Dizionario di Teologia Biblica

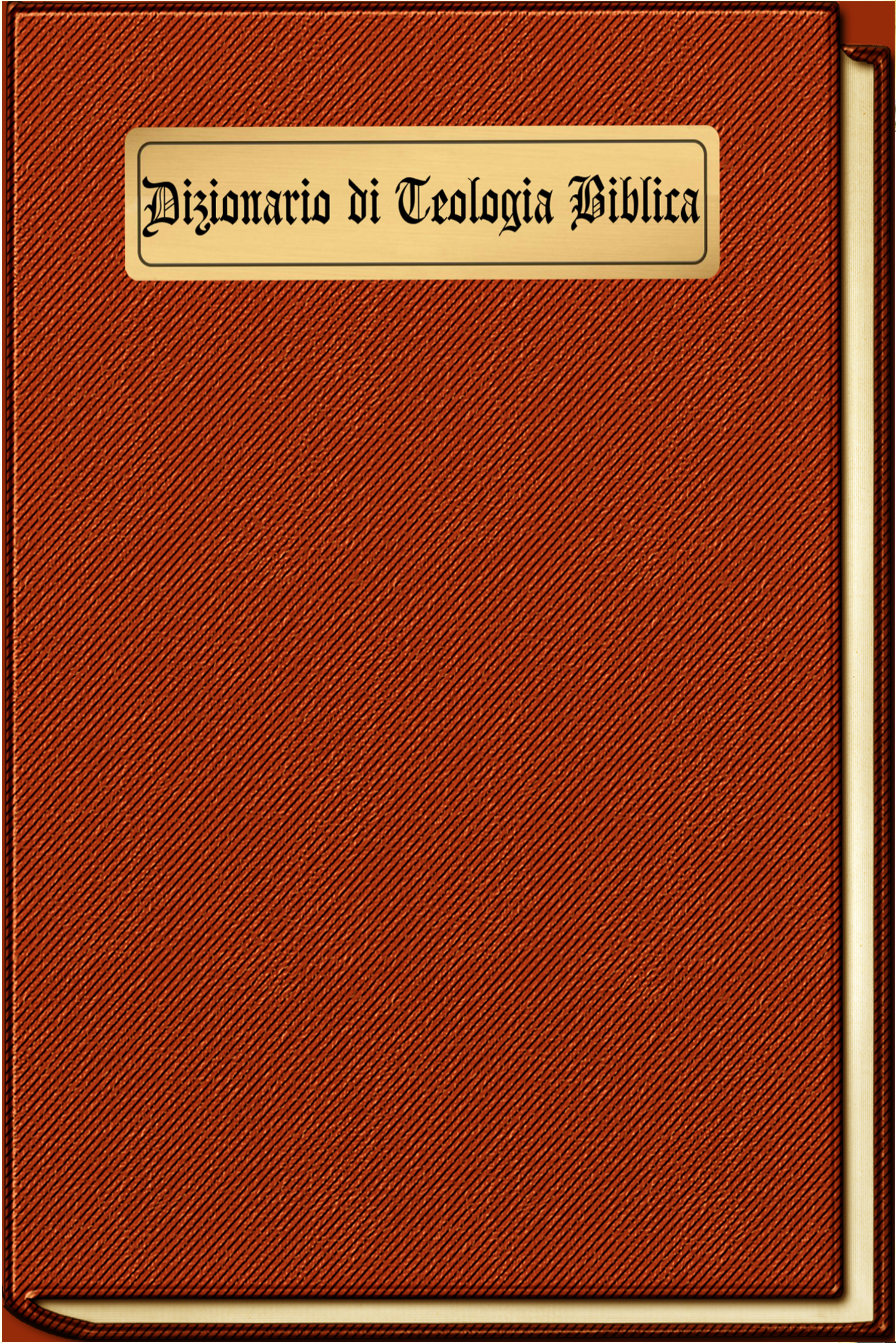

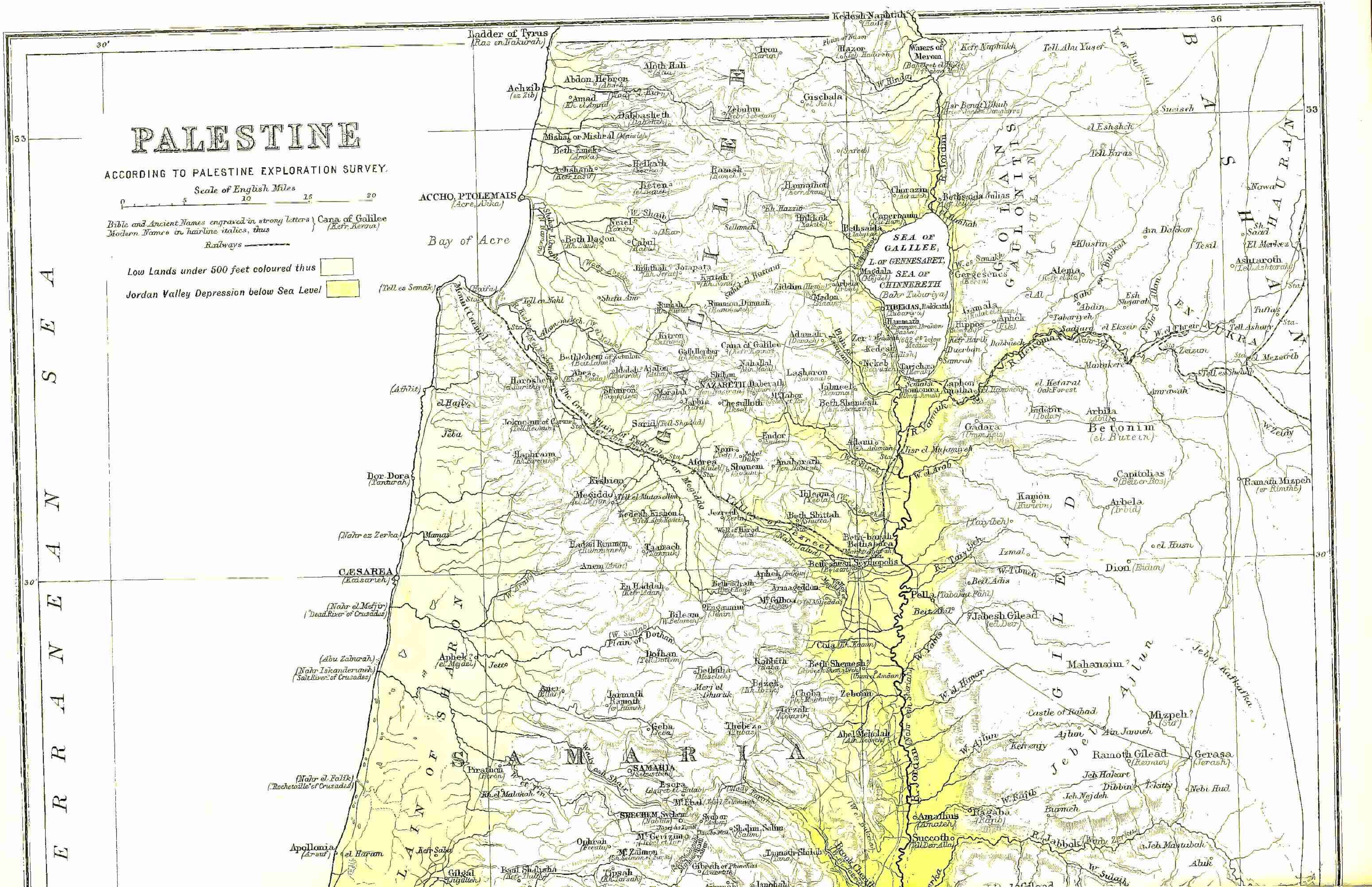

PALESTINE

ACCORDING TO PALESTINE EXPLORATION SURVEY.

Scale of English Miles

Bible and Ancient Names engraved in strong letters } Cana of Galilee
Modern Names in hairline italics, thus } (*Kefr Kenna*)

Railways

Low Lands under 500 feet coloured thus ▭

Jordan Valley Depression below Sea Level 🟨

0 5 10 15 20
30'
33
36
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Bay of Acre
SEA OF GALILEE, L. OF GENNESARET, SEA OF CHINNERETH (Bahr Tubariya)
GALILEE
SAMARIA
GILEAD
GAULONITIS
BASHAN
HAURAN
PLAIN OF SHARON
Jebel Ajlun
Jebel Kafkafka
R. Jordan
R. Jordan (Nahr esh Sheriah)
R. Hieromax
R. Yarmuk
R. Jabbok
R. Kishon
Valley of Jezreel
The Great Plain of Esdraelon
Plain of Dothan
Ladder of Tyrus (Ras en Nakurah)
Achzib (ez Zib)
ACCHO, PTOLEMAIS (Acre, Akka)
Mount Carmel
(Haifa)
(Tell es Semak)
(Athlit)
el Hajly
Jeba
Dor, Dora (Tanturah)
(Nahr ez Zerka)
Mamas
CÆSAREA (Kaisarieh)
(Nahr el Mefjir) ("Dead River" of Crusades)
(Abu Zabarah)
(Nahr Iskanderuneh) ("Salt River" of Crusades)
(Nahr el Falik) ("Rochetaille" of Crusades)
Apollonia (Arsuf)
el Haram
Kefr Saba
Gilgal (Jiljulieh)
Kedesh Naphtali (Kades)
Hazor
Waters of Merom (Bahret el Huleh)
Kefr Naphakh
Tell Abu Yusef
Iron (Yarun)
Gischala (el Jish)
Abdon, Hebron (Abdeh)
Zebulun
Dabbasheth
Mishal or Misheal
Beth Emek (Amka)
Helkath
Ramah (Rameh)
Achshaph
Beten
Hannathon
Chorazin (Kerazeh)
Bethsaida Julias
Capernaum (Tell Hum)
Bethsaida
Magdala (Mejdel)
TIBERIAS, Rakkath (Tubariya)
Hammath
Gergesenes (Kersa)
Gamala
Hippos
Aphek (Fik)
Cana of Galilee (Kefr Kenna)
NAZARETH, Daberath
Japhia
Chesulloth
Shimron
Gath Hepher
Beth Dagon
Cabul (Kabul)
Jotapata
Rimmon, Dimnah
Lasharon
Jabneel (Yemma)
Beth Shemesh
Mt. Tabor
Endor
Nain
Shunem (Sulam)
Afuleh
Jezreel (Zerin)
Beth Shittah
Megiddo (el Lejjun)
Kishion
Taanach
Haphraim
Jokneam of Carmel
Harosheth
Bethlehem of Zebulon
Beth-shean, Scythopolis (Beisan)
Bethabara
Aphek
Armageddon
Mt. Gilboa
En Haddah
Engannim (Jenin)
Bileam
Dothan
Aphek (el Mejdel)
Jett
Geba
Thebez (Tubas)
Tirzah
Abel Meholah
Zeboim
Bezek
Rabbith
Jarmuth, Ramoth
SAMARIA (Sebustieh)
SHECHEM, Sychem (Nablus)
Mt. Ebal
Mt. Gerizim
Mt. Zalmon
Sychar
Shalim, Salim
Ophrah
Pirathon
Taanath Shiloh
Gibeath of Phinehas
Baal Shalisha
Tipsah
Gadara (Umm Keis)
Arbila
Betonim (el Butein)
Capitolias (Beit er Ras)
Kanon
Arbela (Irbid)
Dion (Eidun)
Pella (Tabakat Fahl)
Jabesh Gilead (ed Deir)
Mahanaim
Castle of Rabad
Mizpeh?
Ramoth Gilead (Reimun)
Gerasa (Jerash)
Amathus (Amateh)
Succoth (Tell Der Alla)
Nebi Hud
Ramath Mizpeh (er Rimthe)
Ashtaroth (Tell Ashtarah)
El Merkez
Nawa
Sh. Saad
Tell Ashary
el Mezeirib
Tell es Shehab
Sueiseh
el Eshsheh
Tell Faras
Khisfin
An Dakar
Tesil
Abdin
Alema
Mukes

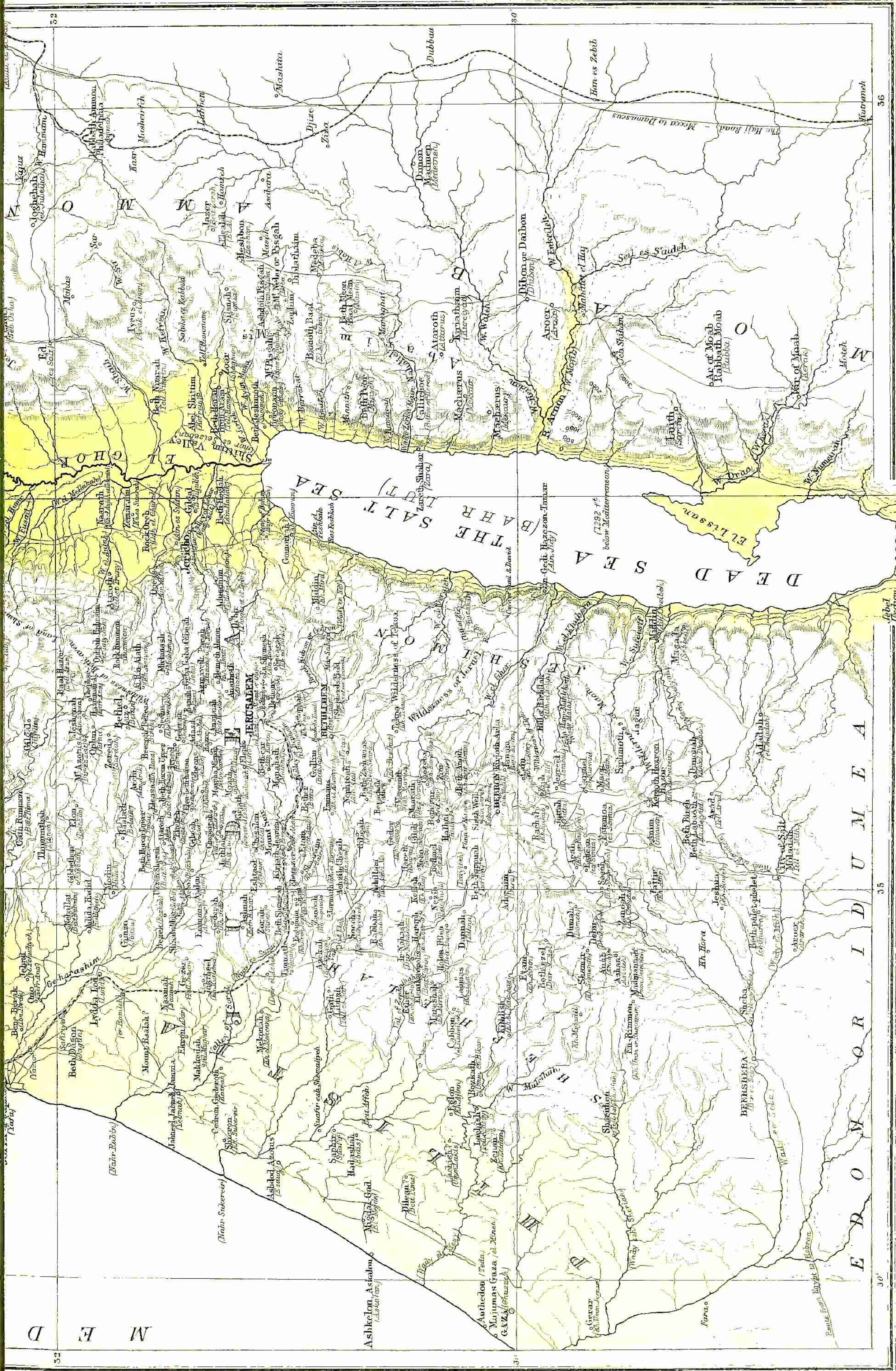
THE SALT SEA
(BAHR LUT)
DEAD SEA
(1292 ft below Mediterranean)
EL LISAN
EDOM OR IDUMEA
MOAB
AMMON
JUDAH
MED
EL GHOR
Shittim Valley
JERUSALEM
BETHLEHEM
HEBRON
Jericho
Gilgal
Bethel
Ai
Gibeon
Emmaus
Rabbath Ammon
Philadelphia
Heshbon
Medeba
Dibon or Daibon
Aroer
R. Arnon
Ar of Moab
Kir of Moab
Zoar
Engedi, Hazazon-Tamar
Masada
Gaza
Ashkelon, Askalon
Ashdod, Azotus
Jamnia
Lydda, Lod
Joppa
Ekron
Gath
Lachish
Beersheba
Gerar
Ziph
Maon
Carmel
Tekoa
Wilderness of Tekoa
Wilderness of Judah
Jebel Usdum
The Hajj Road
Mecca to Damascus
Route from Egypt to Hebron
32
31
30'
35
36

The Edinburgh Geographical Institute

John Bartholomew & Co.

PREFACE

'GIVE heed to . . . teaching.' Perhaps the Church of Christ has never given sufficient heed to teaching since the earliest and happiest days. In our own day the importance of teaching, or, as we sometimes call it, expository preaching, has been pressed home through causes that are various yet never accidental; and it is probable that in the near future more heed will be given by the Church to teaching than has ever been given before.

As a contribution towards the furnishing of the Church for that great work, this DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE is published. It is a Dictionary of the Old and New Testaments, together with the Old Testament Apocrypha, according to the Authorized and Revised English Versions, and with constant reference to the original tongues. Every effort has been used to make the information it contains reasonably full, trustworthy, and accessible.

As to fulness. In a Dictionary of the Bible one expects that the words occurring in the Bible, and which do not explain themselves, will receive some explanation. The present Dictionary more nearly meets that expectation than any Dictionary that has hitherto been published. Articles have been written on the names of all Persons and Places, on the Antiquities and Archæology of the Bible, on its Ethnology, Geology, and Natural History, on Biblical Theology and Ethic, and even on the obsolete or archaic words occurring in the English Versions. The greater number of the articles are of small compass, for care has been exercised to exclude vague generalities as well as unaccepted idiosyncrasies; but there are many articles which deal with important and difficult subjects, and extend to considerable length. Such, for example, and to mention only one, is the article in the first volume on the Chronology of the New Testament.

As to trustworthiness. The names of the authors are appended to their articles, except where the article is very brief and of minor importance; and these names are the best guarantee that the work may be relied on. So far as could be ascertained, those authors were chosen for the various subjects who had made a special study of that subject, and might be able to speak with authority upon it. Then, in addition to the work of the Editor and his Assistant, every sheet has passed through the hands of the three distinguished scholars whose names are found on the title-page. These scholars are not responsible for errors of any kind, if such should be discovered in the Dictionary, but the time and care they have spent upon it may be taken as a good assurance that the work as a whole is reliable and authoritative.

As to accessibility. While all the articles have been written expressly for this work, so they have been arranged under the headings one would most naturally turn to. In a very few cases it has been found necessary to group allied subjects together. But even then, the careful system of black-lettering and cross-reference adopted, should enable the reader to find the subject wanted without delay. And so important has it seemed to the Editor that each subject should be found under its own natural title, that he has allowed a little repetition here and there (though not in identical terms) rather than distress the reader by sending him from one article to another in search of the information he desires. The Proper Names will be found under the spelling adopted in the Revised Version, and in a few very familiar instances the spelling of the Authorized Version is also given, with a cross-reference to the other. On the Proper Names generally, and particularly on the very difficult and unsettled questions of their derivation, reference may be made to the article NAMES (PROPER), which will be found in the third volume. The Hebrew, and (where it seemed to be of consequence for the identification of the name) the Greek of the Septuagint, have been given for all proper and many common names. It was found impracticable to record all the variety of spelling discovered in different manuscripts of the Septuagint; and it was considered unnecessary, in view of the great Edition now in preparation in Cambridge, and the Concordance of Proper Names about to be published at the Clarendon Press. The Abbreviations, considering the size and scope of the work, will be seen to be few and easily mastered. A list of them, together with a simple and uniform scheme of transliterating Hebrew and Arabic words, will be found on the following pages. The Maps have been specially prepared for this work by Mr. J. G. Bartholomew, F.R.G.S. The Illustrations (the drawings for which have been chiefly made in Syria by the Rev. G. M. Mackie, M.A.) are confined to subjects which cannot be easily understood without their aid.

The Editor has pleasure in recording his thanks to many friends and willing fellow-workers, including the authors of the various articles. In especial, after those whose names are given on the title-page, he desires to thank the Rev. W. SANDAY, D.D., LL.D., Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford, who has read many of the articles and given valuable assistance in other ways, and whose name might have appeared on the title-page, had not illness prevented him for some time from carrying out his intention of reading the proof-sheets as they were ready; next, his own early teacher, Dr. DONALD SHEARER, who voluntarily undertook, and has most conscientiously carried out, the verification of the passages of Scripture; also Professor MAHAFFY of Dublin, who kindly read some articles in proof; Professor RYLE of Cambridge; Professor SALMOND of Aberdeen: Principal STEWART of St. Andrews; and Principal FAIRBAIRN and Mr. J. VERNON BARTLET, M.A. of Mansfield College, Oxford.

⁂ Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, have the sole right of publication of this DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE in the United States and Canada.

SCHEME OF TRANSLITERATION

ARABIC.		HEBREW.	
ʼ	ء	ʼ	א
b	ب	b	ב
t	ت	g	ג
th	ث	d	ד
j	ج	h	ה
ḥ	ح	u, w	ו
kh	خ	z	ז
d	د	ḥ	ח
dh	ذ	ṭ	ט
r	ر	i, y	י
z	ز	k	כ
s	س	l	ל
sh	ش	m	מ
ṣ	ص	n	נ
ḍ	ض	ṣ	ס
ṭ	ط	ʻ	ע
ẓ	ظ	p	פ
ʻ	ع	ẓ	צ
gh	غ	ḳ	ק
f	ف	r	ר
ḳ	ق	s, sh	שׂ שׁ
k	ك	t	ת
l	ل		
m	م		
n	ن		
h	ه		
u, w	و		
i, y	ى		

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

I. General

Alex. = Alexandrian.
Apoc. = Apocalypse.
Apocr. = Apocrypha.
Aq. = Aquila.
Arab. = Arabic.
Aram. = Aramaic.
Assyr. = Assyrian.
Bab. = Babylonian.
c. = *circa*, about.
Can. = Canaanite.
cf. = Compare.
ct. = Contrast.
D = Deuteronomist.
E = Elohist.
edd. = Editions or Editors.
Egyp. = Egyptian.
Eng. = English.
Eth. = Ethiopic.
f. = and following verse or page; as Ac $10^{34f.}$
ff. = and following verses or pages; as Mt $11^{28ff.}$
Gr. = Greek.
H = Law of Holiness.
Heb. = Hebrew.
Hel. = Hellenistic.
Hex. = Hexateuch.
Isr. = Israelite.
J = Jahwist.
J″ = Jehovah.
Jerus. = Jerusalem.
Jos. = Josephus.
LXX = Septuagint.
MSS = Manuscripts.
MT = Massoretic Text.
n. = note.
NT = New Testament.
Onk. = Onkelos.
OT = Old Testament.
P = Priestly Narrative.
Pal. = Palestine, Palestinian.
Pent. = Pentateuch.
Pers. = Persian.
Phil. = Philistine.
Phœn. = Phœnician.
Pr. Bk. = Prayer Book.
R = Redactor.
Rom. = Roman.
Sam. = Samaritan.
Sem. = Semitic.
Sept. = Septuagint.
Sin. = Sinaitic.
Symm. = Symmachus.
Syr. = Syriac.
Talm. = Talmud.
Targ. = Targum.
Theod. = Theodotion.
TR = Textus Receptus.
tr. = translate or translation.
VSS = Versions.
Vulg. = Vulgate.
WH = Westcott and Hort's text.

II. Books of the Bible

Old Testament.

Gn = Genesis.
Ex = Exodus.
Lv = Leviticus.
Nu = Numbers.
Dt = Deuteronomy.
Jos = Joshua.
Jg = Judges.
Ru = Ruth.
1 S, 2 S = 1 and 2 Samuel.
1 K, 2 K = 1 and 2 Kings.
1 Ch, 2 Ch = 1 and 2 Chronicles.
Ezr = Ezra.
Neh = Nehemiah.
Est = Esther.
Job.
Ps = Psalms.
Pr = Proverbs.
Ec = Ecclesiastes.
Ca = Canticles.
Is = Isaiah.
Jer = Jeremiah.
La = Lamentations.
Ezk = Ezekiel.
Dn = Daniel.
Hos = Hosea.
Jl = Joel.
Am = Amos.
Ob = Obadiah.
Jon = Jonah.
Mic = Micah.
Nah = Nahum.
Hab = Habakkuk.
Zeph = Zephaniah.
Hag = Haggai.
Zec = Zechariah.
Mal = Malachi.

Apocrypha.

1 Es, 2 Es = 1 and 2 Esdras.
To = Tobit.
Jth = Judith.
Ad. Est = Additions to Esther.
Wis = Wisdom.
Sir = Sirach or Ecclesiasticus.
Bar = Baruch.
Three = Song of the Three Children.
Sus = Susanna.
Bel = Bel and the Dragon.
Pr. Man = Prayer of Manasses.
1 Mac, 2 Mac = 1 and 2 Maccabees.

New Testament.

Mt = Matthew.
Mk = Mark.
Lk = Luke.
Jn = John.
Ac = Acts.
Ro = Romans.
1 Co, 2 Co = 1 and 2 Corinthians.
Gal = Galatians.
Eph = Ephesians.
Ph = Philippians.
Col = Colossians.
1 Th, 2 Th = 1 and 2 Thessalonians.
1 Ti, 2 Ti = 1 and 2 Timothy.
Tit = Titus.
Philem = Philemon.
He = Hebrews.
Ja = James.
1 P, 2 P = 1 and 2 Peter.
1 Jn, 2 Jn, 3 Jn = 1, 2, and 3 John.
Jude.
Rev = Revelation.

III. English Versions

Wyc. = Wyclif's Bible (NT *c.* 1380, OT *c.* 1382, Purvey's Revision *c.* 1388).
Tind. = Tindale's NT 1526 and 1534, Pent. 1530.
Cov. = Coverdale's Bible 1535.
Matt. or Rog. = Matthew's (*i.e.* prob. Rogers') Bible 1537.
Cran. or Great = Cranmer's 'Great' Bible 1539.
Tav. = Taverner's Bible 1539.
Gen. = Geneva NT 1557, Bible 1560.
Bish. = Bishops' Bible 1568.
Tom. = Tomson's NT 1576.
Rhem. = Rhemish NT 1582.
Dou. = Douay OT 1609.
AV = Authorized Version 1611.
AVm = Authorized Version margin.
RV = Revised Version NT 1881, OT 1885.
RVm = Revised Version margin.
EV = Auth. and Rev. Versions.

IV. For the Literature

AHT = Ancient Hebrew Tradition.
AT = Altes Testament.
BL = Bampton Lecture.
BM = British Museum.
BRP = Biblical Researches in Palestine.
CIG = Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum.
CIL = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
CIS = Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum.
COT = Cuneiform Inscriptions and the OT.
DB = Dictionary of the Bible.
GGA = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
GVI = Geschichte des Volkes Israel.
HCM = Higher Criticism and the Monuments.
HE = Historia Ecclesiastica.
HJP = History of the Jewish People.
HGHL = Historical Geog. of Holy Land.
HI = History of Israel.
HPM = History, Prophecy, and the Monuments.
JDTh = Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie.
JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JQR = Jewish Quarterly Review.
KAT = Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Test.
LOT = Introd. to the Literature of the Old Test.
ON = Otium Norvicense.
OTJC = The Old Test. in the Jewish Church.
PEF = Palestine Exploration Fund.
PEFSt = Quarterly Statement of the same.
PSBA = Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology.
PRE = Real-Encyclopädie für protest. Theologie und Kirche.
QPB = Queen's Printers' Bible.
REJ = Revue des Études Juives.
RP = Records of the Past.
RS = Religion of the Semites.
SBOT = Sacred Books of Old Test.
SK = Studien und Kritiken.
SWP = Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine.
ThL or *ThLZ* = Theol. Literaturzeitung.
ThT = Theol. Tijdschrift.
TSBA = Transactions of Soc. of Bibl. Archæology.
WAI = Western Asiatic Inscriptions.
ZAW or *ZATW* = Zeitschrift für die Alttest. Wissenschaft.
ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
ZDPV = Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
ZKW = Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft.

A small superior number designates the particular edition of the work referred to, as *KAT*^{2}, *LOT*^{6}.

MAPS IN VOLUME I

PALESTINE . . . . *facing* TITLE
BABYLONIA, ASSYRIA, ETC. . . . . ,, *page* 176
SINAI PENINSULA AND CANAAN (ILLUSTRATING THE EXODUS) . ,, ,, 302

DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE

A

A.—This letter is used in critical notes on the text of OT and NT to denote the Codex Alexandrinus, a MS of the Greek Bible written apparently in Egypt *c.* A.D. 450, placed in the library of the Patriarch of Alexandria in 1098, presented by Cyril Lucar, Patriarch of Constantinople (formerly of Alexandria), to Charles I. in 1628, and now in the British Museum. It contains the whole Bible except Gn 14^{14-17} $15^{1-5, 16-19}$ 16^{6-9}, 1 K [1 S] 12^{18}–14^{9}, Ps 49 $(50)^{20}$–79 $(80)^{11}$, Mt 1^{1}–25^{6}, Jn 6^{50}–8^{52}, 2 Co 4^{13}–12^{7}. The Psalter is introduced by a letter of Athanasius to Marcellinus, the *Hypotheses* of Eusebius, and various tables; and is concluded by a collection of Canticles from OT and NT, and a Christian Morning Hymn. Rev is followed by two Epistles of Clement (wanting 1^{58-63} 2^{13-20}), both apparently still in ecclesiastical use at the time when this MS. was written. Last of all, marked as extra-canonical, came eighteen Psalms of Solomon; but this part has disappeared. Its readings in OT can be most readily ascertained from Professor Swete's edition of the LXX. Its NT text was published by Woide in 1786, by B. H. Cowper in 1860, and by E. H. Hansell in a parallel text, 1864. The whole MS was published in a photographic facsimile by the Curators of the British Museum in 1879. J. O. F. MURRAY.

ℵ (Aleph), the first letter in the Heb. alphabet. This symbol in crit. app. denotes the Codex Sinaiticus, a MS of the Greek Bible discovered in the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai by C. Tischendorf, 1844 and 1859. It was written towards the middle or end of the 4th cent. Four scribes at least were employed on it. The scribe who copied Tobit and Judith wrote also six cancel leaves in the NT containing Mt 16^{9}–18^{12} 24^{36}–26^{6}, Mk 14^{54}–Lk 1^{55}, 1 Th 2^{14}–5^{28}, He 4^{16}–8^{1}, besides various headlines, titles, subscriptions, and section numbers. This scribe Tischendorf further identified with the scribe who wrote the NT in Codex B, Vaticanus (which see). The MS shows marks of revision due to various hands from the 4th cent. to the 12th cent. One of these, $\aleph^{ca}$, 7th cent., declares in a note at the end of 2 Es [Ezr-Neh] and at the end of Est, that he had compared the MS in these books with a very ancient copy transcribed by Antoninus the Confessor, and collated with Origen's Hexapla by the holy martyr Pamphilus when in prison at Cæsarea. The corrections introduced by him in these books, though of an Origenic character, certainly do not embody the complete Hexaplaric text.

There seems to be no clear evidence to show either where the MS was written, or how it passed into the possession of the monks of St. Catherine. While in their possession it fell into decay, and long ago the outside sheets were cut up for bookbinding purposes; and Tischendorf was convinced that the sheets he rescued in 1844 were only waiting their turn for use in the oven. It is not surprising, therefore, that the MS is now far from complete. It contains portions of Gn 23. 24 and of Nu 5. 6. 7; 1 Ch 9^{27}–19^{17}, 2 Es $9^{9\text{-}end}$ [Ezr 9^{9}–Neh], Est, To, Jth, 1 Mac, 4 Mac (3 Mac perhaps lost), Is, Jer, La 1–2^{20}, Jl, Ob, Jon, Nah, Hab, Zeph, Hag, Zec, Mal, Ps, Pr, Ec, Ca, Wis, Sir, Job. The NT is complete, and is followed by the Epistle of Barnabas and part of the Shepherd of Hermas.

The text has been published in facsimile type—(1) in 1846, 'Cod. Frid.-Aug.,' containing the sheets of OT secured in 1844; (2) in 1862, 'Cod. Sin.,' containing, besides NT, the rest of OT, with the exception of a few verses (published in an appendix in 1867). Tischendorf also published the NT text in a handy volume in 1863. The OT readings are most easily accessible in Swete's edition of the LXX (Cambridge, 1887–95, ed. 2, 1895–8).

J. O. F. MURRAY.

A.—A symbol used in OT criticism by Dillmann to signify the Priestly elements of the Hex., more usually known as P. See HEXATEUCH.

F. H. WOODS.

A is frequently used in AV, and sometimes retained in RV, in constructions that are now obsolete. It is found both as an adj. (or indef. art.) and as a prep. 1. *A*, as an adj., is a worn-down form of the Old English adj. *an*, 'one.' (1) In modern Eng. *a* is used before a consonantal sound, *an* before a vowel sound. In the Eng. VSS of the Bible this usage is not invariable. See AN. (2) *A* is found qualifying abstract nouns without affecting their meaning: Wis 12^{17} 'thou art of a full power' (RV 'perfect in power'); 12^{19} 'to be of a good hope' (RV 'of good hope'); 2 Co 10^{6} 'having in a readiness' (RV 'being in readiness'); 2 Mac 13^{12} 'commanded they should be in a readiness.' Cf. Guylforde, *Pylgrymage* 7: 'alwaye in a redynesse to set forth when they woll.' On the other hand it is sometimes omitted where it is required for individualising: Sir 39^{17} 'at time convenient.' (3) In Lk 9^{28} 'about an eight days (RV about eight days) after these sayings' the art. is used as in 'a good many'; so 1 Mac 4^{15} 'there were slain of them upon a three thousand men' (RV 'about three thousand').

2. In other expressions *A* is a prep., being a worn-down form of *an* or *on*, and stands for the modern 'at,' 'in,' or 'on.' 2 Ch 2^{18} 'three thousand and six hundred overseers to set the people a work' (RV 'awork'); 1 Co 9^{7} 'who goeth a warfare (RV 'serveth') any time at his own charges?' Jth 7^{2} 'horsemen . . . and other men that were afoot.' Most frequently with a verbal noun in 'ing': 2 Ch 16^{6} 'wherewith Baasha was a building' (AV of 1611, later edd. 'was building,' RV 'had builded'); 1 Es 6^{20} 'Being still a building, it is not yet fully ended'; Lk 8^{42} 'She lay a dying.' The full form *an* or *on* remained side by side with this worn-down form: Ac 13^{36} 'David . . . fell on sleep'; Mt 4^{2} 'He was afterward an hungered' (RV 'He afterward hungered.' 'An hungered' occurs also Mt $12^{1. 3}$ $25^{35. 37. 42. 44}$, Mk 2^{25}, Lk 6^{3}, and in all these places RV leaves it unchanged).

Literature.—Besides the necessary edd. of the Eng. Bible, Skeat, *Etymol. Dict. of the Eng. Lang.*^{2}; Murray and Bradley, *Eng. Dict. on Hist. Principles* (called the *Oxford Eng. Dict.*); Whitney, *Century Dict.*; Wright, *Bible Word Book*^{2}; Michie, *Bible Words and Phrases*; Mayhew, *Select Glossary of Bible Words*; Trench, *Select Glossary*; together with the Concordances to Shakespeare, Milton, etc.; and the Clarendon Press and Pitt Press edd. of the Eng. works of the period.

J. Hastings.

AARON (אַהֲרֹן, LXX Ἀαρών).—In the narratives of the Exodus, Aaron is, after Moses, the most prominent figure. Often appearing as the colleague or representative of the great leader and lawgiver, he is in particular the priest, and the head of the Israelitish priesthood. We must, however, distinguish between our different authorities in the Pent., for in the priestly narrative Aaron not unnaturally occupies a far more important place than in the earlier account of JE.

In JE, Aaron is first introduced as Moses' brother, and with the title of the *Levite*, in Ex 4^{14} J, where J", sending Moses on his mission to the Israelites, appoints him, on account of his fluency in speech, to be the spokesman of Moses to the people (vv.$^{14-16}$). Aaron meets his brother in the mount of God; together they return to Egypt and assemble the elders of the Israelites, before whom Aaron, instructed by Moses, delivers God's message and performs the appointed signs. The people believe; but when Moses and Aaron request Pharaoh to grant the people temporary leave of absence, the king refuses to listen to them (Ex 4–6^{1}). In the account of the plagues Aaron occupies quite a subordinate place, being the silent companion of his brother. It is Moses who is sent to Pharaoh and announces the coming plagues (Ex $7^{14ff.}$ $8^{1ff. 20ff.}$ $9^{1ff. 13ff.}$ [J mainly]—with 10^{3} contrast 10^{6} '*he* turned'). Aaron is merely called in four times along with Moses to entreat for their removal ($8^{8.25}$ 9^{27} 10^{16}). Indeed it seems probable that the mention of Aaron in these passages is due, not to the original narrative of J, but to the editor who combined J and E; for in each case Moses alone answers, and in his own name; in 8^{30} 9^{33} 10^{18} his departure alone is mentioned, while in 8^{12} it is Moses alone who prays for the removal of the frogs. In the history of the wanderings the passages relating to Aaron are for the most part derived from E, where indeed Miriam is described as the sister of Aaron (15^{20}). With Hur he assists Moses in holding up the rod of God to ensure the defeat of Amalek ($17^{10. 12}$ E), and together with the elders he is called to Jethro's sacrifice (18^{12} E). At Sinai, while priests and people remain below, Aaron accompanies Moses up the mountain (19^{24} J), together with Nadab, Abihu, and seventy elders of Israel ($24^{1f. 9-11}$); and when Moses with Joshua alone is about to approach still nearer to God, Aaron and Hur are temporarily appointed supreme judges of the people ($24^{13. 14}$ E). Moses' absence being prolonged, Aaron, at the people's request, makes a golden calf as a visible symbol of J", for which he afterwards weakly excuses himself to Moses, throwing the blame upon the people ($32^{1-5. 21-25}$). At a later period Aaron with Miriam opposes Moses, on the ground that they also are recipients of divine revelations, Miriam being apparently regarded as the leader on this occasion, since the punishment falls upon her (Nu 12 E). Some further particulars relating to Aaron are to be learnt from Dt, in passages apparently based on the narrative of JE; namely the intercession offered by Moses on his account after the making of the golden calf (Dt 9^{20}); the choice of Levi as the priestly tribe, probably in consequence of the zeal shown by them against the idolaters ($10^{8f.}$); the death of Aaron at Moserah (site unknown), and the succession of his son Eleazar to the priestly office ($10^{6. 7}$, the itinerary probably from E, cf. Nu $21^{12f. 16. 18ff.}$). The last passage is important as showing that the tradition of a hereditary priesthood in the family of Aaron was found even outside the priestly history. Comp. Jos 24^{33} E, where mention is made of Phinehas, the son of Eleazar the son of Aaron.

It is, however, in the priestly tradition, where the institution of the ordinances of divine worship is described at length, that Aaron figures most prominently as the founder of the Israelitish priesthood, and becomes, indeed, with Moses the joint leader of the people. P records several details respecting Aaron's family: he is the son of Amram and Jochebed (Ex 6^{20}), and three years older than Moses (*ib.* 7^{7}, Nu 33^{39}). His wife was Elisheba, his sons Nadab, Abihu (cf. Ex $24^{1. 9}$ E ?), Eleazar (cf. Jos 24^{33} E), and Ithamar. See Ex 6^{23} etc. A slightly different representation of Aaron's first commission is given in Ex 6^{2}–7^{13} P, from that in the parallel narrative Ex 4–6^{1} JE. Here Aaron is appointed the spokesman of Moses, not to the people, but to Pharaoh (see 7^{1}), and it is before the king that Aaron works a wonder, turning his rod into a serpent. From this point onwards the importance assigned to Aaron in P becomes very marked. He regularly cooperates with Moses at the time of the Egyp. plagues, usually bringing these to pass by means of his rod in accordance with Moses' instructions (Ex $7^{19f.}$ $8^{5f. 16f.}$). Many commands of God are addressed to both leaders alike (Ex 9^{8-10} $12^{1. 43}$, Lv 11^{1} 13^{1} 14^{33} 15^{1}, Nu 2^{1}, cf. $1^{3. 17. 44}$); they are consulted by the people (Nu 9^{6} 15^{33}, cf. 13^{26}), and against both of them the murmurings of the people are directed (Ex 16^{2}, Nu 14^{2}, cf.^{26} $16^{3. 41}$ cf.^{18} 20^{2}). All this, however, does not prevent distinct and characteristic parts being assigned to each of them. Thus the first place is given to Moses throughout. He receives the divine revelation on Mount Sinai respecting the appointment of Aaron and his sons to the priesthood (Ex 28^{1-4} 29^{44}), and upon the completion of the tabernacle solemnly consecrates them, and offers the appointed sacrifices (Ex 29, Lv 8. 9). Aaron, on the other hand, is specially 'the priest' (Ex 31^{10} 35^{19} 38^{21}, Lv 13^{2}, Nu 18^{28}), who stays a plague by an offering of incense (Nu 16^{46-48}); to his charge the tabernacle is committed (*ib.* $4^{5. 19. 27f. 33}$), and to him the Levites are given in exchange for the firstborn (*ib.* $3^{39ff.}$). Aaron is distinguished from his sons, the inferior priests, by the anointing which he receives (Ex 29^{7}, Lv 8^{12}, cf. Ex 29^{29}, Lv $4^{3. 5. 16}$ $6^{20. 22}$ 16^{32} $21^{10. 12}$, Nu 35^{25}):—passages which speak of his sons as being also anointed probably belong to the later additions to the Priestly Code (Ex 28^{41} 30^{30} 40^{15}, Lv 7^{36}, Nu 3^{3}). Between the family of Aaron and the rest of the Levites a sharp distinction is drawn (see esp. Nu 3. 4). In this connection it is to be noticed that in the main portion of Nu 16 Korah's companions in his rebellion are called 'princes of the congregation' (16^{2}), *i.e.* not all Levites (cf. Nu 27^{3}); their complaints are directed against the exclusive claims of the tribe of Levi, and all murmurings are finally silenced by the miraculous budding of the rod of Aaron, the representative of the house of Levi (Nu 17^{1-11}). But certain additions seem to have been made to the chapter to emphasize a different point, and in these passages Korah's companions are regarded as wholly Levites, who protest against the superior claims of the house of Aaron (Nu $16^{9-11.16-19.36-40}$). See further, Priests; also Aaronites, Aaron's Rod, Korah.

For failing to show due honour to J″ at Meribah Kadesh, in the fortieth year of the wanderings, Aaron was forbidden to enter the promised land (Nu 20^{8-13}). Shortly afterwards, accompanied by Moses and his own son Eleazar, Aaron ascended Mount Hor, on the border of the land of Edom, and after being solemnly stripped of his priestly garments, which were put on Eleazar, died there at the age of 123 (Nu 20^{22-29} $33^{38f.}$ P). The site of Mount Hor is uncertain, the traditional identification with Jebel Nebi Harun, S.W. of Petra, being very doubtful (see Dillm. on Nu 20^{22}); the itinerary of P (Nu 33^{30-38}) names six stages between Moseroth (Dt 10^{6} Moserah) and Mt. Hor.

In the older literature outside the Pent., the mission of Moses and Aaron in Egypt is alluded to in Jos 24^{5} E, and 1 S $12^{6.8}$ (a passage which has affinities with E). Micah (6^{4}) names as the leaders of the people at the time of the Exodus, Moses, Aaron, and Miriam, but Aaron is not mentioned elsewhere in the prophets. H. A. White.

AARONITES (בְּנֵי אַהֲרֹן 'sons of Aaron').—This phrase might, according to Sem. idiom, denote either the members of a class or guild (comp. sons of Korah, sons of Asaph, sons of the prophets), or members of a family connected by blood kinship. As used in OT it was understood in the latter sense, all the priests, at anyrate from the time of the second temple, tracing their descent from Aaron, as the head and founder of the Israelitish priesthood. The term does not occur earlier than the priestly portions of the Pent., where in certain groups of laws the epithet Aaronites is often given to the priests (see esp. Lv 1-3, and comp. 6^{9} 'Aaron and his sons'), and a sharp distinction is drawn between the Aaronite priests and the Levites who wait upon them (see esp. Nu 3^{10} 16^{40} 18^{1-7}). It is doubtful whether any mention of the Aaronites or seed of Aaron was to be found in the original H (Law of Holiness), the present text of Lv 17^{2} $21^{1.17.21.24}$ $22^{2.4.18}$ being probably due to the R. The Chronicler divides the priests into the houses of Eleazar and Ithamar, assigning sixteen courses to the former and eight to the latter; and, probably without good authority, he connects the former with the Zadokite priests of Jerus., and the latter with the family of Eli (1 Ch 24), though the name of one of Eli's sons (cf. also 1 S $2^{27f.}$) would suggest a connexion between this family and Phinehas the son of Eleazar (Jos 24^{33}). Throughout his work the priests are frequently termed the Aaronites (sons of Aaron)—viz. 1 Ch $6^{54.57}$ 15^{4} $23^{28.32}$ $24^{1.31}$, 2 Ch $13^{9.10}$ 26^{18} 29^{21} 31^{19} 35^{14}, Neh 10^{38} 12^{47}. In 1 Ch 12^{27} 27^{17} the house or family of Aaron is placed on a level with the other tribes; and similarly in some late Psalms, by the side of the House of Israel and the House of Levi, the priestly class is described as the House of Aaron (Ps $115^{10.12}$ 118^{3} 135^{19}). H. A. White.

AARON'S ROD.—Aaron's rod is the centre of interest in an important incident of the desert wanderings—time and place are both uncertain—as recorded by the priestly narrator (P), Nu 17^{1-11} (Heb. text 17^{16-26}). The passage should be studied in connexion with the more complex narrative in ch. 16, to the events of which the incident in question forms the sequel (see Driver, *LOT* 59 f.). In obedience to a divine command, 12 rods, representing the 12 princes of the tribes, each with the name of a prince engraved upon it, together with a 13th rod (cf. Vulg. fueruntque virgæ duodecim absque virga Aaron) to represent the tribe of Levi, but bearing the name of Aaron, were deposited by Moses before 'the testimony,' *i.e.* before the ark. The following morning it was found that 'the rod of Aaron for the house of Levi was budded, and put forth buds, and bloomed blossoms, and bare ripe almonds' (17^{8} RV), by which it was miraculously proved that J″ had Himself selected the tribe of Levi to be the exclusive possessors of the priestly prerogatives. The standpoint of the narrator is thus different from that of a later stratum in the foregoing section, which represents a party of *Levites* in revolt against the exclusive priesthood of the sons of Aaron. 'Aaron's rod that budded' was ordered to be put back to its former place '*before* the [ark of the] testimony' (17^{10}) as a token to future generations of the divine choice. A later Jewish tradition, at variance with this command, and with the express statement of 1 K 8^{9}, is found in He 9^{4}, and in later Jewish writers, that the rod, like the pot of manna, had a place with the tables of stone *within* the ark.

A. R. S. Kennedy.

AB.—See Names (Proper), and Time.

ABACUC.—The form in which the name of the prophet Habakkuk appears in 2 Es 1^{40}.

ABADDON.—This word is found in the OT only in the Wisdom Literature. When it first appears, the old view of Sheol as a place where the family, national, and social distinctions of the world above are reproduced, had been partially displaced; and in some measure the higher conception had gained acceptance, which held that in Sheol at all events moral distinctions were paramount, and that men were treated there according to their deserts. In Job 31^{12} Abaddon (אֲבַדּוֹן) bears the general meaning of 'ruin,' 'destruction.' (But see Dillm. and Dav. *in loc.*) In the other instances of its occurrence, however, it is specialised, and designates the place of the lost in Sheol. Thus in Job 26^{6}, Pr 15^{11} 27^{20} (אבדה, in Kerê אֲבַדּוֹן) it occurs in conjunction with 'Sheol' (שְׁאוֹל), and in Ps 88^{11} with 'grave' (קבר). Again, in Job 28^{22} a further development is to be observed. In this passage it is linked with death (מות), and personified in the same way as we find שְׁמַיָּא in Dn 4^{23} and Hades in Rev 6^{8}, and שמים and מקום in the Talmud. The word is found once more in the Bible in Rev 9^{11}. In this passage it is used as the proper name of a prince of the infernal regions, and explained by the word Ἀπολλύων = 'Destroyer.' In the LXX אבדון is always rendered by ἀπώλεια, except in Job 31^{12} where LXX implies a different text. The first two meanings above given are found in the Aram. and later Heb. Finally, in the latter in the 'Emek Hammelech, f. 15. 3, Abaddon becomes the lowest place of Gehenna.

R. H. Charles.

ABADIAS (Ἀβαδίας), 1 Es 8^{35}.—Son of Jezelus, of the sons of Joab, returned with Ezra from captivity. Called Obadiah, son of Jehiel, Ezr 8^{9}.

H. St. J. Thackeray.

ABAGTHA (אֲבַגְתָא, Est 1^{10}), one of the seven chamberlains or eunuchs sent by Ahasuerus (Xerxes) to fetch the queen, Vashti, to his banquet. The name, which is apparently Persian, is probably akin to the names Bigtha (1^{10}) and Bigthan (2^{21}). For the derivation, *bagdâna*=‘God's gift,’ has been suggested, but cannot be regarded as certain. In the LXX the names of the chamberlains are quite different from the Hebrew.

H. A. WHITE.

ABANAH (אֲבָנָה, Kerê אֲמָנָה, AV Abana; AVm Amana, RVm Amanah; 2 K 5^{12}). This ‘river of Damascus,’ the Chrysorrhoas of the Greeks, is identified with the *Barada*, to whose waters Damascus owes her life. Rising in the uplands near Baalbec, it drains the hollow in the bosom of Anti-Lebanon. *'Ain el Barada*, in the plain of *Zebedâny*, swells the stream, which then plunges down the deep picturesque gorge of *Wady Barada*. About 14 miles N.W. of Damascus, in a beautiful romantic spot in the heart of the hills, rises the mighty fountain *el Fijeh* (Gr. πηγή, a spring); a river born in a moment, which, after a brief, foaming course, joins the *Barada*, more than doubling its volume. It then flows along the bottom of a deep winding valley, shaded by beautiful and fruitful trees; bare, yellow rocks towering high on either hand above the green. About half the water is led captive along the eastern bank towards the city, the Beyrout road passing between the streams. Just where the precipitous cliffs advance as if to close the gorge, it escapes from the mountains, and, throwing itself out fanlike in many branches, waters the plain, supplies the city, and drains off into the northern two of the marshy lakes eastward. One branch is called *Nahr Banias*, a reminiscence of the ancient name. W. EWING.

ABARIM (הָעֲבָרִים).—A plural form of the word signifying ‘part beyond’; and with respect to the Jordan, on the E. side of it. It is used as a proper name preceded by הַר ‘mount’ (Nu 27^{12}, Dt 32^{49}), and by הָרֵי ‘mountains’ (Nu 33^{47}). It is also found with עִיֵּי [see IYE-ABARIM] (Nu 21^{11} 33^{44}). In all these places the def. art. is used with Abarim, but in Jer 22^{20} (RV Abarim, AV ‘the passages’) the def. art. is not used. For the geogr. position see NEBO. The LXX translate A. by τὸ πέραν, except in Nu 33^{47}, Dt 32^{49} where they have τὰ (τὸ) Ἀβαρείν(μ). For Ezk 39^{11}, and a very doubtful use of this word, see Smend, *in loc.* A. T. CHAPMAN.

ABASE, ABASEMENT.—Abase is three times used in AV, and retained in RV to translate שָׁפֵל *shâphêl*, otherwise rendered ‘bring low’ or ‘make low,’ ‘bring down’ or ‘bow down,’ ‘humble’; and once to tr. עָנָה, Is 31^4 ‘he will not be afraid of their voice, nor abase himself (=be cast down) for the noise of them.’ In NT it is five times used to render ταπεινόω, changed in RV into ‘humble,’ except in Ph 4^{12} ‘I know how to be abased,’ and 2 Co 11^7 ‘Commit a sin in abasing myself.’ **Abasement**, meaning humiliation, occurs in Sir 20^{11} ‘There is an a. because of glory; and there is that lifteth up his head from a low estate.’ Cf. Sir 25^{23} RV ‘A wicked woman is a. of heart’ (AV ‘abateth the courage’). Notice that ‘abasement’ and ‘basement’ (a mod. word) are distinct, both in derivation and meaning. J. HASTINGS.

ABATE.—This verb occurs only six times in AV (all in OT), and yet it translates five different Heb. words. The meaning of the Eng. word is, however, the same throughout, to *lessen*. ‘His eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated’ [Driver: ‘neither had his freshness fled’] (Dt 34^7). ‘It shall be abated (RV an abatement shall be made) from thy estimation’ (Lv 27^{18}). (See ESTIMATION.) ‘The waters were abated’ (RV ‘decreased’) (Gn 8^3). RV tr. still another Heb. word ‘abated’ in Nu 11^2 (AV ‘was quenched’). The word is also found with the same sense in Wis 16^{24}, Sir 25^{23}, 1 Mac 5^3 11^{49}. Cf. Shakespeare—

> ‘Abate thy rage, abate thy manly rage.’
> —*Henry V.* III. ii. 24.

And Walton, ‘Lord, abate my great affliction, or increase my patience,’ *Lives*, iv. 288.

J. HASTINGS.

ABBA.—The transliteration (ἀββᾶ) of the Aram. word for ‘father’; see, for example, the Targ. of Onk. (perhaps of the 1st cent.) at Gn 19^{34} (cf. G. Dalman, *Gram. d. jüd.-paläst. Aramäisch*, § 40, c. 3). It occurs three times in the NT, and always in direct address, viz. in our Lord's prayer in Gethsemane as given by St. Mark (14^{36}), and in the ‘cry’ of the Spirit as referred to by St. Paul (Ro 8^{15}, Gal 4^6).

The phenomena connected with the form and use of the word have occasioned divers opinions, the merits of which our present knowledge does not always enable us to pronounce upon with positiveness. It has been held, for instance (see John Lightfoot, *Horæ Hebr. ad Mc. l.c.*), that when spelt with the double *b* and final *a*, the word refers to physical fatherhood; accordingly, our Lord's choice of that form is thought to indicate special closeness of relationship. But the frequent use of Abba simply as a title of honour in the Mishna and Tosefta seems to disprove this opinion (Schürer, *HJP* § 25, n. 30; cf. Jg 17^{10}, 2 K 2^{12}, Mt 23^9). On the other hand, it has been asserted that in Syr. the word with the double *b* denotes a spiritual father, with a single *b* the natural. But this distinction also seems not to be sustained by usage (see Payne Smith's *Lexicon*, *s.v.*). Again, it is noteworthy that the Gr. equivalent, ὁ πατήρ, is appended to the term in all three instances of its occurrence. The second Evangelist, indeed, in other cases sometimes introduces the Aram. terms used by our Lord (see 5^{41} $7^{11.34}$); but in those cases the added Gr. translation is preceded by an explanatory phrase distinctly marking it as such. Moreover, the Apostle Paul makes the same addition of ὁ πατήρ in both instances. Had the term ‘Abba,’ then, become a quasi proper name? Indications are not wanting that it had already taken on a degree of conventional sacredness; servants were forbidden to use it in addressing the head of the house (Berachoth 16*b*, cited by Delitzsch on Rom. *l.c.*). It seems to have been the favourite appellation of God employed by Jesus in prayer (cf. Mt $11^{25.26}$ $26^{39.42}$, Lk 10^{21} 22^{42} 23^{34}, Jn 11^{41} $12^{27.28}$ $17^{1.11.24.25}$). This would greatly promote its use in Christian circles; and though the second word was probably added primarily by Gr.-speaking Jews in explanation of the first, usage doubtless soon gave the phrase the force of an intensified repetition and the currency of a devotional formula. Merely impassioned repetition, indeed, ordinarily adheres to the same term (as κύριε, κύριε, Mt 7^{22}; ἠλεί, ἠλεί, 27^{46}); such expressions, therefore, as ναί, ἀμήν, Rev 1^7 (cf. 2 Co 1^{20}); ‘Amen, So be it’; ‘Hallelujah, Praise the Lord,’ are closer analogues. Rabbinical examples are not wanting of similar combinations; see Schoettgen, *Horæ Hebr.* on Mark, *l.c.* J. H. THAYER.

ABDA (עַבְדָּא), ‘servant, *sc.* of the Lord’; cf. names Obadiah, Abdeel, Ebed.—1. Ἐφρά B, Ἀβαώ A, Ἐδράμ Luc. Father of Adoniram, master of Solomon's forced levy (1 K 4^6). 2. Ἀβδάς ℵ, Ἀβδιάς Luc. A Levite descended from Jeduthun (Neh 11^{17}). Called Obadiah (1 Ch 9^{16}).

C. F. BURNEY.

ABDEEL (עַבְדְּאֵל), father of Shelemiah (Jer 36^{26}), one of those ordered by King Jehoiakim to arrest Jeremiah and Baruch. Sept. omits.

ABDI (עַבְדִּי, perhaps for עַבְדִּיָּה 'servant of Yah,' cf. Palmyr. עבדי).—**1.** Grandfather of the musician Ethan, 1 Ch 6^{44}. **2.** Father of Kish, 2 Ch 29^{12}. **3.** A Jew who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10^{26} = Aedias, 1 Es 9^{27}. H. A. WHITE.

ABDIAS (2 Es 1^{39}).—Obadiah the prophet.

ABDIEL (עַבְדִּיאֵל 'servant of God').—Son of Guni (1 Ch 5^{15}). See GENEALOGY.

ABDON (עַבְדּוֹן 'servile').—**1.** Son of Hillel, of Pirathon in Ephraim, the last of the minor judges, Jg 12^{13-15}. **2.** A family of the tribe of Benjamin dwelling in Jerus., 1 Ch 8^{23}. **3.** A Gibeonite family dwelling in Jerus., 1 Ch 8^{30} 9^{36}. **4.** A courtier of Josiah, 2 Ch 34^{20}; in 2 K 22^{12} his name is Achbor. G. A. COOKE.

ABDON (עַבְדּוֹן).—A Levitical city of Asher (Jos 21^{30}, 1 Ch 6^{74}), now (v. d. Velde) *'Abdeh* E. of Achzib on the hills (*SWP*, vol. i. sheet iii.). C. R. CONDER.

ABEDNEGO (עֲבֵד נְגוֹ; נְגוֹ = perh. נְבוֹ 'servant of Nebo'; so Hitzig, Grätz, Schrader).—See SHADRACH.

ABEL (הֶבֶל, Ἄβελ).—The second son (twin?) of Adam and Eve, by occupation a herdsman (Gn 4^{2}), offered to God a more excellent sacrifice than Cain (He 11^{4}), and out of jealousy was slain by his elder brother (Gn 4^{8}. See CAIN). The current etymology (הֶבֶל breath, vanity) has been disputed by the Assyriologists, who connect the name with ablu, abal, 'son' (cf. Asurbanipal); but while this may well be the root, it does not follow that it gives the etymology in the mind of the writer. There would have been no point in naming the younger brother 'son' (Franz Delitzsch), and it is better to suppose that the proper name was here designed to suggest the idea of the short-lived or possibly the shepherd (cf. יָבָל). The representation of A. as a shepherd coincides with the OT tradition of the superiority of the pastoral life. The ground of the acceptance of A.'s offering (Gn 4^{4}) is not its conformity to a revealed command, nor its character of blood, but the spirit of true piety which was expressed in his giving to God his best, viz. the firstlings of the flock, and of these the fattest portions. Cain's knowledge of God's acceptance of A.'s offering implies a visible sign, probably the kindling of the sacrifice by fire from heaven (cf. 1 K 18^{38}). In NT Abel appears as the first martyr (Mt 23^{35}), and as a hero of faith (He 11^{4}), while his death is contrasted with that of Christ as calling, not for forgiveness, but for vengeance (cf. Westcott on He 12^{24}). The character and the fate of A. reflect the Jewish consciousness of the enduring division of mankind into the two classes of the people and the enemies of God, and of the persecutions endured by His chosen people at the hands of their enemies (cf. 1 Jn 3^{12}).

LITERATURE.—Schrader, *COT*; Dillmann, *Genesis*; Delitzsch, *Genesis*; and Literature of SACRIFICE.

W. P. PATERSON.

ABEL (אָבֵל), 'meadow.'—The name of various places in Pal. and Syria, situated by cultivable lands. In one passage (1 S 6^{18}) Abel stands apparently for Eben (אֶבֶן), 'stone' (see RV, AVm, LXX, and Tar.), applying to a 'great stone' at Bethshemesh of Judah.

1. Abel-beth-maacah (AV **maachah**) (אָבֵל בֵּית־מַעֲכָה), 'Abel of the House of Maachah' in Upper Galilee (2 S $20^{14.15.18}$), now *'Abil Kamh*, 'Abel of wheat,' on the plateau of the mountains a little W. of Tell el-Kadi (Dan). It was taken by the Syrians in the 10th cent. B.C. (1 K 15^{20}, 2 Ch 16^{4}), and by the Assyrians about B.C. 732 (2 K 15^{29}) (*SWP*, vol. i. sheet ii.).

2. Abel-cheramim (אָבֵל כְּרָמִים), 'meadow of vineyards' (Jg 11^{33}), on the Moab plateau near Minnith.

3. Abel-maim (אָבֵל מַיִם), 'meadow of waters' (2 Ch 16^{4}), the same as No. 1. The mountains in this region are well watered, and the site noted for corn, as its modern name shows.

4. Abel-meholah (אָבֵל מְחוֹלָה), 'meadow of the dance,' or of the 'circle' (Jg 7^{22}, 1 K 4^{12} 19^{16}), in the Jordan Valley near Bethshean. In the *Onomasticon* (*s.v.* Abel Maula) it is placed 10 Rom. miles from Scythopolis (Bethshean), which points to the present *'Ain Helweh*, or 'sweet spring,' near which is a ruined mound. See *SWP*, vol. ii. sh. ix.

5. Abel-mizraim (אָבֵל מִצְרַיִם), 'meadow of Egyptians' (Gn 50^{11}), or (with different points אֵבֶל for אָבֵל) 'mourning of Egyptians.' There is a play on the word in this passage. It was between Egypt and Hebron, yet is described as 'beyond Jordan.' It is difficult to suppose that such a route would be taken to Hebron, nor was the region beyond Jordan in Canaan. The site is unknown (see ATAD). [See Delitzsch and Dillm. *in loc.*; Driver, *Deut.* p. xlii f., and Taylor in *Expos. Times* (1896), vii. 407.]

6. Abel-shittim (אָבֵל הַשִּׁטִּים), 'meadow of acacias' (Nu 33^{49}), in other passages Shittim only (which see). The place is described as in the plains of Moab. The Jordan plain E. of the river, opposite Jericho, is the site now called *Ghôr el Seisebân*, or 'valley of acacias.' The plain is well watered, and still dotted with acacias. (See *SEP*, vol. i.)

C. R. CONDER.

ABHORRING.—In Is 66^{24} 'abhorring' means a thing that is abhorred, an abhorrence: 'They shall be an a. unto all flesh.' The same Heb. word (דֵּרָאוֹן) is tr. 'contempt' in Dn 12^{2} 'Some to shame and everlasting contempt' (RVm 'abhorrence'). J. HASTINGS.

ABI (אֲבִי, probably = '(my) father'*; LXX Ἀβού) is the name of a queen-mother of the 8th cent. (2 K 18^{2}) who is called Abijah in the parallel passage 2 Ch 29^{1}. The reading in Kings is the most probable. Abi was daughter of Zechariah (? cf. Is 8^{2}), wife of Ahaz, and mother of Hezekiah. G. B. GRAY.

ABIA, ABIAH.—See ABIJAH.

ABI-ALBON (אֲבִי־עַלְבוֹן, A Ἀειελβων).—A member of 'the Thirty,' or third division of David's heroes (2 S 23^{31}). In the parallel passage (1 Ch 11^{32}) we find 'Abiel' (אֲבִיאֵל); this is undoubtedly right, and is supported by B ([Γαδ]αβιηλ) and Luc. ([Γαλσ]αβιης). Klostermann has further conjectured that the final syllable 'bon' (בון) of Abi-albon is a corruption of 'Beth' (בית), and belongs to the following word (הערבתי). Wellhausen and Budde restore Abi-baal (אֲבִי־בַעַל). See ARBATHITE.

J. F. STENNING.

ABIASAPH (אֲבִיאָסָף *'Abhi-'asaph* = 'father has gathered'), Ex 6^{24} = **EBIASAPH** (אֶבְיָסָף *'Ebh-yasaph* = 'father has increased'), 1 Ch $6^{23.37}$ 9^{19}; cf. further 1 Ch 26^{1}, where Asaph occurs by error for one of the two preceding forms; see Bertheau, *i.l.*

The evidence for the alternative forms may be thus summarised:—

For Abiasaph—Heb. text and Targ. at Ex 6^{24}; and possibly Vulg. (*Abiasaph*) in all places, and LXX (Ἀβιασαφ or Ἀβιασάρ) in all places except cod. B in 1 Ch 6^{23}; but Vulg. and LXX are really ambiguous.

For Ebyasaph—Sam. at Ex 6^{24}; Heb. text in all passages in Chronicles. Against the middle א of Abiasaph, and therefore in favour of Ebyasaph, are the Syr. (ܐܒܝܣܦ), Ea

---

* On the meanings of this name and the following names beginning with Abi, see further art. NAMES, PROPER.

6^{24}, 1 Ch 6^{23}; ܐܒܝܣܦ, 1 Ch 6^{37} 9^{19}) and LXX, B (Ἀβιαθάρ = אביתר) in 1 Ch 6^{23}.

The evidence thus preponderates in favour of Ebiasaph.

Ebiasaph is the name of a division of the Korahite Levites, and is mentioned only in the genealogies of P and the Chronicler. According to 1 Ch 9^{19} 26^{1} (in the latter passage read Ebiasaph for Asaph; see above), a section of the division acted as doorkeepers. On the difficulties which arise when Ebiasaph in the genealogies is (erroneously) regarded as an individual, see the article in Smith's *DB*. G. B. GRAY.

ABIATHAR (אֶבְיָתָר 'father of plenty,' for אֲבִיָּתָר, or 'The Great one is father' [Bähr]).—A landholder (1 K 2^{26}) of Anathoth in Benjamin, a priestly city (Jos 21^{18}), whence also sprung the priest-prophet Jeremiah. He was son of the high priest Ahijah or Ahimelech, and is first mentioned in 1 S 22^{20}, where it is implied that he alone escaped from the massacre of the priests at Nob. According to the Heb. text of 1 S 23^{6}, he joined David at Keilah, in which case 22^{20} would be proleptic, and $23^{2.4}$ might be explained by supposing that David could inquire of the Lord by a prophet (1 S 28^{6}), *e.g.* Gad (22^{5}); but according to the LXX 'he went down with David into Keilah,' apparently from the forest of Hareth; and this seems to harmonise better with the story. David felt a special appeal to his affections in the young priest's position: 'I have occasioned the death of all the persons of thy father's house. Abide thou with me, fear not; for he that seeketh my life seeketh thy life.' The friendship thus cemented by a common danger was remembered long afterwards by Solomon when commuting A.'s death sentence into degradation: 'thou hast been afflicted in all wherein my father was afflicted.'

The adhesion of A. was of signal service to David, inasmuch as he brought with him an ephod, which, whether it were the high priestly ephod containing the Urim and Thummim (so Jerome, *Qu. Heb. in loc.*, and Jos. *Ant.* VI. xiv. 6) or a sacred image, was at all events a recognised method of 'inquiring of the Lord' (1 S 14^{18}, LXX, RVm). In this way A. was able to continue to David (1 S 23^{9} 30^{7}) the services rendered before by his father (1 S 22^{15}). Dean Stanley mentions (*Jewish Ch.* Lect. 36) a Jewish tradition that the power of thus inquiring of the Lord expired with A.; and possibly in virtue of this power he is mentioned as one of David's counsellors (1 Ch 27^{34}).

In David's flight from Absalom we find A. loyal, and only prevented by David's request from sharing his master's exile; and his son Jonathan, with Ahimaaz, used to convey from the priests to the king secret intelligence of Absalom's plans. It is very doubtful if the words of Solomon, 'Thou barest the ark of the Lord God before David my father' (1 K 2^{26}), refer to the attempt made by Zadok and A. to carry the ark with David on his flight (Stanley), or to the commission given by David to Zadok and A. (1 Ch 15^{11-15}) to superintend the carrying of the ark by the Levites from the house of Obededom to Mt. Zion (Lord A. Hervey). On both these occasions A. is not so prominent as Zadok (see esp. 2 S $15^{24.25}$, where Grätz reads, 'A. went up' for 'stood still,' cf. Jos 3^{17}). The reference is much more general, and alludes to the custom of the ark as the symbol of J‴'s presence accompanying the host to battle (see, *e.g.*, Nu 31^{6}, Jos 6^{4}, 1 S 4^{3}, 2 S 11^{11}). The attempt made by Zadok and A. was an instance of this custom, and not a new departure; and David refuses to permit it, not because it was a violation of the sanctity of the ark, but as being himself unworthy to claim the special protection of J″. It may here be noted that a conjecture has been made, that as Zadok ministered at the tabernacle at Gibeon (1 Ch 16^{39}), so A. may have been the custodian of the ark on Mt. Zion. On the defeat of Absalom, Zadok and A. smoothed the way for the king's restoration (2 S 19^{11}). A.'s loyalty did not, however, remain proof to the end; he united with Joab in lending his influence to the abortive insurrection of Adonijah. Both priest and chief captain were possibly actuated by jealousy, the one of Zadok, and the other of Benaiah. But while Joab was executed in accordance with David's dying instructions, A.'s life was spared in consideration of his old loyalty: 'So Solomon thrust out A. from being priest unto the Lord; that he might fulfil the word of the Lord which He spake concerning the house of Eli in Shiloh' (1 K 2^{27}).

With the deposition of A. the *direct* high priestly line of Eleazar came to an end. It is important to emphasize this, since it has been commonly held, on the authority of Chron. and Josephus, that the high priests, from Eli to A. inclusive, were of the line of Ithamar, and that the line of Eleazar was restored in the person of Zadok. Let us examine the evidence on which this statement rests.

The Chronicler mentions as priests in David's time, 'Zadok of the sons of Eleazar, and Ahimelech of the sons of Ithamar' (1 Ch $24^{3.31}$), this Ahimelech being son of A., according to v.^{6}. Now 'Ahimelech, son of A.,' is quite unhistorical. In 2 S 15^{27}, 1 K 1^{42}, Jonathan is son and representative of A.; and, moreover, A. did not lose the office of high priest until the reign of Solomon. The mistake originated in 2 S 8^{17}, where, by a very ancient error, 'Ahimelech, son of A.,' is joint priest with Zadok. The emendation, 'A., son of Ahimelech,' found in the Syr. version, is adopted by Gesenius, Wellhausen, and Driver, and may be regarded as certain. The Chronicler not only copies the mistake (1 Ch 18^{16}), with the obvious blunder 'Abimelech,' but treats this Ahimelech as a real personage. It is noteworthy that Josephus in his paraphrase of 1 Ch 24 (*Ant.* vii. 14. 7) mentions A., not Ahimelech, and yet he accepts (viii. 1. 3, v. 10. 4) the descent of A. from Ithamar, and further distinctly asserts that during the high priesthood of Eli and his successors the descendants of Eleazar were merely private individuals. The Chronicler, on the other hand, ignores Eli and his descendants, and in 1 Ch $6^{3-15.50-53}$ gives what seems intended to be a list of high priests from Aaron to the Captivity in the line of Eleazar. Those who are familiar with the peculiar tendencies of the Chronicler will not think the suggestion unreasonable, that here we have an attempt both to vindicate the unbroken succession of the high priests of his own time, and to evade what he would have considered a stumbling-block in the earlier history. Thus, if A. were the lineal successor of Eleazar, would not his deposition be a breaking on God's part of the promise to Phinehas of an everlasting priesthood? (Nu 25^{13}). Yet the unbiassed reader of 1 S 2^{30} can scarcely fail to see a plain allusion to the promise to Phinehas, and a no less plain assertion that the promise was conditional: 'I said, indeed, that thy house, and the house of thy father, should walk before Me for ever; but now the Lord saith, Be it far from Me,' etc. These words cannot refer to the general promise to Aaron's family in Ex 29^{9}, for God's purpose in that respect was not altered; the Aaronic descent of Zadok being undisputed. It is interesting to observe that the Chronicler does not say that Eli's family had usurped the high priesthood, as Josephus insinuates; and, indeed, such a usurpation could not have been passed over in silence in the earlier history had it ever occurred. The Chronicler, on the other hand, provides an explanation of another stumbling-block — the dual high priesthood of Zadok and A. in David's reign—by the statement with which 1 Ch 24 opens, that 'Eleazar and Ithamar executed the priests' office.' This seems an excellent precedent for a dual priesthood, but labours under two difficulties: first, that it is quite unsupported by the Pent. and Josh., in which Eleazar alone is high priest after Aaron's death; and, secondly, that although Zadok's name always comes first when the two are mentioned together, yet A. was the chief until the reign of Solomon, when Zadok was *promoted* to his place (1 K 2^{35}). It is remarkable, too, that the priests who serve in Ezekiel's ideal temple are always styled 'the sons of Zadok' (40^{46} 43^{19} 44^{15} 48^{11}), as if they could claim no higher antiquity.

A. is mentioned in 1 K 4^{4} as still joint priest with Zadok; but this is probably a mistake, or may refer to the beginning of Solomon's reign, just as, in 2 S 23, Asahel and Uriah are enumerated among David's mighty men. There is a difficulty connected with the mention of A. in Mk 2^{26} RV, where Christ is made to say that David ate the shewbread 'when A. was high priest,' *ἐπὶ Ἀβιάθαρ ἀρχιερέως*, B, ℵ, Vulg. ('sub A. principe sacerdotum'). The words are omitted by D and some Old Latin MSS, while A, C, 1, 33 insert *τοῦ* before *ἀρχιέρεως*, 'in the days of A. the high priest,' *i.e.* in his lifetime, but not necessarily during his high priesthood. N. J. D. WHITE.

ABIB (הָאָבִיב, always with art., *μὴν τῶν νέων*, *mensis novorum* or *novarum frugum*, Ex 13^{4} 23^{15} 34^{18}, Dt 16^{1}). See TIME.

ABIDA (אֲבִידָע 'my father had knowledge').—A son of Midian (Gn 25^{4} AV **Abidah**, 1 Ch 1^{33}).

ABIDAN (אֲבִידָן 'father is judge') is a name that occurs only in P. According to this document, Abidan, son of Gideoni, of the tribe of Benjamin, was one of the twelve 'princes' who represented their respective tribes at the census and on certain other occasions, Nu 1^{11} 2^{22} $7^{60.65}$ 10^{24}.

G. B. GRAY.

ABIDE.—In AV and RV 'abide' is used both transitively and intransitively. **1.** As a trans. verb in two senses: (*a*) to await, be in store for, as Ac 20^{23} 'Bonds and afflictions abide me'; cf. Ps 37^{9} (Pr. Bk.) 'They that patiently abide the Lord.' (*b*) To withstand, endure, as Jer 10^{10} 'The nations shall not be able to abide His indignation'; Mal 3^{2} 'But who may abide the day of His coming?' Cf. 'They cannot abide to hear of altering,' Pref. to AV 1611; 'Nature cannot abide that any place should be empty,' H. Smith (1593), *Serm.* 97. **2.** As an intrans. verb in three senses: (*a*) to continue in the place or in the state in which one now is, as Ac 27^{31} 'Except these abide in the ship'; Jn 12^{24} 'Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground, and die, it abideth alone'; 1 Co 7^{40} 'She is happier if she so abide'; 2 Mac 7^{17} 'abide a while, and behold his great power.' (*b*) To dwell, reside, as Lk 8^{27} 'And wore no clothes, neither abode in any house, but in the tombs'; Ps 61^{4} 'I will abide (RV 'dwell') in Thy tabernacle for ever'; Jn 8^{35} 'And the bond-servant abideth not in the house for ever: the son abideth for ever'; Jn 15^{5} 'He that abideth in Me, and I in him.' (*c*) To last, endure (esp. in the face of trial, cf. 1 (*b*), above), as 1 Co 3^{14} 'If any man's work abide'; Ps 119^{90} 'Thou hast established the earth, and it abideth.' **Abiding**, as an adj., is used by RV, He 10^{34} 'a better possession and an a. one,' and 13^{14} 'an a. city'; as a noun it is found 1 Es 8^{81} 'they have given us a sure a. in Jewry.' J. HASTINGS.

ABIEL (אֲבִיאֵל 'father is God').—**1.** Son of Zeror, of the tribe of Benj., was father of Kish and Ner, and consequently grandfather of Saul and Abner, 1 S 9^{1} 14^{51}. According to 1 Ch $8^{33}=9^{39}$ Ner was father of Kish; in this case Abiel would have been great-grandfather of Saul. But the statement in Ch is an error, very possibly due to transcriptional causes; *vid.* Bertheau on 1 Ch 8^{33}. **2.** The name of one of David's 'thirty men' (2 S 23^{31}) = 1 Ch 11^{32}. The form (**Abi-albon**) under which this man's name now appears in the Heb. text of Samuel is due to textual corruption; Wellhausen (on 2 S 23^{31}) supposes the original form to have been Abibaal; but there seems no sufficient reason to doubt the form (Abiel) preserved in Chron.; cf. Driver on 2 S 23^{31}. G. B. GRAY.

ABIEZER (אֲבִיעֶזֶר 'father is help').—**1.** The name of a clan (מִשְׁפָּחָה Jos 17^{2} (P or R); אֶלֶף Jg 6^{15}) belonging to the tribe of Manasseh (Jg 6^{15}). Consequently, in genealogical descriptions of the tribal relations, Abiezer appears as a son or descendant of Manasseh, Jos 17^{2}, 1 Ch 7^{18}, Nu 26^{30} (P; in this last passage the name is written Iezer, אִיעֶזֶר, LXX *Ἀχιέζερ*). The most distinguished member of the clan was Gideon, who describes it (cf., however, Moore [*Intern. Critical Commentary*] on Jg 6^{15}) as 'the poorest in Manasseh,' Jg 6^{15}, cf. 8^{2}. In the time of Gideon the clan was settled at Ophrah of the Abiezrites (Jg 6^{24}, cf. v.^{11}), which perhaps lay near Shechem. In any case it would be unsafe, from P's statement that Abiezer was a son of Gilead (Nu 26^{30}; cf. 1 Ch 7^{18}, but cf. Jos 17^{2}), to infer that the clan was ever settled on the E. of Jordan; cf. Dillmann on Nu 26^{30}. **2.** Abiezer the Anathothite, *i.e.* man of Anathoth in Benjamin (1 Ch 27^{12}; cf. Jer 1^{1}), was one of David's heroes, 2 S $23^{27}=1$ Ch 11^{28}. According to 1 Ch 27^{12} he was the acting military officer of David's army in the 9th month. **Abiezrite** is the gentilic form. G. B. GRAY.

ABIGAIL and (2 S 17^{25} RV) **Abigal** (Heb. generally אֲבִיגַיִל, 3 times אֲבִיגַל, once each אֲבוּגַיִל, אֲבִגַיִל 'father is joy,' or, perhaps, if the ׳ be not original, 'has rejoiced.'—**1.** The discreet and beautiful wife of Nabal the Carmelite. Hearing of her husband's dismissal of David's messengers, and refusal of their request, unknown to her husband she went to meet David with provisions for him and his men, and in this way so gained David's favour that he abandoned his intended raid on Nabal. Some ten days after, Nabal died, and subsequently Abigail became David's wife: this was after David's former wife, Michal, had been given to Palti, but apparently at about the same time that he also married Ahinoam the Jezreelitess. Together with Ahinoam, Abigail shared David's life at Gath, suffered captivity (from Ziklag) by the Amalekites, and was speedily rescued; later she lived with David at Hebron, and there bore a son,—Chileab (2 S 3^{2}) or Daniel (1 Ch 3^{1}) by name,—1 S 25; also 27^{3} $30^{5.18}$ 2 S 2^{2} 3^{3}, 1 Ch 3^{1}.

2. A sister of Zeruiah—and according to 1 Ch 2^{16} also of David—who through her union with Ithra the Ishmaelite (see art. ITHRA) became mother of Amasa. The words in 2 S 17^{25} (בת נחש), which assert that she was a daughter of Nahash, are probably an intrusion from v.^{27} (בן נחש = the son of Nahash); cf. Wellhausen, *i.l.* G. B. GRAY.

ABIHAIL (Heb. אֲבִיחַיִל 'father is might').—According to the Massora the name is read אביהיל (with ה, not ח) in 1 Ch 2^{29} 2 Ch 11^{18}; but this is probably the result of a pre-Massoretic transcriptional error. **1.** Mentioned only in Nu 3^{35} (P) in the phrase 'Zuriel, son of Abihail' (see Zuriel). **2.** 'Wife' of Abishur, 1 Ch 2^{29}. **3.** Daughter of Eliab, son of Jesse, and consequently a niece of David's. The only passage (2 Ch 11^{18}) where she is mentioned is slightly corrupt; but, according to the most probable emendation, Abihail was the mother of Rehoboam's wife Mahalath. According to another interpretation, Abihail was wife of Rehoboam; but this is not the natural sense of the Heb. text, and is out of harmony with the context; vv.$^{19.\,20}$ imply that only *one* wife has been mentioned. **4.** In this case the name occurs only in 1 Ch 5^{14} in a Gadite genealogy; this Abihail was apparently a clan resident in Gilead. **5.** Father of Esther, and uncle of Mordecai (Est 2^{15} 9^{29}). For the curious variant of LXX, which gives the regular LXX equivalent of Abinadab, it is difficult to account.

G. B. Gray.

ABIHU (אֲבִיהוּא 'he is father'), second son of Aaron by Elisheba (Ex 6^{23}, Nu 3^{2} 26^{60}, 1 Ch 6^{3} 24^{1}): accompanied Moses to the top of Sinai (Ex $24^{1.\,9}$): admitted to the priest's office (Ex 28^{1}): slain for offering strange fire (Lv $10^{1.\,2}$, Nu 3^{4} 26^{61}, 1 Ch 24^{2}).

W. C. Allen.

ABIHUD (אֲבִיהוּד 'my father is majesty').—A Benjamite, son of Bela (1 Ch 8^{3}). See Genealogy.

ABIJAH (אֲבִיָּה 'Jah is my father').—**1.** King of Judah (אֲבִיָּהוּ, 2 Ch $13^{20.\,21}$). He is called **Abijam** (Vulg. Abiam), 1 K 14^{31} $15^{1.\,7.\,8.}$ Nestle explains this as equivalent to אביעם 'father of the people'; but since Abijah is read by thirteen of Kennicott's and de Rossi's MSS, supported by the LXX 'Αβιού, Abijam is probably a mistake. As being the eldest son of Maacah, the favourite wife of Rehoboam, his father appointed him 'to be chief, even the prince among his brethren; for he was minded to make him king' (2 Ch 11^{22}). His mother's name is variously given as Maacah the daughter of Abishalom (1 K 15^{2}) (Absalom, 2 Ch $11^{20.\,21}$), or Micaiah the daughter of Uriel of Gibeah (2 Ch 13^{2}). See Maacah. He reigned about two years, from the eighteenth to the twentieth year of Jeroboam. There is probably no reign the accounts of which in Kings and Chronicles are so discrepant as that of Abijah. In Kings there is nothing related of him except that 'he walked in all the sins of his father,' and that 'there was war between Abijam and Jeroboam'; and, in the history of Asa, an incidental allusion to 'things that Abijah had dedicated' for the temple. In fact, as in the case of Jehoram (2 K 8^{19}), he was spared by God merely on account of the divine promise to David. But in Chronicles not only is there much additional historical matter, but Abijah seems to be a great and good man, and he is made the utterer of a sort of manifesto of the theocratic principles of Judah. The desultory warfare implied in Kings becomes in Chronicles one decisive pitched battle fought in the territory of Ephraim, in which Abijah's army of 400,000 slay 500,000 out of the 800,000 marshalled by Jeroboam. The battle is preceded by an oration spoken on Mt. Zemaraim by Abijah. After strongly affirming the divine right of the Davidic line, he dwells on the previous impiety of Jeroboam's rebellion against Rehoboam when the latter 'was young and tender-hearted, and could not withstand them; and now ye think to withstand the kingdom of the Lord in the hands of the sons of David.' The gods and priests of Judah and Israel are sharply contrasted: 'Whosoever cometh to consecrate himself with a young bullock and seven rams, the same may be a priest of them that are no gods.' The ceremonial of the daily worship at Jerusalem is minutely described, and the loyalty of Judah to J" is twice affirmed. The battle which follows reads like an echo of the heroic age of Israel. 'Jeroboam caused an ambushment to come about behind them. . . . the priests sounded with the trumpets (cf. Nu 10^{9} 31^{6}, Jos 6^{16}), then the men of Judah gave a shout (cf. Jos 6^{20}); and as the men of Judah shouted, it came to pass that God smote Jeroboam and all Israel.' Three cities of Israel were taken: Bethel, Jeshanah, and Ephron. The last two are otherwise unknown, unless Ephron or Ephrain (RVm) be the same as Ephraim (2 S 13^{23}, Jn 11^{54}). Bethel must soon have been recovered by Baasha (2 Ch 16^{1}). After this we are told that Abijah 'waxed mighty, and took unto himself fourteen wives.' Presumably most of his thirty-eight children were born before he came to the throne. The Chronicler mentions as his authority for this reign the commentary (Midrash) of the prophet Iddo, who was also one of the biographers of Rehoboam.

2. Samuel's second son, who with his brother Joel judged at Beersheba (1 S 8^{2}). Their corrupt administration of justice was one of the reasons alleged by the elders of Israel in justification of their demand for a king. The RV retains the spelling Abiah in 1 Ch 6^{28}.

3. A son of Jeroboam I. who died in childhood. His mother having gone disguised to the prophet Ahijah to inquire if he should recover, received the heavy tidings of the future annihilation of the house of Jeroboam, and of the immediate death of her child, 'taken away from the evil to come': 'And all Israel shall mourn for him, and bury him; for he only of Jeroboam shall come to the grave, because in him there is found some good thing toward the Lord the God of Israel in the house of Jeroboam' (1 K 14^{13}).

4. 1 Ch 24^{10}. One of the 'heads of fathers' houses' of the sons of Eleazar, who gave his name to the 8th of the 24 courses of priests, the arrangement of whom is ascribed to David (1 Ch 24^{3}, 2 Ch 8^{14}). To this course Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist, belonged (Lk 1^{5}). It is probable that this clan, and not an individual, is indicated in the lists of priests who 'went up with Zerubbabel' (Neh 12^{4}). LXX omits this and other names in Neh 12 (they are supplied by $\aleph^{c.a.}$), and in the list of priests who 'sealed unto the covenant' in the time of Nehemiah (10^{7}) ('Αβειά, B, ℵ). Of the 21 names in Neh 10, 13 occur in nearly the same order in a list of 22 in ch. 12, while three others are very similar; and of the names in these two lists 9 are found in the names of David's courses. On the other hand, 'the book of the genealogy of them that came up at the first' (Neh 7, Ezr 2) mentions only four families of priests, nor do there seem to have been more in the time of Ezr (10^{18-22}).

5. A son of Becher, son of Benjamin, 1 Ch 7^{8}.

6. RV retains 'Abiah,' 1 Ch 2^{24}. Wife of Hezron, eldest son of Perez, son of Judah. She was probably daughter of Machir (2^{21}).

7. Wife of Ahaz, and mother of Hezekiah (2 Ch 29^{1}), named Abi, 2 K 18^{2}. Her father Zechariah is possibly mentioned in Is 8^{2}.

N. J. D. White.

ABIJAM.—See Abijah.

ABILENE ('Αβιληνή), Lk 3^{1}.—A tetrarchy about A.D. 26 in Syria (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. vi. 10, XIX. v. 1, XX. vii. 1; *Wars*, II. xi. 5), the cap. being at **Abila** on the N. slope of Hermon. The ruins of Abila surround a small village on the right bank of the river at *Sûk Wâdy Barada*, 'the market of the valley of the Abana River.' The name has given rise to a local tradition (based on the Koran) that Cain here buried Abel, whose tomb is shown at a large tank cut in the rock on the top of a cliff to the south. It is also preserved in the Latin text of Lucius Verus, on the N. side of the rock-cut passage of the Rom. road W. of the town. The region of Abilene is also noticed in a Gr. text found in 1873 at Burkush on Hermon, showing that the district included the Antilebanon and Hermon, N.W. of Damascus. There is a cemetery at Abila of Rom. rock-cut tombs on the left of the stream, which here forms a cascade. They are adorned with bas-relief busts, and there are several tombstones with Gr. texts, giving the names of Lucius, Archelaus, Phedistus, Antonia, and Philander. N. of the river and E. of the town are foundations of a small Rom. temple.

LITERATURE.—Reland, *Palästina*, p. 527 ff.; Robinson, *Later BR*, pp. 479-484; Porter, *Giant Cities of Bashan*, p. 352 f.; Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 335-339; Conder, *Tent-Work in Pal.* p. 127; Furrer, *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, viii. 40; *SWP Special Papers*; Waddington, *Inscrip. Grec. et Lat. de la Syrie*, *s.v.* 'Abila.'

C. R. CONDER.

ABILITY.—Both in OT and NT ability occurs in two senses, which must be distinguished. 1. It signifies *material* capacity, resources, wealth, as Ezr 2^{69} 'They gave after their a. (Heb. 'acc. as his hand may reach') into the treasury'; Lv 27^{8} 'According to the a. of him that vowed shall the priest value him.' Cf. LXX of Lv $25^{26.\,49}$ with Ac 11^{29} below; and

> 'Out of my lean and low ability
> I'll lend you something.'
> —Shakespeare, *T. N.* iii. 4.

This is the meaning also of Ac 11^{29} 'Then the disciples, every man according to his a., determined to send relief unto the brethren,' though the original is a verb, *καθὼς εὐπορεῖτό τις*, meaning 'acc. as each prospered.' 2. It signifies *personal* capacity, strength of body or of mind. Thus Dn 1^{4} 'Such as had a. (כֹּחַ) in them to stand in the king's palace'; Mt 25^{15} 'He gave talents . . . to every man according to his several a. (*δύναμις*).' So Wis 13^{19}, Sir 3^{13} AVm. In modern Eng. a. is almost confined to mental capacity, though one hears it locally used of physical strength. In the sense of wealth the latest example found is in Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield*.

J. HASTINGS.

ABIMAEL (אֲבִימָאֵל, perhaps = 'father is God,' but the force of the מ is uncertain) was one of the Joktanids or (S.) Arabians (see art. JOKTAN), Gn 10^{28} (J), 1 Ch 1^{22}. Nothing further is known of this tribe, but it is markworthy that another name of the same peculiar formation, viz. אבמעתר, has been found on the S. Arabian inscriptions; see D. H. Müller in *ZDMG* 1883, p. 18.

G. B. GRAY.

ABIMELECH (אֲבִימֶלֶךְ 'Melech [Malki or Molech] is father').—1. A king of Gerar mentioned in connexion with the history of Abraham, Gn 20^{1-17} 21^{22-32} (both E), and of Isaac, Gn $26^{7-11.\,26-33}$ (both J). With all their points of difference, it appears impossible to resist the conclusion that we have in J and E two variants of the same story. In both the patriarch resorts to the same method of defence to protect himself from the same danger (20^{2} 26^{7}); in both A. is righteously indignant at the deceit practised upon him ($20^{9\text{ff.}}$ 26^{10}); in both a treaty is entered into with A. ($21^{23\text{f.}}$ $26^{28\text{f.}}$); in both Phicol (21^{22} 26^{26}) and Beersheba (21^{32} 26^{33}) are mentioned. In all probability J has preserved the earlier form of the tradition, acc. to which Isaac, and not Abraham, was the patriarch concerned. The parallel story in Gn 12^{10-20} (where Pharaoh of Egypt takes the place of A. of Gerar) is also from a Jahwistic source, but scarcely from the same pen as 26^{7-11}. If the title J^{1} be adopted for the latter, we may designate the other J^{2}, whether we accept or not of Kuenen's theory that he edited a *Judæan* recension of J.

LITERATURE.—Comm. of Dillm. and Del. on *Gen. ll. cit.*; Cornill, *Einleit.*^{2} 54 f.; Wildeboer, *Lit. d. A.T.* 78, 138; Kautzsch u. Socin, *Genesis*; W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} 416; Kuenen, *Hexateuch*, 234, 252.

2. A king of Gath acc. to title of Ps 34^{1}. Here A. is possibly a mistake for Achish (cf. 1 S $21^{11\text{ff.}}$), a better known Phil. name being substituted for a less familiar one, or it *may* be that Abimelech is less a personal name than a title of Phil. kings like Egyp. Pharaoh (see *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*).

3. This A. is generally reckoned one of the judges (so in Jg 10^{1}, but probably not by editor of 9 nor in 1 S 12^{11}). Acc. to Jg 8^{31} (R) he was a son of Gideon by a Shechemite concubine. Upon his father's death he gained over 'his mother's brethren' in Shechem, and with the aid of a hired troop of 'vain and light fellows' murdered all his 70 brothers except the youngest, Jotham, who contrived to escape. A. then ascended the throne and assumed the kingly title (9^{1-6}). Jotham, leaving his place of concealment, spoke at Mt. Gerizim his well-known parable (vv.$^{7-21}$), which was calculated to sow dissension amongst the Shechemites, who were partly of Can. and partly of Isr. blood. After three years both sections were weary of the rule of A., who seems to have taken up his residence elsewhere (vv.$^{22-25}$). Gaal, the leader of the Israelite faction (see, however, Moore on Jg 9^{28}), made such headway in Shechem that Zebul, the governor, an adherent of A., was obliged to feign compliance with his designs. All the while, however, he was keeping A. secretly informed of the revolutionary movement, and suggesting methods of checking it (vv.$^{26-33}$). At length A. advanced to attack the city, and Gaal was completely routed, and after his defeat expelled by Zebul (vv.$^{34-41}$). In a second day's fight A. captured Shechem and put to the sword all the inhabitants that fell into his hands. A number having taken refuge in the temple of El-berith, he burned the building over their heads (vv.$^{42-49}$). Sometime afterwards A. met his death while besieging Thebez. Being struck down by a millstone which a woman flung from the wall, he ordered his armour-bearer to kill him in order to escape the disgrace of perishing by the hand of a woman (vv.$^{50-57}$).

The above is a reasonable and in general self-consistent narrative, but there are not a few points of detail where the course of events is involved in considerable obscurity. Zebul upon any theory plays a double part, but it is not quite certain whether there was to the last a complete understanding between him and A. Kittel thinks there was, and supposes that Z. was put to death by the Shechemites after they discovered his treachery. Wellhausen, on the contrary, believes that he perished along with the Shechemites, A. having come to regard him as the real instigator of the revolt, and refusing to be propitiated by the offering of Gaal as a scape-goat. It is further doubtful whether A. himself acted in the interests of the Can. or of the Isr., but at all events Wellhausen rightly remarks that 'the one permanent fruit of his activity was that Shechem was destroyed as a Can. city and rebuilt for Israel' (cf. 1 K $12^{1.\,25}$).

The story of A. in Jg 9 is the natural sequel of the version of Gideon's hist. contained in 8^{4-27} (note also how the sentiments of Jotham's parable agree with $8^{22.\,23}$, unless, indeed, these latter two verses are an 8th cent. interpolation). The narrative is one of the oldest in OT, belonging to the same type as the narratives concerning the minor judges. It is free from Deuter. touches and turns of expression, and may in its present form date from the earliest years of the monarchy. Its purpose is to show how the murder of Gideon's sons was avenged on A. and the Shechemites, who were practically his accomplices (9^{57}, cf. vv.$^{7.\,16-24}$). Budde attributes the preservation of the story to E, who, however, himself composed the Jotham parable. Moore considers that it is possible to disentangle two narratives, (A) vv.$^{22-25. 42-45. 56f.}$, cognate with which are vv.$^{1-21}$, (B) vv.$^{26-41}$. The first of these he would assign to E, the second to J. This scheme has the advantage of removing a good many difficulties presented by the chapter in its present form.

LITERATURE.—Cornill, *Einleit.*^{2} 56; Wildeboer, *Lit. d. A.T.* 33, 82, 232; Driver, *LOT* 157; Wellhausen, *Comp. d. Hex.* 227 ff., 353 ff.; Budde, *Richt. u. Sam.* 117 ff.; Kittel, *Hist. of Heb.* ii. 13 n., 18 n., 82 n., 85 ff.; Moore, *Judges*, 237 ff.

4. A priest, the son of Abiathar, acc. to 1 Ch 18^{16}, where, however, the reading of MT. 'A*b*imelech the son of Abiathar,' is obviously a mistake for 'Abiathar the son of A*h*imelech' (cf. 2 S 8^{17} and notes on it by Budde in Haupt's *Sacred Bks. of OT*, and by Kittel in Kautzsch's *A.T.*). See ABIATHAR.

J. A. SELBIE.

ABINADAB (אֲבִינָדָב 'father is generous'; LXX always Ἀμειναδάβ (A Ἀμιναδάβ), except at 1 S 31^{2}, where B (but not A) reads Ἰωναδάβ).—**1.** Owner of the house whither the ark was brought by the men of Kirjath-jearim after the catastrophe at Beth-Shemesh (1 S 7^{1}), whence it was subsequently removed by David, 2 S $6^{3f.}$, 1 Ch 13^{7}. During its stay here it was kept by Eleazar, son of Abinadab. **2.** The second son of Jesse, specially mentioned in the narrative of 1 S 16 as not being the elect of J" for the kingdom. He accompanied his brothers Eliab and Shammah to join Saul's army against the Philistines—1 S 16^{8} 17^{13}, 1 Ch 2^{13}. **3.** A son of Saul slain in the battle of Mt. Gilboa, 1 S 31^{2}=1 Ch 10^{2}. Otherwise mentioned only in the genealogies of Chronicles, 1 Ch 8^{33} 9^{39}. But cf. art. ISHVI. **4.** On Abinadab in 1 K 4^{11} (AV, not RV), see BEN-ABINADAB.

G. B. GRAY.

ABINOAM (אֲבִינֹעַם 'father is pleasantness'), the father of Barak, is mentioned both in the song (Jg 5^{12}) and the prose narrative (Jg $4^{6. 12}$) of the campaign of Barak and Deborah against the Canaanites. G. B. GRAY.

ABIRAM (אֲבִירָם 'my father is the Exalted One').—**1.** The son of Eliab, a Reubenite, who with Dathan (which see) conspired against Moses (Nu $16^{1\ \text{etc.}}$, Dt 11^{6}, Ps 106^{17}). **2.** The firstborn son of Hiel the Bethelite, on whom the curse fell for rebuilding Jericho (1 K 16^{34}).

G. HARFORD-BATTERSBY.

ABISHAG (אֲבִישַׁג, meaning uncertain; possibly 'father has wandered').—A very beautiful young Shunammitess who was brought to comfort David in his extreme old age, according to the advice of his servants, 1 K $1^{2ff. 15}$. After David's death, Abishag, as his father's widow, was asked in marriage by Adonijah; the request was refused by Solomon, who appears to have seen in it a renewal of Adonijah's claim to the throne, 1 K 2^{12-24}; cf. W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage*, p. 89 f. G. B. GRAY.

ABISHAI (אֲבִישַׁי, but אַבְשַׁי 2 S 10^{10}, 1 Ch 2^{16} 11^{20} 18^{12} $19^{11. 15}$ 'My father is Jesse').—A. appears from 1 Ch 2^{16} to have been the eldest son of Zeruiah, David's sister. More impetuous than the crafty Joab, but equally implacable, 'hard' (2 S 3^{39} 19^{22}), the first mention of Abishai (1 S 26^{6}) presents him to us as already one of the most daring and devoted of David's followers. He volunteers to go down with David to Saul's camp by night, and is only prevented by David's veneration for the king's sacred office from smiting Saul 'to the earth at one stroke.' We next find him (2 S $2^{18. 24}$) with his two brothers at that battle of Gibeon which had such fatal results, first to Asahel, and ultimately to Abner, in whose treacherous murder by Joab, Abishai shared as joint avenger of blood (2 S $3^{30. 39}$). The victory in the Valley of Salt over Edom (cf. 2 K 14^{7}), which is ascribed to David in 2 S 8^{13} (Syrians), and to Joab in Ps 60 title (1 K $11^{15. 16}$), is attributed to Abishai in 1 Ch 18^{12}. In the war that was caused by Hanun's insult to David's envoys, Joab gave Abishai command of the second division against the Ammonites, while he himself opposed the Syrians (2 S $10^{10. 14}$). Abishai's character is well brought out in the story of David's flight, when he retorts the abuse of Shimei in true Oriental style, and is impatient to slay the offender at once (2 S 16^{9-11}). Nor could Shimei's subsequent abject submission induce Abishai to forgive the man that had 'cursed the Lord's anointed' (19^{21}). In the battle with Absalom, Abishai shared the command of David's army with Joab and Ittai ($18^{2. 5. 12}$). In 2 S 20^{6} the name Joab should probably be substituted for that of Abishai (so Jos. *Ant.* VII. xi. 6, the Syr. vers., Wellhausen, Thenius, and Driver), and v.^{7} read as in the LXX: 'And there went out after him Abishai and Joab's men,' etc. It is natural to suppose that Abishai connived at the murder of Amasa by Joab, 2 S 20^{10} (so Josephus). His special exploits were, rescuing David from Ishbi-benob, 2 S 21^{17}, and slaying three hundred men, 23^{18}. These feats earned for him the first place 'of the three in the second rank' (1 Ch 11^{21}, RVm), the other two being probably Joab and Benaiah; the first three being Jashobeam, Eleazar, and Shammah.

Abishai probably died before the rebellion of Adonijah. If he had been alive, he must have been mentioned among the leaders of either side.

N. J. D. WHITE.

ABISHALOM.—See art. ABSALOM.

ABISHUA (אֲבִישׁוּעַ, meaning uncertain; perhaps 'father is wealth.'—**1.** According to the genealogies of Chron., where alone the name occurs, son of Phinehas and father of Bukki, 1 Ch $6^{4f. 50}$, Ezr 7^{5}; cf. 1 Es 8^{2} and art. ABISUE. **2.** A Benjamite; presumably the name was that of a clan, since other names in the context are certainly clan names, 1 Ch 8^{4}; cf. Nu $26^{38ff.}$. G. B. GRAY.

ABISHUR (אֲבִישׁוּר 'father is a wall').—A Jerahmeelite described as 'son' of Shammai; Abihail was his wife, and Ahban and Molid his children (1 Ch $2^{28f.}$).

ABISSEI (AV **Abisei**).—One of the ancestors of Ezra (2 Es 1^{2}), called in 1 Ch 6^{4} ABISHUA, and in 1 Es 8^{2} ABISUE.

ABISUE (LXX, B Ἀβεισαί, A Ἀβισουαί) 1 Es 8^{2}, AV **Abisum**, is identical with Abishua.

ABITAL (אֲבִיטַל 'father is dew'), wife of David, to whom, during his residence in Hebron, she bore Shephatiah, 2 S 3^{4}=1 Ch 3^{3}.

ABITUB (אֲבִיטוּב), 1 Ch 8^{11}, and **ABIUD** (Ἀβιούδ), Mt 1^{13}. See GENEALOGY.

ABJECT, now only an adj., was formerly also a subst. and a verb. As a subst., meaning the dregs of the people, abject is found in Ps 35^{15} 'The abjects (נֵכִים, RVm 'smiters') gathered themselves together against me.' Cf. T. Bentley (1582), 'O Almightie God: which raisest up the abjects, and exaltest the miserable from the dunghill,' *Monu. Matr.* iii. 328; G. Herbert, 'Servants and abjects flout me,' *Temple*: Sacrifice, 36.

J. HASTINGS.

ABNER, אַבְנֵר (אֲבִינֵר 1 S 14^{50}), 'my father is Ner,' or 'is a lamp.' Saul's first cousin, according to 1 S $14^{50. 51}$ (the more probable account), but uncle according to 1 Ch 8^{29-33} 9^{35-39}. Jos. follows Chronicles in *Ant.* VI. iv. 3, but Samuel in VI. vi. 6. The language used of him by David, ‘Art not thou a valiant man, and who is like to thee in Israel?’ (1 S 26^{15}); ‘Know ye not that there is a prince and a great man fallen this day in Israel?’ (2 S 3^{38}), is not inconsistent with the recorded facts of Abner's life, although the one speech was uttered in a tone of banter, and the other possibly dictated by motives of policy. As captain of the host (1 S 14^{50} 17^{55}), Abner sat next Saul at the banquet (1 S 20^{25}), and lay near him in the camp ($26^{5.7}$). A Jewish tradition (Jerome, *Qu. Heb. in loc.*) states that the witch of Endor was Abner's mother. On Saul's death Abner secured for Ishbosheth the allegiance of all the tribes except Judah (2 S 2^{8-10}). He placed the feeble king at Mahanaim, while he himself conducted the war with David west of Jordan. One of the battles—that of the pool of Gibeon—is detailed on account of its fatal results. Here we have evidence of Abner's comparative mildness of character. It is possible that the preliminary encounter of the champions of the two armies was suggested by him in order to decide the claims of the rival houses without unnecessary bloodshed. Then we have his reiterated reluctance to slay Asahel, and, finally, his protest against the unnaturalness of the war: ‘Shall the sword devour for ever? . . . How long shall it be ere thou bid the people return from following their brethren?’

As the war proceeded in David's favour ‘Abner made himself strong in the house of Saul’ (2 S 3^{6}). This rendering lends some plausibility to Ishbosheth's insinuation that he was aiming at the crown by a liaison with the late king's concubine (cf. 2 S 12^{8} 16^{21}, 1 K 2^{13-25}). The indignation, however, with which Abner repelled the charge, and the absence of self-seeking in his subsequent conduct, support the paraphrase of AV and RVm, ‘showed himself strong for (ב) the house of Saul.’

Be that as it may, the accusation alienated Abner, who forthwith declared that he would accomplish J″'s will by making David king over all Israel. He entered at once into negotiations both with David and the elders of Israel and Benjamin. David, on his part, astutely demanded as a preliminary the restitution of Michal, who would be at once a link with the house of Saul and a living memorial of David's early prowess. Ishbosheth's shadowy authority was made use of to carry out this condition. Abner was now hospitably entertained by David at Hebron, and had scarcely departed to fulfil his engagements to David when Joab returned from a foray. Asahel's death was still unavenged; here was a plausible pretext for ridding himself of a dangerous rival; so Joab secretly recalled Abner, and with the connivance of Abishai treacherously murdered him in the gate of Hebron, a city of refuge. The enormity of this crime called forth from David a bitter curse (2 S 3^{29}) on the perpetrator, and was never forgotten by him (1 K $2^{5.32}$). Abner was buried in Hebron, amidst the lamentations of the nation. The king himself acted as chief mourner, and honoured the dead warrior with an elegy which pithily expresses the strange irony of fate by which the princely Abner died a death suitable to a profane and worthless man. (Heb. ‘was A. to die [*i.e.* ought he to have died] as Nabal dieth?’) The dismay caused by Abner's death (2 S 4^{1}) seems to prove that neither Ishbosheth nor his subjects in general had realised Abner's defection. The inevitable crisis was hastened, and by a curious chance the head of the murdered Ishbosheth was buried in Abner's grave (2 S 4^{12}). We learn from the Chronicler that Abner dedicated certain spoil for the repairs of the tabernacle (1 Ch 26^{28}), and that his son Jaasiel was captain of Benjamin in David's reign (1 Ch 27^{21}). N. J. D. WHITE.

ABODE.—1. The past tense of ABIDE (which see). 2. In Jn 14^{23} (‘We will come unto him, and make our abode with him’) a. is tr. of the same word (*μονή*) which in Jn 14^{2} is rendered MANSION (which see). J. HASTINGS.

ABOMINATION.—Four separate Heb. words are thus rendered in OT (sometimes with the variation *abominable thing*), the application of which is in many respects very different. (1) The commonest of these words is תּוֹעֵבָה, which expresses most generally the idea of something loathed (cf. the verb, Mic 3^{9}), esp. on religious grounds: thus Gn 43^{32} ‘to eat food with the Hebrews is an *abomination* to the Egyptians,’—a strong expression of the exclusiveness with which the Egyptians viewed foreigners, esp. such as had no regard for their religious scruples; thus, on account of their veneration for the cow (which was sacred to Isis), they would not use the knife or cooking utensil of a Greek, which might have been employed in preparing the flesh of a cow as food (Hdt. ii. 41); Gn 46^{34} ‘every shepherd is an *abomination* to the Egyptians,’—shepherds, viz., were ranked, it seems, with the *βουκόλοι*, whose occupation was deemed a degrading one, who from living with their herds in reed cottages on the marshes were called *marshmen*, and who are depicted on the monuments as dirty, unshaven, poorly clad, and even as dwarfs and deformed (cf. Del. *ad loc.*; Birch-Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* 1878, i. 288 f., ii. 444; Wiedemann, *Herodots zweites Buch*, 1890, p. 371 f.; Erman, *Life in Anc. Eg.* p. 439); Ex $8^{22\,(26)}$ the Israelites are represented as unwilling to sacrifice ‘the *abomination* of the Egyptians’ in Egypt itself, with allusion, probably, to animals which the Egyptians abstained religiously from sacrificing, though they were sacrificed freely by the Hebrews, as the cow, which was sacred to Isis, the bull, unless it was pronounced by the priests to be *καθαρός*, or free from the sacred marks of Apis (Herodotus' statements on this point are not entirely borne out by the monuments, but there seems to be some foundation for them), sheep at Thebes, and goats [according to Wiedemann, an error for rams] in Mendes (Hdt. ii. 38, 41, 42, 46; cf. Birch-Wilk. ii. 460, iii. 108 f., 304 f.; Wiedemann, *l.c.* pp. 180–182, 183, 187 f., 196 f., 218 f.).

Two special usages may be noted: (*a*) the phrase *Jehovah's abomination*, of idolatry or practices connected with it, or of characters or acts morally displeasing to God, Dt 7^{25} 12^{31} 17^{1} 18^{12} 22^{5} $23^{19\,(18)}$ 25^{16} 27^{15} (cf. 24^{4}, Lk 16^{15}), Pr 3^{32} $11^{1.20}$ 12^{22} $15^{8.9.26}$ 16^{5} 17^{15} $20^{10.23}$ (comp. in a Phœn. inscription, *ap.* Driver, *Samuel*, p. xxvi, the expression ‘‘Ashtoreth's abomination,’ of the violation of a tomb); (*b*) esp. in the plur., of heathen or immoral practices, principally in H and Ezk, as Lv $18^{22.26.27.29.30}$ 20^{13}, Dt $13^{15\,(14)}$ 17^{4} $18^{9.12}$ 20^{18}, Jer 7^{10} 32^{35}, 1 K 14^{24}, 2 K 16^{3} $21^{2.11}$, Ezk $5^{9.11}$ $7^{3.4.8.9}$ $8^{6.13.15}$ etc. (43 times in Ezk), rarely of an actual idol, 2 K 23^{13} (of Milcom), Is 44^{19}, and perhaps Dt 32^{16}.

(2) פִּגּוּל, the technical term for stale sacrificial flesh, which has not been eaten within the prescribed time, only Lv 7^{18} 19^{7}, Ezk 4^{14} (where the prophet protests that he has never partaken of it), and (plur.) Is 65^{4}. For distinction this might be rendered *refuse meat*; the force of the allusion in Ezk 4^{14}, Is 65^{4}, in particular, is entirely lost by the rendering ‘abominable thing’ of AV, RV.

(3) שֶׁקֶץ, the technical term for the flesh of prohibited animals (see article UNCLEAN), Lv 7^{21} $11^{10-13.20.23.41.42}$ (cf. the corresponding verb, v.$^{11.13.43}$ 20^{25}): this sense of the word gives the point to Ezk 8^{10}, Is 66^{17}. שֶׁקֶץ would be best represented by

detestation, or *detestable thing* (cf. *detest* for the verb, Dt 7^{26}). Note that in Dt 14^{3} *abomination* is תּוֹעֵבָה, not the technical שֶׁקֶץ used in Lv 11.

(4) שִׁקּוּץ, allied in etymology to (3), but in usage confined almost exclusively to objects connected with idolatry, and chiefly a contemptuous designation of heathen deities themselves: first in Hos 9^{10} 'and became *detestations* like that which they loved' (Baal of Peor, named just before); more frequently in writers of the age of Jer and Ezk, viz. Dt $29^{16\,(17)}$, Jer 4^{1} 7^{30} ($=32^{34}$) 13^{27} 16^{18}, Ezk 5^{11} 7^{20} $11^{18.\,21}$ $20^{7.\,8.\,30}$ 37^{23}, 1 K 11^{5} 'Milcom the *detestation* of the Ammonites,' v.$^{7.\,7}$, 2 K $23^{13.\,13}$ (*not* of Milcom), v.^{24}; also Is 66^{3}, Zec 9^{7}. In AV, RV, where this word occurs beside תּוֹעֵבָה (No. 1), as Ezk 5^{11} 7^{20} (and Ezk 37^{23}, even where it stands alone), it is rendered for distinction *detestable thing*; and either this or *detestation* would be the most suitable Eng. equivalent for it. S. R. DRIVER.

ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION, THE (*τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως*), Mt 24^{15}, Mk 13^{14}, 'spoken of by Daniel the prophet,' the appearance of which, 'standing *ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ* (Mt), or *ὅπου οὐ δεῖ* (Mk),' is mentioned by Christ as the signal for the flight of Christians from Judæa, at the time of the approaching destruction of Jerus. The Gr. phrase is borrowed from Dn 9^{27} LXX *βδέλυγμα τῶν ἐρημώσεων* (so Theod.), 11^{31} LXX *βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως* (Theod. *βδ. ἠφανισμένον*), 12^{11} LXX *τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως* (Theod. *βδ. ἐρ.*); cf. 8^{13} (LXX, Theod.) *ἡ ἁμαρτία ἐρημώσεως*. The Heb. in the first of these passages is שִׁקּוּצִים מְשֹׁמֵם, in the second הַשִּׁקּוּץ מְשֹׁמֵם, in the third שִׁקּוּץ שֹׁמֵם, in the last הַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם. שִׁקּוּץ is the word explained under ABOMINATION (4), as being often the contemptuous designation of a heathen god or idol. מְשֹׁמֵם and שֹׁמֵם are, however, difficult. מְשֹׁמֵם elsewhere (only Ezr $9^{3.\,4}$) means *horrified*; שֹׁמֵם means usually *desolate* (as La $1^{4.\,16}$), though it might also (as ptcp. of שָׁמֵם, Ezk 26^{16} 27^{35} *al.*) mean *horrified* as well; in Dn, however (supposing the text to be sound), the exigencies of the sense have obliged many commentators to suppose that the Poel conjug. has a trans. force; hence RV 9^{27} 'one that *maketh desolate*'; 11^{31} 'and they shall profane the sanctuary, even the fortress, and shall take away the continual burnt-offering, and they shall set up the abomination that *maketh desolate*'; 12^{11} 'from the time that the continual burnt-offering shall be taken away, and the abomination that *maketh desolate* set up'; so 8^{13} הַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם 'the transgression that *maketh desolate*' (the form שֹׁמֵם *might* just be a ptcp. Poel with the מ dropped; Ges.-K. §§ 55 R. 1, 52. 2 R. 6). In spite, however, of the uncertainty as regards שמם (or משמם), the general sense of 11^{31} and 12^{11} is clear. Dn $11^{21\text{-}45}$ deals with the history of Antiochus Epiphanes, and v.^{31} refers to the desecration of the temple by the troops of Antiochus, the subsequent suspension of the daily burnt-offering and other religious services (which lasted for three years), and to the erection on 15 Chislev, B.C. 168, of a small idol-altar (*βωμός*) upon the Altar of burnt-offering (1 Mac $1^{33\text{-}59}$). 12^{11} (like 8^{13}) is another reference to the same events. It is remarkable, now, that in 1 Mac 1^{54} the idol-altar is called by exactly the same name that is used in the Bk. of Dn—*ᾠκοδόμησαν βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον* (cf. 6^{7}). Dn 9^{27} is very difficult: but, as the reference in NT is rather to 11^{31} and 12^{11}, it need not here be further considered; LXX, Theod., however, it may be noted, have *καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν βδέλυγμα τῶν ἐρημώσεων*. Of the perplexing expression שקוץ שמם, now, a clever and plausible explanation has been suggested by Nestle (*ZATW* 1884, p. 248; cf. Cheyne, *Origin of the Psalter*, p. 105; Bevan, *Dan.* p. 193), viz. that it is a contemptuous allusion to בעל שמים *Baal of heaven*, a title found often in Phœn. and (with שמין for שמים) Aram. inscriptions, and the Sem. equivalent of the Gr. *Ζεύς*: according to 2 Mac 6^{2} Antiochus desired to make the temple a sanctuary of *Ζεὺς Ὀλύμπιος*,—as his coins show (Nestle, *Marginalien*, p. 42, who cites Babelon, *Les Rois de Syrie*, pp. xiv, xlviii), his patron deity,—who in the Syr. vers. of the same passage is actually called בעל שמין *Baal of heaven*. Upon this view, we are released from the necessity of searching for a meaning of שמם in exact accordance with the context; the *βωμός* (with, possibly, an image connected with it) erected by the Syrians upon the Altar of burnt-offering was termed derisively by the Jews the 'desolate abomination,' the 'abomination' being the altar (and image?) of Zeus (Baal), and 'desolate' (*shōmēm*) being just a punning variation of 'heaven' (*shāmaim*). The Gr. trs. of Dn and 1 Mac, in so far as they supposed the expression to mean *βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως*, no doubt understood the idolatrous emblem to involve, by its erection, the desertion of the temple by its usual worshippers, and ultimately its actual 'desolation' (see 1 Mac 4^{38}). 11^{31} and 8^{13} (the subst. with the art., the ptcp. without it), and still more (if, as is probable, the reference be to the same idolatrous emblem) 9^{27} (the subst. plur., the ptcp. sing.), are grammatically difficult; but the text in these passages is perhaps not in its original form (cf. Bevan).

As to the meaning of the expression in the prophecy of Christ, it is very difficult to speak with confidence. It would be most naturally understood (cf. Spitta, *Offenb. des Joh.* 493–496) of some desecrating emblem, similar in general character to the altar or image erected by Antiochus, and of which that might be regarded as the prototype: but nothing exactly corresponding to this is recorded by history; the order which Caligula issued for the erection in the temple of a statue of himself, to which divine honours were to be paid, being not enforced (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. viii. 8). The three most usual explanations are—(1) the Rom. standards, to which sacrifices were offered by the Rom. soldiers in the temple, after it had been entered by Titus (Jos. *BJ* VI. vi. 1); (2) the desecration of the temple by the Zealots, who seized it and made it their stronghold, shortly before the city was invested by Titus (*ib.* IV. iii. 6–8, cf. vi. 3 *end*); (3) the desolation of the temple-site by the heathen, at the time of its capture by Titus (so Meyer). The term *standing* (which points to some concrete object) is a serious objection to the second and third of these explanations; it is some objection, though not perhaps a fatal one, to the first, that it places the signal for flight at the very last stage of the enemy's successes, when even the dwellers in Judæa (in view of whom the words are spoken) would seem no longer to need the warning. The erection of the imperial statue in the Temple was, however, only averted in the first instance by the earnest representations of the procurator Petronius and of King Agrippa I., and afterwards by Caligula's own untimely death (Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 99 f.): the emperor's order caused great alarm among the Jews, who even after his death (A.D. 41) continued to fear lest one of his successors should revive and enforce it (Pfleiderer, *Das Urchrist.* pp. 403–407; Mommsen, *Provinces*, ii. 196 ff., 203 ff.); hence (as even the first explanation mentioned above leaves something to be desired) it may not be an unreasonable conjecture * that the language of the original prophecy was more general, and that, during the years of agitation and tension which preceded the final struggle of A.D. 70, it was modified so as to give more definite expression to such apprehensions; the masc.

---

* The writer is indebted for this suggestion to his friend, Prof Sanday.

ἑστηκότα, which in Mk 13^{14} is the best reading (א BL; so RV, 'standing where *he* ought not'), would also lend itself more readily to this explanation than to any of those previously mentioned.[*] The supposition (Weiss) that the army of the heathen Romans is referred to, involves an unnatural application, both of the expression 'abomination of desolation,' and of the verb 'standing.' In the parallel passage of Lk (21^{20}) the phraseology of the earlier synoptists seems to have been not only (as in so many other cases) re-cast, but also coloured by the event ('when ye see *Jerus. encircled by armies*, then know that her desolation hath drawn nigh'); a paraphrase such as this, however, cannot fairly be deemed an authoritative interpretation of the expression used in Mt and Mk.[†]

S. R. DRIVER.

ABOUT.—As an adv. about is used in AV in the following obsolete expressions:—1. To lead about or go about = roam about, circuitously. The verb is mostly סָבַב, which simply means to 'turn': Ex 13^{18} 'God led the people about, through the way of the wilderness'; Jos 16^{6} 'The border went about (RV 'turned about') eastward'; 1 S 15^{12} 'He set him up a place, and is gone about and passed on'; Ec 2^{20} 'I went about (RV 'turned about,' *i.e.* considered my past life) to cause my heart to despair.' 2. To go about=here and there, up and down: Jer 31^{22} 'How long wilt thou go about (RV 'hither and thither'), O thou backsliding daughter?' 3. To go about=to seek, attempt: Jn 7^{19} 'Why go ye about to kill Me?' RV gives 'seek' in Jn 7$^{19.\ 20}$, Ac 21^{31}, Ro 10^{3}, 'assay' in Ac 24^{6} 26^{21}, and keeps 'go about' in Ac 9^{29}. 4. To cast about=to turn round: Jer 41^{14} 'So all the people . . . cast about and returned.' 5. Thereabout=about that: Lk 24^{4} 'They were much perplexed thereabout.' J. HASTINGS.

ABRAHAM.—The narrative of the patriarch Abraham is contained in Gn 11^{26}–25^{18}, and, as it stands before us, consists of a series of consecutive stories or scenes from the patriarch's life. It makes no pretence of being a complete biography. It may be doubted whether the compiler of the Hex. had any intention of preserving *all* the extant traditions respecting A. His purpose seems rather to have been to select from the traditions current among the Hebrews such narratives as would best illustrate the origin of the Isr. nation, and would best set forth how the divine Providence had shielded the infancy of the chosen race, and had predestined it both to inherit the land of Can. and to be a blessing among the nations of the earth. As would be natural under the circumstances, the traditions relating to A. have special reference to sacred localities in Pal.; but unfortunately they do not afford any very precise *data* for determining the age in which he lived. The compiler gives us a picture of A. which he derived apparently from *three* groups of tradition. We will first briefly summarise the narrative, and then indicate the portions which belong to the separate sources of tradition, according to the generally accepted results of critical analysis.

Abram, Nahor, and Haran are sons of Terah. Their home is in Ur of the Chaldees (Gn 11$^{26-28}$), where Haran dies. A. marries Sarai, who was his half-sister (Gn 20^{12}). A. and his wife, with their nephew Lot, Haran's son, accompany Terah, who migrates from Ur of the Chaldees, and journeys to Haran, where Terah dies (Gn 11$^{31.\ 32}$, Jos 24^{2}). Terah is said to have had Canaan in view when he set out upon his journey (Gn 11^{31}). A. in Haran receives the divine command to quit his country and kindred, and accompanied by Lot enters the land of Can. He traverses the whole country; and we are told in particular of Shechem and Bethel being places at which he halted, and, as his custom was, built an altar to J″ (Gn 12$^{1-9}$). Driven by a famine, A. journeys to Egypt, where, in cowardly fear for his own life, he says that Sarai is his sister, and does not acknowledge her as his wife. The princes of Egypt bring the report of Sarai's beauty to Pharaoh king of Egypt, who sends to fetch her, has her placed in his own harem, and loads A. with presents on her account. The intervention of J″ alone delivers the mother of the promised race from her peril. Pharaoh learns of the wrong he is doing, through the plagues which befall his house. In great dudgeon he summons A., justly reproaches him for the deception, and dismisses him and his belongings from Egypt (12$^{10-20}$).

A. and Lot return from Egypt to the district of Bethel; but their possessions in flocks and herds have greatly increased. It proves impossible for two such large droves to keep close together. Constant disputes break out between the retainers of the two chiefs. It is evident that they must separate. A., though the elder, proposes the separation, and offers Lot the choice as to the region to which he shall go. Lot chooses the rich pasture-land of the Jordan valley, and departs. A. remains on the soil which has been promised him, and receives as a reward for his unselfishness a renewal of the divine prediction that his descendants shall inhabit it as their own (13). A. removes to Hebron (13^{18}), and while he is encamped there war breaks out in the immediate neighbourhood. The kings of the towns in the Jordan valley rebel against Chedor-Laomer (Kudur-Lagamar), the great Elamite king. The king of Elam with his vassals, the kings of Shinar, Ellasar, and Goyyim (?), march against the rebels, defeat them in a great battle, and retire, carrying off many prisoners and rich booty from Sodom and Gomorrah. Lot is one of the captives. A. is no sooner apprised of this than he arms his 318 retainers, and summons to his aid Mamre, Eshcol, and Aner, the three chieftains of the Hebron district, with whom he is confederate. The combined force overtakes the victorious army at Dan, in the N. of Canaan, surprises them by a night attack, routs them, and recovers Lot and the other prisoners, and all the booty. On the way back A. is met in the plain of Shaveh by the king of Sodom, and Melchizedek king of Salem. Melchizedek solemnly blesses A. for his heroic deed; and the Heb. patriarch, in recognition of Melchizedek's priestly office, gives him a tenth of the spoil. On the other hand, he proudly declines the offer which the king of Sodom makes, that A. should receive the spoil for himself; he asks only for the share that would compensate his confederates, Mamre, Eshcol, and Aner, and their men (14).

A., who by reason of his childlessness cannot entertain hopes of the fulfilment of the divine promise, receives in a special vision assurance of the great future of the race that shall spring from him. By the gracious condescension of the Almighty, a covenant is made by sacrifice between the patriarch and God; and during the night, when a deep sleep has fallen upon A., he learns the future destiny of his descendants, and the vision is ratified by an outward symbol (15$^{\text{esp. } 12\text{-}17}$). Sarai, who has no hope of having children, persuades A. to take Hagar, her Egyp. maidservant, as a concubine. Hagar, finding herself with child, is insolent towards Sarai, who thereupon treats her so harshly that Hagar flees into the desert. She is there stopped by an angel, and sent back, comforted by the promise respecting the child that is to be born. This is Ishmael (16). But Ishmael is not the promised son. Thirteen more years elapse before God appears again to A., and again promises that his descendants will be a mighty nation. In pledge of the fulfilment of his word, he changes Abram's name to Abraham, Sarai's to Sarah, and ordains that the rite of circumcision shall be the sign of the covenant between God and the house of Abraham. The promise that Sarah shall have a son, and the command to call his name Isaac, prepare us for the long-expected consummation (17). But it is not to be yet. Another great scene intervenes, to try, as it were, the patriarch's faith, and make proof of the character of the father of the Heb. race. J″, accompanied by two angels, appears in human form to A. as he sits before his tent by the oaks of Mamre. A.'s offer of hospitality is accepted; and as the three strangers partake of the meal, the one who is J″ promises to A. a son by Sarah, who overhears, and laughs incredulously (18$^{1\text{-}15}$). The two angels proceed to Sodom and Gomorrah; J″ remains with A., and discloses to him the approaching destruction of 'the cities of the plain.' A. pathetically intercedes, and obtains the assurance that if but ten righteous be found in the city it should be spared for their sake (18$^{16\text{-}33}$). J″ leaves A.; and then ensues the description of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, the vividness of which is enhanced by the brief reference to A., who in the morning looks forth from the hill country of Hebron, where he had stood during his colloquy with J″, and sees thence the reek of the smoke rising as from a furnace (19^{28}). Strangely out of place though it seems, we find interposed at this point the story how A. journeyed to the South-land or Negeb, and dwelt in the territory of Gerar, where Abimelech was king, and how A. once more fears for his life on account of Sarah's beauty, represents her to be his sister, and temporarily loses her, when she is taken to Abimelech's harem. As in the Egyp. story, Sarah is kept from harm by a special visitation; Abimelech is warned by God, releases Sarah, and rebukes A. (20).

---

[*] Those critics who (as Keim, *Jesus of Naz.* v. 237–239; cf. Holtzmann, *Handkomm.* i. 259 f., *Einl. zum NT*^{3}, p. 383 f., with the references) regard Mt 24$^{15-28}$, Mk 13$^{14-27}$, as an independent Jewish (or Jewish-Christian) apocalypse originating shortly before A.D. 70, which has been incorporated with our Lord's discourse, can, of course, adopt still more readily the same explanation; but it is difficult to think that even these verses, though particular phrases may have been modified in the course of oral transmission, are without a substantial basis in the words of Christ.

[†] Bousset (*Der Antichrist*, 1895, pp. 14, 93, 106 f., 141 f.), treating Mt 24$^{15\,\mathrm{ff.}}$ (=Mk 13$^{14\,\mathrm{ff.}}$) as purely eschatological, supposes the reference to be to the future Antichrist, who is frequently described (on the basis of 2 Th 2^{4}) as sitting in the Temple, and receiving divine honours (*e.g.* by Irenæus, v. 25. 1, 30. 4; see further passages in Bousset, p. 104 f.); but it may be doubted whether the view of Mt 24$^{15\,\mathrm{ff.}}$, upon which this explanation depends, is correct.

At length the long-promised son is born to A. of Sarah; he is circumcised the 8th day, and receives the name of Isaac (21$^{1\text{-}7}$). Sarah takes offence at the sight of Ishmael playing with Isaac; and A. is instructed by God to yield to Sarah's demand, and dismiss both Hagar and Ishmael from his tent (21^{8}). A.'s prosperity and success induce Abimelech to seek alliance with the patriarch. A covenant between them is struck; the well, which Abimelech's servants had taken by force from A., is restored to him, and receives the name of Beer-Sheba. A. dwells for some time in Phil. territory, encamped in the vicinity of the well (21$^{22\text{-}34}$).

Some years later, when Isaac has grown to be a lad, comes the last trial of A.'s faith. God orders him to sacrifice his only son upon a lofty hill, distant three days' journey from his place of encampment. He does not hesitate. All is done in perfect obedience; the knife is raised to slay Isaac, when a voice from heaven is heard. God wishes not a hair of the lad's head to suffer; He is satisfied with this proof of the patriarch's absolute trust in God, his readiness to sacrifice that which was most precious in his eyes. A ram is sacrificed in the stead of Isaac; and the holy covenant between J″ and A. is ratified anew (22$^{1\text{-}13}$).

Then Sarah dies; and A., whose seed is to possess the whole land, has to purchase a burial-place. The field and cave of Machpelah at Hebron is the portion of ground which he buys with all due formality from Ephron the Hittite; and there he buries Sarah (23).

Feeling his days drawing to a close, A. causes his steward to swear not to let Isaac take to wife one of the daughters of the land, and sends him to Haran, where he finds Rebekah, and brings her back to be Isaac's wife (24).

It is strange next to read that A. takes Keturah to be his wife, and becomes the father of six sons, the patriarchs of Arabian tribes (25$^{1\text{-}4}$). But at the age of 175 he dies, and is buried in the cave of Machpelah (25$^{7\text{-}11}$).

The foregoing outline shows the truth of what has been remarked above, that the life of A. in the Bk of Gn is not so much a consecutive biography as a series of scenes derived from groups of Heb. tradition, and loosely strung together. How far the three main groups of patriarchal narrative—the J, E, and P—overlapped one another we cannot say, but the fact that the existing account is derived from different sources sufficiently explains some of the chief difficulties and discrepancies that strike the ordinary reader.

J.—The narrative of J opens with A. being in Haran, and migrating with Lot to Can. at the command of J″.

It mentions A.'s nomadic movements in Can., and the altars at Bethel and Shechem. It records the separation of A. and Lot, and A.'s sojourn at Hebron.

It describes A.'s journey to Egypt, and his return to the S. of Can.

It contains the promises made to A., and the covenant in ch. 15. It records the marriage with Hagar, Hagar's flight, and the birth of Ishmael.

It gives the long epic narrative of the visit of the three men to A.; A.'s intercession; and the overthrow of the cities of the plain.

It narrates the birth of Isaac, and the mission of A.'s servant to Haran.

J = 12$^{1\text{-}4. \, 6}$–13$^{5. \, 7\text{-}11a. \, 12b\text{-}18}$ 15. 16$^{4\text{-}14}$ 18. 19 (exc. v.^{29}) 21. (partially) 24.

E.—The narrative of E opens with A.'s wandering to and fro, with Lot, in Can. It reproduces, perhaps from some separate source, an account of the war between Chedor-Laomer and the rebel 'cities of the plain,' A.'s rescue of his nephew, and Melchizedek's blessing.

It describes the blessing pronounced upon the patriarch in ch. 15. It records A.'s sojourn at Gerar, and the peril to which Sarah was exposed at the court of Abimelech (20). It contains an account of the birth of Isaac; and the mention of the banishment of Hagar and Ishmael implies that it also included an account of Ishmael's birth. It records the alliance of A. with Abimelech at Beersheba. And, so far as A. is concerned, concludes with the story of the sacrifice of Isaac.

E = 14. (possibly) 15. (partially) 20. 21$^{6\text{-}32}$ 22.

P.—The narrative of P is a mere skeleton outline of facts. A. is Terah's son. Terah, with A. his son and Lot his nephew, leave Ur-Casdim, and set out for Can.; they stay at Haran, where Terah dies, 205 years old. A., 75 years old, accompanied by Lot, journeys to Can. A. settles near Mamre; Lot goes E. to the Jordan valley. A. marries Hagar ten years after entering Can.; Ishmael is born in A.'s 86th year. In his 99th year God makes a covenant with him, and ordains the rite of circumcision, changing his name to Abraham, and Sarai's to Sarah. A. laughs at the idea of Sarah having a son; and the son to be born to him is to be called Isaac. In his 100th year A. has a son Isaac, who is circumcised. Sarah dies at Hebron 127 years old, and A. purchases the cave of Machpelah for a burying-place. He himself dies at the age of 175, and is buried by Isaac and Ishmael in the cave.

P=13$^{6. \, 11b. \, 12}$ 16$^{1\text{-}3. \, 15. \, 16}$ 17$^{1\text{-}27}$ 19^{29} 21$^{1b. \, 2b\text{-}5}$ 23. 25$^{7\text{-}17}$.

The combination of the three strata of tradition has only in a few instances led to apparent inconsistencies. The J narrative, which makes Haran A.'s native country (Gn 12. 24), contains no allusion to Ur-Casdim. J's narrative contains the story of A.'s cowardice in Egypt; it is E's narrative which contains the story of his cowardice at the court of Abimelech. The narratives of J and E, which speak of Sarah's beauty attracting the notice of Egyptians and Philistines, do not mention the ages of A. and Sarah. According to J, A. very prob. had died before the return of the servant with Rebekah, since אבין should prob. be read for אמו in 24^{67}; for we can hardly suppose that Isaac's mourning for his mother would have lasted for three years. The mention of A.'s marriage with Keturah in the foll. ch. is derived from a different source.

The foll. are the chief difficulties arising from the Abraham narrative:—

1. *The Home of A.'s People.*—From the fact that Terah is said to have lived at Ur-Casdim, and that Ur has been identified by Assyriologists with Uru, the modern Mugheir, in S. Bab., the conclusion has very commonly been drawn that A. migrated first from Chaldea. This, however, depends upon the correctness of the identification of Ur-Casdim with Uru, which has been much disputed on the grounds, (1) that the genealogy of Gn 11^{10} brings the Sem. race as far as Mesopotamia, from which the next movement in the direction of Can. would be to Haran; (2) that the name Casdim was applied to an Armenian tribe; and (3) that it does not appear in connexion with S. Bab. until much later (upon the whole controversy see Kittel, *Hist. of Hebrews*, Eng. tr. i. 180 f.; Dillmann, *Genesis*, p. 214 f. As to the position of Ur-Casdim, see art. UR OF THE CHALDEES). The common early Heb. tradition seems to be expressed in Gn 24, according to which A.'s kindred were the dwellers in N. Mesopotamia; and it is this belief which also is reiterated in the story of Jacob. Cf. 'A Syrian (*i.e.* Aramæan) ready to perish was my father' (Dt 26^{5}). Whether Ur-Casdim is to be placed in N. Mesopotamia or in Chaldea, the impression remains that 'J' believed A.'s home and kindred to have been in Haran.

2. *The Character of the Narrative related in Gn* 14.—There appears to be no reason to question the hist. probability of an Elamite campaign such as is here described. There is nothing inherently improbable in the event as has sometimes, in some quarters, been asserted. A. did not defeat the Elamite army in a pitched battle; he made a night attack, fell upon an unsuspecting foe, and recovered prisoners and baggage,—a very different exploit from the conquest of Damascus, which late legend assigned to him. The primitive invasion of Chedor-Laomer has been claimed by some Assyriologists for an approximate date of 2150 (so Hommel, *Bab.-Ass. Gesch.* p. 3); and the invasion of W. Asia by an Elamite will naturally be associated with the Elamite empire of that remote time. But upon what principle the events of A.'s life can be carried back to the 22nd cent. B.C. has not yet been satisfactorily explained. Biblical chronology does not suggest the interval of nearly a thousand years between A. and the Exodus.

3. *The Promises made to A.* are found *eight* times repeated, (i.) Gn $12^{2.3}$ (ii.) 12^{7} (iii.) 13^{14} (iv.) 15 (v.) 17 (vi.) 18 (vii.) 21^{12} (viii.) 22^{16}. The promises fall under three main heads, (*a*) the land of Can. shall be possessed by the seed of A.; (*b*) the seed of A. shall become a mighty nation; (*c*) A. shall have a son born of Sarah, and the son is to be called Isaac. The number of times that the promise appears is due to the compilers having selected this as the most conspicuous feature in the narrative of A. in each of the sources of tradition. The seemingly strange fact, that the narrative in ch. 17 should take no notice of the mention of the same promise in ch. 15, is at once accounted for when it is seen to be an instance of the manner in which the different narratives overlap one another. The promises, contained in the different traditions, seemed to the compiler so important in view of the general purpose of his book, that, at the risk of considerable repetition, he has incorporated them all. These promises ever ranked among the religious privileges of Israel (Ro 9^{4}). They proclaimed God's covenant with His people, according to which He required of them simple obedience and justice (Gn 18^{19}); they also announced that through Israel all nations should be blessed.

4. *The Sacrifice of Isaac* marks the crowning event in the life of A. Obviously, it must rank as the surpassing act of the patriarch's faith in God. But a difficulty arises in some minds from the wickedness of the act which God at first commands A. to do. Even though He never intended A. eventually to execute the terrible command, still is it consistent with divine goodness and justice to issue an order, to obey which seemed to have the result of placing blind trust in a positive command above the reasonable recognition of the natural demands of love, mercy, and justice? But there are two considerations which cut the ground from beneath this objection. (1) We are tempted to assume that in the patriarchal narrative the voice of God is an audible external communication. But then, as now, God speaks in different ways, and by conscience most directly. The question put by A.'s conscience was whether his complete trust in God extended even to the readiness to surrender his only son; it was in the truest sense a word of God to A. (2) That the answer to this questioning was given in the shape of human sacrifice on a mountain top, illustrates the importance of bearing in mind the imperfect development of the moral consciousness in that remote period. Human sacrifice was frequently practised in Sem. races. If the worshippers of other Sem. deities were ready to sacrifice their firstborn to their gods, was A. to be behind Assyria, Ammon, and Moab in devotion? The moral standard of the age would not be shocked at a deed too fatally common. The ideas of mercy and justice were, in that period, low, and needed to be raised. To propitiate the Deity by child murder was regarded as the height of religious devotion. The narrative, therefore, fulfils the twofold object of giving the crowning proof of A.'s absolute faith in J″; and further, of demonstrating the moral superiority of faith in J″ over the religious customs of other Sem. races. J″ forbade the sacrifice of the firstborn: J″ upheld the instinct implanted in human nature which shrunk in horror from the act. He taught that J″ had no pleasure in the infliction of suffering upon the innocent; that the character of J″ was raised above that of the heathen gods by higher love and truer justice.

ii. A. IN THE HISTORY OF ISRAEL. — The attempt has been made to deprive the story of A. of all hist. value, and to represent the patriarch either as a mythical personage or as the typical impersonation of the virtues of the religious Isr.; but as yet no evidence has been found to connect the name of A. with that of a tribal deity, while the endeavour to find in his story a philosophical description of abstract qualities seems to presuppose a stage of literary development to which the materials of the Hex. can make no claim, and to desiderate a literary unity which those materials emphatically contradict.

On the other hand, it cannot be denied that recollections of the nomadic age, committed to writing (in the form that has come down to us) in a post-Mosaic era, and evidently strongly coloured by the teaching of the prophets of J″, are likely to have preserved the hist. facts of the remote past in a form in which personal details are inextricably intertwined with racial movements, and, for simplicity's sake, the destinies of a future nation are anticipated in the features of family experience.

According to this view, A. was the leader of a great nomadic movement of the Hebrews (Gn 10^{21} 14^{13}), who migrated from Mesopotamia into Canaan. These Hebrews penetrated as far as Egypt (Gn 12), but for the most part established themselves in the

S. of Canaan, and in Hebron and Beersheba formed friendly relationships with the dwellers of the land (Gn 14. 21^{22}). The story of Lot seems to indicate that the peoples of Ammon and Moab had originally belonged to the Heb. migration which was led by A., and, having separated themselves from their comrades, occupied the territory of the Rephaim, the Emim, and the Zamzummim (Dt $2^{11.\,19-21}$).

Again, it is impossible to resist the conclusion that some of the references to Ishmael and the allusion to Keturah contain an Isr. picture of the relationship of the Arabian tribes and clans to the Heb. stock rather than the record of personal history. The Egyp. origin of Hagar (Gn 16^{1}) and of Ishmael's wife (Gn 21^{21}) will then indicate that the new settlers received into their community a considerable admixture of an Egyp. element at the time when they dispersed throughout N. Arabia. The fact that 'the sons of Nahor' (Gn 22^{20-24}), 'the sons of Ishmael' (Gn 25^{12-18}), 'the sons of Edom' (Gn 36^{15-19}), form groups of *twelve*, and that 'the sons of Keturah' thus form a half-group of *six*, is an additional sign of the probability that the record is not only that of the domestic life of a family, but also that of the political distribution of a race.

While this consideration must modify the acceptance of a uniform *literal* historicity for the narrative of A., it is not incompatible with the view that in A. we have the great leader of a racial movement, and one who left his mark upon his fellow-tribesmen, not only by the eminence of his superior gifts, but by the distinctive features of his religious life, the traditional features of which were the devotion to one God, the abandonment of the polytheism of his ancestors, and the adoption of circumcision as the symbol of a purer cult.

iii. A. IN THE THEOLOGY OF OT.—The scattered reminiscences of the patriarchs were collected and compiled, even more for the purpose of illustrating the fundamental principles of the Isr. revelation than with the object of retailing any exhaustive biography.

The religion of Israel dates, according to OT, from A., not from Moses. A.'s servant addresses J″ as the God of his master A. (Gn 24^{12}); J″ is to Isaac the God of A. (Gn 26^{24}); to Jacob He is 'the God of A. and the fear of Isaac' (Gn 31^{42}). A. never speaks of J″ as the God of his fathers. A. is the founder of the religion; he is the head of the family which had J″ for its God. There is no designation of the God of Israel which can go farther back to the origin of the Heb. faith than the often-repeated title 'the God of A.' (cf. Ps 47^{9}).

The story of A. reflects the belief in the free grace of God which chose the patriarch and brought him from a distant land, and in spite of his failures loved him and made His covenant with him. The call of A. and the promises made him thus represent the Election (ἐκλογή) of Israel. A. as the chosen servant is the prophet, the instrument of J″'s purpose (Gn 20^{7}). He is the friend of God (Is 41^{8}, 2 Ch 20^{7}. Cf. Arab. *El-Khalil*). God's mercies towards him are appealed to by the prophets of the Captivity (Is 51^{2}, Ezk 33^{24}) as the ground of confidence that J″ would not forsake the heirs of the promises made to A.

The unique relation in which A., in Isr. theology, stood to the God of revelation is indicated by the ref. of the prophets to A. as 'the one' (see Is $51^{1.\,2}$, Ezk 33^{24}, Mal 2^{15}). In the Bk of Sir, A. is spoken of as 'great father of a multitude of nations; and there was none found like him in glory; who kept the law of the Most High, and was taken into covenant with Him: in his flesh he established the covenant; and when he was proved he was found faithful' ($44^{19.\,20}$). In these words are summarised the chief points upon which the later Jewish literature esp. insisted in any reference to the life and character of A. He was the founder of the race; he was credited with a perfect knowledge of the Torah; he was the institutor of circumcision; he was tried, and in virtue of his faith was declared righteous.

iv. A. IN THE THEOLOGY OF NT.—In NT, A. is referred to in a variety of ways. The words of John the Baptist in Mt 3^{9}, Lk 3^{8}, and of St. Paul, Ro 9^{7}, rebuke the popular Jewish supposition that descent from A. carried with it any special claim upon divine favour. Our Lord speaks of A. as one with whom all the partakers of divine redemption shall be privileged to dwell (Mt 8^{11}); and as of one who is both cognisant of things on earth, and is also entrusted with the special charge over the souls of the blest (Lk 16^{22}). Our Lord employs the imagery of current religious belief; A. is the typical representative of 'the righteous' who have been redeemed; he is 'the father of the faithful.' Hence He says (Jn 8^{56}), 'Your father A. rejoiced to see My day; and he saw it, and was glad.' He obtained a vision of the meaning of the promises, and rejoiced in the hope of their future fulfilment. Christ was the consummation of all the aspirations of A., the father of the race. According to the Jewish tradition (*Bereshith Rabba* 44, Wünsche), A. saw the whole history of his descendants in the mysterious vision recorded in Gn $15^{8ff.}$. Thus he is said to have 'rejoiced with the joy of the law' (Westcott on Jn 8^{56}).

The subject of the faith of A. seems to have formed a stock subject of discussion in the Jewish synagogue. It is alluded to in 1 Mac 2^{52} 'Was not A. found faithful in temptation, and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness?' The 'locus classicus' for the subject was Gn 15^{6}; and the question propounded by the Jewish teachers turned upon the nature of the faith which was counted to A. for righteousness. To Philo the whole history of A. was merely an allegory descriptive of the truly wise man whose inner nature is made one with the divine by teaching (διδασκαλία), as Isaac's by nature (φύσις), and Jacob's by discipline (ἄσκησις). In Philo's treatment of the subject, 'faith,' which frees the soul from the dominion of the senses, was 'the queen of virtues' (*de Abrah.* ii. p. 39); and Philo refers to Gn 15^{6} at least 10 times (see Lightfoot, *Gal.* p. 158, and Ryle, *Philo and Holy Scripture*, p. 55) for the purpose of indicating the supreme excellence of A.'s faith.

Rabbinical Judaism did not adopt the symbolical and abstract explanation which satisfied the Alex. philosopher. It regarded A. as inseparable from A.'s seed, and the faith of A. as consisting in the fulfilment of the law.

Against this Rabbinic interpretation St. Paul directs his argument in Ro 4^{1-8} and Gal 3. Faith with the apostle is the motive power of the whole spiritual life, and he lays stress on the fact that the mention of A.'s faith precedes the institution of circumcision. The faith of the patriarch was not due to the rite; it was only ratified and confirmed by it (cf. Ro 4^{9-12} and the notes of Sanday and Headlam). The same subject comes under discussion in the Ep. of St. James; and there the apostle of the circumcision safeguards, as it were, the Christian position from a perversion of the Pauline teaching. With St. James 'the faith' of A. is not so much the motive power of spiritual life as the settled belief, the genuineness of which can only be tested by action (Ja 2^{19}, see Mayor, *in loc.*).

Yet another reference to A.'s faith is found in He 11^{8-11}, where the patriarch is described as having been 'enabled to work towards the fulfilment of

God's counsel by his trust in the unseen' (Westcott, *in loc*). The three features of the patriarch's life which the writer of the Ep. selects for the illustration of this 'faith,' are (1) self-surrender, in the departure from his home (v.^{8}); (2) patience, in the pilgrim's expectation of a future abiding place (vv.$^{9.10}$); (3) influence, since his faith, affecting Sarah's faith, led to the fulfilment of the promise (vv.$^{11.12}$).

Later Jewish teaching, dwelling on the same theme, says, 'In like manner thou findest that A. our father inherited this world and the world to come solely by the merit of faith whereby he believed on the Lord' (*Mechilta* on Ex 14^{31}).

v. JEWISH TRADITION.—It was natural that Jewish tradition should be busy with regard to the great founder of the people of Israel. From the fact that A. received the divine call in Ur of the Chaldees, and *ur* in Heb. meant 'flame,' the strange story was invented of his having been cast into a fiery furnace by Nimrod. This legend appears in various forms. One of the best known is that which is recorded in the Targ. of Jonathan on Gn 11^{28} 'And it was when Nimrod had cast A. into the furnace of fire because he would not worship his idol, and the fire had no power to burn him, that Haran's heart became doubtful, saying, If Nimrod overcome, I will be on his side; but if A. overcome, I will be on his side. And when all the people who were there saw that the fire had no power over A., they said in their hearts, Is not Haran the brother of A. full of divinations and charms, and has he not uttered spells over the fire that it should not burn his brother? Immediately there fell fire from the high heavens and consumed him; and Haran died in sight of Terah his father, where he was burned in the land of his nativity, in the furnace of fire which the Chaldæans had made for A. his brother' (Etheridge's tr.).

Another version of the story appears in *Bereshith Rabba*, where A. refuses to obey Nimrod's command that he should worship fire; and suggests that it would be more reasonable to worship water that quenches fire, or the clouds that give the rain, or the wind that drives the clouds; finally, he exhorts Nimrod to worship the one God. Nimrod causes A. to be thrown into a fiery furnace; but God delivers him from its flames. For other instances of the Rabbinic treatment of A.'s life, see Weber, *System der Altsynagog. Palästin. Theologie*, Leipzig, 1880. In *Pirke Abhoth* (v. 4) it is said, 'With ten temptations was A. our father tempted, and he withstood them all; to show how great was the love of A. our father.' For the ways in which the Rabbins reckoned up these ten temptations, see Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, p. 94.

The facts that A. came from Haran, that he won his victory at Hobah, near Damascus (Gn 14^{15}), and that his servant was a native of Damascus (Gn 15^{2}), seem to have given rise to the legend that A. conquered Damascus. So Josephus relates that 'Nicolaus of Damascus,' in the 4th book of his history, says thus: 'A. reigned at Damascus, being a foreigner, who came with an army out of the land of Babylon. . . . Now the name of A. is even still famous in the country of Damascus; and they show a village named after him, The habitation of A.' (*Ant.* I. vii. 2). A.'s native country having been Chaldæa, he was credited by the Jews with a knowledge of secret arts and magic (cf. Philo, *de præm. et pœn.*; Jos. *Ant.* I. vii.); and Josephus records the tradition that A. first introduced into Egypt the knowledge of arithmetic and astrology which he had brought with him from Chaldæa (*Ant.* I. viii.).

For the preservation of these and other legends, see *Cod. pseudepigr. Vet. Test.*, J. A. Fabric., tom. 1 (1722), and Beer, *Leben Ab.* (1859). *The Testament of A.* (first ed. by James, 'Texts and Studies, Camb. 1892) deserves especial mention as an apocr. (apparently of Egyp. origin) of apocalyptic character, first mentioned by Origen, *Legimus . . . justitiæ et iniquitatis angelos super Abrahami salute et interitu disceptantes*, etc. (*In Lc. Hom.* 35), and recently brought before the notice of students in a most interesting form by the learned editor.

vi. THE NAME 'ABRAHAM.'—The attempts to discover the etymology of this name can hardly as yet be said to have been successful. According to one very prob. explanation, **Abram** represents a contracted form of Abiram or Aburam, just as 'Abner' probably stands for 'Abiner' or 'Abuner'; while Abraham may have been a local, or an Aramaic, dialectical variety of pronunciation. Abiram was a fairly common name (cf. Nu 16$^{1.12}$ 26^{9}, 1 K 16^{34}) in Heb.; and it is said to be a recognised proper name in the Assyr. Inscriptions, under the form of Abu-ramu (so Schrader and Sayce). The analogy of other proper names, like Abi-melek, Abiel, Abi-jah, makes it exceedingly doubtful whether the name Abram can rightly bear the meanings traditionally assigned to it, 'Lofty father,' or 'the father of the lofty one.' For (1) it stands to reason that no child, however lofty its descent, would have been called 'father,' or 'the father of' a god, whether Melech, or Jah, or Ram; (2) the feminine names Abi-gail, Abi-tal, show the impossibility of this explanation. Probably, therefore, the right meaning of the name is 'Ram (the lofty one) is father,' as Hiram would mean 'Ram is brother,' of the owner of the name. Even so, the origin of the longer name **Abraham** remains still unexplained. The derivation of the name in Gn 17^{5} is only a popular word-play, connecting the termination *-raham* with the Heb. המון 'multitude.' Halévy (*Rev. Ét. Juiv.* 1887, p. 177) ventured to propose that Abraham represents אֲבִיר הָם 'the chief of a multitude,' the first part of the name being derived, not from *ab*, 'father,' but from *abir*, 'chief,' and the second part from *ham* (root *hamah*), 'multitude.' For this theory there does not appear to be much probability. The deriv. of the longer name must be left uncertain, although the most likely explanation of it is to be found in the variant pron. of proper names in different localities or in different clans of the same people. Thus רהם may be a dialectical form of רום; and Abraham the same in meaning as Abram, just as Abiram is the same in meaning as Abram (cf. *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* p. 4, and Baethgen, *Beiträge zur Sem. Rel. Gesch.*).

LITERATURE.—Besides the works mentioned above, the reader is referred to the Comm. on Genesis by Delitzsch, and Dillmann; to the Histories of Israel by Ewald, Reuss, and Kittel; to the works on OT Theology by Oehler, Schultz, and Dillmann. For illustration from Assyr. sources, see Sayce, *Patriarchal Pal.* (1895); Tomkins, *Times of Abraham* (1878); Schrader, *COT*^{2} (1885).

H. E. RYLE.

ABRAHAM, BOOK OF.—A work, consisting of 300 στίχοι, bearing this name, is found in a list of Jewish apocryphal writings, preserved from a much earlier period, in an appendix to the *Chronographia Compendiaria* of Nicephorus (*c.* 800 A.D.). This list is printed in Credner's *Gesch. des Kanons*, 1847, as well as in Schürer's *HJP* II. iii. 126. The so-called *Synopsis Athanasii* presents the same list, omitting, however, the number of στίχοι, which is attached to each book in the Stichometry of Nicephorus. It is likely that this is the book from which Origen quotes as to a contest between the angels of righteousness and iniquity with regard to the salvation of Abraham (*In Luc.* Hom. 35); and James is prob. correct in identifying this *Book* with the *Testament of A.* (*Texts and Studies*, ii. 2, p. 27 ff.). An *Apoc. of A.* is mentioned by Epiphanius as used by the Ophites.

J. T. MARSHALL.

ABRAHAM'S BOSOM.—A term used of the abode of the righteous dead, defining it as a position of blessedness in intimate association with the father of the faithful, 'the friend of God.' In Scripture it occurs only in the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus (Lk $16^{22.23}$), where it appears both in the singular (*κόλπος* 'Αβραάμ) and in the plural (*κόλποι* 'Αβραάμ). Taken from the practice of reclining at table, so that the head of the guest leant back upon the bosom of his neighbour, the place of distinction belonging to him who was seated in this way next the host, the figure expresses the ideas of nearest fellowship and highest honour. In the Rabbin. literature the phrase (חיקו של אברהם אבינו) was applied to the place reserved for the pious departed, into which they passed immediately after death, and in which they dwelt free from the woes of hell (cf. 4 Mac 13^{17}). It was a Jewish belief that the intermediate state contained two distinct compartments—a place of relative preparatory reward for the good, and a place of relative preparatory penalty for the evil (cf. Bk of Enoch 22, 2 Es $7^{76ff.}$ etc.). Some of the Jewish books speak of certain receptacles (*promptuaria*) into which the souls of the faithful dead were taken (Apoc. of Bar 30^{2}, 2 Es $4^{35.41}$ 7^{32} etc.). And in the theology of the 3rd cent. and onwards it was taught that the circumcised should not be subject to hell. It was a saying of Rabbi Levi (of the 3rd cent.), that in the world to come Abraham would sit at the entrance to hell, and suffer no circumcised Isr. to pass into it. It has been usually supposed, therefore, that in NT the phrase 'Abraham's bosom' refers to the intermed. state, and designates a division of the underworld, where the good enjoy a preliminary measure of blessedness. In this case it is identified with Paradise, the *lower* Paradise as dist. from the heavenly, or is taken to describe a condition of peculiar honour in the Hades-Paradise. It is uncertain, however, when this idea of two separate localities within the underworld came to prevail. It was the idea of the later and mediæval Judaism. But whether it was in circulation so early as our Lord's time is doubtful. There seems reason to believe that the older Judaism spoke only of a *Garden of Eden* for the righteous dead, and a *Gehinnom* (Gehenna, Hell) for the wicked dead, identifying the latter with *Sheol*. If so, 'Abraham's bosom' in the parable would not be the name for a special compartment of Hades, or for an intermed. condition of blessedness distinct from and preliminary to the final state of perfect felicity. And in the parable itself it is only the rich man that is expressly described as 'in Hades.'

LITERATURE.—Wetstein on Lk $16^{22.23}$; Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* p. 851, etc.; Fritzsche u. Grimm, *Exeg. Handb. zu den Apocryphen*, on 4 Mac 13^{16}; Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 180; Hamburger, *RE*; Weber, *System der altsyn. paläst. Theol.* p. 328; Meyer-Weiss, *Kom.*^{8} p. 543, etc.; Salmond, *Christ. Doct. of Immortality*, p. 345.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

ABRECH (אַבְרֵךְ).—A word called out before Joseph as he passed through the land of Egypt in his official capacity of prime minister to the Pharaoh (Gn 41^{43}). Its exact signification is not a matter of agreement amongst scholars. The LXX (*ἐκήρυξεν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ κήρυξ*) and the Vulg. (*clamante præcone, ut omnes coram eo genu flecterent*) are not literal or direct translations. The Targ. of Onk. interprets it as 'father of the king,' on the ground possibly of Gn 45^{8}. Jewish scholars who have derived it from Heb. refer it to the root בָּרַךְ *bend the knee*, in the Hiph. Imv., where, for the usual ה, an א has been substituted (cf. Jer 25^{3}). Luther regarded the case as hopeless, in saying, 'Was *abrech* heisse, lassen wir die Zäncker suchen bisz an den jüngsten Tag' (Ges. *Thes.* p. 19). Of the many proposed Egyp. (and Coptic) derivations, we need note only the following:—(1) *Abrek* (απρεκ) *caput inclinare* (Rossi, *Etymol. ægypt.* p. 1, in Ges. *Thes.* p. 19); (2) *ap-reχ-u*, *head of the wise* (Harkavy, *Berl. Ægypt. Zeitschr.* 1869, p. 132); (3) *ab-rek*, *rejoice thou* (Cook, *Speaker's Com. in loco*, p. 482); (4) *āb(u)-rek*, *thy commandment is the object of our desire*, *i.e.* 'we are at thy service' (Renouf, *Proceedings Soc. Bib. Arch.* Nov. 1888, pp. 5–10). On the other hand, several derivations are suggested from the Asiatic-Sem. side: (1) Sayce compares it with an 'Accadian' *abrik*, a seer, appearing also in the Sem. form, on an unpublished tablet, of *abrikku* (*Hibbert Lectures*, 1887, p. 183, n. 3); (2) Delitzsch compares the Assyr. *abarakku* (fem. *ab(a)rakkatu*), *a titled personage*, possibly *grand vizier* (*Paradies*, p. 225; *Heb. Lang.* p. 26; *Proleg.* p. 145; and *Assyr. Wörterbuch*, p. 68 f.); (3) Schrader dissents from Delitzsch (*COT*^{2} i. 139); (4) Halévy derives it from *paraku* (*Rev. d. Études Juives*, 1885, p. 304). But of all the suggested sources of this much-abused word, the Heb. and the Assyr. above mentioned seem to carry with them the least number of difficulties. (The text of Gn $41^{43f.}$ does not indicate that there was anything more than a salute.) It is, in either event, an Egyptianised Sem. word, probably carried down into Egypt during the centuries of Hyksos rule. This opinion receives support, too, from the evidence of the Tel el-Amarna tablets that there had been for many centuries before Joseph's day free international communication between Egypt and Asia.

IRA M. PRICE.

ABROAD.—In its modern meaning of 'in (or 'to') another country,' a. is not used in AV or RV. The nearest approach is Jn 11^{52} 'The children of God that are scattered a.' On the other hand a. is used in senses now wholly or nearly obsolete. **1.** It signifies specially outside one's own dwelling, the opp. of 'at home.' Lv 18^{9} 'Whether she be born at home or born a.'; La 1^{20} 'A. the sword bereaveth, at home there is as death'; Jg 12^{9} 'Thirty daughters he sent a., and thirty daughters he brought in from a. for his sons'; Dt 23^{10} 'Then shall he go a. out of the camp'; Lk 8^{17} 'Neither anything hid that shall not be known and come a.' (RV 'to light'); Sir 26^{8} 'A drunken woman and a gadder a.' Cf.—

> 'Where as he lay
> So sick alway
> He might not come abroad.'
> —Sir T. More, *A Merry Jest.*

2. On the outside of anything: Lv 13^{12} 'If a leprosy break out a. in the skin.' **3.** In the general sense of openly, freely, widely: Mk 1^{45} 'But he went out, and began to publish it much, and to blaze a. the matter'; Ro 16^{19} 'For your obedience is come a. unto all men'; 5^{5} 'The love of God is shed a. in your hearts.' J. HASTINGS.

ABRONAH (עַבְרֹנָה).—A station in the journeyings, occurs only Nu $33^{34.35}$, AV **Ebronah.**

ABSALOM (אַבְשָׁלוֹם, in 1 K $15^{2.10}$ אֲבִישָׁלוֹם **Abishalom,** 'father is peace'), the third son of David (2 S 3^{3}, 1 Ch 3^{2}). He first comes into prominence in connexion with the story of his sister Tamar (2 S 13). After the foul outrage done to the latter by Amnon, David's eldest son, A. determined upon revenge, but concealed his purpose for two years. At the end of this period he gave a feast at the time of sheep-shearing, and invited the king and his sons. David declined for himself, but permitted Amnon and his brothers to go. While the feast was at its height, the servants of A., upon a signal given by their master, fell upon Amnon and slew him. Having thus avenged the affront put upon his sister, A. fled to the court of his maternal grandfather, Talmai, the king of Geshur, where he remained for three years. Then Joab, perceiving that David longed for a reconciliation with his son, contrived, through the medium of 'a wise woman of Tekoah,' to procure a reversal of the virtual sentence of banishment, and A. returned to Jerus., but was not permitted to approach the presence of the king. This unnatural condition of things continued for two years, when A. applied to Joab to use his interest at court to procure a full reconciliation. David's general had, however, for some reason become less hearty in the matter, and declined even to meet A., until the latter resorted to the expedient of ordering his servants to set fire to Joab's barley field. When the owner of the field came in person to demand an explanation of this injury, he was at length persuaded to intercede with the king on behalf of his son, and his mediation proved successful. It is easy to conceive that David, by his injudicious mingling of leniency and severity, had completely forfeited the confidence of his son, and it was doubtless from this occasion onwards that A. began to hatch the plot that proved fatal to him, and which has gained for his name an unenviable immortality. He took advantage of a misunderstanding that seems to have existed between David and the men of Judah, and set himself sedulously to gain the confidence and affection of all visitors to the court. In particular, those who came to have matters of law decided were flattered by the attentions of the heir-apparent, who also was careful to drop hints that the king might do far more to expedite the administration of justice, and that if he (Absalom) were only judge, a very different state of things would be inaugurated. Thus he 'stole the hearts of the men of Israel.' He was greatly helped in the accomplishment of his scheme by the extraordinary personal charms he possessed (2 S 14$^{25-27}$).

How long this preparatory stage lasted is uncertain. The *forty* years of 2 S 15^{7} manifestly cannot be correct, and should perhaps be read *four* years. When at length he judged that the time was ripe for the execution of his rebellious enterprise, A. obtained leave of absence from his father, on pretence of having to go to Hebron to pay a vow he had made during his sojourn in Geshur. His emissaries were at work throughout the whole land, preparing for a general rising, and his adherents became daily more numerous. At the very outset he gained over David's famous counsellor Ahithophel the Gilonite, who may have had reasons of his own for deserting the king (see BATHSHEBA). So alarming were the reports which reached David, that he resolved to abandon the capital and save himself and his household by flight to the eastern Jordanic territory. He was accompanied by the faithful Cherethites and Pelethites, to whom were added on this occasion a body of Gittites who had probably formed part of David's followers in the old days at Ziklag. The offer of Zadok and Abiathar to accompany him with the ark was declined, and Hushai the Archite was also directed to remain at Jerusalem and do his utmost to defeat the counsel of Ahithophel. Upon Absalom's arrival in Jerusalem, Hushai played the part of rebel so skilfully that he gained the complete confidence of the aspirant to the throne. Ahithophel first of all counselled A. to take a step which would make the breach between him and his father irreparable (2 S 16$^{21-23}$), and then advised that prompt measures should be taken to pursue and destroy David before he could rally around him any considerable number of troops. Hushai counselled delay and cautious measures, and his advice was followed, to the chagrin of Ahithophel, who, seeing that all was lost, went and set his house in order and hanged himself. The two sons of Zadok and Abiathar were despatched by Hushai with intelligence to David of what had transpired at Jerusalem. The young men were hotly pursued, and narrowly escaped capture, but evading their pursuers by stratagem reached David, who the same night with his whole company passed over Jordan. At Mahanaim, Barzillai the Gileadite and others supplied him liberally with provisions. Ere long a sufficient number of troops was assembled to justify the king in joining battle with the forces of A., which by this time had also passed the Jordan. The decisive battle was fought in 'the wood of Ephraim.' David, yielding to the wish of his supporters that he should not expose his life by taking the field in person, arranged his army in three divisions, commanded respectively by Joab, Abishai, and Ittai the Gittite. To each of these three generals he gave the charge, 'Deal gently, for my sake, with the young man, even with Absalom.' From the very first the tide of battle set strongly against the rebel army, which lost heavily in the engagement, and still more heavily in its retreat through the forest. Absalom himself was hurried by his mule under an oak, and becoming entangled by the head in the fork of a branch, hung defenceless. In this situation he was discovered by a soldier, who at once informed Joab. The royal general, who appreciated the situation more justly than his master, unhesitatingly pierced the hapless youth to the heart. Having thus disposed of the rebel leader, Joab recalled his troops from the pursuit of the vanquished army. When news of the issue of the battle was brought to David, he forgot everything else in grief at his son's death, and exclaimed again and again, 'O my son Absalom, my son, my son Absalom! would God I had died for thee, O Absalom, my son, my son!' This conduct, natural enough from one point of view, might have had serious results but for the sturdy common-sense of Joab, who pointed out that the king had to think of his soldiers as well as his son. The remonstrance was sufficiently rough in its expression, yet David recognised its wisdom, and, stifling his emotion for the time, came out and thanked his troops for their gallant service in the field. A. was buried near the scene of his death, and the spot was marked by a great heap of stones. According to 2 S 14^{27} he had three sons, and a daughter named Tamar. The latter is with much probability identified with Maacah of 1 K 15^{2}, the wife of Rehoboam (cf. 2 S 3^{3}, 2 Ch 11$^{20f.}$). The sons must have predeceased their father, or else a different tradition is followed in 2 S 18^{18}, where we are told that A. had no son.

The story of Absalom forms part of the section 2 S 9–20 and 1 K 1–2, which, with the exception of a few passages, comes from a single pen. Its dominating aim is to trace the progress of Solomon to the throne. Hence it has to explain how the three sons of David who seemed to have superior claims, Amnon, Absalom, and Adonijah, failed to secure the succession. The style is bright and flowing, the descriptions are graphic, and, with all the writer's evident partiality for David and Solomon, the historical character of these chapters, down even to the minutest details, is established by proofs that are amongst the strongest in the O.T.

LITERATURE.—Driver, *Introduction*, p. 172 f.; Budde, *Richter u. Samuel*, pp. 247–255; Wellhausen, *Composition des Hexateuchs*, etc., pp. 258–263, also *Hist. of Isr. and Jud.* 50 f.

J. A. SELBIE.

ABSALOM IN APOCR. ('Αβεσσάλωμος, 'Αψάλωμος A).—1. A. was the father of Mattathias, one of the captains who stood by Jonathan the Maccabee when the main part of his army fled at the beginning of a battle against the Syrians at Hazor in Northern Galilee (1 Mac 11^{70}=Jos. *Ant.* XIII. v. 7). It is perhaps the same Absalom whose son Jonathan was sent by Simon the Maccabee to secure Joppa after his brother Jonathan had been imprisoned by Tryphon (1 Mac 13^{11}=Jos. *Ant.* XIII. vi. 4). 2. According to 2 Mac 11^{17}, one of two envoys sent by the Jews to Lysias when he began to treat with them for peace after his defeat at Bethsuron

(Beth-zur) in 165 B.C. In 1 Mac $4^{34f.}$=Jos. *Ant.* XII. vii. 5, no mention is made of overtures for peace, but Lysias is stated to have withdrawn to Antioch for reinforcements. It is probable that the author of 2 Mac has made some confusion between the first expedition of Lysias and a second invasion two or three years later, when, after gaining a victory at Beth-zur, he made terms with the Jews in consequence of troubles in Syria.

H. A. WHITE.

ABSALOM'S TOMB.—See JERUSALEM.

ABUBUS (Ἄβουβος, 1 Mac $16^{11.15}$) was the father of Ptolemy, the son-in-law of Simon the Maccabee, by whom Simon was murdered at Jericho.

ABUNDANCE.—This word is used with great freedom in AV, translating about twenty Heb. and nearly as many Gr. words. Each occurrence should be considered in relation to the orig. word. Here it is necessary only to draw attention to the obs. use of a. to signify *superfluity*: Mk 12^{44} 'All they did cast in of their a.' (RV 'superfluity,' Gr. τὸ περισσεῦον, as opp. to ὑστέρησις, 'deficiency,' said of the widow; so Lk 21^{4}); Ps 105^{30} 'Their land brought forth frogs in a.' (RV 'swarmed with frogs,' Heb. שָׁרַץ; so Ex 8^{3}, and cf. Gn $1^{20.21}$ 9^{7}); 2 Co 12^{7} 'through the a. of the revelations' (Gr. ὑπερβολή, RV 'exceeding greatness').

J. HASTINGS.

ABUSE, ABUSER.—**1.** In NT abuse is used twice (as tr. of καταχράομαι) when the meaning is not a. but 'use to the full' regardless of consequences (see Thayer, *N.T. Lex.*): 1 Co 7^{31} 'Those that use the world as not abusing it' (RV m. 'using it to the full'); 9^{18} 'that I a. not my power in the gospel' (RV 'so as not to use to the full my right in the gospel'). **2.** In OT a. is found thrice (as tr. of עָלַל) with a person as object. In 1 S 31^{4} and 1 Ch 10^{4} the meaning is insult or dishonour, as in Milton, *Sam. Ag.* i. 36—

'I, dark in light, exposed
To daily fraud, contempt, abuse, and wrong.'

But in Jg 19^{25} it is the old sense of defile or ravish: 'They knew her, and abused her all the night.' Cf. Fordyce, *Serm. to Young Women* (1767): 'He that abuses you, dishonours his mother.' Hence in 1 Co 6^{9} ἀρσενοκοίτης, 'one that lies with a male,' is tr^{d} 'abusers of themselves with mankind' (RV 'men'); and RV gives the same tr. at 1 Ti 1^{10}.

J. HASTINGS.

ABYSS.—The translation (in RV, not in AV) of ἄβυσσος, a word compounded from α intensive and βυσσός, Ionic form of βυθός, *depth* (2 Co 11^{25}), and connected (see Curtius) with βαθύς, *deep*, and the Eng. *bath*; primarily and classically an adj.= *very deep*, or even *bottomless*; applied to the yawning gulfs of Tartarus (Eur. *Phœn.* 1605) and, metaph., to a sea of calamity (Æsch. *Suppl.* 470): in profane Greek used as a subst. by Diog. Laert. only (iv. 5. 27), on an epitaph, 'the black abyss of Pluto.' (Comp. Job 41^{23} LXX τὸν τάρταρον τῆς ἀβύσσου.) Once (perhaps twice) in LXX it is an adj. (Wis 10^{19} the bottomless deep of the Red Sea: possibly also Job 36^{16} metaph.=*boundless*): elsewhere, LXX, NT, and eccl. Gr., a subst.; in LXX the trans., with few exceptions, of *tĕhôm, the tumultuous water-deep* (some thirty times), and, once each, of *mĕẓûlah, sea-deep* (Job 41^{31}), of *ẓûlah* (Is 44^{27}), *the deep flood* (of Euphrates) and of *raḥabh, spacious place* (Job 36^{16} if subst.). *Primarily* in LXX it signifies (with *tehôm*) the *waters beneath*, by which the earth was at first covered (Gn 1^{2}, Ps 104^{6-9}), but on which it was afterwards made to rest (Jon 2^{6}; see Ps 24^{2}), and from which its springs and rivers welled up (Gn 7^{11} 49^{25}, Dt 8^{7}: cf. Rev 9^{1} φρέαρ). Not unnaturally it denoted also the upper seas and rivers connected with the subterraneous waters (Ps 107^{26} 106^{9}), the original notion of *tumultuousness* in *tĕhôm* (Ps 42^{7}) being overlaid by that of *depth* in ἄβυσσος (Sir 24^{29}, Jon 2^{6}, Ps 36^{7}). *Secondarily*, from the notion of subterraneousness and depth, it is the *place after death*, but is never in LXX the actual translation of *Sheol* (though this etymologically=*depth*, Ps 71^{20}; cf. Ps 86^{13}); in this sense, apparently, it is not justifiable to eliminate altogether the connotation of *raging waters*. [Comp. the contrast with *heaven* in Gn 7^{11} (πηγαὶ ἀβύσσου) with that in Ps 139^{8} (Sheol) and in Ro 10^{7} (ἄβυσσος); also Job 41^{23} LXX, and Job $26^{5.6}$ (ὕδατος).] The relation to Sheol, with its dull, shadowy monotony and even misery, coupled with the OT idea of Sheol as a *pit dungeon* (Is 24^{22}), and with pre-NT apocalyptic usage (Enoch 10^{13} *chasm of fire*; 21^{10} *prison of the angels*; 18^{11} *abyss*), prepared for the NT use of the word. It occurs only twice outside Rev: in Ro 10^{7} it is simply the *abode of the dead*; in Lk 8^{31} it is the *prison destined for evil spirits*. In seven passages of Rev (chs. 9. 11. 17. 20) it is a *prison* in which evil powers are confined ($20^{1.3}$), and out of which they can at times be let loose (11^{7} 17^{8}), but is not the *lake of fire* ($20^{2.10}$); nor is Satan regarded as himself cast into this prison, but only to be so cast ($20^{1.2}$) for 1000 years. J. MASSIE.

ACACIA.—See SHITTIM.

ACCABA (B Ἀκκαβά, A Γαβά, AV **Agaba**), 1 Es 5^{30}.—His descendants returned among the 'temple servants' under Zerubbabel. Called Hagab (חָגָב), Ezr 2^{46}; Hagaba, Neh 7^{48}.

ACCAD, ACCADIANS.—Accad (or *Akkad*), with Babel, Erech, and Calneh, was one of the chief cities in the land of Shinar. These four constituted the beginning of the kingdom of Nimrod (Gn 10^{10}). The LXX reads Ἀρχάδ. The Bab.-Assyr. inscriptions are the source of all our information on this name. It was at first supposed that *Akkadû*, occurring so frequently in the inscriptions in connexion with *Sumer*, referred only to a district or province. But it is now known that there was a city of that name (Hilprecht, *Freibrief Neb.* **i.** col. ii. l. 50). Its form is 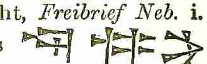 and is read *al Akkad* (or 'non-Sem.' *Agade*), city of Accad, the name under which the city was for long centuries known. It was the residence of the first historical ruler of all Babylonia, Sargon I., whose activity dates from 3800 B.C., according to the statement of Nabonidus (555–538 B.C.), an inscription discovered in 1881 on the site of Sippar. Frequent references to two Sippars, 'Sippar of the Sun-god' and 'Sippar of Anunit,' indicate some strange fortunes in connexion with this site. The worship of Ishtar of Accad was replaced by that of Anunit of Sippar. In very early times Sippar was the chief seat of sun-worship, and Accad of Ishtar worship. Gradually there was a political absorption, and all references seem to justify the assumption that of those two cities lying close together, Sippar with its Sun-god became the more powerful, and practically absorbed Accad. The worship of Ishtar, however, did not lose its identity, but was continued under the name of Sippar of Anunit (McCurdy, *Hist. Prophecy and the Monuments*, § 94). It is possible, but still unproved, that the city of Accad lay opposite to Sippar on the left bank of the Euphrates. Its exact site is a matter of doubt, but it is thought to have been located near *Abu-habba*, about fifteen miles west of Baghdad. Delitzsch conjectures that it may have been one of the two cities which bore the name of Sepharvaim, but McCurdy locates this double city in N. Syria (§ 349). The Wolfe expedition to Babylonia in 1884–85 (cf. *Report*, pp. 24, 25) located it at *Anbar*, on the Euphrates, N.W. of the ruins of Babylon. It was probably the capital city of *mât Akkadi*. (Consult for greater fulness the literature named below.)

From ancient times the kings of Babylonia, and the kings of Assyria who ruled over this territory, appended to their names *šar Šumêri u Akkadi*, king of Sumer and Akkad. Now, what was the origin of this double title? It was probably not indicative of the two regions of Babylonia, S. and N., as kings who ruled only over S. Babylonia claimed it. It was also claimed by conquerors who had not advanced farther S. than Nippur (cf. Winckler, *Untersuch. z. altorient. Ges.* 65 ff.). It seems, then, that 'Sumer and Accad,' in the titles of kings, may have been no more than a claim to the ancient territory and city of Accad, with *additional* territory (cf. McCurdy, § 110). (For other views of the question, cf. Schrader, *Keilinschriften u. Geschichtsf.* p. 533 f.; Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 198; Tiele, *Gesch. Babyl.-Assyriens*, part i. p. 76 f.)

Upon the identification of these names with specific localities has been built up the theory of the so-called Sumerians and Accadians. To the consideration of this theory we will now turn our attention.

It is maintained by a certain school of Oriental historians and linguists, that the lower Mesopotamian valley was at an early day populated by the Accadians, who were originally related to the Sumerians. They spoke, it is said, an agglutinative language. In the midst of these peoples Sem. tribes settled down, and adopted the language and customs of their foresettlers. Step by step the Sem. language gained ascendency, and about 1200 B.C. the native tongue died out, except as a sacred and literary vehicle, in which capacity it served until a late date. It is claimed that those early non-Sem. peoples reached a high degree of civilisation, that they left many traces of their culture in their monuments of art and language, and that we can readily interpret them. This supposed prehistoric people and their language are termed among Eng. Assyriologists, 'Accadians,' among French and German 'Sumerians,' derived from the supposedly most important localities where the most ancient inscriptions are found.

On the other hand, there is a growing school which maintains that the Semites, whom we know as possessing the cuneiform characters, were the inventors of these last and the developers of Sem. culture, and that the so-called 'Sumerians' and 'Accadians' are but figments of an over-zealous scientific spirit. A few only of the points can be noticed. We find in the inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia word-lists which give a twofold, and sometimes a threefold, explanation of cuneiform ideograms. These ideograms are found in all stages of the Bab.-Assyr. language. In these lists one column of explanations gives us regular Sem. words, and another, words somewhat unfamiliar in sound, which are supposed to be of non-Sem. origin. But careful scrutiny shows that these strange words yield to Sem. roots, and that even the most unfamiliar are simply made up of possible word-forms of the same idiom, disguised according to regular ascertainable methods. Again, what can be said of so-called bilingual or unilingual texts? In both cases we meet with an abundance of these disguised Sem. words, and of Sem. grammatical constructions and modes of thought. The evidence of the slight remains of prehistoric art in Babylon is not decisive. Again, the Sem. Babylonians never in any way speak of or allude to any such people as the supposed Sumerians or Accadians. Still, the same language was used in Babylon down to the latest period of its history, with no name, nor even a tradition, of that supposed great and influential nation whose heritage fell to the Semites. Other peoples who came into contact with the Babylonians, and who exercised considerable influence on them, *e.g.* the Elamites, receive frequent mention, but there is not the slightest allusion to an Accadian race. It is not impossible that new discoveries may remedy this defect, but it is certainly amazing that what is assumed to have been the most influential factor in early Bab. civilisation is entirely unmentioned. When we find that Sem. documents date from as early a period as the earliest so-called 'Accadian,' and that this hypothetical language was used alongside of the regular Sem. for nearly 3000 years, we are inclined to ask, 'What does this mean?' In an examination of the language, we find many Sem. words and values which at first sight do not admit of such an explanation. But it is a fact that the number which do admit of it is continually increasing. Out of 395 phonetic values, Prof. Delitzsch names 106 which he regards as demonstrably Sem. (*Assyrische Grammatik*, § 25). Prof. McCurdy adds more than 40 others, running up the list to about 150 values. It is not impossible that further investigation may greatly increase the number.

But do not the inscriptions from Telloh, which are plainly ideographic, furnish conclusive proof of the soundness of the Accadian theory? So one might expect; but we are already finding in them actual Sem. words, disguised under the forms which are found in later bilingual texts. Besides, it is found that the oldest kings of 'Ur of the Chaldees,' the founders of the first Bab. kingdom, knew how to write Sem. as well as 'Accadian' inscriptions.

[NOTE BY EDITOR.—Professor Price has been permitted to state his view of this question unreservedly. For he is himself an accomplished student of Assyriology, and he has the support of some eminent scholars (see especially McCurdy, *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, i. 87 ff.). But the Editor thinks it necessary to say that the weight of authority is undoubtedly on the other side, leading Assyriologists everywhere having come to the conclusion that the view which Professor Price combats is substantially true. The reader should, however, consult the literature which Professor Price has given below, representing both sides of the question, and the articles ASSYRIA and BABYLONIA.]

LITERATURE.—Schrader, *Zur Frage nach d. Urspr. d. altbab. Kultur*, 1883; Haupt, *Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte*, 1881 f.; —— *Die Sumerisch-Akkadische Sprache*, *Verh. 5ten Or. Cong.* ii. pp. 249–287; —— *Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze*, 1879; Hommel, *Zeitsch. f. Keilschriftforschung*, vol. i. p. 214 f.; Zimmern, *Babylonische Busspsalmen*, 1885, p. 71 f.; Hommel, *Ges. Bab.-As.* 1885, 240 ff.; Tiele, *Bab.-As. Ges.* 1886 f., 68; Halévy, *Aperçu grammatical de l'Allographie as.-bab.* 1883; —— *Mélanges de critique et d'histoire relatifs aux peuples sémitiques*, 1883; Delitzsch, *As. Grammatik*, 1889, § 25; McCurdy, *Presb. and Ref. Review*, Jan. 1891, pp. 58–81; —— *Hist. Proph. and Mon.* 1894, i. §§ 79–85; Hommel, *Sumerische Lesestücke*, 1894; several articles in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, by Halévy, Guyard, and others.

IRA M. PRICE.

ACCEPT, ACCEPTABLE, ACCEPTATION.—1. Besides other meanings, accept is used in the sense of 'receive with favour': Gn 4^{7} 'If thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted?' Dt 33^{11} 'Bless, Lord, his substance, and a. the work of his hands.' It is then sometimes followed by 'of': Gn 32^{20} 'I will appease him with the present . . . peradventure he will a. of me' (RV 'accept me'); 2 Mac 13^{24} 'And the king accepted well of Maccabæus.' 'Accept' or 'accept the person' is often the translation of Heb. נָשָׂא פָּנִים 'to lift up the face,' *i.e.* to look favourably on: Job 42^{9} 'The

Lord also accepted Job'; Pr 18^{5} 'It is not good to a. the person of the wicked.' This Heb. idiom has been tr. into Gr., and is found in the NT as *πρόσωπον λαμβάνω*, always in a bad sense, 'partiality,' 'respect of persons.' Lk 20^{21} 'Neither acceptest thou the person of any'; Gal 2^{6} 'God accepteth no man's person.' Then this phrase is turned into *προσωπολήμπτης* (Ac 10^{34} 'respecter of persons'), *προσωπολημπτέω* (Ja 2^{9} 'have respect to persons,' RV 'of persons'), and *προσωπολημψία* ('respect of persons' Ro 2^{11}, Eph 6^{9}, Col 3^{25}, Ja 2^{1}), three words found nowhere but in the NT and (thence) in eccles. writers. The English 'accept the person' is derived from the eccles. Lat. *acceptare personam*. 2. Acceptable is used in the sense of 'favourable': Is 49^{8} 'In an a. time have I heard thee'; 61^{2} 'To proclaim the a. year of the Lord' (*i.e.* the year of Jehovah's favour). 3. Acceptation = favourable reception, is found in 1 Ti 1^{15} 4^{9} 'worthy of all a.'

LITERATURE.—Lightfoot on Gal 2^{6}; Sanday and Headlam on Ro 2^{11}.

J. HASTINGS.

ACCEPTANCE.—*Accept* and cognate words are used in Scripture to denote the relation of favour and approval in which one man may stand to other men, and especially to God. Of the various phrases employed to convey the idea, those of most frequent occurrence are in OT, נָשָׂא 'to raise,' and רָצָה 'to associate with, have pleasure in,' and in NT, *εὐαρέστος*, 'well pleasing.' The conditions of A. with God appear in OT partly as ceremonial, partly as moral and religious. Purifications and sacrifices (which see) are necessary in view of human ignorance and sin. But the sacrifices must be offered in a spirit free from greed or deceit. To enforce the moral disposition which must accompany every offering, is one of the great functions of the prophets. When the covenant has been established between God and Israel, entrance into it becomes a condition of receiving, and especially of having a joyful assurance of, the divine grace and favour. Similarly in NT, A. is set forth as only in Jesus Christ and for His sake (Eph 1^{6}, 1 P 2^{5}); and, as the history of the patriarchs presents us with living pictures of what is acceptable to God under the old covenant, so Jesus is Himself the Beloved Son in whom the Father is well pleased (Mt 3^{17} 17^{5}), and the type of all that God receives and approves. A. STEWART.

ACCESS.—This word (not found in OT) occurs in NT in Ro 5^{2}, Eph 2^{18} 3^{12} as the rendering of *προσαγωγή*. The Gr. word may express *either* an actual 'bringing near,' or 'introduction,' *or* merely a 'means of access,' or 'a right to approach.' In class. Gr. the idea suggested might be that of 'introduction to the presence-chamber of a monarch.' The OT associations of the kindred verb *προσάγειν* seem to connect the word rather with the peculiar relation in which Isr. stood to J", and to give the term a special appropriateness in describing the admission of Gentiles into a new covenant relation with God (*τὴν χάριν ταύτην*, Ro 5^{2}, cf. Eph 2^{17}), cf. Ex 19^{6} and 1 P 3^{18}; and the approach of Christian worshippers to the Father (Eph 2^{18} 3^{12}), cf. Lv 1^{2} ete., Lv 4^{14}, Mal 1^{11}, Ezk 44^{13} etc. This last idea is worked out in detail in He 10^{19-22}. Our 'right to approach' or 'our introduction' is uniformly described by St. Paul (cf. Jn 14^{6}) as given us by Christ.

J. O. F. MURRAY.

ACCO, AV **Accho** (עַכּוֹ).—This city, included in the lot of Asher (Jg 1^{31}), was never taken by Israel. Known at different times as Ptolemais (1 Mac and NT), St. Jean d'Acre, Accaron, Acon, etc., the old Heb. עַכּוֹ *'Acco* survives in the Arab *'Akka*. Josephus calls it 'a maritime city of Galilee' (*BJ* II. x. 2). It was important as commanding the coast road, and affording easy access to the great routes crossing the plain of Esdraelon.

From the promontory of Carmel the shore sweeps northward with a beautiful inward curve, forming the Bay of Acre, on the northern extremity of which the city stands. From *Ras en-Nakûrah*, in the north, the mountains recede some miles from the coast, leaving a fertile plain, which is bounded on the south by the Carmel range. It is watered by the Kishon (*el Makaṭṭa'*) and *Nahr Na'amân*, the ancient Belus. The plain furnishes Haifa, Nazareth, Tiberias, and Ṣafed with half their supply of fruit and vegetables, sending also much to Beyrout.

Of the 10,000 or 12,000 inhabitants, two-thirds are Moslems, the remainder being Greek and Catholic Christians, with a few Jews and Persians. It is the seat of a provincial governor, under whom are the districts of Haifa, Nazareth, Tiberias, and Safed. The chief trade is the export of grain brought by camels from *Haurân*. About 1000 tons of oil from the olive groves of Galilee are also annually exported. Entered from the south by a single gate, it is defended to landward by a double rampart, to seaward by a strong wall. The ancient inner harbour has disappeared, and the outer is used only by smaller vessels, the neighbouring anchorage of Haifa being more safe and convenient for larger ships.

Few cities have had a stormier history. Allied with Sidon and Tyre in the days of Eluleus against Shalmaneser IV. (*Ant.* IX. xiv. 2), it was taken by Sennacherib, and given by Esarhaddon to the king of Tyre. Held in succession by Babylon and Persia (Strabo, xvi. 2. 25), on the division of Alexander's kingdom it fell to Ptolemy Soter. Its strategie value was proved in the Syro-Egyp. wars. Betrayed to Antiochus the Great (B.C. 218), it was immediately recovered by Egypt. Simon Maccabæus defeated and drove the forces of Tyre, Sidon, and Ptolemais into the city (1 Mac 5^{22}; *Ant.* XII. viii. 2). Alex. Balas took it by treachery, and there married Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy Philometor (*Ant.* XIII. ii. 1, iv. 1, 2). Demetrius Nikator gave it to Jonathan 'for the necessary expenses of the temple' (1 Mac 10^{39}). Here Jonathan was perfidiously taken by Tryphon (*Ant.* XIII. vi. 2). Besieged by Alexander Jannæus, relieved by Ptolemy Lathyrus (*Ant.* XIII. xii. 4), it was captured by Cleopatra, who gave it to the Syrian monarchy (*Ant.* XIII. xiii. 2). Tigranes the Armenian having taken the city, at once retired (*Ant.* XIII. xvi. 4; *BJ* I. v. 3). Falling to the Parthians (*Ant.* XIV. xiii. 3; *BJ* I. xiii. 1), it finally passed under the power of Rome, and was raised to the rank of a colony, with the title, 'Colonia Claudii Cæsaris Ptolemais.' Herod built here a gymnasium (*BJ* I. xxi. 11). It is last mentioned in Scripture in connexion with St. Paul's visit (Ac 21^{7}). W. EWING.

ACCOMPLISH.—The primary meaning of a. is to bring to a successful issue. But the only examples of this in the AV are Ps 64^{6}, Pr 13^{19}, 1 Es 1^{17}, Ac 21^{5}. Sometimes a. simply means to 'do,' 'perform': 1 K 5^{9}, Jth 2^{13}, Is 55^{11} 'it (God's word) shall a. that which I please.' It is occasionally used in the obsolete sense of 'to complete a period of time': Jer. 25^{12} 'when seventy years are accomplished'; Is. 40^{2} 'her warfare is accomplished'; Job 14^{6} 'till he shall a., as an hireling, his day.' From this arises its most frequent meaning, to bring to an ideal or divine completeness, to fulfil: (*a*) prophecy (once only), 2 Ch 36^{22}; (*b*) God's wrath, La 4^{11}, Ezk 6^{12} 7^{8} 13^{15} $20^{8.21}$; (*c*) Christ's work, Lk 9^{31} 12^{50} 18^{31} 22^{37}, Jn 19^{28}. The RV has sought to reserve this meaning for the word 'fulfil,' but unsuccessfully.

J. HASTINGS.

ACCORD, ACCORDINGLY, ACCORDING TO.—1. 'Of its own accord' is used in the special sense of *without human agency* in Lv 25^{5} 'That which groweth of its (see ITS) own a.,' and in Ac 12^{10} 'which opened to them of his own a.' From the Gr. in both passages (αὐτόματος) we get our word 'automatically.' In 2 Co 8^{17} 'of his own a. he went unto you,' the Gr. (αὐθαίρετος) is lit. 'self-chosen,' of his own free choice. 2. In Is 59^{18} 'Acc. to their deeds, accordingly he will repay': 'acc. to' and 'accordingly' are translations of the same Heb. word, and have the same meaning. 3. In Ezk 42$^{11.\,12}$ 'acc. to' means 'corresponding to.' 4. As verbal adj. 'according' is found only in Wis 18^{10} 'an ill a. cry' (ἀσύμφωνος, RV 'in discord'): cf. *In Memoriam*—

> 'That mind and soul, according well,
> May make one music.'

J. HASTINGS.

ACCOS ('Ακχώς, 1 Mac 8^{17}).—Eupolemus, the son of John, the son of Accos, was one of the envoys sent to Rome by Judas Maccabæus in 161 B.C. Accos represents the Heb. Hakkoz (הַקּוֹץ), which was the name of a priestly family (1 Ch 24^{10}, Ezr 2^{61}); Eupolemus, therefore, may well have been of priestly descent.

H. A. WHITE.

ACCOUNT.—As a subst. a. is either literally the number counted, as Ec 7^{27} 'Counting one by one, to find out the a.'; or metaphorically 'reckoning' (Gr. λόγος, 'word'), as Ro 14^{12} 'Every one of us shall give a. of himself to God.' As a verb a. is used in rare or obs. meanings. 1. To estimate, as Dt 2^{20} 'That also was a^{ed} a land of giants'; Ro 8^{36} 'We are a^{ed} as sheep for the slaughter'; He 11^{19} 'a^{ing} that God was able'; He 11^{26} RV 'a^{ing} (AV, 'esteeming') the reproach of Christ greater riches.' Cf. 1 Mac 6^{9} 'He made a. (ἐλογίσατο) that he should die.' Then it is sometimes followed by 'of,' as 1 K 10^{21} 'It (silver) was nothing accounted of in the days of Solomon'; 1 Co 4^{1} 'Let a man so a. of us as of the ministers of Christ.' 2. To 'reckon' or 'impute,' as Gal 3^{6} 'It was a^{ed} (RV 'reckoned') to him for righteousness.' 3. To 'seem,' or 'be reputed,' as Mk 10^{42} 'they which are a^{ed} (Gr. οἱ δοκοῦντες) to rule over the Gentiles'; so Lk 22^{24}. Cf. Gal 2$^{2.\,6}$ 'those of repute' (Gr. οἱ δοκοῦντες).

J. HASTINGS.

ACCURSED.—In AV חֵרֶם *ḥêrem* is tr. 'accursed' in Jos 6^{17} 7$^{12\,bis}$, and 'a. thing' in Jos 6$^{18\,bis}$ 7$^{1\,bis.\,11.\,13.\,15}$ 22^{20}, 1 Ch 2^{7}. In all these places RV gives 'devoted' or 'd. thing.' For the *ḥêrem* is not accursed *from* God so that we may make what secular use of it we please, but devoted *to* God, and not to be used by us at all. A. is also the tr. of ἀνάθεμα, *anathema*, in Ro 9^{3} 1 Co 12^{3} Gal 1$^{8.\,9}$. In these passages RV simply transliterates the Greek. See CURSE.

J. HASTINGS.

ACHAIA ('Αχαΐα), when Greece was free, was the strip of land bordering the Corinthian Gulf on the S.; but, by the Romans, the name Achaia was applied to the whole country of Greece, because the Achæan League had headed Greek resistance to Rome. Conquered and united with the province of Macedonia in B.C. 146,* Achaia was in B.C. 27 made a separate province; and Thessaly, Ætolia, Acarnania, and some part of Epirus, together with Eubœa and the western, central, and southern Cyclades, were included in it. It was governed by an official with the title Proconsul (Ac 18^{12}), who was appointed by the Senate from among the ex-prætors; and not less than five years must have elapsed between his prætorship and his proconsulship. Corinth was the capital of the province, and the proconsul's ordinary residence (Ac 18^{12}). As the severity of taxation was a subject of complaint, Tiberius, in A.D. 15, reunited Achaia with Macedonia and Mœsia under the administration of an imperial *legatus*; but in 44, Claudius made it again a senatorial and proconsular province. Either at this or some later time, Thessaly was divided from Achaia and united with Macedonia, and Epirus with Acarnania was made a separate procuratorial province (as Ptolemy III., § 13. 44–46, and § 14, describes them). On 28th November, A.D. 67, Nero at the Isthmian games declared Greece free; but within a few years Vespasian again made it a senatorial province; and, so long as the empire lasted, it was governed by a proconsul, under whom were a *legatus* and a *quæstor*. The proconsul and his *legatus* were regularly annual officials, and so was the quæstor always, but an imperial *legatus* governed for a much longer term (two ruled from A.D. 15 to 44). In ordinary Gr. usage, the term 'Hellas' corresponded approximately to the Rom. sense of Achaia; and in that way 'Ελλάς is mentioned in Ac 20^{2}. But there was a wider sense of the epithet 'Greek,' according to which Macedonia could be thereby designated; and thus Achaia and Macedonia together constitute the Gr. lands in Europe, and are sometimes coupled as a closely connected pair (Ac 19^{21}; cf. Ro 15^{26}, 2 Co 9^{2}, 1 Th 1^{8}).

The existence of Jewish settlements and synagogues in Corinth and Athens, the two greatest cities of Achaia, is attested in Ac 17^{17} 18$^{4.\,7}$; and is suggested elsewhere by the rapid foundation of new churches in Achaia (1 Co 2^{1}, Ac 18^{27}). The presence of Jews is proved in Sparta and Sicyon as early as B.C. 139–138 through the letters addressed to those States by the Rom. Senate, 1 Mac 15^{23}; and in Bœotia, Ætolia, Attica, Argos, and Corinth by a letter of Agrippa to Caligula, Philo, *leg. ad Gaium*, § 36 (Mang. ii. 587). Jewish inscriptions have been found at Athens, Patræ, and Ægina.

LITERATURE.—There is a good article on Achaia in Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*: see also Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverw.* i. p. 321 f.; Mommsen, *Provinces of Rom. Emp.* (*Röm. Gesch.* v.) ch. vii.

W. M. RAMSAY.

ACHAICUS ('Αχαϊκός).—The name is Roman (see CORINTH), and appears to have been perpetuated in the family of L. Mummius, who earned it by his conquest of Corinth and Achaia, B.C. 146. The A. of 1 Co 16^{17} may have been a freedman or client of the Mummii. In company with Stephanas and Fortunatus he had appeared at Ephesus, and had 'refreshed the spirit' of St. Paul, and, he adds, of the Corinthians also; they thus 'supplied' something which 'was lacking' on the part of the Corinthians. This suggests that they were distinct from (1) the bearers of the Cor. letter (1 Co 7^{1}) to St. Paul; and from (2) οἱ Χλόης (1 Co 1^{11}), who had more recently brought back to Ephesus the disquieting news, under the fresh impression of which 1 Co was written. (See STEPHANAS, FORTUNATUS, CHLOE; CORINTHIANS, FIRST EPISTLE TO).

A. ROBERTSON.

ACHAN (עָכָן, in 1 Ch 2^{7} עָכָר, Sept. 'Αχάρ, prob. the correct form of the name, cf. 'Valley of *Achor*').—A man of the tribe of Judah, son of Carmi, also called (Jos 22^{20}) son of Zerah, who was his great-grandfather. After the fall of Jericho, he coveted and took a portion of the spoil, which had been devoted to utter destruction. This sin in the devoted thing, involving the breach of a vow made by the nation as one body, brought wrath upon all Israel, and their first attack upon Ai was repulsed with the loss of thirty-six men.

---

* This fact, hotly disputed for a time since 1847, is now generally admitted; but A. was treated more easily than some provinces; Athens (and Delos, which see), Sicyon (which received part of the territory of Corinth), Sparta (which was free from taxation and head of the Eleutherolakones) receiving specially favourable terms: see 1 Mac 15^{23}.

Investigation was made by lot to discover who had sinned, and Achan was singled out. He made full confession of his guilt, and the stolen treasure was found hid under his tent. Instant execution followed. Not only Achan himself, but his tent, his goods, his spoil, his cattle, and his children, were taken to the valley, afterwards called the valley of Achor. There they stoned him, and all that belonged to him, afterwards consuming the whole with fire, and raising over the ashes a great heap of stones. This act of vengeance is represented as being in some measure an expiation of the crime. 'The Lord turned from the fierceness of His anger.' The supposition that his family were accessories to his crime finds no support in the narrative. The language of Jos 7^{25} ('all Israel stoned *him* with stones, and they burned *them* with fire') has been regarded as implying that Achan alone suffered the death penalty, the plural number referring to the oxen, asses, and sheep, and that his sons and daughters were brought to the valley merely as spectators, that they might have a terrible warning. It is doubtful if the text will bear this construction, and the sweeping nature of the act of judgment recorded is rather to be explained by reference to the stage of moral development which Israel had reached at the time (Jos 7^{1-26}). R. M. BOYD.

ACHAR.—The form in 1 Ch 2^7, 2 Es 7^{38} of the name ACHAN (wh. see).

ACHBOR (עַכְבּוֹר 'mouse' *or* 'jerboa').—1. An Edomite (Gn 36^{38}). 2. A courtier under Josiah, mentioned as one of the deputation sent by the king to Huldah the prophetess; son of Micaiah (2 K $22^{12, 14}$), and father of Elnathan (Jer 26^{22} om. LXX, 36^{12}). Called Abdon (2 Ch 34^{20}).
C. F. BURNEY.

ACHIACHARUS (Ἀχιάχαρος B, Ἀχεἰχαρος א, אקיקר Aram. and Heb., אחיור Syr.), the nephew of Tobit, was governor under Sarchedonus = Esarhaddon (To 1^{21} etc.), or, according to the Aramaic text, 'Rab over all that was his (the king's), and Shalit over all the land of Assyria'; cf. Dn 2^{48}. The nearest Hebrew name is Ahihud (אֲחִיקָר), 1 Ch 8^7. J. T. MARSHALL.

ACHIAS.—An ancestor of Ezra (2 Es 1^2), omitted in Ezr and 1 Es.

ACHIM (Ἀχείμ).—Perhaps a shortened form of Jehoiachim, an ancestor of our Lord (Mt 1^{14}). See GENEALOGY.

ACHIOR (Ἀχιώρ, אֲחִיאוֹר 'brother of light').—1. In LXX Nu 34^{27} for Ahihud. 2. In Jth (5^5 etc.), a general of the Ammonites, spokesman for the Jewish cause, and afterwards convert (ch. 14). 3. In Vulg. To 11^{18} by mistake. F. C. PORTER.

ACHIPHA (B Ἀχειβά, A Ἀχιφά, AV **Acipha**), 1 Es 5^{31}.—His children were among the 'temple servants' or Nethinim who returned with Zerubbabel. Called Hakupha, Ezr 2^{51}, Neh 7^{53}.

ACHISH (אָכִישׁ, Ἀγχοὐς).—The king of Gath to whom David fled for refuge after the massacre of the priests at Nob. Finding himself recognised as the slayer of Goliath, David feigned madness, and so escaped from the Phil. court (1 S 21^{10}). (This incident belongs to one of the later documents of Samuel.) In 1 S 27^2 (belonging to the *Judaic* or earliest document) A. is called 'the son of Maoch' (possibly = 'son of Maacah,' 1 K 2^{39}), receives David with his band of 600 men, and assigns him the city of Ziklag in the S. of Judah. Despite the wishes of A., the other Phil. princes refuse to let David take part in the final campaign against Saul. J. F. STENNING.

ACHMETHA (אַחְמְתָא, Ἐκβάτανα), the cap. of Media, mentioned Ezr 6^2 as the place where State documents of the time of Cyrus were preserved. The Aram. form of the name employed in Ezr (LXX Ἀμαθά) closely resembles the Pehlevi הגמתאן (*Bundehesh*, p. 23, i. 4), derived from the Old Pers. *hangmatana* (*Behistan Inscr*. II. xiii. 8), derived by Rawlinson from *ham* and *gam*, with the meaning 'meeting-place.' This Old Pers. form, accommodated to the Greek pronunciation, gave rise to the name Agbatana or Ecbatana (To 6^5, Jth 1^{2-4}), and survives in the modern Hamadan (34° 8′ N, 48° 3′ E), the cap. of the province of Persia bearing the same name, with which the ancient cap. of Media is ordinarily identified. Hamadan lies at the foot of Mt. Elwend, 'whence it derives a copious water supply, and in a plain thickly besprinkled with vineyards, orchards, and gardens, but whose elevation is 6000 ft. above the sea; it enjoys one of the finest situations in Persia' (Curzon, *Persia*, i. 566). This is clearly the Ecbatana of To 6^5, where it is represented as lying midway between Nineveh and Rhages; and also of Strabo, xi. 523, who knows of it as the summer residence of the Parthian kings; for which its elevation and consequently cool climate suited it. But the ancient cap. of the Median empire, built, according to Herodotus (i. 98, 99), by the first king Deioces (*c*. 700 B.C.), 'with walls of great size and strength, rising in circles one within the other,' each wall being coloured to correspond with one of the seven planets, is to be sought, acc. to Sir H. Rawlinson (*JRGS* x., art. 2, and ad *l.c.* Herod.), not at Hamadan, but at Takht-i-Sulayman (36° 25′ N, 47° 10′ E) in Adherbijan, the ancient Atropatene, distinguished from Media Magna. The Armenian historian, Moses of Chorene (ii. 84, ed. Whiston), speaks of the 'second Ecbatana, the seven-walled city'; and in the very learned paper quoted, Rawlinson (1) identifies that city with the Gazaka of the Greeks and Ganzak of the Armenians; (2) identifies Ganzak with the Shiz of Mohammedan writers; and (3) localises Shiz at Takht-i-Sulayman, where a conical hill, surrounded by ruins, which enclose a lake that has attracted the observation of ancient and modern travellers, corresponds with the description of Ecbatana given by Herodotus, as well as with what that historian tells us of the character of the surrounding country (i. 110). Hamadan, which lies at the foot of a mountain, would not admit of being fortified in the way described; and, though search has been made by numerous explorers (see Polak in *Mittheilungen der Wiener Geograph. Gesellschaft*, 1883, art. 1), no traces have been discovered of buildings such as Herodotus mentions. The description in Jth (1^{1-4}), to which no historical value attaches, would seem to refer to the same city as that of Herodotus; and another record of the impression created by the strength of its fortifications is, according to Rawlinson, to be found in the account of Var in the 2nd Fargard of the Vendidad. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

ACHOR VALLEY (עֵמֶק עָכוֹר 'valley of trouble,' Jos $7^{24, 26}$ 15^7, Is 65^{10}, Hos 2^{15}).—In the last passage the name may perhaps not be geographical. The valley was near Jericho, but its exact position is not quite certain. It appears, however, from its connexion with the border of Judah, to be probably *Wâdy Kelt*, a deep ravine close to the site of the Jericho of the Christian era. The stream becomes a foaming torrent after rains, and, issuing into the plains, runs between steep banks south of modern Jericho to the Jordan (*SWP* vol. iii. sh. xviii.). C. R. CONDER.

ACHSAH (עַכְסָה 'anklet,' 1 Ch 2[49] AV **Achsa**).—The daughter of Caleb. She was promised in marriage by her father to the man who should capture Debir or Kiriath-sepher. Othniel, the brother (nephew ?) of Caleb, accomplished the feat, and obtained the promised reward. As the bride was being conducted to her home, she lighted off her ass and besought her father to add 'springs of water' to the dowry of a south land (Negeb), which he had already given her. In response he granted her 'the upper springs and the nether springs' (Jos 15[16-19], Jg 1[9-15]). R. M. BOYD.

ACHSHAPH (אַכְשָׁף).—There were perhaps two towns in Galilee of this name. 1. Noticed with places in Upper Galilee, may be the present *El-Kesâf* S. of the Leontes, on the mountains of Naphtali (Jos 11[1] 12[20]). 2. A city of Asher (Jos 19[25]), noticed with other towns near the coast, is more probably the modern *El-Yasîf* near Acre. This is also noticed by the Mohar, an Egyp. traveller (14th cent. A.D.) on his way down the coast. The loss of the letter *caph* in this name may be compared with the well-known case of Achzib (2). See *SWP* vol. i. sheets ii. iii., and Chabas, *Voyage d'un Égyptien.* C. R. CONDER.

ACHZIB (אַכְזִיב).—1. One of the 22 towns of Asher (Jos 19[29] B 'Εχοζόβ, A 'Αχζείφ, in Jg 1[31] B 'Ασχαζεί, A 'Ασχενδεί). It is identified as Ez-Zib on the coast between Acre and Tyre, near where the level line of sand is broken by the promontory of Ras-en-Naḳurah. The present village—a mere huddle of glaring huts on one of the highest eminences of the sandy sea-wall—has nothing to indicate that it was once a place of some note. It is mentioned in Jg 1[31] among the towns and districts that Israel failed to conquer. A. was called Aksibi by the Assyr., and Ecdippa by the Greeks and Romans. Josephus and Jerome refer to it. The Rabbin. writers, hedging the Land as they did the Book, marked out three districts, indicated by A., Antioch, and Mesopotamia. They inclined to the view that A. was on the outside of the first boundary line. All within was Holy Land, where bread, wine, and oil could be found ceremonially clean, and where the dates of the months and their fasts could be accurately known in time for observance.

2. Another **Achzib** (B Κεζείβ, A omits), situated in the Shephelah or 'low-land' of Judah, is mentioned along with Keilah and Mareshah in Jg 15[44], and with Mareshah and Adullam in Mic 1[14]. This neighbourhood suggests a possible identification with 'Ain-Kezbeh near Adullam. The name appears as Kezib (כְּזִיב, Χασβί) in Gn 38[5], and as Kozêba (כֹּזֵבָא, B Σωχηθά, A Χωζηβά) in 1 Ch 4[22]. Some literary interest attaches to Mic 1[14], where it is said that 'the houses of Achzib shall be a lie (Achzab) to the kings of Israel.' The resemblance seems to imply a play on the word. Occurring in a passage of vehement reproach, such derision corresponds to the spitting on the ground, which Orientals resort to when greatly excited and provoked—as an expression of uttermost nausea and contempt. G. M. MACKIE.

ACQUAINT, ACQUAINTANCE.—Acquaint as a reflexive verb, meaning to make the acquaintance of, is found in Job 22[21], Ec 2[3]. Cf. Shak.'s *Temp.* II. ii. 39: 'Misery acquaints a man with strange bedfellows.' Acquaintance is both sing. and plur., Ps 55[13] 'But it was thou, a man mine equal, my guide, and mine a.' (RV 'my familiar friend'); Lk 23[49] 'And all his a. and the women that followed him from Galilee.' Acquainted, meaning 'to be familiar with,' occurs Ps 139[3], Is 53[3] 'a. with grief.' J. HASTINGS.

ACROSTIC.—A poem so composed that the initial letters of certain recurring periods (lines, distichs, etc.) follow some definite arrangement. In the OT all the recognised acrostics are alphabetical, *i.e.* the initials make up the Heb. alphabet. They are Pss 9-10. 25. 34. 37. 111. 112. 119. 145, Pr 31[10-31], La 1. 2. 3. 4, Sir 51[13-30]. See also Hab 1[2]-2[1]. The periods assigned to each letter may consist of one line (Pss 111. 112), two (Pss 34. 145, etc.), three (La 3, etc.), or even sixteen lines (Ps 119); or the lines may vary in number, as esp. in La 1 and 2, and to some extent in the Psalms. Where the period consists of several lines, the initial letter is sometimes repeated with each line (La 3) or distich (Ps 119). In other respects the acrostics vary very much in style and subject, and, though usually late, undoubtedly belong to very different dates. Thus Pss 37 and 119 from their didactic style are evidently late, while the Jahwistic Ps 25 is comparatively early. The acrostic character of these poems often throws indirectly an interesting light on their history, showing us unmistakably the hand of the reviser, who sometimes did not scruple to disturb their alphabetical character. The most striking example of this is in Ps 9–10, originally one alphabetical psalm of usually fonr lines to each letter. This the reviser cut into two, in Ps 9 adding vv.[20-21] * as an appendix (comp. Ps 25[22] 34[23]), and omitting two or three verses after v.[5]. In Ps 10 the verses represented by מ–צ were omitted to make room for the insertion of a very curious and ancient fragment in vv.[2-11]. Somewhat similar, but less violent, alterations occur in Pss 25. 34 and 37. Thus in Ps 25 the insertion of אלהי by the Elohistic reviser (see HEXATEUCH) in v.[2] gives א instead of ב as the initial letter. It would seem also that v.[18] has been substituted for a ק verse, or else that the latter has been omitted. The omission of the נ verse in Ps 145 appears to be accidental. It is interesting to notice that when the psalms are, from their style and position in the Psalter, likely to be of late date, there is little or no interference with their alphabetical arrangement. The transposition of the letters ע and פ in La 2 and 3 cannot easily be accounted for.

Bickell, *Zeitsch. für Kathol. Theol.* (Innsbruck) 1882, p. 326 ff., has shown that the conclusion of Sir, of which the original Heb. is now lost, was alphabetical, the letters כ–ת, vv.[21-29], being evident at once from the Syr. version. It has also been maintained that Nah 1[2]–2[1.3] was originally alphabetical; but if so, the text has been so altered by revision or corruption that very few traces of this remain.

Some critics claim to have discovered a name acrostic in Ps 110, the initials of 1–4, after omitting the introductory words, spelling שמען; but this coincidence can hardly be considered conclusive.

F. H. WOODS.

ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.—

i. Introduction.
ii. Text and Transmission.
iii. Literary History.
iv. Modern Criticism.
v. Purpose and Contents.
vi. Analysis.
vii. Authorship and Date.
viii. The Acts and Josephus.
ix. The Historical Value of the Acts.
    (1) *À Priori* Objections.
    (2) The Acts and St. Paul's Epistles.
    (3) The Archæological Evidence.
    (4) The Period of Transition.
    (5) The Early Community in Jerusalem.
    (6) The Speeches.
x. Sources of the Acts.
xi. Conclusion.
xii. Literature.

i. The ACTS OF THE APOSTLES, the fifth book in the English Canon, is unique in its character.

---

* The verses are numbered in this article according to the Heb. Bible.

While we have four separate narratives of the life of our Lord, and a very considerable number of letters by different apostles, it is the only history of the early Church that can make any claim to be authentic. Some writers indeed, such as Holtzmann (*Handkommentar*, p. 307), suggest that it is to be put on the level of other works written in the second century recording the deeds of the apostles; but such a position is quite untenable. Even if some of them, such as the Acts of Paul and Thecla, may rest on an historical basis, that is the most which can be admitted. The greater number of them, most notably the Clementine Romances, for which there was once claimed almost an equality with the Acts, are now decisively thrown to a later date. The Acts is the sole remaining historical work which deals with the beginnings of Church history; and this amongst other causes has made it a favourite mark of modern criticism.

ii. TEXT AND TRANSMISSION.—Although our authorities for the transmission of the Acts are in the main similar to those for the Gospels, they are fewer in number. Like the Gospels, it is contained in the five leading Uncials (א A B C D), in the Vulg., in the Peshitta and Harclean Syriac, in the two chief Coptic VSS, and there are quotations from it in the leading Fathers. Two sources are, however, defective. We have nothing corresponding to the Curetonian and Sinaitic Syriac, nor do we even know whether such a text existed; and the Old Latin is very inadequately represented. On the other hand, we possess one other Uncial of considerable importance, namely, the Codex Laudianus (E) of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, a bilingual MS. of the Acts only. In later Minuscules it is generally found forming one volume with the Catholic Epistles.

The inadequate representation of the Old Latin and the absence of an old Syriac text are to be regretted, owing to the fact that the particular textual phenomena which they exhibit meet us in some authorities of the Acts in a very conspicuous form, namely, what is called the *Western* text (by Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, p. lxxi, the δ text; by Blass, *Acta Apostolorum*, p. 24, the β text). This is represented more or less definitely by the two bilingual MSS. D E, by the marginal readings of the Harclean Syriac, by the Old Latin so far as we can recover it (Codex Gigas, Floriacensis, and similar fragments, with the Paris MS. Latin 321, edited by M. Berger), and by Western Fathers, esp. Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Lucifer, Augustine, Vigilius, Bede (some having a mixed text). The characteristics of this text are well known; it adds passages of considerable length, it paraphrases, it sometimes seems to correct the shorter text; and all these characteristics appear, but in a very much more marked form, in the Acts; it sometimes gives a different aspect to a passage by the variations from the shorter text, sometimes its variations give additional and apparently authentic information. The problem of the origin of this text has caused in recent years a considerable amount of discussion. Some few critics, such as Bornemann (1848), have been bold enough to consider it the original text; but that opinion has found few followers. Rendel Harris, in 1891, started a series of modern discussions by suggesting that the variations of Codex Bezæ were due to Latinisation, and implied the existence of a bilingual MS. at least as early as 150 A.D. He also found signs of Montanist influence. His main theory was adequately refuted by Sanday in the *Guardian* (18th and 25th May 1892), who ascribed the recension suggested by the Western text to Antioch. Ramsay, in 1892 (*Church in Rom. Emp.* p. 151, ed. 2), found evidence of a Catholic reviser who lived in Asia before the year 150, a locality which had already been suggested by Lightfoot (Smith's *DB*^{2} i. p. 42), while WH suggest N.W. Syria or Asia Minor (*Gr. Test.* ii. p. 108). Dr. Chase, in 1893, attacked the problem from another side, accepting Antioch as the locality, and finding the principal cause of the variations in retranslation from the Syriac, a position he failed to make good. Lastly, Dr. Blass has suggested that the author issued two editions, and that both forms of the text are due to himself personally, the one representing a rough draft, the other a revision: again, a theory which is hardly satisfactory (see Chase, *Crit. Rev.* 1894, p. 300 ff.; Blass' reply begins in *Hermathena*, No. xxi. p. 122).

A definite solution of the problem has not been attained, nor has it yet been attacked in a really scientific manner. A careful study of the MSS. D and E, and their relations, is necessary in order to eliminate their individual peculiarities. But in all probability the solution lies in the direction suggested by WH (p. 122 f.). If we compare the phenomena presented by the text of apocr. writings we find just the same tendency to variation, but in an even more exaggerated form. Popular literature was treated with great freedom by copyists and editors. Immediate edification or convenience was the one thing considered. During the first seventy years of their existence, *i.e.* up to the year A.D. 150, the books of NT were hardly treated as canonical. The text was not fixed, and the ordinary licence of paraphrases, of interpretation, of additions, of glosses, was allowed. These could be exhibited most easily in early and popular translations into other languages. It was a process which would have a tendency to continue until the book was treated as canonical, and its text looked on as something sacred. Although some whole classes of readings may be due to one definite place or time, yet for the most part they represent rather a continuous process, and it is not probable that any theory which attempts to tie all variations down to a special locality or a definite revision will now be made good.

In one point, however, WH's conclusions will require modification. It must not be forgotten that Western authorities represent ultimately an independent tradition from the Archetype. It is quite conceivable, therefore, that in any single reading, which is clearly not Western in its character, they may preserve a better tradition than the MSS whose text we should usually follow. We must, in other words, distinguish Western readings from readings in Western authorities. For example, Ἕλληνας read by A D in 11^{20} may be correct.

iii. The LITERARY HISTORY of the Acts is similar to that of the great number of books of NT. In the last quarter of the second century, when we begin to have any great extent of Christian literature, we find it definitely cited, treated as Scripture, and assigned to St. Luke. This is the case esp. with Irenæus, who cites passages so continuous as to make it certain that he had the book before him substantially as we have it, but with many of the readings we call Western. He lays stress on the fact that there is internal evidence for the apostolic authorship, and is followed in this by the Muratorian Fragment (Iren. *Adv. Hær.* i. 23. 1; iii. 12. 12, 13. 3, 14. 1, 15. 1; iv. 15. 1). The book is also ascribed to St. Luke by Tertullian (*De Ieiunio*, 10) and Clement of Alex. (*Strom.* v. 12. § 83, p. 696, cf. Sanday, *BL*, p. 66 f.); while undoubted quotations appear in Polycrates of Ephesus (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* v. 24), in the letter concerning the martyrs of Vienne and Lyons (*ib.* v. 1), and a possible one in Dionysius of Corinth (*ib.* iv. 23). By this date the work is an integral portion of the Canon in all Churches, and there are no signs of any difference of opinion. Nor is there any reason for arguing that because our knowledge of it begins suddenly, therefore the book suddenly appeared in the Canon. We have no decisive evidence earlier, because we have no books to contain that evidence. Moreover, the wide area over which our evidence extends seems to imply that the ascription to St. Luke is a genuine tradition, and not a mere critical deduction.

For an earlier period the industry of critics has collected a number of parallels, on which indeed, for the most part, no great stress can be laid; but two lines of argument enable us to take the book farther back. The unity of authorship of the Acts and St. Luke's Gospel must be admitted as axiomatic, and it is quite clear that Tatian, Justin, and Marcion were acquainted with St. Luke's Gospel. Now, the existence of St. Luke's Gospel implies the existence of the Acts, and this conclusion is supported by a number of parallels between the Acts and Justin, which would not perhaps be by themselves of great weight (Ac 1^{8} $=$ *Ap.* i. 50, $2^{30}=$ *Dial.* 68, $7^{52}=$ *Dial.* 16, $17^{23}=$ *Ap.* ii. 10, $26^{23}=$ *Dial.* 36, 76). The use of St. Luke by Marcion clearly carries the Acts back to the early part of the second century; but we can go still earlier. Among the apostolic Fathers there are suggestions of contact with Barnabas, Hermas, and Clement on which little stress can be laid, while Papias shows himself acquainted with the persons mentioned by St. Luke; but in Ignatius and Polycarp (Ac $2^{4}=$ Pol. 1, $10^{42}=$ Pol. 2, $20^{35}=$ Pol. 2, $7^{52}=$ Pol. 6, 8^{21} $=$ Pol. 12, $1^{25}=$ Ign. *Mag.* 5, $6^{53}=$ Ign. *Phil.* 11, $10^{41}=$ Ign. *Smyn.* 3) there are resemblances which, although slight, are so exact as to make the hypothesis of literary obligation almost necessary, as Holtzmann even seems to think (*Einleitung*,^{3} 1892, p. 406, 'there are still more noteworthy resemblances with Justin, Polycarp, and Ignatius'). This last evidence is of increasing importance, as not only the genuineness but also the early date of the letters of Polycarp and Ignatius is becoming daily better established, and these quotations almost compel us to throw back the writing of the Acts into the 1st cent.—this is, of course, provided we accept the literary unity. If we accept the elaborate distinction of sources (see § x.) which has become fashionable lately, no evidence at an early date is valuable except for the words quoted.

The history subsequent to the second century need not detain us. Some few heretics appear to have left the work out of the Canon, and Chrysostom complains that it was not much read in his time; but it is always with him as with all other Church writers, one of the accepted books. Its place in the Canon varies. The ordinary position is immediately after the Gospels (*Evv. Act. Cath. Paul.* or *Evv. Act. Paul. Cath.*), and this is the place it occupies in almost all Gr. MSS. from the Vatican onwards, in the Muratorian Fragment and later lists, in Syr. and Lat. MSS. The order, *Evv. Paul. Act. Cath.*, is that of the Sin., some Minuscules, MSS of the Peshitta of the 5th and 6th cent., the Codex Fuldensis and Vulg. MSS from the 13th cent. A third order is *Evv. Paul. Cath. Act.*, which is found in the Apostolic Canons, 85, the Bohairic and perhaps the Sahidic MSS, in Jerome's Bible and Spanish Vulg. MSS. The only point of importance in the order would be whether there was an early tradition grouping the writings of St. Luke together. There is very little evidence of this. In some cases St. Luke's was placed fourth among the Gospels, but this happened, as a rule, in authorities which do not put the Acts next; for example, the Codex Claromontanus and some Coptic authorities. There seems, however, some evidence for thinking that in Origen's time the order of the Gospels was *Jn Mt Mk Lk*, and that these were followed by the Acts. In the case of Irenæus, however, our oldest evidence for Asia and the West, we find the Gospel already separated from the Acts and definitely grouped with the other Gospels (Zahn, *Geschichte des Neutest. Kanons*, ii. 343–383).

iv. MODERN CRITICISM.—1. By far the most prevalent opinion concerning the Acts has always been, and still is, that which ascribes it to St. Luke the companion of St. Paul. This is the opinion, not only of those critics who are classed as orthodox, but of Renan, whilst it has recently been maintained with great vigour by Ramsay and Blass. It is, of course, compatible with very varying estimates of its historical authority. While Renan considers it valuable mainly as a witness to the opinions and ideas of the author's own time, Ramsay, on the other hand, claims for St. Luke a place in the very first rank of historians—*i.e.* amongst those who have good material, who use it well, and who write their history with a very clear insight into the true course of events. Even he, however, admits that for the earlier portion its value is dependent on the value of the sources used.

2. As soon as Baur began to develop his theory of Church history, it became apparent that it was inconsistent with the Acts; and partly arising from a comparison with the history recorded in the Galatians and for other critical reasons, but partly owing to a different *à priori* conception of what was the nature of the development of the early Church, an opinion has widely prevailed that the Acts presents us with a fancy picture written in the second century in the interests of the growing Catholicism of the day. This has been the view of Baur, Schwegler, Zeller (to whom we owe by far the fullest investigation on this side), Hilgenfeld, Volkmar, Hausrath, Holsten, Lipsius, Davidson, van Manen, and others. But in the extreme form in which it was held it is gradually being given up. Neither the late date nor the exaggerated view of the differences of parties in the early Church is really tenable. The unhistorical character comes, it is now said, rather from defective knowledge and insight, not from deliberate purpose, and the writer wrote as he could rather than as he would. He represents, in fact, the opinions of his day, those of 'Heathen Christianity developing into Catholicity' (Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr. i. 56). Moreover, few would care for a much later date than 100 A.D. 'The authorship by St. Luke would be just conceivable if some time about the year 80 were taken as the *terminus ad quem*' (Holtzmann, *Handkomm.* p. 312).

3. The school of Baur had the great merit of establishing the fact that the Acts is an artistic whole, that the writer had a clear conception of the manner in which the Church developed, and wrote with that idea always before him. In the last ten years a series of writers have attacked the question of the sources of the book (see § x.) in a manner quite inconsistent with this. They have imagined a number of writers who have gradually compiled the book by collecting and piecing together scraps of other books, and by altering or cutting out such passages in the same as seemed inconsistent with their particular opinions. This view, in anything like an extreme form, is absolutely inconsistent with the whole character of the work.

A sufficient amount has been said about the various opinions which have been held, and it will be most convenient to pursue our subsequent investigations from the point of view which we consider most probable.

v. PURPOSE AND CONTENTS.—The purpose which the writer of the Acts had before him may be gathered from his own preface, corresponding as it does with the plan and arrangement of the work. There is indeed a slight obscurity. He begins by referring to his previous book in the words *τὸν μὲν πρῶτον λόγον*, and very clearly sums up the contents of the work as being *περὶ πάντων ὧν ἤρξατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς ποιεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκειν*; but he never gives the second part of the sentence. Its purport, however, may be gathered from the following verses. The apostles were to receive the gift of the Holy Ghost and of power, and were to be witnesses of the Lord in Jerusalem and in all Judæa and Samaria, and to the uttermost parts of the earth. In other words, the subject of the book is (1) the divine credentials of the apostles as exhibited in their *power*, and (2) the extension of the gospel in the stages marked by the words Jerusalem, Judæa, and Samaria, the uttermost parts of the earth.

When we examine the structure of the book, we find that it almost exactly corresponds with these words. There is clear evidence of method. The writer begins with the enumeration of the names of the apostles and the members of the community. Then comes the gift of the Holy Ghost, and the immediate outburst of power. Then the preaching in Jerusalem. In this we notice that all signs of the apostolic power and all points which lead to the spread of the gospel are specially noted. An instance of the first is the story of Ananias and Sapphira; of the last, the way in which the different stages in the growth of the Church are continually emphasised ($2^{41. 47}$ 4^{4}). In ch. 6 there is clearly a new start. The appointment of the seven is dwelt on, both because of the immediate exhibition of power (6^{7}), and because of the immense results which followed from the preaching of Stephen and the persecution which followed his death.

In 8^{4} the second stage of progress is entered upon. The word spreads to Samaria (8^{4-25}). The extension of the gospel is suggested by the story of the Ethiopian eunuch (8^{26-40}). In 9^{1-30} comes Saul's conversion, an event of extreme importance for the writer's purpose. In 9^{31} is given another summary of the progress of the Church—by this time throughout all Judæa and Galilee and Samaria. A series of incidents relating to the missionary work of St. Peter now follows (9^{32}–11^{18}), selected as containing the first definite signs of the extension of the gospel to the Gentiles, *Ἄρα καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὁ θεὸς τὴν μετάνοιαν εἰς ζωὴν ἔδωκεν.* In 11^{19} we reach a further stage. The word is preached in Phœnicia and Cyprus and Antioch, and the Church of Antioch is founded—the word being preached there to those who are not Jews. In 12^{24} again the spread of the word is dwelt on. Another stage in the narrative is ended.

We get in 13^{1} or 12^{25} what is clearly intended to be a new departure. The amount of preparation shows us the importance that the author attaches to the first setting out of Paul and Barnabas together, and from this time onwards the narrative proceeds very definitely forward until the time when St. Paul reaches Rome. We may again mark stages in the narrative—13^{4}–14^{26}—commonly called the first missionary journey of St. Paul; in which we notice the emphasis laid on the exhibition of *δύναμις* on the part of the apostle. In 15^{1-29} comes the apostolic council; then 15^{36}–21^{16} the further missionary enterprise of St. Paul. Here we notice how it is always the points of departure which are dwelt on, as, for example, the first preaching in Europe and in great and important towns. Then 21^{17}–28^{16} the series of events which ultimately lead St. Paul to Rome. Here the great fulness of detail arises partly from the better knowledge of the author, partly from the important character of the events, — St. Paul preaches before rulers and kings, Lk 21^{12},—partly because they are all events which help in taking the gospel to Rome. There the author leaves St. Paul preaching, because he has then accomplished the purpose of his narrative. Rome is typical of the ends of the earth. A definite point is reached, and the narrative is definitely concluded. (For arguments in favour of the definite conclusion of the work, see Lightfoot in Smith's *DB*² i. 27, as against Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 23.)

The above sketch of the plan of the work has, at any rate, the merit of being an attempt to discover the author's purpose by an examination of his own language. The fault of other views is that they exaggerate points of minor importance. A series of writers from Schneckenburger (1841) onwards have seen in the work a book of conciliating tendency, based on the parallelism between St. Peter and St. Paul; and this view in a more or less modified form has been the prevailing one. It has, as will be suggested, this much truth, that the writer would pass over for the most part incidents of a less creditable character; he did not, however, do so, as this theory implies, because he wished to conceal anything (he gives us quite sufficient hints of the existence of difference of opinion, $15^{7. 37f.}$ $21^{20f.}$), but because they did not help in the aim of his work. He looks upon Christianity as a polity or society, and it is the growth of this society he depicts. The internal history is looked at in so far as it leads to external growth. The view of Pfleiderer and some others is that the book was written from an apologetic point of view to defend Christianity against Judaism and paganism. With this object, like the later Christian apologists, the writer depicts the Roman authorities as, on the whole, favourable to Christianity, while he represents the attacks as coming from the Jews. There is no doubt that he does so; but the obvious reason for doing so was the fact that the author was narrating things as they happened, while he gives no hint that his work is intended to be apologetic. It is addressed to a believing Christian, not to any outsider.

vi. ANALYSIS.—A certain amount of discussion has taken place as to whether the Acts should be divided into two or three main parts. All such discussions are thoroughly fruitless. There are quite clearly definite stages in the narrative, and the writer is systematic. We must observe the structure, but we are at liberty to make such divisions as seem convenient—remembering that the divisions are not the writer's, but our own. The following is suggested as a convenient analysis on the lines of the previous summary. The speeches are italicised:—

INTRODUCTION.

1^{1-11}. The Apostolic Commission.

THE CHURCH IN JERUSALEM.

1^{12-26}. The names of the apostles and the completion of their number.
$^{15-22}$. *Speech of Peter.*
2^{1-13}. The gift of the Holy Spirit.
$^{14-42}$. *Speech of Peter.*
$^{42-47}$. Increase of the disciples.
3^{1-26}. Healing of the impotent man. *Speech of Peter.*
4^{1-22}. Imprisonment of Peter and John. *Speech of Peter before the Sanhedrin.*
$^{23-31}$. *Prayer of the Church on their release.*
^{32}–5^{16}. Communism of the early Church — Barnabas, Ananias and Sapphira.
$^{17-42}$. Second imprisonment of Peter and John. *Speech of Gamaliel.*
6^{1-7}. The appointment of the Seven.
$^{8-15}$. The preaching of Stephen.
7^{1-53}. *The speech of Stephen.*
^{54}–8^{3}. Death of Stephen and persecution of the Church

THE CHURCH IN JUDÆA AND SAMARIA.

8^{4-25}. Philip in Samaria. Simon Magus.
$^{26-40}$. Philip and the Ethiopian eunuch.
9^{1-30}. Conversion of Saul.
^{31}. Extension of the Church.
$^{32-43}$. Peter at Lydda and Joppa.

10^{1-48}. Conversion of Cornelius. *Speech of Peter.*
11^{1-18}. Discussion on the subject at Jerusalem. *Speech of Peter.*

The Church in Antioch.
11^{19-26}. Foundation of the Church in Antioch.
$^{27-30}$. Collection for the poor in Jerusalem. Mission of Paul and Barnabas.
12^{1-19}. Persecution of Herod. Peter thrown into prison.
$^{20-23}$. Death of Herod.
^{24}. Progress of the Church.
12^{25}–13^{3}. Barnabas and Saul sent forth from Antioch.

First Missionary Journey of Paul and Barnabas.
13^{4-12}. Cyprus. Elymas and Sergius Paulus.
$^{13-52}$. Antioch in Pisidia. *Speech of Paul to the Jews.*
14^{1-7}. Iconium.
$^{8-20}$. Lystra. *Speech of Paul to the Gentiles.*
$^{21-28}$. Visit to Derbe and return journey to Antioch on the Orontes.
15^{1-35}. The apostolic council in Jerusalem. *Speeches of Peter and James. Letter to the Churches.*

Second Missionary Journey of St. Paul.
15^{36}–16^{5}. The Churches revisited.
$^{6-40}$. Journey into Europe. Philippi.
17^{1-15}. Thessalonica and Berœa.
$^{16-34}$. Athens. *Speech of Paul in the Areopagus.*
18^{1-18}. Corinth.
$^{19-21}$. Return to Antioch in Syria.
^{22}. Visit to Jerusalem.

Third Missionary Journey.
18^{23}. Visit to Galatia.
$^{24-28}$. Apollos at Ephesus.
19^{1-41}. Paul at Ephesus. Disturbance in the theatre.
20^{1-6}. Journey in Macedonia and Greece.
$^{7-12}$. Troas.
^{13}–21^{16}. Journey to Jerusalem. *Speech to elders of Ephesus at Miletus.*

Paul in Jerusalem.
21^{17-40}. Disturbances arise.
22^{1-21}. *Paul's speech to the people.*
^{22}–23^{11}. Paul before the Sanhedrin.
$^{12-35}$. Paul sent to Cæsarea.
24^{1-27}. Paul and Felix. *Speeches of Tertullus and Paul.*
25–26. Paul and Festus. *Speech before Agrippa.*
27–28^{16}. Journey to Rome.

Paul in Rome.
28^{17-31}. Interview with the Jews. Paul begins to preach.

vii. Authorship and Date.—The following arguments enable us to fix with a considerable approach to certainty the authorship of the Acts. (1) It is quite certain that it is written by the author of the third Gospel. This is shown by the preface, which, like that of the Gospel, is addressed to Theophilus, and shows that the author claims to have written such a Gospel, and by the identity of style between the two books (the best and most recent demonstration is that of Friedrich). This fact may be taken as admitted on all sides. (2) The presence of certain portions written in the first person, seems to imply that the writer was an eye-witness of some of the events he describes, and a companion of St. Paul. In the Acts there are certain passages which are technically known as the 'we' sections, viz. 16^{10-17} 20^{5-15} 21^{1-18} 27^{1}–28^{6}. Here the writer speaks in the first person. Moreover, these sections and also the accompanying incidents, in which the writer does not take part, but at which he was probably present, are presented with great fulness and exactness of detail, and seem to imply that the writer was an eye-witness. So far there is general agreement. But two explanations then become possible. Either the author of these sections was the author of the Acts, who changes the person when he becomes himself one of the companions of St. Paul, or these passages are one of the sources which the compiler of the work makes use of. All probability is in favour of the first view. The style of the 'we' sections is that of the author. It is perfectly true, indeed, that the author works up his sources in his own phraseology, as may be seen by a study of the third Gospel; but it is hardly possible to believe that a writer so artistic as the author of the Acts certainly is should have left these exceedingly incongruous first persons. So keenly has this been felt, that it has been suggested that the author introduced these sections in the first person to give an appearance of genuineness to his narrative—a suggestion which refutes both itself and some other theories. An examination of the scope of these sections lends itself to the same view. The first section begins at Troas (16^{10}) and continues to Philippi (16^{16}); the second begins at Philippi (20^{5}) and continues over the whole period to the end of the book, the third person being occasionally adopted, as in 16^{17}, when the event recorded concerns only St. Paul and some of his companions, and not the whole party, nor the author personally. The most reasonable explanation of that fact is that the writer of these sections joined the party at Troas and went to Philippi; that after an interval of some years he again joined St. Paul at Philippi, perhaps his native place, and accompanied him first to Jerusalem and then to Rome. If any other hypothesis be adopted, it is difficult to account for the exceedingly fragmentary character of the sections. On the other side, it is argued that the 'we' sections are so much more historical in their character than some of the other sections, and so much fuller in detail, that they clearly betray a different hand. But the difference is never greater than would be found in passing from the work of an eye-witness to the work of one who, although a contemporary, is not an eye-witness. It is urged, again, that the work cannot be from the hand of a contemporary because of the inexactness and incorrectness of the knowledge of apostolic times which it exhibits. But this is really begging the whole question. We have no right to argue that a book is late because it is unhistorical, unless we have objective reasons for stating that it is so, which overpower the positive evidence for the early date. The balance of probability is in favour of the author of the Acts being identical with the author of the 'we' sections, and therefore of being a companion of St. Paul, but a companion who joined the apostle somewhat late in his career, and who therefore could only have a second-hand acquaintance with earlier events.

(3) The tradition of the Church from the end of the second century is that the author was Luke, a companion of St. Paul; and this exactly corresponds with the circumstances already described. St. Luke is the only companion of St. Paul, so far as our knowledge goes, who fulfils the conditions. The Acts could not have been written by Timothy, for Timothy was a companion during an interval when the 'we' sections cease (Ac 17^{14}); nor by Titus, for we know from Gal 2^{3} that he was with St. Paul earlier; nor by Silas, who was at the council (Ac 15^{22}). St. Luke is never mentioned in any of the earlier Epistles, but he is in the later. Corroborative evidence of the Lucan authorship has been found in the medical terms used (Col 4^{14}, Lk 8^{43}, Ac 28^{3} etc.).

(4) The argument in favour of the Lucan authorship of both the Gospel and Acts, based on a chain of coincidences, has been put very strongly by Bp. Lightfoot. (*a*) Tradition gives to the Gospel the name of St. Luke, a companion of St. Paul. (*b*) Internal but unobtrusive evidence shows its Pauline character. It dwells particularly on the universality and freedom of the gospel; and it refers to less obvious incidents in our Lord's life mentioned by St. Paul (1 Co 11^{23}=Lk 22^{19}, 1 Co 15^{5}=Lk 24^{34}). (*c*) The Acts of the Apostles was certainly written by the same person as the Gospel. (*d*) An independent line of argument shows that it was written by a companion of St. Paul. (*e*) It, too, is Pauline in its character (so far as we are at liberty to use that word). It represents the same universality and freedom of the gospel, and the

same idea of the Christian Church, but more in the concrete (see Ramsay, *St. Paul*, pp. 124–128).

(5) The balance of argument is clearly, then, in favour of St. Luke as author of the Acts. There is, however, still room for doubt as to the time when it was written. (*a*) One theory places it almost immediately after the close of the narrative, and just before the outbreak of the Neronian persecution. The book, it is urged, comes to an abrupt conclusion, and the only explanation is that it is unfinished. As has been pointed out above, there is no real reason for saying the book is unfinished. The arrival of St. Paul in Rome formed a suitable conclusion, and the ending is similar in character to the ending of the Gospel. In the extreme form this argument is untenable, but it is still quite possible to hold that the narrative concluded here, because not many more events had occurred. Moreover, it might be held that the tone in relation to the empire represented the period before rather than after the Neronian persecution. The early date is still held by Blass, and the arguments against it are not very strong.

(*b*) The argument for a later date is generally based on Lk 21^{20} as compared with Mt 24^{15}, Mk 13^{14}. It is stated that the form of the prophecy there recorded has been modified by the knowledge of what happened at the siege of Jerusalem. The Gospel therefore was written after that event, and the Acts somewhat later, under the Flavians. The criticism of Blass, however, has very considerable weight, that there is little in the prophecies recorded by St. Luke which goes much beyond the language of Dn 9^{26}; and the reason given for a late date can hardly be considered demonstrative. Neither can that of Ramsay, who thinks that the Gospel must have been written just after Titus was associated in the empire with his father, so as to explain the incorrect date of Tiberius (Lk 3^{1}). No arguments are certain, and the language of Lk 21^{20} would in any case be quite compatible with a date some time before A.D. 70; but perhaps on the whole the amount of perspective contained in the book is hardly compatible with the earlier date, just as the relation of the third Gospel to the other two suggests the later date, and a period shortly after 70 is the most probable. Whether we can, as Ramsay suggests, press the *πρῶτον* of 1^{1}, and argue that a third treatise was in contemplation, is very doubtful.

The following are dates suggested by various writers, and are for the most part taken from Holtzmann:—64–70 (Hug, A. Maier, Schneckenburger, Hitzig, Grau, Nösgen, Blass), c. 80 (Ewald, Lechler, Bleek, Renan, Meyer, Weiss, Ramsay), 75–100 (Wendt, Spitta), 90 (Köstlin, Mangold), 95 (Hilgenfeld), c. 100 (Volkmar), 110–120 (Pfleiderer), Trajan and Hadrian (Schwegler, Zeller, Overbeck, Davidson, Keim, Hausrath), 125–150 (Straatman, Meijboom, van Manen).

The arguments for a later date are given most fully among recent writers by Holtzmann (*Einleitung*,^{3} 1892, p. 405) as follows:—(1) Acquaintance with the Pauline Epistles (Rom, Gal, Cor, Eph, Thess, and Heb), also with Josephus. (2) Deliberate correction of the narrative of Gal $1^{17\cdot 24}$ in Acts $9^{26\text{-}30}$, of Gal $2^{1\text{-}10}$ in $15^{1\text{-}33}$, of Gal 2^{11} in Acts $15^{35\text{-}39}$. (3) Unhistorical account of speaking with tongues (Ac $2^{4\text{-}11}$), of St. Paul's relations with the law, and legendary narratives such as that of the death of Agrippa, 12^{23}. (4) The writer is contemporary in time with the literary activity of Plutarch as shown by the parallel lives; and of Arrian and Pausanias (narratives of Journey), also of the *περίοδοι* of different apostles. (5) Atmosphere of the Catholic Church; parallelism of St. Peter and St. Paul; traces of the hierarchical view of the Church, and esp. the sacramental theory of laying on of hands. (6) Resemblances with the Pastoral Epistles. (7) Importance assigned to the political side of Christianity; the Roman Empire always represented as favourable to Christianity.

It is very difficult to deal with some of these objections quite seriously. Even if the use of the Pauline Epistles were proved, it is difficult to see what that has to do with the late date of the Acts. The contradictions with the Pauline Epistles are largely dependent on *à priori* views of Church history. Some points, as the resemblance to Plutarch, are purely fanciful. The political point of view is exactly that of St. Paul's Epistles. One point requires perhaps slightly fuller investigation; and the remaining points, so far as they are serious, will be best dealt with in an independent survey of the historical character of the work.

viii. THE RELATION OF THE ACTS TO JOSEPHUS presents to us, under the auspices of modern criticism, a curious double problem. While older critics, like Zeller, contented themselves with pointing out historical discrepancies, later critics since Keim (*Gesch. Jesu*, iii. 1872, 134, and *Aus dem Urchristenthum*, 1878, 18) have attempted to show that St. Luke made use of Josephus. The crucial passage is that concerning Theudas (Ac 5^{36}). In his speech Gamaliel is made to refer to a rebellion under a leader of that name; but according to Jos. this took place at least ten years later, under Cuspius Fadus, and long after that of Judas the Galilaean. So far the problem was simple, but it is now maintained that the mistake arose from the misapprehension of a passage of Josephus. In one paragraph he speaks about Theudas, in the next of the *Sons of Judas of Galilee*, and this, it is maintained, is the origin of the mistake. The two passages are quoted thus—

Jos. *Ant.* XX. v. 1f.	Acts $5^{36f.}$
Θευδᾶς . . . πείθει τὸν πλεῖστον ὄχλον . . . προφήτης γὰρ ἔλεγεν εἶναι, κ.τ.λ.	*ἀνέστη Θευδᾶς λέγων εἶναί τινα ἑαυτόν . . . ὃς ἀνηρέθη καὶ πάντες ὅσοι ἐπείθοντο αὐτῷ διελύθησαν, κ.τ.λ.*
Φᾶδος . . . ἐξέπεμψεν ἴλην ἱππέων . . . ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς, ἥτις . . . πολλοὺς . . . ἀνεῖλεν.	
πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ οἱ παῖδες Ἰουδᾶ τοῦ Γαλιλαίου ἀπήχθησαν τοῦ τὸν λαὸν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀποστήσαντος Κυρινίου τῆς Ἰουδαίας τιμητεύοντος.	*μετὰ τοῦτον ἀνέστη Ἰουδᾶς ὁ Γαλιλαῖος ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς ἀπογραφῆς καὶ ἀπέστησε λαὸν ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ.*

Now, whatever plausibility this comparison may have at first sight is very much diminished when we remember that the two passages in Jos. do not immediately follow one another, but are separated by an interval of 20 lines or more. Nor when we come to examine them do we find any close resemblance in the language. There are words common to both accounts, but they are none of them characteristic; it is not easy to describe a revolt without using the word *ἀποστῆσαι* in some form, while the details are different in the two accounts; the Acts give 4000 men, Jos. gives no number. This is recognised by Clemen (*SK*, 1895, p. 339), who is of opinion that the author of the Acts had read Jos. but forgotten him. Is this resemblance, or fancied resemblance, supported by any other passages? Keim and the author of *Supernatural Religion* have collected a large number of parallel passages, but they are not of a character to bring conviction. On the other hand, the argument of Zeller (Eng. tr. i. p. 232) on the discrepancy between the Acts and Jos. in the case of the death of Herod Agrippa is quite sufficient to prove independence; and this argument has been very well brought out by Schürer. Whatever the differences between the Acts and Jos. prove, they are only conceivable on the supposition of independence. Most of these do not affect our estimate of the historical character of the work; the difficulty about Theudas, even if it admits of no solution, may cast doubts on the historical character of Gamaliel's speech; it does not really affect the question of the Lucan authorship of the Acts.

ix. The Historical Value of the Acts.—1. *À priori Objections.*—In investigating the historical value of the Acts, we must first of all clear the ground by putting on one side a number of *à priori* objections. To say that the document is unhistorical because it narrates miraculous events, or because it contains accounts of angels, is simply to beg the question. Even if we were quite certain that such events were impossible and never occurred, we have abundant evidence for knowing that the early Christians believed in them. St. Paul claims himself to have worked what were believed both by him and his readers to be miracles (Blass, *Acta Apostolorum*, p. 8 f.). Again, all such difficulties as arise from an *à priori* theory of Church history must be banished. To deny documents because they conflict with one's theories, is to argue in a vicious circle. Although there are few serious critics who now accept the Tübingen theories, yet many of their assumptions have acquired a traditional hold on the minds of writers, and consciously or unconsciously affect their arguments. Similarly, objections based on the hierarchical or sacramental tendencies of a book assume that we can find the beginning of such tendencies in the Church; which we clearly cannot do.

Much the same may be said of the supposed parallelisms between St. Peter and St. Paul. According to Holtzmann, the strongest argument for the critical position is the correspondence between the acts of St. Peter and the other apostles on the one side, and those of St. Paul on the other. Both begin their ministry with the healing of a lame man; both work miracles, the one with his shadow, the other with napkins. Demons flee in the name of St. Peter and in the name of St. Paul. St. Peter meets Simon Magus; St. Paul Elymas and the Ephesian magicians. Both raise the dead. Both receive divine honours. Both are supported by Pharisees in the council. St. Paul is stoned at Lystra, Stephen at Jerusalem. St. Paul is made to adopt the language of St. Peter, St. Peter of St. Paul, and so on. The value of such an argument is one which can only depend upon individual feeling. It is, of course, perfectly true that they both occupy prominent places, that they are, in fact, the writer's heroes; but that does not prove the unhistorical character. We may well refer to Plutarch's lives. Because the writer finds parallels between the lives of two men, it does not prove that his narrative is fictitious. But, further, although there are resemblances, there are very considerable differences as well, and the resemblances arise largely from the positions in which the apostles were placed. There is nothing unnatural in the points of similarity, and they are balanced by many points of difference.

Lastly, all arguments against the Lucan authorship, or the historical character of the work, drawn from the fact that the writer clearly has a definite plan and purpose, are quite beside the mark. The distinction between a history and a chronicle is just this, that a history has a plan. The writer, from personal knowledge or other sources, forms a conception of the course of events, and writes his history from that point of view. In the present case the writer wishes to illustrate and describe the steps by which the Christian Church has developed. From that point of view he selects his materials; from that point of view he describes the events and the periods which are to him important; from that point of view he emphasizes the careers of St. Stephen, of St. Peter, of St. Paul. His view may be right or may be wrong, but because a writer has a view he is not necessarily unhistorical. We hope to show that the merit of St. Luke lies in having brought out just the point of view which was important, and that, although there are points in which he is perhaps incorrect, substantially his history is true and trustworthy.

2. *The Acts and St. Paul's Epistles.*—A considerable portion of the narrative of the Acts is contemporary with certain of St. Paul's Epistles. Here, then, we have some opportunity of controlling the narrative, and here we have to meet a very curious combination of arguments. It is now maintained that the Acts is late, and its narrative unauthentic because of differences from St. Paul's Epistles, and then that these Epistles are its sources. To prevent these arguments conflicting, we have to suppose a deliberate falsification of the narrative of Galatians by the author of the Acts, and an extraordinary capacity on his part to conceal his obligations. The parallels quoted are very slight, but most numerous in the case of the Epistles of the captivity. Even here they have little value as implying literary obligations; but if, as we believe, St. Luke, the author of the Acts, was St. Paul's companion in captivity, and possibly acted as his amanuensis, it is natural that his phraseology should be influenced by that personal contact.

There are three passages which demand a more exact comparison.

(*a*) Gal 1^{17-24}=Ac 9^{26-30}.
(*b*) Gal 2^{1-10} =Ac 15^{1-33}.
(*c*) Gal $2^{11f.}$ =Ac 15^{35-39}.

(*a*) If we examine the first passages we notice quite definitely certain discrepancies. The Acts contain no reference to the visit to Arabia; we should not gather from the narrative that three years had elapsed before the visit to Jerusalem; while the statement that he was unknown by face to the Churches that were in Judæa, is supposed to be inconsistent with the fact that he preached in the synagogues of Jerusalem. But how far do these discrepancies take us? It is quite clear that St. Luke selects what he requires for his purpose, and it is possible that he knew of the journey to Arabia and did not think it necessary to record it; nor, again, does he give exact indications of the time elapsed. There is no necessary inconsistency; but still the obvious impression created by the narrative is that the writer did not know of the Arabian journey, nor of the length of time which had elapsed before the Jerusalem visit, and the two narratives give a somewhat different impression. St. Paul wishes to emphasize his independence of the apostles; St. Luke wishes to show that St. Paul was received by them. But each hints at the other side. St. Paul clearly implies that he was received by them; St. Luke as clearly, that there was some hesitation about doing so, and St. Luke's language makes it plain that even if he had preached in synagogues in Jerusalem he had not preached in Judæa. The accounts are different and to all appearance independent, they represent different points of view, they supplement one another; they are not inconsistent.

(*b*) The same may be said in the main concerning the next narrative (Gal 2^{1-10}=Ac 15^{1-33}). The very careful examination of Lightfoot (*Galatians*, p. 109) represents, on the whole, a very fair historical conclusion. No sensible person will find any discrepancy if St. Paul, giving his internal motive, states that he went by revelation, and St. Luke gives the external motive. It is quite natural that St. Luke should give the public history, St. Paul the private. What is more important to notice is the incidental testimony that each account gives to the other. We gather from St. Paul his great desire to be on good terms with the leading apostles—if he is not, he fears he will run in vain and labour in vain; we gather that they receive him in a friendly manner—they give him the right hand of fellowship; although they are looked upon by some of their followers as being antagonistic to St. Paul, St. Paul does not think so. Again, from the Acts we gather that the conclusion was not carried out without much dispute, and presumably was not acceptable to all; and we equally gather, as we would from St. Paul, that those who had caused the disturbance had claimed that they represented the opinions of the chief apostles.

It has been assumed that Ac 15 refers to the same event as Gal 2^{1-10}; but this, although commonly, is not universally accepted. Why, it is asked, does St. Paul omit all reference to the visit recorded in Ac 11^{30}? This is a genuine difficulty. It has been suggested that there has been a disarrangement in the Acts, and, owing to a confusion of sources, one of the later visits has been duplicated. The argument against this is that Barnabas is represented as the companion of St. Paul, and that he had left him at a later date. A mistake in chronology is probable, but not a mistake as to the companionship. On the other side, Ramsay (*St. Paul*, p. 48) identifies the visit of Gal 2^{1-10} with that of Ac 11^{30}. He lays great stress on the difficulty involved in supposing that St. Paul omitted all reference to this journey. But the reasons given by Lightfoot—that the apostles were not in Jerusalem, and that therefore there was no need for the visit to be mentioned—are accepted by Hort (*Judaistic Christianity*, p. 61) as sufficient. We must refer the reader to Ramsay's own book for the discussion of the subject, but can only say that he has not succeeded in convincing us. A reasonable criticism must say that the two narratives we are considering refer to the same events; that the accounts they contain are independent and supplementary, but not contradictory (see the discussion between Sanday and Ramsay in *Expositor*, Feb. 1896, and foll. numbers).

(*c*) The third point need not detain us long. It is merely that St. Luke does not record a narrative concerning St. Peter mentioned by St. Paul. He may have been ignorant of it; he may have thought that it did not answer his purpose; he may even have thought it better to omit an incident which he felt was discreditable. What is important to notice is that the narrative in Galatians proves conclusively that the standpoint of the Acts is correct. It was quite impossible that St. Paul could accuse St. Peter of hypocrisy unless he had already adopted his view. 'It is clear from Gal $2^{11\text{ff.}}$ that Peter then and for long before occupied in principle the standpoint of Paul' (Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr. vol. i. p. 90).

An examination of these narratives proves the independence of the two accounts, and each corroborates the other in various points. When we turn to the general narrative in the Acts and compare it with that which can be gathered from the Epistles, we find three characteristics—independence, broad resemblances, and subtle points of contact. All the Epistles which correspond to the same period will fit into the narrative, while the minute coincidences which have been brought out by Paley, whose argument is not out of date,—more particularly that concerning the collection for the saints,—have very substantial evidential value.

3. *The Archæological Evidence.*—A great test of the accuracy of the writer in the last twelve chapters is given by the evidence from archæology. Its strength and value are so great that we need only refer to it. The investigations of the last twenty or thirty years have tended more and more to confirm the accuracy of the writer. In almost every point where we can follow him, even in minute details, he is right. He knows that at the time when St. Paul visited Cyprus it was governed by a proconsul; this was the case only between the years B.C. 22 and some time early in the 2nd cent.; then a change was made, probably in Hadrian's reign. He knows that the magistrates of Philippi were called *στρατηγοί*, and were attended by lictors, but that those of Thessalonica were *πολιτάρχαι*. He knows that Derbe and Lystra, but not Iconium, are cities of Lycaonia. The subject has been worked out in considerable detail by Lightfoot and Ramsay, and it is sufficient to refer to them. It is enough, too, to refer here to the very complete investigations of the account of St. Paul's voyage and shipwreck made by James Smith (*Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*). We need not enter into details, as they are admitted. What we must emphasize is the bearing of this evidence. It proves, in the first place, that in the latter portion of the Acts the writer had good and accurate sources of information. It is quite impossible that he should be correct in all these points unless he had good material, or was himself conversant with the events. But it also proves, however we think he acquired the information, that he was accurate in the use of his sources. It is quite inconceivable that a writer who is so accurate in a large number of small and difficult points could have, as is maintained, used Josephus, and used him with incredible inaccuracy. This evidence, on the other hand, does not prove that the writer is necessarily as trustworthy in the earlier portions of the history, where his sources of information were less good. It does suggest that he would get as accurate information as possible, and reproduce it correctly.

4. We pass backward to the *transition period*, which begins with the preaching of Stephen and extends to the end of the apostolic council. This is clearly the most important period in the history, and we have few means of controlling it. We have little independent evidence. What we can point to, in the first place, is the *naturalness* of the whole history. There were the germs of universalism in Christianity, but these needed opportunity to develop; and the whole history shows that the expansion arose from the natural reaction of events on the Christians, not from any deliberate purpose or from any one definite event. Take first the persecution. Zeller (Eng. tr. vol. i. p. 229) lays great stress on the fact that in the early chapters the Sadducees are the persecutors, in the later the Pharisees. But this inconsistency is thoroughly natural. At first the Sadducees oppose the Christians, because, being the official hierarchy responsible to the Romans for the order of the country, they fear disturbances; the Christians are merely a sect of devout and zealous Jews in favour with the Pharisees. But when once the universalist element inherent in Christianity is made apparent by the teaching of Stephen, the devout and zealous Jews are offended, the Pharisees take up the persecution, and it becomes a reality. We may notice again incidentally how it is the entrance of the freer Hellenic spirit in the person of Stephen which first brings out this universalistic element. The persecution leads quite naturally to a dispersion of the Christians, more particularly of those associated with Stephen, and consequently to the spread of Christianity. In all that follows St. Peter takes the lead, a position which is quite in accordance with what we know from Galatians (see above, § ix. 2). The stages work out gradually and naturally, the pressure of faith and enthusiasm leads the preachers of Christianity onwards. First come the Samaritans, then 'devout men' who are yet not circumcised; then the preaching to Gentiles; then the growth of a definite *Christian* community in Antioch, *i.e.* a community which the outer world clearly recognised as something distinct from Judaism, and which would naturally appear first in a place removed from older associations; then the first recorded journey of St. Paul, with its unexpected and far-reaching developments, and its subtle corroborations in the Romans (10^{12}). Naturally enough, there gradually arises a Judaising party in Jerusalem, and the older apostles find themselves acting as mediators between the two parties. The position which is ascribed to them by the Acts is always recognised by St. Paul, and he claims equally to be recognised by them; while both the Acts and St. Paul recognise the extreme party as claiming their authority although without entire justification (Ac 15^{24}, Gal 2^{12}). The whole story as told in the Acts is natural and consistent, and gives a much more credible account of the development of Christianity than any modern one constructed on *à priori* ideas.

5. *The Early Community in Jerusalem.* —The first section of the Ac (1^{12}–5^{42}) has been often treated as the least historical portion of the book. It is less true to say that it has been attacked. It is rather the case that it has been set on one side ('the idealised picture of the Jerusalem community,' Holtzmann). And the examination of it is difficult, for we have little that is definite with which to compare it. The theory, however, put forward is that this was written from the point of view of the author's own time, and from that aspect we can examine it. We know how the writer of the *Clementine Homilies* reproduces in the earliest days of the Church the doctrine and the organisation of his own time—he represents St. Peter as appointing bishops in every church. Now, at any rate, the writer of the Acts lived forty years later, and at a time when both the doctrine and the organisation of the Church were much more developed; yet we find absolutely no traces of this either in the speeches or in the narrative of the first five chapters.

To work this out in detail would be beyond the scope of the present article, but it may be illustrated in some points. The *Christology* is throughout primitive. Our Lord is called Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ Ναζωραῖος (2^{22} 3^{6} 4^{10}), a name which occurs in the Gospels, but elsewhere only twice, when St. Paul, in the later chapters of the Acts, is referring to his earlier life. So again the next phrase that meets us is παῖς θεοῦ ($3^{13.\,26}$ $4^{27.\,30}$), which occurs nowhere else in NT of our Lord, and elsewhere is used of Him in the *Didaché,* which clearly represents very early tradition. Again, we notice how very markedly Χριστός is not a personal name, τὸν προκεχειρισμένον ὑμῖν Χρ. Ἰησ. (3^{20}), κύριον αὐτὸν καὶ Χριστὸν ὁ θεὸς ἐποίησεν (2^{36}). One more phrase we may notice, ἀρχηγόν (3^{15} 5^{31}), which occurs elsewhere in Hebrews twice (2^{10} 12^{2}), and nowhere else in NT. We find nowhere the expression υἱὸς θεοῦ. Whereas St. Paul 'placarded' Christ crucified (Gal 3^{1}), we find here, as we might expect, that St. Peter has to take towards the death of Christ a purely defensive attitude (3^{18}). We have no reference to Christ's pre-existence. We have, in fact, a representation of what must have been, and what we have independent evidence to show was the earliest Christian teaching about Christ: — the proof that He was the Messiah, afforded by His resurrection, of which the apostles were witnesses, and by the Scriptures. Similar is the relation to the *universal* character of the Gospel. We are told that the Acts was written from a universalist point of view, and the statement is quite true in a sense; but we find that St. Peter's speeches are not affected by it. God raised up Jesus to give repentance to Israel (5^{31}); Ye are the sons of the prophets and of the covenant (3^{25}). There are elements of universalism, but they are incidental. The promise is to Israel first (3^{26}); so (2^{39}) 'to you is the promise and to your children, and to all those that are afar off'; 3^{25} 'in Israel all the families of the earth shall be blessed.' The standpoint of these chapters is, in fact, that of the Jewish prophets. There is the germ from which future development can come, but the development is not there. One last point we may mention in this connexion is the *eschatology.* It is thoroughly Jewish and primitive, 'that He may send the Christ, who hath been appointed for you, even Jesus: whom the heavens must receive until the times of the restoration of all things,' $3^{19.\,21}$; the Messianic kingdom is called the καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως. There is nothing about the personal resurrection, which, of course, is a point which would not trouble the primitive community in the first years of its existence; and it is difficult to understand how a Greek writer who had seen the Neronian persecutions, and knew the needs of a later generation, could have invented this primitive idea of things.

If we pass to the organisation of the community, again, it is quite unlike the conception which we should expect from a Gentile Christian of forty or fifty years later. It is perfectly true that stress is laid on the unity of the primitive community, and it may be that this is exaggerated with a purpose; but no object could be gained by the representation which is given of its form and character. There is no trace of any later organisation, nor mention of presbyters. The Christians have, in fact, not yet been cast out of the synagogues. They are regular in their worship in the temple (Ac 2^{46}, Lk 24^{53}). They take part in the morning and evening sacrifices. They observe the Jewish hours of prayer. They join in the synagogue worship (6^{9} 9^{2}). They are not only conforming Jews, they are devout (Ac 21^{20} 22^{12}). They do not yet realise that they are separate from Judaism. They are but a sect, the sect of the Ναζωραῖοι (Ac 24^{5}). One more point may be noticed, the community of goods; the exact character of this it is unnecessary to discuss here. It is sufficient to point out that no reason has been suggested to explain why it should have so much emphasis laid on it, or why it should have been invented if it were not historical.

It has been said that we have little evidence for correcting this. The archæological evidence which we found in ch. 13 f. here fails us. But we have a few indirect hints. The position of the Twelve we may gather from 1 Co 9^{5} 15^{5}; of St. Peter from 1 Co 15^{5}, Gal 2^{9}; of St. John from Gal 2^{9}; of the brethren of the Lord from 1 Co 9^{5}. A certain amount of incidental evidence is given by the Ebionite traditions concerning the position of St. James; and they correspond with what is suggested by the later parts of the Acts, where we have an account of the state of affairs by one who is presumably an eye-witness.

It is clear that these early chapters give a picture of the primitive community which is quite different from what existed within the experience of the writer, and which is in itself probable. Is it then likely that this should be the result of the historical imagination of the writer, or is it not more probable that it is historical in character and based on written evidence? We have no reason to doubt that we possess an historical account of the words of the Lord; and the same witnesses who recorded these, either by tradition or in writing, would be equally likely to record the speeches and acts of the leading apostle of the infant Church.

6. *The Speeches.* — One more point under this heading demands investigation, namely, the speeches. Are these genuine records of speeches actually delivered, or were they written by the historian in accordance with the fashion of the day? We may notice two points, to begin with. They are all very short, too short to have been delivered as they stand, and for the most part the style in which they are written is that of the historian. They are clearly, therefore, in a sense his own compositions. But the same can also be said of a considerable number of the speeches in the Gospel. We can compare St. Luke's account in this case with that of other authorities, and we find, indeed, a slight modification side by side with general accuracy; we find the style of the author, but the matter of the authority. On the other hand, there is no reason for thinking *à priori* that the speeches cannot be historical. As has just been pointed out, the speeches of the leading apostles would impress themselves on the growing community, and would be remembered as the words of the Lord were remembered.

Putting aside *à priori* considerations, we must as far as possible examine the character of the speeches themselves; and we must first see what light St. Paul's Epistles throw on the subject. According to 1 Co $15^{1\text{f.}}$ the main subjects of St. Paul's preaching were the death and resurrection of Christ, as proved by the Scriptures and as witnessed to by the apostles, and other incidental allusions in the Epistles support this (1 Th 1^{10} 4^{14}). Now, if we turn to St. Paul's speech at Pisidian Antioch addressed to the Jews (13^{16-41}), we find that the writer has exactly realised what was necessary for the situation. The basis is scriptural, and the central fact clearly is, the proof of the resurrection. Just at the end we have a definitely Pauline touch introduced (v.^{39}). This shows that the writer clearly grasps the situation as it is hinted at by the apostle in his own letters, and as was exactly in accordance with the demands of the situation; and this is compatible either with his being a writer using a good source, and reproducing accurately a speech which he finds in that source, or with his being a companion of the apostle, who knows the apostle's preaching well, and gives a typical speech showing the general character of his argument. It is very difficult to conceive of it as a *tour de force* of historical imagination. And this argument becomes stronger when it is found that it is applicable to all the speeches in the book. We have already touched on those of St. Peter, and have seen how clearly they reproduce an early stage of doctrinal development. Whatever difficulties there may be in the speech of Stephen, it certainly does not bear the marks of being a rhetorical composition. The speeches of St. Paul from first to last are singularly harmonious with the situation. The transition in tone from that we have already examined to that addressed to the heathen at Iconium or to that at Athens, is most marked. When we come to the later speeches addressed to the Jews, to Felix, and to Agrippa, what we notice at once as very extraordinary is the repetition of the narrative of the conversion. Now that is comprehensible on the supposition that the narrative was repeated on two occasions, but is not so if we are dealing with rhetorical exercises. But St. Luke was, on our supposition, with St. Paul during all these events, and would therefore have accurate knowledge. These speeches then, although written in the author's style, are clearly authentic; and we may argue in the same way about the other speeches, all of which are, in different ways, suitable to the occasion on which they claim to have been delivered.

The presence of the author's hand in the speeches cannot be denied. Their literary form is due to him. He may possibly have summed up in a typical speech the characteristics of St. Paul's preaching before certain classes of hearers. Some details or illustrations may be due to him, such as the mention of Theudas in Gamaliel's speech, or that of Judas in Peter's first speech. But no theory which does not admit the possession of good evidence, and the acquaintance of the author with the events and persons that he is describing, is consistent with the phenomena of the speeches. They are too lifelike, real, varied, and adapted to their circumstances to be mere unsubstantial rhetorical exercises.

x. SOURCES OF THE ACTS.—Until recently, critics seem to have contented themselves with either vague indications of the sources of the Acts, or a complete denial of the possibility of discovering them, at any rate in the earlier portions (Weizsäcker, Holtzmann, Beyschlag, Pfleiderer, Baur, Schwegler). Recently, however, the problem has been attacked by a number of scholars, mostly of inferior rank, who do not seem to have attained any success, and whose method is not likely to lead to any substantial results. Of these, Sorof considers that Timothy, the writer of the 'we' sections, has combined a genuine writing by St. Luke and a St. Peter source. According to Feine there was an original Jerusalem Christian source, which was used in the Gospels and extended to ch. 12 of the Acts, but which knew nothing of the missionary journeys of St. Paul. The latter portion is partly due to the Redactor (R), partly to other sources. Spitta distinguishes an A source, the work of Luke, which contains about two-thirds of the Acts, and is also used in the Gospel, and a B source of Jewish-Christian origin, which runs parallel with the first through the whole of the Acts. Van Manen distinguishes a third document, which contained, however, only the 'we' sections, and these very much edited, a Paul biography, and a Peter biography. The most elaborate theory is that of C. Clemen. He distinguishes an 'Urchristliche Predigt,' an 'Erste Gemeindegeschichte,' and 'Zweite Gemeindegeschichte,' and Historia Hellenistarum, which has been worked into an Historia Petri; this was combined with an Historia Pauli which included the 'we' sections (Itinerarium Pauli) by a R who was free from party bias, then came a Judaising R, and then an anti-Judaising R. Jüngst distinguishes an A source, apparently the work of St. Luke; a B source, the work of an anti-Judaiser and a R. It may be added, that both Clemen and Jüngst consider that the original sources have been very much rearranged by the different redactors, and the true sequence of events destroyed.

A very few words are necessary concerning these theories. The statement of them is really a sufficient condemnation. There is no harmony in the results obtained; and the method is so *à priori* and unscientific that no result could be obtained. The unity of style of the book and its artistic completeness make any theory impossible which considers that it arose from piecing together bits of earlier writings. Somewhat more on right lines are the attempts of B. Weiss and Hilgenfeld, in the fact that they do not consider that more than one source is used in any separate passage. Weiss thinks there was one early history which contained an account of the early community, of Stephen, of Philip, of the journeys of Peter, of the council. Hilgenfeld has three sources, A Ae 1^{15}–5^{42} 9^{31-43} 12^{1-23}, B Ac 6–8^{40}, C 9^{1-30} 11^{17-29}; and both profess to be able to distinguish what is due to the source and what to the author, the method being for the most part absolutely arbitrary.

A study of St. Luke's Gospel shows us that the work is quite certainly a literary whole proceeding from one author, that this author made use of materials partly written, partly probably oral, and that he reproduced them probably largely in his own style. If we compare a section from this Gospel with the parallel one from St. Mark, which clearly represents very nearly the original source, we shall find that the difference, although one not affecting the main sense, is of a character which would make it quite impossible to arrive at one document from the other. We may notice, again, that although there is a certain uniformity of style running through the whole Gospel, yet the character of the source used seems to a certain, although undefined, extent to have modified it.

Now, in the Acts there is admittedly a certain difference in style between the earlier chapters and the later. The later, like the prologue to the Gospel and Acts and the 'we' sections, being written in a purer Greek style, the earlier being more Aramaic in character. Stated vaguely and generally, this is true, although no investigations have yet made it definite. The utmost it is at present safe to assert, is that there appears to be a difference in style in the earlier chapters, which suggests a written source.

Starting from the conclusion that the author was St. Luke, we must ascribe to him the conception of the history as a whole, and presumably, therefore, all the framework which is part of that conception, the object of the author being to mark the stages in the progress of Christianity. For the whole of the last section, from 20^{5} onwards, the author was either an eye-witness or in close contact with those who were such; as also in the section 16^{10-40}, and here we have the fullest and most detailed account. For all the remaining portions of St. Paul's journeys he could clearly have access to the very best information; and it is to be noticed here that generally, although not invariably, the information is perfectly accurate, so far as it can be tested, but not so full as in the later sections. For the stories concerning Philip in the first part of the book it is not necessary to go beyond personal information; there is no sign of great exactness of knowledge, and the incident recorded 21^8 will explain how that information was acquired. For the earlier history of St. Paul a source is not required; St. Luke had heard the story told at least twice, probably much oftener, and there is just that vagueness concerning chronology which is almost invariably the characteristic of information dependent upon oral tradition. Of some other sections it is difficult to speak definitely. For the council the author would be able to supplement information gained from St. Paul by information gained in Jerus. It has been hinted that there is probably a written source behind portions of the first five chapters; we cannot define its limits in these chapters, nor say whether or no, as is possible, it included some later narratives, such as those of St. Peter (9^{32}–11^{18} and 12^{1-23}); it probably did not include chs. 6–7. No investigations have been made which authorise us to speak more certainly than this; but it has been suggested (see Blass on $12^{12.17}$) that these chapters had some connexion with St. Mark. It is doubtful whether any certain conclusions are possible, although a more scientific and more comprehensive study of the style of the Gospel and Acts may perhaps lead to some result.

xi. CONCLUSION.—It now only remains to sum up the conclusion of what, owing to the variations of opinion, has necessarily been a somewhat controversial article.

1. The Third Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles are the work of the same person; and all tradition and argument suggest that the author was St. Luke, the companion of St. Paul.
2. He wrote the Gospel to describe as accurately as he could the life and preaching of Jesus; he wrote the Acts to describe the growth and spread of the Christian Church.
3. He had formed a clear idea in his mind of the steps and course of this growth, and arranged his work so as to bring out these points. The object he had in view would influence him in the selection of his materials and the proportional importance he would ascribe to events; but it would be taking far too artificial a view of his work not to allow some influence to various less prominent ideas, and even to the accidental cause of the existence or non-existence of information on different points. The extent to which he carried out his purpose would be in some measure dependent on his opportunities.
4. Although he had a definite aim, and constructed a history with an artistic unity, there is no reason for thinking that the history is therefore untrustworthy. He narrated events as he believed they happened, and he gives a thoroughly consistent history of the period over which it extends.
5. The exact degree of credibility and accuracy we can ascribe to him is dependent on his sources of information. From ch. 12 onwards his source was excellent; from ch. 20 onwards he was an eye-witness. For the previous period he could not in all cases attain the same degree of accuracy, yet he was personally acquainted with eye-witnesses throughout, and may very probably have had one or more written documents. In any case, his history from the very beginning shows a clear idea of historical perspective, and of the stages in the growth of the community, even if certain characteristics of the primitive Church in Jerusalem have been exaggerated.

LITERATURE. —(1) *The Text.* — Besides the general works of Tischendorf, Scrivener, and Westcott and Hort, the following, among other, special works may be mentioned:—J. D. Michaelis, *Curae in ver. Syr. Actorum Apost.* 1755; F. A. Bornemann, *Acta Apost. ad Cod. Cantabrigiensis fidem recensuit*, 1848; Belsheim, *Die Apostelgeschichte und die Offenbarung Johannis in einer alten lateinischen Uebersetzung*, 1879; S. Berger, *La Palimpseste de Fleury*, 1889; *extr. de la Revue de théol. et philos.*; J. Rendel Harris, *Study of Cod. Bezae, Texts and Studies*, II. i. 1891; P. Corssen, *Der Cyprianische Text der Acta Apost.* program of the Gymnasium of Schoenberg at Berlin, 1892; W. Sanday, *Guardian*, 18th and 25th May 1892; F. H. Chase, *Old Syr. Element in the Text of Cod. Bezae*, 1893; F. Blass, *SK*, 1894, p. 86, *Hermathena*, xxi. p. 121, 1895; S. Berger, *Un Ancien texte Latin des Actes des apôtres retrouve dans un Manuscrit provenant de Perpignan; Tiré des notices et extraits*, 1895.

(2) *Commentaries.* — Chrysostom (*ob.* 407), Beda (*ob.* 735), Calvin (*ob.* 1564), Grotius (1644), Bengel (1742), Olshausen (1832, ed. iv. by Ebrard, 1862), Meyer (1835, ed. vii. by Wendt, 1888, Eng. tr. by Gloag and Dickson), de Wette (1838, ed. iv. by Overbeck, 1870), Alford (1849, ed. vi. 1868), Wordsworth (1857, ed. iv. 1887), Ewald, *Die 3 ersten Evangelien und die Apostelgeschichte* (1871), Cook in the Speaker's *Com.* (1881), Nösgen (1882), Luthardt and Zöckler in Strack and Zöckler's *Kom.* (1886, ed. ii. 1894), T. E. Page (1886), Holtzmann in *Hand-kommentar zum Neuen Testament* (1892); Blass, *Acta Apost. sive Lucae ad Theophilum Liber alter* (1895); Rendall, *Acts of Apostles* (1897).

(3) *General Introductions.*—S. Davidson (1848–51, and again, from a different point of view, 1868, ed. iii. 1894), Reuss (1860), F. Bleek (1864, Eng. tr. 1869), Ad. Hilgenfeld (1875), H. J. Holtzmann (1885, ed. iii. 1892), G. Salmon (1885, ed. vii. 1894), B. Weiss (1886, Eng. tr. 1888).

(4) *Special Treatises on the Acts.*—John Lightfoot, *Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations on the Acts of the Apostles* (1678); Paley, *Horae Paulinae* (1770, ed. by Birks 1850); Zeller, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (1854, Eng. tr. 1875); J. B. Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 1865, pp. 81 f., 88 f., 109 f., 276 f.; *Supernatural Religion*, vol. iii. (1877); J. B. Lightfoot in Smith's *DB*² i. 25.

(5) *Works on Early Church History.*—Neander, *Pflanzung und Leitung* (1832, ed. v. 1862, Eng. tr. 1842, 1846); Baur, *Paulus* (1845); Conybeare and Howson, *St. Paul*, ed. ii. (1856); Ritschl, *Die Entstehung der Altkatholischen Kirche* (ed. ii. 1857); Lechler, *Das Apostolische und Nachapostolische Zeitalter* (1857, ed. ii. 1885, Eng. tr. 1886); Ewald, *Gesch. des Apost. Zeitalters* (Eng. tr. *History of Israel*, vol. vi.); Renan, *Les Apôtres*, p. x. (1866), *Les Evangiles*, p. 435 (1877); Farrar, *Life and Work of St. Paul* (1872), *Early Days of Christianity* (1882); Lewin, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul* (1872); Weizsäcker, *Das Apostolische Zeitalter* (1886, 2nd ed. 1892, Eng. tr. 1894); Pfleiderer, *Urchristenthum* (1887); Ramsay, *The Church in the Rom. Empire* (1893); Hort, *Judaistic Christianity* (1894); Ramsay, *St Paul, the Traveller and the Roman Citizen* (1895).

(6) *Monographs on Special Points.* — James Smith, *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul* (1848, ed. iv. 1880); J. B. Lightfoot, *Essays on 'Supernatural Religion,'* pp. 291–302, Discoveries illustrating the Acts of the Apostles (1889); J. Friedrich, *Das Lukas-Evangelium und die Apostelgeschichte Werke desselben Verfassers* (1890); Th. Mommsen und Ad. Harnack, *Zur Apostelgeschichte*, xxviii. 16; *Sitzungsberichte der königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaft zu Berlin*, p. 491 (1895).

(7) *The Acts and Jos.* (see Carl Clemen, *Die Chronologie der Paulinischen Briefe*, p. 66, n. 53); Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, iii. pp. 134, 480 (1872), and 'Jos. im Neuen Testament' in *Aus dem Urchristenthum*, i. p. 1 (1878); Holtzmann, *Z. für W. Th.* 1873, p. 85, 1877, p. 535; Krenkel, *ib.* 1873, p. 441; Schürer, *ib.* 1876, p. 574; The author of 'Supernatural Religion,' *Fortnightly Review*, xxii. p. 496, 1877; Krenkel, *Josephus u. Lucas*, Leipzig, 1894; Bousset in *Theol. Litzg.* 1895, col. 391.

(8) *Sources.*—Sorof, *Die Entstehung der Apostelgesch.* 1890; Feine, *Eine vorkanon. Überlieferung des Lukas in Evang. und Apostelgesch.* 1891; Spitta, *Die Apostelgesch. ihre Quellen und deren geschichtlicher Wert* (1891); van Manen, *Paulus I., Die Handelinger der Aposteln* (1890); C. Clemen, *Die Chronologie der Paulinischen Briefe* (1893), and *SK* (1895, p. 297); Johann Jüngst, *Die Quellen der Apostelgeschichte* (1895); Ad. Hilgenfeld, *Die Apostelgeschichte nach ihren Quellenschriften untersucht*, *Z. fur W. Th.* 1895, pp. 66, 186, 384, 481.

A. C. HEADLAM.

ACUB (B Ἀκούφ, A Ἀκούμ), 1 Es 5^{31}.—His sons were among the 'temple servants' who returned with Zerub. Called Bakbuk, Ezr 2^{51}, Neh 7^{53}.

ACUD (Ἀκούδ, AV Acua), 1 Es 5^{30}.—His sons were among the 'temple servants' who returned from captivity with Zerubbabel. Called Akkub (עַקּוּב='cunning'), Ezr 2^{45}; omitted in Neh 7.

ADADAH (עַדְעָדָה), Jos 15^{22}.—A city of Judah in the Negeb. The site may be at the ruin *'Ad'adah* in the desert south-east of Beersheba.

ADAH (עָדָה).—1. One of the two wives of Lamech, and mother of Jabal and Jubal (Gn $4^{19.20}$). The name possibly denoted 'brightness' (cf. Arab. *ghadât*), Lamech's other wife being named 'Zillah,' or 'Shadow,' 'Darkness.' These names have been cited to support the view of the mythological basis of the Genesis narrative. But the name may simply denote 'adornment' (Lenormant, *Les Origines*, p. 183 f.). According to Jos. (*Ant.* I. ii. 2) Lamech had 77 sons born to him of Adah and Zillah. 2. Daughter of Elon, a Hittite, and one of the wives of Esau (Gn 36^{2}); mother of Eliphaz, and ancestress of Edomite tribes, Teman, Zepho, Gatam, Kenaz, Amalek. In Gn 26^{34} (P) the daughter of Elon the Hittite, whom Esau takes to wife, is named Basemath. The names in Gn 36 have suffered in the process of redaction, and this may account for the confusion. Jos. (*Ant.* II. i. 2), though mentioning Esau's age, and therefore referring to Gn 26^{34}, gives Adah and Oholibamah (Ἀλιβάμη) as the names of Esau's wives. For a discussion on the name, see Baethgen's *Beiträge*, p. 149.

H. E. RYLE.

ADAIAH (עֲדָיָה 'Jehovah has adorned').—1. A man of Boscath, the maternal grandfather of king Josiah, 2 K 22^{1}. 2. A Levite descended from Gershom, 1 Ch 6^{41}, called Iddo in v.^{21}. 3. A son of Shimei (in v.^{13} Shema) the Benjamite, 1 Ch 8^{21}. 4. The son of Jeroham, a priest, and head of a family in Jerusalem, 1 Ch 9^{12}. 5. The father of Maaseiah, a captain who helped Jehoiada to overthrow the usurpation of Athaliah, and set Joash on the throne, 2 Ch 23^{1}. 6. One of the family of Bani, who took a strange wife during the Exile, Ezr 10^{29}. 7. Another of a different family of Bani, who had committed the same offence, Ezr 10^{39}. 8. A descendant of Judah by Pharez, Neh 11^{5}. 9. A Levite of the family of Aaron; probably the same as (4), Neh 11^{12}.

R. M. BOYD.

ADALIA (אֲדַלְיָא, Est 9^{8}), the fifth of the sons of Haman, put to death by the Jews. In the LXX the name is different, and the MSS vary between Βαρσά B, Βαρέλ ℵ A, Βαρεά. H. A. WHITE.

ADAM.—i. *Name.*—The word אָדָם is originally a common noun, denoting either a human being, Gn 2^{5}; or (rarely) a man as opposed to a woman, Gn 2^{22}; or mankind collectively, Gn 1^{26}. The root אדם is variously explained as (*a*) *make, produce,* by analogy with the Assyr. *adâmu* (Delitzsch, *Assyr. Wörterbuch; Oxf. Heb. Lex.*). Man, therefore, as *adam*, is one *made* or *produced*, a *creature*, or possibly a maker or producer; (*b*) *to be red*, a sense in which the root frequently occurs in Heb., *e.g.* the account of Edom in Gn 25^{30}, and is also found in Arab. and Eth. and (?) in Assyr. This etymology would point to the term having originated among men of a red or ruddy race. Gesenius notes in support of this view that the men on Egyp. monuments are constantly represented as red. Dillmann on Gn 1. 2 also suggests a connexion with (*c*) an Eth. root = *pleasant*, well-formed, or (*d*) an Arab. root = *to attach oneself*, and so gregarious, sociable. It has also been suggested that *adam* is a derivative from *adamah*, ground, and describes man as earth-born, γηγενής. The statement of Gn 2^{7}, that man was formed from the dust of the *adamah*, indicates that this connexion was in the mind of the writer, but it can hardly be the original etymology. It is significant that A., as a term for man or mankind, is by no means universal in Sem. languages. It occurs in Phœnician and Sabæan, possibly in Assyr. (so Sayce, *Gram.* p. 2, and according to *HCM*, p. 104, is the common Bab. word for man; cf. Del. *Assyr. Wörterbuch*). Of course the *name* A. has been adopted by all Sem. translations. It is possible that Edom is a dialectic variety of A.

ii. *Adam as Common and Proper Noun.*—The first man is necessarily *the man*, and in his case the generic term is equivalent to a proper name. In use, *adam* naturally fluctuates between a common and proper noun. Thus in P's account of the Creation, Gn 1^{1}–2^{4a}, he describes the creation of אדם, mankind, in both sexes; but in his first genealogy, Gn 5$^{1-4}$, אדם is used as a proper name. J gives an account of the Creation, Fall, etc., of הָאָדָם 'the man' (in 3^{21} לָאדם 'to the man,' should be read instead of לְאדם 'to Adam'), and in 4^{25} uses אדם without the article as a proper name.

iii. *The Narratives concerning Adam.*—P, in Gn 1^{1}-2^{4a} by itself, simply describes the creation of the human species, as of the other species of living creatures, and says nothing of any particular individuals. But it is only in the case of man that the two sexes are specified, and Dillmann maintains that זכר ונקבה is not to be taken collectively, 'male and female,' but as 'a male and a female, *i.e.* the first pair.' Gn 5$^{1-3}$, which is possibly from a different stratum of P, shows that the individual Adam, the ancestor of the nations mentioned in OT, and especially of Israel, is in some way identified with the human species, whose creation is described in Gn 1. This identification seems to imply that the human species originally consisted of a single pair; but P does not definitely commit himself to this position. Man is created last of all things on the same (sixth) day as the beasts, but by a separate act of creation and in the image of God; he receives a special blessing, according to which he is given dominion over the earth and its inhabitants, and the vegetable creation is assigned to him, to provide him with food. While it is expressly said of the light, the heavens, earth, and seas, the vegetable world, the heavenly bodies, the birds, fish, and other animals, that God saw that they were good, this is not separately stated concerning man, but is left to be inferred from the general statement that God saw that everything He had made was very good.

In J, Gn 2^{4b}–4^{26}, while the earth is still a lifeless waste, the man is created out of the dust, and Jehovah animates him by breathing into his nostrils. He is set to take care of the garden of Eden, and is allowed to eat freely of its fruit, except the fruit of 'the tree of the knowledge of good and evil.' The animals are created as his companions and assistants; but these proving inadequate, the woman Eve is fashioned from his rib as he lies in a deep sleep. They live in childlike innocence till Eve is tempted by the Serpent, and Adam by Eve, to eat of the fruit of the tree of knowledge. Whereupon they become conscious of sin. Yet they have become like the Elohim, and might eat of the tree of life and become immortal. Hence they are cursed, and driven out of Eden. Man, henceforth, is to win his sustenance with grievous toil from soil which, for his sake, has been cursed with barrenness. The only later OT reference to Adam is at the head of the genealogies in 1 Ch; in Dt 32^{8} and Job 31^{33} *adam* is a common noun.

iv. *Significance of the Narratives.*—In both narratives man is sharply marked off as a created being from God the Creator; and is not connected with Him by a chain of inferior gods, demi-gods, and heroes, as in the Egyp., Assyr., and Chald. dynasties, and in other mythologies. Yet man has a certain community of nature with God; he is made in His image (P), and receives his life from the breath of Jehovah (J). Similarly, man's connexion with the animals is implied by his creation on the same day, his separate status by a distinct act of creation. He is lord of all things, animate and inanimate, the crown of creation (P). So, in J, the animals are made for his benefit; and the garden, with certain limitations, is at his disposal. Woman is also secondary and subordinate to man, and the cause of his ruin, but of identical nature. The formation of a single woman for the man implies monogamy. Man is capable of immediate fellowship with God. Sin is not inherent in man, but suggested from without; it is at once followed by stern punishment, which extends not only to the human race, but to animate and inanimate nature. Compare EVE; and, specially for the Babylonian and other parallels to the Biblical narrative, COSMOGONY, EDEN. W. H. BENNETT.

ADAM IN THE NT.—Adam is twice mentioned in the NT in a merely historical fashion; in Jude v.^{14}, where we read of 'Enoch the seventh from A.,' and in Lk 3^{38}, where the genealogy of Jesus is traced up to him, and A. himself is '*the son* of God.' The extension of the genealogy beyond David or Abraham (as in Mt) is no doubt due to the universalist sympathy of the Pauline evangelist. There are two other passages in which reference is made to the OT story of the first man, with a view to regulating certain questions about the relations of men and women, esp. in public worship. The first is 1 Co $11^{9f.}$, the other 1 Ti $2^{13f.}$. The use made of A. in these passages may strike a modern reader as not very conclusive; it has the form rather than the power of what may have suggested it—the similar use of part of the OT story by Jesus to establish the true law of marriage (Mt $19^{4f.}$, comp. Gn 2^{24}).

Much more significant than these almost incidental references is the place occupied by A. in the theology of St. Paul (Ro 5^{12-21}, 1 Co $15^{22.\ 45-49}$). The apostle institutes a formal comparison and contrast between A. and Christ. 'As in A. all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive.' 'As by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin, and so death passed upon all men, for that all sinned': so, though the sentence is not formally completed (Ro 5^{12}), righteousness entered into the world by one man, and life by righteousness. 'The first man is of the earth, earthy; the second man is of heaven. . . . And as we have borne the image of the earthy, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly.' In some sense A. and Christ answer to each other; each is the head of humanity, the one to its condemnation and death, the other to its justification and life. Yet it would be a mistake to put what St. Paul says about A. on a footing with what he says about Christ. He has experience to go upon in the case of Christ; his gospel concerning Him has a certainty and scope of its own quite independent of the harmony he finds in some points between the mode of man's redemption and that of his ruin. Of the two passages referred to above, it may be said that the one in Ro deals directly with the *work* of A. and of Christ, and its effects upon men; the one in 1 Co, with the *nature* of A. and of Christ, as related respectively to the actual and the ideal condition of man. All we are told of A. is that he sinned (*παράπτωμα*, Ro 5^{15}, implies the fall), and that his sin involved the world in death. In such a statement there is obviously a link wanting to an ethical interpretation: is it supplied in the difficult words *ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἥμαρτον*—in that all (have) sinned? That this aorist may (grammatically considered) be a collective historical aorist, summing up the aggregate evil deeds of men, is undoubted (Burton, *N.T. Moods and Tenses*, § 55); but to take it so, and make *ἥμαρτον* refer merely to the personal sins of men, is to dissolve the connexion with A. on which the apostle's argument depends. To say, again, that all men die because involved in the guilt of A.'s sin (*Omnes peccarunt, Adamo peccante*, Bengel), is still to leave the moral link amissing. To say that all die because of inherited depravity, which seems the only other possible suggestion, is to offer a physical rather than a moral connexion, though one which may be assented to and appropriated by the individual, and in that way become moral. It seems probable that St. Paul, although he is not explicit on the point, would have accepted this view; what he is concerned with is the solidarity or moral unity of the human race, and for this there is undoubtedly a physical basis. Heredity is the modern name for the organic connexion of the generations; and as the fact was familiar to the apostle, it is natural to suppose that he found in it the connecting link between the personal sin and doom of A. and that of his whole posterity. A., in other words, was to him not only the type, but the ancestor, of men as sinners; it is in A.—or because of A. in us—that we are lost men. But A. is a 'type of him that is to come.' This idea (see Weiss, *Romans*, p. 243 n.) is found also in the Rabbins (Quemadmodum homo primus fuit primus in peccato, sic Messias erit ultimus ad auferendum peccatum penitus: and again, Adamus postremus est Messias). He is a type only in the sense that alike from A. and Christ a pervasive influence should proceed, extending to the whole human race. We are what A. was and became, in virtue of our vital relation to him; we are to become what Christ was and became, in virtue of a vital relation to Him. This is the side of the subject treated in 1 Co 15. It can hardly be said to throw light on man's original state, or on the apostle's conception of it. The first A., in virtue of our connexion with whom we are what we are before we become Christians, was a living soul, psychical rather than spiritual, made of the dust of the ground—in other words, he was man as nature presents him to our experience; the last A., *ὁ ἐπουράνιος*, whose image we shall fully bear when this corruptible has put on incorruption, and this mortal has put on immortality, was and is life-giving spirit. It is too much to say, in face of Ro 5^{12} and the whole sense of the NT, that man's mortality is here traced, not to Adam's act, but to his nature. His act is not specially in view here any more than Christ's redeeming acts, and his nature is indeed conceived as weak, and liable to temptation; but it is not less capable of immortality than of death; and it is the sin of our first father to which death as a doom is invariably referred by St. Paul.

LITERATURE.—Copious discussions of all the questions involved may be found (not to mention commentaries) in Beyschlag, *N.T. Theology*, ii. p. 48 ff.; Bruce, *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, c. vii.; Weiss, *Lehrbuch der. Bibl. Theol. des N.T.* § 67. For Jewish points of connexion with St. Paul's teaching, see Weber, *Die Lehren des Talmud*, cc. xv.-xvii.

J. DENNEY.

ADAM CITY (אָדָם 'red').—In the Jordan Valley, 'far off' from Jericho, and beside Zarethan. The latter (see ZARETHAN) appears to have been near the centre of the valley (see Jos 3^{16}), and the usual site for Adam is at the present ruined bridge (built in the 13th cent. A.D.) at the Dâmieh ford, called *Jisr ed-Dâmieh*, about half-way up the Jordan Valley. The Jordan being narrow, with high banks, might have been dammed up in this vicinity by an extensive fall of the cliff. *SWP* vol. ii. sh. xv.

C. R. CONDER.

ADAM, BOOKS OF.—Romance, with ethical intent, accumulated around all the prominent worthies of OT narrative, among both Jews and Christians; and, naturally, no one received more attention than Adam. This process of embellishing and 'improving' OT story began before NT times. The Talm. speaks of a Bk of Adam, and such legendary lore furnished suitable pabulum for Mohammedanism. The *Apostolic Constitutions* (vi. 16) mention an apocryphal 'Αδάμ. Epiphanius (*Hær.* xxvi. 8) tells of a Gnostic work, *Revelations of Adam*, and the Decretum Gelasii prohibits Christians from reading the two works, *Penitentia Adæ* and *De filiabus Adæ*. The Cypriote Syncellus (8th cent.) makes quotations from a Βιὸς 'Αδάμ which closely resemble the Bk of Jubilees. The Jewish Bk of Adam is lost; but it probably furnished matter for still further elaboration in the following Christian works which still survive. **1.** *The Ethiopic Bk. of Adam*, pub. by Dillmann, Göttingen, 1853; tr. also by Malan, London, 1882. **2.** A Syr. work, resembling the foregoing, entitled *The Treasure-Cave*, ed. by Bezold, Leipzig, 1883. **3.** The διήγησις καὶ πολιτεία Ἀδὰμ καὶ Εὔας, ed. by Tischendorf, *Apocalypses Apocryphæ*, 1866; and condensed by Rönsch, *Buch der Jubiläen*, pp. 468–476. **4.** 'Vita Adæ et Evæ,' a Lat. rendering of the same material, ed. by W. Meyer in *Transactions of Munich Academy*, vol. xiv. 1878. **5.** The 'Testamentum Adami,' which has been published by Renan, Syriac text with French tr. in *Journ. Asiatique*, 1853. **6.** The sacred book of the Mandaites is called the Bk of Adam, but has little in common with the foregoing. Edd., Norberg's, 1815; Petermann's, Berlin, 1867.

LITERATURE.—Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigr. Vet. Test.* i. 1–94, ii. 1–43; Hort, art. 'Adam' in Smith and Wace, *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*; Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. 81, 147 f.; Zöckler, *Apocr. des AT.* 422. 3; Zunz, *Die gottesd. Vorträge der Juden*, 1892, p. 136.

J. T. MARSHALL.

ADAMAH (אֲדָמָה), Jos 19^{36}, 'red lands.'—A city of Naphtali mentioned next to Chinnereth. Probably the ruin *'Admah* on the plateau north of Bethshean. See *SWP* vol. i. sh. vi.

C. R. CONDER.

ADAMANT is twice (Ezk 3^{9}, Zec 7^{12}) used in AV and RV as tr. of שָׁמִיר *shāmîr*, which is elsewhere rendered either 'brier' (Is 5^{6} 7$^{23.\,24.\,25}$ 9^{18} 10^{17} 27^{4} 32^{13}) or 'diamond' (Jer 17^{1}). Diamond, which arose from adamant by a variety of spelling (adamant or adimant, then diamant or diamond), has displaced a. as the name of the precious stone, a. being now used rhetorically to express extreme hardness. See under art. STONES (PRECIOUS). Ἀδάμας occurs in LXX at Am 7$^{7.\,8\,bis}$ as tr. of אֲנָךְ 'plummet'; this is the origin and meaning of a. in its only occurrence in Apocr., Sir 16^{16} AV. See PLUMMET.

J. HASTINGS.

ADAMI-NEKEB (אֲדָמִי הַנֶּקֶב), Jos 19^{33}, 'red lands the pass.'—A city of Naphtali. It is doubtful if the names should not be divided (see NEKEB). The site is probably at the present village *Ed-Dâmieh* on the plateau north-east of Tabor, where the basaltic soil is reddish. The site of Nekeb (*Seiyâdeh*) is not far off. See *SWP* vol. i. sh. vi.

C. R. CONDER.

ADAR (אֲדָר Ezr 6^{15}, Est 3$^{7.\,13}$ 8^{12} 9$^{1.\,15ff.}$, 1 Mac 7$^{43.\,49}$, 2 Mac 15^{36}, Est 10^{13} 13^{6} 16^{20}).—The 12th month in the later Jewish Calendar. See TIME.

ADASA (Ἀδασά).—A town near Bethhoron (1 Mac 7$^{40.\,45}$, Jos. *Ant.* XII. x. 5), now the ruin *'Adaseh* near Gibeon. *SPW* vol. iii. sh. xvii.

ADBEEL (אַדְבְּאֵל), the third son of Ishmael, Gn 25^{13}, 1 Ch 1^{29}, eponym of the N. Arab. tribe, which appears in cuneiform inscrip. as *Idiba'il* or *Idibi'al*, and which had its settlements S.W. of the Dead Sea (Sayce, *HCM* 202; Schrader, *KAT*^{2} 148; *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*).

J. A. SELBIE.

ADDAN (אַדָּן, Ἀθαλαρ A, [Χαρα]αθαλαν B, 1 Es 5^{36}).—Certain of the inhabitants of this place joined the body of the returning exiles in the time of Zerubbabel, but they were unable to prove their true Isr. descent by showing to what great clan or family they belonged (Ezr 2^{59}). Probably they were not admitted to the privileges of full citizenship. The name does not appear in the later lists in Ezr 10, Neh 10. Some regard Cherub Addan as one name; v.^{60} suggests that Cherub, Addan, and Immer were three villages in one district in Babylon, from which the family of Nekoda came. In Neh 7^{61} the name appears as ADDON.

H. A. WHITE.

ADDAR, 1 Ch 8^{3}.—See ARD.

ADDAR, AV **Adar** (אַדָּר), Jos 15^{3}.—A town on the border of Judah south of Beersheba. There is a ruin east of Gaza which bears the name *'Adar*, but this seems perhaps too far west.

C. R. CONDER.

ADDER.—See SERPENT.

ADDI (Ἀδδεί).—An ancestor of Jesus Christ, Lk 3^{28}. See GENEALOGY.

ADDICT.—'To a. oneself to,' now used only in a bad sense, was formerly neutral, and is found in a good sense in 1 Co 16^{15} 'they have a. themselves to the ministry of the saints' (RV 'they have set themselves to minister unto the saints'). Cf. *Hist. Card.* (1670): 'The greatest part of the day he addicts either to study, devotion, or other spiritual exercises.'

J. HASTINGS.

ADDO (A Ἀδδώ, B Ἐδδείν).—The grandfather of the prophet Zechariah (1 Es 6^{1}). The name is similarly spelt in LXX of Ezr 5^{1} (A Ἀδδώ, B Ἀδώ). See IDDO.

ADDON (אַדּוֹן), Neh 7^{61}. See ADDAN.

ADDUS.—**1.** (Ἀδδούς) 1 Es 5^{34}.—His sons were among the children of Solomon's servants who returned with Zerub.; the name does not occur in the parallel lists in Ezr 2, Neh 7. **2.** See JADDUS.

ADIDA (Ἀδιδά).—A town in the Shephelah (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. vi. 5) fortified by Simon the Hasmonæan (1 Mac 12^{38} 13^{13}). The same as Hadid.

ADIEL (עֲדִיאֵל 'ornament of God').—**1.** A Simeonite prince who attacked the shepherds of Gedor, 1 Ch 4$^{36ff.}$. **2.** A priest, 1 Ch 9^{12}. **3.** The father of Azmaveth, David's treasurer, 1 Ch 27^{25}.

ADIN (עָדִין 'luxurious'?), Ezr 2^{15} 8^{6}, Neh 7^{20} 10^{16}, 1 Es 5^{14m} 8^{32}. The head of a Jewish family, of which some members returned with Zerub., and with Ezra.

ADINA (עֲדִינָא), a Reubenite chief, one of David's mighty men, 1 Ch 11^{42}.

ADINO ([*Kethibh* העצנו] עדינו העצני 'Adino the Eznite,' B Ἀδεινων ὁ Ἀσωναῖος, A Ἀδειν ὁ Ἀσωναος).—The *Ḳerê* is clearly an attempt to introduce some sense into the meaningless *Kethibh*. The present Heb. text of 2 S 23^{8} must be corrupt, the true reading being preserved in the parallel passage 1 Ch 11^{11} 'Jashobeam, the son of a Hachmonite, he lifted up his spear.' The last clause (הוא עורר את חניתו) was corrupted into הוא עדינו העצנו, and then taken erroneously as a proper name, being treated as an alternative to the preceding 'Josheb-basshebeth, a Tahchemonite' (see JASHOBEAM). B has the addition οὗτος ἐσπάσατο τὴν ῥομφαίαν αὐτοῦ; but this is not found in A, and is, as Wellhausen has pointed out, derived from the LXX tr. of Ch (cf. 2 S 23^{18}, where B renders the same words by ἐξήγειρε τὸ δόρυ αὐτοῦ).

J. F. STENNING.

ADINU (A Ἀδῖνος, B Ἀδελιος, AV **Adin**), 1 Es 5^{14}, called Adin (A Ἀδίν, B Ἀδείν), 1 Es 8^{32}.—His descendants returned with Zerubbabel to the number of 454 (1 Es 5^{14}, Ezr 2^{15}) or 655 (Neh 7^{20}). A second party of 51 (Ezr 8^{6}) or 251 (1 Es 8^{32}) accompanied Ezra. They are mentioned among 'the chiefs of the people' who joined Neh. in a covenant to separate themselves from the heathen (Neh 10^{16}).

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

ADITHAIM (עֲדִיתַיִם), Jos 15^{36}.—A town of Judah in the Shephelah. The site is unknown.

C. R. CONDER.

ADJURE.—The primitive meaning of a. (from late Lat. *adjurare*) is to put under oath. This is its meaning in Jos 6^{26} 'And Joshua adjured them at that time, saying, Cursed be the man' (RV 'charged them with an oath'), and 1 S 14^{24} 'Saul had a^{d} the people, saying, Cursed be the man.' Cf. v.^{28} 'thy father straitly charged the people with an oath.' But the word is also used in early writers in the sense of to charge solemnly, without the actual administration of an oath. Thus Caxton (1483): 'Raguel desired and adjured Thobie that he shold abyde with hym.' This is the meaning of a. in the other places of the Bible where it is found (1 K 22^{16}, 2 Ch 18^{15}, Mt 26^{63}, Mk 5^{7}, Ac 19^{13}). RV gives 'a.' (for AV 'charge,' Heb. שָׁבַע) at Ca 2^{7} 3^{5} $5^{8.9}$ 8^{4}, and at 1 Th 5^{27} (Gr. ἐνορκίζω). **Adjuration** (not in AV) is found in RV at Lv 5^{1} (אָלָה, AV 'swearing') and Pr 29^{24} (אָלָה, AV 'cursing'). See OATH. J. HASTINGS.

ADLAI (עַדְלַי, 'Αδαί), the father of Shaphat, one of David's herdsmen, 1 Ch 27^{29}.

ADMAH (אַדְמָה), 'red lands,' Gn 10^{19} $14^{2.8}$, Dt 29^{23}, Hos 11^{8}.—One of the cities of the *Ciccar* or 'Round.' It is not noticed as overthrown in the account of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (Gn 19), but is included in their catastrophe in the two later passages. The site is unknown. It might be the same as the city ADAM, which see. C. R. CONDER.

ADMATHA (אַדְמָתָא, Est 1^{14}), one of the wise men or counsellors of Ahasuerus. These seven royal advisers (cf. Ezr 7^{14}), who were granted admission to the king's presence, and saw his face (cf. 2 K 25^{19}), are perhaps to be compared rather with the supreme Persian judges (Herod. iii. 31) than with the representatives of the six families which took part with Darius against the pseudo-Smerdis (Herod. iii. 84). The name is possibly Persian, *admâta*='unrestrained.' In the LXX only three names are given. H. A. WHITE.

ADMINISTRATION in the general sense of service is now obsolete. But it is found 1 Co 12^{5} 'there are differences of administrations' (*i.e.* different kinds of Christian service, RV 'ministrations,' the *Rheims NT* word). In 2 Co 9^{12}, though the Gr. is the same (διακονία, *sing.*), the meaning is not service generally, but the performance of service (RV again 'ministration' from *Geneva Bible*). J. HASTINGS.

ADMIRE, ADMIRATION.—These words occur in AV as the expression of simple wonder, without including approbation. 2 Th 1^{10} 'When he shall come to be glorified in his saints, and to be admired (RV 'marvelled at') in all them that believe'; Jude v.^{16} 'having men's persons in admiration' (Gr. θαυμάζοντες πρόσωπα, RV 'showing respect of persons'); Rev 17^{6} 'When I saw her, I wondered with great a.' (RV 'with a great wonder'). Compare the version in metre of Ps 105^{5} 'Remember his marvellous works that he hath done,' is rendered—

> 'Think on the works that he hath done,
> Which admiration breed.'

J. HASTINGS.

ADNA (עַדְנָא 'pleasure').—**1.** A contemporary of Ezra, who married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{30}). **2.** The head of the priestly house of Harim in the time of the high priest Joiakim, the son of Jeshua (Neh 12^{15}). H. A. WHITE.

ADNAH.—**1.** (עַדְנַח) A Manassite officer of Saul who deserted to David at Ziklag (1 Ch 12^{20}). **2.** (עַדְנָה) An officer in Jehoshaphat's army (2 Ch 17^{14}). J. A. SELBIE.

ADO.—Mk 5^{39} 'Why make ye this ado?' (RV 'Why make ye a tumult?'). The older form is *at do*, where 'at' is the prep. before the infin., found chiefly in northern Eng. and supposed to come from the Scandinavian. 'We have other things at do,' *Towneley Mysteries*, p. 181. 'At do' was contracted into 'ado,' and then looked upon as a subst. Cf. Shaks. *Tam. of Shr.* V. 1—

> 'Let's follow, to see the end of this ado.'

While throwing it out of Mk 5^{39}, the RV introduces 'ado' into Ac 20^{10} 'Make ye no ado (AV 'Trouble not yourselves'), for his life is in him,' though the Gr. (θορυβεῖσθε) is the same in both places. J. HASTINGS.

ADONIBEZEK (אֲדֹנִי בֶזֶק).—The name as it stands in Jg 1^{5-7} must mean, *Bezek* (an otherwise unknown deity) *is my lord.* The town of Bezek (which see) will then also have taken its name from that of the god. The chief of a Can. kingdom in S. Pal., he was defeated by the tribe of Judah, taken prisoner, and mutilated by having his thumbs and great toes cut off. His boast was that he had similarly treated seventy kings. The mutilation was intended, while preserving the captive as a trophy, to render him incapable of mischief. According to Plutarch (*Life of Lys.*), the Athenians decreed that every prisoner of war should lose his thumbs, so that while fit to row he should be unfit to handle spear. Hannibal is accused (Valer. Max. ix. 2, ext. 2) of mutilating prisoners, '*prima pedum parte succisa.*' These may be slanders, but they prove how conceivable such mutilation was even then, and what was its object at all times. A. C. WELCH.

ADONIJAH (אֲדֹנִיָּה).—**1.** The name of the fourth son of David (2 S 3^{4}, 1 Ch 3^{2}). After the death of Absalom, Adonijah, who was next in order of birth, naturally regarded himself as the heir to the throne. His expectation was doubtless shared by the nation, and seems to have been for a time encouraged by his father. The situation had been altered, however, by the introduction of Bathsheba into the royal harem, and by the birth of Solomon. The influence and the ambition of this latest of David's queens rendered it certain that Adonijah would encounter a dangerous rival in his younger brother. It was probably his knowledge that intrigues against his interests were being carried on in the harem that led to the premature and ill-starred attempt of Adonijah to seize the crown before his father's death. The narrative (1 K 1 and 2) is from the same pen as the section in 2 S which contains the story of Absalom's rebellion, and is evidently the work of one who had access to trustworthy sources of information. There are several features of resemblance between the two narratives; and the two chief actors therein, Absalom and Adonijah, seem to have resembled one another in disposition and even in bodily characteristics (cf. 1 K $1^{5.6}$ with 2 S 14^{25} 15^{1}). At first Adonijah's enterprise seemed likely to be crowned with success. He attached to his cause such important and influential supporters as Joab the commander-in-chief, and Abiathar the priest. In company with these and many members of the royal family and the king's house, Adonijah held a great feast at En-Rogel, where the final arrangements were to be made for his coronation. But he had reckoned without his host. One whom he had not invited to the banquet was destined to checkmate the conspirators ere their plans were matured. Nathan the prophet seems to have occupied much the same position at the court of David as Isaiah afterwards held at that of Hezekiah. Seeing that not a moment was to be lost, Nathan hastened to Bathsheba, whose fears he easily awakened by pointing out the danger to which her own life and that of Solomon would be exposed if the attempt of Adonijah should succeed. Bathsheba, who seems to have already obtained from David a promise that Solomon should succeed him on the throne, immediately sought an interview with the aged king, and informed him of what was transpiring at En-Rogel; while Nathan, in accordance with a prearranged plan, came in opportunely to confirm her story. The prophet-counsellor played his part with consummate skill, notably when (1 K 1^{27}) he expressed surprise that the king, if he had sanctioned the action of Adonijah, had not taken his old friends and counsellors into his confidence. Yielding to the representations of the queen and the prophet, David renewed his oath to Bathsheba in favour of her son, and took prompt measures to secure the accession of the latter. At such a juncture the support of the royal bodyguard was all-important, and fortunately their loyalty was beyond suspicion. Their commander was ordered by David to escort the youthful Solomon, mounted upon his father's mule, to Gihon, and to have him anointed king by Zadok the priest and Nathan the prophet. This commission was executed amidst the enthusiasm of the people, who rent the air with shouts of 'God save King Solomon!' The unwonted noise reached the ears of Adonijah's guests at En-Rogel, causing astonishment, which passed into consternation when Jonathan the son of Abiathar hurried in with the news that David had chosen Solomon to succeed him. The company broke up in confusion, and Adonijah himself was so much alarmed that he fled for protection to the altar. Solomon, however, agreed to spare his life on condition of future loyalty. If Adonijah displayed no conspicuous wisdom in his attempt to seize the crown, his next act, which cost him his life, is hard to explain, except on the principle, *Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat.* After the death of his father he actually requested Solomon to bestow upon him in marriage Abishag the Shunammite, the maiden who had attended upon David during his declining years. And as advocate for him in this delicate matter he chose Bathsheba! No one who is acquainted with the notions of Eastern courts can wonder at the resentment of Solomon, or that he construed this request as an act of treason. Considering the relation in which Abishag had stood to David, the people would certainly infer that Adonijah in taking her for his wife still asserted his right to the crown. (Compare the story of Abner and Ishbosheth in 2 S 3^7, and of Absalom in 2 S 16^{21}.) Speedily was sentence pronounced, 'Adonijah hath spoken this word against his own life; surely he shall be put to death this day'; and the sentence was immediately executed by the captain of the guard.

2. One of the Levites who, according to the Chronicler, was sent by Jehoshaphat to teach in the cities of Judah (2 Ch 17^8). 3. One of the 'chiefs of the people' who sealed the covenant (Neh 10^{16}). Same as Adonikam (Ezr 2^{13} 8^{13}, Neh 7^{18}).

J. A. SELBIE.

ADONIKAM (אֲדֹנִיקָם 'my Lord has arisen'), Ezr 2^{13} 8^{13}, Neh 7^{18}, 1 Es 5^{14} 8^{39}. The head of a Jewish family after the Exile; in Neh 10^{16} Adonijah.

H. A. WHITE.

ADONIRAM, ADORAM (אֲדֹנִירָם, אֲדֹרָם).—The latter name occurs 2 S 20^{24}, 1 K 12^{18}, and is probably a corruption of Adoniram. The LXX supports this view, reading Ἀδωνειραμ, 2 S 20^{24}, 1 K 4^6 5^{14} (Heb. אדנירם), 1 K 12^{18} (B Ἀραμ, A Ἀδωνιραμ), and in the parallel 2 Ch 10^{18} Ἀδωνειραμ (Heb. הֲדֹרָם, Hadoram). A. was 'over the levy,' that is, he superintended the levies employed in the public works during the reigns of David, Solomon, and Rehoboam. He was stoned to death by the rebellious Isr. when sent to them by Rehoboam (1 K 12^{18}).

J. F. STENNING.

ADONIS.—Strictly not a name but a title, אָדוֹן *'Adôn*, 'Lord,' of the god Tammuz (which see). Is 17^{10} RVm 'plantings of Adonis' (נִטְעֵי נַעֲמָנִים *niṭ'ê na'amānîm*, text '*pleasant* plants') and the setting of 'vine slips of a stranger' (strange *god*), is mentioned as the result of having 'forgotten the God of thy salvation.' So Ewald, Lagarde, Cheyne. With 'plantings of Adonis,' cf. the Gr. Ἀδώνιδος κῆποι, quick-growing plants reared in pots or baskets (Plato, *Phædr.* 276 B), and offered to Aphrodite as emblems of her lover's beauty and early death (Theocr. 15. 113).

The meaning of *na'amānîm* is, however, doubtful. Na'aman is *probably* the name of a god; cf. the name of the Syrian general (2 K 5^1), and Ar. Nu'mân, a king's name (Tebrîzî's scholia to *Hamâsa*). The river Belus is now called *Nahr Na'amân*. Lagarde (*Sem.* i. 32) quotes Arab. name of the red anemone, *Shaka'iḳu-n-Nu'mân*, explaining as 'the wound of Adonis'; but see Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, iii. p. 7.

C. F. BURNEY.

ADONI-ZEDEK (אֲדֹנִי צֶדֶק 'Lord of righteousness,' AV **Adoni-zedec**), king of Jerusalem at the time of the invasion of Canaan by the Israelites under Joshua. After the Gibeonites had succeeded in making a league with Israel, he induced four other kings, those of Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish, and Eglon, to unite with him against the invaders. First they attacked, as traitors to the common cause, the Gibeonites, who appealed to Joshua for help. By a rapid night march from Gilgal, Joshua came unexpectedly upon the allied kings, and utterly routed them [JOSHUA, BETH-HORON]. Adoni-zedek and his associates sought refuge in a cave at Makkedah, but were taken and brought before Joshua. The Heb. chiefs set their feet upon their necks in token of triumph. They were then slain, and their bodies hung up until the evening, when they were taken down and flung into the cave where they had hid themselves, the mouth of which was filled up with great stones (Jos 10^{1-27}). In Jos $10^{3f.}$ LXX reads Ἀδωνιβέζεκ, and some have identified the latter with Adonibezek of Jg 1^5. (See Kittel, *Hist. of Heb.* i. 307; Budde, *Richt. u. Sam.* 63 f.; Wellh. *Einleit.*^{4} [Bleek] 182.)

R. M. BOYD.

ADOPTION (υἱοθεσία) is a word used by St. Paul to designate the privilege of sonship bestowed by God on His people. While Jesus Himself and the New Testament writers all speak frequently and emphatically of our blessings and duties as sons or children of God, no other of them employs this special term, which occurs in five places in the Epistles of St. Paul (Gal 4^5, Ro $8^{15.23}$ 9^4, Eph 1^5). It seems to express a distinct and definite idea in that apostle's mind; and since adoption was, in Roman law, a technical term for an act that had specific legal and social effects, there is much probability that he had some reference to that in his use of the word. The Romans maintained in a very extreme way the rights of fathers over their children as practically despotic; and these did not cease when the sons came of age, or had families of their own, but while the father lived could only be terminated by certain legal proceedings, analogous to those by which slaves were sold or redeemed. The same term (*mancipatio*) was applied to a process of this kind, whether a man parted with his son, or his slave, or his goods. Hence a man could not be transferred from one family to another, or put into the position of a son to any Roman citizen, without a formal legal act, which was a *quasi* sale by his natural father, and buying out by the person who adopted him. If he was not in the power of a natural father, but independent (*sui juris*), as, *e.g.*, if his father were dead, then he could only be put in the place of son to another by a solemn act of the sovereign people assembled in their religious capacity (*comitia curiata*). For each family had its own religious rites, and he must be freed by public authority from the obligation to fulfil those of one, and taken bound to observe those of another. That transaction was, however, properly called *arrogatio*, while *adoptio* strictly denoted the taking, by one man, of a son of another to be his son. This, though not requiring an act of legislation, had to be regularly attested by witnesses; and in old form one struck a pair of scales with a piece of copper as an emblem of the primitive process of sale. Adoption, when thus legally performed, put a man in every respect in the position of a son by birth of him who had adopted him, so that he possessed the same rights and owed the same obligations.

No such legal and complete transference of filial rights and duties seems to have existed in the law of Israel; though there may have been many cases of the informal adoption known among us, as when Mordecai took the orphan Esther, his uncle's daughter, to be his (Est 2^{7}). The failure of heirs was provided for by the levirate law.

Now, since St. Paul represents the Christian's adoption as carrying with it certain definite privileges which would not be involved in such an act as Mordecai's, and since he may well have been acquainted with the Roman practice in this matter, it seems probable that he may have had it in view. (See Dr. W. E. Ball in *Contemp. Rev.*, Aug. 1891).

The earliest instance of his use of the word is in his Epistle to the Galatians, in a passage in which several names of human relations are used to illustrate those between God and man, and where the apostle expressly says, 'I speak after the manner of men' (3^{15}), *i.e.* I use a human analogy to make my argument plain. The term that he first employs after this remark is that rendered covenant, or testament (διαθήκη), here probably in the general sense of disposition, without emphasis on the peculiarities either of a covenant or of a testament. In virtue of this disposition, which was one of promise, given to Abraham and his seed, the blessing comes to all who are united to Christ by faith; for the promise, St. Paul argues, was not to the physical descendants of the patriarch as a multitude, but to a unity, the one Messiah, who was to gather all nations to Himself. According to this disposition of God, believers are sons and heirs ($3^{26.29}$). But before their faith in Christ they were kept in ward under the law, which was not intended to add a condition to the covenant of promise, but to bring their latent sin to a head in transgressions (3^{19}), so that they might not seek to be justified by works, but might accept the blessing as of God's free grace through Christ, who became a curse for us that He might redeem us from the curse of the law ($3^{13.23-24}$). This seems to be clearly the general line of the argument. But the position of men under the law appears to be represented by St. Paul in two different ways, sometimes as bond-servants under the curse ($3^{10.13}$ $4^{7.8}$), and sometimes as children under age (4^{1-3}). The explanation of this may be found in the consideration that St. Paul never meant to deny that Abraham, David, and other believers in OT times were really justified (see Ro 4^{1-8}); while as many as were of the works of the law were under the curse. The former were like children under age, not yet enjoying the full privileges of sonship; the latter were like bond-servants. To both alike the blessing brought by Christ in the fulness of the time is called adoption (Gal 4^{5}), and this seems to indicate that St. Paul holds the sonship, of which he is speaking, to be founded on the covenant promise of God, and not on the natural relation to God of all men as such. We must not therefore lower the meaning of adoption, in his mind, to the conferring of the full privileges of sons on those who are children by birth. It is, as the whole context shows, a position bestowed by a disposition or covenant of God, and through a redemption by Christ. This probably led St. Paul to the use of the word; for the Roman adoption was effected by a legal act, which involved a *quasi* buying-out. He also plainly regards it as like the adoption of Roman law in this, that it gives not merely paternal care, but the complete rights of sonship, the gift of the Spirit of God's Son, and the inheritance. No doubt this legal analogy may be pressed too far; and St. Paul plainly indicates that what he means is really something far deeper; for it is founded upon a spiritual union to God's Son, which is described as 'putting on Christ' (3^{27}); so that our adoption is not a mere formal or legal act, though it may be compared to such in respect of its authoritative and abiding nature.

Some theologians of different schools (*e.g.* Turretin, Schleiermacher) have inferred from the connexion between redemption and adoption, in Gal 4^{5}, that adoption is the positive part of the complete blessing of justification, of which redemption or forgiveness is the negative part. But this is a very precarious inference; and the two terms are so different in their meaning, that it is far more probable that St. Paul meant by adoption a blessing distinct from our having peace with God and access into His favour, which he describes in Ro 5^{1} as the positive fruits of our justification. These blessings, indeed, cannot be separated in reality; they are only different aspects of the one great gift of life in Christ; but in order to understand clearly the evangelical doctrine of the NT, it is necessary to look at them separately.

The next place where St. Paul speaks about adoption is in Ro $8^{15.23}$. Here he is speaking of the believer's new walk of holiness, and he has said, 'If by the spirit ye mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live' (8^{13}). In proof of this he asserts that 'as many as are led by the Spirit of God are the sons of God' (8^{14}); and then he proves this in turn by saying, 'Ye received not the (or, a) spirit of bondage again unto fear, but ye received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father.' The line of reasoning is the same as in Galatians, but put in the inverse order. The promise of life is proved by the fact of our being sons of God; and that, again, because the spirit that He has given us is that of adoption, enabling us to address God as our Father, and so (8^{16}) witnessing with our spirit that we are children of God. In this possibly there may be some allusion to the witnesses which were necessary to the solemn act of adoption according to Roman law and custom. Then, as in the earlier Epistle, it is stated that this adoption carries with it all the rights of true sonship, 'If children, then heirs,' etc. (8^{17}). St. Paul next proceeds to contrast this glorious prospect with the present sufferings of the people of God. These sufferings are shared by all creation; and the deliverance is to be at the revealing of the sons of God (8^{19}), when creation itself shall share the liberty of the glory of the sons of God (8^{21}). So in 8^{23} he says, 'we wait for our adoption, the redemption of our body.' It is the resurrection of life at the coming of the Lord that is undoubtedly meant; and that is called here the adoption, because it will be the full revelation of our sonship. Now are we sons of God, as St. John puts it; but the world knoweth us not, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be; but when it shall appear, we shall be like Him (1 Jn 3^{1-3}). Another striking parallel is to be found in our Lord's words, as recorded by St. Luke ($20^{35.36}$), of those that are accounted worthy to attain to the resurrection from the dead, 'Neither can they die any more, for they are equal unto the angels, and are sons of God, being sons of the resurrection.' As salvation is sometimes spoken of as a thing perfect here and now, and sometimes as only to be completed at the last, so St. Paul speaks of adoption. It belongs to the believer really and certainly now, but perfectly only at the resurrection.

In Ro 9^4 St. Paul mentions 'the adoption' first among the privileges of Israel, which he there enumerates. This is in accordance with the fact that the nation as a whole is called in the OT God's son, and individual members of it His children, sons and daughters. The term implies further, what is also taught in OT, that they had this relation, not through physical descent or creation, but by an act of gracious love on God's part. And in $9^{7.8}$, St. Paul teaches that not all the children of Abraham and Jacob are children of God, but they who are of the promise, *i.e.*, as he put it before, they who accept the promise by faith. It is not necessary to suppose that St. Paul speaks here of another adoption, quite distinct from the Christian one; it is, indeed, an earlier and less perfect phase of it, but he regards it as essentially the same; since the gospel was preached before to Abraham, and justification, though founded on the actual redemption of Christ, was by anticipation applied to him and many others before Christ came.

The last place where St. Paul uses the term adoption is Eph 1^5, where he says that God eternally foreordained believers unto adoption as sons through Jesus Christ unto Himself. This refers to the eternal purpose, in accordance with which God does all His works in time, and corresponds to what he had said in Ro 8^{29}, that 'whom He foreknew He also foreordained to be conformed to the image of His Son, that He might be the firstborn among many brethren.' The conformity here mentioned probably includes moral likeness; but the ultimate end is stated to be that there might be many brethren of Christ, among whom He is the firstborn. Our Lord, according to St. Paul, is, in a peculiar sense, God's Son, His own proper Son, begotten before all creation (Col 1^{15}), and the grace of adoption makes believers truly His brethren and joint-heirs with Him, though He has ever and in all things the pre-eminence as Son of God from eternity, by nature and not merely by grace.

For a fuller account of the Biblical doctrine of Divine Sonship, see GOD, SONS OF; CHILDREN OF.

LITERATURE.—Comm. on the Pauline Epp. by Calvin, Meyer, Alford, Ellicott, Lightfoot, Sanday-Headlam; works on NT Theology by Schmid, Weiss, Beyschlag, Bovon; studies in Pauline Theology by Pfleiderer, Sabatier, Bruce. (See Lit. under GOD, SONS OF; CHILDREN OF.)

J. S. CANDLISH.

ADORA (Ἀδωρά) in Idumæa (*Ant.* XIII. ix. 1), noticed in 1 Mac 13^{20}. The same as Adoraim.

ADORAIM (אֲדוֹרַיִם), 2 Ch 11^9.—A city of Judah fortified by Rehoboam on the S.W. of his mountain kingdom, now *Dûra*, at the edge of the mountains W. of Hebron—a small village. *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xxi.

C. R. CONDER.

ADORAM.—See ADONIRAM.

ADORATION.—Under this term may be conveniently considered certain phases of worship. The word itself does not occur either in AV or RV, but both the disposition of mind and heart, and the outward expressions of that disposition, which are alike denoted by it, receive abundant illustration. From one of the actions expressive of A.,—namely, lifting the hand to the mouth, either in order to indicate that the worshipper was dumb in the sacred presence, or, more commonly, to kiss it and then wave it towards the statue of the god,—the term itself is often supposed to be derived (*admoventes oribus suis dexteram*, Apul. *Met.* iv. 28; cf. Pliny, *NH* xxviii. 5; Min. Felix, *Oct.* ii.). This practice of kissing the hand, accompanied by certain other gestures, was, among the Romans, the special meaning of *adoratio* as distinguished from *oratio* or prayer. It was, in antiquity, expressive of the deepest respect, and is alluded to in Job 31^{27}, possibly also in 1 K 19^{18}, Ps 2^{12}, Hos 13^2. *Adorare* is however a compound verb, meaning, first, 'to address,' then, 'to entreat, to supplicate,' and, finally, 'to worship.' That A. should embrace at once a range of feelings and a series of acts is explained by a very simple consideration. The most profound and most intense feelings are just those which act or gesture expresses better than words. It is only, therefore, to a limited extent that A. finds expression in language, and then only in language of the most general and least objective kind. A. is, in the first place, the attitude of the soul which is called forth by the loftiest thoughts and realisations of God. Before His perfections the soul abases itself; it seeks to get beyond earth and earthly things and to enter into His nearer presence. A. belongs thus to the mystical side of religion; it includes the awe and reverence with which the soul feels itself on holy ground. Its appropriate expressions are therefore those which convey the feeling most adequately, even though when tried by any objective standard they might be pronounced meaningless. We distinguish generally between A. and those parts of Prayer and Worship which are directed towards a special end,—from confession, supplication, thanksgiving. Hymns and Prayers of A. set forth the majesty, purity, and holiness of God, His ineffable perfections, and the soul's loving contemplation of them. The adoring heart is 'lost in wonder, love, and praise.' In the Psalms, nature in all its departments is repeatedly called upon to praise and glorify God. St. Paul, caught up even to the third heaven, knowing not whether he was in the body or apart from the body, and hearing unspeakable words, is an example of that self-abandonment of devotion which is implied in the highest form of A. Possibly a similar meaning attaches to the statement of St. John, that he was 'in the spirit' on the Lord's day. Not only are angels called upon to bless the Lord, but A. is represented as the essence of the heavenly life. In Is 6 a scene of heavenly A. is depicted; and similar scenes are set forth in the Bk of Rev (4^{8-11} 5^{8-14} 7^{11-12}). A. is here distinguished from service, as something even more truly fundamental, even that from which the only acceptable service springs.

God is the only legitimate object of A., since in Him only perfection dwells, and He only must be the supreme object of love and reverence. His worship must be spiritual (Jn 4^{23}), and such worship accorded to any other is uniformly branded as idolatry. Christ is adored because 'God was in Him' (2 Co 5^{19}), and because God 'hath highly exalted Him, and is Himself glorified when the confession is made that 'Christ is Lord' (Ph 2^{9-11}).

As regards the attitudes and acts expressive of A., these, as already stated, symbolised the feeling experienced, and varied therefore with the kinds and degrees of emotion indicated. Humility was naturally expressed by prostration, kneeling, or simply bending head or body; submission and reverence, by the folded hands and downcast eyes; wonder and awe, by the uplifted hands with palms turned outwards; invocation and supplication, by hands and arms outstretched; dependence and entreaty, by clasped hands or meeting palms. Among the Hebrews, *standing* was the more usual attitude in public prayer, as it is among the Jews to this day; it indicates, perhaps, more a consciousness of the presence of other men and less self-abandonment than *kneeling* (cf. the Parable of the Pharisee and the Publican), which therefore was more appropriate to private devotion. Solomon, it is true, knelt at the dedication of the temple (1 K 8^{54}, 2 Ch 6^{13}). Ezra (Ezr 9^{5}) and Daniel (Dn 6^{10}) likewise fell upon their knees; and St. Paul knelt in prayer with the elders of Ephesus. In all these instances, however, the idea conveyed is rather that the spectators were overlooking or assisting at an act of private devotion, than that they were taking part in public or common prayer. In one instance (2 S 7^{18}=1 Ch 17^{16}) we read of *sitting* as an attitude of prayer; but this probably is a form of kneeling, the body being thrown back so as to rest upon the heels, as in other cases (1 K 18^{42}) it was thrown forward until the head was placed between the knees. *To fall at the feet* of a person (*προσκύνησις*) was an act of extreme reverence, generally accompanying supplication (1 S 25^{24}, 2 K 4^{37}, Est 8^{3}, Mt 28^{9}, Mk 5^{22}, Lk 8^{41}, Jn 11^{32}). Prostration before a human patron or benefactor was an Oriental, not a Roman, custom, and hence St. Peter declined to receive it from Cornelius, in whom it indicated a misapprehension as to the quality of the apostle. Of hands lifted to heaven we read in Is 1^{15}, 1 Ti 2^{8}. The consecration of love was denoted, as we have seen, by the kiss. Moses and Joshua were commanded to remove their sandals (Ex 3^{5}, Jos 5^{15}), because the presence of God made holy the ground on which they stood. In all these instances it is easy to discern how the outward act expressed, and, in expressing, tended to intensify in the heart of the worshipper the feeling with which it was associated. A. STEWART.

ADORNING (mod. adornment) occurs in 1 P 3^{3} 'Whose a. let it not be that outward a. of plaiting the hair.' The latest use of a. as a subst. is in H. More's *Seven Ch.* (1669): 'Her prankings and adornings' (*Oxf. Dict.*). J. HASTINGS.

ADRAMMELECH (אַדְרַמֶּלֶךְ).—1. A. and Anammelech, the gods of Sepharvaim to whom the colonists, brought to Samaria from Sepharvaim, burnt their children in the fire (2 K 17^{31}). Adrammelech has been identified with a deity frequently mentioned in Assyrian records whose name is written ideographically AN. BAR. and AN. NIN. IB. This name has been conjecturally read 'Adar'; and if this conjecture be right, 'Adar' may be identified with 'Adrammelech' (*i.e.* 'Adar-prince' *or* 'Adar-Molech'). 'Adar' is a name of Accadian origin, signifying 'Father of decision' (*or* judgment). 'Adar' was active in sending the waters of the Deluge. (Cf. Schrader, *KAT*^{2}, on 2 K 17^{31}).

2. (2 K 19^{37}, Is 37^{38}) mentioned with Sharezer as one of the murderers of Sennacherib. In Is (*l.c.*) and in all the versions of Kings (*l.c.*) the two murderers are described as the *sons* of Sennacherib, but the *Kethîbh* of Kings omits 'his sons.' A Babylonian chronicle, referring to the murder, says simply, 'On the twentieth of the month Tebet, Sennacherib, king of Assyria, was killed by his son (*sing.*) in an insurrection.' (See E. Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. ii. p. 281, and C. H. W. Johns in *Expository Times*, vol. vii. p. 238 f., and p. 360. W. E. BARNES.

ADRAMYTTIUM (Ἀδραμύττιον) was an ancient city of the country Mysia, in the Rom. province Asia, with a harbour, at the top of the gulf *Sinus Adramyttenus*. The population and the name were moved some distance inland during the Middle Ages to a site which is now called Edremid. It must have been a city of great importance when Pergamos was the capital of the kings of Asia; and hence, when Asia became a Rom. province, Adramyttium was selected as the metropolis of the N.W. district of Asia, where the assizes (*conventus*) of that whole district were held. Its ships made trading voyages along the coasts of Asia and as far as Syria (Ac 27^{2}); and a kind of ointment exported from the city was highly esteemed (Pliny, *NH* xiii. 2. 5). Its importance as a trading centre is shown by its being one of the cities where *cistophori*, the great commercial coinage of the east, were struck between 133 and 67 B.C. It suffered greatly during the Mithridatic wars, and rather declined in importance; but, even as late as the 3rd cent., under Caracalla, it still ranked sufficiently high to strike alliance coins with Ephesus (implying certain reciprocal rights in respect of religious festivals and games). W. M. RAMSAY.

ADRIA (Ac 27^{27}, RV *Sea of* Adria).—The sea 'amidst' which the ship carrying St. Paul was driven during fourteen days, before it stranded on Melita. After passing Crete, the voyagers encountered a violent 'north-easter' (RV *Euraquilo*), before which they drifted, and running under the island of Clauda (RV Cauda, now Gozo), they were afraid of being carried towards the quicksands (RV *Syrtis*) dreaded by the mariner on the African coast; but eventually, on the fourteenth day, descried land, where they ran the ship aground on an island called Melita. The sea which they traversed is termed ὁ Ἀδρίας. Three questions arise—(1) as to the form, (2) as to the origin, and (3) as to the range or connotation, of the word.

1. WH prefer the aspirated form Ἁδρίας; but while both forms occur in ancient writers (see the variations in Pauly-Wiss. *RE s.v.*), our choice must depend on the probable derivation of the name.

2. There were two towns of similar name—Atria or Hadria, in Picenum (now *Atri*), an inland town having no relation to the Adriatic (except indirectly through its port of Matrinum), and Atria, a town of early commercial importance near the mouth of the Po, with which the name is associated by such authorities as Livy (v. 33), Strabo (v. 1), and Pliny (*HN* iii. 120). This town, still called Adria, is described by Livy and others as a Tuscan settlement, but by Justin (xx. 1. 9) as of Gr. origin; and its early relations with Greece are (as Mommsen, in *CIL* v. 1. p. 220, points out) yet more certainly attested by painted vases of Gr. style found in no small number there, but not elsewhere in that district of Italy. The Picentine town was in imperial times called Hadria, and earlier coins belonging to it are inscribed HAT., while in inscriptions from the town on the Po the first letter is represented by A, not by H, and Mommsen, for that reason, has latterly preferred the form *Atria*.

3. As Adrias was early used in the sense, to which Adriatic has again been confined, of the branch of the sea between Italy and Illyria, it was not unnatural so to understand it in Ac 27, esp. as an island off its Illyrian shore, Melita (now Meleda), might have been the scene of the shipwreck. Bryant (*Diss. on the wind Euroclydon*), Macknight, and others adopted this view, which some, on their authority, have accepted, although Scaliger had pronounced it ridiculous and hardly worth refuting. Its chief champion is W. Falconer,

whose *Dissertation on St. Paul's Voyage*, published in 1817, was reissued in 1870 by the writer's nephew, Judge Falconer, with copious additional notes controverting (though with little real success) the arguments of Mr. Smith of Jordanhill, in support of the tradition which regards Malta as the scene of shipwreck, and takes Adrias in the wider sense of the waters between Crete and Sicily (*Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, 1848). The history of the strangely varying usage is well indicated by Partsch in Pauly-Wiss. *s.v.*, and by Müller in his ed. of Strabo, pp. 328, 335, 338. At first the name strictly belonged to the inner portion adjoining the mouths of the Po and the coast of the Veneti, while the lower or south portion was known as the Ionian Sea. But these names soon became interchangeable, or, if a distinction was drawn, it was that of two basins—the inner as far as Mount Garganus being more strictly 'the Adrias,' the outer the Ionian Sea. Strabo expressly recognises this distinction, but indicates that Adrias had now become the name for the whole (ii. 123, vii. 187). But while Adrias comes thus to include the Ionian Sea, the latter term in its turn obtained an extension to the sea lying between the west coasts of Greece and Sicily, which is called by Strabo the Sicilian, and was also termed the Ausonian Sea (ii. 123), and the name Adrias now received a corresponding, but even greater, extension. A very clear light is thrown on the range or connotation of 'the Adrias,' as used in Acts, by the statements of Ptolemy, who flourished (not 'immediately,' as Smith has said (p. 127), but) sixty or seventy years after St. Luke (he was alive 160 A.D.), and who presents an usage which must be presumed to have been not only existent, but current and generally accepted for some considerable time, in order to find a place in such a work. Ptolemy places the Adriatic to the east of Sicily (iii. 4), to the south of Achaia (iii. 14), to the west and south of the Peloponnesus (iii. 16), and to the west of Crete (iii. 15), thus giving to it precisely the extent which Strabo assigns to the Sicilian Sea. We meet the same wider range in earlier as well as later writers. The only argument of weight adduced by Judge Falconer in opposition to the case thus established, is that elsewhere (iv. 3) Ptolemy places Melita (Malta) in the African Sea, which bounds Sicily on the south. But it is too much to construe this as though Ptolemy 'distinctly and unequivocally *excluded* the island from all seas but that of Africa.' The alleged 'exclusion' is a mere inference by Falconer from the 'inclusion'; not at all necessary where Melita, lying between the two seas called African and Sicilian, might easily be associated with either. At any rate, the main question concerns not the mere geographical assignation of Melita as such, but the meaning to be attached to 'the Adrias' as the sea which the vessel traversed on its voyage. And here most commentators agree in holding that, in accordance with the current usage of the time when St. Luke wrote, the word is applied to the whole expanse of waters between Crete and Sicily.

WILLIAM P. DICKSON.

ADRIEL (עַדְרִיאֵל).—Son of Barzillai, a native of Abel-meholah in the Jordan Valley, about 10 miles S. of Bethshean. He married Merab, the eldest daughter of Saul, who should have been given to David as the slayer of Goliath (1 S 18^{19}). Michal (2 S 21^{8}) is a mistake for Merab.

J. F. STENNING.

ADUEL (Ἀδουήλ, Heb. אדריאל, Syr. אצדואיל), one of the ancestors of Tobit, To 1^{1}. A variant form of עֲדִיאֵל, 1 Ch 4^{36}.

J. T. MARSHALL.

ADULLAM (עֲדֻלָּם), now *'Îd-'el-mā'* 'Feast of water,' or *'Îd-'el-mîych* 'Feast of the hundred' (see Clermont-Ganneau and Conder in *PEF Mem.* iii. 361-67; Conder, *Tent Work*, p. 276 f.; Smith, *Geogr.* p. 229), in the valley of Elah, is frequently referred to in the OT. It was a city of the Canaanites (Gn 38^{1}), in the district allotted to the tribe of Judah after the conquest (Jos 12^{15}). It was fortified by Rehoboam (2 Ch 11^{7}), and is mentioned later on by Micah (1^{15}). After the Captivity it was re-peopled by the Jews (Neh 11^{30}), and continued to be a place of importance under the Maccabees (2 Mac 12^{38}).

The Cave of Adullam, famous through its association with the early history of David, has usually been supposed to have had no connexion with the city of that name, and has been located by tradition, as well as by many travellers, in the Wady Khareitun, about six miles south-east of Bethlehem. The most recent authorities, however, are strongly of opinion that an entirely suitable site for it can be found in the vicinity of the city, and that there is no reason for separating the two. Halfway between Shochoh and Keilah, and 10 miles north-west of Hebron, some caves have been found, the position of which suits all we are told about David's stronghold, and which are at once central and defensible. It may be regarded as practically settled that the Cave of Adullam was not far from where David had his encounter with Goliath.

Adullamite (עֲדֻלָּמִי 'native of Adullam') is applied to Hirah, the friend of Judah (Gn 38^{1}). At the time of the conquest Adullam was a royal city, and if it was so in Hirah's time, he was probably king.

W. MUIR.

ADULTERY.—See CRIMES, and MARRIAGE.

ADUMMIM, THE ASCENT OF (מַעֲלֵה אֲדֻמִּים), Jos 15^{7} 18^{17}, forming part of the eastern boundary between Judah and Benjamin, is the steep pass in which the road ascends from Jericho to Jerusalem. Its name, *Tal'at ed-Dumm*, is still the same—'the ascent of blood' or 'red,' and is most probably due to the red marl which is so distinctive a feature of the pass. In this pass, notorious for robberies and murders, is the traditional 'inn' of Lk 10^{34}, and near by the Chastel Rouge or Citerne Rouge, built by the crusaders for protection of pilgrims from Jerusalem to the Jordan.

A. HENDERSON.

ADVANTAGE.—This is one of our numerous misspelt Eng. words. It comes from *avant*, 'before,' with the suffix *age*. Hence it has no connexion with Lat. prep. *ad* (though the misspelling is found as early as 1523), and the meaning is not simple profit, but superiority. In this sense it is found in Ro 3^{1} 'What a. then hath the Jew?' and 2 Co 2^{11}, to which RV adds 2 Co 7^{2} $12^{17.18}$. In Job 35^{3}, Jude v.^{16} 'a.' should be 'profit.' And so the verb 'to advantage,' now obsolete, which is found in Lk 9^{25}, 1 Co 15^{32} 'what advantageth it me?' is rightly turned into 'profit' in RV.

J. HASTINGS.

ADVENT.—See PAROUSIA.

ADVENTURE, now obs. as a verb, is found Dt 28^{56} 'The tender and delicate woman among you which would not a. (intrans. = venture) to set the sole of her foot upon the ground for delicateness and tenderness'; Jg 9^{17} 'For my father fought for you, and a^{d} (transit. = risked) his life'; Ac 19^{31} 'desiring him that he would not a. himself (δοῦναι ἑαυτόν, 'give himself') into the theatre.' Cf. Shaks. *Two G. of Ver.* III. i. 120—

> 'Leander would adventure it';

and for the intrans. use *Rom. and Jul.* V. iii. 11—

> 'I am almost afraid to stand alone
> Here in the churchyard; yet I will adventure.'

'At all adventure' occurs Wis 2^{2} 'we are born at all a.' (*αὐτοσχεδίως*, RV 'by mere chance') and 'at all adventures,' Lv 26^{21} m (קְרִי, in the usual phrase הָלַךְ קְרִי עִם). Cf. T. Wilson (1553): 'which showte (shoot) . . . at all aventures hittie missie.' J. HASTINGS.

ADVERSARY. — Besides the general sense of opponent, a. occurs with the special meaning of an opponent at law (*ἀντίδικος*), Lk 12^{58} 'When thou goest with thine adversary to the magistrate'; Mt 5^{25} Lk 18^{3}. In the foll. passages it is used as the tr. of Heb. שָׂטָן *Sâṭân*, Nu 22^{22}, 1 S 29^{4}, 2 S 19^{22}, 1 K 5^{4} 11$^{14. 23. 25}$. Cf. 1 P 5^{8} 'your a. (Gr. *ἀντίδικος*) 'the devil.' See SATAN. J. HASTINGS.

ADVERTISE, 'to give notice,' 'inform,' Nu 24^{14} 'I will a. thee what this people shall do to thy people in the latter days'; and Ru 4^{4} 'I thought to a. thee' (RV 'disclose it unto thee'). In the last passage the Heb. is 'uncover the ear' (גָּלָה אֹזֶן). See EAR. **Advertisement**, in the sense of precept, admonition, occurs in the heading of Sir 20. J. HASTINGS.

ADVICE, ADVISE, ADVISEMENT.—'To take advice' in mod. Eng. is to consult with another and receive his opinion. But in Jg 19^{30} and 2 Ch 25^{17} 'to take a.' means to consult with oneself and give an opinion; Jg 19^{30} 'consider of it, take a. (RV 'take counsel') and speak.' So Shaks. 2 *Henry VI.* II. ii. 67—

> 'And that's not suddenly to be perform'd;
> But with advice, and silent secrecy.'

Advise in the sense, not of giving advice to another, but of deliberating with oneself, is found twice, 2 S 24^{13} 'now a. (RV 'advise thee') and see what answer I shall return to him that sent me,' and 1 Ch 21^{12} (RV 'consider'). 'Well advised' in Pr 13^{10}, 'but with the well advised is wisdom,' means not those who have accepted good advice, but those who are cautious or deliberate. Cf. Bacon, *Essays*, 'Let him be . . . advised in his answers.' **Advisement**, now obs., occurs 1 Ch 12^{19} 'the lords of the Philistines, upon a. (*i.e.* after deliberation) sent him away'; 2 Mac 14^{20} 'When they had taken long a. thereupon' (RV 'when these proposals had been long considered'). J. HASTINGS.

ADVOCATE (*παράκλητος*), only 1 Jn 2^{1}. See HOLY SPIRIT and PARACLETE.

AEDIAS (B Ἀηδείας, A -δί-), 1 Es 9^{27}. — One of those who agreed to put away their 'strange' wives. The corresponding name in Ezr 10^{26} is Elijah (אֵלִיָּה, Ἠλία). The form in 1 Es is a corruption of the Gr. (ΗΛΙΑ read as ΑΗΔΙΑ), and has no Heb. equivalent. H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

ÆNEAS (*Αἰνέας*) is the name of a paralytic at Lydda who was cured by Peter (Ac 9$^{33. 34}$). We find the name used of a Jew in Jos. *Ant.* XIV. x. 22. A. C. HEADLAM.

ÆNON (*Αἰνών*, 'springs') is mentioned only in Jn 3^{23} as near to Salem (which see). As the name 'springs' is common, its locality must be fixed by that of Salem. Eusebius and Jerome place Ænon 8 miles south of Scythopolis, now *Beisan*; and the name Sâlim is said to attach to a mound some 6 or 7 miles south of *Beisan*, while three-quarters of a mile south of it are seven springs. 'Rivulets also wind about in all directions. . . . I have found few places in Palestine of which one could so truly say, "Here is much water"' (Van de Velde, ii. p. 345, etc.). The chief difficulty in the acceptance of this identification is the naming of Salem (Jn 3^{23}) as a well-known town, suggesting *the* well-known Salim, east of Shechem. Conder has pointed out 'Ainûn, bearing the name, situated in the Wâdy Fâr'ah. 'Here was once a large village, now completely overthrown. A great number of rock-cut cisterns are observed on the site' (*Survey Memoirs*, ii. p. 234). A little to the south of 'Ainûn is a succession of springs with flat meadows on either side, where great crowds might gather by the bank of the copious perennial stream shaded by oleanders. Here were 'many waters' (Jn 3^{23} RVm). It is accessible by roads from all quarters, and is situated by one of the main roads from Jerus. to Galilee, the road passing Jacob's Well (Jn 4^{6}) which our Lord may have taken to meet the Baptist in view of threatened misunderstandings and jealousies of his disciples. For a full description, see Conder's *Tent Work*, ii. pp. 57, 58. The distance is about 7 miles from Salim, which has been made an objection to this identification; but there is no nearer town of importance by which to describe its situation. A. HENDERSON.

ÆSORA (*Αἰσωρά*), Jth 4^{4} (AV Esora). — A Samaritan town noticed with Bethhoron, Jericho, and Salem (*Sâlim*). Possibly *'Asîreh*, N.E. of Shechem (*SWP* vol. ii. sh. xi.). C. R. CONDER.

AFFECT, AFFECTION.—In its literal sense of 'to act upon,' affect occurs once, La 3^{51} 'mine eye affecteth mine heart.' In Sir 13^{11} the meaning is to aspire, 'Affect not to be made equal unto him in talk.' Besides these, observe Gal 4$^{17. 18}$, where the meaning is to have affection for, be fond of. Gal 4^{17} 'They zealously a. you, but not well (Gr. *ζηλοῦσιν ὑμᾶς οὐ καλῶς*, RV 'They zealously seek you in no good way'); yea, they would exclude you, that ye might a. them' (RV 'seek them'). Cf. Bingham, *Xenoph.* 'Alwaies soure and cruell, so that Souldiers affected him as children doe their Schoolemaster.' Besides these, a. occurs only Ac 14^{2} 'made them evil a^{ed}' (*κακόω*); 2 Mac 4^{21} 'not well a^{ed}' (*ἀλλότριος*), RV 'ill a^{ed}.'); 13^{26} 'well a^{ed}' (*εὐμενής*). **Affection** in old Eng. is any bent or disposition of the mind, good or bad, as Col 3^{2} 'set your a. (Gr. *φρονεῖτε*, RV 'set your mind') on things above.' Hence, to tr. *πάθος* and the like, some adj. is added, as Col 3^{5} 'inordinate a.' (Gr. *πάθος*, RV 'passion'); Ro 1^{31} 'without natural a.' (Gr. *ἄστοργος*). But in the plu. affections means passions, as Gal 5^{24} 'the flesh with the a. (Gr. *πάθημα*, RV 'passions') and lusts'; Ro 1^{26} 'God gave them up unto vile a.' (Gr. *πάθη ἀτιμίας*, RV 'vile passions'). Cf. the difference between 'passion' and 'passions.' RV gives 'affections' in a good (*i.e.* the mod.) sense at 2 Co 6^{12} (AV 'bowels,' which see). **Affectioned** is found in the neutral sense of 'disposed' in Ro 12^{10} 'kindly a. (Gr. *φιλόστοργοι*, RV 'tenderly a.') one to another.' Cf. Fuller, *Abel Red.* 'He (Luther) was very lovingly affectioned towards his children.' J. HASTINGS.

AFFINITY.—In 1 K 3^{1} 'Solomon made a. with Pharaoh'; 2 Ch 18^{1} 'Jehoshaphat . . . joined a. with Ahab'; and Ezr 9^{14} 'Should we . . . join in a. with the people of these abominations?' a. has the special sense of relationship by marriage, being distinguished from consanguinity or relationship by blood. Cf. Selden, *Laws of Eng.* (1649), 'Many that by a. and consanguinity were become Englishmen.' See MARRIAGE. J. HASTINGS.

AFFLICTION is now used only passively: the state of being afflicted, misery. So Ex 3^{7} 'I have surely seen the a. of my people,' and elsewhere. But it is also in the Bible used actively, as 1 K 22^{27} 'feed him with bread of a. and with water of a., until I come in peace' (*i.e.* bread and water that will afflict him). Cf. More, 'Let him . . . purge the spirit by the a. of the flesh.' J. HASTINGS.

AFFRAY.—See Crimes and Punishments.

AFORE and its compounds.—**Afore**=before, is used as prep. Is 18^{5} 'afore the harvest'; as adj. 2 Es 5^{31} 'the night a.'; and as adv. Ro 1^{2} 'which he had promised afore.' **Aforehand** as adv.= beforehand, in anticipation, occurs Mk 14^{8} 'She is come a. to anoint my body'; and Jth 7^{1}. **Afore-promised** is now found 2 Co 9^{5} RV 'your a. bounty' (προεπηγγελμένος). **Aforesaid** occurs only 2 Mac 4^{23} 14^{8}. **Aforetime**=formerly, as Dn 6^{10} '(Daniel) prayed . . . as he did a.' Aforetime is happily introduced by RV at Dt 2$^{10.12.20}$, Jos 4^{18}, 1 Ch 4^{40}, Jn 9^{8} Ro 3^{25} Eph 2$^{2.11}$, Col 3^{7}, Tit 3^{3}, Philem v.^{11}, 1 P 3^{5}, for various AV expressions, generally as tr. of לְפָנִים or πότε. The *a* in these words is a worn-down form of the old Eng. prep. *an* or *on*. See A. J. Hastings.

AFTER, AFTERWARD ('After, orginally a compar. of *af*, Lat. ab, Gr. ἀπό, Skr. *ápa*, with compar. suffix *-ter*, like -ther in "either," etc.= farther off.'—Murray) is found in AV and RV in all the modern usages as adv., prep., and conj., both of place and of time. The only examples demanding attention are: 1. some passages where after means 'according to,' as in Gn 1^{26} 'And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness'; esp. the following (where Gr. is κατά), Ro 2^{5} 'after thy hardness and impenitent heart'; 1 Co 7^{40} 'after my judgment'; 2 Co 11^{17} 'That which I speak, I speak it not after the Lord'; Eph 4^{24} 'The new man, which after God is created in righteousness'; 2 P 3^{3} 'Scoffers, walking after their own lusts'; Gal 4^{23} 'he who was of the bondwoman was born after the flesh'; Tit 1^{1} 'the acknowledging of the truth which is after (RV 'according to') godliness'; and He 4^{11} (where Gr. is ἐν) 'lest any man fall after (RVm 'into') the same example of unbelief.' 2. Where after means 'in proportion to': Ps 28^{4} 'give them after the work of their hands'; Ps 90^{15} (Pr. Bk.) 'Comfort us again now after the time that Thou hast plagued us.' So Ps 51^{1} (Pr. Bk.). Cf. Litany, 'Deal not with us after our sins,' and Wyclif's tr. of Mt 16^{27} 'He schal yelde to every man after his works.' 3. Where after is used for *afterwards*, as 1 K 17^{13} 'Make me thereof a little cake first, and bring it unto me, and after (RV 'afterward') make for thee and for thy son.' So He 11^{8}, 2 P 2^{6}.

Afterward is the older form; when the AV was made, 'afterwards' was coming into use. Skeat says he has not been able to find it much earlier than Shakespeare's time (but *Oxf. Dict.* gives one 1300, and one 1375). AV (Camb. ed.) has afterward 66 times, afterwards 13 times. J. Hastings.

AGABUS (Ἄγαβος, of uncertain derivation; probably from either חָגָב 'a locust,' Ezr 2^{46}, or עָגַב 'to love'), a Christian prophet living at Jerusalem, Ac 11$^{27-30}$ 21$^{10.11}$. Though the prophets were not essentially predicters of the future, the case of Agabus shows that their functions sometimes included the actual prediction of coming events. At Antioch, A.D. 44, A. foretold a famine 'over all the world' in the days of Claudius. Only local famines are known in this reign, though some were so severe as necessarily to affect indirectly the entire empire (Suet. *Claud.* xviii.; Tac. *Ann.* xii. 43; Euseb. *Chron. Arm.*, ed. Schöne, ii. 252 *et al.*). Both Suetonius and Eusebius date a famine in the fourth year of Claudius, A.D. 45; and since Judæa as well as Greece suffered, it is probably this to which Agabus referred. Josephus speaks of its severity, and of means taken for its relief (*Ant.* III. xv. 3, XX. ii. 6 and v. 2). The other prophecy of Agabus (A.D. 59) followed the OT method of symbolism, and has a close parallel in Jn 21^{18}. He foretold to St. Paul his imprisonment in Jerusalem, but did not thereby divert him from the journey. Nothing more is known concerning Agabus, though there are traditions that he was one of the seventy disciples of Christ, and that he suffered martyrdom at Antioch.

R. W. Moss.

AGAG (אֲגַג, Nu 24^{7} אֲגָג 'violent (?)' Assyr. *agâgu*, 'displeasure').—A king of the Amalekites, conquered by Saul and, contrary to the divine command, saved alive, but put to death by Samuel (1 S 15). From the way in which the name is used by Balaam (Nu 24^{7}), it seems not to have been the name of any one individual prince, but, like Pharaoh among the Egyptians, and (possibly) Abimelech among the Philistines, a designation or title borne by all the kings,—perhaps by the king of that nation which stood at the head of the confederacy. Kneucker and others, without any reasonable ground, insist upon taking it as a personal name, and make its use by the writer of Nu 24^{7} a reminiscence of the story from Saul's time. J. Macpherson.

AGAGITE (אֲגָגִי).—A term of reproach used to designate Haman, the enemy of the Jews at the Persian court of Ahasuerus (Est 3$^{1.10}$ 8$^{3.5}$ 9^{24}). In Josephus' version of the story (*Ant.* XI. vi. 5), Haman is described as 'by birth an Amalekite.' In Est 3^{1} instead of Agagite the LXX reads Βουγαῖον, and in 9^{24} ὁ Μακεδών, while in the other passages simply the name Haman occurs. Thus in the LXX the word Agagite does not occur. Some have argued (*e.g.* Bertheau in Comm.) that the designation was used to indicate to a Hebrew what 'Macedonian' would to a Greek, and that it meant Amalekite in the sense of a contemptible, hateful person, but not as implying that Haman had any genealogical connexion with Amalek. The promotion of a foreigner to such a position in the empire as Haman occupied, even under the regime of the most despotic monarchs, must have been quite an exceptional occurrence. Apart from any other indication of Haman's foreign extraction, it is scarcely safe to base an assumption of such a kind on the possible meaning of a mere appellative. Others (*e.g.* v. Orelli in Herzog) think that the connexion of this adjective with the proper name Agag is extremely doubtful.

J. Macpherson.

AGAIN.—The proper meaning of again, 'a second time,' is well seen in Rev 19^{3} 'And a. (Gr. δεύτερον, RV 'a second time') they said, Alleluia'; Jn 9^{24} 'Then a. called they (RV 'so they called a second time, Gr. ἐκ δευτέρου) the man that was blind'; Ac 11^{9} 'But the voice answered me a. (Gr. ἐκ δευτέρου, RV 'a second time') from heaven'; Ph 4^{16} 'ye sent once and again' (Gr. δίς, *twice*, as in Lk 18^{12} 'I fast *twice* in the week'). But the oldest meaning of a. is 'in the opposite direction' (now generally expressed by 'back'), and of this there are some interesting examples in the Bible: Jg 3^{19} 'He himself turned a. (RV 'back') from the quarries'; Lk 10^{35} 'when I come a. (RV 'back again') I will repay thee'; Pr 2^{19} 'None that go unto her return a.'; 2 S 22^{38} '(I) turned not a. until I had consumed them'; Lk 6^{35} 'lend, hoping for nothing a.' (RV 'never despairing'); Gn 24^{5} 'Must I needs bring thy son a. unto the land from whence thou camest?'; Mt 11^{4} 'go and show John a. (=go back and show John) those things which ye do hear'; Ro 9^{20} AVm 'who art thou that answerest again?' Cf. Ps 19^{6} (Pr. Bk.) 'It (the sun) goeth forth from the uttermost part of the heaven, and runneth almost unto the end of it a.'; and

'Turn again, Whittington, thrice Lord Mayor of London!'

J. Hastings.

AGAINST.—**1.** In its primitive meaning of 'opposite to' against is rarely found alone, usually 'over a.,' as Dt 1^{1} 'in the plain over a. the Red Sea'; but we find Gn 15^{10} 'and laid each piece one a. another' (RV 'each half over a. the other'); 1 Ch 25^{8} 'They cast lots, ward a. ward'; Ezk 3^{8} 'I have made thy face strong a. their faces'; esp. Nu 25^{4} 'Take all the heads (RV 'chiefs') of the people, and hang them up before the Lord a. the sun' (RV 'unto the Lord before the sun'); and 1 S 25^{20} 'David and his men came down a. her' (*i.e.* opposite her, so as to meet her). **2.** From the meaning 'opposite to' of place, easily arises 'opposite to' of time, of which we have an example in Ro 2^{5} 'treasurest up unto thyself wrath a. (Gr. ἐν, RV 'in') the day of wrath'; 1 Mac 5^{27}. Cf. Spenser, *Prothalamion*—

> 'Against the Brydale day, which is not long.'

3. In this sense a. is found as a conjunction in three places, Gn 43^{25} 'they made ready the present a. Joseph came at noon'; Ex 7^{15}, 2 K 16^{11}.

J. HASTINGS.

AGAR.—The sons of Agar are mentioned (Bar 3^{23}) along with the merchants of Midian and Teman, as ignorant of the way that leads to the secret haunt of Wisdom. They are called Hagarenes (which see), Ps 83^{6}; and Hagrites, 1 Ch 5$^{19.\ 20}$ 27^{31}. Their country lay east of Gilead.

J. T. MARSHALL.

AGATE.—See PRECIOUS STONES.

AGE, AGED, OLD AGE.—Respect towards the aged as such, apart from any special claims of kinship, wealth, or public office, has always been a characteristic feature in Oriental life. In modern Syria and Egypt it has a foremost place among social duties, taking rank with the regard paid to the neighbour and the guest. Any failure to show this respect on the part of the young is severely frowned down as unseemly and unnatural. In Israel the general custom was strengthened by the command in the law of Moses, 'Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head' (Lv 19^{32}). This beautiful bond between youth and age may be described as a threefold cord of wisdom, authority, and affection.

1. *Wisdom.*—Where there is a scarcity of written record, personal experience becomes the one book of wisdom. As it is put by the Arab. proverb, 'He that is older than you by a day is wiser than you by a year.' There is a similar emphasis on the value of experience when they say, 'Consult the patient, not the physician.' Hence the diffidence and respectful waiting of the youth Elihu, 'Days should speak, and multitude of years should teach wisdom' (Job 32^{7}). Similarly the taunt of Eliphaz, 'Art thou the first man that was born?' (Job 15^{7}), and his claim, 'With us are the grey-headed and very aged men' (Job 15^{10}). Thus also Moses, though possessed of the learning of the Egyptians, receives helpful advice from Jethro; and later on, the tragedy of the divided kingdom in the days of Rehoboam turns upon the difference of opinion between the old and young advisers of the king.

2. *Authority.*—It was natural that the voice of experience and wisdom should also be the voice of authority. It was the tide-mark of Job's prosperity that the aged rose up before him. From the dignity conferred on the father as lord of the house and head of the family, the title soon passed into one of public office. The old men became the 'elders' of Israel and of the Christian Church. Similarly among the Arabs, the family of the ruling sheikh (old man) bore the title of sheikhs from their youth—an extension of the orig. meaning that is seen also in the corresp. ecclesiastical term. When the Lord sought to set forth the high meaning of discipleship with regard to enmity, slander, immorality, and murder, He at once reached a point that seemed beyond the ideal when He alluded to the law revered by age and authority, and declared that even it must be vitalised and transfigured (Mt 5$^{21-23}$).

3. *Mutual Affection.*—The teaching of the Bible on age appeals as much to the heart as to the head, and many affectionate interests are made to cluster around the relationship of old and young. In the language of endearment, 'the beauty of old men is the grey head' (Pr 20^{29}), and 'The hoary head is a crown of glory' (Pr 16^{31}). The presence of the aged in a community is regarded as a sign of peace and goodwill, just as the rarity of old age and of natural death indicates a state of blood-feud and party strife (Job 22^{16}). John, who in youth came to Christ with a petition of selfishness, lives to say in his old age, 'Greater joy have I none than this, to hear of my children walking in the truth' (3 Jn v.^{4}). The women of Bethlehem in their rejoicing over the child of Boaz and Ruth, bring the expression of their joy to her who would feel it most, and say, 'There is a son born to Naomi' (Ru 4^{17}). In the same spirit the aged apostle, in his appeal to Philemon on behalf of Onesimus, gives a predominance to love over law, saying, 'I rather beseech, being such an one as Paul the aged' (Philem v.^{9}). The last and softest fold of this affectionate relationship is the feebleness of age, and its claim upon the protection of the strong. It was the absence of this that made Moses stand apart and unique. Barzillai is too old for new friendships and fresh surroundings. The limit is set at threescore and ten, and excess of that is increase of sorrow. Jacob's retrospect is over days 'few and evil.' There are days in which there is no pleasure. Along with the recognition of long life as a mark of divine favour, the apostle can say, 'To die is gain.' Lastly, when heart and flesh fail, the prayer is made to the Almighty, 'When I am old, forsake me not' (Ps 71^{18}).

Along with this devotion to the old and reverence for the past, the Bible keeps a large space for the fact of reaction against routine, and the superseding of the provincial and preparatory. Elihu occupies it when he says with the intensity of epigram, 'There is a spirit in man, and the breath of the Almighty giveth them understanding. It is not the great that are wise, nor the aged that understand judgment' (Job 32$^{7-9}$). Cf. 'A new commandment I give unto you' (Jn 13^{34}). The old existed for the young, not the young for the old. As the wisdom of the man of years grew into the teaching of the historical past, it was discovered that the new was really the old, and that the latest born might be the most mature. The very reverence for the wisdom of the past set the limitation to its authority. The well-worn garment had to be protected against the loud predominance of the new patch. The old bottles were once new. Hence along with the exhortation to seek the 'old paths' we have the announcement that 'old things are passed away.' Further, in the *Via Dolorosa* of the centuries along which the Word of God walked with the questionings and sorrows of men, as the light forced the darkness into self-consciousness, and the kingdom of God came nearer, it could not but happen that the august form would sometimes appear to block the way, and dispute the passage of the truth for which it existed. The appeal to the Burning Bush is always for some newer name than the God of the fathers. Hence in the course of revelation, as the purpose of divine grace grows luminous, the infinite spirit chafes against the limited form, and a distaste is provoked towards regimental wisdom and macadamized morality.

The refreshment of the brook makes men think of the fountainhead. Hence in Israel the akedia of Ecclesiastes on account of the omnipresent past; and in heathenism the inscription of religious despair, 'To the unknown god,' and the unrest that urged philosophy to 'some new thing' (Ac 17^{21}).

The Bible witnesses throughout to this vital relationship between the new and the old; for its last scene is a repetition of the first—the new creature stepping into the new heavens and new earth, and in the eternal service behind the veil new notes are heard in the song of Moses and the Lamb. As long as the power of vision remains limited, it is essential to the sublime that something of blue haze and boundlessness should lie on the horizon both of life and landscape.

G. M. Mackie.

AGEE (אָגֵא).—The father of Shammah, one of 'the Three' (2 S 23^{11}). We should prob. read '*the* Hararite' here in conformity with v.^{33} and 1 Ch 11^{34}, the Jonathan of v.^{33} (as emended) being the grandson of Agee. Wellhausen, however, prefers the reading 'Shage' (1 Ch 11^{34}) to 'Shammah' of 2 S 23^{33}, and would restore 'Shage' here for 'Agee'; on this view, Jonathan (v.^{33}) would be the brother of Shammah. J. F. Stenning.

AGGABA (A B$^{\text{a b mg.}}$ Ἀγγαβά, B om., AV **Graba**), 1 Es 5^{29}.—In Ezr 2^{45} Hagabah, Neh 7^{48} Hagaba. The source of the AV form is doubtful.

AGGAEUS (AV **Aggeus**), 1 Es 6^{1} 7^{3}, 2 Es 1^{40}, for Haggai (which see).

AGIA (Ἁγιά, AV **Hagia**), 1 Es 5^{34}.—In Ezr 2^{57}, Neh 7^{59} Hattil.

AGONE.—1 S 30^{13} 'Three days agone I fell sick.' This is the earlier form of the past part. of the verb *agan* or *agon*, 'to pass by,' or 'go on.' Only the part. is found after 1300, and after Caxton's day this longer form gradually gave place to *ago*. Chaucer (*Troilus*, ii. 410) says—

> 'Of this world the feyth is all agon.'

J. Hastings.

AGONY.—In the sense of great trouble or distress, agony is used in 2 Mac 3^{14} 'There was no small a. throughout the whole city' (cf. $3^{16.\,21}$). In Canonical Scripture the word is found only in Lk 22^{44} of our Lord's Agony in the Garden. And there it seems to have been introduced by Wyclif directly from the Vulg. *agonia*, just as the Lat. of the Vulg. was a transliteration of the Gr. ἀγωνία (on which see Field, *Otium Norv.* iii., *ad loc.*). Tindale (1534), Cranmer (1539), the Geneva (1557), the Rheims (1582), the AV (1611), and the RV (1881) all have 'an agony' here; Wyclif himself has simply 'agony.' J. Hastings.

AGREE TO.—In the sense of 'assent to,' with a person as object, a. is found in Ac 5^{40} 'To him they a.' ἐπείσθησαν αὐτῷ. In Mk 14^{70} it is used in the obsolete sense of 'agree with' or 'correspond with,' 'Thou art a Galilæan, and thy speech agreeth thereto' (ὁμοιάζει, TR; RV following edd. omits the clause). J. Hastings.

AGRICULTURE.—Agriculture, which in its wider sense embraces horticulture, forestry, and the pastoral industry, is here restricted to the art of arable farming — including not only ploughing, hoeing, etc., but reaping and threshing. As the savage phase has been followed by the pastoral, so the pastoral has been followed by the A^{al}, in the history of the progressive peoples. The first important advance upon the primitive stage took the form of the domestication of wild animals, and this, by bringing man into closer and more deliberate contact with the soil, contained the promise of further progress. The domestication of wild plants naturally succeeded, and the neolithic man is known, not only to have reared cattle, goats, and swine, but to have cultivated wheat, barley, and millet, which he ground with millstones and converted into bread or pap.

While the Aryans were still virtually in the pastoral stage, the A^{al} art was being actively developed in Egypt and Assyria. In the Nile Valley nature bountifully paved the way. The inundations of the Nile create an admirable bed for the seed by reducing the irrigated soil to a 'smooth black paste,' and the monuments exhibit the people as improving from the earliest times their great natural advantages. The early traditions of the Hebrews, on the other hand, were essentially nomadic. The association of Cain with A. (Gn 4) implies a disparagement of the calling. Abraham is represented as a pure nomad. And although, as is indicated in the histories of Isaac (Gn 26^{12}) and Jacob, the beginnings of A. would naturally have a place in the primitive period, it is only after the conquest of Can. that the Jews take rank as an A^{al} people; and even then the tribes of the trans-Jordanic plateau, whose territory was unsuitable for tillage, continued to depend on cattle-rearing.

The agrarian legislation of the Pent. in reference to the settlement of Can. doubtless embodies some ancient laws and customs regulating the tenure of the soil, although other enactments must be regarded as of later origin, or even as the unfulfilled aspirations of the exilic age. To the last class probably belong the institution of the sabbatical year (Ex 23^{11}, Lv 25^{4}), the produce of which, or its 'volunteer' crop, was reserved for the poor, the stranger, and cattle; and that of the year of jubilee (Lv 25^{28}), in which the dispossessed heir resumed possession of his ancestral acres. Among the enactments of a greater antiquity and validity may be mentioned the law against the removal of landmarks (Dt 19^{14}), which was made urgent by the fact that the arable lands, unlike the vineyards, were not divided by hedges (Is 5^{5}).

The climate of Pal., owing to the removal of forests, must now be much less humid than in early times. The summer is rainless and warm, the winter and early spring are rainy and colder. During the dry season the heat, esp. in the low country, is excessive, and rapidly burns up all minor vegetation; while any surface-water, as from springs, is evident in the spots of unwonted verdure which it iuduces on the parched landscape. In autumn the cisterns are nearly empty, and the ground has become very hard. The husbandman must consequently wait for the rains before he can start ploughing. The rainy season begins about the end of Oct., and is divided into three periods—early rains (מוֹרֶה), which prepare the land for the reception of the seed, heavy winter rains (גֶּשֶׁם), saturating the gronnd and filling the cisterns, and late rains (מַלְקוֹשׁ), falling in spring and giving the crops the necessary moisture. Snow is often seen on the higher lands in winter, and hail is not infrequent. The coldest month is February, the warmest August.

The soil of Pal. varies widely in texture and appearance. In the higher regions it is formed mostly from cretaceous limestone or decomposing basalt rocks; in the maritime plain and the Jordan Valley there are more recent formations. Like the sedentary soils, where of sufficient depth, the alluvial deposits are naturally fertile; and under the intensive and careful cultivation of ancient times the fertility was proverbial (cf. Ex $3^{8.\,17}$, Jer 11^{5}, Tacitus, *Hist.* lib. v. c. 6). The lessened productiveness of modern times is due in part to the diminished rainfall, but mainly to political and social changes. The high farming of antiquity took several forms. Low walls, built along hill-slopes to prevent 'soil-washing,' gave rise to flat terraces. Various methods of irrigation were practised (Gn 2^{10}, Pr 21^{1}, Is 30^{25} $32^{2.\ 20}$). Canals conveyed the water from the natural sources to the fields, or water-wheels might be used.

Other A^{al} improvements were the removal of stones from the fields, and the utilisation of the ash residue of stubble and weeds. Ordinary dung, made in dunghills by treading in straw (Is 25^{10}), was also in common use (2 K 9^{37}). A bare fallow would be occasionally allowed to raise the temporary fertility of the soil.

The number of **Crops** under cultivation was large. The most important was wheat (חִטָּה). The supply exceeded the requirements of the country, and it was possible to export it in considerable quantities (Ezk 27^{17}). Second in importance was barley (שְׂעֹרָה), which was extensively used as food (Ru 3^{15}), esp. by the poorer classes. Spelt (כֻּסֶּמֶת) was frequently grown on the borders of fields. Millet (דֹּחַן), beans (פּוֹל), and lentils (עֲדָשִׁים) were cultivated and used as food (Ezk 4^{9}, 2 S 17^{28}). Flax (פִּשְׁתָּה) was grown (Ex 9^{31}), and probably also cotton (כַּרְפַּס).

Among the statutory regulations relating to the crops, the most noteworthy are:—the prohibition against sowing a field with mixed seed (Lv 19^{19}), a regulation implying considerable botanical knowledge; the provision for damages in case of pasturing a beast in a neighbour's field (Ex 22^{5}); permission to the wayfarer to pluck from the standing corn enough to satisfy hunger (Dt 23^{25}); reservation for the stranger and the poor of the corners of the field (Lv 19^{9}), and other provisions dictated by humanity (Dt 24^{19}).

The A. of Pal. has not advanced or changed in any important particular since OT times. In consequence we can, apart from Biblical notices, largely reconstruct the A^{al} picture of the past from the Syrian conditions of to-day. An additional source of information has of recent years been opened up in the Egyp. hieroglyphics, and esp. in the representations of A^{al} operations found in the Egyp. tombs; and in order the better to bind together this material, we shall now follow the process of cultivation of one of the common cereal crops from seed-time to harvest, giving some account of the implements employed and of the dangers incident to the growing crops. The year of the agriculturist was well filled up—from the middle of Oct. to the middle of Apr. with ploughing, sowing, harrowing, weeding; from the middle of Apr. onward with reaping, carrying, threshing, and storing the grain. The interval between threshing and sowing was occupied with the vineyard produce. It appears that the seed was sometimes sown without any previous cultivation, and afterwards ploughed in or otherwise covered, while at other times the seed was scattered on ploughed land, and covered by a rude harrow or by cross-ploughing. The former method was common in Egypt, where the grain, deposited on moist ground, might be covered by dragging bushes over it, and afterwards trodden down by domestic animals (cf. Is 32^{20}). Where cultivation preceded sowing, various implements were used. From the Egyp. monuments it is possible to trace the evolution of the **Plough**—the starting-point being a forked branch used as a hoe, which was afterwards improved into a kind of mattock, and finally was enlarged and modified so as to be drawn by oxen. The plough was drawn by two oxen, and the draught was sometimes from the shoulders, sometimes from the forehead, or even from the horns. In some cases men with hoes may have pulverised the surface after the plough, as in Egypt. (See Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, 2nd series, vol. i. woodcut 422.) The old Heb. plough was of very simple construction, consisting of a wooden groundwork (1 K 19^{21}) with iron wearing parts (Is 2^{4}, cf. 1 S 13^{20}). It had one stilt to guide it (Lk 9^{62}), leaving the other hand free to use the ox-goad (מַלְמַד).

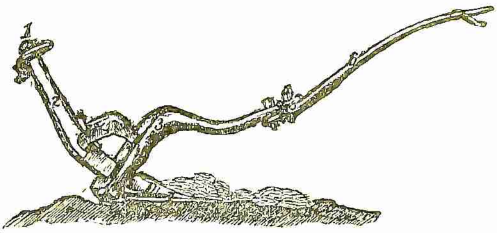

MODERN SYRIAN PLOUGH.

(1) El-Kabūsah, grasped in working by the left hand; (2) el-akar, the handle or stilt; (3) el-buruk, the beam; (4) el-nāṭeh, a support, secured by a wedge; (5) el-sawājir, the couplings; (6) el-wuṣlah, the pole; (7) el-sikkah, the ploughshare.

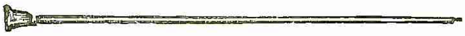

OX-GOAD.

The plough was drawn by oxen, *i.e.* the ox-kind, for the Jews did not mutilate their animals (Am 6^{12}), or by asses (Is 30^{24}), but not by an ox and ass together (Dt 22^{10}). On thin soil a mattock was sometimes necessary (1 S 13^{20}). The unit of square measure was the area ploughed in a day by a yoke of oxen (צֶמֶד).

The season of **Sowing** was not one of joy (Ps 126^{5}), owing to the uncertainty of the weather (Mic 6^{15}, Pr 20^{4}), and the toilsomeness of the work in a hard and rocky soil. A start was made with the pulse crops, barley followed a fortnight later, and wheat after another month. Usually the sower scattered the seed broadcast out of a basket, but by careful farmers the wheat was placed in the furrows in rows (Is 28^{25}). The summer or spring grain was sown between the end of Jan. and the end of Feb. In a season of excessive drought the late-sown seed rotted under the clods (Jl 1^{17}); in a wet season the early-sown grain grew rank and lodged, and the husbandman was accordingly counselled to make sure of a crop by attending to both (Ec 11^{6}).

Between sowing and reaping, the crops were exposed to several dangers. Of these the chief were the easterly winds prevalent in Mar. and Apr. (Gn 41^{6}), hailstorms (Hag 2^{17}), the irruption of weeds — esp. mustard, thistles, tares, and thorns (Jer 12^{13}), the depredations of crows and sparrows (Mt 13^{4}), of fungoid diseases, esp. mildew (Dt 28^{22}), and of injurious insects, esp. the palmer-worm, the canker-worm, the caterpillar, and the locust. These names do not, as has been suggested, refer to the different stages in the life history of the locust (*Pachytylus migratorius*), but the first three are probably specific names for groups of pests. The crops were also in danger from the inroads of cattle (Ex 22^{5}), and as harvest approached, from fire (Jg 15^{4}).

The commencement of **Harvest** naturally varied, not only with the season, but according to elevation, exposure, etc. On the average it began with barley (2 S 21^{9})—in the neighbourhood of Jericho about the middle of Apr., in the coast plains ten days later, and in the high-lying districts as much as a month later. Wheat was a fortnight later in ripening, and the barley and wheat harvest lasted about seven weeks (Dt 16[9]). The harvest was the occasion of festivities which in the later legislation were brought into close connexion with the religious history of the people. The crops were cut, as in Egypt, with the sickle. (See Wilkinson, *op. cit.* woodcuts 426 and 436.)

Little value was put upon the **Straw**, which was cut about a foot below the ears (Job 24[24]). The reaper left the grain in handfuls behind him (Jer 9[22]), and the binder tied it into sheaves (Gn 37[7]), which, however, were not set up as shocks. The Egyptians usually cut the straw quite close under the ears, while some crops, such as dhurah, were simply plucked up by the roots. The method of pulling the corn was probably also practised in Pal. when the crops were light (Is 17[5]). In OT there are apparently two kinds of **Sickle** referred to—חֶרְמֵשׁ and מַגָּל. The wooden sickle, toothed with flints, supposed by Prof. Flinders Petrie to be an imitation of the jawbone of an ox, was used in Syria as well as in Egypt.

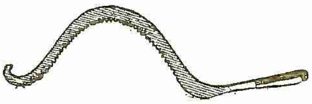

MODERN SICKLE.

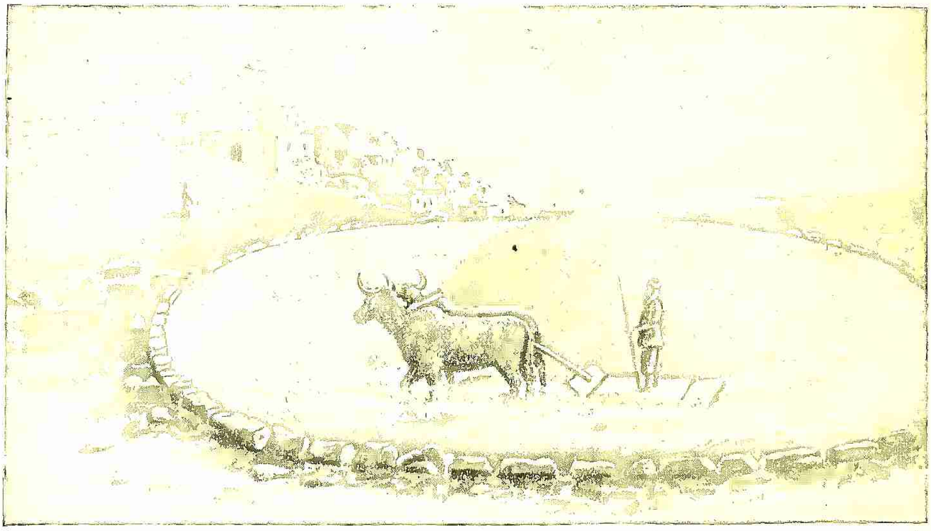

THRESHING-FLOOR.

The reapers were the owners and their families, along with hired labourers (Mt 9[38]), the latter of whom probably followed the harvest from the plains to the mountains. The workers quenched their thirst from vessels taken to the harvest-field (Ru 2[9]), and ate bread steeped in vinegar (2[14]), and parched corn (Lv 23[14]), the latter prepared by being roasted and then rubbed in the hand.

The **Threshing** usually took place in the fields, a custom made possible by the rainless weather of harvest. The **Threshing-floor** (גֹּרֶן) consisted of a round open space, probably of a permanent character, and preferably on an eminence where it was exposed to the free sweep of air currents. For bringing in the sheaves, carts were employed in old times (Am 2[13]). Threshing was performed in various ways. Small quantities of produce, also pulse-crops and cummin, were beaten out with a stick (Ru 2[17]). In dealing with large quantities of grain, the sheaves were spread out over the floor, and, according to one system, cattle—four or five harnessed together—were driven round and round, until a more or less complete detachment of the grain was effected (Hos 10[11]). To facilitate the process, the straw was repeatedly turned over by a fork with two or more prongs. A well-known picture gives a representation of this system as anciently practised in Egypt, noteworthy being the fact that the oxen are unmuzzled (cf. Dt 25[4]).

The group further shows how the oxen were yoked together that they might walk round more regularly. (See Wilkinson, *op. cit.*) Of the threshing-machine two kinds were, and still are, employed in Palestine.

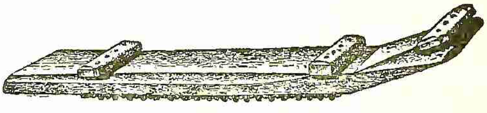

THRESHING-MACHINE.

One (מוֹרָג or חָרוּץ) consisted of an oblong board, whose under side was rough with notches, nails, and sharp stone chips, and which, being weighted down by stones and by the driver, not only shelled out the corn, but lacerated the straw (Is 41[15], Job 41[30]).

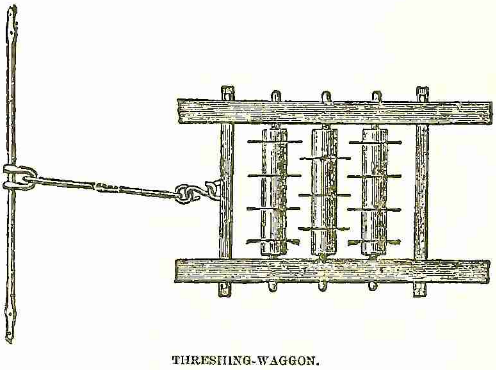

THRESHING-WAGGON.

The other kind of machine was the threshing-waggon, עֲגָלָה (Is 28[27. 28]), now seldom seen in Pal., but still common in Egypt. It consisted of a low-built, four-cornered waggon frame, inside which were attached two or three parallel revolving cylinders or rollers. Each of the rollers was armed with three or four sharpened iron discs. There was a seat for the driver, and it was drawn by oxen yoked to a pole.

After the threshing came the work of **Winnowing** (Job 21[18], Ps 35[5]). The mixture left by the previous operation, consisting of corn, chaff, and broken straw, was turned about and shaken with a wooden fork (Is 30[24]), and advantage was taken of the winds to separate the grain from the lighter material. This often necessitated night work, as the winds usually blew from late in the afternoon till before sunrise.

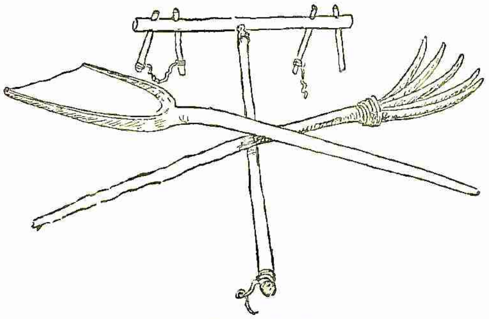

FORK, FAN, AND YOKE.

At the later stage of the winnowing process the fork was less needed than the **fan** (מִזְרֶה), a kind of shovel; or the grain might be scooped up, as shown in some Egyp. representations, by two pieces of wood. The **chaff**, after being separated, was burned (Mt 3[12]), or left to be scattered by the winds (Ps 1[4]). From the heavier impurities the corn was cleansed by **sieves** (כְּבָרָה)—an operation specially necessary in view of the mode of threshing, after which it was collected into large heaps. To prevent thieving, the owner might sleep by the threshing-floor (Ru 3[7]) until the removal of the grain, on waggons or otherwise, to the barns or granaries (Lk 12[18]). It was often stored in pits (Jer 41[8]), the openings of which were carefully covered up to protect them from robbers and vermin. The straw remaining from the threshing was used for cattle fodder (Is 65[25]).

LITERATURE.—On the general subject: Benzinger, *Hebräische Archæologie*; Stade, *Gesch. d. Volks Isr.* Bd. i. Buch vii.; *Landwirthsch. Jahrbücher*; Nowack, *Lehrbuch der Archæologie*; Thomson, *Land and Book*; Fellows, *Asia Minor*; *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, Bd. ix., 'Ackerbau und Thierzucht'; *Indexed Quart. Statements* and other pubb. of the Pal. Explor. Soc. On Egyp. Agriculture: Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* (2nd Series). On the Plough: Schumacher, 'Der arabische Pflug,' in Bd. xii. of above-named *Zeitschrift*. On the Threshing-machine: Wetzstein, 'Die syr. Dreschtafel,' in Bastian's *Zeitsch. f. Ethnologie* (1873), 272 ff.

J. W. PATERSON.

AGRIPPA.—See HEROD.

AGUE.—See MEDICINE.

AGUR (אָגוּר; LXX paraphrases arbitrarily; Vulg. *congregans*).—Mentioned only in Pr 30[1]. The name of an otherwise unknown Heb. sage, son of Jakeh. The word has been understood from very early times as a pseudonym, used symbolically. So Jerome, following the Rabbis of his time. In this case it might be interpreted as akin to the Syriac *ăgûrô*='hireling' (of wisdom), or derived from Heb. אגר, and understood as 'collector' (of proverbs). Cf. form יָקוּשׁ in Ps 91[3], Pr 6[5]. The description of Agur in Pr 30[1] is not easy to understand. With the Massoretic pointing, the verse may be literally rendered, 'The words of Agur, son of Jakeh, the prophecy: the oracle of the man to Ithiel, to Ithiel and Ucal.' This sounds impossible. The conjunction of the words *massa* (=prophecy) and *nĕ'ûm* (=oracle) is unprecedented; the use of the article with *massa* is inexplicable; and the words which follow have no prophetic character. Consequently *Massa* has been understood as the name of a country (so Del.; and see RVm *Jakeh of Massa*); cf. Gn 25[14]. Similarly, Lemuel would be understood to be king of Massa, Pr 31[1]. Cheyne (*Job and Solomon*) and Strack (*Kurzgef. Komm.*) render *massa* as 'prophecy.' Both the country and the age of this unknown philosopher are purely conjectural. He may have been one of the 'men of Hezekiah,' Pr 25[1]. His name is probably to be associated, as compiler rather than author, with the gnomic utterances in Pr 30[2]–31[9]; 31[10-31] forming a separate section. The chief monograph on the subject is Mühlau, *De Prov. Aguri et Lem. origine* (1869), and a full discussion of the subject is to be found in Delitzsch's Comm. *in loco*. W. T. DAVISON.

AH, AHA.—1. 'Ah' is used to express grief (esp. in face of coming doom), except in Ps 35[25] 'Ah (RV 'Aha'), so would we have it,' where it expresses the exultation of an enemy, and Mk 15[29] 'Ah (RV 'Ha!'), thou that destroyest the temple,' where it expresses mocking. The RV has introduced 'Ah!' into Lk 4[34] for 'Let us alone' of AV (Gr. Ἔα, which may be either the imperat. of the verb *ἐάω to let alone* or an independent interjection, formed from the sound). **Aha** (a combination of *a*, the oldest form of 'ah,' and *ha*) expresses malicious satisfaction, except in Is 44[16], where it denotes intense satisfaction, but without malice, 'Aha, I am warm; I feel the fire.' J. HASTINGS.

AHAB (אַחְאָב, 'Αχαάβ, Assyr. *A-ḫa-ab-bu*) signifies 'father's brother.' (Cf. analogous uses of the same element אח 'brother' in Syr. proper names.) The meaning of the compound is probably 'one who closely resembles his father.' The father in this case was Omri, the founder of the dynasty, and from him the son inherited the military traditions and prowess which characterised his reign. A. married Jezebel (אִיזֶבֶל), daughter of Ethbaal, king of Tyre (the Ithobalos, priest of Astarte mentioned by Menander, quoted by Jos. *c. Apion*, i. 18). This was part of the policy of close alliance with Phœnicia, begun by Solomon, and cemented by Omri. This bond of union was designated by Amos (1[9]) a 'covenant of brethren.' It was undoubtedly founded on reciprocal commercial interest which subsisted for centuries, the corn, oil, and other agricultural products of Canaan being exchanged for other commercial products of the great mercantile ports of Phœnicia (cf. Ac 12[20]).

Whatever commercial advantages might accrue, Israel's national religion was destined to suffer. A temple and altar to Baal were erected in Samaria as well as an Asherah-pole. To supersede Israel's national deity, J", by the Tyrian Baal, seemed an easy task. To a superficial observer the difference between the worship of Ephraim and that of Samaria might appear trifling. Both Baal and J" were worshipped with similar sacrificial accompaniments. Moreover, northern Israel had for centuries been exposed to all the influences which their more highly civilised Can. neighbours had introduced (Jg 2[12. 13]), and even the very name Baal, 'Lord,' was current in their speech as an appellation of J"

(Hos $2^{16.17}$[*]). Yet there was one deep distinction which marked off the J″ of Mosaism from the Baal of the Canaanites. The religion of Mosaism was pure of sensual taint. The conjunction of Asherah with J″ in the days of Josiah (2 K 23^{7}) was a corrupt practice due to foreign innovation. So also were the debasing accompaniments of worship referred to in Am 2^{7}. And the licentious cult of Baal and Ashtoreth, established by the influence of A.'s Phœn. wife, would certainly have its temple attendants, probably Tyrian *Ḳedēshim* and *Ḳedēshôth*. These features of worship, however, had become perilously familiar to N. Israel, owing to their close contact with Can. neighbours. Accordingly, as we can readily infer from the language of Elijah in 1 K 19, national feeling was not deeply or permanently roused even by the influence of his stirring personality and by the occurrence of a prolonged drought of more than two years' duration (1 K 17^{1} 18^{1}), which, according to Menander of Ephesus, extended to Phœnicia.[†] In all probability, the military despotism wielded by the house of Omri, in alliance with a powerful northern State, was able to subdue any smouldering embers of discontent. But an act of cruel injustice awakened the dormant spirit of the people. Like many Oriental monarchs, A. displayed a taste for architecture, which Tyrian influence stimulated and fostered. He built a palace for himself, adorned with woodwork (probably cedar) and inlaid ivory, in Jezreel (1 K 21^{1} 22^{39}). To this he desired to attach a suitable domain, and for the purpose endeavoured to acquire, by purchase or exchange, the vineyard of one of the wealthier inhabitants, Naboth. But Naboth was unwilling to part with an ancestral inheritance. What A. could not accomplish by legal means, he was induced by the promptings of Jezebel to compass by fraud and judicial murder. This act aroused popular hatred, and the sense of outraged social order found expression in the denunciation of doom pronounced by Elijah (1 K 21^{12-24}) against the king and his unscrupulous queen (see NABOTH and ELIJAH). The incident is instructive to the student of Heb. religion, as it illustrates the contrast in the attitude of Phœn. as compared with Heb. religion towards social morality. In the words of W. R. Smith, 'the religion of J″ put morality on a far sounder basis than any other religion did, because the righteousness of J″ as a God who enforced the known laws of morality was conceived as absolute' (*Prophets of Isr.* 73).

It is more than doubtful whether A. really comprehended the religious issues. He regarded Elijah as a mischievous fanatic, 'a troubler of Israel' bent on wrecking the imperial schemes of aggrandisement based on alliance with Phœnicia at the expense of Syria. Elijah, like many another since his day, earned the title of unpatriotic, because he placed righteousness and religion before the exigencies of political statecraft.

The military career of A. exhibits him as a warrior of considerable prowess. Respecting his wars with Syria we have only the brief record in 1 K 20–22. In 1 K 20 we are plunged *in medias res*. Samaria has been for some time closely invested by the Syrian army under Benhadad, or more probably Hadadezer (*Dadidri*), if we follow the Assyr. annals (Stade). Of the defeats sustained by Israel prior to this siege we have no information. Benhadad (Hadadezer) made an insolent demand of the Isr. king, in the desperate extremity of the latter, that Syrian envoys should search the royal palace and the houses of A.'s servants. This was refused by A. with the unanimous approval of his people and their elders. To the arrogant menace of the Syrian, the king of Isr. replied in the proverbial phrase, 'Let not him who girds on the armour boast as he who puts it off.' Benhadad at once ordered the engines of war (LXX 'lines of circumvallation') to be placed against the city. But beyond this he took no further precaution, and resigned himself with careless ease to voluptuous carousal with his nobility and feudatory kings. Meanwhile A. mustered his army of 7000 men, officered by 232 territorial commanders, and attacked the Syrians with crushing effect (1 K 20^{15-21}), inflicting a total overthrow. In the following spring the Syrian monarch again took the field with a well-appointed army of overwhelming superiority. The Syrians attributed their previous defeat to the fact that the God of Isr. was a God of the hills (where cavalry and chariots could not so well operate[*]). If they could draw the forces of A. into the valley near Aphek, all would be well. But the battle that followed utterly falsified their expectations. The Syrians were put to utter rout, and saved themselves by precipitate flight to Aphek. Benhadad and his followers went as suppliants to A., who judged it politic to receive them with friendliness. A treaty was concluded, in which the Syrian king conceded to Isr. special quarters (streets) in Damascus,[†] a privilege which corresponded with a similar right which Omri was compelled to concede to Syria in his own capital, Samaria.

With the defective Biblical records before us, it is not easy to explain the complaisant attitude of A. in the hour of his victory. But the key to the solution of the mystery is given to us in the Assyr. annals. From these we learn that about this time a new disturbing factor was beginning to appear in W. Asian politics. Ever since the time of Saul the arena of Pal. foreign politics had been circumscribed within the region of the Hittite, Syrian, and Can. borders, and the interference of Egypt had only been occasional. Since the days of Tiglath-pileser I. (*c.* B.C. 1100) the military power of Assyria had been dormant. But during the time of Omri there were vivid signs that Assyria was at length awakening from its century long slumber, under the energetic rule of Aššur-nazir-pal. During the reign of his successor Shalmaneser (Šulmânu-ašaridu) II., who reigned from 860–825, it began to press more heavily on the lands near the Mediter. border, and to extend its boundaries towards the Hittite States. About the year 857 the power of this monarch threatened seriously the Pal. region. The king of Syria would be among the first to feel apprehension. The immediate effect of Shalmaneser's advance was to put an end, at least for a time, to the wars between Syria and Ahab. And in the negotiations described in 1 K $20^{30.33}$ it is pretty certain that the advance of the Assyr. power from the N.E. formed a subject of conversation between the two kings, and that Benhadad was glad, even upon disadvantageous terms, to get rid of a burdensome and exhausting war, in order that all his forces might be reserved to confront the formidable Assyr. foe. The attack was delivered in the year B.C. 854, when the battle of Karḳar was fought. A considerable number of States, including Israel, but not including Judah, Edom, or Moab,[‡] had united with Hadadezer

---

[*] Wellhausen's rejection of Hos 2^{16} (^{18} Heb.) is characteristic of his high *à priori* method.

[†] This took place during the reign of Ethbaal (Ithobalos), and lasted, according to Menander, *one* year. Of *Phœnicia* this may have been true.

[*] We know that the Israelites also possessed chariots in considerable number, from the express statement of the monolith inscription of Shalmaneser II. lines 91, 92. Cf. 1 K 22.

[†] Ewald (*Ges. d. V. Isr.* iii. 488 n.) translates the Heb. by 'places of abode' (comparing the Arab. *maḥattah*), *i.e.* permanent ambassadorial residence. But this explanation is very far-fetched. LXX renders ἐξόδους, 'streets.' For other interpretations see Thenius, *ad loc.*

[‡] In the case of Moab, the reason adduced by Prof. Sayce is probably the right one. Moab sent no contingent, because that State was then in revolt against Israel (*HCM* p. 393).

(=Dadidri=Benhadad) to resist the Assyrians. The account of the whole campaign may be read in the monolith inscription quoted in Schrader's *COT*^{2} i. 183 ff. In lines 91, 92 we read that A., king of Israel, sent a contingent of 2000 chariots and 10,000 men. The total defeat of the allied kings, though probably obtained with heavy loss to the Assyrians, sufficed to break up the alliance. A. now followed the short-sighted policy of isolation in presence of the formidable Assyr. power—a policy which in the following century Ephraim and Judah in turn pursued with baleful results. The consequence was a renewal of the wars between Syria and Israel, which had been for some years suspended. We may infer from the scriptural account that A. took the initiative by endeavouring to recover Ramoth-gilead from Syria. Probably the allied kings of Isr. and Jud. endeavoured to profit by the weakness of Syria after the overwhelming defeat sustained by the latter in the battle of Ḳarḳar. In 1 K 22 we have a vivid portrayal of the dramatic scene between Micaiah, son of Imlah, and the prophets who prophesied in favour of immediate war with Syria (see MICAIAH). For Micaiah the result was imprisonment as the penalty for his outspoken deliverance of the divine message. Undeterred by the gravity of his prophecy, A. and Jehoshaphat went forth at the head of their respective forces to battle. But A. resolved to secure his person against the Syrian archers by appearing in his chariot divested of the ordinary *insignia* of royalty. This precaution, however, did not avail him against the chance arrow of a bowman, which penetrated between the joints of his breastplate. The king of Isr. slowly bled to death, and died about sunset. His body was conveyed to Samaria, where he was buried.

In the foregoing account of the Syrian wars of A. we have adopted the sequence of events recommended by Schrader (*COT*^{2} i. 189 ff., who gives the Assyr. text and tr.), Ed. Meyer (*Gesch. des Alterthums*, i. 393), and recently by Sayce (*HCM* 320, 392), which places the battle of Ḳarḳar near the close of A.'s life. On the other hand, Wellhausen (art. 'Israel' in *Encycl. Brit.*) places the battle of Ḳarḳar and the alliance with (or, as he deems it, vassalage * to) Syria in the times that precede the Syrian wars of A.'s reign. But this view imposes great difficulties on the chronology of the period. From the Assyr. Canon of Rulers, compiled with great care and precision, and also from the Assyr. Annals, we obtain the following fixed dates:—

Battle of Ḳarḳar (in which A.'s contingent takes part)	854 B.C.
Tribute of Jehu, 'son of Omri'	842 ,,

Now, if we place the battle of Ḳarḳar *before* the Syrian wars of A.'s reign, his death cannot be placed earlier than B.C. 847. Accordingly, in place of the 14 years assigned by Scripture to the reigns of Ahaziah and Jehoram we can only allow a maximum of *five* years! On the other hand, by adopting the sequence which we have advocated, the difficulties are considerably reduced. A.'s death may then be placed in the year B.C. 853. Kamphausen, in his valuable treatise on the Chronology of the Heb. Kings (p. 80), suggests that A.'s name has been confused with that of his successor Jehoram in the Assyr. Annals; and Kittel, in his *Hist. of the Hebrews* (Germ. ed. ii. 233), seems disposed to accept this view. But against this proceeding we must emphatically protest. Biblical science will never make sure progress if we reject or modify archæological evidence in the interests of a chronological theory. The theory must be conformed to the evidence, not *vice versâ*. (On the subject of Heb. chronology see the writer's remarks in Schrader's *COT*^{2} ii. 320–324, and also in C. H. H. Wright's *Bible Readers' Manual.*)

That A.'s rule was firm though despotic, and maintained the military traditions inaugurated by Omri, is indicated by the Moabite Stone, which informs us (lines 7, 8) that Omri and his son ruled over the land of Mehdeba (conquered by the former) for 40 years. It was not till the concluding part of A.'s reign, when he was occupied with his Syrian wars, that Moab rose in insurrection. The historian must not fail to take due note of the Judaic tendency of the narrative in 1 K 18–22, which paints the life of A. in sombre hues. When more than a century had passed after the destruction of his posterity, it is worthy of remark that the Ephraimite prophet Hosea (1^4) expresses a strong condemnation of Jehu's deeds of blood. In Mic 6^{16}, on the other hand, we see clearly reflected the Judaic estimate of Omri's dynasty, which dominates the account in 1 K 18–22.

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

AHAB (אַחְאָב, אֶחָב).—Son of Kolaiah, a false prophet contemp. with Jer. He is said to have been 'roasted in the fire' by the king of Bab. (Jer 29$^{21f.}$).

AHARAH (אַחְרַח).—A son of Benj. (1 Ch 8^1); perhaps a corruption of אֲחִירָם (Nu 26^{38}). See AHIRAM.

AHARHEL (אֲחַרְחֵל).—A descendant of Judah (1 Ch 4^8). LXX ἀδελφοῦ Ῥηχάβ implies a reading אֲחִי רֵחָב =*brother of Reehab.*

AHASBAI (אֲחַסְבַּי).—Father of Eliphelet (2 S 23^{34}), and a member of the family of Maacah, settled at Beth-Maacah (20^{14}), or a native of the Syrian kingdom of Maacah (10$^{6.8}$). In the parallel passage (1 Ch 11$^{35.36}$) we find two names, אור חפר, Ur, Hepher; both passages probably represent corruptions of the real name.

J. F. STENNING.

AHASUERUS (אֲחַשְׁוֵרוֹשׁ).—A name which appears on Pers. inscriptions as *Khsayârsâ*, and in Aram. without א prosthetic, as חשיארש (Schrader, *COT*^{2} ii. 63). The monarch who bears this name in Ezr 4^6 was formerly reckoned by Ewald and others to be the Cambyses of profane history who succeeded Cyrus. It is generally recognised, however, by modern critics that he must be identified with Xerxes (485–465), who is beyond all question the Ahasuerus of the Bk of Est. See XERXES. The A. of Dn 9^1, the father of Darius the Mede, is a personage whose identity is as difficult to establish as the existence of 'Darius the Mede' is problematical. (Cf. Driver *LOT* 515 n.; Sayce *HCM* 543.)

J. A. SELBIE.

AHAVA (אַהֲוָא).—The name of a town or district in Babylonia (Ezr 8$^{15.\ cf.\ 31}$), and of a stream in the neighbourhood (v.$^{21.\ cf.\ 31}$). On the banks of this stream Ezra encamped for three days at the beginning of his journey to Jerusalem. He was thus able to review his large company, and to make good the absence of Levites by sending a deputation to the chief of the settlement at Casiphia. Before commencing the march, Ezra instituted a solemn fast, and then took measures for the safe custody of the treasures and rich gifts which were in his possession. Ewald conjectured that the river Ahava or Peleg-Ahava was the same as the Pallacopas, a stream to the S. of Babylon. Rawlinson identifies it with the Is (see Herod. i. 179), a river flowing by a town of the same name, now called Hit, which is about eight days' journey from Babylon. It seems, however, more prob. that Ezra made his rendezvous near to Babylon itself; in that case we may suppose that the Ahava was one of the numerous canals of the Euphrates in the neighbourhood of the city (cf. Ryle, and Berth.-Rys. *ad loc.*). In 1 Es 8$^{41.61}$ the river is called Theras (Θεράς).

H. A. WHITE.

AHAZ (אָחָז 'he hath grasped,' LXX Ἀχάζ, Jos. Ἀχάζης, NT Ἄχαζ [WH Ἄχας]).—Son and successor of Jotham king of Judah. His name is probably an abbreviated form of Jeho-ahaz (יְהוֹאָחָז), since it appears on the Assyr. inscriptions as Ia-u-ḫa-zi. The date of his accession has been fixed at 735 B.C. His age at this time is given as twenty (2 K 16^2); but this is barely reconcilable with the other chronological data, which allow sixteen years to his reign, and state the age of his son Hezekiah at his accession as twenty-five, since it would make Ahaz a father at the age of eleven. The difficulty is increased if we suppose that the son passed through the fire by Ahaz was his firstborn; and if, with several authorities, we allow only eight years to his reign, it is quite insuperable. There can be little doubt that the figures need correction. For twenty there is a slightly supported various reading, twenty-five, and this may be right. It is possible that the age of Hezekiah should be reduced, since Ahaz seems from Is 3^{12} to have been still youthful at the beginning of his reign. The date of his death is probably 715 B.C., though many place it 728–727 B.C (see CHRONOLOGY OF OT).

---

* The large contingent (2000 chariots and 10,000 men) furnished by A., according to the Assyr. records, renders the theory of 'vassalage' extremely improbable.

Quite early in his reign, Rezin king of Syria, and Pekah king of Israel, formed a coalition with the object of forcing Judah into an alliance against Assyria. According to our oldest authorities they met with little success, though the Syrians wrested the port of Elath from Judah, and Isaiah bade the king have no fear of 'these two tails of smoking firebrands.' To confirm the wisdom of his counsel, he invited him to ask any sign from God. Ahaz was too panic-stricken to listen to cool reason, and, under the pretext that he would not tempt God, refused the proffered sign, whereupon the prophet gave him the sign of Immanuel. The king called in the aid of the king of Assyria, Tiglath-pileser, who gladly accepted such an opportunity, and relieved Ahaz of his foes. But the relief was purchased dearly. Judah could form no alliance with a great empire like Assyria; it could only become tributary to it, even if the tribute was disguised under the name of a present. And tribute meant oppression of the poorer classes, which was already one of the most glaring of Judah's sins. Further, it was of vital importance that the nation should keep free from entanglement in the politics of large empires, since otherwise it lost its independence, and made even internal reform—which was the most pressing necessity—more difficult. The policy of A. illustrates the besetting weakness of the politicians of Judah, and was shortsighted and disastrous. If Isaiah's advice had been followed, A. would have secured the same result without its disadvantages, since in her own interests Assyria would have been compelled to vanquish the coalition, while Judah would have retained her independence.

We next find A. at Damascus, where he rendered homage to Tiglath-pileser. While there he saw an altar which pleased him, and sent the pattern of it to the priest Urijah, with instructions to build one like it. On his return he offered on his new altar, and ordered it to be used for the sacrifices, while the old brazen altar was used for the king to 'inquire by.' W. R. Smith has carefully discussed this innovation, and reached the result that it 'lay in the erection of a permanent altar-hearth, and in the introduction of the rule that in ordinary cases this new altar should serve for the blood ritual as well as for the fire ritual' (*RS*^{2} 485–9). The importance of this consists in the fact that the alteration seems to have been a permanent one. For the other changes introduced by A., see 2 K $16^{17.18}$.

In character A. was weak yet obstinate, frivolous and something of a dilettante, as we gather from his interest in his new altar, and from the association of his name with a dial or step-clock (see DIAL). He was also superstitious, and probably a polytheist. While no blame need attach—in the pre-Deuteronomic period—to his worship at numerous local sanctuaries, and while he was evidently a very zealous worshipper of J″, yet the fact that he passed his son through the fire reveals the dark superstition to which he was a slave. And the terrible picture of the condition of Judah, painted in Is 2–5 and other prophecies of this time, is clear as to the idolatry, drunkenness, luxury, oppression, perversion of justice, grasping avarice, and shamelessness that poisoned the national life.

So far the account has been drawn entirely from 2 Kings and Isaiah, since they are our only trustworthy sources. In 2 Chron. the narrative has been thoroughly worked over. The history of the Syro-Ephraimitish invasion is told quite differently. There is indeed no hint of a coalition, the two armies act independently. The Syrians carry away a large number of captives, and Pekah slays 120,000 in one day and carries away 200,000 captives, who, however, are sent back at the advice of a prophet. The invasions have no political motive assigned, they are a punishment for the king's sin, while the figures are altogether incredible. Tiglath-pileser is called in, not to crush the coalition, but to help him against the Philistines and Edomites. He did not help him, however, but apparently came against him, and was bought off with tribute. The religious apostasy of A. comes out in much darker colours, and the account is really in conflict with the older. He burns his children, and not his son merely, in the fire; closes the temple and destroys its vessels, though we know that he took great interest in its services; and worships the gods of Damascus because of the success of the Syrians in war, though when A. visited Damascus their power had been utterly broken. Of all this the older history says nothing, and it is impossible to reconcile these later additions with the earlier narrative, and they are so characteristic of the chronicler's method of re-writing history, that any attempt to do so would be superfluous.

A. S. PEAKE.

AHAZIAH (אֲחַזְיָהוּ or אֲחַזְיָה 'J″ hath grasped').—1. King of Israel, son of Ahab. He is said to have reigned two years; but as he came to the throne in the 17th year of Jehoshaphat (1 K 22^{51}), and his brother Jehoram succeeded him in Jehoshaphat's 18th year (2 K 3^{1}), the duration of his reign would not much exceed a year. The chronological statement in 2 K 1^{17}, which would imply a reign of nearly ten years, is probably an interpolation (Grätz, etc.); it is not found in B, and is misplaced in A. The Moabite Stone dates the revolt of Mesha as taking place after 'half the days of Omri's son'; but the Bible account (2 K 1^{1} 3^{5}) is more probable, which makes it a consequence of the death of Ahab, who was a comparatively powerful monarch. In any case we do not read of any effort to suppress this rising until the reign of Jehoram. It is possible that Ahaziah was engaged in preparations for war when the accident occurred which resulted in his death. He seems to have inherited from his mother her devotion to Baal, for in his extremity he sent to inquire at the oracle of Baalzebub, the special Baal worshipped at Ekron. The story of his fatal mission belongs rather to the history of Elijah. It is sufficient here to note that his thrice repeated summons of the prophet is characteristic of the son of Ahab and Jezebel; suggestive as it is of the callousness of his father, and the obstinacy of his mother. See JEHOSHAPHAT for the maritime alliance between Ahaziah and that monarch.

2. Ahaziah, king of Judah, youngest son of Jehoram. He was made king by 'the inhabitants of Jerusalem' (cf. 2 K 23^{30}), because all his elder brothers had been carried off in an incursion of Philistines and Arabians (2 Ch 21^{17} 22^{1}). His name is variously given as Jehoahaz (2 Ch 21^{17} 25^{23}) and Azariah (22^{6}). The latter is probably a blunder, Ahaziah being read by some Heb. MSS,

LXX, Pesh., Vulg.; and Jehoahaz is merely a transposition of Ahaziah (cf. Jechoniah = Jehoiachin). LXX has Ahaziah in 21^{17}, and omits the name in 25^{23}. The other versions, except Vulg., also ignore the change. He began to reign in the 11th (2 K 9^{29}) or 12th (2 K 8^{25}) year of Joram of Israel, being then 22 years old, and reigned one year (2 K 8^{26}). The reading 'forty and two' in 2 Ch 22^{2} is absurd, since his father was 40 years old at his death. Pesh. here has '22' and LXX '20.' The evil influence which Athaliah, the queen mother, had exercised over her husband continued unchecked in the reign of her son (2 K 8^{27}, 2 Ch $22^{3.4}$); yet in 2 K 12^{18} we read of 'hallowed things' which he had dedicated apparently to J″.

There is an irreconcilable discrepancy between Kings and Chron. as to the death of A. Joram of Israel having renewed the attack on Ramoth-gilead in which Ahab had failed, was joined by his nephew A. The town was captured (2 K 9^{14}), but Joram received wounds which compelled him to return to Jezreel. It is implied that A. also returned to Jerusalem, for he 'went down' to see Joram at Jezreel (cf. 1 K 22^{2}) (Ewald evades the difficulty by reading in 2 K 8^{28} 'now Joram went,' etc., omitting 'with,' which is adopted in 2 Ch 22^{5}). According to Kings, on seeing Joram's fate, A., pursued by Jehu, 'fled by the way of the garden house' (or 'Beth-haggan,' Stade, etc.), was mortally wounded 'at the ascent of Gur,' and died on reaching Megiddo. His body was carried to Jerusalem, and 'buried with his fathers in the city of David.' Meanwhile the 'brethren of Ahaziah,' ignorant of the revolution in Jezreel, had followed him from Jerusalem to visit Joram's children; they were met by Jehu on the road between Jezreel and Samaria, and were slain. This seems a consistent story; but when the Chronicler came to deal with it he found two stumbling-blocks. First, he has previously informed us that A. had no brethren living; therefore 'the brethren of Ahaziah' become in his record 'the princes of Judah, and the sons of the brethren of Ahaziah' attending their master in Samaria or Jezreel; secondly, Kings implies that A., an idolater, was buried in the royal sepulchres. Now the Chronicler always carefully excludes idolaters (*e.g.* Jehoram, Joash, Amaziah, Ahaz) from 'the sepulchres of the kings,' and therefore he makes A., who was hiding in Samaria, be killed and buried there; that he is buried at all being for the sake of his good father Jehoshaphat. Enough has been said to show that here, as elsewhere, the Chronicler, if more edifying, is not so reliable as the earlier writer.

N. J. D. WHITE.

AHBAN (אַחְבָּן 'brother of an intelligent one').—A Judahite, son of Abishur (1 Ch 2^{29}).

AHER (אַחֵר 'another').—A Benjamite (1 Ch 7^{12}), perhaps identical with Ahiram of Nu 26^{38}.

AHI (אֲחִי 'brother';* by many considered to have the same meaning as AHIJAH, wh. see) occurs in MT, and consequently in AV and RV, twice: (1) a Gadite (1 Ch 5^{15}); (2) an Asherite (1 Ch 7^{34}). But the reading is in neither case free from doubt; in 1 Ch 5^{15} the Syr. omits the name, thus making vv.$^{14.15}$ an uninterrupted genealogy of Abihail; but the LXX, which gives Ζαβουχάμ (Ἀχιβούζ, A) υἱοῦ Ἀβδεήλ for בנו אחי בן אבדיאל, must have had something very like אחי before them. The other VSS treat אחי as an appellative. In 1 Ch 7^{34} for אחי ורוהגה, LXX, B has Ἀχιουιά, A Ἀχιουρὰ Ὀγά. Probably in the original continuous Heb. text some compound name in ־אחי was read (? אחיה), followed by another name of which the letters הגה (in ורוהגה) are a mutilated survival.

G. B. GRAY.

AHIAH.—See AHIJAH.

AHIAM (אֲחִיאָם, meaning doubtful, according to some, 'mother's brother').—One of David's heroes. He was son of Sharar (2 S 23^{33}), or Sacar (1 Ch 11^{35}), the Hararite. G. B. GRAY.

AHIAN (אַחְיָן 'fraternal,' B Ἰααείμ, A Ἀεὶν; these forms, together with the divergent text of the Syr., render the exact form of the original name uncertain).—Ahian was a Manassite, and is described as 'son of Shemida' (1 Ch 7^{19}); but the name is scarcely that of an individual; note in the context Abiezer and Shechem, and cf. Nu $26^{31ff.}$.

G. B. GRAY.

AHIEZER (אֲחִיעֶזֶר, 'brother is help').—**1.** Son of Ammishaddai, one of the tribal princes who represented Dan at the census and on certain other occasions (Nu 1^{12} 2^{25} $7^{66.71}$ 10^{25} (P)). **2.** The chief of the Benjamite archers who joined David while he was in hiding at Ziklag (1 Ch 12^{1-3}).

G. B. GRAY.

AHIHUD (אֲחִיהוּד 'brother is majesty.' In the form אחיחד (1 Ch 8^{6}) the second ח is probably an error for ה).—**1.** Acc. to P, Ahihud the son of Shelomi was the prince (נשיא) of the tribe of Asher, who, with similar representatives of the other tribes (on W. of Jordan), was appointed by Moses, at the divine command, to divide Canaan into hereditary portions (Nu 34^{27} (P)). **2.** A Benjamite. Probably the passage 1 Ch $8^{6.7}$, the text of which is somewhat corrupt, means that Ehud begat Ahihud, and that Ahihud and his 'brother' Uzza were ancestors of the inhabitants of Geba. G. B. GRAY.

AHIJAH (אֲחִיָּה or אֲחִיָּהוּ 'brother of J″').—**1.** High priest in the reign of Saul, and usually identified with Ahimelech (Josephus 'Abimelech') of 1 S 21. 22 (so Ewald *Hist. of Isr.* ii. p. 415, n. 3, 'since Melech, King, may be applied also to God'). He accompanied Saul's army as possessor of the ephod oracle (1 S 14^{3}); but when an occasion arose for its use, Saul, with his usual precipitate self-reliance, interrupted the priest while in the very act of consultation (vv.$^{18.19}$). This temerity seems to be afterwards tacitly reproved by Ahijah (v.^{36}): 'Let us draw near hither unto God.' The LXX reading in v.^{18} 'Bring hither the ephod,' etc., is followed by Jos. (*Ant.* VI. vi. 3: 'He bade the high priest λαβόντα τὴν ἀρχιερατικὴν στολὴν προφητεύειν'), and accepted by most moderns. The phrase, 'bring hither,' seems appropriated to the ephod (1 S 23^{9} 30^{7}); and when the oracle is again consulted (14^{41}), the LXX δὸς δήλους . . . δὸς ὁσιότητα,' Vulg. 'da ostensionem . . . da sanctitatem,' appears to point to the Urim and Thummim which were attached to the ephod. On the other hand, the ark seems to be used as an oracle in Jg 20^{27}, 1 Ch 13^{3}, and it often accompanied the host to battle. Aq., Sym., and Vulg. follow the Received text.

We next read of this high priest, when David, fleeing from Saul, comes to inquire of the Lord by his means (1 S 22^{10}), as he had often done before (22^{15}). The tabernacle appears to have been transferred to Nob from Shiloh when the latter was desolated (Ps 78^{60}, Jer $7^{12.14}$ $26^{6.9}$), probably just after the death of Eli (to whom 'the priest—Shiloh,' 1 S 14^{3}, refers). Ahimelech's alarm at the appearance of so great a man (22^{14}) unattended, was allayed by David's plausible explanation; and he actually gave the fugitive the shewbread of the priests, and the sword of Goliath, which had been suspended as a votive offering. Unfortunately there was a witness of the priest's well-meant zeal,

---

* For a fuller discussion of the meaning of this name and the following names beginning with Ahi, see NAMES, PROPER.

Doeg the Edomite, who was performing some vow. Not long after, David's worst anticipations (22^{22}) were realised. Ahimelech, with the eighty-five (LXX, 305; Josephus, 385) priests of 'his father's house,' was charged with conspiracy by Saul, and, notwithstanding his amazed protestations of innocence, condemned to instant death. Doeg, who did not share the traditional reverence felt by the king's guard for the priests of J″, carried out the bloody order with the unnatural cruelty of his race. Abiathar alone escaped. The judgment on Eli's house was being consummated.

2. The Shilonite, of Shiloh (1 K 14^{2}), is the prophet of the rise and fall of Jeroboam I. In 1 K 11^{29} we find the young ruler thinking out his plans of rebellion in a lonely walk, when he is met by Ahijah, who comes to consecrate and control his ambitious designs. The prophet (LXX, RV) had, doubtless by divine command (cf. Is 20^{2}, Jer 13^{1}), clad himself with a new garment. This he rends in twelve pieces, and giving ten of them to Jeroboam promises him the reversion, on Solomon's death, of the kingdom over ten tribes, and, conditionally, 'a sure house' like that of David, repeating at the same time the divine judgment which had been already (vv.$^{9-13}$ D^{2}) revealed to Solomon, probably through Ahijah himself. Years pass by; Jeroboam has realised his ambition, but not the ideal set before him by the prophet. His eldest son falls sick. The king bethinks him of the true seer now [60 years] old and blind; but, fearing lest his defection might elicit an adverse answer, he sends his wife [Ano] disguised as a poor woman, with a poor woman's offering [' loaves, two cakes for his children, grapes, and a jar of honey']. A divine revelation, however, has already unmasked the deception. Ahijah [sends his lad to meet her and bring her in, treats her gifts with scorn] anticipates her with the 'heavy tidings' of the extirpation of Jeroboam's house, the dispersion of Israel, and, bitterest of all, the death of her child [' Thy maidens will come forth to meet thee, and will say to thee, The child is dead . . . and they will lament for the child, saying, "Ah Lord!" . . . and the wailing came to meet her']. The second Greek account, from which the details in brackets are derived, is found in B after 12^{24}, and places this event before Jeroboam's accession—an impossible place, — introduces Ahijah as a new character (2 K 14^{2}), and also ascribes to Shemaiah a symbolical prophecy similar to that of Ahijah, but spoken at Shechem before the rejection of Rehoboam. 14$^{1-20}$ is omitted in B, but found in A, etc., supplied, according to Field, from Aquila. These facts and the want of connexion in 11$^{26-40}$ lead W. R. Smith to conclude that 'both parts of the story of Ahijah are a fluctuating uncertain element in the text' (*OTJC*^{2} 119). Ewald also says that 14$^{9.15.16}$ are later additions (*Hist. of Isr.* iv. p. 29, n 3). Jos. (*Ant.* VIII. xi. 1) gives the verses in a different order.

Ahijah was one of the historians of Solomon's reign according to 2 Ch 9^{29}.

3. 1 K 4^{3}, one of two brothers, Solomon's scribes or secretaries. Their father Shisha (Seraiah, 2 S 8^{17}; Sheva, 2 S 20^{25}; Shavsha, 1 Ch 18^{16}) held the same post under David. **4.** Father of king Baasha, 1 K 15$^{27.33}$ 21^{22}, 2 K 9^{9}. **5.** 1 Ch 2^{25} (LXX ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ), youngest son of Jerahmeel, or his first wife, if we read with Bertheau, 'of or from Ahijah,' מ having dropped out. See next verse. **6.** 1 Ch 8^{7}, one of the 'heads of fathers' houses' of Geba, a son of Ehud, for which read 'Abihud,' v.^{3} (Pesh., Grätz), or 'Ahoah' (v.^{4}). In the beginning of the verse read 'namely' for 'and.' The text is very obscure. See *Q.P.B.* **7.** 1 Ch 11^{36}, the Pelonite, one of David's mighty men; but Kennicott, etc., read instead 'Eliam—Gilonite,' from 2 S 23^{34}. **8.** 1 Ch 26^{20}. (In David's time) 'of the Levites, Ahijah was over the treasuries.' LXX, followed by Bertheau, etc., reads, 'the Levites, their brethren (*i.e.* the sons of Ladan, v.^{21}), were over,' etc. **9.** Neh 10^{26} (RV Ahiah), one of 'the chiefs of the people' who sealed to the covenant under Nehemiah.

N. J. D. WHITE.

AHIKAM (אֲחִיקָם 'my brother has arisen').—Son of Shaphan, a courtier under Josiah, mentioned as one of the deputation sent by the king to Huldah the prophetess (2 K 22$^{12.14}$, 2 Ch 34^{20}), and later as using his influence to protect Jeremiah from the violence of the populace during the reign of Jehoiakim (Jer 26^{24}). He was father of Gedaliah, the governor of the land of Judah appointed by Nebuchadnezzar (2 K 25^{22} *al.*).

C. F. BURNEY.

AHILUD (אֲחִילוּד, perhaps a contraction of אֲחִי יָלוּד 'child's brother').—**1.** (2 S 8^{16} 20^{24}, 1 K 4^{3}, 1 Ch 18^{15}).—Father of Jehoshaphat, the chronicler under David and Solomon. **2.** (1 K 4^{12}) Father of Baana, one of Solomon's twelve commissariat officers. C. F. BURNEY.

AHIMAAZ (אֲחִימַעַץ 'my brother is wrath').—**1.** Son of Zadok. He was a remarkably swift runner, whose style was well known (2 S 18^{27}), and as such he played an important part on the occasion of Absalom's rebellion. As had been arranged by David (2 S 15$^{27.28.35.36}$), he and Jonathan, son of Abiathar, 'stayed by En-rogel, and a maidservant used to go and tell them,' from the priests, the plans of Absalom which had been divulged by Hushai, 'and they went and told King David.' This must have occurred more than once (2 S 17^{17}). Details of their last and most critical adventure are given (17$^{18-21}$), when, aided by a woman's craft, they succeeded in conveying the news that saved David's life. After the battle, Ahimaaz offered his services as messenger of victory; but Joab, fearing that the odium of being the first to tell of Absalom's death might injure the young man's prospects, refused, out of kindness, to allow him to run, and entrusted the duty to the Cushite courier. Ahimaaz, however, saw a way out of the difficulty; Joab yielded reluctantly to his importunity, and Ahimaaz 'ran by the way of the Plain' (the floor of the Jordan valley, Gn 13^{10} etc.); and by superior swiftness, and also, as is implied, by taking an easier route, 'overran the Cushite.' He did not belie David's description: 'He is a good man, and cometh with good tidings,' for by an adroit *suppressio veri* he achieved his purpose, and left to the Cushite the ungrateful office of breaking the king's heart. We read nothing more of Ahimaaz after this. It does not appear that he was ever high priest, since Azariah his son (1 Ch 6$^{8.9}$) seems to have succeeded Zadok (1 K 4^{2}). **2.** (1 S 14^{50}) Father of Ahinoam, Saul's wife. **3.** (1 K 4^{15}) One of Solomon's twelve commissariat officers. He had the district of Naphtali as the field of his operations. Since he alone of the twelve has no father mentioned, it has been conjectured that he may possibly be the son of Zadok; but he surely would have succeeded his father in the high priesthood. Ahimaaz married Basemath, one of Solomon's daughters. Another of these officers made a similar alliance, which indicates that they held a high rank. N. J. D. WHITE.

AHIMAN (אֲחִימַן: on the form, see Moore as cited below).—**1.** The sons of Anak or Anakites (see ANAK) are frequently mentioned, chiefly in D; but the special names Ahiman, Sheshai, and Talmai occur only in JE (Nu 13^{22}, Jos 15^{14}) and Jg 1^{10}, cf. v.^{20}. According to these passages, Ahiman, Sheshai, and Talmai were 'sons' or 'children of Anak' (בני הענק or ׳ילדי הע׳: for the latter, cf. ׳ילדי הרפה 2 S $21^{16.18}$), whose father was Arba (Jos 15^{13}, perhaps P). But, as a matter of fact, neither Anak (=long-necked) nor Arba (=four: with Kiriath-*arba* cf. Beer-*sheba*) are personal names (see Moore, *Judges* 1^{20}). There is therefore no reason to doubt what the context of the above-cited passages suggests, viz. that Ahiman, Sheshai, and Talmai are the names, not of individuals, but of clans.

A., then, was a clan resident in Hebron (the more familiar name of Kiriath-arba) at the time of the Heb. conquest, and driven thence by Caleb. The clan may have been of Aramaic origin, since the names of Sheshai and Talmai are of an Aram. type, and the name Ahiman has analogy in Aram. as well as Heb. See further, Driver, *Deut.* p. 23 f.; Moore, *Judges*, p. 24 f.

2. The name of a family or division of door-keepers, 1 Ch 9^{17}. This name is absent, not only from the briefer list in Neh 11^{19}, but also from the longer list in Ezr 10^{24} (=1 Es 5^{28}). It is possible, therefore, that the name (אחימן) in Chron. is simply due to dittography from the following word אחיהם (=their brethren); if this be so, it may have been facilitated by association with the Anakites (see No. 1), the preceding name in Chron.—Talmon—closely resembling in *sound* the Anakite Talmai. But the genuineness of the name is defended by Bertheau; cf. the *four names* in v.^{17} and the *four divisions* suggested by vv.$^{24-26}$. G. B. GRAY.

AHIMELECH (אֲחִימֶלֶךְ 'brother of Melek (Molech)').—**1.** The son of Ahitub, and grandson of Phinehas. He either succeeded his brother Ahijah in the priesthood, or was the same person under another name (1 S $14^{3.18}$). On the supposition that they are identical, the main facts regarding him (1 S 21^{1-9} 22^{9-19}) are given under AHIJAH; see also DOEG. In 2 S 8^{17} and 1 Ch 24^{6} it is generally supposed that the names of Abiathar and Ahimelech have been transposed by a copyist, so that we need not reckon another Ahimelech, grandson of the first. **2.** A Hittite, who joined David when a fugitive, and became one of his captains (1 S 26^{6}).

R. M. BOYD.

AHIMOTH (אֲחִימוֹת, apparently 'brother is death').—Mentioned only in the genealogy of 1 Ch 6^{25} (Heb. v^{10}), where he appears as son of Elkanah and brother of Amasai. For a discussion of the text and purpose of the genealogy, see Bertheau; cf. also MAHATH (v.^{35}). G. B. GRAY.

AHINADAB (אֲחִינָדָב 'brother is generous').—Son of Iddo, one of the 12 officers appointed by Solomon for the victualling of the royal household. He was stationed at Mahanaim (1 K 4^{14}).

G. B. GRAY.

AHINOAM (אֲחִינֹעַם 'brother is pleasantness').—**1.** Daughter of Ahimaaz and the wife of Saul (1 S 14^{50}). **2.** Ahinoam the Jezreelitess was one of the two women—Abigail being the other—whom David married after Michal had been taken from him. A. and Abigail were both with David while he sojourned with Achish at Gath, and were subsequently at Ziklag; from the latter city they were carried off by the Amalekites, but rescued by David and his men (1 S 30^{18}). After Saul's death A. and Abigail went up to Hebron with David, and there A. gave birth to David's firstborn, Amnon (1 S 25^{43} 27^{3} 30^{5}, 2 S 2^{2} 3^{2}, 1 Ch 3^{1}). G. B. GRAY.

AHIO (אַחְיוֹ)—**1.** Appears to be the name of a son of Abinadab (No. 1), and brother of Uzzah who drove the cart on which the ark was placed when removed from Abinadab's house (2 S $6^{3.4}$, 1 Ch 13^{7}). In all three cases the LXX renders the word οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ, which merely involves a different pronunciation of the same consonants—אֶחָיו; this may be right, but on the whole a proper name seems more probable in the context. **2.** (LXX ἀδελφὸς (A ἀδελφοὶ) αὐτοῦ, 1 Ch 8^{31}; ἀδελφός (A ἀδελφοί, 1 Ch 9^{37})) A son of Jeiel, and brother of Kish, the father of Saul. **3.** Another Ahio is mentioned in the genealogy of Benjamin (1 Ch 8^{14}). Here also the LXX has ἀδελφὸς (A ἀδελφοὶ) αὐτοῦ, and in this case is probably right. Cf. Bertheau, *in loco*.

G. B. GRAY.

AHIRA (אֲחִירַע).—Son of Enan, one of the 12 tribal princes who represented Naphtali at the census and on certain other occasions (Nu 1^{15} 2^{29} $7^{78.83}$ 10^{27} (P)).

AHIRAM, AHIRAMITES (אֲחִירָם, הָאֲחִירָמִי 'brother is exalted').—The eponym of a Benj. family—the Ahiramites, Nu 26^{38} (P). The name A. occurs in the corrupt forms אֵחִי (see EHI) in Gn 46^{21} (P), and אַחְרַח (see AHARAH) in 1 Ch 8^{1}; in defence of the originality of the form Ahiram, see Gray, *Stud. in Heb. Proper Names*, p. 35. G. B. GRAY.

AHISAMACH (אֲחִיסָמָךְ 'brother has supported').—A Danite, father of Oholiab (AV Aholiab), Ex 31^{6} 35^{34} 38^{23} (P).

AHISHAHAR (אֲחִישָׁחַר (pausal form) 'brother is dawn') is described in the Benjamite genealogies as one of the 'sons of Bilhan,' 1 Ch 7^{10}. See under BILHAN.

AHISHAR (אֲחִישָׁר 'my brother has sung?').—Superintendent of Solomon's household (1 K 4^{6}).

AHITHOPHEL (אֲחִיתֹפֶל 'my brother is folly'—*Oxf. Heb. Lex.*), was a native of Giloh, a town in the south-western part of the highlands of Judæa, identified uncertainly with a village three miles north-west of Halhul. He was a very influential counsellor of David, his reputation for political sagacity being unrivalled; but he was destitute of principle, a man of craft rather than of character (2 S 15^{12}–17^{23}, 1 Ch 27^{33}). He joined the rebellion of Absalom, possibly through ambition, possibly out of sympathy with the resentment of his tribe of Judah at the decline of its tribal pre-eminence. It is supposed by some that he was also the grandfather of Bathsheba (cf. 2 S 23^{34} with 11^{3}); but the identification of her father with the son of A. is open to question, though certainly possible. The policy he advised was that Absalom should take possession of his father's harem, thus showing that no pardon could be expected from David, and that he should proceed at once in pursuit of his father. When Hushai's counsel of delay prevailed, A. recognised the necessary failure of the enterprise, withdrew to Giloh, and hanged himself (2 S 17^{23}). There is no other case of deliberate suicide, except in war, mentioned in the OT, and the parallel in the NT is the case of Judas. Allusions to A. have been found in Ps 41^{9} 55^{12-14} 59^{11} and elsewhere; but these must not be treated as designed, and no inference can be drawn from them as to the authorship of the psalms. The Talmud and Midrashim occasionally refer to him. In the latter he is classed with Balaam as an instance of the ruin which overtakes wisdom that is not the gift of Heaven; and in the former (*Baba bathra* 1. 7) the great lesson of his life is said to be, 'Be not in strife with the house of David, and break off from none of its rule.' R. W. MOSS.

AHITOB (B Ἀχειτώβ, A Ἀχιτ-, AV **Achitob**), 1 Es 8^{2}.—An ancestor of Ezra, son of Amarias and father of Sadduk [Ahitub].

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

AHITUB (אֲחִיטוּב ‘brother is goodness’).—**1.** Son of Phinehas and grandson of Eli, the father of Ahimelech or Ahijah the priest who was put to death by Saul (1 S 14^3 $22^{9.20}$). **2.** Acc. to 2 S 8^{17} (= 1 Ch 18^{16}) the father, acc. to 1 Ch 9^{11} Neh 11^{11} the grandfather, of Zadok the priest who was contemporary with David and Solomon. It is very doubtful, however, whether this A. does not owe his existence to a copyist's error. The text of 2 S 8^{17} should probably run וצדוק ואביתר בן־אחימלך בן־אחיטוב: ‘And Zadok and Abiathar the son of Ahimelech, the son of Ahitub’ (so Wellhausen, Budde, Kittel, Driver). **3.** Still more exposed to suspicion is the existence of another A., father of another Zadok (1 Ch $6^{11.12}$, 1 Es 8^2, 2 Es 1^1). **4.** An ancestor of Judith, Jth 8^1, AV **Acitho**.

J. A. SELBIE.

AHLAB (אַחְלָב), Jg 1^{31}.—A city of Asher. The site is supposed to be that of the later Gush Halab or Gischala (Jos. *Life*, 10; *Wars*, XI. xxi. 1), now *El-Jîsh* in Upper Galilee; but this is, of course, uncertain. See Neubauer, *Géog. Tal.* *s.v.* Gushhalab; and Reland, *Pal. Illustr.* p. 817.

C. R. CONDER.

AHLAI (אַחְלַי ‘O that!’ cf. Ps 119^5).—**1.** The daughter (?) of Sheshan (1 Ch 2^{31}, cf. v.^{34}). **2.** The father of Zabad, one of David's mighty men (1 Ch 11^{41}).

AHOAH (אֲחוֹחַ).—Son of Bela, a Benjamite (1 Ch 8^4 = אֲחִיָּה of v.^{7}). See AHIJAH (6). The patronymic **Ahohite** occurs in 2 S 23^9.

AHUMAI (אֲחוּמַי).—A descendant of Judah (1 Ch 4^2).

AHUZZAM (אֲחֻזָּם ‘possessor,’ AV **Ahuzam**).—A man of Judah (1 Ch 4^6).

AHUZZATH (אֲחֻזַּת ‘possession’).—‘The friend’ of Abimelech, the Philistine of Gerar, mentioned on the occasion when the latter made a league with Isaac at Beersheba (Gn 26^{26}). The position of ‘king's friend’ may possibly have been an official one, and the title a technical one (cf. 1 K 4^5, 1 Ch 27^{33}). The rendering of the LXX gives a different conception, that of ‘pronubus’ or friend of the bridegroom (Ὀχοζὰθ ὁ νυμφαγωγὸς αὐτοῦ). For the fem. termination *-ath*, cf. the Phil. name ‘Goliath’ (see Driver's note on 1 S 17^4) and the Arabian name ‘Genubath’ (1 K 11^{20}).

H. E. RYLE.

AHZAI (אַחְזַי for אֲחַזְיָה ‘J″ hath grasped,’ AV **Ahasai**).—A priest, Neh 11^{13} = Jahzerah, 1 Ch 9^{12}.

AI (הָעַי), Jos 7^{2-5} 8^{1-29} $10^{1.2}$ 12^9, Ezr 2^{28}, Neh 7^{32} (Jer 49^3, a clerical error for AR), called **Hai** in Gn 12^8 13^3 AV; and **Aija** (עַיָּא *‘Ayyâ*) in Neh 11^{31}. In Is (10^{28}) **Aiath** (עַיָּת).—The name means ‘heap,’ and it is not enumerated as an inhabited place after the conquest until about B.C. 700, but seems to have been inhabited after the Captivity. The situation is defined as east of Bethel, beside Beth Aven, with valleys to the north and west (Jos $8^{11.12}$). The site which agrees with these conditions is found at *Haiyân*, immediately south of a conspicuous stone mound called *Et-Tell*, ‘the mound.’ There is a deep ravine to the north, an open valley to the west, and a flat plain to S. and E. This site is 2⅜ miles S.E. of Bethel, and on the road thence to the Jordan Valley. It is evidently the site of an ancient town, with rock-cut tombs. See *SWP* vol. ii. sh. xiv. Some MSS read Aija for Gaza (*i.e.* עַיָּה for עַזָּה) in 1 Ch 7^{28}, which appears to be the correct rendering.

C. R. CONDER.

AIAH (אַיָּה).—**1.** Son of Zibeon (Gn 36^{24} (AV **Ajah**), 1 Ch 1^{40}). **2.** Father of Rizpah, Saul's concubine (2 S 3^7 $21^{8.10.11}$).

AIATH, Is 10^{28}; **AIJA**, Neh 11^{31}.—See AI.

AIJALON (אַיָּלוֹן), AV **Ajalon**, Jos 10^{12} 19^{42}, 2 Ch 28^{18}; **Aijalon**, Jos 21^{24}, Jg 1^{35} 12^{12}, 1 S 14^{31}, 1 Ch 6^{69} 8^{13}, 2 Ch 11^{10} (in Jg 12^{12} a place of the name is noticed in Zebulun, otherwise unknown).—This town in Dan was in the Shephelah, beneath the ascent of Bethhoron. It is the modern village of *Yâlo*. The name appears to mean ‘place of the deer.’ The town is clearly noticed in a letter from the king of Jerusalem, in the Tel el-Amarna correspondence, as *Aialuna*. It was known to the Jews in the 4th cent. A.D. (*Onomasticon*, *s.v.* Aialon) as less than 2 Roman miles from Emmaus-Nicopolis, on the road to Jerusalem. This agrees with the situation of Yâlo and 'Amwâs. See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvii.

C. R. CONDER.

AIJELETH HASH-SHAHAR, Ps 22 (title).—See PSALMS.

AIM.—To ‘aim at,’ in the sense of ‘conjecture,’ ‘make guesses at,’ occurs Wis 13^9 ‘For if they were able to know so much that they could aim at (στοχάζομαι, RV ‘explore’) the world.’ Cf. H. Smith (1593), ‘No marvel if he did aim that his death was near at hand.’ J. HASTINGS.

AIN (ע, usually spelled ‘Ayin, and represented in transliteration by ‘) is the sixteenth letter of the Heb. ALPHABET (wh. see), and so is used to introduce the sixteenth part of Ps 119. See PSALMS.

AIN (עַיִן ‘an eye, or spring’).—**1.** On the northern boundary of Israel, as given Nu 34^{11}. It lay west (S.W.?) of Riblah. It is almost impossible now to describe the boundary there given. Riblah has been identified with the village still bearing that name, 20 miles south-west of Hums (Emesa) and Zedad, with Sadâd some 30 miles east of Riblah; other points are unknown. Robinson, following Thomson, places Ain at *‘Ain el-‘Asy*, the main fountain of the Orontes, about 15 miles south-west of Riblah (*Researches* (1852), p. 538). Conder identifies this with Hazor-Enan (*Heth and Moab*, p. 7 ff.). A description of this fountain of the Orontes will be found in the passages referred to. On the whole question, see under PALESTINE, and other places named with Ain in Nu 34^{7-11}; also A. B. Davidson's *Ezekiel*, pp. 351, 352.

2. Jos 15^{32} 19^7 and 1 Ch 4^{32}. Here Ain *and* Rimmon should apparently be read as one name, Ain-Rimmon = En-Rimmon, which see.

A. HENDERSON.

AIR (שָׁמַיִם, ἀήρ, οὐρανὸς) is the first of the three divisions—‘the heaven above,’ ‘the earth beneath,’ and ‘the water under the earth.’ Its usual sense is the atmosphere resting upon the earth, with special terms for the highest heavens and for air in motion, as wind, breath, etc. As the locality of air is above the earth, so its language is that of the supernatural. As the emblem of the insubstantial, and the antithesis of ‘flesh and blood’ (Eph 6^{12}), it is regarded as the dwelling-place of powers which, though under God, are over man.

Satan is described as ‘the prince of the power of the air’ (Eph 2^2), and the war of the Lord is there lifted out of all tribal provincialism, and declared to be a world-wide conflict between elemental good and evil. For safety and success in this battle ‘the whole armour of God’ is needed. In Dt 32^{17} the heathen gods are called *Shedhim*, the term by which modern Jews denote the malignant spirits that are considered to infest the air. The fear of offending them makes the uneducated Jewish woman say, 'By your leave'! when throwing out water from her door-step; and the dread of their congregated power makes the Jews walk quickly in the funeral procession. The same superstition passed into the Christian Church with regard to the efficacy of the passing bell. The Jews in the synagogue-worship, when repeating the solemn watchword of Israel, 'Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is *one* Lord,' prolong the pronunciation of the word אֶחָד 'one,' as a protection against the hostility of the air-powers. See DEMON. G. M. MACKIE.

AKAN (עֲקָן).—A descendant of Esau (Gn 36^{27}). The name appears in 1 Ch 1^{42} as Jakan.

AKATAN ('Ακατάν, AV **Acatan**), 1 Es 8^{38}.—Father of Joannes, who returned with Ezra, called Hakkatan, Ezr 8^{12}.

AKELDAMA (Ac 1^{19} WH 'Ακελδαμάχ, TR 'Ακελδαμά, AV **Aceldama**).—The popular name of 'the field of blood,' bought with the money paid to and returned by the traitor, Mt 27$^{3-10}$. The language of Ac 1^{18} seems also to imply that it was so named as the scene of his suicide. It is not impossible that a spot so defiled would be eagerly sold and bought in the circumstances described. Such a place must have always been needed (Jer 26^{23}), and at the time this 'field' was purchased, owing to the multitude of 'strangers' dwelling in and visiting Jerusalem, there may have been urgent need for a larger place of burial, and a difficulty of procuring land for such a purpose. The place had been previously known as 'the potter's field,' and seems to be identified with 'the potter's house' of Jer 18^{2} 19^{2}, which was in the valley of the son of Hinnom, the scene in earlier times of Molech-worship, and subsequently defiled as a place of burial (Jer 7$^{30-32}$, 2 K 23^{10}). The traditional site is still known as Ḥakk-ed-Dumm (in the 12th cent. called Chaudemar, a manifest corruption of the original). It is situated half-way up the hill, to the south of the Pool of Siloam, on a level spot. 'It is now a partly ruined building, 78 ft. long outside and 57 ft. wide, erected over rock-cut caves and a deep trench.' Originally there had been tombs cut in a natural cave, which forms the inner or southern part; and though these have been broken up to enlarge the space, six 'loculi' remain on the western side and two on the eastern. A deep trench has been cut in front of the original rock-tombs, 30 ft. deep, 21 ft. wide, and 63 ft. long. The wall built on the outer edge of the trench is about 30 ft. high. A stone roof thrown over the trench joins the hill face (*PEFSt*, 1892, p. 283 ff.). Apparently there was a cliff here with a natural cave in the face of it. This may have been used, as caves frequently are, as a potter's workshop. But the name of the gate, 'Harsith,' Jer 19^{2} 'the gate of potsherds,' would rather indicate that the site of the potter's workshop was close by the gate, and not across a valley from it; his work would also require a supply of water to be at hand; nor can the Valley of Hinnom be said to be conclusively identified. According to Eusebius, Akeldama was on the *north* of the city; Jerome (by a slip or of design) places it on the south. From the seventh century (Arculph) it has been pointed out on the presently accepted site. Krafft (*Top. Jer.* p. 193) says he saw clay dug at Ḥakk-ed-Dumm; but Schick denies that potter's clay is found there, and says that only a kind of chalk used to mix with clay is got higher up the hill; but even if it were, clay is not used where it is found, but where facilities for its use are greatest. The ownership of the spot has been more valued in later times than when purchased by the chief priests. In the 12th cent. the Latins got it from the Syrians, in the 16th cent. it was in the possession of the Armenians, in the 17th cent. of the Greeks, and it passed again to the Armenians, who at the close of that century paid a rent for it to the Turks. More strange is the virtue attached to its soil of quickly consuming dead bodies, because of which, notwithstanding its history, 270 shiploads are said to have been taken to form the Campo Santo at Rome, and seven shiploads to Pisa for a like purpose. Schick calculates the accumulation in it of bones and small stones at 10 to 15 ft. deep. A. HENDERSON.

AKKOS ('Ακκώς, A; 'Ακβώς, B; AV **Accoz**), 1 Es 5^{38}=HAKKOZ (wh. see).

AKKUB (עַקּוּב).—**1.** A son of Elioenai (1 Ch 3^{24}). **2.** A Levite, one of the porters at the E. gate of the temple, the eponym of a family that returned from the Exile (1 Ch 9^{17}, Ezr 2^{42}, Neh 7^{45} 11^{19} 12^{25}), called in 1 Es 5^{28} **Dacubi**. **3.** The name of a family of Nethinim (Ezr 2^{42}), called in 1 Es 5^{30} **Acud**. **4.** A Levite who helped to expound the law (Neh 8^{7}). LXX omits. Called in 1 Es 9^{48} **Jacubus**.

J. A. SELBIE.

AKRABBIM (מַעֲלֵה עַקְרַבִּים), Nu 34^{4}, Jg 1^{36}. Less correctly **Acrabbim** Jos 15^{3} AV, 'The Scorpion Pass.'—The name given to an ascent on the south side of the Dead Sea, a very barren region. See DEAD SEA. C. R. CONDER.

AKRABATTINE ('Ακραβαττίνη) in Idumæa (1 Mac 5^{3}, AV **Arabattine**).—The region near Akrabbim.

ALABASTER. See BOX, MINERALS.

ALAMOTH, Ps 46 (title), 1 Ch 15^{20}.—See PSALMS.

ALBEIT.—Albeit is a contraction for 'all be it,' and means 'al(l) though it be.' Properly it should be, and sometimes is, followed by 'that'; but when regarded as a single word (=although), 'that' is omitted. It occurs only in Ezk 13^{7} 'a. I have not spoken,' and Philem^{19} 'a. I do not say to thee' (RV 'that I say not unto thee'); but is more freq. in Apocr., Wis 11^{9} Sus$^{10. 53}$ 1 Mac 12^{9} 15^{35} 2 Mac 4^{27}. J. HASTINGS.

ALCIMUS (אֶלְיָקִים 'God sets up,' grecised into Ἄλκιμος, 'valiant,' and abbreviated into יָקִים, whence 'Ιάκειμος, Jos. *Ant.* XII. ix. 5, and 'Ιάκιμος, *ib.* XX. x. 3) was the son (*Baba bathra* i. 33), or more probably the sister's son (*Midrash rabba* 65 *et al.*), of Jose ben-Joeser, the famous pupil of Antigonus of Socho. He was a native of Zeruboth, of Aaronic descent, but a leader of the Syrian and Hellenizing party. By Antiochus Eupator he was nominated to the high priesthood (B.C. 162), but was unable to exercise its functions on account of the influence in Jerus. of Judas Maccabæus. Retiring to Antioch, he gathered around him 'the lawless and ungodly men of Israel' (1 Mac 7^{5}), by which is probably meant such members of the Hellenizing party as had been driven from Jerus. by the successes of Judas. As soon as Demetrius Soter had established himself at Antioch, the party of A. charged Judas with treason, and secured the king's favour for themselves. Demetrius was persuaded to renominate A. to the high priesthood, and to send an army under Bacchides, governor of Mesopotamia, with orders to install A. and to punish the Maccabees. The march of Bacchides does not appear to have been opposed; and at Jerus. it was found that many of the Ḥasidim were ready to support A., ostensibly because of his priestly descent, but really perhaps because of their suspicion of the dynastic designs of Judas. Sixty of their leaders, amongst whom is said (*Midrash* *rabba*) to have been Jose ben-Joeser himself, were, however, soon after put to death together, by the order of the joint representatives of the Syrian king; and on the part of Bacchides further cruelties followed. The effect was to reduce the people to a condition of sullen submission; and Bacchides returned to Antioch, leaving a sufficient force to maintain A. in his priestly and vice-regal dignity. For a very short time the support of the Syrian troops enabled him to carry out his Hellenizing policy. But a reaction soon took place in favour of the party of Judas, who forsook the retirement in which he had remained during the presence of Bacchides in the country, and made himself master of all the outlying districts. A. went in person to the king, and by means of large presents secured the despatch of a second force under Nicanor, who was appointed to the governorship of Judæa. Nicanor at first formed an alliance, and apparently an intimate friendship, with Judas. But A., displeased at the neglect to install him in his office, returned again to Demetrius, who sent strict orders to Nicanor to seize Judas and bring him at once to Antioch. Judas managed to escape from an attempt to overcome him by treachery; and the two armies met at Adasa, near Bethhoron, on the 13th of Adar (March, B.C. 161). Nicanor fell in the battle, and the Syrian army was almost annihilated. Another army was collected by Demetrius, and sent into Judæa under the command of Bacchides. Judas was defeated and slain at the battle of Eleasa, and Bacchides proceeded to occupy Jerus. This time Bacchides remained in the country, and effectually protected A., who was at last able to discharge without hindrance his high priestly duties. His chief object appears to have been to abolish the separation of Jew from Greek. With that view he commanded the destruction of 'the wall of the inner court of the sanctuary,' and also of 'the works of the prophets.' The former has been identified with the Soreg, or low wooden breastwork before the steps leading between the courts; but the allusion seems to be rather to the wall itself, marking the limits beyond which Gentiles and the unclean were not allowed to pass. This was one of the separatist characteristics of the temple, ascribed in tradition sometimes to Haggai and Zechariah, sometimes to the members of the Great Synagogue. But before the destruction was completed, A. died (B.C. 160) of paralysis. Pss 74. 79. 80 have been interpreted as reflecting the sentiments of pious Jews during his priesthood. But the best authority for the period is 1 Mac 7^{5-50} 9^{1-57}, though cautious use may be made also of 2 Mac 14^{1-27}, and Jos. *Ant*. XII. ix. 5, XII. x.

R. W. MOSS.

ALEMA (ἐν Ἀλάμοις A, Ἀλέμοις ℵ), 1 Mac 5^{26}.—A city in Gilead. The site is unknown.

ALEMETH (עַלֶּמֶת).—1. A son of Becher the Benjamite (1 Ch 7^{8}, AV **Alameth**). 2. A descendant of Saul (1 Ch 8^{36} 9^{42}).

ALEPH (א).—First letter of Heb. Alphabet. See ALPHABET, PSALMS, and A.

ALEXANDER (Ἀλέξανδρος).—The name occurs five times in NT, and apparently belongs to as many distinct persons.

1. Mk 15^{21}. A son of SIMON of Cyrene, and brother of RUFUS (see these names). A. and Rufus are evidently expected to be familiar names to the readers. Very possibly they were Christian Jews.

2. Ac 4^{6}. 'Annas the high priest *was there*, and Caiaphas, and John, and Alexander, and as many as were of the kindred of the high priest' (RV). Of this A. nothing further is known. The suggestion of Baronius, Pearson, and Lightfoot, that he was the well-known Alabarch (on this title see Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 280) of Alexandria and brother of Philo (Jos. *Ant*. XVIII. viii. 1, cf. XIX. v. 1), 'scarcely needs serious discussion' (Edersheim). Philo was of high and wealthy birth (Jos. XX. v. 2), but Jerome's statement (*de Viris Illustr*. xi.) that he was 'de genere sacerdotum' is unsupported by any evidence.

3. Ac 19^{33}. 'And *some* of the multitude instructed A., the Jews putting him forward. And A. beckoned with the hand, and would have made a defence unto the people. But when they perceived that he was a Jew' . . . etc. etc. (RVm). The Jews were a natural and usual object of the religious animosity (cf. ἱερόσυλοι v.^{37}, and Ro 2^{22}), which on this occasion they had done nothing to provoke. A. is put forward by his co-religionists to clear them of complicity with St. Paul, but the enraged mob will give no Jew a hearing. The absence of any τις suggests (cf. v.^{9}) that A. was well known at Ephesus; he *may* even have been one of the ἐργάται or τεχνῖται of v.^{25}, and thus identifiable with No. **5**; but this, although it is stated (by Ewald, *apud* Nösgen, *in loc.*) that Jews were sometimes engaged in forbidden trades, lacks evidence.

4. 1 Ti $1^{19.20}$. Mentioned with HYMENAEUS (cf. 2 Ti 2^{17}) as one of the unconscientious teachers who had 'made shipwreck concerning the faith.' St. Paul 'delivered them unto Satan' (cf. 1 Co 5^{5}, and see SATAN). There is no strong reason to identify this A. with No. **5**.

5. 2 Ti 4^{14}. This A. (1) was a smith (χαλκεύς). The word originally meant a worker in copper; but as other metals came to be more commonly worked, it became applicable (Lid. and S. *s.v.*) to workers in any metal, esp. iron (Gn 4^{22} LXX, see also TRADES). This makes possible, but by no means proves, the identity of A. with No. **3**, *if* the latter could be shown to be one of the craftsmen of Demetrius. (2) A. had 'done' (ἐνεδείξατο) St. Paul many evils; in particular he had greatly withstood (λίαν ἀντέστη, cf. Ac 13^{8}) his words. (3) Timothy is cautioned against a like experience. This last point locates A. with Timothy at Ephesus, and makes it probable that (2) also refers to something that had taken place when St. Paul was last there (1 Ti 1^{3}). If (2) refers to *heretical* teaching, our present A. might be identified with No. **4**. But (2) is equally compatible with *Jewish* hostility; and if so, we might combine (1) and (2) with the object of identifying him with No. **3**. In any case No. **5** is the only possible link between **3** and **4**. For specimens of the many possible conjectures on the whole subject, see the comm. *in loc.* and Holtzmann, *Pastoralbriefe*, p. 255 *sq.* If, with many critics, we regard the Epistles to Timothy as non-Pauline, we might follow the last-named writer in regarding Ac 19^{33} as the basis of the notice in 2 Ti; but in reality the two passages have nothing in common except the name; the malicious personal antagonism which is so prominent here is unhinted at there.

A. ROBERTSON.

ALEXANDER III. (Ἀλέξανδρος, 'defender of men'), known as the Great, was the son of Philip II., king of Macedonia, and of Olympias, a Molossian princess, and was born at Pella, B.C. 356. He succeeded his father in B.C. 336, and two years later set out on his eastern expedition. The battles of the Granicus (B.C. 334) and of Issus (B.C. 333) made him master of S.W. Asia. Egypt was next subdued, and Alexandria founded in B.C. 331. The discontent of his army thwarted his designs upon India, and in B.C. 323 he died at Babylon.

For Alexander's connexion with the Jews, the principal authority is Jos. *Ant*. IX. viii. 3–6. The story runs that, whilst he was besieging Tyre, A. sent orders to the Jews to transfer their allegiance to him, and to supply him with provisions and auxiliaries. The high priest refused on the ground of his oath of fidelity to Darius. A. destroyed Tyre, took Gaza (B.C. 332) after a two months' siege (Diodor. xvii. 8; Arrian, ii. 26, 27), and marched against Jerus. The high priest Jaddua (Neh 12^{11}), or Simon the Just (*Yoma* 69), was taught in a dream what to do, and led out the priests and the people to meet him. At Sapha (צָפָה 'he watched'; known also as Scopus, Jos. *Wars*, V. ii. 3, an eminence near Jerus. whence city and temple were all visible) the priest and the king met. A. bowed before the divine name on the priest's tiara, and to the protestations of Parmenio replied that in a dream at Dium he had seen such a figure as Jaddua's, and had been promised success and guidance on the way. Escorted by the priests, he entered Jerus., sacrificed in the temple under the direction of the high priest, and, when shown the Book of Dan., interpreted of himself such passages as 8^{21} and 11^{3}. Before leaving the city he guaranteed to the Jews in all his dominions protection in the usages of their fathers, and immunity from taxation in their sabbatical years. How much of this story is legendary, it is impossible to decide. It is found in the Talmud as well as in Josephus. The silence of the classical historians (Arrian, Curtius, Plutarch, and the Epitomists) is inconclusive, as they are generally silent concerning matters relating to the Jews. The position and the suspected attitude of Jerus. make a visit on the part of A. probable in view of his contemplated expedition against Egypt. And though imagination has clearly been at work with the details of the narrative, the balance of probability is in favour of its substantial historicity.

By A. Palestine was included in the province of Cœle-Syria, which extended from Lebanon to Egypt. The governor was Andromachus, who chose as his residence the town of Samaria, because of its central position, and possibly also of the amenities of the neighbourhood. Against him the Samaritans rose in revolt, prompted by jealousy of the privileged Jews, by resentment at the establishment amongst them of the seat of government, or by the opportunity afforded by the absence in Egypt of such of their compatriots as were most favourably disposed towards A. (Jos. *Ant.* XI. viii. 6). Setting fire to the house of Andromachus, they burnt him alive. The news reached A. just after he had received the submission of Egypt; and, hastening back, he put to death the leaders of the revolt (Curt. iv. 8. 10), and removed the rest of the people from their city, planting a colony of Macedonians in their stead. From that time Shechem, at the foot of Mt. Gerizim, became the religious centre of the Samaritans. Coins of A. have been found coined at Ashkelon and Acco (Ptolemais), and also, if Müller's identifications are correct, at Cæsarea, Scythopolis, and Rabbah (Müller, *Numismatique d'Alexandre*, 303–309); but it cannot be inferred with confidence that these towns were made by him sub-capitals of districts, as such coins were issued by the Diadochoi long after the death of A. Not only were large numbers of the Samaritans settled by him in the Thebais (Jos. *Ant.* XI. viii. 6), and of Jews in Alexandria (*ib.* XIX. v. 2; *Apion.* ii. 4) and in the Egyp. villages (see the evidence of papyri in Mahaffy, *Ptolemies*, 86, n.), but many of the latter appear to have willingly enrolled themselves in his army. When he was rebuilding the temple of Bel in Babylon, his soldiers were ordered to assist in removing the rubbish. The Jews are said to have refused on the grounds that any dealing with idolatry was forbidden them, and that their Scriptures predicted the permanency of the destruction of the temple of Bel. They were threatened and punished in vain. Appealing to A., they were exempted from the task, in virtue of the original stipulation that they 'should continue under the laws of their fathers.' The incident again is of doubtful authenticity; but it is in agreement with all the traditions of the kindly attitude of A. towards the Jews.

In the Biblical books A. is expressly mentioned only in 1 Mac 1^{1-7} 6^{2}, though several passages in Dan. are frequently interpreted as alluding to him.

LITERATURE.—The sources of A.'s history are examined in Freeman, *Hist. Essays*, 2nd ser. Ess. 5, to which add Pauly, *RE*, art. 'Alexander,' and Mahaffy, *Ptolemies*, where in § 56 evidence is adduced in favour of the novel suggestion, that A.'s friendship to the Jews was due to his desire to use them as a kind of intelligence department to his army. For the rabbinical traditions see Derenbourg, *Hist. de la Pal.* i. 41 ff.; Hamburger, *RE* ii. 44–47. Droysen, *Gesch. Alex. des Grossen* (Hamburg, 1837), and *Gesch. des Hellenismus* (Gotha, 1877) are of special value.

R. W. MOSS.

ALEXANDER BALAS was either a natural son of Antiochus Epiphanes (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. ii. 1; Liv. *Epit.* 50; Strabo, xiii.), or a lad of Smyrna who claimed such descent (Justin, xxxv. 1; Appian, *Syr.* 67). In the latter (more likely) case, Balas was his proper name, and its etymology is unknown; in the former case the name may be connected with the Aram. בַּעְלָא 'lord.' He also assumed his reputed father's title of Epiphanes (1 Mac 10^{1}). He was set up as a pretender to the throne of Demetrius Soter, whose despotism had alienated his subjects and offended his neighbours, by the three allied kings, Ptolemy Philometor of Egypt, Attalus II. of Pergamum, and Ariarathes V. of Cappadocia. The Romans also supported his claims (Polybius, xxxiii. 14. 16), in accordance with their policy of promoting civil strife within kingdoms that might become formidable. He secured the help of Jonathan (B.C. 153) by nominating him high priest, and after some reverses defeated Demetrius, who fell in the battle. Balas thereupon married Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy Philometor (for a fuller account of whose relations with Balas see Mahaffy, *Emp. of Ptolemies*, §§ 208–212), and appointed (B.C. 150) Jonathan with special honours (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. iv. 2) *στρατηγός* and *μεριδάρχης*, military and civil governor of the province, although Syrian commandants were retained in several of the principal fortresses. His kingdom now established, Balas proved himself an incapable ruler, negligent of State affairs, and given up to self-indulgence (Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* ii. præf. xvi, n. 19; Liv. *Epit.* 50; Justin. xxxv. 2). Demetrius Nicator, son of Dem. Soter, invaded the country in B.C. 147, and was supported by Apollonius, governor of Cœle-Syria. But Jonathan defeated and slew Apollonius, and was rewarded on the part of Balas by the gift of Ekron. Balas, however, was deserted by his own soldiers and by the people of Antioch. Ptolemy, his father-in-law, entered Syria on the plea that Balas was plotting against him, and took up the cause of Demetrius, to whom he transferred his daughter Cleopatra in marriage. Balas hastened from Cilicia, where he had been trying to quell a revolt, but was defeated by Ptolemy. He was either slain (B.C. 146) in the battle (Euseb. *Chron. Arm.* i. 349), or he fled to Abæ, in Arabia, where he was assassinated (Müller, *l.c.*; 1 Mac 11^{17}). The relation of the Jews to Balas, and the consistency of their alliance, appear in 1 Mac 10^{47}, RV 'They were well pleased with Alexander, because he was the first that spake words of peace unto them, and they were confederate with him always.' His necessities and his unconcern made Judæa almost autonomous.

Alexander Epiphanes, 1 Mac 10^{1} = A. Balas.

R. W. MOSS.

ALEXANDRIA (ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρεια), the Hellenic capital of Egypt, was founded by Alexander the Great, B.C. 332. Under the early Ptolemies it rose to importance, and became the emporium of the commerce of the East and of the West. Oblong in shape and rounded at the extremities,—Strabo compared it to the chlamys or cloak of the Macedonian cavalry,—it occupied the narrow strip of land which lay between the sea and the Lake Mareotis. An artificial mole connected it with the island of Pharos, and on either side of the mole were commodious harbours which received the ships of Europe and Asia. The Lake Mareotis, which was joined by a canal to the Canopic mouth of the Nile, brought to it the commerce of the East. The beauty of the city was proverbial. One-third of its extent was occupied with royal palaces and open public grounds; and it had a system of wide regular streets with noble colonnades. Its population, which amounted to about 800,000 souls in its flourishing period, consisted chiefly of Egyptians, Greeks, and Jews, who occupied separate quarters. The Regio Judæorum, which lay in the north-eastern portion of the city, was surrounded by walls. A special governor, called the Alabarch, presided over it, and the Jews were permitted to live according to their own laws. The Jews—the mercenary race as they were called—were not popular with their fellow-citizens, but they were protected by the rulers, Greek and Roman, who recognised the value of their services to the commercial prosperity of the city. When A. became part of the Roman Empire, B.C. 30, and a granary of Rome, the important corn trade with Italy fell into the hands of Jewish merchants.

The Lagidæ were munificent patrons of learning, and it was their ambition to make their capital a place of intellectual renown. They collected within its walls the largest library of antiquity, part of which was housed in the temple of Serapis in the Egyptian quarter, and another part in the museum which was situated in the Bruchium or Greek quarter. To the museum was attached a staff of professors, who were salaried by the State. It had a banqueting-hall in which the professors dined, corridors for peripatetic lectures, and a theatre for public disputations. The chief subjects of study were grammar, rhetoric, mathematics, astronomy, medicine, and geography. The school of philosophical thought which ultimately arose was eclectic, a patchwork of earlier systems, and it closed its career by dethroning philosophy in favour of religious tradition.

For the student of Christian theology, A. occupies an important place in the history of religious development as the cradle of a school of thought in which the earliest attempt was made to bring the teaching of the OT into relation with Hellenic ideas. It was in A. that the Heb. Scriptures were first translated into Greek. This translation, although it afterwards became 'the first apostle to the nations,' was not made with a missionary purpose, being intended to afford a knowledge of the law to the numerous Jews who had grown up in ignorance of the Heb. language. But having opened up their treasures to the curious Greeks, it became necessary for the Jews to explain and to defend them. It was the claim of the Jew that the Scriptures are the sole source of a true knowledge of God and of human duty; but when he became familiar with Greek literature, it was impossible to deny that there also were found noble doctrines and excellent counsels. The Alexandrian Jew offered an Apologia for his exclusive claim, which was repeated by the Christian Fathers, lived through the entire Middle Ages, and almost to our own time. Plato and Pythagoras, he said, and even Homer, borrowed all their wisdom from the OT Scriptures. Aristobulus, a Jewish courtier, who lived about the middle of the second century B.C., writes: 'Plato took our legislation as his model, and it is certain that he knew the whole of it; the same is true of Pythagoras.' In order to gain venerated authority for this assertion, the Jews composed verses in the name of the mystic poets of antiquity, in praise of Moses and of Judaism. In his commentary on the Pentateuch, Aristobulus introduces Orpheus, and makes him say that he cannot reveal the God whom clouds conceal; that the water-born Moses alone of mortals received knowledge from on high on two tables. Another writer of Egypt who was a contemporary of Aristobulus, the author of the third of the Sibylline Books, introduces the Sibyl of Cumæ, who speaks of the Jews as a nation appointed by God to be the guide of all mortals; and she offers the coming Messianic salvation to all nations if they will turn from their idols to serve the living God.

Having thus established to their own satisfaction that Gentile wisdom comes from the Scriptures, the Jews next proceeded to place it there by the help of the magic wand of allegorical interpretation. Thus interpreted, the narratives of Scripture easily yielded up Platonic and Stoic dogmas. The Jewish Alexandrian philosophy, which began with Aristobulus and culminated in Philo, was an elaborate attempt to clothe Greek philosophical ideas in Scripture language, and thus to confer upon them the authority of divine revelation. It was to Platonism and Stoicism that the Jewish scholars most naturally turned; for in the lofty monotheism of the former, and in the moral earnestness of the latter, they seemed to hear echoes of Isaiah and Solomon. It was through the influence of Platonic and Stoic conceptions that the Sophia and the Logos assumed such importance in the Jewish Alexandrian philosophy. In the Heb. Scriptures they had been personified, but they were now hypostatized, and became intermediaries between the creature and the Most High God.

The Jewish philosophy of A., which was not confined to A., but spread through the whole of the Greek-speaking Diaspora, exercised a certain influence upon the Greeks, who were drawn towards Judaism by its accent of certainty about God, which was always wanting even in the loftiest theology of their own philosophers. Its main influence, however, lay in its Hellenizing of the Jews, who were enabled to appropriate Hellenic views of life without conscious apostasy from Judaism. The extent of the influence of Jewish Alexandrian philosophy on the writers of the NT has been variously estimated. There are striking similarities between the terminology and sometimes between the thoughts of St. Paul and of the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews and those of Philo. But the similarities are probably due to their common knowledge of the current teaching of the Greek-speaking synagogue. On the other hand, the direct practical spirit of the NT writers offers a strong contrast to the dreamy intellectualism of Philo's allegories.

The name of the city of Alexandria does not occur in the NT. Mention is made of a synagogue of the Alexandrians in Jerusalem (Ac 6^9). Apollos is described as an 'Alexandrian by race' (Ac 18^{24}). St. Paul sailed on two occasions in Alexandrian ships, which probably belonged to the corn trade (Ac 27^6 28^{11}).

It is remarkable that neither St. Paul nor his companions visited A., in some respects the most promising missionary field in the world. As regards St. Paul, to hazard a conjecture, he may have been deterred by what occurred in Corinth (1 Co 1^{12}), where Apollos followed him, and by his preaching produced an unhappy division without intending it. St. Paul may have felt that his simple presentation of Christ crucified would be unwelcome among hearers accustomed to the word of wisdom in trope and allegory. If we were to accept the view of those critics who hold that Apollos wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews to the Jewish Christians of A., it would be easy to explain St. Paul's conduct, as it would have been contrary to his custom to visit a Church which a fellow-labourer had already made his own (2 Co 10^{16}).

According to Eusebius (*H.E.* ii. 16), St. Mark was the first who was sent to Egypt, where he preached the gospel which he had written, and established churches in A. 'The multitude of believers,' he adds, 'both men and women, lived lives of the most extreme and philosophical asceticism.' The statement of Eusebius about St. Mark, which he introduces with the formula 'they say,' and connects with fanciful legends, has clearly no authority. His description, however, of the character of the early Alexandrian Church is probably correct. During the second and third centuries of our era Alexandria was the intellectual capital of Christendom. In the Alexandrian heretics Basilides and Valentinus, and in the Church Fathers Clement and Origen, we observe how the spirit of Jewish Alexandrian philosophy passed into Christianity. See PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION.

LITERATURE.—Strabo, *Geog.* xvii.; Eusebius, *Præpar, Evang.* 13; *Patr. Gr.* xxi.; *Or. Syb.* iii.; Dähne, *Ges. Darstell. d. Jud.-Alex. Rel.-Philos.*; Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*; Drummond, *Philo-Judæus*; Hausrath, *Times of Apostles.*

J. GIBB.

ALGUM TREES, ALMUG TREES (אַלְגּוּמִּים *'algummim*, 2 Ch 2^{8} 9$^{10.\ 11}$; אַלְמֻגִּים *'almuggim*, 1 K 10$^{11.\ 12}$, LXX. ξύλα πεύκινα; Vulg. *ligna thyina, ligna pinea*).—Celsius (*Hierobot.* i. 173) states that some doubted the identity of the algum and the almug. This doubt, however, is not justified by the transposition of the letters in the two names. Such transposition is extremely common in Heb. proper names (*e.g. Reḥum*, רְחֻם, Neh 12^{3}, is called in v.^{15} of the same chapter *Ḥarim*, חָרִם). We are told that algum trees were brought from Ophir (2 Ch 9^{10}). Almug trees were also brought from Ophir (1 K 10^{11}). These passages are perfectly parallel, and plainly refer to the same tree.

But, in 2 Ch 2^{8}, Solomon instructs Hiram to send 'cedar trees, fir trees, and algum trees (AVm *almuggîm*) out of Lebanon.' Did the term algum in Lebanon signify one tree and in Ophir another? This is possible. Cedar, in Eng., is applied to various species of *Cupressus, Abies, Juniperus,* and *Larix,* as well as to *Cedrus Libani.* Fir, in Eng., is applied to several species of *Abies,* and the Scotch fir is *Pinus sylvestris,* L. Spruce is used in Europe for *Abies excelsa,* L., and in the United States for three species of *Abies: A. Canadensis,* Mich., *A. alba,* Mich., and *A. nigra,* Poir. Instances of this might easily be multiplied. If we accept this supposition, the passage is amply explained. But it affords no clue to the name of the tree growing in Lebanon. If, on the other hand, the tree which Solomon requested Hiram to send was the same as that brought from Ophir, was Lebanon a station for it? This is also possible. We do not know where Ophir was, nor what the tree was. It would be quite rash to say that it could not grow in both localities. The *cedar,* mentioned in the same clause, grows in Lebanon, Amanus, Taurus, the Himalayas, and the Atlas. It is also uncertain what *fir* is alluded to in the passage. There are firs in Lebanon, and also in some, at least, of the localities proposed for Ophir. It is possible that the unknown tree had a range which included Lebanon and Ophir.

The conditions for any candidate for the algum or almug tree, imported from Ophir, are—(1) that it should be a wood of sufficient value to make its importation from so distant a country as Ophir, be it Arabia, India, or the East Coast of Africa, profitable; (2) that it should be suitable for מְסִלּוֹת *terraces* (m. *highways* or *stairs,* more properly a *staircase,* 2 Ch 9^{11}), and מִסְעָד *pillars* (m. *a prop* or *rails,* more properly *balustrade,* 1 K 10^{12}), and for *harps* and *psalteries.* Fifteen different candidates have been proposed, among them *thyine wood, deodar, fir, buḳm* (*Cæsalpina Sappan*). The majority of scholars, following the opinion of certain Rabbis, incline to the *red sandal wood* (*Pterocarpus Santalina,* L.), a native of Coromandel and Ceylon. There is not, however, a particle of direct evidence in its favour. Against it is the fact that it occurs now in commerce only in small billets, unsuitable for staircases, balustrades, or even the construction of harps and psalteries. It is, however, possible that larger sticks might have been cut in ancient times.

In the uncertainty which must ever remain as to the identity of the tree intended, and with the probability that a considerable number of trees which grew in Lebanon are now extinct there owing to denudation of forests, and the possibility that the Lebanon algum may have been a different tree with the same name, it is needless to suggest an interpolation of the passage 'out of Lebanon" (2 Ch 2^{8}).

G. E. POST.

ALIAH (עַלְיָה).—A 'duke' of Edom, 1 Ch 1^{51}= Alvah, Gn 36^{40}.

ALIAN (עַלְיָן).—A descendant of Esau, 1 Ch 1^{40}= Alvan, Gn 36^{23}.

ALIEN.—See FOREIGNER.

ALL.—There are few words in the Eng. Bible the precise meaning of which is so often missed as the word 'all.' The foll. examples need special attention. **1.** When joined to a pers. pron. *all* usually follows the pron. in mod. usage, in early Eng. it often precedes it. Is 53^{6} 'All we like sheep have gone astray'; but Is 64^{6} 'We all do fade as a leaf.' **2.** *All* stands for 'all people' in 1 Ti 4^{15} 'that thy profiting may appear to all.' **3.** Following the Gr. (πᾶς), all is used with a freedom which is denied to it in mod. Eng. In He 7^{7}, 'without all contradiction,' all=any whatever. Cf. Shaks. *Macbeth,* III. ii. 11—

'Things without all remedy
Should be without regard.'

In Col 1^{10} 'unto all pleasing' is a literal tr. of the Gr., and means 'in order to please (God) in every way.' Similarly *all* is used for 'every' in Dt 22^{3} 'In like manner shalt thou do . . . with all (RV 'every') lost thing of thy brother's'; Rev 18^{12} 'all manner of vessels of ivory,' and even without the word 'manner' in the same verse, 'all thyine wood.' **4.** *All* means 'altogether' in 1 K 14^{10} 'till it be all gone'; Nah 3^{1} 'Woe to the bloody city! it is all full of lies.' Cf. Caxton (1483) 'The lady wente oute of her wytte and was al demonyak.' This is the meaning of 'all' in 'All hail,' Mt 28^{9}, literally, 'be altogether whole, or in health.' **5.** *All* appears in some interesting phrases. **All along:** 1 S 28^{20} 'Then Saul fell straightway all along on the earth' (RV 'his full length upon the earth'); Jer 41^{6} 'weeping all along as he went,' *i.e.* throughout the whole way he went; cf. 'I knew that all along,' *i.e.* throughout the whole time. **All in all:** 1 Co 15^{28} 'that God may be all in all' (Gr. πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν, *all things in all* [*persons and*] *things*). Cf. Sir 43^{27} 'He (God) is all' (τὸ πᾶν ἐστιν αὐτός). Different is Shaks. (*Ham.* I. ii. 198)

'Take him for all in all,
I shall not look upon his like again,'

where *all in all* is 'altogether.' **All one:** 1 Co 11^{5} 'that is even all one (RV 'one and the same thing') as if she were shaven'; Job 9^{22} RV 'It is all one' (Heb. אַחַת־הִיא), *i.e.* it is a matter of indifference. **All the whole** occurs in Ps 96^{1} Pr. Bk. 'Sing unto the LORD, all the whole earth' (AV and RV 'all the earth'). This redundancy is found in various forms in old Eng., as 'the whole all,' 'the all whole,' 'all and whole.' **For all**: Jn 21^{11} 'for all (=notwithstanding) there were so many.' Cf. Tindale's tr. of Ac 16^{37} 'for all that we are Romans.' **Once for all**: He 10^{10} (Gr. ἐφάπαξ); this is the only occurrence in AV, and it gives *for all* in ital.; but RV, which omits the italics here, gives the same tr. of this adv. in He 7^{27} 9^{12}, Jude ^{3}, and in marg. of Ro 6^{10}. In 1 Co 15^{6} it is tr. 'at once' in both VSS. **All to brake**: Jg 9^{53} 'And a certain woman cast a piece of a millstone upon Abimelech's head, and all to brake (RV 'and brake') his skull.' This is the most interesting of those phrases in which the word 'all' is found. The meaning is not, 'and all in order to break his skull'; the verb is in the past tense. The 'to' is not the sign of the infin., it goes with the verb, like the Ger. *zer*, to signify asunder, or in pieces. So we find to-burst, to-cut, to-rend, to-rive, etc. 'All' was prefixed to this emphatic verb to give it greater emphasis. Hence 'all to-brake' means 'altogether broke in pieces.' Cf. Tindale's tr. of Mt 7^{6} 'lest they tread them under their feet, and the other turn again, and all to rent you.' Sir T. More says (*Works*, 1557, p. 1224) 'She fel in hand with hym . . . and all to rated him.'

J. HASTINGS.

ALLAMMELECH (אַלַּמֶּלֶךְ).—Perhaps 'King's oak,' a town of Asher probably near Acco (Jos 19^{26}). The site is not known.

ALLAR (B Ἀλλάρ, A Ἀλάρ, AV **Aalar**), 1 Es 5^{36}.—One of the leaders of those Jews who could not show their pedigree as Isr. at the return from captivity under Zerubbabel. The name seems to correspond to Immer in Ezr 2^{59}, Neh 7^{61}, one of the *places* from which these Jews returned. In 1 Es Cherub, Addan, and Immer appear as 'Charaathalan leading them and Allar.'

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

ALLAY, not found in AV, is introduced by RV into Ec 10^{4} 'yielding allayeth (AV 'pacifieth') great offences.' The meaning seems to be that a spirit of conciliation puts an end to offences more completely than a strong arm. Cf. Shaks. 2 *Henry VI*. IV. i. 60, 'allay this thy abortive pride.'

J. HASTINGS.

ALLEGE occurs but twice, Wis 18^{22} 'a$^{\text{ing}}$ (ὑπομνήσας, RV 'bringing to remembrance') the oaths and covenants made with the fathers'; and Ac 17^{3} 'Opening and a$^{\text{ing}}$ that Christ must needs have suffered,' where it has the old meaning of adducing proofs (παρατιθέμενος), like Lat. *allegare*, not the mod. sense of asserting. **Allegiance**, not in AV, is given in RV at 1 Ch 12^{29} as tr. of מִשְׁמֶרֶת 'Kept their a. to (AV 'Kept the ward of') the house of Saul.'

J. HASTINGS.

ALLEGORY.—i. HISTORY OF THE WORD.—The substantive ἀλληγορία, with its verb ἀλληγορεύω, is derived from ἄλλο, *something else*, and ἀγορεύω, *I speak*; and is defined by Heraclitus (Heraclides ?)—probably of the first century A.D.—as follows: *ἄλλα μὲν ἀγορεύων τρόπος ἕτερα δὲ ὧν λέγει σημαίνων ἐπωνύμως ἀλληγορία καλεῖται*: 'The mode of speech which says other things (than the mere letter) and hints at different things from what it expresses, is called appropriately *allegory*' (c. 5). Neither substantive nor verb is found in the LXX; and the verb alone, and that only once (Gal 4^{24}), occurs in the NT. The word, whether substantive or verb, appears to be altogether late Greek. Plutarch (flourished 80–120 A.D.) tells us (*De Aud. Poet.* 19 E) that it was the equivalent in his day for the more old-fashioned ὑπόνοια, the *deeper sense* (or the figure expressing it), which was a special feature in the Stoic philosophy, with its θεραπεία (*treatment, manipulation*); and Cicero had not long before introduced ἀλληγορία, in its Greek form, in two or three passages in his works (*e.g. Orator* 27; *Ad Attic.* ii. 20); while Philo had freely used substantive and verb early in the first century; and the verb is used in Josephus (*Ant.* Procem. 4) of some of the writings of Moses.

ii. DISTINCTIVE MEANING.—The provinces of allegory, type, symbol, parable, fable, metaphor, analogy, mystery, may all trench upon one another; but each has its speciality, and the same thing can only receive the different names as it is viewed from the different points. Allegory differs *essentially* from type in that it is not a premonition of future development, and that there is no necessary historical and real correspondence in the main idea of the original to the new application of it: from symbol, in that it is not a lower grade naturally shadowing forth a higher; from parable, in that it is not a picture of a single compact truth, but a transparency through which the different details are seen as different truths, and in that it is not necessarily ethical in its aim; from fable, in that its lessons are not confined to the sphere of practical worldly prudence; from metaphor, in that its interpretation is not immediate and obvious, but has to be sought out through the medium of verbal or phenomenal parallels; from analogy, because it is not addressed to the reason so much as to the imagination; and from mystery, in that it does not await a new order of things to be specially manifested and truly discerned. All these tropes may indeed be classed under the allegorical or the figurative, so far as they all point to a sense different from that contained in the mere letter. But, conventionally and in practice, allegory has a sphere of its own. In the *non-specific* sense, it has to do with the general relations of life in its external resemblances, one thing being mirrored in another according to outward appearance, so that the appearance of the one can serve as the figure of the other. In other words, the thing put before the eye or ear represents, not itself, but something else *in some way like it*. Thus the fish was early used as an allegory of Christ; it was not, strictly speaking, a symbol, or a type, or a parable, or any of the figures above compared. The resemblance was both far-fetched and outward, being evolved from the several letters of the word ἰχθὺς as the initials of Ἰησοῦς, Χριστός, Θεοῦ, Υἱός, Σωτήρ. Of allegory proper, more or less elaborated, we have within the bounds of the sacred books very little. In the OT may be instanced the allegory of the Vine in the 80th Psalm, and in the NT those of the Door, the Shepherd (Jn 10), and the Vine (Jn 15). In the more confined, the *technical* and *historical* sense, it denoted, especially for Alexandrian Greeks and Jews, the *system of interpretation* by which the most ancient Greek literature, in the one case, and the OT writings (and subsequently the NT), in the other, were assigned their value in proportion as they meant, not what they said, but something else, and could be made the clothing of cosmological, philosophical, moral, or religious ideas. This leads us to the third and final division.

iii. ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION.—The tendency to allegorize has its foundations in human nature. Constantly and unconsciously we read into the creations of other men, as, for example, into a painting or a poem, our own thoughts, conceptions, and emotions, and are scarcely to be persuaded that they were not the original thoughts, conceptions, and emotions of the creator. Or, again, when any literature has so deeply inwrought itself into the hearts and lives of a people as to have become a sacred and inseparable constituent of their nature, and when time has nevertheless so far changed the current of thought as to make that literature apparently inconsistent with the new idea, or inadequate to express it,—then the choice for the people lies between a ruinous breach with what is, by this time, part and parcel of themselves, and, on the other hand, forcing the old language to be a vehicle for the new thought. Hence the tendency to allegory, which is *indigenous* to human nature, becomes, in the absence of historical criticism, also *inevitable*, except to the indifferent iconoclast, if such there be. Allegory proved the safety-valve for Greek, Jew, and Christian. During and, perhaps, owing to the intellectual movement of the fifth century B.C.,—in spite of the severe critical deprecation of Plato, whose mind was set on higher things,—Homer, the 'Bible of the Greeks,' was saved for the educated by allegory; with the stories he told of the gods, if he was not allegorical, he was impious, or they were immoral. Hence, from Anaxagoras onwards, the actions of the Homeric gods and heroes are allegories of the forces of nature; and, in Heraclitus (first century A.D.), the 'story of Ares and Aphrodite and Hephæstus is a picture of iron subdued by fire, and restored to its original hardness by Poseidon, that is, by water.' Or else they are the movements of mental powers and moral virtues; and so, in Cornutus (also first cent. A.D.), when Odysseus filled his ears that he might be deaf to the song of the Sirens, it is an allegory of the righteous filling their senses and powers of mind with divine words and actions that the passions and pleasures which tempt all men on the sea of life might knock at their doors in vain (Hatch, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1888, pp. 62, 64).

But allegorizing was Jewish as well as Greek, and Palestinian as well as Hellenistic. Both sections of Jews used allegory for apologetic purposes, but not with identical aims. The Pal. Jews allegorized the OT, finding a hidden sense in sentences, words, letters, and (in the centuries after Christ) even vowel-points, in order to satisfy their consciences for the non-observance of laws that had become impracticable, or to justify traditional and often trivial increment, or to defend God against apparent inconsistency, or the writers or historical characters against impiety or immorality; or, generally, for homiletical purposes. Thus Akiba (first and second centuries A.D.) claimed to have saved by allegory the *Song of Songs* from rejection. Allegory was a considerable element in the Pal. Haggada (or *interpretation*), and there were definite canons regulating its use. The Hellenistic Jews, whose metropolis of culture was Alexandria, and who, in the neighbourhood of NT times, constituted the majority of Jews, directed their apologetic towards educated Greeks, for philosophical purposes, and allegorized the OT to prove that their sacred books were neither barbarous nor immoral nor impious, that their religion had the same rationale as Greek philosophy, and that Moses had been the teacher, or, at all events, the anticipator, of Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoics. The Hellenistic thinkers desired to be Greek philosophers without ceasing to be Jewish religionists. Thus the Alexandrian Aristobulus (second cent. B.C.), reputed to be the earliest known Hellenistic allegorizer, in his commentary on the Pent. addressed to Ptolemy Philometor, sought (as Clement of Alexandria says) to 'bring Peripatetic philosophy out of Moses and the Prophets.' But the representative Alexandrian allegorizer was Philo (early in first century A.D.): he reduced allegory to a system of his own, with canons similar to those of the Pal. Haggadists, but freely used, and adapted to philosophical ends by means of the Platonic doctrine of ideas. Professing to retain the literal sense as carrying in itself moral teaching, he nevertheless made the allegorical so transcendently significant (as the soul in the body) that both literal and moral were continually overwhelmed: before the writer's determination to extract the allegorical at all costs and in any sense that at the time suited his mood, the facts often disappeared, the narrative was turned upside down, and, in the handling of the characters of OT story, the unities were entirely ignored. So, when it is said that Jacob took a stone for his pillow, what he did, as the archetype of a self-disciplining soul, was to put one of the incorporeal intelligences of that holy ground close to his mind; and, under the pretext of going to sleep, he, in reality, found repose in the intelligence which he had chosen that on it he might lay the burden of his life. Again, Joseph is made, in one aspect, the type of the sensual mind, and, in another, of a conqueror victorious over pleasure.

We find the Alexandrian method employed upon the OT as early as the *Book of Wisdom* and its allegorical interpretation of the manna in the Pent. (16$^{20ff.}$), and of the high priest's robe as the image of the whole world (18^{24}).

The early *Christians* therefore found this current and acknowledged method of interpretation to their hand in the arguments they drew from the OT against the unbelieving Jews; and, in particular, St. Paul and the Paulinists, in their efforts to turn the law itself against the law-worshipping Judaisers. But not till post-apostolic times, culminating in the times of Clement of Alexandria and Origen, does the allegorical method show itself in any luxuriance. The method of Jesus and the speakers and writers in NT is typical rather than allegorical, and Palestinian rather than Alexandrian; and, in any case, is self-restrained and free from the characteristic extravagance of rabbi and philosopher. St. Paul, in his application of the method to the command as to oxen threshing (1 Co 9$^{9f.}$), to the rock (1 Co 10^{4}), and to the veil of Moses (2 Co 3$^{13ff.}$), is both Palestinian and Alexandrian in disregarding the original drift of the passages and incidents, treating it as nothing (1 Co 9^{10}) in comparison with the typico-allegorical interpretation; but he is Pal. in being homiletical in his aim and not philosophical, and in having persons and events in his perspective rather than abstract truth. In Gal 4$^{21ff.}$ he openly affirms that Hagar and Sarah, Ishmael and Isaac, *ἐστὶν ἀλληγορούμενα*, *i.e.* are (1) spoken or written of in the Scriptures allegorically, or (2) interpreted allegorically (with his approval) in his own day; and, in treating them (somewhat after Philo's manner upon the same subject) as representing two different covenants, one of the present and the other of the future Jerusalem, he approximates to the Alexandrian philosophical practice of allegorizing concrete things, persons, and events into abstract ideas: but only approximates; for not only is he clearly historical and typical in his basis, and homiletical in his aim, but, if *συστοιχεῖ* refers (as some think) to the numerical value of the letters according to the Rabbinic Gematria, he is, even here, Palestinian rather than Alexandrian in his method of interpretation. In the *Ep. to the Hebrews* the influence of Philo and Alexandria comes out more definitely. The writer is an 'idealist whose heaven is the home of all transcendental realities, whose earth is full of their symbols, and these are most abundant where earth is most sacred—in the temple (or tabernacle) and worship of his people.' He is Alexandrian in his frequent contrasts between the invisible (11^{1}), imperishable (8^{5} 9^{23} 12^{28}), archetypal world (8^{2}), and the visible (11^{3}), perishable (12^{27}) world of appearance (11^{3}), the imperfect copy (*ὑπόδειγμα*) of the former (9^{23} 8^{5}); or, again, between Judaism as the shadow (*σκία*) and Christianity as the nearest earthly approximation (*εἰκὼν*) to the heavenly substance (*τὰ ἐπουράνια*) (8^{5} 10^{1}); and the allegory of Melchizedek, based not on the historical personage so much as on the nature of the two passing allusions to him, combined with the significance of the great silence elsewhere in the OT as to his birth and descent, as well as of the two names Melchizedek and Salem,—all these together being made the foundation of a logical construction of the person and work of Christ as an embodiment of the preconceived idea,—can hardly be considered without regard to Philo's treatment of Melchizedek as an allegory of his apparently impersonal Logos. And yet, with the expression in the 110th Psalm before us, 'Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek,' we must allow Dr. Westcott a certain margin of justification when he maintains that the treatment of Melchizedek is typical rather than allegorical; though he appears to be too sweeping when he affirms, 'There is no allegory in this epistle.' J. Massie.

ALLEMETH (עַלֶּמֶת), AV **Alemeth**, 1 Ch 6^{60}; **Almon** (עַלְמוֹן), Jos 21^{18}.—A Levitical city of Benjamin. It is noticed with Anathoth, and is the present '*Almît* on the hills N. of Anathoth. *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvii. C. R. Conder.

ALLIANCE.—The attitude of the Israelites to foreign nations varied greatly at different periods in their history. In early times alliances were entered into and treaties concluded without the slightest scruple. Even intermixture with alien races was so far from being tabooed, that it was one of the principal means by which the land west of the Jordan was secured. Thus we are told that Judah married and had children by the daughter of a Canaanite (Gn 38^{2}), the tradition embodying the history of the clan in a personal narrative. Again, the condemnation of Simeon and Levi (Gn 34^{30}) is evidently due to the violation of a treaty previously entered into with Shechem (cf. the story of the Gibeonites, Jos 9^{3}, 2 S 21^{1}).

For the earliest period, then, it may be held that treaties with Canaanitish clans were frequent and general. On the other hand, they played an important part in the internal history of the Hebrews. Israel was by no means at first so homogeneous as is often supposed: the tribes, practically independent of each other, were gradually knit together by circumstances. Common dangers led to common action on the part of two or more of them: the leaders conferred together, or the chief of the strongest clan, or of the one most immediately threatened, assumed the headship, and the way was prepared for a close confederation. The times of the Judges furnish ample evidence of this, and the monarchy had no other foundation. A very curious alliance, and one that proves both the looseness of the Heb. confederacy and the readiness with which relations were entered into with foreigners, is that between David and Achish, king of Gath (1 S 27^{2}). Under it, David was prepared to fight, on behalf of the traditional enemies of his race, against the Benjamite kingdom of Saul. That he did not, was apparently due solely to the suspicions of his fidelity entertained by the lords of the Philistines.

When the monarchy became settled and comparatively powerful under Solomon, treaties with foreigners, in the stricter sense, became frequent. Solomon himself formed an alliance with Hiram, king of Tyre (1 K 5), and it is most probable that some of his marriages, and especially that with the daughter of Pharaoh, cemented a political union. The frequency with which rebels and outlaws sought a refuge in Egypt made such a union desirable. On the other hand, the memorials of the capture of Jerus. by Shishak of Egypt disprove the conjecture that his attack on Rehoboam was made in support of Jeroboam. After the secession of the ten tribes, Israel and Judah both sought foreign assistance against each other. Asa, on being attacked by Baasha, bribed Benhadad of Syria to dissolve the alliance he had previously formed with Israel, and to join him in his war with that country. It was not until the reigns of Jehoshaphat and Ahab that the two countries found themselves in accord, and fought side by side against the heathen. Their union was, of course, purely political: it had nothing to do with religious or sentimental considerations. Ahab could also form, or maintain, an alliance with the king of Phœnicia, and build an altar to Baal as the guardian and avenger of the treaty (1 K 16^{31}). With the entrance of the Assyrians on the scene, a new series of alliances is begun. Jehu's tribute to Shalmaneser was that of a vassal rather than an ally, and Menahem seems to have bribed Tiglath-pileser to aid him against his own subjects (2 K 15^{19}). At this point, however, the prophets begin to inveigh against these alliances (cf. especially Hos 8^{9}, Is 30^{15}), and the national exclusiveness is finally perfected by Ezra and his school. J. Millar.

ALLIED (Neh 13^{4} only) has the special meaning of connected by marriage. So Rob. of Glouc.—

> 'And saide, that it was to hym great prow and honour
> To be in such mariage alied to the emperour.'

J. Hastings.

ALLON.—**1.** (B Ἀλλών, A Ἀδλών, AV **Allom**), 1 Es 5^{34}.—His descendants are the last named among the children of Solomon's servants who returned with Zerubbabel. He may be the same as Ami (אָמִי Ἠμεί), the last named in the parallel list in Ezr 2^{57}, or Amon (אָמוֹן Ἠμείμ), Neh 7^{59}; but the eight preceding names in 1 Es have no parallels in the canonical books, so that the identification is doubtful. Fritzsche conjectures *υἱοὶ ἄλλων*, meaning 'etc.' **2.** A Simeonite prince, 1 Ch 4^{37}. H. St. J. Thackeray.

ALLON BACUTH (אַלּוֹן בָּכוּת, AV **A. Bachuth**, 'oak of weeping'), where Deborah, Rebekah's nurse, was buried, was at Bethel (Gn 35^{8}). See Bethel, Oak. C. R. Conder.

ALLOW.—Two distinct Lat. words, *allaudare*, to praise, approve, and *allocare*, to place (the latter through the French *alouer*), assumed in Eng. the same form 'allow.' Consequently in the five occurrences of this word in AV there are two distinct meanings. **1.** To *approve*: Ro 7^{15} 'For that which I do, I a. not' (Gr. *γινώσκω*, hence RV 'know not'); Ro 14^{22} 'Happy is he that condemneth not himself in that thing which he a^{eth}' (RV 'approveth'); 1 Th 2^{4}; and Lk 11^{48} 'Ye a. the deeds (RV 'consent unto the works') of your fathers.' Cf. Ps 11^{5} Pr. Bk. 'The Lord a^{eth} (AV and RV 'trieth') the righteous.' **2.** To place before one so as to see and admit it, to acknowledge, accept: Ac 24^{15} 'Which they themselves also a.' (Gr. *προσδέχομαι*, RV 'look for,' m. 'accept'). **Allowable** (not in AV or RV) is found in Pref. of AV='worthy of approval.' **Allowance** is also in Pref. AV=approval, and has been introduced by RV at Jer 52^{34} in the mod. sense of 'portion' (AV 'diet'). Cf. 1 Es 1^{7}.

J. Hastings.

ALMIGHTY is used in OT as tr. of שַׁדַּי 48 times (all the occurrences of that word) of wh. 31 are in Job. In NT it is used as tr. of παντοκράτωρ 10 times (all the occurrences of that word), of wh. 9 are in Rev. It is also freq. in Apocr. See GOD.

J. HASTINGS.

AL MODAD (אַלְמוֹדָד), the first-named son of Joktan, Gn 10^{26}, 1 Ch 1^{20}. The context seems to imply that some tribe or district of S. Arabia is meant, but the name has not hitherto been identified with certainty. The first element has been variously explained as the Arab. article (this is perhaps intended by the Massoretic punctuation; so Dillmann on Gn 10^{26}), as the Sem. *El* ('God'; so Halévy), and as the Arab. *âl* ('family'; so Glaser, *Skizze*, ii. 425). The second element seems clearly to be a derivative of the verb *wadd* (to love), of the same stem as the name Wadd, a god of the Minæans and other Arabian races. As a word that can be read *Maudad* is applied in inscriptions to the Gebanites in their relation to the kings of Ma'în, Glaser suggests that the name should be rendered 'the family to whom the office of Maudad,' *i.e.* some priesthood of Wadd, 'was assigned,' and that the tribe should be identified with the Gebanites, whom he places in the S.W. corner of Arabia. Others have supposed the word to be corrupt, and have corrected it *Al-Murad*, the well-known name of a tribe of Yemen.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

ALMON.—See ALLEMETH.

ALMON-DIBLATHAIM (עַלְמֹן־דִּבְלָתָיְמָה, Nu $33^{46.47}$).—A station in the journeyings, prob. identical with Beth-diblathaim, Jer 48^{22}. The meaning of the word Diblathaim is a double cake of figs; its application to a town may indicate the appearance of the place or neighbourhood. Conder suggests 'two discs' with reference to some altar-stone or dolmen (cf. *Heth and Moab*, p. 262).

A. T. CHAPMAN.

ALMOND (שָׁקֵד *shâḳêd*). *Shâḳêd* is, like many names of plants, used for both the plant and its fruit. Thus in Ec 12^{5} and Jer 1^{11}, the reference is to the tree, while in Gn 43^{11}, Ex $25^{33.34}$ $37^{19.20}$, Nu 17^{8}, the reference is to the fruit. The Arab. name for the almond is *lauz*. The same word occurs once in OT (Gn 30^{37}), where it is wrongly translated in AV Hazel. The Heb. equivalent, לוּז, is undoubtedly another name for the almond, probably the more ancient one.

The almond, *Amygdalus communis*, L., belongs to the order Rosaceæ, tribe Amygdaleæ, and is a tree with an oblong or spherical comus, from fifteen to thirty feet high. The branches are somewhat straggling, especially in the wild state. The leaves are lanceolate, serrate, acute, three to four inches long, and most of them fall during the winter. About midwinter the bare tree is suddenly covered with blossoms, an inch to an inch and a half broad. Although the petals are pale pink toward their base, they are usually whitish toward their tips, and the general effect of an almond tree in blossom is white. As there are no leaves on the tree when the blossoms come out, the whole tree appears a mass of white, and the effect of a large number of them, interspersed among the dark-green foliage and golden fruit of the lemon and orange, and the feathery tops of the palms, is to give an indescribable charm to the January and February landscapes in the orchards of the large cities of Pal. and Syria. Soon after blossoming, the delicate petals begin to fall in soft, snowy showers on the ground under and around the trees, and their place is taken by the young fruit; and, at the same time, the young leaves begin to open, and the tree is covered with foliage in March. The young fruit consists of an oblong, flattened, downy pod, which often attains a length of two and a half to three inches, and a thickness of two-thirds of an inch. This pod is called in Arab. *ḳur'aun-el-lauz*, and just before ripening it has a crisp, cucumber-like consistence, and a pleasant acid taste, which are greatly liked by the people. It is hawked about the streets during the months of April and May, and eaten with great relish, especially by children. At this stage the shell of the nut is yet soft, and the kernel juicy, with a slight smack of peach-stone flavour. Very soon, however, the succulent flesh of the outer envelope loses its juice, and dries around the hardening shell, to which it forms a shrunken, leathery envelope. The kernel acquires firmness, and in early summer the nut is ripe. It is then from an inch to an inch and a half long. Almonds are, and always have been, a favourite luxury of the Orientals (Gn 43^{11}). They make a delicious confection of the hulled kernels, by beating them into a paste with sugar in a mortar. This paste, moulded into various shapes, is called *harîset-el-lauz*. The half kernels are spread over several sorts of blancmange, called *maḥallibîyeh*, and *nashawîyeh*, and *mughli*. Almonds are also sugared as with us.

There are several species of wild almond in Pal. and Syria. (1) The wild state of *Amygdalus communis*, L., a stunted tree, with smaller blossoms and pods, and small bitter nuts. Some of the varieties of this have leaves less than an inch long. (2) *A. Orientalis*, Ait., a shrub with spinescent branches, small silvery leaves, and bitter nuts, three-quarters of an inch long. (3) *A. lycioides*, Spach, a shrub with intricate, stiff, spiny branches, linear-lanceolate, green leaves, and a bitter nut half an inch long. (4) *A. spartioides*, Spach, a shrub with few linear-lanceolate leaves, and bitter nuts, a little over half an inch long. All of these share more or less the peculiarities of flowering and fruiting which belong to the cultivated almond.

The Heb. word for almond signifies the 'waker,' in allusion to its being the first tree to wake to life in the winter. The word also contains the signification of 'watching' and 'hastening.' In Jer 1^{11} the word for 'almond tree' is *shâḳêd*, and the word for 'I will hasten' (v.^{12}), *shôḳêd*, from the same root. The almond was the emblem of the divine forwardness in bringing God's promises to pass. A similar instance in the name of another rosaceous plant is the *apricot*, which was named from *præcocia* (*early*) on account of its blossoms appearing early in the spring, and its fruit ripening earlier than its congener the peach (Pliny, xv. 11).

The usual interpretation of Ec 12^{5} 'the almond tree shall flourish,' is that the old man's hair shall turn white like the almond tree. To this Gesenius objects, that the blossom of the almond is pink, not white. He prefers to translate the word for flourish by *spurn* or *reject*, making the old man *reject* the almond because he has no teeth to eat it. But this objection has no force. The pink colour of the almond blossom is very light, usually mainly at the base of the petals, and fades as they open, and the general effect of the tree as seen at a distance is snowy-white. The state of the teeth has already been alluded to (v.^{3}), 'and the grinders cease because they are few,' and 'the sound of the grinding is low.' We may therefore retain the beautiful imagery which brings to mind the silver hair of the aged, and draw from the snowy blossom the promise of the coming fruit.

G. E. POST.

ALMSGIVING.—i. *The History of the Word.*—This is interesting and instructive. The Gr. word ἐλεημοσύνη, from which *alms* is derived, is one of those words which owe their origin to the use of the Gr. language by Jews imbued with the religious and ethical ideas of OT. The LXX (including the

Apocr.) supplies the greatest variety of examples of the senses given to it. In some passages it appears impossible to distinguish its meaning from that of ἔλεος; but ἐλεημοσύνη, as derived from the adj. ἐλεήμων, which describes a merciful man, who is himself as it were a concrete example of mercy, properly denotes the exhibition of the quality, rather than the inward feeling. It is used of God both in the sing. (Is 1^{27} 28^{17}, Sir 17^{29}, Bar 4^{22}) and in plur. [Ps 103 (Sept 102) ^{6}, To 3^{2}]. A deep sense that God's goodness had been and would be proved in deeds, is specially characteristic of revealed religion; and the need for expressing this may, in part at least, have been the motive for coining the unclassical term which we are considering. It is used of men, also, to signify (1) the showing of kindness, the practice of works of mercy (Gn 47^{29}, Pr 19^{22} 20^{28} 21^{21}, Sir 7^{10} etc.); and (2) particular works of mercy (Pr 3^{3}, Dn 4^{24} [Eng. 4^{27}], Sir 35^{2} [Sept. 32^{4}], To $1^{3.16}$ etc.). By the time at least that the books of Sir and To were written, it had come to be a quite specific description of deeds of compassion to the poor. The importance which this class of actions had acquired for religious minds is thus marked by the adoption of a special word to denote them. The LXX, however, does not supply any clear instance of the transference of the word to the actual gifts bestowed.

The LXX employs it as an equivalent not only for חֶסֶד (mercy), but sometimes for words denoting righteousness, צֶדֶק, צְדָקָה, צִדְקָה (Dn 4^{24}). The thought may suggest itself that we have here signs of a tendency to regard A., after the manner of the Talm., as the chief and most typical of the works whereby that righteousness may be acquired which makes man acceptable with God. But this is more than doubtful. It occurs several times where righteousness is predicated of God (Is 1^{27} 28^{17} 59^{16}). In one or more of the following passages, where words for righteousness are tr. in LXX by ἐλεημοσύνη, a human quality may be in view (Ps 33 [Sept. 32]^{5}, Dt 6^{25} 24^{13}, Ps 24 [Sept. 23]^{5}). But in each case a different interpretation, at least of the LXX, is possible. The conception of righteousness in OT is a large one, and not wholly definite. Under one aspect it wears almost the character of mercy. And it may have been from a more or less clear consciousness of this that the renderings just referred to were adopted. Neither in the Apocr. nor in the LXX of the canon. books do there appear to be examples of the use of δικαιοσύνη for 'almsgiving,' though it is true that ἐλεημοσύνη and δικαιοσύνη are coupled at To 2^{14} $12^{8.9}$ in a manner which shows a strong association of ideas between them. We have, however, an indication of this Rabbinic usage in the best supported reading of Mt 6^{1}.

In NT the word is used in Mt and Lk and in Ac, but always in the sense either of A. or of alms—the actual gift (for the latter see Ac $3^{2.3}$).

The Lat. Fathers, from Tertullian and Cyprian onwards, and the Old Lat. and Vulg. VSS employ the word *eleemosyna*, transliterated from the Gr.; only, however, in those cases where they had no exact or convenient Lat. equivalent. From Lat. eccles. usage come the various derivatives in the languages of modern Europe (Eng. *alms*, Fr. *aumône*, Germ. *Almosen*, Ital. *limosina*).

ii. *Jewish Teaching.*—Some consideration of this is necessary, if we would rightly appreciate the teaching of NT on the subject. Evidence of the importance which A. had acquired for religious minds among the Jews of the 2nd or 3rd cent. B.C. has already come before us in the fact that a special name was assigned to this class of actions. They had become one of the common and acknowledged observances of the religious life, a matter to be attended to by the religious man in the same regular and careful manner as prayer and fasting, with which we find A. joined (see To 12^{8}, Sir 7^{10}, and cf. the conduct of the earnest proselyte Cornelius, Ac $10^{2.4}$). It is regarded as a specially efficacious means of making atonement for sin (Sir $3^{14.30}$ 16^{14}), and obtaining divine protection from calamity (Sir 29^{12} 40^{24}, To $14^{10.11}$); the merit thereof is an unfailing possession (Sir 40^{17}); the religious reputation to be won thereby is held out as an inducement to the practice of it (Sir 31 [LXX 34]^{11}).

Such features in the estimate of A. are, if possible, still more marked in the Talm., where צְדָקָה, righteousness, is a recognised name for A. The performance of works of mercy is set forth as a means whereby man may be accounted righteous in the sight of God, like the fulfilment of the commandments of the Law. It is even more meritorious than the latter, because it is not exactly prescribed, but left, as to its extent and amount at least, to the individual. It must not, however, be supposed that all the Rabbinic teaching on A. tends to self-righteousness. It has a better side. The superiority of those deeds of kindness in which personal sympathy is shown, and which involve the taking of trouble, over the mere bestowal of gifts, is clearly insisted on, and there are sayings which strikingly enjoin consideration for the self-respect of the recipients of bounty. (See F. Weber, *System d. altsynagogalen Palästinischen Theologie*, p. 273f., and A. Wünsche, *Neue Beitr. z. Erläut. d. Evang. aus Talmud u. Midrasch*, on Mt 6^{1-4}, Lk 11^{41} 12^{33}.)

iii. *The Teaching of the NT.*—In the Sermon on the Mount (as recorded in Mt), our Lord, after setting forth His New Law as a true fulfilment of the Ancient Law (5^{17-48}), proceeds to treat of certain chief religious observances from a similar point of view (6^{1-18}); and, in full accordance with the Jewish thought of the time, that one which He takes first is A. It may seem strange that He does not more directly correct the erroneous notions of merit and justification which had already become associated, in more or less definite form, with such works; and that He speaks of a divine reward for them without adding any warning against misunderstanding. He contents Himself with requiring purity of motive, indifference to and even avoidance of human praise, and self-forgetfulness. But, in truth, if we learn to test the quality of the motive for, and the manner of performing, each deed, with reference only to the judgment which God will pronounce upon it, that temper of mind, that faith and humility and sense of personal failure and sin, which alone are consistent with the principles of the gospel, will be secured. Another very significant saying of our Lord on A. is given Lk 11^{41}. He there enjoins it as the true means of purifying material objects for our use; it is a counterpart to the ceremonial washings of the Pharisees. Lk 12^{33} is the only other passage in the Gospels where the word ἐλεημοσύνη is used. But liberality in giving is frequently inculcated or commended (Mt 5^{42} 19^{21}, Mk 10^{21}, Lk $6^{30.38}$ 14^{13} 16^{9} 18^{22}). In the Acts the Jewish use of the term is illustrated; it does not occur there in any Christian precept. But that feature of the life of the Christian community at Jerus. in the first days, as there pictured, which has been called communism, is more properly an example of abounding charity.

In Christendom during many centuries the duty of A. (primarily, no doubt, from a desire of obeying the commands of Christ) received great, and sometimes exaggerated, attention. The danger now is rather that, through fear of the ill-effects of indiscriminate A., the disposition to give and the habit of doing so should be discouraged. A practice, however, enjoined as this one is, must permanently hold a high place in the Christian rule of life. It is the function of modern economic and social knowledge only to make its exercise more wise and beneficial. V. H. STANTON.

ALMUG.—See ALGUM.

ALOES, LIGN-ALOES (אֲהָלִים *'ahâlîm*, אֲהָלוֹת *'ahâloth*).—The word Aloes is used four times in the OT and once in the NT. In Nu 24[6] the Heb. word is אֲהָלִים, the LXX *σκηναί*, and the AV *Lign-Aloes=Lignum Aloes.* In Ps 45[8] the Heb. is אֲהָלוֹת, the LXX *στακτή*, and the AV *Aloes.* In Pr 7[17] the Heb. is אֲהָלִים, the LXX *τὸν δὲ οἶκον*, and the AV *Aloes.* In Ca 4[14] the Heb. is אֲהָלוֹת, the LXX *ἀλώθ*, and the AV *Aloes* (RV agrees with AV in all).

It is clear that in the passages in Nu and Pr the LXX has followed a different reading from the MT, and has arbitrarily translated the same word *stacte* in the Ps and *aloth* (*aloe*) in Ca. In face of the practical identity of the words *'ahâlîm* and *'ahâlôth*, it is fair to reject the various capricious renderings of the LXX, and assume that the word has the same meaning in all the four OT passages. In the last three of these passages, and in the NT (Jn 19[39]), the reference is plainly to the aromatic.

Celsius (*Hierobot.* i. 135) argues that this substance is the *Aquilaria Agallocha*, the *Lignum Aloes* or *Aloes Wood* of commerce. This wood was well known to the ancients, and is described under its Arab. name *'ûd* in considerable detail by Avicenna (ii. 231), in brief as follows: 'Wood and woody roots are brought from China and India and Arabia; and some of it is dotted and blackish; and it is aromatic, styptic, and slightly bitter; and it is covered with a leathery bark. The best variety is from Mandalay, and comes from the interior of India. The next best is that which is called Indian, which comes from the mountains; and it has this advantage over the Mandalay variety, that it does not breed maggots. Some persons do not distinguish between the Mandalay and the better kinds of Indian. Among the good kinds of *'ûd* are the Samandury, which comes from China on the borders of India, and the ḳomary from India, and the ḳaḳilly, and the ḳadmury, and of inferior species the Ḥillay and the Mabiṭay, and the Lawâfy and the Rabtâfy. To sum up, the best *'ûd* is that which sinks in water, and that which floats is bad. It is said that the trunks and roots of the *'ûd* are buried until the woody fibre decays, leaving only the aromatic substance.' Avicenna follows this description with a detailed account of the medicinal and other properties of the aloes wood. He alludes to the wood also under the heading Aghâlûji, which is undoubtedly the ἀγάλλοχον of the Greeks, and the Agallochum of the Romans. The substance is now known to the Arabs by the names *'ûd-es-ṣalîb*, *'ûd-en-nadd*, *'ûd-el-bakhûr*, and *el-'ûd-el-ḳomâri.*

The order Aquilariaceæ supplies several trees, which produce commercial aloes wood. The most noted of these is *Aquilaria Agallocha*, Roxb., a native of Northern India, which grows to a height of 120 ft. *Aquilaria secundaria*, of China, produces some of the varieties alluded to by Avicenna. It is a well-known fact that the fragrance of the wood of the species of *Aquilaria* is developed by decay, a process which is hastened by burying the wood, as above alluded to by Avicenna. While we have no positive proof that the aloes wood is the aromatic intended by the Heb. original, there is no good reason why it should not be. The similarity of *'ahâlôth* to ἀγάλλοχον is sufficient to establish a strong probability in its favour, and in the absence of any other probable candidate it may be received with a fair measure of confidence.

It must be understood that the above-mentioned plant has no connexion philologically or botanically with *Excœcaria agallocha*, D.C., of the order of Euphorbiaceæ, an acrid, poisonous, non-aromatic plant. Nor has it anything to do with the officinal *Aloes*, of the order Liliaceæ, a plant not alluded to in the Bible.

There remains the difficulty of the passage in Nu 24[6] 'as gardens by the river's side, as the trees of lign-aloes (אֲהָלִים) which the Lord hath planted, and as cedar trees (אֲרָזִים) beside the waters.' The LXX has rendered the word *σκηναί* as if written אֹהָלִים, which means *tents*; but besides the irregularity and inconsistency of the LXX in the translation of the word in the other passages in the OT, it would be strange that, in a triple parallelism of the intensive and climacteric order, beginning with gardens and ending with the prince of trees, the royal cedar, the word *tents*, instead of a kind of trees, should be interjected. We may dismiss this as wholly improbable.

We have also to remember that the same names may be used for more than one object in nature. This is pointed out in detail in our article on the *Algum.* In the Eng. name *Aloe*, for the plant now under consideration, and for the officinal Aloes, we have an instance of two very different plants, of widely diverse properties, bearing the same name. It is then quite possible that the *tree* of Numbers might be totally different from the *aromatic substance* of the other passages. In Eng. the labiate genus *Melissa* is called *balm. Impatiens* is called *balsam. Populus balsamifera*, L., var. *candicans*, is called *balm of Gilead*, a very different plant from the balm of Gilead of Scripture, and the word *balm* is applied to many diverse substances. There is nothing, however, to prevent the supposition that the tree of Numbers is that which produced the substance of the other passages. It is true that the tree is one of tropical Arabia, India, or China. But Balaam's prophecy was uttered in full view of the tropical valley of the Jordan, where the climate would have made it quite possible to cultivate these trees. There is nothing to forbid the idea that this and other trees not now known in Pal. were cultivated in the then wealthy and populous Jordan Valley. At least twenty-five distinctly tropical wild plants are indigenous in this valley. In describing his bride, Solomon compares her with a garden in which were pomegranates, camphire (henna), spikenard, saffron, calamus, cinnamon, with all kinds of frankincense, myrrh, and all the chief spices (Ca 4[13. 14]). Balaam might have looked over such a plantation when he made his tristich.

On the other hand, it is not necessary to assume that he saw the trees to which he alludes, or that either he or the Israelites were familiar with them. In the climax he mentions the *cedar*, doubtless the cedar of Lebanon. It is unlikely that he had ever seen one. It is certain that the Israelites had not. But it was a well-known tree, and suitable for the comparison. The allusion to the 'cedar trees beside the waters' shows that the picture is ideal and poetical, as cedars grow in dry places on the lofty mountain sides, and never by water-courses. The aloe tree might have been equally well known by reputation, although unfamiliar both to Balaam and the Israelites personally. It is quite certain that the spice trade was very active through the Syrian and Arabian deserts in ancient times, and the spices and aromatics therefore far more familiar to the people of the border lands of Pal. and Syria than now. So that whether the plants of Nu 24[6] and Ca 4[13. 14] were cultivated or not, they were well known, and comparisons based on them well understood. G. E. Post.

ALOFT is found only in 1 Es 8^{92} 'and now is all Israel a.'; RVm '*exalted*,' with a ref. to Dt 28^{13} 'thou shalt be above (same Gr. word in LXX ἐπάνω) only, and thou shalt not be beneath.'

J. Hastings.

ALONG.—In Jg 7^{12} we read 'all the children of the east, lay a. in the valley like grasshoppers (RV "locusts") for multitude,' and in v.^{13} 'the tent lay a.' The same verb (=to fall) is used in Heb., and the Eng. phrase was prob. intended to have the same meaning in both phrases, *andlang* (Ger. *entlang*), at length, all the length. Cf. Jth 13^{2}.

J. Hastings.

ALPHA AND OMEGA.—This phrase is found in Rev 1^{8} 21^{6} 22^{13}. In the first passage it is used of God the Father, in the other two of the Son. In the TR it wrongly appears in Rev 1^{11}. This phrase calls for treatment in two respects: (1) as to its *form*, (2) as to its *meaning*.

1. That the form of the phrase was familiar, or, at all events, easily intelligible from the outset, is clear from later Heb. analogies. But before we touch on these it is worth observing that a kindred idiom is found in contemporary Latin literature. Thus in Martial v. 26 we find:

> Quod alpha dixi, Codre, pænulatorum
> Te nuper, aliqua cum jocarer in charta;
> Si forte bilem movit hic tibi versus,
> Dicas licebit beta me togatorum.

Cf. also ii. 57, and Theodoret, *HE* iv. 8, ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐχρησάμεθα τῷ ἄλφα μέχρι τοῦ ω. Amongst the later Jews the whole extent of a thing was often expressed by the first and last letters of the alphabet. Thus (Schoettgen, *Hor. Heb. in loc.*) את was a name of the Shechinah, because it embraced all the letters. Acc. to the *Jalkut Rub.* fol. 17. 4 Adam transgressed the whole law מא' ועד ת from *aleph* to *tau*: acc. to fol. 48. 4 Abraham observed the whole law from *aleph* to *tau*; and, fol. 128. 3, when God blesses Israel He does it from *aleph* to *tau* (*i.e.* the initial and closing letters of Lv 26^{3-13}, in which the blessings on Israel are pronounced), but when He curses Israel He does so from *vav* to *mem* (see Lv 26^{14-43}). We may therefore reasonably infer that the title 'Alpha and Omega' is a Gr. rendering of a corresponding Heb. expression.

2. The thought conveyed in this title is essentially that of Is 44^{6}, אני ראשון ואני אחרון 'I am the first and I am the last' (cf. 41^{4} 43^{10}). The phrase thus signifies 'the Eternal One.' It is thus expounded by Aretas (see Cramer's *Catenæ Græcæ in NT* on Rev 1^{8}: Ἄλφα διὰ τὸ ἀρχὴν εἶναι, ὅτι καὶ τὸ ἄλφα ἀρχὴ τῶν ἐν γράμματι στοιχείων· ω διὰ τὸ τέλος τῶν αὐτῶν. ἀρχὴν δὲ καὶ τέλος τίς οὐκ ἂν ἐννοήσοι τὸ πρῶτος σημαίνεσθαι καὶ τὸ ἔσχατος; διὰ τοῦ πρῶτος δέ, τὸ ἄναρχος ἐννοεῖται, ὡς καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἐσχάτου τὸ ἀτελεύτητος. In Tertullian, *Monog.* 5, there is the following interesting exposition: Sic et duas Græciæ litteras, summam et ultimam, sibi induit dominus, initii et finis concurrentium in se figuras, uti, quemadmodum A ad Ω usque volvitur et rursus Ω ad A replicatur, ita ostenderet in se esse et initii decursum ad finem et finis recursum ad initium, ut omnis dispositio in eum desinens per quem coepta est, per sermonem scilicet dei qui caro factus est, proinde desinat quemadmodum et coepit.

Cf. also Cyprian, *Testim.* ii. 1, 6, 22; iii. 100; Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* 19. 645; 30. 89; Prudentius, *Cathem.* ix. 10-12.

> Corde natus ex Parentis, ante mundi exordium
> Alpha et Ω cognominatus, Ipse fons et clausula
> Omnium quæ sunt fuerunt quæque post futura sunt.

Although in Rev 1^{8} this title is used of God the Father, it seems to be confined to the Son in Patristic and subsequent literature.

R. H. Charles.

ALPHABET is a word derived from *alpha* and *beta*, the names of the first two letters in Greek, in which they are meaningless, being adaptations of the corresponding Sem. letter-names *aleph*, an ox, and *beth*, a house. This etymology discloses much of the history of the A., which originated among a Sem. people, by whom it was transmitted to the Greeks and by them to the Romans, whose A., with a few trifling modifications, we still use.

It is now known that all the alphabets in the world, some 200 in number, are descended from a primitive Sem. A., usually styled the Phœn. A., or the A. of Israel.

The universal belief, or possibly the tradition of the ancient world, as reported by Plato, Tacitus, Plutarch, and other writers, was that the Phœnicians had obtained the A. from Egypt. This seemed so probable that after the hieroglyphic writing had been recovered and deciphered, repeated attempts were made to show how the transmission might have been effected. This, however, proved to be no easy task. At the time of the Heb. Exodus, the hieroglyphic picture-writing was already a venerable system of vast antiquity. Existing inscriptions make it possible to trace it back to the time of the 2nd dynasty, some 6000 years ago, when it already appears in great perfection, arguing a prolonged period of antecedent development. Setting aside a multitude of ideographic picture-signs, there are about 400 pictorial phonograms, of which 45 had emerged out of the syllabic stage, and had attained a sort of alphabetic character; that is, they either denoted vowels, or were capable of being associated with more than one vowel sound. Of these, 25 were in more universal use than the rest, and it was mainly out of these, as we shall see, that the letters of the A. were developed.

To a French Egyptologist, Emanuel de Rougé, belongs the honour of having discovered the probable method by which the Sem. A. was evolved out of the Egyp. writing. De Rougé pointed out that the immediate prototypes of the Phœn. letters were not to be found, as had been supposed, in the pictorial Hieroglyphs of the monuments, or in the well-known cursive Hieratic of the Middle Empire, but in an older and more deformed Hieratic script which prevailed in the time of the Early Empire,—a form of writing so ancient that it had already fallen into disuse before the Heb. Exodus. This obscure and difficult script is chiefly known to us from a single MS., now in the National Library at Paris. It goes by the name of the Papyrus Prisse, having been presented to the Library by M. Prisse d'Avennes, who obtained it at Thebes, where it was found in a tomb as old as the 11th dynasty. It is therefore older by many centuries than the time of Moses, older than the invasion of the Shepherd kings, and older probably than the date usually assigned to Abraham.

Forty-five of the Egyp. Hieroglyphics had acquired, as we have seen, a semi-alphabetic character, and De Rougé contended that the Hieratic representatives of 21 of the most suitable of these Hieroglyphs were selected, and employed by some Sem. people as the prototypes of the A. they constructed, only one of the 22 letters being due to a non-Egyptian source. These Hieratic characters, traced from the Papyrus Prisse, are given in col. 2 of the table, and the corresponding Hieroglyphs, which face the other way, will be found in col. 1.

The oldest Sem. forms with which we are acquainted are shown in col. 3. In comparing them with their assumed Hieratic prototypes it must be remembered that they are not contem-

EVOLUTION OF THE HEBREW ALPHABETS.

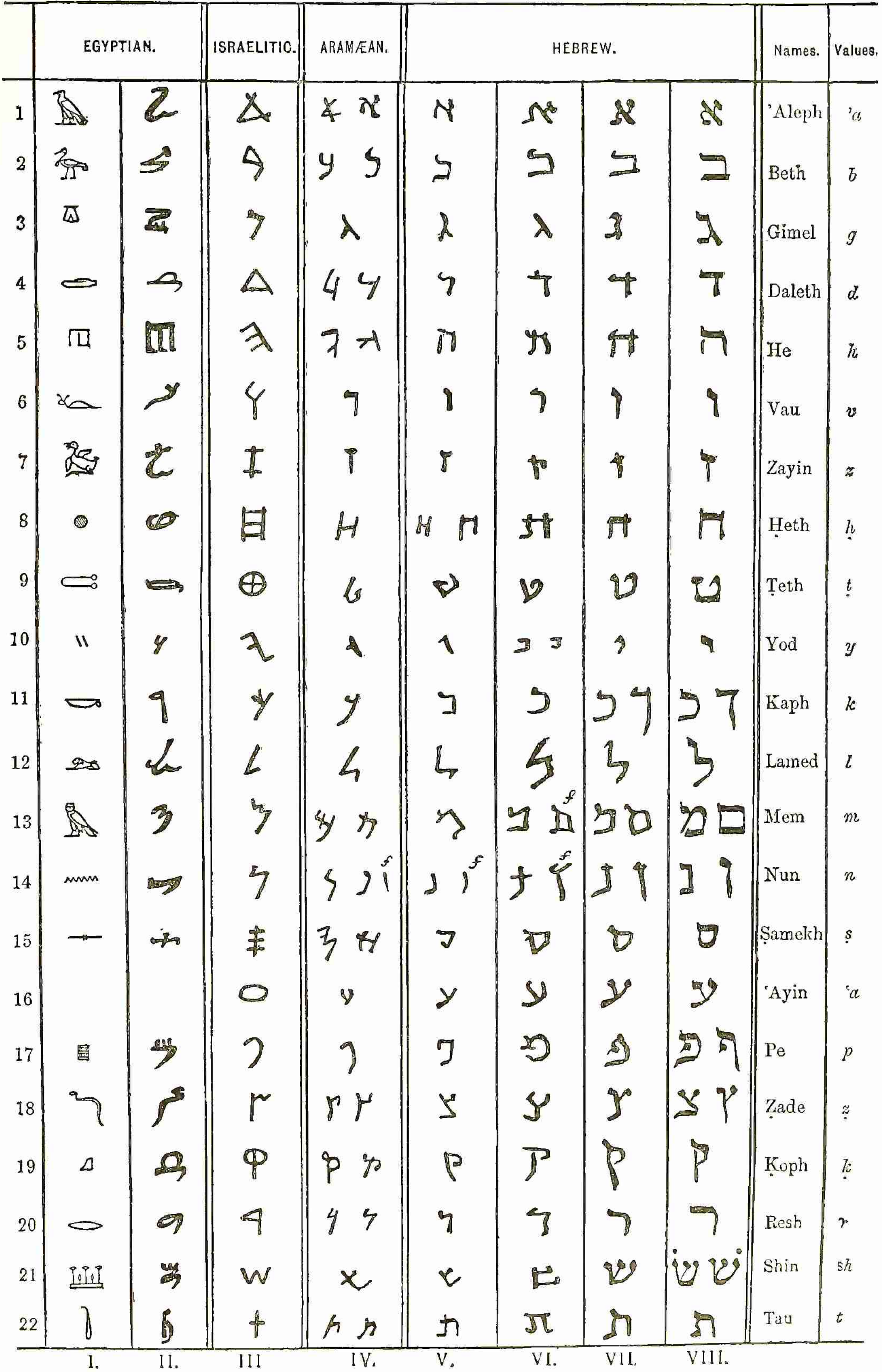
EGYPTIAN.
ISRAELITIC.
ARAMÆAN.
HEBREW.
Names.
Values.
1 'Aleph 'a
2 Beth b
3 Gimel g
4 Daleth d
5 He h
6 Vau v
7 Zayin z
8 Ḥeth ḥ
9 Ṭeth ṭ
10 Yod y
11 Kaph k
12 Lamed l
13 Mem m
14 Nun n
15 Ṣamekh ṣ
16 'Ayin 'a
17 Pe p
18 Ẓade ẓ
19 Ḳoph ḳ
20 Resh r
21 Shin sh
22 Tau t
f
f
f
I.
II.
III
IV.
V.
VI.
VII.
VIII.

EXPLANATION OF THE TABLE.

Col. I. Egyptian Hieroglyphics, facing to the left. Col. II. Hieratic Characters, facing to the right. Col. III. Oldest Israelite or Phœnician Letters, from the Baal Lebanon and Moabite inscriptions (sec. XI. to IX. B.C.). Col. IV. Aramæan, right to left, from the coins of the Satrapies and Egyp. inscriptions and papyri (sec. V. to I. B.C.). Col. V. Oldest Square Hebrew, from inscriptions near Jerusalem (Herodian period). Col. VI. Square Hebrew, from Babylonian bowls (sec. IV. to VII. A.D) Col. VII. Square Hebrew, from Codex Babylonicus at St. Petersburg (916 A.D.). Col. VIII. Modern Square Hebrew.

porary forms, but are separated by at least ten, or more probably by twelve centuries, a period during which considerable differences of form must almost necessarily have arisen, in addition to which the Hieratic forms are cursive, freely traced on papyrus with a brush, while the Sem. letters are lapidary types, engraved with a chisel upon stone or bronze, which would entail differences of form similar to those which exist between our printed capitals A, B, E and the script forms *a, b, c* of our modern handwriting. This alone would account for the alterations in the shapes of such letters as *daleth, ḥeth, resh,* or *mem,* the change from a cursive to a lapidary type causing the characters to become more regular in size and inclination, bold curves being simplified, closed ovals becoming triangles or squares, and the curved sweeping tails becoming straight and rigid lines.

For 21 of the 22 letters of the Sem. alphabet De Rougé has found a prob. Hieratic prototype, in 18 cases taking the normal Egyp. equivalent of the Sem. sound, and in 3 instances only, *aleph, beth,* and *zayin,* having recourse to a less usual homophone. In one case he fails. The peculiar guttural breathing denoted by the Sem. letter *'ayin* did not exist in Egyp. speech. For this letter no Egyp. prototype has been discovered, and it is supposed that it was an invention of the Semites, the symbol O being regarded, as the name suggests, as the picture of an 'eye.' (See No. 16, col. 3.)

How, when, or by whom the Sem. A. was thus evolved from the Egyp. Hieratic it is impossible to say with precision. The possible limits of date are believed to lie between the 23rd and the 17th centuries B.C. It seems probable that the development was effected by some Sem. people who were in commercial intercourse with the Egyptians,—possibly, it has been conjectured, the Semites of S. Arabia, possibly the Hyksos, if these Shepherd kings were Semites, and not, as is now supposed, of Mongolian race, hardly the Hebrews, who seem to be excluded by the limits of date, but most probably a Phœn. trading colony settled on the shores of Lake Menzaleh in the Delta. On the Egyp. monuments they are called Fenekh (Phœnicians), and also Char or Chal, a name used to designate the coast tribes of Syria. The native land of the Char was called Kaft, whence part of the Delta was called Caphtor, or the 'greater Kaft.' If the A. arose in Caphtor it would easily spread to Phœnicia, and then to the kindred and neighbouring races.

The art of writing must, however, have been known to the Hebrews at an early period of their history. Hiram, we are told, wrote a letter to Solomon, and David wrote a letter to Joab. From the lists of the kings and dukes of Edom, preserved in Gn 36 and 1 Ch 1, we gather that the Edomites, at the time when their capital was taken by Joab in the reign of David, possessed state annals, going back to a remote period. The list of the encampments of the Israelites in the Desert, given in Nu 33, cannot have been handed down by oral tradition; while it is the only incorporated document in the Pent. which we are expressly told was written down by Moses, and its geogr. correctness has been curiously confirmed by recent researches. The census of the congregation preserved in Nu 1–4 and 26 is also manifestly a very ancient written record which has been incorporated in the text. All these documents were presumably written in the primitive Sem. A. But the discoveries of the last few years have led scholars to believe that non-alphabetic writing of another kind was used in Pal. long before the Exodus, as early as the reign of Khu-n-Aten, the recent excavations at Lachish and the discoveries at Tel el-Amarna proving that the governors of the Syrian cities corresponded with the Egyp. kings in a cursive form of the Babylonian cuneiform.

The oldest known forms of the Sem. letters are shown in col. 3 of the table, where their names and their approximate phonetic values may also be found.

Thirteen may be represented by letters in our own Alphabet. These are *beth, gimel, daleth, he, zayin, kaph, lamed, mem, nun, ṣamekh, pe, resh,* and *tau,* which correspond to our letters *b, g, d, h, z, k, l, m, n, s, p, r,* and *t.* The other nine letters represent sounds which we do not exactly possess. Of these, two are called 'linguals,' or 'emphatics,' namely, *ṭeth,* a gutturalised *t,* which is called the emphatic dental, and *ẓade,* a gutturalised *s,* called the emphatic sibilant. The letter *ḳoph* was not our *q,* but a *k* formed farther back in the throat, and here represented by *ḳ.* There are also four 'faucal breaths,' *'aleph, he, ḥeth,* and *'ayin,* of which *'aleph,* the lightest, was a slightly explosive consonant, heard in English after the word No! when uttered abruptly, and nearly equivalent to the *spiritus lenis* of the Greeks; *'ayin* was a sound of the same kind, but harder than *'aleph,* approaching a *g* rolled in the throat; *ḥeth,* called the 'fricative faucal,' was a continuous guttural, resembling the *ch* in the Scotch *loch*; and *he* was a fainter sound of the same kind, approaching our *h.* The primitive sound of *shin* was probably that of our *sh,* but was subject to dialectic variation. *Yod* and *vau* were semi-consonants, or rather consonantal vowels, usually equivalent to *y* and *v,* but passing readily into *i* and *u.*

None of the Sem. A.s have possessed symbols for the true vowels, which are now denoted, not by letters, but by diacritical points, a notation essentially non-alphabetic, and not of any great antiquity. The vowels in non-Semitic A.s, such as Greek, Zend, Armenian, Georgian, Sanskrit, and Mongolian, have been developed out of characters representing the Sem. breaths and semi-consonants. Thus the Gr. *alpha,* whence our A, was obtained from *'aleph,* the *spiritus lenis*; *epsilon,* whence our E, is from *he,* an aspirate; *eta* and our H from *ḥeth,* the fricative faucal; *iota* and our I and J from *yod,* a semi-consonant; *omicron* and *omega,* and our O, from *'ayin,* the *spiritus asper*; while *upsilon* and our U, V, W, Y, and F, came from *vau,* a semi-consonant.

Besides the absence of symbols for the vowels, most of the Sem. scripts, Heb., Syr., and Arab., agree in being written from right to left, the direction following the example of the prototype, the Hieratic of the Papyrus Prisse, whereas in the non-Sem. scripts the direction has mostly been changed. The Sem. A.s have also adhered to the primitive 22 letters, none of which have fallen into disuse, any additional notation required being effected by diacritical points, whereas in other scripts new forms have been evolved by differentiation, as in the case of our own letters V, U, W, Y, and F, which are all differentiated forms of the same symbol.

The pictorial character of the Hieroglyphs had disappeared in the Hieratic of the Papyrus Prisse, and hence it is no matter for surprise to find that the Egyp. symbols were renamed by the Semites, on the acrologic principle, by words significant in Sem. speech, the new names being due to a resemblance, real or fanciful, between the form assumed by the letter and some object whose name began with the letter in question, as in our nursery picture-books, in which O is an orange, S a swan, and B a butterfly. Thus the first symbol was no longer *ahom,* the 'eagle,' as in Egyp., but became *'aleph,* the 'ox,' from the resemblance to the front view of the head and horns of that animal; and the 13th, instead of being *mulak,* the 'owl,' became *mem,* the 'waters,' what had been the ears and beak of the owl coming to resemble the undulations of waves (see col. 2 and 3). The Sem. names are sometimes more easily explained by the Egyp. forms of the Papyrus Prisse than by those in the oldest Sem. inscriptions. The Sem. names are usually interpreted as follows: *'aleph* means an 'ox'; *beth* signifies a 'house'; and *gimel*, a 'camel,' the Hieratic form resembling a recumbent camel, with the head, neck, body, tail, and saddle, of which only the head and neck are preserved in the oldest Sem. letter; *daleth* means a 'door,' not a house door, but the curtain forming the entrance to an Eastern tent; *he* signifies a 'window'; *vau* is a nail, peg, or hook for hanging things on; *zayin* probably denotes 'weapons'; *ḥeth*, a fence or 'palisade'; *ṭeth*, from a root meaning curvature, is supposed to have been a picture of a coiled snake; *yod* is the 'hand'; *kaph* the 'palm' of the hand, or the bent hand; *lamed* is an 'ox-goad'; *mem*, the 'waters'; *nun*, a 'fish'; *ṣamekh* is probably a prop or support; *'ayin* is the 'eye'; *pe*, the 'mouth'; *ẓade* is probably a 'javelin,' or perhaps a hook; *ḳoph* is usually supposed to mean a 'knot'; *resh* is the 'head'; *shin*, the 'teeth'; *tau*, a 'cross,' or sign for marking beasts. It will be noticed that six of these names, *gimel*, *he*, *yod*, *nun*, *pe*, and *ṣamekh*, must be very ancient, being most easily explained by reference to the Hieratic forms.

The early history of the A. has to be reconstructed from inscriptions, many of which have only been discovered in recent years. Among the monuments of the older stage of the Phœn. A. the great inscription of Mesha, king of Moab, ranks first in importance. In 1868 Mr. Klein, of the C. M. S., visited the site of Dibon, the ancient capital of the kingdom of Moab. Here he was shown a block of basalt, with an inscription in 34 lines of writing. The interest excited by this discovery, and the rival efforts of the European consuls to secure the treasure, unfortunately aroused the jealousy of the Arabs, by whom the stone was broken into fragments, some forty of which have been recovered, enough to lay the foundation of early Sem. palæography. In this inscription, which must be referred to the middle of the 9th cent. B.C., Mesha, in language closely akin to Bibl. Hebrew, gives an account of the wars between Israel and Moab, narrating more esp. those events in his own reign which took place after the death of Ahab in 853 B.C. The year 850 B.C. has been generally accepted by scholars as an approximate date for the record. Somewhat earlier, though of less historical importance, are some inscribed fragments of bronze vessels, obtained from Cyprus in 1876, which proved to be portions of two bowls containing dedications to Baal Lebanon. They must have been carried off to Cyprus as a part of the spoils from a temple on Lebanon. The writing on one of the bowls proves on palæographical grounds to be nearly of the same date as the Moabite inscription, while that on the other bowl exhibits more archaic forms of several letters, and may probably be older by a century, belonging to the close of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th cent. B.C. It is from these bowls, supplemented by the evidence of the Moabite Stone, that the A. in col. 3 has been constructed.

It is called the Israelitic A. in order to avoid confusion with a much later A., which, having been first known to scholars, usurped the name of the Heb. A. It cannot be too carefully remembered that at successive periods in their history the Hebrews employed two A.s, identical in all essential particulars, but wholly unlike in the external appearance of the letters. From the earliest period of which we possess any knowledge, down to the captivity in Babylon, this Phœn. A., of which the oldest monuments are the Moabite Stone and the Baal Lebanon bowls, must also have been the contemporary A. of the Hebrews. This was ingeniously proved by Gesenius, long before these monuments were discovered. He contended that the earlier books of the OT could not have been written, as was formerly supposed, in what is now known as the Heb. A., since many obvious corruptions in the text could only have arisen from the errors of copyists, who confounded letters which are much alike in the old Phœn., but are quite dissimilar in the square Hebrew. For example, in the list of David's mighty men, recorded in 2 S 23^{29}, we have the name Heleb, which in the parallel passage in 1 Ch 11^{30} appears as Heled. One of these readings is obviously corrupt, and the corruption can only be due to the original record having been written in the older or Phœn. A., in which the letters *beth* and *daleth* differ so slightly as often to be hardly distinguishable, whereas in the later or square Heb. A. the letters ב and ד are unmistakably distinct. Hence, he argued, the record must be prior to the Captivity, when, according to the Rabbinic tradition, the new A. was introduced. When Gesenius wrote, the evidence as to the nature of the older Heb. A. was scanty in the extreme, being limited to a few engraved gems in the Phœn. A., supposed to be Heb. because of their bearing names apparently Jewish. Now, however, all doubts have been set at rest by the accidental discovery in 1880 of the famous Siloam inscription, engraved in a recess of the tunnel which pierces the ridge of Ophel, and brings water from the Pool of the Virgin to the Pool of Siloam. The inscription which records the construction of the tunnel is in six lines of writing, manifestly later in date than the Moabite inscription, though of the same type. On palæographical grounds it has been assigned to the reign of Manasseh, B.C. 685-641, though it is possible that it may be as early as the reign of Hezekiah, and may refer to the conduit constructed by him at the end of the 8th cent., as recorded in 2 K 20^{20} and 2 Ch 32^{30}. This A. is of special interest, as in it most of the writings of the Jewish prophets must have been composed. This older A. lingered long, being employed on the coins of the Maccabees and on those of the Hasmonæan princes. It survives as the sacred script of the few Samaritan families at Nablûs, who still worship in their temple on Mt. Gerizim, and keep the Passover with the ancient rites. With this exception, the old Phœn. A., the parent of all existing A.s, has become extinct.

This earliest type of the Sem. A. gradually passes into another, somewhat more cursive, which goes by the name of the Sidonian, its chief representative being the great inscription on the magnificent basalt sarcophagus of Eshmunazar, king of Sidon, now in the Louvre, which is assigned to the end of the 5th cent. B.C. Out of this Sidonian type was evolved the Aramæan A., which was destined to replace the Phœn. after the decadence of the Phœn. power. The great trade route from the Red Sea and Egypt to Babylon passed through Damascus, Hamath, and Carchemish, and the trade fell into the hands of the Aramæans, the people of N. Syria. Hence, on the political decline of the Phœn. cities, the Aramæan language and A. became the medium of commercial intercourse throughout W. Asia. At Nineveh in the 7th cent. B.C., and at Babylon in the 6th, the Sidonian type begins to be replaced by the Aramæan, whose continuous development may be traced from the 5th to the 1st cent. B.C., first on the coins struck by Persian satraps of Asia Minor, and then by the aid of mortuary inscriptions and papyri from Egypt, which carry on the record after the conquests of Alexander had put an end to the Persian satrapies. An inspection of col. 4 in the table will show that the chief characteristics of the Aramæan A.—due evidently to the free use of the reed pen and papyrus—are a progressive opening of the closed loops of the letters *beth, daleth, ṭeth, 'ayin, ḳoph,* and *resh;* while *he, vau, zayin, ḥeth,* and *tau* tend to lose their distinctive bars. At the same time the script continually becomes more cursive in character, the tails of the letters curving more and more to the left, while the introduction of ligatures led to a distinction between the final and the medial or initial forms of certain letters. These changes, while they made writing easier and more rapid, at the same time made it less legible.

On the return of the Jews from the Bab. exile, the ancient A. of Israel, though retained on the Maccabæan coins, and possibly in copies of the law, was gradually abandoned for the more cursive but far inferior Aramæan, which had become the mercantile script of the W. provinces of Persia. A Jewish tradition, preserved in the Talm., attributed this change to Ezra; but there can be no doubt that both scripts were for a time employed concurrently —the Aramæan by the mercantile classes and the returning exiles, and the older A. by those who, like the Samaritans, had been left behind in the land.

The older Phœn. style had fortunately been transmitted to the Greeks before the Aramæan deformation had taken place. Consequently the Rom. A. which we have inherited, being a Western form of the Greek A., has retained in such letters as B, D, O, Q, R, E, F, H those loops and bars whose disappearance in the Heb., Syr., Arab., and other A.s descended from the Aramæan, has contributed to make them so illegible. Our own capitals are, in fact, much nearer to the primitive Phœn. or Isr. A. than any of the existing Sem. A.s, and it is to this retention of the archaic forms that they owe their excellence and general superiority. The closed loop of D and R and the upper loop of B reproduce the closed triangles of the earlier Sem. script, which were lost by the Aramæan deformation, and are consequently much superior to the formless shapes ר ד ב which we have in modern Hebrew.

When the Seleucidan empire had come to a close, the Aramæan broke up into national scripts, the A. of Eastern Syria developing at Bozra, Petra, and the Hauran into the Nabatæan, which was the parent of Arabic, while the Aramæan of N. Syria developed at Edessa into Syriac, and that of S. Syria, at Jerus. and Bab., into what is called Hebrew. The early form of square Heb. used at Jerus. in the time of our Lord, with which He must Himself have been familiar, and in which probably the roll was written which He read in the synagogue (Lk 4^{17}), is given in col. 5 of the table. This A. has been obtained from monuments of the Herodian period found in Galilee or at Jerus., all of which must be anterior to the siege by Titus. These inscriptions are chiefly from tombs; but one of them, of special interest, is a fragment of one of the notices, enjoining silence and reverent behaviour, set up, as we learn from Josephus, when the temple was rebuilt by Herod.

The materials for the history of the Heb. A. during the period of the dispersion, from the 1st cent. to the 10th, when it practically assumed its present form, have been gathered from regions curiously remote. Some are from the Jewish Catacombs at Rome, many from the Crimea, others from the Jewish cemeteries at Vienne, Arles, and Narbonne in Gaul, at Tortosa in Spain, Venosa in Italy, from Prag, Aden, Tiflis, and Derbend, and, not least in importance, the writing on some cabalistic bowls found at Babylon, dating from the 4th to the 7th cent. A.D. (see col. 6). The earliest existing codex, the A. of which is given in col. 7, dates from the beginning of the 10th cent., when the letters had practically assumed their modern forms though not their modern aspect, the useless ornamental apices in our printed books (col. 8) being due to the schools of Heb. caligraphy which arose in the 12th cent. The square Heb. of our printed Bibles is thus one of the most modern of existing A.s, and was not, as was formerly believed, the most ancient of all. The forms of these letters are thus neither legible nor venerable. Their adoption was almost a matter of accident. There were two styles, the Spanish and the German, and the latter was used in the Münster printed Bible, the types being imitated from those in MSS. then in fashion. The result is that our eyes are fatigued with the fantastic and vicious caligraphy of the 14th cent., a period when the odious black letter was developed out of the beautiful Caroline minuscule, to which in our printed books we have now fortunately reverted. So in Heb. it would have been much better to have reverted to the far superior forms of earlier times, such, for instance, as those in use in the 8th cent. The earlier forms are better, because the letters are free from useless ornamental flourishes which are so trying to the eyes of students and compositors, and are more legible and more distinct. As in the case of our own vicious black letter, some characters are assimilated so as to be difficult to distinguish—in particular ב *beth,* כ *kaph*; נ *nun,* ג *gimel*; ד *daleth,* ר *resh*; ך *kaph* final, ן *nun* final; ו *vau,* ז *zayin*; or of ס *ṣamekh,* and ם *mem* final; while ח ה and ת stand for *ḥ, h,* and *t.*

Six of the Heb. letters gradually acquired an alternative softer aspirated sound, and the harder primitive sounds are now denoted by an internal point (*Dagesh lene*) בּ גּ דּ כּ פּ תּ, representing the sounds *b, g, d, k, p, t,* the same forms without the *Dagesh,* or with a superscript line called *Raphe,* standing for *bh, gh, dh, kh, ph, th.* The letter *shin* also split up into two sounds, distinguished by diacritical points, שׂ approaching the sound of our *s,* and שׁ that of our *sh.*

The vowel points are late and of little authority. The Greek transliterations of Heb. names in the Sept. and in Josephus suffice to prove that there were no vowel points in the copies of the Heb. Scriptures then in use, and as late as the time of St. Jerome the Heb. vocalisation was only known by oral teaching. The Heb. points were suggested by those which had been introduced into Syriac in the 5th and 6th cent. A.D. They merely represent the traditional pronunciation used in the synagogues of Tiberias in the 7th cent. A.D. (See art. LANGUAGE OF OT.) ISAAC TAYLOR.

ALPHÆUS, Ἀλφαῖος (Westcott and Hort, *Introd.* § 408, assuming that the name is a transliteration of the Aramaic חַלְפַי, write it with the rough breathing, Ἁλφαῖος), occurs four times in the Gospels and once in Acts. As thus used it is the name of two different men.

1. The father of the Apostle Matthew or Levi (Mk 2^{14}), not elsewhere named or otherwise known.

2. All the other references are evidently to another man (Mt 10^{3}, Mk 3^{18}, Lk 6^{15}, Ac 1^{13}), who is represented as father of James the apostle, second of that name in the list.

A considerable controversy has long been carried on as to whether this A. may be identified with the Clopas of Jn 19^{25} and the Cleopas of Lk 24^{18}. This question has been of special interest as involved in the discussion regarding James and the Brethren of the Lord (wh. see). Ewald boldly assumes that the Clopas of John and the Cleopas of Luke are one, but maintains that the identification with Alphæus is an unreasonable confounding of a purely Greek with a purely Hebrew name (*Hist. of Israel,* vi. 305, note 4). Meyer affirms the identity of the

Clopas of John with the Aramaic חַלְפַי, the Alphæus of the Synoptics. And Alford (on Mt 10^3) regards the two Greek names as simply two different ways of expressing the Hebrew name חַלְפַי. It seems better to distinguish the Cleopas of Luke from the Clopas of John. It is quite evident that Cleopas is simply a shortened form of Cleopater (*Κλεόπατρος*), like Antipas for Antipater. Lightfoot, indeed, while admitting this, still favours the identification of the two names. On the other hand, Clopas may with the highest probability be regarded as a simple transliteration of the Aramaic Ḥalphai. Clopas (as in the Greek text and RV, not Cleopas as in the AV) is represented in Jn 19^{25} as the husband of one of the Marys who stood beside the cross. If we assume that four women are there referred to, there is no indication of any relationship between the wife of Clopas and the mother of Jesus. The synoptic passages, however, all mention among the women at the cross this same Mary as the mother of James. There is no reason for supposing that this James, son of Mary, is any other than James the son of Alphæus. But the assumption that Clopas was husband of Mary and brother of Joseph, and the usual assumption that Mary was the sister of our Lord's mother, are equally groundless, and have no support whatever from any statement in our Gospels. There seems no reason for supposing that James the little and James the brother of the Lord are one and the same person. Eusebius, indeed, mentions, on the authority of Hegesippus, that Symeon, who succeeded James in the bishopric of Jerusalem, was son of Clopas the brother of Joseph; but Symeon is evidently regarded, not as a brother, but only as a relative, probably a cousin, of his predecessor James.

LITERATURE.—Besides the works referred to in the text, see Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 10th ed. London, 1890, p. 267; Mayor, *The Epistle of St. James*, 1892, p. xvi f. See also an interesting and clever but perverse note in Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, iii. 276.

J. MACPHERSON.

ALTAR.—i. ALTAR is the invariable rendering in the OT of מִזְבֵּחַ* (Aram. מַדְבַּח Ezr 7^{17}), and in the NT of *θυσιαστήριον*. In AV it also occurs as the rendering of הַרְאֵל (Ezk 43^{15a}), RV 'upper a.', and of אֲרִיאֵל (Ezk $43^{15b.\,16}$ — Kethib אראיל), RV 'a. hearth.' In the NT *βωμός* is found *once* (Ac 17^{23}) in the sense of a heathen a. This distinction is very clearly brought out in 1 Mac 1^{59} 'they did sacrifice upon the idol altar (*ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν*) which was upon the altar of God (*τ. θυσιαστηρίου*).' Similarly the Vulg. and early Lat. Fathers avoid the use of *ara*, preferring *altaria* and *altare*. Another designation is met with, viz. שֻׁלְחָן, prop. 'table,' Ezk 41^{22} 44^{16}, Mal $1^{7.\,12}$. It would also seem that the appellation בָּמָה, prop. 'high place,' may in some cases be used to express 'a.,' as Jer 7^{31} (LXX *τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ Τάφεθ*), 2 K 23^8 (but here text is doubtful), etc. לְבֵנִים Is 65^3 is wrongly rendered in AV 'a^s of brick'; RV 'upon the bricks.' In one or two places in the OT מִזְבֵּחַ of the present MT seems an alteration from an original מַצֵּבָה. So clearly Gn 33^{20}, and most probably 2 K 12^{10}. On the other hand, מזבח should perhaps be restored in 2 K 10^{26} (Stade in *ZATW*. v. pp. 278, 289 f.).

ii. ALTARS IN PREHISTORIC TIMES.—According to the primitive conceptions of the nomad Semites, the presence of a deity was implied in every spot that attracted them by its water or shade, and in every imposing landmark that guided them in their wanderings. Every well and grove, every mountain and rock, had its presiding deity. The humble offering of the worshipper could be cast into the well, exposed upon the rock, or hung upon the sacred tree. It was thus brought into immediate contact with the *numen* therein residing. A great step in advance was taken when it was conceived that the deity could not only reside in such objects of nature's own creation as those above specified, but could be persuaded 'to come and take for his embodiment a structure set up for him by the worshipper' (W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.* p. 189). The consideration of this all-important advance belongs elsewhere; it is sufficient to note here that recent researches, esp. those of Wellhausen and W. R. Smith, have abundantly proved that the heathen Semite regarded the stone or cairn which he had himself erected, as a dwelling-place of a deity, a Beth-el (בֵּית־אֵל, cf. Gn 28^{18}; for the significance of this passage, see PILLAR), a name which passed, through the Phœnicians as intermediaries, to the Greeks (*βαιτύλιον*) and Romans (*bætulus*). Such a stone was termed by the Arabs, in the days before Islam, *nuṣb* (pl. *anṣāb*), a word identical in origin and signification with the Heb. מַצֵּבָה (AV 'pillar'). Beside it the victim was slaughtered; the blood was either poured over the stone, or with part of it the stone was smeared, while the rest was poured out at its base, the essential idea in this primitive rite being that in this way the blood was brought into immediate contact with the deity who, for the time being, had taken up his abode in the stone.

Now there can be no doubt that the same primitive ideas were shared by the ancestors of the Hebrews. Among them, too, the *nuṣb* or *mazzeba* must have been the prototype of the sacrificial a. 'The rude Arabian usage is the primitive type out of which all the elaborate a. ceremonies of the more cultivated Semites grew' (*Rel. of Sem.* 1st ed. p. 184. See also SACRIFICE). Even in hist. times we find among the Hebrews a survival of the primitive ritual above described. In the narrative of the battle of Michmash, Saul is shocked at the unseemly haste of his warriors in eating flesh 'with the blood,' and orders a great stone to be brought at which the beasts might be duly slain and their blood poured out at the extemporised altar.

The next important step, the advance from the a. as a sacred stone to receive the blood of the victim to the a. as a hearth on which the flesh of the victim was burned in whole or in part, belongs to the history of SACRIFICE (which see, and cf. Smith, *Rel. Sem.* p. 358 ff.).

If the above is a correct account of the evolution of the a. among the western Semites, the differentiation of pillar and a. must, as regards the inhabitants of Pal., have taken place in the prehistoric period. This seems the obvious conclusion from the existence, even at the present day, of immense numbers of megalithic monuments, the so-called menhirs and dolmens. These characteristic remains of antiquity, so numerous in Moab and in the W. Hauran, must undoubtedly have played an important part in the religious rites of those who reared them, and whom, for the present, we may assume to have been of a Sem. stock. The 'cup-hollows" on the table-stone of the dolmens, connected in many cases by a network of channels, must have been destined to receive the blood of the victim.*

iii. PRE-DEUTERONOMIC ALTARS. — A very marked distinction, as is well known, exists between the attitude to sacrifice of the prophetic and priestly narratives respectively in our present Pent. The latter (P) limits sacrifice to the great central a.,† while the former (JE) relates numerous instances of sacrifice being offered and a^s erected from the earliest times, and in many different places. Noah is represented as building an a. on quitting the ark (Gn 8^{20}); Abraham erected several, viz. at Shechem (12^7), Bethel (12^8), Hebron (13^{18}), and on a special occasion in 'the land of Moriah' (22^9). Isaac (26^{25}) and Jacob (35^7) do likewise. Even Moses, according to this source, erects an altar at Rephidim (Ex 17^{15}), and another, accompanied by twelve pillars (מַצֵּבוֹת), at Horeb (24^4). JE therefore clearly knows nothing in its narrative parts of the exclusive legitimacy of a central a. With this position the law-code which it contains, the so-called Book of the Covenant (see Driver, *LOT* 28 ff.), is in complete accord. In the *locus classicus* (Ex 20^{24}) a plurality of a^s is clearly sanctioned: '*in every place* (RV) where I record My name, I will come unto thee, and I will bless thee.' And the same holds good throughout the history of the Hebrews until the time of Josiah. Again and again do we find a^s built, up and down the country, either by the recognised religious leaders themselves, or with their express sanction. Thus, to mention but a few, Joshua builds an a. on Mt. Ebal (Jos 8^{30}) in accordance with the injunction of Moses himself (Dt 27^6), Gideon at Ophrah (Jg 6^{24}), and Samuel at Ramah (1 S 7^{17}). Saul, we have already seen, extemporised an a. at Michmash, which the historian informs us was the *first* that Saul built, implying that this monarch had the merit of erecting several. David erected an a., by express divine command, 'in the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite' (2 S $24^{18.25}$). Elijah, too, complains of the destruction of the altars of J″ as an act of sacrilege (1 K $19^{10.14}$), and had, but a little before, repaired, with his own hand, the a. of the Lord upon Mt. Carmel. These examples are sufficient to show that in pre-Deut. Israel a plurality of a^s was regarded as a matter of course, there being not the slightest hint of disapproval on the part of the narrators, or of any idea in the minds of the actors in the history that they were guilty of the violation of any divine command.

---

* Lit. 'place of slaughter.'

* See Conder's report on the dolmen-fields of Moab in *P.E.F. Qu. St.* 1882, p. 75 ff.; also in *Heth and Moab*, chs. vii. and viii.; *Syr. Stone Lore*, pp. 42, 43, 70. Another rich field has been described by Schumacher, *The Jaulan*, p. 123 ff.; *Across Jordan*, p. 62 ff. Cf. Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, iv. p. 375 ff.

† The difficult section (Jos $22^{10\text{-}34}$) seems best explained as an endeavour to reduce a narrative originally written from the standpoint of JE to an apparent harmony with the fundamental postulate of P.

From the oldest hist. records of the Hebrews, therefore, it is evident that local sanctuaries abounded throughout the country (see HIGH PLACE, and esp. 1 Sam. *passim*), the most essential feature of which was undoubtedly the a. on which sacrifice was offered to the national God, J″. Of the form of these pre-Deut. altars we have no precise information. No doubt, as wealth and culture increased, the a^s, esp. at Bethel and the other great sanctuaries, would become more and more elaborate; but in more primitive times they were simple in the extreme. A heap of earth, either by itself (2 K 5^{17}) or with a casing of turf (see Dillmann on Ex 20^{24}), a few stones piled upon each other, are all that was required. *Simplicity* is the dominant note of the law in the fundamental passage, Ex $20^{24ff.}$. It is there enjoined, moreover, that no tool shall be lifted to hew or dress the stone (cf. Dt 27^5, Jos 8^{31}, 1 Mac 4^{47}). In this many modern investigators have seen a survival of the primitive idea, already explained, of a *numen* inhabiting the altar-stone, who would be driven out or perhaps injured by the process of dressing (Nowack, *Archäol.* ii. 17; Benzinger, *Archäol.* 379). Another injunction, that the worshipper (for the command is not addressed to the priests) should not ascend by steps (*loc. cit.*), is also a plea for simplicity. The a. must not be of such a height as to prevent the worshipper standing on the ground from manipulating his offering.* The evasion of the injunction by a sloping ascent was an afterthought.

To what extent the still existing dolmens (see above) may have been used as a^s in this period it is impossible to say. In the older narratives, however, there are not a few instances of the earlier usage of a single stone (1 S 6^{14}—v.^{15} is a later insertion—14^{33}) or of the native rock as an a. (Jg 6^{20} and esp. $13^{19.20}$ where הַצּוּר v.^{19} is identified with הַמִּזְבֵּחַ v.^{20}). The site of David's a., we can scarcely doubt, was the *Sakhrah* rock, now enclosed in the so-called mosque of Omar. The 'stone Zoheleth which is by En-Rogel' was also an ancient altar-stone (1 K 1^9). Solomon, finally, at the dedication of the temple, is said to have converted the 'middle of the court' into a huge a. (1 K 8^{64}). For Solomon's brazen a., see TEMPLE.* This a. was removed by Ahaz (2 K 16^{10-16}) to make way for the *stone* a. (note בָּנָה v.^{11}) which he caused to be built after the model of the great a. of Damascus (הַמִּזְבֵּחַ, cf. v.^{10} in RV). Ahaz' a., rather than the brazen a. of Solomon, was in its turn the model for the a. of Ezekiel (cf. 43^{13-17}).

Of the other a^s made by Ahaz we know nothing, nor of those set up by later kings (2 K 23^{12} *loc. cit.*). As to the a. to Baal which Ahab erected in Samaria (1 K 16^{32}), we may assume that it resembled the a^s erected by his Phœn. neighbours to the same deity (cf. Perrot et Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiq.* iii. fig. 192 and *passim*).

iv. POST-DEUTERONOMIC ALTARS.—The sanctuaries and a^s, sanctioned, as we have seen, by the oldest law-code, ceased to be legitimate on the adoption of the code of Deut. (Dt 12 ff.). The centralisation of the cultus, which was the chief aim of the Deut. legislation, seems to have been attempted under Hezekiah (2 K 18^{22}), but it must be admitted that the complete abandonment of the local *bāmōth* was never *un fait accompli* until after the discipline of the Exile (1 K 22^{43}, 2 K 15^{35}). In theory, however, the a^s, whether 'upon the hills and under every green tree,' or at places which had been seats of worship since the conquest, were no longer legitimate; for sacrifice, as now for the first time officially distinguished from slaughter (Dt 12^{15}), could only be offered with acceptance on the a. of the central sanctuary at Jerusalem. It is not impossible that, as Conder has suggested (see ref. above), it is to the reforming zeal of Josiah that we owe the fact that not a single dolmen has been met with in S. Pal. (cf. Cheyne, *Jeremiah*, p. 60). The history of the a., therefore, from this time forward is merged in the history of the temple. It must suffice here to note that, as soon as practicable, the returned exiles built the a. on its former site (Ezr 3^2), which a. continued in use until its desecration by Antiochus Epiphanes (1 Mac 1^{54}). Having by this act of sacrilege been rendered unfit for further use, it was taken down and another built in its stead (1 Mac $4^{44ff.}$). The a. of Herod's temple was the last built on Jewish soil. According to Jos. (*Wars*, V. v. 6) it was built, in harmony with the ancient prescription, of unhewn stones. One other a. meets us in the history of the Jews; this is the a. erected by Onias IV. in his temple at Leontopolis in Egypt (Jos. *Wars*, VII. x. 3; *Ant.* XIII. iii. 31), founding on a mistaken interpretation of Is 19^{19}.

The a. of burnt-offering and the a. of incense, which play so important a part in the ritual legislation of the Priests' Code (P), will be discussed in detail in the article TABERNACLE. See also TEMPLE.

v. THE ALTAR AS ASYLUM.—An important function of the a. among the Hebrews remains to be noticed. The earliest legislation presupposes and confirms the sanctity of the a. as an asylum. The right of asylum, however, is there limited to cases of accidental homicide (Ex $21^{13.14}$). This use of the a., which is not confined to the Sem. peoples, is also a survival of the primitive idea of the a. as the temporary abode of a deity. In clasping the a., the fugitive was placing himself under the immediate protection of the deity in question. In this connexion, as well as in regard to an important part of the fully-developed a. ritual (cf. Lv $4^{7ff.}$), the **horns** of the a. are esteemed the most sacred part of the whole. It is difficult, however, to see how these could have formed part of the more ancient a. as prescribed in the Book of the Covenant (see above); yet their presence is amply attested in later times (cf. Am 3^{14}, Jer 17^{1}, and the incidents recorded in 1 K $1^{50f.}$ 2^{28}). The origin and primary significance of the horns are still obscure. Most recent writers seek to trace a connexion between them and the worship of J″ in the form of a young bull (Kuenen, *Rel. of Isr.* i. 326; Stade, Benzinger, Nowack). In any case they are not to be regarded as mere appendages, but as an integral part of the a. (see Dillmann on Ex 27^{2}). The view that they were originally projections to which the victims were bound, has no better support than the corrupt passage, Ps 118^{27} (for which see Comm.). The comparison of the 'horns' of the Heb. with those of the Greek a. (*εὐκέραος βωμός*) seems misleading, since the latter rather resembled the volutes of the Ionic capital (cf. art. *ara* in Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire etc.*, figs. 410, 418, 422). The famous stele of Teima, on the other hand, shows the 'horns' rising from the corners of the a., and curved like those of an ox (see Perrot et Chipiez, *op. cit.* tome iv. p. 392, Eng. tr. [see below] vol. i. p. 304).

---

* Cf. the early narrative 1 K $2^{28ff.}$ where Joab is represented as grasping the horns of the a. (see below, v.), and at the same time standing by the side of the a. Also 2 K 5^{17} '*two* mules' burden.'

* W. R. Smith's view, that 'it is very doubtful whether there was in the first temple any other brazen a. than the two brazen pillars, Jachin and Boaz,' is not supported by sufficient evidence. It is, besides, difficult to see why only one of the two pillars should have had, on this theory, the functions of an a. assigned to it (*Rel. Sem.* i. pp. 358–359, and Note L, 466 ff.).

LITERATURE.—Of the earlier literature the standard work is John Spencer's *De legibus Heb. ritualibus*, etc. 1685. Of the modern works the most important are the works on Hebrew antiquities by De Wette, Ewald (Eng. tr. 1876), Nowack (*Hebräische Archäologie*, 1894, Band ii. Sacralalterthümer, § 73 ff.), and Benzinger (*Heb. Archäologie*, 1894, § 52, Die altisrael. Heiligthümer, etc.), and the more general treatises of Wellhausen (*Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iii., *Reste arab. Heidenthums*, 1887), and, in particular, W. R. Smith's *Religion of the Semites*, 1889 (2nd ed. 1895). The student should also consult the standard work of Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, tome iii. *Phénicie*, iv. *Judée*, etc. (Eng. tr. *Hist. of Art in Phœnicia*, 2 vols. 1885, *Hist. of A. in Judea etc.*, 2 vols. 1890).

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

AL-TASHHETH (אַל־תַּשְׁחֵת, AV **Al-taschith**), Pss 57. 58. 59. 65 (titles). See PSALMS.

ALTOGETHER is now only an adv., but was at first an adj., being simply a stronger 'all.' As an adj. it is found in Ps 39^{5} 'Verily every man at his best state is a. vanity'; Is 10^{8} 'Are not my princes a. (RV 'all of them') kings,' and perhaps Nu 16^{13}. Of its use as an adv. noticeable examples are Jer 30^{11}, where 'I will not leave thee a. unpunished' is given in RV 'I will in no wise leave thee unpunished'; Ac 26^{29}, where 'both almost and a.' is in RV 'whether with little or with much' after the Gr.; and 1 Co 5^{10}, where 'not a.' (Gr. *οὐ πάντως*) is taken by commentators in two directly opp. senses, either 'not wholly,' or 'not at all'; RV gives the first in text, the second in marg.

J. HASTINGS.

ALUSH (אָלוּשׁ).—A station in the journeyings, occurs only Nu $33^{13.14}$. (See SINAI.)

ALVAN (עַלְוָן).—Son of Shobal, a Horite (Gn 36^{23}). The name appears in 1 Ch 1^{40} as Alian (עַלְיָן). It is clearly the same as **Alvah** (עַלְוָה) in Gn 36^{40}, which appears in 1 Ch 1^{51} as Aliah (עַלְיָה), one of the 'dukes' of Edom. Knobel compares the name with that of a Bedawin clan *Aluwîn*, said by Burckhardt to be dwelling north of the Gulf of Akabah. See Dillm. *in loc.*

H. E. RYLE.

ALWAY, ALWAYS.—Alway (*i.e.* 'all the way') is originally the accus. of duration, 'all the time'; while always is the genit. of occurrence, 'at all times.' And although by 1611 this distinction was vanishing, there are some undoubted instances in AV. Cf. Mt 28^{20} 'Lo, I am with you alway,' with Ro 1^{9} 'I make mention of you always in my prayers.' RV gives alway for always at Ac 24^{16}, 2 Th 1^{3}; and always for alway at Col 4^{6} apparently capriciously, for these changes obliterate the distinction noticed above. When the distinction was lost, always drove alway out of use.

J. HASTINGS.

AMAD (עַמְעָד), Jos 19^{26} only.—A city of Asher. The site is doubtful; there are several ruins called *'Amûd* in this region.

AMADATHUS, Ad. Est 12^{6} $16^{10.17}$. See HAMMEDATHA.

AMAIN only in 2 Mac 12^{22} 'the enemies . . . fled a.' (so RV, Gr. *εἰς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν*). The meaning is 'at once, precipitately.'

AMAL (עָמָל).—A descendant of Asher, 1 Ch 7^{35}. See GENEALOGY.

AMALEK, AMALEKITES (עֲמָלֵק, עֲמָלֵקִי).—A nomadic Arabian tribe, occupying the wide desert region between Sinai on the south and the southern borders of Palestine on the north. This district corresponds to what is now called the wilderness of Et-Tih. The Amalekites are represented as perpetually at feud with the Israelites, though such closely connected tribes as the Kenites and Kenizzites appear from the first as friendly, and ultimately as peaceful settlers in the midst of the possessions of Israel.

References to the Amalekites appear very early in the OT history. In the account of the campaigns of Chedorlaomer of Elam and his confederates in Gn 14, 'the country of the Amalekites' near Kadesh is described as the scene of one of those desolating wars. Hengstenberg, followed by Kurtz, maintains that this does not imply that the Amalekites were in existence in the days of Abraham, but only that this country, lying between Kadesh and the land of the Amorites, afterwards known as 'the fields of the Amalekites,' was at that early period overrun and destroyed by Chedorlaomer. Had there been no other hints of the extreme antiquity of the Amalekites, this explanation might perhaps be accepted. But we find again in the chant of Balaam (Nu 24^{20}) that Amalek is described as 'the first of the nations,' which seems almost certainly to mean a primitive people to be reckoned among the very oldest of the nations. Most recent scholars are agreed in assigning to the Amalekites a high antiquity. This is the conclusion to which such passages as those referred to would naturally lead. The only reason why an attempt should be made to put any other interpretation upon these words is the idea that, in Gn 36^{12}, the descent of the Amalekites is traced from Amalek, the grandson of Esau, and their origin thus brought down to a later period than that of Abraham. It is exceedingly hazardous to build any argument of this sort on an occasional statement in a genealogical table reproduced from some unknown source, seeing that it is impossible to determine what the point of view of the original compiler may have been. In many cases such genealogical lists seem intended to set forth simply certain interrelations of tribes, so that, though terms indicating personal and family relationships are used, the names do not always belong to persons historically real. All that we need understand by this introduction of an Amalek, son of Eliphaz by a concubine, is that Timna the Horite, the concubine referred to, represents the importation or incorporation of a foreign and inferior, probably a servile, element into the pure Edomite stock, the Horites being one of the tribes forming that federation, embracing the Amalekites, conquered by Chedorlaomer.

The region in which the Amalekites first appear in history, near Kadesh, lies just about a day's journey south of Hebron, on the undulating slopes and plain at the foot of the mountains held by the Amorites. It may be supposed that a branch of the tribe had settled there, or had begun to engage in agricultural pursuits. When driven forth from their possessions by the conqueror, they no doubt returned to their old wandering modes of life, and rejoined their brethren who moved about through the wide extent of the great desert.

The first meeting of the Israelites and the Amalekites took place in the southern part of the Sinaitic peninsula. At Rephidim, a broad plain to the north-west of Mount Sinai, the Amalekites came out against the Israelites, and a battle ensued which lasted throughout the whole day. Joshua commanded in the fight, and Moses on the hill top held up his rod in the sight of the people as the sign from God that they would conquer by His might (Ex 17^8-16^). The Amalekites had at this time acted in a peculiarly bitter and exasperating manner towards the Israelites, harassing them on their rear, and cutting off the weak and the weary (Dt 25^17-19^). In consequence, the Amalekites, to a greater extent than any of the other Can. and neighbouring tribes, were placed under the ban, so that J" Himself, as well as His people, is represented as solemnly swearing eternal feud against them.

The defeat of the Amalekites evidently put the fear of the Israelites upon the robber nomad tribes of the desert for a time, so that they were unmolested during their advance to Sinai, and during their year's encampment there, as well as during their subsequent march northward to the southern border of Palestine at Kadesh. It was the intention of the Israelites to enter Palestine from the south, and so from this point, just outside of the southern boundary of Palestine, spies were sent to examine the land, and to bring back a report as to whether an entrance from that point was possible, and if so, how best the invading forces might conduct the campaign. These spies on their return reported that the Amalekites dwelt in the land of the south in the valley, *i.e.* in the southern portions of the region afterwards occupied by Judah and Simeon (Nu 13^{29} 14^{25}), in the neighbourhood of the lowland Canaanites and the highland Hittites, Jebusites, and Amorites. The Amalekites are represented as the leaders of the confederate Canaanites who resisted the entrance of the Israelites into the south of Palestine (Nu 14^{43-45}). They were evidently at that time of considerable importance, and must have been for a long period in possession of those territories only a little way north of the district in which we find their ancestors, or, at least, a branch of the same great nation, settled in the days of Abraham.

The bitter opposition shown by the Amalekites to the Israelites at Sinai and in Southern Palestine was distinguished from that of the other tribes by this, that they were really at the head of the confederated clans already in possession of the land, and the struggle between them and the invaders was to determine the whole future of the rivals, the success of the one necessarily meaning the utter destruction of the other. 'It was the hatred,' says Ewald (*History of Israel*, i. 250), 'of two rivals disputing a splendid prize which the one had previously possessed and still partially possessed, and the other was trying to get for himself by ousting him.' The bitterness must have been intensified by the secession to the ranks of Israel of such branches or families of the Amalekite stem as the Kenites and Kenizzites. These two families, with Jethro and Caleb respectively at their head, were the ancient allies of Israel, and ultimately settlers in the land. The defeat of the Israelites may have secured for the Amalekites and their immediate neighbours peace and prosperity throughout a whole generation. When they were again attacked it was by a people already in possession of the northern regions, now pressing southward. How far they were interfered with by Judah and Simeon is not recorded, but it would appear that even after the Israelitish occupation of the country the Amalekites in considerable numbers maintained possession of the plateau and hilly regions in the extreme south.

In the time of the Judges, however, we meet with the Amalekites in the company of the Midianites, as nomad tribes roaming about among their old desert haunts, and pursuing their old tactics of harassing peaceful agriculturists. When the crops sown by the Israelites were ripening, the Amalekite marauders descended and reaped the harvest, so that the unfortunate inhabitants were impoverished and discouraged (Jg 6^3). They, along with the Ammonites, were allies of the Moabites in their conflict with Israel, and no doubt suffered in the defeat of the Moabites at the hand of Ehud (Jg 3^{13}).

During this same period, it would seem that a branch of the Amalekite tribe had secured a settlement in Mount Ephraim. Pirathon, the residence of the judge Abdon, some 15 miles south-west of Shechem, bore the name of 'the Mount of the Amalekites,' or had in it a hill so called (Jg 12^{15}). The settlers who had thus given their name to the hill belonged in all probability to a branch of the Amalekites, who, about the time that some of their brethren settled in the south of Palestine, in what was afterward assigned to Judah, pressed farther to the north, and secured possessions among other Canaanite tribes in the very centre of the land. This is more likely than the suggestion of Bertheau, that these Amalekites of Ephraim were remnants of those expelled by the men of Judah from their southern settlements in the days of Joshua. They had evidently been some considerable time in possession before localities came to be popularly known by their name. This view is further confirmed by the words of Deborah in her song (Jg 5^{14}), 'out of Ephraim came they down whose root is *in* (not *against*, as in AV) Amalek.' The land of Ephraim was the territory once possessed by the Amalekites.

In the early years of his reign, Saul was commissioned to carry on a war of extermination against the Amalekites and their king Agag (1 S 15). This was intended to be the execution of the sentence passed upon them in the days of Moses (Ex 17^{16}, Nu 24^{20}, Dt 25^{17-19}). No living thing belonging to the Amalekites was to be spared. This great battle was evidently fought in the south of Judah, as the pursuit is described as extending from Havilah in Arabia, far to the east, to Shur in the west of the desert on the border of Egypt. When worsted in battle they evidently passed over the southern boundary of Palestine, and betook themselves to their ancestral haunts in the wild desert. During the period of their residence as a settled people in Southern Judah, they had a capital city, Ir-Amalek, 'the city of Amalek' (1 S 15^5). Robber bands of the yet unsubdued nomad Amalekites of the desert, during the time of David's stay among the Philistines, sacked Ziklag, in the territory of Simeon, outside of the southern boundary of Judah (1 S 30). These were overtaken by David, and only 400 young men on swift camels succeeded in making their escape. The reference to the Amalekites in 2 S 8^{12}, in the list of spoils dedicated to God by David, is probably to this same incident. From this time onward the Amalekites seem to have been regarded as no longer formidable; and even as raiders from the desert we find no further trace of them. The last mention of them in the OT occurs in 1 Ch 4^{43}, in the days of Hezekiah. There it is said that 'the remnant of the Amalekites that escaped,' and who had continued till that day in Mount Seir, were smitten by 500 of the Simeonites, who took possession of their land. That the Amalekites are not mentioned in Gn 10 is regarded by Dillmann as proof that before the time of the writer they had sunk into insignificance.

Outside of the OT we have no reliable accounts of the Amalekites. In the works of the Arabian historians very extensive and detailed reports are given of the progress and achievements of the Amalekites; but these, as Nöldeke has convincingly shown, are credible only in so far as they are based on the statements of the historical books of our own canonical Scriptures.

LITERATURE.—A very admirable and comprehensive sketch is given by Bertheau in Schenkel, *Bibellexicon*, Leipz. 1869, vol. i. 111-114. See also Dillmann, *Com. on Genesis*, on chs. x. and xxxvi.; Ewald, *Hist. of Israel*, Eng. tr. 1876, vol. i. 109 f., 250 f.; Kurtz, *History of the Old Covenant*, Eng. tr. 1859, iii. 48-50; Nöldeke, *Ueber die Amalekiter und einige andere Nachbarvölker der Israeliter*, 1864.

J. MACPHERSON.

AMAM (אֲמָם), Jos 15^{26} only.—An unknown city of Judah, in the desert south of Beersheba.

AMAN.—1. (Ἀμάν A) Is mentioned in Tobit's dying words as the persecutor of Achiacharus, To 14^{10}. Cod. B, however, has Ἀδάμ; א Ναδάβ; Itala, Nabad; Syr. Ahab. Possibly the allusion is to Haman and Mordecai. **2.** Est 12^{6} $16^{10.17}$. See HAMAN. J. T. MARSHALL.

AMANA (אֲמָנָה), Ca 4^{8}. Probably the mountains near the river Abana or Amana, being connected with Hermon and Lebanon; or else Mount Amanus in the north of Syria.

C. R. CONDER.

AMARIAH (אֲמַרְיָה, אֲמַרְיָהוּ 'J" hath promised').—**1.** 2 Ch 19^{11}, high priest in the reign of Jehoshaphat, appointed by him chief justice 'in all matters of the Lord,' as Zebadiah, 'the ruler of the house of Judah,' was 'in all the king's matters.' (Is this a precedent for the joint rule in later times of Zerubbabel and Joshua?) **2, 3.** In a genealogy in 1 Ch $6^{3-15.50-52}$, Ezr 7^{1-5}, beginning with Aaron and ending with Jehozadak at the Captivity, which seems as much intended to be a list of the high priests as 1 Ch 3^{10-14} is of the kings of Judah, and which appears to be the basis of Josephus' very corrupt lists (*Ant.* VIII. i. 3, X. viii. 6), the name A. occurs twice—(*a*) 1 Ch $6^{7.52}$ grandfather of Zadok, and therefore a younger contemporary of Eli. Of this man we have no other record; see ABIATHAR. (*β*) 1 Ch 6^{11}, Ezr 7^{3}, 1 Es 8^{2}, 2 Es 1^{2} (Amarias in Apocr.), son to the Azariah who is said to have ministered in Solomon's temple. If, as is probable, this remark applies to the previous Azariah, then this Amariah may be the same as No. 1. But great uncertainty hangs over these lists. In Ezr 7^{1-5} six names are omitted, perhaps by homoioteleuton; in the full list important names (*e.g.* Jehoiada, Zechariah, the Azariahs contemporary with Uzziah and Hezekiah respectively, Urijah) are omitted; the succession 'Amariah, Ahitub, Zadok' occurs twice; only three high priests are given between Amariah under Jehoshaphat, and Hilkiah under Josiah. **4.** A priest clan, fourth in the list of 22 in Neh 12 (v.^{2}), who 'went up with Zerubbabel' 'in the days of Jeshua,' and in the list of 21 (v.^{13}), 'in the days of Joiakim,' and fifth in the list of those who sealed to the covenant under Nehemiah (Neh 10^{3}). This clan is probably identical with that of 'Immer,' the sixteenth course in David's time (1 Ch 24^{14}), and one of the four families of priests mentioned in 'the book of the genealogy of them which came up at the first' (Ezr 2^{37} Neh 7^{40}, Meruth 1 Es 5^{24}, A Ἐμμηρουθ), and in the time of Ezra (Ezr 10^{20}); see ABIJAH, No. 4. **5.** 1 Ch 23^{19} 24^{23}, a Kohathite Levite in David's time. **6.** 2 Ch 31^{15}, a Levite in Hezekiah's time, one of the six assistants to Kore, 'the porter at the east gate, who was over the freewill offerings of God.' **7.** Ezr 10^{42}, a man of Judah of the sons of Bani (1 Ch 9^{4}), one of those who 'had taken strange wives.' **8.** Neh 11^{4}, a man of Judah, ancestor to Athaiah, who was one of those 'that willingly offered themselves to dwell in Jerus.' **9.** Zeph 1^{1}, great-grandfather of the prophet, son to Hezekiah, perhaps the king.

N. J. D. WHITE.

AMARIAS (A Ἀμαρίας, B Ἀμαρθείας), 1 Es 8^{2}.—An ancestor of Ezra in the line of high priests, father of Ahitub. Called Amariah, Ezr 7^{3}.

AMASA (עֲמָשָׂא 'burden' or 'burden bearer').—**1.** The son of Ithra an Ishmaelite, and of Abigail the sister of king David. The first mention of him is in connexion with the rebellion of Absalom (2 S 17^{25}), who made him leader of his army. Joab, at the head of the king's troops, completely routed him in the forest of Ephraim (2 S 18^{6-8}). David not only pardoned him, but gave him the command of the army in place of Joab (2 S 19^{13}). When he came to lead the royal forces against Sheba and his rebel host, he was treacherously slain by Joab at 'the great stone of Gibeon' (2 S 20^{9-12}). **2.** An Ephraimite who opposed the bringing into Samaria of the Jewish prisoners, whom Pekah, king of Israel, had taken in his campaign against Ahaz (2 Ch 28^{12}). R. M. BOYD.

AMASAI (עֲמָשַׂי).—**1.** A Kohathite, 1 Ch $6^{25.35}$, the eponym of a family, 2 Ch 29^{12}. **2.** One of the priests who blew trumpets on the occasion of David's bringing the ark to Jerus., 1 Ch 15^{24}. **3.** One of David's officers at Ziklag, 1 Ch 12^{18}, possibly to be identified with Amasa, No. 1.

J. A. SELBIE.

AMASHSAI (עֲמַשְׁסַי, perhaps a combination of the reading עמשי, עמסי).—AV Amashai, Neh 11^{13}. A priest of the family of Immer.

AMASIAH (עֲמַסְיָה).—One of Jehoshaphat's commanders, 2 Ch 17^{16}.

AMAZED.—Amaze has a much wider range of meaning in old Eng. than in modern. In conformity with its derivation (*a-maze*) it expresses confusion or perplexity, the result of the unexpected; but this may give rise to a variety of emotions. **1.** FEAR: Jg 20^{41} 'When the men of Israel turned again, the men of Benjamin were a.' **2.** AWE: Mk 10^{32} 'And they were in the way going up to Jerus.; and Jesus went before them, and they were a.; and as they followed they were afraid.' **3.** EXCITED WONDER: Lk 5^{26} 'they were all a.' (Gr. ἔκστασις ἔλαβεν ἅπαντας; RV 'amazement took hold on all'). **4.** DEPRESSION: Mk 14^{33} '(Jesus) began to be sore a., and to be very heavy.' Amazement occurs twice in AV, the expression in Ac 3^{10} of great joy; in 1 P 3^{6} of great fear.

J. HASTINGS.

AMAZIAH (אֲמַצְיָה, אֲמַצְיָהוּ).—**1.** The name of a king of Judah who succeeded his father Jehoash upon the assassination of the latter (*c.* 800. B.C.). The chief interest of his reign centres in his wars with Edom and with Israel (2 K 14, 2 Ch 25). In the first of these campaigns, Edom, which had revolted from Judah during the reign of Jehoram, the son of Jehoshaphat, suffered a severe defeat in the Valley of Salt, and the capital Sela or Petra fell into the hands of the enemy (2 K 14^{7}). Elated by this success, Amaziah challenged to a conflict his neighbour Jehoash, the grandson of Jehu. This powerful monarch showed no anxiety to try conclusions with his presumptuous rival, to whom he addressed the well-known parable of the thistle and the cedar (vv.$^{8-10}$). Amaziah, however, stung by the moral of this parable, refused to listen to the well-meant advice, and rushed blindly upon his fate. At the battle of Beth-shemesh the forces of Judah were utterly routed, and the king himself taken prisoner. Jehoash followed up his victory by capturing Jerusalem, partially destroying its walls, pillaging the temple and the palace, and carrying back hostages to Samaria (vv.$^{11-14}$). How long Amaziah survived this humiliating defeat, it is not easy to decide. The statement (2 K 14^{17}) that he outlived Jehoash fifteen years can hardly be correct, and there seem to be sufficient reasons for considerably reducing the number of years (twenty-nine) assigned to his reign by the chronological system adopted in the Books of Kings. His reign appears to have synchronised almost exactly with that of Jehoash, as that of his successor did with the reign of Jeroboam II. There is not a little plausibility in the conjecture of Wellhausen, that the conspiracy which issued in the murder of Amaziah at Lachish had its origin in the popular dissatisfaction with his wanton attack upon Israel which cost Judah so dear. The death of Amaziah should probably be dated *c.* 780 B.C., the year when there is reason to believe his son Azariah or Uzziah ascended the throne.

Besides the strictly historical details which he borrows from 2 Kings, the Chronicler adds certain particulars, the purpose of whose insertion is evident (2 Ch $25^{6\text{ff.}\,14-16}$). (On these additions see Graf *Die geschichtlichen Bücher des A.T.* p. 157 ff., and Driver, *LOT*, p. 494.)

2. The priest of Jeroboam II. who opposed and attempted to silence the prophet Amos when the latter delivered his message at the sanctuary of Bethel (Am 7^{10-17}. See AMOS). **3.** A man of the tribe of Simeon (1 Ch 4^{34}). **4.** A descendant of Merari (1 Ch 6^{45}).

J. A. SELBIE.

AMBASSADOR.—Three Heb. words are sometimes tr. 'ambassador' in RV of OT: **1.** מַלְאָךְ, a general term for messenger, used for (*a*) messengers of private men (2 K 5^{10}); (*b*) messengers of God = angels (see ANGEL); (*c*) messengers of kings or rulers = ambassadors (2 K 19^{9}, 2 Ch 35^{21}), though sometimes tr. 'messengers' in RV (Dt 2^{26}, Nu 20^{14}). **2.** צִיר, apparently a synonym of 1 (Pr 13^{17}; cf. 25^{13}), hence = herald or messenger from court (Is 18^{2} 57^{9}), and metaphorically an 'ambassador' of J″ (Jer 49^{14}; cf. Ob v.^{1}). In Jos 9^{4} the reading of RVm is to be preferred. **3.** מֵלִיץ, properly an interpreter, and so used in Gn 42^{23}; cf. Job 33^{23} (?); hence tr^{d} in Is 43^{27} (in theocratic sense) 'interpreters' RV text, 'ambassadors' marg.; in 2 Ch 32^{31} 'ambassadors' text, 'interpreters' marg.

Ambassadors were not permanent officials, but were chosen from attendants at court for special occasions (see 2 K 19^{9}). Their evil treatment was regarded then as now as a grave insult to king and people (2 S 10^{1-6}). In the Apocr. the general term ἄγγελος, 'messenger,' is often used even in dealings with courts (Jth 1^{11} 3^{1}, 1 Mac 1^{44} 7^{10}), but during the Maccabæan period, when embassies were frequently sent, the ordinary Gr. words for 'ambassadors' are employed: πρεσβευτής (1 Mac 13^{21} $14^{21.\,22}$), πρεσβεύς (1 Mac 9^{70} 11^{9} 13^{14}), and πρεσβῦται (2 Mac 11^{34}). The word πρεσβεία, 'ambassage' (RV Apocr.), occurs in 2 Mac 4^{11}. In NT (Lk 14^{32}, 2 Co 5^{20}, Eph 6^{20}) the use is metaphorical.

G. W. THATCHER.

AMBASSAGE, mod. *embassy*; in AV only Lk 14^{32}, but RV adds Lk 19^{14} (AV 'message') where the same Gr. word (πρεσβεία) is used. The meaning is not a message sent by ambassadors, but the ambassadors themselves. In 1 Mac 14^{23} the meaning is 'message' (Gr. λόγοι, RV 'words').

J. HASTINGS.

AMBER.—See MINERALS.

AMBUSH, from *in* (which becomes *im* before *b*, whence *am*) and *boscus*, a bush, wood, thicket, is used in various shades of meaning. **1.** The abstract state of lying in wait in order to attack an enemy secretly. Jos 8^{12} '(Joshua) set them to lie in a. between Bethel and Ai.' **2.** The place where the a. is set, or the position thus assumed. Jos 8^{7} 'Ye shall rise up from the a.'; 1 Mac 9^{40} RV 'And they rose up against them from their a.' **3.** The men that form the a. Jos 8^{19} 'the a. arose quickly out of their place'; Jer 51^{12} 'prepare the ambushes' (m. 'liers in wait'). The mod. military term is ambuscade. **Ambushment**, meaning a body of troops disposed in ambush, is used in 2 Ch $13^{13\,\textit{bis}}$; also *ambushments* in 2 Ch 20^{22} (RV 'liers in wait'; but RV gives ambushment in Jos 8^{9} for 'lie in ambush,' and in Jg 9^{35} for 'lying in wait').

J. HASTINGS.

AMEN.—This word found its way bodily from the Heb. (אָמֵן) into the Hellenistic idiom through the LXX, and strengthened its hold later on by its more copious use in the version of Symmachus. It is derived from אָמַן *he propped*, in Niphal (reflexive) *he was firm*. So the adverb אָמֵן, *firmly*, came to be used, like our *surely*, for confirmation, in various ways.

(1) It is used for the purpose of *adopting as one's own what has just been said* (this *answering* sense being apparently the orig. one, Nu 5^{22}) = 'so is it,' or 'so shall it be,' rather than the less comprehensive 'so be it,' though 'so be it' is occasionally the prominent meaning (Jer 28^{6}). The word is limited to the religious atmosphere, being, on human lips, an expression of faith that God holds the thing true, or will or can make it true. Thus after the 'oath of cursing,' recited in Nu 5^{22}, there is added, both in the orig. Hebrew and in the Greek of Sym., 'The woman shall say, Amen, Amen,' the word being doubled for emphasis; where the LXX, however, has the inadequate γένοιτο, γένοιτο, *so be it*, as is the case in nineteen out of the twenty-three passages where the Heb. word occurs in this connexion: of the rest, three have ἀμήν, and the fourth ἀληθῶς. It is put also into the mouth of the people at the end of each *curse* uttered on Mount Ebal (Dt 27). At the close, likewise, of *public prayers, thanksgivings, benedictions, or doxologies* the people used to say *Amen* (Neh 8^{6}, Amen, Amen); not, apparently, however in the services of the temple, where the response was different (Edersheim, *Temple Service*, p. 127), but certainly in the services of the synagogue (Ps 41^{13}, *e.g.*, and Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 78, 82). That this custom passed over from the synagogue to the Christian assemblies we gather from 1 Co 14^{16}, where St. Paul speaks of τὸ ἀμήν, *the* (customary) *amen* uttered by the listeners at the close of the extempore thanksgiving.

(2) It is used in confirmation of *one's own* prayers, thanksgivings, benedictions, doxologies. Before

NT the word occurs only at the end of a private prayer in To 8^{8}, and at the end of a personal ascription in the last verses of 3 and 4 Mac. The personal doxological or ascriptional usage is much more frequent in NT (*e.g.* Ro 1^{25} 9^{5}), and, outside St. Paul and the Apoc., it is the only NT usage. In St. Paul's Epistles the word sometimes concludes a prayer for, or a benediction upon, his readers; but, except in Ro 15^{33} and Gal 6^{18}, it is a later addition. Sometimes, as in Rev 7^{12}, it is apparently *introductory* to a doxology, but is, in reality, confirmatory of a previous doxology. So also in Rev 22^{20} it is a believing acceptance of the previous divine affirmation.

(3*a*) It is used once *at the close* of an *affirmation of one's own*, to confirm it solemnly in faith: Rev 1^{7}, where it is the trustful climax of the more limited *ναί*, *yea* (the bare personal confirmation): 'Yea, verily [He shall so come].' (3*b*) The use of *Amen* to *introduce* one's own words and clothe them with solemn affirmation may be called an idiom of Christ: it is a use confined entirely to Him in sacred literature. But the practice of the evangelists in this matter is not uniform. The Synoptists give invariably ἀμὴν λέγω, the Fourth Gospel as invariably ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω. Again, Matthew is richest in the phrase, using it thirty times; Mark less rich, using it thirteen times; Luke least so, using it only six times; elsewhere he gives narrower substitutes (ἀληθῶς thrice, ἐπ' ἀληθείας once, ναί once), or more usually the simple λέγω. The signal difference in Luke may be due partly to the non-Hebraic stamp of his readers. The double *amen* of *introduction* in John has its parallel elsewhere in the double *amen* of *conclusion*, instances of which have already been cited. But the invariableness of the doubling, as opposed to the invariableness of the single *amen* in the Synoptists, can be put down only to an idiosyncrasy of the writer, though he need not be unhistorical in all or even in many of his instances; for it is worthy of notice that all the sayings in question are peculiar to John except 13^{21} (|| Mt Lk) and ^{38} (|| all Synopp., but Lk λέγω only). See Hogg in *JQR* Oct. 1896.

But Christ's uniqueness in using it as a word of *introduction* runs parallel with the uniqueness of its connotation when He does use it. (α) It is never the expression of His own (accepting or expectant) faith; it is rather an expression calling for faith: this view is supported by the invariable accompaniment λέγω ὑμῖν. 'He makes good the word, not the word Him' (Cremer, *Wörterbuch*, 8th ed. pp. 145, 146). (β) Consequently, in His mouth, it has generally to do with *His own person*, either (*a*) as Messiah, or (*b*) as demanding faith in His Messiahship in spite of outward appearances and mistaken views: it points not merely to intellectual or eventual verity, but to the fact that either the thing is true *in Him* or *He* will make it or keep it true. So it is the *amen* of *fulfilment* in Him or by Him, or the *amen* of *paradox*, or both (cf. Mt 5^{18} 16^{28} 21^{31} 26^{13}, and other passages cited in Cremer). It is intelligible, therefore, how the evangelists preferred to leave ἀμὴν untranslated; for Luke's occasional ἀληθῶς, like LXX γένοιτο, is but a partial equivalent for what Christ meant by the word. See Nestle in *Expos. Times*, viii. (1897) 190.

(4) In close relation to Christ's usage, so understood, is the use of *amen* as a *name or description* of Christ and of God: of *Christ*, Rev 3^{14}, 'the Amen, the faithful and true witness' (cf. 2 Co 1^{20}, where the *yea*, the promise, is in Christ, and the *Amen*, the ratification, is through Him): of *God*, Is 65^{16} (twice), 'the God of the amen,' *i.e.* of faithfulness and truth (if the Heb. adverbial points be correct: see *Cheyne* on the passage); LXX (inadequately): τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἀληθινόν (cf. ἀληθινός and ἀμήν, Rev $3^{7.\,14}$). J. MASSIE.

AMERCE.—Dt 22^{19} 'They shall a. him in (Driver, 'they shall fine him') an hundred shekels of silver'; and 2 Ch 36^{3} RV 'and a^{d} (AV 'condemned') the land in an hundred talents of silver.' In Ex 21^{22}, Am 2^{8} RV translates the same verb (עָנַשׁ) 'fine.' J. HASTINGS.

AMETHYST.—See STONES, (PRECIOUS).

AMI (אָמִי=אָמוֹן Neh 7^{59}).—The head of a family of 'Solomon's servants,' Ezr 2^{57}.

AMIABLE (=*lovely*, and now used only of persons) is applied to God's dwelling-place in Ps 84^{1} 'How a. are Thy tabernacles, O Lord of hosts' (RVm 'lovely'; as at Ph 4^{8} Rheims Bible has 'whatsoever amiable,' AV 'whatsoever things are lovely'). Cf. Howell (1644) 'They keep their churches so cleanly and amiable.' J. HASTINGS.

AMITTAI (אֲמִתַּי 'true').—Father of the prophet Jonah, 2 K 14^{25}, Jon 1^{1}.

AMITY, *friendly relations* between two nations, 1 Mac 12^{16} (RV 'friendship'). See ALLIANCE.

AMMAH (אַמָּה), 2 S 2^{24} only.—A hill near Giah, in the wilderness of Gibeon. It was probably to the east of Gibeon above the Jordan Valley, but the name has not been recovered.

C. R. CONDER.

AMMI (עַמִּי='my people,'* LXX λαός μου).—The name which is to be applicable to Israel in the time of restoration; Lo-ammi (=not my people), the name given in the first instance by Hosea to Gomer's third child, but in the prophetic fragment, Hos $1^{9\text{-}11}$ [in Heb. $2^{1\text{-}3}$], referred to the people of Israel, is, according to the author of the fragment, to be replaced by the name Ammi of exactly opposite import, in sign of the changed relation of the people to J″. See LO-AMMI.

G. B. GRAY.

AMMIDIOI (B Ἁμμίδιοι, A, Ἁμμίδαιοι; in Swete's text with the hard, but in Fritzsche's with the soft breathing; AV Ammidoi).—Of the three parallel lists (Ezr 2=Neh 7=1 Es 5) which give the families which returned with Zerubbabel from captivity, that in 1 Es (5^{20}) alone mentions the Ammidioi. It has been suggested that they are the men of Humtah (Jos 15^{54} חֻמְטָה, A Χαμματά). It may be questioned whether either the Chadiasai or Ammidioi were mentioned in the original Heb. lists, for it is to be noticed that in the case of these alone is the gentilic form used; otherwise throughout the list we have equivalent expressions of the Heb. . . . בְּנֵי, . . . אַנְשֵׁי, *e.g.* υἱοὶ Φόρος (v.^{9}), οἱ ἐκ Βετολιώ. G. B. GRAY.

AMMIEL (עַמִּיאֵל 'kinsman is God').—1. Son of Gemalli, and spy of the tribe of Dan (Nu 13^{12} P). 2. Father of Machir (see art.), 2 S $9^{4\text{ff.}}$ 17^{27}. 3. According to the Chronicler, the sixth son of Obed-edom, who with his family constituted one of the courses of doorkeepers in the time of David; to them was allotted charge of the S. gate (of the temple) and the storehouse (1 Ch 26, esp. vv.$^{5.\,15}$). Presumably, therefore, Ammiel was the name of a division of the doorkeepers in the time of the Chronicler—*c.* B.C. 300. Cf. Driver, *LOT* 500 f.; Graf, *Die Geschicht. Büch. d. A.T.* 213–247, esp. 242 f., 246 f.; Gray, *Stud. in Heb. Proper Names*, ch. iii. p. 49 ff. 4. 1 Ch 3^{5}. See ELIAM.

G. B. GRAY.

AMMIHUD (עַמִּיהוּד 'kinsman is majesty').—1. An Ephraimite, father of Elishama (see art.), Nu 1^{10} 2^{18} $7^{48.\,53}$ 10^{22} (P). Presumably identical with A.

---

* For fuller discussion of the meaning of this name, and the following names beginning with Ammi, see NAMES, PROPER.

son of Ladan, 1 Ch 7^{26}. **2.** A Simeonite, father of Shemuel (see art.), Nu 34^{20} (P). **3.** A Naphtalite, father of Pedahel (see art.), Nu 34^{28} (P). **4.** According to the *Ḳerê* of 2 S 13^{37} and the AV, A. was the name of the father of David's contemporary, the Geshurite king Talmai. The *Kethibh*, followed by RV, reads עַמִּיחוּר—the closely similar letters ח and ר replacing ה and ד. Between the two readings it is difficult to decide; for while the *Ḳerê* is better supported, the *Kethibh*, as a name occurring nowhere else in OT, is the harder reading. **5.** Son of Omri, father of Uthai (1 Ch 9^{4}).

G. B. GRAY.

AMMIHUR (עַמִּיחוּר).—See AMMIHUD, No. 4.

AMMINADAB (עַמִּינָדָב 'kinsman is generous,' or perhaps 'my people is generous,' B Ἀμειναδάβ, A Ἀμιναδάβ; in NT Mt 1^{4} (and Lk 3^{33}?) Ἀμιναδάβ, whence the name in AV of NT is spelt Aminadab).—**1.** According to the genealogy in Ruth, which gives David's ancestry, Amminadab was son of Ram and father of Nahshon (Ru $4^{19f.}$=1 Ch 2^{10}, Mt 1^{4}); as father of Nahshon he is also mentioned in Nu 1^{7} 2^{3} 7^{12} 10^{14} (P). Through his daughter Elisheba he became father-in-law of Aaron, Ex 6^{23} (P). **2.** According to 1 Ch 6^{22} A. was son of Kohath and father of Korah; but in other statements about Kohath's children (*e.g.* Ex 6^{18}, Nu 3^{19}, 1 Ch 6^{2}) A. is not mentioned; moreover, elsewhere Izhar appears as son of Kohath and father of Korah (Ex $6^{18.21}$, 1 Ch 6^{18}). There can be little doubt, therefore, that A. has accidentally replaced Izhar in 1 Ch 6^{22}; this may have arisen in compiling the list from a fuller list of the Kohathites which mentioned the connexion of A. (No. 1) with them. **3.** According to the Chronicler (1 Ch $15^{10.11}$) another A. was chief of a Levitical house in the days of David; he is described as a son of Uzziel, who was one of the sons of Kohath (1 Ch 6^{2}).

G. B. GRAY.

AMMINADIB (עַמִּי נָדִיב) occurs in AV and RVm of a very obscure passage, Ca 6^{12} 'my soul made me *like* the chariots of Amminadib.' RV and AVm do not regard the term as a pr. name, but render 'my soul set me on (RV *among*) the chariots of my willing (RV princely) people.' In Kautzsch's tr. of OT the passage is omitted from the text, and is rendered in a footnote, 'Mein Verlangen [ver-]setzste mich auf die Wagen meines Volkes, eines Edlen,' with the remark that it is quite unintelligible in its present context. The great variety of interpretation and exegesis of the words will be found exhibited in Reuss' *AT*, v. 391 ff.; cf. Hitzig, *d. Hohe Lied*, 82 f., and comm. of Delitzsch, Ewald, Böttcher, Zöckler, Oettli, etc. See SONG OF SONGS.

J. A. SELBIE.

AMMISHADDAI (עַמִּישַׁדָּי 'kinsman is Shaddai,' see GOD).—A Danite, father of Ahiezer (see art.), Nu 1^{12} 2^{25} $7^{66.71}$ 10^{25} (P).

AMMIZABAD (עַמִּיזָבָד 'kinsman (or, my people) has made a present').—Son of Benaiah, for whom he appears at times to have officiated; but the statement in the only passage (1 Ch 27^{6}) where he is mentioned is obscure. G. B. GRAY.

AMMON, AMMONITES (בֶּן־עַמִּי, בְּנֵי־עַמּוֹן; in the inscriptions, Bît-Ammân).—A people occupying territory east of the Jordan, between the Arnon on the south and the Jabbok on the north. The land lying farther to the south, separated from them by the Arnon, was the possession of the Moabites. Before the arrival of the Israelites at the plains of Moab, the Ammonites had been driven back from the Jordan banks by an Amorite tribe from the west under Sihon. These Amorites established a kingdom, carved out of the Ammonite territories, with Heshbon as their capital. In this way a strip of land along the eastern bank of the river, varying in breadth from 20 to 30 miles, ceased to be regarded as belonging to the Ammonites, and was assigned to the transjordanic tribes of Reuben and Gad. The original territories of the Ammonites, extending from the Arnon to the Jabbok, and reaching to the eastern bank of the Jordan, had in earlier years been held by a giant race called Zamzummim (Dt 2^{19-21}), to whom it seems that Og, king of Bashan, also belonged (Dt 3^{11}).

As to the origin of the children of Ammon, an account is given in Gn 19^{38}, which has been interpreted by some as genuinely historical, and by others as a reminiscence of a certain family relationship, coloured by bitter hostility and national hatred. The latter position is maintained by such distinguished and moderate exegetes as Dillmann and Bertheau; but by them the myth is regarded as historically justified, and indeed suggested, by the lustful character and irregular habits of the Ammonites. On the other hand, Delitzsch pertinently asks how such an origin can be assigned to the narrative, seeing that their supposed descent from Lot is made the one ground for exceptional treatment of the Ammonites and Moabites (Dt $2^{9.19}$). The story of their origin certainly does not afford occasion for contemptuous or hostile treatment. This can be accounted for only by their unbrotherly conduct towards Israel, which caused such delay and hardship on the eve of the entrance into the promised land (Dt 23^{4}). It appears to Delitzsch that the lewdness and moral corruption which characterized their later history resulted from their tainted origin, rather than suggested the story of that origin as given in our Scriptures. In any case, we must regard this notice as indicating a close relationship between the Ammonites and the Israelites. That such a family connexion really did subsist between the two nations is confirmed by the fact that almost all the names of Moabite and Ammonite persons and places that have come down to us are easily understood by the use of a Hebrew lexicon. From this circumstance Kautzsch quite fairly concludes that these nations cannot be reckoned among the Arab tribes, but must have a place given them among the races allied to the Hebrews.

The name by which they were first known was 'children of Ammon.' Only in the literature of very late ages do we find the name Ammon used as the designation of the people (Ps 83^{7}). In this very late, probably Maccabæan, psalm * (the only place in OT outside the Pent. in which Lot's name is found), a list is given of ten tribes confederated in open and violent opposition to Israel at the re-dedication of the temple, in which the names of Ammon and Moab occur. It is then said of all these confederates that 'they have holpen the children of Lot.' This latter designation is no doubt intended to apply to the Ammonites and Moabites. The meaning of the name Benê-Ammi, literally 'sons of my people,' points to derivation from parents both of whom were of one race.

The statement in Nu 21^{24}, that 'the border of the children of Ammon was strong,' † coming after a description of the destruction of the Amorites by the Israelites as reaching to that border, is understood by Kautzsch and others as indicating the reason why the Israelites did not carry their conquests farther east, and as therefore opposed to Dt 2^{19}, which makes Israel avoid conflict with the Ammonites in consequence of a divine command. The earlier passage, however, may be read as giving the reason why Sihon and his

---

* See Ewald, *History of Israel*, i. 312, and Cheyne, *Origin of the Psalter*, 1891, p. 97.

† Dillmann and many others read here יַעְזֵר 'Ja'zer' for עַז 'strong.'

Amorites had not pushed their conquests beyond this strip of land, with the possession of which they had rested satisfied. The Ammonites had retreated before the Amorites within the natural fortresses of their inland mountain region. But though they had thus under compulsion abandoned the fruitful Jordan Valley, the Ammonites never ceased to look upon the whole sweep of country down to the river banks as rightfully theirs. Some 300 years after the conquest of the land by the Isr., the king of the Ammonites made the unreasonable claim that they should restore to him the country that had been taken so long before, not from his forefathers, but from their Amorite conquerors (Jg 11^{13}). This the Israelites, under the brave Gileadite chief Jephthah, refused to do, inflicting upon the Ammonites and their allies a most humiliating and crushing defeat.* Previous to this, for eighteen years, the Ammonites had harassed those who occupied the coveted district; and so successful had they been in this that they were encouraged to venture across the Jordan, and there held in terror the warlike tribes of Judah, Benjamin, and Ephraim. While this is reported primarily and mainly to show the depth to which the Israelites had sunk, it also affords proof of the prowess and military importance of the Ammonites.

When we next hear of them, in the early years of king Saul, the children of Ammon form a powerful nation under a capable ruler, king Nahash. One of the first distinctions in battle gained by Saul was his defeat of Nahash and the Ammonites, and the deliverance of the inhabitants of Jabesh-gilead, to whose city they had laid siege (1 S 11). The LXX text here reads that this conflict took place about a month after Saul had ascended the throne. During the earlier part of the reign of David, hostilities between Israel and Ammon ceased, because in the time of his trouble, Nahash, either this same monarch or perhaps his successor, 'showed kindness to David' (2 S 10^{2}). On the death of David's friend, messengers were sent to condole with his son Hanun, who, suspecting that they were spies, treated them infamously, so that David was obliged to enter upon a war to wipe out the insult that had been put upon his ambassadors. The senseless conduct of the Ammonite monarch evidently awakened among the Israelites all the old bitterness, so that in the hour of victory David and his men lost all control of themselves, and inflicted upon the vanquished children of Ammon the most cruel and revolting barbarities (2 S 12^{26-31}). Their capital, Rabbath-Ammon, was taken by Joab, David's commander-in-chief, though he gave the honour to the king. This city (in Maccabæan times known by the name of Philadelphia), one of the cities of the Decapolis, lay about 20 miles east of the Jordan, just outside the eastern border of the territory of Gad, at the southern spring of the Jabbok.

After the division of the kingdom, the country that had been taken from the Ammonites naturally fell with the rest of the transjordanic territory to the nation of the ten tribes. The Ammonites, however, soon took advantage of the weakness of the divided kingdom to assert again their independence. They also joined eagerly with the Assyrians in their attack on Gilead, obtaining increase of territory as the reward of their service; and subsequently, when Tiglath-pileser defeated the Reubenites and Gadites, the Ammonites seem to have been allowed to reoccupy parts, at least, of their old territory on the banks of the Jordan (2 K 15^{29}, 1 Ch 5^{26}). The cruelty which they practised in the war against Gilead as allies of the Syrians is described as having been committed with the object of getting their borders enlarged; and for this, and for their malignant exultation over Israel's fall, they are denounced by the prophets (Am 1^{13}, Zeph $2^{8.9}$, Jer 49^{1-7}, Ezk 21^{28-32}). We have a detailed account (2 Ch 20) of hostilities between the Ammonites, at the head of a powerful confederacy, and the southern kingdom of Judah under Jehoshaphat. Great preparations had been made for this campaign, which was intended to be decisive; but suspicions of treachery among the allies turned the arms of the panic-stricken hosts against one another in a great slaughter, so that the children of Judah did not require to draw a sword.

After nearly 150 years we again find the Ammonites at war with Judah (2 Ch 27^{5}), when they were thoroughly beaten by Jotham, and laid under a heavy tribute. During the years in which Judah was tottering on the verge of overthrow, the Ammonites appear among the vassal tribes used by Babylon to harass and plunder those that had revolted from her sway (2 K 24^{2}). After the overthrow of Judah, Baalis, the king of the Ammonites, entertaining still the old unconquerable enmity towards the Jews, sent Ishmael, a man remotely connected with the royal family of Judah, who had been resident in the country of Ammon, to murder the popular and successful governor Gedaliah, under whom the Jewish colony, consisting of those who remained in the land of Judah, had begun to prosper (2 K 25^{22-26}, Jer 40^{14}). In the days of Nehemiah, the Ammonites were active in their opposition to the Jews, maliciously endeavouring to hinder the building of the walls of the city and the restoration of the temple (Neh 4). Three hundred years later, in the time of Judas Maccabæus, the Ammonites joined the Syrians against the Jews. The Jewish leader went through Gilead and inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Ammonites and their confederates under their commander Timotheus (1 Mac 5^{6}). The Ammonites are referred to by Justin Martyr, about the middle of the second Christian cent., as even then a numerous people; but not more than a century later Origen speaks vaguely of them, as of Moabites and Edomites, classing them all with the Arab tribes; and with this doubtful allusion they pass altogether out of history.

The Ammonites seem to have been notorious among the nations for their cruelty. Their religion was a genuine reflection of this infamous national characteristic. Their chief deity was Molech or Milcom (1 K $11^{7.33}$).

Ammonitess (עַמֹּנִית), woman of Ammon, 1 K $14^{21.31}$, 2 Ch 12^{13} 24^{26}.

Literature. — Kautzsch in Riehm, *Handwörterbuch*, 1884, pp. 55, 56—an admirable and comprehensive sketch. See Dillmann and Delitzsch on Gn 19^{38} in their Commentaries; Ewald, *History of Israel*, ii. London, 1876, pp. 295, 336, 393 ff.; iii. 1878, p. 24, etc.; Ebrard, *Apologetics*, Edin. 1887, ii. 349–351.

J. Macpherson.

AMNON (אַמְנוֹן). — 1. Eldest son of David by Ahinoam the Jezreelitess. He dishonoured his half-sister Tamar, and was, on that account, slain by her brother Absalom (2 S 3^{2} $13^{1ff.}$). In 2 S 13^{20} he is called Aminon (אֲמִינוֹן), supposed by many (on the analogy of Arabic) to be a diminutive form, purposely used by Absalom to express contempt; possibly it is only a clerical error. 2. Son of Shimon (1 Ch 4^{20}).

J. F. Stenning.

AMOK (עָמוֹק 'deep').—A priestly family in the time of Zerubbabel and of Joiakim, Neh $12^{7.20}$. See Genealogy.

AMON (אָמוֹן, אָמֹן 'a skilled, or master workman,' Pr 8^{30} RV).—1. One of the kings of Judah, son and successor of Manasseh. Two parallel accounts of his reign are given in 2 K 21^{18-26} and 2 Ch 33^{20-25}.

---

* Acc. to some modern critics, however, Jg 11^{12-28} is a late interpolation (Moore, *Judges*, p. 283).

His name occurs in the genealogical list of the house of David, 1 Ch 3^{14}, and in that of the ancestry of our Lord, Mt 1^{10}. It is also mentioned in connexion with his son Josiah in Jer 1^2 25^3, Zeph 1^1.

A. came to the throne at the age of twenty-two, and his reign lasted two years (641–639 B.C.). It has been supposed that his name may have had some connexion with the Egyp. divinity Amon (see THEBES), and may thus be an illustration of the extent of his father's heathen sympathies. There is, however, no other evidence that in his cultivation of foreign forms of worship Manasseh was definitely influenced by Egypt, and the name A. may quite well be Hebrew.

All that we know of A. is that during his short reign he repeated all the idolatrous practices of his father's earlier years. He had been unaffected by Manasseh's tardy repentance and futile attempts at reform, and when he came into power he gave full scope to the heathen proclivities with which his youthful training had imbued him. The state of matters under A. may be inferred partly from the fact that 'he walked in all the way that his father walked in, and served the idols that his father served, and worshipped them' (2 K 21^{21}), partly from the evils that were found rampant at the time of Josiah's reformation (2 K 23^{4-14}, 2 Ch 34^{3-5}), and partly from the description which the prophets Zephaniah and Jeremiah give of the religious condition of Judah in the beginning of Josiah's reign (Zeph $1^{4-6\ 8-9}$ 3^{1-5}, Jer 2–6). An Asherah stood in the house of the Lord; incense was burned to Baal; the sun, moon, and stars were worshipped; idolatrous priests were maintained; and the name of Malcam was held as sacred as that of J″. Perhaps even human sacrifice was not discontinued. Idolatry in religion was accompanied by lawless luxury, and by the corruption of morals in every part of society. The rulers were violent, the judges rapacious, the prophets treacherous, and the priests profane.

A. was slain by conspirators, and was buried in the new burial-place in the garden of Uzza, where his father also lay. He was not the victim of a popular revolt, but of a palace intrigue; for the people slew his murderers, and set his son Josiah on the throne. It is possible that the plot against A. may have been connected with some attempt at religious reform, like the revolt of Jehu against Jehoram of Israel. If this was so, the attempt was a failure, and the popular reaction in favour of idolatry was strong enough to delay the revival of J″'s worship for nearly twenty years. But the record is so meagre that this must remain mere matter of conjecture.

LITERATURE.—For the last point, see Kittel, *Hist. of Heb.* ii. 378 f. There is a reading by one of the hands in the Alex. MS of the LXX which gives twelve years instead of two as the length of A.'s reign. This has been defended as authentic by George, Duke of Manchester (*The Times of Daniel*, London, 1845), on grounds of prophetical chronology, in which he is partly supported by Ebrard (*SK*, 1847, iii. 652 ff.). For the other side, see Thenius, *Die Bücher der Könige, in loc.*, and the note in Ewald (*Geschichte*, B. 3. S. 715; Eng. tr. iv. 206).

2. A governor of Samaria in the days of Ahab, mentioned in 1 K 22^{26} (אָמֹן) and 2 Ch 18^{25} (אָמוֹן). The prophet Micaiah was given into his custody when Ahab set out with Jehoshaphat on his fatal attempt against Ramoth-gilead. The LXX has some singular variations on this name. In 1 K he appears as *Σεμὴρ τὸν βασιλέα τῆς πόλεως* (or acc. to another reading *Ἀμμὼν τὸν ἄρχοντα*). In 2 Ch he is *Ἐμὴρ* (also *Σεμμὴρ*) *ἄρχοντα*. Josephus calls him *Ἀχάμων*. (See *ZATW*, 1885, S. 173 ff.) **3.** 'The children of Amon' (אָמוֹן) are mentioned in Neh 7^{59} among 'the children of Solomon's servants,' in the list of those who returned from the Bab. Exile with Zerubbabel and Jeshua. In the parallel list in Ezr (2^{57}) the name appears as Ami (אָמִי). **4.** Amon (god). See THEBES.

JAMES PATRICK.

AMORITES (הָאֱמֹרִי 'the Amorite').—The name has been supposed to signify 'mountaineer'; but the two Heb. words *'êmer* and *'âmîr*, by which the signification is supported, mean 'summit' and 'tower,' not 'mountain.' In the Bab. and Assyr. texts, as well as in the Tel el-Amarna tablets, the name is written Amurrâ, 'the Amorite,' the country being Amurri; the Egyp. form is Amur, 'Amorite.' Syria and Pal. were known to the Semites of Babylonia as 'the land of the Amorite' as far back as the time of Sargon of Akkad (B.C. 3800), and the Sumerian name Martu (which has been connected with that of the Phœn. city Marathus and mountain Brathy) is probably a modification of Amurrâ. According to an early Bab. geographical list (*WAI* ii. 50. 50), Sanir (the Senir of Dt 3^9) was a synonym of Subartum or northern Syria. In Sumerian times 'the land of the Amorites' was also known as Tidnim or Tidanu.

In the age of the Tel el-Amarna tablets (B.C. 1400) and of the Nineteenth Egyp. Dynasty (B.C. 1300) 'the land of the Amorites' denoted the inland region immediately to the north of the Pal. of later days. In many passages of the OT, however, the Amorites appear as the predominant population of Canaan, and accordingly (as in the cuneiform inscriptions) give their name to the inhabitants of the whole country (see 2 S 21^2, Am $2^{9.\ 10}$). The Hivites of Gn 34^2, Jos 9^7 11^{19} are Amorites in Gn 48^{22}, 2 S 21^2; the Jebusites of Jos 15^{63} 18^{28}, Jg 1^{21} 19^{11}, 2 S 5^6 24^{18} are Amorites in Jos $10^{5.\ 6}$ (cf. Ezk 16^3); and the Hittites of Hebron in Gn 23 take the place of the Amorites of Mamre in Gn 14^{13}. Strictly speaking, however, according to Nu 13^{29}, while the Amalekites, or Bedawiu, dwell in the desert to the south, and the Canaanites in the coast-lands of Phœnicia and the valley of the Jordan, 'the Hittites and the Jebusites and the Amorites dwell in the mountains.'

Amorite kingdoms also existed to the south and east of Palestine. In early days we hear of Amorites to the south-west of the Dead Sea (Gn 14^7, cf. Dt $1^{7.\ 44}$), but at the time of the Exodus their two chief kingdoms were those of Sihon and Og, on the eastern side of the Jordan (Dt 31^4, Jos 2^{10}). Og ruled in Bashan, Sihon more to the south, where he had driven the Moabites from the fertile lands between the Jabbok and the Arnon (Nu $21^{13.\ 26}$). The overthrow of Sihon and Og, and the occupation of their territories, were among the first achievements of the Israelitish invaders of Canaan (Nu 21^{21-35}). A fragment of an Amorite song of triumph over the conquered Moabites is given in Nu 21^{27-30}, where it is turned against the conquerors themselves.

Whether the Amorite kingdoms were the result of conquest, or whether the Amorites represented the original population of the country east of the Jordan, we do not know. A still more difficult problem is the relation between the Amorites and Hittites in southern Palestine. That the two peoples were interlocked there, we know from the statement of Ezk (16^3) in regard to the double parentage (Amorite and Hittite) of Jerusalem. In the north, in 'the land of the Amorites' of the cuneiform and Egyp. inscriptions, the interlocking was due to Hittite conquest. Before the reign of Tahutmes III. of the Eighteenth Egyp. Dynasty (B.C. 1504–1449), the Amorite stronghold of Kadesh on the Orontes had been captured by the Hittites, and had become their southern capital. The Hittites, however, were intruders from the north.

On the Egyp. monuments the Amorites are depicted as a tall race, with fair skins, light (also black) hair, and blue eyes (Tomkins, *Jrl. of the Anthropological Institute*, xviii. 3, p. 224). They thus resembled the Libyans (the Berbers of to-day), and belonged to the white race. The same type, with profiles resembling those of the Amorites on the Egyp. monuments, is still met with in Pal., especially in the extreme south. The tall stature of the Amorites impressed the Israelites (Nu $13^{28.\,33}$, Dt $2^{10.\,11}$ 9^{2}, if the Anakim are to be regarded as Amorites). Amorites from time to time settled in Egypt, and became naturalised subjects of the Pharaoh. Thus, in the reign of Tahutmes III., the sword-bearer of the king and his brother, a priest, were sons of an 'Amorite' and his wife Karuna.

In the age of the Tel el-Amarna correspondence, the Egyp. governor of the 'land of the Amorites' was Abd-Asherah (written Abd-Asirti and Abd-Asratu), who, with his son Ezer (Aziru), made successful war against Rib-hadad, the governor of Phœnicia, eventually driving him from his cities of Zemar and Gebal. Aziru seems to have been assisted by the forces of Babylon and Aram-naharaim (Mitanni). In some of his despatches to the Pharaoh he describes the Hittites as advancing southward, and as having captured Tunip and other Egyp. towns in northern Syria. The kingdoms of Og and (probably) Sihon did not as yet exist, 'the field of Bashan' (Ziri-Basana) being under the Egyp. governor Artama-Samas. One of the letters is from the king to the governor of 'the city of the Amorites,' and orders certain Amorite rebels to be sent in chains to the Pharaoh, whose names are Sarru, Tuya, Lêya, Yisyari (or Pisyari), the son-in-law of Manya, Dâsartî, Palûma, and Nimmakhê. About a century and a half later, Merenptah, the son and successor of Ramses II., built a town in the land of the Amorites (Anast. iii. *Rev.* 5), and one of the chief officials at his court was Ben-Mazana, the son of Yupa'a or Yau 'the great,' from Ziri-Basana. But we do not know whether Bashan was at the time under Amorite rule.

LITERATURE.—Sayce, 'The White Race of Ancient Palestine,' in the *Expos.* July 1888; *Races of the OT* (1891).

A. H. SAYCE.

AMOS (עָמוֹס).—

- I. The Prophet.
- II. The Prophecy.
  - 1. Authenticity.
  - 2. Contents.
  - 3. Theology.
  - 4. Style.
- III. Literature.

I. THE PROPHET.—This is the name of the prophet whose book in our Bibles* occupies the third place amongst the Minor Prophets.† The Gr. and Lat. Fathers, being for the most part unacquainted with Heb., frequently confounded his name with the quite different one of Isaiah's father, *Amoz*. Our prophet has no namesake in the OT.* It is almost certain that he was a Judæan by birth: Am 1^{1} is not absolutely decisive, but taken in conjunction with 7^{12} it seems to prove that he was a citizen of the southern kingdom. The attempts which have been made to prove his northern origin from the spelling of certain words (4^{10} 5^{11} $6^{8.\,10}$ 8^{3}) must be pronounced failures. He owned a small flock of a peculiar breed of sheep, ugly and short-footed, but valuable for their excellent wool [cf. 2 K 3^{4}, the only other passage where the word *noked* (Am 1^{1}) occurs]. These he pastured in the neighbourhood of Tekoa, in the wilderness of Judah. (See TEKOA.) Part of his livelihood was derived from the lightly-esteemed fruit of a few sycomore trees (7^{14}). His own account of himself ($7^{14.\,15}$) gives us the impression that, though poor, he was independent, and able, when occasion demanded, to leave his flock for a while. This is more probable than the supposition that he brought his sheep with him from Tekoa to Bethel. It is extremely likely that his father had followed the same occupation, for in the East avocations are hereditary. The omission of the father's name in the superscription of the prophecy would seem to indicate that he did not belong to a distinguished family (contrast Is 1^{1}, Jer 1^{1}, Ezk 1^{3}, Hos 1^{1}, Joel 1^{1} etc.). A worthless Jewish tradition makes the wise woman of Tekoa (2 S 14) to have been his grandmother.

In his day it was still common for those who appeared as prophets to come forth from circles where the practices and influences cherished were of such a nature as to prepare men for this high office. But he was doing his ordinary work when the impulse came which brought him to Bethel, the ecclesiastical capital of the N. kingdom, there to denounce the sins of Israel. God called him, without any intermediary (7^{15}; cf. Gal 1^{1}), and the call came with a constraining force which left no choice but to follow (3^{8}). External events, no doubt, had their influence. It is impossible to read the book without feeling how deeply A. had been impressed by the westward movement of the Assyr. colossus, and we may reasonably believe that the campaigns prosecuted in this direction by Salmanassar III. (783–773 B.C.), or by Assurdanil (773–755 B.C.), had excited his alarm. The note of time 1^{1}, 'two years before the earthquake,' does not afford much help in dating his mission. Zec 14^{5} assigns this earthquake to the reign of Uzziah of Judah; and Jerome, on Am 1^{1}, makes bold to identify it with the one which Josephus (*Ant.* IX. x. 4) asserts to have occurred as a punishment of Uzziah's sacrilege: 'quando iram Domini non solum pœna ejus, qui sacrilegus fuit, sed et terræ motus ostendit, quem Hebræi tunc accidisse commemorant.' Am 1^{1} fixes the prophet's activity in the period when Jeroboam II. of Israel was contemporaneous with Uzziah. This period extended from 775 to 750 B.C. The tone of the prophecy leaves little doubt that, when it was delivered, the bulk of Jeroboam's splendid achievements had already been wrought. The ministry of Amos should therefore be dated about 760 B.C. An attempt has recently been made, on the ground of internal evidence, to bring it down a quarter of a century, and date it about 734. This, however, would require us to set aside Am 7^{10-17}, a section which bears every mark of verisimilitude.

---

* The same order is observed in our editions of the Heb. Bible, but in the LXX Amos follows Hosea. The same is the case in the Syriac Lives of the Prophets. Greg. Naz. says—

> *Μίαν μὲν εἰσιν ἐς γραφὴν οἱ δώδεκα*
> *Ὡσῆε, κ᾽ ἀμώς, καὶ μιχαίας ὁ τρίτος.*

† The name has been very variously explained. Jerome, in his preface to Joel, understands it as meaning *one who bears a load*, but in the preface to Amos he makes it equivalent to *the people that is torn asunder*. Eusebius gives the alternatives *strong, faithful, tearing the people asunder*. A Rabbinical tradition asserts that 'the prophet was called Amos because he was heavy (=Heb. *'amas*) of tongue,' and represents the Lord as saying, 'I sent Amos, and they called him *stammerer*.' The Rabbis ascribed the same physical infirmity to Moses, Isaiah, and Jeremiah. Gesenius (*Thes.* 1044) was disposed to seek an Egyp. etymology, comparing such familiar Egyp. forms as *Amosis, Amasis*. But the most probable view is that which traces it to the verb *'amas* (=to bear), and looks on it as meaning *burden-bearer* or *burdened*. The attempt at explanation is carried too far when it is suggested that the name was imposed by the child's parents because of the heavy load of poverty which he was doomed to carry.

* Our English Bibles, agreeing in this with the majority of modern VSS, mention a second Amos. This is in St. Luke's account of the genealogy of Joseph, the putative father of our Lord, Lk 3^{25}. There is, however, some uncertainty as to whether the correct form is not Amoz. The Gr. Ἀμώς is not decisive, since it is used in the LXX indifferently for אָמוֹץ (Is 1^{1}) and עָמוֹס (Am 1^{1}), precisely as Jerome has *Amos* in both cases. The Peshiṭta also fails to help us. Whereas it transliterates the prophet's name ܥܳܡܽܘܣ and that of Isaiah's father ܐܳܡܽܘܨ, at Lk 3^{25} it combines the two forms ܥܳܡܽܘܨ. Delitzsch and Salkinson, in their *Heb. New Testaments*, decide in favour of Amoz, both giving אָמוֹץ. The question is not important. In any case we know nothing concerning the person named, and it is not possible to do more than state the negative conclusion that he cannot have been either the prophet of Tekoa or the father of Isaiah, seeing he is removed from Joseph by an interval of only seven generations.

Bethel was the principal scene of his preaching, perhaps the only one. When he had delivered several addresses there, Amaziah, the chief priest of the royal sanctuary, sent a message to the king, who does not seem to have been present, accusing the preacher of treason, and at the same time ordered the latter to quit the realm. Evidently there was some reason to fear that the oppressed poor might be stirred up to revolt against their lords and masters. The threats of coming judgment would disturb many hearers. The denunciation of cruelty and injustice would awake many echoes. Yet the priest's language evinces all the contempt which a highly-placed official feels towards an interfering nobody, a fellow who, as he thinks, gains a precarious livelihood by prophesying. Jeroboam does not seem to have paid much heed. In the Bab. Talm. *Pesachim*, fol. 87*b*, it is said: 'How is it proved that Jeroboam did not receive the accusation brought against Amos? . . . The king answered [in reply to Amaziah], God forbid that that righteous man should have said this; and if he hath said it, what can I do to him? The Shechinah hath said it to him.' The conversation is fictitious; but Amos doubtless withdrew unmolested, after disclaiming any official and permanent standing as a prophet, predicting Amaziah's utter destruction because of his impious hindrance of the divine word (7^{14-17}), and completing the delivery of his own message to Israel (8. 9). On reaching home he doubtless put into writing the substance of his speeches, and the roll thus written is the earliest book of prophecy that has come down to us.

Concerning his subsequent fortunes we are entirely in the dark. A late Christian tradition, originating probably in the 6th century of our era, affirms that Amaziah, the priest of Bethel, struck him frequently, and treacherously abused him, and finally Amaziah's son killed him, striking him on the forehead with a club, because he had rebuked him for the apostasy of worshipping the two golden calves. The prophet survived long enough to reach his own land [another version adds, 'at the end of two days'], and was buried with his fathers. It is much more likely that he reached Tekoa in peace, resumed his shepherd life, and eventually was gathered to his fathers. Jerome and Eusebius affirm that his sepulchre was still shown at Tekoa in their days. When Maundrell was in the neighbourhood in 1737 he was told that the tomb was in the village on the mountain. The Roman Church places Amos amongst the martyrs, and commemorates him on the 31st March, the Gr. Church on the 15th June. Amongst the Jews his freedom of speech gave offence even after his death, for the *Koh. Rab.* blames Amos, Jeremiah, and Ecclesiastes for their fault-finding, and states that this is the reason why the superscriptions to their books run, 'The words of Amos,' etc., and not, 'The words of God.'

II. THE PROPHECY.

1. The *Authenticity* of the writing which bears his name has never been seriously questioned. As to its *integrity* there is good ground for thinking that the following passages are later additions: $1^{1.2}$ $2^{4.5}$ 4^{13} $5^{8.9}$ 6^{2} $9^{5.8-15}$. Emendations of the *Massoretic text* have been suggested for the under-mentioned passages, and most of them merit careful consideration: $1^{11.13}$ 2^{13} $3^{5.9.11.12.14}$ $4^{1.2.3}$ $5^{6.9.11.12.16.26}$ $6^{2.8.10.12}$ $7^{1.2.4.14.17}$ 8^{6} $9^{6.10.11}$.

2. The *Contents* may be summarised thus:—Chs. 1 and 2: THE INTRODUCTION, which touches on the sins, first of the neighbouring nations and then of Israel, and announces their imminent punishment. Chs. 3–6: THE FIRST MAIN DIVISION OF THE BOOK; 3–4^{3} *A Minatory Discourse*, addressed chiefly to the ruling classes; 4^{4-13} *A Continuation of the same Speech*, now directed to the people in general, detailing the judgments by which God had sought to bring them back to Himself, and sharply pointing out that a more decisive stroke was at hand; 5: *A Second Address*, in which are contained lamentations, reproofs, exhortations to true religion as opposed to false, threats of ruin and captivity; 6: *A Woe upon the Luxurious, the Self-Confident, and the Proud.* Chs. 7–9: THE SECOND MAIN DIVISION OF THE BOOK; 7^{1-9} *Three Visions*; $^{10-17}$ *The Narrative of the Expulsion of Amos*; 8^{1-2} *A Fourth Vision*, the rest of the chapter being occupied with denunciations of the extortionate traders, the self-indulgent rich, the superstitious pilgrims; 9: *The Concluding Vision: The Inevitable Punishment of Wrong-doers: The Messianic Future.*

3. The distinguishing characteristics of this prophet's *Theology* are quite unmistakable:—

(1) *His Idea of God.*—Amos was an uncompromising monotheist. There is not a verse in his writings that admits the existence of other deities. But his conviction of the divine unity was not the result of philosophic thought and argument. It was an immediate certainty springing out of his deep sense of J″'s righteousness, nearness, greatness. So near and so mighty did He seem that there was no room for other gods, and hence there is no discussion of their claims. J″ is all-powerful in Heaven and Sheol, on Carmel and in the depths of the sea, in Caphtor and Kir, and Edom and Tyre. His might is shown in the control of human history (chs. 1 and 2, *passim*; 5^{21} 6^{14} 9^{7}), and esp. in His guidance of the fortunes of Israel. Every movement of the national life, spiritual and external, has been under His hand (2^{9-11}). In all the affairs of men there is no such thing as chance; it is His purposes that are constantly being wrought out: calamity, as well as prosperity, comes from Him (3^{3-8}). This implies His dominion over Nature, the completeness of which comes out in such sections as 4^{6-10}, where every natural calamity and scourge, dearth, drought, mildew, locust, pestilence, is traced to the direct exercise of His will. It scarcely need be added that the personality of God was clear to the prophet's mind. Hence it is that he does not shrink from anthropomorphism: J″ steps forth against the house of Jeroboam like an armed warrior (7^{9}); in pity for His people He changes His purposes (7^{3} etc.).

(2) *The relation between J″ and Israel.*—In common with all his countrymen, Amos believed that J″ was in a peculiar sense their God, and they His people. But they regarded the bond as a natural and indissoluble one, like that which was conceived to exist between other nations and their deities, so that, provided they paid His dues in the form of sacrifices, He was bound in honour, and for His own sake, to protect and bless them. The prophet, on the contrary, insisted that the relation was a moral one, not merely dissoluble, but certain to be dissolved if they fell below His standard of moral requirements. It is in the insistence on this, and in the statement of these moral requirements, that the splendid originality of Amos is most clearly evinced. Ceremonial worship has no intrinsic value (5^{21-23}): the only genuine service of God consists in justice and righteousness (5^{24}); when immorality and oppression are practised by His worshippers, God shrinks from contact with them as from a defilement: inhumanity and

unbrotherliness, nay even the failure to respect the sentiments of others (1^{3}–2^{4}), are hateful to Him when heathens are guilty of them, and much more so when Israel is (3^{2}). As to the illegitimate methods of worshipping the Lord, he has but little to say; 3^{14} 4^{4} 8^{14} show the scorn with which he regarded them. But it is the spirit, not the method, which finds in him so stern an antagonist. His main contention is that ritual, *as a substitute for the social virtues*, is an abomination. True religion consists in doing good and abstaining from harm. As in the Epistle of St. James, ethical considerations are paramount. Righteousness is the keynote of the prophecy. The word Love does not occur. This bent was due primarily to his apprehension of the divine character. God, to him, was the God of Righteousness rather than of Love. Not, of course, that the sense of the Divine Love is absent; ch. $7^{1\text{-}6}$ is a picture of the placableness which yields to the prophet's intercession, even at the moment when the stroke of punishment is falling. But in this particular Amos stands far below Hosea. The circumstances of the time helped to fix his view. Jeroboam's victories had brought wealth and power to the upper classes, but had left the poor worse off than of old. The basest advantage was taken of this; the wicked meanness of the powerful provoked Amos to contempt (2^{6}). Without being what is now called a socialist—for, indeed, he was in no respect a theorist—he felt deeply the rottenness of the social state; the dignity of man was being trampled on; the prevalent luxury was founded on oppression, and was sapping the life of those who practised it. He attacks this luxury unsparingly ($6^{4\text{-}6}$); even the custom of reclining at meals, recently introduced from the farther East, is twice rebuked (3^{12} 6^{4}). The peasant, as well as the prophet, may be felt here.

(3) *The Coming Judgment.*—The Book of Amos is the earliest writing in which the term 'The Day of J″' is used. Most probably it was current on the people's lips. They imagined that when the Lord arose in judgment it would be, not only for the establishment of His rule over the whole world, but also to their great benefit; all their sufferings would come to a perpetual end; dominion as large as David's would be restored to Israel. Amos saw that this 'Day' threatened to be one of judgment on Israel itself ($5^{18\text{-}20}$), and its coming appeared so inevitable that he speaks of it as already present. Unlike his predecessors, he looks on the result as totally destructive of the commonwealth ($2^{14\text{-}16}$ $3^{12\text{-}15}$ $4^{2.\,3.\,12}$ 5^{27} 6 *passim*, 7^{8} $9^{1\text{-}4.\,7}$). Repentance would have averted this (4), but the opportunity has passed. The great world-power which will serve as God's instrument is doubtless Assyria, but the prophet stops short of the mention of its name (5^{27} 6^{14}). Perhaps he was aware of the weakness under which the Eastern colossus then laboured, but believed that it would stand firmly on its feet again.

(4) *The Messianic picture in* $9^{8\text{-}15}$.—One of the weightiest reasons for regarding this as a later addition is its incongruousness with the Visions of Judgment which have preceded. It shows us the land entirely purged of the sinners, the rich officials who had abused their power. The Davidic kingdom is restored, no stress, however, being laid on the person or character of the prince at its head. The ancient bounds of the empire are re-established, foreigners, especially the hated Edomites, being reduced anew to subjection. The Israelite exiles have been brought home, and have rebuilt the waste cities. Agriculture and vine-growing flourish to a miraculous degree on a soil of immensely increased fertility. Israel has reached an earthly paradise, and will never be dispossessed. This is a picture which would have commended itself to the men who heard Amos, as his genuine predictions did not. One point there is in common: everything is human and earthly, there is no trace of expectation of a future life.

In so early a writer as Amos it is surprising to meet with so few signs of sympathy with the modes of thought and expression which were afterwards abandoned by the higher religion of the OT. At 7^{17} he appears to share in the common idea that other lands are unclean to an Israelite. At 9^{3} he adopts the widespread myth of a dangerous serpent inhabiting the sea, the creature, perhaps, which the dwellers on the Mediterranean coast-lands conceived of as swallowing, each evening, the setting sun. At 5^{8} (a disputed passage) there is probably a mythical idea involved in the mention of the constellation of 'The Fool.' (See art. ORION.) At 6^{10} (another disputed passage) the superstitious dread of pronouncing the divine name amidst inauspicious surroundings is referred to without reproof.

4. There was a time when Jerome's verdict on the *Style* of Amos, *imperitus sermone, sed non scientiâ*, was generally acquiesced in. Now, however, it is seen that the Christian Father was prejudiced by his Jewish teacher, and that the prophet was as little deficient in style as in knowledge. In point of fact, he is very little inferior to the best OT writers. His language is clear and vigorous; his sentences are well rounded. His imagery, mainly drawn, as was to be expected, from rural life (threshing-sledges, waggon, harvests, grasshoppers, cattle, birds, lions, fishing), is vivid and telling. He knows how to use the refrain (4), and the poetic lament (5^{2}); he is skilful in working up to a climax. Two or three solecisms in spelling may well be set down to transcribers. An Eastern shepherd is not necessarily uncultivated, though his culture be not derived from books. This shepherd's outlook was a wide one (1. 2. 9^{7}); his apprehension of the meaning of events uncommonly clear; his knowledge born of reflection and the touch of the Divine Spirit.

The boldness of his style was an expression of the boldness of the man and his thoughts. It required no small courage for a Judæan to enter Israelite territory for the express purpose of interfering in the religious and social life of the nation, denouncing everything as corrupt, threatening swift and utter ruin. Nor is that all. No speaker ever ran counter to the most cherished convictions of his auditors more daringly than the prophet who told them that the destinies of other nations are as really guided by God as those of His chosen people; 9^{7} is almost a contradiction of 3^{2}. His courage was derived from his conviction of the reality and dignity of his mission. When the Lord God hath spoken, the man who hears Him cannot but prophesy. And whoever else may fail to hear, the prophet does not; he is of the Privy Council ($3^{7.\,8}$, cf. Gn 18^{17}). That is the starting-point of Hebrew prophecy.

LITERATURE.—Calvin, *Prælect. in Duod. Proph. Min.* 1610; J. Gerhardi, *Adn. Posth. in Proph. Amos et Jon.* 1676; J. C. Harenberg, *Amos Proph. Exposit.* 1763; L. J. Uhland, *Annot. ad loc. quæd. Am.* 1779; J. S. Vater, *Amos übers. u. erklärt*, 1810; Juynboll, *Disputatio de Amoso*, 1828; Ewald, *Die Proph. des Alten Bundes*, 1840; Henderson, *Minor Prophets*, 1845, 1858; Baur, *Der Proph. Amos*, 1847; Gandell in *The Speaker's Commentary*, 1876; Hitzig-Steiner, *Die Zwölf Kl. Proph.* 1881; W. R. Smith, *The Prophets of Israel*², 1896; Hoffmann, 'Versuche zu Amos,' in *ZATW*, 1883; Gunning, *De Godspraken van Amos*, 1885; Davidson, *Expositor*, Mar. and Sept. 1887; Keil, *Die Kl. Proph.* 1888; Orelli, *Die Zwölf Kl. Proph.* 1888 (tr. by Banks); Bachmann, *Præparationen zu den Kl. Pr.* Heft 3, 1890; Farrar, *The Minor Prophets*; Wellhausen, *Die Kl. Proph.* 1892; Reuss, *Die Propheten*, Bd. ii. of *A.T.* 1892; Michelet, *Amos oversat.* 1893; Billeb, *Die wichtigsten Sätze der n. a. t. Kritik von Standp. der p. Am. u. H. aus betrachtet*, 1893; Guthe in Kautzsch's *A.T.* 1894; Cornill, *Der Isr. Prophet.* 1895; G. A. Smith, *The Bk. of the Twelve Prophets*, 1896; Driver,

Joel and Amos, 1897; last but not least, well deserving to be translated into Eng., Valeton, *Amos en Hosea*, 1894.

J. Taylor.

AMOZ (אָמוֹץ), father of the prophet Isaiah (2 K 19², Is 1¹, etc.), to be carefully distinguished from Amos (עָמוֹס) the prophet. See Amos (p. 85ᵇ n.)

AMPHIPOLIS (Ἀμφίπολις).—Amphipolis, mentioned in Ac 17¹ as a stage in St. Paul's mission-journey from Philippi to Thessalonica, was a city of Macedonia. It was situated on the eastern bank of the river Strymon, about 3 miles from the sea, closer to which lay its seaport Eion. The river, on leaving Lake Cercinitis, winds in a semicircle round the base of a terraced hill, on which the town was built, protected by the river on three sides, and by a wall along the landward chord of the arc. It was, as Thucydides (iv. 102) says, conspicuous (περιφανής) toward sea and land; and this is probably the import of its name, 'the all-around (visible) city' (Classen, *in loc.*, who suggests the parallel of *Umbstadt* in Upper Hesse). Its importance, already marked by its earlier name 'Nine Ways' (Ἐννέα ὁδοί), made its possession keenly contested, alike on military and mercantile grounds. The Athenians founded a colony under Hagnon in B.C. 437, which presented a history of chequered fortunes and varied interest, in its surrender to Brasidas, the fight under its walls between Brasidas and Cleon in which both fell, its refusal to submit again to the mother-city, its repeated attempts to assert its independence, till it passed into the possession of the Macedonians under Perdiccas and Philip, and eventually into that of the Romans. By these A. was constituted a free city, and made the capital of the *first* of the four districts into which, in B.C. 167, they divided the province (Liv. xlv. 18. 29). The Via Egnatia passed through it. It was called in the Middle Ages *Popolia* (Tafel, *Thessal.* p. 498 f.), and is now represented by a village called *Neochori*, in Turkish *Jenikoei* (see plan in Leake, *N.G.* ii. 191). Zoilus, the carping critic of Homer, was a native, and wrote a history of it in three books (Suidas, *s.v.*).

William P. Dickson.

AMPLIATUS (Ἀμπλιᾶτος, RV correctly with ℵ A B F G, Vulg. Boh. Orig., for TR Ἀμπλιᾶς, D E L P, AV Amplias, the abbrev. form).—A Christian greeted by St. Paul (Ro 16⁸) as the 'beloved in the Lord.' It is a very common Roman slave name. (Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 172; *CIL* vi. 4899, 5154, etc.)

Some further interest attaches to the name. It occurs in one of the earliest chambers of the Catacomb of St. Domitilla, inscribed in large, bold letters over a cell belonging to the end of the 1st or beginning of the 2nd cent. A later inscription in the same chamber also contains the same name. The simplicity of the earliest inscription suggests a slave, and the prominence assigned to the name suggests that it belonged to some prominent member of the early Roman Church, perhaps a member of the household of Domitilla.

Literature.—De Rossi, *Bull. Arch. Chrit.* Ser. III. vol. vi. (1881) pp. 57–74; *Athenæum*, March 4, 1884, p. 289; Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, p. 424.

A. C. Headlam.

AMRAM.—(עַמְרָם 'the people is exalted'). 1. A Levite, son of Kohath and grandson of Levi (Nu 3¹⁷⁻¹⁹, 1 Ch 6²· ³· ¹⁸). He married Jochebed his father's sister, by whom he begat Aaron and Moses (Ex 6¹⁸⁻²⁰) and Miriam (Nu 26⁵⁹, 1 Ch 6³). 2. A son of Bani who had contracted a marriage with a 'strange woman' in the time of Ezra (Ezr 10³⁴).

Amramites, The (הָעַמְרָמִי).—A branch of the Kohathite family of the tribe of Levi. The name occurs in the account of the census taken by Moses (Nu 3²⁷), and again in the Chronicler's account of the organisation of the Levites in the time of David (1 Ch 26²³).

W. C. Allen.

AMRAPHEL (אַמְרָפֶל), mentioned as 'king of Shinar' (Gn 14¹). Schrader, who suggested that the name was a corruption for 'Amraphi' (אַמְרָפִּי), was the first to identify this king with Khammurabi, the 6th king in the 1st Dynasty of Babylon. The cuneiform inscriptions inform us that Khammurabi was king of Babylon and N. Babylonia; that he rebelled against the supremacy of Elam; that he overthrew his rival Eri-aku, king of Larsa; and, after conquering Sumer and Accad, was the first to make a united kingdom of Babylonia. He reigned 55 years. Winckler gives the date of his reign as 2264–2210: Sayce (*Patr. Pal.* p. 12) gives 2320 as the date of his uniting Babylonia. But the chron. is uncertain. The name is given by Hommel as Chammurapaltu (*Gesch. d. Morgenlandes*, p. 58), and it has sometimes been transcribed as Chammu-ragas. Mr. Pinches considers Amraphel to be a Sem. name = Amar-apla = Amar-pal ('I see a son'), or Amra-apla = Amrapal ('see a son').

It is clear that the identification is not free from difficulty, so far as the Biblical account is concerned. (1) The date of Khammurabi, according to the reckoning of Winckler and Sayce, etc., is 400 years earlier than the cent. to which Gn 14 is generally ascribed. (2) A. is described as 'king of Shinar'; and Shinar has generally been identified with Shumer, the S. part of Babylonia. Khammurabi, while subject to the suzerainty of Elam, was king of Babylon and N. Babylonia, but not of Shumer or S. Babylonia. This difficulty has been met by the assumption that Shinar is to be understood to denote in Gn all Chaldæa, of which Babylon was the capital. No great exactitude in geog. terms can be expected. Shinar (Sangar), in the inscriptions, seems to be situated in Mesopotamia. Possibly Heb. tradition confused the Shinar of Mesopotamia with the Shumer of S. Babylonia.

It seems best at present to suspend judgment upon this much disputed identification. The results of Assyriological research in illustration of Gn 14 are still much disputed.

Jos. (*Ant.* I. ix.) transcribes the name as Ἀμαραψίδης, although the LXX has Ἀμαρφάλ.

H. E. Ryle.

AMULETS (לְחָשִׁים Is 3²⁰, AV ear-rings).—1. *Origin.* The connexion with *laḥash*, to mutter as a snake-charmer (Ps 58⁵), points to something that has had whispered or chanted over it words of power and protection. Cf. Heb. *ḥarṭom*, magician, and its connexion with *ḥereṭ*, the graving-pen of the learned writer, and the Arab. 'talisman' similarly associated with the *ṭailasan* or long robe of the sacred dervish. The same idea of power through secret lore and sanctity is exemplified at the present day in Jerus., where crucifixes, pictures of the Virgin, and rosaries are laid on the pavement at the door of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre so as to give them this holy value in the market.

2. *Meaning.* The central meaning of the a. is something that faith may clasp as a prophylactic against known and unknown dangers. It assumes a connexion between holiness and healing, between piety and prosperity, the first being appreciated for the sake of the second. It is a testimony to the sense of sin, for it is only that which is wanting in holiness that requires to be covered or protected. Hence the Arab. proverb says, 'The eye of the sun needs no veil.' Its light is pure, and therefore no protection is required.

The a. unites the protector and the protected; what lays a duty on divine power lays on human weakness a corresponding devotion. Fulness of consecration makes fulness of claim. Hence to the Oriental mind familiar with this amulet faith, the words seem very natural, 'Be strong in the Lord, and in the power of His might.' 'Perfect love casteth out fear.' 'I can do all things in Him that strengtheneth me.' Thus the a. has a true word of power, for it teaches, 'When I am devoted, I am endued.' By a similar vehicle the apostle reaches the experience which says, 'When I am weak, then am I strong.'

3. *Classification.* This corresponds with the dangers and the points of contact. There is an a. *for the heart* (illust. 1) worn almost universally in the East. It is a locket suspended over the breast, and consists sometimes of a small metal case of gold or silver, but more freq. of a heart-shaped sheath of cloth ornamented with a design in gold thread. This may contain for the Moslem a few words from the Koran, called a *ḥejab*, covering, protection; and if for a Christian, a picture of the Virgin and Child, called a *ṭaubeh*, 'penitence.' With this may be classed the neck-amulet. See CRESCENT. Similarly, there were a^s for the nose and mouth for the dangers by inhalation; for the ear and the temptations of hearing; for the eye and what meets its vision (illust. 3, 7, 8). And so the veil for the head and face, and the sheet enveloping the whole figure of the Oriental woman, now the formalities of modesty, were doubtless once full of superstitious meaning. See VEIL. Amulet articles among the Jews are chiefly the fringes of large and small tallith: the mezuza; the paper with Ps 121 and certain Abracadabra formulæ, which the Rabbi puts in the room where there is an infant less than eight days old; and the phylacteries of the brow and arm. See PHYLACTERY. Amulets are also used for the protection, not only of animals such as camels and horses, but even for newly-built houses, such protection usually taking the form of a roughly-drawn human hand in black or red, or of a cactus plant or aloe hung

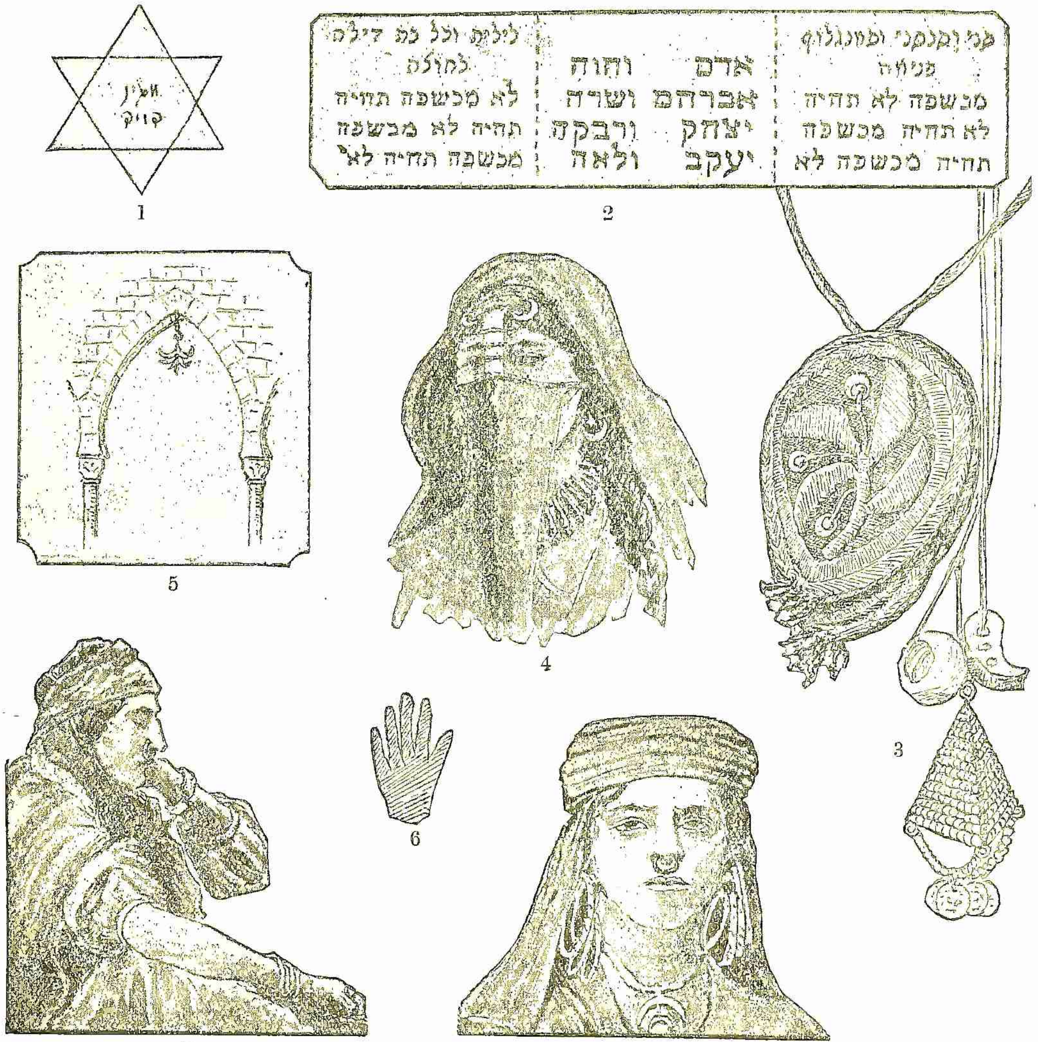

AMULETS.

1. The 'Shield of David,' or 'Solomon's Seal,' a favourite a. among the Jews. 2. Extract from Jewish Birth-A., which gives, under Ps 121, the names of the Patriarchs and their wives, with a formula at each side forbidding the approach of Lilith or any witch. 3. Breast-a. (*taubeh*). 4. Eye-a., seen in the brass thimble-like ornament on the nose of the Egyptian woman. 5, 6. Cactus, and black or red hand-a^s. 7, 8. A^s for nose and ears, worn by Bedawin women, along with necklace, bracelets, and armlet.

by the roots from the arch of the doorway and kept alive by the moisture of the air (illust. 5 and 6). G. M. MACKIE.

AMZI (אַמְצִי).—1. A Merarite, 1 Ch 6^{46}. 2. A priest in the second temple, Neh 11^{12}. See GENEALOGY.

AN.—1. An, called the indef. article, is the old Eng. form of the num. adj. *one*. As early as 1150 the *n* is found dropped before a consonant, and at the date of the AV the usage had become general to employ *a* before a consonantal sound (including *u* and *eu* pronounced *yu*), and *an* before a vowel sound (including silent *h*). Some hesitation is found when the art. precedes a word beginning with *wh*. Thus we find 'an whole' in Nu 10^{2} (ed. of 1611), but 'a whole' in Nu 11^{20}; 'an whore' in Pr 23^{27} (ed. 1611), 2 Es 16^{49} (ed. 1611), but 'a whore' elsewhere. Again, the ed. of 1611 gives 'such an one' in Job 14^{3}, Sir 6^{14} 10^{9} 20^{15}, 2 Mac 6^{27}; but 'such a one' in Gn 41^{38}, Ru 4^{1}, Ps 50^{21} 68^{21}, Sir 26^{28}, 1 Co $5^{5.11}$, 2 Co 10^{11} $12^{2.5}$, Gal 6^{1}, Philem ^{9}. Later edd. give 'such an one' in all these passages.

More varied is the usage when the art. precedes *h*. In the ed. of 1611 (the later edd. have made many changes) we find 'a habitation,' Jer 33^{12}, but 'an hab.' in Ex 15^{2}, Is 22^{16} 34^{13} and other five places; 'a hair' in 1 K 1^{52}, Lk 21^{18}, but 'an hair' in Dn 3^{27}, Mk 21^{18}, Ac 27^{34}; 'a hairy,' Gn 27^{11}, but 'an hairy,' Gn 25^{25}, 2 K 1^{8}; 'a hammer,' Jer 23^{29}, but 'an hammer,' Jg 4^{21}; and so with many other words. The explanation of this inconsistency probably is, not that the usage for *a* or *an* was not fixed, but that there was no fixed pronunciation of *h*. On the whole, *an* is found more frequently than *a* before words beginning with *h*.

2. In 'an hungered' ('a hungered' is not found in AV 1611), which occurs Mt 4^{2} $12^{1.3}$ $25^{35.37.42.44}$, Mk 2^{25}, Lk 6^{3}, the *an* is not the indef. art., but the prep. *an* or *on*. See A^{3}. J. HASTINGS.

ANAB (עֲנָב 'grapes').—A city of Judah in the Negeb hills (Jos 11^{21} 15^{50}), inhabited first by the Anakim. Now the ruin *'Anab* near Debir. It is noticed as still a village in the 4th cent. A.D. (*Onomasticon, s.v.* Anab). *SWP* vol. iii. sh. xxiv.
C. R. CONDER.

ANAEL ('Αναήλ, but חננאל Syr. and Heb., and חמאל Aram.) was brother of Tobit and father of Achiacharus, To 1^{21}.

ANAH (עֲנָה).—1. A daughter of Zibeon, and mother of Oholibamah, one of Esau's wives, Gn $36^{2.14.18.25}$ (R). The mention of a *daughter* in this genealogical list has been used to prove that kinship amongst the Horites was traced through women (W. R. Smith in *Journal of Philology*, ix. p. 50). As is pointed out, however, in RVm, some ancient authorities (including LXX. Sam. Pesh.) read *son* instead of daughter, which would identify this A. with 2. a son of Zibeon, Gn 36^{24} (R), 1 Ch $1^{40.41}$. 3. A Horite 'duke,' brother of Zibeon, Gn $36^{20.29}$ (R), 1 Ch 1^{38}. If we take A. as an eponym rather than a personal name, and think of relationships between clans rather than individuals, it is quite possible to reduce the above three references to one. This can be done all the more readily by adopting with Kautzsch in Gn 36^{2} the reading הַחֹרִי 'the Horite' as in v.^{20} instead of MT הַחִוִּי 'the Hivite.' In regard to No. 2 the note is appended, 'This is A. who found the hot springs (AV the mules) in the wilderness, as he fed the asses of Zibeon his father' (Gn 36^{24}). For the Heb. הַיֵּמִם which is a ἅπ. λεγ., LXX offers the unintelligible τὸν Ἰαμείν, Sam. has הָאֵימִים 'the Emim' (an aboriginal race of giants mentioned in Gn 14^{5}, Dt $2^{10.11}$), and is followed by Onk. and Pseud.-Jon. It was simply the context that gave rise to the conjecture accepted by Luther and AV that the word means *mules*. The Vulg. trn. (*aquas calidas*) prob. is correct (so Kautzsch, 'die heissen Quellen'), and 'the hot springs' may possibly be identified with Callirrhoë to the E. of the Dead Sea. The chief difficulty in accepting this interpretation is that no root for the word can be discovered which would suit such a meaning (*Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*; cf. Dillmann and Delitzsch on Genesis, *l.c.*). J. A. SELBIE.

ANAHARATH (אֲנָחֲרָת), Jos 19^{19}, mentioned with Shion (*'Ayûn Sh'aîn*) and Rabbith (*Râba*) on the east side of the Plain of Esdraelon in Issachar. It is the modern *en-Na'urah* of Jezreel in the Valley of Jezreel. *SWP* vol. ii. sheet ix.
C. R. CONDER.

ANAIAH (עֲנָיָה 'J" hath answered').—1. A Levite Neh 8^{4}, called Ananias 1 Es 9^{43}. 2. One of those who sealed the covenant Neh 10^{22}.

ANAK, ANAKIM (עֲנָק, עֲנָקִים, Ἐνάκ-ιμ).—It is often said that Anak is the name of the person from whom the Anakim were regarded as having their descent. But the name Anak occurs without the article only in the descriptive phrase 'sons of Anak' Dt 9^{2}, Nu 13^{33} 'And there we saw the Nephilim, the sons of Anak of the Nephilim.' If we have any account of a person called A., this is the account; and he is said to be one of the ancient Nephilim or demigods. (See NEPHILIM). But probably here, as in all the other places (Jos $15^{13.14}$ 21^{11}, Jg 1^{20}, Nu $13^{22.28}$), we have a descriptive phrase for a race of men, rather than the name of an ancestor. In these other places the article is used. We have 'the Anak,' or 'the Anok,' the word being used collectively, and denoting the race, just as does the plural Anakim. If a progenitor for this race is mentioned, he is Arba (which see), and not Anak.

The Anakim were of the giant race (Nu $13^{32.33}$, Dt 1^{28} $2^{10.11.12.20.21}$ $9^{1.2}$). They had their seat notably at Hebron, but also farther N., and near the Mediter. coast (Jos 14^{12-15} $11^{21.22}$). They seem to have been, however, rather a race of men than an independent people or group of peoples. Politically, they were Amorite or Perizzite or Philistine, as the case might be. The wars in which Joshua and Caleb conquered them were not separate from their wars against the Can. peoples. Presumably the Anakim were relatively unintellectual, were subordinate to the Amorite, and were for that very reason the more formidable as fighters against a common enemy. For additional particulars see GIANT and REPHAIM. W. J. BEECHER.

ANAMIM.—The Anamim (עֲנָמִים, Ἐνεμετιείμ, Αἰνεμετιείμ) are stated in the ethnographical list Gn 10^{13}, 1 Ch 1^{11}, to have been descendants, or a tribe, of Mizraim, *i.e.* Egypt. They have not yet been identified. The attempts to discover this people in one or other of the races represented on the Egyp. monuments have been based on some more or less striking similarity in the name. Ebers identifies them with the Aamu or Naamu (Anamaima), *i.e.* cowherds, who are included among the tribes ruled by the Pharaohs 15th or 14th cent. B.C. They occupy the second place in the procession (after the Rutu or Lutu), and are represented as reddish men of Sem. type, as is shown by the head of the man who represents them in the grave of Seti I. They immigrated into Egypt before the Hyksos from Asia. Their capital was on the Bucolic arm of the Nile, and, in addition to being cattle rearers, they were importers of Asiatic products to Egypt (see Riehm, *HWB*).
J. MILLAR.

ANAMMELECH (עֲנַמֶּלֶךְ).—A god worshipped along with Adrammelech with rites like those of Molech by the foreign settlers brought by the Assyrians to Samaria (2 K 17^{31}, cf. v.^{24}). The worshippers are said to have come from Sepharvaim=Ṣabara'in, a Syrian city destroyed by Shalmaneser (Bab. Chronicle, col. i. line 28, in Winckler, *Keilinschr. Textbuch.* Cf. Halévy, *ZA*, ii. 401, 402). Winckler (*AT Untersuchungen*, p. 97 ff.), doubting that *Syrians* would be settled in Samaria, a district so near their own land, takes Sepharvaim as a false reading, or false editorial correction, introduced from 2 K 18^{34}, for Sipar (Sippar), the well-known city of Northern Babylonia.

The first part of the word Anammelech contains perhaps the name of the Bab. god of the sky, or of a third of the sky, Anu. The whole name is taken by Schrader (*KAT*^{2}, 1883, p. 284) to mean 'Anu is prince,' but the meaning is doubtful. Possibly the writer of Kings meant by the name to identify the Bab. Anu with the Ammonite Molech —Anu-Molech.

W. E. BARNES.

ANAN (עָנָן, cf. Sabean ענן).—1. One of those who sealed the covenant, Neh 10^{26}. 2. 1 Es 5^{30}=Hanan, Ezr 2^{46}, Neh 7^{49}.

ANANI (עֲנָנִי=עֲנָנְיָה).—A son of Elioenai, 1 Ch 3^{24}.

ANANIAH (עֲנַנְיָה 'J" hath covered'), Neh 3^{23}.—The father of Maaseiah, and grandfather of Azariah, who took part in rebuilding the walls of Jerus. He was probably a priest. Cf. v.^{22}.

ANANIAH (עֲנַנְיָה Neh 11^{32}).—A town inhabited by Benjamites after the Captivity. According to Robinson, the present *Beit Hanina*, a village 2 miles N. of Jerusalem. The position near Nob and Anathoth, and east of Gibeon, renders this identification probable. See ELON; and *SWP* vol. iii. sh. xiv.

C. R. CONDER.

ANANIAS.—A 'disciple' who lived in Damascus, and to whom the Lord appeared in a vision, bidding him go and baptize Saul of Tarsus. Saul had been prepared for his coming by a vision. A. hesitated at first, knowing Saul's reputation as a persecutor; but, being encouraged by the Lord, went and laid his hands upon Saul, who received his sight, arose, and was baptized. Such is the account in Ac 9^{10-18}. In St. Paul's speech to the multitude at Jerus. (Ac 22^{12-16}) we are told that A. was a man 'devout according to the law' and one 'to whom witness was borne by all the Jews that dwelt' at Damascus; and some further words of his to St. Paul are given in which he speaks of Christ as 'the Just One.' He is not mentioned in St. Paul's speech to Agrippa.

The traditions about him are not of a primitive kind. In Pseudo-Dorotheus' list of the 72 disciples (and also in the Hippolytean list) he occurs fifth in order, after Thaddæus and before Stephen, and is represented as Bishop of Damascus In the Bk of the Bee by Solomon of Basra (1222), (c. xlix. ed. Wallis Budge), A. is numbered among the seventy. He was the disciple of the Baptist, and taught in Damascus and Arbêl. He was slain by Pôl, the general of the army of Aretas, and was laid in the church which he built at Arbêl. The Gr. *Menæa* (Oct. 1) say that he did many cures in Damascus and Eleutheropolis (being bishop of the former place), and was tormented with scourging and burning by Lucian the Prefect (Rom. Mart. Licinius), and was finally cast out of the city and stoned. The Basilian Menology adds that he was ordained by Peter and Andrew, and gives a picture of him being stoned by two men. The Abyssinian Calendar commemorates him on the 6th of Tekemt. In the Rom. Martyrology he occurs on Jan. 25; in the Armenian on Oct. 15.

The full Gr. acts of his martyrdom have never been printed, but the Bollandists, under Jan. 25, give a Lat. VS of them, in which the scene of his preaching is said to have been Bethagaure or Betagabra, near Eleutheropolis. He is likely to have been among the personal disciples of the Lord, and has a better claim to stand in the list of the seventy disciples than most of those who appear in the work of Pseudo-Dorotheus.

M. R. JAMES.

ANANIAS (Ἀνανίας=Heb. חֲנַנְיָה 'J" hath been gracious').—1. A son of Emmer (1 Es 9^{21})=Hanani of Ezr 10^{20}. 2. A son of Bebai (1 Es 9^{29})=Hananiah of Ezr 10^{28}. 3. One of those who stood at Ezra's right hand at the reading of the law (1 Es 9^{43})= Anaiah of Neh 8^4. 4. A Levite (1 Es 9^{48})=Hanan of Neh 8^7. 5. The name which the angel Raphael gave as that of his father, when he introduced himself to Tobit under the assumed name of Azarias (To $5^{12.13}$). 6. An ancestor of Judith (Jth 8^1). 7. The husband of Sapphira. He fell down dead at the rebuke of St. Peter, and the same fate, three hours afterwards, befell his wife (Ac $5^{1ff.}$). The intention of this narrative is sometimes misunderstood as regards both the offence of these persons and the cause of their death. It is quite a mistake to suppose that a rigid system of communism was enforced in the Jerusalem Church, and that A. and Sapphira by 'keeping back part of the price' violated a rule they had pledged themselves to obey. St. Peter's words suffice to refute this notion: 'Whiles it remained, *did it not remain thine own?* and after it was sold, *was it not in thy power?*' But it was inexcusable hypocrisy to retain part of the price and pretend to surrender the whole. 'They wished to serve two masters, but to appear to serve only one' (Meyer). As to the *fact* of their sudden death, even Baur and Weizsäcker admit that a genuine tradition underlies the narrative. As to its *cause*, whatever this may have been from a secondary point of view, there can be no doubt that in Acts it is traced to *the deliberate will and intention of St. Peter.* (Note esp. v.^{9} and cf. the parallel case of St. Paul and Elymas in Ac 13^{11}.)

LITERATURE.—Baur, *Paulus*, i. 28 ff.; Neander, *Planting of Christianity*, Bohn's tr. i. 27 ff.; Weizsäcker, *Apost. Age*, i. 24, 55 f.; Comm. of Alford, Meyer, etc.

8. See preceding article. 9. The high priest before whom St. Paul was brought by Claudius Lysias (Ac $23^{1ff.}$), and whose outrageous conduct upon this occasion provoked the apostle to apply to him the contemptuous epithet of 'whited wall.' The same A. shortly afterwards appeared at Cæsarea amongst St. Paul's accusers before Felix (Ac $24^{1ff.}$). He was the son of Nedebæus, and held the high priesthood from *c.* 47–59 A.D. He owed his appointment to the office to Herod of Chalcis. During his administration there were bitter quarrels between the Jews and the Samaritans, and these seemed on one occasion likely to lead to his deposition. On account of a massacre of some Galilæans by the Samaritans, the latter had been attacked and many of their villages plundered by the Jews. A. was accused of complicity in these acts of violence, and was sent by Quadratus, the governor of Syria, to stand his trial at Rome. Powerful influence was at work at the imperial court on the side both of the Samaritans and the Jews; but, thanks to the efforts of the younger Agrippa, Claudius gave his decision in favour of the high priest, and A. returned to discharge the functions of an office which he disgraced by his rapacity and violence. It was no uncommon thing for him to send his servants to the threshing-floors to take the tithes by force, while he defrauded the inferior priests of their dues, and left some of them to die of starvation. His own end was a miserable one. His sympathies had always been with the Romans, and he had thus incurred the hatred of the nationalist party. When the great rebellion broke out which ended in the siege and destruction of Jerus., A. concealed himself, but was discovered. and murdered by the fanatical populace.

LITERATURE.—Jos. *Ant.* XX. v. 2, VI ii. 3, IX. ii. 3; *Wars* II xvii. 9; Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 173, 188 f., 211, II. i. 182, 200 ff.

J. A. SELBIE.

ANANIEL (Ἀνανιήλ), one of the ancestors of Tobit, To 1^{1}. A Gr. form of חֲנַנְאֵל.

ANATH (עֲנָת), the father of Shamgar, Jg 3^{31} 5^{6}. 'Anât is the name of a goddess worshipped in Pal., cf. Jg 1^{33}, Jos 15^{59}, Is 10^{30}; it is found on Egyptian monuments from the 18th dynasty.

G. A. COOKE.

ANATHEMA. See ACCURSED.

ANATHOTH (עֲנָתוֹת).—1. A town in Benjamin assigned to the Levites (Jos 21^{18}, 1 Ch 6^{60}), named from (possibly plural of) 'Anâth or 'Anât, a Chaldæan deity worshipped among the Canaanites (Sayce, *Hibbert Lect.* pp. 187-189; Vogüé, *Mel.* 41 ff.), now called *'Anâta*. It is situated 2½ miles north-east of Jerusalem over the shoulder of Scopas. There are still twelve or fifteen houses on the spot, and the remains of what was apparently a handsome church. From its commanding position it has a fine view northward and also eastward over the broken hills of the wilderness, stretching down towards the north end of the Salt Sea. It was the home of Abiathar, 1 K 2^{26}; of Abiezer, one of David's thirty captains, 2 S 23^{27}; of Jehu, one of his mighty men, 1 Ch 12^{3}, and of Jeremiah the prophet, Jer 1^{1}. It was reoccupied after the Exile (Ezr 2^{23}, Neh 7^{27}, 1 Es 5^{18}). A quarry at 'Anâta still supplies building stone to Jerusalem. The vision of the dreary wilderness to the east, and the scorching of its dry winds which Jeremiah was familiar with in his native town, have imprinted themselves on his prophecies. To one standing upon Scopas, Anathoth is lying at his feet, Is 10^{30}.

2. A personal name—(*a*) the son of Becher a Benjamite, 1 Ch 7^{8}. Possibly this and Alemeth following are names of towns in which sons of Becher dwelt. (*b*) Neh 10^{19}, possibly stands for 'men of Anathoth' (7^{27}).

Anathothite (הָעַנְּתֹתִי) is the uniform designation in RV of an inhabitant of Anathoth. AV offers such variants as **Anetothite, Anethothite, Antothite.**

A. HENDERSON.

ANCHOR.—See SHIP.

ANCIENT has now a narrow range of usage. In AV it is freely applied to men, as Ezk 9^{6} 'then they began at the a. men'; Ezr 3^{12} 'many of the priests and Levites . . . a. (RV 'old') men.' Cf. Luttrell (1704), 'Sir Samuel Astry (being very antient) has resigned his place of clerk'; and Penn, *Life* (1718), 'This A.M.C. aforeseid, is an Ancient Maid.' Following the Heb. (and LXX) a. is used as a subst., as Is 3^{2} 'the judge and the prophet and the prudent and the a.'; but esp. in the plur., as Ps 119^{100} 'I understand more than the a^{s}' (RV 'aged'). In these places 'the ancients' are mostly a definite class, the Elders of Israel, or of some tribe or city. See ELDER IN OT.

Wright (*Word Book*^{2} p. 36) points out that 'the ancient' is used for the plur. in the Pref. of 1611; it is probable that in Job 12^{12} we have an instance of the same: 'With the ancient (RV 'with aged men') is wisdom'; while Sir 39^{1} is unmistakable, 'seek out the wisdom of all the ancient' (*πάντων ἀρχαίων*, RV 'ancients').

J. HASTINGS.

ANCIENT OF DAYS (עַתִּיק יוֹמִין).—A common Syriac expression, used three times of the Divine Being in Daniel ($7^{9.\ 13.\ 22}$), at first without the article (wrongly inserted by AV in v.^{9}), and meaning simply 'old,' 'aged,' (see RV). The expression has no reference to the *eternity* of God, and does not bear upon the question of the date of the book, as if it carried a contrast to the *New Divinities* introduced by Antiochus Epiphanes. It is a representation natural to the fearless anthropomorphism of the Bible, which never hesitates to attribute to the Deity the form and features of man. The object is to convey the impression of a venerable and majestic aspect.

עַתִּיק, *ancient*, is properly an Aram. word: in Heb. it occurs once only, in the late passage 1 Ch 4^{22}.

A. S. AGLEN.

ANCLE (Ezk 47^{3}) and **ancle-bones** (Ac 3^{7}).—This is the spelling of AV after Coverdale and Tindale. Camb. Bible and RV spell *ankle*. In old Eng. the spelling is indifferent. Shaks. has even *anckle*. Besides the above, RV gives 'ankle chains' in Nu 31^{50} (AV 'chains'), and in Is 3^{20} (AV 'ornaments of the legs').

J. HASTINGS.

AND is used in AV both as a copulative and as a conditional conjunction. 1. As a copul. conj., the Oxf. Dict. points out the use of *and* to express the *consequence*, as Gn 1^{3} 'God said, Let there be light; and there was light'; Lk 7^{8} 'I say unto one, Go, and he goeth'; Mt 8^{8} 'Speak the word only, and my servant shall be healed'; Lk 10^{28} 'This do, and thou shalt live.' Cf. Scottish Paraphrases 35^{3}—

> 'My broken body thus I give
> For you, for all; take, eat, and live.

Thus *and* is often more than a mere copula. It even has an adversative force in 'he answered and said, I go, sir: *and* went not' (Mt 21^{30}). 2. In middle Eng. *and* was used conditionally (=*if*), a usage which Skeat and others believe to have been borrowed from Iceland. Cf. Bacon, *Essays*, 'It is the nature of extreme self-lovers, as they will set an house on fire, and it were but to roast their egges.' Of this use of *and* Wright points to Gn 44^{30}, Nu 5^{30} as examples. When *and* meant *if*, it was often spelt *an*, and was often strengthened by adding *if*. Hence we find *and*, *an*, *an if*, *and if*, all=*if*. In AV we have Mt 24^{48} (Lk 12^{45}) 'But and if (RV 'But if') that evil servant shall say in his heart'; Lk 20^{6} 'But and if (RV 'But if') we say'; 1 Co 7^{28} 'But and if (RV 'But if') thou marry'; 1 P 3^{14} 'But and if (so RV) ye suffer.' Except 1 P 3^{14} (ἀλλ' εἰ καί), the Gr. is always ἐὰν δέ.

J. HASTINGS.

ANDREW.—The first-called apostle, brother of Simon Peter: their father's name was Jonas or John, and their native city was Bethsaida of Galilee. Their mother's name is traditionally Joanna.

NAME.—The name Andreas (Ἀνδρέας) is Greek. It is usually believed to occur first in Herodotus (vi. 126), where it is the name of the great-grandfather of Cleisthenes of Sicyon. It occurs also in Dio Cassius (lxviii. 32), in the form Ἀνδρείας, as the name of a rebel Jew in Crete in Trajan's reign. There are other instances of the name, but it is not very common.

REFERENCES TO HIM IN NT.—In the Synoptists the call of Peter and A. while they were fishing is narrated by Mt 4^{18-22} and Mk 1^{16-20}. It took place at the Sea of Galilee. The narrative in no way implies that this was their first meeting with the Lord. The name of A. next occurs in Mk 1^{29}, where Jesus enters the house of Simon and A. and heals the mother-in-law of Peter. Next in the list of the Twelve, where Mt and Lk place him after Peter and before James and John, while Mk's order is Peter, James and John, Andrew. In Mk 13^{3} he is coupled with Peter, James, and John in the question put to our Lord about the time of the End. His name does not elsewhere occur in the Synoptists. In St. John's Gospel he is much more prominent. In ch. 1 A. is a disciple of John the Baptist. He hears the words, 'Behold the Lamb of God,' follows Christ, and spends a day with Him. He then brings his brother Peter to Christ, and may probably have had to do also with the call of Philip, who was of the same city. In ch. 6 it is A. who volunteers information about the lad with the loaves and fishes, on the occasion of the feeding of the five thousand. In ch. 12 the Greeks who desire to see Jesus apply to Philip; Philip tells A.; and the two tell Jesus. In Ac 1 A. occurs for the last time, in the list of the apostles, following James and John, and preceding Philip (as in St. Mark).

SUBSEQUENT TRADITIONS.—In the 2nd cent. A. was the hero of one of the romances attributed to Leucius, a Docetic writer. We have a fairly comprehensive abridgment of this book in the *Miracula Andreae* of Gregory of Tours, besides some episodes and fragments of the original Gr., in part yet unedited. The fullest discussion of the literature is in Lipsius, *Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten* (i. 543–622): see also Bonnet's ed. of some late Gr. *Encomia*, based on the Leucian Acts, in *Analecta Bollandiana* (xiii., and separately).

Briefly summarised, the literature consists of:—

(1) *Acta Andreae et Matthaei* (or *Matthiae*), ed. by Tischendorf, *Act. Apost. Apocr.* Matthew or Matthias is a captive in the land of the Anthropophagi. Christ sends A. to rescue him: and then assumes the guise of a seaman and takes A. and his disciples (who seem to be Alexander and Rufus) to the country in question. Matthew is rescued, and A. is tormented by the savage natives for several days. He then causes a flood to overwhelm the city; the result is a general conversion. The most interesting part of the story is perhaps the account of a miracle done by our Lord, which A. narrates during the voyage. We have this legend in Ethiopic, Syriac, and Anglo-Saxon: the last-named is a poetical version by Cynewulf, the Northumbrian poet, preserved in the famous Vercelli Codex.

(2) *Acta Petri et Andreae*, ed. Tischendorf in *Apocalypses Apocryphae*. Imperfect in Gr.; extant (as Acts of St. Jude) in Ethiopic, and complete in Old Slavonic. It contains a realisation of our Lord's saying about the camel passing through a needle's eye. It is exceedingly doubtful whether this belonged to the original Leucian novel.

(3) *Miracula Andreae*, by Gregory of Tours, ed. Bonnet, in the 2nd vol. of Gregory's works in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. This must be coupled with the Gr. *Encomia*, which cover much the same ground.

The scene of A.'s preaching is laid in the land of the Anthropophagi (Myrmidonia), then in Amasea, Sinope, Nicæa, Nicomedia, Byzantium, Thrace, Macedonia, and Patræ in Achaia, where the martyrdom takes place.

The traditions of the martyrdom at Patræ are fairly constant. A. is crucified by the pro-consul Aegeas or Aegeates, because by his preaching he has induced the pro-consul's wife Maximilla to leave her husband. Until recently the best authority for the martyrdom was taken to be a certain Epistle of the priests and deacons of Achaia, first published by Woog in 1749, and then by Tischendorf. However, M. Max Bonnet has proved in an article in the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (1894) that this is a tr. from Lat. into Gr. The nearest approach which we as yet possess to the Gr. original is in the *Miracula* and *Encomia*, coupled with some quotations made by Augustine and others.

So much for our knowledge of the Leucian Acts.

We possess Acts of A. in Coptic (fragmentary) and Ethiopic, some of which couple this apostle with Bartholomew and with Paul. The Acts of A. and Bartholomew seem to be modelled on those of A. and Matthew. Those of A. and Paul, which are incomplete, and exist only in Coptic, give an account of Paul's descent into Hades by way of the sea, of his return, and of how a Scarabæus (*δίκαιρον*) was employed by the two apostles to obtain entrance for them into a city which the Jews had shut against them. The Egyp. Acts of A. assign crucifixion and stoning as the manner of his death.

Other traditions may be mentioned. Origen (*ap. Eus. HE* iii. 1) makes A. preach among the Scythians, that is, on the Black Sea; cf. the Leucian Acts. At Sinope an image of A., said to have been made in his lifetime, was long preserved; and also the seat where he taught, which was of white marble. He was regarded as the apostle of Byzantium, where he ordained Stachys as first bishop.

Lipsius believes that the legend of the preaching in Achaia arose from a confusion between the Tauric branch of the Achæans on the E. shore of the Black Sea, and the Achæans in the N. of the Peloponnese.

A. appears as the author of a gospel condemned in the so-called Gelasian Decree. No trace of it is to be found elsewhere. There are references to him in the Clementine Recognitions (i. 56, where he answers the Sadducees; ii. 62 *sqq.*). He appears as legislator in the Ὅροι καὶ κανόνες, and in the Apostolic Constitutions. He also figures in the Acts of Polyxena and Xanthippe. His relics were rediscovered in Justinian's time at Constantinople; and remained there until 1210, when Cardinal Peter of Capua brought them to Amalfi. They are said to have been brought from Patrae to Constantinople in 357 or 358 by Artemius. His cross, or part of it, is in St. Peter's at Rome, enclosed in one of the four great piers of the dome.

The appropriation of the decussate or saltire cross to St. Andrew is of very late date. In the 13th cent. (*e.g.* in a statue at Amiens) he commonly holds the upright cross.

Documents relating to the translation of the arm of St. Andrew into Scotland by St. Regulus (who is variously placed, in the 4th, 5th, and 9th cent.) may be seen in the Bollandists under Oct. 17.

His festival in the Lat. and Gr. Churches is on Nov. 30; it occurs in the Lat. *Martyrium*, and in the Kalendar of Carthage.

LITERATURE.—Lipsius, Bonnet, Tischendorf, *ll.cc.*; Malan, *Conflicts of the Holy Apostles*; von Lemm, *Kopt. Apokr. Apostelacten.*

M. R. JAMES.

ANDRONICUS (Ἀνδρόνικος).—A Christian greeted by St. Paul in Ro 16^{7} together with Junias. They are described as being (1) 'kinsmen of St. Paul,' probably implying 'fellow-countrymen.' The word is used in this sense in Ro 9^{5}. It would be unlikely that so many as are mentioned in this chapter (vv.$^{7.\,11.\,21}$) should be kinsmen in a more literal sense. (2) They are called by St. Paul his 'fellow-prisoners.' They may have shared with the apostle some unrecorded imprisonment (cf. 2 Co 11^{23}, Clem. Rom. *ad Cor.* v.), or, like him, been imprisoned for Christ's sake. It is unlikely that the term is used in a metaphorical sense. (3) They were 'distinguished among the apostles,' a phrase which probably means that they were distinguished members of the apostolic body, the word APOSTLE (which see) being used in its wider sense. (4) They were Christians before St. Paul, so that they belonged to the earliest days of the Christian community. The name is Greek, and like most others in this chapter was borne by members of the imperial household (*CIL* vi. 5325, 5326, 11,626). It would have been common in the East. (See the Commentaries, *ad loc.* For later traditions, which add nothing historical, see *Acta Sanctorum*, May, iv. 4.)

A. C. HEADLAM.

ANEM (עָנֵם), 1 Ch 6^{73} only.—A town of Issachar, noticed with Ramoth. It appears to answer to Engannim (which see) in the parallel list (Jos 21^{29}), but might perhaps represent the village of *'Anîn* on the hills west of the plain of Esdraelon. This place, which is well watered—whence perhaps its name, 'two springs'—is the Anea of the fourth century A.D. (*Onomasticon, s.v.* Aniel and Bethana), which had good baths, lying 15 Roman miles from Cæsarea. Eusebius, however, identifies this site with Aner. *SWP* vol. ii. sheet viii.

C. R. CONDER.

ANER (עָנֵר, LXX Αὐνάν, Sam. עֶנְרָם).—One of the three Amorite chieftains, the other two being Mamre and Eshcol, who were bound, in virtue of their 'covenant' with Abraham, to render him assistance, when he was sojourning at Hebron (Gn 14$^{13.\,24}$). As Mamre is an old name for Hebron (Gn 23^{2}) and Eshcol is the name of a valley not far from Hebron (Nu 13^{23}), it is natural to suppose that Aner also was the name of a locality which gave its name to a clan. Dillmann (*in loc.*) compares *Ne'ir*, which is the name of a range of hills in the vicinity.

H. E. RYLE.

ANER (עָנֵר), 1 Ch 6^{70} only.—A town of Manasseh, west of Jordan (not noticed in the parallel passage Jos 21^{25}). The site is doubtful. Possibly *'Ellâr*, north-west of Shechem. *SWP* vol. ii. sh. xi.

C. R. CONDER.

ANGEL (מַלְאָךְ *mal'āk*, Sept. ἄγγελος and otherwise).—i. The word is frequently used of men in the sense of 'messenger,' especially in the plur. Gn 32^{3}, Nu 21^{21}, Dt 2^{26}, Jos 6^{17}. In the sense of 'angel' the term is chiefly used in the sing. in earlier writings, but plur. Gn 19$^{1.\,15}$ (J), and 'angels of God,' Gn 28^{12} 32^{1} (E). In later books, particularly the poetical, the plur. occurs oftener, Job 4^{18}, Ps 78^{49} 91^{11} 103^{20} 104^{4} 148^{2}, and in such books as

Zec and Dn plurality is implied. So in Job 1^{6} 2^{1}; in Gn 32^{2} they are a 'camp' or host, and in Dt 33^{2} 'myriads'; cf. Ps 68^{17}. In the writing P (Priests' Code) no mention is made of angels. Like the existence of God, the existence of angels is presupposed in OT, not asserted. They are not said to have been created, rather they are alluded to as existing prior to the creation of the earth, Job 38^{7} (Gn 1^{26} ?, cf. 3^{22} 11^{7}). When they appear, it is in human form: they are called 'men,' Gn 18$^{2.\,16.\,22}$ 32^{24}, Jos 5^{13}, Ezk 9$^{2.\,3.\,11}$, Dn 3^{25} 10$^{16.\,18}$; the 'man Gabriel,' Dn 9^{21} (cf. Lk 24^{4}, Ac 1^{10}), and apart from the seraphim (Is 6^{2}) are nowhere in OT represented as winged (Rev 8^{13} 14^{6}), though Philo so describes them (*πτεροφυοῦσι*). In NT they are called 'spirits' (He 1^{14}), but not so in OT, where even God is not yet called spirit (Jn 4^{24}). To Mohammed the angel Gabriel was the 'holy spirit.' When they appear they speak, walk, touch men (1 K 19^{5}), take hold of them by the hand (Gn 19^{16}), and also eat with them (Gn 18^{8}, though, on the other hand, cf. Jg 6^{20} 13^{16}). The statement Ps 78^{25} that 'men did eat the food of angels' (lit. the mighty, Ps 103^{20}, Jl 3^{11}), a statement repeated in Wis 16^{20}, 2 Es 1^{19}, can hardly be more than poetical colouring of the fact that the manna came down from heaven, as the parallelism both in Ps 78^{24} and Wis. shows; cf. Jg 9^{13}, Ps 104^{15}.

ii. In a number of passages, *e.g.* Gn 16$^{7-14}$ 22$^{11.\,14.\,15}$, Ex 3^{2}, Jg 2$^{1.\,4}$ 5^{23} 6$^{11-24}$ 13^{3}, mention is made of 'the angel of Jehovah,' AV the 'LORD' (J); and in others, *e.g.* Gn 21$^{17-19}$ 31$^{11-13}$, of 'the angel of God' (E). Similar passages are Gn 18. 32$^{24-30}$ compared with Hos 12^{4}, Gn 48$^{15.\,16}$. According to the general grammatical rule the rendering 'an angel of the Lord' is inaccurate, though some instances may be doubtful; so 'the angel of God' necessarily Gn 31^{11}, and even 21^{17}, cf. v.^{19}. The angel of the Lord appears in human form, Gn 18, or in a flame of fire, Ex 3^{2}, or speaks to men out of heaven in a dream, Gn 31$^{11.\,13}$. It has been disputed whether 'the angel of the Lord' be one of the angels or J″ Himself in self-manifestation. The manner in which he speaks leaves little room to doubt that the latter view is the right one: the angel of the Lord is a theophany, a self-manifestation of God. In Gn 31$^{11.\,13}$ the angel of God says, 'I am the God of Bethel'; in Ex 3$^{2.\,6}$ the angel of the Lord says, 'I am the God of thy father' . . . 'and Moses was afraid to look upon God'; cf. Jg 13^{22}. In Gn 16^{10} the angel of the Lord says to Hagar, 'I will greatly multiply thy seed,' and 21^{18} 'the angel of God called to Hagar out of heaven . . . lift up the lad; for I will make him a great nation.' The angel identifies himself with God, and claims to exercise all the prerogatives of God. Those also to whom the angel appears identify him with God: Gn 16^{13} Hagar 'called the name of J″ that had spoken to her, thou art a God that seest' (all-seeing); Gn 18 the angel is called 'the Lord'; Jg 6^{11} it is said 'the angel of the Lord came,' but in vv.$^{14.\,16}$ he is called directly 'the Lord'; Jg 13^{22} Manoah says, 'We shall surely die, for we have seen God.' And to name but one other passage, Gn 48$^{15.\,16}$, Jacob says, 'The God before whom my fathers did walk, the God who hath fed me all my life long, the angel which hath redeemed me from all evil, bless the lads.' On the other hand, the angel of the Lord distinguishes between himself and the Lord, just as the Lord distinguishes between Himself and the angel. The latter says to Hagar, Gn 16^{11} 'J″ hath heard thy affliction'; cf. Gn 22^{15}. Nu 22^{31} 'The Lord opened the eyes of Balaam, and he saw the angel of the Lord'; and in Mal 3^{1} the 'angel of the covenant' is different from J″, and yet he is J″ who cometh to His temple. So, on the other hand, the Lord says, Ex 23$^{20.\,23}$ 'I send an angel before thee,' and 'Mine angel shall go before thee' (Ex 32^{34} 33^{2}). But how these last passages are to be interpreted appears from Ex 33$^{14.\,15}$ (14^{19}) 'My face (I myself) shall go with thee' . . . 'if thy face (thou thyself) go not with us, carry us not up hence.' The 'angel of His face' (presence) is not an angel who sees His face or stands before it, but one in whom His face (presence) is reflected and seen; cf. Ex 23^{21} 'My name (fulness of revealed Being, Is 30^{27}) is in him.' The Sept. rendering of Is 63^{9} 'not an ambassador' (reading צִר), 'nor an angel, but Himself (Heb. His face) saved them,' is scarcely the meaning of the original. The mere manifestation of J″ creates a distinction between it and J″, though the identity remains. The form of manifestation is, so to speak, something unreal (Dt 4$^{12.\,15}$), a condescension for the purpose of assuring those to whom it is granted that J″ in His fulness is present with them. As the manifestation called the angel of the Lord occurred chiefly in redemptive history, older theologians regarded it as an adumbration or premonition of the incarnation of the second Person. This idea was just in so far as the angel of the Lord was a manifestation of J″ on the earth in human form, and in so far as such temporary manifestations might seem the prelude to a permanent redemptive self-revelation in this form (Mal 3$^{1.\,2}$); but it was to go beyond the OT, or at any rate beyond the understanding of OT writers, to found on the manifestation distinctions in the Godhead. The only distinction implied is that between J″, and J″ in manifestation. The angel of the Lord so fully represented or expressed J″ that men had the assurance that when he spoke or acted among them J″ was speaking or acting.

iii. As 'messengers' (*mal'akim*) sent to men, angels usually appear singly, but in Gn 19 two visit Lot; Gn 28^{12} 'the angels of God' ascend and descend upon the ladder, and Gn 32^{1} 'the angels of God' meet Jacob, who says, 'this is God's host' (lit. camp); 'and he called the name of the place Mahanaim' (two camps, or as RVm plur., companies). In Job 1^{6} 2^{1} the 'sons of God' who present themselves to report upon their ministrations are numerous. Sometimes the plur. is used indefinitely, as Ps 78^{49} 'evil angels,' 91^{11} 'He shall give His angels charge over thee,' Job 33^{22} 'the destroyers'; cf. 2 S 24$^{16.\,17}$. Angels do not usually, at least in early writings, mediate the phenomena of the physical world, they operate in the moral and redemptive sphere; but the angel of the Lord smites with pestilence, 2 S 24; and with death, 2 K 19^{35}; and Satan, on special permission of God, sets the lightning and whirlwind in motion against Job, and smites him with sore boils, 1$^{16.\,19}$ 2^{7}. It is perhaps rather a poetical and realistic conception of the special providence of God, though with reminiscences of early history, when it is said that the angel of the Lord encamps round about those that fear him, Ps 34^{7}, and thrusts down their enemies, Ps 35$^{5.\,6}$, and that the angels bear up in their hands the righteous, Ps 91^{11}, cf. Nu 20^{16}. More literal is the statement that they interpret to the individual the meaning of God's afflictive providences in his life, Job 33^{23}; and so Job 5^{1} the idea is hazarded that they might interest themselves in the afflictions of men and hear an appeal from them, or perhaps intercede or mediate in their behalf. In Ezk and Zec the angels interpret divine visions given to men; but see under § v. Passages referring to the intervention of angels are such as these: 2 S 24^{16}, 1 K 19$^{5.\,7}$, 2 K 1^{15} 19^{35}, Ezk 9^{2}. In some of these cases it may be difficult to decide whether the angelic manifestation be not the angel of the Lord. The passages 1 S 29^{9}, 2 S 14$^{17.\,20}$ 19^{27} are also somewhat obscure. The first passage, where Achish says that David is good in his sight, might be rendered 'as an angel of God,' that is, probably in valour (Zec 12^{8}), wisdom (2 S $14^{17.20}$), and moral rectitude; in the others the natural rendering is 'as the angel of God.' The art., however, in comparisons often designates the class, while our idiom uses the indef. art. 'an angel,' or the plur. 'the angels' of God. The point in the comparison is the penetration and wisdom of the angel, and reference might be to some such ideal being as is spoken of Job $15^{7.8}$. If allusion were to the historical 'angel of the Lord,' the original features of the phenomenon would have somewhat faded and the conception been generalised.

iv. It belongs less to the sphere of redemptive history than to the conception of the majesty of J″ the King (Is 6^{5}), when God is represented as surrounded by a court in heaven, by multitudes of ministers that do His pleasure, and armies that execute His commands. He has a 'council' (סוֹד Ps 89^{7}, cf. the four and twenty elders, Rev 4^{4}); a 'congregation' (עֵדָה Ps 82^{1}, קָהָל Ps 89^{5}) surrounds Him, 'hosts' who are His ministers (Is 6^{2}, 1 K 22^{19}, Ps $103^{20.21}$ 148^{2}). These superhuman beings are called 'sons of Elohim' (Job 1^{6} 2^{1}, cf. Dn 3^{25}), or 'sons of Elim,' Ps $29^{1.9}$ 89^{6}, but possibly simply 'Elohim,' Ps 8^{5} 97^{9}, and 'Elim,' Ex 15^{11}. The rendering 'sons of God' is possible, and Ps 82^{6} 'sons of the Most High,' if said of angels, would be in favour of it; but, on the other hand, the word Elim (אלים) seems nowhere an honorary plur. applicable to a single being, but always denotes strict plurality. The probability, therefore, is that the right rendering is not 'sons of God,' but 'sons of the Elohim,' 'sons of the Elim,' that is, members of the class of beings called Elohim and Elim, just as 'sons of the prophets' means members of the prophetic order or guilds (cf. *sing.* Dn 3^{25}). The names Elohim and El are prehistoric, and their etymology is quite unknown; they are also the names for 'God,' and these beings around God's throne are no doubt conceived of in contrast with men as sharing in an inferior way something of divine majesty. They are also called 'Holy Ones' (קדשׁים), though the term 'holy,' originally at least, did not describe moral character, but merely expressed close relation to God. Cf. Dt 33^{2}, Zec 14^{5}, Ps 89^{7}, Job 5^{1}, and often. The OT assumes the existence of these beings, and the belief goes back beyond the historic period. Interesting attempts have been made to explain the origin of the idea. It has been suggested that these beings, subordinate to J″ and His servants, are the gods of the nations now degraded and reduced to a secondary place by the increasing prevalence of the monotheistic conception in Israel (Kosters, *ThT*, 1876). There is little or nothing in OT to support this theory. Israel probably speculated little on the gods of the nations, except of those, such as Egypt and Babylon, with whom they came into contact; and though J″ be greater than all gods (Ex 18^{11}), He nowhere regards them as His ministers, but manifests the strongest hostility to them, *e.g.* those of Egypt Ex 12^{12}, Is 19^{1}, Ezk 30^{13}, of Babylon Is 21^{9} $46^{1.2}$, and generally Zeph 2^{11}. The monotheism of Israel did not subordinate the gods to J″ as His ministers, but rather denied their existence, and described them as vanities (nonentities), Ps $96^{4.5}$, Jer $10^{5.11}$. The fact that J″ is compared or contrasted with the sons of Elohim in heaven, Ps 89^{6-8}, and also with the Elohim or gods of the nations, Ps 86^{8} $96^{4.5}$ 97^{9}, is certainly remarkable, but scarcely sufficient to establish the identity of the two; and if in later times the idea finds expression that God had subjected the nations to the rule of angels, while the rule of Israel was reserved for Himself (Dt $32^{8.9}$ in Sept., Sir 17^{17}, Dn $10^{13.20}$ 12^{1}, cf. Dt 4^{19} 29^{26}, Is 24^{21}), this is hardly an old idea that the angels were the gods of the nations reappearing in an inverted form, but a new idea suggested to Israel by its own religious superiority to the nations, and perhaps its way of explaining heathenism. Another view goes back to what was presumably the oldest phase of Shemitic religion for an explanation. Men, conscious of being under the influence of a multitude of external forces, peopled the world with spirits, whose place of abode they thought to be great stones, umbrageous trees, fountains, and the like. Gradually these varied spirits came to be regarded as possessing a certain unity of will and action, and by a further concentration they became the servants of one supreme will, and formed the host of heaven. Such speculations regarding possible processes of thought among the family out of which Israel sprang, in periods which precede the dawn of history, are not without interest; they lie, however, outside OT, which, as has been said, assumes the existence of J″'s heavenly retinue. The God of Israel is above all things a living God, who influences the affairs of the world and men, and rules them. If He uses agents, they are supplied by the 'ministers' that surround Him. This is true (though denied by Kosters) even in the oldest period of the literature, Gn 28 and 32, Jos 5^{13} and Is 6, where one of the seraphim ministers purification and forgiveness to the prophet; and the same appears in the scene depicted in 1 K 22^{19}. The idea is even more common in the later literature: Ps $103^{20.21}$. J″'s hosts are also ministers who do His pleasure, Ps 148^{2}. In Job 1^{6} 2^{1} it is the sons of the Elohim who present themselves to report upon the condition of the earth and men; in 33^{23} the interpreting angel is one among a thousand (5^{1}), and 4^{18} his 'servants' are also his 'angels' (messengers). Naturally, however, as the idea of ministering hosts belongs to the conception of J″ as sovereign, some of the breadth with which the idea is expressed may be due to the poetical religious imagination, as when God's warriors are represented as mighty in strength, Ps 103^{20}; as 'heroes' with whom He descends to do battle with the nations, Jl 3^{11}, Zec 14^{5}; as myriads of chariots, Ps 68^{17}; and as chariots and horsemen of fire, 2 K $6^{16.17}$, Is 66^{15}, Dt 33^{2}, Dn 7^{10}. (On the other hand, Hab 3^{8}, God's chariots and horses are the storm clouds.) In particular, these hosts accompany J″ in His self-revelation for judgment and salvation, Dt 33^{2}, Zec 14^{5}, Jl 3^{11}, and in NT this trait is transferred to the *parousia* of Christ (Mt 25^{31}). It is less certain whether the divine name J″ (God) of hosts be connected with these angelic hosts; it is, at any rate, a title correlative, expressing the majesty and omnipotence of J″ (Sept. often παντοκράτωρ). Finally, to men's eyes the myriads of stars, clothed in light and moving across the heavens, seemed animated, and there was a tendency to identify them with the angelic host—an identification made easier by the belief that man's life was greatly under the influence of the stars (Job 38^{33}). In Job 38^{7} the morning stars are identical with the sons of the Elohim. Cf. Jg 5^{20}, Is 14^{12} 24^{21} 40^{26}, and on 'host of heaven' 2 K 17^{16} 21^{3}, Jer 19^{13}, Zeph 1^{5}. The idea that the stars are angels receives large development in the Book of Enoch, *e.g.* 18^{13-16}, and even Rev $9^{1.11}$ a star and the angel of the abyss are identified.

v. About the time of the Exile and after the Return a manner of thinking appears which, though from the phraseology used it might seem a development in angelology, is really rather a movement in the direction of hypostatising the Spirit of God. In the older period, as that of the Judges, J″ rules His people through His Spirit, which inspires the leaders who judge and save Israel. And in the older prophets the Spirit operates within the prophet, who is enabled to conceive J″'s purposes and operations in thought and express them in language. But in Ezk 40 seq. 'a man' accompanies the prophet and explains to him his vision. This 'man' is the prophetic spirit objectivised. Even before this time, in Micah's vision, 1 K 22^{21}, 'the spirit' who comes forth is the spirit of prophecy personified. The process is carried a step further in Zec: not only is the prophetic spirit hypostatised as 'the angel that spake with me' (1$^{13.19}$ 2^{3}), but the operations of J″ among the nations are personified as horsemen and chariots. That which in the older prophets was an inward spirit and *thoughts*, has become an 'angel,' and symbolical agencies which the 'angel' interprets. But that much of this at least is more religious symbolism than strict angelology appears from the visions in 1^{18} 5$^{1.5}$. It is, however, the Spirit of God—not only as spirit of prophecy, but in general, as God in operation, controlling the destinies of the nations and of His people—that is chiefly symbolised in Zec. This is most broadly seen in ch. 4, which is strangely misread when the seven lamps are supposed to represent the light shed by God's people, their spiritual life. The seven lamps are the seven eyes of the Lord (4^{10}), and the seven eyes are the seven spirits (the manifold spirit) of God. To be compared is Rev 1^{4}, where the salutation comes from God and Christ and the seven spirits; Rev 4^{5} 'there were seven lamps of fire burning before the throne, which are the seven spirits of God'; and Rev 5^{6} 'a lamb having seven eyes, which are the seven spirits of God sent forth into all the earth.' Zec 4 is an expansion of 3^{9}, and its purpose is to symbolise that Spirit of God which goes out over all the earth, controls the history of the nations in the interest of His people, and secures the completion of the temple, which the Lord shall enter and abide in, when He removes the iniquity of the land in one day (3^{9})—not by might nor by power, but by My Spirit (4^{6}). The two olive trees, 'sons of oil' (cf. Is 5^{1} a hill, the son of oil = an 'oily' hill), stand beside the Lord of the whole earth, *i.e.* in heaven, cf. 6^{5}, and cannot be Joshua and Zerubbabel. Whether the duality of the trees expresses some idea in the prophet's mind obscure to us, or whether it be merely part of the symmetry of the symbol, may remain undecided. Other writings of this period give prominence to the Spirit of God, Jl 2^{28}, and show a tendency to hypostatise it, Is 63$^{10.11}$ 48^{16}, Gn 1^{2}, Ezk 2^{2} 8^{3}, Ps 139^{7}. The 'angel of the Lord' in Zec. has the same double aspect as elsewhere, and as the angel of the covenant in Mal, cf. 1^{11} with 3$^{1-4}$.

vi. Two further developments complete what is said in OT of angels—(1) a moral distinction appears among the angels; and (2) a distinction of rank. The first distinction is not carried far, and the second naturally follows from the idea of an army or host. In the earliest period angels seem morally neutral, they are so much the messengers of God and the medium of His relation to the world that their own character does not come into question. They have always something of the meaning of an impersonal phenomenon, Jehovah's operations or providence made visible and sensible. Of course the angel of the Lord being Jehovah's 'face,' and embodying His 'name,' exhibits also His moral nature, Ex 23$^{20-22}$. But 'evil' angels are angels who execute judgment, Ps 78^{49}, Job 33^{22}. The spirit from God who troubled Saul is called 'evil' merely from the effects which he produces, 1 S 16^{14}. In 1 K 22 even the personified spirit of prophecy becomes 'a lying spirit,' just as elsewhere J″ Himself deceives the prophets, Ezk 14^{9}. In writings of the age of the Captivity, and later, however, a being appears called the **Satan** (opposer, accuser), one of the sons of the Elohim, who displays hostility to the saints and people of God, Job 1^{6} 2^{1}, Zec 3. Even in these books he has as yet little personal reality. He is a voice 'bringing sin to remembrance' before God. The scene Zec 3 is greatly symbolical. The evil conscience of the people and their fear, suggested by their miserable condition, that their sins still lay on them, and that God's favour had not yet returned to them, are symbolised by the accusing Satan; while the angel of the Lord is God's own voice assuring them of His gracious favour. There is perhaps an advance on the idea of Satan in Job, though even there he finds no place in the dénouement of the drama. In two ways, perhaps, the conception of evil angels became clearer: first, it was natural that the accusing angel should take on something of the nature of his office, and appear as the enemy of the saints and of Israel. This step seems already taken in Job. And, secondly, there was always a greater disinclination to ascribe moral evil in men to God. In no part of OT is God represented as the primary author of evil thoughts or actions in men; if He instigate them to evil, it is in punishment or aggravation of evil they have already committed. But at a later time the instigation to evil freely ascribed in earlier times to God (1 S 26^{19}, 1 K 22^{20}) is attributed to Satan, cf. 2 S 24^{1} with 1 Ch 21^{1}. Further development hardly appears in OT. The 'serpent' of Gn 3 is identified with Satan in Wis 2^{24} and in NT. In Dt 32^{17}, Ps 106^{37} mention is made of 'demons' (שֵׁדִים), which, however, appear to be the false gods to which children were sacrificed, 1 Co 10^{20}. In Assyr. *shîdu* is the name given to the inferior deities represented by the bull-colossus. Popular imagination peopled the desert with demons, Is 13^{21} 34^{14}, among which was a night-spectre, Lilith; and to the same category possibly belongs Azazel (AV scapegoat), to whom the live goat was consigned on the Day of Atonement (cf. Zec 5^{11}), Lv 16$^{8.10.26}$ (Enoch 10^{4}), although this is by no means certain. These demons, however, do not belong to the angelic host, and lie outside the moral world. Relatively to God, the angels, though the purest beings, are imperfect, Job 4^{18} 15^{15} 25^{5}.

In Dn 10$^{13.20.21}$ the various countries have their guardian or patron angels, Michael being the prince of Israel (Jude ^{9}, Rev 12^{7}); later theology reckoned seventy of these angels (Dt 32^{8}, Gn 46^{27}). And in Is 24 the universal wickedness of the world appears laid at the door of its rulers, whether angelic or human, and the judgment of God falls on 'the host of the high ones on high, and the kings of the earth upon the earth' (vv.$^{21.22}$); and many interpret Ps 58. 82 of the same angelic rulers. Apart from the idea suggested in § iv., several things led to this conception of patron and ruling angels. First, there was a tendency towards removing God far from any immediate contact with the earth and men, and to introduce intermediaries between them who mediated His rule. In Dn He no longer speaks to men directly, but only by the intervention of angels, who even interpret His written word to men (9$^{20\ \text{seq.}}$). And, secondly, there was a tendency to personify abstract conceptions such as the 'spirit' of a nation, and a further tendency to locate these personified forces in the supersensible world, from whence they ruled the destinies of men. The issues of the conflicts of the kingdoms of Persia, Greece, and Judah with one another on earth are all determined by the relations of their 'princes' in heaven; and this idea is a ruling one in the Apoc. It belongs to a different class of conceptions when conflicts are referred to between God and other powerful beings. Such beings are 'the Sea,' 'Rahab,' 'Tannin' or the Dragon, the 'Serpent,' 'Leviathan,' etc., comp. Is 51$^{9.10}$, Ps 89$^{10-15}$, Job 9^{13} 26$^{12.13}$ (Ps

87^{4}, Is 30^{7}), Ps 74^{12-19}, Is 27^{1} (Job 40^{25-29}, Ps 68^{31}), Job 7^{12}, Am $9^{2.\,3}$ (Ezk 29^{3-6} 32^{2-8}); also Job 25^{2} 'He maketh peace in His high places.' These passages contain reminiscences of Cosmic or Creation myths, victories of God, the principle of light and order, over the primeval darkness and raging watery chaos. They are referred to in order to magnify the power of God, and to invoke it against some foe of His people, which in its rebellion and menacing attitude recalls God's ancient enemies, and may be described under their names (Is 27^{1}). In Gn 6^{1-4} 'the sons of the Elohim' can hardly be anything but a part of the heavenly host, who fell through love of the daughters of men, as was already understood by Josephus (cf. To 3^{8} 6^{14}). The passage has no other points of contact in OT, but is greatly amplified in Enoch 6–15, etc.; and there, as well as in NT, the idea of the fallen angels appears combined with what is said of the imprisonment of angelic rulers, Is 24^{22} (2 P 2^{4}, Jude ^{6}).

Ranks among the angels appear in Dn, and there for the first time some of them receive names. In OT and NT only two are named—Michael, prince of Israel ($10^{13.\,21}$ 12^{1}, Jude ^{9}, Rev 12^{7}), and Gabriel (Dn 8^{16} 9^{21}, Lk $1^{19.\,26}$). Michael is named '**the archangel**,' Jude ^{9}, and 1 Th 4^{16} 'the arch.' is spoken of, though not named. Seven such angelic princes are spoken of, To 12^{15} 'I am Raphael, one of the seven holy angels'; in Enoch and 2 Es 5^{20} Uriel is named as fourth. The number seven already appears in Ezk 9^{2}, and there is no necessity to refer it to Pers. influence. In Bab. writings, grades among the celestial beings are referred to (Schrader, *Höllenfahrt der Istar*, pp. 102, 103), one class of whom Lenormant calls *archanges célestes*. According to Jewish tradition the names of the angels came from Babylon.

vii. There is little advance over Daniel in the angelology of the Apocrypha. Raphael accompanies Tobias as a guide. As one of the seven holy angels he 'presents the prayers of the saints' (To 12^{15}, cf. Rev 8^{4}), and says, 'I did bring the memorial of your prayer before the Holy One' (12^{12}). A 'good' angel is spoken of, To 5^{21}, 2 Mac 11^{6}. Raphael binds the demon Asmodæus, To 8^{3}, and the sentence of judgment on those who bring false accusations against the innocent is received and executed by the angel of God (Sus $^{55.\,59}$); the angels are 'blessed,' and are called on to praise God, 'Let all Thy angels and Thine elect bless Thee' (To 8^{15}); and the sins of men cannot be hidden before God and His angels (2 Es 16^{66}). Neither is there in principle any great development in NT. (1) The angels form an innumerable host, Lk $2^{9.\,13}$, Mt 26^{53}, He 12^{22}, Rev 5^{11}; they are the armies of heaven, Rev 12^{7} 19^{11-14}. (2) They are beings glorious in appearance, Lk 2^{9}, Mt 28^{3}, Ac 12^{7}, and in rank are 'glories,' Jude ^{8}. (3) They minister to the saints, He 1^{14}, Mt 2^{13} 4^{11}, Lk 22^{43}, Ac 5^{19} 8^{26} 12^{7}; they are the medium of revelation, Rev 1^{1} 22^{16}, and carry the saints into paradise, Lk 16^{22}, cf. 2 K 2^{11}. (4) As in OT theophany God was surrounded by angels, so they accompany the Son of Man at His *parousia*, Mt 16^{27} 25^{31}, 1 Th 4^{16}, 2 Th 1^{7} (Mt $13^{41.\,49}$ 24^{31}). In two or three points there seems an advance over OT. (*a*) The angels are spirits, He 1^{14}. (*b*) Satan is no longer isolated, but has a retinue of angels, Mt 25^{41}, Rev 12^{7}. (*c*) Ranks in the angelic host are more distinctly suggested, Col 2^{10}, Eph 3^{10} (1 Co 15^{24}, Eph 1^{21}). (*d*) In the Apoc. angels are associated with cosmic or elemental forces, as fire and water, which they direct or into which they are changed, Rev 14^{18} 16^{5}, cf. Ps 104^{4}. Christians are made along with Christ better than the angels, whom they shall judge, He 2^{5}, 1 Co 6^{3}. Angel worship is condemned, Col 2^{18}, Rev 19^{10} $22^{8.\,9}$, cf. Dt 6^{13}, Mt 4^{10}. The second Nicene Council decreed that λατρεία ought not to be offered to angels, but allowed δουλεία. The sense in which the Sadducees denied angels and spirits (Ac 23^{8}) is not quite clear. The Sadducees received the written Scriptures, but disallowed the oral developments upheld by the Pharisees and scribes; and it is possible that they repudiated only that more modern luxuriant angelology current in their day, without questioning the ancient angelophanies. The great historical and ritual writing P contains no reference to angels: the *Torah* contained the revelation of God's whole will, and expressed all His relations to the world and men: special intervention of God was not now needed. And this may have been the position of the Sadducees. On the other hand, from the Sadducean inclination to freethinking, inherited from the pre-Maccabæan Gr. period, it is possible that they interpreted the angelophanies of the written Scriptures received by them in a rationalistic way as personified natural forces.

LITERATURE.—Kosters, 'Het ontstaan der Angelologie onder Israel,' *ThT*, 1876, etc.; Kohut, *Die Jüdische Angelologie u. Dämonologie*, Leipz. 1866; Weber, *System der Altsynagogalen Paläst. Theologie*, Leipz. 1880. See also Fuller, Excursus on *Angelology and Demonology*; Speaker's *Apocr.* vol. i. p. 171 ff.

A. B. DAVIDSON.

ANGELS OF THE SEVEN CHURCHES.—If these angels are men, they cannot be less than bishops ruling their several churches. In favour of this we have—(1) Mal 2^{7} 3^{1}, where the words may be used of men; (2) the שְׁלִיחַ צִבּוּר, who, however, was not an officer of the synagogue, but one of the congregation called up for the occasion to pronounce the prayer; (3) the settled character of episcopacy in Asia in the time of Ignatius. Against it are—(1) ἄγγελος, never used of men in NT, except Lk 9^{53}, Ja 2^{26} of ordinary messengers; (2) the figurative character of the Apoc. generally, and of this part in particular. There are seven angels for seven churches; and from the Saviour walking in a figurative tabernacle each of them receives a letter in figurative form, and full of figurative promises and threats. Whatever be said of the 'Nicolaitans,' 'that woman Jezebel' (2^{20}) can hardly be other than figurative. Even if the allusion is to a living prophetess, its form is figurative; esp. if we read τὴν γυναῖκά σου—thy wife Jezebel; (3) the relation of the angels to the churches is one of close identification in praise and blame, to an extent for which no human ruler can be responsible; (4) *settled* monarchical government of churches in Asia can hardly date back to the Neronian persecution, or even to Domitian's.

The imagery is suggested by the later Jewish belief in angels as guardians of nations (*e.g.* Dn 12^{1}) and of men (Ac 12^{15}), like the *genii* of paganism. As, however, this belief is nowhere definitely confirmed by Scripture, the angels are best regarded as personifications of their churches.

H. M. GWATKIN.

ANGER, as a verb, occurs Ps 106^{32} 'They a$^{\text{ed}}$ him also (וַיַּקְצִיפוּ) at the waters of strife,' and Ro 10^{19} 'by a foolish nation I will a. (παροργιῶ) you.' And twice in Apocr.: Sir 3^{16} 'And he that a$^{\text{eth}}$ (RV 'provoketh') his mother is cursed of God'; 19^{21} 'he a$^{\text{eth}}$ him that nourisheth him'; to which RV adds Wis 5^{22} 'The water of the sea shall be a$^{\text{ed}}$ (AV 'rage') against them.' J. HASTINGS.

ANGER (WRATH) OF GOD. — Anthropopathically described in OT by terms derived from the physical manifestations of human anger, אַף, חֵמָה, חָרוֹן, עֶבְרָה, קֶצֶף, etc.; in NT by the terms ὀργή, θυμός, anger or wrath may be defined generally as an energy of the divine nature called forth by the presence of daring or presumptuous transgression, and expressing the reaction of the divine holiness against it in the punishment or destruction of the transgressor. It is the 'zeal' (קִנְאָה) of God for the maintenance of His holiness and honour, and of the ends of His righteousness and love, when these are threatened by the ingratitude, rebellion, and wilful disobedience or temerity of the creature. In this light it appears both in the OT (*passim*) and in the NT (Mt 3^{7}, Jn 3^{36}, Ro 1^{18}, Eph 5^{6}, Rev 19^{15} etc.), and is uniformly represented as something very terrible in its effects. It is spoken of as 'kindled' by the sins and provocations of men (Ex 4^{14}, Nu 11^{1-10}, Dt 29^{27}, 2 S 6^{7}, Is 5^{25} etc.), as 'poured out' on men (Ps 79^{6}, Is 42^{25}, Jer 44^{6} etc.); its 'fierceness' is dwelt upon by psalmists and prophets (Ps 78^{49} 88^{16}, Is 13^{9}, Jer $25^{37.38}$ etc.); it burns down to the lowest Sheol (Dt 32^{22}). Similarly, in NT, God is represented as 'a consuming fire' (He 12^{29}; cf. Mt 3^{12} 13^{42}, 2 Th 1^{8} 2^{8}). At the same time, this a. is not pictured, as in heathen religions, as the mere outburst of capricious passion, but always appears in union with the idea of the divine holiness (that principle, as Martensen says, 'which guards the eternal distinction between Creator and creature, between God and man, in the union effected between them, and preserves the divine dignity and majesty from being infringed on,' and which on its positive side is in God the inflexible determination to uphold at all costs the interests of righteousness and truth); and as directed to the maintenance of the moral order in the world, and specially to the upholding of the covenant relation with Israel, an aspect of it which manifests its close alliance with righteousness and *love*. As in the human sphere, so in the divine, the keenest provocation to a. is that which lies in wounded or frustrated love, or in injury done to the objects of love (Nu $32^{14.15}$, 2 K 17^{13-18}, Ezk 23, Am 3^{2}, Ps 7^{11} etc.). A. in God has thus always an ethical connotation, and manifests itself in subserviency to ends of righteousness and mercy, by which also its measure or limit is prescribed (Jer 10^{24}). In its action in providence, it uses as its instruments the agencies of nature, as well as the passions and ambitious designs of men (cf. Is 10^{5} 'O Assyrian, the rod of mine a.'), and afflicts the disobedient and rebellious with the calamities of war, famine, pestilence, and with evils generally (Dt 28^{15-68}, Am 4^{6-12} etc. See analysis in Ritschl, *Recht. und Ver.*^{3} ii. p. 125).

So far, accordingly, as the Biblical representations are concerned, the divine a. or wrath is not to be weakened down, or explained away, as is the fashion among theologians (*e.g.* Origen, Augustine, Turretin), into a mere 'anthropomorphism,' or general expression for God's aversion to sin, and His determination to punish it; but is rather to be regarded as a very real and awful affection of the divine nature, fitted to awaken fear in the minds of men (Ps $2^{11.12}$, He 10^{31}). When we look to the historical development of this doctrine in Scripture, we find nothing to modify materially the representations just given. No real distinction can be predicated between the earlier and later descriptions of the divine wrath in OT, except that, as Ritschl points out (*Recht. und Ver.* ii. p. 127), they tend in the prophets to become more eschatological (see DAY OF THE LORD; cf. Ro 2^{5}, Rev 6^{17}). This, however, is not to be understood as if the divine wrath were not also manifested continuously through history in the punishment of those whose evil-doing calls it forth (Ps 7^{11}). The later representations in the Scripture are every whit as strongly conceived as those of an earlier date. When H. Schultz speaks of 'the impression of the terrible God of the Semites' in the earlier ages, and says, 'the ancient Hebrews, too, tremble before a mysterious wrath of God' (*O.T. Theology*, ii. p. 175, Eng. tr.), he strangely forgets that the passages he cites are, on his own hypothesis, from the very latest parts of the Pent. (Lv 10^{6}, Nu 1^{53} 18^{5}; cf. Ex 12^{12} 30^{12}, Nu 8^{19}—all from P). The Book of Genesis, remarkably enough, has no mention of the wrath of God, though its equivalent is there in repeated manifestations of God's judgment on sin (expulsion from Eden, cursing of the ground, flaming sword, the Flood, Sodom and Gomorrah, etc.). Ritschl's view of the Biblical development has features of its own. He rightly conceives of wrath as connected with the divine holiness, but would interpret the latter attribute as expressing originally only the notion of God as the exalted, powerful, unapproachable One, to draw near to whom would mean instant destruction for the creature; and sees the peculiar manifestation of wrath, accordingly, under OT conditions, in a sudden, unexpected, and violent destruction of the life of those who had violated the obligations of the covenant (*Recht. und Ver.* ii. pp. 93, 125, 135, 136). We can only urge in reply that there is no stage in the OT revelation in which the ideas of transcendence over the world, and of moral perfection, are not already united in the conception of holiness. The instances which most readily suggest an outburst of destructive energy apart from moral considerations, are those in which individuals or companies are smitten for what may seem very slight faults, or acts of inadvertence (*e.g.* 1 S $4^{19.20}$, 2 S 2^{7}). But even in these instances a careful examination will show that it is the *moral* sanctity of the divine character which is the ground of the special awfulness with which it is invested.

When, finally, we pass from the OT to the NT, we find that the notion of God's wrath is not essentially altered, though the revelation of love and grace which now fills the vision places it comparatively in the background. The Marcionite view, which would represent the contrast between the God of the OT and the God of the NT as that between a wrathful avenging Deity and a loving Father who is incapable of anger, is, on the face of it, incorrect. The pitying, fatherly character of God is not absent from OT (Ex $34^{6.7}$, Ps 103^{13}), but, even there, is rather the primary basis of God's self-revelation, to which the manifestation of wrath and judgment is subordinate. He is 'slow to a.' (Ps 103^{8} *et al.*), and 'fury (w.) is not in' Him (Is 27^{4}). On the other hand, the fatherly love of God in NT does not exclude the aspect of Him as 'Judge' (1 P 1^{17}), and 'a consuming fire' (He 12^{29}), whose wrath is a terrible reality, from which Christ alone can save us (Jn 3^{36}, Ro 1^{16-18} 5^{9}, 1 Th 1^{10} etc.). In this connexion Ritschl labours hard to show that 'wrath' in NT has (as in OT prophets) uniformly an eschatological reference, and does not apply to the present condition. He goes even further, and challenges its right to a place in the Christian system at all. 'The notion of the affection of wrath in God,' he says, 'has no religious worth for Christians, but is an unfixed and formless theologoumenon' (*Recht. und Ver.* ii. p. 154). It is no doubt true that the eschatological aspect of wrath is prominent in NT; and that for the reason already given the wrath of God throughout recedes into the background, and becomes, as it were, an attribute in reserve (Ro 2^{5}, 3^{25}); but many indications warn us that it is *only* in reserve, and is still there in its unchanged character, and rests with its heavy weight upon the disobedient (Jn 3^{36}, Eph $2^{2.3}$); nay, that in a most real sense its effects are manifest in the terrible retributions for sin exacted from men even here (Mt $23^{35.36}$, Ro 1^{21-32}, Ac 5^{1-11} etc.). And if the objection is urged, as it will be by many, that the attribution of wrath or anger to God (otherwise than as the reflection of the sinner's distrustful thoughts regarding Him) is an unworthy mode of conception, and derogates from the divine perfection, it may at least with equal justice be replied that a Ruler of the universe who was incapable of being moved with an intense moral indignation at sin, and of putting forth, when occasion required, a destroying energy against it, would be lacking in an essential element of moral perfection; nor would either the righteousness or the mercy of such a Being have any longer a substantive value.

Literature.—Weber *Vom Zorne Gottes*, 1862; Ritschl *De Ira Dei*, 1859, *Recht. und Ver.* ii. pp. 89–148; Oehler *Theology of O.T.* i. pp. 154–168 (Eng. tr.); Schultz *O.T. Theology*, ii. pp. 167–179; D. W. Simon *The Redemption of Man*—ch. v. 'The Anger of God'; Dale *The Atonement*, Lect. VIII.; *Lux Mundi*, pp. 285–288. J. Orr.

ANGLE occurs only as a subst., Is 19^{8} 'all they that cast a. into the brooks'; Hab 1^{15} 'They take up all of them with the a.' In Job 41^{1}, the only other occurrence of the Heb. word (חַכָּה), the tr. is 'hook' (RV 'fish-hook'). See Fishing.
J. Hastings.

ANGLO-SAXON VERSION.—See Versions.

ANIAM (אֲנִיעָם 'lament of people').—A man of Manasseh (1 Ch 7^{19}). See Genealogy.

ANIM (עָנִים), Jos 15^{50} only.—A town of Judah, in the mountains near Eshtemoh. It seems probable that it is the present double ruin of *Ghuwein*, west of Eshtemoh. The Heb. and Arab. guttural letters are equivalent. In the 4th cent. A.D. (*Onomasticon, s.v.* Anab and Astemoe) Anea or Anem is noticed as a large town near Eshtemoh; and there were two places so called. It is identified (*s.v.* Anim) with the town now in question. All the inhabitants were then Christians. See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xxiv. C. R. Conder.

ANIMAL KINGDOM.—See Natural History.

ANISE (*ἄνηθον, anethum*).—There can be no reasonable doubt that *ἄνηθον* is the classical name of *Anethum graveolens*, L., which is translated in EV (Mt 23^{23}) *anise*. There is the direct evidence of Rabbi Eliezer (Tract. Maaseroth, c. iv. 5) that the seeds, leaves, and the stem of *dill* are 'subject to tithe.' Dill is in the Talm. *shabath*. It is known in Arab. by the cognate name *shibith*, and is much cultivated in Pal. and Syria. The seeds of it are used in cookery as a condiment, esp. with beans and other seeds of the pulse kind, and their flavour is greatly liked by the natives of Egypt, Pal., Syria, and the East generally. It is also used by the natives as a carminative. Avicenna speaks thus of its virtues (ii. 258): 'calmant for griping, carminative diminishes swelling, and its infusion is beneficial as a wash to indolent ulcers. Its oil is useful in joint affections and neuralgias, and also as a hypnotic. Its juice calms pain in the ear. Eaten for a long time it injures the sight. The plant and its seed are galactogogues, but are esp. useful in over-distension of the stomach and flatulency. Its oil is also beneficial in hæmorrhoids.'

Dill is an annual or biennial herb, of the order Umbelliferæ, with a stem one to three feet high, much dissected leaves, small yellow flowers, and flattened oval fruits about one-fifth of an inch long, of a brownish colour, with a lighter-coloured wing-like border, and a pungent, aromatic odour and taste. It is found wild in cornfields in central and southern Europe and Egypt, perhaps escaped from cultivation. It has been cultivated from remote antiquity.

The opinion of the translators of AV, in favour of anise (*Pimpinella anisum*, L.), is hardly to be weighed against the direct evidence above adduced for the identity of dill with *ἄνηθον*. RV gives dill in the margin. G. E. Post.

ANKLE-CHAINS (צְעָדוֹת, Arab. *salásil*, AV 'ornaments of the legs,' Is 3^{20}).—The prophet refers to the practice of joining the anklets by a short chain, to produce a stilted, affected gait in walking.
G. M. Mackie.

ANKLETS (עֲכָסִים, Arab. *khalakhil*, Is 3^{18}, AV 'tinkling ornaments.')—The ref. is to the metal twists and bangles of bracelet-like design worn on the ankles of Oriental women, esp. of the Bedawin and fellaḥin class. The musical clink of the anklets and their ornaments, which to the wearied peasant on the rough mountain path has the refreshment of the bells to the baggage animals, is here alluded to as a social vulgarism when affected by the ladies of the upper classes, and as one of the marks of an artificial and unhealthy tone of life. G. M. Mackie.

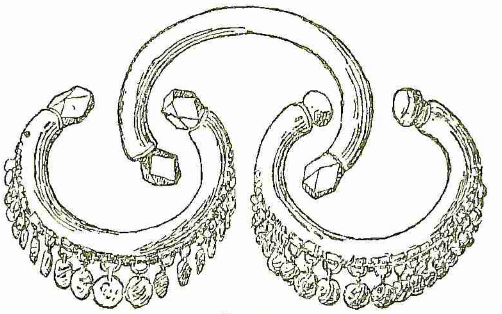

ANKLETS.

ANNA (*Ἄννα*, the same name as the Heb. חַנָּה Hannah, from a root meaning 'grace').—1. The wife of Tobit: 'I took to wife A. of the seed of our own family' (To 1$^{9ff.}$). See Tobit. 2. A prophetess, the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Asher (Lk 2$^{36-38}$). This genealogical notice makes it clear that, though Asher was not one of the ten tribes which returned to Palestine after the Babylonian Captivity, individual members of the tribe had done so; and further, that Anna belonged to a family of sufficient distinction to have preserved its genealogy. In the same connexion it is interesting to notice that the tribe of Asher alone is celebrated in tradition for the beauty of its women, and their fitness to be wedded to the high priest or king (for authorities, see Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, vol. i. p. 200). Of Anna's personal history all that we know is contained in the brief statement of St. Luke. She had been married for seven years, and at the time spoken of was not merely, as the AV suggests, eighty-four years old, but, according to the more correct rendering of the RV, 'had been a widow even for fourscore and four years'; so that, supposing her to have been married at fourteen, she would now be about a hundred and five. Throughout her long widowhood she had 'departed not from the temple,' not in the sense of actually living there—for that would have been impossible, most of all for a woman—but as taking part in all the temple services, 'worshipping, with fastings and supplications night and day.' It was thus that she sought to give expression to the longing which was filling her heart for the coming of the promised Messiah, and at length her faith and patience were rewarded. In the child Jesus she was allowed to see the fulfilment of God's promise to His ancient people, and henceforth was able to announce to all like-minded with herself the 'redemption,' as distinguished from the political deliverance of Jerusalem. G. Milligan.

ANNAS (*Ἄννας*, חָנָן 'merciful.' Josephus *Ἄνανος*).

—1. Son of Seth, appointed high priest A.D. 6 or 7 by the legate Quirinius, and deposed A.D. 15 by the procurator Valerius Gratus (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. ii. 1, 2). He thus lost office, but not power. ‘They say that this elder Ananus was most fortunate; for he had five sons, and it happened that they all held the office of high priest to God, and he had himself enjoyed that dignity a long time formerly, which had never happened to any other of our high priests’ (Jos. *Ant.* XX. ix. 1). We learn also from St. John (18^{13}) that Joseph Caiaphas, high priest A.D. 18–36, was his son-in-law. The immense wealth of these Sadducean aristocrats was, in part at least, derived from ‘the booths of the sons of Annas,’ which monopolised the sale of all kinds of materials for sacrifice. These booths, according to Edersheim (*Life and Times of the Messiah*, iii. 5), occupied part of the temple court; Dérenbourg (*Essai sur l'histoire, etc., de la Palestine*, p. 465 sqq.) with more probability identifies them with four booths on the Mount of Olives, a branch establishment of which might have been beneath the temple porches. It was the sons of Annas who made God's house ‘a den of robbers’; and the Talmudic curse, ‘Woe to the house of Annas! woe to their serpent-like hissings!’ (or whisperings) (Pes. 57*a*), almost re-echoes the Saviour's denunciations. Josephus, too (*Ant.* XX. ix. 2–4), gives a vivid picture of the insolent rapacity and violence of the younger Ananus. Moreover, ‘forty years before the destruction of the temple the Sanhedrin banished itself from the chamber of hewn stone (לִשְׁכַּת הַגָּזִית), and established itself in the booths’ (חֲנֻיוֹת) (Dérenbourg, p. 465), subsequently moving ‘from the booths to Jerusalem’ (Rosh ha-Sh. 31*a*), perhaps when the booths were destroyed, three years before the destruction of the temple, in the same year in which the younger Ananus was murdered. Such and so powerful was the faction of which Annas was the head. The NT consistently reflects this state of things. Jesus, when arrested, is brought to Annas first (Jn 18^{13}). He takes the leading part in the trial of the apostles (Ac 4^{6}). That Annas is styled ‘the high priest’ (Ac 4^{6}, and probably Jn 18$^{19.22}$) is not remarkable, since it is quite in accordance with the usage of Josephus, who applies the title, not only to the actual holder of the office, but also to all his living predecessors (*Vit.* 38; *BJ* II. xii. 6; IV. iii. 7, 9, 10; IV. iv. 3). And in both Josephus and NT the more influential members of those families from which high priests were chosen are all called *ἀρχιερεῖς*. But the phrase ‘*ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Ἄννα καὶ Καϊάφα*, in the high priesthood of A. and C.’ (Lk 3^{2}), seems unparalleled. Ewald (*H.I.* vol. vi. p. 430, n. 3) conjectures that it is due to the fact that when the author wrote, ‘they had become memorable in this association through the history of Christ's death.’ The chief interest in Annas centres in the notice of him in Jn 18, which is complementary to the narrative of St. Luke, and corrects an apparent mistake made by St. Matthew and St. Mark. The first two evangelists obscurely indicate two stages in the trial of Jesus (Mt 26^{57} 27^{1}, Mk 14^{53} 15^{1}), but they transfer the events of the morning meeting of the Sanhedrin to the previous night. St. Luke avoids this apparent mistake, and leaves room (22^{54}) for such an informal inquiry as that of Annas really was.

When we bear in mind the predominant influence of the man, and the unscrupulousness of the whole proceeding, it seems unnecessary to suppose that Annas was either deputy (sagan) of the high priest (Lightfoot, *Temple Service*, v. 1) or president (נָשִׂיא) of the Sanhedrin (Baronius, *Annals*, followed by Selden, *de Success. Pontif.* i. 12) or chief examining judge, אַב בֵּית דִּין (Ewald, *H.I.* vol. vi. p. 430).

The interview of Jesus with Annas is described Jn 18$^{19-23}$. It could have only one issue. Jesus was sent as a condemned prisoner for a more formal trial before Caiaphas and the Sanhedrin, as described by the Synoptists, but merely implied by St. John. (This is obscured in the Received text of v.^{24}, and still more in the AV, which renders the aorist as a pluperfect; *οὖν* is read by B C* L X 1. 33.) We have seen that the Sanhedrin at this time met in the headquarters of the Annas faction, so that it may have been when passing through the court from the apartments of Annas to the council chamber that ‘the Lord turned, and looked upon Peter,’ Lk 22^{61} (Westcott on Jn 18^{25}). 2. 1 Es 9^{32}, see HARIM. N. J. D. WHITE.

ANNIS (*Ἀννεῖς* B, *Ἀννιάς* A, AV **Ananias**, RVm **Annias**).—The eponym of a family that returned with Zerubbabel (1 Es 5^{16}). Omitted in parallel passages of Ezr and Neh. J. A. SELBIE.

ANNUS (A *Ἄννους*, B *Ἀννιούθ*, AV **Anus**).—A Levite, 1 Es 9^{48} = Neh 8^{7} [Bani].

ANNUUS (A *Ἄννουνος*, B omits), 1 Es 8^{48} (47, LXX).—The name does not occur in Ezr 8^{19}; it may be due to reading וְאִתּוֹ (AV ‘and with him)’ there as ואנו. H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

ANOINTING.—1. The application of unguents to the skin and hair as an act of the toilet is an ancient custom; the oldest prescription extant is for this purpose, and professes to date from about B.C. 4200. Among the Jews a. was a daily practice (Mt 6^{17}), the oil being applied to exposed parts (Ps 104^{15}), soothing the skin burnt by the sun. The effects of oil are more enduring than those of water, hence a. was practised after bathing (Ru 3^{3}, Ezk 16^{9}). It was a mark of luxury to use specially scented oils (Am 6^{6}), such as those Hezekiah kept in his treasure-house (2 K 20^{13}). As a. was a sign of joy (Pr 27^{9}), it was discontinued during the time of mourning (Dn 10^{3}); so Joab instructed the woman of Tekoa to appear unanointed before David (2 S 14^{2}). On the death of Bathsheba's child, David anointed himself to show that his mourning had ended (2 S 12^{20}). The cessation of a. was to be a mark of God's displeasure if Israel proved rebellious (Dt 28^{40}, Mic 6^{15}), and the restoration of the custom was to be a sign of God's returning favour (Is 61^{3}). Anointing is used as a symbol of prosperity in Ps 92^{10}, Ec 9^{8}.

2. Before paying visits of ceremony the head was anointed; so Naomi bade Ruth anoint herself before visiting Boaz (3^{3}). Oil of myrrh was used for this purpose in the harem of Ahasuerus (Est 2^{12}). On monuments in Egypt the host is seen anointing his guest on his arrival; and the same must have been customary in Pal., as Simon's failure of hospitality in this respect is commented upon by our Lord (Lk 7^{46}). This custom is referred to in Ps 23^{5}. The Isr. showed their goodwill to the captives of Judah by anointing them before sending them back at the command of Oded (2 Ch 28^{15}). Mary's anointing of our Lord was according to this custom.

3. Before battle, shields were oiled, that their surfaces might be slippery and shining (Is 21^{5}, 2 S 1^{21} RV). This practice is referred to several times by classical authors, and is in use to this day among some African tribes.

4. As a remedial agent a. was in use among the Jews in pre-Christian times; it was practised by the apostles (Mk 6^{13}), recommended by St. James (5^{14}), mentioned in the parable of the Good Samaritan (Lk 10^{34}), and used as a type of God's forgiving grace healing the sin-sick soul (Is 1^{6}, Ezk 16^{9}, Rev 3^{18}). In post-apost. times the oil was supposed to owe its virtue to its consecration by prayer, which might be done by any Christian; thus

Proculus anointed Severus, and healed him (Tertull. *ad Scap.* iv.). By the 3rd cent. consecration of the oil could only be done by the bishop (Innocent, *Decentio*, viii.); although any Christian might apply the holy oil, and the oil from the church lamps was often taken for this purpose (Chrysostom *in Mt* 32). Oil was also consecrated by being taken from the tombs of martyrs (*ib. Homil. in Martyr.* iii.). By the 5th cent. the priest alone could anoint (Labbe & Cossart, *Concilia*, ix. 419, § 10). This a. was intended as a means of cure even as late as the days of Bede (*in Marci*, i. c. 24). The a. of the dying was a heretical practice of the Marcosians (Irenæus, i. 21. 5) and the Heracleonites (Epiphanius, *adv. Hær.* xxxvi. 2) for purposes of exorcism. Theodoret says that the Archontici also use oil and water, but apparently in a different way (ἐπιβάλλουσι, see *Hær. Fab. Compend.* i. 11). In the Rom. Church by the 12th cent. the idea of healing had become obsolete, and the a. was restricted to the dying (Council of Florence, 1439) and applied before the Viaticum (1st Council of Mainz, Can. xxvi.). It is called extreme unction by Hugo de St. Victore (*Summa Sententiar.* vi. 15), and its place as one of the seven sacraments of the Rom. Church was decided by the Council of Trent. Calvin calls it *histrionica hypocrisis* (*Inst.* vi. 19, § 18).

The ceremonial of anointing the leper when cleansed was not remedial, but a sign of reconsecration. In Scripture the application of any soft material, as moistened clay, to a blind man's eyes, is called anointing (Jn 9^{6}).

5. As in Egypt, the application of ointments and spices to the dead body was customary in Pal. (Mk 16^{1}, Lk 23^{56}, Jn 19^{40}); but they were only externally applied, and did not prevent decomposition (Jn 11^{39}). In later times the a. of the dead with holy oil is recommended (Dionys. Areopag. *de Eccles. Hierarch.* vii. § 8).

6. Holy things were by a. dedicated to God even in ancient times. Thus Jacob consecrated the stones at Bethel (Gn 28^{18}, 35^{14}); and God recognised the action (31^{13}). In Greece, Egypt, and other countries dedication by oil was practised, and is continued in the Rom. and Gr. rituals for the consecration of churches. The tabernacle and its furniture were thus consecrated (Ex 30^{26} 40^{10}, Lv 8^{11}), and the altar of burnt-offering was reconsecrated after the sin-offering (Ex 29^{36}). Some periodic *hostia honoraria* were anointed with oil (Lv 2^{1} etc.); but no oil was to be poured on the sin-offering (Lv 5^{11}, Nu 5^{15}). It is not said that the temple was consecrated by a., but there was holy oil in the priests' charge at the time (1 K 1^{39}), as there was in the days of the second temple (1 Ch 9^{29}).

7. Priests were set apart by a. In the case of Aaron, and probably all high priests, this was done twice: first by pouring the holy oil on his head after his robing, but before the sacrifice of consecration (Lv 8^{12}, Ps 133^{2}); and next by sprinkling after the sacrifice (Lv 8^{30}). The ordinary priests were only sprinkled with oil after the application of the blood of the sacrifice. Hence the high priest is called the anointed priest (Lv 4$^{3.5}$ and 6^{22}). The holy oil for this purpose was made of olive oil, cinnamon, cassia, flowing myrrh, and the root of the sweet cane (*Acorus Calamus*). It was to be used only for these ceremonials, and its unauthorised compounding was strictly forbidden (Ex 30^{33}). In Egypt there were nine sacred oils for ceremonial use. A. in the ordination of presbyters and deacons came into use in the 8th cent., but was not practised in the early Church.

8. Of designation to kingship by a. we have examples in Saul (1 S 10^{1}) and David (1 S 16^{13}). This act was accompanied by the gift of the Spirit; so, when David was anointed, the Spirit descended on him, and departed from Saul; and Hazael was anointed over Syria by God's command (1 K 19^{15}). Kings thus designated were called the Lord's anointed. David thus speaks of Saul (1 S 26^{11}) and of himself (Ps 2^{2}). This passage is used by the apostles as prophetic of Christ (Ac 4^{26}).

9. By a. kings were installed in office. David was again anointed when made king of Judah, and a third time when made king of united Israel (2 S 2^{4} 5^{3}). Solomon was anointed in David's lifetime, and he refers to the a. in his dedication prayer. It is not said that those who succeeded by right of primogeniture were anointed; but when the succession was disputed, Jehoiada anointed Joash (2 K 11^{12}). Jehoahaz the younger son of Josiah was anointed (2 K 23^{30}) in place of his elder brother Jehoiakim (see 23$^{31.36}$). Kings of other lands were anointed. This was early known to the Israelites, as we learn from Jotham's parable (Jg 9^{8}). The kings of Egypt were anointed, and the a. is said to have been done by the gods (Dümichen, *Hist. Inschrift*, i. 12); hence they are called the 'anointed of the gods.' The king of Tyre is also called the 'anointed' (Ezk 28^{14}). Jehu was anointed as beginning a new dynasty (2 K 9^{12}). Zedekiah is referred to as anointed (La 4^{20}). British kings were anointed in pre-Saxon days (Gildas, *de excidio Brit.* i. 19), as were the Christianised Saxons; but the first mention of a. at coronation elsewhere in Europe is in A.D. 636 in the Acts of the 6th Council of Toledo. Charlemagne, A.D. 800, was the first emperor anointed (by Pope Leo III.). A. is now a part of the ceremonial of coronation in most Christian kingdoms.

10. A. is used metaphorically to mean setting apart to the prophetic office; so Elijah is told to anoint Elisha. This does not appear to have been literally done (1 K 19^{16}). In Ps 105^{15} the words *anointed* and *prophets* are used as synonyms. The Servant of the Lord calls himself anointed to preach (Is 61^{1}), and Christ tells the people of Nazareth that this prophecy is fulfilled in Him (Lk 4^{18}).

11. Similarly in a metaphorical sense any one chosen of God is called an anointed one; thus the patriarchs are called God's Messiahs (Ps 105^{15}), and Israel as a nation (Ps 84^{9}, Hab 3^{13}, Ps 89$^{38.51}$), being promised deliverance on this account (Is 10^{27}, 1 S 2^{10}). Cyrus is also called a Messiah (Is 45^{1}). The name *Christ* is the Gr. equivalent of the Heb. *Messiah* = 'anointed.' The anointing of Ps 45^{7} is taken in He 1^{9} as prophetic of the Saviour's anointing.

In this sense, as a chosen people, believers are said to be God's anointed (2 Co 1^{21}, 1 Jn 2$^{20.27}$), the unction being the gift of the Holy Spirit. In post-apost. times these words gave rise to the practice of anointing with oil at baptism. This was done by way of exorcism before the washing in the E. Church in the days of Cyril (*Catech. Mystag.* ii. D), as it seems from St. Augustine to have been the practice in Africa (see Tr. 44 *in Joannis*, § 2, referring to anointing the blind man's eyes before the washing). But Tertullian puts the a. after the washing (*De resurr. Carnis*, § viii.), as does Optatus, who says that Christ was anointed by the dove after baptism (*de Schism. Donat.* iv. 76). Upon these texts, quoted above, coupled with the 'sealing' mentioned in Eph 1^{13} 4^{30} and 2 Co 1^{22}, the post-apostolic Church based the ceremony of confirmation, in connexion with which in the W. Church another anointing became customary in the 5th cent.

LITERATURE.—Besides the references given above, see for fuller details concerning the above sections—1. *Papyrus Ebers*, p. 66; Erman, *Ægypten*, 1885, p. 316. 4. Martene, *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.*, Rouen, 1700, i. 7; Dallæus, *de duobus Latinorum Sacramentis*, Geneva, 1659; *Decretum Eugenii IV. de Sept. Eccl. Sacram.*, Louvain, 1557. 6. Arnobius, *adv. Gent.* i. 319; Fabricius, *de Templ. Christ.*, Helmstadt, 1704; Pausanias, vii. 22.

7. Theodulfus, *Episc. Aurel. Capit. de Presb.*, ed. Migne, 193; Ivo Carnotensis, *Decret.* vi. 121. A. MACALISTER.

ANON, a contraction for 'in one,' is used in AV for 'in one moment' (RV 'straightway'). Mt 13^{20} 'a. with joy receiveth it'; Mk 1^{30} 'a. they tell him of her'; Jth 13^{9} 'a. after she went forth' (RV 'after a little while she went forth').

J. HASTINGS.

ANOS (Ἄνως), 1 Es 9^{34}.—One of the descendants of Baani, who agreed to put away his 'strange' wife: corresponding to Vaniah (וַנְיָה), Ezr 10^{36}.

ANOTHER.—A. is 'one other,' but sometimes the idea is 'a *different* one,' of which there is a fine instance in Gal 1^{6} 'I marvel that ye are so soon removed from him that called you into the grace of Christ unto a. gospel' (Gr. ἕτερον, RV 'a different gospel,' but v.^{7} 'which is not a.' Gr. ἄλλο; cf. 2 Co 11^{4}). In 2 Ch 20^{23} 'every one helped to destroy a.'; mod. Eng. would say 'the other'; so RV in Gn 15^{10}, Ex 21^{18} 37^{19} etc., but not in Zec 11^{9}.

J. HASTINGS.

ANSWER.—1. As a subst. a. is used in the sense of apology or defence (Gr. ἀπολογία) in 1 Co 9^{3} 'mine a. (RV 'my defence') to them that do examine me'; 2 Ti 4^{16} 'At my first a. (RV 'defence') no man stood by me'; 1 P 3^{15} 'Ready always to give an a. (RV 'give a.') to every man.' Compare the use of a. as a verb in Ac 24^{10} 'I do the more cheerfully a. for myself' (RV 'I do cheerfully make my defence'), Ac 25$^{8.\,16}$ 26$^{1.\,2}$, Lk 12^{11} 21^{14}. **2.** In Ro 11^{4} 'what saith the a. of God unto him?' a. means oracle or divine response (Gr. χρηματισμός, the only occurrence of the word in NT, but it is found in 2 Mac 2^{4} χρηματισμοῦ γενηθέντος, 'being warned of God' AV and RV; see Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, pp. 173, 313). **3.** In 1 P 3^{21} 'the a. of a good conscience toward God,' a. is prob. intended to mean defence, as above; but the Gr. is not ἀπολογία but ἐπερώτημα, and in what precise sense the apostle uses that word is disputed; RV gives 'interrogation,' with two alternatives in the marg. 'inquiry' and 'appeal.' See Thayer, *N.T. Lex. s.v.* **4.** As a verb a. is often used when no question has been asked. The most striking instance is Ac 5^{8}, where St. Peter 'answers' Sapphira, not only before she had opened her mouth, but by asking her a question. **5.** In Gal 4^{25} 'For this Agar is Mt. Sinai in Arabia, and a^{eth} to Jerus.,' a^{eth} to = corresponds with (Gr. συνστοιχεῖ—lit. 'belongs to the same row or column with'). **Answerable** occurs in AV only Ex 38^{18} 'a. to the hangings of the court,' *i.e.* 'corresponding to'; but RV adds Ezk 40^{18} 'a. unto (AV 'over against') the length of the gates,' 45^{7} 48$^{13.\,18\,bis}$. Cf Bunyan, *Holy War* (Clar. Press ed. p. 92), 'This famous town of *Mansoul* had five Gates, in at which to come, out at which to go; and these were made likewise answerable to the Walls.'

J. HASTINGS.

ANT (נְמָלָה *nĕmâlâh*, μύρμηξ, *formica*). The ant is mentioned only twice in the Bible. Once (Pr 6^{6}) with reference to the *industry* of this insect, and again (Pr 30^{25}) with reference to its *wisdom* and *foresight*. There has never been any dispute as to the industry of the ant. Sir John Lubbock (*Ants, Bees, and Wasps*, p. 27) says, 'They work all day, and in warm weather, if need be, at night too. I once watched an ant from six in the morning, and she worked without intermission till a quarter to ten at night. I had put her to a saucer containing larvæ, and in this time she had carried off no less than 187 to their nests. I had another ant, which I employed in my experiments under continuous observation several days. When I started for London in the morning, and again when I went to bed at night, I used to put her into a small bottle, but the moment she was let out she began to work again. On one occasion I was away from home for a week. On my return I took her out of the bottle, placing her on a little heap of larvæ, about three feet from her nest. Under these circumstances I certainly did not expect her to return. However, though she had been six days in confinement, the brave little creature immediately picked up a larva, carried it to her nest, and after half an hour's rest returned for another.'

With reference to the wisdom and foresight of the ant there has been much discussion. Although not expressly stated that the 'meat' which the ant 'prepares' in the summer is for winter use, it is generally agreed that such is the meaning of the passage. The Greeks, Romans, Arabian naturalists, and Jewish rabbis confirm this opinion. Yet many naturalists and commentators have disputed this fact, and say that the writer adopted a popular error, and that the ant does not store the seeds which it takes in such quantities to its nest as food, but only as a lining to its burrows, or for some other unknown reason. They argue from two considerations—(1) that the ant is carnivorous, and has no use for the seeds which it accumulates in its nest; (2) that the ant hybernates, and therefore does not need food in winter. Both of these propositions are partially true and partially false. All ants eat flesh greedily, but they are all passionately fond of many things besides. Sir John Lubbock has shown that ants derive a very important part of their sustenance from the sweet juice secreted by aphides, a product hardly to be called animal food more than honey. In the words of Linnæus, 'the aphis is the cow of ants.' Other kinds of insects are utilised in the same manner. Many ants keep flocks and herds of aphides. The aphides retain the secretion until the ants are ready to receive it, and the ants stroke and caress them with their antennæ, until they emit the sweet excretion. The ants collect the eggs and larvæ of these aphides, store them with their own during the long winter sleep, that they may be hatched in the spring, and supply them again with their favourite food. Here then, says Lubbock, 'our ants may not perhaps lay up food for the winter, but they do more, for they keep during six months the eggs which will enable them to procure food during the following summer—a case of prudence unexampled in the animal kingdom.' But it is also true that ants eat many articles of purely vegetable food. Those of Palestine and Syria certainly eat all kinds of cake, sweetmeats, more or less fruit, bread, meal, and seeds. In the neighbourhood of every threshing-floor and granary, and of stables, there are always immense numbers of ants, which abstract surprising quantities of grain, and store them in their nests. They often carry the grains many feet or yards away, along well-beaten roads, which cross each other in every direction from the heaps of grain. Similar facts have been observed in the warmer parts of Europe and in India. The Mishna lays down rules in regard to the ownership of grain so stored. Maimonides has discussed the question as to whether it belongs to the owners of the land or to gleaners, deciding in favour of the latter. The ants, however, differ from him, and are of opinion that the store belongs to themselves. I am assured by native peasants, well qualified to know, that the ants eat the grain during the season of non-production. After the first rains, the ants bring out their larvæ and the stored grains to be sunned. Indian ants do the same. Many of these grains are more or less gnawed, or the edible parts entirely consumed. It was the opinion of Aldrovandus and others of the ancients, confirmed by the French Academy

(Addison's *Guardian*, 156, 157) and of N. Pluche (*Nature displ.* i. 128), that the ants systematically bit off the head of the grain to prevent its germination. I think it unnecessary to ascribe to the ants so much intelligence as would be implied in this extraordinary measure, but it is no way improbable that the head would be the first part attacked, as it is the softest portion of the grain, and the most accessible, being uncovered by the silicious envelope, as well as the sweetest morsel of the whole. Lubbock tells us of a Texan ant that clears disks, 10 or 12 feet in diameter, round the entrance to its nest, to allow certain grains known as ant-rice, and no others, to grow there.

Thus the ants 'are exceeding wise.' Many of their nests also are marvels of construction, some composed of galleries and chambers underground, some built in the form of mounds or huts above the surface. These are grouped in towns, connected by surface roads, sometimes arched over at places, and by underground tunnels. No less than 584 species of insects are found in association with ants, serving them in various ways, some obvious, others not clear. But that they are tolerated by the ants for reasons known to themselves is shown by the fact that ants will immediately attack and drive out or kill any living creatures which they do not like. Many of the insects furnish some form of food, as in the case of the aphides. Others rid the ants of parasites. Others seem to be congenial to them for reasons yet to be studied.

In addition to these insects, not of their own family, ants make slaves of other ants. This is not done by the capture of adult prisoners, but by raids organised for the purpose of stealing the eggs, larvæ, and pupæ from the nests of other species. These infant captives are taken to the nests of their abductors, and raised as slaves. These slaves do all or most of the domestic work of their masters, who reserve themselves for the noble art of war.

Ants also have accurate methods of division of labour. To the younger ones are assigned some of the lighter tasks, while the older ones engage in the more serious and laborious work. In some cases individuals are appointed to collect honey and store it in large sacs in their bodies, to be distributed to their idle masters, who do not trouble themselves to leave their nests.

Lubbock thus sums up the evidence that ants 'are exceeding wise': 'The anthropoid apes no doubt approach nearer to man in bodily structure than do other animals, but when we consider the habits of ants, their social organisation, their large communities and elaborate habitations, their roadways, their possession of domestic animals, and even, in some cases, of slaves, it must be admitted that they have a fair claim to rank next to man in the scale of intelligence.' G. E. POST.

ANTELOPE.—See OX.

ANTHOTHIJAH (עַנְתֹתִיָּה, AV **Antothijah**).—A man of Benjamin (1 Ch 8^{24}). See GENEALOGY.

ANTHROPOLOGY.—See MAN.

ANTICHRIST.—See MAN OF SIN. **ANTILIBANUS.**—See LEBANON.

ANTIOCH (Ἀντιόχεια).—In Syria, under the Seleucids, there appear to have been at least five places which at one time or another enjoyed this title: Hippos on the hills above the E. shore of the Lake of Galilee (Ἀ. ἡ πρὸς Ἵππῳ), Gadara (cf. Stephanus, *De Urbibus*; Reland, *Pal.* 774), Gerasa in E. Gilead (Ἀ. ἡ πρὸς τῷ Χρυσορόᾳ), all of them in the Decapolis, and perhaps also Acco or Ptolemais (Head, *Hist. Num.* 677); but *the* Antioch in Syria was A. on the Orontes, distinguished as Ἀ. ἡ πρός, or ἐπὶ, Δάφνῃ, and entitled μητρόπολις (*ib.* 656).

Under an Eastern people like the Arabs, the natural capital of Syria is Damascus, on the borders of the Arabian desert. But when the Greeks poured into the land after Alexander, it was inevitable that they should establish the centre of their government nearer the Mediterranean and Asia Minor. Accordingly, when the Seleucid Empire was founded, Seleucus Nikator (Jos. *c. Apion*, ii. 4) selected a site 120 stadia from the sea (Strabo, xvi.), where the Orontes, now El-'Asi, and the great roads from the Euphrates and Cœle-Syria break the long Syrian range and debouch upon the coast. The projected Euphrates-Levant railway is to pass by the same way. The valley is tolerably wide, and both fair and fertile. The city was built partly on an island in the river, but mostly on the N. bank of the latter, and up the slopes of Mt. Silpius. By the time of Antiochus Epiphanes (175 B.C.) it consisted of four quarters (τετράπολις, Strabo), divided by the long columned street which was a feature of every Greek city in Syria, and by a second which cut this obliquely. Temples and other large public buildings were erected from time to time by the Seleucids and their Roman successors. Daphne was a neighbouring grove sacred to Apollo (Jos. *Ant.* XVII. ii. 1; Pliny, *HN* v. 18; 2 Mac 4^{33}). Under the Seleucids the city developed a mixed populace, essentially fickle and turbulent, who frequently rose against their rulers. There were Jews in Antioch from the time of its foundation, for Seleucus Nikator gave them the rights of citizenship (Jos. *Ant.* XII. iii. 1). Many others must have fled or been carried captive to A. during the Maccabæan period (*ib.* XII. XIII. *passim*). The Antiochenes expelled Alexander Balas, and offered the crown to Ptolemy Philometor, who, however, persuaded them to receive Demetrius Nikator (*ib.* XIII. iv. 7; but cf. 1 Mac $11^{13ff.}$). They besieged the latter in his palace; but with the help of Jonathan Maccabæus and 3000 Jews he regained the city, yet soon after was obliged to yield it to Alexander's son Antiochus and his general Tryphon (*Ant.* XIII. v. 3; 1 Mac $11^{38ff.}$). Under the Seleucids A. remained till B.C. 83, when it was taken by Tigranes of Armenia. When Pompey overthrew the latter, he made A. a free city, and it became the seat of the Prefect, and capital of the Rom. province of Syria. M. Antonius ordered the citizens to release all the Jews whom they had enslaved, and restore to them their possessions (*Ant.* XIV. xii. 6). When Pompey fell, A. sided with Cæsar, and after Actium with Augustus. Both of the latter, as well as Herod the Great (*Ant.* XVI. v. 3) and Tiberius, embellished the town with theatres, baths, and streets. The harbour of A. was Seleucia. The population was very vigorous. They revolted several times against Rome; and after the disastrous earthquakes of A.D. 37 and subsequent years they quickly restored the town. Art and literature were cultivated so as to draw the praise of Cicero; but with the energy and brilliance of this people there was ever mixed a notorious insolence and scurrility. A large number of Romans settled in A., and the Jewish community speedily grew in numbers and in influence with the rest of the inhabitants (Jos. *BJ* II. xviii. 5), who protected them in the first Jewish revolt against Rome, but afterwards displayed a bitter hate against them (*ib.* VII. v. 2).

It was when A. was filled with these rich and varied elements of life—Josephus calls her the third city of the Empire, next to Rome and Alexandria (*BJ* III. ii. 4)—that she entered the history of Christianity. Antiochean Jews and proselyte Greeks must have come under the influence of the apostles' ministry in Jerus. Nicolas 'a proselyte of A.' was one of the seven deacons (Ac 6^{5}). Upon the persecution that arose about Stephen, the disciples were scattered as far north as A. (Ac 11$^{19\text{ff.}}$), and among them some men of Cyprus and Cyrene, who began to preach to Greeks (many ancient authorities give 'Grecian Jews,' but surely Greeks are meant,—for otherwise the distinction made between the Cypriotes and Cyrenians and the other preachers in 11^{20} is meaningless). To them at A. the Church at Jerus. sent Barnabas, who, after seeing the situation, went and fetched Paul thither from Tarsus. For a year they worked together in the church, teaching; 'and the disciples were called Christians first in A.' The wit of the place was always famous for giving names. Prophets arrived from Jerus. predicting a famine; and when this came to pass, the Church of A. proved once more the vigour of the population from which it was drawn, by sending supplies to Jerus. by the hands of Barnabas and Saul (*ib.* $^{27\text{-}30}$). These returned to A., and after their ministry 'in the church' they were sent forth by the port of Seleucia to Cyprus on Paul's first great missionary journey (13^{1}); and from this to A. they returned, with their report of faith among the Gentiles (14$^{26\text{f.}}$). When Jews came down to teach the necessity of circumcision for the latter, the Church at A. sent Barnabas and Paul to Jerus. to claim for them freedom from the law (15$^{1\text{ff.}}$); and a deputation from Jerus. returned with the two ambassadors (15$^{22\text{ff.}}$). After ministering for a time in A., Paul and Barnabas set forth on their second journey by the Cilician gates (Ramsay) to Lystra (15^{36}); Paul returned (18^{22}); and A. was the starting-point of his third journey (*ib.*^{23}), which also was taken into Asia Minor, by the Syrian and Cilician gates, one great line of the advancement of Christianity westward. A. was not only the first Gentile Church, but may be called the mother of all the rest. This pre-eminence she continued to enjoy; for it was probably her missionary originality, rather than the tradition which made Peter her bishop for two years (cf. Gal 2^{11}), that gave her Patriarch precedence of those of Rome, Constantinople, Jerus., and Alexandria. A. was the birthplace of Ammianus Marcellinus, John Chrysostom, and Evagrius. As long as she remained part of an empire with its centre in Europe, A. continued the virtual capital of Syria. When the Arabs came, she, the city of the Levant, yielded to the city of the Desert; and though with the Crusaders she became once more the pivot of the West in its bearing on Syria, and the centre of the Principality of A. (from Taurus to Nahr-el-Kebir), she fell away again when they left, and gave up to Damascus even her Christian Patriarch. Now Antaki (Turkish), or Antakiyeh (Arab.), she is a meagre town of 6000 inhabitants. Besides the ruins of Justinian's wall there are no ancient remains of importance.

LITERATURE.—(Besides the ancient authorities already cited), Reland, *Palästina*, 119 ff., where Jerome's error, that A. was Hamath (*Comm.* on Amos 6), or Riblah (*Comm.* on Ezek. 47), is stated and opposed; C. O. Müller, *Antiquitates Antiochenæ* (Göttingen, 1839); Noris, *Annus et Epochæ Syromacedonum*; Gibbon and Mommsen, *passim*; Schürer, *HJP* I. i. 437, II. *passim*; various lives of St. Paul, esp. Conybeare and Howson's; Lewin, *Fasti Sacri, passim*; Ramsay, *Church in the Rom. Emp.* chs. ii.-vii., xvi. On A. under the Moslems, see the extracts from Arab. geographers in Guy Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, esp. 367-377. On the A. of the Crusaders, Rey, *Colonies Franques de Syrie aux 12me et 13me siècles*; cf. also Benjamin of Tudela's *Travels*, A.D. 1163, and Bertrandere de la Broequière's in 1432; and on the modern city, see Chesney, *Euphrates Expedition*; and George Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*.

G. A. SMITH.

ANTIOCH IN PISIDIA (Ἀντιόχεια Πισιδία, more correctly rendered 'Pisidian Antioch') is defined by Strabo (pp. 569, 557, 577) as a city of Phrygia towards or near Pisidia. It was probably one of the sixteen Antiochs founded by Seleucus Nikator (301-280; Appian, *Syr.* 57), and named after his father. The inhabitants claimed to be colonists from Magnesia on the Mæander; but traditions claiming Greek origin for Phrygian cities were fashionable and untrustworthy. In 190 B.C. it was declared free by the Romans; and its history is unknown until in 39 B.C. it was made by Antony part of the kingdom of Amyntas (as we learn from Appian, *Civ.* v. 75, cf. Strabo, p. 569); on whose death in 25 it passed into Rom. hands as part of the province GALATIA. At some time earlier than 6 B.C. (*CIL* iii. 6974) Augustus made it a *colonia* with Latin rights (*Digest*, 50. 15. 8, 10) with the name Cæsareia Antiocheia, the administrative centre of the southern half of the province, and the military centre of a series of *coloniæ* (Lystra, Parlais, Cremna, Comama, Olbasa) founded to defend the province against the unruly and dangerous Pisidians in the fastnesses of the Taurus mountains. The region or district to which Antioch belonged is called Phrygia by Strabo (and also in Ac 16^{6} 18^{23}, according to the South-Galatian theory, held by some scholars, disputed by others), Pisidian Phrygia by Ptolemy V., 5. 4, Pisidia by Ptolemy V., 4. 11, and by later authorities, showing that gradually that part of Phrygia, which was included in the province Galatia and separated from the great mass of Phrygia (which was part of the province Asia), was merged in Pisidia. Thus the name Antioch towards Pisidia (Strabo, A.D. 19), or Pisidian Antioch (to distinguish it from Antioch on the Mæander or Carian Antioch), gave place to the name Antioch of Pisidia (Ptolemy V., 4. 11, and some MSS. of Ac 13^{14}). The influence of the preaching of Paul and Barnabas in Antioch radiated over the whole region connected politically with the city (Ac 13^{49}). Antioch (as Arundel discovered) is situated about 2 miles E. from Yalowatch on the skirts of the long ridge called Sultan-Dagh, in a strong situation, about 3600 ft. above sea-level, overlooking a large and fertile plain, which stretches away S.E. to the Limnai (Egerdir Lake), and is drained by the river Anthios. The ruins, which are impressive and of great extent, have never as yet been carefully examined. Antioch was a great seat of the worship of Men Askaênos; but the large estates and numerous temple-slaves ruled by the priests were confiscated by the Romans. Jewish colonists were always favoured by the Seleucid kings, who found them good and trusty supporters; many thousands of Jews were settled in the cities of Phrygia (Jos. *Ant.* XII. iii. f.; Cicero, *pro Flacco*, 28. 66-8); and a synagogue at Antioch is mentioned Ac 13^{14}. The influence ascribed to the ladies of Antioch (Ac 13^{50}) is characteristic of Phrygia and Asia Minor generally, where women enjoyed great consideration, and often held office in the cities (see Paris, *Quatenus feminæ res publicas attigerint*, 1891).

LITERATURE.—Antioch is described by Arundel, *Discoveries in As. Min.* i. 281 f., and by Hamilton, *Researches in As. Min.* i. 472 f.; see also Ramsay, *Church in Rom. Emp.* pp. 25-35, *St. Paul*, pp. 99-107: inadequate articles in Pauly-Wissowa, *Encyclop.*, and other geographical dictionaries: many inscriptions in Sterrett, *Epigraphic Journey in As. Min.* p. 121 ff., *Wolfe Expedition in As. Min.* p. 218 ff.: Ritter, *Erdkunde von Asien*, xxi. p. 468, collects all the earlier accounts of travellers. See the article on GALATIA.

W. M. RAMSAY.

ANTIOCHIANS (Ἀντιοχεῖς, 2 Mac 4$^{9.\,19}$).—The efforts of Antiochus Epiphanes to spread Gr. culture and Gr. customs throughout his dominions were diligently furthered by a section of the Jews.

The leader of this Hellenizing party, Jason, brother of the high priest Onias III., offered a large sum of money to Antiochus to induce the king to transfer the high priesthood to himself, and along with certain other favours to allow the inhabitants of Jerusalem 'to be enrolled as Antiochians,' that is, to grant them the titles and privileges of citizens of Antioch. What was the precise nature of the desired privileges we do not know. Antiochus acceded to the proposal of Jason, and shortly afterwards a party of 'Antiochians' from Jerusalem was sent by him as a sacred deputation, to convey a contribution of money for the festival of Heracles at Tyre. H. A. WHITE.

ANTIOCHIS (Ἀντιοχίς, 2 Mac 4^{30}), a concubine of Antiochus Epiphanes, who, in accordance with an old Oriental custom, assigned to her for her maintenance the revenues of the two Cilician cities, Tarsus and Mallus. This grant gave rise to disturbances among the inhabitants of the two cities, but we are not told what means were taken by Antiochus to allay their discontent.
H. A. WHITE.

ANTIOCHUS (Ἀντίοχος, 1 Mac 12^{16} 14^{22}; cf. Jos. *Ant.* XIII. v. 8), the father of Numenius, who was one of the envoys sent (*c.* 144 B.C.) by Jonathan the Maccabee to renew the covenant made by Judas with the Romans, and to enter into friendly relations with the Spartans. H. A. WHITE.

ANTIOCHUS I. (Ἀντίοχος, 'the opposer'), surnamed Soter, 'deliverer,' was born B.C. 324, son of of Seleucus Nikator and of Apama, a princess of Sogdiana. He succeeded his father (B.C. 280) on the throne of Syria, but during the nineteen years of his reign was concerned chiefly with the prosecution of his claims to the throne of Macedonia, with the maintenance of his empire against Kelts and eastern revolts, and with the repression of the Gauls who had settled in Asia Minor. He was slain by one of the latter in battle (B.C. 261). The possession of Cœle-Syria was a matter of dispute between him and Ptolemy Philadelphus (1st Syrian War), but it remained under the sovereignty of the latter, and the S. districts do not appear to have been invaded by Antiochus. R. W. MOSS.

ANTIOCHUS II. (surnamed Theos, 'a god') succeeded his father, A. I., as king of Syria in B.C. 261. His kingdom was invaded soon after his accession by the generals of Ptolemy Philadelphus (2nd Syrian War), who occupied several of the principal towns on the coast of Asia Minor. Peace was concluded (B.C. 250), probably on condition that A. should put away his wife Laodice, marry Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy, and transfer the succession to her issue (Athen. ii. 45). In a short time either Laodice was recalled, or A. endeavoured to reconcile her; but, in mistrust or revenge for the insult passed upon her, she plotted against A., caused him (B.C. 246) to be poisoned and Berenice's infant to be put to death, and secured the throne for her son Seleucus (App. *Syr.* 65; Justin, xxvii. 1; Val. Max. ix. 14. 1). There are strong evidences that A. conferred upon several cities of Asia Minor a democratic constitution and the rights of autonomy. His surname was given him by the Milesians in gratitude for his victory over their tyrant Timarchus (App. *Syr.* 65). The Jews in these cities, and notably in Ephesus, shared in these rights of citizenship; and this was the case, both in the arrangement of cities rebuilt during the Hellenic age, and in the reorganisation of older cities effected chiefly by A. II. See Arrian, i. 17. 10 and 18. 2; Jos. *Ant.* XII. iii. 2; *Apion.* ii. 4; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscript. Græc.* nn. 166, 171. Dn 11^{6} is traditionally interpreted of Antiochus (Jerome, *ad Dan.* 11^{6}), but the latter part of the verse is almost hopelessly corrupt.
R. W. MOSS.

ANTIOCHUS III. ('the Great') was the son of Seleucus Kallinicus (B.C. 246–226), and succeeded to the throne of Syria on the death of his brother, Seleucus Keraunus (B.C. 223). Immediately after his accession he made war upon Egypt; and in two successive campaigns he led his army as far as Dora, a few miles to the N. of Cæsarea. A truce suspended hostilities for a time (Polyb. v. 60; Justin, xxx. 1, 2), during which he put down Molo's rebellion in Media. In B.C. 218 he again drove the Egyp. forces southwards, and himself wintered at Ptolemais; but the next year he was completely defeated at Raphia (Polyb. v. 51–87; Strabo, xvi. 759), near Gaza, and left Ptolemy Philopator in undisputed possession of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia. The following years he spent in warfare against Achæus, whom he took in B.C. 214, and in Parthia and Bactria, where his successes gained for him his surname. But on Ptolemy's death, in B.C. 204, he formed an alliance with Philip of Macedon for the partition of Egypt between the two powers (Liv. xxxi. 14). In Judæa he found a party among the Jews alienated from Egypt, and with their help he extended his kingdom to the Sinaitic peninsula. But an invasion of his dominions by Attalus, king of Pergamus, checked his further progress; and in his absence Scopas, an Egyp. general, overran Judæa, and recovered the lost territories. A. hastened to oppose him, and at Paneas (Πάνειον, a grotto of Pan, which gave its name to the district), near the source of the Jordan, gained a decisive victory (B.C. 198), which made him again master of all Pal. (Polyb. xvi. 18, xxviii. 1; Liv. xxx. 19; Jos. *Ant.* XII. iii. 3). Judæa was thus finally connected with the Seleucid dynasty. Syrian στρατηγοί, or military governors, were appointed; and regular taxes were imposed, and leased to contractors in the several towns. A. further guaranteed the inviolability of the temple, and provided by ample grants for the performance of its services (Jos. *Ant.* XII. iii. 4). With a view to pacify Lydia and Phrygia, he sent there 2000 Jewish families from Mesopotamia with grants of land and immunity from taxation. The intervention of the Romans prevented any further expedition against Egypt: and a treaty was made by which Ptolemy Epiphanes took in marriage A.'s daughter Cleopatra, who was promised as her dower the three provinces of Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, and Pal. (Polyb. xxviii. 17; App. *Syr.* 5; Liv. xxxv. 13; Jos. *Ant.* XII. iv. 1). The transfer of the provinces themselves appears not to have taken place, though the queen for a time shared in their revenue. Judæa was probably occupied by Syrian and Egyp. garrisons side by side; and the people were subjected to a twofold tyranny. A. retained the nominal sovereignty; but in B.C. 196 he left Pal. in order to conduct an expedition against Asia Minor (Liv. xxxiii. 19), and became involved in a long war with Rome. He was finally defeated in the battle of Magnesia (B.C. 190), and three years later was killed in an insurrection at Elymais. Dn 11^{10-19} is traditionally interpreted of him, and he is mentioned in 1 Mac 1^{10} 8^{6-8}. The statements in the latter passage should be compared with App. *Syr.* 36 and Liv. xxxvii. 44, 56. R. W. MOSS.

ANTIOCHUS IV. EPIPHANES (Ἐπιφανής, 'illustrious'; also named ἐπιμανής, 'madman,' Polyb. xxvi. 10; νικηφόρος, 'victorious,' and θεός, on coins and in Jos. *Ant.* XII. v. 5), second son of A. the Great, was for 14 years a hostage at Rome, and, after expelling Heliodorus, succeeded his own brother Seleucus Philopator in B.C. 175 His policy was to spread Greek culture (Tac. *Hist.* v. 8) through his dominions, and so knit the various peoples into a compact and single-purposed unity. Soon after his accession he was called upon to settle a dispute at Jerus. between the high priest Onias III. and his brother Jason, the leader of the Hellenizing party. Onias was driven from Jerus. (2 Mac 4^{4-6}); and Jason secured the high priesthood by the payment to the king of a large sum of money and the promise thoroughly to Hellenize the city (2 Mac 4^{9-16}, 1 Mac 1^{10-15}; Jos. *Ant.* XII. v. 1). A. soon after visited the city in person, and was received with every mark of honour (2 Mac 4^{22}). In B.C. 171 Jason was himself supplanted by Menelaus, who offered larger bribes; but the next year he was encouraged by a rumour of the king's death in Egypt to besiege Jerus. (2 Mac 5^{5}). The tidings reached A. as he was in the midst of his second prosperous campaign in Egypt, and at once, 'in a furious mind,' he marched against Jerus. The city was taken, many thousands of the people were massacred, and the temple was robbed of its treasures (1 Mac 1^{20-24}, 2 Mac 5^{11-21}; Jos. *Ant.* XII. v. 3; *Apion.* ii. 7). Philip, a Phrygian of specially barbarous temper (2 Mac 5^{22}), was left behind as governor of Jerus., and A. proceeded with the spoils of the temple to Antioch.

In B.C. 168 A. set out on his last expedition against Egypt, and was approaching Alexandria to besiege it when he received from the Romans peremptory orders to refrain from making war upon the Ptolemies (App. *Syr.* 66; Liv. xlv. 12; Polyb. xxix. 11; Justin, xxxiv. 3) Reluctantly he withdrew from Egypt, and vented his rage upon Jerus. (see Dn 11^{30}). Apollonius, one of the chief officers of revenue, was detached with an army of 22,000 men, with instructions to exterminate the Jewish people and to colonise the city with Greeks (2 Mac 5^{24}, 1 Mac $1^{34.38}$). Availing himself of the Sabbath law, Apollonius chose that day for entrance into Jerus., and met with no effective resistance. The men were killed, except a few who took refuge with Judas Maccabæus in flight, and the women and children sold into slavery. The city was set on fire, its walls thrown down, and their materials used to fortify anew the old city of David, which thenceforth uninterruptedly for 26 years was occupied by a Syrian garrison. Menelaus still remained high priest, but it is difficult to understand what his duties were, as the daily sacrifices are said to have ceased in the month of Sivan (June).

A decree was then promulgated by A. throughout his kingdom that in religion, law, and custom 'all should be one people' (1 Mac 1^{41}; Polyb. xxxviii. 18). In Judæa alone the edict seems to have met with serious opposition. Accordingly the observance of the Sabbath, circumcision, and abstinence from unclean food were specifically forbidden under the penalty of death. Upon the altar of burnt-offering a smaller altar was built, and on the 25th of Chislev (Dec. 168) sacrifice was offered upon it to the Olympic Zeus (1 Mac 1^{54}, 2 Mac 6^{2}; Jos. *Ant.* XII. v. 4: see Dn 11^{31}. The phrase in Dn, הַשִּׁקּוּץ מְשֹׁמֵם, may have other reference, and is not without linguistic difficulty; but its oldest interpretation, in the LXX, is *βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως*, which exactly agrees with the expression in 1 Mac 1^{54}). The courts, too, of the temple were polluted by indecent orgies. At the same time the worship of Zeus Xenios was instituted in the Sam. temple on Mt. Gerizim. The festivals of Bacchus were introduced into the various towns, and the Jews compelled to take part in them (2 Mac 6^{7}). A monthly search was made (1 Mac 1^{58}); and the possession of a copy of the book of the law was punishable by death. Similar measures were taken in all the cities frequented by the Jews in the Syrian kingdom, and even in Egypt (2 Mac $6^{8.9}$). The effect upon the better Jews was to arouse a spirit of heroism, which showed itself at first only in an inflexible refusal to renounce Judaism. 'They chose to die . . . and they died' (1 Mac 1^{63}); and 2 Mac 6^{11}–7^{42} records with licence certain instances which are further elaborated in 4 Mac, and of which Philo makes use in *Quod omnis prob. lib.* § 13 (Mang. ii. 459). Open resistance occurred first at Modin (Μωδεΐν or Μωδεείμ), a mountain village E. of Lydda and N.W. of Jerus. When the king's commissioner came to see that the edict was obeyed, Mattathias, the head of the priestly Hasmonæan family, refused compliance, killed the officer, and fled to the hills (1 Mac 2^{15-28}; Jos. *Ant.* XII. vi. 2: a tradition ascribes the first rising to an outrage attempted upon a Jewish bride). His example was imitated by many others (1 Mac 2^{29}); but a great slaughter of them took place through their refusal to defend themselves on a Sabbath (1 Mac 2^{32-38}). Mattathias persuaded his followers that the law of the Sabbath did not override the right of defence, and was joined by many of the Asidæans (Ἀσιδαῖοι, חֲסִידִים ḤASIDIM). His bands traversed the country, harassing the Syrians with a guerilla warfare, everywhere destroying the symbols of idolatry (1 Mac 2^{45-48}).

Towards the end of B.C. 167 Mattathias died, and was succeeded in the military chieftainship of his party by his son Judas Maccabæus (wh. see). After pursuing for a time with invariable success his father's practice of cutting off small companies of the enemy by surprises, Judas found his followers strong and expert enough to be trusted in larger enterprises. In turn he routed an army of Syrians and Samaritans under the command of Apollonius, and a greater host at Bethhoron under Seron, the general of Cœle-Syria (1 Mac 3^{10-24}; Jos. *Ant.* XII. vii. 1). When news of the revolt of Judæa reached A., he himself was obliged to set out upon an expedition into Parthia and Armenia, where insurrection was spreading and the taxes were withheld (Tac. *Hist.* v. 8; App. *Syr.* 45; Müller, *Fragm.* ii. 10). But he left Lysias behind, as regent and guardian of his son, with orders to depopulate Judæa (1 Mac 3^{32-36}; Jos. *Ant.* XII. vii. 2). Lysias at once despatched a large body of troops under the command of Ptolemy, Nicanor, and Gorgias; and with them came merchants to purchase the expected Jewish slaves (1 Mac 3^{38-41}). At Emmaus (Ἐμμαούμ, the modern Amwâs), Judas inflicted so signal a defeat upon Gorgias that the Syrian troops fled out of the country (1 Mac 4^{22}). In B.C. 165 Lysias in person led a still larger army against Judas, but was completely defeated at Bethzur (1 Mac 4^{28-35}; Jos. *Ant.* XII. vii. 5). Judas regained possession of the entire country except the citadel in Jerus., and on the 25th of Chislev the daily sacrifices were restored (1 Mac 4^{52}, 2 Mac 10^{5}; Jos. *Ant.* XII. vii. 6 and 7; *Middoth*, i. 6; *Megillath Taanith*, §§ 17, 20, 23). Meanwhile A. had been baffled in an attempt to plunder in Elymais (1 Mac 6^{1}) the temple of Nanaia ('the desire of women,' Dn 11^{32}, identified with Artemis, Polyb. xxxi. 11; with Aphrodite, App. *Syr.* 60; or more probably with Adonis or Tammuz). He retired to Babylon, and thence to Tabæ in Persia, where he became mad and died (B.C. 164).

LITERATURE.—Liv. xli.-xlv.; Polyb. xxvi.-xxxi.; App. *Syr.* 45, 66; Justin, xxiv. 3, are the principal classical authorities. Dn 11^{21-45} is generally interpreted of A. IV. (Jerome, *ad Dan.* c. 11), and he is supposed to have been in the thought of the writer of Rev 13^{5}. The *Megillath Antiochus* is legendary, post-Talmudic in date, and of little worth as history. Dérenbourg, *Hist.* 59-63, extracts from *Megillath Taanith*, which, with 1 and 2 Mac and Jos. *Ant.* XII. v., is the only Jewish source of value.

R. W. MOSS.

ANTIOCHUS V. (Εὐπάτωρ, 'born of a noble father') succeeded his father, A. Epiphanes, in

B.C. 164, at the age of 9 (App. *Syr.* 46, 66) or of 11 (Euseb. *Chron. Arm.* i. 348) years. Epiph. had appointed his foster-brother (2 Mac 9^{29}) Philip as his son's guardian (1 Mac 6$^{15.55}$; Jos. *Ant.* XII. ix. 2); but Lysias, the governor of the provinces from the Euphrates to Egypt, assumed that function (1 Mac 3^{32}). In B.C. 163 Lysias and A. led an expedition to the relief of Jerus., which was being besieged by Judas Maccab. (1 Mac 6$^{18-30}$; Jos. *Ant.* XII. ix. 3). The armies met at Bethzacharias, some 9 miles to the N. of Bethsura (Bethzur), where Judas was defeated (Jos. *Ant.* XII. ix. 4; *Wars*, I. i. 5; 1 Mac 6^{47}). [2 Mac 13$^{16.17}$, on the other hand, represents Judas as victorious, but is clearly unhistorical.] A. took Bethsura, and proceeded to lay siege to Jerus. Within the city scarcity of food was soon felt, as the year was a Sabbatical one (1 Mac 6^{53}); and news that Philip was approaching Antioch was received by the besiegers. Peace was made on the condition that the Jews should be left undisturbed in their national customs (1 Mac 6^{59}, 2 Mac 13^{23}); but A. violated this condition by destroying the city fortifications and imprisoning the high priest (1 Mac 6^{62}; Jos. *Ant.* XII. ix. 7). Philip was conquered with ease at Antioch; but in B.C. 162 A. himself was betrayed into the hands of his cousin, Demetrius Soter, and put to death (1 Mac 7^{4}, 2 Mac 14^{2}; Jos. *Ant.* XII. x. 1; App. *Syr.* 47; Polyb. xxxi. 19; Liv. *Epit.* 46).
R. W. MOSS.

ANTIOCHUS VI. (surnamed Ἐπιφανὴς Διόνυσος on coins, but θεός in Jos. *Ant.* XIII. vii. 1) was a son of Alexander Balas (App. *Syr.* 68) and Cleopatra. In B.C. 145, while still a child, he was brought from Arabia, where he had remained with his father's captor, and set up by Diodotus (Tryphon, wh. see) as a claimant to the throne of Syria, then held by Demetrius Nikator. Tryphon secured the support of the Syrian generals, and of Jonathan (wh. see), who was appointed to the civil and ecclesiastical, Simon to the military, headship of Pal.: and A. was acknowledged as king by the greater part of Syria. The success of Jonathan in subduing the whole country from Tyre and Damascus to Egypt aroused the jealousy or the fear of Tryphon, who, by stratagem, imprisoned and afterwards put him to death (B.C. 143). The next year (or possibly later: see Jos. *Ant.* XIII. vii. 1; 1 Mac 13^{31}; App. *Syr.* 67, 68; Justin, xxxvi. 1; but the evidence of coins is in favour of the earlier date) Tryphon procured the assassination of A. by surgeons (Liv. *Epit.* 55), and assumed the crown of S. Syria in his stead. R. W. MOSS.

ANTIOCHUS VII. (surnamed Σιδήτης, from the place of his education, Side in Pamphylia, Euseb. *Chron. Arm.* i. 349; also εὐσεβής in Jos. *Ant.* XIII. viii. 2; and εὐεργέτης on coins) was the second son of Demetrius Soter. In B.C. 138 he expelled Tryphon, and without further opposition obtained the throne of Syria. At first he confirmed to Simon immunities granted by former kings, and added the right of coining money (1 Mac 15$^{2-9}$); but afterwards demanded the surrender of the principal fortresses (1 Mac 15$^{28-31}$). Simon refused to give them up, and defeated the king's officer Cendebæus (1 Mac 16$^{1-10}$; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. vii. 3). In B.C. 135 A. in person led an army into Judæa, and besieged Jerus. The siege lasted for many months, in the course of which A. sent sacrifices into the city at the Feast of Tabernacles (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. viii. 2), but allowed no provisions to pass his lines. Peace was at length made on terms which restored the Syrian supremacy (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. viii. 3), without unduly provoking the intervention of Rome (*ib.* XIII. ix. 2). In B.C. 129 Hyrcanus (wh. see) accompanied A. in an expedition against the Parthians, but the next year the king fell in battle with Arsaces VII. (*ib.* XIII. viii. 4; App. *Syr.* 68; Justin, xxxviii. 10; Liv. *Epit.* 55). R. W. MOSS.

ANTIPAS (Antipater).—See under HEROD.

ANTIPAS (Ἀντίπας).—Only mentioned in Rev 2^{13}, in the Epistle to the Church of Pergamum, in the following terms: 'I know where thou dwellest, where the throne of Satan is; and thou holdest my name, and didst not deny my faith, even (*or* and) in the days of Antipas (nominative), my witness, (my) faithful one, who was slain among you, where Satan dwelleth.' Some authorities insert ἐν αἷς ('in which') after the word 'days'; and two versions take the word Antipas as a verb, ἀντεῖπας ('thou didst contradict'); but there is no probability that this is correct. WH think it not unlikely that Ἀντίπα in the gen. should be read.

Various allegorical interpretations of the name are current, one making A. the withstander of all, and identifying him with Timothy; another descending as low as Antipas=Antipapa. But the name must in all likelihood be that of a real man, and is probably a shortened form of Antipater.

Antipas does not occur in the lists of the 70 disciples (Pseud.-Dorotheus, Solomon of Basra), but Andreas and Arethas, the commentators on the Apocalypse, speak of having read the acts of his martyrdom. These are to be found in the *Acta Sanctorum*, April 11 (April, tom. ii. pp. 2, 4, and 967). They are rhetorical and late in their present form, and give no particulars of the saint's life. They represent him as being cast into a heated brazen bull in the temple of Artemis, by order of a nameless governor during Domitian's persecution. He was apparently Bishop of Pergamum. According to one form of his Acts (quoted by the Bollandists from a *Synaxarion*), he prayed that those suffering from toothache might be relieved at his tomb. The bull in which he suffered was shown at Constantinople (Cedrenus, 566, ed. Par.). In the Ethiopic calendar his day is the 16th of Miyazia. M. R. JAMES.

ANTIPATER (Ἀντίπατρος).—A., son of Jason, was one of two ambassadors sent by Jonathan to the Romans and to the Spartans to renew 'the friendship and the confederacy' (1 Mac 12^{16} 14^{22}).
J. A. SELBIE.

ANTIPATRIS (Ἀντιπατρίς), Ac 23^{31}.—A city at the foot of the Judæan hills, on the road from Jerusalem to Cæsarea: founded by Herod the Great. The various notices of its position, in relation to places near, are fully explained by placing this city at the large ruined mound above the source of the 'Aujah River, north-east of Jaffa. This site is now called *Râs el 'Ain*, 'the spring-head'; the Greek name having, as is usual in Palestine, been lost. The ruins include the shell of a large mediæval castle, which is probably that called Mirabel in the 12th cent. For a full discussion of this question, see *SWP* vol. ii. sheet xiii. Josephus has been wrongly supposed to place Antipatris at Caphar Saba, farther north (*Ant.* XIII. xv. 1, XVI. v. 2; *Wars*, I. xxi. 9). C. R. CONDER.

ANUB (עָנוּב).—A man of Judah (1 Ch 4^{8}). See GENEALOGY.

ANVIL (פַּעַם, a stroke, blow).—The word occurs with this meaning only in Is 41^{7}. The anvil of the East is a boot-shaped piece of metal inserted in a section of oak or walnut log. Larger or smaller, it is used by tinsmiths, shoemakers, silversmiths, and blacksmiths. The description of the metal worker in Is 41$^{6.7}$ is one that might have been taken from the Arab workshop of the present day. As the Oriental artisan has only a few simple tools at his command, his work lacks the precision and uniformity attained in the West by elaborate machinery. Hence vivacious comment during the process of manufacture, and a feeling of triumph at times when the article turns out according to sample. The act of welding on the anvil, to which the prophet alludes, is esp. a moment of noisy enthusiasm and mutual encouragement between the smith and his fellow-workman on the other side of the anvil. They then call out to each other to strike more rapidly and vigorously, before the metal cools, crying '*shidd! shidd*'! the Arabic equivalent of Isaiah's '*ḥazak*'! 'be of good courage!' Then the term applied to the soldering —'*tob*'! Arab. '*ṭayyib*'! that is, 'good'!—is at once a call to cease from further hammering, and a declaration that the work is satisfactory.

G. M. MACKIE.

ANY.—1. Being probably composed of *an* one, and dim. ending *y* (old Eng. *ig*), 'any' means 'one at all,' 'one of whatever kind.' Of this orig. meaning good examples are Ps 4^{6} 'Who will show us any good?' 2 P 3^{9} 'not willing that any should perish.' 2. Any is not now used in the sing. without 'one,' 'more,' or the like, but we find Jer 23^{24} 'Can any hide himself in secret places that I shall not see him?' Ezk 7^{13} 'neither shall any strengthen himself'; so Zec 13^{3}, Jn 2^{25} etc. 3. **Any thing** as an adverb='at all,' 'in any respect,' is found 2 Ch 9^{20} 'it (silver) was not any thing (RV 'was nothing') accounted of'; Gal 5^{6} 'neither circumcision availeth any thing' (RV 'anything'); Nu 17^{13} 'Whosoever cometh any thing near unto the tabernacle of the Lord shall die' (RV 'Every one that cometh near, that cometh near unto the tab. of the Lord, dieth'); and even (Ac 25^{8}) 'neither . . . have I offended any thing at all' (RV 'have I sinned at all'). 4. **Any ways**=in any respect, mod. 'anywise,' occurs Lv 20^{4} 'if the people of the land do any ways hide their eyes from the man'; Nu 30^{15} 'if he shall any ways make them void' (RV 'if he shall make them null and void'); 2 Ch 32^{13}. Cf. Pr. Bk. 'All those who are any ways afflicted.'

J. HASTINGS.

APACE.—'Apace meant first of all 'at a foot pace,' *i.e.* slowly. But before 1611 it had acquired the opp. meaning, 'at a quick pace,' and in that sense only is it used in AV. It occurs 2 S 18^{25} 'And he came a.' (וַיֵּלֶךְ הָלוֹךְ); Ps 68^{12} 'Kings of armies did flee a.' (יִדֹּדוּן יִדֹּדוּן, RV 'flee, they flee'); Jer 46^{5} 'their mighty ones . . . are fled a.' Also in Ps 58^{6}, Pr. Bk. (and RV, v.^{7}) 'like water that runneth a.'; and Sir 43^{13} 'He maketh the snow to fall a.' (*κατέσπευσε χιόνα*). Cf. Ps in Metre 92^{7}—

> 'When those that lewd and wicked are
>   spring quickly up like grass,
> And workers of iniquity
>   do flourish all apace.'

> 'Gallop apace, you fiery-footed steeds.
> Shaks. *Rom. and Jul.* iii. 2. 1.

> 'Small weeds have grace, great weeds do grow apace.'
> *Rich. III.* ii. 4. 13.

J. HASTINGS.

APAME (*'Απάμη*).—Daughter of Bartacus, and concubine of Darius I. (1 Es 4^{29}).

APES (קֹפִים, *ḳôphîm*, *πίθηκοι*, *simiae*).—Animals of the simian type, imported by the merchant navy of Solomon (1 K 10^{22}, 2 Ch 9^{21}). There is no reason to believe that any one kind, or even family, of apes is intended. Many kinds were known to the ancients, and the ships of Asia and Africa constantly brought then, as they do now, various species of apes and monkeys. Aristotle divides the simians into three groups—the *κῆβοι*, the *πίθηκοι*, and the *κυνοκέφαλοι*. But it is clear that the translators of the LXX did not understand *κῆβοι* to be the equivalent of *ḳôphîm*, for they have translated the latter *πίθηκοι*. As a naturalist, Solomon would no doubt have wished specimens of as many kinds as possible of so curious an animal as the ape, and, *regis ad exemplar*, it would have been fashionable among his courtiers to possess these grotesque mimics of humanity. Hence the steady market for apes as well as peacocks and ivory.

G. E. POST.

APELLES (*'Απελλῆς*).—The name of a Christian greeted by St. Paul in Ro 16^{10}, and described as the 'approved in Christ.' It was the name borne by a distinguished tragic actor, and by members of the household. Most commentators quote also Hor. *Sat.* i. 5. 100, *Credat Iudæus Apella, non ego.* See Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 172; Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, p. 425. For later traditions, which are valueless, see *Acta Sanct.*, April, iii. 4.

A. C. HEADLAM.

APHÆREMA (*'Αφαίρεμα*), 1 Mac 11^{34}.—A district taken from Samaria and added to Judæa by Demetrius Soter (*Ant.* XIII. iv. 9), probably that round the city Ephraim.

C. R. CONDER.

APHARSACHITES.—See next article.

APHARSATHCHITES (אֲפַרְסַתְכָיֵא Ezr 4^{9}, probably the same as the Apharsachites,* אֲפַרְסְכָיֵא Ezr 5^{6} 6^{6}).—A colony of the Assyrians in Samaria; an eastern people subject to the Assyrians. Ewald (*H.I.* iv. 1878, p. 216) identifies them with the *Παρητακηνοί* (Herod. i. 101), a tribe of the Medes, dwelling on the borderland between Media and Persia.

J. MACPHERSON.

APHARSITES (אֲפָרְסָיֵא Ezr 4^{9}).—One of the nations transported to Samaria by the Assyrians. Otherwise unknown. By many (*e.g.* Ewald, *H.I.* iv. 216) supposed to be Persians; פרס with the prosthetic א in the Heb. form. Others have conjecturally identified them with the Parrhasians of E. Media.

J. MACPHERSON.

APHEK (אֲפֵק 'a fortress').—This was the name of at least four places in Palestine.

1. A city whose king was slain by Joshua (Jos 12^{18}), where we should read with the LXX, 'the king of Aphek in Sharon.' This is probably the city mentioned in 1 S 4^{1}. The Israelites were at Ebenezer, between Mizpeh and Shen. With common consent Mizpeh is located at *Neby Samwîl*, but Shen is unknown, so Ebenezer and Aphek still await identification. *Kakon*, in the plain of Sharon, a strong position commanding the main entrance to Samaria, would suit admirably, but no echo of the ancient name has been heard in the district.

2. A city in the territory of Asher (Jos 13^{4} 19^{30}) from which the Canaanites were never expelled (Jg 1^{31}—where it is written אֲפִיק). Apparently in the vicinity of Achzib, its position is uncertain. A possible identification is '*Afka* on the Adonis, *Nahr Ibrahîm*, but this seems to be too far north.

3. A spot, generally supposed to be in the plain of Esdraelon, whence the Philistines advanced to the battle of Gilboa (1 S 29^{1}). Wellhausen and W. R. Smith give reasons for thinking this identical with 1; and G. A. Smith now agrees (*PEFSt*, 1895, 252). If the identity is established, the Philistines assembled in Sharon, and approached Jezreel by way of Dothan. If, however, they moved from Shunem to Aphek, against Saul, the place must be sought in some 'fortress' westward of Jezreel; the fountain near which Israel was encamped being most likely '*Ain Jalûd*, at the N. base of Gilboa. *Fuḳû'a*, on the mountain itself, is hardly possible.

4. The scene of Benhadad's disastrous defeat (1 K 20$^{26.30}$). This place was in the *mîshôr*, מִישׁוֹר, the table-land east of the Jordan, and is probably identical with *Fîk*, on the lip of the valley eastward

---

* Kosters thinks that Apharsachites of Ezr 5^{6} 6^{6} is an official title which the author of 4^{9} has mistaken for the name of a tribe or country (*Herstel v. Isr.* 66 f.).

of *Kal'at el-Ḥuṣn*, overlooking the Sea of Galilee. *Fîḳ* is just the Heb. word without the initial aleph; but occasionally one hears the natives call it *'Afîḳ*, when the ancient name appears entire. From the edge of the valley eastward stretches the plain, *mîshôr*, of *Jaulân*, where the great battle was fought. Here the Syrians again suffered defeat at the hands of Joash (2 K $13^{17.25}$).

LITERATURE.—W. R. Smith, *OTJC*² pp. 273, 435; Wellhausen, *Comp. d. Hex.* p. 254, *Hist.* p. 39; G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* Index, and esp. *Crit. Rev.* (1892), p. 409 f. W. EWING.

APHEKAH (אֲפֵקָה).—A city not yet clearly identified. It may have been in the mountains of Judah (Jos 15^{53}), but is probably the same place as Aphek 1. W. EWING.

APHERRA ('Αφερρά), 1 Es 5^{34}.—His descendants were among the 'sons of Solomon's servants' who returned with Zerubbabel. This name, with the five preceding and two succeeding names, has no equivalent in the parallel lists of Ezr and Neh. H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

APHIAH (אֲפִיחַ).—One of Saul's ancestors (1 S 9^{1}).

APHIK (אֲפִיק).—A city of Asher (Jg 1^{31}), the same as Aphek 2.

APHRAH.—See BETH-LE-APHRAH.

APOCALYPSE.—See REVELATION. **APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH.**—See BARUCH.

APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE.—No attempt to study Christianity in its origins can dispense with a knowledge of this literature. If we wish to reconstruct the world of ideas and aspirations which filled the heart of an earnest Jew at the beginning of the Christian era, it is to this literature that we must have recourse for materials. Although in its higher aspects Christianity infinitely transcends the Judaism that preceded it, yet in others it is a genuine historical development from such Judaism. Christianity came forth from the bosom of Pharisaic Judaism, and in Apocalyptic literature this form of Judaism found its essential utterance. The value, therefore, of such literature is obvious. From such writings, further, we see how the great Pharisaic movement arose; how it in its turn had been a transformation and a development of movements already at work in the prophetic period. Thus Jewish Apocalypses not only supply a history of religious beliefs in the two pre-Christian centuries, but they also fill up the otherwise unavoidable gap in the history of Jewish thought, and constitute the living link between the prophetic teachings and ideals of the OT and their fulfilment in Christianity.

Apocalyptic took the place of Prophecy. The Psalmist exclaims with grief: 'We see not our signs: there is no more any prophet: neither is there among us any that knoweth how long' (Ps 74^{9}).

But the immediate successor of Prophecy was not Apocalyptic, but Scribism. The task of the scribes was to study the law and apply it to the altered circumstances of the time. As a result of their study and teaching, Israel was firmly established in its adhesion to the law. But Scribism could not satisfy the aspirations of the nation. In one aspect we might describe it as an unproductive age of criticism following a productive age of prophetic genius. Its chief task was to study, discriminate, and systematise the products of past spiritual genius. For ever engaged in distinguishing and criticising, it acquired the habits of caution and fear as it lost those of courage and love. Its maxims were mainly negative. Its highest service was, not to inspire and lead into new paths of duty and goodness, but to confine every enthusiasm and new spiritual force within the narrow limits of a traditional routine, and to close every avenue of danger with a flaming sword and the unvarying prohibition: 'Thou shalt not.'

But Scribism had another side. In times of oppression especially, its efforts were directed to finding an answer for hearts that were asking in their anguish when God would visit and redeem His people. By ignoring the fact that the prophetic accounts of an ideal future for Israel could not be literally fulfilled after the fall of the ancient State, they easily found materials in the mass of unfulfilled prophecy on which to build their hopes anew. By symbolising what was literal and literalising what was figurative, by various rearrangements and readjustments of the resulting products, they were able to depict the future in a certain chronological sequence, and arrive at this desired consummation. By such means Scribism in some measure kept alive the hopes of the nation.

It was to this side of Scribism that Apocalyptic was naturally related, although at the same time it was to a certain extent a revolt against the other and chief pursuit of Scribism. The higher ideals and larger outlook of Apocalyptic failed in due course to find room within the narrow limits of Scribism; and whereas the anxious scrupulosities of the latter were incompatible with anything but the feeblest inspiration and vigour, the former attested beyond doubt the reappearance of spiritual genius in the field of thought and action.

Our conception of Apocalyptic will become clearer by observing wherein it agrees with, and wherein it differs from, OT prophecy.

1. Prophecy and Apocalyptic agree in this—(1) That they both claim to be a communication through the Divine Spirit of the character and will and purposes of God, and of the laws and nature of His kingdom. This, it is needless to add, man could not attain to by himself.

(2) But Prophecy and Apocalyptic were related, not only in their primary postulate, but, at least in the case of the later prophets, in similarity of materials and method. Thus the eschatological element which later attained its full growth in the writings of Daniel, Enoch, Noah, etc., had already strongly asserted itself in the later prophets, such as Is 24–27, Joel, Zec 12–14. Not only the beginnings, therefore, but a well-defined type of this literature had already established itself in OT prophecy.

2. But Prophecy and Apocalyptic differ in the following respects:—

(1) *Prophecy still believes that this world is God's world, and that in this world His goodness and truth will yet be justified.* Hence the prophet addresses himself chiefly to the present and its concerns, and when he addresses himself to the future his prophecy springs naturally from the present, and the future which he depicts is regarded as in organic connexion with it. *The Apocalyptic writer, on the other hand, almost wholly despairs of the present; his main interests are supramundane.* He cherishes no hope of arousing his contemporaries to faith and duty by direct and personal appeals; for though God spoke in the past, 'there is no more any prophet.' This pessimism and want of faith in the present, alike in the leaders and the led, limited and defined the form in which the religious ardour of the former should manifest itself. They prescribed, in fact, as a necessity of the age and as a condition of successful effort, *the adoption of pseudonymous authorship.* And thus it is that the Apocalyptic writer approaches his countrymen with a work which claims to be the production of some great

figure in the past, such as Enoch, Moses, Isaiah, Daniel, or Baruch.

Thus far two characteristics of Apocalyptic have emerged—the transference of interest from the present to the future, from the mundane to the supra-mundane, and the adoption of pseudonymous authorship.

(2) Another feature of Apocalyptic as distinguished from Prophecy was imposed upon it by the necessities of the time, *i.e. its indefinitely wider view of the world's history.* Thus, whereas ancient Prophecy had to deal with *temporary* reverses at the hands of some heathen power, Apocalyptic arose at a time when Israel had been subject for centuries to the sway of one or another of the great world-powers. Hence, in order to harmonise such difficulties with God's righteousness, it had to take account of the *rôle* of such empires in the counsels of God; to recount the sway and downfall of each in turn, till, finally, the lordship of the world passed into the hands of Israel, or the final judgment arrived. The chief part of these events belonged, it is true, to the past; but the Apocalyptic writer represented them as still in the future, arranged under certain artificial categories of time, and as definitely determined from the beginning in the counsels of God, and revealed by Him to His servants the prophets. *Determinism thus became a leading characteristic of Jewish Apocalyptic; and accordingly its conception of history, as distinguished from that of Prophecy, was mechanical rather than organic.*

(3) Again, Prophecy and Apocalyptic differ in the harsher treatment dealt out to the heathen in the final judgments. Israel's repeated oppressions have at last affected the judgment and insight of its writers. The iron has entered into their soul. No virtue or goodness can belong to their heathen oppressors, and nothing but eternal destruction can await the enemies of Israel in the time to come. The ruthless cruelty they had experienced, inspired them with a like ruthlessness towards the faithless nation and the faithless individual; and expressions descriptive of the future lot of such, which in prophetic writings had been limited in their scope to the present life, or were merely poetical exaggerations, were accepted by Apocalyptic writers as true of the future, and often intensified because insufficient to satisfy their merciless hatred. Thus it was in this period that the doctrine of the future and eternal damnation of the wicked was definitely formulated, and came to possess an unquestioned authority. It is true that in later times, as we discover from the Talmud, the severity of this dogma was considerably moderated, but only in favour of Israelites. No single mitigation of the awful horrors foretold as awaiting the wicked was extended to the hapless Gentile.

The foregoing will make the *object* of Apocalyptic easy of comprehension. This object, in short, was to solve the difficulties connected with a belief in God's righteousness, and the suffering condition of His servants on earth. The righteousness of God postulated the temporal prosperity of the righteous, and this postulate was accepted and enforced by the law. But the expectations of material wellbeing which had thus been authenticated and fostered, had in the centuries immediately preceding been falsified, and thus a grave contradiction had emerged between the old prophetic ideals and the actual experience of the nation, between the promises of God and the bondage and persecution they had daily to endure at the hands of their pagan oppressors. The difficulties thus arising from this conflict between promise and experience may be shortly resolved into two, which concern respectively the position of the righteous as a community and the position of the righteous man as an individual. The OT prophets had concerned themselves chiefly with the former, and pointed in the main to the restoration or 'resurrection' of Israel as a nation, and to Israel's ultimate possession of the earth as a reward of her righteousness. But, later, with the growing claims of the individual, and the acknowledgment of these in the religious and intellectual life, the latter problem pressed itself irresistibly on the notice of religious thinkers, and made it impossible for any conception of the divine rule and righteousness to gain acceptance which did not render adequate satisfaction to the claims of the righteous individual. Thus, in order to justify the righteousness of God, there was postulated the resurrection, not only of the righteous nation, but also of the righteous individual. Apocalyptic, therefore, strove to show that, alike in respect of the nation and of the individual, the righteousness of God would be fully vindicated; and, in order to justify its contention, it sketched in outline the history of the world and of mankind, the origin of evil and its course, and the consummation of all things. Thus, in fact, it presented a Semitic philosophy of religion. The righteous as a nation should yet possess the earth either in an eternal or in a temporary Messianic kingdom, and the destiny of the righteous individual should be finally determined according to his works. For though amid the world's disorders he might perish untimely, he would not fail to attain through the resurrection the recompense that was his due, in the Messianic kingdom, or in heaven itself. The conceptions as to the risen life, its duration and character, vary with each writer.

The chief Apocalyptic writings which will be treated of in this Dictionary are—

1. *Apocalypse of Baruch*, a composite work written 50–90 A.D. in Palestine, if not in Jerus., by four Pharisees. Preserved only in Syriac.
2. Ethiopic *Book of Enoch*, written originally in Heb. by at least five Ḥasid authors, 200–64 B.C., in Palestine. Preserved in Ethiopic and partly in Greek and Latin.
3. Slavonic *Book of Enoch*, or *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, written by an Alexandrian Jew about the beginning of the Christian era. Preserved only in Slavonic.
4. *Ascension of Isaiah*, a composite work written, 1–100 A.D., by Jewish and Christian authors. Preserved in Ethiopic and partly in Latin.
5. *Book of Jubilees*, written originally in Hebrew by a Pal. Jew, probably 40–10 B.C. Preserved in Ethiopic, and partially in Hebrew, Syriac, Greek, and Latin.
6. *Assumption of Moses*, written in Palestine, probably in Heb. or Aram., 14–30 A.D., by a Pharisee. Preserved only in Latin.
7. *Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs*, a composite work written originally in Hebrew by two Jewish authors belonging to the legalistic and apocalyptic sides of Pharisaism, 130 B.C.–10 A.D., and interpolated by a succession of Christian writers down to the fourth century A.D. Preserved in the ancient Greek and Armenian versions.
8. *Psalms of Solomon*, written originally in Heb. by a Pharisee (or Pharisees), 70–40 B.C.
9. *Sibylline Oracles*, written in Greek hexameters by Jewish and Christian authors, 180 B.C.–350 A.D.

LITERATURE.—Hilgenfeld, *Die Jüdische Apokalyptik*, 1857; Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah*, 1877; Smend, 'Jewish Apocalyptic' in *ZATW* (1885) pp. 222-250; Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. 44 sqq.

R. H. CHARLES.

APOCRYPHA.—The title 'The Apocrypha,' or 'The Apocrypha of the OT,' is applied by English-speaking Protestants to the following collection of books and parts of books :—

	BOOKS.	ABBREV.
i.	1 Esdras	1 Es
ii.	2 Esdras	2 Es
iii.	Tobit	To
iv.	Judith	Jth
v.	The rest of the chapters of the Book of Esther [*i.e.* 10^{4}–16^{24}]	Ad. Est
vi.	The Wisdom of Solomon	Wis
vii.	The Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach, *or* Ecclesiasticus	Sir
viii.	Baruch	Bar
	[Ch. vi.=The Epistle of Jeremy]	Ep. Jer
ix.	The Song of the Three Holy Children [*i.e.* The Prayer of Azarias and the Song of the Three.]	Three
x.	The History of Susanna	Sus
xi.	The History of the Destruction of Bel and the Dragon	Bel
	[ix. x. and xi. are the Additions to the Book of Daniel]	Ad. Dn
xii.	The Prayer of Manasses	Pr.Man
xiii.	1 Maccabees	1 Mac
xiv.	2 Maccabees	2 Mac

Both the collection, and the use of the word Apocrypha as its title, are distinctively Protestant, though having roots in the history of the OT Canon. The collection consists of the excess of the Lat. Vulg. over the Heb. OT; and this excess is due to the Gr. LXX, from which the old Lat. VS was made. The difference between the Prot. and the Rom. Cath. OT goes back, then, to a difference between Pal. and Alex. Jews. The matter is complicated, however, by the fact that the Vulg. was revised after the Heb. by Jerome, and that the extant MSS of the LXX differ much in contents and order. For clearness and for reference in the later discussion, the following tables are given. They represent the official Vulg. (ed. 1592); the two chief MSS of LXX; the Canon of Cyril, as a representative of the view of the E. Church; and the Hebrew. The books of our A. are printed in italics, other uncan. books, not in the A., in capitals.

VULG.	LXX.		CYRIL.	HEB.
	Cod. Vat. (B).	*Cod. Alex.* (A).		
Pent Jos Jg Ru 1–4 K 1. 2 Ch 1 Es [=Ezr] 2 Es [=Neh] *To* *Jth* Est [*Ad.* 10^{4}–16^{24}] Job Ps [150] Pr Ec Ca *Wis* *Sir* Is Jer [La *Bar*] Ezk Dn [*Ad.* $3^{24\text{-}90}$ *Three* 13 *Sus* 14 *Bel*] XII [*i.e.* Minor Prophets] 1. 2 *Mac*	Pent Jos Jg Ru 1–4 K 1. 2 Ch 1 *Es* 2 Es [=Ezr+Neh] Ps [151] Pr Ec Ca Job *Wis* *Sir* Est [*Ad.**] *Jth* *To* XII Is Jer *Bar* La *Ep. Jer* Ezk Dn [*Ad.*]	Pent Jos Jg Ru 1–4 K 1. 2 Ch XII Is Jer [with *Bar* La *Ep. Jer*] Ezk Dn [*Ad.*] Est [*Ad.**] *To* *Jth* 1 *Es* 2 Es [=Ezr+Neh] 1. 2 *Mac* 3. 4 MAC Ps [151 and 14 Canticles, of which one is *Pr. Man*†] Job Pr Ec Ca *Wis* *Sir*	1–5. Pent 6. Jos 7. Jg–Ru 8. 1. 2 K 9. 3. 4 K 10. 1. 2 Ch 11. 1. 2 Es 12. Est [*Ad.* ?] 13. Job 14. Ps 15. Pr 16. Ec 17. Ca 18. XII 19. Is 20. Jer *Bar* La *Ep. Jer* 21. Ezk 22. Dn [*Ad.* ?]	i. 'Torah' (Law)— 1–5. Pent ii. 'Nebiim' (Prophets)— *a.* '*Former*' 6. Jos 7. Jg 8. S 9. K *b.* '*Latter*' 10. Is 11. Jer 12. Ezk 13. XII iii. 'Kethubim' (Hagiographa)— 14. Ps 15. Pr 16. Job 17. Ca 'Megilloth' 18. Ru 'Megilloth' 19. La 'Megilloth' 20. Ec 'Megilloth' 21. Est 'Megilloth' 22. Dn 23. Ezr–Neh 24. Ch
After the NT, as an Appendix, in small type and with new paging : *Pr. Man* 3 *Esdr* [=1 *Es*] 4 *Esdr* [=2 *Es*].	* The *Ad. Est* are in their original places, viz. 10^{4}-11^{1} after 10^{3}; 11^{2}–12^{6} before 1^{1}; $13^{1\text{-}7}$ after 3^{13}; $13^{8\text{-}18}$ $14^{1\text{-}19}$ $15^{1\text{-}16}$ after 4^{17}; $16^{1\text{-}24}$ after 8^{12}.	After the NT stood originally, PSALMS OF SOLOMON. † 9 are from OT. The others—*Magnificat*, *Nunc dimittis*, *Benedictus*, and the Morning Hymn.	*i.e.* 12 historical, 5 poetical, and 5 prophetical books. The number of the Heb. Can. is reduced by joining Ru to Jg and La to Jer.	Some deviations from this order, which is that of the printed edd., are found in the case of the 'latter' prophets and the Hagiographa in Talmudic lists, which may be more original. But the three divisions and the contents of each remain fixed.

It is to be noticed that of our A., 1 and 2 Es and Pr. Man are regarded also by Rome as a^al^. Of these, 1 and 2 Es are not in Luther's Bible, and 2 Es is not in the LXX. On the other hand, 3 and 4 Mac are commonly present in the LXX, but are not found in the Vulg. and A. The same is true of Ps 151. Further, the many more or less significant variations of LXX from Heb. OT, in text and order, do not appear in this comparison, for, owing to Jerome, the Vulg. follows the Heb. in the can. books, the LXX only in the case of books not extant in Heb. The A., then, can be said only in a general way to represent the difference between the Heb. and the Gr. OT. The books of the A. are treated in this Dictionary individually under their titles. Under the heading Apocrypha two matters require consideration: the history of the use of the word '*Apocrypha*' in reference to books; and the history and significance of the collection now so called.* With these the present article will deal in the following order :—

i. The word *Apocrypha*.
    1. The Hidden Books of Judaism.
    2. The words *genuzim* and *ḥizonim*.
    3. The Hidden Books of Christianity, and the word *Apocrypha*.
ii. The Apocrypha in Judaism.
    1. The Origin of the Collection.
        a. The Work of the Scribes.
        b. The A. in relation to the Hagiographa.
        c. Palestinian and Hellenistic elements in the A.
    2. Its Use and Relation to the Canon.
        a. In Hellenistic Judaism.
        b. In Palestinian Judaism.
    3. Its Relation to the Religious Tendencies and Parties of Judaism.
iii. The Apocrypha in Christianity.
    1. In the New Testament.
    2. In the Eastern Church.
        a. Original Usage.
        b. Scholarly Theory.
        c. Manuscripts.
        d. Versions.
        e. The Later Greek Church.
    3. In the Western Church.
        a. Roman.
        b. Protestant.

---

* In this article Apocrypha (A.) signifies this collection; *Apocrypha* (*A.*) the books originally so called; apocryphal (a^al^) is used in either sense.

i. THE WORD 'APOCRYPHA.'—The word ἀπόκρυφος, meaning 'hidden,' was no doubt at first applied to books in quite a literal sense, as the designation, whether by those who hid them or by those from whom they were hidden, of books kept from the public. The hiding of a book was easy when copies were few. It might be done upon two opposite grounds. An exclusive sect might hide its sacred books in order to keep from outsiders the secret laws or wisdom which they contained; or the religious authorities of a community might hide books judged by them to be useless or harmful. The two grounds might indeed approach each other in the case of books judged unfit for public use, not because of the error, but because of the depth and difficulty of their contents. Indeed, a book judged wholly erroneous and harmful we should expect the authorities to destroy rather than to hide. A certain value, or at least a certain doubt, should naturally be attached to books hidden in this sense, while their peculiar value is the reason for their being hidden in the former—which is, in all probability, the more original sense of the Greek word.

From the place of secret books in Judaism and in Christianity we may therefore hope to gain a knowledge of the original sense and use of the word; and we shall find its first and proper application to be, not to the books of our A., but to the (chiefly apocalyptical) literature commonly designated *Pseudepigrapha.*

1. The Hidden Books of Judaism.—Esoteric doctrines and books do not belong properly to the Isr. religion. Their home is in heathenism, from which, however, they gained a foothold from time to time in Judaism. The occult lore connected with sorcery and magic lurked beneath the surface of old Israel's religious life, but was condemned by law and prophets (Dt $18^{10f.}$, Lv 19^{31}, Is 8^{19} 19^{3} etc.). No priestly religion, indeed, can be without a partly esoteric priestly tradition respecting rites, their form, and perhaps their meaning. But it was a characteristic of Judaism that it was based upon a priestly law made public and openly adopted by the people (Neh 8-10). Yet Judaism did not escape from the charm which mystery exerts over the human mind. It was esp. in the after developments of OT wisdom literature under Hellenic influence, on the one side, and of OT prophetic literature, under Pers. and Bab. influence, on the other, that the idea of the superior religious value of hidden things, mysteriously disclosed to the favoured few, took possession of the Jewish mind. Even Jesus, son of Sirach, the Palestinian, finds it the chief task of the wise man to discover the 'apocrypha,' the hidden things, of wisdom and of God (14^{21} $39^{3.7}$), and thinks that the hidden things of the world are greater than the manifest (43^{32}). 'Apocrypha' was for him a word of honour (yet see 3^{21-25} and 24^{28-34}). But it was esp. in Hel. circles that the love of hidden things was cultivated. Philo presents the results of his deepest study and reflexion, and of his highest insight, in the form of an exposition of the Pent., making of this a hidden book, which only the initiated could understand.

There was, however, another way in which the love of hidden things and reverence for antiquity could be adjusted. Instead of hidden meanings in openly published books, it was possible to think of private teachings, by the side of the public, committed by patriarch or prophet to the few, and handed on to the present in a secret tradition, or a hidden book. This was the procedure of those Pal. Jews who were interested in the secrets of the future, and in prophecy. The beginnings of the production of hidden books along this line can be easily traced. If a prophet committed the record of openly spoken predictions to the keeping of his disciples, to await the time of their fulfilment (Is 8^{16}), it would not be strange if he should give them fuller knowledge for which the public was not prepared. The Bk of Dan. is represented as having been 'shut up and sealed' by its author, until, long after its writing, the time came for its publication (Dn $12^{4.9}$). This may well be called 'the fundamental passage for the conception of *apocrypha.*'* Daniel appears as the publication of a book hitherto hidden. The justification of the claim lies in the revelation of the mysteries of Israel's future which it contains, and in the mysterious manner in which the revelation is made in visions, through angels. It is indeed, in part, an interpretation of the hidden sense of Jer 25^{11} 29^{10} (Dn 9), but the interpretation is given by an angel. The way was prepared for Daniel by the later prophets, in whom the vision of hidden things plays an increasingly important part. Ezekiel's vision (ch. 1) became the favourite and fruitful study of Jews who loved mysteries. Zec contains similar material. But the chief development of apocalyptical literature followed Daniel. Great numbers of books were put forth during the cent. before and the cent. after Christ, in the name of patriarchs or prophets, as books that had been hidden. They contain esp. disclosures of the mysteries of the spirit world, of the future of Israel, and of the abode and fortunes of the dead. In one of these books the tradition is related that Ezra was inspired to dictate to his scribes the sacred books that had been burned at the destruction of Jerus. 'In forty days they wrote ninety-four books. And when the forty days were ended, the Most High spoke, saying: The earlier books that thou hast written, publish openly, and let the worthy and the unworthy read them; but the last seventy thou shalt keep, that thou mayest deliver them to the wise of thy people; for in them is the spring of understanding and the fountain of wisdom and the stream of knowledge' (2 Es 14^{44-47}). In the 70 esoteric books, valued more highly by the writer than the 24 books of open scripture, we have the original conception of *apocrypha.* The character of these books may be accurately known from those that have survived, *e.g.* Enoch, Assumption of Moses (in part), the Apoc. of Baruch, and 2 Es† itself. Their material is largely foreign to Isr. traditions, and was commonly felt to be so. Yet traditional it must, in the nature of the case, have been, and only in a very limited degree the free invention of the writers. That its source is, in an important measure, to be found in the Bab. and Pers. religions, is highly probable.

If we ask in what circles of Judaism these books, or the writings or traditions that lie behind them, were current, various lines of evidence point toward the obscure sect of the Essenes. They possessed a secret lore and hidden books, and took oath to disclose none of their doctrines to others, and 'to preserve equally both the books of their sect and the names of the angels' (Jos. *BJ* II. viii. 7). In regard to the contents of their secret books we are not left wholly in the dark. Jos. says that the Essenes derived from the study of 'the writings of the ancients' (can. ?) a knowledge of the healing properties of plants and stones (§ 6), and that by reading 'the holy books' they were able to foretell future things (§ 12). He also ascribes to them an elaborate doctrine of the pre-existence of souls, and of the lot of good and bad souls after death (§ 11). When, therefore, we find in books like Enoch, the Assumptio Mosis, and 4 Ezr, disclosures of the secrets of nature and of history, lists of angels, descriptions of heaven and hell, and of the experiences of the soul after death, beside other Essenic marks, such as the praise of asceticism and the unfavourable estimate of the second temple, the opinion seems not unfounded that 'their secret literature was perhaps in no small degree made use of in the Pseudepigrapha, and has through them been indirectly handed down to us' (Wellhausen). To attribute the apocalyptical literature exclusively to Essenism, however, as Jewish scholars wish to do, is without historical justification. It is true that a relationship of Essenism with Zoroastrianism is probable (Lightfoot, *Colossians*; Cheyne, *Expository Times*, ii. 202-8, 248-53; *Bampton Lect.* pp. 417-21, 445-49); and Zoroastrianism treasured secret books, some of which certain Christian Gnostics claimed to possess. It is probable also that the foreign (heathen) character of these books was felt by many, since Judaism never gave these books official sanction; and no apocalypse after Dn was preserved in Hebrew. Nevertheless, the foreign elements here dominant reach far back into OT literature; and, on the other hand, Essenism was much more closely related to Pharisaism than to Zoroastrianism, being, in the first place, 'only Pharisaism in the superlative' (Schürer). If the Essenes are to be understood historically as simply more consistent protestants against the high-priesthood of the Maccabæan princes than the Pharisees,—carrying their protest to the point of refusing all participation in the temple service,—then in the Hasidæans of 1 Mac 2^{42} $7^{12\text{ff.}}$ we have the roots of both Pharisaism and Essenism, and the Book of Dn would stand near the beginning of each. The Messianic hope is the genuinely Jewish element in the apocalypses. That this had a far larger place in the mind of the Pharisee during the two centuries preceding the destruction of Jerus. than it had after that event,—and esp. after Akiba's death,—is evident to all but Jewish scholars, who are apt to judge of the whole post-exilic period by the Talmud. The apocalyptical literature in question was, then, in all probability valued and cultivated by Pharisees, certainly by some circles of Pharisees, as well as by Essenes. Indeed, in spite of its rejection by rabbinical Judaism, germs of it survived, and afterwards came to new life, in the late Jewish Kabbala, or secret philosophy (12th cent.).

---

* Zahn, *Gesch. d. NT Kanons*, i. 135, cf. 124 f., who, however, does not put this observation to its natural use.

† Notice the different applications given to the titles, 1 and 2 Es, in LXX, Vulg. and Eng. A. Still other confusions appear in certain MSS. Misunderstanding would be avoided by calling 1 Es [=Vulg. 3 Es; LXX 1 Es] *Greek Ezra*, and 2 *Es* [=Vulg. 4 Es] the Apocalypse of Ezra (*i.e.* properly ch. 3-14), or 4 Ezr.

It is a striking fact that while official Judaism rejected these hidden books, and declared for the exclusive recognition of the 24 books of the Canon, it yet proceeded to claim for itself the possession of an oral law which Moses delivered to Joshua when he gave the Pent. openly to Israel, and which passed on through the hands of the elders, the prophets, the men of the Great Synagogue, to an unbroken succession of scribes (Pirke Aboth), until it came to writing in the Mishna, and then in the Talmud. By the theory of a secret tradition the scribes sought to give their law the authority of Moses, and yet account for its late appearance.

2. The Words 'Genuzim' and 'Ḥizonim.'—The designation of these hidden books in Heb. we do not know. A Heb. synonym for ἀπόκρυφοι is גְּנוּזִים; but this word and the verb גנז are used in the Talm., not of the secret books just described, but usually of a hiding, by the authorities, of books judged unfit for public use. A possible exception is the reported 'hiding' by Hezekiah of a book of medical lore, in order that the sick might call rather upon God (Mishna Pesach iv. 9). But it was commonly used with reference to some book of the Canon. Thus a worn-out roll of a sacred scripture was 'hidden,' perhaps because, though unfitted for use in the synagogue, it was yet sacred and not to be destroyed (Mishna Sabb. ix. 6; Sanh. x. 6). But the word was commonly used in reference to the question whether some book should be withdrawn from the class of sacred Scriptures. Thus there were Rabbis who wished to 'hide' Pr, because of its contradictions; Ca, because of its secular character; Ec, because of its heresies. But the objections were in every instance met. The case of Est was more serious, and it is not improbable that it was put in the class of *genuzim* for a time among certain circles, though we have only the evidence of some Christian lists of the Canon, which claim (or seem) to follow the instructions of Jews (esp. Melito. See below).

If there existed at any time a class of books called *genuzim*, the Talmudic use of the word would lead us to expect that it would contain the books nearest to the Canon in authority or common esteem: books which once stood within the circle of sacred writings, or made a fair claim to stand there; in other words, books like the *antilegomena* of early Christian use. If there were such a class, Sir and 1 Mac, if not To and Jth, should stand in it; but the word is never applied to these books in extant writings. This is not, indeed, a proof that it was not so used; and the testimony of Origen suggests that it was. He says that the Jews had hidden Sus and other books from the people, while Jth and To, they had told him, they did not possess even among their hidden books, or *apocrypha* (*Ep. ad Afric.*).

For writings that stood wholly outside of the circle of sacred books, esp. for the books of heretics such as the Samaritans, the Sadducees, and Christians (סִפְרֵי מִינִים), the Rabbis had another name, *ḥizonim* (סְפָרִים חִצוֹנִים), lit. 'external' or 'outside' books. The danger to Judaism of the reading of these books led Akiba, who had himself been attracted by them, to prohibit their use. 'Whoever reads in the *sepharim ḥizonim* has no part in the world to come. Books, on the other hand, like Sir and other such, which were composed after the age of the prophets had been closed, may be read just as one reads a letter.'* Sir, then, and other such books, are not *ḥizonim* in Akiba's view, the correctness of which is evident from the free use of Sir by Rabbis in Pal. for a century and a half after Akiba, and in Babylon still later. But it appears that the maintenance of a middle class of books between sacred and profane involved dangers, and it was finally decided that 'he who reads a verse which is not out of the 24 books of sacred scripture, his offence is as if he had read in the *sepharim ḥizonim*' (Midr. r. Num. § 14, and at Koheleth 12^{12}, cf. Jer. Sabb. 16). It is possible that this practical transfer of books like Sir into the class of *ḥizonim* may have obscured the evidence of their having once been in the class of *genuzim*.

3. The Hidden Books of Christianity and the Word 'Apocrypha.'—Christianity was at its beginning, even less than Judaism, a religion of mysteries, to be hidden by the few from the many. Christ's words in Lk 10^{21}, Mt 11^{25} ('hidden' from the wise, revealed to babes), were a direct contradiction of esoteric religion. If there are apocrypha, hidden things, they are to be made known (Mk 4^{22}, Lk 8^{17}, cf. Mt 13^{17}).

In Christ the hidden wisdom of God had become manifest, and the mysteries of the coming of His kingdom were disclosed by its realisation. Yet this faith gained a slow and hard victory. In two ways the love of mysteries and of the books that contained them was fostered.

---

* For this rendering by Graetz of a corrupt text (Sanh. x. 1, and the Bab. and Jer. Talm.), see Buhl, *Canon and Text of OT*, p. 8; and cf. Hamburger, *Real-Encyc.* ii. 68 ff. The Jer. Talm. gives Sirach as an illustration of the *ḥizonim*.

(*a*) The Christian religion made its start in the Jewish world in close connexion with the Messianic ideas as they had been developed, esp. in the apocalypses, from Dn onwards. Jewish Christians clung to the Jewish apocalyptic literature, modifying indeed its references to the person of the Messiah, making room for His earthly life and death, but feeling the less need of radical changes because the proper fulfilment of the Messianic hopes was connected, not with the first, but with the second coming of Christ. This led, naturally, less to the production of new Christian revelations than to the keeping and Christian editing of the old. Jewish patriarchs and prophets were in this way made to testify to the truth, and to forecast the future, of Christianity. Thus the Book of Enoch and the Apoc. of Ezra were used as authentic revelations by many Church Fathers. Jewish apocalypses of Abraham, Moses, Elijah, Is, Jer, Baruch, and others in great numbers, in part extant, but chiefly known to us only by name, were treasured by early Christianity.

Even when apocalypses in the names of Christian apostles were put forth, their material was of necessity largely traditional and Jewish in origin.

These books, then, Jewish and Christian, are the earliest *apocrypha* of Christianity (cf. the lists below). They are books usually put forth as having been hidden (the pseudepigraphic form), and always contain accounts of hidden things miraculously disclosed. In the latter sense even the Apoc. of St. John is called 'a^{al}' by Gregory of Nyssa (*Or. de Ordin.* ii. 44) and by Epiphanius (*Hær.* 51). The cultivation of such 'hidden' books by no means belonged at first to heretical sects, but was characteristic of early Christianity in general. It was opposed chiefly by those who fell under Gr. influence; but among them another sort of mystery took the place of the Jewish apocalyptic, namely, the Gr. gnosis.

(*b*) As Jewish Christians made Christianity less the fulfilment than the reaffirmation of Jewish hopes, so Hel. Christians made it less the solution of the mystery of existence than a new, supreme mystery. Christ was made the central figure—in one case in Jewish eschatology, in the other in Greek cosmology.

St. Paul's language in 1 Co 1 and 2 discloses the existence in Corinth of those who valued a hidden wisdom more than his gospel of the crucified Christ. And later, at Colossæ, St. Paul urges, against an essentially Gnostic tendency, as the word of God, 'the mystery which *hath been hidden* from the ages and from the generations, but *now hath been manifested* to his saints' (1^{26}). The mystery of God is 'Christ, in whom are all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge hidden' (ἀπόκρυφοι, 2^{3}). The special Colossian gnosis, with its worship of angels, its asceticism, its visions, and its secret doctrines, reminds us of Essenism. The strongest influence on the development of a secret Christian gnosis came, however, from Alexandria: Gnosticism being indeed 'nothing but a Christian Hellenism' (Harnack).

As the Jewish Apocalypse furnished one way of connecting the new faith with the old, Hel. allegorical interpretation supplied another ready means of finding Christ and Christianity in the OT; thus making of it, as Philo did, a hidden book. But the allegorical method was capable of a further use. The Gr. Christian was less concerned to find Christianity in the OT than to find Gr. philosophy in Christianity. It was not an unnatural effort, after St. Paul, and in apparent connexion with him, to set the OT wholly aside, and to apply allegory to the person and history of Christ. Gnosticism, indeed, based and pushed its claims on the ground of apostolic authority, and, with its rejection of the OT, it was even the first to feel the need of new authoritative scriptures. But it established its position (1) by requiring an allegorical interpretation of the commonly received apostolic writings, making them books of hidden import; (2) by claiming to possess, besides the open apostolic writings, a secret apostolic tradition (Basilides and Valentinus claim to derive their secret gnosis from pupils of St. Paul; the Ophites, from a pupil of St. James, etc.); (3) by the production of great numbers of books, chiefly gospels and acts of the various apostles;* (4) by the claim (like that of Hel. Judaism) to immediate prophetic inspiration, so that prophets and apocalypses played in some Gnostic communities an important part, though few traces of Gnostic apocalypses remain.

Hel. Gnosticism stands as the extreme contrast to the Jewish apocalyptic tendency. It renounced the OT on which the Apocalypse rests, and rejected the coming of Christ, the resurrection, and the earthly kingdom, in which the Apoc. centres. Yet both make of Christianity a mystery, and claim for the books that unfold the mystery especial sanctity. From these two sources came multitudes of a^{al} books into Christian use. They were called *A.* by those who valued them, for the word contained no necessary disparagement, but described the character of the books; and they were by no means condemned at the outset as heretical. The Book of Enoch is directly cited by Jude (vv.$^{14-15}$), who also uses the Assumption of Moses (v.^{9}). From such books may have come other citations and references which are not found in known books (see Origen's view below). The Book of Enoch was used as a genuine and sacred book by the Ep. Barnabas, Irenæus, Tertullian, and Clement of Alex. Tertullian says, indeed, that it was not received by some Christians. He, however, defends its reception (*i.e.* among the books of sacred Scripture) by appealing to Jude; and explains its absence from the Heb. scriptures by saying that the Jews rejected it, as they did other books, because it spoke of Christ,—an explanation not, indeed, wholly unhistorical.

Clement of Alex. uses Ass. Mos. and 4 Ezr, and also many other prophetic *A.* unknown to us. He was a warm defender of the value of secret traditions, and used not only Jewish, and even heathen, but Christian secret books. He believed in a secret tradition entrusted by Christ to His disciples, and valued it highly (*Strom.* i. 11. 13. 14; v. 60–4). Some of these traditions were preserved in secret books, among which he cites certain a^{al} gospels and acts. Though he knows that heretics make a bad use of such books (*Strom.* iii. 29), yet his view of *A.* as a whole is extremely favourable. Origen is more discriminating. He finds a use for *A.* in NT interpretation. In 1 Co 2^{9}, 2 Ti 3^{8}, He 11^{37}, Mt 23$^{35.\,37}$ 27^{9} he finds references to a^{al} books, and says that 'not all *A.* current in the name of holy men are to be received on account of the Jews, since they perhaps invented some for the destruction of our true Scriptures and the confirmation of false doctrines; but not all are to be rejected, since some pertain to the demonstration of our Scriptures' (Comment. on Mt 23^{38}). Origen seems, however, to have been influenced in his use of the word by the Jewish *genuzim*, for in his *Epist. ad Afric.* he speaks of Sus as made a^{al} by Jewish authorities, though the Christian Church did not so regard it. Jth and To, he says, the Jews do not possess even among their *A.*

---

* See Lipsius in Smith and Wace, *Dict. of Christian Biog.*, arts. 'Gospels' and 'Acts of Apostles.'

These books are not 'secret' in the proper sense, and can be called *A.* only in the sense of being withdrawn from publicity, and so from canonicity.

The defence of *A.* proper became more and more a mark of heresy. Even Origen in *Prol. in Cant.* argues for their exclusion, because of the corrupt traditions, contrary to true faith, which they contain. They were long current in Gr., but found no permanent place in the LXX, though the Oriental VSS received some of them, and one became current in Lat., though Vulg. did not give it recognition (4 Ezr).

Philaster of Brescia (on Heresies, *c.* 383-391 A.D.) condemns the 'heresy which accepts only *A.*, *i.e.* secrets of prophets and apostles, not can. scriptures'; but he would allow *A.* to be read 'for the sake of manners by the perfect,' not in the church, and not by all.

Priscillianus (tract iii.) argues, from the generally accepted account of the restoration of the can. books by Ezra in 4 Ezr 14, for the value of the 70 secret books also, including 4 Ezr itself. *Epiphanius* also justifies by the same reference the use of various a$^{\text{al}}$ books, which he thinks were translated by the Seventy in addition to the canonical.

The conviction, however, gradually prevailed that the cultivation of secret books was dangerous, both because of the errors they contained and because of the sectarianism they fostered. There could be no Catholic Church so long as sects could claim to possess either new revelations or a secret apostolic tradition.

Secret doctrines and books were cut off by the two principles, that valid inspiration was limited to the apostolic age, and that only the books generally received in the churches were genuinely apostolic. No doubt a sense of the unchristian character of the books in question worked, together with the growing conviction that their possession was uncatholic, to bring about their condemnation. The gradually prevailing Catholic principle (*quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus*) would give to the very word *apocryphus* the meanings: false, spurious, heretical.

The principle that only what the churches generally receive is apostolic is found in the *Muratorian Fragment* (2nd cent.). *Irenæus* stands early in the line of this growing Catholicism. He opposes the theory, which Clem. Alex. defends, of the existence and value of secret traditions (ii. 27. 2, iii. 2. 1, 3. 1, 14. 2, 15. 1), and condemns the 'countless multitude of a$^{\text{al}}$ and spurious writings' which the Marcosians, appealing to Dn 12^{9}, claim to possess, but which they really fabricate for themselves. *Hegesippus* also speaks of 'the so-called *A.*' (*i.e.* so called by the heretics themselves), and says that 'some of them were written in his own time by certain heretics' (Eus. *HE* iv. 22. 8). *Tertullian* charges the heretics with adding to Scripture 'secrets of *A.*, blasphemous fables' (*Resur. Carnis* 63); and writes a vigorous polemic against the Gnostic claim to possess a secret tradition (*præscr.* 22–27). He applies the word *apocryphus* to an apoc. which he regards as spurious (Shepherd), but not to Enoch, which he (as well as Irenæus) regards as genuine (*de pudic.* 10, *de anima*, 2). *Cyril* of Jerus., in his Catechetics (iv. 33-6, ab. 348 A.D.), uses the word of all Jewish books except the 22 which are openly read in the churches. Cyril's insistence that the *A.*, *i.e.* the books not read in the churches, are not to be read even in private, is evidently aimed against the distinction of three classes of books—those read in church, those read privately, and those wholly rejected. This distinction is as old as the Muratorian Fragment, which puts the Shepherd in such a middle class. It is implied by Origen, in his discrimination among *A.* It is definitely formulated by *Athanasius*, who, in his 39th Easter Letter (367 A.D.), gives the name *A.* only to the third class of books written by heretics as pleased their fancy, and put forth as old, to lead astray the simple. Athanasius gives no list of these *A.*, but later lists teach us the current understanding of the word.

The *Chronography of Nicephorus* (patriarch of Constantinople 806–815), in a revised form which originated in Jerus. about 850, contains a stichometric list of Biblical books which has inner marks of a much earlier date (Zahn, 'perhaps before 500'). It contains (1) the can. books of OT and of NT; (2) the antilegomena of OT and of NT; (3) *A.* of OT and of NT. Under the last heading the following list is given:—*Apocrypha of OT*: (1) Enoch, (2) Patriarchs, (3) Prayer of Joseph, (4) Testament of Moses, (5) Assumption of Moses, (6) Abram, (7) Eldad and Modad, (8) Elijah, the prophet, (9) Zephaniah, the prophet, (10) Zachariah, father of John, [11] Pseudepigrapha of Baruch, Habakkuk, Ezekiel, and Daniel. *Apocrypha of NT*: (1) Itinerary of Paul, (2) Itin. of Peter, (3) Itin. of John, (4) Itin. of Thomas, (5) Gospel according to Thomas, (6) Teaching of the Apostles, (7, 8) Clement's [two Epistles], (9) [Epistles] of Ignatius, of Polycarp, and of Hermas.

Of the *A.* of OT, Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5 are, in whole or in part, extant; Nos. 3, 7, 8, 9 are cited as genuine 'by Origen or some still older Church Father.' They are all Jewish apocalypses, *i.e.* *A.* in the earliest sense, but the word now carries an adverse judgment. This list is repeated in the so-called *Synopsis of Athanasius*. Similar, but in some degree independent, is the summary of *A.* in the anonymous '*List of sixty*' can. books, which may represent the views of the Eastern Church in the 7th cent. After the can. books follows the intermediate class of '*those outside of the sixty*'; and then '*apocrypha*' as follows:—(1) Adam, (2) Enoch, (3) Lamech, (4) Patriarchs, (5) Prayer of Joseph (6) Eldad and Modad, (7) Testament of Moses, (8) Assumption of Moses, (9) Psalms of Solomon, (10) Apoc. of Elijah, (11) Vision of Isaiah, (12) Apoc. of Zephaniah, (13) Apoc. of Zachariah, (14) Apoc. of Ezra, (15) History of James, (16) Apoc. of Peter, (17) Itinerary and Teachings of the Apostles, (18) Epistle of Barnabas, (19) Acts of Paul, (20) Apoc. of Paul, (21) Didascalia of Clement, (22) Didascalia of Ignatius, (23) Didascalia of Polycarp, (24) Gospel acc. to Barnabas, (25) Gospel acc. to Matthew.

With reference to these lists, it is to be noticed that they contain in general just those books, Jewish and Christian, which were put forth in the first place as *A.* in the proper sense. Not the application but the interpretation of the word is changed, in accordance with a changed estimate of the books. Once valued by some as even super-can., they are now set apart not only from the Canon, but from the class of books that are good for private reading. Nevertheless, they still stand in a recognised class by themselves under the old title *Apocrypha*, and are distinct not only from secular or heathen books, but from later heretical literature. The great part they played in early Church history has so much recognition.

The Latin Church was further removed from the traditional use of the word, and it is not strange that we find there various novelties in its application. The greatest extension of its use is found in the *Decretum Gelasii*, which presents a list of Bibl. books that may be regarded as that of the Rom. Synod of 382, under Damasus. After lists of OT and NT, and a list of patristic works approved by the Church, follows, under the heading *Notitia librorum apocryphorum qui non recipiuntur*, a list of some 60 titles. Only NT *A.* are given, and to these are added (perhaps in later revisions of the work) a miscellaneous collection of books condemned by the Church, including even the works of Eusebius, Tertullian, Clement of Alex., etc., to each of which, as to the earlier list, the adjective *apocryphus* is added.

Almost equally novel in Christian usage is *Jerome's* extension of the word in the opposite direction to cover the books of our A., though this rests upon Heb. usage, as we know it from Origen. 'Quidquid extra hos [the 22 books of Heb. Can.] est, inter ἀπόκρυφα esse ponendum' (*Prologus Galeatus*). Jerome, *in practice*, however, gives to our A. an intermediate position (see below), in substantial harmony with *Rufinus*, who attempted to introduce the Eastern threefold division into the West, and gave the name *apocrypha* to the third class.

The Western Church, however, did not adopt the threefold division. Against Jerome's theory, it included the second division in the first. Neither did it extend the word *apocrypha* to heretical books in general, but retained practically its original application. Another Western novelty, however, maintained itself through the middle ages, namely, the interpretation of the word *apocryphus* as meaning *obscurity* of origin or authorship. According to Augustine, the *A.* were so called 'because their obscure origin was not clear to the Fathers' (*de Civ. Dei*, xv. 23), and he opposes this explanation to the idea of heretics, that they 'are to be held in a certain secret authority' (c. *Faust*, xi. 2). This brought confusion, for the word had come to mean practically non-can., but obscurity of origin was not a corresponding conception. So, during the middle ages, it was variously modified by extending the idea of obscurity or uncertainty from the authorship to the truth of a book, or to its reception by common consent of the Church. Jth, a$^{\text{al}}$ in the sense that its author is unknown, was received (can.) because its truth is evident (Hugo de St. Caro, 1240). Job, a$^{\text{al}}$ in the same sense, is in the Canon because not uncertainly confirmed by the authority of the Church (Hugo de St. Victore, d. 1141).

The usage of Protestantism is prepared by Carlstadt in his *De canonicis scripturis*, 1520. He reviews the opinions of Augustine and Jerome, and sides with the latter in respect both to the interpretation of the word and its application to our A. Not uncertainty of authorship, but simply non-canonicity, is the meaning of the word *apocry-*

phal. He applies the word to the books of our A. as an adjective, not as a title. Through Protestant edd. of the Bible, beginning with Luther, the word came, by a natural misunderstanding, to be regarded as the title of this particular collection, and the word 'pseudepigrapha' was used of the *A.* proper, which neither Jerome, Carlstadt, nor Luther thought of depriving of their old name.

On the other hand, the name 'Apocrypha,' to which a bad sense adhered, contributed to a gradually diminishing regard for the books now so called.

Conclusions.—(1) The word *apocryphal* was used before the Reformation quite consistently of a certain class of books, namely, the Jewish and Jewish-Christian Apocalypses, which we call Pseudepigrapha, and the Apocrypha of the NT, still so called, made up largely of the books of Gnostic and other sects. These are properly secret or hidden books in their formal claim and in their contents, if not originally in their actual use.

(2) Jewish Rabbis applied a synonymous word, *genuzim*, to books 'hidden,' *i.e.* withdrawn and withheld from public (synagogue) use by the Jewish authorities, and so made uncanonical. This 'hiding' (the verb is used more often than the adjective) might happen to books in no sense of hidden origin or meaning. Through Origen and Jerome, the Jewish word seems to have had some influence upon the Christian.

(3) The Catholic Church, however, did not first make books a^{al} by excluding them from the Canon (the verb is not used), but it decided that the *A.* already existing under that name were not to be regarded as sacred scriptures, since publicity and universality were marks of genuineness and truth. The secret books of sects were, as such, spurious and false.

(4) It was therefore easy to forget that *A.* was the original name of these books, and to regard it as expressing the judgment of the Church concerning them. Those books were hidden which belonged to sects, which lacked common, open usage by the Church. A^{al} meant, not received by the Church. But since books which the Church received were thereby proved apostolic, a non-apostolic and obscure origin was a mark of *A.*

(5) Protestantism went over to the Jewish usage, applying the word to the books withdrawn by it from the commonly accepted Canon, though this no longer meant withdrawn from public reading and common use, but only from full authority for doctrine. Protestants thus came to apply the word to books used with the canon in church service, not disapproved but recommended as good and useful, not secret or hidden in origin, meaning, or use. The evil name, however, helped to lower the first estimate of the books.

ii. THE APOCRYPHA IN JUDAISM.—1. ORIGIN OF THE COLLECTION.—In order to understand the origin and historical significance of the collection of books which we call the A., it is necessary to survey the work of the Jewish scribe, for in the scribe the literary history of Judaism centres.

(*a*) *The Work of the Jewish Scribes.*—This can, in a general way, be divided into (A) the collecting and editing of the sacred books, (B) the production of new books. The transition between the two was made by the tr. or paraphrasing, and the interpretation of the sacred books. More particularly, (A) the scribes collected and edited (1) the Law; (2) the Prophets, 'former' and 'latter'; (3) the rest of the religious literature of the nation, the so-called Hagiographa. (B 1) In connexion with this 3rd Canon, which contains some independent work of the scribes, the production of other books of similar character was encouraged (*e.g.* the A.); (2) with the Maccabæan crisis came a revival of prophecy, and the production of books interpreting and imitating those of the 2nd Canon (apocalypses, or *apocrypha* proper); (3) the interpretation of the 1st Canon, the Law, always a chief task of the scribes, was especially stimulated after the destruction of Jerus., and resulted in the Mishna and Talmud.

The synagogue was the centre of the scribe's literary activity; and the centre of the synagogue service was the Law. The religious instruction of the people in the religion of the law was his aim. His collection of other sacred books was for the sake of their public reading in the synagogue service, in exposition and enforcement of the Law. Such public reading was the mark and meaning of canonicity. The translations (Targumim) and commentaries (Midrashim) that accompanied the reading were for the same end, the religious teaching of the community, and were free and oral before they were fixed in writing.

The order of the independent work of the scribes sketched above (B) reverses the order of their work as editors (A). This sequence is not to be overpressed. The editing of the scribes involved, especially at first, independent work, in the way of comment as well as selection and arrangement; on the other hand, their independent writing was always based on tradition. Perhaps in the case of none of the books of the scribes have we original works in the proper sense. The stories of haggadists and the visions of seers are revisions and elaborations of traditional material. Further, the three lines of independent work outlined existed side by side, and the order given is only that of the first prevalence of each kind of work. Gr. influence favoured the first, the Maccabæan reaction the second, and the fall of the nation the third. Of the products of the first kind, some gained admission into the 3rd Canon (Hagiographa), and so became the common property of Pal. and Alex. Judaism and Christianity. But as they were especially congenial to Jews who fell most under Gr. influence, some of them were preserved, others contributed, by Alex. Jews. So far as they gained a place in the Gr. Bible, these, too, passed over to Christianity (the A.). Products of the 2nd class we have considered under i. 1. Writings of the first and second kinds are called by Jews **Haggada**, while the third, the elaboration and definition of the Law, is called **Halacha**. The A., then, are to be viewed in close connexion, on the one side, with the Hagiographa, and, on the other, with later developments of the Jewish Haggada.

(*b*) *The Apocrypha in relation to the Hagiographa.*—That the three divisions of the Jewish Canon (compare the list at the beginning of this article) represent three successive collections, widely separated in time, and that they stood originally, in the Jewish view, in a decreasing order of authority and importance, are ascertained facts in the history of OT Canon. The Hagiographa is, then, a relatively late collection of books on the whole late in origin, and, according to the Jewish view, inferior in authority to Law and Prophets. The order of books composing it is variously given, and the limits of the collection were open to dispute long after the Law and Prophets were closed. In regard to Ca, Ec, and Est, there were still differences of opinion up to the time of Akiba (*c.* 110–135 A.D.).

The Bk of Ps owes its place here to the fact that its use was in the temple, not in the synagogue. Apart from Ps and La, the Hagiographa consists of (1) history, in continuation of that told in Kings (Ezr–Neh); (2) history retold with a view to instruction (Ch)*; (3) stories, based on history or tradition, told to illustrate religious truth (Ru, Est, Ca (?), Dn). In Job the transition is made from story to (4) ethical and philosophical books (Pr, Ec).

---

* In the Midrashic treatment of history, Ch follows still older attempts (see 2 Ch 24^{27} 13^{22}).

Under similar headings fall the contents of the A. (1) History proper is found in 1 Mac. (2) History and story are retold with edifying embellishments. 1 Es is made up of extracts from 2 Ch (35. 36), Ezr, and Neh, with an additional story of the wisdom of Zorobabel (3–5^{6}). This Midrash perhaps preceded the literal tr. of Ch, Ezr, Neh, into Greek. Such an Haggadic addition to history was Pr. Man (suggested by 2 Ch $33^{12.13}$). Est appears in the LXX only in the form of a midrash, in which, among other things, are supplied the letter referred to in 3^{13}, prayers of Mordecai and Esther at 4^{17}, the decree mentioned in 8^{12}. Dn is similarly enlarged by a prayer and song at 3^{23}, and the new stories of Daniel's wisdom, Sus and Bel. Even the late Maccabæan history is treated in the Haggadic way in 2 Mac, an epitome of a larger work by Jason of Cyrene, which adorns the history with legendary elements to make of it a sermon on the Pharisaic religion. 3 and 4 Mac are found usually in the LXX, though not in the A. 3 Mac is a poor example of moralising under the form of history; and 4 Mac makes an incident in the Maccabæan story the text for a philosophical treatise on the lordship of the religious reason over the passions. (3) Of new stories the A. contains two famous examples, To and Jth; Tobit teaching the reward for the individual of a faithful life of Pharisaic righteousness; Judith connecting a patriotism like Esther's with regard for a ceremonially correct life. (4) Direct moral and religious instruction ('ethical Haggada') is represented by Sir and Wis, the one a Pal. continuation, the other a Hel. development of the earlier wisdom books. As in the Hagiographa one book, Dn, makes the transition from story to prophecy, so in the A., Bar and the Ep. of Jeremy are prophetic in character. It is not, however, with prophecy nor with law, but with history and story, that both Hagiographa and A. have chiefly to do (cf. the use made of Dn by Hellenists [LXX] and by later Palestinians [Enoch, etc.]. The line between history and story is in both an uncertain one, as history, too, is told for religious, not for scientific purposes. With stories and with proverbial sayings the Jewish Rabbis long continued to occupy themselves. The value of these forms of religious instruction no one will question in view of the gospels. As to the relative worth of their use in the Hagiographa and the A., a fair judgment, apart from doctrinal considerations, will strongly justify the choice of the Palestinians, taking the two collections as wholes. A relation between them is, however, not to be denied, and is grounded in their history.

(*c*) *Palestinian and Hellenistic Elements in the Apocrypha.*—The a^{al} books of the LXX were in part translations of Pal. (Heb.) books, in part original writings of Greek Jews; but it is not possible to draw the line between the two with security. As the LXX was recognised as a tr., one would expect that translations would more readily find their way into it. Yet the Hel. scribes were busy writers, especially in the lines which the A. follows (history, story, wisdom). Sir contains its own testimony that it was written in Heb. and tr. by the writer's grandson into Greek. 1 Mac was undoubtedly a Heb. book, and Jerome (if not Origen) knew it in the original. Jth and To, Jerome knew in 'Chaldee,' and a Heb. original is almost certain. The Ad. Est may be Heb., or at least similar additions may have arisen in Pal. in connexion with the yearly celebration of Purim. Pr. Man may have been Heb., and even 1 Es, if it preceded the LXX 2 Es [Ezr-Neh], may have had a Heb. precursor. Of the Ad. Dn, Sus turns on a Gr. play on words. Wis and 2, 3, and 4 Mac were certainly Greek.

2. USE OF THE APOCRYPHA AND ITS RELATION TO THE CANON.—(*a*) *In Hellenistic Judaism.*—The a^{al} books are found in all MSS of the LXX, scattered among the books of the Heb. Canon without discrimination. These MSS are, indeed, all of Christian origin, and some of them even contain Christian songs; but, apart from these, they undoubtedly represent the OT which was current among the Gr. Jews and used in Gr. synagogues in the apostolic and early post-apostolic age. The additions to the Heb. Canon are not only of Jewish origin, but are, as a whole, books which would interest Gr. Jews, but would not specially interest Christians, since the prophetic element in them is conspicuously small. The addition of these books by Christians would be inexplicable. The preservation of this longer OT by Christians only, is naturally explained by the fact that soon after 70 A.D. Hel. Judaism in the distinct sense ceased to exist, giving place either to rabbinical Judaism or to Christianity; so that the earlier difference regarding the limits of sacred Scriptures between Pal. and Alex. Jews survived only as a difference between Jews and Christians.

We must not, however, conclude that the A. had been in the strict sense canonized by Alex. Judaism. Their place among Scriptures is rather due, in part, to the supreme dignity of the Law; in part to the broad view of inspiration current among Hellenists. In a more exclusive way than in later Pal. Judaism, the Pent. was to Alexandrians the sacred Scripture, the Canon by pre-eminence. It was such to Philo. In this respect the Alexandrians perhaps remained at the standpoint of the earlier Palestinians of the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. When Alex. Judaism was founded, the Law was the Canon of Judaism. The work of the 70 concerned it alone (Aristeas). The tr. of the other books into Greek in Egypt went on, in part, side by side with the formation of the 2nd and 3rd Canons in Pal. That the succeeding translators disregarded the Pal. distinction of Prophets and Hagiographa, and arranged the books, after the Law, topically, though in no fixed order, indicates their different view of these books. The relatively freer tr. points in the same direction; and this freedom passes over by natural degrees into the incorporation of explanatory and illustrative additions of less or greater extent. For this procedure the Pal. translators of OT into Aram. (Targumim) had perhaps already set the example. That, finally, Sir and Wis should be put in connexion with the Solomonic books, making, with Ps and Job, a volume of poetry, or that, in connexion with Est, Jth and To should be inserted, cannot seem strange. This was made easier by the Hel. view of inspiration. While Palestinians inclined to limit inspiration to the age of the prophets, long ended, the Alexandrians regarded the divine spirit as still active, and viewed as inspiration the experience of the thinker and writer in moments of special clearness of insight and exaltation of feeling.

Against the evidence that the LXX contained a^{al} books, Philo's silence is inconclusive. Philo's text is the Pent. It is true that he cites none of the A., but in the prophetic Canon he passes by Ezk and all the minor prophets except Hos and Zec; and of the Hagiographa, except Ps, he makes almost no use, citing Pr twice, Job and Ch once, and Dn and the five Megilloth not at all.

(*b*) *In Palestinian Judaism.*—Here, too, the Law, long the only Canon, remained supreme. The

Jewish scribes regarded the prophets as those who gave an authoritative interpretation of the Law, handing on the Mosaic tradition from the elders to the scribes. The Law has always had the chief place in the synagogue service, the prophets an important secondary place, the Hagiographa a place altogether subordinate. For a long time these different collections could not be written on the same roll. As they did not form one volume, it was the easier to keep them distinct in use and estimation. The books of the 2nd and 3rd Canons were, however, according to the Jewish view, *inspired*, and this in the end distinguished them from all later books. Jos (*c. Ap.* i. 8) says that the prophets 'learned the earliest and most ancient events by inspiration of God, and wrote down the events of their own times plainly, as they occurred.' 'But from Artaxerxes [Est] to our times all events have indeed been written down; but these late books are not deemed worthy of the same credit, because the exact succession of the prophets was wanting.' By the use of the formal principle that with Malachi prophecy ceased (cf. Mal $4^{5.6}$, Zec 13^{3}, 1 Mac 4^{46} 9^{27} 14^{41}), though they could use the test only uncritically, the scribes drew the line between Hagiographa and A., or justified the line already drawn by the popular religious sense. All the Hagiographa could be regarded as meeting this test,[*] but Sir and 1 Mac, which were the most valued books of the A., could not.

It is true that Jesus Sirach himself does not share this (later) view of inspiration. He may represent the earlier Pal. standpoint, from which Alexandrianism took its start. For him the Law is supreme. It is the embodied Wisdom of God (24^{23}). In some sense his knowledge is all derived from it ($39^{1.8}$ 24^{30}). On the other hand, between the prophets and the high priest of his own time he makes no sharp distinction (44–49); and for himself he claims an inspiration like that of the prophet (cf. $39^{6\text{ff.}}$ with 48^{24}, and see 1^{10} $24^{31.32}$ $51^{13\text{ff.}}$).

The step from Sir to the Hellenistic Wis is not great. Here, too, the Law is the supreme revelation (*e.g.* 18^{4}),[†] and here, too, in answer to prayer (cf. Sir 39^{5}), the spirit of wisdom is given to men, that spirit which is the life and reason of the world, and which 'generation after generation enters into holy souls and makes friends of God and prophets' (7^{27}, cf. chs. 1. 6 ff.).

Apart from 4 Ezr, which, not being in the LXX, does not deserve consideration at this point, the other books of the A. make no claim to be reckoned among sacred Scriptures.

It is not easy to estimate the significance of the fact that we have no evidence in Jewish books that they were ever so regarded. Disputes are recorded regarding the exclusion of books of the Canon, but none regarding the admission of a^{al} books. Yet it should be said that the Jewish Rabbis usually covered up the tracks of past wanderings from the straight path that led to their own position. That additions to Dn and Est, and books like To and Jth, were once current among the Hagiographa in Pal. is not impossible. Josephus uses 1 Mac, 1 Es, and Ad. Est, without distinction from can. books as historical sources, and even says that he has written his whole history 'as the sacred books record it' (*Ant.* XX. xi. 2, cf. Pro. § 3). Yet he counts 22 books, and excludes from the first rank all later than Est. In his time, then, the line had been drawn.

In the rabbinical writings there are many citations from Sir; Zunz[*] counts 40, among them some 'in a manner usual only of Scripture passages,' and some as late as the 4th cent., which speak of it as one of the Kethubhim. Some doubt, at least, regarding its canonicity is probable. Of Ad. Est some traces exist in Heb. literature. Haggadic stories concerning Dn, among them traces of Bel, are found. The Maccabæan legend of the mother and seven sons (2 Mac, 4 Mac) was a favourite theme of rabbinical Midrashim. Yet 1 Mac, which Jerome knew in Heb., seems to have left no trace in rabbinical books. The legend of Judith is found, though in a form very different from the LXX, and Tobit is still extant in Heb. Jerome says the Jews had Jth and To, and regarded them as historical but not as canonical; while Origen says they did not possess them even among their *A.*

3. THE RELATION OF THE APOCRYPHA TO THE RELIGIOUS TENDENCIES AND PARTIES OF JUDAISM.—Of a theology of the A. it is unhistorical to speak. The collection presents the ideas of no one man or party, of no one period or place. The theology, or the religious ideas of each book, may be treated (see separate articles), or a history of the religious ideas and movements in Judaism in a given period (*e.g.* 200 B.C.–100 A.D.) may be undertaken, in which these books will be important sources; but the historian of theology cannot separate the A. from the later can. books on the one side, and from Philo and Josephus, the Pseudepigrapha and the early rabbinical literature, on the other.

A few suggestions may, however, be made regarding the relation of these books to the chief religious tendencies and parties of Judaism.

The main distinction in the post-exilic Jewish religion was that between the priest, whose sphere was the temple and its cultus, and the scribe, whose activity centred in the synagogue and the law. The centre of gravity seems to have shifted gradually from the temple to the synagogue, from priestly ritual to the legalism of the scribes, whose work made it possible for Jews in the Dispersion, out of reach of the temple, to live religious lives, and prepared Judaism to survive the loss of its temple. The Hagiographa stands, as a whole, at the earlier stage, beginning with the Ps, the book of temple devotion, and ending with the great temple history of Ch, Ezr, Neh. The five Megilloth also came into connexion with the cultus by their use at the national feasts, though it is not known how early this happened. On the other hand, there is no early evidence of the regular use of Hagiographa in the synagogue service, and of the scribes' legalism they contain little. Only Dn, perhaps the latest book in this collection, can be called Pharisaic in tendency.

In the A., on the other hand, the legal predominates over the priestly interest. Sir, perhaps its oldest book, shows a transition from the priestly standpoint of Ch (to which belongs 1 Es) to the legal standpoint of the scribes (Zunz). The writer delights in the temple and the high priest's impressive ceremony, and dwells upon Aaron much more at length than upon Moses (ch. 45), and with still more enthusiasm upon the Simon whose ministrations he had himself witnessed (ch. 50); while Ezra, the patron saint of the Rabbis, is passed by in his praise of famous men. Yet he praises also the law as the wisdom of God (see above), and glorifies the office of the scribe (38^{24-34} 39^{1-11}).

But it was especially the Maccabæan crisis that sharpened the contrast between the two tendencies. The desecration of the temple by Antiochus was the occasion of the war. The recovery and reconsecration of the temple was the great deed of

---

[*] Baba bathra 14 ascribes Job to Moses, Ru to Samuel, Ps to David, Ca and Ec to Hezekiah and his friends, Dn and Est to the men of the Great Synagogue, Ch to Ezra and Nehemiah.

[†] The identification of Wisdom with the Law is found also in Bar $3^{9\text{ff.}}$ 4. Judith and Tobit and his son are examples of the glorification of the Law in life.

[*] *Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, 2 Aufl. 1892, p. 106.

Judas. This meant to the scribes the re-observance of the law, and with that they were content. It meant to Judas the first step toward a recovery of political independence. Judaism was organised about its temple. Its supreme authority was the high priest. So that the Maccabæan princes coveted the high priesthood as a political power, and finally gained it. But this was a violation of the law, and alienated the legalists, who became a party of separatists, Pharisees, with the scribes at their head and the synagogue as their institution. Against them the adherents of the temple and the new high priests became an opposing party, the Sadducees. The priestly tendency issued in a political party, the scribal in a religious party; and in the conflict of these parties the inner history of Judaism chiefly consisted until the fall of Jerusalem. Since Sadduceism was bound up with the temple and the national life, it ceased to be after the destruction of temple and State; and since its views were as obnoxious to Christianity as to surviving Judaism, none of its distinct literary products could survive. The A., however, owing partly to its Alex. selection, partly to its comparatively early date, is not a purely Pharisaic product, and stands aside from the controversy between the two parties of which we know (from the Pharisaic side) in Ps-Sol, Enoch, etc. Two books of the A. are Sadducean in tendency. Sirach writes before the Maccabæan wars, so that his book can be called Sadducean only by anticipation. Sadducean in tone was not only his attachment to the temple and the priesthood (above), but also his reserve in regard to angels, his sceptical attitude as to demons (21^{27}) and the future life (*e.g.* 17^{27-32} 14^{11-19} 41^{1-4}), perhaps his insistence on the entire freedom of man (15^{11-17} $17^{6.\,7}$), and his spirit of liberality toward outside sources of knowledge and culture (*e.g.* 39^{4}). There is, indeed, a polemic against a Pharisaic spirit of ceremonialism in 34^{18-26} $35^{1ff.}$.

1 Mac follows the crisis out of which the parties arose, but precedes their serious conflicts. The writer's admiration for Judas and his brothers, 'through whose hand salvation was given to Israel,' is unbounded (5^{62}, cf. 3^{1-9} $9^{21f.}$ 13^{3-6} $14^{25ff.}$ 16^{2} etc.). He paints Simon's reign in thoroughly Messianic colours (14^{4-15}), and in the decision that 'until a trustworthy prophet should arise . . . Simon should be their prince and high priest for ever,' his political and religious creed was summed up. It was the creed of Sadduceism. Sadducean also is the writer's attachment to the laws and customs of the nation, and his opposition to innovations (2^{1-28} $3^{21.\,29}$ 6^{59} etc.); but laws are for the strengthening and safety of the nation, and, when the observance of even so sacred a law as the Sabbath exposed the nation to danger, its non-observance was decreed (2^{32-41}). He looks to the valour of the hero to win victories (no miracle even in $9^{55.\,56}$ 11^{67-74}); as Jos. says, 'The Sadducees take away fate . . . we are ourselves the causes of good,' etc. (*Ant.* XIII. v. 9). His interest is in man more than in God, and in the present more than in the future.

The essence of Pharisaism was that it gave religion (*i.e.* legalism) the first place. The Sadducee attempted to further the welfare of the individual and of the nation by direct means (politics, war, etc.); the Pharisaic faith was that if the individual and the community kept the law, God would by a supernatural act secure their welfare. The Sadducees would set aside the law in smaller things (Sabbath), or in greater (high priesthood), when circumstances required. To the Pharisee the law was inviolable, whatever the extremity. This is the principle of Pharisaism. Out of it various developments issued.

That the law might never be broken by inadvertence, the scribes put about it a 'hedge' of additional precautionary rules, the Halacha, or oral law, which the Sadducees did not recognise. The belief that well-being was God's reward for the observance of the law, and misfortune His punishment for its transgression, though applied at first to the present life and lot of men and nations, might easily be referred to the future, and foster the thought of a coming national glory for Israel, and of an individual life after death. It might also stimulate the belief in miracles and in angels and demons as agents of God's blessings and judgments. Yet these marks of later Pharisaism are not uniformly or conspicuously present in the A.

Fasting is almost the only addition which we find to the Mosaic law (To 12^{8}, Jth 8^{6} etc., cf. Dn 9^{3} 10^{3}), with a further ascetic emphasis upon the laws regarding food (Jth 10^{5} 11^{12} $12^{1.\,2}$, To $1^{10f.}$, Ad. Est 14^{17}, 2 Mac 5^{27} 6^{21}). The creed of the Bk of Jth is that no enemy can prevail against Israel so long as it keeps the ceremonial law, but if it breaks it, under whatever stress, it will fall (5^{17-21} 11^{9-19} 8^{17-20}). Moreover, Judith's deliverance of the nation is conditioned upon her individual fulfilment of the law even amid the greatest difficulties (8^{4-6} 12^{1-9}). This is true Pharisaism, and yet the book contains neither Messianic hope, nor rewards after death (16^{17} is not to be so understood), nor miracle, nor angel. Tobit illustrates the Pharisaic principle in the life of an individual. Legal righteousness is rewarded by deliverance from evil, long life and prosperity; while sin is always punished by evil, and all evil is due to sin (3^{1-6} $1^{20.\,21}$ $14^{4-8.\,15}$). Here angels and demons play a far greater part than in any other book of the A. The national hope also is expressed (13. 14^{4-7}), but there is no resurrection. The Bk of Bar contains the national hope (2^{30-35} 4^{25-37} 5^{1-9}), but no individual resurrection. 2 Mac views the work of Judas as an illustration of Pharisaism. It knows of no laxity regarding the law (cf. 5^{25} 6^{11} 8^{26} 12^{38} 15^{1}). The history is helped forward by angels and miracles and signs ($3^{25ff.\,33}$ $5^{2f.}$ 9^{5} $10^{29f.}$ 11^{8} $15^{12ff.}$). The national hope finds frequent expression (1^{27-29} $2^{7.\,18}$ etc.); and, here only in the A., the resur. of the bodies of the righteous is insisted upon ($7^{9.\,11.\,14.\,36}$ $12^{43f.}$ 14^{46}).

It is evident that the later marks of Pharisaism (cf. Ac 23^{6-9}) were not uniformly present. Legalism stands as the characteristic mark. 'This is the book of the commandments of God, and the law that endureth for ever. All they that hold it fast are destined for life, but such as leave it shall die' (Bar 4^{1}). And since the law of life was Israel's law, with legalism went particularism. 'O Israel, happy are we! for the things that are pleasing to God are made known unto us' (Bar 4^{4}). Of this feeling, and the corresponding contempt for other peoples, passing over, in times of trouble, into jealousy and hatred, there is enough in the A. It inspires Ad. Est as it does Est itself. Jth and 2 Mac are dominated by it. It is a presupposition of To (4^{12} etc.). Even Sir shares it, though his ruling interest is in the individual, not in the nation (esp. 36^{1-17}, cf. 24, and in 44–50, *e.g.* $47^{21f.}$). Only the Hel. Bk of Wis rises to a broader view. In chs. 10–19 the special care of God for Israel is shown. 'In every way thou didst magnify thy people, and glorify them, . . . standing by them in every time and place' (19^{22}). But while Israel is God's son (18^{13}, cf. ^{4}), He also loves all men (11^{24-26} 6^{7} 1^{13}), and His judgments are remedial ($12^{2ff.}$). Nor, in spite of the first impression of $3^{7.\,8}$ 5^{17-23} (cf. 4^{7-19}), does the writer hold to a future earthly glory for Israel. The consummation is heavenly (immortality of the soul, here first in Jewish books), and is morally conditioned.

The Essenic type of Pharisaism is represented only in 4 Ezr, which does not properly belong to the collection. Here only do we find a personal Messiah. Hel. Judaism, which stood at one side of the conflict between Pharisee and Sadducee, is represented by Wis, which, though it sets the religious life and faith in contrast to worldliness and scepticism, puts no stress on ceremonialism, but interprets the law in a more ethical sense, and reviews the history of Israel to illustrate the beneficent rule of God's wisdom, rather than the inviolableness of His law.

But 4 Ezr cannot be treated apart from other apocalypses, nor Wis apart from other products of Hellenism.

It is chiefly in these two isolated books that foreign elements are prominent. Apart from these, and the (Pers. ?) angelology of To, the A. stands in the main on (later) OT ground in its views of God, of man, and of the world.

iii. THE APOCRYPHA IN THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.—1. IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.—The writers of NT used almost exclusively the LXX OT, and we have no reason to suppose that a^{al} additions were wanting at that time. There are no direct citations from A.; this, however, is true also of the disputed books, Song, Ec, and Est as well as of Jos and Ezr-Neh. The Pent., the Prophets, and the Pss were, for obvious reasons, most frequently cited. The other books of the Hagiographa, and the A., offered far fewer material points of contact with Christianity, and would not be allowed the same value in argument by Jews. An acquaintance with a^{al} books is, however, generally recognised in the case of some NT writers. Thus there are parallelisms between Ja and Sir (*e.g.* Ja 1^{19} and Sir 5^{11}), between He and Wis (*e.g.* He 1^{3} and Wis 7^{26}), and between Paul and Wis (cf. Ro 9^{21} with Wis 15^{7}; Ro 1^{20-32} with Wis 11. 13. 15; 2 Co $5^{1.4}$ with Wis 9^{15}), which reveal familiarity with this literature, but which do not imply that authority was ascribed to it. The question of the relation of the A. to the Canon cannot be decided on the ground of NT usage.

2. IN THE EASTERN CHURCH.—There is peculiar difficulty in determining the place of the A. in relation to the Canon in the E. Church because of the conflict between different lines of evidence. We shall consider (*a*) Original Usage, (*b*) Scholarly Theory, (*c*) Manuscripts, (*d*) Versions, (*e*) The later Greek Church.

(*a*) *Original Usage.**—The Christian Church used the LXX as its OT Scripture, and the Church Fathers cite all parts of it with similar formulas. 1 and 2 Clement, Barnabas, Ignatius, and the Teaching of the Twelve, contain allusions to a^{al} by the side of can. books. Irenæus cites Ad. Dn, Bar, and Wis; Tertullian—Sir, Wis, Ad. Dn, and Bar; Clem. Alex. — Sir, Wis, Bar, To, Ad. Dn; Cyprian — Sir, Wis, To, Bar; all with the formulas ('it is written,' 'Scripture says,' etc.) used of can. works. This usage continues to be the prevailing one, and Origen can appeal to the universal practice of the Church from the beginning against the appeal of Africanus to the authority of the Heb. Canon.

(*b*) *Scholarly Theory.*—The LXX came to Christianity from the synagogue of Hel. Judaism, and with it was accepted the theory of the inspiration and sacredness of this translation. The story of its origin, told by Aristeas of the Pent., was extended to the whole, and heightened into absolute miracle. (Justin, *Dial.* 68. 71. 84; Iren. iii. 21. 2–4; Tertul. *Apol.* 18; Clem. *Strom.* i. 38. 148. 149; Origen, *ad Afric.* 4; Cyril, *Cat.* iv. 34; Epiphanius, *de mens.*). But on the other hand, whenever the books of OT are counted, the number is given as 22 (24), and is expressly derived from the Jewish (Heb.) Canon. That the LXX was a tr. of the Heb. was, of course, never lost sight of, but it was an inspired tr., sanctified by Christian use from the apostles onwards. The discrepancy between the two was obvious, and yet could not be given its natural weight. The question of the status of the A. depended upon the relative importance given to traditional Christian usage and current Jewish usage, summarily expressed in the number 22, or to practice and theory, and upon new theories devised for their adjustment.

Five possibilities seemed open: (1) To insert the A. in OT in such a way as to retain the number 22. (2) To introduce some of the most valued A. into NT (as distinctively Christian possessions), or to append them at the end. (3) To make a third class of books, between can. and uncan. in dignity. (4) To give up the Heb. for the LXX Canon, making theory square with practice. (5) To give up the LXX for the Heb., making practice square with theory. The first three ways are followed, with more or less combination, in the East, the fourth finally by Rome, the fifth finally by Protestantism, though in neither case with entire consistency, since, in the Vulg., the LXX has been considerably modified in accordance with the Heb., and in the Prot. Bible the order of the Vulg. (and LXX) has been retained.

It is important to set forth the place of the A. in the various theoretical Canons of Eastern writers somewhat in detail.

Melito, Bishop of Sardis (*c.* 150-170 A.D.) learned from Jews or Jewish Christians in Pal. the contents of OT. His list (Euseb. iv. 26. 13, 14) contains only the books of the Heb. (omitting Est), but the titles and order (?) are from the LXX [Ch after K, Proph. after Poet. books; so in general: (1) History, (2) Poetry, (3) Prophecy]. It cannot be certainly inferred that Jer and Dn were without the a^{al} additions. *The Muratorian Fragment* (175-200 A.D.) contains only NT (whether OT was originally given is uncertain); but it inserts Wis between 2 Jn and Rev (as by Philo?), and gives to the Shepherd the position of a book that is to be privately, not publicly, read. Its place is not among prophets or apostles, but also not among heretical books. The writer makes use of the second solution of the problem and suggests the third.

Origen (*c.* 185-254) deals with the problem with the fullest knowledge. His great Hexapla testifies to the importance of the problem presented by the deviating texts of OT Scripture, and gave him minute familiarity with the divergence of the LXX from the Heb. In his Com. on Psalms (Eus. vi. 25. 1) he gives a list of the 22 books of the Heb. Canon, apparently like Melito's, with the addition of Est. But he begins the use of the first solution of the problem above suggested by including in Jer not only La, but Ep. Jer (Bar?). Moreover, he says that 1 and 2 Ezr were counted as one book. This would be understood by Gr. readers as referring, not to the Heb. Ezr and Neh, but to the LXX 1 Es and 2 Es [= Ezr + Neh). He mentions 'the Maccabæan books' at the end of his list as outside of the Canon. But from the Ep. to Africanus we learn that this Heb. Canon was not regarded by Origen as of final validity for Christians. He criticises the theory of a Heb. Canon on the ground of traditional Christian practice (*i.e.* he supplements the first by the fourth solution). His view is that the present is not the original Heb. Canon, since Jewish rulers and elders hid from the people passages that might bring them into discredit (§ 9). On this ground Susanna is defended, though it is now among the Jewish A. But To and Jth, which the Jews do not possess even among their 'hidden' books, are to be retained simply on the ground of Christian usage. Providence must have guided the practice of the Church, and Judaism is not to dictate to Christianity (the Catholic principle).

Cyril, Bishop of Jerus. (*Cat.* iv. 33-36, *c.* 348 A.D.), insists with equal stress upon the number 22, that of the Heb. Canon, and the authority of the usage of the Church. His list of 22 (12 historical, 5 poetical, and 5 prophetical) he seems to regard as that of the LXX in current use. His Jer includes Bar, and his Dn (and Est?) the additions. He declares that the books not read in the churches are not to be read in private, and, after all, himself cites Wis as by Solomon (*Cat.* ix. 2, 16).

The *Synod of Laodicea* (*c.* 360) affirms Cyril's list, with minor changes of order. The list in *Apost. Canon*, 85, is also Cyril's, with the addition, at the end of the histories, of 1-3 Mac. On the other hand, the metrical lists of *Gregory* of Naz. (d. 390) and *Amphilochius*, though following the same order, seem to have omitted the a^{al} additions as well as Est.

Epiphanius (*c.* 315-403) moves in the opposite direction. Like Cyril, he regarded the LXX as the inspired tr. of the 22 books of the Heb. Canon; but besides 1 Es, Bar, Ep. Jer and Ad. Dn, he seems to have included, under Est (with Ad.?) To and Jth; and, against Cyril, he introduces an intermediate class of writings, not 'in the ark,' but yet 'good and useful.' Here belong Wis and Sir, which he puts after NT in his list

---

* See the references in Schürer, *HJP* §§ 32. 33.

(*Hær.* 76, cf. *Hær.* 86, *de mens.* 4). He thus provides for the practical recognition of all the A. except Mac and Pr. Man. There are still other books, *apocrypha* proper, some of which the Seventy translate, upon which he does not wholly shut the door (*de mens.* 5. 10).

Athanasius, in his 39th Easter Letter (367 A.D.), carries through more consistently the third solution. His 22 books include Bar, Ep. Jer, 1 Es (?), Ad. Dn. But after NT he adds, 'for greater exactness,' that there are other books outside of these, not canonized, but stamped by the Fathers as books to be read by catechumens for their instruction. These are Wis, Sir, Est, Jth, To, Διδ. and Shepherd. They are called ἀναγινωσκόμενα, books to be read, *i.e.* by catechumens.

The threefold division is followed by the list in the *Chron. of Nicephorus*, which, after the 22 books of OT and the 26 of NT, gives 'disputed' books of OT, viz. 1-3 Mac, Wis, Sir, Ps-Sol, Est, Jth, Sus, To. There follow the disputed books of NT (Apoc. of Jn and of P, Ep. Bar and Gospel of Hebrews), and, finally, the 'apocrypha' of OT and NT (above). Here the A. are books whose canonicity is in dispute, ἀντιλεγόμενα. The name and the estimate differ essentially from Athanasius, though both are copied in the *Synopsis of (Pseudo) Athanasius.*

In the '*List of* 60,' after the 60 can. books of OT and NT, follow, as 'outside of the 60,' Wis, Sir, 1-4 Mac, Est, Jth, To. After these come the 'apocrypha' (above).

We find then in the lists of writers of the E. Church, from the 2nd to the 6th or 7th cent., a practically unanimous adherence to the Heb. Canon of 22 books, and efforts to harmonise this with the Christian LXX by making the 22 as comprehensive of LXX additions as possible, and by assigning to other books of the A., so far as they were valued, a separate place, usually after NT, but distinct from heretical, rejected books.

(*c*) *Manuscripts.*—It is a striking fact that no extant MS of the LXX represents even approximately the Canon of Cyril or Athanasius. In no known Greek text do the A. stand by themselves. The codices agree with the usage, not with the theory, of the E. Church.

Of the 9 uncials in which a^{al} books are found, the Vat. and the Alex. are given at the beginning of this article. Next in importance (3) stands the Sin., which originally contained the whole Bible. Of OT the extant parts are: (Fragments of Gn, Nu, 1 Ch, and Ezr), Neh, Est, *To*, *Jth*, 1 *Mac*, 4 *Mac*, Is, Jer, La (part), XII (except Hos, Am, Mic), Ps, Pr, Ec, Ca, *Wis*, *Sir*, Job. (4) Cod. Ephræmi Syri (5th cent.), contains fragments of Job, Pr, Ec, *Wis*, *Sir*, Ca. (5) Cod. Venetus (8th or 9th cent.) contains Job (end), Pr, Ec, Ca, *Wis*, *Sir*, XII, Is, Jer, *Bar*, La, Dn [*Ad.*], *To*, *Jth*, 1-4 *Mac*. (6) Cod. Basiliano-Vaticanus (9th cent.) contains second half of Pent., historical books, including 1 *Es* and *Ad. Est.* (7) Cod. Marchalianus (6th or 7th cent.) contains the prophets in the order of B (so *Bar*, *Ep. Jer*, *Ad. Dn*). (8) Cod. Cryptoferratensis (7th or 8th cent.) contains the prophets. (9) Palimpsest fragments of *Wis* and *Sir*, of 6th or 7th cent. Swete does not cite 6 and 9, but adds cursive Cod. Chisianus (9th cent.?), which contains Jer, *Bar*, La, *Ep. Jer* Dn, *according to the LXX* [all other MSS have substituted Theodotion's Dn], Hippolytus on Dn, Dn *according to Theod.*, Ezk, Is. Both texts of Dn contain the additions. It is noteworthy that several cursives of the poetical books give Ps-Sol in the order, Job, Pr, Ec, Ca, *Wis*, Ps-SOL., *Sir*. [Swete, vol. iii. p. xvi. f.]

(*d*) *Versions.*—The Oriental translations of OT were nearly all made from the LXX, and were inclined rather to enlarge than to reduce its Canon.

The old Syr. Peshitta was an exception to this rule. Its OT was from the Heb., and so contained no A. It also lacked Ch. The influence of the LXX was, however, so great that the Pesh. was early revised in accordance with it, and the a^{al} books were incorporated with some further additions. The chief codex (Ambrosianus) contains *Wis*, *Ep. Jer*, 1 and 2 *Ep. Bar*, *Jth*, Apoc. BAR. [here only], Apoc. of Ezra (=2 *Es*), 1-5 *Mac*. [5 Mac=Jos. *BJ* vi.]. In other MSS are found 1 *Es*, *To*, *Pr. Man.* A MS of the 6th cent. has a 'book of women,' viz. Ru, Est, *Sus*, *Jth*, THECLA.

Wholly exceptional, on the other hand, was the critical view of the Nestorian school at Nisibis, which put *Sir* in the class of fully can. books, and regarded as of intermediate authority, Ch, Job, Ezr, Neh, *Jth*, Est, 1 and 2 *Mac*, *Wis*, Ca.

Exceptional also is a Syr. MS at Cambridge, in which an attempt is made to arrange OT in chronological order. This naturally throws most of the A. at the end. *Wis* is after Solomon's books, *Bar* and *Ep. Jer* after Jer. After the prophets, follow Dn [and *Bel*], Ru, *Sus*, Est, *Jth*, Ezr-Neh, *Sir*, 1-4 *Mac*, 1 *Es*, *To*.

The *Ethiopic* version not only adopted the LXX Canon without criticism, but added various books besides 4 Ezr, several of which survived in no other collection, *e.g.* Enoch, Jubilees, Ascension of Is, etc.

The *Armenian* version also draws no line between Canon and A.

(*e*) *The Later Gr. Church.*—The views of the Fathers of the Eastern Church could not be without permanent influence, but their failure to reach consistency made it possible for the LXX to retain its currency. At the time of the Reformation some Eastern scholars, appealing to Cyril and Athanasius, declared the a^{al} books to be uncan. So Metrophanes Critopulos (1625) and Cyril Lucar (1629). Against them the Synods of Constantinople (1638), Jaffa (1642), and Jerus. (1672) sustained the older usage, and declared the full canonicity of the A. It appears, however, that clearness and consistency have never been reached, for Philaret's Longer Catechism of the Orthodox Catholic E. Church (1839, etc.), which has official sanction, gives to all books outside of the 22 a subordinate place, as meant for the reading of those just entering the Church (citing Athanasius); while the official Bible of the Gr. Church contains (after Ch) *Pr. Man*; (after Neh) 1 *Es*, *To*, *Jth*; (after Ca) *Wis*, *Sir*; (after La) *Ep. Jer*, *Bar*; (after Mal) 1-3 *Mac*, 4 *Ezr*.

3. IN THE WESTERN CHURCH.—(*a*) *Roman Catholic.*—In the Lat. Church there was a stronger inclination to let Christian usage, rather than scholarly theory, determine the place of the A. in the Canon; and this in spite of the fact that Rome produced the man of all antiquity who most strongly pressed the sole validity of the Heb. Canon (Jerome), and committed to this very man the revision of its OT Scriptures.

The earliest Lat. tr. (Itala) was made from the LXX, and seems to have contained all the A. of the LXX except 3 and 4 Mac, and to have added 2 Es.

Jerome first revised the Itala after the LXX, but then tr. the OT anew from Heb. In this tr. the A. would fall out. And this Jerome demands. In the famous Prol. Galeatus he gives a list of the 22 books of the Heb. Canon in the Heb. order, and adds, 'whatever is beyond these is to be put among the *A*.' So Wis, Sir, Jth, To, and Shepherd 'are not in the Canon. Of Mac, I have found the first book in Heb.; the second is Greek,' etc.

This explicit denial that even an intermediate position should be given to the A. would, in consistency, require their entire removal from the Bible. But Jerome elsewhere gives these books an intermediate position. For he says (Prol. to Bks of Sol), 'as the Church reads Jth and To and the Bks of Mac, but does not receive them among can. Scriptures, so also let it read these two books [Wis and Sir] for the edification of the people, not for confirming the authority of Church dogmas.' Only by such a view can we understand Jerome's revision of Jth and To, which he undertook, indeed, under protest and with careless haste, excusing himself by the fact that they were extant in Chaldee, and that the Council of Nicæa counted Jth in the number of sacred Scriptures (of this there is no other evidence). Jerome also inserted the Additions to Dn and Est, distinguishing them by marks, and collecting the Ad. Est together at the end of the book, where they have remained, out of their proper place, ever since.

After these concessions by Jerome himself, it is not strange that the other books of the A. gradually found their old place in his version as it gained recognition.

Of other Lat. Fathers, *Hilary* of Poitiers (d. 368) reaffirms Origen's Can., but shows some inclination to add *To* and *Jth*, for which Origen's position gave ground.

Rufinus (d. 410), who studied at Alexandria and Jerus., gives the E. list of 22 books, and puts the A. in an intermediate class, which he calls (for the first time?) Ecclesiastici, viz. *Wis*, *Sir*, *To*, *Jth*, *Bks of Mac*, and, in NT, Shepherd and Two Ways [also Judgment according to Peter?]. These the Fathers wished to be read in the churches, but not brought forward for the confirmation of faith. 'Other Scriptures they named a^{al} which they wished not to be read in the churches.' The threefold division is E., but the name 'ecclesiastical' and the explanation (which is *practically* the view of Jerome also) are new. The A. are to be read not privately, but in the churches. This would originally have meant full canonicity. But a distinction is attempted in degrees of authority for doctrine among books which, in their text and in their church use, are not distinguished. It is not strange that the theory of an intermediate class gained no firm footing in the W., and that the A. went into the first, not into the third class.

The early Lat. lists are characterised by the two groups, (1) Ps, Pr, Ca, Ec, *Wis*, *Sir*; (2) Job, *To*, Est, *Jth*, 1 and 2 *Mac*, 1 and 2 Es, in which, apart from the additions to the prophets Jer and Dn, the books of A. are usually found. They are found in the *Can. of Mommsen*, which perhaps represents the average Western Can. of *c.* 360 A.D. It includes the A., and still counts 24 books (Rev 4^{10}) by the device of reckoning the 5 Solomonic books as one. The West had not, however, the interest in the number 24 that the East had in 22, and generally disregarded even this formal agreement with the Jews.

Cassiodorus (*Institutio*, etc., chs. xii.–xiv., *c.* 544 A.D.) gives Jerome's (Heb.) Can., then Augustine's, and finally the Can. of the *antiqua translatio*, which represents Lat. usage before Jerome, viz. Gn–Ch; Ps, Sol 5 (Pr, *Wis*, *Sir*, Ec, Ca); Prophets; Job, *To*, Est, *Jth*, 1. 2 Es, 1. 2 *Mac*. The two groups are to be noted. The divergence of the three lists from each other seems to cause the writer no trouble.

Similar to this is the list of the *Decretum Gelasii*, which, if it is that of the Synod of 382, is the first official Can. of the Roman Church. It puts *Wis*, *Sir* with Solomonic books, *Bar* with Jer, and ends with an 'order of histories,' which is our second group, as follows: Job, *To*, 1. 2 Es, Est, *Jth*, 1. 2 *Mac*.

The next official OT Can. was that of the African Councils of *Hippo* (393) and *Carthage* (397): Gn–Ch, Job, Ps, Sol 5, 12 prophets, Is, Jer, Dn, Ezk, *To*, *Jth*, Est, 1. 2 Es, 1. 2 *Mac*. Here Job is separated from the second group and put in its old connexion with Ps, Pr. These councils were dominated by *Augustine*, whose weight on the side of Church tradition overbore the influence of Jerome's learning. Augustine stands for the Catholic principle as determining the Can. (*de doct.* ii. 8, 12), even when he feels the objections, *e.g.* to *Wis* and *Sir*, that the ancient Church has received them is decisive (*de civ.* xvii. 20, 1). Augustine gives, in *de doct.* ii. 8, 13, a list of 44 books of OT—22 historical, made by adding to Gn–Ch, as a secondary list, our second group: Job, *To*, Est, *Jth*, 1. 2 *Mac*, 1. 2 Es.; and 22 prophetical, made by prefixing to the 16 prophets our first group: Ps, Pr, Ca, Ec, *Wis*, *Sir*. In his last book, however (*Speculum*), he seems inclined to put the A. at the end of OT Can., separating *Wis*, *Sir* from group 1, and Job from group 2. This may reveal a growing sense of the secondary authority or security of the A.

Innocent I. of Rome, in a letter to the Bishop of Toulouse (405), gives a list in which the two groups still appear: Gn–4 K (with Ru); Prophets; Solomon 5, Ps; 'of histories,' Job, *To*, Est, *Jth*, 1. 2 *Mac*, 1. 2 Es, 1. 2 Ch.

The outcome of the matter in the Lat. Church was the *Vulg.*, and the leading MS of it (Cod. Amiatinus, *c.* 700) gives, *in the name of Jerome*, a list identical with that sanctioned at Trent (see the list at the beginning of this article). The order is nearer to that of Augustine in *de doct.* ii. 8 than to that of the Council of Hippo. The secondary group of histories follows the primary (Gn–Ch), and the group of poetry follows it, preceding the prophets. Job, however, is put between the two, so that it might belong either to history or poetry, and 1. 2 Mac are separated from the group and put at the end—a partial compromise between the topical place given to this group by Augustine, and the more chronological place assigned it in the Old Latin, and at Hippo. The result is that the A. are found chiefly in the middle of OT, distinguished in no way from other books. Until the decree of Trent, however, it was still possible to regard the A. as of inferior authority, and, when can. was understood to mean authoritative, even as not in the Canon. The middle ages furnished some followers of Jerome (*e.g.* Hugo of St. Victor, d. 1140; Peter of Clugny, d. 1156; Nicolaus of Lyra, d. 1340) who anticipate the view of Cardinal Ximenes (1437–1517), who says in the Preface to the great Complutensian Polyglott, that the a^{al} books are outside of the Canon, and are received by the Church as useful reading, not as authoritative for doctrine. Erasmus (1467–1536) also follows Jerome, though expressing himself with his usual reserve and formal submission to the judgment of the Church. 'Whether the Church receives them as possessing the same authority as the others, the spirit of the Church must know.' Cardinal Cajetan, Luther's opponent at Augsburg (1518), would interpret the decisions of Councils and Fathers by Jerome.

Though the Vulg. Canon had been reaffirmed by Pope Eugenius IV. and put forth as a decree of the Council of Florence (1439), it is not probable that the Roman Church would have taken the decisive step of 1545, against the views of its own best scholars, if it had not been for Luther. The Council of Trent declared the Vulg. to be in all parts of equal authority, and definitely rejected the efforts of Ximenes and others to put the A. in a separate class, 'ecclesiastical' or 'deutero-can.' In the Bibliotheca Sancta of Sixtus Senensis the case is correctly stated. The distinction of Proto-can. and Deutero-can. or ecclesiastical books is given (to the latter class belong, in OT, Est, To, Jth, Bar, Ep. Jer, Wis, Sir, Ad. Dn, 1 and 2 Mac; in NT, Mk 16^{9-20}, Lk $22^{43.44}$, Jn 7^{53}–8^{11}, He, Ja, 2 P, 2 and 3 Jn, Jude, Rev), but the distinction has only historical significance. These books, it is said, were not known till a late period; were even formerly held by the Fathers to be a^{al} and not can.; were at first permitted to be read only before catechumens (Athanasius), then before all believers (Rufinus), but only for edification, not for the confirmation of doctrine; but were at last adopted among Scriptures of irrefragable authority.

This consistent position is deserted by modern Catholics for the unhistorical view that the LXX Can. was the original one, which was shortened by Jews for an antichristian purpose; so that the words proto-can. and deutero-can. reverse the true state of the case, and have not even an historical justification (Kaulen, in Wetzer u. Welte, *Encyk.*^{2} art. 'Kanon').

(*b.*) *Protestant.*—Even on the ground of Catholic scholarship those who denied the authority of the Church must give the A. a secondary place. The first Prot. effort to fix the place of the A. was made by Andreas Bodenstein von Carlstadt, in his *De canonicis scripturis*, 1520. He discusses the views of Augustine and Jerome, and vindicates Jerome's position. He gives the Heb. OT Can., Law, Prophets, and Hagiographa, thinks these divisions indicate a decreasing order of value, and makes corresponding discriminations in NT. OT A. he divides into two classes: (1) Wis, Sir, Jth, To, 1 and 2 Mac; 'Hi sunt apocryphi, *i.e.* extra canonem hebræorum, tamen agiographi.' (2) 3 and 4 Ezr, Bar, Pr. Man, Ad. Dn: 'Hi libri sunt plane apocryphi virgis censoriis animadvertendi.' This significant effort remained almost without effect.

In contrast to this attempt to solve the problem by historical means (to return to the original position), Luther wavered between a free criticism of the Can. by the Christian consciousness, and, for practical purposes, the acceptance of the current Bible. He wished 1 Mac had the place of Est in the Canon. Of Jth, To, Sir, Wis, he judges favourably. Even Ad. Dn and Ad. Est have much good in them. Bar and 2 Mac, on the other hand, he condemns.

In Luther's Bible (completed 1534) the A. stand between OT and NT, with the title: 'A., that is books which are not held equal to the sacred Scriptures, and nevertheless are useful and good to read.' They include our A. with the exception of

1 and 2 Es. Luther's judgment on these two books was especially unfavourable, but for their omission he had the authority of Jerome, whose view perhaps affected their exclusion at Trent.

The Reformed Church took a somewhat less favourable view of the A. In the Zürich Bible (1529–1530) they stand, in Leo Jud.'s tr., after NT, as an appendix to the Bible, with the non-committal preface: 'These are the books which by the ancients were not written nor numbered among the Biblical books, and also are not found among the Hebrews.' Here 1 and 2 Es are included, as well as 3 Mac; while Three, Pr. Man, Ad. Est were added only in later edd.

The French Bible of Calvin (1535) puts the A. between OT and NT, with the title: 'The volume of the a^{al} books contained in the Vulg. tr., which we have not found in Heb. or Chaldee.' Here 1 and 2 Es are included. A preface, doubtless by Calvin, reaffirms Jerome's view as to the value of these books.

Coverdale was the first to tr. the A. from Gr. into Eng. (1536). He put them between OT and NT, with the title: 'Apocripha. The bokes and treatises which amonge the fathers of olde are not rekened to be of like authorite with the other bokes of the byble, nether are they foũde in the Canon of the Hebrue.'

Matthew's Bible (1537) reproduces Coverdale's A., and translates Calvin's Preface, stating that these books are not to be read publicly in the Church, nor used to prove doctrine, but only for 'furtherance of the knowledge of the history, and for the instruction of godly manners.'

Cranmer's Bible (1540) divides OT into three parts: (1) Pent., (2) Hist. books, (3) Remaining books; and adds, 'The volume of the bokes called Hagiographa,' so called 'because they were wont to be read not openly and in common, but as it were in secret and apart'! But in the reprint of 1541 they appear as A., and simply as 'the fourth part of the Bible.'

The Bishops' Bible (1568) treats the A. still more favourably. The table of contents gives it as 'The fourth part called Apocryphus.' The separate title-page reads, 'The Volume of the bookes called Apocrypha.' But a classified list of 'the whole Scripture of the Bible,' under the headings Legal, Historical, Sapiential, and Prophetical, is given, which follows the Vulg., with two changes of order due to its scheme (puts 1 and 2 Mac after Job, and Ps before Is), and with the addition of 3 and 4 Ezr, with the explanation in the case of these two books only that they are apocryphal.

In the Authorized Version (1611) 'the bookes called Apocrypha' are marked by the running title 'Apocrypha' at the top of the page, but have no preface or separate table of contents; and in the table of lessons at the beginning they are included under OT.

The edd. so far seem to indicate a growing rather than diminishing regard for the books. It was not long, however, before edd. of AV began to appear in which the A. was omitted (1629, etc.).

The Confessions of Lutheran and Reformed Churches agree substantially with Article VI. of the Eng. Church (Lat. 1562, Eng. 1571), which, with the list of A., explains: 'And the other books (as Jerome saith) the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners; but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine.' But a less favourable judgment, held at first by few, has gradually, through much controversy, prevailed in Protestantism. At the Synod of Dort (1618) a strong, though unsuccessful, effort was made to remove the A. wholly from the Bible. In England the opposition came especially from the Puritans, and took final form in the Westminster Confession (1648): 'The books commonly called A., not being of divine inspiration, are no part of the Can. of the Scripture; and therefore are of no authority in the Church of God, nor to be in any otherwise approved, or made use of, than other human writings.' This means the exclusion of the A. from the Bible and from use in Church service, which the Puritans demanded in 1689. It was not until 1827, after two years' sharp dispute, that the British and Foreign Bible Society decided to exclude the A. from all its publications of the Bible.

Within the Church of England the number of readings from the A. has been reduced. Originally covering Sept. 27–Nov. 23, in 1867 selections from Wis, Sir, and Bar only are assigned for Oct. 27–Nov. 17, beside some selections for certain holy days. The latter, with readings from To, Wis, and Sir for Nov. 2–20, are retained by the Amer. Epis. Church, while the Irish removes all.

Among non-Episcopal Churches the A. has had in recent years practically no recognition.

On the Continent the movement toward the exclusion of the A. from edd. of the Bible has been slower. The decision of the British Society in 1827 met with a storm of disapproval. The controversy revived in 1850, when numerous works appeared for and against the retention of the A. in edd. of the Bible. Its ablest champions were, among Conservative scholars, Stier and Hengstenberg; among Liberals, Bleek. In the Revision of Luther's Bible (1892) it still stands, with Luther's title.

The long controversy regarding the canonicity of the a^{al} books, in which the power of tradition and the weakness of reason in matters of religious concern are conspicuously illustrated, may be said to have ended for Protestantism. The modern historical interest, on the other hand, is putting these writings in their true place as significant documents of a most important era in religious history.

LITERATURE.—1. TEXT: Fritzsche, *Libri Apocryphi Veteris Testamenti Græce* (Lipsiæ 1871); Edd. of the LXX, esp. Swete (Camb. 1887–1894).

2. TRANSLATIONS INTO ENGLISH: Ball, *The Variorum A.* (AV, with various renderings and readings), 1892; A Revised tr. by Bissell (below); Churton, *Uncan. and Apocryphal Scriptures* (1884); The RV of the A. (1895).

3. INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARIES: Schürer, *HJP*, tr. by Macpherson, *et al.* 1885-1890, §§ 32, 33; Fritzsche and Grimm, *Kurzgefasstes Exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apokryphen des Alten Testaments* (Leipzig, 1851–1860); Bissell, 'The A. of the OT' (Lange-Schaff, *Com.* vol. xv. 1880); 'The Apocrypha,' edited by H. Wace (*Speaker's Com.* 1888).

4. GENERAL: Art. on the A. in Herzog, *RE* 2 Aufl. (by Schürer); Smith, *DB*^{2} (by Ryle); Wetzer und Welte, *Encyk. d. Kathol. Theol.*^{2} (by Kaulen); Hamburger, *RE* [Jewish].

See also articles BIBLE, SEPTUAGINT, CANON, and literature there cited.

FRANK C. PORTER.

APOLLONIA (Ἀπολλωνία).—Apollonia, in Ac 17^{1}, a town through which St. Paul passed, after leaving Amphipolis, on his way to Thessalonica. It was an inland Græco-Macedonian town in the district of Mygdonia, distant from Amphipolis a day's journey (Liv. xlv. 28) or about 30 miles, and from Thessalonica about 38 miles. It lay not far from the Lake Bolbe, and the Via Egnatia passed through it. Little is known of its history. Its name (so common as to be represented by 33 entries in Pauly-Wiss. *RE*, three in Macedonia itself, while the most important was A. in Illyria) seems preserved in the modern *Pollina* (Leake, *N.G.* iii. 458). WILLIAM P. DICKSON.

APOLLONIUS (Ἀπολλώνιος).—Apollonius, a personal name of frequent occurrence (under which 129 entries appear in Pauly-Wiss. *RE*), is borne by several persons mentioned in 1 and 2 Mac.

1. The first, in the apparent order of time, is described (2 Mac 3^{5}) as son of Thrasæus (or

Thraseas;—the RV notes the text as probably corrupt, and suggests, as perhaps the true reading, 'Apollonius of Tarsus'), and governor (στρατηγός) of Cœle-Syria and Phœnice under Seleucus IV. Philopator (B.C. 187–175). One Simon, designated as governor (RV guardian) of the temple (2 Mac 3^4 προστάτης), having had differences with the high-priest Onias concerning 'market-administration' (ἀγορανομίας seems preferable to the common reading παρανομίας), took his revenge by suggesting to Apollonius that the temple at Jerus. contained untold treasures, which might tempt the king's cupidity. A. conveyed the suggestion to Seleucus, and induced him to send Heliodorus his chancellor (RV; not 'treasurer,' AV), to Jerus. to plunder the temple. The devices of Heliodorus, the consternation occasioned by his purpose, and the apparition by which it was baffled, are narrated in 2 Mac 3. In 4 Mac 4^{1-14} the attempt is presented as the act of A. himself, and not of Heliodorus.

2. At 2 Mac 4^{21} an A., son of Menestheus, appears, sent by Antiochus Epiphanes as envoy to Egypt on occasion of the 'enthroning' (which seems the best interpretation of πρωτοκλίσια or πρωτοκλήσια, literally the first 'sitting on,' or formal 'call to' the throne) of Ptolemy Philometor (in B.C. 173). He may not improbably be the same A. who is mentioned by Livy (xlii. 6) as having headed an embassy sent by Antiochus to Rome.

3. At 2 Mac 5^{24-26} we find an A. sent by Antiochus Epiphanes (in B.C. 166), with an army of 22,000 men, to Judæa, under orders to slay all that were of age for military service, and to sell the women and children. Coming to Jerus. under pretext of peace, he took advantage of the Sabbath, when the Jews were keeping their day of rest, to massacre 'great multitudes.' He is characterised as 'that detestable ringleader' (RV 'lord of pollutions'; μυσάρχην, not occurring elsewhere, possibly 'ruler of the Mysians,' but probably 'leader in foul deeds'), while the use of the article seems to point to one previously mentioned, and so suggests his identity with the 'governor of Cœle-Syria' (in ch. 3^5 and 4^4: No. 1 above). The interval of nine years leaves this at least doubtful; but there is less reason to question his identity with the person not named but described at 1 Mac 1^{29} as 'chief collector of tribute' sent by the Hellenizing king to carry out his policy of destruction. Jos. (*Ant.* XII. vii. 1) designates him as commandant (στρατηγός) of Samaria (apparently = provincial governor, μεριδάρχης, XII. v. 5), and records his subsequent fall, in conflict with Judas Maccabæus, as does also 1 Mac 3^{10-12}.

4. At 2 Mac 12^2 A., 'son of Gennæus,' appears as one of the local commandants who, notwithstanding the covenant that the Jews should have rest and leave to observe their own laws, continued to vex them, and to countenance such attacks on their liberties as the treacherous massacre at Joppa, which Judas hastened to avenge. Nothing more is known of him. The patronymic 'son of Gennæus' distinguishes him from (1) the son of Thrasæus and (2) the son of Menestheus; and the suggestion of Winer (*RWB s.v.*, following Luther's rendering *edlen*), that Γενναίου might be taken as an adjective, 'the well-born,' used ironically (presumably of the latter), is highly improbable; for, as Grimm remarks, the irony would be too covert, and Gennæus occurs elsewhere as a proper name (Pape, *s.v.*).

5. When Demetrius II. Nikator came forward to claim his father's crown in rivalry to Alexander Balas (about B.C. 148), we learn from 1 Mac. 10^{67-86} that he appointed (κατέστησεν) A., who was over Cœle-Syria; who gathered a great force, challenged Jonathan the high priest as a supporter of Balas, but, after a series of successful manœuvres on the part of Jonathan with the support of his brother Simon, was defeated in battle at Azotus (B.C. 147). From the mode of expression, he would seem to have been previously governor under Balas, and won over by Demetrius; which is the more probable, if he is to be identified with the A. mentioned by Polybius (xxxi. 19. 6 and 21. 2) as the σύντροφος (foster-brother) and confidant of the elder Demetrius, who shared in the plot for his escape from Rome, and may readily have sympathised with the claims of the younger, when he came to assert them. Jos. (*Ant.* XIII. iv. 3) calls him a Daian, *i.e.* one of the Dai or Dahæ near the Caspian Sea, and speaks as though he fought against Jonathan in the interest of Balas; but this, as Grimm (*in loc.*) shows, is much less probable. The circumstance that the A. of Polybius had two brothers, Meleager and Menestheus (xxxi. 21. 2), is a somewhat slender ground for assuming relationship to the son of Menestheus (No. 3 above).

WILLIAM P. DICKSON.

APOLLOPHANES (Ἀπολλοφάνης, 2 Mac 10^{37}), a Syrian killed at the taking of Gazara by Judas Maccabæus. This Gazara is not the well-known town in the Shephelah, near to Nicopolis and Ekron; probably it should be identified with Jazer on the farther side of Jordan, in the Ammonite country (so Rawlinson). See 1 Mac 5^8.

H. A. WHITE.

APOLLOS (Ἀπολλώς).—An Alexandrian Jew (Ac 18^{24}). Apollonius, of which Apollos is a natural abbreviation, is the reading of Cod. D, the chief representative of the Western text of the Acts, which is here very interesting, and probably presents a genuine tradition. He is described as 'fervent in spirit' (see Ro 12^{11}), as 'an eloquent man' (for λόγιος means this rather than 'learned'), and as 'mighty in the Scriptures,' *i.e.* well versed in the Gr. OT. He seems to have been connected with Alexandria by early residence as well as by race, for D records that his religious instruction was received ἐν τῇ πατρίδι. He came to Ephesus in the summer of 54, while St. Paul was on his third missionary journey, and there 'he spake and taught accurately the things concerning Jesus, knowing only the baptism of John; and he began to speak boldly in the synagogue.' The precise character of his religious knowledge is not easily determined from these few words. It has been generally held that A.'s instruction in 'the way of the Lord' (v.^{25}, see Is 40^3, Mt 3^3) was such as any well-educated Jew might have gathered from teaching like that of the Baptist, based on the Messianic prophecies. This view is confirmed to some extent by the account of what happened when St. Paul returned to Ephesus after A.'s departure. He there found twelve disciples, who being asked, 'Did ye receive the Holy Ghost when ye believed?' returned an answer which showed their ignorance of any distinctive gift of the Holy Spirit. They explained that they had formerly received John's baptism, but willingly accepted the Christian rite at St. Paul's hands. It is probable that these men were disciples of A., and that, having been influenced by his teaching in the synagogues of Ephesus, their knowledge of Christian truth fairly represented his. But Blass (*in loc.*) points out that the words μαθηταί and πιστεύσαντες used of them are never used save of Christians, and thus some knowledge at the least of the Christian story may be supposed to have been theirs. Indeed A. is said (v.^{25}) to have taught ἀκριβῶς the things concerning Jesus, although he knew only of the *baptism* of John. And so Blass suggests that, possibly from a written Gospel which had reached Alexandria, A. had learnt the main facts of the Lord's life, and that his ignorance of Christian baptism may be explained by his not having come in the way of Christian teachers. Taking this view, the narrative proceeds naturally: 'But when Priscilla and Aquila heard him, they took him unto them, and expounded unto him the way of God ἀκριβέστερον.' It would seem probable, though the fact is not stated, that A. received baptism at their hands, as his followers in a like case did at the hands of St. Paul. After some stay in Ephesus, A. determined to go to Corinth, an invitation to do so having come to him, according to the Western text, from certain Corinthians who were in Ephesus at the time. They gave him letters of commendation, and when he arrived in Corinth 'he helped them much which had believed through grace; for he powerfully confuted the Jews and that publicly, showing by the Scriptures that Jesus was the Christ' (Ac 18^{28}).

In the spring of 57, A. having returned to Ephesus, we learn from 1 Co (see esp. 1^{12} and 3^5) that there were divisions among the Christians at Corinth, the names of Paul and A. (as well as of Peter) being used as those of party leaders.* The question at issue may have been only as to the relative importance of Paul and A. in the founding of the Corinthian Church; but it seems likely that there was also a difference in the manner in which the gospel was presented by each. Possibly the eloquence of A. as contrasted with St. Paul's rugged style (see 1 Co 2^{1-7}, 2 Co 11^6) appealed to a certain cultivated class at Corinth, and it may be (though for this there is no proof) that some doctrinal differences appeared after the lapse of years. The teaching of A.'s followers may, *e.g.*, have degenerated into Antinomian Gnosticism. However that may be, the Corinthian Church was agitated by bitterly opposed factions as late as the time of Clement of Rome. But it is unlikely that there was any personal disagreement between St. Paul and A. It has indeed been suggested that in 1 Co 2^1, St. Paul has the eloquent A. in his mind, and again in 2 Co 3^1, where he declares that he at least needed no commendatory letters; and it is curious that A. is not mentioned at all as one of the founders of the Christian society at Corinth in 2 Co 1^{19}. But however we explain these passages, they do not prove anything like serious estrangement. In 1 Co 16^{12}, St. Paul, probably in answer to an invitation for A., says, 'As touching A., the brother, I besought him much to come unto you with the brethren, and it was not at all his will to come now [or 'not God's will that he should come now']; but he will come when he shall have opportunity.' A. may well have been unwilling to return at a time when his presence would inflame party spirit. The last mention of A. in the NT is in Tit 3^{13}. He was then (A.D. 67) in Crete, or was shortly expected there; and St. Paul urges Titus to set him forward on his journey with Zenas,—a kindly message which, while it does not suggest personal intimacy, does not suggest either any difference of interest or hostility of sentiment. Jerome (*in loc.*) thinks that A. retired to Crete until he heard that the divisions at Corinth were healed, and says that he then returned and became bishop of that city.

It was first suggested by Luther, and the opinion is now widely held, that A. was the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. See HEBREWS.

LITERATURE.—Conybeare and Howson, *St. Paul*, vol. ii. ch. xiv. Neander, *Planting*, bk. iii. ch. vii. Renan, *St. Paul*, pp. 240, 372 ff. Blass, *Com. on Acts*, pp. 201–3, and in *Expos. Times*, vii. 564; Wright, *ib.* ix. 8. J. H. BERNARD.

APOLLYON (Ἀπολλύων 'Destroyer').—The tr. of the Heb. name אֲבַדּוֹן, the angel of the Abyss in Rev 9^{3-11}, who was king over the destructive locusts. In the Talm. tract Shabbath 55^a we find reference to the angels of destruction (מלאכי חבלה) who accomplish God's purpose on the wicked. They are six in number: Wrath, Indignation, Anger, Destruction, Desolation, and Consumption. Over these are placed Abaddon and Maweth (מָוֶת *Death*). See Weber, *System der Pal. Theol.* p. 166 f. These are obviously later Judaic developments of the simpler ideas of OT; for the tendency of Judaism after the Exile, and esp. during the Gr. period, was to interpolate personal mediating activities between the supersensuous and the phenomenal world. But though this enormous development of angelology was stimulated by Hellenic speculative ideas, its ultimate source must be traced to Bab. religion (cf. Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode*, pp. 146 f.). Respecting the plague-demons of Bab. exorcism and personifications of evil, see Sayce, *Hibbert Lect.* pp. 306–312; cf. also 327–335.

Another name of like signification to that of A. is the Hellenic Ἀσμοδαῖος *Asmodæus*, a name which occurs in To 3^8 as that of the evil spirit which slew the seven husbands of Sarah, daughter of Raguel. This is the Græcised form of the Heb. אַשְׁמְדַי, 'Destroyer.' The derivation of this name must obviously be sought in the Heb. שמד 'to destroy.' The etymology which connects it with the Pers. Aêshma daêva, leader of the devas, adopted by Levy in his Chaldee Lex. from Windischmann (*Zoroastr. Studien*), is by no means so probable. This personification appears to be the same as ὁ Ὀλοθρεύων of Wis 18^{25}. In the Targ. on Ec 1^{12} he is called מלכא דשידי 'king of evil spirits.' It is not necessary to refer to the Jewish fables which represent Asmodæus as the offspring of Tubalcain and his sister Noëma. Respecting Paul's use of ὀλοθρευτής (מַשְׁחִית of Ex 12^{23}), introduced by him into the narrative of Nu $16^{12ff.}$, see Heinrici-Meyer on 1 Co 10^{10}.

The OT conceptions respecting Abaddon may be gathered from a comparison of the passages Job 26^6 28^{22} 31^{12}. In the first of these the word Abaddon stands in parallelism with Sheôl or the underworld (Hades), just as we find in Pr 15^{11}. Delitzsch in his comment on this last passage endeavours to draw a distinction between Sheôl and Abaddon, the latter designating the lowest depth of Hades; but I see no warrant for this in OT, though in later times we know that such a distinction was made (Schwally, *ibid.* p. 166, on Lk 16^{22-26}, and Wendt, *Teaching of Jesus*, i. p. 169). Moreover, in Job 31^{12} the same conception prevails in the mind of the writer as in the previous OT passages to which we have referred. So also in Ps 88^{11}, where Abaddon and the grave stand in parallelism. On the other hand, it is worthy of notice that in Job 28^{22} we find the beginnings of that personification which in later times was to have so extended a development. For in that passage both Abaddon and Death are personified, and words are ascribed to them. Cf. the vivid and dramatic portrayal of the devouring Sheôl in Is 5^{14}. On the use of אֲבַדּוֹן in the Wisdom literature of OT see art. ABADDON.

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

APOSTASY.—The Eng. word does not occur. The Gr. ἀποστασία is used twice: (1) in defining the charge made against St. Paul (Ac 21^{21}) that he 'taught all the Jews which are among the Gentiles to forsake Moses' (so AV, RV; Gr. ἀποστασίαν ἀπὸ Μωυσέως, lit. 'a. from Moses'); and (2) as the word used for the 'falling away' (so AV, RV) which precedes or accompanies the revelation of the 'Man of Sin' (2 Th 2^3). See Comm. *in loc.* and art. MAN OF SIN. J. HASTINGS.

---

* Field, following Chrysostom, on 1 Co 4^6, suggests that the names of the real party leaders are not known to us, and that St. Paul substituted for them his own name and that of Apollos. But, though his note is interesting, we prefer to follow the simpler and more usual interpretation in the text.

APOSTLE.—The proper meaning of *ἀπόστολος* is an ambassador, who not only carries a message like an *ἄγγελος*, but also represents the sender. So Herodotus (i. 21) of Alyattes to Miletus; (v. 38) of Miletus to Sparta. The influence of Athens diverted it for a time (*e.g.* Demosth. p. 252) to mean a naval squadron; and in later law *ἀπόστολοι* were the *litteræ dimissoriæ* by which a case was referred to a higher court. In Hel. Greek it returns to its other meaning. This is not very distinct in 1 K 14^{6} (Ahijah *ἀπ. σκληρός* to Jeroboam's wife), the only place where it is found in LXX, though Symmachus has it clear in Is 18^{2} (that sendeth צִירִים by the sea). So there seem to have been *ἀπόστολοι* sent from Jerusalem to collect the temple money, and *ἀπόστολοι* sent by the foreign Jews to bring it to Jerus. Later on, the patriarch at Tiberias had *ἀπόστολοι* at his disposal (Epiph. *Hær.* 30, p. 129; *Cod. Theod.* xviii. 8. 14, where Honorius, in 398, abolishes the whole system of taxation. See Gothofred, *ad loc.*).

In NT it is found Mt 10^{2} (*τῶν δὲ δώδεκα ἀπ.*), Mk 6^{30} (*οἱ ἀπ.*—those sent forth, v.^{7}), Jn 13^{16} (in the general sense), and frequently in Luke and Paul. Once (He 3^{1}) of our Lord Himself, which is the thought of Jn 17^{18}.

After the ascension the number of the Lord's apostles was not fixed at twelve, except in the figurative language of Rev 21^{14}. Setting aside envoys of men (2 Co 8^{23} *ἀπ. ἐκκλησιῶν*, Ph 2^{25} *ὑμῶν δὲ ἀπ.*) and false apostles (2 Co 11^{13}, Rev 2^{2}) who needed to be tried (contrast *ἐπείρασας* with 1 Jn 4^{1} *δοκιμάζετε*), we have first Matthias, though it is best left an open question whether he was *permanently* numbered with the Eleven. Of Paul and Barnabas there can be no doubt (*e.g.* Ac 14^{14} *οἱ ἀπ.* Β. *καὶ* Π.), and of James the Lord's brother very little (Gal 1^{19}, 1 Co 15^{7} and perhaps 9^{5}). Andronicus and Junias at Rome seem to be 'notable' apostles (Ro 16^{7} *ἐπίσημοι ἐν τοῖς ἀπ.*), and possibly Silvanus also was an apostle. On the other hand, Timothy is shut out by the greetings of 2 Co, Col, Ph, and possibly 2 Ti 4^{5} (*εὐαγγελιστοῦ*), and Apollos (1 Co $4^{6.\,9}$ is indecisive) by Clement (*Ep.* 47), who most likely knew the fact of the case.

The first qualification of the apostle was to have 'seen the Lord' (Lk 24^{48}, Ac $1^{8.\,22}$, 1 Co 9^{1}), for his first duty was to bear witness of the Lord's resurrection (*e.g.* also Ac 2^{32}). Matthias, Paul, and James (1 Co 15^{7}) had this qualification; probably Barnabas, Andronicus, and Junias, who were all of the earliest disciples; and very possibly Silvanus also. On the other hand, it is unlikely of Apollos, hardly possible of Timothy, who were not apostles. We have no reason to suppose that this condition was ever waived, unless we throw forward the *Teaching* into the 2nd cent. The second qualification was (2 Co 12^{12}) the 'signs of an apostle,' which consisted partly in all patience, partly in signs and wonders and powers, and partly again (*e.g.* 1 Co 9^{2}) in effective work among his own converts.

These, however, were only qualifications which others also held. A direct call was also needed, for (1 Co 12^{28} *ἔθετο ὁ θεός*, Eph 4^{11} *αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν*) no human authority could choose an apostle. In the case of Barnabas and Saul (Ac 13^{3}) an outward commission from the Church was added; and if Matthias remained an apostle, we must for once assume that the outward appointment somehow included the inward call of the Spirit.

The work of the apostle was (1 Co 1^{17}) to preach, or (2 Co 5^{20}, Eph 6^{20}) to be an ambassador on behalf of Christ. He was (Lk 24^{48}) to be a witness to all nations, and (Mt 28^{19}) to make disciples of them, so that the whole world was his mission field. There is no authentic trace (legends in Eus. *HE* iii. 1, and apocryphal works) of any local division of the world amongst the apostles, though (Gal 2^{9}) it was settled at the Conference that the Three were to go to the Jews, Paul and Barnabas to the Gentiles. St. Paul's refusal (Ro 15^{20}) to 'build on another man's foundation' was due rather to courtesy and prudence than to any particular assignment of districts to another apostle.

It follows that the apostle belonged to the Church in general, and had no local ties. He had a right indeed (1 Co $9^{4.\,5.\,14}$) to eat and drink and live off the gospel, and to lead about a Christian woman as a wife; but this was all. His life was spent in journeyings, in labours, and distresses (2 Co 6^{4}), standing in the front of danger like (1 Co 4^{9}) some doomed *bestiarius* of the amphitheatre. Certain dwelling-place he had none. The *Teaching* goes so far as to declare him a false prophet if he stays a third day in one place. St. Paul worked for months together from Corinth and Ephesus; but they were only centres for his work, no settled home for him. Only the unique position of Jerus. seemed to call for a stationary apostle in James the Lord's brother, who, moreover, was not one of the Twelve. John and Philip, and possibly Andrew, only settled down in Asia in their old age.

The apostle's relation to the Churches he founded was naturally indefinite. He would (Ac 14^{23}) choose their first local officials, start them in the right way, and generally help them with fatherly counsel (1 Co $4^{14.\,15}$) when he saw occasion. There is no sign that he took any share in their ordinary administration. St. Paul interferes with it only in cases where the Churches have gone seriously wrong. All that he seems to aim at is (1) to uphold the authority committed to him; (2) to check teachings which made the gospel vain, like the duty of circumcision, the denial of the resurrection, or the need of asceticism; (3) to stop *corporate* misconduct which the Churches themselves would not stop, as when the Corinthians saw no great harm in fornication, or turned the Lord's Supper into a scene of disorder. Questions referred to him he answers as far as possible on general principles, giving (1 Co 7) a command of the Lord when he can, and in default of it an opinion of his own, and sometimes a hint that they need not have asked him. In general, the apostle is not a regular ruler in the same sense as a modern bishop, but an occasional referee like the visitor of a college, who acts only in case of special need.

LITERATURE.—Lightfoot, *Gal.*, Excursus on *The Name and Office of an Apostle*; Harnack, *Texte u. Unters.* ii. 1, pp. 93-118; Weizsäcker, *Apost. Zeitalter*^{2} 584-590; Haupt, *Zum Verständniss d. Apostolats im N.T.*, 1896. H. M. GWATKIN.

APOTHECARY is found Ex $30^{25.\,35}$ 37^{29}, 2 Ch 16^{14}, Neh 3^{8}, Ec 10^{1}, and in every case RV gives *perfumer* instead. For the ref. is not to the selling of drugs, but to the making of perfumes (רֶקַח spice, perfume; רָקַח to mix spice or manufacture perfume; רֹקֵחַ a perfumer). But in Sir 38^{8} 49^{1} (*μυρεψός*) RV retains a., though from 49^{1} it is evident that the perfumer is meant. J. HASTINGS.

APPAIM (אַפַּיִם 'the nostrils').—Son of Nadab, a man of Judah (1 Ch $2^{30.\,31}$). See GENEALOGY.

APPAREL.—In early Eng. a. is used of household furniture, the rigging of a ship, and the like, but in AV it is confined to clothing. Although the word is now practically obsol., RV (following older VSS) has introduced it some ten times. In 1 S $17^{38.\,39}$ a. replaces 'armour' of AV, very properly, for the reference is to Saul's military dress, not his armour. 1 P 3^{4} RV 'the incorruptible a. of a meek and quiet spirit' is the only instance of a fig. use of the word in the Bible. (Cf.

Ph 2^{8}, Tindale's tr., 'and was found in his a. as a man,' AV and RV 'fashion'). Apparelled occurs 2 S 13^{18}, Lk 7^{25}; to which RV adds Ps $93^{1\,bis}$ (both fig.). See DRESS.

J. HASTINGS.

APPARENTLY, only Nu 12^{8}, and in the old sense of 'openly,' 'evidently,' not as now, 'seemingly': 'With him will I speak mouth to mouth, even a. (RV 'manifestly'), and not in dark speeches.' Cf. Shaks. *Com. Err.* IV. i. 78—

> 'If he should scorn me so apparently'.

J. HASTINGS.

APPARITION.—This word does not occur in AV except in the Apocr., Wis 17^{3} (Gr. ἴνδαλμα, RV 'spectral form'), 2 Mac 3^{24} (Gr., ἐπιφάνεια, RV 'apparition,' RVm 'manifestation), and 5^{4} (Gr. ἐπιφάνεια, RV 'vision,' RVm 'manifestation'). The Revisers have introduced a. at Mt 14^{26}, Mk 6^{49} as tr. of φάντασμα (AV 'spirit').

J. HASTINGS.

APPEAL.—I. IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.—There is no provision made in the OT for appeal in the proper sense of the word, that is, for the reconsideration by a higher court of a case already tried. The distinction made in the Law between the competence of higher and lower courts is of a different nature. A 'great matter' must be reserved for the supreme court, while the lower officers are competent to decide a small matter. This distinction is found in one of the oldest parts of the Pent. (Ex $18^{21.22}$ [E]), and in Dt $17^{8.9}$ [D]. And the allusion to the delays in legal proceedings of which Absalom took advantage, 2 S 15^{3}, also points to the antiquity of what is, after all, an obvious device inevitable in a growing nation. The supreme court for the hardest cases was either the king or the priest or the prophet, as the mouthpiece of J" Himself. The law of Dt 19^{16-18} is more like real appeal, for there a 'controversy' and 'false witness' seem to be presupposed *before* 'the judges make diligent inquisition'; but probably the first proceedings were rather administrative than judicial, and it hardly amounts to a second hearing of the case on appeal. According to 2 Ch 19^{11} Jehoshaphat placed Zebadiah over the judges whom he appointed city by city throughout Judah; but it does not follow that he was to hear appeals from the local courts.

For the appellate jurisdiction of later times, see SANHEDRIN.

II. IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.—Ac 25, 26, and 28^{19}. St. Paul was liable to be tried either by (1) a Jewish, or by (2) a Roman court. (1) The Roman government at this period allowed the authorities of each synagogue to exercise discipline over Jews, only they were not allowed to put any one to death. The Sanhedrin at Jerusalem appears to have had more moral weight and a wider jurisdiction (Ac 9^{2} 26^{12}), but not larger legal powers (Jn 18^{31}); and the incidents of Ac 7^{58} 22^{4} 26^{10} are to be regarded as in the eye of the law cases of lynching, at which the Roman government connived. A Roman citizen was entitled to claim exemption from the jurisdiction of the synagogue, but nevertheless St. Paul submitted to it five times (2 Co 11^{24}, Ac 28^{19}).

(2) He was also liable to be brought before the Roman governor in charge of the province or district (Ac 18^{12} etc.).

When, then, Festus asked him whether he was willing to go up to Jerusalem and there be judged 'before me' (Ac 25^{9}), it is not clear whether the proposal was that he should be tried (1) by the Sanhedrin in the presence of Festus, or (2) more probably by Festus himself at Jerusalem rather than Cæsarea, on the pretext that the charge could be better sifted there; but if so, why is the prisoner's consent necessary (Ac $25^{9.20}$)? In the one case St. Paul 'appeals' from the Jewish tribunal to the Roman, invoking Cæsar himself as supreme magistrate, because Festus was about to surrender him to the Jewish authorities (see Ac 25^{11}). In the other case he 'appeals' from Festus the delegate (procurator) to the legal governor of the province, viz. Cæsar himself. It is further not clear whether the alternative in Ac $25^{12.25}$ was that St. Paul should be released at once (Ac 26^{32} 28^{18}), or that he should be compelled, in spite of his 'appeal,' to stand his trial at Jerusalem. This last is not impossible, for we learn from other sources (*e.g.* Suetonius, *Galba* 9) that at this time even a Roman citizen could not insist on being sent on to the supreme court from that of a provincial governor, who had the power of life and death (*jus gladii*); but only it was at his peril that the governor refused such an appeal. It was not uncommon for the governor in such a case to write to the emperor for instructions. The appeal in St. Paul's case has no connexion with either the *provocatio ad populum*, or the appeal to the tribunes of the plebs, as they existed under the Roman Republic. (See Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*², ii. 258, 931.)

W. O. BURROWS.

APPEASE.—To a. in its mod. use is to propitiate an angry person. In this sense is Gn 32^{20} 'I will a. him with the present'; 1 Mac 13^{47} 'Simon was a^{d} toward them' (RV 'reconciled unto them'); and Is 57^{6} RV 'shall I be a^{d} for these things?' Everywhere else in AV a. has the obs. meaning of to quieten (which is the orig. meaning, *ad pacem*, to 'bring *to peace*'), as Ac 19^{35} 'when the town-clerk had a^{d} (RV 'quieted') the people'; Pr 15^{18} 'But he that is slow to anger ath strife'; Est 2^{1} 'when the wrath of king Ahasuerus was a^{d}' (RV 'pacified'); Sir 43^{23} 'he ath the deep' (RV 'hath stilled'); 2 Mac 4^{31} 'Then came the king in all haste to a. matters' (RV 'settle matters').

J. HASTINGS.

APPERTAIN.—To 'a. to' is (1) to belong to, of actual possession: Nu 16^{32} 'all the men that a^{ed} unto Korah' (כָּל־הָאָדָם אֲשֶׁר לְקֹרַח); Lv 6^{5} 'give it unto him to whom it a^{eth}'; Neh 2^{8} 'the palace which a^{ed} to the house.' (2) To belong to, of right or privilege: To 6^{12} 'the right of inheritance doth rather a. to thee than to any other'; 2 Ch 26^{18} 'It a^{eth} not unto thee, Uzziah, to burn incense' (1611 ed. 'pertaineth not,' so RV, Heb. לֹא־לְךָ); Bar 2^{6} 'To the Lord our God a^{eth} righteousness' (RV 'belongeth'); 1 Es 8^{95}, 1 Mac $10^{30.42}$, 2 Mac 15^{33}. (3) To be appropriate: Jer 10^{7} 'Who would not fear thee, O King of nations? for to thee doth it a.' (לְךָ יָאָתָה); 1 Es 1^{12} 'they roasted the Passover with fire, as a^{eth}' (so RV; Gr. ὡς καθήκει, *as is fitting*. Cf. Lv 5^{10} כַּמִּשְׁפָּט 'according to the ordinance'). See PURTENANCE.

J. HASTINGS.

APPHIA.—A Christian lady of Colossæ, a member of the household of Philemon, very probably his wife. Her memory is honoured in the Greek Church on Nov. 22, as having been stoned to death at Colossæ with Philemon, Archippus, and Onesimus in the reign of Nero; but the authority for this fact is unknown. The name is Phrygian, being frequent in Phrygian Inscriptions under the varying forms Ἀπφία, Ἀφφία, Ἀπφίας. In Philem. (v.²) the best attested reading is Ἀπφίᾳ; but Ἀφφίᾳ, Ἀμφίᾳ, Ἀππίᾳ are also found, and the Latin VSS vary between Apphiæ, Apphiadi, Appiæ. In the latter case it was probably assimilated to the Latin Appia (Lightfoot, *Coloss.* p. 372; Menæon, November, pp. 143–147).

W. LOCK.

APPHUS (Ἀπφοῦς, Σαφφούς A, Σαπφούς ℵ V, *Apphus* (Vulg.), ܚܦܘܣ (Syr.), 1 Mac 2^{5} Ἀφφοῦς (Jos. *Ant.* XII. vi. 1)), the surname of Jonathan the Maccabee. The name is usually thought to mean 'Dissembler' (חַפּוּשׁ); and some suppose that it was given to Jonathan for his stratagem against the tribe of the Jambri, who had killed his brother John (1 Mac 9^{37-41}). H. A. WHITE.

APPIUS, MARKET OF (Ἀππίου φόρον, AV *Appii Forum*, Ac 28^{15}), was one of the two points on St. Paul's journey to Rome at which he was met by Christian brethren from the capital. It was situated 43 miles from Rome, on the great Appian military highway, which formed the main route for intercourse with Greece and the East. As a station where travellers halted and changed horses, it naturally became a seat of traffic and local jurisdiction. It was, moreover, the northern terminus of a canal (*fossa*) which was carried alongside of the road, and was used, as we learn from Strabo (v. 233), for the conveyance, chiefly by night, of passengers in boats towed by mules. Horace has (*Sat.* i. 5) preserved a vivid picture of the place, with its boatmen, innkeepers, and wayfarers, cheating, carousing, and quarrelling, amidst an accompanying plague of gnats and frogs from the Pomptine marshes.

WILLIAM P. DICKSON.

APPLE (תַּפּוּחַ *tappuaḥ*).—The conditions to be fulfilled by the *tappuaḥ* are that it should be a fine tree, suitable to sit under (Ca 2^3): 'As the apple tree among the trees of the wood, so is my beloved among the sons. I sat down under his shadow with great delight.' It should be of size sufficient to overshadow a booth or house (Ca 8^5): 'I raised thee up under the apple tree; there thy mother brought thee forth; there she brought thee forth that bare thee.' It had a sweet fruit (Ca 2^3): 'and his fruit was sweet to my taste.' It also had a pleasant smell (Ca 7^8): 'and the smell of thy nose like apples.' It was used to revive a person who was languid (Ca 2^5): 'Stay me with raisins, comfort me with apples; for I am sick of love.'

The apple fulfils all the conditions perfectly. It is a fruit tree which often attains a large size, is planted in orchards and near houses, and is a special favourite of the people of Palestine and Syria. It is true that the fruit of the Syrian apple is far inferior to that of Europe, and especially to that of America. Nevertheless it is a favourite with all the people, and in a few places fine varieties have been introduced and thriven well. Doubtless such an epicure as Solomon would have had many of the choicest kinds. Almost all the apples of Syria and Palestine are sweet. To European and American palates they seem insipid. But they have the delicious aroma of the better kinds, and it is for this quality that they are most prized. It is very common, when visiting a friend, to have an apple handed to you, just to smell. Sick people almost invariably ask the doctor if they may have an apple; and if he objects, they urge their case with the plea that they only want it to smell. If a person feels faint or sea-sick, he likes nothing better than to get an apple to smell. It is an everyday sight to see an apple put over the mouth of the small earthenware water pitcher (called in Arabic *abrîq*) to give a slight aroma of apple to the water. The first thing with which the capricious appetite of a convalescent child is tempted is an apple, which he fondles and squeezes with his fingers to develop the aroma, but perhaps never so much as bites. A very favourite preserve is also made of the apple.

It will be seen by these facts that the apple fulfils all the conditions of the *tappuaḥ*. Add to this that the Arabic name *tiffâḥ* is identical, and noway ambiguous as to its signification, and the evidence is complete. There is no other fruit which at all realises all these conditions. The quince has a *sour*, *acerb* taste, never *sweet*. The citron was probably introduced later than OT times; it has a fruit with a thick rind, eatable only after a very elaborate process of preserving with sugar. The pulp is never eaten in any form. The orange is a fruit introduced from the Spanish Peninsula during the Middle Ages. Its name, *burdeḳân*, is a corruption of the Arabic name for Portugal, *bartughal*. It was probably not known to the Hebrews. The apricot is not a fruit with any special fragrance, and is never used as the apple to refresh the sick. A further confirmation of the identity of *tappuaḥ* with *tiffâḥ*, the Arabic for apple, is the present name *Teffâḥ* for *Beth-tappuah* (Jos 15^{53}).

The 'pictures of silver' (Pr 25^{11}) in which apples of gold are said to be placed, may have been filigree silver baskets for fruit. The Oriental silversmiths excel in the manufacture of such ware.

G. E. POST.

APPLE OF THE EYE (lit. '*child* [אִישׁוֹן, dim. of אִישׁ man] of the eye'; sometimes בַּת '*daughter* of the eye.' Ps 17^8, in combination, כְּאִישׁוֹן בַּת־עָיִן 'as child, daughter of, the eye.' Once, Zec 2^8, בָּבָה 'the *opening*, door, of the eye') is the 'eyeball,' or globe of the eye, especially the pupil or centre, the organ of vision; composed of exceedingly delicate and sensitive structures, carefully shielded from external injury. It is enclosed in the bony orbit, supported behind and on the sides by a quantity of loose fat, protected above by the eyebrows, and in front by the eyelashes and eyelids, the lids closing instinctively in presence of danger. The surface is kept continually moist by an almost imperceptible flow of tears. Hence its preciousness makes it a fitting emblem of God's unceasing and tender care for His people, as in Dt 32^{10}, Ps 17^8, Zec 2^8. In Pr 7^2 the same figure represents the preciousness of the divine law; and in La 2^{18} continuous weeping is enjoined because of the terrible calamities that had befallen the inhabitants of Jerusalem.

S. T. GWILLIAM.

APPOINT.—In earlier Eng. this word had a considerable range of meaning, and there are many examples in AV of obsol. or archaic uses. To a. is literally 'to bring to a point,' *i.e.* fix or settle. **1.** If the point in question is between two or more persons, then it means to *agree*, as Jg 20^{38} 'Now there was an a^{ed} sign between the men of Israel and the liers in wait.' Cf. Job 2^{11} 'Job's three friends . . . had made an appointment together to come to mourn with him and to comfort him.' **2.** If it is one's own mind that is to be brought to a point or settled, then a. means to *resolve*, as 2 S 17^{14} 'The Lord had a^{ed} (RV 'ordained') to defeat the good counsel of Ahithophel.' **3.** If it is other persons or things, then a. means (*a*) to make firm, *establish*, as Pr 8^{29} 'He a^{ed} (RV 'marked out') the foundations of the earth.' (*b*) To prescribe or *decree*, as Gn 30^{28} 'A. me thy wages, and I will give it'; 2 S 15^{15} 'Thy servants are ready to do whatsoever my lord the king shall a.' (RV 'choose'); 2 Es 3^7 'thou a^{edst} death in (RV 'for') him'; Is 30^{32} RV 'every stroke of the a^{ed} staff' (Heb. מַטֵּה מוּסָדָה 'staff of foundation,' AV 'grounded,' RVm 'of doom'); 1 Co 4^9 'a^{ed} (RV 'doomed') to death'; 1 Th 5^9 'God hath not a^{ed} us to wrath.' (*c*) To *set apart*, as Job 7^3 'wearisome nights are a^{ed} to me'; Ac 1^{23} 'they a^{ed} (RV 'put forward') two, Joseph . . . and Matthias.' Hence (*d*) to assign to some purpose or position, as Lk 10^1 'the Lord a^{ed} other seventy also.' In this sense a. is used with 'out' in Gn 24^{44} 'the woman whom the Lord hath a^{ed} out (RV 'a^{ed}') for my master's son'; Jos 20^2 'A. out for you (RV 'assign you') cities of refuge.' Last of all (*e*) in Jg $18^{11.\ 17}$ a. means to furnish or *equip*: 'six hundred men a^{ed} (RV 'girt') with weapons of war.' With which cf. Shaks. *Tit. And.* IV. ii. 16—

> 'You may be armed and appointed well';

and Tindale's tr. of Lk 17^{8} 'Apoynt thy selfe and serve me.' J. HASTINGS.

APPREHEND is twice used in AV in the still customary sense of 'making prisoner,' Ac 12^{4}, 2 Co 11^{32}; but RV turns a. into 'take' in both passages, in order to make the tr. of the verb (πιάζω) uniform. See Jn $7^{30.\ 32.\ 44}$ 8^{20} 10^{39} 11^{57} $21^{3.\ 10}$, Ac 3^{7}, Rev 19^{20}. In Ph $3^{12.\ 13}$ a. is found in the nearly obsol. sense of 'laying hold of,' and is used fig., 'If that I may a. that for which also I am a^{ed} of (RV 'was a^{ed} by') Christ Jesus' (Amer. RV 'laid hold on'). To those, the only examples of a. in AV, RV adds Jn 1^{5} 'And the light shineth in the darkness, and the darkness a^{ed} it not' (AV 'comprehended,' RVm 'overcame,' with a ref. to Jn 12^{35} 'that darkness overtake you not,' where the Gr. verb καταλαμβάνω is the same); and Eph. 3^{18} 'that ye . . . may be strong to a.' (same Gr., AV 'may be able to comprehend'), 'a minute and over-careful change,' says Moule. See COMPREHEND. J. HASTINGS.

APPROVE.—This word has now settled down into the meaning of 'to think well of'; examples are Ps 49^{13}, La 3^{36}. But in other passages we see it only approaching this meaning, and that from two sides. We may a. of a thing if its worth is *tested by* us, or if it is *demonstrated to* us. Hence (1) to test, or a. after testing (Gr. δοκιμάζω or δόκιμος): Ro 16^{10} 'Salute Apelles, a^{ed} in Christ,' 2^{18} and Ph 1^{10} 'thou a^{est} the things that are excellent' (RVm 'provest the things that differ'), Ro 14^{18}, 1 Co 11^{19} 16^{3}, 2 Co 10^{18} 13^{7}, 2 Ti 2^{15}, and in RV Ro 14^{22}, 1 Th 2^{4}, Ja 1^{12}.* And (2) to demonstrate, or a. after demonstration: Ac 2^{22} 'a man a^{ed} of God among you (RV 'unto you') by miracles' (ἀποδεδειγμένον εἰς ὑμᾶς, 'a strong word = clearly shown, pointed out specially or apart from others; it expresses *clearness*, and suggests *certainty*.'—Page and Walpole, *Acts*, p. 18); 2 Co 6^{4} 'in all things a^{ing} ourselves as the ministers of God' (συνίστημι, RV 'commending'); 7^{11} 'Ye have a^{ed} yourselves to be clear in this matter' (συνίστημι, RV as AV). Cf. Pref. to AV (1611) 'We do seek to a. ourselves to every one's conscience.' J. HASTINGS.

APRON (חֲגוֹרָה, Gn 3^{7}; σιμικίνθιον (*semicinctium*), Ac 19^{12}).—The OT instance is sufficiently explained by the context. That of Ac 19^{12} was a wrapper of coloured cotton, in shape and size resembling a bath-towel, worn by fishermen, potters, water-carriers, sawyers, etc., as a loin-cloth; worn also by grocers, bakers, carpenters, and craftsmen generally, as a protection to their clothes from dust and stains, and as something to wipe their perspiring and soiled hands upon. St. Paul would wear an a. when making tent-cloth. The laboriousness of his life at Ephesus for the support of himself and others is referred to in the farewell words at Miletus (Ac 20^{34}). Handkerchiefs and aprons were chosen (Ac 19^{12}) because they were light and portable, and of the same shape for all. The incident referred to is in intimate agreement with Oriental feeling. Superstition carries it to disgusting excesses, as when the foam is taken from the lips of one fallen insensible after the Moslem religious dance (*zikr*), or when torches are frantically lit from the holy fire at Jerusalem. But the underlying thought is that healing power being from above must prefer consecrated channels.

G. M. MACKIE.

APT has lost its orig. meaning of 'fitted,' which has been taken up by the compound 'adapted.' This, however, is the meaning of apt in the Bible: 2 K 24^{16} 'all of them strong and a. for war' (עֹשֵׂי מִלְחָמָה,) 1 Ch 7^{40}; 'a. to teach' (διδακτικός), 1 Ti 3^{2}, 2 Ti 2^{24}.

J. HASTINGS.

AQUILA ('Ακύλας, 'an eagle').—The first mention which we have of Aquila in Scripture is in Ac 18^{2}, where he is described as 'a certain Jew . . . a man of Pontus by race.' It has been conjectured that St. Luke here fell into a mistake, and should rather have described A. as belonging to the Pontian *gens* at Rome, a distinguished member of which bore the name of Pontius Aquila (see Cic. *ad Fam.* x. 33; Suet. *Jul. Cæs.* 78). But for this there is no warrant beyond the similarity of the names; while, as further confirming A.'s connexion with Pontus, we know that the A. who in the 2nd cent. translated the OT into Greek was a native of that country (compare also Ac 2^{9}, 1 P 1^{1}). Along with Priscilla or Prisca his wife (see PRISCILLA), A. had taken up his abode in Rome, but had to flee owing to a decree of Claudius, in A.D. 52, expelling the Jews (Suet. *Claud.* 25 says, 'Judæos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit.' For the meaning to be attached to the passage, see Neander, *Pflanzung*, I. p. 332, note 2; Lightfoot on *Philippians*, p. 16, note 1; Plumptre, *Bibl. Studies*, p. 419). That the decree, however, did not remain long in force, is proved by the mention of a number of Jews in Rome shortly afterwards (Ac 28^{17}), and by A.'s own return (Ro 16^{3}). From Rome A. sought refuge in Corinth, where he received the apostle Paul on his second missionary journey. It has been debated whether A. had embraced Christianity before meeting Paul, or whether he owed his conversion to the apostle. Against the former view it is urged, that if he had been a Christian at the time of Ac 18^{2}, he would have been described by the common name of μαθητής or disciple; against the latter, that if Paul had brought him to the truth, the fact would hardly have remained unrecorded, and further, that community of occupation rather than community of belief is specially mentioned as having brought the two together. In the absence of fuller information it is impossible to decide the question with certainty; but the ready welcome which A. evidently accorded to one whom the bulk of his fellow-countrymen viewed with such disfavour as Paul, inclines us to the belief that when he came to Corinth he had at least accepted the first principles of the Christian faith, though his progress and growth in it he doubtless owed to the apostle. If so, he and his wife may be ranked as amongst the earliest members of the Christian Church at Rome; and it would be from them that Paul would learn those particulars regarding the state of that Church to which he afterwards refers in his Ep. (see Ro 1^{8} 16^{17-19}). After about eighteen months' intercourse in Corinth, A. and Priscilla accompanied Paul on his way to Syria, as far as Ephesus, where they remained behind to carry on the work, amongst those coming under their influence being Apollos (Ac 18^{24-28}). They were evidently still at Ephesus when 1 Co was written; and their house had come to be regarded as the meeting-place of one of those little groups of believers into which, without any definite organisation, the Church was then divided (1 Co 16^{19}; cf. Ro $16^{3.\ 16}$). From Ephesus Aquila and Priscilla returned to Rome, partly perhaps on account of some great danger they had run on Paul's behalf, the warmth of the apostle's greeting proving, further, the general esteem in which they were held (Ro 16^{4}). Eight years later we find them again at Ephesus (2 Ti 4^{19}). The frequency of these changes of abode has caused difficulty, but, apart from the fact that an itinerant life was strictly in accord with all that we know of the Jews of that day, what more natural than that A. and Priscilla should again desire to revisit the city whence they had been driven, as soon as it was safe to do so, even supposing they were not specially sent by St. Paul to prepare for his own coming? (See Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 176; Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, p. xxvii and p. 418 ff.).

---

* Craik (*English of Shakespeare*, p. 147) points out that a. in the sense of prove or test is very frequent in Shaks. He quotes *Two Gent. of Verona*, v. iv. 43—

> 'O, 'tis the curse of love, and still approved,
> When women cannot love where they're beloved.'

And he says: 'When Don Pedro in *Much Ado about Nothing* (II. i. 394) describes Benedick as "of approved valour," the words cannot be understood as conveying any notion of what we now call approval or approbation; the meaning is merely that he had *proved* his valour by his conduct.'

After 2 Ti 4^{19} A. is not again mentioned in Scripture, and the evidence of tradition regarding him is very scanty. G. MILLIGAN.

AQUILA'S VERSION.—See VERSIONS (GREEK).

AR (עָר Dt 2^{9}, comp. עִיר 'city,' or עָר־מוֹאָב Nu 21^{28}, Is 15^{1}), on the south bank of the river Arnon, on the northern border of the Moabite territory, situated in a pleasant valley where two branches of the river united (Nu 21^{15} 22^{36} 'the city of Moab' = Ar of Moab). It is possibly the same as Kerioth (Am 2^{2}, Jer 48$^{24.41}$). It is also almost certainly referred to in Dt 2^{36} as 'the city that is by the river,' AV, or rather, 'in the valley,' RV (Heb. נחל, LXX *φάραγξ*). The ruins of Rabbah, though often identified with Ar, lie, not on the banks of the Arnon, but at least 10 miles farther S., and represent a later city built after the old Ar had been destroyed by an earthquake in B.C. 342.

LITERATURE.—Driver, *Deut.* p 36 (on 2^{9}) and p. 45 (on 2^{36}); Dillmann on Nu 21^{15}; Delitzsch on Is 15^{1}; Dietrich in Merx, *Archiv*, i. 320 ff.; Tristram, *Land of Moab*, p. 111; and see further under ARNON, KERIOTH, RABBAH.

J. MACPHERSON.

ARA (אֲרָא).—A descendant of Asher (1 Ch 7^{38}). See GENEALOGY.

ARAB (אֲרַב 'ambush' (?)), Jos 15^{52}.—A city of Judah in the mountains near Dumah. Perhaps the ruin *Er Rabiyah* near Dômeh. *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xxi. C. R. CONDER.

ARABAH (הָעֲרָבָה).—This word occurs only once in the AV (Jos 18^{18}) in the description of the border of the lot of Benjamin; but in RV it has a more extended meaning, and is applied to at least a portion of the great valley (Wady el Arabah) which stretches from the Gulf of Akabah into the Jordanic basin. 1. In the former sense the name applies to the broad plain of alluvial land stretching from the N. shore of the Dead Sea along the right bank of the Jordan for a distance of about 50 miles, and bounded on the W. by the broken line of steep slopes and precipitous cliffs which close in the valley from its junction with the Wady el Jôseleh southwards to the heights of Kuruntûl and the shore of the Dead Sea itself. The surface is composed of successive terraces of gypseous marl and loam, rising by steps from the river's edge to a height of 600 ft., and marking the successive levels at which the waters stood when they were receding to their present limits. Nearly all authorities are now agreed that the plain we are considering was the site of the doomed cities Sodom and Gomorrah, and afterwards of the Jericho of Joshua and the more modern city in the time of our Lord. The climate is tropical and the soil rich; and being abundantly supplied with water from the Wady el 'Aujah, the Kelt, and the Mâkuk, with natural fountains such as the 'Ain es Sultân and 'Ain Dûk, it may well have deserved the title bestowed upon it even in the days of Lot, 'the garden of the Lord' (Gn 13^{10}). Near the banks of the Kelt is situated the miserable village of Er-Riha, probably the ancient Gilgal, surrounded by gardens producing lemons, oranges, bananas, figs, melons, and castor-oil trees. The copious spring of Es Sultân breaks out near the base of the limestone escarpment of Kuruntûl, and its waters are caught in a basin of solid masonry forming the ancient baths. The temperature of the water in the pool, taken on 15th January 1884, was 71° Fahr., but that of the spring itself is doubtless higher. The locality is rich in natural history objects, especially birds, of which Tristram records the bulbul (*Ixos xanthopygius*), the hopping-thrush (*Crateropus chalybeus*), the Indian blue kingfisher (*Alcyon smyrnensis*), the sun-bird (*Cinnyris osea*), Tristram's grakle (*Amydrus tristrami*), besides innumerable doves, swallows, and commoner species.

2. In the latter sense the Wady el-Arabah corresponds to the 'Wilderness of Zin' in part (Nu 34^{3}), where it went up to the border of Edom on the E. Its limits are stated above; and from the Gulf of Akabah to the Ghōr the distance is about 105 miles. At its S. end the Wady el-Arabah rises gradually from the shore of the Gulf of Akabah, lined by a grove of palms, for a distance of 50 miles, and with an average breadth of 5 miles; and at this point, nearly opposite Mount Hor, it attains its summit level of (approximately) 723 ft. above that of the Red Sea, or 2015 ft. above that of the Dead Sea.[*]

On the E. the Arabah is bounded by the high escarpment of Edom (Mount Seir), often broken through by deep ravines which descend from the table-land of the Arabian desert; except along these ravines, the valley is almost destitute of herbage. On the W. side the Arabah is bounded by terraced cliffs of cretaceous limestone, along which the great waterless plateau of the Badiet et-Tîh (Wilderness of Paran, Gn 21^{21}, Nu 12^{16}) terminates. The floor of the Arabah is generally formed of gravel, blown-sand, or mud flats; and these are sometimes hidden beneath vast *débâcles* of shingle brought down by torrents from the heights above and spread fan-like over the sides of the valley at the entrance to the ravines. The surface of the sandhills is often marked with the footprints of gazelles, and, to a smaller degree, of hyænas and leopards; and at intervals water can be had at springs or wells, of which the best known are the 'Ain el-Ghudyân and the 'Ayun Ghurundel at the entrance to the valley of that name.

Near the watershed (or saddle) at the limestone ridge of Er-Rishy the Arabah is contracted to a breadth of half a mile; but to the N. of this as it begins to descend towards the Dead Sea basin (the Ghōr) it widens out to a breadth of 10 miles, and follows the course of the principal stream, El-Jeib, which receives numerous branches from the Edomite mountains on the E. and the Badiet-et Tîh on the W. These streams are fed by thunderstorms in the winter months; but the Jeib is probably perennial; and along its banks, from the 'Ain Abu Werideh for several miles, thickets of young palms, tamarisks, willows, and reeds line the course of the stream. At this spot, which is 24 miles from the banks of the Dead Sea, and at the level of the Mediterranean (1292 ft. above the Dead Sea), are to be found those remarkable lacustrine terraces of marl, sand, and gravel, with numerous semi-fossil shells of the genera *Melanopsis* and *Melania*, which attest the extent to which the waters of the Dead Sea had risen in the Pleistocene period. Other terraces of marl are to be found at intervals as the traveller descends towards the margin of the Ghōr; and here the valley breaks off in a semicircular line of cliffs formed of sand, gravel, and marl, which encloses the Dead Sea shore, and seems to be referred to in Jos 15^3 as the 'Ascent of Akrabbim.'

---

[*] The height of the watershed above the sea-level was determined by Major Kitchener and Mr. Armstrong in 1883 to be 660 ft., and by M. Vignes in 1880 to be 240 mètres, or 787 ft., mean 723 ft.; or 2015 ft. above the surface of the Dead Sea.

Geology.—The Jordan-Arabah depression owes its existence mainly to the presence of a line of 'fault,' or fracture of the crust, which may be traced at intervals from the G. of Akabah to the E. shore of the Dead Sea and onwards towards the base of Hermon. This line follows closely the base of the Edomite escarpment, and its effect is to cause the formations to be relatively elevated on the E. and depressed towards the W. Thus the cretaceous limestone (corresponding to the English chalk formation) which forms the crest of the Edomite escarpment and the plateau of the Arabian desert above Petra, at an elevation of 3000–4000 ft. above the valley, is brought down on the W. side of the same valley to its very floor at Er-Risliy, and forms (as stated above) that side of the valley throughout its whole length, breaking off in cliffs of nearly horizontal strata. The more ancient rocks which lie at the base of the Moabite and Edomite escarpment never reach the surface along the W. side of the Wady el-Arabah.* These consist of red granite and gneiss, various metamorphic schists, seamed by dykes of basalt, diorite, and porphyry; above which the carboniferous and cretaceous sandstones are piled in huge masses of nearly horizontal courses, the whole surmounted by the pale yellow beds of cretaceous limestone reaching to the summit of the escarpment. The richness of the colouring of the cretaceous sandstones, varying from orange through red to purple, has been a source of admiration to all travellers, particularly as it is displayed amongst the ruined temples and tombs of the city of Petra.†

Historical.—The Wady el Arabah appears to have been twice traversed by the Israelites: first on their way from Horeb to Kadesh Barnea, and afterwards when obliged to retrace their steps owing to the refusal of the king of Edom to allow them to pass through his land (Nu 20^{21}, Dt 2^8). No passage for the host by which to circumvent Mount Seir was practicable till they reached the stony gorge of the Wady el Ithem, which enters the Arabah 4 miles N. of Akabah. Traversing this rough and glistering ravine under the rays of an almost vertical sun, it is not surprising that (as we read) 'the soul of the people was much discouraged because of the way' (Nu 21^4). In later times the Arabah became a caravan route from Arabia to Pal. and Syria. The fort and harbour of Akabah (Ezion-geber) now constitute an outpost for the Egyp. Government, beyond which its authority does not extend; the Arabah, as well as the Arabian desert, being held by independent Arab chiefs.‡

LITERATURE.—Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, 1822; De Laborde, *Voyage en Orient*, 1828; Hull, *Mount Seir, Sinai, and Western Palestine*, 1889; 'The Physical Geol. and Geog. of Arabia Petræa,' etc., in *Mem. PEF*, 1886; Lartet, *Voyage d'Exploration de la Mer Morte*, t. 3^{me}, 1880; Robinson, *BRP*, 1855; Stanley, *Sinai and Pal.*^{5}, 1860; Blankenkorn, 'Entstehung u. Gesch. des Todten Meeres,' in *ZDPV*, 1896.

Dean Stanley concurs with the view expressed above, that it was through the Wady el Ithem (W. Ithm) that the Israelites passed on their way to Moab after their retreat from Edom (*Sinai*, p. 85).

E. HULL.

ARABIA (ערב, 'Αραβία), the name given by the Gr. geographers to the whole of the vast peninsula which lies between the mainlands of Asia and Africa. Of the application of the name in the Bible some account is given under ARABIAN; this article will contain a brief account of the country itself, and of the references to it in the sacred books.

i. GEOGRAPHY AND GEOLOGY.—The shape of A. was compared by Pliny to that of Italy, but the breadth of the former is greater in comparison with its length; the length of the W. coast-line is about 1800 miles, while its breadth is about 600 miles from the Red Sea to the Pers. Gulf. The Sin. peninsula, which divides the Red Sea at its N. end into the Gulf of Suez on the W. and the Gulf of Akabah on the E., is ordinarily reckoned to A., of which the sea forms the boundary on the W., S., and E. sides. On the other hand, the N. limit is not so easily fixed. Some writers would draw an imaginary line from the head of the Gulf of Akabah to that of the Pers. Gulf; but this would cut the S. extremity of the Hamad, or stony plain which rises from the level of the Euphrates, and a little N. of 29° suddenly alters into the broken dunes of red sand called by modern writers Nefud. It seems best, therefore (with the most recent authorities), to extend the application of the name A. throughout the Hamad, making the Euphrates for the greater part of its course the N. boundary; Syria, which separates it from the Mediterranean, forming, between about lats. 32–36°, its E. neighbour.

For an incalculable period the sea has been receding from the Arabian coast, at a rate reckoned at 22 mètres yearly. Hence the peninsula is, esp. on the W. and S. sides, fringed with lowlands, called by the Arabs Tihamah; yet on parts of the E. coast the mountains rise directly from the sea. Of the long coast-line on the W. side, much is fringed with coral reefs, greatly endangering navigation. Between these and the shore in many places a narrow passage allows only ships of small burden to pass. The reefs commence in the Gulf of Akabah, where alone has their nature as yet been made the subject of minute investigation (see Valter, 'Die Korall-riffen der Sinait. Halbinsel,' *Abhandl. d. Sächs. Akad.*, Math. Klasse, vol. xiv.). The inlets in the coast form not a few harbours, of which, however, owing to the paucity of towns in the interior, only a few are of any importance: Yanbo, the port of Medina; Jiddah, the port of Mecca; Hodaida, the port of San'a, on the W. coast; Aden on the S.; Mascat on the E. Of these, Aden perhaps is the same as the port which bears the name Eden in Ezk 27^{23}, called Athene by Pliny, and Eudaimon Arabia by the author of the *Periplus*; while Yanbo may be the 'Ιαμβία of Ptolemy. The rest were not known to the ancients, whose ports have for the most part disappeared with the advancing coast-line. Of these, the chief port of the incense country, Moscha according to the *Periplus*, Abissa Polis according to Ptolemy, has been recently identified by Mr. Theodore Bent (*Nineteenth Century*, Oct. 1895) with a creek two miles long and in parts one wide near the village of Takha. Others that played an important part in ancient times, Leuke Kome, Charmotas or Charmutas, Okelis, Muza, and Canneh (Ezk *l.c.*), have been located with more or less certainty by Wellsted, Sprenger, Glaser, and other explorers. While the W. and S. coasts are broken by no very striking peninsulas, the sea which lies between A. and Persia is divided by the peninsula which ends in Ras Mesandum into the Pers. Gulf and the Sea of Oman, while the Pers. Gulf is again broken by the peninsula of Katar, to the W. of which lies the island of Bahrain, with the exception of Socotra on the S. side, the most important of the islands which lie off Arabia.

---

* Except at Râs el-Muṣry, close to W. shore of G. of Akabah.

† Stanley speaks of these colours as 'gorgeous,'—red passing into crimson, streaked with purple, yellow, and blue like a Persian carpet. *Sinai*, p. 87.

‡ The head waters of the G. of Akabah are fringed by an extensive grove of the date palm (*Phœnix dactylifera*), together with some specimens of the rarer doum palm (*Hyphœne Thebaica*), which is also found in Upper Egypt and on the banks of the Atbara. These trees are probably indigenons, as the old name of Akabah was 'Elath,' which means a 'grove of trees' (Dt 2^8).

The geological character of A. is thus described by Mr. Doughty: 'The constitution of the Arabian peninsula appears to be a central stack of Plutonic rocks which are granited with traps and old basalts, whereupon are laid sandstones (continuous with those of Petra, and probably "cretaceous"), and limestones (sometimes with flints) overlie the sandstones. Newer rocks are the volcanic, and namely of the vast "harrahs": the flint land of gravel (upon limestone with flint veins) that is A. Petræa, in which were found flint instruments (as those of Abbeville) by Mr. Doughty at Ma'n, 1875; and ancient flood soil, block drift, loams or clays in the valleys and low grounds.'

The land won from the sea constitutes the lowlands (called by the Arabs Tihamah), which fringe the peninsula, and beyond which there rise ranges of mountains on all three sides. On the N. the great Nefud, which succeeds to the stony plain, occupies the centre of the peninsula, with a greatest breadth of 150 miles, and a greatest length of 400 miles. Of this wilderness of red sand the most accurate description has been given by W. H. Blunt (in Lady Blunt's *Pilgrimage to Nejd*, vol. ii. app. i.). Far greater, however, is the untrodden desert (Ahkaf) which cuts off Central A. from the E. and S.E. provinces. The sand of these wastes has peculiar properties, which, according to Blunt, render them as different from other deserts as a glacier is from a mass of snow. To the S. of the former Nefud rises the Jebel Aja, a red granite range, stretching E. by N. and W. by S. for some 100 miles, with a mean breadth of 10-15 miles, and rising to a height of 5600 ft. (Blunt, *l.c.*). To similar heights do the mountains rise which shut in the peninsula on the W. and E. sides; Wellsted gives the measurement 6500 ft. for the peak of Mowilah (S. of the Gulf of Akabah), while 9000 ft. is the height of some portions of the Jebel Akhdar, or Green Mountains, which tower over Oman in the E. (according to the latest researches of Mr. Theodore Bent, *Contemp. Rev.* Dec. 1895). To the same height, according to W. B. Harris (*A Journey through Yemen*, 1894), do the passes by which Yemen is entered from the S. rise in places; and if the measurements of this writer are correct, the plateau of central Yemen, in the S.E., has an average altitude of 8000 ft. Farther to the E. this southern range sinks till, where it separates the incense country from the desert (about 55° long. E. of Greenwich), its elevation is not above 3000 ft.

Between the mountains and the Nefud in North A. lies El-Hisma, the great sandstone country, described by Doughty as 'a forest of square-built platform mountains, which rise to 2000 ft. above the plain; the heads may be 6000 ft. above sea-level.' Between lat. 26° and 20° vast tracts form what are called harrahs, beds of basalt, where the sandstone is covered with lava. The most northerly of these volcanic platforms, called 'Uwayrid, stretches for 100 miles in length, its middle point being about 120 miles from the Red Sea. It is thickly strewn with the craters of extinct volcanoes, so thickly that in places as many as thirty can be seen at once. The highest of these peaks, called Anaj, is 7600 ft. About lat. 16° this phenomenon is repeated. We owe descriptions of it to Doughty and Glaser.

Of the rivers of A. none are navigable; few are perennial, or reach the sea. Some such, however, have been marked in South A. by the travellers Wellsted and W. B. Harris. Most of them disappear in the sand at some part of their course. Instead of a river system there is a system of wadys, great receptacles for the water brought down by the mountains, of which the surface for large portions of the year is dry, but where water can be got by digging. Such in North A. is the Wady Sirhan, which bisects the country in a line parallel with the Euphrates; in Central A., the Wady el-Dawasir and Wady el-Rummah, N. and S. of Yemamah respectively, both issuing in the Pers. Gulf—with the former of these, or with one great tributary of it, Glaser (*Skizze*, ii. p. 347) would identify the Biblical Pishon; and the Wady el-Humd, first traced by Doughty, which traverses the Hijaz, and issues in the Red Sea. At Saihut (long. 51°), on the S. coast, there issues the Wady of Hadramaut, once probably an arm of the sea, which in its course of 100 miles receives a series of wadys that drain the mountains behind it; while the mountains of Yemen proper are drained by wadys called Maur, Surdud, Siham, Kharid, etc., of which the course was traced by Glaser ('Von Hodaida nach San'a,' in Petermann's *Mittheilungen*, 1886).

The classical writers divided A. into A. Felix, A. Petræa, and A. Deserta. This division was based on the political condition of A. in the 1st cent. A.D., the first being free, the second (inclusive of Idumæa) subject to Rome, the third subject to Persia. In the native divisions different principles, as Sprenger (*Alt. Geog. Arab.* p. 9) has pointed out, have been confused. According to a tradition which he quotes, Mohammed, standing at Tebuk (about 28° 0′, 37° 40′), said that all to the N. was Sham (lit. the left, ordinarily used for Syria), all to the S. Yemen (the right). According to this, the name for the province of Mecca, Hijaz (lit. 'the barrier') would mean the land between Sham and Yemen. More probably it meant the 'middle region' between the lowlands and the Nejd (highlands). These last, then, are terms of physical geography; and as those by whom they were applied had no accurate instruments for determining heights, it is natural that the limits of these provinces should be very inexactly fixed. According to Blunt (*l.c.* i. 23 sqq.), Nejd includes all the land that lies within the Nefuds, 'the only doubt being whether it includes the Nefuds or not.' The treble division, Hijaz, Nejd, and Yemen, would thus include all A. within the Tihamas; Nejd itself being subdivided into seven provinces, whose names need not be given here. Ordinarily, however, it is not customary to extend the application of the name Yemen beyond 45° E. of Greenwich. Yet the name Hadramaut, applied in European maps to the vast region which extends hence to the S.E. of the peninsula, has been shown by Wellsted and Bent to be properly applied to a wady about 100 miles in length. Great discrepancies exist as to the delimitation of the province of Oman on the E. side, which, according to Palgrave (*Travels*, ii. 255), 'touches Hadramaut on the S., and Katar, or at least its immediate vicinity, on the N., forming a huge crescent, having the sea in front, and the vast desert of South A. for its background'; while the travellers Wellsted and Bent give the name a very limited application.

ii. CLIMATE, FLORA, AND FAUNA.—The fertility of portions of Yemen is so great as to have become proverbial in antiquity; and the few modern travellers who have climbed the mountains which tower above the S. coast, and have reached the tablelands beyond, speak with enthusiasm of the wealth of the soil, and the high degree of skill displayed by the natives in cultivating it. The greater part of the peninsula, however, is capable of supporting but a small population. 'Nothing like one-third of its surface,' says one of the most capable explorers, 'is cultivated without irrigation, the task of extending which beyond the valleys and natural oases is probably beyond the power of Turk or Arab. Vast spaces of unchangeable and unchanging barrenness spread themselves over it. Joining themselves to these are larger and scarcely less dreary regions, occupied by precipitous mountains accessible only to the goat; by labyrinthine sandy ravines or gorges bearing only the hardiest shrubs; and by tepid cultivated palm-oases, thick with semi-tropical vegetation' (Tweedie, *The Arabian Horse*). It must be observed that even in Yemen, according to Glaser (Petermann's *Mittheilungen* for 1884), cultivation even in this century has been steadily diminishing. Thus the plateaus between the basalt peaks were once cultivated, but are so no longer. Cultivation is indeed confined to the oases, which, of varying extent, enliven the stony plain, and to the valleys which intersect the central plateau, 'some broad, some narrow, some long and winding, some of little length, but almost all bordered with steep and sometimes precipitous banks, and looking as though they had been artificially cut out of the limestone mountain' (Palgrave). In some of the more northerly oases not only cereals, but fruits such as the plum, the pomegranate, the fig, the great citron, sour and sweet lemons, are cultivated. The palm, which has been compared to the camel for its small need of water, is widely spread, and its dates form the staple food of the nomad population. No part of the country, however, except perhaps the desert called Ahkaf, is quite destitute of vegetation; this has been proved in the case of the Nefud by Blunt, and Doughty assures us that the harrahs form better Bedawin country than the sandstone.

The flora and fauna of A. are still imperfectly known. Glaser (*Von Hodaida nach San'a*) states that he has himself collected out of South A. more than a hundred specimens of animals and birds previously unknown. In the Nefud, Blunt 'ascertained the existence of the ostrich, the leopard, the wolf, the fox, the hyæna, the hare, the jerboa, the white antelope, and the gazelle; and of the ibex and the marmot in Jebel Aja; of reptiles the Nefud boasts, by all accounts, the horned viper and the cobra, besides the harmless grey snake; there are also immense numbers of lizards. Birds are less numerous . . . yet in the Nefud most of the common desert birds are found.' Of animals the most characteristic of A. is undoubtedly the camel, the ability of which to go without water 'twenty-five days in winter and five in summer, working hard all the time,' renders it of unique service in the desert; the 'observations on the camel' in Baron Nolde's *Reise nach Innerarabien*, 1895, ch. vii., form the latest contribution to our knowledge of this creature, with which the early Arabian poets are fond of parading their acquaintance. No less elaborate are their descriptions of the Arabian horse, seen at its best in the highlands of Nejd, of which special studies have been made by many English travellers, and most recently by the English officer, Major-General Tweedie, who would seem to have proved that the home of this animal is elsewhere. The ass is to be seen at his best in the province of Hasa, to the N.W. of the Pers. Gulf.

iii. HISTORY AND ETHNOLOGY.—Of the history of A. during the period covered by OT, little is known, since the records begin much later. Some notices, however, have been collected by Assyriologists from the cuneiform inscriptions of campaigns in which the 'Arabs' were concerned. In 854, Shalmaneser II. met in battle a confederation in which was 'Gindibu the Arab' with 1000 camels. In the next century Tiglath-pileser III. makes an expedition into A., and in the latter half of it we find Assyr. influence extending over the N.W. and E. of the peninsula; and in the following century many tribes which can be identified with more or less certainty as occupying localities in inner A. were defeated by Esarhaddon at Bazu (Buz). From these inscriptions, interesting as they are, we learn, however, little more than the names of states and occasionally of kings, many of which offer easy Arab. etymologies. The peninsula might seem to have been occupied by a number of independent tribes, subordinate to no central authority,—a state of things to which the difficulty of communication has very frequently reduced it. Nor is much more light to be obtained from the classical authors, who till the beginning of the 3rd cent. B.C. had only vague ideas about the peninsula. Great collections of inscriptions have, however, been made both in N. and S. Arabia by European scholars, esp. Arnaud, Halévy, and Glaser; and although many of the most remarkable of these still await publication, the Arabian states, of which merely the names had been recorded by Pliny and Ptolemy, and of which only a vague tradition circulated among the Arabs, have become far more familiar than formerly, and something has been learnt about their lines of kings, the extent of their territory, and their wars and alliances. To the Eng. travellers Wellsted and Cruttenden belongs the merit of having first called attention to the existence of the ruined cities in South A., whence the most important of these documents have been brought. Of the nations thus rescued from oblivion the most important were the Minæans (the מעינים of the Heb. records) and Sabæans, whose dialects differed in certain particulars, while both had more in common with Heb. than with Arabic. A third monarchy, of which the indigenous name was Lihyan, has left traces of its existence and its language in North A., but far less distinct in their nature than those of the former two.

The chief towns of the Minæans were Ma'in, Karnau, and Yatil, all of them in South A.; yet the presence of Minæan inscriptions at El-'Ula in North A. would seem to show that their power was not confined to the S. of the peninsula, and some scholars would extend it as far N. as Gaza. While D. H. Müller would make the Minæan empire simultaneous with the Sabæan, arguments are adduced by Glaser and Hommel which make it probable that the latter State was one of several that sprang out of the ruins of the Minæan empire. Of these arguments, besides the greater antiquity of the Minæan character and dialect, may be noticed the fact that most of the names occurring in the Minæan inscriptions are prehistorical, while those in the Sabæan inscriptions can frequently be identified; that the Minæans are not mentioned in the Assyr. inscriptions, and must therefore have been powerful at an epoch prior to the intervention of the Assyrians in the affairs of A.; that whereas Saba is mentioned in some Minæan inscriptions, the Minæans are never mentioned in those of Saba. It is urged, on the other hand, that the acquaintance with the Minæans shown by Gr. writers and in late parts of the Bible (1 Ch 4^{41}, Job 2^{11} LXX) is inconsistent with the hoary antiquity assigned them; to which the answer given by Glaser, that the classical writers are acquainted with them as a nation but not as an empire, is perhaps insufficient. The Minæan rule of El-'Ula is thought to have extended over at least nine generations (Hommel, *Aufsätze*, p. 27); and the statement in Jg 10^{12} (cf. 2 Ch 20^{1}), that the Israelites before they had kings had been saved from the Minæans, implies that their power extended far north. Like other Oriental States, it is probable that the power of Ma'in varied greatly with the capacity of particular rulers; for, while from the Inscr. Halévy 504 it might appear that the Minæan king Waqah-il Yatha' was a vassal of the king of Kataban, his son Il-yafa-Yathar was a great conqueror, who extended his rule over the whole region S. of Jauf from E. to W. Lastly, we may notice as of great historical interest the Inscr. Halévy 535, which tells us of their successful resistance of an invasion of Saba and Haulan, and how their god Atthar saved them from trouble in a war that broke out between the king of the N. and the king of the S. This invasion of Saba was, if Glaser's theory be correct, one of a series of attacks continued for a period of 200 years, during which the princes of Saba were endeavouring to undermine the Minæan power,—an end achieved (according to the same scholar's reckoning) about 820 B.C. Both the inscriptions and the Bible tell us more of Saba, the tribe whose kings were the chief power in the south of A., till about A.D. 300 they gave way to the Abyssinians. Their capital was Marib (Mariaba of the classics), some 45 miles E. of San'a, famous for the great dam, the breaking of which was regarded by the Arab chroniclers as the immediate cause of the decline of the Sabæan empire (Sheba, Saba). The Sabæan empire was, without doubt, simultaneous with monarchies of Kataban, Hadramaut (with its chief town Sabata), Raidan, and Habashah, all of which are mentioned as included in a treaty in an interesting inscription commented on by Glaser (*Die Abyssinier in Arabien*, p. 68 ff.), and assigned by him to the 2nd cent. B.C. Habashah, corresponding with the region now known as Mahra, was, according to the same author's calculations, absorbed by Hadramaut about A.D. 45; the Katabanian state (with Timna for its capital) was ruined at some time in the 2nd cent. B.C.; and from an inscription of extraordinary interest, published on p. 118 of the work last quoted, we learn how the prince of Raidan and Himyar was defeated by the king of Saba in spite of the former's alliance with Habashah, and from that time (B.C. 115?) the kings of Saba style themselves kings of Saba and of Raidan. When the Katabanians disappear from the inscriptions, the Himyar (the Homeritæ of the classical authors) come into prominence; and at the commencement of our era the south of A. was shared by three monarchs, of Himyar, Hadramaut, and Saba with Raidan. Aided by the Sassanians, the Himyars presently became all-powerful in South A.; in the middle of the 4th cent. the monument of Adulis tells us that the Sabæan power had been overthrown, and the Abyssinians became rulers of Yemen; in 378 the Arabs had made head against the Abyssinians, and indeed confined them to the Tihamah, but in 525 the Abyssinians, with the countenance of the Byzantine empire, in a victorious campaign killed the king of the Himyars.

The condition of A., as represented by the authors of the inscriptions, is very different from the nomad and patriarchal condition which we ordinarily associate with the name Arab, and which is certainly associated with it in the Bible. The Sabæans and Minæans are people of fixed habitations; they build fortresses, and live in walled cities; they raise massive temples, and construct works of irrigation on a grand scale. War forms only an occasional incident in their lives; the main source of their wealth is commerce; and besides agriculture, they carry on mining and manufactures. Texts containing 'ordres de police' give evidence, says M. Halévy, 'd'une haute perfection d'organization civile, et de l'existence d'un code pénal chez les Sabéens.' Their inscriptions are, many of them, specimens of the most finished workmanship, and show signs of the cultivation of other fine arts; nor can their civilisation be shown to have been derived from any other nation. Their Pantheon, says the same writer, was marvellously rich, and of prodigious variety. The temples of both the chief races were built east of the towns, which would point to the worship of the sun; yet this cannot be shown to have existed among the Minæans; neither do the Minæan documents show the worship of Al-Makah, the chief Sabæan deity. Common to both was the worship of Attar (the male Ashtoreth), who in Minæan texts appears in the two forms of שרקן and ערבן, which, in the opinion of D. H. Müller, mean the rising and setting sun. Two female deities, Wadd and Nikrah, interpreted by the same writer as 'Love' and 'Hate,' also occupy an important place in the Minæan Pantheon.

Yet from the nature of things civilisation of this kind can only have existed in South A. and the oases; the life of the dwellers in the 'black tents,' as described by Burckhardt and Doughty in this century, must have existed from immemorial time in the desert. Several writers, indeed, suppose the difference between the nomad Arabs and the stationary Arabs to be one of race; and, strange as it may seem, the purest Arab blood is supposed to be found in the latter (*'āribah*); while the name of the former contains the idea of Arab by adoption (*muta'arribah*). Neither half of the Arab stock can be traced with any probability to any other country; and ethnologists are now with something like unanimity making A. the home of the whole Semitic race; and the emigrations of the Shammar and Anezah clans northwards in search of richer pasturage than the A^{n} deserts afford, emigrations which have taken place within the last century, represent the continuation of a series of similar waves of which the commencement is prehistoric, all brought about by the same causes, though not all following the same direction. The fact that the names by which they call their towns and villages, as well as the natural features of their country, are all Arabic, and bear no trace of the memory of another home, is, as Gen. Tweedie has pointed out, strikingly in favour of the theory which makes the Arabs autocthonous.

This autocthony naturally does not exclude the presence of a certain number of colonists. Four Greek colonies are mentioned by Pliny, Ampelone, Arethusa, Chalkis, and Larissa, of which the first only seems capable of identification; Glaser (*Skizze*, ii. 154) tries to find it on the coast of Hijaz. Being a Milesian colony, it must have been planted not later than the 6th cent. B.C. The name Javan, mentioned in Ezk 27^{19} in a context which points to A., is possibly to be interpreted of a Gr. colony in the peninsula; and the statement of Diodorus (iii. 43), that a tribe on the W. coast of A. cultivated friendly relations with Greeks of Bœotia and the Peloponnesus, may have been rightly connected with the existence of these colonies by Glaser (*l.c.* p. 155). Jewish colonies also existed in A. long before the time of the Prophet Mohammed; in the 3rd and 4th cent. A.D. they would seem to have been favoured by the Persians in opposition to the Christian communities which had the support of the W. empire (*Die Abyssinier in Arabien*, p. 175).

The ethnological tables of Gn would seem to take special note of the inhabitants of A., who are assigned places in the human family in the following passages: Gn 10^{7} (children of Cush), $10^{22.23}$ (children of Shem), 10^{25-30} (children of Eber), 25^{1-4} (children of Abraham and Keturah), 25^{12-18} (Ishmaelites). The eminent explorer Carsten Niebuhr argued from the number of places in Yemen and Hadramaut mentioned by 'Moses' in these places that the legislator must himself have travelled in the country; but his attempts at identifying them do little towards confirming this proposition. More elaborate attempts have been made in more recent times, notably by Glaser in his *Skizze*, ii. 314–470, without, however, producing many convincing results. The tables are not quite consistent, as the same names are assigned different pedigrees; but this Glaser would account for by supposing the tables compiled at different periods between the 11th and the 6th cent. B.C. Some of the names, such as Sheba and Dedan, are known from other parts of Scripture, and are otherwise famous; a few, *e.g.* Hadramaut (חצרמות), can be identified with certainty; several, esp. Ophir and Havilah, are frequently mentioned in Scripture, but are difficult to localise. Most of the names, however, occur in these tables only; and as we are quite ignorant of the sources from which their compiler drew, endeavours to localise them would seem to have little scientific value. They doubtless signified to the compiler tribes or nations; but the ordinary rule for the interpretation of these patronymic pedigrees, according to which the fathers stand to the sons in the relation of genus to species, cannot be applied to them. Thus the great nation of Sheba is called a son of Ra'mah (probably the Regma of Ptolemy, a town on the Pers. Gulf, Glaser, p. 252), which is co-ordinated with it in Ezk 27^{22}, and Ra'mah itself a son of Cush. Still stranger is it that the patriarch of the Arab nations, including Ophir and Hadramaut, Joktan, should have left so little trace in A. that Sprenger (*Geog.* p. 50) is fain to identify the name with Bishat Yakzan, a station on the incense road. Glaser, perhaps with greater probability, connects it with Katan, a town of Hadramaut. It is probable, therefore, that these tables, so far from being exact, are as vague as might be expected in the case of so vast and unexplored a country. Even Saba, which we know to have been a powerful empire, is vaguely spoken of by the prophets as a distant country (Jer 6^{20}, Jl 3^{8}), in NT as at the ends of the earth (Mt 12^{42}, Lk 11^{31}).

iv. TRADE AND COMMERCE.—The chief importance of A. to the ancients lay in its exports, of which the most renowned was incense, a gum obtained from a certain tree by incisions made in the bark. The country where this product is cultivated is a narrow strip of the S. coast from about 53–55° long. E. of Greenwich, its headquarters being the ancient city of Dafar (probably the ספר of Gn 10^{30}). After doubts had been cast even on the possibility of A. producing incense (see the excursus on this in Ritter, *Erdkunde von Arabien*), this region was visited by Mr. Theodore Bent in 1895, who described the industry in the *Nineteenth Century* for Oct. of that year. It is uncertain whether its cultivation ever extended over a much greater area than now.

Sprenger (*Geog.* p. 299) regards the incense country as 'the heart of the commerce of the ancient world,' owing to the vast amount of it required for religious rites, and terms the Arabs, or, more nearly, the inhabitants of the incense country, 'the founders of commerce as it existed in the ancient world.' It is perhaps noteworthy that the verb 'Arab' and its derivatives are used in Heb. to signify 'commerce.' The incense traffic of A. is alluded to by all the ancient writers who speak of that country, and it formed the basis of the proverbial wealth of the Sabæans, who regulated it with the utmost precision and severity (see Sprenger, *l.c.* pp. 269–303). Reference is made to this in the *locus classicus* for ancient commerce, Ezk 27^{22}. Other scents and spices are also mentioned as Arabian exports; but we notice as interesting the observation of Glaser (*l.c.* p. 426), that the particular spices mentioned in Ezk 27^{19} as exported from a place we have grounds for locating in South A. do not really grow there. Almost as famous as the incense was the Arabian gold. The gold used by Solomon for gilding the temple is stated (2 Ch 3^{6}) to have come from Parwaim, which is plausibly identified by Glaser (*l.c.* 347) with Sak-el-Farwain, a place mentioned by the Arabian geographer Hamdani, who has preserved many notices of gold mines at one time worked in Central A. (see Sprenger, pp. 49–63, and Glaser, p. 347 ff.). And since in Gn 10^{29} Ophir, which by the time of the composition of the Bk of Job has become a synonym for gold, is called a son of Joktan, various scholars have attempted to localise that famous gold-producing region somewhere in Arabia; and there are still more forcible reasons for placing there the land of Havilah, 'where is gold, and the gold of that land is good' (Gn 2^{11}), which Glaser has endeavoured to identify with the province Yemamah. Precious stones, as well as gold and spices, were brought by the S. Arabian queen to Solomon (1 K 10^{2}); and these are mentioned by Ezk (27^{22}) as the merchandise of Saba. The exportation of iron from Uzal, if that be the right reading, and if the tradition which identifies Uzal with San'a be correct (Ezk 27^{19}), would agree with the fact that the steel of San'a is still in high repute; moreover, Mr. Doughty found places in Central A. where iron might be worked with profit. In the same passage of Ezk, Kedar and North A. are made to deal in cattle, and Dedan in horse-cloths. There is further mention in 27^{24}, if the text be correct, of embroidered textures 'in well-secured chests' from Eden (and perhaps other S. Arabian ports). This would correspond with the high state of civilisation which from the inscriptions we know the S. Arabians at early times to have attained. Sprenger, *ZDMG* xlii. 332, states that before the time of Islam leather was the chief export of Arabia.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

ARABIAN.—This word is used in different senses. **1.** In Is 13^{20} and Jer 3^{2} it stands for 'an inhabitant of the desert or steppe' (Heb. עֲרָבִי from עֲרָבָה), without any indication of nationality.

2. In the pre-exilic authors we read occasionally of a tribe called collectively עֲרָב, rendered in the EV 'Arabia' (1 K 10^{15}, Jer 25^{24}, Ezk 27^{21}). As the consonants of this word are the same as those of the word rendered 'mingled people' (Jer 25^{20} etc.), and also of the word rendered 'evening,' it is not always certain which should be read. Thus in Is 21^{13} the word rendered in EV 'Arabia' should more probably be tr. 'evening'; while in 2 Ch 9^{14} the punctuation which signifies A. is substituted for the 'mixed tribes' intended by the punctuators of 1 K 10^{15}. These 'Arabians' are also mentioned in the Assyr. inscriptions (see ARABIA), where the name of one of their kings is given. Herodotus (iii. 5) also speaks of an Arabian king through whose territories the Pers. king Cambyses had to obtain a pass before he could cross the desert to Egypt; and the same historian gives us the name of a port on the Mediterranean belonging to the Arabs, of which the name (Ienysus) can be easily interpreted from the Arabic (cf. *anisa*), but of the existence of which we possess no other notice. The Arabian territory, according to this author, was wedged in between lands belonging to the 'Syrians.' In the Bible this tribe is connected with Dedan and Kedar, and is probably therefore to be located in N. Arabia; the fact that it had a king makes it probable that it possessed some fixed habitations or towns, since that word is ordinarily associated with a royal residence. The etymology of the name, like most names of nations, is hidden in obscurity.

3. In the post-exilic records, where we meet with the word, it ordinarily signifies *Nabatæan*. In 2 Mac 5^{8} we read of Aretas, the king of the Arabians; now Aretas was the name of several of the Nabatæan kings, as we know from their own inscriptions; and Procopius speaks of Petra as the capital of the Arabs, whereas it was famous as the capital of the Nabatæans. The Romans, who from the time of the ill-starred expedition of Ælius Gallus (B.C. 24), in which the Nabatæans were their allies against the Arabs, had good cause to distinguish the two races, do not often confuse them; yet both Diodorus and Procopius (quoted by Quatremère) fall into this mistake. By the term 'Arabia,' then, St. Paul (Gal 1^{17} 4^{25}) probably means the territory of the Nabatæans, which in the period of their greatest prosperity extended from the Euphrates to the Red Sea. One of their kings was the Aretas whose ethnarch in Damascus endeavoured to arrest St. Paul (2 Co 11^{32}). The misapplication of ethnic names is exceedingly common; and in this context it may be noticed that in the Sabæan inscriptions the Sabæans distinguish themselves from the Arabians (ערבן; see J. Dérenbourg in *CIS* iv. fasc. 2, p. 93), with whom classical antiquity identified them. Perhaps 'Nabatæan' is the sense to be attached to the name 'Arabian' applied to Nehemiah's opponent Geshem (Neh 2^{19}), or Gashmu (Neh 6^{6}), whose name in its latter form bears a genuinely Nabatæan appearance. The important part played by this race was first pointed out by Quatremère in his *Étude sur les Nabatéens* (1835), the results of which were condensed by Ritter in his *Erdkunde von Arabien* (1846, i. p. 111 ff.). The inscriptions discovered at Madāin Sālih by Mr. Doughty (*Documents épigraph. recueil. dans le nord de l'Arabie*, Paris, 1884), and recopied by Euting (*Nabat. Inschrif.* 1885), have thrown considerable light on their language, institutions, and history. Having originally come from Mesopotamia, this tribe profited by the weakness of the last Bab. kings to seize Petra, the ancient capital of the Idumæans. The unique position of this fortress at the meeting-place of three great commercial routes was the source of the wealth which enabled them to attain a remarkable degree of civilisation and luxury. Their first appearance in history is in B.C. 312, when, according to Diodorus (xix. ch. 95 sqq.), they successfully resisted Athenæus, the general sent against their fortress by Antigonus, king of Syria; their last in A.D. 106, when A. Petræa was turned into a Rom. province by Cornelius Palma. The possession of Damascus by Aretas IV. ('Philopatris,' mentioned in several of the Madāin Sālih inscriptions) is to be ascribed to a temporary arrangement of the emperor Gaius. The fact that the Nabatæan empire extended to El-Hijr, called afterwards Madāin Sālih, is certified for the time of Augustus by the Rom. records. The notices of the Nabatæans in ancient literature are put together by von Gutschmidt in the appendix to Euting's *Nabatæische Inschriften*.

4. The employment of the name Arab for an inhabitant of any portion of the vast peninsula known to us as Arabia, begins somewhere in the 3rd cent. B.C., though the only trace of it in OT is in 2 Ch 21^{16}, where the 'Arabians that are near the Ethiopians' would seem naturally to refer to the neighbours of the Habashah, whom there are grounds for placing in the extreme S. of Yemen; it is not, however, clear how these tribes could interfere in Jewish politics. In 2 Ch 26^{7} God is said to have helped Uzziah against 'the Arabians who dwelt in Gur-Baal,' and the Minæans; as this notice is not found in 2 K, its accuracy is open to suspicion; moreover, the name Gur-Baal bears no trace of Arabian nomenclature, and only vague conjectures can be hazarded about its situation. Equally uncertain is the use of the name in 2 Ch 17^{11}. An Arab prince Zabdiel is mentioned in 1 Mac 11^{17} as murdering the Syrian king Alexander Balas, who had taken refuge in 'Arabia'; and another Imalkuæ, or Iamblichus, as rearing the same Alexander's son (11^{39}). The residence of these princes, according to Diodorus (*Excerpt.* 32. 1), was called *Ἀβαί.* D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

ARABIC VERSIONS.—Arab. VSS of the Bible have been made from various sources, chiefly Gr., Syr., and Coptic. It is, however, most improbable that any Christian Arab. literature is as old as the time of Mohammed. There were Christians in the Arab. kingdom of Ghassân, E. of Damascus, and at Nejrân in S. Arabia, but, to judge from our very scanty historical information about the progress of the Church in these regions, the ecclesiastical language was Syriac.[*] It was not till after the success of the Koran had made Arabic into a literary language, and the conquests of Islam had turned large portions of Christian Syria and Egypt into Arabic-speaking provinces, that the need of translations of Scripture in the Arabic vernacular was really felt.

The extant forms of NT in Arabic are best divided according to the languages from which they are derived. Thus we have—(i.) translations from the Syriac; (ii.) translations directly from the Greek; (iii.) translations from the Coptic; at a later period we have also (iv.) eclectic combinations of the first three classes. It will be convenient to take the various divisions of NT separately.

THE FOUR GOSPELS.—(i.) *Trs. from the Syr.*—The oldest representative of this class, perhaps the oldest monument of Arab. Christianity, is the tr. of the Gospels in a MS formerly belonging to the Convent of Mar Saba near Jerus., now Cod. Vaticanus *Arab.* 13, called by Tischendorf $\mathrm{ar}^{\mathrm{vat}}$ (Greg. *cod.* 101), and generally assigned to the 8th cent.[†] From some Gr. Iambics at the end of the MS we learn that it originally belonged to a certain Daniel of Emesa, and contained the Psalter, the Gospels, the Acts, and all the Epp.; of these only fragments of the Gospels[‡] and the Pauline Epp. now remain. The style is somewhat paraphrastic, but internal evidence conclusively shows that the Gospels have been tr. not directly from the Gr., but from the Syriac Vulgate (Peshîṭṭâ).[§]

This free tr. from the Syr. Vulg. was probably made in some locality where Syr. had been the ecclesiastical language, and seems to have been soon discarded at Mar Saba for a more literal version made directly from the Greek. In other words, the Gospel text of ar. *vat* was already obsolete by the 9th cent. A.D. No other Arabic version can claim such a high antiquity.[*]

Another tr. from the Syr. Vulg. is found in cod. Tisch. 12 at Leipzig (Greg. *cod.* 75), a bilingual Syr.-Arab. MS of the 10th cent., brought to Europe by Tischendorf from the Syrian Convent of St. Mary Deipara in the Nitrian desert. A few leaves are at the British Museum (addl. 14467). This MS has been fully described by Gildemeister. The tr. keeps closely to Syr. Vulg., but some renderings recall the phraseology of ar. *vat*, *e.g.* ليس لي بأهل in Mt $10^{37\mathrm{ff.}}$ for 'is not worthy of me.' This idiomatic phrase is not used in the later Arab. VSS.

Here may be noticed the Arab. VS of Tatian's *Diatessaron*, which has been edited in full from two MSS at Rome by Ciasca (Eng. tr. by Hamlyn Hill). This VS was made, in the early part of the 11th cent., by the well-known scholar Abu'l Faraj ibn eṭ-Ṭayyib from a form of the Syriac *Diatessaron* in which the text had been almost wholly assimilated to Syr. Vulg. It is therefore nearly worthless as an authority for the text, though most valuable for recovering the arrangement of Tatian's Harmony.

(ii.) *Trs. from the Gr.*—An Arab. tr. made directly from the Gr. appears in some MSS of the 9th cent., such as cod. K. ii. 31, in the Propaganda at Rome, and the fragments of Tischendorf's 'Lectionary' now at Leipzig (Greg. *cod.* 76). Both MSS come from Mar Saba.[†] Very similar to these is the Sinai MS *Arab.* 75.[‡] These MSS have the Gr. τίτλοι and liturgical notes. They are perhaps ultimately derived from a bilingual Gr.-Arab. uncial MS generally quoted as Θ^{h}, of which only four leaves remain, one in its original home at the Convent of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai, and three in the collection of Bp. Porphyry.[§]

(iii.) *Trs. from the Coptic.*—Most MSS of the Copt. (Bohairic) NT are accompanied by an Arab. VS. Among these cod. Vat. *Copt.* 9, written in 1202 A.D. (Greg. *cod. Copt.* 30) seems to have been used as a kind of standard text.[‖] We shall see later on that the text of this MS is the ultimate source of all the printed edd. of the Gospels in Arabic.

(iv.) *The two Eclectic Revisions.*—None of the Arab. texts hitherto considered have been in any sense an official VS, and they present all the confusing variety natural in such independent productions. The need of a more fixed type, and one which took account of all three great national Vulgates of the E.,—the Gr., the Syr., and the Copt.,—was felt by the 13th cent., especially in Egypt, where Arabic had quite supplanted the native dialect.

The first revised ed. of this kind was made about 1250 A.D. at Alexandria by Hibat Allâh ibn el-'Assâl. This work, of which several MSS survive, consists of a revised text of the Gospels with various readings from the Gr., the Syr., and the Copt.[¶] It was, however, found too cumbrous for a popular VS, and towards the end of the 13th cent. was superseded by the modern 'Alex. Vulgate.' This is little more than the text of Vat. *Copt.* 9, filled out by inserting from the Syr. or the Gr. those numerous passages where the ancient Copt. VS did not contain words found in Syr. Vulg. and in the Gr. text of the Middle Ages. In many MSS of this Alex. Vulg. (ar. alex.) these passages are indicated by marginal notes.[*]

---

[*] Ibn Isḥâc about the middle of the 8th cent. A.D. (Wüstenfeld's *Ibn Hishâm*, p. 150) quotes Jn 15^{23}-16^{1} as a prophecy concerning Mohammed; but the words are only a rough rendering from the 'Palestinian' Syr. version, not a quotation from an already existing Arab. tr. See Guidi, *Evv.* p. 6.

[†] The only accurate description of Vat. *Arab.* 13 is in Guidi, *Evv.* p. 8. Considerable extracts from the MS are given in Scholz, *Krit. Reise*, pp. 118–124.

[‡] Mt 10^{27}–middle of 26, Mk 5^{19}–$16^{8\mathrm{a}}$, Lk 7^{11}–beginning of 10.

[§] *E.g.* in the account of the Temptation (Lk $4^{1\text{-}13}$), Syr. Vulg. and ar. *vat* exactly agree in the names of the Evil One. In vv.$^{1.\,3.\,6}$ and ^{13} ὁ διάβολος is rendered by Syr. Vulg. 'the Accuser'; ar. *vat* has المحال 'the Slanderer,' and in v.^{1} المحال الواشي 'the calumniating Slanderer' (for the rendering of المحال see 2 Ti 3^{3} in all Arab. VSS). But in v.^{5} Syr. Vulg. has 'Satan,' so ar. *vat.* has الشيطان. The Arab. VSS not derived from the Syr. have in all these passages ابليس (=διάβολος), but in v.^{8} they insert يا شيطان to render the Gr. σατανᾶ, a word here omitted by both Syr. Vulg. and ar. *vat.*

It is worth noticing in this connexion that Syr. Vulg. and ar. *vat* alone among critical authorities agree in inserting the name 'Jesus' in Lk 4^{17}.

Ar. *vat* has been wrongly cited (*e.g.* by Tischendorf) as *omitting* the 'last twelve verses' of Mk. It is owing to accidental loss of leaves that the MS breaks off *just before the end* of Mk 16^{8}, thus:—فلم يقولا لاحد شيا لانهما كانتا as Prof. Guidi has been kind enough to ascertain for this article.

[*] Some of the missing portions of ar. *vat* in Mt have been supplied in a hand of the 10th cent. From the style and vocabulary they seem to have been copied from the original MS before the leaves were lost.

[†] Guidi, *Evv.* pp. 9, 10; *ZDMG* viii. 585. For later developments of this VS, see Guidi, *Evv.* pp. 11, 12.

[‡] Mrs. Gibson, *Cat. of Arab. MSS*, frontispiece.

[§] The Arab. text of the Sinai leaf is printed by Dr. Rendel Harris in Mrs. Lewis' *Cat. of Syr. MSS*, Appx. p. 105. It seems to be the conjugate of one of Bp. Porphyry's leaves.

[‖] Guidi, *Evv.* pp. 17, 23.

[¶] For details of Ibn el-'Assâl's work, see Guidi, *Evv.* pp. 18–22, and Prof. Macdonald in *Hartford Seminary Record*, April 1893.

Besides these main types of text there are several later MSS of the Gospels in Arabic in which the language has been corrected or embellished. Guidi (*Evv.* p. 29) also mentions some late MSS from Spain which appear to present a tr. of the Latin Vulgate.

The printed edd. of the Gospels in Arabic are all forms of the Alex. Vulg. Of these the chief are the Rom. ed. of 1591, the ed. of Erpenius (Leyden, 1616), and Lagarde's ed. of the Vienna MS (Greg. *cod.* 36). The last is the only ed. containing the marginal notes which belong to ar. alex. Some edd. of Syr. Vulg. for use among the Maronites, of which the most accessible is the Paris reprint of 1824, contain also a Carshûnî VS (ar. carsh). This, however, is simply ar. alex. slightly modified to suit the Peshîṭtâ.

THE PAULINE EPISTLES.—(i.) *Trs. from the Gr.* of the fourteen Epp. of St. Paul are found in ar. *vat* (8th or 9th cent., see above), and in a Sinai MS (ar. *sin.*-Paul) of the 9th cent., the text of which was published by Mrs. Gibson in 1894. Ar. *vat* has the so-called 'Euthalian' sections, etc.[†]; ar. *sin*, which is quite independent of ar. *vat*, is remarkable for having no 'Euthalian' matter, but nevertheless it represents the late Antiochian text mixed with a few good readings.[‡]

(ii.) *A Tr. from the Syr.* is found in a MS now at St. Petersburg (Greg. *cod.* 134), brought by Tischendorf 'from the E.' It is dated 892 A.D., and appears to have been rendered from a Nestorian copy of the Peshîṭtâ,[§] but with glosses and additions like the Gospel text in ar. *vat.* From the VS found in this MS (ar. *pet*) is ultimately derived that of the printed edd. of Erpenius, and the Carshûnî ed. of 1824. The latter agrees very closely with B. M. *Harl.* 5474 (dated 1288 A.D.).

THE ACTS AND CATHOLIC EPISTLES.—No direct Arab. tr. from the Gr. is known for the Acts and major Cath. Epp. The chief edd. (ar. erp and ar. carsh) seem to be, as in the Gospels, an eclectic mixture of the Copt., the Gr., and the Syr. In the disputed Cath. Epp., which had no place in the Peshîṭtâ (2 P, 2 and 3 Jn, Jude), the tr. appears to have been made directly from the Greek.

A tr. from the Syr. of Ac and all seven Cath. Epp. (in the Gr. order) is found in a 9th cent. vellum MS at Sinai (Mrs. Gibson's *Cat.*, No. 154). In this text, while the other parts are from Syr. Vulg., the disputed Cath. Epp. are translated from the Pocockian VS (Syr. bodl.), now generally printed in edd. of Syr. Vulg., and which is probably a fragment of the Philoxenian VS before its revision by Thomas of Harkel.[*] This MS is thus perhaps the oldest witness for Syr. bodl., though it does not contain the purest text.

THE APOCALYPSE.—The Apoc. was not a canonical book among the E. Churches; the Arab. VSS, therefore, vary greatly. Ar. erp is here perhaps a combination of the Gr. and the Copt. Ar. carsh contains some peculiar double renderings (*e.g.* Rev $1^{5.6}$), but their source is not very clear. It is not a tr. of the printed Syr. text.

THE OLD TESTAMENT.—Arab. VSS of OT fall under four heads, *viz.* trs. from the Gr., from the Syr., from the Heb., and from the Sam. Of these the greater bulk still remains in unexamined MSS, only a portion of the various sources having been printed. The great Paris Polyglott contains a complete Arab. text of the whole OT except the Apocr., and this text has been repeated with minor variations in Walton's Polyglott and in the Newcastle ed. of 1811, but it presents a singularly mixed text. The Pent. is the version of Sa'adya (see below). Jos is also from the Heb., but it does not directly appear that Sa'adya was the translator. Jg, S, K, and Ch are all from the Peshîṭtâ, as is also the Book of Job. The Prophets, Psalms, and Proverbs are from the Greek, the Prophets being a tr. made by a priest of Alexandria from a good uncial MS resembling cod. A. This curious jumble rests upon an Egyp. MS of the 16th cent. used by the editors of the Polyglott (see Cornill's *Ezechiel* and Slane's *Cat. des. MSS arabes de la Bibl. Nat.* p. 1).

Of the trs. from the Peshîṭtâ there are several MSS. The Psalter was printed in Carshûnî by the Maronites in 1610 at a convent in the Wâdy Qûzhayya ('*Psalterium qûzhayyensis*'), and reprinted by Lagarde. Some lacunæ in the Paris Polyglott (Cornill enumerates Ezk 11^{12} 13^{4} 24^{6b-27} 27^{32} $42^{17.19}$) are supplied in Walton from an Oxford MS of this class.

There are also MSS containing a tr. from the Copt. VS of the LXX. Of this Lagarde has published Job (Psalterium, etc., 1876). An ed. of the Psalter and Cant. with critical notes similar to the work of Ibn-el-'Assâl (see above), is to be found in B. M. *Arund. Or.* 15.

Several MSS present an Arab. tr. made from the Sam. Pent. Specimens (incl. Ex 3, 4) are to be found in a Programm by van Vloten, Leyden, 1803. The best MS is probably that in the Cambridge University Library (*addl.* 714).

The Arab. tr. of certain books of OT made direct from the original Heb. have an interest of their own for the history of interpretation, though they almost invariably conform strictly to the MT. Most of these trs. are from the pen of Sa'adya (סעדיה, Ar. سعيد) the Ga'ôn, a learned Rabbi, born in the Fayyûm in Upper Egypt (A.D. 892–942). His Biblical trs. have been published as follows: the Pent. at Constantinople in 1546, and again in the Polyglotts (see above); Is. by Paulus, 1790–91;[†] Cant. by Merx, 1882; Pr. capp. 1–9, by Bondi, 1888; Job, by Cohn, 1889. In addition to these there is the tr. of Jos in the Polyglotts mentioned above. Other VSS from the Heb., such as that in the

---

[*] Guidi, *Evv.* pp. 22–24. He also points out (p. 35 ff.) the highly important fact that the late text from which most MSS of the Eth. VS have been corrupted is none other than ar. alex.

[†] For Ro (Scholz, *Krit. Reise*, p. 122) the numbers are: 5 sect., 19 capp., 34 (*sic*) quot. from OT, and 920 *stichi.* Scholz also transcribes the whole of Philem and a few other passages. As ar. *vat* has been wrongly quoted in 1 Tim 3^{16} for θεὸς, I give the whole passage (from Scholz): وحقا ان سر خشيه الله هو عظيم الذي ابدي بالجسد. The fact that the two dots of ة are never written in this MS seems to have prevented Schol from recognising that خشية الله simply represents εὐσέβεια. Scholz's text has ادى (for أبدي).

[‡] See, *e.g.*, Ro 16^{5}, Gal 6^{15}.

[§] See *ZDMG* viii. 584; Delitzsch, *Hebräer.* pp. 764–768, who quotes the extraordinary rendering of ar. *pet* in He 2^{9}: *and so he without God, who had united Himself with him as a temple, tasted death for all men.* The variant χωρὶς θεοῦ is not found in Syr. Vulg. except in Nestorian copies. In ar. erp this is emended to express χάριτι θεοῦ, and in ar. carsh we have '*God by His grace,*' as Syr. Vulg. See Gildemeister, p. 1 (n.), who brings forward He 5^{8} as another instance where ar. erp and ar. carsh have a corruption of the text of ar. *pet.*

[*] Gwynn, *Trans. of R. Irish Acad.* xxx. pp. 375, 376.

[†] 'Very faulty. . . . Solomon Munk made important contributions to a more accurate text in vol. ix. of Cohen's great Bible (Paris, 1838)': Cheyne's *Isaiah*, vol. ii. p. 269.

17th cent. MS of the Pent., Ps and Dn, in B. M. Harl. 5505, seem rather to belong to the era of modern trs.

LITERATURE.—CRITICAL DISCUSSIONS.—Guidi, *Le Traduzioni degli Evangelii in Arabo e in Etiopico* (Reale Accademia dei Lincei, anno cclxxxv.), Rome, 1888—the one indispensable work for a general view of Arabic VSS; Gildemeister, *De Evangeliis in Arabicum e Simplici Syriaca translatis*, Bonn, 1865—contains an account of the Leipzig MS, together with much valuable information about the printed edd. of the Arab. Gospels; Cornill, *Ezechiel*, Leipzig, 1886, Introd. pp. 49–57—contains a careful investigation of the texts of the Polyglotts so far as concerns Ezekiel. [De Sacy, *Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xlix. anc. série. On Arab. VSS of the Pent.]

PUBLISHED TEXTS.—Gregory, *Prolegomena to Tisch. N.T.*, Leipzig, 1894, contains a useful list of all the then known Arab. MSS of NT. Care must, however, be taken to look for the bilingual MSS under the other language. Among the various catalogues of public libraries I have found the British Museum Catalogue (compiled by Cureton, 1846) especially valuable for the length and number of extracts from the MSS. FOR THE OT.—Paris Polyglott (see above, p. 137^b); Walton's Polyglott, London, 1652, the Arab. repeated in the Newcastle ed. of 1811; Lagarde, *Psalt.*, *Iob*, *Prov.*, *Arabice*, Göttingen, 1876—contains three VSS of the Ps from the Gr. and the 'Psalterium Qûzhayyensis' from the Peshîttâ, a VS of Job from the Copt., and Job and Pr from the Paris Polyglott. (For Sa'adya, see the edd. enumerated on p. 137^b.) FOR THE NT.—*Ed. Princeps*, Rome, 1591 (repeated 1619, 1774), with a Lat. tr. by Antonius (*sic*) Sionita; *Ed. of* Erpenius, Leyden, 1616 (=ar. erp); *Ed. of the Polyglotts* (repeated in the Newcastle ed. of 1811); *Ed. Carshunica*, Rome, 1703 (repeated in the Paris ed. of 1824 issued under the supervision of de Sacy=ar. carsh); Lagarde, *Die vier Evangelien arabisch*, Leipzig, 1864 (see p. 137^a); Scholz, *Biblisch-Kritische Reise*, Leipzig, 1823: pp. 118–124 contain considerable extracts from ar. *vat* (see pp. 136^a, 137^b); Gibson (Mrs.), *Studia Sinaitica*, ii., Cambridge Univ. Press, 1894, contains the text of ar. *sin.*-Paul.; *Stud. Sin.* i. Appx. p. 105, contains the Sinai leaf of Θ^h; *Stud. Sin.* iii., *Frontispiece*, contains a page of ar. *sin.* 75 (see p. 137^a); Delitzsch, *Hebräer*, Appx. v. (pp. 764–769), contains extracts from ar. *pet.*-Paul (see p. 137^b).

THE DIATESSARON (see p. 136^b).—Ciasca, *Tatiani Evangeliorum Harmoniae Arabice*, Rome, 1888; Hill, *The Earliest Life of Christ*, Edinburgh, 1894.

F. C. BURKITT.

ARAD (עֲרָד).—A Benjamite who helped to put to flight the inhabitants of Gath (1 Ch 8^{15}).

ARAD (עֲרָד).—A city of one of the kings of the Canaanites, assigned to the tribe of Judah (Jos 12^{14}), on the north-west border of the wilderness of Judah, to which place (if the present text be correct) a family of Kenites migrated from Jericho (Jg 1^{16}). It has been identified with certain ruins on the top of a hill, Tell 'Arâd, about 16 miles south of Hebron, on the plateau to the south of the Dead Sea. Eusebius and Jerome describe Arad as 20 Roman miles south of Hebron in the wilderness of Kadesh. The king of Arad fought against the Israelites as they were turning away from the south of Palestine, but was defeated at Hormah (Nu 21^1 33^{40}). In these passages in Nu where the RV, agreeably to the Heb. text, reads 'king of Arad,' the AV less happily renders 'king Arad.'

LITERATURE.—Robinson, *BRP*^{2} ii. 101, 201; *SWP* iii. 403, 415; Budde, *Richt. u. Sam.* 9ff.; Moore, *Judges*, 32ff.

J. MACPHERSON.

ARADUS (Ἄραδος), 1 Mac 15^{23}.—The Greek form of the Heb. Arvad (wh. see).

ARAH (אָרַח 'traveller'?).—1. In the genealogy of Asher, 1 Ch 7^{39}. 2. His family returned with Zerubbabel, Ezr 2^5, Neh 6^{18} 7^{10}, 1 Es $5^{10\mathrm{ff}}$. See GENEALOGY.

H. A. WHITE.

ARAM, ARAMÆANS (אֲרָם, *Σύροι*, *Syri*. AV 'Syrians' and 'Syria').—In Gn $10^{22.\,23}$ Aram is the son of Shem, and father of Uz, Hul, Gether, and Mash, the last of which is Arabia Petræa, the Mas of the cuneiform inscriptions (cf. Gn 25^{14}). In Gn 22^{21} Aram is the son of Kemuel, the son of Nahor, the two elder brothers of Kemuel being Uz (AV Huz) and Buz (Bazu in the Assyr. texts).

In the OT Aram includes the northern part of Mesopotamia, Syria as far south as the borders of Pal., and the larger part of Arabia Petræa. The inhabitants of this region were mainly of Sem. origin, and spoke a Sem. language, which, with its dialects, is known as Aramaic. In some parts of it, however, as at Kadesh on the Orontes, near the lake of Homs, and at Carchemish (now Jerablûs or Jerabîs) on the Euphrates, the Hittites had occupied the country; and on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, in the neighbourhood of Carchemish, the powerful kingdom of Mitanni was established, with a language of a very peculiar type. An Aram. dialect was spoken by the Nabatæans of Petra, and it is probable that the Ishmaelite tribes must be classed as Aramæans.

In the Assyr. inscriptions the name appears as Aramu, Arumu, and Arimu, as well as Armâ. In a text of Tiglath-pileser I. (B.C. 1100) the waters on the east side of the Euphrates and westward of Harran are termed *mami mat Armâ*, 'the waters of the land of the Aramæans.' Assur-naẓir-pal III. (B.C. 883–823) states that he restored to Assyria certain cities which a former Assyr. king had fortified in the land of Nahri, towards the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates, and of which the 'Arumu' had taken possession. Among the Aramæan princes whom he subdued here were Ammi-baal and Bur-Hadad, *i.e.* Bar-Hadad or Ben-Hadad. There were many Aramæan tribes in Babylonia (Puḳudu or Pekod, Nabatu or Nabatæans, Ru'ua, etc.) who lived under sheikhs on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates as well as on the coast of the Persian Gulf. They were partly traders, partly pastoral nomads, and were collectively called Arumu. The Assyrians never gave the name to the populations westward of the Euphrates, who were included under the general titles of Hittites and Amorites.

In the OT, on the contrary, the name is applied to the inhabitants of Syria as well as to those of Mesopotamia. The different Aramæan districts or states are distinguished by special titles. Mesopotamia is known as **Aram-naharaim**, 'Aram of the two rivers,' Tigris and Euphrates. It corresponds in part to the Nahrima of the Egyp. inscriptions, though the latter term denoted the district between the Euphrates and Orontes, as well as the kingdom of Mitanni on the eastern side of the Euphrates. In the Tel el-Amarna tablets, however, it is confined to Mitanni. The Assyr. country of Nahri lay in a different direction, in the mountains of S. Armenia. Cushan-rishathaim, king of Aram-naharaim (AV Mesopotamia), who oppressed the Israelites for eight years shortly after their entrance into Canaan (Jg 3^{8-10}), was a king of Mitanni. We learn from the Tel el-Amarna tablets that in the 15th cent. B.C. the kings of Mitanni or 'Nahrima' had already interfered in the affairs of Palestine, and had intermarried with the royal family of Egypt. The troops of Mitanni accompanied the northern hordes who attacked Egypt in the reign of Ramses III. (*c.* B.C. 1200); and as the king of Mitanni is not named among the conquered invaders, it is probable that he did not actually enter Egypt, but remained behind in Canaan. This would have been just before the Israelitish conquest of that country, and would throw light on the presence there of Cushan-rishathaim.

In certain passages of the Pent. assumed to belong to P (Gn 25^{20} $28^{2.\,5-7}$ 31^{18} 33^{18} $35^{9.\,26}$ 48^7), the name of Aram-naharaim as applied to the northern part of Mesopotamia is replaced by Pad[d]an-aram, of which *S'dêh 'Arâm*, 'the field of Aram,' in Hos 12^{12}, is supposed to be a translation. Paddan is the same word as the Syr. and Arab. *paddân*, a measure of land which can be 'ploughed' by oxen in a day, and is found in Assyrian under the form of *paddânu*. Padanu is explained in the cuneiform lexical tablets as meaning ‘field’ or ‘garden’ (*WAI* ii. 62. 33), from a root which signifies to ‘cleave’ or ‘plough’ the ground. It is also brought into connexion with *kharrânu*, ‘a high-road,’ whence the name of Harran (Gn 11[31] 28[10] 27[43]), and is the equivalent of a Sumerian word signifying ‘foot’ or ‘plain,’ which was used to denote ‘the land of the Amorites’ (*WAI* ii. 50. 59). An early king of Babylonia, Agu-kak-rimi (*c.* B.C. 1700) calls himself ‘king of Padan and Alman.’

On the western side of the Euphrates the Aramæan states and language extended, eastward of the Jordan, as far south as Mizpeh in Gilead (Gn 31[47], where the cairn is described as forming a boundary between the languages of Aram and Canaan). In the north was **Aram of Zobah** (the Tsubitê of the Assyr. texts, which place it eastward of Hamath). In the time of Saul (1 S 14[47]) ‘the kings of Zobah’ are mentioned, but soon afterwards Zobah appears under the sole rule of Hadadezer, son of Rehob (2 S 8[3-12]). Hadadezer, who had ‘had wars’ with Hamath, was defeated by David ‘as he went to recover his border at the river Euphrates.’ Subsequently, in spite of assistance from the Aramæans of Damascus (2 S 8[5]), and of Mesopotamia ‘beyond’ the Euphrates (2 S 10[16]), the army of Hadadezer was again overthrown at Helam (perhaps Aleppo, Assyr. Khalman), and ‘the kings that were servants to Hadadezer’ became the vassals of Israel. Josephus transforms the place Helam, which he calls Khalaman, into a prince of Mesopotamia. Among the cities of Hadadezer captured by David were Tibhath (1 Ch 18[8], called Betah in 2 S 8[8]) and Berothai (Cun in 1 Ch 18[8]). Tibhath seems to be the Tubikh of the Tel el-Amarna tablets and the geographical list of Tahutmes III. at Karnak, the Tebah of Gn 22[24]. The whole district is probably that which is termed Nukhasse in the Tel el-Amarna texts (Anaugas in the Egyp. inscriptions).

Adjoining Aram-Zobah was Aram Beth-rehob or **Aram-rehob** (2 S 10[6. 8]), which may have derived its name from the father (or ancestor) of Hadadezer. Rehob is associated with Ish-tob, ‘the men of Tob’ (see Jg 11[3. 5]); but in 1 Ch 19[6] Aram-naharaim takes the place of both. To the south came **Aram-maacah** or Maacah, which, along with the adjoining Geshur, was assigned to Manasseh, eastward of the lakes of Merom and Gennesaret (Dt 3[14], Jos 12[5] 13[11. 13], 2 S 3[3] 13[37]). Like Tebah and Tahash, the Takhis of the Egyp. monuments, Maacah was a descendant of Nahor (Gn 22[24]). Between Maacah and Zobah was the city of Damascus (As. *Dimasḳa*) which was conquered by the Egyp. king Tahutmes III. (B.C. 1480), and was still subject to Egypt in the age of the Tel el-Amarna tablets (B.C. 1400). Damascus is called Aram-Dammeseḳ in 2 S 8[6], when it sent aid to Hadadezer. The defeat of Hadadezer made it tributary to David, but it recovered its independence early in the reign of Solomon under Rezon the son of Eliadah, who had been a vassal of the king of Zobah (1 K 11[23-25]). Damascus soon became a dangerous neighbour of the northern kingdom of Israel, and at one time even exercised a sort of suzerainty over Samaria. The other Aramæan states of Syria were absorbed by it, so that eventually the name of Aram was applied to it alone; but its power was finally shattered by the Assyrians.

Foremost among the Aramæan deities was Hadad or Addu (also Dadu or Dadda), the sun-god, identified by the Assyrians with their Ramman (Rimmon), the air-god, also called Amurru, ‘the Amorite.’ We find the combination Hadad-Rimmon in Zec 12[11]. By the side of Hadad stood his divine son Ben-Hadad, as we learn from the cuneiform inscriptions. At Sendschirli mention is made, besides Hadad, of Resheph the fire-god, of El, Shamas, Or, and Rekeb-el or Rekub-el, which may possibly denote ‘the chariot of El.’ Numerous deities are referred to in the Palmyrene inscriptions, such as Baal-samen, Aglibol, and Yarkhi-bol; but several of them, like Bol, or Nebo, or Sin the moon-god of Harran, were borrowed from the Babylonian. So also was the goddess Atar, the Bab. Istar, who, in combination with the Syrian ‘Ati, produced the hybrid Atargatis. In the south the Nabatæans of Tema, Petra, and the Sinaitic Peninsula had several deities of their own, such as Aumos (?), Ḳatsiu (Kassios), and Ẓelem (As. Ẓalmu); but others, like Dusares and Allât, Manôt, Ḳais, and Ḳaisah, they shared with the Arabs. The gods of Syria are mentioned in Jg 10[6]. For the Aramaic Language, see LANGUAGE OF THE OT.

LITERATURE.—Renan, *Histoire générale et système comparé des Langues sémitiques* (1863); Mittheilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen, pt. xi., *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli* i. (1893); Baethgen, *Beiträge zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* (1888).

A. H. SAYCE.

ARAM (אֲרָם).—**1.** A grandson of Nahor (Gn 22[21]). **2.** An Asherite (1 Ch 7[34]). **3.** AV of Mt 1[3], Lk 3[33]. See ARNI, RAM.

ARAMAIC VERSIONS.—See TARGUMS.

ARAMITESS (אֲרַמִּיָּה, Σύρα, *Syra*), a feminine form which occurs in both AV and RV of 1 Ch 7[14], for the elsewhere frequent term *Syrian*.

ARAM MAACAH.—1 Ch 19[6]. The more southerly part of Syria. See ARAM.

ARAM-NAHARAIM, ARAM-REHOB, and **ARAM-ZOBAH.**—See ARAM.

ARAN (אֲרָן, Sam. ארן).—Son of Dishan the Horite (Gn 36[28], 1 Ch 1[42]), a descendant of Esau. The name denotes ‘a wild goat,’ and Dishan ‘an antelope’ or ‘gazelle’; while Seir the ancestor is ‘the he-goat.’ On the subject of Totem-clans in the Bible, see Jacobs’ *Biblical Archæology* (1894), pp. 64–103, and Robertson Smith on ‘Animal Worship and Animal Tribes among the Ancient Arabs and in OT’ (*Journ. of Philology*, No. 17, vol. ix., 1880).

H. E. RYLE.

ARARAT (אֲרָרָט, Ἀρμενία).—The Biblical A. is the Assyrian Urardhu (Urasdhu in the Persian period), the name given to the kingdom which had its centre on the shores of Lake Van. The name seems to be connected with Urdhû, which a cuneiform lexical tablet (*WAI* ii. 48*b*, 13) explains as ‘Highlands’ (*Tilla*),* and which appears as Urdhes in an inscription of the native king Sar-duris II., who describes it as in the neighbourhood of Lake Erivan. In Herodotus (iii. 94) the word takes the form of Alarodians. The cuneiform writing of Assyria was borrowed by the inhabitants of the country in the 9th cent. B.C., and we learn from the inscriptions composed in it that the native name of the kingdom was Biainas or Bianas, the Byana of Ptolemy, now Van. The capital of the kingdom, now represented by the modern city of Van, was called Dhuspas; this gave its name to the district termed Thôspitis in classical geography, now Tosp. It was upon ‘the mountains of A.’ that the ark rested (Gn 8[4]), and in Jer 51[27] A. is associated with Minni and Ashkenaz. Minni, in fact, called Mannâ or Minnâ in Assyrian, Mana in the Vannic texts, adjoined Ararat on the E., being separated from it by the Kotur range, and Ashkenaz is probably the Asguza of the Assyr. monuments, which was situated in the same neighbourhood.

---

* This is the explanation hitherto given by Assyriologists. But I believe that the true explanation is different. Urdhû or Ararat was denoted by an ideograph, which usually represented Accad in Babylonian, and signified ‘a mound’ or ‘tel,’ in Assyrian *tilla*, because Tilla happened to be the name of a city in Ararat with which the Assyrians were acquainted in early times. It is called Tela by Assur-naẓir-pal, and is still known as Tilleh at the junction of the Sert and the Tigris.

The name of **Armenia**, written Armina in Old Persian, Kharminuya in Amardian, first appears in the cuneiform inscriptions of Darius Hystaspis, but the origin of it is quite unknown. It may be connected with the Vannic word *armani-lis*, 'a stêle,' or with Arman ('the land of the Aramæans'?), an Aramæan district south of Lake Van. Geographically, however, Armenia corresponds with Ararat. The supreme god of A. was Khaldis, who was worshipped under a variety of forms, and from whom the inhabitants of the country took the name of 'people of Khaldis.' From this was derived the name of Khaldæi or Khaldeans, assigned by classical geographers to the Armenian population who bordered on Pontus, and which was still preserved as late as the fifteenth century in the name of Khaldia applied to Lazistan (Belck in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, ix. 1, p. 89).

The kingdom of Biainas or Ararat was originally bounded on the north by the Araxes, and although some of its kings made conquests still further north, it never seems to have comprised the Mount Ararat of modern times. This is still called Massis by the Armenians themselves, and the extension to it of the name of Ararat is of comparatively modern date. Its great height, the larger of its two peaks being 17,000 feet above the level of the sea, while the smaller peak, 7 miles distant, is 13,000 feet above the sea-level, has doubtless had much to do with the belief that it was the spot on which the ark rested. Arghuri, the only village which stood on its slopes, is even pointed out as the spot on which Noah planted his vineyard. It was first ascended by Parrot in 1829, and the ascent has since been achieved by Bryce and others.

The original site of the resting-place of the ark lay towards the south of Ararat in the Kurdish mountains, which divide Armenia from Mesopotamia and Kurdistan. According to the Bab. account of the Deluge, the 'ship' of Xisuthros, the Chaldæan Noah, rested on the peak of 'the mountain of Nizir,' which lay E. of Assyria, between 35° and 36° N. lat. Similarly, Berosus the Chaldæan historian fixed the spot in 'the mountain of the Kordyæans' or Kurds (Jos. *Ant.* I. iii. 6), and the Syriac version replaces Ararat by Ḳardu in Gn 8^4. Nicolaus Damascenus also stated that the ark had rested on 'a great mountain in Armenia, beyond Minyas, called Baris' (Jos. *Ant.* I. iii. 6). Minyas is Minni, and Baris is more accurately given as Lubar in the Book of Jubilees (ch. v.). Lubar was the boundary between Armenia and Kurdistan (Epiphanius, *Adv. Hær.* i. 5). The Jebel Judi is still regarded by the Kurds as the scene of the descent from the ark. It would seem, therefore, that the spot has been successively shifted from the mountain of Nizir (possibly Rowandiz) in the east, to Jebel Judi or Lubar, and then to the modern Mount Ararat in the far north.

The great plateau of Armenia, rising to a height of from 6000 to 7000 feet above the sea, was naturally a district which appeared to the dwellers in the southern plains beyond the reach of the Deluge. Intensely cold in the winter, it is equally hot in the summer. The vine is indigenous there (as it is in the Balkans), and the whole district is marked by the results of volcanic action. It is noteworthy that the present Armenian words for 'gold' and 'tin' are identical with the Sumerian or proto-Chaldæan names of the same objects (*oski*, 'gold,' Sumerian, *guski, wuski*; *anag*, 'tin,' Sum. *nagga*).

The cuneiform characters of Assyria were introduced into the kingdom of Ararat in the 9th cent. B.C. The syllabary was greatly simplified, each character having only a single phonetic value attached to it, and the greater number of characters expressing closed syllables being rejected. The vowels were usually denoted by separate characters, and a good many ideographs were borrowed. It is to the use of these ideographs that the decipherment of the Vannic inscriptions is mainly due. The inscriptions are carved on rocks, altar-stones, columns, and the like, and are in a language which shows little resemblance to any other with which we are acquainted, though it may be distantly related to modern Georgian.

The introduction of the cuneiform syllabary was partly the result of the campaigns of the Assyr. kings Assur-naẓir-pal and Shalmaneser II. in the north, and it seems to have been connected with the rise of a new dynasty which established itself on the shores of Lake Van (about B.C. 840). The founder of the dynasty was Sar-duris I. the son of Lutipris, who appears to have displaced Arame, the earlier antagonist of Shalmaneser II. Sar-duris was succeeded by his son Ispuinis ('the settler'), who, towards the end of his reign, associated his son Menuas with him on the throne. Menuas was a great conqueror and builder; he carried his arms as far as Mount Rowandiz in the east, and beyond the Araxes in the north, and he also claims to have defeated the Hittites and the king of Malatiyeh in the west. An inscription commemorative of the event was engraved on the cliff overhanging the Euphrates near Palu. Menuas was followed by his son Argistis I., who has recorded in a long inscription on the rock of Van the campaigns he made year by year, and the amount of spoil he brought back from them. The kingdoms of the Minni and other nations in the neighbourhood of Lake Urumiyeh were ravaged, and the Assyr. forces are stated to have been overthrown. Sarduris II., the son of Argistis, continued the conquests of his father, and extended his empire as far as the borders of Cappadocia. But his career was suddenly checked by the revival of Assyria under Tiglath-pileser III. The northern league, which the king of Armenia formed against the new power, was shattered, and the Assyrians swept the country up to the gates of the capital, Dhuspas or Van. Rusas I., the son and successor of Sar-duris, was equally unfortunate in his attempt to check the progress of Assyria, and after the overthrow of his allies by Sargon, and the fall of the city of Muzazir, he killed himself in a fit of despair. His successor, Argistis II., however, managed to preserve his independence, as also did Erimenas, against whom Esarhaddon was carrying on war, when Sennacherib was murdered by his two sons. It was to the court of Erimenas that the murderers fled. His son Rusas II. improved the water-supply of Van, and built a palace, on the site of which various objects of Vannic art, such as ornamental shields and man-headed bulls of bronze, have been discovered. A few years later Sar-duris II. made alliance with the Assyr. king, Assur-banipal (B.C. 645). Ararat suffered soon afterwards, like the rest of W. Asia, from the invasion of the Kimmerians and Scyths, in the wake of which it is probable came the immigration of the Aryan Armenians, and the fall of the old kingdom of Ararat. According to the classical authors, these Aryan Armenians were a Phrygian colony (Herod. vii. 73; Eustath. *on Dion.* v. 694). The conquest of Armenia by Cyrus took place in B.C. 546.

LITERATURE.—Sayce, 'The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Van,' in the *JRAS* xiv. 3, 4, xx. 1, xxv 1 (1893), xxvi. 4 (1894).

A. H. SAYCE.

ARATHES (Αριαράθης, ℵ, AV **Ariarathes**; 'Αράθης, A, *cursives*, incorrectly, 1 Mac 15^{22}), v. PHILOPATOR, formerly called Mithridates, was king of Cappadocia B.C. 163–130. He was a firm ally of the Romans, and, in accordance with their wishes, rejected the proposal of a marriage with the sister of Demetrius Soter. The latter made war upon him, and expelled him from his kingdom, setting up in his stead Holophernes, a supposititious son of A. IV. Philopator fled to Rome about B.C. 158, and by Rom. aid he was restored to a share in the government. A few years later he again became sole king. In B.C. 139, in consequence of an embassy sent by Simon Maccabæus, the Romans wrote letters to A. and certain other eastern sovereigns in favour of the Jews (1 Mac *l.c.*). See Diodor. xxxi. 19. 28. 32; Justin xxxv. 1; Polyb. iii. 5, xxxii. 20. 23, xxxiii. 12; Appian. *Syr.* 47. H. A. WHITE.

ARAUNAH (אֲרַוְנָה, also אֲרַנְיָה 2 S 24^{18}, אָרְנָן 1 Ch 21^{15}, 2 Ch 3^{1}).—A Jebusite who owned a threshing-floor on Mount Moriah. When David numbered the people, and the pestilence was sent as a punishment for his sin, this spot was indicated by the prophet Gad as the place where an altar should be erected to J″, because the plague had been stayed. David went to A. and bought the threshing-floor and oxen for 50 shekels of silver. The price paid is given in 1 Ch 21^{15} as 600 shekels of gold — a discrepancy which we have no means of explaining. R. M. BOYD.

ARBA (אַרְבַּע) is described as 'the great man among the Anakim' (Jos 14^{15}), 'the father of the Anak' (15^{13}), 'the father of the Anok' (21^{11}). This may mean that he was regarded as the progenitor of the Anakim, and it certainly implies that he was regarded as the great man in their traditional history. Presumably he was regarded as the founder of the city that bore his name, and as having founded it seven years before the Egyp. Zoan (Jos 15^{13}, Gn 23^{2} 35^{27}, Nu 13^{22}). See ANAKIM, GIANT. **Arbah, or Arba, City of.** This phrase occurs in AV in Gn 35^{27}, Jos 15^{13} 21^{11}. It is simply a tr. of the name which elsewhere appears as Kirjath-arba, or Kiriath-arba (which see). This city is Hebron. W. J. BEECHER.

ARBATHITE (הָעַרְבָתִי 2 S 23^{31}), Klostermann suggests בית הערבתי [see ABI-ALBON] 'a native of Beth-arabah,' a town in the wilderness of Judah (Jos $15^{6.\,61}$ 18^{22}); but הערבתי occurs without בית 1 Ch 11^{32}, and הָעֲרָבָה Jos 18^{18}. J. F. STENNING.

ARBATTA (ἐν 'Αρβάττοις, AV **Arbattis**), 1 Mac 5^{23}.—A district in Palestine. The situation is doubtful. It may be a corruption for Akrabattis —the toparchy of Samaria near 'Akrabeh E. of Shechem. C. R. CONDER.

ARBELA.—The Syrian army under Bacchides, which came from the N. upon Jerus. B.C. 161, is described by the Gr. of 1 Mac 9^{2} as proceeding 'by the way that leadeth to Gilgal, and encamping before Mesaloth, which is in Arbela (ἐν 'Αρβήλοις); gat possession of it and destroyed much people.' The sites represented by all these names are disputed, and there are several alternatives for the line of the Syrian march. The most natural direction for Bacchides to take was along the coast, and up the vale of Aijalon. On this route there lay a Gilgal, the present Jiljuliyeh, on the plain of Sharon, but no trace is now discoverable of Μεσαλώθ or of Ἄρβηλα. Jos. (*Ant.* XII. xi. 1) supposes that they came through Galilee, which he reads instead of Gilgal. On this route stands the modern Irbid, the identity of which name with Irbil or Arbela is proved by the mediæval Arab geographers (Nasir-i-Khusrau calls it Irbil, but Yakut and others Irbid; cf. Reland, *Pal.* 358); and Robinson (*BR* ii. 398) suggests that Μεσαλώθ or Μαισαλώθ stands for מְסִלּוֹת, a term he thinks appropriate to the precipices, honey-combed with caves, that always made Arbela a place of strategic importance. But this identification is doubtful. Again, Bacchides, having passed through Galilee, might have approached Jerus. across Esdraelon by the trunk road through Samaria, a direction which is called in the Bk of Jth (4^{7}) the ἀναβάσεις to Judæa. On this route there lay a strong fortress, Gilgal, the modern Jiljilia, which might well have given its name to the route; and Ewald identifies this with the Gilgal of our passage (*Hist.* Eng. ed. v. 323). On the same road, much farther N. than Gilgal, stands a Meselieh, taken by some to be the Bethulia of the Bk of Jth, and therefore a fortress that Bacchides, if advancing by this direction, would certainly have to reckon with; while close to Meselieh stands Meithalûn. These two offer a probable identification for Μεσαλώθ. The latter is said to lie ἐν 'Αρβήλοις, and this form of the phrase suggests that Arbela (observe the plural) was the name, not of a town, but a district. Now Eus. (*Onom.* art. Ἄρβηλα) notes the name as existing in his time in Esdraelon, 9½ miles from Lejjun, a position which suits the entrances from Esdraelon upon Meselieh and Meithalûn. It is just possible, therefore, that Ἄρβηλα was the name of the whole district. A fourth alternative for the route of Bacchides was through Gilead, which name is read for Gilgal by the Syr. of 1 Mac 9^{2}. In the E. of Gilead there lies to-day a point of strategic importance known as Irbid; but there is neither a Mesaloth nor a Gilgal, unless the latter be taken to be the Gilgal by Jericho, which Bacchides might have passed had he come upon Judæa through Gilead. The Gilead route, however, is much the least probable of the four suggested. See BETH-ARBEL and GILGAL. G. A. SMITH.

ARBITE (הָאַרְבִּי).—The LXX (2 S 23^{35}) apparently reads הָאַרְכִּי (the Archite), cf. Jos 16^{2} and 'Hushai the Archite,' 2 S 15^{32}; but a place 'Arab, in the S. of Judah, is mentioned Jos 15^{52}. In the parallel passage 1 Ch 11^{37} we find 'the son of Ezbai' (בֶּן־אֶזְבָּי), a reading which is supported by several MSS of the LXX 2 S *l.c.* (υἱὸς τοῦ Ἄσβι), and which is probably correct. J. F. STENNING.

ARBONAI ('Αρβωνάς, Jth 2^{24}).—A torrent apparently near Cilicia. It cannot be represented by the modern *Nahr Ibrahîm*, since the ancient name of that river was the Adonis; nor does the latter answer to the term 'torrent' (χείμαῤῥος) applied to the Arbonai. C. R. CONDER.

ARCH.—1. *Of the Temple.* The word 'arch' is used in the plural ('arches') 14 times in Ezk 40. That neither 'arch' nor 'arches' has any right to appear in the Eng. Bible at all, an examination of the Heb. word, of the versions, and of the context, will make clear. The Heb. word is according to the Mass. pointing אֵילַמִּים *'êlammîm*, which is the plur. of אֵילָם *'êlam*; the word is, however, only found with suffixes, and as the text stands it is sing. not plur.; it is the Ḳerê or corrected reading that makes the word plural. Twice indeed ($40^{16.\,30}$) does the fem. plur. אֵלַמּוֹת occur; but Smend (*Comm.* p. 326) suspects an error. (Cornill in v.^{16} reads אֵילָם sing.; v.^{30} he rejects, following most Heb. MSS.) In all the remaining 12 places the written text makes it singular and not plural. The word occurs nowhere outside this chapter, and it is almost certainly either a synonym of אֻלָם *'ûlâm*, porch, or a clerical error for this last word.

That the translators of the LXX had before them, in all the instances where either אֵילָם or אוּלָם is now found, one and the same Heb. word in the text, is suggested by the fact that these translators use but one Greek word, and that a mere translit. of אֵילָם, viz. *αἰλάμ*. Cornill in his amended text of Ezk reads אֵילָם, never אוּלָם, and trs. by *Vorhalle* (porch). It should be stated, however, that *αἰλάμ* trs. the Heb. word סַף *ṣaph*, 'threshold,' in Ezk 40^{6}, and אַיִל *'ayil*, 'post,' in $40^{10.14.16.49}$ and 41^{1}. The Vulg. uses one word *vestibulum* for *'êlam* and *'ûlam*. The Targ. also uses but one word, this being, however, אוּלַמָּא *'ûlamma'*, not, as the LXX would lead us to expect, אֵילַמָּא *'êlamma'*. It is certain that *'êlam* is used in the sense of *'ûlam* in Ezk $40^{31.34.36}$, prob. also in $40^{25.26}$, where the *'êlam* is said to be toward the outer court. The Douay Version, which follows the Vulg. more closely than the latter does the LXX, uses in all cases the Eng. word porch. In the mod. Gr. version, *στοά*, porch, is the uniform rendering. In addition to Cornill, Smend, A. B. Davidson (see their Commentaries), Fried. Delitzsch (*Prolegomena*, p. 139), the Lexicons of Mühlau and Volck, Buhl, Oxford, and the majority of recent critics, accept the view that both Heb. words have but one meaning, viz. porch. What is intended by 'porch' in this connexion see under PORCH and TEMPLE.

2. *General.* It is a debatable point whether the Israelites in OT times were acquainted with the arch as an architectural device, and whether they used it. There is no corresponding word in Hebrew; but indeed few architectural terms are found in this language. Heb. is the language of poetry, of ethics, and of religion, and not of science or of art. See ARCHITECTURE.

T. W. DAVIES.

ARCHANGEL.—See ANGEL.

ARCHELAUS.—See under HEROD.

ARCHERY.—Though bows are mentioned with tolerable frequency in the OT, one is tempted to think that the Israelites were not distinguished above the surrounding nations by their skill in the use of this weapon. The battle of Gilboa was probably lost through the superiority of the Philistine archers. David, after the battle, endeavoured to encourage archery practice in Judah (2 S 1^{18}. Reject RV and compare Driver, *Notes on Samuel, in loco*). Elisha on his deathbed (2 K 13^{15-19}) promised Joash victory over Syria by the use of the bow. Probably the revival of Israel's military power under Jeroboam, son of Joash, was due to improvement in archery; Hosea, a contemporary, speaks (1^{5}) of the bow as the national weapon of Israel.

The most effective and scientific use of the bow, however, was that shown by the Assyrians. The terror caused by their archery is hinted at in Is 5^{28} and 37^{33}. To judge from the Assyr. reliefs, it seems to have been the practice of Assyr. armies to overwhelm their enemies with the bow, and to use the spear and sword only when the foe was already in flight.

W. E. BARNES.

ARCHEVITES (אַרְכְּוָיֵא).—'The people of Erech,' a town identified with the Bab. Uruk (modern *Warka*), on the left bank of the Euphrates. It is mentioned in Gn 10^{10}, between Babel and Accad, as the second city of importance in Nimrod's kingdom; and its name occurs, in the inscriptions, along with that of Accad, as one of the principal towns in N. Babylonia.

Some of the inhabitants of Erech were 'deported' as colonists to Samaria by king Assurbanipal (668–626). Their name is mentioned in Ezr 4^{9} along with dwellers in Babylon; and the 'deportation' of Archevites most probably indicates that Erech sided with Babylon in the revolt of *Samas-sum-ukin* against the Assyr. king (cf. Ryle, *Ezra and Nehemiah*).

H. E. RYLE.

ARCHIPPUS.—Archippus is mentioned only twice in NT. The short letter sent by St. Paul to Philemon is addressed not only to Philemon and Apphia, but also to 'A., our fellow-soldier,' as well as to the church in Philemon's house (v.^{2}). The position here assigned to A., between the mention of Philemon and that of the church in his house, renders it highly probable that he was, if not a near relative (perhaps a son or brother), at any rate one belonging to the household circle. 'Fellow-soldier' is doubtless applied to him (as to Epaphroditus, Ph 2^{25}; cf. also Ph 4^{3}, 2 Ti 2^{3}) as enduring conflict in the service of the Church or the gospel, probably in some official position; but what that position was, we have no means of knowing. Nor is much more light supplied by the other passage (Col 4^{17}) which speaks of his 'ministry (*διακονίαν*) in the Lord.' The term *διακονία* need not necessarily be taken in its technical sense of the office of deacon, or in that of bishop or presbyter or evangelist; it may denote any service, but the adjunct *ἐν Κυρίῳ* defines it as specially undertaken for the Church by one 'living and acting in the Lord under the sense of holy obligation' (Meyer). The form of the admonition has been thought to imply some misgiving or doubt or censure, as though A. were still young or subordinate, weak or too indulgent, or inclined to be remiss, and so in special need of warning or stimulus; but it need not convey more than that the 'service' was a difficult one, in which he might well be strengthened by the encouragement of the Church acting on the apostle's message. The suggestion of Lightfoot, among others, that A. was a Laodicean teacher, on the ground that 4^{17} is joined by *καί* to the context in which the Laodicean Church is spoken of, seems improbable; for, apart from other difficulties, why should St. Paul have taken this roundabout way of reaching A. (if not himself a Colossian) through a *strange* church, when he was almost simultaneously addressing him directly (Philem^{2})? There seems little historical basis for the tradition that A. was one of the 70 disciples, who became bishop of Laodicea and suffered martyrdom at Chonæ.

WILLIAM P. DICKSON.

ARCHITE (הָאַרְכִּי).—The native of a town (Erech?, not Archi as in AV of Jos 16^{2}) situated on the north border of Benjamin, probably the modern *'Ain 'Arik*, west of Bethel. Hushai, David's friend (2 S 15^{32}), belonged to this town. See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvii.

C. R. CONDER.

ARCHITECTURE.—The influences which formed the architecture of the Hebrews were very diverse. Besides the highly developed structures of Egypt and Babylon, there was the native Amorite building, and the starting-point of the people themselves from a nomadic life. The great tent of the tabernacle, with its chamber of wood, must have been the ideal type for a long period to the Hebrews. It is, according to Fergusson's rendering of it (see TABERNACLE), strictly in accord with what may be seen as the system of development from the Bedawi tent at present. A widespread low tent is pitched, fencing of reeds or piles of stone is built around it to make a shelter from storms; the tent is then carried out over the shelter walls, or else enclosed in a courtyard, and settlements are thus formed which are compounded of walling for the sides and tent for the covering. Such seems to have been the principle of the tabernacle; and long after the entrance into Pal. the Hebrews, in the south at least, continued to depend on tents and skins, instead of building and pottery. The closely inhabited region south of Hebron, where at every mile or two a name of an OT village is to be found, is absolutely bare of any early building, and not a fragment of Jewish pottery is to be found there. This shows that the people retained the nomadic type of life although settled on the land.

The Amorite buildings of brick were massive and imposing to a desert people: 'cities great, and fenced up to heaven' (Dt 1^{28}). The thick walls of well-laid brickwork, as seen at Tell Hesy, were very strong defences, and quite wide enough to have considerable houses built upon the wall (Jos 2^{15}). Woodwork was largely used (Jos 8^{20}); but probably for roofing, as no trace of vaulted brick roofs has yet been found. This system of mud-brick building continued to be used throughout the Jewish history, as is seen at Tell Hesy, and alluded to by Ezekiel (13^{10-12}); and such building was probably in type, as well as material, a continuation of the Amorite style. What the external appearance of these buildings was, is shown by the figures of forts conquered by the Egyptians in Syria, and represented on the monuments. High blank walls gave no opening or hold for an enemy; pilasters and towers strengthened the faces and corners of the forts; and projecting chambers overhanging the more important points enabled the defenders to prevent any sapping or scaling. The gateway was a projecting building in front of the entrance, a plan which enabled the defenders to make it a death trap to any attacking party; for on forcing the outer gate the besiegers would be confined in a narrow space exposed to ceaseless attack overhead. Defence at this age seems to have been far superior to attack; and without a siege train such forts could be reduced only by stratagem (as at Ai) or by starvation.

When stone building was required, it appears to have been probably of masonry hewn to fit on the spot, or at least of irregular courses; for the Jews were astonished at proper construction, with hewn stone all cut regularly in advance, and they remark when neither hammer nor axe nor any tool of iron was heard in the house while it was in building (1 K 6^{7}). The mechanical Phœnicians appear to have planned the temple entirely in advance, as the Egyptians did in early times, marking each stone with its place; Hiram's builders and the Gebalites being responsible for this work (1 K 5^{18}). The stone was sawn with saws, as in the best Egyp. work (1 K 7^{9}). The cause of this Phœn. superiority in stonework is probably from their occupying a rocky coast where brick is less attainable, and a wet coast where stone is the more needful.

Of the architectural forms very little is known directly. The only carvings yet seen, which are certainly of the period of the monarchy, are the slabs of Tell Hesy. There a cavetto cornice, like the usual Egyp. form of the nineteenth dynasty, is carved on a thin slab, which was placed over a doorway as a lintel. From the want of solidity, and the curve of the back, manifestly following that of the face, it is evident that this was not a structural, but only an ornamental member; like the similar thin stone lintels attached by (wooden?) pegs to the brick wall behind, in the palace of Akhenaten at Tel el-Amarna. What the real nature of the door-crown was has not been preserved; it may have been of wood, but looking to Egyp. usage it is more likely to have been an arch of brickwork, like the walls.

The sides of the doorways have also been preserved, though reversed in re-use in a later building. They are decorated with pilasters, which show the form of the columns in use at that age. A rounded low stone base supported the stout and clumsy column, which is even represented as equal in diameter to the base. At least the ideal was very different from that of the Egyp., whose column was far narrower than its base. The column diminished greatly upward, and was capped at the top by a volute of Ionic nature. In the stonework this volute seems to imitate a coil of metal; but the whole design appears to come from a decorating of wooden posts with rams' horns, a similar idea to the bucrania in Gr. use. On Assyr. monuments, capitals are represented which have been considered to foreshadow the Ionic; but the horn form (if it ever existed in these) has been lost, whereas in the earlier Jewish example, which is probably Solomonic, the coil is much more isolated and pronounced.

These pilasters show by their shortness that a dado existed below them, and was an important feature in the building; but no stonework of a dado has been preserved. A peculiar feature of Jewish design is the duplication of the doorway. In the rock tombs there is a general tendency to a double entrance; sometimes only carried out in the porch, where a pillar will stand directly in front of the doorway. The same duplication is seen in the building at Tell Hesy in which the stone slabs were re-used, as above described: the object of the building is not known, but on three sides, if not four, it had two doors. As these doors required to be secured by locks or fastenings, the taste for double entrances must have been very strong. Such a duplication occurs both in Assyr. and Persian buildings, and belongs therefore to an established system.

Of other ornament the drafting of the walls was the most prominent, and is likewise known in Persia. The edges of the stones were dressed to a straight line with flat faces, while the middle of each external face was occupied by a projecting boss. This boss was sometimes left quite rough—like the rusticated work of the Pitti palace; but usually it was dressed flat, thus leaving the joint lines recessed half an inch to 3 inches from the main face of the wall, according to the scale of the work. The great stones of the temple substructure are the best known example of this work, but they are not certainly older than Herod. On a smaller scale this same work was found in the lower courses of a door of the fortress at Tell Hesy, which takes it back to the middle of the Jewish monarchy; and from the persistence of the type to the present day it appears to truly belong to the country.

Of the plans of buildings we know even less than of the decoration. The temple, as Fergusson has pointed out, was simply a doubling of the dimensions of the tabernacle, and we may carry the parallel further. The great tent pitched over the tabernacle sides extended beyond them, and the covered space thus left around the tabernacle would doubtless be used for subsidiary purposes. This space was reproduced in the temple as a chain of chambers all round the sides, a construction which was not favourable to any grand treatment of the exterior. The plan, therefore, was ruled by its development from the previous sacred place. In the later temple of Herod the great porch was the most striking feature, and accords in taste with the enormous porticoes of the Herodian rock-tombs at Jerusalem, which are often much larger than the tomb inside the rock. Minor buildings of the age of the monarchy have been found in the only excavations yet made in a city,—those at Tell Hesy. One building already mentioned was square, with two doors on each side. Another—perhaps a barrack—was a long hall with two rows of columns from end to end. Until further excavations may reveal more examples, we can glean but little about the usual arrangements of Jewish architecture.

W. M. Flinders Petrie.

ARCTURUS.—A star of the first magnitude in the constellation Boötes or the Herdman. Arcturus is the rendering of AV for עָשׁ *'Āsh*, Job 9^{9}, and עַיִשׁ *'Ayish*, Job 38^{32}.

The identification of *'Āsh*, *'Ayish*, has formed subject for wide conjecture. Versions: LXX Ἕσπερον in both places (agreeing with Pesh. in placing כִּימָה, Πλειάδα, before עָשׁ in 9^{9}); Pesh. ܥܝܘܬܐ *'Iyyûthâ* of doubtful meaning, explained by Arabic Lexx. as Capella Aurigæ, but placed in Taurus; Vulg. 9^{9} Arcturum (whence AV), 38^{32} Vesperum; Targ. 9^{9} transliterates, 38^{32} 'the hen with her chickens,' *i.e.* the Pleiades; Sa'adya بَنَاتُ نَعْش, *i.e.* Ursa Major. In the Talm. *Berachoth* 58*b*, R. Yehuda explains *'Āsh* as יותא *Yûtha*, and later Talmudists interpret this as 'the tail of the Ram,' *i.e.* Pleiades, or 'the head of the Bull,' *i.e.* Aldebaran with the Hyades. Ibn Ezra, 'the Bear.'

Among moderns there are two main explanations.

1. The great Bear or Wain; Ges., Del., RV, etc. With the Arabs the four stars of this group which form the quadrilateral are known as *Na'sh* 'the bier,' the three stars of the tail being 'the daughters of the bier,' a phrase which resembles that of Job 38^{32} '*'Ayish* with her children.' It is, however, impossible philologically to identify the root of Arab. *Na'sh* with Heb. *'Āsh*, and still more so with *'Ayish*.

2. The Pleiades; Stern in Geiger's *Jüd. Zeitschr.* iii. 258 ff.; Hoffmann, *ZATW.* iii. 107 f.; Nöldeke. Stern points out that Job 38^{22-38} deals with weather phenomena, and that therefore the constellations mentioned vv.$^{31.\,32}$ appear to be regarded as marking or influencing the changes of the seasons. Since the Bear is visible in the N. hemisphere throughout the year, it could scarcely be thought of as a season prognosticator. Thus Job 38^{32b} is rendered, 'Alcyone with her children,' *i.e.* the principal star of the Pleiades group with its companions, the other constellations mentioned being interpreted as the Hyades, Orion, and Canis Major with Sirius. We then have allusion to four groups regarded by the Greeks as signs of the seasons, and rising in close succession one upon another. The form *'Ayish* is thought to be correct (so Dillmann) rather than *'Āsh*, and Hoffmann vocalises *'Ayyûsh*, thus connecting with Pesh. *'Iyyûthâ*.

C. F. Burney.

ARD (אַרְדְּ).—Benjamin's son, Gn 46^{21}, but his grandson, Nu 26^{40}=1 Ch 8^{3} (*Addar*). Patronymic **Ardites** (Nu 26^{40}).

G. Harford-Battersby.

ARDAT (2 Es 9^{26} AV **Ardath**), 'a field' in an unknown situation.

ARDON (אַרְדּוֹן).—A son of Caleb (1 Ch 2^{18}).

ARELI (אַרְאֵלִי 'lion' or 'hearth of Ēl').—A son of Gad (Gn 46^{16}, Nu 26^{17}). Patronymic **Arelites** (Nu 26^{17}).

G. Harford-Battersby.

AREOPAGITE (Ἀρεοπαγίτης, Ac 17^{34} only), applied to Dionysius (wh. see) as member of the Council of the Areopagus.

AREOPAGUS (Ἄρειος Πάγος, AV 'Areopagus' Ac 17^{19}, 'Mars' hill' 17^{22}).—The Hill of Mars is an eminence nearly due west of the Athenian Akropolis, and separated therefrom by a low, narrow declivity. Here sat from the earliest antiquity the council of the Areopagus, at first a mainly judicial body composed of Eupatridæ recruited annually from the retiring archons. After the Macedonian subjugation of Athens, and under the Roman rule, this council probably retained more authority within Attica than any other representative body, and references to it in later Attic inscriptions are numerous. The hill rises gradually from the W., but drops abruptly on N. and E. On the summit remain the benches cut out of the rock on which the Areopagites sat in the open air (ὑπαίθριοι ἐδικάζοντο, Pollux, viii. 118). Sixteen worn steps cut in the rock lead to the summit; and the two stones, called the ἀργοὶ λίθοι, the λίθος ἀναιδείας 'of implacability,' and ὕβρεως 'of ill-doing,' still remain, on one and the other of which sat the accuser and the accused of murder. The council is termed in *Inscr. Attic.* iii. 714, 'the most holy,' τὸ σεμνότατον συνέδριον; and to us the awful associations, which attached to the hill and to the cave of the Furies at its foot, made it a fitting background for St. Paul's solemn declaration of a new faith in the unknown God. However, there is no reason to suppose that the curious idlers who led St. Paul thither had any other end in view than to gain a quiet spot, far removed from the hum of the busy Agora below, where they might hear in peace what this newest of enthusiasts had to say. The statement of St. Luke, that the philosophers *took* St. Paul *by the hand* (ἐπιλαβόμενοι, Ac 17^{19}, cf. Ac 9^{27} 23^{19}, also Mt 14^{31}, Mk 8^{23}), is not appropriate to accusers bringing to trial a religious innovator. Nor, if the meeting which St. Paul addressed had been a judicial court, would it have dispersed in the way related; some mocking, while others said, 'We will hear thee again of this matter.' Therefore Chrysostom's view, that St. Paul was formally arraigned before the Areopagite council, must be dismissed. There is every reason, moreover, for believing that in Ac 17^{22-31} we have the actual gist of what St. Paul said, and in tone it is not the defence of a man forcibly apprehended and put on his trial for blasphemy.*

Standing on the Areopagus and facing N., St. Paul had at his feet the Theseion, and on his right hand the Akropolis, with its splendid temples intact. Such surroundings would fill with enthusiasm every cultured Christian of to-day. Wherever St. Paul turned, his glance must have fallen on the severe and lovely works of art which still adorned the decadent city. Thus a table was spread before him of which nineteenth century humanists are laboriously but thankfully gathering up the scattered crumbs. To St. Paul's Semitic imagination nothing of all this appealed. It was to him just gold or silver or stone, graven by art and man's device, the work of a period of ignorance at which God had mercifully winked.

For a fuller disquisition on this point, and for a description of the view of Athens from the Hill of Mars, see Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Ep. of St. Paul*, ch. x.

F. C. Conybeare.

ARES (Ἀρές), 1 Es 5^{10}.—756 of his descendants returned with Zerub.: they correspond to the 775 (Ezr 2^{5}) or 652 (Neh 7^{10}) children of Arah (אָרַח).

H. St. J. Thackeray.

ARETAS (Aram. חרתת, Gr. Ἀρέτας, more correctly Ἀρέθας, as in the name of the famous bishop of Cæsarea Mazaca; the analogy of ἀρετή probably influenced the commoner spelling).—1. King of the 'Arabians,' 2 Mac 5^{8} (see below). 2. King of the Nabatæan Arabs, whose 'ethnarch' or governor, apparently at the instance of the Jews (Ac $9^{19.\,22.\,23}$, his wife may well have been a proselyte), was guarding the city of Damascus to capture (πιάσαι, 2 Co 11^{32}) and destroy (Ac 9) St. Paul. He escaped the ethnarch's hands by the aid of the disciples, who lowered him in a basket from a window in the wall. This was shortly after St. Paul's conversion, which event, rather than his escape from Damascus, would seem to be the *terminus a quo* of the μετὰ τρία ἔτη of Gal 1^{18} (see Lightf. *in loc.*). If so, the escape may have taken place at any point of time during the three years. If the escape itself is the point from which they are reckoned, the conversion can hardly lie far behind.

---

* See, however, Ramsay in *Expos.* 5th Ser. ii. 209 f., 261 f.

How Damascus, a town within the Rom. prov. of Syria, came to be guarded by the officer of an Arab king, is a much-debated question. The most probable solution is the hypothesis of a temporary extension of the Arab kingdom to Damascus. The facts are as follows :—

The Nabatæans (נבטו) are possibly identical with the NEBAIOTH (נביות) of OT (so Jos. *Ant.* I. xii. 4. The main difficulty is the unvarying distinctness of the final consonants ט and ת). They were probably of Arab race, but used the Aram. language for writing and inscriptions (Nöldeke in Schenkel, *BL*, 1872, *s.v.* Nabatäer, and in *ZDMG* xvii. 703 *sqq.*, xxv. 122 *sqq.*). We first meet with them as a formidable power in connexion with the wars of Antigonus, B.C. 312, centred in the former Edomite stronghold of SELA (Nabat. 'Sal,' Gr. Πέτρα, hence the name for their country, 'Αραβία ἡ πρὸς τῇ Πέτρᾳ, or 'Arabia Petraea'), whence their power gradually extended itself N. and S. Their first known ruler is the Aretas of 2 Mac 5^{8}, with whom Jason was imprisoned (ἐγκλεισθεὶς) or, perhaps, 'accused' (adopting the conjecture ἐγκληθεὶς), B.C. 169. A. is τύραννος, not yet a recognised king. A few years later the Nabatæans appear as friendly to the Maccabæan party (1 Mac 5^{25} 9^{35}). With the decay of the Gr. kingdoms of Syria and Egypt the Nabatæans increase in power ; about B.C. 105 their 'king' Erotimus 'nunc Aegyptum nunc Syriam infestabat magnumque nomen Arabum viribus finitimorum exsanguibus fecerat' (Trog. Pomp. *ap.* Justin, XXXIX. v. 5–6). By B.C. 85 A. III. is master of Damascus ; to him belong the coins Βασιλέως 'Αρέτου Φιλέλληνος struck at Damascus (Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 353, n. 11). He took the side of Hyrcanus against Aristobulus, B.C. 65–62, and in the latter year was attacked by Scaurus whom Pompey had left as legate of Syria; Scaurus obtained a nominal submission and a payment of money (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. v. 1 ; *BJ* I. viii. 1). Damascus had already fallen into Rom. hands (*Ant.* XIV. ii. 3 ; *BJ* I. vi. 2), in which it remained, with the exception to be noticed below, as part of the prov. of Syria, but with certain liberties of its own (for proof in detail see Schürer, n. 14, in part modifying Mommsen's important note, *Provinces*, Eng. tr. vol. ii. p. 148 *sq.*). A. III. was succeeded by Malchus (*c.* 50–28), Obodas II. (*c.* 28–9 B.C.), and A. IV. (*c.* 9 B.C.–A.D. 40), the subject of the present article.

His original name was Aeneas, but he assumed the name of A. on taking the kingdom (Jos. *Ant.* XVI. ix. 4). In B.C. 4 he sends some unruly auxiliaries to aid the expedition of Varus against the Jews (*BJ* II. v. 1 ; *Ant.* XVII. x. 9). After A.D. 28 he attacked and defeated Herod Antipas, partly in revenge for the divorce of his daughter by the latter (see HERODIAS, and Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. v. 1, 2 : the victory was transferred in Christian legend to Abgar of Edessa ; Gutschmidt, *Kleine Schriften*, iii. 31). Tiberius ordered Vitellius, propraetor of Syria, to chastise A. for this attack, but the news of Tiberius' death (A.D. 37) put an end to the expedition (Jos. *ibid.* § 3).

This brings us to the period of St. Paul's escape, which was within 3 years of his first visit to the Church at Jerus., which latter again was within 14 years of the visit recorded in Gal 2. Taking the latter (against Ramsay's view, *St. Paul the Traveller*, but see Sanday in *Expositor*, Feb. and Apr. 1896) as identical with that of Ac 15, and working back with the data of the Ac from the arrival of FESTUS, A.D. 60, we time Gal 2 about the year 51. 'Fourteen years' previous, *i.e.* about 38, comes St. Paul's first visit to the Church of Jerus., and the three previous years again, viz. 38, 37, and 36, bring us to the time of his conversion, and cover the time of his escape from Damascus.

At some time, then, during the three years in question, Damascus had come under A. It cannot have been long before, as there are coins of Damascus with the image and superscription of Tiberius down to A.D. 34 ; but there are none with those of Gaius or Claudius. The image of Nero begins in 62–63. The inference is natural that the accession of Gaius marks the transfer. That A. could have seized it by force in the face of Vitellius is out of the question. But it is not improbable that it was granted to him by the new emperor. Gaius was not kindly disposed towards Herod Antipas, and would not be unlikely to grant a mark of imperial favour to his bitter enemy. It is true that the deposition and banishment of Herod took place only in the summer of 39 (Schürer, I. ii. 36n.), a date scarcely early enough for St. Paul's escape from Damascus. But the grant to Agrippa of the tetrarchy of Philip and Lysanias, with the title of king, appears to have been one of Caligula's first acts (*Ant.* XVIII. vi. 10), and in 38 the emperor granted an Ituræan principality to Soemus (Dio Cass. lix. 12). A similar grant may well have been made to Aretas.

A. must have lived till about A.D. 40, as of the 20 dated Aretas-inscriptions of el-Hegr, two belong to his 48th year, as also do certain coins. No other Nabatæan king has left so rich a legacy of coins and inscriptions. On both, his standing title is *Raḥem-ammeh*, 'lover of his people' (the contrast with the φιλέλλην of A. III. *supr.* is suggestive). Under him the Nabatæan kingdom extended from the Euphrates to the Red Sea (cf. Jos. *Ant.* I. xii. 4). By 62 Damascus had again been taken over by the Romans, and belonged to the province of Syria when, in 106, the Nabatæan kingdom itself was added to the empire as the province of Arabia.

What is greatly wanted is a coin (or coins) of Damascus between 37 and 54 A.D. Meanwhile, it should be noted that 2 Co 11^{32} is our solitary piece of positive evidence for Damascus having formed part of the Nabatæan kingdom at any time after the Christian era. The fact, as has been shown above, has an important bearing on Pauline chronology.

The best collection and discussion of the evidence is in Schürer, *HJP* I. ii., esp. his indispensable Append. ii. on the Nabatæan kingdom, pp. 345–362, to which the above article is principally indebted.

LITERATURE.—Schürer gives ample references to the lit. of the Nabatæan kingdom. In more special relation to A. IV. see Clemen, *Chronol. d. Paul. Briefe*, § 22 ; Conybeare and Howson, vol. i. ch. iii. appendix ; Euting, *Nabatäische Inschriften aus Arabien*, Berlin, 1885 (containing a reconstructed list of kings by von Gutschmidt) ; J. G. Heyne, *de Ethnarcha Aretae Arabum regis* (Wittemb. 1755) ; Anger, *de temporum in Act. App. ratione*, pp. 173–182 ; Wieseler, *Chronologie*, pp. 167–175, and in *PRE*, *s.v.* Aretas ; Meyer-Wendt on Acts, *Einl.* § 4 n. ; Rohden, *de Palaestina et Arabia Provinciis Romanis* (1885). Also, in addition to the references in the body of this article, see ARABIA, PAUL, DAMASCUS, NEBAIOTH, ETHNARCH.

A. ROBERTSON.

ARGOB (אַרְגֹּב).—Apparently an officer of Pekahiah, king of Israel, assassinated by Pekah together with the king his master and one Arieh

(2 K 15^{25}); so Ewald, Thenius, Keil, and most. Another explanation makes Argob and Arieh conspirators with Pekah. Probably the passage is corrupt. See Klostermann, who suggests the emendation אֶת־אַרְבַּע מֵאוֹת גִּבֹּרָיו 'with his 400 warriors';—by a sudden *coup* Pekah and his 50 surprise 400.

C. F. BURNEY.

ARGOB (אַרְגֹּב; once, Dt 3^{13}, with the art. הָאַרְגֹּב).—A district mentioned in Dt 3$^{4.\,13.\,14}$, 1 K 4^{13}, and described as situated on the E. of Jordan, in Bashan, in the kingdom of 'Og, and as containing threescore cities, all strongly fortified, 'with high walls, gates, and bars, besides very many cities of the country folk' (*i.e.* unwalled cities: see Ezk 38^{11}). The particular district intended is uncertain. The Targums of Onk. and Jon. represent Argob by טרכונא (Pseud.-Jon. טרגונא), *i.e.* the Trachonitis, or ὁ Τράχων, of Greek writers (see Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 10 ff.; G. A. Smith, *Geogr.* 543), some 25 miles S. of Damascus, a remarkable volcanic formation, in shape resembling roughly a pear, about 25 miles from N. to S., and 19 miles from E. to W., the rugged surface of which consists of innumerable rocks or boulders of black basalt, intersected by fissures and crevices in every direction (see TRACHONITIS). This formation, which owes its origin to the streams of lava emitted from the Jebel Ḥauran, on the S.E., rises some 20–30 ft. above the surrounding plain; and 'its border is as clearly defined as a rocky coast, which it very much resembles.' It forms a natural fortress, which a small body of defenders could hold even against a determined invader; and hence its modern name the *Leja* (*i.e. laja'ah*, refuge, retreat). Some modern writers have accepted the identification thus suggested by Onk. and Jon., supporting it further, partly by the fact that the Leja contains the remains of several ancient cities, partly by the philological arguments that *Argob* signifies 'stony,' and that the term חבל (AV 'region'), used regularly in connexion with it in the OT, is intended as a designation of its rocky boundary spoken of above. The identification is, however, extremely doubtful, and has been abandoned by the best recent authorities. To take the latter point first, the philological arguments appealed to are exceedingly precarious. *Argob* can be interpreted *stony* only upon the questionable assumption that the root רגב is cognate with רָגַם: to judge, however, from רֶגֶב *clods of earth* (Job 21^{33} 38^{38}), it would denote naturally a rich and earthy soil rather than a stony one, and so (Smith, *Geogr.* 551) is 'probably equivalent to our word "glebe."' And חבל is a *cord* (Jos 2^{15}), or *measuring-line* (Mic 2^{5}), fig. a *measured portion* or *allotment* (Jos 17^{4} 19^{9}), applied to a particular district or 'region' (RVm), Zeph 2$^{5.\,6.\,7}$: there is consequently no ground for supposing it to have been used specially on account of the rocky border of the Leja. Secondly, the remains of ancient cities in (or about) what must have been the biblical Bashan are by no means confined to the Leja; on the contrary, they are much more numerous on the sloping sides of the Jebel Ḥauran (S.E. of the Leja), which, covered by a rich and loamy soil, sinks down gradually, especially on the S. and W., to the level of the surrounding plain. The whole of this region is studded with deserted towns and villages—according to Wetzstein, who has described it most fully (*Reisebericht über Hauran u. die Trachonen*, 1860, p. 42), the E. and S. slopes of the Jebel Ḥauran alone contain the remains of some 300 such ancient sites; they are also numerous on the W. and S.W. slopes (cf. Porter, *Five Years in Damascus*^{2}, pp. 229, 239, 251, 253). The dwellings in these deserted localities are of a remarkable character. Wetzstein distinguishes four kinds—(1) some are the habitations of Troglodytes, being caverns hollowed out in the side of a hill, or of a Wady, in the soft volcanic rock, and so arranged as to form separate chambers: these are chiefly on the E. of Jebel Ḥauran (Wetzstein, pp. 22, 44 f., who names three, viz. Umm Ḍubêb, 'Ajêlâ, and Shibikke).* (2) Others are on a larger scale, being subterranean chambers entered by shafts invisible from above, and capable of forming a secure retreat from an invader; these are frequent on the W. of the Zumleh range (*ib.* p. 46 f.; cf. Oliphant, *Land of Gilead*, pp. 103, 108 f. [about Irbid]); an extensive underground city of this kind at EDRE'I (at the N.E. foot of the same range) was explored by Wetzstein (p. 47 f.) and Schumacher (p. 121 ff.). (3) A third kind, of which Wetzstein saw but one example, at Ḥibikke, on the E. of J. Ḥauran, about 8 miles N.E. of Salchad, consists of chambers cut out in an elevated plateau of rock, and covered with a solid stone vault, producing outside the appearance of a cellar or tunnel. Ḥibikke was originally surrounded with a wall, in the manner of a fortress (p. 48 f.). (4) The fourth and commonest kind consists of dwelling-houses built in the ordinary manner above ground, but constructed of massive well-hewn blocks of black basalt,—the regular and indeed the only building material used in the locality,—with heavy doors moving on pivots, outside staircases, galleries, and roofs, all of the same material: of this kind are the remains described by Porter (*l.c.* chs. x.–xiii.) at Burāḳ, on the N. edge of the Leja, Sauwarah, Hît, Heyât, Bathaniyeh, Shuḳa, Shuhba, east of it, Ḳanawāt and Suweideh on the W. slopes of J. Ḥauran, Boṣrā, Salchad, and Ḳureiyeh, on its S. slope (cf. Heber-Percy, *A Visit to Bashan and Argob*, 1895, pp. 40, 47, 60, 71, etc., with photographs). Many of these cities are in such a good state of preservation, that, as Wetzstein observes, it is difficult for the traveller not to believe that they are inhabited, and to expect, as he walks along their streets, to see persons moving about the houses. The architecture of these remains (which include temples, theatres, aqueducts, churches, etc.) is of the Græco-Roman period, and is such as to show that between the first and the seventh centuries A.D. the cities in question were the home of a thriving and wealthy population. Can, now, any of these deserted localities be identified with the 'threescore cities, with high walls, gates, and bars,' of the ancient kingdom of 'Og? The spectacle presented by many of them is so singular and impressive that amongst those who visited and almost re-discovered them, in the present century, there were some who assigned them confidently to a remote antiquity, and who boasted that they had themselves traversed the cities 'built and occupied some forty centuries ago' by the giant race of the Rephaim: so, in particular, J. L. Porter, who visited the district in 1853 (*Five Years in Damascus*, 1855, ii. 206 f., ed. 2, pp. 257 f., 263 f.; *Giant Cities of Bashan*, 1882, pp. 12, 13, 30, 84, etc.), and Cyril C. Graham, who visited it in 1857 (*Journal of the Royal Geogr. Soc.* 1858, p. 256 f., *Cambridge Essays* for 1858, p. 160 f.). The emphatic contradiction which Porter's theory received from Douglas Freshfield in *The Central Caucasus and Bashan*, 1869, ch. ii., led to a somewhat heated correspondence in the *Athenæum* for 1870 (June, pp. 774, 837; July, pp. 18, 117, 148; cf. also

---

* The habit of dwelling in caves in these parts is illustrated by an interesting but unfortunately mutilated inscription (Le Bas and Waddington, *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines recueillies en Grèce et en Asie Mineure*, iii. 1, No. 2329) from Kanatha (Ḳanawāt), on the W. slope of J. Ḥauran, which seems to speak of an attempt made by king Agrippa (prob. Agrippa I.) to civilize τοὺς ἐνφωλεύσ[αντας], and reclaim them from their θηριώδης κατάστασις (cf. Jos. *Ant.* XIV. xv. 5; also, of the Leja, x. 1; XVI. ix. 1).

Porter, *Damascus*^{2}, Preface). There can, however, be little doubt that Porter and Graham much exaggerated the antiquity of these remains. As has been stated, the prevalent style of architecture is Græco-Roman; in many of the cities Greek inscriptions, dating from the time of Herod onwards, have been found, and, in the opinion of the best and most independent judges, the extant remains, at least in the great majority of cases, are not of a more ancient date than the 1st cent. A.D. De Vogüé, the principal authority on the architecture of the Ḥauran, in the preface (p. 4)[*] to his collection of 150 plates, called *Syrie Centrale, Architecture Civile et Religieuse du i*^{er} *au vii*^{e} *siècle* (1867), expressly states that he had found no structures of an earlier date: Burton and Drake (*Unexplored Syria*, 1872, i. 191–196) declare that even a careful examination of foundations disclosed to them no specimen of 'hoar antiquity.' Wetzstein and Waddington express a similar judgment, though not quite in the same unqualified terms: the former (pp. 103 f., 49) agrees that in the main there are no edifices earlier in date than the Christian era, but allows that the Troglodyte dwellings, and those found at Ḥibikke (see above), may be of very great antiquity, and also that very ancient building materials may be preserved in such places as Bosrā and Salchat; the latter writes (*op. cit.* p. 534): 'Malgré les recherches prolongées et minutieuses que j'ai faites pendant un séjour de cinq mois dans le pays, je n'ai pu découvrir aucun monument antérieur au règne d'Hérode. Il y a sans doute des habitations grossièrement construites en pierres brutes, des cavernes fermées par une devanture en pierres sèches, qui peuvent être de toutes les époques, et dont quelques-unes sont peut-être fort anciennes, mais, je le répète, il n'y a pas trace de civilisation régulière, de temples, d'édifices publics, avant le règne d'Hérode.' And the majority even of such buildings, he adds, are later than this, and belong to the period between Trajan and Justinian. The caves and tunnel-like dwellings, described by Wetzstein, however, can hardly be the strongly fortified cities mentioned in Dt. Whether the low *private* dwellings, built with 'ponderous blocks of roughly hewn stone,' on the antiquity of which Porter (*Damascus*^{2}, pp. v, 257) insists, are identical with the 'habitations grossièrement construites en pierres brutes,' which Waddington allows may be ancient, can hardly be determined by one who has not visited the country.[†] On the whole, it may be safely concluded that the *existing* deserted cities are not those of the ancient Argob;[‡] though it does not seem improbable that some of the cities built in the Græco-Roman period may have stood upon the sites of cities belonging to a far earlier age, and that in their construction the dwellings of the ancient cities of 'Og may have been, in some cases, utilised and preserved. Perhaps future exploration may prove the substructures to be of earlier date than has been hitherto suspected.[§]

The site of Argob cannot be determined with certainty. Guthe (*ZDPV*, 1890, p. 237 f.), inferring from Dt 3^{14} that Argob extended to the W. as far as Geshur and Ma'acah, places it, though not without hesitation, in the country about Der'āt (Edre'i), and northwards as far as Nawā, in which he says that there are sufficient ruins of ancient sites to justify the biblical description. The inference based on Dt 3^{14} is perhaps doubtful: the verse seems to be written with a harmonistic motive (see Comm., and JAIR), and hardly says distinctly that Argob reached to Geshur and Ma'acah. Dillm. suggested a site more towards the E., between Edre'i and 'Ashtaroth, and J. Ḥauran. If there is reason in the supposition that the deserted cities referred to above stand upon the site of the ancient cities of 'Og, the part of Bashan in which they are most numerous would seem to be the W. declivities of J. Ḥauran, N. of Salchah (the S.E. limit of Bashan), the soil of which—a disintegrated lava—is rich and fertile (Wetzst. p. 40 f.), such as might be described by a derivative of רָגַב.[*]

LITERATURE.—On the cities of Ḥauran, see further (besides the works already quoted), Merrill, *East of Jordan*, 1881, chs. ii.–v.; and for inscriptions, Wetzstein, *Ausgewählte Griech. und Lat. Inschriften gesammelt auf Reisen in den Trachonen und um das Haurângebirge*, in the *Abhandlungen* of the Berlin Academy, 1863, pp. 255–368; Waddington, *op. cit.* Nos. 2071–2548; Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'Archéol. Orient*, i. (1888) pp. 1–23; G. A. Smith, *Critical Review*, 1892, p. 55 ff.; W. Ewing in the *PEFSt*, 1895, p. 41 ff., 131 ff., 265 ff., 346 ff.; de Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale, Inscriptions Sémitiques*, 1868, chs. ii.–iii. p. 89 ff.; the *CIS* II. i. fasc. 2, Nos. 162–193 (chiefly repeated from de Vogüé). The best map of the district is that of Fischer (constructed chiefly on the basis of Stübel's Survey) in the *ZDPV*, 1890, Heft 4.
S. R. DRIVER.

ARIDAI (אֲרִידַי Est 9^{9}), the ninth of Haman's sons, put to death by the Jews. The name is prob. Persian, perhaps *haridayas*, 'delight of Hari' (Ges. *Thes.* add.); but LXX has a different text.
H. A. WHITE.

ARIDATHA (אֲרִידָתָא Est 9^{8}), the sixth son of Haman, put to death by the Jews. The name is perhaps from the Persian *Haridâta*, 'given by Hari'; but the LXX has Φαραδάθα, this name coming fourth.
H. A. WHITE.

ARIEH (הָאַרְיֵה, with def. article, 'the lion').—Mentioned with Argob in a very obscure passage (2 K 15^{25}). See ARGOB.
C. F. BURNEY.

ARIEL (אֲרִיאֵל, 'Αριήλ).—1. The name of one of Ezra's 'chief men,' Ezr 8^{16}. It doubtless signifies here 'lion of God.' 2. The name, in RV (so LXX and most moderns), of a Moabite whose two sons were slain by Benaiah, one of David's mighty men, 2 S 23^{20},[†] 1 Ch 11^{22} (LXX, in later passage, has τοὺς δύο ἀριήλ). 3. A name, in Is $29^{1.2.7}$ (four times), for Jerusalem. The original meaning is quite uncertain. It may be (see RVm) either (1) 'lion (or lioness) of God,' so, among others, Ewald, Cheyne (*Comm.*), Dillm.; or (2) 'hearth of God,' so the Targum, Del., Orelli, W. R. Smith (*OTJC*^{2} p. 356), König (*Lehrgeb. d. Heb. Spr.* ii. 1, p. 416). The latter seems the more probable, in view of אריאל (God's hearth = altar, RV 'altar hearth'), Ezk 43^{15}, and אראל with the same signification on the stele of Mesha (l. 12). Duhm (*Comm. in loc.*) takes *l* as a formative letter, and suggests *aryal* as original form (= sacrificial hearth). Cheyne (*Introd. to Is.* p. 187, n.) now favours this, and writes Arial.
A. R. S. KENNEDY.

ARIMATHÆA ('Αριμαθαία), Mt $27^{57.60}$.—The situation of this place is not indicated. In the *Onomasticon* (*s.v.* Armathem-Sophim) it is identified with Ramathaim-zophim (1 S 1^{1}), and placed near Thamna and Lydda. The village *Rantieh* seems intended, but the various traditions disagree and have no value. See *SWP* vol. ii. sheet xiv. See also ARUMAH.

---

[*] Cited at length in Merrill, *East of Jordan*, p. 63.

[†] Heber-Percy, pp. 92, 95, states that at Roum (E. of Ḳanawāt) he found ruins different from any which he had hitherto seen, viz. a village consisting of one-storied houses, built almost entirely of rough unhewn stones; he thought that this had been a village of peasants.

[‡] So also G. A. Smith, *Geogr.* p. 624 f.

[§] W. Wright (*Palmyra and Zenobia*, p. 251) mentions that he descended some 16–18 ft. in Burāk, and found the walls there to consist of enormous undressed stones, unlike those on the surface.

[*] The *Onom.* (p. 216) identifies 'Αργόβ with a village Ἔργα, 15 miles W. of Gerasa, which may well be er-Rujêb, on the W. Rujêb, at just that distance from Gerasa; but this is clearly too far south for the Argob in Bashan.

[†] AV has 'two lion-like men of Moab.' For other suggested emendations, see Klostermann's *Comm. in loc.*, whose ingenious conjecture has been accepted by Budde (in Haupt's *Bible*); Sayce, *Athenæum*, Oct. 9, 1886; and W. R. Smith, *RS* 469.

C. R. CONDER.

ARIOCH (אַרְיוֹךְ).—1. ARIOCH was the vassal-king of Ellasar, under the Elamite king Chedor-laomer, when the latter invaded Canaan in the time of Abraham (Gn 14^1). The name has been found in the cuneiform inscriptions of Babylonia.* When the country was still divided into more than one kingdom, Eri-Aku, 'the servant of the moon-god,' was king of Larsa (now Senkereh, between the Tigris and Euphrates in the south of Babylonia, a little east of Erech). Larsa is evidently the biblical Ellasar. The name of Eri-Aku was transformed by his Sem. subjects into Rim-Sin (pron. Riv-Sin, whence the ו of Arioch), and explained as a Sem. compound, like the names of other Bab. kings of the period. He was the son of an Elamite, Kudur-Mabug, who is called 'the father of the land of the Amorites' or Syria, and the son of Simti-silkhak. Inscribed bricks of his exist, as well as contracts drawn up during his reign. In his inscriptions he calls himself 'the shepherd of the possessions of Nippur, the executor of the oracle of the holy tree of Eridu, the shepherd of Ur, the king of Larsa, and the king of Sumer and Accad,' and in one of them he mentions his conquest of 'the ancient city of Erech.' He was attacked by Khammurabi, king of Babylon, and in spite of the assistance furnished by the Elamites was defeated and overthrown. Khammurabi annexed his kingdom, and from henceforth Babylonia became a single monarchy, with Babylon as its capital. Mr. Pinches has lately found a tablet, belonging, however, to a late period, in which mention is made of Eri-Aku, Tudkhula or Tidal, the son of Gazza (ni ?), and Kudur-Lagamar, the Chedor-laomer of Genesis. 2. The 'captain of the king's guard' in the time of Nebuchadrezzar, according to Dn 2$^{14\text{-}25}$. The name, however, was Sumerian, and not used at that period of Bab. history. It has been taken from Gn 14^1. 3. King of 'the Elymæans' or Elam, acc. to Jth 1^6. The name has been borrowed from Gn 14^1, where it stands beside that of Chedor-laomer, king of Elam.

A. H. SAYCE.

ARISAI (אֲרִיסַי Est 9^9), the eighth son of Haman, put to death by the Jews. The LXX has Ἀρσαῖος, in the ninth place.

H. A. WHITE.

ARISTARCHUS (Ἀρίσταρχος), the devoted fellow-labourer of St. Paul, was a native of Thessalonica (Ac 20^4 27^2). He is first mentioned as having been seized along with Gaius during the great riot at Ephesus. He accompanied St. Paul from Troas on his last journey to Jerusalem (Ac 20^4), and thereafter on his passage to Rome (Ac 27^2). He was with St. Paul at Rome when he wrote the Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon (Col 4^{10}, Philem ^{24}). It has been suggested that he shared St. Paul's imprisonment voluntarily, and that he and Epaphras (cf. Col 4^{10}, Philem ^{23}) may have participated in the apostle's bonds alternately. The word used by St. Paul in these passages (συναιχμάλωτος) has led to the further suggestion that the reference is to spiritual captivity, that in common with the apostle they were held captive by Christ; but that is not likely. Tradition affirms that Aristarchus suffered martyrdom in Rome under Nero.

W. MUIR.

ARISTOBULUS (Ἀριστόβουλος).—1. Amongst the list of persons greeted by St. Paul at the end of the Epistle to the Romans (16^{10}) are certain called τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ἀριστοβούλου, 'members of the household of Aristobulus.' The following is the explanation of this phrase given by Bishop Lightfoot.

A., son of the elder A. and Berenice, grandson of Herod and brother of Agrippa I. (see HEROD), lived and died a private man, was a friend of the Emperor Claudius, and apparently a resident in Rome. It is suggested that the 'household' of A. were his slaves, who after his death, which must have taken place before this time, had become the property of the emperor, probably by legacy. We know that in other cases members of households which became the property of the emperor, retained their name. We find Maecenatiani (*CIL* vi. 4016, 4032), Amyntiani (*ib.* 4035, cf. 8738), Agrippiani, Germaniciani. So, too, there might be *Aristobuliani*, and this would be translated οἱ Ἀριστοβούλου. This household would presumably contain many Jews and other Orientals, and would therefore be a natural place in which to find Christians. The name Herodion following, was that of a Jew, and suggests a member of the Herod family. See HERODION, NARCISSUS.

LITERATURE.—Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 172; Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, p. 425. For later traditions, which have little value, see *Acta Sanctorum*, March, ii. 374.

2. Ptolemy's teacher, 2 Mac 1^{10}.

A. C. HEADLAM.

ARIUS (Ἄρης, 1 Mac 12$^{7.\,20}$), a king of Sparta. In v.^{7} the name appears in the corrupt form of Δαρεῖος; in v.^{20} many MSS read Ὀνιάρης or Ὀνειάρης, a form produced by the combination of Ὀνίᾳ Ἄρης (so v.^{19} in AV *Oniares*); but ℵ* Ὀνιααρης, *Vet. Lat.* Arius; in Jos. *Ant.* XIII. v. 8, the reading varies between Ἄρειαος and Ἀρεύς, the latter being the more correct form. The person referred to is Areus I., the grandson and successor of Cleomenes II., who was king of Sparta from 309 B.C. to 265 B.C., and was contemporary with the high priest Onias I., the successor of Jaddua. The Spartans were at that time engaged in a struggle against Antigonus and his son Demetrius Poliorcetes, and they probably hoped to create difficulties for their opponent by raising disturbances in the East. Friendly letters were interchanged between Areus and Onias (probably about 300 B.C.); and Jonathan Maccabæus refers to these communications in a letter which he sent by his ambassadors to Sparta (about 144 B.C.), 1 Mac 12$^{7\text{ff.}\,19\text{ff.}}$. Cf. Schürer, *HJP* I. i. 250 f.

H. A. WHITE.

ARK OF INFANT MOSES.—A box (תֵּבָה *têbhah*), made of bulrushes or papyrus reeds, the stems of a succulent water plant, rendered watertight by layers of slime and pitch, in which Moses when three months old was placed and committed to the river (Ex 2^3). The word seemingly is of Egyptian origin, primarily meaning 'hollow,' 'a concave vessel,' and the possible source of the obscure Heb. root which appears in *'ob*, ventriloquist, necromancer, ghost. Papyrus reeds were commonly used in Egypt for the construction of light boats. A very similar story of a remarkable preservation is told on a Babylonian tablet from Kouyunjik, about Sargon I., a monarch who reigned in Agade, one of the cities of the Euphrates valley, *c.* 3500 B.C. It is said (see Smith, *Chaldean Genesis*, 880, p. 319) that his mother placed him in a basket of rushes, sealing up his exit with bitumen, and launching him on a river which did not drown him, from which he was taken and brought up by his preserver.

J. MACPHERSON.

ARK OF NOAH.—The vessel built by the patriarch at God's command for saving life upon the earth during the great Flood. The period of detention within it is said to have lasted over a year (Gn 7^{11} 8^{14} P); hence it was necessary that large accommodation should be provided for the storage of provisions. The ark, in short, is to be conceived of as an immense floating store, fitted to lie solidly on the surface of the waters. Its dimensions were: 300 cubits long, 50 cubits broad, and 30 cubits high. The length of the cubit is six handbreadths, and is usually reckoned at 21 inches. In our measures, therefore, the ark would be 525 ft. long, 87½ ft. broad, and 52½ ft. high. In 1609, Peter Jansen of Horn in Holland built a vessel of the same proportions, and found that it would stow one-third more cargo than other ships of ordinary structure. It has been calculated that it would contain a space of 3,600,000 cubic ft., and that after 9/10 had been set aside for storage of food, there would be over 50 cubic ft. each allowed for 7000 pairs of animals. Such calculations, though in earlier times treated with all seriousness, now receive little consideration. The measurements given in the biblical text are not sufficiently detailed, nor is the description of the whole construction sufficiently explicit, to form the basis of such conclusions. (See BABYLONIA, FLOOD.)

---

* But see Winckler, *Keilinsch. Bibliot.* Bd. iii. 1 Hälfte, 92 ff.; Schrader, *COT*^{2}, ii. 301, *Crit. Rev.* Apr. 1894, p. 126.

The ark was built of gopher wood, supposed to mean pitch wood, and possibly, as Delitzsch suggests, the conifer cypress, much used by the Phœnicians for shipbuilding on account of its lightness and durability. It was divided into 'rooms' or 'nests,' קִנִּים. The whole structure was three storeys in height, and was lighted by windows under the roof on each side. The pitch used to render the ark watertight was not vegetable, but mineral pitch or asphalt. Berosus, writing about B.C. 300, asserts that remains of the ark were then found in Armenia, which were used in making bracelets and amulets. Between the announcement to Noah of the coming Flood and the actual fulfilment of the judgment, there intervened, acc. to Gn 6^{3} (J), 120 years, and during that time the ark was building, and Noah was, by word and by act, a preacher of righteousness to his generation (1 P 3^{20}, 2 P 2^{5}).

J. MACPHERSON.

ARK OF THE COVENANT.—i. NAME.—The ark (הָאָרוֹן) was the most ancient and most sacred of the religious symbols of the Heb. nation. Its name in the oldest sources is 'the ark of J″' (ארון יהוה), or 'the ark of God' (א״ אלהים). In Dt we first[*] meet with the designation 'ark of the Covenant of J″' (" בְּרִית א״), Dt 10^{8} $31^{9.25.26}$, shortened elsewhere to the familiar 'ark of the Covenant,' Jos $3^{6.8}$ etc. In several passages of the older hist. books (cf. LXX text of 1 S 4^{3-5}) which have been edited by writers of the Deuteronomic school, the earlier form 'ark of J″' has been expanded to 'ark of the Covenant of J″' (as is clear from such grammatical impossibilities as we find in Jos $3^{14.17}$), and the favourite expression 'ark of the Covenant' intentionally or unintentionally substituted for the earlier forms. A still later designation, 'ark of the testimony' (א״ הָעֵדֻת), occurs only in P, Ex 25^{22} etc. The rest of the names occasionally met with are merely variations of these. Throughout all the books we find 'the ark' as the popular and universally intelligible designation.

ii. HISTORY OF THE ARK.—In this article we propose to confine ourselves to the history and significance of the ark as given in the pre-exilic literature. Its place in the scheme of the Priests' Code will be discussed in the article TABERNACLE. In the prophetic narrative of the Pent. (JE) the ark first appears as an object of peculiar sanctity in the important passage Nu $10^{33ff.}$.[†] Here it is expressly recognised as the leader of the host in the march through the desert, in virtue of its being, in some sense, the dwelling-place of J″. In another passage from the same source, Nu 14^{44}, the ark is intimately associated with Moses. Had these sources come down to us intact, we should have had much earlier information than anything which we now have regarding the origin and construction of the ark. No one can read the present text of Ex 33 without being struck with the abrupt transition from vv.$^{1-6}$ to v.$^{7ff.}$, and with the sudden introduction of '*the* tent' (v.^{7}) as of something already explained. We may therefore consider it a matter of certainty that the compiler of the Pent. has omitted from the prophetic source the accounts of the erection of 'the tent of meeting' as inconsistent with the much fuller account in P. Another question now emerges. Did the excised portion of JE also contain an account or accounts of the construction of the ark? To this an affirmative answer must be given; for if we read carefully the retrospect given in Dt 10^{1-5}, and bear in mind that the whole of D's historical references are taken from the prophetic narratives, we can scarcely have any doubt that in JE, as it lay before the author of D, there must have been a record of the construction by Moses of 'an ark of wood' (Dt 10^{1}) before his ascent to the mount. In the absence of the original text of these older sources, it is no longer possible to speak with certainty as to their mode of conceiving J″'s relation to the ark. The most probable view seems to be that already referred to as found in the antique poetical fragment, Nu $10^{35.36}$, where J″ is conceived of as personally present in the ark, and guiding the march of His chosen people. The same representation is met with somewhat later in the composite narrative (chiefly JE)[*] of the passage of the Jordan, in which the ark, borne by the priests, shows the way, while the people follow at a considerable distance (Jos $3^{3ff.}$). During the subsequent conquest of W. Pal., as related in the Books of Jos and Jg 1–2 from materials of various dates, the ark and the tent of meeting must have had their headquarters in the standing camp at Gilgal (Jos 9^{6} 10^{43}), the former we may suppose frequently accompanying the tribes to battle. Thus we know the prominence given to the ark in the siege of Jericho (Jos 6); and the sacrifice in the presence of the ark on Mt Ebal (Jos 8^{33} from D^{2}) may be taken as a typical episode in the history of the conquest. From Gilgal the headquarters were moved by divine command to Bethel (Jg $2^{1ff.}$).[†]

The next resting-place of the ark was at Shiloh, in the territory of Ephraim. Here, according to P (Jos 18^{1}), it was deposited by Joshua himself, and here it is found at the close of the period of the Judges (1 S 3^{3}). The original tent[‡] is now replaced by a temple (1 S 1^{9} 3^{3}), the guardians of which are members of an ancient priestly family (1 S 2^{27}), with Samuel the Ephraimite as attendant.

The following section (chs. 4^{1}–7^{1}) is a document of the first importance as a record of the popular conceptions of the ancient Hebrews with regard to the ark. The various incidents in the narrative are too familiar to need repetition. The leading thought throughout is the conviction that the presence of the ark secures the presence of J″ Himself in the camp of the Hebrews.[§]

The capture of the sacred object by the Philistines, the effect of the news on the aged Eli, the incidents of its sojourn in Phil. territory, and its restoration, are graphically told by the narrator.[*] After a short stay at Bethshemesh, the ark is removed to Kiriath-jearim and deposited in the house of Abinadab 'in the hill,' while Eleazar, his son, is set apart as its guardian. Here it remained, according to a later addition to the text, for twenty years, a period admittedly too short by at least a generation.[†] Why an object of such sanctity was not restored to its proper home in the temple of Shiloh we can only conjecture. Most probably the temple had been destroyed, and Shiloh [‡] itself occupied by the Philistines. As a result a period of spiritual declension followed, lasting well into the reign of Saul [§] (cf. 1 Ch 13^{3}). The centre of the purest teaching must have been the home of Samuel at Ramah (1 S 7^{17}), the fruit of which we may perhaps trace in the higher religious conceptions that mark the reign of David.

---

[*] ברית in Nu 10^{33} (J) 14^{44} (E) (cf. Bacon, *Triple Trad. of the Exod.* pp. 171, 189) is almost certainly an editorial insertion.

[†] Probably J, see n.*

[*] See Bennett's 'Joshua' in Haupt's *Bible*; Kittel, *Hist.* i., Eng. tr., pp. 282, 283; Driver's art. 'Joshua' in Smith's *DB*^{2}.

[†] See Moore's *Comm. ad loc.*; Kittel, Eng. tr., pp. 270, 275. So most moderns, MT *Bochim.* The tradition that the ark once had its home in Bethel may be recognised in Jg $20^{27b\ 28a}$, a late marginal gloss.

[‡] The words of 1 S 2^{22b}, wanting in LXX, are admittedly a very late addition to the original text (Wellh., Driver, Klost., Budde).

[§] This is clear from the whole tenor of the narrative without our requiring to read, with Klost., 'our God' (אלהינו) for 'unto us' (4^{3}). It is also more than probable, in view of the femin. construction in v.^{17}, that we should render, 'that *he* may come and save us.' Cf. 6^{20}.

This sovereign, once securely seated on the throne of 'all Israel,' took active steps for the removal of the ark to his new capital on the slopes of Ophel, as related at some length in 2 S 6 and lovingly expanded in 1 Ch 13. The text of the former passage has suffered greatly, but the general sense is clear. From the house of Abinadab at Kiriath-jearim [otherwise Baalath (of Judah), Jos 15^{9}] the ark is brought in state on the way to Jerus. The sons of Abinadab, Uzzah and Ahio, are in charge of the new cart on which the ark has been placed, the former walking [‖] beside the ark, the latter guiding the oxen in front. Dismayed by a sign of the divine displeasure, David desists from his purpose for a time, leaving the ark in the custody of Obed-edom the Gittite. After three months, however, the removal is successfully accomplished, and the ark safely deposited 'in the midst of the tent that David had pitched for it' (v.^{17}). After this, in the epigrammatic words of the Chronicler, the ark had rest (1 Ch 6^{31}). For the last time we meet with the ark as the representative of J″ on the field of battle in the campaign against the children of Ammon (2 S 11^{11}). Somewhat later, on the occasion of Absalom's rebellion, when the priests Zadok and Abiathar [¶] (2 S 15$^{24ff.}$), in accordance with ancient custom, wished to take the ark as the guarantee of J″'s presence with them, the king shows that he has attained to a worthier view of the divine nature by ordering the restoration of the ark to its proper abode in Jerusalem.

The last chapter in the history of the ark opens with its removal by Solomon from its modest tent, and its installation in the inner sanctuary of the temple, 'under the wings of the cherubim' (1 K 8$^{1ff.}$). From this point onwards there is no mention of the ark in the older historical books. Was it, as some think, among 'the treasures of the house of the Lord' which Shishak carried off so early as the reign of Rehoboam? (1 K 14^{26}). Or was it first removed by Manasseh to make way for his image of Astarte (2 Ch 33^{7}), and reinstated by Josiah (35^{3}), to perish finally in the destruction of city and temple by Nebuchadrezzar? The latter seems on the whole the more probable view (cf. 2 Es 10^{22}), if the single reference, Jer 3$^{16.17}$, really implies (which is doubtful) the existence of the ark in the prophet's day, although it must be confessed that the silence of the rest of the prophetic literature is difficult to explain (cf. Kuenen, *Rel. of Israel*, i. p. 233). The fable of 2 Mac 2^{4} is evidently based on the passage of Jeremiah just quoted. There was no ark in the second temple (Jos. *Wars*, v. v. 5).

iii. From the analogy of other objects bearing the same name,[*] as well as from the measurements in the scheme of the priestly code (Ex 25^{10}), we may best think of the ark as an oblong chest of acacia or shittim wood (so Dt 10$^{1.3}$, doubtless following the other sources JE; see § ii. above). In the absence of the original text of these sources in Ex 33. 34 it is impossible to say with absolute certainty whether the ark was represented by them as furnished with figures corresponding to the cherubim of P (Ex 25$^{18ff.}$). They are not mentioned in Dt 10$^{1.3}$, nor in the Books of Sam. or Kings — the phrase 'that sitteth upon the cherubim' (RV) of 1 S 4^{4}, 2 S 6^{2}, if not a late gloss (so Kuenen, Smend, Nowack, etc.), being capable of another explanation. The language of 1 K 8^{6} further seems to imply the absence of cherubim on the ark itself. This result is confirmed by what we may infer as to the size of the sacred chest, for we find it carried by *two* priests (2 S 15^{29}, also in corrected text of v.^{24}, 1 S 4^{4b}). An important difference of representation exists between the provisions of the Priests' Code—by which the ark had to be carried by Levites (Nu 3^{31} 4^{15}), as distinguished from a higher caste of Aaronic priests—and those of the older legislation of Dt. First, indeed, among the privileges of the *whole* priestly tribe of Levi enumerated in Dt 10—privileges assigned to them, we can scarcely doubt, as the reward of their zeal and fidelity in the cause of J″ (Ex 32$^{26ff.}$)—is that of bearing 'the ark of J″' (cf. Dt 31$^{9.25}$). And this is in accord with the evidence of the older historical books in which the priests are the bearers of the ark [see reff. above, and cf. Jos 3^{3} (E), $^{6ff.}$ (J), 6$^{6.12}$ (E), 8^{33}, 1 K 2^{26} 8$^{3.6}$[†] etc.]. As to the precise relation of the ark in early times to the ritual of sacrifice, we have no contemporary evidence.

iv. Every student of OT who has realised to what extent the pre-exilic literature has been worked over by later editors, will appreciate the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of gaining an accurate estimate of the conceptions entertained of the ark in the earliest times. So much depends also on the opinion we may form of the historical value of even our oldest sources. This much, however, seems clear. The ark is in these sources something more than a mere *symbol* of the divine presence. By the popular mind, at least, J″ was conceived *as actually residing in the ark*,—a conviction clearly reflected in the ancient fragment, Nu 10$^{35.36}$. That the ark was regarded as, in some sense, the abode of the Deity, is apparent also, as we saw above, from the early narratives in the Books of Samuel. Even by David himself, if we can trust the reading, the ark is still spoken of as God's habitation (2 S 15^{25}).

Only on the basis of this conception can we explain the fact that in all the passages we have studied, 'before the ark of J″' is identical with, or parallel to, 'before J″ Himself (cf. *e.g.* Jos 6^{6} with 6^{8}*). What is done in close proximity to the ark is everywhere represented as done in the presence of J″, as sacrifice (2 S 6^{13}), casting of lots (Jos $18^{6.10}$), dancing (2 S 6^{17}), and the like. With the spread of more developed views of religion under the influence of prophetic teaching, the importance of the ark undoubtedly decreased, a fact to which we may perhaps ascribe the silence of later writings regarding it. The ark in any case must be regarded as from the first a national and not a merely tribal sanctuary.† Its loss is bewailed as a national calamity (1 S $4^{21.22}$). Nor does the writer see reason (even granted that 1 K 8^{9} may be a gloss) for rejecting the ancient tradition which the author of Dt found in his sources, that the ark contained the tables originally deposited there by Moses himself (Dt 10^{2}). The view now generally adopted by continental writers, that if the ark really contained anything at all, it was a stone or stones of fetish origin, involves a conception of Moses and his teaching which the writer cannot share. On the other hand, the statement that the ark contained also the pot of manna and Aaron's rod that budded (He 9^{4}), seems based on a late Jewish tradition.

---

[*] It is important to observe that the MT of 6^{19} will not bear the rendering put upon it by AV and RV, 'because they looked *into* the ark.' The text, however, is corrupt. Adopting Klostermann's 'happy suggestion' (Budde) we render, 'But the sons of J. *did not rejoice* among the men of B. when they beheld the ark of J″, and he smote,' etc.

[†] There is no ground in the text for the statement in Smith's *DB*^{2} 'that to Kiriath-jearim "all the house of Israel" resorted to seek J″.' Whatever may be the meaning of the obscure and probably corrupt וינהו, 7^{2}, the verse serves as the introduction to the following narrative of Samuel's prophetic activity.

[‡] It is a mistake to base the assertion that 'in the early part of Saul's reign Ahiah was the Lord's priest in Shiloh' (Smith's *DB*^{2}—ARK) on 1 S 14^{3}, for the qualifying phrase refers, not to Ahiah, but to Eli. Equally groundless is the supposition (*op. cit.*) that the ark may have been at Nob.

[§] In 1 S 14^{18a} where the true rendering is clearly 'the ephod' (LXX; cf. v.^{3}), the retention of 'the ark' in RV is inexcusable. V.^{18b} is, of course, an explanatory gloss like Jg 20^{27b}.

[‖] Emend. וְעֻזָּה הֹלֵךְ, v.^{4a}, Then., Dr., Kitt., Bud.

[¶] The text is again uncertain; see Driver, *in loc.*

[*] Viz. the outer coffin of Joseph's mummy (Gn 50^{26}), and the chest set up by Jehoiada the priest in the temple (2 K 12$^{9ff.}$ = MT $^{10ff.}$).

[†] In 1 K 8^{4} *and* is a late insertion (see 2 Ch 5^{5}). In many passages, such as 1 S 6^{15}, the original practice has been made to conform to the requirements of the priestly legislation.

Literature.—The Comm. of Dillmann on Exodus, Driver on Dt, Klostermann on Sam. and Kings; the critical works of Wellhausen and Driver on the text of the Books of Sam.; the treatises on Heb. archæology of Benzinger and Nowack (vol. ii.); articles in Stade's *Zeitschrift* by Kautzsch, 1886; Seyring, 1891; and esp. Couard, 1892 ('Die religiöse nationale Bedeutg. der Lade'); also art. 'Bundeslade' in Riehm's *Handwört.*^{2}; Kosters in *Theol. Tijdschrift*, 1893; and R. Krætzschmar, *Die Bundesvorstellung im A.T.* (1896), c. 7, 'Die Bundeslade.'

A. R. S. Kennedy.

ARKITES (עַרְקִי, Gn 10^{17}, 1 Ch 1^{15}), represented as descendants of Canaan, founders of the Phœn. city of Arka, in later times *Cæsarea Libani*, birthplace of the Roman emperor Alexander Severus, about 12 miles N. of Tripolis. Arka is also mentioned in the inscription of Tiglath-pileser II. as one of the towns reduced by that monarch (Schrader, *COT*^{2} i. 87, 246). Jos. (*Ant.* I. vi. 2) states that Arucas, one of the sons of Canaan, possessed Arce, situated at the N.W. base of the Lebanon. It was still a place of considerable importance in the Middle Ages, and sustained a severe siege in A.D. 1138, but was taken by the Crusaders. Its site is now marked by the ruins of Tell Arka. See Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 201 f. J. Macpherson.

ARM (זְרוֹעַ *zerôa'*), the outstretched arm; also the straight foreleg of an animal. 1. *As a unit of measurement* arm follows the hand with its digit, palm, span, and gives the standard length called the *'ammah* (see Weights and Measures, *s.v.* '*cubit*'). As this seems to have varied from 17·6 in. to 25·19, it is possible that besides the reckoning of the fore-arm, there was another of the arm's-length, the latter corresponding to the modern Arab. *dhirâ'a*, 24 in. The kindred Arab. word for full-arm (*dharâ'a*) also means, like the fig. use of *zerôa'*, capacity, influence, power. 2. *Fig. use of Arm.*—Among Orientals the extended arm is a familiar sign of animation and action. During the excitement of discussion, it is an understood prelude to speech, and implies the possession of something that ought to be heard. Throughout the Bible the a. is an expressive emblem of power to direct, control, seize, overcome, and hence also describes the purpose, either of punishment or protection, towards which the power is employed.

Thus the Exodus is freq. referred to as the 'outstretched a.' of God. Similarly the a. of Pharaoh is said to be broken; and the doom of Eli's family is called the cutting off of his a., and that of his father's house. In the same way, the unwelcome novelty of the spiritual kingdom and its living sacrifice raises the prophetic lament—'to whom hath the a. of the Lord been revealed'? (Is 53^{1}). Further, the original meaning of power is sometimes transcended, and by frequency of special association the motive of holiness is transferred to the a.—'The Lord hath made bare his *holy* arm' (Is 52^{10}). On the other hand, utter powerlessness is the a. 'clean-dried-up' (Zec 11^{17}). Cf. Job's imprecation on the abuse of power (Job 31^{22}). So the appeal of the helpless is 'Put on strength, O arm of the Lord!' (Is 51^{9}), Hence, finally, the contrast between the man who makes flesh his arm, and Israel for whose security 'underneath are the Everlasting Arms' (Dt 33^{27}). See also Hand. G. M. Mackie.

ARMENIA.—See Ararat.

ARMENIAN VERSION OF THE OT.—The following points need discussion as regards the Armenian OT.

i. The text from which it was translated.
ii. Its value for critical purposes.
iii. Its date, and where it was made.
iv. Its contents, and order of books.

i. The Arm. OT is a version of the Gr. LXX, the text of which it everywhere fits closely as a glove the hand that wears it. This statement has been controverted;* but its truth is apparent if we anywhere open the Peshitta or Massora and, noting their peculiarities, look for them in the Armenian. Let us test it then by a few cases where the Syriac Peshiṭta varies from the LXX; but where the LXX is exactly rendered by the Arm., the sense of which I occasionally add within square brackets.

Gn 1^{1} *esse* cœli et esse terræ.—^{2} deserta et inculta [invisibilia et non preparata].—^{6} et fuit divisitque [et sit dividere]—^{6} *om.* *καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως.*—^{7} *om.* *ὁ θεός* after *διεχώρισεν.*—^{8} *om.* *καὶ εἶδεν ὁ θεὸς ὅτι καλόν.*—^{9} in *locum* unum—^{9} *om.* *καὶ συνήχθη* as far as *ὤφθη ἡ ξηρά.*

Gn 20^{1} Racem et Gedar [Cades et Sur]—alt. *Gedar* [in Geraris and so in v.^{3}].—^{4} populum innocentem [ignorantem et iustum].—^{5} En ipse [nonne ipse]—^{5} *om.* mihi *after* dixit—^{5} *om.* sed ego *before* in simplicitate.—^{6} cohibui te [peperci tibi].—^{7} *om.* vir *before* propheta.—^{8} *om.* omnes *before* homines.

Ex 18^{1} Jethron [Iothor]—Median [Madian]—Deus Mosi [Dominus M.]—*add.* Filios *before* Israel.—^{2} *add.* filiam suam.—^{3} Gerson [Gersam]—quoniam dixerat [dicit].

34^{1} *om.* et ascende ad me in montem.—^{3} in manu sua [secum].—^{5} stetit ibi cum eo [stetitque coram eo ibi]—nomen hoc, Dominus [in nomen Domini].

Lv 30^{1} *add.* ad eum—Dicito filiis Israel [loquere ad filios I. dices].—^{2} *et* ex iis [*vel* de iis]—proiecerit ex semine suo in alienigenam [dederit semen suum principi, and so in 20^{3}]—^{2} *add.* vir eius modi.—^{3} dabo furorem [statuam faciem]—sanctuarium [sanctitatem]—sanctitatis meæ [sanctificatorum meorum].

Nu 36^{1} capita patrum familiæ [principes tribus filiorum]—Gelaad [Galaad]—de familia Manasse filii Ioseph [de fam. fil. Ios.]—magnatibus congregationis, capitibus patrum filiorum [principibus domorum patriarcharum fil.].

Dt 31^{1} Abiens igitur Moses, locutus est [et consummavit M. loqui]—ad universum Israelem [ad omnes filios Israel]—^{2} *add.* filius—et Dominus [nam D.].

Jos 22^{1} Rubil [Ruben].—^{2} vos custodistis [vosmet audistis].—^{3} ecce multis abhinc diebus [tot dies]—ad præsentem usque diem, et custoditis [immo plus usque hodie temporis cust.].—^{4} *add.* quandoquidem—Deus [D. noster]—revertimini ergo et abite ad civitates vestras [nunc igitur revertentes redite in domus vestras]—quam possedistis [possessionis vestræ]—*add.* ab oriente.

2 Ch 33^{3} Secundum opera [de omnibus abominationibus]—Israelitarum [filiorum Israel].—^{3} reædificavit enim [et revertit et ædificavit]—altaria idolis [statuas Baalimæ]. Fabricavit tigres [fecit lucos]—*add.* et adoravit eas—omnes cœli copias [omnem potentiam cœli].

Ps 110^{2} *om.* *ἐν μέσῳ.*—^{3} Populus tuus laudabilis [=with thee is the beginning]—sanctitatis [sanctorum tuorum]—ab antiquo te filium genui [ante Luciferum genui te].—^{4} non mentietur [non pœnitebit eum]—sicut Melchizedec [=‘according to the order of M.’].—^{6} implebit cadavera [=‘he maketh many the blows’]

---

* Cf. also Jg 20^{28a}, where for 'stood before it' render 'stood before him'; see Moore, *in loc.*

† Wellh., Stade, and others have suggested that the ark was the *palladium* of the tribe of Joseph.

* *E.g.* Dr. Ars'ak Ter Mikelian (*Die Armenische Kirche*, Leipzig, 1892) writes, p. 35: 'Die Bücher des Alten Testaments können unmöglich aus den LXX übersetzt worden sein'

Is 33—

Syriac Version.	Armenian Version.
Vae diripienti: vos ne diripiatis, et deceptor nequaquam decipiet vos, cum volueritis diripere, diripiemini. Domine miserere nostri, quoniam in te est fiducia nostra: esto adiutor noster in matutino, et salva nos in tempore angustiæ.	Woe unto those who distress you, but yourselves no one can distress: and he that despiseth, despiseth not you. For they shall be given over unto defeat who despise you, and like the moth upon the garment, so shall they be given over to defeat. Lord, pity us; for in thee have we hoped. The seed of the unfaithful hath come to destruction; but our salvation is in thee in time of straits.

In all these cases the Arm. is faithful, as against the Syr., to the LXX. In spite of this general conformity, however, there are numerous cases in which the Arm. supplies omissions of the LXX; *e.g.* Is 66^3 runs thus in the Arm.: ‘But the lawless who offers to me an ox as offering [is just as if one should smite the head of a man, and he that offers the sheep as offering] is just as if one should slaughter a dog.’ Here the words bracketed have dropt out of the ordinary LXX text; but they were added to the LXX text by Sym. and Theod.

In Jeremiah the traces of correction by direct or indirect use of the Massoretic or Syr. texts are frequent, *e.g.* ch. 16^2 the Arm.=et ne gignantur tibi filii et filiæ. In v.^{4} it=sed in exemplum erunt super faciem terræ. In gladio cadent et in fame consummabuntur. Et erunt cadavera eorum in cibum volatilibus cœli et bestiis terræ. In the above the plural gignantur . . . filii et filiæ in v.^{2}, and in v.^{4} exemplum, belong to the LXX; but the arrangement of clauses in v.^{4}, as also the addition cadavera eorum, are due to the Syr. or to the Massora. It may be noticed that Jerome, who consulted the Heb. text, combines it with the LXX in just the same way, only reading with the Heb. *sterquilinium* for *exemplum*. In order to demonstrate this composite character of the Arm. text, I give a collation with Tischendorf's text of ch. 23. Wherever the variants of the Armenian reflect the Massoretic or Syr. texts, or both, I add M or S or SM.

Jer 23^1 *αὐτῶν*] Arm. *σου*: meæ SM—ibid. add. *φησὶ Κύριος* SM.—^{2} *Κύριος θεὸς Ἰσραήλ* SM—*ἐπὶ τοὺς ποιμένας τοὺς ποιμαίνοντας* SM—*ὑμῶν*]+*λέγει Κύριος* SM.—^{4} *πτοηθ.*]+neque erunt neglecti: S+neque aberrent: M+neque deficient.—^{5} *δικαίαν*] *δικαιοσύνης* S.—^{6} *Ἰωσεδέκ*]+*ἡ δικαιοσύνη ἡμῶν*: iustitia nostra (*i.e.* Iosedek) SM—ibid.+*ἐν τοῖς προφήταις*, and vv.$^{7\ 8}$, which in the LXX come at the end of the chapter, are added here by the Arm. as by SM.—^{9} before *συνετρίβη* Arm. add. *ἐπὶ τοὺς προφήτας*.—^{10} before *ὅτι ἀπὸ* +nam impleta est tellus adulteris as in M; (S adulteris *et raptoribus*)—*τούτων*] ‘of swearing’: M has periurii—*πονηρός*] *εἰς πονηρίαν*.—^{11} tr. *προφ. κ. ἱερεύς* M—*εἶδον*] *εὗρον*.—^{12} *ἐπισκ. αὐτῶν*]+*λέγει Κύριος* SM.—^{13} *Σαμαρείας*] ‘of Shmrn.’ SM.—^{15} *Κύριος*]+exercituum erga prophetas SM—*πικρὸν*] *πικρότητος*.—^{16} *προφητῶν*]+*τῶν προφητευόντων* SM—*ματαιοῦσιν*]+*ἐκεῖνοι ὑμῖν* and om. *ἑαυτοῖς* M *ὁρασ. καρδίας* SM.—^{18} *ἠνωτίσατο*]+uerbum meum: SM uerbum eius.—^{20} om. *ἔτι* SM—om. *αὐτό* S—om. *ἕως ἂν—αὐτὸ ἀπὸ ἐγχειρήματος*] *ἐγχείρημα* SM—*νοήσουσιν αὐτὸ*]+*νοοῦντες* M.—^{21} om. pr. *καί* M—*αὐτοὺς*]+*ἀπὸ τῶν πονηρῶν ὁδῶν αὐτῶν καὶ* SM.—^{27} *ἐπιλαθέσθαι*]+*τὸν λαόν μου* SM.—^{28} om. *πρὸς αὐτὸν* S.—^{29} om. *οὕτως οἱ λόγοι μου* SM.—^{30} om. *ὁ θεὸς* SM.—^{32} om. *διὰ τοῦτο* SM—*ψευδῆ*]+*λέγει Κύριος* SM—*καὶ οὐ*] *καὶ* SM.—^{33} *ἐρωτήσωσιν*] *ἐρωτήσῃ σε* SM—*προφήτης*]+*λέγων* SM.—^{34} *ὁ ἱερεύς* M.—^{35} *ὅτι οὐχ οὕτως*.—^{36} *λόγος αὐτοῦ*] +‘but ye will turn back the words of the living God, the Lord of powers, our God. But thus say to the prophet (S dic *alicui*): What answer made unto you the Lord, and what spake the Lord? If ye say,’ etc. So SM.

The arrangement also in the Arm. of verses and chapters of Jeremiah follows SM and not the LXX. Where S and M differ it is usually M which the Arm. follows; but the basis of its text, even where it is so copiously supplemented as in this chapter of Jeremiah, is clearly the LXX. It is certain, then, that in OT the Armenians translated the LXX, supplementing it, however, and adjusting it to the Massoretic text. The only question remaining regards the medium through which they knew the Massora. From their traditional account of the making of the version we might infer that they knew the Heb. through the Syr., and in the case of some few parts of OT this may have been so. But more often, and especially in the prophetic books, it is the Heb. rather than the Syr. text which directly or indirectly was used.

This composite character of the Arm. text is probably due to the fact that the translators used the Hexaplaric text of Origen, whose obeli and asterisks, marking additions of the LXX to the Massora, or additions to the LXX from Aq. Sym. Theod. Gr. VS of the Massora, here and there survive in Arm. MSS,* as well as actual marginal references to these Gr. VSS. used by Origen. The Armenians, then, must have made their version from a Hexaplaric text such as we have in the Gr. Codices 22 and 88.

ii. In answering the first question, we have by implication answered also the second of those which we asked above, viz. as to the value for critical purposes of the Arm. version. It needs only to be added, that for beauty of diction and accuracy of rendering the Arm. cannot be surpassed. The genius of the language is such as to admit of a tr. of any Gr. document both literal and graceful; true to the order of the Gr., and even reflecting its compound words, yet without being slavish, and without violence to its own idiom. We are seldom in doubt as to what stood in the Armenian's Gr. text; therefore his version has almost the same value for us as the Gr. text itself, from which he worked, would possess. The same criticism is true of the Arm. NT as well.

iii. Three Arm. writers of the 5th cent., Koriun, Lazar of Pharpi, and Moses of Chorene, record that the Scriptures were translated between A.D. 396 and 430 by Mesrop, the elaborator of the Arm. alphabet, Sahak the Patriarch, Eznik, and others. According to Koriun (p. 10 of Arm. edition of Venice, 1833), Mesrop, with the help of a Gr. scribe Rufinus, began a version in Edessa about 397 A.D., commencing with the Proverbs of Solomon. The context implies that they used a Gr. copy; and they may have taken the second half of a Bible, complete in two volumes, of which the second began with Proverbs. There can be no other reason why they began there. Later on Koriun and Eznik fetched back from Constantinople an accurate and sure copy of the Scriptures, and the work of translation already begun by Sahak was resumed.

Moses of Chorene says that Sahak's inchoate version was from the Syr., because the Pers. king Meroujah had burned, thirty years before, all the Gr. books of the Armenians. Lazar, however, who is more credible, declares that Sahak's version of the Old and New Testaments was made from Gr. Lastly, Moses (iii. 60) declares that Sahak and Mesrop, not content with their Byzantine ‘exact’ copies, sent himself to Alexandria for the purpose of completing their work in ways not clearly specified. Moses also states that two of the translators, John and Artzan, on their way to Constantinople, stayed in Cæsarea (? of Cappadocia). The accounts of these writers then add little to our knowledge. We may only gather that texts from Edessa, Byzantium, and Alexandria were used by the translators. The translation itself was no doubt made in the basin of Ararat, where lay the earliest centres of Arm. Christianity, Valarshapat, with its convent of Edschmiatzin, and Twin.

iv. The books of the OT in Arm. MSS follow the order given in Tischendorf's LXX (Lipsiæ, 1880) as far as 1 and 2 Es (except that 2 Es in Arm. =the Gr. Ezra); then follow: Neh (called in the lower margin 3 Es), Est, Jth, To, 1 to 3 Mac, Ps, Pr, Ec, Ca, Wis, Job, Is, the XII Prophets, Jer, Bar, La, Death of Jer, Dn, Ezk, Death of Ezk. In some codices Job follows 3 Mac and precedes Psalms. Various Apocr. books also appear in the MSS, viz.: The Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, the History of Joseph and his wife Asenath, and the Hymn of Asenath. All these are given in Lord Zouche's Bible after Gn and before Ex under the general title of 'Book of Paralipomena,' as if they were esteemed part of the same. In other MSS the Testaments succeed Dt. These are not given in printed editions of the Arm. Bible, nor are they found in all codices. The same is true of the apocr. entitled 'the Death of the Twelve Prophets,' and 'the Prayer of Manasses.' The Third Book of Ezra or Esdras, usually known as the Fourth, follows Nehemiah in the MSS which contain it, *e.g.* in the MS Bible of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Each book of OT is prefaced by a brief introduction of unknown authorship, but coeval with the version; and also by a summary of contents. Besides the usual preface to the Ps, some MSS introduce a passage of David the Philosopher, another of Athanasius, and a third of Epiphanius of Cyprus. Dn is translated from the text of Theodotion. Sir was twice translated, first of all in the 5th century, and again, perhaps, in the 8th. The former version is printed in the Venice Bible of 1860, and is the more complete and accurate though it does not comprise the whole of the Gr. text, ch. 8, for example, being omitted: the latter was printed in Zohrab's Bible, Venice, 1805. Uscan made and published in his Bible a third version in the year 1666. F. C. CONYBEARE.

---

* *E.g.* in Ex 33^4 the Arm.=‘And the congregation having heard that evil word, lamented lamenting* and the man did not take the ornament on his person.’ If the Syr. Hexaplaric version of Paul of Tela had not been made nearly 200 years after the Arm., the latter might almost have been regarded as a translation of it.

ARMENIAN VERSION OF NT.—The old Armenian writers (mentioned in § iii. ARMENIAN VERSION OF OT) give us no special information in regard to the date and circumstances of their version of NT. Whatever statements they make apply to it as to OT. Codices of the four Gospels of great age are relatively common, written in large uncials for church use.* Codices of the rest of NT separate from the Gospels are rare, and will generally be found to have formed part of a larger MS containing the entire NT. They are not common at all before the 13th cent., before which epoch also codices of the entire Bible are very rare. The OT is never found apart from the New, and the extreme rarity of uncial OT fragments in the bindings of later MSS suggests that the entire Arm. Bible was never written out from beginning to end except in a small hand, though there were, of course, uncial lectionaries for church use, and the Bibliothèque Nationale contains such a lectionary written probably in the 9th cent. In Edschmiatzin there is an entire Bible on parchment of 1151, and two more on paper of 1253 and 1270. In Venice, one of 1220. The London Bible Society has a choice copy of about 1600, Lord Zouche another not so old.

Separate codices of the Gospels rarely occur in which St. John precedes the Synoptists; but in the library of M. Enfédjans in Tiflis there is a very old specimen of such a codex. The order of the rest of the NT books in the oldest MS at Venice, written A.D. 1220, is as follows: Acts, Catholic Epistles, Revelation of John the Apostle, Epistles of Paul, at the end of which is added the letter of the Corinthians to Paul. The Ep. to the Hebrews precedes those to Tim. and follows Thess. In a 13th cent. MS of the Brit. Mus. (Add. 19,730, Saec. xiii.), the order of books is this: Apocalypse, Epistles of Paul, Acts, Cath. Epistles. In this and in other codices the apocryphal rest of St. John usually follows St. John's Gospel.

The Gospels invariably have the Canons of Ammonius added in the margin, and are preceded by Eusebius' letter to Carpianus, with the tables of the Canons. The Acts and Epistles of St. Paul are preceded by the prefaces, summaries, lists of Testimonia and Colophons of Euthalius, whose marginal chaptering and subdivisions and calculations of *stichi* in the text are also added in the older MSS. In these we also find a division of Acts and Cath. Epistles each into forty-nine chapters; and in the case of Acts, this rather artificial system presupposes that of Euthalius.

A collation of the Arm. text of the OT is given in the Septuagint of Holmes and Parson (Oxon. 1798–1827). A collation of the Arm. NT was first published by Tregelles, and the same is given in Tischendorf's later edd. Moses of Chorene asserts that the NT, like the OT, was first rendered from Syr., and that this first version was, about A.D. 430, revised from more exact Gr. texts from Constantinople. This tradition is certainly correct, for Prof. Armitage Robinson (*Euthaliana*, Cambridge, 1895) shows that the Arm. NT bears traces of having been made from an ancient form of the Syr. text, such as that which Mrs. Lewis recently discovered at Mount Sinai. This earlier version from Syr. may be the 'First translation' of the Gospels to which Theodoros Chrhthenavor (Contra Majragoumatzi) refers in the 7th cent. as having contained the disputed verses Lk $22^{43.44}$.

> These references are so important that I translate them from the Venice ed. p. 148: 'They (*i.e.* the phantasiastæ) say, it was not by weakness, but by strength, that He (*i.e.* Christ) overcame the enemy. So do His own words testify. The house of the giant is not plundered, unless first the strong man is bound.'* And if this be true, it is plain, they say, that the *First translation* is not to be accepted, which in the (episode of His) praying relates the 'Bloody Sweat' of the almighty 'Word of God, and that He was encouraged by the angel.'
>
> *Ibid.* p. 154: 'The letter of the Gospel spoke of the sweat allegorically, as it were of blood; but not (as) a welling-out of blood from a wound made with a weapon.'
>
> In the same context we read that the heretics in question contended that the '*old edition of the Gospel* is not to be accepted' because Gregory the Illuminator, in his homiletic exposition of all the Gospel oracles which announced the economical passibility of the Divine Word, yet made no special mention of the 'Bloody Sweat' passage.
>
> The answer of Theodore to this argument is that neither did the Nicene Fathers nor the new recension of the Scriptures recognise more than fourteen Epistles of Paul; yet that Gregory had cited and so testified to the Third Epistle of the Corinthians to Paul, which the said Fathers had passed over in silence, and which was 'not added in the new translations.' The verse cited by Gregory is 3 Co 11: 'The lawless prince when he desired to be God bound all men under sin.' 'This' (*i.e.* 3 Co), says Theodore, '*was contained in the ancient text*, but not in the *new ed.* (=συγγραφῆ). If, however, because of its omission from the text of the *newly issued translations* you reject the older Gospel as not true, you, in doing so, calumniate even the great sage Gregory, though you make a show of praising him. But if the truthful Gregory did not in composing (his work) follow the chapters in their order of the entire Gospel, but wrote with peculiar simplicity to suit those who were weak in understanding what they heard, merely propounding testimonies in a summary way to satisfy immediate needs, and confirming (the Gospel statements) by the prophecies, then why do you make a stalking horse of him?'

The above passages warrant two inferences, one certain, the other probable.

(1) The Armenians had a first or early version of NT which contained the verses Lk $23^{43.44}$ and also 3 Corinthians.

(2) Gregory had this early version. He quoted 3 Co from it, and he would have quoted Lk $22^{43.44}$ also, only his literary purpose did not require him to do so.

I do not see how else we can interpret the last paragraph of Theodore. The same conclusion can be reached by another way. For the version of 3 Co belonged to the first translation of the NT. Gregory had this 3 Co, and cited it. Is it likely that he would have used an outlying portion of NT in a certain edition of it, and not have had the Gospels also? We may note that the 'First translation,' as it contained Paul's Epistles, cannot have been merely an Arm. Diatessaron, though the statement that Gregory did not cite the texts in order is suggestive of such a supposition. If these inferences are just, the first Arm. version of NT was made at the beginning rather than towards the end of the 4th cent., although the native historians of the 4th cent. are silent about it.*

---

* At Moscow is an Evangeliar., dated 887. At Venice in the San Lazzaro Library are two, dated 902 and 1006 respectively. At Edschmiatzin, two of 989, 1035. In Erzeroum, one of 986. In St. Anthony's convent in Constantinople, one of 960. In the Sevan monastery in Russian Armenia, one of 966. In the Bibliothèque Nationale, in the British Museum, and in private collections, are many more very ancient copies.

* This appears to be an extracanonical citation.

Parts of NT were translated in the 5th cent., but were omitted from the later Arm. Canon. Thus the Apocalypse was not read in church before the 12th cent., when Nerses of Lampron issued a much changed recension of the old version. Similarly the last twelve verses of Mk were rendered in the 5th cent., for Eznik cites them about A.D. 435; but they hardly appear in the MSS before the 13th cent., and then not as an integral part of the second Gospel. In a 10th cent. codex of the Gospels at Edschmiatzin they are headed by the title 'of Ariston the Presbyter,' written in small red uncials by the first hand. Ariston has been identified with Aristion the teacher of Papias. And the knowledge which the Armenians had that the verses were his and not Mark's, explains the hostile attitude towards them of the Arm. Church.

The episode of the woman taken in adultery is likewise absent from the oldest MSS; though it is cited as early as A.D. 950 by Gregory of Narek. The Edschmiatzin codex of A.D. 989 is the oldest codex which contains it, though not in the form in which Gregory and the later codices give it, but as follows:—

> 'A certain woman was taken in sins, against whom all bore witness that she was deserving of death. They brought her to Jesus (to see) what he would command, in order that they might malign him. Jesus made answer, and said, "Come ye, who are without sin, cast stones, and stone her to death." But he himself, bowing his head, was writing with his finger on the earth, to declare their sins; and they were seeing their several sins on the stones. And, filled with shame, they departed, and no one remained, but only the woman. Saith Jesus, "Go in peace, and present the offering for sins, as in their law is written."'

This primitive form of text has the Arm. equivalent of *τὰ τῆς μοιχαλίδος* written against it in the margin by the first hand. It is probably derived from Papias or the Heb. Gospel.

One other reading of the old Arm. version deserves notice. It occurs in the oldest known codex, dated A.D. 887, preserved in the Lazareffski Institute at Moscow. It is in Mt 2^{9}, and as follows: *ὁ ἀστήρ . . . ἐστάθη ἐπάνω τοῦ σπηλαίου οὗ ἦν τὸ παιδίον*. The same text is found in the Protevangel, c. xxi., and accounts for the variant here found in the Codex Bezæ.

The Arm. Bible was first printed at Amsterdam in 1666, but from a single manuscript, and the printed text was in places adjusted to the Latin Vulgate. A later edition, issued in 1733 by Mechitar in Venice, was mainly a reprint of the edition of 1666. The first critical edition was issued in 1805 at Venice under the care of Zohrab, who used several codices, the best of them one written early in the 14th cent. The variants of the MSS used are given under the text; but without distinguishing in which codex which variant is read. However, one codex of the Arm. Bible differs very slightly from another. Other edd. have been published in Moscow, Constantinople, and Venice during this century; those of Venice being particularly good and reliable. There is not the slightest foundation for the statement sometimes made, that the Arm. version was in the time of the Crusaders conformed to the Lat. Bible. At that time, indeed, the Lat. chaptering began to be added in the margin, and the Prologus Galeatus of Jerome was translated, and in some codices affixed, to the Book of Kings; but no changes were made under Lat. influence in the text itself.

F. C. CONYBEARE.

ARMHOLE occurs Jer 38^{12} and Ezk 13^{18} (RV 'elbows'). The meaning of the Heb. word (אַצִּיל, see *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* and Davidson on Ezk 13^{18}) is doubtful, but the word in AV means the armpit, as it is now called. J. HASTINGS.

ARMLET (כּוּמָז *kûmâz*, AV **tablet**, Ex 35^{22}, Nu 31^{50}).—A flat open clasp worn on the upper arm, mentioned among the votive offerings of gold for the tabernacle (see BRACELET).

G. M. MACKIE.

ARMONI (אַרְמֹנִי).—Son of Saul by Rizpah (2 S 21^{8}).

ARMOUR, ARMS.—I. In OT. The Heb. nearest equivalent to 'armour' is *maddîm* (מַדִּים 1 S 17^{38}), rendered 'clothes' in 1 S 4^{12} (a fugitive arrives from the battle 'with his *clothes* rent').

It is a plural word signifying the different parts of a soldier's dress. The coat of mail, *shiryôn* (שִׁרְיוֹן), would be chiefly meant, but the helmet and shield and the loose cloak, *simlah* (שִׂמְלָה Is 9^{5}), are included. Ehud (Jg 3^{16}) wears a dagger under his *maddîm*, *i.e.* between the *shiryôn* and the *simlah*.

The Heb. nearest equivalent for 'arms' is *kêlîm* (כֵּלִים), a word of general significance, 'moveable property, instruments of any kind, arms,' including the quiver (Gn 27^{3}), and probably the shield (hence the common phrase, 'bearer of *kêlîm*,' *i.e.* armour-bearer).

A third word rendered 'armour' is *ḥălîẓah* (חֲלִיצָה 2 S 2^{21}). It describes the equipment of a soldier which an adversary would strip off as spoils, and is rendered (in the plural) 'spoil' in Jg 14^{19} (AV and RV).

II. With regard to armour and arms in use in NT times among the Romans, two passages, one from Polybius (*c.* 167 B.C.) the other from Josephus (*c.* 70 A.D.), may be left in an abridged tr. to speak for themselves, and to illustrate the language of St. Paul (esp. Eph 6^{14-17}). Polyb. vi. 23: (*a*) 'The Roman panoply consists in the first place of a shield (*θυρεός*), the breadth of which, measured by the arc which it forms, is 2½ ft. and the length is 4 ft., while the depth (thickness) reaches 3 inches . . . And there is fitted to it an iron boss which wards off great blows from stones and from pikes, and in general from darts though hurled with violence. (*b*) And along with the shield is a sword (*μάχαιρα*); now this a man wears on his right thigh, and it is called the Spanish sword. And this has an excellent point; and a powerful cut can be delivered with both its edges, because the blade is strong and durable. (*c*) Next come two javelins (*i.e.* the pila), and (*d*) a bronze helmet (*περικεφαλαία*), and (*e*) a greave * (*N.B.* sing.). And in addition to all this they are adorned with a crown of feathers and with three upright purple-red or black feathers about a cubit in length, so that when these are added to the crest the soldier in full armour appears to be double his own height. . . . (*f*) Now the majority when they have further put on a bronze plate, measuring a span every way, which they wear on their chests and call a heart-guard (καρδιοφύλαξ), are completely armed; but those citizens who are assessed at more than 10,000 drachmæ wear, together with the other arms mentioned, cuirasses made of chain-mail.'

---

* A comparison of the Arm. text of the Paulines with Ephrem's commentary (preserved in Arm.), with the Syr. and with the closely allied Georgian Version, demonstrates that the Arm. and Geo. versions were originally made from the pre-Peshitta Syr. text used by Ephrem, and were afterwards corrected from Gr. texts. This revision of these two versions was probably made about 400 A.D., and was more thorough in the case of Arm. than of Georgian.

* It was worn on the right leg (Vegetius, bk. i. c. 20).

Josephus, *BJ* III. v. 5 (vol. iii. p. 236 of Bekker's edition): 'Now the infantry are armed with cuirasses (θώραξ) and helmets (κράνος), and wear swords (μαχαιροφορέω) on both sides. But the sword (ξίφος) worn on the left is much the longer of them, for that on the right is not more than a span in length. And the infantry escort of the general carry lance (λόγχη) and buckler (ἀσπίς), but the rest of the array a spear (ξυστόν) and a shield (θυρεός), and in addition to these a saw and a basket, a mattock and an axe, and further a thong, and a reaping-hook (δρέπανον), and a chain, and three days' provisions, so that the infantry are little short of beasts of burden. And the cavalry have a long sword (μάχαιρα) on the right side, and a long lance (κοντός) in the hand, and a shield (θυρεός) held slantwise by the side of the horse. And from a quiver (κατὰ γωρυτοῦ) hang three or more darts (ἄκων) having broad points, and in size little less than spears (δόρυ); and all have helmets and cuirasses like the infantry.'

LITERATURE.—(*a*) For OT, Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* (1894), pp. 362–367, and Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities*, 1894 (Illustrations of weapons found at Tell el-Hesy, *i.e.* Lachish).

(*b*) For NT, Polybius, vi. 23; Josephus, *BJ* iii. 5, and Lindenschmit, *Tracht und Bewaffnung des Römischen Heeres während der Kaiserzeit*, Braunschweig, 1882.

W. E. BARNES.

ARMOUR-BEARER.—The office is mentioned in very early times in connexion with Abimelech (Jg 9^{54}) and Saul (1 S 31^{4}). An armour-bearer's functions were various; he slew those whom his chief struck down (1 S 14^{13}); he carried the great shield (*ẓinnah*) in front of a champion to protect him from treacherous arrows (1 S 17^{7}, and Homer, *Il.* iii. 79, 80); or, again, he collected arrows aimed against his chief for his chief to discharge again. This last function was executed by Mohammed when a lad in attendance upon his uncles (Ibn Hishâm, p. 119, l. 1, quoted by W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} p. 431). W. E. BARNES.

ARMOURY.—There was naturally no store of arms nor place for keeping them in Israel before the establishment of the nucleus of a standing army under Saul. Saul found the nation, or at least the southern tribes, almost destitute of arms in the true sense (1 S 13^{19}): no doubt he remedied the defect as far as possible (1 S 8^{12}). A tower named after David, perhaps built by him, held 1000 shields (Ca 4^{4}). Solomon kept 200 golden shields and 300 golden bucklers in the 'house of the forest of Lebanon' (1 K $10^{16.\,17}$). This armoury was doubtless in Jerusalem (Is 22^{8} 'The armour in the house of the forest'), and lasted till at least Hezekiah's day. Shields and spears were kept even in the temple in the days of Jehoiada the priest (2 K 11^{10}). This store was attributed to king David. W. E. BARNES.

ARMY (צָבָא *ẓābhā'*, 'service,' as we say in Eng. '*the* Service'; חַיִל *ḥayil*, 'force, host'; עַם *'am*, 'people,' a frequent designation; מַחֲנֶה *maḥăneh*, properly 'an army encamped'; מַעֲרָכָה *ma'ărākhāh*, 'an army in array').—The history of warfare among the Israelites may be divided into two periods. During the first of these, which was closed by the establishment of the kingdom, Israel had fighting men, but no army, *i.e.* no permanent organised force; during the second period, which lasted to the fall of the Southern kingdom, there always existed the nucleus at least of an army, both in the north and in the south, attached to the person of the sovereign. There was no doubt a partial revival of military organisation at the revival of independence under the Hasmonæan princes.

No standing army existed before the time of the kings. But the beginnings of the formation of a fighting caste appear under Saul, consisting of (1) picked 'regulars' to form the nucleus of an army (1 S 14^{52}), and (2) 'regular' officers to command the militia, who formed the bulk of the army in the field.

How, then, in the earlier period was an army formed to meet an emergency? Under the most rudimentary conditions four elements are required to make a fighting force, viz. (1) men, (2) officers, (3) arms, (4) commissariat.

i. MEN.—It was difficult, before the kingdom was established, to collect a sufficient number of men even for small border wars. The sons of Israel were, indeed, numerous enough to cope in turn with such adversaries as Moab, Midian, Ammon, and Philistia; but Israel was a group of tribes rather than a nation, and the bond of union was so feeble that single tribes, or groups of two or three, were left to bear unaided the brunt of invasion or oppression.

The work of the Judges and of Saul, the earliest king, was to unite, as far as was possible, the tribes of Israel, and to bring border wars to a speedy conclusion by the application of organised force. But authority had to be won before it could be exercised, and the leader had to assert his leadership by some striking deed or sign before his countrymen would rally round him. Ephraim rallied round Ehud the Benjamite after he had assassinated the king of Moab (Jg 3^{27}). Gideon roused N. and E. Israel by destroying the altar of Baal, and appearing as the champion of the worship of J″ (Jg 6^{24-34}). In the civil war against Benjamin the warlike passion of all the remaining tribes was stirred by the sight of the remains of the murdered concubine (Jg $19^{29\text{ff.}}$). Saul gathered his first host by the pictured threat to destroy the oxen of every man who failed to present himself. Even remote Judah on this occasion, we are told, sent thirty 'thousands' to the relief of Jabesh-gilead (1 S $11^{7\text{ff.}}$). Against the Amalekites, Judah was not so keen (1 S 15^{4}), having perhaps family relations with them; in any case Judah sent only 10,000 (MT), 30,000 (LXX).

The difficulty regarding the numbers of the Israelite armies must be mentioned here.

These numbers are often surprisingly high. Thus in 1 S 11^{8} it is stated that Saul numbered over three hundred 'thousand' men in Bezek for the relief of Jabesh-gilead. If we take 'thousand' in its literal numerical sense, we get a number equal to more than one-tenth of the whole population of the land—a number improbably large. 'Thousand,' however, is used (Mic 5^{2}) to designate the chief towns of Judah, perhaps as each containing, together with its dependent hamlets, a population of about a thousand. The men of such a town would probably be called a thousand (אלף) when they went forth to war, and their headman would be called the captain of a thousand. The actual number of this tactical unit would vary much according to the urgency of the danger. It would probably, however, never exceed 300 men, and might conceivably fall below 100. According to this reckoning, Saul's army of relief was not in any case more than 90,000 in number, and it may have been but 30,000.

Side by side, however, with this loose reckoning, the Israelites may have had a stricter system of counting. Thus the number of men of war carried into captivity with Jehoiachin, viz. *seven* thousand (2 K 24^{16}), is quite probable in itself, and consistent with other indications of number. Similarly 'thousand' is no doubt to be understood in its ordinary numerical sense in 2 K 13^{7}, where it is said that the Israelite army was reduced by Syrian ravages to 50 horsemen, 10 chariots, and 10,000 infantry.

The existence of two reckonings side by side, one based on the numerical sense of 'thousand,' the other on its territorial sense, is not a serious difficulty. To an Oriental, numbers are important only either when they are sacred numbers of mystic meaning, or when it is necessary to indicate generally the relative proportions of things.

The example set by Saul of gathering picked warriors round him was followed by David, who on his accession already had a band of some 600 armed vassals. At the time of Absalom's revolt David's guard must have grown in number, if we rightly read 2 S 15^{18} to mean that the Gittites belonging to it amounted by themselves to 600, without reckoning the numbers of the Cherethites and Pelethites. The strength of the whole guard may be guessed from the fact that Ahithophel thought it necessary to take 12,000 chosen men to ensure success in his proposed pursuit of David (2 S 17^{1}).

ii. Officers. — After the host was collected under its commander, some organisation had to be given to it. Captains of 'thousands' and 'hundreds' had to be appointed. The army 'was numbered,' or, according to the Heb., 'appointed officers over itself' (הִתְפָּקְדוּ Jg 20^{15}). Two results were gained. Officers were appointed under the eye and influence of the commander over thousands and hundreds; and, secondly, the commander learnt the number of these tactical units, 'thousands' or 'hundreds,' under his command. Besides these 'regimental' officers, one or more officers bearing the title of 'scribe' were attached to the army in the field to aid in its organisation, to serve as provost-marshals, and to make a list of the booty taken (Jg 5^{14} and 1 Mac 5^{42}).

iii. Arms.—In the earliest days, no doubt, each man brought his own arms, for we hear of no store of arms till after the establishment of the kingdom (see Arms). There is nothing to show that the Israelites had horses and chariots until after Saul's day. An Israelite army in the time of the Judges was probably a crowd of men carrying bows, slings, and rustic weapons, such as clubs and oxgoads (Jg 5^{8}, 1 S 13^{22}). Though individually equal in valour, they were probably far inferior in armament to a people like the Philistines, who were sufficiently advanced in the art of war to possess chariots, swords, and spears, and perhaps an organised corps of archers (1 S 31^{3}).

iv. Commissariat. — Commissariat is twice alluded to in the OT. In Jg 20^{10} a tenth of the assembled Israelites are sent 'to fetch *victual*' (*ẓêdah* צֵדָה, 'food taken in hunting') that the people may carry out their expedition against Gibeah. Again, in 1 K 20^{27} the children of Israel 'were mustered and were victualled' (RV) for a campaign against the Syrians.

W. E. Barnes.

ARNA.—One of the ancestors of Ezra (2 Es 1^{2}), corresponding apparently to Zerahiah of Ezr 7^{4} and Zaraias of 1 Es 8^{2}.

ARNAN (אַרְנָן).—A descendant of David (1 Ch 3^{21}). While MT has בְּנֵי אַרְנָן, LXX reads Ὀρνὰ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ (*sc.* preceding Ῥαφάλ)=*Orna his son.* See Genealogy.

ARNI (WH Ἀρνεί, TR Ἀράμ, AV **Aram**).—An ancestor of Jesus (Lk 3^{33}), called in Mt $1^{3.4}$ Ram (RV). Cf. Ru 4^{19}, 1 Ch $2^{9.10}$, and see Genealogy.

ARNON (אַרְנוֹן). — Two streams unite about 13 miles E. of the middle of the Dead Sea to form the A., now known as Wady el-Mojib. Of these the N. one (Wady Waleh) is formed by a number of brooks—often dry—rising near the Ḥaj route, N. of 31° 30′ N. The S. branch, which is the more important, drains most of the country between the Ḥaj route and the Dead Sea, between 31° 30′ and 31° 10′, and is formed by the streams now known as Seil S'aideh, Wady es-Sultan, Seil Lejjun, and Wady Balû'a. These are all united before reaching the neighbourhood of 'Ar'air, and flow thence almost direct W. for about 20 miles, when they are joined by the Wady Waleh. The E. half thus forms a complete network of streams (the נחלי ארנון). For the greater part of its course the river flows through a deep trench some 2 miles in breadth at the top and about 40 yards at the bottom. The rocky and precipitous banks consist of limestone capped with basalt, and rise in places to a height of 1700 ft. Their slopes are fringed with oleanders, tamarisks, and willows, and near the mouth with castor-bean and cane. Like most rivers in Pal. its stream varies in width and velocity according to the season of the year. Where it issues from its steep banks to the flat shore of the Dead Sea it ranges from 40 to 100 ft. in width, and from 1 to 4 ft. in depth, while near 'Ar'air, where the old road from Heshbon to Kir crosses it, and where the remains of an old bridge still exist, it is almost dry in July.

The A. formed a strong natural boundary, and early separated the territories of the Amorites and Moab (Nu 21^{13}, cf. Jg $11^{12ff.}$); later those of Reuben and Moab (Dt 3^{16}). Isaiah mentions the 'fords of A.' (16^{2}), and Jeremiah uses 'A.' as the name of a district (48^{20}). The river is also mentioned on the 'Moabite Stone.' On the N. edge of the S. stream was the town Aroer (see Aroer), and between the N. and S. streams Dibon (see Dibon).

Literature.—Robinson, *Phys. Geog. of Pal.* 164-166; *PEFSt* (1895), 204, 215.

G. W. Thatcher.

AROD (אֲרוֹד).—A son of Gad (Nu 26^{17})=**Arodi** (אֲרוֹדִי), Gn 46^{16}. Patronymic **Arodites** (Nu 26^{17}).

AROER (עֲרוֹעֵר).—**1.** A city in the portion assigned to the tribe of Judah (1 S 30^{28}), prob. in what is now the Wady Arârah, 20 miles S. of Hebron and 12 miles to the S.E. of Beersheba. To the elders of this city David sent a share of the spoil taken from the Amalekites who had attacked Ziklag. **2.** A well-known city on the N. bank of the Arnon, generally described by its situation in order to distinguish it from other cities of the same name (Dt 2^{36} 3^{12} 4^{48}, Jos 12^{2} 13^{9}, Jg 11^{26}, 2 S 24^{5}). It was part of the region conquered by the Amorite king Sihon, and so, at the time of Israel's attack, it lay to the N. of the Moabite territory. It was assigned to the tribe of Reuben, and formed the S. frontier city of that tribe. It is this Reubenite city that is named with the S. towns as having been built by the children of Gad before the definite settlement and distribution of the land (Nu 32^{34}). When the Syrians under Hazael conquered all the trans-Jordanic district, Aroer is named as the S. limit (2 K 10^{33}). In later times the Moabites, from whom it had been taken first by the Amorites, regained possession of it from the Israelites (Jer 48^{19}). Eusebius speaks of it as still standing in his day. **3.** A town in the portion assigned to the tribe of Gad, in the valley of Gad, originally an Ammonite city (Jg 11^{33}), in the district watered by the Jabbok, east of Rabbah (Jos 13^{25}). The cities of Aroer, referred to in Is 17^{2}, are evidently the two trans-Jordanic cities of the Moabites and the Ammonites. Gentilic name **Aroerite**, 1 Ch 11^{44}.

J. Macpherson.

AROM (Ἀρόμ), 1 Es 5^{16}.—His descendants are mentioned among those who returned with Zerubbabel. The name has no parallel in the lists of Ezr and Neh, unless it represents Hashum (B Ἀσέμ, A Ἀσούμ) in Ezr 2^{19}.

H. St. J. Thackeray.

ARPACHSHAD (אַרְפַּכְשַׁד).—The third son of Shem, A. was the father of Shelah, and grandfather of Eber, from whom the Hebrews traced their descent (Gn 10$^{22.24}$ 11$^{10-13}$). Gesenius regards the name as also designating a people or region, and thinks the conjecture of Bochart not improbable, that this is Ἀῤῥαπαχῖτις, Arrapachitis, a region of Assyria near Armenia (Ptol. vi. 1), the native land of the Chaldæans. Jos. (*Ant.* I. vi. 4) says that from him the Chaldæans were called Arphaxadæans (Ἀρφαξαδαίους).

R. M. Boyd.

ARPAD (אַרְפָּד).—A city of Syria north-west of Aleppo, 2 K 18^{34} 19^{13}, Is 10^{9} 36^{19} 37^{13}, Jer 49^{23}. Now the ruin *Tell Erfûd.* The city stood a two years' siege by Tiglath-pileser III. C. R. Conder.

ARPHAXAD (Ἀρφαξάδ).—**1.** A king of the Medes (Jth 1$^{1ff.}$). He reigned at Ecbatana, which he strongly fortified. Nebuchadrezzar, king of Assyria, made war upon him, defeated him, and put him to death. Some have identified A. with Deioces, the founder of Ecbatana, and others with his son Phraortes. But the former of these died in peace, and the latter fell while besieging Nineveh. The narrative in Judith would accord better with the supposition that he was Astyages or Ahasuerus, the last king of the Medes according to Herodotus. **2.** The spelling of Arpachshad in AV, and at Lk 3^{36} by RV also. See Arpachshad.

R. M. Boyd.

ARRAY (formed by prefixing *ar* to the subst. *roi*, *rai*, order, arrangement) is common in AV for the arrangement or order of an army in battle, always in the phrase 'set in a.' or 'put in a.' (But RV gives once 'order the battle a.' 1 Ch 12^{33}.) The subst. is also used once for dress, *i.e.* garments arranged in order on the person, instead of the common word raiment (=arrayment), 1 Ti 2^{9} 'not with braided hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly a.' (ἱματισμός, RV 'raiment'). And in this sense the verb is frequent, as Gn 41^{42} 'a^{ed} him in vestures of fine linen' (Heb. לבשׁ, as always, except Jer 43^{12} עטה); Mt 6^{29} 'Solomon in all his glory was not a^{ed} like one of these' (περιβάλλω, so Lk 12^{27} 23^{11}; but ἐνδύω, Ac 12^{21} 'Herod, a^{ed} in royal apparel'). 'Array' does not mean in the Bible, as it does now, 'to dress up with display,' but simply to put on raiment, to dress. J. Hastings.

ARROGANCY.—Arrogance, though quite as old as arrogancy (both being forms of *arrogantia*, the assertion of more than one has a right to), is not used in AV, but RV gives it at Job 35^{15} (פַּשׁ, the only occurrence of the Heb. word, AV 'extremity'). Arrogancy is found in AV 1 S 2^{3}, Pr 8^{13}, Is 13^{11}, Jer 48^{29}; RV retains these, and adds 2 K 19^{28}, Is 16^{6} 37^{29}, Wis 5^{8}, giving also arrogant, Ps 5^{5} 73^{3} 75^{4} (for 'foolish' or 'fool' of AV), and arrogantly, Ps 75^{4} 94^{4}.

J. Hastings.

ARROW (חֵץ).—The arrow of the Hebrews was probably like that of other early nations in consisting of a light shaft with a head of flint or metal. Owing to the suddenness with which the arrow inflicted wounds, and to the fact that such wounds often came from an unseen hand, the arrow was used as a symbol of the judgments of God. Job, in his sickness, complains that he is struck by the poisoned arrows of the Almighty (Job 6^{4}). God overthrows the mischievous plotters by wounding them suddenly with an arrow (Ps 64^{7}).

Again, the secret mischief done by slanderers is compared to the wound of an arrow ('whose teeth are spears and arrows, and their tongue a sharp sword,' Ps 57^{4}). Children begotten in their father's youth are likened to arrows (Ps 127^{4}). Arrows are also a symbol of that which is carefully guarded and highly valued; thus, Israel itself is God's polished arrow, 'he hath made me a polished shaft, in his quiver hath he kept me close' (Is 49^{2} RV). W. E. Barnes.

ARROWSNAKE (Is 34^{15} RV for AV 'great owl'). —See Serpent.

ARSACES (Ἀρσάκης, connected possibly with the Armen. *Arschag*) was a Scythian (Strabo, xi. 515) from the banks of the Ochus, who founded the Parthian empire and the dynasty of the Arsacidæ (Justin, xli. 5; Strabo, xv. 702). The sixth king of the name (known also as Mithridates I.) subdued Persia and Media, and when opposed by Demetrius Nikator, who thought the people would rise in his favour and afterwards assist him against Tryphon, deceived him by a pretence of negotiations, and in B.C. 138 took him prisoner (1 Mac 14$^{1-3}$; Justin, xxxvi. 1). Demetrius received in marriage Rhodogune, daughter of A. (App. *Syr.* 67), but died during his captivity (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. v. 11; Justin, xli. 6; Oros. v. 4). In 1 Mac 15^{22} A. is mentioned among the kings to whom was sent an edict (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. viii. 5) from Rome forbidding the persecution of the Jews; but there is a lack of confirmatory evidence of this, though the incident would, notwithstanding the independence of Parthia, accord with the practice of Rome.

R. W. Moss.

ARSIPHURITH (B Ἀρσειφουρείθ, A Ἀρσιφρ., AV **Azephurith**), 1 Es 5^{16}.—112 of his sons returned with Zerubbabel (B omits the number). The corresponding name in Ezr 2^{18} is Jorah (יוֹרָה, B Οὐρά, A Ἰωρά); and in Neh 7^{24} Hariph (חָרִיף, B Ἀρείφ, A Ἀρείμ). It has been conjectured that the name in 1 Es is due to a mistaken combination of the two forms in Ezr and Neh, the c in the second syllable being due to confusion between c and ϵ.

H. St. J. Thackeray.

ART.—The Hebrews, like many other nations, did not excel equally in all branches of art. In literature and poetry they have shown great ability in all ages down to the present time. In music they were apparently quite the equal of their neighbours, judging from the variety of instruments named and the frequent references to singing and playing, and in modern times they fully sustain this character. But, on the contrary, in mechanical arts, in form and design, and in representations, they showed an inability amounting to positive aversion. That this aversion was not on religious grounds alone is evident on seeing that, when sculptured figures were made for the temple, the chief artist in metal was a Tyrian half-breed, and there was not among the Jews 'any that can skill to hew timber like the Sidonians' (1 K 5^{6}). Probably the aversion and the prohibition to imitate natural forms acted and reacted on each other, so that all ability was lost. We find in earlier times that, on the contrary, artistic work is attributed entirely to Hebrews shortly after the Exodus, when the Egyp. training and skill would be still possessed (Ex 35^{34}).

There does not appear to be much that can be distinctively marked as Jewish or Palestinian in the motives of design; many of the elements that we can trace in the scanty remains showing Egyp. or Bab. origin. What original style Pal. possessed among the Amorites was mostly destroyed by the Heb. invasion. This can be traced best in the pottery, as, though simple in forms and material, it is the most continuous series that we have. The Amorite shows good and original forms of a pure style; the Phœnician is entirely different, but also well shaped and original; but the Jewish pottery has no original motives, and is merely a degradation of the Amorite, running down into complete ugliness and baseness (see Pottery). In architectural forms there appears to be little that is distinct from Egyp. sources. The details have been noticed under ARCHITECTURE; but the general impression is that a plain and simple masonry with some local features was overlaid by foreign designs. The motive of a row of bucklers hanging over a parapet is suggested in the modification of Gr. metopes and triglyphs on the so-called 'Tomb of Absalom'; and it appears to be an early feature, as Solomon made two hundred targets and three hundred shields of beaten gold for the house of the forest of Lebanon. The shields were used by the guard (1 K 14^{27}), but the targets may have been decorative. The tapering form of the Moabite Stone is rather akin to Assyr. than Egyp. types. And the horns upon the pillars (Ionic volutes) belong to the same source.

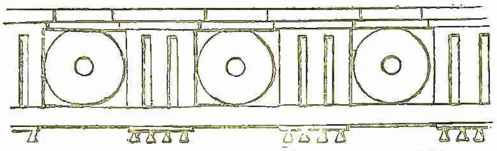
JEWISH DECORATION, HERODIAN 'TOMB OF ABSALOM.'

In surface decoration some late examples seem to reflect a national style, as we do not know of any external source for them. The graceful design of plant forms decoratively treated over the door of the so-called tombs of the Judges (perhaps Maccabæan), the later and more classical foliage work of the so-called tombs of the kings (Herodian), and the great golden vine which Herod placed over the front of the temple, point to a treatment of surfaces which is most nearly akin to some Egyp. work that is probably of Mesopotamian motive. In the plant decoration of the columns, etc. of Akhenaten's palace at Tel el-Amarna there is the same flowing style of foliage covering the surfaces, and the motive of this may well have come from northern Syria or Mesopotamia, like other influences of that reign. In the absence of any details about early Syrian art, it seems that we may perhaps see in this one of its features, which lasted until the Greek period. That surface decoration was a main feature of the richer Jewish work is shown by the details of the temple: 'He carved all the walls of the house round about with carved figures of cherubim, and palm trees, and openings of flowers, within and without' (1 K 6^{29}), and the doors were likewise decorated (vv.$^{32.35}$). On the bronze bases of the lavers were 'lions, oxen, and cherubim' (1 K 7^{29}), and 'cherubim, lions, and palm trees' (v.^{36}). This frequent decoration with palm trees is singularly un-Egyp., and points to a Mesopotamian influence, as palm trees and winged genii are very characteristic of that style.

Of sculpture in the round the most striking examples must have been the great cherubs of olive wood, plated with gold, which stood in the most holy place. Their height of ten cubits, or fifteen to twenty feet, shows that they were joined and built up of many pieces, like the lesser statues in Egypt. The wings, stretching out to a width equal to the height, were also, of course, joined on. The position of these cherubs was not at all like that described of the similar figures on the mercy-seat of the ark; the latter were face to face, but those of the temple stood side by side, both facing one way. The most holy place was twenty cubits wide; of each cherub 'from the uttermost part of one wing unto the uttermost part of the other were ten cubits,' and they stood 'so that the wing of the one touched the wall, and the wing of the other cherub touched the other wall, and their wings touched one another in the midst of the house' (1 K $6^{24.27}$). They appear to have only had two wings each, like those of the mercy-seat, and in this resembled Egyp. cherubic figures, while the Assyr. many-winged figures are more akin to the four-winged of Ezekiel or the six-winged of Revelation. In actual artistic work only two-winged figures appear to have been made. But we must not hastily suppose that these were direct copies of the winged figures of Egypt; the Heb. figures were male, while the Egyp. protective winged figures were always female, and often specialised as Isis and Nepthys. The symbolic meaning of these statues is outside of our scope here; but the strange duality of two equal figures placed side by side is parallel to the two great columns before the temple, and the curious feature of a double entrance to porches with a central pillar, as seen in the tombs.

Figures of animals were also made, as the brazen serpent, which was still treasured and worshipped down to the time of Hezekiah; also the twelve oxen of Solomon, which seem to have been done away with by Ahaz, as there is no mention of them in the plunder (Jer 52) after he had removed the brazen sea from them (2 K 16^{17}). This unnatural motive of placing a great vessel on the backs of animals is unknown in Egypt, unless in some of the Asiatic goldsmith's work; but the same idea appears in Syria, where the goddess Ḳedesh stands on a lion's back.

In embroidery we see another sign of Asiatic rather than Egyp. influence. No embroidered robes appear on Egyp. figures, at least until post-Exodic times; whereas in Babylonia and Assyria dresses are constantly represented as being embroidered with elaborate patterns. The Egyp. system was that of *appliqué* work of leather, which was elaborately carried out in complex patterns; and such a style of decoration still survives in the usual tent-lining of Egypt, where pieces of various coloured cloths are all stitched on to the backing in a pattern, and elaborate inscriptions cut out and applied in the same way. The mention of large figures upon the curtains and vail of the tabernacle appears as if they were *appliqué*; but they are only on the linen curtains, so that leather work of this kind is not implied. On the other hand, the making of gold wire by cutting up sheet gold is specially described for the ephod (Ex 39^{3}), and this shows that dresses were certainly embroidered with thread.

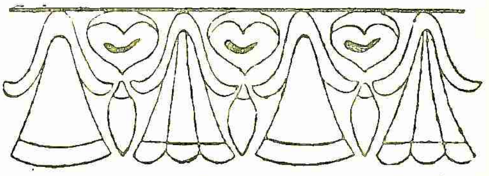
LOTUS AND BUD PATTERN (Egyptian), misnamed in Palestine as BELL AND POMEGRANATE.

Until some extensive and well-directed excavations may open up for us the remains of Syrian and Jewish art, it is hopeless to do more than indicate the mere outlines. These seem to show a native Syrian style, influenced mainly by Mesopotamia, but also in some respects by Egypt. A single good slab of stone might teach us far more than all we know at present.

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

ARTAXERXES (אַרְתַּחְשַׁשְׂתָּא, אַרְתַּחְשַׁסְתָּא).—The name is written Artakhshatra in Old Persian, Artaksatsu and Artaksassu in Bab. cuneiform, and is derived from the Persian *arta*, 'great,' and *khshatra*, 'kingdom.' The meaning of 'great warrior,' therefore, given to it by Herodotus (vi. 98) is incorrect. Ardeshir is the later Persian form of the name.

The only Artaxerxes mentioned in the OT is Artaxerxes I. Longimanus (or 'Long-handed'), the son of Xerxes, who reigned B.C. 464–425.

Ewald, Hitzig, and other commentators have supposed that in Ezr 4^{7-23} the pseudo-Smerdis (B.C. 522) is meant under the name of Artaxerxes. But the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions has shown that the Persian kings did not bear double names of the kind implied by the theory, and the difficulty felt by the commentators has been occasioned by the insertion of letters which relate only to the rebuilding of the city and walls of Jerusalem into the narrative of the rebuilding of the temple. The 24th verse of the chapter ought immediately to follow the 5th. (See ZERUBBABEL.)

It may have been in consequence of the letters which passed between the Persian king and his representatives in Palestine that in his seventh year Ezra was allowed, with other priests and temple-servants, and a grant from the imperial exchequer, to go up from Babylon to Jerusalem and there settle the affairs of the community (Ezr 7. 8). Thirteen years later (B.C. 444), Nehemiah, the cupbearer of Artaxerxes, was allowed to leave Susa for Jerusalem for a similar purpose, the first result of his mission being the restoration of the city walls.

Artaxerxes was the third son of Xerxes, and after the assassination of his father made his way to the throne by crushing the Bactrians under his brother Hystaspes, and murdering another brother, Darius. In B.C 460 Egypt revolted; but in spite of the assistance rendered by Athens to the rebels, the revolt was suppressed in B.C. 455. In B.C. 449 the war with Greece was ended by a treaty, known as that of Kallias, by which Athens gave up Cyprus, and Persia renounced her claims to the Gr. cities of Asia Minor. Not long afterwards Megabyzos the satrap of Syria revolted, and compelled the Persian king to agree to his own terms of peace. Artaxerxes was succeeded by his son Xerxes II.

A. H. SAYCE.

ARTEMAS.—A trusted companion of St. Paul, in the later part of his life (Tit 3^{12}). According to Dorotheus (*Bibl. Maxima*, Lugd. 1677, iii. p. 429) he had been one of the 70 disciples, and was afterwards bishop of Lystra, but there is no extant evidence to support either statement. An Artemas is honoured in the Greek Menæa for April 28, but apparently he is not the same.

Although Jerome (*de nom. Hebraicis*) treats the name as Hebrew, and explains it as 'anathematizans sive conturbans,' it is undoubtedly Greek, formed from Ἄρτεμις (cf. Ἑρμᾶς, Ὀλυμπᾶς, Ζηνᾶς, Ἐπαφρᾶς), perhaps by contraction from Artemidorus, a name common in Asia Minor.

W. LOCK.

ARTILLERY (1 S 20^{40} AV, 'weapons' RV).—A general word, including in its meaning both bows and arrows. The word still survives in the name of the Honourable Artillery Company of London, which was originally a guild or club of archers.

In 1 Mac 6^{51} 'artillery' ('mounds to shoot from,' RV) is the tr. of *βελοστάσεις*, 'ranges of warlike engines' set against a besieged city.

W. E. BARNES.

ARUBBOTH (הָאֲרֻבּוֹת), 1 K 4^{10} only.—A district, apparently in the south of Judah, near Hepher and Socoh. The Negeb plains are perhaps intended.

C. R. CONDER.

ARUMAH (אֲרוּמָה), Jg 9^{41}.—The refuge of Abimelech when driven out of Shechem, supposed to be the ruin *El 'Ormeh*, on the hills S.E. of Shechem. In the *Onomasticon* (*s.v.* Ruma) it is placed at Remphis, in the region of Diospolis (Lydda), which was 'by many called Arimathæa.' The village *Rentîs* seems to be meant, near Rantieh. See *SWP* vol. ii. sheets xii. and xiv.

C. R. CONDER.

ARVAD, ARVADITES (אַרְוַד, אַרְוָדִי), northernmost city of the Canaanites, and race inhabiting it (Gn 10^{18}, 1 Ch 1^{16}). The city was built on an island, Arvad or Aradus, now Ruwâd, off the Syrian coast, about 2 miles from the mainland, 3 or 4 miles north-east of Tripolis, scarcely a mile in circumference, on which houses were built close together and very high, so as to accommodate a large population in a small space. On the mainland opposite, at some distance from the coast, lay the town of Antarados. According to Strabo, fugitives from Sidon settled there and built the city in B.C. 761, but these can only have dispossessed or reinforced older inhabitants, probably like those of Sidon from around the Persian Gulf, under whom it had already risen to a position of some importance. As far back as about B.C. 1100, we find Tiglath-pileser I. speaking of sailing into the great sea in ships of A. (Schrader, *COT*^{2} i. 173). In Ezk $27^{8.11}$ the men of A. are mentioned along with those of Sidon as supplying mariners and warriors to Tyre in the time of her glory. In B.C. 138 the Phœn. town Aradus was one of those named in a circular from the Roman Senate as containing a large Jewish population, towards whom the kings of Egypt, Syria, etc. (to whom the despatch is addressed), are enjoined to show favour (1 Mac 15^{16-23}. See Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 221).

J. MACPHERSON.

ARZA (אַרְצָא).—Prefect of the palace at Tirzah, in whose house king Elah was assassinated by Zimri at a carouse (1 K 16^9). C. F. BURNEY.

ARZARETH (2 Es 13^{45}).—A region beyond the river from which the ten tribes are to return. It has been supposed to represent the Heb. ארץ אחרת (Dt 19^{28}), and became the subject of many later Jewish legends concerning the Sabbatic River beyond which the lost tribes were to be found—variously identified with the Oxus and the Ganges. The true site of the Sabbatic River is, however, in Syria, north-east of Tripoli, the present *Nahr es Sebta*. Northern Syria appears to be called the Land of *Akharri* or 'westerns' in cuneiform texts. C. R. CONDER.

AS.—There are some obs. uses of this conj., but they are mostly quite intelligible. **1. As concerning** occurs Lv 4^{26}, 1 Ch 26^{21}, Ac 28^{22}, Ro 9^5 11^{28}, 1 Co 8^4 2 Co 11^{21}, Ph 4^{15}; and *as concerning that*, Ac 13^3 'as c. that he raised him up from the dead' (Gr. simply ὅτι); **as pertaining**, Ro 4^1, He 9^9; **as touching**, Gn 27^{42}, 1 S 20^{23}, 2 K 22^{18}, Mt 18^{19} 22^{31}, Mk 12^{26}, Ac 5^{35} 21^{25}, Ro 11^{28}, 1 Co 8^1 16^{12}, 2 Co 9^1, Ph 3^5, 1 Th 4^9, 2 Es 15^8. In these phrases (the Gr. is generally a simple prep. ἐπί, κατά, and esp. περί) the *as* is now dropped. So in **whenas**, Sir Prol. i. 'whenas therefore the first Jesus died,' Sir 33^7, 2 Mac 15^{20}; **while as**, He 9^8; **what time as**, Bar 1^2, 1 Mac 5^{55}, 2 Mac 1^7; **like as**, Jer 23^{29} 'Is not my word like as a fire?', Wis 18^{11}; **as it were**, Rev 8^{10} 'burning as it were a lamp' (RV 'as a torch'); cf. Ps 14^8, Pr. Bk. 'eating up my people as it were bread.' On the other hand *as* = 'as if' in Ac 10^{11}, Rev 5^6 'a Lamb as it had been slain' (ὡς, RV 'as though'), 13^3. *As* stands for 'that' in 1 Mac 10^3 12^{15} 'so as we are delivered from our enemies.' In Lk 2^{15} it is an adv. 'as the angels were gone away from them into heaven' (ὡς, RV 'when').

J. HASTINGS.

ASA (אָסָא, perhaps 'healer').—**1.** King of Judah *c.* B.C. 918–877. The history of his reign as given in 1 K $15^{9ff.}$, when compared with that in 2 Ch 14–16, presents an excellent illustration of the different view-points of the two writers. For convenience we shall keep the two narratives apart.

(A) Acc. to 1 K $15^{9ff.}$ A. did what was right in the eyes of the Lord, opposing every form of idolatry, putting away the *ḳĕdeshim* or ἱερόδουλοι out of the land, and removing the idols which his fathers had made. He even degraded the queen-mother because of 'an abominable image' (מִפְלֶצֶת) which she had made for (an) Asherah. Being attacked by Baasha, king of Israel, he used the treasures of the temple and the palace to buy the alliance of Benhadad, king of Syria, who, by the vigour of his attack upon the N. kingdom, speedily compelled Baasha to leave Judah in peace. With the materials of Baasha's abandoned works at Ramah, A. built Geba of Benjamin and Mizpah. (In Jer 41^{9} there is mention of a pit at Mizpah which A. had made 'for fear of Baasha, king of Isr.') In his old age A. suffered from a disease in his feet. He died in the 41st year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son Jehoshaphat.

(B) In 2 Ch 14–16 Asa's reforming zeal is placed in a still more favourable light. Cf. 2 Ch 14^{5} (but see 15^{17}) with 1 K 15^{14}. As a reward for this zeal A. enjoyed peace and prosperity in the early years of his reign, and during this period he built fortresses and made other warlike preparations, assembling an army of 580,000 men ($14^{6\text{ff.}}$). He was thus enabled to meet and conquer Zerah the Ethiopian (which see). (The historicity of this campaign there is no reason to call in question, although the numbers must be excessive). After this victory A. was met by the prophet Azariah, the son of Oded, who exhorted him to carry out further religious reforms (15^{1-8}). In obedience to this call, a popular assembly, representing not only Judah, but certain districts of the N. kingdom, was held at Jerus. in the 3rd month of the 15th year of A.'s reign. A solemn covenant was entered into to seek the Lord with all their heart and all their soul (15^{12}). On account of A.'s conduct in this matter, another period of peace was enjoyed by the land, which continued till the 35th year of his reign (15^{19}). In his 36th year ($16^{1\text{ff.}}$) war broke out with Baasha, king of Israel, and A. hired the help of the king of Syria. This action was viewed by Hanani the seer as indicating a want of faith in God, and he addressed reproaches and threatenings to the king, who thereupon cast the faithful prophet into prison, and at the same time began to oppress some of his subjects ($16^{7\text{ff.}}$). *As a punishment for this* he was, in his 39th year, attacked by a disease in his feet, which led him to seek not to the Lord, but to physicians (16^{12}). Upon his death in the 41st year of his reign he was buried with most gorgeous funeral rites (16^{14}).

The Chronicler's additions to the earlier narrative comprise, then, A.'s building of fortresses and other warlike preparations, his victory over the Ethiop. king, more detailed specifications of time, his severity towards Hanani and others, and the details as to his obsequies. The subjectivity of the Chronicler is marked throughout, but there is no reason to doubt that for the basis at least of these additions he had documentary authority, although very serious difficulties, which have never been satisfactorily explained, attach to the chronology of his narrative. These are fully discussed in the literature cited below.

2. A Levite, the father of Berechiah (1 Ch 9^{16}). See GENEALOGY.

LITERATURE.—Graf, *Ges. Büch. d. A.T.* 137 ff.; W. R. Smith, *OTJC*² 141, 147; Sayce, *HCM* 363 f., 465f.; Wellhausen, *Ges. Isr.* (1878) p. 212; Kittel, *Hist. of Heb.* ii. 248 ff.

J. A. SELBIE.

ASADIAS (Ἀσαδίας, prob. = חֲסַדְיָה, 'J" is kind,' cf. 1 Ch 3^{20}).—An ancestor of Baruch (Bar 1^{1}).

ASAHEL (עֲשָׂהאֵל) is the name of four men mentioned in OT. 1. The youngest son of Zeruiah, David's sister, and the brother of Joab and Abishai. He was famous for his swiftness of foot, a much valued gift in ancient times. He was one of David's thirty heroes, probably the third of the second three (2 S 23^{24}). He was also commander of a division in David's army (1 Ch 27^{7}). He was slain by Abner (2 S 2^{18-23}). 2. A Levite, who with other ten Levites and priests went throughout all the cities of Judah and taught the people in the reign of Jehoshaphat (2 Ch 17^{8}). 3. A subordinate collector of offerings and tithes in the reign of Hezekiah (2 Ch 31^{13}). 4. Jonathan, son of A., opposed Ezra's action in connexion with the divorce of foreign wives (Ezr 10^{15}).

W. MUIR.

ASAIAH (עֲשָׂיָה 'J" hath made').—1. One of the deputation sent by Josiah to consult Huldah the prophetess, 2 K $22^{12.14}$ (AV **Asahiah**), 2 Ch 34^{20}. 2. One of the Simeonite princes who attacked the shepherds of Gedor, 1 Ch 4^{36}. 3. A Merarite who took part in bringing the ark to Jerus., 1 Ch 6^{30} $15^{6.11}$. 4. The first-born of the Shilonites, 1 Ch 9^{5}, called in Neh 11^{5} **Maaseiah**.

J. A. SELBIE.

ASANA (A Ἀσανά, B Ἀσσ-), 1 Es 5^{31}.—His descendants were among the 'temple servants' or Nethinim who returned with Zerubbabel: he is called Asnah (אַסְנָה, Ἀσενά), Ezr 2^{50}. Nehemiah omits.

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

ASAPH (אָסָף 'gatherer').—1. The father of Joah, the 'recorder' or chronicler at the court of Hezekiah (2 K $18^{18.37}$ etc.). 2. The 'keeper of the king's forest,' to whom king Artaxerxes addressed a letter directing him to supply Nehemiah with timber (Neh 2^{8}). 3. A Korahite (1 Ch 26^{1}), same as Abiasaph (wh. see). 4. The eponym of one of the three guilds which conducted the musical services of the temple in the time of the Chronicler (1 Ch $15^{16\text{f.}}$ etc.). The latter traces this arrangement to the appointment of David, in whose reign Asaph, who is called 'the seer' (2 Ch 29^{30}), is supposed to have lived. We really know practically nothing about the worship in the first temple, although the probability that the musical service was even then to a certain extent organised, is witnessed to by the fact that at the return from exile 'the singers, the sons of Asaph' (Neh 7^{44}, Ezr 2^{41}), are mentioned as a class whose functions were recognised and well established. At first the Asaphites alone seemed to have formed the temple choir, and in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah (wherever we have the memoirs of the latter in their original form) they are not yet reckoned among the *Levites*. At a later period they share the musical service with the 'sons of Korah' (see KORAHITES). When the latter become porters and doorkeepers, the guild of Asaph appears supplemented by those of Heman and Ethan; and as, in the estimation of the Chronicler (*c.* 250 B.C.), Levitical descent is necessary for the performance of such functions, the genealogies of Asaph, Heman, and Ethan are traced respectively to Gershom, Kohath, and Merari, the sons of Levi (1 Ch 6^{33-47}). W. R. Smith (*OTJC*² p. 204, n.) remarks that the 'oldest attempt to incorporate the Asaphites with the Levites seems to be found in the priestly part of the Pentateuch, where Abiasaph, "the father of Asaph," or in other words the eponym of the Asaphite guild, is made one of the three sons of Korah (Ex 6^{24}).' Pss 50 and 73–83 have the superscription לְאָסָף, which means in all probability that they once belonged to the hymn-book of the Asaphite choir (see PSALMS).

LITERATURE.—Kuenen, *Rel. of Israel*, ii. 204, iii. 77; Graf, *Geschicht. B. des A.T.* 223, 239 ff.; Wellhausen, *Geschichte*, 152, n.; Herzfeld, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, i. 387 f.; Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 225 f., 271 f.; Cheyne, *Origin of Psalter*, 101, 111.

J. A. SELBIE.

ASARA (Ἀσαρά, AV **Azara**), 1 Es 5^{31}.—His sons were among the temple servants or Nethinim who returned under Zerubbabel: omitted in the parallel lists in Ezr and Neh.

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

ASARAMEL (Ἀσαραμέλ ℵ V, Σαραμέλ A, AV Saramel). — A name whose meaning is quite uncertain (1 Mac 14^{28}). See RVm.

ASAREL (אֲשַׂרְאֵל, AV Asareel). — A son of Jehallelel, 1 Ch 4^{16}. See GENEALOGY.

ASBASARETH (1 Es 5^{69}).—A king of Assyria, probably a corrupt form of the name Esarhaddon, which is found in the parallel passage Ezr 4^{2}. AV form Azbazareth comes from the Vulg.; LXX has Ἀσβακαφάθ B, Ἀσβασαρέθ A; Syr. ܐܫܛܩܦܬ (Ashtakphath). H. A. WHITE.

ASCALON.—Jth 2^{28}, 1 Mac 10^{86} 11^{60} 12^{33}, for ASHKELON.

ASCENSION.—Ascension is the name given to that final withdrawal of the Risen Christ from His disciples which is described in Ac $1^{9ff.}$. There is no account of anything exactly like it in the OT, though the same word has been applied to the departure of Enoch and of Elijah from this life. In Sir 44^{16} as in He 11^{5} Enoch's removal is called a translation (*μετετέθη*), but in Sir 49^{14} as in Ac 1^{11} it is an assumption (*ἀνελήμφθη ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς*). This last alone seems to be employed of Elijah. In the LXX of 2 K 2^{11} we have *ἀνελήμφθη Ἠλιοὺ ἐν συσσεισμῷ ὡς εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν*, and in Sir 48^{9} Elijah is *ὁ ἀναλημφθεὶς ἐν λαίλαπι πυρός*. Cheyne's *Hallowing of Criticism* treats this last as 'the grandest prose poem in the OT,' but, even so, it opened the mind to the idea that human life might have another issue than that which awaits it in the ordinary course of nature.

In the NT the A. does not bulk largely as an independent event. In Mt it is not mentioned at all. In Mk it is found only in the dubious appendix (16^{19}), and there it is narrated in OT words, a fact which suggests that the writer is recording what he believed, not what he had seen. The first half of the verse—*ἀνελήμφθη εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν*—is from 2 K 2^{11}; and the second—*ἐκάθισεν ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ*—from Ps 110^{1}. The explicit reference in Lk 24^{51} (*διέστη ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀνεφέρετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν*) has the last five words doubly bracketed in WH. 'The A.,' they say in a note, 'apparently did not lie within the proper scope of the Gospels, as seen in their genuine texts; its true place was at the head of the Acts of the Apostles, as the preparation for the day of Pentecost, and thus the beginning of the history of the Church.' The insertion of the words, *ἀνεφέρετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν*, in Lk 24^{51}, would thus be due to some one who assumed that 'a separation from the disciples at the close of a Gospel must be the A.' But it can hardly be doubted that Luke means in these verses (24^{50-53}) to describe *the final* separation of Jesus from His disciples, so that the assumption in question would be justified; and the difficulty remains untouched, that this final separation, whatever its circumstances, seems to take place, on the most natural construction of the whole passage (vv. $^{13-53}$), on the evening of the Resurrection day, whereas in Ac 1 it is forty days later. In the Fourth Gospel there are more explicit references to the A. than in any of the rest, but no narrative. 'What if ye shall see the Son of Man ascending (*ἀναβαίνοντα*) where he was before?' (6^{62}). More notable still is the language of 20^{17}, where Jesus says to Mary Magdalene, 'Touch me not; for I have not yet ascended (*ἀναβέβηκα*) to the Father: but go to my brethren and tell them, I ascend (*ἀναβαίνω*) to my Father and your Father, and my God and your God.' The present tense in this last clause is not quite clear. It might describe what was imminent, an A. close at hand; but Westcott renders it, 'I am ascending,' as if the process had actually begun. 'In one sense the change symbolised by the visible A. was being wrought for the apostles during the forty days, as they gradually became familiarised with the phenomena of Christ's higher life' (Com. on Jn 20^{17}). But it is confusing to combine with the visible A. the idea of something going on in the apostles' minds for six weeks before. Christ's manifestations of Himself during those weeks to His disciples, undoubtedly familiarised them with the idea that now He no more belonged to this world, but had another and higher mode of being; but the A., as a separate event, is more than this. It is the solemn close of even such manifestations, and the exaltation of Christ into a life where contact with Him may be more close and intimate than ever (this is the force of 'Touch me not; for I am not yet ascended'), but must be purely spiritual. In the Book of Acts ($1^{9ff.}$) the A. narrative is most complete. Jesus had been speaking to the disciples about the universal destination of His kingdom, and the promised gift of the Spirit, and as He finished He was taken up (*ἐπήρθη*—here only in NT applied to the A.) while they looked on, and a cloud received Him out of their sight. Two men in white raiment assured the apostles that He would come in like manner as they had seen Him go into heaven.

The Epistles may be said to look at Christ in His exaltation, 'seated at the right hand of God,' and rather to involve the A. than to refer directly to it. Yet there are passages in several in which allusion seems to be made to the same event as is described in Acts. Eph 4^{8-10} is one. Christ is there spoken of as *ὁ ἀναβὰς ὑπεράνω πάντων τῶν οὐρανῶν*. Similarly, though there is perhaps a more poetic and less historical flavour in the words, we read of Him in He 4^{14} as *διεληλυθότα τοὺς οὐρανούς* and in 7^{26} as *ὑψηλότερος τῶν οὐρανῶν γενόμενος*. There is less dubiety as to the reference in 1 P 3^{22} *ὅς ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ θεοῦ πορευθεὶς εἰς οὐρανόν*, and in the hymn cited in 1 Ti 3^{16} *ἀνελήμφθη ἐν δόξῃ*, where the same word is used as in Mark and in Acts.

It is quite true to say that the A. is not separately emphasized in the NT as an event distinct from the Resurrection, or from the state of exaltation to which it was the solemn entrance. But it is quite false to say that it is identified with either, or that Resurrection, A., and sitting at God's right hand, are all names for the same thing. Certainly each of them might be used in any age, and they might be used still as a comprehensive name for the glory of Christ, but this does not abolish the distinction between them. When Jesus rose from the dead, He 'manifested himself' to His disciples. Already He belonged to another world, and it was only when He would that He put Himself in any relation with those who had loved Him in this. After each manifestation He parted from them; how, we cannot tell; the NT only suggests that it was not in that way which marked the A. When faith in the Resurrection was assured in the apostles' hearts; when He had expounded to them the Christian significance of the OT, and the universal destination of the gospel; when He had again promised the Holy Spirit to endue them with power from on high, He parted from them for the last time in such a way that they knew it was the last; He passed with something like kingly state to the right hand of the Father. To talk about Copernicanism in this connexion, and to object to the whole idea of the A. because we cannot put down the heaven into which Jesus entered on a star-map, is to misconceive the Resurrection and everything connected with it. The Lord of glory manifested Himself to His own, and at last put a term to these manifestations in a mode as gracious as it was sublime; but the whole series of events is one with which astronomy has nothing to do.

Neither is there any reason to argue back from the phenomena of the Epistles, through those of the Gospels, to the conclusion that the Christian belief in the exaltation of Jesus created the beautiful myth of the A. Westcott and Hort may be right in their suggestion that the A. does not belong to the idea of a Gospel, though the suggestion does not of itself seem conclusive; but even if the final parting of Jesus is referred to in Lk 24^{51}, and even if the date is not the same as in Ac 1, it does not follow that the story in Acts is mythical. Luke may have learned the details more accurately in the interval that elapsed between the composition of his two works; and in any case it is highly improbable that a myth-producing spirit, which had the same motive to impel it from the first hour the Resurrection was preached, should have suddenly (as it would be in this case) generated an A. myth at the very moment when it would dislocate St. Luke's histories. Neither is there any reason to oppose to each other, as many do, the A. narrative and what is called the religious idea underlying it, as husk is opposed to kernel. The Christian faith certainly holds that 'Christ, as the transfigured One, is absolutely exempt from the limitations of earth and nature, and that He, the ever-living One, is the head of humanity, exalted in glory, in whom humanity is conscious of its own exaltation' (Schenkel, *Bibel-Lexicon*, *s.v.* Himmelfahrt Jesu). But the A. story is not the husk of which this faith is the kernel. It is the record of the last and apparently the most imposing of those manifestations of the Risen One to which this faith owes its origin. No kind of objection lies against the A. which does not lie also against the Resurrection. Its historicity is of the same kind, though the direct attestation of it is less; and the manifestation of Christ, at a later date, under quite exceptional circumstances, to St. Paul at his conversion, while it is in harmony with the fact of the A., does not really affect its significance as the formal cessation of this mode of manifestation.

In itself the A. is no more than a point of transition: its theological significance cannot be distinguished from that of the Resurrection and Exaltation of Christ. If we regard Christ merely as ideal man, the A. may be said to complete the manifestation of human nature and its destiny: this exaltation, and not the corruption of the grave, is what God made man for. Man is not revealed in moral character simply; there is a mode of being which answers to ideal goodness, and the A. is our clearest look at it. If we regard it in relation to the work of Christ's earthly life, it merges in His exaltation as God's acknowledgment of that work, and the reward bestowed on him for it (see Ph 2^{6-11}). If we regard it in relation to the future, it seems to be, judged by our Lord's own words in Lk 24^{49}, Ac 1^{8}, and Jn 14–16, the condition of His sending the Spirit in the power of which the apostles were to preach repentance and remission of sins everywhere. It enthroned Him, not only in their imaginations, but in reality; He was able now to exercise all power in heaven and on earth. 'Being therefore exalted, and having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, He hath poured forth this which ye see and hear. For David ascended not into the heavens' (οὐκ ἀνέβη). This is the aspect of the subject which prevails in the NT.

LITERATURE.—The subject is discussed in all the Lives of Christ: as typical on opposite sides may be named Neander (p. 484 ff. Eng. tr.) and Hase, *Geschichte Jesu*, § 113. See also Swete, *The Apostles' Creed*, p. 64 ff., the commentators on Ac $1^{9ff.}$; Milligan, *Ascension and Heavenly Priesthood*, Lect. I.; and Knowling, *Witness of the Epistles*, p. 397 ff.

J. DENNEY.

ASCENT is the rendering in AV of three Heb. words. **1.** מַעֲלֶה *ma'ăleh*, used of the 'ascent (pass) of Akrabbim' (Nu 34^{4}), and the 'ascent of the Mt. of Olives' (2 S 15^{30}). Besides these two instances (all that occur in AV), RV correctly gives the same rendering 'ascent,' where AV uses such phrases as 'the going up to,' in Jos 10^{10} $15^{3.7}$ 18^{17}, Jg 8^{13}, 1 S 9^{11}, 2 S 15^{30}, 2 K 9^{27}, 2 Ch 20^{16} 32^{33}, Is 15^{5}, Jer 48^{5}, in all of which the same Heb. term מַעֲלֶה is employed. The plural מַעֲלוֹת of the cognate fem. form occurs in the well-known title of several Psalms (שִׁיר הַמַּעֲלוֹת, AV 'Song of degrees,' RV 'Song of ascents'). See PSALMS. **2.** עֹלָה *'ôlah*, is rendered 'ascent' by both AV and RV in 1 K 10^{5}, 'his ascent by which he went up into the house of the Lord,' although RVm offers as an alternative rendering, 'his burnt-offering which he offered in,' etc. This last is certainly the usual meaning of עֹלָה, and there appears to be no sufficient reason for departing from it in the present instance. If Solomon offered sacrifices on the colossal scale referred to in 1 K 8^{63}, the admiration of the queen of Sheba was natural enough. This is the view of the passage taken by Kittel, Reuss, Kamphausen, Kautzsch, etc., and it has the support of LXX (ὁλοκαύτωσιν), Syriac and Vulg. **3.** In the parallel passage 2 Ch 9^{4} we find עֲלִיָּה *'alîyyah*. This word signifies elsewhere an 'upper chamber' (ὑπερῷον), and it is so rendered, or by 'chamber' alone, in 1 K $17^{19.23}$, 2 K $4^{10.11}$, 2 S 18^{33}, 1 Ch 28^{11}, 2 Ch 3^{9}, Neh 3^{30}, Ps $104^{3.13}$, Jer $22^{13.14}$ (in Jg $3^{23.25}$ both AV and RV have 'parlour'). If we retain the MT, we must understand the reference to be to an upper chamber which Solomon was building (observe the imperf. יַעֲלֶה) upon the temple. This, however, yields an improbable and unsuitable meaning, and in all likelihood the text ought to be corrected from עֲלִיָּתוֹ to עֹלֹתָיו (LXX ὁλοκαυτώματα) in conformity with 1 K 10^{5} (see notes on 2 Ch 9^{4} by Kittel in Haupt's *Sacred Bks. of OT*, and by Kautzsch in *Heil. Schr. d. A.T.*).

J. A. SELBIE.

ASEAS (Ἀσαίας), 1 Es 9^{32}.—One of the sons of Annas who agreed to put away his 'strange' wife, called Isshijah (יִשִּׁיָּה = 'whom J″ lends'), Ezr 10^{31}.

ASEBEBIAS (Ἀσεβηβίας, AV **Asebebia**). — A Levite who accompanied Ezra to Jerus., 1 Es 8^{47}.

ASEBIAS (A Ἀσεβιά, B omits, AV **Asebia**).—A Levite who returned with Ezra, 1 Es 8^{48}.

ASENATH (אָסְנַת).—The daughter of Poti-pherah, priest of On, and wife of Joseph. She was the mother of Ephraim and Manasseh (Gn $41^{45.50}$ 46^{20}). The name may mean 'belonging to (*or* favourite of) Neith' (*Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*). She is commemorated by the Greek Church apparently on Dec. 13, and by the Ethiopian on the 1st of Senne. The story of A. has been made the subject of a remarkable novel which exists in Greek (the original language), Syriac, Armenian, and Latin, as well as in many mediæval European versions made from the Latin. The Latin is itself not older than the 13th cent., and is the work, as is believed, of Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, or of one of the scholars associated with him. The name of the romance is either the *History of A.* or *The Book of the Confession of A.* It has been assigned by its last editor, P. Batiffol, to the 5th cent. It is certain, however, that the Syriac version is as old as the 6th cent., and the probability is that the original is at least as early as the 3rd cent.

In its present form it is a Christian version of a Jewish legend. A full account of the story may be seen in Hort's article in Smith's *Dict. Christ. Biogr.* Summarised it runs thus: A. is the proud and beautiful daughter of Pentephres of Heliopolis. She lives in magnificent seclusion and despises all men. Her father and mother propose that she shall marry Joseph, now prime minister to Pharaoh. She rejects the thought with scorn. However, Joseph soon arrives at the house on one of his journeys through Egypt to collect corn. Asenath sees him and at once falls in love. But Joseph, who has a horror of all women, will have nothing to say to her, and cannot even kiss her, since she worships idols. He blesses her, and then she retires to her room. Here she shuts herself up for seven days in sackcloth and ashes, throws her idols out of the window, and does strict penance. On the 8th day she utters a long prayer. Thereafter an angel comes to her in the form of Joseph and blesses her, and gives her to eat of a mystic honeycomb, on which the sign of the cross is made. A., then accepted of God, arrays herself in beautiful garments, and goes forth to meet Joseph, who now returns to the house. The parents are away, but the betrothal takes place in their absence; and then the wedding in Pharaoh's presence. At this point the Armenian version makes a break, and ends the first part; here also in Syr., Arm., and Lat., but not in any known Greek MS, occurs a lamentation of Asenath for her former pride.

The second part of the book contains the story first of A.'s introduction to Jacob when he came to Egypt, and then, at great length, of an attempt on the part of Pharaoh's firstborn son to abduct A.,—an attempt in which he enlists the services of Dan and Gad, and in which he is baffled by Benjamin, Simeon, and Levi, and loses his life. This part of the story, which is very well told, has hardly any religious interest, save in the forgiveness of Dan and Gad by A. But in the first part of the book the religious element is far more prominent. Stress is laid on purity and on repentance.

The *raison d'être* of the book, or rather, of the Jewish legend which lies behind it, is to evade the difficulty of Joseph's marriage with a heathen wife: and, as Batiffol and Oppenheim (see Lit.) have shown, the original legend made A. a Jewess by birth. It identified her with the daughter of Dinah, Jacob's daughter, and of Shechem. This has been slurred over in the Greek novel; but it is implied by certain words in the Syriac, where A.'s visit to Jacob is described.

The romance is altogether one of the most successful, from a literary point of view, that the apocryphal literature affords. It was widely known in Europe by means of the extracts from it which Frater Vincentius (Vincent of Beauvais) included in his *Speculum Historiale* in the 13th century.

LITERATURE.—Vincent's Lat. version and a fragment of the Gr. in Fabricius' *Cod. Pseud. V. T.*; Syriac in Land's *Anecdota Syriaca*, iii. 1870; Lat. tr. of Syriac by Oppenheim, *Fabula Josephi et Asenethæ*, 1886; Gr. by P. Batiffol from four MSS in *Studia Patristica*, 1889; Lat. (complete version) from two Cambridge MSS communicated by the present writer to M. Batiffol, and published by him *op. cit.*; Armenian recently published at Venice by P. Basile.

M. R. JAMES.

ASH (אֹרֶן, *'oren*, *πίτυς*, *pinus*) (Is 44[14], AV. RV has *fir*, with *ash* in m.).—The conditions to be fulfilled by this tree are that its wood should be suitable to be carved into an image, and used for fuel; that it should be a familiar tree, *planted*, as distinguished from the forest trees mentioned in the former part of the verse; and that it should be nourished by rain, and not by artificial irrigation, as in the case of almost all the cultivated trees of Syria and Palestine. These conditions exclude several of the candidates. They make it improbable that the unknown tree *'aran*, described by Abu Fadli as growing in Arabia Petræa, is intended. Such a tree would not be likely to be planted, nor to thrive out of the stations where it is indigenous. Salvadora Persica, proposed by Royle, is a desert shrub, with a trunk out of which it would be impossible to find a piece large enough to carve into a graven image, and in every other way quite unsuitable. Luther's surmise, that the final נ of the Heb. original is a ז, and that the tree is a *cedar*, is forbidden by the previous mention of the cedar in the same passage. The interpretation *ash* of AV has no support from philology. It is wholly improbable that *'oren* has any connexion with *ornus*. There are three species of ash in Syria—*Fraxinus Ornus*, L., which grows in the mountains from Lebanon to Amanus; *F. excelsior*, L., Amanus and northward; and *F. oxycarpa*, Willd., var. *oligophylla*, Boiss., Tel-el-Ḳadi (Dan) to Antilebanon, Lebanon, and Aleppo. The modern Arab. name for the last is *dardâr* (also the elm). It is a fine tree, with a hemispherical comus, 15 to 45 feet high, and has a trunk which would furnish wood suitable for the requirements of the text. But it grows *wild*, usually near or by water, and therefore would not likely have been selected as a tree which the 'rain doth nourish.' Fir is an unfortunate guess, as there are other words which correspond to the different sorts of fir. Pine has the authority of the LXX. There are three species of pine growing in the Holy Land—*Pinus Haleppensis*, Mill, the *Aleppo Pine*; *P. Brutia*, Ten.; and *P. Pinea*, L., the *maritime* or *stone pine*. The latter tree fulfils best the conditions of the *'oren*.

It is a tree well known by the Arabic name *ṣnowbar*, with a resinous, hard wood, capable of being carved, and much used for fuel, especially in the public ovens. It produces large cones, and an edible seed, for which it is cultivated, and the taste of which when roasted resembles that of a roasted peanut. Moreover, it is a tree which is very extensively *planted*, and always in sandy places or on dry hillsides, where it receives *only the rain*. It is one of the few cultivated (*planted*) trees in this land which are never watered except by the rain. It is never planted in irrigated ground. The seed is sown in low-lying districts along the coast after the first rains, when the ground is softened, and in the mountains in the latter days of February, when all danger of the tender sprout being nipped by frost has passed away, but when there is prospect of rain sufficient to 'nourish' the seedling for its exposure to the blazing sunshine during the eight long rainless months that are to follow. The explanatory clause of our passage has very peculiar force with reference to this tree. The objection of Celsius, that the pine does not bear *transplanting*, is futile, as it is only said that they were *planted*. The same word is used for the lign-aloes (Nu 24[6]), and the cedars (Ps 104[16]), both of which it is said the 'Lord planted,' *i.e. sowed*, for they were certainly not *transplanted*. Also God is represented as planting the desolate places (Ezk 36[36]). Vast groves of *ṣnowbar* have been planted at points along the coast to arrest the movement of the sand dunes. Such a grove was planted by Ibrahim Pasha in 1840 near Beirût, and is one of the most picturesque features of the beautiful plain between the city and Lebanon. Large numbers of these groves are planted on the red sandstone of Lebanon, and in parts of Palestine. As the tree grows, the lower branches are lopped off, and only a mushroom-shaped top is left. The trees grow near together and very uniformly, so that the top of a large grove such as that near Beirût, when looked upon from the mountain, presents a flat green surface, which constitutes a very marked and attractive feature of the landscape. When planted on steep mountain sides, as in Lebanon and on the Apulian coast of Italy, the tall trunks, surmounted by their dense crown of evergreen leaves, fringe the tops and dot the sides of the rugged grey peaks with a beauty hardly rivalled by any other tree.

G. E. Post.

ASHAN (עָשָׁן), Jos 15^{42} 19^{7}, 1 Ch 4^{32} 6^{59}.—Perhaps the same as Cor-ashan, which see. It was a town of Judah, near Libnah and Rimmon, belonging to Simeon, and not far from Debir. It must have been on the slopes of the hills east of Gaza, but the site is doubtful. C. R. Conder.

ASHARELAH (אֲשַׂרְאֵלָה, AV **Asarelah**). — An Asaphite (1 Ch 25^{2}), called in v.^{14} **Jesharelah** (see Kittel's notes on 1 Ch 4^{16} 25$^{2.4}$).

ASHBEA (אַשְׁבֵּעַ) occurs in an obscure passage (1 Ch 4^{21} 'house of A.') where it is uncertain whether it is the name of a place or of a man. See Genealogy.

ASHBEL (אַשְׁבֵּל, perh. corrupted from אֶשְׁבַּעַל 'man of Baal').—The second son of Benjamin (1 Ch 8^{1}; cf. Gn 46^{21}, Nu 26^{38}). In Nu 26^{38} **Ashbelite**, inhabitant of Ashbel, occurs.

ASHDOD (אַשְׁדּוֹד 'fortress'?).—One of the five great Philistine cities. Jos 11^{22} 13^{3} 15$^{46.47}$, 1 S 5$^{1-7}$, 2 Ch 26^{6}, Neh 4^{7} 13^{24}, Jer 25^{20} 47^{5}, Am 1^{8}, Zeph 2^{4}, Zec 9^{6}. **Azotus**, 1 Mac 5^{18} 10^{84}, Ac 8^{40}. It is now the mud village *Esdûd*, on the edge of the plain, close to a large hillock of red sand, backed by dunes of drifted sand which extend to the shore cliffs. A few palms grow near, and water is supplied by a pond. The sand probably covers the site of the ancient city. The inhabitants, in type and dress, resemble the Egyp. rather than the Pal. peasantry. A small gem was found here in 1875, representing Dagon as a fish-man; but this may be comparatively recent, resembling Gnostic gems of the 2nd cent. A.D. A. was not taken by the Hebrews, and was the refuge of the Anakim (Jos 11^{22}). The villages near it belonged to Judah (Jos 15$^{46ff.}$). The inhabitants were still independent in the time of Samuel (1 S 5^{1}), but A. was attacked by Uzziah (2 Ch 26^{6}). Its inhabitants were enemies of the Jews after the Captivity (Neh 4^{7}), and it is mentioned as a reproach that the children of the mixed marriages spoke 'half in the speech of A.' (Neh 13^{24}). The city is said in the 7th cent. B.C. to have sustained a 29 years' siege by Psammitichus (Herod. ii. 157). In B.C. 711 A. was besieged by Sargon after the capture of Samaria. Its king, *Yavan* or *Yamanu*, had been set up in place of the Assyrian nominee *Akhimiti*, whom Sargon placed on the throne instead of a certain *Azuri* who had refused tribute. The Philistines, Jews (*Ja'udu*), Edomites, and Moabites were allied, and had sent for aid to *Pir'u* (Pharaoh?); yet A. was obliged to submit to the Assyrians. In B.C. 702 Sennacherib, according to his own record, freed *Mitinti* (who seems to have been also king of Ashkelon about thirty-four years later) from Hezekiah, and he became tributary for a time to Assyria. In B.C. 668 the name of the king of A., tributary to Assurbanipal, was *Ahimilhi* or Ahimelech. The city was taken by Judas Maccabæus (*c.* 165), and again (*c.* 148) by Jonathan (1 Mac 5^{68} 10^{84}). It became a bishopric in the 4th cent. A.D., but its importance gradually decreased, and the site was not generally known in the Middle Ages. See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvi.

C. R. Conder.

ASHER (אָשֵׁר 'happy').—This was the name of Jacob's eighth son, the second born to him by Zilpah, Leah's handmaid; her elder son being Gad (Gn 35^{26}). Asher had four sons and one daughter (Gn 46^{17} R). A 'happy' lot was predicted for him in Jacob's blessing, 'his bread shall be fat, and he shall yield royal dainties' (Gn 49^{20} J). His good fortune is also foreshadowed in the blessing of Moses, 'Blessed be Asher with children; let him be acceptable unto his brethren, and let him dip his foot in oil' (Dt 33^{24}). When Israel left Egypt the adult males of the tribe numbered 41,500; more than either Ephraim, Manasseh, or Benjamin. Before the invasion of Western Pal. the numbers had grown to 53,400 (Nu 1^{41} 26^{47} P). The tribe appears in the name-lists with the others throughout the earlier books. The position of Asher in the desert march was between Dan and Naphtali on the N. of the tabernacle (Nu 2$^{25-30}$ P). Sethur, the chief, went with the head men of the other tribes from the wilderness of Paran to spy out the land (Nu 13^{13}). Of Asher in future days little is deemed worthy of record save his inglorious failures. As his rich territory lay close to the Phœnician cities with their open markets and prosperous commerce, he seems very soon to have identified his interests with theirs. This may account for his failure to take possession of many of the cities that had been allotted to him (Jg 1^{31}), and also for his inactivity when, in opposition to Sisera and his host, Zebulun 'jeoparded their lives unto the death, and Naphtali upon the high places of the field,' while he 'sat still at the haven of the sea, and abode by his creeks' (Jg 5$^{17.18}$). The decline of Asher was so rapid that the name does not appear in the list of chief rulers in the days of David (1 Ch 27$^{16-22}$). He shares with Simeon the reproach of having given no hero, judge, or ruler to Israel. Not wholly lost, a few from Asher with others from Manasseh and Zebulun 'humbled themselves and came to Jerusalem' in response to the call of Hezekiah (2 Ch 30^{11}). Of this tribe was the saintly Anna, whose lofty piety sheds a ray of glory upon the family in the gathering evening of the nation's life (Lk 2$^{36-38}$).

We cannot accurately trace the boundaries of the territory of Asher. Even if the towns apportioned to it (Jos 19$^{24-31}$, Jg 1$^{31.32}$; see also Jos 17$^{10.11}$) were all identified, which they are not, the difficulty would remain. Each town carried with it the land belonging to its citizens, the limits of which it is impossible to determine. Dor, the modern *Tanturah*, on the seacoast S. of Carmel, although inhabited by Manasseh, was in the lot of Asher (Jos 17$^{10.11}$). *Nahr ez-Zerḳa*, known also as the 'Crocodile River,' would therefore form a natural boundary to the south. The border may then have passed over the S.E. shoulder of Carmel. Touching the western point of Esdraelon, the territory of Issachar, it proceeded northward in an irregular line, at a distance of eight to ten miles from the sea, skirting the western edge of Zebulun and Naphtali. Nearly opposite Tyre, probably, it bent eastward, taking in a large part of what is now called *Belâd Beshârah* and *Belâd esh-Shuḳîf*, turning seaward again in the direction of Sidon. This agrees with the account of Josephus (*Ant.* v. i. 22), 'The tribe of Aser had that part which is called the Valley [by which he evidently means the low land along the seaboard], even all that part which lay over against Sidon.' This includes much of the finest and most fruitful land in Palestine. Grain, excellent in quantity and quality, is grown on the Phœnician plains. The orchards of Acre and the orange groves of Sidon are justly held in high repute. Even in the decay of the country it continues to yield 'royal dainties,' many tons of oil being sent annually to the palaces in Constantinople, the produce of these deep, rich valleys in Upper Galilee, where the hardy peasants cultivate the olive as of old. W. Ewing.

ASHERAH (אֲשֵׁרָה).—1. A Phœnician and Canaanite goddess (Ex 34^{13} RVm) (*a*) the same as or (*b*) distinct from 'Ashtōreth. The name occurs (1) in two Phœn. inscriptions, one from Kition, *ZDMG* xxxv. 424, the other from Ma'sub, *Rev. Archéologique* (1885), v. 380. In the first, as read by Schröder, one 'Abdosir dedicates a statue to 'the Mother 'Ashérah.' The second speaks of ''Ashtōreth in the 'Ashérah'; (2) in the Tel el-Amarna inscriptions (*RP* 2nd Ser. ii. 67, iii. 71, v. 97, vi. 50). In these mention is made of one 'Abad-'Ashrat, *i.e.* Servant of 'Ashrat, and the latter word is said to be emphasized as a divine name (Schrader, *Zeitsch. für Assyr.* iii. [1888] 364); (3) in the OT, Jg 3^{7} 'the children of Israel . . . served the Baalim and the Asheroth'; 1 K 15^{13}=2 Ch 15^{16} 'Maacah . . . made an abominable image for an Asherah'; 1 K 18^{19} 'the prophets of the Asherah'; 2 K 21^{7} Manasseh 'set the graven image of Asherah' in the temple; 23^{4} 'vessels that were made for Baal and for the Asherah'; 23^{6} Josiah 'brought out the Asherah from the house of the Lord'; 23^{7} 'the women wove hangings for the Asherah.' (For 'Ashérah as a goddess, see Kuenen, *Rel. of Israel*, ii. 88; Movers, *Die Phönizier*, i. 560; Sayce, *HCM* 81.)

But the existence of this goddess is a disputed point. The evidence, it must be admitted, is very limited, and not decisive. With regard to the Phœn. sources, the word on the Kition inscription supposed to represent 'Ashérah is differently read by Stade, *ZAW* (1881) 344 f., and in the *CIS* i. 1. 13; whilst the phrase in the Ma'sub inscription is obscure, and can be explained in different ways (Halévy, *Rev. des Études Juives*, xii. 110; Hoffmann, *Ueber einige Phön. Inschr.* 26 ff.). Again, the value of the evidence of the Tel el-Amarna inscriptions upon this point is as yet uncertain (Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* ii. 307, n. 2; W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.* 173 n). And, lastly, the OT passages are perhaps best explained by supposing that the compilers of the hist. books misunderstood the term 'Ashérah, and confused it with 'Ashtōreth (Stade, *Gesch. des Volkes Isr.* i. 460; Nowack, p. 19; W. R. Smith, p. 173; Montefiore, *Hibbert Lect.* 89).

2. A sacred tree or pole. The ordinary furniture of a Can. high-place or shrine consisted of the altar, near to which stood a stone pillar or Maẓẓébah, and a sacred tree or 'Ashérah, 1 K 14^{23}, 2 K 18^{4}. For an altar and an 'Ashérah of Baal, cf. Jg 6^{25-30}. When the Israelite invaders appropriated for their own religious worship the high-places of the Canaanites, they adopted also the Maẓẓébahs and 'Ashérahs, Mic $5^{13.\,14}$, Is 17^{8} 27^{9}, Jer 17^{2}, 1 K 14^{23}, 2 K $17^{10.\,16}$. Not until the centralisation of the cultus at Jerus., carried out by Josiah, did the high-places, and with them the pillars and sacred trees, become illegal, Dt 16^{21}.

An idea of the appearance and nature of an 'Ashérah may be obtained from a comparison of some of the passages in which the word occurs. It was a tree, or stump of a tree, planted in the earth, Dt 16^{21}; it could be artificially made, Is 17^{8}, 1 K 14^{15} 16^{33}; it was made of wood, Jg 6^{26}; it might receive an image-like form, 1 K 15^{13}; it could be 'cut down,' Ex 34^{13}, 'plucked up,' Mic 5^{14}, 'burnt,' Dt 12^{3}, or 'broken in pieces,' 2 Ch 34^{4}. What are supposed to be representations of such sacred trees may be seen in Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, ii. 37, or in Nowack, ii. 19.

The original signification of the 'Ashérahs is not clear. Some have held that they were symbols either of a supposed goddess 'Ashérah (Kuenen, *Rel. Isr.* ii. 75, 88, 247), or of 'Ashtōreth (Baethgen, *Beiträge*, 218 f.; Oettli on Jg 3^{7} in Strack and Zöckler's *Kurzgefasster Komm.*). Others believe them to have been connected with Phallic worship (Movers, Collins, *PSBA*, June 4, 1889, 291; M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Cyprus, the Bible, and Homer*, 146, 170); but against this, see W. R. Smith, p. 437. Perhaps the most probable view is that which sees in the 'Ashérahs a survival of tree-worship, whilst the Maẓẓébahs represent a survival of stone-worship (W. R. Smith, p. 169; Stade, *Gesch.* i. 460 ff.; Pietschmann, *Gesch. der Phönizier*, 213; Nowack, ii. 19).

The rendering '**grove**' (plu. 'groves,' RV **Asherim**) of AV comes from LXX ἄλσος, a trans. which, though possible in some cases, is obviously inappropriate in others, *e.g.* 1 K 14^{23} 15^{13} 2 K 23^{6}.

LITERATURE.—Driver on Dt. 16^{21}; Moore on Jg 3^{7} 6^{25}; and the reff. above. For a fresh attempt to connect tree and pillar veneration with Phallic worship, see Trumbull, *The Threshold Covenant* (1896), p. 228 ff.

W. C. ALLEN.

ASHES.—1. 'Sackcloth and ashes' are, in OT, Apocr., and NT alike, the familiar tokens of humiliation and penitence, generally accompanied by fasting (Job 42^{6}, Is 58^{5}, Dn 9^{3}, Jon 3^{6}, Est 4^{1}, Jth 4^{11}, 1 Mac 3^{47}, Mt 11^{21}, Lk 10^{13} etc.). Ashes were also, with earth and dust, the usual signs of mourning, 2 S 1^{2}, Job $2^{8.\,12}$, Jer 6^{26}, Is 61^{3}. In both cases the penitent or mourner took the ashes and cast them with expressive gesture 'toward heaven,' so that they fell on his person, and especially on his head, a custom not confined to the Hebrews (cf. *Iliad*, xviii. 23 ff.). In extreme cases the mourner sat upon a heap of ashes (Job 2^{8}). References to the custom are freq. in Scripture (see, in addition to passages already quoted, Job 2^{12} 42^{6}, Jer 6^{26}, Ezk 27^{30}, Est 4^{3}, Jth 4^{11} 9^{1}, 1 Mac 3^{47} 4^{39}). The priests in times of great affliction seem to have put ashes on their 'mitres,' Jth 4^{15}. Ashes upon the head were also a sign of physical humiliation and disgrace (2 S 13^{19}, Ezk 28^{18}, Mal 4^{3}). Ashes are used in OT, alone or with 'dust,' * as a natural synonym of worthlessness and insignificance, Gn 18^{27}, Is 44^{20}, Job 13^{12} (proverbs of ashes=worthless, trashy proverbs) 30^{19}, Sir 10^{9}. 2. The same term (אֵפֶר, σποδός) is employed in Nu $19^{9.\,10}$ (P) to denote the mixture composed of the ashes proper of the red heifer and those of 'cedar wood, hyssop and scarlet,' and used for the preparation of the so-called 'water of separation.' See PURIFICATION, RED HEIFER. 3. The priestly *term. tech.* for the ashes of the animals burnt in sacrifice is דֶּשֶׁן (lit. fatness, LXX πιότης), Lv 1^{16} 4^{12} $6^{10.\,11}$ (P); the corresponding verb denotes the clearing away of the accumulated fat ashes, Ex 27^{3}, Nu 4^{13}. See TABERNACLE. 4. The word rendered 'ashes' in Ex $9^{8.\,10}$ (פִּיחַ of uncertain origin, and only found here) more probably signifies 'soot,' as in the m. of RV. See Commentaries. 5. In 1 K $20^{38.\,41}$ 'ashes' in AV is a mistranslation, from a confusion of אֲפֵר, a bandage, with אֵפֶר ashes; RV correctly, 'with his head-band over his eyes.' For the use of ashes in the preparation of bread, see BREAD.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

ASHHUR (אַשְׁחוּר, AV **Ashur**).—The 'father' of Tekoa (1 Ch 2^{24} 4^{5}). See GENEALOGY.

ASHIMA (אֲשִׁימָא, 2 K 17^{30}).—A deity of the Hamathites, who introduced its worship into Samaria, when settled there by Sargon in place of the exiled Israelites. Many conjectures have been made as to its identity, but none has been generally accepted. Jewish tradition has represented it as a hairless goat, or, again, as a cat to which the ram of the guilt-offering was sacrificed. Similarity of sound has led to comparison with the Pers. *asmān*, Zend. *azmano*, heaven, with Eshmun, the eighth of the Phœn. Kabirim, and with the Bab. Tashmetu, goddess of revelation, wife of Nebo. As Hamath was occupied by the Hittites, the name very possibly is of Hittite origin.

---

* Ges. *Lex.* (12th ed.), following Barth's suggested connexion (*Etym. Stud.* 20) of אֵפֶר with Arab. *ghibār* 'dust,' would render by 'dust' in all the passages above, by 'a.' only in Nu $19^{9.\,10}$.

J. MILLAR.

ASHKELON (אַשְׁקְלוֹן, in AV **Eshkalon**, Jos 13[3]; **Askelon**, Jg 1[18], 1 S 6[17], 2 S 1[20]; **Ashkelon**, Jer 25[20] 47[7], Am 1[8], Zeph 2[4], Zec 9[5]; in Apocr. **Ascalon** both AV and RV).—One of the five chief cities of Philistia, between Joppa and Gaza, standing on low cliffs close to the shore, and without a harbour. It continued to be under the rule of native chiefs or kings down to the Greek period. It is first noticed monumentally in the Tel el-Amarna tablets, about B.C. 1480–1450, the inhabitants being said to have offered tribute to the Khabiri. Letters in this collection from *Yamîr-Dagan* and *Dagan-takala*, chiefs of Ashkelon, subject to the Pharaoh, show the early worship of Dagon among its inhabitants. A. was reconquered in the 14th cent. B.C. by Ramses II. In the 7th cent. B.C. its king is noticed as a tributary of Esarhaddon, and of Assurbanipal, and was named *Mitinti*. It was captured by Jonathan, brother of Judas Maccabæus (1 Mac 10[86] 11[60]). Herod the Great was born at A., and beautified it with new buildings (Jos. *Wars*, I. xxi. 11). In the 4th cent. A.D. it became a bishopric, and was conquered by the Moslems in the 7th cent. The Crusaders took it in 1153, and it submitted to Saladin in 1187. The latter demolished its walls in 1191, but they were rebuilt by Richard 'Lion-Heart' next year, and subsequently again destroyed by agreement with Saladin. At the present day the ruins of these later walls enclose only gardens supplied by wells and half-covered with sand. The modern name is *'Askelan*. A curious bas-relief, representing Ashtoreth with two attendants, has been excavated in the ruins, and a gigantic statue (probably Roman) was found and destroyed by Lady Hester Stanhope. Until the 13th cent. A.D. A. was an important fortress in all ages, and a depot on the trade route to Egypt. See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvi. C. R. CONDER.

ASHKENAZ (אַשְׁכְּנַז, Gn 10[3], 1 Ch 1[6]).—The eldest son of Gomer, giving name to a Japhethite people, referred to along with Ararat and Minni in Jer 51[27], and therefore apparently in or near Armenia, somewhere between the Black and the Caspian Seas. *Ashken* is an Armenian proper name, and *az* is an Armenian name ending. Ascanios, the Homeric hero, was a Phrygian, while there is an Ascanian lake in Phrygia as well as in Bithynia. Later tradition associates the name of Scandinavia with that of this race. See F. W. Schultz in Herzog, art. 'Gomer,' vol. v. 271 f., and comm. on Gn 10[3] by Delitzsch and Dillmann.

J. MACPHERSON.

ASHNAH (אַשְׁנָה). The name of two towns of Judah. 1. Jos 15[33], near Zorah; the site is unknown. 2. Jos 15[43], near Nezib, farther south than the preceding, also unknown. In the *Onomasticon* a village, Asan, is noticed, 15 (or, in the Greek, 16) miles from Jerusalem. The direction is not stated, and it may be the Heb. Jeshanah, though identified with Ashan. C. R. CONDER.

ASHPENAZ (אַשְׁפְּנַז, etym. uncertain).—The chief of Nebuchadrezzar's eunuchs (Dn 1[3]).

ASHTAROTH (עַשְׁתָּרוֹת, in form the plural of *Ashtóreth*; cf. *'Anāthōth* from *'Anāth*: the name is no doubt an indication that the place was once a notable seat of the worship of 'Ashtōreth).—A place mentioned in OT as (with Edre'i) one of the two royal cities of 'Og, the king of Bashan (Dt 1[4], Jos 9[10] 12[4] 13[12. 31]), and as a Levitical city (1 Ch 6[71 (56)]; the parallel text Jos 21[27] has BE'ESHTERAH, *i.e.* probably *House*, or *Temple*, of 'Ashtōreth) assigned (according to P) to the Gershonites. So far as the biblical *data* go, 'Ashtaroth might be identical with *'Ashteroth-Ḳarnaim* (the name being merely abbreviated from it); if, however, the statements of Euseb. (in the *Onom.*) be correct, the two places were distinct. In the *Onom.*, namely, we read: '(1) *Ashtaroth Karnaim*: there are still two villages [of this name] in Bashan, 9 miles distant from each other, between Adara (Edre'i) and Abila (p. 209, Lag.). (2) *Ashtaroth*: an ancient city of Og, in Bashan, 6 miles from Adara (p. 213). (3) *Karnaim Ashtaroth*: now a large village in the corner [see Jerome, p. 108, 18] of Bashan, where the traditional dwelling of Job is shown (p. 268).' Now, an ancient tradition (see Wetzstein in the App. to Delitzsch's *Hiob* (E. tr. ii. 397 ff.; ed. 2, p. 552 ff.) places 'Uẓ, the fatherland of Job, in this region: at the top of a long, low hill, 16 miles N.N.W. of Edre'i, on which stands the village of Sa'dîye (also called Sheikh Sa'd), is a mosque, containing the *Ṣakhret Ayyub*, or Job's Stone, a monolith of basalt, against which, according to the legend reported by Arab. writers, the patriarch leaned as he sat on the ground and received his friends (see Wetzst. p. 563, and Schumacher, *Across the Jordan*, pp. 189–191, with plans and cuts); at the foot of the hill, from what is supposed to be the spot where, at the close of his sufferings, Job stamped his foot (cf. Ḳor. 38[41ff.]), gushes forth the beautiful 'Job's Spring,' the waters of which, after flowing a short distance, are conducted to the *Ḥammām Ayyub*, or Job's Bath, reputed to possess healing virtues (Wetzst. p. 562; Schum. p. 193 f.; also *PEFSt*, 1895, p. 180); slightly to the S. of this, Wetzstein (p. 561 f.) saw the *Maḳâm Ayyub*, or Tomb of Job; a little farther S., about ¾ of a mile from Sheikh Sa'd, at a government settlement now called El-Merkez, there was, until recently (for its place is now occupied by barracks), a *Dêr Ayyub*, or Monastery of Job, the foundation of which is assigned by Abulfeda (*Hist. anteisl.*, ed. Fleischer, p. 128) to the Ghassānide prince 'Amr I. in the 3rd cent. A.D. (Wetzst. pp. 564–566; Schum. p. 196; Socin in Bäd. *Pal.*[2] 303: Schum. p. 197 also describes here a *Maḳâm Ayyub*, or Tomb of Job, which is not mentioned by Wetzst.; but van Kasteren, *ZDPV*, 1893, pp. 200–204, declares this building to be not 30 years old, and argues that the site of the Maḳâm must have been changed since Wetzstein saw it in 1858). All these Job-antiquities are frequently mentioned by Arab. writers (see Wetzst., and v. Kast. *l.c.*). The 'angulus' of Jerome may be the angle formed by the two deep gorges of the Nahr er-Rukkād and the Sharî'at el-Menâḍireh, still called 'the Eastern Angle' (Schum. pp. 3, 342): cf. *Onom.* 282, 90 (where Νινευή is *Nawâ*). 'Job's Stone' is described more fully by Schumacher in the *ZDPV*, 1892, 142 ff. (with photographs): the representation of an Egyp. king worshipping before a deity can be traced upon it, together with characters, which Erman (*ib.* 1893, 205 ff.) reads as *Wesr-ma'-Re'*, 'chosen of Re',' the official title of Ramses II. (19th dynasty); it is consequently in reality a monument of the age when the Egyp. kings held rule over Syria. Further, only 2½ miles S.S.W. of Sheikh Sa'd there is a hill, *Tell 'Ashterā* (عشترا), rising about 80 ft. above the surrounding plain, and watered at its foot by the same copious stream spoken of above as having its source in 'Job's Spring,' and here called *Moyet en-Neby Ayyub* ('stream of the prophet Job'). Tell 'Ashterā was a military centre in the Middle Ages (Nöldeke, 'Zur Topogr. u. Gesch. der Haurângegend,' *ZDMG*, 1875, p. 431, with the references); and there are remains of fortifications around the summit, together with massive blocks of stone at its S. and S.W. base, running up the hill to meet the wall at the top, all of a character betokening an early age (Merrill, *East of Jordan*, 329 f.; cf. Schum. *Across the Jordan*, p. 209). There is a strong presumption that the 'Karnaim Ashtaroth' of Euseb. was one of these localities; and Wetzst. (p. 575; Eng. tr. p. 427), Guthe (*ZDPV*, 1890, p. 235), and v. Kasteren (*ib.* 1891, p. 213), all identify the biblical 'Ashteroth-Ḳarnaim with Tell 'Ashterā,—the last named scholar, who interprets (after Wetzst.) the name as signifying 'Ashtaroth *near* Ḳarnaim (cf. Moresheth-Gath, etc.), supposing, further, that Ḳarnaim (which Euseb. connects closely with Job's home) was at Sheikh Sa'd, though owning (*ib.* 1893, p. 197 f.) that this site is hardly so inaccessible as 'Karnaim' is described as being, in 2 Mac 12^{21}).

If, however, this was the 'Karnaim Ashtaroth' of Euseb., where was his 'Ashtaroth'? Just 9½ miles south of Sheikh Sa'd, and 6½ (Schum.) — or 8 (Stübel's map, *ZDPV*, 1890, Heft 4) — miles N.W. of Edre'i,—almost exactly, therefore, at the distances assigned by Euseb.,—is the village of *El-Mezeirîb*—situated on the great pilgrim-track (the *Derb el-Ḥaj*) between Damascus and Mecca, and the first halting-place of the pilgrims after leaving Damascus. A plan, description, and view will be found in Schumacher, pp. 157–166. The situation of El-Mezeirîb gives it importance: an annual fair is held there at the time of the Mecca-pilgrimage: the ancient city (which lies in the centre of a small lake) 'must have been once a strongly fortified place,' and the ruins and huge basaltic blocks, scattered about the shores of the lake, 'seem to be the remains of pre-Mohammedan buildings' (Schum. p. 165). This may well be the 'Ashtaroth' of Euseb. (so Buhl, *Topogr. des Nördl. Ostjordanlandes*, 1894, p. 16). Whether, however, it is the biblical 'Ashtaroth, the residence of 'Og, is less certain. There is a site, 4½ miles S. of Tell 'Ashterā, and 11 miles N.W. of Edre'i, called *Tell el-'Ash'arī*, which, though no argument in favour of the identification can be drawn from the Arab. name (which is radically different from *'Ashterā*), is preferred by others (*e.g.* v. Kasteren, *ZDPV*, 1891, p. 213), and which is adapted, by its situation (see the description under ASHTEROTH-KARNAIM; and for a view, Oliphant, *Land of Gilead*, 87 f., where the name is wrongly spelt Asherah), for a royal stronghold. On the whole, there is a reasonable probability that Tell 'Ashterā is one of the two 'Ashtaroths (if there were two), and that either El-Mezeirîb or Tell el-'Ash'arī was the other. And if Euseb. distinguishes the two places correctly (though in calling both Ashtaroth Karnaim he shows confusion), the former was 'Ashteroth-Ḳarnaim, and one of the latter 'Ashtaroth. Others identify Tell 'Ashterā with 'Ashtaroth, and either Tell el-'Ash'arī (Oliphant, Schum. pp. 207 f., 209) or Mezeirîb (Buhl) with 'Ashteroth-Ḳarnaim: this is opposed to Euseb., and we do not *know*, as Schum. tacitly assumes, that 'Ashteroth-Ḳarnaim was a more considerable place than 'Og's capital, 'Ashtaroth; but it seems to have the advantage of providing for Ḳarnaim a site more nearly agreeing with the description in 2 Mac 12^{21}.

The antiquity of 'Ashtaroth (if the name be read and identified correctly) is attested independently by Egyp. and Assyr. inscriptions: an *Âstertu* occurs in the list of places in Southern Syria conquered by Tahutmes III., of the 18th dynasty, in his twenty-second year (Tomkins, *TSBA* ix. 262, and in *RP*^{2} v. 45, No. 28; W. Max Müller, *Asien u. Eur. nach altäg. Denkm.* p. 162; of. Wiedemann, *Äg. Gesch.* 348 f., 371); and an *Ashtarti* is mentioned in the correspondence, from Pal., with Amenôphis IV. (15th cent. B.C.) as having been in the possession of the Egyptians, and being seized by rebels (Bezold and Budge, *The Tel el-Amarna Tablets in the Brit. Mus.*, Nos. 43, 64; cf. Sayce, *Patriarchal Age*, 1895, pp. 133, 153). The writers named identify these places with 'Ashteroth-Ḳarnaim; but they may equally well have been the later capital of 'Og, 'Ashtaroth (supposing this to have been distinct).

S. R. DRIVER.

ASHTEROTH-KARNAIM (עַשְׁתְּרוֹת קַרְנַיִם *Ashtaroth* of the two horns*).—This is given in the Sam. Targ. as עפינית קרנים † ''Aphînîth Ḳarnaim,' and in the Arab. VS of Sa'adya as 'Eṣ-Ṣanamain.' It is a site of hoary age. The Rephaim were there smitten by Chedorlaomer (Gn 14^5). Under this name it is seen no more in canon. Scrip.; but it appears as '**Carnaim**' or '**Carnion**' in the Books of Mac. It is a city 'great and strong' (1 Mac 5^{26}). It is 'hard to besiege, and difficult of access, by reason of the narrowness of the approaches on all sides' (RV 2 Mac 12^{21}). Judas Maccabæus took the city by assault. The inhabitants took refuge in the great temple of Atargatis, an idol resembling Dagon of the Philistines; by some also identified with the Gr. Astarte. There some five and twenty thousand were slain, and the temple itself was destroyed.

The distinction between Ashtaroth and Ashteroth-Karnaim, indicated in the *Onomasticon*, is confirmed by the existence of two sites bearing similar names, *Tell 'Ashterā* and *Tell 'Ash'ari.* Eusebius and Jerome describe Ashteroth-Karnaim as *vicus grandis in angulo Batanææ*, distinguishing two villages of the same name, 9 miles apart, which lay *inter Adaram et Abilam civitates.* From *Tell 'Ash'ari, Der'ah* (Adara) is distant 11 miles to the S.E., and *Abil* (Abila) 14 miles to the S.W., while *Tell 'Ashterā* is about 5 miles N. *Tell 'Ash'ari* is a position of great strength. On one side is the deep gorge of the *Yarmuk*, on the other extends a great chasm at the head of which is a waterfall. Built on this projecting headland the city was protected on the only side open to attack by a triple wall, traces of which still remain. There are ruins of a temple beside a bridge which spans the *Yarmuk* lower down, possibly that destroyed by Judas. *Tell 'Ashterā*, standing in the plain, although once girt by mighty walls, could never have been a place of such strength as this. The question of identification can be settled only by excavation. The Sam. Aphînîth, which may be *'Afîneh* on *Jebel Haurân*, not far from Bosrah (Waddington, No. 2296–7), and the Arab. *Eṣ-Ṣanamain* on the *Ḥaj* road, south of Damascus, 20 m. N.N.E. of Tell 'Ashterā, are palpably impossible.

W. EWING.

ASHTORETH (עַשְׁתֹּרֶת, plur. עַשְׁתָּרוֹת *'Ashtārōth*).—The principal goddess of the Ṣidonians (1 K 11$^{5.33}$, 2 K 23^{13}), and a prominent goddess among the Phœnicians generally, in whose honour Solomon built a high-place on the hills opposite the temple (*ll.cc.*), who is stated (by different Deut. writers) to have been worshipped previously by the unspiritual Israelites, Jg 2^{13} 10^6, 1 S 7$^{3.4}$ 12^{10},—all plur., 'Ba'al (or the Ba'als) and *the 'Ashtoreths,' i.e.* 'Ashtoreths distinguished by the places at which they were worshipped, or by special attributes,—and in whose temple at Ashḳelon (1 S 31^{10})‡ the Philistines deposited the armour of Saul. The true pronunciation of the word was probably *'Ashtart* (cf. LXX and other Gr. writers, Ἀστάρτη): *'Ashtōreth* (cf. *Mōlech* for *Milk*) perhaps arose by malicious substitution of the vowels of

---

* As pointed by the Massoretes, Ashtĕroth is the construct state of Ashtāroth, the plural of Ashtōreth.

† So Petermann's MS A: Petermann's text, however, has עשתרות קרנים; and Walton's Polyglott reads עפ׳נית קרנ׳ה.

‡ Read 'house (*i.e.* temple) of *'Ashtóreth*': cf. LXX εἰς τὸ Ἀσταρτεῖον.

bōsheth, 'shame.' 'Ashtart is frequently mentioned in Phœn. inscriptions, and is an element in numerous Phœn. proper names. Tabnith, king of Ṣidon, styles both himself and his father Eshmun'azar I., priest of 'Ashtart; and in his sepulchral inscription places his tomb under her protection, declaring that its violation would be an 'abomination to 'Ashtart' (see the Inscr. in full in Driver, *Notes on Samuel*, p. xxvi). Eshmun'azar, son of the Tabnith just mentioned, and his mother *Am'ashtart*, 'priestess of 'Ashtart, our lady (רבתן),' state that they have built a house (temple) for 'Ashtart in Ṣidon (*CIS* I. i. 3^{13-16}). This was probably the great temple of Ἀστάρτη in Ṣidon, which Lucian visited (*de Dea Syria*, § 4). Besides, however, this temple which was dedicated to 'Ashtart, as patron-goddess of Ṣidon, Eshmun'azar and his mother built another in honour of a second 'Ashtart, bearing the title of שם בעל 'name of Ba'al' (*ib.* l. ^{18}).* So again Bod'ashtart, another king of Ṣidon, builds a temple לאלי לעשתרת 'to his god 'Ashtart' (*ib.* 4^{5}). It is in accordance with the leading position thus accorded to 'Ashtart at Ṣidon that on Sidonian coins the goddess is often figured standing on the prow of a galley, with her right hand, holding a crown, stretched forward, as though pointing the vessel on its way.†

According to Menander, as reported by Jos. (*Ant.* VIII. v. 3; *c. Ap.* i. 18), Ḥiram built in Tyre a temple to Herakles (Melḳart), and afterwards one to 'Ashtart, whose priest was Ithobal, Jezebel's father: in Tyre, however, Melḳart was the principal god, and 'Ashtart took the second place. The worship of 'Ashtart is also widely attested in the Phœn. colonies on the coasts and islands of the Mediterranean, esp. in Cyprus, Sicily, and Carthage. At Kiti (Kition) in Cyprus we read of an image erected by a worshipper לרבתי לעשתרת 'to his lady, to 'Ashtart' (*CIS ib.* 11^{3}); from the same locality we have an Inscription (*ib.* 86) giving particulars of the provision made for the service of her temple, including builders, door-keepers, barbers, scribes, and other attendants. In Gul (Gaulus, near Malta) we hear of a מקדש בת עשתרת, or 'sanctuary of the temple of 'Ashtart' (*CIS ib.* 132); and her worship at Eryx, in Sicily, is attested by two Inscriptions, one found in Eryx itself, the other from Sardinia, beginning with the words, 'To the lady, to 'Ashtart,'‡ and 'To 'Ashtart of Erekh,' respectively. At Carthage, one 'Abdmelkart styles himself (*ib.* 255) 'servant of 'Ashtart, the glorious (האדרת)'; and we read (*ib.* 263) of Am'ashtart אש בעמת אש עשתרת 'who is of the people of the men of 'Ashtart,' *i.e.* who belonged to the people attached to her temple. Of names compounded with 'Ashtart we find Am'ashtart (*ib.* 3^{14} *al.*), and Ammath'ashtart (46^{3} *al.*), 'handmaid of 'A.'; Ger'ashtart, 'client [Cheyne on Ps 15^{1}] of 'A.' (138^{2} and often); 'Abd'ashtart, 'servant of 'A.' (115^{1}),§ usually contracted to Bod'ashtart ($4^{2,3}$ 35^{6} and very often); 'Ashtartyathan, ''A. has given' ($72^{1,2}$); see further references in Bloch, *Phœn. Glossar* (1891).‖

Although, however, 'Ashtart was thus a distinctively Phœn. goddess, Phœnicia was not her original home. The prototype of 'Ashtart was *Ishtar*, a deity who had for long held a conspicuous place in the Pantheon of Assyria, and who was localised, with special attributes, in many different cities of Assyria and Babylonia.* In a prayer of Asshurnaẓirpal, purporting to date *c.* 1800 B.C., Ishtar of Nineveh is addressed by him as 'queen of the gods, into whose hands are delivered the commands of the great gods, lady (*bilit*) of Nineveh . . . daughter of Sin (the moon-god), sister of Shamash (the sun-god), who rules all kingdoms, who determines decrees, the goddess of the universe, lady of heaven and earth, who hears petitions, heeds sighs, the merciful goddess who loves justice'; he, her 'priest-king,' protests that she had called him to his throne, he had restored and beautified her temple; and he calls upon her now to hear his cry, and to heal him in his sickness. Other monarchs (Shalmaneṣer II., Sennacherib, etc.) place Ishtar next to Asshur, and speak of both together as marching at their side, directing them in their wars, and giving them victory over their foes. Esarḥaddon, for instance, says,† 'Ishtar, the lady of onslaught and battle, who loves my priesthood, stood at my side and brake their bows.' Shalmaneṣer II. also styles her 'princess (*rishti*) of heaven and earth';‡ and Esarḥaddon calls her 'queen (*sharrat*) of all.'§ Another aspect of Ishtar's character is brought before us in the curious mythological poem, which recounts her descent into the Underworld in search of the healing waters which should restore to life her bridegroom Tammuz, the young and beautiful Sun-god, slain by the cruel hand of winter. Here it is related how, as she journeys towards the realm of Allat, queen of the dead, 'the land without return, the house of darkness,' she is stripped in succession, as she passes its seven gates, of all her attire, her crown, her earrings, her necklace, her mantle, her girdle, her bracelets, and her tunic: while she is there all intercourse between male and female ceases in the animal creation; at last, at Ea's command, she is released, her adornments are restored to her, and she returns to earth. Here Ishtar, who is evidently conceived as the goddess of fertility and productiveness, symbolises, it seems, the lifegiving earth, which loses, one by one, its adornments as it passes into the dark prison-house of winter, to have them restored to it at springtime, as nature awakens with the returning love of the youthful sun-god.‖

Another Ishtar is Ishtar of Arbela, daughter of Asshur, and sister of Marduk, styled by Esarḥaddon 'lady of ladies, terrible in onslaught, lady of battle, queen of the gods,' a martial goddess, who appears to Asshurbanipal in a vision, armed with quivers and a bow, and brandishing a sword, and promises him victory against his foes. Ishtar of Uruk (Erekh) plays an important part in the legend of Izdubar (Gilgamish): when the hero has delivered Uruk from the Elamites, who have been besieging it, and won for himself the crown, Ishtar offers him her hand: he refuses it, reproaching her with the levity with which she had chosen and discarded her former husbands.[*] Here Ishtar is not only lavish with her love, but appears almost as a polyandrous goddess.[†] In other respects the 'lady of Uruk' resembles Ishtar of Nineveh. Ishtar of Babylon is addressed in a hymn as 'mother of the gods, fulfiller of the commands of Bil, producer of verdure, lady of mankind, begettress of all, mother Ishtar, whose might no god approaches,' and whose aid and sympathy a suppliant may expect to receive.[‡] This was the goddess under whose protection, in virtue of a singular custom—reported independently by Herodotus (i. 199),[§] the author of Bar $6^{42f.}$, and Strabo (xvi. 1. 20),—the women of Babylon placed themselves by the sacrifice of their chastity.

---

* *Name=manifestation* (cf. Ex 23^{21}, Dt 12^{4}, etc.). Others, however (as Halévy, E. Meyer, Dillm., Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* ii. 307), render 'Ba'al's Celestial 'Ashtart' (cf. below), pronouncing שְׁמֵ; and in l.^{16} group the letters into עשתרת שמם אדרם ''Ashtart of the glorious heavens.'

† Cf. B. V. Head, *Hist. Numorum*, p. 673; Babelon, *Les Rois de Syrie*, p. cxliii, 152, 162, with the two spirited representations, Plate xxii. 6 and 22. The goddess is also represented on the coins of other Phœn. cities, as Aradus, Berytus, Botrys, Byblus, Tyre, etc. (Head, *l.c.* pp. 668, 669, 674, 676).

‡ Followed by the words ארך חיים, *i.e.* (probably) 'of long life,' an epithet of the goddess, whence it has been plausibly conjectured that the city Eryx—on inscriptions and coins (*CIS* I. i. p. 173^{a}) ארך—received its name.

§ The name also of Ḥiram's grandson (Jos. *c. Ap.* i. 18,—Ἀβδάστρατος).

‖ With the preceding paragraph cf. Bäthgen, *Sem. Rel.-Gesch.* 1888, pp. 31–37.

* The following quotations from Assyr. sources are taken from G. A. Barton's study, 'The Semitic Ishtar Cult,' in *Hebraica*, April–July, 1893, and Oct. 1893–Jan. 1894, where the Inscriptions in which they occur are translated at length. Cf. also Tiele, *Bab.-Ass. Gesch.* 526–528. Nanâ is also identified with Ishtar; but it has not seemed necessary, for the purpose of the present article, to pursue this subject.

† *Ib.* p. 139.

‡ Schrader, *KAT*^{2} p. 117 (on Jg 2^{13}).

§ *KAT*^{2} 333^{17}.

‖ The poem may be read also in Sayce's *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 221 ff.; or in A. Jeremias, *Die Bab.-Ass. Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode* (1887), p. 10 ff.

Lastly, Ishtar is identified with the planet Venus: on this aspect of her nature it will be sufficient, however, to refer to the passages translated in Schrader, *KAT*^{2} on Jg 2^{13}, or in Sayce, *Hibb. Lect.* p. 253 f. (cf. p. 269 = Jeremias, *Izdubar-Nimrod*, p. 62).

Though Ishtar was thus variously localised, her general attributes remained the same. She occupied a place in the Assyr. Pantheon next to Asshur himself:[‖] in particular, she was (1) the lady (or mistress) of the locality in which she was worshipped; (2) queen of the gods, and princess of heaven and earth; (3) a warrior goddess; (4) the goddess of generation and productivity; (5) she was identified with the planet Venus. These aspects of her nature are retained as her cult travels westwards, sometimes one being more prominent than the other, sometimes several being combined.[¶]

From the notices contained in OT itself, it would not be possible to determine the ideas associated with the Phœn. 'Ashtart, or the character of her rites; but there are many independent indications which make these clear. She must have been preeminently the goddess of sexual passion. By Greeks and Phœnicians alike she is habitually identified with Ἀφροδίτη; and there are sufficiently definite allusions to the unchaste character of the rites with which she was worshipped.[**] Lucian (*De dea Syria*, § 4) visited a great temple of Aphrodite in Byblus (Gebal), in which the rites of Adonis (who corresponded to TAMMUZ, *q.v.*) were performed: here such women as would not shave their hair in commemoration of his burial, were obliged to sell themselves to a stranger, the money received being expended on a sacrifice to Aphrodite (cf. the Bab. custom referred to above). At Aphaka in the Lebanon there was a temple of Aphrodite,[††] the rites practised at which were of such a character that they were suppressed by Constantine (Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iii. 55).

Again, as we saw, Ishtar was 'queen of the gods, and princess of heaven and earth'; and it scarcely admits of doubt that the 'Queen of Heaven,' to whom, in Jeremiah's day, the women of Judah offered cakes (כַּוָּנִים, a peculiar term) and other sacrifices (Jer 7^{18} 44^{17-19}), was either the Assyr. Ishtar,[*] or her Phœn. counterpart 'Ashtart. 'Celestial,' now, is an epithet applied to 'Ashtart elsewhere. Sanchoniathon (p. 30) speaks of Astarte as daughter of Οὐρανός; and Sozomen remarks that the Aphrodite mentioned above as worshipped at Aphaka, was called there Οὐρανία. The temple of Οὐρανία Ἀφροδίτη, also, in Ashḳelon, mentioned by Herodotus (i. 105), and stated by him to be the oldest of that goddess of which he could learn, can hardly be any other than the temple of 'Ashtart, referred to in 1 S 31^{10}.[†] All this becomes clearer if we supplement the somewhat scanty notices which we possess of 'Ashtart herself by the more abundant materials relating to Aphrodite. For not only did Aphrodite correspond in general character to 'Ashtart, but nothing is more certain than that her attributes were largely moulded upon those of 'Ashtart, and that many elements in her cult were of Phœn. origin. Already Homer frequently speaks of Aphrodite as Κύπρις (*Il.* v. 330, etc.) and Κυθέρεια (*Od.* viii. 288, etc.), and alludes to her temple at Paphos,[‡] which, then and afterwards, was so celebrated that no term is more frequently applied to Venus by classical writers than *Paphia* or *Cypria*. Cyprus, however, is known independently to have been not only colonised from Phœnicia, but also (see above) to have been devoted to the worship of 'Ashtart; and according to Herodotus (*l.c.*), the Cyprians themselves declared their temple (at Paphos) to have been founded from that of Οὐρανία Ἀφροδίτη at Ashkelon; while the temple of the same deity in Cythera, the island off the S. coast of Lacedæmon, reputed to be the oldest and most sacred of Aphrodite in Greece (Pausan. iii. 23. 1), is stated likewise by Herodotus (*ib.*) to have been a Phœn. foundation. Cicero also speaks (*N. D.* iii. § 59) of four distinct Venuses, one being '*Syria Cyproque* concepta, quæ *Astarte* vocatur, quam Adonidi nupsisse proditum est.' That Aphrodite was the goddess of sexual passion, needs, of course, no proof; and Cyprus was the chief centre, whence her worship was diffused through the Gr. world. But, secondly, she often bore in Greece also the title Οὐρανία; temples of Ἀφροδίτη Οὐρανία are thus mentioned, not only at Cythera, but also at Athens, Argos, Corinth, Thebes, and elsewhere;[§] and speaking of the one at Athens, Pausanias expressly remarks (i. 14. 7) that Οὐρανία was reverenced first by the *Assyrians*, then by the Paphians of Cyprus, and the Phœnicians dwelling in Ashḳelon, from whom her cult was introduced into Cythera. Then, thirdly, Ishtar, as shown above, was also a martial goddess. From the mere fact that Saul's armour was deposited by the Philistines in the temple of 'Ashtart at Ashḳelon, it could hardly be inferred that 'Ashtart bore there a martial character (for trophies of a victory might be dedicated to any deity); but there are some other indications which support this supposition. In the temple of Cythera, which, as we have seen, was founded from Phœnicia, if not from Ashḳelon, the statue of the goddess was a *ξόανον ὡπλισμένον* (Paus. iii. 23. 1). At Corinth and Sparta also there was an *Ἀφροδίτη ὡπλισμένη* (*ib.* ii. 5. 1; iii. 15. 10, Bekk.); several epigrams in the anthology (Jacobs, ii. 677–679) describe Aphrodite as armed with helmet and spear; she also receives the epithet *νικηφόρος*, and is represented with the weapons of Ares (as in the well-known statue called the Venus of Capua).[*] Nor was the influence of the Phœn. 'Ashtart confined to the Gr. world. The worship of the Rom. Venus, originally a goddess of springtime, of gardens, of blossoming vegetation, assimilated many elements from her cult. Mention has been made already of the great Phœn. temple of 'Ashtart at Eryx in Sicily; and this seems to have formed a centre as influential for the diffusion of her rites in Italy as Paphos or Cythera had been for their diffusion in Greece. That the goddess worshipped at Eryx was identified by the Romans with Venus, can be readily shown: who does not recollect Horace's 'Erycina ridens, Quam Jocus circumvolat et Cupido' (*Carm.* i. 2. 33 f.), or the passage in which Virgil connects her with the Venus of Cyprus, 'Tum vicina astris Erycino in vertice sedes Fundatur Veneri Idaliæ' (*Æn.* v. 759 f.)?[†] Venus Victrix and Venus Genetrix, also, just develop ideas which we have already seen combined in *Ἀφροδίτη Οὐρανία*, viz. that of the martial goddess of victory, and that of the fertile mother of all.[‡]

---

[*] Barton, *Hebraica*, Oct. 1893–Jan. 1894, p. 1 ff.; Sayce, *l.c.* p. 246 ff.; Jeremias, *Izdubar-Nimrod* (1891), p. 24 f.

[†] W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.*^{2} p. 56.

[‡] Barton, pp. 15–17; Jeremias, *l.c.* p. 58 f.; Zimmern, *Bab. Busspsalmen*, p. 33 ff.

[§] Μύλιττα, as Hdt. calls the goddess (whom he identifies with Aphrodite), is probably *Belit*,—the word rendered 'lady' in the extracts cited above, and the fem. of *Bel* (Ba'al), *lord*.

[‖] How fully, in the popular creed, Ishtar became the goddess κατ' ἐξοχήν, may be inferred from the fact that the plur. *ishtarât* was used to express the idea of female divinities in general (*KAT*^{2} 180).

[¶] The etymology of *Ishtar*, as of *'Ashtart*, is obscure: there is no apparent Sem. derivation, and the conjectures that have been offered are not satisfactory; the Arab. *'athara* (Barton, p. 71) is not *to fall* simply, but *to stumble* or *trip*. It is, perhaps, of non-Sem. origin (*KAT*^{2} 179; Sayce, *Hibb. Lect.* 252 f.). The gender of the deity, after it was adopted by the Phœnicians, was marked externally by the addition of the fem. termination, *t*.

[**] Hence her worship *may* be alluded to in passages such as Hos $4^{13.14}$, Jer 2^{20} etc.

[††] Sozom. *Eccl. Hist.* ii. 5; Zosimus, i. 58,—cited by Barton, p. 32.

[*] See the essays on the 'Queen of Heaven' by Schrader in the *Berichte* of the Berlin Academy, 1886, p. 489 f., and in the *Z. für Assyr.* 1888, pp. 356–360; and by Kuenen in his *Abhandlungen*, 1894, p. 206. These scholars point to an inscription in which among 20 titles of 'the lady (*bilit*) of countries, the queen (*malkatu*), Ishtar,' there actually occurs that of 'queen (*malkatu*) of heaven.' Schrader further remarks that there is independent evidence of an 'Ashtar, conceived specially as a celestial goddess, being prominent at the same time in the name ''Athar of Heaven,' mentioned in the inscriptions of Asshurbanipal, as the goddess of a N. Arabian tribe (*KAT*^{2} on Jer 7^{18}; on *'Athar='Ashtar*, see below). Cf. also Sayce, *Hibb. L.* pp. 261, 269 f. (=Jeremias, *l.c.* 62 f.).

[†] Cf. how, on a bilingual votive tablet found at Athens (*CIS* I. i. 115), an Ascalonite *'Abd'ashtart* (עבדעשתרת אשקלני) is called in the Gr. text Ἀφροδίσιος. Certain types of the coins of Ashḳelon also exhibit the head of Astarte: B. V. Head, *Hist. Numorum*, 1887, p. 679 f.; De Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, 1874, pp. 179 f., 202 (No. 13), 206 (No. 2). The dove, which (see below) was sacred to 'Ashtart, is also a standing feature on the imperial coins of Ashḳelon; see De Saulcy, *l.c.* p. 179, Nos. 9 and 10 (both with head of the goddess), 189–191 (Augustus), Nos. 8, 10, 11, 13, etc., and Plate ix. 5, 6.

[‡] *Od.* 8, 362: ἡ δ' ἄρα Κύπρον ἵκανε φιλομμειδὴς Ἀφροδίτη Ἐς Πάφον, ἔνθα δέ οἱ τέμενος βωμός τε θυήεις; cf. *Æn.* i. 415–417.

[§] Paus. i. 14. 7, 19. 2; ii. 23. 8; vi. 20. 6, 25. 1; viii. 32. 2; ix. 16. 3. The Greeks often understood Οὐρανία to be the goddess of loftier, purer love, as opposed to Ἀφροδίτη πάνδημος, who represented the merely sensual passion (Xen. *Symp.* viii. 9; Paus. ix. 16. 4, Bekk.).

Some account of the temple and rites of the Paphian Aphrodite is given by Tacitus (*Hist.* ii. 2. 3).[§] *Κινύρας*, a personage who plays a considerable part in Cyprian mythology (cf. *Il.* xi. 19–23), was its reputed founder; the priests of the goddess, who were also kings, were styled *Κινυραδαί*. Only male victims were offered in sacrifice to her, kids being accounted the best for purposes of *extispicium*, for their skill in which her priests were famed. No blood, however, was shed upon the altar, which, though standing in the open air, was supposed never to be rained upon. The goddess herself was symbolised by a cone.[‖] Her devotees were initiated with impure rites.[¶] Doves were sacred to her.[*] A large number of inscriptions have been found at Paphos, headed *Παφίᾳ Ἀφροδίτῃ*: in many of these parents dedicate their children to the goddess.[†]

'Ashtart appears to have been generally represented as a female figure, somewhat short in stature, usually naked, with rounded limbs, but sometimes draped, the hands supporting the breasts,[‡] or sometimes with one holding a dove in her bosom;[§] terra-cotta statuettes of this description are found not only in Cyprus, but also upon most of the isles and coasts of the Ægean Sea. Figs. 381, 382 in Perrot and Chipiez' work are particularly interesting. The right hand here supports the breast, while the left hand is extended downwards in front: may figures of this kind, one is tempted to ask, have formed the type out of which the Venus of Medici was ultimately developed?[‖] Clay figures, of the same general type, usually considered to represent Ishtar, are also found in large numbers in the ruins of Mesopotamia, and at Susa.[¶]

In some localities 'Ashtart seems further to have been regarded as a moon-goddess. Thus Lucian (*De dea Syria*, § 4), speaking of the temple at Sidon, mentioned above, says, *ὡς μὲν αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν, Ἀστάρτης ἐστίν· Ἀστάρτην δ' ἐγὼ δοκέω Σεληναίην ἔμμεναι*; and Herodian declares (v. 6. 10) that *Οὐρανίαν Φοίνικες Ἀστροάρχην ὀνομάζουσι, σελήνην εἶναι θέλοντες.*[**]

How this transformation of the character of Ishtar[††] took place is not perfectly certain. It is conceivable that Ba'al, as Ba'al Shamaim (Ba'al of heaven), was identified with the sun; and hence his consort 'Ashtart might not unnaturally be regarded as the moon. Another explanation is, however, possible. There was great intercourse in antiquity between Phœnicia and Egypt; and the influence of Egypt is palpably impressed upon Phœn. art. The Egyp. goddesses Isis and Hathor, now, are habitually represented as supporting upon their head, between two cow-horns, the solar disc.* Isis, further, is stated by Plutarch to have journeyed to Byblus (Gebal), where she was called by some Ἀστάρτη ;† and in the famous Stele of Yeḥawmelek, king of Gebal, the king is represented as making his offerings before a horned goddess, closely resembling the Egyp. Isis, while the accompanying inscription is a petition addressed by him to his 'mistress, the lady of Gebal.'‡ Philo of Byblus says also that Ἀστάρτη ἡ μεγίστη . . . ἐπέθηκε τῇ ἰδίᾳ κεφαλῇ βασιλείας παράσημον κεφαλὴν ταύρου (Sanchoniathon, ed. Orelli, p. 34). In the light of these facts it is not impossible, as Meyer suggests, that the disc and hórns with which 'Ashtart was represented may have been misunderstood, and taken to be the symbols of the full and crescent moon respectively.

---

[*] Preller, *Griech. Mythol.*^{3} i. pp. 279$^{2.\,3}$, 280^3, 281^1.

[†] Votive tablets found at Eryx bear also the inscription VENEREI ERUOINAI (*CIL* 7253–5, 7257).

[‡] See further, Preller, *Röm. Mythol.*^{3} i. pp. 435, 437, 442 f., 445.

[§] On the site, dimensions, etc. of the ancient temple, in so far as they can be recovered by excavation, the report of the Cyprus Exploration Fund in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1888, pp. 149–224, supersedes everything that had been previously written. (The statements of Di Cesnola in his work on Cyprus are highly untrustworthy; see *ib.* p. 204 f.; Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek History*, p. 175.) The principal ancient notices respecting the temple are collected by M. R. James, *ib.* p. 175–192.

[‖] Simulacrum deæ non effigie humana, continuus orbis latiore initio tenuem in ambitum metæ modo exsurgens, et ratio in obscuro. Upon the coins of Cyprus, struck under the Rom. emperors, in the name of the *κοινὸν Κυπρίων*, this sacred cone, standing in its temple, with a dove, or doves, on the roof, is a constant feature; see Perrot et Chipiez, *Hist. of Art in Cyprus and Phœn.* figs. 58, 199, 202 (Eng. tr. i. pp. 123, 276, 281); Rawlinson, *Hist. of Phœn.* p. 145; or Head, p. 628. Stone cones about a yard in height, also, no doubt, symbolising the goddess, have been found at Athiénau (Golgi), and in Gozzo (Gaulus) and Malta (Perrot et Chip. figs. 205, 223); and a cone is often figured on gems, etc. (*ib.* figs. 29, 232, ch. iv. *end*).

[¶] Clem. Alex. *Protrep.* pp. 12, 13; Arnob. *adv. Gentes*, v. 19; Justin, xviii. 5. Cf. the close of the passage of Hdt. (i. 199) referred to above, *ἐνιαχῇ δὲ καὶ τῆς Κύπρου ἐστὶ παραπλήσιος τούτῳ νόμος.*

[*] Cf. Antiphanes, *ap. Athen.* vi. 71, p. 257, xiv. 70, p. 655; and the Paphiæ columbæ of Martial (viii. 28), etc. Many representations of doves in marble and terra-cotta have been found in and about the site of the temple. The dove is also often figured on the coins of Paphos, sometimes with the head of Aphrodite on the obverse: see J. P. Six's Essay on the Coins of Cyprus in the *Revue Numismatique*, 1883 (p. 269 ff.), pp. 355–357, 364 (where No. 36 = Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, x. 47), and Pl vii. 18.

[†] Le Bas and Waddington, *Inscriptions recueillies en Grèce*, etc., 2794, 2798 (here *ὁ ἀρχὸς τῶν Κινυραδῶν* dedicates his grandson), 2801: *Journ. of Hell. Studies*, *l.c.* p. 225 ff. Nos. 8, 33, 35, 39, 41, 42, etc.; p. 259.

[‡] Perrot et Chipiez, fig. 291, from Tharros in Sardinia; fig. 321, from Cyprus; figs. 374, 375, with strange heads, and huge ears and earrings; figs, 379, 380; fig. 417=Rawl. p. 204 (four well-modelled figures, on a sarcophagus, from Amathus); fig. 550 (two figures, on a decorated patera, now at Athens, with an Aram. inscription, לנגר בר מיפע: Euting, *Punische Steine*, p. 33 f.). In fig. 150, from Cyprus, the hands are on the waist; similarly in a bas-relief from Ashḳelon, fig. 314 (Eng. tr. ii. fig. 38 [fig. 277 of the orig. = fig. 1, vol. ii. of tr.]).

[§] Fig. 20; fig. 142=Rawl. *Phœn.* p. 327; fig. 323, from Sardinia. The figures, similar in general appearance, but holding a disc on the breast, may represent the same goddess (*ib.* fig. 193; fig. 233, from Sardinia (these two also in Rawl. p. 142); fig. 290, from Tharros; fig. 324; likewise the seated figures, with the hands on the knees (fig. 299, fig. 322). Whether figures of the type represented in fig. 345, draped, with the hands straight down the sides, also represent her, is uncertain.

[‖] E. Curtius, 'Das Phön. Urbild der Mediceischen Venus,' in the *Archäol. Zeit.* 1869, p. 63; cf. Perrot et Chip. pp. 556 f., 627 [Eng. tr. ii. 155, 225].

[¶] See Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 477; Loftus, *Chaldæa and Susiana*, p. 379 f. (of the Persian age); Perrot and Chip. *Hist. of Art in Chald. and Ass.* i. 80, 83 (fig. 16); Rawl. *Anc. Mon.*^{4} i. 140; Heuzey, *Les figurines antiques de terre cuite du Musée du Louvre* (1883), Plate ii. 3, 4; iii. (cf. those from Cyprus, iv., ix. 4, 5, x. 7, xi. 5; and Rhodes, xii. 5); and in the *Rev. Arch.* xxxix. (1885), pp. 1–10.

[**] Whether the name ASHTEROTH-ḲARNAIM contains an allusion to this aspect of 'Ashtart ('the 'Ashtarts of the two horns') is uncertain; Ḳarnaim may be the name of a locality (''Ashtaroth of—*i.e.* near—Ḳarnaim').

[††] For Ishtar, though sister of Shamash (the sun-god), is *daughter* of Sin (the moon-god), not the moon-goddess herself.

'Ashtart, then, if what has been said above be correct, was the link connecting Ishtar with Aphrodite and with Venus. Born originally in the far E., the goddess was born again, for the Greeks, from the foam (ἀφρός) by Cyprus; and once brought under touch of the creative genius of Greece, her character was transformed; particular aspects of it were made more prominent; if in one direction she was identified more and more with the sensuous side of human nature, in other directions her attributes were idealised; she furnished art with its most attractive ideals of female grace and beauty (see already *Il.* xiv. 214–217—her κεστὸν ἱμάντα); she became even the personification of the all-pervading, living force of nature. 'Comme la nature même dont se résumaient et se personnifiaient sous ce nom toutes les énergies, Astarté, vraie souveraine du monde, dans son activité sans repos, ne cessait de détruire et de créer, de créer et de détruire. Par la guerre et par les fléaux de tout genre, elle éliminait les êtres inutiles et vieillis; en même temps, par l'amour et la génération, elle présidait au perpétuel renouvellement de la vie.'§ This far-reaching conception of the range of her activity is exhibited strikingly in a passage placed by Plautus in the mouth of an Athenian woman,‖ and in the fine exordium, addressed to the 'Æneadum genetrix,' with which Lucretius opens his great poem, *De rerum natura.*¶

Traces of a corresponding Sem. deity elsewhere.—There was a S. Sem. *male* deity, *'Athtar* (which agrees phonetically with Ishtar; cf. שלש, ثلاث, etc.), mentioned in the Sabæan inscriptions (from Ṣan'â, the capital of Yemen); but little definite is at present known about him, except that the gazelle or antelope was sacred to him.**

There are also some compound names of deities, in which 'Ashtar (or 'Ashtart) forms part. Mesha' relates (Stone, *l.c.*) that he 'devoted' 7000 Isr. captives to עשתרכמש, *i.e.* *'Ashtar-chemosh*, or 'Ashtar of Chĕmōsh. Among the Phœnicians, also, we find *Milk'ashtart*, a deity formed by combination of the attributes of Milk (Molech)* and 'Ashtart (*CIS* I. i. 8[1] 250[5]; and in the Inscr. of Ma'sub†), and *Eshmun'ashtart* (*ib.* 245). Among Aram.-speaking peoples עשתר became עתתר (cf. שלג, תלגא, etc.), which was soon written עתר,‡ whence Ἀταργάτις (Palmyrene עתרעתה,§ Syr. ܬܪܥܬܐ, also represented by Δερκετώ), *i.e.* *'Athtar of 'Ati*,‖ the name of a deity much worshipped in parts of Syria, esp. at Hierapolis (between Antioch and Edessa), and also (2 Mac 12[26]) at Karnion (probably either near to, or identical with, 'Ashteroth-Ḳarnaim: see ASHTAROTH).

See, further, Roscher's *Ausf. Lexicon der Griech. u. Röm. Mythol.* (1884–1890), arts. ASTARTE (by E. Meyer), and APHRODITE (by Roscher and Furtwängler), pp. 396 ff., 400 ff.; Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, chs. xxi.–xxiii. (which appeared since the above article was written).

S. R. DRIVER.

ASHURITES (הָאֲשׁוּרִי, B Θασειρεί, A Θασούρ, Luc. Ἐζρι).—One of the tribes over whom Ishbosheth ruled (2 S 2[9]). The name is clearly corrupt, for neither the Assyrians (אַשּׁוּר), nor the Arabian tribe (אַשּׁוּרִים Gn 25[3]) can be intended. Ewald, Thenius, Wellh. follow the Pesh. and Vulg. in reading 'the Geshurites' (הַגְּשׁוּרִי), whose territory bordered on that of Gilead (Jos 12[5] 13[11]), and who might therefore be suitably included here. It has been urged, however, against this view, that Geshur was an independent kingdom at this time (cf. 2 S 3[3] 13[37]), so that Ishbosheth could not have exercised control over it. We must therefore read, with Köhler, Klost., Kirkp., and Budde הָאָשֵׁרִי 'the Asherites,' *i.e.* the tribe of Asher (cf. Jg 1[32]); this reading is supported by the Targ. of Jonathan (על דבית אשר), and agrees well with the context; according to the latter, the dominions of Ishbosheth extended from Asher to Benjamin on the W. of Jordan, and further included the large tract of Gilead on the E.

J. F. STENNING.

ASHVATH (עַשְׁוָת).—An Asherite (1 Ch 7[33]).

ASIA (Ἀσία) was the Roman province which embraced the W. parts of the great peninsula now called Asia Minor, including the countries Mysia, Lydia, Caria, and great part of Phrygia, with the Dorian, Ionian, and Æolian coast-cities, the Troad, and the islands off the coast (Lesbos, Chios, Samos, Patmos, Cos, etc.). The name, as thus used, was created by the Rom. administration. The Gr. geographers generally employed the name Asia to denote the whole continent; but the Romans during the 2nd cent. B.C. were accustomed to term the Pergamenian sovereigns (with whom they were in close political relations) 'kings of Asia'; and when Attalus III. bequeathed his kingdom to Rome in 133, it was formed into a province, and named Asia. With rare exceptions, historians and geographers under the earlier Roman Empire use the name Asia only in two senses,—either the Roman province or the entire continent. About A.D. 285, Asia was greatly reduced in size, Caria, Phrygia, Lydia, and Mysia (Hellespontus) being separated from it; and the name Asia was then restricted to the coast-cities and the lower valleys of the Mæander, Cayster, Hermus, and Caicus. In the NT, as is generally agreed, 'Asia' means the Rom. province (Ac 2[9] being a possible exception). At first Pergamos was the capital of the province;

---

* See representations in Rawlinson, *Hist. of Anc. Eg.* i. 365, 368; or Maspero, *The Dawn of Civilisation*, pp. 132, 175, 177, 187.

† *De Osir. et Iside*, § 15.

‡ *CIS* I. i. 1. See representations in Rawlinson, *Hist. of Phœn.* p. 340; or Perrot et Chipiez, i. p. 69; cf. also the imposing bronze figure in the last-named work, p. 78 (fig. 26). The name of this goddess is not given; but it is highly probable that it was 'Ashtart; coins of Byblus exhibit habitually a cone (which, as has been shown, was her symbol), standing in the court of a temple (see the excellent representation in Perrot et Chip. fig. 19 (p. 61), or Rawl. *Phœn.* p. 146).

§ Perrot et Chipiez, p. 69; cf. 321, and esp. 626–628 [Eng. tr. i. 69 f., 331 f., ii. 224–226].

‖ 'Diva Astarte, hominum deorumque vis, vita, salus: rursus eadem quæ est Pernicies, mors, interitus. Mare, tellus, cælum, sidera, Jovis quæcumque templa colimus, eius ducuntur nutu, illi obtemperant, Eam spectant' (*Mercator*, IV. vi. 825 ff.).

¶ See parallels from earlier Gr. poets in Munro's notes *ad loc.*

** Mordtmann and Müller, *Sab. Denkmäler*, 1883, p. 66; W. R. Smith, *RS*[2] p. 466. Cf. Barton, *l.c.* p. 53 ff.; Bäthgen, pp. 117–121. The epithet שרקן seems to indicate that he was viewed as the *rising* (morning) star; cf. Hommel, *Süd-Arab. Chrestom.*, 1893, p. 83.

* See the writer's note on Dt 18[10].

† Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'Archéol. Orientale*, i. (1888) p. 81.

‡ Cf. Strabo, p. 785, Ἀταργάτιν δὲ τὴν Ἀθάραν [καλοῦσι]; and see Nöldeke in the *ZDMG*, 1870, pp. 92, 109; E. Meyer, *ib.* 1877, pp. 730–734. The N. Arabian ''Athar of Heaven' has been already mentioned above.

§ De Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale*, No. 3, p. 8. See further Bäthgen, pp. 68–75.

‖ On the deity called *'Ati*, cf. Bäthgen, p. 70 f.

but after a time the superior advantages of Ephesus gave it the pre-eminence, and the rule was that the governors must land there. Under Augustus, and even earlier, Ephesus was the supreme administrative centre of Asia, and the headquarters of the great provincial officials; but the title 'First of Asia' (πρώτη Ἀσίας) was keenly contested also by Pergamos and Smyrna. The governor, who bore the title proconsul, was appointed by the Senate by lot from among the senior ex-consuls; not less than five years must have elapsed between consulship and proconsulship; and, owing to the number of ex-consuls, the usual interval became longer as time passed (being twelve or more years in the 2nd cent.). As a rule, the office was annual; but in exceptional cases a second year, and still more rarely even a third year, of office was permitted. Asia was one of the most wealthy and populous and intellectually active of the Rom. provinces; hence the natural sequence of the work done by Paul and Barnabas on their first journey was to preach in the great cities of Asia; and this was evidently St. Paul's intention on his second journey, until he found himself prevented from speaking the word in Asia (Ac 16^6). The evangelisation of Asia was reserved for the third journey, when, during St. Paul's residence of two years and three months in Ephesus, 'the entire population of Asia heard the word' (Ac 19^{10}); partly on account of the frequency with which the provincials came to Ephesus for trade, religion, law, or festivals; partly through missions of St. Paul's coadjutors to the leading cities of the province. In OT Apocr., dating before the formation of the Rom. province, the term Asia denotes the continent. On the Asian Jews, see the cities COS, EPHESUS, LAODICEA, etc.

LITERATURE.—The best article on *Asia* is in Ruggiero, *Dizionario Epigrafico di Antichità Romane*: see also Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, i. pp. 333–349; Mommsen, *Provinces of the Rom. Emp.* (*Röm. Gesch.* v.) ch. viii.; and Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, chs. A–E: the account of the proconsuls of Asia given by Waddington, *Fastes de la Province d'Asie*, requires to be supplemented by the list of governors in the *Dizionario*.

W. M. RAMSAY.

ASIARCH (Ἀσιάρχης) was the title of certain officials of the Rom. province Asia, whose number, tenure of office, and mode of appointment are most obscure. Such widely divergent views are still held about the Asiarchate that it is hardly possible to give any adequate account of it in our limited space. The Asiarchs (like the analogous officials, Galatarch, Syriarch, Lykiarch, Pamphyliarch, etc.) were provincial, not municipal officials; and they exercised certain powers in the Association in which the whole province of Asia united for the worship of Rome and the Emperors, called *Commune Asiæ* (Κοινὸν Ἀσίας). That the Asiarchs were the high priests of the temples of the Imperial worship erected by the *Commune Asiæ* in Pergamos, Smyrna, Ephesus, Cyzicus, Sardis, and perhaps other cities (ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας ναῶν τῶν, or ναοῦ τοῦ, ἐν Περγάμῳ, κ.τ.λ.), is denied by some good authorities, but seems to us highly probable: we take the term A. as a popular conversational name, which gradually established itself even in official usage, for these 'high priests of the temples of Asia.' We also regard it as probable (though it cannot be definitely proved) that, beyond the high priests of the temples in the individual cities, there was a supreme high priest as head of the entire provincial cult. These high priests seem, along with probably some other officials, to have formed a sort of Council, which managed the business of the *Commune Asiæ*, and had the disposal of certain funds intended for the maintenance of the Imperial temples and ceremonial. The *Commune Asiæ* celebrated in the great cities of the province festivals with games, called Κοινὰ Ἀσίας ἐν Σμύρνῃ, Λαοδικείᾳ, κ.τ.λ.; and the games were presided over by an A., perhaps the supreme A., if we are right in supposing his existence. It is not improb. that the Council of the Asiarchs sat at stated periods in the great cities alternately; and that they assembled at the city where the Κοινὰ Ἀσίας were being held. In that case the Asiarchs were prob. assembled at Ephesus for such a purpose when they sent advice to St. Paul to consult his safety (Ac 19^{31}); and perhaps the festival had both brought together a vast crowd of the Asian populace, and shown clearly to the artisans that their trade in selling small shrines to the pilgrims and devotees who had flocked to the festival was dwindling. The tenure of office of the Asiarchs, acc. to our view, was four years (a term which was very common for such offices in the E. provinces); but some high authorities hold that the Asiarchs were appointed annually. It is certain that the proconsul governing Asia (which see) took some part in the appointment; but the details are doubtful and disputed. An A. enjoyed great dignity in his native city, and coins or inscriptions of very many cities in the province commemorate the names of Asiarchs sprung from thence. They acted, doubtless, as presidents in local festivals as well as in the provincial games (Κοινὰ Ἀσίας), and, of course, incurred in such cases considerable expense, part of which was compulsory, but most was voluntary (from ambition, or generosity, or ostentation).

LITERATURE.—Brandis in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopædie*, arts. 'Archiereus' and 'Asiarches'; Monceaux, *De Communi Asiæ*; Büchner, *De Neocoria*; Mommsen, *Provinces of the Rom. Emp.* (*Römische Geschichte*, vol. v.) ch. viii.; Lightfoot, *St. Ignatius and St. Polycarp*, ii. p. 987 ff.; Beurlier, *Le Culte Imperial*; Guiraud, *Les assemblées provinciales de l'Empire Romain*; Hicks, *Ancient Gr. Inscrip. in the Brit. Mus.* iii. p. 87; Ramsay, *Classical Rev.* iii. p. 174 ff., *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i. pp. 55–58, and ii. ch. xi.

W. M. RAMSAY.

ASIBIAS (A Ἀσιβίας, B Ἀσεβείας), 1 Es 9^{26}.—One of the sons of Phoros or Parosh who agreed to put away his 'strange' wife; answering to Malchijah (2) in Ezr 10^{25} (מַלְכִּיָּה, but A Ἀσαβιά, א Σαβ-, B om.).

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

ASIDE, that is, on (or to) one side, has a moral sense=astray, in Ps 14^3 'They are all gone a., they are all together become filthy'; Sir 2^7 'go not a., lest ye fall.'

J. HASTINGS.

ASIEL (עֲשִׂיאֵל).—**1.** Grandfather of Jehu a Simeonite 'prince' (1 Ch 4^{35}). **2.** (*Asihel*) One of five writers employed by Ezra to transcribe the law (2 Es 14^{24}). **3.** (Ἀσιήλ; Heb. עשאל; AV Asael) A forefather of Tobit (To 1^1). Probably a corrupt form of the name Jahzeel (יַחְצְאֵל Gn 46^{24}), a son of Naphtali; A. is said to belong to this tribe.

J. T. MARSHALL.

ASIPHA (A Ἀσειφά, B Τασειφά), 1 Es 5^{29}.—His sons were among the temple servants who returned with Zerubbabel. Called Hasupha (חֲשׂוּפָא) Ezr 2^{43}, Neh 7^{46}.

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

ASMODÆUS (אַשְׁמְדַי To $3^{8.17}$) is probably identical with the evil demon of the ancient Persian religion, Æshma dæva=the 'covetous' or 'lustful demon.' When the Hebrews borrowed the name, they connected it with שָׁמַד, to destroy. Hence this is the being called ὁ ὀλεθρεύων in Wis 18^{25}, and אֲבַדּוֹן =ὁ ἀπολλύων in Rev 9^{11}. In the latter passage he is styled 'angel of the abyss' and 'king' of the destructive creatures shaped like locusts, but with men's faces and flowing hair. The only mention of Asmodæus in the Gr. Bible is in Tobit, where he is described as τὸ πονηρὸν δαιμόνιον; Vulg. dæmonium nequissimum; but in the Aram. and Heb. VSS 'King of the Shedhim.' By this name he is known in the Bab. Talmud (*Pesachim* 110*a*), and in the Targ. of Ec 1^{12}. In To 6^{14} (B. Syr. Itala) we are told that he 'loved' Sarah, the daughter of Raguel, and that he slew seven men to whom she was married as soon as they entered the nuptial chamber (3^{8}). When Tobias visited Raguel, he also at once loved Sarah, and yet naturally was afraid to marry her; but his companion, Raphael in disguise, taught him how to exorcise the demon by a fumigation of the heart and liver of a fish. The demon fled to Upper Egypt, where he was pursued by Raphael and bound (To 8^{3}), after which the pious couple lived in peace. The Shedhim are the δαιμόνια of the Gospel narrative. They were conceived by the Jews as distinct from the fallen angels of the Book of Enoch, in being mortal, of both sexes, and, according to some, the offspring of those angels and human mothers (*Chagigah* 16*a*; Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus*, ii. 759–763). As Sammael was head of all the Satans, so Asmodæus was king of the demons, and the long-haired Lilith was their queen (*Erubin* 100*b*). In Talmudic legends, Asmodæus was implicated in Noah's drunkenness; and after revealing to Solomon the whereabouts of the worm Samir, which noiselessly shaped the stones of the temple, he dethroned that monarch for a while, assumed his appearance, and was the real author of the offences which history ascribes to Solomon.

LITERATURE.—Gfrörer, *Urchristenthum*, i. 378–424; Kohut, *Jüdische Angelologie und Dämonologie*, p. 72; Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, 1893 edition, ch. xvi.

J. T. MARSHALL.

ASNAH (אַסְנָה = Aram. אַסְנָא 'thorn bush,' Ἀσενά).—The head of a family of Nethinim which returned with Zerubbabel (Ezr 2^{50}, 1 Es 5^{31m}).

ASOM (Ἀσόμ), 1 Es 9^{33}.—His sons were among those who put away their 'strange' wives. Called Hashum (חָשֻׁם), Ezr 10^{33}.

ASP.—See SERPENT.

ASPALATHUS (ἀσπάλαθος, *balsamum*, Sir 24^{15}).—The name of an aromatic associated with cinnamon in the passage cited, but impossible to identify. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xii. 52, and xxiv. 68, 69) speaks of a thorny plant known by this name, and which in the first passage he identifies with the Erysisceptrum, and in the second seems to distinguish from it. The same plant is alluded to by other ancient authors, but with such indefiniteness that we are unable to identify it with any known plant. It is probable that there were two or more plants, and more than one vegetable product, known by this name. G. E. POST.

ASPATHA (אַסְפָּתָא, Est 9^{7}).—The third son of Haman, put to death by the Jews. The name is perhaps from the Persian *aspadâta*, 'given by the (sacred) horse' (so Ges. *Thesaurus*, add.).

H. A. WHITE.

ASPHALT.—See BITUMEN.

ASPHAR Pool (λάκκος Ἀσφάρ), 1 Mac 9^{33}.—A pool in the desert of Tekoa, or Jeshimon, where Jonathan and Simon the Maccabees encamped. The site is doubtful. C. R. CONDER.

ASPHARASUS (Ἀσφάρασος), 1 Es 5^{8}.—One of the leaders of the return under Zerubbabel. Called Mispar (מִסְפָּר), Ezr 2^{2}, and Mispereth (מִסְפֶּרֶת), Neh 7^{7}.

ASRIEL (אַשְׂרִיאֵל, in AV of 1 Ch 7^{14} **Ashriel**).—A Manassite (Jos 17^{2}, Nu 26^{31}; in the latter the patron. **Asrielite** occurs). Acc. to the LXX of 1 Ch 7^{14} A.'s mother was an Aramitess, a concubine of Manasseh. J. A. SELBIE.

ASS.—1. (חֲמוֹר, חֲמֹר *ḥămôr*; ὄνος, ὑποζύγιον, *asinus*). *Ḥamôr* is the generic name for the ass, and the specific designation of the *he-ass* (Arab. *ḥimâr*).

Few animals are mentioned more frequently in the Scriptures than the ass. It was used for a variety of purposes.

(1) For *riding*. For this purpose it was used by both rich and poor. Moses took his wife and two sons on an ass to Egypt, passing through the Sinaitic desert (Ex 4^{20}); Balaam rode a she-ass (Nu 22^{21-33}); the unnamed prophet rode an ass (1 K $13^{13.\,23.\,24.\,27-29}$); so did Achsah (Jos 15^{18}, Jg 1^{14}), the thirty sons of Jair (Jg 10^{4}), the sons of Abdon (Jg 12^{14}), Abigail (1 S $25^{20.\,23}$), Ahithophel (2 S 17^{23}), and Mephibosheth (2 S 19^{26}). When it is said that Christ is 'lowly,' because He should ride on an ass (Zec 9^{9}; comp. Mt 21^{7}), the reference is not to any degradation in the riding of an ass, but to the peaceful nature of His advent. The horse was used in war, and a king coming on a horse would be surrounded by military circumstance and pomp. Asses are yet ridden by persons of rank in State and Church. There are many fine breeds of them, and every large city of the interior boasts its special strain. Many of these are sold at very high prices. They have a rapid walk, and an easy shuffling pace or short canter. They are exceedingly sure-footed. Some of them are breast high, and weigh as much as a small horse. White asses (Jg 5^{10}) fetch specially high prices, and are very handsome beasts, while their caparisons are often quite magnificent. These consist of a thick stuffed saddle, often covered with crimson, or dark green, or other rich coloured cloth, bound with braids of brighter colours, and with silver ornaments and dangling tassels of woollen twist. The headstall and bridle are likewise decorated with shells, silver studs, and plates, and not infrequently composed in part of silver chains. A collar of silver links, with a breastplate of the same metal, completes the adornment.

(2) For *burdens*. Abraham probably loaded his ass with wood (Gn 22^{3}); the sons of Jacob loaded their asses with corn (Gn $42^{26.\,27}$); Joseph sent twenty asses bearing the good things of Egypt to his father (Gn 45^{23}); Jesse sent an ass-load of provisions by David to Saul (1 S 16^{20}); Abigail loaded her present to David on asses (1 S 25^{18}), as also Ziba (2 S 16^{1}); the provisions for the feast at David's coronation at Hebron were brought on asses (1 Ch 12^{40}); asses were used in harvesting (Neh 13^{15}). The ass is still the most universal of all beasts of burden in Bible lands. Small ones can be bought for a pound or two. There is a great variety in the breeds of pack-asses. Some are no larger than a Shetland pony, while others are as large as a small mule, and carry very heavy loads. They are very economical to keep, living on straw, thistles, stubble, and a very small quantity of grain, and standing any amount of exposure and harsh treatment.

(3) For *ploughing*. The expression *ear* (Is 30^{24}) means to *plough* (comp. 32^{20}). It was not allowed to plough with an ox and an ass together (Dt 22^{10}). The writer has seen a camel and an ass yoked together to a plough. The equation of force was made by tethering the ass at the long end of a crossbar, which was fastened to the front of the plough. Doubtless the reason of this prohibition was the principle of the Mosaic law, that there should be no intermixtures. Thus priests could not have patched or parti-coloured garments. Piebald cattle could not be offered in sacrifice. Cattle could not gender with a diverse kind. A field might not be sown with mingled seed. A garment could not be made of two different sorts of stuffs, as linen and woollen. A person with patches of leprosy, mixed with patches of clean skin, was unclean, while one

covered all over with leprosy was clean. This principle enters into the whole symbolic economy. It is intended to illustrate *simplicity* and *purity*. Asses' milk is used as food by the Arabs, and is recommended for persons of scrofulous and tubercular tendencies. The flesh of the ass was not allowed to the Hebrews as food, because the animal does not divide the hoof and chew the cud. In the famine at the siege of Samaria, however, 'an ass's head was sold for eighty pieces of silver' (2 K 6^{25}). In Jg 15^{16} Samson says, 'with the jawbone of an ass, heaps upon heaps.' In the Heb. there is a fine alliteration, בִּלְחִי הַחֲמוֹר חֲמוֹר חֲמֹרָתָיִם 'with the jawbone of an ass a heap, two heaps,' the word for *ass* and *heap* being the same.

2. The she-ass (אָתוֹן *âthôn*; ἡ ὄνος, ὄνος θήλεια; *asina*, Arab. *'atân*) was Balaam's mount (Nu 22^{21-33}). Saul went to search for the stray she-asses of his father Kish (1 S 9^{3}). The Shunammite rode one (2 K $4^{22. 24}$). It has always been customary to separate the females of the flocks and herds at times. David had an officer charged with the care of the she-asses at such times (1 Ch 27^{30}). It is said that the vigour of the stock of the Egyp. ass is maintained by tying the she-asses at the border of the deserts on either side of the Nile Valley, so that they may receive the visits of the *Asinus Onager*, Pall., the original of the domestic ass of the East.

3. The Heb. term עַיִר, *'ayir*; πῶλος; *pullus asinæ*; Arab. *jaḥsh*, corresponds to four Eng. equivalents in the AV.—(1) Foal (Gn 32^{15} 49^{11}); (2) ass colt (Gn 49^{11}, Jg 10^{4} 12^{14}); (3) young ass (Is $30^{6. 24}$); (4) colt (Job 11^{12}, Zec 9^{9}). The Arab. equivalent of the Heb. *'ayir* is, as before said, *jaḥsh*, i.e. *young ass*, and not *'ayir*, which means the ass in general. The stupidity of the ass is proverbial in the East as well as in the West. The allusions to this quality in the Bible are not, however, unequivocal (Is 1^{3}, Pr 26^{3}).

4. Two words are used in the Heb. for the *wild ass*—(1) פֶּרֶא, *pere'* (Gn 16^{12}, where Ishmael is called *a wild ass man*, Job 6^{5} 11^{12} 24^{5} 39^{5}, Is 32^{14}, Jer 2^{24}, Hos 8^{9}); (2) עָרוֹד, *'ârôdh* (Job 39^{5}, Dn 5^{21}, Chald. עֲרָדַיָּא). We have no philological grounds for determining the species referred to, nor any certainty that the terms are more specific than their Eng. equivalents. The parallelism in Job 39^{5} does not necessarily imply two species. The Arabs have a large number of names for the lion, the camel, the horse, the ass, and other familiar animals. Tristram gives two species of wild asses as found in the deserts contiguous to Palestine, *Asinus Onager*, Pall., which he considers to be *'ârôdh*, and *Asinus hemippus*, St. Hil., which he regards as *pere'*. For neither of these specifications does he give any philological authority. It is safe to believe that the scriptural writers had no particular species in view, but the general characteristics of all known wild asses. G. E. POST.

ASSAMIAS (B Ἀσσαμίας, A Ἀσαμίας, AV Assanias).—One of twelve priests entrusted with the holy vessels on the return to Jerus., 1 Es 8^{54}.

ASSAPHIOTH (B Ἀσσαφειώθ, A Ἀσαφφιώθ, AV Azaphion), 1 Es 5^{33}.—His descendants returned with Zerubbabel among the sons of Solomon's servants. Called Hassophereth (B Ἀσεφῆραθ, A Ἀσεφόραθ), Ezr 2^{55}; Sophereth, Neh 7^{57} (B A Σαφάραθ, ℵ -θι). H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

ASSASSIN.—Used in RV of Ac 21^{38} as a translation of the Greek σικάριος (AV 'murderer'). St. Paul is said to have been mistaken by Lysias, the chief captain, for the EGYPTIAN who had 'led into the wilderness the 4000 men of the Assassins.'

According to Jos. there arose in Judæa during the procuratorship of Felix a body of men called σικάριοι. They were robbers, who carried under their garments a short sword, about the size of a Persian scimitar (ἀκινάκης), curved like a Roman *sica*, whence their name, which was of Latin origin. They used to commit their murders openly, and by day, mingling in the crowd at feasts. Their first conspicuous exploit was the murder—according to Josephus at the instigation of Felix—of Jonathan, son of Annas, who had been high priest (prob. in 55 or 56 A.D.). After this, men lived in constant dread of them. They were conspicuous under Felix, who sent troops against them, and at a later date they took a leading part in the Jewish War, and in the disturbances which led to it, being always amongst the most violent of the combatants. They held Masada, and from thence pillaged the country. Eventually some of them dispersed to Egypt and Cyrene, where, under the combined influence of want and fanaticism, they introduced a reign of terror.

Josephus never definitely connects them with the EGYPTIAN (wh. see), as does St. Luke.

Apart from the illustration afforded to the narrative of the Acts, the robbers and impostors who were so numerous at this time, illustrate the fanaticism, both religious and political, which culminated in the fall of Jerusalem.

LITERATURE.—Jos. *Ant.* XX. viii. 6, 10, ix. 3; *BJ* II. xiii. 3, xvii. 6, IV. vii. 2, ix. 5, VII. viii. 1, 2, 4, 5, x. 1, 2; Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 178 ff. A. C. HEADLAM.

ASSAULT.—See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.

ASSAY is not found as subst. As verb it has two general meanings: 1. *Test, prove*, of which the only example is in the Preface, 1611, 'To a. whether my talent . . . may be profitable in any measure to God's Church.' 2. *Set oneself to do* (more than merely *attempt*); so all the occurrences in AV: Dt 4^{34} 'Hath God a^{ed} to go and take him a nation?' Job 4^{2} 'If we a. to commune with thee' (both נִסָּה); 1 S 17^{39} 'David girded his sword upon his armour (RV apparel), and he a^{ed} to go' (יָאַל); Ac 9^{26} 'he a^{ed} to join himself to the disciples,' 16^{7} 'they a^{ed} to go into Bithynia,' 2 Mac 2^{23} (all πειράζω); He 11^{29} 'which the Egyptians a^{ing} to do' (πεῖραν λαβόντες). RV retains all these, and adds Ac 24^{6} 'who, moreover, a^{ed} to profane the temple' (πειράζω, AV 'who also hath gone about to'); 26^{21} 'the Jews . . . a^{ed} to kill me' (πειράομαι, AV 'went about to kill me'). J. HASTINGS.

ASSEMBLE, now almost entirely intrans., is trans., intrans., and reflex. in AV, as Mic 4^{6} 'In that day, saith the LORD, will I a. her that halteth, and I will gather her that is driven away'; Dn 6^{11} 'Then these men a^{ed} (RV 'a^{ed} together'), and found Daniel'; Nu 10^{3} 'all the assembly shall a. themselves to thee' (RV 'gather themselves unto thee'). 'A. together' occurs as tr. of the same verbs without change of meaning; and even 'a. together with,' Ac 1^{4} 'and [Jesus] being a^{ed} together with them' (συναλιζόμενος, with αὐτοῖς understood; AVm and RVm 'eating with them' after Vulg. *convescens*. The reference would then be to Lk 24^{41}, Jn 21^{12}, where Jesus is spoken of as 'eating with' the disciples. But this meaning of συναλίζω, as if derived from ἅλς, 'salt,' instead of ἁλής, 'crowded,' is scarcely made out). In He 10^{25} 'not forsaking the a^{ing} of yourselves together,' the Gr. is a noun (ἐπισυναγωγή). 'A. into' is found Jer 21^{4} 'I will a. (RV 'gather') them into the midst of the city.' J. HASTINGS.

ASSEMBLY.—A. is employed in AV as the rendering of several Heb. words, the two most important of which are עֵדָה and קָהָל. The Revisers, however, have endeavoured (as they have themselves explained in their Preface) 'to preserve a consistent distinction' between the words 'assembly' and 'congregation,' 'without aiming at absolute uniformity.' This they have done by rendering קָהָל and its cognate verb by 'assembly' and 'assemble,' retaining 'congregation' for עֵדָה. This last is the older word of the two, denoting a gathering or assembly of any kind, whether for deliberative (as Gn 49^6) or other purposes. Gradually, however—mainly through the influence of Dt—קָהָל assumed a more technical signification as denoting the Israelitish community, in whole or in part. Thus קְהַל יהוה, Dt 23$^{2ff.}$, denotes the theocratic community. 'The assembly' *par excellence* is frequent in P in the sense just given, although not so characteristic of this document as the synonymous term עֵדָה, which occurs over a hundred times in the technical sense of the theocratic community or congregation of the Exodus. It is doubtful if עֵדָה occurs in any genuine pre-exilic text in this sense. See CONGREGATION.

LITERATURE.—Moore, *Judges*, 20^1, crit. note; Giesebrecht in Stade's *Zeitschrift*, i. 243 f. On קָהָל read Holzinger, *ibid.* ix. 105 f. On ἔννομος ἐκκλησία (Ac 19^{39}), Ramsay in *Expos.* 5th Ser. iii. 137 ff.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

ASSENT, the subst., in the archaic sense of accord or consent, occurs 2 Ch 18^{12} 'the words of the prophets declare good to the king with one a.' (פֶּה, RV 'mouth'). Cf. Carlyle, *Past and Present*, 'Travelling with one a. on the broad way.' The verb is found Ac 24^9 'the Jews also a^{ed}' (TR *συνέθεντο*, edd. *συνεπέθεντο*, RV 'joined in the charge').

J. HASTINGS.

ASSESSOR.—An a. is one who sits beside a magistrate to act as his adviser. The word occurs only 1 Es 9^{14} RV, 'Mosollamus and Levis and Sabbateus were a^s to them' (*συνεβράβευσαν αὐτοῖς*, lit. 'judged alongside of them'). The simple verb *βραβεύω*, 'to act as umpire, arbitrate,' occurs Col 3^{15} 'Let the peace of Christ rule in your hearts,' RVm 'arbitrate'; see Meyer and Lightfoot, *in loc.* The compound *καταβραβεύω* is found Col 2^{18} 'Let no man beguile (RV 'rob') you of your reward'; *κ.*='to decide against one,' and 'to decide against one unjustly,' hence 'to rob.' J. HASTINGS.

ASSHUR.—See ASSYRIA.

ASSHURIM (אַשּׁוּרִים).—An Arab tribe, descended from Abraham and Keturah (Gn 25^3), whose identity cannot be traced. (Cf. Dillmann and Delitzsch *l.c.*). J. A. SELBIE.

ASSIDUOUS, only Wis 8^{18} RV 'in a. communing with her is understanding' (*ἐν συγγυμνασίᾳ ὁμιλίας*, *i.e.* 'in constant exercise of fellowship.' The simple *γυμνασία* is used 1 Ti 4^8 *σωματικὴ γ.*, 'bodily exercise'). J. HASTINGS.

ASSIR (אַסִּיר).—**1.** A son of Korah (Ex 6^{24}, 1 Ch 6^{22}). **2.** A son of Ebiasaph (1 Ch 6$^{23.37}$). **3.** A son of Jeconiah (AV and RVm of 1 Ch 3^{17}). It is prob., however, that RV correctly renders 'Jeconiah *the captive*' (אַסִּר). See *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*

J. A. SELBIE.

ASSOCIATE.—Only Is 8^9, and there reflex., 'A. yourselves, O ye people.' Heb. רֹעוּ, not from רָעָה 'to be friendly,' 'combine together,' as Targ., Vulg., AV, etc.; but from רָעַע 'to make a noise,' RV 'Make an uproar'; though Del. prefers רָעַע 'to be evil'; while Cheyne follows LXX, *γνῶτε* (*i.e.* דְּעוּ), 'take knowledge.' J. HASTINGS.

ASSOS (*Ἄσσος*), in the Roman province of Asia, was an ancient city on the S. coast of the Troad, some miles E. of Cape Lectum; the Æolic dialect was spoken in it; and it was said to be an Æolic colony. It was planted on a hill that rises with a long steep ascent from the water's edge; and the natural strength was increased by walls, which still stand in wonderfully good preservation. The sculptures of the temple of Athena on the summit of the hill (most of which are now in Paris, the rest being in Constantinople and Boston, U.S.A.) are among the most important remains of archaic Gr. art. The harbour of A., formed by an artificial mole, was situated at the foot of the hill on which the city stood; and beside it now cluster the houses of the modern village Behram. This harbour gave the city considerable importance in the coasting trade of ancient times (Ac 20^{13}), as is attested by its coinage, which begins early in the 5th cent. (when the city was released from the Persian domination), and continues as late as A.D. 235. The importance of A. under the Pergamenian kings is shown by its re-foundation with the name Apollonia, a favourite Pergamenian name (Pliny, *NH* v. 123). The trade of great part of the S. Troad has passed through the harbour of A. at all periods of history. It was connected by a Roman road with Troas and the coast of the Troad generally, and the road from Troas to A. required less time than the voyage round the long projection of Cape Lectum (Ac 20^{13}). Wheat was extensively grown in the district, according to Strabo, p. 735; but valonia is the chief modern export.

LITERATURE.—The best account of A. is by J. T. Clarke, *Report on the Investigations at Assos*, Boston 1882. Many inscriptions are published by Sterrett in *Papers of American School at Athens*, i. pp. 1–90. W. M. RAMSAY.

ASSUR (2 Es 2^8)=ASSHUR, ASSYRIA.

ASSURE, ASSURANCE.—Assure in the sense of 'give confidence to,' 'confirm,' is used in 1 Jn 3^{19} 'hereby we know that we are of the truth, and shall a. our hearts before him' (*πείθω*, lit. 'persuade'). Cf. 2 Ti 3^{14} 'Abide thou in the things which thou . . . hast been a^{ed} of' (*πιστόω*), and Ac 17^{31} 'He hath given assurance (*πίστις*) unto all men.' **Assurance** is RV tr. of *ὑπόστασις* (AV 'substance'), He 11^1, a word of great importance in Gr. philosophy and Chr. theology, and which occurs in NT 2 Co 9^4, RV 'confidence'; 11^{17} RV 'confidence'; He 1^3 RV 'substance'; 3^{14} RV 'confidence.' 'Full a.' is the tr. of *πληροφορία*, Col 2^2, He 6^{11} (RV 'fulness'), 10^{22} (RV 'fulness'); but the same word is tr. 'much a.' in 1 Th 1^5. A. is found also Wis 6^{18} 'the a. of incorruption' (*βεβαίωσις ἀφθαρσίας*). Cf. Ac 16^{10} 'assuredly gathering' (*συμβιβάζοντες*, RV 'concluding'). J. HASTINGS.

ASSURANCE.—The religious and moral value of firm conviction is fully recognised in Scripture. It is the very aim and object of the divine message in whatever form it comes to produce it. Without it there cannot be that peace and joy in the soul which constitute the highest blessing of religion, nor that inward strength which alone can fit man for moral conquest. The want of it makes the 'double-minded man,' who is compared to the 'surge of the sea, driven by the wind and tossed' (Ja 1^6). Even in OT times it was realised, as shown in the beautiful description of Isaiah (32^{17}), where for AV 'quietness and assurance' RV reads 'quietness and *confidence*,' the original word denoting 'to hang upon something,' hence fig. 'to trust.' A word by which St. Paul expresses this state of mind is *πέπεισμαι*, 'I am persuaded,' whether he refers to the certainty of God's love in Christ (Ro 8^{38}), or to that which he had committed to his Lord (2 Ti 1^{12}). The term, however, most frequently used for A. in NT and also in patristic writers is *πληροφορία*. From the fact that the cognate verb appears probably for the first time in the LXX of Ec 8^{11}, where it is a tr^{n} of the Heb. מָלֵא, Cremer (*Bib. Theol. Lex.*) infers that it was of Alex. origin. It means 'to be fully persuaded, to be fixed and firm' (Ro 14^{5}, Col 4^{12}). The noun occurs in Col 2^{2}, πλ. τῆς συνέσεως, 'full a. of understanding'; 1 Th 1^{5} ἐν πλ. πολλῇ; He 6^{11} πλ. τῆς ἐλπίδος; He 10^{22} πλ. πίστεως. In the last two passages RV (also Westcott *in loc.*) renders πλ. by the simpler word *fulness* rather than *full assurance* (as AV), 'the full measure or development of hope,' 'faith which has reached its mature vigour.'

A. STEWART.

ASSURBANIPAL.—Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, died in B.C. 668, while on his way to suppress a rebellion in Egypt. Šamaš-šum-ukîn (Σαοσδούχινος of Ptolemy), an illegitimate son, had been set over the province of Babylon. Aššurbânipal was heir to the throne at Nineveh. A Heb. writing of the name is probably found in Ezr 4^{10} אָסְנַפַּר (Schrader, *COT* ii. 65; Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 329; contra, Halévy, *Revue Études Juives*, ix. 12). His own cuneiform annals and letters give us an abundance of information regarding his long reign. His first expedition was the prosecution of the unfinished campaign of his father against the Ethiopian Tirhakah. This rebellious leader fled to Ethiopia only to await the withdrawal of the Assyr. forces. The native governors of the provinces, as Necho and Šarludari, were aroused by Tirhakah to form a coalition against foreign authority. But Assyria pounced down upon them, carried off prisoners, and drove Tirhakah back to his lair, where he died about B.C. 664. Egypt was again tranquil, though hiding a volcano. An invasion of Egypt by Tanûtamon (Assyr. *Urdamani*) precipitated the last and decisive campaign of A. In B.C. 662 the Assyr. army fell upon Egypt, and drove Tanûtamon out of its bounds, captured and plundered Thebes, and carried off to Nineveh great booty. This concluded the sway of Ethiopia over the land of the thrifty Egyptian.

A.'s next expedition enveloped the E. coast of the Mediter. Sea, which rendered him submission. The king of Lydia, Janus-like, gave presents to A., and made a league with Tušamilki of Egypt. This combination succeeded finally in throwing Assyria out of Egypt. The country of Van next fell before the arms of A. Elam, which had for centuries stood as a peer of its neighbours, fell at last, after several bloody battles continuing through a course of years, at the feet of the conqueror from Nineveh. His half-brother at Babylon, elated with flatteries and thirsting for independence, threw off the yoke of Nineveh. A. swept down upon Bab., overthrew the opposition, and captured the city. The seceding ruler, fearing the wrath of A., took refuge in his palace, and burned it over his head (B.C. 648). The secession of Šamaš-šum-ukîn is probably (Schrader *COT* ii. 53–59) but a hint at a general uprising against Assyria throughout the S.W., in which Manasseh of Judah was involved (2 Ch 33^{11}). The Arabians likewise were forced to submission, and A. was again lord of his empire.

This great warrior was also an enthusiast in other occupations. With the help of Aššur and Ištar he was able to cope with and slay lions. One of his chief sports seems to have been fighting lions, either those which were wild in the forests or those which were loosed from cages for the purpose.

But the most important feature of his career for us was his interest in literature. His library in Nineveh, which was uncovered by G. Smith, has preserved for us thousands of clay tablets, which were copied from older tablets in other libraries of his land. The topics treated are historical, ethical, linguistic, religious, and many others—all pertaining to Assyria and Babylonia.

As a builder, he was equal to his predecessors. The remains of his palace at Kouyunjik testify to the architectural ingenuity and taste of the monarch. In many cities of his empire he built beautiful temples to the gods, and adorned all with exquisite pieces of art. He laid every available source under tribute to his royal enterprises.

As a ruler and warrior, as a builder, as a litterateur, he is well deserving the title given him in Ezr 4^{10}. The last years of his reign are comparatively wrapped in obscurity.

LITERATURE.—In the original, G. Smith, *Hist. of Assurb.*, original and interlinear tr. 1871; *As. Disc.* p. 317 ff.; Rawlinson, *West. Asiatic Inscrip.* iii. 17–27, 30–34, v. 1–10, iii. 28, 35–38, iv.^{2} 45–47; S. A. Smith, *Keilschrifttexte Asurb.* Heften ii. und iii. In tr. *RP* vol. i. 1st series, p. 55 f.; *Keilinsch. Bibliot.* ii. pp. 152–269; S. A. Smith, *Keilschrifttexte Asurb.* Heft. i.

IRA M. PRICE.

ASSWAGE (so AV, after the common, though not invariable, spelling of the 16th to 18th cent., RV 'assuage') is used trans. Job $16^{5.6}$, Sir 18^{16} 'shall not the dew a. the heat?'; and intrans. Gn 8^{1} 'the waters a^{ed}.' J. HASTINGS.

ASSYRIA (אַשּׁוּר).—

i. Natural Features and Civilization.
ii. History.
    1. Sources.
    2. Chronology.
    3. Annals of the Kings.
iii. Literature.

A. is the country, famed in antiquity, on the east of the middle Tigris between 35° and 37° N. lat. The only town on the west of the Tigris, on the Mesopotamian tableland, was the old capital of the kingdom, **Assur**, from which the whole land takes its name. Its northern boundary is formed by the wilds of the Armenian-Kurdish mountains, in which the Tigris rises, and through which it flows till it enters the plain near Nineveh, over against the town which is now called Mosul. On the east it is bounded by the ranges of Zagros, which derive their name from the Assyrian *zaḳru*, 'pointed, high.' These ranges form a continuation of the Armenian mountains, and reach as far as Elam. They are the source of the great and little Zab, which flow into the valley of the Tigris. Of the other tributaries of the Tigris the *Khusur* may be mentioned (the *Khôser*, *Khosr-Su* of to-day), which empties itself into the Tigris between the ruin-mounds of Kouyunjik and Nebi-yunus, and thus flows right through the midst of ancient Nineveh. Ancient Assyria extended in later times beyond these narrow boundaries; on the north-west to the left source of the Tigris, the *Subnat* (now Sebbeneh-Su); on the west to Khabur and Belikh, two well-known tributaries of the Euphrates in Mesopotamia; and on the south to the Radânu and Turnat, tributaries of the Tigris—one of which is to be identified with the modern Diyâla.

The **Climate** of Assyria—as we might imagine from its comparatively northern situation—may be said to be really very temperate. The general nature of the country is preponderatingly mountainous. Only the capitals were situated on the Tigris in the valley, *e.g.* ancient Assur, Nineveh, and Kalakh (Calah Gn 10^{12}). The new royal residence built by Sargon, *Dur-Sarrukin* (Sargon's castle), the modern Khorsabad, was situated to the north of Nineveh, just at the foot of the mountains; while the well-known city of Istar, the market-town Arbela (Arbaïlu, *i.e.* Town of the Four Gods—now called Erbîl), together with the great military place to the south-west of it, *Kakzi* (modern Schemamek), etc., were situated in the higher parts of Assyria.

With regard to the **Flora** of Assyria, the slopes of the last-mentioned mountain districts were

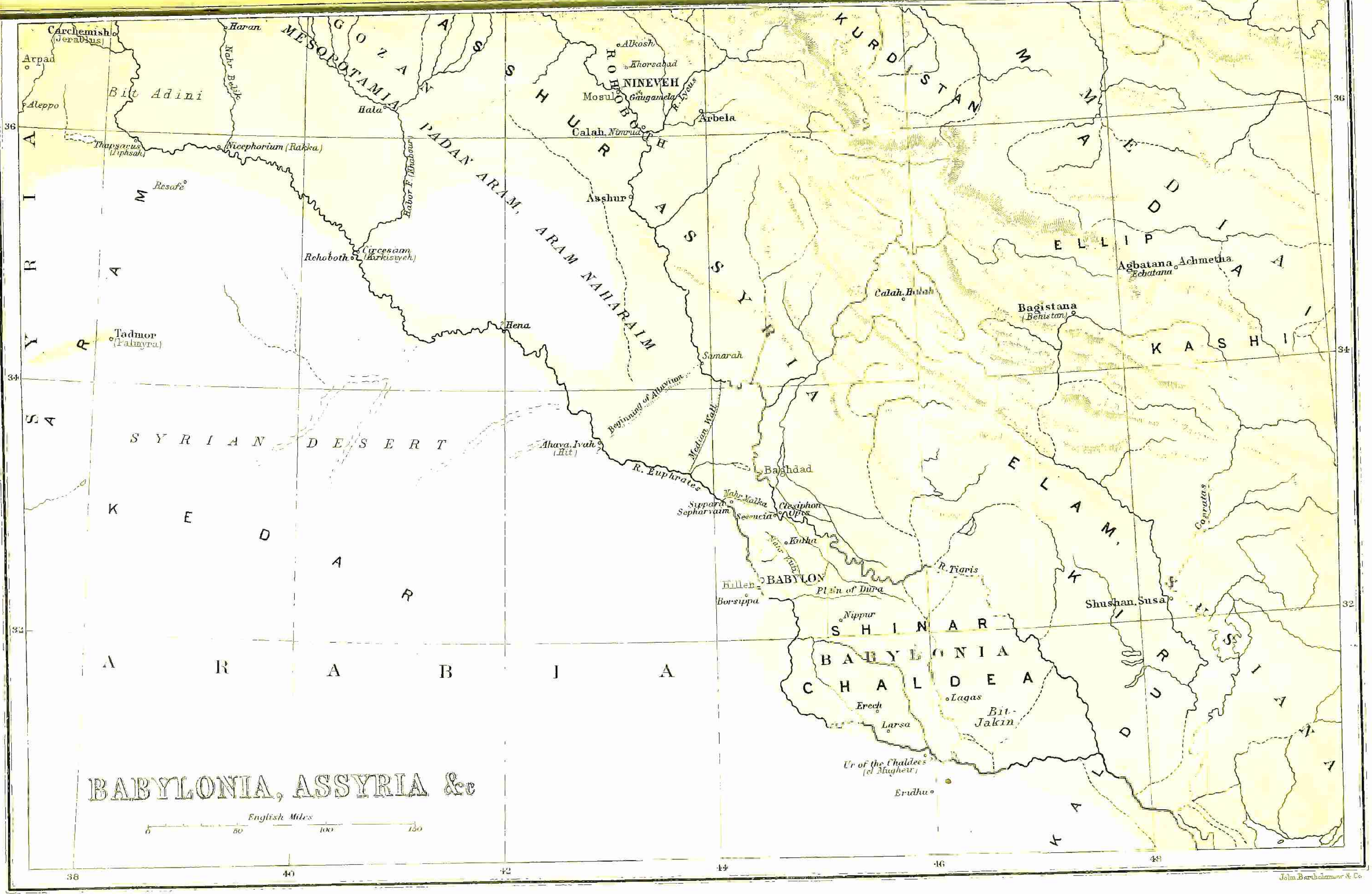
Carchemish (Jerablus)
Arpad
Aleppo
Bit Adini
Haran
Nahr Belik
MESOPOTAMIA
GOZAN
Hala
Thapsacus (Tiphsah)
Nicephorium (Rakka)
Habor F. (Khabour)
Resafe
Circesium (Karkisiyeh)
Rehoboth
PADAN ARAM, ARAM NAHARAIM
Hena
Tadmor (Palmyra)
SYRIA
ARAM
SYRIAN DESERT
KEDAR
ARABIA
Ahava, Ivah (Hit)
R. Euphrates
Beginning of Alluvium
Median Wall
Samarah
ASSHUR
ASSYRIA
Asshur
Alkosh
Khorsabad
NINEVEH
Mosul
Gaugamela
R. Lycus
Arbela
ROHOBOTH
Calah, Nimrud
KURDISTAN
MEDIA
ELLIP
Agbatana, Achmetha, Echatana
Bagistana (Behistan)
KASHI
Calah, Holwan
Baghdad
Nahr Malka
Sippara, Sepharvaim
Seleucia
Ctesiphon, Opis
Kutha
Nahr Kuth
BABYLON
Hillen
Borsippa
Plain of Dura
R. Tigris
Nippur
SHINAR
BABYLONIA
CHALDEA
Erech
Larsa
Lagas
Bit-Jakin
Ur of the Chaldees (el Mugheir)
Eridhu
ELAM
KISSIA
Shushan, Susa
Choaspes
KALDU
English Miles
0
50
100
150
36
34
32
38
40
42
44
46
48

BABYLONIA, ASSYRIA &c

The Edinburgh Geographical Institute

John Bartholomew & Co.

covered with oak, plane, and wild pine trees; while on the plain proper, besides abundance of nuts, fig and olive trees flourished, together with the vine plant. These last were originally unknown to the East-Semitic districts, and were first imported by the Assyrian kings from Syria. Agriculture was confined mainly to the cultivation of wheat, barley, hemp, and millet.

The **Fauna** was formerly far more varied than it is to-day, as the pictures on the monuments and the statements in the inscriptions prove beyond the possibility of doubt. In addition to hares, roes, stags, and mountain goats, lions and wild oxen (*rîmu*, Heb. *rĕ’êm*) were found in great numbers—the former in the tall reed plantations on the banks of the Tigris, the latter in the mountain districts, the happy hunting-grounds of the Assyrians. Magnificent horses — the famous Assyrian chargers, which were probably of the Medo-Elamite type—and cattle, goats, and sheep pastured on the slopes; while wild asses and camels are known only in later times, through the Assyrian incursions into the Syro-Arabian desert. The culture of bees was also actively carried on. Of domestic animals, the dog may be mentioned; of wild beasts, the panther, the wolf, the bear, and some others.

With regard to *kinds of stone*—alabaster (*pîlu*), which was employed for the Assyrian bas-reliefs, was found on the left bank of the Tigris in abundance. Of *metals*—iron, copper, and lead were found in any quantity in the Tiyari mountains near Nineveh.

Not only is Assyria far more rugged by nature than Babylonia, which is much more southerly and lies nearer the sea, but the inhabitants of the two countries differed in character, the Assyrians being of a much more powerful and rugged type than their Babylonian brothers, in spite of the fact of their common Semitic origin and speech. The Babylonians have been very appropriately called the Greeks, and the Assyrians the Romans of the ancient East. Especially striking is the resemblance between the Assyrian type of face, as it appears in pictorial representations on the monuments, and the features which we meet with to-day in the majority of Jews; while the pictures of the Babylonian kings suggest no such associations to our minds. The ancient Assyrians had purer Semitic blood in their veins than the Babylonians, for the latter in very early times show traces of an admixture of other races. The best authorities advocate the view implied in the table of races in Gn 10, which reckons only Assur and Aram (not Babel or Shinar) among the sons of Shem. In proof of this, v.[11] may be cited ('out of that land,' viz. Shinar or Babylonia, 'he [*i.e.* Nimrod] went forth into Assyria and builded Nineveh,' etc.), a statement which is confirmed by the monuments. As Assyria was originally only an offshoot from Babylonia, its language—at any rate the language of its literature, which is the only one known to us—is also Babylonian. The writings themselves, as well as the art and science, bear the clearest witness that they are equally dependent upon the motherland of Babylonia. It is noteworthy that while the oldest Assyrian inscriptions exhibit most clearly the old Babylonian cuneiform characters, after the time of Tiglath-pileser I. (*c.* B.C. 1100) they evolved a style of writing which fell back upon what can be proved to be a debased form of Babylonian writing, which previously existed only in North Mesopotamia. Hence there arose, in distinction from the new Bab. writing, a special form of new Assyr., in which were written most of the Assyr. royal inscriptions, and, above all, the many clay tablets of the Assyr. court libraries, up to the time of Assurbanipal.

The Assyrian **Religion**, too, is essentially the same as the Babylonian, with some modifications. When, for instance, on the so-called Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser II. (B.C. 859-825) mention is made of the following gods: Asur, Anu, Bel, Ea, Sin, Ramman, Samas, Merodach, Nindar (or Ninib), Nergal, Nusku, Belit, and Istar, this list is identical with the Babylonian Pantheon (see BABYLONIA), with the exception of the god Asur, who heads the list, but is entirely wanting to the Babylonians. This Asur, the chief god of Assyria, was originally only a differentiation of Anu, or the god of heaven. His name An-sar, which afterwards became Assar, Assur, Asur, 'Host of Heaven,' appears in the Bab. cosmogony, but plays in the Bab. religion a far less important part. Probably on account of the similarity of sound between the name of the god and the name of the country Assur (originally Asur, from the Sumerian A-usar 'water plain'), the originally more abstract god of heaven, Asur, was exalted to the highest place and became king of the gods. Special reverence was also paid to the storm god *Ramman*, who in the most ancient times cannot be very clearly distinguished from the god of the air, In-lilla or Bel. Assur and Ramman, therefore, held a similar place in Assyria to Anu and Bel, who were the two chief divinities of the old Babylonians. Further, we find an Istar of Nineveh, an Istar of Arbela, and an Istar of Kitmur, the two former being goddesses of war, while the latter appears to be a goddess of love; and finally, two masculine divinities of hunting and war, Nindar (Nin-ib) and Nergal. Proper names, especially those of the kings, always serve as a test which enables us to determine the amount of favour meted out to the different divinities. Here we meet most frequently with Assur and Ramman (=Bel, cf. Rammân-nirârî, 'Ramman is my help,' with Bel-nirârî).

In the case of the word Shalman-asarid (Shalmaneser), the name Shalmân appears to be a cognomen of the god Nindar. The latter the Assyrians preferred to call *Asharid Ilâni*, 'Prince of the gods.' The pronunciation Adar instead of Nindar (written Nin-ib) has no foundation to rest on.

While in Babylonia, the mother country of Assyria, the priests were always more powerful than the kings, in Assyria the king himself was also chief priest, and upon him the priesthood was completely dependent. Primarily, however, the king of Assyria was a general. The army always played the chief rôle in Assyria. The king was also the chief judge. All his subjects might come direct to him with their petitions and suits, which were always decided with the strictest impartiality and in accordance with the provisions of the laws, to which the king himself always bowed. Hence disobedience and rebellion were severely punished, as all the enemies of the king were regarded as rebels against Assyria as well. In the treatment of captives and prisoners the Assyrians displayed an inhumanity which we rightly regard as revolting. The court, as the political power of the nation increased, became ever more and more magnificent.

In **Architecture**, again, the Assyrians seem, in course of time, to have surpassed their original teachers, the Babylonians. It is characteristic of the Assyrians, that far more magnificence and wealth were expended on the palaces than on the temples. For although the kings in their inscriptions never omit to lay due emphasis on the temples which they built, yet, as a matter of fact, the excavations (see below) have brought to light the remains of far more palaces than temples. The *statues* of the kings, like those of the gods, were made with great skill and care, but pre-eminence was reached by the Assyrian artists in *bas-relief*, with which the walls of the palaces were adorned. The older specimens are rather stiff and clumsy; but the productions of the age of Sargon and Sennacherib show a very marked improvement, and the highest perfection was reached in the reign of Assurbanipal. The British Museum affords the best opportunity for admiring the war scenes, the triumphal processions, the pictures of private life, and especially the realistic hunting pictures, which form the masterpieces of the Assyrian artist. But the impulse to this development of Assyrian art will probably have come from without. With the increasing growth of the Assyrian empire, immense treasures of merchandise and art poured into Nineveh and Kalakh (cf. Nah 2^{9}) from the newly-conquered provinces; and these importations stand in direct relation to the refinement that took place in the taste for art.

In **Literature** the Assyrians entirely followed Bab. models, as, to take a single illustration, the prayer of Assur-naẓir-pal II. (*c.* B.C. 1050) to the goddess Istar proves. In most cases they contented themselves with simply copying out Babylonian literature. But in this way they did us a greater service than if they had composed 100 or 1000 poetical imitations of a second-rate character. For it is owing entirely to the activity of the Assyrians as collectors of books, and especially of Assurbanipal, the Mæcenas of literature, that the bulk of Bab. literature has been preserved for us. In scientific literature too—astronomy, mathematics, medicine, grammar, lexicography—all alike were simply copies of Bab. originals. It was only in practical mechanics that the Assyrians advanced beyond their Bab. masters, as can be proved from the process they adopted for transporting the colossal images of bulls, as it is depicted on the bas-reliefs. In this connexion brief reference may also be made to the convex lenses found in Nimroud, used perhaps for the purpose of magnifying the writing on the clay tablets, which was often very minute.

As far as **Agriculture** is concerned, Assyria was not, owing to its more northern aspect, the rich corn-bearing land that Babylonia was; but all the more on this account efforts were made on the part of the kings, by the construction of canals and weirs, to increase the fertility of the soil. The water needed for the land, which was supplied in such abundance by the mountain streams, was in this way properly regulated and distributed.

History of Assyria.—Thanks entirely to the excavations of the ruins of the old cities, especially Nineveh and Kalakh, the history of Assyria from its earliest beginnings, *c.* 2000 B.C., to the fall of Nineveh, can be set forth with great detail and exactness. The great number of inscriptions * which have been brought to light puts us in the position of being able to write an uninterrupted history of the Assyr. empire for many centuries. In these **Discoveries** the palm belongs without doubt to Englishmen—especially to Sir Austin Henry Layard (d. 1894) and Hormuzd Rassam.

It was *Claudius James Rich* who first discovered the ruins of Nineveh, and drew the attention of investigators to this city, which is of such importance to antiquarians. After visiting Mosul three times (the first visit being paid in 1811), and superficially examining the rubbish-mound which is to be found on the opposite bank of the Tigris, he resolved in the year 1820 to make a thorough examination of it, the results of which were published sixteen years later (1836), in accordance with the terms of his will. The scanty remains of sculptures and inscribed stones brought by him to Europe formed the basis of the Assyrian collection in the British Museum, which has since become so splendid, and confirmed the conjecture made by Joseph Hager in 1801, that the same cuneiform writing which had been found in Babylon at the end of the previous century was the foundation of the culture of the Assyrian world-empire. New paths of rich promise were thus pointed out to Oriental archæology.

The excavations of the Frenchman *P. E. Botta*, 1843–45, at Khorsabad, a village five miles to the north of Nineveh, and, above all, of the Englishman *Austin Henry Layard* at Nimroud, the site of ancient Kalakh (end of 1845 to middle of 1847), and at Kouyunjik, ancient Nineveh (1849–51), brought to light a whole series of Assyr. palaces and a multitude of sculptures and inscriptions, after a slumber of 2500 years. It was Layard who urged Botta to persevere with his excavations, which at first were fruitless; and some years afterwards, when Layard himself commenced to excavate, he found in the consul, *Hormuzd Rassam*, an indefatigable helper—a fact which was first clearly recognised and duly acknowledged some ten years later. At Khorsabad, Botta had the good fortune to lay bare the first Assyr. palace, which had been built by king Sargon (Is 20^{1}), Dur-Sarrukin (castle of Sargon), the bas-reliefs and inscriptions of which now embellish the Louvre in Paris; while Layard, in Nimroud and Kouyunjik, excavated no fewer than five great palaces, of which the antiquities were brought to the British Museum. By this stroke of good fortune the greater part of the famous clay tablets of the library of king Sardanapalus (Assurbanipal) now came to light.

Additions were made in the following years to these discoveries of Botta and Layard by the after-gleanings of *Rassam*, from 1851–54, in Kouyunjik, and of the French architect *Victor Place* in Khorsabad. In 1854 Rassam excavated the North Palace of Assurbanipal, and by this stroke of fortune discovered a fresh portion of the library mentioned above.

During the next decades Assyr. excavation was at a standstill; but, to make up for this, the first three volumes of the great work on Assyr. inscriptions, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia* (1861, 1866, 1870), were published during that period by Henry Rawlinson, Edwin Norris, and George Smith. This book was preceded by a volume of Assyr. inscriptions, edited by Layard, 1861, a work which, it must be admitted, was not nearly so accurate as that of Rawlinson. To this period also belongs the preliminary settlement of the grand problem of decipherment inaugurated by Rawlinson, Hincks, and Oppert.

In the years 1873 and 1874 the excavations in Nineveh were resumed, the unfortunate George Smith, who died of fever in Aleppo on Aug. 19, 1875, making two journeys of investigation, which produced rich results. Amongst many other finds, this enthusiastic and gifted young investigator discovered a number of clay tablets belonging to the library of Assurbanipal, amongst them being the Bab. account of the Flood and other allied mythological texts (see BABYLONIA). These discoveries won for him a celebrity and popularity such as few others have attained.

The work which had been resumed by Smith, and which was unfortunately cut short by his premature death, was continued by the veteran *Hormuzd Rassam* in a further expedition in the years 1877–78, from which he came back with far richer spoil than even G. Smith's. Mention must here be made of the discoveries of a temple in Nimroud, the famous bronze gateway of Balawat, with its sculptures dating from the 9th cent. B.C. (see below, under Shalmaneser II.), and 1400 more tablets from the library of Assurbanipal, not to speak of the 'finds' on Bab. ground made in 1878–79 and 1880–81. Since then no further systematic excavations have been organised in Assyria, but every year some fresh Assyr. relics are brought to England through the agents of the British Museum.

---

* With regard to the *decipherment* of these inscriptions, without which they would remain a dead mass, see the article on the subject in Hommel, *Geschichte Bab. u. Assyr.* Cf. the literature of the subject at the end of this article.

Several Assyr. monuments and inscriptions have also come to light outside Assyria. To this class belong, first of all, the statues of the Assyr. kings found at Nahr el-Kelb, or Dog River, two leagues north of Beîrut; next, some inscriptions of the kings found in the district at the source of the Tigris, and in the ruins of Kurkh, 20 miles beyond Diarbekr; and, above all, the tablets, dating from B.C. 1500, discovered about the end of 1887 at Tel el-Amarna in Upper Egypt. Among these were the letters written in cuneiform characters and directed to the Pharaohs Amenhotep III. and IV., the greater number of which are now in the Berlin Museum, though a good many are in the British Museum, and a few in Cairo. The last included a letter written by the Assyr. king Assur-uballit to Amenhotep IV. It may be here remarked that the letters of the kings of Mitanni (on the middle Euphrates), which belong to the Tel el-Amarna find, are also written in Assyr. cuneiform characters, as is the case with the so-called Van inscriptions of the Armenian kings, which belong to a later time, B.C. 800. Assyr. inscriptions have also been found in Cappadocia, which probably date about B.C. 2000, but unfortunately they do not contain the names of any kings.

Finally, a short account must be given of the valuable find some years ago—also made outside Assyria—in Zinjirli near Mar'ash, on the borders of Cilicia and Syria, by the Oriental ethnologist *Felix von Luschan*. After the discovery by L. Ross in 1845 of a stele of Sargon in Cyprus, Luschan found in the neighbourhood of Zinjirli (the Assyr. vassal state of Sam'al) a monument of the Assyr. king Esarhaddon, with a full inscription, besides eighteen Hittite sculptures and three old Aramaic inscriptions. Both the monument of Sargon and that of Esarhaddon are in the Royal Museum at Berlin, which also contains the many relics dug up in Zinjirli.

The excavations just described have brought to light Assyr. inscriptions which constitute our *primary sources* for Assyr. history. These sources are most copious, being composed not only of annals and the so-called votive inscriptions which form the most important element, but also of decrees, letters, reports, sale-contracts, etc. Chronicles too, which form the first beginnings of real historiography, were discovered. While the inscriptions of the kings were written either on the walls of the palaces or on obelisks and monoliths, or even on the sides of rocks, the chronicles were found in the Assyr. libraries. The two most complete works that have come down to us are: (1) the so-called *Synchronistic History of Babylonia and Assyria*, from *c.* B.C. 1400–800, in which there is unfortunately a great gap between B.C. 1050–900; and (2) the *Babylonian Chronicle*, which covers the time from Nabonassar to Assurbanipal (744–668). Since Babylonia all through this period was subject to the supremacy of Assyria, the last-mentioned document, which is of paramount importance, affords far more valuable contributions towards Assyrian than towards Babylonian history. Most welcome light is also thrown on Assyrian history by other Babylonian documents, of which we may mention a long inscription, which has been brought to Constantinople, of the Babylonian king Nabonidus, dealing with the invasions of Assyria by the Medes.

Second in importance as sources for the history of Assyria come the *Books of the Kings of Israel*, which form a most valuable complement to the official account of the Assyr. kings, the latter being sometimes a little coloured and not always absolutely true to fact. Furthermore, we have the *Prophetic Literature* of the OT, which is in many respects more important for our subject than the historical records. Last of all may be mentioned the records of the *Classical Historians*, which, however, with the single exception of the famous Canon of Ptolemy, as it is called, are of very little use.

This table of rulers, which begins with Nabonassar, B.C. 747, brings us to the question of **Chronology**. It contains the list of Bab. kings (including also the Assyrians Poros [Puru, Tiglath-pileser], Sargon, and Esarhaddon), with accurate particulars of the dates of their reigns, down to Nabonidus. Then it gives their Achæmenidæan successors down to Alexander the Great, and ends with the rulers of Egypt (the Ptolemies and the Romans). The Canon of Ptolemy was appended to the well-known astronomical work of Claudius Ptolemæus, as a commentary (based on Bab. and Alex. computations) upon the eclipses of the sun and moon alleged to have been seen; and consequently it bears within itself the guarantee of its trustworthiness. The statements of the Bab. Chronicle and the many chronological notes on Assyr. and Bab. inscriptions were confirmed by it, and, conversely, confirmed its accuracy. It also furnished the key for determining the chronology of the most important Assyr. chronological document, the *Eponym Canon*, found in the library of Assurbanipal.

From B.C. 900 to 667 (that is, to the time of Assurbanipal) these incomparable and invaluable lists give year by year the chief officers of state, and always make a special point of noting the accession of every new king to the throne. After the time of Samsi-Ramman IV. (B.C. 824–812) this list is further supplemented by the contents of the so-called 'List of Expeditions' (extending to B.C. 700), in which, opposite to every name, there is a short notice of the different campaigns carried out in each year. But it was by the help of the Canon of Ptolemy that we were first able to bind the Eponym Canon together in chronological order from beginning to end, and thus establish the fact that the first officer mentioned in it, Assurdan, belongs to the year B.C. 902, the last, Gabbaru, to B.C. 667. It is therefore possible to fix the exact dates of the reigns of all the Assyr. kings who fall within this period, from Rammân-nirârî II. to the accession of Assurbanipal.

The earlier epochs, also, can be dated from these fixed points, at any rate partially and approximately. The rulers of Assyria have left us some special chronological notes in their inscriptions which refer to kings who lived long before them.

(*a*) Sennacherib relates that the Bab. king Marduk-nadin-akhi carried off to Babylon, at the time when Tiglath-pileser I. was king of Assyria, two images of gods, which he himself, 418 years later, had brought back. It is clear, therefore, since this statement belongs to the year of the destruction of Babylon by Sennacherib, viz. B.C. 689, that the year B.C. 1107 may be definitely fixed as a certain date in the reign of Tiglath-pileser I. (*c.* B.C. 1120–1100?).

(*b*) The same Sennacherib remarks, on another occasion, that he recognised amongst the Bab. treasures a seal of Tuklat-Nindar, the son of Shalmaneser I., which had been taken to Babylon 600 years before. This fixes the reign of Tuklat-Nindar somewhere about B.C. 1300 (more exactly 1289). We must take into consideration, however, the fact that the round number 600 may, if necessary, stand for 560, or even 550; in this latter case, we should have the average date of B.C. 1250.

(*c*) Finally, Tiglath-pileser I., whose date is approximately fixed by consideration (*a*), says that, 60 years before, his great-grandfather, the long-lived Assur-dan, pulled down a temple which had fallen into ruins, and evidently had not finished rebuilding it when death overtook him. Thus Assur-dan died somewhere about B.C. 1175.

(*d*) The same Tiglath-pileser, in the same passage, had previously remarked that the temple in question was built by the old high-priest Samsi-Ramman, son of Ismi-Dagan, 641 years before. The date of Samsi-Ramman is therefore fixed about B.C. 1815.

A series of specially important dates for Bab. chronology is to be found in the inscriptions of the Bab. king Nabonidus (B.C. 555–539). (See BABYLONIA.) We possess also a list of the kings of Babylon, which unfortunately is not quite complete, beginning *c.* 2000 B.C., as well as the so-called 'Synchronistic History' (see above), which gives side by side a complete enumeration of the kings of Babylon and their Assyr. contemporaries. From these sources we secure, although indirectly, some fresh basal points for Assyr. chronology.

Finally, we conclude, from some astronomical notices in Egyp. inscriptions, that Tahutmes III. reigned from 1503–1449, and further obtain B.C. 1400 as the date of the death of Amenhotep III. and the accession of Amenhotep IV. Thus the date of both these kings, with their Bab. and Assyr. contemporaries, is approximately fixed (see above, on the discoveries at Tel el-Amarna).

The first beginnings of **Assyrian History** will probably always remain veiled in darkness. That the Assyrian state was originally an offshoot from Babylonia may be regarded as certain from its writing, language, and religion, as well as from the witness, by no means to be despised, of Heb. tradition (Gn 10^{11}), which confirms this inference, and which is itself of Bab. origin. It is certain, too, that the oldest rulers of Assyria known to us styled themselves 'priests (Sumerian, *pa-te-si*; Assyr. *iššaku*) of the god Assur.' Besides the two priest-kings mentioned in the chronology, viz. Samsi-Rammân [*] and his father Ismi-Dagan,[†] we know of others whose tablets have come down to us, viz. a certain *Irisu* and his father *Khallu*, as well as of a second *Samsi-Rammân* and his father *Igur-* (or *Bel-*) *kapkapu.* [‡]

It is noticeable that the title 'Patesi' is not bestowed on the last-named, so that it looks as if he or his son Samsi-Rammân was the first founder of the Assyr. state. In that case we must, of course, place this Samsi-Rammân before B.C. 1816, probably about B.C. 1850 or even B.C. 1900. On the other hand, the later king, Rammân-nirârî III. (*c.* B.C. 800) calls himself 'the descendant of the old king *Bel-kapkapu*, who ruled even before the primitive period of the reign of the Sulili.' Finally, Esarhaddon, grandson of the usurper Sargon, claims to be 'the perpetual descendant of *Bel-bani*, son of Adasi, king of Assyria.' By this Bel-bani is probably meant one of the kings who sat on the Assyr. throne during the period between B.C. 1800 and 1500. It was during this period that the rulers of Assyria assumed the official title 'King of Assur,' instead of the old title 'Patesi.' About B.C. 1800 we find in Assyria the arrangement by which the year (*limmu*) was called after the chief officer of state; and even at that time Assyria, which, owing to the position of its old capital Assur on the west bank of the Tigris, had begun to gravitate unduly towards the north-west, must have cultivated commercial relations with *Cappadocia.* Only on this supposition can we account for the fact that a considerable number of Assyr. contract-tablets, containing lists of contracts in ancient writing, which belong to this period, have been discovered in Cappadocia. We may also infer that the intermediate territory, especially Mesopotamia and Harran, was probably at times under Assyr. rule, or, at any rate, Assyr. influence.

To the period when the Assyrian rulers bore the title 'Patesi' probably belong most of the half-mythological, half-historical narratives which have been preserved for us in the Assyrian libraries. In one of these a description of the building of temples in Sirgulla, Nippur, and Nisin is followed by an account 'of terrible wars, and a famine so fearful that brothers ate one another, and parents sold their children for gold, and the treasures of Babylon were carried to the land of Su, the king of Babylon allowing the treasures of his own palace to be handed over to the prince of Assur.' It is of some importance that in this text the ruler is called, not 'king,' but 'prince' (*rubû*) of Assur at that time. The so-called 'Legends of the Plague-Demon' (see BABYLONIA) seem to refer to the same events. The inhabitants of Su, the wild Sutæans, who at that time possessed the greater part of Assyria, and a part of Mesopotamia as well, are proved to have been the originators of the fearful devastations in Babylonia; and it appears from the same text, that not the Sutæans, but the Elamites, those old foes of Babylon and Assur, were the instigators. Finally, the disastrous wars were diverted from the territories of the Euphrates and Tigris to the west, from which we may surmise that the predatory Sutæans poured also over a part of Syria and Palestine. As a matter of fact, some centuries later, in the Tel el-Amarna letters, the Sutæans are mentioned as the enemies of the Phœn. town Gebal (Byblos). In the Egyp. inscriptions of the New Kingdom (somewhere about B.C. 1600) a similar name (*Setet*) proves that the Asiatics in general, and more particularly the Asiatic hunting tribes, as well as the Bedawin of the Syro-Arabian desert, extended their marauding expeditions at that time, just as they do to-day, to Palestine and Phœnicia, on the one side, and beyond Mesopotamia and the territory to the east of the Tigris, on the other.

Accurate and uninterrupted knowledge of Assyr. history begins about the year B.C. 1500. Possibly, however, the two kings *Assur-nirâri* and *Nabu-dan* belong to the previous centuries, which as far as our knowledge is concerned are complete blanks. All that we know about these kings is that they were contemporaries of a king—about whom also we know nothing—*Ramman-musheshir* of Kardunias (*i.e.* of Babylon, at the time of the Kassite rulers). From B.C. 1500 to B.C. 1430 *Asur-bel-nishê-shu*, who was contemporaneous with the Bab. Kara-indash, and *Puzur-Assur*, the contemporary of Burnaburias I., ruled over Assyria. The Synchronistic History relates that they settled the boundaries between Babylonia and Assyria. We do not know whether Puzur-Assur ('security of the god Assur') was the direct successor, or, as is possible, the grandson of Asur-bel-nishê-shu ('Assur is lord of his people'). It must have been one of these kings, however, who sent presents to the powerful Pharaoh Tahutmes III. (B.C. 1504–1450) in token of his allegiance, as was also done by the kings of *Mitanni* and *Sangar* (West and East Mesopotamia) and the king of *Arrapach* (east of Assyria, in the mountainous district, at the source of the lower Zab). The presents of the king of Assyria and those of his nearest neighbours stand out pre-eminently on the Bab. Blue Stone (lapis-lazuli, Assyr. *uknû*) which has been brought from Mt. Bikni in Media.

---

[*] *I.e.* 'my sun is Ramman' (Bel).

[†] *I.e.* 'Dagan heard.' Dagan is another name for Bel. An old Bab. king of Nisin bore the same name.

[‡] *I.e.* 'Bel is mighty.' Igur (Ocean of Heaven) is another name for the god Bel.

From *Asur-nadin-akhi* (*c.* B.C. 1430) to the year B.C. 1050 we possess an absolutely complete series of the kings—the son as a rule succeeding his father. Almost all these rulers are to be found mentioned on the inscriptions, and the 'Synchronistic History' gives us further information about most of them. We can with perfect certainty, therefore, draw out the following list :—

Assyria.	Babylon.
Assur-nâdin-akhi.	*Kurigalzu I.* (?)
Asur-uballit, son of above (*c.* B.C. 1400).	*Burnaburias II.* *Karakhardas.* *Kadashman-kharbi.*
Bel-nirâri, son of above.	*Kurigalzu II.*
Pudu-ilu, son of above.	,,
Ramman-nirâri I., son of above.	*Nazi-maraddash.*
Shalmaneser I., son of above.	*Kadashman-turgu.*
	Kadashman-burias.
(probably also)	*Shagarakti-shuriash.*
Tuklatî-Nindar, son of above.	*Bibëiash* to *Ramman-shum-uzur.*
Assur-nazir-pal I., son of above.	*Ramman-shum-uzur.*
Bel-kudur-uzur.	,, ,,
Nindar-pal-isharra (probably son of above).	
Assur-dan, son of above (d. *c.* B.C. 1170).	*Zamâma-shum-idina*, *c.* B.C. 1180.
Mutakkil-Nusku, son of above (reigned till *c.* 1150).	
Assur-rish-ishî, son of above.	*Nabu-kudur-uzur I.*, *c.* B.C. 1145–1122.
Tuklat-pal-isharra I. (Tiglath-pileser), son of above.	*Marduk-nâdin-akhi.*
Assur-bel-kala, son of above.	*Marduk-shapik-zirim.* *Ramman-pal-idina.*
Samsî-Rammân, brother of above.	
Assur-nazir-pal II., son of above (*c.* B.C. 1050).	

While at the beginning of this period (*c.* B.C. 1400) Babylonia had still the supremacy in the Euphrates and Tigris districts, and aspiring Assyria possessed in *Mitanni* a powerful and dangerous rival, in a few centuries the picture was totally changed. As early as the reign of Rammannirâri I., who has given us the first long royal inscription that we possess, Assyria commenced the upward march which was afterwards so steadily maintained, and the campaigns of Tiglath-pileser I. laid the foundation of the great world-empire which Assyria became in later times.

Assur-uballit[*] *I.* is well known to us from a letter which he wrote to the Pharaoh Amenhotep (Amenophis) IV. expressing his allegiance to him, in which he describes himself as the son of Assur-nadin-akhi. He is also distinguished for his energetic attempt to secure, by family relationships, the right of interference in the affairs of Babylon. The Bab. crown prince *Kara-khardas* had become his son-in-law. Assur-uballit lived to see not only his accession to the throne, but also the accession of his grandson *Kadashman-kharbi.*

The last-named, however, was overthrown by the Kassites, who were then predominant in Babylon, because the interference of his royal Assyr. mother *Muballitat-sherûa* and of his grandfather proved dangerous to them. The murderers of *Kadashman-kharbi* placed a certain *Suzigas* (or, according to another tradition, *Nazibugas*) upon the throne in his stead. But the aged Assur-uballit did not allow him to be unavenged. He got Suzigas put to death, and placed his own great-grandson, *Kurigalzu*, who was still a minor, upon the throne. The last-named king, who reigned *c.* 50 years, came into conflict with two Assyr. kings, *Bel-nirâri* and his grandson *Ramman-nirâri*, about the possession of a portion of Mesopotamia.

Under *Assur-uballit* and his grandson *Pudu-ilu*, the Assyrians succeeded in freeing themselves from the suzerainty of the kings of Mitanni. *Tushratta*,[*] the powerful king of Mitanni, who was the contemporary of Assur-nadin-akhi (the father of Assur-uballit), as well as of Assur-uballit himself, lent the image of Istar of Nineveh to Egypt, obviously in order that his daughter, who was married to the Pharaoh, might be able by its help to practise her native cultus. The natural inference is that Assyria was then a mere vassal state of Mitanni, and that Nineveh had become, to say the very least, the common Istar sanctuary for both Mitanni and Assyria. In the language of Mitanni, which is a Hittite and not a Semitic dialect, Istar of Nineveh is called *Sha'uspi*; and Sargon, 700 years later, lifted up his hands to 'Sha'uspi, the ruler of Nineveh' (Cylinder Inscrip. l. 54), thus calling Istar by a name which reminds us of the times of Tushratta. Now it is expressly stated that *Assur-uballit* destroyed the military forces of the extensive region of Shubâri (*i.e.* Mesopotamia), and that *Pudu-ilu* not only subjugated the mountaineers of Guti (Arrapachitis), but also defeated the Akhlami and Sutæans, the predatory nomads of Mesopotamia. These territories, however, in the days of Tahutmes III. were under the absolute and uncontrolled rule of the independent kings of Arrapach and Mitanni. We may regard it as almost certain, that even in the days of Bel-nirâri the once powerful Mitanni was overthrown by the sudden attacks of these Sutæans, a result which was heartily welcomed by the aspiring Assur.

Ramman-nirârî I., in the inscription mentioned above, briefly recounts all these events in the reigns of his three immediate predecessors, in order to relate how he rebuilt the towns which had been destroyed in the previous wars which devastated the territories on the east and west of Assyria. Owing to the fact that the land of the Guti (Goiim, Gn 14) had been overthrown by his predecessors, some boundary disputes arose with Babylonia, since the territory in question had formerly been within the Bab. sphere of influence.[†] The Bab. king Nazi-maraddash, however, was conquered by Ramman-nirârî, and compelled to consent to a fresh delimitation of the boundaries, more favourable to Assyria.

Under the rule of his son *Shalman-asharid* (Shalmaneser) *I.*, *c.* B.C. 1300, Assyria made an important advance. This king undertook a whole series of campaigns against the mountainous regions to the north of Mesopotamia, between the modern Diarbekr and Malatîyeh, advancing into the interior of Western Armenia as far as the country which is often called in the cuneiform inscriptions *Musri* (Musur-dagh on the Upper Euphrates). It is interesting to note that North Mesopotamia, near the mountains of Masius (Assyrian, mts. of Kasyar), is always called the land of *Arimi* or the *Aramæans,* not only in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser I. himself, but also in a later account of the campaign, which dates from the time of Assur-nâẓir-pal II. We naturally compare with this the biblical derivation of the four peoples, Uẓ, Ḥul, Gether, and Mash (this latter = Mt. Masius), from *Aram* (Gn 10^{23}). As a matter of fact, shortly before the reign of Shalmaneser, the Aramæan nomads must have been driven away from the Bab.-Elamite frontier (the biblical Kîr, Am 9^{7}, cf. Is 22^{6}, Kîr near Elam), their original home, into Mesopotamia. The *Akhlami* too (after whom a stone in the breastplate of the Heb. priests was called *Akhlamah,* Ex 28^{19}), who were conquered by Pudu-ilu, are expressly stated by Tiglath-pileser I. to have been Aramæans. Shalmaneser I. took from the Bab. king *Kadashman-buriash* several towns in the district of Dûr-Kurigalzu (near the modern Baghdad). He wished, too, to be regarded as a builder. He laid the foundation of a new residence *Kalakh* (Gn 10^{12}), Assur having up to this time been the capital town, and built afresh the sanctuary of Istar in Nineveh, which Assur-uballit had only very roughly restored. And, finally, it is worth remarking that he was the first Assyr. king who assumed the title 'King of the World' (*šar kiššati*) on his inscriptions, a circumstance which obviously stands in special relation to the conquest of Mesopotamia, and more particularly to the acquisition of the primitive sanctuary-town Harran.

---

[*] Or Asur-uballit, or Ashur-uballit. The Assyrians sometimes spell the name of their national god Assur, and sometimes Asur. The sibilant is properly pronounced sh, but was very early pronounced s in Assyria, in contradistinction to Babylonia.

[*] Son of Sutarna, who was the son of Artatama, a contemporary of the Pharaoh Tahutmes IV. Tahutmes IV. was related by marriage to the kings of Mitanni. An elder brother of Tushratta, who died early, was called Arta-shûmara.

[†] There exists an inscription of a king of Guti, written in old Bab. cuneiform characters, which vividly calls to mind the era of old Sargon of Agade, *c.* B.C. 3700.

Shalmaneser's son *Tuklat-Nindar I.*[*] was probably still a contemporary of the Babylonian king *Shagarakti-shuriash* (*c.* B.C. 1269–1257(?)), certainly of his successors *Bibëiash* (B.C. 1256–1249(?)), *Bel-nadin-shumi* (B.C. 1248), *Kadashman-kharbi* (B.C. 1247–6), and *Rammân-shum-idina* (B.C. 1246–1240 (?)). The last-mentioned was king only in name, for after Babylon had been enfeebled by the invasion of the Elamite king *Kidin-khutrutash,* Tuklat-Nindar seized the Bab. empire for himself for seven years, calling himself king of Sumer and Akkad. Finally, however, he was overthrown by his own son *Assur-nâẓir-pal I.*, while the throne of Babylon was successfully occupied by *Rammân-shum-uẓur,*[†] son of Ramman-shum-idina. A seal with the inscription 'overthrow of Kardunias,' which was struck at Babylon in the time of *Tuklat-Nindar,* was brought to Assyria 600 years later by Sennacherib. Of course 600 is a round number, and the event may reasonably be connected with the year 1246 of the Chronicle of the Kings of Babylonia (comp. above, p. 179^{b}).

We do not know whether the next Assyr. king, *Bel-kudur-uẓur,* was a son, or, as is possible, a brother of Assur-nâẓir-pal I. The Synchronistic History informs us that he was conquered by the powerful Babylonian king Ramman-shum-uẓur (B.C. 1239–1209 (?)) and lost his life in the battle. His successor *Nindar-pal-isharra* had great difficulty in repulsing Ramman-shum-uẓur's attack on the town of Assur. It appears, however, that he was successful at last in victoriously driving back the Bab. army. He was succeeded by his son *Assur-dan I.*, who lived to an advanced age, and towards the end of his reign (B.C. 1181) conquered *Zamâma-shum-idina* of Babylon, and by this means extended the Assyr. frontier beyond the lower Zab.

In the reign of Assur-dan's son *Mutakkil-Nusku,* the Mosks (the biblical מֶשֶׁךְ), a people from Asia Minor, made an incursion into North Syria and the contiguous district of North-West Mesopotamia. This incursion seems to have set in motion other waves. The Akhlami (who had been formerly subdued by the Assyrians) on the Middle Euphrates, the Lullumi[*] and the Guti to the north and east of Assyria, lifted up their heads again; and so Mutakkil-Nusku's son, the energetic *Assur-rîsh-ishî* ('Assur lifted up his head'), had to undertake the great task of reconquering these old enemies before he could think of subduing the Mosks. His Bab. contemporary *Nabu-kudur-uẓur I.* (*c.* 1145–1122) had the glory of conquering the same Lullubi (as the Babylonians call them, instead of Lullumi), who had extended their settlements into the mountains between Armenia and Media, some distance within the frontiers of Assyria and Babylonia. Probably it came at last to a struggle between the two kingdoms, which was settled by the Assyr. king obtaining a victory over Nebuchadrezzar I., who was, notwithstanding, a distinguished and powerful prince.

The first really great Assyr. conqueror, however, was Assur-rish-ishi's son *Tuklat-pal-isharra* (Tiglath-pileser) *I.*, whose name means 'Help of the son of Isharra' (*i.e.* the god Nindar). While, in former times, only the Babylonian kings—and last of these Kadashman-kharbi and Nebuchadrezzar — had penetrated as far as the so-called 'Westland' or Martu, he was the first Assyrian king to undertake campaigns in this direction, reaching even the frontiers of Palestine. He journeyed on ships of Arvad in the north of Phœnicia, to the Mediter. Sea, and killed a great sea monster called a *nâkhir* ('snorting'), probably somewhere between Arvad and the Gulf of Issus. He also hunted wild oxen (*rîmu*, Heb. re'em) at the foot of Lebanon. His renown reached even to Egypt, and the Pharaoh of the day sent to Assyria a female *pagû* (probably an ape), a crocodile, and a hippopotamus for his zoological gardens.

In his annals, which contain about 800 lines, there is a detailed account of his first six campaigns (B.C. 1120–1115), the results of which are summed up in the following words: 'Altogether 42 countries with their rulers, reaching from beyond the lower Zab—the districts of the mountain forests on the other side of the Euphrates—to the land of the Khatti and the Upper Western Sea (Gulf of Issus), from the beginning of my reign to the end of the fifth year, have been conquered by my hand, and I have received tribute and taxes from them.' A further campaign, which carried him to Lebanon, is not included, as it was undertaken in a later year. Unfortunately, up to the present we know of this last-named campaign only incidentally through another inscription which describes his hunting expeditions. Tiglath-pileser was also the first Assyr. king who, besides the title 'King of the World' (*šar kiššati*) which his predecessors had borne before him, assumed another title known to old Babylonian history, viz. 'King of the Four Quarters of the World,' and rightly, for he was the first to reach the Mediterranean Sea. With regard to his special campaigns, by far the most important was the war against the Mosks of Asia Minor (Meshech, Gn 10^{2}, Ezk 27^{13} 38^{2}), who, 60 years before, had made an incursion into North Mesopotamia and conquered the land of *Kummukh* (Commagene, on the farther bank of the Euphrates). The Kurkhi (Kurdi?), who lived in the mountainous districts towards Armenia, had also joined the Mosks as allies. The scene of the war lay between Commagene on the Euphrates and the Gordyan mountains on the Upper Tigris. We may conclude from their names that the tribes of these districts were all of Hittite and non-Semitic nationality. The names of two of the hostile kings conquered by Tiglath-pileser are of special interest, *Kili-Tishup* son of *Kali-Tishup*, and *Sadi-Tishup* son of *Khatu-shar.* Tishup was the name of one of the Hittite gods. In the time of Ramses II. we hear of a Hittite named Tar-Tishbu. Moreover, the old storm god of Armenia and Mitanni was called Tishupash; and, finally, the same name for a god turns up again in Susa as Tishpak. Khatu-shar, too, is identical with Kheta-sar, by which name a Hittite foe of Ramses II. is called. Now *Khatu* was a divinity of the Hittite population scattered about from the west of Asia Minor to Elam. The names of the Lydian kings, Aly-attes and Sady-attes, which were formed like Kali-Tishup and Sadi-Tishup, prove this, for the god Attes, spelt in Aramaic inscriptions *ghatê* (עתי, -γατις in 'Αταρ-γατις; -κετω in Δερκετω), cannot be any other than the one which appears in Khatu-shar.

---

[*] Or Tukulti-Nindar (*i.e.* 'Nindar is my help'). The Hebrews write a similarly formed name, *Tukulti*-pal-isharra as Tiglath-pileser. They seem therefore to have written Tuklat-p- instead of Tukulti-p-.

[†] The name ideographically written is *Ramman-MU-SIS.* Possibly Rammân-nadin-akhi could also be read.

[*] Lulimtu means 'ring.' Probably by the Lullumi are meant the mountain races in general which were scattered round about, and formed, as it were, a ring from the Upper Euphrates to the little Zab, reaching to Mesopotamia and Assyria and even the frontiers of Babylonia.

North of Kummukh, Tiglath-pileser made tributary the land of *Khani-rabbat*, so often mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions (the great Kheta-land of the Egyp. inscriptions), near Milid (Malatîyeh). This country (erroneously transcribed Khani-galbat by some Assyriologists) was the old mother-land of the Hittites. There was no longer, however, a great Hittite empire at the time of Tiglath-pileser, but the Aramæans had attempted to establish themselves in several places in the north of Syria and Mesopotamia. Tiglath-pileser expelled them from the region between the Euphrates and Belikh, the original country of the Mitanni, and plundered their pasture-grounds which were situated along the farther bank of the Euphrates, the land of *Sukhi* (Shuah, Gn 25[2]; Job 2[11], 'Bildad the Shuhite'). He also conquered by force of arms the land of *Musri* in West Armenia, against which Shalmaneser I. had formerly waged war, and the Cappadocian district of Kumânu, which was in alliance with it. Thus he not only restored his kingdom to the size it had attained in the time of Shalmaneser I., but expanded it still farther, especially in the direction of Armenia; and by pushing forward towards North Syria and the Mediterranean, mapped out the path for Assyr. expeditions in the future. The Bab. king *Marduk-nadin-akhi* (cf. above, p. 179[b]) succeeded in robbing the Assyrians of the images of Ramman and his consort Shala which belonged to the (Mesopotamian?) town Ikallâti, but Tiglath-pileser inflicted a signal defeat upon him in his own country. Amidst all these expeditions, architecture and the material welfare of the country were not neglected by Tiglath-pileser, who bestowed special attention upon the restoration of the old temple of the gods Anu and Rammân in the ancient capital Assur (cf. above, p. 180[a]).

Tiglath-pileser was succeeded by his son *Ashur-bel-kala* ('Assur is Lord of All'), who removed the royal residence from Kalakh to Nineveh. He married the daughter of the Bab. king Rammân-pal-idina, but evidently died without children, since his brother *Samsi-Rammân III.* succeeded him on the throne. We possess an earnest petition of the son of the latter, *Assur-naẓir-pal II.*, to the goddess Istar of Nineveh, in which he prays that he may be cured of an illness. After this (*c.* 1050) Assyria underwent a period of decline, during which not even the names of the kings have been preserved. We only know of one of them, *Assur-irbi* (*c.* 990?), who set up an image of himself at the Gulf of Issus, and from whom the Aramæans took away the two fortresses on the Euphrates, *Pitru* (Pethor, Nu 22[5], Dt 23[4]) and *Mutkînu*, which had been conquered in the time of Tiglath-pileser I.

The powerful development of the Aramæans at this time is also clearly reflected in OT, in the history of David (see 2 S 10[16], where Hadadezer brings Aramæans from the other side of the Euphrates). The growth of the power of Israel under Saul, David, and Solomon forms a striking contrast to the decline of Assyria about B.C. 1000.

Probably the immediate successor of this Assur-irbi was *Tuklat-pal-išarra* (Tiglath-pileser) *II.* After him we have an accurate and genealogical list of kings, without any gaps at all.

Tiglath-pileser II. *c.* 970.
Assur-dan II. (son of above) *c.* B.C. 930–913.
(*Here the Eponym Canon begins*).
Ramman-nirârî II. (son of above) B.C. 912–891.
Tuklat-Nindar II. (son of above) B.C. 890–885.
Assur-naẓir-pal III. (son of above) B.C. 884–860.

Under the last-named king a new period of development commenced for Assyria. Of the four predecessors of Assur-naẓir-pal, we only know that Ramman-nirâri II. waged some wars against his Bab. contemporaries *Samas-mudammik* and the latter's successor *Nabu-šum-iskun*; and that Tuklat-Nindar advanced to the sources of the Tigris, and threw his heart into the task of again reducing to subjection the mountainous districts in the north, a work which was continued by Assur-naẓir-pal and Shalmaneser II. For the conquests made by Tiglath-pileser I., after so much effort, had been lost again long ago.

Assur-naẓir-pal rebuilt Kalakh, and selected it for his royal residence in memory of his great predecessor Shalmaneser I., after whom he also named his son (Shalmaneser II.). His main ambition was to annex the whole of Mesopotamia to Assyria, which he succeeded at any rate partially in accomplishing. The little Aramæan principality *Bît-Adini* (which is called *Benê-Eden* 2 K 19[12], and is situated between the Euphrates and Belikh) offered strong resistance to the Assyrians, and Assyria only succeeded in getting the payment of a temporary tribute from it. Greater results, however, were achieved among the mountain tribes on the east, between the lakes Van and Urmia, in the countries of *Mannai* (Minnî, Jer 51[27], which certainly ought to be vocalised מִנִּי, near Ararat), *Kirrur*, and *Zamua*, the last-mentioned being situated to the south of the lake of Urmia. In North Syria further opposition was experienced from the little states that had sprung up on the wrecks of the Hittite empire, whose princes still bore Hittite names, though the populations were Canaanite. The most noteworthy of these was *Karkhemis*, where king Sangar reigned; and next to that the land of *Unki* ('Amk) or *Khattin*[*] on the Orontes, the capital of which was called Kunulua, and the king Lubarna. Both these territories were traversed by the Assyrians. The Assyrians advanced right up to Lebanon and the coast of Phœnicia, so that the towns of Tyre, Sidon, Gebal, Arvad, etc., were compelled to send valuable presents in order to induce the hostile forces to march away. The Bab. contemporary of *Assur-nâẓir-pal* was *Nabu-pal-idinâ.* (See BABYLONIA.)

The reign of Assur-nâẓir-pal's son *Shalmanu-asharid* (Shalmaneser II.), B.C. 859–825, marks a turning-point in Assyr. history in several directions. Instead of being satisfied with merely sending threatening expeditions to exact a fresh payment of tribute, he introduced a systematic plan — afterwards always adopted — of placing governors over conquered territories, and thus making them actual provinces and putting them under direct Assyr. control. Moreover, it was in his reign that the first contact between Assyria and the kings of Israel (Ahab and Jehu) took place. Lastly, it was his reign that saw the first beginnings of the Armenian empire under the kings Arimi and Sarduri (Siduri, or, more accurately, Sardu'arri), whose successors gave Assyria so much trouble, till they brought it to the brink of ruin. Tiglath-pileser III. and Sargon were the first to succeed in breaking its power, and in helping Assyria forward to new development. The oldest Armenian inscriptions, which date from Sarduri I., are written in Assyr. cuneiform characters and Semitic-Assyrian, while his successors employ their own Armenian dialect (related to the Georgian), though they use the Assyr. method of writing as well.

---

[*] Written *Pa-ti-in*, but probably *Khattin* (the Hittite) is the right reading.

We are very fortunate in possessing *pictorial* representations of several events in the reign of Shalmaneser. These are to be found chiefly in the magnificent reliefs on the bronze doors of Balawat (Imgur-Bel), and also in the remarkable pictures on the 'Black Obelisk,' as it is called. In five series and on four panels are to be seen ambassadors from Gurzan (on Lake Urmia), from king *Jahua* (Jehu) *of Israel*, from the land of *Musri* in West Armenia, from *Marduk-pal-uẓur* of Suchi, and from *Karparunda* of Khattin. Both monuments are in the British Museum. The inscription on the series devoted to the land of Musri says: 'Tribute from Musri. Camels with double humps, oxen from the river Sakîya (or Irkia?), a *sûsu* (kind of antelope), female elephants, and apes.' The words of the inscription are confirmed by the pictures, which actually contain double-humped camels, wild steers, an antelope, an elephant, and four apes. This land of Musri, which must be looked for neither in Afghanistan nor in India, but to the north-east of Cilicia, is mentioned in the Bible, 1 K 10^{28}, according to which Solomon brought his horses from Muẓrîm and from Ku'i (Cilicia), as the emended reading runs. Double-humped camels (Assyr. *udrâti*, from the Arm. *uldu*, Sansk. *ustra*) were to be found in different parts of Armenia, and Assur-nâẓir-pal boasted, as did also Tiglath-pileser I. and Tahutmes III., that he had killed elephants in Mesopotamia. Shalmaneser made his way into the land of Tabal (the biblical Tubal), which lies to the west of Malatîyeh, where he took possession of the silver, salt, and alabaster works which he found on the mountains, and took the opportunity of exacting tribute from the neighbouring Musri; then he invaded the land of Ku'i (on the Cilician coast), reaching the city of Tarzi, the well-known Tarsus, the birthplace of the apostle Paul. He advanced into Armenia as far as the sources of the Euphrates; then he proceeded eastward to *Parsua*, the motherland of the Persians, lying to the east of Lake Urmia, and southwards to *Namar*, which was formerly a Protectorate of Babylon, lying to the south of Lake Urmia. His journeys were thus more extensive than those of any of his predecessors. In Babylonia, in the year B.C. 853, Nabu-pal-idinâ was overthrown by his son Marduk-shum-idinâ, whose brother Marduk-bel-usâti, however, raised a revolt against him. Thereupon Marduk-shum-idinâ relinquished to his brother the southern part of Babylonia, formerly known as the land of Kaldu[*] (or Imgi), at the same time calling upon the king of Assyria for assistance. Shalmaneser attacked and killed the rebellious brother of the Babylonian king, and naturally claimed an extension of frontier in return for his services.

Of far greater interest for biblical history is the campaign of Shalmaneser against the town of Hamath (Amattu or Amâtu) on the Orontes, and its allies, in B.C. 854, the sixth year of his reign. Shalmaneser had scarcely conquered (B.C. 856) and imprisoned one of his most stubborn opponents, king Akhuni of Bit-Adini (see above), when a powerful army came out to meet him near Karkar (on the line of march from Aleppo to Hamath):

	Chariots.	Horsemen.	Foot.
Bir-idri of Damascus . .	1200	1200	20,000
Irkhulini of Hamath . .	700	700	10,000
Akhabbu of Sir'il . . .	2000	..	10,000
Guï	..	..	500
Musri . . .	..	..	1,000
Irḳanat . . .	10	..	10,000
Matin-ba'al of Arvad . .	..	..	200
Usanat . . .	..	..	200
Adunu-ba'al of Shiana .	30	..	10,000
Ba'sa (son of Rukhub) of Ammon	..	..	1,000
			Camels.
Gindibu the Arab . .	..	..	1,000

A mere glance at this table shows that the three most important princes of this league were *Bir-idri* (Benhadad) of Damascus, *Irkhulini* of Hamath, and *Akhabbu* of Sir'il. Besides these, two Phœn. cities were prominent in supplying troops, Irkanat (probably='Arka, עַרְקִי Gn 10^{17}) and *Shiana* (or Siana, סִינִי of Gn 10^{17}, which must be corrected to סִיָנִי). Akhabbu of Sir'il is no other than *king Ahab of Israel*, who chose Jezreel (the modern Zer'în) for his royal residence; and who, in his last year (B.C. 854), before he went to the war against the Syrians, in which he lost his life, had undertaken the obligation of leading an army against the Assyrians. Shalmaneser's victory over Damascus and Hamath does not seem to have been very permanent, since on two occasions, in B.C. 849 and 846, his annals give an account of the repulse of the Syrians and their twelve allies. On the first occasion (B.C. 849), in all probability, the Israelites were present in the battle under the leadership, not of Ahab, but of his son Joram. Joram, however, soon after was attacked by Benhadad, and Samaria was in a state of siege. The Syrians withdrew only upon receiving information that a hostile force was marching against Damascus. The foes, however, were not Hittites and Musrites (2 K 7^{6}, *i.e.* from the land of Musri in West Armenia), as the Syrians in their panic at first believed, but there is the highest probability that they were the Assyrians who, in the year 846, made a new expedition against Damascus. Finally, in the year 842 Shalmaneser made a fresh attack on Syria, this time against Bir-idri's (Benhadad's) successor Khaza-ilu (Hazael), whom he defeated, and ultimately besieged in Damascus. The surrounding country was devastated, and Shalmaneser took the opportunity of exacting tribute from Tyre, Sidon, and '*Jahua of the house of Omri*.' On the black obelisk already mentioned there are pictures of the ambassadors of this same Jahua, bringing gifts, with the following inscription: 'Tribute of Jahua, son of Khumri: silver, gold, a vessel of gold, a ladle of gold, golden drinking cups, golden buckets, tin (or *lead*), a staff for the king's hand, and spear-shafts (*budilkhâti*) I received.'

That this Jahua, in spite of the inaccuracy of the expression 'son (*i.e.* according to the Assyr. use of the word, 'of the dynasty') of Omri,' must be identified with *Jehu of Israel*, is a fact which does not admit of the least doubt. Although at first a good deal of difficulty was felt on account of the dates (Ahab B.C. 854, Jehu 842), the identification of Ahab with Akhabbu of Sir'il, and of Jahua with Jehu, must now be regarded as settled. The chronology of the period of the kings of Israel, as is generally admitted, has been confused by later redactors, a fact which is clearly proved from the summary of the length of the reigns[*] alone. Now that the dates 854 and 842 have been absolutely fixed, we have obtained data of the highest value for restoring the original numbers in the text of the Bible (see below, under Tiglath-pileser III.).

---

[*] The name existed at an earlier date in an older form, Kardu (whence Kardunias). The form Kasdu (Heb. Kasdîm) is only a dialectic variant. By this we see, at the same time, that the Heb. expression Ur-Kasdim had its origin long before the time of Shalm. II.

The great Shalmaneser II., who lost his life in a rebellion, was succeeded by his son *Samsi-Ramman IV.* B.C. 824–812, who led expeditions against the Bab. kings *Ba'u-akhi-idina* and *Marduk-balat-su-ikbi*, and also against the land of Kaldu. Advancing into Media as far as the so-called 'White Mountain,' Elwend, near Ecbatana (Hamadan), he sought to make the lands of Mannai and Parsua, to the north and east of Lake Urmia, secure against the ambition of the Armenian king Ispuînis, son of Sardu'arri I., who was eager to conquer them.

His son *Ramman-nirâri III.* (B.C. 811–783) succeeded in advancing still farther into the heart of Media—right up to the Caspian Sea. He was very young when he came to the throne. In all probability his mother, the Bab. princess *Sammuramat* (the Semiramis of Greek legend), held the regency for him at first. In Armenia, his powerful rival Menuas, who lived at Turuspa (Thosp) on the Lake of Van, caused him much trouble, wresting from the Assyrians several powerful vassal states, *e.g.* Khani-rabbat (Melitene) and Dayaïni. It is to be regretted that the account of Ramman-nirari's campaigns against Syria and Palestine are so very scanty: 'From the upper part of the Euphrates to the land of Khatti (North Syria), Amurri (Coelesyria) to its farthest borders, Tyre, Sidon, the *land of Omri* (Israel), Udumu (Edom), and Palastu (Philistia), right up to the great western sea, I reduced to subjection and exacted tribute and imposts: I marched against the "land of asses" (Damascus), and shut up *Mari'a*, king of the land of asses (*mât imîri-su*), in his chief town Damascus. Dread of renowned Assur struck him to the earth: he clasped my feet and gave himself up. . . . His countless wealth and goods I seized in Damascus; his residence in the midst of his royal palace.' The Assyr. list of officers for the year 804 mentions an expedition to the town of Ba'ali (=בעל־גד at the foot of Hermon ?), and for the year 797 one to Manzu'âti (מַצָּבוֹת ? ?), which is evidently a town of the Israelites. In one of these years Ramman-nirari's expedition against Damascus, Edom, and Philistia must have taken place. It happened either at the end of the reign of the Isr. king Jehoahaz, or at the commencement of the reign of his successor Joash. According to the Bible, Benhadad son of Hazael was king of Damascus at the time. If this be so, Mari'a is only a title, like the Aramaic Mâryâ', 'Lord,' unless we see in Mari'a a brother of Hazael of whom nothing else is known.

Under the successors of Ramman-nirari, *Shalmaneser III.* (B.C. 782–773), *Assur-dan III.* (B.C. 772–755), and *Assur-nirâri II.* (B.C. 754–745), Assyria was always losing more territory to the Armenians. Armenia was ruled at this time by the mighty kings Argistis (*c.* B.C. 780–760) and Sardu'arri II. (B.C. 760–730), and ultimately all 'the lands of Na'iri' to the north of the Tigris, from Melitene to Lake Urmia, came into its possession.

This period of deepest eclipse (whilst Israel flourished at the same time under Jeroboam II.) was followed by an era of prosperity, which lasted for a long time without a break under the usurper Pûlu or (to give him his official title) Tuklat-pal-isharra III., called in the Bible *Tiglath-pileser* (B.C. 745–727), who raised Assyria to a height unreached before, and may therefore be called, and with much reason, the real founder of the great Assyrian monarchy (in its largest sense). For the first time in history Tiglath-pileser brought Babylonia, where Nabu-nâṣir (Nabonassar) reigned from B.C. 747–732 and Nabu-nadin-zir from B.C. 733–732, directly under the sway of the Assyr. sceptre. He also reconquered the territories that had been lost to Armenia, and annexed to the Assyr. empire a great part of Syria, where before there had only been at the best of times some vassal states—never any properly constituted provinces. In *Babylonia*, Tiglath-pileser had next to deal with the Aramæan tribes on the frontiers of Babylon and Elam, among whom the Pukûdu (Pekôd, Ezk 23^{23}, Jer 50^{21}) and Gambulu played the chief part, and to whom also belonged the Nabatu,[*] who at later times emigrated to the north-west of Arabia. The instigators of this rebellion were probably the small states of the *Kaldi*, or *Chaldæans*, in the south and middle of Babylonia. The prime mover was a certain Ukinzir (Chinzeros) from Bit-Amukkan, who ultimately, in B.C. 731, succeeded in seizing the Bab. throne. Already after the defeat of the Aramæans in 745, Tiglath-pileser had assumed the title 'King of Sumer and Akkad,' but now, after his victory over Ukin-zir, he got himself crowned 'King of Babylon' with great solemnity at the new-year festival of B.C. 728.

In the year B.C. 744 Tiglath-pileser marched through the land of Namri (see above) right into the interior of *Media* to the Bikni mountains, to Demavend, that lies to the south of the Caspian Sea, in order to reassert Assyr. influence, which had been destroyed by the Armenians. He reconquered also (B.C. 737) the provinces of Parsua and Bustus, that lie between Armenia and Media. In the *North of Syria* the Armenians had been driven out by Mati-el of Jakhan (also written Akhan), who was called, in accordance with his descent, Prince of Bit-Agûsi. Tiglath-pileser besieged him in his royal residence at Arpad (Tell Erfûd, north of Aleppo, the biblical Arpad), which, after three years' resistance, fell into his hands in B.C. 740. He had previously (B.C. 743) repelled the Armenian army which tried to impede the siege of Arpad, and had defeated it in a decisive battle on the Upper Euphrates.

Tiglath-pileser was now able for the first time to advance into the interior of Syria. In the year B.C. 738 he conquered the town of *Kullani* (Calno, Is 10^9), which lies to the north of Hamath, and overpowered 'Asriya'u of Ja'udi.'[†] Nineteen districts of Hamath fell before him and were captured, while Kullani, which was evidently the residence of Asriya'u, became the seat of an Assyr. governor. Thereupon all the independent kings of Syria who lived in the neighbouring regions (Kustaspi of Kummukh, *Raẓunnu* of *Damascus*,

---

[*] From Rehoboam to the sixth year of Hezekiah there are 260 years, while from Jeroboam I. to Hoshea (conquest of Samaria) there are only 241. As a matter of fact, from the death of Solomon to B.C. 722 there are only 218 years. The mistake arises with regard to Pekah. Instead of Pekahiah 2 years, Pekah 20 years, we ought simply to read Pekah 2 years. Pekahiah is only the fuller form of the name Pekah.

[*] The Arabian *Nabayâti* mentioned in Assurbanipal's inscription are a totally different people. They are the *Nebaioth* of the OT. The Nabatu (Arab. נבט), on the other hand, are the well-known Nabatæans. They were of Aramæan origin, as the Nabatæan inscriptions inform us.

[†] Not Judah יְהוּדָה), but a country in the north of Syria (יאדי), as the inscription of king Panammu of Sam'al makes obvious.

Minikhimmi of *Samirîna*, Hiram of Tyre, Sibitti-bi'il of Gebal, Urik of Ku'i, Pisiris of Carchemish, Ini-el of Hamath, Panammu of Sam'al, Tarkhulara of Gurgum), and some also who lived in more remote districts, viz. the princes of Milid (Malatîyeh) and Tabal (Tubal), and a North-Arabian queen, Zabibi,[*] came to do homage to the great king. Another expedition to the West followed in the year B.C. 734, which was specially directed against Philistia, where king Khanunu (Hanno) of *Gaza* was defeated.

The main campaign against Damascus and Israel, however, belongs to the years B.C. 733 and 732. In Israel, Pekah (Assyr. *Pakakhu*) had just succeeded Menahem on the throne. Rezin (Raẓunnu), king of Syria, was defeated. Damascus was besieged (B.C. 733) and captured (B.C. 732). In Israel, Tiglath-pileser took a series of towns, including the whole land of Naphtali (2 K 15^{29}), and Pekah was compelled to pay a very considerable tribute. In the year B.C. 731 he was murdered, and Hoshea (Assyr. *Ausi'i'*) was confirmed by Tiglath-pileser as king of Israel. After the fall of Damascus (B.C. 732), which forthwith became the seat of an Assyr. governor, the following princes, Sanib of *Ammon*, *Salamân* of *Moab*, Mitinti of Ashkelon, *Ja'ukhazi* (*i.e.* Joahaz=fuller form of Ahaz) of *Judah*, and Kaus-malak of *Edom*, were compelled to pay tribute. Ahaz had some time previously called in Tiglath-pileser to protect him against Pekah and Rezin, who had robbed him of the harbour of Elath. The Arabian queen Samsî was also conquered by the Assyrians, who took the opportunity of advancing into the north of Arabia for the first time. Thereupon certain Arab tribes, even the remote Sabæans, sent him rich presents.

The following synchronisms in Tiglath-pileser's annals, which may be safely trusted, are of supreme importance for the chronology of Israel and Judah :—

738 B.C., Menahem of Israel.
733–2 „ Pekah of Israel.
732 „ Ahaz of Judah.
731 (?) „ Hoshea of Israel.

To this it may be added that Rezin of Damascus, as is stated both in the Bible and in the inscriptions, was the contemporary of all these kings.

If we accept B.C. 854 as the last year of Ahab, B.C. 842 as the first year of Jehu, and B.C. 722 as the date of the destruction of Samaria, we may construct the chronology of Israel as follows :—

842 B.C., 1st year of Jehu, who reigned 28 years.
814 „ 1st year of Joahaz, „ 17 „
797 „ 1st year of Joash, „ 16 „
782 „ 16th year of Joash and
1st year of Jeroboam II. „ 41 „
742 „ 41st year of „
Zechariah reigned 6 months.
741 „ Shallum one month.
1st year of Menahem, „ 10 „
732 „ 10th „ „ „
1st year of Pekah.
731 „ 2nd year of Pekah.
730 „ 1st year of Hoshea, „ 9 „
722 „ 9th year of Hoshea and
conquest of Samaria.

There is room in this arrangement for only a two-years' reign of Pekah. Exactly the same things are related of Pekahiah as of Pekah, and the two names are virtually the same (see above). It is clear that the original text of the Bk. of Kings had only one Pekah (or Pekahiah), who reigned two years, between Menahem and Hoshea. The addition of Pekah's twenty years to Pekahiah's two was the work of a later editor, and, as a result, all the synchronisms of Israel and Judah for this period naturally fell into disorder. Instead of there being an irreconcilable antagonism between the Bible and the inscriptions in relation to chronology, the latter rather help us to correct an old error in the *text* of the Bible (not in the Bible itself as the word of God—only in the text), while they have essentially confirmed the truth of the biblical narrative throughout.

We have still to speak of a policy which Tiglath-pileser was the first to introduce, and which essentially contributed to the strengthening of the Assyrian empire. In forming new provinces, he and his successors adopted the following plan. As the cuneiform inscriptions and the Books of Kings (*e.g.* 2 K 15^{29} 17^{6}) relate, all sections of the population were transplanted into distant provinces, and, conversely, the territories thus left empty were settled with other prisoners of war.

Finally, with regard to king Panammu of *Sam'al*, mentioned above in connexion with the year B.C. 738, the Berlin Museum now possesses several inscriptions from Zinjirli (south of Mar'ash, Assyr. *Markasi*) belonging to Panammu's son *Bir-Rokeb* (ברכב), which are written in old Phœn. characters, and composed in a dialect which is a mixture of Can. and Aramaic. These inscriptions mention Tiglath-pileser,—the word being spelt in the same way as in the OT, תגלתפלסר (it is also on one occasion spelt תגלתפליסר) — calling him מלך אשור, and on one occasion 'Lord of the four quarters of the earth' מרא רבעי ארקא (Assyr. *shar-kibrat-irbitti*, king of the four quarters of the world). Panammu, son of Bir-ẓur, died in the camp of Tiglath-pileser at Damascus B.C. 733 or 732, whereupon Bir-Rokeb was appointed king of Sam'al by the Assyr. king. The inscriptions of Zinjirli relate that Bir-ẓûr, the grandfather of Bir-Rokeb, was murdered by a usurper (probably the Asriya'u mentioned in the annals of Tiglath-pileser) from the neighbouring country of Ja'udi (יארי), whereupon Panammu turned to Tiglath-pileser for protection. It seems that in previous times another Panammu, son of Karal, had ruled over Ja'udi (יארי), one of whose inscriptions (in somewhat ancient writing) has lately been found. Both these Panammu belonged to the dynasty of Gabbar, which in the time of Shalmaneser II. was in possession of Sam'al, and whose kings were called מלכי כבר (kings of Kabbar). The gods of Sam'al and Ja'udi are Hadad-El, Rokeb-El (who was also called בעל בית=Lord of the House), Shemesh, and Reshep — the last-named being a special god of Ja'udi. The name of the usurper Asriya'u (most probably=עזריה) points to an Israelitish descent. A usurper of Hamath in the time of Sargon was called sometimes *Ilû-bi'di*, sometimes *Ia'u-bi'di*, which also points to his Isr. origin. The redactors of the Books of Kings appear to have possessed information about this Asriya'u of Ja'udi, since they evidently identified him with king Uzziah[*] of Judah, and in many places the name עזריה has been substituted in the text for עזיה. Sam'al, too (=Northland), was not unknown to the Bible, for Nu 24^{24} evidently ought to read: 'A vessel (?) shall come from Sam'al (משמאל) and boats from Kittim (Cyprus) which shall afflict Asshûr (not Assyria, but=Asshurîm, Gn 25^{3}, 2 S 2^{9}), and shall afflict Eber ; moreover, he himself also (=Og of Bashan, cf. LXX) shall come to destruction.' The whole passage refers to the attacks made by the populations of the Mediter.

---

[*] Probably she was the princess of the Bir'æans (for which we may, however, substitute Sab'æans, סבא, not to be confounded with the Sab'æans, שבא), an Arabian tribe which is always mentioned first in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser that speak of the tribute of the Arabians. (Mas'æans=משא, Temæans=תימא, Sabæans=שבא, Khayappæans=עיפה, etc.)

[*] Prophetic literature clearly shows that Uzziah was his only name, as also does the well-known old Heb. seal 'of Shebanyô, servant of Uzzîyô,' לשבניו עבר עזיו.

(Europe and Asia Minor) upon Syria and Egypt in the days of Ramses III.

Tiglath-pileser was followed by Shalman-asharid IV., the *Shalmaneser* of the Bible (B.C. 726–722), who was probably his son. As king of Babylon he was called Ululaï (Elulæus), *i.e.* 'he who was born in the month Elul.' Immediately after his accession to the throne, before the year B.C. 727 was over (726 was the first *official* year of his reign), he conquered the Assyr. town Shabaraïn (Sepharvaim, 2 K 17^{24}?). In the year B.C. 724 he began to invest *Samaria*, which fell at the end of a three years' siege, in the first month of the reign of his successor *Sargon*, who took all the credit for this achievement, as well as for the transportation of the ten tribes, without thinking of his predecessor. The Bible account, however, very justly connects the name of Shalmaneser with the fall of the Northern Kingdom (B.C. 722).

Israel now, like the kingdom of Damascus before, became an Assyr. province, Samaria being the seat of the governor.

The zenith of Assyr. power was reached in the reign of the usurper Sargon [*] (Assyr. Sharru-ukin = 'the king has restored order'), B.C. 721–705, who is only once mentioned in the Bible (Is 20^1), in connexion with the taking of Ashdod. In the very year that he entered upon his reign ('at the beginning of his reign,' as the official expression runs), B.C. 722, he carried off the inhabitants of Samaria, 27,290 men, to the rivers Belikh and Khabor, the river of Gozan, and the cities of Media (2 K 17^6), settling Babylonian (Cuthäites) and other colonists in the territories of the conquered city.

Sargon's main political ambition was the consolidation of Babylonia, as well as the provinces of Assyria which bordered upon Armenia, and finally Syria. This ambition was realised by the final reduction of *Armenia*, whose king at that time was Rusa (or Ursa), the son of Irimenas, and also by the humiliation of the Mannæans [†] (מִנִּי Jer 51^{27}), who were the most powerful allies Armenia possessed, and of the Sagartæans (Assyr. Zikirtu), an Eranian nomadic tribe which lived to the east of the Mannæans; and finally by the war against Elam. The last-named state was henceforth the most dangerous foe the power of Assyria possessed, and was always in firm alliance with the small states of South Babylonia (the so-called Chaldæans), and above all with *Bit-yakin.* The prince of Bit-yakin, Marduk-pal-idina, immediately after the death of Shalmaneser, had seized the throne of Babylonia for himself. In B.C. 721 Sargon, who had till then been occupied with other duties, marched against him and his ally Khumbanigas of Elam. The battle was indecisive; and Sargon had to march against the Armenians; so that it was not till B.C. 710 that he was successful in defeating Marduk-pal-idina, and getting himself crowned king of Babylon (B.C. 709–705). This Marduk-pal-idina is the Merodach-baladan of the Bible, whose embassy to Hezekiah, which is related in 2 K $20^{12ff.}$ as a supplement to Sennacherib's campaign, belongs either to B.C. 715 (first year of Hezekiah's reign) or to 703, in which year Merodach-baladan was king of Babylon a second time.

Of Sargon's other campaigns, those against Syria, Palestine, and Arabia have special interest for the OT student. The first, B.C. 720, was an expedition to suppress an insurrection which a certain Ilû-bi'di, [*] who is also called Ia'u-bi'di, had raised in *Hamath.* This Ilû-bi'di had not only induced the Assyr. provinces of Arpad, Simyra, Damascus, and Samaria to revolt, but had also formed an alliance with Khanûnu (Hanno) of Gaza and Sib'i (סוא 2 K 17^4, *i.e.* Sev'e) of *Egypt.* Probably Judah, where Ahaz was still on the throne, was also included in the alliance, since Sargon once calls himself (indeed before he speaks of Hamath at all) the 'Conqueror of the remote land of Judah.' The Egyp. army was, however, defeated at Rapikhu (Raphia, south of Gaza), and Hanno found himself in an Assyr. prison, while Ilû-bi'di and his other allies were defeated and destroyed at Karkar (in the neighbourhood of Hamath).

In the year 715 Sargon undertook a campaign into the interior of North Arabia 'against the remote Arabians of the Desert, of whom the wise and learned knew nothing.' The tribes of Thamûd, Ibâdid, Marsiman (Gn 25^{13} מבשם, according to LXX *Μασσαμ*, 1 Ch 4^{25} *Μασεμαμ*?), and Khayappa (עֵיפָה, LXX *Γαιφα*) were conquered, and partially settled in Samaria. Thereupon Pir'u (cf. פראם Jos 10^3, scarcely equivalent to Pharaoh) of Musur (the territory called Ma'în-Muẓrân of the South Arabian inscriptions, in the north of the peninsula of Sinai?), queen Samsi of Aribi (a part of North Arabia), and the Sabæan Ita'amar (יתעאמר of the South Arabian inscriptions), 'the kings of the sea-coast and the desert,' brought rich presents, among which were 'sweet-smelling spices of the mountains' (frankincense), gold, precious stones, horses, and camels.

In the year B.C. 711, the same year in which the North Syrian state Gurgum (capital town Markasi, modern Mar'ash) became an Assyr. province, [†] a certain Yamani, who is also called Yatna, [‡] overthrew king Akhimiti of Ashdod. When the Assyrians despatched an expedition against Ashdod (cf. Is 20), Philistia (Pilistu), Judah (Ja'ûdu), Edom (Udumu), and Moab (Mâ'ab), instead of sending their presents to Assur, sent them to king Pir'u of Musur, who has been already mentioned, because they trusted to him and to Arabia (Cush, Is 20^3 and often in the OT). Ashdod and Gath (Gimtu) were conquered and made into an Assyr. province, but Yamani fled to the 'king of Milukh' (north-west of Arabia, cf. Job 39^6 מְלֵחָה, parallel to עֲרָבָה). It is evidently the same Pir'u of Musur who is alluded to in a parallel passage which runs, 'He (Yamani) fled to the territory of Musur which belongs to the district of Milukh,' the last phrase being added to distinguish this Musur from the Musur which is the equivalent of Egypt.

Besides these campaigns of Sargon's, which are of great importance for the study of the Bible, we may further mention that in B.C. 709 he received presents from seven *Cyprian* kings. An image of him, which is now in Berlin, was discovered on the island of Cyprus (see above, p. 178^a).

The new residence which Sargon built for himself in Khorsabad (see above, p. 178^b) was consecrated in the year B.C. 707. In the year B.C. 705, however, he fell by the hand of an assassin, who was probably instigated by his own son Sennacherib. The latter, strangely enough, never mentions his father in his inscriptions. As far as the character of Sargon is concerned, it is sufficiently clear from his inscriptions that as 'Father of his country' he deserves the praise of being called a 'righteous and noble prince' (cf. especially on this point the very instructive cylinder inscription which has been translated by Lyon).

---

[*] The Hebrew סַרְגוֹן is based upon a similar word in popular use, Sargânu (= 'mighty').

[†] In the year B.C. 745 a Mannæan governor *Daiukku* is mentioned in the annals of Sargon, and in B.C. 713 a land of Bît-Daiukku between Man and Illip (in the west of Media). In Assyrian it is called *Mât Bît*-Daiukku, 'Land of the Dynasty (House of the Prince) of Daiukku.' This Daiukku is evidently the *Dejokes* (Deioces) of Greek tradition, who, according to the later story, was the first king of Media. Gamir also (Gomer, Gn 10^2) is mentioned as having broken into Armenia even in the time of Sargon.

[*] On this name, see above. Others read Ilu-ubi'di and Ja-ubi'di (or Ilia-ubi'di) with much less probability.

[†] Already, in B.C. 717, a similar fate had befallen the powerful town of Carchemish (cf. Is 10^9). Kummukh (Commagene), too, came under the power of Assyria in B.C. 708.

[‡] Compare the Assyrian name for Cyprus, Jatnana, of which perhaps Jaman, Javan (Ionia) is a parallel (dialectical) form.

Sin-akhi-irba ('Sin multiply the brothers'), the biblical *Sennacherib*, reigned from B.C. 704–681. He it was who removed the royal residence from Kalakh back again to Nineveh, which, by extensive building operations, and at the expense of Babylon, which he destroyed in a very barbarous fashion, he elevated into the capital of the united empire of Assyria and Babylonia. The great palace, too, in the south-west of Kouyunjik deserves to be specially mentioned—the 'peerless palace,' which in later times the grandson of Sennacherib, Assurbanipal, surrounded with buildings. Nor must we forget the great arsenal (*bît kutalli*) at Nebi-yunus, which Esarhaddon extended, and the magnificent waterworks in the neighbourhood of Nineveh.

The most important political undertakings of Sennacherib were his wars against Elam and Babylonia on the one side, and his expeditions to the West on the other. The only other campaign worth mentioning was one against *Cilicia* (properly *Khilakku*, the mountainous district in the interior[*] of Cilicia) and *Tabal* (the biblical Tubal), which probably belongs to the year B.C. 695. Probably it is this expedition that is referred to in the remark of Berosus, that Sennacherib, 'after a severe struggle conquered the Ionians who dwelt on the Cilician coast, and then [re]founded Tarsus.' The Assyrians had also to deal with this district a second time in the days of Sennacherib, in the year B.C. 681; for at the moment when Sennacherib was murdered, the crown prince Esarhaddon was in Khani-rabbat (east of Tabal) with his troops.

In *Babylonia*, Merodach-baladan the Chaldee, who is so well known from the inscriptions of Sargon, had established himself once more upon the throne, having allied himself for this purpose with Kudur-nankhundi of *Elam* and the Aramæan nomad tribes. Sennacherib conquered Merodach-baladan and his allies, and placed a certain Bel-ibni on the throne of Babylon. After several vicissitudes, when the Elamites, as allies of Babylonia, always had a hand in the game (Merodach-baladan himself on one occasion taking part in the struggle again), in B.C. 691 the bloody battle of *Khalûlîn*, which ended unsuccessfully, or at any rate indecisively, for Sennacherib, was fought against the united armies of the Elamites, Babylonians, Aramæans, Chaldæans, and certain districts of Media. The Median districts Anzan (also written Anshan), where the dynasty of Cyrus originated, and Illip, were now, as allies of Elam, for the first time called after Parsua, the motherland of the later Persians. At last, in the year B.C. 689, Sennacherib succeeded in taking possession of Babylon, and in wreaking fearful vengeance upon it. It was levelled to the ground, and only rebuilt again in later times under Sennacherib's gentler and nobler-hearted son Esarhaddon.

Sennacherib's great expedition to the West, which was undertaken in the year 701, began with the punishment of king Luli (Elulæus) of *Sidon*, who fled 'into the sea,' possibly to Cyprus or else to the island of Tyre, which, if we are to trust our Greek sources of information, was besieged by the Assyr. king in vain.

In Sidon a new king, *Tuba'al* (Ethobaal), was appointed, to whom Sarepta, Akko, and other Phœn. states were given. Arvad and Gebal (Byblus), however, like Ashdod of Philistia and the states bordering on Judæa, *Ammon*, *Moab*, and *Edom*, offered a voluntary tribute. The town of Ashkelon in Philistia, whose king Sidkâ (Zedekiah) refused to pay tribute, together with Joppa (Yappû) and other towns, were conquered and plundered. The town of Ekron (Amkarrûna) handed its king Padî, who had submitted to the Assyrians, over to Hezekiah (*Khazakiya'u*) of Judah. Ekron and Judah called in to their assistance the king of Musur (see above) and the archers of the king of Milukh, but were defeated by Sennacherib at Eltekeh (Altaku). Sennacherib next besieged and conquered 46 fenced cities and villages of Judah, and carried off 200,150 of their inhabitants as prisoners, until at last he pitched his camp in *Lachish* (Assyr. *Lakishu*), the extreme south-western corner of Judah. Up to this point the passage in 2 K 18^{13} agrees with the Assyr. narrative: 'In the fourteenth year of king Hezekiah (B.C. 701) did Sennacherib, king of Assyria, come up against all the fenced cities of Judah, and took them.' Then the Bible account goes on to say that Hezekiah sent a message of peace to Sennacherib at Lachish, and that Sennacherib promised to abstain from further hostilities on the payment of 300 talents of silver and 30 talents of gold (2 K $18^{14\text{-}16}$). In spite of this, as the biblical narrative continues (2 K 18^{17} to 19^{8}), Sennacherib sent his chief officer with an army to invest Jerusalem, but was obliged to return to Assyria again without having effected his purpose. The main points of this record agree with Sennacherib's own account: 'and Hezekiah himself I shut up like a bird in a cage in Jerusalem (Ur-Salimmu), his royal city. I threw up entrenchments against him, and when any one came out of the gate of the city, I punished him. The cities that had been taken away from him I cut off from his land and gave them to the kings of Ashdod, Ekron (Padî), and Gaza. In addition to his former assessment (see above, 'the 300 talents of silver and the 30 talents of gold'), I added other tribute, and exacted it from him. Dread of the greatness of my majesty overwhelmed Hezekiah; while the Bedawin (? Assyr. *amel Urbi*) and his own special warriors, whom he had collected together to defend Jerusalem, rendered him no assistance (*iršu baṭlâti*). In addition to the 30 talents of gold and 800[*] talents of silver, precious stones, antimony[†] . . . his daughters and women from his harem, male and female slaves, he sent his ambassadors after me, to bring to Nineveh an extra gift of tribute and an expression of his fealty.'

To a later period (this we must infer from the fact that mention is made of the Ethiopian king Tirhakah, called Tarḳû by Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal), belongs the account given in the Bible (2 K $19^{9\text{-}37}$). It really appears as if Sennacherib had undertaken, shortly before his death, an expedition against the Arabians (cf. the inscriptions of Esarhaddon, and Herodotus II. 141), and had made use of the opportunity to march a second time against Hezekiah as well.

Shortly after this, on the 20th of Tebet 681 B.C., he was murdered by his own son, or, according to the account in 2 K 19^{37}, by his two sons, Adrammelech and Sharezer. The rebellion lasted till the 2nd of Adar, about a month and a half, because Esarhaddon, who had been appointed by Sennacherib to succeed him, was at that time absent in Armenia, whither the conspirators marched against him, only, however, to be defeated.

Esarhaddon thereupon ascended the throne amidst general rejoicing, on 18th of Adar 681 B.C., and set himself to the task of rebuilding the town of Babylon, towards which he had always shown special favour.

---

[*] Ku'i (קוה 1 K 10^{28}), on the other hand, is the Cilician coast-land. Khilakku probably occurs in the Bible, Ezk 27^{11} ארוד וחילך, Arvad and Khelak. Thus both names for Cilicia are found in the OT.

[*] The annual tribute of 300 talents of silver imposed on Hezekiah was thus increased by 500 talents.

[†] Here follows an enumeration of a series of other special presents.

Ashur-akhi-idina (*i.e.* 'Asur give still a brother'), the *Esarhaddon* of the Bible, reigned from B.C. 680–669. During his reign a great danger threatened Assyria, on account of an invasion of the Cimmerians (Gimirraï; their land was called Gamir; see above, p. 187^a, note), who joined with the Medes and burst like a storm upon the country. These Cimmerians were Eranian nomads, who, according to classical tradition, had originally come from the north coast of the Black Sea, and who had threatened even in the time of Sargon to cross the Caucasus into Armenia. There was a certain *Dusanni* of *Saparda* (סְפָרַד, Ob $v.^{20}$), an *Ispakaï* of *Ishkûza* (אשכנז), a Median chief *Mamitiarsu*, and a *Kâstarit* of *Karkassi* (the Karkasia of the inscriptions of Sargon) in Media, who, in conjunction with the Mannæans, and with *Tiuspa*, leader of the Gimirraï, threatened the east frontier of Assyria, and more especially *Kishassu*, which, since the time of Sargon, had been an Assyr. town, and which probably they were successful in taking. Ashur-akhi-idina, however, advanced into Media as far as Patus'arra (Πατεισχορεις, Strabo xv. 3), 'to the borders of the salt desert at the verge of the Bikni mountains' (or Demavend). In the north-west he conquered the Cilicians, who had allied themselves with Ishkallu of Tabal, Muggallu of Milida, and the Kuzzurakaï, enlisting Greek soldiers against them, as Berosus narrates.

Ashur-akhi-idina's chief successes, however, were in the West. After he had conquered and beheaded (676) the king of *Sidon*, Abdi-Milkut, he besieged king Ba'al in *Tyre*, and brought to a successful issue a very hazardous expedition to the remote land of *Bâzu* (בוז of Job 32^2), in the interior of Arabia. He also led on two occasions (B.C. 674 and 671) expeditions to Egypt against the Pharaoh Tirhakah. He conquered Memphis (B.C. 671), and established over it an Assyr. vassal-king, Necho by name. The Assyr. troops advanced as far as Thebes (Ni'i, נא), so that Tirhakah was compelled to flee into his Ethiopian motherland. Ashur-akhi-idina was the first Assyr. king able to assume the proud title 'King of Assyria, Egypt, Paturisi (=Upper Egypt, פתרוס), and Kûs (Nubia or Ethiopia).' He boasted of the palaces he built, and especially of the great arsenal in Nebi-yunus, for the rebuilding of which, he tells us, 22 kings (of whom 10 were princes of towns in Cyprus) were compelled to send materials: Ba'al of Tyre, *Manasseh* (Minasî) of *Judah*, Kausgabri of Edom, Musur of Moab, and the kings of Ammon, Gaza, Ashkelon, Ekron, Ashdod, Gebal, and Arvad.

Manasseh is also mentioned in the time of Assurbanipal, though only briefly, at the commencement of his reign (B.C. 668); and as the Bible account says that he reigned till 642, his transportation to Babylon, mentioned in the Books of Chronicles, must have taken place under Assurbanipal, and not under Esarhaddon.

Esarhaddon was about to invade Egypt a third time, in B.C. 669, when he was taken ill on the journey. He died on the 10th of Araḫsamna (Marcheshvan) in the same year.

His son and successor, *Assur-bani-pal* (the Sardanapalus of the Greeks, the Osnappar of the Bible, Ezr 4^{10}), B.C. 668–626, was marked out by Esarhaddon as heir to the throne with great solemnity on the 12th of Iyyar B.C. 669. After coming to the throne, he allowed his brother Šamaš-sum-ukin (Sammughes, or Saosduchinos), in accordance with Esarhaddon's wishes, to be crowned king of Babylon (in Iyyar B.C. 668). He was the last great king of Assyria. In his reign we clearly see the downfall of the Assyr. world-empire approaching. Assur-bani-pal had been educated from early youth in the arts and sciences of the Babylonians, and it is entirely owing to his literary tastes that we possess so many remains of old Bab. literature in new Assyr. copies (see above, p. 178^a). He was a real Oriental despot, keeping his generals and armies busy in the provinces and along the frontiers, while he himself lived at home, with his wives, his sciences, and the service of his gods.

One of the first of Assur-bani-pal's undertakings was directed against Egypt. Tirhakah had regained possession of Memphis. The expedition, which had been broken off owing to the death of Esarhaddon, was resumed. Tirhakah was defeated and pursued to Thebes, whence, however, as before, he escaped to Ethiopia. The smaller princes of the delta were enrolled as Assyr. vassal-kings. Some of them (such as Necho of Sais) who tried to throw off the Assyr. yoke, and called in Tirhakah to help them, were compelled to go in chains to Nineveh. Necho obtained favour with Assurbanipal again, and was reinvested with the rule of Sais.* Meanwhile Tirhakah had died, and his nephew Tandamani (Tanut-Amon), son of Sabako, conquered Thebes and On (Heliopolis). Assurbanipal marched against Egypt a second time, drove out the king of Ethiopia, and made Necho's son Psamtik (Assyr. Pisamilku) Pharaoh B.C. 663. Afterwards Psamtik, by the help of the Ionian and Carian troops which Gyges, king of the Lydians, had sent to him, succeeded in freeing himself from the control of Assyria. The Gyges, just mentioned (Assyr. Gûgu), requested help from Assurbanipal, when the Cimmerians (see above) invaded Lydia in B.C. 657. His son Ardys drove out the Cimmerians from Lydia, and afterwards conquered the whole of Asia Minor up to the river Halys.

The might of Assyria spent itself, in the time of Assurbanipal, in the conflict with Babylonia and Elam. It was only after a furious struggle that Assurbanipal succeeded in defeating his insurrectionary brother *Samas-sum-ukin* (who in B.C. 648 threw himself, in despair on account of his defeat, into the flames of burning Babylon), and his allies the Elamites, and in conquering Susa B.C. 640, thus putting an end to the kingdom of Elam. *Samas-sum-ukin's* other allies, the Chaldæans, the Babylonian Aramæans, the kings of the West (probably Manasseh was amongst them) and of Arabia (specially of Ḳidru, *i.e.* קֵדָר, and Nabayati, *i.e.* נְבָיוֹת) were also subdued. These contests, however, so weakened the resources of Assyria, that revolt following on revolt was the order of the day, especially in the Mannæan and Median districts (between Armenia and Elam). Some expeditions against Akhsir, king of the Mannæans, against Biriskhadri, a Median, and against the sons of *Gâgi* (cf. Ezk 38 and 39, Gog and Magog, *i.e.* the land of Gog) and of Sakhi (the Sakes?), could not keep back for many decades the storm that was even now beginning to rage. With regard to the attacks instigated by *Tugdammi* (cf. Lygdamis, captain of the Cimmerians, Strabo i. 3. 21?) and his son *Sanda-kshatra* against Assyria, our information is based on dark hints contained in a prayer of Assurbanipal to Merodach, the god of the city of Babylon. Whether Assurbanipal reigned from B.C. 648–625 over Babylonia, under the name Kandalânu, known to us from contract-tablets and through Ptolemy, or whether this was the name of a rival king, cannot be definitely determined. We only know that after the death of Assurbanipal, the Chaldæan *Nabopolassar* (Nabû-pal-uṣur), who was originally one of Assurbanipal's generals, obtained for himself the Bab. throne (B.C. 625–605). In Assyria itself Assurbanipal was succeeded by his son *Asur-itil-ilâni* (the fuller form of which was Assur-itil-ilâni-ukin), who ruled at least four years, and by his other son *Sin-shar-ishkun* (at least seven years), who was probably the Sarakus of Berosus, and hence the last king Assyria ever had. It was in his day that the swamping of anterior Asia, by the Sakæan Scythians (mentioned in OT), the Umman-manda (or hordes of the Manda) of the Assyr. inscriptions, took place. This was only the prelude to the end. As a newly-discovered cylinder of the Bab. king Nabonidus relates, fifty-four years before the consecration of the temple of Sin in Harran, which had been destroyed by the Manda hordes, a Manda king, who was probably called Arbak,* working in conjunction, as the cylinder just mentioned clearly proves, with Nabopolassar (Belesys), razed to the ground the famous Assyrian capital. Nineveh probably fell into the hands of the Medes in 607, after a two years' siege, since the completion of the temple of Sin seems to belong to somewhere about the third year of Nabonidus (553).

---

* The same thing also probably happened in the case of Manasseh, only at a later time, when Assur-bani-pal was staying in Babylon (instead of Nineveh), probably shortly after the death of his rebellious brother Samas-sum-ukin (B.C. 648), whose ally Manasseh had been.

Nahum's prophecy was literally fulfilled, and the whole of Western Asia breathed freely again when the stronghold of their tyrants was demolished. The small remaining territory (since the Pharaoh Necho II. had taken away Palestine and Syria) was divided between the Scythians, to whom the Medes of classical tradition (Cyaxares) belonged, and the Babylonians, Mesopotamia falling to the latter. The names Assur and Nineveh survived, to a large extent, because of the lasting effects of the influence of the Assyr. empire in politics and culture alike. Even down to the Christian era this is proved by (among other reasons) the fact that the whole district of the Euphrates and Tigris (including Babylonia) was called Assyria by the Greeks and Romans, and even to-day we call the science which has to do with the antiquities of both Assyria and Babylonia, and which has thrown new light on many important passages in Holy Writ—Assyriology.

LITERATURE.—(*A*) EXCAVATIONS AND INSCRIPTIONS.—C. J. Rich, *Residence in Koordistan and on the Site of Ancient Nineveh*, 2 vols. 1836; A. H. Layard, *Nin. and its Remains*, 1848; *The Monuments of Nin.*, 1849, 1853; P. E. Botta, *Monuments de Ninivé*, 5 vols. Paris, 1849–51; A. H. Layard, *Inscriptions in Cun. Char.* 1851; P. H. Gosse, *Assyria, her Manners and Customs*, London, 1852; A. H. Layard, *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, 1853; Felix Jones, *Topography of Nineveh* (3 large maps of the whole country between the Tigris and the Upper Zab), 1855; H. Rawlinson, *Cun. Inscr. of W. Asia*, 5 vols. 1861–84; G. Smith, *Assyr. Discoveries: Explor. and Discov. on Site of Nineveh*, 1875; Delitzsch u. Haupt, *Beitr. z. Assyriologie u. sem. Sprachwissensch.* 3 vols. Leipzig, 1889–96; *Assyr. Bibliot.* 13 vols. Leipzig, 1881–96.

(*B*) THE LANGUAGE.—Oppert, *Éléments de la Grammaire Assyr.* Paris, 1860; Sayce, *An Assyrian Grammar for Comparative Purposes*, London, 1872; Friedr. Delitzsch, *Assyrian Grammar*, tr. by Kennedy, Berlin, 1889; also *Assyr. Handwörterb.* Leipzig, 1894–96; C. Bezold, *Kurzgf. Ueberblick über die Bab.-Assyr. Literatur.* Leipzig, 1896.

(*C*) COMPILATIONS (periodicals, journals, etc.).—*TSBA*. London, 1872–1893, 9 vols.; *PSBA*. London, 1878–1896, 18 vols.; *Zeitsch. f. Keilschriftforschung*, founded by F. Hommel, edited by C. Bezold and F. Hommel, 2 vols. Leipzig, 1884 and 1885; *Zeitsch. f. Assyriologie* (continuation of above), edited by C. Bezold, Leipzig, 1886–96, 11 vols.; *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'Archéologie Egyp. et Assyr.* ed. by G. Maspero, Paris, 1879–96, 18 vols.; *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie*, ed. by Oppert and Ledrain, Paris, 1884–96, 13 vols.; *Bab. and Orient. Record*, a monthly magazine, ed. by de Lacouperie, 1887–93, 6 vols.; *RP*, being Eng. tr. of the Assyr. and Egyp. Monuments, vols. 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, London, 1873 fol.; New Series, London, 1888 fol.; *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, collection of Assyr. and Bab. Texts, inscribed and translated, ed. by E. Schrader, vols. 1 and 2 (Assyr. Königs-inschr.), Berlin, 1889–90.

(*D*) ART.—Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. ii. *Chaldéens et Assyriens*, Paris, 1884; S. Birch and T. G. Pinches, *Bronze Ornaments from Balawat*, 4 pts. 1880–82.

(*E*) GEOGRAPHY OF ASSYRIA, AND ITS RELATIONS TO THE OT.—Schrader, *Keilinsch. und Geschichtsforschung*; *Ein Beitrag zur monumentalen Geographie, Geschichte, und Chronologie der Assyrer*, Giessen, 1878; Delitzsch, Fried. *Wo lag das Paradies?* (pp. 169–329 give a detailed description of the geography of Upper Asia, based on the Assyr. Royal Inscriptions); Delattre, *L'Asie Occidentale dans les inscriptions Assyriennes*, Bruxelles, 1885; Schrader, *COT*² tr. from the Germ. by O. C. Whitehouse, 2 vols. London, 1889.

(*F*) SPECIAL BOOKS ON THE HISTORY OF ASSYRIA.—George Rawlinson, *The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World*, 4 vols. London, 1862–67; 4th ed. 1879 (Assyria = the second monarchy); George Smith, *Assyria from the Earliest Times to the Fall of Nineveh*, London, 1875; Hommel, *Geschichte Bab. u. Assyr.*, Berlin, 1885–89 (pp. 58–134 give a detailed account of the decipherment and excavations); C. P. Tiele, *Bab.-Assyr. Gesch.* 2 vols, Gotha, 1886 and 1888; Winckler, *Gesch. Bab. u. Assyr.*, Leip. 1892; *Altorient. Forschungen*, Leip. 1893–95; Lincke, *Assyrien und Nineveh in Geschichte und Sage nach* B.C. 607, Berlin, 1894. F. HOMMEL.

ASTAD (A Ἀσταά, B Ἀργαι, AV Sadas).—1322 or 3622 of his descendants are mentioned as returning with Zerubbabel (1 Es 5^{13}). He is called Azgad (עַזְגָּד) in the can. books; and 1222 descendants are mentioned in the parallel list in Ezr 2^{12} (B Ἀσγάδ, A Ἀβγάδ), 2322 in Neh 7^{17} (B Ἀσγάδ, ℵ Ἀστάδ, A Αγετάδ). He appears as Astath (Ἀστάθ), 1 Es 8^{38}, when a second detachment of 111 return under Ezra (= Ezr 8^{12}, B Ἀστάδ, A Ἀζγάθ). Azgad appears among the leaders who sealed the covenant with Neh. (Neh 10^{15} B Ἀσγάδ, A Ἀζγάδ).

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

ASTATH.—See ASTAD.

ASTONIED, the past part. of the old verb *astony*, of which *astonish* is a later corruption,* is found only in OT, but there ten times, Ezr $9^{3,4}$, Job 17^{8} 18^{20}, Is 52^{14},† Jer 14^{9}, Ezk 4^{17}, Dn 3^{24} 4^{19} 5^{9}. RV retains 'astonied' (and even changes 'astonished' into 'astonied' at Ezk 3^{15}); but Amer. RV prefers 'astonished,' except Dn 5^{9} where RV and Amer. RV give 'perplexed' (שְׁבַשׁ, the only occurrence). See ASTONISHED. J. HASTINGS.

ASTONISHED.—This part. (the finite verb does not occur) had undoubtedly more force when AV was made than it has now. Perhaps the verb *astound*, which started off later from the orig. *astonien* or *astunien*, has carried away some of its strength. The orig. idea was to stun or stupefy as with a thunderbolt (Lat. *extonare* 'to thunder'; cf. Milton, *Hist. of Britain*, 'Astonished and struck with superstition as with a planet'; and the Argument to *Par. Lost*, Bk. i., 'Satan with his Angels lying on the burning lake, thunderstruck and astonished'); then to shock mentally, bewilder. The earliest occurrence of the part. seems to be in Coverdale's Bible (1535) at Jer 2^{12}, which was retained in AV, 'Be a., O ye heavens, at this, and be horribly afraid.' It is used 14 times in OT as tr. of שָׁמֵם, once (Job 26^{11}) of תָּמַהּ. In NT it is trⁿ of ἐκπλήσσω 10 times (9 times in Gosp., and always in ref. to Christ's words, except Mk 7^{37} of His works; once in Ac 13^{12} 'being a. at the teaching of the Lord'); of ἐξίστημι 6 times, of θαμβέω and θάμβος περιέχει once each.* RV retains 'a.' throughout OT, but in NT changes it into 'amazed,' when the Gr. is other than ἐκπλήσσω. **Astonishment** is found only once in NT, Mk 5^{42} 'they were a$^{\text{ed}}$ with a great a.' (RV 'amazed with a great amazement,' Gr. ἔκστασις) in ref. to the raising of Jairus' daughter. But RV adds Mk 16^{8} 'trembling and a. had come upon them' (Gr. ἔκστασις, AV 'they trembled and were amazed'). In OT a. is more frequent. In Ps 60^{3} 'thou hast made us to drink the wine of a.' (תַּרְעֵלָה, RV 'staggering'), the obs. physical sense of stupefaction is conveyed. (Cf. Is 51^{17} 'thou hast drunken the bowl of the cup of staggering [same Heb.], and drained it.') As tr$^{\text{n}}$ of שַׁמָּה 'a.' freq. means *an object of a.*, and always in a strong sense; esp. in Jer., as 25^{18} 'to make them a desolation, an a., an hissing, and a curse.'

---

* According to Ctesias, he was called Arbakes. A clear allusion to this name is found in Nabonidus' cylinder inscription, 'Vengeance took (*iriba tukti*) the fearless king of Manda'; cf. *turru tukti* (= shakan gimilli), to take vengeance, and Heb. רִיב, 1 S 25^{39}. Justin i. 3 gives the fuller form Arbactus (prob. the Eranian Arba-tukbta, of which Arbak is a form of endearment).

* 'The suffix *ish* is, in most other words, only added where the derivation is from a French verb ending in -*ir*, and forming its pres. part. in -*issant*; so that the addition of it in the present case is unauthorized and incorrect. It was probably added merely to give the word a fuller sound, and from some dislike to the form *astony*, which was the form into which the M.E. *astonien* had passed.'—Skeat, *Etymol. Dict.*² *s.v.*

† In this great passage (Is 52^{14}) the edd. of AV subsequent to 1638 have generally changed what Scrivener calls 'the pathetic *astonied*' into 'the more commonplace *astonished*.' The Camb. Bible restores it.

J. HASTINGS.

ASTROLOGIAN is the more accurate form, having the classical termin. *-anus* added to a class. root. But while the analogous form *theologian* held its ground, astrologer with the Eng. term. *-er* drove this out. It is found in Dn 2^{27}, AV 1611, and Camb. Bible, but is replaced by astrologer in nearly all mod. editions. J. HASTINGS.

ASTRONOMY AND ASTROLOGY.—Heavenly bodies, in Genesis, are called 'lights' or 'bodies giving light' (מָאוֹר, pl. מְאֹרֹת *ma'ôr, mĕ'ōroth*). Dillmann (*Genesis*) remarks that in no other work (of creation) is the object of their creation so fully indicated, and asks whether a silent contrast to heathen superstition, which was attached to the stars, may not lie therein. The object of the heavenly bodies is stated to be 'to divide between the day and the night,' and 'for signs, for seasons, and for days and years,' and it is for this purpose that they are fixed (lit. 'given,' וַיִּתֵּן אֹתָם, 'and he [God] gave them') in the firmament. The whole account of the creation and placing of the heavenly bodies is, in fact, based on the old geocentric view of the ancient astronomers, which mainly prevailed until the birth of modern astronomy. The account as given in Gn, however, is correct for the time at which it was written, and suited the needs of the people to whom it was addressed. The heavenly bodies were among the great marvels of the creative power of God, and they are taken purely and simply from the point of view of what they are for us, and the effect they have upon our minds, regardless of any preconceived or acquired scientific ideas and theories that we may possess.

Not less than the Hebrews did the Babylonians and Assyrians regard the heavenly bodies as for signs and seasons, days and years; and this view was associated with their usual heathen ideas that the heavenly bodies were divinities. The following translation of the portion of the Bab. creation story, corresponding with Gn 1, will form a basis of comparison with the two accounts:—

> 'He (Merodach) formed the stations of the great gods—
> stars were their likeness; he caused the *lumaši* † to be set;
> he designated the year; he outlined the forms (of the constellations?);
> he caused three stars ‡ to be assigned to each of the 12 months;
> from the day of the year § he formed the figures;
> he caused the station of Jupiter ‖ to be founded to make known their limits,
> that an error might not be made, that none might sin.
> He set with him the station of Bel and Éa;
> he opened then great gates on both sides,
> the bolt he made strong on the left and the right—
> in its middle-point the zenith.
> He caused Nannaru (the moon) to shine, (and) he ruled the night,
> he designated him also as the thing of the night, to make known the time.
> Monthly, without failing, he enclosed (him) in a ring,
> at the beginning of the month to shine in the evening,
> the horns proclaiming to make known the division (of time)—
> on the seventh day with a [half]-ring.'

At this point the text is mutilated; but after the placing of the moon, the chief god of the Babylonians is represented as turning his attention to the sun, and 'when the sun arrived on the horizon of heaven,' he seems to have addressed and directed him as to his course. Imperfect as the Bab. text here is, it is nevertheless easy to see that it is the account of a nation who knew much more of astronomy, on the whole, than the Hebrews. This is, in fact, indicated by the large number of tablets from Babylonia and Assyria referring to astrology that have been found, as well as those referring to astronomy proper, in which the stars and planets are enumerated and classified, and their positions sometimes described. Catalogues of these works were made, and explanations how to use them were given. References, not only to stars, but also to comets, are found, but they are comparatively rare.

The Hebrews, in OT, do not seem to have looked on the stars from an astronomical or astrological point of view, but rather as signs placed in the heavens, one of their most important functions being to show the power of the Almighty. Thus we are told that He created them (Gn 1^{16}, Job 9^{9}, Ps 8^{3} etc.), counts them, names them (Ps 147^{4}), and has the whole of them in His power (Job 9^{7}). To the horrors of His judgment-day it belongs that the stars lose their brightness (Is 13^{10}, Ezk 32^{7}, Lk 21^{25}, Jn 3^{20}, Rev 8^{12}), fall from heaven like withered leaves (Is 34^{4}—the stars are here called 'all the host of heaven'),—a simile in all probability derived from the observation of falling or 'shooting' stars, just as the reference, in Jude v.^{13}, to 'wandering stars' possibly derived its origin from the comets which came to excite the wonder and terror of the world. In the expression 'courses' of the stars (Jg 5^{20}) it is the planets that are referred to. The distance of the stars from the earth seems to have struck the nations of the ancient world, hence the mention of the stars in Job 22^{12}, cf. also Is 14^{13}. The comparison of their brightness is made in 1 Co 15^{41}, and their great number referred to in He 11^{12}.

The stars are, as a rule, indicated by the usual word כּוֹכָב *kôkāb*, Arab. *kawkab*, Syr. *kawkebâ*, Eth. *kawkab* and *kōkab*, Assyr. *kakkabu*. One of the poetic expressions for 'stars' is כּוֹכְבֵי בֹקֶר 'stars of the morning,' an expression applied apparently to the angels (Job 38^{7}); and the words 'morning star' could also be applied to a man who was considered to be great, like the high priest Simon (Sir 50^{6}); to a thing greatly to be desired, as 'salvation' (2 P 1^{19}) and 'heavenly glory' (Rev 2^{28}); and, finally, to Christ Himself (Rev 22^{16}).

The date at which the stars were divided into constellations is very remote, and there is considerable uncertainty as to the approximate period and the people with whom this division had its origin. In all probability, however, it is due to the Chaldæans, who seem to have had it from the Akkadians, most of the names of the signs of the zodiac and constellations being written in the non-Sem. dialect of ancient Babylon. The Hebrews, in their turn, may have obtained their knowledge of the constellations from the Chaldæans, but we have no real evidence of the fact.

The well-known constellation of the Great Bear, עָשׁ *'āsh* (Job 9^{9}) or עַיִשׁ *'ayish* (fem. Job 38^{32}),* is said to be connected with *na'sh* 'a bier,' the name of that constellation in Arabic. The 'sons' of *'Ayish* (עַיִשׁ) are spoken of in Job 38^{32}, and are regarded as the three stars in the tail of the bear, a parallel to the Arab. expression *banāt na'sh* 'the daughters of the bier,' which means the same thing. The Arab. legend connected with the constellation of the Great Bear is as follows :—

---

* Besides ἐξίστημι (Jth 11^{16} 13^{17} 15^{1}, Sir 43^{18}, 1 Mac 16^{22}) and θαμβέω (Wis 17^{3}, 1 Mac 6^{8}), the Apocr. gives 'a.' as tr$^{\text{n}}$ of ταράσσω (Jth 14^{7}), πτοέω (Jth 16^{11}), ἐκπλήσσω (Wis 13^{4}), and καταπλήσσω (2 Mac 3^{24}), thereby showing more clearly the force of the Eng. word.

† The *lumaši* were seven in number, and seem to have been constellations, among them being *Arcitenens*.

‡ Or, possibly, constellations.

§ Apparently = new year's day.

‖ So Jensen. The original word is Nibiru, regarded by Fried. Delitzsch in 1885 as being = Heb. מַעְבָּר *ma'abhār*, 'place of passing,' here = 'zodiac.'

* For 'the bear' of the RV the AV has 'Arcturus.'

Na'sh having been killed by Gedî (the pole star), the children of Na'sh (the sons in front with the body of their father, the daughter behind with the nurse, who carries a child in her arms) go round nightly seeking the murderer, with the hope of avenging their father's death. Canopus (Arab. *Suhêl*), however, wishes to go to the help of Gedî, but, having set out too late, finds himself always foiled, not being able to reach his point in time to prevent the approaching catastrophe. Whether some legend similar to this was attached to the constellation by the ancient Hebrews is uncertain, and, whilst admitting a likeness in the Heb. and Arab. names, the differences in their forms must, nevertheless, not be forgotten. Fried. Delitzsch points out that the Heb. עָשׁ elsewhere (Job 4^{19} etc.) means 'a moth,' and that a star bearing that name (*sâsu* 'moth') seems to have been known to the Assyro-Babylonians (*WAI* ii. 49, 64). M. A. Stern (in the *Jüd. Zeitschr.* 1866) regards this constellation as the Pleiades.

Another constellation mentioned is Orion, in Heb. כְּסִיל (Job 9^9 38^{31}, Am 5^8), pl. כְּסִילִים (Is 13^{10}).* The word means, literally, 'the fool,' or 'impious one,' corresponding with Arab. *jabbār*, Syr. *gabbārā*,† Chald. *niphla* 'the giant,' the name given to this constellation by the Semites of old because regarded as the figure of a man—probably one of the larger male figures seen on those Bab. boundary-stones which show figures of the constellations. Gesenius suggests that they (the Hebrews, etc.) seem to have looked on this constellation as the figure of an impious giant bound in the sky, whence Job 38^{31} 'Canst thou loose the bands of Orion?' The plural in Is 13^{10} 'constellations,' means, literally, 'the Orions'—the giant constellations of the sky, prominent by their brightness. A very ingenious suggestion is that quoted in the *Chronicon Paschale*, Cedrenus, John of Antioch, and others, from Pers. sources, that Chesil or Orion is the impious giant Nimrod chained to the heavens. This, however, is late, and probably has no solid basis as its origin.

The well-known passage in Job (9^9) supplies us also with the word for the Pleiades, כִּימָה *kîmah*, Syr. *kima*, Arab. *thurayyā*, words meaning 'heap,' 'cluster,' 'plenty,' 'multitude,' from the seven larger stars and the smaller ones closely grouped therewith. The Arabs also call the Pleiades *an-najm* 'the star,' or 'cluster' *par excellence*, said to be so named on account of their monthly conjunction with the moon, by which they served to measure time, and thus rule the calendar. In Job 38^{31}, מַעֲדַנּוֹת כִּימָה, 'the cluster (AV 'sweet influences') of the Pleiades' is mentioned, corresponding with the Arab. *'aḳd ath-thurayya*. The Rabbis (see R. David Kimchi in his Lexicon) thought that the 'bands of the Pleiades' referred to their influence upon vegetation, *kîmāh* having great cold, and binding up the fruit, though R. Isaac described the influence of the Pleiades as being the reverse of this, ripening the fruits. In the Pers. poets (Sadi, Hafiz, etc.) these stars are regarded as a brilliant rosette with a central star, etc.

The popular name used by Luther, 'die Glucke,' *i.e.* 'the clucking hen,' reminds one of the English name 'hen and chickens,' and the French *poussinière*, O.F. *pulsinière*. The appearance of the constellation of the Pleiades being conventionally that of a large star surrounded by several smaller ones, was likened to a brood-hen with her chickens under her wings, hence this name; and for this reason the Pleiades were also supposed to be the same as Succoth-benoth, which is rendered by R. David Kimchi 'hen (with) chickens.' This name for the Pleiades, which occurs in the Targ. to Job, is said also to be usual with the Arabs. Whether the Hebrews of ancient times had also this idea, is uncertain, and seems to be improbable. It is to be noted that Fried. Delitzsch denies the meaning 'star-cluster' for this constellation, and connects כִּימָה *kîmah* with the Assyr. *kîmtu* 'family,' explaining it as the 'family of stars,'—an etymology which does not invalidate, as will be seen, the popular legends concerning it.

נָחָשׁ בָּרִחַ 'the fleeing serpent,' or 'swift serpent' (Job 26^{13}), has been regarded as the sign of the dragon, between the Great and the Little Bear; but this identification is very uncertain. It would seem, however, to be something connected with the sky, as is indicated by the first part of the verse: 'By his spirit are the heavens garnished' (RV), or, 'beauty' (m).

The sign of the Twins (Castor and Pollux, AV; The Twin Brothers, RV; Gr. Διόσκουροι) is mentioned as the name of a ship in Ac 28^{11}.*

The word מַזָּרוֹת *mazzārôth* (a plural form, Job 38^{32}), is, with common consent, regarded as signifying 'the signs' of the zodiac, which come forth 'in their season,' and, as is implied, could not be led forth by a man. In 2 K 23^5 occurs the word מַזָּלוֹת *mazzālôth*, translated 'planets' in the AV and RV, with the marginal reading 'twelve signs' of the zodiac. This word is compared by Jensen and others with the Assyr. *manzalti*, *WAI* iii. 59. 35, a comparison which is not without its difficulties, as, if correct, it would imply complete ignorance of the root of the Assyr. word on the part of the Heb. scribes, *manzalti* being for *manzazti*,† by a common law of interchange between *z* and *l*—ignorance which would not, however, be altogether inexcusable, as the Chaldee form is מַזָּלַיָּא *mazzālayā*, and, though unprovided with the feminine ending, would present the same root, the individual signs being מַזָּל, *mazzāl*. The Chaldee forms themselves, however, seem rather to increase the difficulty of connecting מַזָּלוֹת with the Assyr. *manzalti*.

That expression in Job 9^9 which accompanies the names of the constellations, namely, חַדְרֵי תֵימָן *hadrê têmān*, 'the chambers of the south' (=Arab. *akhādīr al-janūb* or *mukhādi' al-janūb*), is one of peculiar interest. Gesenius would render it 'the most remote southern regions'; but it seems better to regard it as meaning 'the southern constellations,' some of which, in all probability, represented pictorially 'chambers,' from which heathen (divine) creatures looked out, similar to the reliefs representing the constellations on the Bab. boundary-stones. Should this explanation be correct, 'the chambers of the south' would be in contradistinction to *mazzaroth* or *mazzaloth* 'the constellations' (of the north), but the uncertainty of the exact signification of the two expressions makes every attempt at explanation unsatisfactory. A point to be noted is that an Arab. translation of Job 9^9 mentions 'the heart of the south,' a name of Suhel or Canopus, the principal star in the constellation of the Ship (Delitzsch, *Job*, 2nd ed. p. 128 n.), which marks, by its rising, the season in which the fruit becomes ripe through the increase of the heat. The ‘heart of the south’ would seem to go with and explain the ‘chambers of the south.’

---

* The LXX has Ἕσπερος in Job 9^9; Ὠρίων in Job 38^{31}. The LXX of Amos 5^8 differs entirely from the received text of the Heb.

† Also called in Syr. *'iyûtha*, a word which is said also to mean Aldebaran, Capella, and the Pleiades.

* The Bab. names of the signs of the zodiac were (about B.C. 500) as follows: The Workman=the Ram; *Mulu* and the Bull of Heaven=Taurus; *Sib-zi-anna*, and the Great Twins=Gemini; *Allul*=Cancer; the Great Dog=Leo; the Ear of Corn=Virgo; *Zibanit*=Libra; the Scorpion=Scorpius; *Papilsag*=Arcitenens; the Fish-goat=Caper; Gula=Amphora; the Water-channel and the Tails=Pisces. There were also many other constellations, the number of which is uncertain.

† The changes would be *manzazti*, *manzarti*, *manzalti*, *mazzalti*.

Venus is apparently mentioned (Is 14[12]) under the name הֵילֵל *hêlēl*, ‘the shining one,’ with the addition בֶּן־שָׁחַר ‘son of the morning,’ *i.e.* Lucifer, the day-star, a name of Venus as the morning star, to which the king of Babylon is, in this passage, compared. This Heb. word agrees in meaning with that used for Venus in Arab., namely, *zuharah* ‘splendid (star),’ and is from the same root as the Assyr. *êlêlu* ‘to be bright.’ Strange to say, however, no Assyr. name for Venus from this root has been as yet found, the word generally quoted, *muštilîlu*, being a ghost-word, due to a faulty copy.[*] As the Assyrians knew, from the earliest times, that Venus as a morning and as an evening star was the same, it is probable that the Hebrews were aware of the fact also.[†]

In Am 5[26], where it is said, ‘Yea, ye have borne Siccuth your king, and Chiun your images, the star of your god, which ye made to yourselves’ (RV), there is hardly any doubt that Chiun (כִּיּוּן *kiyyūn*) is the Assyr. *kâawanu* (or, as read by some, *kaiwanu*), the planet Saturn, which was known to the Bab. and Assyr. under that name, preserved in Arab. under the form *kaiwān*, and in the Peshitta as *kaiwānā*, and of which the Ῥαιφάν of the LXX is supposed to be a corruption. The pointing of the Heb. form is regarded by Schrader as incorrect, and he therefore writes, upon the model of the Arab., etc., כֵּיוָן *kēwān*.[‡] Chiun or Kēwān does not properly belong to Heb. astronomy, but it probably gives us the name of the planet Saturn among the Hebrews, who seem to have worshipped him under the form of the star which represented him.

Mention of the **sun** is common, but the passages in which it is referred to are rather general than truly astronomical. It is used to indicate the time of the day, as ‘when the sun went down’ (Gn 15[17]), ‘till the sun be hot’ (Neh 7[3]); comparison, as ‘clear as the sun’ (Ca 6[10]), etc. etc. In the account of the Creation it is called the ‘greater’ of the ‘two great lights’ (Gn 1[16]), made ‘to rule the day,’ and set in the firmament of the heaven ‘to give light upon the earth,’ and, with the lesser light, ‘to divide the light from the darkness’ (vv.[16-19]). The sun would also be included among the lights in the firmament of the heaven in v.[14], which were ‘for signs, and for seasons, and for days and years.’ It will be seen from this that the astronomical ideas of the Hebrews with regard to the sun were strictly those of an observer on the surface of the earth, and were based upon the strictly practical view of its value in the matters of everyday life—in fact, they were the ideas generally held by the people of that and succeeding ages until the birth of modern astronomy. If we had the Bab. account of the Creation complete, we should in all probability find therein views embodying those in the first chap. of Genesis. What may be regarded as a poetical astronomical view of the sun in his course is that contained in Ps 19[4. 5], where the ‘tabernacle of the sun’ is mentioned, and he is compared to ‘a bridegroom coming out of his chamber,’ and ‘rejoicing as a strong man to run his course.’ This poetical description of the sun, however, reminds one of those Bab. cylinder-seals on which the sun-god is represented as a man, from whom rays of light stream forth so dazzling that the divine attendants who open the doors which enclose him are obliged to look the other way whilst performing this duty.[*] The going forth of the sun ‘from the end of heaven,’ and the ‘circuit unto the ends of it’ (v.[6]), refer, naturally, to the daily journey of the sun, which, as it would seem from this passage, had been noticed to be a curved course in the heavens. As with the Babylonians and Assyrians, the sun was used to mark the points of the compass, east being ‘the rising sun,’ west ‘the setting sun,’ etc. The indication of the different parts of the day from the position of the sun was, no doubt, from actual observation, the use of sun-dials (see below) not being by any means common in the ancient East. For further information see SUN.

There is no express mention of **eclipses** in the Bible, but certain expressions, such as ‘I will cause the sun to go down at noon, and I will darken the earth in the clear day’ (Am 8[9]), have been regarded as referring to something of the kind. In the case of the above quotation, the fact that noon is mentioned in connexion with the sun going down might well refer to an eclipse; but in the case of Mic 3[6], Zec 14[6], Joel 2[10. 31] 3[15], which were formerly taken to refer to eclipses, this can hardly be the reference, as the phenomena accompanying the obscuration of the sun and the moon do not favour that view. So also the passing reference in Jer 15[9] ‘her sun is gone down while it was yet day,’ can only mean that ‘good fortune has ceased for her.’ Reference to an eclipse has been seen also in 2 K 20[11], Is 38[8], where the shadow going back ten degrees on the dial of Ahaz is spoken of; but real observation under natural conditions would be necessary before accepting this as being conclusive or even probable. This supposed eclipse has been identified with an annular eclipse of the sun in 689 B.C. (Bosanquet in the *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Archæology*, vol. iii. p. 31 ff., vol. v. p. 261, etc.) The same writer also understands Ezk 30[18] 32[7. 8] to refer to the total eclipse of the sun in B.C. 556; but there is the same objection to this as to the supposed references in Micah, Zech., and Joel.

The Hebrews had more than one word for the **moon** (see MOON), serving to designate the luminary in a general sense, when full, and when new. The apparent motions of the moon were well known to the Hebrews, as it was by that heavenly body that their festivals were fixed; and it has a special importance, because the Heb. year, like that of the Babylonians, was lunar, and was used to fix ‘signs and seasons’ more, probably, than any other heavenly body. The moon played a part just as important in Bab. astronomy, for there was not only a large series of forecasts connected with its movements, but it was also used, as with the Hebrews, to determine the beginning of the month, and thus to fix the dates of the various festivals, etc. (FESTIVALS). The Heb. idea of the moon as ‘the lesser light to rule the night,’ finds its echo in the Bab. account of the creation of the heavenly bodies (translated above), in which she is described as the ruler of the night, the indicator of the beginning of the month, and apparently (by her changes) the divider of the month into weeks. It is not unlikely that the Hebrews learned these astronomical uses of our satellite from the Babylonians, probably at some early period, and also during the Captivity, by which time Bab.

---

[*] The Assyr. word for the planet Venus is generally read Dilbat, more correctly Delebat (Δελέφατ), explained as *Nabat kakkabu* ‘the star Nabat,’ or ‘(she who) proclaims.’

[†] It is to be noted that the Heb. word *hêlēl* is masc., and in this resembles Heosphoros (Hesperus); but the name in Assyr., Arab., etc., is fem. The name Lucifer, applied to Satan, is due to Hieronymus and the Fathers of the Church, and apparently had its origin in the legend of the fall of the angels, introduced into the works of Bishop Avitus, the poet Cædmon, and Milton in *Par. Lost* (cf. Lk 10[18], Rev 12[7ff.]).

[‡] Schrader reads in the same passage *Sakkûth* for *Siccuth*, and compares this word with the cuneiform Sak-kut, one of the names of the god Ninip, worshipped of old in Babylonia.

[*] A very poetical hymn to the sun-god, from Borsippa, describes him when going to rest, and speaks of the greetings of the bolts and the satisfaction of the door of heaven on his arrival at the end of his daily journey.

astronomy had made great progress. Eclipses of the moon seem not to be referred to in the Bible.

In all probability most of the nations of the ancient East had, like the Babylonians and Assyrians, professional astrologers, by whom the stars were consulted, horoscopes drawn, and lucky days predicted, for such as wished to know what the future had in store for them, so that they might 'know the ordinances of heaven,' and their 'dominion in the earth' (Job 38^{33}). The Hebrews, however, seem to have been less of astrologers than the nations around, for the prophet Jeremiah (10^{2}) exhorts them not to learn the way of the nations, and not to be dismayed at the signs of heaven, for the nations were dismayed at them, implying that the Hebrews, at least at that time, did not imitate 'the nations' in the matter of astrology to any great extent, though there was, in truth, a tendency to do so. The antiquity and reality of the belief in the influences of the stars in the ancient East is well brought home to us in Deborah's triumphal song, where she says 'the stars in their courses fought against Sisera' (Jg 5^{20}), which, though only a poetical figure, is sufficiently characteristic.

Older, however, than the above, are the many tablets of the Babylonians and Assyrians referring to forecasts. Through a long series of years, probably extending into four millenniums, these nations seem to have carried on observations, which they quoted, with the omens derived from current events, for future reference. Again and again, moreover, we meet with communications which passed between the Assyr. kings and the astrologers, in which the former inquired what the stars indicated with regard to Assyria and the nations around. Thus we meet with such predictions as, 'If, upon the 16th day (of the month Ab), an eclipse happen, the king of Akkad will die, Nergal (*i.e.* pestilence) will destroy the land.' 'If, on the 16th day (of the month Elul), an eclipse happen, the king of a foreign land or the king of Hatte will come and take the throne. Rain from heaven and flood from the channel will overflow.' The planets and the sun and moon also furnished omens of a similar nature, for it was supposed that what had happened before would, under similar astral influences, happen again.

When, accordingly, the Hebrews came into close contact and relationship with the Assyrians and Babylonians, they found them to be nations among whom astrology, far from being forbidden and in disfavour, was a recognised institution, resorted to by all, from the king downwards—a venerable 'science.' The desire to know the future was, no doubt, as strong in the breasts of the Hebrews as in those of their conquerors, and they must often have resorted to those 'astrologers,' 'stargazers,' and 'monthly prognosticators' (Is 47^{13}) of whom the prophet speaks so contemptuously. The astrologers are called הֹבְרֵי שָׁמַיִם (Ḳerê), generally rendered 'dividers of the heavens'; the stargazers הַחֹזִים בַּכּוֹכָבִים, lit. 'those who gaze on the stars'; the monthly prognosticators מוֹדִיעִים לֶחֳדָשִׁים, AVm 'that give knowledge concerning the months'—probably those who predicted at every new moon what was likely to happen during the coming month. In Dn 1^{20} 2^{2} etc., the RV has rightly 'enchanters' for the 'astrologers' (אַשָּׁפִים) of the AV, and the same remark holds good for the Aramaic form אָשְׁפִין in v.^{27} etc. These biblical expressions for the various kinds of astrologers, it must be noted, are, to all appearance, true Hebrew words, not borrowings from the Assyrians and Babylonians, showing, in all probability, that celestial forecasts were far from being altogether novelties with the Hebrews. Nevertheless, as has been already remarked, they seem to have been generally averse to divination of this kind, partly on account of the general prohibition against the use of divination and the practice of augury (Dt 18^{10-14}, 2 K 21^{6}), partly because such of the people as were rigid monotheists (and among these we must class all OT writers) looked upon the heavenly bodies as the objects of adoration by the heathen nations around, and mentioned them therefore but seldom —partly because they had but little need to speak of them, but also because they wished to avoid reference to those things likely to call up in the mind of the reader heathen practices.

T. G. PINCHES.

ASTYAGES ('Αστυάγης, so Herodotus, Xenophon; Assyr. *Istuvigu*) was the son of Cyaxares, king of the Medes, and succeeded to the throne on the death of his father, B.C. 584. His wife was the daughter of Alyattes, king of Lydia, his sister was the queen of Nebuchadrezzar of Babylon, and Cyrus was his daughter's son by a Persian father. According to *Bel and the Dragon* (v.^{1}), when A. was gathered to his fathers, 'Cyrus of Persia received his kingdom.' Not, however, in the way of ordinary succession. Herodotus (i. 127–130), confirmed by the *Annalistic Tablet of Cyrus* (*RP* 2nd Ser. v. 159) records that when A. marched against the disaffected Persians under Cyrus, his own troops deserted him or would not fight, and he was defeated and taken prisoner, thus losing his crown in B.C. 549, after a reign of 35 years. He was the last of the line of Median kings (known on the monuments as kings of the Manda), who had reigned 150 years—the list being as follows:—Deioces (Daiukku), B.C. 699–646; Phraortes (Fravartis), B.C. 646–624; Cyaxares (Kastariti), B.C. 624–584; Astyages (Istuvigu), B.C. 584–549.

LITERATURE.—*Herodotus*, i. 123–130; *RP* v. 144 ff. (cf. vol. iii. p. xiii ff.); *Story of the Nations*, Media, chs. viii., ix.; Sayce, *HCM* p. 499 ff.; Tiele, *Bab.-Assyr. Geschichte*, pp. 463, 468.

T. NICOL.

ASUR ('Ασούρ, AV **Assur**), 1 Es 5^{31}.—His sons returned among the temple servants under Zerubbabel. Called Harhur (חַרְחוּר, 'Αρούρ), Ezr 2^{51}, Neh 7^{53}.

ASYLUM.—See REFUGE.

ASYNCRITUS ('Ασύγκριτος, 'Ασυν-, *Asyncritus*), Ro 16^{14}.—A Christian greeted by St. Paul with four others 'and the brethren that are with them,' perhaps members of the same small community. The name occurs in Rom. Ins. *CIL* vi. 12,565, of a freedman of Augustus. See Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, p. 427. For later traditions, which may be neglected, see *Acta Sanct.*, April, i. 741; June, iv. 6.

A. C. HEADLAM.

ATAD (גֹּרֶן הָאָטָד, 'thorn'), Gn 50^{10-11}.—Appears to have been 'over Jordan' (see ABEL-MIZRAIM), a threshing-floor on the road to Hebron. The site is unknown.

ATAR (A 'Ατάρ, B omits, AV **Jatal**), 1 Es 5^{28}.—His sons were among the porters or door-keepers who returned with Zerubbabel. Called Ater, Ezr 2^{42}, Neh 7^{45}.

ATARAH (עֲטָרָה), wife of Jerahmeel and mother of Onam (1 Ch 2^{26}).

ATARGATIS.—The worship of this Syrian goddess is nowhere named in the canonical books, but in 2 Mac 12^{26} mention is made of a temple of Atargatis (RV **Atergatis**) at Carnion in Gilead ('Αταργατεῖον, 'Ατεργατεῖον, A, the former being shown by inscriptions to be the more correct form of the name). In inscriptions discovered at Delos this goddess is generally joined with Adad, and once she is styled 'Αφροδίτη 'Ατάργατις. In Palestine the principal seat of her worship was at Ashkelon, where she was probably identified with the Heavenly

Aphrodite (whose temple is named by Herodotus, i. 105). Another famous shrine of Atargatis was at Hierapolis, or Bambyce (Mabug), on the Euphrates (Lucian, *De Syria Dea*, 14; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 23). At both these shrines sacred fish were kept, and at Ashkelon the goddess herself was represented as a woman with a fish's tail (Lucian, *l.c.*; comp. Ovid, *Metam.* iv. 44–46). According to the Gr. version of the legend, Atargatis, or Derceto (to use the shorter form of the name, more commonly found in Gr.), was a maiden, inspired by Aphrodite with love for a youth who was worshipping at her shrine. By him Derceto became the mother of a daughter; but, filled with shame, she threw herself into the water at Ashkelon, or at Hierapolis, whereupon she was changed into a fish (Diod. Sic. ii. 4). According to Hyginus, *Astron*, ii. 30, she was saved by a fish. The child, who had been exposed, was brought up at the temple of Aphrodite, and became the famous Assyrian queen Semiramis.

Older derivations of the name have become obsolete since the discovery on coins and Palmyrene inscriptions of the true Sem. form of the name עתרעתה or עתרעתו. In the first part of this word we may recognise the Aram. form of the name which appears in Assyr. as Ishtar, in Heb. as Ashtoreth (עַשְׁתֹּרֶת), and in Phœnician as Astarte (עַשְׁתֹּרֶת). Comp. also Ἀθάρα in Strabo, xvi. 27. The second portion of the name is usually understood to be the title of another deity, Ati or Attah, whose name is found in Melito, *Apology* (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* v. 1228), on inscriptions from Phœnicia and (in proper names) from Palmyra, and perhaps also in such personal names as Alyattes, Sadyattes, etc. For the compound name we might then compare Astar-Chemosh of the Moabite Stone. Lagarde, however, shows (*Mittheilungen*, i. 77) that this explanation is not free from difficulties. The Gr. legend, the sacred fish at Ashkelon and Hierapolis, and the representations of Atargatis as half woman, half fish, all point to an original connexion between this goddess and the water; and she is probably a personification of the fertilising power of water.

Carnion, a town which may probably be identified with Ashteroth-karnaim (Gn 14^{5}), was taken and destroyed by Judas Maccabæus during an expedition into Gilead about B.C. 163, and the inhabitants who fled to the temple of Atargatis were put to death (2 Mac 12^{18-29}, cf. 1 Mac 5^{24-45}; Jos. *Ant.* XII. viii. 4).

LITERATURE.—On Atargatis, see, further, Baudissin in Herzog's *Real-Encycl.*² i. 736–740; Vigouroux, *Dict. de la Bible*, p. 1199; Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 13 f., Index, p. 91 f.; W. R. Smith, *RS* p. 159 f.

H. A. WHITE.

ATAROTH (עֲטָרוֹת, עֲטָרֹת, 'crowns'), the name of several towns east and west of Jordan.—**1.** Ataroth, Nu $32^{3.34}$, is in both places named next Dibon, which is identified with the present *Dhibân* (see DIBON), and Ataroth is doubtless *Khŭrbet 'Attarûs* on *Jebel 'Attarûs*, which latter may be the Atroth-shophan of v.^{35}. It is 3 or 4 miles east of Machærus, where the Baptist was imprisoned and murdered. The objection that it is said to have been built by the children of Gad, while this site is in the territory of Reuben, would apply also to Dibon and Aroer; it only proves that the tribes were greatly intermingled, or at first aided one another (as Jg 1^{3}) in conquering and possessing their territories. **2.** Jos 16^{2}, a town on the border of Benjamin and Ephraim, towards its western extremity. Conder recognises it in the modern *Ed-Dârieh*, on the W. slope of the hill which lies south of Bethhoron-the-nether. **3. Ataroth-addar**, Jos 16^{5} 18^{13}, apparently the same as the preceding. **4.** Jos 16^{7}, a town on the same boundary of Ephraim and Manasseh, but towards its *eastern* extremity, next Naarath (which see). Conder suggests Tell et-Trûny in the Jordan Valley, or Khŭrbet Kaswal, also called Kh. et-Taiyireh. The name is lost. Dômeh, the Edumia of the *Onomasticon*, with its ancient rock-cut tombs, is about the place one would look for it. Three places, one 4 miles north of Samaria, a second, 6 miles north of Bethel, a third, 7 miles north of Jerusalem, now bear the name Atâra, but are unnamed in Scripture. **5. Atroth-beth-Joab**, 1 Ch 2^{54}, possibly = Atarites. A family is more probably meant than a place.

A. HENDERSON.

ATER.—**1.** (אָטֵר 'binder'?) The ancestor of certain temple porters who returned with Zerubbabel, Ezr $2^{16.42}$, Neh $7^{21.45}$. **2.** (A Ἀτήρ, B Ἀζήρ, AV **Aterezias**, reading Ἀτὴρ Ἐζεκίου as one word) 1 Es 5^{15}; cf. Ezr 2^{16}. His sons returned with Zerubbabel. The title '(son of) Hezekiah' was probably given to distinguish him from Ater (**1**).

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

ATERGATIS.—See ATARGATIS.

ATETA (A Ἀτητά, B om.: AV Teta, from the Aldine Τητά), 1 Es 5^{28} = **Hatita**, Ezr 2^{42}, Neh 7^{45}.

ATHACH (עֲתָךְ), 1 S 30^{30}.—An unknown town in the south of Judah.

ATHAIAH (עֲתָיָה).—A man of Judah dwelling in Jerus. (Neh 11^{4}). See GENEALOGY.

ATHALIAH (עֲתַלְיָה 'whom J″ has dragged roughly'),* daughter of Ahab and Jezebel (2 K 8^{18}), called daughter of Omri, 2 K 8^{26}, 2 Ch 22^{2}. She married Jehoram, son of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah (2 K 8^{18}, 2 Ch 18^{1} 21^{6}); and as she inherited her mother's strong character, her influence for evil was predominant over both her husband and her son (2 K $8^{18.27}$, 2 Ch $22^{3.4}$). Under her influence the cult of the Zidonian Baal prevailed in Judah to such a degree that the temple of J″ was 'broken up' (2 Ch 24^{7}),—the materials being probably used for the temple of Baal,—so that a thorough restoration was needed in the following reign. On the death of Ahaziah, Athaliah, who enjoyed already much authority as queen mother, and probably had a considerable following among the people, procured the massacre of all her grandchildren, Joash alone escaping, and Athaliah was queen of Israel for six years. No particulars are recorded of her reign, but the circumstances of her deposition are related minutely. According to 2 K 11, the high priest Jehoiada, having won over 'the captains over hundreds, of the Carites and of the guard,' arranged that the portion of them who formed the temple guard on the Sabbath day should be posted in three equal divisions at the three main approaches to the temple, *i.e.* (*a*) the entry from the palace (Jos.; cf. 1 K 10^{5}, 2 K 16^{18}); (*b*) 'the gate Sur'; (*c*) 'the gate behind the guard' (Ewald's idea [*HI* iv. p. 135], that 'the watch of the king's house' means the usual palace guard, seems inconsistent with Jehoiada's words in v.^{6}); while the other two companies should not go off guard as usual, but 'compass the king round about' wherever he went. Additional solemnity was given to the proceedings by the use made of David's dedicated armour. See JEHOASH. Roused by the unusual noise caused by the acclamations which greeted the coronation of Joash, Athaliah came into the temple alone, her guard having been prevented from following her (Jos. *Ant.* IX. vii. 3). The truth flashed upon her at once; 'she rent her clothes, and cried, Treason, treason!' Any sympathy that might have been evoked was cowed by the overwhelming display of force. The sacred precincts might not be polluted with her blood, 'so they made way for her,' and she passed out, and was struck down 'by the way of the horses' entry to the king's house.' The variations of the Chronicler (2 Ch 23) from this account are characteristic. Under the second temple, uncircumcised foreigners were not permitted to approach holy things; he therefore substitutes for 'the Carites and the guard' the courses of priests and Levites whose weeks of service began and ended respectively on that Sabbath. They are posted at (*a*) 'the king's house,' (*b*) 'the gate of the foundation' (הַיְסוֹד for סוּר), (*c*) 'the doors.' The captains—five in number, whose names are given—having been thus deprived of their men, are represented as 'set over the host' (v.^{14}), *i.e.* the whole population capable of bearing arms, and are obliged to 'go about in Judah, and gather the Levites out of all the cities of Judah, and the heads of fathers' houses,' to Jerusalem. The young king is publicly presented to 'all the congregation,' not, as in Kings, secretly to the captains alone. The people, who take a very subordinate part in Kings, fill, with the Levites not on duty (cf. 2 Ch 5^{11}), the temple courts. Thus, while in Kings the deposition of Athaliah is effected by a sudden *coup d'état* carried out by the high priest and foreign mercenaries, and every precaution is taken against a popular rising in Athaliah's favour; in Chron. it is the act of the whole nation, constitutionally represented by the ecclesiastical and civil authorities, and it is executed in the most deliberate and orderly fashion.

---

* Cheyne suggests the Assyr. root עתל 'to be or become great' (as in *etellitu*, 'lady,' 'queen'); then Athaliah = 'J″ is exalted.' (See *Expos. Times*, vii. 484, 568, viii. 48.)

'The sons of Athaliah,' 2 Ch 24^{7}, has been explained to mean (*a*) Ahaziah and his brethren before they were carried away, 2 Ch 21^{17} (Jos. *Ant.* IX. viii. 2); or (*b*) the priests of Baal (Jerome, *Qu. Heb.*, *in loc.*); or (*c*) her illegitimate children.

2. 1 Ch 8^{26}, a Benjamite dwelling in Jerus. **3.** Ezr 8^{7}, father of Jeshaiah, who was one of Ezra's companions. N. J. D. WHITE.

ATHARIM (דֶּרֶךְ הָאֲתָרִים), Nu 21^{1}.—Either, a proper name of a place from which the route was named; so RV 'the way of Atharim,' as LXX,—or, 'the way of tracks,' *i.e.* a regular caravan road (cf. Arab. *'Ithr*, a trace). The rendering of AV, 'way of the spies,' follows Targ. and Syr.; אתרים may then be a plur. of אתר in a sense slightly different from that given above, or=תָּרִים 'spies.' The 'way of Atharim' will then be that described in Nu 13$^{21-25}$. See HORMAH. A. T. CHAPMAN.

ATHENIANS (*'Αθηναῖοι*, Ac 17^{21}; *"Ανδρες 'Αθηναῖοι*, 17^{22} AV, RV 'men of Athens').—Inhabitants of ATHENS.

ATHENOBIUS (*'Αθηνόβιος*, 1 Mac 15$^{28-36}$), a friend of Antiochus VII. Sidetes. When Antiochus had gained some successes against Tryphon, he sent Athenobius to Jerusalem to remonstrate with Simon Maccabæus for the occupation of Joppa, Gazara, the citadel of Jerusalem, and certain places outside Judæa. Simon was ordered to surrender his conquests or to pay an indemnity of 1000 talents of silver; but he refused to promise more than 100 talents, and with this answer A. was obliged to return in indignation to the king. H. A. WHITE.

ATHENS (*'Αθῆναι*).—St. Paul having sent Timotheus away, 'thought it good to be left at Athens alone' (1 Th 3^{1}). From Ac 17 we learn what he did and said during his solitary stay. Leaving aside the history of A., I shall describe the aspect of this famous city in St. Paul's epoch. St. Paul, like Apollonius of Tyana, landed at the Piræus, and, like him, would have walked to A. by the new road, called Hamaxitos, which ran north of the ancient roadway, already encumbered with the ruins of the great wall of Pericles.

Pausanias, in his description of A. (i. 1. 4), and Philostratus,* relate that along this road were raised at intervals altars to the unknown gods. St. Paul marked these, and worked them into his argument against polytheism, addressed upon the Areopagus to the Stoics and Epicureans. On his left hand, as he entered the Piræus gate of the city, St. Paul skirted the Ceramicus or ancient burial-ground, where we still see, bared by recent excavations, some of the old sculptured tombstones; to look upon which is a revelation to us of the noble and, in its calm self-restraint, almost divine regret with which, in the fourth century B.C., Athenian workmen could depict death and the last farewells of mortals.

Innumerable booths of olive, fruit, and fish sellers were no doubt set up then as now round the entrances to the city. St. Paul would push his way past these, and, leaving to his left the noble temple of Theseus, which remains intact in its grandeur, he would enter the Agora. Here his eye fell on portico after portico, painted by the brush of famous artists, and adorned with the noblest statues. But St. Paul would not have admired these so much as the tower and water-clock of Andronicus, telling out to him the hours of his solitary waiting. This still stands to-day, along with a few ruinous arcades, the sole remnant of an architectural splendour which eclipsed that of the Piazza del Duomo of Pisa, or of the Piazza di San Marco of Venice. The impression which the latter makes on one of us to-day might be compared with that of which St. Paul would have been sensible as he entered the Athenian Agora; if at least he could, in spite of his Semitism, have felt the charm of the highest plastic art.

The Agora was dominated on its south side by the abrupt hill of Mars and the still more impressive heights of the Acropolis, and it was such a place of resort as is to-day the Piazza San Marco at Venice. There St. Paul found himself amidst the throng of 'all the Athenians and strangers who spent their time in nothing else but either to tell or to hear some new thing.' In the Stoa Poecilé he met with the successors of Zeno, the Stoics, with whom, as with the Epicureans, he, like a second Socrates, 'disputed daily.' And perhaps when he wearied of these discussions, and of the noise of the rich men's slaves chaffering over their purchases, or of the porters thronging round, of the quack doctors and barbers, he may have passed on by the Via Tripodum and have gained the theatre of Dionysus on the south side of the Acropolis, there to witness, perhaps, the performance of a play of Euripides or Menander; or he may, from the other end of the Agora, have gone up by the temple of the Furies to the Acropolis, and have mounted the steps of the Propylæa of Mnesicles, whose columns still remain to awe us with their sublime harmony. Having thus gained the platform of the Acropolis, he would wander through a forest of the most perfect statues, pacing round that most glorious shrine and monument of all, the temple of the virgin goddess Athene, whose power and attributes were destined with the triumph of St. Paul's new gospel, and, after an epoch briefer than that which had already elapsed since its erection, to pass on by seeming inheritance to the Blessed Virgin of the orthodox Greek Church.

---

* Philostratus, *Vit. Apollon.* 6. 2: *σωφρόνεστερον γὰρ τὸ περὶ πάντων θεῶν εὖ λέγειν καὶ ταῦτα 'Αθήνησιν, οὗ καὶ ἀγνώστων δαιμόνων βωμοὶ ἵδρυνται.* This, of course, refers to St. Paul's own day.

St. Paul 'disputed in the synagogue with the Jews, and with the devout persons' (Ac 17^{17}). It has been thought that the site of this synagogue may be fixed by a slab found in the ancient district of Koropus at the foot of Hymettus, bearing the legend : *αὔτη ἡ πύλη τοῦ κυρίου, δίκαιοι εἰσελεύσονται ἐν αὐτῇ* (Ps 118^{20}).[*] But this is a monument only of the third or fourth century, and is of Christian origin. Other slabs, however, have been recovered in A. bearing Jewish inscriptions, and marking the burial-places of Greek Jews. And we have in the writings of the Jew Philo, by a single generation earlier than St. Paul, and, like him, an ardent apostle of monotheism, some graphic allusions to A., whither, no doubt, he went, like Horace, as to the chief centre of art and philosophy. For A. was the university city of the Roman world, as it was also the focus from which the sacred rays of learning radiated to Tarsus, Antioch, and Alexandria. In his youthful essay on the theme that every good man is free, Philo declares the Athenians to be the keenest-sighted mentally of the Greeks (Ἑλλήνων ὀξυδερκέστατοι διάνοιαν), and says that A. is to Greece what the pupil is to the eye, or the reason to the soul.[†] And in these words, which follow in the same context, he doubtless describes a scene which he had actually witnessed—

> 'It was only yesterday that the actors were exhibiting tragedy, and were reciting those famous lines of Euripides—
>
> "For Freedom is a name all precious,
> Even if a man hath little thereof,
> Let him esteem himself to have great riches."
>
> 'Then I beheld that all the spectators stood up on tiptoe with excitement, and with loud cheers and sustained cries prolonged their applause of the sentiment no less than their applause of a poet, that not only glorified Freedom in deed, but glorified its very name.'

Such was the impression which A. made on a cultured Jew, who yet reprobated not less keenly than St. Paul the worship by man of the works of his own hands ; and we may well believe that St. Paul's heart also beat high as he entered so famous a city.

Contemporary writers give the Athenians the same characteristics of over-religiousness and versatile curiosity as does St. Paul. One of these witnesses is himself a Jew, namely Josephus the historian, who declares (*Contra Ap.* ii. 12) the Athenians to be the most pious of the Greeks (*τοὺς εὐσεβεστάτους τῶν* Ἑλλήνων). Testimony of like effect is rendered by Livy, xlv. 27 : Athenas inde plenas quidem et ipsas uetustate famæ, multa tamen uisenda habentes ; arcem, portus, muros Piræeum urbi iungentes. . . . Simulacra Deorum hominumque, omni genere et materiæ et artium insignia. Petronius Arbiter, *Sat.* c. 17, unkindly hints that it was easier to find gods in A. than men : Utique nostra regio tam præsentibus plena est Numinibus, ut facilius possis Deum, quam hominem inuenire.[‡]

Nor was the desire of the Athenians to hear something new unnatural. For theirs was a city without commerce, but whose traditions and memories led many who had leisure and liked discussion to resort thither. Among Alciphron's Letters (ii. 3) is one by Menander the poet, relating how he had declined the invitation of Ptolemy to leave A. and settle in Alexandria. In this charming *jeu d'esprit* we get a picture of A. in its decadence, which shows how delightful a place it was to live in for religious persons of leisure and cultivation.

LITERATURE.—Conybeare and Howson, ch. x. ; Wordsworth's *Athens and Attica* ; and the classical works of Leake, Grote, Thirlwall, Curtius, Wachsmuth, Gregorovius, *Stadt Athen im Mittelalter* ; A. Mommsen, *Athenæ Christianæ*.

F. C. CONYBEARE.

ATHLAI (עַתְלַי, perhaps for עֲתַלְיָה).—A Jew who married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{28}, 1 Es 9^{29m}). See GENEALOGY.

ATIPHA (Ἀτεφά), 1 Es 5^{32}.—See HATIPHA.

ATONEMENT.—By its derivation this word describes the setting 'at one' or reconciliation of two parties who have been estranged. It is used in the English Bible as the equivalent for various forms of the root כפר in OT, and for *καταλλαγή* in NT. The verb כפר (to cover) is used to describe the effect of the sacrifices at the original consecration of the high priest and the altar (Ex 29^{36}, Lv 8^{15}, Ezk 43^{20} etc.), and of the annual sacrifices for the renewal of the consecration of the high priest and his household, of the people, and of the tabernacle (Lv 16^{10} etc.), on the day called expressly 'the Day of Atonement.'

It is used also to describe the effect of the sacrifices offered on behalf of the nation and of individual Israelites, occasionally in connexion with the 'whole burnt-offering' (Lv 1^{4}), but more frequently in connexion with the various forms of 'sin' and 'trespass' offerings (Lv 4^{20} etc., Nu 5^{8}), the prescribed acknowledgment of guilt or defilement incurred accidentally or in ignorance.

It is used, besides, to describe the effect of the intercession of Moses at Sinai (Ex 32^{30}), of the incense offered by Aaron (Nu 16^{46}), and of Phinehas' summary judgment on Zimri (Nu 25^{13}). The offences for which atonement is accepted in these cases go far beyond anything with which the Levitical sacrifices were appointed to deal, and so the way is prepared for the hope of atonement for 'moral offences as such' expressed in Ps 65^{3} 78^{38} 79^{9}, cf. Pr 16^{6}, Dn 9^{24}.

The same verb when it describes the direct action of God is translated 'to pardon' (2 Ch 30^{18}, cf. Ezk 16^{63}).

The subst. כֹּפֶר (LXX *λύτρον*='ransom,' cf. Mk 10^{45}) is used of 'blood money' (Ex 21^{30}, Nu 35^{31}), sanctioned on behalf of a man gored by an ox, but not in a case of homicide ; and of the half-shekel paid at a census (Ex 30^{12}).

כַּפֹּרֶת (LXX *τὸ ἱλαστήριον*)=the mercy-seat.

Two points in regard to the provision for atonement under the old covenant deserve especial attention. First, this provision is ascribed directly to divine appointment. The sacrifices, therefore, while bearing witness to the existence of an obstacle in the way of man's communion with God, were guarded against the gross misinterpretation which would represent them as human devices for overcoming God's reluctance to forgive. Second, the power of atonement resided in the blood, as containing the life of the sacrificial victim (Lv 17^{11}). Under cover of the blood of a victim slain by his own hand in acknowledgment of the righteousness of the divine judgment on his sin, and in virtue of the life still quick within it, liberated rather than destroyed by death, and brought by consecrated hands into direct contact with the symbols of the divine presence, the worshipper, in spite of his defilement, might himself draw nigh to God.

In NT, though the thought is fundamental, and finds expression in a variety of forms, *e.g.* Forgiveness, Propitiation, Redemption, the word Atonement or its equivalent Reconciliation (*καταλλαγή*, in LXX practically confined to 2 Mac 5^{20}) is found only in 2 Co 5$^{18ff.}$, Ro 5$^{10f.}$ 11^{15}, cf. Col 1^{21}. Here, as in OT, the use of the word presupposes an estrangement between God and man. On man's side this estrangement is the direct consequence of his sin. On God's side it is the direct consequence of His holiness and His love. Because He is holy and loving, He cannot be indifferent to sin. His wrath must rest upon the disobedient (Jn 3^{36}, cf. Ro 1^{18}). Now in human wrath there mingles almost inevitably a feeling of personal irritation, pique, or resentment. The language of the NT is carefully chosen to guard against the supposition that any such shadow mars the purity of the divine indignation. Men are spoken of as God's enemies (*ἐχθροί*, Ro 5^{10}, cf. 8^{7}), but God is never spoken of as the enemy of man. Men are invited to accept the offered reconciliation; God is never brought before us as Himself needing to be appeased or reconciled. On the contrary, the atonement originates with Him. See esp. 2 Co 5^{19} 'God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself,' Ro 3^{25} 'whom God set forth to be a propitiation.' The atonement, therefore, of which the gospel speaks, cannot, any more than the means of atonement provided under the law, be regarded as a device for overcoming any reluctance on God's part to forgive. It is the provision which He Himself has made for the removal of the obstacle to communion which sin has introduced.

---

[*] See *Inscr. Attic. æt. Romanæ*, 404 and 3545–3547.

[†] Cf. Milton, *Paradise Regained*, iv. 240 : 'Athens the eye of Greece, mother of arts.'

[‡] Philostr. *Vit. Apollonii Tyanæ*, iv. 19, says of his prophet that he τὴν μὲν δὴ πρώτην διάλεξιν, ἐπειδὴ φιλοθύτας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους εἶδεν, ὑπὲρ ἱερῶν διελέξατο. The experiences of Apollonius—a more spiritual teacher than most—in Athens were curiously similar to those of his contemporary St. Paul.

Let us consider a little more closely what this obstacle is.

Sin is lawlessness (1 Jn 3^{4}). It is the refusal on man's part, a refusal now as it were ingrained in his very nature, to remain in subjection to the law of God (Ro 8^{7}). Each act of sin, therefore, is the outward sign of a spiritual alienation from God. But yet more. Each act of sin reacts upon the sinner, and increases his alienation. It not only weakens his power of moral self-determination, and so makes him more than ever a slave to his sin (Ro 7^{14}); it incurs fresh guilt, and so adds new terror to the curse of the law (Gal 3^{13}); it deepens his defilement, and so makes him shrink more than ever from the presence of God. And the wages of sin, which from another point of view express the judgment of God upon it, is death (Ro 6^{23}).

The power by which this obstacle has been overcome springs from the person of Christ. He Himself is our peace (Eph 2^{14}). He, the Eternal Son of the Eternal Father, is the Lamb 'foreknown before the foundation of the world' (1 P 1^{20}), and the restoration of the broken harmony of the universe (Col 1^{20}, cf. Eph 1^{10}) springs from His eternal surrender of Himself to do the Father's will (He 10^{9}). This eternal sacrifice, which is thus seen to have its roots deep in the inmost mystery of the divine nature, was manifested in time, and became effectual for our redemption, when the Word was made flesh and revealed at once the relation in which mankind stands to Him and His own eternal relation to the Father, through a life on earth of perfect obedience to the Father's will. This obedience reached its final consummation when He shed His blood upon the cross, and His life, even as the life of the sacrificial victims in the OT, was set free by death for the work of our reconciliation. The atonement, therefore, is ascribed specifically to His death (Ro 5^{10}), His cross (Eph 2^{16}), and His blood (Col 1^{20}).

The cost of the atonement is represented from two sides,—as it affected the Father, who 'spared not His own Son, but freely gave Him up for us all' (Ro 8^{32}); and as it affected the Son, who 'suffered for us' (1 P 2^{21}), and by 'whose stripes we are healed' (1 P 2^{24}, cf. Is 53^{5}). The cost to the Father we clearly have no power to conceive, and the Bible makes no effort to define it. The sufferings of the Son in our flesh were human sufferings. We are able therefore in some measure to conceive of them. They were the direct result of His perfect acceptance of all the consequences that the presence of sin in the world entails upon us. They culminate on the one side in an agonising and shameful death; on the other in an unfathomable depth of spiritual suffering, when for a moment it seemed as if even God had forsaken Him (Mt 27^{46}, cf. Mt 26^{38-44} and parallels, He 5^{7}).

Such light as we can receive on the relation of these sufferings to the work of our atonement is derived chiefly from the typical ritual of OT sacrifices. This included, as we have seen, (1) the presentation of an offering with an acknowledgment of guilt, (2) the slaughter of the victim, (3) the symbolic use of the blood so shed. Each of these elements found a place in the sacrifice on the cross.

(1) Christ Himself, as the Head of our race, presented Himself as an offering on our behalf. The laying down of His life is represented as His own deliberate voluntary act (Jn $10^{17f.}$). He made His soul an offering for sin (Is 53^{10}, cf. Mt 26^{28}). He gave His life (*ψυχή*) a ransom for many (*λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν*, Mt 20^{28}). This presentation involved, according to OT analogy, the surrender to death of an appointed victim, together with a confession of our guilt, and the acceptance, with a full acknowledgment of its justice, of the sentence of death which has been pronounced upon us for our sin.

(2) He was at the same time not only the Offerer but the Victim. His whole life was (as we have seen already) a life of perfect self-surrender to the loving service of His brethren in trustful obedience to His Father's will. His voluntary submission to the death of the cross for the redemption of His murderers, was the ultimate expression at once of His obedience and of His love. It is therefore the culminating point in His offering, and the final test of its completeness.

(3) The blood of the offering, which, again according to OT analogy, is regarded as the special seat of the atoning power, is represented as being sprinkled on those who enter the new covenant (He 12^{24}, 1 P 1^{2}). It is brought into the most intimate and impressive relation with each one of them when he takes into his hands the Cup of the covenant (Mt 26^{28} etc., cf. Ex 24^{8}) and drinks of it according to the commandment.

In the power of the same blood, our Lord, as the great High Priest, has entered into the inmost heaven, and there without ceasing offers intercession (He 7^{25}) on our behalf. The blood thus becomes a living bond reuniting man to man and the whole race of man to God.

The effect of the atonement is therefore to remove altogether the obstacle introduced by sin, to undo the work of the devil (1 Jn 3^{8}), and to open anew the way by which sinful men can return into communion with their Father in heaven (He 10^{20}). The blood of Christ, understood in the full measure of its spiritual reality, reveals the true law of man's being, and brings home to him the extent of his degradation. By its revelation of the love of God triumphant over sin, it wins men back from their spiritual alienation, making them ready to return to their allegiance, and willing to give up their sin. It cleanses their consciences from the stain of sin, and sets them free from the curse of the law, by the assurance that a perfect satisfaction has been offered to the righteous claims of the divine justice, and by enabling them to make their own the perfect confession of their sins that has already been offered in their name. It is the wellspring of a new power of moral self-determination by which they may be enabled, in spite of the tyrannous domination of past habits acquired and inherited (1 P 1^{18}), and in the midst of an atmosphere of temptation, to live henceforward in obedience to God's will, submitting in patience and in hope to all the suffering that He may require from them, whether by way of discipline or of service. It thus robs even death itself of its sting.

It is true that we can but dimly see why such a sacrifice as the death of Christ should have been necessary, and guess in the light of partial human analogies at the secret of its power. But it is enough for our present guidance to know that the sacrifice itself has been offered, and that there have been men in every age who, from their own experience, have borne witness that it is effectual. See also FORGIVENESS and PROPITIATION.

LITERATURE.—Among English treatises on the Atonement it will be enough to mention M'Leod Campbell, *On the Nature of the Atonement*; R. W. Dale, *The Doctrine of the Atonement*; F. D. Maurice, *The Doctrine of Sacrifice*; H. N. Oxenham, *The Catholic Doctrine of the Atonement*; B. F. Westcott, *The Victory of the Cross*. See also Bruce, *Humiliation of Christ*, 317–400; Fairbairn, *Christ in Modern Theology*, 479–487; Simon, *Redemption of Man*; Dorner, *System of Christian Doctrine*, iv. 1–124 *et passim* (see Index); Weiss, *Bib. Theol. of NT*, i. 419–452, ii. 202–216; Ritschl, *Christ. Lehre von d. Rechtfert. u. Versöhn.* (Eng. tr. under title, *History of the Christian Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation*); Baur, *Lehre von d. Versöhn. in ihrer gesch. Entwickelung*; Thomasius, *Lehre von Christi Person u. Werk*; Harnack, *Luther's Theologie mit bes. Bezieh. auf seine Versöhn.-u. Erlös.-lehre.*

J. O. F. MURRAY.

ATONEMENT, DAY OF (יוֹם הַכִּפֻּרִים Lv 23^{27} 25^{9}, ἡμέρα (ἐξ)ιλασμοῦ, *dies expiationum*, or (Lv 23^{28}) *propitiationis*).*—The principal passages relating to this great annual fast of the Jews are Lv 16 and 23^{26-32}; but some additional particulars are to be found in Nu 29^{7-11}, Ex 30^{10}; cf. Lv 25^{9}. All these passages, though probably belonging to different dates, are connected with the priestly code. The Day of Atonement, which was a day for the assembling of the people for divine worship (a 'holy convocation' Lv 23^{27}), was kept in the autumn, on the 10th day† of the 7th month, or, according to our reckoning, from the evening of the 9th till the evening of the 10th. The people were charged (Lv 23^{26-32}, cf. $16^{29.31}$), under pain of extermination from the community, to rest from every kind of work, and to 'afflict their souls,' the last phrase denoting the strict abstinence from food and drink which marked a day of fasting and self-humiliation. The special offerings for the day (in addition to the regular burnt-, meal-, and drink- offering), are prescribed in Nu 29^{7-11}; they consisted of a young bullock, a ram, and seven lambs of the first year, as burnt-offerings, with their appropriate meal-offerings, viz. three-tenths of an ephah for each bullock, two-tenths for the ram, and one-tenth for each lamb, also of a he-goat for a sin-offering. These additional offerings are similar to those for the 1st day of the month, and the 8th of the Feast of Booths (vv.$^{1-6.35-38}$).

The distinctive ceremonial of the Day of Atonement is described at length in Lv 16. The high priest first selected for himself a young bullock for a sin-offering, and a ram for a burnt-offering; then, having bathed, he discarded his distinctive golden vestments, and arrayed himself in garments of white linen. After this he took from the people a ram for a burnt-offering, and two goats for a sin-offering, and proceeded to choose by lot from the two goats one for J″ and one for AZAZEL‡ (Lv 16^{3-10}). This done, he offered the bullock, which he had selected previously, for himself and his family; and having filled a censer with coals from the altar of burnt-offering, and taking with him a handful of incense, he entered the Most Holy Place, where he threw the incense upon the burning coals, causing thereby a cloud of smoke to envelop the ark and the mercy seat; after this he dipped his finger in the blood of the bullock, and sprinkled the blood once on the front (or east) side of the mercy seat, and seven times in the vacant space in front of the mercy seat (vv.$^{11-14}$). Having thus completed the atonement for himself and his house, the high priest returned to the court; and after killing the goat of the people which had been allotted to J″, he again entered the Most Holy Place, and sprinkled its blood, in the same manner as that of the bullock, on the front of the mercy seat and before the mercy seat. The purification of the Most Holy Place being thus accomplished, the high priest went out into the Holy Place (called the 'tent of meeting' v.^{17}), and there performed a similar atoning ceremony. The details of this ceremony are not described in Lv 16; but in Ex 30^{10}, which seems to be a later addition to P, we learn that the blood of the sin-offering of atonement was to be placed on the golden altar of incense, which is nowhere mentioned in Lv 16. During this time no one except the high priest was allowed to be present in the tabernacle. When the high priest again came out into the court, he completed the atonement of the sanctuary by placing on the horns of the altar of burnt-offering* some of the blood both of the bullock and of the goat, and with his fingers sprinkling the blood seven times on the altar (v.$^{15-19}$). The living goat was then brought near; and the high priest, having placed both hands upon its head, confessed over it all the sins and offences of the Israelites; after which the goat was led away, by a man standing in readiness, into the wilderness for Azazel, that it might bear the iniquities to a land 'cut off,' *i.e.* to one remote from human habitations, from which there was no chance of its bringing back again its burden of guilt (vv.$^{20-22}$). The high priest then returned to the Holy Place, and after bathing, and putting on his usual priestly garments, came out and offered the two burnt-offerings (vv.$^{3.5}$) for himself and for the people (vv.$^{23.24}$). Finally, the fat of the sin-offerings having been consumed in sweet smoke upon the altar,† the rest of their flesh (in accordance with the general rule, Lv $4^{11f.21}$ etc.) was carried outside the camp and destroyed by fire; those to whom this service was intrusted, and also the man who had led away the goat for Azazel, being not permitted to return to the congregation till they had bathed, and washed their clothes (vv.$^{25-28}$).

Two main questions arise in connexion with the Day of Atonement, which, as we shall see, are in some measure connected with each other: (1) to what date is the ceremonial enjoined in ch. 16 to be ascribed? (2) is the chapter describing it homogeneous in structure?

(1) We hear nothing of the observance of the Day of Atonement in pre-exilic times, nor is any mention made of this day in the earlier legal codes ('Book of the Covenant,' Dt, H). On the other hand, there are several points in the law regulating its observance which seem to connect it with the period after the exile, when the ceremonial aspects of sin and atonement at least occupied a more prominent place in the life and

---

* Called by the later Jews יומא *the day*, יומא רבה (cf. Is 1^{13} LXX) *the great day*, יום צום *the fast-day*, *Menachoth*, xi., *end*, צומא רבא *the great fast*; cf. ἡ νηστεία, Acts 27^{9}, Ep. Barnab. $7^{3.4}$, Jos. *Ant.* XVII. vi. 4; ἡ τῆς ν. ἡμέρα, XIV. iv. 3 (on XIV. xvi. 4, cf. Schürer, *HJP* I. i. 398 n.); ἡ λεγομένη ν., Philo, ii. 138, 591; νηστείας ἑορτή, ii. 296.

† Apparently the 10th day of this month was at one time regarded as New Year's Day; see Ezk 40^{1} and cf. Lv 25^{9}.

‡ לְכַפֵּר עָלָיו, *to make atonement for it*, because, probably, by standing before J″ during the ceremonial which follows, it shares in the atonement made thereby for the sanctuary, and so becomes fitted to bear away the sins of the people. So Hengst., Riehm, Keil, Nowack (*Heb. Archäol.* ii. 192), *al.*

* The altar of v.^{18} cannot be the altar of incense. The purification of the Holy Place has been described in v.$^{16f.}$ For 'before J″' (v.^{18}), cf. Lv 1^{5}: J″ dwells in the tabernacle (Ex $25^{8.22}$), and the great altar stands in front of this.

† V.^{25} seems to be misplaced. Its natural position would be immediately after v.^{19} (cf. $4^{8-10.19.26}$ etc.).

thought of the people than was the case previously. The phrase 'to afflict the soul' (עִנָּה נֶפֶשׁ, see Lv $16^{29.\ 31}$ $23^{27.\ 29.\ 32}$, Nu 29^{7}) occurs elsewhere only Is $58^{3.\ 5.\ 10}$ (exilic) and Ps 35^{13} (influenced by Jer). Fasting as a religious observance was practised among the Hebrews in ancient times; but we first hear of annual fasts on stated days in connexion with the fall of Jerusalem (Zec $7^{3\text{-}5}$ 8^{19}). The elaborate ritual of the blood probably points to a comparatively late date (cf. Lv $4^{1\text{-}21}$, one of the later portions of P; and contrast $9^{8\text{-}11}$); while the nearest analogies to the public confession of sins (16^{21}) are to be found in post-exilic writings (Ezr 9, Neh $1^{4\text{-}11}$ 9^{3}, Dn $9^{4\text{-}20}$). Moreover, the priestly prophet Ezekiel, in his legislation for the restored people (ch. 40–48), prescribes a ceremonial, which, while its general aim is similar to that of the Day of Atonement, is much simpler in character; he enjoins, viz. ($45^{18\text{-}20}$), two solemn purifications of the sanctuary on the 1st day of the first month, and on the 1st of the seventh month (so LXX; see RVm), when a young bullock was to be slain for a sin-offering on behalf of all who might err through inadvertence or natural slowness (מאיש שׁגה ומפתי), and the blood of the victim was to be placed on the doorposts of the temple, on the corners of the ledge of the altar, and on the gateposts of the inner court. The prophet, in his legislation for the future, attaches himself largely to existing usage; if, therefore, the law of Lv 16 had been in his day a time-honoured institution, would he have either disregarded it or stripped it of so many of its significant rites? Does it not seem more probable that the law of Lv 16 is a development of the simpler ceremonial prescribed by Ezekiel? Indeed, there are reasons for supposing that its introduction was decidedly later than Ezekiel's time. In Neh 8–10 we possess a fairly circumstantial account of the events of the 7th month of B.C. 444, including, for instance ($8^{2.\ 13\text{-}18}$), notices of what happened on the 1st and 2nd days of the month, and the observance, in accordance with Lv $23^{39\text{-}42}$, of the Feast of Booths from the 15th to the 23rd days; that being so, it is remarkable, if the fast of the 10th day had been an established institution, that no mention should be made of its observance, especially when we are expressly told ($9^{1\text{ff.}}$) that the 24th day was observed as a day of fasting and of confession of sins. Reuss, indeed, on the ground that the fast of the 24th would have been superfluous, if the fast of the 10th had just preceded, argued (*Hist. sainte et la loi*, i. 260) that Lv 16 did not even form part of the law-book read by Ezra; but, as Kuenen (*Hex.* § 15. 32; cf. Dillm. *NDJ* p. 673; Stade, *Gesch.* ii. 182) points out, this argument is hardly decisive; the fast of the 24th is manifestly intended as a *special* token of humiliation for national shortcomings, preparatory to the conclusion of the covenant ($9^{38\text{ff.}}$); it has thus little or nothing in common with the annually-recurring Day of Atonement, and it might have been appointed whether Lv 16 was contained in Ezra's law-book or not. But Kuenen agrees that the non-mention of the day on the part of the well-informed narrator of Neh 8–10 is 'very strange,' if it were an established institution, and considers it to be an indication that it was introduced *for the first time* in the law-book of Ezra, though not observed at once, on account of its forming part of a new system, which had not yet been formally accepted by the people. Whether this argument be satisfactory or not, it is important to recollect that the argument against the antiquity of the Day of Atonement is not, as it is often represented as being (*e.g.* by Delitzsch, in his study on the subject, *ZKWL*, 1880, p. 173 ff.), solely an *argumentum e silentio*: that, as Kuenen observes (*Th. Tijdschr.* 1883, pp. 207–212), is but one argument out of many; the Day of Atonement is part of a system, the ceremonial system of the Priest's Code; when, therefore, the question of its antiquity is raised, it cannot be treated by itself, but forms part of a larger question, viz. the antiquity of that system as a whole, and must be answered in the same sense as that in which the wider question is answered.

(2) The second question is whether Lv 16 forms a homogeneous whole. The chapter is connected with the narrative of the death of Aaron's sons for offering strange fire (ch. 10; cf. $16^{1.\ 2a}$ 'that he die not,' and $^{12.\ 13}$; and contrast 'fire from the altar,' v.^{12}, with 'strange fire,' 10^{1}); but it treats of two distinct subjects, without clearly indicating the transition from one to the other. It opens with a warning addressed to Aaron against rashly entering the Most Holy Place, and prescribes the preliminary rites to be performed, whenever he may have occasion to do so.* It passes on to describe a solemn atoning ceremony to be performed for the tabernacle itself, and for the worshippers; and it concludes with the institution of an annual fast on the day of the atoning ceremony. This change of subject suggests a doubt whether the chapter in its present form can be wholly the work of one writer. Dillmann explains the change of subject, and the connexion with ch. 10, by the supposition that originally the chapter contained the description of a ceremony of purification, to be performed in consequence of the defilement brought upon the tabernacle by the sin of Nadab and Abihu. He supposes that directions were given for the repetition of the rite after any subsequent desecration; that in later times it had become the practice to perform this service once, and once only, in every year; and that the chapter was altered to suit the later practice. This explanation, however, requires us to supply a good deal which is not stated, and only indirectly suggested, by the present text.

A different solution of the difficulty is proposed by Benzinger. In an interesting and suggestive study on Lv 16 (*ZATW*, 1889, p. 65 ff.), Benzinger points out that the literary form of the chapter is imperfect. Thus v.^{6} and v.^{11a} are really doublets, suggesting that vv.$^{7\text{-}10}$ are derived from another source; there is a sharp break between v.^{28} and v.^{29}; vv.$^{29\text{-}34d}$ are not really a summary of the foregoing verses, for they introduce some new points (fasting and the date), and, while mentioning the white garments of the high priest, say nothing about the more important ceremonies connected with the sprinkling of the blood, and the goat for Azazel; finally, v.^{34b} suggests the immediate carrying out of some definite command given to Moses. Accordingly, Benzinger, who is followed by Nowack (*Hebr. Arch.* ii. 182–194), distinguishes between earlier and later portions of the chapter, and considers that the older sections are vv.$^{1\text{-}4.\ 6=11a}$ (omitting 'which is for himself') $^{12.\ 13.\ 34b}$ (regulations defining the conditions under which Aaron, when occasion required, was to enter the Holy of Holies), and vv.$^{29\text{-}34a}$ (a law prescribing a relatively simple rite of atonement—substantially identical with the inaugural ceremony of $9^{7\text{ff.}}$—to be repeated annually on behalf of the people and sanctuary, and specifying the manner in which the day was to be observed publicly). In this form, he points out, the law for the Day of Atonement would agree closely with Lv $23^{26\text{-}32}$, where also stress is laid on the necessity of fasting and abstention from work, but no allusion is made to the special ceremonies prescribed in the central portion of ch. 16. The 'offering by fire' of 23^{27}, and the 'sin-offering of atonement' of Nu 29^{11}, would both be explained by the sacrifices alluded to in Lv $16^{32.33}$ (or Nu $15^{24\text{-}26}$) and described more fully in Lv 9. The more elaborate ritual prescribed in the rest of the chapter (vv.$^{5.7\text{-}10.14\text{-}28}$)[*] is, upon Benzinger's view, a subsequent development of that enjoined in vv.$^{30.33}$, which, as it now stands, is interwoven with directions relating to Aaron alone, on account of its having become the custom for the high priest to enter the Holy of Holies on the Day of Atonement only.

---

* With vv.$^{2.\ 13}$ ('that he die not'), comp. Ex 28^{35} (the conditions under which Aaron may enter the Holy Place); also Ex $30^{20.\ 21}$, Nu 4^{19}.

That the ritual prescribed in this chapter was of gradual growth is indeed highly probable; but it may be doubted whether a merely literary analysis can adequately indicate its successive stages. The words *not at all times* in v.^{2} suggest that even when the supposed earlier law was formulated, there were restrictions on the *occasion* as well as on the *manner* of the high priest's entering the Holy of Holies, and the terms of vv.$^{29\text{-}34a}$ appear to presuppose some preceding regulations, defining more particularly the character of the atoning ceremonies there alluded to.[†] It is true, $23^{26\text{-}32}$ is parallel to $16^{29\text{-}34a}$, in the stress which it lays upon the manner in which the Day is to be observed by the people; but it also presupposes in v.^{28} some special atoning rites, the nature of which it does not itself more closely define.[‡] Hence it seems that to limit the original regulations of the Day of Atonement to v.$^{29\text{-}34a}$ would leave them less systematic and complete than is probable. The more elaborate ritual prescribed for the blood, as compared with $9^{7.9.15}$, and even with $4^{6.7.17.18}$, is not necessarily due to its being a later development: it may be due to the special solemnity of the occasion, a ceremonial enacted once a year only on behalf of the entire nation. The chapter undoubtedly deals with two distinct subjects (the conditions under which the high priest might enter the Most Holy Place, and the annual Day of Atonement for the sins of the nation), which it imperfectly connects together. We may conjecture that the association of these two subjects is due to the fact that the occasions of the high priest's entry into the Most Holy Place came gradually to be limited to the single annual Day of Atonement: it is also highly probable (esp. in view of Ezk $45^{18\text{-}20}$) that the ritual of this day was originally simpler than that now prescribed in Lv 16; but it may be doubted whether the successive stages in the amalgamation and development of the two ceremonials can be distinguished by means of a literary analysis.

The Mishnic treatise *Yômā* (*i.e.* the Day) gives several fresh details respecting the ceremonies observed on the Day of Atonement in the time of the Second Temple.[§] Minute directions were given to ensure the ceremonial purity of the high priest on that day. For the seven days preceding he dwelt in a special chamber, and not in his own house. It is expressly stated that he entered four times into the Most Holy Place, viz. on the three occasions suggested by Lv $16^{12.14.15}$, and again after the evening sacrifice, to bring out the censer, and the plate which had held the incense. It is said that a stone three fingers high stood in the Holy of Holies in the place of the ark (v. 2). Immediately before slaying the sin-offering for himself, the high priest, laying his hands upon it, made the following confession: 'I beseech Thee, O LORD, I have done iniquitously, I have transgressed, I have sinned before Thee, I, and my house, and the sons of Aaron, Thy holy people. I beseech Thee, O Lord, forgive (כפר), now, the iniquities, and the transgressions, and the sins, wherein I have done iniquitously, and transgressed, and sinned before Thee, I, and my house, and the sons of Aaron, Thy holy people' (iv. 2). The blood of each of the sin-offerings was sprinkled by the high priest, once upwards and seven times downwards, first on the Holy of Holies, and afterwards upon the veil in the Holy Place: lastly, mixing the blood of the two victims, he put some of the mixture on the altar of incense, and poured out the remainder at the foot of the altar of burnt-offering (vi. 1, 2). With regard to the two goats, we are told that they were to resemble one another as closely as possible (vi. 1; cf. Barnab. 7^{6} ὁμοίους). The lots were made of boxwood, and afterwards of gold; the high priest drew out one lot in each hand, and then tied a 'tongue' of scarlet cloth[*] upon the neck of the goat destined for Azazel. The words of the high priest's confession were, 'We beseech thee, O LORD, Thy people, the house of Israel, have done iniquitously, transgressed, and sinned before Thee. We beseech Thee, O LORD, forgive, now, the iniquities, the transgressions, and the sins, wherein Thy people, the house of Israel, have done iniquitously, transgressed, and sinned before Thee' (vi. 2). The goat was led away, accompanied by some of the nobles of Jerusalem; and its arrival at a place which was regarded as the edge of the wilderness was signalled back to the high priest in the temple. Finally, the goat was conducted by a single man to a steep place called Ṣuḳ, where it was thrown backwards over the edge of the cliff, and dashed to pieces among the rocks (vi. 6–8). The site has been identified by Schick (*ZDPV* iii. 214 ff.) with a crag near the village of Bêt-ḥudêdûn, on the road running through Bethany into the wilderness, 12 miles east of Jerusalem (see AZAZEL).

The Day of Atonement represents the culminating institution of the Levitical system. Not only, from a merely formal point of view, does Lv 16 form the climax of the sacrificial and purificatory ordinances contained in Lv 1–15, but the ceremonial itself is of a peculiarly comprehensive and representative character. It was a yearly atonement for the nation as a whole (including the priests); and not only for the nation, but also for the sanctuary, in its various parts, in so far as this had been defiled during the past year by the sins of the people, in whose midst it stood. The sins thus atoned for must not, however, be supposed to be those committed 'with a high hand' (Nu $15^{30f.}$), *i.e.* defiantly and wilfully; but sins of ignorance and frailty (ἀγνοήματα, He 9^{7}), such as human nature, even when striving after God, is ever liable to.[†]

---

[*] Except v.^{17b} and v.^{28b} (from *and make*), which Benzinger treats as later harmonistic glosses.

[†] The circumstantial enumeration of v.^{33} must surely presuppose something more than either the ordinary sin-offering of the community (Nu $15^{22\text{-}26}$), or even Lv $9^{9.15}$; moreover, it exactly summarises the principal present contents of vv.$^{14\text{-}28}$.

[‡] The 'offering made by fire' of 23^{27} will not be the special atoning sacrifice intended; for that offering is common to most of the sacred seasons mentioned in ch. 23 (v.$^{8.18b.25.36}$). Nu $29^{7\text{-}11}$ also alludes (v.^{11}) to the 'sin-offering of atonement'; but the calendar of sacred seasons, contained in Nu 28–29, may be of later date than the present form of Lv 16.

[§] Cf. Ep. Barnab. c. 7 (with Gebhardt and Harnack's notes), where some of the same details are alluded to.

[*] לשון של זהורית: Barnab. 7^{8} τὸ ἔριον τὸ κόκκινον.

[†] The Jews, as Danz [see *ad fin.*], pp. 1010-1012, shows from the Mishna (*Shebu'oth* 1^{6}), Maimonides (*Comment. on Yômā* 4^{2}), and Abarbanel (פירוש התורה, Venice, 1584, fol. 251, col. 3, l. 14 ff.), in view of the comprehensive terms of Lv $16^{16.21.30}$, held that the sacrifices of this day made atonement for all sins of every kind, whether done involuntarily or deliberately; but this is an exaggeration which is in conflict with the general theory of the Jewish sacrifices. The sin-offering made atonement only for sins committed 'in error,' *i.e.* accidentally and involuntarily (Lv $4^{2.13.22.27}$, Nu $15^{24\text{-}29}$), not for those committed 'with a high hand' (Nu $15^{30f.}$), *i.e.* defiantly and deliberately; and it is incredible, in spite of the terms of Lv $16^{16.21}$, that the sacrifices of this day can have so far deviated in principle from the general theory of the priestly legislation as to have been supposed to atone, *e.g.*, for the sin of an impenitent murderer. The ceremonial of the Day of Atonement was designed in fact to effect

The ceremonial was enacted at the central sanctuary; but the individual Israelites, by their abstention from labour and fasting, not only expressed at the same time their humiliation for sin, but also signified their co-operation in the offices of the day; provision was thus made for the ceremonial being more than a mere *opus operatum.* As it was the highest atoning ceremony of the year, the blood was not merely applied, as in other cases (Lv 4), to the altar of burnt-offering, or even to the altar of incense; it was taken into the Holy of Holies, and sprinkled, not once only, but seven times, as close as possible to the place immediately associated with the presence of J″ (Ex 25^{22}, Nu 7^{89}). Once a year the sins of the people were thus solemnly atoned for, and the nation's lost holiness was restored (v.^{30} 'to cleanse you: from all your sins shall ye be clean before J″'). The slain goat made atonement for the people's sins, and restored their peace and fellowship with God; the goat over which the people's sins were confessed, and which was afterwards sent away to Azazel in the wilderness, symbolised visibly their complete removal from the nation's midst (Ps 103^{12}, Mic 7^{19}): 'a life was given up for the altar, and yet a living being survived to carry away all sin and uncleanness': the entire ceremonial thus symbolised as completely as possible both the atonement for sin, and the entire removal of the cause of God's alienation.

As regards the part taken in the office by the high priest, it is to be observed especially that the ceremonial of the Day of Atonement was the highest exercise of his mediatorial office: he performed an atoning rite on behalf of the entire people; and, represented by him, the entire people had access on that day to the presence of J″. As the representative of a sinful people, he naturally discarded his gorgeous high-priestly dress,* and assumed an attire, which, being plain and destitute of ornament, was such as became a suppliant suing for forgiveness; while, being white, it symbolised the purity and innocence required in those who appear in the immediate presence of the Holy One (cf. the angels in Ezk $9^{2. 3. 11}$ $10^{2. 6. 7}$, Dn 10^{5} $12^{6. 7}$). Nor can he, even then, complete the atonement for the people, until he has first offered atonement for his own sins; and when he enters the Holy of Holies, the incense burnt by him there forms, further, a protecting cloud, coming as a veil between himself and the holiness of J″, and at the same time possessing a propitiatory efficacy (Nu $16^{46f.}$).

Jos. (*Ant.* III. x. 3) gives a short account of the ceremonies of the Day of Atonement; and Philo, in his treatise *περὶ τῆς ἑβδομῆς*, § 23 (II. 296, Mangey), draws out the ethical teaching which he understands them to imply. Allusions to the holy day are also found in Sir $50^{5ff.}$, Ac 27^{9}, He $9^{7. 25}$.

The later Jews were not unconscious of the deeper spiritual truths of which the ceremonial of the Day of Atonement was the expression. Philo, for instance (*l.c.*), speaks of it as an occasion for the discipline of self-restraint in regard to bodily indulgences: the more effective, as it came at a season of the year when the fruits of the earth had just been gathered in, and the temptation to indulgence would be naturally the stronger; abstinence at such a season would raise men's thoughts from the gifts to the Giver, who could sustain life *καὶ διὰ τούτων καὶ ἄνευ τούτων.* Those who took part in the prayers for the day asked for forgiveness, not in dependence upon their own merits, *ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἵλεων φύσιν τοῦ συγγνώμην πρὸ κολάσεως ὁρίζοντος* (cf. *Vit. Mos.* ii. 4, II. 138; *Leg. Cai.* 39, II. 591). The Mishna also is careful to teach that the ceremonies of the Day of Atonement are ineffectual unless accompanied by repentance. 'Death and the Day of Atonement work atonement, where there is repentance (התשובה). Repentance makes atonement for slight transgressions, both of omission and of commission; and in the case of grave ones, it suspends punishment till the Day of Atonement comes, and brings atonement. If a man says, "I will sin, and (then) repent, I will sin, and (then) repent," Heaven does not give him the means of practising repentance; and if he says, "I will sin, and the Day of Atonement will bring atonement," the Day of Atonement will bring him no atonement' (*Yômā*, viii. 8–9).

The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews contrasts ($9^{6ff.}$) the work of the high priest on the Day of Atonement with the superior atoning efficacy of the work of Christ. The Jewish high priest entered once yearly * into the Holy of Holies, with the blood of appointed victims: Christ entered once for all into the true sanctuary, the actual presence of God, through His own blood; He obtained not a temporary, but an eternal deliverance (9^{11-12}), His blood is far more efficacious for the cleansing and renovation of human nature ($9^{11-14. 23-8}$) than that which was offered under the Jewish law. And whereas, under the Law, full access to God was limited to the high priest, and to him, moreover, under many restrictions of time and mode, Christ has opened a new and living way, by which those whose hearts are properly purged from an evil conscience may at all times have free access to the Father (9^{6-10} 10^{19-22}).

LITERATURE.—(*a*) The treatise of the Mishna, *Yômā*, with Lat. tr. and notes in Surenhusius' ed. of the Mishna, 1699, ii. p. 206 ff.; also ed. by Sheringham, 1648, ed. 2 (with an elaborate comparison [p. 105 ff.] of the work of the high priest with that of Christ, by J. Rhenferd), 1696; and (with Heb. text pointed, and short notes, and glossary) by H. L. Strack (Berlin, 1888): many passages of the *Gemara* on the same treatise are also translated by Wünsche, in *Der Babyl. Talmud in seinen Haggadischen Bestandtheilen*, i. (1886), pp. 340-389; see further, on the Jewish ritual of the day, Otho, *Lex. Rabb.* 1675,^{2} 1757 (*s.v.* Expiationis Festum); J. Lightfoot, *The Temple Service*, c. 15 (*Works*, 1684, ii. 961–4); J. A. Danz, 'Functio Pontif. M. anniversaria,' in Meuschen, *NT ex Talm. illustr.* 1736, pp. 912-1012 (with copious extracts from Jewish sources), followed, pp. 1013-39, by Rhenferd's 'Comparatio' (supr.); Maimonides, *Hilchoth yôm hak-kippurim*, etc., at the end of Delitzsch's *Comm. on the Hebrews*; Edersheim, *The Temple: its Ministry and Services*, pp. 263-288. (*b*) J. Spencer, *de Legg. Hebr.*^{2} (1686), III. viii.; Bähr, *Symb. des Mos. Cultus*, 1839, ii. 664 ff.; Oehler, *OT Theol.* §§ 140, 141; Schultz, *OT Theol.* i. 367 f., 402-6; Dillmann on Lv 16; Nowack, *Hebr. Arch.* ii. 183–194; Delitzsch, *ZKWL*, 1880, pp. 173–183; Kuenen, *Th. T.* 1883, pp. 207-212, and *Hex.* § 15. 32; Wellh. *Hist.* 110-112; Stade, *Gesch.* ii. 182, 258-260; Benzinger, *ZATW*, 1889, pp. 65-88.

S. R. DRIVER and H. A. WHITE.

ATROTH-BETH-JOAB.—See ATAROTH.

ATROTH-SHOPHAN (עַטְרֹת שׁוֹפָן. LXX has Σωφάρ and γὴν Σωφάρ, as well as Σωφάν [Swete's notes]).—A town of Gad (Nu 32^{35}). The identification is doubtful, as the tribes of Gad and Reuben seem confused, Dibon, Ataroth, and Aroer being given

---

an *ideal* atonement and reconciliation on behalf of the *nation*, as such; its benefits extending to *individuals*, only in so far as they had sinned involuntarily, or were truly penitent. Comp. Oehler, § 140 (Eng. tr. ii. 43 ff.); Riehm, *AT Theol.* § 37. 2; v. Orelli, in Herzog^{2}, xvi. 414; R. W. Dale, *The Atonement*, pp. 85, 466-470; C. G. Montefiore, *The Bible for Home Reading*, 1896, p. 144 ff. (where the ancient significance of this annual rite is well pointed out).

* His dress became, in fact, almost that of the ordinary priests, except that he had still a 'turban' (מצנפת)—though only one of white linen, not his usual decorated one (Ex $28^{36f.}$)—instead of a 'cap' (מגבעה, Ex 28^{40}), and a plain linen 'sash' (אבנט), instead of a coloured one (Ex 28^{40}).

* *ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ* (9^{7}). Exactly the same expression is used by Philo (*Leg. Gai. l.c.*; cf. *De Mon.* ii. 2, II. 223; and *ἅπαξ κατ' ἐνιαυτόν*, Jos. *BJ* v. v. 7 *end*, 3 Mac 1^{11}). The meaning is, of course, on one *day* in the year, not on one *occasion*: Lv 16^{13-15} implies more than one entrance on the day; according to the Mishna, the high priest entered four times, viz. with the incense (*Yômā*, v. 1), with the blood of the bullock (v. 3), with the blood of the goat (v. 4), and at the close of the day, after the ordinary evening burnt-offering, to fetch out the censer and incense-dish, which he had left there (vii. 4).

(v.^{34}) as cities of Gad, while they certainly were in Reuben's territory. If Atroth-shophan lay near Ataroth, it may be, as Tristram suggests (*Land of Moab*, p. 276), that the cone-shaped *Jebel 'Attarûs* represents the former and *Khurbet 'Attarûs* the latter. If it lay near Jazer and Jogbehah (which see), named immed. after it, it must be sought farther N.—possibly at Safût beside the latter.

A. HENDERSON.

ATTAI (עַתַּי).—**1.** A Jerahmeelite (1 Ch 2$^{35, 36}$). **2.** A Gadite warrior who joined David at Ziklag (1 Ch 12^{11}). **3.** One of Rehoboam's sons (2 Ch 11^{20}).

ATTAIN has now lost its literal meaning 'to reach *a place*,' which occurs in Ac 27^{12} 'if by any means they might attain to Phenice' (RV 'reach Phœnix'). Elsewhere in AV the meaning is fig., as now. In Ph 3^{11} the same Gr. verb (*καταντάω*) is used as in Ac 27^{12} just quoted, 'if by any means I might a. unto the resurrection from the dead.' But in the next verse ('not as though I had already a$^{\text{ed}}$') the verb is different (*λαμβάνω*, RV 'obtained'), being connected rather with the verb (*καταλαμβάνω*) tr$^{\text{d}}$ 'apprehend' in the same verse. See APPREHEND. In Ph 3^{16} 'whereto we have already a$^{\text{ed}}$,' there is no word corresp. to 'already' in Gr., 'already a$^{\text{ed}}$' is an attempt to tr. *φθάνω*, which, in Ro 9^{31} is tr$^{\text{d}}$ 'attain' simply. But in Ph 3^{12} an adv. (*ἤδη*) is used. In 1 Ti 4^{6} AV gives a wrong direction to the thought: 'good doctrine, whereunto thou hast attained' (Gr. *παρακολουθέω*, RV correctly, 'which thou hast followed,' adding *until now* to complete the sense). J. HASTINGS.

ATTALIA (*'Ατταλία*) was a city on the coast of Pamphylia, founded by Attalus II. Philadelphus (B.C. 159–138), as the harbour (Ac 14^{25}) through which the S. parts of the great Pergamenian kingdom might communicate with the S. sea, with Syria, and with Egypt; and throughout subsequent history it has retained its name and its importance as a seaport. It is now (or at least was until steamships revived some other harbours like Mersina) the chief harbour of the S. coast of Asia Minor, bearing the name Adalia. In the Byzantine ecclesiastical system A. was originally subject to Perga, the metropolis of Pamphylia Secunda, but in 1084 it was made a metropolis; there can be no doubt that this elevation in rank was due to the fact that Perga had completely decayed, and was a mere name, giving a title to the metropolitan bishop. The small harbour of A. is still used by boats, though steamships anchor outside, and it was in use in the end of the 12th cent. (*Anna Commena*, ii. p. 113). The river Catarrhactes flowed into the sea near A., though it has now been diverted into so many channels for irrigation and other purposes that it hardly deserves to be called a river. The cults mentioned at A. seem all to spring from its Pergamenian origin, as Zeus Soter, Athena, Apollo Archegetes.

LITERATURE.—The best account of A. is in Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, i. pp. 6–32 and 153–163: see also Beaufort, *Karamania*; Spratt and Forbes, *Lycia*.

W. M. RAMSAY.

ATTALUS (*"Ατταλος*, 1 Mac 15^{22}).—Attalus II. Philadelphus was king of Pergamum 159–138 B.C. He promoted the imposture of Alexander Balas, who claimed to be a son of Antiochus Epiphanes (Justin, xxxv. 1), and sent a body of troops to Syria to support the pretender. When the embassy sent by Simon Maccabæus came to Rome (B.C. 139), the Senate passed a decree in favour of the Jews, and wrote to the kings of Pergamum, Egypt, Syria, Cappadocia, and Parthia, and to several small autonomous States, instructing them to respect the independence of the Jewish territory. Josephus (*Ant.* XIV. viii. 5) records a decree of the Senate in favour of the Jews, which he assigns to the time of Hyrcanus II. But the terms and circumstances of this decree resemble so closely those of the decree referred to in 1 Mac 15$^{16-24}$, that many modern scholars consider that the *Senatus-consultum* preserved by Josephus is really to be connected with the embassy of Simon. Cf. esp. Schürer, *HJP* I. i. 266 ff. H. A. WHITE.

ATTENDANCE in the obs. meaning of *attention* is found 1 Ti 4^{13} 'Till I come *give a.* (RV 'heed') to reading.' Cf. Barrow, *Works*, vol. iii. sec. 22, 'What is learning but diligent attendance to instruction of masters?' The same Gr. verb (*προσέχω*) is used He 7^{13} 'no man *gave a.* at the altar'; but it is generally tr$^{\text{d}}$ 'give heed to,' as Ac 8$^{6. 10. 11}$: in 1 Ti 3^{8} it is used in a bad sense '*given* to much wine.' In 1 Mac 15^{32} attendance = retinue.

J. HASTINGS.

ATTENT and 'attentive' were both in use, and both are found in AV without difference of meaning, the former in 2 Ch 6^{40} 'let thine ears be attent unto the prayer,' and 7^{15}. J. HASTINGS.

ATTHARATES (A *'Ατθαράτης*, B *'Ατταρατή*), 1 Es 9^{49}.—A corruption of the title 'the Tirshatha,' cf. Neh 8^{9}, and see Attharias.

ATTHARIAS (*'Ατθαρίας*, AV **Atharias**).—A corruption of הַתִּרְשָׁתָא 'the Tirshatha,' which appears as a proper name in 1 Es 5^{40}, cf. Ezr 2^{63} *'Αθερσαθά*, A (*'Αθερσαά*, B). The mention of '*Nehemias* and Atharias' in 1 Es is doubly a mistake; Zerubbabel the Tirshatha is referred to.

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

ATTIRE.—See DRESS.

ATTUS (A *'Αττούς*, B om., Tisch.^{3} *Λαττούς*, AV **Lettus**), 1 Es 8^{29} called son of Sechenias.—He was grandson of Shechaniah (1 Ch 3^{22}). The same as Hattush, Ezr 8^{2}, where 'of the sons of Shecaniah' has been wrongly attached to the next clause. The form in AV and Tisch. is due to confusion of Λ and A. H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

AUDIENCE.—Now 'the people gathered to hear,' signifies always in AV after Lat. *audientia*, the act of hearing or attention to what is spoken. In OT the word is simply 'ears' (אָזְנַיִם), as Gn 23^{10} 'in the a. of the children of Heth.' In NT 'give a.' occurs Ac 13^{16} 15^{12} 22^{22}, where the Gr. is simply *ἀκούω*, *hear*; so Lk 20^{45} 'in the a. of all the people'; but Lk 7^{1} 'when he had ended all his sayings in the a. of the people,' the Gr. is *εἰς τὰς ἀκοάς*, 'in the ears.' J. HASTINGS.

AUGIA (*Αὐγία*), 1 Es 5^{38}.—A daughter of Zorzelleus or Barzillai. Her descendants by Jaddus were among the priests who could not trace their genealogy after the return under Zerubbabel, and were removed from the priesthood. Her name is not given in the lists of Ezr and Neh, and is omitted here by the Vulg.; perhaps it has arisen out of 'the Gileadite,' which follows Barzillai in those lists. H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

AUGURY.—Lv 19^{26}, Dt 18$^{10. 14}$, 2 K 21^{6}, 2 Ch 33^{6}, all RV, for AV 'times.' See DIVINATION.

AUGUSTUS (*Αὔγουστος*, Lk 2^{1}; *Σεβαστός*, Ac 25$^{21. 25}$).—**1.** The first Roman emperor. His original name was that of his father, Caius Octavius; as the heir of Cæsar, who was his granduncle, he received the names Julius Cæsar; in his subsequent career he was designated Caius Julius Cæsar Octavianus. The title Augustus was given him by the Senate after he had attained to supreme power. Augustus was born B.C. 63.

After spending a studious youth, he came suddenly to the front at the death of Cæsar (B.C. 44), when he began to manifest the singular adroitness of character by which he made and maintained his position. Marching against Antony ostensibly in defence of the republic, he came to terms with the usurper. At first he had the chief place in a triumvirate. But one after another his rivals were removed out of his way, till the defeat of Antony at Actium (B.C. 31) left him undisputed master of the Roman world. In B.C. 29 he returned to Rome, and thenceforth ruled autocratically under the forms of republicanism, establishing and preserving order throughout his wide dominions, till he died in old age, saddened by family trouble, morose and suspicious, leaving Tiberius, whom he had already associated with himself in the government, as his successor (A.D. 14). As the Jews were subject to Rome, Augustus became their supreme ruler. After the battle of Actium, Herod, previously a supporter of Antony, passed over to the victorious side, and was confirmed in his kingdom by Augustus, who added to his territory on the occasion of a subsequent visit to Syria (B.C. 20, Jos. *Ant.* XV. x. 3). In honour of the emperor, Herod erected a marble temple at Panias, built the capital, Cæsarea (B.C. 10), and rebuilt Samaria, calling it *Sebaste*. After Herod's death Augustns carried out his wishes in the division of his kingdom among his sons (Jos. *Ant.* XVII. xi. 4), but subsequently joined Judæa and Samaria to the province of Syria, exiling their ruler Archelaus (Jos. *Ant.* XVII. xiii. 2). Jesus Christ was born in the time of Augustus, and was about eighteen years old when the emperor died. Augustus ordered a more or less complete census to be taken on four occasions, viz. in B.C. 26 and 6, A.D. 4 and 14 (Lk 2^{1}).

2. The title of subsequent Roman emperors. The Augustus (Σεβαστός) mentioned in Ac $25^{21.25}$ (AV) is Nero. In RV the word is translated 'the emperor.'

LITERATURE.—Dion Cassius; Suetonius; Tacitus; Josephus; Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*; Duruy, *History of Rome* (edited by Mabaffy); Gardthausen, *Augustus und Seine Zeit*; H. Schiller, *Geschichte der rōmischen Kaiserzeit*; Hertzberg, *Geschichte des rōmischen Kaiserreiches*.

W. F. ADENEY.

AUGUSTUS' BAND (Ac 27^{1} σπεῖρα Σεβαστή, RV 'the Augustan Band').—A similar name is *the Italian Band* (Ac 10^{1} σπεῖρα Ἰταλική). In each case RVm has 'cohort' for 'band.'

The two designations have been fully discussed by E. Egli (to whom I am chiefly indebted in the following article) in *ZWTh.* xxvii. (1884) p. 10 ff. In both cases it may be said that there is *no reference to Roman legionaries.* Judæa from 6 A.D. to shortly before 70 A.D. was in the position of the 'inermes provinciæ,' and was garrisoned only by auxiliary troops. The bulk of these auxiliaries were provincials; thus, in the case of Cæsarea, Josephus tells us (*BJ* II. xiii. 7; cf. *Ant.* XIX. ix. 2) that the larger part of the garrison consisted of Syrians.

The Augustan and Italian bands (cohorts), therefore, were not in any case legionary. The latter, no doubt, was one of the many 'cohortes civium Romanorum,' 'cohortes Italicorum voluntariorum,' which consisted of volunteers recruited in Italy, *i.e.* for the most part of Italians who had been unable to find service in the Prætorian Guard.

The Augustan band (which may or may not be identical with the Italian band) had the name 'Augustan' as a title of honour. We read on an inscription: 'Ala Aug(usta) ob virtutem appellata' (Orelli's *Corpus*, No. 3412). Egli, following Schürer, is inclined to accept as proved that this title of honour was sometimes borne by *auxiliary* as well as by legionary troops. We have, however, no monumental evidence to *prove* that any Cæsarean cohort was called 'augusta.'

As regards strength, a cohort sometimes numbered 1000, sometimes 500 men. As regards composition, a cohort was sometimes made up of 760 infantry and 240 cavalry. Such a cohort was called a 'militaria equitata.' See BAND, CAPTAIN.

W. E. BARNES.

AUL is the spelling in mod. edd. of AV. The spelling of 1611 was 'aule.' Wyclif (1382) has 'alle,' Ex 21^{6} 'he shal thril his car with an alle' (ed. 1388 'a nal,' a mistake arising from joining the *n* of 'an' to 'awl,' the forms nal, nall, nalle, and nawl being found. Cf. Topsell (1607), 'The worm . . . must be pulled out by some naul or needle'). Geneva Bible has 'awle,' (Coverdale, 'botkin'), RV 'awl.' See AWL.

J. HASTINGS.

AUTEAS (Αὐταίας, Hodiah RVm, Hodijah AVm).—A Levite who taught the law under Ezra (1 Es 9^{48}). Called Hodiah, Neh 8^{7}.

AUTHORIZED VERSION.—See VERSIONS.

AVARAN (Αὐαράν, Vulg. *Abaron*, Syr. ܚܘܪܢ (Ḥauran), 1 Mac 2^{5}, but in 6^{43} Σαυαράν A, Αὔραν ℵ V, Vulg. *Saura*, Syr. as before), surname of Eleazar, the brother of Judas Maccabæus. The name probably signifies 'pale' (חַוְרָן, from חור, *to be white*, or *pale*).

H. A. WHITE.

AVEN (אָוֶן).—A place-name occurring in this form in Ezk 30^{17}. The LXX gives Ἡλίου πόλις, the usual Gr. name of On, and it is evident that the name was intentionally distorted from On to Aven, 'idolatry' (see *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*), by a punning change of vocalisation quite permissible in Heb. The slight was the more contemptuous, as On was sacerdotally the most important city in Egypt. With regard to the context it should be remembered that On, lying on the main road between the heart of Egypt (at Memphis) and Syria, has been a notable battlefield on many occasions, even since the ruin of the city. See BETH-SHEMESH and ON.

The Plain (בִּקְעָה *biḳah*) of Aven (Am 1^{5}, RV 'the valley of Aven') is probably the Plain of Cœle-Syria, so called from the idolatrous worship of the Sun in the great temple of Baalbek.

F. LL. GRIFFITH.

AVENGE is found in AV both as trans. and intrans. verb. 1. As a trans. verb the object may be (1) a *person*, and then the meaning is 'to vindicate' by punishing the offender. Thus (*a*) actively, Lk 18^{3} 'A. me of mine adversary,' Nu 31^{3} 'a. the LORD of Midian' (RV 'execute the LORD's vengeance on M.'); (*b*) pass., 1 S 14^{24} 'that I may be a^{d} on mine enemies'; (*c*) reflex., 2 S 18^{19} 'the LORD hath a^{d} him of his enemies.' The prep. that governs the offender is indifferently *on* or *of*. (2) The object may be a *thing*, and the meaning 'to take satisfaction for,' as Dt 32^{43} 'he will a. the blood of his servants.'* 2. As an intrans. vb. it is rare, and occurs in AV once only, Lv 19^{18} 'Thou shalt not a. nor bear any grudge against the children of thy people.' In mod. usage 'a.' is retained for the sense of just vengeance, while 'revenge' is used for the gratification of resentment. This distinction does not obtain in AV, but RV has endeavoured to introduce it. Thus Jer 15^{15} 'a. me of my persecutors' (for AV 'revenge me'), Nah 1^{2} 'The LORD is a jealous God and a^{eth} (AV 'revengeth'), and 2 Co 10^{6} 'being in readiness to a. all disobedience' (AV 'revenge'). Cf. also 'avenger' for 'revenger' in Nu $35^{19.21.24.25.27}$, 2 S 14^{11}, Ro 13^{4}, and 'avenging' (subst.) for 'revenge,' 2 Co 7^{11}. Again, Lv 19^{18} 'thou shalt not a.' (RV 'take vengeance'); in Ro 12^{19} 'Avenge not yourselves, beloved,' is retained, because the ref. is to righteous vengeance. **Avenger of blood.** See GOEL. **Avengement** is found 2 S 22^{48m}, and avengements Ps 18^{47m} for 'vengeance.' Cf. Edward Irving, *Babylon*, ii. 319, 'The Lord, in all His avengements, hath . . . an eye . . . to the reformation of the wicked.' J. HASTINGS.

---

* Once the person *on whom the vengeance falls* is made the subject of the verb, Gn 4^{24} 'If Cain shall be avenged sevenfold, truly Lamech seventy and sevenfold.' This is the sense in which the passage is taken by the Douay Bible, which translates, 'Sevenfould vengeance shall be taken of Cain,' and adds the comment, 'by prolongation of his miserable life til his seventh generation, when one of his own issue slew him.' AV follows the Geneva, which has the marg. note, 'He mocked at God's sufferance in Kain, jesting as though God would suffer none to punish him, and yet give him licence to murther others.' But the Heb. means, 'if Cain shall take vengeance for any wrong done him, Lamech (perhaps with the use of the new weapons) much more.' So Del.: 'Denn siebenfach wird Kain gerächt,' Dillm., etc. Cf. G. W. Wade, *The Book of Genesis* (1896), p. 214, 'The Song of Lamech celebrates the invention of weapons, and implies that the possession of them confers the power of exacting greater vengeance than that demanded by God against anyone who might slay Kain.'

AVITH (עֲוִית), Gn 36^{35}.—A Moabite city. The site is unknown.

AVOID.—This verb is used thirteen times in AV (counting Wis $16^{4.16}$ one), yet it does not twice translate the same word. In 1 S 18^{11} there is an instance of the intrans. use, 'David a^{ed} out of his presence twice.' Cf. North, *Plutarch*, 'they made proclamation . . . that all the Volsces should avoid out of Rome before sunset.' In this sense 'avoid' is most frequently used in the imperative. Thus Coverdale's tr. of Mt 16^{23} is 'Auoyde fro me, Sathan.' Cf. Shaks. *Comedy of Errors*, IV. iii. 48—

'Satan, avoid! I charge thee, tempt me not!'

J. HASTINGS.

AVOUCH.—Dt $26^{17.18}$ only, 'Thou hast a^{ed} the LORD this day to be thy God . . . and the LORD hath a^{ed} thee this day to be his peculiar people.' *Advocare* became in French first *avouer*, whence Eng. 'avow,' and then *avochier*, whence 'avouch,' the latter with a more technical meaning, 'to call on one in law as defender, guarantor,' etc. In AV avouch is scarcely to be distinguished from the use of 'avow' with a person as obj. 'to acknowledge, declare to be one's own.' J. HASTINGS.

AVVA, AVVIM, AVVITES (הָעַוִּים, οἱ Εὐαῖοι).—The spelling **Avim, Avites** is incorrect. 1. A people which lived in villages near Gaza, and was superseded by the Caphtorite Philistines (Dt 2^{23}). In the Sept. their name is confounded with that of the Hivvites, and some scholars have regarded them as a branch of the Hivvites. That they were not so, but were of the giant peoples of Pal., is rendered probable by two considerations: (1) they are spoken of in Dt 2 precisely as are the other giant peoples, except that they are not expressly said to be *rephaim*; (2) the name is uniformly used in the plural ('the Avvim,' that is, the Avvites, not the Avvite), a usage by which the Philistines as a whole, and the several giant peoples, are distinguished from the Can. peoples. That they once had possessions in the mountain country, as well as near Gaza, may be probably inferred from the fact that one of the towns of Benjamin was called 'the Avvim' (Jos 18^{23}). The statement that the Caphtorim destroyed them does not necessarily imply that they were then exterminated; and we find them mentioned among the peoples that Joshua failed to conquer, along with the Philistines but not of them, the Avvites going along with the Gazite, the Gittite, the Ekronite, etc. (Jos 13^{3}). Presumably, these Avvim are to be identified with the Anakim who were left over in Gaza, Gath, and Ashdod (Jos 11^{22}), and were the ancestors of the giants of David's time. See GIANT, REPHAIM.

2. People from Avva (cf. Ivvah, 2 K 18^{34} 19^{13}, Is 37^{13}), whom the king of Assyria settled in N. Israel after the capture of Samaria, and who set up idolatrous worship there (2 K $17^{24.31}$).

W. J. BEECHER.

AVVIM (עַוִּים), Jos 18^{23}.—A town of Benjamin, unknown. See preceding art.

AWAIT.—Only Ac 9^{24} 'their laying await (Gr. ἡ ἐπιβουλὴ αὐτῶν, RV 'their plot') was known of Saul.' Await is often read as if it were an adv.; it is, however, a subst. Tindale has simply 'There awayte wer knowen of Saul.' Blount, *Law Dict.* (1691), says, 'Await seems to signify what we now call *waylaying* or lying in *wait*, to execute some mischief.' J. HASTINGS.

AWAY WITH.—1. Is 1^{18} 'the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with.' Although with the force of a verb, it is really an adv. with the verb elided, *get away with*, *i.e.* get on with, tolerate. Cf. More, *Utopia*, p. 165 (Arber ed.), 'He could not away with the fashions of his country folk'; and Sanderson, *Serm.* (1621), 'He being the Father of lyes . . . cannot away with the Truth.' The Heb. has a still greater ellipsis than the Eng., being simply לֹא־אוּכַל *I cannot.* Such verbs, however, as יָכֹל *to be able*, מֵאֵן *to refuse*, are really trans. in Heb. See Davidson, *Syntax*, p. 129. 2. Other elliptical expressions, as Ex 19^{24} 'Away, get thee down' (RV 'Go, get thee down'), Ac 22^{22} 'Away with such a fellow from the earth,' are easily explained and still in use. 3. 'Make him away' in 1 Mac 16^{22} = 'make away with him' (RV 'destroy him'; cf. Wis 12^{9} AV 'to destroy them at once,' RV 'to make away with them at once'). J. HASTINGS.

AWE.—Besides He 12^{28} RV (for AV 'reverence,' Gr. δέος), only in the phrase 'stand in awe.' AV gives Ps 4^{4} (רִגְזוּ), 33^{8} (גּוּר), and 119^{161} (פָּחַד). RV retains these, changing also 'fear' into 'stand in awe' in Ps 22^{23} (יָרֵא), Is 29^{23} (עָרַץ); and 'was afraid' into 'stood in awe of' in 1 S 18^{15} (גּוּר), Mal 2^{5} (חָתַת). Ruskin (*Mod. Painters*, II. III. i. 14, § 26) says that *awe* is the contemplation of dreadfulness from a position of safety, as a stormy sea from the shore; while *fear* is the contemplation of dreadfulness when one is obnoxious to danger from it. Perhaps it was with a feeling for some distinction of this kind that RV made those changes; but in old Eng. *awe* stood for fear or dread even of an acute kind, and no such distinction can be discovered in AV either from the Heb. or the English words. Cf. Shaks. *J. C.* I. ii. 95—

'I had as lief not be as live to be
In awe of such a thing as I myself.'

J. HASTINGS.

AWL (מַרְצֵעַ).—An instrument mentioned in Ex 21^{6} and Dt 15^{17} in connexion with the boring of the ear of a slave. In Syria the awl is used only by shoemakers and other workers in leather. It is straight, and tapers to a sharp point.

W. CARSLAW.

AX, AXE (in most modern editions of AV spelt *ax*, although the edition of 1611 had *axe* throughout) is EV tr. of seven Heb. words, the distinction between which cannot always be discovered. 1. גַּרְזֶן (probably 'pick-axe') Dt 19^{5} 20^{19}, 1 K 6^{7}, Is 10^{15}. 2. חֶרֶב (properly 'sword') Ezk 26^{9}. 3. כַּשִּׁיל (RV 'hatchet') Ps 74^{6}. 4. מְגֵרָה 2 S 12^{31}. The same word should be read in the parallel passage 1 Ch 20^{3b} for 5. מְגֵרָה, which means 'saw' (cf. 3^{a} and 2 S 12^{31a}). 6. מַעֲצָד Is 44^{12} (AV 'tongs'), Jer 10^{3}. 7. קַרְדֹּם Jg 9^{48}, 1 S $13^{20.21}$, Ps 74^{5}, Jer 46^{22}.

In NT *axe* occurs twice (Mt 3^{10}, Lk 3^{9}) as tr. of ἀξίνη. See also the following article.

J. A. SELBIE.

AXE.—Two types of axe were known in both Egypt and Palestine. One was developed from the stone axe, and is longer from back to edge than it is across.

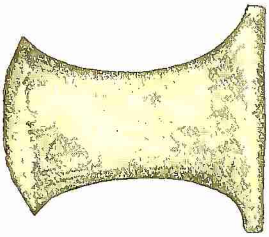

BRONZE AXE.
(From Tell el Hesy.)*

The other type was purely metallic, and was developed from a sharp edge of metal inserted into a stick, as seen in early Egyp. forms.

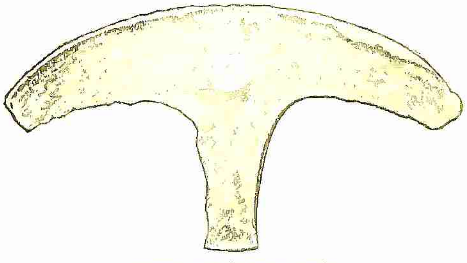

COPPER AXE (BATTLE AXE?).
(From Tell el Hesy.)*

Probably the first type was used as a tool, the second as a weapon.

In Egypt the axe was attached to the handle, but neither passed through the other. In Assyria the axe appears to have passed through the handle (Bonomi, *Nineveh*, fig. 69). But the handle passing through the axe, as in modern usage, is unknown until the Roman age.

The material of axes as tools was first stone, then copper, bronze, and, lastly, iron. The latter metal was unknown for tools in Egypt, and still rare in Assyria at 700 B.C. Hence the use of the word 'iron' for axe-head among a party of peasants in Pal. two centuries earlier (2 K 6^{5}), seems as if it were a variation due to a later copyist.

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

AXLE, AXLETREE.—See WHEEL.

AZAEL ('Αζάηλος).—Father of the Jonathan who with Ezekias undertook the investigation of the matter of the foreign marriages (1 Es 9^{14}, cf. Ezr 10^{15} Asahel).

AZAELUS (B 'Αζάηλος, A 'Αζαήλ), 1 Es 9^{34}.—One of those who put away their 'strange' wives after the return under Ezra. There is no corresponding name in Ezr 10^{41}.

AZALIAH (אֲצַלְיָהוּ 'whom J″ hath set apart'; 2 K 22^{3}, 2 Ch 34^{8}).—Father of Shaphan, the scribe under Josiah.

AZANIAH (אֲזַנְיָה 'J″ hath heard').—A Levite (Neh 10^{9}). See GENEALOGY.

AZARAIAS (B 'Αζαραίας, A Ζαραίας, AV Saraias), 1 Es 8^{1}.—Seraiah, the father, or more prob. a more remote ancestor, of Ezra (*Speaker's Com.* on 2 Es 1^{1}).

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

AZAREL (עֲזַרְאֵל).—1. A Korhite follower of David at Ziklag (1 Ch 12^{6}). 2. A son of Heman (1 Ch 25^{18}), called in v.^{4} Uzziel. 3. Son of Jeroham, prince of the tribe of Dan when David numbered the people (1 Ch 27^{22}). 4. A son of Bani, who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{41}). 5. A priest, the son of Ahzai (Neh 11^{13}). 6. One of the Levite musicians who marched upon the right at the dedication of the walls (Neh 12^{36}). (AV has in the first five instances Azareel, and in No. 6 Azarael.)

J. A. SELBIE.

AZARIAH (עֲזַרְיָהוּ, עֲזַרְיָה 'Whom J″ aids').—1. King of Judah; see UZZIAH. 2. 2 Ch 22^{6} for Ahaziah. 3. 2 Ch 15$^{1-8}$ a prophet, son of Oded, who met Asa's victorious army, on their return from defeating Zerah the Ethiopian, at Mareshah, and urged them to begin and persevere in a religious reform. His speech is a general illustration, from the experience of the past, of his opening words: 'The Lord is with you while ye be with him; and if ye seek him, he will be found of you; but if ye forsake him, he will forsake you.' It is conceived in the same spirit as the historical retrospects in Jg 2$^{11-23}$ and Neh 9. 'Now, for long seasons' (v.^{3}), 'in those times' (v.^{5}), refer to periods of national defection; 'the inhabitants of the lands,' 'nation against nation' (vv.$^{5.6}$), are magniloquent indications of the foreign oppressions, or the civil wars between the various tribes of Israel (cf. Gn 25^{16}). Kamphausen renders the whole passage in the future; but a prediction seems irrelevant here. In v.^{8} 'Azariah' should be read for 'Oded,' with Pesh. Vulg. A; B has 'Αδάδ, but 'Ωδήδ in v.^{1}, where A has 'Αδάδ (in 28^{9} both have 'Ωδήδ). 4. High priest in the reign of Solomon, 1 K 4^{2}, where he is called son of Zadok, though really of Ahimaaz (1 Ch 6^{9}). The note in 1 Ch 6^{10} 'he it is that executed the priest's office in the house that Solomon built in Jerusalem,' is misplaced, and must refer to this man, and not to his grandson of the same name. 5. 1 Ch 6^{10}, Ezr 7^{3}, father of Amariah, who was high priest under Jehoshaphat. This man, therefore, must have held the office in the reign of Asa; on this list see AMARIAH, Nos. 2, 3. 6. High priest in the reign of Uzziah (2 Ch 26$^{16-20}$), who with his attendant priests withstood and denounced the king when he presumptuously attempted to usurp the priests' office of burning incense upon the altar. The wrath of Uzziah at being thus resisted, and his persistence, were at once divinely punished. An earthquake took place (Jos. *Ant.* IX. x. 4; cf. Am 1^{1}, Zec 14^{5}); 'the leprosy brake forth in his forehead'; the priests 'looked upon him' (cf. Lv 13^{3}), and thrust him out of the temple. In 2 K 15^{5} we only read that 'the Lord smote the king, so that he was a leper.' The conclusion is almost inevitable, that here, as often elsewhere, the Chronicler has supplied a justification for the afflictions of a good man. The narrative acquires additional significance when we note that in expanding 1 K 9^{25}, he omits the statement that Solomon 'burnt incense upon the altar that was before the Lord.' 7. 2 Ch 31^{10}, high priest in the reign of Hezekiah, described as 'chief priest, of the house of Zadok,' and 'the ruler of the house of God' (v.^{13}). This last phrase is also found in 1 Ch 9^{11}, Neh 11^{11}, where it is uncertain whether it refers to Ahitub II. or to Azariah (Seraiah), *i.e.* Eliashib, as representative of that house (Rawlinson). A very similar title is applied in Jer 20^{1} to Pashhur, who was not high priest. Perhaps the office indicated is that of the 'Captain of the temple' (Ac 4^{1} 5$^{24.26}$). To this high priest and to Hezekiah the Chronicler ascribes the building of store chambers in the temple to receive the oblations of the people. 8. In the genealogy of Jehozadak, 1 Ch 6$^{13.14}$, and in that of Ezra, Ezr 7^{1}, Azariah (Ezerias, 1 Es 8^{1}; Azarias,

---

* By kind permission of the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

2 Es 1^{1}) is son of Hilkiah, high priest under Josiah, and father of Seraiah, who was killed by Nebuchadrezzar. There is room in the history for such a high priest; but in 1 Ch 9^{11}, Neh 11^{11}, in a list of those priests who dwelt in Jerusalem in the time of Nehemiah, is found an Azariah or Seraiah, whose genealogy is traced up to the second Ahitub, and is all but identical with that of Jehozadak and Ezra. This Azariah must be the priest clan, second in the list, Neh 10^{2}; called Ezra (עֶזְרָא) in the lists, Neh 12$^{1.13}$, where it comes third. In Neh 12^{33}, where both Azariah and Ezra are mentioned, perhaps the former is the same as Seraiah; see No. 7. **9.** 1 K 4^{5}, a son of Nathan, who 'was over the officers,' *i.e.* the twelve commissariat officers (v.^{7}). **10.** 1 Ch 2^{8}, son of the Ethan whose wisdom was surpassed by that of Solomon (1 K 4^{31}). **11.** 1 Ch 2^{38}, a man of Judah who had Egyptian blood in his veins (v.^{34}). **12.** 1 Ch 6^{36}, a Kohathite Levite (called Uzziah in 1 Ch 6^{24}), an ancestor of the prophet Samuel. **13, 14.** 2 Ch 21^{2}, Azariah and Azariahu, two of the six sons of Jehoshaphat, to whom their father gave 'great gifts' and 'fenced cities,' and who were slain by their elder brother Jehoram on his accession (B om. both, but A has them). **15, 16.** 2 Ch 23^{1}, Azariah and Azariahu, two of the five 'captains of hundreds' who assisted Jehoiada in the restoration of Joash. It is just possible that the second of these, 'the son of Obed,' may be the same as No. 11, who was the grandson of Obed. **17.** 2 Ch 28^{12}, one of the four 'heads of the children of Ephraim,' in the reign of Pekah, who supported the prophet Oded when he rebuked the army of Israel for purposing to enslave the captives of Judah. He and his fellows treated the captives kindly, and conducted them back to Jericho. **18, 19.** 2 Ch 29^{12}, two Levites, a Kohathite and a Merarite. The son of the former, Joel, and the latter, were among those who took a leading part in cleansing the temple in the reign of Hezekiah. **20.** Neh 3^{23}, one of those who repaired the wall of Jerusalem, probably a priest. **21.** Neh 7^{7}, called Seraiah, Ezr 2^{2}; Zacharias, 1 Es 5^{8}; one of the twelve leaders of Israel who returned with Zerubbabel. **22.** Neh 8^{7} (LXX om.); Azarias, 1 Es 9^{48}, one of those who helped the Levites to 'cause the people to understand the law.' **23.** Jer 43^{2}, son of Hoshaiah (the Maacathite, 40^{8}), also called Jezaniah (40^{8}, 42^{1}), Jaazaniah (2 K 25^{23}), etc. He was one of the 'captains of the forces' who joined Gedaliah at Mizpah. They warned him of his danger (Jer 40^{13}), and endeavoured to avenge his murder (41^{11}). But, the assassin escaping, they feared lest they should be implicated in the affair, and prepared to flee into Egypt. They then went through the form of consulting Jeremiah; but when he advised them to stay in Judæa, 'all the proud men' refused, and carried off the prophet to Egypt. **24.** The Heb. name of Abednego, Dn 1$^{6.7.11.19}$ 2^{17} (see HANANIAH).

N. J. D. WHITE.

AZARIAS (Ἀζαρίας).—**1.** 1 Es 9^{21}, called Uzziah, Ez 10^{21}. **2.** 1 Es 9^{43}, one of those who stood beside Ezra at the reading of the law: the name is omitted in Neh 8^{4}. **3.** 1 Es 9^{48}, called Azariah, Neh 8^{7}. **4.** Name assumed by the angel Raphael (To 5^{12} 6$^{5.13}$ 7^{8} 9^{2}). **5.** A captain in the army of Judas Maccabæus (1 Mac 5$^{18.56.60}$).

AZARU (B Ἄζαρος, A Ἄζουρος, AV Azuran), 1 Es 5^{15}.—The progenitor of a family of 432 who returned with Zerubbabel. There is no corresp. name in the lists of Ezr and Neh. He is perhaps identical with Azzur (B Ἀδούρ; ℵ A Ἀζούρ) in Neh 10^{17}.

AZAZ (עָזָז), a Reubenite, the father of Bela (1 Ch 5^{8}). See GENEALOGY.

AZAZEL (עֲזָאזֵל).—The name of the spirit (Lv 16$^{8.10.26}$), supposed to have its abode in the wilderness, to whom, on the Day of Atonement, the goat laden with the sins of the people was sent (*ib.* v.$^{20-22}$). 'Azazel is not mentioned elsewhere in OT; but the name occurs in the Book of Enoch (2nd cent. B.C.) as that of the leader of the evil angels who (Gn 6$^{2.4}$) formed unions with the daughters of men, and (as the legend is developed in the Book of Enoch) taught them various arts, and whose offspring, the giants, filled the earth with unrighteousness and blood. On account of the wickedness wrought by 'Azazel upon earth, the four archangels, Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, and Raphael (9^{1} Gr.), are represented as impeaching him before the Almighty, who thereupon (ch. 10) bids Raphael bind him hand and foot, and secure him, under 'rough and jagged rocks,' at a place in the desert called 'Dudael,' until on 'the great day of judgment' he is cast into the fire.[*] Whether this legend is developed from the notice of 'Azazel in Lv, taken in connexion with the fact that the goat was actually, in the time of the Second Temple, led away to perish at the spot referred to, or whether the belief in the existence of such a spirit, bound in the wilderness, had already arisen at the time when the ceremonial of Lv 16 was framed, we do not know: the latter alternative is supported by Cheyne (*ZATW* 1895, pp. 153–156), who supposes that the aim of this part of the ritual of the Day of Atonement was partly to provide the ignorant people with a visible token of the removal of the sins of the year, partly to abolish the cultus of the *se'îrîm* (Lv 17^{7}, 2 Ch 11^{15}, 2 K 23^{8} [reading שׂעירים *he-goats*, for שׁערים *gates*]; cf. Is 13^{21} 34^{14}), by substituting a single personal angel, 'Azazel (evil no doubt by nature, but rendered harmless by being bound), for the crowd of impersonal and dangerous *se'îrîm*. But whatever the precise attributes with which 'Azazel was invested at the time when the ritual of Lv 16 was framed, there can be little doubt that the ceremonial was intended as a symbolical declaration that the land and people are now purged from guilt, their sins being handed over to the evil spirit to whom they are held to belong, and whose home is in the desolate wilderness, remote from human habitations (v.^{22} 'into a land cut off'). No doubt the rite is a survival from an older stage of popular belief, engrafted on, and accommodated to, the sacrificial system of the Hebrews. For the expulsion of evils, whether maladies or sins, from a community, by their being laid symbolically upon a material medium, there are many analogies in other countries (see J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, ii. 182 ff.).[†] The belief in goblins, or demons (*jinn*), haunting the wilderness and vexing the traveller, is particularly common in Arabia (see Wellhausen, *Reste Arab. Heidentums*, pp. 135–140)[‡]: in OT it is found in Lv 17^{7}, Is 13^{21} 34^{14} ('satyrs,' lit. *he-goats*, and Lilith, the night-monster). 'Azazel must have been such a spirit, sufficiently distinguished from the rest, in popular imagination, to receive a special name, and no doubt invested with attributes which, though unknown to us, were perfectly familiar to those for whom the ceremonial of Lv 16 was first designed.

---

[*] Cf. 54$^{5\text{f.}}$ 55^{4}. 6^{7} and 8^{1}, which also mention 'Azazel, but treat him not as first but as tenth in command, are considered by Dillm. and Charles (*Enoch*, p. 61) to belong to a later stratum of the work. The first part of the name *Duda-el* has been ingeniously explained by Geiger (*Jüd. Ztschr.* 1864–1865, p. 201) as a corruption of *Ḥadūdō* in 'Bêth *Ḥadūdō*' ('place of sharp rocks'), the place 12 miles from Jerus., to which, according to the Mishna (*Yoma* 6$^{4\text{-}6.8}$), the Targ. of Ps.-Jon. (on Lv 16$^{10.22}$), and other authorities, the goat was led on the Day of Atonement, and precipitated over the rocks that it might perish. *Bêth Ḥadūdō* has been identified, with great probability, with a ruined site now called *Bêt-ḥudêdûn*, on the edge of a chalk range, overhanging a steep and rocky chasm, nearly due E. of Jerus., and at the required distance (Schick, *ZDPV*, 1880, p. 218).

[†] In the OT the aim of the rite described in Lv 14$^{6\text{f.}\,51\text{-}53}$ (the living bird let loose in the ritual of purification after leprosy) is probably similar (Dillm. p. 532; Nowack, *Arch.* ii. 291 f.; W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.*^{2} p. 422).

[‡] The *ghûl* ('surpriser'; plur. *'aghwâl*) was one of them (Lane, *Arab. Lex.* p. 2911). See also Smith, *Rel. Sem.*^{2} p. 126 ff.

The meaning of the name is very uncertain. No root עזל is known in Hebrew; but *'azala* in Arab. means to *remove, place far apart*; hence it has been conjectured that the name may have signified the *averter* of evil (Ges.),* or have denoted a spirit, supposed to *separate* travellers in the desert from their companions, or *divert* them from their way (Steiner, and, with some reserve, Dillm.).† Cheyne considers that the name was originally עֲזַזְאֵל 'God is strong' (cf. עֲזַזְיָהוּ 1 Ch 15^{21}),‡ but that it was afterwards deliberately altered, to conceal the true derivation of the *fallen* angel's name.§

LITERATURE.—Ges. *Thes. s.v.* (p. 1012 f.); Dillm. on Lv 16^{8}; Nowack, *Arch.* ii. 186 f. (where further references are given): also Ewald, *Alt.* p. 479 f.; *Lehre von Gott*, ii. 291 f.; Oehler, *OT Theol.* § 140; Schultz, *OT Theol.* i. 403-406.

S. R. DRIVER.

AZAZIAH (עֲזַזְיָהוּ).—1. A Levite musician who took part in the proceedings when David brought up the ark to Jerus. (1 Ch 15^{21}). 2. The father of Hoshea the prince of Ephraim when David numbered the people (1 Ch 27^{20}). 3. An overseer of the temple in Hezekiah's reign (2 Ch 31^{13}).

AZBUK (עַזְבּוּק Neh 3^{16}).—Nehemiah, the son of A., took part in rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem.

AZEKAH (עֲזֵקָה 'a place hoed over').—A city of Judah, named Jos 10$^{10-11}$, 1 S 17^{1}, 2 Ch 11^{9}, Neh 11^{30}. It was evidently near the valley of Elah and near Gath, and was a frontier fortress of Rehoboam. The Jews inhabited it 'and the villages thereof' after the Captivity. The later notices would agree with a site in the south, where the name might be traced at *Tell el 'Azek*; but this would not suit the earlier notices. The name *El 'Azek* is stated to occur in the hills north of the valley of Elah, but the repeated investigations of the Survey parties failed to establish its existence. C. R. CONDER.

AZEL (אָצַל perh. 'noble').—1. A descendant of Jonathan (1 Ch 8$^{37.38}$=9$^{43.44}$). See GENEALOGY. 2. (AV Azal) The name of an unidentified site in the neighbourhood of Jerus. (Zec 14^{5}), possibly the same as Beth-ezel of Mic 1^{11}. J. A. SELBIE.

AZETAS (Ἀζητάς), 1 Es 5^{15}.—The head of a family which returned with Zerubbabel. There is no corresponding name in the lists of Ezr and Neh.

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

AZGAD.—See ASTAD.

AZIEI.—One of the ancestors of Ezra (2 Es 1^{2}), called Azariah, Ezr 7^{3}, and Ozias (AV Ezias), 1 Es 8^{2}.

AZIEL (עֲזִיאֵל, B Ὀζειήλ, A -ι-).—A Levite skilled in the use of the psaltery (1 Ch 15^{20}). A shortened form of Jaaziel (יַעֲזִיאֵל), as he is called 1 Ch 15^{18}.

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

AZIZA (עֲזִיזָא, cf. Palmyr. עזיזו).—One of the Jews who had taken strange wives (Ezr 10^{27}). Called ZARDEUS (wh. see) 1 Es 9^{28}. H. A. WHITE.

AZMAVETH (עַזְמָוֶת).—1. A descendant of Saul (1 Ch 8^{36}). 2. One of David's mighty men (2 S 23^{31}, 1 Ch 11^{33}), prob. identical with A. of 1 Ch 12^{3}, whose sons joined David at Ziklag, and A. of 1 Ch 27^{25}, who was 'over the king's treasuries.'

J. A. SELBIE.

AZMAVETH (עַזְמָוֶת, given in 2 S 23^{31}, 1 Ch 8^{36}, as a personal name), 1 Ch 12^{3}, Ez 2^{24}, Neh 7^{28}.—A town of Benjamin, the same as Beth-azmaveth in the last-cited passage, inhabited by the Jews after the Captivity. Now *Hizmeh*, a small place on the hills S.E. of Gibeah. See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvii.

C. R. CONDER.

AZMON (עַצְמוֹן), Nu 34^{4}, Jos 15^{4}. Ezem, Jos 15^{29} 19^{3}.—A place on the border of Judah, somewhere south of Beersheba, afterwards given to Simeon. The site is unknown.

AZNOTH-TABOR (אַזְנוֹת תָּבוֹר 'the ears of Tabor') Jos 19^{34}.—This marked the S.W. corner of the lot of Naphtali. The lower slopes of Mt. Tabor.

AZOR (Ἀζώρ).—An ancestor of Jesus (Mt 1$^{13.14}$). See GENEALOGY.

AZOTUS (Ἄζωτος).—1. Ashdod (wh. see), Jth 2^{28}, 1 Mac 4^{15} 5^{68} 10$^{77.78.83.84}$ 11^{4} 14^{34} 16^{10} Ac 8^{40}. 2. The hill on which Ashdod stands (1 Mac 9^{15}).

C. R. CONDER.

AZRIEL (עַזְרִיאֵל 'help of God').—1. The head of a 'father's house' in the half tribe of Manasseh E. of Jordan (1 Ch 5^{24}). 2. A man of Naphtali (1 Ch 27^{19}). 3. The father of Seraiah (Jer 36^{26}).

AZRIKAM (עַזְרִיקָם).—1. A son of Neariah (1 Ch 3^{23}). 2. A descendant of Jonathan (1 Ch 8^{38} 9^{44}). 3. A Levite (1 Ch 9^{14}, Neh 11^{15}). 4. The 'ruler of the house' under Ahaz, slain by Zichri the Ephraimite (2 Ch 28^{7}).

AZUBAH (עֲזוּבָה).—1. Wife of Caleb (1 Ch 2$^{18.19}$). 2. Mother of Jehoshaphat (1 K 22^{42}=2 Ch 20^{31}).

AZZAN (עַזָּן).—Father of Paltiel (Nu 34^{26}).

AZZUR (עַזּוּר 'helper').—1. One of those who sealed the covenant (Neh 10^{17}). 2. Father of Hananiah the false prophet (Jer 28^{1}). 3. Father of Jaazaniah, one of the princes of the people (Ezk 11^{1}). Nos. 2 and 3 are spelt in AV Azur.

J. A. SELBIE.

---

* *Averruncus.* So Olsh. § 188^{a}, Stade, § 124^{a}, treating *'azā'zēl* as (anomalously) softened from the intensive form *'azalzēl.*

† The form of the word is peculiar, and resembles one of the types of Arab. 'broken,' or collective, plurals. This was remarked long ago by Bochart (*Hieroz.* i. 750,—with many examples), though he assigned to it an improbable meaning: Steiner (Schenkel, *Bibellex.* v. 599), adopting the same suggestion, but interpreting more probably, conjectures that originally *'azāzēl* was a collective designation of such spirits of the desert (from a sing. *'azzāl*: Wright, *Ar. Gramm.* i. § 305, II.), and that it only gradually became the name of a single spirit.

‡ Not only Gabriel and Michael in Dn, but also many of the other names of angels in the Book of Enoch, are compounded with *El* 'God' (Ariel, Raphael, Kokabiel, Tamiel, etc.: see vi. 7).

§ The rendering of AV *scape-goat*, inherited from the 'Great Bible' of 1539, may be traced back through Seb. Münster ('caper abiturus'), Coverdale ('the free goat'), Luther ('der ledige Bock'), and Jerome ('caper emissarius') to the τράγος ἀπερχόμενος (v.^{10} ἀφιέμενος) of Symmachus (2nd cent.); but implies a derivation (עֲזָאזֵל=עֵז אָזַל 'the *going goat*') opposed to the genius of the Heb. language (which does not form such compounds), besides being inconsistent with the marked antithesis between *for 'Azazel* and *for Jehovah*, which does not leave it open to doubt that the former is conceived as a personal being, *to* whom (cf. v.^{26}) the goat is sent. The Targ. of Ps.-Jon. (on v.^{10}) and other Jewish authorities interpret 'Azazel as the name of the 'strong and difficult place' (אתר תקיף וקשי,—implying the view that the first part of the word was in some way connected with עז *strong*) in the wilderness to which the goat was sent: the LXX (v.^{8} τῷ ἀποπομπαίῳ, v.^{10} εἰς τὴν ἀποπομπήν, v.^{26} εἰς ἄφεσιν) seems to have rendered freely, treating the word in v.^{8} as meaning *the one sent away* (see Field, *Hexapla*, Auctarium, p. 60), and in v.$^{10.26}$ as meaning *dismissal*; the latter rendering has also been adopted by some moderns. But these explanations are equally open to philological or other objections, which place them out of the question. All the principal modern authorities agree in explaining 'Azazel as a personal name. *Scape-goat* is, however, a felicitous expression; it has become classical in English; and there is no reason why it should not be retained as a term descriptive of the goat sent into the wilderness, provided it be clearly understood that it is in no way a rendering of the Heb. עזאזל.

B

B.—This letter is used in critical notes in the OT and NT (except in Rev) to denote the readings of 'the Vatican MS' (Codex Vaticanus 1209). It is a quarto volume, consisting at present of 759 leaves of fine vellum, written (except the poetical books of OT) in three columns to a page. It has lost 31 leaves at the beginning (Gn 1–46^{28}), part of a leaf at f. 178 (2 K $2^{5-7\ 10-13}$), 10 leaves after f. 348 (Ps 105^{27}–137^{6}) [Eng. 106. 138]. The NT begins on f. 618, and breaks off at f. 759 in the middle of He 9^{14}. The books are arranged in the following order: Gn to 2 Ch, Es 1 and 2, Ps, Pr, Ec, Ca, Job, Wis, Sir, Est, Jth, To, 12 Proph, Is, Jer, Bar, La, Ep. Jer, Ezk, Dn (Theodotion's version), Gospels, Ac, Cath. Epp., Ro, 1 and 2 Co, Gal, Eph, Ph, Col, 1 and 2 Th, He. The codex never contained the Prayer of Manasses or the Books of the Maccabees. The loss of leaves at the end makes it impossible to speak definitely of the contents of its NT canon. Of the books now recognised it lacks 1 and 2 Ti, Tit, Philem, Rev. The missing chapters in He and the Rev were added in 15th cent., perhaps, as Tregelles conjectures, in preparation for its presentation to the Library. This part of the MS is quoted as '263' (Greg. '293') in He, as '91' in Rev. The orig. MS was written at some time in 4th cent., and is the work, according to Tischendorf (the Roman editors reserve their judgment), of three scribes, one of whom, the scribe who wrote NT, is identified (also by Tischendorf) with the scribe who wrote part of OT and a few leaves of NT in ℵ (which see). On this identification it seems impossible as yet to pronounce a final verdict. Armitage Robinson, however, has pointed out that there is other evidence to show that the two great Bibles once stood side by side in the same library (*Euthaliana*, p. 37). This evidence is supplied by the presence in the margin both of ℵ and B (in each, apparently, as the result of an early insertion) of a remarkable system of chapter-numbering in the Acts, derived ultimately from the work of Euthalius, and found besides in two important MSS of the Latin Vulg. (*am* and *fu*).

In the Gospels B lacks the Ammonian sections and Eusebian canons, and presents a division into sections which appears besides only in Ξ (Codex Zacynthius) an 8th cent. MS of St. Luke. In Acts, besides the system already referred to, there is an earlier (?) one, making 36 chapters. The Cath. Epp. also show an earlier and a later system of division into chapters. From the earlier system 2 P was apparently excluded. The system in the Pauline Epp. is remarkable. They are treated as a single book, and the sections numbered continuously throughout, the sequence of the numbers showing that in the source from which this system of division was derived, *Hebrews* stood between *Galatians* and *Ephesians*.

The birthplace of the MS is still obscure. Hort suggested Rome; Armitage Robinson's work on Euthalius gives some plausibility to Rendel Harris' suggestion of Cæsarea. The Text of the MS was revised soon after it had been written, with the help of a fresh MS, by a corrector who is quoted as B^2 in the NT and B^a by Swete in the OT. Six centuries later another scribe ($B^b=B^3$) retraced the faded original writing throughout. In consequence, the work of the original scribe is almost entirely hidden from sight except in the case of isolated words or letters which the restorer, for one reason or another, omitted to retrace.

The text of the OT section of this MS has been generally accessible since it was taken as the basis of the Roman edition of the LXX in 1587. Its NT text, on the other hand, during the first half of the present century, was to be ascertained only by a comparison of three more or less imperfect collations,—one made by Bartolocci in 1669, preserved in Paris; one made for Bentley by Mico about 1720 (supplemented by Rulotta 1730), preserved in Trin. Coll., Cambridge; and one by Birch, published in 1788, 1798, and 1801. The MS was taken to Paris by Napoleon, and there carefully examined, though not collated, by Hug in 1809. After its restoration to the Vatican it was inspected at various times by Tischendorf, Tregelles, and Alford, but under conditions that precluded thorough collation. Since 1850 three editions, purporting to give the text of the MS, have been published at Rome. The first, under the names of Mai and Vercellone, in 1857; the second, under the same names, in 1859; the third, under the names of Vercellone and Cozza, at various dates between 1868 and 1881. These editions are now superseded by a magnificent reproduction in photographic facsimile of the entire MS. Its readings in the OT are most readily accessible in Swete's Camb. edition, 1887–1889. They are recorded in the NT in the critical editions of Tregelles and Tischendorf.

NOTE.—The same symbol, in critical notes on Rev, denotes an 8th cent. MS of Rev, also preserved in the Vatican. It is to be carefully distinguished from the MS described above, and it would prevent confusion if this latter MS were referred to as B_2.

J. O. F. MURRAY.

B.—A symbol used in criticism of Hex. by Dillmann to signify the work of the Elohist (E); by Schultz for that of the Jahwist (J). See HEXATEUCH. F. H. WOODS.

BAAL (בַּעַל, Βάαλ or Βαάλ).—The word means *owner* or *lord*, and is used both of men and gods. When used of men it implies possession, so owner of house, land, cattle, etc.; then it comes to mean *husband*. When applied to gods it also means *owner*, not *sovereign*, possessor of the land rather than ruler of men. Thus we have the B. of Tyre, the B. of Peor, etc., and, by an extension, B. of other objects, *e.g.* B.-berith; sometimes B. is prefixed to the name of a god, so possibly in the case of Baal-gad. The name was so obnoxious to the Jews in later times that בֹּשֶׁת (*bôsheth*, shame) was freq. substituted for it (see ISHBOSHETH). Thus we get Ishbosheth, Mephibosheth for Ishbaal, Meribbaal; and Dillmann has shown that this is the origin of the fem. ἡ Βάαλ (ἡ αἰσχύνη being the *ḳerê*) that we find in the prophetic books (LXX) and Ro 11^{4}.

The original conception is a problem of great difficulty and obscurity, the more so on account of the misconceptions that have gathered about it. It is commonly held that there was a supreme deity known as Baal, who is frequently identified with the sun. It will be convenient to examine first the alleged solar character of Baal. The evidence may be thus summarised. We find on inscriptions Baal Ḥammon, and on a Carthaginian monument Baal Ḥammon is represented with a crown of rays. The Ḥammanim are sun-pillars, and used in idolatrous worship. The root means 'to be hot.' Further, Baalbek was called by the Greeks Heliopolis (sun-city). At Beth-shemesh (house of the sun) there was a temple to B. But this evidence is far from cogent, and much too slender to bear the identification of B. with the sun; at the most it will show only that the sun was sometimes regarded as a B. This is all that can be inferred from the temple of B. at Beth-shemesh; and the Gr. name of Baalbek is even less weighty, since evidence of that kind is necessarily somewhat late. And, on the other hand, B. and the sun are distinguished, 2 K 23^{5}. It was perfectly natural for sun-worshippers to speak of the sun as a B., but it does not follow that the converse is true, and that B.-worshippers identified the object of their worship with the sun. It is not probable that B. was even a sky-god. It is true that the Baalim were regarded as the producers of fertility, and to them were ascribed the corn and wine and oil (Hos 2$^{5-8}$). We think of the sun and rain as givers of fertility. But much of the district where B. worship prevailed was not fertilised by rain, but by natural and artificial irrigation. The land that was thus naturally watered and made fruitful was said in Arabia to be 'watered by the Ba'l'; and in the phrase 'what the sky waters and what the Ba'l waters,' the latter is expressly distinguished from the former. So the Mishna and Talmud draw a distinction between land artificially irrigated and land naturally moist, calling the latter the 'house of B.' or 'field of the house of B' (W. R. Smith, *RS*^{2} 97). It is true that in Pal. the cultivation of corn depended on rain, and corn was certainly regarded as a gift of the Baalim. But analogy would make the transition possible from the idea of the Baalim as givers of fertility through the springs of the oasis to the idea that they gave it through the rains of heaven. It is true that analogy may have worked the other way, and that they may first have been conceived as givers of rain, and then as givers of the fertilising streams and underground waters. If, as Nöldeke and Wellhausen think, B.-worship originated in Arabia, the former view would be more probable. W. R. Smith, however, argues that 'cults of the B. type and the name of B. itself' were borrowed along with agriculture from the Northern Semites, and entered Arabia with the date-palm. At the same time, he argues forcibly that B.'s land is not originally land watered by the sky, but by 'springs, streams, and underground flow,' although later the Baalim were regarded as fertilising the land watered by rain.

We may now pass to the question whether the common view is correct, that B. was the name for the supreme deity of the Canaanites. It is a serious objection to this view, that, except in names, neither on the monuments nor in the OT can we find B. as a proper name standing by itself. We frequently have B. with the article, the B., or B. followed by the name of a place, quality, etc. In the former case the use of the article precludes us from treating B. as a proper name: it means the divine owner or landlord of the district in question. Similarly in the latter case the particular B. intended is distinguished from other Baals by the addition of the qualifying words. It is said by some that B. was originally one and the same deity, but for the consciousness of the people, the B. of one place was a different god from the B. of another (cf. Baethgen, *Beiträge*, p. 19). But if that had been so, we should have expected to find traces of this original deity, whereas all we find is the Baals into which he has been differentiated. Nor is it easy on this view to account for the use of the plural 'the Baalim.' This has been interpreted as an emphatic plural 'great B.,' or as images of B., or B. under his various manifestations. But, taken with the facts already mentioned, by far the most natural explanation is that the word is a collective plural, and means the local Baals. And if this be so, it follows that B. can hardly be the sun, for it is the same everywhere, while the Baalim were distinct from each other, and thus our previous conclusion is confirmed by an independent line of argument.

The evidence seems to warrant the following statement. There was originally no supreme deity called B., nor is B. to be identified with the sun. There was only the Baal (or Baals) of particular places distinct from each other. The worship probably arose in connexion with agriculture. The local Baals fertilised each his own district by his streams and springs, and hence they were the owners of these naturally fertile spots. Tribute was therefore due to them, whether for the crops raised on the fertile ground, or for the water used in making land fertile by irrigation. By a natural extension the fertility of land watered by rain was also ascribed to the Baals. But by a process, to which we have abundant parallels in the cults of the powers of fertility, the giving of animal fruitfulness was attributed to them, and their worship was thus debased by repulsive immorality. These Baalim seem from Hos 2^{17} to have had their individual names. It is admitted by W. R. Smith that 'in later times B. or Bel became a proper name, esp. in connexion with the cult of the Bab. Bel' (*RS*^{2} 95).

When Israel entered Canaan the worship of the Baalim was everywhere present. As it was esp. associated with agriculture, which the Israelites learnt from the Canaanites, there was danger lest they should take over also the religious festivals connected with the various agricultural seasons, and thus succumb to the deadly fascination of the sensual nature-worship of the older inhabitants. That this actually happened we learn from the history. Matters were made worse by the custom, which we find among the Israelites, of speaking of J″ as Baal. Since B. was not a proper name, but only an appellative, this custom was perfectly innocent, and all that was meant was that J″ was the divine owner of His people, or the husband of Israel. But this double use of the term Baal for the local deity and for J″ tended to produce confusion between them, and by this syncretism the conception of J″ was debased by elements borrowed from nature-worship, and the lapse into idolatry was made much easier. The fact referred to, that the Israelites spoke of J″ as Baal, has been disputed, but rests on very strong evidence. We have names such as Ishbaal and Meribbaal, and even such a name as Bealiah (1 Ch 12^{5}), 'J″ is Baal.' Further, we learn from Hosea that the Israelites called J″ Baali, *i.e.* my Baal (Hos 2^{16}; see Driver, *Sam.* 186, 195 f., 279; Gray, *Heb. Prop. Names*, 141 ff.).

With Ahab a new phase emerges. The B. whose worship he established was Melḳart, the B. of Tyre, his wife's home (1 K 16^{32}). We have here an instance of a local B. worshipped in a foreign country. The worship of Melḳart was not intended to supersede the worship of J″, but to exist side by side with it. Elijah forced on the popular mind the conviction that J″ and Melḳart were mutually exclusive. The worship was discontinued by Jehoram, the son of Ahab (2 K 3^{2}), but stamped out by Jehu's treacherous slaughter of its adherents (2 K 10$^{18-27}$). In Judah it seems to have been established by Jehoram, the son of Jehoshaphat, and continued by Ahaziah (2 K 8$^{18.27}$). We find it in the reign of Athaliah, and it was suppressed at her death (2 K 11^{18}). The later B.-worship, to which we find several references in the prophets (Hosea, Jeremiah, Zephaniah), seems to have been the worship of the local Baalim rather than of Melḳart.

The Baalim were chiefly worshipped at the high-places, but also on housetops. Obelisks stood beside their altars, and sometimes an Asherah or sacred pole. Children were offered as burnt-offerings in the valley of Hinnom (Jer 19^{5}; but cf. *RS*^{2} 372 n.). We often read of incense being offered to them. Melkart was worshipped with animal sacrifices, and homage was done to him by bowing the knee and kissing his image. He had not only priests, but prophets. These are numbered at 450 in the time of Ahab, and a very graphic picture of their frenzied prayers and cutting of themselves to gain the attention of their god is given in 1 K 18^{28}.

LITERATURE.—By far the most important discussion is that of W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*,² pp. 93-113. The following may also be consulted:—Oort, *The Worship of Baalim in Isr.*; Baudissin, *Jahve et Moloch*, and in Herzog, *RE s.v.*; Nowack, *Heb. Archäol.* ii. 301-305; Baethgen, *Beiträge zur Sem. Religionsgesch.*; König, *Die Hauptprobleme*, pp. 35-38; Dillmann, *Monatsberichte der Akad. der Wissensch. zu Berlin*, 1881, p. 601 ff.

A. S. PEAKE.

BAAL (בַּעַל).—1. A Reubenite, the father of Beerah, who was carried captive by Tiglath-pileser (1 Ch 5^{5}). 2. A Gibeonite, granduncle of Saul (1 Ch $8^{30}=9^{36}$).

BAAL, BAALAH, BAALATH (בַּעַל, בַּעֲלָה, בַּעֲלַת).—**1. Baalah** (1 Ch 13^{6}, Jos $15^{9.\ 10}$), a name for Kiriath-jearim. **2. Baalah** Mount (Jos 15^{11}), the ridge which runs west from Ekron to Jabneel. **3. Baalah** (Jos 15^{29}), a city in the extreme south of Judah, prob. the same as Balah, Jos 19^{3} (=Bilhah, 1 Ch 4^{29}) and Bealoth, Jos 15^{24}. **4. Baalath** (Jos 19^{44}), a town of Dan. The site is uncertain. **5. Baalath** (1 K 9^{18}=2 Ch 8^{6}): the town is noticed with Tadmor, but also in the second passage with Beth-horon. The site is uncertain. It might be No. 4. **6. Baalath-beer** (Jos 19^{8}; Baal, 1 Ch 4^{33}). This seems to have been perhaps the same as Ramah of the Negeb, according to the first passage. Evidently a hill in the Tih plateau, S. or S.E. of Beersheba. A conspicuous object in this part of the desert is the white dome of the small shrine called *Kubbet el Baul*, which may retain the name, S. of Tell el Milh.

C. R. CONDER.

BAAL-BERITH (בַּעַל בְּרִית='lord of the covenant'), the god of Shechem, where he had a temple, Jg 8^{33} 9^{4}; also called El-berith, Jg 9^{46}. The name may mean the god who presides over covenants, cf. *Ζεὺς Ὅρκιος*; or the god of the Can. league which centred at Shechem; or the god of the covenant between Canaanites and Israelites, cf. Gn 34.

G. A. COOKE.

BAALE-JUDAH (בַּעֲלֵי יְהוּדָה 2 S 6^{2}).—The same as Baalah (Jos 15^{9}, 1 Ch 13^{5-6}), the old name of KIRIATH-JEARIM, which see. The name is no doubt an error for 'Baal of Judah' (cf. parall. 1 Ch 13^{6} 'to Baalah,' and Jos 15^{60} 18^{14}, where it is called Kiriath-baal, *i.e.* 'city of Baal'). It must have been noted once as a seat of Baal-worship.

C. R. CONDER.

BAAL-GAD (בַּעַל גָּד 'Baal of fortune'?), Jos 11^{17} 12^{7} 13^{5}.—Close to Hermon, but in the valley of the Lebanon. It must have been, therefore, on the north-west slopes of Hermon. The most probable site is at *'Ain Jedeideh*, 'the strong spring,' in this direction, near the road to Damascus.

C. R. CONDER.

BAAL-HAMON (בַּעַל הָמוֹן), Ca 8^{11}.—Perhaps for Baal-Hermon, or the Amanus.

BAAL-HANAN (בַּעַל חָנָן 'Baal is gracious').—1. A king of Edom (Gn $36^{38.\ 39}$, 1 Ch $1^{49.\ 50}$). 2. A Gederite who had charge of David's olive and sycomore trees (1 Ch 27^{28}).

BAAL-HAZOR (בַּעַל חָצוֹר), 2 S 13^{23}, near Ephraim, appears to be the high mountain east of the road to Shechem, called *Tell 'Asûr*. It is very rugged, with grey limestone slopes, and with a small group of oaks at the top beside a shrine, and ruins of a town. *SWP* vol. ii. sheet xiv. See PALESTINE.

C. R. CONDER.

BAAL-HERMON (בַּעַל חֶרְמוֹן), Jg 3^{3}, 1 Ch 5^{23}. See HERMON.

BAALI and **BAALIM**.—See BAAL.

BAALIS (בַּעֲלִיס, Βελεισά), the king of the children of Ammon at the time of the murder of Gedaliah (Jer 40 [Gr. 47] ^{14}).

BAAL-MEON (בַּעַל מְעוֹן), Nu 32^{38}, 1 Ch 5^{8}, Ezk 25^{9}. Beth-baal-meon, Jos 13^{17}. Beth-meon, Jer 48^{23}; probably Beon, Nu 32^{3}.—A town of Reuben near Dibon. It is named on the Moabite Stone, l. 9, as built by Mesha. The present ruin, *Ma'in*, a large mound at the edge of the plateau west of Medeba. The ruins are those of a Roman town. See *Mem. East Pal. Survey*, vol. i. *s.v.* The valley beneath to the south is well watered. In the *Onomasticon* (*s.v.* Baalmeon) this site is noticed as still a large village near Baaru (Machærus; see Reland, *Pal.* pp. 487, 611, 881), and 9 Roman miles from Heshbon, where were natural hot springs. The springs are those of Callirrhoë, in the great ravine of the *Zerka Ma'in* to the south.

C. R. CONDER.

BAAL-PEOR (בַּעַל פְּעוֹר, Βεελφεγώρ, Dt 4^{3b}, Nu 25^{5}, Ps 106^{28}) was the local deity of Mt. Peor. In Dt 4^{3a}, Hos 9^{10} it is perhaps the name of a place. The Israelites are said (Nu 25^{3}) to have worshipped him during their stay in Shittim. It is frequently supposed that his worship was especially licentious, since in the same context mention is made of the unchastity of the Israelites with the women of Moab and Midian. But the two facts are not definitely connected, so that we have no evidence for this opinion (cf. Driver on Dt 4^{3}).

A. S. PEAKE.

BAAL-PERAZIM (בַּעַל פְּרָצִים), 2 S 5^{20}, 1 Ch 14^{11}. It was near Jerusalem, but the situation is uncertain. See Driver on 2 S 5^{20}.

BAALSAMUS (Βαάλσαμος, AV **Balasamus**), 1 Es 9^{43}; in Neh 8^{7}, MAASEIAH.

BAAL-SHALISHAH (בַּעַל שָׁלִשָׁה), 2 K 4^{42}. Compare Shalisha. The situation is uncertain, but it seems to have been in Mount Ephraim. The village *Kefr Thilth* preserves the name of Shalisha. See *SWP* vol. ii. sheet xiv.

C. R. CONDER.

BAAL-TAMAR (בַּעַל תָּמָר 'Baal of the palm'), Jg 20^{33}.—It was near Bethel and Gibeah,—perhaps connected with the palm of Deborah (Jg 4^{5}), which was between Bethel and Ramah,—a position which might suit the notice of Baal-tamar, whence Gibeah was attacked.

C. R. CONDER.

BAALZEBUB (בַּעַל זְבוּב, Βάαλ μυῖαν, 2 K $1^{2.\ 3.\ 6.\ 16}$).—A Baal of flies, worshipped in Ekron, and consulted by Ahaziah, the son of Ahab and king of Israel. Why he was called Baal of flies is not clear. Probably he was regarded as the lord of flies, and worshipped by those who did not wish to be troubled by them. If Baal were the sun, the name would probably be connected with the fact that the heat of the summer sun calls out the flies in such numbers that in hot countries they become a plague. But this is probably not so (see BAAL). We see from the narrative in Kings that he was specially famous as a giver of oracles. Probably the busy flies, who swarm everywhere, were regarded as his messengers. In NT (Mt 10^{25} $12^{24.\ 27}$, Mk 3^{22}, Lk $11^{15.\ 18.\ 19}$) the name is changed to Beelzebul (Βεελζεβούλ, WH Βεεζεβούλ, AV and RV **Beelzebub**, RVm Beelzebul; cf. Beliar for Belial), and has become a name for the prince of the devils.

A. S. PEAKE.

BAAL-ZEPHON (בַּעַל צְפֹן) is mentioned Ex $14^{2.\ 9}$, Nu 33^{7} only, as one of three places near 'the sea' crossed by the Israelites. It was the seat of some form of Baal-worship, the character of which, as indicated by Zephon, is uncertain. Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 225b) translates B-Z. by *locus Typhonis* vel *Typhoni sacer*, and others are disposed to regard Typhon as a variant of Zephon. But Typhon seems to be pure Greek, with a suitable Gr. derivation, and no good reason has been adduced for attributing an Egypt. origin to the word. Typhon was called by various names, the most common being Set. Set appears to have been regarded as a god of foreigners, and was combined, or perhaps confused, with Baal. Other explanations of Zephon are, (1) the north, or the north wind, making it equivalent to צָפוֹן; (2) a watch-tower, from the root צפה. The word צְפוֹן occurs as a proper name Nu 26^{15}, and in the parallel passage (Gn 46^{16}) צִפְיוֹן occurs, which seems to be derived from צפה.

The situation is as uncertain as the etymology. It has been placed on the N. shore of Egypt by Brugsch, who identifies it with Mt. Casius; about the middle of the present Isthmus, on some hill like Shekh Ennedek (Naville); at Jebel 'Atakah, or a spot on the E. side of the modern canal nearly opposite fort Ajrud. The conjecture of Ebers (*Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, p. 570) that Phœnician sailors propitiated the god of the north wind when starting southwards on a voyage down the Gulf of Suez is a plausible one. The much quoted tract of Plutarch, *de Iside et Osiride*, may be referred to for further information about Typhon; and in Baumeister, *Denkmäler des class. Alter.* p. 2135b, there is a picture, Egyptian in style (No. 2393).

A. T. CHAPMAN.

BAANA (בַּעֲנָא, possibly for בֶּן־עֲנָה 'son of distress'?; but this and similar contractions are highly uncertain).—**1.** (1 K 4^{12}) and **2.** (1 K 4^{16}) Two of Solomon's twelve commissariat officers. **3.** (Neh 3^{4}) Father of Zadok, one of the builders of Jerusalem under Nehemiah. **4.** (1 Es 5^{8} Βαανά A B) One of the leaders of the people who returned from the Captivity with Zerubbabel. Possibly the same as (3) and BAANAH (3).

C. F. BURNEY.

BAANAH (בַּעֲנָה).—**1.** Son of Rimmon, a Benjamite from Beeroth, who, with his brother Rechab, murdered Ishbosheth and brought his head to David at Hebron. They were slain at David's command, and their hands and feet hung up over the pool in Hebron (2 S 4^{5-12}). Possibly the brothers had fled from Beeroth, a Gibeonite city, when Saul slew the Gibeonites (2 S 21^{1}). **2.** A Netophathite, father of Heled (Heleb), 2 S 23^{29}, 1 Ch 11^{30}. **3.** One of those who returned from the Exile with Zerubbabel (Ezr 2^{2}, Neh 7^{7}, and probably 10^{27}). See also BAANA (= בַּעֲנָא).

J. F. STENNING.

BAANI (A Βαανί, B -νεί, AV **Maani** from the Aldine text), 1 Es 9^{34} = Bani, Ezr 10^{34}.

BAARA (בַּעֲרָא).—Wife of a Benjamite (1 Ch 8^{8}).

BAASEIAH (בַּעֲשֵׂיָה probably by error for 'מַעֲ, Μαασαί, B).—A Kohathite (1 Ch 6^{40}).

BAASHA (בַּעְשָׁא), son of Ahijah, of the tribe of Issachar. He seems to have been of lowly origin, as the prophet Jehu describes him as having been 'exalted out of the dust' (1 K 16^{2}). When Nadab, son of Jeroboam I., was besieging the Philistine town of Gibbethon, Baasha conspired against him and slew him. He also exterminated all the seed of Jeroboam, thus fulfilling the sentence pronounced by Ahijah the Shilonite. Ascending the throne of the ten northern tribes about B.C. 914, he reigned for twenty-four years. His reign was that of a restless and warlike adventurer. He carried on a long war with Asa, king of Judah. Unable to withstand him, Asa purchased the help of Benhadad, king of Syria, who invaded the northern frontiers of Israel, and captured several towns. This drew Baasha away from the work in which he had been engaged, the building of a fort called Ramah, to blockade the north of Judah. Asa led his forces against Ramah and destroyed it, using the materials to build the towns of Geba and Mizpah (1 K 15^{16-21}, 2 Ch 16^{1-6}). (See ASA.) In matters of religion Baasha did not profit by the warning given in the destruction of Jeroboam and his house, but followed his evil example in maintaining the calf-worship. On this account the same fate was denounced against his house by the prophet Jehu, son of Hanani (1 K 16^{2}). He himself, however, died a natural death, and was buried in Tirzah, his capital. Elah, his son, succeeded him on the throne (16^{6}).

R. M. BOYD.

BABBLER.—To 'babble' (a word supposed to be formed from the childish sound *ba ba*, with freq. term. *le*) is to talk incoherently, hence foolishly or unseasonably. 'Babbler' is given in AV as tr. of *ba'al hallâshôn* (בַּעַל הַלָּשׁוֹן), lit. 'the lord of the tongue' (RV 'the charmer'), Ec 10^{11}; λαπιστής (RV 'braggart'), Sir 20^{7}; and σπερμολόγος, Ac 17^{18}.

In the last word there is a touch of something worse than babbling. It was applied first to the crow, as the bird that picks up scattered grain (σπέρμα 'a seed,' and λέγειν 'to gather'); then to any 'parasite' or 'hanger on,' who picks up what he can in the market or harbour by his wits. Such an one is indifferent as to the obligation of his words, and so any mere prater may have been called a *spermologos*.* See Trench, *On the AV*, p. 156 f.

Babbling as a subst. is found in Pr 23^{29} 'who hath b.?' (שִׂיחַ, RV 'complaining'); Sir 19^{5} 20^{5} (λαλιά); 1 Ti 6^{20}, 2 Ti 2^{16} 'profane and vain bs' (κενοφωνίαι, lit. 'empty talkings').

J. HASTINGS.

BABE.—Two distinct words have been trd 'babe' in NT. **1.** *Brĕphos* (βρέφος), either an unborn (Lk $1^{41.\,44}$) or recently born child, Lk $2^{12.\,16}$, 1 P 2^{2} (with adj. ἀρτιγέννητος 'newborn'); Lk 18^{15} RV 'they brought unto him also their bs' (AV 'infants'); Ac 7^{19} RV (AV 'young children'); 2 Ti 3^{15} RV 'from a b. (AV 'child') thou hast known the sacred writings.' **2.** *Nēpios* (νήπιος), a child that cannot yet speak (νη = 'not,' ἔπος = 'a word'), Mt 11^{25} 21^{16}, Lk 10^{21}, Ro 2^{20}, 1 Co 3^{1}, He 5^{13}. It is a pity that RV has not kept these words distinct. 'Infant' (*in* 'not,' *fans* 'speaking') is so evident a trn of *nēpios* that it might have been used throughout for that word, and for that word only, leaving 'babe' for *brĕphos*. Then the point of Mt 21^{16} would have been seen at once, 'Out of the mouth of *infants* (children not old enough to speak) thou hast perfected praise'; and of Ro 2^{20} 'a teacher of *infants*.' Besides, *nēpios* carries the suggestion of contrast between infancy and manhood (τέλειος, *adult*, as He $5^{13.\,14}$, 1 Co 14^{20}, or ἀνήρ, *man*, as 1 Co 13^{11}, EV 'child,' Eph $4^{13.\,14}$, EV 'children'). And the further use of 'infant' to signify a legal minor would very well express the apostle's point in Gal $4^{1.\,3}$ 'as long as the heir is an infant,' etc. (EV 'child').

In OT 'babe' is given as trn of *na'ar* (נַעַר) Ex 2^{6}, the usual word for a boy of puberty = παῖς, *puer*; of *'ôlêl* (עוֹלֵל) Ps 8^{2} 17^{14}, a suckling; and of *ta'alûl* (תַּעֲלוּל) from the same root, Is 3^{4}. J. HASTINGS.

BABEL, CITY AND TOWER OF.—The city of Babel or Babylon was, from the time of Khammurabi downwards, the capital of the Babylonian empire. It was especially famous for its temple

---

* Ramsay, in a full and interesting discussion of this word in the *Expositor* (5th ser. vol. ii. pp. 220 f., 262 f.), denies all reference to speaking. The Athenians, he thinks, applied this slang term of contempt to St. Paul simply as one who did not belong to their learned and exclusive society.

Sag-illa ('of the exalted [lit. 'reaching to the clouds'] head'), situated upon the east bank of the Euphrates. At Borsippa (Birs-Nimroud), the neighbouring town to Babylon, there may be seen at the present day a ruined temple of Nebo which was called by the Babylonians *E-Zidda* ('house of eternity'). Like the latter, the temple E-sag-illa, dedicated to Bel-Merodach, had seven storeys, following in this the fashion of all the larger Babylonian temples (see BABYLONIA, p. 220^a). A detailed account of Babylon, unquestionably based on personal observation, is given by Herodotus (i. 178 ff.). It is now generally admitted that the sanctuary of Zeus-Belos mentioned by him must be identified, not with the still partially preserved temple of Nebo at Borsippa, but with the temple Sag-illa, which was then standing, although it has long since disappeared. The latter temple, moreover, not only consisted of the so-called *zikkurat* or storied tower just mentioned, which bore the special name of *E-timin-an-ki* ('house of the foundation-stone of heaven and earth'); it was a whole complex of sanctuaries. In one of these stood the famous image of Bel-Merodach, the annual touching of which by the kings of Babylon at the New Year's festival served to confirm afresh their title and to establish their dominion. On this account Xerxes had it removed (cf. C. F. Lehmann, *Samas-sum-ukin*, p. 49), while he spared (Her. i. 183) the other image of Zeus (no doubt the statue of Nebo, which also had a place in Sag-illa). His removal of the first occasioned the mistake into which later historians (*e.g.* Arrian and Strabo) fell, of supposing that Xerxes completely destroyed Sag-illa.

With regard to the site of Babylon, the ruinous heaps running from N. to S. and all on the E. bank of the Euphrates, represent the following ancient structures: Jumjuna = the great banking-house; Tell 'Amrân = *Sag-illa*; Kassr = one of the palaces of Nebuchadrezzar (the royal palace mentioned by Herodotus was on the W. bank); Babil = the famous terraced gardens. The two great walls described by Herodotus (i. 181) were built by Nebuch. II., who, in a special sense, was the refounder of Babylon. The outer wall was named *Nimitti-Bel* ('dwelling of Bel'), the inner *Imgur-Bel* ('Bel was gracious'), probably in imitation of the names of the walls of Nippur, the ancient city of Bel (*Nimitti-Marduk* and *Imgur-Marduk*).

In the biblical story of the **Tower of Babel** (Gn 11^{1-9}), $v.^9$ is probably a later addition, for Babel was certainly not amongst the *oldest* sanctuaries of the land of Shinar (Chaldæa). In this connexion a tradition preserved by the LXX of Is 10^9 is of the highest interest. We read there, *τὴν χώραν τὴν ἐπάνω Βαβυλῶνος καὶ Χαλαννὴ* (according to Talm. tradition Calneh is the ancient Nippur) *οὗ ὁ πύργος ᾠκοδομήθη*, 'the country above Babylon and Calneh where the tower was built.' Kiš, to whose situation these words may perhaps refer, contained the famous temple *Kharsag-kalamma* ('mountain of the world,' cf. Is 14^{13}), and in the same city Khammurabi built the temple *Miti-ursagga*, whose 'top (*sag*) he carried up (*illa*) as high as heaven' (*annâ-gim*). The same Khammurabi would then have built also Sag-illa at Babel. See also TONGUES, CONFUSION OF. F. HOMMEL.

BABI (A Βαβί, B Βαιήρ), the head of a family which returned with Ezra (1 Es 8^{37}), called in Ezr 8^{11} Bebai (wh. see).

BABYLON IN OT.—See BABEL, BABYLONIA.

BABYLON IN NT.—1. In Mt $1^{11.12.17}$, Ac 7^{43} (adapted from Am 5^{27}) the name certainly denotes the ancient city.

2. The name occurs in Rev 14^8 16^{19} 17^5 $18^{2.10.21}$. In 17^5 it is described as *μυστήριον*, *i.e.* a name to be allegorically interpreted (cf. Rev 11^8 16^{12} $2^{14.20}$). A full discussion would require an investigation of the apocalyptic imagery generally. The chief conditions, however, of the problem are these: B. is described (1) as 'the harlot,' the supreme antithesis of 'the bride,' 'the holy city,' 'the new Jerus.'; (2) as the centre and ruler of the nations, 14^8 $17^{1f.15.18}$; (3) as seated on 'seven mountains,' 17^9 (see Wetstein's note); (4) as the source of idolatry and impurity, $17^{2ff.}$ 18^2 19^2 (cf. Ro 1^{18-28}, Eph $4^{17ff.}$, 1 P $4^{3f.}$); (5) as a great trading centre, $18^{3.11-19}$; (6) as enervated by luxury, $18^{7.12ff.22}$; (7) as the arch-persecutor of the saints and of 'the witnesses of Jesus,' 17^6 19^2. These considerations, taken together, are decisive (*a*) against the view of a few interpreters, that by B. is meant Jerus.; (*b*) in favour of the almost universal view that Rome is symbolised by B. This use of the name in an early Judæo-Christian book is in harmony with (1) the many analogies between ancient B. and Rome, both being capitals of great empires, homes of idolatry and impure luxury, oppressors of 'the Israel of God'; (2) the Jewish love for mystic names, Rome and the Rom. Empire being often designated among the Jews as Edom (see, *e.g.*, Buxtorf, *Lex. Chald.* p. 29 ff.); (3) the Jewish conception of the antagonism of the Rom. Empire to, and its destruction by, the Messianic kingdom (see Weber, *Die Lehren des Talmud*, p. 364 f.; Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, ii. p. 439); (4) the fact that Rome is called B. in what may well be an early Jewish portion of the *Sibylline Oracles*, viz. v. 143, 158 (for the different views on Bk. v. see Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. 286 f.). The comparison of Rome to B. underlies much of Jewish apocalyptic literature (2 Es, Apoc. Baruch; cf. Ryle and James' note on *Psalms of Solomon*, ii. 29). The only passage from Talmudic literature commonly cited for this mystic use of B. is the Midrash *Shir hashirim Rabba*, i. 6 (quoted by Wetstein on Apoc. 17^{18}; see also Levy, *Neuh. u. Chald. Wörterb.* 190*b*). Zunz (*Lit. der Synag. Poesie*, p. 100 f.)[*] refers also to *Midr. Ps.* 121 and *Bamidbar rabba*, c. 7 (end), noting that the name *Babylonians* was given by Jews to the Christians (*Gen. Haggada*, c. 27, in Jellinek's *Beth ha Midrash*, iv. p. 41). The interpretation of B. in the Apoc. as Rome dates from the earliest times; it is implied in Iren. v. 26. 1, distinctly stated in Tert. *adv. Marc.* iii. 13 = *adv. Judæos*, 9). So Jerome and Augustine, quoted by Wetstein on Apoc. 17^{18}. Andreas (Cramer, *Catena*, p. 560) speaks of it as derived 'from ancient teachers of the Church.' Such opinions as that by B. is meant (*a*) 'New Rome' (= Constantinople), 'because in it, in the times of the Arians, much blood of the orthodox was shed' (Cramer, *Catena*, p. 429); (*b*) the Papacy, either at Avignon or at Rome (see *Speaker's Com.* iv. 754), scarcely belong to historical interpretation.

3. The name B. is found in 1 P 5^{13}, *ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτή.* ℵ and some other authorities add *ἐκκλησία*. Two cursives read *ἐν Ῥώμῃ*. Three interpretations of B. in this passage have been suggested: (1) The Egyp. B., which, however, is described by Strabo (xvii. p. 807) as simply *φρούριον ἐρυμνόν*. (2) The Assyr. B. But (*a*) there is apparently no evidence *either* that St. Peter was ever at B. *or* that a Christian church existed there in early times; (*b*) in Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. ix. 5–9 we have positive evidence as to the desolation which befell the Bab. Jews about A.D. 40, and the consequent improbability that an Apostolic Church would have been planted among them (cf. Neubauer, *Géogr. du Talm.* p. 344). (3) Rome. The evidence in its favour is both *internal* and *external*: (*a*) *Internal evidence.* It harmonises

---

[*] I have to thank the Rev. A. Lukyn Williams for this reference.

with (i.) The context. The language is allegorical, the Church being spoken of as a lady (cf. 2 Jn $^{1.13}$). Moreover, St. Mark is mentioned as being with St. Peter. Now, St. Mark was summoned to Rome by St. Paul (2 Ti 4^{11}), probably towards the close of A.D. 67, and very early tradition describes St. Mark as St. Peter's companion and interpreter (Papias ap. Eus. *HE* iii. 39) at Rome (Iren. iii. 1, Clem. Alex. ap. Eus. *HE* ii. 15, vi. 14). (ii.) The figurative application elsewhere in the epistle (1^1 2^{4-10}) of language primarily used of ancient Israel. (iii.) The general tone of the epistle, especially in regard to persecution, duty towards the state, and 'the universality of [St. Peter's] teaching' (Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, p. 155). (iv.) The order of the Provinces in 1^1, Silvanus coming from the West and landing in Pontus. (*b*) *External evidence.* (i.) The Apoc. (see above) shows that Asiatic Christians at this time would so understand the name B. (ii.) Such was the ancient interpretation. Eus. *HE* ii. 15 introduces it by the significantly indefinite *φασί* (see the *φασίν* just above; it *may*, however, refer to Papias and Clement Alex. just mentioned). It seems, indeed, to have been universally accepted, till Calvin (*in loc.*), for controversial reasons, urged the literal interpretation. (iii.) Ancient testimony is unanimous, and from its range seems decisive, for a visit of St. Peter to Rome. The evidence for this visit is collected and discussed by Bishop Lightfoot, *Clement*, ii. p. 493 ff. See also art. on ST. PETER.

F. H. CHASE.

BABYLONIA, the cradle of the civilisation of the whole of anterior Asia and the West, and probably also of that of ancient Egypt, is the territory enclosed by the lower Euphrates and Tigris, extending from the neighbourhood of the modern Baghdad to 'the mouth of the rivers.' The latter, however, in ancient times flowed *separately* into the Persian Gulf, a little above Basra. The extraordinary fertility of the soil here, as in the case of the Delta of the Nile, was due to the extensive and careful canal system of the early colonists. As soon as these canals fall into disrepair, the same cheerless waste of waters presents itself again to view, as in primitive times.

The country of Babylonia, which extends from about 30°–33° N. lat., is bounded on the W. by the Arabian desert, from which it is separated only by a very narrow strip of cultivated land; on the N. by Mesopotamia proper; on the E. by the plain at the foot of the Elamite Mountains, over which in ancient times nomadic Aramæan tribes used to wander (the land of Ḳir [קִיר] of Is 22^6, Am 9^7); and on the S. by the Persian Gulf.

The **Climate**, especially in South Babylonia, is extraordinarily warm. The months during which rain prevails are from November to February. At the present day, according to the accounts of travellers, the heaviest rains occur in November and December; but in ancient times, as the names of the months prove, the rainy season would appear to have been in Ṭebet (טֵבֵת Est 2^{16}) and Shebaṭ (שְׁבָט Zec 1^7), *i.e.* from the end of December to the end of February. Not only the Sumerian names for these months (*ab-ba-ud-du* 'coming from the sea,' and *ash-a-an* 'curse of the rain'), but also the Semitic (*ṭibêtu* 'submersion,' and *shabâṭu* 'destruction'), refer to rain-storms.

The fertility of the soil, already mentioned, went hand in hand with the mildness of the climate. There were two sowings every year (in Ṭebet and in Nisan), and two harvests (the first in Ȧdar and the second in Sîvan, *i.e.* May–June). The **Chief Productions** were wheat (Sumerian *zig, zid*, whence *σῖτος*, Semitic *she'u*), which gave from fifty to a hundred fold return; sesame, which yielded oil; and the date-palm, introduced at a very early period from Arabia (Magan). This tree satisfied all the remaining wants of the people, since from it they obtained wine, vinegar, honey, flour, and material for all kinds of wickerwork. The stones were used by smiths as a substitute for charcoal, and when steeped served for fattening oxen and sheep. The reed which grew by the numerous canals attained a height of 15 feet, and was used for building huts and for the construction of mats, and even boats. In the latter case asphalt was employed for pitching purposes. Gn 6^{14} עצי גפר (AV 'an ark of gopher wood') must probably be explained in this way, since *gipâru* means originally a 'reed-stand.' On the other hand, there were none of the trees characteristic of the lands adjoining the Mediterranean Sea (the vine, the olive, and the fig). For these only the Western Semites have common names, although the vine (Sumer. *gishtin* 'tree of life,' Semitic-Babylonian *karânu*), and the fig tree (Sum. *dib*, Sem. *tintu, tittu*) were in course of time introduced from abroad.

Stone and minerals were almost unknown in the alluvial soil. The absence of these was, however, atoned for by the excellent building material that lay to hand in the clay, while the best possible mortar was obtained from the asphalt contained in the numerous naphtha wells. All the buildings in ancient Babylonia were accordingly constructed of brick. When sandstone, or still harder kinds of stone, such as basalt or diorite, were used (*e.g.* for statues), they were brought by ship—even in the earliest times—from the territories along the frontier (Mesopotamia, Elam, Arabia). The same is true of alabaster, marble, gold, silver, copper, tin, iron, and lead; all of which are mentioned as early as the Sumer. inscriptions.

With regard to the **Fauna**, the lion (*nîšu, labbu*) was a very common tenant of the reed-beds between Arabia and Babylonia; and not only the panther (*nimru*), the jackal (*akhû, barbaru*), the fox (*šelibu*), and the wild boar (*shakhû, dabû*), but especially the wild ox (*rîmu*, Heb. רְאֵם), frequently figure in the literature and the pictorial representations (*e.g.* on the oldest cylinder-seals). Many species of gazelles, antelopes, and wild goats were found along the frontiers of the country. The horse (*ṣiṣû*, Heb. סוס, but Syr. סוּסְיָא) was unknown to the earliest settlers. The Sumerians called it 'ass of the East' or 'the mountain' (*anshu kurra*), just as by circumlocution they called the lion *lig-magh* 'big dog.' The strictly domestic animals were the cow (*alpu*), the sheep (*ṣênu, laḫru*, and other words), the goat (*inzu*), the ass (*imêru*, an incorrectly written form of *ḥimêru*, Sumerian *anshu*), and the dog (*kalbu*). The elephant (*pîru*) of Mesopotamia, the camel (*gammalu*) and the wild ass (*burîmu*) of Arabia, were also known to the Babylonians. Such a word as *gammalu* shows by its very form (if it were a genuine Babylonian word it would be written *gamlu*) that it has been borrowed from Arabia. Of tame birds, we may mention the raven (*âribu*), the swallow (*sinuntu*), and the dove (*summatu*) (cf. Gn $8^{7\text{ff.}}$ and the Babylonian account of the Flood); of half-wild birds, geese and waterhens (the late Heb. תרנגול 'cock,' comes from the Sumerian *dar-nugalla* 'king's fowl'), falcons (*surdû*) which were tamed even at this early period by the Babylonians for the purpose of hunting. Of birds of prey, the eagle (*arû* and *erû*, also *nashru*) holds the first place, then come the owl (*iššîpu*, Heb. יַנְשׁוּף) and the horn-owl (*ḳadû*), etc.

In the sphere of **Ethnology and Language**, it can be shown that a dualism existed in Babylonia from the earliest period. The *Sumerians*, who in all probability came from Central Asia, and whose language is related to the Turanian, as the Babylonian method of writing proves, were the founders of all the civilisation of anterior Asia. Besides these, we find as early as B.C. 5000 or 6000 distinct traces of a *Semitic* population, which came from the North-West (Mesopotamia) and took possession of the civilised settlements founded by the Sumerians, until, by their gradual incorporation with the original inhabitants of the country, there arose a single new race.

The Semitic Babylonians have the closest relationship with the other Semites (Hebrews, Arabs, and Aramæans), and yet, in opposition to these, they form a special group, as the grammar and lexicon clearly prove. If the Syro-Arabian Semites may be properly designated *west* Semites, the ancient Egyptian speech, on the other hand, belongs to the *east* Semitic, or the Bab.-Assyrian branch of Semitic languages. The Egyptians must in the remotest antiquity have emigrated from Mesopotamia to Africa. Apart from considerations of grammar and the great number of Sumerian loan-words contained in their language (which is otherwise Semitic), this is proved by extensive coincidences between the Egyptian and Babylonian systems of writing, their religion, and other branches of culture.

The **Religion** of the Babylonians meets us even in the oldest inscriptions as a tolerably finished system. Although most of the names of the gods are Sumerian, the Semites must have had a more or less important share in the development of this system. Many gods have two names, one Semitic and one Sumerian, *e.g. Bêlu* 'Lord' (West Semitic *Ba'al*), Sumerian *En-lilla*, 'Lord of the air,' and we cannot always be certain that the Sumerian name is the older and more original. As kings who are without doubt Semitic (*e.g.* the kings of Nisin) set up Sumerian inscriptions, so may Semitic gods in primitive times have received Sumerian names even from Semitic Babylonians, especially since Sumerian continued for long to be the sacred tongue. The beginnings of Babylonian culture go farther back than any inscriptions, and we cannot therefore answer questions such as this with anything like certainty. We get, however, the general impression that the baser elements of the Babylonian religion originally belonged to the Sumerians, while the purer and nobler ideas in it came from the Semites. The sovereign position occupied by Bel (in spite of his secondary rank in the genealogical system) points to this conclusion. Even the Star-worship (Sun, Moon, and Planets) which the Semites at an early date conjoined with the cult of Bel, is a far purer and nobler type of Polytheism than the crude idolatry of so many other heathen peoples.

If the *Sumerians* in their old incantations always invoke Heaven and Earth as the two highest powers of nature, regarding the earth-god as the 'good' spirit and offering him the greater devotion, it seems to have been the *Semites* who expanded this dualism into a genealogical system: first by inserting their Bel between the original two, and then by adding the sun and planet-gods, which were all regarded as children of the earth-god. It seems to have been the Semites, too, who converted the more general conception of 'Heaven' into the more special one of an 'ocean of heaven,' which extended over the Firmament ('the waters above the Firmament,' Gn 1^7). To this they gave the Sumerian title *nun* (with a dialectical variant *dun*), and regarded it also as continuing behind the horizon and under the earth. This 'Ocean of Heaven,' *Anun* or *Anum* (as the Sumerians preferred to write it), was placed at the top of the genealogical tree. Then came Bel, 'Lord of the air' (*En-lilla*, Sem. *Bel-zaḳiḳi*), as his son, and Ea or En-ki ('Lord of the earth') as his grandson. An ancient title for Bel, as god of the air and the storm, was *Ramman* (Sumer. *Martu* and *Imir*), who in course of time became a separate god, worshipped alongside of Bel. In primitive times the Moon-god (*Sin*) and Ea had likewise common titles (*e.g. En-zu*, 'Lord of wisdom,' Semitic *Bel-nimêḳi*), the Moon-god being hence called the first-born son of the god Bel.

Anum (shortened, Anu) was originally thought of as without a consort, for the goddess Anat or Antu is only a later philosophical abstraction, and has nothing whatever to do with the West Semitic ענת. On the other hand, both the consort of Bel, *Nin-lilla* ('mistress of the air,' in Semitic absolutely *Bêltu* 'mistress') or *Ba'u*, and the consort of Ea, *Dam-gal-nunna* or *Damkina*, were female personifications of the Ocean of Heaven. The four children of the Earth-god (who was represented as a Ram) and his consort *Damkina*, the goddess of Heaven, were *Merodach* (*Amar-uduk*, *Mar-uduk*, and simply *Marduk*, as he was specially called in Babylon), the god of the morning-and-spring sun, his sister and consort *Istar*, his hostile brother *Nergal*, and the latter's consort *Ghanna* (ענת) or *Gula*, whose name was written with the same ideogram as the town of Nineveh (*Ninâ*). A very ancient designation of Merodach was *Gur-alimma* (same ideogram as 'domicile' and 'eye'). A god originally identified with Nergal (god of agriculture and of the kingdom of the dead), but afterwards differentiated from him, was *Nin-ib* (or *Nindar*) god of war. The god *Dumu-zi* or *Tammûz*, of whom the same myth is related as of the Egyptian Osiris, was only another manifestation of Merodach. Finally, mention must be made of the son of Merodach, *Nabû* or *Nusku*, the messenger of the gods, the god of the art of writing, who also appears as the god of fire, and bears other titles besides (*e.g. Nin-gish-zidda*). His consort was *Tashmêtu* ('hearing prayer').

In very early times Merodach, Istar, Nergal, Nindar, and Nabû (*Nebo*) became *Planet-gods*, and, corresponding to their relative distance from the earth, the following was the primitive arrangement: *Sin* (Moon), *Nabû* or *Dun-pa-uddu* (Mercury), *Istar* or *Dilbat* (Venus), *Samas* (Sun), *Nin-ib* or *Käivânu* (Mars), *Marduk* or *Gud-bir* (Jupiter), and *Nergal* (Saturn). Afterwards Nin-ib and Nergal changed places, Kaïvânu becoming Saturn. Similarly, the title *Gud-bir* was at a later period given to Nabû (Merodach's son), and the new name *Mulu-babbar* (written Te-ud) assigned to Jupiter. The conjunction of Sakkut (read סַכּוּת) and Kêvân in Am 5^{26} may be compared with the conjunction of the gods *Tibal* (Earth? תֵּבֵל), *Sakkut* (title of Nindar, originally *Sa-kud*, 'judge,' *sc.* of the dead in the under-world), and *Kaïvânu* in a Semitic exorcism (*WAI* iv. 59, 8).

The oldest sanctuary of the gods, whose names and genealogical connexions have just been enumerated, and the special home of the gods in Babylonia, was the ancient town of *Nun-ki* ('place of heaven') or Eridu (*Uru-Dugga*, 'good town' or 'town of the good god,' *i.e.* Ea). There too, 'at the mouth of the rivers,' stood the holy palm (*Giš-kin*, Semitic Kiškanû), the famous oracle-tree of Eridu, to which the ancient Babylonian ideas of Paradise attach themselves, since here is to be found 'the pure abode, which stretches out its shade like a grove, but within it no one treads' (*WAI* iv. 15, 52 ff.). Besides this, the Babylonians had also another conception of a land of the gods to the south of the mouth of the Euphrates, and of a river of death and an Island of the Blessed far out in the ocean. In the epic of Gišdubar, the hero, the biblical Nimrod, sets out from Erech by land through Arabia, to seek for his great-grandfather Sît-napišti (the biblical Noah), who has been translated to Paradise. Between Aga and Salma, the mountains of the land of Mashu, dwell the mythical scorpion-men, who guard the gold of Mount Arallu. After a long journey 'through the land of darkness,' Gišdubar at last reaches the sea-coast and the palace of the virgin goddess Sabîtu (*i.e.* the Sabæan), thence he travels to the 'waters of death,' and crossing over arrives at the residence of Ṣît-napišti. It looks as if the incense-island Šokotra, to the south of Arabia, had furnished the material for this conception.

The conception of Hades or 'the land without return' (Bab. *Shêlu*, from *shu'âlu* 'place of judgment,' *al irṣiti* 'town of the under-world,' and other similar names) is also found amongst the Babylonians, who place it in the farther south, where the waters of the ocean extend below the earth and connect themselves with the under part of the Ocean of Heaven. Here the different gods of the under-world, especially the night-and-winter sun (also called the South sun, Nin-ib, Nergal) but also the fire-demon Nebo-Nusku, and the Moon-god, acted as judges of the dead. All this clearly implies the notion of a retribution beyond the grave. Besides the Eden, which is conceived of as situated on the coast of the Persian Gulf (עדן from Sumerian *Edin*, 'desert,'* 'low ground'), there is also a Paradise above in Heaven with the names *E-ġarsag-kur-kurra* ('Mountain-house of the lands') *E-ġarsag-kalamma* ('House of the Mt. of the World'), *Ekur* ('Mountain-house,' properly *E-gur* 'House of the Ocean of Heaven'), *E-sharra* ('House of assembly,' הַר מוֹעֵד Is $14^{13f.}$). Since the Babylonians thought of the north as above, and of the south as below, it is evident why this mountain of the gods is, in Is 14^{13}, placed to the north (its opposite is Sheol, 14^{15}), and we are not to think of any *earthly* mountain, such as Ararat.

The Babylonians also connect the *serpent* with Paradise. In the epic of Nimrod it is the serpent which snatches the plant of rejuvenescence from Gišdubar as he returns home. In a well-known picture on an old cylinder-seal, a serpent is twining itself behind a seated female (?) figure. In front of the figure stands a palm, and on the other side of the palm sits a personage whose ox-horns mark him out as a divinity. Both figures, however, are stretching out their hands to the fruit of the tree that stands between them. The Babylonian dragon of the primeval world is represented as a monster with the head of a lion and the feet of an eagle; but after his defeat by Merodach he is transported to Heaven in the form of a serpent. In connexion with this we may remember that the 'serpent-god,' who is regarded as masculine, is called the 'watcher (*râbiṣu*) of the house of heaven.' Finally, Nebuchadrezzar set up, both at the gates of Babylon and on the threshold of the temple of Bel, colossal bulls and enormous serpents of metal as guardians.

Unfortunately, no *direct* parallel to the biblical account of the *Fall* and the expulsion of man from Paradise has been as yet found in Babylonian literature. Nevertheless, apart from the pictorial representation mentioned above, the legend of Adapa presents a parallel. Adapa, who is called the 'seed of mankind,' forfeits for ever the immortality offered to him by the god of heaven by his refusal to take the bread and water of life. If, in addition to this, we note the prominent place occupied by the knowledge of sin and the yearning after forgiveness amongst the Babylonian Semites, the existence of a narrative of the Fall, standing in intimate relation to Paradise, can scarcely any longer be doubted. The same remark applies to the confusion of tongues at the building of the Tower. The Tower of Babel (Gn 11) is indeed a tower of steps, and, as such, a temple; and, according to the Babylonian conception, men were created by God to build temples for the gods. At the same time the presumption of wishing to climb up to heaven comes out clearly in the Etana legend, where it is punished by a downfall.

Sacrifices and *prayers* played an important part among the Babylonians at all times. Besides the priests, there were also the magicians and soothsayers with their exorcisms. The laws and ordinances (*terîti* תּוֹרוֹת) of the gods are often mentioned; and we can see clearly, from the hymns and litanies that have come down to us, that the ritual of sacrifice and worship was a rich one. Liturgical forms, like so much else, had their home in Babylonia, as can be proved down even to the minutest details of expression. There are two chief kinds of sacrifices mentioned in the oldest inscriptions: the prescribed daily sacrifice *ginû* or *sattukku* (Sumer. *sa-dug*, probably a word originally borrowed from the Arabian *ṣadaḳat* 'right'), and the freewill sacrifice *nindabû* (נְדָבָה), which originally consisted of a gift of corn (Sumer. *nidab*) to the goddess Istar. Other expressions for sacrifice are: *ḳurbannu* (קָרְבָּן), properly 'presentation,' *niḳû* (properly 'libation,' but used for sacrifice in general, since libations were always used at the sacrifice of beasts), *ḳuṭrinnu* 'incense-offering,' *zîbu* (from *zib'u* =זבח), *sirḳu* ('drink-offering'), and *šurḳînu*. It is worth remarking that the same word which is used in Hebrew of pardon and forgiveness, סָלַח, is used in Babylonian of sprinkling sick or unclean men. Sickness, however, is always treated by the Babylonians as a result of sin, and hence sacrifice is always regarded as a propitiation for sin. Human sacrifice, up to the present, has been found portrayed only upon ancient seal-cylinders,* and it is still open to question whether the victim does not represent a god rather than a man. In that case there would be an allusion to a myth unknown to us. Of the many expressions for 'prayer' and 'petition' in use, *suppû*, a denominative from *sippu*, a threshold, has a special interest, because the threshold of the house or the temple was the place at which prayer and sacrifice were offered in ancient times.

From the earliest times the temples were regarded in Babylonia as the earthly dwelling-places of the gods (Bab. *bîtu*, *iširtu*, and *ekallu* היכל, which usually, however, means palace). They were generally in the form of a tower of steps (*ziḳḳuratu*), and were three storeys and sometimes seven storeys high, the latter being an earthly copy of the seven heavenly spheres, or circles, of the planets. Occasionally these temples contained also the graves of the kings (*gigunu*), as in the case of a temple of Gudea. In the 'Holy of Holies' there were special divisions, which were called by several names, *parakku*, *papaḫu*, *panpanu*, *di'u*, *usukku*, and *sukku* (cf. סֻכָּה, also used in a religious sense). It is remarkable that the oldest form of the ideogram for *parakku* clearly represents tapestry or a curtain (cf. פָּרֹכֶת).

The functions of the *priests*, seers or prophets, magicians and soothsayers, often overlap one another in the texts, though they were in reality always very carefully differentiated. The most common expressions for priest are *kalû* and *šangû* (Sumerian *sag*), the high priest being hence called *šangu-maḫḫu* (from *sag* 'priest' and *maḫ* 'high'), for seer and prophet *maḫḫû*, from which the word magician is derived, *asû* (which also means 'physician,' Sumer. *azu*, originally signifying 'he who knows'), and *bârû* ('the seer,' exactly=the Heb. רֹאֶה). The Heb. word נָבִיא is also found, at any rate in the name of the god *Nabi'u*, *Nabû*, Nebo ('proclaimer,' 'herald,' as a planet, Hermes).

---

* Observe the wording of Gn 2^8 'and God planted a garden in Eden,' *i.e.*, according to the above explanation, 'out in the waste.'

* Ménant, *Collection de Clercq*, No. 176–182; *pierres gravées*, I. figs. 94, 95, 97.

The Heb. כֹּהֵן also has its equivalent in the Bab. *muškînu* (from *muškahînu*), 'one who pays homage or worships.' The rich cultus of the Babylonians, in addition to its numerous sacrifices, prayers, and litanies, included from an early period also sacred water (*agubbû*), censers (*adaguru*), processions (*mašdaḫu*), barges of the gods (as in Egypt). All these naturally had their chief place at the numerous festivals.

Not only were there **Festivals** which were repeated on certain fixed days every month (as the *nubattu* or festival specially connected with the worship of Merodach and his consort Zarpanit on the 3rd, 7th, and 16th days of the month, or the so-called 'unlucky-day,' *ûmu limnu* [corresponding to the Hebrew Sabbath], which was held on the 7th, 14th, 19th, 21st, and 28th of the month, and had to be observed as a day of fasting and repentance even by the king), but there was also a series of annual festivals, of which the Festival of the New Year (*zagmukku, akîtu*) was regarded as the most sacred. At this festival Bel (in Babylon Bel-Merodach, in Sirgulla Ningirsu, as the consort of Ba'u) entered the holy assembly-room (*ubšuginna*) in order to fix the fates of men, especially that of the king, for the coming year. This Festival of the New Year and the Spring was also held in remembrance of the day of Creation. After Bel had conquered the dragon and made the world, on the 8th and 11th days of the new year he entered *Dulazagga*, the 'holy of holies' of *Ubšuginna*, for the purpose mentioned above (Epic of the Creation, Table iii. l. 61, Nebuk. ii. 54–65).

In this connexion the ancient names of the Babylonian **Months**, as they are given from about B.C. 2000 both in Sumerian and Semitic, are as follows:—

1. *Barag-zag-gar* ('the Holy of Holies of the Temple'). *Nisannu*, also named *Araḫ-rabûti* (month of the great gods, *i.e.* Anu and Bel): begins on 21st of March. March–April.
2. *Gud-si-di* ('ox of right guidance' (?)). *Iyaru*. April–May.
3. *Shigga* (month of bricks). *Sivânu*, likewise called *Kusallu* and *Ṣîtân*. May–June.
4. *Shu-gunna* (sowing). *Du'ûzu* (Tammuz), also *Pit-bâbi* ('opening of door'). June–July.
5. *Bil-bil-gar* (fire month). *Abu*, also month of the star of the bow (or Sirius). July–August.
6. *Gur-Ninni* (harvest of Istar). *Ululu* (Elul). August–September.
7. *Dul-azagga* (see above). *Tashrîtu* (=beginning). September–October.
8. *Apin-dua* (the lifting of the watering-can ?). *Araḫ-samna* (the eighth month, Marcheshvan). October–November.
9. *Gan-gan-na-ud-du* (month of clouds). *Kisilivu*. November–December.
10. *Ab-ba-ud-du* (month of the sea). *Ṭibîtu*, also *Tamṭîru* (rain). December–January.
11. *Ash-a-an* (curse of rain). *Shabaṭu*, also *Isin-Ramman* (festival of the storm-god). January–February.
12. *She-gur-kud* (grain-harvest). *Adaru*, also *Araḫ-sibûti* (month of the seven evil gods). February–March.

The names of months in use amongst the Hebrews after the Exile are well known to have been derived from the Semitic names which are always mentioned second in the foregoing list. As the names *Dul-azagga*, which is used in connexion with the New Year, and *Tisri*, which signifies 'beginning,' show, the New Year Festival must, at some early date, have been held in harvest instead of in spring. This also explains why the god of the seventh month is Samas (the sun, who rules the year), and why the Babylonians, even in later times, instead of a second Adar, intercalated occasionally a second Elul (very rarely a second Nisan) as the last month of the year. In the time of Abraham the month in Babylonia had 30 days, as is clear from the contract-tablets. The year thus consisting of 360 days, it was necessary every six years to intercalate a thirteenth month—generally a second Adar. The Babylonians also recognised a lunar year of 324 days, whose months each contained 27 days. From this they fixed the ratio of silver (moon) to gold (sun) as 27 : 360 (lunar month : solar year)=3 : 40=1 : 13⅓. A lunar month had three weeks of 9 days or 60 *uddu* (the *uddu* was reckoned as 6×6×6=216 minutes). The Babylonians divided the day into twelve double hours, and the double-hour into 60 minutes, their unit of time being thus equal to about two minutes of our reckoning, corresponding to the time taken by the sun to traverse a space in the heavens equal to his apparent diameter.

In the contract-tablets of the later kings of Ur (about B.C. 2300), some centuries therefore before Abraham, we find a list of Sumerian names for the months, only three of which correspond with those mentioned above, viz. the 4th (Shu-gunna), the 5th (Festival of the Fire-god), and the 12th (She-gur-kud). The first month in this old list is called She-illa ('when the grain grows tall'), the 7th 'Feast of Tammuz,' the 8th 'Feast of king Dungi' (who was worshipped as a god), and the 9th 'Feast of Ba'u.' Even at this date there is already evidence of the intercalation of a second Adar (*dir she-gur-kud*).

It is much to be regretted that no special calendar of festivals has been discovered up to the present. We only know that Bel was the patron god of Nisan, Ea of Iyyar, Sin of Sivan, Nin-ib of Tammuz, Nin-giš-zidda (Nebo, as Fire-god) of Ab, Istar of Elul, Samas of Tisri, Merodach of Araḫsamna, Nergal of Kislev, and Ramman of Shebaṭ, and that probably the chief festival of the gods mentioned was held in the months that corresponded to them. It is most likely, however, that not only different epochs, but also different places of worship, had their own special festivals. At Sippar, for instance, the City of the Sun in N. Babylonia, Samas had special feast-days not only on 7th Nisan and 7th Tisri, but also on 10th Iyyar, 3rd Elul, 15th Marcheshvan, and 15th Adar. In this connexion it may be noted that, judging from the Heb. Feast of Purim (14th and 15th Adar), there was probably in Babylonia a feast observed in honour of Istar the sister of Samas.

The circumstance that each month had its patron deity, has a partial connexion also with the **Division of the Zodiac**, which originated in Babylonia before B.C. 3000. At that early date the principal constellations, and especially those that are traversed by the sun, moon, and planets, were already known by nearly the same names as they bear to-day. They formed twelve 'stations' (*manzaztu*, hence *mazzartu* and *mazzaltu*, from which are borrowed Heb. מַזָּרוֹת, מַזָּלוֹת [Job 38³², 2 K 23⁵] and Arab. *manzal*). From B.C. 2000 onwards it can be demonstrated that the order of the months was Nisan, Iyyar, etc. This reckoning starts with the Ram (Aries) as the vernal point, but there was an older order which began with the Bull (Taurus, the symbol of the god Merodach). The latter system, which finds the vernal point in the Pleiades, carries us back at least to somewhere about B.C. 4000. The Zodiac was also divided into a region of Anu (Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo), a region of Bel (Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius), and a region of the earth-and-water god Ea (Capricornus, Aquarius, Pisces, Aries). These last four constellations, lying between Sagittarius and the Pleiades (כִּימָה, cf. Bab. *kîmtu*, 'family'), and forming the path of Ea, are what are called in Job 9^{9} 'the chambers of the south' (חַדְרֵי תֵמָן). Along this path of Ea (Sumer. *sil sigga*, written with the signs *tar* and *pa*), lay, according to Bab. notions, the entrance to the under-world; hence the constellation Sagittarius was called *ka-sil* 'opening of the path,' and the corresponding month *Kisilivu* (Kislev). But as the Babylonians were fond of applying one and the same designation to stars in opposite quarters of the heavens, Orion was also named *ka-sil* (Heb. כְּסִיל) and the month Sivan, which belonged to Gemini, was called *Kusallu*. It is certainly no fortuitous circumstance that precisely at the point where the path of Ea *begins* (between Sagittarius and Capricornus), another path, the Milky Way, intersects the ecliptic, and that the ecliptic is again crossed by the Milky Way at the point where the path *ends*, exactly between Gemini (month Sivan) and Orion (Bab. *shu-gi* or *shîbu*, also *ka-sil*, Heb. כְּסִיל). The Great Bear was called by the Babylonians 'Wagon-star' (more precisely *kakkab ṣumbi*, 'star of the baggage-wagon'), by the W. Semites 'Lion-star' (Heb. עַיִשׁ, cf. Syr. עִיוּתָא, Arab. *ʿayûth*), for the Arab. *naʿsh* (Bab. *nêshu*) also meant originally 'lion.' The underlying explanation is probably that the Lion of the Zodiac (Bab. 'dog-star'), on account of his nearness to the sign of the Great Bear, was thought of as harnessed to the latter as his wagon. At a later period the Babylonians designated the Dog (our Leo) *arû* ('lion'); in Sumer. *lig* means 'dog,' and *lig-magh* 'lion' (literally 'big dog').

The oldest reliable evidence for the Bab. origin of the zodiacal signs is derived from the ancient Bab. boundary-stones with their pictorial representations. These date from the 12th cent. B.C., and from them we obtain the following series:—Ram, Bull, two dragons = Gemini, Hydra (south of Cancer) with a spindle, Dog, Ear of corn with a cow (the symbol of the virgin Istar), Balance (Yoke), Scorpion, Scorpion-man with a bow (Sagittarius), Goat-fish (a goat with the body and tail of a fish) or Tortoise, Pitcher, and Water-hen (Horse), to which the Raven, as symbol of the intercalary month (originally a second Elul), is added as a thirteenth sign (hence the raven is viewed as a bird of evil omen). That the real origin of this system goes back, however, to a far remoter antiquity, is proved not only by the star-names found in the so-called astrological work (*c.* B.C. 2000), but by the circumstance that throughout the latter the Pleiades (Taurus) appear as the first of the zodiacal signs. The exact astronomical proof was rendered possible by the Planet-tables of the Arsacid period (2nd cent. B.C.), and the laborious task was undertaken by the Jesuit fathers Epping and Strassmaier. It turned out,[*] moreover, that the Babylonians were acquainted not only with the twelve signs of the Zodiac, but (quite in accord with the testimony of Diodorus, ii. 30) also with 24 (afterwards 27) stations of the moon[†] and 36 stations of the planets (the so-called *decani*). That is to say, they divided the ecliptic as the path of the sun into 12, as that of the moon into 27, and as that of the planets into 36 parts, and distinguished each part by certain stars. The same investigation makes it probable that the 24 'hour-stars' and the 36 '*decani*-stars' of the ancient Egyptians were borrowed in the remotest antiquity from Babylonia. (We shall presently describe [p. 220 f.] how the Babylonians wove the signs of the Zodiac into the composition of both their great epic poems, the one concerning the Creation, the other concerning Nimrod.) Of remaining stars we have yet to mention Sirius, 'bow-star' (*kakkab ḳashti*); Procyon (*kakkab mishrî*, lit. 'north star' or 'northern weapon,' in contradistinction to the 'southern weapon,' viz. Sirius); *ashkar* or *iḳû* (Arab. *ʿayyuḳ*) = Capella; 'king-star' = Regulus in Leo; 'jackal-star' = Antares in Scorpio; *sig-bil-sagga* = Myra *Ceti*, south of Aries, the 'fire-star' (or star of Nimrod or Gisdubar); etc. etc. In the whole list there are only a few names which cannot now be identified.

Babylonia was the home not only of Mathematics (see below) and Astronomy, but of **Astrology.** This is eloquently witnessed to by the so-called astrological work mentioned above, which bears the special title, *nûr Bel*, 'illumination of Bel.' The seers (*bârû*) and magicians (*maḫḫu*), who are so often mentioned along with the priests, were, above all, 'star-gazers' and 'prognosticators'; cf. Dn 2^{2}, where already the name *Kasdîm* (Chaldæans) appears as synonymous with magicians. That the μάγοι of Mt 2^{1} were likewise Chaldæans, is plain from various passages of the astrological work, where we read, 'Under such and such a constellation a great king shall arise in the land of *Martu* (Palestine), and peace and joy shall prevail in the land.'

If Bab. **Medicine** did not reach a level much higher than that of magical formulæ,[*] the acquaintance of the Babylonians with **Mathematics** deserves all the fuller recognition. The subject will be best elucidated by a brief survey of the Bab. **Metrology,** from which admittedly all the ancient metrological systems (that of ancient Egypt included) were derived. The latter circumstance proves indirectly how remote is the antiquity to which the beginnings of the system must be carried back. Metrology, moreover, lays the foundation for the material civilisation of a people, as religion does for their spiritual development. For the Babylonians the connecting link between the two was Astronomy.

First, as regards *linear measure*, we now know from the scale of Gudea (*c.* B.C. 2500), published in de Sarzec's *Découvertes*, that the half-cubit ($\frac{1}{4}$ great cubit) was divided into 15 finger-breadths of 16·6 mm. each. The cubit thus contained 498 mm., and the great cubit (*ammatu rabîtu*) 996 mm. These again were divided respectively into 30 and 60 finger-breadths. Both the small and the great cubit were also divided into six equal parts, the former containing 6 × 5, the latter 6 × 10 finger-breadths. The latter system of division appears, for instance, in the tablet of Senkereh (*WAI* iv.^{2} 37), on the reverse of which are given the squares and cubes of the cubit from the number 1 up to 60, and on the obverse the fractions and multiples of the cubit. We learn that a 'reed' (*gi* or *ḳanû*) was 6 great cubits; a *gar* (written with the sign *sha*) 12 great cubits; an *ush* (stadium) 60 *gar* or 720 great cubits; a *kasbu* (parasang) 30 *ush* (*c.* 21 kilomet.); and a *double-kasbu* 60 *ush*. In all probability there was also a small *kasbu*, answering to the small cubit, and containing 10,800 cubits (*c.* 10$\frac{3}{4}$ kilomet.).

Besides its division into sixths, the cubit was divided also into 10 (5) hand-breadths (each of 6 finger-breadths). Further, as we learn from the scale of Gudea, the finger-breadth (16·6 mm.) was divided into 180 parts, of which, however, the only ones in actual use were the $\frac{1}{18}$ ($\frac{10}{180}$), $\frac{1}{12}$ ($\frac{15}{180}$), $\frac{1}{6}$ ($\frac{30}{180}$), $\frac{1}{5}$ ($\frac{36}{180}$), $\frac{1}{4}$ ($\frac{45}{180}$), $\frac{1}{3}$ ($\frac{60}{180}$), and $\frac{1}{2}$ ($\frac{90}{180}$). The hand-breadth, whose minimum was taken at 99, and maximum at 99·6 mm., served, moreover, as *the side of a cube* which contained exactly a *ḳa* (nearly a litre), and which, *when filled with water*, weighed a great *mina* (*c.* 990 grammes). In the same way, as is well known, a cubical decimetre (*i.e.* a litre) of water weighs a kilogramme. In this most ingenious fashion did the Babylonians in that remote antiquity derive not only their superficial measures and their measures of capacity, but even their weights from a common standard, the hand-breadth. It is further to be noted that in the latitude of Babylon (31° N. lat.) the length of the seconds' pendulum is 992·35 mm., which is almost exactly equal to the length of the Bab. double-cubit (990–996 mm.).

---

[*] The proof of this will be found in Hommel's art. 'Ursprung u. Alter d. arab. Sternnamen' in *ZDMG*, Bd. 45, pp. 592–619.

[†] The names of these passed in course of time from the Babylonians to the Arabs, Persians, Hindus, and Chinese.

[*] Important conclusions can be deduced, however, from the Bab. literature, notably from the bilingual magical formulæ and from the Epic of Nimrod, regarding the nature of certain diseases. For instance, the 'head-disease' so frequently mentioned, which is accompanied with violent fever, is *erysipelas*; the symptoms of Gišdubar's illness are those of *lues venerea*; while the disease of Ea-bani appears to have been *leprosy*. There is also frequent mention in the religious texts of fever and plague.

From their linear measure the Babylonians derived also their *reckoning of time.* A distance of 360 double-cubits is covered by an average walker in 4 minutes ($\frac{1}{360}$ of the whole day), a great *kasbu* (21,600 cubits) in four hours or a night-watch. Thus the *kasbu* was used to mark the periods of the day; $\frac{1}{12}$ of a day (2 ho.) being a small, and $\frac{1}{6}$ a great *kasbu.* The reckoning was controlled by the observation that the sun requires exactly 2 minutes ($\frac{1}{60}$ of the double-hour) to traverse a space equal to his apparent diameter. Thus discovered, the system of reckoning by 60 (*sussu*, originally *sudsu*, *i.e.* $\frac{1}{6}$ of 360) was adopted by the Babylonians as the fundamental principle of their whole metrological system. It was astronomy * then, in conjunction with the linear measures derived from the cubit and the hand-breadth, that gave birth to the famed *sexagesimal system,* which spread from Babylon over almost the whole world. With this goes naturally the division of the circle into 720 (360) degrees; and the observation that the sixth part of the circumference of a circle is equal to the radius, stands also in the closest relation to the same system. Both the principles referred to were known to the Babylonians from the earliest times.

By squaring the various linear measures, we obtain the corresponding *superficial measure.* As early as the time of the kings of Ur we meet with the 'field' (*gan*)=1800 'gardens' (*sar*); and the 'garden' (60 sq. cubits ?)=60 *gin.*† Then the *gin* (1 sq. cubit ?) was divided into 180 *she.* Besides the great *gan* of 1800 *sar*, there was originally a small *gan* of 180 *sar*; hence the great *gan* bears the name also of *bur-gan* ('ten gardens'). The Babylonians, moreover, gave designations to pieces of land according to the amount of seed-corn required to sow them. Thus, *e.g.*, they would speak of a 5 *gur* cornfield. This introduces us to—

Measures of capacity. In Abraham's time there were already three systems simultaneously in use: the *gur* of 360 *ḳa*, the *gur* of 300 *ḳa* ($\frac{1}{6}$ less than the first, and standing to it in the same relation as the gold mina of 50 shekels to the silver mina of 60 shekels), and the *gur* of 180 *ḳa.* The last-named system of reckoning, acc. to which the *ḳa* contained about 2 litres, was the only one in use in the New Bab. period. Now, since the Heb. *kor* (כֹּר) contained 180 *ḳab* (קַב), just as the Bab. *gur* contained 180 *ḳa*, it is clear that the Hebrews borrowed both the names and the divisions from the Babylonians. The Heb. has even preserved the original and fuller form of the name *ḳa*, namely *ḳab.* Besides the *ḳa* (see above for its origin) there were also larger sub-divisions of the *gur* or *kor*, such as the *pi* or 'ass's burden' (*imîru* Heb. חֹמֶר)=$\frac{1}{5}$ *gur*; the *aš* (Heb. *Bath* or *Ephah*)=$\frac{1}{10}$ *gur*; the *bar* (Heb. *Se'ah*)=$\frac{1}{30}$ *gur*, etc. In addition to this, the *ḳa* (originally about a litre) was divided into 60 parts, which, as in the case of the *mina* and the *sar*, were called *gin.* Since among the Hebrews the *hin* (הִין) was the 60th part of the *kor*, as amongst the Babylonians the *gin* was the 60th part of the *ḳa*, הִין must also be a Bab. loan-word. It found its way into Heb. through the medium of Egypt, where the *hin* was the fundamental measure; and the name *ephah* also comes from Egypt.* Besides this division of the *ḳa* into 60 *gin*, we meet with another into 10 *gar* (written *sha*).

Finally, in regard to *weights*, the talent (*gun*, Semit. perhaps *gaggaru*) contained 60 *minæ* (*mana*, Semit. *manû*); the mina 60 *shekels* (*gin* with the sign *ṭu*, Semit. *šiḳlu* 'weight,' and, as the original measure, *ḳuddu* 'cup'); the shekel 360 (180) *she* (or grains of corn). But, as happened so often in the Bab. metrology, there were several systems of weight in use simultaneously: [1] The heavy mina of about 990 gr. (the weight of the *ḳa* filled with water, see above). [2] The light mina, which weighed $\frac{1}{2}$ of the heavy, *i.e.* *c.* 495 gr. (491–492 gr. in the case of the weights still extant). [3] A weight=$\frac{5}{6}$ of the light mina (50 instead of 60 shekels) used specially for gold, the so-called gold mina, usually=409–410 gr. Even *c.* B.C. 2000, however, there had come into use a gold mina of a higher (so-called royal) standard=427$\frac{1}{2}$ gr., as can be proved from a weight recently found at Nippur. [4] A weight about $\frac{1}{9}$ more than the light mina, the Bab. silver mina=546 gr. Although the last-named is a derived and secondary weight, it is still very ancient, for its 60th part, the silver shekel of 9·1 gr., answers exactly to the ancient Egyp. *ḳed*, which is likewise=9·1 gr. The Bab. ideogram for shekel has not only the pronunciation *šiḳlu* (שֶׁקֶל), but also *ḳuddu* (Arab. *ḳadaḥ* 'cup'), and this *ḳuddu* is naturally the prototype of the Egyp. *ḳed*, which weighs exactly the same. Ten of these *ḳed* made up the Egyp. pound (*deben*, not *uten*) of 10 shekels (91 gr.), and in point of fact there was also a Bab. weight of 10 shekels, whose name was in Sumer. *garash* † and in Semit. *tibnu*, but which was also designated absolutely *abnu* 'stone' (cf. 2 S 14²⁶ אֶבֶן הַמֶּלֶךְ, and Pr 16¹¹ אַבְנֵי כִיס, Bab. *aban kîsi*). Three of these made up a half-mina, and six a mina.

In regard to Bab. **Art** (architecture, sculpture, engraving, etc.), our former conceptions have been fundamentally changed by the excavations at Telloh and Niffer (in South and Central Babylonia). From these we see that as early as B.C. 4000–3000 the bloom of art in Babylon was such as was in some respects never attained in later days,—a case quite analogous to that of Egypt in the era of the Pyramids. Under the older kings of Sirgulla the style of art is of course still somewhat awkward and crude, but under the older Patesi it shows a high finish, *e.g.* in the carving of the beautiful silver vases of En-timena (*c.* B.C. 3800); and the cylinder-seals and reliefs of the old kings of Agade (Akkad), *c.* B.C. 3500, are still more finely executed. At Nippur, prior to B.C. 4000, architects already used the arch of burned brick, which formerly was supposed to have originated at a much later period. The Bab. temples, formed of brick like Bab. buildings in general, were in 'stage' form, and had either three or seven storeys, the latter number in imitation of the seven planet-spheres (see p. 216^{b}). The oldest kings already refer, in their inscriptions, to palaces, and on a statue of Gudea (*c.* 2900) we find even the plan of such a building. The surface of each brick was stamped with an inscription of six to ten lines, and formed a square with a side of 330 mm. (*i.e.* $\frac{1}{3}$ of a cubit = 1 Bab. foot). The science of hydraulics was also highly developed (dams, canals, sluices, cisterns, etc.). From the fragments of vases which still exist (beautifully ornamented, and in some cases with lengthy inscriptions), formed either of alabaster or of clay, we see that pottery had made great advances in the very earliest times. The same is true of weaving. Long before the time of Abraham, the magnificent Bab. carpets and mantles were in high repute (cf. Jos 7^{21}). Music and poetry (on the latter see the remarks on Bab. literature, below) were sedulously cultivated. As early as the time of Gudea we find a twelve-stringed harp portrayed. To the forms of poetry belonged, as we have now learned, a highly-complicated strophic system, as well as the regular succession of a certain number of cadences, and finally the so-called *parallelismus membrorum.* The diorite statues of the Patesi of Sirgulla may confidently be matched against the famous statues of wood and diorite which belong to the Egyp. art of the so-called ancient empire. Special skill was displayed, however, by the Babylonians at all periods, in engraving; and their cylinder-seals, which date as far back as *c.* B.C. 4000, show a fineness of execution which cannot but arouse our admiration. Mythological scenes are the favourite subject; particularly common is the portrayal of such as belong to the circle of legends which formed itself around Gišdubar (Nimrod). The inscriptions appended give, as a rule, simply the name and title of the owner of the seal and his father; but as these are frequently kings, such cylinder-seals not infrequently serve as important sources for the tracing of history. Metallurgy, finally, was also in an advanced stage in early days. The relation of silver to gold was in point of value 3 : 40, or 1 : $13\frac{1}{3}$, the same ratio as that of the ancient lunar month of 27 days to the solar year of 360 days. From the first we find the Babylonians acquainted also with the smelting of iron. The latter was originally obtained from meteoric stones, hence the Sumer. name *an-bar*, 'heavenly metal.' They had also learned the composition of bronze (Sumer. *zabar*, Semit. *siparru*) from copper and tin. They were acquainted even with the manufacture of glass. As early as *c.* B.C. 1500 we meet with cobalt-coloured glass as an artificial substitute for the costly lapis-lazuli imported from Media.

---

* Especially through the observation that in the course of the apparent revolution of the celestial sphere, $\frac{1}{12}$ of the ecliptic (*i.e.* 1 sign of the Zodiac) takes exactly two hours ($\frac{1}{12}$ of a sidereal day) to pass before the eye of one watching the starry heavens by night.

† It is possible, however, that the length of side of the *sar* was 60 great cubits, in which case its area would be 3600 sq. cubits, while that of the *gin* would be 60 sq. cubits, and of the *she* $\frac{1}{3}$ of a sq. cubit.

* The Egyp. word *ephah* (*'ipt*) is, however, itself originally derived from the Bab. *pîtu.*

† This *garash* is the Perso-Indian *karasha*, which is also a weight of 10 shekels.

The Literature of Babylon, as was to be expected from a people so highly civilised, was of the most varied character and greatest extent. Unfortunately, in spite of the numerous discoveries made by excavation (esp. the remains of actual libraries, inscribed on clay tablets), only the ruins of this literature have been preserved; but in this form we have specimens of at least all the more important branches.

First, as regards literature in the narrower sense, the poetry of Babylon, even the so-called secular epic, *e.g.* the Nimrod-epos, bore an essentially religious character. To the poetical fragments which have come down to us either in Sumerian alone, or (as is generally the case) with a Semitic interlinear translation as well, belong above all the numerous magical formulæ (with the title *enna* or *shiptu*, 'incantation'), as well as a great number of hymns to the gods, and penitential psalms. While the first-named are composed in relatively old and pure Sumerian and generally written ideographically, the last two show an admixture of numerous later forms of speech: they contain Semit. loan-words and frequent instances of phonetic writing (the so-called *imi-sal* forms or 'women's speech' in opposition to the 'priests' speech' of the earliest period). From all this, the N. Babylonian and Semit. origin of the penitential psalms, and of a large number of the hymns to the gods, may be certainly inferred. Moreover, the line of thought in the penitential psalms, notwithstanding their being composed in Sumerian, is far more Semitic than Sumerian. In particular, there appear in them with tolerable clearness purer religious conceptions, approaching monotheism. While the magical formulæ certainly go back to a very remote antiquity, the penitential psalms may possibly have taken their rise somewhere between B.C. 3000 and 2000, *i.e.* in the last centuries before Abraham. In any case, they are essentially more recent than the formulæ.

By far the greater half of the Bab. literature was composed, however, only in the Semit. idiom of the country. This is true of certain magical formulæ (*e.g.* the so-called 'burning series' or *maḳlû, i.e.* burning of wax figures of evil spirits or of witches) and many hymns to the gods. To the same class belong, above all, the **epic poems,** of which, fortunately, a whole series have come down to us, more or less perfectly preserved. These poems might with equal propriety be called mythological texts, for the purely epic and narrative element in them is constantly mingled and combined with the mythological. The most important and (as is proved by the order adopted for the zodiacal signs, the Ram, *kusarikku*, being last) the oldest poem is—

(*a*) **The Creation-epos.** 'When heaven above had not yet been named and earth below yet bore no name—but the ocean (*apsû*, אפס), the primeval, their progenitor, and chaos (*Tiâmat* or *mummu T.*) the bearer of them all, yet mingled their waters together, when as yet no cornfield was cultivated, and no reed seen — when as yet none of the gods existed, no name they bore, destinies were not yet assigned, then were born the gods [of *mummu* or chaos]; Lukhmu and Lakhâmu came forth [first], æons grew up (= elapsed?) . . . Anshar and Kishar were born, long days passed by till at length Anu, Bel, and Ea were produced; [but the son of Ea and Damkina was Marduk the creator of the world].' So begins, in remarkable accord with Gn $1^{1ff.}$, this poem, whose commencement has also come down to us in Greek in Damascius' *Quæst. de primis principiis.* The further course of events described is briefly as follows: After the above-named gods originated from chaos, a strife arose between Tihâmat (תְּהוֹם), the female personification of the primeval ocean, and the rest of the gods. Anu claims the right to decide the dispute; Tihâmat, however, declares war, and binds the tablets of destiny (cf. the Urim and Thummim of OT) to the breast of her consort Kingu. Anshar,* after fruitless attempts, through the medium of Anu, Ea, and Marduk, to conciliate Tihâmat, sends to inform Lukhmu and Lakhâmu that Marduk is prepared to undertake the conflict with Tihâmat. The detailed account of this conflict between the god of light, Marduk, and the dark primeval ocean,† makes up the 4th canto of the epos, which fortunately we possess complete. Marduk conquers the dragon and his eleven helpers (cf. Job 9[13]), cleaves Tihâmat, and out of the one-half fashions the firmament of heaven, in which he assigns their places to the gods Anu, Bel, Ea, and to the moon and the stars, while out of the other half he fashions the earth. The eleven helpers were placed in the sky as the zodiacal signs, Merodach himself being the twelfth. The connected fragments still extant make it plain that thereafter followed a description of how plants and animals, and finally man, were all formed by Bel-Merodach. Beside this there was another Bab. myth, according to which it was the god Ea who formed man of clay. Moreover, in the epos, Bel the god of the air and of storm, whom the Babylonians portrayed with thunderbolts in his hand, is confounded with Merodach, a circumstance which points to Babylon, whose tutelary deity, Merodach, was called the younger Bel. The original notion that the elder Bel (Semit. *Bêlu* 'lord' κατ' ἐξοχήν) was the creator, finds its echo in Genesis (cf. the 'spirit of God' of Gn 1[2] with the Sumerian name of Bel, *En-lilla*, 'lord of the air' or 'the wind').

---

* Originally identical with Anu, An-šar being = heaven's host, but afterwards differentiated from him, and at a later period assimilated to Aššur (Damascius 'Ασσωρός).

† In pictorial representations Tihâmat appears as a dragon (hence the serpent of the Bab. boundary-stones) with a lion's head, hence she is called also *labbu*, 'lion.'

(*b*) The so-called **Nimrod-epos** (cf. Gn 10[8-12]). The 12 cantos of this magnificent poem stand in evident relation to the 12 signs of the Zodiac, of which, however, it is no longer the Bull but the Ram that comes first. The hero Gišdubar, also called Nârûdu (for Namrûdu), Namrasît, and Gibil-gamis, sprang from a city which afterwards completely disappeared, Surippak (on the river Surappu?). He becomes king of Erech, where he rules as a tyrant, until the gods create Ea-bânî, a kind of Priapus, to destroy him. The two, however, strike up a friendship after Gišdubar has overcome a mighty lion. (This last scene is often depicted on cylinder-seals and reliefs.) Together they next deliver the city of Erech from the Elamite oppressor Khumbaba (Combabos). Istar, the goddess of love, now offers to Gišdubar her hand, which, however, is refused by the hero (Canto 6). Out of revenge Istar sends a scorpion, whose sting proves fatal to Ea-bânî; Gišdubar himself she smites with an incurable disease. In consequence of this he sets out, in quest of relief, for the dwelling-place of his great-grandfather Ṣît-napišti (=rescue of life), the Bab. Noah ('Rest' *i.e.* of the soul), far away on the ocean in the Isles of the Blessed. With this aim he first traverses, amidst great dangers, the land of Mâshu (Central Arabia, מֵשָׁא or מַשָּׂא of the OT), and then crosses the waters of death to Ṣît-napišti, who (Canto 11) gives him a detailed account of his escape from the Deluge (see below), heals him of his disease, and presents him with the plant of life. The latter, however, is snatched from him on his way home by an earth-lion (*i.e.* a serpent). On his arrival at Erech, he bewails, in the temple of the goddess Ninsunna, the death of his friend Ea-bânî, and prays the god Nergal to restore the spirit of Ea-bânî to him. With the granting of this request, and a graphic description by Ea-bânî of the under-world, the epos closes.

(*c*) The Bab. **Story of the Deluge.** This is contained in the 11th canto of the Nimrod-epos (see previous section). When the great gods, with Bel in his quality of storm-god (Bel-Ramman) at their head, determined to send a flood,* Ea revealed to Ṣît-napišti in a dream how he might save himself by constructing a ship. Ten *gar* (120 cubits) was to be the height of its sides, and the same was to be the width of its deck; it was to have six storeys, each of which was to have seven divisions, while the area was divided into 9 parts (3 on each side of a square?). Since the length is not specified, we are probably to think of the Bab. ark as square-shaped, thus forming a cube. On the 7th day the vessel was ready; then for 6 days on end the rain fell in torrents, till on the 7th day again the storm abated. After other 7 days, during the whole of which the ark had been in sight of Mt. Niṣir ('rescue'), Ṣît-napišti sent forth a dove. 'The dove flew hither and thither, but since it found no resting-place, it returned. Then I sent forth a swallow,' so proceeds the story, 'and let it go; the swallow flew hither and thither, but since there was no resting-place, it returned. Then I sent forth a raven, and let it go; the raven flew away, saw the abating of the waters, approached wading and croaking, but returned not.' On the top of Mt. Niṣir, S. of Lake Urmia and E. of Assyria,* and thus between Media and Armenia (Ararat), the ark stranded. The gods smelt with pleasure the odour of the seven vessels of incense offered by Ṣît-napišti; especially gratified was Istar, the goddess of the bow; and Ea besought Bel never more to send a flood upon the earth. Bel suffered himself to be persuaded,† took Ṣît-napišti and his wife by the hand, blessed them (cf. Gn 9[1]), and translated them to Paradise.

We have to note finally that here, as in the case of the Creation-epos, both the OT writers, the Jahwist (J) and the Elohist (P), have a surprising number of points of contact with the details of the Bab. text, from which it is evident that these coincidences carry us back to a very early date.

(*d*) **Istar's descent to Hades.** Istar determines to descend to Hades to free the dead who dwell there. As she passes through the seven gates of the under-world, all her garments and ornaments are taken from her, and Nin-ki-gal or Allatu (for Aralatu), the goddess of Hades, orders her servant Namtar the plague-demon, to smite Istar with disease. Meanwhile in the upper-world all procreation ceases, owing to the absence of the goddess of love, until the gods send Uddušu-namir ('his brightness is fair,' a transposition of the name Namra-uddu or Nimrod) to Allat with the request that she would allow Istar to return to earth.

(*e*) **The Namtar-legend.** The gods are holding a banquet, and send to their sister Nin-ki-gal (Allatu), who had been carried off by Nergal, a message desiring that she would send for the portion of food meant for her. Thereupon she sends her herald Namtar to heaven. Nergal's distrust is awakened by this intercourse between his wife and the heavenly powers, and he imagines that she is planning flight. Accordingly, although he loves her dearly, yet, tortured by jealousy, he resolves to have her put to death. He stations the fourteen watchers of the under-world as sentinels at the gates, and orders Namtar to strike off the head of Nin-ki-gal. The latter pleads with her husband to spare her life, and she will submit to any conditions, nay, will give to him the sovereignty over the earth. Nergal weeps for joy, kisses his wife, and wipes away her tears. Unfortunately, the other parts of this legend, which has come down to us in a copy written in Egypt amongst the Tel el-Amarna correspondence, are of so fragmentary a character that it is impossible to extract from them a connected story.

(*f*) **The Adapa-legend** (also derived from Tel el-Amarna). Merodach, the son of Ea, appears here under the name of Adapa as the progenitor of man.* Adapa, who had broken the wings of the south wind, is cited before the god of heaven to justify himself. His father, Ea, counsels him not to accept of the food offered him there, as it will cause death. Adapa follows this advice, but finds that by his refusal he has forfeited immortality, since it was really the 'food of life' which Anu offered him.

---

* As a judgment on the sins of the inhabitants of Surippak. This is clear from the close of the Deluge-story, *e.g.* lines 184–5 (or, acc. to another reckoning, l. 170), where we read, 'Upon the sinner let his sin lie, and upon the transgressor his transgression, *but let no flood come any more as a punishment upon man*' (cf. the parallel in Gn 8[21]).

* The Assyr. king Assur-naẓir-pal mentions this mountain in connexion with an expedition to the land of Zamua. See ASSYRIA (p. 183[b]).

† It is worth noting that Bel, upon a similar occasion, namely, after his conquest of Tihâmat, gives up his bow to Anu, who solemnly, in presence of all the gods, hangs it up in heaven (cf. the bow of Gn 9[13] which God sets 'in the cloud').

(*g*) **The Etana-legend.** Etana (אֵיתָן 1 K 5^{11}?) applies to the sun-god for something to mitigate the pains of parturition for his wife. He is referred to the Eagle, which can furnish him with the requisite 'birth-plant.' As Etana relates to the Eagle how in a dream (?) he had seen the gate of Anu and that of Istar, the Eagle offers to carry him up to heaven. The enterprise succeeds in the first instance, and the two arrive at the gate of Anu, but in flying to the gate of Istar the strength of the Eagle gives way, he falls headlong, and Etana atones for his presumption by his death. He is transferred as a demi-god to the under-world. Shortly afterwards the Eagle also loses his life through the cunning of a serpent whose young he had devoured.

(*h*) **The legends of the god Zû** (Sumer. *Im-dugud*, the 'storm-bird god'). Acc. to one form of the story, Zû steals the tablets of destiny from Bel-Merodach, and Rammân and various other gods decline, from fear, to take them back from him. Acc. to another text, the god Lugal-banda (the moon-god) sets out for the distant mountain of Sâbu (in Central Arabia) to overreach Zû by cunning. In the heavens the god Zû is represented by the constellation Pegasus, and Taurus (Merodach) is his son.

(*i*) **The legend of the god Girra** (Nergal as god of war). A devastating inroad of the Sutæi (the Semitic nomad tribes of Mesopotamia) directed against Babel, Sippar, and Erech, is in dramatic fashion connected with the conflict of Nergal and his herald, the fire-god (or Nebo), with Merodach, the tutelary god of Babylon. The mention of the Assyrians and the Kassites plainly indicates that this poem did not originate prior to the so-called Kassite period.

Special mention is due also to the second tablet (written entirely in Semit.) of the exorcism-series *shurpu*, in which the priest in the form of a long litany inquires what may have been the transgressions that have brought the punishment of the gods on the man who is possessed or sick. 'Has he perchance set his parents or relations at variance, sinned against God, despised father or mother, lied, cheated, dishonoured his neighbour's wife, shed his neighbour's blood?' etc. The coincidences with the Heb. Decalogue, and with the Egyp. Ptah-hotep sentences or the Trial of the Dead before the 42 judges of the dead, are unmistakable.

That the Babylonians, as well as the ancient Egyptians, possessed also historical narratives in romance-form, is proved by the stories of Sargon of Agade and Kudur-Dugmal. The former of these has also come down to us in Greek from the pen of Ælian, only that the Gr. writer has confounded the name of Sargon with that of Gilgames. Sargon is the illegitimate son of a princess, who gives birth to him in secret and exposes him to perish. The child, however, is brought up by a gardener, and in the end comes to the throne. The only new element Ælian introduces into the story is that the boy was rescued by an eagle. (This is prob. due to a mistaken combination with the Etana-legend.) The legend (in metrical form) of the invasion of Babylonia by the Elamite king Kudur-Dugmal (a later form of Kudur-Lagamar) furnishes at the same time the best proof of the historicity of Gn 14. For the Heb. narrative is in accord with the original inscriptions dating from the time of Khammurabi (Amraphel), and not with the later Bab. legend. Yet the latter is what we should have expected if the Hebrews had first made acquaintance with the matter of Gn 14 during the Exile. The history knows of only the father of Iriaku (Arioch) of Larsa, who was king of Iamutbal, and resided at Dûr-ilu on the Elam.-Bab. frontier; the legend, on the other hand, makes of the city Dûr-ilu a son of Iriaku, viz. Dûr-makh-ili, of whom neither the Bible nor the inscriptions contain any notice.

Of great variety, although not belonging in the stricter sense to literature, are the other components of Bab. writing. Tables of paradigms and lexical-lists served to facilitate the learning and practice of the Sumer. *speech.* But along with these there were also lists containing only Semitic words (the so-called synonym-lists) and forms (*e.g.* the word-table, *WAI* v. pl. 45). As an introduction to the complicated *writing*, there were syllabaries and collections of signs. Very numerous also are the commentaries which the Babylonians have left to us. These deal partly with the poetical literature, especially with the rare words that occur in it, and partly with the explanation of legal and agricultural terms in the old Bab. contract-tablets (the so-called *ana-itti-šu* series). In such instances whole laws are sometimes quoted *verbatim*, so that we thus get a glimpse of the most ancient codes of the Babylonians. The contract-tablets themselves, which have come down to us in great abundance from all epochs of Bab. history, do not indeed belong to literature, but deserve special mention here because they supply us with the most interesting information not only about business but about all the possible details of private life.

A sort of counterpart to the lexical-lists is presented by the lists of names of places, countries, temples, officials, and stars, as well as the numerous lists of gods. We must mention also the numerous omen-texts, medical prescriptions, astronomical and mathematical tables, and finally some lists connected with the history of literature (*e.g.* a list of epic poems with the names of the authors or collectors). The historical literature will be dealt with below, when we come to speak of the sources of Bab. history. How the most important of the latter, namely, the inscriptions, were brought to light, we learn from the intensely interesting

History of Excavations. As early as 1802 the first considerable Bab. inscription, on the so-called *Caillou de Michaux*, a boundary-stone of the 12th cent. B.C., was brought to Europe, and soon afterwards, through the efforts of the East India Company, a whole collection of Bab. antiquities (among them considerable inscriptions of Nebuchadrezzar) was brought from Bassorah to the British Museum and the East India House. But it was not till 1811 that Mr. C. J. Rich, the rediscoverer of Nineveh, was able to explore more thoroughly Hillah, the ruins of ancient Babylon. In the fifties archæological research was resumed in Babylonia by the Englishmen, W. K. Loftus, J. E. Taylor, and A. H. Layard, who discovered the ruined sites of Niffer (Nippur), Warka (Uruk or Erech), Senkereh (Larsa), Mukayyar (Ur), and Abu Shahrein (Eridu); and by the Frenchmen, Fresnel and Oppert, who instituted further excavations at Hillah (Babel and Borsippa). In these ruins just named, in S. Babylonia, the inscriptions discovered were all brief, but on account of their antiquity they were proportionately important. These consisted for the most part of so-called brick stamps,* although in Babel more considerable inscriptions were found, dating especially from the period of the New Bab. empire. Meanwhile Henry Rawlinson had deciphered the Bab. version (the so-called third form) of the trilingual Achæmenidæan inscription of Persepolis. The key was found in the old Pers. version (the so-called first form), which had already been interpreted by G. F. Grotefend (1802), Rawlinson, and Burnouf, and which had been proved, by the two last named in particular, to be in an Indo-Germanic language. The work of deciphering the third form (whereby also the cuneiform inscriptions of the Ninevite monuments became readable and intelligible) was continued and perfected in the sixties by the talented Hincks, the Englishman E. Norris, and the Parisian scholar Julius Oppert. Later on, in the seventies, the excavations in Babylonia, notably at Babel and in the surrounding country, were continued, especially by George Smith and Hormuzd Rassam. In the course of his last expedition (1880–1881) Rassam discovered the ruins of Sippar-Agade at the modern Abu-Habba, along with the archives of the ancient temple of the sun. Moreover, by digging in Tell Ibrahim, 10 Eng. miles E. of Babel, he was able to prove once for all that this was the site of the ancient Kutha, as Rawlinson had already conjectured.

---

* In Berosus' list of the patriarchs, Adapa (Alaparos is a confusion with Ilaprat, the name of the messenger of Anu) is the son of Aloros (*i.e.* the goddess Aruru, the wife of Ea) and father of Amelon (*amêlu*=man).

The work of bringing to light the oldest civilisation of Babylonia (Sumer. as well as Semit.), leaving out of account the small beginnings of Loftus and Taylor, has been due especially to the Frenchman de Sarzec, and to the American University of Pennsylvania (Peters and others, and at a later period, above all, J. H. Haynes and the scientific director of the fund, Prof. H. V. Hilprecht). Through their excavations at Telloh (1876–1881) and at Niffer (1888–1896), the history and archæology of Babylonia have been enriched as they had never been before; from *c.* B.C. 5000 we can trace continuously the civilisation of Babylonia by aid of monuments and inscriptions. Instead of the cuneiform proper, the oldest inscriptions still use linear signs, in which it is often quite possible to trace clearly the figures that form the basis of the system. The Americans also discovered at Niffer nearly 1000 contract-tablets of the so-called Kassite period, whose dates now enable us to fix with certainty the exact succession of the then reigning monarchs.

Of 'finds' outside Babylonia, we must mention above all the clay tablets which were discovered at Tel el-Amarna in Upper Egypt (see ASSYRIA). Among these there are letters to the Pharaohs not only from Bab. kings, but also from a great many Phœn. and Pal. governors. The Bab. writing and language were then (*c.* 1400 B.C.) employed for diplomatic communications over almost the whole of W. Asia. The Elamites too borrowed their mode of writing from the Babylonians, as at a later period the Armenians did from the Assyrians. Further, it is becoming ever more probable that even the so-called Can. or Phœn. form of writing, to which the S. Arabian is most nearly allied, was derived not from the Egyptians, but from the Babylonians, and as early indeed as *c.* B.C. 2000. It is a transformation into cursive of a number of old Bab. signs, and may have originated in E. Arabia about the time of the first N. Bab. dynasty, which was of Arabian descent.

Sources for Bab. History. These are, first and foremost, the inscriptions discovered in course of the excavations we have described; but the Assyr. libraries brought to light in the palaces of Nineveh have also supplied us with a number of copies not only of the Bab. religious writings, but also of historical records. In the art. ASSYRIA we have already spoken of the so-called 'synchronistic history' and of the 'Bab. chronicle.' During the last two decades there have been recovered also numerous remains of Bab. libraries, esp. from the time of Nebuch. downwards, reaching as far as the Seleucid period. To these we are indebted not only for the many *Bab. duplicates* of the remains of Bab. literature hitherto known only from the library of Assurbanipal, but also for not a few passages that are entirely new. Even at Tel el-Amarna, as was already remarked (p. 221^{b}), the fragments of two ancient Bab. legends about the gods were found.

Apart from the innumerable contemporaneous and original monuments of Bab. kings, and the contract-tablets so important for a knowledge of chronology and of private life, not to speak of other records of a more private character, we have to mention as a historical source of the very first rank the great Bab. *List of Kings*. This contains the names of the kings of Babel from the Arab dynasty down to the last native king Nabonidus (Nabu-na'id), with note of the length of the reign of each. We have already (p. 222^{a}) referred to some poetically embellished traditions. On the omen-lists, as they are called, and on the great astrological work, as important historical sources for the old Bab. era, we shall speak afterwards, when we come to deal with the history of Sargon and the so-called younger kings of Ur. Amongst extra-Bab. sources, the first rank must be assigned to the OT writings (Gn, esp. chap. 14, the Bks of Kings, the Prophets, esp. Jer, Ezk, Is 40–66, and finally Ezr-Neh). Only a secondary place belongs to the scanty notices of classical writers, whose importance is specially due to the fact that they have preserved for us some valuable citations from the work (unhappily lost) of the Bab. priest Berosus. For the New Bab. period, and esp. for the topography of Babel, a valuable authority on many points is Herodotus, who himself visited Babel in the course of his travels. Also in Strabo's geography we find several interesting details regarding Babylonia. On the other hand, the information must be pronounced rather untrustworthy and inexact which the extant fragments of Ctesias give us concerning Bab. history. We have already (see ASSYRIA) said all that is most essential about the value of the so-called Canon of Ptolemy (2nd cent. A.D.) for Bab. chronology. In conjunction with the so-called Bab. Chronicle, which runs parallel to it, and the list of kings (which unhappily is not free from gaps), whose starting-point was first accurately fixed by aid of the Canon, the latter forms the most important source for the

Chronology. Besides the Canon of Ptolemy and the Assyr. and Egyp. synchronisms already described in art. ASSYRIA, important chronological data are supplied by the later historical inscriptions, esp. those of Nabonidus, and by some earlier monuments. In using these data, however, it must always be borne in mind that in all probability, as early as the time of Assurbanipal, the Bab. chronographers had already fallen into the error of making the first two dynasties in the list of kings successive instead of contemporaneous. Consequently, a number of the following dates must be reduced by 368 years, the duration of the second dynasty.

a. A boundary-stone, dated the 4th year of king Bel-nadin-apli (Hilprecht, *Old Bab. Inscrip.* i. pl. 30), informs us that from Gulkishar, king of the sea-land (*i.e.* Gulkišar, the sixth king of the second dynasty), to Nebuch. I., there were

---

* The only exceptions were Senkereh (Larsa) and the adjacent Tel Sifr; for there Loftus found a great number of old Bab. contract-tablets dating from the time of Khammurabi and Iriaku (or the epoch of Abraham).

696 years. Now, since Bel-nadin-apli was the immediate successor of Nebuch. I., the first four years of his own reign must be added to the above number, giving us the round number of 700 years between the death of Gulkišar and the time when the boundary-stone was set up. As the latter date is *c.* B.C. 1118, the death of Gulkišar would have to be dated B.C. 1818, or a few decades later, for the round number 700 may, if need be, stand also for 650 or 660.

b. Sennacherib relates that 418 years before the destruction of Babylon (B.C. 689), Marduk-nadin-akhi, the contemporary of Tiglath-pileser I. of Assyria, carried away two images of gods from the Assyr. city of Ikallâti to Babylon. This implies that in B.C. 1107, and during the reign of Marduk-nadin-akhi, Babylonia had the upper hand of Assyria. Now it so happens that a boundary-stone, dated the 10th year of Marduk-nadin-akhi, records a great victory gained that year over Assyria, so that this 10th year will be B.C. 1107, or, in other words, the first year of M.'s reign must be dated B.C. 1117.

c. Assurbanipal, in connexion with the conquest of Elam (*c.* 640 or later), mentions that the image of a god brought back by him from Elam to Erech had been carried away from the latter city 1635 years before, by Kudur-nankhundi. This invasion of Babylonia by the Elamites must accordingly have taken place *c.* B.C. 2275. It is quite possible, however, that, for the reason stated above, this last number ought to be reduced by 368 years, and that the date should be B.C. 1907.

d. Nabonidus relates that he restored the temple E-ulmash at Sippar-Anunit (*i.e.* Agade), which had not been restored since the reign of Shagaraktiburiash 800 years before. This gives us as the year of the death of the latter (which took place 750–800 years before Nabonidus, who himself reigned B.C. 555–539) a date somewhere between B.C. 1300 and 1350. (See further below, under Kurigalzu II.).

e. In the same inscription (*WAI*, v. pl. 64) Nabonidus states that 3200 years before himself, the old king Narâm-Sin, son of Sargon (now known to us from the inscriptions as Sargâni-shar-ali, king of Agade), founded the temple of Samas at Sippar. This carries us to the high antiquity of B.C. 3750 for the reign of Narâm-Sin. This figure, however, for the above reason, should certainly be reduced to *c.* B.C. 3400.

f. Nabonidus further mentions, in an inscription which found its way to the Brit. Museum in 1885, that Burnaburias restored the temple of the sun at Larsa 700 years after Khammurabi. Since this undoubtedly refers to the more celebrated monarch of that name, Burnaburias II. (*c.* 1400–1375),* we are enabled thus to fix the date of Khammurabi's reign at *c.* B.C. 2100. And, as a matter of fact, we obtain *c.* 2139–2084 as the date of his reign, if we follow the later custom of adding together the years of dynasties A and B as if they had been successive instead of contemporaneous, and if we assume (with Dr. Peiser, *Zeitsch. f. Assyr.* vi. 264–271) as the probable duration of dynasty C only 399 instead of the traditional 576 years (6 *sosses* and 39 years, instead of 9 *sosses* and 36 years). In reality, however, Khammurabi, the contemporary of Abraham, must have reigned B.C. 1772–1717 or 1949–1894.

History of Babylonia. As far back as we can go, and thus in any case considerably earlier than B.C. 4000, we find Sumerians and Semites side by side in Babylonia. Yet we can see clearly enough—(1) that the Semites in the earliest period were settled for the most part in the N.W., and that they penetrated into Babylonia from Mesopotamia (Ḥarran), while the Sumerians, at a very early date, were confined to the extreme S.E. of the Euphrates region; (2) that the Sumerians were the founders of Bab. civilisation, and that in the remotest antiquity they certainly at one time occupied the whole of Babylonia. The Semites not only employed at all times the Sumerian *writing*, which they accommodated as they best could to their purposes, but for a long time (at least for official records, such as dedicatory inscriptions) they used the Sumer. *language* as well. It was not till shortly before Sargon of Agade (*c.* B.C. 3500) that in N. Babylonia inscriptions began to be composed also in Semitic.

At the period to which the oldest hitherto discovered inscriptions belong, the canal running from N. to S. (the modern Shatt-el-Hai), and uniting the Tigris with the Euphrates, formed the boundary between two very ancient kingdoms—the Sumer. kingdom of **Sirgulla** (Lagash) or Girsu, lying to the E. of the above-named canal, and the Semit. kingdom of **Uruk** (Erech) and **Ur** to the W. of the same canal. A part of the latter kingdom, probably the region between Ur, Arabia, and the Persian Gulf, on the right bank of the Euphrates, was already known as Ki-Ingi, *i.e.* region of Ingi, a name which soon came to be applied to the whole kingdom of Erech, but more especially to that part of it which lay in S. Babylonia, to the W. of Sirgulla. The oldest form of this name appears to have been Imgur or Imgir. From *Ki-Imgir* arose in course of time, through dialectical pronunciation, *Shimir*, *Shumir* (from the time of Khammurabi onwards the name for S. Babylonia); while the intermediate form *Shingar* has been preserved in the Heb. שנער, *Shinar*, properly *Shinghar* (Gn 10^{10} 11^{2}). The oldest religious centre of the kingdom of Sirgulla was Nun-ki or Uru-dugga (Eridu, see above, p. 215^{b}), while that of Erech and of the Bab. Semites in general was Nippur, with its sanctuary of Bel of ancient fame. Acc. to Talmudic tradition, the biblical Calneh (Gn 10^{10}, cf. Is 10^{9} LXX, *τὴν χώραν τὴν ἐπάνω Βαβυλῶνος καὶ Χαλαννή, οὗ ὁ πύργος ᾠκοδομήθη*) was only another name for Nippur, and, in point of fact, in an enumeration of the most important cities of Nimrod's kingdom (Babel, Erech, Accad, Calneh), Nippur could scarcely be omitted.

A third kingdom which meets us even in the oldest inscriptions (*e.g.* in those of king En-shag-sag-anna [Bel-shar-shâme?]) as a rival of Erech, is that of **Kis** (written Kiš-ki). This name was also borne at a later period by a city that lay some three leagues N.E. of Babel. A close connexion subsisted between this Kis, whose population was also undoubtedly Semitic, and a city on the Tigris called Ṣabban (written Ud-ban-ki, 'city of the hordes of the bow'), probably the later Opis. In the oldest dedicatory inscriptions found at Nippur, we find mention not only of priest-princes (*Patesi*, *e.g.* a certain Utuk), but also of kings of Kis (*e.g.* En-bil-ugun and Ur-Dun-pauddu or Amil-Nabu).

One of the most remarkable of the above-named kings of Erech was **Lugal-zag-gi-si** (Semit. perhaps Sharru-mali-imûkki-kîni, 'the king is full of eternal strength'). He calls himself 'king of Erech, king of the world (*kalamma*),' while to his father Ukush he gives only the title '*patesi* of Gishban' ('bow-city,' *i.e.* Ḥarran in Mesopotamia). Besides Erech, he possessed also Ur, Larsa, Nippur, and Gishban (Ḥarran); Sippar-Agade and Babel appear as yet to have played no part in history, while both in Kis and in Sirgulla their own kings held sway. The date of these old kings of Erech must be fixed at the latest at somewhere before B.C. 4000. Judging from the type of writing, this period included also a certain Lugal-ki-gub-ni-gul-

---

* In any case, Burnaburias I. reigned only 40 years earlier.

gul (Sem. perhaps Sharru-mushaklil-manzazi) and his son Lugal-si-kisal, both of whom style themselves 'king of Erech, king of Ur.' The kings of Sirgulla, En-ghigalla, and Uru-kaginna must also be assigned to the same era. While the two last-named very ancient monarchs have left us only a few inscriptions, we have all the more monuments of **Ur-ghanna** (acc. to others to be read Ur-Ninâ), and of his grandson **E-dingirrâna-du.*** The latter in particular, who by preference styles himself '*patesi*,' instead of 'king,' of Sirgulla, must have been a great warrior. The so-called 'Vulture-Stele' (now in Paris), the earliest monument of old Bab. sculpture, and other recently-discovered stones, give us both by word and by picture a detailed account of his great victory over the cities of Gishban (Ḥarran), Kis, Ṣabban, and Az, and the consequent deliverance of Erech, Ur, and Larsa from the hands of the N. Bab. Semites. It is an interesting circumstance that already at this date there is mention also of a city A-idinna (Semit. Nâdu), in which we may recognise with certainty the 'Nod in front of Eden' of Gn 4^{16}. It is, perhaps, the same city which meets us some centuries later under the name Agade (Akkad) or Sippar-Anunit. To the nephew of E-dingirrâna-du, the *patesi* **En-timinna**, we owe a silver vase, remarkable for the fineness of its execution, with the figures of animals portrayed upon it. As dedicatory inscriptions of this *patesi* have been found also at Nippur, he must certainly, like his uncle, have had possession also of N. Babylonia.

This hegemony of Sirgulla over Erech and Nippur may have existed about and after B.C. 4000.

During the following centuries, however, we find Nippur again in the hands of Semit. kings, who arrogate to themselves the proud title *lugal kish*, *i.e.* 'king of the world.'† To these monarchs (Ma-ishtu-su and Alu-musharshid) we owe the earliest known of Bab. inscriptions composed in *Semitic*. They resided either at Kis or at Agade. Shortly thereafter (*c.* B.C. 3500) we meet with the first real kings of Agade (see above, p. 224^{a}), Sargâni-shar-ali (later curtailed to Sargâni) or **Sargon**, and his son **Narâm-Sin**, the latter of whom, however, no longer styles himself 'king of Agade,' but 'king of the four quarters of the world' (*shar kibrâti arba'i*). An omen-tablet, dating from a later period, tells us of great expeditions of Sargon, reaching as far as the coast of the Mediter., which is perfectly credible, for it was the conquest of Syria that led to the introduction of the title 'king of the four quarters of the world,' which was actually assumed by Sargon's son. And the evidence that Narâm-Sin extended his sway far beyond the limits of Babylonia is furnished by the inscription, coupled with a portrait of him, which was found at Diarbekr in N. Mesopotamia, and by the alabaster vase which is entitled 'a piece of booty from the land of Magan,' *i.e.* Arabia. That at this period the Bab. sway extended over N. Syria, Mesopotamia, Elam, and N. Arabia, may be regarded as certain, and one of the most recent 'finds' of de Sarzec has proved also that amongst the vassals of Narâm-Sin was a *patesi* of Sirgulla, named Lugal-ushumgal.

Whether the rule of these kings of Agade endured yet longer we know not. On the other hand, the *patesi* of Sirgulla must have for many centuries maintained their supremacy over S.E. Babylonia. One of these, the famous **Gudea**, probably extended his sway over even the whole of Babylonia. In his numerous and lengthy inscriptions, all composed entirely in Sumerian, he boasts of having brought the stones and timber for his buildings from the most diverse regions and mountains of the *west country* (Martu) and Arabia. Moreover, he conquered Elam, especially the part of it known as Anshan ('asses' land'). Special interest is awakened by the mention of the cedar mountain Amanu, the mountain Ibla (for Libla, *i.e.* Lebanon ?), the mountain Tidanu of Martu (Dedan in the E. Jordan district), and the name Martu itself (for Amartu, *i.e.* land of the Amorites). Of Arabian districts, we find named not only Magan (originally Ma'ân ?) or E. Arabia, but also Milukh (N.W. Arabia, probably including the Sin. peninsula), Khâkh (near Medîna), and Ki-mash ('district of Mash,' the modern Gebel Shammar). Khâkh yielded gold dust, Milukh gold dust and precious stones, Magan and Ki-mash copper. Notwithstanding all this, Gudea nowhere styles himself 'king of the four quarters of the world,' whence it appears plain that he did not actually possess these regions outside Babylonia, but simply ensured by treaties the passage of his caravans through them. Of his predecessors (Ur-Ba'u, Nam-maghâni, Ur-Ninsun, etc.) we know nothing of this kind; their sphere of activity was probably restricted to Sirgulla. Gudea's son, Ur-Ningirsu, was still *patesi* of Sirgulla, but shortly thereafter a king of Ur named **Ur-gur**, who was probably of Semit. origin, succeeded in subjugating the greater part of Babylonia. In almost all the cities of Babylonia (Ur, Erech, Larsa, Nippur) we encounter temples built by him, and he was, at the same time, the first to assume the title 'king of Ki-Ingi and Ki-bur-bur (Akkad),' which, at a later period, was rendered 'king of Sumer and Akkad.' But it was his son **Dungi** who succeeded in dethroning the last *patesi* of Sirgulla, one Idimmâni (written Gullu-ka-ni). Dungi also built a temple for Nin-Shu-anna (*i.e.* 'lady of Babel,' to be identified with Zarpanit the wife of Merodach), and for Nergal (Shit-lam-ta-uddu-a) the temple of Shit-lam at Kutha, as well as various temples at Sirgulla and Girsu (Telloh). To what period Ur-gur and Dungi are to be assigned cannot unfortunately be determined with certainty, since we do not know whether the space of time that intervened between them and the kings of Nisin was a long or a short one. The very latest date we can assign to Gudea is *c.* B.C. 2500, to Ur-gur and Dungi of Ur *c.* 2400, and to the kings of Nisin *c.* 2300–2100; but it is quite conceivable that Ur-gur and Dungi reigned as early as *c.* 2700–2600, and Gudea *c.* 2800. It must further be mentioned that there are Semit. as well as Sumer. inscriptions, in which Dungi styles himself not 'king of Ki-Ingi and Akkad,' but 'king of the four quarters of the world,' a circumstance which points to the fact that he must have held possession of part of Syria and Elam, and thus, as a matter of course, of Mesopotamia.

About the same period we have to place a certain **Mutabil**, governor of Dûr-ilu, who calls himself 'breaker of the heads of the people of Anshan (Elam), uprooter of Barakhsi.' Since his special god is Gudi (=Nabû ?), and his capital Dûr-ilu, it is certain that the Elamite district of Iamutbal, whose capital was also Dûr-ilu, derived its name from him (Elam. *ia*=land, and *Mutbal* =Mutabil). The land of Barakhsi is already mentioned, in conjunction with Elam, by Alu-mušaršid of Kis, as a conquered region; the name reminds one both of Barkhazia (a Median province in time of Tiglath-pileser III.) and of the well-known Barsua (for Barakhsi may be read Bara'si).

Of the same date, in all probability, are the bricks, found by M. Pognon, of the three *patesi* of **Ashnunna** (or Umliash), viz. Ibalpil, Ur-Ningišzidda (or Amîl-Nusku), and Kullaku. It is different with the inscription of king Anu-banîni of Lulub, found in the mountains of Batir (the modern Ser-i-pul near Holvan), and esp. with that of king Lasirab of Guti. The character of the signs used justifies us in assigning these to a much earlier date, about the time of Narâm-Sin of Agade, or shortly thereafter.

---

* Or E-dingirrâna-ginna. The name='bringing (going) into the house of his god.'

† The determinative of place being omitted. 'King of Kis' would be *lugal Kish-ki*; but, at the same time, the title *lugal kish* contains a play upon the name of the city Kis.

The kings of **Nisin**, of whom we now know a whole series (Ishbî-Nergal, Amîl-Nindar [Ur-Nin-ib], Libit-Istar, Bur-Sin, Idin-Dagan, and Ishmî-Dagan), were, as their names show, Semites. They held Nippur (which is always named first in their inscriptions), Ur, Eridu, Erech, and Nisin; and, like the middle kings of Ur (Ur-gur and Dungi), they style themselves 'king of Ki-Ingi and Ki-bur-bur (Sumer and Akkad).' The site of Nisin has not yet been accurately determined; at a later period it was pronounced Isin, and in the time of the so-called Pashi-dynasty (12th cent. B.C.) was the seat of a Bab. governor, on the same footing as Babel itself, Khalvan, Namar, and Ushti.

The last of these monarchs, Ishmî-Dagan, was followed by the so-called **younger kings of Ur.** The first of these was one Gungunu, probably, as his name suggests, a usurper. Besides him we know of three successive kings, Inî-Sin, Bur-Sin (written differently from the king of Nisin of the same name), and Gimil-Sin. In addition to Ur, they held in Babylonia certainly Nippur and Eridu, and styled themselves not 'king of Ki-Ingi and Akkad,' but uniformly 'king of the four quarters of the world.' Numerous contracts of sale, dating from this period, testify not only to the flourishing condition of trade, cattle-breeding, and agriculture, but also to the political importance of the kingdom. These kings of Ur waged successful wars against Zapshali (on the borders of Cilicia and Syria), Elam (Anshan), Lulub (in N.E. of Babylonia), Sabu, and Ki-mash (in N. Arabia), and other territories. Several of these countries became Babylonian vassal-kingdoms, whose princes married Babylonian princesses. This was the case, *e.g.*, with Zapshali, Anshan, and Markhasi.

Nevertheless, these kings of Ur do not appear to have had possession of the whole of Babylonia; for the great astrological work, 'Illumination of Bel,' which originated at this epoch, and which once names even king Inî-Sin, makes it plain that besides the kings of Ur there were kings of Kisharra (Sumer. *ki-sharra*, synonym. with *kish*, 'world') and Akkad. These are mentioned even as rivals of the Ur monarchs. We hear also of kings of Imgi (cf. Ingi in the name Ki-Ingi). Since Imgi became afterwards the ideogram for Kaldu, 'Chaldees,' this will, at the time of the kings of Ur, have been the designation of the extreme south of Babylonia, the so-called 'sea-land.' The astrological work mentions also foreign enemies, such as Elam and Anshan, Guti, the Sutæan nomads, Ishnunna, the island of Bahrein, Nituk or Dilmun, the land of Khattu, and very frequently the land of Martu. If this first mention of the Hittites is highly interesting, still more worthy of our attention is the connexion in which Martu (the west land) is introduced. This implies that at that period Ur exercised supremacy over the whole of Palestine (including the eastern Jordanic territory and Cœle-Syria). For, when the king of Kisharra (N. Babylonia) in passing snatches the sceptre of Ur, Martu at the same time falls into his hands. The name Sab Manda (or Umman Manda, a designation at a later period of the Scythians and Medes) also occurs in the astrological work, where it is applied to the Elamite mountaineers, who carried off the image of Bel (the god of Nippur).

To the same period (*c.* B.C. 2100–1900 at the latest) ought to be assigned, in all probability, certain **kings of Erech**, who have left us inscriptions, viz. *Sin-gashit* (who, like Gišdubar, styles himself son of the moon-goddess Nin-sun, and whose possessions, besides Erech, included the Elamite border-land of Amnanu) and *Sin-gamil*. A vassal of the latter, named Ilû-ma-ilu (properly Ilû-ma-Gišdubba, but generally called simply Ilû-ma), the son of Nab-shimîa, was the founder of the so-called 2nd dynasty in the Bab. list of kings (B.C. 1948–1580). Within the last decades of the younger kings of Ur falls also the attack upon Erech by the Elamite monarch Kudur-nankhundi (see above, p. 224^{a}).

The younger kings of Ur were followed by the **kings of Larsa** (*c.* B.C. 1900–1750 at the latest). One of the first of these was *Nûr-Rammân*, who takes the title 'shepherd of Ur, king of Larsa.' His son *Sin-idinna* first arrogated to himself the additional title, 'king of Ki-Ingi and Ki-bur-bur (Sumer and Akkad),' which implies that he must have extended his sway from the region of Ur and Larsa as far as N. Babylonia. His successors bore the same title; we know two of them—one whose name also began with Sin, and another the Elamite king's son *Iri-Aku*, who as king of Larsa took the names also of Rim-Sin and Arad-Sin. (All three forms of the name mean 'servant of the moon-god.')

About the same time as Sin-idinna assumed the title 'king of Sumer and Akkad,' an **Arabian dynasty** established itself in Babylon, which now for the first time becomes of political importance. This is dynasty A of the Bab. list of kings. Acc. to the most probable reckoning, it lasted from 1884–1580 B.C.,* and its kings were the following:—

	years			years	
Sumu-abi . .	15		Samsu-ilûna	35	(son of former)
Sumu-la-ilu .	35		Abîshu'a . .	25	,,
Zabi'u . . .	14	(son of former)	Ammi-satana	25	,,
Apil-Sin . .	18	,,	Ammi-zaduga	22	,,
Sin-muballit	30	,,	Samsu-satana	31	,,
Khammu-rabi	55	,,			

As we mentioned already, Iri-Aku, the contemporary of Khammurabi, was of Elamite origin. His father Kudur-Mabuk was king of the border-land of Iamutbal (see above, p. 225^{b}). It was the latter who, under the protection of the Elamite king Kudur-Lagamar (see above, p. 222^{b}), dethroned the Semite kings of Larsa, and installed his son Iriaku in their place. In an inscription Kudur-Mabuk even calls himself *adda* (*i.e.* in W. Semit. *malik*, 'king') of Martu. This renders perfectly intelligible the account given in Gn 14 of Kudur-Lagamar's (Chedorlaomer's) attack upon the territory extending from Sodom to Elath. King Tudghul (Tidal) of Guti (Goiim), and Khammu-rabi (semiticised Kimtu-rapaltu, hence Amarpal, the Amraphel of Gn 14^{1}) of Babylon, were vassals of the Elamites. As early as the reign of Sin-muballit, Iriaku had captured the city of Nisin, as we learn from dates in contract-tablets. An inscription of Iriaku's further mentions the capture of Erech. The later Bab. legend (see above, p. 222^{b}) could even tell of a plundering of Babylon by Kudur-Lagamar. The energetic Khammurabi (prob. B.C. 1772–1717) succeeded, however, in shaking off the Elamite yoke, and in driving not only Iriaku of Larsa, but also his father Kudur-Mabuk, out of Babylonia. In this way the supremacy over the west land (Martu) came into Khammurabi's hands, as is perfectly established by recently discovered inscriptions, in which not only Khammurabi, but his third successor Ammi-satana, take the title 'king of Martu,' in addition to such Bab. titles as 'king of Babel,' or 'king of Sumer and Akkad.'

---

* It is certainly no fortuitous circumstance that in Egypt, about the same period, an Arabian dynasty, the so-called Hyksos, held rule.

From the time of Khammurabi onwards, the city of Babel (*Bab-ili*, 'gate of God,' Sumer. *Kadingirra* and *Tin-tir*, the latter = 'seat of life') continued to be the residence of the Bab. monarchs. Although the above-named king was of Arabian descent, yet the Babylonians, down to the latest generations, considered him, on account of his expulsion of the Elamites and his canal works, to be the real founder of the Bab. kingdom, which from his time onwards was inseparably associated in men's minds with the metropolis Babel. The prosperity of the country under his rule and that of his successors is witnessed to by a number of contract-tablets. In one of the latter, dating from the reign of Apil-Sin, we encounter Abî-râmu as a personal name, as the father indeed of one Sha-martu; showing that the biblical name *Abraham* was current in Babylonia even two generations earlier than Khammurabi. Nearly about the same date falls also the founding of the Assyrian empire (see Assyria). This took its rise probably from Nisin, for Resen of Gn 10^{12} is the same name as Nisin (cf. Unuk with Uruk, Erech), and the royal name, Ishmî-Dagan, meets us both at Nisin and at Assur, and that too at the earliest period, *c.* B.C. 1800.

The Arabian dynasty (A in kings' list) was in all probability succeeded immediately by the so-called **Kassite dynasty** (C of list, *c.* B.C. 1580–1180), which derives its name from the ancient designation *Kash* for Elam. This explanation is to be preferred to that which derives the epithet from Κοσσαῖοι, the wild mountaineers who were subdued by Sennacherib, and who by him are certainly called Kaššû. The founders of the Kassite dynasty were natives rather of the extreme south of Babylonia, bordering upon Elam, the region which was called Kardunias, *i.e.* land of the Kardu (dialectically Kašdu) or Kaldu. In the time of the Kassite dynasty this name was extended to designate the whole of Babylonia.

The first king of this dynasty was *Gaddash* (in kings' list Gandish), who styles himself 'king of the four quarters of the world, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of Babalam.' We have no very exact details till we come to the seventh king, *Agu-kak-rimi* (also called simply Agu), the son of Ur-Ziguruvash. He calls himself 'king of the Kassites and Akkadians, king of the wide land of Babel, who causes numerous peoples to settle in the land of Ashnunnak, king of Padan (Mesopotamia, cf. the OT 'Paddan-aram') and Alman (the district E of Mesopotamia and S. of Assyria), king of the land of Guti, widely extended peoples, the king who rules the four quarters of the world.' He records how he brought back from the land of Khani (N. Syria) the images of Merodach and Zarpanit, which had formerly been carried off. Khani (also called Akhânu, Iakhânu, and Khiana) is the region between Carchemish and 'Azaz, having Arpad for its capital. The proper home of the Hittites was Khani-rabbat, the 'great Kheta-land' of the Egyp. inscriptions, to the N. of the above region, between Mar'ash and Malatiyeh. As the territorial name Khattu was probably originally Khantu, an invasion of Babylonia by the Hittites must have taken place shortly before the reign of Agu-kak-rimi. Now the accession of the latter must be dated *c.* B.C. 1500, and this mention of predatory incursions of the Hittites into Babylonia thus tallies pretty well with the first mention of the Hittites in the Egyp. inscriptions under Tahutmes III. (B.C. 1503–1449).

With the third or fourth successor of Agu-kak-rimi begin the relations of Babylonia with the aspiring empire of Assyria. (The details have already been fully given in article Assyria, hence in what follows we shall notice only what has no connexion with Assyr. history). The first kings about whom we again possess detailed information are those who had diplomatic relations with the Pharaohs Amenhotep III. and IV., and whose letters have been recovered through the famous 'find' of clay tablets at Tel el-Amarna (see above, p. 223^a). The circumstance that at that period (shortly before and after B.C. 1400) Babylonian was the language used for official communications all over W. Asia, is now readily explained as the consequence of the hegemony of Babylon over the western land, which endured for centuries (from the time of the younger kings of Ur till *c.* B.C. 1600).

From the correspondence between *Kallimma-Sin* of Kardunias and Nimmurîa (Amenhotep III.) of Egypt, we gather that the father of Kallimma-Sin (probably Kurigalzu I.) had formerly given his daughter in marriage to Amenhotep III., and that a daughter of Kallimma-Sin's is now to be sent to the harem of Amenhotep. The same subject, that of marriage and gifts, is discussed in the letters of king *Burnaburias II.* (B.C. 1410–1380?) to Napkhurarîa (Amenhotep IV.) the son of Nimmurîa. Burnaburias speaks of himself as the son of Kurigalzu, and of the latter as the contemporary and friend of Amenhotep III.; presumably, therefore, B. was a younger brother of Kallimma-Sin, who must have died young. Of the Assyrians B. speaks as his own subjects, but of the land of Kinaḫḫu Canaan) as an Egyp. province through which his ambassadors have to pass. It is also mentioned that the friendly relations between Egypt and Babylonia date from the time of the Bab. king Kara-indas, *i.e.* the fourth or fifth predecessor of Burnaburias II. Burnaburias II. was probably succeeded by *Kudur-Bel* (who reigned at least eight years); then came *Kara-khardas*, the son-in-law of the Assyr. king Assur-uballit, who reigned but a short time, and was succeeded by his son *Kadashman-kharbi I.* The latter conquered the Sutæan nomads, and constructed fortresses for defence against them in the land of Amurrû (Cœle-Syria). On account of his relationship, however, to the Assyr. king, he was not regarded as a genuine Kassite, and was assassinated. Shuzigas (or, acc. to another account, Nazibugas) was placed upon the throne, but was immediately deposed by the Assyrians, who installed in his place Assur-uballit's grandson, *Kurigalzu II.* (1364–1320?) who was still in his minority. It is impossible to say for certain whether the previously mentioned (p. 224^a) *Shagaraktiburias*, the son of Kudur-Bel, was a rival king (perhaps during the minority of Kurigalzu II.), or whether he directly followed Kudur-Bel. The first, however, appears the more likely. In a recently-discovered passage of the synchronistic history (*RP*, new series, v. 108) there is reference to internal complications during part of the reign of Kurigalzu II. The latter, the 'king without an equal,' was a powerful monarch; he conquered the city of Shâsha in Elam, *i.e.* the well-known Susa, and assumed the title of 'king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four quarters of the world.' The name of the Elamite king whom he conquered was Khurba-tila. Kurigalzu II. was succeeded by *Nazi-maruddas* (1320–1295), *Kadašman-turgu* (1294–1278), *Kadašman-burias* (1277–1276), an unnamed king (1275–1270), *Shagarakti-surias* (1269–1257), *Bibëias* (1256–1249), *Bel-šum-idinâ* (1248–1247), *Kadashman-kharbi II.* (1247–1246), and *Rammân-šum-idina* (1246–1240). See Assyria. Under the last three Babylonia had much to suffer from the inroads of the Elamite king Kidin-khutrutas. An upward movement, however, again took place during the 30 years' reign of *Rammân-šum-uẓur* (1239–1209) and the reigns of his son *Meli-šipak* (1208–1194) and his grandson *Marduk-pal-idina* (1193–1181). To the time of these three kings belong the oldest known boundary-stones with the zodiacal signs portrayed upon them.* (These are fully described by T. G. Pinches, in his *Guide to the Nimroud Central Saloon*, London, 1886, pp. 44–55). After the last of these Kassite kings *Zamama-šum-idina* (B.C. 1180) and *Bel-šum-idina* (1180–1177) there followed a Semitic reaction, which connects itself with the

Dynasty of Pashi (1177–1043). Unfortunately, the name of the founder of this new dynasty is unknown. The fourth, in all probability, of its kings was *Nabû-kudurri-uẓur* (Nebuchadrezzar) *I.*, the son of Nindar-nadin-šumi (written Nin-ib-sum-mu). He waged war on the mountaineers of E. Babylonia (including Elam), and also on the land of Martu. Unfortunately, his inscriptions do not make it perfectly clear with what part of Syria he engaged in hostilities, but it appears to have been the district of Antilibanus, for in an inscription which ought probably to be ascribed to him there is mention of a war against the peoples of the land of Khattu and against Ammananu (cf. Lamanan of the Egyp. inscriptions). From an elegiac poem we learn that the statue of Bel had been captured by the enemy, but was then recovered by Nebuchadrezzar. On this occasion the king consulted the ancient oracles of the astrological work 'Illumination of Bel,' where in point of fact there is mention of the return of the statue of Bel from Elam to Nippur in the time of the younger kings of Ur. From all this it is quite plain that when Nebuchadrezzar received the kingdom it was in a dilapidated condition.

Nebuchadrezzar was succeeded by *Bel-nadin-apli*. Then came *Marduk-nadin-akhi* (see above, p. 224ᵃ), who reigned B.C. 1117–*c.* 1100, *Marduk-šapik-zirim*, and *Rammân-pal-idina* (see ASSYRIA). The next to the last of the eleven Pashi kings was *Marduk-akhê-irba* (B.C. 1064–1052). To his reign belongs a boundary-stone, on which we read the name of a Khabirite, Kudurra the son of Bašish, along with a certain Kašša and one Khirbi-Bel. We know also of a Khabirite, Kharbi-shipak, from another text which treats of campaigns of the Assyrians and Babylonians in Phœnicia (*WAI*, pl. 34, No. 2). This shows that the *Khabiri*, who play an important rôle in the Tel el-Amarna correspondence as enemies of Jerusalem, cannot possibly be the Hebrews, but must have been Kassite Babylonians.

The Pashi dynasty was followed by the **kings of the Sea-land**, *i.e.* the district in the extreme south of Babylonia. The Kassite nationality of this dynasty, which lasted from B.C. 1043–1022, is evident from the names of its kings—*Simmas-shipak*, *Ea-mukin-ziri*, and *Kaššû-nadin-akhi*.

The next dynasty was that of **Bazi**, which included three kings who reigned from 1021–1002, viz. *E-ulmash-shakin-shumi*, *Nindar-kudurri-uẓur*, and *Amil-Shuḳamuna*. These were followed by a single **Elamite king**, whose name has not been preserved (1002–996). This whole period, from the end of the Pashi dynasty, was a stormy one. Shortly before, the temple of Samas at Sippar had been destroyed by the Sutæan nomads; then during the reign of Kaššû-nadin-akhi there was a great famine—so that the land had no rest. It was not until the next, once more a **Babylonian dynasty**, that better conditions were again inaugurated (B.C. 995–732). The first king, *Nabû-mukin-apli*, to whose reign an extant boundary-record must be assigned, reigned 36 years (B.C. 995–960), and *Nabû-pal-idina*, who is known from Assyrian history as a contemporary of Assur-naẓir-pal, also had a reign of more than 30 years (*c.* B.C. 885–853). Between these two reigns there is an unfortunate gap, which as yet is represented by only a few names. Only the last four kings of this dynasty are included in the kings' list.

To Nabû-pal-idina we owe the beautiful *Cultus*-tablet of Sippar, which is adorned with a relief of the sun-god. It was this king that restored the temple of the sun which had lain in ruins since the ravages of the Sutæans, and re-established his worship in Sippar. From the reign of his son and successor *Marduk-šum-idina* down to the rise of the New Babylonian empire under Nabopolassar, the history of Babylon, so far at least as known to us, is connected in the closest fashion with that of ASSYRIA (to which article the reader is referred for details). During this period Babylonia was in complete political dependence upon Assyria. When independent movements show themselves, they proceed almost invariably from the Kaldi (Chaldæans) in S. Babylonia, who were the Semitic successors of the Kassites, and from the nomadic Aramæan tribes between Elam and Babylonia. The best type of these Kaldi princes is *Marduk-pal-idina II.*, the Merodach-baladan of OT, and contemporary of Sargon and Sennacherib (see ASSYRIA). A votive inscription of his (in the Berlin Museum) contains a grandiloquent description of the prosperity of the land under his sway as compared with the misery of the 'rulerless time' that preceded his reign.

Of Chaldæan origin were also the founders of the **New Babylonian empire**, Nabopolassar and his son Nebuchadrezzar II.

Nabû-pal-uẓur (B.C. 625–605) wrested his independence from Assyria, and caused himself to be proclaimed king of Babylon. We have inscriptions of his, in which he speaks of building temples at Babel and Sippar, and of constructing a canal at the latter city. Some Bab. cities, however, such as Erech, still belonged to the Assyr. king Sin-šar-iškun. With the view of conquering and dethroning the latter, Nabopolassar allied himself with the Manda king (Arbaces? See ASSYRIA), *i.e.* with the leader of the Medo-Scythian hordes. While Nabopol. advanced in person with his army against N. Mesopotamia, the Manda hordes burst into Babylonia, where they plundered the cities that still owned the Assyr. sway, and into Assyria itself, where, *c.* B.C. 607, Nineveh fell into their hands, and was utterly destroyed. In order to help Nabopolassar, who was hard pressed by the Assyrians, the Manda invaded also the territory of Ḥarran. It was upon this occasion that the very ancient temple of the moon, which existed there, was destroyed. Thus, by the aid of the Medes, the Babylonians came once more into possession of Mesopotamia, and so paved the way towards Syria. There, in B.C. 605, at Carchemish, the crown-prince Nebuchadrezzar defeated Necho of Egypt, and in consequence of his victory was acknowledged as sovereign lord by the whole country as far as the S. border of Palestine. Amongst others, homage was done to him by Judah in the person of its king Jehoiakim. The news of his father's death recalled Nebuchadrezzar to Babylon.

Nabû-kudurri-uẓur II. (the Nebuchadrezzar of OT), during his long reign of 44 years (B.C. 604–561), contrived to make Babylonia in the fullest sense the heir of the shattered Assyr. empire. At the same time, by his building activity, he converted his capital Babylon into one of the most magnificent and most beautiful cities of antiquity. His chief attention was directed to the Bel-temple Sag-illa at Babylon, and the Nebo-temple Zidda at Borsippa, but he by no means neglected the temples at Sippar, Kutha, Erech, Larsa, and Ur. In addition he constructed in Babylon new streets, embankments, and palaces (cf. the Greek legend of the 'hanging gardens' of Semiramis), and fortified the city by double walls, so strong that it might be deemed impregnable.

---

* For the proof that it is really the twelve-fold division of the Zodiac that is represented here, see F. Hommel's 'Astronomie der alten Chaldäer' in *Ausland*, 1891–1892.

As the inscriptions of Nebuch. speak of almost nothing but his buildings, we have to gain information about his numerous wars from various extra-Babylonian sources, such as the OT and the classical writers. We know the course of events in *Judah*, where, at the instigation of the warlike Pharaoh Hophra (Apries), Zedekiah, a Babylonian vassal, renounced his allegiance, an act to which Nebuch. replied by laying siege to Jerusalem (2 K 25^{1}). The fall of Jerusalem in B.C. 587 led to the exile of the Jews in Babylon (B.C. 586–537), and made of Judah a Bab. province. A similar fate befell the other states which, in reliance upon Egypt, had withheld their tribute from Babylon, viz. Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Sidon. Tyre, however, in spite of a 13 years' siege, could not be taken, but had to resume payment of the former tribute. Hophra, after the defeat of his army by Nebuch. (B.C. 587), ventured on no further attack, and it was not till 568 that Nebuch. again took the field against Egypt (where meanwhile Amasis had dethroned Hophra), and occupied some parts of the Delta. Of a war carried on by Nebuch. against the Arabs of Kedar we know from Jer 49^{28-33}. In the course of the war which the Median king Cyaxares waged with Lydia, Nebuch. used his influence, after the battle on the Halys, B.C. 585, to bring about peace between Lydia and Media. By this politic step he prevented his dangerous rival from becoming too strong. Within the reign of Nebuch. also falls an event, which at a later period under his successors proved to have been charged with fateful issues for the New Bab. empire,—the occupation of Elam by the newly-arisen kings of Anšan in N. Elam. As late as the beginning of Nebuch.'s reign Jeremiah knows of reigning kings of Elam (Jer 25^{25}), whereas in 585 Ezekiel already speaks of the Elamites as dead and gone (Ezk 32^{24}). We know that an Indo-Germanic prince of Pers.-Achæmenidæan origin, named Teïspis (Tsheïspis), proclaimed himself king of Anšan *c.* B.C. 600. He was the great-grandfather of the famous Kuras (Cyrus), and he left behind him two sons. The elder, Kuras by name (grandfather of Cyrus), fell heir to the kingdom of Anšan, which he probably enlarged by conquering the rest of Elam; the younger, Ariaramna, founded for himself a kingdom in E. Iran. He was the great-grandfather of 'Darius the Mede,' the future king of Persia. What share Nebuch. had in this conquest of Elam we know not, but some share in it is suggested by a recently-discovered inscription, according to which Nebuch. brought back an image of Istar from Susa to Erech.

The son and successor of Nebuch. was *Amil-marduk* (the Evil-merodach of OT), who reigned from 561–560. It was he who released the unfortunate Jehoiachin of Judah from his prison (2 K 25^{27}). Failing to establish himself on a right footing with the priests, he was murdered by his own brother-in-law, *Nergal-shar-uẓur* (the Neri-glissar of classical writers), who had the priests upon his side.

Neriglissar (B.C. 559–556) was married to a daughter of Nebuch., and even during the reign of the latter enjoyed the greatest consideration, as is proved by various contract-tablets. Like his father, Bel-šum-iškun, he bore the title *rubû imga* ('the exalted sage'), a circumstance which proves at the same time that Neriglissar is to be identified with the Rab-mag (=*rubû imga*) Nergal-sharezer of Jer $39^{3.13}$. Nerigl.'s inscriptions tell us of his building of temples and of the completion of his palace in Babylon. The passage which runs, 'the rival and adversary I destroyed, the foes I exterminated, the insubordinate opposers I consumed,' refers not only to the murder of Amil-Marduk, but also to foreign enemies, in whom we should probably recognise the same Manda hordes whom Nabonidus shortly afterwards drove back from Mesopotamia.

Neriglissar died in 556, leaving a son scarcely come of age, *Lâbashi-Marduk*, who, according to the judgment of the priests, was not fit to rule on account of 'bad character'; and was consequently deposed the same year. A Babylonian, not a Chaldee, was called to the throne in his room, *Nabu-na'id* ('the god Nebo is exalted'), the Nabonidus of the classical writers, who reigned from B.C. 555–539. He was more a lover of antiquarian research than an energetic ruler. He rebuilt a whole series of the oldest Bab. temples, *e.g.* at Sippar, Larsa, and Ur, and at the same time instituted elaborate inquiries into the history of the building (cf. the dates that have been thus recovered, above, p. 224^{a}). On the other hand, with the most painful shyness he avoided Babylon, even when its situation was one of extreme peril; it was his son *Bel-shar-uẓur*, the Belshazzar of Daniel, who, in the capital, carried on the work of government, without, however, bearing the title of king. Nabonidus' first concern was to rebuild the ancient temple of Sin in Ḥarran. The Manda king Istuvigu (*i.e.* the Median prince Astyages) had, however, invaded Mesopotamia, and it was only when he had been repelled through the assistance of king Kuraš of Anšan (*i.e.* the well-known Cyrus king of Persia, B.C. 558–530) that Nabonidus was able to prosecute his building design. This repulse of the Manda took place *c.* B.C. 554 or 553. Through his decisive victory over Astyages (B.C. 550), Cyrus became at the same time king of the Median empire; consequently the Bab. Chronicle now calls him 'king of Parsu,' instead of giving him his official title, 'king of Anšan.' In the year 547 took place the successful campaign of Cyrus against Crœsus of Lydia, during which Nabonidus and the king of Egypt had joined the league formed against Cyrus. The latter was now master of the whole of Asia Minor. The punishment of Egypt was deferred till the time of Cyrus' successor Cambyses (B.C. 525), but that of Babylonia came in 539, in which year (16th Tammuz, *i.e.* about the beginning of July) Cyrus got possession of Babylon, through the treachery of its priests, without drawing a sword. Three and a half months later he made his triumphal entry into the city, and eight days afterwards his general Gubaru (Gobryas) caused the king's son, *i.e.* Belshazzar, to be put to death (cf. also Dn 5). Nabonidus was spared, and banished to Karmania. This was the end of the independence of Babylonia, and the beginning of the great Persian world-empire. Nevertheless, the kings of Persia did everything possible to mitigate the lot of the Babylonians: they allowed the native form of worship to continue; exalted Babylonian to the rank of one of the three languages of the empire (Persian, Elamite, Babylonian; see above, p. 223^{a}); and called themselves upon Bab. inscriptions 'king of Babel, king of the countries.' Under the mild rule of Cyrus, the day of return also drew nigh for the Jews who had remained true to the old home. Thus the end of the Bab. empire means at the same time the beginning of the Jewish community, whose real commencement coincides with the rebuilding of the temple predicted in Is 44^{28}. When in the latter passage Cyrus (Koresh) is called by J'' 'my shepherd,' there is here an allusion to the Elamite etymology of the name Kuraš ('shepherd'). According to Strabo, the Aryan name of Cyrus was Agradates.

The later history of Babylon is bound up with that of Persia, and afterwards of Alexander the Great and his successors, the Seleucid and Arsacid kings. The names of all these rulers occur in connexion with the dating of Bab. contract-tablets and in other inscriptions. There is extant, for instance, a cylinder-inscription of Antiochus Soter from Birs Nimroud, in which also the queen Stratonike (Astartanikku) is commended to the protection of the Bab. gods. Not only so, but the Bab. literature, even bilingual (Sumer.-Semit.) hymns not excepted, was still copied out and cherished as late as the Parthian era. The agricultural impoverishment of the country under the Parthians led, however, to the gradual dying out of the tradition of the priests which had been so long preserved. The knowledge of the ancient writing and speech was utterly lost until in our own century it was recovered through the acuteness and enthusiasm of European scholars, and is now in ever-increasing measure shedding light upon the history of the most ancient civilisation, but above all upon biblical history.

LITERATURE.—(Those works are not included whicb deal with Assyria as well as Babylonia, as they have been already enumerated in Literature at end of ASSYRIA.)

(*A*) EXCAVATIONS AND INSCRIPTIONS.—C. J. Rich, *Narrative of a Journey to the Site of Bab. in* 1811, London, 1839; J. E. Taylor, *Notes on the Ruins of Muqeyer*, London, 1855 (*JRAS*), *Notes on Abu Shahrein and Tel el Lahm*, London, 1855 (*JRAS*); W. K. Loftus, *Travels and Researches in Chaldæa and Susiana, with an Account of Excavations at Warka, the Erech of Nimrod*, London, 1857; J. Oppert, *Expéd. en Mésopot.*, Paris, 1863; H. Rassam, *Recent Discoveries of Anc. Bab. Cities*, London, 1884 (*TSBA*); E. de Sarzec, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, Paris, 1884 ff.; H. V. Hilprecht, *The Bab. Expedition of the Univ. of Pennsylvania*, Series A, Cuneif. Texts, vol. i. 2 parts, Philad. 1893, 1896; Frd. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Lesestücke*^{3}, Leipzig, 1885; H. Winckler, *Der Thontafelfund von El-Amarna*, 1889-1890 (the tablets of tbe museums of Berlin and Cairo); C. Bezold and E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Tel el-Amarna Tablets in the Brit. Mus.*, London, 1892; C. Bezold, *Catal. of Cun. Tablets in Kouyunjik Collection of Brit. Mus.*, 4 vols. London, 1889-1896; P. Haupt, *Das Bab. Nimrodepos*, Leipzig, 1884, 1891; T. G. Pinches, *Texts in the Bab. Wedge-Writing*, London, 1882; J. N. Strassmaier, *Bab. Texte* (New-Bab. contract-tablets), Leipzig, 1887 ff.; George Reisner, *Sumer.-Bab. Hymnen nach Thontafeln griech. Zeit.* (of the Berlin Mus.), Berlin, 1896.

(*B*) SUMERIAN LANGUAGE (for the Semit.-Bab. see ASSYRIA).—A. H. Sayce, *On an Accadian Seal*, London, 1871 (Journ. of Philology); *Accadian Phonology*, Trans. of Philol. Soc., London, 1877; Fr. Lenormant, *La langue primitive de la Chaldée et les idiomes Touraniens*, Paris, 1875, *Études Accadiennes*, 3 vols. Paris, 1873-1879; F. Hommel, *Die sumero-akkad. Sprache*, Leipzig, 1884 (Zeitsch. f. Keilschriftf.), *The Sumer. Language and its Affinities*, London, 1886 (*JRAS*), *Sumer. Lesestücke*, München, 1894, *Der bab. Ursprung d. ægypt. Kultur*, München, 1892; P. Haupt, *Akkad. u. sumer. Keilschrifttexte*, Leipzig, 1881-1882, *Die akkad. Sprache*, Berlin, 1883; R. E. Brünnow, *A Classified List of Cun. Ideographs*, Leyden, 1889; A. Amiaud et L. Méchinaux, *Tableau comparé des écritures Bab. et Assyr.*, Paris, 1887; C. F. Lehmann, *Die Existenz d. sumer. Sprache* (against Halévy's *Recherches critiques sur l'origine de la civilisation Bab.*, Paris, 1876, and other pamphlets by the same author), Leipzig, 1892 (ch. 4 on Samas-sum-ukin making up more than a third of the whole book).

(*C*) TRANSLATIONS, COMMENTARIES, ETC.—E. Schrader, *Keilinschriftl. Bibliot.* vol. iii. (Bab. historical inscriptions), Berlin, 1890-1892, vol. iv. (juridical texts by F. Peiser), Berlin, 1896, vol. v. (the Tel el-Amarna letters by H. Winckler), Berlin, 1896; C. Bezold, *Die Achæmenid. Inschr.*, Leipzig, 1882; H. Zimmern, *Bab. Busspsalmen*, Leipzig, 1885; C. F. Lehmann, *Samas-sum-ukin, König von Bab.*, Leipzig, 1892 (see also above, under (*B*)); B. Meissner, *Beiträge z. altbab. Privatrecht* (contract-tablets of the time of Khammurabi), Leipzig, 1893; H. Zimmern, *Beiträge z. Kenntniss d. bab. Religion* (I. die Beschwörungstafeln '*Surpu*'), Leipzig, 1896; K. L. Tallqvist, *Die assyr. Beschwörungsserie 'Maklû,'* Helsingfors, 1891, 1894 (Acta Soc. Fennicæ); L. W. King, *Bab. Magic and Sorcery, being the prayers of the lifting of the hand*, London, 1896; P. Haupt, *Die sumer. Familiengesetze*, Leipzig, 1879; H. Pognon, *Inscrip. Bab. du Wadi Brissa*, Paris, 1887; Fried. Delitzsch, *Bab. Weltschöpf.-epos*, Leipzig, 1896.

(*D*) CIVILISATION, ASTRONOMY, RELIGION, ETC.—F. Hommel, *Die semit. Völker u. Sprachen*, vol. i., *Die Vorsemit. Kulturen in Ægyp. u. Bab.*, Leipzig, 1883, *Die Astronomie d. alten Chaldäer*, Stuttgart (in tbe weekly journal 'Ausland'), 1891, 1892; P. Jensen, *Kosmologie d. Bab.*, Strassburg, 1890; A. H. Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures* (Religion of the ancient Babylonians), London, 1887, *HCM*, 1st ed. 1893, 5th ed. 1895; Ed. Stucken, *Astralmythen d. Hebr., Bab., u. Ægyp.*, Leipzig, 1896; A. Jeremias, *Bab.-Assyr. Vorstell. v. Leben n. d. Tode*, Leipzig, 1887; Fr. Lenormant, *La magie chez les Chaldéens*, Paris, 1874 (Eng. tr., London, 1877), *La divination et la science des présages chez les Chaldéens*, Paris. 1875; C. P. Tiele, *Gesch. d. Relig. im Altertum*, i., *Gesch. d. ægyp. u. d. bab.-assyr. Relig.*, Gotha, 1895; Fr. Lenormant, *Les origines de l'histoire*, 2 vols. Paris, 1880, 1882; H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung u. Chaos*, Göttingen, 1895; De Clercq et J. Ménant, *Catalogue method. et raisonné de la collection de Clercq*, vol. i. (seal-cylinders) Paris, 1885 ff.; C. F. Lehmann, *Das altbab. Mass- u. Gewichtssystem*, Leiden, 1893.

(*E*) HISTORY.—G. Smith, *Hist. of Babylonia*, ed. by A. H. Sayce, London, 1877; G. Maspero, *The Dawn of Civilization*^{2} ed. by A. H. Sayce, London, 1896; *The Struggle of the Nations*, ed. by A. H. Sayce, London, 1896; J. F. McCurdy, *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, vol. i. New York and London, 1894, vol. ii. New York and London, 1896.

F. HOMMEL.

BABYLONISH GARMENT (אַדֶּרֶת שִׁנְעָר, ψιλὴ ποικίλη, RV Bab. mantle).—The Heb. means, literally, 'mantle of Shinar' (Jos 7^{21}), the name by which Bab. was known to the ancient Hebrews. Naturally, it is not an easy matter to decide, even approximately, what kind of garment this can have been. Jos (*Ant.* V. i. 10) gives rein to his imagination, and describes it as 'a royal garment woven entirely of gold,' or 'all woven with gold.' There is no doubt that a dress of this description would be 'goodly' in the extreme. The probability is that it was a garment of embroidered stuff, such as Babylon was famed for (cf. Pliny, viii. 74, and Martial, *Ep.* viii. 28); and the statement in the *Bereshith Rabba* (§ 85, fol. 75. 2), that it was a robe of purple (an opinion which R. Chanina bar R. Isaac also shared; cf. Kimchi on Jos 7^{21}), is just as likely to be correct as any other. There were probably many centres of the weaving industry in ancient Babylon, that of Sippar being most likely the chief. Many tablets referring to woven stuffs have been found on the site of that city, and testify to the extent of the industry; and long lists of dress material and garments bear testimony to the diversity of the work and the patterns used. The common expression *lubulti birme* is generally taken to mean stuffs woven in patterns of various designs, like embroidery, the weaver of such cloth being called *išpar* (or *ušbar*) *birmi*.

T. G. PINCHES.

BACA, THE VALLEY OF (עֵמֶק הַבָּכָא).—A valley through which pilgrims pass to Zion (Ps 84^6 AV; RV has 'weeping,' m. 'balsam-trees'). Ancient versions, including LXX and Vulg., render *valley of weeping*, possibly from confusion between בְּכִי ('weeping') and בָּכָא, whose plural (2 S 5^{24}, 1 Ch $14^{14.15}$) designates a *tree*, variously identified with the *mulberry* (AV and RV), the *pear tree* (LXX 1 Ch 14), the *balsam* (Gesenius), and the *poplar* or *aspen* (Tristram, *Nat. Hist.*).

If an actual valley (the article is not quite conclusive; see Ec 3^{16}, where two undoubtedly *ideal* places have the article), it may be identified either with 'the valley of Achor, *i.e. trouble*' (Jos $7^{24.26}$ etc.); 'the valley of Rephaim' (2 S $5^{18.22}$, Is 17^5); a Sinaitic valley with a similar name (Burckhardt); or the last station of the caravan route from the north to Jerusalem (Renan, *Vie de Jésus*, c. iv.).

Perseverance and trust not only overcome difficulties, but turn them into blessings; this is the lesson, whether the valley be real or only (as the Vulg. *vallis lacrymarum* has become) an emblem of life.

A. S. AGLEN.

BACCHIDES (Βακχίδης) is first mentioned as a friend of Antiochus Epiphanes (Jos. *Ant.* XII. x. 2). Under Demetrius Soter he held the governorship of Mesopotamia, and was sent to establish Alcimus in the high priesthood (see ALCIMUS). Upon the death of Judas he drove Jonathan across the Jordan, garrisoned a number of positions in Judæa, and, having thus pacified the country, returned to Demetrius (B.C. 160), or more probably was recalled by direction of the Romans. Two years later he was sent back in response to an appeal from the Syrian faction, who imagined that Jonathan in his fancied security might be taken unawares. Jonathan, however, threw himself into the fortress of Bethbasi, not far from Jericho. To this B. laid siege; but, when his own peril increased through the success of the sallies against him and the rising of the country in his rear, he accepted Jonathan's proposal for a treaty of peace. Jonathan was invested (B.C. 158) with the governorship of Judæa, and B. covenanted to withdraw the Syrian forces (but not completely, see 1 Mac 10^{12}), and he himself finally left the country (1 Mac 7$^{8-20}$ 9$^{1-72}$, Jos. *Ant.* XII. x.-XIII. i.). R. W. MOSS.

BACCHURUS (*Βάκχουρος*), 1 Es 9^{24}.—One of the 'holy singers' (*ἱεροψάλται*), who put away his 'strange' wife. There is no corresponding name in the list of Ezr 10^{24}, where there are three porters and one singer to answer to two porters and two singers of 1 Es. The name here may be a corruption of Uri (אוּרִי) in Ezra.
H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

BACCHUS.—See DIONYSUS.

BACENOR (*Βακήνωρ*, 2 Mac 12^{35}), a Jewish officer, apparently a captain of horse, in the army of Judas Maccabæus which went to attack Gorgias, the commandant of Idumæa (or Jamnia, 1 Mac 5^{58}, Jos. *Ant.* XII. viii. 6).

BACKBITE.—To bite behind the back. Ps 15^{3} only, 'He that b^{eth} not with his tongue' (רָגַל, RV 'slandereth'). **Backbiter**, Ro 1^{30} only (*κατάλαλος*); cf. (in Rushw. *Hist. Coll.* 1659, i. 492) 'Diogenes being asked what beast bit sorest, answered, Of wilde beasts, the Back-biter; of tame, the Flatterer.' **Backbiting** is found as an adj. Pr 25^{23} 'The north wind bringeth forth rain: so doth a b. tongue an angry countenance' (לְשׁוֹן סָתֶר 'a tongue of secrecy'), Sir 28$^{14.15}$; and as a subst., Wis 1^{11}, 2 Co 12^{20} (*καταλαλία*, tr^{d} in 1 P 2^{1} 'evil speakings').
J. HASTINGS.

BACKSIDE is used in AV as tr. of three words:—1. אַחַר *'aḥar*, Ex 3^{1} 'he led the flock to the b. of the desert'; RV 'back'; but the Heb. is a prep. here, 'behind the desert' (cf. 11^{5} 'the maidservant that is behind the mill'), that is, to the pasture-lands on the other side of the desert from the Midianite encampments. 2. אָחוֹר *'âḥôr*, Ex 26^{12} 'the b. of the tabernacle,' RV 'back'; the Heb. is a subst. in the plu., 'hinder parts,' as in 33^{23} 'thou shalt see my back parts,' 1 K 7^{25} (=2 Ch 4^{4}) 'hinder parts,' Ezk 8^{16} 'backs.' 3. *ὄπισθεν*, Rev 5^{1} 'a book written within and on the b.'; RV 'back': but the back of a book is not the same as the reverse side of a roll. St. John was struck, not only with the fact that the roll was sealed, but also with the amount of writing it contained. Like Ezekiel's (2^{10}) 'roll of a book . . . written within and without,' it had writing on both sides, which was as unusual with an ancient roll as with modern printer's manuscript. J. HASTINGS.

BADGER, BADGERS' SKINS (תַּחַשׁ *taḥash*, עֹרֹת תְּחָשִׁים *'ôrôth tĕḥâshîm*).—LXX. tr. *tĕḥâshîm* by *ὑακίνθινα* and *ὑάνθινα*, and Vulg. by *ianthinæ*, which signifies *sky-blue*. Some ancient VSS translate the word *black*. There is, however, no etymological reason for this.

The badger, *Meles taxus*, L., is found in moderate numbers throughout Syria and Pal., and possibly in the Sin. desert. But it is not found in sufficient numbers to make it probable that it could furnish material enough for the upper covering of the tabernacle (Ex 25^{5} 26^{14} 35$^{7.23}$ etc.). Such skins would be too light for the purpose, still more so for sandals (Ezk 16^{10}. In this passage the Heb. has *tahâsh* alone, without *'ôrôth*. The AV has added 'skins' without italics. The RV has 'sealskins' [m. 'porpoise-skins'] in all the passages). There is, moreover, no philological warrant in Heb. or cognate languages for the translation of the AV *badgers' skins*. The Arab. for badger is *ghurcir*, *anâḳ-el-ard*, and *fanjal*. None of these names has any connexion with *tĕḥâshîm*. The Arab. word *tuḥas* signifies the *dolphin*. The Arabs of the Sin. desert use the skin of the *Halicore Hemprichii*, Ehr., a cetacean found in the Red Sea, for making sandals. This is called *tûn*, and the flesh of it is eaten. It is quite likely that the skin of the dolphin would be similarly used. It is no objection to the use of this hide for making ladies' sandals that it was coarse. Its firm texture would fit it for the use intended, and the currier's art would adorn it suitably for the high-born wearers. Such durable and waterproof skins as those of the dolphin and halicore would be eminently appropriate for coverings of the tabernacle. Another species of the same genus, *Halicore Tabernaculi*, Russ., is also met with in the Red Sea, and could have furnished its quota of skins.

It is clear that the *'ôrôth tĕḥâshîm*, whatever their colour, were procurable in Sinai in quantities sufficient for making coverings to the tabernacle, and were at the same time suitable for sandals. It is unlikely that seal skins (so the RV) were found in sufficient quantities, if indeed the word *tĕḥâshîm* means that animal. It may be, however, that it covers not only the dolphin, but the halicore, porpoise, seal, and other marine animals having a general resemblance to the dolphin type. In any case we may safely reject the *badger*. (See Davidson on Ezk 16^{10} and Dillm. on Ex 25^{5}.)
G. E. POST.

BÆAN (*υἱοὶ Βαιάν*).—The name of a tribe otherwise unknown, which on account of its hostility to the Jews was utterly destroyed by Judas Maccabæus (1 Mac 5^{4}).

BAG.—1. יַלְקוּט, כְּלִי הָרֹעִים; *πήρα*; bag for food, shepherd's wallet, or scrip for a journey, made of a kid's skin with a strap fastened to each end so as to hang from the shoulder, and holding one or two days' allowance of bread, raisins, olives, cheese, etc.; one of the emblems of the pastoral and pilgrim life; parent of the hunting-bag and portfolios of higher office. Into it David put the pebbles when going to meet Goliath (1 S 17^{40}). The command to dispense with it (Mt 10^{10}, Mk 6^{8}, Lk 9^{3}) meant for the disciples complete trust in those visited, in their message, and in their Master.

2. כִּיס (Arab. *kîṣ*), bag for merchant's weights, made of stout cotton, leather, or in the form of a flexible rush-basket. This bag is still a necessity with the Syrian peasant or trader when selling from house to house his olive-oil, figs, grape-syrup, cheese, etc. The special warning against false weights (Dt 25^{13}, Pr 20^{23}) was due to the fact that pebbles and odd pieces of metal were doubtless, then as now, used thus as weights, putting the purchaser at the mercy of the seller. Hence the Arab. proverb, 'The hand of an honourable man is a balance.'

3. B. for money, purse. In this connexion we have—

(*a*) כִּיס *kîṣ*. Pr 1^{14}, Is 46^{6}, where the use of the commonest word for bag seems suggestive of waste.

(*b*) חָרִיט *ḥarîṭ* (Arab. *ḥariṭat*), 2 K 5^{23}, into which Naaman's gift was put. The occurrence of the same word in Is 3^{22} (AV 'crisping pins,' RV 'satchels') would suggest that some kind of ornamentally-woven pouch or satchel was used.

(*c*) צְרוֹר *ẓĕrôr* (Arab. *ṣurrat*), something *tied*, either round about like a parcel, or at the neck like a pouch. The purse of the mod. Syrian peasant is a little bag, sometimes of woven silk thread, but usually of yellow cotton. The open mouth is not drawn close by a string, but is gathered up by one hand, and then by the other the neck of the bag is carefully whipped round.

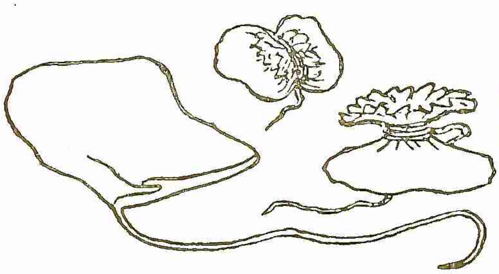

BAG, PURSE, צְרוֹר.

The ceremony of tying and untying is still a quaintly arresting feature in its use. It was such a purse that was found in the sacks of Joseph's brothers, Gn 42^{35}. Job compares the irrevocable past to the purse with a seal on its string, Job 14^{17}. Unblessed prosperity is money in a bag with holes, Hag 1^{6}. Similar to this *ẓěrôr* or tied-bag was the βαλλάντιον in Lk 12^{33} 22^{35}, and in Jn 12^{6} the γλωσσόκομον, a term derived from the pouch for the mouth-piece of a musical instrument.

(*d*) In the NT this bag or purse is also expressed by ζώνη (Mt 3^{4} 10^{9}, Ac 21^{11}, Rev 1^{13} 15^{6}). A modern illustration of this is found in the waist-belt of the Syrian peasant, which is double for a foot and a half from the buckle, thus making a safe and well-guarded purse. G. M. MACKIE.

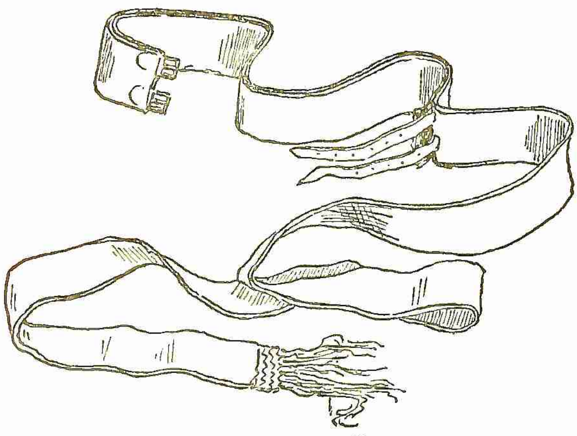

BAG, GIRDLE-PURSE, ζώνη.

BAGGAGE.—In AV Jth 7^{2}, 2 Mac 12^{21} 'the women and children and the other b.' (ἀποσκευή). RV gives b. for 'carriage' at 1 S 17$^{22\,bis}$, and for 'carriages' at Is 10^{28}, Ac 21^{15}; and Amer. RV gives b. for 'stuff' at 1 S 25^{13} 30^{24}. See CARRIAGE and STUFF. J. HASTINGS.

BAGO (A Βαγό, B Βαναί), 1 Es 8^{40}.—The head of a family who returned with Ezra from Babylon, called BAGOI, 1 Es 5^{14}; BIGVAI, Ezr 2^{14}.

BAGOAS (Βαγώας).—A eunuch in the service of Holofernes (Jth 12$^{11.\,13.\,15}$ 13^{3} 14^{14}). The same name appears in Persian history as that of the eunuch who poisoned Artaxerxes Ochus, and according to Pliny (*HN* XIII. iv. 9) it is the Persian equivalent of the Gr. εὐνοῦχος. J. A. SELBIE.

BAGOI (A Βαγοί, B Βοσαί), 1 Es 5^{14}.—2066 of his descendants returned from captivity with Zerub. Called BIGVAI (בִּגְוַי), Ezr 2^{14} (2056 desc.), Neh 7^{19} (2067); BAGO, 1 Es 8^{40}.

BAGPIPE.—See MUSIC.

BAHURIM (בַּחֻרִים).—The place where Michal is parted from her husband Phaltiel, as she is being taken back to David at Hebron (2 S 3^{16}). The village also where Shimei lived; he came out thence to curse David when fleeing from Jerus. towards Jordan (2 S 16^{5}). In this village Jonathan and Ahimaaz took refuge when carrying news to David from Jerus.; they concealed themselves in the well of a house, and so managed to elude the servants of Absalom, who had been sent to capture them (2 S 17^{18}). According to the account of David's flight from Jerus. (ch. 15 ff.), it seems that he did not take the southern and more usual road to Jericho, which passes through Bethany, but adopted the shorter and more difficult route, which runs in a N.E. direction over the Mt. of Olives. The Targ. preserves a tradition which identifies B. with Almon (Jos 21^{18}), the modern Almît, about 4 miles N.E. of Jerus. and 1 mile beyond Anathoth (Anâta), near the S. boundary of Benjamin. This view, which is accepted by most moderns, agrees with the local details supplied by the narrative of David's flight. After leaving the summit of the Mt. of Olives (15^{30} 16^{1}), David made his way down the E. slopes of the range towards Jordan. A 'rib' or ridge of hill apparently ran parallel to this N. route, from which it was separated by a ravine or gully (16^{9} 'let me go over now'), so that Shimei, running along the top of the hill, could cast stones and dirt at the king with impunity. **Barhumite** (2 S 23^{31} בַּרְחֻמִי) is clearly a mistake for **Baharumite** =a native of Bahurim, which is more correctly given by the Chronicler (1 Ch 11^{33} הַבַּחֲרוּמִי; point הַבַּחֻרִמִי the Bahurimmite). J. F. STENNING.

BAITERUS (Βαιτηροῦς, AV **Meterus**), 1 Es 5^{17}.—The sons of B. returned with Zerub., to the number of 3005. It probably represents a Heb. place-name beginning with Beth-: but there is no corresponding name in the lists of Ezr 2 and Neh 7. H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

BAKBAKKAR (בַּקְבַּקַּר).—A Levite (1 Ch 9^{15}). See GENEALOGY.

BAKBUK (בַּקְבּוּק).—The ancestor of certain Nethinim who returned with Zerub. (Ezr 2^{51}, Neh 7^{53}). Called ACUB (1 Es 5^{31}).

BAKBUKIAH (בַּקְבֻּקְיָה).—1. A Levite who 'dwelt at Jerusalem' (Neh 11^{17}). 2. One of the porters who 'kept the ward at the storehouses of the gates' (Neh 12^{25}). See GENEALOGY.

BAKEMEATS.—Gn 40^{17} only, 'all manner of b. for Pharaoh' (Heb. lit. 'all kinds of food of Pharaoh's bakers' work'). Dr. Murray (*Oxf. Eng. Dict.*) gives the meaning of b. as simply 'pastry, a pie.' It is any kind of meat baked or cooked: cf. Chaucer, *Prologue to Cant. Tales*, 345—

> 'Withoute bake mete was never his hous
> Of fleissch and fissch.'

And Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, I. ii. 180—

> 'The funeral baked meats
> Did coldly furnish forth the marriage tables.'

J. HASTINGS.

BAKING.—See BREAD.

BALAAM (בִּלְעָם).—Nu 22–24. 31$^{8.\,16}$, Dt 23^{4} (Neh 13^{2}), Jos 13^{22} 24$^{9.\,10}$, Mic 6^{5}, 2 P 2^{15}, Jude v.^{11}, Rev 2^{14}.

The subject of a very remarkable story in connexion with the wanderings of the Israelites in the wilderness. The present narrative has arisen from the combination of several more or less ancient traditions. According to the latest, embodied in the Priestly Code (P), and contained in Nu $31^{8.16}$ (comp. Rev 2^{14}), Balaam was a Midianitish counsellor, who persuaded his people to seduce the Israelites by means of certain immoral rites. This is probably to be connected with the great sin of Baal-peor (Nu 25), or, to be more accurate, with the affair of Cozbi ($25^{6f.}$), which has been combined with the story of Baal-peor (25^{1-5}), the former being connected with the Midianites, the latter with the Moabites. In revenge for this, Balaam was afterwards slain with the princes of Midian (Nu 31^{8}, Jos 13^{22}). It has been conjectured that this story arose partly out of a difficulty on the part of the priestly narrator in conceiving of a heathen being an inspired prophet of God, partly from the need of accounting for the great sin of the Israelites. It is, however, very doubtful whether this story belongs to the earliest form of P, and it is by Kuenen assigned to the very latest redactor. It is significant that Rev 2^{14} definitely connects the immorality with sacrificial rites to heathen gods,—a fact implied, but not distinctly stated by P.

The more ancient and far more picturesque story is that contained in Nu 22^{2}–24. According to this, Balaam is a prophet from Pethor, which is by the Euphrates, a place otherwise unknown, who is bribed by Balak, king of Moab, to come and pronounce a curse on the Israelites. Balaam earnestly endeavours to carry out Balak's wishes, but by divine inspiration pronounces a blessing instead of a curse. He is dismissed by Balak, and returns to his home, and is heard of no more. It is obvious that this story has no point of contact with that of P, and can be reconciled with it only by modifying or eliminating 24^{25}. If Balaam had returned to his home he could not be in the Midianitish camp immediately afterwards. It is generally admitted that Nu 22^{2}–24 belongs to the composite narrative known as JE. But there is some difference of opinion as regards the critical analysis of the passage. Some, having regard to its general unity of purpose and sentiment, have assigned it in its totality to J; others refer only the episode of Balaam's journey to J and the rest to E. It is probable, however, that here, as elsewhere, there has been a more continuous interweaving of the two sources. The sacrificial rites of 22^{40}–23^{30} seem to point to E, and the symmetry of that section seems to require that it should be referred in the main to one source. On the other hand, the episode of Balaam's journey, with little doubt, belongs to J. There are also signs of composite authorship in other parts. Thus 22^{3a} and 22^{3b} are evidently duplicates, so are vv.^{2} and ^{4b}. A helpful criterion is the distinction of divine names in certain verses of ch. 22, esp. ^{9} and ^{20}; where, as in 23^{4}, an anthropomorphic character is assigned to God Himself as contrasted with the angel of J″ of v.^{22} etc. It seems therefore right to assign vv.$^{9.10.12}$ and ^{20} to E, but these pretty clearly carry with them vv.$^{8.13-16}$. It matters little how we assign the remaining verses, as both accounts must have contained statements of the same kind. But if J is the fundamental account, vv.$^{4-7}$ will belong to it. Ch. 24 involves a further question. If the prophecies of ch. 23 belong to E, it is probable that these belong to J. But they are believed to have undergone a very considerable revision and expansion by a later reviser, either before or after the union of J and E. The passage esp. assigned to a late date is vv.$^{20-24}$, which refers to the period of Assyr. ascendency. The insertion of 'the elders of Midian' in $22^{4.7}$ is probably the work of a much later reviser, who thereby thought to connect the story more closely with that of P.

If this analysis is in the main correct, there will be found a considerable difference of character in the stories of J and E. According to the first, Balaam makes no difficulty about going, nor does he receive any revelation forbidding it, but of his own accord he intimates to Balak that as a prophet he is entirely under the control of J″. Balaam discovers his sin in going, only by the intervention of 'the angel of J″,' and at once proposes to return. For the first time he is permitted to go, but only on the condition that he does not attempt to resist the inspiration of God. 22^{35} is indeed referred by some to the reviser of JE, but some such limited permission is at any rate implied in v.^{38}. When Balaam arrives at Kiriath-huzoth, he is shown the whole company of the Israelites dwelling according to their tribes. The spirit of God comes upon him, and he bursts into a rhapsody of praise, suggested in its form by the sight before him. The chief thought is the splendour of the huge encampment in its ordered array—

> 'As gardens by the river side,
> As lign-aloes which J″ hath planted,
> As cedar trees beside the waters.'

What Balaam, according to the story, foretells, is the increase in the multitude of the people and the power of their king. This provokes Balak's anger; he smites his hands together, and would have dismissed Balaam at once; but with great dignity the latter justifies himself, and, regardless of Balak's wrath, he proceeds to predict the destruction, first of Moab, then of Edom, at the hand of the king of Israel. Balak himself seems overawed by the torrent of inspired rhetoric, and he has nothing more to say to the prophet, who immediately retires. J's narrative is terse and vigorous throughout, full of quaintness, yet always dignified and picturesque without grandiloquence. What remains of E's narrative falls distinctly below it in point of literary merit. It is more ornate, but less really beautiful. There is a tendency to what appears like an artificial repetition of similar incidents. Balak twice appeals to Balaam, who twice in his turn appeals to God, and twice receives an answer from Him. Thrice Balak builds for Balaam seven altars, and offers a bullock and a ram on every altar, and the language in which Balak's command is given and carried out is repeated each time. We might add that thrice Balaam pronounces a blessing instead of a curse, only that the third blessing of E has disappeared in ch. 24 to make way for the blessing of J. There is, moreover, besides its anthropomorphism, a want of spontaneity and naturalness about the story. We feel this in the way that Balaam parleys with God (23^{4}). He tells Him that he has prepared the seven altars, and offered a bullock and a ram on every altar, and implies therefrom a hope that He will grant his wish; and there is an almost mechanical view of inspiration in the thought of the word put in Balaam's mouth (23^{5}). What a difference between this and the thought of J (24^{2}), that the Spirit so takes possession of him that his whole nature is aglow! Then again, how unnatural comparatively Balak's conduct is! How strange that he should have put up with Balaam's utterances so complacently, and contented himself with a mild remonstrance. (See HEXATEUCH, NUMBERS.)

But the most important difference in the stories is the contrast which they present in the character of Balaam. In J there is nothing reproachful in his conduct. He acts up to his light with perfect consistency. But the Balaam of E is of a much lower order. He has indeed a higher perception of the moral beauty of righteousness. He can say with all sincerity, 'Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his' (23^{10}). This can hardly at so early a date mean, 'May I in some future state have the rewards, even without the reality, of a righteous life here,' but, 'May I in my last moments have the satisfaction of feeling that I have lived a righteous life to the very end.' But, in spite of such noble sentiments, the Balaam of E is a selfish, grasping man. He covets the rewards of Balak, and is restrained from taking them only by a sordid fear of God, who could make the consequence of so doing worse than losing them. He is not content to know God's will, but tries by every means in his power to cajole God into changing His mind, or, in other words, making wrong right. Five times he attempts to obtain God's consent, and always fails. It may be thought that this estimate of Balaam's character as portrayed in E assumes a higher view of God and morality than E may be supposed to have had. The God of 1 S 15^{29} was not 'a man, that he should repent.' But could this be said of the God of E? Probably not; but, at any rate, Balaam's persistence is evidently due to selfishness and greed.

Some regret may be felt on the ground that such a critical analysis of Balaam's story destroys its value as the study of an instructively composite character. But this is not so much so as appears at first sight. The great sermon of Bp. Butler, for example, depends almost entirely on the narrative of E. His allusion to P's story as part of Balaam's career does not affect his main argument much more than the words of Micah ($6^{6ff.}$) erroneously put by him into Balaam's mouth. The real value of his sermon arises out of his insight into human nature and motive. On the other side, it is only fair to state that the critical process removes at least one very serious moral difficulty, that, as the narrative now stands, God allows Balaam to go on certain conditions, and before the conditions have been violated is angry, and punishes him for acting on this permission.

The date and origin of the Balaam story cannot be determined with certainty. The reference to the subjugation of Moab (24^{17}), if we suppose that these are prophecies only in a literary sense, seems to point, for the Jahwistic narrative, to a date posterior to David's Moabitish war (2 S 8); and it is hardly likely to be much later—indeed it is highly probable that the story is based on a much earlier legend. The speaking of animals is a common feature of the early folk-lore of many nations, and this incident has its obvious parallel in the Jahwistic story of Paradise. Among some of the Norwegian peasantry the belief that bears could speak, and refrained from doing so only from fear of man, continued down to comparatively recent times.

LITERATURE.—The story and character of Balaam have been the subject of a large number of treatises and sermons. By far the best known, and generally acknowledged to be the most valuable, is the great sermon of Bp. Butler upon the character of Balaam. Among those of more recent date may be mentioned the sermons of F. D. Maurice and Isaac Williams.

F. H. WOODS.

BALAH (בָּלָה), Jos 19^{3}.—A town of Simeon, perhaps the same as Bealoth, and apparently the Bilhah of a parallel passage 1 Ch 4^{29}. None of these is known. C. R. CONDER.

BALAK (בָּלָק 'making empty or waste').—A king of Moab who, according to a story preserved in Nu 22–24, hired the prophet Balaam to curse the Israelites before their entry into Canaan. See BALAAM. F. H. WOODS.

BALAMON (Βαλαμών, AV Balamo).—A town near Dothaim (Jth 8^{3}, cf. Ca 8^{11}).

BALANCE (מֹאזְנַיִם, קָנֶה, ζυγόν).—Weighing was performed from early times in Egypt, and was probably thence borrowed by the Hebrews. All Oriental balances were equal-armed, the principle of leverage in the steelyard having been apparently an Italian invention, carried into the East under Roman influence. In Egypt before the Exodus, balances of all sizes were employed; the larger ones having a fixed pole for support, a beam of several feet in length, and large scale pans hung by cords. To test the evenness of the balance a tongue was attached to it, but instead of observing the tongue against a long vertical sling of the balance, as in modern times, the ancient tongue was below the beam, and the verticality of it (and evenness of the beam) was observed against a plummet. As the plummet was easily set swinging by a lurch of the stand, the characteristic action shown in weighing is for the man to steady the plummet with his hand in order to read its position. Smaller balances were held in the hand, hung by a cord. The beam was a circular bar, tapering to the ends; the suspension was by a hole through it, or sometimes merely by a string tied around it, which would give great opening for fraud; the pans were hung by cords, which passed through slanting holes cut in the beam, emerging in the width of the ends.

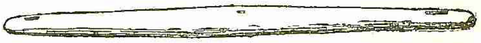

BALANCE BEAM, WOOD.

In OT the balance appears as a regular article of daily use. Abraham weighs four hundred shekels of silver for the field of Ephron (Gn 23^{16}); and soon after Eliezer gives weighed jewellery, an earring of half a shekel and two bracelets of ten shekels, to Rebekah. The total weight of the gold, silver, and bronze used for the tabernacle is all stated (Ex 38^{24-29}); and the weight of the offerings made at the dedication (Nu 7^{13} etc.). And this is quite in accord with the style of the elaborate summaries of weights which the Egyptian scribes used to reckon up at this period. This preciseness of weighing, however, seems to have been lost to the Hebrews in Pal., as there is no record of the weighing of metal for the temple, and David mentions quantities in the vaguest manner (1 Ch 22^{14}), while the habit of using the balance seems to have revived in the later and more commercial times, to judge by the frequent mention of it in late books.

The falsification of the balance was common among the Hebrews as shown by continual denunciations of the practice. In Leviticus just balances are enjoined (19^{36}), as by Ezekiel (45^{10}); and Amos (8^{5}), Micah (6^{11}), and the Proverbs (11^{1}) specially inveigh against false balances. The exactness of the balance was even considered a divine matter, as well as the precision of the weights (Pr 16^{11}). For these references to the standards, see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES. W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

BALD LOCUST.—See LOCUST.

BALDNESS, loss of the hair.—Two forms are contrasted in Lv 13^{40-43}, קָרַחַת or crown-baldness (*φαλάκρωμα*, LXX), and גַּבַּחַת or forehead baldness; the Heb. name referring to the fictitious appearance of height which it gives to the head (*ἀναφαλάντωμα*, LXX). These forms are also distinguished by Aristotle (*Hist. An.* iii. 11. 8). Baldness did not render the Israelite ceremonially unclean, and thus differed from the *Bahereth ẓaraath* or spot of the contagious parasitic disease Tineatonsurans or ringworm, the condition described by Celsus as ophiasis; while the other form of spot mentioned along with it in Lv 13, *Bohaḳ* or psoriasis, is not contagious (Lv 13^{39}), and did not therefore make the sufferer unclean. Baldness is not a sign of old age in the Bible, like grey hair; but is regarded as due to excessive labour with exposure to the sun, as in those employed in the siege of Tyre (Ezk 29^{18}), among whom it may have been induced by the salt water and a salt fish diet, supposed in Shetland to cause baldness. An Arab. poet calls crown-baldness the baldness of slaves, while the other form is called noble baldness, as due to the pressure of a helmet. It was to be a sign of the degradation and servitude of backsliding Israel, that instead of curled and dressed hair they were to show baldness (Is 3^{24}).

'Bald-head' was a term of reproach (2 K 2^{23}), as was *calvus* among the Romans, and φαλακρός among the Greeks (see Suetonius in *Cæs.* 45. 3, and Aristophanes, *Nubes*, 240; *Equites*, 550). Synesius wrote a defence of baldness of which an Eng. tr. was published by Fleming in 1579. A more famous defence was Hucbald's remarkable alliterative poem of 136 lines, *de laudibus calvitii*, each word of which begins with the letter C (Dornavius, *Amphitheatro Sapient. Socrat.* i. 290).

Baldness seems not to have been common in Bible-lands, nor is it very frequently noticed among the Jews to this day. The name of *Kareah*, father of Johanan (2 K 25^{23}), means 'bald-head,' and *Korah* refers to baldness, as Lat. name *Calvus* (Gn 36$^{5.16}$, Ex 6^{21}). Possibly, the frequency of ceremonial shaving of the head may have had some effect in preventing it. This reason is given by Herodotus for its rarity in Egypt (iii. 12). Mummy heads, though often shaven (see Gn 41^{14}), are seldom bald. I have found only three bald heads out of 500. Egyptians generally concealed baldness by wearing wigs, and one female head in the Camb. Mus. had locks of hair gummed on over the bare scalp. In Papyrus Ebers (*c.* B.C. 1500) there are eleven prescriptions to prevent baldness. But, although rare in Egypt, Leo Africanus says it is common in Barbary. Many of the Egyp. priests were shaven, and are therefore called *Feket* or bald-headed; and perhaps it was for contrast that baldness disqualified for the priesthood in Isr. (Lv 21^{20}, LXX), although it did not preclude them from partaking of the sacred food. Even shaving the head was forbidden to the priest (Lv 21^{5}). A similar contrast is implied in the prohibition of 'rounding the corners' of the head (Lv 19^{27}) among ordinary Israelites to distinguish them from their heathen neighbours, who cut their hair in a circular form, as that of Dionysus was cut (Herod. iii. 8). The modern Egyptians and Bishari adopt a similar mode of cutting; while the Pal. and Arabian Jews keep the Levitical custom, and, at the *ḥalaka* or first cutting of the hair at the age of four years, do not cut the corners (Schechter, *Jewish Quart. Rev.* ii. 16).

Artificial baldness, by shaving, was a sign of mourning, not only among the Jews, but among other races. Bion's comment on its folly, *quasi calvitio mœror levetur*, is quoted by Cicero (*Tusc. Disp.* iii. 26). In this manner Mardonius and his army mourned for Masistius, cutting off not only their own hair, but that of their horses (Herod. ix. 24; see also Patroclus' funeral, *Il.* xxiii. 46; also *Odyss.* iv. 198; Seneca, *Hippol.* 1176). Micah bids the women of Mareshah make themselves bald (1^{16}), and enlarge their baldness as the *nesher* or neophron (Egyp. vulture), which has a featherless head. Baldness, produced by cutting off the hair, is associated with mourning in Is 15^{2} 22^{12}, Jer 48^{37} 16^{6}, Ezk 27^{31}, and Am 8^{10}. It is used metaphorically for mourning in Jer 47^{5} and Ezk 7^{18}.

Symbolical baldness by shaving was the sign of the expiry of the Nazirite's vow (Nu 6^{18}). At the expiry of his vow St. Paul shaved his head at Cenchreæ, and he fulfilled later the ritual of purification (Ac 18^{18} 21^{24}). Shaving in connexion with vows was not peculiar to the Jews; thus the people of Argos shaved their heads in token of their vow to recover Thyræa (Herod. i. 82). Shaving the forehead was not permitted to the Jews (Bechorat 43. 3, and Sifré on Nu). These shavings were essentially representative sacrifices; in the usual heathen form, they were intended to propitiate the deity invoked. The Jewish tonsure was partly thanksgiving, hence the hair was burnt in the fire of the peace-offering (Nu 6^{18}); it was also partly purificatory, 'as if by this, deficiencies in religious service were cut off' (Rabanus Maur. *de Cleric. Inst.* i. 3). Shaving was on this account part of the ceremony of the purification of Levites (Nu 8^{7}). Among some races partial tonsure is a tribal mark, as, for example, the occipital tonsure of the Philippine Ætas.

The primitive Christian tonsure was votive, and was falsely supposed to have been invented by St. Peter (Greg. Tour. *de gloria Martyr.* i. 28), but really dates from the 5th cent. The Petrine or Rom. crown-tonsure represented the crown of thorns (Raban. i. 3). The Eastern or Pauline tonsure was total shaving or close cropping of the head, and was derived from Egypt. The Celtic or Johannine tonsure, which was a shaving of the front of the head in front of the ears and vertex, existed in Spain, where it was forbidden by the 4th Council of Toledo (Canon xli.); it was also practised in Celtic Britain (Gildas, *Epist.* ii.), Ireland, and Scotland (Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 1, v. 2), as well as among the Saxons (Apollinaris Sidonius, *Epist. ad Lamprid.* viii. 9). It was probably the survival of a pre-Christian badge of servitude, as the word *Maol*, 'bald-headed,' for servant existed in pre-Christian times, as in the names Maolduin and Maoldarach. Lucat-Maol was a heathen antagonist of St. Patrick. Tonsure of women was, in the judgment of St. Paul, shameful (1 Co 11^{5}), and the early Church decided at the Council of Gangra that if a woman polled her head she should be excommunicated (Socrates, *HE* iii. 42). See BARBER, HAIR, SHAVING.

A. MACALISTER.

BALM (צֳרִי *ẓŏrî*, צְרִי *ẓĕrî*; LXX ῥητίνη; *resina*).—It is impossible to determine, on philological grounds, the substance intended by *ẓŏrî*; and as the ancient translations do not agree on the signification of the word, it must remain uncertain. The substances with which it is mentioned (Gn 37^{25}, cf. 43^{11}) make it probable that it was an aromatic gum or spice. If the substance alluded to by Jeremiah (8^{22} 46^{11} 51^{8}) be the same, powerful medicinal virtues were attributed to it. It was clearly an article of commerce in Gilead, dealt in by Judah and Israel (Ezk 27^{17}). No mention is made of a balm tree as growing in Gilead. It is not certain from the expressions, 'Is there no balm in Gilead?' and 'Go up into Gilead and take balm,' that the substance was produced there, any more than from the expression that 'Judah and the land of Israel, they were thy merchants, they traded in balm,' implies that it was produced in their country. Gilead was an indefinite geographical expression for the district stretching eastward from the Jordan to the Euphrates and an unknown extent southward. A portion of the commerce of Arabia passed through it, and spices and balms and incense formed an important part of the wares carried by the Ishmaelites through this territory. Whether the substance was produced in it or not, Gilead would seem to have been an *entrepôt* for it. This is all we know from Scripture as to the substance or substances intended. Any attempt to identify them must be conjectural, and he who hazards a guess will be largely influenced by his opinion as to whether balm was a product of Gilead or an article of commerce there and in Pal. If we assume that it was a product of Gilead, we have no known tree in that region which produces a medicinal aromatic gum or spice. *Mastich* has been supposed by some to be the substance. The tree which produces it, however, although abundant along the coast and lower mountains of W. Pal., has not been reported E. of the Jordan. The author searched for it in the forests of Gilead and Bashan without finding it. Moreover, the Ishmaelites (Gn 37^{25}) brought it, with Arabian gums and spices, through Gilead to Dothan on their way to Egypt. Mastich is, and always has been, a leading product of Chios and other islands of the Ægean Sea, and was certainly not a product of Arabia. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xii. 36), indeed, speaks of a mastich produced in India and Arabia, but it was produced by a 'prickly shrub,' and therefore cannot be the gum from *Pistacia Lentiscus*, L. In other places he calls the true mastich *resin of lentisk* (xxiv. 22. 28). He attributes to it a long list of virtues, principally astringent and detergent.

Mecca balsam, the product of *Balsamodendron Gileadense*, Kth., and *B. Opobalsamum*, Kth., has the weight of tradition in its favour. Jos. (*Ant.* VIII. vi. 6) says that the Jews believe that the queen of Sheba, who doubtless had botanical gardens in many places, gave Solomon a root of it; and we have evidence that it was cultivated in the lower Jordan Valley. Tristram says, 'From Jericho Cleopatra obtained plants for her gardens at Heliopolis; an imperial guard was placed over the gardens, and twice was the balm tree exhibited in triumph in the streets of Rome.' It has, however, now disappeared. The product of these trees is known in Arabic by the name of *balasân*, from which *βάλσαμον*, *balsamum*, *balsam*, and *balm* are probably derived. The *balasân* tree is defined by the Arab. lexicographers as 'a certain kind of tree or shrub, resembling the camphire (*ḥenna*), having many leaves, inclining to white, in odour resembling the rue, the berry of which has an oil which is more potent than the berry, as the berry is than the wood.' Avicenna speaks of its properties and virtues at length, and quotes Dioscorides to the effect that the tree 'grows only in the country of the Jews, which is Palestine, in the Ghor.' He probably alludes to the plantations in the neighbourhood of Jericho, but is mistaken in supposing that this was the only or the principal station for the tree. That Avicenna does not confound it with the mastich is clear from the fact that he presently says that 'some prefer to mix this unguent (gum) with other unguents (gums), as unguent of the green berry, and unguent of camphire (*ḥenna*), and unguent (gum) of the mastich tree.' Balm of Gilead was formerly much used even in Europe, but it has now passed out of the pharmacopœias.

The monks of Jericho have adopted the *zaḳḳûm*, *Balanites Ægyptiaca*, Del., as the Balm of Gilead. They prepare an oily gum from the fruit of this species, which is sold in tin cases to travellers as the Balm of Gilead. It is said also to be beneficial in the treatment of wounds and sores.

G. E. POST.

BALNUUS (A Βάλνουος, B Βαλνοῦς), 1 Es 9^{31}.—BINNUI in Ezr 10^{30}, which see.

BALSAM.—See BALM.

BALTASAR (Βαλτασάρ), the Greek form of Belshazzar in Dn 5 etc., Bar $1^{11.12}$, and *also* of Belteshazzar, Dn 4, etc. Clearly, the names are confused in ignorance; for while Vulg. renders both names promiscuously by Baltassar, Syr. renders both by Blitshatsar. Codex A in Dn presents Βαρτασάρ.

J. T. MARSHALL.

BAMAH (Ezk 20^{29}) is the Heb. name for 'High Place' (wh. see), and is retained by the EV in the second half of this verse on account of the etymology given in the first half. It is obviously a contemptuous derivation that the prophet means to suggest; but the precise point of it cannot be clearly ascertained. The word is resolved into its syllables, and these appear to be identified respectively with two words meaning 'come' and 'what'; thus: 'What (MAH) is the Ba-mah whereunto ye come (BA)?' Ewald and others have supposed that the verb 'come' (or 'enter') is used in an obscene sense, with an allusion to the immoral practices associated with the worship at these sanctuaries (cf. Am 2^7, Hos $4^{13f.}$); but this view, even if adopted, does not remove the obscurity of the verse. A parallel may be found in the derivation of the word for 'manna' in Ex 16^{15} (see RV).

J. SKINNER.

BAMOTH (בָּמוֹת), Nu $21^{19.20}$, a station in the journey from the Arnon to the Jordan, probably the same as BAMOTH-BAAL, Nu 22^{41} RVm ('the high places of Baal' AV, RV), to which Balak brought Balaam. Bamoth-baal is mentioned in the list of cities belonging to Reuben (Jos 13^{17}) along with Beth-baal-meon, and both being seats of Baal-worship they may be included in 'the high places' of Is 15^2; but the reference here is doubtful (cf. Dillmann's note on the verse in his *Isaiah*). בת בכמת, mentioned on the Moabite Stone, l. 27, as restored by Mesha, may be the same as Bamoth. For its position see EXODUS, ROUTE OF.

A. T. CHAPMAN.

BAN (A Βάν, B Βαενάν), 1 Es 5^{37}.—The head of a family which could not trace their descent from Israel at the return under Zerub. The passage is corrupt. The corresp. name in the lists of Ezr 2^{60} Neh 7^{62} is Tobiah; but in both of the can. books some MSS of the LXX insert a name *υἱοὶ Βουά*, of which Ban may be the equivalent.

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

BANAIAS (Βαναίας) 1 Es 9^{35}=BENAIAH Ezr 10^{43}.

BAND.—Three words of different origin and meaning but the same spelling are all found in AV. 1. Band=anything that *binds*, whether for confinement or for strengthening. The Heb. words are (*a*) עֲבֹת *'ăbhôth*, something twisted or *twined*. Job 39^{10} 'Canst thou bind the unicorn (RV 'wild-ox') with his band?' Hos 11^4 'I drew them with cords of a man, with bands of love'; so Ezk 3^{25} 4^8; but tr^d 'cords' Jg $15^{13.14}$, Ps 2^3 118^{27} 129^4. It is the word tr^d '*wreathen* (work)' in Ex $28^{14.22.24.25}$ $39^{15.17.18}$. (*b*) אֵסוּר *'êsûr* (אֱסוּר *'ĕsûr*, Dn $4^{15.23}$, Ec 7^{26}), anything that will bind whether a flaxen rope or an iron fetter. Jg 15^{14} 'his (Samson's flaxen) bands dropped from off his hands'; Dn 4^{15} 'a band of iron and brass,' so Dn 4^{23}, Ec 7^{26}. (*c*) חֶבֶל *ḥebhel*, a rope or cord, not for binding (though Ezk 27^{24}, Job 41^1, Est 1^6) so much as for use on board ship (Is 33^{23}), for fastening tents (Is 33^{20}), and especially for measuring, a measuring-line (2 S $8^{2\,ter}$, Ps 78^{55} etc.). In AV *ḥebhel* is tr^d 'bands' only in Ps 119^{61} 'the bands of the wicked have robbed me' (where 'bands' no doubt='troops,' by mistrans^n; RV 'The cords of the wicked have wrapped me round'); and Zec $11^{7.14}$, the name of one of the two staves, 'Bands,' representing the brotherhood between Judah and Israel, the other, 'Beauty,' representing the covenant made with all the people. (*d*) מוֹטָה *môṭâh*, the pole or chief part of the yoke that binds the oxen together. In AV only Lv 26^{13}, Ezk 34^{27} (RV 'bars'). (*e*) חַרְצֻבָּה *ḥarẓubbah* only in plu.=*bonds*, Is 58^6 'to loose the bands (RV 'bonds') of wickedness'; or *pains*, Ps 73^4 'there are no bands in their death.' (*f*) מוֹסֵר *moṣêr*, properly something for chastising, hence a bond for curbing, Job 39^{5} 'who hath loosed the bands of the wild ass?', Ps 2^{3} 'Let us break their bands asunder,' 107^{14}, Is 28^{22} 52^{2}, Jer 2^{20}. In all these passages Amer. RV gives 'bonds,' but Eng. RV retains 'bands,' and even turns 'bonds' into 'bands' in Jer 5^{5} 27^{2} 30^{8}, where this is the Heb. word. (*g*) מוֹשְׁכָה *môshĕkhah*, a rope to draw with, only Job 38^{31} 'or loose the bands of Orion?'

The Greek words are (*a*) δεσμός, something that binds, Lk 8^{29}, Ac 16^{26} 22^{30}; (*b*) συνδεσμός, something that binds closely, Col 2^{19} 'all the body, being supplied and knit together through the joints and bands'; and (*c*) ζευκτηρία, that which yokes, only in Ac 27^{40} the fastening of the rudder.

In all these places 'bond' would be used in mod. English; and 'bond' is quite frequent in AV as tr^{n} of some of those words, esp. δεσμός.

2. Band = a flat strip, a ribbon. (In this sense b. is from French *bande*; but as the strip or strap would be used for *binding*, it came to be identified with 1. Both come originally from *bindan* 'to bind'). (*a*) שָׂפָה *sâphâh*, 'a lip,' tr^{d} 'band' only in Ex 39^{23} 'there was a hole in the midst of the robe . . . with a band (RV 'binding') round about the hole.' See also HEADBAND (Is 3^{20} only), and SWADDLINGBAND (Job 38^{9} only). RV gives 'band' for 'girdle,' חֵשֶׁב *ḥêshebh*, in Ex $28^{8.\ 27.\ 28}$ 29^{5} $39^{5.\ 20.\ 21}$, Lv 8^{7}. (*b*) κλοιός, a dog's collar, then any collar or chain for the neck (frequent in LXX, as Gn 41^{42} '[Pharaoh] put a gold *chain* about his [Joseph's] neck,' 1 K 12^{4} 'Thy father made our *yoke* grievous'). κλοιός is tr^{d} 'band' Sir 6^{30} 'her bands are purple lace.'

3. Band = troop, company. (Its origin is difficult to trace. Du Cange says that the company of soldiers formed by Alfonso of Castile was called a *banda*, from the red *banda* or ribbon worn by them as a sash; but Littré gives late Lat. *bandum* 'banner' as the original.) The Heb. words so tr^{d} are (*a*) אֲגַף *ăgaph*, only plu. and only in Ezk 12^{14} 17^{21} $38^{6bis.\ 9.\ 22}$ 39^{4}. RV keeps 'bands' in 12^{14} 17^{21}, but gives 'hordes' in the other passages. The word means originally the *wing* of an army, Assyr. *agappu*. (*b*) גְּדוּד *gĕdhûdh*, from [גָּדַד] to penetrate, so a band *invading* a country. Tr^{d} 'band' in 2 S 4^{2}, 1 K 11^{24}, 2 K 6^{23} $13^{20.\ 21}$ 24^{2bis}, 1 Ch 7^{4} $12^{18.\ 21}$, 2 Ch 22^{1}. RV retains, except 1 K 11^{24} 'troop.' (*c*) חַיִל *ḥayil* = strength, a strong army, a force; tr^{d} 'band' only 1 S 10^{26} ('a b. of men,' RV 'the host') and Ezr 8^{22} ('a b. of soldiers,' so RV). (*d*) חֹצֵץ *ḥôẓêẓ* (pcp. of [חָצַץ] to divide, hence divided into companies. Only Pr 30^{27} 'The locusts have no king, yet go they forth all of them by bands.' (*e*) מַחֲנֶה *maḥăneh*, the ordinary word for a 'camp.' Only Gn 32^{7} 'Jacob . . . divided the people . . . into two bands' (RV 'companies'), and 32^{10} 'and now I am become two bands' (RV 'companies'). (*f*) רֹאשׁ *rô'sh* = 'head,' only 1 Ch 12^{23} (RV 'heads') and Job 1^{17} 'The Chaldæans made out three bands' (so RV). The only Gr. word is σπεῖρα, which was the usual equivalent of the Lat. *cohors*, a cohort, which when complete consisted of 600 regular soldiers, being the tenth part of a legion. Cohorts, like regiments, had their distinguishing names, of which we find the 'Italian,' Ac 10^{1}, and the 'Augustan,' 27^{1}. In Jn $18^{3.\ 12}$ the 'band' would not consist of a whole cohort, so that σπεῖρα must have had some elasticity of usage; cf. 2 Mac 8^{23}.

'Band' as an intrans. verb occurs Ac 23^{12} 'the Jews banded together' (ποιήσαντες συστροφήν, making a conspiracy; the word is used of the riotous assembly in Ephesus, Ac 19^{40}). J. HASTINGS.

BANI (בָּנִי).—**1.** A Gadite, one of David's heroes (2 S 23^{36}). **2. 3. 4.** Levites (1 Ch 6^{46}, Neh 3^{17}, cf. 8^{7} (= **Binnui** of Ezr 8^{33} and Neh 10^{9})). **5.** A Judahite (1 Ch 9^{4}). **6.** Head of a family of returning exiles (Ezr 2^{10} = [Binnui of Neh 7^{15}] 10^{29}, Neh 10^{14}). **7.** One of those who had married foreign wives (Ezr 10^{38}). The utmost uncertainty prevails as to the number of occurrences of the name B. owing to the confusion between it and similar names. See BINNUI. J. A. SELBIE.

BANIAS (B Bανιάς, A Bανί, AV **Banid**), 1 Es 8^{36}.—Ancestor of Salimoth, who returned with Ezra from captivity. The name does not appear in the parallel list Ezr 8^{10}, having prob. dropped out from its resemblance to the preceding word 'sons' (בְּנֵי).

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

BANISHMENT. — See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.

BANK.—**1.** A raised earthwork from which to storm a city, 2 S 20^{15} 'they cast up a b. against the city' (סֹלְלָה *sôlĕlah*, from סָלַל to raise up, RV 'mount'), so 2 K 19^{32}, Is 37^{33} (Amer. RV 'mound').

The RV has changed 'thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee,' Lk 19^{43}, into 'thine enemies shall cast up a bank about thee,' although the Revisers did not read παρεμβαλοῦσιν with L marg., T, WH; but accepted περιβαλοῦσιν of TR. On the reading see Plummer's *Luke*.

This meaning, now obsol., is nearer the original sense of 'bank' than the next, but the oldest of all is seen in Ca 5^{13} RV 'banks of sweet herbs.' **2.** The margin of a river, Heb. (*a*) שָׂפָה *sâphah*, 'lip,' Gn 41^{17}, Dt 4^{48}, Jos 12^{2} $13^{9.\ 16}$, 2 K 2^{13}, Ezk $47^{7.\ 12}$, Dn 12^{5bis} (RV gives 'brink' at Gn 41^{17}, Dn $12^{5.\ 5}$, 'edge' in Dt 4^{48}, Jos 12^{2} $13^{7.\ 16}$, leaving the rest unchanged, and turning 'brink' into 'bank' in Ezk 47^{6}). (*b*) גָּדָה *gâdhah*, perhaps meaning 'cut away,' Jos 3^{15} 4^{18}, Is 8^{7}, always of banks *overflowed*. (*c*) גִּדְיָה (acc. to *kethîbh*, *ḳerê* גִּדָה) *gidhyah*, only 1 Ch 12^{15}, also of banks overflowed. **3.** The *table* of a money-changer or money-dealer; then his office or shop. It occurs only Lk 19^{23} (Gr. τράπεζα, the ordinary word for a table). RV gives bankers for 'exchangers' in Mt 25^{27} (Gr. τραπεζίτης [-είτης T, WH]). J. HASTINGS.

BANNAS (Βάννος, AV **Banuas**), 1 Es 5^{26}.—A name occurring among the Levites who returned with Zerub. The names Bannas and Sudias answer to Bene-Hodaviah in Ezr 2^{40}, of which they are perhaps a corruption. The corresponding words in Neh 10^{9} are 'Shebaniah, Hodiah' (Σαβανία, Ὠδουιά)

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

BANNEAS (Βανναίας, AV **Baanias**), 1 Es 9^{26} = BENAIAH (Ezr 10^{25}), which see.

BANNER, ENSIGN, STANDARD.—**1.** דֶּגֶל *degel*, 'banner, standard.' This was to be used to mark the separate place of each tribe in the camp in the wilderness (Nu 2^{2}). The Shulammite in her beauty, which overcomes the beholder, is compared (Ca $6^{4.\ 10}$) to forces encamped (*or possibly*, marching) in order under banners (כַּנִּדְגָּלוֹת *kannidgâlôth*). A *degel* is properly 'that which is meant to be seen'; *dagâlu* in Assyrian being the common word for 'to see.'

2. נֵס *nêṣ*, 'ensign,' possibly means either that which *shines* (נסס = נצץ) or that which *is lifted up* (נסס = נשׂא). The brazen serpent was put upon a *nêṣ* (Nu 21^{9}), *i.e.* possibly upon the *degel* of one of the tribes. The common use made of the *nêṣ* was to set it upon some high hill as a signal to assemble (Is 11^{10} and 13^{2}).

In Is 10^{18} ('They, *i.e.* the Assyrians, shall be as when a standard-bearer, *nôṣêṣ*, fainteth') nearly all modern authorities (not RV text) render, 'As when a sick man pineth away.' The old rendering is, however, defensible, if we may supply the word 'heart'; כמסס לב נסס, 'as when the heart of a standard-bearer fainteth.' Again in Is 59^{19} ('When the enemy shall come in like a flood, the

Spirit of the Lord shall lift up a standard against him') modern scholars allow no reference to a standard. Yet the rendering 'the Spirit of the Lord raiseth a standard against him' may be defended by Is 11^{10}.

On the Assyrian reliefs, standards are shown carried into battle borne on the chariots of the Assyrians. One such standard (of which a good engraving is given in Madame Ragozin's *Assyria*, p. 252) has the device of an archer, probably the god Asshur, standing above two bulls. The fact that an ensign might thus be a *religious* symbol gives point to Is 11^{12} '[J″] shall set up an ensign for the nations.'

The Roman standards also, since they bore the image of the emperor, had a religious character, owing to the worship paid to the emperors. The Jews regarded them as idols (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. iii. 1), and the Roman soldiers, on one occasion at least, sacrificed to them (Jos. *War*, VI. vi. 1 : *κομίσαντες τὰς σημαίας εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ θέμενοι τῆς ἀνατολικῆς πύλης ἄντικρυς ἔθυσαν αὐταῖς αὐτόθι*). This sacrifice was offered in honour of Titus, the emperor's son, after the capture of the temple.

W. E. BARNES.

BANNUS (Βαννούς), 1 Es 9^{34}.—Either BANI or BINNUI in Ezr 10^{38}. (See these names.)

BANQUET.—In the 17th cent. and earlier, b. frequently signified, not the general feast, but the wine that came after; not eating and drinking, but drinking only.

> 'Bring in the banquet quickly ; wine enough
> Cleopatra's health to drink.'
> Shaks. *Ant. and Cleop.* I. ii. 11.
>
> 'We'll dine in the great room, but let the music
> And banquet be prepared here.'
> Massinger, *Unnat. Comb.* iii. 1.

This is the meaning of b. wherever it occurs in AV. The Heb. and Gr. words are—1. מִשְׁתֶּה *mishteh*, 'a drinking,' from שָׁתָה 'to drink' (Est $5^{4.5.6.8.12.14}$ 6^{14} $7^{2.7.8}$, Dn 5^{10}). 2. שָׁתָה *shâthah*, Est 7^1 'So the king and Haman came to b.' (lit. 'to drink'). 3. יַיִן *yayin*, 'wine,' Ca 2^4 'He brought me to the banqueting house' (lit. 'house of wine'). 4. *συμπόσιον* = 'drinking together,' Sir 32^5 49^1 'a b. of wine'; 1 Mac 16^{16}, 2 Mac 2^{27}. 5. *πότος*, 'drinking' [Jth 12^{10}], 1 Mac 16^{15}, 1 P 4^3 'banquetings' (RV 'carousings').

The only possible exceptions are Job 41^6 'Shall the companions make a b. of him?' (RV 'make traffic of him,' Heb. כָּרָה *kârah* 'to bargain'; and Am 6^7 'the b. (RV 'revelry') of them that stretched themselves' (Heb. מִרְזֵחַ *mirzêaḥ*, from root = to scream, 'here used of yells of joy'—Orelli). But in these passages also, though b. is not the best tr., its meaning was no doubt the same. See FEAST.

J. HASTINGS.

BAPTISM—

- I. TERMINOLOGY.
  - (*a*) In the LXX.
  - (*b*) In the NT.
- II. OT TYPES.
  - (*a*) The Cloud and the Sea (St. Paul).
  - (*b*) The Deluge (St. Peter).
  - (*c*) Other Types (Patristic).
- III. PARTIAL ANTICIPATIONS.
  - (*a*) Proselyte Baptism.
  - (*b*) John's Baptism.
- IV. THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN BAPTISM.
  - (*a*) The Institution.
  - (*b*) The Recipients.
  - (*c*) The Minister.
  - (*d*) The Rite.
- V. THE DOCTRINE OF CHRISTIAN BAPTISM.

I. TERMINOLOGY.—(*a*) *In the LXX* the simple verb *βάπτειν* is frequent in the sense of 'dip' (Ex 12^{22}, Lv $4^{6.17}$ 9^9 $14^{6.16.51}$ etc.) or 'immerse' (Job 9^{31}). The intensive *βαπτίζειν* occurs four times: twice literally, of Naaman dipping in the Jordan (2 K 5^{14}) and of Judith bathing (12^7); once metaphorically, *ἡ ἀνομία με βαπτίζει* (Is 21^4); and once of ceremonial washing after pollution, *βαπτιζόμενος ἀπὸ νεκροῦ* (Sir 31 $[34]^{25}$). The usual verb for ceremonial washing is *λούεσθαι* (Lv $14^{8.9}$ $15^{5-10.13.16-22}$ $16^{4.24-28}$ etc.), the middle voice being used because the unclean person performed this cleansing for himself. The active is used of Moses washing Aaron and his sons before they exercised their ministry (Ex 29^4 40^{12}, Lv 8^6), and of the Lord washing Jerus. (Ezk 16^4). But *βαπτίζειν* is never used in the LXX of any initiatory rite.

Of the two cognate substantives *βαπτισμός* and *βάπτισμα*, neither is found in the LXX; while *λοῦτρον* occurs thrice (Ca 4^2 6^6, Sir 31 $[34]^{25}$).

(*b*) *In the NT* the use of *βάπτειν* is the same as in the LXX (Lk 16^{24}, Jn 13^{26}, and perhaps Rev 19^{13}, where the reading is very uncertain); but the use of *βαπτίζειν* undergoes a great change. As in Sir 31^{25}, it is used of ceremonial purification (Lk 11^{38}, and perhaps Mk 7^4, where the reading is again uncertain); and, as in Is 21^4, it is used metaphorically, viz. by Christ of His sufferings (Mk $10^{38.39}$, Lk 12^{50}). But, with these few exceptions, *βαπτίζω* always refers to washing for a religious purpose, the administration of the sacred rite of ablution, 'baptizing' in the technical sense; and in this sense *λούω* is not used. It is plain from Lk 11^{38} that in itself *βαπτίζω* does not necessarily mean immersion, as Calvin (*Inst.* iv. 15. 19) and others assert. This is its usual meaning, however; Polybius uses it of sinking ships (i. 51. 6, xvi. 6. 2). We find *βαπτίζειν* used both absolutely (Mk 1^4, Jn $1^{25.26}$ $3^{22.23.26}$ 4^2 etc.) and with an acc. (Jn 4^1, Ac 8^{38}, 1 Co $1^{14.16}$), and very often in the passive (Mt $3^{13.14.16}$, Mk 16^{16}, Lk 3^{21}, Ac 2^{41} etc.). The verb is sometimes followed by a preposition, indicating either the *element into* which (*εἰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην*, Mk 1^9) or *in* which (*ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ*, Mk 1^5; *ἐν ὕδατι*, Mt 3^{11}, Jn $1^{26.33}$) the immersion takes place; or the *end* or *issue* of it (*εἰς μετάνοιαν*, Mt 3^{11}; *εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν*, Ac 2^{38}; *εἰς τὸ ὄνομά τινος*, Mt 28^{19}, Ac 8^{16} 19^5).

Of the substantives, both *βαπτισμός* and *βάπτισμα* are found; and the distinction commonly drawn between them as to NT usage is probably correct; but there are not enough instances for a secure induction. From Mk 7^4 and He 9^{10} we infer that *βαπτισμός* usually meant lustration or ceremonial washing. Ro 6^4, with Eph 4^5 and 1 P 3^{21}, would indicate that *βάπτισμα* was reserved for baptism proper. But in He 6^2 *βαπτισμῶν* probably includes Christian baptism, and in Col 2^{12} the more difficult reading *βαπτισμῷ* claims attention. Jos. uses *βαπτισμός* to designate John's baptism, and *βάπτισις* of the performance of the rite (*Ant.* XVIII. v. 2).

The Latin VSS and Fathers make no distinction between *baptismus* and *baptisma*. The Vulg. has *baptismus pœnitentiæ* (Mk 1^4, Lk 3^3, Ac 13^{24} 19^4), *baptisma Joannis* (Ac 1^{22}), *unum baptisma* (Eph 4^5), and even *baptismata calicum* (Mk 7^4), and *baptismatum doctrinæ* (He 6^2). A neut. nom. *baptismum* is found in the best MSS of the Vulg., Mt 21^{25}, and in various other passages in representatives of the Old Latin, *e.g.* Mk $10^{38.39}$ (*a i*). In Lk 20^4 we have *baptismum* (*f* Vulg.), *baptismus* (*c d*), *baptisma* (*e*). See Rönsch, *Itala und Vulgata*, p. 270. Cyprian sometimes uses both *baptisma* and *baptismus* in the same passage without change of meaning, *e.g.* *Ep.* lxxiv. 11; comp. *Ep.* lxix. 2, lxx. 2, etc. Twice in NT *λοῦτρον* is used of baptism: λ. *τοῦ ὕδατος* (Eph 5^{26}), λ. *παλιγγενεσίας* (Tit 3^5); and the word occurs in no other connexion. It and its equivalent *lavacrum* soon became technical terms in this sense (Just. Mart. *Apol.* i. 61. 79; Cypr. *De Hab. Virg.* 2. 23; *De Lapsis*, 24, etc.).

II. OT Types.—We have apostolic authority for finding two types of Christian baptism in OT history, but in neither case are the details of the type quite certain.

St. Paul takes the Israelites being under the cloud and passing through the sea as an image of baptism (1 Co 10[1.2]); where being under the cloud points to submersion, while passing through the sea may signify emersion; or (less well) the cloud may typify the spiritual element in baptism, and the sea the material element.

Still more expressly St. Peter makes the saving of a few persons through water at the Flood a figure of the Christian rite (1 P 3[20.21]); where the water which purged the earth of its wicked inhabitants by floating the Ark saved its inmates. Luther almost inverts this, when he remarks that 'baptism is a greater deluge than that described by Moses, since more are baptized than were drowned by the Deluge.'

Beyond these two we need not go. But patristic writers find baptism typified in a variety of things, some of which are remote enough, *e.g.* not only in the passage of the Jordan (Jos 3[17]) and the cleansing of Naaman (2 K 5[14]), but in the river of Paradise, the well revealed to Hagar, the water from the rock, the water poured upon Elijah's offering, etc. etc. Tertullian asserts that the primeval water 'brought forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life' (Gn 1[20]), in order that there should be no difficulty in believing that baptismal waters can give life (*De Bapt.* iii.). In a like spirit prophecies respecting Christian baptism were found with great freedom, not only in Zechariah's fountain . . . 'for sin and for uncleanness' (13[1]), in Isaiah's promise that sins red as scarlet shall be white as snow (1[18]), and in Ezekiel's, 'I baptize. will sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean. . . . A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you' (36[25.26]), but even in the hart panting after the water brooks (Ps 42[1]), and in the waters breaking out in the desert (Is 35[6]).

Without presuming to determine anything respecting intended types and prophecies, we may safely say that those washings which were required by the Mosaic Law as a means of entering or re-entering the congregation, especially in its closer relations with J″, had considerable analogy with Christian baptism. But that is a very different thing from Cyprian's sweeping assertion, *Quotiescunque aqua sola in scripturis sanctis nominatur, baptisma prædicatur* (*Ep.* lxiii. 8); and this he applies not only to OT (Is 43[18-21] 48[21]), but to NT (Jn 4[13.14] 7[37-39], Mt 5[6]).

III. Partial Anticipations.—When we approach the history of baptism as a rite of religious initiation, we are confronted with the question, Where does the history begin? We may set aside heathen baptisms as having no historic connexion with the subject, except so far as ceremonial ablutions may be common to the human race. But a baptism which prevailed in Iceland and some parts of Norway is worth mentioning as a partial parallel. The father decided whether an infant was to be nurtured or exposed. If he wished to preserve it, water was poured over it and a name given to it; and to kill it after this ceremony of admission to the community was murder. After the introduction of Christianity (*c.* A.D. 1000) this baptism still continued for some time side by side with Christian baptism. Omitting pagan lustrations, we have three conspicuous examples of the rite, all originating in the same part of the world: proselyte baptism, John's baptism, and Christian baptism. Which of these three is chronologically the first, and therefore the possible suggester of one or both of the others? This question was very hotly debated in the first half of the 18th cent. on controversial grounds, to find arguments for or against infant baptism and sacramental doctrine. In the 19th cent. the question has been examined with less heat, and of late has dropped out of notice. The monograph of Schneckenburger, *Ueber das Alter der jüdischen Proselytentaufe*, Berlin, 1829, is still quoted as the leading authority on the subject. *Massecheth Gerim*, the Talmudic authority on proselytes, or *Septem Libri Talmudici parvi Hierosolymitani*, was published by Kirchheim, Frankfurt a/M. 1851.

(*a*) *Proselyte Baptism.*—According to the teaching of later Judaism, a stranger who desired to become a Proselyte of the Covenant, or of Righteousness, *i.e.* in the fullest sense an Isr., must be circumcised and baptized, and then offer a sacrifice; circumcision alone was not enough. Three of those who had instructed the stranger in the Law became his 'fathers' or sponsors, and took him to a pool, in which he stood up to his neck in water, while the great commandments of the Law were recited to him. These he promised to keep. Then a benediction was pronounced, and he plunged beneath the water, taking care to be entirely submerged. In the case of women, baptism and sacrifice were the things required to admit them to the full privileges of Israel. But for both male and female proselytes sacrifice was abolished after the destruction of the temple.

That this baptism of proselytes is not an original feature in Judaism is manifest. The Rabbis indeed found a trace of it in Jacob's command to his household, 'Put away the strange gods that are among you, and purify yourselves, and change your garments' (Gn 35[2]); and even in God's command to Moses, 'Go unto the people, and sanctify them to-day and to-morrow, and let them wash their garments' (Ex 19[10]), where the people to be sanctified are certainly all Jews. When 'the daughter of Pharaoh came down to bathe at the river' (Ex 2[5]), this also, the Talm. said, is to be regarded as the baptizing of a proselyte. But we may safely assert that there is no mention of proselyte baptism anywhere in OT or in the Apocr. NT is equally silent. And this is by no means all. Josephus, Philo, and the older Targumists are silent also; and there is little more than a probable allusion to it in the Mishna. None of the early Christian writers seem to know anything about it; and this is specially notable in the case of those who have discussed Judaism, or baptism, or both, *e.g.* Barnabas, Justin Martyr, and Tertullian. Let us admit that the Fourth Book of the *Sibylline Oracles* is of Jewish origin, and that the line, ἐν ποταμοῖς λούσασθε ὅλον δέμας ἀενάοισι (164), refers to proselyte baptism; and that Arrian refers to it also, when he says of one who is a heathen, ὅταν δὲ ἀναλάβῃ τὸ πάθος βεβαμμένου τότε καὶ ἔστι τῷ ὄντι καὶ καλεῖται Ἰουδαῖος (*Diss. Epict.* ii. 9): and that the reading of the Ethiopic VS of Mt 23[15] 'ye compass sea and land to *baptize* one proselyte,' is beyond question. Nevertheless, these three authorities do not bring us much (if at all) earlier than the 2nd cent.; and that at that time proselytes were baptized on their admission to Judaism, is not in dispute. What is wanted is direct evidence that before John the Baptist made so remarkable a use of the rite, it was the custom to make all proselytes submit to baptism; and such evidence is not forthcoming.

If what
[illegible]
is nothing

Nevertheless, the fact is not really doubtful. It is not credible that the baptizing of proselytes was instituted and made essential for their admission to Judaism at a period subsequent to the institution of Christian baptism; and the supposition that it was borrowed from the rite enjoined by Christ is monstrous. From the infancy of Christianity the hostility of the synagogue to the Church was such, that the mere fact that baptism was universally known as the rite by which Gentiles were admitted to the Christian community, would have made it impossible for Jews to accept it as the rite for admitting Gentiles to the Jewish community. Against a consideration of this kind the silence of Scripture and of Josephus and Philo is of little weight; it is one more instance of the danger of the argument from silence. No passage has been pointed out in either Josephus or Philo in which it would have been necessary, or even natural, to mention proselyte baptism; and the same may be said of Scripture. The subject is not mentioned, because there was no need to mention it. In the Mishna it is stated that the school of Shammai allowed a Gentile who was circumcised on the eve of the Passover to *wash* and partake of the paschal lamb, while the school of Hillel did not; and this points to the washing of proselytes as a customary accompaniment of circumcision. But what may be regarded as conclusive is, that the baptizing of proselytes would follow of necessity from the regulations which required a Jew to bathe in order to recover Levitical purity (Lv 11-15, Nu 19). *Judæus quotidie lavat, quia quotidie inquinatur*, says Tertullian (*De Bapt.* xv.); and again, *Omnibus licet membris lavet quotidie Israel, nunquam tamen mundus est* (*De Orat.* xiv.). If the mere possibility of contact with pollution requires such purification, how much more would one who had lived in heathen pollution require a complete purification before he was admitted to full membership in the House of Israel. Moreover, it should be noted that the authorities quoted above—the *Sibylline Oracles*, Arrian, and the Ethiopic VS—all mention baptism as the sign of change, and say nothing about circumcision. The reason for which possibly is, that, after the abolition of the sacrifices, baptism was the only rite which was applicable to both sexes; and the large majority of proselytes were women (Kraus, *Enc. d. Christ. Alterth.* ii. p. 823). Every Gentile, whether man or woman, who became a Jew, was purified from heathen pollution by immersion.

See 242 b.

About the other hypothesis there is no difficulty. Assume that baptism for proselytes was a well-established custom when John began to preach, and we have an obvious reason why John adopted the rite. Not that this was his only reason; but that, so far as the custom was of any influence, it was a recommendation and not an objection. And the same argument applies to Christian baptism, which becomes more, and not less, intelligible when we consider that it was preceded by baptism for proselytes and the baptism of John.

LITERATURE.—For the abundant literature on the subject, and for references to the Talm., see Edersheim, *Life and Times of the Messiah*, ii. App. xii.; Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. § 31, p. 319; Herzog, *RE* xii. p. 250, 1st ed.; less full in 2nd ed. p. 300.

(*b*) *The Baptism of John.*—Although there is no doubt that baptism was a Jewish rite of initiation before John began to preach, yet the history of baptism, so far as direct evidence is concerned, begins with him. That he who derived his title from it (*ὁ βαπτίζων*, Mk $6^{14.24}$; *ὁ βαπτιστής*, Mt 3^{1}, Mk 8^{28}, Lk 7^{20}, Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. v. 2) made use of the rite in preparing Israel for the kingdom of God, is an historical fact beyond dispute. And we need not doubt that in using it he was influenced by the levitical purifications enjoined by the Law and by the baptism of proselytes. But his baptism was different from both. It is evident that, if it had not had special characteristics, he would not have received a special name, and his right to administer it would not have been challenged. His baptism differed from the washings prescribed by the Law in these three respects—(1) They were acts of lustration, restoring a man to his normal condition; his was an act of preparation, leading a man to an entirely new condition. (2) The man levitically unclean baptized himself, like Naaman in the Jordan; the penitents who came to John were baptized by him. (3) The legal washings merely cleansed from levitical uncleanness; his was a symbol and seal of moral purification. The moral preparation required by John is pointed out in the *τῆς ψυχῆς δικαιοσύνῃ προεκκεκαθαρμένης* of Jos. (*Ant.* XVIII. v. 2) as plainly as in the *βάπτισμα μετανοίας* of Scripture (Mk 1^{4}, Lk 3^{3}). The spirit of repentance was assumed with a view to remission of sins.

John's baptism differed from proselyte baptism in being administered to Jews. The meaning of the challenge, 'Why then baptizest thou?' (Jn 1^{25}) seems to be, 'What right hast thou, who art neither the Messiah nor the Prophet, to treat Israelites as if they were proselytes? Jews are fit for the Messianic kingdom without any such purification.'

And while John's baptism differed from these Jewish rites on the one hand, so it differed from Christian baptism on the other. This difference was clearly pointed out by the Baptist himself. 'I indeed baptize you with *water* unto repentance . . . he shall baptize you with *the Holy Ghost*' (Mt 3^{11}); 'He that sent me to baptize with *water*, he said unto me, Upon whomsoever thou shalt see the Spirit descending and abiding upon him, the same is he that baptizeth with *the Holy Spirit*' (Jn 1^{33}; comp. our Lord's words, Ac 1^{5} 11^{16}). And that this difference was regarded as essential, is shown by the fact that Ephesian disciples who had received John's baptism were rebaptized into the name of the Lord Jesus, and then received the Holy Ghost through the laying on of hands by St. Paul (Ac 19^{3-6}). Cyril of Jerus., in contrasting John's baptism with Christian baptism, says, that the former 'bestowed *only* the remission of sins' (*Catech.* xx. 6; comp. iii. 7). But there is nothing in Scripture to show that it bestowed that. Tertullian points out that 'baptism *for* the remission of sins' refers to a *future* remission, which was to follow in Christ (*De Bapt.* x.). And it may be doubted whether, if John's baptism had conferred remission of sins, Jesus would have submitted to it. Its main aspect was preparation for the kingdom of God; and in this aspect it fitted well into the opening of Christ's ministry. To everyone else this preparatory act was a baptism of repentance. The Messiah, who needed no repentance, could yet accept the preparation. By means of this rite the people were consecrated to receive salvation, and He was consecrated to bestow it.

We are told by St. John that the disciples of Jesus baptized many, and that this led to an inaccurate statement that Jesus Himself baptized (3^{22} $4^{1.2}$). As to the nature of this baptism we are told nothing; but, if not identical with the baptism of John, it would be more akin to that than to Christian baptism. It was preparatory and not perfecting, symbolical and not sacramental. The arguments of Tertullian on this point are weighty (*De Bapt.* x.-xii.). Was Christian baptism possible until Christ had died and risen again? The theory that this early baptism by Christ's disciples was the baptism of the gospel, but that its full effects remained latent until after the resurrection, is not helpful; and to suppose with Peter Lombard that it was *In nomine Trinitatis, scilicet in eâ formâ in quâ baptizaverunt postea* (*Sent.* iv. *Dist.* iii. 7), is utterly unreasonable. When John was put into prison, Jesus Himself continued John's preaching. 'He came into Galilee, preaching the gospel of God, and saying, The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye'

Yes, but it gained in meaning after Xt's death

(Mk $1^{14.15}$). Is it improbable that, while Christ continued the preaching of John, His disciples continued the baptism of John? In that case there is no need to raise the question whether they baptized 'into the name of the Lord Jesus'; for John certainly did not do so. In any case it is improbable that, at a time when the disciples had such inadequate views of the office of Jesus, they would baptize into His name. This baptism was certainly not accompanied by the gift of the Spirit: 'for the Spirit was not yet given; because Jesus was not yet glorified' (Jn 7^{39}). And it is to be noted that neither in the mission of the Twelve nor in that of the Seventy is there any command to baptize (Lk 9^{1-5} 10^{1-16}). That omission is intelligible, if this early baptism, like that of John, was merely preparatory, a symbolical act conferring no grace. But the omission would be strange if there was already in use a rite equal in efficacy to the baptism of the gospel. Until Christ had died and risen again, and sent the Holy Spirit upon His disciples, no such baptism by them was possible.

IV. THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN BAPTISM.—This subject, as treated in NT, may be discussed under four heads—(*a*) the Institution, (*b*) the Recipients, (*c*) the Minister, (*d*) the Rite.

(*a*) The *Institution* of Christian baptism is to be dated from Christ's farewell command, 'Go ye and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost' (Mt 28^{19}). This command the Twelve do not attempt to carry out until they are free from the earlier charge (Lk 24^{49}). But directly they have 'been clothed with power from on high,' Peter begins to exhort the people to 'repent, and be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ unto the remission of their sins' (Ac 2^{38}), and with very great success. But here we are at once struck by the fact that, in spite of Christ's command to baptize into the name of the Trinity, no mention is made of the Trinity, but only of 'the name of Jesus Christ.' And this first and important record of Christian baptisms does not stand alone. The Samaritans who were converted by Philip were 'baptized into the name of the Lord Jesus' (Ac 8^{16}). Peter at Cæsarea commanded that Cornelius and those with him should be 'baptized in the name of Jesus Christ' (10^{48}). And the Ephesian disciples, when they were convinced of the insufficiency of John's baptism, were 'baptized into the name of the Lord Jesus' (19^{5}). Moreover, there is no mention in NT of any one being baptized into the name of the Trinity; and the expression 'baptized into Christ' (Ro 6^{3}, Gal 3^{27}; comp. 1 Co 1^{13} 6^{11}) is more in harmony with the passages in the Acts than with the divine command as recorded Mt 28^{19}.*

Various explanations of these statements in the Acts have been suggested.

(1) This baptism into or in the name of Jesus Christ is that which was practised by Christ's disciples during His ministry (Jn $4^{1.2}$). Having been accustomed to this form, they continued to use it 'probably through life,' although Christ had expressly ordered the Trinitarian form, and although the Holy Spirit was not always imparted when this imperfect form was employed, whereas the gift of the Spirit always accompanied baptism in the name of the Trinity (*Dict. of Chr. Biog.* i. p. 241). This is scarcely credible. The Ephesian disciples were rebaptized because their original baptism was inadequate. Can we suppose that they then received a baptism that was also defective? And would the disciples have adhered to a form which experience proved to be less uniformly efficacious, even if we allow that they would ignore the express command of Christ? It is admitted that this inferior form of baptism went out of use at an early date—perhaps soon after the First Gospel became current.

(2) Baptism in the name of one Person of the Trinity is virtually baptism in the name of the Trinity, and is valid. This seems to be the view of Ambrose. *Quod verbo tacitum fuerat, expressum est fide. Cum enim dicitur:* In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi, *per unitatem nominis impletum mysterium est: nec a Christi baptismate Spiritus separatur. . . . Qui unum dixerit, Trinitatem signavit. Si Christum dicas, et Deum Patrem a quo unctus est Filius, et ipsum qui unctus est Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum quo unctus est designasti* (*De Spiritu S.* i. 4. 43, 44; Migne, xvi. 714, 715, where see note *a*). Ambrose is here commenting on Ac 19^{5}; and it is rash to say that 'he is probably speaking of the confession of the recipient, not of the formula.' Bede understands Ambrose to be writing of the baptismal formula, and accepts the solution that baptism in the name of Jesus Christ is really in the name of the Trinity (*Super Acta Exp.* x. 48; Migne, xcii. 970). See also Peter Lombard (*Sent.* iv. *Dist.* iii. 4), Hugo Victor (*De Sacram.* i. 13), and Aquinas (*Summa*, iii. 66. 6). This view was confirmed by the Council of Frejus (A.D. 792), and apparently by Pope Nicholas I. (858-867) in his *Responsa ad Bulgaros.*

(3) When St. Luke says that people were 'baptized *in* (or *into*) the name of the Lord Jesus,' he is not indicating the formula which was used in baptizing, but is merely stating that such persons were baptized as acknowledged Jesus to be the Lord and the Christ; in short, he is simply telling us that the baptism was Christian. When Peter heals the cripple at the Beautiful Gate of the temple, the form of the words used is quoted: 'In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, walk.' No such form of words is quoted in any of the passages in which persons are said to be baptized in or into the name of Jesus Christ. There is no evidence against the supposition that in these and in all other cases the formula used was that which Christ enjoined. This is perhaps what Cyprian means when he says on Ac 2^{38} *Jesu Christi mentionem facit Petrus, non quasi Pater omitteretur, sed ut Patri Filius quoque adjungeretur* (*Ep.* lxxiii. 17). In 1 Co 10^{2}, where the Israelites are said to have been 'baptized into Moses' (εἰς τὸν Μωυσῆν), the meaning is that they were baptized into obedience to him and acknowledgment of his authority, not that his name was called over them in some formula. See Lightfoot on 1 Co 1^{13}.

(4) The original form of words was 'into the name of Jesus Christ' or 'the Lord Jesus.' Baptism into the name of the Trinity was a later development. After the one mention of it, Mt 28^{19}, we do not find it again until Justin Martyr, and his formula is not identical with that in the Gospel: ἐπ' ὀνόματος γὰρ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων καὶ δεσπότου θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου τὸ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι τότε λουτρὸν ποιοῦνται (*Apol.* i. 61). It is probable that, when the Trinitarian formula had become usual, it was regarded as of divine authority, and was by some attributed to Christ Himself. This tradition is represented in Mt 28^{19}, and is perhaps an indication that the First Gospel in its extant form is later than the destruction of Jerusalem. That in the apostolic

---

* It is worth noting that in all the instances of baptism 'in' or 'into the name' the verb is in the passive. Except in the original charge, the phrase 'to baptize into the name' does not occur; it is always 'to be baptized into the name' or 'in the name.' This holds good of 1 Co 1^{15} also, where εἰς τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα βάπτισα is a false reading, and ἐβαπτίσθητε (ℵABC* Ægyptt. Vulg. Arm.) is right. In the Eastern Churches the formula is not 'I baptize thee,' but βαπτίζεται ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ; and this is probably more ancient than the Western formula familiar to us.

age there was no fixed formula is shown, not only by the difference between Matt. and the Acts, but by the difference between one passage in the Acts and another, and also by traces of other differences in the Epistles. Baptism 'into the name of the Lord Jesus' (Ac 8^{16} 19^{5}), or 'in the name of Jesus Christ' (2^{38} 10^{48}), or 'into Christ Jesus' (Ro 6^{3}), or 'into Christ' (Gal 3^{27}), had sufficed. Comp. πρὶν γάρ, φησί, φορέσαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, νεκρός ἐστιν (Hermas, *Sim.* ix. 16. 3); where, however, τοῦ υἱοῦ is possibly an insertion (A omits).

Of these four explanations the second and third are far more satisfactory than the other two, and the third seems to be the best. It is a violent hypothesis to suppose that words of such importance as Mt 28^{19} were never spoken by Christ, and yet were authoritatively attributed to Him in the First Gospel. The insertion of the doxology after the Lord's Prayer (Mt 6^{13}) is not parallel. Not only is the insertion of less importance, being covered by genuine utterances of Christ as well as by 1 Ch 29^{11}, but it is absent from all the most ancient authorities, including all Greek and Latin commentators; whereas the baptismal formula in Mt 28^{19} is in all authorities without exception. It is as well attested as any saying of Christ which is recorded in one Gospel only. Nor does the variation of the Trinitarian formula given by Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 61) cause any difficulty. He is not giving the exact words used in baptism, but is paraphrasing them, so as to make them a little more intelligible to the heathen whom he is addressing. It is reasonable to believe that Christ prescribed the Trinitarian formula, and that His command was obeyed.

(*b*) The *Recipients* of Christian baptism were required to repent and believe. This is set forth, both in the Lord's commands and also in the first instance of baptism on the Day of Pentecost. 'Peter said unto them, Repent ye, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ unto the remission of your sins' (Ac 2^{38}). Here repentance is expressed and faith in Jesus Christ is implied, as in the farewell charge to the apostles recorded by St. Luke: 'that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name unto all the nations' (24^{47}). More often it is faith that is expressed and repentance that is implied, as in the charge recorded in the appendix to Mk: 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to the whole creation. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that disbelieveth shall be condemned' ($16^{15.16}$). So also in the case of the jailer at Philippi (Ac $16^{31.33}$), of the Samaritans (8^{12}), of Cornelius and his company (10^{43-48}), and of the Corinthians (18^{8}). Compare the Western insertion Ac 8^{37}. Of the two requisites, faith is the one which more needs express statement. Repentance without faith in Christ was possible, as in the case of John's baptism. Faith in Christ without repentance was not possible. Comp. He 10^{22}.

All the instances just quoted (especially those of the converts on the Day of Pentecost, of Cornelius and his friends, and of the Philippian jailer and his household) tend to show that no great amount of instruction or preparation was at first required. But somewhat later, after the apostles, who had been a protection against the admission of unworthy candidates, had died out, and after the Church had had larger experience of unreal converts, much more care was taken to secure definite knowledge and hearty acceptance of the truths of the gospel.

This primitive freedom in admitting converts to baptism is in itself an argument in favour of *infant baptism,* although no baptism of an infant is expressly mentioned. Whole households were sometimes baptized, as those of Lydia, Crispus, the jailer, and Stephanas; and it is probable that there were children in at least some of these. There may also have been children among the three thousand baptized at Pentecost. According to the ideas then prevalent, the head of the family represented and summed up the family. In some respects the *paterfamilias* had absolute control of the members of his household (Maine, *Ancient Law,* ch. v.). And it would have seemed an unnatural thing that the father should make a complete change in his religious condition and that his children should be excluded from it. Moreover, the analogy of circumcision would lead Jewish converts to have their children baptized. Had there been this marked difference between the two rites,—that infants were admitted to the Jewish covenant, but not to the Christian,—the difference would probably have been pointed out; all the more so, because Christianity was the more comprehensive religion of the two. There is therefore *primâ facie* ground for believing that from the first infants were baptized. And this position is strengthened by general declarations of Christ Himself: 'Suffer the little children to come unto Me; forbid them not: for of such is the kingdom of God' (Mk 10^{14}). 'Except a man (τις) be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter the kingdom of God' (Jn 3^{5}); where there is no intimation that children are exempted. On the contrary, the condition of children is given as the ideal for entrance into the kingdom (Mt 18^{3}).

But there is *primâ facie* evidence on the other side. Not only is there no mention of the baptism of infants, but there is no text from which such baptism can be securely inferred. 'Make disciples of all the nations' (Mt 28^{19}), implies those who are old enough to receive instruction. That little children may be brought to Christ, and are a type of Christian innocence, does not prove that they are fit to receive baptism. And we cannot be sure that Jn 3^{5} is meant to include infants, because Jesus often states general principles, and leaves His Church to find out the necessary limitations. An ordinance may be generally necessary to salvation, and yet not be suited to infants; which is the Western view of the Lord's Supper. Scripture tells us that repentance and faith are requisite for baptism. Assuming that infants have no need of repentance, can we assume that faith also may be dispensed with? Cyprian slurs this (*Ep.* lxiv. 5). He points out that adults must have faith, which includes repentance, and that infants have no sins of their own to repent of; but he is silent about infants' lack of faith. Those who maintain that the infantine state is a substitute for faith and repentance, must remember that faith and repentance are the conditions given in Scripture, and that the infantine state is not mentioned as an equivalent. It is probable that all that is said in Scripture about baptism refers to the baptism of adults. Until there were many Christian parents to whom children were born, the question of baptizing infants would be exceptional; and perhaps evangelists used their own discretion; for infant baptism* is, at any rate, nowhere forbidden in Scripture.

(*c*) The *Minister* in baptism is not determined; and *lay baptism* is in much the same position as infant baptism. It can be neither proved nor disproved from Scripture. The commission to baptize was given in the first instance to the Eleven (Mt 28^{16-20}), but we are not sure that no others were present. Moreover, it is in virtue of Christ's presence ('Lo, I am with you alway') that they have the right to baptize; and this presence cannot be confined to the apostles. We are not told who baptized the three thousand at

* Another instance of danger of the argt from silence. See P 240 C.1.

Pentecost; and the apostles, if they baptized any, can hardly have baptized them all. Apparently, Ananias baptized St. Paul, but this is not clear (Ac 22^{16}). He was 'a certain disciple' (9^{10}), and 'a devout man according to the law' (22^{12}), and presumably a layman. Peter commanded Cornelius and his company to be baptized (10^{48}); and we assume that it was done by the brethren from Joppa, who are not said to be presbyters or deacons. From the silence of Scripture respecting the minister on these and other occasions, we may infer that an ordained minister is not essential.

(*d*) The *Rite* is nowhere described in detail; but the element was always water, and the mode of using it was commonly immersion. The symbolism of the ordinance required this. It was an act of purification; and hence the need of water. A death to sin was expressed by the plunge beneath the water, and a rising again to a life of righteousness by the return to light and air; and hence the appropriateness of immersion. Water is mentioned in Ac 8^{38} 10^{47}, Eph 5^{26}, He 10^{22}; and there is no mention of any other element. Immersion is implied in Ro 6^{4} and Col 2^{12}. But immersion was a desirable symbol rather than an essential. In the prison at Philippi it can hardly have been possible; and it is not very probable in the house of Cornelius. Wherever large numbers of both sexes were baptized, the difficulty of total immersion in each case must have been great. And if immersion better expresses the cleansing of the whole man, pouring better expresses the outpouring of the Spirit, whose operation is not dependent upon the amount of water, nor upon the manner of its application. Comp. Cyprian, *Ep.* lxix. 12.

As to the form of words used in baptizing, what has been said above may almost suffice. If from the first there was only one form, that form was Trinitarian; from the 2nd century it was certainly the only form. Justin's evidence (*Apol.* i. 61) has been quoted, and Tertullian describes the practice in his day: *nec semel, sed ter, ad singula nomina in personas singulas tinguimur* (*Adv. Prax.* xxvi.).* Wherever St. Matthew's Gospel was received the Trinitarian formula would become obligatory; and that carries us back long before Justin Martyr. But it is possible that for a time the form of words varied.

The 'anointing' (2 Co 1^{21}, 1 Jn 2^{27}) probably refers to baptism; but to anointing with the Spirit, not with oil. Yet unction at baptism is as old as Tertullian (*De Bapt.* vii.). The 'sealing' (2 Co 1^{22}, Eph 1^{13} 4^{30}) also may refer to baptism, but not to signing with the cross: ἡ σφραγὶς οὖν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐστιν (Hermas, *Sim.* ix. 16. 4). Whether 'the good confession in the sight of many witnesses' (1 Ti 6^{12}) refers to a profession of faith at Timothy's baptism (Ewald, Hausrath, Pfleiderer), is uncertain; the many witnesses point rather to ordination (Holtzmann). That the difficult passage 1 P 3^{21} refers to the answers or pledges made by the candidates at baptism, is very doubtful.

V. THE DOCTRINE OF CHRISTIAN BAPTISM.—Scripture teaches that baptism, rightly administered to those who are qualified by repentance and faith to receive it, has various beneficial results. These are closely connected, either as cause and effect, or as joint effects, or as different aspects of the same fact. But they are capable of analysis and of separate treatment. They are mainly (1) Regeneration or New Birth, (2) Divine Affiliation, (3) Cleansing from Sin, (4) Admission to the Church, (5) Union with Christ, (6) Gift of the Spirit, (7) Salvation.

(1) Christ Himself said, 'Except a man be *born anew* (γεννηθῇ ἄνωθεν), he cannot see the kingdom of God'; and He explained this as meaning, 'Except a man be *born of water and the Spirit*' (Jn $3^{3.5}$), which until Calvin's day had universally been interpreted as referring to baptism. The metaphor was not new. Jews spoke of the admission of proselytes to Israel as a 'new birth.' 'Art thou the teacher of Israel, and understandest not these things?' (Jn 3^{10}), perhaps refers to this common use of the phrase. But in any case 'water and Spirit' refer to the outward sign and inward gift at baptism as effecting a new birth. This is confirmed by St. Paul's '*laver of regeneration* (λουτρὸν παλιγγενεσίας) and renewing of the Holy Spirit' (Tit 3^{5}), which also was universally understood as meaning baptism. And baptism is called 'washing of regeneration,' not merely because it symbolizes it, or pledges a man to it, but also, and chiefly, because it effects it (Holtzmann, Huther, Pfleiderer, Weiss).

(2) This new birth brings us into a new relationship to God: the baptized are made His *children* or *sons*. 'For ye are all *sons of God*, through faith in Christ Jesus. For as many of you as were baptized into Christ did put on Christ' (Gal $3^{26.27}$). 'To them gave he the right to become children of God' (Jn 1^{12}; comp. 1 Jn 4^{7}). That being 'begotten of God' (1 Jn 3^{9} 4^{7} $5^{4.18}$), or becoming a 'child of God' (1 Jn $3^{1.2.10}$ 5^{2}), or a 'son of God' (Ro $8^{14.19}$, Gal 3^{26}), is synonymous with being 'born anew,' need not be doubted. The first birth is of man; the second or new birth is of God. So that it makes little matter whether we translate ἄνωθεν (Jn 3^{3}) 'anew' with Justin (*Apol.* i. 61) and the Lat. and Eth. VSS, or 'from above' with Origen and most of the Greek Fathers. A new birth is a birth from above, and *vice versâ*. And the passages in which these expressions occur show that regeneration or being begotten by God does not mean merely a new *capacity* for change in the direction of goodness, but an actual change. The legal washings were actual external purifications. Baptism is actual internal purification.

(3) John's baptism was '*unto* remission of sins,' εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν (Mk 1^{4}, Lk 3^{3}). Christian baptism is not only this (Ac 2^{38}, Lk 24^{47}, where εἰς and not καὶ is the better reading), but it *confers remission of sins.* Ananias says to Saul: 'Arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins' (Ac 22^{16}; comp. 10^{43} 13^{38}, He 10^{22}). St. Paul, after glancing at the sinful past of the Corinthians in the days of their heathenism, continues: 'But ye were washed, but ye were sanctified,' etc. (1 Co 6^{11}). And the same is said of all Christians; for 'Christ loved the Church, and gave himself up for it; that he might sanctify it, having cleansed it by the washing of water with the word' (Eph $5^{25.26}$).

(4) That baptism involved *admission to the Church* hardly needs to be more than stated. It was an instrument for this very purpose, analogous to circumcision. The recipient of baptism, like the recipient of circumcision, is admitted to a new external covenant and new spiritual privileges, and is thereby pledged to new duties. To say that a person is baptized, is to say that he has been admitted to the Christian communion. 'They then that received his word were baptized: and there were added unto them in that day about three thousand souls' (Ac 2^{41}; comp. 1 Co 12^{13}).

(5) As the Church is the body of Christ (Col 1^{18}), to be admitted to the Church is to be *united with Christ*, and to become one of His members (1 Co 12^{27}). 'For as many of you as were baptized into Christ did put on Christ' (Gal 3^{27}); and Christians' 'bodies are members of Christ' (1 Co 6^{15}; comp. Eph $4^{15.16}$). This is not only true in general, but in a special way baptism makes us partakers in the death, burial, and resurrection of Christ. 'We

---

* In the Eastern Churches trine immersion is regarded as the only valid form of baptism; and the Catechism explains that 'this trine immersion is a figure of the three days' burial of our Saviour, and of His resurrection' (Moschake, p. 42).

who were baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death. We were buried therefore with him through baptism into death: that like as Christ was raised from the dead . . . so we also might walk in newness of life' (Ro $6^{3.4}$; comp. Col $2^{12.20}$ 3^{1}). This great change is always spoken of as past, not as continuing (Ro $6^{8.18.22}$ $8^{2.15}$ etc.). The reference is to some definite occasion when it took place.

(6) That Christian baptism confers *the gift of the Spirit*, whereas John's baptism did not, was one of the most marked points of difference between them (Mt 3^{11}, Mk 1^{8}, Lk 3^{16}, Jn 1^{26}, Ac 19^{2-6}). 'In one Spirit were we all baptized into one body . . . and were all made to drink of one Spirit' (1 Co 12^{13}). And hence not only is the whole Church 'a habitation of God in the Spirit' (Eph 2^{22}; comp. 2 Co 6^{16}, 1 P 2^{5}), but each individual Christian is a temple of the Holy Ghost (1 Co 6^{19} 3^{16}). And 'the Spirit himself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are children of God: and if children, then heirs; heirs of God, and joint heirs with Christ' (Ro $8^{16.17}$).

(7) This involves one more result. Those who are 'joint heirs with Christ' have a pledge that they will one day enter into that inheritance which He now enjoys. It has various names. It is *salvation.* 'He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved' ([Mk] 16^{16}). Those who were added to the Church were 'those that were being saved' (Ac 2^{47}; comp. 16^{30}, 1 P $1^{3.4}$ 3^{21}). It is *the kingdom of God.* 'Except a man be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God' (Jn 3^{5}). It is *eternal life.* After speaking to Nicodemus of the necessity of being born anew of the Spirit, Christ says that God has sent Him into the world, 'that whosoever believeth on him should not perish, but have eternal life' (3^{15-17}). By baptism we are grafted into Him who is the life (14^{6}), and he that hath the Son hath the life (1 Jn 5^{12}). Those Jews who refused to be admitted into the Church 'judged themselves unworthy of eternal life' (Ac 13^{46}). In writing to Titus, St. Paul sums up several of these aspects of baptism (3^{5-7}).

These are the chief effects when valid baptism has been administered to those who are duly qualified by repentance and faith to receive it. But what is the result when these two sets of conditions are separated? There is the case of those who are qualified, but are not baptized. And there is the case of those who are baptized, but are not qualified. Simon Magus is an example of the latter. In Scripture there is no certain instance of the former, nor any express statement respecting such. But the solution afterwards reached throws light on scriptural language, and may be briefly mentioned here.

It was universally held that a catechumen who was martyred before baptism was a member of Christ. His 'baptism of blood' supplied the deficiency. But a catechumen who was willing to suffer for the faith, and yet died without martyrdom or baptism, seemed to be equally a member of Christ; as Ambrose contends (*De obitu Valent. Consol.* 52; Migne, xvi. 1375). This led to a general concession that the faithful unbaptized may possess the substance of regeneration before baptism; and this involved a modification of the doctrine as to the actual effect of baptism upon the faithful recipient. As early as Tertullian we find the admission: *Lavacrum illud est obsignatio fidei; quæ fides a pœnitentiæ fide incipitur et commendatur. Non ideo abluimur ut delinquere desinamus, quoniam jam corde loti sumus* (*De Pœn.* vi.). Baptism is a seal (*σφραγὶς, signaculum*). The metaphor was used of circumcision (Ro 4^{11}), and was very early transferred to baptism (?2 Co 1^{22}, ? Rev 9^{4}): see reff. in Suicer, *s.v.*, and in Lightfoot, *Clem. Rom.* ii. 226. A seal makes a document formally complete; but the document may be binding without it. And if before baptism *jam corde loti sumus*, what is this but regeneration? Nevertheless, to regard baptism as a mere form which may be neglected with impunity would be arrogant disobedience, like the first attitude of Naaman towards Elisha; and such disobedience would be evidence that the inward justification had not taken place. An unbaptized believer is like a testator who has made a will but has not signed it. He may die without signing it. If it is clear that he had full intention of signing, and was merely waiting for suitable witnesses, the will may be accepted as a valid expression of his wishes. But if he has postponed the signature indefinitely, the presumption is that he was not decided as to his intentions. It is the contempt of baptism when it may be had, not the lack of it when it may not, that is perilous.

The case of Simon Magus is very different. He was baptized without repentance and faith. Was that a mere empty form? By no means. He was admitted to the Christian body, and received the baptismal *character.* The technical name for such a person was *Fictus, i.e.* one who received baptism unworthily. And it was held from the first that God always does His part in the baptismal contract, whether the baptized can avail himself of it or no. The grace which the *Fictus*, through unworthiness, could not receive at the time of baptism, was always ready for him when repentance and faith made him worthy. He had ceased to be a heathen, and had received a Christian title, which could be made good by change of heart. This doctrine follows of necessity from the doctrine that baptism is generally necessary, and yet may not be repeated. Otherwise, the case of the unworthy recipient would be hopeless. His first baptism would be without effect; and he may not have a second. But it is because his baptism has done all that is required, if only he makes himself capable of profiting by it, that he may not have it repeated. Simon is exhorted to repent, not with a view to a second baptism, but to the forgiveness which would have been his had his baptism been worthily received, and which may still be won (Ac 8^{22}). When whole tribes were baptized at once, baptism without the necessary repentance and faith must have been common. But this defect was not irreparable; and meanwhile the baptized had a title to spiritual blessings which could be appropriated by change of heart.

Mutatis mutandis the same principle may hold respecting the baptism of infants. At baptism the infant receives remission of the guilt of original sin, admission to the Christian community, and a title to heavenly gifts to be appropriated afterwards. Scriptural doctrine refers to the baptism of adults who are qualified by repentance and faith. The application of that doctrine to infants is an uncertain inference; and we must be cautious in drawing it. Caution is also required in estimating the statements of Christian writers of the first three centuries respecting baptismal regeneration. We must consider two points especially. (1) Is the writer speaking of the baptism of adults or of that of infants? With us, if nothing is said to the contrary, baptism commonly means infant baptism. Early Christian writers would almost always have the baptism of adults in their minds. (2) In what sense does he use the word 'regeneration'? Sometimes it is a mere synonym for the fact of baptism. In Scripture every Christian is hypothetically a saint: and so every baptized person is hypothetically regenerate. It is assumed that the baptism has been in all respects complete. In this sense, to call an infant 'regenerate' may mean no more than that it has been baptized, and may be no evidence of the writer's convictions as to the immediate effect of baptism on infants.

LITERATURE.—For the abundant literature on baptism, see Smith, *DB*^{2} i. 354, and *Dict. of Chr. Ant.* i. 172; Schaff-Herzog, *Encycl.*^{3} i. 198, 209; Herzog, *RE*^{2} xv. 251. The following may be selected. For the subject in general, the articles on baptism in Smith, *DB* and *Dict. of Chr. Ant.* For patristic comments on Scripture, Suicer, *s.v.*, and Pusey, *Scriptural Views of Baptism*, being *Tracts for the Times*, 67, 68, 69; for Cyprian in particular, the index in Hartel, ii. 375–377; and for Augustine, the index in Migne, xlvi. 102–111. For the philosophical argument, Mozley, *Review of the Baptismal Controversy*. For the archæology, Martene, *De Ant. Eccles. Ritibus*; Goar, *Euchologion Græcorum*; Augusti, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus. d. Christ. Archäologie*, vii.; Kraus, *Real-Encykl. d. Christ. Alterth.* ii.; Hölling, *Das Sacrament d. Taufe*. Bingham is somewhat disappointing, but later editions supply certain defects. For picturesque description, Stanley, *Christian Institutions*.

A. PLUMMER.

BAPTISM FOR THE DEAD.—The expression *οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν*, 'those who are baptized for the dead,' has from early times been a perplexity to expositors, and with our present knowledge it is impossible to do more than determine the direction in which a correct solution may be found. It is possible to show what kind of interpretation the language of 1 Co 15[29] requires; and, when this is done, other kinds of interpretation are excluded as impossible.

The interpretations are very numerous. Horsley (see below) has collected thirty-six, and it would perhaps be possible to add to the number. It is well that such collections should be made for reference, but it is not necessary to multiply them. The thirty-six are classified under three heads: four explain the text by a reference to legal purifications; three of metaphorical baptism, *e.g.* being baptized in calamity; twenty-nine of sacramental baptism. A more simple and useful classification is that into those which explain *οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν* as referring to *ordinary Christian baptism*, and those which make it refer to *something abnormal*.

1. The ablest exposition of the first kind of explanation in its best form is probably that of T. S. Evans in the *Speaker's Commentary* (iii. pp. 372, 373). He contends that the view of the Greek expositors is unquestionably right, and that *ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν* means, '*with an interest in the resurrection* of the dead,' *i.e.* 'in expectation of the resurrection.' The objections to this kind of interpretation are three. (1) *οἱ βαπτ. ὑπὲρ τ. ν.* seem to be a special class, and not all Christians in general. (2) There is no instance in NT, if anywhere at all, of this use of *ὑπέρ*. (3) The ellipse of *τῆς ἀναστάσεως* is very violent. If St. Paul had wanted to abbreviate *τῆς ἀναστάσεως τῶν νεκρῶν*, he would have omitted *τῶν νεκρῶν*, which is superfluous, rather than *τῆς ἀναστάσεως*, which is vital.

2. The reference is clearly to something abnormal. There was some baptismal rite known to the Corinthians which would be meaningless without a belief in the resurrection. The passage does not imply that St. Paul approves of this abnormal rite, but simply that it exists and implies the doctrine of the resurrection. And here all certainty ends. We cannot determine what this rite was. The practice of *vicarious baptism*, *i.e.* of baptizing living proxies in place of those who had died unbaptized, unquestionably existed in some quarters in Tertullian's time (*De Resur.* 48; *Adv. Marcion*, v. 10), but probably only among heretics. And the practice may easily have grown out of an ignorant 'wresting' of this 'hard to be understood' (2 P 3[16]) saying of St. Paul. We have no knowledge that this vicarious baptism was practised by any religious body in St. Paul's day.

LITERATURE.—For collections of interpretations and for the literature of the subject, see an article on Necrobaptism, by Rev. J. W. Horsley, in the *Newbery House Magazine* for June 1889; the notes in Meyer, Alford, Stanley, and Wordsworth; Suicer, *Thesaurus*, 640.

A. PLUMMER.

BAPTIST.—See JOHN THE BAPTIST.

BAR.—The Aram. word for 'son'; in Aram. parts of Ezr and Dn constantly; four times in Heb. (Pr 31[2] *ter*, Ps 2[12] [if text correct]). It is used, especially in NT times, as the first component part of several names of persons, as Barabbas, Bar-jesus, Bar-jonah, Barnabas, Barsabbas, Bartholomew, Bartimæus,—which see in their places.

J. H. THAYER.

BARABBAS.—The Greek form of the name Βαραββᾶς represents the Aramaic Bar-abba = 'son of the teacher' or 'of the master.' The name is not rare in the Talm. (Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.* on Mt 27[16]), and one instance indicates that Abba may sometimes have been a proper name. Renan (*Vie de Jésus*, p. 406) prefers Bar-rabban (the form preserved in the Harclean Syr.), which would mean 'son of a Rabbi.' So also Ewald. All four evangelists mention Barabbas as the criminal whom the hierarchy urged the multitude to demand in preference to Jesus Christ, whom Pilate offered to release in honour of the Passover. We are told that Barabbas was 'a notable prisoner' (Mt 27[16]), 'who for a certain insurrection made in the city, and for murder' (Lk 23[19]), 'was lying bound with them that had made insurrection' (Mk 15[7]), and that he was a 'robber' or brigand (Jn 18[40]). He may have been connected with the two 'robbers' who were crucified with Jesus; but we cannot be sure that the *στασιασταί* of Mk 15[7] include the two robbers. The *στάσις*, or 'insurrection,' in which Barabbas took part was perhaps a looting of houses rather than a popular uprising.

The name 'Jesus' before that of Barabbas in Mt 27[16. 17] is an interesting reading found in a few cursives, in the Armenian Version, and in some copies of the Jerusalem Syriac. With this insertion Pilate's question runs thus: 'Whom will ye that I release unto you? Jesus Barabbas, or Jesus which is called Christ?' This reading was known to Origen; and he does not condemn it, although he thinks that the many MSS which omit the 'Jesus' are probably right. Ewald (*Life of Christ*, p. 241), Renan (*Vie de Jésus*, p. 406), Trench (*Studies in the Gospels*, p. 296), and others defend the reading; and Meyer conjectures that the common name suggested the substitution of one Jesus for another. But the reading is rejected by all the best critics. It would be amazing that the true reading should be lost from all uncials, nearly all cursives, and all the more ancient versions. The words of Jerome, *ad loc.*, do not necessarily imply that 'Jesus Barabbas' was the reading in the Gospel according to the Hebrews. He says: *Iste in evangelio quod scribitur juxta Hebræos* filius magistri eorum *interpretatur*; which may mean that this document contained the words, 'Barabbas, which being interpreted is, *Son of their Master*.' But if the Gospel according to the Hebrews had 'Jesus, Son of their Master' for 'Jesus Barabbas,' then this may be the source from which the name 'Jesus' got into some copies of St. Matthew. If the name was not in the Gospel according to the Hebrews, then we may adopt Tregelles' conjecture, that the interpolation arose first in v.[17] through accidental repetition of the last two letters of *ἡμῖν*, the second IN being afterwards interpreted as an abbreviation of Ἰησοῦν. The copies known to Origen seem to have had the Ἰησοῦν in v.[17] only. That Barabbas had this name, and that the evangelists missed the startling coincidence, is not probable.

A. PLUMMER.

BARACHEL (בָּרַכְאֵל ‘he whom God blesses’).—Only in Job $32^{2.6}$. The father of Elihu, described as ‘the Buzite,’ probably a descendant of Buz, second son of Milcah and Nahor, Gn 22^{21}. See BUZ.
W. T. DAVISON.

BARAK (בָּרָק, Βαράκ, ‘lightning-flash.’ The name is found in Punic, *Barcas*, surname of Hamilcar; Sabæan, ברקם; Palmyrene, ברק; de Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale*, lxxvi. 2; Ledrain, *Dict. des Noms Propres Palmyr.* 1887, *s.v.*), son of Abinoam; his history is recorded in Jg 4 and 5. He was summoned by Deborah to be her ally in the struggle against the Canaanites. He dwelt in Kedesh-naphtali (Jg 4^{6}), and was probably a member of the tribe of Issachar (5^{15}). Hence he belonged to the district which had suffered most at the hands of the Canaanites: perhaps he had been actually their prisoner.[*] He receives from Deborah the plan of the campaign; he is to move his troops, 10,000 men of Naphtali and Zebulun, in the direction of Mt. Tabor, while she undertakes to attract Sisera's army towards the same place, and promises to deliver Sisera himself into his hands ($4^{6.7}$). The writer does not regard B.'s urgent request that Deborah should go with him as worthy of blame; nor is it necessary to interpret the prophetess' announcement that the honour of the expedition will not be his but a woman's, as a punishment for his hesitation (see Moore, *Judges*, p. 117). B. collects his forces at Kedesh, moves to Tabor, and opens the engagement by a rush down the mountain ($4^{10.12.14}$, cf. 5^{15}); the battle is fought out at the foot. In ch. 5, on the other hand, the battle takes place along the right bank of the Kishon (vv.$^{19-21}$). The Canaanites routed, B. pursues them to Harosheth, and then follows Sisera on foot, and comes up to the tent of Jael to find him lying dead, with a tent-peg through his temples. According to 5^{1}, B. joined Deborah in singing the Ode of Triumph in ch. 5.

In 1 S 12^{11} the LXX, Pesh., and many moderns read Barak for Bedan. B. thus becomes a representative leader along with Jerubbaal, Jephthah, and Samson (?). This agrees with the impression as to B.'s position which we gain from Jg 5.
G. A. COOKE.

BARBARIAN.—St. Paul (1 Co 14^{11}), wishing to emphasize the fact that the *tongues* with which those possessed of the Holy Ghost spoke were not any intelligible forms of speech, and that hence they required an interpreter also inspired, says, ‘If then I know not the meaning of the voice, I shall be to him that speaketh a *barbarian*, and he that speaketh will be a *barbarian* unto me.’ Here he uses the word in its proper sense as one who spoke unintelligibly. So Homer, in whom the word first occurs, speaks of the Κᾶρες βαρβαρόφωνοι (*Il.* ii. 867), the Carians who spoke in a strange tongue. Since the word *Barbarh* means in the earliest Arm. the *language* of a race or people, Homer may have meant the Carians who spoke a *barbarh*, that having been the Carian word for their national language. However this be, the word Barbarian means all through Gr. literature a man who did not speak Greek, especially the Medes, Persians, and Orientals generally. The Romans or Latins were called Barbarians by the Greeks even to the latest days of the Byzantine Empire, and at first even called their own tongue Barbarian: though from the Augustan age onward they excepted their own tongue. In the same way Philo, a Hellenized Jew, calls his native Heb. a *barbarian* tongue, and states (*Vita Mosis*, § 5, vol. ii. p. 138) that the Law was translated from Chaldaic into Greek because it was too valuable a treasure to be enjoyed by only the *Barbaric* half of the human race.

In Col 3^{11} St. Paul speaks of ‘Greek and Jew, . . . *barbarian*, Scythian.’ Yet the Scythians were typical barbarians. But the context proves that St. Paul is not here aiming at a scientific division of the human race. Elsewhere (*e.g.* Ro 1^{14}) he adopts the current phraseology: ‘I am debtor both to Greeks and to *Barbarians*,’ where the later phrase (v.^{16}), ‘to the Jew first, and also to the Greek,’ proves that, like Philo, St. Paul conventionally called his own countrymen *barbarians*. The *barbarous* people in Malta (Ac 28^{2}) were probably old Phœnician settlers, and the epithet only means that they were not a Greek-speaking population.
F. C. CONYBEARE.

BARBER (גַּלָּב, Ezk 5^{1} only).—Shaving the head is a very common custom in Eastern countries. In India, many of the religious sects are distinguished by the manner in which the head is shaved. Some leave a tuft of hair on the crown of the head, others a tuft above each ear. In Syria, old men frequently have the whole head shaved and allow the beard to grow. Young men shave the cheeks and the chin, and cut the hair of the head short. The upper lip is never shaved except in S. India, where it is done as a sign of mourning. Absence of the moustache is looked upon, in Syria, as a sign of the want of virility. The barber plies his trade in any convenient place—by the roadside, or in the courtyard of a khan. The ground serves as a seat both for the operator and the person operated on; a tin or copper basin holds the water required; and the hands of the patient, passed over the head or the chin, tell him whether the work has been done satisfactorily or not. The barber also eradicates superfluous hairs from the nose, ears, and other parts of the body; removes accumulations of wax from the ears; and performs the operations of tooth-extraction and blood-letting.
W. CARSLAW.

BARCHUS (B Βαχούς, A Βαρχοῦε, AV **Charchus**, 1 Es 5^{32})=BARKOS, Ezr 2^{53}, Neh 7^{55}. The AV form is taken from the Aldine ed. (Χαρκούς).

BARIAH (בָּרִיחַ ‘fleeing’).—A son of Shemaiah (1 Ch 3^{22}). See GENEALOGY.

BARJESUS (Βαριησοῦς), a man described in Ac 13^{6} as ‘magian, prophet of lies, Jew,’ whom Paul and Barnabas, travelling in Cyprus, found in the train of the proconsul Sergius Paulus, as one of the *amici* or *comites* who always accompanied a Rom. governor. In Jos. *Ant.* XX. vii. 2 we find a similar case: Simon, ‘a Jew, by birth a Cypriot, and pretending to be a magian’ (observe the striking, though not exact, similarity of the triplet), was one of the ‘friends’ of Felix, the procurator of Judæa, and was used by him to seduce Drusilla from her husband Azizus, king of Emesa. Such men, probably Bab. Jews, ‘skilled in the lore and uncanny arts and strange powers of the Median priests’ (cf. Mt $2^{7.16}$),—not simply sorcerers and fortune-tellers, but ‘men of science,’ as they would now be called (being then beyond their age in acquaintance with the powers and processes of nature), and not mere isolated self-constituted pretenders, but representatives of an Oriental system and religion,—appear to have been numerous at that period, and to have exerted considerable influence on the Rom. world. It was with a system, therefore, rather than with a man, that the representatives of the system (‘the way’) of Christ, also struggling for influence in the Rom. empire, came here into conflict. The proconsul, ‘a man of practical ability’ (συνετός), interested, we may suppose, in nature and philosophy, but, as συνετός, not to be thought of as under ascendency, enjoyed the society of this man. But, hearing that there were just now two travelling teachers in Cyprus, and taking them to be of the class that went about giving demonstrations in rhetoric and moral philosophy, and sometimes ended by settling down as professors in the great universities, he invited, or 'commanded,' their presence at his court. The exposition of Christianity then given by Paul and Barnabas clearly produced upon Sergius Paulus a considerable impression; for Barjesus found it necessary to oppose them openly, and divert the proconsul from the faith by 'perverting the ways of the Lord,' lest he should be supplanted in his position, his power and his gains; because (according to the apt and interesting expansion of the Codex Bezæ) the proconsul 'was listening with much pleasure to them.' Then 'Saul, who was also Paul,'—*i.e.* standing forth (for the first time in the narrative), suitably to the occasion, as a Rom. citizen named Paul,—faced the wonder-worker in a manner, so to say, after his own kind, yet surpassing it, and wrought a wonder upon the worker himself, proving to the proconsul, already deeply impressed, that behind Paul stood a divine power.

---

[*] Many translate 5^{12} ‘lead captive thy captors,’ pointing שֹׁבֶיךָ for שֶׁבְיְךָ.

In ver. 8 the phrase 'Elymas, the magian, for so is his name translated,' is somewhat perplexing. It certainly looks, at the outset, as though *Elymas* (now first introduced as a second appellation of Barjesus) ought to be a tr. of that name; but this cannot be. *Elymas*—which is the Gr. form either of an Aram. word *alīmā=strong*, or, as is more probable, of an Arab. word *'alīm, wise* (cf. the Arab. plural *ulema, the order of the learned*, and the 'wise men' and 'wise women' of our folklore)—is here more reasonably (though this solution of the difficulty is not quite satisfactory) tr. by μάγος. Codex D (Bezæ), with its Latin *d*, alone differs from other uncials, and reads Ἑτοιμᾶς, *son of the ready*, a reading strangely accepted by Klostermann, Blass, and Ramsay (to whose *St. Paul the Traveller* this article is under special obligation; see pp. 73 ff.). But neither will this do as a synonym for *Barjesus*, or for the Syr. *Barshemâ, son of the Name* (*i.e.* Jesus). The origin of the variant Ἑτοιμᾶς is a mystery; perhaps it was itacism, οι =υ. But the versional and patristic variants for Barjesus, such as Bariesouan (or -am), Bariesubam, and Barieu (*maleficus*, Jerome), appear to be due to a desire of copyists to avoid associating the name of Jesus with one whom St. Paul calls *son of the devil.* J. MASSIE.

BARJONAH.—See BAR and PETER.

BARKOS (בַּרְקוֹס, cf. Bab. Barkûsu).—Ancestor of certain Nethinim who returned with Zerub. (Ezr 2^{53}, Neh 7^{55}=Barchus, 1 Es 5^{32}). See GENEALOGY.

BARLEY (שְׂעֹרָה *se'ôrâh*, κριθή, *hordeum*).—Barley (Arab. *sha'îr*) is a well-known grain, of which several varieties are cultivated, *Hordeum distichum, H. tetrastichum*, and *H. hexastichum*, the wild originals of which are not known. One of the wild species of the genus *Hordeum* in Pal., however, approaches the cultivated species near enough to make it possible that it may be the stock, or a partial reversion of cultivated barley to type. It is *H. ithaburense*, Boiss (*H. spontaneum*, Koch), which grows abundantly in Galilee, in the region of Merj 'Ayûn, and in places in the Syrian desert between Palmyra and Hamath. It differs from *H. distichum* by the smaller size of its spikes and grains, and the great length of its awns, which are sometimes a foot long.

Barley is cultivated everywhere in Palestine, principally as provender for horses (1 K 4^{28}) and asses. It takes the place of oats in Europe and America, as the cut straw of barley and wheat takes the place of hay. It is also used among the poor for bread, as in ancient times (Jg 7^{13}, 2 K 4^{42}, Jn $6^{9.13}$, and cakes Ezk 4^{12}). It was mixed with other cheap grains for the same purpose (Ezk 4^{9}). When any one wishes to express the extremity of his poverty, he will say, 'I have not barley bread to eat.' This fact illustrates several allusions to barley in Scripture. Barley meal was the jealousy offering (Nu 5^{15}); it is mentioned by Ezekiel as the fee paid to false prophetesses by people who consulted them (Ezk 13^{19}); it was the symbol of the poverty of Gideon's family, and his own low estate in that family; by a 'barley cake' Midian's great host was to be overthrown (Jg 7^{13}).

The barley harvest begins in April in the depth of the Jordan Valley, and continues to be later as we ascend to the higher mountains, till, at an altitude of 6500 ft., it takes place in July and August. It was probably the time of the barley harvest when the Israelites crossed the Jordan (Jos 3^{15}). It is earlier than the wheat harvest (Ex $9^{31.32}$). The barley harvest was a recognised date (Ru 1^{22}, 2 S $21^{9.10}$), varying, of course, with the altitude. Barley is sown in Oct. and Nov. That which is sown in the districts below the frost level continues to grow through the rainy season till the harvest. That which is sown on the high mountain levels springs up, the top dies under the snow, and then the biennial stalk springs up when the snow melts, and grows with great rapidity and vigour. Barley is not sown in the spring in Pal. and Syria.

G. E. POST.

BARLEY HARVEST.—See TIME.

BARN.—See AGRICULTURE.

BARNABAS (Βαρνάβας, בַּר־נְבוּאָה 'the son of exhortation').—A name given by the disciples to Joseph, a Levite of Cyprus (Ac 4^{36}). He is clearly to be distinguished from 'Joseph called Barsabbas' (Ac 1^{23}), though there is ancient authority for identifying him with one of the seventy disciples of our Lord (Euseb. *HE* i. 12; Clem. Alex. *Misc.* ii. 20). When we first hear of B., it is as selling a field,—for the old Mosaic enactments forbidding Levites to possess land (Nu $18^{20.23}$, Dt 10^{9}) had long since fallen into abeyance (see Jer 32^{7}),—and laying the price at the apostles' feet (Ac $4^{36.37}$). The general esteem in which he was held is proved by the influence which he exerted in commending the young convert Saul to the apostles at Jerus. (Ac 9^{27}). The way in which the two are introduced inclines one to the belief that B. and Saul must have met before—a belief which is rendered the more probable by the near proximity of Cyprus to Tarsus, and the natural wish of B. as a Hellenist to visit the university there. In any case, B. seems from the first to have formed a high idea of Saul's ability and energy; for when despatched to Antioch on a delicate mission, he had no sooner discovered the growing capabilities of the work there than he 'went forth to Tarsus to seek for Saul'; and when he had brought him to Antioch, 'for a whole year they were gathered together with the Church, and taught much people' (Ac $11^{25.26}$, A.D. 42). 'Thus, twice over, did B. save Saul for the work of Christianity' (Farrar). A practical proof of the success of their joint labours was afforded by the relief which the Church at Antioch despatched by their hands to the elders at Jerus. on the prophetic intimation of a coming famine (Ac 11^{27-30}). On their return to Antioch the two friends were, at the bidding of the Holy Ghost, solemnly separated and ordained for the work of the Church (Ac $13^{2.3}$); and from this time, though not of the number of the twelve, they enjoyed the title of apostle

(Ac $14^{4.14}$. On the significance of the title, see Lightfoot, *Gal.* 92 ff. and art. APOSTLE). Accordingly, B. accompanied Saul (or, as he was now to be known, Paul) on his first missionary journey, visiting first of all his native Cyprus (A.D. 45). Later at Lystra, perhaps from his tall and venerable appearance, he was identified with Jupiter, while Paul, as the chief speaker, passed for Mercury (Ac 14^{12}). The journey ended, as it had begun, at Antioch, and from this city B. once more accompanied Paul and certain other brethren to Jerus. to consult with the apostles and elders regarding the necessity of circumcision for Gentile converts (Ac $15^{1ff.}$). It is remarkable that in this narrative B. is mentioned before Paul (v.^{12}), contrary to the usual order of the names since Ac 13^{43} (cf. however Ac 14^{14}). He may perhaps have spoken first as the better-known of the two, and also as the one to whom the judaizing section of the assembly would take less exception. After the conference the two apostles returned to their old task of teaching and preaching in Antioch (Ac 15^{35}), and in A.D. 49 planned a second missionary journey to revisit the scenes of their former labours (Ac 15^{36}). But they were unable to agree upon taking with them John Mark, who had formerly deserted them, and the contention was so sharp 'that they parted asunder one from the other.' B. took Mark, who was his cousin, and sailed to Cyprus; while Paul chose Silas, and journeyed through Syria and Cilicia. From the fact of Paul's being specially 'commended by the brethren to the grace of God,' it would seem as if the general feeling of the Church were on his side rather than on the side of Barnabas. B. is not again mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles; but from the respect and sympathy with which St. Paul subsequently refers to him in his Epp. (1 Co 9^{6}, Gal 2^{13} 'even Barnabas,' Col 4^{10}), we are entitled to infer that though they did not again actually work together, the old friendship was not forgotten. There is no hist. ground for identifying B., as some are inclined to do, with 'the brother' whom St. Paul sent on a mission to the Corinthians (2 Co 8^{18}); but from 1 Co 9^{6} we learn that B., like Paul, earned his livelihood by the work of his hands, while Col 4^{10} has been taken as proving that by this time (about A.D. 63) B. must have been dead, else Mark would not have rejoined Paul (cf. 2 Ti 4^{11}, 1 P 5^{13}). For an account of B.'s further labours and death we are dependent upon untrustworthy tradition.

It is interesting, however, to notice that the authorship of the Ep. to the Hebrews is attributed to B. by Tertullian (see HEBREWS, EPISTLE TO), while there is still extant an Epistle of B. which, acc. to external evidence, is the work of this B., but on internal grounds this conclusion is now generally disputed. (See the arguments briefly stated in Hefele, *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera*, p. ix ff., and more fully in the same writer's *Das Sendschreiben des Apostels Barnabas aufs neue untersucht, übersetzt, und erklärt*, Tüb. 1840. Cf. also Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*.)

G. MILLIGAN.

BARODIS (Βαρωδείς), 1 Es 5^{34}.—There is no corresponding name in the lists of Ezra and Nehemiah.

BARRENNESS.—As parental authority was the germ and mould of patriarchal social life, it followed that to be without offspring was to exist in name only. To have had children and to have lost them was the strongest possible claim upon sympathy. With Jacob it was the crown of sorrow (Gn 42^{36} 43^{14}). It was this desolation in its most distressing form which the Lord Jesus met in the funeral procession at Nain (Lk 7^{12}).

But to be a wife without motherhood has always been regarded in the East not merely as a matter of regret, but as a reproach, a humiliation that might easily lead to divorce. It is a constant source of embarrassment, as the welfare of the children is a never-omitted subject of inquiry in Oriental salutation. Courtesy sometimes gives the dignity of fatherhood, the name Abu-Abdullah (father-of-Abdullah) to a man advancing in years without children to bear his name. Sarah's sad laughter of despair (Gn 18^{12}), Hannah's silent pleading (1 S $1^{10ff.}$), Rachel's passionate alternative of children or death (Gn 30^{1}),—all this and such-like wretchedness of spirit may be found familiarly repeated in the homes of modern Syria (see CHILDREN). The fruitfulness or sterility of land are, much in the same way, regarded as bringing satisfaction or disappointment to man, and as implying the blessing or curse of God (Dt 7^{13}, Ps $107^{34ff.}$).

G. M. MACKIE.

BARSABBAS.—See JOSEPH BARSABBAS and JUDAS BARSABBAS.

BARTACUS (Βάρτακος, Jos. Ῥαβεζάκης, Vulg. *Bezaces*, O.L. *Bæzaces*, *Bezzachus*).—The father of Apame, the concubine of Darius (1 Es 4^{29}). The epithet attaching to him, 'the illustrious' (ὁ θαυμαστός), was probably an official title. The name Bartacus (which appears as ארטבק in the Syriac) recalls that of Artachæas (Ἀρταχαίης), mentioned by Herod. (vii. 22. 117) as a person of high position in the Persian army of Xerxes.

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

BARTHOLOMEW (Βαρθολομαῖος).—One of the apostles, according to the lists of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and Acts (1^{13}). Both by the early Church and in modern times Bartholomew has been generally identified with Nathanael of the Fourth Gospel, although important authorities can be cited in opposition to this view. The strongest arguments in favour of the identification are—(1) that Bartholomew is never mentioned by St. John, nor Nathanael by the Synoptists; (2) that in the lists of the Synoptists, Bartholomew is coupled with Philip, which tallies with St. John's statement that it was Philip that brought Nathanael to Jesus. It is easy to understand how St. John, with his fondness for symbolism, should have preferred the name Nathanael (=God has given it) to the mere patronymic Bartholomew (=son of Talmai). Supposing the identity established, we know nothing of Nathanael Bar-Talmai further than is recorded in Jn 1^{45-51} 21^{2} (see NATHANAEL). The traditions as to his preaching the gospel in India and his martyrdom are entitled to no credit.

J. A. SELBIE.

BARTIMÆUS (Βαρτίμαιος, *i.e.* the son of Timæus, a name variously derived from the Gr. *τιμαῖος*, honourable; or from the Arab. *aṣamm*, blind; or from Aram. *ṭamya*, unclean, polluted).—One of two blind beggars healed by our Lord at the gate of Jericho, and whose name alone is given, apparently from his having been the spokesman (Mk 10^{46-52}, cf. Mt 20^{29-34}, Lk 18^{35-43}). St. Luke speaks of the healing as taking place as Jesus came nigh unto Jericho, while St. Matt. and St. Mark say that it was as He went out. Various explanations have been offered, as that one blind man was healed at the entrance to old Jericho, and the other, B., as Jesus left the new town which had sprung up at some little distance from it. Perhaps what actually happened was that B., begging at the gate of Jericho, was told that Jesus with His company had entered the city, and having heard of His power, sought out a blind companion, along with whom he intercepted Jesus as He left the city the next day, and then was healed (so substantially Bengel, Stier, Trench, Ellicott, Wordsworth, M'Clellan). If this be so, we have fresh evidence of the persistence of purpose which throughout the incident B. displayed; while the strong faith which led him to address Jesus by His Messianic title, 'Thou Son of David,' ought not to pass unnoticed.

G. MILLIGAN.

BARUCH (בָּרוּךְ 'blessed'), son of Neriah, was of a very illustrious family (Jos. *Ant.* X. ix. 1), his brother Seraiah being chief chamberlain (שַׂר מְנוּחָה) to Zedekiah (Jer 51^{59}). His chief honour, however, lay in his being the devoted friend and secretary of the prophet Jeremiah. Every great soul has, in degree, its Gethsemane: and this event came to Baruch (Jer 45) while writing (LXX ἔγραφεν) at Jeremiah's dictation a number of minatory prophecies against Jerusalem, which he was charged to read on a fast day in the courts of the temple (Jer 36^{1-6}). The stern words, 'Seekest thou great things for thyself? Seek them not,' braced the young nobleman to 'drink the cup'—to face the wrathful multitude, and to read the prophecies of desolation and woe, which king Jehoiakim afterwards burned (Jer 36^{9-26}). We next find Baruch (Jer 32) as witness to the purchase by Jeremiah of a field in Anathoth, at a time when the prophet was in prison and the Chaldæans had been for months besieging Jerusalem. When the city fell during the following year, B.C. 586, Baruch resided with the prophet at Masphatha (Jos. *Ant.* X. ix. 1). But after the murder of Gedaliah by Ishmael, the people, afraid of the wrath of the Chaldæans, and imputing the advice of Jeremiah to remain in Judæa (Jer 42) to the undue influence of Baruch over him (Jer 43^{3}), compelled both of them to go with them to Egypt (Jer 43^{4-7}). How long he resided in Egypt is uncertain. Jerome gives as the Heb. tradition that he and Jeremiah died there almost at once (*Comment. in Is.* xxx. 6, 7). Josephus implies that they were both taken to Babylon by Nebuchadrezzar after he had conquered Egypt, B.C. 583 (*Ant.* X. ix. 7). Another tradition states that he remained in Egypt till the death of Jeremiah, and then went to Babylon, where he died twelve years after the fall of Jerusalem (Hitzig on Nah 3^{8-11}). With strange disregard of chronology, Midrash rabba on Ca 5^{5} speaks of Baruch as teacher of Ezra in B.C. 458, and thus as forming the link of connexion between the prophets and the scribes.

J. T. MARSHALL.

BARUCH, APOCALYPSE OF.—The discovery of the long lost Apocalypse of Baruch is due to Ceriani. This book has survived only in the Syr. version, of which Ceriani had the good fortune to discover a 6th cent. MS in the Milan Library. Of this MS he published a Latin tr. in 1866 (*Mon. Sacr.* I. ii. 73–98), which Fritzsche reproduced with some changes in 1871 (*Libri Apocryphi V.T.* pp. 654–699). The Syr. text appeared in 1871 (*Mon. Sacr.* V. ii. 113–180), and a photo-lithographical facsimile of the MS in 1883. A fragment of this book has long been known to the world, viz. chs. lxxviii.–lxxxvii., which constitute Baruch's Epistle to the nine and a half tribes that had been carried away captive. This letter is to be found in the London and Paris Polyglots in Syr. with a Latin rendering; in Syr. alone in Lagarde's *Libri V.T. Apocryphi Syriace*, 1861. The Latin tr. is also found in Fabricius' *Cod. Pseudepig. V.T.*, and the English in Whiston's *Authentic Records*.

i. THE SYRIAC VERSION IS DERIVED FROM THE GREEK.—That this is so is to be inferred on various grounds. First, this statement is actually made on the Syr. MS. In the next place, we find that Gr. words are occasionally transliterated. Finally, some passages admit of explanation only on the hypothesis that the wrong alternative meanings of certain Gr. words were followed by the translator.

ii. THE GREEK VERSION WAS DERIVED FROM THE HEBREW.—For (1) the quotations from OT agree in all cases but one with the Massoretic text against the LXX. (2) Unintelligible expressions in the Syriac can be explained and the text restored by retrans. into Hebrew. (3) Certain anomalies in the Syriac can be accounted for as survivals of Heb. idiom. (4) Many paronomasiæ discover themselves on retrans. into Hebrew. (This and all other questions affecting our Apoc. are fully dealt with in Charles' *Apoc. of Baruch*, 1896.)

iii. ANALYSIS OF THE BOOK.—The author, or rather authors, of this book write in the name of Baruch, the son of Neriah, for literary purposes. The scene is laid in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, and the time embraces the period immediately preceding and subsequent to the capture of the city by the Chaldæans. Baruch speaks throughout in the first person. He begins by declaring that in the twenty-fifth year of Jeconiah, king of Judah, the word of the Lord came unto him. It is noteworthy that the book thus opens with a gross chronological error; for Jeconiah reigned in reality only three months, and had been already eleven years a captive in Babylon before the fall of Jerusalem. If we include in our consideration the letter to the tribes in the Captivity, the book naturally falls into seven sections, divided in all but the last case by fasts, the fasts being of seven days in all instances save the first. This artificial division is due to the final editor of the book. The grounds for regarding the work as composite will be given later.

The first section (1–5) opens with God's condemnation of the wickedness of the kingdom of Judah, and the announcement of the coming destruction of Jerusalem for a time and the captivity of its people. But Jeremiah and those who are like him are bidden to retire, first because 'their works are to the city as a firm pillar, and their prayers as a strong wall' (2). Baruch thereupon asks what will be the future destinies of Israel, mankind, and the world. Will Israel no longer exist, mankind cease to be, and the world return to its primeval silence (3)? God replies that the city and people will be chastised only for a time (4^{1}); that the city of which it was said, 'On the palm of my hands have I written thee,' is not the earthly but the heavenly Jerusalem prepared aforetime in heaven, and already manifested in vision to Adam, Abraham, and Moses (4^{2-7}). Baruch replies that the enemy will destroy Zion or pollute the sanctuary, and boast thereof before their idols. Not so, God rejoins: the enemy will not overthrow Zion nor burn Jerusalem, and thou thyself wilt witness this. Baruch thereupon fasts till the evening (5). In the next section (6–9) the Chaldæans encompass Jerusalem on the following day. It is not they, however, but angels who overthrow the walls, having first hidden the sacred vessels of the temple in the earth till the last times. The Chaldæans then enter and carry the people away captive. Jerusalem is delivered up for a time. Baruch fasts seven days. In the third section (10–12) Jeremiah is bidden to accompany captive Judah to Babylon, and Baruch to remain in Jerusalem to receive disclosures on the things that should be hereafter. Baruch now despairs of all things: 'Blessed is he who was not born, or, being born, has died.' Let nature henceforth withhold her increase, and the joy of the bridegroom and the bride be no more. 'Wherefore should woman bear in pain and bury in grief?' Let the priests, moreover, return to God the temple keys, confessing: 'We have been found false stewards.' 'Oh that there were ears unto thee, O earth, and a heart unto thee, O dust, and go and announce in Sheol, and say to the dead: "Blessed are ye more than are we the living."' Baruch then fasts seven days. In section four (13–21^{1}) Baruch is told that he 'will be preserved till the consummation of the times' to bear testimony. When Baruch complains of the prosperity of the wicked and the sufferings of the righteous, God declares that it is the future world that is made on account of the righteous, and that blessedness standeth, not in length of days, but in their quality and end. Baruch fasts seven days. In the fifth section (21^2–47) Baruch deplores the vanity and vexation of this life: 'If there were this life only . . . nothing could be more bitter'; he supplicates God to bring about the promised consummation, 'that his strength might become known to those who esteem his long-suffering weakness.' In answer thereto God reproves him for his trouble over that which he knows not, and his intrusion into things in which he has no part, and declares that until the preordained number of souls is born, the end, though at hand, cannot yet be: nevertheless, 'My coming redemption . . . is not far distant as aforetime; for, lo! the days come when the books will be opened in which are written the sins of all those who have sinned, and again also the treasuries into which the righteousness of all those who are justified in creation is gathered.' Furthermore, when Baruch asks regarding the nature and duration of the punishment of the wicked, it is revealed that the coming time will be one of tribulation, divided into twelve parts, at the close of which the Messiah will be revealed (29. 30). Thereupon Baruch summons a meeting of the elders into the valley of Kidron, and announces the coming glories of Zion. Soon after follows his vision of the cedar and the vine, by which the destinies of Rome and the triumph of the Messiah are respectively symbolised (36–40). The Messiah will rule till this world of corruption is at an end. When Baruch asks who shall share in the future blessedness, the answer is: 'Those who have believed.' Thereupon Baruch (44–47) summons his eldest son, his friends, and seven of the elders, and acquaints them with his approaching end. He exhorts them to keep the law; to teach the people; for such teaching will give them life, and 'a wise man shall not be wanting to Israel, nor a son of the law to the race of Jacob.' After another fast of seven days, Baruch, in the sixth section (48–76), prays on behalf of Israel. Then follows a revelation of the coming woes, and Baruch's lamentation over Adam's fall and its sad effects (48). Baruch, in answer to his prayer, is instructed as to the nature of the resurrection bodies (52). Then follows an account of the cloud vision (53–74). In this vision Baruch sees a cloud ascending from the sea and covering the whole earth. And it was full of black and clear waters, and a mass of lightning appeared on its summit. And it began to discharge first black and then bright waters, and again black and then bright waters, and so on for twelve times in succession. And finally it rained black waters, darker than all that had been before. And after this the lightning flashed forth, and healed the earth where the last waters had fallen, and twelve streams came up from the sea and became subject to that lightning (53). In the subsequent chapters the interpretation is given. The cloud is the world, and the twelve successive discharges of black and bright waters symbolise twelve evil and good periods in the history of the world. The eleventh period, symbolised by the dark waters, referred to the capture of Jerusalem by the Chaldæans, and the twelfth, bright waters, to the renewed prosperity of Israel and the rebuilding of Jerusalem (54–68). The last black waters pointed to wars, earthquakes, fires, famines; and such as escaped these were to be slain by the Messiah. But these last black waters were to be followed by clear, which symbolised the blessedness of the Messianic kingdom which should form the intervening period between corruption and incorruption (69–74). Baruch then expresses his wonder over God's wisdom and mercy, and receives a fresh revelation as to his coming departure from the earth. First, however, he is to summon the people together and instruct them (75. 76). This Baruch does, and admonishes the people to be faithful; for though teacher and prophet may pass away, yet the law ever standeth. At the request of the people Baruch writes two epistles—one to their brethren in Babylon, and the other to the tribes beyond the Euphrates. The latter is given in 78–87, but the former is lost.

iv. DIFFERENT ELEMENTS IN THE BOOK, AND THEIR DATES.—This question cannot be discussed here save in the briefest manner; but no treatment of the book is adequate without some consideration of it. Till 1891 this book was taken to be the work of one author. In that year, however, Kabisch, in an article entitled, 'Die Quellen der Apocalypse Baruchs' (*Jahrbücher f. protestantische Theologie*, 1891, pp. 66–107), showed on several grounds that the book is sprung from at least three or four authors. Thus he distinguishes 1–23, 31^2–35, 41–52, 77–87 as the groundwork written subsequent to A.D. 70, since the destruction of the temple is implied throughout these chapters. Further, these sections are marked by a boundless world-despair which, looking for nothing of peace or happiness in this corruptible world, fixes its regard on the afterworld of incorruption. In the remaining sections of the book, however, there is a faith in Israel's ultimate triumph here, and an optimism which looks to an earthly Messianic kingdom of sensuous delights. In these sections, moreover, the integrity of Jerusalem is throughout assumed. Kabisch, therefore, rightly takes these constituents of the book to be prior to A.D. 70. These sections, however, are not the work of one writer, but of three, two of them being unmutilated productions, *i.e.* the Vine and Cedar Vision, 36–40, and the Cloud Vision, 53–74, but the third a fragmentary Apocalypse, 24^3–29. From the bulk of this criticism there is no ground for variance. By independent study, and frequently on different grounds, I have arrived at several of Kabisch's conclusions. Other parts of his theory, however, call for modification. As the result of an exhaustive study of the book, I offer the following analysis, for the grounds of which the reader must refer to my recent book, *The Apocalypse of Baruch*. The main part of the book was written after the fall of Jerusalem, *i.e.* 1–26, 31–35, 41–52, 75–87. All these chapters are derived from one writer, save 1–8, 44^{1-7}, 77–87. These must be discriminated from the rest, as their diction and their outlook as to the future of Jerusalem differ from those adopted in the rest of these chapters. The rest of the book was written prior to the fall of Jerusalem. It consists of the two visions mentioned above, *i.e.* 36–40 and 53–74, and a fragmentary Apocalypse, 27–30. Jewish religious thought busied itself mainly with two subjects, the Messianic Hope and the Law, and, in proportion as the one was emphasized, the other fell into the background. It is noteworthy that the parts of this book written prior to the fall of Jerusalem are mainly Messianic, and only mention the law incidentally, whereas in the sections written after its fall all the thought and the hopes of the writers centre in the law, and the law alone. Moreover, whereas the earlier sections are optimistic as regards the destinies of Jerusalem, the later are permeated with the spirit of an infinite despair. The different elements of the book were combined not earlier than A.D. 100, and not later than A.D. 130. The grounds for this determination cannot be given here. It should be observed that a portion of the short Apocalypse, 27–30, is quoted by Papias, and attributed by him to our Lord. See Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* v. 33. 3.

v. AUTHORSHIP.—All the writers from whom this book is derived were Pharisees. They all agree in teaching the doctrine of works. Jeremiah's works are a strong tower to the city, 2^{2}; the righteous have no fear by reason of their good works, 14^{7}; they are justified thereby, 21^{9} $24^{1.\,2}$ 51^{7}; they trusted in their works, and therefore God heard them, $63^{3.\,5}$ 85^{2}; righteousness is by the law, 67^{6}.

Again, as regards the law, the teaching is likewise Pharisaic. It was given to Israel, 17^{4} 19^{3} 59^{2} 77^{3}; the one law was given by One, 48^{24}; it will protect those who receive it, 32^{1}, and requite those who transgress it, 48^{47}; so long as Israel observes the law it cannot fall, 48^{22}; God's law is life, 38^{2}. Again, the carnal sensuous nature of the Messiah and His kingdom, which are described only in the earlier portions, 28–30, 39^{7}–40, 72–74, is essentially Pharisaic. The future world is created on behalf of Israel, according to one of the later writers, 15^{7}; according to the earlier writers the present world was ultimately for Israel, and their enemies would suffer destruction, 27, 40, 72.

vi. RELATION TO 4 EZRA (2 ESDRAS).—The affinities of this book with 4 Ezr are both striking and numerous. (1) They have one and the same object—to deplore Israel's present calamities and to awake hope either of the coming Messianic kingdom on earth, or of the bliss of the righteous in the world to come. (2) In both, the speaker is a notable figure in the time of the Babylonian Captivity. (3) In both there is a sevenfold division of the work, and an interval (generally of seven days) between each division; and as in the one Ezra devotes forty days to the restoration of the Scriptures, in the other Baruch is bidden to spend forty days in teaching Israel before his departure from the earth. (4) They have many doctrinal peculiarities in common: man is saved by his works, 2 Es [6^{50}] 8^{33} 9^{7}, Apoc Bar 2^{2} 14^{12} etc.; the world was created on behalf of Israel, 2 Es 6^{55} 7^{11} 9^{13}, Apoc Bar 14^{19} 15^{7}; man came not into the world of his own will, 2 Es 8^{5}, Apoc Bar 14^{11} 48^{15}; a predetermined number of men must be born before the end, 2 Es $4^{36.\,37}$, Apoc Bar $23^{4.\,5}$; Adam's sin was the cause of physical death, 2 Es 3^{7}, Apoc Bar 23^{4}; the souls of the good are kept safe in treasuries till the resurrection, 2 Es $4^{35.\,41}$ 7^{32} [$6^{54.\,60}$], Apoc Bar 30^{2}. But the points of disagreement are just as clearly marked. In 2 Es the Messianic reign is limited to 400 years, $7^{28.\,29}$, whereas in Baruch this period is indeterminate. Again, in 2 Es the Messiah is to die, 7^{29}, and His reign to close with the death of all living things; whereas according to Apoc Bar 30^{1} the Messiah is to return in glory to heaven at the close of His reign, and according to 73. 74 this reign is to be an eternal one. Again, in 2 Es the writer urges that God's people should be punished by God's own hands and not by the hands of their enemies, $5^{29.\,30}$; for these have overthrown the altar and destroyed the temple, $10^{21.\,22}$; but in Baruch it is told how angels removed the holy vessels and demolished the walls of Jerusalem before the enemy drew nigh, 6–8. On the question of original sin, likewise, these two books are at variance. While in 2 Es the entire stream of physical and ethical death is traced to Adam, $3^{7.\,21.\,22}$ 4^{30} 7^{48}, and the guilt of his descendants minimised at the cost of their first parent (yet see $8^{55\text{-}60}$), Baruch derives physical death indeed from Adam's transgression, 17^{3} 23^{4} 54^{15}, but as to ethical death declares that 'each man is the Adam of his own soul,' 54^{19} (yet see 48^{42}).

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works already cited in this article the reader may consult Langen, *De apocalypsi Baruch anno superiori primum edita commentatio* (1867); Ewald, *Gött. gel. Anzeigen* (1867), pp. 1706-17, 1720; *History of Israel*, viii. 57-61; Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah* (1877), pp. 117-132; Kneucker, *Das Buch Baruch* (1879), pp. 190-198; Dillmann, 'Pseudepigraphen' in Herzog's *RE*² xii. pp. 356-358; Deane, *Pseudepigrapha* (1891), pp. 130-162; De Faye, *Les Apocalypses Juives* (1892), pp. 195-204; Charles, *Apoc. of Baruch*, 1896.

R. H. CHARLES.

BARUCH, BOOK OF.—One of the deuterocanonical books of OT found in LXX between Jer and La, in the Lat. Vulg. after La, and in the Syr. as the second Letter of Baruch—the first Letter having been recently ascertained to be part of the Apoc. of Baruch (wh. see). The book claims to have been written by Baruch, the friend and secretary of Jeremiah; but in reality it consists of four portions so distinct that they have probably come from four different authors.

$1^{1\text{-}14}$. Historical preface, giving a description of the origin and purpose of the book.
1^{15}–3^{8}. A confession of the sins which led to the Captivity, and a prayer for restoration to divine favour, largely in Deuteronomic phraseology.
3^{9}–4^{4}. A panegyric on Wisdom, and an identification of Wisdom with Torah, after the manner of the later Ḥokhmic school.
4^{5}–5^{9}. Consolation and encouragement to the exiles, with such rich personification as to recall some of the most poetical passages in Deutero-Isaiah.

We will describe and comment on these parts in the order in which we conceive that they came into existence.

i. The second section, 1^{15}–3^{8}, will thus claim our first consideration, and it may be subdivided into two parts—

(1) 1^{15}–2^{5}. This we designate AN ANCIENT FORM OF CONFESSION OF SIN USED BY THE PAL. REMNANT. It professes to have been sent from Babylon to Jerus., to be read in the house of God 'on the day of the feast and on the days of solemn assembly' (1^{14} RV). It opens with words found also Dn 9^{7} 'To the Lord our God belongeth righteousness, but to us confusion . . . to the men of Judah and to the inhabitants of Jerus.'; and its restricted design for the use of the home remnant is intimated in the non-occurrence of the words of Dn 'and to all Isr. that are near and that are afar off,' etc.; as well as by the words Bar $2^{4.\,5}$, 'He hath given *them* to be in subjection to all the kingdoms that are round about *us* . . . where the Lord has scattered *them*: and *they* have become "beneath and not above," because *we* sinned.' The confession of sins is national, embracing the whole period from the Exodus, and recognising in the Exile the righteous fulfilment of repeated warnings.

(2) 2^{6}–3^{8}. THE EXILES' CONFESSION, $2^{6\text{-}13}$, AND PRAYER, 2^{14}–3^{8}. The confession of the exiles opens as the above (cf. also Dn 9^{7}) with the words, 'To the Lord our God belongeth righteousness,' etc., but the suppliants do not describe themselves as 'men of Judah.' Indeed we would submit—though it seems to have escaped notice hitherto—that this penitential prayer was not meant for the same persons as the foregoing. This is evident from 2^{13} 'We are left a few among the nations where thou hast scattered *us*' (contrast this with 2^{4} 'The Lord hath scattered *them*'), v.^{14} 'Give us favour before those who have led *us* captive.' So also vv.$^{29.\,30}$. Further, the confession, $2^{6\text{-}12}$, is little more than a repetition in different order of phrases found in 1^{15}–2^{5}; only, that in the second confession the suppliants do not (as we have seen) identify themselves with Judah; and the divine threat realised in *their* experience is captivity, $2^{7.\,15}$; whereas, in the first confession, it was that they had eaten the flesh of their children, $2^{1\text{-}3}$. At 2^{13} the confession turns to prayer for pardon and blessing, pleading the divine election of Isr., the divine compassion and the divine glory. They acknowledge the error of not obeying the warnings of Jer (7^{34} 8^{2} 27^{11} $29^{5.\,28}$) to be submissive to the king of Babylon, and regard that as the cause of the national ruin. In 2^{27} the suppliants admit that to them personally God has manifested 'leniency and

compassion.' They quote several passages from Dt (collected Kneucker, p. 30) which threaten divine wrath on their sins, but which *also* promise that if in captivity they repent, God will renew His covenant, and restore them. They virtually express their faithful allegiance, and claim the promises.

Ch. $3^{1\text{-}8}$ is regarded by Bertholdt and Reusch as a separate psalm; but, as shown by Kneucker (p. 263) and Gifford (in *Speaker's Apocr.* ii. 267), the links of connexion between this portion and the foregoing are beyond dispute. Here the absence of the sense of personal demerit is still more apparent. True they say, 'We have sinned,' but the 'we' denotes the solidarity of Isr.; for in 3^4 they say 'Hear the prayer of the *sons* of those who sinned against Thee, for *they* were disobedient, and the evils cleave to *us*.' 'We have put away from our hearts every iniquity of our fathers who sinned against Thee.' 'Lo! we are to-day in our captivity,' 3^8.

Date of Composition.—The foregoing analysis helps materially in this decision. First, it shows Reusch, Welte, and other Romanists to be mistaken in claiming that 1^{15}–3^8 is the work of the historical Baruch in B.C. 583: for (*a*) if so, there would be in the suppliants the sense of personal demerit; and (*b*) their description of themselves as '*sons* of those who sinned' would be quite out of place. Again, our analysis serves to render still more untenable the theory of Hitzig, Kneucker, Schürer, and some recent English writers, that our section was composed after the destruction of Jerus. by Titus. (1) We would ask, Could the Jews of A.D. 80 acquit themselves of personal blame? and could they speak of themselves as the unfortunate *sons* of the real culprits? (2) In 2^{17} we have the same hopeless view of death as appears in Ps 6^5 and Is 38^{18}. As Reuss says, it indicates 'a time when the belief in a resurrection did not yet exist.' (3) There is in the section before us no clear indication that Jerus. and the temple were *at the time* in ruins. The only allusion to the state of Jerus. is in 2^{26} 'Thou hast made (ἔθηκας) thy house as it is this day,' but this may refer to a low condition or desecration of the temple. Had the city been in ruins, surely the poignant grief of the patriotic Jew could not have failed to express itself. (4) There is a very close resemblance between Bar 1^{15}–2^{12} and Dn $9^{4\text{-}19}$; in fact there are only *three* important variations, and these all refer to the condition of Jerusalem. Daniel's prayer is stated to have been uttered in the first year of Darius, at the close of the Captivity, and three times the desolate state of Jerus. is referred to, Dn $9^{16.\ 17.\ 18}$; but in Bar *all are omitted*. On any theory as to the relative priority of Dn and Bar this is significant; but on Schürer's theory it amounts to this, that a man writing about A.D. 80, while slavishly imitating Dn 9, abruptly and intentionally selects for omission those parts *only* which refer to the desolate sanctuary. This we consider highly improbable.

We are thus drawn to the theory of Ewald, who assigns our section to the times after the conquest of Jerus. by Ptolemy I. in B.C. 320 (*Die Jüngsten Propheten*, 269), or of Reuss, who assigns it to the times of the first Ptolemies. Its origin may be even earlier. At all events there does not seem valid reason, with Fritzsche, to assign our section to the Maccab. period (*Hb. z. d. Apocr.* i. 173) on the ground of its dependence on Dn 9. The dependence is by no means self-evident. But if it were so, and if the Book of Dn in its present form be late, this does not preclude the use of pre-existent materials; and it is surely conceivable that in Dn 9 we have an ancient form of prayer traditionally associated with the name of Daniel, as the confession and prayer before us were associated with the name of Baruch. Bissell (Lange's *Apocr.* 417) and Gifford (*Speaker's Apocr.* 250) are also in favour of the early authorship of our section.

Original Language.—It is highly probable that 1^1–3^8 was first composed in Heb.; though the Gr. text and VSS that have been tr. from the Gr. are all that survive. The very fact that the two prayers were designed for religious assemblies—the former one for the temple—is strong presumptive proof of Heb. authorship (so Bissell, 417). In the margin of the Milan MS of the Syr. Hexap. text these words occur on 1^{17} and 2^3: 'This is not in the Heb.' (Zöckler blunders twice in stating this.) But, apart from this, the linguistic evidence alone seems conclusive.

1. There are cases in which an awkward word in the Gr. can be shown to possess one of two meanings of a Heb. word, and the *other* meaning is that required by the context—

1^{22}	ἐργάζεσθαι,	to work,	for	serve.	So	עָבַד
2^4	ἄβατον,	wilderness,	,,	astonishment.	,,	שַׁמָּה
2^3	ἄνθρωπος,	man,	,,	each.	,,	אִישׁ
2^{23}	ἔξωθεν,	outside,	,,	streets.	,,	חוּצוֹת
2^{29}	βόμβησις,	buzzing,	,,	crowd.	,,	הָמוֹן
1^9	δεσμώτης,	prisoner,	,,	locksmith.	,,	מַסְגֵּר

2. Cases in which the unsuitable word suggests its own corrective, if we tr. it into Heb. and substitute different vowels or change one consonant.

1^{10} μάννα, wrong translit. of מִנְחָה.
2^{25} ἀποστόλη= דָּבָר for דֶּבֶר plague.
3^4 τεθνηκότων=מֵתֵי ,, מְתֵי men.
3^8 ὄφλησιν= משׁאה ,, משׁמה astonishment.

3. Cases of slavish imitation of Heb. idiom in violation of the Greek. The word καί occurs 120 times; four times in the sense of 'but,' like Heb. וְ, $2^{24.\ 27.\ 30}$ 3^3. Then we have οὗ . . . ἐκεῖ=אֲשֶׁר שָׁם, and οὗ . . . ἐπ' αὐτῷ=אֲשֶׁר עָלָיו. But, to appreciate the full force of the evidence, one has simply to attempt to retranslate the section. The idioms are Hebraistic everywhere. The Heb. seems, as Fritzsche says, to gleam through so plainly that one cannot doubt that the Gr. is a tr. Kneucker has, on the whole, given an admirable rendering of our section into the original Hebrew.

It is a remarkable fact that most of the above awkward renderings occur in the LXX Gr. of Jer. There can be little doubt that he who translated Jer also translated Bar 1^1–3^8, and probably found it in Heb. attached to Jer. (So Westcott in Smith *DB*.) The Greek of the rest of Baruch is almost certainly from another hand. We have here a further evidence of the antiquity of our section.

ii. THE HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION, $1^{1\text{-}14}$.—This is probably from a later author, because of the discrepancies between it and 1^{15}–3^8. We conceive the matter thus: There were in existence two penitential prayers—one for the remnant, one for the exiles—both associated with the name of Baruch, and the problem was to find a suitable historic origin for them. The solution is: Baruch is in Babylon, and reads a form of confession and prayer, 2^6–3^8, to king Jeconiah and the exiles. They listen, weep, and fast, and long that their brethren in Judah should also turn to the Lord. B. writes a confession suited to the Judæans, 1^{15}–2^5, and the exiles send it to Judah by him. Thus does the would-be historian explain the duality of 1^{15}–3^8. His historic locus now calls for explanation. The book was written in the 5th year on the 7th of the month, at the time of the year when the Chaldæans took Jerus., *i.e.* on the fifth anniversary of the first fall of Jerus., B.C. 597—the era from which Jer, Ezk, and Dn reckon. In B.C. 593 Seraiah, brother of Bar., was in Babylon with king Zedekiah (Jer 51^{59}). The nature of their mission is uncertain, but it was such as to rouse expectation; for at the same time prophets in Babylon, Jer 27^{16}, and Hananiah in Judah, Jer 28^3, foretold that within two years the sacred vessels would be restored, and Jeconiah and the exiles allowed to return; but Jer.

sternly contradicts this (Jer 29). These are the circumstances, shortly after which our author says that B. composed his book. The effect of the reading of it we have described. In penitence the people send to Joakim the priest—probably the Sagan—money with which to purchase sacrifices and incense to offer on the altar of J″. Thus far there is verisimilitude in the story. Jeconiah might well be present, for the first exiles, 'the good figs,' were treated far more leniently than the second. The hoof of ignorance and late authorship shows itself, however, (1) in the statement that Jerus. was burnt with fire in Jeconiah's reign; (2) that the exiles asked the Judæans to 'pray for Nebuchad. and *his son* Baltasar.' The monuments show that Belshazzar was the son of Nabonidus, who usurped the throne of Babylon; and though Belshazzar might claim to be 'son' of Nebuchad. to add to his dignity, the title could not be given by one living years before. (3) The restoration of the silver vessels made by Zedekiah after the deportation of Jeconiah ($1^{8.\,9}$) is a hopeless tangle. The passage has probably been worked over by a later hand, who conceived of the locus as five years after the *final* destruction of the city and temple.

iii. A Ḥokhmist's Message to the Exiles, 3^9–4^4.—'O Isr. why art thou in the land of thy foes? and grown old in a foreign land?' The reason is, 'Thou hast forsaken the fountain of Wisdom.' Learn where Wisdom is, and there thou wilt find life and joy and peace. But where does Wisdom dwell? Have kings found her in the thickets of the forests hunting the boar? Have birds stored in royal aviaries seen her on high? Have silver-workers mining under the earth seen her? Young men, with vision unbedimmed by sin, can they give no clue? Merchants of Phœnicia and Teman, have they not seen her by sea or land? The heroes of the hoary past,—the giants,—can they help? No. God only knows her abode—the Creator of the beasts, the lightning, and the stars. He has embodied Wisdom in the Law, and given it to Jacob. And in this guise Wisdom appears on the earth and is accessible to man. The eternal Law is Wisdom incarnate. Walk in her light, O Israel! and give not thy glory to another, nor thy advantages to a strange nation.

Date.—Much of this section (3^{9-35}) is a close imitation of Job 28 and 38; yet it possesses as much poetic fervour as an imitation can well do. It has nothing in common with 1^{15}-3^8 except the exile. The part which is truly original is 3^{36}-4^4, and therefore here we must seek for the date of composition. Israel is 'God's beloved,' 'having (Ro 2^{20}) in the Law the form (*μόρφωσιν*) of knowledge and of truth'; and she is charged not to give her glory to another, nor her advantages (*συμφέροντα*, cf. Ro 3^1) to a foreign people, but to walk in the light of the law, cf. Bar 4^2, Ro 2^{19}. Evidently, the privileges referred to are spiritual ones; and Kneucker can hardly be incorrect in maintaining that Gentile Christians, the מִינִים, are the *ἀλλότριον ἔθνος*, of whom the rigorous Jew bids his co-religionists beware. There is no reference to recent calamities. Israel has 'grown old in a foreign land.' Therefore I should place this section a few years before, or some years after, the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70.

Original Language.—We would submit that 3^9-4^4 was first composed in Aramaic. The evidence we offer is based on a comparison of the Greek with the versions—the Peshitta and Syr. Hexapla. When the various readings are tr. into Aramaic we obtain either one Aramaic word with the two desiderated meanings, or two words so nearly alike as easily to be mistaken for one another.

3^{16}	peoples,	עממיא	Pesh.	world,	עלמא
^{18}	fabricators,	קינאין	Pesh.	who acquire,	קנין
^{19}	disappeared,	אסתתרו	Hex.	sinned,	אסתרחו
^{21}	laid hold,	צדו	Hex.	cared for,	צדו
^{23}	remembered,	אדכרו	Pesh.	trod,	אדרכו
^{31}	meditates on,	מתרעא	Vulg.	seeks out,	מתבעא
^{34}	watches,	בסכותהון	Pesh.	places,	בדוכתהון
^{37}	appeared,	אתגלו	Pesh.	was revealed,	אתגלו
4^3	advantage,	יותרן	Vulg.	dignity.	יוקרא

It will be observed that the words are uniformly Pal. Aramaic—in some cases peculiar to that dialect. The author, therefore, was of the school of Sirach and not of Philo.

iv. A Hellenist's Encouragement for the Exiles, 4^5–5^9.—This section is clearly divisible into four odes, each commencing with some form of the verb *θαρρεῖν*, and to these is appended a Ps closely related to the 11th of the Ps of Sol. 4^{5-8} is drawn entirely from the Song of Moses in Dt 32. After this, in a passage of some beauty and originality (4^{9-16}), Jerus. is personified as a woman, narrating her troubles to the neighbours of Zion; then (v.$^{19\text{f.}}$), as if on the eve of captivity, she bids her children shorten their adieux, as she has put on the sackcloth of prayer. The prayer is not in vain. Joy comes to her from the Holy One (v.^{22}). The mother (v.^{25}) again addresses her children, but now in terms of hopefulness, begging them to be patient and intensely prayerful, since the hour of deliverance is at hand. At 4^{30} the author assumes the rôle of the prophet, and foretells the doom of Israel's foes, and then (4^{36}–5^9) he announces the future prosperity of Zion in a passage of remarkable beauty, but too closely copied from Ps-Sol 11.

Date.—We unhesitatingly place the composition of this section after the destruction of Jerus. by Titus. Ryle and James have certainly proved the dependence of Bar on the Psalter (*Psalms of Sol.* lxxii.-lxxvii.); and there is little reason to suspect that it ever existed except in Greek. The Gr. moves so easily and is fairly idiomatic. Its Hebraisms are due to quotations from books themselves tr. from Sem. sources. The fall of the city is still within the memory of the writer; the desolation is complete; its captives have gone forth with wailing and woe. The increasingly joyful tone can hardly have arisen within ten years of the destruction of the city, as Kneucker holds. Hope must again have kindled in the Jewish breast, and possibly the events in the reign of Hadrian, A.D. 118, are those to which the writer looks forward; though all through this interval most of the Jews never doubted that the temple would be rebuilt. The author of 4^5–5^9 was probably the translator of 3^9–4^4.

Canonical Standing.—Though there is strong evidence that 1^1–3^8 was composed in Heb., and some evidence that it once followed Jer in the Canon, it was dropped before the time of Jerome; so that he says (*Præf. in Jer*), 'nec legitur nec habetur apud Hebræos,' and Epiph. (*de mens.*) bears the same testimony. In the Gr. of the *Apost. Const.* v. 20 it is, however, said to be used by the Jews (? of the Dispersion) on the 10th of Gorpiæus, *i.e.* on the Day of Atonement. The reference is wanting in the Syr. text, and has no confirmation whatever. Our book is not mentioned by any NT writer or apost. Father, but from Athenagoras (fl. 176) onwards for centuries it is quoted as canonical by almost every Christian writer of eminence. This remark applies especially to 3^{36-38} 'This is our God. . . . He hath found out the way of knowledge. . . . Afterward did she (*i.e.* Wisdom) appear on earth and was conversant with men.' Kneucker and Schürer regard v.^{38} (EV ^{37}) as a Christian interpolation; but without sufficient reason. The writer personifies Wisdom, and identifies her with the Law; as we see from 4^1 (which ought never to have been separated by a chapter-division) 'This is the book of the commands of God, even the Law which abides for ever.' Christian writers tenaciously claimed this as a proof-text for the divinity of the Wisdom-Logos, and therefore firmly retained Bar in the Canon. Jerome was the first for two centuries to call its canonicity in question, and hence Bar is wanting in Codex Amiatinus; but his criticisms produced no apparent result on the beliefs of his age.

Reusch, a Romanist commentator, gives an exhaustive account of the citations from Bar by early Christian writers, and devotes an appendix to their explanations of 3$^{36-38}$. From these citations I compute that, of the 75 verses from 3^{9}–5^{9}, 43 are found, cited as canonical, in the pages of Christian writers.

It is also interesting to note that in every extant List of Canonical Books, Bar either is named or can be proved to be included under Jer—the only doubtful exception being that of Melito. Didymus Alex. † 395 distinctly says that Jer and Bar form one book.

List of Canonical Books.

Melito	c. 180	Is, Jer, XII. Proph.
Origen	† 253	Jer, Lam, Ep, but quotes Bar as Jer.
Conc. Laod.	363	Jer, Bar, Lam, Ep (of Jeremy).
Hilary	† 367	Jer, Lam, Ep, but quotes Bar as Jer.
Athanasius	† 373	Jer, Bar, Lam, Ep.
Cyril Jer.	† 386	Jer, Bar, Lam, Ep.
Conc. Carth.	397	Jer (but see Buhl, 61–62).
Greg. Naz.	† 391	Jer, but quotes Bar 3^{36} as Scr.
Epiphanius	† 403	Jer, Lam, Ep, Bar (*Hær*. 8. 6).
Rufinus	† 410	Jer, but quotes Bar 3^{36} as Scr.
Jerome	† 420	Jer, first to reject Bar.
Augustine	† 430	Jer, but quotes Bar often.
Codex ℵ		Jer, Lam, Ep, fragmentary.
B		Jer, Bar, Lam, Ep.
A		Jer, Bar, Lam, Ep.
D		Jer.
Cassiodorus	c. 540	Jer. Quotes Bar as Jer.
Anast. Sin.	c. 550	Jer. Quotes Bar as Jer.
John Damasc.	† 750	Jer. Quotes Bar often.

From the last quarter of the 2nd cent. to the time of the Reformation, Jerome's is almost the only discordant note in the harmony of universal acceptance in the Christian Church. Wyclif in the preface to his Bible inserted the statement from Jerome, that in OT nothing but the Heb. Canon is of divine authority, but published all the Apocr. Luther and the other Reformers removed Bar from the Canon; but, though Ximenes and Erasmus were both disposed to draw a line of demarcation between canon. and apocr. books, the Council of Trent peremptorily included Bar and the rest of the Apocr. among the sacred books of Scripture.

LITERATURE.—Codices and Versions.—Of Gr. uncials Bar is found in A, B, Q, otherwise known as iii., ii., xii. The palimpsest Γ contains 1^{12}–2^{3} and 3^{12}–4^{8}. (See, for description of these MSS, Swete's *OT in Gr.* iii., *Introd.*) There are also 22 Gr. cursives, named and classified by Kneucker, pp. 91–97. Further, there are two Lat. VSS, a and b. a is that found in Clementine edd. of the Vulg., of which Vercellone's is perhaps the most accurate. Bar is really the old Lat. unrevised by Jerome, for he himself says 'Librum Baruch . . . prætermisimus.' b is a recension of a, improving its Latinity, altering some of its readings to agree with B, and indulging in explanatory comments (Kneucker 141–163). b was edited by Jos. Caro, Rome, 1688, and by Sabatier in *Bibliotheca Casinensis*, vol. i. (1873). There are also two Syr. VSS: (1) The Peshitta, which is most accessible in Lagarde's *Libr. Apocr. Syr.*, and (2) the Syr.-Hexap. My ed. is the one in Ceriani's *Mon. sac. et prof.* tom. i. fasc. i. 1861. Since then, however, the work has been reproduced by photo-lithography. (Swete, *op. cit.* xiii.)

Exegetical Helps.—The most thorough comm. is Kneucker's *Das Buch Baruch*, Leipzig, 1879. Other useful works are: Gifford in *Speaker's Apocr.* vol. ii.; Bissell in Lange's series; Zöckler, Apok. in the *Kgf. Kom.* 1891; Ewald, *Die jüngsten Propheten*, 1868; Fritzsche, *Handbuch z. d. Apocr.* vol. i. Leipzig, 1851; Reusch, *Erklär. d. Buchs Baruch*, Freiburg, 1853; Reuss, *AT*, vol. vi. 1894; Hävernick, *De lib. Bar.*, Königsberg, 1861. Isagogic material is also to be found in Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. 188 f., and Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift* for 1860, where Hitzig deals with Bar, p. 262 ff., Kneucker in 1880, and Hilgenfeld in 1879–80.

J. T. Marshall.

BARZILLAI (בַּרְזִלַּי 'man of iron'?, Βερζελλί).—1. A wealthy Gileadite of Rogelim, who came to David's aid during his flight from Absalom (2 S 17$^{27ff.}$). He refused to accompany the king to Jerusalem on his return, on the plea of his great age and unsuitability for the life of the court, but sent his son Chimham in his stead (19$^{31ff.}$). And to him, in gratitude for his father's services, David would seem to have granted a 'lodging place,' or caravanserai for travellers, out of his own patrimony in Bethlehem, which 400 years later still bore his name (Jer 41^{17}). Dean Stanley even favours the conjecture that, in accordance with the immovable usages of the East, it was probably the same whose stable at the time of the Christian era furnished shelter for two travellers with their infant child, when 'there was no room in the inn' (*Hist. of the Jew. Ch.* vol. ii. p. 154). Other sons of B. must have followed, if they did not accompany, Chimham over Jordan, and all were specially commended by David, on his deathbed, to the care of Solomon (1 K 2^{7}). Of B. himself we hear nothing further beyond the mention, so late as the return from the Captivity in Babylon, of a family of priests who traced their descent to a marriage with the Gileadite's daughter (Ezr 2^{61}, Neh 7^{63}). 2. A Meholathite whose son Adriel married Michal the daughter of Saul (2 S 21^{8}).

G. Milligan.

BASALOTH (A Βααλώθ, B Βασαλέμ), 1 Es 5^{31}.—Bazluth, Ezr 2^{52}; Bazlith, Neh 7^{54}.

BASCAMA (ἡ Βασκαμά), 1 Mac 13^{23}.—An unknown town of Gilead.

BASE (see also Abase, Debase).—The adj. 'base' (from Fr. *bas*, 'shallow,' 'low,' but prob. of Celtic origin) is used to express—1. That which is literally 'low,' not high, as Spenser, *FQ* I. v. 31, 'An entraunce, dark and base . . . Descends to Hell.' Of this use we still have 'base' of sounds (though we spell it 'bass'); cf. Shaks., 1 *Hen. IV.* II. iv. 5, 'I have sounded the very base string of humility.' There is no example of this meaning in the Bible. 2. Figuratively, low in the social scale, of lowly birth or station, then unassuming, humble. This is the meaning of b. in AV: Is 3^{5} 'the b. against the honourable' (*i.e.* the low-born against the nobles); Ezk 17^{14} 'that the kingdom might be b., that it might not lift itself up' (Heb. שָׁפָל; so 29$^{14.15}$, 2 S 6^{22}, Mal 2^{9}, Dn 4^{17} 'the most High . . . setteth up . . . the basest of men'); Job 30^{8} 'children of b. men' (בְּנֵי בְלִי־שֵׁם, lit. 'sons of no name,' *i.e.* sons of him who has no name = the ignoble). In NT: 1 Co 1^{28} 'b. things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen' (ἀγενής, 'of low birth'); 2 Co 10^{1} 'Now I Paul myself beseech you by the meekness and gentleness of Christ, who in presence am b. among you' (RV 'in your presence am lowly'; the Gr. is ταπεινός, which in NT signifies 'lowly, either in position, as Ja 1^{9} 'let the brother *of low degree* glory in his high estate'; or in heart, as Mt 11^{29} 'I am meek and *lowly* in heart'). 3. Morally low, mean, contemptible, the meaning of the word in mod. English. This meaning was known in 1611, and it is probable that there is at least *some* moral reprobation in Ac 17^{5} 'certain lewd fellows of the baser sort' (RV 'certain vile fellows of the rabble'; Gr. ἀγοραῖοι, lit. 'of the market place,' *i.e.* loungers). RV has introduced 'base' in this sense in Wis 2^{16} 'We were accounted by him as b. metal' (AV 'counterfeits,' Gr. κίβδηλος); and Dt 13^{13} 'Certain b. fellows are gone out' (AV 'certain men, the children of Belial,' Heb. אֲנָשִׁים בְּנֵי־בְלִיַּעַל = 'men, sons of worthlessness'; elsewhere Eng. RV retains the AV rendering of this phrase, 'son of Belial,' 'man of Belial,' etc., though belial (wh. see) is not a proper name; but Amer. RV always changes it into 'base fellow,' except 1 S 1^{16} 'wicked woman' (AV 'daughter of Belial').

Base, as subst. (from Lat. *basis* after Gr. βάσις, 'a stepping,' then 'that on which one steps, or anything stands') is distinct from the adj. in origin and meaning, and once was distinct in pronunciation. It occurs freq. in AV as tr. of (1) *mĕkhônah* (esp. in 1 K 7 of the stands for the lavers of brass in Solomon's temple); (2) *kên*, 1 K $7^{29. 31}$ (RV 'pedestal,' which had better, perhaps, been given as tr. of *mĕkhônah*, the *kên* being apparently not the stand of the lavers, but the upright projections which kept them in their place *); and in RV (3) *yĕsôdh* (AV 'bottom'); (4) *yârêk* (AV 'shaft'); (5) *gabh*, Ezk 43^{13} (AV 'higher place,' where the difference between 'base' as pedestal and 'base' the adj. is well seen; the *gabh* being a raised place, a mound, and so here the elevated base of the altar.

J. HASTINGS.

BASEMATH (בָּשְׂמַת 'fragrant'; AV Bashemath).—1. One of the wives of Esau. In Gn 26^{34} (P) she is called the daughter of Elon the Hittite, while in Gn 36^{3} (prob. R) she is said to have been Ishmael's daughter, and sister of Nebaioth. But in Gn 28^{9} (P) Esau is said to have taken Mahalath, the daughter of Ishmael, the sister of Nebaioth, to be his wife; and in Gn 36^{2} the first mentioned of Esau's wives is Adah, the daughter of Elon the Hittite. There is manifestly a confusion of names in the text, which cannot be satisfactorily explained. The Sam. text reads Mahalath instead of Basemath throughout Gn 36, and on the whole it seems most probable that these are different names for the same person. 2. (1 K 4^{15}, in AV Basmath) A daughter of Solomon, who became the wife of Ahimaaz, one of the king's officers who was purveyor for the royal household in the district of Naphtali.

R. M. BOYD.

BASHAN [הַבָּשָׁן 'The Bashan'; perhaps, like the modern Arab. Bathaniyeh, it means 'soft earth.' With the def. article in all hist. statements except 1 Ch 5^{23}; also sometimes in poetry (Dt 33^{22}, Ps 135^{11} 136^{20}), and prophecy (Is 2^{13}, Jer 22^{20} 50^{19}, Am 4^{1}); but in prophecy and poetry the art. is more often omitted (Is 33^{9}, Ezk 27^{6} 39^{18}, Mic 7^{14}, Nah 1^{4}, Zec 11^{2}, Ps 22^{13} (Eng.^{12}) $68^{16. 23}$ (Eng.$^{15. 22}$)].—In a region where all place-names were used more or less loosely, it is difficult to define the limits of Bashan, but the name was applied to territory N. of Gilead, and seems generally to have meant the whole of the most northerly of the three great divisions of E. Pal.,—Bashan, Gilead, Moab. It first appears as the kingdom of Og (Nu 21^{33}, Dt 1^{4} etc.), extending as far E. as Salecah, the present Salkhat, the last great town towards the Arabian desert, and including Edrei, Ashtaroth, and Golan (Dt 1^{4} 3^{10} 4^{43}, Jos 9^{10} 12^{4} $13^{11. 12. 31}$ 20^{8} 21^{27}). If Ashtaroth be the present Tell Ashtêra, and the city Golan lay within the present Jaulan, this would mean that B. proper covered all the S. of Hauran, including the region known to-day as En-nukra. It is the same expanse, between the Lejá and Gilead, which seems to have been covered in Gr. times by the name Batanæa (Jos. *Ant.* XV. x. 1, XVII. ii. 1; *Vita* 11, etc.; Euseb. *Onom.* art. Βασαν). Whether in this, its more proper sense, the name extended to the Jordan Valley it is impossible to say, till we know where Geshur and Maacah lay. Indeed, Jos 12^{4} $13^{11. 13}$ seem to imply that the latter came between B. and the Jordan Valley (cf. Guthe, *ZDPV* xii. 232). If the opinion were correct which identifies Argob with the Lejá, then B. must have extended to the N. and E. of the latter; but for that identification there is no real evidence. The kingdom of Og is said to have contained a large number of cities, and these have been alleged by Porter (*Giant Cities of Bashan*) to be the large basalt ruins so thickly strewn across Hauran; yet none of the latter, with one or two trifling exceptions, bear any proof of a date earlier than the rise of Gr. civilisation in these parts under the protection of the Rom. Empire.

In a general sense the name B. was attached to the long edge of the E. plateau, as seen across Jordan from W. Pal., and the name is frequently joined with Carmel and Lebanon as one of the most prominent features in view of N. Israel (see CARMEL). Another verse, 'Dan is a lion's whelp, he leaps from B.' (Dt 33^{22}), carries the name up to the foot of Hermon, where the position of the city of Dan is to be looked for, not at Tel el-Kadi on the defenceless floor of the Jordan Valley, but rather at Banias, actually on the E. hills, and therefore a site from which Dan could justly be said 'to leap from B.' Again, the term 'mount' or 'mountains of B.' is uncertain, but prob. depends on the interpretation to be given to the description of them in Ps 68^{15} as 'mountains of humps' or 'protuberances' or 'bold heights.' This can hardly be the triple summits of Hermon to which it has been applied both by Olshausen and Baethgen. It suits far better the many broken cones of extinct craters which are scattered over B. (Delitzsch). Wetzstein proposes the Jebel Hauran or Druz; but this appears unlikely, even though it were proved that the Mt. Salmon of the previous verse were the same name as that which Ptolemy gave the Jebel Hauran, viz. Asalmanus (cf. Guthe, *ZDPV* xii. 231).

B. was celebrated for its breed of cattle (Dt 32^{14}), which are also the types throughout OT of cruel and loud-mouthed oppressors; similarly, Amos calls the censorious and tyrannical matrons of Samaria 'kine of B.' (4^{1}).

The name B. survived in Gr. times as Batanæa (as described above). Batanæa was part of Philip's tetrarchy. Conder thinks it appears in NT as the 'Bethany beyond Jordan' (the most probable reading of Jn 1^{28}, see Westcott and Hort); but if so well known a province as Batanæa had been intended, and not rather some town, the epithet 'beyond Jordan' would hardly have been added. To-day the name survives, Ard el-Bathaniyeh; but since the 10th cent., when, according to Idrisi, it was still the province in which Edrei stood, it has drifted round to the E. of the Lejá, where it will be found in the most recent maps.

LITERATURE.—Besides what is quoted, Reland; Wetzstein, *Reisebericht*; Merrill, *East of Jordan*; Driver, *Deut.* 47, 360; Smith, *Hist. Geog.* pp. 542, 549–553, 570 ff.; Buhl, *Geog. alt. Pal.* 117 f. (on Dan, 238).

G. A. SMITH.

BASHMURIC VERSIONS.—See EGYPTIAN VERSIONS.

BASILISK.—See SERPENT.

BASKET, a vessel made of plaited reeds, twigs, palm-leaves, or other material. The word is used in EV as the equivalent of five Heb. and three Gr. words.

1. סַל *ṣal*, a bag of flexible interwoven twigs, probably similar in shape to the basket in which a carpenter carries his tools. Three such baskets the chief baker of Pharaoh dreamt he carried on his head (Gn $40^{16. 17. 18}$), probably in the manner represented on the tomb of Ramses III. (Wilkinson i. 401). These were baskets of white bread (RV), not white baskets as in AV, or openwork baskets, as Symmachus. Similar baskets were used to carry the unleavened bread and the oiled cakes and wafers for the offering of consecration of the priests (Ex 29^{3-23}; also Lv 8^{2-26}); hence in Lv 8^{31} it is called the basket of consecration. Such baskets were also used for the Nazirite's offering (Nu $6^{15. 17. 19}$). Gideon carried the flesh of the kid and the unleavened cakes of his provision for the angel in a basket of this sort (Jg 6^{19}). The name *Sallai* in Neh 11^{8} 12^{20} has been fancifully supposed to refer to a family of basket-makers, but this is highly improbable on etymological grounds.

2. סַלְסִלּוֹת *ṣalṣilloth*, in Jer 6^{9}, is translated 'grape-gatherer's baskets,' the *taltalah* of the

---

* In the corresponding description of the tabernacle, RV translates *kên* 'base' (AV 'foot'), Ex 30^{18-28} 31^{9} 35^{16} 38^{8} 39^{39} 40^{11}, Lv 8^{11}.

Arabs. Such baskets are represented in the Egyptian tomb-pictures (Wilkinson, i. 383). The context, however, makes it probable that the word is connected with *zalzallim*, used in Is 18^{5}, meaning young shoots or tendrils, for the idea in the verse is the gleaning of an already stripped vine. *Taltallim* is used in Ca 5^{11} for twisted locks of hair.

3. טֶנֶא *ṭĕne'*, a basket for ordinary household or agricultural use, employed for carrying the first-fruits (Dt 26^{2-4}). LXX renders it κάρταλλος, which, like the Roman *corbis*, was a basket tapering downwards. National prosperity, consequent on well-doing, was typified by the blessing of the basket (*ṭĕne'*) and the store (Dt 28^{5}). The opposite condition was attended with a curse on the basket (v.^{17}).

Tenà and *tennu* are common Egyp. names for a basket. In line 2 of the Canopic decree the Arsinoite basket-bearing priest is called *tená n met Arsinati*. This is rendered in the Gr. version *canephorus*, the name given to the Athenian basket-bearing girls at the feasts of Dionysus and Demeter. The basket-bearing priest is a conspicuous feature in the Assyrian sculptures.

4. דּוּד *dûdh*, the κάλαθος of the LXX, was probably also a tapering basket, like that used by the Romans for wool (Virg. *Æneid*, vii. 805) or by the Greeks for fruit (Aristoph. *Lysistr.* 579). In it were contained the figs of Jeremiah's vision ($24^{1.\ 2}$). Large baskets of this kind were used for carrying clay to the brick-kilns; these are referred to in Ps 81^{6} (RV; not 'pots' as in AV). They are represented in Egyp. paintings as carried on the back, over one shoulder, as in most Ushabti figures, or else they were borne between two on a pole, or two were carried by a yoke resting on the shoulders, as shown in a painting at Beni-hassan. In any case the deliverance of the Israelites is well expressed by the removal of their shoulders from the burden. In baskets of this kind the heads of Ahab's sons were sent to Jehu at Jezreel (2 K 10^{7}). This word is also translated 'kettle' in 1 S 2^{14}, as in Job 41^{20} (see Kettle in art. FOOD).

5. כְּלוּב *kĕlûbh*, rendered by LXX ἄγγος, is used in Am $8^{1.\ 2}$ for a basket containing summer fruits. The same word in Jer 5^{27} signifies a bird-cage, probably of basketwork, in which sense the word occurs in Phœnician and Syriac. Compare κλωβός in Antipater's epigram (*Anthol. Palat.* vi. 109. 3).

The תֵּבָה *têbhah* of papyrus reeds, in which the infant Moses was exposed, was a sort of basket. *Teb* is the Egyptian name of a mummy-case. Other Egyptian baskets were *mesen*, a fruit basket of palm leaves and rushes for carrying dates; *hotep*, a basket for carrying meat (*Pap. Anastasi*) or flowers (Dümichen), *senab*, *seq*, and *χαχα*, a basket for catching fish, such as that figured on the tomb of Ti; compare the *hâkkah* of Hab 1^{15}.

In the NT three words are used which are translated basket—

1. κόφινος, used in all the accounts of the miracle of feeding the 5000, for the baskets in which the fragments were gathered, Mt 14^{20}, Mk 6^{43}, Lk 9^{17}, Jn 6^{13}. According to Juvenal (*Sat.* iii. 14, vi. 541) the Jews carried about with them these wicker baskets for their food in Gentile countries to prevent defilement. *Kophinoi* were used to carry agricultural produce (Columella, xi. 3). Their sizes were probably variable, but the word is used for a Bœotian measure of capacity equal to two gallons (*CIG* 1625, 46).

2. σφυρίς, the kind of basket in which the fragments were gathered after the feeding of the 4000, Mt 15^{37}, Mk 8^{8}. It was probably a large provision basket, possibly of ropework, such as those which the lake-dwelling Pæonians used for fishing with (Herodot. v. 16). In such a *spuris* the disciples let down St. Paul from the walls of Damascus, Ac 9^{25}. The *spuris* and *kophinos* are contrasted in Mt $16^{9.\ 10}$, Mk $8^{19.\ 20}$, the former being probably the larger. The mediæval commentators fancifully allegorized these baskets (see Rabanus Maurus, *Alleg. in Script.* ed. Migne, 898; and for references to the *sportulæ* of the clergy and others, see Chrysost. *Ep. to Valentinus*, ed. Migne, iii. 731; and Cyprian's *Ep. ad clerum et plebem.* p. 324).

3. σαργάνη, used only in 2 Co 11^{33} in reference to the basket by which St. Paul escaped from Damascus. The word means anything plaited, as in Æschyl. *Suppl.* 769, but is used of a fish basket by Timokles (Αηθ. i.). See Pollux, *Onomast.* vii. 27.

The other receptacles mentioned in the NT, πήρα or wallet; γλωσσόκομον, Judas's bag; and βαλλάντιον, used thrice in Luke, were probably of leather. The πίναξ, on which John the Baptist's head was brought to Salome, was probably a wooden platter.

In the early Church, *cophini* or *canistra*, wicker baskets, were used for carrying the eulogia or consecrated bread and wine to those not present at the Eucharist (Jerome, *Ep. ad Rusticum*, ed. Migne, cxxv. 1078). Illustrations of these baskets are referred to in Martigny's *Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.* p. 246. The word basket is of Celtic origin, from a root which signifies to twist round. Its British source, which has been questioned on dubious grounds by recent etymologists, is referred to by Martial, xiv. 99. From the *Schol. on Juv.* xii. 46, we learn that baskets were used to hold cups and pots when they were being washed in running water. (See *Bulenger. de Conviviis*, iv. 10, 11).

A. MACALISTER.

BASON.—1. Bason * is the rendering in EV of various Heb. words, and of the Gr. νιπτήρ (Jn 13^{5}). Of the former the most frequently used is מִזְרָק (LXX φιάλη, σπονδεῖον, cf. Jos. *l.c. inf.*), which denotes a bowl or basin used in the sacrificial ritual of tabernacle and temple. The officiating priest or priests caught the warm blood, as it streamed from the victim, in the basin, from which it was dashed against the altar (Ex 29^{16} etc.), or otherwise manipulated as the ritual required (see SACRIFICE). The basins used for this purpose were of bronze (Ex 27^{3}, 1 K 7^{45}). About their size and shape we have no further information. They probably resembled somewhat the basin of bronze presented by 'a servant of Hiram' to the Phœn. deity Baal-Lebanon, of which a reconstruction from the remaining fragments is given in the *CIS* I. i. 23. The same term (מִזְרָק) is applied to the silver bowls or basins presented by the princes of the congregation with a meal-offering (Nu $7^{13\text{ff.}}$). The weight of each basin, 70 shekels,—prob. about 32 oz. troy,—shows that the מִזְרָק was not of very large dimensions. Among the furniture of the temple of Solomon, basins of gold are repeatedly mentioned (1 K 7^{50}, 2 K 12^{13}, Jer 52^{19} etc.). The number of these made by Hiram is given as 100 in 2 Ch 4^{8} (with wh. cf. the statements Ezr 1^{9-11}, and contrast the exaggerations of Jos. *Ant.* VIII. iii. 7, 8). Fifty such golden basins were presented by 'the Tirshatha' to the second temple (Neh 7^{70}).

2. Bason is also in a few places the rendering of סַף, which, if the reading of 2 S 17^{28} be correct (cf. Klosterm. *in loc.*), was the name for a basin as a common article of household furniture, such as is denoted by νιπτήρ (Jn 13^{5}) With this agrees its use by JE in the account of the institution of the Passover (Ex 12^{22} by the LXX mistranslated παρὰ τὴν θύραν). In some passages the word is translated 'cup' by RV.

3. A third term (כְּפוֹר) occurs only in the late book of Ch-Ezr-Neh (1 Ch 28^{17}, Ezr 1^{10} 8^{27}), and

---

* The Amer. Revisers prefer throughout the more modern spelling 'basin.'

may be considered as a word of later origin than the others. It occurs alongside of מִזְרָק, and must therefore have differed from it; but in what respect we do not know. It is rendered in RV uniformly by 'bowl' (which see). אַגָּנוֹת 'basins,' occurs only Ex 24^{6}. A. R. S. KENNEDY.

BASSAI (B Βασσαί, A Βασσά, AV Bassa), 1 Es 5^{16} = BEZAI, Ezr 2^{17}, Neh 7^{23}.

BASTARD is one born out of wedlock; and that is the meaning in He 12^{8} 'then are ye bastards (νόθοι) and not sons,' its only occurrence in NT; but in OT it is probable that מַמְזֵר *mamzêr*, of which b. is the tr. where it occurs (Dt 23^{2}, Zec 9^{6}, only), means a child of incest, not simply an illegitimate child. See Driver on Dt 23^{2}. Wis 4 (heading) has 'Bastard slips shall not thrive' as a paraphrase of 4^{3} 'But the multiplying brood of the ungodly shall not thrive,' where the meaning is probably general '= 'base,' as in Spenser, *F.Q.* i. 24—

> 'For all he taught the tender ymp was but
> To banish cowardize and bastard feare.'

J. HASTINGS.

BASTHAI (Βασθαί, AV Bastai), 1 Es 5^{31} = BESAI, Ezr 2^{49} Neh 7^{52}.

BAT (עֲטַלֵּף *'ăṭallêph*, νυκτηρίς, *vespertilio*).—The bat is placed at the end of the unclean *fowls* (Lv 11^{19}, Dt 14^{18}), but in Lv 11^{20} the explanatory clause, 'all winged creeping things that go upon all four,' makes it perfectly plain that the bat is intended. The Arab. popular name for the bat is *wiṭwâṭ*, and the classical name is *khuffâsh*. The Heb. name, *'ăṭallêph*, signifies the *night-flier*, in allusion to the habits of the animal. The Arab. name signifies the *weak-sighted*, referring to the fact of the small eyes of bats, which see poorly by day. A man who has day-blindness is called *akhfash*, i.e. *bat-eyed*, from this circumstance. Bats are mammals, with a very light skeleton and body, and large membranous wings, spread between the elongated phalanges, and from them and the bones of the forearm and arm to the body and legs. They are nocturnal in their habits, spending their day in sleep, with their wings folded up, and suspended by a hook at the tip of the forearm, caught in some crevice of the roof of the cavern, or the ceiling of the tomb or ruin (Is 2^{19-21}) where they have made their home, or fixed to the branch of a tree. The mousy smell of their haunts is overpowering where they are numerous. When not asleep, they are constantly squeaking like mice and rats. When disturbed they fly in rapid circles around their dark abode, or sweep in a cloud out of its exit. At night they fly forth noiselessly, and circle around houses and gardens. They pluck large quantities of apricots, dates, and other fruits, and bring them to the porches of houses and devour them, leaving quantities of the seeds and skins on the pavements, and spotting with their ordure the walls of the house as they fly. It is customary to protect the clusters of dates, and of many other fruits, by a sort of basket or bag tied over them, and sometimes the whole tree by a net, lest all the fruit should be eaten by these rapacious feeders. The bats of the Holy Land vary from the size of a mouse to that of a rat. They swarm everywhere in the caves, tombs, and ruins. When a cavern or tomb is being explored the bats often extinguish the torch or candle as the traveller passes through a narrow opening. Tristram gives a list of fifteen bats found in Palestine. The bats of the coast and mountains hibernate. But Tristram says that those of the Jordan Valley seem to be always active. G. E. POST.

BATH.—See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

BATH, BATHING.—1. In contradistinction to the washing (wh. see) of particular parts of the body, hands, feet, etc., bathing is used in this article of the washing of the whole body,* and that either by the application of water, by pouring or otherwise, to the body, or by the immersion of the body in water, which alone is bathing in the strict sense of the term. The Heb. of the OT does not distinguish between the processes, both of which are expressed by רָחַץ to wash (the body, as opp. to כִּבֵּס to wash clothes); for washing by immersion טָבַל is once employed in OT (2 K 5^{14}, AV 'dipped himself,' but רָחַץ in 5^{10}). In later times it became the usual expression for bathing. The new-born infant among the Hebrews was bathed in water (Ezk 16^{4}) before being dressed. Some scholars have seen a reference to this custom in Ex 1^{16}, where they detect in the mysterious word אָבְנַיִם the name of the stone basin or bath in which the infants were bathed (Ges. *Thes.*; Siegfried and Stade's *Lex. s.v.*; also Kalisch, *Comm. in loc.*). With this very doubtful exception, there is no mention in OT of a bath, for which later Heb. used מֶרְחָץ, מִקְוָה, etc. (see below). In the everyday life of the ordinary Heb. there would be neither the water nor the privacy—nor, for that matter, the inclination—necessary for bathing in the ordinary sense. The few instances of bathing in Scripture are in connexion with a river, as in the case of Pharaoh's daughter (Ex 2^{5}), and Naaman (2 K 5^{14}, LXX ἐβαπτίσατο); a fountain (Jth 12^{7}); or a pool (*birket*), as at Samaria (1 K 22^{38}), Bethesda (Jn 5^{2}), and in Joakim's garden (Sus ^{15}). No doubt in the palaces of royalty and the houses of the wealthy there were, even in ancient times, as at Nineveh, Tiryns, and elsewhere, arrangements for the bath, but no reference to such arrangements is found in OT or Apocrypha.

2. In the cases, other than those already cited, where 'bathe' occurs in AV and RV (in the latter more frequently), the process referred to must be understood as the ablution of the body by the application of water, not by bathing in the ordinary sense of the word.†

The prescription Lv 15^{13} 'he shall bathe his flesh in running (Heb. living) water' seems at first sight fatal to the proposition just laid down, that purification from ceremonial and other defilement was originally by a process of ablution and not of immersion; but it is evident from the context that the words in question are a euphemism for *lavabit genitalia sua* (see Dillm., Strack *in loc.*). Such ablutions were also practised on the ground of ordinary cleanliness (2 S 11^{2}, Sus $^{15\text{ ff.}}$), and, in particular, before appearing in the presence of superiors (Ru 3^{3}, Jth 10^{3} περιεκλύσατο, but 12^{1} ἐβαπτίσατο, 'bathed,' as above), and *à fortiori* in the presence of God for worship (see Dillmann on Gn 35^{3} for parallel passages).

3. The cleansing properties of water were increased, as among other nations, by the use of a

---

* This simple distinction gives the key to the often misunderstood passage Jn 13^{10} (see Westcott in *Speaker's Com.*).

† It is therefore somewhat misleading to apply such expressions as 'bathe himself in the water' (Lv *passim*) to the ablutions required by the Levitical legislation in certain specified cases (see PURIFICATION). The preposition in בַּמַּיִם has in these ordinances throughout the meaning of 'with,' not 'in,' as in בָּאֵשׁ 'with fire,' 'washed with milk,' בֶּחָלָב (see below). In a few passages AV gives the correct rendering 'he shall wash his flesh *with water*,' which has been unwarrantably departed from in RV (see Lv 22^{6}, Dt 23^{11}). Even in the ritual of the Day of Atonement there was no provision in 'the holy place' of the tabernacle for the high priest 'bathing his flesh in water' (Lv $16^{4.\ 24}$ RV), the process in question being ablution by applying water from a basin or other vessel, as may be seen in various representations on Greek vases. See illustration in Gardner and Jevons' *Manual of Gr. Antiquities*, 1894, p. 315 (from Gerhard's *Auserles. Vasenbilder*, pl. 277). Cf. also Wilkinson's woodcut of an Egyptian lady at her ablutions, vol. ii. (pop. ed. 1854) p. 349.

vegetable alkali (בֹּרִית Jer 2^{22}, RV 'soap'), natron, a mineral alkali (נֶתֶר Jer 2^{22}, RV 'lye'), and 'washing-balls' (Sus ^{17} σμήγματα, on which see reff. in Iw. Müller's *Hdbuch d. klass. Alterth.* etc., bd. iv. p. 444*c*). To wash with milk was considered, as at the present day, highly beneficial to the complexion (Ca 5^{12}); and it seems to have been a popular superstition that royal blood possessed similar properties, which explains the curious note (1 K 22^{38}) that the harlots of Samaria bathed in the pool in which Ahab's chariot had been washed (so RV, see *Speaker's Commentary in loc.* and Additional Note B, p. 624).

4. Public baths are first met with in the Greek period. The γυμνάσιον erected by the Hellenizing party in Jerus. in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes (1 Mac 1^{14}, 2 Mac 4$^{9.\ 12}$) must have contained the usual hot and cold baths. Remains of baths from the Roman period exist in various parts of the country. In 1895 a Roman bath was discovered a short distance from the Pool of Siloam (*PEFSt*, Oct. 1895, p. 306 ff.). That some even of the most respected Jewish doctors frequented the public baths (דִּימוֹסִין, δημόσιον,* pl. דִּימוֹסְיוֹת *Abod. Zar.* i. 7) is shown by the anecdote told of Gamaliel bathing in the bath (מֶרְחָץ, pl. מֶרְחֲצָאוֹת) of Aphrodite in Acco (Acre, *Abod. Zar.* iii. 4, Strack's ed.). In Herod's temple, as we might expect, there was a bath-room (בֵּית הַטְּבִילָה) for the priests (Yoma iii. 2). With the increasing stringency in the observation of the ceremonial requirements of the law (cf. Mk 7^{4}), the bath became, for the laity as well, an all-important factor in the religious life of the community, as may be seen from the number of treatises of the Talm. devoted to the various aspects of this subject (see PURIFICATION).

5. In the Roman period, also, we first find a reference to the medicinal value of the hot springs in various localities. Thus Herod the Great, near the end of his life, was sent to take the warm baths at Callirrhoë, E. of the Dead Sea (Jos. *Ant.* XVII. vi. 5). Those of Tiberias (*Ant.* XVIII. ii. 3) and Gadara were also celebrated. On this part of the subject see Hamburger, *RE. f. Bibel u. Tal.* vol. ii. 'Heilbäder'; Leop. Löw, *Zur Medezin, etc.*, in *Gesammelte Schriften*, iii. 1893, p. 367 ff.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

BATH-RABBIM (בַּת־רַבִּים 'daughter of multitudes,' Ca 7^{4}).—A gate of Heshbon near fish pools. Perhaps the rock cutting on the edge of the slope, above the stream west of Heshbon, by which the main road approaches the city on the plateau immediately to the east. The stream is full of small fish. See *SEP* vol. i. *s.v. Hesbân*.

C. R. CONDER.

BATHSHEBA (בַּת־שֶׁבַע).—The wife of Uriah the Hittite, and afterwards of David, and the mother of Solomon. The tragic story of David's adultery with her, and of his treachery towards her husband, is recounted in 2 S 11. Bathsheba is variously described as the daughter of Eliam (2 S 11^{3}), or of Ammiel (1 Ch 3^{5}, where, moreover, her name is written Bathshua). It has been suggested with some probability that the father of Bathsheba is to be identified with the Eliam of 2 S 23^{34}, who was a son of Ahithophel the Gilonite. This might explain the latter's desertion of David as an act of revenge for the seduction of his granddaughter and the murder of her husband. Once introduced into the palace as the wife of David, Bathsheba seems to have quickly accommodated herself to her new rank, and to have gained a commanding influence at court. She displayed considerable skill and not a little ambition upon the occasion when, in conjunction with Nathan the prophet, she bent the aged David to her will, and secured the succession to the throne for her son Solomon (1 K 1$^{11-31}$).

J. A. SELBIE.

BATHSHUA (1 Ch 2^{3} 3^{5}).—See BATHSHEBA, SHUA.

BATTERING-RAM.—This instrument is first clearly mentioned in Ezk (4^{2} 21^{22} 'rams' = כָּרִים *kârîm*). The Hebrews probably adopted it from the Assyrians, the great takers of cities. In its essence it was a stout pole, probably with a metal ferule or head, worked with a motion which was half a fall half a thrust against the wall. Protection for the workers was supplied by placing it under a roofed shed or in a tower. The whole machine was often brought forward on wheels.

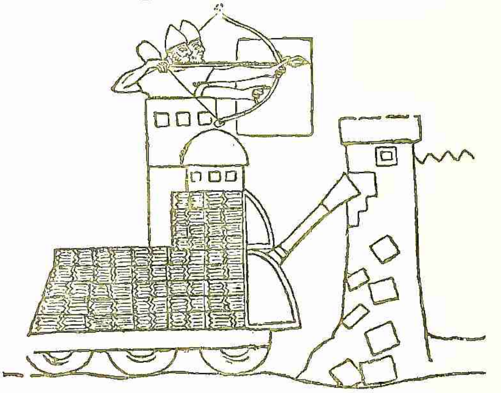

BATTERING-RAM.
(From a relief in the British Museum.)

Perhaps, however, some rough machine was known in earlier times, and its use may be referred to in 1 K 20^{12} ('place [the engines],' RVm) and in 2 S 20^{15} ('all the people battered [מַשְׁחִיתִים] the wall to throw it down').

W. E. BARNES.

BATTLE.—See WAR; and for the various battles, consult their place-names, and the art. ISRAEL.

BATTLE-AXE (מַפֵּץ *mappez*, Jer 51^{20}).—Perhaps the same weapon as the [battle]-hammer (פַּטִּישׁ) of Jer 50^{23}. The head of such a weapon made of copper has been found at Tell el-Hesy, the ancient Lachish, among the ruins of the 'First' city. (It is figured in art. AXE, second fig. on p. 206^{a}). On the Assyrian relief in the British Museum, representing the battle against the Elamites in which their king, Te-umman, was killed, an Assyr. soldier is shown using a weapon which might be a double hammer or a double axe, or a combination of hammer and axe, no doubt a *mappez*.

The word סְגֹר *sĕgor*, in Ps 35^{3}, which is tr. RVm 'battle-axe,' is rather to be taken after AV and RV (text) as a verb. The marg. reading supposes a pointing סָגָר, and an identification with the Pers. weapon σάγαρις mentioned by Herodotus and Xenophon. Cheyne, however (*in loco*), gives סָגָר = σάγαρις = 'dirk.'

W. E. BARNES.

BATTLE-BOW (Zec 9^{10} 10^{4}).—See BOW.

BATTLEMENT.—See HOUSE, WAR.

BAVVAI (בַּוַּי, AV Bavai, Neh 3^{18}).—In the days of Nehemiah, Bavvai, the son of Henadad, the ruler of half the district of Keilah, rebuilt a portion of the wall of Jerusalem, on the south-east of the city. He was of a Levitical family (*their brethren*, cf. v.^{17}). In v.^{24} he appears as Binnui the son of Henadad, and this is probably the correct form (Smend, *Listen*, p. 12). In LXX Βενεὶ A, Βεδεὶ B.

H. A. WHITE.

---

* For the identity of the two words see Fleischer's note *sub* דִּימוֹסְיָא in Levy, *Chald. Wörterb.* Cf. בַּלָּן, βαλανεύς, etc.

BAY, the colour, occurs Zec $6^{3.7}$. See COLOURS. 'Bay' of the sea, Jos $15^{2.5}$ 18^{19} (*lâshôn*, lit. 'tongue'); and RV turns 'creek' into 'bay' Ac 27^{39} (κόλπος, 'bosom,' 'lap'). J. HASTINGS.

BAY TREE (אֶזְרָח *'ezrâḥ*).—The proper translation of the only passage where this word occurs (Ps 37^{35}) would seem to be that of RV, 'like a green tree in its native soil.' The rendering of the LXX, κέδρος τοῦ Λιβάνου, assumes that אֶזְרָח is a clerical mistake for אֶרֶז, a wholly unnecessary assumption. The guess, *bay tree*, of AV is still wider of the mark. G. E. POST.

BAYITH (בַּיִת).—The Heb. and cognate word in Sem. for the general term 'house.' Its etymology is doubtful, though referred (by Ges. *Thes.*) to a root בות. Cf. Assyr. *bîtu, house*; Sab. בית, בת, *a fortress, temple*; Palmyr. בת מקברתא, is *sepulchre* (de Vogüé, *Syrie centrale*, 32, 64). In Aram. בות is rendered *spend the night*. This word is found with construct relation (Beth) in freq. combination in proper names of places: Beth-el, Beth-barah, etc. (see sep. artt.) It is also used as inclusive of a country or condition; *e.g. house of bondage* (Dt 5^{6}), *house of meeting* (in Sheol, Job 30^{23}); also in fig. expressions which do not appear in the Eng. version, for example Is 3^{20}, Ex 36^{34}. It also designates 'family' in such passages as *house of Pharaoh* (Gn 50^{4}), *house of Levi* (Ex 2^{1}), *house of Israel* (Ru 4^{11}). A few times it refers to the land of Israel as *house of J"* (Hos 8^{1}). Its principal meanings seem to be (1) a place for halting, resting, or living; (2) a family or tribe not necessarily connected with any spot or place; (3) a place and a family as closely related under the one term.

Bayith (AV **Bajith**) occurs as a proper name in Is 15^{2} 'He is gone up to B.' or (marg.) 'B. is gone up to the high places.' LXX gives us no help, reading λυπεῖσθε ἐφ' ἑαυτούς, ἀπολεῖται γὰρ καὶ Δηβών. It is not improbable that בַּיִת here is to be taken in its common sense, and not as a proper name. In that case we should render, with Delitzsch, 'They go up to the temple house.' IRA M. PRICE.

BAZLITH (בַּצְלִית Neh 7^{54}), **Bazluth** (בַּצְלוּת Ezr 2^{52} 'stripping'=Basaloth, 1 Es 5^{31}).—Founder of a family of Nethinim who returned with Zerubbabel.

BDELLIUM (בְּדֹלַח *bĕdôlaḥ*, Gn 2^{12}, Nu 11^{7}).—*Bĕdôlaḥ* is a word of exceedingly doubtful signification: by some being interpreted a gum;[*] by others, a precious stone.[†] We are not, however, concerned with the translation, but with the original Heb. word. It seems improbable that a vegetable product should be associated in the account of Eden with 'gold' and the 'onyx' (or 'beryl' in margin). The reference to the word in Nu 11^{7} helps to throw some light upon the nature of *bĕdôlaḥ*; the 'eye' of the manna is said to be like the 'eye' of *bĕdôlaḥ*; and, as suggested by Sir J. W. Dawson, the substance must have been known to the Hebrews of the Exodus as having a peculiar lustre, and occurring in rounded grains of a greyish colour 'like coriander seed' (Ex 16^{31}).[‡] These illustrations at once suggest the pearl, which, though not a mineral, is a hard, stony substance, round in form, and with special lustre, much prized by the ancients as an ornament, abundant in the waters of the Persian Gulf,[§] and in all probability in those of the rivers entering from the north, such as the Euphrates, Tigris (Hiddekel), and the two other streams descending from the highlands of Persia. Probably those obtained from the Pison (the modern Karun?) were of peculiar beauty and value. Fresh-water mussels producing pearls frequent many rivers in both hemispheres, as for example those of the British Isles, Saxony, Bohemia, Bavaria, United States and Canada, Japan and China; the rivers in which the pearl mussels breed are chiefly those descending from mountainous regions in temperate and sub-tropical climates; in the case of the Pison the waters descending from the mountains at high altitudes would have afforded the conditions of temperature required for their vitality.

LITERATURE.—Delitzsch, *Neuer Com. über die Gen.* p. 84 (Eng. tr. i. 127); Dillmann, *Genesis*, p. 57; Spurrell, *Notes on Gen.* p. 30; Tristram in *Expos. Times*, iv. 259; Dawson, *Mod. Science in Bible Lands*, p. 115; also in *Expos.* 3rd ser. iii. 201, and *Expos. Times*, iv. 369. E. HULL.

BE is frequent for 'are' in the pres. indic. pl. of all persons, but not invariable, nor can any system be discovered: cf. Ps 107^{30} 'Then are they glad because they be quiet'; and Mt $9^{2.5}$ 'thy sins be forgiven thee' with the parallel passage Lk 5^{20} 'thy sins are forgiven thee.'[*] Eng. RV occasionally, Amer. RV always, gives 'are' for 'be.'

The verb 'to be,' in one or other of its parts, translates a great variety of Heb. and Gr. expressions, some of which are highly idiomatic, and should be attended to. In NT the commonest word, after εἰμί, is γίνομαι, which is probably never identical with εἰμί, since it expresses coming into the state rather than being in it, but cannot always be distinguished from it in English. (It is precisely the distinction between *sein* and *werden*.) RV wherever possible gives 'become,' as Jn 10^{16} 'they shall become one flock' for AV 'there shall be one fold.'

Observe also—**1.** 'To be' in its primal sense of 'to exist,' as in Hamlet's famous line—

> 'To be, or not to be, that is the question.'

Gn 5^{24} 'And Enoch walked with God; and he was not, for God took him'; Wis 13^{1} 'out of the good things that are seen know him that is'; He 11^{6} 'he that cometh to God must believe that he is.' **2.** 'To be the case,' esp. in the phrase 'be it that,' Job 19^{4} 'And be it indeed that I have erred.' **3.** 'To belong to,' esp. in 'peace be to,' 'grace be to,' etc., Sir 25^{9} 'Well is him that hath found prudence.' **4.** 'To happen,' Ac 21^{35} 'So it was (συνέβη) that he was borne of the soldiers.'

J. HASTINGS.

BEACH.—In Mt $13^{2.48}$, Jn 21^{4}, Ac 21^{5} $27^{39.40}$, that is, wherever the Gr. in NT is αἰγιαλός, RV changes 'shore' into 'beach,' leaving 'shore' for χεῖλος (=שָׂפָה='lip'). The beach is properly the part of the shore washed by the tide.

J. HASTINGS.

BEALIAH (בְּעַלְיָה 'J" is lord').—A Benjamite who joined David at Ziklag (1 Ch 12^{5}).

BEALOTH (בְּעָלוֹת), Jos 15^{24}.—An unknown town in the extreme south of Judah. See BALAH.

BEAM is the tr. of several Heb. words, as—**1.** אֶרֶג *'eregh*, Jg 16^{14}, a weaver's hand-loom (to which Samson's hair was fastened), not simply the beam. The same word is tr^{d} ‘shuttle’ Job 7^{6}. **2.** מָנוֹר *mânôr*, a weaver’s beam, to which the web is attached. Goliath’s spear handle is compared to it, 1 S 17^{7} and 2 S 21^{19}; his brother Lahmi’s, 1 Ch 20^{5}; and that of an Egyptian slain by Benaiah, 1 Ch 11^{23}. **3.** קוֹרָה *ḳôrah*, 2 K 6$^{2.5}$, 2 Ch 3^{7}, Ca 1^{17}, a beam to be used as the rafter of a house; hence the roof itself used fig. for the house, Gn 19^{8} ‘they are come under the shadow of my roof.’ ‘Beam’ in older Eng. was used for the tree before it was squared into a beam; this use is found in 2 K 6$^{2.5}$ ‘as one was felling a b.’ **4.** גֵּב *gêbh*, 1 K 6^{9} for the beams supporting the roof of Solomon’s temple; but the meaning (perhaps the reading) is uncertain. **5.** צֶלַע *ẓêlâ‘*, 1 K 7^{3} in ref. to Solomon’s own house. In 6^{5} the same word is tr^{d} ‘chambers,’ which seems to be its meaning in 7^{3} also. See RVm. **6.** כָּפִיס *kâphîṣ*, Hab 2^{11} ‘the stone shall cry out of the wall, and the b. out of the timber shall answer it’—a girder probably (*a connectendo*, says Ges. *Thes. s.v.*).

---

[*] If *bdellium* be the correct translation for *bĕdôlaḥ*, then, according to Josephus, it was 'one of the sweet spices,' *Ant.* III. i. 6.

[†] The LXX renders it by ἄνθραξ in Gn and by κρύσταλλος in Nu. The translators, therefore, considered it to be a precious stone, but leave the reader a choice between two very different species. This view is opposed by Bochart (*Hieroz.* ii. 674-683, iii. 592).

[‡] *Modern Science in Bible Lands*, p. 190.

[§] G. N. Curzon, *Persia*, ii. 455

[*] In 1611 the two forms seem to be still equally acceptable, and for the most part AV follows previous versions. The previous versions do not always agree, however. Thus in Mt 22^{14} Tindale has, 'For many are called, but feawe be chosen'; but the Great Bible, 'For many be called, but feaw are chosen.' About the middle of the 17th cent. 'are' generally replaces 'be,' as may be seen by comparing the Prayer-Books of 1604 and of 1662 (*e.g.* Keeling's *Liturgiæ Britannicæ*, pp. xxii, 6, 38, 93, etc.).

In NT, only δοκός, Mt 7$^{3.4.5}$, Lk 6$^{41.42\,bis}$ of the beam in the eye: a common classical word for a beam of wood, esp. for roofing. LXX uses it for tr^{n} of *ḳôrah*, Gn 19^{8}, 1 K 6$^{2.5}$, Ca 1^{17}. J. HASTINGS.

BEANS (פּוֹל *pôl*, κύαμος, *faba*).—There is no reason to doubt that the vegetable alluded to is the horse-bean, *Faba vulgaris*, L. It is still known by the Arabs as *fûl*, which is the same word as the Heb. *pôl*. It is extensively cultivated in the East, and furnishes a coarse cheap article of diet, which is, however, eaten by the rich as well as the poor. There are several other kinds of beans grown in Palestine, as the string bean, *Vigna Sinensis*, L., var. *sesquipedalis*, L., which is known as *lûbiyeh belediyeh*, and the kidney bean, *Phaseolus vulgaris*, L., *lûbiyeh ifrangîyeh*, and a climbing bean known as *lûbiyeh ḳuṣâs*, which is probably a variety of *Phaseolus multiflorus*, L. The *fûl* (horse-bean) is used in two stages of its development: one, the pods in the unripe state, like string beans; the other, the ripe beans, which are boiled as the ordinary white beans. In both these stages they are made into a stew with meat, and a large proportion of fat, or with oil alone, and often flavoured with onion or garlic. *Fûl* is sown in Oct. or Nov., after the early rains, and harvested earlier or later in the spring, according to the stage in which it is to be used. When harvested for the seed, it is plucked up by the roots, the stalks are trodden and cut to pieces on the threshing-floors, and the seeds extracted and winnowed, as in the case of other grains. It was the seeds that were ground with barley, lentiles, millet, and fitches to make bread (Ezk 4^{9}). It is mentioned only once more as part of the supplies brought by the trans-Jordanic friends of David when he had fled to Mahanaim (2 S 17^{28}). This, with the other supplies, would be just what would be needed and available to-day in the same region and under similar circumstances. G. E. POST.

BEAR (דֹּב or דּוֹב *dôb*, ἄρκτος, ἄρκος, *ursus*, *ursa*).—There is but one species of bear in Syria, *Ursus Syriacus*, Ehr. It is known to the natives by the name *dubb*, which is the Arab. form of *dôb*. It closely resembles the brown bear, *Ursus arctos*, L., of Europe. It has, however, a greyish brown fur. Tristram says that it is closely allied to *Ursus isabellinus*, Horsf., of India. The bear is found in all the wilder regions of alpine Lebanon and Anti-lebanon, far more abundantly in the latter range, esp. its more unfrequented northern solitudes, than in the former. During the cold weather of winter, esp. in exceptionally rigorous seasons, it comes down to the lower mountains in search of food. It is found sparingly in the mountains of Bashan, Gilead, and Moab. Very rarely is it seen in Western Palestine.

The bear feeds principally on roots, bulbs, fruits, and other vegetable products. It is fond of the chick pea, which is much cultivated on the higher levels, where the farmer often suffers serious losses from the bear’s voracity. When not abundantly supplied with vegetable food, it will attack sheep and other animals. It rarely attacks man, but, on the contrary, usually runs away from him as fast as possible.

It is clear that bears were once abundant in Palestine, when that country was more wooded than it is now. David killed one in Judæa (1 S 17$^{34-36}$). Two she-bears are said to have torn forty-two children between Jericho and Bethel (2 K 2^{24}). There are a number of allusions to the characteristics of bears in OT. The bear lies in wait (La 3^{10}). The she-bear, ‘robbed of her whelps,’ is described as specially ferocious (2 S 17^{8}, Pr 17^{12}, Hos 13^{8}). It is spoken of as second to the lion in danger to man (1 S 17$^{34.36}$, Am 5^{19}). A graphic picture of the peaceful reign of the Messiah is the cow and the bear feeding together, and their young lying down together (Is 11^{7}).

There is not the slightest warrant for the LXX rendering, λύκος (*wolf*, Pr 28^{15}), nor μέριμνα (*anxious thought*, Pr 17^{12}), for *dôb*. In both passages the bear is undoubtedly meant.

G. E. POST.

BEARD.—The Egyptians strongly disliked hair on the face: they shaved themselves, and compelled their slaves also to do so. Joseph, coming from prison, had to shave before appearing to the king (Gn 41^{14}). The unshaven face betokened grief. False beards, however, were worn, varying in size and shape with the rank of the individual. Those of the common people were short—that of the monarch, long and square-bottomed: deities are represented with beards curled up at the end. The Jews and kindred peoples have always attached extreme importance to the beard. The leper alone was bound to shave (Lv 14^{9}). The Jews appear with beards in the Assyr. sculptures of the taking of Lachish. They had no special rule for their slaves; unlike the Romans, who, when they took to shaving, compelled their slaves to wear beards. ‘Cutting off the corners of the beard,’ and making cuttings in the flesh, are prohibited (Lv 19$^{26-28}$). These practices are marks of idolatry (Jer 41^{5}), and the peoples of the ‘polled corners’ are to drink the wine-cup of God’s wrath (Jer 9^{26} 25^{23} 49^{32}). Certain neighbouring nations cut off the hair between the ear and the eye in honour of the god Orotal. The prohibition distinguished Israel from idolaters. In time the Jews came to regard the hairs on this part as sacred; hence the long grotesque love-locks of the modern Ashkenazim.

A large graceful beard is a coveted distinction in the East, often securing respect for its possessor. Carefully tended, it may yet in grief be neglected, and actually plucked (2 S 19^{24}). The Arab who shaves disgraces his family, who for generations are called ‘sons of the shaven one.’ To injure a man’s beard is a deep insult (2 S 10^{4} etc.). When a Greek priest is deposed, the heaviest humiliation is the cutting of his beard. Deliberate defilement of the beard would be accepted as clear proof of madness (1 S 21^{13}). It is common to swear by the beard; and in pressing a suit, success is greatly facilitated by placing a hand, if possible, under the beard of him who is addressed.

W. EWING.

BEAST.—Three words in Heb. are so translated in AV and RV. **1.** בְּהֵמָה *bĕhêmâh*, the Arab. *bĕhîmah*, which is defined as ‘any quadruped, even if it live in water, or any animal not endowed with reason.’ In the sense of a quadruped, we have *clean beasts* (Gn 7^{2}); in *contradistinction to man* (Gn 6^{7}, Ex $9^{9.\,10.\,25}$); *animals to be eaten* (Lv 11^{2}); *mammalia*, as constituting one of the four principal classes of the vertebrates, *beasts, fowls, creeping things*, and *fishes* (1 K 4^{33}); in the sense of the *animal kingdom* (Pr 30^{30}); of *domestic animals* (1 K 18^{5}), esp. *riding animals* (Neh 2^{12}); of *wild animals* (Dt 32^{24}). This word is arbitrarily tr. in both AV and RV *cattle* (Gn $1^{24\text{-}26}$ 2^{20} 3^{14} $7^{14.\,21}$ 9^{10} Ps 50^{10} etc.). See CATTLE.

2. בְּעִיר *be'îr* (Ex 22^{5}, Nu $20^{8.\,11}$ AV 'beasts,' but v.^{4} of the same chapter 'cattle.' 'Cattle' is read by RV in Nu $20^{4.\,8.\,11}$, and by AV, RV in Ps 78^{48}. Both give 'beasts' in Gn 45^{17}, the only other occurrence of the word.

3. חַיָּה *ḥayyah* (*ḥaytho*, poetic form, with old case ending, Gn 1^{24}, Ps 50^{10} 79^{2} etc.). It is used (1) of animals in general (Gn 8^{17}, Lv 11^{2} etc.); (2) in contradistinction to *bĕhêmâh*, i.e. *wild b.* (Gn 7^{14} 8^{1} 9^{2} etc.), specialised in the *b. of the reed* (marg. AV, text RV Ps 68^{30}); *evil b.* (Gn $37^{20.\,33}$ etc.); *b. of the field* (Ex 23^{11} etc.); *ravenous b.* (Is 35^{9}). The word *ḥayyah* is tr. in other places *living creatures* (Ezk 1^{5} etc.); *life* (Ps 143^{3}, Is 57^{10}, RV *quickening*, etc.); *appetite* (Job 38^{39}); *living thing* (Gn 1^{28} etc.)=Arab. *ḥayawân*, 'animal.'

The words for beast in NT are chiefly: 1. θηρίον, Ac 28^{4} of a viper; Tit 1^{12} of the Cretans; more generally in He 12^{20}, Ja 3^{7}. It is the word used more than 30 times in Rev for the **Beast of the Apocalypse** (on which see NUMBER, REVELATION). 2. The word ζῷον is used in Rev 4^{6} foll. of the 'living ones' who were round about the throne (AV 'beasts,' RV more suitably 'living creatures').

G. E. POST.

BEATING.—See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.

BEATITUDE.—The word 'beatitude' does not occur in the English Bible. In Biblical Theology it signifies either (1) the joys of heaven, or (2) one of the declarations of blessedness made by Christ as attached to certain virtues, or conditions, or persons. The word in this latter sense is the subject of this article.*

Several of Christ's declarations of blessedness are isolated beatitudes, called forth by special circumstances: Mt 11^{6} = Lk 7^{23}, Mt 13^{16} = Lk 10^{23}, Mt 24^{46} = Lk 12^{43}, Mt 16^{17}, Lk 11^{28} 12^{37}, Jn 13^{17} 20^{29}. There are no beatitudes in St. Mark, and the word μακάριος does not occur in his Gospel, but in the Catholic Epistles and the Apoc. there are several: 1 P 3^{14} 4^{14}, Ja $1^{12.\,25}$, Rev 1^{3} 14^{13} 16^{15} 19^{9} 20^{6} $22^{7.\,14}$.

But the term is most commonly used of those general declarations of blessedness made by Christ in the discourses recorded by St. Matthew (v.$^{3\text{-}11}$) and St. Luke ($6^{20\text{-}22}$), which are sometimes distinguished as the 'Sermon on the Mount' and the 'Sermon on the Plain.' The question whether the two evangelists give us divergent records of the same discourse or records of two different but similar discourses, will probably never cease to be discussed, for proof is impossible. But the beatitudes as recorded by each are a considerable element in the evidence. In Mt we have eight beatitudes and no woes; in Lk four beatitudes and four corresponding woes. Moreover, in the beatitudes which are common to both there are important differences. (1) Those in Mt are in the third person, and apply to all mankind: 'for *theirs* is,' 'for *they* shall,' etc. Those in Lk are in the second person, and apply primarily to those present: 'for *yours* is,' 'for *ye* shall,' etc. (2) In Lk the more spiritual words which occur in Mt are omitted, and the blessings are assigned to external conditions. *Actual* poverty, sorrow, and hunger are declared to be blessed,—no doubt as opportunities of internal graces; and the corresponding woes are uttered against *actual* wealth, jollity, and fulness of bread,—as sources of grievous temptation. In the last beatitude there is less difference between the two. In Lk there is no blessedness assigned to unpopularity, unless it is incurred for the Son of Man's sake; and there is no woe on popularity for His sake.

The first difference explains the second. The universal declarations in Mt require the spiritual conditions. The special declarations in Lk, being addressed to disciples, do not. Even for pagans, to be poor *in spirit* and to hunger after *righteousness* are blessed things: but it is only to the faithful Christian that actual poverty and actual hunger are sure to be blessings. To others these trials may be barren suffering, or may harden rather than chasten. The beatitudes omitted in Lk are the third, fifth, sixth, and seventh of Mt, viz. those relating to the meek, the merciful, the pure in heart, and the peacemakers.

The eight beatitudes may be regarded as an analysis of perfect spiritual wellbeing; and nowhere in non-Christian literature shall we find so sublime a summary of the best elements in the felicity attainable by man. They correct all low and carnal views of human happiness. But it is fanciful to find a gradation in the order in which they are recorded, *e.g.* that poverty of spirit is the death of self-righteousness; mourning the burial of self-righteousness; meekness the virtue that takes the place of self-righteousness, etc.

It is more to the point to notice that they do not describe eight different classes of people, but eight different elements of excellence, which may all be combined in one and the same man. Some of them, indeed, are almost certain to be so combined, *e.g.* being poor in spirit with meekness, and endurance of persecution with mourning. And perhaps it is not untrue to say with Ambrose that the four given by St. Luke virtually include the whole eight; but to make each of the four correspond to one of the four cardinal virtues is to force the meaning of one or the other.

The following table will show in a clear way the difference between Mt and Lk in the four beatitudes which they have in common:—

ST. MATTHEW.	ST. LUKE.	ST. LUKE.
Blessed	*Blessed*	*Woe*
1. are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.	1. are ye poor: for yours is the kingdom of God.	1. unto you that are rich! for ye have received your consolation.
2. are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted.	3. are ye that weep now: for ye shall laugh.	3. ye that laugh now! for ye shall mourn and weep.
4. are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled.	2. are ye that hunger now: for ye shall be filled.	2. unto you, ye that are full now! for ye shall hunger.
8. are ye when men shall reproach you, and persecute you,	4. are ye, when men shall hate you, and when they shall sepa-	4. when all men shall speak well of you! for in the same

---

* *Beatitudo* is used in this sense as early as Ambrose: *Quatuor tantum beatitudines sanctus Lucas Dominicas posuit, octo vero sanctus Matthæus: sed in his octo illæ quatuor sunt, et in istis quatuor illæ octo. Hic enim quatuor velut virtutes amplexus est cardinales* (*Expos. Evang. sec. Luc.* v. 49, Migne, xiv. xv. 1649). In Gr. μακαρισμός has this meaning in the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom and elsewhere: the μακαρισμοί are sung on Sundays instead of the third antiphon. In English this use of 'beatitude' is perhaps not earlier than 1500.

and say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake. Rejoice, and be exceeding glad: for great is your reward in heaven: for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you.

rate you, and reproach you, and cast out your name as evil, for the Son of man's sake. Rejoice in that day, and leap for joy: for behold, your reward is great in heaven: for in the same manner did their fathers to the prophets.

manner did their fathers to the false prophets.

A. PLUMMER.

BEAUTIFUL GATE.—See JERUSALEM.

BEBAI.—**1.** (בֵּבָי) The eponym of a family of returning exiles (Ezr 2^{11} 8^{11} 10^{28}, Neh 7^{16} 10^{15}, 1 Es 5^{13} 9^{29}). See GENEALOGY. **2.** (Βηβαί) An utterly unknown locality mentioned only in Jth 15^{4}. B and Vulg. omit. The text is probably corrupt.

J. A. SELBIE.

BECAUSE was formerly used (and is still used locally) to express the *purpose.* Thus Burton, *Anat. Mel.* (1621) 'Anointing the doors and hinges with oyl, because (=in order that) they should not creak.' There are two examples in AV, Wis 11^{23} 'And winkest at the sins of men b. they should amend' (RV 'to the end they may repent'); Mt 20^{31} 'And the multitude rebuked them b. (RV 'that') they should hold their peace.'

J. HASTINGS.

BECHER (בֶּכֶר 'young camel').—**1.** Son of Ephraim, Nu 26^{35}=1 Ch 7^{20} where the name appears as **Bered.** Patronymic in Nu 26^{35} **Becherites** (AV Bachrites). **2.** Son of Benjamin, Gn 46^{21}, 1 Ch $7^{6.8}$ and implicitly in 1 Ch 8^{1} where for MT, בְּכֹרוֹ אַשְׁבֵּל =*his first-born, Ashbel,* we should probably read בֶּכֶר וְאַשְׁבֵּל=*Becher and Ashbel.*

J. A. SELBIE.

BECHORATH (בְּכוֹרַת).—One of Saul's ancestors (1 S 9^{1}, 1 Ch 7^{8}).

BECK (from verb 'beck,' which is a short form of beckon), now nearly displaced by 'nod,' occurs 2 Mac 8^{18} AV and RV, 'Almighty God, who at a beck can cast down both them that come against us and all the world' (Gr. ἑνὶ νεύματι).

Beckon occurs more frequently, but only in NT. It deserves attention on account of the precision of the Greek words.

1. There is the simple νεύω, to nod, to make signs with the *head,* Jn 13^{24} of Simon Peter's nod to John to ask who was to be the betrayer; Ac 24^{10} of Felix's nod to Paul to speak.

2. Διανεύω, lit. 'to nod through,' Lk 1^{22} of Zacharias' beckoning (RV 'making signs') to the people, δια perhaps expressing the range—not to one, but to many.

3. Κατανεύω, lit. 'to nod down to,' Lk 5^{7} 'they beckoned unto their partners in the other boat.'

Other compounds of νεύω found in NT, but not trd 'beckon,' are (1) ἐκνεύω, Jn 5^{13} 'Jesus had *conveyed himself away*'; (2) ἐννεύω, Lk 1^{62} 'they *made signs* to his father'; and (3) ἐπινεύω, Ac 18^{20} 'he *consented* not.'

4. Then there is σείω 'to shake,' with its compounds ἀνασείω, διασείω, κατασείω, of which only the last is trd 'beckon,' to make signs with the *hand,* esp. before beginning to address an audience, Ac 12^{17} 13^{16} 19^{33} 21^{40}.

J. HASTINGS.

BECOME.—**1.** As tr. of πρέπω 'to be seemly,' 'appropriate,' 'b.' is found Mt 3^{15}, Eph 5^{3}, 1 Ti 2^{10}, Tit 2^{1} (RV 'befit'), He 2^{10} 7^{26} 'such an high priest became us.' In Tit 2^{3} 'in behaviour as becometh holiness' (RV 'reverent in demeanour'), the Gr. is one word ἱεροπρεπής, from ἱερός 'sacred' and πρέπει 'it is becoming.' In Ro 16^{2} 'as becometh saints' the Gr. is ἀξίως τῶν ἁγίων 'worthily of the saints'; so in Ph 1^{27} 'as it becometh the gospel of Christ' (RV 'worthy of'). **2.** In Bar 3^{16} occurs the obsolete phrase 'where is become,' for 'what is become of': 'Where are the princes of the heathen become?' (RV omits 'become'). Cf. Wither (1628), 'Why should the wicked . . . say, Where is their God become?'

J. HASTINGS.

BECTILETH Plain (τὸ πεδίον Βαικτειλαίθ), Jth 2^{21}.—Between Nineveh and Cilicia. Perhaps the Bactiali of the Peutinger Tables, 21 miles from Antioch. The Syriac supposes an original reading, בית קטלא 'house of slaughter' (?).

C. R. CONDER.

BED (for which RV substitutes 'couch' in 1 Ch 5^{1}, Est 1^{6} 7^{8}, Job 17^{13}, Ps 41^{3}, Pr 7^{16}, Ca 1^{16}, and 'litter' in Ca 3^{7}) is AV tr. of the following Heb. words:—**1.** מִשְׁכָּב (fr. שָׁכַב 'lie down') 40 times. **2.** יָצוּעַ (fr. יָצַע 'spread out') poet. 1 Ch 5^{1} (fr. Gn 49^{4}), Job 17^{13}, Ps 63^{6} 132^{3}. **3.** מַצָּע (fr. same root) Is 28^{28}. **4.** עֲרוּגָה ('flower-bed') twice, Ca 5^{13} 6^{2}, to which RV adds Ezk $17^{7.10}$. **5.** מִטָּה (fr. נָטָה 'stretch out') 26 times. **6.** עֶרֶשׂ (a four-post bed?) 4 times, Job 7^{13}, Ps 41^{3}, Pr 7^{16}, Ca 1^{16}. The last two words appear to be parallel in meaning in Am 6^{4}, 'that lie upon beds (מִטּוֹת) of ivory, and stretch themselves upon their couches (עַרְשׂוֹתָם).' Both are used also in the sense of 'bier,' מִטָּה in 2 S 3^{31}, עֶרֶשׂ in Syr. (comp. *'arsâ'* in Lk 7^{14}), while מִשְׁכָּב is applied in 2 Ch 16^{14} to Asa's resting-place in his tomb. All this lends support to the opinion of those who interpret the 'bedstead' of Og (Dt 3^{11}) of a sarcophagus (see Driver, *ad loc.*). The word מטה, written without vowel points, might be read either מִטָּה 'bed' or מַטֶּה 'staff.' Hence in Gn 47^{31} we find, 'Israel bowed himself *upon the bed's head,* the tr. following MT (עַל־רֹאשׁ הַמִּטָּה), while in He 11^{21} we have 'Jacob worshipped, *leaning upon the top of his staff,*' which adopts the LXX ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ῥάβδου αὐτοῦ. See next article.

J. A. SELBIE.

BED.—The bed of the Hebrews did not differ in essential respects from that of other Oriental peoples. It consisted of a mat and quilt to lie upon, and a covering or coverlet. 'For the bed is shorter than a man can stretch himself on it; and the covering narrower than that he can wrap himself in it' (Is 28^{20}). The adjuncts were the pillow and the bedstead and its ornaments. Amongst all classes the custom was to sleep in the day-clothes without any material change of garments; sheets were therefore superfluous. In its simplest form the bed consisted only of the day-clothes and the outer garment or cloak. 'If thou at all take thy neighbour's garment to pledge, thou shalt restore it to him by that the sun goeth down: for that is his only covering; it is his garment for his skin: wherein shall he sleep?' (Ex 22^{27}).

The ordinary bedding used throughout the East at the present day is probably similar in character to that which has been in use for centuries, and consists of (1) a mat of rushes or straw; (2) skins, or a cloak or a quilt stuffed with dry herbs, hair, or vegetable fibre to lie upon; (3) a covering of light stuff in summer, or of skins or quilted stuff in winter. The bedding is rolled up (Pr 22^{27}) in the morning, and, after being aired in the sun, is put away in a chamber or closet. Many of these beds are kept in a house, and, when the inmates are few, they are sometimes stacked one on another and form a temporary bedstead. There is little difference between the bed for sleeping on and the divan or couch for resting on during the day. The bed is essentially an article that can be moved about readily from place to place. 'Bring him up to me in the bed, that I may slay him (1 S 19^{15}). 'Behold, men bring on a bed a man that was palsied' (Lk 5^{18-25}).

There is usually some portion of the house set apart as a room where the whole family may sleep. 'My children are with me in bed, I cannot rise and give thee' (Lk 11^{5-8}). Among the very poorest a portion of the floor is set apart, and this is often somewhat raised up above the surrounding floor so as to serve as a bedstead. When there are two storeys, the beds are on the upper floor, and during the summer time they are usually on the flat roof. Thus references are constantly made to going *up* to bed, which may indicate either a bed raised up on a bedstead, or situated in an upper chamber, or on the roof (Gn 49[33]). 'Thou shalt not come down from the bed whither thou art gone up' (2 K 1[4]); 'nor go up into my bed' (Ps 132[3]; cf. 1 S 28[23]).

The bed is usually placed near the wall of the chamber, and there are indications that it was placed alongside the wall. 'Then he turned his face to the wall and prayed unto the Lord' (2 K 20[2]).

The bed used by watchmen, both when in the fields watching for marauders and when acting as doorkeepers, is of the simplest form, and requires no description: 'A booth in a vineyard, as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers' (Is 1[8]. See CUCUMBER).

In accordance with the wealth of the house or family, the bed is enriched and embroidered. This is so also among the Bedawin and dwellers in tents. 'I have spread my couch with carpets of tapestry, with striped cloths of the yarn of Egypt; I have perfumed my bed with myrrh, aloes, and cinnamon' (Pr 7[16. 17]); 'the couches were of gold and silver' (Est 1[6]).

Pillows and cushions are the usual adjuncts of beds in the East at the present day, and it may be assumed that they were as generally used in early days in Palestine as they were among the Greeks after the Homeric age. A piece of stone such as that used by Jacob (Gn 28[11]) at Bethel would be naturally accepted as a pillow by a native of Palestine on the line of march at the present day. The quilt or pillow of goats' hair placed by Michal (1 S 19[12]) in David's bed, though only a makeshift hastily put together, indicates the use of pillows at that time. Those mentioned Ezk 13[18] do not necessarily appear to be bed pillows. Pillows at the present day are usually made of the same stuff as the bedding, but more profusely ornamented and embossed, and in wealthy houses covered with satin, silk, and embroidery. 'The silken cushions of a bed' (Am 3[12]). Sometimes the finest linen is lightly tacked on the embroidery, probably to protect the face from the roughness of the work.

Among the poorer classes, bedsteads, when used, were probably light portable frames for keeping the bedding off the ground, and for carrying sick persons, as on a litter. Although there is no direct allusion to a bedstead except perhaps that of Og, king of Bashan, there are several references which indicate that beds were raised above the floor. In the passage relating to Jacob's 'bed of sickness' (Gn 47[31]), the 'bed's head' is referred to. See also 1 S 19[15], 2 S 3[31], Lk 5[18-25]. In whatever sense the passage referring to Og, 'behold his bedstead was a bedstead of iron' (Dt 3[11]), is to be understood, the hard black basalt so common in Bashan is probably referred to.

There are numerous indications that in the houses of the wealthy, and in the palaces, there were bedsteads highly ornamented, and that the richness and magnificence of the beds and bedsteads among the Asiatics was at least equal to that which obtained among the Greeks and Romans. The bedsteads in the most wealthy houses were of costly kinds of wood, veneered with tortoise-shell and ivory, and ornamented with gold and silver. The couches of 'gold and silver' (Est 1[6]) probably included the bedstead. The same may be said of the 'beds of ivory' (Am 6[4] 3[15]). The ten beds with feet of silver, and the furniture belonging to them, sent to Eleazar the high priest (Jos. *Ant.* XII. ii. 15), evidently included the bedsteads.

The ornaments of the bedstead included the canopy and pillars. 'King Solomon made himself a palanquin of the wood of Lebanon. He made the pillars thereof of silver, the bottom thereof of gold, the seat of it of purple' (Ca 3[10]). 'There were hangings of white cloth, of green, and of blue, fastened with cords of fine linen and purple to silver rings and pillars of marble; the couches were of gold and silver upon a pavement of porphyry and white marble, and alabaster and stone of blue colour' (Est 1[6]). 'Now Holofernes rested upon his bed under a canopy, which was of purple, and gold, and emeralds, and precious stones inwoven' (Jth 10[21]).

C. WARREN.

BEDCHAMBER.—See HOUSE.

BEDAD (בְּדַד).—The father of Hadad, king of Edom (Gn 36[35]=1 Ch 1[46]).

BEDAN (בְּדָן).—1. Mentioned with Jerubbaal, Jephthah, and Samuel as one of the deliverers of Israel (1 S 12[11]). The name does not occur in Jg, and it is probably a corruption for Barak (so LXX and Pesh.). Chronologically Barak should precede Gideon, but the order cannot be pressed (cf. v.[9]). The Jews explain בדן as=בֶּן־דָּן 'a son of Dan,' *i.e.* Samson; this is impossible. The more obvious emendation, 'Abdon (עַבְדּוֹן, Ewald), is unsuitable, since little is known of this hero. 2. A Manassite (1 Ch 7[17]).

J. F. STENNING.

BEDEIAH (בֵּדְיָה=עֲבֵדְיָה 'servant of J″').—One of those who had taken foreign wives (Ezr 10[35]): in 1 Es 9[34] apparently Pedias.

BEE (דְּבוֹרָה *dĕbôrâh*, *μέλισσα*, *apis*).—The bee is known in Arab. as *naḥl*, but *dabr* is a swarm of bees, pl. *dubûr*. The common term for wasp or hornet is *dabbûr*, which is a corruption of *zenbûr*.

The bee is an insect found in large numbers in Syria and Pal., both wild and hived. The wild bee is most common in lonely ravines, where it makes its nest in the clefts of the precipitous rocks, often with great difficulty accessible to man. They also make their hives in hollow trees (1 S 14[25. 26]); but as the forests are few in these lands, they are a less natural refuge for the bees than the rocks (cf. Dt 32[13], Ps 81[16]). Tristram says that they are specially abundant in the wilderness of Judæa, and that most of the honey sold in S. Pal. comes from these wild hives. This explains the allusion (Mt 3[4]), 'and his meat was locusts and wild honey.' It also explains the sentence (Dt 1[44]), 'The Amorites, which dwelt in the mountain, came out against you, and chased you, as bees do.' When tame bees are disturbed, it is well known how furiously they will attack their disturber. But their vehemence is as nothing to that of the wild bees, which are unaccustomed to man. Dr. Thomson (*Land and Book*, p. 299) says, 'The people of Ma'alia (in Wady Ḳarn) several years ago let a man down the face of the rock by ropes. He was entirely protected from the attacks of the bees, and extracted a large amount of honey; but he was so terrified by the prodigious swarms of bees that he could not be induced to repeat the exploit.' The Psalmist says (Ps 118[12]), 'They compassed me about like bees,' alluding to the threatening attacks of these insects.

It was said of the land of promise that it was a 'land flowing with milk and honey.' This is partly justified by the wild bees and honey, but still more so by the large numbers of domesticated bees. Every peasant's house has its beehives. Sometimes they are boxes, as with us; sometimes a broken water jar is made to serve; but more usually they are wicker cylinders, about 4 ft. long and 10 in. in diameter, plastered over with cow-dung, and stopped with the same material at either end, except a few holes for the entry and exit of the bees. These hives are often piled in a pyramidal shape, with four or more at the base, and plastered together with cow-dung to protect them from the heat, and shaded with branches of trees.

For hiving bees, manœuvres are used similar to those so common in the West. The superior of a convent near Beirût had a chest partially filled with figs, through the keyhole of which a swarm of bees entered. The following day four jars, with a little grape honey smeared inside, were put in succession to the keyhole, and filled with bees.

It is certainly not customary for the people in Bible lands to hiss to their bees (Is 7^{18}). It might have been in Bible days. It is, however, universal to whistle to pigeons in order to recall them from their flight. Hundreds of persons can be seen on the flat roofs of the houses in the large cities amusing themselves in this manner a little before sunset. Sir John Lubbock believes that bees lack the sense of hearing.

The honey is usually extracted about the time of the Feast of the Cross, in the middle of Sept. A man with his face masked with iron gauze and his hands protected with mittens, simply puts his hands into the hive and extracts the combs, leaving a little for the bees. The honey is usually squeezed out of the combs, and packed in jars (*bottle*, marg. 1 K 14^3) or tins, and sometimes in skins. The people of the Antilebanon plateau, north of Damascus, raise large quantities of honey.

A bee cultivator from America settled some years ago in Beirût to raise bees. He spoke of the Syrian bee as superior to the usual breeds of Europe. It is somewhat smaller than the *Apis mellifica* of Europe, and of a lighter colour. It is the *Apis fasciata*, Lat.

As many of the plants to which the bees resort are aromatics, much of the honey has a decided flavour, often very agreeable, sometimes a little rank. The wax is principally used in making tapers for religious purposes. There is no evidence that candles were known in ancient times. The people are very fond of honey. They dip their bread in it. They make certain kinds of cakes (Ex 16^{31}) and pastry with it. They sometimes preserve fruit in it. They eat it in quantities surprising to Occidentals. It is seldom eaten direct from the comb. It has been from the earliest times an article of commerce in Bible lands. Jacob sent some of it to his son Joseph (Gn 43^{11}). Judah and Israel sold it to Tyrian merchants for export (Ezk 27^{17}). Stores of honey were collected for this purpose, as at Mizpah (Jer 41^8). Considering the large quantities of honey produced in Pal. there is no occasion for supposing that דְּבַשׁ *dĕbash* signifies the *dibs*, the *grape honey* of our time.

Much controversy has taken place over the swarm of bees in the carcase of the lion (Jg 14^8). The simple fact is, that in a few hours after an animal is dead, jackals, dogs, and vultures often reduce the carcase to a ligamentous skeleton, which is soon dried in the fierce heat, and would make as savoury a hive as the cow-dung-plastered baskets which are used for raising bees, and the cow-dung trays on which silk-worms are developed.

Honey, דְּבַשׁ *dĕbash*, could not be used in burnt-offerings (Lv 2^{11}).

Honey is used to illustrate moral teachings. A man is exhorted to eat honey and the honey comb (Pr 24^{13}), but warned against surfeit (Pr $25^{16.\,27}$). It was a simile for moral sweetness (Ezk 3^3), and for the excellence of the law (Ps 19^{10}), of pleasant words (Pr 16^{24}), and of the lips (Ca 4^{11}), and as a figure for love (Ca 5^1).

The LXX adds to Pr 6^8 'Go to the bee, and learn how diligent she is, and what a noble work she produces; whose labour kings and private men use for their health. She is desired and honoured by all, and, though weak in strength, yet since she values wisdom she prevails.' This passage exists in the Arabic version, and is quoted by ancient writers. G. E. Post.

BEELIADA (בְּעֶלְיָדָע 'Baal knows').—A son of David, 1 Ch 14^7, changed in conformity with later usage (see Ishbosheth) into Eliada (אֶלְיָדָע 'El knows') in 2 S 5^{16}. J. A. Selbie.

BEELSARUS (Βεέλσαρος), 1 Es 5^8.—One of the leaders (προηγούμενοι) of those Jews who returned to Jerus. with Zerub., called Bilshan, Ezr 2^2, Neh 7^7. The form in 1 Es appears not to have come through the Gr. of the canonical books, but to be due to a confusion of ר and ן in the Heb.

H. St. J. Thackeray.

BEELTETHMUS (Βεέλτεθμος). — An officer of Artaxerxes residing in Pal., 1 Es $2^{16.\,25}$ (LXX $^{15.\,21}$). It is not a proper name, but a title of Rehum, the name immediately preceding it in Ezr 4^8 (A βααλτάμ'). It is a corruption of בְּעֵל טְעֵם = 'lord of judgment,' and is rendered 'chancellor' by AV and RV in Ezr, 'story-writer' in 1 Es 2^{17} (ὁ τὰ προσπίπτοντα, LXX). The title has been explained by the Assyr. inscriptions, and signifies 'lord of official intelligence' or 'postmaster' (Sayce, *Introd. to Ezr., Neh., and Est.* p. 27). See Chancellor.

H. St. J. Thackeray.

BEER (בְּאֵר 'a well').—**1.** A station in the journey from Arnon to the Jordan, mentioned Nu 21^{16}, with a poetical extract commemorating the digging of a well at this spot. The context indicates the neighbourhood, but further identification of the station is wanting. Perhaps the words translated 'and from the wilderness,' which immediately follow this extract (Nu 21^{18}), should be translated (following the LXX ἀπὸ φρέατος), 'and from Beer,' or 'the well.' It is generally identified with **Beer-Elim** ('well of mighty men'?), mentioned Is 15^8, and in the second part of the compound name it may be conjectured that there is reference to the event commemorated in the song, Nu $21^{17.\,18}$. See Budde in *New World*, Mar. 1895, p. 136 ff.

2. The place to which Jotham ran away after uttering his parable (Jg 9^{21}). Its position is unknown. If, as some suppose, it is the same as Beeroth (Jos 9^{17}), its site is fixed (see Beeroth). But Beeroth is in Benjamin, and it seems probable that Jotham fled to his own people in Manasseh, and not southward. A. T. Chapman.

BEERA (בְּאֵרָא).—A man of Asher (1 Ch 7^{37}). See Genealogy.

BEERAH (בְּאֵרָה).—A Reubenite who was carried captive by Tiglath-pileser (1 Ch 5^6).

BEER-ELIM.—See Beer.

BEERI (בְּאֵרִי).—**1.** The father of Judith, one of Esau's wives (Gn 26^{34}), sometimes wrongly identified with Anah (which see). **2.** The father of the prophet Hosea (Hos 1^1). H. E. Ryle.

BEER-LAHAI-ROI (בְּאֵר לַחַי רֹאִי 'Well of the Living One that seeth me,' Gn $16^{7.\,14}$ 24^{62} 25^{11}).—It is expressly described as '*the* fountain in the way to Shur,' signifying that it was well known, on the way to Egypt whither the Egyptian Hagar was naturally fleeing. It is placed between Kadesh and Bered; but the site of neither is certain. Bered has been located at El-Khalasah, 13 miles S.W. of Beersheba. When Abraham dwelt between Kadesh and Shur, he is said (Gn 20^1) to have sojourned in Gerar at the same time or shortly after. Gn 25^{11} and 26^1 also imply that the well, Beer-lahai-roi, was not very far from Gerar. Rowland claims to have found the true site at *'Ain Moilâhhi*, some 50 miles S. of Beer-sheba, and 10 or 12 miles W. of 'Ain Kadis (*PEFSt*, 1884, p. 177). (See Bered, Hagar, Isaac, Shur.)

A. Henderson.

BEEROTH (בְּאֵרֹת ‘Wells’).—One of the confederate Hivite cities which wilily made alliance with Joshua after the overthrow of Ai (Jos 9^{17}). It was afterwards in the territory of Benjamin (Jos 18^{25}). The **Beerothites**, like the Gibeonites, maintained their independence as a tribe in Israel even after the return from the Exile (Ezr 2^{25}, Neh 7^{29}). The occasion of their flight to Gittaim (2 S 4^{3}) is not mentioned; and it is uncertain if that is the town named (Neh 11^{33}). Rimmon, the father of the murderers of Ishbosheth, and Naharai, Joab's armour-bearer (2 S 23^{37} RVm, 1 Ch 11^{39}), were Beerothites. It is identified with Bîreh, 8 miles N. of Jerusalem on the great northern road, the usual halting place on the first night from Jerusalem. Tradition connects it with the story of Lk 2$^{43.\ 45}$ as the place whence Mary and Joseph returned to Jerusalem. There is no reason to doubt the correctness of this tradition, as the distance is convenient, and the usage of Eastern caravans seldom changes.

A. HENDERSON.

BEEROTH-BENE-JAAKAN (בְּאֵרֹת בְּנֵי יַעֲקָן), in Dt 10^{6} RV; ‘Beeroth of the children of Jaakan,’ AV, LXX Βηρώθ. The place is called Bene-jaakan in the list of stations, Nu 33$^{31.\ 32}$. From Gn 36^{27}, 1 Ch 1^{42} the Bene-jaakan are descendants of Seir the Horite, and the name of the adjacent station, Hor-haggidgad (which see), contains חֹר. The border of Seir or Edom is the probable situation of this unidentified spot.

A. T. CHAPMAN.

BEER-SHEBA (בְּאֵר שֶׁבַע, Arab. *Bir es Sebá*).—A village, or settlement, on the N. bank of the Wady es-Sebá, deriving its special interest from its connexion with the patriarchs. It was the residence successively of Abraham (Gn 21^{31}), of Isaac (Gn 26^{23}), and of Jacob (Gn 28^{10}), and received its name (‘Well of the oath’) as having been the place, marked by a well, where Abraham entered into covenant with Abimelech, king of Gerar (Gn 21^{31} E). (A different derivation is adopted in Gn 26^{33} J.) It was afterwards visited by Elijah when fleeing from the wrath of Jezebel on his way to Horeb (1 K 19^{3}). Beer-sheba fell within the lot of the tribe of Simeon (Jos 19^{2}), though included in the wider boundaries of Judah. It was bounded on the S. by the Negeb or ‘South Country,’ a spacious tract of undulating chalky downs, wide pastures, and generally waterless brook courses. Its position in the extreme south gave rise to the phrase ‘from Dan to Beersheba’ (Jg 20^{1}, 1 S 3^{20} etc.) = all the territory of Israel. The converse ‘from B. to Dan’ occurs in 1 Ch 21^{2}, 2 Ch 30^{5}. The soil in the valleys where there is some moisture is exceedingly rich, and is rudely cultivated by the fellahîn, who succeed in producing fine crops of wheat and barley. In the tracts around Beer-sheba the Bedawin find ample pasturage for their flocks and herds, which towards evening assemble in crowds around the wells as they did three thousand years ago. That the district was once thickly inhabited, probably in the early Christian centuries before the Mohammedan irruption, is shown by ruined walls and foundations which are visible at intervals for several miles between Bir es-Sebá and el-Tel Milh. The position of Bir es-Sebá is marked by lines of foundations along some rising ground above the N. bank of the river, amongst which is the foundation of a Greek church, with apse, sacristy, and aisles; and in the valley below are the celebrated wells sunk through alluvial deposits into the limestone rock. These are five or six in number; and of the two principal ones the larger is regarded with confidence as coming down from the time of Abraham. This (according to Tristram) is the tradition of the Arabs, who point to it as the work of Ibrahim el-Khalil (Abraham the Friend). Conder, who carried out the Ordnance Survey of this part of Pal., states that the depth of the well is 45 ft., and that it is lined with rings of masonry to a depth of 28 ft. That some of the stones are not very ancient is shown by his discovery of a tablet dated 505 A.H., at a depth of 15 courses. This, however, does not throw any doubt on the extreme age of the well itself, but only suggests that it had been repaired during the 12th cent. The marble blocks which form the rim of the well are deeply cut by the ropes used for drawing water; and rude marble troughs of circular form are arranged round the well for the use of the cattle. A second well, 5 ft. in diameter, is found at about 300 yds. to the W. of that just described, and in the opposite direction is a third, 23 ft. deep, which is dry.

The desert of Beer-sheba is very beautiful in spring and early summer when the surface is carpeted with herbage and flowers; but later in the year it is parched and desolate in the extreme, not a tree breaking the monotony of the landscape or the rays of the sun.

Tell es-Sebá is the site of a village at the junction of the W. el-Khalil, which comes down from Hebron on the north, with the W. es-Sebá, and is 2½ miles from Bir es-Sebá. From its summit, 950 ft. above the Mediterranean, a commanding view is obtained of the country around, terminating along the E. in the deep ravines and rocky slopes which lead down to the basin of the Dead Sea.

LITERATURE.—Conder, *Tent Work*, 1880; Hull, *Mount Seir, Sinai, and Western Palestine*, 1889; *PEF* Map of Western Palestine, by Conder and Kitchener; see also Driver and Trumbull in *Expos. Times*, vii. 567 f., viii. 89.

E. HULL.

BEESHTERAH (בְּעֶשְׁתְּרָה), Jos 21^{27}. See ASHTAROTH.

BEETLE.—The word rendered *beetle* in the AV and *cricket* in the RV (Lv 11^{22}) is חַרְגֹּל *ḥargôl*. It is an insect of the grasshopper kind, having ‘legs above its feet’ to leap with. The Heb. root חַרְגַּל *ḥargal*, as its cognate *ḥarjal* in Arab., signifies to leap. The Arab. word *ḥarjalet* signifies a flight of locusts, and *ḥarjuwân*, the *l* and *n* being interchangeable, a sort of grasshopper or locust that leaps without flying. See LOCUST.

G. E. POST.

BEEVES, the pl. of ‘beef,’ is used in Lv 22$^{19.\ 21}$, Nu 31$^{28.\ 30.\ 33.\ 38.\ 44}$ for the animals themselves, not their flesh. Cf.—

> ‘A pound of man's flesh, taken from a man,
> Is not so estimable, profitable neither,
> As flesh of muttons, beefs, or goats.’
>
> Shaks. *M. of V.* I. iii. 68.

RV retains all but Lv 22^{21}, AV ‘a free-will offering in beeves or sheep,’ RV ‘a free-will offering of the herd or of the flock.’ The sing. does not occur in AV or RV, but the Douay Bible (1609) renders Dt 14^{5} ‘the pygargue, the wilde beefe (AV ‘wild ox’), the cameloparde.’

J. HASTINGS.

BEFORE, meaning ‘in the presence of,’ occurs frequently, and as the tr^{n} of a great variety of Heb. and Gr. words. Notice Gn 11^{28} ‘Haran died before his father Terah’ (עַל פְּנֵי ‘before the face of,’ RV ‘in the presence of’); Sir 36^{4} ‘As thou wast sanctified in us before them, so be thou magnified among them before us’; 39^{20} ‘He seeth from everlasting to everlasting, and there is nothing wonderful before him’; Bar 2^{8} ‘Yet have we not prayed before the Lord.’ In Gal 3^{8} ‘the Scripture . . . preached before the gospel unto Abraham,’ the words are a lit. tr. of the Greek (προευηγγελίσατο) and b. = ‘beforehand,’ as RV. See AFORE.

J. HASTINGS.

BEGOTTEN.—Only begotten is the tr^{n} in AV and RV of μονογενής at To 8^{17}, Jn 1$^{14.\ 18}$ 3$^{16.\ 18}$, He 11^{17}

1 Jn 4^{9}, all (except To 8^{17}, He 11^{17} 'Abraham . . . offered up his only b. son') in ref. to Christ. The same Gr. word is found in Lk 7^{12} 'the only son of his mother,' 8^{42} 'he had one (RV 'an') only daughter,' and 9^{38} 'he is mine only child.'

Firstbegotten is the tr. of πρωτότοκος in He 1^{6}, and in Rev 1^{5} (both in reference to Christ), a word which is here by RV and elsewhere by AV and RV tr^{d} 'firstborn.' It would have been more accurate if 'first-begotten' had been given as the tr^{n} of πρωτ., and 'only-born' of μον. The meaning of the latter is indeed, as Westcott points out, obscured under the tr^{n} 'only-begotten,' since in its reference to Christ it is the Son's personal Being, not His generation, that is the thought. Both words express the Son of Man's uniqueness among the sons of men, μον. more absolutely than πρωτ., and more directly in relation to the Father. See Thayer, *NT Lex.*; and Cremer, *Bibl.-Theol. Lex. of NT Greek*, *s.vv.*, and (esp. for πρωτ.), Lightfoot on Col 1^{15}. J. HASTINGS.

BEGUILE.—'To beguile' is to act with guile, to deceive; but (like 'amuse,' which originally meant 'to bewilder') it is mostly employed now in the sense of 'to charm away' (care or time). This meaning, though as old as 1611, does not occur in AV, where on the contrary we find the word signifying directly to cheat, as Col 2^{18} 'Let no man b. you of your reward' (Gr. καταβραβεύω, from βραβεῖον 'a prize,' RV 'rob you of your prize.' See the criticism of this tr. by T. S. Evans in *Lat. and Gr. Verse*, p. xlix). J. HASTINGS.

BEHALF (*by his half*, *i.e.* on his side, then as a prep. with a direct object, *bihalf him*) is used only in prepositional phrases 'in or on (his) behalf,' and (now almost entirely) 'in or on behalf of.'* Until recently a clear distinction was preserved between 'on behalf of' and 'in behalf of,' the former signifying 'in reference to' or 'on account of,' the latter only 'in the interest of,' 'for the sake of.'† This distinction is preserved in AV. Thus, Ex 27^{21}, 'it shall be a statute for ever unto their generations on the behalf of the children of Israel' (that is, the beaten oil shall be a perpetual gift *from* or *on the part of*, מֵאֵת, the children of Israel); 1 Co 1^{4} 'I thank my God always on your behalf' (περὶ ὑμῶν, RV 'concerning you'). But 2 Ch 16^{9} 'the eyes of the LORD run to and fro throughout the whole earth, to show himself strong in the behalf of them whose heart is perfect toward him'; Ph 1^{29} 'in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake' (RV 'in his behalf'). But 'in this behalf,' or 'on this behalf,' indifferently, as 2 Co 9^{3} 'in this behalf,' 1 P 4^{16} 'on this behalf' (both ἐν τῷ μέρει τουτῷ, TR, but in 1 P 4^{16} editors prefer ὀνόματι, whence RV 'in his name'). J. HASTINGS.

BEHEADING.—See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.

BEHEMOTH (בְּהֵמוֹת *bĕhêmôth*, perhaps for Egyp. *p-ehe-mau*, 'ox of the water').—The word is tr. in all passages except Job $40^{15\text{-}24}$ as the plural of *bĕhêmâh*, with the signification of *beasts*. It has been supposed by some that *beast* (Ps 73^{22}), which is in the original *bĕhêmôth*, refers to the same animal as that in Job. But the first member of the parallelism in the psalm refers to ignorance, and the putting of the intensive plural *bĕhêmôth*=*beasts*, in the second, would seem to condense into his folly all that is in the beasts. Others have supposed that *bĕhêmôth negeb*, *the beasts of the south* (Is 30^{6}), refers to the animal of Job, and that the south was Egypt. But *negeb* refers to Egypt only in one other context (Dn 11 often). Isaiah more probably refers to the southern portion of Judæa and the wilderness of et-Tîh, and the fact that a partial catalogue of the beasts is given makes it improbable that one beast, and that not a savage or venomous creature, is intended.

There can be no reasonable doubt that the hippopotamus is the animal intended in Job. As some have thought that some other extinct or living animal, or some animal type, as the pachydermatous, was intended, it will be well to examine, in the light of an accurate rendering, whether the description corresponds to that of the hippopotamus.

15 Behold behemoth, which I made with thee;
 He eateth grass like an ox.
16 Behold, his strength is in his loins,
 And his power in the muscles of his belly.
17 He lowers his tail like a cedar:
 The sinews of his thigh are braided together.
18 His bones are tubes of copper,
 Their bulk as a forging of iron.
19 He is the first of God's works:
 He who made him gave him his sword.
20 For the hills bring him forth pasture;
 All the beasts of the field sport there.
21 Beneath the lotus tree he lieth down,
 In the shadow of the reed and swamp.
22 The lotus trees overshadow him;
 The willows of the streams surround him.
23 Behold the river swells, and he does not flee;
 He is confident though Jordan were poured into his mouth.
24 Will one take him before his eyes;
 Or will one bore his nostrils with hooks (rings)?

Remembering that this is Oriental poetry, there is nothing in it which does not well apply to the hippopotamus: he is herbivorous (v.^{15}); he is remarkable for the stoutness of his body (v.^{16}); his tail is thick and rigid, and his legs sinewy (v.^{17}); his bones are solid (v.^{18}); he is the largest animal indigenous in Bible lands; his teeth cut the herbage as with a sword (v.^{19}); he comes up out of the water to the plantations to feed; the term *hill* is applicable to low elevations as well as to high, and in the language of poetry could be used of the knolls arising from the general level of the Nile basin (v.^{20}); the lotus tree (*Zizyphus Lotus*, L.) is common, as also reeds and swamps, in the neighbourhoods where he dwells (v.^{21}); so also the willows by the streams (v.^{22}); the allusion to the inundation of Egypt fits his case (v.^{23}); his strength is such that a direct attack is hazardous, and the poet challenges the reader to bore his nostrils, and lead him with a hook or ring like an ox (v.^{24}).

The allusion to behemoth is the approach to the climax which is reached in leviathan, the crocodile. The poet began (ch. 38) with the foundation of the earth, advanced to the powers of inanimate nature, then through the lesser phenomena of animal life to the largest of the quadrupeds, to finish with the invulnerable, untamable 'king over all the children of pride' (ch. 41^{34}).

LITERATURE.—*Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*; Dillmann and Davidson on Job $40^{15\text{ff.}}$; Delitzsch on Is 30^{6}. G. E. POST.

BEHOVE.—'Behoof' is profit, advantage; it occurs only in Pref. to AV 1611 'For the behoof and edifying of the unlearned.' 'Behove,' now only in the impers. phrase 'it behoves,' signifies necessity arising from peculiar fitness. In AV only Lk 24^{46} 'it b^{ed} Christ to suffer' (TR ἔδει, edd. and RV omit), and He 2^{17} 'it b^{ed} him to be made like unto his brethren (ὤφειλε). RV adds Lk 24^{26}, Ac 17^{3} (both ἔδει). J. HASTINGS.

BEKA (AV Bekah).—See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

BEL (בֵּל), originally one of the Bab. triad, but synonym. in OT and Apocr. with Merodach, 'the younger Bel,' the tutelary god of Babylon (Jer 50^{2}

---

* *Oxf. Eng. Dict.* and *Century Dict.* say behalf is used only with *on* or *in*, forgetting Dn 11^{13} AV 'a prince *for* his own b.'

† Except where the meaning is 'in the name of,' when either form was used.

51^{44}, Is 46^{1}, Bar 6^{41}). See BAAL, BABYLONIA, BEL AND THE DRAGON. J. A. SELBIE.

BEL AND THE DRAGON.—Two legends attached to the book of Dn in the Gr. and other VSS. As in the rest of Dn, the ordinary printed text is that of Theod. (Θ); but Swete has given the text of the unique LXX MS Chisianus, on the opposite page, throughout Dn. In B our stories follow Dn without a break; in A Q, with the intervention of the heading ὅρασις ιβ′. In Vulg. they form ch. 14 of Dn. In LXX and Syr.-Hex. we have the heading, 'From the prophecy of Habakkuk, son of Joshua, of the tribe of Levi.'

Bel.—The points of this story as to which Θ and LXX agree are briefly these:—In Babylon is an image of Bel which Daniel refuses to worship. The king expostulates, and shows how much food it daily devours. Daniel in reply arranges that the king shall see the lectisternia set, and the doors sealed; but takes care, when the priests are gone, that the king shall see the floor sieved with fine ashes. Next morning the seals are intact, but the floor shows marks of naked feet, and the secret door is revealed by which the food has been taken away. After this the priests are put to death and the image destroyed.

Theod.'s task was to revise LXX. In the case before us he had a document, probably Aram., which differed in detail considerably from LXX. In vv.$^{3-9}$ he largely transcribes LXX; but after that uses his own materials very freely. The chief variations between Θ and LXX are these: LXX extracts the story from a pseudepigraphic work of Habakkuk, and introduces Daniel as 'a certain man,' 'a priest, son of Abal, a companion of the king.' Θ by attaching the story to Dn identifies him with the prophet, and makes the king to be Cyrus, successor of Astyages. Bel's daily allowance is in LXX, besides the flour, 4 sheep and 6 firkins of oil; in Θ, 40 sheep and 6 firkins of wine. The Phillipp's cylinder, i. R. 65, records that Nebuchadrezzar's daily offering was one fine ox, fish, fowl, etc., the best of oil, and the choicest wines like the waters of a river (Ball, *Speaker's Apocr.* ii. 352). LXX introduces in vv.$^{14.17}$ 'honourable priests,' friends of the priest Daniel, with whose signets the doors are sealed. Θ does not. LXX says the food offered was found in the houses of the priests. Θ omits this. While Θ, not LXX, says that Daniel destroyed both the image and the *Temple* of Bel. Cf. Hdt. i. 183; Strabo, xvi. 1.

The Peshiṭta is taken from Θ. Its chief deviations from Θ are v.^{4} 'forty *rams*,' 'Bel *my God*' (cf. Schrader, *COT* ii. 60) v.^{6} 'Bel is *alive*'; v.^{14} 'The king sealed it . . . with the ring of Daniel.' More important, however, are the cases where it discards Θ, and follows LXX, as in v.^{7} 'Nothing has he ever eaten'; v.^{18} 'He saw all eaten which had been offered to Bel'; while in v.^{21} we have a conflate reading, 'consumed what was "offered to Bel" LXX, "on the table"' Θ. Neubauer in his *Tobit* gives a passage from Midrash Rabba de Rabba, where, in Greek-rabbinic characters, is found an almost verbatim transcript of the Peshiṭta as given by Lagarde. The Vulg. gives a minutely accurate tr. of Θ. The Syr.-Hex. in Ceriani's *Mon. Sac. et prof.* follows LXX; but its marg. gives three readings of Θ: '40 sheep' for 'four'; 'wine' for 'oil' in v.^{4}; and the account of the sieving of the floor in v.^{14}.

The Dragon.—The points common to all Jewish varieties of this Haggada are as follows: There was in Babylon a great dragon, widely revered, and fed by its worshippers. Daniel was again a nonconformist. In reply to the king's expostulations he volunteered to kill the monster, if the king would consent, without any weapon. Permission being granted, he made a large bolus, of which pitch was the chief ingredient, and threw it down the dragon's throat; thus causing it to *burst* and die. The populace, enraged, clamoured for Daniel's death. The king yielded, and Daniel was cast into a den, where were 7 lions; and he was there 6 or 7 days. On the last day Habakkuk was cooking food for his reapers, when an angel came and carried him and his provisions through the air (cf. Ezk 8^{3}, and Gospel according to the Hebrews, Resch, *Agrapha*, 381 ff.) to the lions' den, to feed Daniel. When the king came and found Daniel alive, he magnified J", and cast the accusers into the den, where they met with instant death.

The dragon myth had a much wider circulation than that of *Bel*, and was much more flexible in its details. It is doubtless a Judaized version of the old Sem. myth of the destruction of the old dragon, which, terrestrial, maritime, or celestial, represents Chaos or Disorder, which was destroyed by the god of the present order of things. In the Bab. myth, it is Tiamat who is assailed by Bel-Merodach. Bel let loose a storm-wind * which the monster received into its mouth, and 'with violence the wind filled its belly,' and 'its belly was stricken through' (cf. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, 320–323, and Ball in *Speaker's Apocr.* ii. 347).

The fluidity of the myth is shown by the way in which almost every version furnishes details of its own. LXX contributes that Daniel used '30 *pounds* of pitch,' v.^{27}; that the king consulted with his companions, v.^{30}; that the lions' den was reserved for conspirators against the king, and that the lions were fed daily on the bodies of two criminals, v.^{31}; that the mode of death was selected that Daniel might not receive burial, v.^{32}; and that Habakkuk had with him a jug of mixed wine, v.^{33}. Vulg. closely follows Θ, but, besides some smaller deviations, it appends a doxology, v.^{42}, after the manner of Dn 6$^{26.27}$. Lagarde's Syr. adheres closely to Θ; but it adds, v.^{40}, that the king came to the den 'to weep for Daniel,' and makes a brief repetition in v.^{38}. Neubauer's vers. from Midrash Rabba de Rabba, which is mostly a mere transliteration of Syr., adds one item not found elsewhere: 'and they covered the den with a stone, and sealed it with the king's ring, and with their signets,' v.^{31}: and with Walton's vers. it says, 'the angel put his hand on the head of Habakkuk.' Raymund Martini, who wrote an anti-Jewish work, *Pugio Fidei*, in the 13th cent., cites *Bel and the Dragon*, professedly from a Midrash Major on Genesis (Neubauer's *Tobit*, p. viii.). His text is almost an exact counterpart (only by a better scribe) of the unique MS containing Midrash Rabba de Rabba, except a hiatus by homœoteleuton in v.^{31} (see Delitzsch, *De Habacuci Vita*, p. 32). Another Midrash gives a condensed account of the dragon myth in Heb., but says that Daniel took straw and wrapped *nails* in it which pierced the monster's viscera (*Bĕrēshith rabba*, § 68; Del. p. 38). Josippon ben Gorion, the pseudo-Jos., the author of a mytho-historical work, *c.* A.D. 940, ascribes the death of the dragon to *combs* concealed in pitch; he fixes sunset as the hour of Habakkuk's transportation, and says that he returned 'before the reapers finished eating,' Del. *op. cit.* 40.

Gaster (*PSBA*, Nov. Dec. 1894) announces the discovery of an Aram. text of the story of the *Dragon* in the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel*. This he claims to be the very text used by Θ in revising LXX. It is certainly a striking document. Its dialect, both in vocabulary and grammatical forms, is that of Onkelos. It is a longer narrative than any other, and possesses some unique readings; as, *e.g.*, 'flax' in v.^{27}; 'without sword or *spear*,' v.^{26}; 'Daniel was in the den *seven* days,' v.^{30}; 'land of Israel,' v.^{33}; 'and when Habakkuk's spirit returned to him,' v.^{37}. But the antiquity of its text is, I think, most clearly evinced by the fact that it contains many readings found in the several VSS, but until now deemed unique; and thus it seems to be a 'Source.' With the Vulg. only, it reads, 'behold now,' v.^{23}; 'what ye worship,' v.^{27}; and 'from the den *of lions*,' v.^{42}. With Syr. only, it reads, 'and the dragon swallowed them, and died,' v.^{27}; '*My* Lord,' v.^{35}; 'in one *hour*,' v.^{39}; 'who *slandered* Daniel,' v.^{42}. With Josippon, it adds that the angel took Habakkuk 'with the food that was in his hands," v.^{36}, and states that Daniel put iron *combs* in the pitch, and that, when the pitch melted, the combs pierced the viscera of the dragon, and thus caused its death, v.^{26}.

---

* The Aram. word for 'storm-wind' is זַעְפָּא; for 'pitch,' זִפְתָּא. Is this an accident? or does it not rather indicate that the story circulated in Aram., and thus 'pitch' was in time substituted for 'storm-wind'? Cf. the omission of ע in בל for בעל.

Language.—Most scholars, from Eichhorn to König, have considered the orig. lang. of these stories to be Greek; but Gaster's discovery looks strongly, if not decisively, in favour of Aramaic. The confusion of וַעֲפָא=storm-wind, and וְיִפָּא=pitch, points in the same direction. The awkward word (LXX ^{14}) *σφραγισάμενος*=חתם is best explained by supposing that the latter was read for סתם=*κλείσας*; and besides this, many divergent parallel readings yield, when translated, very similar Aram. words, *e.g.*—

17	look at seals,	אסתכל	safe . . . ? .	. הבתכל
18	king rejoiced,	חדא	looked, .	. חזא
19	see the guile,	שקרא	threshold, .	. שקפא
31	of the doomed, =*περικαθάρματα*	דדכויא	and 2 rams, .	. וב' דכרא
40	in the midst, Vulg.,	בגו	in the den, Chr, .	בגב
42	slandered, So Chr, Syr.	אכלו קורציה	cause of his destruction, So Θ, Vulg.	עילא קורציה

Canonicity.—The Roman Church admits the genuineness of these stories, as of the rest of the LXX; and in the uncritical age of the early Church, many Gr. and Lat. Fathers quoted them as part of Dn, *e.g.* Irenæus, iv. 5. 2; Tertullian, *de idololatria*, c. 18; and Cyprian, *ad Fortunatum*, c. 11. Julius Africanus was the first to call the matter in dispute, in his *Letter to Origen*. Origen replied; and in his *Stromata*, Book x., expounded *Susanna* and *Bel*. From this exposition Jerome quotes in his commentary on Dn 13. 14. In his *Præfatio in Danielem*, Jerome, while in sympathy with Africanus, conceals himself behind a learned Jew. He says he had heard a Jew deride the Gr. additions to Dn. The Jew asked what miracle, or indication of divine inspiration, there was in a dragon's being killed by a piece of pitch; or in the detection of the tricks of the priests of Bel. These things were done rather by the prudence of a clever man than by the prophetic spirit. As to Habakkuk's aërial flight, with a bowl of pottage in his hand, the Jew refused to accept Ezk 8^{3} as at all parallel: since Ezk in the spirit saw himself being carried, and 'was brought in visions of God to Jerus.' Still Jerome, in view of the universal acceptance of the 'Additions,' decided to publish them 'veru anteposito.' Other objections urged more recently are (1) the inconsistencies of Θ and LXX, and their many improbabilities. (2) That dragon-worship was unknown in Babylon (so Eichhorn, Bissell). This is probably true; but the Babylonians had a snake deity. Cf. Baudissin in Herzog, art. 'Drache zu Babel,' and Ball, 357. (3) The image of Bel was not destroyed in the reign of Cyrus, but by Xerxes; Hdt. i. 183.

LITERATURE.—For MSS in which our stories are found, see DANIEL. The best Com. is Ball's in *Speaker's Apocr.* Other useful helps are Bissell in Lange's series; Fritzsche, *Handbuch zu den Apoc.* vol. i.; Zöckler in *Kgf. Kom.* 1891; Delitzsch, *de Habacuci vita atque ætate*, 1842; Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. 184 ff.; Josippon ben Gorion, ed. Breithaupt, 1710; Zunz, *Gottesdienstl. Vorträge*, p. 129 ff., 1892; Neubauer, *Tobit*, Oxford, 1888.

J. T. MARSHALL.

BELA (בֶּלַע).—1. 'The son of Beor reigned in Edom; and the name of his city was Dinhabah. And Bela died, and Jobab the son of Zerah of Bozrah reigned in his stead' (Gn 36$^{32.33}$, cf. 1 Ch 1$^{43f.}$). The close resemblance of this name to that of 'Balaam (בִּלְעָם), the son of Beor,' the seer, is noteworthy, and has given rise to the Targ. of Jonathan reading 'Balaam the son of Beor' in Gn 36^{32}.

Apparently Bela, the first Edomite king, was not a native of Edom. Possibly we have in these names the preservation of an old tradition respecting the succession of dynasties and their royal residences. Of Dinhabah nothing is known; but, according to Knobel, the name Danaba is found in connexion with Palmyrene Syria (Ptol. 5. 15. 24), Danabe with Babylonia (Zosim. *Hist.* 3. 27), and Dannaba with Moab (*Onomast.* 1. 14. f. ed. Lag.). Bela the son of Beor may have been of Aramæan origin. For Balaam, the son of Beor, is said to have come from Pethor on the Euphrates (Nu 22^{5}, cf. Dt 23^{5}), a town which has been identified with the Pitru of the Assyrian inscriptions on the W. bank of the river, at its junction with the Sâdshûr (Sagurri), a little south of Carchemish (see Schrader, *COT*^{2} i. 143). Now, when this fact is considered in connexion with the mention of the sixth Edomite king (Gn 36^{37}), who presumably came from the same Euphratic region, 'Shaul of Rehoboth by the River' (Rehoboth being placed by some Assyriologists at the junction of the Euphrates and the Chaboras, Riehm *HWB*^{2} 1291), there is evidently some ground for the theory that Bela the son of Beor was an Aramæan, or possibly Hittite, conqueror who came from the banks of the Euphrates. Still, nothing is known of him; and even the age in which he lived is uncertain; nor can we at present say whether Beor (='burning'), whose son he is termed, was a man or a local deity.

The Sept. transliterates Βάλακ (Cod. A), Βάλεκ (Cod E), as if Bela was to be identified with the king of Moab rather than with the seer.

2. The eldest of the sons of Benjamin (Gn 46^{21}, Nu 26^{38}, 1 Ch 7^{6} 8^{1}). According to 1 Ch 8^{3} he was the father of Addar, Gera, Abihud, Abishua, Naaman, Ahoah, Gera (a second mention), Shephuphan and Huram. According to Nu 26^{40} the sons of Bela were Ard and Naaman.

3. 'The son of Azaz, the son of Shema, the son of Joel, who dwelt in Aroer, even unto Nebo and Baal-meon; and eastward he dwelt even unto the entering in of the wilderness from the river Euphrates' (1 Ch 5$^{8.9}$). He was a Reubenite, and a dweller in the Moabite territory. It is noteworthy that this B., like the Edomite king mentioned above, seems to have been traditionally connected with the Euphrates. H. E. RYLE.

BELAITES, THE (הַבַּלְעִי), the descendants of Bela (2), one of the divisions of the tribe of Benjamin mentioned in Nu 26^{38}.

BELA (בֶּלַע), Gn 14$^{2.8}$.—A name of ZOAR.

BELCH.—Ps 59^{7} 'they b. out with their mouth' (הִבִּיעַ, used again in a bad sense Ps 94^{4}, RV 'prate'; but in a good sense 19^{2} 'utter speech,' Del. 'well forth speech'; and 119^{171} 'utter praise'). B., which is orig. to void wind noisily from the stomach by the mouth, is rarely used in a good sense, though Wyclif has 'belkid out a good word' in Ps 45^{1} (RV 'overfloweth with a goodly matter'); rather as Stanyhurst, *Æneis*, ii. 67, 'I belcht owt blasphemye bawling.' J. HASTINGS.

BELEMUS (Βήλεμος), 1 Es 2^{16} (^{15}, LXX). See BISHLAM.

BELIAL (בְּלִיַּעַל).—The common view is that this word is derived from בְּלִי *not*, and יַעַל in Hiph. *to profit*; and that its primary meaning is 'worthlessness,' 'wickedness,' and its secondary 'destruction.' But Cheyne has sought to show (*Expositor*, June 1895, p. 435) that this derivation is erroneous, and that the primary meaning is 'hopeless ruin,' and the secondary 'great or extreme wickedness.' He regards the word as a mythological survival, the name of 'the subterranean watery abyss' which was understood to mean 'the depth which lets no man return' (בְּלִי יַעֲלֶה). In the OT the word in the sense of 'worthlessness' or 'wickedness' is mostly found in combination with a noun: 'daughter' (1 S 1^{16}), 'thing' (Dt 15^{9}), 'man' (1 S 25^{25}, 2 S 16^{7} 20^{1}, Pr 16^{27}), 'witness' (Pr 19^{28}), 'person' (Pr 6^{12}), 'men' (1 S 30^{22}), 'sons' (Dt 13^{13}, Jg 19^{22} 20^{13}, 1 S 2^{12} 10^{27} 25^{17}, 2 S 23^{6}, 1 K 21$^{10, 13}$, 2 Ch 13^{7}), and in the AV following the Vulg. is, with few exceptions, rendered literally, as if a proper name; so also frequently in the RV; but the margin here gives renderings, 'base fellows,' 'wicked woman,' etc., which the American Revisers desired to see in the text. Owing to the poverty of the Heb. language in adjectives, this combination was 'a favourite expression in the accounts of the earlier monarchical period' for sinners of 'deepest dye.' In the sense of 'destruction' the word is found only four times, Ps 18^{4} RV 'floods of *ungodliness*'; but Cheyne and others, 'the rushing streams of *perdition*'; Ps 41^{8} AV and RV 'an evil disease'; Nah 1^{11} AV 'a wicked counsellor,' RV 'that counselleth wickedness,' but Cheyne assigns to *belial* here the sense of 'hopeless ruin'; 1^{15} AV 'the wicked,' RV 'the wicked one,' but others render 'the destroyer'; and Cheyne sees here already a transition to the absolute use of the word as a personal name for Satan, found in 2 Co 6^{15}. In this passage the AV and RV both read *βελίαλ*; but the reading now usually preferred is *βελίαρ*, which is 'either to be ascribed to the harsh Syr. pronunciation of the word *βελίαλ*, or must be derived from בְּעֵל יַעַר, lord of the forest.' St. Paul uses the word as a name of Satan with reference to unclean heathenism; and his use shows that the word had come to be used generally as a proper name. Milton gives this name to the fallen angel who is the representative of impurity (*Par. Lost*, i. 490-505; *Par. Reg.* ii. 150). A. E. GARVIE.

BELIE.—To belie is to tell lies about a person or thing, as Wis 1^{11} 'the mouth that belieth slayeth the soul' (*καταψεύδομαι*, in ref. to *καταλαλία* 'backbiting' mentioned before). Then 'to give the lie to,' 'contradict,' as Jer 5^{12} 'They have belied the Lord' (כִּחֵשׁ, RV 'denied').

J. HASTINGS.

BELIEF occurs in AV only 2 Th 2^{13} 'b. of the truth' (Gr. *πίστις*); to which RV adds Ro 10^{17} 'b. cometh of hearing' (Gr. *πίστις*, AV 'faith'). 'Unbelief' occurs frequently, as tr^{n} of *ἀπείθεια* or *ἀπιστία*. See FAITH. J. HASTINGS.

BELL.—Bells as a means of making a public call seem to have been quite unknown in the Mediterranean world until late Roman times. Judging from the great development in China and India, and in Buddhistic worship, it seems probable that the use of large bells is due to the farther East. The means of public call among the Hebrews was never by a bell, but by trumpets; these are stated to be of silver (Nu 10^{2}), and are shown as a special part of the holy spoils on the arch of Titus, though, strange to say, the ram's horn, *shophar*, is still used in synagogues. On a small scale, tinkling bells were used for religious purposes in post-Exodic times in Egypt, as among the Hebrews. But they are only mentioned on the borders of the high priest's robe (Ex 28^{33} פַּעֲמֹנִים); and the tinkling there was probably by their striking the alternating pomegranates, rather than by a clapper. The design of bells and pomegranates is apparently the old Egyp. lotus and bud border, such a pattern having lost its original meaning in course of transfer to other lands. See ART. The bells of the horses referred to in Zec 14^{20} (מְצִלּוֹת) seem more likely to be bridles, as in AVm, as a small horse-bell is not so suitable for an inscription as the long length of bridle or trappings. Small bells of the ball and slit form were used in Pal. in late Jewish times, as one was found at Tell el-Hesy.

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

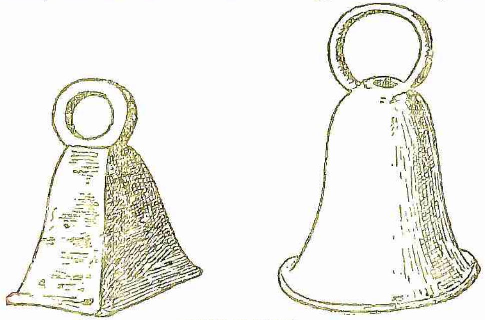

EGYPTIAN BELLS.

BELLOWS.—The only mention of bellows in Scripture is Jer 6^{29} (מַפֻּחַ). Derivation,* context, and, in particular, the evidence of the VSS (LXX *φυσητήρ*, Vulg. *sufflatorium*, Pesh. *mappôḥâ*, Targ. Jon. מְשַׁב נַפָּחִים, a blacksmith's bellows), confirm the traditional rendering. There is no reason for supposing that 'smelting-oven' is intended, as has been suggested by Bezold, *Zeitsch. f. Assyriol.* ii. 448. We do not know if the Jews had the bellows as an article of domestic furniture, the reference above being to the bellows of the metal-smelter. An excellent illustration of the bellows as used for this purpose in ancient Egypt is given by Wilkinson in his *Anc. Egyp.* (1854) ii. 316. The bellows there figured consist of 'a leather bag, secured and fitted into a frame, from which a large pipe extended for carrying the wind to the fire. They [the bellows] were worked by the feet, the operator standing upon them, with one under each foot, pressing them alternately, while he pulled up each exhausted skin with a string he held in his hand.' The tube or pipe seems to have been of reed, 'tipped with a metal point, to resist the action of the fire' (Wilk. *loc. cit.*). A. R. S. KENNEDY.

BELLY.—See BODY.

BELMAIM (Βελβαίμ Jth 7^{3}, Βαιλμαίν Jth 4^{4}).—It seems to have lain south of Dothan, but the topography of Judith is very difficult. Bileam in Manasseh lay farther north than Dothan.

C. R. CONDER.

BELOVED is the tr^{n} of אָהַב *'âhabh*, to love; or דּוֹד *dôdh* (possibly the original of דָּוִד *dâvîdh* David) used often in Ca, elsewhere only Is 5^{1} 'a song of my b.'; or [יָדִיד] *yâdhîdh*, as Ps 127^{2} 'he giveth his b. sleep'; or מַחְמָד *maḥmâdh*, only Hos 9^{16} 'the b. fruit of their womb.' And in NT either *ἀγαπάω* or (most freq.) *ἀγαπητός*. The latter word has been tr^{d} 'dearly b.' in nine places (RV always omits 'dearly'), and 'well-beloved' in three places (RV omits 'well'). 'Dearly b.' is found in OT, only Jer 12^{7} 'the dearly b. of my soul' (יְדִדוּת *yĕdhîdhûth*, so RV). 'Well-beloved' is found Ca 1^{13} (דּוֹד RV 'beloved'), Is 5$^{1\,bis}$ [יָדִיד] so RV). 'Greatly b.' is given in Da 9^{23} 10$^{11, 19}$, in ref. to Daniel, as tr^{n} of חֲמוּדוֹת (or חֲמֻדוֹת) *ḥămûdhôth*, lit. 'desirable things,' thus 9^{23} 'thou art greatly b.' = 'thou art a precious treasure.' J. HASTINGS.

BELSHAZZAR is mentioned in Dn as the son of Nebuchadrezzar, and the last reigning king of Babylon, just on the eve of its fall, before Cyrus. The word appears in the forms בֵּלְשַׁאצַּר (Dn 5^{1}) and

---

* From נָפַח *to blow*. The formation in Heb. denotes an instrument or tool; see Barth, *Nominalbdg*, etc , 1894, § 169c.

בֵּלְאשַׁאצַּר (Dn 7[1]). LXX and Th. read Βαλτασάρ, and Jos. (*Ant.* X. xi. 2) says that among the Bab. he was known as son of Ναβοάνδηλος. Herodotus speaks of him as Labynetus II. son of Labynetus I. (Nebuchadrezzar). Xen. (*Cyrop.* vii. 5. 3) says that Babylon was taken by night while the inhabitants were revelling.

But there is one prolific source of information for this period and king, viz. the cuneiform inscriptions. In these we find that the last king of Babylon was Nabonidus (*Na-bû-na'id*), and that his firstborn son was named Belshazzar. One method of writing the name is as follows: 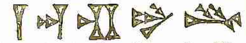 *Bel-šarra-uṣur*, 'may Bel protect the king.' He was thus the prince-regent of the throne. The authority for these statements is the following (in Rawlinson's *W. Asiatic Inscr.* i. 68, col. ii. line 24 f.): 'and as for Bel-šarra-uṣur, the exalted son, the offspring of my body, do thou cause the adoration of thy great divinity to exist in his heart; may he not give way to sin; may he be satisfied with life's abundance.' There is no evidence that he was related as grandson (cf. Dn 5[11]) to the old monarch and creator of the new Bab. empire. According to the inscr. Nabonidus was son of Nabû-balaṭ-su-ikbi. Rawlinson conjectures (*Herodot.* Essay viii. § 25) that B. may have been related to Nebuchadrezzar through his mother (Dn 5[11]), the wide-awake counsellor on that last fateful night. Schrader's theory (*COT* ii. 132 f.), that 'father' is used here in the broad signification of predecessor and ruler in the crowning period of Bab. history, is more plausible. Such usage is held by some to be paralleled by 'Jehu, *son* of Omri' (Layard's *Inscr.* p. 982; Rawl. *WAI* vol. iii. p. 5), when Jehu was the *extirpator* of Omri's dynasty. (See on other side Sayce, *HCM* 525 ff.) It is then *just possible* that the writer of Dn intended only to designate B. as a successor of king Nebuchadrezzar on the throne. It appears from at least three contract tablets (Strassmaier, *Bab. Texte: Inschriften von Nabonidus*, vols. i. and iii., and Tablets, Nos. 184, 581, and 688; a tr. by Sayce in *RP*, new ser. iii. 124–126) that B. was a man of some property, and was obliged to transact business on legal principles. On one tablet we find that 'the secretary of B., the son of the king,' Nebo-yukin-akhi, leases a house for a term of three years, for one and one-half manehs of silver, sub-letting of the house being forbidden, as well as interest on the money. Dated, '5th year of Nabonidus king of Bab.,' *i.e.* B.C. 551. On the second tablet facts of greater interest appear: 'The sum of 20 manehs of silver for wool, the property of B., the son of the king, which has been handed over to Iddin-Merodach . . . through the agency of Nebo-ẓabit the steward of the house of B., the son of the king, and the secretaries of the son of the king . . . The house of . . . the Persian and all his property in town and country shall be the security of B., the son of the king, until he shall pay in full the money aforesaid.' Dated, '11th year of Nabonidus king' [of Bab.], *i.e.* B.C. 545. On the third tablet, a steward, Nebo-ẓabit-idâ, of the house of B., had lent through a loans-broker a sum of money, and taken as security the crops to be grown near Babylon. Dated at 'Babylon, the 27th day of the second Adar, the 12th year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon,' *i.e.* B.C. 544.

There is now ample evidence that this 'son of the king' held a high office under his father-king. On an annalistic tablet of Nabonidus (cf. Pinches in *TSBA* vii. 153 ff.), the prince-regent, in the 7th year of his father's reign, was with the army in Akkad with the chief men of the kingdom, the king himself being in Tema. This describes the same condition of things in the 9th, 10th, and 11th years. In the 17th year Cyrus led his forces across the boundary lines of Babylonia. Nabonidus, with the army stationed in Akkad, attempted to defend Sippar against the invader. But on the 14th of Tammuz the city fell, without a stroke, into the hands of Cyrus, and Nabonidus fled. On the 16th the general of the army of Cyrus, Gobryas, entered Babylon 'without fighting.' Neither during nor after the battle at Sippar do we find the name of B. on the somewhat mutilated and broken inscriptions within our reach. By some (*e.g.* Schrader) he is thought to have perished in a battle at Akkad; acc. to others (as Pinches and Hommel), he was slain in the final taking of Babylon.

LITERATURE.—Add to the reff. in the article, Schrader, *COT*² ii. 130, 135; Sayce, *Fresh Light from the Ancient Monuments*, p. 158, and *HCM* pp. 497, 525 ff.; Evetts, *New Light on the Bible and the Holy Land*, p. 298 ff.; Farrar, *Daniel*, p. 203 ff.; and Whitehouse and others in *Expos. Times*, iv. 400, v. 41, 69, 180, 285, 382, 474. See also art. BABYLONIA, p. 229*b*.

IRA M. PRICE.

BELTESHAZZAR (בֵּלְטְשַׁאצַּר, Βαλτασάρ), the Chaldæan name given to Daniel (Dn 1[7] 2[26] 5[12]). Opinions differ as to whether the first part of the compound contains the name of Bel (male) or of Beltis or Bilat (female). The latter view is supported by Sir H. Rawlinson and Sayce, the former by Canon Rawlinson (*Ancient Monarchies*, iii. 82). Those who derive the word from Bel have explained it in different ways. (1) It is asserted that Bel is here a genitive form, and that *ẓar*=*sar* (שַׂר)=prince: 'the prince whom Bel favours' (Ges.). (2) The word is regarded as a contraction for *Bel-balâṭsu-uṣur*='Bel protect his life' (Fried. Delitzsch). (3) It is derived from *Bel*, *ṭisha* (Heb. טִישָׁא 'a secret') and *uṣur* (נְצַר)=to guard—the composition of the elements giving a meaning which might be considered appropriate in the case of Daniel.

G. WALKER.

BEN (בֵּן 'son').—A Levite, 1 Ch 15[18], omitted in parallel list in v.[20] in both MT and LXX. The latter omits it also in the first-named passage.

BEN-ABINADAB (בֶּן־אֲבִינָדָב, AV 'son of Abinadab').—One of Solomon's commissariat officers (1 K 4[11]).

BENAIAH (בְּנָיָה, בְּנָיָהוּ 'J" hath built up').—**1.** Son of Jehoiada, a priest (see JEHOIADA) of Kabzeel, a town in the S. of Judah (Jos 15[21]). B. is an example of the silent faithful soldier. A 'mighty man' rather than a general, he is not specially mentioned in the history of David's campaigns, but was captain of the bodyguard of Cherethites (Carites, 2 S 20[23], Kethibh, cf. 2 K 11[4]) and Pelethites (2 S 8[18]). The RVm 'council' for 'guard' in 2 S 23[23] is supported by the LXX and Vulg., and by 1 Ch 27[34], if we read with Bertheau and Graf 'after Ahithophel was Benaiah, son of Jehoiada' (instead of 'J. son of B.'), as 'king's counsellor.' He was captain of the host for the third month, his lieutenant being his son Ammizabad (1 Ch 27 [5. 6]).

His special exploits indicate a man of extraordinary activity. They are detailed in 2 S 23[20ff.] (copied 1 Ch 11[22]). (*a*) 'He slew the two [sons of] Ariel [of] Moab,' which probably means two champions of Moabitish sanctuaries (Sayce, *HCM*³ pp. 349, 376. But see Budde *ad loc.* in Haupt's *OT*). (*b*) A lion having been, in winter time, driven by hunger near human habitations, and fallen into a pit or dry well, Benaiah descended into it and killed the wild beast. (*c*) He encountered an Egyptian champion (5 cubits high, Ch) whose spear was like the side of a ladder, ὡς ξύλον διαβάθρας (Ewald, the beam of a bridge, EV 'like a weaver's beam'). Benaiah, who was armed only with a staff, grappled with his cumbrously armed antagonist, and slew him with his own spear. These feats gave him a place above 'the thirty,' and last of the second three mighty men; the others being Abishai, and probably Joab. It is implied (2 S 15^{18}) that he accompanied David in his flight from Absalom, and he remained faithful during Adonijah's rebellion (1 K $1^{8.\ 10.\ 26}$). At David's request he assisted Zadok and Nathan in the coronation of Solomon (vv.$^{32.\ 38.\ 44}$). On this occasion he makes a speech to David, which is re-echoed by the king's servants (v.^{47}). As chief of the bodyguard he executed Adonijah (1 K 2^{25}), Joab (v.$^{29\text{ff.}}$), and Shimei (v.^{46}). He succeeded Joab as captain of the host under Solomon (1 K 2^{35} 4^{4}. **2.** (2 S 23^{30}, 1 Ch 11^{31}) One of David's mighty men, of Pirathon in Ephraim (Jg $12^{13.\ 15}$). He was captain of the host for the eleventh month (1 Ch 27^{14}). **3.** (1 Ch 4^{36}) A prince of Simeon. **4.** (1 Ch $15^{18.\ 20}$ 16^{5}) A Levite singer, in David's time, 'of the second degree,' who played 'with psaltcries set to Alamoth.' **5.** (1 Ch 15^{24} 16^{6}) A priest, in David's time, who 'did blow with the trumpets before the ark.' **6.** (2 Ch 20^{14}) An Asaphite Levite, ancestor of Jahaziel. **7.** (2 Clr 31^{13}) A Levite, in Hezekiah's time, one of the overseers of the dedicated things. **8, 9, 10, 11.** (Ezr $10^{25.\ 30.\ 35.\ 43}$) Four of those who 'had taken strange wives.' In 1 Es $9^{26.\ 31.\ 34.\ 35}$, Banneas, Naidus, Mamdai, Banaias respectively. **12.** (Ezk $11^{1.\ 13}$) Father of Pelatiah, one of the 'princes of the people.'

N. J. D. WHITE.

BEN-AMMI (בֶּן־עַמִּי 'son of my people') the son of Lot's younger daughter. According to the popular Heb. tradition, preserved in Gn 19^{38}, he was the ancestor of the Ammonite nation, the father of the בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן. But the explanation in this narrative, that 'Ammon' is equivalent to Ben-ammi, rests on no scientific foundation, and, like the derivation given of Moab in the same context, is based on the resemblance in the sound of the two words. The name 'Ammi,' which is found in the cuneiform inscriptions as part of the title of Ammonite sovereigns, *e.g.* Ammi-nadab, has been identified with a deity (Dérenbourg, *Rev. Études Juives*, 1881, p. 123 f.; Halévy, *JA* vii. 19, p. 480 f.; but see Gray, *Heb. Prop. Names*, 49 f.). Traces of this deity are perhaps to be found in the Heb. names Ammiel, Amminadab, Ammihud, Ammishaddai. According to Sayce (*Patr. Pal.* p. 22), Ammi or Ammo was the name of the god who gave his name to the nation; and the same scholar conjectures that 'even the name of Balaam, the Aramæan seer, may be compounded with that of the god' (p. 64). We find it (Ammi) in the proper names both of S. and of N.-W. Arabia. The early Minæan inscriptions of S. Arabia contain names like Ammi-karib, Ammi-zadika, and Ammi-zaduk (p. 63). Sayce mentions also the Babylonian king Ammi-satana, and the Edomite Ammianshu. This gives a more probable origin for the name Ammon than the one recorded in Gn 19^{30-38}, which has been said to emanate from racial hostility. The Hebrew legend has probably attributed the foulness of Ammonite religious rites to hereditary taint, for which a play on the names Moab and Ammon offered an explanation.

H. E. RYLE.

BEN-DEKER (בֶּן־דֶּקֶר 'son of Deker'; *υἱὸς Ῥῆχας* B, *υἱὸς Ῥῆχαβ* Luc., *υἱὸς Δακάρ* A. Deker perhaps means *sharp, piercing instrument*, as in Talmud).—Patronymic of one of Solomon's twelve commissariat officers (1 K 4^{9}). C. F. BURNEY.

BENE-BERAK (בְּנֵי בְרַק), Jos 19^{45}.—A town of Dan near Jehud (*el-Yehudiyeh*), now the village *Ibn Ibrâḳ*, E. of Jaffa. See *SWP* vol. ii. sheet xiii.

C. R. CONDER.

BENEFACTOR.—Lk 22^{25} only, 'they that exercise authority over them (the Gentiles) are called benefactors.' The word is an exact tr^{n} of the Gr. Εὐεργέτης, a title of honour borne by two of the Gr. kings of Egypt before Christ's day, Ptolemy III. (B.C. 247–222) and Ptolemy IX. (B.C. 147–117). Hence RV properly spells with a capital, 'Benefactors.' J. HASTINGS.

BENE-JAAKAN (בְּנֵי יַעֲקָן).—A station in the journeyings, mentioned Nu $33^{31.\ 32}$ (cf. Dt 10^{6}, and see BEEROTH-BENE-JAAKAN). A. T. CHAPMAN.

BENEVOLENCE.—1 Co 7^{3} only, 'Let the husband render unto the wife due b.' where b. is used in the sense of affection. This tr^{n}, which is due to Tindale, follows TR *τὴν ὀφειλομένην εὔνοιαν*; but all edd. give simply *τὴν ὀφειλὴν*, whence RV 'her due'; cf. Rheims 'his dette.' The Gr. word *εὔνοια* thus occurs only in Eph 6^{7}, 'goodwill' EV; the verb is found Mt 5^{25} 'Agree with (*ἴσθι εὐνοῶν*) thine adversary quickly.' J. HASTINGS.

BEN-GEBER (בֶּן־גֶּבֶר, AV '**son of Geber**,' which see).—Patronymic of one of Solomon's 12 commissariat officers who had charge of a district N.E. of the Jordan (1 K 4^{13}). C. F. BURNEY.

BEN-HADAD (בֶּן־הֲדַד, *υἱὸς Ἀδερ, Benadad*).—Three kings of Damascus of this name are mentioned in the OT. **Ben-hadad** I., the son of Tab-rimmon, the son of Hezion (? Rezon), was bribed by Asa of Judah, with the treasures of the temple and palace, to attack Baasha of Israel while the latter was building the fortress of Ramah, and thereby blocking the Jewish high-road to the north. Asa urged that there had been alliance between his father and Tab-rimmon; but his gold was doubtless more efficacious in inducing Ben-hadad to invade the northern part of Israel, and so oblige Baasha to desert Ramah. Thereupon Asa carried away the stone and timber of Ramah, and built with them Geba and Mizpah (1 K 15^{18-22}). **Ben-hadad** II. was the son and successor of Ben-hadad I. We have an account of his war with Ahab, and unsuccessful siege of Samaria, in 1 K 20. Thirty-two kings are said to have been his vassals or allies. He was, however, signally defeated at Aphek, and compelled to restore the cities taken by his father (1 K 20^{34}), as well as to grant the Israelites a bazaar in Damascus. At a later period Ben-hadad again besieged Samaria; but a panic fell upon his army, and they fled, believing that the king of Israel had hired against them 'the kings of the Hittites and the kings of the Egyptians' (2 K $7^{6.\ 7}$). Having fallen ill, Ben-hadad afterwards sent Hazael to the prophet Elisha, who had come to Damascus, to ask whether he should recover; but the result of the mission was, that on the following day Hazael smothered his master and seized the crown (2 K 8^{7-15}). **Ben-hadad** III. was the son of Hazael, and lost the Israelitish conquests that his father had made. Thrice did Joash of Israel 'smite him, and recovered the cities of Israel' (2 K 13^{25}).

Ben-hadad, 'son of the god Hadad,' is a Hebraised form of the Aram. Bar-hadad, which appears in the Assyr. inscriptions as Bur-hadad and Bir-dadda. Bur-hadad was a prince of northern Mesopotamia, who was put to death by Assur-naẓir-pal, and Bir-dadda is mentioned by Assur-bani-pal as a north Arabian prince (*WAI* iii. 24. 10). Hadad, Dadda, or Dad, and Addu, are stated by the cuneiform lexical tablets to be variant forms of the same divine name, the god Hadad being further identified in them with Rimmon. But it would seem that, like Hadad, Barhadad was also a divine name, and denoted the younger deity whom the Syrians associated with his father, the sun-god. A Bab. contract, dated in the ninth year of Nabonidus (B.C. 547), relates to a certain Syrian called Bar-hadad-nathan, who had adopted Bar-hadad-amar as a son. As the Jews Hebraised Bar-hadad into Ben-hadad, so the Babylonians changed it into Abil-hadad, *abil* being the Babylonian word for 'son.'

It follows from this that Bar-hadad or Ben-hadad cannot have been the full name of a king. And the Assyr. inscriptions prove that such was the case. They have much to tell us about Ben-hadad II., whom they call Dad-idri, the Hebraised form of which is found in the OT as Hadad-ezer. In B.C. 853 Dad-idri and his allies were utterly defeated at Karkar on the Orontes by Shalmaneser II. of Assyria. The king of Damascus had brought into the field 1200 chariots, 1200 horses, and 20,000 men; his allies were Irkhulini of Hamath, with 700 chariots, 700 horses, and 10,000 men; Ahab of Israel, with 2000 chariots and 10,000 men; the Kuans, from the Gulf of Antioch, with 500 men; 1000 Egyptians; 10 chariots, and 10,000 men from the land of Irkanat (Arka); Matinu-baal of Arvad with 200 men; 200 men from Usanat (near Tyre); Adoni-baal of the Sinites with 10,000 men; Gindibu the Arab with 1000 camels, and Baasha the son of Rehob of Ammon with more than 100 men. The battle must have been fought shortly before Ahab's death and his final rupture with Ben-hadad (1 K 22$^{1-3}$). Shalmaneser states in one passage that 20,500—in another passage 14,000—of the enemy were left dead on the field.

Five years later Dad-idri was again defeated by Shalmaneser, and in B.C. 845 Shalmaneser entered Syria with 120,000 men and overthrew the combined forces of Dad-idri, Irkhulini, and 'the twelve kings of the coast of the upper and lower sea.' Professor Schrader is doubtless right in thinking that by the latter expression are meant the Phœnician and north Syrian portions of the Mediterranean. Four years later Shalmaneser's opponent in Damascus was Hazael, so that Dad-idri (Ben-hadad-ezer) must have died between B.C. 845 and 841. A. H. SAYCE.

BEN-HAIL (בֶּן־חַיִל 'son of might').—A prince sent by Jehoshaphat to teach in the cities of Judah (2 Ch 17^{7}). (But see Gray, *Heb. Pr. Names*, 65, 231.)

BEN-HANAN (בֶּן־חָנָן 'son of a gracious one').—A man of Judah (1 Ch 4^{20}).

BEN-HESED (בֶּן־חֶסֶד, AV '**Son of Hesed**' [= 'kindness']).—Patronymic of one of Solomon's twelve commissariat officers who had charge of a district in Judah (1 K 4^{10}). C. F. BURNEY.

BENINU (בְּנִינוּ, perhaps 'our son').—One of those who sealed the covenant (Neh 10^{13}).

BENJAMIN (בִּנְיָמִין, or more usually בִּנְיָמִן *binyâmîn*, 'son of the right-hand,' Βενιαμείν).—1. The youngest of the sons of Jacob. He was born between Bethel and Ephrath, and Rachel died in giving him birth. As she was at the point of death she named him Ben-oni (בֶּן־אוֹנִי 'son of my sorrow,' LXX υἱὸς ὀδύνης μου), but Jacob changed it to Benjamin, probably to avoid the evil omen of the name Benoni (Gn 35^{18}). He and Joseph were full brothers, they being the only sons of Jacob by Rachel, and he was the only son of Jacob born in Canaan. That he is enumerated by P among the sons born in Paddan-aram (Gn 35$^{24-26}$) need not be pressed. At the time of the famine (Gn 42 ff.) Joseph insisted that he should come down with his brethren on their second visit to Egypt to buy corn. Jacob is most reluctant to send him, but Judah (according to J, Reuben according to E) answers for his safety, and he goes. On his arrival, according to E, Joseph makes himself known to his brethren, and gives B. 300 pieces of silver and five changes of raiment. According to J, he gives B. a mess five times as large as that given to the others; then brings them back after their departure, and threatens to keep B. as his slave because the silver cup is found in his sack; and, moved by the eloquent appeal of Judah, declares who he is. At this time B. is represented as quite young, 'a little one,' and the pet of the family (Gn 44^{20}). But in Gn 46^{21} he is spoken of as the father of ten sons, who are unquestionably regarded as going down to Egypt with Jacob (Gn 46^{26}). There is no need to reconcile these incompatible views, as the latter belongs to one of the latest strata in the Hex., being probably due to R.

It is held by many modern critics that B. is not a hist. character, but the eponymous ancestor of the tribe. If so, the account in Gn will throw light on the early history of the tribe. The tribal system, as we have it in the biblical history, is probably not earlier than the conquest of Canaan. Originally there were Leah tribes and Rachel tribes. To the latter belonged the tribes grouped under the name of Bilhah, and the tribe of Joseph. To the tribe of Joseph it would seem that B. originally belonged, but became a distinct tribe earlier than Manasseh and Ephraim, which were always recognised as belonging to Joseph, while B. was regarded as, like Joseph, a son of Jacob. But we find a trace of the earlier view in 2 S 19^{20}, where Shimei, a Benjamite, speaks of himself as belonging to the house of Joseph. It is also probable that B. was the latest formed of the tribes, except Ephraim and Manasseh; and the record of the birth in Canaan (Gn 35^{18}) is a reminiscence of this formation after the conquest.

The territory of the tribe adjoined that of Ephraim. Its limits and the towns in it are given in Jos 18$^{11-28}$, a passage which belongs to the late document P. According to this, it was bounded on the E. by the Jordan, on the N. by a line passing from Jordan by Jericho on the N. to Bethel, and thence to Beth-horon; on the W. by a line passing from Beth-horon to Kiriath-jearim; and on the S. by a line reaching from Beth-horon to the N. bay at the Salt Sea, keeping Jerus. on the N. Twenty-six towns are mentioned, the chief of which are Jericho, Bethel, Geba, Gibeon, Ramah, Mizpeh, Jerusalem, Gibeath, and Kiriath. It is not certain, however, whether all these towns properly belonged to B. Bethel is regarded by Jg 1^{22} as belonging to 'the house of Joseph,' and it certainly belonged to the N. kingdom, though this does not preclude the view that it was in the territory of B. The case of Jerus. is somewhat similar. It stood near the border line that divided B. from Judah, and the Jews spoke of the temple itself as in B., while its courts were in Judah. Till the time of David it was in the hands of the Jebusites. There are some indications that before the Exile Jerus. was reckoned to Judah. Thus (Jer 37^{12}) 'Jeremiah went forth out of Jerusalem to go into the land of B.' On the other hand, in the blessing of Moses, the temple is certainly regarded as in B.: 'Of B. he said, The beloved of the Lord shall dwell in safety by him; he covereth him all the day long, and he dwelleth between his shoulders' (Dt 33^{12}). Jer 6^{1} 'Flee for safety, ye children of B., out of the midst of Jerus.,' has little bearing on the point.

The character of the country was fitted to breed a race of hardy warriors rather than peaceful agriculturists. The level of the country was more than 2000 ft. above the sea, and it was studded with many hills. G. A. Smith has thus described it: 'A desolate and fatiguing extent of rocky platforms and ridges, of moorland strewn with boulders, and fields of shallow soil thickly mixed with stone, they are a true border,—more fit for the building of barriers than the cultivation of food' (*Hist. Geog.* p. 290). This had its influence on the character of the tribe, which is graphically depicted in the blessing of Jacob: 'B. is a wolf that ravineth: in the morning he shall devour the prey, and at even he shall divide the spoil' (Gn 49^{27}). And the character of the land helped B. to play its magnificent part in the warfare against the Philistines. Several important roads ran through it towards Judah and Jerus., and these were commanded by its fortresses. Michmash, Geba, Ramah, Adasa, Gibeon, formed 'a line of defence that was valid against the Aijalon and Ai ascents, as well as against the level approach from the N.' (Smith, *Hist. Geog.* p. 291), while Bethel commands the routes from Gophna and Shechem, and 'a road from the Jordan Valley through the passes of Mt. Ephraim.' From the E. and W. sides, passes strike up into the heart of the country, those on the E. side being much the more difficult. Through the western passes the Philistines delivered their attacks against the tribe.

The history of B. is important till the time of Saul only. The tribe took part in the campaign of Deborah and Barak against Sisera (Jg 5^{14}). The narrative in Jg 19–21 also falls in the period of the Judges, but calls for special discussion. It was in connexion with the Philistine oppression that the greatest work of B. was done. The narrative is in parts concise and obscure, so that the exact development of events is hard to follow. But the movement for the deliverance of Israel that proved ultimately successful, seems to have originated in B. The anointing of a king was for the breaking of the Philistine yoke, and he was selected from the tribe of B. And it was within B. itself that the movement for freedom began. (See SAUL.)

On the death of Saul, his own tribe B. naturally remained faithful to his house. The army of Ishbosheth, commanded by Abner, seems to have consisted chiefly of Benjamites. In the ferocious combat, when twelve men of Abner engaged twelve of Joab's army, the former are spoken of as 'twelve for B.' (2 S 2^{15}), and Abner's soldiers are referred to as 'the children of B.' (2^{25}). In the subsequent negotiations between David and Abner, special mention is made of B. apart from the rest of Israel ('and Abner had communication with the elders of Israel . . . And Abner also spake in the ears of B.: and Abner went also to speak in the ears of David in Hebron all that seemed good to Israel and to the whole house of B.,' 2 S 3^{17-19}). After Ishbosheth had been murdered by two Benjamites, David became king over the whole of Israel. But the hate of him was not dead in B. When he fled from Jerus. on the occasion of Absalom's rebellion, it was a Benjamite of the house of Saul, Shimei, who pursued him with curses (2 S 16^5). And when, through David's unwise partiality for Judah, dispute arose between the latter and the other tribes, it was a Benjamite, Sheba, who raised the standard of revolt (2 S 19. 20).

It is therefore natural to expect that, when the revolt took place from Rehoboam, B. should throw in its lot with the seceding tribes, and not with Judah. It is, however, stated explicitly in some passages, that B. remained with Judah (1 K $12^{21.23}$, 2 Ch $11^{10.12.23}$ 14^8 $15^{2.9}$ etc.). But there are other passages which point another way. Thus in 1 K 12^{20} we read 'there was none that followed the house of David but the tribe of Judah only.' The prophecy of Ahijah is a little ambiguous; the garment is rent into twelve pieces, of which ten are given to Jeroboam with the explanation that he is to have ten tribes. But the house of David is to have, not two tribes, but one (1 K 11^{26-37}). If Levi is omitted, and Ephraim and Manasseh counted as one tribe, Israel would consist of eleven tribes, and B. would then be reckoned among the ten tribes. The truth is, probably, that B. as a whole joined the revolt. But owing to its nearness to Judah, and especially to the fact that Jerus., the capital city of Judah, was, even if not wholly in B., yet on the border, the S. part of the tribe can hardly have escaped union with Judah. After the overthrow of the N. kingdom, the territory of B. largely fell into the hands of Judah, and many Benjamites are mentioned among those who returned from exile. The Apostle Paul belonged to this tribe.

One incident in the history of the tribe has been left for separate examination. This is the outrage at Gibeah, and almost entire destruction of B., in consequence of its support of the perpetrators (Jg 19–21). The narrative as it stands presents insuperable difficulties. These are chiefly to be found in the account of the war with B. (Jg 20). Israel is spoken of as a 'congregation,' and represented as acting together as one man, unlike everything else we know of the period. The size of the army raised (400,000) is quite incredible, and the incidents of the campaign no less so. B. with 26,700 destroys in two days 40,000 Israelites, but does not lose a single man. On the third day the whole tribe of B. is destroyed, with the exception of 600 men. The date given for this is vague; it is said to have been in the days of Phinehas, the grandson of Aaron. This chapter presents close points of contact with P in the Hex. Critics are generally agreed that its representations are on that account unhistorical. But it is a matter of dispute whether this judgment should be passed on the whole story. Some (*e.g.* Wellhausen) regard it as a post-ex. fiction, intended to throw discredit on Saul and his tribe and family. The outrage takes place in Gibeah, a place specially connected with Saul; and that it is perpetrated on a Levite increases its heinousness; while the inhospitable character of the inhabitants comes out, not only in their disgraceful conduct, but in the fact that the only man who offers entertainment is not a native of the place. Saul's tribe consents to the crime, and refuses to surrender the authors of it. Jabesh-gilead, which Saul had rescued from the Ammonites, and whose inhabitants had rescued Saul's body from the Phil., is the only place which did not join in the holy war against B., and is destroyed for this. The details also recall the conduct of the men of Sodom. It is true that the coincidences with points in Saul's history are very striking. Yet it is difficult to resist the conviction that there must be a hist. basis for chs. 19 and 21, and for so much of ch. 20 as relates the extermination of a large part of the tribe. That the whole of Israel took part cannot be maintained; perhaps Judah (20^{18}), to which the murdered woman belonged, took the chief part in inflicting vengeance. See Moore (*Judges, in loc.*), who argues forcibly for the view taken here.

2. A great-grandson of Benjamin (1 Ch 7^{10}). 3. One of those who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{32}, prob. same as B. of Neh 3^{23} 12^{34}).

A. S. PEAKE.

BENJAMIN, GATE.—See JERUSALEM.

BENO (בְּנוֹ 'his son').—In both AV and RV a proper name in 1 Ch $24^{26.27}$, but we should perhaps render, 'of Jaaziah *his son*, even the sons of Merari by Jaaziah *his son*' (*Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*).

J. A. SELBIE.

BENONI.—See BENJAMIN.

BEN-ZOHETH (בֶּן־זוֹחֵת).—A man of Judah (1 Ch 4^{20}). The text appears to be corrupt.

BEON (בְּעֹן), Nu 32^3.—See BAAL-MEON.

BEOR (בְּעוֹר 'a burning,' Βεώρ).—**1.** Father of Balaam, Nu 22^5 $24^{3.15}$ J, Jos 24^9 E (LXX omits), also Nu 31^8, Dt 23^4, Jos 13^{22}, Mic 6^5, 2 P 2^{15} (Bosor, AV and RVm). 2. Father of Bela, king of Edom, Gn 36^{32} J, 1 Ch 1^{43}.

G. H. BATTERSBY.

BERA (בֶּרַע, etym. and meaning unknown).—King of Sodom at time of Chedorlaomer's invasion (Gn 14^2).

BERACAH (בְּרָכָה 'blessing,' AV **Berachah**).—One of Saul's brethren who joined David at Ziklag (1 Ch 12^3).

BERACAH, Valley (בְּרָכָה), 2 Ch 20^{26} only.—'The valley of blessing,' where Jehoshaphat gave thanks for victory over the Ammonites, Moabites, and Edomites, who had marched from Engedi to Tekoa (vv.$^{2, 20}$). The name survives at the ruin *Breikût* on the main road from Jerusalem to Hebron, west of Tekoa. See further in Robinson, *BR* ii. 189; Thomson, *Land and Book*, i. 317; G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog. of Holy Land*, 272; and *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xxi.

C. R. CONDER.

BERAIAH (בְּרָאיָה 'J″ hath created').—A man of Benjamin (1 Ch 8^{21}).

BEREA (Βερέα, 1 Mac 9^{4}).—See BERŒA.

BEREAVE, now restricted to the loss of relatives or friends, once meant to deprive of any possession. Thus Ec 4^{8} 'For whom do I labour, and b. (RV 'deprive,' Heb. מְחַסֵּר) my soul of good?' In this sense 'bereft,' an alternative past tense and past ptcp. with 'bereaved,' is still used. **Bereft**, not in AV, is given by RV at 1 Ti 6^{5} 'b. of the truth' (AV 'destitute,' Gr. ἀπεστερημένος). RV also introduces **bereavement**, Is 49^{20} 'The children of thy b.' (בְּנֵי שִׁכֻּלָיִךְ, that is, says Cheyne, who adopts the same rendering, 'those born while Zion thought herself bereft of all her children'; AV 'the children which thou shalt have, after thou hast lost the other'). RV introduces further the very rare word **bereaver**, Ezk 36^{13} 'a b. of thy nation,' of which the latest example found by *Oxf. Eng. Dict.* is in W. Hall, *Man's Gt. Enemy* (1624): 'Of soule and bodie's good hee's a bereauer.'

J. HASTINGS.

BERECHIAH (בֶּרֶכְיָה, abbrev. from בֶּרֶכְיָהוּ 'J″ blesseth').—**1.** Father of Asaph (1 Ch 6^{39}, AV Berachiah). **2.** Son of Zerubbabel (1 Ch 3^{20}). **3.** Father of Meshullam, one of Nehemiah's chiefs (Neh 3$^{4, 30}$ 6^{18}). **4.** A Levite guard of the ark (1 Ch 9^{16} 15^{23}). **5.** Father of the prophet Zechariah (Zec 1^{1}). **6.** An Ephraimite chief (2 Ch 28^{12}). See GENEALOGY.

J. A. SELBIE.

BERED (Person).—See BECHER.

BERED (בֶּרֶד 'hail'(?), Gn 16^{14}).—**1.** A place between Beersheba and Beer-lahai-roi. The Targum of pseudo-Jonathan identifies it with Ḥaluẓa, now Ḥalasah, the Elusa of Ptolemy, where there are extensive ruins 13 miles south of Beersheba. The ecclesiastical history of Elusa in this era is given by Robinson, i. 201, 202. Jerome says the inhabitants in his time called it Barec. Possibly this was the correct name, as such a change is not likely to occur in speech, but could very easily indeed be made in writing by the change of ך into ד. At *Ḥalasah* there is a distinct bend on the hills and the valley between them, such as might most naturally suggest the name ברך 'a knee.' See map in Trumbull's *Kadesh Barnea.*

A. HENDERSON.

BERI (בֵּרִי, perhaps = בְּאֵרִי, *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*, and connected with בְּאֵר 'a well').—A division of the Asherite clan Zophah, 1 Ch 7^{36}. See BERITES.

W. H. BENNETT.

BERIAH (בְּרִיעָה).—The etymology is quite uncertain, the root ברע not being used in Hebrew. The root occurs in Arabic in the senses of *mount, excel, be munificent.* The name may have meant *distinguished, hero,* or *chieftain.* The statement in 1 Ch 7^{23} that Beriah 2 was so called 'because it went evil (בְּרָעָה, lit. 'in evil') with his house,' indicates what the name in course of time may have come to suggest, and does not give its original etymology. **1.** *A son of Asher, and the clan descended from him.* Gn 46^{17} (P, probably late stratum), Nu 26$^{44-46}$ (P), 1 Ch 7$^{30, 31}$ include B. among the sons of Asher, and make him the ancestor of the clans of Heber and Malchiel, who are mentioned as his sons. In the LXX, however, of Nu 26^{45} (LXX ^{29}) the clause 'of the sons of Beriah' is omitted, probably by an oversight, so that Heber and Malchiel appear as direct descendants of Asher. In Nu 26^{44}, B. is the ancestor of 'the clan of the Beriites' (מִשְׁפַּחַת הַבְּרִיעִי). **2.** *A son of Ephraim, and a clan descended from him. This clan in later times included large Benjamite elements.* B. is not included in the list of Ephraimitic clans in Nu 26$^{35-37}$ (P); but in 1 Ch 7$^{20-23}$ we read, 'And the sons of Ephraim; Shuthelah, and Bered his son, and Tahath his son, and Eleadah his son, and Tahath his son, and Zabad his son, and Shuthelah his son, and Ezer, and Elead, whom the men of Gath that were born in the land slew, because they came down to take away their cattle. And Ephraim, their father, mourned many days, and his brethren came in to comfort him. And he went in to his wife, and she conceived, and he called his name B., because it went evil with his house.' The mention of Ephraim at first sight suggests that this episode occurred at the beginning of the sojourn in Egypt; but Ezer and Elead appear to be brothers of the second Shuthelah, and six generations are mentioned between them and Ephraim. They *came down* to Gath, presumably from the neighbouring highlands of Ephraim. 'Ephraim' and 'his brethren' can scarcely mean the patriarchs, who lived and died in Egypt. Actual sons of Ephraim must have come from Egypt, across the desert, past Phil. and Can. towns. A simple and probable explanation seems to be that the chronicler is using a natural and common (cf. Jg 21$^{1, 6}$) figure to describe the distress in the tribe of Ephraim when two of its clans were cut off, the sympathy of the neighbouring tribes, and the fact that a new clan Beriah was formed to replace those that were cut off. This new clan was partly Benjamite. In 1 Ch 8^{13} we read of two Benjamites, 'Beriah and Shema, who were heads of fathers' houses of the inhabitants of Aijalon, who put to flight the inhabitants of Gath.' The episode was probably somewhat as follows:—Two Ephraimite clans, Ezer and Elead, set out to drive the cattle 'of the men of Gath, who were born in the land,' *i.e.* of the aboriginal Avvites, who had been dispossessed by the Philistines, but still retained some pasture lands. The Ephraimites were defeated, and nearly all the fighting men of the two clans perished. The victors invaded Ephraim, whose border districts, stripped of their defenders, lay at the mercy of the enemy. The Benjamite clans Beriah and Shema, then occupying Aijalon, came to the rescue and drove back the invaders. The grateful Ephraimites invited their allies to occupy the vacant territory, and, in all probability, to marry the widows and daughters of their slaughtered kinsmen. Hence B. is sometimes reckoned as Ephraimite and sometimes as Benjamite. (Cf. Bertheau, also *Expositor's Bible*, on 1 Ch 7 and 8.) **3.** *A Levite of the clan Gershom,* 1 Ch 23$^{10, 11}$.

Beriites.—See under **1** above.

W. H. BENNETT.

BERITES (בֵּרִים) occurs only in the account of Joab's pursuit of the rebel Sheba, in the obscure and doubtful passage 2 S 20$^{13-15}$ 'Joab . . . went through all the tribes of Israel unto Abel, and to Beth-maacah, *and all the Berites*: and they were gathered together, and went also after him. And they came and besieged him in Abel,' etc. (RV). The MT apparently intends to state that Joab came to the *district* of the Berites, possibly descendants of BERI, and that *all the tribes of Israel* gathered together, etc. According, however, to Driver, *Text of Samuel*, 264, the MT yields no intelligible sense if 'all the Berites' is coupled to what precedes; *went after* (וַיָּבֹאוּ אַחֲרָיו) must mean to go into a place after any one. He understands that Sheba went through all the tribes of Israel to

Abel, and the Berites—or rather Bichrites (see below)—followed him into Abel as allies. Both Driver and Budde (Sam. in Haupt's *Sacred Books of OT*) follow Klostermann in reading בִּכְרִים *Bichrites*, for בֵּרִים Berites, after the LXX ἐν Χαρρεὶ. Sheba is styled 'ben Bikhri.' Many others read בַּחֻרִים *choice young men*, after Vulg. *viri electi*.

W. H. BENNETT.

BERNICE or **BERENICE** (Βερνίκη).—See HEROD.

BERŒA.—Two places bearing this name fall to be noticed, along with a third which appears as Berea. 1. Berœa (Βέροια or Βέρροια), a Macedonian city, which was the scene of brief but fruitful missionary work by St. Paul, after Jewish hostility had driven him away from Thessalonica (Ac 17$^{10-14}$). It was situated in the district called Emathia (Ptol. iii. 12), at the eastern base of Mount Bermius (Strabo, vii. 26), about 30 miles S. of Pella, and 50 S.W. of Thessalonica. It was an old town, whose natural advantages in a well-watered and fertile district gave to it considerable population and importance, which it still retains under the name of *Verria* or *Kara Feria* (see the interesting description in Leake, *NG* iii. 290–292). The Jewish residents in St. Paul's time were not only numerous enough to have a synagogue, like those in Thessalonica, but are commended as nobler in disposition (εὐγενέστεροι) than they, in respect of their readiness to receive the word preached, and daily to examine what they heard by the light of their own Scriptures; so that many Jews believed, as well as not a few women of Greek nationality and 'honourable estate' (εὐσχημόνων). When Jewish zealots from Thessalonica came thither and stirred up fresh troubles, the newly-converted 'brethren' at once sent St. Paul out of the city 'to go as far as to' (ἕως, rather than ὡς='as it were') the sea, by which he went on to Athens, leaving Silas and Timotheus behind at Berœa. Sopater, another of St. Paul's associates, is designated as a Berœan (Ac 20^4). Tradition made Onesimus first bishop of the Church (*Const. Ap.* vii. 46).

2. In 2 Mac 13^4 Berœa appears as the place at which Antiochus Eupator caused Menelaus, the former high priest, to be put to death. This Berœa was the well-known Syrian town now called Haleb or Aleppo; it lay between Hierapolis and Antioch, about one and a half day's journey from either; it was named by Seleucus Nikator after the Macedonian city; it became in the Middle Ages the capital of a Saracenic power, resuming its earlier name of Haleb; and though it has suffered much during the present century from earthquake, plague, and cholera, it remains an imposing and important city of about 100,000 inhabitants.

3. At 1 Mac 9^4 Berea (Βερέα) is mentioned as a place to which Bacchides, after 'encamping against Jerusalem,' removed, while Judas lay encamped at Elasa prior to the battle in which the latter fell. It is now generally identified with Beeroth (Jos 9^{17}) or Beroth (1 Es 5^{19}), the modern *Bireh*, situated about ten miles north of Jerus., on the main road to Nablûs and the north. For description of ruined church there, see *SWP* vol. iii. p. 88 f.

WILLIAM P. DICKSON.

BEROTH.—See BEEROTH.

BEROTHAH (בֵּרוֹתָה), Ezk 47^{16}; **Berothai** (בֵּרוֹתַי), 2 S 8^8, but in 1 Ch 18^8, Cun (see Kittel, *ad loc.*).—A Syrian city. The first cited passage seems to show that Beirût is not intended, since the town lay between Hamath and Damascus. The name probably signifies 'fir trees,' and is thought to survive in *Wâdy Brissa*, on the eastern slope of Lebanon, near Kadesh on the Orontes.

C. R. CONDER.

BEROTHITE (בֵּרֹתִי), 1 Ch 11^{39}; **Beerothite** (בְּאֵרֹתִי), 2 S 4$^{2.3.5.9}$ 23^{37}.—An inhabitant of Beeroth.

BERYL.—See STONES, PRECIOUS.

BERZELUS.—See ZORZELLEUS.

BESAI (בֵּסַי).—'Children of B.,' Nethinim who returned with Zerub. (Ezr 2^{49}, Neh 7^{52};=Basthai, 1 Es 5^{31}).

BESIDE, BESIDES.—These two forms seem to have been used in 1611 (and earlier) indifferently; cf. Mk 3^{21} 'He is beside himself,' 2 Co 5^{13} 'whether we be besides (so 1611) ourselves,' and Ac 26^{24} 'Paul, thou art beside thyself'; again, as to Ac 26^{24}, Tindale, who introduces this tr^n, has 'besides,' Cranmer 'beside,' the Geneva 'besides,' AV 'beside.' Modern edd. of AV give 'beside' 125 times, 'besides' only 8 times, but in ed. of 1611 the relative proportion was closer.

Treating both forms as one word, then, b. is either an adv. or a prep., and the meaning is 'by the side of.' But the side may be reached either from a position that is farther off or from one that is still nearer. Compare Ps 23^2 'He leadeth me b. (עַל) the still waters,' Is 32^{20} 'Blessed are ye that sow b. (עַל) all waters,' or 1 S 19^3 'I will go out and stand b. (לְיַד) my father,' with Mt 14^{21} 'five thousand men, b. (χωρὶς) women and children,' or Gaule (1629), 'Oh, doe him not the wrong to look b. him, for if you see him not, hee comes by to no purpose'; or Foxe, *Acts and Mon.* ii. 384, 'He put the new Pope Alexander b. the cushion and was made pope himself.' Hence b. expresses either *addition* or *separation*.

1. ADDITION.—Gn 19^{12} 'Hast thou here any b.?' (עוֹד); Mt 25^{20} 'I have gained b. (ἐπί) them five talents more'; Lk 24^{21} 'Yea and b. (σύν) all this'; 2 P 1^5 'And b. this, . . . add to your faith virtue' (Gr. καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο δέ, RV 'Yea, and for this very cause'); Philem v.^{19} 'thou owest unto me even thine own self b.' (προσοφείλεις); Sir 17^{11} 'B. this he gave them knowledge' (προσέθηκεν αὐτοῖς).

2. SEPARATION.—Jos 22^{29} 'God forbid that we should rebel . . . to build an altar . . . b. (מִלְּבַד 'separate from') the altar of the Lord our God that is before his tabernacle' (AV 'beside,' RV 'besides'); Is 43^{11} 'b. me (מִבַּלְעָדַי) there is no Saviour.' Hence arises the expression 'beside oneself' which occurs three times, Mk 3^{21}, 2 Co 5^{13} (both ἐξίστημι), Ac 26^{24} (μαίνομαι). Compare 'b. the mark'; 'b. the real issue' (Froude); 'Like an enchanted maid b. her wits' (Hood); 'I felt quite b. myself for joy and gratitude' (Q. Victoria); 'A Lye is properly an outward Signification of something contrary to, or, at least, b. the inward Sense of the Mind' (South).

J. HASTINGS.

BESODEIAH (בְּסוֹדְיָה Neh 3^6).—Meshullam, the son of Besodeiah, took part in repairing the Old Gate. The name means, perhaps, 'In the secret of J″,' בְּסוֹד יָהּ, cf. Jer 23$^{18.22}$.

H. A. WHITE.

BESOM.—Is 14^{23} only, 'I will sweep it with the b. of destruction' (מַטְאֲטֵא, from טֵאטֵא tr^d here 'sweep,' so lit. 'I will sweep it with the sweeper of destruction'; cf. טִיט mud, mire; and for the simile Is 30^{28} 'to sift the nations with the sieve of vanity' [RVm 'destruction,' Cheyne 'annihilation,' Heb. שָׁוְא]). The besom, though used in earlier Eng. and still locally as a mere synonym for 'broom' (cf. Lyly, *Euphues*, 1580, 'There is no more difference betweene them than between a Broome and a Beesome'), is properly made, not of broom, but of heath, in Devonshire called *bisam* or *bassam*.

J. HASTINGS.

BESOR, Brook (נַחַל הַבְּשׂוֹר), 1 S 30$^{9.10.21}$.—A torrent, apparently south or south-west of Ziklag, on the way to the country of the Amalekites and Egypt, in the Tih desert. The name has not been recovered. It is identified by Guérin with the Wady *Razze*, which flows into the sea S.W. of Gaza.

C. R. CONDER.

BESTEAD.—Is 8^{21} only, 'hardly b. and hungry.' 'Bestead' (the proper spelling is *bested*, the other arose from a supposed connexion with *bestead*, to help) means simply 'placed,' and that is its meaning here. The Heb. is one word, נִקְשֶׁה, niph. ptcp. from קָשָׁה, to be hard. Amer. RV has 'sore distressed,' Cheyne 'hard-prest.' J. HASTINGS.

BESTIALITY.—See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.

BESTOW (from *bi* or *be* and *stow* a place) means in mod. Eng. to confer as a gift, but is used in AV in other obsolete senses. 1. To place, 1 K 10^{26} 'chariots and . . . horsemen whom he b^{ed} in the cities for chariots' (RV 'in the chariot cities'). Cf. Shaks. *Temp.* v. i. 299—

> 'Hence, and bestow your luggage where you found it.'

2. To lay up in store, to stow away, Lk 12^{17} 'I have no room where to b. my fruits.' 3. To apply to a special use, 2 K 12^{15} 'the money to be b^{ed} on workmen'; Dt 14^{26} 'thou shalt b. that money for whatsoever thy soul lusteth after'; 1 Co 13^{3} 'though I b. all my goods to feed the poor' (Gr. *ψωμίζω* to feed by giving morsels, from *ψωμός* a morsel). 4. To spend (without special application), 1 Co 12^{23} 'those members of the body which we think to be less honourable, upon these we b. more abundant honour' (*περιτίθημι*, RVm 'put on'); Jn 4^{38} 'I sent you to reap that whereon ye b^{ed} no labour' (*κοπιάω*, RV 'whereon ye have not laboured'). Cf.—

> 'Fellow, wilt thou bestow thy time with me?'
> Shaks. *Jul. Cæs.* v. v. 61.

J. HASTINGS.

BETAH (בֶּטַח), 2 S 8^{8}.—See TIBHATH.

BETANE (Βαιτάνη), Jth 1^{9}.—A place apparently south of Jerusalem, and not Bethany. It may be the same as Bethanoth. C. R. CONDER.

BETEN (בֶּטֶן), Jos 19^{25}.—A town of Asher, noticed next to Achshaph. The site is doubtful. In the fourth century (*Onomasticon, s.v.* Bathne) it was shown 8 Roman miles east of Ptolemais (Acco), and then called Bebeten or Bethbeten. The place intended appears to be the present village *El B'aneh*, which would be suitable for the position of Beten. See *SWP* vol. i. sheet v.

C. R. CONDER.

BETH (ב), the second letter of the Heb. alphabet (see ALPHABET). Beth is the heading or title of the second part of Ps 119, and each verse of that part begins with this letter (see PSALMS). In Heb. *bêth* (בֵּית) is the construct form of *bayith* (בַּיִת) 'a house,' and enters into the composition of many place-names. See BAYITH, NAMES.

BETHABARA (Βηθαβαρά, Heb. בֵּית עֲבָרָה 'place of passing over,' Jn 1^{28} AV only).—It was east of the river, and a day's distance at most from Cana of Galilee (2^{1}). The reading in ℵ A B C is **Bethany** (so RV), as in the time of Origen, who, however, regarded this as incorrect. The traditional site, from the 4th cent. A.D. (*Onomasticon, s.v.*) was at the ford east of Jericho; but this is clearly much too far south. The name survives at the ford called *'Abârah*, north-east of Bethshean, and this is the only place where this name occurs in Palestine. The site is as near to Cana as any point on the Jordan, and within a day's journey. See *SWP* vol. ii. sheet ix. C. R. CONDER.

BETH-ANATH (בֵּית־עֲנָת 'temple of Anath,' so Nestle, Baethgen, Meyer), Jos 19^{38}, Jg 1^{33}.—A town of Naphtali, now the village *'Ainatha*, in the mountains of Upper Galilee. (*SWP* vol. i. sheet iv.) See DABERATH for the early Egyptian notice.

C. R. CONDER.

BETH-ANOTH (בֵּית־עֲנוֹת, perhaps 'temple of 'Anath'), Jos 15^{59}.—A town in the mountains of Judah near Gedor. It is the present *Beit 'Ainûn*, S.E. of Halhul. *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xxi.

C. R. CONDER.

BETHANY (Βηθανία).—1. A village near Jerusalem (Mt 21^{17}), near Bethphage, and at the Mount of Olives (Mk 11^{1}, cf. $^{11.\,12}$), where was Simon's house (14^{3}), on the road from Jericho to Jerusalem by Olivet (Lk 19^{29}); the home of Lazarus, about fifteen furlongs, or less than two English miles, from the city (Jn $11^{1.\,18}$ 12^{1}). The situation agrees with that of the village *El 'Azerîyeh*, 'The place of Lazarus,' where it has been placed since the 4th cent. A.D. (See *Onomasticon, s.v.* Bethania.) The name means perhaps 'house of dates.' It is a small stone village, on the south-east slope of Olivet, north of the Jericho road, surrounded with fig-gardens and terrace-walls. The most conspicuous feature is the tall square tower in the centre of the village, which belonged to the convent of St. Lazarus, founded by queen Milicent in A.D. 1147 for Benedictine nuns. There is a vault below, converted into a diminutive rock-cut chapel by apses cut to the east. This is shown as the tomb of Lazarus. A church was shown at this spot in the 4th century, but the ancient rock-cut tombs are farther to the east beside the road. See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvii., and Neubauer, *Géog. Tal. s.v.*, for the Talmudic notices. 2. RV of Jn 1^{28}. See BASHAN, BETHABARA. C. R. CONDER.

BETH-ARABAH (בֵּית הָעֲרָבָה), 'place of the Arabah' (wh. see), Jos $15^{6.\,61}$ 18^{22}; Arabah, 18^{18}.—A place in the Jericho plain, apparently north of Beth-hoglah, in the 'wilderness.' In the last cited passage the district only is mentioned. The name has not been recovered. C. R. CONDER.

BETH-ARBEL (בֵּית אַרְבֵאל), Hos 10^{14} only.—The site is quite uncertain. It is said to have been spoiled by Shalman (perhaps Shalmaneser III.), and may have been in Syria. Two places called Arbela exist in Palestine, one (now *Irbid*) west of the Sea of Galilee (Jos. *Ant.* XII. xi. 1), the other (*Irbid*) in the extreme north of Gilead, both noticed in the 4th cent. A.D. (*Onom. s.v.* Arbela). (See Schrader, *KAT*^{2} 440 ff.; G. A. Smith, *Twelve Prophets*, 217, n. 5; Wellh., *Kl. Proph.* 123.)

C. R. CONDER.

BETHASMOTH (Βαιθασμώθ), 1 Es 5^{18}.—For Beth-azmaveth.

BETH-AVEN (בֵּית אָוֶן 'house of iniquity,' or 'idolatry'?).—Close to Ai (Jos 7^{2}), by the wilderness (18^{12}), north-west of Michmash (1 S 13^{5}), and on the way to Aijalon (14^{23}), still inhabited in the 8th cent. B.C. (Hos 5^{8}). The 'calves of Bethaven' were probably those at Bethel close by (Hos 10^{5}). Bethel is prob. meant also in Hos 4^{15} 5^{8} (see Am 5^{5}) 10^{8} (Aven). The name may have been altered from original בֵּית אוֹן 'house of wealth.' See BETHEL, p. 278^{a}. C. R. CONDER.

BETH-AZMAVETH (Neh 7^{28}).—See AZMAVETH.

BETH-BAAL-MEON (Jos 13^{17}).—See BAAL-MEON.

BETH-BARAH (בֵּית בָּרָה), Jg 7^{24}.—Near Jordan and the valley of Jezreel. Some suppose it to be the same as Bethabara, in which case the guttural has been lost in copying. The situation would suit. See BETHABARA. C. R. CONDER.

BETHBASI (Βαιθβασί), 1 Mac $9^{62.64}$.—Jos. (*Ant.* XIII. i. 5) reads Bethhoglah. The name has not been recovered. Jonathan and Simon the Hasmonæans here hid in the desert of Jericho. It may represent an ancient בית בצי, or 'place of marshes.'
C. R. CONDER.

BETH-BIRI (בֵּית בִּרְאִי), 1 Ch 4^{31}.—A town of Simeon, perhaps textual error for בֵּית לְבָאוֹת Jos 19^{6} =Lebaoth, Jos 15^{32}. The ruin *Bîreh* on the west slopes of the Debir hills may be intended. See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xxiv. C. R. CONDER.

BETH-CAR (בֵּית כָּר), 'place of a lamb,' 1 S 7^{11}.—The Peshiṭta reads Beth-jashan (see SHEN). The whole topography of this episode is doubtful, for the sites of Mizpeh and Ebenezer are uncertain. Beth-car evidently stood above a valley by which the Philistines fled from the hills near Jerusalem. The present *'Ain Kârim,* a village overlooking the upper part of the valley of Sorek, west of Jerusalem, would be a possible site. It is the later Carem (added verse, LXX Jos 15^{59}). See BETH-HACCHEREM. C. R. CONDER.

BETH-DAGON (בֵּית־דָּגוֹן 'house of Dagon,' Βηθδαγών, Βαγαδιήλ).—The name of two different towns mentioned in OT. 1. One of these (Jos 15^{41}) is in the territory of Judah, in the second of the four groups of the cities of the lowland or *Shephelah,* and is provisionally identified with *Beit-dejan,* about 4 miles S.E. of Joppa. 2. The other (Jos 19^{27}) was one of the border cities of Asher, apparently to the E. of Carmel, and is not identified. There is another *Beit-dejan,* however, farther to the N., and perhaps yet others (see G. A. Smith's *Hist. Geog.* p. 332 n., p. 403 n.), indicating that there were many Beth-dagons. Jos. mentions a Dagon 'beyond Jericho' (*Wars,* I. ii. 3; *Ant.* XIII. viii. 1). Perhaps this points to a time when the worship of Dagon was widely disseminated, both in and out of the Phil. country. However, the name may mean no more than 'corn house.' See DAGON. In the time of Hezekiah, Sennacherib captured the Beth-dagon near Joppa (Smith, *Assyr. Disc.* p. 303).
W. J. BEECHER.

BETH-DIBLATHAIM (בֵּית דִּבְלָתַיִם 'house of two fig-cakes'?).—In Jer 48^{22} mentioned with Dibon and Nebo, see ALMON-DIBLATHAIM; the next camp to Dibon before Nebo (Nu $33^{46f.}$). It is thought by some to be the Diblath of Ezk 6^{14}; but this seems impossible. The name (which occurs on the Moabite Stone, l. 30) has not been found in Moab.
C. R. CONDER.

BETH-EDEN (Am 1^{5} marg.).—See EDEN.

BETHEL (בֵּית־אֵל 'house of God,' LXX Βαιθήλ, Jos. Βηθήλ, Βεθήλη πόλις) is usually identified with the modern *Bêtîn* (*PEF Memoirs,* vol. ii. p. 305), about four hours N. of Jerusalem, on the Nablûs road (Jg 21^{19}), though the ancient town may have lain farther N. than the present village (Baed. *Paläst.*^{3} p. 215). The situation is high up (2880 ft.) in the central range; hence the mention of 'hill-country' (Gn 12^{8}, Jos 16^{1}, Jg 4^{5}, 1 S 13^{2}), and the use of the verb 'to go up,' in connexion with Bethel (Gn 35^{1}, Jos 16^{1}, Jg 1^{22} $20^{18.26.31}$, 1 S 10^{3}, Hos 4^{15}).

The earlier name of Bethel was Luz (Gn 28^{19} R, 35^{6} R, 48^{3} P, Jos 18^{13} P, Jg 1^{23} J). In Jos 16^{2} JE, however, a distinction is made between the two places ('from Bethel to Luz'). Perhaps, therefore, the spot where Jacob spent the night was not actually in Luz, but in its neighbourhood.* Eusebius, in the *Onomasticon* (*s.v.* Λουζά), places Luz of Joseph 9 miles from Neapolis, Jerome (*Onomast. ib.*), 'in tertio lapide Neapoleos'; but neither of these distances can be right. The Talmud mentions some curious legends in connexion with Luz: 'where blue wool is dyed; a place which neither Sennacherib nor Nebuchadrezzar could take, and where the angel of death is powerless,' etc.* Another town called Luz was founded by a man of Bethel in the land of the Hittites (Jg 1^{26}).

The first mention of Bethel occurs in the account of Abraham's immigration: the patriarch pitches his tent in the neighbourhood of Bethel, builds an altar, and worships J″. He visits this sanctuary a second time, on his return from Egypt (Gn 12^{8} $13^{3.4}$ J). But the origin of the name, and the foundation of the sanctuary, is especially connected with a memorable episode in the life of Jacob. Two divergent accounts exist. According to the one, Jacob encounters the vision at Luz in the course of his flight *to* Haran (Gn 28^{10-22}); this is the earlier narrative, and belongs to JE; according to the other, God appears to him on his return *from* Paddan-aram, many years later (Gn $35^{9-13.15}$): this is the account of P.

a. To take the earlier narrative first. It is composite in structure. The two documents, J and E, are interwoven, and differ considerably in details. In J (vv.$^{13-16.19a}$), J″ appears standing beside Jacob, and repeats the promise made to Abraham (12^{3} 13^{14-16} J), adapting it to the circumstances of Jacob, whose words on awaking are, 'Surely J″ is in this place, and I knew it not. And he called the name of the place Bethel' (*house of El*).† In E ($^{10-12.17.18.20-22}$), on the other hand, we hear of the stone pillow, of the ladder, and of the angels; Jacob's exclamation is, 'This is none other but the house of God,' etc.; he sets up the stone as a pillar (*maẓẓēba*), anoints it with oil, and makes a solemn vow.

It is difficult to account for these divergences. Some authorities, such as Wellhausen,‡ suppose that J contained an independent narrative; others, as Kuenen,§ hold that we have here, not the work of J, but a passage expanded and modified from E by 'a follower of J'; according to the latter scholar, J probably carried back the consecration of Bethel to Abraham and not to Jacob (Gn 12^{8}; cf. 13^{3}).

b. In the later account of P (Gn $35^{9-13.15}$) there is no mention of the characteristic features of the earlier narrative. The salient points here seem to be that God changes Jacob's name to Israel, and the name Bethel is given to the place because God spake with him there. God reveals Himself by the name El-Shaddai, and the promise (vv.$^{11.12}$) is cast into the form characteristic of P. This account is referred to again in 48^{3} P.

In Hos 12^{4} the vision at Bethel comes after Jacob's wrestling, *i.e.* after his return from Paddan-aram, as in P, though not necessarily implying that Hosea used this narrative.‖ In the subsequent narrative E records the command to return to Bethel, where Jacob had set up and anointed a pillar; now he builds an altar in memory of the revelation years before (Gn $35^{1.3.6.7}$). 'And he called the name of the place El-Bethel.'[*] Nothing is said of the fulfilment of the vow to dedicate a tenth promised in 28^{22b}; but this particular is generally held to have been inserted later. On the occasion of this second visit Deborah, Rebekah's nurse, died, and was buried 'below Bethel, under the oak.'

---

* Dillmann, *Genesis*^{6}, p. 337. Jos 16^{2} might be rendered 'from Bethel-Luza'; but this would imply that Bethel is determined by Luz, whereas everywhere else it is Luz that is determined by Bethel, the better-known place. 'Luza,' then, may be a gloss inserted to accommodate the passage to Jos 18^{13}. The LXX has the name not here (16^{2}), but at the end of v.^{1}. Dillm. *Num. Deut. Josh.*^{2} p. 539.

* Talm. Bab. *Sota,* 46*b*; *Bereshith Rabba,* ch. 69. See Neubauer, *Géogr. du Talm.* p. 156.

† Cf. Beth-Shemesh, Beth-Dagon (Jos 15^{41}), Beth-Peor (Dt 3^{29}), Beth-Baal-Meon (Jos 13^{17}).

‡ *Comp. de Hex.* p. 33. The variations which occur in the terms of the promise in v.^{14} when compared with the other promises in J (Gn 12^{3} 13^{14} 18^{18} 22^{18}) are explained by supposing that J here has been worked over by a later hand.

§ *Hexateuch,* p. 147. The 'follower of J' incorporated 12^{3b} almost word for word in v.^{14}, and modified E in v.^{21b}; thus vv.$^{13.16}$ become homogeneous with $22^{14.18}$. It will be noticed that both views involve a modification of J in a lesser or greater degree.

‖ Gn 35^{9-15} has been expanded by the redactor with extracts from JE, *e.g.* in v.^{14}. The *maẓẓēba* and libation are quite foreign to P. The word 'again,' v.^{9}, is not original, but was inserted to harmonise with Gn $28^{10f.}$. It is the second visit to Bethel recorded by E ($35^{1.3.6.7}$), once, perhaps, a fuller narrative, which lies behind the prophet's words. Kuen. *ib.* p. 228.

Thus tradition connected Bethel with the patriarchal history; and the connexion is a witness to the high antiquity of the sanctuary. It has been supposed that, like many other sanctuaries, such as Jerusalem, Jericho, Shechem, Hebron, etc., Bethel was originally a Canaanite holy place, and that after it had passed into the hands of the Israelites it was adopted into Israelite traditions, and assigned a patriarchal consecration. On the other hand, there is no clear evidence that Bethel was a Canaanite sanctuary; all that the OT knows about its earlier history is that its ancient name was Luz; so we are justified in concluding that its sanctity was of purely Israelite origin.[†] At the same time, it possessed a sanctity independent of the dedication which Jacob is said to have given it. It was a haunt of angels, a place where a ladder was always fixed between earth and heaven; and when Jacob passed the night there he saw it.[‡] It was not so much that J″ found Jacob, as that Jacob was unconsciously guided to find J″ there.

The setting up and anointing of the pillar in Bethel is important as illustrating primitive religious ideas. Several of these pillars are mentioned in the history of Jacob (Gn 31^{45} 35^{20} E; cf. Jos 24^{26} E), and the narratives give the impression that they were memorial-stones, marking the scene of a divine revelation. But this was not their primary significance. It is the stone of Bethel, not the place, that is called 'a house of God' (Gn 28^{22}), the stone being regarded as the shrine of the Deity, and the symbol of His presence.[§]

In the Book of Joshua Bethel is mentioned several times in connexion with the capture of Ai (Jos 7^{2} $8^{9.12.17}$ JE); its inhabitants assisted those of Ai in attacking the Israelites (Jos 8^{17}). The Deuteronomic compiler of Jos defines the situation of Ai by Bethel, showing the importance of the place in his day, and mentions a king of Bethel (Jos $12^{9.16}$ D^{2}).

A frontier town on the S. border of Joseph (Jos $16^{1.2}$ JE), and on the N. border of Benjamin (Jos 18^{13} P), it is reckoned as belonging sometimes to Benjamin (Jos 18^{22} P), sometimes to Ephraim (Jg $1^{22f.}$ J, 1 Ch 7^{28}). Lying on the frontier, it must have changed hands from time to time; *e.g.* Abijah, king of Judah, is said to have taken Bethel from Jeroboam (2 Ch 13^{19}).

After its capture and occupation by the house of Joseph (Jg 1^{22-25}), Bethel became, together with Jericho, Ai, and Hebron, one of the principal settlements of the Israelites. Gilgal was the headquarters at the first stage in the occupation of the land, Bethel at the second (Jg 2^{1} LXX: ἀπὸ Γαλγὰλ ἐπὶ Βαιθήλ).[*]

In the period of the Judges Bethel became the chief religious centre of the northern tribes. The ark was stationed there (Jg 20^{18}); it was frequented as a place for sacrifice (Jg 2^{5b} Budde, 1 S 10^{3}), or for consulting the divine oracle (Jg $20^{18.26}$ 21^{2}), and the sanctuary was rendered accessible by roads (Jg 20^{31} 21^{19}). In the neighbourhood was the palm under which Deborah the prophetess dwelt (Jg 4^{5}); and, in a late passage, Samuel is said to have included Bethel in his yearly circuit (1 S 7^{16}).

The importance of the sanctuary was greatly increased by Jeroboam I. Its geographical position combined with political expediency to make it the religious capital of the N. kingdom. Here and at Dan the golden calves or steers were set up, and a form of J″-worship organised in accordance with the practice of the popular religion (1 K $12^{29.32f.}$).[†] This no doubt provoked a certain amount of opposition from the prophets; probably Ahijah disapproved of it (1 K $14^{8f.}$). The story of the 'man of God from Judah' who cried against the altar of Bethel is, however, much later than this period, so that we cannot be sure how far it represents the contemporary opinion of the prophets. The story is given in 1 K 13 ('Bethel,' vv.$^{1.4.10.11.32}$).[‡] Elijah, Elisha, and Amos have nothing to say against the golden calves; Elijah himself was sent to Bethel by the Lord (2 K 2^{2}).

In the reign of Ahab a Bethelite named Hiel rebuilt Jericho (1 K 16^{34}).

The splendour and importance of the sanctuary increased with the prosperity of the N. kingdom. The worship instituted by Jeroboam had the support of Jehu (2 K 10^{29}); but it was under Jeroboam II. that the great Ephraimite sanctuary reached the summit of its renown as 'a royal sanctuary and house of the kingdom' (Am 7^{13}). It had its dignified priesthood (Am 7^{10}) and college of prophets (2 K 2^{3}; cf. 1 K 13^{11}); the ritual, the sacrifices, the public feasts, attained a degree of luxurious splendour unparalleled before. But all this went along with a deep-seated degradation, moral and religious. Amos gives a vivid picture of Bethel at this period. The sanctuary itself had become the seat of cruelty and extortion; the sacred feasts, supported out of the tithes (4^{4}),[§] had degenerated into luxurious banquets for the nobles at the expense of the poor (5^{11}). Hence the sanctuary of Bethel is denounced in unmeasured terms both by Amos and Hosea (Am 3^{14} 4^{4}, Hos 10^{15}); it is threatened with severe visitation and overthrow of its altar (Am 9^{1} 3^{14} 'Bethel shall come to nought' [*Aven*] 5^{5}).[‖] In Hosea, Beth-aven has become the desecrated name of Beth-el (4^{15} 5^{8} 10$^{5.8}$): * the calf-worship is for the first time emphatically denounced as the very root of Israel's sin.

---

[*] That is, *El of Bethel*; a local name of J″, pointing to a belief in a local deity inhabiting this particular spot. Cf. the name of the *mazzēba* of Shechem, 'El God of Israel' (Gn 33^{20}), and of the place where Abraham sacrificed the ram (Gn 22^{14}); so, too, El-roî, the God of the well of Lahai-roî (Gn 16^{13}); El Olam, the God of Beersheba (Gn 21^{33}). Cf. the various local names of Baal. See Nowack, *Hebr. Archäologie*, ii. p. 9, and Stade, *Geschichte d. V. Isr.* i. p. 447. The LXX, Pesh. Vulg. omit the first El (Gn 35^{7}), perhaps because the expression was not understood. There is no need to doubt its originality.

[†] So Nöldeke, *ZDMG* xlii. p. 482; but see Benzinger, *Hebr. Archäologie*, p. 125.

[‡] Wellhausen, *Composition*, p. 32; W. R. Smith, *Rel. of Semites*, p. 110; Benzinger, *ib.* p. 376.

[§] W. R. Smith, *ib.* 4, 187; Benzinger, *ib.* pp. 57, 380; Nowack, *Hebr. Archäol.* i. p. 91, ii. p. 9; Stade, *Geschichte*, i. p. 456. Thus ביתאל passed into Greek and Latin as *βαιτύλιον* and *bactylus*, the *λίθοι λιπαροί*, *λίθοι ἔμψυχοι* (prob. aerolites), which were worshipped as divine. Curious information on this subject may be found in Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* i. 10, and in Photius, *Bibliotheca*, ccxlii. p. 1062 f. Cf. also Lucian, *Alex.* 30; Tac. *Hist.* ii. 3; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. p. 713. The sacred stone of Mecca is a well-known example from Semitic paganism which has survived in Islam. Stone-worship is alluded to in Is 57^{6}.

[*] The Heb. text here is to be corrected from LXX. The latter, however, is not its original state, for ἐπὶ τὸν Κλαυθμῶνα καί is a gloss inserted to satisfy the dubious אל הבכים of the Heb. See Budde, *Richter u. Sam.* pp. 20 f., 89. In v.^{5} בכים is in its right place. Wellhausen, *Comp.* p. 215, notes that בכים was in the neighbourhood of Bethel (Gn 35^{8}, אלון בכות).

[†] The golden calves were *not* of Egyptian but of native origin. For the popular worship of J″ under the form of an image, see Jg 8^{27} 17^{4} $18^{14.30f.}$ etc.

[‡] Driver, *LOT*, p. 183; Kuenen, *Einleitung*, ii. p. 76 (Germ. trans.).

[§] See W. R. Smith, *Rel. of Semites*, p. 229 ff. Gn $28^{21f.}$ no doubt justified and explained the custom of paying tithes at Bethel (Am 4^{4}). See above.

[‖] W. R. Smith, *ib.* p. 470. Perhaps the altar was 'a pillar crowned by a sort of capital bearing a bowl,' serving as a kind of cresset. This would give additional force to the language of Amos in 9^{1}.

The prophets' denunciations were soon fulfilled, for Bethel must have been involved in the general overthrow of the N. kingdom by the Assyrians in 722; cf. Jer 48^{13}. According to Jewish tradition, Shalmaneser 'carried off the golden calf which was in Bethel, and departed to set it up.' †

During the Captivity Bethel is mentioned as the residence of a priest who was despatched by the conquerors to teach the strangers settled there 'how they should fear J''' (2 K 17^{28}).

The reforming zeal of Josiah was directed against so much of the sanctuary as had survived the Assyrian devastation. The king carried to Bethel the ashes of idolatrous vessels from Jerusalem; he defiled the altar which was still standing, but allowed the monument of the prophet, who had foretold the overthrow, to remain undisturbed (2 K 23$^{4.15.17.19}$).

Among the exiles who returned from Babylon 'the men of Bethel' are named (Ezr 2^{28}=Neh 7^{32}); and the ancient city was inhabited once more by the children of Benjamin (Neh 11^{31}). In the fourth year of Darius a deputation was sent from Bethel to Jerusalem to inquire about the continuance of the stated fasts (Zec 7^{2}).

In the wars of the Maccabees Bethel was one of the places fortified by Bacchides (1 Mac 9^{50}). Finally, it was captured by Vespasian in his campaign against Jerusalem (Jos. *Jew. Wars*, IV. ix. 9).

2. There was another Bethel in Judah, mentioned in 1 S 30^{27}, Jos 19^{4} בְּתוּל, and 1 Ch 4^{30} בְּתוּאֵל (cf. for the form פְּנוּאֵל). It is mentioned in the Midrash (*Ekha* ii. 3) as one of the three places in which Hadrian placed garrisons to arrest deserters. The site is unknown. ‡ G. A. COOKE.

BETH-EMEK (בֵּית הָעֵמֶק 'house of the deep valley'), Jos 19^{27}.—A town of Zebulun in the border valley, east of Acco, apparently near Cabul. The name has not been recovered. C. R. CONDER.

BETHER (הָרֵי בָתֶר 'mountains of cutting'—or 'of divisions,' Ca 2^{17}).—If a proper name, the famous site of Bether near Jerusalem (see added verse of LXX Jos 15^{59}) might be intended, the hill-ridge to the south being uncultivated land, near woods in which deer might have been found. Bether is celebrated for the resistance of the Jews to Hadrian under Bar-Cochba in A.D. 135 (see authorities quoted by Robinson, *Bib. Res.* vol. iii., and the account in Neubauer's *Géog. Talm. s.v.*). The site was recognised by Canon Williams at *Bittîr*, south-west of Jerusalem—a village on a cliff in a strong position, with a ruin near it called 'Ruin of the Jews,' from a tradition of a great Jewish massacre at this place. See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvii. C. R. CONDER.

BETHESDA (Βηθεσδά, TR), Jn 5^{2}.—A pool at Jerusalem, by the προβατική or 'sheep place' (market or gate), having five porches or cloisters. In א and L the name is given as *Bethzatha* (comp. the name of Bezetha for the north quarter of Jerusalem), in B it is *Bethsaida*. It appears to have had steps from the cloisters, and the water was at times 'troubled.' The account of the angel troubling the waters (v.^{4}) is omitted in א B and D, but occurs in A C^{3}, the Vulgate, the Peshiṭta, etc. It may therefore be thought that the troubling of the waters had a natural cause. The site is not definitely fixed by the description. The Sheep Gate was north of the Temple, but a place where the flocks were gathered for watering may be intended. The most probable derivation of the name seems to be from בֵּית אֶשְׁדָּה *Betheshdah*, 'house of the stream' (see under PISGAH, and Gesen. *Lex. s.v.*). The traditions as to Bethesda have varied. In the 4th century it was placed (*Onomasticon, s.v.* Bethesda) at the Twin Pools, in the ditch at the north-west angle of Antonia, one of these being the Sheep Pool and the other that with porches, the fifth of which was supposed to divide the two; but this pool was very probably made in the fosse at a later period (2nd or 6th century A.D.). In the 12th century Bethesda was shown farther north, at the Piscina Interior west of St. Anne. It is now shown at the *Birket Israil*, part of the northern fosse immediately east of the Twin Pools; but here, again, the masonry is of later date than that of the Herodian walls of the Temple. A more probable site for Bethesda is the Virgin's Pool (Gihon and En-rogel), the only natural spring of Jerusalem, at the foot of the Ophel slope south-east of the Temple, as proposed by Robinson. This answers the requirements that it still presents the phenomenon of intermittent 'troubling of the water,' which overflows from a natural syphon under the cave, and that it is still the custom of the Jews to bathe in the waters of the cave, when this overflow occurs, for the cure of rheumatism and of other disorders. It is also still the place where the flocks are gathered for watering. A long flight of steps leads to the cave, and the débris is heaped up round these, so that it is impossible to say whether any buildings existed round the cavern. A Greek text of late date was found by Tobler built into the masonry near. The name, 'house of the stream,' would be suitable for this site, whence a stream flowed to Siloam. See *SWP*, Jerusalem vol., *s.v.* *'Ain Umm ed Deraj*; also Westcott and Hort's *N.T.* App. 76^{b}. C. R. CONDER.

BETH-EZEL (בֵּית הָאֵצֶל), Mic 1^{11}.—Perhaps 'place near,' see AVm: mentioned with Zaanan and Shaphir. It seems to have been a place in the Philistine plain, but the site is unknown. According to some it is=Azel of Zec 14^{5}. C. R. CONDER.

BETH-GADER (בֵּית גָּדֵר), 1 Ch 2^{51}, mentioned with Bethlehem and Kiriath-jearim. It may be the same as Geder, Jos 12^{13}.

BETH-GAMUL (בֵּית גָּמוּל), Jer 48^{23}.—A place in Moab, noticed with Dibon, Kiriathaim, and Beth-meon. It is now the ruin *Umm el-Jemâl*, towards the east of the plateau, south of Medeba—a site where a Nabatæan inscription was found by Warren, which may date about the 2nd cent. A.D. C. R. CONDER.

BETH-GILGAL (Neh 12^{29}, AV 'house of Gilgal'), perhaps identical with Gilgal to the east of Jericho. See GILGAL.

BETH-HACCHEREM (בֵּית הַכֶּרֶם 'place of the vineyard'), Neh 3^{14}, Jer 6^{1}. It appears to have had a commanding position for a beacon or ensign. Tradition fixed on Herodium south of Bethlehem, probably because it was a conspicuous site near Tekoa, with which it is noticed. A possible site is *'Ain Kârim* west of Jerusalem, where there are vineyards. On the hill to the east are the remarkable stone cairns which stand above the valley of Rephaim. See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvii. C. R. CONDER.

---

* The LXX points בֵּית אָוֶן as בֵּית אוֹן, and transliterates οἶκος Ὤν, Hos 4^{15} 5^{8} 10$^{5(8)}$ 12^{4}; Aquila renders οἶκος ἀνωφελοῦς. Targ. on Hos 4^{15} 5^{8} gives בֵּיתאֵל. Cyril, *in Hos.* (*Opera*, vol. iii. p. 145, ed. 1638), connects οἶκος Ὤν (=τέμενος Ἡλίου) with Heliopolis.

† *Seder 'Olam*, ch. xxii.

‡ Probably the Chesil (כְּסִיל) of Jos 15^{30} is a textual error for this same Bethel (cf. notes in Haupt's *Sacred Bks. of OT* in *ll.cit.*).

BETH-HARAM (בֵּית הָרָם, AV Beth-aram) was situated 'in the valley-plain of the Jordan' (Jos 13^{27}). In Nu 32^{36} Bethharan. Its site has been recovered at Tell Râmeh at the mouth of the *Wâdy Heshbân*, 6 miles east from the familiar bathing-place of pilgrims in the Jordan. According to Tristram it retains its old name, and is still known as *Beit-Harran* (*Land of Moab*, p. 348). Eusebius describes it as Betharamphtha. Jos. calls it Amathus (*Ant.* XVII. x. 6). It was rebuilt and fortified by Herod Antipas when he became tetrarch, and in honour of the Roman empress was called Livias or Libias. Merrill (*East of the Jordan*, p. 383) gives good reasons for believing that it was in the palace here that Herod celebrated his birthday by the feast recorded (Mt 14^{6-12}, Mk 6^{21-28}), and that the Baptist's head was brought hither from Machærus, some 20 miles south. A. HENDERSON.

BETH-HARAN (בֵּית הָרָן), Nu 32^{36}.—See BETH-HARAM.

BETH-HOGLAH (בֵּית חָגְלָה 'place of the partridge'), Jos 15^6 18^{19}. In the Jericho plain. Now the large spring called *'Ain Hajlah*, 'partridge spring,' south-east of Jericho. Close by is the monastery called *Ḳasr Hajlah*, occupied by Greek monks, but which in 1874 was still a fine mediæval ruin, with frescoes of the 12th cent., since destroyed. See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xviii. C. R. CONDER.

BETH-HORON (בֵּית־חוֹרוֹן 'place of caves'?). — In 1 Ch 7^{24} RV we read that Sheerah, daughter of Ephraim, built 'Beth-horon, the nether and the upper, and Uzzen-Sheerah.' Her name possibly survives in *Beit-Sira* = Uzzen-Sheerah, and certainly the other two places ascribed to her still exist, with their old appellations but little changed. Their survival and their historical importance are due to their position.

From the valley of Aijalon three gorges break through the steep wall of the western front of the central range of Palestine. The northernmost of these is the pass to El-Jib (Gibeon), up which, always the easiest approach from the west to the Jewish capital, a well-trodden path leads, in about fifty minutes, to *Beit-ûr et-Taḥta* or Lower Beth-horon. It stands on a ridge, about 1240 ft. above the sea, with the remains of a castle near. Crossing a small wady, and mounting a long and steep ascent, rocky and rough, but with the rock in places cut into steps, the traveller after an hour's climb reaches *Beit-ûr el-Fôḳa* or Upper Beth-horon, which stands 1730 ft. above the sea, on a mountain spur with a deep valley both to north and south. The village is small, but exhibits traces of ancient walls and foundations, and to the east of it is a reservoir, apparently of great antiquity.

So situated, the B.s could not fail to be connected with the march and retreat of armies. 'Throughout history we see hosts swarming up this avenue or swept down it in flight.' More than one memorable battle takes its name from B. (see below). Thrice the two towns were fortified —by Solomon (1 K 9^{17}, 2 Ch 8^5), by the Syrian general Bacchides (1 Mac 9^{50}, Jos. *Ant.* XIII. i. 3), and by the Jews against Holofernes (Jth $4^{4.5}$). It was by B. that Cestius Gallus advanced in the first onset of the Roman armies on Jerusalem, and down its gorge he was driven in rout by the insurgent Jews (Jos. *Wars*, II. xix. 1, 8). And B. saw the first Crusaders march to Jerusalem; and saw Richard, in the third Crusade, in vain try to force a passage by the same route.

A further importance attached to the two towns as frontier posts. Both Upper and Nether Beth-horon were either on, or close to, the boundary between Benjamin and Ephraim, being reckoned the possession of the latter tribe (Jos 16^5 $18^{13.14}$ 21^{22}, 1 Ch 6^{68}). After the rupture of the kingdom they naturally fell to Israel. The absence of mention of them in Ezra and Nehemiah may indicate that they did not form part of the Return settlement, though they must have been close on its frontier. If the designation of Sanballat ('the Horonite') connects him with B. (and not rather with Horonaim), this would be conclusive of its dependence on Samaria. But under the Maccabees, about B.C. 161, we find B. described as 'a village of Judæa' (Jos. *Ant.* XII. vii. 1), though it was not till sixteen years later that the district in which it lay was formally transferred by the Syrian monarch.

LITERATURE.—Robinson, *BRP* iii. 59, with references there to patristic and other writers; Smith, *Hist. Geog. of the Holy Land*, 210, 213, 254; Baedeker, *Pal. and Syria*, 142; Stanley, *Sin. and Pal.* 212.

BATTLES OF BETHHORON. — The Gibeonites, being besieged by the five kings, had summoned Joshua to their relief. By a forced march he obeyed the summons. At sunrise 'he was already in the open ground at the foot of the heights of Gibeon,' and the battle began. It had three stages.

The Canaanites were thrown into dismay by the shout and the sudden onset of Israel, and broke, flying up the rocky ascent to Upper B. (Jos 10^{10}).

But they made no stay there, and we next see them in headlong flight down the other side of the ridge towards Lower B., while a terrible storm raged, and contributed more to their defeat than even the pursuit of the Israelites (v.^{11}).

It is here that the prose narrative is interrupted by the quotation from the Book of Jashar, where 'the hero appears in the ancient song of the Book of Heroes,' standing on the crest of the hill with outstretched hand and spear, calling to the sun to stand still upon Gibeon, and the moon in the valley of Aijalon (v.$^{12ff.}$).

'In the lengthened day thus given to Joshua's prayer comes the third stage,' the hiding of the kings in the cave of Makkedah, where they were guarded while the pursuit of their beaten forces lasted, and were then put to death (vv.$^{16-27}$).

The second battle of Beth-horon was won by Judas Maccabæus over Seron, 'a prince of the army of Syria.' Judas, born at Modin, in the neighbourhood, must have foreseen his advantage from the nature of the ground, as he saw the Syrians 'coming near to the going up of Beth-horon.' But he trusted more to the help of J", and, encouraging his scanty host by reminding them that 'the victory of battle standeth not in the multitude of a host, but strength cometh from heaven,' he 'leapt suddenly' upon the foe, and drove them down to the plain. This was in B.C. 166. Five years later he won another victory on the same ground over Nicanor (1 Mac 3^{13-24} 7^{39-50}; Jos. *Ant.* XII. vii. 1, x. 5.).

A. S. AGLEN.

BETHINK.—In 1 K 8^{47}, 2 Ch 6^{37} b. occurs as a reflex. verb in the obsol. sense of 'to take thought,' 'to come to oneself': 'if they shall b. themselves . . . and repent' (הֵשִׁיב אֶל־לֵב 'bring back to heart.' See the same phrase in Dt 4^{39} 'consider it in thine heart,' RV 'lay it to thine heart'; 30^1 'call to mind'; Is 44^{19} 'none considereth in his heart,' RV 'calleth to mind'; 46^8 [עַל] 'bring again to mind'; La 3^{21} 'recall to mind'). Cf. Lk 15^{17} 'when he came to himself' (Gr. εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐλθών).

J. HASTINGS.

BETH-JESHIMOTH (in AV also Jesimoth) ('בּ הַיְשִׁמוֹת, 'the place of the desert'), the S. limit of the encampment on 'the plains of Moab' at the close of the journeyings, Nu 33^{49}. In Jos 12^3 it is mentioned as in the S. of the Arabah towards the Dead Sea. In 13^{20} it is assigned to Reuben, the 'slopes of Pisgah' being mentioned immediately before it; and in Ezk 25^{9} it is spoken of as belonging to Moab. Eusebius places it 10 miles S. of Jericho, and Jos. (*Jewish Wars*, IV. vii. 6) refers to Βησιμώθ in that direction. Some ruins and a well at the N.E. end of the Dead Sea bear the name of Suwaimeh, which is considered as a modification of Jeshimoth; and this situation suits the requirements of the biblical narrative. A. T. CHAPMAN.

BETH-LE-APHRAH (בֵּית־לְעַפְרָה, AV 'house of Aphrah').—The name of a town apparently in Phil. territory, whose site is quite unknown (Mic 1^{10}). In the call 'at B. roll thyself in the dust,' there is a double play upon words, *'Aphrah* containing a punning allusion to *'Aphar* (dust) and הִתְפַּלָּשִׁי (roll thyself) to פְּלִשְׁתִּי (Philistine). It seems out of the question to identify the place with **Ophrah** of Benjamin (Jos 18^{23}). See G. A. Smith, *Twelve Prophets*, 383 f. J. A. SELBIE.

BETH-LEBAOTH (בֵּית לְבָאוֹת), Jos 19^{6} 'house of lionesses'?—A town of Simeon near Sharuhen. Unknown. (See BETH-BIRI.)

BETHLEHEM (בֵּית לֶחֶם 'place of bread').—Two places so named in Palestine are noticed in the OT.

1. **Bethlehem Judah**, called also **Ephrathah**, the home of David, 5 miles S. of Jerusalem. It is now a small white town on a spur running out east from the watershed. The inhabitants are Christians, and wear a peculiar costume. At the east end of the town is the Church of the Nativity and attached monastery, standing above the orchards of figs and olives, and the vineyards which surround this prosperous village. The church is perhaps the oldest in existence founded for orthodox Greek rites: the pillars are those of Constantine's Basilica, commenced about A.D. 330; the mosaics on the wall above belong to the 12th cent. The oak roof was given by Edward III. To the north is the Latin chapel, and under this the cave-chapel, in which Jerome is said to have lived while writing the Vulgate. The Cave of the Nativity, under the choir of the ancient Basilica, is the only site (excepting the chapel on Olivet) connected with the history of Christ, which is noticed before the establishment of Christianity by Constantine. A cave in Bethlehem, supposed to mark the 'inn' of the Nativity, is noticed by Justin Martyr in the 2nd cent. A.D. (*Trypho*, 78): it was known to Origen, and appears to have been found, in the 4th century A.D., consecrated to Tammuz, and standing in a grove, which was cut down when the place was reconsecrated by queen Helena. An 'inn' at Bethlehem is possibly referred to in Jer 41^{17} (RVm), the place being on one of the highways to the south. In the Hebron hills there are many rock-cut stables for cattle, which resemble the cave under the choir at Bethlehem, which possesses a rock-cut recess that may have been a manger.

Some scholars suppose Bethlehem to take its name from *Lakhmu*, a deity noticed in the Assyrian account of the Creation, but it is not known that he was adored in Palestine. Under the name Ephrath, B. is noticed in Jacob's time (Gn $35^{16. 19}$ 48^{7}, if the gloss 'the same is B.' is correct), but it is not mentioned in the Book of Joshua (except in the added verse, LXX Jos 15^{59}). The name Bethlehem first occurs in 1 S 16^{4}. The cemetery is noticed in 2 S 2^{32}, and the well in 2 S 23^{14-16}. The traditional site of this well is a rock-cut cistern north-west of the town. Bethlehem is ill supplied with water, and depends mainly on the Roman aqueduct tunnelled through the hill. The most probable site is a well to the south in the valley. The family of Caleb spread to Bethlehem (1 Ch $2^{19. 24. 51. 54}$): the Philistines held the city in the time of Saul (2 S 23^{14}, 1 Ch $11^{16. 17}$); the well is then described as being 'at the gate.' Bethlehem was fortified by Rehoboam (2 Ch 11^{6}), and occupied by the Jews after the Captivity (Ezr 2^{21}, Neh 7^{26}). In the 8th cent. B.C. (Mic 5^{2}) it appears to have been a small place, still known by its old name Ephrathah, as well as by the later (comp. Ru 2^{4} 4^{11}), but possessing cornfields and—in Jeremiah's age—an inn (?). Whether Bethlehem is intended in Ps 132^{6} as a place where the ark was supposed to be, appears doubtful. The birth of Christ at Bethlehem is noticed in Mt $2^{1. 5. 6. 8}$, Lk $2^{4. 15}$. The manger was not in the inn (Lk 2^{7}), but probably belonged to it. The Gospels refer to Micah (5^{2}) as prophesying the birth of Messiah at the home of David.

The city was sacred to Christians from the earliest times, and the first care of the Crusaders was to secure the safety of its Christian population in A.D. 1099, before Jerusalem was taken. It was subsequently made a bishopric. One of the most remarkable Christian texts is that on the font in the Basilica, which is said, with true modesty, to have been presented by 'those whose names are known to the Lord.' The glass frescoes are of high interest, and were presented by Michael Comnenos in the 12th cent. A.D. The crests of knights who visited the church in the Middle Ages are drawn upon the shafts of the Basilica pillars. For a study of this church, see de Vogüé, *Églises de la Palestine*, and *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvii. For population, see PALESTINE.

2. **Bethlehem** of Zebulun. Jos 19^{15}, and perhaps Jg $12^{8. 10}$.—Now the village *Beit Laḥm*, in the low hills, 7 miles N.W. of Nazareth. *SWP* vol. ii. sh. v. C. R. CONDER.

BETHLEHEMITE (בֵּית הַלַּחְמִי), a native of Bethlehem, is applied to Jesse in 1 S $16^{1. 18}$ 17^{58}, and to Elhanan in 2 S 21^{19}. In 1 Ch 20^{5} also we should prob. read בֵּית הַלַּחְמִי for MT אֶת־לַחְמִי. See ELHANAN, LAHMI. J. A. SELBIE.

BETH-LOMON (Βαιθλωμῶν), 1 Es 5^{17}.—For Bethlehem of Judah.

BETH-MAACAH (בֵּית מַעֲכָה).—A descriptive epithet of the city of Abel, 2 S $20^{14. 15}$, where 'Abel *and* B.' should be 'Abel *of* B.' (cf. 1 K 15^{20}, 2 K 15^{29}). See ABEL, No. 1.

BETH-MARCABOTH (בֵּית הַמַּרְכָּבֹת 'place of chariots'), Jos 19^{5}, 1 Ch 4^{31}.—A city of Simeon in the southern plains, near Ziklag, deserted in David's time. The site is unknown.

BETH-MEON.—See BAAL-MEON.

BETH-MERHAK (בֵּית הַמֶּרְחָק), 2 S 15^{17} RV, for the AV 'a place that was far off'; RVm 'the Far House.'—Stade and others understand it to mean *the last house* of the city. No town so called is known between Jerusalem and Jericho.

BETH-MILLO (Jg 9^{6} RVm; 2 K 12^{20} AVm, text 'house of Millo').—See MILLO.

BETH-NIMRAH (בֵּית נִמְרָה), 'place of leopard.' In Nu 32^{3} **Nimrah**. See v.^{36}, Jos 13^{27}.—The same as **Nimrim**, Is 15^{6}. Now the ruined mound *Tell Nimrîn*, at the foot of the mountains opposite Jericho. A good-sized stream flows N. of the mound to join the Jordan. The town, with others in the Shittim plain, belonged to Gad; the only city in this region assigned to Reuben being Beth-jeshimoth, south of the plain. In the 4th cent. A.D. Nimrim was known (*Onomasticon*, *s.v.* Bethamnaram) as lying 5 Roman miles north of Livias (Tell er-Râmeh). See *SEP* vol. i. *s.v.* Tell Nimrîn. C. R. CONDER.

BETH-PAZZEZ (בֵּית פַּצֵּץ), Jos 19[21].—A town of Issachar near Engannim and Enhaddah. The name has not been recovered.

BETH-PELET (בֵּית פֶּלֶט), RV; in AV **Beth-palet**, Jos 15[27]. **Beth-phelet**, Neh 11[26].—The **Paltite** (פַּלְטִי), 2 S 23[26], called by scribal error **Pelonite** in 1 Ch 11[27] 27[10], was an inhabitant of this place. The site was south of Beersheba, but is unknown. C. R. CONDER.

BETH-PEOR (בֵּית פְּעוֹר), Dt 3[29] 4[46] 34[6], Jos 13[20]. See BAAL-PEOR (Nu 25[3. 5]) and PEOR (Nu 23[28]).—A Moabite town given to Reuben. The 'top of Peor' commanded a view of the Jeshimon west of the Dead Sea, and seven altars were here erected by Balak. The Shittim Valley was 'over against Beth-peor,' and from Nebo the body of Moses is said to have been taken to a valley in Moab, 'over against Beth-peor,' which was not the Arabah or Shittim Valley. The name of Peor has not been found east of Jordan, but the site is placed near Heshbon in the *Onomasticon* (*s.v.* Abarim and Fogor). There is no doubt that Beth-peor was named from Baal-peor (פעור), the god of the Moabites and Midianites; and a possible site for the 'top of Peor' is the cliff at *Minyeh*, south of Wâdy Jedeideh (probably Bamoth Baal) and of Pisgah (Nebo). The three points of view of the Israelite camp (Nu 23) were evidently on the edge of the Moabite plateau, whence alone Shittim was visible; and the view from Nebo appears (v.[13]) to have been less extensive than from the other two sites, so that ridges extending farther west than Nebo would meet the requirement. This applies to the ridge above Wâdy Jedeideh, and to the ridge of Minyeh, the latter being the most southern, and extending farthest west. From it we may suppose (Nu 24[18-21]) were seen Edom, Amalek, and the 'nest of the Kenite' on a crag, indicating a position in the south of Moab, whence Edom and the conspicuous knoll of *Yukîn* (Cain) are seen. The name Minyeh is connected with a legend, and means 'wishing,' being the name of a deity, Meni (Is 65[11]). Seven circles, including central altar-stones, still exist at the edge of the cliff. Farther east is a remarkable circle, with three standing stones, at a place called *el-Mareighât*, or 'the smeared things'—evidently an ancient place of worship. Round the circle are numerous erect stones, and to the north a large group of cromlechs. This site, on the same ridge with Minyeh, may represent the old Beth-peor or 'temple of Peor,' while Minyeh itself represents the 'top of Peor.' To the south of the ridge is the fine ravine of the Zerka Mâ'in—probably Nahaliel or the 'valley of God,' and this would be a natural site for the burial of Moses in a valley 'over against Beth-peor.'

In the added verse of the LXX, after Jos 15[59], a **Peor in Judah** is noticed. This was also known in the 4th cent. A.D. (*Onomasticon, s.v.* Fogor) as near Bethlehem. It is the present ruin *Faghûr*, north-west of Bethlehem, and, though named from the same deity, is quite a distinct site.

LITERATURE.—*Mem. East Pal. Survey*, vol. i., for Minyeh and El-Mareighât, under those names, and *Mem. West Pal. Survey*, vol. iii. sheet xvii. for the Judæan site. C. R. CONDER.

BETHPHAGE (Βηθφαγή), Mt 21[1], Mk 11[1], Lk 19[29].—A village near Bethany, which see. The site is unknown. The name means 'place of figs.' See Neubauer, *Géog. Tal. s.v.* for the Talmudic notices, which do not, however, suffice to fix the site. C. R. CONDER.

BETH-RAPHA (בֵּית רָפָא), perhaps 'house of the giant,' 1 Ch 4[12]. Perhaps not a geographical name. See REPHAIM.

BETH-REHOB (בֵּית־רְחוֹב, ὁ οἶκος Ῥαάβ, Jg 18[28], 2 S 10[6], in v.[8] 'Rehob'; apparently also **Rehob** of Nu 13[21]).—A district of Syria near Hamath. From its situation in the valley in which lay Dan, or Laish (Jg 18[27. 28]), Robinson was led to suggest Hunîn, which commands the plain of Hûleh. If Rehob means a 'broad place' or 'boulevard,' it could hardly be at Hunîn. Thomson would place Beth-rehob at Banias. (See REHOB.)

A. HENDERSON.

BETHSAIDA (Βηθσαϊδά, 'House of Sport,' or 'Fisher-home').—Opinion is much divided as to whether this was the name of two places, or only of one, on the northern shore of the Sea of Galilee. That one B. stood to the east of the Jordan, near its entrance into the lake, in the district of Lower Gaulonitis, is beyond dispute. It was this village, 'situated at the Lake of Gennesaret,' that Philip 'advanced to the dignity of a city, and called it by the name of Julias, the same name with Cæsar's daughter' (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. ii. 1; see also *Ant.* XVIII. iv. 6; *BJ* II. ix. 1; III. x. 7; *Life*, 71, 72, 73; and Jerome, *Com. on Matthew*, 16[13]). This corresponds to Bethsaida of Lk 9[10], near which was the 'desert place' of Mt 14[13] and Mk 6[31], where the 5000 were fed. Codex ℵ stands alone, possibly as the result of an interpolation, in describing the scene of this miracle as near 'to Tiberias.' In this neighbourhood also probably lay the 'desert place' where the 4000 were also miraculously supplied, whence Jesus sailed with his disciples to 'the parts of Dalmanutha,' in 'the borders of Magadan' or 'Magdala,' returning thence 'to the other side,' 'to B.' (Mt 15[32-39], Mk 8[1-22]).

As to the existence of a second B., west of the Jordan, on the lake shore, there is great diversity of opinion; but where such authorities as Reland, Robinson, Stanley, and Tristram agree, there is at least a presumption in their favour. Thomson (*Land and Book*, ii. p. 423) suggests that the Jordan may have divided the town, the western part being 'in Galilee,' the eastern part being that 'which Philip repaired and called Julias.' In Smith (*DB*, art. 'Bethsaida'), it is suggested that 'if there was only one B. it was probably near the mouth of the Jordan, and perhaps, like Kerak (Tarichæa), surrounded by the river, and so liable to be included at one period in Galilee, and at another in Gaulonitis.' G. A. Smith (*Hist. Geog.* p. 458) says: 'B. in Galilee need not mean that it lay W. of the Jordan, as the province of Galilee ran right round the lake, and included most of the level coast-land on the E.' But none of these suggestions quite satisfies the requirements of the Gospel story. The feeding of the 5000 took place on the other side of the sea from Capernaum, near B. Julias. Thence Jesus sent His disciples 'to go before him unto the other side, to B.' (Mk 6[45]). John (6[17]) describes them as going 'over the sea towards Capernaum.' B., whither they were sent, and Capernaum, were therefore practically in the same direction from the place where they embarked. This could not be true of B. Julias and Capernaum, even if the latter were at *Tell Hûm*, which is most unlikely (see CAPERNAUM). If, on the other hand, Capernaum were at *Khân Minyeh*, and B. say at *eṭ-Ṭâbgha*, the direction from the E. coast would be practically identical, and a very slight deflection from its course by the storm would be sufficient to bring the boat to land in Gennesaret. Again, it would be difficult to prove that the 'province of Galilee ran right round the lake.' Josephus is indeed guilty of confusion in speaking of Judas of Gamala, who headed a revolt against the Romans, now as a Gaulonite (*Ant.* XVIII. i. 1) and again as a Galilean (*Ant.* XVIII. i. 6), but nowhere does he indicate that the district of Gamala belonged to Galilee. It is true that subsequently, for military purposes, Gamala, 'as the strongest city in these parts,' was put under Josephus along with the two Galilees (*BJ* II. xx. 4), but he was careful to distinguish what belonged to the different provinces. Thus he says that along with other cities 'in Gaulonitis' he fortified Gamala (*BJ* II. xx. 6). Jesus retired to B. on hearing of the murder of John the Baptist, and the presumption is that he went out of the jurisdiction of Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee. If B. Julias had been in the province of Galilee, Philip would hardly have ventured to interfere with it. But Josephus explicitly says it was in 'Lower Gaulonitis' (*BJ* II. ix. 1). For 'B. of Galilee' we must therefore turn to westward of the Jordan.

B. Julias has usually been identified with *et-Tell*, a considerable ruin situated E. of the Jordan, just where the river leaves the hills, and enters the plain of *el-Baṭeiḥa*. In the absence of any definite proof, however, it is natural to suppose that the city, 'Fisher-home,' stood much nearer the lake. This supposition is supported by the existence of an ancient site, by the mouth of the river, close to the shore, called *Mas'adîyeh*, wherein we may detect some resemblance to the old name. The remark of Josephus (*BJ* III. x. 7) that the Jordan 'passes by the city of Julias' into the Sea of Galilee would apply to either of these sites, but perhaps most appropriately to the latter. Attention may be drawn to the abounding grass, covering the rich plain, and running up like a wave of emerald over the lower slopes of the E. hills. There is no place round the lake where the natural luxuriance was so likely to call forth John's remark, 'now there was much grass in the place.' The Arab. *barrîyeh* 'the wilderness,' or wild grazing land beyond the cultivated plots surrounding the town, doubtless corresponds to the 'desert place' of the Gospels.

The most probable site for 'B. of Galilee,' as yet suggested, is *eṭ-Ṭâbgha* (Heptapegon ?) on the N.W. shore of the Sea of Galilee. It lies in a little vale, bordering a beautiful curve in the beach, E. of the rocky promontory of *Tell 'Areimeh*,—the monkish 'Mensa Christi,'—which forms the N.E. boundary of the plain of Gennesaret. Capernaum (Khân Minyeh) to the south-west, and Chorazin (Karâseh) among the hills to the north-east, B. would here occupy the middle position, probably indicated by the order in which Jesus refers to these cities (Mt 11^21-23^). This seems to be confirmed by Willibald (A.D. 722), who, coming from Magdala through Gennesaret, passed first Capernaum, then B., whence he went on to Chorazin. Perhaps also a reminiscence of the ancient name is found in that of the local shrine of *Sheikh 'Aly eṣ-Ṣaiyâdîn* 'Sheikh 'Aly of the Fishermen.' Copious streams of water from the warm springs on the E. edge of the vale served in time past to drive several mills on the shore, being conducted thither by aqueducts, now crumbling and covered with ferns and ivy. They also afforded supplies, led round the W. promontory, to water part of the plain of Gennesaret (see art. CAPERNAUM). The vale is extremely fertile, and has been chosen by the Prussian Catholic Pal. Society as the site of B., for the establishment of a religious colony. The shallow water round the little bay literally swarms with fish, attracted thither by the warm water from the springs. This place, and the coast of *el-Baṭeiḥa*, near the other B., are to this day favourite haunts of the fishermen from Tiberias.

W. EWING.

BETHSHAN (1 S $31^{10.12}$, 2 S 21^{12}, 1 Mac 5^{52} $12^{40.41}$) = Bethshean.

BETH-SHEAN (in OT בֵּית־שְׁאָן or בֵּית־שַׁן; in Apocr. Βαιθσάν, 1 Mac 5^{52} 12^{41}, or Βεθσά, 1 Mac 12^{40}, also Σκυθῶν πόλις, 2 Mac 12^{29}, cf. v.[30] Jth 3^{10}; in Jos. also Σκυθόπολις; in some class. writers, as Pliny, *HN* v. 74, and on coins Nysa. In modern Arab. *Beisān*).—A town between the Little Hermon and Gilboa ranges, on a plain about 300 ft. above the valley of the Jordan, and about 3 miles to the W. of that river. The old town was built on the basaltic plain now occupied by the small village of Beisān and the tell or mound to the N. of it. To the S. is a large extent of marsh, between which and the town runs an ancient road leading from the N. end of the Jordan to Jenin. The tell is bounded on the N. by the river Jalud, beyond which the ancient sepulchres still exist. Both mound and plain are covered with the ruins of temples, walls, and a large amphitheatre. In OT Beth-shean does not play an important part, apparently because, although according to 'the oldest book of Heb. history' it was apportioned to Manasseh (Jos $17^{11.16}$, cf. 1 Ch 7^{29}), it remained in the hands of its own people (Jg 1^{27}). After the battle of Gilboa the bodies of Saul and his sons were carried by the Philistines to Beth-shean, and there fastened to the wall (or in the 'broad place'), whence they were removed later by the men of Jabesh-gilead (1 S 31^{10-13}, 2 S 21^{12}). In the reign of Solomon the city seems to have given its name to a district (1 K 4^{12}).

The name **Scythopolis** given to this city as early as the 3rd cent. B.C. seems to contain a trace of an invasion of Scyths mentioned in Herodotus, i. 105 (cf. Pliny, *HN* v. 74), or to be due to the use of the word 'Scyths' to denote barbarians generally. In the 3rd cent. B.C. Scythopolis paid tribute to the Ptolemies. In 218 it surrendered to Antiochus the Great. About a century later it fell into the hands of John Hyrcanus, but was taken from the Jews by Pompey, restored by Gabinius, and became an independent town of the Rom. Emp. and one of the most important cities in the Decapolis. In the 4th cent. A.D. it was the seat of a bishopric.

LITERATURE.—For description of the site—*SWP* ii. 101–114; Robinson, *Later BR* 326-332. For history—Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 110 ff.; Jos. *Ant.* and *Jewish Wars*.

G. W. THATCHER.

BETH-SHEMESH (בֵּית שֶׁמֶשׁ 'temple of the sun').—Three places so named occur in the OT in Pal. 1. Jos 15^{10} 21^{16}, 1 S 6^{7-20}, 1 K 4^{9}, 2 K 14^{13}, 1 Ch 6^{59}, 2 Ch 28^{18} = Irshemesh of Jos 19^{41}, a city of Judah given to the Levites, and afterwards included in Dan. It was here that the ark rested by a stone (see ABEL), and it was a chief city of Solomon's province of Dan. Amaziah was here captured by Jehoash of Israel, and the Philistines took it in the time of Ahaz. It is the present ruin *'Ain Shems*, in the valley of Sorek S.E. of Zorah. (*SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvii.) 2. Jos 19^{38}, a city of Naphtali in Upper Galilee. See Jg 1^{33}. The site is unknown. 3. Jos 19^{22}. A city in Issachar. The site is also doubtful. There is a *Tell esh-Shemsîyeh* in the Jordan Valley, but it seems to be too far north to be in Issachar, although its proximity to Tabor would perhaps suit (*Pal. Survey Map*, sheet ix.)

It is to be noted that No. 1 is specially noticed (2 K 14^{11}) as belonging to Judah, to distinguish it from the other sites. **Bethshemite** occurs as gentilic derivative from this name in 1 S $6^{14.18}$.

C. R. CONDER.

BETH-SHEMESH.—'The pillars of Beth-shemesh that is in the land of Egypt' (Jer 43^{13}).—The LXX, being written in Egypt, gives simply τοὺς στύλους Ἡλίου πόλεως τοὺς ἐν Ὢν, 'the pillars of

Heliopolis that are at On.' The place is therefore On in Lower Egypt. Like Heliopolis, 'city of the sun,' Beth-shemesh, 'house of the sun,' is here a translation of *Per Ra'*, 'house of the sun,' the sacrcd or temple name of On. The pillars, *στύλοι*, מַצֵּבוֹת, must be the obelisks characteristic of the worship of Ra, the sun-god. See AVEN and ON.

F. LL. GRIFFITH.

BETH-SHITTAH (בֵּית הַשִּׁטָּה), 'place of the acacia,' Jg 7^{22}.—In the vicinity of Abel-meholah. It is the present *Shuṭṭa*, a village on a knoll, in the Jezreel Valley. See *SWP* vol. ii. sheet ix.

C. R. CONDER.

BETHSURA (Βαιθσούρα), 1 Mac $4^{29.61}$ $6^{7.26.31.49.50}$ 9^{52} 10^{14} 11^{65} 14^{7}, 2 Mac. $13^{19.22}$.—The Greek form of Bethzur. In 2 Mac 11^{5} **Bethsuron.**

BETH-TAPPUAH (בֵּית־תַּפּוּחַ), 'place of apples,' Jos 15^{53}.—In the Hebron mountains, a town of Judah (see Tappuah in 1 Ch 2^{43}). Now the village *Taffûh*, west of Hebron. *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xxi. C. R. CONDER.

BETHUEL (בְּתוּאֵל). — The son of Nahor and Milcah, nephew of Abraham, and father of Laban and Rebecca (Gn 22^{23} $24^{15.24.47.50.}$ 25^{20} $28^{2.5}$). In Gn 28^{5} (P) he is called 'Bethuel the Syrian' (הָאֲרַמִּי). While frequently mentioned, he only appears in person in the narrative of the betrothal of Rebecca to Isaac, and even then his son Laban is the principal agent in the transaction.[*] This may have been due to a usage which gave a brother a special interest in the reputation and disposal of his sister (cf. Gn $34^{5.11.25}$, 2 S $13^{20.22}$). Jos. (*Ant.* I. xvi. 2) speaks of Bethuel as dead at the time.

R. M. BOYD.

BETHUEL (בְּתוּאֵל), 1 Ch 4^{30}. **Bethul** (בְּתוּל), Jos 19^{4}.—A town of Simeon, noticed with Hormah, apparently S. of Beersheba. The site is unknown. See BETHEL 2.

BETHUL (בְּתוּל), Jos 19^{4}.—See BETHUEL.

BETHULIA (Βαιτουλουά), Jth $4^{6.7}$ $6^{11.13.14}$ $7^{1.7.10.13.21}$ 13^{10}.—A town near Dothan, on a hill overlooking the plain, with springs in the valley. The site was unknown in later times, and placed at Safed, in Galilee, in the Middle Ages. The village of *Mithilich* answers in position to these requirements, being south of Dothan, on a hill at the edge of the plain. See *SWP* vol. ii. sheet xi.

C. R. CONDER.

BETH-ZACHARIAS (Βαιθζαχαριά), 1 Mac $6^{32.33}$.—A village on the mountain pass, south of Jerusalem and west of Bethlehem, now the ruin *Beit Skaria.* See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvii. C. R. CONDER.

BETH-ZUR (בֵּית־צוּר), 'house of rock,' Jos 15^{58}, 1 S 30^{27} (in LXX), 1 Ch 2^{45}, 2 Ch 11^{7}, Neh 3^{16}. The Bethsura of 1 Mac 4^{29} etc. A town of Judah in the Hebron mountains, fortified by Rehoboam, and still important after the Captivity. Judas Maccabæus here defeated the Greeks under Lysias in 165 B.C. The present ruined site, *Beit Sûr*, on a cliff west of the Hebron road, near Ḥalhul, is remarkable for a ruined tower, probably built in the 12th cent. A.D., and for more ancient rock-cut tombs. See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xxi. C. R. CONDER.

BETIMES is 'in good time,' as Pr 13^{24} 'he that loveth him [his son] chasteneth him b.' (*i.e.* in early life); the Heb. is שִׁחֲרוֹ מוּסָר,[†] lit. 'visits him [diligently] with chastisement,' the idea expressed by 'betimes' being contained in the verb, which however means 'to seek diligently' as RVm, rather than 'to seek early'; so Job 8^{5} 24^{5}. In Gn 26^{31} 'they rose up b. in the morning,' the idea expressed by 'b.' is again in the verb (הִשְׁכִּים), and b. or 'early' is the correct idea; so 2 Ch 36^{15} 'rising up b.' (RV 'early'). Besides the above, 'b.' occurs Sir 6 (heading) 'Seek wisdom b.' (in ref. to v.^{18} 'gather instruction from thy youth up'), 6^{36} 51^{30}, 1 Mac 4^{52} 5^{30} 11^{67}. **Betime** is found only in Bel v.^{16} 'In the morning b. the king arose' (*καὶ ὤρθρισεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ πρωΐ*). J. HASTINGS.

BETOLION (B Βετολιώ, A Βητ-, AV **Betolius**), 1 Es 5^{21}.—52 persons of this place returned from captivity with Zerub. (See BETHEL.) Ezr 2^{28} has 'the men of Bethel and Ai' 223, and the number 52 belongs to the next named place, Nebo. 1 Es has perhaps dropped a line in the Hebrew.

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

BETOMASTHAIM (Βαιτομασθάϊμ, Jth 15^{4}, AV **Betomasthem**); **BETOMESTHAIM** (Βετομεσθάιμ, 4^{6}, AV **Betomestham**).—Apparently N. of Bethulia and facing Dothan. There is a site called *Deir Massîn* W. of the Dothan plain, but the antiquity of this name is doubtful. C. R. CONDER.

BETONIM (בְּטֹנִים), Jos 13^{26}.—In N. Gilead. The name may survive in that of the *Butein* district, the extreme N. of Gilead.

BETRAYAL OF TRUST.—See CRIMES. **BETROTHING.**—See MARRIAGE.

BETTER.—As a subst. 'one's betters,' the word is not used in AV, but the adj. in Ph 2^{3} shows how that expression arose: 'let each esteem other b. than themselves' (*ὑπερέχοντας*). The verb is found Mk 5^{26} 'was nothing bettered, but rather grew worse' (*i.e.* made better, lit. 'profited,' *ὠφελέω*).

J. HASTINGS.

BETWEEN, BETWIXT.—'Between' was once used freely with a reflexive pronoun to express that which is *confined* to two (or more) persons. Thus Tindale's tr$^{\text{n}}$ of Jn 11^{56} is 'and spake bitwene themselves' (*μετ' ἀλλήλων*, AV 'among'). AV has Lk 23^{12} 'they (Pilate and Herod) were at enmity b. themselves' (*πρὸς ἑαυτούς* TR, edd. mostly *αὐτούς*); Ac 26^{31} 'they talked b. themselves' (*πρὸς ἀλλήλους*, RV 'they spake one to another'); Ro 1^{24} 'to dishonour their own bodies b. themselves' (*ἐν ἑαυτοῖς* TR, edd. mostly *αὐτοῖς*; see Sanday and Headlam *in loc.*; RV 'among themselves'). We still retain the phrase 'b. ourselves!'

Between and **betwixt** were for a long time interchangeable; the latter is now archaic or local. Betwixt is used in Gn 17^{11} 23^{15} 26^{28} 30^{36} $31^{37.50.51.53}$ 32^{16}, Job 9^{33} 36^{32}, Ca 1^{13}, Is 5^{3}, Jer 39^{4}, 1 Mac 12^{44} 16^{5}, Ph 1^{23}. RV retains all except Job 36^{32} (see RV and Davidson *in loc.*), and adds Job 4^{20} 'B. morning and evening' (AV 'from . . . to').

J. HASTINGS.

BEULAH (Heb. בְּעוּלָה 'married' (of a wife)).—Is $62^{4.5}$. An allegorical name applied to Israel by the Deutero-Isaiah. She was no longer to be a wife deserted by God, as she had been during the Captivity, but married (1) to God, (2) by a strange application of the figure, to her own sons. In Hos 1. 2 the figure in its first application is reversed. There it is used to point out the faithlessness of Israel to her Spouse. F. H. WOODS.

BEWAIL as a reflex. verb occurs only Jer 4^{31} 'the daughter of Zion that b$^{\text{eth}}$ herself' (יָפַח [all], 'to breathe,' hithp. 'gasp for breath,' as RV). In Lk 8^{52} 23^{27} the meaning is 'to beat the breast in grief (*κόπτομαι*, used without an obj. in Mt 11^{17} 'ye have not lamented,' RV 'did not mourn,' and 24^{30}). See MOURNING. J. HASTINGS.

---

[*] In Gn 24^{50} the words 'and Bethuel' were probably inserted by R. See Ball's note in Haupt's *Heb. OT.*

[†] On this double accus. see Davidson, *Syntax*, § 77.

BEWITCH.—Ac 8^{9} 'Simon . . . used sorcery, and b$^{\text{ed}}$ the people' (ἐξίστημι, RV 'amazed' as frequently, and as AV in v.^{13}; but see BESIDE); so 8^{11}. In Gal 3^{1} 'O foolish Galatians, who hath b$^{\text{ed}}$ you?' (RV 'did b. you?'); the Gr. is βασκαίνω, 'to speak evil of,' next 'bring evil on,' and so, as here, 'lead into evil' (see Lightfoot, *ad loc.*); it is used here only in NT, but in LXX Dt $28^{54.\,56}$ (for רָעַע), Sir $14^{6.\,8}$. **Bewitching.**—Wis 4^{12} 'the b. of naughtiness' (βασκανία φαυλότητος, Vulg. *fascinatio*). It seems probable that in all these passages (as in 4 Mac 1^{26} 2^{15}, βασκανία) the reference is more or less consciously to 'the evil eye' (cf. βάσκανος for רַע עַיִן Pr 23^{6} 28^{22}). See DIVINATION, EYE. J. HASTINGS.

BEWRAY, distinct in origin and meaning from 'betray,' is to reveal, disclose. Cf. Adams, *Works*, ii. 238 'Well may he be hurt . . . and die, that will not bewray his disease, lest he betray his credit.' Pr 29^{24} 'he heareth cursing, and bewrayeth it not' (RV 'he heareth the adjuration and uttereth nothing,' הִגִּיד 'shew,' 'tell'); 27^{16} (קָרָא 'proclaim,' so RVm, but RV 'encountereth' from קָרָא 'light upon'); Is 16^{3} 'hide the outcasts; b. not him that wandereth' (גִּלָּה 'uncover,' 'reveal'; Amer. RV 'betray.' Sir 27^{17} 'if thou b$^{\text{est}}$ his secrets' (ἀποκαλύπτω; so 27^{21}); Mt 26^{73} 'thy speech b$^{\text{eth}}$ thee' (δῆλόν σε ποιεῖ, 'makes thee manifest'). **Bewrayer,** only 2 Mac 4^{1} 'a b. of the money, and of his country' (ἐνδείκτης, 'one who reveals,' RV 'who had given information of the money, and *had betrayed* his country'). J. HASTINGS.

BEYOND.—**1.** This is in AV the occasional rendering of Heb. בְּעֵבֶר *be'êbher*, which, when attached to הַיַּרְדֵּן 'the Jordan' (as it always is, except Jg 11^{18}, 1 S 31^{7}, Jer 25^{22}) assumes considerable critical importance. In AV בְּעֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן is tr$^{\text{d}}$ 'beyond Jordan' in Gn $50^{10.\,11}$, Dt $3^{20.\,25}$, Jos 9^{10} 13^{8}, Jg 5^{17}; 'on this side J.' Dt $1^{1.\,5}$ 3^{8} $4^{41.\,46.\,47}$, Jos $1^{14.\,15}$ 9^{1} 12^{7} 22^{7}; 'on the other side J.' Dt 11^{30}, Jos 2^{10} 7^{7} 12^{1} 22^{4} $24^{2.\,8.\,14.\,15}$, Jg 10^{8}, 1 S 31^{7}; and 'on the side of J.' Jos 5^{1}. RV gives 'beyond J.' in every place. Again מֵעֵבֶר is used with הַיַּרְדֵּן, Nu 22^{1} $32^{19.\,19.\,32}$ 34^{15} 35^{14}, Jos 13^{32} 14^{3} 17^{5} 18^{7} 22^{7}, Jg 7^{25}; and the simple עֵבֶר Dt 4^{49} (AV 'on this side'), Jos 13^{27} (AV 'on the other side'). Now it is true that the phrase may equally well be tr. 'across J.'; it is also true that it is used of *either* side of the Jordan (cf. Dt 3^{8} *east*, with $3^{20.\,25}$ *west*); it even seems that 'beyond Jordan' may be used of that side of the Jordan on which the writer himself stands (Jos 5^{1} 9^{1} 12^{7}); but the critical importance of the phrase lies in this, that wherever the author of Deut. speaks in his own person (as Dt $1^{1.\,5}$ $4^{41.\,46.\,47.\,49}$) it refers to the country *east* of Jordan; wherever Moses is introduced as the speaker (as Dt $3^{20.\,25}$ 11^{30}) it refers to the *west*.* From which the conclusion is drawn that the author (at least of Deut.) must have lived after Moses' day, from whom he is careful to distinguish himself.

LITERATURE.—Green, *Higher Criticism of the Pent.* p. 50; Douglas, *Why I still believe that Moses wrote Deut.* p. 30, and *Lex Mosaica*, p. 95; Perowne, *Contemp. Rev.* Jan. 1888, p. 143 f.; Driver, *Deut.* p. xlii f.; Harper, *Deut.* p. 4 f.

2. To go beyond=to circumvent, 1 Th 4^{6} 'that no man go b. and defraud his brother' (ὑπερβαίνω, RV 'transgress,' RVm 'overreach'). J. HASTINGS.

BEZAANANNIM (Jos 19^{33} RVm).—ZAANANNIM.

BEZAI (בֵּצָי).—**1.** One of those who sealed the covenant (Neh 10^{18}). **2.** The eponym of a family that returned with Zerub. (Ezr 2^{17}, Neh 7^{23})= Bassai of 1 Es 5^{16}.

BEZALEL (בְּצַלְאֵל, Βεσελεήλ, *Beseleel*, AV Bezaleel).—**1.** The chief architect of the tabernacle. The name occurs only in the narrative of the Priests' Code and in the Bk of Chron. (1 Ch 2^{20}, 2 Ch 1^{5}). It probably signifies 'in the shadow (*i.e.* under the protection) of El.'* In both the sources named, B. is given as 'the son of Uri, the son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah.' The various links in the genealogical chain will be found in 1 Ch $2^{18.\,19.\,20.\,50}$. There is no ground for identifying the grandfather of B. with Hur, the companion of Moses (Ex 17^{10}). According to P's representation, B. was expressly called (קָרָאתִי בְשֵׁם) by J″ (Ex 31^{2}) to superintend the erection of the 'tent of meeting,' and endowed with the special gifts required for the proper execution of his task (vv.$^{3\text{-}5}$). He was also charged with the construction of the furniture for court and tabernacle, as well as with the preparation of the priestly garments, and of the necessary oil and incense. Yet while B. is represented as, in the main, merely carrying out the Divine instructions, he is also said to be endowed with originality of invention as regards details (Ex $31^{3.\,4}$ 35^{32}). Among the gifts thus bestowed upon him, not the least was the gift of teaching the arts of which he was himself a master, to his subordinates (Ex 35^{34}), the chief of whom was Aholiab (Ex 31^{6} 35^{34} etc.). See TABERNACLE. **2.** B. occurs in Ezr 10^{30} as one of the eight sons of Pahath-moab that had married foreign wives in the days of Ezra.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

BEZEK (בֶּזֶק).—Two places so called are perhaps to be distinguished in OT. **1.** Jg 1^{5}. A place attacked by Judah after Joshua's death, probably *Bezkah*, a ruin W. of Jerusalem, in the lower hills. *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvii. **2.** 1 S 11^{8}, where Saul gathered Israel before advancing on Jabesh-gilead. The most likely site in this connexion is the ruin *Ibzîk*, N.E. of Shechem, opposite Jabesh. This site was known in the 4th cent. A.D. (*Onomasticon*, *s.v.* Bezec), but identified with No. 1. It was 17 Rom. miles from Shechem, on the road to Scythopolis (Beisân), which is correct. (See Moore on Jg 1^{5}.)

C. R. CONDER.

BEZER (בֶּצֶר 'fortress').—A descendant of Asher (1 Ch 7^{37}).

BEZER (בֶּצֶר, Βόσορ).—A city belonging to Reuben, situated 'in the wilderness, on the מישור,' or flat table-land, E. of Jordan (Dt 4^{43}, Jos 20^{8}), a city of refuge (*ll.cc.*), allotted, according to P, to the Merarites (Jos 21^{36}, whence 1 Ch $6^{78\,(63)}$). It is mentioned also by Mesha' (Moab. Stone, l. 27), as being in ruins in his day, and as having been rebuilt by him, after his revolt from Aḥab, and expulsion of the Israelites from the territory N. of the Arnon (which, though assigned formally to Reuben, was occupied by the Moabites; see MOAB). From its being described as being in the 'wilderness' (cf. Dt 2^{8})—*i.e.* in the great rolling plains of grass or scrub stretching out on the E. of Moab (Tristram, *Moab*, pp. 148, 169)—it may be inferred that it was situated towards the E. border of the Moabite table-land. The site has not yet been recovered. Euseb. (*Onom.* 232) identifies it wrongly with Βοστρα, in Bashan, the capital of the later province of 'Arabia' (G. A. Smith, *Geogr.* 624). Kuṣr Bshêr, which has been suggested, about 15 miles S.E. of Dhiban (see the map in *PEFSt* 1895, p. 204), is too far to the S., being on the S. side of the Arnon, and consequently not in the territory of Reuben at all (Jos 13^{16}): the name, moreover, does not correspond phonetically as it ought to do. Beẓer is not improbably identical with *Boẓrah* (LXX Βοσόρ), one of the cities in the possession of Moab, mentioned by Jer (48^{24}), and also, it is implied (v.^{21}), situated on the 'table-land.'

---

* The only exception is Dt 3^{8}, where, although in a passage attributed to Moses, 'beyond Jordan' means the land of Moab; but 'the long archæological note' in which the phrase occurs is held to be a comment of the writer's or of some editor, not original to Moses. See Harper, *Deut.* p. 5.

* Cf. Sil-Bêl, a king of Gaza in the time of Sennacherib and his successors, see *COT* under Jos 11^{22}; also Ina-silli-Bêl, Ges. *Lex.*^{12}).

S. R. Driver.

BEZETH (Βηζέθ), 1 Mac 7^{19}.—A place apparently near Jerus. Jos. calls it Bethzetho (*Ant.* XII. x. 2), and mentions it as a village. The situation is doubtful. It may be a corruption for Berzetho.

C. R. Conder.

BIBLE.—

A. Internal Relations of the Bible.
  I. Names.
  II. Original Languages.
  III. Division and Arrangement.
  IV. Canon.
    i. OT Canon and Criticism.
    ii. NT Canon.
  V. Text.
  VI. Versions.
B. External Relations of the Bible.
  I. The Literature of other Religions.
  II. The Bible in relation to this Literature.
    i. Revelation.
    ii. Inspiration.

A word or two of explanation may be desirable as to the purpose which the article 'Bible' in a Bible Dictionary is intended to fulfil. Its design is twofold, according as it has in view the *internal* or the *external* relations of the sacred volume. The whole Dictionary being intended to explain the form and illustrate the contents of the B., the special article should, as far as may be, afford the means of gathering the information thus supplied into the unity of a system, of exhibiting it in topical rather than alphabetical order, so that the usefulness of a systematic work may be, to some extent, combined with the convenience of the lexical arrangement. In particular, the article should give, in an abridged and ordered form, an account of the various parts of which the Bible consists, and the various forms in which it has appeared, including such subjects as Canon, Text, and Versions, referring to the special articles so entitled for details. In this way it will be of use to those who desire no more than an outline or summary of these subjects, or who wish to understand their mutual relations. It should include, of course, the particulars respecting the B. as a whole, such as its names and arrangement. Having thus, in the first part, surveyed its internal relations, the article should proceed in the second part to consider the B. as one of the sacred literatures of the world, its claims to uniqueness and authority, its reception in the Christian Church, and the position accorded to it there. Into the two divisions thus indicated, the present article will fall.

A. INTERNAL RELATIONS OF THE BIBLE.

I. Names.—The word 'Bible' is derived from the Greek. Ancient books were written upon the Byblus or Papyrus reed, and from this custom naturally came the Gr. name βίβλος (Mt 1^{1}), in the diminutive form βιβλίον (Lk 4^{17}) for a book. As the recognised records of Divine Revelation, the writings which made up their sacred volume became known to the Greek Christians as τὰ βιβλία, 'the books' *par excellence*. This expression is said to appear for the first time in this connexion in the 2nd Epistle (14^{2}) falsely attributed to Clement of Rome, and written probably towards the middle of the 2nd cent.; but the word afterwards became very common, though generally qualified by an adjective such as 'holy,' 'divine,' 'canonical.' In its Latin form, however, by a misunderstanding in which there is not a little significance, the neuter plural 'biblia' (gen. *bibliorum*) came to be regarded and treated as a fem. sing. (gen. *bibliæ*), the transition being no doubt assisted by the growing conception of the B. as the one utterance of God rather than as the multiplicity of voices speaking for Him. As a singular name, accordingly, it has been adopted into the language of the Western Church, and is employed in the tongues of modern Europe.

Another name, 'Bibliotheca,' appears to have been commonly used for the B. throughout the Middle Ages, as evidenced by the paronomasia—'*Habeo bibliothecam in mea bibliotheca*'—which was then current. It appears with this meaning in old English, and was technically employed by mediæval writers to designate a complete MS of OT and NT. When originally used by certain of the Lat. Fathers, such as Jerome, the adjective 'Divina' had been prefixed to 'Bibliotheca,' but this was ere long dispensed with, and, as in the case of 'the Books,' the Scriptures became pre-eminently 'the Library.' This change of the point of view from plurality to unity is, as we shall see afterwards, precisely that which modern thought and investigation find it necessary to some extent to reverse. But it is interesting to observe the process thus embodying itself in language.

The names employed in OT and in the Apocr. for the Jewish Scriptures are such as 'the books' (Dn 9^{2}), 'the holy books' (1 Mac 12^{9}), 'the book of the law' (1 Mac 1^{56} 3^{48}), 'the book of the testament' (1 Mac 1^{57}). In the NT the usual term is αἱ γραφαί, 'the Scriptures' (Lat. *scriptura*), that is, the sacred writings (Mt 21^{42} 22^{29}, Lk 24^{32}, Jn 5^{39}, Ac 18^{24}). It is to be noted, that while the Jewish Scriptures as a whole are thus designated, ἡ γραφή, in the singular, is always used for a special passage (Lk 4^{21}, Jn 20^{9}, Ja 2^{8}), and not as with us, by whom *Scripture* is employed perhaps even more frequently in the collective than in the special sense. Occasionally for the simple αἱ γραφαί we find γραφαὶ ἁγίαι (Ro 1^{2}) or τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα (2 Ti 3^{15}). Another variant is when the leading (Jewish) divisions of OT are indicated, as 'the law, the prophets and the psalms' (Lk 24^{44}), 'the law and the prophets' (Ac 28^{23}), 'the law' (Jn 12^{34}). The same practice is also common in rabbinical writings, though sometimes, instead of the divisions, the number of the books is given, and the OT is known as 'The Twenty-four'; sometimes, again, the simple term 'The Reading' is employed, which, in contrast with αἱ γραφαί, reminds us of the use of the Scriptures in the services of the synagogue. By the early Christians the most common designation for the whole B. was 'The Scriptures,' accompanied as a rule by some such adjective as in the case of *Biblia*.

The term 'Testament,' in the expression 'Old and New Testaments,' applied to the two great divisions of the B., has an interesting history. There can be no doubt that it is due to an accidental mistranslation of διαθήκη, which, originally meaning 'arrangement' or 'disposition,' came to signify a testament or will. But in the LXX the word was adopted as the tr. of the Heb. בְּרִית or 'covenant,' and the 'new covenant' was in due time expressed by the same term. St. Paul speaks of the Heb. Scriptures read in the synagogue as the 'old covenant' (2 Co 3^{14} RV), and of the ministers of Christ as 'ministers of a new covenant' (2 Co 3^{6}). Only in He $9^{16.\,17}$ is it possible to maintain that the sense of testamentary disposition is more probable than that of covenant. By the end of the 2nd cent., accordingly, we find ἡ παλαιὴ διαθήκη, *the old eovcnant*, and ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη, *the new covenant*, the established expressions for the Jewish and Christian Scriptures. Origen, in the beginning of the 3rd cent., mentions 'the divine Scriptures, the so-called Old and New Covenants' (*De Princip.* iv. 1).

In the Latin rendering of διαθήκη there was at first some hesitation between *instrumentum* and *testamentum*, both legal terms, the former denoting any authoritative or official document; the latter, as already indicated, meaning 'will' or 'disposition' (of property). *Instrumentum* is referred to by Tertullian as being used in Africa; but the other, through the authority of the Vulg., passed into more general use. When in the Vulg. Jerome is translating directly from the Heb., he uses *fœdus* or *pactum* for the Heb. *bĕrith*; but when, as in NT and in certain portions of OT, he is revising the Old Lat. Version, he allows *testamentum* to remain. Thus, though in thought the Christian Church has never lost sight of the two great divisions of Scripture as the records of the two dispensations or covenants which God instituted for His people, the idea has been somewhat obscured by the titles appropriated to these groups of writings.

II. ORIGINAL LANGUAGES.—The language of by far the greater part of OT is Hebrew. The name Hebrew (עִבְרִי) is applied to Abraham (Gn 14^{13}), either in respect of descent from an ancestor Heber (Gn $10^{21.\,24.\,25}$), or more probably because he came (Jos 24^{3}) 'from the other side of the flood,' מֵעֵבֶר הַנָּהָר. Hebrew is a branch of the great Semitic (so called from Shem, son of Noah) family of languages, and has its cognates in the Arabic, the Assyrian of the cuneiform inscriptions, the Aramaic, Phœnician, and Ethiopic tongues. Though traces of dialectic differences appear in the Scriptures themselves (compare the pronunciation of the word *Shibboleth*, Jg 12^{6}), the comparative isolation of the Hebrews preserved their language more or less unaffected by foreign influences until after the Captivity, when other elements were introduced into it. The Hebrew (Aram.) dialect is referred to several times in NT (Jn 5^{2} $19^{13.\,17.\,20}$, Ac 21^{40} 22^{2} 26^{14}), and even (Mt 26^{73}) a provincial (Galilæan) form of this. The exceptions to the general use of Hebrew in OT are Ezr 4^{8}–6^{18} $7^{12\text{-}26}$, Jer 10^{11}, Dn 2^{4}–7^{28}. These passages are written in an Aramaic dialect, which, however, differs from that in which the Targums were written, and also from Syriac.

The language of NT writers, on the other hand, is Greek, but in the form known as Hellenistic Greek, that is, the form which had come into use among the Hellenists or Jews of the Dispersion. From the time when Alexander the Great (B.C. 356–323) founded a Jewish colony in Alexandria, this dialect had established itself at all centres where Jew and Greek came into frequent contact. The OT had been translated into it, forming the version known as the Septuagint (LXX), and this 'Hebrew thought in Greek clothing,' as it has been termed, gave its tone and character to the language in which the NT is also written. At the time of Christ, Greek was the prevailing language throughout the Roman Empire, the language of educated men, and no less that of commercial life. It has been ably argued that Greek was the common language of Palestine in the days of our Lord, and that the Gospel records therefore present us with His discourses in the very words in which they were spoken. But the general consensus of opinion is against this hypothesis, and indeed there is reason to believe that the greater part, at least, of St. Matthew's Gospel, may have had an Aramaic original. The Greek of NT is the 'common dialect,' which had been formed out of Attic Greek by the introduction of provincialisms and the various modifications necessary to enable it to serve many purposes throughout a vast region. As it appears in our sacred writings it is largely influenced, as already indicated, by the LXX, and adapted for the communication of the religious ideas due to the special character of Christianity.

III. DIVISION AND ARRANGEMENT.—The great division of the B., as already mentioned, is into the Books of the OT and those of the NT. The former consists, in the Eng. B., of 39 books, but in the Heb. B. of 24 only—1 and 2 S, 1 and 2 K, 1 and 2 Ch, Ezr and Neh, and the 12 Minor Prophets being respectively counted as one book. The number, according to the account of Josephus, was in his time still further reduced by adding the Book of Ruth to Judges, and that of Lamentations to Jeremiah. This reckoning probably originated in a desire to bring the number of books, possibly as part of a general mnemonic scheme, into accordance with the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet. It was in use, according to the testimony of Origen, as late as the middle of the 3rd cent. Another enumeration is that of Epiphanius, who, by resolving Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles again into two books each, made of the twenty-four, twenty-seven books. A point of greater interest and importance is the *grouping* of these books. In the Heb. B. they fall into three main divisions:—1. The Law, or Torah (תּוֹרָה); 2. The Prophets, or Nebiim (נְבִיאִים); 3. The Holy Writings, or Kethubim (כְּתוּבִים, ἀγιόγραφα). The Torah includes the five books (Pentateuch) associated with the name of Moses. The Nebiim are divided into the 'former prophets,' or historical books, and the 'latter prophets,' or prophetical writings in the stricter sense. The Kethubim include (*a*) the Poetical books—Ps, Pr, Job; (*b*) the five Megilloth or Rolls—Ca, Ru, La, Ec, Est; (*c*) other books, Dn, Ezr, Neh, 1 and 2 Ch. Within these divisions the order of the books sometimes varied, and other divisions of great antiquity are extant; but the one given is of special importance, as will be seen when we touch upon the history of the Canon. In LXX (A.) the arrangement is mainly determined by a consideration of the contents of the books: first come the Historical, then the Prophetic, and lastly the Poetical books. From the LXX this arrangement passed into the Vulg. and other versions.

The following has been given (*Cambridge Companion*, p. 7) as a useful classification of the OT books according to subject-matter. A. *Historical*: (1) Pentateuch and Joshua, the origin of the people, the foundation of the Israelite constitution, and the settlement in Palestine; (2) Jg, S, K, the history of the people to the downfall of the monarchy; (3) Ezr, Neh, personal memoirs of the Captivity and the Return; (4) Ru, Est, Ch, special incidents in, and aspects of, the history. B. *Prophetical*: Is, Jer, Ezk, Min. Proph. (except Jon). C. *Poetical*: (1) Ps and La (lyrical); (2) Canticles (idyllic). D. *Didactic*: (1) Job (dramatic); (2) Jon (allegorical). E. *Sapiential*: (1) Pr (gnomic); (2) Ec (speculative). F. *Apocalyptic*: Dn, and part of Ezk (40–48) and Zec (1–6^{8}).

The NT presents no serious difficulty in regard to the arrangement of its books. These, 27 in number, fall naturally into the following groups. 1. The Gospels. 2. The Acts of the Apostles. 3. The Epistles of St. Paul, among which the Epistle to the Hebrews may for this purpose be included. 4. The General Epistles. 5. The Book of Revelation. This distribution, which has passed from the Vulg. into general acceptance by the Christian Church, is commended by its conformity with the order of contents of the several books. First, the Life of Christ; then the Activity of His Apostles, and the foundation of the Church of Christ; then the correspondence of those engaged in this work; and lastly, the sole monument of the apocalyptic spirit and its activity within the Church. The arrangement found in the MSS presents some interesting and suggestive variations, and has been held to point to an early division into four groups—the Gospels, the Acts and Catholic Epistles, the Pauline Epistles, and the Apocalypse. Usually the Catholic Epistles precede those of St. Paul, and among the latter the Epistle to the Hebrews is often found coming before the Pastoral Epistles. The order of the Gospels also varies; probably from a feeling that those written by apostles should have precedence of those by 'apostolic men,' they are frequently arranged (*e.g.* in Codex Bezæ), Mt, Jn, Lk, Mk. For the purpose of following the development of thought and doctrine in the NT, it is desirable to keep in view not only the arrangement determined by contents, but approximately the chronological order in which its books appeared. The following is such an approximate order: the great Epistles of St. Paul to the Thess, Cor, Gal, and Rom; the Ep. of St. James; Ph, Eph, Col, Philem; 1 P, the Synoptic Gospels, Ac, the Pastoral Epistles, Jude, Rev, He—all prior to the destruction of Jerus. by Titus, A.D. 70. 2 P and the Gospel and three Epistles of St. John come after the destruction of Jerus., the last towards the end of the 1st cent.

Minor divisions of the sacred text, which are for the most part also modern divisions, have been made for two distinct purposes—(1) to adapt it for use in the public services, whether of the Synagogue or of the Church; and (2) for convenience of reference. Upon the elementary expedient of separating words and sentences by short spaces to promote facility in reading, or upon that of indicating the members of a poetical composition, either by an interval between them or by writing them on different lines, it is not necessary to dwell. It is only remarkable how long the inconvenient *scriptio continua* maintained itself, especially in the MSS of the Greek text. To the first of the two classes of divisions mentioned belong the Parshioth and Haphtaroth of the Hebrew Scriptures. The former (פָּרָשִׁיּוֹת, sing. פָּרָשָׁה Parashah) are sections mainly of the Pentateuch, though extended in principle to other parts of the OT. They are distinguished as Smaller and Larger Parshioth, and the smaller are again divided into closed and open. Of the smaller there are 669 (379 closed and 290 open) in the Pentateuch; of the larger 54, the latter being commonly called Sabbath Parshioth, one being appointed to be read on each Sabbath of the year. In certain years, according to the Jewish reckoning, there were 54 Sabbaths; when there were less than that number, two Parshioth were read on one Sabbath. The open Parashah (indicated by פ, for פְּתוּחָה), generally introducing a subject of greater importance, was begun on a new line; the closed (indicated by ס, for סְתוּמָה) might begin in the middle of a line. The Haphtaroth were selected sections from the prophetical writings, read in connexion with the appointed sections of the Law, and usually standing in some correspondence with the latter. They were analogous to the Pericopæ of later ecclesiastical usage. It was common to refer to these Hebrew sections by words denoting the subject,—as the Parashah *Balaam, red heifer*, etc., compare Mk 12^{26} ἐπὶ τῆς βάτου, *in the Bush*; Ro 11^{2} ἐν 'Ηλίᾳ, *in Elijah* (RVm),—or sometimes by the words beginning the section. Divisions more nearly corresponding to our present verses are referred to in the Talmud as Pesuḳim (פְּסוּקִים), and perhaps were early denoted by the Soph-pasuḳ (׃) now used at the end of verses in our Hebrew Bibles. There is some doubt as to how far Jerome's *capitula* and *versus* correspond to the Parshioth and Pesuḳim of the Jews. Sometimes his *versus* seem to indicate whole verses, sometimes only the στίχοι or members of a verse in the poetical books.

Turning to MSS of the NT, there is found even so early as the Codex Vaticanus (4th cent.) a marginal indication of sections divided according to the sense, and apparently constructed for purposes of reference. It bears traces of having been copied from a yet more ancient document. A division of the Gospels into larger chapters (κεφάλαια *majora*) is ascribed to Tatian, the disciple of Justin Martyr. These are also known as τίτλοι from the summary of the contents of the section commonly appended to the numeral indicating it. In Latin the κεφάλαια were termed *breves* and the summaries *breviaria*. The relations of the different narratives of the same event contained in the Gospels must early have attracted attention, and to exhibit these was the design of the κεφάλαια *minora*, attributed to Ammonius of Alexandria, who lived in the 3rd cent. Upon these Eusebius of Cæsarea a century later founded his ten canons, by means of which it is possible to ascertain whether a passage occurs in one Gospel alone or in any combination of two or more. In the 5th cent. Euthalius, a deacon of Alexandria, published first St. Paul's Epistles and then the Acts and Catholic Epistles, divided into κεφάλαια similar to the τίτλοι of the Gospels; and Andreas, Archbishop of the Cappadocian Cæsarea, completed the work so far by dividing the Apocalypse into twenty-four paragraphs (λόγοι), of which each was subdivided into three κεφάλαια. (But see Robinson, *Euthaliana*, 1895).

The modern division of the whole Bible into *chapters* has usually been attributed to Hugues de St. Cher (Hugo de Sancto Caro), Provincial of the Dominicans in France, afterwards Cardinal in Spain (died A.D. 1263), but recent investigations ascribe it with greater probability to Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, died 1227 (see Gregory, Prolegomena to Tischendorf's *NT*, ed. viii. p. 164; König, *Einleit. in das Alte Test.* p. 464). Engaged about 1248 in preparing a concordance, or index of declinable words, Hugo, adopting Langton's division into chapters, subdivided them by placing the letters A–G in the margin at equal distances from each other. The chapters were soon introduced into the Latin Vulgate, and thence into Greek MSS and printed editions circulating in the West. Scrivener (*Introd. to the Crit. of NT*) gives several instances of inappropriate division due to this arrangement, the sense being materially interrupted. The indication of minor divisions by marginal letters was soon found inadequate and inconvenient, and Robert Stephens in his Greek Testament of 1551 introduced the system of verse divisions which is still in use. Already about 1437 Rabbi Nathan had employed a similar system, along with Hugo's division into chapters, for the OT, in connexion with a concordance of the Hebrew Bible. This Stephens used as his model, but the work was executed hurriedly, *inter equitandum* ('while resting at the inns on the road,' interprets Scrivener), on a journey between Paris and Lyons, according to the information supplied by his son, Henry Stephens, in 1576. Stephens' verse-divisions were adopted in the Geneva English Bible of 1560, and subsequently in the AV of 1611. As they are found in practice to break up the sense of the text, the RV has printed the text in paragraphs, indicating chapter and verse in the margin only. The first printed edition of the Heb. Bible with chapters is that of Bomberg, 1525; the first with the verses numbered is that of Athias, 1661.

IV. CANON.—The word 'Canon' means 'pattern, rule'; probably in the first instance it denoted a measuring line. It does not appear to have had any religious application in pre-Christian times. Its use by the Christian Church for the 'rule of faith and life' was possibly suggested by such passages in the NT as Gal 6^{16}, Ph 3^{16}. Since the time of Origen it has been applied to the Holy Scriptures of OT and NT as being the recognised authority and court of appeal in regard to Christian faith and practice. It was the content, however, not the range of the Scriptures, which was thus designated. The application of the term involves Church recognition, that the Scriptures are separated from all other literature in virtue of the authority thus ascribed to them. Thus Rufinus translates the κανονικός of Origen by *regularis* or *publicus*, opposing the books of which the adjective is used to the Apocr. and *Libri Ecclesiastici*. Athanasius was among the first to apply it to the writings which contained the regulative content. Some have thought that the word Canon was used for the list of books appointed to be read in churches; but this appears inconsistent with the fact that the *Libri Ecclesiastici* were also used for this purpose. Nor does the suggestion that it was the practice of the Alexandrian grammarians to apply the term 'canonical,' in the sense of 'classical,' to certain Greek authors, appear to have an ascertained bearing upon the Christian usage.

i. *OT Canon.*—The formation of the Canon of OT is a subject involved in much obscurity. That the process was a long and gradual one lies in the nature of the case, but the trustworthy indications are few, and the way is thus opened for those efforts of criticism, working upon the contents of the sacred books, which have in recent years assumed such remarkable proportions. There can be no doubt that the large collection was formed by the aggregation of smaller ones, to which some have traced allusions in such OT passages as Dt 17^{18} $31^{9f.\ 26}$, 1 S 10^{25}, Pr 25^{1}, and perhaps Zec 7^{12}, though the last may refer to the oral rather than the written law. There are also references to the earlier prophets in the pages of the later. The grouping of the books in the Heb. Bible, which has been already adverted to, may further be taken as at least a rough indication of the growth of the Canon. In both the Heb. and LXX arrangement of the books the first place is occupied by the Pent., and this notwithstanding the great variations in the order of the later books. Here, therefore, we may fairly conclude that we have the starting-point of the process. This was the literature recognised as sacred when Ezra read the Torah in the hearing of the whole people (Neh 8). To this would ere long be added such records of Israel's history and such portions of the writings of Israel's prophets as survived, forming the second of the great divisions. Then, finally, the miscellaneous collection known as the Hagiographa would be formed for the preservation of those works which were deemed worthy of being placed beside the Law and the Prophets. As to the occasions of these steps being taken, and in connexion with the whole subject, there are traditions, some of which were accepted in Christian times, but which are in general to be regarded with suspicion, even where they cannot be shown to be absolutely untrustworthy. Thus the second stage mentioned above is in 2 Mac 2^{13} ascribed to Nehemiah, who is said to have 'founded a library' and 'gathered together the acts of the Kings and the Prophets, and the writings of David and the epistles of the Kings concerning the holy gifts.' The succeeding verse, 2^{14}, mentions an effort of Judas Maccabæus to recover the documents which had 'fallen out' during the great war of independence, and it may have been on this occasion that the bulk of the Hagiographa was brought together. A more famous tradition is that of the Great Synagogue, which, beginning its work under the presidency of Ezra, still existed in the time of Simon the Just. To this body the formation of at least the first two divisions of the Canon was ascribed. These two had at any rate obtained general recognition, while the third was at least in course of construction when, probably in the beginning of the 2nd cent. B.C., the Prologue to Ecclesiasticus speaks of 'the Law itself, the Prophets and the rest of the Books.' The reference in Josephus to the 22 Books is in terms which indicate that the Canon had already been for some time completed, and his Canon was evidently identical with ours. Though it is true that certain books, as Ec and Ca, were still disputed by the Jews themselves as late as A.D. 90, it may be held that, so far as historical indication goes, the OT Canon was practically completed a century before Christ. It was certainly the uniform tradition of the Jews that prophetic inspiration had ceased with Malachi, and it is worthy of remark that the very myths with which they ultimately surrounded the formation and close of the Canon could have arisen only in the course of a considerable period of time.

Before glancing at the way in which this problem has in modern times been attacked from another side, it may be well to refer to the so-called Alexandrian Canon and OT Apocrypha. The LXX (see below) was made up partly of translations from the Hebrew, partly of productions in the Greek language of later Jewish literature. The conclusion that there was a recognised Alex. Canon distinct from that of Pal. has found much favour with Rom. Cath. critics, as it seemed to give authority to the Apocrypha. These books were extensively used by the Church Fathers, and Jerome himself included Judith among the Hagiographa. But it is more probable that there was no intention to erect a separate standard of Canonicity, and that the additional books were admitted partly owing to the Canon of Palestine not having yet been definitely or authoritatively fixed, partly owing to a certain breadth of practical view. It is to be noted that the grandfather of Jesus Sirach indicates no knowledge of any other than the Heb. Canon, and that Philo, though he took a wide view of inspiration, is said, like NT itself, never to cite the apocryphal books. The books so named vary greatly both as to their contents and value. 1 and 2 Mac are histories—the former highly, the latter much less, trustworthy; others (1 Es, To, Jth, 3 and 4 Mac) are rather historical romances. Some (Wis, Sir) are collections of wise sayings or philosophical treatises; others are intended to supplement the canonical books, or to illustrate the acts and words of persons mentioned in the latter. It was by popular suffrage rather than formal acceptance that these books obtained their places in the Greek B., which, it must be remembered, was the B. of the apostolic age, and so formed part of the heritage of the Christian Church.

The problem of modern criticism has been, not so much the formation and completion of the Canon as an authoritative collection, regarding which it has been able to add little to the meagre historical indications already noticed, as the rise of OT as a literature and its relation to the religious life and thought of Israel. Certain features of the sacred narratives—such as, double accounts of the same event, differences of expression and phraseology, differences even of tone and modes of thinking, and, in the Pent., references to events long after the time of Moses—had been early noticed, and could scarcely fail to suggest that they had been compiled from still earlier documents, or had had notes and explanations inserted by later hands than those of the original authors or compilers. The serious analysis, esp. of the Pentateuchal writings, began when, in 1753, Astruc, a French physician, pointed out that the more remarkable of these lines of cleavage coincided with the respective use of Elohim or J″ as names of God. Astruc himself set the example, which was only too readily followed by succeeding critics, of excessive detail in his analysis, since he parcelled out the Book of Genesis among no fewer than twelve different writers. The phenomena, however, to which he called attention, being beyond dispute, obviously needed explanation, and, when they were found pervading other books, and esp. the Book of Joshua, seemed to prove, not only that these writings were of composite character, but that they belonged to a later date than had previously been assigned to them. His successors assumed at first that the Elohist, whose narrative begins with Gn 1^1, was the earlier; and his writing was known as the basis or *Grundschrift*, the sections marked by the use of the name J″ being held to have been inserted into this fundamental document as supplementary to it. A more careful investigation undertaken by Hupfeld, and published in 1853, showed not only that the Jahwistic portions belonged to a document which, originally independent, had been interwoven with the other, but that there were at least two Elohists whose respective work could be distinguished, while one of them stood in the closest relation with the Jahwist. Taking these two together, it may be stated as a fact now generally accepted, that there are three great divisions discernible in the Pentateuch, or elements rather of which it consists—(1) The work of the Deuteronomist belonging mainly to the fifth book; (2) that of an Elohistic writer,—to which the name of Priestly Code, *Priestercodex*, is commonly given, beginning, as already mentioned, with Gn 1^1; (3) the combined narrative of the Jahwist and a second Elohist. It is true that analysis, following the lines of Astruc, has often gone much further, and that OT criticism has been brought into disrepute in many quarters and laid itself open to counter-criticism, not only by this excess, but by the great divergence of view among the earlier critics, and the confidence, and even arrogance, with which they pronounced upon the smallest detail. But while the disagreements of critics show that their work is yet far from complete, and that there are probably many points as to which certainty is no longer attainable, the main results of their work cannot be ignored, and are no more to be disposed of by a general appeal to inspiration than Hugh Miller's question as to how the fossil shells came to be in the rocks was answered by the quarryman's explanation—'When God made the rocks, He made the shells in them.' Thirty years ago the problem of the Pent., and with it that of the whole OT, took a new phase, when not only linguistic and literary considerations were brought to its solution, but also considerations derived from a closer examination of Israel's history and of the progress of its religious thought and practice. The whole question has been made to turn on the chronological relation of the Priestly Code (P) to the Jahwistic-Elohistic document (JE). Formerly the author of P was regarded as the oldest writer, even by such critics as Hupfeld, Ewald, and Knobel; now he is regarded as the latest, not only by Kuenen, Wellhausen, and Reuss, but even by Delitzsch and Driver. Critics, however, when maintaining the late date of a writing in its present form, often admit that earlier documentary or traditional elements may be embodied in it. It is indeed sixty years since the view which has recently commended itself to so many was broached by W. Vatke. Vatke was led to his conclusions, however, mainly by *à priori* considerations, and his book lay long neglected in consequence of the philosophical and technical form in which it was written. A similar theory was independently developed by Reuss of Strassburg, and made public by two of his pupils, H. Graf in a work issued in 1866, and Kayser in one published in 1874. Kuenen followed up the same views in his great work on the *Religion of Israel* (1869-70), while Wellhausen in his publications of 1876 and 1878 carried them to the furthest point which they have yet reached. It is claimed as a special merit in Wellhausen's work that it 'excited interest in these questions outside the narrow circle of specialists by its skilful handling of the materials, and its almost perfect combination of wide historical considerations with the careful investigation of details.' The Grafian, or Graf-Wellhausen, hypothesis was made known, or at least popularised, in Britain through the writings of Robertson Smith. The starting-point of the theory is found in a study of the legislation contained in the Pent., and a comparison of the religious history and practice of Israel with what might have been expected had the whole of this legislation been known and observed from the beginning. It seemed to Vatke impossible 'that a whole nation should suddenly sink from a high stage of religious development to a lower one, as is asserted to have been so often the case in the times of the Judges and Kings.' It is claimed that the only explanation of the religious life of Israel is that many of the laws were either unknown or non-existent. Again, when the three components of the Pent. were examined, each was found to contain a distinct legislation in a historical setting. Of these the simplest and probably the earliest was that known as the Book of the Covenant (Ex 20-23), while the most complex, and therefore presumably the latest, was that of the Priestly Code. Between these came Deuteronomy. Not without exception perhaps, but in a sufficiently striking manner, the course of the history was found to reflect, and to be best explained by this order of the laws. The spiritual tide which lifted the life of Israel from stage to stage, leaving at each its memorial deposit of legislation, was due to the prophets, who, by their impassioned appeals and denunciations of abuses, were the means of purifying the religion of their people, and raising it to a point of elevation, after reaching which it unhappily fell into that petrifaction which is not only decay, but death. The Law is the product, not the antecedent, of the prophetic activity; to reverse the order is, in the words of Wellhausen, to begin with the roof instead of the foundation; but if the legislations fall into the order above indicated, it almost necessarily follows that the narratives in which they are respectively embedded must be regarded as originating in the same order. To separate the law from the history was the defect of Graf, corrected by Kuenen and Wellhausen. But to accept law and narrative as emerging in the portions and order supposed, is to revolutionise the whole conception previously entertained of Israel's history, and of its literary development. We conclude this brief account with the verdict pronounced upon the theory by a master in this department, A. B. Davidson of Edinburgh—'The strength of the theory lies in its correspondence with the practice, as we observe it in the historical books, and in the general outline of the religious history which it draws. Its weakness lies in the incapacity which as yet it has shown to deal with many important details, and particularly in the assumption, absolutely necessary to its case, that the ancient historical books have been edited from a Deuteronomistic point of view.'

The following chronological scheme of OT literature, founded mainly upon Driver's *Introduction*, may be found useful:—*

13th-11th cent. B.C. (period of Judges). Song of Deborah, Blessing of Jacob, David's elegy (2 S 1).

10th-9th cent. B.C. Song of Solomon (?); sources incorporated in Judges and Samuel; J and E.

8th cent. B.C. Amos, 760-746; Hosea, 746-734; Zechariah (chaps. 9-11, which, however, include also post-exilic elements, if they are not, as some hold, wholly post-ex.); Isaiah (750-700), 721 marking the end of the kingdom of Israel; Micah.

7th cent. B.C. D; Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel (sources earlier); Ruth; Nahum (664-607); Zephaniah (earlier years of Josiah, *i.e.* 639-621); Jeremiah (called 626).

6th cent. Habakkuk (608-598); Jeremiah; 1 and 2 Kings (sources earlier); Lamentations; Obadiah (partly before and partly after 586, which marks the commencement of the Exile); Proverbs (partly before and partly after the Exile); Job; P; II Isaiah and fragments; Ezekiel (taken captive 597. The last three fall during the Exile, say, 586-536); Haggai (520 seqq.); Zechariah (chaps. 1-8, 520 seqq.).

5th cent. Joel (after Captivity); Jonah; Zec (12-14); Malachi (probably about 432). Memoirs of Ezra and Nehemiah (*c.* 450-430) incorporated in our Ezr-Neh.

4th cent. Ecclesiastes (not earlier than latter years of Persian rule, ending 332); Esther (early years of Greek period, beginning 332, or 3rd cent.); 1 and 2 Chronicles, Ezr-Neh in present form (shortly after 332, long subsequent to Ezra).

2nd cent. Daniel. The Psalms prob. belong to most of these periods, including even the Maccab. (168-165), but chiefly to the later ones (ex. and post-ex.)

ii. *NT Canon.*—The Jewish Scriptures became the B. of the early Christian Church. Round them in course of time gathered collections of Christian writings to which canonical authority was ultimately ascribed. But as in the case of OT the process was gradual. There was clearly no deliberate intention on the part of NT writers to *make* Scripture. The Jewish reverence for OT which the apostles inherited would prevent any such thought arising. That NT should have been written at all by men who shared in such a traditional feeling has been characterised by Westcott as a 'moral miracle of overwhelming dignity.' The writings were evidently called forth by the circumstances of the Church, and only as a second thought gathered together and invested with authority. In order of composition the Epistles naturally took precedence of the Gospels. The facts of the Gospel history formed the staple of the apostolic preaching, and, though in the earliest years communicated orally only, must have tended to assume a fixed traditional form. So long as the apostles survived, and the Church had not extended beyond the reach of their personal instruction, the necessity of committing this tradition to writing would be scarcely recognised. The conviction widely held during that first age, that the end of the world was near, would also tend to discourage any effort of this kind. With the extension of the Church, the rising doubts as to the impending catastrophe, and the removal of the apostles, the need for a permanent record would be felt and supplied. That small collections of memorabilia, notes of apostolic preaching, were made and circulated we know on the testimony of St. Luke, whose object is expressly declared to be the displacement of these by a more trustworthy account (Lk $1^{\text{ff.}}$). Meanwhile the apostles had supplemented their personal activity by epistolary communications, and thus the material for a new (Christian) Canon was accumulated. It is probable that all the books composing our NT were written by the end of the 1st cent. of our era. This, indeed, is generally acknowledged, except where, as in the case of Baur and the early Tübingen school, a speculative reconstruction of early Church History necessitates the ascription of later dates to certain of the books. The recognition, however, of NT books by the Church as of apostolic authorship and authority was a matter of much longer time. It is not until the 4th cent. that all the books of the present Canon are found included in any list. The *Didaché*, or *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, an early treatise, the MS of which was discovered so recently as 1873, makes it clear that in the quarter whence it emanated in the end of the 1st or beginning of the 2nd cent. only a few of them were known. It was only to be expected, however, that certain books, or small collections of books, should be known and received within comparatively limited areas, from which they gradually passed into the use of the Church at large. Though there was no formal attempt to create a Canon, and for long no formal decree authorising it, a certain Christian wisdom and discretion is seen at work in the acknowledgment of writings both individually and collectively. The criterion was from the first *apostolicity*, immediate, or all but immediate, connexion with the apostles. Only those books were admitted which could be regarded as the most faithful records of the work of Christ and His apostles, and as the suitable foundation of Christian preaching. The need which was so soon felt, of exhibiting the truths characteristic of Christianity in opposition to the paganising mysticisms of the gnostics and the fanatical developments of Montanism, hastened the process, by driving men to the study of the primitive records of the faith. For this purpose the oral teaching, which still continued, was insufficient, as gnosticism itself appealed to the written records. These accordingly ceased to be regarded as mere private and occasional writings; they became more than books which might be publicly read for edification; they were the recognised arbiters in a great doctrinal contest; to them both sides appealed, and the foundations of NT were laid.

---

* Compare the table given by Sanday, *Inspiration*, p. 435 ff.; and by Kautzsch, *AT*, of which a tr. is given in *Expos. Times*, vi. 517 ff.

The chief sources for the history of NT Canon in the period of its formation are the Christian writers, esp. those who took part in the great controversies with heretics during the 2nd and 3rd centuries, the fragments of the heretical writings themselves, the ancient versions, and sundry lists of recognised books which have come down to us. Westcott (*Canon of the NT*) divides the history of this period as follows:—I. A.D. 70–170, during which time, though the evidence adducible is fragmentary, it is of wide range, direct, uniform, and comprehensive; a margin still remained of books whose authority was disputed or at least unrecognised, and the idea of a Canon was implied rather than expressed. Its 'formation' may have been gradual, but it was certainly undisturbed. It was a growth and not a series of contests. II. A.D. 170–303, during which the available evidence is largely augmented and the consciousness of a collection of sacred books becomes more distinct. Still its work is 'to construct and not to define,' the age 'was an age of research and thought, but at the same time it was an age of freedom.' 'Even controversy failed to create a spirit of historical inquiry,' and thus the evidence gathered from writers of the 3rd cent. 'differs from that of earlier date in fulness rather than in kind.' III. A.D. 303–397, during which the Canon formed the subject of deliberation and decree at great Councils of the Church, at one of which, the third Council of Carthage, held in the year 397, the books of NT recognised 'are exactly those which are generally received at present.'

Some of the chief points of this development can alone be indicated here; further information will be found in the special article (NEW TESTAMENT CANON). Justin Martyr, the apologist, about A.D. 150, records the fact that certain apostolic writings were read along with the prophets on the Lord's Day in the churches both in city and country. Among these writings he especially refers to what he calls 'The Memoirs of the Apostles,' which almost without doubt were the Canonical Gospels. He refers to the Apocalypse by name, and evinces an acquaintance with several of St. Paul's Epistles. The list known as the *Muratorian Fragment*, from Muratori, who published it at Milan in 1740, which probably represents the view of the Roman Church towards the end of the 2nd cent., refers to the Gospels, to the Acts as the work of St. Luke, enumerates 13 Epp. of St. Paul, acknowledges St. Jude, 2 Epp. of St. John (probably the 2nd and 3rd), and the Apoc. The fragment is somewhat mutilated, and in this way the incompleteness of its reference to the Gospels, and its omission of 1 P and 1 Jn are possibly to be accounted for. It adds the Apoc. of St. Peter, though with an indication of doubt, and expressly excludes two Epistles which had been circulated under St. Paul's name—one to the Laodicæans, and the other to the Alexandrians. The Peshiṭta or Syriac Version of NT was the B. of the Syrian Christians of a period not later than the end of the 2nd cent. It included all the books of our Canon except 2 and 3 Jn, 2 P, Jude, and Rev. The old Lat. Version, also of the 2nd cent., omitted only He, Ja, and 2 P. The heretic Marcion, about the middle of the same cent., composed a Canon of his own in accordance with his peculiar views. This embraced the greater part of the Pauline Epp. and a modification of St. Luke. Tatian's *Diatessaron*, or 'Harmony of the Four Gospels,' which, as has recently been conclusively proved, were the four Gospels of our Canon, not only testifies to the existence of these, but signalises by this treatment of them their peculiar position and authority, which was similarly emphasized a little later by the fanciful analogy by which Irenæus sought to show that there could be only *four* Gospels. By A.D. 250 we have the evidence of Irenæus as representing the churches in Gaul, Clement of Alexandria and Origen representing the Egyptian churches, and Tertullian representing the churches of North Africa, practically concurring in their testimony to the contents of that body of Scripture which, with increasing distinctness, was taking its place as the authoritative Canon. Doubt still affected only Ja, 2 P, 2 and 3 Jn, and Rev, while Hebrews was in the churches of Rome and Africa not recognised as Pauline. Eusebius in his *Eccles. History*, composed about A.D. 325, gives valuable information and testimony as to the state of the question in his time. He distinguishes the books which claimed to be authoritative as *Homologoumena*, or universally acknowledged books; *Antilegomena*, or disputed books; and *Notha*, or spurious books. The Antilegomena included Ja, Jude, 2 P, 2 and 3 Jn, also Hebrews and Rev. Eusebius hazards the opinion that Hebrews may be a Greek tr. of a Heb. Pauline original. St. Jerome, towards the close of the 4th cent., gives much the same account of the state of opinion in his time, while he himself accepts all the books of our present Canon. St. Augustine likewise accepts the Canon in its present form, and was present at that Council of Carthage (397) at which, as already stated, ecclesiastical sanction was given to it. It must be admitted that this conclusion was reached rather on popular and consuetudinary than critical grounds, and it is no matter for surprise that the question of canonicity was reopened at the Reformation, and again within the last half century. Nothing, however, has been proved which affects the claim of the large majority of NT books, and those of chief interest and value, to be the record of the faith once delivered to the saints. The wisdom with which, on the whole, the line has been drawn is only made more apparent on a consideration of those books, such as the Epp. of Clement, the Ep. of Barnabas, and the Shepherd of Hermas, which long maintained a position on the very borders of Scripture, and are given at the conclusion of NT in certain very ancient MSS. It only remains to mention the large number of apocryphal Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypses (the *Notha* of Eusebius), of which some, as the Gospel of Nicodemus, the Acts of Paul and Thekla, have long been known, while of others, as the Gospel and Apocalypse of St. Peter, fragments have only recently (1886) been discovered.

V. TEXT.—i. *Hebrew.*—Until the invention of printing, in the 15th cent., the only mode of transmitting ancient books was by the slow and laborious method of copying one MS from another. Hand-copying, like typography itself, is subject to special tendencies to error. Since any mistake may be confined to a single MS, though almost certain to be continued in any copies made from it, it is obvious that the work of tracing out the original text by a comparison of MSS is a difficult and delicate one. It forms the subject of a special study, called Textual Criticism, and demands no little ability, patience, and tact. For many centuries the rolls written for use in the synagogue have been prepared with scrupulous care, and the texts which they represent have been preserved, it may be said, free from variation. This applies to the books of the Law, the Haphtaroth or lessons from the Prophets, and the Megilloth, the five books (Ca, Ru, La, Ec, Est) read on the great festivals. It applies, however, only to the consonantal characters, since these rolls were written without points and accents, and does not apply to the period before the scribes of the Jewish tradition took the rolls under their special care, nor so strictly to the MSS intended for private use, which had the vowel points together with the Massoretic notes and commentary. It is said that the earliest Heb. MS of which the age is known dates from A.D. 916, but few are extant which have come down from an earlier period than the 12th cent., and these, as will readily be understood from what has been said, represent a single tradition, and are of no use for comparative purposes. The work, first of the Talmudists between the 1st and 5th centuries, and then of the Massoretes from the 6th to the 11th centuries, has fixed the Heb. text (hence called the Massoretic) to the utmost attainable degree of exactness. But that prior to the labours of the scribes the Heb. Scriptures had been subject to the ordinary conditions of MS copying, is evident from the numerous and important variations found in the Samaritan Pent. and the LXX. These agree together in many readings in regard to which both differ from the Heb. text, and they are comparatively independent witnesses—the one to the state of the text in possibly the 5th cent. B.C., the other to that in the 3rd.

ii. *Greek.*—Many ancient MSS contain the LXX version of OT along with the text of NT. It seems, therefore, more convenient to divide MSS into Hebrew and Greek than into OT and NT. Two facts in the early history of NT Scriptures are worthy of note. The one is the wholesale destruction of the sacred books during the persecution of Diocletian (A.D. 302), and the other that in A.D. 330 fifty large and carefully prepared copies of the Scriptures were made by order of the Emperor Constantine for the use of the churches of Constantinople. The former event is doubtless accountable for the fact that no MS exists which is older than the 4th cent. For a thousand years subsequently the sacred text may be traced in a continuous and increasing stream of MSS. About 100 of these are *Uncials*, written, that is, in capital letters—a mark of early date; the remainder, numbering nearly 2000, being *Cursives*, that is, in the smaller running hand which was used from the 9th cent. onwards. An interesting class of MSS are the *Palimpsests*, in which the sacred text has been more or less obliterated and some later work written over it. Short articles on the five leading uncials will be found under their respective symbols: viz. (1) the *Codex Sinaiticus*, known by the symbol ℵ, (2) the *Codex Vaticanus* (B), (3) the *Codex Alexandrinus* (A), (4) the *Codex Ephraemi* (C), and (5) the *Codex Bezæ* (D).

VI. VERSIONS.—Renderings of the Scriptures from the original into other tongues are not only interesting in themselves as giving us the form in which the B. brought its message to the various peoples of the earth, but (esp. those of ancient times) are of very great value for determining what the original text itself was. They tap, as it were, the stream of MS evidence at various points from which we have parallel and independent streams available for comparison with the parent stream and with each other. It is evident that, to derive the full benefit from this circumstance, a critical text of the VSS must be prepared with the same care as of the original. Given this, and it is obvious how important the VSS become in deciding between rival MS readings, as also for purposes of interpretation. The weakness of this branch of textual criticism is the defective state of the text of even the most important versions. Along with the VSS proper are justly reckoned those references in the writings of the early Fathers, which are in effect fragmentary MSS or VSS, according as they are quotations or translations.

Of OT the most important version is the Alexandrian, known as the Septuagint (LXX), from the tradition that the portion of it embracing the Law was made by 72 scribes or scholars sent by the high priest from Jerus. to Alexandria at the request of Ptolemy Philadelphus (B.C. 285-247). This tradition, afterwards extended to the whole version, has not only been overlaid by many mythical elements, but originally rested upon a letter by one Aristeas, which is now admitted to be a forgery. It is, moreover, contradicted by the differences in merit and value which distinguish the several books, as well as by the divergence in the methods of paraphrasing and interpretation employed. There can be no doubt that a succession of translators of varying capacity and skill were engaged upon this version. The work was carried on probably during the 3rd and 2nd cents. B.C., the greater part being completed at the latest by B.C. 132, the date alluded to in the preface to the Greek rendering of the Book of Ecclesiasticus. There were other Greek VSS, such as those of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus; but none of these was so widely influential or so extensively used as the LXX. It is of importance not only as an aid to the study of the Heb. OT, but as introductory to the Greek NT, the language of which is largely based upon it. From it sprang other VSS, such as the Itala or Old Latin Version, certain Syriac VSS, the Æthiopic, Coptic, Sahidic, Armenian, Georgian, Gothic, and Sclavonic VSS, together with the Arabic VSS, which were not taken directly from the original. The Targums or interpretations were rather paraphrases than translations. The necessity for them arose from the substitution of Aramaic for Heb. as the ordinary language of the Jews after their return from the Exile. The most important is the Targ. of Onkelos on the Pent., which keeps more closely to the original than the others, and is remarkable for careful as well as skilful work.

Of VSS which embrace both OT and NT, one of the earliest and most valuable is the Syriac Peshiṭta, the name meaning 'simple' or 'faithful.' Its relation to one or two VSS of equal or greater antiquity is still *sub judice*. It dates from the 2nd cent. A.D. Its place in the history of the Canon has already been mentioned. The Philoxenian or Monophysite Version is not an independent rendering, but a peculiar modification of the Peshiṭta. The Old Lat. Version (the Itala) prob. arose in N. Africa, was made (as already mentioned) from the Greek of the LXX, and is only known from citations in patristic writers. It was in the course of revising the Old Latin that Jerome conceived the design of making a new translation of OT direct from the Hebrew. This work, begun in A.D. 390, occupied him fourteen years, and was for long most unfavourably received. It was accused of being heretical, and even Augustine underrated it. It received ecclesiastical sanction first in Gaul; later it was recognised by Gregory the Great, but 200 years more elapsed before it became in the West the generally received and authoritative version, thenceforward known as the Vulgate or 'popular' version. The text of the Vulgate is in a very unsatisfactory condition, having been almost from the first corrupted owing to the existence and use along with it of the Old Latin, and the not unnatural transference of readings from the one into the other.

Of the multitude of modern VSS of the B. it is impossible here to speak. Our own English B. has a long and interesting history (see under art. VERSIONS). Most modern VSS differ from the ancient in the extent of the critical apparatus on which they are based. They do not depend upon a single MS or a single version in another tongue. This is esp. the case with the most recent revisions, which, as for instance our own RV, attempt to present, both in regard to text and interpretation, the nearest possible approach to the language of the original writers of the Scriptures.

B. THE EXTERNAL RELATIONS OF THE BIBLE.

Having now, so far as space permits, analysed the B., shown the parts of which it is made up, the forms in which it has appeared, their relations to each other, and their history up to the point at which this collection practically assumed its present form, we turn to its consideration as a whole, its character as a literature, and its relation to Christianity and the Christian Church. The B. is the sacred book of Christianity. Round it—its origin, history, and contents—circle many of the most important problems which affect the nature and claims of the Christian faith. As Christianity is admittedly the highest and purest form of religion known to man, it may be said that the religious destinies of the race depend upon the B. He, certainly, who would understand what Christianity is, must have a clear conception of what the B. is and teaches.

I. THE LITERATURE OF OTHER RELIGIONS.—As, however, there are other religions besides Christianity, there are other literatures which are regarded as sacred and authoritative by the adherents of these religions. Some of them, indeed, claim to be the vehicles of Divine Revelation. It may be well, therefore, to consider what a sacred book is, and how it acquires this character, and to give a brief account of the chief sacred books of the world. It is one great characteristic of them that they have in every case *grown*; they are collections, literatures, rather than books; not composed at once, or proceeding from one hand, but combining many diverse elements, and generally reflecting the history and developments of a religion through a considerable period of time. This is to a great extent true even of the Koran, which is more of the nature of a *book* than any of the others. With the exception again of the Koran, it is probable that large portions of their contents were handed down by tradition before being committed to writing. Religion began in custom rather than in thought, and was embodied in ceremonies before these were explained by means of doctrines. However simple the primitive worship might be, it naturally tended to assume fixed forms; the same words would be used in incantation and prayer, and these would be accompanied by the same acts and observances. When religious custom became more complicated and more highly organised, the tradition was preserved first by means of a sacred caste or priesthood, and then by writing down the tradition itself. Hence the most ancient portion of such literatures usually consists of liturgical formulas and ritual texts, where the former give the words to be used and the latter give the directions for the accompanying acts. The priestly class becoming naturally the learned class, and their writings remaining for a long time the only national literature, it was to be expected that many matters of interest would receive notice in that literature which could not be strictly and absolutely described as religious. Thus mythological and historical particulars which were already ancient, and because of their antiquity were held in reverence, would be carefully set down. Laws first of ceremonial purification and later of moral worthiness, the priestly wisdom in its exercise even about civil matters, histories, especially of the heroes of the nation and of the faith, genealogical and other registers,—all, in fact, which was regarded by those who were identified with the religion as having permanent value became a part of the sacred book. These features can be traced in OT itself, and are generally characteristic of what are known as the Bibles of mankind. The canonical position acquired by such writings is due to their acceptance by nations or religious communities as of decisive authority especially in matters affecting faith and worship, and is usually supported by ascribing to them a supernatural origin, or at least the authority due to them as the work of the founders of the respective religions, or as belonging to the period of development when the influence of the founder was still fresh and his initiative unimpaired.

For our present purpose it is only necessary to take account of the literary monuments of the chief ethnic religions. Fuller details may be found in such works as Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte* (of which the first volume has been translated); Tiele, *Outlines of the History of Religion*; Menzies, *History of Religion*; and in the literature as cited in these works. For a brief sketch of the religions themselves, see RELIGION.

The sacred books of *China* bring us face to face with the practical paradox, that, while none have ever been more influential in moulding the life of a people, no inspiration or supernatural authority is claimed for them. They are received with the reverence due to the sages from whom they proceeded, and their guardians are not so much priests as scholars. The five chief books of Confucianism are termed King,—*i.e.* classical, canonical,—and are partly the original work of the master, partly compilations and selections by him from pre-existing literature, with possibly, to some small extent, later additions. In character they range from extremely dry chronicles to the interpretation of magical formulas, rules of conduct, and sacred songs. The Li-Ki contains laws for domestic and social life at once comprehensive and minute, and by them the life of the whole Chinese Empire has been moulded to the present day. Its fundamental lesson is the inculcation of reverence, and it is full of finely conceived and inspiring thoughts. The four Shoo, or records of the philosophers, contain much that is of interest, particularly the Memorabilia of Confucius himself and the writings of Mencius, one of the most powerful and practical of Chinese thinkers. The teaching of the latter as to human nature has been compared with that of Bishop Butler, since it regards human nature in its ideal as a system or constitution in which the rightful ruler of the entire nature is the moral will. The Tao-ti-King is the sacred book of Taoism, which divides with Confucianism and a form of Buddhism the religious homage of the Chinese people. The author of this 'Book of Doctrine and Virtue' was the philosophic mystic Lao-tsze, who was born about half a century before Confucius (B.C. 600). Lao-tsze traces the origin of things to an impersonal reason, and directs men to seek the supreme good by way of contemplation and asceticism; at the same time many of his utterances are marked by great beauty and genuine moral insight.

In *India* we meet with a twofold stream of literature,—that of Brahmanism and that of Buddhism,—the former being the main factor in the development of modern Hinduism. The Brahmanic literature includes the Vedas proper, consisting of four books or collections of hymns, the Brahmanas, or ritualistic commentary upon these, and the Upanishads or speculative treatises containing the philosophy of the universe which the Vedic hymns seemed to imply. All these form part of the Veda, or knowledge *par excellence*, and belong to revelation or 'S'ruti' (hearing), as having been communicated to inspired men from a higher source. A second order of books is similarly termed 'Smriti' (recollection or tradition), and includes the law books, the great Epic poems, and the Puranas or ancient legends. Of these various works the most important and interesting from our present point of view are the Rigveda, the Laws of Menu, and the Epics. The Rigveda is of the greatest antiquity, and reveals much of the life and manner of thinking and feeling of the earliest invaders of India from the north of whom anything is known. The hymns are spirited and intensely national in tone. They were designed for use at the sacrifices, of the ritual of which they formed an essential part. The gods addressed in them are pre-eminently Nature deities, whose power is extolled and whose aid and favour are invoked. The Laws of Menu form one of those codes for the regulation of conduct which have gradually grown into shape. Much of it is believed to belong to prehistoric times, and the main body of the code is undoubtedly very ancient, though in its present form it is probably not older than the 2nd cent. A.D. It has been described as 'a kind of Indian Pentateuch, resting on the fundamental assumption that every part of life is essentially religious.' It originated either in a particular locality or with a particular school, but gradually extended its authority over the entire Hindu people. It consecrates the system of Caste, but, while it exalts asceticism, its regulation of ordinary life is touched with a fine spirit and marked by a practical morality. The great Epic poems, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, chiefly influenced the transition from the ancient Brahmanism to modern Hinduism. With their countless legends and deep personal interest, they appealed to those whom neither speculation nor ritual could move. They are the Bibles of the people, and celebrate the achievements of the ancient heroes, Rama and Krishna. The latter is regarded in the Mahabharata as an incarnation of Vishnu, one of the supreme Hindu deities. The idea of incarnation of deity is indeed the chief addition made by these poems to the religious thought of India, and was probably developed under the necessity of competing with Buddhism for popular favour. Turning to the sacred literature of Buddhism, it is best represented in what is known as the Southern Canon, the form in which the books are used by the Buddhists of Ceylon. They are written in Pâli, while those of the Northern Canon are in Sanskrit. They are otherwise termed the Tripitaka, or three baskets, from the manner of preserving the leaves in each volume, and were accepted as canonical about B.C. 250. The three 'baskets' are the Vinaya Pitaka, which gives the rules of Buddhism as a religious community, and especially of its monastic order; the Abidharma Pitaka containing the philosophic or speculative doctrine of the faith; and the Sutta Pitaka consisting of reminiscences of the parables and sermons of Buddha, in which the religion is adapted to common life. To the last belong the Dhammapada, 'sentences of religion,' the most popular of all the Buddhist books. The Dhammapada and the Sutta-nipata are said to 'rank among the most impressive of the religious books of the world.'

The religion specially identified with *Persia* is Zoroastrianism, and the B. of Zoroastrianism is commonly known as Zend-Avesta. Properly, however, 'Avesta' is the text,—like the Indian 'Veda' it means 'knowledge,'—and 'Zend' is the commentary or annotation upon it. The commentary is in a different language from the text. The latter consisted originally of 21 books, but practically only one of these has survived. It consists of three parts—the Yasna, a collection of liturgies along with some hymns; the Visperad, consisting of sacrificial litanies; and the Vendidad, an ancient law book, with which are incorporated a number of legendary narratives. While the prevailing character of the Zend-Avesta is that rather of a book of devotion than of the records of a religion, a Bible in our sense, there is discernible within it a variety of religious conceptions which illustrate its essentially composite character. At the same time it contains many passages of an extremely noble and spiritual character, and the religion of which it is the monument has had no inconsiderable influence upon both Judaism and Christianity.

The only other sacred book of the first rank which it is necessary for us to notice is the Koran of the Mohammedans. The name signifies 'reading.' It has already been remarked that the Koran differs from other sacred literatures in being the production of one man. Mohammed is its author, the revelations being written down by the followers of the prophet, after whose death the fragments were gathered together and formed, unfortunately with a total lack of arrangement, into the unity of a single book. The attempts of modern scholars to set the *suras* or chapters in chronological order has largely increased the interest of the book, and thrown light upon the spiritual development of the prophet himself. In such an arrangement the earliest utterances are seen to be full of emotional fire, brief, poetic, pointed. The later are longer and more prosaic, dealing with all varieties of subjects, personal and domestic, civil as well as religious. They contain also elements drawn from Jewish and Christian sources. Yet the Koran throughout claims to be inspired in the strictest sense, its words are the words of God Himself.

II. The Bible in relation to the Literature of other Religions.—What, then, is the relation of the literature thus briefly described to the Christian Scriptures? It is not necessary to depreciate the former in order to exalt the latter. We have already noted that there is wisdom, truth, and spirituality in these books of non-Christian faiths. They and the religions with which they are connected have been the light of generations of human beings. They are associated with the civilisations of the world and its great historical epochs. What we have now to ask is, whether, apart from the question of Divine Revelation, to which we shall presently advert, any of them possess the qualities fitting them to become the sacred books of the world, or whether the B., from this point of view, has any manifest superiority over them? If we turn to Confucianism and its authoritative literature, we find everywhere a consecration of the past, even where it is not understood, which is the deadly enemy of progress; the life of the people is bound in fetters of habit and ceremony which political changes and revolutions have not sufficed to break. The characteristics of the Chinese mind, with its want of comprehensiveness, and excessive attention to minute detail, are reflected in its 'classics.' Moral and spiritual life is crushed out under the burden of external precepts and directions, and there is a determined adherence to the level of the purely human, an avoidance of all reference to the divine, which ignores and tends to mutilate the higher side of man's being, and to deprive him of an ideal. It is no wonder that the mysticism of the Tao-ti-King had an attraction for those out of whom the spiritual life was not wholly crushed. But Taoism, notwithstanding its philosophical and ethical excellences, 'as a religion is a dismal failure, and shows how little philosophy and morals can do without a historical religious framework to support them' (Menzies). The sacred literature of India is characterised not only by its immense extent, but by the great variety of standpoints represented in it. What failed to meet the wants of a single people can scarcely be expected to satisfy the entire human race. The Vedic hymns exhibit the instability of polytheism. The Brahmanic system endeavoured to meet this defect by means of its philosophical developments; but in so doing unfitted itself to be a popular religion. Hence India, during the supremacy of Brahmanism, had in reality two religions, the speculative and the idolatrous and mythical. The separation between the two tended to intensify their several peculiarities, as well as to degrade the popular faith—a difficulty which was only partially met by the incarnation ideas which emerge in the great Epics. Even Buddhism, which presents a personal object of affection and imitation to the worshipper, is condemned by its one-sidedness. If in Confucianism we have a religious positivism which will not look at the Divine, in Buddhism we have an agnosticism which cannot find it. It is a religion of despair; it cannot become the spring of human effort, promote civilisation, or contribute to social progress. The sacred books which have sprung up on soil like this, reflecting the peculiarities of their origin, must be held as falling short of the required conditions on which alone they could supersede all others. Zoroastrianism as a religion may be said to be already dead, modern Parsism being a comparatively uninfluential modification of it. The Zend-Avesta is of interest, as we have seen, for the noble elements contained in it, and for the traces of its thought which are to be found in the teachings of other faiths; but even in the portions which have come down to us, it shows itself, like the literature of Brahmanism, a mixture of diverse views and standpoints. Its mainly liturgical character, and the view presented in it of the supreme Deity, so far as a dualistic system can be said to have a supreme Deity, prevented it from spreading much beyond the region of its origin. The Mohammedan Koran is equally unfitted to become the book of a universal religion. Like Confucianism, though in a different way, Islam is a foe to progress. 'Its ideas are bald and poor; it grew too fast; its doctrines and forms were stereotyped at the very outset of its career, and do not admit of change. Its morality is that of the stage at which men emerge from idolatry . . . its doctrine is after all no more than negative. Allah is but a negation of other gods. . . . He does not enter into humanity, and therefore he cannot render to humanity the highest services.'

Westcott, in an interesting article contributed to the *Cambridge Companion to the B.*, distinguishes the sacred books of the pre-Christian ethnic religions from the OT Scriptures under three heads. 1. They are unhistorical. 'In no case is the revelation or authoritative rule given in them represented as embodied and wrought out step by step in the life of a people. The doctrine is announced and explained, and fenced in by comment and ritual; but it finds no prophets who unfold and apply the divine words to the varying circumstances of national growth, which at once fix their application and illuminate their meaning.' 2. They are retrogressive. 'The oldest portions of the several collections of the Chinese, Indian, and Persian Scriptures are confessedly the noblest in thought and aspiration; and, secondly, ritual in each case has finally overpowered the strivings after a personal and spiritual fellowship with God.' 3. They are partial. In their most complete form they may be said to be 'a Psalter completed by a law of ritual.' 'On the other hand, the B. contains every element which the representatives of different races have found to be the vehicle of religious teaching, and every element in its fullest and most fruitful form.'

If these features, we may add, are conspicuous on a comparison with the *OT*, the argument is strengthened when the NT is brought into view. There the highest reaches of doctrine and devotion are embedded in history; there the culmination of all the divine progress is attained; there in amplest measure are to be found the sources of man's purest and highest life. And the B. thus completed suggests a point of distinction which perhaps does not belong to the OT alone. The ethnic Scriptures are essentially national, or at least racial; they are bound by limits of place and time, the natural products of the circumstances in which they arose; the B. may be admirably adapted to the needs of place and time, it alone appeals to man as man, and most marvellously combines a truly historical character with an adaptability to be the religious guide and instructor of mankind. It has proved its power to travel and to speak to the hearts of men of varying countries and climes.

i. Revelation.—A usual feature of the sacred books we have been considering is the claim made by them, or on behalf of them, that they are vehicles of a divine *Revelation.* The Chinese alone do not claim that their books are inspired, though they regard them with a reverence as deep as anything connected with their religion calls forth. The three parts of the Veda, as we have seen, are distinguished as S'ruti, 'revelation,' from the Smriti, or 'tradition.' The Vedic hymns themselves were held to possess supernatural powers, and were raised to the rank of a divinity. The Avesta had been, according to the Persians, communicated to Zarathustra (Zoroaster) by Ahura, the good god, himself. The Koran, according to the Mohammedans, is an earthly copy of a heavenly original, which the angel of revelation made known to the prophet during his ecstasies; it was the subject of one of their greatest controversies whether the Koran as it stands, down to the very word and letter, was not uncreated and eternal, and free therefore from every possible imperfection. The motive of such conceptions lies upon the surface. If, on the one hand, it is man's way of expressing his boundless reverence for that which is ancient or of proved value, it is, on the other hand, due to the desire of feeling himself on solid ground in regard to the highest and most mysterious concerns of life, those which relate to the power above him and the future before him. Somewhat similar claims are made on behalf of the B. It also brings a revelation from God; it also is an inspired book. Are all such claims equally futile? Because they are made on behalf of many books, are they true of none? Such a conclusion would be obviously inept. If a revelation is necessary for man, and if it is in the highest degree unlikely that God would leave man without this necessary guidance,—points which we cannot fully discuss in this place,—it must be somewhere, and the fact that there are unfounded claims to its possession should stimulate the search for it, not lead to its abandonment. And these claims, if nothing more, are a pathetic confession of man's sense of helplessness in presence of the deeper problems of existence, of his felt need for higher guidance. Nor is it necessary to deny that the conviction so strongly held had a relative justification. A better and juster view of the religions of the world than that formerly entertained, leads us to see that in them also God was educating the world for Himself. In their higher phases, by means of their loftier spirits, a message was delivered to the nations, in which they were not wrong in recognising His voice. In comparison with Christianity they may be classed as 'natural' religions, but at least God was speaking in the worthier manifestations of the 'nature' which He had made. We are prepared, therefore, rather than unfitted by their study, to recognise in Christianity a divine revelation, and in the B. an inspired book, while the question of degree of Inspiration, and as to what Inspiration itself involves, is directly suggested by it.

ii. **Inspiration.**—The Christian doctrine of Inspiration was largely an inheritance from the Jews along with the OT, to which alone it at first applied. After the disappearance of Prophetism, and the reconstitution of the 'Church-people' of Israel on the basis of the written law, it is not surprising that rigid and even mechanical views of Inspiration prevailed. The Talmud, while admitting degrees of Inspiration, declared that the Pentateuch at least had been divinely dictated to Moses; while Alexandrian Judaism, doubtless under Platonic influences, and on the analogy of the heathen Mantic, held that it involved a total suspension of the human faculties. The first Christian writer to propound a theory of this kind is Justin Martyr, who could not conceive of the things above being made known to men otherwise than by the Divine Spirit using righteous men like a harp or lyre, from which the plectrum elicits what sound it will. This view was followed with more or less emphasis by such writers as Tertullian, Irenæus, Origen; while others, like Chrysostom, Basil, Jerome, were disposed to recognise the individuality of the several writers as moulding their respective work. While Eusebius affirms that it would be rash to say that the sacred penmen could have substituted one word for another, and Augustine sometimes ascribes to them an absolute infallibility, the latter betrays some disposition to recognise the human element when he says that the evangelists wrote '*ut quisque meminerat et ut cuique cordi erat.*' Two circumstances probably prevented the early Church from definitely adopting an extreme doctrine on this subject. One was the struggle with Montanism, which led to a clearer distinction being drawn between inspiration and ecstasy. The other was the authority still ascribed to the tradition of the Churches, which was so much on a level with that attributed to Scripture that Irenæus could complain of the difficulty of dealing with heretics who could appeal from one to the other, as suited their purpose. The same duality of resource characterised the common practice of the Church of that age, whose bishops invoked now the B. and now tradition in favour of their judgments. In the succeeding period, the inspiration of the B. was in many quarters maintained in an uncompromising form, while practically the B. was more and more subordinated to tradition as embodied in the Church. On the one hand, it was held to be useless to inquire the name of the writer of a passage of Scripture since the Holy Spirit was the author of all Scripture, or it was asserted that the Holy Spirit formed the very words in the mouths of prophets and apostles; on the other, the Church placed itself between the individual Christian and the B., which gradually became comparatively unknown and inaccessible. Its authority was not so much disputed as ignored. This was practically the position maintained throughout the Middle Ages—a position definitely formulated by the Council of Trent and the later Roman Catholic theologians. It was the Reformers who revived the appeal to Scripture in opposition to the authority of the Roman Church and its traditions. This they did, however, without pronouncing upon the questions which the authority they ascribed to the B. seemed to a later age to involve. It was enough for them that the 'good news' was declared in it, that by its use a soul could draw near to God without priest or rite. Luther proposed to revise the Canon, or at least to estimate the value of the several books by the distinctness with which Christ was preached in them—a criterion which, it is evident, was at once too narrow and too wide, excluding some books which not only Christian antiquity, but devout usage, had consecrated, and including, if consistently carried out, masses of Christian literature. Zwingli and Calvin maintained as firmly as Luther the supremacy of the B., while also keeping an open mind as to its several parts. For them the substance and content was everything, the form of secondary importance. The Confessions of that epoch in general share this freedom of attitude, though those of the Reformed Churches are more explicit than the Lutheran. The 17th cent. was a period at once of violent controversy and of rigid definition. The Jesuits on the one hand, the Socinians and Arminians on the other, attacked the authority of Scripture in the interests of Ecclesiasticism or Rationalism. Protestant orthodoxy, whether in the Lutheran or Calvinistic form, intrenched itself on the foundation of the B., identifying inspiration with infallibility, and the record with the revelation it conveyed. The sacred writers were regarded as the passive instruments, the amanuenses, of the Divine Spirit. Inspiration was defined as including the *impulsus ad scribendum*, the *suggestio rerum*, and the *suggestio verborum*. The diversity of style apparent in Scripture was explained as the voluntary accommodation of Himself to the writers by the Holy Spirit. At the same time, with so exalted an authorship, the language could not be anything but pure and exact; no barbarisms or solecisms could enter into the Greek of the NT, and even the vowel points and accents of the Hebrew text were inspired—an opinion stamped as orthodox by the Swiss *Formula Consensus* of 1675. From the theory of inspiration thus formulated (and exaggerated) followed the attributes (*affectiones seu proprietates Scripturæ sacræ*) which the dogmatic writers ascribed to the B. These are primary and secondary. The primary are: 1. *Divina auctoritas*, resting upon its external evidences and internal qualities; but, above all, upon the *testimonium Spiritus Sancti*, or the witness of God in the soul. This authority constitutes the Scriptures the sole tribunal in matters of faith and life. 2. *Perfectio* or *sufficientia*; the B. contains all that is necessary to salvation. 3. *Perspicuitas.* The B. is self-explanatory. Passages may be more or less obscure, but these must be explained by means of the simpler and clearer declarations. Rightly used, it requires no other interpreter. 4. *Efficacia.* The B. is a means of grace, having the power of converting the sinful and consoling the sad. The secondary attributes are *necessitas, integritas et perennitas, puritas et sinceritas fontium, authentica dignitas.* These indicate generally that a revelation must be written, and that, in all respects, the B., as we have it, is the B. as it was intended to be.

It is unnecessary to pursue further the history of the idea of inspiration as applied to the B. Enough has been said to show the position which it held, and how it was liable to be modified according to the circumstances in which the Church of successive ages found itself placed. Before touching, however, upon the position accorded to the B. at the present day, attention must be directed for a moment to the relation in which the question of canonicity stands to that of inspiration, since these together have determined the manner in which the B. has been received in the Christian Church. The formation of a Canon at all implies that authority is attributed to the writings included in it. The history of the Canon has shown us that it was formed gradually, as the result of local usage, which fixed and extended itself, and not as the outcome of criticism or even formal determination on the part of the whole Church or its more important divisions. By the end of the 4th cent., as we have seen, the B. stood practically as we have it now. Yet its limits were not settled in such a way that the Reformers of the 16th cent. felt themselves precluded from rediscussing them. Their tendency was, in the first instance, to examine this and other accepted usages of the Church in the light of historical inquiry. But the opportunities and the material for a competent historical investigation were wanting. The questions at issue were largely decided upon the basis of feeling, either individual or general. The exigencies of controversy necessitated a rapid arrival at a decision which should be practical and readily intelligible. While, therefore, it was not upon the authority of the Church, but through an intuitive perception supposed to reside in the believing Christian, that the contents of the B. were received, the B. thus acknowledged was nevertheless the same B. as that of the 4th cent. And this once determined, the doctrine of Inspiration was frequently employed to lift it out of the region of historical criticism, and to make its limits and contents a matter of dogmatic definition. Thus we have the rather remarkable result that inspiration in the sense of a supernatural guarantee for their truth and authority is claimed for a series of writings, while no claim is, or can be, made for a supernatural determination of the precise writings which are to be included in the series. If the latter question is still open to historical criticism, and must be determined, as every book on Biblical Introduction proves to us anew, on grounds of historical investigation, it is impossible for a dogmatic definition of inspiration to be applied in more than a general way to such a series of books; and in that case the question, what inspiration is, and what are its limits or degrees, is again opened up. So long as inspiration cannot be claimed for the process by which canonicity is determined, canonicity cannot be held to fix the bounds of inspiration. It is true that, as Westcott remarks (*Bible in the Church*, pp. 293, 294), the usage which fixed the Canon 'is only another name for a divine instinct, a providential inspiration, a function of the Christian body'; that 'history teaches by the plainest examples that no one part of the B. could be set aside without great and permanent injury to the Church which refused a portion of the apostolic heritage. We are now in a position to estimate what would have been lost if the Epistle to the Hebrews or the Epistle of St. James or the Apocalypse had been excluded from the Canon. And, on the other hand, we can measure the evils which flow equally from canonising the Apocrypha of the OT, and denying to them all ecclesiastical use.'

In more recent times, and at the present day, cases may be pointed out of almost all the varieties of view on the subject which our brief historical sketch brought to light. Some carry inspiration to the extreme of literalism, some appear to deny it in any sense in which it is not applicable to poetry and other forms of art. Unreserved condemnation should not be poured upon either of these extremes. The first is held not only by the unthinking multitude,—'the indolence of human nature,' Mr. Gladstone remarks (*Butler*, iii. p. 17), 'would be greatly flattered by a scheme such as that of the verbal inspiration of Holy Scripture,'—but by thoughtful men who have seen in it the logical conclusion of their religious theories; the second, not only by those who are indifferent to religion, but by fine spirits who have not seen the possibility or perhaps the need of anything further. The large majority of inquirers, however, recognise frankly the true inspiration of the B., and also that the determination of its nature, degrees, and limits must be the result of an induction from all the available facts.

On the one hand, full weight must be given to that remarkable testimony of history which Westcott, in the passage quoted above, signalises. But a still more remarkable phenomenon of the same kind is apparent in the pages of the B. itself. From one point of view, nothing can be more unsystematic and fragmentary than its contents. It is full of contrasts and surface-discrepancies. It is made up of extracts from the lives of individuals and the experiences of a people. All forms of literature are represented in it (see *The Literary Study of the Bible*, by R. G. Moulton). It presents no systematised theology or ethics. Yet a closer observation reveals the unity underlying all this variety. A progress is discernible from the first page to the last. Revelation corresponds to revelation, like the outcropping of the same rock-stratum in different places. One thought, one plan, is seen to pervade the whole, and to make the B., if the product of many minds, the outcome of one Spirit,—not a 'library' only, as has been said, but a 'book.' Again, in so far as the B. is admitted to be inspired, its testimony to itself, the testimony of part to part, cannot be ignored. This is an argument which may easily be pushed too far and made to prove too much; its application in any absolute way would require, for example, the question of canonicity to be already settled. But the great argument for the real inspiration of the B. in a special sense is that it commends itself to the minds of those who devoutly receive it,—what the Reformers designated the *testimonium Spiritus Sancti.* The relation of this to other evidences for the unique authority of Scripture is expressed by the Westminster Confession (ch. i. 5) thus: 'We may be moved and induced by the testimony of the Church to an high and reverend esteem of the Holy Scripture, and the heavenliness of the matter, the efficacy of the doctrine, the majesty of the style, the consent of all the parts, the scope of the whole (which is to give all glory to God), the full discovery it makes of the only way of man's salvation, the many other incomparable excellences, and the entire perfection thereof, are arguments whereby it doth abundantly evidence itself to be the word of God; yet, notwithstanding, our full persuasion and assurance of the infallible truth, and divine authority thereof, is from the inward work of the Holy Spirit, bearing witness by and with the word in our hearts.' This is the religious test of the value of Scripture. But it obviously applies only to the knowledge of salvation, of which Scripture is the vehicle. It is religious, not speculative—still less historical or scientific. However real and important the fact to which it points, it bears upon it a stamp of individuality, subjectivity. As seen at work in Luther, for example, 'it is impossible to read his comments on Holy Scripture without feeling that he realises its actual historical work and consequent spiritual meaning in a way which was unknown before. For him the words of apostles and prophets are "living words," direct and immediate utterances of the Holy Spirit, penetrating to the inmost souls of men, and not mere premisses for arguments or proofs' (Westcott, *l.c.* pp. 245, 246). But a criterion which in Luther and other Reformers was compatible with a large degree of liberty, gave rise in its later and more formal application to the 'summary method,' as Westcott calls it, of cutting the knot of a difficulty, disposing of evidence by dogmatically pronouncing it superfluous, and assuming that history has been fully interrogated and has spoken its last word, and so converting a great truth into a fetter and a falsehood.

On the other hand, while the elements which thus make for the inspiration of the B. and its unique authority as a spiritual guide are widely and fully recognised, the human element in Scripture has in recent times forced itself upon the attention of the thoughtful. Here it is not merely that by evident signs the biblical writers show that they were not simply amanuenses writing to the dictation of a Spirit above them; it is not the occurrence of discrepancies and inconsistencies in the B. itself, or in connexion with external history and modern science: it is rather the recognition of a progressive revelation in the B., that it contains the history of the struggle between the Divine light and human ignorance and sin, that the revelation is conveyed to us in such measure and manner as each of the writers was able to apprehend it and give it forth. Thus the process traced in an earlier portion of this article, whereby the 'books' became the 'Book,' the change of the point of view from plurality to unity, is one which wisdom, thought, and investigation find it necessary, to some extent, to reverse. In order to understand even this unity aright, it is found essential to scrutinise the several parts of which it is made up, the manifold media through which the revelation has been given, the several stages through which the B. as we know it has been evolved. This side of it will fall to be more carefully considered in the article THEOLOGY; in the meantime it is needful to observe that, as Gladstone remarks, 'if any development of Divine Revelation be acknowledged, if any distinction of authority between different portions of the text be allowed, then, in order to deal with subjects so vast and difficult, we are at once compelled to assume so large a liberty as will enable us to meet all the consequences which follow from abandoning the theory of a purely verbal inspiration' (*Butler*, iii. 17).

The subject of Inspiration and the B. is in our time canvassed mainly in two connexions — the rights of criticism, and the question of authority in matters of faith. Christianity as a historical religion cannot be exempted from the application of the principles of historical inquiry, nor can the B. as literature be exempted from the canons of criticism which apply to the other religions of the world and their sacred books. So far all reasonable persons may be said to be agreed. The difficulties which have arisen in connexion with criticism have resulted from the division of the critics into two schools, one of which assumes that all the phenomena of the sacred history and its record must be explained by natural causes only, that the history of the Hebrew people is exactly parallel with that of Athens or of Rome, that the life of Christ is strictly of the same order as that of Socrates; while the other school recognises and allows for the element of the supernatural when it is seen at work. The one studies the Christian development without sympathy, therefore without understanding; the other avoids presuppositions, and seeks to apprehend the facts from within as well as from without. But the latter, no less than the former, feels that the respect due to the Christian documents themselves imposes the duty of a careful examination and appreciation of them in the light of their history. The object of criticism is not destruction only, it is a means of ascertaining truth, and it is not true reverence which would place the B. outside of its sphere of operation.

More pressing, perhaps, than even the distrust of criticism which prevails in many quarters, is the search for authority. If the B. is not to be like an Act of Parliament, operative 'to the last and farthest extremity of its letter,' how is it to retain that quality which the Westminster Confession ascribes to it of being the final court of appeal in all controversies of religion? How is the divine and authoritative element to be separated from the human and fallible? How, in fact, is revelation, in the sense of communicated knowledge, possible by means of the Scriptures? We may briefly notice two recent attempts to meet this difficulty.

Denney (*Studies in Theology*, Lect. ix.) quotes with approval the words of Robertson Smith, in which he gives a modern rendering of the *testimonium Spiritus Sancti*: 'If I am asked why I receive Scripture as the word of God, and as the only perfect rule of faith and life, I answer with all the fathers of the Protestant Church, *Because the B. is the only record of the redeeming love of God, because in the B. alone I find God drawing near to man in Christ Jesus, and declaring to us in Him His will for our salvation. And this record I know to be true by the witness of His Spirit in my heart, whereby I am assured that none other than God Himself is able to speak such words to my soul.*' Denney, however, clearly perceives what we have pointed out above, that this is 'a doctrine of the Divine message to man,' not 'a doctrine of the text of Scripture.' His view is that coming to Scripture 'without any presuppositions whatever,' without any 'antecedent conviction that it is inspired,' we become convinced that it is inspired because 'it asserts its authority over us as we read,' it has 'power to lodge in our minds Christianity and its doctrines as being not only generally but divinely true,'—its power to do this being 'precisely what we mean by inspiration.' A starting-point having been thus acquired, by 'working out from it the area of certitude may be gradually enlarged.' Having accepted the B. as in the main inspired and authoritative, the same conviction may be indirectly entertained regarding all which is not self-evidencing. The Canon is to be received on the general assumption that the Church as a whole is less likely to be mistaken than an individual inquirer. This is all that can be arrived at by the multitude of Christian believers, or can be urged upon those whose minds are perplexed upon the subject; for the rest 'the theologian will know how to distinguish between the letter of the record and God revealing Himself through it.'

Fairbairn (*Christ in Modern Theology*, p. 496 ff.) appears to rest the authority of the revelation given in the B. upon the inspiration of those through whom it came—inspiration being described as a possession of the spirit of man by the Spirit of God. This is the converse of the view last referred to, where the revelation and the response it awakens in the mind of the hearer or reader is the guarantee of the inspiration. Indeed, on Fairbairn's view the relations of inspiration and revelation seem to be reversed. 'God inspires, man reveals; inspiration is the process by which God gives; revelation is the mode or form—word, character, or institution—in which man embodies what he has received.' In this way a position is gained from which the adaptation of religious ideas to the circumstances of a people or age may be explained. But the attention and interests of men must ever be engaged with the revelation rather than the inspiration. The reality of the latter is a small matter apart from the character of the former. 'The essential function of inspiration is the formation of the personalities—both the minds for the thought and the thought for the minds—through whom the religion is to be realised; and the essential function of revelation is to embody in historical form—literature, character, worship, institution—what inspiration has created.' But it is surely a false distinction thus to make the inarticulate divine and the articulate human. How can the former be a guarantee for the latter? And in so far as inarticulate, how is the inspiration of Hebrew prophets and Christian apostles to be distinguished from that of Hindu or Persian poet or sage? It is true that 'the inspiration of the men who read' is made 'as intrinsic and integral an element in the idea of revelation as the inspiration of the men who wrote.' But in both cases the theory proposes a test which has all the subjectivity of the appeal to the *testimonium Spiritus Sancti* without the recognition of the divine quality of the revelation itself which enters into the latter. It seems open also to the same kind of criticism which Sir Wm. Hamilton, in a well-known essay, applied to Schelling's metaphysical theory: the intellectual intuition being only possible in the absence of consciousness, is no help to the conscious apprehension of what it alone can give assurance of; it is 'in the state of personality, and non-intuition of the Absolute, that the philosopher writes; in writing therefore about the Absolute, he writes of what is to him as zero.' What, in like manner, is to connect the revelation which man gives to man, with the inspiration, the state of possession, in which it is supposed to be received?

These instances serve to illustrate the difficulties surrounding the question. It is probable that no theory of inspiration will ever solve all these difficulties or be regarded as entirely satisfactory. It may be fully and freely recognised that the B. has a unique excellence of its own, qualities which set it apart from even the greatest literary achievements of the race, while yet it has been constructed in such a way that the human element, the peculiarities and even the limitations of its writers, have been consistently maintained. In two respects, we of this age are perhaps in a more favourable position for dealing with the question than those who have gone before us. On the one hand, it is possible to compare the Christian religion and its Scriptures with the non-Christian religions and their sacred books with both a knowledge and a sympathy which in earlier times were undreamt of. On the other, a closer and more intimate knowledge of the Bible itself as a living book and not as a mere repertory of proof texts, is one of the marks of our time. 'Criticism has, by bringing the sacred books into relation with sacred history, done something to restore them to their real and living significance . . . by binding the book and the people together, and then connecting both with the providential order of the world, it has given us back the idea of the God who lives in history through His people, and a people who live for Him through His word' (Fairbairn, *l.c.* p. 508). Whatever be the results of the literary analysis of the biblical books, or the bearing of archæological discovery upon the history they record, this is the aim of historical criticism, and it can scarcely be doubted that the service it has rendered to classical and Oriental literature may be, and must be, rendered to the B. also. As a part of it, that practice which we have noticed of studying the thought of the B. in its development, and tracing it through its successive representations, is of the highest significance and value. In any case it is to be remembered that the B. contains the most ancient and most authentic documents bearing upon the origin, the nature, and the characteristic features of the Christian religion, and especially upon the person and work of its Founder. This gives to it an interest, if not an authority, which cannot be disputed. Of the revelation which we believe to have come through Christ, it is the early and reliable record. To it, therefore, the Church of later ages has naturally turned to correct her aberrations, and to obtain a renewal of her life. What the B. has been to individuals cannot be told. If the history of the world has a meaning, and is not a succession of fortuitous circumstances, we cannot fail to recognise the centre of that history in Christ, and the animating force of its later stages in the spiritual movement He inaugurated. Without the B. this movement could not be understood, or its influence continued and extended. We cannot doubt, therefore, that the God whose providence has ruled and shaped the history, whose Spirit moved and spoke in Christ, has also inspired the B. and made it what it is—the vehicle of the highest spiritual thought, the purest moral guidance man has known. It itself invites inquiry, and takes its place in the historical development. Sacred scholarship must finish the work upon it which it has begun. But withal the B. remains, and will remain, the most precious heritage of mankind.

LITERATURE.—The Literature relating to the first part of this article will be found in connexion with the several special articles (CANON, TEXT, etc.) to which reference is made. On the subjects of Revelation and Inspiration, any of the great dogmatic works, or any History of Doctrines, may be consulted, as well as articles in such Encyclopædias as the *Encycl. Brit.*, *Herzog*, *Lichtenberger*. Among monographs may be mentioned: Lee, *Inspiration of Holy Scripture*; Bannerman, *Inspiration*; Gaussen, *Théopneustie*; Jamieson, *Baird Lectures*; Horton, *Revelation and the Bible*; and Sanday, *Bampton Lectures*, in which, after dealing with the early history and application of the doctrine, the writer compares in his concluding Lecture the traditional and inductive Theories of Inspiration.

A. STEWART.

BICHRI (בִּכְרִי).—In 2 S 20¹ Sheba is called 'the son of Bichri'; translate rather 'the Bichrite,' *i.e.* a member of the clan which traced its descent to Becher, the son of Benjamin (Gn 46²¹).

J. F. STENNING.

BID, bade, bid (2 K 5¹³, Zeph 1⁷) or bidden (Mt and Lk *passim*), 'to invite' to a feast, etc. (now archaic or local); 1 S 9¹³· ²² (קָרָא), Zeph 1⁷ 'he hath bid his guests' (הִקְדִּישׁ, RV 'sanctified' with a ref. to 1 S 16⁵); Mt 22³ 'sent for his servants to call (καλέω) them that were bidden (also καλέω, but in perf. ptcp.) to the wedding' (RV 'marriage feast'). In 1 Co 10²⁷ 'If any of them that believe not bid you to a feast' (καλέω, with no word for 'feast'); Lk 14¹² 'lest they also bid thee again' (ἀντικαλέω).

To bid=to command, is common; but notice Lk 9⁶¹, Ac 18²¹ 'bid farewell' (ἀποτάσσομαι, used in Mk 6⁴⁶ 'when he had sent them away,' RV 'taken leave of them'; Ac 18¹⁸ 'took his leave of'; 2 Co 2¹³ 'taking my leave of'; Lk 14³³ 'forsaketh,' RV 'renounceth'). J. HASTINGS.

BIDE, Wis 8¹² 'they shall bide my leisure' (περιμένω, translated 'wait for' Ac 1⁴, so RV here). 'Bide' is mostly replaced in mod. Eng. by 'abide' (which see). J. HASTINGS.

BIDKAR (בִּדְקַר, possibly for בֶּן־דֶּקֶר; but this and similar contractions are highly uncertain).—A chief officer of Ahab and subsequently of Jehu (2 K 9²⁵).

C. F. BURNEY.

BIER.—See BURIAL.

BIGTHA (בִּגְתָא Est 1¹⁰).—One of the seven eunuchs or chamberlains of king Ahasuerus. For the name compare Abagtha (*ib.*) and Bigthan (2²¹). In the LXX the names are different, Βαραζί, Βωραζή B, 'Οαρεβωά A, taking the place of Bigtha.

H. A. WHITE.

BIGTHAN (בִּגְתָן Est 2²¹), **BIGTHANA** (בִּגְתָנָא 6²).—One of two chamberlains or eunuchs of Ahasuerus (Xerxes) who conspired against the king's life. Their treachery was discovered and foiled by Mordecai. R. M. BOYD.

BIGVAI (בִּגְוַי).—1. A companion of Zerub. (Ezr 2²=Neh 7⁷, cf. Ezr 2¹⁴=Neh 7¹⁹, Ezr 8¹⁴, where the name appears as the head of a family of returning exiles). 2. One of those who sealed the covenant (Neh 10¹⁶). See GENEALOGY. J. A. SELBIE.

BILDAD (בִּלְדַּד, LXX Βαλδάδ, 'Bel hath loved'?).—Described in Job 2^{11} as one of Job's three friends. He is called 'the Shuhite,' indicating his descent from Shuah (שׁוּחַ), son of Abraham and Keturah (Gn 25^{2}). Abraham is described as sending Shuah, with other sons of concubines, to 'the East country,' and his descendants probably lived in a district of Arabia not far from Idumæa. The region is not to be confounded with the trans-Hauran *Schakka*, or the Σακκαία of Ptolemy, to the east of Batanæa. The LXX describes B. as *τῶν Σαυχαίων τύραννος.* For a description of the part taken by B. in the colloquies, see Job, Book of. It may be here briefly said that his position is in every sense intermediary between Eliphaz and Zophar. He speaks after the one and before the other; his speeches are shorter than those of Eliphaz, longer than those of Zophar. He is also more violent than the older and graver Eliphaz, but less blunt and coarse than the third spokesman who follows him. He speaks three times, in chapters 8, 18, and 25, the last time very briefly.

W. T. Davison.

BILEAM (בִּלְעָם), 1 Ch 6^{70}.—A Levitical city of Manasseh, the same as Ibleam of Jos 17^{11}, Jg 1^{27}, 2 K 9^{27}; prob. the mod. *Bel'ame* (see Moore on Jg 1^{27}).

C. R. Conder.

BILGAH (בִּלְגָּה 'cheerfulness').—1. Head of the 15th course of priests (1 Ch 24^{14}). 2. A priest who returned with Zerub. (Neh $12^{5.18}$). The same as **Bilgai** (Neh 10^{8}).

H. A. White.

BILGAI.—See Bilgah.

BILHAH, Person (בִּלְהָה, Βάλλα; in B of 1 Ch 7^{13} Βαλάμ; *Bala, Bara*).—A slave-girl given to Rachel by Laban, Gn 29^{29} (P), and by her to Jacob as a concubine, Gn $30^{3.4}$ (JE); the mother of Dan and Naphtali, Gn $30^{4.7}$ (JE) 35^{25} (P) 46^{25} (R), 1 Ch 7^{13}. She was guilty of incest with Reuben, Gn 35^{22} (P). The etymology is uncertain. These narratives and genealogies are to be regarded as embodying early traditions as to the origin and mutual relations of the tribes, rather than personal history. Tribes are traced to a concubine ancestress, because they were a late accession to Israel.

W. H. Bennett.

BILHAH, Place (בִּלְהָה, A Βαλαά, B Ἀβελλά, *Bala*).—A Simeonite city, 1 Ch 4^{29} = Baalah (בַּעֲלָה), Jos 15^{29}; Balah (בָּלָה), Jos 19^{3}, and (?) Baalath (בַּעֲלָת), Jos 19^{44}, 1 K 9^{18}, 2 Ch 8^{6}. Site uncertain. Kittel (*Sacred Books of OT*, 1 Ch 4^{29}) proposes to point בַּלְהָה Balhah; cf. VSS and parallel passages.

W. H. Bennett.

BILHAN (בִּלְהָן).—1. A Horite chief, the son of Ezer (Gn 36^{27} = 1 Ch 1^{42}). 2. A descendant of Benjamin, son of Jediael, and father of seven sons who were heads of houses in their tribe (1 Ch 7^{10}). See Genealogy.

R. M. Boyd.

BILL.—1. A bill of divorce or divorcement, Dt $24^{1.3}$, Is 50^{1}, Jer 3^{8} (סֵפֶר כְּרִיתֻת *ṣêpher kĕrîthûth*, lit. 'a writ of cutting off' (see Driver on Dt 24^{1}, who compares Sir 25^{26} *ἀπότεμε αὐτήν*, 'cut her off'); Mk 10^{4} (*βιβλίον ἀποστασίου*, the LXX tr^{n} of *ṣêpher kĕrîthûth*; also used Mt 5^{31} AV, RV 'writing of divorcement'; and 19^{7}, AV as 5^{31}, RV as Mk 10^{4}). See Marriage.

2. A debtor's written account, Lk $16^{6.7}$ (TR *τὸ γράμμα*, edd. *τὰ γράμματα*, RV 'bond'). Edersheim (*Jesus the Messiah*, ii. 272 f.) points out that the Gr. word here employed was sometimes used in rabbinical writings (Hebraised *gerammation*), and corresponded with the Syr. *shiṭre*, which denotes 'writings' that were either formal, when they were signed by witnesses and the Sanhedrin of three; or informal, when only the debtor himself signed. The latter were most frequently written on wax, and thus easily altered. See Debt.

J. Hastings.

BILSHAN (בִּלְשָׁן 'inquirer').—A companion of Zerubbabel (Ezr 2^{2}, Neh 7^{7} = Beelsarus, 1 Es 5^{8}). See Genealogy.

BIMHAL (בִּמְהָל for 'בֶּן־מ 'son of circumcision'?).—A descendant of Asher (1 Ch 7^{33}).

BINEA (בִּנְעָא).—A descendant of Jonathan (1 Ch 8^{37} 9^{43}).

BINNUI (בִּנּוּי 'a building').—1. Head of a family that returned with Zerub. (Neh 7^{15} = **Bani** of Ezr 2^{10}). 2. A Levite (Ezr 8^{33} (prob. = **Bani** of Neh 8^{7} and **Bunni** of Neh 9^{4}), Neh 12^{8}). 3. A son of Pahath-moab (Ezr 10^{30} = **Balnuus** of 1 Es 9^{31}). 4. A son of Bani who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{38}). There appears to be a confusion in some instances between the similar names בִּנּוּי, בָּנִי, בֻּנִּי. See Bavvai, Genealogy.

J. A. Selbie.

BIRDS.—See Fowls.

BIRSHA (בִּרְשַׁע, etym. and meaning unknown).—King of Gomorrah at the time of Chedorlaomer's invasion (Gn 14^{2}).

BIRTH.—Among the Hebrews, as among the Orientals generally (comp. Herod. i. 136, of the Persians), a high value was placed upon the possession of children (see, *e.g.*, Gn 16^{2} $29^{31.34}$ 30^{1}, 1 S 1^{6} 2^{5}, 2 K 4^{14}, Ps $127^{3.5}$), and especially of sons (see 1 S 1^{11}, Jer 20^{15}, Job 3^{3}), while childlessness was regarded as a heavy reproach (Gn 30^{23}, Lk 1^{25}) and punishment (2 S 6^{23}, Hos $9^{11.14}$). Parturition seems generally to have been easy (Ex 1^{19}, yet see Gn 3^{16}), as it is with Syrian and Arabian women at the present day, and cases in which the mother died in childbirth (Gn 35^{18}, 1 S 4^{20}) were probably quite exceptional. From the phrase used in Gn 50^{23}, cf. 30^{3}, it has been supposed that in early times the child was actually born upon its father's knees (see Nowack, *Heb. Archäol.* i. 165), according to customs of which traces are found in several primitive peoples (Ploss, *Das Weib*,^{2} ii. 177 ff.); or at least that the newly-born infant was placed in its father's lap as a token of recognition and adoption. We find, however, no clear reference to such customs in historical times. Indeed, the father was not present at the birth of the child (Jer 20^{15}); the mother was attended by other women (1 S 4^{20}), and the assistance of a midwife was often called in (Gn 35^{17} 38^{28}, Ex $1^{15\text{ff.}}$ Compare article Midwife). The newly-born infant, after its navel-cord had been cut, was bathed in water, rubbed with salt, and wrapped in swaddling-clothes (Ezk 16^{4}, Lk 2^{7}). The practice of rubbing infants with salt is still retained among the fellaheen of Pal., who believe that children are strengthened and hardened by this means (*ZDPV* iv. p. 63). The child received its name from the mother (Gn $29^{32\text{ff.}}$ 30, 1 S 1^{20}, 1 Ch 4^{9}) or from the father (Gn 16^{15} 17^{19}, Ex 2^{22}, Hos $1^{4\text{ff.}}$; see especially Gn 35^{18}), the choice of name being often determined by special circumstances attending the birth. In later times, at any rate, a boy received his name at his circumcision on the eighth day (Lk 1^{59} 2^{21}). The mother was regarded as unclean for the space of seven + thirty-three days after the birth of a son, or for fourteen + sixty-six days after the birth of a daughter (Lv 12). This difference may probably be explained from the belief, which existed also elsewhere, that the symptoms of a puerperal state continued longer in the latter case (Hippocr. ed. Kühn, i. 392; Dillmann on Lv 12^{5}). See Purification. The firstborn, when a son, belonged to J″, and must therefore be redeemed (Ex $13^{12ff.}$ 34^{20}) for the sum of five shekels (Nu $18^{15f.}$). The child was usually suckled by the mother (Gn 21^{7}, 1 S $1^{22f.}$, 1 K 3^{21}), but a nurse (מֵינֶקֶת) is sometimes mentioned (Gn 24^{59} 35^{8}, 2 K 11^{2}); it was not fully weaned for two or three years (2 Mac 7^{27}; cf. 1 S 1^{22-24}),—in Mohammedan law, indeed, mothers are bidden to suckle their children for at least two years,—and the completion of the weaning was sometimes celebrated by a feast (Gn 21^{8}). H. A. WHITE.

BIRTHDAY.—The custom of observing a birthday as a festival seems to have been widely spread in ancient times. Herodotus (i. 133) speaks of this practice among the Persians. In Gn 40^{20} we hear of the celebration of the birthday of the king of Egypt, and in the times of the Ptolemies the inscriptions of Rosetta and Canopus bear witness to the same custom. ‘The birthdays of the kings were celebrated with great pomp. They were looked upon as holy, no business was done upon them, and all classes indulged in festivities suitable to the occasion’ (Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, 1847, v. 290). For Roman birthdays, cf. Marquardt, *Privatleben d. Römer*, i. 244 f. According to 2 Mac 6^{7} the birthdays of the Syrian kings were commemorated every month by means of sacrifices, of which, in the times of Antiochus Epiphanes, the Jews were forced to partake. In the Gospels (Mt 14^{6}, Mk 6^{21}) we read of the feast made by Herod Antipas to his nobles on his birthday, on which occasion the daughter of Herodias danced before the guests. The proper Greek term for such festival is τὰ γενέθλια (cf. Jos. *Ant.* II. v. 3), τὰ γενέσια being used to denote a feast commemorating a person's *death* (Herod. iv. 26); but in later Greek we find τὰ γενέσια and similar phrases used in the sense of birthday (Dio Cassius, xlvii. 18, lvi. 46, lxvii. 2; Alciphro, iii. 18, 55; cf. Jos. *Ant.* XII. iv. 7: τὴν γενέσιον ἡμέραν). The meaning of τὰ γενέσια in the Gospels has indeed been disputed, many commentators referring the word to the anniversary of the king's accession—a day which we know to have been observed by some of the Herodian princes (Jos. *Ant.* XV. xi. 6: τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς ἀρχῆς). In support of this view appeal is made to the Mishna (*Ab. Sar.* i. 3), where by the side of the ‘γενέσια of the kings’ (גִּנוּסְיָא שֶׁל מְלָכִים), mention is also made of יוֹם הַלֵּדָה וְיוֹם הַמִּיתָה, *i.e.* ‘the day of birth and the day of death.’ So Wieseler, *Beiträge*, p. 182; Hausrath, *New Testament Times* (E.T. 1880), ii. 122; Edersheim, *Life and Times* (1891), i. 672. But no certain instance can be quoted from Greek literature to support the supposed meaning of τὰ γενέσια; and the Pal. Gemara (*Jer. Ab. Sar.* i. 39*c*) explains גנוסיא as equivalent to birthday. In the Bab. Gemara indeed (*Ab. Sar.* 10*a*), where the meaning of the word is discussed, the final decision is in favour of the interpretation ‘day of accession’; but from the context it appears highly probable that here, as elsewhere, the Talmudists were guessing at the meaning of an unknown word. Cf. Meyer on Mt 14^{6}; Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 26 f.

H. A. WHITE.

BIRTH, NEW.—See REGENERATION. **BIRTHRIGHT.**—See FAMILY.

BIRZAITH (בִּרְזוֹת *Kethibh*, בִּרְזָיִת *Ḳerê*, AV Birzavith), 1 Ch 7^{31}.—Apparently a town of Asher, probably *Bîr-ez-Zeit*, near Tyre. C. R. CONDER.

BISHLAM (בֶּן־שְׁלָם=בִּשְׁלָם ‘peaceful’?).—An officer of Artaxerxes in Pal. at the time of the return from captivity under Zerub., Ezr 4^{7}. Called BELEMUS in 1 Es 2^{16}. The LXX renders the name by ἐν εἰρήνῃ, *in peace*, as if it were the greeting at the beginning of the letter which follows. H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

BISHOP (ἐπίσκοπος) and **ELDER** (πρεσβύτερος).—The words are too closely connected in NT and sub-apostolic writings to be separated here. First, to trace their use outside the churches.

1. ἐπίσκοπος is common in the general sense of an overseer; rarer as an official title. We have (*a*) in the flourishing age of Athens, ἐπ. sent to regulate new colonies or subject cities like Spartan harmosts. They were called ἐπιμεληταὶ in Rom. times. (*b*) After Alexander, two ἐπ. at Thera are directed to receive some money and put it at interest; and ἐπ. at Rhodes are municipal officers whose duties are unknown. (*c*) In LXX ἐπ. are taskmasters, as Is 60^{17} (נֹגֵשׂ), or minor officers, as Neh 11^{9} (פָּקִיד), or 1 Mac 1^{51} the commissioners of Antiochus who enforced idolatry. In LXX also, as Ps 108^{8}, we first find the office denoted by ἐπισκοπή. (*d*) In the 3rd cent. A.D. we have ἐπ. as municipal officers in about ten inscriptions from Batanæa, the Decapolis, and those parts, where they seem to have had some authority over sacred revenues (τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ). Of its use (*c*) for the treasurers of private associations there are no very clear traces. The common word was ἐπιμελητής, as with the Essenes.

2. πρεσβύτερος. The city councils in Rom. times were commonly called βουλαί, not γερουσίαι or πρεσβυτέρια. The γερουσίαι, of which πρεσβύτεροι were members, were not private societies, but corporations for purposes like the games, or the worship of the city-god, or the burial of their members. Their officers were προστάται, ἄρχοντες, προηγούμενοι. (*b*) The *Jewish* cities of Pal. were governed by a βουλὴ of 7, or, in larger places, 23 πρ. (זְקֵנִים). These formed a court of justice, and may have managed the synagogue. The organisation of the Jews in Antioch, Alexandria, etc. was on the same lines, except that in Rome there were several such corporations.

Now, though the Lord commanded His disciples to form a society, there is no indication that either He or His apostles ever prescribed any definite form for it. We should therefore expect to find them following existing models till the new spirit of the society began to express itself in new forms.

In NT we have fairly frequent mention of bishops and elders (passages collected in art. CHURCH GOVERNMENT), and the two offices seem much the same. This is proved thus:—(1) Bishops and elders are never joined together, like bishops and deacons, as separate classes of officials. (2) Ph 1^{1} ‘to bishops and deacons’ (no article). If there had been a distinct order of elders, it could scarcely have been omitted. So 1 Ti 3 passes over the elders, though (5^{17}) there certainly were elders at Ephesus, and had been (Ac 20^{17}) for some time past. Conversely, Tit 1^{5-7} passes over bishops, describing elders in their place, and in nearly the same words. (3) The bishops described to Timothy, the elders of 1 Ti 5^{17}, and those of 1 P 5^{2}, have distinctly pastoral functions. So, too, have the elders of Ac 20 and those described to Titus. (4) The same persons seem to be called bishops and elders (Ac $20^{17.28}$, Tit $1^{5.7}$ ἵνα καταστήσῃς πρεσβυτέρους . . . δεῖ γὰρ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον κ.τ.λ.). The words are also synonyms in Clement *ad Cor.* xlii. 44, and (by implication) in *Teaching*, xv., and Polycarp, *Phil.* i. It is only in Ignatius that the bishop takes a distinct position. The *general* equivalence of the two offices in the apostolic age seems undeniable, though so far we must not assume that every bishop was an elder or *vice versâ*, or that there never were any minor differences between them. The difference of name may of itself point to some difference of origin: and this is our next question.

As regards elders, it seems likely that the name comes from Jewish sources. The office is already half hinted at in Lk 22^{26} (hardly in Ac 5^{6} νεώτεροι: cf. ^{10} νεανίσκοι); and we have every reason to think that the churches (even those not of Jewish origin) largely followed the arrangements of the synagogue. Their meeting is actually called συναγωγή in Ja 2^{2}, and the Ebionites retained the name even in the 4th cent. It may, however, be noted at once, that if the office and the name were adopted from the Jews, it does not follow that the duties were even originally quite those of the זְקֵנִים of the synagogue.

The origin of bishops is more doubtful. The name may perfectly well be Jewish, though the early connexion of the word with Gentile churches is against this. The LXX use of ἐπίσκοπος and ἐπισκοπή may have suggested it; but Gentile Christians might have found a still readier hint in the general meaning of the word, combined with its freedom from special associations with idolatry. Yet on the other side is the connexion of bishops with deacons, and Clement's direct appeal to Is 60^{17}. The question is best left undecided.

APPOINTMENT.—In the first age popular election and apostolic institution seem to have been coordinate. The Seven (Ac $6^{5.6}$) are chosen by the people, and instituted by the apostles with prayer and laying on of hands. Something similar seems indicated for the Lycaonian elders, though χειροτονήσαντες (Ac 14^{23}) grammatically refers to the apostles who by prayer with fastings commended them to the Lord. The elders in Crete are appointed (Tit 1^{5} ἵνα καταστήσῃς) by Titus, and apparently the bishops at Ephesus by Timothy in like manner, though 1 Ti 5^{22}, He 6^{2} seem not specially concerned with the matter; but it does not follow that there was no popular election. In any case Timothy or Titus would have to approve the candidate before instituting him: so that the particular description of his qualifications need not mean that they had to select him in the first instance. As soon as we get outside NT (*Teaching*, xv., Clement, xliv. liv.) popular election becomes very conspicuous, though neither does this exclude a formal institution. The elders are already attached to the apostle even in the conveyance of special gifts (1 Ti 4^{14}, where the contrast of μετὰ with the διὰ of 2 Ti 1^{6} may indicate their secondary position); and when the unlocal ministry died out, they would act alone in the institution to local office. How soon an episcopate was developed is a further question; and very much a question of words, if the development was from below.

In conclusion, it would seem that the outline of the process was much the same in all church offices—first designation, then institution by prayer with (at least commonly) its symbolic accompaniments of laying on of hands and fasting. But there is one all-important distinction, that if the designation to local office was by popular election, that to unlocal office was by the will of the Holy Spirit (Ac 13^{2}, of Apostles; 1 Ti 4^{14} 1^{18}, apparently of an Evangelist, 2 Ti 4^{5}).

DUTIES.—(1) *General Superintendence.*—Elders in Ac 20^{28}, 1 Ti 5^{17}, Tit 1^{7}, 1 P $5^{2.3}$ (κατακυρ. is κυριεύειν done the wrong way), bishops in 1 Ti 3^{5}. Indicated *possibly* in κυβερνήσεις, ἀντιλήμψεις, 1 Co 12^{28}; more distinctly Eph 4^{11} τοὺς δὲ ποιμένας καὶ διδασκάλους, so pointedly contrasted with the unlocal officers. So προϊστάμενοι 1 Th 5^{12}, Ro 12^{8} remind us of the bishops and elders, 1 Ti 3^{4} προϊστάμενον, 5^{17} προεστῶτες. The ἡγούμενοι or προηγ. also of He $13^{7.17.24}$, and of Clement, *ad Cor.* i. 26, 37, may be set down as bishops or elders, for (*a*) men entitled to obedience must have other than the purely spiritual functions of the unlocal ministry; (*b*) the bishops at Corinth evidently own no higher authority, so that they must themselves be the ἡγούμενοι.

Under this head we may place the share taken by the elders (*a*) at Jerus., in the deliberations of the apostles (Ac 15^{6}) and in the reception held by James (Ac 21^{18}); (*b*) elsewhere, in the laying of hands on Timothy, 1 Ti 4^{14}.

(2) *Teaching.*—1 Th 5^{12} προϊστάμενοι admonishing in the Lord, 1 Ti 3^{2} the bishop apt to teach, 5^{17} elders who toil in word and teaching, Tit 1^{9} the elder or bishop must be able to teach, and to convince the gainsayers.

Preaching is rather connected with the unlocal ministry; but in its absence the whole function of public worship would necessarily devolve on the local. This may be hinted He $13^{7.17.24}$ (no officers named but ἡγούμενοι), and in any case it is plain enough in *Teaching*, xv., and Clement speaks of bishops προσφέροντες τὰ δῶρα, which must not be limited to the Lord's Supper.

(3) *Pastoral Care.*—This is everywhere so conspicuous that references are hardly needed.

To it we may refer (*a*) visiting of the sick, with a view (Ja 5^{14}) to anointing and cure; (*b*) care of strangers and *à fortiori* of the poor, 1 Ti 3^{2}, Tit 1^{8}, the bishop to be φιλόξενος.

So far we have not discriminated the duties of bishops and elders. But was there any difference at all? Harnack thinks that while bishops and deacons had the care of public worship and the poor, elders rather formed a court attached to the church, and as such were occupied with government and discipline. The apparent identity of the offices would then be no more than an identity of persons. The weightiest members of the church would naturally hold both offices, and give the tone to both. This theory explains points like the difference of names and the marked separation between the two classes. It may contain more than a germ of the truth; but it cannot be accepted without important reservations. (*a*) It is not likely that duties were quite so definitely separated. If the elders began with discipline and general oversight, they would be likely soon to take up more spiritual duties, as the Seven did. Those who had gifts to minister the word and teaching, would rather be honoured than hindered; so that many of them might easily be doing pastoral work (esp. if they were bishops also) before the end of the apostolic age. In any case (*b*) bishops and elders are identical in the Pastoral Epistles, so that the distinction must by that time have been nearly lost. This, however, depends on their date. Harnack (*Chronologie*, 1897, p. 484) still places the relevant passages in the middle of the 2nd cent.

LITERATURE.—Loening, *Gemeindeverfassung d. Urchristenthums*; Lightfoot, *Philippians*, pp. 181–269; Gore, *Christian Ministry*, esp. note K; Hatch, *Bampton Lectures* (1880), tr. into Germ. with excursuses by Harnack (1883); artt. on *Origin of the Christian Ministry* by Sanday, Harnack, Gore, Rendel Harris, Macpherson, Simcox, and Milligan in *Expositor*, 3rd series, vols. v. and vi.; Weizsäcker, *Apost. Zeitalter*, pp. 599–612.

H. M. GWATKIN.

BISHOPRICK.—Ac 1^{20} 'His b. let another take' (RV 'office' with marg. 'Gr. overseership.') The Gr. is ἐπισκοπή, which here and in 1 Ti 3^{1} means the office or work of an ἐπίσκοπος (see BISHOP); but primarily and chiefly in NT describes God's visitation, as Lk 19^{44} 'the time of thy visitation,' 1 P 2^{12} 'the day of v.' The same office is described in Ac 1^{25} as 'ministry and apostleship' (διακονία καὶ ἀποστολή).

J. HASTINGS.

BIT, BRIDLE (רֶסֶן, מֶתֶג, מַחְסוֹם, χαλινός).—The distinction between these words is not maintained in AV and RV. 1. רֶסֶן *reṣen* (Arab. *rasan*) is a halter. Thus in Job 30^{11} RV, 'they have cast off the *bridle* before me,' the reference is to a horse or mule that has slipt off the halter with which he was tied, and is frisking about in the rough glee of discovered freedom. Such had become the behaviour of the rabble before Job. So in Is 30^{28}, instead of 'a bridle in the jaws of the people,' read 'a halter on the jaws of the peoples' (רֶסֶן עַל לְחָיֵי עַמִּים).

2. מֶתֶג *metheg*; χαλινός (2 K 19^{28}, Pr 26^{3}, Is 37^{29}, Ja 3^{3} RV, Rev 14^{20}) is a bridle, which includes the bit, as the primitive bridle was simply a loop on the halter-cord passed round the lower jaw of the horse. Hence in Ps 32^{9} RV, 'whose trappings must be *bit* and *bridle*,' the meaning is rather bridle and halter, as the two means of holding them in. The Psalmist had been speaking of willing service that only needed a directing eye, and the contrast is to the disinclination of the horse and mule that needed bridle and halter to bring them near.

3. מַחְסוֹם *maḥsom*, is a muzzle. Hence, 'I will keep my mouth with a bridle' (Ps 39^{1}) should clearly be 'with a muzzle,' as in RVm. To lose the distinction is here to lose the meaning, which is enforced silence. A bridle is not used to keep a horse from biting. The muzzle is the basket of rope network that was not to be put on the oxen of the threshing-floor, but must be put over the mouth of the horse, mule, or donkey that bites its companions, the other baggage-animals, and causes disarrangement of their loads. G. M. MACKIE.

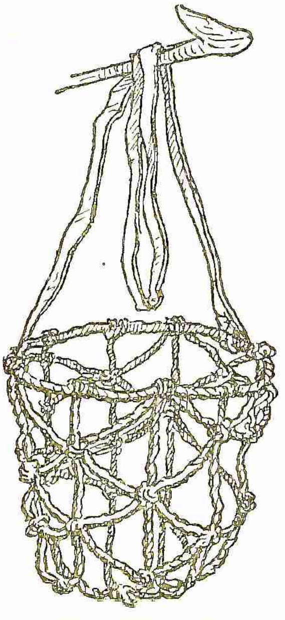

MODERN SYRIAN MUZZLE.

BITHIAH (בִּתְיָה 'daughter,' *i.e.* worshipper, 'of J"').—The daughter of a Pharaoh, who became the wife of Mered, a descendant of Judah (1 Ch 4^{18}). Whether Pharaoh is to be taken here as the Egyp. royal title or as a Heb. proper name, it is difficult to determine. The name B. may indicate one who had become a convert to the worship of J", which would favour the first supposition (but LXX B reads Γελιά). If the other wife of Mered is distinguished as 'the Jewess,' RV (AV Jehudijah), this would still further strengthen the supposition. But the text of 1 Ch $4^{17.\,18}$ appears to be defective, and does not afford ground for more than conjecture. (See Kittel, *ad loc.* in Haupt.)

R. M. BOYD.

BITHRON (הַבִּתְרוֹן), 2 S 2^{29}, 'the gorge,' probably not a proper name,—a ravine leading to Mahanaim.

C. R. CONDER.

BITHYNIA (Βιθυνία), a country in the north of Asia Minor, bordering on the Propontis (Sea of Marmora), the Bosphorus, and the Euxine (Black Sea), was bequeathed to the Romans in B.C. 74 by the last king, Nicomedes III. The coast of Pontus was united with it in a single province by Pompey in B.C. 65, and the joint province was administered according to the principles embodied in a *lex Pompeia*. But the two parts of the province always retained a certain distinction from one another; the official name was regularly double (*Bithynia et Pontus*); there were two high priests, the Bithyniarch and the Pontarch (like Asiarch, Galatarch, Lykiarch, etc.); and hence Pontus and B. are mentioned separately in 1 P 1^{1}. Bithynia adjoined Asia, and hence, when Paul and Silas were prevented from preaching in Asia (Ac 16^{6}), they naturally proceeded towards B., but, coming near the frontier, were not permitted to enter it; and they kept on towards the W. through Mysia till they came out at Troas. B. was a senatorial province, governed like Achaia (which see); but Pliny governed it on a special mission from the emperor, 111-3, and wrote the reports to Trajan which give so much information about the province and the Christians in it. B. was a rich, fertile, peaceful, and highly civilised province. Jews in B. are mentioned by Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium*, § 36 (Mang. ii. 587); but they are not noticed in the list given in Ac 2^{9-11}. It is remarkable that Byzantium (Constantinople), along with, doubtless, the peninsula at the end of which it was situated, was included in the province of *Bithynia et Pontus*, as we learn from Pliny, *ad Traj. Ep.* 43, 44. Two great roads traversed B., one connecting Nikomedia and Nicæa (the two chief cities) with Dorylaion and Phrygia in general, the other connecting them with Ancyra direct—a road which in later times became important as the route of European pilgrims by land to Jerusalem.

LITERATURE.—Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i. pp. 349-357; Hardy in Pref. to his ed. of Pliny, *Epist. ad Trajan*; Ainsworth in *Journ. Roy. Geogr. Soc.* vol. ix.; Hamilton, *Researches in As. Min.*; Ritter, *Kleinasien* (*Erdkunde von Asien*, vols. xx. xxi.), i. pp. 650-768; Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr. of As. Min.* pp. 179-211, 240 ff.; Th. Reinach, *Numism. des Rois de Bith.* Pliny's report on the Bithynian Christians is treated in all Early Church histories and in the works on the position of the Church in the empire by Neumann, Hardy, etc.

W. M. RAMSAY.

BITTER, BITTERNESS.—In the literal sense of b. to the taste, the word occurs in such passages as Pr 27^{7} (of food, opposed to sweet), Ex 15^{23}, Ja 3^{11} Rev 8^{11} (of water), and Is 24^{9} (of strong drink). See also article BITTER HERBS. In most of the passages, however, where the words above given are used in Scripture, it is in a figurative or tropical sense. The examples that follow do not claim to be exhaustive.

i. We may note, in the first place, the use of 'bitter' in an objective sense, of cruel, biting words (cf. πικροὶ λόγοι), Ps. 64^{3}; of the keenness of the misery which results from forsaking God, Jer 2^{19}; from a life of sin in general, Jer 4^{18}, and of impurity in particular, Pr 5^{4}. It is applied to the misery of servitude, Ex 1^{14}; and to the misfortunes due to bereavement, Ru 1^{20}, Am 8^{10}.

ii. In a more subjective sense, bitter and bitterness describe such emotions as sympathy in bereavement, Ru 1^{13}, and misfortune, Ezk 27^{31}; the poignant sorrow of childlessness, 1 S 1^{10}, and penitence, Mt 26^{75}; the keenness of disappointment, Gn 27^{34}; and the general feeling of misery and wretchedness, Job 3^{20}; emotions often relieved by a corresponding 'b. cry,' Gn 27^{34}, Est 4^{1} etc., and by the shedding of 'bitter tears' (cf. Homer's πικρὸν δάκρυον), Mt 26^{75} and often.

Under this head may be classed the cases where 'bitter' in the original refers rather to fierceness of disposition, as in 2 S 17^{8} ('as a bear robbed of her whelps'), allied with a readiness to take offence, Hab 1^{6} ('the Chaldæans, that bitter and hasty nation'), Jg 18^{25}. Cf. Eph 4^{31}, Ro 3^{14}.

iii. Another set of fig. applications belongs rather to the sphere of ethics than to that of psychology. Thus Isaiah characterizes those who would subvert the fundamental distinction of right and wrong as putting 'b. for sweet, and sweet for b.' (5^{20}). So also Dt 32^{32}, where the reference is to the moral poison exhaled by the corrupt nations of Canaan. The same idea of moral depravity is somewhat differently expressed in Dt $29^{18\,(17)}$, from which (see LXX rendering) are derived the expressions 'gall of bitterness,' Ac 8^{23}, and 'root of bitterness,' He 12^{15}.

iv. Finally, there is to be noted the *term. techn.* 'the water of bitterness that causeth the curse' Nu $5^{18\text{ff.}}$ RV (cf. Kautzsch's tr.: das fluchbringende Wasser des bitteren Wehs), which plays so important a part in the ordeal there described.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

BITTER HERBS (מְרֹרִים *mĕrôrîm*, πικρίδες, *lactucæ agrestes*).—It is hardly possible for an Oriental to dine without a salad, and these salads are composed of many kinds of herbs, some mucilaginous, as the purslane, *Portulaca oleracea*, L.; others crisp, as the cucumber; others aromatic, as parsley; others bitter, as the watercress, *Nasturtium officinale*, L.; the pepper grass, *Lepidium sativum*, L.; the endive, *Cichorium Intybus*, L.; the lettuce, *Lactuca sativa*, L. Such as these and many others like them can be found everywhere, and suit the requirements of the Passover ordinance (Ex 12^{8}, Nu 9^{11}). More bitter still are the numerous medicinal plants, as colocynth, wormwood, scammony, poppy, and many others which were in the prophet's eye when he said (La 3^{15} m), 'He hath filled me with *bitternesses* (*mĕrôrîm*); he hath made me drunken with *wormwood*.'

The use of bitter herbs at the Passover was not to remind the Israelites of the bitterness of their bondage (Ex 1^{14}), but, as in the case of bread without leaven, to remind them of the haste with which they fled. A meal of unleavened bread, roast lamb, and a salad of bitter herbs, was the simplest and quickest that could be prepared.

G. E. POST.

BITTER WATER.—See MEDICINE.

BITTERN (קִפּוֹד, קִפֹּד *ḳippôd*, ἐχῖνος, *ericius*).—Gesenius regards *ḳippôd* as the same as the Arab. *ḳunfudh*, the *porcupine*; and with him agree most of the VSS. Tristram, Houghton, and others favour the rendering *bittern* of the AV. They argue as follows:—(1) That the porcupine has not been noted as an inhabitant of ruins. But this is equally true of the bittern, and it is far less probable that it should be said of the bittern than of the porcupine. The bittern is a swamp bird, and would not choose ruins, but reeds and fens, for a residence. The porcupine, however, is a shy solitary animal, and might easily choose its home among the fallen columns of Babylon (Is 14^{23}), Nineveh (Zeph 2^{14}), or Idumæa (Is 34^{11}). (2) That the porcupine could not climb to the capitals of columns. This is not essential, however, as the allusion is rather to the fallen stones of a ruin than to the capital of a standing column. (3) That 'their voice shall sing in the windows' (Zeph 2^{14}). *Their*, however, is not in the original, and we may quite as well supply *a*, and understand by 'a voice' the sighing of the wind among the fallen stones and through the empty casements, rather than the grunt of a porcupine, or the booming of a bittern, neither of which can be called singing. (4) That porcupines do not frequent water pools (Is 14^{23}). This, however, is inconclusive, since Babylon was to be a possession for the *ḳippôd, and* (not *in*) pools of water—*i.e.* desolate ruins, where *ḳippôd* could live, and marshes.

The passages in which the name *ḳippôd* occurs are intended to express desolation and the absence of human residence. They are parallel to a large number of similar ones in which the desolation is symbolised by the residence of various beasts and birds. These are usually chosen because of their shyness, and the certainty that where they are man is far away. It by no means follows that in every case all of them, or perhaps any of the particular ones, should dwell in the ruin. It is quite contrary to the habits of the bittern to dwell in ruins. The porcupine, as a man-fearing animal, like the *cormorant* (RV *pelican*), *owl*, *raven*, *dragon* (RV *jackal*), *owl* (RV *ostrich*), *wild beasts of the desert*, *wild beasts of the island* (RV *wolves*), *satyr* (probably *wild goat*), *screech owl* (RV *night monster*), *great owl* (RV *arrowsnake*), and *vulture*, represents the idea of desolation in its concrete form. In the spirit of poetic exaggeration it is said (Is 34^{16}), 'no one of these shall fail, none shall want her mate.' To bind down this exalted imagery to literalism would convert every ruin into a menagerie, tenanted by a motley array of fabulous as well as actual beasts and birds. With the philological evidence in favour of the *ḳunfudh* (porcupine), and with the unsoundness of the foregoing zoological objections, we may safely follow the RV, which makes it *porcupine*.

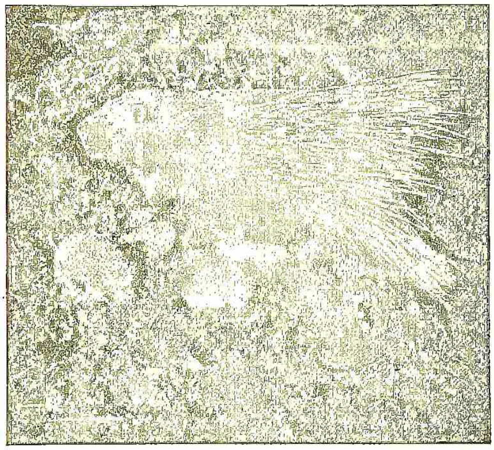

PORCUPINE.

In the foreground, under the larger animal, are a full-grown and a young hedgehog.

The porcupine, *Hystrix cristata*, L., is found along the sea-coast, and in the lower mountain districts of Pal. and Syria. It feeds on roots, bark, fruits, and vegetables. It inhabits holes and subterranean clefts, and might well find a retreat among ruins. The flesh is eaten by the natives, who know it by its classical name *ḳunfudh*. It is about 2 feet in length, independently of the tail, which measures 5 to 6 in. It is covered with the familiar quills. When the animal is tranquil they lie appressed to its body. When it is excited they are erected. It is nocturnal in its habits, and seldom seen by man.

G. E. POST.

BITUMEN (Gn 11^{3} חֵמָר, ἄσφαλτος, EV 'slime,' RVm 'bitumen').—The mineral substance which has given to the Dead Sea the name *Lacus Asphaltites* (Jos. *Ant.* I. ix.), in which case it is mineral pitch of the group of the hydrocarbons. This mineral is abundant in several Eastern countries, and was used in very early times as a substitute for mortar in the buildings of Chaldæa.[*] It is found in Persia, Assam, Upper Burma, particularly at Rangoon, at Baku, near the Caspian, and in the valleys leading down from the west to the Dead Sea, especially Wadies Derejeh and Mahawat, in company with sulphur.[†]

The bitumen in the Dead Sea basin is probably derived from the bituminous limestones of the Cretaceous series, and reaches the surface through fissures in the rock. In the case of marine limestones or shales containing large quantities of animal or vegetable matter, either of terrestrial or of aquatic origin, bitumenization may take place under suitable conditions of temperature and moisture, giving rise to springs of bitumen or petroleum, and from such a source the bitumen of the Dead Sea basin may be supposed to have its origin. E. HULL.

BIZIOTHIAH (בִּזְיוֹתְיָה), Jos 15^{28}.—A corruption for בְּנוֹתֶיהָ 'her villages,' referring to Beersheba, as the LXX *αἱ κῶμαι αὐτῶν* indicates (cf. also Neh 11^{27}).

BIZTHA (בִּזְּתָא, Est 1^{10}).—One of the seven eunuchs or chamberlains of king Ahasuerus. A suggested etymology is the Persian *besteh*, 'bound,' hence perhaps 'eunuch.' The LXX here reads Μαζάν B, Βαζάν ℵ$^{c.a}$, Βαζεά A. H. A. WHITE.

BLACK.—See COLOURS. As a subst. b. is found in Sir 19^{26} AVm, and Jer 14^{2} 'they sit in b. upon the ground.' As a verb, Bar 6^{21} 'their faces are b^{ed} through the smoke that cometh out of the temple' (*μελαίνω*). **Blackish**, Job 6^{16} 'b. by reason of the ice' (קֹדֵר, used here of a turbid torrent, RV 'black'). J. HASTINGS.

BLAINS.—See MEDICINE.

BLASPHEMY (*βλασφημία*, *vb.* *βλασφημεῖν*, *adj.* and *subst.* *βλάσφημος*) is derived as to its second element from *φήμη*, *speech*, but the etymology of the first element is still quite uncertain, opinions being divided among *βλάπτω* *I injure* (the form would then, properly, be *βλαψιφημία*), *βλάξ* *slack, doltish*, *βάλλω* *I hit in throwing* (Eustath. *ad. Hom. Il.* 2, p. 219, *ὁ ταῖς φήμαις βάλλων, λοίδορος*), and *φαῦλος* *worthless* (root, *bhles*). The usage, however, is distinct enough. In classical and NT Greek (as also in EV) the word is not restricted, as in ordinary Eng. phraseology and Eng. law, to the divine relation, but has the general sense of slanderous, contumelious speech against either God or man. As a matter of fact, in classical Greek the human relation is the rule, *βλασφημία* being only by transference applied to the gods (Plato, *Rep.* 381 E); and, as often as not, in this connexion, it signifies a word not so much of irreverence as of ill-omen (opp. to *εὐφημία*), a word amiss, an unlucky word, as when one unintentionally prays for evil instead of good (Eur. *Ion*, 1189; Plato, *Legg.* 800, 801). In the Heb. OT (mostly in the form *giddēph*, the word selected by Delitzsch in his Hebrew NT) and in the LXX there is always a notion of contemptuous sacrilege in word or act (1 Mac 2^{6}) towards God (2 K 19^{4}, cf. 18^{22}) directly or indirectly, through men or things connected with Him, *e.g.* His people (Is 52^{5}, Ps 74^{18}), His champions (2 Mac 12^{14}), His holy land (Ezk 35^{12}), His temple (1 Mac 7^{38}); once, by transference, towards a heathen god (Bel ^{9}). In NT the wider classical usage appears, and there is not always the same clear connotation of divine connexion, the word being sometimes equivalent to aggravated contumely, or slander (cf. Dem. *pro Cor.* iv. 12. 3, *εἰς τοῦτον πολλάκις ἀπέσκωψε καὶ μέχρι αἰσχρᾶς βλασφημίας*); Tit 3^{2}, Mt 15^{19}, 1 Co 10^{30}, Ro 3^{8} 14^{16}, Eph 4^{31} (‖ Col 3^{8}), 1 Ti 6^{4}, 2 P 2^{11}. It is not, however, to be ignored that the recognised relation of God to all created beings may have induced the choice of the word *βλασφημία* to express what is in the last resort an offence against Him. (Cf. the OT use; also the parallel in Sir 3^{16}, and the thought in such passages as 1 P 2^{17} taken with Tit 3^{2}.)

A special use in NT touches the human assumption of what is God's, the degradation of the infinite glory of the unapproachable God to the finite nature of the creature. Thus the word is put into the mouths of the Jewish accusers of Christ (Mt 9^{3} 26^{65}, Jn 10^{36}, Lk 5^{21}), and is employed likewise conversely by the NT writers and speakers to depict the sacrilegious and insulting denial by the Jews to Christ of what was His due status (Mt 27^{39}, Lk 22^{65} 23^{39}), and their equally sacrilegious and insulting charges against Him (Ac 13^{45} 18^{6} 26^{11}).

The punishment of those who blasphemed, *i.e.* sinned in word or act 'with a high hand,' *i.e.* in impious rebellion against J″, not in thoughtlessness and weakness of the flesh (see Keil, *Bib. Arch.* ii. 377, Eng. tr., on Sins of Ignorance), but wilfully and presumptuously, was 'cutting off' (Nu 15^{30}) or death by stoning (Lv 24$^{11-16}$). Instances of blasphemy in act are the profanation of the Sabbath by work (Ex 31^{14}), the neglect of circumcision (Gn 17^{14}), and idolatry in all its relations (Ex 22^{19}, 1 Mac 2^{6}). It was on the ground of blasphemy that Christ was handed over for execution to the Romans (Mt 26$^{64f.}$, Jn 19^{7}), and that Stephen was stoned in an irregular outbreak of priests and people (Ac 6^{11} 7^{57}). To the ordinary sins of blasphemy the Jews added the more technical sin of the 'pronunciation' of the name J″, through a misinterpretation of 'pronounce' in Lv 24^{16} apart from its limitative context. For this reason the LXX rendered J″ by *ὁ κύριος*, and the Hebrew Jews substituted Adonai or Elohim, as they do to the present day.

According to the teaching of Christ in the Synoptists (Mt 12$^{31f.}$, Mk 3$^{28f.}$, Lk 12^{10}), the 'blasphemy against the Holy Ghost' was a sin of such surpassing heinousness that it was unpardonable. Not so, He says, the blasphemy against the Son of Man. Now, the Son of Man was God's Messiah, His pre-eminent representative; and blasphemy against Him would have been, in theocratic conception, put parallel with blasphemy against God Himself (Ex 22^{28}). What, then, was this blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, this sin of unwonted aggravation, so heinous that, contrary to Jewish notions, even death brought the sinner no nearer to pardon (Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* on Mt 12^{32})? In the context Christ is referring to special acts of His in which the Holy Spirit, as a moral power, manifested Himself obviously and unmistakably. Any man who, with such demonstration before his eyes, declared this power to be immoral (Mk 3^{30}), openly denouncing as evil that which was plainly good, exhibited a state of heart which was hopeless and beyond the scope of divine illumination or divine influence; he was the most high-handed, wilful, presumptuous despiser of the divine. In his position of blasphemer he could not be forgiven; for God to put such a sin behind His back was in the moral nature of things a contradiction and an impossibility. Not so culpable was the blasphemy even against the Son of Man; for in His state of humiliation, with the mists of the flesh about Him, His dignity was not so obvious, so unmistakable, so irresistibly convincing. In this case there might be 'defect'; in the other there was 'defiance.' So much for the strict context and the special occasion. When we reach out beyond these and seek to find a more general application, we have need of great diffidence. One point, however, seems clear: the context debars us from making the blasphemy simply the equivalent of continued impenitence in any sin, as if Christ had meant to say that any conscious sin, persisted in, becomes blasphemy against the Holy Ghost. It is hard to conceive that Christ in these words merely put into another form the maxim 'no repentance, no pardon.' At the same time we cannot wholly agree with those who assert that there is 'no connexion' whatever between the blasphemy against the manifest Holy Ghost and the sin against the light of spiritual experience in He 6$^{4-6}$, and that these sins are 'altogether dissimilar' (S. Davidson in Kitto, *Encyc.*, *s.v.* 'Blasphemy'). Nor do we know enough to be sure that the 'sin unto death' in 1 Jn 5^{16} 'stands apart' entirely from the sin with which Christ is dealing. Yet, on the whole, it seems reasonable and consistent with the OT sacrificial theory (cf. Keil, as above) to affirm that any sin which is explainable by the defect of the flesh, its mere willingness and its weakness, is not to be classed with the wilful, strong-armed, arrogant blaspheming of good as evil. And it is observable that the crucifixion of Christ, which in He 6^{6} is a metaphor for apostasy, is in Ac 3^{17}, in its literal sense, attributed by St. Peter to *ἄγνοια*, *ignorance*. Doubtless, there is a time and a place wherein willingness shades off into wilfulness, and weakness into presumption; neglect of the divine illumination is the inclined plane towards the detestation of it; and when the heart can deliberately say, 'Evil, be thou my good,' its utterance is not far from blasphemy of the Holy Ghost.

---

[*] Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. i. ch. 8.

[†] Tristram, *Land of Israel*, pp. 281, 358.

J. MASSIE.

BLAST (from *blæsan* 'to blow') is used in AV: **1.** Of the blowing of a wind instrument, Jos 6^{5} 'when they make a long b. with the ram's horn.' **2.** The blowing of the breath of J", Ex 15^{8} 'with the b. of thy nostrils the waters were gathered together' (Heb. רוּחַ *rûah*, 'breath'; cf. Is 30^{28} 'breath,' 33^{11} 'breath,' 37^{7} AV 'blast,' RV 'spirit,' 2 K 19^{7} AV 'blast,' RV 'spirit'). **3.** The breath, *i.e.* the tyranny of violent peoples, Is 25^{4} (רוּחַ). **4.** Blowing that withers or curses, 2 S 22^{16}, Job 4^{9}, Ps 18^{15} (נְשָׁמָה *nĕshâmah*). So **blasted**='blighted' Gn 41$^{6.23.27}$, 2 K 19^{26}, Is 37^{27}; and **blasting**='blight' Dt 28^{22}, 1 K 8^{37}, 2 Ch 6^{28}, Am 4^{9}, Hag 2^{17}. The reference is to the effect of the sirocco east wind. See Hos 13^{15} for its effect on water, and Jon 4^{8} on man. Says Thomson, 'it rushes down every gorge, bending and breaking the trees, and tugging at each individual leaf. . . . The eyes inflame, the lips blister, and the moisture of the body evaporates, . . . you become languid, nervous, irritable, and despairing' (*Land and Book*, ii. 262). In Ps 18^{15}, Pr. Bk. 'blasting'=*blast*.

J. HASTINGS.

BLASTUS (Βλάστος).—A chamberlain of HEROD AGRIPPA I. (wh. see), mentioned Ac 12^{20}. It was through his intervention, presumably secured by bribery, that the people of Tyre and Sidon prevailed upon the king to receive an embassy from them at Cæsarea. He is described as 'chamberlain,' *τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος τοῦ βασιλέως*. Neither the name nor the incident of the embassy occurs in Josephus—a proof of the complete independence of the two accounts (but see on the other side, Krenkel, *Josephus und Lucas*, p. 203). A. C. HEADLAM.

BLAZE.—Mk 1^{45} 'to blaze abroad the matter' (RV 'spread abroad,' Gr. *διαφημίζω*, in Mt 28^{15} tr^{d} 'commonly reported,' RV 'was spread abroad'; in Mt 9^{31} *διεφήμισαν αὐτόν*, 'they spread abroad his fame'). This verb *blaze*=to 'blow,' then 'proclaim,' 'publish,' is to be distinguished from *blaze* =burn. See *Oxf. Eng. Dict.* J. HASTINGS.

BLEMISH.—See MEDICINE.

BLESSEDNESS.—The word 'blessedness' is not found in the OT, and it only appears three times in the NT (AV), and then as the translation of a word (*μακαρισμός*) which indicates the ascription of blessing, not the state of the blessed, so that the Revisers have rightly expunged it, substituting 'blessing' in the first two cases (Ro 4$^{6.9}$), and 'gratulation' in the third (Gal 4^{15}). Nevertheless, the idea which it conveys is the result of a legitimate generalisation from biblical statements. By the term 'blessedness' we understand the *Summum Bonum* regarded as a gift from God, or as enjoyed in some divine relationship—a divine *Summum Bonum*. Throughout the Bible this is centred in the idea of life, in its more elementary stages as the normal human existence on earth, in its more advanced condition as eternal life (*ζωὴ αἰώνιος*). The Hebrew seems to have regarded length of days as a supreme object of desire (*e.g.* Ps 21^{4}). Hence, while it is a most terrible curse for a man to be cut off in the midst of his days (*e.g.* Ps 55^{23}), for his life to be spared is a blessing devoutly sought after (*e.g.* Ps 39^{13}), so that to live on to a ripe old age is the crowning mercy (*e.g.* 1 Ch 29^{28}). The OT idea of blessedness is largely temporal and external, though mingled with higher spiritual thoughts as in Ps 16$^{10.11}$. Next to the life of the individual is the extension of that life in his family and the perpetuation of it through his descendants, so that the natural human instinct for immortality is in a measure satisfied by contemplating the prospect of an endless posterity. For this reason, as also because of the present good which the possession of a family is to a man, that is an important item in the OT notion of blessedness. Earthly prosperity enters into the notion, not merely on its own account, but also as a sign of God's favour, although the latter point is disputed throughout the Book of Job. In the Proverbs, abundance of goods—one's barns filled with plenty (Pr 3^{10})—is treated as a great sign of prosperity, but wisdom is there regarded as the *Summum Bonum* (Pr 4^{7}). In Messianic prophecy the thought of blessedness is expanded to signify the national weal rather than purely individual prosperity. This is to come in a golden age of widespread plenty and general happiness, following a triumph over the enemies of Israel. In particular, justice will take the place of tyranny and robbery, good order will be maintained, and universal peace prevail (*e.g.* Is 11$^{1-9}$, 65$^{17-25}$). It is principally through the two ideas of righteousness and peace that the ideal is advanced to a more spiritual conception (*e.g.* Ps 119^{165}). In the NT the idea of blessedness is greatly elevated. According to the Synoptists, Jesus Christ speaks of eternal life as the supreme boon of the future (*e.g.* Lk 18^{30}). According to the Fourth Gospel, He dwells much more largely on this subject, and treats it as a present possession (*e.g.* Jn 6^{47}). St. Paul follows, accentuating the blessedness of eternal life as God's gift to man (Ro 6^{23}). In the beatitudes with which He opens the Sermon on the Mount, our Lord describes, not only the characters that will be blessed, but also the nature of the highest good. The blessed are, according to St. Luke, the poor, they that hunger and weep now, and they who are hated, separated, and reproached by men; and their blessedness is to possess the kingdom of God, and to be filled and laugh (Lk 6$^{20-22}$). According to St. Matthew, they are more spiritually regarded as the poor in spirit, they that mourn, the meek, they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness, the merciful, the pure in heart, the peacemakers, and they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake; while their blessedness consists respectively in having the kingdom of heaven—elsewhere described as a pearl of great price (Mt 13^{46})—in being comforted, inheriting the earth, being filled, obtaining mercy, seeing God, being called the children of God (Mt 5^{3-12}). In the Parable of the Talents, future blessedness takes the form of high honour together with enlarged service (Mt 25^{21}). The Apoc. describes the blessedness of the Church in the victory and reign of Christ and the coming of the heavenly Jerusalem (Rev 21. 22). See also BEATITUDE, HAPPINESS. W. F. ADENEY.

BLESSING (בְּרָכָה, *εὐλογία*).—Throughout the Bible we meet with two forms of blessing. (1) *Blessing by God.* This is either (*a*) a direct and immediate act of God in conferring some boon, as expressed by the phrase, 'The Lord blessed Obed-edom and all his household' (2 S 6^{11}); or (*b*) a divine utterance expressing the will of God to confer future favour, and thus approaching the general usage of the word, which is indicative of benediction, or speaking with a wish for the good of the persons concerned, *e.g.* 'God blessed them, saying, Be fruitful,' etc. (Gn 1^{22}). The blessing of God is primarily of persons, and secondarily of things, as implied in the phrase, 'Bless, Lord, his substance' (Dt 33^{11}). The secondary blessing is attached to a day in the benediction of the Sabbath, *e.g.* 'God blessed the seventh day' (Gn 2^{3}). (2) *Blessing by man.* This is really an appeal for the first form of blessing, a prayer that God will confer His own blessing on the object of the speaker's good wishes. But it comes to be regarded as in some way directly beneficial, just as the evil eye is supposed to blight directly, while the curse proper is an appeal to Heaven to smite its object, as the true blessing is an appeal to Heaven to confer some boon. This seems to be the case with the patriarchal blessings, Isaac directly determining the destiny of Jacob; and yet the language employed shows that the actual source of the boons spoken of is looked for in God (Gn $27^{28.\ 29}$). In such a case the peculiar privilege of conferring a blessing resolves itself into a peculiar right to seek certain favours of God. A similar condition may be discovered in Balaam's benediction of Israel. While the narrative implies a belief on the part of Balak that the seer has peculiar mystic powers of cursing and blessing, Balaam's utterances are simply prophetic, declaring the will of J" and predicting the destiny of Israel (Nu 23. 24). A man who is exceptionally blessed is taken as the model and type of blessing, and is then said to be 'a blessing' (Gn 12^{2}); and others are said to bless themselves by him, in the sense that they appeal to the blessing he has received as a specimen of what they desire for themselves, *e.g.* 'The nations shall bless themselves in him'—*i.e.* by Him, by reference to His blessing (Jer 4^{2}). When our Lord is described in the Gospels as blessing, no doubt the idea is analogous to the second form of blessing, the appeal to Heaven to confer favour, with the associated thought that Jesus Christ had especial power in making this appeal. Thus we must understand the action of the mothers who brought their children to Him for a blessing as they might have brought them to a holy Rabbi (Buxtorf, *Syn. Jud.* p. 138). But with those who perceived His divine nature, the act of blessing by Jesus Christ must have passed over into the primary and immediate act of God in conferring grace, *e.g.* in the final benediction (Lk 24^{51}). The blessing of bread, of which we read in the Gospels, is equivalent to giving thanks for it, the thought being that good received gratefully comes as a blessing (compare *εὐλόγησεν* in Mt 14^{19} and *εὐλογήσας αὐτά* in Mk 8^{7} with *εὐχαριστήσας* in Mt 15^{36}). To bless God is to praise Him with acknowledgment of His goodness and expressed desires for His glory. The act of blessing was usually performed by the imposition of hands (*e.g.* Gn 48^{17-19}, Mt 19^{13}); or, where a number of persons were concerned, with uplifted hands (*e.g.* Lv 9^{22}, Lk 24^{50}). The priests pronounced a benediction after every morning and evening sacrifice, according to a triple formula (Nu 6^{22-26}; Keil, *Biblical Archæol.* ii. p. 457). A more primitive form of blessing seems to have been used under the kings (*e.g.* 1 K $8^{14.\ 55}$; Ewald, *Antiq.* pp. 15, 132). A benediction was regularly pronounced at the close of the synagogue service (Buxtorf, *Syn. Jud.*, note subjoined to index).

W. F. ADENEY.

BLINDING.—See CRIMES. **BLINDNESS.**—See MEDICINE.

BLOOD.—By the Hebrews, as by other peoples of antiquity, the blood, both of man and of beast, was regarded as the seat of the soul (נֶפֶשׁ), that is, of the vital principle common to all sentient organisms (Lv 17^{11} 'the life' [EV, Heb. *nephesh*, 'soul'] of the flesh is in the blood,' and parll. pass.). When we reflect how little we know even now, notwithstanding all our advance in physiology and allied sciences, of the mystery of life and death, we can in some measure realise the emotions of awe and dread—not without a large admixture of the superstitious element—with which the early Semites must have regarded the shedding of blood.

Inasmuch as all slaughter was originally sacrifice, the real significance of the provision, carried back by Heb. tradition to the days of Noah (Gn 9^{4}), that the blood of animals slain for human food was forbidden or taboo, will demand careful investigation under the article SACRIFICE (see also FOOD). To the same art. belongs the study of the piacular or expiatory efficacy of blood, which finds expression in the familiar words: 'Without shedding of blood is no remission' (He 9^{22}).

Akin hereto is the cathartic or purificatory use of blood in the Jewish ceremonial system for cases of uncleanness of the highest degree, such as leprosy (Lv $14^{5\text{ff.}\ 50\text{ff.}}$), the discussion of which belongs to the art. on PURIFICATION (which see also for the uncleanness caused by blood in the cases enumerated in Lv $12^{1\text{ff.}}$ $15^{19\text{ff.}}$).

For another and very ancient blood-rite, the essential significance of which survives even in the most sacred rite of Christian worship (Mt 26^{28}), see COVENANT.

Among all nations blood has played a conspicuous part in magical rites, but the only trace of its superstitious use in the OT seems to be the incident recorded in 1 K 22^{38}, and already explained in the art. BATHING (§ 3). (See Strack, *Der Blutaberglaube*; Trumbull, *The Threshold Covenant.*)

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

BLOOD, AVENGER OF.—See GOEL.

BLOODGUILTINESS.—In AV only Ps 51^{14} 'Deliver me from b., O God' (דָּמִים, plu. of דָּם 'blood'). RV adds Ex $22^{2.\ 3}$ (Heb. v.$^{1.\ 2}$), 1 S $25^{26.\ 33}$, the Heb. being the same. W. R. Smith (*OTJC*^{2} p. 441) points to Ezk 18^{13} as proving that the Heb. phrase does not necessarily mean the guilt of murder, but any mortal sin, such sin as, if it remains unatoned, withdraws God's favour from His land and people (Dt $21^{8\text{b}}$, Is 1^{15}), a remark which has an obvious bearing on the occasion of the 51st psalm. J. HASTINGS.

BLOOD, ISSUE OF.—See MEDICINE.

BLOODSHEDDING.—Sir 27^{15} only (*ἔκχυσις αἵματος*); but He 9^{22} 'without shedding of blood is no remission' (*αἱματεκχυσία*).

BLOODTHIRSTY.—In AV Pr 29^{10} only, 'the b. hate the upright' (אַנְשֵׁי דָמִים 'men of blood'). RV

adds Ps 5^{6} 55^{23} 139^{19}, the Heb. being the same, AV 'bloody'; RV more literally 'man of blood' 2 S $16^{7.8}$, 'men of blood' Ps 26^{9}. Cf. Ex $4^{25.26}$ 'bridegroom of blood' (AV 'bloody husband').
J. HASTINGS.

BLOODY FLUX, BLOODY SWEAT.—See MEDICINE.

BLOOM, as a trans. verb, occurs Nu 17^{8} 'the rod of Aaron . . . bloomed blossoms.' Cf.—

> 'And all amid them stood the tree of life,
> High eminent, blooming ambrosial fruit
> Of vegetable gold.'
> Milton, *Par. Lost*, iv. 219.

J. HASTINGS.

BLUE.—See COLOURS. 'Blue' is tr^{n} of תְּכֵלֶת *tĕkhêleth* in all its occurrences, and of שֵׁשׁ *shêsh*, Est 1^{6} AV. Also Sir 45^{10} 'b. silk' (*ὑάκινθος*, RV 'blue'); 6^{30} (AVm, RV, Gr. *ὑακίνθινος*); and 23^{10} 'a blue mark' (*μώλωψ*, RV 'a bruise'; cf. Sir 28^{17} 'the stroke of a whip maketh *marks* in the flesh,' and 1 P 2^{24} 'stripes,' same Greek, from Is 53^{5} LXX).

Blueness, Pr 20^{30} 'the b. of a wound cleanseth away evil' (חַבֻּרוֹת *ḥabbûrôth*, 'stripes,' RV 'stripes that wound'). See MEDICINE. J. HASTINGS.

BOANERGES (*βοανηργές*, deriv. uncertain, 'sons of thunder') is the surname given by our Lord to His disciples James and John. Considerable obscurity gathers round the question why it was given to the sons of Zebedee. It is mentioned only in Mk 3^{17}, and never seems to have prevailed as Simon Peter's new name did. It is not likely either that it was meant as a perpetual rebuke of their unregulated zeal (Mk 9^{38} 10^{37}, Lk 9^{54}), or that it refers specially to their thundering forth the gospel. The likelihood is that it is both descriptive and prophetic of the union of the passionate and vehement with the gentle and loving in their character, and of the fact that once and again tempests of long-restrained emotion would burst forth out of the deep stillness of their strong reserved natures. W. MUIR.

BOAR.—See SWINE. **BOAT.**—See SHIP.

BOAZ (בֹּעַז='swiftness,' from a root בעז not occurring in Heb., not as was supposed בּוֹ עָז='in him is strength,' Βόος, Βόοζ).—The head of the Hezronites who lived at Beth-lehem-judah, after Elimelech's departure into the country of Moab (Ru 2^{1}). He is described as a mighty man of wealth (RVm 'valour'). His fields lay apparently at some little distance from Beth-lehem (v.^{4}). It was in them that he first caught sight of Ruth as she was gleaning. He had heard of her already as a faithful and loving daughter, and begged her to remain in his fields, assuring her of his protection, and inviting her to partake of some food in the field (vv.$^{5ff.}$). One night, whilst B. was sleeping in his threshing-floor, Ruth, instructed by her mother-in-law, came, and by placing herself at his feet claimed to be taken under his protection. Thereupon he promised that if the kinsman who was nearer than he would not do his duty to her as next of kin, he would take that duty upon himself (ch. 3). B. therefore bought the right of redemption from the next of kin, including in it the right to take Ruth to be his wife to raise up seed to Mahlon ($4^{1ff.}$). The marriage was celebrated, and in due course a son was born to B. and Ruth, called Obed, who, according to the genealogy at the end of the Bk of Ruth and in 1 Ch 2^{12-15}, was the grandfather of David. How far this is an instance of the use of what is called the law of the Levirate will be found discussed in another article (RUTH). B. has a further interest for us, as his name occurs in both the genealogies of our Lord (Mt 1^{5}, Lk 3^{32}). According to the Jewish authorities he was the same as Ibzan of Jg 12^{8-10} (see Moore, *Judges*, p. 310). The difficulties of the chronology of the genealogy from Perez to David have not yet been satisfactorily cleared up. The narrator of B.'s marriage does not hint at any irregularity in it such as we should expect if Ezr $9^{1.2}$ and Neh 13^{2} or even Dt $23^{3.4}$ were known to him.
H. A. REDPATH.

BOAZ (בֹּעַז, LXX Βαλάζ in B, and Βοός in A of 1 K 7^{21}; in 2 Ch 3^{17} the LXX has Ἰσχύς 'strength').—The name of one of the two pillars erected in the porch of Solomon's temple, the other being Jachin, 1 K 7^{21}, 2 Ch 3^{17}, Jer $52^{21.22}$. 'Boaz' stood on the left looking eastward, *i.e.* it was on the north side of the entrance of the temple. Its height was 18 cubits, its circumference 12, its diameter being consequently $3\frac{9}{11}$ cubits. Surmounting it was a chapiter 5 cubits high, ornamented with network and with pomegranates (Jer $52^{22.23}$). There is, however, a good deal of confusion as to the ornamentation of the chapiters, though all agree that they were lily-shaped at the top. The apparent discrepancy as to its height is owing to the fact that the ornament uniting the shaft to the chapiter is sometimes included in the reckoning, and sometimes not. 'Jachin' and 'Boaz' were exactly of the same form and size; both were hollow and made of brass, the thickness of the brass being four fingers, *i.e.* 4 inches (Jer 52^{21}).

Ewald, Thenius, Merx, and Nowack are of opinion that these pillars served for supports to the roof of the house. Nowack (*Bib. Arch.* ii. 33) refers to Ezk 40-49 as showing that the pillars of Ezekiel's temple were supports; but the passage does not prove that they were more than ornaments. On the other hand, Hirt, Stieglitz, Cugler, Schnaase (all architects), Bähr, Riehm, Keil, and Lumby argue that the pillars stood in the porch, unconnected at the top, and that the only function they served was that of ornamentation. (See Keil, *Bib. Arch.* i. 169 f.). In favour of this opinion are the following points: (1) The ornamentation on the top already mentioned. (2) Their height was 23 (18+5) cubits. Now the porch was, according to 2 Ch 3^{4} and Jos. (*Ant.* VIII. iii. 2), 120 cubits; according to Bertheau 30; but in the opinion of most critics it was 20 cubits high, answering to the length (see PORCH). None of those measurements would suit if the pillars stood under and supported the roof of the porch. (3) The pillars were hollow. (4) Hiram's work was to *decorate*, and not to *build* any essential part of the temple.

But, though no more than ornaments to the Israelites, the origin of these pillars must be sought among the Syrians and Phœnicians, who commonly erected such pillars in front of their temples. In front of his temple at Tyre, the Syrian god, Melḳart, is represented by two pillars (Herod. 2. 44). Before the temples of Paphos and Hierapolis there were likewise two pillars. In these cases, the pillars stood for deity, and they formed a part of that Phallic worship of which we are finding more and more traces in the ancient world (see Dudley, *Naology*, p. 130 f.; W. R. Cobb, *Origines Judaicæ*, pp. 207–238; and Trumbull, *Threshold Covenant*, p. 230 n.). Nowack (ii. 34) and W. R. Smith (*RS* p. 191, note 1) incline to believe that even to the Israelites these pillars were symbols of J", so that, if they are right, the true God was set forth by these Phallic emblems, as in the northern kingdom He was worshipped in the form of a young bull (עֵגֶל *'ēgel*). But it is unlikely, to say the least, that if these pillars stood for J" we should have no intimation of it in the writings of the OT. Benzinger (*Bib. Arch.* p. 385) points out that pillars of this kind are found in the front of the temple of Amon in Egypt (cf. p. 250 of the same work).

But why *two* pillars, if but one deity is thus represented? Among the Semites and other primitive peoples, gods went in pairs, male and female, as Baal and Ashtoreth, Osiris and Isis, etc. Possibly the two pillars stood for male and female, the active and passive principle in nature. This is not necessarily opposed to the Phallic origin of the symbol, since at this stage their origin might have been wholly unknown, the mere fact of their representing deity being possibly the only thought in the mind of the people.

The words 'Jachin' and 'Boaz' are certainly proper names. The LXX so regards them in 1 K 7^{21}, but in 2 Ch 3^{17} the words are translated Κατόρθωσις (a setting right) and Ἰσχύς (strength).

Gesenius explains the words as names of the donors or builders. This is only a guess. No other part of the temple is designated in this way except Solomon's porch, which belongs to the time of Herod. Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. 4) holds that they are names of honoured men, perhaps sons of Solomon. This is not more likely than Gesenius's opinion. Keil follows Kimchi in making the names ('He will establish,' 'In Him is strength') symbols of the solidity and strength of the kingdom of God among Israel, as having its central point in the temple. Klostermann (*Komm.*) translates and explains by 'Stand-halter und der Trotzbieter,' the 'firm and defying one,' referring to God. Thenius (*Komm.*) joins both words to make the expression 'He will establish by strength'; but the text is against it, and so is the fact that there are two pillars, each with a name of its own.

T. W. DAVIES.

BOCCAS.—See BORITH.

BOCHERU (בֹּכְרוּ).—A descendant of Jonathan (1 Ch 8^{38}=9^{44}). For form of name cf. Gashmu, Neh $6^{1.6}$.

BOCHIM (הַבֹּכִים), 'weepers,' Jg 2^{1}.—Unknown as a geographical site. Possibly the orig. reading was בֵּיתְאֵל. See Moore, *ad loc.*, and BETHEL.

BODY.—**1.** Early biblical usage had no fixed term for the human body as an entire organism, and, consequently, none to use, as such, in precise antithesis to 'soul' or 'spirit.' An assortment of terms was employed, each of which strictly denotes only one part or element of the bodily nature, such as trunk, bones, belly, bowels, reins, flesh. The last is by far the most prominent, probably as supplying to the body its form, colour, and beauty. **Flesh** is used through both Testaments for the corporeal nature of man in connexion with and contrast to the inner or spiritual nature. (See FLESH.) Of the other terms, גְּוִיָּה (once in late Heb., 1 Ch 10^{12} גּוּפָה) originally probably the cavity containing the vitals, most nearly denotes the whole, and is applied both to the living body (Gn 47^{18}) and to the corpse (1 S 31^{10}); **Bones** (עֶצֶם, עֹצֶם) once, Ps 139^{15} prob. collectively, 'my bony frame.' The word is suggestively used to denote the reality or strength of a thing, *i.e.* the thing itself (Ex 24^{10}, Job 21^{23}). Some of these ancient terms for the bodily parts have passed over into the NT, and indeed into all popular speech with certain definite psychical connotations. Thus **Belly** (בֶּטֶן, κοιλία) stands throughout Scripture for the seat of appetite and of the carnal affections (*e.g.* Ro 16^{18}, Ph 3^{19}), yet also connotes the inward nature, the innermost of the soul (cf. Pr 18^{8} $20^{27.30}$ 22^{18}, Jn 7^{38}). So **Bowels** (מֵעִים, רַחֲמִים), besides its literal, or first meaning, is plentifully used, *metonymice*, for the sympathetic or compassionate affections (Gn 43^{30}, 1 K 3^{26}, 2 Co 6^{12} 7^{15}, Ph 2^{1}, Col 3^{12}). That the same kind of transference from the bodily to the mental region has taken place with the terms *Heart* and *Reins* goes without saying.

2. Later OT writers may have come under the influence of Greek thought in construing the whole body or outer man as the dwelling, clothing, or integument of the soul. If the expression (Job 4^{19}) בָּתֵּי־חֹמֶר 'houses of clay,' refers, as is commonly thought, to human bodies, it is an instance closely imitated by the Apocr. writer (Wis 9^{15}) in the phrase 'earthly tabernacle' or 'frame' (RV), and which reappears in 2 Co 5^{1}. In Daniel the Aramaic word גְּשֵׁם is used for body (Dn 3^{27} 4^{30} [Heb.] 5^{21}), and another Aramaic word (of Persian origin) נִדְנֶה is used along with רוּחַ (7^{15}) in exactly the figurative manner so familiar to later thought, 'My spirit was grieved in the midst of my body' (lit. 'of his sheath').

3. In the NT, body (σῶμα) signifies the complete organism with all its members (1 Co 12^{14} etc.), and stands in clear and constant antithesis to 'soul' and 'spirit.' Throughout the whole of Scripture the place of the body as an integral constituent of man's nature is insisted on. This must be made prominent in our Bible doctrine of man as contrasted with philosophic and other notions depreciatory of his bodily nature. But for this, as well as for the Bible Dualism or Dichotomy, see art. PSYCHOLOGY.

J. LAIDLAW.

BODYGUARD.—1 Es 3^{4} RV only. See GUARD.

BOHAN (בֹּהַן, perhaps 'covering').—A son of Reuben, acc. to Jos 15^{6} 18^{17} (both P). The stone of B. is mentioned in these two passages as forming a mark of division between Judah and Benjamin. It is impossible to identify the site where it stood.

J. A. SELBIE.

BOHAIRIC VERSIONS.—See EGYPTIAN VERSIONS.

BOILS.—See MEDICINE.

BOLDNESS.—In OT 'bold' is given as tr^{n} of בָּטַח *bâṭaḥ* to trust, Pr 28^{1} 'the righteous are b. as a lion.' In Gn 34^{25} 'Simeon and Levi . . . came upon the city boldly,' the Heb. is the noun בֶּטַח *beṭaḥ* from *bâṭaḥ*, and is applied, not to Simeon and Levi, but to the inhabitants of the city, 'they came upon the city (dwelling) securely' (so RV, but RVm 'boldly'). In Ec 8^{1} 'boldness' is lit. 'strength' (עֹז *'ôz*), and is tr^{d} 'hardness' in RV.

In Apocr. 'bold' occurs in a bad sense, Sir 8^{15} 'Travel not by the way with a b. fellow' (τολμηρός RV 'rash man'), and 19^{3} 'a bold man shall be taken away' (ψυχὴ τολμηρά, RV 'a reckless soul').

The adj. τολμηρός occurs in NT only Ro 15^{15} 'I write the more boldly unto you' (TR τολμηρότερον, WH τολμηροτέρως); and τολμητής 'an audacious person,' only 2 P 2^{10} (AV 'presumptuous,' RV 'daring'); but τολμάω is frequent, the most interesting occurrence being 2 Co 10^{2} where the apostle uses first θαρρέω and then τολμάω, both tr^{d} 'be bold' in AV, but in RV 'that I may not when present *show courage* with the confidence wherewith I count to *be bold* against some.' Thayer says that θ. denotes confidence in one's own strength or capacity, τ. boldness or daring in undertaking; θ. has reference more to the character, τ. to its manifestation (*NT Lex.* p. 628^{a}; cf. Sanday and Headlam on Ro 15^{15}: 'the boldness of which St. Paul accuses himself is not in sentiment, but in manner'). The Ionic form of θ. (θαρσέω) occurs in LXX and NT only as imperat. 'take courage,' 'fear not,' etc. Thus, Sir 19^{10} 'If thou hast heard a word, let it die with thee; and be bold (θάρσει), it will not burst thee'; Mt 14^{27} 'Be of good cheer' (θαρσεῖτε). The only compound of these verbs in NT is ἀποτολμάω, Ro 10^{20} only, 'Isaiah is *very bold*,' lit. 'is bold by himself.'

But there is a nobler boldness in the NT than these. In the Gr. it is expressed by παρρησία (lit. 'fulness' or 'freedom of speech,' πᾶν ῥῆσις) and παρρησιάζομαι; and although these words are used by classical authors and the LXX, this b. reaches a higher manifestation under the Gospel, which is its very foundation. Thus Eph 3^{12} 'Christ

Jesus our Lord, in whom we have b. and access'; He 10^{19} 'Having therefore, brethren, b. to enter into the holy place by the blood of Jesus'; 1 Jn 4^{17} 'that we may have b. in the day of judgment'; He 4^{16} 'Let us therefore come boldly (RV 'draw near with b.') unto the throne of grace.' For the most part it is boldness of *speech*, but its foundation is the same: Jn 7^{26} 'He speaketh boldly' (RV 'openly'); Ac 4^{31} 'they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and they spake the word of God with b.'; 13^{46} 'Paul and Barnabas waxed bold (RV 'spake out boldly') and said'; 1 Th 2^{2} 'we were bold (RV 'waxed bold') in our God to speak unto you the Gospel of God.' See COURAGE.

J. HASTINGS.

BOLLED.—Ex 9^{31} 'the barley was in the ear, and the flax was bolled' (RVm 'was in bloom'; Heb. גִּבְעֹל *gibh'ôl*, lit. 'was bud,' *i.e.* was in bud). The Eng. word *boll* (originally something *swollen*) is a seed vessel, a pod; hence 'was bolled' (='was in seed') expresses a further stage of growth than the Heb. warrants. J. HASTINGS.

BOLSTER (something 'swollen,' cf. 'bolled') is now used of the longer and firmer cushion under the pillows, but was formerly often syn. with pillow. It occurs in AV of 1 S 19$^{13.16}$ 26$^{7.11.12.16}$, where RV always 'head'; thus 1 S 19^{13} 'Michal . . . put a pillow of goats' hair for his b.' (RV 'at the head thereof'). The same Heb. (מְרַאֲשֹׁת) is tr^{d} 'pillows' Gn 28$^{11.18}$, and in 1 K 19^{6} [all] 'head,' marg. 'bolster'; RV always 'head.' (For the peculiar reading מְרַאֲשֹׁתֵי שָׁאוּל 1 S 26^{12}, Budde gives מִמְּרַאֲשֹׁתָיו in agreement with other passages and the LXX here.) J. HASTINGS.

BOND.—See BAND. **1.** In the foll. passages the Gr. word tr^{d} 'bond' is δοῦλος, 'slave,' 1 Co 12^{13}, Gal 3^{28}, Eph 6^{8}, Col 3^{11} (RV 'bondman'), Rev 13^{16} 19^{18}. **2.** There is a fig. use of b. in Ac 8^{23}, Eph 4^{3}, Col 3^{14} where the Gr. is σύνδεσμος, a surgical word (though not confined to surgery) meaning 'a ligament'; hence Col 3^{14} 'love, which is the b. of perfectness' means that love unites all the virtues and graces into one perfect man in Christ Jesus, just as the ligaments bind the body; in Eph 4^{3} 'the b. of peace,' peace is itself the ligament or uniting power; Ac 8^{23} 'thou art in the gall of bitterness, and in the b. of iniquity' is not so clear, and it has sometimes been said that Simon is described as 'a *bundle* of iniquity,' but that meaning of σ. lacks support (see Thayer, *s.v.*); rather, 'thou art bound by the ligatures or fetters of iniquity.' The Gr. word σ. is also found Col 2^{19} (where see Lightfoot), RV 'all the body, being supplied and knit together through the joints and *bands*.'

Bondmaid, a female slave, Lv 19^{20} (שִׁפְחָה); 25$^{44.44}$ (אָמָה, tr^{d} 'maid' in v.^{6}); Gal 4^{22} (παιδίσκη, tr. 'bondwoman' 4$^{23.30.30.31}$, all of Hagar, RV 'handmaid'; π. is used also of the maid who recognised Peter, Mt 26^{69}, Mk 14$^{66.69}$, Lk 22^{56}, Jn 18^{17} [see DAMSEL], of Rhoda, Ac 12^{13}, and of the Philippian fortune-teller, 16^{16}). **Bondman** and **Bondwoman** = slave, are frequent. **Bondservant** occurs in AV only once, Lv 25^{39}; but where the Gr. is δοῦλος, *slave*, RV often turns 'servant' of AV into 'bondservant' (in favour of 'slave' see Horwill, *Contemp. Rev.* May 1896, p. 707). **Bondservice**, 1 K 9^{21} 'upon those did Solomon levy a tribute of b. (עֹבֵד, RV 'raise a levy of bondservants'). **Bondslave**, 1 Mac 2^{11} (δούλη, not in NT, but freq. in LXX, RV 'bondwoman'). See SLAVERY. J. HASTINGS.

BONNET is the rendering in AV of two Heb. words, מִגְבָּעָה (Ex 28^{40} 29^{9}, Lv 8^{13}) and פְּאֵר (Is 3^{20}, Ezk 44^{18}). In Ex 39^{28} the two are conjoined, פַּאֲרֵי הַמִּגְבָּעֹת. RV uniformly gives, instead of bonnets, **head-tires**, except Ezk 44^{18} 'tires.'

Both terms apparently refer to the same part of the head-dress of the ordinary priests. Its distinctive importance, with regard to the priestly office and rank, is implied in Is 61^{10} כֶּחָתָן יְכַהֵן פְּאֵר, 'as a bridegroom makes his head-ornament like a priest's,' which Dillm. and Del. understand of winding it up into a *conical* point (cf. Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* ii. 117).

In determining what the bonnet was: (1) we find it distinguished from the *miznepheth* or turban of the high priest, on the compactly folded front of which the gold plate lay fastened with a cord (פְּתִיל Ex 28$^{36.37}$), a less ornate form being worn on the Great Day of Atonement (Lv 16^{4}). (2) It was highly ornamental 'for glory and beauty' (Ex 28^{40}). (3) It was of fine linen (Ex 39^{28}). (4) It was one of the items of elaborate female attire (Is 3^{20}).

These allusions seem to converge towards an article of outdoor wear, needed where service exposed to the sun, and yet having a distinctly decorative purpose. These conditions are best met by the loose kerchief for head and neck, which is still a striking feature in Oriental dress; and in its protective usefulness and dignified elegance is an accommodation at once to the climate and the character.

While this bonnet or head-tire among the Bedawin is simply a square of black or blue cotton, and the day-labourer improvises anything to cover the back of the head and neck, that worn by the men of the towns and villages is a fabric about a yard square of the finest white silk, usually edged with bright stripes, and called a *kûfîyeh*.

The corresponding art. of female dress is the graceful outdoor veil for the head and neck, called a *turḥah*.

This would connect מִגְבָּעָה with קֻבַּע, and the Arab. *ḳubba'ah* 'cowl.' According to this interpretation, a survival of the article in a modified form may be seen in the drapery that droops in light loose folds from the high turban of the Oriental priest; and, by its connexion with the monk's hood and the conventual veil, is still among the insignia of priestly dress. (See DRESS.) G. M. MACKIE.

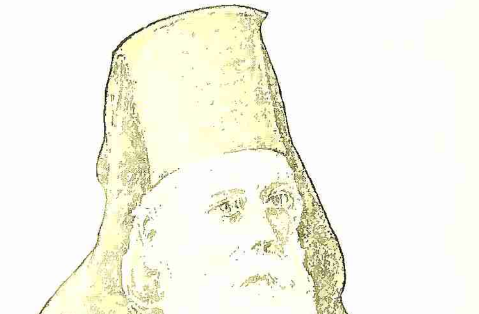

TURBAN OF ORIENTAL (GREEK) PRIEST.

BOOK.—See WRITING.

BOOTH.—At the season when the fruits of field and orchard are ripening, the Syrian peasant often finds it prudent to leave his home in the village and take up his abode for a time in 'the portion of the field' belonging to him, for the double purpose of guarding his produce against ill-disposed neighbours, and of more effectively carrying on the work of the grain and fruit harvests. To shelter him and his from the noonday heat and from the dews of night (cf. Is 4^{6}), a small hut is hastily constructed of leafy branches from the nearest trees. Such an erection is called in Heb. סֻכָּה, by AV variously rendered 'booth,' 'tabernacle,' 'pavilion,' etc. Jonah's b. was of this description (4^{5}), and so were those in which Jacob sheltered his cattle (whence the name Succoth), Gn 33^{17}. The army in the field was similarly protected by booths, 2 S 11^{11}, 1 K $20^{12.16}$ (EV 'pavilions').

In the East the custom still prevails, whereby the owners of small adjoining vineyards combine to secure the services of a watcher to protect the ripening grapes from robbers and wild beasts. For the more efficient discharge of his duty the watchman is provided with a more elaborate booth. Four stout poles are fixed in the soil a few feet apart; to these uprights four cross pieces are firmly secured, some six or more feet from the ground. Boards resting on the cross-pieces form the floor, while the roof is made in a similar way of boughs of trees or matting. In this elevated watch-tower the watchman spends his nights, gun in hand, the open sides allowing an uninterrupted view of the area to be observed. This is the 'b. that the keeper maketh' to which Job refers (27^{18}), and the 'cottage (RV booth) in a vineyard' to which Isaiah compares the desolate daughter of Zion. See illust. under Cucumber. For booths as used at the Feast of Tabernacles, see that article.

A. R. S. Kennedy.

BOOTY.—See War.

BORDER of the Garment.—See Dress, Fringe.

Borderer, 2 Mac 9^{25} 'the princes that are borderers and neighbours' (*οἱ παρακείμενοι*). The word is now almost restricted in Eng. to those who dwell on the Border between England and Scotland. Here it is an accurate tr^{n}, in the sense of one whose country touches another's.

BORITH (2 Es 1^{2}).—One of the ancestors of Ezra, called in 1 Es 8^{2} **Boccas**, and in 1 Ch $6^{5.51}$, Ezr 7^{4} Bukki (which see).

BORN, BORNE.—**1.** The *Oxf. Eng. Dict.* discovers 43 different senses in which the verb 'to bear' is used; the last being 'to give birth to,' spoken of female mammalia, and esp. women. The past ptcp. of this verb is either 'borne' or 'born' (rarely 'bore'), and these forms were at first used indiscriminately for all the senses of the verb. About 1660 'borne' was generally abandoned, and 'born' retained in all senses. But about 1775 'borne' was re-established and used for all the senses of the verb but one, 'born' being restricted to 'brought into the world.' And 'born' is even in that restricted sense confined to the passive voice and a kind of neuter signification; it is not used when the mother is spoken of.

'Borne' was the invariable spelling of 1611, but later edd. and printers introduced 'born' wherever the meaning is 'brought forth.' RV has carefully restored 'borne' wherever the signification is active; thus Gn 21^{3} 'his son that was born unto him,' AV and RV; but 21^{7} 'I have born him a son in his old age,' RV 'borne'. See also Homeborn.

2. 'Born again' in 1 P 1^{23} (RV 'having been begotten again,' as 1^{3}) is one word in the Gr. (*ἀναγεννάω*); in Jn $3^{3.7}$ 'born again' (RV 'born anew') two words (*γεννάω ἄνωθεν*); but that the compound word in 1 P $1^{3.23}$ is an exact equivalent of the two words in Jn $3^{3.7}$, and that therefore *ἄνωθεν*='anew' here, not 'from above,' has been proved, esp. by Ezra Abbot in *The Authorship of the Fourth Gospel* (Boston, 1880, p. 34 f.; London, 1892, p. 30 ff.). See Regeneration.

3. In 1 Co 15^{8} 'one b. out of due time,' the Gr. is a single word, *ἔκτρωμα*, an untimely birth, an abortion.*

J. Hastings.

BORROWING.—See Debt.

BOSOM.—See Abraham's Bosom.

BOSOR (Βοσόρ), 1 Mac $5^{26.36}$.—A town in Gilead. The site is uncertain.

BOSORA (Βοσορᾶ), 1 Mac $5^{26.28}$.—Mentioned with Bosor. Apparently the great city of Bosrah—the Roman Bostra on the E. of Bashan, which is not mentioned in the Bible.

C. R. Conder.

BOSS (Job 15^{26}).—Bucklers and shields were made of successive skins stretched over a frame, a layer of metal being superimposed on the whole. To break the force of a blow, metal studs or bosses were affixed in addition. *ἀσπίδες ὀμφαλόεσσαι* were known to Homer (*Il.* iv. 448). The Heb. word גַּבִּים *gabbim*, 'bosses,' properly means things rounded, *e.g.* the back of an animal or the felloe of a wheel. Possibly in Job 15^{26} the true meaning is simply the convex (back-like) side of a shield, or again it might be the metal *rim* ('felloe'), 'thick,' perhaps, because threefold, as in the shield of Achilles (*Il.* xviii. 479, *περὶ δ' ἄντυγα βάλλε φαεινὴν τρίπλακα*).

W. E. Barnes.

BOTANY.—See Plants.

BOTCH, a swelling (the same word orig. as 'boss'), but confined to disease, an eruption in the skin, Dt 28^{27} 'the b. of Egypt,' and ^{35} 'a sore b.' (שְׁחִין, RV 'boil,' as elsewhere in AV Ex $9^{9.10.11}$, Lv $13^{18.19.20.23}$ [1611 'bile'], 2 K 20^{7}, Job 2^{7}, Is 38^{21} [all]). See Medicine.

J. Hastings.

BOTTLE (חֵמֶת, נֹאד, נֵבֶל, בַּקְבֻּק, אוֹב, *ἀσκός*; RV skin, wine-skin).—The multiplicity of names is suggestive of its manifold use, serving as a receptacle at once for a tear (Ps 56^{8}) and a thunderstorm (Job 38^{37}). The mention of bottle in connexion with the Gibeonites, Hagar, David, etc., refers to both pastoral and agricultural life (Jos 9^{4}, Gn 21^{19}, 1 S 25^{18}). The bottle was a leathern bag made from the skins of the young kid, goat, cow, or buffalo. The largest ones were roughly squared and sewn up. The smaller were drawn off entire, thus retaining the shape of the animal with the legs removed. Those for holding water, milk, butter, and cheese usually had the hair left on, but for wine and oil the tanning had to be more thoroughly done. This was by means of oak-bark and seasoning in smoke, a process that gave a pitchy astringency of flavour to the wine contained in them. The distension that the leather underwent once, and once only, during fermentation, gave the parable that each age must interpret for itself with regard to the new treatment of new truths (Mt 9^{17}, Mk 2^{22}, Lk 5^{37}).

The skin-bottle, being portable and unbreakable, was admirably suited for the deep stone-built well, the shepherd's troughs, and the encampment of the traveller in waterless districts. The carrying of water for sale for household purposes has often been an emblem of servitude, and is chiefly done by the aged and infirm. One of the characteristic figures in Oriental towns during summer is the man who sells from his dripping goat-skin the refreshing drink of iced-water flavoured with lemon, rose, or liquorice, temptingly clapping his brass cups, and crying 'Drink, drink, thirsty one' (cf. Is 55^{1}). While the bottle is highly prized, and its water is a grateful necessity, the luxury of the

---

* On this word see esp. Huxtable in *Expositor*, Second series, vol. iii. p. 269 ff.

East belongs to the spring itself, to the draught from the fountain of living waters. Hence the comparison at Jacob's well (Jn 4^{14}), and the one blessed terminus of all the Shepherd's leading (Rev 7^{17}).

For Bottle of earthenware see PITCHER.

G. M. MACKIE.

BOTTOM.—1. Common enough for the deep of the sea, 'bottom' is used in Zec 1^{8} for a deep place in the land, a valley: 'the myrtle trees that were in the b.' (RVm 'shady place,' Heb. TR בַּמְּצֻלָּה, Baer בַּמְּצֻלָּה; the pl. is used of the depths of the sea Jon 2^{5}, of a river Zec 10^{11}, and of miry places Ps 69^{2}; see Wright on Zec 1^{8}). Compare—

> 'West of this place, down in the neighbour bottom.'
> Shaks. *As You Like It*, IV. ii. 79.

The word is still used locally in this sense. 2. The pl. 'bottoms' occurs Jon 2^{6} 'I went down to the b. of the mountains' (קֶצֶב, lit. 'a cutting off,' as AVm); Wis 17^{14} 'out of the bottoms of inevitable hell' (*ἐξ ἀδυνάτου ᾅδου μυχῶν*).

3. **Bottomless Pit** is the AV trⁿ of *φρέαρ τῆς ἀβύσσου*, Rev $9^{1.2}$ (RV 'pit of the abyss'), and of *ἄβυσσος* alone, 9^{11} 11^{7} 17^{8} $20^{1.3}$ (RV 'abyss'). See ABYSS.

J. HASTINGS.

BOUGH.—Dt 24^{20} AVm, 'when thou beatest thine olive tree, thou shalt not bough it' (text 'thou shalt not go over the boughs again'). This is the only example of a verb 'b.' in this sense, and it has been missed by *Oxf. Eng. Dict.* It is formed directly from the noun in imitation of the Heb. (תְּפָאֵר from פֹּארָה a bough).

J. HASTINGS.

BOUGHT.—1 S 25^{29} AVm 'in the midst of the b. of a sling.' The b. is the loop or 'bowed' part of the sling on which the stone was laid. Bow, as most modern versions of AV have it, was never used in this sense. 'Bout' is another spelling, as Milton, *L'Allegro*, 140—

> 'In notes, with many a winding bout
> Of linked sweetness long drawn out.'

J. HASTINGS.

BOW.—1. In archery, see next article. 2. See RAINBOW. 3. Bow as a verb is of frequent occurrence, rendering many Heb. and Gr. words. Most usages are clear, but notice: 'Bow,' or 'bow the knee,' now obsolete or archaic, as Jg 5^{27} 'At her feet he bowed, he fell, he lay' (Moore, 'sank down, fell, lay still,' who explains that כָּרַע is properly 'bend the knees,' kneel, crouch, squat on the heels, said of a mortally wounded man whose knees fail under him, 2 K 9^{24}); the same Heb. in Est 3^{2} 'Mordecai bᵉᵈ not nor did him reverence,' *i.e.* neither bᵉᵈ the knee nor fell prostrate; and in Ps 22^{29} 'All they that go down to the dust shall b. before him,' which Del. explains: all that for want are ready to die (the 'dust,' עָפָר, being the grave), go down upon their knees, because they are esteemed worthy of a place at this table; and Is 45^{23} 'unto me every knee shall bow,' quoted in Ro 14^{11}, Ph 2^{10} (*κάμπτω*). In Mt 27^{29} 'they bowed the knee before him,' RV 'kneeled,' the Gr. is *γονυπετέω* from *γόνυ*, *knee*, and *πέτω*, *i.e.* *πίπτω*, *fall*. Of Gn 41^{43} 'they cried before him, Bow the knee,' the Heb. אַבְרֵךְ is separately discussed under ABRECH.

Besides 'bow the knee' we have *bow the head*, Is 58^{5} 'to bow down his head as a rush,' Jn 19^{30} 'he bowed his head and gave up the ghost'; *bow the face*, Lk 24^{5} 'they were afraid, and bowed down their faces to the earth'; *bow the back*, Ro 11^{10}; *bow the shoulder*, Gn 49^{15} 'he bowed his shoulder to bear'; *bow the neck*, Sir 33^{26} 'A yoke and a collar do bow the neck'; *bow the loins*, Sir 47^{19} 'thou didst bow thy loins unto women'; *bow the ear*, 2 K 19^{16} 'LORD, bow down thine ear (RV 'incline thine ear'), and hear'; and *bow the heart*, 2 S 19^{14} 'he bowed the heart of all the men of Judah'; 'Bow the heavens,' a strongly transitive use, is found 2 S 22^{10}=Ps 18^{9}, and 144^{5} (the Heb. is the common verb נָטָה *nâṭâh*, to bend, and the figure is that Jʰ caused the clouds to descend with Him as He descended to judgment). See BOWING.

J. HASTINGS.

BOW.—'Battle-bows,' so named (Zec 9^{10} 10^{4}), were probably of bronze (נְחשֶׁת *nĕḥosheth*), a metal harder than copper, being composed of copper and tin, different therefore from our *brass*, which is a mixture of copper and zinc. Such bows needed great strength to bend (Ps 18^{34} RV, which, however, reads 'bow of *brass*.' Cf. 2 K 9^{24}). Bows might also be made of two straight horns joined together (Homer, *Il.* iv. 105–111), or again of wood.

'A deceitful bow' is used (Ps 78^{57}, Hos 7^{16}) as a figure for a person who disappoints the hopes formed of him. A bow might be 'deceitful' through simply missing its mark, or through breaking, and so missing. Teucer's bow-string breaks (Homer, *Il.* xv. 463–465), and the arrow wanders from the mark. 'Deceitful' (רְמִיָּה *rĕmîyyah*) might also be rendered 'slack,' so that possibly a *badly-strung* bow may be meant.

W. E. BARNES.

BOWELS.—1. Literally, as 2 Ch 21^{18} 'the LORD smote him in his bowels (מֵעִים) with an incurable disease';* Ac 1^{18} 'he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels (*σπλάγχνα*) gushed out.' 2. Figuratively as the seat of deep-felt emotions: (*a*) with הָמָה = murmur or thrill, of affection or sympathy, Is 16^{11} 63^{15} (the cogn. subst. AV paraphrases 'yearning') Jer 31^{20}, Ca 5^{4}; (*b*) Ps 40^{8} 'Thy law is in the midst of my bowels,' *i.e.* the object of my innermost affections; (*c*) of distressing emotions, Job 30^{37} (see Davidson, *ad loc.*), La 1^{20} 2^{11} (lit. 'are in ferment'). See BODY and MEDICINE.

J. HASTINGS.

BOWING (נָטוּי), Ps 62^{3}, meaning bulged, burst, overthrown.—The ref. is to the effect of a sudden and heavy fall of rain, the 'overflowing shower' of Ezk 13^{11} 38^{22}, which in an hour sometimes converts a garden into a sheet of water. To obviate such pressure, garden walls in Syria are built with openings to let off the water.

G. M. MACKIE.

BOWL.—i. A vessel of this sort, a hollow dish in which to receive the milk of the flock and present the simple family meal, is indispensable for even the lowest stage of nomad life. For these purposes the primitive Hebrews, like the wandering tribes of to-day, doubtless used bowls of wood instead of fragile earthenware. It was in such a dish, 'a b. fit for lords' (AV 'a lordly dish'), that Jael offered Sisera a draught of sour milk (Jg 5^{25}). The same word (סֵפֶל, LXX *λεκάνη*, (A, *λακάνη*), see Moore, *Judges*, pp. 164 f.) denotes the b. into which Gideon wrung the water from his fleece (Jg 6^{38}). From both these passages it may be inferred that the ספל was a dish of at least medium size; in Gideon's case it may have been of the porous earthenware (see POTTERY) which has been in use among the settled population of Canaan from the earliest times. Many specimens of this ware were found by the officers of the Pal. Expl. Fund, and more recently by Flinders Petrie and Bliss in the mound of Tell el-Hesy (see Petrie, *Lachish*, and Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities*, *passim*).

ii. The large silver bowls presented by 'the princes of the congregation' (Nu $7^{13ff.}$) have been mentioned under BASON. The same word (מִזְרָק) is applied by Am (6^{6}) to the large and costly bowls used by the nobles of Samaria for their debauches. Jer. mentions a still larger b. (גָּבִיעַ, AV 'pot'—Gn 44$^{2ff.}$ of Joseph's 'cup'), corresponding to the *crater*, from which the drinking cups (כֹּסוֹת) were replenished (Jer 35^{5}). The material was no doubt silver.

---

* Cf. 2 Mac 9^{5} of Antiochus Epiphanes: 'But the Lord Almighty, the God of Israel, smote him with an incurable and invisible plague; for as soon as he had spoken these words, a pain of the bowels that was remediless came upon him, and sore torments of the inner parts; and that most justly, for he had tormented other men's bowels with many and strange torments.'

iii. In AV bowl is the rendering of גביע as applied to the cup (RV) or calyx of beaten work used as an ornament on the stem and branches of the golden candlestick (see under TABERNACLE).

iv. גֻּלָּה Zec 4^{3}, also in correct text of v.^{2}, is the bowl or receptacle for oil in the candlestick of Zechariah's vision, and is used in the same sense with ref. to the 'lamp of life' (Ec 12^{6}). It also denotes the bowl-shaped or spheroidal capitals of Jachin and Boaz (1 K 7$^{41.\,42}$, 2 Ch 4$^{12.\,13}$).

v. In Is 51$^{17.\,22}$, for 'dregs of the cup,' etc., RV renders 'b. of the cup' (קֻבַּעַת כוס); the second word, however, is best regarded as a gloss to explain the preceding unusual word. In Rev *passim* RV adopts 'bowl' as the equivalent of *φιάλη* (AV 'vial'). For other changes of RV (including כְּפוֹר, AV 'bason,' RV 'bowl'), see BASON. A. R. S. KENNEDY.

BOX.—In 2 K 9$^{1.\,3}$ AV, a box (פַּךְ) of oil is mentioned, RV *vial*. In 1 S 10^{1} it is said that Samuel 'took the *vial* (פַּךְ) of oil,' in 16^{1} God's command to Samuel is 'fill thy *horn* (קֶרֶן) with oil.' It seems probable that horn is the true meaning, as, being closed at the tip, it could easily be sealed up at the other end and carried about. Perfume boxes (בָּתֵּי־הַנֶּפֶשׁ) are spoken of in Is 3^{20} RV. In Van Dyck's Arab. tr. they are called *ḥănâjir*, the common word for small pots of earthenware for carrying ointments. In Mt 26^{7}, Mk 14^{3}, Lk 7^{37} 'alabaster box (RV cruse) of ointment' (*ἀλάβαστρον*) is mentioned. The word used in Arabic is *ḳârûrah*, which may mean a small vase or jar of earthenware or other material. In Syria olive oil is often kept sealed up in small earthen jars. The word **alabaster**, though originally applied to vases made of that substance, seems to have been often used for a vessel containing an unguent without special regard to the material of which it was made. As the ointment referred to is said to have been very precious, it is probable that the vase may have been alabaster. The breaking refers, of course, to the seal, not to the vase. W. CARSLAW.

BOX TREE (תְּאַשּׁוּר *tĕashshûr*, *λεύκη*, *κέδρος*, Aq. Th. *θαασούρ*, *buxus*, *pinus*).—The only species of box found in Bible lands is *Buxus longifolia*, Boiss., which is a shrub from 2 to 3 ft. high. It does not grow south of Mt. Cassius, and it is unlikely that it did in historical times. It is improbable that it was at all familiar to the Hebrews.

The other trees alluded to in the three passages in which the *tĕashshûr* is mentioned (Is 41^{19} 60^{13}, Ezk 27^{6}) were familiar. They are the *cedar*, *shiṭṭah* (RV acacia), *myrtle*, *fir*, *oak*, *pine* (?). It is unlikely that an unfamiliar and insignificant bush would be associated with these, which, with the exception of the myrtle, the emblem of greenness and triumph, were all lordly trees, and familiar to those who heard the prophecy. Its name signifies *erectness* or *tallness*, which indicates that it also was a stately tree. Unfortunately, philology gives us no help in solving the question, as the word *tĕashshûr* has not been preserved in the Arabic. The old Arab. VS gives *sherbin*, which is one name for the wild form of *Cupressus sempervirens*, L., the *cypress*. This is a stately tree, and everyway suitable. There are a number of other fine evergreens in Bible lands, as the Cilician spruce, *Abies Cilicica*, Boiss.; the alpine juniper, *Juniperus excelsa*, L. (Arab. *lizzâb*); the large-fruited juniper, *J. macrocarpa*, Sibth. et Sm.; the plum-fruited juniper, *J. drupacea*, Lab.; any one of which would do for *tĕashshûr*. It is useless to come to the LXX for light, as it translates the word in one passage *λεύκη*, *the white poplar*, and in another *κέδρος*, the *cedar*. The positive determination of the tree is hopeless. It would be better to transliterate it, as in the case of the *algum*, and call it the *tĕashshûr*.

G. E. POST.

BOY.—See CHILDREN.

BOZEZ (בּוֹצֵץ), 1 S 14^{4}.—A steep cliff on one side of the Michmash gorge opposite Seneh. It seems to be the northern cliff, a remarkable bastion of rock E. of Michmash. The valley is precipitous, and the S. cliff is in shade during most of the day, while the N. is exposed to the noonday sun.

C. R. CONDER.

BOZKATH (בָּצְקַת).—A town of Judah, Jos 15^{39}, 2 K 22^{1}, in the plain near Lachish and Eglon. Unknown.

BOZRAH (בָּצְרָה 'a fortification').—There were several places of this name, and the effort to identify them has resulted in some confusion. In Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. 1893, the letterpress rules out *Boṣrah* in *Haurân*; yet a picture of this city is given as an illustration of Bozrah. Bozrah of Edom was a city of great antiquity (Gn 36^{33} = 1 Ch 1^{44}). Its fate is identified with that of Edom (Is 34^{6}, Jer 49^{13}, Am 1^{12}). It is referred to again in Is 63^{1}, and probably in Mic 2^{12}. *El-Buṣeireh*, 7 miles S.W. of *Tufîleh*, the ancient Tophel (Dt 1^{1}), on the main road N. from Petra, suits the geographical conditions; but the ruins are insignificant. Another possible identification is *Kuṣûr Bashair*. These towers lie about 15 miles S.E. of Dibon (*Dhibân*), and more probably represent Bezer—בֶּצֶר—'in the wilderness,' the city of refuge (Dt 4^{43}), and the Bezer of the Moabite Stone. (See, however, BEZER.)

There remains the question of Bozrah in Moab (Jer 48^{24}). Some (*e.g.* Dillmann on Deut.) identify this with Bezer; but the great city *Boṣrah esh-Shâm* in *Haurân* has also many advocates. This latter is certainly the Bosora of 1 Mac 5$^{26.\,28}$. The case for *Bosrah* rests chiefly on the identification of *Umm el-Jemâl*, 15 miles S., with Beth-gamûl, and *El-Ḳurîyeh*, 7 miles E., with Kerioth, named with Bozrah in this passage. Beth-gamûl, however, may be identical with Jemâil, 8 miles E. of Dibon, while Beth-meon is almost certainly *Ma'în* S.W. of Medeba. It is also contended that Bozrah being in the *Mîshôr*, *Boṣrah* is too far north. But Aphek is in the *Mîshôr*; so probably was *Boṣrah*, lying to the S.E. The cities of Moab, 'far and near,' are included in this judgment. *Boṣrah* is just about the same distance from Nebo as *el-Buṣeirek*, viz. about 60 miles, and it may quite possibly have been in the hands of Moab at that time. W. EWING.

BRACELET (צָמִיד, אֶצְעָדָה, חָח, פָּתִיל, שֵׁרוֹת).—The bracelet has always been a favourite ornament in the East. It is found of many designs: plain ring, flat band, of twisted wires, interlinked rings, and connected squares, solid or perforated, with or without pendants. Bracelets are made of gold, silver, copper, brass, glass, and even enamelled earthenware. While highly ornamental, they had, when in the possession of women, the further recommendation of being inalienable: not to be taken by the husband, nor seized for his debts.

The bracelet of Gn 38^{18} is in RV 'cord,' referring probably to the cord of softly-twisted wool for the shepherd's head-dress. The bracelets of Ex 35^{22}, RV 'brooches' (unoriental), were most likely nose-rings.

The bracelet appears, together with the crown, as one of the royal insignia in 2 S 1^{10}. It is probable that in 2 K 11^{12} also we ought, with Wellhausen and W. R. Smith (*OTJC*², 311 n.), to read 'bracelets' (הצעדות) for 'testimony' (העדות). G. M. MACKIE.

BRAG.—Jth 16^{5} 'He bragged (εἶπεν, RV 'he said') that he would burn up my borders'; Sir 11 (heading) 'Brag not of thy wealth'; 2 Mac 9^{7} 'he nothing at all ceased from his bragging' (ἀγερωχία, RV 'rude insolence'); and 15^{32} 'with proud brags' (ἐμεγαλαύχησε, so RV). This is probably one of the undignified words in the *Apocrypha* of 1611, of which Scrivener complains. 'Even when their predecessor (the Bishops' Bible) sets them a better example, they resort to undignified, mean, almost vulgar words and phrases; and, on the whole, they convey to the reader's mind the painful impression of having disparaged the importance of their own work, or of having imperfectly realised the truth that what is worth doing at all is worth doing well'—Introd. to *Camb. Paragraph Bible*, p. lxv^{a}. The word is still in use, and still somewhat undignified. J. HASTINGS.

BRAMBLE.—See THORNS AND THISTLES.

BRAN.—In Bar 6^{43} 'The women . . . burn bran for perfume' (τὰ πίτυρα). See PERFUME.

BRANCH is the tr. in OT of a variety of Heb. words, of which those that chiefly concern us are —**1.** זְמוֹרָה (from זָמַר 'trim' or 'prune'), used of the branch of a grape-vine, Nu 13^{23}, Ezk 15^{2}, and figuratively of Israel in Nah 2^{3}. It is this term that is employed in Ezk 8^{17}, where the words, 'They put the branch to their nose,' apparently describe some ceremony connected with sun-worship. Little, however, is known with certainty regarding the custom referred to, even if the text is not corrupt. (See commentaries of Smend and of A. B. Davidson, *ad loc.*) The same word also occurs in the phrase זְמֹרַת זָר 'strange slips,' of Is 17^{10}. See ADONIS. **2.** יוֹנֶקֶת, lit. 'sucker' Job 14^{7}, used of Israel under the figure of a cedar Ezk 17^{22}, an olive Hos 14^{6}, a vine Ps 80^{11} (RV 'shoot'), of the wicked under the figure of a tree Job 8^{16} (RV 'shoot') 15^{30}. Vigorous, widely-spreading branches are a symbol of prosperity (cf. Ps 37^{35}, where the wicked man is spoken of as 'spreading himself like a green tree in its native soil'). **3.** כִּפָּה Job 15^{32}, properly 'palm-branch' as in RV of Is 9^{14} 19^{15}, where 'palm-branch' and 'rush' are parallel respectively to 'head' and 'tail,' the rulers and the rabble (cf. Del. *ad loc.*). **4.** נֵצֶר, lit. a little fresh green twig, as in Is 11^{1} 60^{21}, Dn 11^{7}. The word is used in the ode on the king of Babylon, Is 14^{19}, where the words 'an abominable branch' (נֵצֶר נִתְעָב) apparently designate a useless shoot cut off and left to rot (cf. Jn 15^{6} ἐβλήθη ἔξω ὡς τὸ κλῆμα καὶ ἐξηράνθη, 'he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered'). **5.** צֶמַח. The chief interest of this term lies in its employment in Messianic prophecies. Instead of 'branch,' W. R. Smith and G. A. Smith prefer to render it 'spring.' RVm offers a choice amongst the renderings 'shoot,' 'sprout,' 'bud.' In the earliest passage where צֶמַח occurs with a Messianic reference, Is 4^{2}, it has manifestly no personal sense. 'The *spring* of J″, the God-given fruits of the earth, are the true glory of the remnant of Israel, the best of blessings, because they come straight from heaven, and are the true basis of a peaceful and God-fearing life' (W. R. Smith, *Prophets of Israel*, 329). The language both of Is 4^{2} and of 11^{1} seems to underlie Jeremiah's reference to the Messianic king as the 'Righteous Branch' (צֶמַח צַדִּיק) or 'Branch of Righteousness' (צֶמַח צְדָקָה), Jer 23^{5} 33^{15}. צֶמַח reaches, finally, the rank of a personal name of the Messiah in Zec 3^{8} 6^{12} 'my Servant the Branch,' 'the man whose name is the Branch.' **6.** קָנֶה is used repeatedly by P of the 'branches' of the golden candlestick in the tabernacle, Ex 25^{32} 37^{18} etc.

In NT four Gr. words are tr. 'branch.' **1.** βαΐον, Jn 12^{13} (cf. 1 Mac 13^{51}). Palm Sunday is called in the Greek Church ἡ κυριακὴ τῶν βαΐων. **2.** κλάδος, Mt 13^{32} etc., used figuratively of descendants, *e.g.* of Israel as the 'natural branches,' Ro $11^{16.17.18.19.21}$ (cf. Sir 23^{25} 40^{15}). **3.** κλῆμα, used especially of a vine-branch, Jn 15^{2-6}, where Christ is the vine and His disciples are the branches. **4.** στιβάς, Mk 11^{8}, a ἅπ' λεγ. It is remarkable that Matthew, Mark, and John, in describing Jesus' triumphal entry into Jerus., each use a different word for 'branch,' namely, κλάδος, στιβάς, and βαΐον respectively. J. A. SELBIE.

BRAND.—1. Zec 3^{2} 'a b. plucked out of the fire' (אוּד *'ûd*, perhaps orig. a bent stick used to stir the fire, *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*; tr^{d} 'firebrand,' Is 7^{4} 'these two tails [*i.e.* stumps] of smoking firebrands'; and Am 4^{11} 'a firebrand' [RV 'brand,' to keep up connexion with Zec] plucked out of the burning'). 2. Jg 15^{5} 'when he had set the brands on fire' (לַפִּיד, tr^{d} 'firebrand' 15^{4}). Samson's 'firebrand' was a stick of wood wrapped with some absorbent material and saturated with oil (Moore, *Judges*, p. 341). It is the same Heb. word that is used of the 'lamps' (RV 'torches'), which Gideon's men carried in their pitchers, Jg 7^{16}. The name of Deborah's husband, Lappidoth (Jg 4^{4}), is a plu. of the same word. See LAMP. For **Branding**, see CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS. J. HASTINGS.

BRASS (נְחֹשֶׁת, χαλκός).—Brass is composed of copper and zinc in the proportion of 2 of the former to 1 of the latter. The word is of frequent use in the Bible, but it is uncertain whether in any instance it means the alloy just described, as brass is very rarely found amongst the remains of early cities; while, on the other hand, weapons and implements of copper and bronze are abundant, associated with those of stone and, less frequently, of iron. The expression in Dt 8^{9} 'a land . . . out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass,' shows that the word was used for *copper*. That the latter was worked largely in Arabia Petræa is well known (see MINES, MINING). The abundance of bronze, which is an alloy of copper and tin, amongst the early nations both of Asia and Europe is the more remarkable as tin is of rare occurrence; but its value in giving hardness and other qualities to copper was discovered more than 2000 years B.C. Thus knives, hatchets, hammers, spears, and other articles, both of copper and of bronze, have been discovered amongst the ruins of Chaldæa dating back to about B.C. 2286.[*] The use of copper, bronze, and other metals was known to the ancient Egyptians before the Exodus, and they appear to have understood the art both of hardening bronze and of making it flexible to a degree unknown to us.[†] The art of making bronze is clearly referred to by Homer in his description of the fashioning of the shield of Achilles by Vulcan (*Il.* xviii. 474, where copper and tin [κασσίτερος] are both melted in the furnace); and amongst the ruins of Troy, brought to light by the memorable labours of Schliemann, battle-axes, lances, knives, arrow-heads, and various ornaments both of copper and of bronze, were discovered, together with the moulds of mica-schist and sandstone in which some of these weapons were cast.[‡] Copper and bronze celts have been discovered by di Cesnola in Cyprus amongst the remains of Phœnician settlers,* and they are abundant in Europe and the British Isles associated with remains of pre-historic man.

---

[*] Rawlinson *Anc. Monar.* i. 96 (ed. 1879).

[†] Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyp.* iii. 241, 253; Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. Anc. Egyp. Art*, ii. 378 (1883). Evans considers that when the earliest books of OT were written, gold, silver, iron, tin, lead, brass, and bronze were known; *Anc. Bronze Implements*, p. 5.

[‡] Schliemann, *Ilios*, vii. 433-435; *Troja*, p. 100. Troy was captured by the Greeks about B.C. 1184.

Bible References.—In the Bible 'brass' (*i.e.* copper or bronze) is referred to both actually and symbolically; and it may be desirable to consider the passages under these two heads—

(*A*) *Actual*.—**1.** In Gn 4^{22} Tubal-cain is described as the 'forger of every cutting instrument of brass and iron,' RVm 'copper and iron.' This is the earliest record of the use of these metals. Some doubt has been thrown by Evans on the word *iron*, and he suggests that it has been introduced at a later period during transcription, and that it does not necessarily belong to the age in which Tubal-cain lived.† **2.** In Ex 38^{2-8} the altar of burnt-offering overlaid with brass; also the laver and vessels of brass. The brass of the offering was 70 talents and 2400 shekels (v.^{29}). **3.** In Nu 21^{9} Moses makes a serpent of brass, and sets it upon a standard. **4.** Dt 8^{9} 'A land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass' ‡ (copper). **5.** In 1 S 17^{5} Goliath of Gath clad in armour of brass. **6.** In 2 S 8^{8} King David took 'exceeding much brass' from Betah and from Berothai, cities of Hadadezer. **7.** In 1 K 7^{14} Hiram of Tyre 'a worker in brass.' **8.** In 2 K $25^{13.14}$, Jer 52^{17} the brazen vessels and pillars of the house of the Lord broken and carried away by the Chaldæans. **9.** In 1 Ch 15^{19} 'Cymbals of brass.' **10.** In Job $28^{1.2}$ 'Brass (copper) is molten out of stone.' **11.** In Mt 10^{9} 'Provide neither gold nor silver nor brass in your purses.' **12.** In Rev 9^{20} 'Idols of brass.'

(*B*) *Symbolical*.—**1.** (*Dazzling heat and drought*) Dt 28^{23} 'Thy heaven that is over thy head shall be brass.' **2.** (*Strength, resistance*) Job 6^{12} 'Is my flesh of brass'? 'his (behemoth's §) bones are as tubes of brass,' Job 40^{18} RV; he (leviathan ‖) 'counteth brass as rotten wood,' Job 41^{27}. **3.** (*Power*) Ps 107^{16} 'He hath broken the gates of brass'; Is 45^{2} 'I will break in pieces the doors of brass.' **4.** (*Richness*) Is 60^{17} 'For wood (I will bring) brass.' **5.** (*Brilliancy*) Dn 2^{32} 'His belly and thighs of brass' (Nebuchadrezzar's image); Dn 10^{6} 'His feet like in colour to burnished brass' (Daniel's vision); also Rev 1^{15}. **6.** (*One destitute of love*) 1 Co 13^{1} 'Sounding brass or a clanging cymbal,' RV.

E. Hull.

BRAVERY.—Although b. is used in the modern sense of courage as early as in any other, it had two other meanings which have now been lost. **1.** Connected probably with 'brag' etymologically, it expressed boasting, as 'No Man is an Atheist, however he pretend it, and serve the Company with his Braveries'—Donne (1631); and esp. a military display, as 'The whole Campe (not perceiving that this was but a bravery) fled amaine'—Raleigh (1614), *Hist. of World*, iii. 93. **2.** It expressed splendour, often passing into ostentation (so still locally), as 'The braverie of this world . . . likened is to flowre of grasse'—Tusser (1573). This is the meaning of b. in Is 3^{18} 'the b. of their tinkling ornaments' (תִּפְאָרָה Amer. RV 'beauty'). Cf. Shaks. *Taming of Shrew*, IV. iii. 57—

> 'With scarfs and fans and double change of bravery.'

Bravely occurs Jth 10^{4} '(Judith) decked herself bravely (ἐκαλλωπίσατο σφόδρα) to allure the eyes of all men that should see her.' It is the general sense of 'finely,' 'handsomely.' Cf. Celia's jesting words in *As You Like It*, III. iv. 43: 'O, that's a brave man! he writes b. verses, speaks b. words, swears b. oaths, and breaks them bravely'; and Scot. 'braw,' 'brawly.'

J. Hastings.

BRAWLER.—To brawl in its earliest use, and till the beg. of the 17th cent., was simply to quarrel or fight (without the 'noisily and indecently' of Johnson); and this seems to be the meaning in AV. **Brawl** as subst. occurs Sir 27^{14} 'their brawls make one stop his ears' (μάχη, RV 'strife'). **Brawling** as subst. Sir 31^{29}; as adj. Pr 21^{9} 25^{24} 'a b. (RV 'contentious') woman' (אֵשֶׁת מִדְיָנִים, tr^{d} 'contentious woman' 27^{15}; cf. 'contentious man' 26^{21}). **Brawler** occurs in AV 1 Ti 3^{3}, Tit 3^{2} (Gr. ἄμαχος, RV 'contentious'). RV gives 'brawler' for AV 'given to wine' 1 Ti 3^{3}, Tit 1^{7} (Gr. πάροινος, RVm 'quarrelsome over wine').

J. Hastings.

BRAY.—There are two distinct words, and both occur.

1. To make a harsh cry, once used of horses and other animals (cf. Job 30^{7} 'Among the bushes they bray,' spoken of Job's mockers who are 'dogs of the flock,' and Ps 42^{1} Geneva Bible, 'As the hart brayeth for the rivers of water,' retained in AVm), now used only of the ass: Job 6^{5} 'Doth the wild ass b. when he hath grass?'

2. To beat small, to pound, still in use but freq. (if not always) with ref. to its (only) occurrence in AV, Pr 27^{22}, which is Coverdale's tr^{n} (1535), 'Though thou shouldest bray a foole with a pestell in a morter like otemeell, yet wil not his foolishnesse go from him.' Cf. Stubbes (1583), 'The word of God is not preached vnto them, and as it were braied, punned, interpreted, and expounded.'

J. Hastings.

BRAZEN SEA.—See Sea (Brazen) and Brass.

BREACH.—A b. may be either (1) the breaking itself, or (2) the result of the breaking. **1.** Nu 14^{34} 'Ye shall know my b. of promise' (תְּנוּאָה, RV 'alienation,' RVm 'revoking of my promise'); 2 S 6^{8} 'the Lord had made a b. upon Uzzah' (פֶּרֶץ *pereẓ*, RV 'had broken forth,' cf. Gn 38^{29}); Job 16^{14} 'He breaketh me with b. upon b.' (*pereẓ*). **2.** A place that is broken, as Is 30^{13}, 'a b. ready to fall' (*pereẓ*); Lv 24^{20} 'B. for b., eye for eye, tooth for tooth' (שֶׁבֶר *shebher*): or the gap that is thus made (the mod. use), as Am 4^{3} 'Ye shall go out at the b^{es}, every one straight before her' (*pereẓ*); Jg 5^{17} 'Asher continued on the seashore, and abode in his b^{es}' (מִפְרָץ *miphrâẓ*, RV 'creeks,' *i.e.* gaps in the shore, Vulg. *portus*, Wyclif 'havens'; the Heb. word occurs only here, see Moore *in loc.*); La 2^{13} 'thy b. (*shebher*) is great like the sea, who can heal thee?' For **B. of Covenant** see Crimes.

J. Hastings.

BREAD (לֶחֶם *leḥem*, ἄρτος).—i. A word used in the Bible in several senses—

1. As food in general, of animals, as Job 24^{5} and Is 65^{25}; or of man, as Gn 3^{19}, where the word is first used. See also Gn 47^{12}, Job 33^{20} etc. In the sense of solid food as opposed to drink, Ps 104^{15}. In the sense of the bare necessary sustenance of life it is used in Is 33^{16}, Ex 23^{25}, and in the Lord's Prayer (?). See also 1 K 17^{11}.

2. The kind of food which comes forth from the earth, vegetable food, as in Job 28^{5}, Is 30^{23}, and 55^{10}, contrasted with *bâsar* or flesh in 1 K 17^{6}.

3. *Leḥem* is used as the name of the miraculous food wherewith the Israelites were fed in the wilderness, Ex $16^{4.22}$, called interrogatively 'manna' or 'what'? 'bread of heaven,' in Ps 105^{40}. In Nu 21^{5} this bread is called *ḳilḳel*, 'mean or insignificant.'

4. The staple food of a nation is called the 'staff of b.' (Lv 26^{26}, Ezk 4^{16}), or the stay (support) of b. (Is. 3^{1}). Hence famine is the breaking of the staff of b., and is typified by the selling of bread by weight, Lv 26^{26}, Ezk 4^{16}. Lands which are productive of b.-stuffs are called Lands of b., as Egypt (Gn 41^{54}) and Babylon (Is 36^{17}), whose fertility in producing corn is mentioned by Herodotus, i. 193. Abundance of food is called 'fulness of b.,' so often a snare to mankind, as it was to Sodom (Ezk 16^{49});

---

* Bronze was also used by the Phœnicians for works of art in very early times; Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. of Art in Phœnicia and Cyprus*, ii. 2 (1885).

† *Anc. Bronze Imp.* pp. 5, 6; see also Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* iii. 241.

‡ Perrot and Chipiez, *supra cit.* ii. 378.

§ Hippopotamus.

‖ Crocodile.

such an abundance is promised to Asher as fatness of b. (Gn 49^{20}). Personal poverty is described as want of b. (Is 51^{14}, La 1^{11}, 4^{4}). Such poverty may be a punishment, as in the curse pronounced on the descendants of Joab (2 S 3^{29}) and Eli (1 S 2^{36}), or on the wicked in general (Job 27^{14}), but may be due to misfortune, not crime (Ec 9^{11}). The Psalmist, however, never found the children of the righteous in this plight (Ps 37^{25}). The poor are described as 'wandering for b.' (Job 15^{23}). Abstinence from b. may be the token of a vow, as in the case of David (2 S 3^{35}); and the asceticism of John the Baptist is expressed by Christ by the phrase 'neither eating b. nor drinking wine' (Lk 7^{33}).

5. The hastily prepared food offered to a stranger or wayfarer in token of welcome and hospitality is called b., as in Gn 14^{18} 18^{5}. So Joseph bade his servants 'set on b.' for his brethren (Gn 43^{31}); and the witch of Endor thus entertained Saul (1 S 28^{22}). For want of this hospitality, the Succothites were punished by Gideon (Jg 8^{15}), and the Ammonites and Moabites were excluded from the congreg. of Isr. (Dt 23^{4}, Neh 13^{2}). Such hospitality was customary among the Bedawin (Is 21^{14}), as all travellers have testified from Sinuhat (*RP* vi. 131) to Doughty (*Arabia Deserta*, 1888). Our Lord bade His apostles not to take bread with them, but to partake of hospitality on their missionary journeys (Lk 9^{3}). On such occasions the host breaks the b. for his guests; so Christ did for the multitude whom He fed by miracle (Mt 14^{19} etc.), and for His disciples at the Last Supper (Lk 22^{19} etc.). So St. Paul acted as host to his shipmates during the storm (Ac 27^{35}). Breaking of b. became the early name of the communion feast of the primitive Church (Ac $2^{42.\,46}$ 20^{7}, 1 Co 10^{16} 11^{23}). The breaking has special relevancy to the common form of the Jewish bread.

6. B. was the most convenient form in which to give food to the poor; hence giving (literally breaking) b. to the hungry is a common expression for the dispensing of charity (Pr 22^{9}, Is 58^{7}, Ezk $18^{7.\,16}$). To withhold this was a crime (Job 22^{7}). In the judgment chapter of the Egyp. Bk. of the Dead (cxxv. l. 38) it is said of the righteous man that he has given b. to the hungry; and this claim is occasionally found in funeral inscriptions (*RP* ii. 14). In Ps 132^{15} God promises to satisfy the poor of His people with bread.

7. B. made from corn, being dry and portable, was the best food for a journey. With it Hagar was victualled for her return to Egypt (Gn 21^{14}), and Saul when in search of the lost asses (1 S 9^{7}). The Gibeonites imposed on Joshua by showing that their bread had become dry and crumbled. *Nikkud* signifies a crumb, and the *nikkudim* were crumbs rather than mould-points. LXX, however, renders it εὐρωτιῶν, as also Theod. and Kimchi (Jos 9^{5}).

8. B. was used to aid in eating soft food, so Jacob gave Esau b. with his pottage (Gn 25^{34}), and Rebekah prepared b. for Isaac's savoury meat (Gn 27^{17}). The ψωμίον given by our Lord to Judas was probably a sop of bread.

ii. The materials of which bread was made were barley, wheat, spelt, millet, and lentiles. (See articles under these titles.)

The best bread was made of **wheat**, חִטָּה (Gn 30^{14}), which when ground was called קֶמַח or meal (Jg 6^{19}, 1 S 1^{24}, 1 K 4^{22} $17^{12.\,14}$). In Egypt wheat was called *ḥi* or *ḥa*; when growing it was called *ketti*, and when cut and winnowed *khakha*. Several kinds were grown, the common (*Triticum vulgare*) and the many-eared (*T. compositum*), which sometimes has seven ears on a stalk (Gn 41^{5}). Two kinds are distinguished by Jewish authors, the light-coloured and the dark (*Peah* 2^{5-6}; see also Tristram, *Land of Israel*, 584). The word for an ear of corn, שִׁבֹּלֶת, in the Ephraimite dialect was pronounced *sibboleth* (Jg 12^{6}); in rabbinical writings *shibboleth sho'al* is used for Ægilops or wild oats, and *shiphon* for another kind of oats, which are not mentioned in the Bible. When full but not quite ripe, these ears were often roasted or boiled, the 'parched corn' of the Bible (Lv 23^{14}, 1 S 17^{17}, 2 S 17^{28}), and called by the Arabs *ferik* (see also 2 K 4^{42}), the best ears for the purpose being grown in highly cultivated garden-land (Lv 2^{14}, Targ. Ibn G'anâch). The word *ḥiṭṭah* in the singular usually means the cereal as growing, and is used in the plural for the cut and winnowed grain. It was sown either broadcast (Mt 13^{3}) or in rows, שׂוֹרָה (Is 28^{25}), translated 'principal' in AV. The wheat harvest was usually in May, and the grain was reaped with a sickle, as in Egypt (Dt 16^{9}, Joel 3^{13}, Rev 14^{14}), and bound in sheaves, or cut off short by the ears in the Picenian mode (Job 24^{24}; see Varro, *de re rustica*, i. 50), or pulled up by the arm (Is 17^{5}, see also *Peah*, 4. 10, and Maundrell's *Journey*, p. 144). The sheaves, called אֲלֻמִּים from being bound (Gn 37^{7}, Ps 126^{6}), or צְבָתִים (Ru 2^{16}), or עֳמָרִים (Lv 23^{10}, Dt 24^{19}, Ru $2^{7.\,15}$, Job 24^{10}) from being collected in bundles, were piled in heaps (גָּדִישׁ Ex 22^{6}, Jg 15^{5}), and were carted to the threshing-floor (Am 2^{13}; see AGRICULTURE), a flat, well-levelled surface in a high place, exposed to the wind, preferably the S. or S.E. wind from the wilderness, and therefore dry. Such threshing-floors were permanent landmarks (Gn $50^{10.\,11}$, 2 S $24^{16.\,18}$), on which the grain was trampled by oxen, or run over by a *ḥaruẓ* (Is 28^{27}), *morag*, or sledge (Is 41^{15}, 2 S 24^{22}, 1 Ch 21^{23}), called *mowrej* at the present day. Gideon, being afraid to go to a public threshing-floor, beat his grain with a flail in private (Jg 6^{11}). The corn, winnowed with a fork and shovel or fan, was collected and stored in a cache, or underground chamber, or dry well with clay walls (2 S 17^{19}, Jer 41^{8}), or in an inner room. Thomson (*Land and Book*, i. 90) speaks of these underground receptacles as specially useful in protecting the grain from ants. It is remarkable that there is no reference to these grain cisterns in the Mishna. Barns or granaries were also used (Job 39^{12}, Mt 13^{30}, Lk 3^{17} 12^{18}). The first sheaf cut was presented as a wave sheaf before the Lord (Lv 23^{10}), and sometimes decorated with lilies and other flowers (Ca 7^{2}. See for similar ceremonies Frazer, *Golden Bough*, i. 334). There were several qualities of wheat; that of Minnith being esteemed the best (Ezk 27^{17}). Pannag, given as a place-name in AV, is rendered cassia in the LXX and millet in the Peshiṭta, but is left untranslated in RV. It was prob. some kind of aromatic or spice. Michmash and Zânû'ah were also famous for wheat, as was 'Ephrajin, where the straw grew so long that the proverb 'bringing straw to 'Ephrajin' = 'bringing coals to Newcastle' (*Menaḥ*. 85. a. 5). The meal used in the offerings is called סֹלֶת, or finely ground (Ex 29^{40}, Lv 2^{5}, Nu 7^{13} etc.), to distinguish it from the קֶמַח or ordinary meal. The best is called *ḥeleb kilioth ḥiṭṭah*, 'fat of kidneys of wheat' (Dt 32^{14}). This fine flour was the food of the wealthy (1 K 4^{22}, 2 K 7^{1}, Ezk $16^{13.\,19}$, Rev 18^{13}).

Another material used in making bread was דֹּחַן (Ezk 4^{9}), which is the Arab. *dukhan*. This was a smaller grain, probably dhurah (*Sorghum vulgare*), which is extensively grown in Bible lands, and used as a food-stuff by the peasantry. It is the chief cereal of the poor in Arabia; but dhurah bread is not generally relished by Europeans.

כֻּסֶּמֶת or spelt (*Triticum spelta*) is another coarse grain, with coarse strong straw and prickly heads, often sown on the borders of barley fields to enclose them (Is 28^{25}). See Surenhusius (*Mishnah, Kilaim Amst.* i. 121). The grains of spelt do not easily separate from the husk when rubbed in the hands, as do those of wheat (Lk 6^{1}). It ripens later than barley, and so escaped the plague of hail (Ex 9^{32}). The word is tr^{d} 'rye' in AV in this place, and 'fitches' in Ezk 4^{9}; but these are certainly incorrect. In LXX it is rendered ὄλυρα, which was in Greece used as food for horses (Homer, *Il.* v. 196). Aq. and Theod. tr. it ζέα, which is a different species of grain, *Triticum zea* (Dioscorides, II. cxi.; Theophrastus, *HP* viii. 1. 3; Sprengel, *Geschichte Botan.* p. 36). Ibn G'anâch tr^{s} it 'vetch.' ζέα was also a cattle food, see *Odyss.* iv. 41. 604. LXX calls Elijah's cake (1 K 19^{6}) *olūritēs*. Herodotus says that the Egyp. bread was made of *olyra* (ii. 36. 77); and in the Book of the Dead spelt (*bot*) is the grain represented as growing in the fields of the under-world (cix. 5); but the monuments show that wheat was also a common food-stuff (Ex 9^{32}). The genuine rye (*Secale cereale*) was probably not cultivated in Bible lands; it is called in Gemara *neshman* by a paronomasia on Is 28^{25}.

Beans, פּוֹל, were used as an ingredient in bread (Ezk 4^{9}), and were also eaten roasted or parched (קָלִי); see 2 S 17^{28}. Lentiles, עֲדָשִׁים, were also made into bread (Ezk 4^{9}); the small red lentile or *'adas* is still used for this purpose among the poorest classes in Egypt (Sonnini). Lentiles and beans were probably among the זֵרְעֹנִים or 'pulse' on which Daniel and his companions were fed (Dn 1^{16}); but the word means vegetables in general. The flamen dialis among the Romans was forbidden to use beans as food (Aulus Gell. *Noct. Attic.* 10. xv. 12).

iii. Bread-corn of any sort is called דָּגָן, and this word is often associated with wine as descriptive of fertility (Gn $27^{28.\ 37}$, Dt 7^{13} 11^{14} 12^{17} 18^{4} 28^{51} 33^{28}, 2 K 18^{32}, 2 Ch 31^{5} 32^{28}, Ps 4^{7}, Is 36^{17}, La 2^{12}, Hos $2^{8.\ 22}$ 7^{14}, Hag 1^{11}, Zec 9^{17}, Jl $1^{10.\ 17}$, Neh 5^{2} 10^{39}). Grain when winnowed and stored is called בַּר, as Gn 41^{35} 42^{25}, Pr 11^{26}, Am 8^{5}. This word is rarely used of grain on the stalk (as Ps 65^{9} 72^{16}), and in Jer 23^{28} is used of grain as contrasted with the husk or straw. תבואה is also used in the Talmud to indicate the grain as distinguished from the straw (Sabb. 18^{1}, Brn 6^{5} 9^{1}). Standing corn was commonly distinguished as קָמָה.

Corn was prepared by bruising in a mortar or grinding in a mill; in the former case it is called רִיפוֹת, as in 2 S 17^{19}, Pr 27^{22}, where the point of the figure seems to be, that though the fool be associated with wise men he does not lose his characteristic folly. The mortar or *maktesh* and the pestle or *'èli* were usually of stone.

The mills in common use were called רֵחַיִם, the dual form referring to the two stones. They were in shape like the *bradh* or quern in use until comparatively recent times in the Hebrides and West of Ireland, and consisted of a nether millstone or *sekeb*, which was fixed, and convex on its upper surface, upon which the upper millstone or *rekeb* ('the chariot,' in Arabic the *rakib*, 'rider') rotated. In this was a central hole through which the grain was poured, while the stone was being rotated by means of a handle fixed in its upper surface, near its edge. The upper millstone is made of a porous unpolishing lava from the Hauran, while the nether (proverbially hard) is either of the same material, or else of compact sandstone, limestone, or basalt. The history and references to such mills are given at length in Goetz, *de molis et pistrinis veterum*; Hoheisel in Ugolini's *Thesaurus*, xxix.; and Heringius, *de molis veterum.* The corn was daily ground by women (Mt 24^{41}), usually by a pair of slaves (Ex 11^{5}, Is 47^{2}. Cf. Plautus, *Mercat.* ii. 3. 62; *Odyss.* xx. 105), who sat on the ground, facing each other, and worked together. Among the poor it was done by the wife (*Shabbath* vii. 2); hence the expression in Job 31^{10} means to become another's concubine (cf. Ausonius, *Epig.* lxxi. 7, and the Horatian 'non alienas permolere uxores,' *Sat.* i. 2. 34). Captives were thus employed in grinding (Jg 16^{21}).

Cessation of the noise of the mills was a sign of desolation (Jer 25^{10}, Rev 18^{22}). The sound of the grinding in Ec 12^{4} may be the chant of the women (*Odyss.* xx. 105. 119; see also Aristoph. *Thesmophor.* 480). In later days mills became larger, and were moved by animal power, or wind or water, and grinding became a trade (*Demai* iii. 4). Asses are mentioned in rabbinical writings as used for this purpose, and an ass in a mill was a proverbial phrase (in *Mischar hapenninim*, quoted by Buxtorf, *Florileg. Hebr.* 309). The great millstone in Mt 18^{6} is *μύλος ὀνικός*, either a millstone turned by an ass (RVm), or else a nether millstone (Ludolf, *in loco*; see Hoheisel, p. 57; Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.* in Luc. xvii.) called 'the ass,' because it bore the burden of the top stone.

The meal or flour, when ground, was next mixed with water, and kneaded into dough. In Egypt this was done by the feet (Herod. ii. 36) as represented on the tomb of Ramses III., but among the Jews usually in kneading-troughs (*mishereth*). These were shallow wooden bowls (Ex 8^{3}), which could easily be bound up in their clothes (Ex 12^{34}). Harmer has conjectured that the word refers to a leathern bag or bread-wallet, often carried by the Arabs (iv. 366); but this is improbable. Bread-making was at first a family occupation, done by the wife (Gn 18^{6}), the sister (2 S 13^{8}), the female servants (1 S 8^{13}) or other female member of the household (1 S 28^{24}, Jer 7^{18} 44^{19}, Mt 13^{33}). In later days baking became a trade (Hos $7^{4.\ 6}$); and in towns the breadsellers occupied a definite place in the bazaar, 'the bakers' street' (Jer 37^{21}). This place may be referred to Neh 3^{11} 12^{38}, where the 'tower of the ovens' is mentioned, as *tannur* is used for a baker's oven in Lv 2^{4} 11^{35} 26^{26}, Hos 7^{4}. Josephus speaks of the bakers in Jewish towns (*Ant.* XV.ix. 2).

In the family, bread was baked daily as wanted, as it became tough and unpalatable when stale (Gn 18^{6}). It has been conjectured that this daily preparation is referred to in the Lord's Prayer; but the petition rather refers to quantity than quality (for signification of *ἐπιούσιον* see Lightfoot, *Revision*, 195; and art. LORD'S PRAYER). The amount of a daily baking was an ephah (=3 seahs or measures of meal=$4\frac{1}{2}$ pecks), as in Gn 18^{6}, Mt 13^{33}, Jg 6^{19}, 1 S 1^{24}. Probably this was proportional to the size of the oven, and the amount was smaller in time of famine (Lv 26^{26}). Salt was mixed with the dough (Ezr 6^{9} 7^{22}), which was then ready for the rapid preparation of unleavened bread or for leavening. In the latter case a small portion of old fermented dough, שְׂאֹר, was mixed with the kneaded dough or בָּצֵק (as in Ex $12^{34.\ 39}$). This rapidly induced panary fermentation in the whole mass, and 'raised' the bread, then called חָמֵץ *ḥamêẓ* or soured bread (Ex 12^{39}, Hos 7^{4}), as opposed to מַצּוֹת *maẓẓoth* or unleavened bread, so called because in flat cakes. The dough was usually left in the kneading-trough to ferment; and this took some time, during which the baker could sleep (Hos 7^{6}), when he had left a low unstirred fire to keep it warm to encourage the process. Leaven was used as a symbol of that which is old (Schneider, *Zeitsch. f. Theol.* 1883, 333); and sometimes for that which is corrupt, the leaven of the Pharisees or of Herod (Mt 16^{6}, Mk 8^{15}, Lk 12^{1}, 1 Co 5^{7}); or that which exercises a secretly dominating influence (Mt 13^{33}, 1 Co 5^{6}, Gal 5^{9}; see Petrus Chrysologus, *Sermo* xciv.). Leaven was prohibited in those offerings made by fire to the Lord (Lv 2^{11} 7^{12} 8^{2}, Ex 29^{2}, Nu 6^{15}), as the sacrifice should consist of what is fresh and pure; but in such offerings as the peace-offering (Lv 7^{13}) and the pentecostal loaves (Lv 23^{17}) leavened bread might be used, for these were to be eaten by the priests. The use of leavened bread was prohibited during the Passover week; and all leaven was to be burnt before the 14th Nisan, as during the Theocracy the eating of leavened b. at this time was a capital offence, as was the burning of leavened b. in the daily sacrifice. Hence Amos sarcastically bids the Isr. increase their sin by offering leaven in the thanksgiving (4^{5}). This idea of leaven being an emblem of corruption was known to the classics. Persius uses *fermentum* in this sense (1^{24}); and A. Gellius (*Noct. Attic.* x. 15. 19) tells us that the flamen dialis was not allowed to touch flour mixed with leaven. Bread was sometimes fermented with wine-lees in place of leaven; see *Pesachim* iii. 1.

The first dough of the new harvest was made into a cake, and offered as a heave-offering (Nu 15^{20}). This עֲרִיסָה was leavened; some have supposed it to be coarse meal, but the rabbinical authorities understand it as leavened dough (see *Ḥalla*). This offering is referred to in Neh 10^{37} and Ezk 44^{30}, where it is stated to be for the use of the priest; for superstitious uses of this see Otho, *Lexicon Talm.* under the word *Challa*, p. 495.

The cakes or loaves were usually flat and circular, a span in diameter, and about an inch thick; these are called, from their shape, כִּכָּרוֹת (Ex 29^{23}, Jg 8^{5}, 1 S 10^{3}, Pr 6^{26}). In Jg 7^{13} the word is צְלוּל (*Kĕthibh*, for which *Kĕrê* has צְלִיל); such cakes were like flat stones (Mt 7^{9}, Lk 11^{11}). Three such loaves were a meal for one person (Lk 11^{5}), and one was prison fare (Jer 37^{21}), or a charity dole (1 S 2^{36}). At the average price of barley in NT times, as well as it can be estimated, 200 pennyworths of barley bread would have been about 5000 loaves —a mouthful to each of the multitude (Jn 6^{7}). Abigail's 200 loaves, the fill of the pannier baskets of an ass, would serve for a reasonable feast for David and his men (1 S 25^{18}, 2 S 16^{1}). Other kinds of bread were חַלּוֹת, Nu 15^{20}, Lv 8^{26}, probably also cylindrical or round cakes; possibly these may be, as has been suggested, punctured cakes, the punctures being depressions made by the smooth pebbles in the oven (cf. the κόλλιξ of the Greeks; LXX renders cake in 2 S 6^{19} 13^{6} by κολλυρίς); לְבִיבוֹת, folded or rolled-up cakes, something like pancakes, supposed by some to be heart-shaped (2 S 13^{6}), possibly a cake with aromatic seeds added as a carminative. For these finer cakes the dough was twice kneaded. עֻגוֹת were round cakes also (Gn 18^{6}, 1 K 17^{13}, Ezk 4^{12}). נִקֻּדִים, tr. cracknels (1 K 14^{3} AV), were probably cakes sprinkled on the surface with aromatic seeds, like the barm-brack of the Irish (literally *aran breac*, spotted bread). The widow of Zarephath calls cakes by what was probably a provincial name, מָעוֹג.

The methods of baking were various. The earliest mentioned is baking upon the hearth (Gn 18^{6}), that is, on the heated stones of the hearth, the embers being drawn aside and around it. This was probably the Passover method (Ex 12^{39}). Elijah's cake was baked on the hot embers (1 K 19^{6}); so the bread in Jn 21^{9}. B. thus baked was the ἐγκρυφίας ἄρτος of Hippocrates, as in LXX. The common method of baking in later times was in ovens, of which there were several kinds. Fixed ovens were commonly hollows in the floor, often of the principal room, about 4′ × 3′, coated with clay, and heated by being filled with burning fuel. Such were possibly the כִּירַיִם of Lv 11^{35}. Portable ovens, תַּנּוּר, were earthen or stone jars, about 3 ft. high, heated inwardly with wood (1 K 17^{12}, Is 44^{15}, Jer 7^{18}) or dried grass and herbage, χόρτος (Mt 6^{30}); in the absence of other fuel, dried camel dung or cow dung was used (Ezk $4^{12.\,15}$). When the oven was fully heated the cakes were put in. Then dough was sometimes spread on the outside of the oven; and such a cake, like one baked on a hot hearthstone, requires to be turned, or else it remains raw on one side, while burnt on the other (Hos 7^{8}). Ovens of both kinds are still in use in Bible lands. Sometimes cakes were baked in a pan or מַחֲבַת, which was a flat plate of metal or earthenware, like a 'girdle,' which could be made to stand on its edge (Ezk 4^{3}). This was placed over the fire, with the cake laid upon it (Lv 6^{21} 7^{9}, 1 Ch 23^{29}). Tamar's pan was מַשְׂרֵת, probably a deeper, concave one, out of which the cakes were poured in a heap (2 S 13^{9}), like the τάγηνον of Aristophanes (*Eq.* 929). The מַרְחֶשֶׁת of Lv 2^{7} 7^{9}, which is distinguished in the latter passage from the *maḥabath* or flat pan, was probably some kind of shallow pot for boiling the meal for the offering, which is mingled with oil, and not a frying-pan, as in both RV and AV. A mess of food thus prepared is still known among some Bedawin tribes, and is called *ftita*. This may be the meal offering 'which is soaked' of 1 Ch 23^{29}.

Unleavened bread was, and still is, made into thin flat cakes, רְקִיקִים (Ex 29^{2}, Lv 2^{4}); hence they are called wafers. In Ex 29^{2} the cakes made with oil (λάγανα) are contrasted with the wafers anointed with oil. These were both made in or upon an oven (Lv 2^{4}); a third kind, the *frixa* of the Latin writers, were made in a *maḥabath* (2^{7}). Unleavened bread is called מַצָּה, as in Ex 12^{15}, when contrasted with leavened bread irrespective of shape. All forms of bread were broken when being used,—not cut (Mt 14^{19} 26^{26}, Lk 24^{35}, Ac 2^{42}), the pieces being κλάσματα, broken pieces. It was smeared with olive oil (1 K 17^{12}), as we now use butter; occasionally with honey, which was sometimes mixed in the dough (Ex 16^{31}), as in the μελιττώματα of Dioscorides (4^{64}), or the ceremonial πυραμοῦντες (Ephippus, Εφηβ. 1^{3}). Butter as well as honey was used with bread (2 S 17^{29}, Is 7^{15}); but honey, being a fermentable substance, was prohibited in burnt-offerings (Lv 2^{11}). In Egypt the forms of bread were equally varied; and in the picture of the baker's workshop referred to there are conical loaves, flat cakes, rolled-up cakes, and cakes spotted with seeds. In the list of offerings in the great Harris papyrus and other lists there are enumerated *kelushta* (=*ḥalloth*), *mes*, *san* or *sannu*, funeral cakes; *kiki* or pyramids, like the *kikkaroth*; *hebnen*, or cakes for offering; *baat*, *kemhu*, *hefa*, and *tetet* cakes. The commonest form was the conical, of which clay models were commonly placed in tombs as symbols of funeral food. Egyp. bread is represented monumentally as carried in baskets on the head of the baker, as in the chief baker's dream (Gn 40^{17}). The words there used, סַלֵּי חֹרִי, rendered 'white baskets' in AV, and 'baskets of white b.' LXX, Aq. Syr. and RV, is possibly the Egyp. *kheru*, used of the food for a funeral offering. For mode of carrying see Herod. ii. 35.

iv. Breaking bread was part of the funeral feast among the Jews, as among other nations (Jer 16^{7} RV, Ezk 24^{17}, Hos 9^{4}). Thus the funeral feast for Abner was kept at Hebron (2 S 3^{35}). The funeral feast is also mentioned in the apocr. Ep. of Jer (Bar 6^{31}); and Tobit bids his son to 'pour out his b. on the burial of the just' (4^{17}). For the Egyp. funeral feasts see Budge, *The Mummy*, p. 172; for other references see Garmannus, *de Pane Lugentium*, Ugolini, xxxiii. Sometimes coarse barley bread was used in these feasts, 'non pro deliciis apponitur sed tantum ut servilis fames relevetur' (Petrus Cellensis, *Liber de Panibus*, Migne, ccii. 917).

v. Bread formed part of certain offerings, as the pentecostal loaves, and the peace- and trespass-offerings, in which form it is called the b. of their God (Lv 21^{6}). Most of this was eaten by the priests after being offered (Lv $21^{17.\,21}$). The special b.-offering was the pile of **shewbread** (b. of the presence, לֶחֶם פָּנִים, ἄρτοι τῆς προθέσεως, Ex 25^{30} 35^{13}, 1 S 21^{6}, 1 K 7^{48}), which was placed on a pure table of acacia wood in the Holy Place of the tabernacle, with frankincense (cf. Jos. *Ant.* III. x. 7; Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 235 f.). Twelve of these cakes, each made of $\frac{3}{5}$ of a peck of flour, were placed in two piles, six in each pile, every Sabbath morning, 'on behalf of the children of Israel'; the old cakes being eaten by the priests in a sacred place, when the new cakes were brought in; and the frankincense was burned when the cakes were changed (Lv $24^{5.\,6}$). The duty of making these was laid on the sons of Kohath (1 Ch 9^{32}). The table was covered with a blue cloth, and had on it certain dishes on which the cakes were set in order (Nu 4^{7}). In the temple this table was overlaid with gold (1 K 7^{48}). In 2 Ch 4^{19} tables in the plural are mentioned. It was this holy b. which Ahimelech gave to David, contrary to the law (1 S 21^{6}, Mt 12^{4}). Probably the allowances, afterwards so liberally provided for the priests in the Priestly

Code, were, during the troubled times of Saul, scanty, erratic, and often omitted; contrast the liberal temple allowance by Ramses III. in the Harris papyrus, *RP* vi. When the shewbread was reinstituted by Neh., a poll-tax of ⅓ shekel was laid on the Jews (Neh 10^{32}, Mt 17^{24}). In the corrupt days of the kingdom the table had become polluted, and it and its vessels were cleansed in the days of Hezekiah (2 Ch 29^{18}, Ezk 44^{7}); but in later days they were equally careless (Mal 1^{7}). For further particulars and pictures see Abraham ben David, *De Templo*, Ugolini's *Thesaurus*, ix. p. 298, and the references; Otho's *Lex. Talmud, sub voce*, p. 496.

vi. The word *Bread* is used metaphorically: (*a*) As expressing the perquisites of an office (Neh 9^{15}). (*b*) The legitimate spoil of conquest (Nu 14^{9}). (*c*) Those who do not earn their livelihood are said to eat the *bread of idleness* (Pr 31^{27}). (*d*) The profit of sinful courses is called the *b. of wickedness* (Pr 4^{17}); and the short-lived advantages gained by falsehood are called *b. of deceit* (Pr 20^{17}). Secret sin is compared to 'b. eaten in secret' (Pr 9^{17}). (*e*) Suffering and sorrow are called eating the b. of adversity (Is 30^{20}), or of affliction (Dt 16^{3}, 1 K 22^{27}, 2 Ch 18^{26}), or of tears (Ps 80^{5}). Sorrow is also expressed as eating ashes as bread (Ps 102^{9}).

LITERATURE.—Besides the several works referred to in the text, further information will be found in Kitto, *Cyclopædia*; Paulsen, *vom Ackerbau d. Morgenlands*; Thomson, *Land and Book*; Vogelstein, *Die Landwirthschaft in Palästina zur Zeit der Mishnâh*, Berlin, 1894; *Revue des Études Juives*, xxii. 58; Voigt, *Rheinisch. Mus.* 1876, 107. See also the Travels of Niebuhr, Wellsted, Burckhardt, and Doughty. The ancient literature will be found summarised in the articles of Ugolini, Schöttgen, and Goetz, in vol. xxix. of the *Thesaurus*. Varro and Cato, *de re rusticâ*, may also be consulted with advantage.

A. MACALISTER.

BREASTPLATE.—1. חֹשֶׁן *ḥoshen*, a plate worn as part of the high priest's dress (see next art.). **2.** שִׁרְיָן *shiryān*, *θώραξ*. Both the Heb. and Gr. words probably described a cuirass rather than a simple breastplate. Such a cuirass as worn by the Greeks protected the back as well as the breast and stomach. In addition, it often gave protection to the neck and to the hips. It was well suited to suggest the many-sidedness of 'righteousness' (Is 59^{17}=Eph 6^{14}). Another form of the word, *shiryōn*, is usually rendered 'coat of mail.' The phrase 'coat of mail of righteousness' is awkward, but it is more accurate than 'breastplate of righteousness' in both places cited above. In 1 Th 5^{8} *faith and love* form the *θώραξ*, perhaps with a hint at the two parts, front and back, of which it was usually made. The Rom. *lorica* (=*θώραξ*) was of various kinds. It was sometimes (*a*) a simple jacket of leather reaching to the middle of the thighs with double thickness at the shoulders, or (*b*) an arrangement of iron or brass rings which could be worn over a leathern jacket, or (*c*) a vest made of small metal plates overlapping one another, or, lastly, (*d*) when called *segmentata* it consisted of two broad pieces for the back and breast respectively, of five or six bands fastened on to the 'breast-plate' and 'back-plate' and running round the lower part of the body, and, lastly, of four such bands over each shoulder. The 'segments' are stated to have been of leather; and the fact that no broad plates of iron have been found among the many remains of Rom. armour which have been brought to light, is against the modern theory that the *lorica segmentata* was of iron. See also Polybius 'F' quoted under ARMOUR.

W. E. BARNES.

BREASTPLATE OF THE HIGH PRIEST.—The most important part of the distinctive dress of the high priest, according to the Priests' Code, was the pectoral or breastplate (חֹשֶׁן, more fully (הַ)מִּשְׁפָּט ח״, Targ. חשׁן דִּינָא (Arab. *ḥusn ed-dîn*, 'excellency of judgment') LXX λόγιον (var. λογεῖον) *τῆς κρίσεως* or *τ. κρίσεων* (but once *περιστήθιον*, Ex 28^{4}), Vulg. *rationale, r. judicii*). The orig. signification of the Heb. word has been lost. Of the various suggested etymologies only two deserve mention. The one is Ewald's (*Antiq. of Isr.* p. 294), that חֹשֶׁן is 'a dialectic form of חֹסֶן, *i.e.* pocket,' etc. (from a root חסן to store up), hence המשפט ח״ would probably mean 'the pouch of the oracle.'* The other possible root is חשׁן, Arab. *ḥasan*, to be beautiful, 'hence possibly חֹשֶׁן, either as chief ornament of ephod, or as the most excellent precious article of high priest's attire' (*Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*).

The directions for the construction of the b. are given in Ex 28^{13-30}, with which the parallel section 39^{8-21} may be compared. The material was the same as that of the ephod (see EPHOD), the richest and most artistic of the textile fabrics of P ('of gold, of blue, of purple, and of scarlet, and of fine twined linen,' 28^{15} RV). A cubit's length of this material was required, the width being a span or half-cubit; when folded in two, it formed a square, measuring a span each way. Into one of the faces of this square—henceforth to be the outer side of the b.—were inserted by means of gold settings, probably of filigree work, four rows of jewels, three in a row. The identification of these twelve jewels must start from the renderings of the LXX, and is still in some cases little more than probable (see art. STONES, PRECIOUS, also the Comm. *in loco*, and the literature *infra*, esp. the learned work of Braun, pp. 627–745). On each jewel was engraved the name of one of the twelve tribes of Israel. All that has been written as to the order in which the names were arranged is mere speculation. The whole, however, had a fine significance: for thus the high priest wore 'upon his heart the names of the children of Israel, for a memorial before J″ continually' (28^{29}).

The b. was kept in position by the foll. simple device. At the right and left top corners, respectively, of the outer jewelled square, was fixed a gold ring, through which was passed a gold chain, or rather cord (for it had no links) 'of wreathen work.' These chains were then passed over, or through, or otherwise attached to, a couple of gold ornaments (AV 'ouches')—probably rosettes (LXX ἀσπιδίσκας) of gold filigree—which had previously (v.^{13}) been fixed to the shoulder-pieces of the ephod in front. Similarly, at the right and left bottom corners of the *inner* square were fixed two gold rings, through each of which was passed a ribbon or 'lace of blue' (RV). Corresponding to these two rings on the b. were two of the same material, attached, like the rosettes above mentioned, to the shoulder-pieces of the ephod. Their precise position, however, is difficult to determine, owing to the want of clearness in the existing description of the ephod (Ex 28^{6-12}). They may, perhaps, be best thought of as sewed to the shoulder-pieces of the ephod at points lower than the rosettes by the length of the chains and square, so that, in short, the rings of the ephod and those of the b. were in immediate contact, and fastened together by the blue lace.† The latter, in this way, would be entirely hidden by the b., which would account for the inferior material of the lower fastening compared with that of the upper. By this means the b. was securely held in its place, so that it should rest just 'above the cunningly woven band of the ephod' (v.^{28}). The main purpose of the b., there can scarcely be any longer a doubt, was to provide a receptacle for the sacred lot, the mysterious URIM and THUMMIM (wh. see). It should be added that the description of the b. by Jos. (*Ant.* III. vii. 5, and *Wars*, V. v. 7) must be used with caution.

---

* So Kautzsch, 'Orakel-Tasche.' Cf. λόγιον (oracle) of LXX.

† The latest representation, in Nowack's *Archäologie*, ii. p. 119 (from Riehm's *HWB*^{2} i. 402), cannot be correct. If the laces were attached so high as there represented, the b., so far from being kept from shifting, would fall forward every time the high priest had occasion to bend his body.

LITERATURE.—Besides the comm. on Exod. consult the class. work of Braun, *Vest. Sacerd. Heb.* Amstel. 1680; Bähr, *Symbolik d. Mos. Kultus*² ii. p. 61 ff.; Neumann, *D. Stiftshütte*, 1861, pp. 150-159 (with fine illustrations in colours); Ewald's *Antiquities* (Eng. tr.), 294 ff.; Keil's *Arch.* (Eng. tr.) i.; Nowack's *Arch.* ii. 119; Ancessi, *L'Egypte et Moise*, 1e part. 'Les Vêtements du Grandprêtre,' 1875. A. R. S. KENNEDY.

BREATH.—See SPIRIT.

BREECHES (מִכְנָסַיִם, περισκελῆ, *feminalia*: for illustr. of last, see Rich, *Dict. of Antiq.*).—This is the name given to the undergarment ordered by Ezk (44^{18}), and the legislation of P (Ex 28^{42} 39^{28}, Lv 6^{10} 16^{4}) to be worn on grounds of modesty (בָּשָׂר in above pass. is a euphemism, see under BATH) by the priests when engaged in the more solemn duties of their office. The b., more accurately drawers, were made of white linen, were very short, like our modern bathing drawers, reaching to below the loins and fastening round the waist. The Egyp. priests are said to have worn a similar garment (Wilkinson in Rawlinson's *Herod.*² ii. 113). Jos. gives a description of it as worn in his time (*Ant.* III. vii. 1. Cf. Kalisch on Ex 28^{4}; Braun, *De Vest. Sacerd. Hebr.* 1680, lib. ii. cap. i. *De* מכנסים *Brachis Sacerdotum*, with illustr. p. 450).

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

BRETHREN OF THE LORD.—The phrase 'brother' or 'brethren' of the Lord is used several times in the NT of James and other persons. There has been much controversy as to the actual relationship implied, whether we are to understand 'brethren' literally as meaning sons of the mother and reputed father of Jesus (the Helvidian view), or sons of Joseph by a former marriage (the Epiphanian view), or sons of Clopas or Alphæus, the husband of a sister of the mother of Jesus (the Hieronymian view).

A. The passages bearing on the subject are Mt 1^{25}, Lk 2^{7} (birth), Jn 2^{12} (common household), Lk 4^{16-30} (preaching at Nazareth), Mk $3^{20\text{ff.}\ 31\text{ff.}}$ (attempts of Mary and His brethren to restrain Jesus; cf. Mt 12^{47}, Lk 8^{19}), Jn 7^{2-8} (going up to the Feast of Tabernacles), Mt 27^{56}, Mk $15^{40.\ 47}$ 16^{1}, Lk 24^{10}, Jn $19^{25\text{ff.}}$ (the crucifixion), Ac 1^{14}, Gal $1^{18\text{f.}}$, 1 Co 9^{5} (after the Resurrection).

I think that any one reading these passages, without any preconceived idea on the subject, would naturally draw the conclusion that Mary was the true wife of Joseph, and bore to him at least four sons (James, Joses, Judas, and Simon) and two daughters; that the sons were not included among the twelve apostles, but were, on the contrary, disbelievers in the Messiahship of Christ, and inclined at one time to entertain doubts as to His sanity, though after His death they threw in their lot with His disciples. Setting aside the apocryphal books of the NT, the earliest reference to this subject in the post-apostolic writers is found in Hegesippus (about A.D. 160). His testimony, preserved by Eusebius (*HE* iv. 22), is quite consistent with the conclusion to which we are led by the language of Scripture, while it is totally opposed to the Hieronymian view. It is to the effect that 'after the martyrdom of James the Just on the same charge as the Lord, his paternal uncle's child, Symeon the son of Clopas, was next made Bishop of Jerus., being put forward by all as the second in succession, seeing that he was a cousin of the Lord.' Cf. this with *HE* iii. 22, where Symeon is said to have succeeded the *brother of the Lord* as bishop, and c. 20, where Jude also is called brother of the Lord.

Tertullian (*d.* A.D. 220) is, however, the first who distinctly asserts that the 'brethren' were uterine brothers of Jesus. Arguing against Marcion, who had made use of the text, 'Who is my mother, and who my brother?' to prove that Christ was not really man, he says: *Nos contrario dicimus, primo, non potuisse illi annuntiari quod mater et fratres ejus foris starent . . . si nulla illi mater et fratres nulli fuissent. . . . At vere mater et fratres ejus foris stabant. . . . Tam proximas personas foris stare, extraneis intus defixis ad sermones ejus . . . merito indignatus est. Transtulit sanguinis nomina in alios, quos magis proximos pro fide judicaret . . . in semet ipso docens, qui patrem aut matrem aut fratres præponeret verbo Dei, non esse dignum discipulum* (*Adv. Marc.* iv. 19). Similarly arguing from the same text against the Marcionite Apelles, he says 'the words are not inconsistent with the truth of His humanity. No one would have told Him that His mother and His brethren stood without, *qui non certus esset habere illum matrem et fratres. . . . Omnes nascimur, et tamen non omnes aut fratres habemus aut matrem. Adhuc potest et patrem magis habere quam matrem, et avunculos magis quam fratres. . . . Fratres Domini non crediderunt in illum. . . . Mater æque non demonstratur adhæsisse ei. . . . Hoc denique in loco apparet incredulitas eorum*' (*De Carne Christi*, 7). As Tertullian in these passages gives no hint that the brothers of Jesus stood to Him in any other relation than other men's brothers do to them, or that His relationship to them was not as real as that to His mother, so in other treatises he takes it for granted that Mary ceased to be a virgin after the birth of Christ (*De Monogamia*, 8): *Duæ nobis antistites Christianæ sanctitatis occurrunt, monogamia et continentia. Et Christum quidem virgo enixa est, semel nuptura post partum* ('being about to defer her marriage union till after the birth of her son,' lit. 'being about to marry first after her delivery') *ut uterque titulus sanctitatis in Christi sensu dispungeretur per matrem et virginem et univiram*; and in even plainer words (*De Virg. Vel.* 6), where he discusses the meaning of the salutation *benedicta tu inter mulieres.* 'Was she called *mulier*, and not *virgo*, because she was espoused? We need not, at any rate, suppose a prophetic reference to her future state as a married woman': *non enim poterat posteriorem mulierem nominare, de qua Christus nasci non habebat, id est virum passam sed illa* (*illam?*) *quæ erat præsens, quæ erat virgo* ('for the angel could not be referring to the wife that was to be, for Christ was not to be born of a wife, *i.e.* of one who had known a husband; but he referred to her who was before him, who was a virgin').

These words of Tertullian, himself strongly ascetic, which were written about the end of the 2nd cent., do not betray any consciousness that he is controverting an established tradition in favour of the perpetual virginity. And Origen (*d.* 253 A.D.), though upholding the virginity, and objecting to the phrase used above by Tertullian (*quod asserunt eam nupsisse post partum, unde approbent non habent, Com. in Luc.* 7), does not claim any authority for his own view, but only argues that it is admissible.* For the statement that the 'brethren' were sons of Joseph by a predeceased wife, he refers to two apocryphal books, dating from about the middle of the 2nd cent., as the authority for his view that the 'brethren' were sons of Joseph by a predeceased wife. One of these books is the Gospel of Peter, which, as we learn from Eusebius (*HE* vi. 12), Serapion, bishop of Antioch at the end of the 2nd cent., forbade to be used in a Cilician church, on the ground that it favoured the heretical views of the Docetæ. The latter portion of this Gospel (of course not containing the passage referred to by Origen) was discovered in a fragmentary condition in Egypt a few years ago, the *Editio Princeps* being published in 1892. The other book to which Origen refers is still extant, the *Protevangelium Jacobi.* It contains the story of Anna and Joachim, the parents of Mary, of her miraculous birth and betrothal to Joseph to be her guardian, he having been designated for this honour, against his will, out of all the widowers of Israel, by the dove which issued from his rod. The names of Joseph's sons are variously given in the MSS as Simon, Samuel, James.

---

* *Comm. in Matt.* xii. 55 (vol. iii. p. 45, Lomm.).

I think that these facts prove that the belief in the Perpetual Virginity, which was growing up during the 2nd cent. and established itself in the 3rd cent., was founded, not upon historic evidence, but simply on sentimental grounds, which may have gained additional strength from opposition to the Ebionites, who denied the miraculous birth of the Lord (Orig. *c. Cels.* v. 61). Even Basil the Great, who died in A.D. 379, in discussing the meaning of Mt 1^{20}, still holds the belief in the Virginity, not as a necessary article of faith, but merely as a pious opinion.* It is unnecessary to give the names of others who held that the 'brethren' were sons of Joseph by a former wife. The chief supporter of this view is Epiphanius, who wrote against the Antidicomarianitæ about the year A.D. 370. The view of Tertullian was reasserted by Helvidius, Bonosus, and Jovinianus, about the year A.D. 380.

B. Jerome's answer to Helvidius, which fastened on the Western Church the doctrine of the Perpetual Virginity and the interpretation of 'brethren' in the sense of 'cousins,' appeared about the year A.D. 383. He begins by identifying James the Lord's brother with James the son of Alphæus, one of the Twelve. Otherwise, he says, there would be three disciples called James, but the distinctive epithet *minor* attached to one of them in Mk 15^{40} implies that there could be only two. Moreover, St. Paul calls him an apostle in Gal 1^{19} 'other of the apostles saw I none, save James the Lord's brother.' Again, in Mk 6^{3} we find a James and Joses amongst the brethren of Jesus, and in Mk 15^{40} we read that Mary, the mother of James and Joses, was present at the crucifixion; but in Jn 19^{25} this Mary (whom, as mother of James, we know to be wife of Alphæus) is called Mary of Clopas, sister of the Lord's mother. James is therefore the cousin of the Lord; the word brother being used for kinsman. Later writers carried the theory further by identifying Alphæus and Clopas as double forms of the Aramaic Chalphai, and by identifying 'Judas of James,' who occurs in St. Luke's list of the apostles (Lk 6^{16}, Ac 1^{13}), with the writer of the Epistle (who calls himself 'brother of James'), and also with the brother of Joses, James, and Simon, in Mk 6^{3}. Simon is further identified with Simon Zelotes, who is joined with James and Judas in the list of the apostles; and some hold that Matthew, being identical with Levi, son of Alphæus, must belong to the same family. Bp. Lightfoot calls attention to the fact that not only does Jerome make no pretence to any traditional support for this view, but that he is himself by no means consistent in holding it. Thus in his comment on the Galatians, written about A.D. 387, he says: 'James was called the Lord's brother on account of his high character, his incomparable faith, and his extraordinary wisdom; the other apostles are also called brothers (Jn 20^{17}), but he pre-eminently so, to whom the Lord at His departure had committed the sons of His mother (*i.e.* the members of the Church at Jerusalem).' In a later work still, the Epistle to Hedibia, written about 406, he speaks of Mary of Cleophas (Clopas) the aunt of our Lord, and Mary the mother of James and Joses, as distinct persons, 'although some contend that the mother of James and Joses was His aunt.'

(1) In the above argument of Jerome it is assumed that the word 'brother' (ἀδελφός) may be used in the sense of cousin (ἀνεψιός, found in Col 4^{10}). The supporters of this theory do not offer any parallel from the NT, but they appeal to classical use both in Greek and Latin, and to the OT. The examples cited from classical Greek are merely expressive of warm affection, or else metaphorical, as Plato, *Crito*, § 16, where the laws of Athens are made to speak of οἱ ἡμέτεροι ἀδελφοὶ οἱ ἐν Αἵδου νόμοι. There is no instance in classical Greek, as far as I know, of ἀδελφός being used to denote a cousin. In Latin *frater* may stand for *frater patruelis*, where there is no danger of being misunderstood (cf. Cic. *ad Att.* i. 5. 1). The Heb. word is used loosely to include cousin, as in Gn 14^{14-16} (of Abraham and Lot), where the LXX has ἀδελφιδοῦς; in Lv 10^{4}, where the first cousins of Aaron are called brethren (ἀδελφοί) of his sons, Nadab and Abihu; in 1 Ch $23^{21.22}$ ('The sons of Mahli, Eleazar and Kish. And Eleazar died, and had no sons, but daughters: and their brethren the sons of Kish took them') where also the LXX has ἀδελφοί. These passages seem to me to be hardly covered by the general rule laid down by Bishop Lightfoot (p. 261): 'In an affectionate and earnest appeal intended to move the sympathies of the hearer, a speaker might not unnaturally address a relation or a friend or even a fellow-countryman as his "brother": and even when speaking of such to a third person he might through warmth of feeling and under certain aspects so designate him.' I think, however, the Bishop is entirely right when he goes on to say: 'It is scarcely conceivable that the cousins of any one should be commonly and indeed exclusively styled his "brothers" by indifferent persons; still less, that one cousin in particular should be singled out and described in this loose way, "James, the Lord's brother."' If we remark, too, the care with which Hegesippus (quoted above) employs the term ἀδελφός of St. James and St. Jude, the brothers of the Lord, while he keeps the term ἀνεψιός for Symeon, the cousin of the Lord and second bishop of Jerusalem, we shall feel that there is a strong probability against the use of ἀδελφοί in NT to denote anything but brothers.

(2) Jerome's main argument is that James the Lord's brother was one of the Twelve, and therefore identical with James the son of Alphæus. He grounds this assertion on a single passage in St. Paul, which I shall presently examine. Bishop Lightfoot and others have shown that it is not a necessary consequence of St. Paul's language, and that it is opposed to the distinction everywhere made in the NT between the brethren of the Lord and the Twelve. Thus in Ac 1^{14}, after the list of the Eleven including James the son of Alphæus, we read, 'these all continued instant in prayer' σὺν γυναιξὶν καὶ Μαριὰμ τῇ μητρὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ. Again, in Jn 2^{12} we read that Jesus went down to Capernaum αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔμειναν οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας; and in Mt $12^{47f.}$ 'One said to him' ἰδοὺ ἡ μήτηρ σου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί σου ἔξω ἑστήκασιν ζητοῦντές σοι λαλῆσαι . . . 'and stretching forth his hand to his disciples he saith' ἰδοὺ ἡ μήτηρ μου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί μου· ὅστις γὰρ ἂν ποιήσῃ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Πατρός μου, τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς, αὐτός μοι ἀδελφὸς καὶ ἀδελφὴ καὶ μήτηρ ἐστίν. In the last passage there is the same strong antithesis between natural earthly ties and His duty to His Father in heaven, which we observe in the words spoken by Him when found as a boy in the temple. Notice also that there is in this passage not only a distinction made between the brethren of Jesus and His disciples,

---

* *Hom. in Sanct. Christ. Gen.* ii. p. 600, ed. Garn.

but a certain opposition is implied, which is brought out more clearly in St. Mark's narrative of the same event ($3^{21.\,31-35}$). From the latter it appears that the reason why they of His family (*οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ*) desired to speak with Him was because the rumour which had reached them of His incessant labours led them to believe that His mind was overstrained. As St. Mark goes on to say (v.^{22}) that the scribes accused Jesus of casting out devils through Beelzebub, and as we further read in St. John (10^{20} 8^{48}) that many said, 'He hath a devil, and is mad,' it would seem, though it is not expressly stated, that these calumnious reports of His enemies had not been without effect on some members of His own family. At all events, they went out prepared *κρατῆσαι αὐτόν*, *i.e.* to put Him under some restraint. This narrative gives additional point to the words in Mk 6^4, spoken with immediate reference to the unbelief of the people of Nazareth, *οὐκ ἔστιν προφήτης ἄτιμος εἰ μὴ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τοῖς συγγενεῦσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ.* If it were simply the disbelief of townspeople not immediately related to Him, there seems no need for the addition 'in his own kinsfolk and in his own house.' This inference, which we naturally draw from the words of St. Mark, is confirmed by the express statement of St. John (7^{3-5}), *οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπίστευον εἰς αὐτόν*, and by our Lord's words addressed to them (v.^{7}), *οὐ δύναται ὁ κόσμος μισεῖν ὑμᾶς· ἐμὲ δὲ μισεῖ, ὅτι ἐγὼ μαρτυρῶ περὶ αὐτοῦ ὅτι τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ πονηρά ἐστιν.* Compare this with the words spoken shortly afterwards to the disciples (15^{19}), *εἰ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου ἦτε, ὁ κόσμος ἂν τὸ ἴδιον ἐφίλει· ὅτι δὲ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου οὐκ ἔστε, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἐξέλεξα ὑμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου, διὰ τοῦτο μισεῖ ὑμᾶς ὁ κόσμος.*

The words on which Jerome lays stress are Gal $1^{18.\,19}$ *ἀνῆλθον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἱστορῆσαι Κηφᾶν καὶ ἐπέμεινα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡμέρας δεκάπεντε· ἕτερον δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων οὐκ εἶδον, εἰ μὴ Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Κυρίου.* But even if we give its usual force to *εἰ μή*, it will not follow that St. James was included in the Twelve, for there can be no doubt that in Gal 1^{19} *ἕτερον* looks backward to *Κηφᾶν*, not forward to *Ἰάκωβον*. The sentence would have been complete at *εἶδον*, 'I saw Peter and none other of the apostles.' Then it strikes St. Paul, as an afterthought, that the position of James, as president of the Church at Jerusalem, was not inferior to that of the apostles, and he adds 'unless you reckon James among them.' That the term 'apostle' was not strictly confined to the Twelve appears from another passage in which James is mentioned, 1 Co 15^{4-7}. Here it is said that Jesus after His resurrection 'appeared to Cephas, then to the Twelve, then to above five hundred brethren at once, then to James, then to all the apostles,' where we should perhaps consider the term to include the Seventy, according to the view of Irenæus and other early writers. At any rate there can be no doubt as to St. Paul's apostleship. Barnabas also is called an apostle (Ac $14^{4.\,14}$), probably also Andronicus and Junias (Ro 16^7) and Silvanus (1 Th 2^6).* The most natural interpretation of the two passages just dealt with is that which concedes the name 'apostle' in the wider sense to St. James, but makes a distinction between him and the Twelve.

(3) Scarcely less strong is the argument against the Hieronymian view drawn from what we read of the relation of the brethren of the Lord to His mother. Though, according to this view, their own mother Mary was living at the time of the crucifixion, and though there is nothing to show that their father was not also living, yet they are never found in the company of their parents or parent, but always with the Virgin. They move with her and her divine Son to Capernaum and form one household there (Jn 2^{12}); they take upon themselves to control and check the actions of Jesus; they go with Mary 'to take him,' when it is feared that His mind is becoming unhinged. They are referred to by the neighbours as members of His family in exactly the same terms as His mother and His reputed father. It is suggested indeed that the Virgin and her sister were both widows at this time, and had agreed to form one household; but this is mere hypothesis, and is scarcely consistent with the remarks of the neighbours, who endeavour to satisfy themselves that Jesus was not entitled to speak as He had done, by calling to mind those nearest to Him in blood.

(4) That Mary of Clopas was the sister of Mary the mother of the Lord is not only most improbable in itself (for where do we find two sisters with the same name?), but is not the most natural interpretation of Jn 19^{25} *εἱστήκεισαν δὲ παρὰ τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ ἀδελφὴ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ, Μαρία ἡ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ καὶ Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνή* (translated in the Peshiṭta, 'His mother and his mother's sister, *and* Mary of Cleopha and Mary Magdalene'). If we compare this verse with Mk 15^{40} and Mt 27^{56}, we find that, of the three women named as present in addition to the mother of Jesus, Mary Magdalene occurs in all three lists; 'Mary the mother of James and Joses' of the two synoptic Gospels is generally identified with 'Mary of Clopas'; and we then have left in Matthew 'the mother of the sons of Zebedee,' in Mark 'Salome,' and in John 'his mother's sister.' Salome is generally identified with 'the mother of the sons of Zebedee,' and there seems good reason also for identifying her with 'his mother's sister' in the Fourth Gospel. It does not seem likely that St. John would omit the name of his own mother; and the indirect way in which he describes her is very similar to the way in which he refers to himself as 'the disciple whom Jesus loved.' If we are right in this supposition, it is natural that the two sisters should be paired together, and then the two other Marys, just as we have the apostles arranged in pairs without a connecting particle in Mt $10^{3.\,4}$. If the sons of Zebedee were so nearly related to our Lord, it helps us to understand Salome's request that they might sit on His right hand and on His left hand in His glory, as well as the commendation by our Lord of His mother to one, who was not only His best-loved disciple, but her own nephew. If, however, this interpretation is correct, if the sister of the Lord's mother is not the mother of James and Joses, but the mother of the sons of Zebedee, then the foundation-stone of the Hieronymian theory is removed, and the whole fabric topples to the ground.

(5) I take next two minor identifications, that of 'James the Less' with the 'brother of the Lord,' and that of *Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου*, of Lk 6^{16} and Ac 1^{13}, with Jude the writer of the Epistle, who calls himself 'brother of James.' We have seen that Mary the mother of James *τοῦ μικροῦ* and of Joses, in Mk 15^{40}, is probably the same as Mary of Clopas, and that we have no reason for inferring from the Gospels that she was related to Jesus. If so, there is an end to the supposition that James the Less is James the brother of the Lord. But it is worth while to notice the mistranslation in which Jerome imagined that he found a further argument for the identification of our James with the son of Alphæus. The comparative *minor*, he says, suggests two persons, viz. the two apostles of this name. But the Greek has no comparative, simply *τοῦ μικροῦ*, 'the little,' which no more implies a comparison with only one person than any other descriptive epithet, such as *εὐεργέτης* or

---

* See Lightfoot, *l.c.* pp. 92-101, and the *Didaché*, xi. 1. 5, with Funk's notes.

φιλάδελφος. As to *'Ιούδας 'Ιακώβου*, no instance is cited for such an omission of the word *ἀδελφός*, and we must therefore translate 'Judas *son* of James' with the RV. Independently of this, if James, Judas, and Simon are all sons of Alphæus, what a strange way is this of introducing their names in the list of the apostles, 'James of Alphæus, Simon Zelotes, Judas of James'! Why not speak of all as 'sons of Alphæus,' or of the two latter as 'brothers of James'? Why not speak of all as 'brethren of the Lord'? It is especially strange that, if Judas were really known as such, he should have been distinguished in John (14^{22}) merely by a negative, 'Judas not Iscariot,' and in the other Gospels by the appellation 'Lebbæus' or 'Thaddæus' (Mt 10^{3}, Mk 3^{18}).

C. We have still to examine two crucial passages which have to be set aside before we can accept either the Epiphanian or the Hieronymian theory: Mt 1^{24} *'Ιωσὴφ . . . παρέλαβεν τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐγίνωσκεν αὐτὴν ἕως οὗ ἔτεκεν υἱόν*, and Lk 2^{7} *καὶ ἔτεκεν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς τὸν πρωτότοκον.* Reading these in connexion with those other passages which speak of the brothers and sisters of Jesus, it is hard to believe that the evangelists meant us to understand, or indeed that it ever entered their heads that the words could be understood to mean, anything else than that these brothers were sons of the mother and the reputed father of the Lord. It has been attempted, however, to prove that we need not take the passages referred to in their ordinary and natural sense. Thus Pearson, treating of the phrase *ἕως οὗ*, tells us that 'the manner of the Scripture language produceth no such inference' as that, from a limit assigned to a negative, we may imply a subsequent affirmative; and he cites the following instances in proof. 'When God said to Jacob, "I will not leave thee until I have done that which I have spoken to thee of" (Gn 28^{15}), it followeth not that, when that was done, the God of Jacob left him. When the conclusion of Deuteronomy was written it was said of Moses, "No man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day" (Dt 34^{6}), but it were a weak argument to infer from thence that the sepulchre of Moses has been known ever since. When Samuel had delivered a severe prediction unto Saul, he "came no more to see him unto the day of his death" (1 S 15^{35}); but it were a strange collection to infer, that he therefore gave him a visit after he was dead. "Michal the daughter of Saul had no child unto the day of her death" (2 S 6^{23}); and yet it were a ridiculous stupidity to dream of any midwifery in the grave. Christ promised His presence to the apostles "until the end of the world" (Mt 28^{20}); who ever made so unhappy a construction, as to infer from thence that for ever after He would be absent from them?' (*Creed*, Art. III. Chap. iii. p. 174).

It is difficult to believe that a man of Pearson's ability can have been blind to the difference between two kinds of limit, the mention of one of which suggests, while the mention of the other negatives, the future occurrence of the action spoken of. If we read 'the debate was adjourned till the papers should be in the hands of the members,' it as certainly implies the intention to resume the debate at a subsequent period, as the phrase 'the debate was adjourned till that day six months,' or 'till the Gr. Kalends,' implies the contrary. So when it is said 'to the day of his death,' 'to the end of the world,' this is only a more vivid way of saying *in sæcula sæculorum.* In like manner the phrase 'unto this day' implies that a certain state of things continued up to the very last moment known to the writer: the suggestion is, of course, that it will still continue. The remaining instance is that found in Gn 28^{15}. This is a promise of continued help on the part of God until a certain end is secured. When that end is secured God is no further bound by His promise, however much the patriarch might be justified in looking for further help from his general knowledge of the character and goodness of God. To take now a case similar to that in hand: supposing we read 'Michal had no child till she left David and became the wife of Phaltiel,' we should naturally assume that after that she did have a child. So in Mt 1^{24} the limit is not one beyond which the action becomes naturally and palpably impossible; on the contrary, it is just that point of time when under ordinary circumstances the action would become both possible and natural,* when, therefore, the reader, without warning to the contrary, might naturally be expected to assume that it did actually occur. Whether this assumption on the part of the reader, natural under ordinary circumstances, may become unnatural under the very extraordinary circumstances of the case, will be discussed further on. I confine myself here to the argument from language.†

The natural inference drawn from the use of the word *πρωτότοκον* in Lk 2^{7} is that other brothers or sisters were born subsequently; otherwise why should not the word *μονογενής* have been used as in To 3^{15} *μονογενής εἰμι τῷ πατρί μου*, Lk 7^{12} 8^{42} etc.? In Ro 8^{29} the word is used metaphorically, but retains its natural connotation, *πρωτότοκον ἐν πολλοῖς ἀδελφοῖς*, and so in every instance of its occurrence in the NT. It occurs many times in its literal use in the LXX, *e.g.* Gn $27^{19.32}$ 43^{33}, Dt 21^{15}, 1 K 16^{34}, 1 Ch 5^{1} 26^{10}, but, so far as I have observed, never of an only son. There are also circumstances connected with one remarkable episode in our Lord's childhood which are more easily explicable if we suppose Him not to have been His mother's only son. Is it likely that Mary and Joseph would have been so little solicitous about an only son, and that son the promised Messiah, as to begin their homeward journey after the feast of the Passover at Jerusalem, and to travel for a whole day, without taking the pains to ascertain whether He was in their company or not? If they had several younger children to attend to, we can understand that their first thoughts would have been given to the latter; otherwise is it conceivable that Mary, however complete her confidence in her eldest son, should first have lost Him from her side, and then have allowed so long a time to elapse without an effort to find Him?

D. There are, however, some difficulties which must be grappled with before we can accept the Helvidian theory as satisfactory. (1) If the mother of Jesus had had other sons, would He have commended her to the care of a disciple rather than to that of a brother? (2) Is not the behaviour of the brethren towards Jesus that of elders towards a younger? (3) The theory is opposed to the Church tradition. (4) It is abhorrent to Christian sentiment.

(1) Bishop Lightfoot regards the first objection as fatal to the theory. 'Is it conceivable,' he says, 'that our Lord would thus have snapped

---

* Compare Plut. *Qu. Conv.* viii. 1; Diog. L. iii. 2 (on the vision which appeared to Ariston warning him *μὴ συγγίνεσθαι τῇ γυναικί* till the birth of her son Plato: Origen, *Against Celsus*, i. 37, refers to this as an *arg. ad hom.*); Hygin. *F.* 29, quoted in Wetstein's note, *in loco*; Athenag. *Apol.* 33: *ὡς γὰρ ὁ γεωργὸς καταβάλλων εἰς γῆν τὰ σπέρματα ἄμητον περιμένει, οὐκ ἐπισπείρων, καὶ ἡμῖν μέτρον ἐπιθυμίας ἡ παιδοποιΐα*; *Const. Apost.* vi. 28. 5: *μήτε μὴν ἐγκυμονούσαις ὁμιλείτωσαν* (*ταῖς γυναιξὶν οἱ ἄνδρες*), *οὐκ ἐπὶ παίδων γὰρ γενέσει τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἡδονῆς χάριν.* Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iii. p. 543) calls this a law of nature.

† Laurent remarks on the use of the imperfect *ἐγίνωσκε* implying abstinence from a habit ('refrained from conjugal intercourse') as opposed to the far more usual *ἔγνω* denoting a single act.

asunder the most sacred ties of natural affection?' (p. 272). The usual answer to this is that the disbelief of the Lord's brothers would naturally separate them from His mother. But as this disbelief was even then on the point of being changed into undoubting faith; and as the separation (if it ever existed, of which there is no evidence) was, at any rate, to be changed in a day or two into the closest union with all true followers of the Lord; and as the preparation for this change must have been long perceptible to the eye of Jesus, it seems necessary to find another way of meeting the objection, if it is to be met at all. I think, however, that Bp. Lightfoot goes a little too far when he speaks just below of this hypothesis requiring us to believe that the mother, though 'living in the same city' with her sons, 'and joining with them in a common worship (Ac 1[14]), is consigned to the care of a stranger, of whose house she becomes henceforth the inmate.' We have seen that there is reason for believing Salome to have been the sister of Mary, and John therefore her nephew; but however this may be, in any case, as her Son's dearest friend, he must have been well known to her. And if we try to picture to ourselves the circumstances of the case, it is not difficult to imagine contingencies which would make it a very natural arrangement. It is generally supposed (from 1 Co 9[5]) that the brothers of the Lord were married men: the usual age for marriage among the Jews was about eighteen: supposing them to have been born before the visit to the temple of the child Jesus, they would probably have married before His crucifixion. If, then, all her children were dispersed in their several homes, and if, as we naturally infer, her nephew John was unmarried, and living in a house of his own, is there anything unaccountable in the Lord's mother finding a home with the beloved disciple? Could this be regarded in any way as a slight by her other sons? Must they not have felt that the busy life of a family was not suited for the quiet pondering which now more than ever would characterise their mother? and, further, that this communion between the mother and the disciple was likely to be, not only a source of comfort to both, but also most profitable to the Church at large?

(2) It depends more upon the positive age than the relative age of brothers, whether the interference of a younger with an elder is probable or improbable. When all have reached manhood and have settled in their different spheres, a few years' difference in age does not count for much. It might, however, be thought that those who had grown up with one like Jesus must have felt such love and reverence for Him, that they could never dream of blaming or criticising what He thought best to do. Yet we know that His mother, to whom had been vouchsafed a much fuller revelation than was possible in their case as to the true nature of her Son, did nevertheless on more than one occasion draw upon herself His reproof for ventured interference. If we remember how little even those whom He chose out as His apostles were able to appreciate His aims and methods up to the very end of His life, how different was their idea of the kingdom of heaven and the office of the Messiah from His, we shall not wonder if His younger brothers, with all their admiration for His genius and goodness, were at times puzzled and bewildered at the words that fell from His lips; if they regarded Him as a self-forgetting idealist and enthusiast, wanting in knowledge of the world as it was, and needing the constant care of His more practical friends to provide Him with the ordinary comforts and necessaries of life. Thus much, I think, is certain from the known facts of the case; and we need nothing more than this to explain their fear that His mind might be overstrained, and their attempt to dictate the measures He should adopt in going up to the Feast, just as His mother had attempted to dictate to Him at the marriage at Cana.

(3) We have seen that, so far as we can speak of a tradition on this subject, it was in favour of the Epiphanian theory from about the end of the second century till it was unceremoniously driven out of the field by Jerome in the year 383: we have seen, too, that Jerome himself abandoned his own theory in his later writings. But it was so much in accordance with the ascetic views of the time, that it was adopted by Augustine and the Latin Fathers generally; while in the Eastern Church, Chrysostom, who, in his earlier writings, favours the Epiphanian view, comes round to Jerome in the later, and Theodoret may be mentioned on the same side. The later Greek Fathers are, however, almost all on the side of Epiphanius; and the Greek, Syrian, and Coptic Calendars mark the distinction between James the brother of the Lord and James the son of Alphæus by assigning a separate day to each. This distinction is also maintained, apart from any statement as to the exact relationship implied by the term 'brother,' in the *Clementine Homilies* and *Recognitions* of the second cent., and the *Apostolic Constitutions* of the third.

Historical tradition, therefore, on this subject there was properly none when Jerome wrote, any more than there is now, but there was a growing feeling in favour of the perpetual virginity, which took definite shape in the title ἀειπαρθένος used of Mary by Athanasius; and the apocryphal fictions were eagerly embraced as affording a support for this belief.

We cannot doubt that those who were agitating for a stricter rule would make use of the example of the Virgin, insisting on the name as implying a permanent state, and would endeavour to give an artificial strength to their cause by the addition of imaginary circumstances to the simple narrative of the gospel. Thus it was not enough to suppose the brethren of the Lord to be sons of Joseph by a former wife; Joseph's age must be increased so as to make it impossible for him to have had children by his second wife, though this supposition contradicts what the upholders of this view maintain to be the very purpose of Mary's marriage, viz. to screen her from all injurious imputations. How could the marriage effect this, if the husband were above eighty years of age, as Epiphanius says, following the apocryphal Gospels? Again, if this were the case, why should not the evangelist have stated it simply, instead of using the cautionary phrases πρὶν ἢ συνελθεῖν and οὐκ ἐγίνωσκεν αὐτὴν ἕως οὗ ἔτεκεν? But even this was not enough for the ascetic spirit. Further barriers must be raised between the contamination of matrimony and the virgin ideal. Joseph himself becomes a type of virginity: the 'brethren' are no longer his sons, but sons of Clopas, who was either his brother by one tradition, or his wife's sister's husband by another. Mary is made the child of promise and of miracle like Isaac, though not yet exalted to the honours of the Immaculate Conception; and we see Epiphanius already feeling his way to the doctrine of her Assumption, which was accepted by Gregory of Tours in the 6th cent. One other development may be noticed, as it is found in the *Protevangelium*, c. 20, though not mentioned by Epiphanius, viz. that not only the Conception but the Birth of our Lord was miraculous; in the words of Jeremy Taylor: 'He that came from His grave fast tied with a stone and signature, and into the college of the apostles, the doors being shut . . . came also (as the Church piously believes) into the world so without doing violence to the virginal and pure body of His mother, that He did also leave her virginity entire.'* This miracle, superfluous as it is, and directly opposed to the words of St. Luke (2^{23}), is yet accepted by Jerome and his followers, and the allegorical method of interpretation is pressed to the utmost in order to gain some support from the OT for the doctrine of the ἀειπαρθενία. Thus we find Pearson (*Creed*, p. 326) citing, as a proof of it, Ezk 44^{2} 'This gate shall be shut, it shall not be opened, and no man shall enter in by it; because the Lord, the God of Israel, hath entered in by it, therefore it shall be shut.' It would surely have been more to the point to cite the words of the Messianic psalm (69^{8}): 'I have become a stranger to my brethren and an alien unto *my mother's children*'; this psalm being used to illustrate the earthly life of our Lord, both by St. John: 'The zeal of thy house has eaten me up; they gave me also gall for my meat, and in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink'; and by St. Luke: 'Let their habitation be desolate.'

(4) We go on, however, to consider that which has been all along the real obstacle in the way of a literal acceptation of the Scripture narrative, viz. the objection on the ground of Christian sentiment. It is 'the tendency,' says Dr. Mill (*l.c.* p. 301), 'of the Christian mystery, God manifest in the flesh, when heartily received, to generate an unwillingness to believe that the womb thus divinely honoured should have given birth to other merely human progeny.' 'The sentiment of veneration for this august vessel of grace which has ever animated Christians . . . could not have been wanting to the highly-favoured Joseph.' 'On the impossibility of refuting these sentiments . . . the truly Catholic Christian will have pleasure in reposing.' So Epiphanius, Jerome, and other ancient writers speak of this as a 'pious belief,' and the same is reiterated by Hammond and Jeremy Taylor cited by Mill (p. 309). In answer to this I would say that, unless we are prepared to admit all the beliefs of the mediæval Church, we must beware of allowing too much authority to pious opinions. Is there any extreme of superstition which cannot plead a 'pious opinion' in its favour? Of course it is right in studying history, whether sacred or profane, to put ourselves in the position of the actors, to imagine how they must have felt and acted; but this is not quite the same thing as imagining how we ourselves should have felt and acted under their circumstances, until at least we have done our best to strip off all that differentiates the mind of one century from the mind of another. If we could arrive at the real feeling of Joseph in respect to his wife, and of Mary in respect to her Son before and after His birth, this would undoubtedly be an element of the highest importance for the determination of the question before us; but to assume that they must have felt as a monk, or nun, or celibate priest of the Middle Ages; to assume even, with Dr. Mill, that they fully understood the mystery 'God manifest in the flesh,' is not merely to make an unauthorised assumption, it is to assume what is palpably contrary to fact. Mary and Joseph were religious Jews, espoused to one another, as it is natural to suppose, in the belief prevalent among the Jews that marriage was a duty, and that a special blessing attached to a prolific union. To both it is revealed from heaven that the Messiah should be born of Mary by a miraculous conception. Joseph is told that 'his name is to be called Jesus, because he shall save his people from their sins.' Mary is told, in addition, that 'he shall be called the Son of the Highest, and that the Lord God shall give him the throne of his father David, and he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever.' There is surely nothing in these words which would disclose the Christian mystery 'God manifest in the flesh.' They point to a greater Moses, or David, or Solomon, or Samuel. Mary's hymn of praise is founded on the recollection of Hannah's exultation at the fulfilment of prophecy in the birth of her son. Her mind would naturally turn to other miraculous births, to that of Isaac under the old dispensation, to that now impending in the case of her cousin Elisabeth. And as there was nothing in the announcement made to them which could enable them to realise the astounding truth that He who was to be born of Mary was Very God of Very God, so there is nothing in the subsequent life of Mary which would lead us to believe that she, any more than His apostles, had realised it before His resurrection. On the contrary, it is plain that such a belief fully realised would have made it impossible for her to fulfil, I do not say her duties towards her husband, but her duties towards the Lord Himself during His infancy and childhood. It is hard enough even now to hold together the ideas of the humanity and divinity of Christ without doing violence to either; but to those who knew Him in the flesh we may safely say it was impossible until the Comforter had come and revealed it unto them. As to what should be the relations between the husband and wife after the birth of the promised Child there is one thing we may be sure of, viz. that these would be determined, not by personal considerations, but either by immediate inspiration, as the journey to Egypt and other events had been, or, in the absence of this, by the one desire to do what they believed to be best for the bringing up of the Child entrusted to them. We can imagine their feeling it to be a duty to abstain from bringing other children into the world, in order that they might devote themselves more exclusively to the nurture and training of Jesus. On the other hand, the greatest prophets and saints had not been brought up in solitude. Moses, Samuel, and David had had brothers and sisters. It might be God's will that the Messiah should experience in this, as in other things, the common lot of man. Whichever way the Divine guidance might lead them, we may be sure that the response of Mary would be still as before: 'Behold the handmaid of the Lord, be it unto me according to thy word.' Even if the language of the Gospels had been entirely neutral on this matter, it would surely have been a piece of high presumption on our part to assume that God's providence must always follow the lines suggested by our notions of what is seemly; but when every conceivable barrier has been placed in the way of this interpretation by the frequent mention of brothers of the Lord, living with His mother and in constant attendance upon her; when He is called her firstborn son, and when St. Matthew goes into what we might have been inclined to think almost unnecessary detail in fixing a limit to the separation between husband and wife, — can we characterise it otherwise than as a contumacious setting up of an artificial tradition above the written Word, if we insist upon it that 'brother' must mean, not brother, but either cousin or one who is no blood-relation at all; that 'firstborn' does not imply other children subsequently born; that the limit fixed to separation does not imply subsequent union?

LITERATURE.—Fuller information may be found in Bishop Lightfoot's dissertation on the Brethren of the Lord, admirable alike for thoroughness, clearness, and fairness, which is contained in his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians*, ed. 10, pp.

---

* Chrys. *Hom.* cxlii. (ap. Suicer, ii. p. 306): ὁ Χριστὸς προῆλθεν ἐκ μήτρας καὶ ἄλυτος ἔμεινεν ἡ μήτρα. This was affirmed in the 79th Canon of the Council *in Trullo* towards the end of the 7th cent.

252-291. It is from him I have borrowed the terms Hieronymian, Epiphanian, Helvidian, to classify the main theories which have been put forward on the subject. He himself held the second theory. The first is advocated by Dr. Mill (*Pantheistic Principles*, pt. ii. pp. 220-316), and in a less extreme form by Dr. P. Schegg (*Jakobus, der Bruder des Herrn*. München, 1883). The argument for the third is given in Credner's *Einleitung*, Laurent's *Neutest. Studien*, Farrar's *Early Days of Christianity*, ch. xix., the articles 'Maria' and 'Jakobus' in Herzog's *Encycl. f. prot. Theol.*, and the introduction to my *Commentary on the Epistle of St. James*, from which the present article is chiefly taken.

J. B. Mayor.

BRIBERY.—See Crimes.

BRICK (לְבֵנָה).—The usual material for building throughout all Eastern countries is mud brick. In rainless Egypt this is a perfect substance for walls, and the great defences of towns and sanctuaries were immensely massive walls of dried mud, up to 80 ft. in thickness. The same was used for arches and domes and for pillars, as in the great hall of 700 pillars of Akhenaten. In Babylonia as wide a use of mud brick is found, walls, ramparts, and *zikkurats* being entirely made of it, from the earliest Bab. age downward. In Persia, India, China, and Mexico, mud brick is a universal material; it has sheltered far the greater part of the human race, and the use of red or burnt brick is quite an exception in history. In Pal. mud brick was largely used in Amorite times, thick fortifications being made of it. The form was more like the Babylonian, being a square tile, whereas the Egyptians used a brick of our present shape. Throughout the Jewish period, mud brick was generally used, faced with stone jambs and lintels at the doorways, and plastered white all over. Such was the Egyptian method. In Philistia, down to the present time, the villages are of mud-brick houses domed, and the rainfall is absorbed by a thick crop of grass which grows on the roof, and is the pasture ground of the goats.

In the OT there is allusion to burning bricks for the tower of Babel (Gn 11^3); and such burnt bricks were largely used in Babylonia, owing to the wetness of the soil and climate. They were very rare in Egypt until Roman times, but became general in the age of Constantine.

The brick-making in Egypt was a common occupation for captives, and the celebrated picture at Thebes of the foreign brickmakers, guarded by an Egyp. overseer, is very well known. The black Nile soil of the country is first dug down into a hole already made at any convenient spot near the water; it is then mixed with sufficient sand, if a good quality is desired, and with chopped straw, which is cut up thus by the threshing rollers used at harvest. Water is poured over it, and it is trampled into a smooth paste. Baskets of this paste are then carried out to the moulding ground, a smooth clear space near at hand. The moulder places his wooden mould on the ground, lifts a double handful of the mud, and drops it in, presses it down, and wipes off the surplus; he then lifts the mould frame by its handle, and leaves the brick on the ground to dry; the frame is then placed close to it, and another is moulded, until the ground is covered with bricks in regular rows. These remain for a week or more to dry in the sun, and are then ready for building. From the 18th to 21st dynasties the bricks for government buildings often bear a stamp of the king's name, and sometimes a special stamp naming the particular building for which they were intended. The wooden stamps for this purpose have been found, as well as the moulding frames.

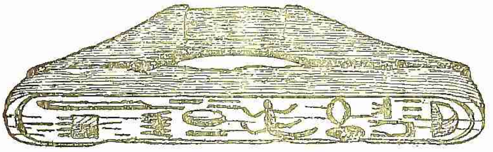

BRICK STAMP OF WOOD, EGYPTIAN, XVIII. DYN.

In the celebrated question of the straw (Ex 5^{7-19}), which has passed into an English proverb, there is something to be said on the Egyp. side. Straw was not by any means universally used, often plain mud and sand, or mud and pebbles, were used; and it was far more important to get the tale of bricks done than to be too particular about the straw. Next, the chopped straw regularly kept in stock and supplied (the *tibn* of the present day) is a very valuable cattle food, and the main support of animals during the inundation, as it is more sweet and grassy than Eng. straw. Hence to restrict its use for brick-making, and to require waste material, such as stubble, to be found, was quite customary; and many more bricks are to be seen made with waste than those containing good food *tibn*. We may note that the taskmasters were the Egyp. overseers, while the officers were Hebrews, chiefs of the gangs, held responsible for the quantity delivered. Considering the well-known character of the Hebrews (Nu 11^4 21^5), we must not take their grievances too seriously. They had at least in Egypt a good and full diet, by their own confession (Nu 11^5), as good as, or better than, that of the Egyp. peasant of the present day.

W. M. Flinders Petrie.

BRIDE.—In patriarchal times the bride is commonly chosen, not by the bridegroom, but by his parents or friends, and they do not necessarily consult him. Abraham sends a confidential servant to find a bride for Isaac (Gn 24). Judah takes Tamar as a bride for his son Er (38^6). Isaac instructs Jacob as to his choice (28^2). And, in the absence of the father, Hagar takes a wife for Ishmael (21^{21}). Where the bridegroom chooses, it is his father who makes the proposal, as in the cases of Shechem ($34^{4.8}$) and Samson (Jg $14^{2.10}$). Whether the consent of the bride was usually asked, is not clear; Gn 24^{58} is not evidence. Perhaps Rebekah was only asked whether she would go *at once*; it had been previously agreed that she was to go. And these patriarchal customs have not undergone much change in the East: a bride may know nothing of the bridegroom till the wedding.

The bride was commonly paid for; *i.e.* her father received money or service in return for his consent to part with her (Gn 31^{15} 34^{12}, 1 S $18^{25.27}$ etc.). The bride herself received no dowry; and To 7^{14} is the earliest mention of a marriage contract, which perhaps was of the nature of a settlement.

Betrothal was much more serious than 'engagement' is with us. Unfaithfulness on the part of the bride during the interval between betrothal and marriage was regarded as adultery, and might be punished with death (Dt $22^{23.24}$). She was to be stoned, not strangled; and this makes it probable that the 'woman taken in adultery' was betrothed and not yet married ([Jn] $8^{4.5}$). Nothing of the kind is found in Greek or Roman law, according to which betrothal was a mere promise on the part of the bride to marry the bridegroom, and did not create any legal obligation. There was no penalty for breach of promise (Smith, *Dict. of Ant.* 3rd ed. ii. p. 140*a*).

The main feature in the marriage ceremony, which was a legal formality rather than a religious rite, was the fetching of the bride from the house of her father to the house of the bridegroom or his father. Among the Greeks the bride prepared herself for the wedding by a bath; and at Athens the water for λουτρὸν νυμφικόν was taken from the fountain Callirrhoë. There is reason for believing that Jewish brides did the like, and that there is allusion to this custom (Ru 3^{3}, Ezk 23^{40}, Eph $5^{26.27}$). If the last reference is correct, the allusion is very striking. At the wedding the bride wore a veil, which entirely covered her, a sash, and a crown. 'Attire' in Jer 2^{32} prob. means the bridal sash (cf. Is 3^{20} RVm, 49^{18}), and *kallâh*, the Heb. word for bride, is by some connected with the crown.* The bride remained veiled throughout; and thus Jacob did not detect the substitution of Leah for Rachel (Gn 29^{20-25}). Embroidery, perfumes, and jewels were usual with those who could afford them (Ps $45^{8.13.14}$, Is 49^{18} 61^{10}, Rev 21^{2}).

In mystical language 'the bride' in the OT is Israel, and the bridegroom or husband is J″. This image prevails throughout Ps 45, and is found in various passages in the Prophets (Is 54^{5} 62^{5}, Jer 3^{14}, Hos 2^{19}). Possibly the Song of Songs was mystically interpreted among the Jews even before it was admitted to the Canon. Hence idolatry on the part of Israel is 'playing the harlot' (Jer $3^{1.6.8}$), is 'whoredom' (Hos 4^{12} 9^{1}), and worthy of death (Ps 73^{27}).

In the NT 'the bride' is the Church, and the bridegroom is Christ (2 Co 11^{2}, Rev 19^{7} $21^{2.9}$, Mt 9^{15}, Jn 3^{29}); and in the Apoc. the bride is usually the ideal Church, the heavenly Jerusalem. But in Rev 22^{17} we have 'the bride' used of 'the Church militant here on earth,' praying to her Lord to return to her. Here again, also, an apostate Church is regarded as a harlot (17^{1-6}). A. PLUMMER.

BRIDEGROOM.—Much that might be said under this head has been anticipated in the article BRIDE. To this day in the East the bridegroom has, as a rule, little to do with the choice of the bride. Love matches are rare, and in many cases are impossible. In the OT we see that where the son chose his own bride independently of his parents, his relations with the latter were not happy (Gn $26^{34.35}$ 27^{46}). Jehoiada the priest chooses wives for the orphan king, Joash (2 Ch 24^{3}, comp. 25^{18}). The interval between betrothal and marriage might be of any duration, for the espousal of children to one another has always been common in the East; but a year for maidens and a month for widows seems to have been customary.

On the wedding day the bridegroom wore a garland (Ca 3^{11}, comp. Is 61^{10}) as well as the bride, and was often profusely perfumed (Ca 3^{6}). Weddings commonly took place in the evening; and at the proper time the bridegroom sets out, along with his 'companions' (Jg 14^{11}), the 'sons of the bride-chamber' (Mk 2^{19}, Lk 5^{34}), with lights (2 Es $10^{1.2}$) and music (1 Mac 9^{39}), to fetch the bride. She also is accompanied by companions, maidens, some of whom start with her from her father's house (Ps 45^{15}), while others join the bridal party afterwards, all of them provided with lamps (Mt 25^{1-13}). Thus they go to meet the bridegroom, who conducts the whole party to the wedding feast, which might last many days (Jg 14^{12}, To 8^{19}). The details of the ceremony would vary, esp. as regards magnificence; but there was not of necessity any religious rite. The essential act was the bridegroom's fetching the bride from her home to his. Of the custom of providing wedding garments for guests nothing is known with certainty (Mt $22^{11.12}$), for Jg 14^{13} is not in point; but rich clothing is in the East one of the commonest of presents. A bridegroom was exempt from military service between betrothal and marriage (Dt 20^{7}), and for a year after marriage (Dt 24^{5}, comp. Lk 14^{20}). This points to the conclusion that in the case of adults the time of betrothal did not usually exceed a year.

For the relation of bridegroom to bride as typical of the spiritual relationship between J″ and Israel, and between Christ and the Church, see the article BRIDE. A. PLUMMER.

BRIDEGROOM'S FRIEND.—The Jewish custom of having a special 'friend of the bridegroom' (ὁ φίλος τοῦ νυμφίου) is alluded to only once in Scripture (Jn 3^{29}), where John the Baptist is contrasting his own position with that of Christ. His disciples must not be jealous of the success of Christ, for Christ is the Bridegroom who is the possessor of the bride, while John is only the Bridegroom's friend, who prepares for the marriage, and has his reward in the joyous expression of the Bridegroom's satisfaction. The importance of the friend of the Bridegroom comes to an end when the marriage is over, but that of the Bridegroom continues to increase.

This 'friend of the bridegroom' must not be confounded with 'the sons of the bride-chamber' (οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ νυμφῶνος), who were very numerous (Mt 9^{15}, Mk 2^{19}, Lk 5^{34}). Indeed any wedding guest might be included in the expression, or even any one who took part in the bridal procession. The 'friend' was somewhat analogous to our 'best man,' but he had far more onerous and delicate duties. Sometimes he took the place of a parent in negotiating the marriage at the outset. He was the chief agency of communication between the betrothed parties in the interval between espousals and marriage. He made the preparations for the wedding, and in some cases presided at the marriage feast. He conducted the married pair to the bridal chamber.

The custom of having groomsmen of this kind seems to have prevailed in Judæa, but not in Galilee. In this, as in other things, the customs of Galilee were more modest and simple. And it is worth noting that at the marriage in Cana of Galilee there is no mention of any *Shoshebheyna* or groomsman, a point which confirms the accuracy of the narrative. The 'ruler of the feast' is evidently not the 'friend of the bridegroom,' for he compliments the *bridegroom* upon the pleasing surprise of excellent wine towards the end of the feast. Had he been the 'friend of the bridegroom,' the arrangements would have been his own, and his remark would have been different. When the Baptist speaks of the 'friend of the Bridegroom,' he is not in Galilee, and being a Judæan his language is in accordance with Judæan customs (see Edersheim, *Life and Times of the Messiah*, i. pp. 354, 355, and notes 663, 664).

The Talmud frees the 'friends of the bridegroom' and all the 'sons of the bride-chamber' from the duty of dwelling in booths at the Feast of Tabernacles. Almost everything is to give way to the duty of making glad the bridal pair. They are not to be made to fast or mourn; and if in the wedding procession they meet a funeral, it is the funeral that must turn aside.

John the Baptist came to make overtures from the Bridegroom to His people (οἱ ἴδιοι), to prepare them for espousal with Him, to present them to Him when any were ready, to point Him out to them (Jn $1^{29\text{ff.}}$). St. Paul claims to hold a similar office in reference to his converts. 'I am jealous over you with a godly jealousy: for I espoused you to one Husband, that I might present you as a pure virgin to Christ' (2 Co 11^{2}). The time until the Second Advent is the interval between betrothal and marriage; and, until the marriage of the Lamb takes place, the apostle feels that he is in a large measure responsible for the conduct of the bride. A. PLUMMER.

---

* But this is very uncertain (cf. Frd. Delitzsch, *Proleg.* 130 f.; Nöldeke, *ZDMG*, 1886, p. 737). W. R. Smith (*Kinship*, 292) makes *kallâh*=' one closed in.'

BRIDGE.—The word is not found in OT or NT (although LXX of Is 37^{25} has *καὶ ἔθηκα γέφυραν*), occurring only in 2 Mac 12^{13} AV, in connexion with the siege of Caspis by Judas. The rarity of the bridge was due to the foll. circumstances: (1) Rivers often served as tribal boundaries and military barriers. (2) Most of the streams were torrents in winter that were apt to sweep away bridges, and in summer were easily forded. (3) The roads on each side were not usually meant for vehicles, but were bridle-paths for such baggage-animals as camels, mules, and donkeys. Recent excavations have proved that at Nippur, in Babylonia, the arch of burnt brick was in use as early as 4000 B.C. (See BABYLONIA, p. 219^{b}.)

G. M. MACKIE.

BRIDLE.—See BIT. **BRIERS.**—See THORNS AND THISTLES.

BRIGANDINE (סִרְיֹן *ṣiryôn*, Jer 46^{4} 51^{3} AV).—A mail-shirt worn by a brigand, *i.e.* in its original sense, a light-armed soldier. RV has 'coat of mail.' See BREASTPLATE. W. E. BARNES.

BRIMSTONE (גָּפְרִית, *θεῖον*).—Sulphur is one of the most widely distributed of mineral substances. It occurs in combination with various metals, forming sulphurets and sulphates, and in combination with lime, producing gypsum; it is also found in all volcanic countries, often in a pure state and in large masses; as, for example, in Sicily, Italy, Volcano (one of the Lipari Islands), Teneriffe, Iceland, etc. The exhalations of volcanoes include, generally, sulphurous acid and sulphurated hydrogen, two gases which, if moist, readily decompose each other into water and sulphur. In Palestine sulphur is present in most, if not all, of the hot springs which break out along the valley of the Jordan and Dead Sea, while gypseous bands are abundant amongst the deposits which form the terraces of the valley, and were portions of the bed of the Jordan valley lake at a time when the waters of the Dead Sea stood at a level of several hundred feet above its present surface.* On the east side of the present lake there are several hot sulphur springs, the most important of which are the Zerka Ma'in (Callirrhoë) and Wady Ghuweir.† The former, described by Josephus,‡ has a maximum temperature of 143° F. according to Canon Tristram.§ On the western side of the Dead Sea there are several sulphur springs, sometimes rising at the margin of the waters, such as those of Shukîf, near 'Ain Jidi, and S. of Wady Khuderah, and at Wady Maharat; all these have a high temperature.‖ The Ḥammâmât near Tiberias are well known, and are still largely used for the cure of rheumatism and other disorders. The temperature as determined by Anderson reaches 143° F.; the waters are highly sulphurous.¶ Next to the above the most important sulphur springs near the Jordan valley are those of the Yarmuk, N. of Umm Ḳeis (Gadara), described by Robinson;** the temperature reaches 109° F., and the remains of the Roman baths are still standing. There can be no doubt that the high temperature of the springs in the valleys of the Jordan and the Yarmuk is due to the passage of the waters through volcanic rocks belonging to late Tertiary periods which still retain some of their original heat at various depths below the surface; and, as Lartet observes, most of the springs on the east side of the Jordan rise from the great line of fault which ranges along the base of the Moabite table-land * (see ARABAH).

Brimstone is, besides in the narrative of Gn 19^{24}, repeatedly referred to in connexion with denunciations of the wrath of God on the wicked, whether nations (Dt 29^{23}, Is 34^{9}) or individuals (Ps 11^{6}). The extensive occurrence of sulphur in the depression of the Dead Sea indicates that this substance may have contributed towards the destruction of the Cities of the Plain. E. HULL.

BRING.—There are many obsolete or archaic uses of the verb 'to bring' in AV, of which the following deserve attention. **1. 'Bring on the way,'** *i.e.* to escort, Gn 18^{16} 'Abraham went with them, to b. them on the way' (שַׁלֵּחַ); Ac 21^{5} 'they all brought us on our way . . . till we were out of the city' (*προπέμπω*, so Ac 15^{3}, Ro 15^{24}, 2 Co 1^{16}). Or 'to bring on one's journey,' Tit 3^{13}, 1 Co 16^{6} 'that ye may bring me on my journey whithersoever I go' (*προπέμπω*, RV 'b. forward on my j.', as 3 Jn ^{6} AV, RV). Cf. Tourneur (1611) 'The skie is dark; we'll bring you o'er the fields.' Similar is the phrase 'to bring by a way,' Is 42^{16} 'I will bring the blind by a way that they know not'; and cf. 2 S 7^{18} 'thou hast brought me hitherto.' **2. Bring about** occurs only twice, and not in the mod. sense of 'cause to happen,' but 'cause to come round' (Heb. הֵסֵב), 1 S 5^{10} 'they have brought about the ark of the God of Israel to us'; 2 S 3^{12} 'to b. about all Israel unto thee.' Cf. Shaks. 3 *Henry IV*. II. v. 27—

> 'How many hours bring about the day?'

3. Bring again, in the sense of 'bring back,' is frequent (Heb. mostly הֵשִׁיב). In Gn 14^{16} 'b. back' and 'b. again' are used in turn, showing that the phrases were identical in meaning and indifferent in use, 'And he brought back (וַיָּשֶׁב) all the goods, and also brought again (הֵשִׁיב) his brother Lot.' A favourite expression is 'b. again the captivity,' always of J″ ('again' is used with the first person, Jer 30^{3} 48^{47} 49^{39}, Ezk 16^{53} 29^{14} 39^{25}, Jl 3^{1}, Am 9^{14}; 'back' with the 2nd and 3rd pers., Ps 14^{7} 53^{6} 85^{1}).† 'Back' is omitted in AV, but introduced by RV, in Ec 3^{22} 'who shall b. him to see (RV 'b. him back to see') what shall be after him?' See AGAIN. **4. Bring forth** is the trⁿ of a great variety of expressions whose shade of meaning ought not to be obliterated. Notice esp. Is 41^{21} 'bring forth your strong reasons,' the only example of the obsol. meaning 'to adduce,' 'express'; cf. More (1532) 'The places of Scripture whiche Helvidius broughte furth for the contrarye.' **5. Bring up.** Besides the use of this phrase literally, as 'to bring up out of Egypt,' Gn 46^{4} 'I will go down with thee into Egypt; and I will also surely bring thee up again'; or 'up to Jerus.' in ref. to its height, 2 S 6^{15} 'David . . . brought up the ark of the LORD with shouting,' Ezr 1^{11} 'All these did Sheshbazzar bring up, when they of the captivity were brought up from Babylon unto Jerusalem'; or to the temple in ref. to its elevated situation, Neh 10^{38} 'the Levites shall bring up the tithe of the tithes unto the house of our God'; or 'up out of the earth,' 1 S 28^{8} 'and he (Saul) said, I pray thee, divine unto me by the familiar spirit, and bring me up whomsoever I shall name unto thee,' so $^{8.\,11\,\textit{bis}.\,15}$: besides these, there is the familiar phrase to bring up, *i.e.* train, children; see esp. Gn 50^{23}, 2 K 10^{5}, 2 S 21^{8}, Job 31^{18}, Pr 29^{21}, La 4^{5}, Lk 4^{16}, Ac 13^{1} 'Manaen, which had been brought up with Herod' (RV 'the foster-brother of'), 22^{3}, Eph 6^{4}. But the most important is the obsol. use of this phrase to signify the originating of slander, as Dt $22^{14.\,19}$ 'he hath brought up an evil name upon a virgin of Israel'; cf. Nu 13^{32} 'they brought up an evil report of the land.' J. Hastings.

---

* Dr. Blanckenkorn discusses the process of formation of gypseous deposits in the Jordan valley: 'Enst. und Gesch. des Todten Meers,' *Zeitsch. d. Deutsch. Palästina-Vereins* (1896).

† Tristram, *Land of Moab*, p. 353.

‡ *Ant*. XVII. vi.

§ *Land of Moab*, p. 242. The above is the temperature of the hottest of several springs at its source. Lartet gives the temperature of 88° F. (31° Cent.), but this was taken from the stream. *Voyage d'Exploration*, p. 290 (1880).

‖ Tristram, *Land of Israel*, pp. 283, 305, and 358.

¶ Lieut. Lynch's Exped., *Off. Rep.* p. 202.

** *Phys. Geog. Holy Land*, 241.

* Lartet, *supra, cit.*; Hull, *Geology of Arabia-Petræa and Palestine*, *Mem. Pal. Explor. Soc.* (1886), p. 23.

† The Heb., strangely enough, is always שׁוב. The meaning is disputed. See Driver on Dt 30^{3}.

BROID, BROIDER.—1 Ti 2^{9} 'with broided hair' (*ἐν πλέγμασιν*, 'in plaits'). RV gives the mod. spelling 'braided,' as AV in Jth 10^{3} 'braided the hair of her head,' for Coverdale's 'broyded.' Cf.—

> 'Hir yelow heer was broyded in a tresse
> Behind hire back.'
>
> Chaucer, *Knight's Tale*, 1051.

Broidered is given Ex 28^{4} as tr. of תַּשְׁבֵּץ *tashbêẓ*, 'a b. coat' (RV 'coat of chequer work'); and seven times in Ezk ($16^{10.\,13.\,18}$ 26^{16} $27^{7.\,16.\,24}$) as tr. of רִקְמָה *riḳmâh*. 'Broid,' which means to weave or plait, and 'broider,' which means to adorn with needlework (mod. 'embroider'), have no connexion in etymology or meaning (though they were often confounded in the 16th cent.), yet most mod. edd. of AV give 'broidered' for 'broided' in 1 Ti 2^{9}. J. Hastings.

BROKENHEARTED.—Three words (mistakenly spelt with hyphen in mod. edd. AV) are (1) '**brokenfooted**,' Lv 21^{19}, (2) '**brokenhanded**,' 21^{19} (שֶׁבֶר רֶגֶל, יָד, which *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* takes to mean fracture of the leg and of the arm), and (3) '**brokenhearted**,' Is 61^{1} (נִשְׁבְּרֵי־לֵב), Lk 4^{18} (*συντετριμμένος τὴν καρδίαν*, exactly as LXX of Is 61^{1}). For the thought cf. Ps 34^{18} 51^{17} $109^{16.\,22}$, Pr 15^{13}, Is 57^{15} 66^{2}, and see Contrite. J. Hastings.

BROOCH, Ex 35^{22} RV.—See Bracelet, Buckle.

BROOK (נַחַל).—There is no absolute distinction between a brook and a river, except as regards size, and this distinction will vary with each country. Perhaps the only stream in Palestine to which the term 'river' is applicable is the Jordan; but in the AV the term is applied to a few other streams such as the Kishon (Jg 4^{7} 5^{21}; in 1 K 18^{40} it is called a 'brook'), and the 'River of Egypt' AV (Wâdy el-'Arish), Nu 34^{5}, is translated 'Brook of Egypt,' RV. נַחַל has no proper Eng. equivalent, 'brook' suggesting something too small. It corresponds exactly to *Wady*.

Palestine, regarded in the widest sense of the term, is remarkable for its 'brook' courses. Many of them, however, are now dry, or only occasionally contain water; but they testify by their depth and extent to the existence of a former period when the rainfall was much greater than it is at the present day. This observation applies especially to the valleys of the Sinaitic peninsula and the great limestone plateau, known as the Badiet et-Tîh, extending from the southern limits of the territory of Judah along the Bahr es-Saba to the Sinaitic mountains. Most of the 'brooks' of Northern and Western Palestine are perennial (being fed in dry weather by the springs which issue forth from the limestone strata or other permeable formation, such as the basaltic sheets of the Haurân and Jaulân), and give rise to many fine streams, of which the Hieromax (Yarmûk) is the most important.

Western Palestine. The brooks of the region lying to the west of the Jordan valley take their rise near the centre of the plateau in springs, and thence descend to the shores of the Mediterranean on the one hand, or to the Jordan and Dead Sea on the other. The former commence with a rapid fall through deep and narrow channels, and then, on reaching the maritime plain, they follow a sluggish course to the sea-coast. It is otherwise, however, with the brooks entering the Jordanic valley; for, in consequence of their sources being less distant from their outlets than is the case with the Mediterranean tributaries, and the vertical fall being much greater, they have eroded their channels sometimes to extraordinary depths, and issue forth on the Jordanic plain through ravines bounded by lofty walls of rock which are continuous with the cliffs and escarpments forming the margin of the plain itself. As examples of these may be mentioned (*a*) the Wâdy el-'Aujeh, which has its source at a height of about 3000 feet above the level of the Mediterranean, and descends to its outlet in the Jordan valley to a depth of 1200 feet below the same plane; the total fall being 4200 feet within a distance of about 15 miles, or at the rate of 280 feet per mile; (*b*) the Kelt, which, rising in springs at Bireh (Beeroth) at a level of about 2800 feet, reaches the Jordan at a level of 1170 feet below the same plane within a distance of 21 miles; the fall being at the rate of 190 feet per mile; and (*c*) the brook Kidron (Wady el-Nahr), which, rising at the Virgin's Fountain, E. of Jerusalem, at a level of about 2400 feet, enters the Dead Sea through the remarkable gorge of Mar Saba, at a level of 1300 feet below the same plane; the total fall being at the rate of 264 feet per mile. These examples will suffice to give some idea of the character of the brook channels to the east of the ridge, or plateau, of Western Palestine. Some of those that enter the Jordanic depression from the Moabite plateau pass through remarkably deep channels, of which the Callirrhoë (Zerka' Ma'in) and the Arnon (Mojib) are examples. E. Hull.

BROOM, Job 30^{4} RV.—See Juniper.

BROTH, Jg $6^{19.\,20}$, Is 65^{4}.—See Food.

BROTHER.—See Family, and Brethren.

BROTHERLY LOVE.—Brotherly love (*φιλαδελφία*) is the love which Christians cherish for each other as 'brothers.' The word 'brother' has, according to Grimm, four senses in the NT. It is (1) brother by natural birth, as in Mt 4^{18}; (2) member of the same nation, as in Ro 9^{3}; (3) fellow-man, as in Mt $5^{22.\,24}$, though it may be questioned whether the sense is not in this passage and in Mt 7^{3} fellow-citizen in the kingdom of God; and (4) fellow-Christian. The last sense is the prevailing and characteristic one in the NT. The people who call God 'Father,' and Jesus 'Lord,' call each other 'brother' and 'sister' (Ja 2^{15}, Ro 16^{1}). A collective name for the whole body from this point of view is *ἀδελφότης*, the brotherhood (1 P 5^{9}). In 1 P 2^{17} the commandment to honour all is followed by that to love the brotherhood. The verb used in this case, and in most similar cases, is *ἀγαπᾶν*; but the substantive for brotherly love is *φιλαδελφία*. It is the fundamental and all-inclusive duty of Christians as related to each other. It goes back to express words of Christ, as in Jn 13^{35} 'In this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another.' In St. John's Epistles (1 Jn $2^{9\text{ff.}}$ $3^{10.\,14}$ $4^{7.\,11.\,20}$ 5^{1}) it is made the criterion, both to Christians themselves and to the world, of the reality of their faith, '*we* know that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren.' In St. Paul's earliest Epistle (1 Th 4^{9}) it is referred to as a thing which may be taken for granted among Christians: 'Concerning *φιλαδελφία* you have no need that any one should write to you; for you yourselves are taught of God to love one another.' In other words, it is an instinct of the new nature

In the Epistle to the Romans (12^{10}) St Paul bids Christians in their brotherly love be φιλόστοργοι, *i.e.* love one another with the unforced natural affection of those who really are members of the same family. St. Peter in his first Epistle (1^{22}) makes φιλαδελφία ἀνυπόκριτος, 'undissembled brotherly love,' the very end in view when believers sanctify their souls in obedience to the truth. To receive the divine message in the gospel is to consecrate the soul for a life ruled by love. The writer's own fervid spirit inspires his words when he adds, 'love one another from the heart ardently.' In the second Epistle (1^{7}) φιλαδελφία and ἀγάπη are combined to complete the garland of Christian virtues. φιλαδελφία, the mutual love of Christians, is to be added to εὐσέβεια, since a religion which does not unite its devotees by bonds of reciprocal affection is fatally onesided; and φιλαδ. is to be supplemented by ἀγάπη, the love of the members in the household of faith for each other, by a larger love which excludes none. Wherever there is fellowship of life there must be fellowship of love as well. The tie is as real between man and man as between Christian and Christian, but in the nature of things it cannot be so close. Brotherly love will vary in its manifestations with the varying necessities of human life, but in He 13^{1-3} ('Let φιλαδελφία continue,' or 'abide') two modes of its manifestation are urged which were specially important in NT times. The first is hospitality. This was the more to be enforced on the Hebrews, because they might be tempted even by surviving religious scruples to shut their doors on those who were really their brethren in Christ though aliens to their traditions. But its importance as an element in φιλαδελφία is shown also by such passages as 1 P $4^{8f.}$, Ro 12^{13}. The other is assistance to persons enduring persecution for the gospel. The Hebrews are praised (He $6^{10f.}$ and $10^{33f.}$) for what they have already done in this way; and here the duty is finally commended to them by the consideration that they themselves are also 'in the (a) body,' and therefore liable to the same calamities, and possibly soon to need the same consideration. The actual devotion of Christians to both these forms of brotherly love—hospitality and care of prisoners—is curiously illustrated in Lucian, *De Morte Peregrini*, § 12. 16. See Bleek on He 13^{1-3}.

J. DENNEY.

BROWN is used only in Gn $30^{32.\ 33.\ 35.\ 40}$ (J) to describe certain of Laban's sheep (חוּם, RV 'black'). See COLOURS.

BRUIT.—Jer 10^{22} 'the noise of the bruit is come' (שְׁמוּעָה RV 'rumour,' Amer. RV 'tidings'); and Nah 3^{19} 'all that hear the bruit of thee' (so RV, Amer. RV 'report,' Heb. שֵׁמַע. Both Heb. words from שָׁמַע to hear). B. occurs also 2 Mac 4^{39} 'the b. thereof was spread abroad' (φήμη, RV as AV); 8^{7} 'the b. of his manliness was spread everywhere' (λαλιά, RV 'his courage was loudly talked of everywhere'). In all these places b. (which is the Fr. *bruit* from *bruire* to make a noise, roar) means simply report. The word is pronounced as *brute*, as indeed it was very often spelt. J. HASTINGS.

BRUTE, BRUTISH.—'Brute beasts' (2 P 2^{12}, Jude v.^{10}) is a more forcible tr. than the 'creatures without reason' of RV, and it is an exact rendering of the Gr. (ἄλογα ζῶα [*]); for 'brute' is from Lat. *brutus* heavy, dull, irrational. Cf. Lupton (1580), 'more senselesse than the senselest or brutest beast in the world.' In the Pref. to AV occurs 'Bruit [†]-beasts led with sensuality.' In 2 P 2^{12} Wyclif and Rheims NT have 'unreasonable beasts,' Tindale, Cranmer, Geneva, and AV 'brute beasts'; but in Jude v.^{10} while Wyclif and Rheims have 'dumb beasts,' Tindale, Cranmer, and Geneva give 'beasts which are without reason.'

Brutish is given in Ps 94^{8}, Is 19^{11}, Jer $10^{8.\ 14.\ 21}$ 51^{17}, Ezk 21^{31} as tr. of the verb בָּעַר *bâ'ar* 'to be stupid'; and in Ps 49^{10} 92^{6}, Pr 12^{1} 30^{2}, to which RV adds Ps 73^{22} as tr. of the noun בַּעַר *ba'ar* 'brutishness.' The idea is *thoughtless ignorance* like that of beasts. J. HASTINGS.

BUCKET.—See under FOOD.

BUCKLE, or rather **brooch** (πόρπη, *fibula*), on the same principle as a modern safety-pin, by which the over-garment or wrap (χλαῖνα, *palla*, *sagum*) was pinned at the shoulder. In the Rom. world presents often took the form of brooches (Plaut. *Epid.* V. i. 33; *Mil. Glor.* IV. i. 13), as presents of jewellery are made amongst us. The rewards for valour, distinguished service, etc., in the Rom. army, took sometimes the shape of brooches (*Arch. Epigr. Mitth.* iii. p. 51), which came to resemble modern epaulettes and served as military decorations. In the Western Provinces of the Rom. Empire golden brooches were common, and have survived to our day in great numbers. In the Oriental Provinces, however, as appears from 1 Mac 10^{89} 11^{58} 14^{44}, only kings or king-priests were allowed the use of gold. This restriction of the use of gold (as of purple) is probably a survival of one of the 'royal and priestly' taboos, found all over the world. But, when taken up into the political system of the Empire, it produced a sort of Order of the Buckle, which may be compared with our Order of the Garter, though no myth was invented to account for the origin of the former.

F. B. JEVONS.

BUCKLER (מָגֵן *māgēn*).—The buckler was a round shield, small and easily carried, whereas the true shield, Heb. צִנָּה *ẓinnah* (= θυρεός in Eph 6^{16}), was large and oblong, sometimes carried by a bearer (1 S 17^{7}), sometimes used as a screen behind which an archer might shoot against the defenders of a wall (Ezk 26^{8}, where the tr. should be 'shall set up shields'). Polybius describes the shield as having a double framework of wood fastened together with glue and with a covering on the outer surface, first of linen and then of calf's skin. It had also round the edge, above and below, an iron rim, so that it could meet sword-cuts from above, or again be fixed firmly against the ground without injury (Polyb. vi. 23. Cf. the rest of the passage (*a*) quoted under ARMOUR).

It was this true shield, just described, which was carried by the legionaries, and to which St. Paul alludes: Eph 6^{16} 'the shield of faith.' Cf. Ps 91^{4} 'His truth is a shield and a buckler' RV, where, however, 'buckler' should be 'enclosing-shield,' סֹחֵרָה *soḥerah*, a synonym of *ẓinnah*. God's faithfulness meeting man's faith makes man's defence perfect.

W. E. BARNES.

BUFFET, a dim. from *buff* 'a blow' (still existent in *blind man's buff*), is (1) noun=a blow, as Jn 19^{3} Wyc. 'thei gauen to hym buffattis,' and (2) verb=give blows, beat, as *Pilgr. Perf.* (1526) 259, 'When he was buffetted and beten for vs.' In AV the verb only is used, and always as tr. of κολαφίζω (Mt 26^{67}, Mk 14^{65}, 1 Co 4^{11}, 2 Co 12^{7}, 1 P 2^{20}), which means to strike with the fist, a word found only in NT and later eccles. writers. RV gives 'buffet' as tr. also of ὑπωπιάζω in 1 Co 9^{27} 'I b. my body' (AV 'keep under,' RVm 'bruise'). The same word is tr^{d} 'wear out' in Lk 18^{5} 'Lest she wear me out by her continual coming' (AV 'weary me,' RVm 'bruise me'). It is an extremely forcible word, literally 'to give a blow *beneath the eye*' (ὑπό and ὤψ), then 'to beat black and blue.' (See *Expos. Times*, vol. i. p. 243; and Plummer, *Luke in loc.*).

---

[*] Lit. 'senseless animals.' In Ac 25^{27} (EV 'unreasonable') ἄλογος is taken by Thayer and others in the sense of 'contrary to reason.'

[†] 'Bruit' was the spelling of AV ed. 1611 in 2 P 2^{12}, but brute' in Jude v.^{10}.

J. HASTINGS.

BUGEAN.—A descriptive epithet applied to Haman in Ad. Est 12^6 RV (AV has 'Agagite'). Not only in this passage, but in Est 3^1 8^3 9^{10}, LXX reads *βουγαῖος* for Heb. אֲגָגִי, but everywhere except in the Apocr. book RV retains the AV rendering **Agagite.** *βουγαῖος* occurs in Homer (*Il.* xiii. 824, *Od.* xviii. 79) as a term of reproach='bully' or 'braggart.' Whether the Sept. intended it in this sense, or as a gentilic adjective, is wholly uncertain. See AGAGITE, HAMAN.

J. A. SELBIE.

BUKKI (בֻּקִּי).—1. Son of Jogli, a prince of the tribe of Dan, and one of the ten men entrusted with the task of dividing the land of Canaan among the tribes of Israel (Nu 34^{22}). **2.** Son of Abishua and father of Uzzi, fifth in descent from Aaron in the line of the high priests through Phinehas (1 Ch 6$^{5.51}$, Ezr 7^4). In 1 Es 8^2 he is called **Boccas**, for which **Borith** is substituted in 2 Es 1^2. It is doubtful whether he ever filled the office of high priest, as the statements of Josephus on the point are contradictory (*Ant.* V. xi. 5, VIII. i. 3).

R. M. BOYD.

BUKKIAH (בֻּקִּיָּהוּ, full form of Bukki).—A Levite of the sons of Heman, and leader of the sixth band or course in the temple service (1 Ch 25$^{4.13}$).

BUL (בּוּל, Βούλ A, *Bul*, 1 K 6^{38}).—See TIME.

BULL, BULLOCK, WILD BULL.—See CALF and OX. **BULRUSH.**—See REED.

BULWARK.—1. (=bole-work, *i.e.* a defence made of the trunks of trees or of logs of wood) is the tr. of Heb. חֵל *ḥêl*, 'rampart' (Is 26^1, חוֹמוֹת וָחֵל *ḥômôth wâ-ḥêl*, 'walls and rampart'; *τεῖχος καὶ περίτειχος*, LXX; *murus et antemurale*, Vulg.). Isaiah (*l.c.*) gives the paradoxical promise that God will appoint *salvation*, *i.e.* free space unconfined by walls (cf. for this meaning of 'salvation,' Ges. *Thes. s.v.* ישע=Arab. *wasi'a*) to be Zion's walls and bulwarks (cf. vv.$^{2-4}$, open gates and trust in God commended).

The *ḥêl* (1 K 21^{23} 'rampart,' RV) with its ditch (בּוֹר *bôr*, Jer 41^9) was, as the VSS show, an outer defence for the wall. Jerusalem had such a *ḥêl* (Ps 48^{13}), but only, no doubt, on the side on which the walls, not being on the edge of a precipice, needed extra defence. At the present day there would be room for such a work only on the N. and W. The Psalmist (*l.e.*), calls on the spectators to observe that not even the outer defences of Zion had been touched during the invasion of which he speaks.

2. Bulwarks (Dt 20^{20} מָצוֹר *mâẓôr*, and Ec 9^{14} מְצוֹדִים *mĕẓôdhîm*) are also the hasty defences raised by besiegers to protect themselves while attacking fortified places. Such defences were largely made of wood (Dt *l.c.*), and so were rightly called bulwarks. The 'bank' (Lk 19^{43} *χάραξ*, 'palisade' RVm) served the double purpose of shutting in the besieged and of defending the besiegers.

W. E. BARNES.

BUNAH (בּוּנָה 'intelligence').—A man of Judah, a son of Jerahmeel (1 Ch 2^{25}).

BUNCH is used of (1) a bundle of hyssop, Ex 12^{22} (אֲגֻדָּה=something *tied together*); (2) a cluster of raisins 2 S 16^1, 1 Ch 12^{40} (צִמּוּק=something *dried*); and (3) a camel's hump Is 30^6 (דַּבֶּשֶׁת, of uncertain origin). The last is the most original meaning of the Eng. word (which is also of uncertain origin): cf. Trevisa (1398), 'A camell of Arabia hath two bonches in the backe'; and—

> 'This pois'nous bunch-back'd toad.'
>
> Shaks. *Rich. III.* I. iii. 246.

J. HASTINGS.

BUNNI (בּוּנִי, בֻּנִּי), Neh 9^4 10^{15} 11^{15}, but in each case perhaps the text is corrupt; cf. Bertheau-Ryssel. See GENEALOGY.

H. A. WHITE.

BURDEN.—1. In OT 'burden' is the term used (in AV and RV) to represent the Heb. מַשָּׂא *massā'* (fr. נָשָׂא), both in the sense of a load, and in that of an utterance or oracle. In the latter case the rendering is supported by the ancient VSS (except the LXX, which has λῆμμα, ὅραμα, ὅρασις, etc.). It was partly determined by the fact that the prophecies of which it formed the title were mainly of a threatening character, the burden thus being the threats of punishment imposed upon the place or people concerned. But this translation is now generally abandoned. Some of the prophecies to which the word is applied are not comminatory. Thus, Zec 12 contains a promise of victory to Jerus. through the direct intervention of J″ on behalf of His people. See also Zec 9^1, Pr 30^1 31^1, the Eng. tr. in the two latter instances reversing their usual procedure, and rendering by *prophecy* (AV), *oracle* (RV, in text, and *burden* in m.). It is not surprising that the *massā'* should so seldom have been other than denunciatory, when we remember the chief occasions and objects of Heb. prophecy. Jer 23$^{33ff.}$ is intelligible only if we suppose that the prophets were accustomed to apply the word *massā'* to their prophecies in the sense of oracle or utterance. There the scoffers are reproved, simply because they pervert the word and give it the meaning of burden. *Massā'*, therefore, simply means something *taken up* solemnly upon the lips (cf. Ex 23^1, Ps 15^3 16^4, Ezk 36^3, and the repeated 'took up his parable' used of Balaam in Nu 23), in particular, a divine utterance or oracle. Although used of false oracles (La 2^{14}), it is not used of a merely *human* utterance except in Pr 30^1 31^1 (both doubtful); and even here, if the text is correct, a semi-*divine* precept is referred to.

2. In NT 'burden' denotes the woes and troubles of this earthly life (*φορτίον*, Mt 11^{30}), the legal ordinances of the Pharisees (*φορτία βαρέα*, Mt 23^4), the difficulties in which the Christian may be involved in consequence of his having yielded to temptation (*βάρη*, Gal 6^2), and the load of personal responsibility, or, at all events, the difficulties and trials that are inseparable from the Christian life (*φορτίον*, Gal 6^5). The only other passage we need compare with these is He 12^1, where, instead of burden, we have in AV and RV weight (*ὄγκος*); the lit. meaning of the word is encumbrance, and connotes whatever prevents men from fully developing their spiritual nature. Various distinctions may be drawn between these words. Thus, *βάρος* and *φορτίον* in Gal 6$^{2.5}$ mean respectively a burden that may and ought to be got rid of, and one that must be borne (see Lightfoot). Again, *ὄγκος* suggests not so much weight as cumbrousness. But these distinctions are of no great importance.

J. MILLAR.

BURGLARY.—See CRIMES.

BURIAL in Bible lands followed speedily upon death. Among the Jews of the E. at the present day burial takes place, if possible, within twenty-four hours of death. Mohammedans bury their dead the same day, if death takes place in the morning; but if in the afternoon or at night, not till the following day. Immediate burial was rendered necessary among the Jews of Canaan by the rapidity of decomposition in that climate, requiring survivors, as in the case of Abraham on the death of Sarah, to bury their dead out of their sight (Gn 23$^{1-4}$). The defilement to which contact with a dead body gave occasion (Nu 19$^{11-14}$) was a further reason among the Jews for speedy burial. Lazarus was buried on the day of his death (Jn 11$^{17.39}$). It was expressly commanded (Dt $21^{22. 23}$) that the body of a man who had been hanged should not remain all night upon the tree, but should be buried that day; and it may have been a sense of the awfulness of the judgment which had overtaken Ananias and Sapphira that hurried on the undertakers in their case (Ac 5^{1-11}). It was in accordance with this provision of the Jewish law (cf. Dt 21^{23} with Gal 3^{13}), as well as with the dictates of humanity, that Joseph of Arimathæa went to Pilate and begged the body of Jesus for burial on the day of the crucifixion (Mt $27^{57ff.}$).

Immediately the last breath was drawn, it was the duty of the oldest son, or, failing him, of the nearest relative present, to close the eyes of the dead (Gn 46^{4}). The mouth, too, was closed, and the cheekbones bound together (Jn 11^{44}). The kiss imprinted upon the lifeless form of the patriarch Jacob by Joseph as he 'fell upon his father's face and wept upon him' (Gn 50^{1}), may point to no uniform custom, but only to a natural impulse of affection. At the present day, when a Jew is drawing near his end, it is customary to bring in ten witnesses—an easy thing, as the house is usually full of friends waiting to raise the lamentations which tell that the sufferer has passed away. The death is announced, as it was of old, by a tumult of lamentation and the weeping and wailing of professional mourners (Mk $5^{38ff.}$). [See MOURNING.] When death occurs, those who are present rend their clothes, and all water and leaven must be cast out of the house itself as well as out of the houses of the three nearest neighbours, the belief being that the Angel of Death wipes his sword in these two things. Offerings for the dead seem to have been forbidden under the Mosaic law (Dt 26^{14}).

The preparations for burial could scarcely be, in the circumstances, of a very elaborate character. In the case of Ananias (Ac 5^{6}), we read that 'the young men wrapped him round, and carried him out and buried him.' What they did was likely this: they unfastened his girdle, and then taking the loose undergarment and the wide cloak which was worn above it, used them as a winding-sheet to cover the corpse from head to foot. But there was usually more ceremony. Combining various allusions which we find in the Gospels and the Acts, we learn that the corpse was washed (Ac 9^{37}), anointed with aromatic ointments (Jn 12^{7} 19^{39}, Mk 16^{1}, Lk 24^{1}), wound in linen clothes with spices (Jn 19^{40}, Mt 27^{59}, Mk 15^{46}, Lk 23^{53}; cf. also To 12^{13}, Sir 38^{16}), hands and feet being bound with graveclothes and the face bound about with a napkin (Jn 11^{44} $20^{6. 7}$). It would appear that in later times at least there was a confraternity of young men whose duty it was to attend to these proprieties on behalf of the dead (Ac 5^{6} 8^{2}). But it was, perhaps, only in cases like those mentioned in the references that they were called upon to act. It was on the loving hands of relatives and friends, and ordinarily of female friends, as in the passages referred to above, that these ministries devolved, among the Jews as among the Greeks. In fact, the practice among the Greeks, both by similarity and by contrast, affords an interesting illustration. One not unfamiliar instance may be cited: Electra believing Orestes to be dead, and his ashes placed in the sepulchral urn (Sophocles, *Electra*, 1136–1142), addresses him thus: 'Woe is me! These loving hands have not washed or decked thy corpse, nor taken up, as was meet, their sad burden from the flaming pyre. At the hands of strangers, hapless one, thou hast had those rites, and so art come to us, a little dust in a narrow urn.' These last words show the point of contrast. **Burning of the dead,** which was the custom among the Greeks, was no part of Jewish practice. The Rom. historian Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 5) expressly notices that it was matter of piety with the Jews 'to bury rather than to burn dead bodies.' The exceptions (if they be exceptions, for the Heb. text is in dispute) were cases of emergency, the burning of the bodies of Saul and his sons by the men of Jabesh-gilead (1 S 31^{11-13}), although even then they buried their bones under the tamarisk at Jabesh, and David had them finally laid to rest in the sepulchre of Kish (2 S 21^{12-14}); and the case supposed by the prophet (Am 6^{10}) in the desolation which was to come upon Israel, when it may have been on account of pestilence and accompanying infection that burning was preferred. Burning was reserved for the living who had been found guilty of unnatural sins (Lv 20^{4} 21^{9}); and Achan and his family after having been stoned to death were burned with fire, and all their belongings (Jos 7^{25}). When St. Paul speaks of giving his body to be burned (1 Co 13^{3}), he accommodates his language to the Greeks of Corinth, to whom such a thing was familiar, and by whom such self-immolation would be understood. And as the burning practised by the Greeks was no part of ordinary Jewish custom, neither was embalming as practised by the Egyptians, the cases of Jacob and Joseph (Gn $50^{2. 26}$) being obviously special. Among the Assyrians the corpse was arrayed for burial in the dress and ornaments and weapons that had been worn during life; and although the allusions are not clear, this may be referred to in certain passages of Scripture (1 S 28^{14}, Is 14^{11}, Ezk 32^{27}). Among the Jews and Mohammedans of the present day, the corpse is arrayed in the holiday apparel of former life.

It was a great indignity for a corpse to remain unburied and become food for the beasts of prey (2 S $21^{10. 11}$, 1 K 13^{22} 14^{11} 16^{4} 21^{24}, 2 K 9^{10}, Jer 7^{33} 8^{1} 9^{22} 14^{16} 16^{4}, Ezk 29^{5}, Ps 79^{3}, Rev 11^{9}), and uncovered blood cried for vengeance (Ezk $24^{6ff.}$; cf. also Ezk 39^{11-16}),—the idea being the same as among other peoples, that the unburied dead would not only inflict trouble upon his family, but bring defilement and a curse upon the whole land. Even malefactors, as we have seen, were allowed the privilege of burial (Dt $21^{22. 23}$); and the denial of it to the sons of Rizpah gave occasion for the touching story of her self-denying care of the dead (2 S $21^{10. 11}$). It was an obligation binding upon all to bury the dead found by the way (To 1^{18} 2^{3}).

The dead body was carried to the grave upon a bier or litter—Heb. *miṭṭah*, a bed (2 S 3^{31}, cf. Lk 7^{14} and 2 K 13^{21}). The bier was a simple flat board borne on two or three staves by which the bearers carried it to the grave. **Coffins** were unknown among the Israelites, as they are among the E. Jews to this day; the coffin in which the embalmed remains of Joseph were preserved being the only one mentioned in Scripture (unless Asa's bed, 2 Ch 16^{14}, be another), and being in conformity, not with Jewish but Egyp. usage (Gn 50^{26}; cf. Ex 13^{19}, Jos 24^{32}). A procession of mourners, with professional mourning women leading the way, followed, who made the air resound with their lamentations (Ec 12^{5}, Jer 9^{17}, Am 5^{16}. See MOURNING). A funeral procession among the Jews at the present day always moves swiftly along the road, because there are supposed to be innumerable *Shêdîm*, or evil spirits, hovering about, and desirous to attack the soul, which is considered to be in the body until interment takes place and the corpse is covered with earth. When the body is let down, the bier is withdrawn, and a heap of stones is piled over the shallow grave to preserve the dead from the depredations of hyænas and jackals. It was the belief of the Jews that the dead did not cease to be. There was a gathering place of the departed, commonly called Sheol among the Jews, and known also to the Greeks and Babylonians, where a kind of family life was preserved in the under-world. In accordance with that belief, the dead were buried in the sepulchres of their fathers when it was at all possible. Machpelah was the family burying-place of Abraham and Sarah and their descendants and connexions (Gn 25^{10} 49^{31} 50^{13}), although there were notable exceptions—Rachel being buried where she died on the way to Ephrath, which is Bethlehem (Gn 35^{19} R); and Joseph in Shechem, the parcel of ground which Jacob bought of the sons of Hamor (Jos 24^{32}). Among the Israelites, all who possessed any land, or who could afford it, had their family tombs hewn out of the rock in the hillside, each sepulchre containing many niches for the reception of bodies. Many generations of a family could thus be placed in the ancestral tomb, and countless numbers of such tombs are to be found all over the country. Of this Machpelah is the first example (Gn 23). Joshua was buried in the border of his inheritance at Timnath-serah (Jos 24^{30}). Samuel was buried in his house at Ramah (1 S 25^{1}). Joab was buried in his own house in the wilderness (1 K 2^{34}). In the days of the kingdom special mention is made of the burial of kings. Manasseh, king of Judah, was buried in the garden of his own house, in the garden of Uzza (2 K 21^{18}); and of Amon, his son, it is said that he also was buried in his sepulchre in the garden of Uzza (2 K 21^{26}). Josiah seems to have been buried in the same tomb as his father and grandfather (2 K 23^{30}). At the burial of some of the kings (Asa is singled out by the Chronicler for special notice, 2 Ch 16^{14}) there was burning of aromatic wood and fragrant spices (Jer 34^{5}); but there were exceptions in the case of unpopular and wicked kings, of whom Jehoram, the son of Jehoshaphat, is specially mentioned (2 Ch 21^{19}). Of Jehoiakim it was prophesied that there would be none to lament for him, and that he should be buried with the burial of an ass (Jer 22^{19}), his dead body simply drafted out of sight and left to decay where it lay.

The graves of the dead were variously made. They were sometimes simply dug in the earth, as in this country, and as, in fact, they are among the E. Jews at the present day. Sometimes natural caves or grottoes were used as graves. And often they were hewn out in the rock, and provided, as we have seen, with galleries and chambers. In times of oppression fugitives found shelter in these rocky tombs (Jg 6^{2}, 1 S 13^{6}, He 11^{38}); and in the time of our Lord poor creatures possessed with demons took up their abode in them (Mk $5^{2.3}$). The hills and valleys around Jerus. were honeycombed with these rock-hewn sepulchres of the dead. To the mouth of the sepulchral cave a stone was rolled to protect the remains deposited within from the ravages of wild beasts (Jn 11^{38}, Mt 28^{2}). Tombs were sometimes very spacious. In Joseph's tomb, where Jesus was laid, there was room for several persons (Mk 16^{1-8}). It is quite in accordance with this that we find in a famous passage of Ezk (ch. 32), Sheol represented as a vast burying-place, not of individuals, but of nations. The place of burial in NT times was outside the cities and villages (Lk 7^{12}, Jn 11^{30}), and the instinct that seeks a quiet grave and the shade of trees for the resting-place of our dead influenced the choice of a burying-place in the earliest times (Gn 23^{17} 35^{8}, 1 S 31^{13}, Jn 19^{41}). There was public provision made for the burial of strangers (Mt 27^{7}); and there was at Jerus. in the closing days of the monarchy a public burying-ground (Jer 26^{23}), probably where it is to this day, between the city wall and the Kidron Valley.

Besides the heaping of stones on ordinary graves for protection, stones and pillars were set up as memorials of the dead (Ezk 39^{15}, 2 K 23^{17}, where RV reads, 'What monument is that which I see?' and the reference is not to *a title* or *inscription*, but to a sepulchral pillar). Jacob set a pillar upon Rachel's grave (Gn 35^{20}), and Rachel's tomb is a monument of her pathetic story to this day. On the road from Engedi to Petra, on the crest where the first view of Mount Hor is obtained, is a conspicuous cairn, which we are told marks the burying-place of Aaron. There is no express mention of the Pyramids of Egypt in Scripture, but it is possible that 'the desolate places' said by Job to have been built by kings and counsellors of the earth (Job 3^{14}) refer to them. Absalom's grave in the wood of Ephraim had a heap of stones raised over it (2 S 18^{17}); but this, as in the case of Achan (Jos 7^{26}), was not for honour, but for contumely.

There is no religious service at funerals among the Jews of the E., and there is no indication that there was any in Bible times. There is little in their burial customs to indicate belief in a resurrection; but the belief of a resurrection, as well as of a future life, obtains widely among the Jews in every land. At this hour thousands of Jewish graves on the sides of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, where the Jews have come from all lands to be buried, bear witness to the belief that associates the coming of the Messiah with a blessed resurrection. They hold that Messiah will descend upon the Mt. of Olives, and will pass through these resting-places of the dead as He enters in glory the Holy City.

LITERATURE.—Keil, *Bib. Arch.* ii. 199 ff.; Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* i. 187 ff.; Artt. *Begräbniss* in Herzog, *RE*, and Riehm's *Bib. Lex.*; 'Burial' and 'Tombs' in Kitto, *Cycl.*, and Smith, *DB*; Whitehouse, *Primer of Heb. Antiq.*; Thomson, *Land and Book* (S. Pal. and Jerus., see 'Funerals' in Index); Tristram, *E. Customs in Bible Lands*; Mackie, *Bible Manners and Customs*; Sayce, *Social Life among Assyr. and Bab.*; Series of art. in *JQR* on 'Death and Burial Customs among the Jews,' by A. P. Bender, 1894-1896.

T. NICOL.

BURIER, a very old word for grave-digger, is found in Ezk 39^{15} 'till the buriers have buried it in the Valley of Hamon-gog,' where it was introduced by the Wyclifite version of 1382. J. HASTINGS.

BURNING.—See BURIAL, CREMATION, CRIMES, SACRIFICE.

BURNING BUSH.—In the account of the call of Moses, given by the prophetic narrative of the Pent. (JE), the Angel of J″ is represented as appearing to Moses 'in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush,' Ex 3^{2-4}. The word for bush in the original (סְנֶה) is found only in this passage and in the reference thereto in Dt 33^{16}. Its derivation is unknown, and we have no means of ascertaining what species of shrub is referred to. See BUSH.

The expression used by our Lord in the parallel passages Mk 12^{26}, Lk 20^{37} ἐπὶ τοῦ (τῆς) βάτου, illustrates the then current method of referring to passages of the Scriptures, the reference in this case being to the section of the Torah or Pent. in which the incident of the burning bush is related (cf. Ro 11^{2} 'in Elias'). Hence the RV rendering: 'in *the place concerning* the bush.'

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

BURNT-OFFERING.—See SACRIFICE.

BURST, BURSTING.—1. Of the death of Judas it is said (Ac 1^{18}) that 'falling headlong, he burst asunder in the midst.' The verb tr^{d} 'b. asunder' (λάσκω) is always in classical Gr. (this is its only occurrence in NT or LXX) used of making a loud noise, 'to crack'; here it is bursting accompanied with noise. **2.** In Pr 3^{10} 'thy presses shall b. out with new wine' (פָּרַץ, RV 'overflow'), 'b. out' is used 'hyperbolically, as a strong expression for to be exuberantly full,' acc. to *Oxf. Eng. Dict.*, which has found only another example (without 'out')—*Homilies* (1563) 'thy presses shall b. with new wine.' But cf. the common phrase 'ready to b.,' and Sir 19^{10} 'If thou hast heard a word, let it die with thee; and be bold, it will not b. thee.' 3. **Bursting** in Is 30^{14}, 'there shall not be found in the b. of it a sherd to take fire from the hearth,' has the obsol. sense of 'breaking into fragments' (Heb. בִּמְכִתָּתוֹ 'in the breaking up,' abstr. for concr.; Vulg. *de fragmentis ejus*; RV 'among the pieces thereof'). Cf.—

> 'You will not pay for the glasses you have burst?'
> Shaks. *Tam. of the Shrew.*, Induc. i. 8.

J. HASTINGS.

BUSH (סְנֶה *sĕneh*, *βάτος*, *rubus*).—The etymology of this word sheds no light on the kind of bush in which J″ appeared to Moses (Ex 3$^{2.3.4}$, Dt 33^{16}). It undoubtedly refers to a thorny shrub. Gesenius seems to imply that there is a connexion between it and *senna*. This is, however, not so, as the senna plant is not thorny, and is too insignificant a bush (not more than 2 to 3 ft. high) to have been chosen for the theophany. The translation *βάτος*, in the LXX, gives the opinion of the scholars of that time in favour of the *bramble* (*Rubus*, blackberry). *Rubus discolor*, W. et Nees, grows everywhere in Pal. and Syria. *R. tomentosus*, Borckh., grows in Syria and northward; its var. *collinus*, Boiss., grows along the coast of Pal. and Syria, and in the lower mountains. A bush of this has been planted by the monks of the convent of St. Catherine in Sinai, in the rear of the chapel of the Burning Bush, and testifies to their opinion that this was the bush in question. But *Rubus* has not been found wild in Sinai, which is south of its range, and climatically unsuited to it.

The following are among the thorny shrubs which grow in Sinai:—*Capparis spinosa*, L.; *C. galeata*, Fres.; *Ochradenus baccata*, D. C.; *Zizyphus Spina-Christi*, L.; *Acacia Nilotica*, Del.; *A. tortilis*, Hayne; *A. Seyal*, Del. Any one of these shrubs or small specimens of the trees, which often assume a bushlike form, would answer the etymological and other requirements of *sĕneh*. The attempt to establish a connexion between *sĕneh* and *sant*, the classical Arab. name for *Acacia*, is not defensible on philological grounds. It is better to regard the term as indefinite, meaning a *thorn bush*, and not attempt to identify it. G. E. POST.

BUSHEL.—See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

BUSYBODY.—To express an individual, 'body' was used early with a tinge of compassion, as Coverdale's tr. of Ps 14^{1} 'The foolish bodyes saye in their hertes: Tush, there is no God.' This is the sense the word has in 'busybody,' of which the earliest example is Tindale's tr. (1526) of 1 P 4^{15} 'a b. in other men's matters,' which Cranmer, Geneva, and AV retained, but RV has changed into 'meddler' (Gr. ἀλλοτριεπίσκοπος, an overseer (bishop) of other men's affairs: the word is found nowhere else). 'Busybody' is found also in 1 Ti 5^{13} (Gr. περίεργος, taken up with trifles; the neut. τὰ περίεργα is used in Ac 19^{19}, AV and RV 'curious arts'; Page, 'things better left alone, not meddled with'); and in 2 Th 3^{11} (περιεργάζομαι, the verb from περίεργος). J. HASTINGS.

BUT.—The archaic uses are few: 1. Lk 9^{13} 'We have no more but five loaves' (RV 'than'). Cf. T. Beard (1597), 'It was no sooner said but done.' The same Gr. (οὐ πλεῖον ἤ) is trd by 'but' alone in Ac 24^{11} 'there are yet but twelve days since I went up' (RV 'not more than'). 2. Nu 22^{35} 'Go with the men; but only the word that I shall speak unto thee, that thou shalt speak,' a stronger 'only' (אֶפֶס, tr simply 'but' in Nu 23^{13} 'thou shalt see but the utmost part of them'). 3. Gn 21^{26} 'neither yet heard I of it, but to-day.' The mod. expression would be 'until,' but the Heb. (בִּלְתִּי) means 'except.' J. HASTINGS.

BUTLER.—While the modern sense of this word is that of a superior servant in the houses of the wealthy, whose work is to superintend general domestic affairs, its derivation from the French word *boutillier*, and its original meaning, indicate the special office of offering wines and drinks at the meals of the rich, and during entertainments. It is in this latter sense that it is used in Gn 40^{1} and 41^{9}, and the Heb. word (מַשְׁקֶה *he who gives to drink*) is thus tr. elsewhere *cupbearer* (Neh 1^{11}, 1 K 10^{5}, and 2 Ch 9^{4}). (See CUPBEARER.) J. WORTABET.

BUTTER.—See FOOD.

BUZ (בּוּז).—1. The second son of Nahor and Milcah, and nephew of Abraham (Gn 22^{21}). Elihu, one of the friends of Job (Job 32^{2}), is called a Buzite, and may have belonged to a tribe of that name against which judgments are denounced by Jeremiah (Jer 25^{23}). This tribe, being mentioned along with Dedan and Tema, seems to be located in Arabia Petræa, and it is possible that in early times it had migrated thither from Mesopotamia. 2. A man of the tribe of Gad (1 Ch 5^{14}). R. M. BOYD.

BUZI (בּוּזִי).—The father of the prophet Ezekiel (ch. 1^{3}), and consequently a member of the priestly house of Zadok. Of the man himself nothing is known. Jewish writers were led to identify him with Jeremiah, partly by a supposed connexion of the name with a verb meaning 'despise,' and partly by a theory that when the father of a prophet is named it is to be understood that he also was a prophet. This view is referred to with apparent approval by David Kimchi: 'In the Jerus. Targ. [he is called] Ezekiel the prophet, the son of Jeremiah the prophet; and Jeremiah is called Buzi, because [the people] despised him' (Comm. *ad loc.*). J. SKINNER.

BUZITE (בּוּזִי, LXX *βουζίτης*).—See BUZ.

BY was originally an adverb, meaning *near*, and became a prep. through a change in the order of words; thus, 'the folk him by stood' (by-stood), 'the folk stood him by,' 'the folk stood by him.'

1. In this orig. sense 'by' is of freq. occurrence; generally in OT as tr. of אֵצֶל, as Neh 4^{3} 'Now Tobiah the Ammonite was by him'; Pr 8^{30} 'When he appointed the foundations of the earth, then I was by him'; Ezk 1^{19} 'When the living creatures went, the wheels went by them' (RV 'beside'); or of אֵת, as Ezk 43^{8} 'their threshold by (אֵת) my thresholds, and their post by (אֵצֶל, RV 'beside') my posts'; or of עִם, as Gn 35^{4} 'the oak which was by Shechem,' 1 K 1^{9} 'Adonijah slew sheep . . . by (עִם) the stone of Zoheleth, which is by (אֵצֶל RV 'beside') En-rogel'; or of עִמָּד (עִמָּדִי), as Dt 5^{31} 'stand thou here by me.' In NT the Gr. is παρὰ, as Lk 9^{47} 'Jesus . . . took a child, and set him by him' (παρ' ἑαυτῷ, RV 'by his side'); or πρός, as Mk 11^{4} 'found the colt tied by the door' (RV 'at'). In this sense 'by' is the frequent accompaniment of certain verbs, as *go*, Ps 129^{8} 'they which go by'; *stand*, 1 K 13^{24} 'the ass stood by it, the lion also stood by the carcase' (both אֵצֶל); *sit*, Neh 2^{6} 'the queen also sitting by him'; *dwell*, Neh 4^{12} 'the Jews which dwelt by them'; *set*, Lk 9^{47} as above (for 'set by'=esteem, see SET); *lay*, 1 Co 16^{2} 'let every one of you lay by him' (παρ' ἑαυτῷ). Evidently of the same meaning also is 'by' in the phrases 'by the sea side' Mt 13^{1}; 'by a river side' Ac 16^{13}; 'by the highway side' Mk 10^{46}; and 'by the way side' Mt 13^{4} (all παρά). Then the word 'side' gets dropped, and we have the phrase 'by

the way,' very common in Eng. of the 17th cent. and earlier; as Dt 11^{30} 'by the way where the sun goeth down' (אַחֲרֵי דֶּרֶךְ); Lk 10^{4} 'salute no man by the way' (*κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν*, RV 'on the way'); Sir 8^{15} 'Travel not by the way with a bold fellow' (*ἐν ὁδῷ*, RV 'in the way'); cf. 2 P 3^{1} 'by way of remembrance' (*ἐν ὑπομνήσει*, RV 'by putting you in remembrance'); and Shaks. *Jul. Cæs.* II. i. 218—

> 'Now, good Metellus, go along by him,'

where Pope, mistaking the phrase, changed 'by' into 'to,' and was followed by other early editors. In the same drama (III. i. 161) Shaks. puts a play upon the word into the mouth of Antony, who says to Cæsar's murderers—

> 'No place will please me so, no mean of death,
> As here by Cæsar and by you cut off.'

2. In such a phrase as 'go by the way' (*e.g.* Job 21^{29} 'Have ye not asked them that go by the way?') the *way* is in a sense the means, and this is believed to have led to the extensive use of 'by' as the prep. introducing the means, instrument, or origin. For this purpose 'by' is the tr. of many Heb. and Gr. expressions, and there is no part of the Eng. Bible where we are so liable to be led astray, either by an archaism (of which one notable example will be referred to), or by a mistranslation (of which many examples might be given). The danger is greatest in NT, because of the number and variety of the Gr. preps., and also because these Gr. preps. are often affected by the Hebrew. The Revisers have rendered an incalculable service by their watchful care in translating the preps.; and even when they have not been bold enough to disturb familiar but misleading renderings, they have nearly always indicated the correct tr. in the margin. Thus in Jn 1$^{3.\,10}$ 'All things were made by him,' 'The world was made by him' (AV, RV, but RVm *through*, Gr. *δι' αὐτοῦ*); while in He 6^{7} 'herbs meet for them by whom it is dressed' (even AVm gives '*for* whom,' RV text 'for whose sake,' Gr. *δι' οὕς*). The most important and treacherous archaism is the use of 'by,' which now denotes the agent, to express the *instrument*, the agent being expressed by 'of.' Thus we read, Mt 4^{1} 'Then was Jesus led up of the Spirit (*ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος*) into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil' (*ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου*); but in v.^{4} 'Man shall not live by bread alone' (*ἐπ' ἄρτῳ*); again in 2^{22} 'being warned of God in a dream'; but v.^{23} 'which was spoken by the prophets' (*διὰ τῶν προφητῶν*, the prophets being the channel of communication, RVm 'through the prophets'). Lightfoot (*Fresh Revision of NT*, pp. 132 ff.) emphasizes the importance of this distinction, pointing out that it affects the doctrines of Inspiration and the Person of Christ. 'Wherever the sacred writers have occasion to quote or to refer to OT, they invariably apply the prep. *διά*, as denoting *instrumentality*, to the lawgiver, or the prophet, or the psalmist, while they reserve *ὑπό*, as signifying the primary motive *agency* to God himself'; thus Mt 1^{22} 'that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet' (*ὑπὸ [τοῦ] κυρίου διὰ τοῦ προφήτου*, RV 'by the Lord through the prophet'). Again, 'the prep. which is especially applied to the office of the Divine Word is *διά*.' But here we have to deal with not only an archaic meaning of the prep. 'by,' but also with a capricious use of it in the AV. Thus Jn 1$^{3.\,10}$ 'All things were made *by* him,' 'The world was made *by* him' (both *δι' αὐτοῦ*); v.^{7} 'that all men *through* him might believe' (*δι' αὐτοῦ*), and v.^{17} 'grace and truth came *by* Jesus Christ' (*διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*). The fact is that about 1611 the word 'by' was losing its special sense of instrumentality, and there are a few clear examples of its employment to express the primary source or agent, as Mt 22^{31} 'have ye not read that which was spoken unto you by God?' (*ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ*) where all the previous versions have 'of God.' (See OF.)

3. 'Two by two,' 'three by three,' means two *beside* two, three *beside* three. But in older Eng. these phrases were frequently shortened; thus 1 Co 14^{27} 'let it be by two (*κατὰ δύο*) or at most by three'; Lk 9^{14} 'by fifties in a company' (RV 'in companies, about fifty each'); so 1 K 5^{14} 'by courses,' 2 K 5^{2} 'by companies.' And this idea of nearness is present in certain fig. expressions of time, as 1 S 25^{22} 'if I leave of all that pertain to him by the morning light'; Ex 22^{26} 'by that (=by the time that) the sun goeth down'; even in the phrase 'by the space of,' where the meaning is *during*, as Ac 13^{21} 'by (RV 'for') the space of forty years.'

4. As nearness suggests comparison, such expressions as 'set by,' 'set light by' are easily understood. (See SET.) But from this, 'by' came to be used after verbs of thinking, knowing, etc. in the sense of 'about,' as Shaks. *All's Well*, V. iii. 237—

> 'By him, and by this woman here, what know you?'

Then this passed into the meaning of *against*, of which there is a probable* example in 1 Co 4^{4} 'I know nothing by myself' (RV 'against myself'). Cf. Foxe, *Book of Martyrs*: 'Thou hast spoken evil words by the queen . . .' 'No man living upon earth can prove any such things by me'; Sanderson, *Works*, ii. 37, 'Far be it from us to judge men's hearts, or to condemn men for that we know not by them.' J. HASTINGS.

BY AND BY.—In earlier versions 'by and by' is the usual tr. of *εὐθύς* or *εὐθέως*, as it then consistently meant *immediately*. Thus Latimer in one of his sermons says, 'the clapper brake, and we could not get it mended by and by; we must tarry till we can have it done. It shall be mended as shortly as may be.' But about 1611 this meaning was passing away.† 'The inveterate procrastination of men,' says Trench, 'had caused it to designate a remoter term; even as "presently" does not any longer mean "at this present," but "in a little while."' So AV retains 'by and by' only in four places, Mt 13^{21} (*εὐθύς*, RV 'straightway'), Lk 17^{7} (*εὐθέως*, RV 'straightway'), 21^{9} (*εὐθέως*, RV 'immediately'), Mk 6^{25} (*ἐξαυτῆς*, RV 'forthwith'). J. HASTINGS.

BYWAY.—Only Jg 5^{6} 'the travellers walked through byways' (אֳרָחוֹת עֲקַלְקַלּוֹת; AVm and RVm 'crooked ways,' which is Coverdale's tr. Moore points out that both words are in Mishnic Heb. used tropically of tortuous conduct; but he believes that here the first word, אֳרָחוֹת, is erroneously repeated from the preceding line to the detriment of both the poetical expression and the rhythm; he translates 'those who travelled the roads went by roundabout paths'). In Eng. as in Heb. the word signifies, not a side road merely, but a secret path, a path to take in seeking to escape observation. Thus Spenser, *F.Q.* I. i. 28—

> 'That path he kept which beaten was most plaine,
> Ne ever would to any bye-way bend.'

Hence the transition was easy to tortuous conduct, as Coverdale's tr. of Is 57^{17} 'he turneth him self, and foloweth ye bywaye of his owne hert.'

RV introduces 'bypaths' in Jer 18^{15} (נְתִיבוֹת, AV, 'paths'). J. HASTINGS.

---

* *Probable*, for this meaning of 'by,' though never common, is clearly made out; but the Gr. being *ἐμαυτῷ* (Vulg. *mihi*) one is not certain that Tindale, whom the others follow, did not miss the meaning, and translate the word as an instrumental dative.

† Tindale and the Gen. Bible have 'by and by' in many places in which AV has 'immediately.' Thus Mk 1^{31} 'the fever forsoke hir by and by' (Wyc. 'anoon,' Rhem. 'incontinent,' but Cov. and the rest as AV); so 2^{12} 4^{5}, Lk 6^{49}, Jn 6^{21}, etc.

C

C.—This symbol is used in critical notes on the Text of OT and NT to indicate the readings of the Codex Ephraemi Syri rescriptus in the National Library at Paris. The MS is assigned to the 5th cent. Tischendorf, on somewhat slender grounds, suggests Egypt as its birthplace. In the 6th cent. the NT was carefully revised by the first corrector (C^2). In the same or in the succeeding century some changes were introduced in the OT (C^a). Tischendorf hazards a conjecture that during this period of its history the MS was in Palestine. By the 9th cent., at any rate, it had found its way to Constantinople, and there the NT came into the hands of a second corrector (C^3) who revised the MS for liturgical use.

In the 12th cent. the MS must have been taken to pieces, the separate sheets of vellum sponged over to obliterate the original writing, and then a certain number of the sheets used again to receive a Greek translation of some works of Ephraim the Syrian. Hence its description as a *codex rescriptus* or palimpsest. After the fall of Constantinople in 1453 the MS was taken into Italy, and finally passed into the hands of Catherine de Medici. At her death it became the property of the French Royal Library. Its real value was not recognised at first. It was not till the end of the 16th cent. that the older writing attracted attention. In 1716 Bentley set Wetstein to work at a systematic collation. In 1834 the MS was chemically treated to intensify the ancient writing—on the whole with good effect. Still the task of deciphering the faded letters calls for extraordinary patience and skill; and Tischendorf deserves unstinted praise for the edition that he published (Leipzig 1843 and 1845) as the result of ten months' hard work in the Library at Paris.

The MS contains at present 209 leaves, written in single columns: 64 contain fragments of Job, Proverbs, Eccles., Wis. of Sol., Sirach, and Canticles; 145 contain large portions (not quite two-thirds of the whole) of NT, including fragments from every book except 2 Jn and 2 Th. The Ammonian sections are marked in the margin of the Gospels, and the list of chapters at the beginning of St. Luke and St. John are preserved. There are no indications of chapters in the other books of the NT. Hort has shown that there is reason to believe that Rev was transcribed from a separate exemplar, consisting of about 120 small leaves (*Intr.* p. 268).

J. O. F. MURRAY.

C.—A symbol used in criticism of Hex. by Dillmann to signify the work of the Jahwist (J); by Schultz for that of the Elohist (E). See HEXATEUCH.

CAB.—See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

CABBON (כַּבּוֹן), Jos 15^{40}.—A town of Judah near Eglon. The name has not been recovered.

CABIN is used once in AV in the obsol. sense of a prison cell, Jer 37^{16} 'When Jeremiah was entered into the dungeon, and into the cabins' (חֲנֻיוֹת [all], *something vaulted*, from חָנָה *to bend*; AVm, RV 'cells'). The word is rare in this sense, but in frequent use for a hermit's cell, as Caxton, *Chron. Eng.* ccliv. 329, 'They put hym in a Cabon and his chapelyne for to shryue hym.' J. HASTINGS.

CABUL (כָּבוּל), Jos 19^{27}, 1 K 9^{13}.—A town of Asher on the border of Zebulun. The district was ceded by Solomon to Tyre. Prob. the large village *Kabûl* E. of Acco. See *SWP*, vol. i. sheet v.

C. R. CONDER.

CÆSAR (Καῖσαρ).—This name was adopted by Octavius, subsequently known as Augustus, after the death of his uncle Julius Cæsar, and passed on to his successors as the official designation of the Roman emperors, until the third century A.D., when it came to be used for the junior partners in the government, in distinction from the title Augustus, which was reserved for the supreme rulers. No name was ready at hand to describe the unique office of the real autocrat in a nominal republic. While the word 'king' was hated at Rome on account of its associations with the legendary history of the city, and despised by the victorious generals who were familiar with it as the title of defeated Oriental rulers, the fame of Julius Cæsar suggested the use of his name by his heir.

The following Cæsars fall within NT times:—

Augustus . .	B.C. 31–A.D. 14.
Tiberius . . .	A.D. 14–37.
Gaius (Caligula) .	,, 37–41.
Claudius . . .	,, 41–54.
Nero . . .	,, 54–68.
Galba . . .	,, 68–69.
Otho . . .	,, 69.
Vitellius . . .	,, 69.
Vespasian . .	,, 69–79.
Titus . . .	,, 79–81.
Domitian . .	,, 81–96.

Four of these are referred to in NT, viz. Augustus (Lk 2^1), Tiberius (Lk 3^1), Claudius (Ac 11^{28} 18^2), Nero (Ph 4^{22}, 2 Ti $4^{16.17}$). Augustus was ruling when Jesus Christ was born, and continued to rule until He was about eighteen years of age; Tiberius was emperor during the remainder of His time of obscurity, His public ministry, His death and resurrection. Although our Lord accepted the title of king (Jn 18^{37}), and admitted that He was the Messiah (Mk $8^{29.30}$, Jn $4^{25.26}$), He never came into conflict with the political claims of the ruling Cæsar. The Gospel record mentions only one occasion on which He touched on those claims, and on that occasion it was because they had been forced on His notice (Mk 12^{14-17}). The coin for which He then called was a *denarius* with the image and legend of Tiberius upon it (see MONEY), and His judgment was to the effect that the acceptance of this coin by the Jews was a sign that they admitted the Roman rule over them, under which circumstances they were morally bound to render Cæsar his dues, not forgetting the dues of God. In the Fourth Gospel the Jews threaten Pilate with a charge of disloyalty to Cæsar (Tiberius), and describe the claims of Jesus to be a king as amounting to sedition against Cæsar; and the priests, who represent the ancient aristocratic rulers of Israel, expressly declare that they have no king but Cæsar (Jn $19^{12.15}$). Caligula is not referred to in the NT. His time coincides with the early ministry of St. Paul. Aquila and Priscilla are stated to have come from Italy to Corinth in consequence of a decree of Claudius (the fourth Cæsar) banishing all Jews from Rome (Ac 18^2. See CLAUDIUS). Since Nero was in power when St. Paul was arrested at Jerusalem, it was to him that the apostle, as a Roman citizen (Ac $22^{27.28}$), appealed from the local tribunal at Cæsarea (Ac 25^{9-12}). The right of appeal to Cæsar was allowed to citizens, but not to provincials (Pliny, *Epis.* x. 96 (*al.* 97); Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. p. 59; Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, 3rd ed. pp. 255–257). The Apoc. appears to contain frequent obscure allusions to the Cæsars, and especially to Nero, one passage (Rev 17^{10}) seeming to point to the first seven emperors, and in such a way as to suggest that the book must have been written under the sixth (Galba).

LITERATURE.—Dion Cassius, Suetonius, Tacitus; Capes, *The Early Empire*; Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*; Duruy, *History of Rome* (ed. by Mahaffy); H. Schiller, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*; Hertzberg, *Geschichte des römischen Kaiserreiches*. W. F. ADENEY.

CÆSAR'S HOUSEHOLD.—This phrase occurs with a mark of emphasis in the salutations sent from St. Paul's friends at Rome to the Church at Philippi, where we read, 'All the saints salute you, *especially they that are of Cæsar's household* (μάλιστα δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Καίσαρος οἰκίας, Ph 4^{22}). The *domus* or *familia Cæsaris* included the whole imperial household, and extended to the attendants of the emperor in the provinces as well as at Rome. Lightfoot gives a list of some of these, from which it is evident that the phrase contains no indication of the rank of the persons to whom it refers. They may have been courtiers of high position; the execution of Titus Flavius Clemens, a man of consular rank and cousin to the emperor, and the banishment of his wife Flavia Domitilla, the emperor's niece, and her daughter Pontia, by Domitian, for the vague crimes, *contemtissimæ inertiæ* (Suet. c. 15), atheism (ἀθεότης), and inclination to Jewish customs (Dion. Cass. lxvii. 14), have suggested the probable opinion that these people were Christians. Still, most probably in the time of St. Paul the Christian members of the imperial household were slaves, or freedmen of humble position. The apostle's association with the soldiers who guarded him may have led to the introduction of the gospel to the palace attendants, although the statement that the prisoners were put under the **Prætorian guard** (Ac 28^{16} AV) is absent from the best MSS. The imperial household must have constituted so large a proportion of the population of Rome that there is nothing surprising in the fact that some of its members came into contact with Christian teachers. The interesting fact is that converts were won from so frightful a circle of dissoluteness as the court of Nero (Suetonius, *Nero*, 28, 29). The names of a number of the imperial attendants of this period having been recovered from sepulchral monuments among the columbaria in the neighbourhood of the Appian Way, Lightfoot pointed out the identity of some of these names with several that occur in the list of salutations in Ro 16, viz. Amplias, Urbanus, Stachys, Apelles, Narcissus, Tryphæna, Tryphosa, Patrobas (Patrobius), Philologus, Julia (Julius). The probability that the last chapter of Ro is really part of an Ep. to the Ephesians deprives these coincidences of their supposed value. Most of the names are not uncommon.

LITERATURE.—Lightfoot, *Philippians*, n. on 'Cæsar's Household'; Conybeare and Howson, *St. Paul*, ch. xxvi.; Ramsay, *St. Paul the Trav.* p. 353; Weizsäcker, *Apost. Age* (Eng. tr.), ii. 132. W. F. ADENEY.

CÆSAREA (Καισαρεία), Ac $10^{1.24}$ 21^{8} $23^{23.33}$.—The city N. of Jaffa, on the seashore, orig. called Strato's Tower, rebuilt by Herod the Great, the capital of Judæa under the Procurators, and where St. Paul was imprisoned. It was famous for its port, which Josephus compares with the Piræus, though the latter was very much larger (*Ant.* XV. ix. 6). The present ruins include the walls of the ancient city, and within them those of a much smaller town of the twelfth cent., with walls rebuilt in the thirteenth by St. Louis. The cathedral, of which only foundations remain, appears to stand on the site of the temple raised by Herod to Augustus (Jos. *Ant.* XV. ix. 6; *Wars*, I. xxi. 7). On the S., outside the mediæval town, are ruins apparently of a large theatre close to the shore. On the E. is a cursus, with a fine goal of granite, now overthrown. Two aqueducts from Carmel brought the waters of the Zerka, or Crocodile River, to the city. They are Rom. work, with round arches, running over the swamps, and a tunnel through the cliffs, with rock-cut staircases descending in wells. A few Bosnian colonists have houses in the ruins. Cæsarea was a bishopric from the fourth to the thirteenth cent. A.D., of which the most celebrated bishop was Eusebius. In NT times it had a mixed population, and conflicts between the Jews and their fellow-citizens were frequent. On the outbreak of the great war, the Jewish population was massacred (Jos. *Wars*, II. xviii. 1, VII. viii. 7; Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 86 f.). It was also the scene of a Moslem massacre when taken by the Crusaders in A.D. 1101. For full account, and plans of the ruins, see *SWP*, vol. ii. sheet x. See also Neubauer, *Géog. Talm. s.v.*

C. R. CONDER.

CÆSAREA PHILIPPI (Καισαρεία ἡ Φιλίππου, 'Cæsarea of Philip').—It was so named to distinguish it from Cæsarea Palestîna on the sea-coast. It possibly appears in the OT as Baal-gad, but its history for us begins with Herod the Great. (For suggested identification with Dan, see Smith, *Hist. Geog.* p. 480.)

No spot in Palestine can compare with this in romantic beauty. It stands on a triangular terrace 1150 ft. above sea-level, cut off from Hermon by *Wady Khashabeh*, and bounded on the S. by *Wady Za'areh.* Abundant water produces luxuriant vegetation, fertile fields stretch away to westward, while groves of stately poplars, great oaks, and lowlier evergreens surround the place with perennial charm. The fortress *Ḳal'at eṣ-Ṣubeibeh*, or *Ḳal'at Banias*, crowns the hill behind the village. A position of great antiquity and of enormous strength, its possession has always been essential to the holding of the western meadows. The old city was surrounded by a strong wall, flanked by massive towers, and protected by a ditch on the east. North of the village, in the face of a steep rock, is *Magharet Ras en-Neba'*, 'Cave of the fountainhead.' 'Very deep and full of still water' in the days of Josephus, the crumbling rock has filled the cavern. The waters rise all along the base of the gravel bank in front, and, gathering together, rush away in arrowy streaks between banks of evergreen, under the arch of an old Roman bridge; then, as becomes 'the descender' (הַיַּרְדֵּן), plunge down a narrow ravine, and, taking the stream from *Wady Za'areh*, flow on 'to join the brimming river' from *Tell el-Ḳāḍi* in the plain. West of the spring, on a projecting crag, is a small shrine of *El-Khuḍr*, that strange object of Oriental reverence identified with St. George and also with the prophet Elijah. Away to the N.E. rises the mighty bulk of Hermon, culminating in the snowy crest full 8000 ft. above the spring.

Baal-gad—the god of good fortune—gave place to the Grecian Pan. The scene of his worship at the fountain was called the Paneion (τὸ Πανεῖον, Jos. *Ant.* XV. x. 3), whence the whole district took the name of Paneas, Πανεάς (*Ant. ibid.*). Zenodorus dying at Antioch, Augustus gave this region to Herod (B.C. 20), who built here a temple of white marble in honour of his benefactor. Philip, to whom it passed as part of the tetrarchy of Trachonitis, enlarged and beautified the town, and in compliment to the emperor called it Cæsarea, adding 'of Philip,' to distinguish it from his father's town, and also, no doubt, to secure the memory of his own name. Its great and abiding interest, however, is derived from the visit of our Lord, and the amazing event witnessed by these silent hills (Mt 16^{13}, Mk 8^{27}). Agrippa II. called the city Neronias (*Ant.* XX. ix. 4); and, as is proved from the city's coins, this name, with Cæsarea, survived some time. Paneas then again asserts itself with Cæsarea, and finally Cæsarea disappears, and Paneas takes permanent possession in the Arabic form of *Banîâs*, for the Arabs have no *p*. Vespasian and his army found refreshment here before their descent on the Sea of Galilee (*BJ* III. ix. 7). After the destruction of Jerusalem, Titus Cæsar here 'exhibited all sorts of shows,' many of the captives being destroyed by wild beasts, and others forced to slay each other in gladiatorial displays (*BJ* VII. ii. 1). Later it became the seat of a bishop, under Antioch. Its bishops were present at the councils of Nicæa, A.D. 325; Chalcedon, A.D. 451, etc. In the stormy history of the crusades the town and castle played an important part. Eusebius (bk. vi. 18) mentions a Christian tradition that the woman healed of an issue of blood (Lk 8^{43}) was a native of Banîâs, her house being shown, with statues representing the event.

The modern village consists of about fifty houses, occupied by Moslems. There are few antiquities. Fragments of broken columns and carved stones, a Roman aqueduct nearly buried in refuse, part of the old walls and castle, and several niches in the rock over the spring, are practically all that remain of the splendours of old Cæsarea Philippi.

W. EWING.

CAGE (כְּלוּב), Jer 5^{27}.—The houses of the rich, stuffed with craftily-obtained wealth and articles of luxury, are compared to a cage full of birds. The reference in the previous verse to bird-traps would at first suggest that 'cage' here continues the thought of fowling, but the stress laid on the fulness of the houses points perhaps to a wicker-case or crate full of pigeons and fowls. This is a common market sight in the East: the crate being literally stuffed, and the birds craning their necks out at every opening to get breath and escape oppression. The meaning of 'cage' is supported by the cage (κάρταλλος) of Sir 11^{30}, which is the Arab. *ḳartal* 'hamper' of the present day.

'Cage' in Rev 18^{2} (φυλακή) means 'hold,' *i.e.* 'prison' (RVm), or the word may have here an accent of mockery, representing the owls and bats as mounting guard over the traditions of the past. No one would think of putting 'unclean and hateful' birds in a cage or crate, as they were unfit for food and too ill-omened for ornament.

G. M. MACKIE.

CAIAPHAS (Καιάφας), more correctly 'Joseph C.' (cf. 'Joseph called Barsabbas,' Ac 1^{23}), appointed high priest of the Jews by the Rom. procurator Valerius Gratus (predecessor of Pontius Pilate), and removed by Vitellius A.D. 37 (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. ii. 2, iv. 3). C. was son-in-law to Annas (Ananus), high priest A.D. 7–14. Some confusion has arisen from Lk 3^{2} 'in the high priesthood of Annas and C.,' and Ac 4^{6} 'Annas the high priest and C.' (cf. Mk 16^{7}), as well as Jn $18^{19.\,22}$ where 'the high priest' almost certainly designates Annas. (For explanation of this usage of terms see ANNAS, SANHEDRIN.) The chief priests were at this period mostly Sadducees (Ac 4^{1} 5^{17}, cf. Jos. *Ant.* XV. ix. 3), and in the final conflict with Jesus they played a more prominent part than the Pharisees, as they did also in the subsequent persecution of the apostles. When the popularity of Jesus had received a powerful impulse from the raising of Lazarus, C. was the leading spirit at the council which was held to devise measures to stem the popular current (Jn $11^{49\text{ff.}}$). His counsel was to put Jesus to death before a tumult of the people should bring down upon the nation the vengeance of the Romans. His action upon this occasion illustrates his characteristic disregard of justice and religion, and shows with what adroitness he could hide self-interest under the cloak of patriotism. But there was a deeper meaning in his words than he was conscious of; and the evangelist finds in them a high-priestly prophecy of the atonement (vv.$^{51.\,52}$; cf. Ex 28^{30}, Nu 27^{21})—with which may be compared similar unconscious testimonies in Mt $27^{25.\,37}$ and Mk 15^{31}. The policy which C. advocated at this meeting, he was largely instrumental in carrying out. It was in 'the court of the high priest who was called C.' that 'the chief priests and elders' resolved to take Jesus 'by subtilty'—with the help of Judas (Mt $26^{3.\,4.\,14\text{-}16}$); and it was C. that took the leading part in the trial of Jesus at the nocturnal meeting held immediately after the private examination before Annas (Jn 18^{24}, Mt $26^{57\text{-}66}$). The procedure under C.'s presidency was a travesty of justice, and while they 'sought false witness against him,' Jesus kept silence; even when challenged by C. to speak,—till the latter, despairing of establishing any relevant charge by means of witnesses, solemnly adjured Jesus to say whether He was 'the Christ, the Son of God.' At once the unfaltering answer came (although the speaker knew that He would have to seal His testimony with His blood), whereupon C., with an affectation of pious horror, rent his garments, saying, 'He hath spoken blasphemy . . . What think ye?'—to which 'they answered, He is worthy of death,'—a sentence that was ratified next morning at a formal meeting of the Sanhedrin (Mt $27^{1.\,2}$; Jn 18^{28}). After this C. is only once mentioned by name in the NT (Ac 4^{6}), associated with 'as many as were of the kindred of the high priest' in the trial of Peter and John; but in all probability he is 'the high priest' of Ac $5^{17.\,21.\,27}$ 7^{1} 9^{1}, who continues to persecute the Church.

J. A. M'CLYMONT.

CAIN (קַיִן), Firstborn of the first pair (Gn 4^{1}). As murderer C. marks a further stage in the downward course of the fallen race, while he also foreshadows its material progress. The name, which J derives from the mother's joyful exclamation at the 'acquisition' of a man-child (קָנָה *procure*), may also have suggested the secondary notion of the man of blood (קַיִן *a spear*). A tiller of the soil (4^{2}), C. offered a sacrifice of the produce of the earth (4^{3}), which, however, was not viewed by God with acceptance (4^{5}). The ground of the divine displeasure has commonly been sought in the tardiness of the offering, or in its comparative worthlessness,—in the latter case, either because he withheld his best, or because of the insufficiency of a sacrifice without blood; but, while the spirit of C. may well be supposed to have expressed itself in delay and niggardliness, the text does not carry us beyond the prophetic idea that the offering, owing to the character and inward disposition of C., could not please God (cf. He 11^{4}). As to the manner in which God intimated His rejection of the sacrifice, the narrative is also silent, though the analogy of the primitive history suggests various forms of the revelation—especially the audible voice of God, or the refusal of the consuming fire. Wrothful and dejected at the slighting of his gifts, C. is rebuked by God ($4^{6.\,7}$), who teaches him that joy (forgiveness?) is the reward of well-doing, but the penalty of wrong-doing the temptation to further sin.* The guilt of the fratricide is aggravated by premeditation in LXX and other versions, where C. is represented as inviting Abel to go with him into the field (4^{8}). As the motive of the murder, jealousy is sufficient, without following Jewish scholastics in supposing disputes about religion or property. More hardened than Adam, C. would conceal his guilt, but is convicted by the voice of the shed blood which cries from the ground (4^{10}); and, agreeably to his deeper guilt, the curse which is upon the earth, by which it had been made an instrument of punishment, is further heightened (4^{12}). Adam is driven from Eden, Cain from tillage-land. Afraid for his life, which he feels to be forfeited, C. is vouchsafed the protection of the threat of a sevenfold vengeance and of a special sign (4^{15}). By the sign has been understood a miracle wrought in confirmation of the promise of protection, or a reiterated miracle which in time of need might deter or terrify an assailant, *e.g.* a lightning flash, or intermittent signs of leprosy; but the idea rather appears to be that a permanent physical brand was imprinted, which would identify him to his kind, to whom by report his crime, and the will of God concerning him, were sufficiently known. It is further related that C. went forth into the land of Nod or Wanderland (4^{16}), where, consistently enough with OT social ideals, if not with C.'s doom of vagabondism, the first city is built by the first murderer (4^{17}).

---

* So substantially the received text and rendering. Many modern scholars translate: 'Is it not so that, whether thou bring fair gifts, or bring them not, sin lies at the door?'—but do violence to the key-word (שְׂאֵת) without any clear gain to the sense. LXX reads: οὐκ ἐὰν ὀρθῶς προσενέγκης, ὀρθῶς δὲ μὴ διέλης, ἥμαρτες; ἡσύχασον—a variation got by slightly changing a word in the Heb. ('at the door'), but this reading seems to miss the point by discovering the fault in ceremonial irregularity.

The NT allusions to C. (besides He 11^{4}; 1 Jn 3^{12}, Jude^{11}) are very general, referring simply to the spirit of his life as the antithesis to Christian faith and brotherly love. The vindication of C. was undertaken by the Cainites (cf. Epiphanius *adv. Hæreses*, i. 3, 38), who represented him as possessed of a dignity, power, and enlightenment superior to Abel—a phenomenon which is not without its parallels in modern pleas for the emancipation of the modern man from the self-sacrificing ethics of Christianity. The many problems raised by the narrative were a fertile theme for the Jewish rabbis. The tradition that C. was slain by an arrow from the bow of Lamech, who mistook him for a wild beast, and thereafter killed his youthful son who had misled him, is a fanciful structure reared by the same hands on the foundation of Lamech's wild song.

The history of C. and Abel belongs in substance to the Jahwistic section of the Pentateuch (J, Dillmann's C), which may be concisely described as a body of tradition edited in the light of prophetic revelation. That the story was not found by the writer in its present setting, but was transferred by him from a later situation to the primeval period, is argued on various grounds—that its distinction of farmer and shepherd, and also of fruit-offerings and animal sacrifices, cannot have been primitive, much less the building of a city, and especially that it assumes the existence on the earth of a widely-distributed population. On the other hand, it must be said that none of the problems are absolutely insoluble, with the presuppositions of the history as it lies before us. Possibly, Assyriology may throw more light on the question by discovering fresh points of contact between the OT and the cuneiform inscriptions. According to Budde, it is constructed on the basis of hints in the genealogies and patriarchal narratives. What remains unaffected by criticism is the prophetic inspiration manifested in the representation of God's holiness and long-suffering, in the analysis of the guilty heart, and in the knowledge of the rapid diffusion of the principle of sin, and its tendency to steadily increasing heinousness as manifested in outward act.

LITERATURE.—See esp. Dillmann, *Genesis*; Delitzsch, *New Com. on Genesis*; Budde, *Biblische Urgeschichte*; Ryle, *Early Narratives of Genesis*. For Jewish speculation, Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*.

W. P. PATERSON.

CAINAN (Καινάν, WH Καινάμ).—1. The son of Enos and father of Mahalaleel (Lk $3^{37.38}$). See KENAN. 2. The son of Arphaxad (Lk 3^{36}, which follows LXX of Gn 10^{24} 11^{12}). The name is wanting in the Heb. text of the last two passages. See GENEALOGY.

CAKE.—See BREAD.

CALAH (כֶּלַח).—The name of a city mentioned in Gn 10^{11} as having been founded by Nimrod, or by Asshur; for the rendering of the RVm 'Out of that land went forth Asshur,' is by many scholars preferred to that of the RV text, 'Out of that land he (*i.e.* Nimrod) went forth into Assyria.' C. is here spoken of, together with Nineveh, Rehoboth-Ir, and Resen, as having been built, according to Heb. tradition, in the earliest ages of Assyr. history.

This city of C. was one of the four cities which together formed the huge city of Nineveh. Its ruins were discovered by Layard beneath the mounds which had gone by the name of Nimrûd, lying some 20 miles S. of Nineveh-Kouyunjik, and occupying the S. portion of the V-shaped piece of country at the junction of the Tigris and the Greater Zab.

The impression produced by the passage in Genesis is that Nineveh and the adjacent towns were founded at an age long previous to the time of Abraham. But we gather from the cuneiform inscriptions that the real founder of Nineveh was Shalmaneser I. (B.C. 1300), and that he was the builder of C. (Kalḫu), the southern suburb of the great Assyr. capital. C., after the death of its founder, seems to have been allowed to fall into neglect until the days of Assur-naẓir-pal (*c.* B.C. 880), who practically rebuilt it. He surrounded it with a massive wall, on the N. side of which alone are the traces of 58 towers. He erected in it beautiful temples and palaces; by a canal he led the water of the Greater Zab into the midst of the city, and adorned its banks with lovely fruit-gardens and vineyards. But the principal building of all seems to have been his own palace (called the N.W. palace), the walls of which were covered with superb bas-reliefs, representing the king engaged in his duties as priest and warrior. The remains of these splendid works of art were carefully excavated under the superintendence of Layard, George Smith, and Rassam; and they present to the visitor of the British Museum the most striking extant memorial of the art and magnificence of the ancient Assyr. empire. To the E. of the N.W. palace, Shalmaneser II., son and successor of Assur-naẓir-pal, built another palace, known as the central, in which was found the famous 'black obelisk,' containing the memorials of Shalmaneser, and the inscription beginning with the words that have been deciphered as 'tribute of Jehu son of Omri.' This was also the palace and residence of the Tiglath-pileser of whom we read in Scripture. But it was pulled down by Esar-haddon (B.C. 681), who used the materials to erect his own, the S.W., palace; and a fourth smaller building, on the S.E., was begun by Assur-itil-ilani, the last but one of the Assyr. kings.

All these buildings were raised upon the huge palace-hill, a gigantic terrace made of bricks and faced with stone, 40 feet above the river bed, at the S.W. angle of the city wall. The old river bed must have flowed close by the W. side of this vast structure, access to which, on the city side, was obtained by steps. The size of the terrace may be appreciated from the fact of the mound measuring 600 yards (N. and S.) by 400 (E. and W), while the mound at its N.W. corner forms a hill 140 feet high.

After the fall of Nineveh, we hear nothing more of C. in history. The work of exploring its wonderful mounds, and of excavating its treasures, will always be associated with the name of the famous discoverer of the site, Sir H. Layard.

LITERATURE.—Schrader, *COT*^{2}; Riehm, *HWB*; Smith, *DB*^{2}; Sayce, *HCM*, and *Patr. Pal.*; and the art. ASSYRIA.

H. E. RYLE.

CALAMOLALUS (A Καλαμωλάλος, B Καλαμωκάλος), 1 Es 5^{22}.—A corrupt place-name, probably due to a conglomeration of the two names Lod and Hadid in Ezr 2^{33} (A Λυδδών, Λόδ, Ἀδίδ; cf. Neh 7^{37}).

CALAMUS.—See REED.

CALCOL (כַּלְכֹּל).—A Judahite, a descendant of Zerah (1 Ch 2^{6}), otherwise described in 1 K 4^{31} (where AV has **Chalcol**) as a son of Mahol, famous for wisdom, but surpassed by Solomon.

CALDRON.—See FOOD.

CALEB (כָּלֵב, Χαλέβ) is one of the numerous words in OT which are used both as the name of an individual and the eponym of a family or clan. Acc. to the narrative of Nu 13. 14, C. was (alike in JE and P) one of the men sent by Moses to 'spy out' the land; in JE he is the only one of the spies who dissents from the opinion that the Canaanites were too strong to be conquered; and to him alone is exemption granted from the sentence of exclusion from the Promised Land (Nu 14^{24}). In P, Joshua is also named as one of the spies; both are equally faithful, and both have praise and promises bestowed upon them (Nu 14^{30}). JE's narrative, which is the older, is followed in Dt 1$^{22-36.\ 39f.}$ and Jos 14$^{6-14}$ (where the words 'and concerning thee' [v.^{6}] seem to be an editorial addition). In the last-named passage, C. at the age of 85 claims from Joshua the fulfilment of the promise of Nu 14^{24}, and, in answer to his application, has Hebron and the neighbouring hill-country assigned to him, 'because that he wholly followed the Lord the God of Israel.'

The chief interest of the name C. centres, however, in its use as the eponym of the great family of the Kalibbites (Calebites). The latter name is most probably to be explained as an instance of totemism. The Kalibbites were a dog-tribe (כלב= dog). While the K. became eventually one of the most important constituents of the tribe of Judah, C. is truly represented in 1 S 25^{3} (Nabal of the house of C.) 30^{14} (the Negeb of C.) as distinct from Judah. On the other hand, the Chronicler traces C.'s descent to the patriarch Judah (1 Ch 2$^{4.\ 5.\ 9.\ 18ff.\ 42ff.}$), and makes Jerahmeel his elder brother. The difference between the original and the ultimate relation of C. to Judah explains these divergent accounts of C.'s descent, which are found in different documents belonging to different periods and dominated by different motives. While, as we have seen, the Chronicler makes him a descendant of Judah, he is called by JE, the Kenizzite (Nu 32^{12}, Jos 14$^{6.\ 14}$), or son of Kenaz, like Othniel his younger brother (Jos 15^{17}, Jg 1^{13} 3$^{9.\ 11}$). This Kenaz appears in Gn 36$^{40.\ 42}$ among the tribes of Edom, and in v.^{11} is expressly designated the grandson of Esau. For probable explanation of **Caleb-ephratah** 1 Ch 2^{24}, see GENEALOGY.

Taking all the data together, the course of events was probably something like this. The Kalibbites, separating from the main stock of the Kenizzites, who had their settlements on Mt. Seir, penetrated into the hill-country of S. Canaan as far as Hebron. Their relations with Judah were more or less friendly at the time of the conquest, and ultimately they coalesced with that tribe, and came to be reckoned as one of its chief clans. The statements that C. alone spoke hopefully of the prospect of conquering Canaan (Nu 13^{30}), and that he afterwards received Hebron as the reward of his faith (Jos 14^{14}), may contain a reminiscence of the circumstance that the Kalibbites penetrated into Canaan directly from the S., and before the advent of the tribe of Judah. The name of C. may still survive in the *Wady el-Kulab*, 10 miles S. of Hebron.

LITERATURE.—Driver, *LOT* 58, 77, 103, *Dt.* 25 f.; Moore, *Jud.* 30 f.; W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} 279 n., 402, *Kinship and Mar. in Arab.* 200, 219; Budde, *Richt. u. Sam.* 4 ff.; Wellhausen, *de Gent. et Fam. Jud.*, and *Comp. d. Hex.* 337 f.; Kuenen, *Rel. Isr.* i. 135 ff., 176 ff.; Graf, *der Stamm Simeon*, 16-18; Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 293 ff.

J. A. SELBIE.

CALENDAR.—See TIME.

CALF, GOLDEN CALF.—i. The use of the word 'calf' in EV to designate the images of Aaron and Jeroboam is somewhat misleading. The Heb. writers invariably (for Hos 10^{5} see below) employ for this purpose the word עֵגֶל *'ēgel*, which, however, like the corresponding fem. עֶגְלָה *'eglah*, has a wider application than our calf. Thus we read of an *'eglah* of three years old (Gn 15^{9}), and of another giving milk (Is 7^{21}, cf. Hos 10^{11}, Jer 50^{11} RV). A comparison of Jer 31^{18} with Jg 14^{18}, where the reference is to a young bull and a young cow respectively, of an age to be broken to the plough, shows conclusively, apart from considerations drawn from the study of comparative religion, that *'ēgel* is the appropriate term for a *young bull* just arrived at maturity. It is a mistake, therefore, to suppose that the use of the word to denote the images in question is due either to contempt on the part of the sacred writers, or to the diminutive size of the images themselves (so most recently Bacon, *Triple Trad. of the Exodus*, p. 134, who would translate '*little* bull'). The feeling of contempt which Hosea undoubtedly entertained towards the bull-worship of his countrymen has usually been detected in the unique fem. עֶגְלוֹת בֵּית אָוֶן Hos 10^{5} MT. But the MT is here certainly at fault; for not only do the LXX and Pesh. versions preserve the sing., but the repeated occurrence of the sing. *masc.* suffix in the rest of the verse unmistakably points to the usual עֵגֶל as the original reading. In the LXX the rendering is uniformly *μόσχος*, except in the books of Kings where the fem. *δάμαλις*, a heifer, is adopted. The reason for this procedure may perhaps be found in the desire of the translator or translators of this part of the OT to avoid the use of *μόσχος*, as suggesting to Egyptian readers the sacred bulls of Memphis and Heliopolis. Herodotus and other Greek writers, as is well known, designate the latter as *μόσχοι*, and in the LXX itself the word is applied to Apis (*ὁ Ἆπις . . . ὁ μόσχος σου* Jer 26^{15} [MT 46^{15}]). The occurrence of the fem. in To 1^{5} (*τῇ Βάαλ τῇ δαμάλει*, Cod. B—but Cod. ℵ *τῷ μόσχῳ κτλ*) is to be explained by the favourite substitution of בֹּשֶׁת for בַּעַל by Jewish doctors (see esp. Dillm. in *Sitzungsber. d. Berl. Akad.*, June 1881, on 'Baal with a fem. article'—cf. Ro 11^{4} and LXX *passim*).

ii. AARON'S GOLDEN BULL.—One of the most important incidents which Heb. tradition has preserved of the wanderings is that which now occupies the 32nd chap. of Exodus. A very cursory examination is sufficient to show that the narrative in its present form cannot be the product of a single pen. Thus (*a*) the author of vv.$^{9-14}$ cannot be the author of vv.$^{30-34}$; (*b*) v.^{35} cannot have been written by the same hand as v.^{34}; (*c*) if the chapter is a unity, the evident surprise of Moses in vv.$^{18.\ 19}$ is inexplicable after the explanation in vv.$^{7.\ 8}$. Without going further into the details of the analysis—which in this part of Exodus is exceedingly difficult—we may simply remark that the main strand of the narrative is almost certainly from the pen of the Ephraimite historian, E. Additions thereto have been drawn from the other prophetic source, J, not without some modifications from the pen of the redactor of the two narratives. The main point to note is that the historicity of the incident is attested by our oldest sources, and confirmed by the author of Deuteronomy who based his own narrative (Dt 9^{7}–10^{21}) on these sources, frequently, indeed, using their *ipsissima verba* (see parallel columns in Driver's *Deut.* pp. 113, 114). This conclusion does not exclude the possibility that the narrative in receiving its final literary form may have absorbed some reflection of the religious sympathies of the writers (see below).

The following is a *résumé* of the leading features of the narrative as now presented:—Becoming impatient under the continued absence of their leader, the people prevail on Aaron to make a god (אֱלֹהִים) which should go before them. With the material furnished by the golden earrings of the women and children 'a molten calf' is fashioned (the details of the process are obscure), before which an altar is built, and to which, *as a symbol of J″*—see esp. v.^{5} 'to-morrow is a feast to J″'—divine honours are paid. The rest of the chapter tells of J″'s anger, of Moses' energetic intervention, of Aaron's truly Oriental apology, and, finally, of the destruction of the calf (here again the process is difficult to explain), and of 3000 of its worshippers. The uncertainty which prevails with regard to the reading and rendering of v.^{4} (see the Comm. *in loc.*) renders it impossible to speak positively as to the construction of the image. A comparison of v.^{4} with v.^{20}, and of both with other passages where similar images and their manufacture are described, such as Dt 7^{25}, Is 30^{22} 40^{19} $44^{10\,\text{ff.}}$ etc., seems to point to a wooden core overlaid with gold (cf. what is said below of the bulls of Jeroboam). If this supposition is correct, the image was no doubt life-size or over, as is suggested both by the amount of gold provided and by the fact that Aaron built an altar before it (v.^{5}). Much ingenuity has been expended in the endeavour to explain the methods of destruction enumerated in v.^{20}. The most probable explanation seems to be that after the core had been charred and burned, the casing of gold (Dt 7^{25}, Is 30^{22}) was reduced to minute fragments ('dust' Dt 9^{21}) by a process of crushing similar to that employed at the present day by the poorer classes in the East in the preparation of cement from broken pottery * (cf. Dn $2^{34.\,35}$). As a supreme mark of contempt, the 'dust' thus obtained was cast 'upon the brook that descended out of the mount' (acc. to an interesting detail supplied by Dt 9^{21}), and the children of Israel made to drink of it (cf. the analogous procedure, Nu $5^{23\,\text{ff.}}$).

Deferring to a later stage the question as to the origin, Egyptian or other, of this so-called 'calf-worship,' we must, before passing from the incident of Ex 32, refer to the problem, raised by recent criticism, of the original connexion and historical purport of the narrative. The key to the simplest solution of the problem is that furnished by the account in Dt $10^{8.\,9}$ of the separation of the tribe of Levi for the exclusive exercise of the priestly office. The introductory phrase 'at that time,' v.^{8}, refers, we can hardly doubt, to the incidents recorded in ch. 9. Now, if we keep in mind the fact that the great prophetic history-book, as it lay before the author of Dt, contained much which the final redactor excised to make way for the divergent and ampler details of P, the suggestion seems most reasonable, that *Ex 32 in its original connexion formed the introduction to JE's account of the consecration of the tribe of Levi to the priesthood.* The priestly prerogative, in short, was represented in JE as the reward bestowed by J″ on the sons of Levi for their fidelity to his cause at an all-important crisis in the history of the wanderings. The use of the standing expression for the priestly consecration (מִלֵּא יַד פ״) in Ex 32^{29} leaves no doubt as to the nature of the 'blessing' (v.^{29}) that was about to be bestowed upon the tribe (cf. also Dt $33^{8.\,9}$ where we have probably another reference to the incidents of Ex 32).

While regarding the explanation just given of the main purport of the narrative in its original connexion as the most probable, we would not seek to deny that other motives may also have influenced the early narrators. No Ephraimite writer of the 8th cent. B.C., imbued with the spirit of the prophetic teaching, could have committed to writing the incident of the golden calf without penning, at the same time, an implicit condemnation of the recognised worship of Northern Israel. That the narratives of Ex 32 and 1 K $12^{26\text{ff.}}$ are not independent of each other is plain from the almost identical words with which the images are introduced (Ex 32^{8}, 1 K 12^{28b}, cf. Neh 9^{18}). Indeed it is more than probable that the author of Ex 32^{8} deliberately chose the unusual plural construction (אֵלֶּה . . . הֶעֱלוּךָ) in order to make his covered polemic more pointed.*

iii. THE BULLS OF JEROBOAM I.—The cardinal passage, 1 K 12^{26-33} (cf. 2 Ch $11^{14.\,15}$), is by every token to be assigned to the Deuteronomic compiler of the book of Kings, who flourished *c.* B.C. 600 (see Driver, *LOT*^{1} 183; Kittel, *op. cit.*, Eng. tr. ii. 211–212). Whether the compiler is here building on an older written foundation or not, the passage undoubtedly bears the stamp of genuine history. The situation is perfectly natural and intelligible. Jeroboam found that, despite the success of his revolution politically, the temple of Solomon, with its numerous priesthood and no doubt imposing ritual, still exercised an irresistible attraction for the worshippers from the Northern Kingdom. Justifiably dreading a reaction in favour of the Davidic dynasty if such religious pilgrimages were to continue, Jeroboam felt himself compelled to take measures to provide a counter-attraction—a sanctuary or sanctuaries that might retain the more devout of his subjects within his kingdom. While thus maintaining (against Stade, *Geschichte*, i. 352) the essential accuracy of the compiler's estimate of Jeroboam's principal motive, we would by no means exclude, as an important factor in the case, the desire—on which Stade lays exclusive stress—to pose as the protector of the ancient sanctuaries and the patron of their priests, to whom Jeroboam may have looked for political support. Indeed it is not improbable that many of the Northern priesthood had already begun to realise that the temple of Solomon must inevitably make for the centralisation of the cultus, and, like the priesthood of Babylonia in the case of Cyrus, they may have been among the first to welcome the new sovereign.

We can also understand the motives that led to the selection of Bethel and Dan as the chief seats of the rival worship. The former recommended itself as having been, from time immemorial (Gn

---

* The pottery is reduced to fine dust by rolling a large stone backwards and forwards over the fragments, as may be seen any summer in the Birket es-Sultan at Jerusalem.

* This suggestion holds good whether we translate אֱלֹהִים in the above passages by 'God' or by 'gods.' On the construction of א״ with a plur. vb., see Driver, *Deut.* p. 65; Strack's excursus in his *Genesis*, pp. 67–68; Baudissin, *Stud. z. semit. Religionsgeschichte*, note pp. 55–57. If we must render 'gods,' then clearly the use of the phrase in 1 K is the older, for (as Kittel has pointed out, *Hist. of the Heb.*, Eng. tr. ii. 212) it is only in the case of Jeroboam, and not in the case of Aaron, that the plural 'gods' has any meaning.

28^{19} 35^{6}, Hos 12$^{4.5}$), one of the chief sanctuaries of the land, and it was besides conveniently situated for intercepting the pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem. During the whole period of the existence of the Northern Kingdom, the sanctuary of Bethel continued to be its religious centre (see esp. Am 7^{13}), and even survived its downfall for a century, until finally destroyed during the reformation of Josiah (2 K 23$^{15-19}$). The city of Dan had also from the generation succeeding the conquest been a noted sanctuary, and its situation commended it as the religious centre of the tribes to the east and west of the sea of Galilee. The new sanctuary, however, did not survive 'the captivity of the land' (Jg 18^{30}), at the hand of Tiglath-pileser, B.C. 734 (2 K 15^{29}), although Josephus speaks of 'the temple of the golden cow' (τῆς χρυσῆς βοός), as if its ruins, at least, were still standing in his day (*Wars*, IV. i. 1).

With regard to the size and construction of Jeroboam's bulls we have no precise information. As in the case of the image fashioned by Aaron, we may best think of them as consisting of a wooden core overlaid with gold. This view would be considerably strengthened could we be sure that the obscure word שְׁבָבִים (Hos 8^{6}) has the meaning here which it bears in the Talmud, viz., splinters or shavings of wood (see Wellhausen, *Die kleinen Propheten, in loc.*).* They were probably of considerable size, and represented a young but full-grown bull. There is no authority for supposing that they were winged, like the bulls of Assyria, or were copies of any 'cherubic emblem,' whether in Solomon's temple (so Farrar, *Expositor*, viii. [1893]: 'Was there a Golden Calf in Dan?') or elsewhere. We are further expressly informed that Jeroboam 'set the one in Bethel, and the other put he in Dan' (1 K 12^{29}). The view recently put forward by Klostermann in his *Komm. in loc.* (1887), and repeated in his *Gesch. d. Volkes Isr.* (1896), and supported by Farrar (*ut sup.*), that both images were set up at Bethel, requires unwarrantable liberties with the text, and is contrary to all the available evidence (cf. Am 8^{14}, To 1^{5} τῷ μόσχῳ . . . ἐν Δάν (א)). On the other hand, it is thought by many recent scholars that the bull symbolism was not confined to the two great sanctuaries already mentioned. Stade, indeed, goes so far as to say that there is evidence in Hosea for the presence of bull-images at all the more important sanctuaries (*ZATW*, 1883, p. 10). The strongest claim is perhaps for the capital, Samaria (Am 8^{14} 'they that swear by the *sin of S.*'), although it is doubtful whether the city or the country is here intended. If the latter, the reference would be to the image at the chief sanctuary at Bethel. The same form of worship was also, in the opinion of many, practised at Beersheba and Gilgal† (Am 4^{4} 5^{5} 8^{14}, Hos 4^{15} 9^{15} 12^{11} [Heb.^{12}]).‡

The ritual of these northern sanctuaries does not seem to have differed much from that of the great sanctuary of the South (see an exhaustive presentation of the evidence of Amos and Hosea on this point by Oettli in *Greifswalder Studien*, 'Der Kultus bei Amos u. Hosea,' 1895). The priests, however—derisively named כְּמָרִים ('black-coats'?) by Hosea (10^{5})—were recruited from all the tribes, not, as in the South, from the tribe of Levi exclusively, which thing was an offence to the historian, writing from the standpoint of the Deuteronomic law (1 K 12^{31}, 2 K 23^{5}, and cf. 2 Ch 11^{14} 13^{9}). Mention is made of various kinds of sacrifice, although not of human sacrifice (as some would interpret Hos 13^{2} זֹבְחֵי אָדָם, see the Commentaries). This passage further refers to the practice of kissing the bulls as an act of worship, either by throwing kisses to them (as in Job 31^{27}) or by actually kissing the images, as the Moslems do the 'black stone' at Mecca (cf. 1 K 19^{18}).

iv. THE ORIGIN OF THE BULL SYMBOLS.—We have deferred to this stage the inquiry as to the origin of this form of religious symbolism. It is needless to occupy space with proof of the absurdity of the opinion so long current in the Church, both Jewish and Christian, that we have here a species of avowed idolatry. Whatever abuses may have crept in at a later period, however gross may have become the conceptions of the people regarding the golden bulls, it is now universally acknowledged that they were originally a sincere attempt to symbolise the true covenant God of Israel. Whence, then, did the Hebrews derive this symbol? How came they to represent the Deity under the form of a young bull? The answer, almost uniformly given from the days of Philo and the early fathers to our own, has been: The Hebrews borrowed this symbolism from the Egyptians. Now, it is indeed a striking coincidence that both Aaron and Jeroboam had intimate relations with Egypt just before they fashioned their respective images. But it is a mistake to speak of Jeroboam as a protégé of Shishak or Sheshonk of Egypt, for this monarch claims to have captured cities from Central as well as from Southern Palestine in the course of the raid referred to in 1 K 14$^{25ff.}$. Some of the difficulties in the way of accepting the Egyp. origin of the so-called calf or bull worship are these: (*a*) The Egyptians worshipped only the *living* bulls Apis and Mnevis, as incarnations of Osiris and of the Sun-god respectively; (*b*) it would have been the height of absurdity to speak, as Aaron did, of the golden calf as representing the God that brought the Hebrews up out of Egypt, had the image been a reflection of any Egyp. deity; (*c*) the historical situation of 1 K 12$^{25ff.}$ requires that the new symbolism by which Jeroboam hoped to consolidate his kingdom should not be an importation from without, but something genuinely national. For these and other reasons the majority of the more recent writers on this subject prefer to seek the origin of the bull-symbolism in the native religious tendencies of the Hebrews themselves—tendencies which they shared with the other Semitic peoples about them. Among an agricultural people there could be no more natural symbol of strength and vital energy than the young bull. The leaning to this particular symbolism was, so to say, in the blood, from the far-off days when the ancestors of the Hebrews were still beyond the flood (Jos 24^{2}). This view of the native origin of the so-called bull-worship has been adopted not only by such men as Vatke (*Bibl. Theol.* p. 398), Kuenen (*Relig. of Israel*, i. *passim*), and Duhm (*Theol. d. Propheten*, p. 47), but by more conservative scholars, such as Dillmann (*Exodus*, 1880, p. 337; *Handb. d. AT Theol.* 1895, pp. 98-9), and Baudissin, in Germany, and hesitatingly, in our own country, by Robertson (*Early Relig.* pp. 215-220, where a full discussion of the problem will be found).

v. ATTITUDE OF THE PROPHETS AMOS AND HOSEA TO THE BULL-SYMBOLS.—We cannot bring this article to a close without a brief reference to this topic. However excellent Jeroboam's intentions may have been in the institution of the new form of the national cultus, and however little the contemporary representatives of Jahwism may have found amiss therein, we cannot escape the conclusion that he, unwittingly it may be, sanctioned a declension from the pure teaching of the great prophet and founder of Israel's religion, with its imageless worship of J″. The silence of the earlier prophets is a fact, explain it as we may. It has even been questioned if Amos condemns the bulls of the northern sanctuaries (but see above for Am 4⁴ 5⁵). Hosea, on the other hand, is unable to express the intensity of his scorn for them. He saw what his predecessors in the prophetic office had not seen, how dangerous an approach to the worship of the heathen deities of Canaan the institutions of Jeroboam had provided. This worship of J″ by images had helped on a gradual assimilation of the religion of J″ to that of Baal, which now threatened to prove fatal to the former. Bull-symbolism was rapidly becoming mere bull-worship. So that while, in justice to Jeroboam, we may fairly modify the sweeping condemnation passed upon him by the later biblical writers, imbued with the loftier spiritual teaching of Deut., we must also charge him with having hindered, not helped forward, the divine purpose in the election of Israel. 'In reality, man cannot with impunity bring down the invisible God to the sphere of the visible; he thereby empties the idea of God of its ethical content; it loses for him its sanctifying, elevating, disciplining, and purifying power; God, for him, sinks to the level of a heathen idol, which makes no higher demands on men. This is amply proved by the history of the Northern kingdom; its image-worship became for it a bridge by which to pass over into genuine heathenism; the heathenish, secular atmosphere (Sinn) and heathen immorality overpowered it, and brought about the premature dissolution of the State' (Dillmann, *Handbuch*, p. 167).

---

* The Targ. Jonathan renders שבבים by נסרי לוחין 'shavings of (wooden) boards.' Cf. *Shabbath* (ed. Strack) 4^{1} נסורת חרשים carpenters' shavings.

† For reff. to the opinion of certain Fathers that there was a calf at Gilgal, see G. A. Smith, *The Twelve Prophets*, i. 37.

‡ Jerome, however, is too explicit with his *bobus immolantes*, in the last passage cited.

LITERATURE.—Besides the Comm. on Exodus and Kings, and the works on OT Theology by Kuenen (*Religion of Israel* esp., vol. i. 73–75, 235–36, 260–62, 345–347), Schultz, Smend, and Dillmann (*Handbuch d. AT Theologie*, 1895, pp. 98-9, 166-7), the foll. special works may be consulted: Of the older writers Moncæus, *Aaron Purgatus* (in *Critici Sacri*, ix., a brief summary is given by Matt. Poole in his *Synopsis* under Ex 32); Bochart, *Hierozoicon*, lib. ii. c. 34; *De Aureis . . . Vitulis*, pp. 329–360; Selden, *De Dis Syris*, pp. 45–64. Of modern works, E. König, *Hauptprobleme*, etc., pp. 53–58, and *Die Bildlosigkeit d. legitimen Jahwehcultus*, 1886; also on the same lines, Robertson, *Early Religion of Israel*, ch. ix.; Baudissin, *Studien*, etc. vol. i., and his art. 'Kalb (goldenes)' in *PRE*², vii. 395–400 (esp. informing as to prevalence of bull-worship among the Sem. tribes); S. Oettli, 'Der Kultus bei Amos u. Hosea' in *Greifswalder Studien*, 1895, pp. 1–34; also art. 'Calf' in Smith, *DB*² (by Farrar).

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

CALITAS (A Καλλίτας, B Καλείταις).—One of the Levites who undertook to repudiate his 'strange wife,' 1 Es 9²³. He bore a second name, **Colius** (A Κώλιος, B Κῶνος). The reading of B is Κῶνος, οὗτος Καλειταίς, κε Παθαῖος, which should perhaps be read, as Dr. Swete conjectures, οὗτος καλεῖται Σκεπαθαῖος; but this is an emendation of the Gr. on the part of B, and does not represent the original Heb. of Ezra, as a comparison with Ezr 10²³ 'Kelaiah (the same is Kelita), Pethahiah' shows. A Levite of the same name, and probably the same person, is mentioned as one of those who expounded the Law, 1 Es 9⁴⁸ (Καλείτας=Kelita, Neh 8⁷, where LXX omits).

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

CALKER.—To calk (or *caulk* as the spelling has been for the last century), from *calcare* 'to tread,' is to stop up a seam, esp. of a ship, by treading or pressing in oakum or the like. Cf. Dampier, *Voy.* (1697), 'In the South Seas the Spaniards do make Oakam to chalk their Ships, with the husk of the Coco-nut.' 'Calker' occurs in this sense, Ezk 27⁹·²⁷ (Heb. מַחֲזִיקֵי בֶדֶק, AVm 'stoppers of chinks').

J. HASTINGS.

CALL.—To call is originally to 'shout,' and esp. to shout so as to summon. **1.** Hence one of its earliest applications is to *invite*, now archaic or obsolete, but found in AV, as 2 S 15¹¹ 'with Absalom went two hundred men out of Jerus. that were called' (RV 'invited'); Jn 2² 'And both Jesus was called (RV 'bidden'), and his disciples, to the marriage'; Rev 19⁹ 'Blessed are they which are called unto (RV 'bidden to') the marriage supper of the Lamb.' **2.** Closely connected with this is the call to some duty, as 1 S 28¹⁵ 'I have called thee, that thou mayest make known unto me what I shall do'; esp. by God, as He 11⁸ 'Abraham, when he was called to go out into a place'; Ac 13² 'Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them.' Then the word is used particularly and technically of the Divine call to partake of the blessings of redemption; 1 Co 1⁹ 'God is faithful, by whom ye were called unto the fellowship of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord'; whereupon they who are thus called (having obeyed*) are described as 'the called,' 1 Co 1²⁴ 'But unto them which are called' (Gr. αὐτοῖς δὲ τοῖς κλητοῖς, RVm 'unto the called themselves,' Lightfoot 'to the believers themselves'). See CALLING. **3.** When one is called it is often by name, from which comes the idiom to call a person or thing so and so, to give a name: Gn 1⁵ 'God called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night'; 2 S 6² 'the ark of God which is called by the Name, even the name of the Lord of hosts that sitteth upon the cherubims' (RV; see NAME). And according to a usage which is now archaic if not obsolete, the calling is transferred from the person or thing to the name, as Mt 1²¹ 'thou shalt call his name Jesus'; Gn 32²⁸ 'Thy name shall be called no more Jacob, but Israel.' See also He 5¹⁰ 'Called (RV 'named') of God an high priest after the order of Melchisedec' (Gr. προσαγορεύειν [all] 'expresses the formal and solemn ascription of the title to Him to whom it belongs, "addressed as," "styled"'—Westcott *in loc.* It is a *public* designation—ἀγορεύειν, from ἀγορά the market-place); 7¹¹ 'and not be called after the order of Aaron' (λέγεσθαι, 'be spoken of as,' RV 'be reckoned'); and cf. Ac 11²⁶, Ro 7³, where χρηματίζειν is tr. 'call' (see Sanday-Headlam on Ro 7³).

4. Some phrases demand attention. **Call again**, *i.e.* call back (see AGAIN), as Bar 3³³ 'He that sendeth forth light and it goeth, calleth it again.' **Call back**=invite to return, 1 Es 1⁵⁰ (Gr. μετακαλέω, used in middle voice in NT='send for,' Ac 7¹⁴ 20¹⁷ 24²⁵·²⁶); and fig.=take back a promise, Is 31² 'will not c. back his words' (הֵסִיר). **Call for**: (1) *Send for, cause to come*, Est 5¹⁰ 'he sent and called for his friends' (וַיָּבֵא, RV 'fetched'); Ac 24²⁵ 'when I have a convenient season, I will c. for thee' (μετακαλέω, RV 'c. thee unto me'); 28²⁰ 'For this cause therefore have I called for you, to see you' (παρακαλέω, only here in this meaning, elsewhere 'beseech,' Mt 8⁵·³¹·³⁴ and often; 'entreat,' Lk 15²⁸, 1 Co 4¹³, 1 Ti 5¹, so here RV; 'exhort,' He 3¹³ 'exhort one another daily,' and often; 'comfort,' 2 Co 1⁴, etc.); Ac 13⁷ 'Sergius Paulus . . . called for Barnabas and Saul' (προσκαλέω, RV 'called unto him'; but Ja 5¹⁴ 'let him c. for the elders of the church,' RV retains, though Gr. the same); Ac 10⁵ 11¹³ (μεταπέμπω, RV 'fetch'). (2) *Ask, request*, 1 K 8⁵² 'to hearken unto them in all that they call for unto thee' (קָרָא, RV 'cry'); Ac 16²⁹ 'he called for a light' (αἰτέω); Mt 27⁴⁷ 'This man calleth for Elias' (RV 'calleth Elijah'), and Jn 11²⁸ 'The Master is come, and calleth for thee' (RV 'calleth thee,' both φωνέω). **Call forth**: Is 31⁴ (קָרָא); Ac 24² 'when he was called forth, Tertullus began to accuse him'—the tr. of Tindale, RV 'called,' as in mod. law-court phraseology, 'Call the next witness' (Gr. καλέω). **Call on or call upon**, used frequently, but always of God or the Name of God (קָרָא or ἐπικαλέω), as Ps 50^{15} 'c. upon me in the day of trouble.' In Ac 15^{17} 'all the Gentiles, upon whom my name is called, saith the Lord' (from Am 9^{12} 'the heathen which are called by my name') we see the reverse side. See this phrase in Dt 28^{10} (שֵׁם יהוה נִקְרָא עָלֶיךָ, 'J"'s name is called over thee') and Driver's note there.

---

* In the Gospels there is a distinction between the 'Called,' κλητοί, *i.e.* those who have received the invitation to enter the Messiah's kingdom, and the 'Chosen' (ἐκλεκτοί), *i.e.* those who have obeyed it: Mt 22¹⁴ 'Many are called, but few chosen.' But in the Epistles this distinction vanishes, the writer having in mind the divine greatness and force of the call, not the human acceptance or rejection of it. See Lightfoot on Col 3¹², Sanday-Headlam on Ro 1¹.

'The sense of the phrase,' says Driver, 'appears clearly from 2 S 12^{28}, where Joab, while besieging Rabbah, sends to urge David to come in person and take it, "lest *I* (emph.) take the city, and *my name be called over it*," *i.e.* lest I gain the credit of having captured it, and it be counted as my conquest. The phrase expresses thus the fact of *ownership*—whether acquired by actual conquest or otherwise (cf. Ps $49^{12\,(11)}$)—coupled at the same time with the idea of *protection*; and occurs frequently, esp. with reference to the people of Israel, Jerus., or the Temple. The passages are: Am 9^{12}, Jer $7^{10.\,11.\,14.\,30}$ 14^{9} 15^{16} (of Jer. himself), 25^{29} 32^{34} 34^{15}, 1 K 8^{43} (Deut.)=2 Ch 6^{33}, Is 63^{19}, 2 Ch 7^{14}, Dn $9^{18.\,19}$. [In NT Ac 15^{17}, Ja 2^{7}, both quotations by James from Am 9^{12}.] It is to be regretted,' adds Driver, 'that in EV the phrase is generally paraphrased obscurely, "called by my name" (which really corresponds to a different expression, נקרא בשמי, Is 43^{7}; cf. 48^{1}, Nu 32^{42}); but the literal rendering, which in this case happens to be both clearer and more forcible than the paraphrase, is sometimes given in RVm (*e.g.* in 1 K 8^{43}).'

Call in question: Ac 19^{40} (ἐγκαλέω, RV 'accuse'), 23^{6} 24^{21} (κρίνω). In these places, as elsewhere in older English, the phrase means to put one on his trial before a court of justice. Cf.—

> 'He that was in question for the robbery.'
> Shaks. *Henry IV*. (Pt. 2) I. ii. 68.

J. HASTINGS.

CALLING (κλῆσις, *vocatio*), God's invitation to man to accept the benefits of His salvation. It is God's first act in the application of redemption, in accordance with His eternal purpose (Ro 8^{28}). A distinction is made between God's calling and men's acceptance of it (Mt 20^{16}), the unrestricted offer and the appropriation which results from a hearty appreciation of what it implies. On God's part it is sure, and without repentance (Ro 11^{29}). God in Christ calls to Himself all who are in need of Him, and those who feel their need, come. God's calling of man is in Christ and unto fellowship with Himself in Christ (Ph 3^{14}), and is conveyed to all peoples by the preaching of the gospel and the administration of ordinances (Mt $28^{19.\,20}$). In respect of its ethical significance and the spiritual condition which it aims at working in all who respond, it is described as a 'holy calling' (Ro 1^{7}, 1 Co 1^{2}, 2 Ti 1^{9}), and a 'heavenly calling' (He 3^{1}). See ELECTION. J. MACPHERSON.

CALLISTHENES (Καλλισθένης, 2 Mac 8^{33}).—A Syrian, who was captured by the Jews in a small house, where he had taken refuge, in the course of certain successes which followed the great victory over Nicanor and Gorgias, in B.C. 165 (comp. 1 Mac $4^{1\text{-}34}$). At a festival in celebration of the victory, the Jews burnt Callisthenes to death, because he had set fire to the portals of the temple (comp. 1 Mac 4^{38}). H. A. WHITE.

CALNEH, CALNO (כַּלְנֵה, כַּלְנוֹ, Χαλάννη, Χαλάνη, *Chalanne*).—Calneh is mentioned as one of the four towns of the kingdom of Babylon (Gn 10^{10} 'And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar'), but cannot be identified with certainty. Some have thought it to be the Nipuru of the Bab. and Assyr. inscriptions, the same as Niffer, a town situated between the Euphrates and the Tigris; but this is an impossible identification. Most of the historians, like the Targum of Jerusalem, Eusebius, Jerome, and Ephraim the Syrian, identify it with Ctesiphon in Seleucia beyond the Tigris towards Elam; but this is also worthless. No written record, in fact, has yet been found of the Calneh of Gn 10^{10}, the suggested identification of Calneh with Kul-unu (Kullaba or Zirlaba) being rendered still more doubtful by the fact that Kul-unu is closely connected with Erech, and was perhaps a part of that city. The Calno of Is 10^{9} ('is not Calno as Carchemish?' etc.), where, according to the LXX, the tower was built, and the Calneh of Am 6^{2} ('Pass ye to Calneh and see, and from thence go ye to Hamath the great, then go down to Gath of the Philistines'), which seem to be mentioned as Syrian cities, are probably to be identified with the Kulnia * mentioned along with Arpad and Hadrach, both cities of Syria, in the Assyr. tribute lists (*WAI* ii. 53, No. 3), and cannot be the same as the Kullani mentioned with the cities and districts lying to the north of Assyria in the geographical list (*WAI* ii. 53, No. 1, l. 6^{b}), and therefore cannot be the same as the Kullani captured by Tiglath-pileser III. Notwithstanding that Kullani can hardly be identified with the Calno or Calneh of Isaiah and Amos, it is not improbable that Fried. Delitzsch's identification of these biblical names with Kullanhu, situated about 6 miles from Arpad, may be correct. It seems certainly to be the best that has yet been suggested. T. A. PINCHES.

CALVARY.—See GOLGOTHA.

CALVES OF THE LIPS (Hos 14^{2}).—See LIP.

CAMEL.—While the Arabic has scores of words for the camel and its varieties and states, the Heb. words are but two—

(1) גָּמָל *gâmâl*, κάμηλος, *camelus*; the generic name for the camel, preserved exactly in the Arab. *jamal*, and in all W. languages. It is one of the earliest mentioned beasts in the Bible. Abraham had large numbers of camels (Gn 24^{10} etc.); also Jacob (Gn 30^{43} 31^{34} $32^{7.\,15}$); they were carriers between Arabia and Egypt (Gn 37^{25}); the Ethiopians (Cushites) had camels in abundance (2 Ch 14^{15}); also the queen of Sheba (1 K 10^{2}); Job had 3000 (Job 1^{3}), then 6000 (42^{12}); the Midianites and Amalekites had them 'as the sand by the seaside for multitude' (Jg 7^{12}). No one who has not travelled in the deserts where camels are reared can realise the force of the latter passage. In a waterless waste of sand and flint chips, with nothing but the salty shrubs of the desert for pasture, immense droves of camels find a subsistence, and, when not worked, become fat on their diet of thorns and salsolas, with an occasional mouthful of tamarisk. They have been steadily employed, not only to traverse the deserts, but in the internal traffic of Pal. and Syria and Asia Minor. David captured a large number of them from the Geshurites, Girzites, and Amalekites (1 S 27^{9}). Benhadad used them in Damascus (2 K 8^{9}).

The camel was used for riding (Gn 24^{61} 31^{34}; **camel's furniture** means the sort of palanquin in which Rachel rode, called in Arab. *haudaj*, and still used for women and children). The Amalekites and the Midianites used them, as the Arabs now do, in war (Jg 7^{12}, 1 S 30^{17}). They were even used to draw chariots (Is 21^{7}). The trappings of riding camels were sometimes ornamented with gold (Jg 8^{21}).

The Hebrews were expressly forbidden to eat camel's flesh (Lv 11^{4}, Dt 14^{7}). It is, however, eaten by the Arabs of the desert, and in the towns bordering on it. It is coarse, but not unpalatable nor unwholesome. The Arabs also use camel's milk, fresh and in the form of clabber. Its use is not mentioned in the Bible. 'Thirty milch camels, with their colts' (Gn 32^{15}), were given by

---

* Written thus, according to Mr. Pinches' correction of the tablet.

Jacob to Esau, who was a Bedawi. Both probably drank camel's milk, although this is not necessarily implied in the passage. Even if Jacob's descendants applied the prohibition to use camel's flesh to the milk also, Jacob was not under this law.

The skins of camels are used for sandals, and were probably always so used. Camel's hair was spun and woven into cloth (Mt 3^4, Mk 1^6). Elijah, the forerunner of John, may well have had a similar mantle (1 K 19$^{13. 19}$). The 'rough garment,' AVm 'garment of hair,' RV 'hairy mantle' (Zec 13^4), may have been of camel's hair or of goat's hair.

The camel is always loaded, and usually mounted, in the kneeling posture (Gn 24^{11}). The pack-saddle is usually of the cross-tree form. The load, on level ground, may be as heavy as 600 lbs. or more. In hilly districts, and over stony roads, the load is lessened. In going up from 'Ain-Jidi to Jerus. there is a steep part of the road where the cameleers take off their loads and carry them up the rocks on their backs, and lead the camels up and reload them at the top. There are callosities under the camel's breast, his fore and hind knees, and on the sole of his foot. The 'stable for camels' (Ezk 25^5) is a *kneeling place.* The signal to kneel is a tap with a stick on the camel's neck; and to rise, a jerk of his halter, with a monosyllabic *khikh.* The foot is padded with a thick elastic mass of fibrous tissue, which makes the step noiseless, and protects from the angular flint chips and thorns, over which so much of his way lies. The breadth of the camel's foot prevents him from sinking into the sand. On the other hand, the broad and comparatively smooth surface of the sole makes it very slippery on rocks, or in clayey and muddy places. Camels often have disastrous falls on such roads.

The camel has a provision for storing water in a supplementary cavity in his stomach. This water can be absorbed, or passed into the alimentary canal as needed. Besides this, he has a supply of nourishment in his hump, which is a storehouse of fat, reserved for the long fasts or insufficient provender which are so often his lot. The Arabian camel has one hump, and the Bactrian two. Bactrian camels sometimes appear in N. Syria. Nothing in the way of pasture, however dry or succulent, comes amiss to the camel. He is also fed on cut straw, and *kirsenneh,* a sort of lentils, horse beans, and sometimes barley. If water is convenient, and he has no access to succulent forage, he will drink every day, or once in two days. The Arabs have a peculiar whoop, 'oowha,' by which they call camels to water. The latter often go a week or more without water. To keep the camel's body from vermin, the Arabs anoint it with tar, the smell of which, with the emanations from the skin, is certainly most unsavoury. They are ill-natured, quarrelsome animals, and in the rutting season often dangerous. The bite of a camel is often quite poisonous, producing death from septicæmia. An enraged camel has been known to bite off the top of a man's skull.

(2) בִּכְרֵי *bikrê,* pl. const. of בֵּכֶר *bêker* (Is 60^6), is rendered in both AV and RV *dromedaries.* בִּכְרָה *bikrâh* (Jer 2^{23}) is also rendered *dromedary,* with the pronoun *her* following, to indicate that a female is intended. The etymological signification of both, however, is *young camel,* (so RVm) the first *male,* and the second *female.* They correspond both in form and meaning with the Arab. *bekr* and *bekrah.* In both, the allusion is to the vigour and swiftness of youth. In the passage in Isaiah there is a climax, 'the multitudes of camels shall cover thee, the young camels (*bikrê*) of Midian.' It is similar to the climax in the case of Lamech, 'I have slain a man to my wounding, and a young man to my hurt.' Lane says, 'the term *bekr=young camel,* applied to a camel, corresponds to *fata=young man,* applied to a human being; and *bekrah,* a *young female camel,* to *fatât,* a *young woman. Bekr* and *fata* are more specialised than the general terms *jamal=camel,* and *rajul=man*; and *bekrah* and *fatât* are more specialised than *naḳah =female camel,* and *mar at=woman.* And in both pairs of cases the specialised words refer to excellence.' There is nothing in the Heb. original in the above passages, nor in its Arab. equivalent, to indicate that it was the intention of the respective writers to refer to a blooded camel (dromedary), an animal for which the Heb. contains no word. The Arab. has such a word, *hajîn,* but *beker* is not its equivalent, as above shown. Some have supposed that כִּרְכָּרוֹת *kirkarôth,* which is rendered in AV and RV 'swift beasts' (Is 66^{20}), means dromedaries (so RVm), deriving it from כָּרַר to *leap* or *gallop,* alluding to the long trot of the dromedary. If so, this would be an additional reason for not identifying *beker* and *bekrâh* with the dromedary. It is more probable, however, that we should regard כִּרְכָּרוֹת as a reduplicated form of כַּר *kar=palanquin* (Gn 31^{34} the Arab. *ḥaudaj*). With this corresponds the LXX rendering σκιάζια, and the Vulg. *carrucæ.*

Twice the camel, on account of its being the largest animal familiar to all in Bible lands, is used to point a moral. Once, to rebuke the hypocrisy of the Pharisees and scribes, it is said (Mt 23^{24} RV), 'Ye blind guides, which strain out the gnat, and swallow the camel.' Again it is said (Mt 19^{24}), 'It is easier for a camel to go through a needle's eye, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God.' The hyperbole here is no more striking than that of the preceding passage. Some, claiming a knowledge of the E. from birth or long residence, have said that this latter comparison had its origin in the custom of stripping a camel—belated until the great gate of a city was closed for the night, so that it could no longer enter in the usual way—of its load, and pulling or pushing it through the small gate which is made in the panel of the larger one. They have alleged that the force of the comparison is to be sought in the fact that a rich man must be stripped of his wealth to enable him to squeeze through the narrow gate of heaven, as the camel is stripped of his load that he may be forced through the panel gate of the city. Some have even gone so far as to say that this small gate is known in the E. by the name of the 'needle's eye.' In reply, we would say—(1) That this small gate is known by the name *khaukhah,* but no one of the many whom we have asked ever heard the name *needle's eye* applied to it. We believe this to be a fabrication. (2) No camel could be forced through the *khaukhah.* It is a gate from 3 to 4 feet in height, and from 18 inches to 2 feet in breadth, and its bottom is from 1 to 2 feet above the ground, and by no possibility could a camel be got through it. (3) Could we suppose a *khaukhah* so exceptionally large that a camel could be forced through it, the hyperbole would be quite lost.

G. E. POST.

CAMEL'S HAIR (Mt 3^4, Mk 1^6).—The cloth made of camel's hair is of blanket-like texture, softer than the black sack-cloth of goat's hair. In colour it varies from cream to cinnamon and darker brown, so that by means of this variety a pattern is sometimes introduced to relieve slightly the general dinginess of tone. The large enveloping garment, with its plain belt of leather, which John the Baptist wore, was the common and inconspicuous dress of the desert: it was a sufficient covering by day and night, and doubtless he had come to prefer it. It was the harmonious vesture of the prophet when he delivered his message of protest and preparation, and such simplicity of personal life is still the consistent accompaniment of any voice crying against social luxury and ecclesiastical pride. See CAMEL. G. M. MACKIE.

CAMP is the usual rendering of the Heb. מַחֲנֶה *maḥăneh*, trd in LXX παρεμβολή. In 2 K 6^{8} it represents תַּחֲנָה *taḥănah*, on which see *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*

A camp was a collection of tents (Jg 7^{13}), or of huts or booths (1 K 20^{12} RVm, Neh 8^{14}). Camps, when large, were pitched in the plain for convenience (Jg 6^{33}); when small, on hills for safety (Jg 4^{12}). In either case it was necessary to choose a spot within reach of water; thus the army of the Northern Confederacy pitched 'at the waters of Merom' (Jos 11^{5}), Gideon encamped 'beside the spring of Harod' (Jg 7^{1}), Jonathan the Maccabee 'by the water of the pool Asphar' (1 Mac 9^{33}).

For defence a position of natural strength was generally chosen, *e.g.* the side of a ravine or valley (cp. 1 S 14^{13} 17^{3}). A further defence was perhaps provided by the מַעְגָּל *ma'gâl* (1 S 17^{20} 26^{7} 'barricade' RVm). The meaning of the word is, however, not certain (see CARRIAGE). Most authorities take it to mean a laager, *i.e.* a line of wagons arranged as a barricade, עֲגָלָה *'ăgâlâh* being 'a wagon.' In 1 S 17^{20} the LXX (A) and Aquila give στρογγύλωσις, which probably means either a circular line of defence or a circular camp;* Syr. has simply 'camp,' while Targ. gives as equivalent a transliteration of the Gr. word χαράκωμα, 'palisade.' In 1 S 26^{7} LXX (AB) gives λαμπήνη, a 'covered chariot' or 'litter.'

As a precaution against surprise, a watch was set when danger was feared (Jg 7^{19}; cp. Jg 8^{11}); but camps were usually too strongly entrenched to be openly attacked (cf. 1 S $17^{1.2.16}$ *forty days delay on both sides*, and 1 K 20^{29} *seven days delay*).

In Nu 2 (P) a detailed account is given of the arrangement of the camp of Israel in the wilderness, the principle being that each tribe was grouped round a standard which had a fixed position with regard to the Tabernacle at all halts.

In the NT the stationary Roman camp (ἡ παρεμβολή) at Jerusalem is mentioned several times as 'the castle' (Ac 21^{34}, etc.). In He $13^{11.13}$ the name 'camp' is applied to the Jewish Church of the writer's own day by an easy adaptation of the language of the Hexateuch. In Rev 20^{9}, by a further adaptation, the term 'camp of the saints' is fitly applied to the Christian Church, in that it suggests the three thoughts of *organisation*, *warfare*, and *pilgrimage*. W. E. BARNES.

CAMP as a verb (mod. 'encamp') is found Ex 19^{2}, Is 29^{3}, Jer 50^{29}, Nah 3^{17} (Heb. חָנָה, Amer. RV 'encamp'), and 1 Mac 10^{86} 11^{73} 13^{43}, 2 Mac 13^{14} 'he camped by Modin' (RV 'pitched his camp').

CAMPHIRE, כֹּפֶר *kōpher*, κύπρος, *cyprus* (Ca 1^{14}), and plur. כְּפָרִים *kĕphârîm* (Ca 4^{13}).—The *henna* plant, *Lawsonia alba*, L., is a shrub from 6 to 10 feet high, with opposite branches, often becoming spinescent, opposite, oblanceolate to obovate leaves, and panicles of cream-coloured flowers. The Orientals are extremely fond of the odour of the henna, which to most Occidentals is heavy, mawkish, and rather stifling. They frequently put a sprig of it into their nosegays, and the women often put it in their hair, to make themselves attractive. Sonnini says that they put it in their bosoms for a similar reason, which illustrates the comparison of Ca $1^{13.14}$. For its fragrance it was cultivated with spikenard and frankincense and myrrh (Ca $4^{13.14}$).

Henna is also extensively used in the east to stain the hands, feet, and hair. The hands and feet are stained in lines or diamonds or other figures, by passing strips of cotton cloth around them in such a way as to leave the lines or figures desired uncovered. A paste made of the powdered leaves of the henna and a little water is applied to the skin in the interstices of the bandage, and the hands tied up in a rag over night. When the paste is washed off, an ochreous red stain is left on the parts, while the white skin occupies the spaces which were covered by the bandages. If desired, this colour can be made a deep blackish-brown by applying a mixture of lime and hartshorn over the stain left by the henna paste. Often the nails are thus blackened, while the figures on the hands and feet are left red. Brides, especially among the Moslems, are elaborately adorned in this way, as also infants and young girls. Old women often dye the hair with henna. It is sometimes applied in cases of inflammation, with an idea that it disperses the congestion.

G. E. POST.

CANA (Κανὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, 'Cana of Galilee').—This was the native place of the disciple Nathanael (Jn 21^{2}), the scene of Christ's first miracle (Jn 2^{1-11}), where also the nobleman from Capernaum secured the healing of his son (Jn 4^{46}). From these passages, where alone the place is mentioned in the Scriptures, we learn, regarding the site, only that it was in Galilee, on higher ground than Capernaum. Jesus went down (κατέβη) to Capernaum (Jn 2^{12}). The nobleman besought Him to come down (καταβῇ). In attempting to identify the site, therefore, we have practically nothing to guide us but etymology and tradition. Josephus gives but little help, his references being evidently to other places, with perhaps one exception. He fixes his residence at Cana, a village of Galilee (*Vita*, 16), and afterwards (*ib.* 40) adds that it was in the plain of Asochis. The ancient name was probably Ḳanah (קָנָה), of which the Gr. (Κανᾶ) is as nearly as possible a transliteration, and the name would be correctly represented in the Arab. (*Ḳānā'* or *Ḳanat*, for it is spelt both ways). Again, in *Ḳānā el-Jelîl* the latter word is simply a transliteration of the Heb. *Gālîl* (גָּלִיל)=Galilee, and has nothing whatever to do with the Arab. *jalîl*, 'great' or 'magnificent.' It is the Arab. name for the province of Galilee to-day. *Ḳānā el-Jelîl* is therefore the exact Arab. equivalent of Κανᾶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας. This name is found attached to a considerable ruin on a slope of the hills north of *el-Battauf*, the ancient Asochis. There are many rock-hewn tombs. Several water cisterns have been found, but no spring. The Heb. name (קָנָה, 'the place of reeds') would be most appropriate, as overlooking the marshy plain, where reeds still are plentiful. It is commonly called *Khirbet Ḳānā*; but one hears also, occasionally, *Ḳānā el-Jelîl* on the lips of the natives. It fulfils the NT conditions, being in Galilee, higher than Capernaum, which could be reached by road N. of the *Ṭor'ân* range, towards the Jordan Valley, without any circuit to the south.

The only serious rival to *Khirbet Ḳānā* is *Kefr Kennah*, on the Tiberias road, 3¾ miles from Nazareth. It occupies rising ground on the southern edge of *Sahl Ṭor'ān*, the branch cut from *el-Battauf*, by the *Ṭor'ān* hills. The doubling of the medial *nun* is against the identification with the Gr. Κανᾶ. Were other difficulties overcome so as to make *Kennah* represent the Heb. קָנָה, the name would have no appropriateness here, with neither marsh nor reeds for miles around. This line of inquiry leads very decidedly towards *Khirbet Ḳānā*.

---

* Doughty (*Travels in Arabia Deserta*, ii. 309) notes that he once saw 'sixteen booths pitched ring-wise,' and explains the arrangement as a precaution against camel-thieves, the camels being placed within the ring.

Tradition yields no clear result. It is often difficult to get any satisfaction out of the witnesses: they are far from exact, and frequently contradictory. A very early tradition must have located Christ's first miracle at *Khirbet Ḳānā*. Eusebius (*c.* 270–340) and Jerome evidently identify Cana with Kānā in Asher, some 8 miles S.E. of Tyre. They could not mean *Kefr Kennah*, which was not in Asher. In favour of *Khirbet Ḳānā* may also be mentioned Saewulf, 1102; Brocardius, 1183; Marinus Sanutus, 1321; Breydenbach, 1483; and Anselm, 1507. As against these, St. Paula, 383; St. Willibald, 720; Isaac Chelo, 1324; and Quaresimus, 1616. The last named mentions the tradition regarding *Ḳānā* only to dismiss it. His position has since been stoutly maintained by the monks of both Greek and Latin Churches. Both have considerable ecclesiastical property in *Kefr Kennah*, and in the Gr. church a jar is shown, said to have been used in the miracle. West of the village is a spring, whence, it is said, the water made wine was drawn. An old sarcophagus serves as drinking-trough. The balance of evidence is in favour of the northern site. Conder (*Tent Work in Pal.*) has suggested another possible site at *'Ain Ḳana*, on the highway from *er-Reineh* to Tabor.

W. Ewing.

CANAAN, CANAANITES (כְּנַעַן, Χαναάν, Χανάανος, *Chanaan*).—Canaan is the son of Ham, according to Gn 9[22] 10[6], and the brother of Cush (Ethiopia), Mizraim (Egypt), and Put. In consequence of Ham's conduct towards Noah when drunken, Canaan was cursed, and it was prophesied that he should be the servant of his brethren, Shem and Japheth (Gn 9[22-27]). The passage, however, does not agree very well with the context, as the wrong to Noah had been committed by Ham, and not by Canaan, and it has therefore been supposed that it is taken from an ancient poem. The prophecy was fulfilled when the Canaanites were conquered first by the Israelites, the descendants of Shem, and afterwards by the Persians, Greeks, and Romans.

The tenth chapter of Genesis is geographical rather than ethnological, and the relationship between the nations and states mentioned in it denotes their geographical position, not their racial affinities. When it is said that Canaan was the brother of Cush and Mizraim, we are transported to the age of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Egyp. Dynasties, when Palestine was a province of Egypt. The statement is not applicable to a later period, and so indicates the age to which it belongs.

The name of Canaan is derived from a root signifying 'to bow down,' and (as St. Augustine noticed) means 'the lowlands' of Palestine. Primarily it was applied to the coast, secondarily to the valley of the Jordan (Nu 13[29]). But in time it came to be extended to the whole country, including the mountainous districts occupied by the Amorites. The name appears under two forms. The shorter form is found in the Gr. Χνᾶ (Euseb. *Præp. Evan.* i. 10; Hekat. *Frag.* 254, ed. Klausen; Steph. Byz. p. 721), which was Hellenized into Agênôr, 'the manly one.' Khna or Agênôr was the older name of Phœnicia, and also the eponymous ancestor of the Can. and the father of Phœnix, or Phœnix himself (Euseb. *l.c.*). In the Tel el-Amarna tablets, as well as the lexical tablets of Nineveh, the name is sometimes written Kinakhkhi (with *kh* for the Can. 'Ayin), and represents the greater part of southern Pal. as far north as the frontiers of the Amorites. The longer form of the name, Canaan, is met with in the hieroglyphic texts; Seti I. destroyed the Shasu or Bedawin from the eastern rampart of Egypt 'to the land of Canaan,' and captured their fortress of 'Kana'an,' which Conder has identified with Khurbet Kan'an near Hebron. Among the geographical names enumerated by Ptolemy Auletes at Kom Ombo is that of 'Kan'an.' The name was preserved among the Phœnicians, the original inhabitants of the sea-coast. Coins of Laodiceia on the Orontes bear the inscription, 'Laodiceia, mother (or metropolis) in Canaan'; and St. Augustine states that in his time the Carthaginian peasantry in northern Africa, if questioned in Phœnician as to their race, answered that they were 'Chanani' (*Exp. Epist. ad Rom.* 13). In some of the Tel el-Amarna tablets, moreover, we find Kinakhna.

The Gr. Φοῖνιξ, 'Phœnician,' is the equivalent of 'Canaanite'; and Φοινίκη, Phœnicia, is the original Canaan on the sea-coast. In Latin the name appears as *Pœnus, Punicus*. Φοῖνιξ in the sense of 'purple-dye' and 'date-palm' seems to be derived from its use as a gentilic, the one being 'the Phœnician dye,' the other 'the Phœnician tree'; the date-palm having been brought from Egypt to the Phœnician coast and there become naturalised. But *phœnix*, 'a palm,' may be the Egyptian *benr, beni*, just as the name of the fabulous bird *phœnix* is the Egyp. *bennu*. It is probable that we must seek the origin of the name 'Phœnician' in the Fenkhu of the Egyptian monuments, a name applied in a text of Tahutmes III. at Karnak to the people of Canaan (Brugsch, *Ægyptologie*, ii. p. 466). It thus corresponds exactly with the Kinakhkhi of the Tel el-Amarna tablets. We must suppose that the termination was imagined to be the same as that of Kilix 'Cilician' and similar words, and that the name was accordingly identified with φοινός and φοίνιος, and explained to signify 'red,' the Latin *Pœnus* being borrowed from φοινός.

In the bilingual Decree of Kanôpos the Gr. Phœnicia is replaced in the hieroglyphic text by Keft. W. Max Müller has tried to show that Keft was rather Cilicia, but unsuccessfully. The name appears in Greek as Kêpheus and Kêphêne. Kêpheus, father of Andromeda, was said to have been a king of Joppa (Steph. Byz. *s.v.*), and the Chaldæans of Babylon were first called Kêphênes, according to Hellanicus. Keft, in fact, seems to have denoted the whole sea-coast of Phœnicia, from the Gulf of Antioch to Jaffa.

Another name applied to Canaan and Syria by the Egyptians was Khal, which embraced the whole country from the frontiers of Egypt to Aup in northern Syria. It denoted more especially the northern part of the region, from which wine was imported into Egypt; while the southern part of Pal., particularly towards the sea-coast, was termed Zahi. The most general name was Rutennu or Lutennu, which corresponded to our 'Syria.'

The mercantile pursuits of the Phœnicians caused the word 'Canaanite' to become synonymous with 'merchant' (Is 23[8], Ezk 17[4], Hos 12[7], Zeph 1[11], Job 41[6], Pr 31[24]). In an Egyp. papyrus, on the other hand, mention is made of 'Canaanite slaves from Khal' (Anastasi, iv. 16. 2).

Isaiah (19[18]) calls Heb. the language of Canaan, and the decipherment of the Phœnician inscriptions, as well as the names of Can. persons and places mentioned in the OT, show that the description was correct. Hebrew and Phœnician (or Can.) differed only in a few unimportant particulars, such as the absence in Phœnician of a definite article. The Tel el-Amarna tablets prove that there was little or no difference between the language of Canaan in the cent. before the Exodus and that of the Phœnicians and of the OT in later times. In some of the letters written from Canaan the writer adds the Can. equivalent of the Bab. word he is using. Thus the king of Jerusalem uses *anuki*, 'I,' the Heb. *anokhi*, instead of the Bab. *anaku*, and *zuru'u* the Heb. *zĕroa'*, 'arm,' instead of *ḳatu*; while other correspondents from southern Pal. explain the Bab. *ṣiṣe* 'horses,' *ḳaẓira* 'cattle,' *risu* 'head,' *same* 'heaven,' *elippi* 'a ship,' *ina ḳati-su* 'in his hand,' and *arki-su* 'after him,' by the Can. *ṣûṣi* (Heb. *ṣûṣ*), *maḳani* (Heb. *miḳneh*), *rusu* (Heb. *rôsh*), *samêma* (Heb. *shamayim*), *anay* (Heb. *'ŏni*), *badiu* (Heb. *bĕyado*), and *akhrun-u* (Heb. *akhrôn-o*). The Phœnician governors give *baṭnu* (Heb. *beṭen*) for the Bab. *pantê* 'stomach,' *mima* (Heb. *mayim*) for *mami* 'water,' *khaparu* and *aparu* (Heb. *'âphâr*) for *ipru* 'dust,' and *kilubi* (Heb. *kĕlub*) for *khukharu* 'a cage.' Similar evidence is borne by the Can. words borrowed by the Egyptians under the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties; *e.g.* *markabute* 'chariots,' *'agolte* 'wagons,' *ḥurpu* (*ḥereb*) 'sword,' *espat* 'quiver,' *shabud* (*shebeṭ*) 'staff,' *supăr* 'scribe,' *baith* 'house,' *bărkat* 'pool,' *yum* 'sea,' *nahal* 'brook,' *'ebete* (*'ebed*) 'slave,' *gămal* 'camel,' *ẓaba'* 'army,' *na'aruna* 'young men,' *parzal* 'iron' (cf. Lauth, 'Semitische Lehnwörter im Ægyptischen,' in *ZDMG*. xxv. 4, 1871). The Can. script at the time was the cuneiform syllabary of Babylon; the so-called Phœnician alphabet was not introduced till afterwards. The earliest known inscriptions in this alphabet are the Moabite Stone (B.C. 850), a dedication by Hiram of Tyre to Baal-Lebanon, which may be of the same date, and a single word on a piece of pottery found by Bliss on the site of Lachish at a depth of 300 feet.

One of the Tel el-Amarna letters was sent by Burna-burias, king of Babylon, to Amenhotep IV. of Egypt to complain of outrages committed upon his ambassadors in Canaan (Kinakhkhi). At Khinnatuni ('Ain-Athun; cf. the modern 'Ain-Ethan, near Solomon's Pools, between Bethlehem and Hebron) they were attacked by Sum-Adda (Shem-Hadad), the son of Balumme (perhaps Balaam), and Sutatna (also called Zatatna), the son of Saratum of Acco (Acre), the feet of one being cut off, and the face of another trampled upon. As Canaan belonged to Egypt, and its 'king' was an Egyp. vassal, Burnaburias calls upon the Pharaoh to punish the assailants and restore the silver they had stolen, otherwise amicable relations between Babylon and Egypt will be broken off. In another letter it is stated that Kuri-galzu, the predecessor of Burna-burias, refused the proposal of the Kunakhians, by whom the Can. seem to be meant, that they should revolt to him from Egypt. Another letter is from a king of northern Syria 'to the kings of Kinakhna, the servants' of the Pharaoh, asking them not to hinder his ambassador on his way to Egypt; while in a fourth Abi-melech of Tyre says he has heard from Canaan (Kinakhna) that 'the king of the land of Danuna is dead and his brother has succeeded him as king, and that his country is tranquil'; that 'one half of the city of Ugarit has been burnt and its troops have perished'; that 'the Hittite army has departed,' but that 'Etagama, the prince of Kadesh, and Aziru (the Amorite) are hostile, and are fighting against Namya-yizi.' Here Canaan seems to be used in a wide sense.

LITERATURE.—Movers, *Die Phönizier* (1841–1856); Pietschmann, 'Geschichte der Phönizier,' in Oncken's *Allgemeine Geschichte* (1889); Rawlinson, *History of Phœnicia* (1889); Renan, *Mission de Phénicie* (1864); *CIS*, vol. i. (1881–1890); *RP*, New Series, iii., v., vi. (1890–1894). A. H. SAYCE.

CANANÆAN or **CANAANITE** occurs in Mt 10^4 and Mk 3^{18} as a designation of Simon, one of the disciples of Jesus. The first is the correct reading, the Gr. Καναναῖος being the transliteration of קַנְאָנָא (a late Heb. derivative from קַנָּא=*jealous*). It is rendered in Lk 6^{15} and Ac 1^{13} by ζηλωτής (zealot). The Cananæans or **Zealots** were a sect founded by Judas of Gamala, who headed the opposition to the census of Quirinius (A.D. 6 or 7). They bitterly resented the domination of Rome, and would fain have hastened by the sword the fulfilment of the Messianic hope. During the great rebellion and the siege of Jerusalem, which ended in its destruction (A.D. 70), their fanaticism made them terrible opponents, not only to the Romans, but to other factions amongst their own countrymen.

LITERATURE.—Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, IV. iii. 9, v. 1, VII. viii. 1, etc.; Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 80 f., 177, 229; Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, i. 256 f. J. A. SELBIE.

CANDACE (Κανδάκη), queen of the Æthiopians, is mentioned Ac 8^{27}. Her treasurer was baptized by Philip (which see), near Gaza, on his return from Jerus., where he had gone to worship. C. seems to have been a dynastic title of the queens of Æthiopia. Pliny says (vi. 29) . . . 'regnare feminam Candacen, quod nomen multis iam annis ad reginas transiit.' From the time of Alexander the Great the dowager queens used to reign. C. mentioned Ac 8^{27} was probably rich, since the eunuch baptized by Philip was said to be 'over all her treasure.' (See Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, ii. 30 n.; Strabo, *Geogr*. xvii. 1. 54; Pliny, *HN* vi. 35.)

C. H. PRICHARD.

CANDLE, CANDLESTICK.—1. In AV 'candle' appears in nine passages of OT as the rendering of נֵר *nêr*, and in eight passages of NT as the rendering of λύχνος. In the whole of these passages, with two exceptions (Jer 25^{10}, Zeph 1^{12}, but see marg.), RV adopts the more accurate rendering 'lamp' (which see).

As indispensable to the furnishing of a simple 'prophet's chamber' we find mention of a bed, a table, a stool, and a candlestick (מְנוֹרָה, 2 K 4^{10}). The article in question, however, is rather a lamp-stand (cf. Petrie, *Tell el-Hesy*, p. 104), and corresponds to the NT λυχνία, now rendered more correctly in the Gospels by 'stand' (Mt 5^{15}, Mk 4^{21}, Lk 8^{16} 11^{33} in RV). In Dn 9^5 is mentioned the candlestick or candelabrum of Belshazzar's banqueting hall. For the golden candlestick of the tabernacle and the temple, see TABERNACLE.

2. The custom, practised from time immemorial in the East, of allowing a house lamp to burn night and day, is the source of the frequent figure by which the continually burning lamp pictures the continued prosperity both of the individual and of his family (see Ps $18^{28\,(29)}$, 'thou wilt light my candle,' 1 K 11^{36}). Conversely, 'to put out the candle of the wicked' (Pr 24^{20}, Job 18^6) is to make his home desolate and bring destruction on himself. This familiar metaphor is employed in the Apoc. to describe the fate with which the Church of Ephesus was threatened: 'I will remove thy candlestick out of his place' (Rev 2^5). A. R. S. KENNEDY.

CANE.—See REED.

CANKER.—As subst. 2 Ti 2^{17} 'their word will eat as doth a c.' (γάγγραινα, RV 'gangrene'). As verb, Ja 5^3 'Your gold and silver is c$^{\text{ed}}$' (κατιόω, RV 'rusted'). The mod. spelling of the subst. is 'cancer,' which is found as early as the beg. of the 17th cent. For the verb, cf. Shaks. *Temp*. IV. i. 192—

> 'As with age his body uglier grows,
> So his mind cankers.'

J. HASTINGS.

CANKERWORM.—See LOCUST.

CANON.—In this article an attempt will be made to give a general view of the history of the idea involved in the application of the word *Canon* to Holy Scripture; and in so doing the use both of this and other terms to express the idea in question will be noticed. The history of the process whereby the actual Canons of the Jewish and the Christian Scriptures were arrived at will be more fully traced under the heads OLD TESTAMENT CANON and NEW TESTAMENT CANON.

The conception of a C. virtually existed long before this precise term was employed. We have it wherever there is the notion of a collection of writings marked off as peculiarly sacred and as having a special Divine authority. Writings of the past would be likely for the first time fully to acquire this position when an age had come in which the living voice of prophecy was no longer heard. This view of them would not preclude the possibility of an addition to the number of inspired books at a future epoch of revelation. It is also to be observed, though to some this may at first sight seem strange, that a belief in a distinct class of writings of this kind was not incompatible with some diversity of opinion as to its extent, and with doubts on this subject in the minds even of those who were fully persuaded of the main facts. And this is true even of the time after the word C. was introduced. The idea of a C. no doubt gained to some degree in definiteness through controversies as to the writings which were to be held to form part of it. But in essence it was presupposed in those controversies; and their chief result was simply to fix more clearly and firmly the limits of the Canon.

There was no exact equivalent for the word among the Jews in respect to OT, but we have the idea clearly implied in the expression 'the Scriptures' as employed by Jews addressing Jews in NT (*e.g.* Mt 21[42], Jn 5[39], Ac 18[24]); and the word 'Scripture,' as used in the singular for a particular passage, also involves it, since each passage so named derived the binding force which is attributed to it from being contained in the body of sacred writings. So again, where Jos. (*c. Ap.* i. 8) makes a formal statement concerning these books and their number, the recognition of a C. is implied. And we have it also in the collective words used in the Talm. for the Divine Scriptures, such as מִקְרָא ('reading,' from their being read publicly in the synagogue) and כִּתְבֵי הַקֹּדֶשׁ ('the holy writings').

The Christian Church adopted the Scriptures of the Jews as her own. She also in process of time extended the idea of 'Scripture' to another body of writings, which in one or more groups were named along with those of OT. Pseudo-Clement of Rome's 2nd Ep. (*c.* A.D. 150) speaks of τὰ βιβλία καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι (*i.e.* the OT and the apostolic writings). Fresh names, also, were introduced expressive of the fact that she possessed two such collections, or such a collection in two parts. Melito, bp. of Sardis, *circ.* A.D. 170, speaks of τὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης βιβλία (ap. Euseb. *HE* iv. 26), 'the books of the Old Covenant' (or Testament). And we have evidence about the end of the same cent., in the writings of Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian, that the names παλαιὰ διαθήκη (vetus testamentum) and νέα διαθήκη (novum testamentum), the names that have become the most prevalent of all, had been transferred to the actual writings of the two dispensations. Tertullian himself preferred (see *c. Marc.* iv. 1) the term *Instrumentum* (of legal associations = 'documentary record or proof'). He frequently employs it, applying it sometimes to particular books, and sometimes separately to OT or to NT, but also to the Scriptures as a whole. From διαθήκη the adj. ἐνδιάθηκος was formed; it occurs repeatedly in the writings of Origen and Eusebius, in a sense closely corresponding to 'canonical' (*e.g. Philocal.*, iii. and Euseb. *HE* iii. cc. 3, 9, 25, vi. c. 14).

Another description, δεδημοσιευμέναι γραφαί, 'writings which have been made public,' used by Origen and others, needs somewhat fuller consideration. A certain vagueness attaches to it owing to the fact that these writings are contrasted with such as are 'apocryphal'; and while this word is common in the Fathers of the 2nd and 3rd cent., it does not seem ever to occur at this time with the precise connotation which it has since acquired. The original and fundamental signification of 'apocryphal' was that of something withheld from general knowledge. But there might be various reasons for so treating different writings. There were some among the Jews, as there were also some Christians, esp. in the Church of Alexandria, who were inclined to value highly lore which they considered to be unfit to be communicated even to all the faithful, and suited only for the study of the wise. But this tendency was never strong enough either among Jews or Christians to lead to the establishment of a class of writings regarded as authoritative and yet not imparted to all; and the spirit of Christianity in particular was wholly opposed to such reservation. All writings regarded as inspired were naturally included among the δεδημοσιευμέναι—those 'made the public property of the whole Church.' We have still, however, to ask what was meant by and implied in this 'publication,' and, as a further point, whether it could really serve to mark off the writings regarded as, in the full sense, authoritative from all others. The chief means of the publishing in question was the regular reading in the congregation. And no doubt this solemn reading served to impress upon the people generally the idea of the special authority of the books which they heard in this way; while the need of a rule for directing it may have been one influence which promoted the formation of the C. of OT, as it was certainly of NT. But it seems too narrow a view of the words δημοσιεύεσθαι, or *publicari*, to regard them (as Zahn does, *Gesch. d. Kanons*, i. p. 134) as meaning little or nothing more than 'to be read in church.' If the publication connoted by these terms was closely associated with the public reading, it was so because that act was the chief symbol of the general reception and acknowledgment of the books by the Church, which had been informally arrived at, and which found expression in various habits of speech and practice. It must, however, further be observed that the fact of particular books being publicly read would seem to be often too inconsiderately taken as evidence that they were regarded as Scripture in the full sense of the term. It is not to be supposed that the public reading would necessarily be regarded as having the same significance, or that the rules for it would be conceived in the same spirit, everywhere and always. There might be, and in point of fact there were, varieties of custom acc. to differences of circumstances and of theological temper. At some times and places there would be comparative laxity, at others special strictness. The Muratorian C. (*circ.* A.D. 200, written at Rome or in the neighbourhood) reveals a disposition to exclude from public reading all works of secondary or doubtful authority. This might be due to the special genius of the Rom. Church, or to a sense of the need of watchfulness which the recent spread of Gnosticism and Montanism and the circulation of the writings of these sects had created. On the other hand, at the very same epoch, we find Serapion, bp. of Antioch, first allowing the public reading of the *Gospel of Peter* at a place within his diocese, though he knew very little of the work and held it in no particular esteem, and then afterwards forbidding it, when he became more fully acquainted with its contents, and found that it was doing harm (Euseb. *HE* vi. 12). Again, to pass to a later age. With Cyril of Jerus. in his catechetical lectures, delivered *circ.* A.D. 340, the class of books 'openly read in the church' is coterminous with that of those 'acknowledged among all,' and is the opposite of 'apocryphal'; and he knows no third division (*Catech.* iv. cc. 33, 35). Athanasius, on the other hand, writing not long afterwards, but representing the usages of another Church, distinguishes between 'canonical books,' 'books that are read,' and 'apocryphal books' (*Ep. Fest.* 39, i. 768, ed. Bened.). And Rufinus at the end of the cent. distinguishes in the same way, and gives the name of 'Church books,' *Ecclesiastici libri*, to the second class (*De Symb.* cc. 37, 38).

We shall now be in a position to estimate rightly the amount of significance to be attached to the introduction of the words *Canon*, *canonical*, and *canonised* with reference to the books of Scripture; but we must first determine which of them was so used earliest, and when? Some have supposed that the employment of the adjective in this connexion preceded that of the substantive, and that it is to be traced back to Origen, on the ground that the epithets *canonici* and *regulares* are applied to the books of Scripture in portions of his works which we possess only in Rufinus' tr. No reliance can, however, be placed upon this argument, since these would be the most convenient renderings for such a word as *ἐνδιάθηκοι*, which, as we have seen, certainly belonged to Origen's terminology. Moreover, Rufinus so renders this very word in passages of Eusebius, where we have both the original and his translation. The earliest instance which can be adduced of the occurrence of either *κανών* or a derivative in the sense now under consideration is in the Festal Epistle of Athanasius above referred to, written in A.D. 367. The participle *κανονιζόμενα* is there used of the books of Holy Scripture. It seems, however, improbable that the verb *κανονίζειν*, or its parts, should have been so applied before the term *κανών* had been used of the books collectively. And a little later Amphilochius, the eminent bishop of Iconium, concludes a catalogue of them, which he gives in his *Iambi ad Seleucum* with the words *οὗτος ἀψευδέστατος Κανὼν ἂν εἴη τῶν θεοπνεύστων γραφῶν*. The word, which originally meant a rod, and thence a measure, had been already applied in the sense of a rule or norm, and that variously, both in classical and ecclesiastical usage. It will suffice here to notice the phrase *ὁ κανὼν τῆς ἀληθείας*, for the Church's creed, which had long been familiar. It has been questioned whether, when the word *κανών* was first used in connexion with the Scriptures, the primary intention was to express the thought that they form the rule of faith and life for the Christian, or to denote the list whereby the contents of the Scriptures is correctly defined. The latter seems to be the true view. It is the simplest; and, moreover, it would be hard otherwise to explain the use of the verb *κανονίζειν*, which is applied both to particular books and to the books collectively. The other idea would, however, also be readily suggested to the mind by the associations of the word *κανών*. And accordingly we find Isidore of Pelusium, in the earlier half of the 5th cent., expressing himself thus: 'the Canon of the truth, I mean the Divine Scriptures' (Ep. 114).

It will be perceived, then, that no essentially new point of view was implied in the use of the term Canon and its derivatives in connexion with Holy Scripture. At the same time it is noteworthy that they began to be employed at a time when special efforts were being made in different quarters to remove ambiguities with respect to, and to codify, the contents of the Scriptures.

For further illustrations of some of the points here touched upon, and for the considerations which determined the inclusion or exclusion of particular books, or groups of books, the reader must consult the arts. APOCRYPHA, OLD TESTAMENT CANON, and NEW TESTAMENT CANON.

V. H. STANTON.

CANOPY (*κωνωπεῖον*, from *κώνωψ* (Mt 23^{24}), gnat, mosquito).—Originally a mosquito-net. The canopy of the bed of Holofernes, 'which was of purple, and gold, and emerald, and precious stones inwoven,' was taken by Judith 'from the pillars' as a trophy, and given by her 'for a gift (*ἀνάθημα*) unto the Lord' (Jth 10^{21} $13^{9.15}$ 16^{19}). 'Canopy' occurs also in RV at Is 4^{5} 'Over all the glory shall be spread a canopy' (AV 'defence'). The Heb. is חֻפָּה, which here only has the sense of a canopy for protection; elsewhere it means a bridegroom's (Ps 19^{5}) or a bride's (Jl 2^{16}) chamber. F. C. PORTER.

CANTICLES.—See SONG OF SONGS.

CAPER-BERRY (אֲבִיּוֹנָה *'ăbîyyônah*, *κάππαρις*, Ec 12^{5}). The authority of the LXX and of some of the Rabbis is in favour of the tr. 'caper-berry' RV, instead of 'desire' AV.—This is the fruit of *Capparis spinosa*, L., a perennial shrub, rooted in the clefts of rocks and walls, with straggling, more or less pendulous, branches, and orbicular to ovate leaves, 1 to 2 inches in length, and white flowers 2 to 3 inches broad. It grows in all the Mediterranean basin. The ripe berry is oblong to obovate-oblong, and 2 to 2½ inches long. The young berries have a pungent flavour, and are pickled as a condiment. The Arabs of the Sin. desert call it *el-âṣûf*, while the people of Pal. and Syria know it by the name *kabar*, which is manifestly a modification of *κάππαρις*. Like all pungent plants, it is stimulating to the erotic instinct. The idea of those who tr. *'ăbîyyônah* 'caper-berry' is that even this stimulant shall fail to excite desire. The principal Rabbi of Beirût assures me that the tr. of AV 'desire' is that of the majority of the Jewish commentators. In either case the object is the same, that is, to express the decadence of the bodily powers with the advance of years.

G. E. POST.

CAPERNAUM (TR *Καπερναούμ*, from which our English word is taken; but *Καφαρναούμ*, supported by BאDZ, etc., is undoubtedly correct, representing the original כפר־נחום).—This city is mentioned only in the Gospels, and derives all its interest from association with the life of Christ. To it Matthew applies Is 9^{1} (Mt 4^{13-16}). After His rejection at Nazareth, Christ made His headquarters in C., and it is called 'his own city' (Mt 9^{1}). Here only was it said of Him *ὅτι ἐν οἴκῳ ἐστίν*—that He was *at home* (Mk 2^{1}). Peter and Andrew of Bethsaida (Jn 1^{44}) had settled in C. (Mk 1^{29}), and on the neighbouring beach they first heard and followed the Master (Mk 1^{16}). Matthew (Mt 9^{9}), or Levi (Mk 2^{14}, Lk 5^{27}), was here called from 'the place of toll.' Many miracles were wrought here (Mk 1^{34}). The following are specially mentioned, viz. healing centurion's servant (Mt 8^{5}, Lk 7^{1}); nobleman's son cured by a word from Cana (Jn 4^{46}); Simon Peter's mother-in-law cured of fever (Mk 1^{31}); paralytic healed (Mt 9^{1}, Mk 2^{1}, Lk 5^{18}); unclean spirit cast out (Mk 1^{23}, Lk 4^{33}). Here the lesson of humility was taught from a little child set in the midst (Mt 18^{2}, Mk $9^{33.36}$). A famous discourse in the synagogue is reported in Jn 6. Over C., highly favoured but unrepentant, the heavy woe was pronounced, 'And thou Capernaum, shalt thou be exalted unto heaven?—thou shalt go down to Hades' (Mt 11^{23}, Lk 10^{15} RV).

C., invariably called *πόλις*, 'a city,' was an important position, held by a body of Roman troops (Mt 8^5 etc.). It was also a customs-station (Mt 9^9 etc.). The commander of the soldiers thought it worth while to ingratiate himself with the people by building them a synagogue (Lk 7^5). It was the residence of a distinguished officer of the king (Jn 4^{46}). But beyond the facts that it was on the seashore (Mt 4^{13}), and was in or near the plain of Gennesaret (Jn 6^{17-21}; see also Mk 6^{53}, Mt 14^{34}), there is nothing in the NT to indicate the site. Twice mentioned by Josephus (*Vita*, 72, *BJ* II. x. 8), neither passage is decisive. Tradition wavers between two sites, and a warm controversy has long raged over the question.

The claims of *'Ain em-Madowwerah*, 'the round fountain,' a large spring on the N. edge of Gennesaret, may be dismissed. There is nothing near it to indicate the site of a great city; and it waters only a small portion of the plain.

The two serious rivals are *Khân Minyeh*, at the N.E. corner of the plain, and *Tell Ḥûm*, on the shore, fully 2 miles nearer Jordan. The case for *Tell Ḥûm* rests chiefly upon the name, the size of the ruins, their position on the eastward road, and the testimony of certain travellers. It is suggested that the Arab. *Tell* took the place of Caphar when the city became ruinous, *na* falling from Nahum. This is an almost impossible derivation. A Jewish Rabbi, *Tankhum*, is said to be buried here. The derivation from his name is both easy and natural. An alternative derivation is suggested from the Heb. חוּם = 'brown' or 'fire-blackened,' of which Arab. *Ḥûm* is an exact transliteration. Then *Tell Ḥûm* = 'the black mound,' truly descriptive of the ruins, could only date from a time subsequent to the destruction of the city. Along this road only the eastern traffic would pass. The northern caravans never came this way. Jerome, Theodorus (532 A.D.), Antoninus Martyr (?), A.D. 600, and John of Würtzburg (1100), may be taken as favouring *Tell Ḥûm*. Josephus, hurt on the Jordan, was carried to C.; but this was not necessarily the nearest town. He was evidently anxious to reach his headquarters at Tarichea (*Vita*, 72). It is much against *Tell Ḥûm* that there is no fountain there; and nothing like that described by Josephus within about a couple of miles.

On the other hand, there are many considerations in favour of *Khân Minyeh*. Gennesaret was a well-defined district, generally allowed to correspond with *el Ghuweir*, 'the little Ghôr,' lying along the N.W. shore of the sea (see Jos. *BJ* III. x. 8). The disciples started from the other side to go to C. (Jn 6^{17}). The waters being stilled, they were straightway 'at the land whither they were going' (*ib.* v.^{21}). Matthew (14^{34}) says 'they came to the land, unto Gennesaret.' (So also Mk 6^{53}.) Those who sought Jesus in the morning found Him at C. (Jn 6^{24}), and He addressed them in the synagogue. C. was thus either in or close to Gennesaret. This condition is met by *Khan Minyeh*; not at all by *Tell Ḥûm*. Remains of an ancient city are found in the plain between *Khân Minyeh* and the sea; also on the adjoining *Tell 'Areimeh*, where probably a large church once stood. Standing at the junction of the two great roads which must always have united behind *Tell 'Areimeh*, that to eastward along the shore, and that to the north by *Khân Jubb Yusif*, it occupied a position of first importance in the district. All the traffic from north, south, east, and west passed through the hands of its customs officers. The spring of which Josephus speaks (*BJ* II. x. 8) may not have been actually in the plain. Certainly it was not *'Ain et-Tîneh*. At *et-Tabigha* (Heptapegon?), on the edge of the valley beyond *Tell 'Areimeh*, rise several springs, one of great volume, the largest fountain in Galilee. An old aqueduct led the water across the vale, along the face of the cliff in a rock-cut channel, and into the plain at *Minyeh* sufficiently high to water a large area. Historical evidence is on the whole favourable to *Khân Minyeh*. Antoninus Martyr (600) is claimed on both sides; but the latter site is supported by Arculfus, end of 7th cent.; St. Willibald, middle of 8th cent.; Eugesippus, middle of 12th cent.; Brocardius, end of 13th cent.; Quaresimus, 1620, who says that a ruin, called in Arab. *Minieh*, is the site of Capernaum.

The absence of any reminiscence of the ancient name is a difficulty with some. But from the Talm. we learn that C. was, for the Jews, associated with the *Minîm*, the name by which they designated the Christians, who were numerous in the city. The *Ḥûtâ* of the Talm., 'the sinners,' are the sons of Caphar Nahum, and again these are identified with the *Minîm*. Among the Jews, C. was the city of Menai down to the 14th cent. The name given to the inhabitants is probably preserved in *Khân Minyeh*. The balance of evidence is at present greatly in favour of this site.

W. EWING.

CAPH or **KAPH** (כ).—Eleventh letter of Heb. alphabet, and as such used in the 119th Psalm to designate the 11th part, each verse of which begins with this letter.

CAPHARSALAMA (Χαφαρσαλαμά), 1 Mac 7^{31}.—Apparently near Jerus. *Kefr Silwân*, the village of Siloam, is possibly intended. *SWP*, vol. iii. sh. xvii.

CAPHIRA (A Καφιρά, B Πειρά), 1 Es 5^{19}.—A town of Benj., inhabitants of which returned with Zerub. In Ezr 2^{25} CHEPHIRAH (כְּפִירָה, B Καφειρά, A -ι-); cf. Neh 7^{29}. See CHEPHIRAH.

CAPHTOR (כַּפְתּוֹר, כַּפְתֹּרִים, Χαφθοριείμ, *Caphtorim*).—The Caphtorim were geographically connected with Egypt according to Gn 10^{14}; and in Dt 2^{23} we read: 'The Avvim, which dwelt in villages as far as Gaza, the Caphtorim, which came forth out of Caphtor, destroyed them, and dwelt in their stead.' Here the Caphtorim are identified with the Philistines, who are stated to have come from Caphtor in Am 9^7 and Jer 47^4 (where Caphtor is called an 'isle' or 'coastland'). Consequently in Gn 10^{14} the words, 'whence went forth the Philistines,' must be out of place, and should follow Caphtorim instead of Casluhim. Caphtor has been identified with both Cyprus and Crete, but the names do not agree. Ebers (*Ægypten und die Bücher Moses*, 1868) proposed to see in Caphtor an Egyp. compound Kaft-ur, 'Greater Kaft' or 'Phœnicia,' and made it the coast of the Delta, which was thickly covered with Phœnician colonies. But this theory has been overthrown by the excavation of the temple of Kom Ombo in Upper Egypt in 1892. On the wall of the south external corridor is a series of cartouches containing the names of the countries supposed to have been conquered by Ptolemy Auletes and collected from older monuments of various ages. Among the names are those of Kaptar (Caphtor) and Kasluhet (Casluhim), each with the determinative of 'country' attached to it. Kaptar ends the first line, and is immediately preceded by the names of Persia, Susa, Babylon, and Pontus, while Kasluhet (followed by Zoar) is the fifth name of the second line, which begins with the inhabitants of the Sinaitic peninsula and northern Syria. The names, however, have probably been registered at haphazard, so that no conclusion can be drawn from their order.

The Philistines seem to have entered Palestine in the course of the great invasion of Egypt by the northern nations in the eighth year of Ramses III.

Prof. Prášek combines this fact with the statement of Justin, that in B.C. 1209 a king of Ashkelon stormed Sidon, and that the fugitive Sidonians founded Tyre. The dates would agree very well. At any rate, the Pulista or Philistines are closely associated with the Zakkal (Teukrians?) in the attack on Egypt in the time of Ramses III., whereas the latter appear alone in an earlier attack in the time of Merenptah.

From 1 S 30^{14}, Ezk 25^{16}, Zeph 2^{5}, we may gather that the Philistines were also known as the Cherethites or Cretans, as the Sept. transcribes the name. In this case Caphtor must be identified with Crete, or at all events with some district in that island. Recent discoveries have shown that Crete was a centre of culture in the prehistoric age of the eastern Mediterranean, and Mr. A. Evans has pointed out that it possessed a peculiar system of pictorial writing (see his article on 'Primitive Pictographs' in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xiv. 1894).

A. H. SAYCE.

CAPPADOCIA (Καππαδοκία), a large country in the E. of Asia Minor, was formed into a Rom. province by Tiberius in A.D. 17, on the death of king Archelaus. It was administered by a *procurator*, sent out by the reigning emperor; and it was treated as an unimportant outlying district. In A.D. 70, however, Vespasian united it with Armenia Minor as one of the great frontier provinces of the empire, placing it under the rule of a *legatus Augusti pro prætore*, who was selected by the emperor from among the ex-consuls; and he stationed a legion (*XII. Fulminata*) at Melitene as garrison to maintain the defence of the Euphrates line. At this period a great territory, ruled by Antiochus Epiphanes of Commagene, lying between the provinces Cilicia and Cappadocia, and including part of Lycaonia, was incorporated in C.; and under succeeding emperors, especially Trajan, the size and importance of the province were greatly increased, and more troops were stationed in it. The commercial capital of the province was Cæsareia - Eusebeia - Mazaka; the military centres were Melitene and (after Trajan) Satala. Between about A.D. 76 and 106, both Galatia and C. were placed under one governor. Jews in C. are mentioned in Ac 2^{9}, and implied in Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium*, § 36 (Mang. ii. 587): a letter in their favour from the Rom. Senate to Ariarathes, king of C., about B.C. 139, is mentioned 1 Mac 15^{22}: in the 3rd cent. after Christ and later, a great Jewish population in Cæsareia is alluded to in the Talmud. The easy road from Tarsus through the Cilician Gates tempted them onwards towards the N., to take advantage of the lucrative trade between Central Asia and the Black Sea harbours, esp. Amisus: the road passed through C. and Pontus (Ac 18^{2}). This trading connexion led to the early extension of Christianity over both countries (1 P 1^{1}).

LITERATURE.—Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i. pp. 365–374; Ritter, *Kleinasien*, i. pp. 236–339, ii. 236–272; Ramsay, *Hist. Geog. of Asia Minor*, pp. 267–319, 346–356, 449 f., and the map in *St. Paul the Trav.* for provincial divisions; Neubauer, *Géog. du Talmud*; Th. Reinach, *Numism. des Rois de Capp.*

W. M. RAMSAY.

CAPTAIN.—I. IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.—The AV translates no fewer than 13 different Heb. words by 'captain,' and many of these words have other renderings as well. The RV has scarcely introduced much greater consistency. (1) שַׂר, often translated '*prince*,' used especially of 'captains of thousands' (χιλίαρχος), etc., and of the 'captain of the host' (ἀρχιστράτηγος). For the 'captain of the host of the LORD' (Jos 5$^{14.15}$), and for 'Michael your prince' (also שַׂר Dn 10^{21} etc.), see under GOD and ANGEL. (2) נָגִיד, the *foremost* officer, used of the king (1 S 9^{16}—RV prince or leader, LXX ἄρχων); the same Heb. word is used also of the 'leader of the house of Aaron' (1 Ch 12^{27}), and of the 'rulers of the house of God' (2 Ch 35^{8} etc.). See below. (3) רֹאשׁ, literally *head*, Nu 14^{4} etc., LXX ἀρχηγός. (4) נָשִׂיא, literally *lifted up*, Nu 2^{3} etc., RV prince, LXX ἄρχων. (5) קָצִין, literally *one who decides*, Jg 11^{6} etc., RV chief (except Dn 11^{18}), LXX ἀρχηγός or ἡγούμενος. (6) טִפְסָר, RV marshal, Jer 51^{27}, Nah 3^{17}. (7) פֶּחָה, usually of the governor of a territory, 2 K 18^{24}, Hag 1^{1} etc. (8) רַב=(1), only in later Heb., *e.g.* 2 K 25^{8}. (9) בַּעַל, baal, 'master,' Jer 37^{13}, captain of the ward. (10) שָׁלִישׁ Ex 14^{7}, 2 K 9^{25} etc., probably knight or equerry, LXX τριστάτης. The other three words are (in AV) mistranslated captain, 2 K 11$^{4.19}$, Jer 13^{21}, Ezk 21^{22} (כָּרִי, אַלּוּף, כַּר, respectively).

II. Captain represents three words in the NT (1) χιλίαρχος—used vaguely of a military officer, and technically as the equivalent of the Roman 'præfectus' or 'tribunus militum.' One such officer was regularly in charge of the Roman garrison at Jerusalem, which probably consisted of a cohort of auxiliaries, about 1000 men in all. The commander would be a Roman citizen (Ac 22^{28}), the soldiers provincials (not Jews, but many of them Samaritans), who would receive the franchise on discharge. Whether the word has the technical or the vaguer sense in Jn 18^{12} is not clear. (2) στρατηγός—used in Lk 22$^{4.52}$ and Ac 4^{1} 5$^{24.26}$ of the captain of the Temple, together with his chief subordinates, who are perhaps the same as the three 'keepers of the threshold' (2 K 25^{18}, Jer 35^{4}, and see Josephus, *Ant.* X. viii. 5). This captain (נָגִיד, see (2) above) is mentioned Jer 20^{1} (LXX ἡγούμενος) and Neh 11^{11}, and is called in 2 Mac 3^{4} προστάτης τοῦ ἱεροῦ, and in Josephus (*Ant.* XX. vi. 2, etc.) στρατηγός. Probably he and his chief subordinates are indicated by the term 'rulers' in Ezr 9^{2} and often in Neh (סְגָנִים, LXX στρατηγοί or ἄρχοντες): see Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 258. The captain was at least a Levite, and commanded a small body of police, probably themselves priests; and he had the duty of keeping order in the Temple, and watching there by night. (3) ἀρχηγός—He 2^{10}—probably to be understood rather as author and beginner than as commander in a fight (cf. Ac 3^{15} 5^{31}, He 12^{2}).

The captain of the guard (στρατοπεδάρχης, Ac 28^{16} TR and AV) would, perhaps, be the 'princeps castrorum peregrinorum'; it would hardly mean the 'præfectus prætorio,' whose title is never so rendered in Greek. But the sentence is omitted by RV following the best authorities: it is, however, an ancient 'Western reading,' and possibly records a real tradition. (See Mommsen in *Sitzungsb. d. kgl. preuss. Akad. d. Wissensch.*, phil.-hist. Classe, 1895, p. 495, and art. PRÆTORIUM.)

W. O. BURROWS.

CAPTIVITY.—See ISRAEL.

CARABASION (B Καραβασειών, A -σιών), 1 Es 9^{34}.—A corrupt name of one of those who put away their 'strange' wives. It seems to correspond to MEREMOTH in Ezr 10^{36}. The conjecture that it should be read καὶ Ῥαβασιών is not supported (as is stated in *Speaker's Comm.*) by the Vat. text.

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

CARAVAN, not used in AV, is given by RV in Job 6$^{18.19}$ (אֹרְחוֹת cst.) for AV 'paths,' 'troops'; in Is 21^{13} (ptcp. of אָרַח) for AV 'travelling companies'; and in Ezk 27^{25} 'The ships of Tarshish were thy caravans for thy merchandise,' for AV 'The ships of Tarshish did sing of thee in thy market,' taking שָׁרוֹת from שׁוּר *to travel* (after Gesen.) not שִׁיר *to sing*. But Davidson doubts: 'The camel has been called the ship of the desert, but conversely to call an east-indiaman a caravan is too brilliant for the prophet.' See his note. In older Eng., however, the word might have been applicable without crediting Ezekiel with the brilliant metaphor, since 'caravan' was used from the beg. of the 17th to the middle of the 18th cent. for a fleet of ships, as Fuller, *Com. on Ruth* (1654): 'A caravan . . . sailing in the vast ocean.' J. Hastings.

CARBUNCLE.—See Stones, Precious.

CARCAS (כַּרְכַּס, Est 1^{10}), one of the seven eunuchs or chamberlains of king Ahasuerus. An etymology suggested is the Persian *kargas*, 'vulture.' The LXX gives a different name.

CARCASE (the spelling has been indifferently *carcase* or *carcass* throughout, though dictionaries have given *carcass* alone, or by preference since Johnson) is used now only of the dead body of a beast, or contemptuously of a human being, but was formerly used freely of either. The Heb. words are various: (1) גְּוִיָּה *gĕvîyyah* (used of living body also) is so tr. only Jg $14^{8.9}$ of the c. of Samson's lion (RV 'body'), which is also (14^{8}) called (2) מַפֶּלֶת *mappeleth* (fr. נָפַל to fall, as πτῶμα fr. πίπτειν, *cadaver* fr. *cadere*), which has this meaning only here; elsewhere 'fall' Pr 29^{16}, Ezk $26^{15.18}$ 31^{16} 32^{10}, or 'ruin' Ezk 27^{27} 31^{13} [all]. (3) פֶּגֶר *peger*; and (4) נְבֵלָה *nĕbhêlah* are often tr. 'carcase.' Both are also applied to the trunk of an idol, *peger* Lv 26^{30} 'I will cast your carcases upon the carcases of your idols'; *nĕbhêlah* Jer 16^{18} 'they have filled mine inheritance with the carcases of their detestable things.' Both words are used in Heb. of dead bodies only, so that the tr. 'dead carcase' of Dt 14^{8}, Ezk 6^{5}, is as needless for the Heb. as in the Eng.; RV omits 'dead.'

In Bel ^{32} 'in the den there were seven lions, and they had given them every day two carcases and two sheep' (so RV, AVm 'slaves,' Gr. σώματα, lit. 'bodies,' used of 'servants,' *i.e.* slaves, To 10^{10}).

In NT 'carcase' occurs Mt 24^{28} 'wheresoever the c. is, there will the eagles be gathered together' (πτῶμα, as in Wis 4^{18}); and He 3^{17} 'whose carcases fell in the wilderness' (κῶλον, lit. 'limbs,' the LXX tr. of פֶּגֶר in Nu $14^{29.32}$ where the language is nearly identical). J. Hastings.

CARCHEMISH (כַּרְכְּמִישׁ; omitted in the LXX at 2 Ch 35^{20}, but at Jer 26 [Heb 46]^{2} Χαρμεις [Q, Καρχαρμεις]; Vulg. *Charcamis*). There have been various conjectures as to the site of this city, which was finally correctly located by Messrs. Skene and Geo. Smith, by means of the Assyrian inscriptions. Carchemish is at present represented by the mounds of Jerablûs (Smith, Yaraboloos) or Hierapolis, on the western bank of the Euphrates, described by Smith as a grand site, with vast walls and palace-mounds 8000 ft. round, and containing numerous sculptures and monoliths with inscriptions, many of which are now in the British Museum. Pococke says that the ruins are rectangular, and measure ½ mile long by ¼ mile wide. The mounds lie between Birejik and the junction of the Sajur and the Euphrates. Carchemish, the chief city of the Hittites, was called Karkamis by the Babylonians, Gargamis and Kargamis by the Assyrians, and Ḳarïḳamaï(?)ša or Karakamiša by the Egyptians, and the city was known—perhaps renowned—as a trading centre as early as the 3rd millennium B.C.* Amen-em-hebe, one of the captains of Tahutmes III. (*c.* B.C. 1600), refers to his campaign against the people of Ḳarïḳamaï(?)ša, where he took prisoners;† and about B.C. 1200 Tiglath-pileser I. of Assyria plundered 'the land of the neighbourhood of Suḫi as far as Carchemish (Kargamis) of the land of Ḫatte (Kheta or Hit) in a single day.' There is no record, however, that the fortress was taken on this occasion. The ruler of Carchemish about B.C. 880 was Sangara, who paid a large amount of tribute, chiefly in manufactured things, such as furniture and woven stuffs, also metal, to Aššur-naẓir-pal, king of Assyria. Sangara afterwards came into conflict with Shalmaneser II., son of Aššur-naẓir-pal, about B.C. 858, and the Assyrian king says that he captured Sangara's cities, receiving from the latter, when he submitted, 2 talents of gold, 70 talents of silver, 30 talents of copper, 100 talents of iron, 20 talents of purple cloth, 500 weapons, his daughter with a dowry, 100 daughters of the great men of the place, 500 oxen, and 5000 sheep, and fixed as his (yearly) tribute 1 maneh of gold, 1 talent of silver, and 2 talents of purple cloth, one payment of which is duly recorded as having taken place. The large amount of the war indemnity and the tribute testify to the prosperity and commercial importance of the city. On the bronze gates found by H. Rassam at Balawat the reception of tribute by Shalmaneser II. is twice represented, and in each case a picture in relief of the fortress is given. The city was finally taken by Sargon of Assyria in B.C. 717, when Pisiri or Pisiris, its last king, was made prisoner. From this time it formed part of the Assyrian empire, and was administered by an Assyrian governor.* Its importance as a trading centre continued under its new rulers, the 'maneh of Carchemish' being one of the standard weights in use at Nineveh. Later notices of the city occur in the Bible itself, when Pharaoh-Necho defeated Josiah in the battle in which the Jewish king lost his life (2 Ch 35^{20}), and was himself defeated by Nebuchadrezzar, four years later (B.C. 605), under the walls of the city (Jer 46^{2}), in the battle which decided the fate of Western Asia. The patron deity of the city was the Asiatic goddess worshipped under the name of Atargatis, whose worship, when the city fell into decay, was transferred to the city now represented by Membij, which became the new Hierapolis, and continued in existence after the old city of Carchemish was deserted. The meaning of the name is unknown.

T. G. Pinches.

CARE.—The proper meaning of this word, and of all its compounds (of which there occur in AV 'careful,' 'carefully,' 'carefulness,' 'careless,' 'carelessly') is *trouble* or *sorrow*. But from a very early period it was confounded with Lat. *cura* (with which it has no connexion, being a purely Teutonic word), and the meaning of *cura*, viz. *attention to* something or somebody, became attached to it. This affected even the original word, so that care in the sense of sorrow became *anxiety*, as if due to over-attention; while the compounds have now actually dropped their original meaning, and adopted that of *cura* wholly. But throughout the history of the word, and esp. in AV, we can trace the two senses side by side.

1. **Care** is both subst. and verb. As subst. (1) *Anxiety* (Gr. μέριμνα): Mt 13^{22}, 'the care of this world, and the deceitfulness of riches, choke the word'; so Mk 4^{19}, Lk 8^{14} 21^{34} 'cares of this life,' 2 Co 11^{28} 'the care of all the churches' (RV 'anxiety for'), 1 P 5^{7} 'Casting all your care upon him' (RV 'anxiety'), 1 Mac 6^{10} 'my heart faileth for very care.' In OT, 1 S 10^{2} 'thy father hath left the care of the asses (*i.e.* concern about, דִּבְרֵי, lit. "the *matters* of the asses"), and sorroweth for you,' Ezk 4^{16} 'they shall eat bread by weight, and with care' (דְּאָגָה, RV 'carefulness'). (2) *Attention* (esp. *earnest* attention, the original meaning of the word in turn affecting this

---

* Before the reign of the Bab. king Ammi-zaduga, *c.* 2100 B.C.

† W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern*, Leipzig, 1893.

* The name of the governor in B.C. 691 or 692 was Bêl-emurâni.

borrowed meaning; Gr. σπουδή): 2 Co 7^{12} 'our care for you in the sight of God' (RV 'earnest care,' as 8^{16} AV, RV); Ph 4^{10} 'your care for me' (τὸ φρονεῖν, RV 'thought for me') Wis 6^{17} 7^{4} (φροντίς). As verb (1) *Anxiety* or *concern* (Gr. μεριμνάω); 1 Co $7^{32.33.34}$ 'But I would have you without carefulness. He that is unmarried careth for the things that belong to the Lord, how he may please the Lord: but he that is married careth for the things that are of the world, how he may please his wife' (RV 'is careful for'); 12^{25}, Ph 2^{20}. In OT, 2 S 18^{3} 'if we flee away, they will not care for us, neither if half of us die, will they care for us' (Heb. שׂוּם לֵב). (2) *Attention*: Dt 11^{12} 'a land which the Lord thy God careth for (דָּרַשׁ, RVm 'seeketh after'), the eyes of the Lord thy God are always upon it'; Ps 142^{4} 'no man cared for my soul.' When the expression is *care for*, the distinction is not always obvious, since it is the person that is *anxious about* who will give *attention to*; but in the foll. passages (where the Gr. is μέλει) the meaning is always anxiety or concern: Mt 22^{16}, Mk 12^{14}, Jn 10^{13} 'he is an hireling, and careth not for the sheep,' 12^{6} 'not that he cared for the poor,' Ac 18^{17} 'Gallio cared for none of these things,' 1 Co 7^{21}, 1 P 5^{7} 'He careth for you.' On the other hand, *to take care of* (ἐπιμελέομαι) must be 'to give attention to,' Lk 10^{34} 'he brought him to an inn and took care of him,' 10^{35}, 1 Ti 3^{5} 'if a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the church of God?' Hence 1 Co 9^{9} AV, 'Doth God take care for oxen?' (μέλει) is a serious mistranslation. God does take care for oxen, as for all living creatures, but it is only for man that He may be said to have *concern* (RV 'Is it for the oxen that God careth?').

Careful.—1. *Anxious*, Lk 10^{41} 'Martha, Martha, thou art c. and troubled about many things' (μεριμνᾷς RV 'thou art anxious'), Ph 4^{6} 'Be careful for nothing' (μηδὲν μεριμνᾶτε, RV 'In nothing be anxious'). In OT, Jer 17^{8} 'he shall be as a tree planted by the waters . . . and shall not be c. in the year of drought' (דָּאַג); Dn 3^{16} 'O Nebuchadnezzar, we are not c. to answer thee in this matter' (חֲשַׁח, RV 'we have no need,' RVm as AV). Cf. Shaks. *Tit. And.* IV. iv. 84—

> 'The eagle suffers little birds to sing,
> And is not careful what they mean thereby.

In Apocr., Bar 3^{18} 'They . . . were so c.' (μεριμνῶντες); to which RV adds 2 Es 2^{27} 'Be not c. overmuch,' an expression which brings out the difference between careful = anxious, and careful = attentive or painstaking; in the latter sense, as we put it, 'you cannot be too careful.' 2. *Attentive to one's interests, painstaking*: Ph 4^{10} 'Now at the last your care of me hath flourished again; wherein ye were also c., but ye lacked opportunity' (ἐφρονεῖτε, RV 'ye did take thought'); Tit 3^{8} 'that they which have believed in God might be c. to maintain good works' (φροντίζω); 2 K 4^{13} 'thou hast been c. for us with all this care' (חָרַד, usually 'to tremble,' and so here 'to be *anxiously* careful,' its only occurrence in this sense).

Carefully.—In the sense of *anxiously*, c. occurs only Mic 1^{12} 'the inhabitant of Maroth waited c. for good' (חָלָה, lit. 'has been in pain,' RV 'waiteth anxiously'). In the sense of *attentively*, there are in AV Dt 15^{5} 'if thou c. hearken' (אִם־שָׁמוֹעַ תִּשְׁמַע, 'if hearkening thou shalt hearken,' RV 'if thou shalt diligently hearken,' as AV in 11^{13} 28^{1}, same Heb.); Wis 12^{22} 'we should c. think of thy goodness' μεριμνῶμεν, RV 'ponder'); Ph 2^{28} 'I sent him the more c.' (σπουδαιοτέρως, RV 'the more diligently'); He 12^{17} 'he sought it c. with tears' (ἐκζητέω, RV 'sought it diligently'). To these RV adds Mt $2^{7.16}$ (ἀκριβόω, AV 'diligently'), 2^{8} (ἀκριβῶς AV 'diligently'), Ac 18^{25} (ἀκριβῶς, AV 'diligently') 18^{26} (ἀκριβῶς AV 'perfectly') and He 12^{15} 'Looking c.' (ἐπισκοποῦντες, AV 'looking diligently').

Carefulness, in the sense of *anxiety*, is given in AV (as tr. of דְּאָגָה) Ezk $12^{18.19}$; to which RV adds 4^{16} (AV 'care'), Jos 22^{24} (AV 'fear'). In the same sense is Sir 30^{24} 'c. bringeth age before the time' (μέριμνα, RV 'care'); and 1 Co 7^{32} 'I would have you without c.' (ἀμέριμνος, RV 'free from cares'). Cf. Latimer, *Scr.* i. 413, 'Consider the remedy against carefulness, which is to trust in God.' But the sense of *watchful* and *helpful interest* is clear in 2 Co 7^{11} 'what c. it wrought in you' (σπουδή, RV 'earnest care'); for the same apostle commends c. in this passage, who had condemned it in the previous.

Careless and **Carelessly** have always the meaning of *without trouble or anxiety, in security* (the Heb. being always בָּטַח 'to trust,' or בֶּטַח 'confidence'); 'careless' Jg 18^{7}, Is $32^{9.10.11}$, Ezk 30^{9} (but RV adds Pr 19^{16} Heb. בּוֹזֶה 'a despiser'); 'carelessly' Is 47^{8}, Ezk 39^{6}, Zeph 2^{15}. Cf.—

> 'Raise up the organs of her fantasy;
> Sleep she as sound as careless infancy.'
> Shaks. *Merry Wives*, v. v. 56.

J. HASTINGS.

CARIA (Καρία) is actually mentioned only in 1 Mac 15^{23} as one of the places to which the Rom. Senate sent a circular letter in B.C. 139–138 in favour of the Jews. The political entity which is here meant was probably the Chrysaorian confederacy, in which most of the cities (esp. the inland cities) of C. were united, meeting at the temple of Zeus Chrysaoreus at Stratonicea. C., most of which belonged to the Rhodians from 190 to 168, was then declared free by the Romans; and this confederacy was the responsible government until 129, when the country was incorporated in the province of Asia. The coast cities of C. were chiefly Greek, and did not belong to the confederacy: of these Miletus was Ionian; Cnidus, Cos, and Halicarnassus were Dorian: hence the Rom. Senate sent their letter about the Jews (see DELUS) to the Dorian cities, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, Cos, and also to Rhodes and Myndus (which seem to be nearly the complete list of Carian governments).

W. M. RAMSAY.

CARITES (כָּרִי) occurs in the *Kethîbh* of the Heb. text and margin of RV in 2 S 20^{23}, where the *Kerê* has *Cherethites* (כְּרֵתִי), and in RV of 2 K 11^{4}, where the AV has *captains* (RVm *executioners*). The Carites were possibly Phil. mercenaries from Caria, as the Cherethites were from Crete. See CHERETHITES, and cf. W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} 262 n.

J. A. SELBIE.

CARMEL (כַּרְמֶל 'garden'), Jos 15^{55}, 1 S 15^{12} $25^{2.7.40}$, 2 S 23^{35}, 1 Ch 11^{37}.—A city of Judah in the Hebron mountains, where Saul set up a 'hand' or memorial stone, and where Nabal lived in possession of flocks. One of David's heroes was a Carmelite. Now the ruined town *Kurmul*, on the hills about 10 miles S.E. of Hebron, chiefly remarkable for the remains of a large square tower, built in the 12th cent. A.D., and for a very fine large reservoir. See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xxiv. C. R. CONDER.

CARMEL (usually with the def. art. הַכַּרְמֶל 'the garden' or 'garden-land'; without it only in Jos 19^{26}, Jer 46^{18}, Nah 1^{4}; ὁ Κάρμηλος; but generally הַר הַכּ' 'Mount of the Carmel'; ὄρος τὸ Καρμήλιον; Jos. Κάρμηλος, Καρμήλιον ὄρος. In later Heb. כַּרְמֶל. In the list of places conquered by Tahutmes III. in Pal., No. 49 reads Kalimna, which Tomkins takes as Kalamon or Carmel; and No. 48, Rshḳadsh, by which Maspero understands Rosh-Ḳodshu, 'the sacred headland' of Carmel. Mod. Arab. Kŭrmŭl, but more usually Jebel Mâr Elyas).—This long headland, which forms one of the great features of Pal., is of the same hard limestone as the central range of the country, but is separated from the latter by hills of softer formation, which are therefore more worn than itself, and now lie lower and are opened up by passes. The promontory of Carmel rises above a narrow sea-beach to a height of some 500 ft. at the monastery; thence the ridge, running S.E., ascends (*PEF* Large Map, sheets v. and viii.) 9½ miles to Esfia (1742 ft.), and then sinks for 3¼ miles more to its end at El-Mahraka (1687 ft.); beyond which there is a sudden dip into the Wady el-Milh, a valley that separates Carmel from the lower hills aforesaid, the Belád er-Ruhah. The ridge is well-defined, and in shape a wedge, with the thin end seaward, in breadth from plain to plain 1¼ miles, but at the thick or inland end as much as 8½ miles broad. The sides are very differently disposed. The S.W. sinks slowly by long ridges and glens upon the plain of Sharon; the N.E. is abrupt and steep above the plains of Haifa and Esdraelon. At the foot of the latter runs Kishon, for the most part parallel to the axis of the mountain. The limestone of C. abounds in flints, 'geodes' (known as 'Elijah's melons'), and fossils; and on the N.E. igneous rocks crop out from a basalt formation that extends to the Sea of Galilee (Ritter, *Pal.* 712, 713). There are very many caves.

C. is very conspicuous from most parts of central Pal.; its high sky-line, with the line of Bashan and the great mass of Hermon, form the three grandest features of all views from Esdraelon, Galilee, and the mountains of Ephraim. Accordingly C., Gilead or Bashan, and Lebanon are frequently named together in OT (Is 33^{9} 35^{2}, Mic 7^{14} etc.). Once C. is coupled with Tabor: '"Pharaoh is but a rumour?" As I live, saith J″, surely like Tabor among mountains, and like C. by the sea, shall he come!' (Jer 46^{18}). At opposite ends of Esdraelon (the very scene of Pharaoh's coming) the two hills stand out, symbols of that which shall certainly be established as fact, and make its presence felt. Sweeping seaward, in the face of the rains, C., as its name declares, is richly clothed with verdure. At present this is mostly wild—a thick growth of underwood, grass and flowers, coppices of oak, carob, and many evergreens, with here and there a grove of great trees. Van de Velde asserts that there was not a flower found by him in Galilee or in the maritime plain which he did not also meet on C., 'still the fragrant lovely mountain that it was of old' (i. 317, 318). But there are, too, frequent olive-groves, and other gardens, with prosperous villages; while the more numerous grooved floors and troughs that have been traced in the rock below the brushwood, prove that, in ancient times, there was an even greater cultivation, and chiefly of olive and vine. Accordingly, in OT Carmel is the very type of a luxuriant fertility (Is 35^{2} etc.); her decay the prophets' most desperate figure of desolation (Am 1^{2}, Is 33^{9} etc.). The German colonists at Haifa have resumed the culture of the vine on the N. slopes of the promontory.

C. plays no part in the political or military history of Palestine. The great campaigns swept past her on either side: in military tactics the hill was only an obstacle to be avoided. By far the most armies, whether going north or south, crossed between Esdraelon and Sharon by the passes to the east of C. Some of the Syrian advances south, Rom. legions when passing from Ptolemais to Cæsarea, Richard Lionheart and the Third Crusade, Napoleon on his retreat from Acre,—these followed the sea road under the promontory. May not this quality of being neither a goal in itself, nor on the road anywhere, be the origin of the curious Talmudic word כַּרְמְלִים?

The aloofness of C. from the central range made its ridge but an uncertain appendage to the territory of Israel. According to Jos 19^{26} it was assigned to the tribe of Asher; but their tenure must have been intermittent. The kings of N. Israel seem to have held it as they held Gilead; but even in the time of Amos (9^{3}) 'the top of C.' is regarded as a hiding-place of fugitives from J″; and in later history it lay outside Samaria, and was sometimes allotted to Galilee, but frequently subject to Tyre (Jos. *BJ* III. iii. 1).

The causes, however, which disabled C. from political rank, contributed to enhance its fame as a sanctuary. 'In its separation from other hills, its position on the sea, its visibleness from all quarters of the country, its uselessness for war and traffic, in its profusion of flowers, its high platforms and groves, with their glorious prospects of land and sea, C. must have been a place of retreat and of worship from the earliest times.' Maspero thinks to identify it in the lists of Tahutmes III. under the name of 'headland of holiness' (see above); and even before Elijah's day there seem to have been upon it altars both to Baal and J″. For here, as on ground which both of them held to be sacred, the representatives of the two religions met to appeal to their respective deities, and decided the argument between them (1 K 18$^{17\text{ff.}}$). Tradition and the agreement of many modern explorers (see esp. Stanley, *Sin. and Pal.* 353 f.) place the scene at the E. end of the ridge, at a place called El-Mahraka, or 'the burning,' where Druses have a sanctuary and are said still to perform a yearly sacrifice; there is a good spring just below (cf. Jos. *Ant.* VIII. xiii. 5). It is interesting that immediately below, on the banks of Kishon, a great mound is known as the Tell el-Ḳasis or Mound of the Priests. But the derivation of the modern name of Kishon, the Nahr el-Muḳatta, as if it meant river of slaughter, is both improbable in itself and impossible to connect with the slaughter of the priests. When it is said that Elijah afterwards went up to the 'head of C.' it is possible that 'headland' is meant, in which case the tradition is correct that places the site of his waiting for rain near the monastery; but the word may also mean 'top,' any spot on the long summit of the ridge, which almost everywhere is in sight of the sea. A point near the E. end and the altar of J″ would better suit the context, and esp. the story of Elijah's subsequent race to Jezreel in front of Ahab's chariot. It is possible that the great prophet from Gilead chose as his subsequent residence the scene of the triumph of J″, and evidently C. is meant by 'the mountain' on which, according to the extraordinary story (2 K 1$^{9-15}$), he called down fire on the king of Israel's soldiers sent to arrest him for his interference with the ambassadors to Ekron. Elisha visited C. after the departure of Elijah (*ib.* 2^{25}); and when the Shunammite was in need of him, she went to seek and found him there (4^{25}).

Probably for reasons already stated, C. does not again appear in OT as the scene of any sacred function; but in heathen hands the sanctity of the hill was preserved. Tacitus describes it as the site of an oracle, without an image 'tantum ara et reverentia' (*Hist.* ii. 78); and Vespasian, having sacrificed here, is said to have received from the priests the prediction that he would be emperor (Suetonius, *Vespas.* 5). Jamblichus (*Vit. Pyth.* iii. (15)) describes C. as 'sacred above all mountains, and forbidden of access to the vulgar' (see W. R. Smith, *RS* 146). As we have seen, the probable site of Elijah's altar is still held sacred by the Druses. But it is Christianity which has chiefly perpetuated the ancient sanctity of C., and the mountain has given its name to the great order of Carmelite Friars, whose convent stands upon the promontory above the sea. Louis the Saint, of France, founded the convent; but its legends trace the order of its monks in unbroken succession from Elijah himself, by Elisha, the sons of the prophets, John the Baptist, and the Essenes! The church of the convent is dedicated to the Virgin Mary, whom the interpretation of the Rom. Church sees prefigured in the cloud for which Elijah sent his servant to look; and who, according to many legends, frequented the neighbourhood of the convent with the child Jesus.

LITERATURE.—Besides works quoted above, see Seetzen, *Reisen*, ii. 96 f.; Robinson, *BR* iii. 189; Conder, *Tent-Work*, i. 169 ff.; Laurence Oliphant, various papers in the *PEF Quarterly*, 1882–1886, and his *Life* by Mrs. Oliphant. G. A. SMITH.

CARMELITE, CARMELITESS (הַכַּרְמְלִי, הַכַּרְמְלִית).—An inhabitant of Carmel in Judah, which is to be distinguished from the well-known Carmel in the north; it lies in the small but fertile plateau between Hebron and the south desert. Nabal lived with his wife Abigail at Maon, a mile to the S., but his farms were at Carmel (1 S 25^{2}). Maon, Carmel, and Ziph are mentioned together, Jos 15^{55}; cf. G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geogr.* p. 306. Hezrai (or Hezro), one of David's 'thirty,' came from this district (2 S 23^{35}). J. F. STENNING.

CARMI (כַּרְמִי).—**1.** A Judahite, the father of Achan (Jos $7^{1.18}$, 1 Ch 2^{7}). **2.** The Carmi of 1 Ch 4^{1} should probably be corrected, with Well. and Kittel, to Chelubai (כְּלֻבַי), *i.e.* Caleb (cf. 1 Ch $2^{9.18}$). **3.** The eponym of a Reubenite family (Gn 46^{9}, Ex 6^{14}, 1 Ch 5^{3}), the **Carmites** of Nu 26^{6}. See GENEALOGY.

CARMONIANS (*Carmonii*, 2 Es 15^{30}, AV **Carmanians**).—A people occupying an extensive district north of the entrance to the Persian Gulf, between Persis on the west and Gedrosia on the east. Accounts of the country and of the people, who are said to have resembled the Medes and Persians in customs and language, are to be found in Strabo (xv. p. 726), Ptolemy (vi. 8), Am. Marcellinus (xxiii. 6), and other ancient writers. The name survives in the present town and district of *Kirman*. In the above verse, which is one of the late additions to the Second Book of Esdras, it is said that the Carmanians shall come forth like wild boars, shall join battle with the 'dragons of Arabia,' and lay waste a portion of the land of the Assyrians. The reference is probably to Sapor I. (A.D. 240-273), the founder of the Sassanid dynasty, who, after defeating Valerian, overran Syria, and destroyed Antioch. He was subsequently driven back across the Euphrates by Odænathus and Zenobia (cf. Lupton in *Speaker's Com. ad loc.*). The erroneous form Carmonians, which is supported by the best Latin MSS, is possibly due to confusion with Carmona, an important city in Spain (so James in *Texts and Studies*, III. ii. p. lxx). H. A. WHITE.

CARNAIM, Καρνέιν, 1 Mac 5^{26} (Καρνάιν) $^{43.44}$, and **Carnion** (τὸ Κάρνιον), 2 Mac $12^{21.26}$ (RVm **Carnain**).—The ancient Ashteroth-Karnaim (which see).

CARNAL, CARNALLY.—In OT of sexual intercourse, Lv 18^{20} 19^{20}, Nu 5^{13}. But in NT='of the flesh' (σαρκικός). In Ro 8^{7} 'the carnal mind,' Gr. is φρόνημα τῆς σαρκός, RV 'mind of the flesh'; so He 9^{10} 'carnal ordinances'; δικαιώματα σαρκός, 'ordinances of flesh.' See FLESH.

CARNION.—See CARNAIM.

CARPENTER (חָרָשׁ 'artificer,' *e.g.* 2 K 22^{6}; חָרַשׁ עֵץ 'artificer in wood,' *e.g.* 2 K 12^{11}; τέκτων, Mt 13^{55}, Mk 6^{3}).—The early use of timber structures and agricultural tools must have necessitated some form of carpentry among the Isr. in primitive times, and the close intercourse of the Hebrews with the Egyptians who have left mural representations of carpenters at work with a variety of tools, afforded an opportunity for the development of the art. Nevertheless, the Jews were backward in technical skill. In the first mention of carpenters in the Bible they are foreigners imported into Pal. for builders' work, which would seem to have been beyond the capacity of the Isr. themselves. Phœn. workmen were engaged on the building of David's house, Hiram of Tyre sending carpenters to work the timber which he also furnished (2 S 5^{11}). Similarly, the timber work as well as the masonry in Solomon's temple was executed by Phœn. artisans owing to the confessed inability of the Jews (1 K 5^{6}), the Jewish workmen only assisting as labourers (1 K 5^{15}). When, however, carpenters appear at the restoration of the temple by Jehoash, there is no mention of these men being foreigners (2 K 12^{11}). Those who repaired the temple under Josiah also seem to have been Jews (2 K 22^{6}). Nebuchadrezzar carried the carpenters and smiths together with Jeconiah and the princes into captivity (Jer 24^{1} 29^{2}, where, indeed, we only read חָרָשׁ, not חָרַשׁ עֵץ; but then the mention of 'smiths' suggests that the 'artificers' were workers in wood). In Is 44^{13} there is a picture of a carpenter with his tools carving a wooden idol; but this refers to a Bab. artist. At the rebuilding of the temple under Zerub. the carpenters appear to have been Phœnicians (Ezr 3^{7}). Zechariah's 'carpenters' may have been any kind of artisans. According to the first Gospel, Joseph was a carpenter (Mt 13^{55}); according to the second, Jesus Himself (Mk 6^{3}). Justin Martyr (*c.* A.D. 150) states that 'He was in the habit of working as a carpenter when among men, making ploughs and yokes' (*Trypho*, 88). This more definite statement is not attributed to the *Memoirs of the Apostles*, and seems to have been derived from tradition. See Delitzsch, *Jewish Artisan Life*. W. F. ADENEY.

CARPUS.—An inhabitant of Troas, with whom St. Paul stayed, probably on his last journey to Rome (2 Ti 4^{13}). The name is Greek, but we have no means of proving his nationality. His memory is honoured, as one of the seventy disciples, by the Greek Church on May 26, and by the Roman and Syrian Churches on October 13. A late tradition found in the list of the seventy disciples, attributed to Hippolytus, and in that by Dorotheus, describes him as having become bishop of Berytus or Berœa, in Thrace. (*Acta Sanctorum*, May 26, Oct. 13; *Monologion*, May 26; Nilles, *Kalendarium Manuale*, i. pp. 165, 461.) W. LOCK.

CARRIAGE.—In the AV this word occurs five times in the OT, once in the NT, and four times in the Apocrypha, but never in the sense which the word bears in modern English. It denotes regularly 'something carried,' or, as we should say, 'baggage.' The passages are arranged below according to the various Heb. or Gr. words rendered by *carriage*.

(1) 1 S $17^{22\,bis}$, Is 10^{28} כְּלִי, LXX σκευή—a word of very wide signification, and corresponding roughly to the English 'things.' In the first place in Samuel the ref. is to the present brought by David to his brothers in Saul's army, in the second and in Isaiah to the baggage of an army. RV 'And David left his baggage in the hand of the keeper of the baggage.' 'At Michmash he layeth up his baggage.'

(2) Is 46^{1} נְשֻׂאֹתֵיכֶם=*your carried things*, of the Babylonian idols, which the priests were accustomed to carry about in solemn procession. RV 'The things that ye carried about.'

(3) Jg 18^{21} הַכְּבוּדָּה, LXX τὸ βάρος, but A (τὴν κτῆσιν αὐτοῦ) τὴν ἔνδοξον=*the heavy*, or perhaps *the precious goods*, referring to the baggage of the Danites, or more probably to the images which had been stolen out of Micah's house. RV 'the goods.'

(4) Ac 21^{15} '*We took up our carriages*' is the translation of ἐπισκευασάμενοι. The Greek word expresses the completion of the preparations necessary for the journey from Cæsarea to Jerusalem; but others understand the term of the loading of the baggage animals. RV 'We took up our baggage,' RVm 'made ready.'

In the Apocrypha, carriage, *i.e.* baggage, represents ἀπαρτία (Jth 2^{17} 3^{10}) and ἀποσκευή (1 Mac $9^{35.\,39}$).

In the *margin* of the AV the phrases, 'the place of the carriage,' and 'in the midst of his carriages,' occur as alternative renderings to the word 'trench' found in the text of 1 S 17^{20} 26^{5}. The Heb. expression is מַעְגָּל (LXX 17^{20} στρογγύλωσις; 26^{5} λαμπήνη), and denotes the circular 'laager' or barricade formed by the baggage and baggage-wagons round the place of encampment. RV 'the place of the wagons.' RVm 'barricade.' Even here 'carriage' is probably not to be understood in the modern sense of 'a vehicle.' See CAMP. H. A. WHITE.

CARSHENA (כַּרְשְׁנָא).—One of the wise men or counsellors of king Ahasuerus, Est 1^{14}. See ADMATHA.

CART (עֲגָלָה, ἅμαξα, *plaustrum*—in the AV the same word is also rendered WAGON in Gn $45^{19.\,21.\,27}$ 46^{5}, Nu $7^{3\text{ff.}}$).—Such vehicles, drawn usually by two oxen (Nu $7^{3.\,7.\,8}$, 1 S $6^{7.\,10}$, cf. 2 S 6^{3}), were used for the conveyance of persons (Gn *l.c.*), goods (Nu *l.c.*, 1 and 2 S *ll.c.*, and Jth 15^{11}), or produce (Am 2^{13}). Artificial roads seem to have existed in Palestine from a very early period (Nu 20^{19}, Jg 20^{31}, 1 S 6^{12}); and the Canaanites conquered by Joshua at the Waters of Merom possessed war chariots (Jos 11^{6}, cf. $17^{16.\,18}$). Nevertheless, the rough mountainous country of Judah and of central Pal. was not suitable for vehicles, and it is to be noticed that we first hear of wagons in connexion with the flat country of Egypt, or the level plain of Philistia. Carts for agricultural produce may well have been used from the earliest times (Am 2^{13}, cf. Is 5^{18}), and for these roads would not be required (see G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* p. 667 ff.). The wagons mentioned in Nu 7^{3} were probably covered vehicles (LXX λαμπηνικαί, Aq. σκεπασταί); but the word צָב is obscure, occurring again only in Is 66^{20} in the sense of 'litters.' The ordinary carts probably resembled those still in use in the East, which have two wheels of solid wood; but on monuments from Nineveh and Egypt we find representations of vehicles with two and four wheels, the wheels being constructed with six or eight spokes (Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 396; Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyp.* ii. 211, iii. 179).

In Is $28^{27\text{f.}}$ (perhaps also in Am 2^{13}) the 'cart' of EV is really a threshing wagon. Similar instruments are still to be seen in the East. They consist of three or four parallel rollers, ridged with iron, and fitted into a square wooden frame (see AGRICULTURE). Horses are employed to draw these threshing wagons in Syria at the present day (comp. G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* p. 613), and they were used for this purpose even in Isaiah's time, if the ordinary text of Is 28^{28} is correct (see Duhm, *ad loc.*). H. A. WHITE.

CARVING.—**1.** Carved (RV graven) image (פֶּסֶל), the figure of deities and such-like sculptures used in idolatrous worship (Jg 18^{18}, 2 Ch $33^{7.\,22}$, $34^{3.\,4}$). *Ṭeref peṣel*, idolatrous food, is a Jewish name for NT. **2.** Carving in relief-work (פִּתּוּחֵי מִקְלַעוֹת), as in the ornamental panelling in the holy place of the temple (1 K 6^{29}, Ps 74^{6}), the two words in the former passage indicating the raised effect (פָּתַח) and the hollowing of the gouge (קָלַע). **3.** 'Carved works,' RV 'striped' (חֲטֻבוֹת), spoken of a bed-cover (Pr 7^{16}).*

Decorative art among the Hebrews was meagre and unoriginal, and generally debased what it imitated (see ART, ARCHITECTURE). It had little to encourage it, as its chief employment was in the service of religion, and the true religion was the worship of the Invisible. The Heb. mind differed from the Greek in obeying an ordinance because it was an ordinance, rather than because of the compulsion of its inward beauty. In the building of Solomon's temple the best art available was employed upon the richest materials, but the details are more about outlay than effect, and the point of view in the description is sacrifice rather than symmetry. The result of the finished glory is left to be imagined. Finally, the second commandment was interpreted as a specific prohibition. In the same way the Moslems abstain from the representation of life in ornament, and have developed the decorative treatment of geometrical form. G. M. MACKIE.

CASE (*casus*, anything that *befalls* one, hence any condition of one's affairs): Ps 144^{15} 'Happy is the people that is in such a case' (כָּכָה; cf. Ac 25^{14} RV); Jn 5^{6} 'he had been now a long time in that case'; 2 Es 16^{21} 'they shall think themselves to be in good case' (cf. Geneva Bible, Gn 40^{14} 'When thou art in good case, show mercie unto me,' AV 'When it shall be well with thee'); Ex 5^{19} 'they were in evil case,' cf. Jon 4^{6} RV; Dt 19^{4} 'this is the case of the slayer' (דָּבָר); and Mt 19^{10} 'if the case of the man be so with his wife' (αἰτία). The phrase 'in any case' occurs in the obs. sense 'by any means' in Dt 22^{1} 'thou shalt in any case bring them again' ('bringing thou shalt bring,' RV 'thou shalt surely bring'); and 24^{13}. In Mt 5^{20} 'Ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven,' the Gr. is the two negatives (οὐ μή), which, in the declining lang. of NT, are not always more emphatic than the single negative, but they seem to be so here (RV 'in no wise'). In Ro 3^{9} RV gives 'are we in worse case than they?' for AV 'are we better than they?' (Gr. προεχόμεθα. See Field, *Otium Norv.* iii. *ad loc.*, and an excellent note in Sanday-Headlam's *Romans*).

J. HASTINGS.

CASEMENT.—See HOUSE.

CASIPHIA (כָּסִפְיָא, or, in full, כָּסִפְיָא הַמָּקוֹם 'the place Casiphia').—Judging from the two references to this city in Ezr 8^{17}, it was situated on or near the river Ahava, on the way from Babylon to Jerusalem; but neither of these names is to be located with certainty. If C. be connected with the word *keseph*, 'silver,' as is implied by the LXX tr. (ἐν ἀργυρίῳ τοῦ τόπου), 'with the money of the place,' it may have been situated in the 'land of silver' (Šaršu or Ziršu) mentioned in the well-known Assyr. Geogr. tablet *WAI* ii. 51; but as the position of this place also is unknown, it does not help us to identify the site of Casiphia. The city seems to have been the home of the Nethinim or 'temple-servants' during the reign of Artaxerxes. I. A. PINCHES.

CASLUHIM (כַּסְלֻחִים, Χασμωνιείμ).—A name occurring in Gn 10^{14}, 1 Ch 1^{12}, in connexion with the names of other peoples there spoken of as descended from Mizraim, esp. the Caphtorim and Philistines (which see).

---

* The cogn. Arab. *ḥatba* means 'to be of a dark, dusky colour'; hence the reference may be to some dark-hued, or perhaps darkly-striped, stuff. (Cf. Aram. ptcp. *mĕḥaṭbĕthâ*, 'variegated,' in Syr. VS of 2 S 13^{19}, and see *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* *s.* חטב.)

CASPHOR (Κασφώρ, 1 Mac 5^{26}; Χασφών, Χασφώθ, 1 Mac 5^{36}, AV **Casphon**; Κασπεὶν, 2 Mac 12^{13}, **Caspin**).—Near a large lake in Gilead. The site is unknown.

CASSIA.—This word occurs in three places in OT, and is AV and RV rendering for two Heb. words. 1. קִדָּה, *ḳiddah*, LXX Ex 30^{24} ἶρις, but Ezk 27^{19} omits. 2. קְצִיעוֹת *kĕẓî'ôth*, κασία, *casia*, Ps 45^{8}. It is highly probable that the reference in both these Heb. words is to the *cassia lignea*, the product of *Cinnamomum Cassia*, Blume. Two substances are believed to be obtained from this species. (*a*) Cassia bark, *cortex cassiæ*, a kind of aromatic bark, with the smell and flavour of cinnamon, and resembling it in general appearance and properties. The root *ḳiddah*, in both Heb. and Arab., signifies *a strip*, and seems to refer to the strips of the bark of *cassia lignea*. The Arab. VS has *salîkhah* for cassia, from a root also meaning to *strip off* or *decorticate*. The exact substance meant by *salîkhah* is as uncertain as that intended by *cassia*. It is also called *'arfaj* and *ramth*, and is probably the same as *darṣînî*. (*b*) Cassia buds, *clavelli cinnamomi*, the immature flowers of the above. Both are produced in China. Coarser varieties are produced in Malabar, Manilla, and Mauritius. It is probable that they were known to the Greeks and Romans, although the accounts of cassia given in the classical authors are indefinite and conflicting. The cassia of Scripture must not be confounded with the species of the genus *cassia* which yield the *senna* of commerce and medicine. Nor is it at all probable, notwithstanding the LXX ἶρις, that it is *orris*.

G. E. Post.

CAST as a subst. occurs Lk 22^{41} 'a stone's c.' (βολή); as an adj. Jer $38^{11.\,12}$ 'old c. clouts' (סְחָבוֹת [all]). The verb is freq., and is used in some obsol. meanings. 1. In its simplest sense = 'throw,' it is now archaic, having been displaced by 'throw' itself, but is often found in AV, as Jn 8^{7} 'let him first c. a stone at her'; 1 Mac 6^{51} 'engines and instruments to c. fire and stones, and pieces to c. darts, and slings'—in such a case the verb has gone out of use with the instrument. 2. The expression **cast lots** translates several Heb. words (see Lot); the practice is seen in Pr 16^{33} 'The lot is c. into the lap.' 3. To 'c. (= sow) seed' is now mainly fig. Cf. Ec 11^{1} 'c. thy bread upon the waters.' 4. C. was formerly used of animals, meaning to give birth to, as Walton, *Angler* (1653), i. 26, 'There be divers fishes that cast their spawne on flags and stones.' But it was specially used of an untimely birth, as Job 21^{10} 'their cow calveth, and casteth not her calf,' and extended to fruit-trees, as Dt 28^{40} 'thine olive shall c. his fruit'; Rev 6^{13} 'as a fig-tree casteth her untimely figs, when she is shaken by a mighty wind.' 5. C. was extended to actions that involved some continuous effort, as Zec 5^{8} 'he c. it (RV 'her') down into the midst of the ephah; and he c. the weight of lead upon the mouth thereof'; the erection of a pillar, Gn 31^{51} 'Behold this heap and this pillar which I have c. betwixt me and thee' (RV 'set'); and esp. an earthwork, as 2 S 20^{15} 'they c. up a bank against the city'; Jer 6^{6} 'Hew ye down trees, and c. a mount against Jerusalem.'

The foll. phrases deserve attention: **Cast about** is used in two senses, Mk 14^{51} 'having a linen cloth c. about his naked body' (περιβάλλω); Jer 41^{14} 'So all the people . . . cast about and returned' (יָסֹבּוּ 'turned round'). Cf. Raleigh (1591), *Last Fight Rev.* 19 'Persuaded . . . to cut his maine saile, and cast about.' **Cast away** is both lit. and fig., as Mk 10^{50} 'And he, casting away his garment, rose' (ἀποβάλλω); Ro 11^{1} 'Hath God c. away his people?' (ἀπωθέω, RV 'cast off'); 11^{15} 'if the casting away of them be the reconciling of the world' (ἀποβολή); Lk 9^{25} 'if he . . . lose himself, or be c. away' (ζημιόω, RV 'forfeit his own self'). Different is 1 Co 9^{27} 'lest . . . I myself should be a castaway' (ἀδόκιμος, RV 'rejected.' The Gr. word occurs also Ro 1^{28}, 2 Co $13^{5.\,6.\,7}$, 2 Ti 3^{8}, Tit 1^{16}, where EV gives always 'reprobate,' and He 6^{8} AV, RV 'rejected.' See Sanday-Headlam on Ro 1^{28}: δοκιμάζω = 1. 'to test,' as 1 Co 3^{13}; 2. 'to approve after testing,' as Ro 1^{28} 2^{18}; hence ἀδόκιμος = 'rejected after testing,' 'reprobate'). **Cast down**—(1) lit. Mt 27^{5} 'he c. down the pieces of silver'; Sir 19^{27} 'Casting down his countenance, and making as if he heard them not' (RV 'bowing down his face'); (2) fig. 'to defeat,' 'to humble,' 2 Co 10^{5} 'Casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth itself'; Rev 12^{10} 'the accuser of our brethren is c. down'; 2 Co 4^{9} 'c. down, but not destroyed' (καταβάλλω, as Rev 12^{10} RV 'smitten down'); Job 6^{21} 'ye see my casting down, and are afraid' (חֲתַת RV 'a terror'); Neh 6^{16} 'they were much c. down in their own eyes'; (3) 'c. down' = 'dejected,' is rare, only Ps $42^{5.\,6.\,11}$ 43^{5} 'Why art thou c. down, O my soul?' (תִּשְׁתּוֹחֲחִי 'bowed down'). **Cast forth** is used in the obsol. and very rare sense of spreading roots, Hos 14^{5} 'he shall grow as the lily, and c. forth his roots as Lebanon' (הִכָּה 'strike'). **Cast in**—(1) = 'sow,' Is 28^{25} 'c. in the principal wheat' (RV 'put in the wheat in rows'); (2) in phrase 'c. in one's lot,' Pr 1^{14} 'C. in thy lot among us' (Heb. lit. 'cause thy lot to fall among us'); (3) 'cast in one's teeth,' Mt 27^{44} 'The thieves also, which were crucified with him, c. the same in his teeth' (Gr. ὠνείδιζον αὐτῷ [edd. αὐτόν] = 'reviled him,' RV 'c. upon him the same reproach.' It was Tindale that introduced 'cast in His tethe,' to which Cranmer added 'the same'; Wyclif has 'upbraiden Hym of the same thing'); (4) 'c. in one's mind' = 'ponder,' Lk 1^{29} 'she . . . cast in her mind what manner of salutation this should be' (διαλογίζομαι): cf. 2 Mac 11^{13} 'casting with himself what loss he had had'; and Addison (1719), 'I have lately been casting in my thoughts the several unhappinesses of life.' **Cast out**, in many obvious senses, also (1) = vomit, Is 26^{19} 'the earth shall c. out the dead' (RV 'c. forth'); cf. Hollybush (1561), 'He that hath a drye cough and doth not caste out'; and Wyclif's tr. of 2 P 2^{22} 'The hound turnede agen to his castyng'; (2) 'to excommunicate' or make an outcast, Jn 9^{35} 'Jesus heard that they had c. him out'; (3) 'to expose' children, Ac 7^{19} 'they c. out their young children' (ποιεῖν ἔκθετον). **Cast upon**: 'to make dependent on,' Ps 22^{10} 'I was c. upon thee from the womb.'

J. Hastings.

CASTANET.—See Music.

CASTLE.—1. The word, טִירָה, rendered *castle* in the AV of Gn 25^{16}, Nu 31^{10}, 1 Ch 6^{54}, denotes properly a circular group of tents, the encampment of a nomad tribe—RV 'encampment'; LXX ἔπαυλις; 1 Ch κώμη; Vulg. *oppidum*, *castellum*, *caula*, etc. In English translations of the Bible till the 16th cent., 'castle,' like the Latin *castellum*, is often used in the sense of 'village'; but the rendering of the AV seems to be due to the influence of Jewish tradition. Thus in the Targs. טִירָה is rendered by כְּרַכָּא, *i.e.* a large town, *Onk.* in Gn 25^{16}; קַסְטְרָא = *castra*, *T. Jer. ib.*; בִּירָנְתָּא, *i.e.* a fortress, *T. Jer.* in Ezk 25^{4}. Similarly, the word is rendered incorrectly 'palace,' Ps 69^{25} AVm; Ca 8^{9} AV.

2. It seems to have been the custom, from an early date, among the inhabitants of Pal., to erect in their towns a fortified tower or citadel, *e.g.* the

'tower' (מִגְדָּל) of Penuel (Jg 8$^{9.17}$), or of Thebez (*ib.* 9$^{51f.}$); the 'hold' (צְרִיחַ) and tower of Shechem (*ib.* 9$^{46ff.}$); the 'stronghold' of Zion at Jerusalem (2 S 5$^{7.9}$ = 1 Ch 11$^{5.7}$, AV 'castle'). Citadels of a similar character were built in connexion with the royal palaces at Tirzah (1 K 16^{18}) and at Samaria (2 K 15^{25}); but the word here used, אַרְמוֹן, which does not appear before the royal period, is applied not only to a castle or fortress (Pr 18^{19}, cf. Ps 48^{13}, La 2^{5}), but generally to palaces or prominent buildings (cf. Hos 8^{14}, Am 3$^{9ff.}$, Jer 9^{21} 30^{18} etc.). Many of the kings of Judah devoted their attention to strengthening their dominions by fortifying cities in strong positions, and building towers and castles to protect outlying districts (2 Ch 17^{12} 27^{4}, cf. 1 Ch 27^{25}; on the word בִּירָנִיּוֹת, see below). Such measures are ascribed especially to Jehoshaphat and Jotham.

In the time of Nehemiah we hear of a castle or citadel in Jerusalem, which is apparently connected with the temple (Neh 2^{8} 7^{2}). The term בִּירָה, which is found only in late Hebrew, is applied to the Temple of Solomon (1 Ch 29$^{1.19}$), and to the Persian royal castle or palace at Susa (Neh 1^{1}, Dn 8^{2}, Est *passim*): it is probably of Persian origin (*baru*=fortress, castle), and a derivative from it, בִּירָנִיּוֹת, also occurs (2 Ch 17^{12} 27^{4}). The citadel of Nehemiah stood probably on the site afterwards occupied by the castle of the Hasmonæan high priests and kings, to which Josephus gives the name of *βᾶρις* (*Ant.* XV. xi. 4, XVIII. iv. 3; *Wars*, I. xxi. 1). When the temple was rebuilt, Herod also rebuilt and strengthened this fortress, calling it Antonia after his patron M. Antonius. It stood on the north side of the temple, with which it was connected by means of cloisters and stairs (*καταβάσεις*, Jos. *Wars*, V. v. 8; *ἀναβαθμοί*, Ac 21^{35}). Under Roman rule, the one cohort, which formed the permanent garrison at Jerusalem, was stationed in this fortress, for its position enabled the officer in command to keep watch over the temple and its courts. From the fort of Antonia the commandant (*χιλίαρχος*) with his soldiers appeared on the occasion of the riot raised against St. Paul (Ac 21$^{31-36}$), while in the barracks attached to the fort (*παρεμβολή*, *lit.* camp, AV castle) the apostle was confined till he was sent under escort to Cæsarea (Ac 21^{37} 22^{24} 23^{10}). The destruction of the communications between Antonia and the temple was one of the first acts of the Jews on the outbreak of the rebellion in A.D. 66 (Jos. *Wars*, II. xv. 6).

In Maccabæan times we hear of another citadel in Jerusalem, in the city of David, which, both in 1 and 2 Mac and in Josephus, bears the name of Ἄκρα, also Ἀκρόπολις (2 Mac 4$^{12.27}$ 5^{5}). Though not originally built by Antiochus Epiphanes (see 2 Mac *ll.c.*), it was newly fortified by him, and occupied by a Syrian garrison (1 Mac 1$^{33-36}$, Jos. *Ant.* XII. v. 4). The Jews, under the leadership of the Maccabees, made several ineffectual attempts to expel the Syrians (1 Mac 6$^{19-32}$ 10$^{6-9}$ 11$^{20ff.}$); but it was not till B.C. 142 that Simon forced the garrison to capitulate, and entered the citadel in triumph (1 Mac 13$^{49-52}$). According to 1 Mac 14$^{36f.}$, Simon strengthened and garrisoned the fort; but Josephus (*Ant.* XIII. vi. 7; *Wars*, V. iv. 1) relates that the fort was destroyed, and the hill on which it stood levelled after three years' continuous labour, in order that it might no longer overlook the temple. The site of Acra is much disputed; but the question whether it stood north (so most writers) or south of the temple (Schürer, *HJP* I. i. 207 f.; Benzinger, *Heb. Archäol.* p. 47), cannot be discussed here. H. A. WHITE.

CASTOR AND POLLUX.—See DIOSCURI.

CAT.—It seems strange that an animal so well known, and so long associated with man in Egypt, should not have been domesticated among the Greeks and Romans, or mentioned in the canonical books of Scripture. The word *αἴλουροι* is used once in the Apocr. (Ep. Jer v.^{22} [Gr.^{21}]). Herodotus (ii. 66) uses the word for the domestic cat. This animal is now more common by far in Bible lands than in the West, yet Tristram and Houghton declare that no trace of its name is found in classical authors, except in connexion with Egypt. There are two species of wild cat in the Holy Land. *Felis maniculata*, Rüpp., the *Abyssinian wild cat*, which is supposed to be the wild original of the domestic cat, and is called by the Arabs *ḳuṭṭ el-khalâ*, is rare west of the Jordan, but common to the eastward. The body is 2 ft. long, and the tail 11 in. *Felis chaus*, Güld., the *jungle cat*, is known in Arab. as *el-ḳuṭṭ el-barri*. It is about as large as the domestic cat, and resembles a lynx.

G. E. POST.

CATERPILLAR.—See LOCUST.

CATHOLIC EPISTLES (*ἐπιστολαὶ καθολικαί*).—The title given to a group of seven Epistles of the NT, which bear the names of James, Peter, John, and Jude. From an early period in the history of the Church these Epistles were dealt with as a class by themselves. There were reasons for this, lying in their contents and in their generally accepted authorship. They form a distinct and interesting section of the NT literature. They have some obvious points of affinity with each other. There are resemblances, *e.g.*, between 1 P and Ja; while Jude and 2 P have much matter in common. These seven Epistles have some remarkable coincidences both with other books of the NT and with non-canonical writings of ancient date. There are unmistakable similarities in thought and style, with certain marked differences, between the Johannine Epistles and the other writings ascribed to St. John. There are resemblances between 1 P and the Pauline Epistles, especially those to the Romans and the Ephesians. Jude quotes the pseudepigraphic *Book of Enoch*, and refers, as it seems, to the *Assumption of Moses*; while in James we have reminiscences of *Ben Sirach.*

These seven Epistles are not all of one piece. There are notable differences in style and contents between the several members of the group. While they are all letters, they differ considerably in epistolary form. Some of them (2 and 3 Jn) are simple, personal letters. One of them (James) is rather of the nature of a sententious *Wisdom* writing, like parts of the *Ḥokhma* literature of the OT and Judaism. Others, especially 1 Jn, have the appearance of Pastorals or Epistolary Manifestoes (Westcott's *The Epistles of St. John*, pp. xxix, xxx; Moulton's *The Literary Study of the Bible*, pp. 292, 442). As a class, however, they have a character which readily distinguishes them from the Epistles which bear Paul's name, and from the Epistle to the Hebrews. They make a contribution of essential value to the body of NT teaching. They have their own ideas, their own forms of expression, their own aspects of the truth taught in common by the first Christian writers. They have had different degrees of acceptance in different parts of the Church and in different ages. They have been, and continue to be, the subject of much debate with regard to their origin, date, authorship, and claims. For these questions see the articles on the several Epistles.

These seven Epistles are not given in the same order in ancient MSS, versions, and catalogues. Jerome notices a difference in this respect between the Greek and the Latin codices (*Prolog. 7. Epist. Canon.*). The order in which they stand in our English Bible (Ja, 1 and 2 P, 1, 2, 3 Jn, Jude) is the order in which they occur in most ancient documents. It is the order that is followed in Codex B, in the Canon of the

Synod of Laodicea (*c.* A.D. 363), in the lists of Athanasius, Cyril of Jerus., Epiphanius, Gregory Naz., Leontius, Jerome, Nicephorus, Amphilochius, the 'Sixty Books,' Isidore, and John of Damascus (see Westcott's *Canon of NT*, pp. 540–579). Eusebius also (*HE* ii. 23) speaks of James as reported to have written 'the first of the Catholic Epistles.' But in the Canon of the third Council of Carthage (A.D. 397), in the Apostolic Canons, and in the Claromontane Stichometry (*Sæc.* vii.), they are given as 1 and 2 P, 1, 2, and 3 Jn, Ja, and Jude. Augustine (*De Doctr. Christ.* ii. 12) enumerates them as two of Peter, three of John, one of Jude, and one of James; which succession is followed also by Philastrius. Rufinus, again (*Comm. in Symb. Apost.* § 36), names them in the order of 1 and 2 P, Ja, Jude, 1, 2, and 3 Jn; Innocentius (*ad Exsuperium Ep. Tolosanum*) in that of 1, 2, 3 Jn, 1 and 2 P, Jude, Ja; Gelasius (*Decretum de lib. recep. et non recep.*) in that of 1 and 2 P, Ja, 1, 2, 3 Jn, Jude; while Junilius Africanus, noticing a difference in respect of extent of recognition between the first two and the five which follow, gives them in the succession of 1 P, 1 Jn, Ja, 2 P, Jude, 2 and 3 Jn. Neither have they the same *place* in the series of the NT books as given in ancient MSS, versions, and catalogues. In most they come between the Acts and the Pauline Epistles. This is the case with the Canon of the Council of Laodicea, Codices B and A, the lists of Cyril of Jerusalem, Athanasius, Leontius, the 'Sixty Books,' Cassiodorus, John of Damascus, etc. This is the position assigned them in the critical editions of Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort. But in the Canon of the third Council of Carthage, in Rufinus, in Amphilochius, and in Codex ℵ, they are inserted between the Pauline Epp. (with He) and the Apoc.; and this is the place given them by Griesbach in his critical edition. The same arrangement is so far followed also in the lists of Gregory Naz., Nicephorus, Philastrius, and Junilius Africanus, where they come after the Pauline Epp.; and in that of Epiphanius, where they precede the Apocalypse. In the Apostolic Canons they are placed between the 14 Epp. of Paul and the 2 Epp. of Clement; in Augustine, Innocentius, and Isidore, between the Pauline Epp. and Acts; in Jerome, between the Acts and the Apoc.; in the Claromontane Stichometry, after the Pauline Epp. and before the Ep. of Barnabas (supposed to mean here the Epistle to the Hebrews), the Rev. of Jn, and the Acts. In Gelasius they appear after the Apoc. and last in the list of our NT books; in the *Synopsis* of Chrysostom, after the Acts and last in the list. While in our English Bible they come between He and Rev, in the German Bible they are dealt with in a singular fashion. Instead of being brought into one series there, five of them (those ascribed to Peter and John) are introduced between Philem and He, and two of them (Ja and Jude) are placed between Hebrews and the Apocalypse.

Nor, again, has the group of Cath. Epp. been of the same compass at all times or in all parts of the Church. The first of the seven to be generally received seem to have been 1 P and 1 Jn. The other five were accepted later, and at different times, Ja apparently at a comparatively early period. Chrysostom's *Synopsis* mentions only three. Junilius Africanus places 1 P and 1 Jn by themselves, and explains that very many add (*adjungunt quamplurimi*) the remaining five. Amphilochius (*Iamb. ad Seleucum*) notices that some say seven Cath. Epp. are to be received, others only three, viz. one of James, one of Peter, one of John. Cassiodorus (*De Instit. div. lib.* xiv.) mentions only the *Epistolæ Petri ad Gentes* (if the reading is correct), *Jacobi, Johannis ad Parthos*. But it may be said that, in the Eastern Church at least, by the end of the 3rd or the beginning of the 4th cent. the group included the whole seven. In Eusebius (*HE* ii. 23) they appear as seven, and the terms used of them imply that they had a recognised place, though not all quite the same place, in the Church. The Syrian Church, on the other hand, occupied a peculiar position in relation to these Epp. In that Church the group consisted only of three, 1 P, 1 Jn, and Ja. The remaining four formed no part of its Canon.

The history of the term '**Catholic**' is of interest. It is a term used frequently by the Fathers; and while it is employed by them of writings outside the NT Canon, it seems never to be applied by them to any of the NT books but these seven—neither to any of the Pauline Epp. nor to the Ep. to the Hebrews. For its application to these seven we are indebted to the Church of the East. It was not limited to these, however, in the usage of the great theologians of the East. Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iv. 15), *e.g.*, employed it of the letter of the Church of Jerus. given in Ac 15. It was applied by Origen (*Contra Celsum*, i. 63) to the Ep. of Barnabas. It was even used to describe a heretical composition. For Eusebius (*HE* iv. 23) speaks of an Ep. written by Themison, who appears to have been a disciple of Montanus, as a 'certain Catholic Epistle.' But it was applied to certain members of our group at an early period. Origen (*Selecta in Psalm.*, *in Ps.* iii. c. 3, 7; *Comm. in Joann.* vi. c. 18) speaks of things said by Peter 'in the Catholic Epistle'; of 'the Catholic Epistle of John' (*Comm. in Matt.* xvii. c. 19); and of the statement regarding the angels which 'Jude the apostle' makes 'in the Catholic Epistle' (*Comm. in Ep. ad Rom.* B. v. t. iv., in the Latin tr.). Dionysius, in like manner, speaks of 'the son of Zebedee, the brother of James,' and 'the Catholic Epistle which bears his name' (Euseb. *HE* vii. 25). And by the 4th cent. it had come to be a designation of the group of seven. Eusebius, who reports (*HE* vi. 14) Clement of Alexandria to have included 'Jude and the other Catholic Epistles' in the accounts of the canonical writings which he gave in his *Hypotyposes*, speaks himself of 'James, who is said to have written the first of the Catholic Epistles,' and of the Ep. of Jude as one which 'not many indeed of the ancients have mentioned,' but which 'is also one of the seven called Catholic Epistles' (*HE* ii. 23). So the Canon of Athanasius names the *ἐπιστολαὶ καθολικαὶ καλούμεναι τῶν ἀποστόλων ἑπτά*; the Canon of the Laodicene Council enumerates *ἐπιστολαὶ καθολικαὶ ἑπτά*; and the Canons of Cyril of Jerusalem and Epiphanius speak of them in terms indicating that they were seven in number, bearing the common title of *Catholic*.

In the Western Church these Epp. seem to have been later in receiving a general designation, and the title by which they came to be designated was a different one. The term *Catholic* is indeed applied to them. Jerome (*De vir. ill.* c. 1), *e.g.*, says of Simon Peter that he wrote two Epistles *quæ catholicæ nominantur*; of James (*ib.* c. 2), that he wrote *unam tantum . . . epistolam, quæ de septem catholicis est*; and of 'Jude the brother of James' (*ib.* c. 4), that he left a 'small Epistle' *quæ de catholicis est.* But elsewhere (*Prolog. 7. Epist. Canon.*) he writes of the *epistolarum septem, quæ canonicæ nuncupantur.* And this term *canonicæ* seems practically to have taken the place of *Catholicæ* in the Latin Church as the common designation of the seven. At what time, however, this came to be the case, is not quite certain. Junilius Africanus (*c.* A.D. 550) employs it. He speaks of 1 P and 1 Jn as forming part of the seventeen *libri canonici* which make the *species* (*Scripturæ*), dealing *de simplici doctrina* as distinguished from *history*, *prophecy*, and the *species proverbialis.* To this he adds the statement—adjungunt quamplurimi quinque alias quæ Apostolorum *Canonicæ* nuncupantur; id est; Jacobi I., Petri secundam, Judæ unam, Johannis II. (*De part. divin. legis.* i. 2). Cassiodorus, too, employs it in the following statement about Clement—in epistolis autem canonicis Clemens Alexandrinus presbyter, qui et Stromateus dicitur, id est in Epistola S. Petri prima et secunda, et Jacobi quædam Attico sermone declaravit (*De inst. div. litt.* c. 8). Hence it is thought that by the 6th cent. this term *Canonicæ* was the accepted designation of the group in the Western Church. Yet Cassiodorus uses the term also of the Apostolic Epistles as a whole. And how it happened that this title took the place of *Catholicæ* in one half of the Christian communion, is difficult to explain. It is supposed by some to have been due to mere mistake. 'By a singular error,' it is said, 'the group of letters was called in the later Western Church 'canonical' (*canonicæ*) in place of 'catholic' (Westcott, *The Epistles of St. John*, p. xxix). Others, *e.g.*, Bleek, think that it 'originated in the belief that by *Catholic* as applied to these Epistles in the Greek Church was meant *universally recognised and received by the Church*, without reference to any distinction between them and the Pauline Epistles' (*Introd. to NT*, ii. p. 135, Clark's tr.). Other explanations, some of them of a fanciful kind, have been proposed; as, *e.g.*, by Lücke in *SK*, 1836, iii. pp. 643–659.

There is much that is still far from clear as regards the origin and use of the terms *Catholic* and *Canonical* in this connexion. Different views have been taken of the precise meaning and intention of the title *Catholic*. Some fanciful speculations have also been indulged in. It has been supposed by some (Pareus, *Prolog. in Jac.*) that the name *καθολικαί* as applied to these Epp. was accidental, no definite purpose being attached to it. It has been supposed by others to be intended to express their doctrinal harmony; Augusti, *e.g.*, taking it to designate them as 'in der Lehre übereinstimmende Schriften.' The main explanations proposed, however, are these.

1. That the term refers to the *authorship* of these writings and their position as a *distinct group*. This is the view of Hug, who regards the word as a 'technical expression for one class of biblical writings which possesses it exclusively and communicates it to no other; namely, for that class which comprised in itself the didactical compositions of the apostles collectively, with the exception of Paul, *καθολικός, i.e. καθόλου καὶ συλλήβδην*. When the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles constituted one peculiar division, the works of Paul also another, there still remained writings of different authors which might likewise form a collection by themselves, to which a name must be given. It might most aptly be called *the common collection*, *καθολικὸν σύνταγμα*, of the apostles, and the treatises contained in it, *κοιναί* and *καθολικαί*, which are commonly used by the Greeks as synonymous.' He appeals in support of this to Clement of Alexandria, who, he says, 'calls the Epistle, which was dictated by the assembly of the apostles (Ac 15^{23}), the *Catholic Epistle*, as that in which *all* the apostles had a share, *τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καθολικὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων ἁπάντων*.' Whence he concludes that 'the seven Epistles are *Catholic*, or Epistles of *all* the apostles, who are authors' (*Introd. to Writings of NT*, p. 537, etc., Wait's tr.). This explanation has been followed more or less completely by Schleiermacher and Pott, by Eichhorn so far, and some others. Otherwise it has met with little favour. It is not borne out by Clement's statement. It disregards the fact that the term *Catholic* is applied by early ecclesiastical writers to compositions like the Ep. of Barnabas, the Ep. of Dionysius, the Ep. of Themison. It makes *ἐπιστολαὶ καθολικαί* equivalent to *αἱ λοιπαὶ ἐπιστολαὶ καθόλου*. But there is nothing to show that the term *καθολικός* was employed elsewhere to express any such idea as that of *common apostolic authorship*, one collection of writings written by *all the apostles together*.

2. Others, therefore, take the term to refer to the *place of these Epistles in the Church*, their ecclesiastical recognition, the fact that they were universally received as genuine, their canonicity. Michaelis (*Introd. to NT*, vi. p. 270, Marsh's tr.) takes this view, holding that the word was used by Origen to distinguish 1 P and 1 Jn as undisputed Epp. from 2 P, 2 and 3 Jn, and Jude, about which there was no such consent of opinion, and that it was given also to these five in course of time as they ceased to be doubted. This explanation, or one not materially different, is given also by Horne, Guericke, and others. It is supposed by some that there is an indication of the identification of the word *Catholic* with the word *Canonical* in the Muratorian Fragment, in the puzzling sentence 'Epistola sane Judæ et superscriptio Johannis duas in Catholica habentur.' Some refer in support of this view to the passage in which Eusebius, speaking of James who is 'said to have written the first of the Catholic Epistles,' and of Jude as also 'one of the seven Catholic Epistles,' adds that 'nevertheless we know that these, with the rest, are publicly used in most of the churches' (*HE* ii. 23). This is relevant, however, to the question of *public use* in the church, but not to more. For it speaks also of James as 'considered spurious' (*νοθεύεται*). Most found rather on the passage, also in Eusebius (*HE* iii. 3), in which mention is made of certain works ascribed to Peter, his *Acts*, the *Gospel according to Peter*, the *Preaching*, and the *Revelation of Peter*, and it is said of them 'we know nothing of their being handed down among *catholic* writings (*οὐδ' ὅλως ἐν καθολικοῖς ἴσμεν παραδεδομένα*), for neither of the ancients nor of those of our own time has any ecclesiastical writer made use of testimonies from them.' Here, it is thought, the word in the phrase *ἐν καθολικοῖς* must have the sense of *genuine*, *undisputed*, *universally received*. Others, however, think the phrase may mean 'handed down among catholic *Christians*' (Charteris, *Canonicity*, p. 289), or *publicly read in the churches*, the question of genuineness not being in view (Kirchhofer, *Quellensammlung*, p. 257). It is with the distinction between *disputed* and *undisputed* books that Eusebius deals there. But what is referred to in his statement is not one class of the NT books, but these books as a whole; not the Catholic *Epp.* in particular, but the Catholic *writings* (*γραφῶν*) generally. Further, if the sense supposed were the true sense, the term would be no distinctive title of these seven Epistles, marking them off from the Pauline Epistles, which were no less canonical or generally recognised in the Church. Nor does this view consist with the fact that the term *catholic* is used by Origen, as we have seen, of the Ep. of Barnabas, and by Eusebius of the Epp. of Dionysius of Corinth to the *Lacedæmonians*, the *Athenians*, the *Nicomedians*, and other Churches (*HE* iv. 23), of none of which it could be said that they were *canonical* or universally received. Nor has it regard, again, to the fact that only some of the seven Epistles were universally received at the time when the term was applied to the group as a whole. Eusebius himself in his chapter on 'The Divine Scriptures acknowledged as genuine, and those that are not' (*HE* iii. 25), distinguishes 1 Jn and 1 P as *ἐν ὁμολογουμένοις* from the other five as of the *ἀντιλεγομένων γνωρίμων δ' οὖν ὁμῶς τοῖς πολλοῖς*. There is nothing in the facts to conflict with the idea that this came in course of time to be the sense. There is everything to rebut the assertion that it was the original and proper sense.

3. Others suppose that the term refers to the character of the contents of these Epp., the catholicity of their doctrine, distinguishing them from others which were *heretical* as *orthodox* or *authoritative* Epp.,—Epp. whose teaching was in harmony with Christian truth, or the Church's faith. So Salmeron held it to define them as giving the one true *catholic* doctrine which the whole Church might profitably receive. Similar is the explanation of Cornelius á Lapide and others. This view, too, is supposed to be favoured by the passage in which Eusebius speaks of the *Acts*, the *Gospel*, and other alleged writings of Peter. But the supposition has as little to support it in this case as in (2). The term so interpreted would equally fail to serve as a distinctive title of the group; for in this sense Paul's Epp. were as *catholic* as these. Further, it overlooks the fact that the title is used of the *heretical* Epistle of Themison.

4. Consequently, it is held that the term refers to the *destination* of the Epp., designating them as *Encyclical* letters, differing from the Pauline Epp. as being addressed, not to individuals or to single Churches, but to the Church universal, to circles of Churches, or to readers scattered over wide territories. This is the explanation given by Oecumenius (*Sæc.* x.) in the Preface to his Commentary on the Epistle of James: *καθολικαὶ λέγονται αὗται ὡσεὶ ἐγκύκλιοι. Οὐ γὰρ ἀφωρισμένως ἔθνει ἑνὶ ἢ*

πόλει ὡς ὁ θεῖος Παῦλος, οἷον Ῥωμαίοις ἢ Κορινθίοις, προσφωνεῖ ταύτας τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ὁ τῶν τοιούτων τοῦ κυρίου μαθητῶν θίασος, ἀλλὰ καθόλου τοῖς πιστοῖς, ἤτει Ἰουδαίοις τοῖς ἐν τῇ διασπορᾷ, ὡς καὶ ὁ Πέτρος, ἢ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν πίστιν Χριστιανοῖς τελοῦσιν. It is the explanation given also by Leontius (*c.* A.D. 590): *καθολικαὶ δὲ ἐκλήθησαν ἐπειδὴ οὐ πρὸς ἓν ἔθνος ἐγράφθησαν ὡς αἱ τοῦ Παύλου ἐπιστολαί* (*De Sectis Act.* ii.). Suidas also treats *καθολικός* and *ἐγκύκλιος* as synonymous when used of letters. This is the explanation which is preferred by most. It retains for the adjective the sense which it has in ancient, non-ecclesiastical Greek; the sense which it also has when it is used of the *Church*; the sense which can be traced back, in the application of the term, to particular writings, at least to the close of the 2nd cent. It is the sense that best suits Clement's statement on the letter addressed by the 'apostles and elders and brethren' at Jerusalem to the 'brethren which are of the Gentiles in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia' (Ac 15^{23}, etc., especially in view of the extent of its publication, Ac 16^{4}). It is the most natural sense for the term as used by Origen, in the passages cited above, of 1 Jn, 1 P, Jude, and Barnabas; by Clement, of Jude in his *Hypotyposes*; and by Dionysius of Alexandria, of 1 Jn (Euseb. *HE* vii. 25). It fits the tenor of 1 Jn, and is sufficiently consistent with the expressed destination of other members of the group of seven. Ja, 1 P, 2 P, and Jude are addressed, it is true, to definite circles of readers. But these are large circles, embracing the Christians and Churches of many lands, and differing widely from those which the Pauline Epp. have in view. James is meant for the brethren in the extensive Jewish Dispersion; 1 Pet. for the Churches of five provinces of the East; 2 Pet. and Jude, for circles still less particular or defined. The remaining two have inscriptions referring to individuals, and are in no proper sense *general* Epistles. Their position is explained either by the fact that they were *interpreted* at an early period as *general* Epp., the *Church* being taken to be addressed under the personal designation of the *ἐκλεκτὴ κυρία* of 2 Jn and the Gaius of 3 Jn (Clem. Alex. *Hypotyposes*); or by the circumstance that, being accepted as genuine letters of the Apostle John, they were naturally associated with his *first* Epistle, and so came to be included in the group of which it formed a part, and to share in the title borne by the group.

It would appear most probable, therefore, that the title 'catholic' had from the beginning its proper sense of 'general'; that it was used to designate letters of the nature of circular or encyclical Epistles; that in this sense it was applied at least from the end of the 2nd cent. to particular writings both within and without the NT literature proper; that in this sense it was applied first to individual members of the group, and by the time of Eusebius to the seven as a class distinguishable in this respect from the Pauline Epp.; that in course of time other ideas became connected with it, and its use became less constant; that by the 6th cent. it became identical with *canonical* in the Western Church, and assumed a more dogmatic character. There are things at the same time which indicate that its use was not quite fixed or uniform even at the close of the 4th cent. or the beginning of the 5th. Some, indeed, contend that when Origen speaks of 1 Peter as a *Catholic* Epistle he means to distinguish it as a genuine or accredited Epistle from 2 Peter as a disputed Epistle. It is much more reasonable to understand it there in the sense of *general* or encyclical. But there are passages in Eusebius which are of another kind. We have one such, *e.g.*, that in *HE* iii. 3, where, speaking of *acknowledged* and *disputed* books, he says of certain writings alleged to be by Peter, that they are not *ἐν καθολικοῖς παραδεδομένα*. We have another in *HE* iv. 23, where mention is made of the 'Catholic Epistles' of Dionysius of Corinth. The Churches to which these Epistles were addressed are named—the *Lacedæmonians*, the *Athenians*, the *Nicomedians*, the Church of *Gortyna*, and the 'other Churches in Crete,' etc. They are mostly particular Churches, and it is not a sufficient explanation to say, with Westcott (*Epp. of St. John*, p. xxviii), that the 'word is used of letters with a general application (though specially addressed) which made no claim to canonical authority.' It must be admitted that, as in the case of the process by which these Epp. came to form a collection and to rank as canonical, so, in the history of the names given to them as a group in the Eastern Church and in the Western, all is by no means clear yet.

LITERATURE.—See the usual books on NT Introd., especially those by Hug, Hilgenfeld, Bleek, Jülicher; the *Prolegomena* to the Comm. on the Epp., *e.g.* Westcott on *The Ep. of St. John*; the standard books on the Canon of NT, esp. Westcott, *General Survey of Canon of NT*; Charteris, *Canonicity*; Reuss, *Hist. of Canon*; also Kirchhofer's *Quellensammlung*; Gloag, *Introd. to the Cath. Epp.* pp. 1–11; Eusebius, *ut sup.*; Pott, *Proleg. ad Ep. Catholicas*, pp. 1–58; Mayerhoff, *Einleit. in die Petr. Schriften*, pp. 31–41; Herzog, *RE*; Sanday, *BL* on Inspiration; Harnack, *Lehrb. d. Dogmengesch.*, who assigns their authorship to unknown prophets or teachers such as appear in the *Didache*.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

CATHUA (A Καθουά, B Κουά), 1 Es 5^{30}.—One of the heads of families of temple servants who returned with Zerub. from captivity. It appears to correspond to GIDDEL in Ezr 2^{47}; cf. Neh 7^{49}.

CATTLE.—No fewer than six Heb. and two Gr. words are tr. in the Bible by *cattle*. 1. מִקְנֶה *miḳneh*. The primary meaning of the word is *wealth* or *possessions*. It is so tr. Ec 2^{7}, where מִקְנֵה בָקָר וָצֹאן is rendered AV '*possessions* of great and small cattle,' RV '*possessions* of herds and flocks.' Among nomads, whose riches consist principally in herds and flocks, the word for *possessions* came to mean *cattle*. Thus the Arab. *mâl*, pl. *amwâl*, when used in connexion with the shepherd's life, usually means *cattle* in the generic sense. *Miḳneh* certainly includes horses, asses, oxen, sheep, and goats (Gn 47^{16}), where Joseph says, 'give your *cattle* (מִקְנֵיכֶם), and I will give you for your *cattle*' (מִקְנֵיכֶם). The narrator then states (v.^{17}) that 'they brought their *cattle* (מִקְנֵיהֶם) . . . *horses* . . . *flocks* (מ׳ הַצֹּאן, RVm *cattle* of the *flocks*) . . . *cattle* of the *herds* (מ׳ הַבָּקָר, RVm also *cattle* of the *herds*) . . . *asses*; and he fed them with bread for all their *cattle*' (כָּל־מִקְנֵיהֶם). The historian then says (47^{18}), 'my lord also hath our *herds* of *cattle*' (מ׳ הַבְּהֵמָה). *Miḳneh* may also be understood, in all passages where its meaning is not otherwise defined, to include *all* the domestic animals, which constituted so much of the wealth of the Hebrews. *Miḳneh* is also rendered *herd* as above (Gn 47^{18}), and *flocks* (Ps 78^{48}). The expression אַנְשֵׁי מִקְנֶה (Gn 46^{32}), awkwardly rendered in text AV 'their trade hath been to feed cattle,' RV 'they have been keepers of cattle,' is better rendered as AVm 'they are men of cattle,' or, still better, *herdmen*. Another meaning of the root קָנָה, from which *miḳneh* is derived, is to *buy*, and in Hiphil to *cause to buy*, *i.e.* to *sell*. This is the true meaning in the passage (Zec 13^{5}) אָדָם הִקְנַנִי, where AV has rendered the clause 'man taught me to keep cattle,' as if קָנָה, which means also to *possess*, meant particularly to *possess* or *keep cattle*. RV renders the passage 'I have been made a *bondman*,' *i.e.* man has sold me. 2. בְּהֵמָה *behêmâh*, tr^{d} *cattle* in the places where it occurs with חַיָּה (Gn $1^{24.\,25}$ 3^{14} 8^{1}, Ps 148^{10}, Is 46^{1}), also, arbitrarily, in many other places. Probably the Eng. word *beast*, which is as flexible in its meaning and use as *bĕhêmâh*, would more adequately express it. 3. צֹאן *ẓôʼn*. This word is translated AV 'cattle' in two places (Gn 30^{43} 31^{43}), in both of which RV has 'flocks,' *i.e.* both sheep and goats. 4. בָּקָר *bâḳâr*. This word, which means *oxen*, is rendered in one place *cattle* (Jl 1^{18}), עֶדְרֵי בָקָר 'herds of cattle.' 5. בְּעִיר *beʻîr*. Twice in AV translated *cattle* (Nu 20^{4}, Ps 78^{48}), RV adds Nu $20^{8.11}$. See BEAST. 6. שֶׂה *seh*. This word, which primarily means one of a flock of sheep or goats (cf. Arab. *shât*), is once tr. AV 'lesser cattle,' RV 'sheep' (Is 7^{25}), and once AV, RV 'small cattle' (Is 43^{23}). See SHEEP.

The word 'cattle' occurs twice in NT, once (Jn 4^{12}) as the tr^{n} of *θρέμματα*, and once (Lk 17^{7}) in the collocation 'feeding cattle' (*ποιμαίνοντα*, RV 'keeping sheep'). G. E. POST.

CAUDA (Καῦδα in B, confirmed by a few inferior authorities, by Καυδώ in Suidas, Καῦδος in *Notitia Episcopatuum*, viii. 240; *Gaudus* in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iv. 12 (61), and Pomp. Mela, ii. 114. Κλαῦδα is the form in ℵ, supported by the majority of other authorities, and by Κλαῦδος in Ptol. iii. 15. 8; Hierocles, *Synecd.* 651, 2,* and *Notitia Episcop.* 9. 149; and Κλαυδία in the *Stadiasmus Maris Magni*, § 328, AV **Clauda**) was an island off the S. coast of Crete. Amid the varying forms of the name, the preference must be given to the forms in which the letter L is omitted, as is proved beyond dispute by the mod. forms Gavdho in Greek and Gozzo in Italian. The Alex. ship laden with corn in which Paul sailed from Myra for Rome, after lying becalmed for a considerable time in Fair Havens, proceeded on its course favoured by a light northerly breeze; but shortly after rounding Cape Matala (about 4 miles on its course), while the vessel was standing towards W.N.W. across the mouth of the Gulf of Messara, it was caught by a sudden eddying blast from E.N.E., which struck down from the lofty mountains of the island, and it could do nothing except scud before the wind, until, after running about 23 miles, it was able to get under the lee of Cauda (Ac 27^{16}), where in calmer water it became possible to attend to the condition of the ship. The perfect agreement of the description in Ac with the natural features and winds of the coast (where, according to Captain Stewart, R.N., 'southerly winds almost invariably shift to a violent northerly wind') has been admirably brought out by James Smith in his *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, p. 96 ff. According to Suidas, wild asses of unusually large size lived on the island. There was a city on the island, which was the seat of a bishop in Byzantine times. It lay almost due S. of Phœnix, and is mentioned next to it in the Byzantine authorities.

W. M. RAMSAY.

CAUL (Fr. *cale*, a small cap or head-dress. Now obsol.).—1. (יֹתֶרֶת) The fatty envelope of the liver, which, with the fat of the kidneys and other inward parts (Ex $29^{13.22}$, Lv 3^{4}, etc.), was to be burnt on the altar as an offering by fire unto the Lord. In Hos 13^{8} the rending of the caul or enclosure (סְגוֹר) of the heart is a term of uttermost destruction. See MEDICINE.

2. שְׁבִיסִים Is 3^{18}, RV 'networks.' This was most probably the small head-veil, now of fine network or art muslin with floral designs, worn in the East over the brow and crown, and fastened loosely behind the neck under the hair. It is counted indelicate to go to the door or garden without it. Much art is often expended upon it. It is fringed with silk embroidery, and adorned with gold thread, tiny gilt discs, and other ornaments. The Heb. *shabis* seems to have the same root-meaning as the Arab. *mutashabbaṣ*, applied to the network or interlacing of tree-branches; and similarly, the Arab. term for fine damask of branch and foliage-like design is *mu-shajjar*, from *shajarah*, a tree. G. M. MACKIE.

CAUSE.—The obsol. phrase 'for his c.' = 'for his sake' is used 2 Co 7^{12} 'I did it for his c. that had done the wrong' (ἕνεκεν). Cf. Ps 69^{6} Pr. Bk. 'Let not them that trust in thee . . . be ashamed for my c.' (בִּי, AV 'for my sake,' RV 'through me'). Twice 'c.' is used in the vague sense of 'matter' (as if on the way to Ital. *cosa*, Fr. *chose*): 1 K 12^{15} 'the c. was from the LORD' (סִבָּה, LXX *μεταστροφή*, RV 'it was a thing brought about of the LORD); 2 Ch 10^{15} 'the c. was of God' (נְסִבָּה, LXX as before, the only occurrences of the Gr. as of the Heb.; RV 'it was brought about of God'). **Causeless** is an adv. in 1 S 25^{31} 'thou hast shed blood c.'; but not in Pr 26^{2} 'the curse c. shall not come' (both חִנָּם, RV here 'that is c.,' after Geneva). J. HASTINGS.

CAUSEWAY.—This is the spelling of mod. edd. of AV (except in Pr 15^{19m}) for the 1611 spelling 'causey.' But the words are not the same. A causey is a mound or dam, made by treading (late Lat. *calciāre*), and a causeway is a way or road formed on such a mound. It occurs 1 Ch $26^{16.18}$; Is 7^{3} AVm (1611 causeway) for 'highway' in text: the Heb. (מְסִלָּה *mĕṣillah*) means a way 'cast up' or raised up. J. HASTINGS.

CAVE (מְעָרָה, *σπήλαιον*, *spelunca*).—1. Palestine is a region abounding in caves; hence the frequent reference to them in the Bible. Natural caves and caverns are to be found in most countries formed of limestone strata and considerably elevated above the sea level; such as Malta, Sicily, parts of Italy,* and Derbyshire in England. In such countries the underground acidulated waters dissolve channels for themselves out of the rock, and upon a change of level with reference to their outlet, they leave these channels for others; the old channels becoming caverns with generally dry floors, and roofs decorated with stalactites. The elevated character of Western Palestine and its calcareous structure have naturally resulted in the formation of caves which in OT times, and still later, have become interwoven with the historical events of that country; and, as Dean Stanley observes, when Christianity became degraded in the early centuries, caves, the real or supposed scenes in the history of our Lord, became the seats of worship amongst the Eastern Christians. Thus the 'cave of the Holy Sepulchre' at Jerusalem and the 'cave of the Nativity' at Bethlehem,† both discovered or identified (according to Eusebius) by the empress Helena, have remained shrines of semi-idolatrous devotion down to the present day.

2. Prehistoric man appears to have made caves his dwelling wherever available, and it is not improbable that the Horites of Mount Seir (Gn 14^{6} 36^{20}), who were cave dwellers as their name implies, were the representatives of early cave-dwelling races of other countries.‡ The Horites were expelled by the Edomites; and the vast caverns artificially hewn out of the sandstone rock of Petra, the Edomite capital, attest the extent to which these early inhabitants made use of such hollows both for habitations and as sepulchres for the dead.§ See Driver on Dt 2^{12}.

---

* Constantine Porphyrog, *de Them.*, is hardly an independent authority, but depends on Hierocles, whom he very often quotes.

* 'Quatuor sunt montanæ gentes, Tarati, Soffinati, Balari, Aconites, in speluncis habitantes,' Strabo, v. 225.

† It may be observed that there is no authority in the account of the Nativity for connecting the event with a cave: see Mt 2^{11}, Lk $2^{7.12}$.

‡ Strabo, i. 42, xvi. 775, 776.

§ The caverns of Upper Egypt, hewn out of the same formation, 'the Nubian Sandstone,' were made use of by the ancient Egyptians for similar purposes.

3. Caves were largely made use of in the troublous times of Israelitish history as places of refuge: as such the following may be specially mentioned:—

(*a*) The cave in the hills above Zoar inhabited by Lot and his two daughters (Gn 19[30]).

(*b*) The cave of Makkedah at Beth-horon, in which the five kings of the Canaanites hid themselves (Jos 10[16]).

(*c*) Caves in which the Israelites hid themselves from the Midianites in the time of the Judges (Jg 6[2]), and from the Philistines in the time of Saul (1 S 13[6]). Both these references point to the conclusion that caves, both natural and artificial, were very numerous in these times; some of them may be now covered over and their entrances hidden from view.

(*d*) One of the most celebrated caves in biblical history was the cave of Adullam, in which David took refuge from the wrath of Saul (1 S 22[1], 2 S 23[13]). Adullam was one of the cities of Judah, and the residence of a Canaanite king (Jos 12[15]), and the cave was probably the largest of several occupying a position near the summit of the tableland, and overlooking the Plains of Philistia.*

(*e*) The cave of En-gedi, in the cliffs overlooking the Dead Sea, was another place of refuge for David, after he had been dislodged from the cave of Adullam (1 S 23[29] 24[3]). See ENGEDI.

(*f*) The cave in which Obadiah fed the prophets of the Lord in the days of Ahab (1 K 18[4]). This cave was probably situated on the flank of Mount Carmel.

The above instances explain the language of Is 2[10. 19. 21] where 'men shall go into the caves of the rocks, and into the holes of the earth, from before the terror of the LORD, and from the glory of his majesty, when he ariseth to shake mightily the earth.'

4. Caves, both natural and artificial, were used as places of sepulture: the cave of Machpelah, purchased of Ephron the Hittite, was the sepulchre of Sarah (Gn 23[19]), and afterwards of Abraham (Gn 25[9]), Isaac (35[27-29]), and Jacob (50[13]). There can be no doubt but that the mosque of Hebron covers the last resting-place of the patriarchs; it is a spot considered of the highest sanctity by the Arab tribes.†

E. HULL.

CEDAR (אֶרֶז *'erez, κέδρος, cedrus*).—We cannot enter intelligently on the discussion of the cedar without premising that the Heb. word *'erez* was probably used for three or more different trees. In this it resembles its English equivalent. *Cedar*, in English, is used for the *cedar of Lebanon*, for the *Bermuda cedar*, of which lead pencils are made, for *Juniperus Virginiana*, L., and for *Cupressus thyoides*, L., and other trees. The *cedar wood*, which (acc. to P) was used with scarlet and hyssop for purification (Lv 14[4], Nu 19[6]), was not, in all probability, the cedar of Lebanon, but a plant obtainable in Sinai, and afterwards in Palestine. Such a tree is *Juniperus Phœnicea*, L., which is found on Mt. Hor, and on the brow of the Edomitic limestone cliffs overlooking the Arabah, and probably in the Sinaitic peninsula. If no longer there, there is nothing in the climate to hinder its having grown there formerly. Houghton erroneously calls it *oxycedrus*, which is a shrub or small tree of the mountains of Syria.

It is uncertain what tree is meant by *'ărazîm* (Nu 24[6]). They are said to be trees growing by water. The cedar of Lebanon does not grow in moist places. On the contrary, it seeks the dry sloping mountain-side, where nothing but the moisture in the clefts of the rocks nourishes it. Unless we suppose, as has been hinted in the article on ALOES, that the location of the *'ărazîm* is poetic licence, we must suppose some water-loving tree to be intended in this passage, certainly not the *Cedrus Libani*, Barr., nor *Juniperus oxycedrus*, Lam., nor indeed any of the coniferæ of the Holy Land.

Avicenna defines *'arz*, in Arab., as the well-known juniper *berry*. This is the product of *Juniperus communis*, L.

In most of the passages of Scripture not already cited, probably in all, there can be no doubt that the *cedar of Lebanon* is intended. Let us analyse them in detail. (1) It was abundant (1 K 6[9-18] 10[27]). There is every reason to believe that the cedar was exceedingly abundant in Solomon's day. The remains of the old forests exist above el-Me'âsir, Barûk, 'Ain-Zeḥalta, el-Ḥadeth, Besherri, Sîr, and the Ḍunnîyeh. They probably covered all the sub-alpine peaks of Lebanon. It is also extremely probable that the cedar flourished in those days on Hermon and Antilebanon, both of which belong to the Lebanon system, and are suited climatically to the growth of these trees. Large forests of them exist in Amanus, and thence they extend northward and westward to Akher-dagh, and for a long distance into the Taurus. The cedar existed also in Cyprus; and large forests of it are found in the Atlas and the Himalayas. (2) It was a tall tree (Is 2[13], Am 2[9]). Several of the trees in the Besherri grove are 60 or 70 ft. high. In Amanus it often reaches 100 ft. It is quite likely that it reached or exceeded this height in Lebanon. (3) It was not only a tree 'of a high stature,' but one 'with fair (*beautiful*) branches, and with a shadowing shroud' (*dense shade*) (Ezk 31[3]). No quality of the cedar tree is more beautiful than its horizontal spray, with an upper surface flat, and presenting an even carpet of dark green,

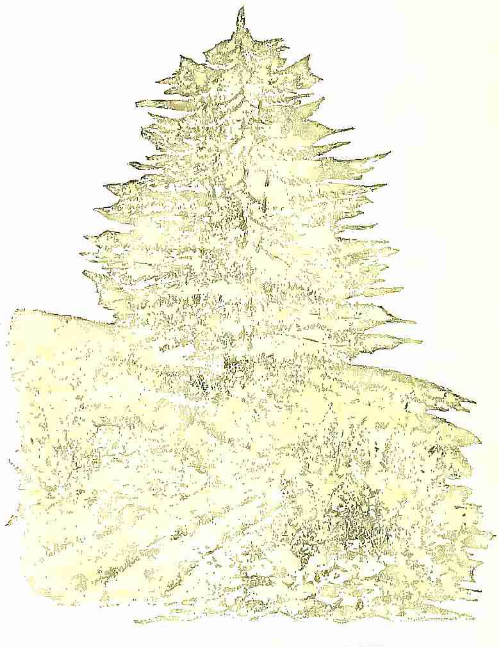

A CEDAR FROM THE BESHERRI GROVE.

(It is not one of the largest, but exhibits the characteristic shape and horizontal ramification.)

---

* Josephus, *Ant.* VI. xii. 2; Conder, *Tent Work*, p. 153.

† *Ib.* 238; see also Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, i. 101, 149; Robinson, *Travels*, ii. 79.

ornamented with its yellow staminate and purple pistillate cones. (4) It was suitable for the masts of ships (Ezk 27^{5}). It has been objected that the cedar has a thick, gnarled trunk, too short for a mast. This is true of the old weather-beaten veterans in the open groves of Lebanon at the present day. But in Amanus, where the growth is close and forest-like, there are multitudes of tall straight trunks, every way suitable for masts. Indeed, many of the younger trees of the Besherri grove would make excellent masts for ships of the size of those in Ezekiel's time. It has been proposed to consider the *Pinus Halepensis*, Mill., as the *'erez* here intended. It is curious that this pine is still known in some parts of Lebanon by the name *'arz*, and also in the neighbourhood of Aleppo. But it is not so well adapted to masting as the true cedar, and, although abundant throughout Lebanon, is also equally abundant in Pal., east and west of the Jordan. It is unlikely that Ezekiel would have spoken of the tree distinctively as the 'cedar from Lebanon,' if he had intended the Aleppo pine, which the Tyrians could have cut from the hill-country close to their city. (5) It was suitable for beams, pillars, and boards (1 K 6^{9} 7^{2}). The cedars of Amanus, where the normal growth obtains, could furnish a board 60 to 80 ft. long, and 6 to 8 ft. wide at the bottom, and 2 or more at top. They could furnish pillars and beams of any required thickness. The timber is indestructible by dry rot or borers. It is close-grained, sound to the heart, fragrant, and of a pleasing colour. We have abundant testimony as to its durability. Pliny says that the cedar roof of the temple of Diana at Ephesus lasted 400 years. That of the temple of Apollo at Utica lasted 1170 years. (6) It was suitable for carved work, as images (Is $44^{14.\,15}$). Cedar wood is better fitted for this purpose than almost any other wood in the land. It is hard, close-grained, and takes a high polish. (7) It must be full of sap (Ps 92^{14}). The balsamic juice of the cedar exudes from every pore. Large beads and nodules of the fragrant resin form on the uninjured branches. An incision into the bark is followed by a copious distillation of the same. Where two branches meet and rub together, they each pour out the life-giving sap, which cements them, so that they grow fast to one another. Numerous examples of this can be seen in the grove at Besherri. (8) It was the king of trees. It is placed at the head of the vegetable kingdom by Solomon (1 K 4^{33}). Abimelech concedes its superiority (Jg 9^{15}). It is perhaps alluded to as 'the glory of Lebanon' (Is 35^{2} 60^{13}). The cedars are 'the trees of the Lord' (Ps 104^{16}). The Arabs still know them by the name *'arz er-rubb*, 'the cedars of the Lord.' When the cedar falls, the fir, itself a noble tree, howls, as a vassal for his lord (Zec $11^{1.\,2}$). When Jehoash wished to express his contempt for Amaziah, he compared himself to a cedar and Amaziah to a thistle, and said, 'there passed by a wild beast that was in Lebanon, and trode down the thistle' (2 K 14^{9}). The highest boast of Sennacherib was that he would 'cut down the tall cedars' (Is 37^{24}). (9) Of this tree much of the temple was built, also the palaces of David and Solomon, and many other grand buildings of Jerusalem. It was probably at that epoch that the denudation of Lebanon began.

The cedar is known by the natives of restricted localities in Lebanon by two other names. Thus the people in the neighbourhood of 'Ain-Zeḥalta, Bârûk, and el-Me'âsir call their cedars *ibhul.* The people in the neighbourhood of Sîr call it *tnûb.*

G. E. POST.

CEILING.—See CIELING.

CELIBACY.—See MARRIAGE.

CELLAR.—In AV only (1 Ch $27^{27.\,28}$) for wine or for oil. The Heb. (אוֹצָר) is common for any store or storehouse. RV gives 'c.' for AV 'secret place' in Lk 11^{33}, reading *κρύπτη* 'a vault,' 'crypt,' for *κρυπτόν* 'hidden.' The Greek word is used by Jos. *BJ* V. vii. 4, 'They set the tower on fire, and leapt into the c. beneath.' See HOUSE.

J. HASTINGS.

CENCHREÆ.—Cenchreæ or Kenchreae (not, as AV, Cenchrea; usually spelt Κεγχ., by T., WH Κενχ.), where St. Paul, before sailing for Syria, had his hair shorn in compliance with a vow (Ac 18^{18}), and where Phœbe was a deaconess (Ro 16^{1}). C. was the seaport of Corinth, on the eastern side of the isthmus (see CORINTH). It doubtless had its share in the bustle, luxury, and licence of the mother-city; but, under the influence of St. Paul, it early became the seat of a local church, whose deaconess had the honour of bearing the apostle's letter to the Roman Church.

WILLIAM P. DICKSON.

CENDEBÆUS (Κενδεβαῖος), a general of Antiochus VII. Sidetes, who was given the command of the sea-coast, and sent with an army into Palestine in order to enforce the claims of Antiochus against Simon Maccabæus (comp. ATHENOBIUS). Cendebæus occupied Jamnia, fortified Kidron, a place not otherwise known, and then began to make raids upon Judæa. Owing to his advanced age Simon did not go out to battle himself, but placed his two sons, Judas and John, in command. The battle took place in a plain not far from Modin; and the Jews, although obliged to cross a torrent-bed before commencing the attack, gained a complete victory over Cendebæus, and pursued the Syrians as far as Kidron and the neighbourhood of Ashdod (1 Mac 15^{38} 16^{9}; cf. Jos. *Ant.* XIII. vii. 3).

H. A. WHITE.

CENSER.—Two Heb. words are thus rendered in our Eng. version, מַחְתָּה and מִקְטֶרֶת. The latter, from the same root as the word for incense, is rendered by the LXX in the two places where it occurs (2 Ch 26^{19}, Ezk 8^{11}) *θυμιατήριον.* For this reason *χρυσοῦν θυμιατήριον* of He 9^{4} has been understood since Jerome's time to mean 'golden censer' (AV, RV). The best modern authorities, however, have decided in favour of the rendering 'golden altar of incense' (so RVm after Bleek, Del. etc.), a sense in which the word frequently occurs in Philo and Josephus (for reff. see Thayer, *NT Lex. sub voc.*).

Elsewhere in OT the vessel used to carry the charcoal on which the incense was burned is termed מַחְתָּה. In AV and RV our translators have only in certain cases given the rendering 'censer,' preferring 'Firepan' in those passages, apparently, where the מַחְתָּה is mentioned among the utensils connected with the altar of burnt-offering, as in Ex 27^{3}, Nu 4^{14} RV[*] etc.

There is no reason for this distinction, one and the same utensil being intended throughout. The מַחְתָּה was so constructed as to be capable not merely of lifting the glowing charcoal from the altar of burnt-offering,—so much is indicated by its etymology from חָתָה to take up 'live coals' from the hearth,—but also of containing a quantity sufficient to burn at least two handfuls of incense (Lv 16^{12}). We may therefore think of it as a bowl-shaped implement furnished with a short handle,—in other words, as a species of ladle. The censers of the Pent. (only in P) are of the same material as the great altar, probably bronze (Ex 27^{3}, cf. Nu $16^{38.\,39}$). Those of Solomon's temple were of gold (1 K 7^{50},

---

[*] It is not correct to say, as in Smith's *DB*,^{2} i. p. 552, that the vessels enumerated (Nu 4^{14}) are those of 'the golden Altar, *i.e.* of incense.' These have been mentioned but not named in v.^{10}. Besides, '*the* altar' (v.^{13}) is invariably in the Pent. the altar of burnt-offering.

2 K 25^{15}). A censer of silver is mentioned in connexion with the daily offering in *Tamid* v. 4, 5, *Yōma* iv. 4. The favourite LXX renderings are *πυρεῖον* (cf. Sir 50^{9}) and *θυΐσκη* (cf. 1 Mac 1^{22}).

It is now impossible to say in what respect, if at all, the מַחְתָּה differed from the מִקְטֶרֶת. Delitzsch is certainly mistaken in identifying (art. 'Räucherpfanne' in Riehm's *HBA*²) the latter with the vessel designated כַּף (see Nu $7^{14\text{ff.}}$), EV spoon, more probably a bowl with a handle, and therefore of similar shape to מַחְתָּה (hence LXX *θυΐσκη*), in any case a vessel in which the incense was kept (cf. the כַּפּוֹת with incense on the table of shewbread, Ex 25^{29}). The context in which it occurs (see above) requires us, in each case, to see in the מִקְטֶרֶת a proper censer.

The censer (*λιβανωτός*) appears along with incense in the imagery of the Apoc. ($8^{3.5}$). In 5^{8} the 'golden vials (*φιάλας*) full of odours' (RV more correctly 'the golden bowls full of incense') have been suggested by the כַּפּוֹת or incense-holders just mentioned. For the use of this vessel in Herod's temple see *Tamid* v. vi.

Among the implements of the golden candlestick were its מַחְתּוֹת, EV snuff dishes. These were probably not trays for the snuffers as the LXX rendering in Ex 25^{38} (*ὑπόθεμα*) would suggest, but rather a utensil of the same shape as the censer, in which to receive and carry away the burnt portions of the wicks.

Representations of the censers used by the ancient Egyptians are still extant. They consisted of a small pot or cup with a long handle (Kitto, *Encycl. Bibl. Lit.* 1862, p. 461) into which little pellets of incense were projected at intervals by the priest.

In early Christian times the use of censers is not mentioned; it appears to have commenced about the 4th cent. A.D., probably for antiseptic fumigation. In the 8th cent., however, their use was general, and directions for their adoption were given by local synods. But symbolical meanings became by degrees attached to the burning of incense. In many cathedrals on the Continent and in this country very valuable thuribles or censers of gold and silver (cf. Herod. iv. 162; Thucyd. vi. 46; Cic. *Verr.* iv. 21–24) are still to be found, some of them weighing as much as 16 lbs., and evidently not intended to be swung like the ordinary censer. In form modern censers vary considerably, being usually oval, but sometimes square. The ordinary form used by the Jews is of an octagonal shape. In Europe they are generally furnished with a perforated lid, and have three chains to the lower portion, a fourth chain being attached to the lid, so that it can be raised when required. There is usually a small shallow pan enclosed in the censer to receive live charcoal. They are now usually made of brass, as used in the Roman and Anglican services. The incense used for the censer is generally carried by an acolyte in a boat-shaped brass box, containing a spoon for sprinkling it on the censer.

LITERATURE.—Sonneschmid, *De Thymiaterio sanctissimo* (Vitel. 17–23; Deyling, *Obs.* ii. 565 *seq.*; Ugolini, *Thesaur.* xi.; Wentze in *Nov. Biblioth. Brev.* v. 337 *seq.*; Zeibrich, *De Thur.* Gerb. 1768; Royal, *De Thurib.* 724; Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 444 f.; Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 295.

A. R. S. KENNEDY and E. M. HOLMES.

CENSUS.—See DAVID, QUIRINIUS.

CENTURION (Latin, *centurio*; Gr. *κεντυρίων* in Mk; *ἑκατοντάρχης*, *ἑκατόνταρχος* in Mt, Lk, and Ac,—see critical authorities in Grimm-Thayer for the two forms of this word).—An officer in the Roman army in command of a century (*centuria*), which corresponded to the civil *curia*, and consisted of a body of men numbering from 50 to 100, according to the size of the legion of which it was a subdivision. Though resembling a British captain in the size of the unit under his command, the centurion in social position was equal only to a British non-commissioned officer. He could not become more than a centurion, except through exceptional circumstances, but left the service when his time was up and settled in some small town, to live on the smaller or larger fortune he had acquired in the wars.

We meet with centurions in the NT on five occasions—two of these being connected with incidents in the life of our Lord, one with St. Peter, and two with St. Paul. 1. At Capernaum a centurion came to Jesus to seek healing for his servant (Mt 8^{5-13}, Lk 7^{2-10}). This man was a Gentile, but probably not a Roman, because the occurrence took place in the dominions of Herod Antipas (see Holtzmann, *Handkom. in loc.*). The Herods would be inclined to imitate their Roman patrons in the organisation of their armies. The centurion shows a warm sympathy for his slave, such as was rare among Romans. His reference to his being a man under authority, having soldiers under him, would be esp. appropriate on the lips of a subordinate officer to whom the duty of obeying his superiors was as familiar as that of commanding his men. The Capernaum centurion had probably resided for some time in the city, which would thus appear to have been guarded by a garrison. There he had been so attracted by the good qualities of Judaism as to have built a synagogue, from which it may be inferred that he was a believer in the God of Israel, though evidently he was not a proselyte. He evinced great kindness of heart, humility, and faith—the exceptional strength of his faith surprising and delighting our Lord. 2. A centurion was in charge of the execution of Jesus. This man must have been in the Roman army, as the crucifixion was carried out under the orders of Pontius Pilate, the Roman Procurator. The Synoptists note the impression produced on him by the spectacle of the last scene in the life of our Lord. According to St. Matthew and St. Mark, he exclaimed, 'Truly this' (Mk 'this man') 'was the son (or a son) of God' (Mt 27^{54}, Mk 15^{39}); and according to St. Luke 'he glorified God, saying, Certainly this was a righteous man' (Lk 23^{47}). Whichever phrase he used, it cannot be supposed that as a heathen he fully appreciated the divinity of Christ, but it is clear that he was impressed with our Lord's goodness and greatness. This centurion appears again a little later when Pilate inquires of him as to the fact and time of the death of Jesus (Mk 15^{45}). 3. Cornelius, the first Gentile baptized and received into the Church (Ac 10), was a centurion of the Roman garrison at Cæsarea, the headquarters of the Procurator, and belonged to the 'Italian band'—(which see). It is evident from the narrative, that Cornelius, like the Capernaum centurion, had been deeply impressed with the religious ideas of the people among whom he was serving; but it is also evident that he had not become a proselyte—or St. Peter's scruples would not have needed to be removed by the vision on the house-top, and it seems clear that he was not satisfied with the measure of light he perceived in Judaism. 4. Several centurions of the cohort at Jerusalem under the command of a chiliarch (called 'the chief captain' in Ac 21^{31} AV and RV) appear during the riot at Jerusalem, and the subsequent rescue of St. Paul and his arrest (Ac 21^{32} $22^{25.26}$ $23^{17.23}$). There would be ten centurions to a cohort if the numbers were complete. 5. After his appeal to Cæsar, St. Paul was conducted to Rome under the charge of a centurion named

Julius, with whom he came to be on very friendly terms (Ac $27^{1.11.43}$ 28^{16}). This centurion was 'of Augustus' band' (which see), Ac 27^{1}.

W. F. ADENEY.

CEPHAS.—See PETER.

CERTAIN.—**1.** The orig. meaning of c. is fixed or definite, not fluctuating. It is seen in Ex 16^{4} 'gather a c. rate every day' (דְּבַר־יוֹם בְּיוֹמוֹ, RV 'a day's portion every day'); 2 Ch 8^{13} 'after a c. rate every day' (דְּבַר־יוֹם בְּיוֹם, RV 'as the duty of every day required'); Neh 11^{23} 'a c. portion . . . for the singers, due every day' (אֲמָנָה דְּבַר־יוֹם בְּיוֹמוֹ, RV 'a settled provision . . . as every day required'); 1 Co 4^{11} 'we . . . have no c. dwelling-place' (ἀστατοῦμεν). See also Dn 2^{45} 'the dream is c.' (יַצִּיב 'fixed,' cf. 2^{8} 'I know of certainty,' same Heb.); Ac 25^{26} 'of whom I have no c. thing to write' (ἀσφαλής). Or c. after being *ascertained*, Dt 13^{14} 'Then shalt thou inquire, and make search, and ask diligently; and, behold, if it be truth, and the thing c.' (נָכוֹן), and 17^{4}. In this sense is the phrase 'for certain,' 1 K 2^{37}, Jer 26^{15}; and 'for a certain,' 1 K 2^{42} 'know for a c.' (RV 'for c.'), where the *a* is redundant. See A.

2. When a person or thing is taken out of the fluctuating multitude and fixed in the mind, it need not be further specified, and so becomes indefinite, as in the common phrases 'a certain man,' etc. (Heb. אֱנוֹשׁ, אִישׁ, or אֶחָד, Gr. τις mostly, also ἄνθρωπος, Mt 18^{23} 21^{33} 22^{2}, and εἷς). Thus we have, Ac 8^{36} 'a c. water'; 5^{2} 'a c. part'; Lk 23^{19} 'a c. sedition'; 2 Ch 18^{2} 'after c. years'; Ezr 10^{16} 'c. chiefs of the fathers' (RV 'c. heads of fathers' houses'); and Dn 8^{13} 'I heard one saint speaking, and another saint said unto that c. saint which spake,' where we see the word changing from its definite to its indefinite use. 'Certain' in this sense is freq. used alone, where we now use the vaguer 'some,' as Nu 16^{2} 'c. of the children of Israel'; 1 Ch 19^{5} 'there went c. and told David'; Lk 8^{20} 'it was told him by c. which said'; 18^{9} 'unto c. which trusted in themselves.'

Certainly. 1 S 20^{3} 'Thy father certainly knoweth that I have found grace in thine eyes,' not 'it is certain that thy father knoweth,' but 'thy father knoweth for a certainty' (Heb. יָדֹעַ יָדַע, RV 'knoweth well'); so 20^{9}, Gn 43^{7}, Jer 13^{12} 40^{14} $42^{19.22}$. Same Heb. in Jos 23^{13} 'know for a certainty'; 1 K 2^{37} 'know for certain'; 2^{42} 'know for a certain'; Jer 26^{15} 'know ye for certain.'

Certainty is used in the obsol. sense of 'the fact,' or 'actual circumstances,' in Lk 1^{4} 'that thou mightest know the c. of those things' (ἀσφάλεια); Ac 21^{34} 22^{30} (τὸ ἀσφαλές). Cf. Shaks. *Ham.* IV. v. 140—

> 'If you desire to know the certainty
> Of your dear father's death.'

J. HASTINGS.

CERTIFY, in AV, means not 'to make certain' or 'assure,' but simply 'to make to know,' 'tell.' In OT it occurs (1) Ezr $4^{14.16}$ 5^{10} 7^{24} (הוֹדַע); (2) 2 S 15^{28} (הַגִּיד); (3) Est 2^{22} (אָמַר, RV 'tell'). In Apocr. Wis 18^{6} (προγινώσκω), Ep. Jer^{1} (ἀναγγέλλω), Bel^{9} (δεικνύω), 1 Mac 14^{21} (ἀπαγγέλλω), 2 Mac 1^{18} (διασαφέω), 2 Mac 11^{26} (εἰδότες). In NT Gal 1^{11} 'I certify you' (γνωρίζω, RV 'I make known to you'). Cf. Ps 39^{5} Pr. Bk. 'Lord, let me know mine end, and the number of my days, that I may be certified how long I have to live' (AV 'that I may know how frail I am,' RV 'Let me know how frail I am'); 19^{2} Pr. Bk. 'One day telleth another, and one night certifieth another.'

J. HASTINGS.

CHABRIS (Χαβρείς).—One of the three rulers of Bethulia, Jth 6^{15} 8^{10} 10^{6}.

CHADIASAI (B οἱ Χαδιάσαι, A Χαδάσαι, AV they of Chadias), 1 Es 5^{20}.—They are mentioned with the Ammidioi as returning, to the number of 422, with Zerub. There are no corresponding names in the lists of Ezra and Neh. Fritzsche (*Exeg. Handb. in loc.*) identifies them with the people of Kedesh in Judah (Jos 15^{23}).

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

CHÆREAS (Χαιρέας, AV **Chereas**) was brother of Timotheus, the leader of the Ammonites, and held command at the fortress of Gazara, *i.e.* probably Jazer in the trans-Jordanic territory (see 1 Mac 5^{6-8}). Chæreas was slain upon the capture of Gazara by Judas Maccabæus (2 Mac 10^{32-38}).

H. A. WHITE.

CHAFE.—To c. is to make warm (Lat. *calefacere*, late Lat. *calefāre*, old Fr. *chaufer*); next to make warm by friction; then (as with 'friction' itself) to irritate. In 2 S 17^{8} only (AV, RV) 'they be chafed in their minds, as a bear robbed of her whelps in the field' (מָרֵי נֶפֶשׁ 'bitter of soul'). Cf.—

> 'Calmnesse is great advantage; he that lets
> Another chafe, may warm him at his fire,
> Mark all his wandrings, and enjoy his frets.'
> G. Herbert, *Temple* ('Church Porch,' liii.).

J. HASTINGS.

CHAFF.—The AV renders by this term four Heb. words. **1.** חֲשַׁשׁ *hăshash.* This word occurs but twice in OT, Is 5^{24} 33^{11}, where it is rendered AV 'chaff.' It would be better rendered 'cut grass' or 'dry grass' (as Is 5^{24} RV). **2.** מוֹץ or מֹץ *môẓ.* This is chaff separated from the grain by winnowing. It is usually tr. in LXX χνοῦς (Ps 1^{4} 35^{5}, Is 29^{5}, Hos 13^{3}), once χνοῦς ἀχύρου (Is 17^{13}), and once κονιορτός=*dust* (Job 21^{18}). In the Oriental process of winnowing by tossing the cut straw, grain, and chaff into the air, the grain falls vertically back on the heap, the cut straw is carried a little distance away and deposited in another heap, while the chaff, consisting of the husks and the finer particles of the straw, is carried to and beyond the borders of the threshing-floor. Hence the imagery of the passages cited. **3.** תֶּבֶן *tebhen*, the same as the Arab. *tibn=cut straw.* This word is only once tr. 'chaff' (Jer 23^{28} AV, where LXX renders ἄχυρον, and RV 'straw'). In all the other passages where it occurs, except Job 21^{18}, where it is incorrectly rendered 'stubble,' it is tr. 'straw.' *Cut straw* is preferable. See STRAW. **4.** עוּר *'ûr.* This is an Aramaic word of somewhat uncertain signification. Some have derived it from the root עור *to be blind*, and regard it as that which blinds, such as the minute particles called AV 'chaff of the summer threshing-floors' (Dn 2^{35}). The LXX rendering κονιορτός in this passage would make it the *dust* and not the *chaff* of the threshing-floor. This contains, however, many minute spicules of the straw, husks, and beards of the grain.

G. E. POST.

CHAIN.—The Bible frequently refers to chains, and uses a great variety of words to describe the different articles and their uses. Chains were chiefly employed for (1) ornament, (2) restraint.

1. *Ornament.*—**1.** There was the more solid form of simple or twisted ring for the neck (רָבִיד from רָבַד; cf. Arab. *rabaṭ*, 'to bind'). Such was Joseph's gold chain (Gn 41^{42}), also Ezk 16^{11}. The Maronite Christians of Lebanon regard it as a charm against evil spirits, or the evil eye (see AMULET). It is called a *ṭauḳ*, and in the mod. Arab. version of the Bible by Van Dyck the ouch of the high priest's dress is so translated. This chain may be of gold or silver, but the poorer classes, as the Bedawin, wear chains of copper or brass. **2.** There was a more elaborate form, made of plaited wire, like (1), but with jewels inserted and pendants attached, or, instead of the metal twist, composed of separate parts in squares, balls, or links (corresp. to Arab. *Ḳilâdat*, *'iḳd*). It did not encircle the neck closely,

like the *ṭauḳ*, but hung loosely from it. The chain of Dn $5^{7.16.29}$ was probably of this order, and examples of it are found in Jg 8^{26}, Ps 73^{6}, Ca 4^{9}, Pr 1^{9}. It is customary in Syria to hang a crescent of silver, called the *hilâl*, by a hair rope or chain round the necks of valuable camels or horses (cf. Jg $8^{21.26}$). **3.** The flexible chain (שַׁרְשְׁרָה, Arab. *silsilah*, 'link-chain') for suspending and festooning purposes (Ex $28^{14.22}$ 39^{15}, 1 K 7^{17}, 2 Ch $3^{5.16}$). **4.** In Nu 31^{50} RV 'ankle-chain' (which see). **5.** In Ca 1^{10} (חָרוּז, Arab. *ḥaraz*) RV 'strings of jewels' means a necklace of gems, beads, or shells strung on a thread. **6.** In Is 3^{19} (נְטִפוֹת, Arab. *nuṭafah*) RV 'pendants' means ear-drops, in design like a pearl or drop of water.

2. *Restraint*.—Named from the metal, copper (נְחֻשָׁה), La 3^{7}. In Jer 39^{7} 52^{11} chain is transl. *fetters* (see FETTER); also in AV in Jg 16^{21}, 2 S 3^{34}, 2 K 25^{7}, 2 Ch 33^{11} 36^{6}. Chain in Ps 68^{6} is corrected in RV to 'prosperity' (כּוֹשָׁרָה). In NT the references to chains for restraint present little difficulty. The chief terms are ἅλυσις, Mk 5^{3}, Ac 28^{20}, 2 Ti 1^{16}, Rev 20^{1}: σειρά in 2 P 2^{4} 'chains of darkness'; δεσμός in Jude ^{6} 'everlasting chains,' which becomes a fig. 'bond' in Lk 13^{16}.

Modern brass was unknown in ancient times, but there was an alloy of copper and tin. The feet of prisoners were secured by a chain of copper (נְחֻשָׁה, Arab. *silâsil naḥâs*, πέδη) attached to copper rings encircling each ankle, which were widened to receive the ankle, and then closed by a few strokes of a hammer. For the sake of safe custody, as the soft copper rings might be opened, the prisoner's eyes were put out (2 K 25^{7}). In NT mention is made of the Roman custom of securing a prisoner by a chain, one end being fastened to the prisoner's wrist and the other to that of the soldier who guarded him (Ac 12^{6} 28^{20}). W. CARSLAW.

CHALCEDONY.—See STONES, PRECIOUS.

CHALDÆA, CHALDÆANS.—כַּשְׂדִּים (or אֶרֶץ כַּשְׂדִּים) is the usual OT designation of Chaldæa (Jer 50^{10} 51^{24} 24^{5} 25^{12}); the same word is seen in אוּר כַּשְׂדִּים (Gn 11^{28}) 'Ur of the Chaldees.' The Sept. reads Χαλδαῖοι, substituting a liquid (l) for a sibilant (שׂ) before a dental (d). The corresponding form in the Assyr. inscrip. is *mât Kaldû*, 'land of Chaldæans.'

i. THE LAND.—The land of the Chaldæans, in OT, usually covers what is included in the term Babylonia, not inclusive of Mesopotamia in its larger sense, but of the lower or between-rivers Babylonia. Delitzsch (*Paradies*, p. 128 f.) maintains that the Bab. name *Kašdu*, then *Kaššû*, is but the earlier designation of the 'territory of the *Kaš*' (*da*, meaning 'territory'), a people who held sway over middle Babylonia for some time before the 13th cent. B.C. (cf. also Del. *Sprache der Kossäer*). The land of the *Kaldû*, for some centuries after B.C. 1000, was located S.E. of Babylon, reaching to Bît-Yakîn and the head of the Pers. Gulf, and possibly swinging round W. to the edge of the Arabian desert. In the inscr. of Rammannirari III. (Rawlinson, *WAI* i. 35, No. 1, line 22) *Kaldi* covers all Babylonia in the expression *šarrâni ša mât Kaldi*, 'kings of the land of C.' Sargon always speaks of the rebel Merodach-baladan at Babylon as *šar mât Kaldi*, 'king of the land of Kaldu,' or *šar mât Bît-Yakîn*, 'king of the land of Bît-Yakîn.' So the Persian Gulf is mentioned as *tâmtum ša Bît-Yakîn*, interchangeably with *tâmtum ša mât Kaldi*, indicating that the Pers. Gulf was the sea of the Chaldæa of that day. Sennacherib (Rawlinson, *WAI* i. 37, line 37) draws a line between the Arabians and Aramæans on the one hand, and the *amêlu Kaldû*, 'the people of the Chaldæans,' on the other. In the time of the decline of Assyria and the rise of New Babylonia the term *Kaldû* included N. and S. Babylonia and the territory occupied by certain foreign tribes and peoples adjacent to them, who were later included in the name as used by the prophet-priest Ezekiel (23^{23}). The later Chaldæa was about 400 miles long N.E. and S.W. by an average of 100 miles in width. The derivation of the word is somewhat doubtful, though it may be related to the name of a nephew of Abraham, Chesed (כֶּשֶׂד), of which it is a plural, in Gn 22^{22}. It is also the same in root-form as the Assyr. *kašadû*, 'to conquer.'

ii. THE PEOPLE.—The origin of the Chaldæans is enveloped in the mists of antiquity. Whence and when they migrated into lower Babylonia is also an unsolved riddle. Winckler (*Gesch. Bab. und Assyr*. p. 99 f.) finds the first hint of such a people in the 'dynasty of the coast-land' [*meerlandes*], in the person of Ea-mukîn-šumi. king of Karduniaš, where the latter's territory is distinguished from the 'coast-land,' at about the middle of the 10th cent. B.C. It is also thought that the names of the kings of this dynasty are Kassite, thus sustaining a conjecture (cf. Del. as above) that the Kossæans, the *Kašdû*, were the pioneers of the Chaldæans in Babylonia. If these conjectures are true, then we find already in this period a mixed population in the lowlands, reaching as far as the Pers. Gulf. But the character of the Chaldæans, as we know them afterwards, is strongly Semitic. They pushed north from the Pers. Gulf against Babylon, and for centuries contended with Assyria for its possession. They were in early times nomads and agriculturists, despising city life. But their contact with the more advanced civilisation of lower Babylonia led them to respect and to foster centres for self-protection. Soon this industrious, thrifty people built and fortified cities, and extended their boundaries to the north against the older and more cultured capitals. In the second half of the 8th cent. B.C. we find north of Babylon the 'kingdom' of Bît-Dakkuri; and Sargon, as well as his successors on the throne of Assyria, had their hands full in holding at bay this vigorous people. The Chaldæan kings who forced their way to the throne of Babylon were probably heads of different cities, states, or tribes of that people. Merodach-baladan, son of Baladan, was king of Bît-Yakîn, Ukîn-zîr of Bît-Amukkani, and Šuzub, a Chaldæan, from some other place or tribe.

iii. THE LANGUAGE.—The language of the Chaldæans was the Bab. cuneiform, almost identical grammatically and lexically with the Assyrian. The term 'Chaldee' as applied to certain chapters of Dn and Ezr is incorrect, and should not be so employed. The correct term is Aramaic.

iv. THE WISE MEN.—In Dn (1^{4} and often) the term 'Chaldæans' is generally used in the sense of astrologers, astronomers. The same sense is seen in classaicl writers (as Strabo, Diodorus). Schrader (*COT* ii. 125) says, 'The signification "wise men," that we meet with in the Bk of Dn, is foreign to Assyrio-Bab. usage, and did not arise till after the fall of the Bab. empire.' Delitzsch (*Calwer Bibellexicon*, p. 127^{a}) regards this usage as built upon the fact that Bab.-Chaldæa had been the home and the chief seat of astrological and astronomical knowledge from early ages. The attempted identification of the peoples in the region of the Black Sea (mentioned by Xenophon as Chaldæans) with those in lower Mesopotamia has proved a failure. See BABYLONIA.

LITERATURE.—Delattre, *Les Chald. jusqu'à la fond. de l'emp. de Nebuch.* 1889; Winckler, *Untersuch. z. altorient. Ges.* 1889, 47 ff.; — *Ges. Bab. und As.* 1892, 111 ff.; Tiele, *Bab.-As. Ges.* 1888, 65, 207, 211, 286 ff., 422; on Chaldæan learning, Meyer, E., *Ges. des Alterthums*, 1884, vol. i. p. 185 f.; Hommel, *Ges. Bab. und As.* 1885, pp. 386 ff., 404 ff. IRA M. PRICE.

CHALDEE VERSIONS.—See TARGUMS.

CHALK-STONES (אַבְנֵי־גִר).—This expression is used only once, Is 27^{9}, where Israel's repentance evinces itself by the destruction of idolatrous altars, whose stones are to be as chalk (or limestone) broken in pieces, calcined and slaked for mortar (see Delitzsch, *ad loc.*). The expression is of much interest as showing that the practice of burning limestone and slaking with water was practised in Pal. in OT times. The limestone of Pal. consists largely of white granular carbonate of lime of the same geological age as the Chalk formation of England. E. HULL.

CHALLENGE.—In the sense of 'claim,' Ex 22^{9} 'any manner of lost thing which another challengeth to be his' (אֹמַר, RV 'one saith'). Cf. More (1513), 'He began, not by warre, but by Law, to challenge the crown.' J. HASTINGS.

CHALPHI (AV **Calphi**)=Alphæus (Χαλφει, Jos. *Ant.* XIII. v. 7, Χαψέας), the father of Judas, one of the two captains of Jonathan Maccabæus who stood firm in a battle fought against the Syrians at Hazor in N. Galilee (1 Mac 11^{70}).
H. A. WHITE.

CHAMBER as a verb occurs Ro 13^{13} 'Let us walk honestly, as in the day . . . not in chambering and wantonness' (κοίτη, 'a bed,' Lk 11^{7}; 'the marriage bed,' He 13^{4}; here 'illicit intercourse'; cf. Ro 9^{10} κοίτην ἔχουσα, 'having conceived'). See HOUSE.
J. HASTINGS.

CHAMBERLAIN.—An officer in the houses of kings and nobles charged with the care of their apartments, dress, etc., though the office often implied other duties of trust. In OT the word occurs in 2 K 23^{11} and repeatedly in Est, where the original is *eunuch* (סָרִים); but it is generally believed that this name is not to be taken always in a literal sense, and hence it is often rendered by the word *officer*. In Esther, however, the chamberlain evidently belongs to that class of persons who are entrusted with the watchful care of the harems of Oriental monarchs. In NT at Ac 12^{20} it is said that the people of Tyre and Sidon sought the favour of Herod Agrippa through the mediation of Blastus 'the king's c.' (τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος τοῦ βασιλέως), showing that the office was one of considerable influence. The word occurs again in AV in Ro 16^{23}, but is rendered in RV more accurately 'treasurer (οἰκονόμος) of the city,' in connexion with the name of Erastus, a Christian of Corinth, from which place it is generally believed that St. Paul wrote his Ep. to the Romans, and where it is not likely there would be a chamberlain in the primary sense of the word. J. WORTABET.

CHAMELEON.—AV so renders כֹּחַ *kôăḥ*, χαμαιλέων, *chameleon*, the second of the lizards mentioned in Lv 11^{30}, which RV renders *land-crocodile*. On the other hand, RV renders by *chameleon* the last of the animals mentioned in this passage, תִּנְשֶׁמֶת *tinshemeth*, ἀσπάλαξ, *talpa*, which AV renders *mole*.

The Heb. *kôăḥ* is used in many passages in its etymological sense of *strength*, but only in the present for an *animal*. Nothing in its etymology points to the *chameleon*. Among the lizards the *land-monitor*, which is the *land-crocodile* of the ancients, *Psammosaurus scincus*, Merrem, is next to the *Nile-monitor*, *Monitor Niloticus*, Geoffr., in size and strength. The Arabs call both *waral* (vulgo *waran*). They distinguish the first as *waral el-arḍ*=the *land-waral*, and the second as *waral el-bahr*=*water-waral*. But the first is also called *ḍabb*=צָב *ẓâb*, which is the name of the last animal in the previous verse, translated in AV *tortoise*, and in RV *great lizard*. It often attains a length of from 4 to 5 ft. It would therefore be better to render *ẓâb*, *land-crocodile* or *land-monitor*, and *kôăḥ*, *Nile-monitor* or *water-monitor*. This would carry out the etymological idea of strength, as the water-monitor is a foot or two longer than its land relative, and Arabian stories are full of the records of its power in fighting, not only snakes, but the *ḍabb* itself. This would give to two of the lizard group appropriate specific names. Both are noted for devouring crocodile's eggs. The Nile-monitor was held in great reverence in ancient Egypt on this account.

As before said, RV gives *chameleon* for *tinshemeth* (Lv 11^{30}). While it is perhaps probable that this animal is a lizard, as its name stands at the end of a list of lizards, it is by no means certain. It is also at the end of a list of things 'that creep upon the earth' (11^{29}). In those days there was no scientific study of objects of Nature, and the collocation of the different clean and unclean animals was with reference to characteristics which are not recognised in any other system of classification ($11^{4-7.\ 20-23}$). It is quite possible, therefore, that *tinshemeth* is not a lizard, but the *mole-rat* of Syria, *Spalax typhlus*, which, although not a true mole, has all its habits and its general aspect. The LXX and Vulg. renderings strengthen this possibility. There is, however, one strong objection to rendering *tinshemeth* 'mole-rat.' It is that *ḥoled* (Lv 11^{29}) tr. in both VSS (on the authority of the LXX γαλῆ, and Vulg. *mustela*), *weasel*, very probably refers to the *mole-rat*. See MOLE, WEASEL. It is inadmissible to suppose that the same animal is mentioned twice, by different names, so close together in the same list.

There seems to be no warrant for the adoption of *chameleon* for *tinshemeth*, excepting the derivation of the word from a root signifying to *breathe*, coupled with the ancient opinion that the chameleon *lived on air*. It must not be forgotten that, in the same chapter, *tinshemeth* is given as the name of an aquatic fowl (v.^{18}, cf. Dt 14^{16}). See SWAN. On the whole, we think the question of the identity of both *tinshemeths* very unsatisfactory, and well-nigh insoluble. G. E. POST.

CHAMOIS (זֶמֶר *zemer*, καμηλοπάρδαλις, *camelopardus*).—This was one of the wild animals allowed to the Israelites as food (Dt 14^{5}), and therefore presumably accessible to them. This would make impossible the renderings *cameloparḍ* and *chamois*. Tristram establishes a very strong probability that it is the mountain-sheep of Egypt and Arabia, called in N. Africa *aoudad*, and in Arabia *kebsh*, which signifies a *ram*. It is known to naturalists as *Ovis tragelaphus*, and lives in small flocks in the most rugged mountain districts from Barbary to Egypt. The *kebsh* of Sinai is probably identical with it, though as yet no naturalist has seen it. The Bedawîn know it well. It may well be supposed that it was abundant in the Mosaic age, and, as it was allowed to the Israelites for food, they may have done much toward its extinction in those parts. It is more than 3 ft. in height, has no mane, but long hair down its throat and breast, and on the fore-legs, forming a sort of ruffles to the knee. It is very active, bounding from rock to rock. It has massive horns, 2 ft. in length, and curving gently backward. G. E. POST.

CHAMPAIGN means 'an open plain' (from Lat. *campania*, It. *campagna*, old Fr. *champaigne*). It occurs Dt 11^{30} (in 1611 *champion*, a later form which was introduced in the beg. of 16th cent.) 'the Canaanites, which dwell in the c.' (עֲרָבָה, RV 'Arabah'); Ezk 37^{2m} (1611 *champian*, a still later form), and Jth 5^{1} 'in the c. countries' (ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις, RV 'in the plains'). The word is pron. *sham'pān*. J. HASTINGS.

CHAMPION (from late Lat. *campio*, one who fights in the *campus* or open plain) is an accurate tr. of the Heb. in 1 S 17$^{4.\ 23}$ (אִישׁ־הַבֵּנַיִם, lit. 'the man of the space between,' that is, the space between the two armies, which is called in Gr. the *μεταίχμιον*). But in 17^{51} Goliath is simply called 'mighty one' (גִּבּוֹר), and the 'champion' of AV and RV is unhappy. J. HASTINGS.

CHANCE.—The 'reign of law' is no discovery of the 19th century. It was an accepted, even an axiomatic, fact to the ancient Hebrew throughout the whole course of his history. And more than that, the law was the immediate expression of a personal will, not the fortuitous harmony of working forces. 'Chance,' therefore, has scant recognition in OT or in NT. Neither *συντυχία* nor *τύχη* occurs in NT; and *τύχη* only twice, *συντυχία* not once, in LXX. The first occurrence of *τύχη* in LXX is Gn 30^{11} *καὶ εἶπεν Λεία Ἐν τύχῃ*, 'and Leah said, With fortune!' following the *kethibh* בְּגָד *bĕghâdh* (in pause), which RV also follows, 'and Leah said, Fortunate!' The other occurrence of *τύχη* is Is 65^{11} *ἑτοιμάζοντες τῷ δαιμονίῳ τράπεζαν καὶ πληροῦντες τῇ τύχῃ κέρασμα*, 'preparing for the demon a table, and filling up for fortune a mixed drink.' Here *τύχη* stands for Heb. מְנִי *Mĕnî*, which most scholars identify with Venus. But *δαιμόνιον* stands for גַּד Gad, an old Semitic name for the god of Fortune, found in inscriptions, proper names, and common in Syr.=*τύχη*. See GAD. Apart from the passages above, the nearest approach to a recognition of 'chance' is in 1 S 6^{9}, where the Philistines devise a method of discovering whether the calamities they had suffered while the ark was in their midst were due to the presence of the ark, or whether 'it was a chance that happened to us' (מִקְרֶה, LXX *σύνπτωμα*); but here, as in the other places where the same Heb. is used (Dt 23^{10} 'that which chanceth him,' Ru 2^{3}, 1 S 20^{26}, Ec 2$^{14.\ 15}$ 3$^{19\ ter}$ 9$^{2.\ 3}$), the idea is not something independent of J″, but something unexpected by man. The prevalent Hebrew mind on the matter is expressed in the proverb (16^{33})—

> 'The lot is cast into the lap;
> But the whole disposing thereof is of the LORD.'

The other places in which 'chance' occurs are these: Ec 9^{11} 'time and c. happeneth to them all' (פֶּגַע, elsewhere only in 1 K 5^{4} and tr. 'occurrent,' not 'chance,' but external incident or event; cf. 2 Es 10^{49} 'these things which have chanced'); Lk 10^{31} 'by c. there came down a certain priest that way' (*συγκυρία*, again not 'chance,' but 'concurrence' or 'coincidence,' see Plummer *in loc.*); and so 1 Co 15^{37} 'it may c. of wheat, or of some other grain' (*εἰ τύχοι*; *i.e. we* cannot tell which; cf. 14^{10} *εἰ τύχοι*, 'it may be'); while in Dt 22^{6} 'If a bird's nest c. to be before thee in the way,' and 2 S 1^{6} 'As I happened by c. upon Mount Gilboa,' the Heb. is simply 'come upon' or 'meet' (קָרָא).

For the verb 'c.'=turn out (1 Co 15^{37}) cf. Coverdale's tr. of Ph 1^{19} 'Ye same shal chaunce to my Saluacion.' J. HASTINGS.

CHANCELLOR.—'Rehum the c.,' Ezr 4$^{8.\ 9.\ 17}$ (בְּעֵל־טְעֵם, lit. 'the lord of judgment'). *Dhêm* in Assyrian is the technical word used of the official reports forwarded to the kings of Assyria and Babylonia by their correspondents abroad. With this Sayce identifies the Aram. *ṭĕ'ēm*, and translates *bĕ'ēl ṭĕ'ēm*, 'lord of official intelligence' or 'postmaster.' 'Chancellor,' even in its old sense of royal notary or official secretary to the king, is thus unsuitable; while in mod. usage the word is restricted to special offices, all very different from this. See BEELTETHMUS, REHUM. J. HASTINGS.

CHANGE.—1. See CHANGE OF RAIMENT; and notice that the sing. is used for the pl. in Jg 14$^{12.\ 13.\ 19}$ 'thirty change of garments' (RV 'changes'). The Heb. word (חֲלִיפָה) there and elsewhere used in 'change' of raiment is found in three difficult passages: Job 10^{17} 'changes and war are against me,' which may mean 'relays' of soldiers as in 1 K 5^{14}, but see Davidson *in loc.* In Job 14^{14} 'all the days of my appointed time will I wait till my c. come,' the meaning is clearly 'release' from the worry of life, as the soldier is released when his watch is over. But in Ps 55^{19} 'who have no changes, and who fear not God,' this meaning, if possible, is not so easy. See *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.* **2.** In Lv 27^{33} 'if he c. it at all, then both it and the c. thereof shall be holy,' c.=exchange (תְּמוּרָה, RV 'that for which it is changed'). Cf. Heywood (1562), 'Chaunge is no robry, but robry maketh chaunge.' **3.** Wis 14^{26} 'changing of kind' (*γενέσεως ἐναλλαγή*, RV 'confusion of sex'). **4. Changeable** in Is 3^{22} 'the c. suits of apparel,' means *that may be changed*; Cheyne, *state dresses*, named in Heb. from their being put off when the occasion for their use was over. **5. Changer.** See MONEY. J. HASTINGS.

CHANGE OF RAIMENT.—The expression occurs in Gn 45^{22}, where Joseph gives to Benjamin five changes of raiment (חֲלִיפוֹת שְׂמָלֹת); in Jg 14$^{12.\ 19}$, where Samson offers thirty changes of garments (ח׳ בְּגָדִים); also in 2 K 5$^{5.\ 22.\ 23}$, as part of Naaman's gift. In Jg 17^{10} part of Micah's wages was to be an outfit of clothing (עֵרֶךְ בְּגָדִים). The separate mention (Jg 14^{12}) of the innermost garment (סָדִין AV 'sheet,' RV 'linen garment') indicates that 'change of raiment' referred to outer articles of dress. These, under some difference of name, pattern, and material, acc. to life in desert, village, or city, were two: (1) the coat or tunic (כְּתֹנֶת, *χιτών*), in the form of a dressing-gown worn with girdle; and (2) the cloak or mantle (מְעִיל, *ἱμάτιον*), of more ample and loose pattern. See COAT, CLOAK, DRESS. G. M. MACKIE.

CHANT was formerly (and is still poetically) used as a simple synonym for 'sing.' So Am 6^{5} 'that chant (Coverdale, 'synge') to the sound of the viol' (פֹּרְטִם [all], RV 'sing idle songs').

CHANUNEUS (*Χανουναῖος*, AV **Channuneus**), 1 Es 8^{48} (^{47} LXX).—A Levite, answering to Merari, if to anything, in the parallel list in Ezr 8^{19}.

CHAPEL.—The Frankish kings looked with special reverence on the *capella* or cloak of St. Martin, which was carried before them in battle and invoked in oaths. The name *capella* was then used for the sanctuary in which its *capellani* guarded this treasure. By steps which can readily be traced, the same designation came to be given to any sanctuary attached to a palace and containing holy relics, to any private sanctuary, to any room or building for worship, not being a church. Our AV employs its English equivalent *chapel* at Am 7^{13}, but the RV has discarded this in favour of *sanctuary*. The latter comes nearer the meaning of the original, *miḳdash*, which signifies *a holy place*. The former, however, aptly suggests that dependence on the king which was one of the characteristics of the sanctuary at Bethel. As an English Chapel Royal is not a parish church belonging to the public, but a place of worship under the control and meant for the use of the sovereign, so were such buildings as that at Bethel intended primarily for the king. It was by his permission that the people found a place there. Even at Jerusalem, Solomon built temple and palace in close proximity to each other: cf. Ezk 43^{8}. Chapel occurs also in 1 Mac 1^{47} (RV 'shrine'), 2 Mac 10^{2} (RV 'sacred inclosure'), 11^{3} (RV 'sacred place'). J. TAYLOR.

CHAPHENATHA (Χαφεναθά), 1 Mac 12^{37}.—Close to Jerus. on the east. Unknown.

CHAPITER (from Lat. *caput*, through the French) is now displaced, in ordinary speech, by the cognate form 'capital,' which the American Revision Company wish to substitute for the older form retained by the British Revisers. **1.** כֹּתֶרֶת, LXX ἐπίθεμα, the spherical capital, 5 cubits high, of each of the two great brazen pillars—JACHIN and BOAZ (wh. see)—of Solomon's temple. The passage recording the construction of these pillars, 1 K 7$^{15ff.}$ (with which cf. 2 K 25^{17}, 2 Ch 4$^{12.13}$, Jer 52^{22}), is one of the worst preserved in the OT, and much uncertainty still prevails as to the precise form and ornamentation of the capitals. For details see art. TEMPLE, and compare the reconstruction of Stade in his *Gesch. d. Volkes Israel*, i. p. 332, and of Perrot and Chipiez in *Hist. of Art in Sardinia and Judæa* (Eng. tr.), i. plates 6 and 7. In 2 Ch 3^{15} צֶפֶת is used for these chapiters. **2.** כֹּתֶרֶת appears in MT of 1 K 7^{31} as a part of the brazen lavers made by Hiram for the temple, but is almost certainly a corruption of כְּתֵפֹת (Ewald, Stade, Klost.). See LAVER. **3.** In Ex 36^{38} we read that the upper portions or tops (רָאשֵׁיהֶם, EV 'their chapiters') of the five pillars which supported the 'screen for the door of the tent' (RV) were to be overlaid with gold, while the corresponding parts of the pillars of the court were to be overlaid with silver (Ex 38$^{17.19.28}$). Although all these pillars were of one piece, the parts thus treated would have the appearance of capitals (LXX κεφαλίδες).

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

CHAPMAN (Anglo-Sax. *ceáp* 'trade,' and *mann* 'man') is used only once in AV, 2 Ch 9^{14} 'Beside that which chapmen and merchants brought' (אַנְשֵׁי הַתָּרִים, RV 'the chapmen,' Amer. RV 'the traders'). For the same Heb., RV gives 'chapmen' (AV 'merchantmen') 1 K 10^{15}, and it is an appropriate tr. if the word had been still in use. For its meaning cf. Rogers (1642), 'It is not a meete thing that man should be both chapman and customer.'

J. HASTINGS.

CHAPT.—Jer 14^{4} 'Because the ground is chapt, for there was no rain in the earth' (חַתָּה, Amer. RV 'chapped,' RVm 'dismayed,' for the Heb. has both meanings). Bradley (1727) in his *Farmer's Dict.* speaks of 'claiey or stiff earth . . . subject to chap during the heat of summer'; but the word, which means 'cracked,' is no longer used of land.

J. HASTINGS.

CHARAATHALAN (B Χαρααθαλάν, A Χαρὰ 'Αθαλάρ, AV **Charaathalar**), 1 Es 5^{36}.—A name given to a leader of certain families who returned from Babylon under Zerub. But 'Charaathalan leading them and Allar' is due to some perversion of the original, which has 'Cherub, Addan, Immer,' three names of *places* in Bab., *from which* the return was made (Ezr 2^{59} כְּרוּב אַדָּן, Χαρούς (A Χερούβ), 'Ηδάν; cf. Neh 7^{61}). The form in 1 Es may be partly accounted for by confusion between Θ and B, and between Λ and Δ. H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

CHARAX (Χάρακα, εἰς τόν, 2 Mac 12^{17}, RV 'to Charax,' AV 'to Characa').—East of Jordan, and apparently in the land of Tob. Unknown.

CHAREA (A Χαρεά, B om.), 1 Es 5^{32}=HARSHA, Ezr 2^{52}, Neh 7^{54}.

CHARGE, CHARGEABLE.—*To charge* (late Lat. *carricare* to load, from *carrus* a wagon, whence old Fr. *charger*) is 'to load,' and *a charge* is 'a load,' as we still speak of 'charging' a gun, and of its 'charge.' But in the Bible the word is used only figuratively. **1.** To burden one, or be a burden on one, AV 'be chargeable,' Neh 5^{15} 'the former governors, that had been before me, were c. unto the people' (הִכְבִּידוּ עַל, lit. 'made heavy on,' RVm 'laid burdens upon'); esp. in the matter of expense, 2 S 13^{25} 'let us not all now go [to the sheep-shearing feast], lest we be c. unto thee' (נִכְבַּד, RV 'be burdensome'); 1 Th 2^{9} 'because we would not be c. unto any of you' (ἐπιβαρέω, 'be a weight upon,' RV 'that we might not burden'; so 2 Th 3^{8}); and 2 Co 11^{9} 'I was c. to no man' (καταναρκάω, only here and 12$^{13.14}$, though LXX gives simple ναρκάω as tr. of יָקַע 'to be dislocated,' 'torn away,' Gn 32$^{25.32\,bis}$, Job 33^{19}, Dn [LXX] 11^{6}. The vb. κ. is to benumb, as a torpedo [νάρκη] might benumb, and so to paralyse one by laying another's maintenance on him). Cf. Geneva B. 'I was not slothful to the hinderance of anie man'; RV 'I was not a burden on any man.' **2.** The burden of *expense* is also expressed by 'charge,' both verb and subst.: Neh 10^{32} 'to c. ourselves yearly with the third part of a shekel for the service of the house of our God' (נָתַן); 1 Ti 5^{16} 'let not the church be charged' (βαρεῖσθαι, RV 'be burdened' as in 2 Co 5^{4} EV); 1 Co 9^{18} 'that . . . I may make the gospel without c.' (ἀδάπανος); 9^{7} 'who goeth a warfare any time at his own charges?' (ἰδίοις ὀψωνίοις); Ac 21^{24} 'be at charges with them' (RV 'for them,' δαπάνησον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, 'spend upon them'). Cf. Shaks. *Rich. III.* I. ii. 256—

> 'I'll be at charges for a looking-glass.'

3. To lay a special duty upon one, as 2 Ch 36^{23}= Ezr 1^{2} 'he hath charged me to build him an house in Jerus.' (פָּקַד). Then this duty or responsibility is expressed by the subst. 'charge,' Job 34^{13} 'Who hath given him (God) a c. over the earth?' (פָּקַד); Jth 7^{32} 'he dispersed the people every one to their own c.' (παρεμβολή). Then the word is freely used (as tr. of מִשְׁמֶרֶת), esp. in Nu (P) in a half-technical sense, quite foreign to any modern idiom. Thus the duty is called, Nu 4^{31} 'the c. of this burden.' Since J″ imposes it, it is 'the c. of the Lord,' Lv 8^{35}. It is also called 'the c. of the sons of Gershon' (Nu 3^{25}), because on them the burden lies. And from its object or extent it is described as: 1^{53} 'the c. of the tabernacle of the testimony'; 3^{31} 'the c. of the ark'; 3^{8} 'the c. of the children of Israel'; or 3^{38} 'the c. of the sanctuary, for the c. of the children of Israel.' **4.** This meaning passes easily into *care* or *custody*: 2 K 7^{17} 'to appoint to the c. of the gate' (הִפְקִיד); 1 Ch 9^{28} (עַל); Ac 8^{27} 'who had the c. of all her treasure' (ἐπί); Nu 31^{49} 'the men of war which are under our c.' (יָד): cf. Ac 1^{20} AVm '*office* or *charge*' (ἐπισκοπή, AV 'bishoprick,' RV 'office,' RVm 'overseership'). **5.** From 'give a c.' (Mt 4^{6}, Lk 4^{10}, 1 Ti 6^{13}), or 'give in c.' (1 Ti 5^{7} 'these things give in c.,' παραγγέλλω, RV 'command'), there naturally arises the meaning of 'enjoin' or 'command,' of which the examples are numerous and obvious,* and the subst. c. = a command, as 2 S 18^{5}, Ac 16$^{23.24}$ ('charging the jailor to keep them safely; who, having received such a c.'), 1 Ti 1^{18} 6^{13}. **6.** The last and heaviest weight to lay on one is to 'lay blame,' found chiefly in the phrase 'lay to the c. of,' Dt 21^{8}, Ps 35^{11}, Ac 7^{60} 23^{29}, Ro 8^{33}, 2 Ti 4^{16}. But the simple verb is also used in this sense, 2 S 3^{8} 'thou chargest me to-day with a fault concerning this woman'; Job 1^{22} 'nor charged God foolishly' (RV 'with foolishness'), 4^{18} 'his angels he chargeth with folly.' J. HASTINGS.

CHARGER (orig. either something that may be loaded or something to load with. See CHARGE).—A charger is 'a large plate or flat dish for carrying a large joint of meat,' *Oxf. Eng. Dict.* The word is used as tr. of (1) קְעָרָה Nu 7 *passim*, the silver c. offered by various princes as a dedication gift; (2) אֲגַרְטָל Ezr 1^{9bis} 'thirty chargers of gold, a thousand chargers of silver,' being part of the vessels of the house of the Lord restored by Cyrus; (3) πίναξ Mt 14$^{8.11}$, Mk 6$^{25.28}$ of the charger in which John the Baptist's head was presented to Salome, and by her to her mother. See BASKET, FOOD.

---

* But see Mt 9^{30}, Mk 1^{43} 'straitly charged,' ἐμβριμάομαι, with Thayer on that word, Gould's note on Mk 1^{43}, and *Expos. Times*, vol. i. p. 172 ff.

J. HASTINGS.

CHARIOT (רֶכֶב, רְכוּב Ps 104^{3}, מֶרְכָּבָה, עֲגָלָה Ps 46^{9}, ἅρμα, *currus*).—In ancient times war chariots formed an important part of the military strength of a nation. We learn from Egyptian monuments that they were largely employed in the armies of the Hittite and Palestinian kings, and thence they were introduced into Egypt about the 17th cent. B.C. (Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*, i. 295). An Egyp. poem mentions that the Hittites brought 2500 chariots against Ramses II. (B.C. 1360); and when the Egyptians defeated the allied forces of the Syrians at Megiddo in the 14th cent. B.C., they captured 2041 horses and 924 chariots. A papyrus relating to the same period described the adventures of an Egyptian *mohar* or official, who drove through Pal. in a chariot, accompanied by his servant. In the OT we read of the chariots and horsemen of Pharaoh at the time of the Exodus (Ex 14$^{6ff.}$ 15$^{1.4}$). In Pal. the Israelites must have become familiar with the use of chariots in war long before they adopted them. Thus they were used by the Can. kings defeated at the Waters of Merom (Jos 11$^{4-9}$), by Jabin and Sisera, who had 900 chariots of iron (Jg 4$^{3.13}$ 5^{28}); and it was through their iron chariots that the Canaanites of the valleys were able to maintain themselves against the conquering Israelites (Jg 1^{19}, cf. Jos 17$^{16.18}$). These chariots were doubtless built of wood (cf. Jos 11^{9} 'burnt their chariots') and plated or strengthened with iron. The translation of Vulg. *currus falcati* (Jg 1^{19} 4$^{3.13}$) seems to involve an anachronism; for the use of scythes attached to the axles of war chariots was probably introduced from Persia. Certainly, chariots of this kind are never represented on the monuments of Egypt or Assyria, and Xenophon attributes the invention to Cyrus (*Cyrop.* vi. 1. 27). In the time of Saul the Philistines invaded the country of Israel with 3000 chariots (1 S 13^{5} LXX [Luc.]; see Driver, *Text of Sam.*). David, during his Syrian wars, captured 1000 chariots (1 Ch 18^{4}), and on another occasion 700 (2 S 10^{18}); but, following the example of Joshua (Jos 11^{9}), he maimed the horses, reserving only sufficient for 100 chariots (2 S 8^{4}). The introduction of chariots into the Israelite army dates from the time of Solomon, who maintained an establishment of 1400 chariots (1 K 10^{26}, 2 Ch 1^{14}) and 4000 horses (2 Ch 9^{25}, in 1 K 4^{26} [Heb. 5^{6}] wrongly 40,000). These were stationed partly in Jerusalem and partly in more suitable cities selected for the purpose (1 K 9^{19} 10^{26}). Both chariots and horses were mainly imported from Egypt, and a profitable trade in them was carried on with the Hittite and Syrian kings. We are told that a chariot was brought from Egypt for 600 shekels of silver, and a horse for 150 shekels (1 K 10$^{28f.}$, 2 Ch 1$^{16f.}$). From this time onwards chariots form a regular part of the army both in the northern and southern kingdoms (1 K 16^{9}, 2 K 7^{14} 9$^{16.21}$ 10^{2} 13$^{7.14}$ 8^{21}, Is 2^{7}, Mic 5^{10} etc.). In particular, the king seems regularly to have gone to battle in his chariot (1 K 22$^{34f.}$, 2 K 23^{30}, cf. 1 K 12^{18}, 2 K 9^{21}). Zimri held the important office of captain of half the chariots (1 K 16^{9}). There seem, however, to have often been difficulties in securing a sufficient supply of horses (2 K 7$^{13f.}$ 18^{23}); hence in the time of Isaiah there was a strong party in Judah which favoured a close alliance with Egypt (Is 30$^{2.16}$ 31^{1} 36^{9}). But the consciousness still survived that the use of chariots had been introduced from heathen countries. Hence, while the historian looks upon them as a mark of regal despotism (1 S 8^{11}), and the Deuteronomic law forbids the king to multiply horses (Dt 17^{16}), the prophets regard horses and chariots as a sign of dependence on human aid instead of on divine protection (Hos 1^{7} 14^{3} [Heb. ^{4}], Is 2^{7} 30^{16} 31^{1}), and they predict their destruction in the Messianic future (Mic 5^{10} [Heb. ^{9}], Zec 9^{10}).

Frequent allusion is made to the use of war chariots by the Syrians (1 K 20$^{21.25}$ 22^{31}, 2 K 6$^{14f.}$), the Assyrians (Is 5^{28} 37^{24}, Nah 3^{2}), the Egyptians (2 K 7^{6}, Jer 46$^{4.9}$), and others (Ezk 23^{24} 26^{7}, Is 43^{17}, Jer 51^{21}, Hag 2^{22}). Chariots were used also in the later Syrian kingdom (Dn 11^{40}, 1 Mac 1^{17} 8^{6}), and Antiochus Eupator is said to have possessed 300 chariots armed with scythes (2 Mac 13^{2}).

The chariot was employed also in times of peace (Gn 50^{9}, 1 K 18$^{44f.}$, 2 K 5$^{9.21}$ 10$^{15f.}$, Is 66^{20}), and was regarded as a mark of high rank. Thus Pharaoh assigned to Joseph his 'second chariot' (Gn 41^{43}); Absalom and Adonijah prepared chariots and horses to mark their claims to the throne (2 S 15^{1}, 1 K 1^{5}); cf. also Is 22^{18}, Jer 17^{25} 22^{4}. In the NT the only chariot mentioned, except in Rev 9^{9}, cf. 18^{13}, is that of the Ethiopian treasurer of Candace (Ac 8$^{28ff.}$). The heathenish practice of dedicating horses and chariots to the sun, introduced by some of the later kings of Judah, was abolished by Josiah (2 K 23^{11}).

The chariots of the Hebrews doubtless resembled those used by the surrounding nations, and represented on Egyp. and Assyr. monuments. They were two-wheeled vehicles, open behind, drawn by two horses, and containing two (1 K 22^{34}) or perhaps three persons (2 K 9^{25}). The latter view is supported by the special Heb. term for an officer, *shalîsh* (שָׁלִישׁ), lit. *third man*; see Ex 14^{7} 15^{4}, 2 K 7^{2} 9^{25} 10^{25} 15^{25} etc. The Egyp. chariots were of light and simple construction, the material employed being wood, as is proved by sculptures representing the manufacture of chariots. The axle was set far back, and the bottom of the car, which rested on this and on the pole, was sometimes formed of a frame interlaced with a network of thongs or ropes. The chariot was entirely open behind, and for the greater part of the sides, which were formed by a curved rail rising from each side of the back of the base, and resting on a wooden upright above the pole in front. From this rail, which was strengthened by leather thongs, a bow case of leather, often richly ornamented, hung on the right-hand side, slanting forwards; while the quiver and spear cases inclined in the opposite direction. The wheels, which were fastened on the axle by a linch-pin secured with a short thong, had six spokes in the case of war chariots, but in private vehicles sometimes only four. The pole sloped upwards, and to the end of it a curved yoke was attached. A small saddle at each end of the yoke rested on the withers of the horses, and was secured in its place by breast-band and girth. No traces are to be seen. The bridle was often ornamented; a bearing-rein was fastened to the saddle, and the other reins passed through a ring at the side of this. The number of horses to a chariot seems always to have been two; and in the car, which contained no seat, only rarely are more than two persons depicted, except in triumphal processions.

Assyrian chariots did not differ in any essential points from the Egyptian. They were, however, completely panelled at the sides, and a shield was sometimes hung at the back. The wheels had six, or, at a later period, eight spokes; the felloes were broad, and seem to have been formed of three distinct circles of wood, sometimes surrounded by a metal tire. While only two horses were attached to the yoke, in the older monuments a third horse is generally to be seen, which was probably used as a reserve. The later chariots are square in front, not rounded; the car itself is larger and higher; the cases for weapons are placed in front, not at the side; and only two horses are used. The harness differs somewhat from the Egyptian. A broad collar passes round the neck, from which hangs a breast ornament, the whole being secured by a triple strap under the belly of the horse. As in Egypt, there are no traces visible; two driving-reins are attached to each horse, but the bearing-rein seems to be unknown. In addition to the warrior and the charioteer, we often see a third man, who bears a shield; and a fourth occupant of the chariot sometimes appears.

The Hittite chariots, as represented on Egyp. monuments, regularly contain three warriors. In construction they are plainer and more solid than the Egyptian, and the sides are not open. The chariots on Persian sculptures closely resemble the Assyrian.

In Sir 49^8 the first vision of Ezekiel is alluded to as 'the chariot of the cherubim,' and that chapter (Ezk 1), under the title of 'the chariot,' figures largely in later Jewish mystical speculation. Cf. Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 347.

LITERATURE.—Layard, *Nineveh* (1849), ii. 348-356; Rawlinson, *Five Great Monarchies* (1864), ii. 1-21; Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians* (1847), i. 335-359; Nowack, *Heb. Archäologie*, i. 366 f.

H. A. WHITE.

CHARITY.—From 1 Co 8^1 onwards 'charity' is frequently employed in AV as the tr. of ἀγάπη; in RV it does not occur.

The Gr. word ἀγάπη is supposed to have been coined by the LXX. It is found in no profane author, not even in Josephus, and only once in Philo (i. 283). In LXX it occurs 2 S 1^{26} (A) 13^{15}, Ec $9^{1.6}$, Ca $2^{4.5.7}$ $3^{5.10}$ 5^8 7^6 $8^{4.6.7bis}$, Jer 2^2 always as tr. of אַהֲבָה; and in Wis 3^9 6^{18}, Sir 48^{11}. It has been supposed that the LXX felt the need of a word *of purer suggestion* than any in existence, but 2 S 13^{15} (the love of Amnon for Tamar) disproves that supposition. What the LXX seems to have felt the need of was a *stronger* word than either ἀγάπησις or φιλία, with which they elsewhere translate אַהֲבָה. Thus in 2 S 13^{15}, Ec $9^{1.6}$ it is used in emphatic contrast to 'hate.'

When Christianity came, having received the new revelation of the *love of God*, it found this word as yet unspoilt by common use, and adopted it to express the new divine idea. Perhaps the fact that the LXX had used it to express the *intensity* of love, made it the more easily adopted, for this was now also a leading thought, as in 1 Jn $4^{8.16}$ 'God is love,' and 4^{10} 'Herein is love, not that we loved God,' etc.

The word is used 117 times in NT (including ἀγάπαι, 'love-feasts,' Jude ^{12} [and 2 P 2^{13} L Tr WH]), always of love with which God has something to do. Its distribution, accord. to Moulton and Geden's *NT Concord.*, is as follows: Synop. 2 (Mt 24^{12}, Lk 11^{42}), Jn 7, Ro 9, 1 Co 14, 2 Co 9, Gal 3, Eph 10, Ph 4, Col 5, 1 Th 5, 2 Th 3, 1 Ti 5, 2 Ti 4, Tit 1, Philem 3, He 2, 1 P 3, 2 P 2, 1 Jn 18, 2 Jn 2, 3 Jn 1, Jude 3, Rev 2. That is, Synop. 2, Jn (including Rev) 30, Paul 75, He 2, P 5, Jude 3. It is not used in Mk, Ac, Ja.

Jerome experienced the difficulty which has been attributed to the LXX. There was no direct equivalent in Latin for ἀγάπη. *Amor* was impossible, suggesting idolatry as well as sensuality. He sometimes chose *dilectio*, esteem, and sometimes *caritas* (*charitas*), dearness, though both words, being comparatively weak, missed the very point for which ἀγαπη had first been coined. *Dilectio* is found in Vulg. 24 times, *caritas* 90 times (1 P 5^{14} gives a different tr.); but the choice of one or the other seems accidental.

Wyclif followed the Vulgate, giving 'love' for *dilectio* and 'charity' for *caritas* everywhere, except in Col $1^{8.13}$ where he has 'loving' for *dilectio*, not 'love'; and in 1 Co 13^4 where he uses the pronoun 'it' for the third *caritas*.

Tindale systematically avoided ecclesiastical words, and so discarded 'charity' entirely, using 'love' everywhere, except Ro 14^{15} 'charitably' (κατὰ ἀγάπην), and Col 1^{13} 'His dear Son' for 'the Son of his love.' Tindale was followed by Coverdale, the Great Bible, and the Geneva Bible, except that the Geneva has 'charity' in Rev $2^{4.19}$.

The Bishops restored 'charity' into the foll. places: Ro 13^{10} *bis*, 1 Co 8^1 $13^{1.2.3.4\,ter\,8.13\,bis}$ 14^1 16^{14}, Col 3^{14}, 1 Th $3^{6.12}$ 5^8, 2 Th 1^3, 1 Ti 1^5 2^{15} 4^{12}, 2 Ti 2^{22} 3^{10}, Tit 2^2, 1 P 4^8 *bis* 5^{14}, 2 P 1^7, 1 Jn 3^1, 3 Jn ^{6}, Jude $^{2.12}$, Rev 2^{19}; while they accepted Tindale's 'charitably' in Ro 14^{15}, and his 'dear Son' in Col 1^{13}.

The Rhemish Bible, being tr. from the Vulg., returned to the use of 'charity' and 'love,' following the Vulg. precisely, except that (as with Wyclif) the third 'charity' is omitted in 1 Co 13^4.

The translators of AV followed the Bishops, except in Ro 13^{10} *bis*, 1 Th 3^{12} 5^8, 1 Jn 3^1, and Jude ^{2}, where they capriciously prefer 'love' to 'charity.'

The RV gives 'love' wherever the Revisers found ἀγάπη in the text they adopted; for they reckoned it their special duty to translate the same Gr. word by the same English word, if that could possibly be done. No other Eng. version is so consistent. 'Charity' never occurs.

The word 'charity' entered the Eng. language at two different times. First in the form *cherte* (from Fr. *chierté*, *cherté*) and with the ordinary meaning of the Lat. *caritas*, 'dearness,' both in reference to price and affection. Next in the forms *caritat*, *caritet*, *charitet*, *charité*, from the popular use of the *caritas* (*caritatem*) of the Vulg. in the Church to indicate Christian 'love.' The two words were too close to be kept distinct, and in the 17th cent. *cherte* was discontinued.

After the Vulg., charity was used of the love of God, as 1 Jn $4^{8.16}$ 'God is charite' (Wyclif) = 'God is charitie' (Rheims—ἀγάπη is tr. by 'c.' throughout 1 Jn in Wyclif and Rhemish). Its meaning as applied to man is well expressed by Abp. Hamilton, *Catechism* (1552), 'Quhate is cherite? It is lufe, quharby we lufe God for his awin saik . . . and our neichbour for God's saik, or in God.' But such a word could not resist the strong tendency to degeneration, if indeed it had not degenerated in the use of the Vulg. itself. As early as Caxton we find the general sense of kindly disposition, leniency. Thus, *Cato* 3, 'I . . . beseche alle suche that fynde faute or errour that of theyr charyte they correcte and amende hit.' Dr. G. Salmon (*Gnosticism and Agnosticism*, p. 211) thinks it probable that the popular limitation of the word to almsgiving arose from its freq. employment in appeals of preachers either for money on behalf of some good object, or for prayers on behalf of the souls in purgatory; the common exordium being, 'Good Christian people, we pray you of your charity to give so and so.'

That there was a feeling about 1611 against the use of 'love' in the language of religion is shown by Bacon's remark (1603), 'I did ever allow the discretion and tenderness of the Rhemish translation in this point, that finding in the original the word ἀγάπη and never ἔρως, do ever translate Charity and never Love, because of the indifferency and equivocation of the word with impure love' (the statement is incorrect, since Rheims gives 'love' for ἀγάπη 23 times, but it expresses the feeling of the day). But it does not appear that it was in deference to any such feeling that the Bishops and AV introduced 'charity' again, but either to avoid 'the scrupulosity of the Puritans,' or to escape the charge of 'unequal dealing towards a great number of good English words.' The objections to 'c.' as a tr. of ἀγάπη are that it is now obsolete in the sense of 'love,' suggesting a mild toleration, in place of the noblest and most searching of virtues; and that its use in AV (esp. throughout 1 Co 13) has given rise to the mistaken idea that St. Paul is less the apostle of love than St. John. See ALMSGIVING and LOVE.

J. HASTINGS.

CHARM.—See AMULET and DIVINATION.

CHARME (Χαρμή, AV Carme), 1 Es 5^{25}.—Called HARIM, Ezr 2^{39}, Neh 7^{42}. The form in 1 Es is derived from the Heb., and not from the Gr. form in the canonical books.

CHARMIS (Bℵ Χαρμεις, A Χαλμεις = כַּרְמִי Gn 46^9).—Son of Melchiel, one of three rulers or elders of Bethulia (Jth 6^{15} 8^{10} 10^6).

CHASE.—See HUNTING.

CHASEBA (Χασεβά), 1 Es 5^{31}.—There is no corresponding name in the lists of Ezr and Neh.

CHASTENING, CHASTISEMENT, TRIBULATION. — The idea represented by the words chastening or chastisement fills a considerable space both in OT and NT. In Heb. it is usually expressed by the verb יָסַר, יִסַּר, and the substantive מוּסָר, with which הוֹכִיחַ and תּוֹכַחַת are frequently combined; and in Gr. by the corresponding verb and subst. *παιδεύω* and *παιδεία*. The etymological connexion of these last words with *παῖς* suggests that education, in the widest sense of the word, including reference to the means as well as the end of the process, is the main idea involved. And on the whole this is true. In one passage, Eph 6^{4}, fathers are charged to bring up their children in the *παιδείᾳ καὶ νουθεσίᾳ κυρίου*, where *παιδεία* is the Christian discipline of character, as it ought to be enforced in the Christian family. The same idea is presented in He 12^{9}, where fathers are regarded in the character of *παιδευταί*—as those who exercise discipline over their children, and esp. over their faults, for their good. This same conception is applied without reserve to God. One of the most striking passages is Pr 3$^{11f.}$ 'My son, despise not the chastening (*παιδεία*) of the Lord, nor faint when thou art rebuked (*ἐλεγχόμενος*) by him; for whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth (*παιδεύει*), and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth.' This is quoted and enforced in He 12$^{4-11}$ and Rev 3^{19}. The idea insisted upon is that the troubles which befall the people of God are not to be read as signs of His hostility, but of His paternal care. 'What son is he whom the father chasteneth not?' In a larger sense, perhaps, than this, the grace of God is spoken of as having appeared in saving power, teaching us (*παιδεύουσα*) that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts we should live soberly, righteously, and godly. 'Teaching' here suggests too little, and probably 'disciplining' or 'chastening' is too narrow; but the conception of the Christian life offered in this passage is that of education under a power which is at once gracious and severe. The *χάρις* which brings salvation to men employs resources of all kinds to put them in complete possession of it. Often the idea of painful correction is prominent, and in one place the severe word 'judgment' appears in the context. The abuses connected with the Lord's Supper at Corinth had produced much sickness and not a few deaths in the Church (1 Co 11^{30}). Men had been eating and drinking 'judgment' to themselves. Yet even under such judgments (*κρινόμενοι*), the apostle teaches, Christians are not objects of God's hostility: He is seeking their good; 'we are being chastened by the Lord, that we may not be condemned with the world.' Even in those peculiar passages where the chastisement seems so awful or extreme that Satan, not God, is made the instrument of it, this holds good. The sinner in 1 Co 5 is delivered to Satan, for the destruction of the flesh indeed (by death?), but that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus. So in 1 Ti 1^{20} Hymenæus and Alexander are handed over to the Adversary, that they may be taught under his hands (*παιδευθῶσι*) not to blaspheme. Compare also St. Paul's own case: the thorn in the flesh is called an angel of Satan, yet it disciplines him in the Christian grace of humility. The human mind, so long as it dwells in the human body, will not be able to avoid calling such things 'evils'; *no* chastening for the present seems matter of joy: it is all grief and pain, and it is only afterward, when the fruit of righteousness appears, that we can see it is something to thank God for, a real indication of His love for His children. The large use made in the Apocrypha of the idea of 'chastisement' for the moral interpretation of experience is very striking. One of the chief passages is Wis 3$^{4-7}$. There we find the conception that suffering is a trial, which, when one stands it successfully, brings a sure reward: a reward too, as in 2 Co 4$^{17f.}$, out of proportion to the suffering, *ὀλίγα παιδευθέντες μεγάλα εὐεργετηθήσονται.* The idea of purification also, as well as that of testing, is involved in the comparison of Wis 3^{6} *ὡς χρυσὸν ἐν χωνευτηρίῳ ἐδοκίμασεν αὐτούς.* The gracious and paternal aspects of chastisement are signalised in Wis 11$^{10f.}$: the people of God are chastened in mercy, the wicked are judged and tormented in wrath; His own He puts to the proof *ὡς πατὴρ νουθετῶν*, the others He condemns *ὡς ἀπότομος βασιλεύς.* So again, in 2 Mac 6^{16}, though God 'chastens with calamity,' He never abandons His people. This is the main thought of the NT passages also: suffering is the rod in a Father's hand, and the sole instrument by which the purposes of the Father's love can be effected.

The word **tribulation** has come into our language from the Vulg. rendering, not of *παιδεύω*, but of *θλίβω, θλίψις.* In NT none of the passages in which these words are used suggest explicitly that 'tribulation' is disciplinary. It is said, indeed, that we must through many tribulations enter into the kingdom of God (Ac 14^{22}), but they are rather barriers to be forced, dangers to be disregarded, than disciplines to be welcomed. In 2 Co 1^{6} the idea occurs that one man may have to suffer in order to acquire the gift of administering consolation to others. Once in OT (Is 26^{16}) the ideas of 'tribulation' and 'chastening' are expressly combined: *ἐν θλίψει μικρᾷ ἡ παιδεία σου ἡμῖν*; but as a rule *θλίψις* (affliction or tribulation) is used in a more purely objective way. It may be, in point of fact, an instrument of *παιδεία*, but that is not the point of view to which of itself it leads.

J. Denney.

CHASTITY.—See Crimes, and Marriage.

CHEBAR (כְּבָר, *Χοβάρ*, Ezk 1$^{1.3}$ 3$^{15.23}$ 10$^{15.20.22}$ 43^{3}).—A river in 'the land of the Chaldæans,' by the side of which Ezekiel saw his first vision of the Cherubim. Near the banks of this stream was Tel-abib, the home of a colony of Jewish exiles, among whom Ezekiel lived and prophesied (Ezk 3^{15}). The Chebar has commonly been identified, in accordance with a Syrian Christian tradition, with the Habor (חָבוֹר, *Ἀβόρρας*), the modern Chabour, which runs into the Euphrates not far from the site of Circesium. But the two names are very different, and Babylonia, whither the Jews were deported (2 K 24$^{15f.}$, Jer 29$^{4.20}$), can hardly be considered to include Northern Mesopotamia. It is therefore more probable that the Chebar was one of the numerous canals in the neighbourhood of Babylon to which the name of 'river' was often given (cf. Nöldeke in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexicon*). The name, however, has not yet been discovered in any of the numerous lists of rivers and canals which are to be found in Assyrian and Babylonian literature. The word is probably connected with the Semitic root כבר *to be great*; hence it has been suggested that Chebar was another name of the *Nahar Malcha*, or Royal Canal of Nebuchadrezzar.

H. A. White.

CHECK in the obsol. sense of 'rebuke' or 'reproof' occurs Job 20^{3} 'I have heard the c. of my reproach' (RV 'reproof which putteth me to shame'). Cf. Pepys, *Diary*, 26th Sept., 'I was very angry, and . . . did give him a very great check for it, and so to bed'; and Shaks., *Henry IV.* iv. iii. 34, 'I never knew yet but rebuke and check was the reward of valour.' RV gives the verb in 1 S 24^{7} in the mod. sense of 'restrain,' 'so David checked his men with these words' (AV 'stayed').

J. Hastings.

CHECKER WORK (now generally spelt *chequer-*

work) is work arranged after the pattern of a chess-board (which was orig. called ‘a checker or chequer’). 1 K 7^{17} ‘nets of checker work’ (שְׂבָכִים מַעֲשֵׂה שְׂבָכָה),—trellis work of some material used to ornament the ‘chapiters’ of the pillars in Solomon’s temple. In 2 K 1^{2} the *sĕbhâkhâh* is a ‘lattice’ in an upper chamber through which Ahaziah fell. In Job 18^{8} it is a net for snaring. J. HASTINGS.

CHEDOR-LAOMER (כְּדָרְלָעֹמֶר, Χοδολλογομόρ, *Chedorlahomor*).—Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, commanded the vassal-kings Amraphel of Shinar, Arioch of Ellasar (which see), and Tidal, king of Goiim, in the war against the Canaanite princes of Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboiim, and Zoar (Gn 14$^{1-16}$). After twelve years of servitude the latter had rebelled against Chedorlaomer, who, with his allies, thereupon marched into the west, on the eastern side of the Jordan, smiting the Rephaim in Bashan, the Zuzim or Zamzummin in Ammon, the Emim in Moab, and the Horites in Mount Seir. He then turned northward through Kadesh-barnea (now ʿAin Ḳadîs), and ‘smote all the country of the Amalekites (or Bedawin), and also the Amorites that dwelt in Hazezon-tamar’ or En-gedi, on the western shore of the Dead Sea. Then followed a battle with the Canaanite princes in the vale of Siddim, which resulted in the defeat of the Canaanites, the death (?) of the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah, and the capture of their cities. ‘Abram the Hebrew,’ however, armed 318 of his men and fell upon the conquerors by night near Dan in the extreme north, pursuing them to Hobah, west of Damascus, and recovering the spoil of Sodom, as well as his nephew Lot.

Chedorlaomer is the Elamite name Kudur-Lagamar,[*] ‘servant of Lagamar,’ one of the principal Elamite gods. Similar names are Kudur-Nankhundi, ‘servant of the god Nankhundi,’ and Kudur-Mabug, the father of Eri-aku (Arioch). In the time of Eri-aku, Babylonia was under the suzerainty of Elam; and while Eri-aku reigned at Larsa and Ur, and claimed sovereignty over the whole of Chaldæa, an independent dynasty was ruling at Babylon ‘in the land of Shinar.’ Kudur-Mabug is called by his son ‘the father of the land of the Amorites,’ or Syria and Palestine, which implies some kind of authority there, but he never has the title of king. He was also ‘the father of Iamutbal,’ a frontier district of Elam. The ‘land of the Amorites’ had been subdued by the Bab. conqueror Sargon of Accad many centuries before (in B.C. 3800). Four times he marched into Syria, and, after erecting an image of himself by the shore of the Mediterranean and crossing the countries ‘of the sea of the setting sun,’ he united his conquests into a ‘single’ empire. His son Naram-Sin made his way into the Sinaitic Peninsula, and must therefore have followed the same road as Chedorlaomer. A later king of Babylonia, Ammi-satana (B.C. 2230), still calls himself ‘king of the land of the Amorites’; and the deep and permanent influence of Babylonia in Canaan, evidenced by the Tel el-Amarna tablets, proves that Bab. domination must have long continued there. Ammi-satana was the great-grandson of Khammurabi, the king of Babylon who overthrew Eri-aku and his Elamite allies, and united all Babylonia under one monarch. Khammurabi died sixty years before the accession of Ammi-satana, so that, as he reigned fifty-five years, we may place the expedition of Chedorlaomer about B.C. 2330. A. H. SAYCE.

CHEEK, CHEEK-BONE (לְחִי, Arab. *laḥi*, ‘jaw-bone’; *liḥyah*, ‘beard’; σιαγών).—1. The cheek, with its ruddy token of health, is a feature of beauty (1 S 16^{12}, Ca 1^{10} 5^{13}). In the Lebanon vineyards a species of tinted grape is called ‘maidens’ cheeks.’ On the other hand, as of something that ought not to be, it is said of Jerusalem in her desolation, ‘her tears are on her cheeks’ (La 1^{2}).

2. It is connected with manliness and pride. To be smitten on the cheek, as described in 1 K 22^{24}, 2 Ch 18^{23}, Job 16^{10}, Ps 3^{7}, Is 50^{6}, meant the greatest possible affront, and implied that there was no further power to resist. This gives emphasis to Mt 5^{39}, Lk 6^{29}, where the want is not of power, but of will, to resist. G. M. MACKIE.

CHEEK TEETH.—Jl 1^{6} ‘he hath the cheek teeth of a great lion’ (מְתַלְּעוֹת, RV ‘jaw teeth,’ as in Pr 30^{14} ‘their jaw teeth as knives’ AV, RV; but in Job 29^{17} [all] ‘jaws,’ RVm ‘great teeth’). Cheek teeth=molar teeth, is found in Caxton, *Chron. Eng.* (1480), ‘Al that ever were borne after that pestilence hadden ij chekteth in hir hede lesse than they had afore.’ J. HASTINGS.

CHEER.—The ‘cheer’ is orig. the *face* (Fr. *chère*, late Lat. *cara*), as Caxton, *Golden Legend*, ‘In the swete of thy chere thou shalt ete brede.’ Then the expression of the face; and so, any state of mind, or mood, as Shaks., *Sonnets*, xcvii. 13, ‘so dull a cheer’; but generally with adj. ‘good.’ So always in AV (except 1 Es 9^{54} ‘Then went they their way to make great c.’), as in the phrase ‘Be of good cheer,’ Mt 9^{2} 14^{27}, Mk 6^{50}, Jn 16^{33}, Ac 23^{11} (all θαρσέω); Ac 27$^{22.25.36}$ (εὐθυμέω or εὔθυμος); and in RV Job 9^{27} (אַבְלִיגָה, AV ‘comfort myself,’ RVm ‘brighten up’). Finally, the word came to signify ‘good spirits,’ whence the verb ‘to cheer,’ Jg 9^{13}, or ‘cheer up,’ Dt 24^{5} (RV ‘cheer’).

J. HASTINGS.

CHEESE.—See FOOD.

CHELAL (כְּלָל ‘perfection’).—One who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{30}).

CHELLIANS.—Probably the inhabitants of the town CHELLUS (which see). Cf. Jth 1^{9} 2^{23}.

CHELLUS (Χελούς or Χεσλούς).—From the text (Jth 1^{9}) this place is supposed to have been situated S.W. of Jerus. near Betane, and N. of Kadesh and the river (var. ‘torrent’) of Egypt, identified with the Wady el-ʿArîsh. Reland thinks it may be Ḥaluẓah (חֲלוּצָה), the site well known to the Gr. and Rom. geographers under the altered form of Elusa, situated near the source of the Wady es-Sani stream. The mention of a land of the Chellians by the wilderness, to the south of which were the children of Ishmael (Jth 2^{23}), is looked upon as supporting this view of the position of C. Doubt must, however, be regarded as accompanying the identification of C. with Ḥaluẓah or Elusa if the Syr. transcription Kalōn (with K for Ch) be correct. C. is also regarded as a mistake for Chelul =Halhul, Jos 15^{58}. I. A. PINCHES.

CHELOD (B Χελεοὺλ, ℵ Χεσλαιουδά, A Χελεούδ, Old Lat. Chelleuth, Vulg. omits, Syr. Chaldæans).—Jth 1^{6b} reads, not as AV and RV ‘many nations of the sons of Chelod assembled themselves to battle,’ but ‘there came together many nations unto the array (or ranks) of the sons of Cheleul’; less naturally ‘to battle with (against) the sons of Ch.’ (εἰς παράταξιν υἱῶν Χ.). Syriac ‘to fight against the Chaldæans,’ is improbable. It is not certain whether the ‘many nations’ are allies of Nebuchadrezzar or of Arphaxad, nor whether they come to help or to fight the ‘sons of Ch.’ Probably v.^{6b} summarises v.^{6a}; hence ‘sons of Ch.’ should be

---

[*] The name *Ku-dur-la-ukh-ga-mar* has now been read by P. Scheil on a tablet of Khammurabi (see *Rev. Bib. Internat.* 1896, p. 600, and *Rev. de Théol.* 1897, p. 83 ff.).

Nebuchadrezzar's army. But he is, in Jth, king of Assyrians, not Chaldæans. No probable conjecture as to Aram. original has been made.

F. C. PORTER.

CHELUB (כְּלוּב).—**1.** A descendant of Judah (1 Ch 4^{11}). 2. The father of Ezri, one of David's superintendents (1 Ch 27^{26}). See GENEALOGY.

CHELUBAI (כְּלוּבָי), 1 Ch 2^{9}, another form of **Caleb.** Cf. 1 Ch 2$^{18. 42}$, and see CALEB.

CHELUHI (כְּלוּהַי *Kethibh,* כְּלוּהוּ *Ḳerê,* **Cheluhu** RVm, **Chelluh** AV).—One of the Benê-Bani who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{35}).

CHEMARIM.—In EV this word is found only in Zeph 1^{4}; but the original כְּמָרִים, of which it is the transliteration, is used also at 2 K 23^{5} and Hos 10^{5}, and in both instances *Chĕmârim* is placed in the margin of AV and RV 'idolatrous priests,' and 'priests' holding the post of honour in the text. It is a little curious that at Zeph 1^{4}, the one case where our versions have it, it is probably an interpolation: the LXX omits it, and the parallelism is spoilt by its presence. Wellhausen wished to assert its claim to a place in Hos 4^{4}, but other critics have rightly denied this. *Chōmer*, of which *Chĕmârim* is the plural, is of Aram. origin,* and when used in Syr. carries no unfavourable connotation. In the Peshittâ Version of the OT it is employed at Jg 17$^{5. 12}$ of Micah's idolatrous priests, but at Is 61^{6} of the true priests promised to the restored Israel. In the Pesh. Vers. of the NT, Ac 19^{35} has it as the rendering of *νεωκόρος*, thus reminding us of the Latin *æditui* (=temple-attendants) of Hos 10^{5}, Zeph 1^{4}; and the Epistle to the Hebrews, *passim*, employs it of the Levitical priests and of our Lord (2^{17} 3^{1} 4$^{14. 16}$ 5$^{5. 10}$, and many other places). In the Heb. of the OT, however, *Chĕmârim* always has a bad sense: it is applied to the priests who conducted the worship of the calves (2 K 23^{5}, Hos 10^{5}), and to those who served the Baalim (Zeph 1^{4}). Kimchi believed the original significance of the verbal form was 'to be black,' and explained the use of the noun by the assertion that the idolatrous priests wore black garments. Amongst recent lexicographers Brockelmann accepts this derivation. Others take the root to mean, 'to be sad,' the *ehûmrâ* being a sad, ascetic person, a monk or priest. The two ideas run into each other, as is well exemplified at Ezk 31^{15}, where Pesh. has *chĕmîrâ*, LXX *ἐσκότασεν*, Vulg. *contristatus est*, EV *caused to mourn.*

J. TAYLOR.

CHEMOSH (כְּמוֹשׁ *Kĕmôsh,* *Χαμώς*).—The national deity of the Moabites, as J″ was the national deity of the Israelites. He is frequently referred to as the god of Moab both in the OT and on the Moabite Stone, and the Moabites are referred to as the people of Chemosh (cf. Nu 21^{29}, Jer 48^{46}). On the Moabite Stone we have a king Chemosh-melek. We also read of a deity Ashtor-Chemosh, not to be identified with C., but distinct. In the inscription, Mesha, the king of Moab, represents the subjection of Moab to Israel as due to the fact that C. was angry with his land. At length the anger of C. was appeased, and he bade Mesha go and take Nebo from Israel. C. drove Israel out from before him, and restored to Moab the land taken by Israel. The slaughter of the people of 'Ataroth is spoken of as a gazing-stock to C. Mesha accordingly made a high place for C., because he had saved him and made him victorious over his foes. That upon occasion he might be worshipped with human sacrifices is probable from 2 K 3^{27}, where the king of Moab offered his eldest son as a burnt-offering, and thus forced the Israelites to raise the siege. Solomon built a high-place for C. 'the abomination of Moab' (1 K 11^{7}), which lasted till the time of Josiah's reformation, when it was destroyed (2 K 23^{13}). According to Jg 11^{24} C. was also the national deity of the Ammonites; but this can hardly be correct, since Milcom was their special god. It has been suggested that the text should be corrected, and Milcom read here; but perhaps, as Moore says, the error runs through the whole learned argument (*Judges*, p. 295).

A. S. PEAKE.

CHENAANAH (כְּנַעֲנָה).—**1.** A Benjamite (1 Ch 7^{10}). 2. The father of Zedekiah the false prophet in the reign of Ahab (1 K 22^{11}, 2 Ch 18^{10}).

CHENANI (כְּנָנִי, prob. for כְּנַנְיָה).—A Levite (Neh 9^{4}).

CHENANIAH (כְּנַנְיָה or ־יָהוּ).—Chief of the Levites at the removal of the ark from the house of Obed-edom (1 Ch 15$^{22. 27}$), named among the officers and judges over Israel (1 Ch 26^{29}).

CHEPHAR-AMMONI (כְּפַר הָעַמּוֹנִי), 'village of the Ammonites,' Jos 18^{24}.—A town of Benjamin. Probably the ruin *Kefr 'Âna* near Bethel. See *SWP* vol. ii. sheet xiv. C. R. CONDER.

CHEPHIRAH (הַכְּפִירָה), 'village,' Jos 9^{17} 18^{26}, Ezr 2^{25}, Neh 7^{29}.—One of the four Hivite cities which made peace with the Hebrews, re-peopled after the Captivity, having belonged to Benjamin. Now *Kefîreh* S.W. of Gibeon, in a position which aids to determine the W. border of Benjamin. See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvii. C. R. CONDER.

CHERAN (כְּרָן).—One of the children of Dishon, the son of Seir, the Horite (Gn 36^{26}, 1 Ch 1^{41}). The Sept. transliteration, acc. to Dillm., is possibly based on a supposed connexion of the word with כַּר=a lamb. H. E. RYLE.

CHERETHITES AND PELETHITES (כְּרֵתִי וּפְלֵתִי).—A designation repeatedly applied to a body of troops in the service of David, which seem to have formed the king's bodyguard. As to the derivation of the words, opinions have differed. Gesenius explained them as = *executioners and runners* (from the verbs כָּרַת and פָּלַח), their duty being to inflict capital punishment, and also to convey the king's mandates as quickly as possible to those who held places of government. Linguistic and other objections seem to be fatal to this theory, as well as to another which makes כְּרֵתִי to be so called from כָּרַת = *to be expelled from one's country* (Zec 14^{2}),—an explanation which would identify it with the Sept. rendering of פְּלִשְׁתִּי (Philistine) by Ἀλλόφυλος.

It seems to be unquestionable that Cherethite and Pelethite are not common but proper names. The Cherethites, as a tribe inhabiting the southern border of Canaan, are thrice mentioned in the OT (1 S 30^{14}, Zeph 2^{5}, Ezk 25^{16}), and in all these passages they are associated so closely with the Philistines as to be practically identified with them. Now we know from Am 9^{7}, Dt 2^{23}, and Jer 47^{4} that the Philistines were believed to have come to Canaan from Caphtor, which is generally identified with Crete. May *Cherethites* not be another form of *Cretans*? Instead of *Cherethites*, the Kethîbh of 2 S 20^{23} offers the reading *Carites.* So in 2 K 11$^{4. 19}$ the true reading as restored in RV is *Carites*, where AV reads *Captains.* The terms Cretans and Carites may both be represented readily enough by כְּרֵתִי. That פְּלֵתִי is simply a variation of פְּלִשְׁתִּי (Philistine) was Ewald's opinion, and has since been generally accepted.

The Cherethites and Pelethites were thus a Philistine bodyguard, originally introduced by David, whose action is explained by his relations with the

---

* In an inscrip. found near Aleppo we find כמר שהר=priest of Sahar (the moon). See *Rev. Sémit.* 1896, pp. 280, 282.

Philistines prior to his accession to the throne. This conclusion finds further support in the fact that in 2 S 15^{18} the Gittites, who were certainly Philistines, are coupled with the Cherethites and Pelethites. These men were chosen on the same principle as the Swiss Guards at European courts and the Oriental Janissaries, whose fidelity is in proportion to their freedom from local ties and interests. His Philistine mercenaries proved themselves worthy of David's confidence by standing by him amidst the troubles occasioned by Absalom, Sheba, and Adonijah (2 S 15^{18} 20^{7}, 1 K 1^{38}). While some have confined the existence of this bodyguard to the reign of David, others have found traces of it down to the close of the Judæan kingdom. The mention of the Carites in 2 K 11 is in favour of the latter view. It was the officers of the Carians and the foot-guards that enabled Jehoiada to accomplish the overthrow of Athaliah, and the installation of Jehoash as king. So in 1 K 14^{28} we read of guards who accompanied the king when he visited the sanctuary, and from 2 K $11^{4\text{ff.}}$ it is evident that the royal bodyguard formed also the guard of the temple. Is there any reason to conclude that these guards were *foreign mercenaries*? W. R. Smith adduces two passages from OT to prove their identity with the Cherethites and Pelethites. Zeph 1^{8} speaks of men connected with the court who were clad in foreign garb, and who leaped over the threshold, and filled their masters' house with violence and deceit. Smith finds here an allusion to the Philistine custom of leaping over the threshold of the sanctuary (1 S 5^{5}); but others deny the validity of his argument, and make 'leaping over the threshold' simply a name for housebreaking,[*] while those who are clothed in foreign garb are Israelites who ape foreign customs. Be this as it may, Smith's other OT reference seems to be conclusive. In Ezk $44^{6\text{ff.}}$ there is a bitter complaint that uncircumcised foreigners were permitted to keep guard in the sanctuary, and to discharge functions which the prophet would henceforth confine to the Levites. Who can these be except the guards referred to in 2 K 11? This conclusion is strengthened if Smith is right in his conjecture that prior to the time of Ezekiel the king's guards slaughtered the animals provided by the king for the temple, or intended for the royal table. As he points out, the Heb. designation for captain of the guard is רַב הַטַּבָּחִים = *chief of the slaughterers* (*of cattle*). 'The bodyguard were also the royal butchers, an occupation not deemed unworthy of warriors in early times' (W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} p. 262, n.; cf. Kittel, *Hist. of Heb.* ii. 153 n., 164; Driver, *Text of Sam.* 172, 267).

J. A. SELBIE.

CHERITH (נַחַל כְּרִית).—The brook by which Elijah lived (1 K $17^{3.5}$) was 'before Jordan,' *i.e.*, according to familiar usage, on the E. of Jordan. Elijah 'was of the inhabitants' (or 'sojourners,' RV) of Gilead, or according to the LXX 'of Tishbeh of Gilead,' and would be well acquainted with the hiding-places of that country. If the 'Ravens' (עֹרְבִים) were an *Arab* tribe, as many believe (see OREB), it must have been well to the E. where they pastured their flocks. The popular identification of the brook Cherith with the *Wady Kelt* between Jerus. and Jericho is unwarranted.

A. HENDERSON.

CHERUB.—A proper name (Ezr 2^{59}, Neh 7^{61}); one of the places from which certain families, on the return from Babylon, failed to prove their register as genuine branches of the Israelite people. The name has been identified with the Chiripha of Ptolemy. See CHARAATHALAN. H. E. RYLE.

CHERUBIM (כְּרֻבִים or כְּרוּבִים, χερουβίμ; sing. כְּרוּב, χερούβ).—By this name are denoted the winged creatures which, in the religious symbolism of OT, are not infrequently mentioned as attending upon the Most High, and as possessed of certain sacred duties in the court of the heavenly beings that surround the throne of God.

What the Heb. conception of a 'cherub' was, does not appear at all certain. And if, as seems most probable, both name and thing were derived from a primitive stage of religious thought in W. Asia, this uncertainty in the Israelitish writings admits of a natural explanation. For writers who were under the influence of the worship of J″ would shrink from giving a description that might lend itself to obvious comparison with the idolatrous symbolism of other religions.

i. In OT we find references to the cherubim (1) in the Israelite version of primitive myth; (2) in early Heb. poetry; (3) in apocalyptic vision; and (4) in the descriptions of the furniture and adornments of the ark, the tabernacle, and the temple.

1. Gn 3^{24} 'And he placed at the east of the garden of Eden the cherubim, and the flame of a sword which turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life.' The function of the cherubim here is to guard the approach to the sacred tree. The number of the cherubim appointed for this duty is not mentioned; nor is it stated, as is usually supposed, that each of the cherubim bore in his hand a flaming sword. We are only told that a sword with darting flames was entrusted to them for the purpose of keeping the way.

It has been natural to compare with these guardian, or sentinel, 'cherubim' the monster winged bulls with human heads which stood at the entrance of Assyr. palaces and temples. M. Lenormant having suggested, on the authority of a talismanic inscription, that *kirubu* was an Assyr. name in use for the steer-god, the temptation to connect the cherubim of Gn 3 with the Assyr. figures was almost irresistible. But this use of *kirubu* is questionable; the *cherubim* in our passage are not limited to two; there is no mention of a gate of Paradise; and the function of the cherubim is evidently primarily connected with the sword, which, to judge from the description, is probably intended to denote lightning.

2. Ps 18^{10} (=2 S 22^{11}) 'And he rode upon a cherub, and did fly.' In the context of this poetical description, the Psalmist describes the power of J″ as manifested in the thunderstorm. J″ is represented in flight through mid-air, borne up upon the wings of a cherub, while the lightnings flash before Him ('at the brightness before him,' v.^{11}). The cherub appears to be the mighty winged spirit of the storm,—on whose back J″ Himself is seated. He is the personification of the swift storm-cloud that sweeps down as upon eagles' wings. J″ is carried by the cherub, as the Indian god Vishnu by Garuda, and as Oceanus by the griffin (Æsch. *Prom.* 395).

3. In the prophetical writings of Ezekiel we have two allusions to the cherubim. (1) In Ezk 28^{14} 'Thou wast the anointed cherub that covereth; and I set thee *so that* thou wast upon the holy mountain of God; thou hast walked up and down in the midst of the stones of fire.' Here the prophet compares 'the Prince of Tyre' to one of the chosen attendants upon God, a cherub whose wings, as in the Holy of Holies, shaded the mercy-seat, one whose abode was in the holy mountain, and one who there walked among the flashing lightnings that surrounded the Divine Presence. A 'cherub,' according to this account, abides in the sacred precincts of the Most High, and round about him play the thunderbolts. The idea of the

---

[*] In view of the Oriental reverence for the threshold, this seems an unlikely explanation. (See Trumbull, *Threshold Covenant*, p. 259 f.; and for the Philistine custom, p. 116 f.)

thundercloud is combined with that of heavenly guardianship.

(2) The imagery employed by the same prophet in the Vision of the Cherubim (Ezk 10) is very obscure, and introduces a much more complex idea. The prophet recognises them as identical with 'the living creatures that I saw under the God of Israel by the river Chebar' (10^{20}), referring to the vision of 'the chariot' in ch. 1. These were four in number (10^{10}); they had each four faces, 'the face of a cherub, a man, a lion, and an eagle' (^{14}), and 'four wings' (^{21}). As one of their faces was that of 'a cherub,' and the prophet on seeing them 'knew that they were cherubim' (^{20}), the shape of a 'cherub' as of a fabulous creature must have been well known through popular representations (cf. 1 K 7^{29}). Unfortunately, the prophet's description throws no further light upon their shape. But presumably it must have resembled that of an ox (cf. Ezk 1^{10}). He tells us that the 'glory of the LORD' rested above 'the cherubim' (10^{19}); that their progress was straight forward (^{22}); while they moved not with wings only, but with whirling wheels, and burning fire was between them ($^{6.\ 7}$). We have the thought of the thunderstorm connected with their appearance in Ezk 1^{4}; the noise of their wings (1^{24}) suggests the thunder; fire and lightning attend them (1^{13}).

Altogether, this description, though much more complex and involved than any that has been suggested by the previous passages which we have considered, presents no sort of contradiction to them. In all probability it represents an elaboration, in accordance with the general style and characteristics of Ezekiel's literary work, of the older and simpler conception. The 'cherub,' as one of the powers of heaven, in poetry impersonated the storm-clouds that do J″'s bidding; in Ezekiel's vision there are four such 'cherubim,' corresponding to the four quarters of the sky. In poetry, J″ had ridden on the cherub; in the vision the cherubim not only flew, but moved on wheels, supporting the glory of J″. In poetry the lightnings flashed before the cherub; in the vision there is fire between the cherubim, and 'the living creatures' ran and returned as the appearance of a flash of lightning.

4. The representation of the 'cherubim' occupied an important place in Heb. sacred art. (1) The figures of two 'cherubim' were placed on the mercy-seat of the ark (Ex 25^{18-21}). Unfortunately, no minute account is given of their appearance. We are only told that their wings lifted upwards, and were outspread so as to cover the ark, and that they were presented in a posture facing one another, but looking down upon the ark—an attitude to which we may suppose the apostle makes reference in 1 P 1^{12}. They were composed of 'wrought gold,' possibly hammered solid gold as opposed to plated gold. As the mercy-seat covered by their wings was only 3 ft. 9 in. ($2\frac{1}{2}$ cubits) long, the figures of the cherubim were quite small.

(2) Figures of cherubim were introduced into the veil or hanging screen which separated the Holy Place from the Holy of Holies (Ex 26^{31}). It has commonly been considered that, as the way into the Holiest was through this curtain, the thought intended by these representations of cherubim may have been similar to that expressed by the guardian cherubim who guarded 'the way of the tree of life' in Gn 3.

(3) Solomon's temple contained in its Holy of Holies two colossal cherubim, 10 cubits (or 15 ft.) high, made of olive wood and overlaid with gold. The wings of the cherubim were spread out, and measured 10 cubits from the extremity of one wing to the extremity of the other. The Holy of Holies was a cube of 20 cubits or 30 ft.; and the two cherubim touched with their outer wings the wall on either side, while they touched one another with their outstretched inner wings. The whole span of their four wings was 20 cubits, equal to the width of the sanctuary. They each therefore stood at the same distance from one another as they did from the wall on either side (1 K 6^{23-28}). From this description we should certainly infer that they had each only two wings. In 2 Ch 3^{1-17} the same general account is given of the 'cherubim' of 'image-work' in Solomon's temple; but it is added that 'they stood on their feet, and their faces were toward the house,' by which is probably meant, facing the entrance. It has been disputed whether the smaller cherubim which protected the mercy-seat of the ark were retained in Solomon's temple. And it may be granted that the height of the Solomonic cherubim made it perfectly possible, but scarcely probable.

(4) 'Cherubim' were introduced, along with 'palm-trees and open flowers,' into the carved woodwork with which the walls and doors of the exterior and interior of the temple were adorned (1 K $6^{29.\ 32.\ 35}$). In the description of the 'brazen sea' it is recorded that in the ornamentation there were figures of 'lions, oxen, and cherubim' (1 K 7^{29}).

From these OT passages we can gather no precise conclusion as to the shape and general figure of the cherub, according to Hebrew treatment in poetry and art. It had wings; it stood on feet (2 Ch); its face was not that of a man, a lion, or an eagle (Ezk 10^{14}). It may have resembled an ox. But we are driven rather to suppose that its figure was an imaginary one, like that of a griffin or a dragon.

Whether its name is of Sem. origin or not, is a disputed point (see below). There is not sufficient reason to doubt that the original idea belongs to the early childhood of Israel's religion, and is thus related to similar conceptions in other races.

The prominence given to the cherubim in the passages we have passed in review makes it very unlikely that they had been borrowed from other countries or foreign religions. For we can hardly imagine the one representation of a living creature, which was permitted in the construction of the ark, the tabernacle, and the temple, to have been derived from an alien source. The fact that the making and designing of the cherubim is apparently recorded without any consciousness of the violation of the second commandment, is in itself an indication that the conception of these creatures belongs to an original national idea—the superstitious element of which was destined to be removed by the teaching of J″ worship. Thus the 'cherub' survived as one of the traces of a Heb. mythology, which was retained by the prophets because it represented pictorially the attributes of the majesty of the God of Israel, and was employed to express more vividly the means by which His glory is revealed to man.

Besides the winged bulls familiar to us from the Assyr. remains, we come across many representations of winged monsters and chimæras in the countries adjoining Palestine. Egyp. religious art is said to have borrowed from Syria the figure of the Sefer, or Seref (cf. the Heb. 'seraph'). Phœn. monuments contain representations of winged griffins guarding the sacred tree (cf. a white marble relief from Arados in the Museum of the Louvre). The famous monster represented on the tomb of Chuecu-hotep, an Egyp. king (*c.* B.C. 2100), gives us a leopard, from whose back issues a human head, with wings on either side of the neck. All these are attempts apparently to combine the attributes of strength and swiftness in animals with the intellect of man, in representation of the 'demon' spirits (see Pietschmann's *Gesch. der Phönizier*, pp. 176, 177). To this category belongs in all probability the earliest Heb. idea of the cherubim. Having been popularly associated with the thunder-cloud, their presence and form were transferred, in the language of Heb. poetry and vision, to the personal court and attendance of J", whose presence was proclaimed by the voice of thunder (cf. Ex 19^{16}, 1 S 12^{17}, Ps 77^{18}). They therefore bear a close analogy to the seraphim (Is 6), who personified the lightnings that surround the throne. Perhaps the two groups of attendant beings are referred to in Ps $104^{3.4}$.

The expression applied to J", He 'sitteth upon, or inhabiteth, the cherubim' (ישב הכרובים), which we find in 2 K 19^{15}, Ps 80^1 99^1, Is 37^{16}, is not without difficulty. The rendering 'sitteth *between* the cherubim' is an explanation, not a translation, of the original: nor does it give the full meaning of the words. To the Heb. poet the cherubim are not only the attendants of J", but the bearers and upholders of His throne. The thunderclouds are the dark wings of these ministers of God. They bear Him up. And to this, which is the picture presented by the service of the mute forces of nature, there is an analogy presented by the service of God's people. Hence the earthly correlative to 'thou that sittest upon the cherubim' is 'thou that inhabitest the praises of Israel' (Ps 22^3, and see Cheyne's note).

In later Jewish theology the cherubim take their place among the highest angels of heaven. Thus Enoch speaks of the court of the palace of heaven. 'Its ceiling was like the path of the stars and lightnings, with fiery cherubim between in a transparent heaven' (xiv. 11, ed. Charles). Of the throne he says, 'Its circuit was as a shining sun and the voice of cherubim' (xiv. 18, ed. Charles). Speaking of the host of heaven, he mentions 'Gabriel, one of the holy angels, who is over Paradise, and the serpents, and the cherubim' (xx. 7, ed. Charles); and in another passage he speaks of 'all the host of the heavens, and all the holy ones above, and the host of God, the cherubim, seraphim, and ophanim, and all the angels of power, etc. (lxi. 10, ed. Charles). Cf. 'and round about were seraphim, cherubim, and ophanim: these are they who sleep not, and guard the throne of His glory' (lxxi. 7, ed. Charles). The Jews regarded them as supernatural beings, without attempting to define them. Josephus, speaking of the cherubim in the temple, says none could tell or even guess what they were like (*τὰς δὲ χερουβεῖς οὐδεὶς ὁποῖαί τινες ἦσαν εἰπεῖν οὐδὲ εἰκάσαι δύναται*, *Ant.* VIII. iii. 3). Philo, referring to the cherubim over the ark, mentions that in the opinion of some they represented the two hemispheres (so Philo himself, *De Cherub.* § 7); but his own preference was to identify them with the two most ancient and supreme attributes of the Almighty—the power of creating, and the power of ruling (*ἐγὼ δὲ ἂν εἴποιμι δηλοῦσθαι δι' ὑπονοιῶν τὰς πρεσβυτάτας καὶ ἀνωτάτω δύο τοῦ Ὄντος δυνάμεις τήν τε ποιητικὴν καὶ βασιλικήν. Ὀνομάζεται δὲ ἡ μὲν ποιητικὴ δύναμις αὐτοῦ θεός, καθ' ἣν ἔθηκε καὶ ἐποίησε καὶ διεκόσμησε τόδε τὸ πᾶν· ἡ δὲ βασιλικὴ κύριος, ᾗ τῶν γενομένων ἄρχει καὶ σὺν δίκῃ βεβαίως ἐπικρατεῖ*, *Vit. Mos.* iii. 8, ed. Mangey, ii. 150).

ii. In NT they are spoken of in the Ep. to the Hebrews in connexion with the ark, 'above it the cherubim of glory overshadowing the mercy-seat' (He 9^5), where the expression, 'the cherubim of glory,' conveys the special thought of created beings ministering to the manifestation of the divine glory. In the Apoc. they are represented as 'living creatures,' four in number, full of eyes, standing in the midst of the throne, and round about the throne of God (Rev $4^{6.7}$). From this description it is difficult to understand their exact position. But presumably the words are intended to convey the picture of the four 'living animals' upholding the throne, and facing outwards towards the four quarters of heaven, and the scene is derived from Ezekiel's vision.

Rabbinic theology regarded the cherubim as youthful angels, but also as those who were admitted into the special group of spirits attending the throne of God. The 'living creatures' support the throne at rest; the cherubim bear the glory of God as it passes through heaven (cf. Weber, *Altsynag. Paläst. Theolog.* 163, 164). There is a strange passage in the treatise Chagigah (13b, i. 25) which has reference to the cherubim, and the passages in Ezk 1 and 10. The passage concludes, 'What is the meaning of cherub? R. Abohu said, It is equivalent to a growing child. For so in Babylon a young child is called Rabya. R. Papa said to Abohu, But, as it is written, The first face was the face of the cherub, and the second face was the face of a man, and the third the face of a lion, and the fourth the face of an eagle, this shows that the face of a cherub is the same as the face of a man. There are large faces, and there are small faces' (see translation by Streane, pp. 73, 74).

iii. It remains to mention the various derivations which have been given of the word. (1) As has been mentioned above, it was derived from the Assyr. *kirubu*; but apparently considerable uncertainty hangs over this derivation. (2) Renouf (*PSBA*, 1884, p. 193) conjectured that it was derived from the Egyp. *xeref.* (3) Gesenius connected it with a Syr. word meaning 'strong.' (4) Others have suggested another Syr. word meaning 'to plough.' It is difficult to resist the impression that the word must have a common origin with *γρύψ*, 'griffin,' 'hippogriff.'

But, for the present, the etymology of the word must be considered doubtful. The explanations which were given of the name by the Fathers may be illustrated by the following.

Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 240: *ἐθέλει δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τῶν χερουβὶμ δηλοῦν αἴσθησιν πολλήν.*

Theodorus *ap.* Theodoret, *Quæst. in Gen.* iii.: *ἀλλὰ χερουβὶμ καλεῖ πᾶν τὸ δυνατόν· οὕτως λέγει, ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν χερουβὶμ, ἀντὶ τοῦ ὁ δυνατῶς βασιλεύων, καί, ἐπέβη ἐπὶ χερουβὶμ καὶ ἐπετάσθη, ἀντὶ τοῦ, μετὰ πολλῆς παρεγένετο τῆς δυνάμεως.*

Jerome, *Comm. in Is.* lib. iii. cap. vi.: In septuagesimo nono psalmo legimus: *Qui sedes super cherubim manifestare*; qui in nostra lingua interpretantur *scientiæ multitudo.* Unde et Dominus in aurigæ modum super cherubim aperte sedere ostenditur. . . . In cherubim ergo ostenditur Dominus; in seraphim ex parte ostenditur, ex parte celatur.

Augustine, *Enarrat. in Ps* 79^2 [Eng. 80^1]: Qui sedes super cherubim. Cherubim sedes est gloriæ Dei, et interpretatur Plenitudo scientiæ. Ibi sedet Deus in plenitudine scientiæ. Licet intelligamus cherubim sublimes esse cœlorum potestates atque virtutes; tamen si vis, eris cherubim. Si enim Cherubim sedes est Dei, audi quid dicat Scriptura: Anima justi sedes est sapientiæ.

Didymus Alexandrin., *Expos. in Ps* 79 [Eng. 80]: *Καθήμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν χερουβὶμ ὁ κύριός ἐστιν, ὡς ἐν τῷ ἐζεκιὴλ παρίσταται. Ἐφέψεται δὲ τοῖς ἐν τοῖς ζώοις οὖσιν, τετευχόσι ταύτης τῆς προσηγορίας ἀπὸ τῆς προσούσης αὐτοῖς σοφίας. Πλῆθος γὰρ γνώσεως ἑρμηνεύεται τὰ χερουβίμ.*

These patristic explanations seem to go back to Philo's statement that the Greek meaning of 'cherubim' was 'much knowledge,' *ἃ πατρίᾳ μὲν γλώττῃ προσαγορεύεται χερουβίμ, ὡς δὲ ἂν Ἕλληνες εἴποιεν, ἐπίγινωσις καὶ ἐπιστήμη πολλή* (*Vit. Mos.* lib. iii. § 8; Mangey, ii. 150).

Literature.—The subject is extensively discussed in the standard works on the Theology of the OT, by Oehler, Smend, Schultz, Dillmann; and on the Archæology, by Nowack and Benzinger. See also Cheyne's 'Excursus' in vol. ii. of his *Isaiah*, and his Notes on the word in *Com. on Psalms*.

H. E. Ryle.

CHESALON (כְּסָלוֹן).—Near Kiriath-jearim on the border of Judah, Jos 15^{10}. Now the village *Kesla* on the hill N. of Kiriath-jearim. See *SWP* vol. ii. sheet xvii. It is noticed in the 4th cent. A.D. (*Onomasticon, s.v.* Chasalon) as a large village in the Jerus. district. C. R. Conder.

CHESED (כֶּשֶׂד).—One of the sons of Nahor and Milcah (Gn 22^{22} J). He is obviously here introduced into the genealogy of the Terahites as the presumptive forefather of the Casdim (כַּשְׂדִּים) or Chaldæans. This probably represents a different tradition from that in P, where Ur of the Chaldees (*i.e.* Casdim) is spoken of as the dwelling-place of Terah (Gn 11), Nahor's father.

It is noticeable that the eldest of the brothers of Chesed is Uz, and that in Job 1 the Casdim (translated Chaldæans) are found invading the territory of Uz. Gn 22$^{21.\ 22}$ probably represent, in the terms of genealogy, the supposed kinship of allied clans who dwelt in Mesopotamia. The Heb. tradition gives the names of tribes identified with various localities on the borders of the plain of Mesopotamia. H. E. Ryle.

CHESIL (כְּסִיל), Jos 15^{30}.—The LXX reads Bethel, probably for Bethul, as in the parallel passage, Jos 19^{4}, and כְּסִיל of MT is prob. a textual error. (So *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* and Siegfried-Stade.)

CHEST.—**1.** In order to defray the cost of certain repairs of the temple, the priest Jehoiada placed in the court (our authorities are not agreed as to the exact location; cf. 2 K 12$^{9\ (\text{Heb. }10)}$, 2 Ch 24^{8}, with LXX in each case) a chest (אֲרוֹן), in the lid (Heb. door) of which a hole had been bored, for the reception of the offerings of the worshippers, as recorded 2 K 12$^{4\text{ff.}\ (\text{Heb. }3\text{ff.})}$ (LXX *κιβωτός*, Vulg. *gazophylacium*), aud, with variations, 2 Ch 24$^{5\text{ff.}}$ (*γλωσσόκομον*, *arca*). The ark (of the covenant) is also invariably denoted by אֲרוֹן, either alone or with qualifications (see Ark i.). So, too, the coffin in which Joseph's mummy was placed (Gn 50^{26}). The feature common to all three is the rectangular shape; the first two certainly, the third most probably, were of wood. Γλωσσόκομον, used by the LXX translator of Chron. as a synonym of *κιβωτός*, is freq. employed by the later Gr. translators as the rendering of אֲרוֹן in all the three applications given above, as by Aquila in Gn 50^{26}, where the so-called Targ. of Jonathan also renders גְּלוּסְקְמָא. Jos. further uses it (*Ant.* vi. i. 2) to denote the 'coffer' (EV, אַרְגָּז 1 S 6$^{8\text{ff.}}$) or small chest in which the Phil. princes deposited the golden mice, while in NT it is applied to the cash-box of which Judas Iscariot had charge (Jn 12^{6} 13^{29}). In the temple of Herod, 13 chests stood in the court of the women, to receive the various kinds of money gifts, in shape resembling a trumpet (if the treatise Sheḳalîm vi. 5 may be trusted), wide at the bottom but gradually narrowing towards the top, hence called שׁוֹפָרוֹת. It was into one of these chests that the widow cast her slender offering (Mk 12^{41}, Lk 21^{1}).

2. In AV and RV we find in Ezekiel's inventory (27^{24}) of the merchandise of Tyre 'chests (גְּנָזִים) of rich apparel, bound with cords and made of cedar.' But the sense 'chests' for this word is without sufficient support (see comm. of Cornill, Davidson, Smend), and the word rendered 'made of cedar' must mean 'strong, durable,' so that we should probably render 'cloths of cords twined and durable.' A. R. S. Kennedy.

CHESTNUT TREE (עַרְמוֹן *'armôn*, *πλάτανος*, *platanus*).—*'Ârmôn* is mentioned twice in OT; once as one of the trees in which Jacob 'pilled white strakes' (Gn 30^{37}), and set them before the flocks at the watering troughs, and again as one of the trees with which the cedar of Lebanon, symbolical of Assyria, is compared (Ezk 31^{8}). The *chestnut tree*, which is the rendering of the Rabbis and of AV, is not indigenous in any part of Syria and Pal., and does not succeed in cultivation. It has probably never grown there except as an exotic. The *plane tree* of LXX, Vulg., and RV, *Platanus Orientalis*, L., on the contrary, grows everywhere by, and in, watercourses, and is one of the finest trees of the country. It has a trunk which is often 6 to 10 ft. in diameter, and 50 to 100 ft. high, spreading branches, and large palmate-lobed leaves. The monœcious flowers are in pendulous, spherical heads, the fertile becoming as large as a small walnut. The name *'armôn* signifies *naked*, and probably refers to the fact that the outer layers of bark scale off as in the *Eucalyptus globulus*, leaving a smooth surface. When peeled, it would leave a white streak. Plane trees grow in Mesopotamia. Chestnut trees do not. There can be no reasonable doubt that the *'armôn* is the plane tree. It is called in Arab. *dilb*. In Sir 24^{14} wisdom is compared to a plane tree by the water. G. E. Post.

CHESULLOTH (הַכְּסֻלּוֹת), Jos 19^{18}.—The same as Chisloth-tabor, Jos 19^{12}. A place on the border of Zebulun. Now the ruin of *Iksâl* at the foot of the Nazareth hills, in the fertile plain W. of Tabor. In the 4th cent. A.D. (*Onomasticon, s.v.* Chasalath) the site was known as near Tabor, but it was also wrongly identified with Achshaph (see *Onomasticon, s.v.* Acsaph and Achaseloth). The ruin is chiefly remarkable for a cemetery of tombs apparently mediæval. See *SWP* vol. i. sheet v.

C. R. Conder.

CHETH or **ḤETH** (ח).—Eighth letter of Heb. alphabet, and as such used in the 119th Psalm to designate the 8th part, each verse of which begins with this letter.

CHEZIB, Gn 38^{5}.—See Achzib.

CHIDE.—To *chide* (past 'chode') is to wrangle; then to scold or sharply rebuke; so Ps 103^{9} 'He will not always c.' (רִיב). Cf. Ps 18^{15}, Pr. Bk. To *chide with* is to wrangle with one, have an altercation with one; so Gn 31^{36} 'Jacob was wroth, and chode with Laban,' Ex 17$^{2\,bis}$ (RV 'strive'), Nu 20^{3}, Jg 8^{1} (all רִיב). **Chiding** as subst. occurs Ex 17^{7} 'because of the c. of the children of Israel' (רִיב, RV 'striving'). J. Hastings.

CHIDON (כִּידֹן).—The name acc. to 1 Ch 13^{9} of the threshing-floor where Uzzah was struck dead for rashly touching the ark (see Uzzah). In 2 S 6^{6} the name is given as Nacon, which Budde considers to be a less probable reading. No locality has ever been identified with either name. The view has been advanced that C. is the name, not of a place, but of the proprietor of the threshing-floor, and attempts have been made to identify him with Araunah or Ornan the Jebusite. (See further Driver and Wellh. on 2 S 6^{6}.) R. M. Boyd.

CHIEF.—i. In old Eng. as in modern, 'chief' was both a subst. and an adj.; but in AV (though it is the tr. of some twenty Heb. words, all substs.) it is seldom if ever a substantive. The *Oxf. Eng. Dict.* quotes as a subst. the occurrence of 'c.' in Nu 3^{30} and Ps 105^{36}; but even these are not certain instances. If 'c.' were a subst. in Nu 3^{30}, then in 3^{32} 'Eleazar shall be chief over the *chief* of the

Levites,' the plu. would be used, 'over the *chiefs*' (נְשִׂיאִים, RV 'princes'), there being no example of the sing. used for the plural. It is prob. that 'c.' is an adj. with 'men' understood. In Ps 105^{36} 'He smote also all the firstborn in the land, the c. of all their strength,' the Heb. (רֵאשִׁית, lit. 'beginning,' the common word for 'first-fruits') is the same as in Am 6^{1} 'c. of the nations' and 6^{6} 'the c. ointments,' where the word is clearly an adj. in the one case, and probably in the other. Cf. Lk 11^{15} 'the c. of the devils' (ἄρχων, RV 'prince'), with 14^{1} 'one of the c. Pharisees' (ἄρχων, RV 'one of the rulers of the P.'). Hence when RV gives 'chiefs' for AV 'chief,' as 'the chiefs of the Levites' 2 Ch 35^{9}, 'the chiefs of the priests' 36^{14}, Ezr $8^{24.\ 29a}$ 10^{5}, it introduces a plu. not found in AV, and a word of doubtful application.

ii. 'Chief' is given as tr. of **1.** *ro'sh*, 'head,' esp. in the phrase 'c. of the fathers' (RV 'heads of the fathers' *houses*'), on which see Ryle on Ezr 1^{5} and art. FAMILY. In Ezk $38^{2.\ 3}$ 39^{1} *ro'sh* is taken by RV as a proper name, Rosh (wh. see). **2.** *Kôhên*, 'priest,' referring to David's sons (2 S 8^{18}) and to Ira the Jairite (20^{26}), is mistranslated 'c. ruler' (RV 'priest'), after the gloss of the Chronicler (1 Ch 18^{17}). See Driver, *Notes on Samuel*, on 2 S 8^{18} and art. PRIESTS. **3.** In Pr 16^{28} *'allûph* (אַלּוּף, fr. [אלף] *cleave to*) is tr. 'chief friends,' evidently from a recollection that *'allûph* also means 'duke' of Edom throughout Gn 36, and in Ex 15^{15}, 1 Ch $1^{51.\ 52.\ 53.\ 54}$; and in Zec $12^{5.\ 6}$ 'governor' (RV 'chieftain'). But in the latter sense *'allûph* is best taken from *'eleph* (אֶלֶף), 'a thousand,' that is, 'leader of a thousand,' 'chiliarch.' Dr. Murray (*Oxf. Eng. Dict.*) thinks this passage in Pr (16^{28} 'a whisperer separateth c. friends') has suggested the Scot. 'chief'=intimate, as 'They're very c. wi' ane anither.' **4.** In Is 14^{9} '[Hell] stirreth up the dead for thee, even all the c. ones of the earth,' the Heb. for 'c. ones' is *'attûdîm* (עַתּוּדִים), lit. 'he-goats,' here as the *leaders* of the flock; Cheyne (after Kay), 'bell-wethers.' See Cheyne *in loc.*, and cf. Zec 10^{3}.

iii. In NT 'chief' renders ἄρχων (Lk 11^{15} RV 'prince,' 14^{1} RV 'ruler'); ἡγούμενοι, *leaders* (Ac 15^{22}); and πρῶτος, *first* frequently. In Ac 16^{12} 'Philippi, which is the c. city of that part of Macedonia,' chief city=capital, metropolis (cf. 1 Ti *subscr.*); but it is a mistrans., for Amphipolis was the c. city of that part of M., Thessalonica being the c. city of the whole province. Here πρῶτος must mean 'first,' that is, first to be reached in the direction St. Paul came: RV 'a city of M., the first of the district.' For **Chief Priest** see PRIEST; and for '**Chief of Asia**,' Ac 19^{31} 'certain of the c. of Asia' (Ἀσιάρχης, RV 'chief officers of Asia,' RVm 'Asiarchs'), see ASIARCH.

iv. When c. lost its obsol. sense of supreme, and was weakened into 'leading' (cf. Am 6^{6} 'anoint themselves with the chief ointments'=choice), comparison became possible. 'Chiefer' is not found in AV, but 'chiefest' occurs 1 S 2^{29} 9^{22} 21^{7}, 2 Ch 32^{33}, Ca 5^{10}, 2 Mac 13^{15}, Mk 10^{44}, 2 Co 11^{5} 12^{11} (both 'very chiefest,' Gr. ὑπερλίαν), 1 Ti *subscr.*

J. HASTINGS.

CHILD, CHILDREN (יֶלֶד, בֵּן).—The Heb. language has a rich variety of words adapted to the different stages by which infancy passes into manhood and womanhood. This wealth of description indicates the importance of what is described. No word in the Bible contains so much of God's goodness and human happiness as is found wrapped up in the word 'child.' Most of these associations are common to the human family everywhere and in all ages; some are Oriental, a few are special to Israel. (See BIRTHRIGHT, CIRCUMCISION, REDEMPTION.)

1. *Children as gifts of God and tokens of divine favour.*—The desire to possess children has always been a marked feature of Oriental life. Rachel spoke as the mother of her people when she cried, 'Give me children, or else I die' (Gn 30^{1}). This desire gives their chief value to the tombs of saints and the superstitious shrines of modern Syria. The petition always carries with it a vow to do or give something in honour of the saint appealed to. In the same way, but with a wiser devotion, Hannah went to the tabernacle of God, and afterwards named her child Samuel ('God hath heard'), and surrendered him to the Lord's service (1 S $1^{11.\ 20}$). To this devout recognition is due the fact that while many names, such as Isaac, Manasseh, Moses, Ichabod, were suggested by some incident or anxiety of the hour, and names of females were often taken from objects of beauty in nature, such as Deborah, Esther, Rhoda, many others contained the name of God, or an attribute of God, as Elimelech, Athaliah, etc. So among the Arabs we have Shikri ('my gratitude'), Saladin (*ṣalâḥ-ed-dîn* 'virtue of religion'), 'Abd-ul-Hamid ('servant of the Blessed'), Na'amat-Ullah ('grace of God'). For the same reason, Oriental feeling is rather against the observance of birthdays, as it seems to turn the sense of favour into an occasion of feasting. In a life so full of uncertainties, it has always seemed safer to be humbly thankful for a gift than to appear elated by a possession. Nothing is more dreaded or disliked by an Oriental parent than to have a child's healthy or beautiful appearance commented upon without thanks being expressed to God in the same breath. The mention of the divine name is understood to avert the curse of the evil eye. Children are 'the heritage of the Lord' (Ps 127^{3}), and in Arabic salutation they are referred to as 'the guarded ones.'

2. *Parental and filial affection.*—Child-life has always been the great emblem of what appeals to human affection and responds to it. With the young, love, that in the ordinary lives of men is often the hireling of selfish interests, is always a free and independent instinct. The child's natural assurance that it must be so with all, appears amid sordid commonplaces and surrendered ideals as a remembrancer of Eden, and a type of what the kingdom of God is meant to be (Mt 18^{2} 19^{14}). The Bible is throughout a book for the families of men, and finds the fulfilment of all its teaching in the life of the Sinless Man. Its references, especially to child-life, are so simple and realistic that in reading them one forgets the antiquity of the narrative. The Land is here in very close affinity with the Book, for the strength of the family affections is the brightest feature of Oriental life. The infant in the ark of bulrushes cries like a child of to-day on beholding the strange face of his deliverer (Ex 2^{6}). Again, in 2 K 4^{19} we have a child's repeated cry of pain, the instinctive appeal to the father, and the resource of a mother's comforting and care. Isaiah takes note of the first words a child learns to lisp (Is 8^{4}), and Naaman's flesh becomes 'like the flesh of a little child' (2 K 5^{14}). Solomon reveals his own wisdom in revealing the strain that could be put upon the love even of a degraded mother. David cries over his rebellious yet still beloved son, 'Would God that I had died for thee!' (2 S 18^{33}). The cruelty to their infants was one of the experiences that made it impossible for the captives to forget Jerusalem (Ps 137^{9}). Such an experience was in its turn the worst thing that could happen to the oppressors of Israel (Nah 3^{10}). The transmission of suffering to the innocent of the third and fourth generations was one of the mightiest intimidations of the moral law (Ex 34^{7}). Hagar could not bear to sit alone and watch the last unconscious movements of her dying child (Gn 21^{16}). 'When my children were about me' (Job 29^5), was a touching summary of vanished happiness. Amos, seeking to picture the day of ruin that Israel was precipitating by wholesale corruption, could find nothing more expressive of all that was bleak and bitter and unbearable than 'the mourning of an only son' (Am 8^{10}).

It was in such a prepared cradle of family experience, with its tenderest ties of affection, and folds of life's sweetness and sorrow, that the gospel of the unexpected and unspeakable gift was laid. 'He gave his only-begotten Son' (Jn 3^{16}); 'He spared not his own Son' (Ro 8^{32}).

3. *The importance of the parental position.*—Mingled with the natural affection of parents towards their children, was the fact that their possession meant increase of dignity, influence, and wealth. This is shown in the preference for male children. In the home-circle, daughters might be as affectionate and as much beloved as sons, but in the expansion and continuance of the family name, in the holding of property, the acquisition of wealth, and generally with regard to worldly prosperity, sons and not daughters were the precious gifts of God. The former especially were the olive-shoots springing up from the roots of the parent stem (Ps 128^3). Hence the forfeiture and reproach connected with childlessness, and the rejoicing over a man-child born into the world. In Syria the paternal position is so important that the father usually ceases to be called by his own name, and receives that of his firstborn son, as Abu-Yuseph ('father of Joseph'). If a middle-aged man has no son, courtesy often gives him a fictitious paternity, and styles him Abu-'Abdullah ('father of 'Abdullah'). The son might also be known by the father's name as a sort of surname. Thus David's full name was David Jesse, or ben-Jesse ('son of Jesse'). It was quite unusual for the son to receive in circumcision the name of the father until late in Israel's history (see Gray, *Heb. Prop. Names*, 2 ff.). The father was still alive, and needed as yet no memorial, but a son often received the name of a grand-parent, to keep alive the name of the departed, and with the name to inherit his gifts and graces of character. The later custom appears in Lk 1^{59} 'They would have called him Zacharias, after the name of his father.' The authority of the parents over their children, and over all arrangements for their welfare, was complete and far-reaching. One of the commandments was devoted to this relationship, and one of the death-penalties of the law of Moses was to meet the case of filial disobedience (Dt 21^{20}). Hence the solemnity of the charge against Israel (Is 1^2), and the deep meaning of the confession, 'I am no more worthy to be called thy son' (Lk 15^{19}).

4. *Heredity.*—Given a life with little change in its outward conditions, and with a law that controlled every detail of life, it followed that time would be an intensifier of the parental features. Among the Arabs the epithet 'dog' has for its climax 'son of a dog.' As one of their proverbs states the problem, 'If the father be onion and the mother garlic, how can there be sweet perfume?' When Saul asked the young slayer of Goliath, 'Whose son art thou, young man?' (1 S 17^{58}), the question would not only reveal the family of David, but also account in part for the courage he had shown. Hence the inciminations, 'Ye are the children of them that killed the prophets' (Mt 23^{31}); 'If ye were Abraham's children, ye would do the works of Abraham' (Jn 8^{39}); and the defence, 'How can Satan cast out Satan?' (Mk 3^{23}). So Ezk 18^2, Ac 13^{10} etc.

5. *Spiritual sense of father, son, brother.*—The use of the word *son* in a fig. sense carries the three chief meanings of the literal use, namely, (1) affection, (2) obedience, (3) likeness. By these significations we must interpret 'sons of the Highest,' 'children of belial,' 'son of peace—perdition—disobedience—the commandment.' The new creature born of the Spirit receives new preferences and powers for the new life in Christ Jesus. St. Paul speaks of Timothy and Onesimus as his children; and St. John finds his chief delight in the fact that *his children* walk in the truth. The Lord's Prayer is an assemblage of all that the children should be and do and expect in order to please their Father in heaven. In the prohibition, 'call no man your father upon the earth' (Mt 23^9), the allusion was most likely to a formality of ecclesiastical homage, like the salutation 'Rabbi' of v.^{8}. Among the Syrian Christians it is customary to salute the priest as *Abûna* ('our father').

In the East the family is always reckoned from the standpoint of the chief or oldest representative. Those whom he calls children are brethren. Thus the women of Bethlehem said, 'There is a child born *to Naomi*' (Ru 4^{17}). This custom gave a vital and affectionate largeness of meaning to the word 'brother.' When Christians seek to realise the brotherhood that belongs to the society of the redeemed, the most effective way is found to be a return to Bible thought and Oriental custom, namely, united service to the Head of the family, devotion to the Lord Jesus Christ. See also FAMILY; and for **Children of God** see GOD, CHILDREN OF. G. M. MACKIE.

CHILEAB (כִּלְאָב).—The second son of David by Abigail, the wife of Nabal the Carmelite (2 S 3^3). In 1 Ch 3^1 he is called **Daniel**, while the LXX in Sam. has Δαλουιά, which is also given by A in 1 Ch; but B reads Δαμνιήλ. Wellh. considers that כִּלְאָב is only a variant for כְּלוּב, a bye-form of כָּלֵב, and therefore not unsuitable for a descendant of the house of Caleb. A comparison of the Heb. text, in which the last three letters of Chileab are repeated in the following word, favours the reading of the LXX, which would correspond to the Heb. דְּלָיָה or דְּלָיָהוּ (Delaiah), cf. 1 Ch 3^{24} 24^{18}, Ezr 2^{60}=Neh 7^{62}, Neh 6^{10}, Jer 36$^{12.25}$. J. F. STENNING.

CHILION and **Mahlon** were the two sons of Elimelech and Naomi, Ephrathites of Bethlehem-judah, who migrated as a family into the country of Moab in consequence of a famine 'in the days when the judges judged' (Ru 1$^{1.2}$). They married women of the Moabites, Mahlon marrying Ruth and Chilion Orpah (Ru 4^{10}), and after a sojourn of ten years in Moabite territory died there. (Chilion=כִּלְיוֹן 'wasting away'=Κελαιών, Χελαιών, LXX B. Mahlon=מַחְלוֹן 'sickly'=Μααλών, LXX, *Mahalon*, Vulg., as if the Heb. was originally read מַחֲלוֹן to connect the name with the hiph. ptcp. of חָלָה.) Neither of these names occurs elsewhere in the Bible. Jesse is called an Ephrathite of Bethlehem-judah in 1 S 17^{12}. The two names occur in varying order in Ru 1^2 and 4^9, so that no conclusion can be drawn as to which was the elder. The Targ. on 1 Ch 4^{22} connects them with the Joash and Saraph of that passage. H. A. REDPATH.

CHILMAD (כִּלְמַד) occurs in Ezk 27^{23} at the close of the list of nations that traded with Tyre. The name has been thought to be the Aram. form of Charmande, a town on the Euphrates mentioned by Xenophon (*Anab.* i. 5. 10). George Smith identified Chilmad with the modern Kalwâdha near Baghdad. The LXX reads Χαρμάν, which is perhaps the prov. of Carmania in S. Persia. None of these conjectures has much probability. After Asshur (which there is no reason to suppose means anything else than Assyria) we should certainly expect a country rather than a town, and at the end of the list an important and well-known country. The Targ. seems to have read כל־מדי ('all Media'). But the best suggestion, after all, is perhaps that of Joseph Kimchi (adopted by Hitzig and Cornill), who reads the word כְּלִמֻּד, explaining: '[Asshur etc. were] as those accustomed to come to thee with their merchandise.' It is to be noted that the Heb. has no 'and' before Chilmad. The whole verse, however, shows traces of textual derangement. J. SKINNER.

CHIMHAM (כִּמְהָם, כִּמְהָן).—Probably the son (cf. 1 K 2^{7}) of Barzillai the Gileadite, who returned with David from beyond Jordan to Jerus. after the death of Absalom (2 S 19$^{31 ff.}$). Acc. to Jer 41^{17} (*Ḳerê* כִּמְהָם), C. would seem to have erected a caravanserai near Bethlehem for the benefit of those travelling from Jerus. to Egypt; others suppose that the inn was named after him as the owner of the land, and infer that C. received some land near Bethlehem from David. See BARZILLAI. J. F. STENNING.

CHIMNEY.—In Hos 13^{3} 'as the smoke out of the c.,' the Heb. is *'ărubbah* (אֲרֻבָּה), a *lattice*, hence a latticed opening in a room whence the smoke escapes. But in 2 Es 6^{4} [all] 'c.' is the tr. of Lat. *caminus*, the very word from which c. comes; and the meaning is not the flue or vent, but the fireplace or oven, 'or ever the chimneys in Sion were hot' (RV, after Syr., 'or ever the footstool of Sion was established'). This is the oldest meaning of the word in Eng., and is found as late as Goldsmith. Cf. Milton, *L'Allegro*, 111—

> 'Then lies him down the lubbar fiend,
> And, stretch'd out all the chimney's length,
> Basks at the fire his hairy strength.'

And Goldsmith, *Deserted Village*, 235—

> 'While broken tea-cups, wisely kept for shew,
> Ranged o'er the chimney, glistened in a row.'

J. HASTINGS.

CHINNERETH (כִּנֶּרֶת).—A city (Dt 3^{17}, Jos 11^{2}, in latter spelt **Chinneroth**, 19^{35}) which gave its name to the **Sea of Chinnereth** (Nu 34^{11}, Jos 12^{3} 13^{27}), the OT designation of the Sea of Galilee. The site of the town is uncertain, but it follows Rakkath (probably Tiberias), and may have been in the plain of Gennesaret (cf. 1 K 15^{20}).

C. R. CONDER.

CHIOS (ἡ Χίος) was a large island which formed part of the province of Asia, situated in the Ægean Sea off the Ionian coast, still called Scio (according to the Italian form), about 32 miles long from N. to S., and in breadth varying from 18 to 8 miles. It is separated from the mainland by a channel of varying width, which at its narrowest (about 5 miles across) is blocked by a group of small islands. The ship in which St. Paul sailed from Troas to Patara (on his way to Jerus.) passed through this channel as it sailed S. from Mitylene; and it anchored for a night on the Asian coast opposite the island, and thence struck across the open sea S. to Samos (Ac 20^{15}). The voyage of Herod by Rhodes, Cos, Chios, and Mitylene, towards the Black Sea, described by Jos. *Ant.* XVI. ii. 2, affords an interesting comparison with that of St. Paul. The channel is very picturesque. The chief city of the island, bearing the same name, is situated on its E. coast, towards the S. end, probably facing the point where St. Paul's ship lay at anchor. The island is rocky (esp. in the broader N. part) and unproductive, except that it was famous for its wine, and its gum mastic has been a source of trade and profit both in ancient and in modern times. It was one of the seven places that claimed to be the birthplace of Homer; and a much stronger body of tradition speaks in favour of it than for any of the other claimants. Like Cnidus, Cos, Cyzicus, Ilium, Samos, Smyrna, Mitylene, and many other cities of the province Asia, C. had the rank of a free city, which implied merely that in certain respects it was administered according to native law, while other Asian cities were administered according to Rom. law. W. M. RAMSAY.

CHISLEV, AV Chisleu (כִּסְלֵו, Σεχεηλού B, Χασεηλού A, Neh 1^{1}, Χασελεύ Zec 7^{1}). See TIME.

CHISLON (כִּסְלוֹן 'strength,' Χασλών).—Father of Elidad, Benjamin's representative for dividing the land (Nu 34^{21} P).

CHISLOTH-TABOR, Jos 19^{12}.—See CHESULLOTH.

CHITHLISH (כִּתְלִישׁ), Jos 15^{40}, in AV **Kithlish.**—A town in the Shephelah of Judah. The site is unknown.

CHITTIM (1 Mac 1^{1} 8^{5}) for KITTIM.

CHIUN.—Notwithstanding the fact that both Luther and our AV have this word, it has continued, even to our own time, to be an open question among English and German scholars whether כִּיּוּן is a common or a proper noun. If it were the former, it would signify the litter or pedestal on which the image of a deity was carried in ceremonial processions [see illustrations in Perrot and Chipiez's *Chaldæa and Assyria*, i. 75, ii. 90]. Ewald maintained this view: 'כִּיּוּן, *gestelle*, von הֵכִין *stellen* mit dem י als zweitem Wurzellaute.' W. R. Smith, too, held that a 'pedestal' was meant (*Prophets of Israel*, p. 400). The balance of opinion, however, preponderates in the other direction. *Chiun* is obviously parallel to *Siccuth* (RV), or rather *Saccuth* (Assyr. *Sak-kut*): if the one is the name of a deity, so is the other. Moreover, it would be very strange if the prophet spoke of the litter rather than of the god carried on it. Ka-ai-va-nu (Schrader, *KAT* p. 443;[*] cf. *SK* 1874, p. 327) is the Assyr. name of the planet and planetary deity Saturn, who was credited with malignant influences. In Arab. and Persian, Saturn is called by the same name. Rawlinson, *Phœnicia*, p. 26, speaking of the immigration of Phœnician gods into the Egyptian pantheon, says that this deity found his way there under the name *Ken.* The appositional phrase, 'your star-god,' falls in perfectly with this interpretation. The evidence of the VSS is discordant. Aq. and Sym. have χιοῦν [Jer. says *chion*]. The LXX Ῥαιφάν, a corruption of Καιφάν. The Targ. and Pesh. reproduce the Heb. The Arab. has Raphāna; Vulg. *imaginem.*

With regard to the *sense* of the only passage, Am 5^{26}, where this deity is spoken of, there can be no doubt that it is a threat: 'But ye shall take up Sakkuth your king, and Kaivân [or Kêvân] your star-god, your images which ye have made for yourselves, and I will cause you to go into exile.' Wellhausen, *Die Kl. Proph.* p. 83, argues that this threat must be a later addition, seeing that the Israelites of Amos' day were not chargeable with the worship of Assyr. gods. The *form* of the word has struck many students as anomalous. An ingenious explanation has recently been advanced. After adverting to the fact that its vocalisation is the same as that of *Siccuth* [סִכּוּת, כִּיּוּן], Dr. C. C. Torrey says: 'It seems to me pretty certain that for the form of these two names in our present text we are indebted to the misplaced wit or zeal of the Massoretes. It is the familiar trick of fitting the pointing of one word to the consonant skeleton of another, as in עַשְׁתֹּרֶת, מֹלֶךְ, תֹּפֶת, and so on. In this case the pointing is taken from the word שִׁקּוּץ *shiqqûẓ*, "abomination."' J. TAYLOR.

---

[*] Schrader, in the above-cited passage, states that Sakkut is another name for Adar or Adrammelech, and that as *A-tar*=Father of Fate, so Sak-kut=Head of Decision, both words being of Accadian-Sumerian origin.

CHLOE (Χλόη), mentioned only in 1 Co 1^{11}.—St. Paul had been informed of the (σχίσματα) dissensions at Corinth ὑπὸ τῶν Χλόης, *i.e.* prob. by some of her Christian slaves. Chloe herself may have been either a Christian or a heathen, and may have lived either at Corinth or at Ephesus. In favour of the latter is St. Paul's usual tact, which would not suggest the invidious mention of his informants' names, if they were members of the Corinthian Church. A. ROBERTSON.

CHOBA (Χωβά), Jth 4^{4}. **Chobai** (Χωβαΐ), Jth $15^{4.5}$, noticed with Damascus.—Perhaps the land of Hobah.

CHOKE.—Death by drowning is not now described as 'choking'; so in Mk 5^{13} 'the herd . . . were choked in the sea,' Amer. RV changes 'choked' into 'drowned'; but RV retains, to preserve uniformity in tr. of πνίγω. 'Choking' occurs Sir 51^{4} 'from the c. of fire' (ἀπὸ πνιγμοῦ πυρός). J. HASTINGS.

CHOLA (Χωλά).—An unknown locality mentioned in Jth 15^{4}.

CHOLER (Gr. χολέρα, Lat. *cholera*), *bile*, is used in Sir 31^{20} 37^{30} in the sense of a disease, 'perhaps cholera, diarrhœa'—*Oxf. Eng. Dict.* (χολέρα, RV 'colic'); and in Dn 8^{7} 11^{11} in the sense of bitter anger (מָרַר). Both meanings are old, and belonged indeed to the Lat. *cholera* as early as the 3rd and 4th cent. J. HASTINGS.

CHORAZIN (TR Mt 11^{21} Χοραζίν, Lk 10^{13} Χωραζίν; TTrWH always Χοραζείν).—A town situated at the N. end of the Sea of Galilee on the W. of the Jordan. The meaning of the name is uncertain. It was a 'city' (πόλις), and therefore possessed a synagogue. Our Lord laboured in it, as is shown by His mention of it in Mt 11^{21}, Lk 10^{13}. It is not mentioned in Josephus, but the Jews long after the time of Christ praised the superior quality of its wheat (*Bab. Tal.* 'Menahoth' 85 A). Jerome (*c.* A.D. 400) locates it at two miles from Capernaum, but says that it was deserted. Beyond these meagre notices the place has no history. Thomson (1857) found a ruin called *Kerazeh*, which from its location and the correspondence of names he thought was the site of Chorazin. Wilson (1866) examined and described the remains at this place, and confirms the identification of Thomson. This view is now generally accepted. The ruins are of some importance, the entire stonework, walls, columns, and ornamentation being composed of black basalt rock. A short paved road ran from the town to the great caravan road leading past the Sea of Galilee to Damascus. S. MERRILL.

CHORBE (Χορβέ, AV **Corbe**), 1 Es 5^{12}=ZACCAI, Ezr 2^{9}, Neh 7^{14}.

CHOSAMÆUS.—In 1 Es 9^{32} Σίμων Χοσαμαῖος A, or Χοσάμαος B, takes the place of שִׁמְעוֹן, the reading of the parallel passage Ezr 10^{31} (see SIMEON, No. 2). It is not improbable that the Gr. reading is due to a copyist's error, especially seeing that the three proper names that follow Simeon in the text of Ezra are omitted in 1 Es. J. A. SELBIE.

CHRIST.—See JESUS CHRIST, and MESSIAH.

CHRISTIAN (Χριστιανός, Ac 11^{26} 26^{28}, 1 P 4^{16}).—The name borne by the 'followers of Christ' in all ages and countries from NT times.

I. *Place and date of origin.*—According to the account in Ac 11^{26} the first to have the name applied to them were the members of the church at Antioch. This fact is especially mentioned by the author of the Acts in a manner which shows that he attached great significance to it. The evangelising work in the city of Antioch was being carried out by men of Cyprus and Cyrene (*i.e.* by Hellenists), and though perhaps not directed to Gentiles who had no previous connexion with the synagogue (for we can scarcely substitute Ἕλληνας for Ἑλληνιστάς in face of the MS evidence; see Westcott and Hort, *N.T. in Greek*, Introd. *ad loc.*), yet on more liberal lines than hitherto. In Antioch, too, was established the first considerable church outside Palestine. The mother-church of Jerus. was not slow to recognise the importance of these events. Barnabas was sent to guide and control the new community, and the result of a year's work in co-operation with his chosen partner, Saul, was that they 'taught a great multitude, and the disciples were called Christians first in Antioch.' We cannot fix exactly the date of this 'whole year' (v.^{26}), but it is certainly before the Herodian persecution of 44, and, to judge from the expressions of v.^{27} 12^{1} (ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ἡμέραις, κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρόν), not very long before it; perhaps between 40–44, which leaves room for the possibility that the words ἥτις ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου, 'which came to pass in the days of Claudius,' in v.^{28} *may* imply that Agabus' prophecy was uttered in the reign of Caligula.

The objections made to the statement of Ac 11^{26} are based ultimately upon the theory which discredits the authority of that book as a comparatively late document. If we regard the Acts as the work of St. Luke, the account it gives of the origin of the name 'Christian' is invested with the authority of contemporary evidence, which cannot lightly be set aside on account of apparent difficulties. The objections which have been raised on the score of these difficulties may be gathered under three heads. (*a*) Baur (*Paul, His Life and Work*, i. 94, footnote, Eng. tr. 1873) says that the termination is Latin, and seems to think that the name arose in Rome. The termination *-ianus* was used in Latin during the time of the civil wars to denote 'followers of' (*e.g.* 'Cæsariani,' *Hist. Bell. Afr.* 13; 'Pompeiani,' Cæsar, *Bell. Civil*, iii. 44 *et pass.*), and acquired this meaning from the adjectival sense 'belonging to,' which the form already possessed, although it was very seldom used, *e.g.* Tamphiliana domus (from 'Tamphilus'), Nep. *Att.* xiii. 2; Cæsarianum bellum, *ib.* vii. 1; Catoniana familia, Cic. *ad Q. Frat.* IV. vi. 5; Miloniana tempora, Balbus ap. Cic. *E. a. Att.* IX. 7, B 2. The adoptive names in *-ianus* are not parallel because the 'i' in these cases belongs to the stem of the gentile name, *e.g.* Æmilianus, Æmilius. So far, then, Baur was justified. The termination *-ianus* was common in Latin of this period. But as names like Cæsariani, Pompeiani, etc., were known and used throughout the whole Rom. Empire, it seems to have become the fashion in Greek-speaking countries also to form other words on the same analogy. Thus (omitting 'Herodiani,' which may have originated in Roman official circles) we find names such as those mentioned in Hegesippus (ap Eus. *Eccl. Hist.* iv. 22), Σιμωνιανοί, Καρποκρατιανοί, Οὐαλεντινιανοί, Βασιλειδιανοί, Σατορνιλιανοί. The theory that this -ιανος is a native 'Asiatic type' of termination is not borne out by the instances quoted, in which either the 'i' belongs to the stem, *e.g.* Ἀσιανός (Ἀσία) Σαρδιανός (Σάρδεις), or the words are late enough to have been copied from the Latin termination. But the instances quoted above show that, whether derived from the Latin or not, the termination became common enough in Greek, and therefore there is no necessity to ascribe to the name Χριστιανός a Roman origin.

(*b*) Hausrath (*N.T. Times: Apostles*, ii. pp. 211, 212, Eng. tr. 1895) objects to Ac 11^{26} that we find no trace of the word 'Christian' in contemporary literature until the time of Trajan. But until the Neronian persecution the sect can scarcely have attracted much attention in the Roman literary class, and from the year 64 to the time of Trajan the extant literature is extremely scanty, and so in both cases we are not justified in arguing *ex silentio*. On the other hand, however, passages in Tacitus and Suetonius furnish us with an indirect argument that the name was known and used in Rome in the year 64. Tacitus (*Ann.* xv. 44) says, 'quos . . . vulgus Christianos appellabat. Auctor nominis ejus Christus,' etc. The imperfect 'appellabat' is significant when we remember that Tacitus was probably living in Rome in 64, and an eye-witness of the Neronian persecution. It is quite probable that he is recording a circumstance which he remembered in connexion with these events, viz. that the word 'Christiani' was in everybody's mouth, and he somewhat naturally believed Christ Himself to have been the author (auctor) of the name. Suetonius, writing only a year or two later than Tacitus, also introduces the name 'Christiani' into his reference to this persecution (*Nero*, 16, 'afflicti suppliciis Christiani, genus hominum superstitionis novæ ac maleficæ'). Some have found additional evidence for an early use of the name in the supposed occurrence of the word in an inscription at Pompeii, *i.e.* dating before A.D. 79. But this inscription (*CIL* iv. 679), which is merely a few lines scribbled upon a wall, cannot be deciphered with any certainty. The letters -RISTIANI are fairly plain, and before the R are two faint perpendicular strokes, probably II (=E). If they are meant for H the horizontal stroke has quite disappeared. The drift of the whole inscription is as uncertain as the reading of this word. See V. Schulze in *ZKG* iv. 125 ff.; Friedländer, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengesch. Roms*,^{6} iii. 645, n. 3; C. F. Arnold, *Neron. Christenverfolg.* p. 54.

Equally indecisive is the mention of the name in Josephus (*Ant.* XVIII. iii. 3), εἰσέτι τε νῦν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀπὸ τοῦδε ὠνομασμένων οὐκ ἐπέλιπε τὸ φῦλον. This section is deservedly suspected by the great bulk of modern scholars to be entirely or partly a later forgery. The latest editor, Niese (*Flavii Josephi Opera*, Berlin, 1892, Introd. to vol. iii.), rejects the whole section as an interpolation. Others (*e.g.* G. A. Müller, *Christus bei F. Josephus*) incline to accept a substratum of authentic matter. The passage is not found at all until it occurs in a quotation by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* i. 11; *Dem. Evang.* iii. 5), since whose time the whole is repeated (excepting quite unimportant divergences) in all MSS and other evidence for the text of this part of Josephus' works. (Besides the books referred to above, see also on this subject C. Arnold, *XXX Epistolæ de F. Josephi testimonio quod Jesu Christo tribuit*, 1661; C. Daubuz, *Pro testimonio F. Josephi de Jesu Christo*, 1706; F. H. Schœdel, *F. Jos. de Jesu Christo testatus*, 1840; Gieseler, *Lehrb. d. Kirchengesch.* 1824, i. 65; Langen, *Th. Quartalschrift*, 1865, 1; Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 143 ff.).

(*c*) R. A. Lipsius urges the silence of St. Paul's Epistles, and indeed of the whole body of the earliest Christian literature. He regards the Asiatic origin of the name as probable, but is not inclined to date it earlier than the last decade of the 1st cent. But even if we set aside, as he does, the evidence of Acts and 1 Peter, this silence explains itself from the fact that the name arose in non-Christian circles, and was for some time confined to them.

II. *By whom was the name invented?*—Here we are left without direct evidence. The χρηματίσαι (EV 'were called') of Ac 11^{26} might be used indifferently of a name adopted by oneself, or given by others (see Thayer, *NT Lex. s.v.*). But there are certain hints which furnish some clues.

(*a*) The Christians do not seem to have used it of themselves, at any rate within the apostolic period. They called themselves 'the brethren' (οἱ ἀδελφοί, Ac 14^2 15^{13}, Ro 16^{14} etc.), 'the disciples' (οἱ μαθηταί, Ac 11^{26} 13^{52} 20^{30}), 'the saints' (οἱ ἅγιοι, Ro 16^{15}, 1 Co 16^1, Eph 1^{18} etc.), 'the faithful' (οἱ πιστοί, Ac 10^{45}, 1 Ti $4^{3.12}$), 'the elect' (οἱ ἐκλεκτοί, Mt 24^{22}, Mk 13^{22}, 2 Ti 2^{10}, 1 P 1^1), 'the way' (ἡ ὁδός, Ac 9^2 $19^{9.23}$ 24^{22}), but never 'Christians.' In the only passage in which this is apparently not true (1 P 4^{16}), 'as a Christian' is parallel with 'as a thief,' 'as a murderer,' which shows that the writer is speaking for the moment from the point of view of the heathen persecutor. St. Paul (Ac 26^{29}) seems even to avoid using the name 'Christian,' which Agrippa had employed, and to substitute for it the periphrasis τοιοῦτος ὁποῖος καὶ ἐγώ εἰμι. It is not probable, then, that we must look to Christians themselves for the invention of this title.

(*b*) Nor is it much more probable that the Jews invented it. The only direct name by which they call the Christians in NT is that of Ναζωραῖοι, 'Nazarenes' (Ac 24^5). Elsewhere they speak of them as ἡ αἵρεσις αὕτη, 'this sect' (*ib.* 28^{22}; cf. 24^{14}). On one occasion, indeed, we find the word in the mouth of the Jewish king Agrippa (Ac 26^{28}). But Agrippa had spent a great part of his life in Rom. circles, and was speaking on this occasion at Cæsarea before a Rom. audience. It is too much then to infer from this passage that the word 'Christian' was in use among the Jews. On the other hand, there is a strong *à priori* improbability that the Jews, even in irony, would call the new sect 'followers of the Messiah, the Anointed One' (ὁ Χριστός).

(*c*) More probably it is to the heathen populace of Antioch that we must look for the origin of the name. It was amongst the populace ('vulgus,' in *loc. cit.*) that Tacitus' attention was drawn to the word in Rome. It was (next to the Jews) the heathen populace whose notice was first attracted by the Christians. And their notice was attracted to them as the preachers of one Christos. This name was always on their lips. It was the name in which they were baptized (Ac 2^{38} 8^{16} 10^{48}, Ja 2^7 *). It is not surprising, then, that the Antiochenes, hearing that this Christos had been alive not more than fifteen years before, should call his followers the Χριστιανοί. We must, however, leave room for the possibility that the word may have originated in the Latin-speaking suite of the *legatus, i.e.* in the official class, though not necessarily as an official name. Though we hear of nothing which would bring the Christians prominently before this class in Antioch, as happened in other towns, yet, in our complete ignorance of the relations between the Christians and this official class in Antioch at the time, this might easily be the case without our knowing anything of it.

III. *Early spread of the name.*—We must be on our guard against overestimating the attention which the Christian body attracted in Antioch at the time when the name was invented. The ὄχλος ἱκανός, 'much people,' of Ac 11^{26} might be almost unnoticeable in so large a metropolis as Antioch, and the arrival of another new teaching would easily escape observation in a great centre of thought, where all the religions of the world jostled with one another. St. Luke, writing at a time when the name had become famous, assigns to its origin an importance reflected from its later history. He is writing also from within the Christian circle, to which the name would be familiar long before its application became general. But though confined, it may be, in its beginnings to that quarter of the city where the Christians had settled, it must have spread very quickly beyond Antioch to all parts of the empire whither Christianity had made its way. Less than twenty years after its birth we hear it mentioned in the Rom. official circle at Cæsarea as a familiar word, whose signification was too well known for it to need introduction or explanation (Ac 26^{28}). A year or two later it is in common use among the populace of Rome (Tac. *loc. cit.*), and not far from the same date St. Luke indirectly implies that the name has become famous (11^{26}). St Peter, writing probably between 64–67 from Rome to the Christian communities in Asia Minor (1 P 5^{13} 1^1), assumes that it is quite well known over all that district (*ib.* 4^{16}). From the correspondence between the younger Pliny and the emperor Trajan in 112–113 we find that it is by that time equally familiar to members of the official bodies in Rome and Bithynia. Finally, in the Ignatian Epp., written in the first or at the beg. of the second decade of the 2nd cent., we find for the first time that the Christians have accepted the name and use it amongst themselves (*e.g.* *Eph.* 11^{14}, *Rom.* 3, *Polycarp* 7).

IV. *Significance of the name.*—St. Luke evidently wishes to connect the origin of the name with the final departure of Christianity from merely Jewish ideals and the dawning consciousness of this fact in the Gentile mind. It is then fair to ask, 'What were the distinctive marks of the new sect to those who first used the word Christian?' If it did not originate as a sarcastic *jeu d'esprit*, it very soon came to be used with a contemptuous signification. It occurs with an implication of scorn in the mouth of Agrippa, 'With but little persuasion thou wouldest fain make me a Christian' (Ac 26^{28}).

---

* Many editors take this passage as a direct allusion to the name 'Christian.' The expression τὸ ὄνομά τινος ἐπί τινα καλεῖν is a Hebraism which occurs many times in the LXX. The Heb. equivalent denotes that the person whose name is 'called over' a thing possesses the rights of ownership in it. See esp. 2 S 12^{28} 'Lest I take the city, and my name be called upon it' (RVm), and the note of Driver, *ad loc* (*Heb. Text of Sam.*). The allusion in Ja 2^7 is, then, more correctly referred to baptism in the name of Christ (see Mayor, *Ep. of St. James, ad loc.*). See also art. CALL.

From 1 P we learn that in heathen mouths 'Christian' was practically equivalent to 'malefactor' ($4^{15.\,16}$, cf. 2^{12} 3^{16}). What were the reasons for this malice and contempt? They were perhaps mainly four.

(*a*) The object of the Christians' worship was a crucified man, 'unto Jews a stumbling-block, and unto Gentiles foolishness' (1 Co 1^{23}). Compare the contempt expressed in the Palatine graffito, probably of the 2nd cent., representing a Christian worshipping a crucified man with an ass's head.

(*b*) The Christians themselves were 'not many wise after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble' (*ib.*^{26}), but 'base' and 'despised' (*ib.*^{28}). Many of them were slaves (Eph 6^{5}, Col 3^{22}, 1 P 2^{18}, 1 Co 7^{21}).

(*c*) There was much in heathen social life which, even if innocent in itself, suggested associations offensive to Christian scruples (1 P $4^{3.\,4}$, 1 Co 8^{1-13}, Ro 14^{1-23}). Again, it must have caused many heart-burnings and domestic strifes when the new religion made its way into families. Hence arose the hatred of Christians as morose and unsociable Puritans.

(*d*) Besides merely holding aloof from heathen society, Christians were fearlessly outspoken in condemnation of its vices and idolatry (Eph 2^{1-3} 4^{19}, Ro 1^{18-32}). The secret consciousness that such condemnation was not at bottom unfounded, embittered the heathen world still more against its self-constituted censors. From this hatred it was but a short step to the fabrication of slanders (1 P 2^{12} 3^{16}), and such charges found a shadow of support in the mystery with which the Christians invested their acts of worship. At the same time the proofs of their world-wide organization gave them the aspect of a secret society banded together against the religion and manners of the day.

Somewhat later in the corrupted form 'Chrestianus' the Apologists applied the word to themselves as the 'good' (*χρηστοί*). The word Χριστός, though known to the Greeks as an adjective, was not used as a proper name except to translate the Hebrew 'Messiah.' Χρηστός, on the other hand, was a tolerably familiar name. Hence arose the corruption (probably towards the middle of 2nd cent.) into Χρηστιανοί. Suetonius (*Claud.* 25) uses 'Chrestus' for 'Christus'; but there is no evidence that he connected the name with 'Christiani,' which appears (*Nero*, 16) without any variant reading 'Chrestiani.' It appears as 'Christiani' also in Tacitus and Pliny (*loc. cit.*). Justin Martyr plays on the double name (*Ap.* i. 55 A), *ὅσον γε ἐκ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας μᾶλλον κολάζειν ὀφείλετε. Χριστιανοὶ γὰρ εἶναι κατηγορούμεθα· τὸ δὲ χρηστὸν μισεῖσθαι οὐ δίκαιον.* Cf. Tert. *Ap.* 3, 'cum et perperam Chrestianus pronuntiatur a vobis (nam nec nominis certa est notitia penes vos) de suavitate et benignitate compositum est.'

LITERATURE.—R. A. Lipsius, *Über den Ursprung und ältesten Gebrauch des Christennamens*, 1873; Zeller, *Bibl. Wörterbuch* *s.v.* 'Christ'; Lightfoot, *Apost. Fathers*, 1889, Ignatius, i. pp. 415–419; Keim, *Aus dem Urchrist.* Essay vi., *Fragmente aus der röm. Verfolgung*, § 1, 'Das neronische Verbrechen und der Christenname'; C. F. Arnold, *Neron. Christenverfolg.*; Ramsay, *Church in Roman Empire* (*passim*).

S. C. GAYFORD.

CHRISTOLOGY.—The purpose of this article is to reproduce the conception of Himself and of His relation to God left by Christ in the minds of His earliest followers; and then to estimate the truth and worth of this conception. For this inquiry, we fortunately have, in the NT, abundant materials. We there find various, and in great part independent, witnesses speaking to us from the first and second generations of the followers of Christ, and comprising some who stood in close relation to Him.

i. 1. The undisputed and well-attested genuineness of some of the Epistles of St. Paul, and the probable genuineness of the others, make these the best starting-point for our inquiry. For in them we have a secure platform on which we may stand firmly, and from which we can survey the entire evidence. We shall then consider the Synoptic Gospels and the writings attributed to the Apostle John.

Throughout his Epistles we notice the profound reverence with which St. Paul bows before Christ as in the presence of One incomparably greater than himself or the greatest of men. There is no comparison of Christ with other men, and no trace of familiarity, or of that sense of equality, which no differences of rank or ability can altogether efface. But there is everywhere a recognition of the honour of being a servant, or indeed a slave, of so glorious a Master.

St. Paul speaks of Christ, *e.g.* in Ro 1^{4} 5^{10}, 1 Co 1^{9}, Gal 4^{4}, as *the Son of God*, using this term as a title of honour distinguishing Him even from the adopted sons of God. In Ro 8^{3}, and again in v.^{32}, he calls Him God's *own Son* whom He sent into the world and gave up on behalf of us all. This last passage suggests a comparison with a human father who gives up to peril or death his own son to save others who are not his sons. And this comparison dominates the whole teaching of St. Paul and of the NT about the death of Christ. It implies that Christ is the Son of God in a sense not shared by other men. Now the word *son* suggests derivation of one person from another. And the term *Son of God* given to Christ as a mark of honour, distinguishing Him from all others, suggests irresistibly that He is derived from the Father, but in a manner differing in kind from that by which we sprang from the Creator's hands.

In Ro 3^{26} St. Paul teaches that God gave up Christ to die in order to harmonise with His own justice the justification of those who believe in Christ. This implies, not only that among a race of sinners Christ is sinless, but that in moral worth He is equal to the whole race for which He died. In Ro 5^{15-19} Christ is contrasted with Adam as the second and greater Head of the race. This gives to Him a unique superiority to all the generations of men.

In Ro 2^{16} we read that 'God will judge the secret things of men through Jesus Christ'; and in 2 Co 5^{10} St. Paul writes that himself and all others 'must needs appear before the judgment-seat of Christ.' Similar teaching is attributed to St. Paul in an address recorded in Ac 17^{31}. In 1 Th 4^{16} we read that at the voice of Christ the dead will rise; and in Ph 3^{21} that by His mighty power He will transform the lowly bodies of His servants into the likeness of His own glorious body.

In Col 1^{16}, a document which we may accept with complete confidence as written by St. Paul, we read that in Christ, and through His agency, and for Him, all things, even the successive ranks of angels, were created; that He is earlier than all things; and that in Him all things have their unity, or 'stand together.'

All this proves decisively that, in the eyes of the pupil of Gamaliel, the Carpenter of Nazareth stood infinitely above men and angels, in a position of unique dignity and unique nearness to God. This must be accepted as well-attested historical fact.

2. We turn now to another group of documents differing widely from the Epistles of St. Paul, the Synoptic Gospels. These were accepted without a shadow of doubt in the latter part of the 2nd cent. all round the Mediterranean as written by the Apostle Matthew, and by Mark and Luke, friends of apostles. The First Gospel, as the farthest removed from the theological standpoint

of St. Paul, is specially valuable in the inquiry before us.

Throughout the Synoptic Gospels we find Christ making for Himself claims corresponding to the homage constantly paid to Him in the Epistles of St. Paul. In Mt 5^{17} the young Teacher from Nazareth announces that He has come, not to annul the law and the prophets, but to complete and fulfil. In ch. 11^{27} He asserts that He alone and those taught by Him know God. He calls to Himself all the weary and heavy-laden, and promises to give them rest by laying upon them His yoke. Yet He speaks of Himself as meek and lowly of heart. And no one resents these strange assertions as involving undue assumption.

As in the Epistles of St. Paul, so in the Synoptic Gospels, Christ is called, in a special sense, *the Son of God.* This title is given to Him by a voice from heaven at His baptism, in Mt 3^{17}, Mk 1^{11}, Lk 3^{22}; and His claim to it is the question at issue in His temptation. The same august title is, as narrated in Mt 16^{16}, given to Him by St. Peter, and is accepted by Christ at an important turning-point of His teaching. Its meaning is expounded by Christ in the Parable of the Vineyard in Mt 21$^{33-41}$, Mk 12$^{1-9}$, Lk 20$^{9-16}$; where, after the ill-treatment of his servants, the master sends his son, thinking that, whatever the vinedressers have done to them, they will reverence him. Christ here claims to be as much above the prophets of the Old Covenant, above Moses and Isaiah and John the Baptist, as the master's son is above the highest of his servants. The same contrast is found in He 3$^{5.6}$, where Moses is called a faithful *servant in* the household, and Christ a *Son over* the household. That this comparison is found in these four documents, one of them so different from the others, reveals its firm place in the thought of the apostolic Church. It implies clearly that, to the writer's thought, Christ's relation to God, in virtue of His derivation from Him, differs in kind from that of even the greatest of men.

As recognised by St. Paul, but more conspicuously, Christ claims in Mt 7$^{22f.}$ 13$^{41f.}$ 16^{27} 25$^{31-46}$, and in the parallel passages, that in the great day He will sit upon a throne and pronounce judgment on all men; while the angels do His bidding as His servants. This teaching raises Christ as much above the rest of mankind as the judge who sits in dignity on the bench is above the criminal who stands at the bar.

3. Another marked type of NT teaching is found in the Fourth Gospel, which a unanimous tradition, reaching back to the 2nd cent., and supported by powerful internal evidence, attributes to the beloved Apostle John. In it we have teaching of Christ given, apparently, not as in the Synoptic Gospels to the many, but to a favoured few, and of the utmost value.

Christ is here represented as making for Himself claims practically the same as those recorded in the Synoptic Gospels. In Jn 7$^{37.38}$ He bids all the thirsty to come to Him and drink; and declares that they who believe in Him shall themselves become fountains of living water. He calls Himself in 8^{12} 9^{5} 'the light of the world'; and in 10$^{11.16}$ 'the good Shepherd' of the 'one flock.' In 10^{30} He asserts, 'I and the Father are one.' In 11^{25} He calls Himself 'the Resurrection and the Life'; and in 14^{6} claims to be the only way through which men can come to God.

In close harmony with the Epistles of St. Paul and the Synoptic Gospels, Christ speaks of Himself in Jn 5^{25} 9^{35} 11^{4} as *the Son of God.* The same title is in ch. 1$^{34.49}$ given to Him by the Baptist and by Nathanael. In ch. 3$^{16.18}$ Christ claims to be *the only-begotten Son.* The same term is found in 1 Jn 4^{9}, and a similar one in Jn 1$^{14.18}$.

In Jn 5^{22} Christ asserts that 'the Father has given all the judgment to the Son, in order that all men may honour the Son according as they honour the Father'; and that an 'hour cometh when all that are in the graves will hear his voice and will go forth, they who have done the good things to a resurrection of life, and they who have done the bad things to a resurrection of judgment.'

In Jn 10^{33} 5^{18} the enemies of Christ assert that by speaking of God as His 'own Father,' Christ was making Himself *God,* or *equal to God.* This equality is involved in 5^{19} 'whatever things he does, these also the Son does in like manner'; in 14^{9} 'he that hath seen me hath seen the Father,' and in ch. 16^{15} 'all things, so many as the Father hath, are mine.'

In close harmony with Col 1^{16}, we read in Jn 1^{3} 'all things through his agency came into being, and apart from him came into being nothing which hath come into being.' This careful repetition of a word denoting *to begin to be* is a marked contrast to v.^{1} 'in the beginning *was* the Word.' So v.^{10} 'the world through his agency came into being.'

In Jn 20^{28}, in view of the pierced hands and side of the Risen One, Thomas accosts Him as 'my Lord and my God.' This supreme honour Christ accepts. It is given to Him, in express words, by the evangelist in Jn 1^{1}, where we read 'the Word was God.' The assertion immediately following, that through His agency all things were made, compels us to accept this term as involving the infinite attributes of deity.

Similar honour is paid to Christ in the Book of Revelation. In Rev 5^{6} we see Him in the midst of the throne as a slain lamb, an object of worship and lofty praise to those nearest the throne, and to every creature in heaven and earth and sea. Yet the interpreter angel twice (19^{10} 22^{9}) refuses worship from John, saying, 'worship God.'

ii. It is now evident that throughout the various documents and types of thought contained in NT we have one harmonious picture of the dignity of Christ. In the Epistles of St. Paul we noticed the profound reverence with which he bowed before Christ as in the presence of One far greater than himself or the greatest of men, and we found a complete counterpart to this reverence in the lofty claims which in each of the four Gospels He is recorded to have made for Himself. In all these documents the title *Son of God* is claimed by Christ, or is given to Him, as a title of unique dignity, and as noting a unique relation to God. The meaning of this title is determined by the Parable of the Vineyard recorded in each of the Synoptic Gospels, by the term *only-begotten Son* in the Fourth Gospel and in the 1st Ep. of St. John, by St. Paul's appeal to the love of God manifested in the gift of His *own Son* to save men, and by the contrast in the Epistle to the Hebrews between Moses, a faithful servant, and Christ the Son of God. This agreement, in writers so various, leaves no room to doubt that, as matter of historical fact, this title, and in this sense, was actually given to Christ by His earliest followers. It is equally clear that they looked upon Him as the designated Judge of the world. We have also seen that the two greatest writers of NT looked upon Christ as earlier than the universe, and as the Agent through whom it was created. One writer gives to Him the supreme title *God,* and records His own earlier acceptance of the same.

iii. In this harmonious account, by various writers, of the dignity of Christ we notice marks of development. In the Synoptic Gospels we find it in its most rudimentary form; in the Epistles of St. Paul it is more fully developed; in the Fourth Gospel the development is complete. Even within the writings of St. Paul, and again within the Fourth

Gospel, we notice development. In 1 Co 8[6] we read of 'one Lord, through whom are all things'; and in Col 1[16. 17], written in the mature thought of St. Paul's first imprisonment, we read that the Son existed before all creatures, and that through His agency even the successive ranks of angels were created,—a thought much in advance of anything in his earlier Epistles. Very much in advance of Christ's teaching about Himself before His death, are the exclamation of Thomas, and the assertion of the evangelist that 'the Word was God.'

It is worthy of note that this development proceeds always on the same lines, that whatever we read about Christ in the Epistles of St. Paul, and indeed in the Fourth Gospel, is either a necessary inference from the teaching of Christ about Himself in the First Gospel, or is needful in order to give to that teaching unity and intelligibility. Between the accounts of the dignity of Christ given by the different writers of NT there is no contradiction. They differ only in their degree of definiteness and completeness. Indeed there is much greater difference between Mt 19[17] and 28[19] and between Jn 1[1] and 14[28] than between the teaching of the First Gospel, taken as a whole, and that of the Fourth.

Possibly, the more fully developed teaching of the Epistles of St. Paul and of the Fourth Gospel about the Son of God may, in its literary form, have been influenced by Gentile modes of thought and expression. Certainly, St. Paul's modes of thought and expression were moulded by his Gentile surroundings. But the complete harmony of all NT writers about the Son of God, and the infinite gulf which separates their teaching from all other earlier or contemporary teaching, leave no room for substantial contributions from sources external to Israel. Contemporary Greek or Oriental thought does little or nothing to elucidate the teaching of NT about the Son of God.

iv. The teaching adduced and expounded above involves a new and definite conception of God. For the assertions of Christ in the NT are equivalent to a claim to share with the Father the infinite attributes of deity; and the contrast between Him who was with God in the beginning and the universe which sprang into being by His agency, suggests irresistibly that, whereas even the bright ones of heaven began to be, He exists, as a person distinct from the Father, from eternity.

Faint indications in the OT of a plurality of persons in the Godhead have been pointed out. But they are dim and uncertain. The definite and complex and yet harmonious conception of God, which underlies the teaching about Christ of the various writers of NT, is altogether different from every conception of God set forth in the entire literature of the world, except so far as later literature has been moulded by Christian teaching. It is a matter of simple historical fact that the NT embodies a complete revolution in man's thought about God.

This new and complex metaphysical conception of God has survived to our day, and has been in all ages the deep conviction of an immense majority of the followers of Christ, and esp. of nearly all those who have done most to spread His name and influence. We hear much about theological differences between contending Churches and schools of Christian thought. Far more wonderful than these differences is the agreement of the mass of the servants of Christ about the dignity of their Master, and about His relation to God.

Of this agreement, the various Creeds and Confessions of the various Churches are decisive proof. The so-called Nicene Creed is accepted by both Greek and Roman Churches, and even by the Armenian Church, which rejected the subsequent Definition of Chalcedon. Even this wide agreement is not the whole. While rejecting much of the teaching of the Church of Rome, the German and Swiss and Eng. Reformers clung tenaciously to the doctrine of the Son of God embodied in the Nicene Creed. It is to-day the deep conviction of both Anglicans and Nonconformists in England and of the various Churches in America. In other words, the remarkable agreement of the various writers of NT about the dignity of Christ finds a complete counterpart in the wonderful agreement of an immense majority of His followers in all ages and nations.

v. Of these well-attested historical facts, only three explanations are possible.

It may be suggested that Christ was Himself in error. If so, the greatest religious teacher the world ever knew, the author of a religious impulse which has changed and raised human thought and life, was in deep error touching the nature of God and touching His own relation to God; and His error has been shared by nearly all those who have done most for the religious life of men. If this be so, the Light of the World was, and they to whom He has been the Light of Life are, in deep darkness. So absurd a suggestion is not worthy of a moment's consideration.

The only remaining alternative is either that Christ is in very truth what the various writers of NT represent Him as claiming to be, and being, or that His immediate followers, those who gained for Him the homage of succeeding ages, and through whom He became the Saviour of the world, misunderstood altogether the teaching of their Master about Himself and about God, and made for Him, and represented Him as making for Himself, claims which He would have rejected with horror as blasphemous. This hypothesis requires us to believe that the various and very different writers of NT, including a friend and colleague of the murderers of Christ, fell into the same error, and adopted the same complicated metaphysical conception of God therein involved. Nay, more. It requires us to believe that this error survived the theological conflicts of later days, and is now the deep and cherished, but mistaken, conviction of nearly all those who have done most to spread the name of Christ and the blessings of Christianity. This is the easiest alternative open to those who reject the harmonious teaching of the NT about Christ and the historic faith of the Church of Christ.

vi. One more difficulty remains. Not a few intelligent and educated men who pay homage to Christ as the greatest of men refuse to accept as correct the portrait of Him given in NT. If this portrait be incorrect, these men have detected an ancient and serious error, and have restored to the civilised world the true conception of God. We expect to see in them as a fruit of their important discovery some moral and spiritual superiority to those who are still held fast by the great delusion. We look in vain. They who deny the divinity of Christ have done very little to carry the gospel to the heathen, to rescue the perishing at home, or to help forward the spiritual life of men.

On the other hand, if the confident belief of the apostles and of the mass of Christians in all ages be correct, the facts of modern Christendom are explained. If Christ be the only-begotten Son of God, His birth was by far the greatest event in the history of our race, and Himself infinitely greater than the greatest of men. We wonder not that His advent was a new era in human thought and in history, and that the Christian nations enjoy to-day a position of unique superiority to all others.

The precise relation of the Son to the Father belongs to the domain of systematic doctrinal theology. The various yet harmonious teaching of NT implies that the Son is, in a real and glorious sense, equal to, yet personally distinct from, subordinate to, and one with, the Father. But this mysterious subject lies beyond the scope of this article.

It has been sufficient for our purpose to show that the various and very different writers of NT give one harmonious account of the dignity of Christ and of His relation to God, that this conception has been in all ages the deep conviction of the mass of His followers, and that this remarkable unanimity, ancient and modern, can be explained only by the truth of the conviction so widespread and so firm.

This important result of our examination of documentary evidence receives wonderful confirmation from the direct inward moral and spiritual effects of the doctrine expounded above. In all ages the vision of the Son of God, divine yet human, has been a powerful stimulus to every kind of excellence, an encouragement in conflict, a joy in sorrow, and the Light of Life under the shadow of death. The moral helpfulness of this vision is a sure witness that the vision itself is an apprehension of objective reality. J. AGAR BEET.

CHRONICLES, I. and II.—POSITION IN CANON.—The name *Chronicles* is given, in the English Bible, to two books written in historical form, which immediately follow 1 and 2 Kings. In the LXX their position is the same. This arrangement is due to similarity of contents. Heb. MSS place them, as one book, in the third division of OT, *Kĕthûbhîm* (כְּתוּבִים), the *Writings* (*Hagiographa*), either at the beginning (so in the Massoretic lists and in Spanish MSS) or at the end (so in the Talmud, *Baba bathra* 13b–15, usually in German MSS, and from these in printed Heb. Bibles), rarely in some other position (*e.g.* third, after Dn and Ezr, Kennicott 30; it is not probable that Jerome (*Prol. Galeat.*) had MSS authority for placing it third from the end, followed by Ezr and Est). Its position, whether prefixed or affixed to the other Hagiographa, is probably due to the late date at which canonical authority was ascribed to it. Exactly when this occurred we cannot say. The historian Eupolemus (*c.* B.C. 150) seems to have known, not merely the Heb. text, but the LXX translation of Ch, so that it appears to have been reckoned in the Canon not much after B.C. 200, at latest (Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* ix. 33, 34, cf. 2 Ch 2^{2-15}; Freudenthal, *Alex. Polyhistor,* 108, 119, cited by Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. pp. 162, 204).

UNITY.—It is evident that the two Books of Ch are really one. The narrative is continuous, and the division due only to convenience, like the modern division of a book into volumes. Like the division of S and K, it was made in Alexandria prior to our oldest MSS of LXX, passed through the LXX into the Vulg. and the modern versions, including the Eng., appeared in Heb. in the printed text of the Bomberg Bible (1521), and is now customary in printed Heb. Bibles. The Books of Ezr and Neh form a continuation of the same work, by the same hand, and might with propriety be entitled 3 Chronicles, or included under the one name of Chronicles (see EZRA AND NEHEMIAH).

NAME.—The name of Chronicles in Hebrew is *Dibhĕrê Hayyāmîm* (דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים), a phrase occurring frequently in K and Ch with the meaning *annals,* or *records* of such and such a king (lit. *the acts of the days* of, etc.). The LXX (followed by the Vulg.) adopted the name Τὰ Παραλειπόμενα, of doubtful meaning; the usual interpretation is of *things passed over*, by Sam. and Kings, but this does not explain the present tense of the participle. The Eng. name *Chronicles* is a fairly good translation of the Heb. name. It can be traced back to Jerome (*Prologus Galeat.*; introduction prefixed to his trans. of S and K): 'Septimus [liber] Dabre Ajamim (דברי הימים), id est verba dierum, quod significantius Χρονικὸν totius divinæ historiæ possumus appellare. Qui liber apud nos Παραλειπομένων primus et secundus inscribitur' (Migne, *Hieron.*, ed. Vallarsi, ix. 554).

CONTENTS.—The period embraced in Ch extends from Adam to the Restoration of the Jews under Cyrus.

(1) 1 Ch 1–9 contain chiefly genealogies (beginning 'Adam, Seth, Enosh'), coming down through Noah's sons, and then particularly through the line of Shem to Esau and Israel and their sons, with their descendants. The last twelve vv. of ch. 1 contain a list of Edomitish kings and chiefs. In the various genealogies many problems arise, due in part to defective text, in part to lack of completeness in the tables, in part to a confusion between names of persons and names of places and peoples. Brief narratives, from various periods, are interspersed among the genealogies (*e.g.* 2^{23} $4^{9.\,10.\,39-43}$ $5^{9.\,10.\,18-22.\,25.\,26}$). The last genealogy in this collection, 9^{35-44} (repeated, with some differences, from 8^{29-38}), makes a kind of transition to the following section.

(2) *a.* 1 Ch 10–29 are concerned with David's reign, the introduction being the last battle and the death of Saul (ch. 10), and the conclusion the accession of Solomon (23^{1} $28^{5\text{ff.}}$ $29^{22\text{ff.}}$). *b.* 2 Ch 1–9 are devoted to Solomon's reign. *c.* 2 Ch 10–36 contain the history of the kingdom of Judah down to the fall of Jerus., with the division of the kingdoms as preface, and the Restoration-edict of Cyrus as appendix, or, more exactly, as introduction to the history of the Restoration and the early Jewish community given in Ezr-Neh. (On the parallels, see below.)

STYLE.—The style of Ch is strongly marked. The genealogical lists, the religious interests, and the edifying tendency of the author (see below) of themselves impart a certain tone to it; thus there is often comparative brevity and lack of precision in describing external affairs,—even such important ones as the temple-building, Sennacherib's invasion, and the fall of Jerus.,—while pedigrees, speeches, and matters relating to ritual are given at length. Other essential features of it are a peculiar vocabulary, peculiar syntactical habits, and noteworthy idiosyncrasies in phraseology (see esp. Driver, *LOT* 502 ff., and C. C. Torrey, *Ezra-Nehemiah*).

The following words and phrases occur (in Heb.) only in Ch (incl. Ezr-Neh), and in writings certainly still later (Est, Dn, Ec, Ps-titles) * :—

1. אֲבָל *howbeit, but,* ↑ 2 Ch 1^{4} 19^{3} 33^{17}, Ezr 10^{13}; also Dn $10^{7.\,21}$.

2. אִגֶּרֶת *letter,* ↑ 2 Ch $30^{1.\,6}$, Neh $2^{7.\,8.\,9}$ $6^{5.\,17.\,19}$; also Est $9^{26.\,29}$.

3. אַרְגְּוָן *purple,* ↑ 2 Ch 2^{7} (Heb. v.^{6}), cf. Aram. אַרְגְּוָנָא Dn $5^{7.\,16.\,29}$;—the more common Heb. אַרְגָּמָן is most frequently late, and occurs in 2 Ch 2^{13} 3^{14}.

4. אֲרָצוֹת *lands,* as a designation of the territory of Israel, ↑ 2 Ch 15^{5}; this territory is certainly included (if not solely designated) in Ezr 3^{3} (text dub.) $9^{1.\,2.\,11}$, Neh 10^{28} (Heb. v.^{29}); even אַרְצוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל 1 Ch 13^{2}; אַרְצוֹת יְהוּדָה 2 Ch 11^{23}; כָּל־הָאֲרָצוֹת אֲשֶׁר לִבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל 2 Ch 34^{33}. (The pl. form ארצות is chiefly late in all senses.)

5. בּוּץ, בֻּץ *byssus,* ↑ 1 Ch 4^{21} 15^{27} (but emend after 2 S 6^{14}), 2 Ch 2^{14} (Heb. v.^{13}) 3^{14} 5^{12}; also Est 1^{6}; it occurs also MT Ezk 27^{16} but del. 𝔊 Cornill.

---

* In this art. the sign ↑ indicates that *all* the passages are cited in which a particular word or phrase occurs. 𝔊 = Gr. version of LXX. 𝔊L = Lucian's recension. 𝔖 = Syr. version (Peshiṭta). 𝔙 = Vulgate.

6. בִּזָּה *spoil*, ↑ 2 Ch 14^{13} 25^{13} 28^{14}, Ezr 9^{7}, Neh 4^{4} (Heb. 3^{36}); also Dn $11^{24.33}$, Est $9^{10.15.16}$.

7. מֵבִין *skilled, skilled* (*in*), ↑ 1 Ch 15^{22} $25^{7.8}$ 27^{32}, 2 Ch 34^{12} (other kindred meanings are chiefly late).

8. בִּירָנִיּוֹת *fortresses*, ↑ 2 Ch 17^{12} 27^{4}.

9. בְּרוּרִים *chosen*, ↑ 1 Ch 7^{40} 9^{22} 16^{41}; בְּרֻרוֹת *id.*, ↑ Neh 5^{18}.

10. דַּרְכְּמוֹנִים *drachmæ*, ↑ Ezr 2^{69}=Neh 7^{71}, Neh $7^{70.72}$ (Heb. $7^{69.70.71}$); אֲדַרְכֹנִים, ↑ 1 Ch 29^{7}, Ezr 8^{27}.

11. מִדְרָשׁ *midrash*, ↑ 2 Ch 13^{22} 24^{27}.

12. הֵיךְ *how?* ↑ 1 Ch 13^{12}; also Dn 10^{17} (cf. Aram.).

13. הַלֵּל לַיהוה *praise J"*, of technical Levitical function, ↑ 1 Ch $16^{4.36}$ $23^{5.30}$ 25^{3}, 2 Ch $5^{13.13}$ 20^{19} 29^{30} 30^{21}, cf. 1 Ch 29^{13}, 2 Ch 20^{21}, Ezr $3^{11.11}$; הַלֵּל יהוה ↑ Ezr 3^{10}, Neh 5^{13}; הַלֵּל abs., ↑ 1 Ch 23^{5}, 2 Ch 7^{6} 8^{14} 23^{13} 29^{30} 31^{2}, Neh 12^{24}.

14. זָנַח **Hiph.** *reject*, ↑ 1 Ch 28^{9}, 2 Ch 11^{14} 29^{19}.

15. זָרַח *come out, appear*, of leprosy, ↑ 2 Ch 26^{19}.

16. מְחַבְּרוֹת *binders, joints*, ↑ 1 Ch 22^{3}, 2 Ch 34^{11}.

17. חָזַק **Hithp.** sq. לִפְנֵי=*withstand*, ↑ 2 Ch $13^{7.8}$; sq. עִם=*hold strongly with*, 1 Ch 11^{10}, 2 Ch 16^{9}; also Dn 10^{21}.

18. חֶזְקָה=royal *power*, ↑ 2 Ch 12^{1} 26^{16}; also Dn 11^{2}.

19. חֶדְוָה *joy*, ↑ 1 Ch 16^{27}, Neh 8^{10}.

20. חָלָא *be sick*, ↑ 2 Ch 16^{12} (usually חָלָה).

21. מַחֲלֻיִים *sufferings*, ↑ 2 Ch 24^{25} (מַחֲלֶה, *sickness*, occurs ↑ Pr 18^{14}, 2 Ch 21^{15}).

22. מַחֲלֹקֶת *division, course* (of Levitical and priestly organization), ↑ 1 Ch 23^{6} 24^{1} $26^{1.12.19}$ $27^{1.1.2.2.4.4.4.5.6.7.8.9.10.11.12.13.14.15}$ $28^{1.13.21}$, 2 Ch 5^{11} $8^{14.14}$ 23^{8} $31^{2.2.15.16.17}$ $35^{4.10}$, Neh 11^{36}.

23. חֲסָדֵי=*pious deeds* (of men), ↑ 2 Ch 32^{32} 35^{26}, Neh 13^{14}.

24. מַדָּע *knowledge*, ↑ 2 Ch $1^{10.11.12}$; also Dn $1^{4.7}$ and (=*mind, thought*), Ec 10^{20}.

25. יוֹם בְּיוֹם=*day by day* (for earlier יוֹם יוֹם), ↑ 2 Ch 30^{21}, Ezr 3^{4}, Neh 8^{18}; לְיוֹם בְּיוֹם 2 Ch 24^{11}; לְעֶת־יוֹם בְּיוֹם 1 Ch 12^{22}; בִּדְבַר יוֹם בְּיוֹם 2 Ch 8^{13}; עֹלוֹת יוֹם בְּיוֹם Ezr 3^{4}.

26. הִתְיַחֵשׂ *be genealogically enrolled*, ↑ 1 Ch 4^{33} $5^{1.7.17}$ $7^{5.7.9.40}$ $9^{1.22}$, 2 Ch 12^{15} $31^{16.17.18.19}$, Ezr 2^{62}= Neh 7^{64}, Ezr $8^{1.3}$, Neh 7^{5}.

27. יָמַן **Hiph.** *use the right hand*, ↑ 1 Ch 12^{2}.

28. מְכֻרְבָּל *bemantled*, ↑ 1 Ch 15^{27} (cf. prob. Aram. כַּרְבְּלָא *mantle*).

29. כֶּבֶשׁ *footstool*, ↑ 2 Ch 9^{18} (cf. NH, Aram.).

30. נִצַּח, מְנַצֵּחַ *oversee, direct; overseer, director*, ↑ 1 Ch 15^{21} 23^{4}, 2 Ch $2^{2.18}$ (Heb. vv.$^{2.17}$), $34^{12.13}$, Ezr $3^{8.9}$; also in titles of Pss 4. 5. 6. 8. 9. 11. 12. 13. 14. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 31. 36. 39. 40. 41. 42. 44. 45. 46. 47. 49. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 75. 76. 77. 80. 81. 84. 85. 88. 109. 139. 140; also in title Hab 3^{19}.

31. נָתַן יָד לְ=*submit, yield to*, ↑ 2 Ch 30^{8}; נָתַן יָד תַּחַת= *id.*, 1 Ch 29^{24}; נָתַן יָדָם לְהוֹצִיא=*give their pledge that they would send away*, Ezr 10^{19}; נָתַן לֵב לְ *set the heart* to (do) a thing, etc., ↑ 1 Ch 22^{19}, 2 Ch 11^{16}, Dn 10^{12}, Ec $1^{13.17}$ 7^{21} $8^{9.16}$.

32. הֶעֱמִיד = *appoint, institute, establish* (priests, Levites, prophets, etc.), ↑ 1 Ch 6^{31} (Heb. v.^{16}) $15^{16.17}$ 17^{14}, 2 Ch 8^{14} 9^{8} $11^{15.22}$ $19^{5.8}$ 20^{21} 25^{5} 30^{5} 31^{2} 33^{8} 35^{2}, Ezr 3^{8}, Neh 6^{7} 7^{3} 12^{31} 13^{30} (cf. 10^{33}); also Dn $11^{11.13.14}$.

33. עָמַד עַל־עָמְדוֹ (עמרי, עמרך, עמרם) *stand on his standing*, *i.e.* in his place, etc., ↑ 2 Ch 30^{16} 34^{31} 35^{10}, Neh 13^{11}; also Dn 8^{18} 10^{11}; with קום for עמד Neh 9^{3}; without vb. Neh 8^{7}.

34. לְמַעְלָה=*exceedingly*, ↑ 1 Ch 14^{2} 22^{5} 23^{17} $29^{3.25}$, 2 Ch 1^{1} 16^{12} 17^{12} 20^{19} 26^{8} 34^{4}.

35. עָצַר כֹּחַ *control* (=possess) *power, be able*, ↑ sq. לְ inf. 1 Ch 29^{14}, 2 Ch 2^{6} (Heb. v.^{5}); sq. לְ subst. 2 Ch 22^{9}; abs. 2 Ch 13^{20}; also abs. Dn $10^{8.16}$ and (עצר כּוֹחַ הַזְּרוֹעַ) 11^{6}; עָצַר alone=*have power, be able*, ↑ 2 Ch 14^{10}, sq. לְ inf. 20^{37}.

36. מְצִלְתַּיִם *cymbals*, ↑ 1 Ch 13^{8} $15^{16.19.28}$ $16^{5.42}$ $25^{1.6}$, 2 Ch $5^{12.13}$ 29^{25}, Ezr 3^{10}, Neh 12^{27}.

37. צָפִיר *he-goat*, ↑ 2 Ch 29^{21}, Ezr 8^{35}; also Dn $8^{5.5.8.21}$ (Aram. צְפִיר).

38. שַׂר, שָׂרֵי of priests and Levites:—שָׂרֵי הַכֹּהֲנִים ↑ 2 Ch 36^{14}, Ezr $8^{24.29}$ (+וְהַלְוִיִּם) 10^{5}; שַׂר־הַלְוִיִּם ↑ 1 Ch 15^{22}, שָׂרֵי הַל׳ v.^{16}, 2 Ch 35^{9}; cf. שַׂר of chief musician, 1 Ch 15^{27} (also שָׂרֵי־קֹדֶשׁ וְשָׂרֵי הָאֱלֹהִים 24^{5}, and שָׂרֵי קֹדֶשׁ Is 43^{28}).

39. מְשֹׁרֵר, מְשֹׁרְרִים, and (Ezr 2^{65}=Neh 7^{67}) מְשֹׁרְרוֹת, *singer(s)*, ↑ 1 Ch 6^{33} (Heb. v.^{18}) 9^{33}+11 t. Ch; Ezr $2^{41.65.70}$=Neh $7^{44.67.73}$, Ezr 7^{7} 10^{24}, Neh 7^{1}+12 t. Neh.

40. שַׁיִשׁ *alabaster*, ↑ 1 Ch 29^{2} (cf. שֵׁשׁ, ↑ Est 1^{6}, Ca 5^{15}).

41. שׁוֹעֲרִים *porters, gate-men*, of temple, etc., a sacred function, ↑ 1 Ch 9^{17}+19 t. Ch; Ezr $2^{42.70}$= Neh $7^{45.73}$, Ezr 7^{7} 10^{24}, Neh 7^{1}+7 t. Neh. (The word occurs elsewhere only 2 S 18^{26}—but rd. הַשַּׁעַר, see Driver—and 2 K $7^{10.11}$ of porter of a city and a palace.)

The following exilic and post-exilic words and phrases are, in the meanings given, characteristic of Chronicles, although not exclusively so:—

1. אֲחֻזָּה *possession*, 1 Ch 7^{28} 9^{2}, 2 Ch 11^{14} 31^{1}, Neh 11^{3}; also Ezk $44^{28.28}$+14 t. Ezr, Ps 2^{8}, Gn 17^{8}+43 t. Gn, Lv, Nu, Dt, Jos (all P).

2. נִגְזַר **Niph.** ↑ 2 Ch 26^{21}; also Is 53^{8}, Ps 88^{6}, and (in different senses) Ezk 37^{11}, La 3^{54}, Est 2^{1}.

3. מִגְרָשׁ *common-land*, 1 Ch 5^{16} 6^{55} (Heb. v.^{40})+40 t. 1 Ch 6, 13^{2}, 2 Ch 11^{14} 31^{19}; also Ezk 45^{2} $48^{15.17}$ and Nu $35^{2.3.4.5.7}$, Jos 14^{2} 21^{2}+55 (or 59, if vv.$^{36.37}$ belong to MT) t. Jos 21 (all P).

4. הֲדֹם *footstool*, ↑ 1 Ch 28^{2}; also Is 66^{1}, La 2^{1}, Ps 99^{5} 110^{1} 132^{7}.

5. הַדְרַת קֹדֶשׁ *holy adornment*, ↑ 1 Ch 16^{29}=Ps 96^{9}, 2 Ch 20^{21}; also Ps 29^{2} (post-exil.?).

6. הָמוֹן=*great number*, ↑ 1 Ch 29^{16}, 2 Ch 11^{23} 31^{10}; also Jer 49^{32} (*v.* also *infr.*).

7. זַן *kind, sort*, ↑ 2 Ch 16^{14}, Ps 144^{13}.

8. זָקַק *refine*, **Pu.** *refined*, 1 Ch 28^{18} 29^{4}; also Is 25^{6}, Ps 12^{7}; **Pi.** *refine*, Mal 3^{3}; **Qal** *id.* Job 28^{1} 36^{27}.

9. טִהַר **Pi.** *purify*, 2 Ch $29^{15.16.18}$ $34^{3.5.8}$, Neh $13^{9.30}$; also Ezk 39^{12}, Job 37^{21}, Mal 3^{3}; and esp. *make* or *pronounce clean*, ceremonially, Ezk 43^{26}, Lv 13^{6}+15 t. P, Neh 12^{30}; morally, Ezk 24^{13}+3 t. Ezk, Lv 16^{30} (P), Mal 3^{3}, Ps 51^{4}, Jer 33^{8}; **Hithp.** *purify oneself*, 2 Ch 30^{18}, Ezr 6^{20}, Neh 12^{30} 13^{22}; also Gn 35^{2} (R^{P}), Nu 8^{7}, Jos 22^{17}, cf. Lv $14^{4.7.8.11.14.17.18.19.25.28.29.31}$ (all P), Is 66^{17}. טָהֳרָה *purifying*, ↑ 1 Ch 23^{28}, 2 Ch 30^{19}, Neh 12^{45}; also Ezk 44^{26}, Lv $12^{4.5}$ $13^{7.35}$ $14^{2.23.32}$ 15^{13}, Nu 6^{9} (all P); טָהוֹר=*physically pure, clean*, 1 Ch 28^{17}, 2 Ch 3^{4} 9^{17} 13^{11}; also Zec $3^{5.5}$, Job 28^{19}, Ezk 36^{25}, Ex 25^{11}+30 t. Ex, Lv (all P or H).

10. טוּחַ *overspread, overlay*, ↑ 1 Ch 29^{4}; also Ezk $13^{10.11.12.14.15.15}$ 22^{28}, Lv $14^{42.43.48}$.

11. עַל־יַד, עַל־יְדֵי = *according to the guidance of*, 1 Ch $25^{2.2.3.6.6}$, 2 Ch 23^{18} 26^{13} 29^{27}, Ezr 3^{10}; also Jer 5^{31} 33^{13}.

12. יָדָה **Hithp.**=*give thanks*, in ritual worship, ↑ 2 Ch 30^{22}; =*confess*, Ezr 10^{1}, Neh 1^{6} $9^{2.3}$; also Lv 5^{5} 16^{21} 26^{40}, Nu 5^{7} (all P or H), Dn $9^{4.20}$ (*v.* also *infr.*).

13. תּוֹלְדוֹת *generations*, 1 Ch 1^{29} 5^{7} $7^{2.4.9}$ 8^{28} $9^{9.34}$ 26^{31}; also Ru 4^{18}, Gn 5^{1}+28 t. Gn, Ex, Nu (all P).

14. כְּתָב *writing*, ↑ 1 Ch 28^{19}, 2 Ch 2^{11} (Heb. v.^{10}) 35^{4}, Ezr 2^{62}=Neh 7^{64}, Ezr 4^{7}; also Ezk 13^{9}, Dn 10^{21}, Est 1^{22} $3^{12.14}$ 4^{8} $8^{8.9.9.13}$ 9^{27}.

15. מָעַל *commit a trespass*, 1 Ch 2^{7} 5^{25} 10^{13}, 2 Ch 12^{2} $26^{16.18}$ $28^{19.22}$ 29^{6} 30^{7} 36^{14}, Ezr $10^{2.10}$, Neh 1^{8} 13^{27}; also Ezk 14^{13}+6 t. Ezk, Lv 5^{15}+11 t. Lv, Nu, Dt, Jos (all P), Pr 16^{10}; מַעַל *trespass*, 1 Ch 9^{1} 10^{13}, 2 Ch 28^{19} 29^{19} 33^{19} 36^{14}, Ezr $9^{2.4}$ 10^{6}; also Ezk 14^{13}+5 t. Ezk, Lv 5^{15}+11 t. Lv, Nu, Jos (all P), Dn 9^{7}, Job 21^{34} (esp. frequent as cogn. acc. with מָעַל).

16. נֶפֶשׁ אָדָם coll.=*persons*, ↑ 1 Ch 5^{21}; also Ezk 27^{13}, Nu $31^{35.40.46}$ (P); in Gn 9^{5} (P) נֶפֶשׁ הָאָדָם=*life of man*.

17. נָקַב **Niph.** *be expressed* by name, ↑ 1 Ch 12^{31} (Baer ^{32}) 16^{41}, 2 Ch 28^{15} 31^{19}, Ezr 8^{20}; also Nu 1^{17} (P).

18. עָמַד=*rise* (for earlier קוּם, 1 Ch 20^{4} 21^{1}, Ezr 2^{63} =Neh 7^{65}, Neh 8^{5}; also Dn $8^{22.23.25}$ 10^{11} $11^{2.3.4.7.14.}$

$^{20. 21. 31}$ 12^{1}, Est 4^{14}, cf. transition to this usage Ezk 2^{1} 37^{10}.

19. מַעֲרָב *west*, ↑ 1 Ch 7^{28} 12^{15} $26^{16. 18. 30}$, 2 Ch 32^{30} 33^{14}; also Is 43^{5} 59^{19}, Dn 8^{5}, Ps 75^{6} (Heb. v.^{7}) 103^{12} 107^{3}.

20. הָיָה פַּחַד יהוה עַל *the fear of J″ came upon*, ↑ 2 Ch 14^{14} (Heb. v.^{13}) 17^{10} 19^{7} 20^{29} (פַּחַד אֱלֹהִים; cf. יהוה נָתַן אֶת־פַּחְדּוֹ עַל־ 1 Ch 14^{17}); elsewhere נָפַל פַּחַד י״ עַל־ 1 S 11^{7}, Job 13^{11}, and so of fear of men, or undefined fear, Ex 15^{16}, Est 8^{17} $9^{2. 3}$.

21. קִבֵּל *receive*, ↑ 1 Ch 12^{18} 21^{11}, 2 Ch $29^{16. 22}$, Ezr 8^{30}, Pr 19^{20}, Job $2^{10. 10}$, Est 4^{4} $9^{23. 27}$; הִקְבִּיל=*be in front of* (cf. Aram. קֳבֵל) Ex 26^{5} 36^{12} (P).

22. רָאשֵׁי אָבוֹת *of heads of families*, ↑ 1 Ch 7^{11} $8^{6. 10. 13. 28}$ $9^{9. 33. 34}$ 15^{12} $23^{9. 24}$ $24^{6. 31}$ $26^{21. 26. 32}$ 27^{1}, 2 Ch 1^{2} 19^{8} 23^{2} 26^{12}, Ezr 1^{5} 2^{62} 3^{12} $4^{2. 3}$ 8^{1} 10^{16}, Neh $7^{70. 71}$ 8^{13} $12^{12. 22. 23}$; also Ex 6^{25}, Nu 31^{26} 32^{28} $36^{1. 1}$, Jos 14^{1} 19^{51} $21^{1. 1}$ (all P).

23. רָשַׁע **Hiph.** *display wickedness, do wickedly*, ↑ 2 Ch 20^{35} 22^{3}, Neh 9^{33}; also Job 34^{12}, Ps 106^{6}, Dn 9^{5} 11^{32} 12^{10}.

24. שֶׁלַח *weapon*, ↑ 2 Ch 23^{10} 32^{5}, Neh $4^{17. 23}$ (Heb. vv.$^{11. 17}$); also Job 33^{18} 36^{12}, Jl 2^{8}, cf. *id.*=*shoot, sprout*, Ca 4^{13}.

25. שְׁמָעוּנִי *hear me* (in beginning a speech), ↑ 1 Ch 28^{2}, 2 Ch 13^{4} 15^{2} 20^{20} 28^{11} 29^{5}; also Gn 23^{6} (*hear us*), vv.$^{8. 11. 13. 15}$ (all P).

The following occur occasionally in pre-exilic literature, but are especially characteristic of Chronicles :—

1. אָמַר=*promise* or *command* sq. inf. 2 S 24^{11}, 2 K 8^{19}, but esp. 1 Ch 21^{17} 27^{23}, 2 Ch 1^{18} 14^{3} 21^{7} $29^{21. 27. 30}$ $31^{4. 11}$ 35^{31}, Neh 9^{15}; also Dn, Est, etc.

2. אַשְׁמָה=*guilt, wrong-doing*, Am 8^{14} (in concrete sense), but esp. 1 Ch 21^{3}, 2 Ch 24^{18} $28^{10. 13. 13. 13}$ 32^{23}, Ezr $9^{6. 7. 13. 15}$ $10^{10. 19}$; also Ps 69^{6}, Lv 4^{3} 5^{26} (P), also (in another sense) Lv 5^{24} (P), 22^{16} (H).

3. בֵּית הָאֱלֹהִים *house of God*, 1 Ch $9^{11. 13. 26}$+(52 times in Ch, Ezr, Neh); of sanctuary at Shiloh, Jg 18^{31}.

4. גְּדוּד=*troop*, of divisions of army, Mic 4^{14} (doubtful date), but esp. 1 Ch 7^{4}, 2 Ch $25^{9. 10. 13}$ 26^{11}, cf. Job 29^{25} (of a *marauding band* it is both early and late).

5. גְּדוּלָּה *greatness*, 2 S $7^{21. 23}$=1 Ch $17^{19. 19. 21}$, 1 Ch 29^{11}; also Ps 71^{21} $145^{3. 6}$, Est 1^{4} 6^{3} 10^{2}.

6. דָּרַשׁ יהוה *seek J″ in prayer and worship*, Am $5^{4. 6}$, Hos 10^{12}, Is 9^{12} etc., but esp. 1 Ch 28^{9}, 2 Ch 12^{14} $14^{4. 7}$ (Heb. vv.$^{3. 6}$) $15^{2. 12}$ 16^{12} 22^{9} 26^{5}, Ps 105^{4}=1 Ch 16^{11}; דָּרַשׁ (הָ)אֱלֹהִים 2 Ch 19^{3} 26^{5} 30^{19}; דָּרַשׁ לִיהוה 1 Ch 22^{19}, 2 Ch 15^{13} 20^{3}, Ezr 6^{21}; ד' לאלהים 2 Ch 17^{4} 31^{21} 34^{3}, Ezr 4^{2}.

7. הָמוֹן=*multitude*, Jg 4^{7}, 1 S 14^{16} etc.; but also 2 Ch 13^{8} 14^{10} $20^{2. 12. 15. 24}$ 32^{7}; also Ezk, Dn (*v.* also *supr.*).

8. זָעַף=*be enraged*, ↑ 2 Ch $26^{19. 19}$; זַעַף *rage*, ↑ 2 Ch 16^{10} 28^{9}; also (poet.) Is 30^{30}, Mic 7^{9}, Pr 19^{12}, and (*raging* of sea) Jon 1^{15}.

9. חָגָב *locust, grasshopper*, Nu 13^{33} (JE), but esp. 2 Ch 7^{13}, Lv 11^{22} (P), Is 40^{22}, Ec 12^{5}.

10. חֹדֶשׁ calendar *month*, merely numbered (not named), 1 K $12^{32. 33}$, Jer 1^{3} etc., esp. 1 Ch 12^{15} $27^{2. 3. 4. 5. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15}$, 2 Ch 2^{3}+12 t. 2 Ch, Ezr 3^{1}+10 t. Ezr, Neh 7^{72} $8^{2. 14}$, Ezk 24^{1} 32^{1}, Lv 16^{29}+oft. P, Hag $1^{1. 13}$, Zec 1^{1} $7^{1. 3}$, Est 3^{12} etc.

11. חֹזֶה=*seer*, Am 7^{12}, Mic 3^{7} etc., 2 S 24^{11}=1 Ch 21^{9}, and esp. 1 Ch 25^{5} 29^{29}, 2 Ch 9^{29} 12^{15} 19^{2} $29^{25. 30}$ $33^{18. 19}$ 35^{15}.

12. חָזַק **Hithp.**=*strengthen oneself*, 1 S 30^{6} (התח' ביהוה), 2 S 3^{6}, 1 K 20^{22}, but esp. 2 Ch 1^{1} 12^{13} 13^{21} 17^{1} 21^{4} 23^{1} 25^{11} 27^{6}, 15^{8} (=*take courage*), Ezr 7^{28} (=*gain* strength); also Dn 10^{19} (*id.*); =*put forth one's strength*, Gn 48^{2}, Nu 13^{20} (both JE), Jg 20^{22}, 1 S 4^{2}, 2 S 10^{12}, but also 1 Ch 19^{13}, 2 Ch 32^{5} (*v.* also *supr.*).

13. חֲצֹצְרָה *clarion*, as sacred instrument, ↑ 2 K 12^{14}, but esp. (for use by priests only) 1 Ch 13^{8} $15^{16. 24. 28}$ $16^{6. 42}$, 2 Ch $5^{12. 13. 13}$ $13^{12. 14}$ 20^{28} $29^{26. 27. 28}$, Ezr 3^{10}, Neh $12^{35. 41}$; also Ps 98^{6} and Nu $10^{3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10}$ 31^{6} (all P); חצצר vb. denom. **Pi.** and **Hiph.** *sound a clarion*, ↑ 1 Ch 15^{24}, 2 Ch $5^{12. 13}$ 7^{6} 13^{14} 29^{28}.

14. יָדָה **Hiph.**=*praise*, of ritual worship, 2 S 22^{50}=Ps 18^{50}=108^{4}; also Is 12^{4} 25^{1}, but esp. Ps (67 t.) and 1 Ch $16^{4. 7. 8. 34. 35. 41}$ 23^{30} 25^{3} 29^{13}, 2 Ch 5^{13} $7^{3. 6}$ 20^{22} 31^{2}, Ezr 3^{11}, Neh 11^{17} $12^{24. 46}$; תּוֹדָה=*thank-offering*, Am 4^{6}, 2 Ch $29^{31. 31}$ 33^{16}; also Ps, Jer, and P.

15. יְמָנִי adj. *right* (hand), 1 K 6^{8} 7^{39}, 2 K 11^{11}; also 1 K 7^{21}=2 Ch 3^{17} *Ḳerê*, 2 Ch 4^{10} 23^{10}, Ezk 4^{6} *Ḳerê*, $47^{1. 2}$, Ex 29^{20}+8 t. P.

16. כּוּן **Hiph.** *set up, prepare*, etc. 2 S 5^{12}, 1 K 2^{24} etc., but esp. 1 Ch 14^{2} 28^{7}, 2 Ch 12^{1} 17^{5}+36 t. Ch.

17. כָּנַס *gather*, ↑ Is 28^{20} (**Hithp.**), but also 1 Ch 22^{2}, Neh 12^{44}; also Ezk 22^{21} 39^{28}, Ps 33^{7} 147^{2}, Est 4^{16}, Ec $2^{8. 26}$ 3^{5}.

18. כָּנַע **Niph.** *be humble, humbled, humble oneself*, 1 S 7^{13}, 1 K 21^{29} etc., but esp. 1 Ch 20^{4}, 2 Ch 7^{14} $12^{6. 7. 7. 12}$ 13^{18} 30^{11} 32^{26} $33^{12. 19. 23. 23}$ $34^{27. 27}$ 36^{12}; **Hiph.** *humble, subdue*, ↑ Jg 4^{23}, Dt 9^{3}, 2 S 8^{1}=1 Ch 18^{1}, also 1 Ch 17^{10}, 2 Ch 28^{19}; also Is 25^{5}, Job 40^{12}, Ps 81^{15} 107^{12}.

19. מִלֵּא יָד=*consecrate*, Jg $17^{5. 12}$, 1 K 13^{33}, but also 1 Ch 29^{5}, 2 Ch 13^{9} 16^{33} 29^{31}; also Ezk 43^{26} and Ex 28^{41} $29^{9. 29. 33. 35}$ 32^{29}, Lv 8^{33} 16^{33} 21^{1}, Nu 3^{3} (all P).

20. מַלְכוּת *kingdom, reign*, Nu 24^{7} (JE), 1 S 20^{31}, 1 K 2^{12}, but esp. 1 Ch 11^{10}+27 t. Ch., Ezr 1^{1} $4^{5. 6. 6}$ 7^{1} 8^{1}, Neh 9^{35} 12^{22}; Est 1^{2}+25 t. Est, Dn 1^{1}+15 t. Dn, Ex 4^{14}, 5 t. Ps, 3 t. Jer.

21. נָדַב **Hithp.** *offer* (oneself) *willingly*, ↑ Jg $5^{2. 9}$ (in war), but esp. (in sacred gifts and services) 1 Ch $29^{5. 6. 9. 9. 14. 17. 17}$, 2 Ch 17^{16}, Ezr 1^{6} 2^{68} 3^{5}, Neh 11^{2}.

22. עֵזֶר *help*, of divine assistance, 1 S 7^{12}, Gn 49^{25} etc., but esp. Ps and 1 Ch 12^{18} 15^{26}, 2 Ch $14^{11. 11}$ (Heb. v.^{10}) 18^{31} 25^{8} 26^{7} 32^{8}.

23. עֹשֶׁר וְכָבוֹד *riches and honour*, ↑ 1 K 3^{13}, but esp. 1 Ch $29^{12. 28}$, 2 Ch $1^{11. 12}$ 17^{5} 18^{1} 32^{27}; also Pr 3^{16} 8^{18}, Ec 6^{2}.

24. לָרֹב *abundantly*, 1 K 10^{27}=2 Ch 1^{15}=9^{27}, and esp. 1 Ch 4^{38} 12^{40} $22^{3. 3. 4. 5. 8. 14. 15}$ $29^{2. 21}$, 2 Ch 2^{9} (Heb. v.^{8}) 4^{18} $9^{1. 9}$ 11^{23} 14^{15} (Heb. v.^{14}) 15^{9} 16^{8} 17^{5} $18^{1. 2}$ 20^{25} $24^{11. 24. 27}$ 27^{3} 29^{35} $30^{5. 13. 24}$ 31^{5} $32^{5. 29}$, Neh 9^{25}; also Zec 14^{14}.

There are also classes of peculiarities in Ch, many of them syntactical; *e.g.* omission of the relative; הַ— for the relative; שַׁעַר וָשַׁעַר and other such repetitions with וְ, in a distributive sense; וּבְכַלּוֹת and other temporal inf. phrases at beginning of sentence (for older וַיְהִי בְּכַלּוֹת, etc.); and particularly the use of prepositions :—לְ *c. inf.* with circumstantial force, at the end of sentences, as 1 Ch 15^{16} etc.; לְ *c. inf.* denoting purpose, etc.; לְ as the accusative sign after a verbal suffix, *e.g.* 1 Ch 5^{26}, and without a preceding suffix 2 Ch 26^{14}; לִדְבַר יוֹם בְּיוֹמוֹ ↑ 1 Ch 16^{37}, 2 Ch 8^{14} 31^{16}; לְאֵין=*without*, *e.g.* 1 Ch 22^{4}, 2 Ch 14^{12}; לְלֹא=*without* ↑ 2 Ch $15^{3. 3. 3}$; לְכֹל=*wholly, namely*, *e.g.* 1 Ch 13^{1} etc.; לְ and (oft.) לְכָל־, carrying on another preposition (לִפְנֵי, עִם, etc.), or introducing a nominative 1 Ch 26^{26} $28^{1. 21}$ 29^{6}; the curious combination לְמָה, in לְמַבָּרִאשׁוֹנָה ↑ 1 Ch 15^{13}, and לְמַדַּי ↑ 2 Ch 30^{3}; the frequent and noteworthy עַד לְ before both verbs and nouns, *e.g.* 1 Ch 28^{20}, 2 Ch 16^{12} 36^{16}; בְּ of accompaniment, without a verb, 1 Ch 16^{6} etc.; בְּ before adverbs, *e.g.* בְּפִתְאֹם 2 Ch 29^{36}; and others (see esp. Driver, *LOT* 504–506).

The peculiar and often anomalous phraseology of Ch, which is apparent in every chapter, may be further illustrated by the following specimens chosen almost at random :—

1 Ch 10^{13} says that (Saul died . . .) because he did not obey J″'s command, and because he made inquiry by necromancy; in Heb. thus : עַל־דְּבַר י״ אֲשֶׁר לֹא שָׁמָר וְגַם לִשְׁאוֹל בָּאוֹב לִדְרוֹשׁ׃

11^{10} speaks of heroes whom David had, הַמִּתְחַזְּקִים עִמּוֹ בְּמַלְכוּתוֹ עִם־כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל לְהַמְלִיכוֹ׃

12^{18} (Baer, EV v.^{17}) makes David say, 'I will heartily join with you,' in Heb. thus: יִהְיֶה־לִּי עֲלֵיכֶם לֵבָב לְיָחַד, lit. 'I will have a heart toward you for unitedness.'

28^{18} לְתַבְנִית הַמֶּרְכָּבָה הַכְּרֻבִים זָהָב לְפֹרְשִׂים וְסֹכְכִים עַל־אֲרוֹן וגו״, *i.e.* (refined gold) for the pattern of the chariot, (viz.) the cherubim (viz. of) gold (making them, *notice* לְ) to spreading out and covering over the ark, etc.

28^{19} הַכֹּל בִּכְתָב מִיַּד י״ עָלַי הִשְׂכִּיל, the whole by a writing from the hand of J″ upon me hath he taught.

29^{30} וְהָעִתִּים אֲשֶׁר עָבְרוּ עָלָיו וְעַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל וגו״ and the times (*i.e.* experiences) which have passed over him and over Israel, etc.

2 Ch 11^{23} וַיִּשְׁאַל הֲמוֹן נָשִׁים, and he sought a crowd of wives (but rd. perh. וַיִּשָּׂא לָהֶם נ׳, so F. Perles, *Anel.* 47).

15^{3} וְיָמִים רַבִּים לְיִשְׂרָאֵל לְלֹא אֱלֹהֵי אֱמֶת וּלְלֹא כֹּהֵן מוֹרֶה וּלְלֹא תוֹרָה:, and long was Israel without a true God, and without a priest as teacher, and without a law.

16^{9} לְהִתְחַזֵּק עִם־לְבָבָם שָׁלֵם אֵלָיו, to show himself strong in helping those whose heart is perfect toward him (אֲשֶׁר omitted before לבבם).

21^{19} וַיְהִי לְיָמִים מִיָּמִים וּכְעֵת צֵאת הַקֵּץ לְיָמִים שְׁנַיִם, *i.e.* and it came to pass after some days, even about the time of the outgoing of the end of two years.

DATE.—(1) The peculiarities of language already noted give an overwhelming presumption in favour of a very late date for Ch. (2) Specific evidence appears—(*a*) 1 Ch 3^{24} where Anani is named according to MT in the 6th generation after Zerubbabel, or about B.C. 350; (𝔊, followed by 𝔖𝔙, makes Anani the 11th from Zerubbabel, or about B.C. 250–200); probably also (*b*) the expressions 'kingdom of Persia,' 'king of Persia,' 2 Ch 36$^{20.\,22.\,22.\,23}$, if, as is likely, these expressions were used to distinguish the Persian rulers, not from the Semitic Babylonian, but from the later Greek (note the absence of this expression in the *contemporary* references of Neh 2^{1} 5^{14} 13^{6}; also 11$^{23.\,24}$ etc.). (3) Further specific evidence appears in Ezr-Neh,—originally one work with Ch—(*a*) the *terminus a quo* is given Neh 13^{6} 'the 32nd year of Artaxerxes' = B.C. 433; (*b*) Jaddua, Neh 12^{11}, is 6th high priest after Joshua (Hag 1$^{1.\,12}$ 2^{4}, Zec 3$^{1.\,3.\,6.\,8.\,9}$ 6^{11}); Eliashib, 3rd in this list, was a contemporary of Nehemiah (Neh 3^{1} 13$^{4.\,28}$); Josephus, *Ant.* XI. viii. 4, names Jaddua, as high priest in the time of Alexander the Great, B.C. 333; (*c*) Darius III. (Codomannus) reigned B.C. 336–332, and his reign ('Darius the Persian') is mentioned Neh 12^{22}; (*d*) on 'the Persian' (*l.c.*), and 'king of Persia,' Ezr (1$^{1.\,1.\,2}$) 1^{8} 3^{7} 4$^{3.\,5.\,5.\,7.\,24}$ 6^{14} 7^{1}, cf. 2 (*b*) *supra*; (*e*) late words and constructions, evident Aramaic influence in the language, and extended Aramaic passages (Ezr 4$^{8-23}$ 5^{1}–6^{18} 7$^{12-26}$). On the other hand, if Eupolemus knew the LXX translation of Ch (cf. POSITION IN CANON, *supr.*), the original must have had canonical authority not much later than B.C. 200. From all these indications it is safe to say that Ch was not composed before B.C. 300, and may have been composed as late as B.C. 250.

PARALLELS.

1 Ch 1$^{1\,4}$ = Gn 5$^{3-22}$ (condensed by omitting chronol notes).
1$^{5-23}$ = Gn 10$^{2-29}$ (om. Gn 10$^{9-12}$).
1$^{24-27}$ = Gn 11$^{10-26}$ (condensed by omitting chronol. notes).
1^{28} = Gn 21^{3} etc., and 16^{15} etc. (condensed).
1$^{29-31}$ = Gn 25$^{13b-16a}$.
1$^{32.\,33}$ = Gn 25$^{2.\,3a.\,4}$.
1^{34} = Gn 25$^{19-26}$ (condensed).
1$^{35-54}$ = Gn 36$^{10-43}$ (condensed)
2$^{1.\,2}$ = Gn 35$^{23-26}$ (condensed).
2$^{3-5}$ = Gn 46^{12}, with additions from Gn 38; cf. Nu 26$^{19-21}$.
2$^{6.\,7}$, cf. Jos 7^{1}, 1 K 4^{31}.
2^{8} has no ‖.
2$^{9-12}$, cf. Ru 4$^{19-22}$ (to *Jesse*).
2$^{13-17}$, cf. 1 S 16$^{6-13}$, 2 S 2^{18} 17^{25}.
2$^{18-24}$ descendants of Caleb, no ‖.
2$^{25-41}$,, Jerahmeel, no ‖.
2$^{42-49}$ further sons of Caleb, no ‖.
2$^{50-55}$ descendants of Caleb's son Hur, no ‖.
These are evidently to a large extent geogr. names.
3$^{1-9}$ David's children = 2 S 3$^{2-5}$ 5$^{13-16}$ 13^{1}.

1 Ch 3$^{10-16}$ kings of Judah, descendants of Solomon, cf. 1 K 12–2 K 24.
3$^{17-24}$ descendants of Jehoiachin, ending with Anani, no ‖ (cf. Mt 1^{12} from Jehoiachin to Zerubbabel).
4$^{1-23}$ Judah's descendants. Little ‖ (on v.^{1} cf. Gn. 46^{12}, Nu 26$^{19-21}$).
4^{24} Simeon's descendants, cf. Gn 46^{10}, Ex 6^{15}, Nu 26$^{12.\,13}$.
4$^{25-27}$ Simeon's descendants, no ‖.
4$^{28-33}$,, cities = Jos 19$^{2-8}$.
4$^{34-43}$,, descendants, and narrative about them, no ‖.
5$^{1-26}$ Reuben, Gad, and ½ Manasseh; on 5^{3} cf. Gn 46^{9}, Nu 26$^{5.\,6}$.
6$^{1-3}$ (Heb. 5$^{27-29}$), Levi:—Aaron's sons, cf. Gn 46^{11}, Ex 6$^{16.\,18.\,20.\,23}$, Nu 3^{2}.
6$^{4-15}$ (Heb. 5$^{30-41}$), chief priests till fall of Jerus., no ‖.
6$^{16-53}$ (Heb. 6$^{1-37}$), Levitical genealogies, no ‖ (only occasional reff.).
6$^{54-81}$ (Heb. 6$^{38-66}$), Levitical cities, cf. Jos 21$^{10-39}$.
7$^{1-5}$ Issachar, cf. Gn 46^{13}, Nu 26$^{23.\,25}$.
7$^{6-12}$ Benjamin, cf. Gn 46^{21}, Nu 26$^{38.\,39}$.
7^{13} Naphtali, cf. Gn 46^{24}, Nu 26$^{48.\,49}$.
7$^{14-19}$ Manasseh, cf. Nu 26$^{29-33}$.
7$^{20-29}$ Ephraim, cf. Nu 26$^{35.\,36}$, Jos 16.
7$^{30-40}$ Asher, cf. Gn 46^{17}, Nu 26$^{44.\,45}$.
8$^{1-40}$ Benjamin, incl. Saul's descendants, through Jonathan; cf. Gn 46^{21}, Nu 26$^{38.\,39}$, 1 S 14$^{49.\,59}$, 2 S 2^{8} 4^{4} 9^{12}.
9$^{1-34}$ Post-exilic families in Jerus. (some ‖ in Ezr and Neh).
9$^{35-44}$ Saul's family = 8$^{29-40}$ (some divergencies of detail).
10$^{1-12}$ Saul's last battle, and death = 1 S 31$^{1-13}$.
10$^{13.\,14}$ Moral reflection, no ‖.
11$^{1-3}$ David, king at Hebron = 2 S 5$^{1-3}$.
11$^{4-9}$ David captures Jerusalem = 2 S 5$^{6-10}$.
11$^{10-47}$ David's heroes, cf. 2 S 23$^{8-39}$ (additional name in Ch).
12$^{1-22}$ David's followers at Ziklag, no ‖.
12$^{23-40}$ David's king-makers, no ‖.
13$^{1-14}$ Ark brought from Kiriath-jearim = 2 S 6$^{1-11}$.
14$^{1.\,2}$ Hiram and David = 2 S 5$^{11.\,12}$.
14$^{3-7}$ David's children in Jerusalem = 2 S 5$^{13-16}$.
14$^{8-17}$ David's conquest of Philistines = 2 S 5$^{17-25}$.
15$^{1-28}$ Ark brought to Jerusalem.
15^{29} Michal's contempt.
16$^{1-6.\,37-43}$ Sacrifices, Blessing of people, Levitical ministers of ark.
Cf. 2 S 6^{12b-20} (greatly expanded).
16$^{8-35}$ Psalm on the occasion:—
16$^{8-22}$ = Ps 105$^{1-15}$.
16$^{23-33}$ = Ps 96$^{1-13}$.
16$^{34.\,35}$ = Ps 106$^{1.\,47.\,48}$.
17$^{1.\,2}$ David's desire to build temple = 2 S 7$^{1-3}$.
17$^{3-15}$ Prophecy of Nathan = 2 S 7$^{4-17}$.
17$^{16-27}$ David's prayer and thanksgiving = 2 S 7$^{18-29}$.
18$^{1-13}$ David's foreign conquests = 2 S 8$^{1-14}$.
18$^{14-17}$ David's internal rule = 2 S 8$^{15-18}$.
19$^{1-19}$ 20$^{1-3}$ David's war with Ammon = 2 S 10$^{1-19}$ 11^{1ff} 12$^{26-31}$.
20$^{4-8}$ David's war with Philistines = 2 S 21$^{15-22}$.
21$^{1-30}$ David's numbering of people, and its penalty; purchase of Ornan's threshing-floor = 2 S 24$^{1-25}$.
22$^{1-19}$ David's preparations for temple-building, no ‖.
23^{1} David appoints Solomon his successor, cf. 1 K 1$^{33-39}$.
23^{2}–27^{34} David's elaborate Levitical and ritual arrangements, incl. musical; appointment of other officials, no ‖.
28$^{1-21}$ 29$^{1-19}$ Further announcement by David of plans for temple, and of Solomon as his successor, no ‖.
29$^{20-30}$ Accession of Solomon and death of David, cf. 1 K 1$^{33-39}$ 2$^{11.\,12}$.

2 Ch 1$^{1-13}$ Solomon's reign; his sacrifice at Gibeon, cf. 1 K 3$^{4-13}$.
1$^{14-17}$ Solomon's reign; its splendour, etc., cf. 1 K 10$^{26-29}$.
2–4 Building of temple (and palace), cf. 1 K 5–7 (condensed).
5$^{1-14}$ Dedication of temple, cf. 1 K 8$^{1-11}$ (expanded).
6$^{1-42}$ Prayer of Solomon = 1 K 8$^{12-61}$ (vv.$^{54-61}$ om. in Ch).
7$^{1-11}$ Sacrifices, etc., cf. 1 K 8$^{62-66}$ (expanded).
7$^{12-22}$ Solomon's vision of J″, cf. 1 K 9$^{1-9}$.
8. 9 Further glory of Sol.'s kingdom, cf. 1 K 9$^{10-28}$ 10$^{1-25}$ (many differences of detail); specifically 9$^{1-12}$, Queen of Sheba = 1 K 10$^{1-13}$.
9^{31} Death of Solomon = 1 K 11^{43}.
10$^{1-19}$ Accession of Rehoboam, and division of kingdom = 1 K 12$^{1-20}$.
11$^{1-23}$ Rehoboam's reign, cf. 1 K 12$^{21-24}$ 14$^{21-24}$ (expanded).
12$^{1-16}$ Rehoboam and Shishak, cf. 1 K 14$^{25-31}$.
13$^{1-22}$ Abijah, and his war with Jeroboam, cf. 1 K 15$^{1-8}$ (expanded).
14. 15 Asa, his reforms and success in war, cf. 1 K 15$^{9-24}$ (expanded).
16 Asa's apostasy, no ‖.
17 Jehoshaphat, his reforms and might, cf. 1 K 22$^{41-46}$ (expanded).
18 Jehoshaphat's alliance with Ahab = 1 K 22$^{1-35.\,50}$.
19 Prophet's rebuke for this alliance, no ‖.
20$^{1-34}$ Jehoshaphat's success against Moab, Ammon, and Edom, no ‖ (takes the place of 2 K 3$^{4-27}$).
20$^{35-37}$ Jehoshaphat and ships of Tarshish, cf. 1 K 22$^{48.\,49}$.
21 Jehoram's wicked reign, and disaster, cf. 2 K 8$^{16-24}$ (expanded).
22$^{1-9}$ Ahaziah's wicked reign, and disaster, cf. 2 K 8$^{25-29}$ 9$^{21-28}$.
22$^{10-12}$ Athaliah's wicked reign, cf. 2 K 11$^{1-3}$.
23$^{1-21}$ Athaliah's overthrow by Jehoiada, cf. 2 K 11$^{4-20}$ (expanded).

2 Ch 24^{1-27} Joash's reign, first good, then bad, cf. 2 K 12^{1-21} (expanded).
25^{1-28} Amaziah's reign, first good, then bad, cf. 2 K 14^{1-20} (expanded).
26^{1-23} Uzziah's reign, first good, then bad, cf. 2 K $14^{21. 22}$ 15^{1-7} (expanded).
27^{1-9} Jotham's good reign, cf. 2 K 15^{32-38}.
28^{1-27} Ahaz's wicked reign, cf. 2 K 16^{1-20} (expanded).
29^{1-36} Hezekiah's good reign; reforms, cf. 2 K 18^{1-8} (expanded).
30^{1-27} Hezekiah's passover, no ∥.
31^{1-21} Hezekiah's reforms, cont., no ∥.
32^{1-22} Sennacherib's invasion, cf. 2 K 18^{13-37} 19^{1-37} (condensed).
32^{24} Hezekiah's sickness, cf. 2 K 20^{1-11} (condensed).
$32^{23. 25-33}$ Hezekiah's pride; homage from others; death, cf. 2 K 20^{12-21} (modified and condensed).
33^{1-20} Manasseh's wicked reign, captivity, and repentance, cf. 2 K 21^{1-18} (greatly modified).
33^{21-25} Amon's wicked reign, cf. 2 K 21^{19-26}.
34^{1-33} Josiah and his reforms, the law-book, etc., cf. 2 K 22^{1-20} $23^{1-20. 24-28}$.
35^{1-19} Josiah's passover, cf. 2 K 23^{21-23} (greatly expanded).
35^{20-27} Josiah's death, cf. 2 K $23^{29. 30}$ (expanded).
36^{1-3} Jehoahaz's reign, cf. 2 K 23^{31-35}.
36^{4-8} Jehoiakim's reign, cf. 2 K $23^{36. 37}$ 24^{1-6} (condensed).
$36^{9. 10}$ Jehoiachin's reign, cf. 2 K 24^{8-17} (condensed).
36^{11-13} Zedekiah's reign, cf. 2 K 24^{18-20} 25^{1-7} (condensed); with v.^{12} cf. also Jer $37^{1. 2}$.
36^{14-16} Moral reflections, no ∥ (cf. 2 K 24^{20}).
36^{17-21} Fall of Jerus., cf 2 K 25^{8-21} (condensed); with v.^{21} cf. also Jer $25^{9. 11. 12}$ 29^{10}.
$36^{22. 23}$ Restoration-edict of Cyrus = Ezr 1^{1-3a}, no other ∥.

Comparison.—*A*. The foregoing table shows at once, that while parts of Ch have no parallel in the earlier books, there are still larger portions of those books unrepresented in Ch. The following are such portions of Samuel and Kings:—1 S 1–30, 2 S 1–4. 9. 11^{2-27} 12^{1-15} 13–20. 21^{1-14} 22. 23^{1-7}, 1 K 1^{1-32} $2^{1-9. 13-46}$ $3^{1-3. 16-28}$ 4^{1-34} 13. 14^{1-20} 15^{25-34} 16–21, 2 K 1–7. 8^{1-15} 9. (chiefly), 10. 13. 15^{8-31} 17. $25^{22-26. 27-30}$. They include (1) the entire activity of Samuel, and the reign of Saul (except the close); (2) David's lament for Saul and Jonathan, his conflict with Ishbosheth, and dealings with Mephibosheth; (3) the story of Uriah and Bathsheba; (4) the story of Amnon and Tamar, and Absalom's flight and recall; (5) Absalom's rebellion and David's exile; (6) the Psalm of 2 S 22 = Ps 18; (7) the 'Last Words of David' 23^{1-7}; (8) the intrigues and struggles attending Solomon's accession; (9) evidences of Solomon's wisdom and poetic gifts; (10) Solomon's alliances with foreign women, and his idolatries in later life; (11) his vexation by adversaries, including Jeroboam; (12) the entire history of the Northern Kingdom, after the division, except when the account of the Southern Kingdom makes necessary some mention of the Northern; (13) the governorship and murder of Gedaliah, after Jerusalem's fall; (14) the exile-life of Jehoiachin.

B. Ch condenses also, in several places, and as a result gives statements with less precision than the earlier books. These passages are chronological (as in the genealogies 1 Ch 1), architectural (as in the case of the temple-building 2 Ch 2–4; the building of Solomon's palace is not described at all), political (as Sennacherib's invasion 2 Ch 32^{1-22}; the reigns of the last kings 2 Ch 36^{4-13}), or humiliating (Michal's contempt 1 Ch 15^{29}; sickness of Hezekiah 2 Ch 32^{24}; fall of Jerusalem 2 Ch 36^{17-21}; the same quality may partly account for the cases mentioned under the previous head). That Ch expands some political and military narratives is also true, and will be noticed below. Other narratives are modified in various ways, *e.g.* the sacrifice by Solomon at Gibeon (2 Ch 1^{3-6}), the overthrow of Athaliah (2 Ch 23), and the reigns of Jehoram (2 Ch 21^{5-20}), Ahaziah (2 Ch 22^{1-9}), Joash (2 Ch 24), Ahaz (2 Ch 28), and Manasseh (2 Ch 33^{1-20}); some of these will be noticed below under *D*.

C. In those parts of Ch which have no parallel in S and K, as well as in Ch's expansions and modifications of narratives occurring in them, certain definite interests are prominent:—(1) Moral reflections and explanations of calamities as divine judgments, *e.g.* 1 Ch $10^{13. 14}$, 2 Ch 36^{11-13}; so Shishak's invasion is explained 2 Ch 12^{2}, and Jehoram's misfortunes 2 Ch $21^{10. 16-19}$, cf. the 'letter of Elijah the prophet' vv.$^{12-15}$, and the wreck of ships at Ezion-geber 2 Ch 21^{37}, and Amaziah's defeat 2 Ch 25^{14-16}, and Uzziah's leprosy 2 Ch 26^{16-21}, and Josiah's death 2 Ch $35^{21. 22}$; (2) divine interpositions in war, *e.g.* 2 Ch $13^{15. 16}$ $14^{12. 13}$ 20^{22-24}; (3) speeches and prophetic addresses, hortatory, didactic, etc.; also prayers: *e.g.* 1 Ch 22^{5-19} 28^{1-10} 29^{1-20}, 2 Ch 13^{4-12} 14^{7} 15^{1-7} 16^{7-9} $19^{2. 3. 9-11}$ $20^{5-12. 14-17}$ 21^{12-15} (writing of Elijah) $25^{7. 8}$ 28^{9-11} 29^{5-11} 30^{6-9} (decree of Hezekiah) $32^{7. 8}$ 35^{21}; (4) matters connected with worship, including Levitical, ritual, and especially musical appointments, *e.g.* 1 Ch 15. 16. (including the Psalm vv.$^{8-36}$) 22–26. 28. 29, 2 Ch $5^{12. 13}$ $7^{1. 3. 6}$ $8^{14. 15}$ $11^{13. 14. 16}$ 13^{8-12} $17^{8. 9}$ 19^{8-11} $20^{19. 21. 28}$ $23^{2. 4. 6. 7. 8. 18. 19}$ $24^{5. 6. 11}$ 26^{16-20} $29^{4. 5. 7. 12-36}$ 30. 31. $34^{9. 12. 13. 30}$ $35^{1-19. 25}$; a peculiar case is 2 Ch 8^{11} where Solomon's wife, the daughter of Pharaoh, is brought to the house built for her because the house of David has become too holy by reason of the coming of the ark; contrast 1 K 3^{1} 7^{8} 9^{24}. (On some additions of another kind, see below.)

D. It remains for us to examine the parallel passages a little more closely, selecting some of those most important for purposes of comparison:—

In some cases the agreement is close, almost exactly verbal, as 1 Ch 10^{1-12} = 1 S 31, 2 Ch 9^{1-9} = 1 K 10^{1-10}, 2 Ch 18 = 1 K 22^{1-35} (including the blunder of v.^{28b}), etc. In others there is important divergence, *e.g.*:—

1. 1 Ch 6^{3-15} (Heb. 5^{30-41}) gives the list of chief priests through Eleazar, son of Aaron; most of the chief priests known to Sam. and Kings do not appear in this list, *viz.* Eli 1 S 1^{9} 2^{30}, Ahitub, Eli's grandson (son of Phinehas) 1 S 14^{3}, Ahijah 1 S 14^{3}, and Ahimelech 21^{2} $22^{9. 11. 20}$ etc. (both described as 'son of Ahitub,' and hence identified by Bertheau, Klost. *al.*; 'brothers,' according to Kittel, *Gesch.* ii. 173, etc.), Abiathar, son of Ahimelech 1 S 22^{20}, who was deposed by Solomon 1 K $2^{26f.}$. Zadok, whom Solomon substituted, appears as 10th in Ch's list, the son of an Ahitub, son of Amariah. Missing also are Jehoiada 2 K 11^{4} etc., and Urijah 2 K 16^{10} etc. Azariah appears in Solomon's time, but 1 K 4^{2} calls him son of Zadok, while in Ch he is son of Johanan; Hilkiah 2 K 22^{4} etc. appears in Ch, and so does Seraiah 2 K 25^{18}. These occasional agreements make the variations all the harder to explain. 1 Ch $24^{2. 3}$ makes Ahimelech a descendant of Aaron through his son Ithamar, and these and the following vv. make an attempt to satisfy their rival claims by recognising both in the temple service.

2. 1 Ch 13^{10} explains the death of Uzzah as 2 S 6^{7} does; but 1 Ch 15^{13} gives a new reason, *viz.*, because the Levites did not carry the ark.

3. 1 Ch 20^{5} Elhanan killed Lahmi, brother of Goliath; but 2 S 21^{19} he killed Goliath himself.

4. 1 Ch 21^{1} it is Satan that moves David to number Israel, in 2 S 24^{1} it is J″.

5. 2 Ch $1^{3ff.}$ explains Solomon's sacrifice at Gibeon by saying that the tent of meeting and the brazen altar were there (cf. 1 Ch 21^{29}); but 1 K $3^{3f.}$ says that Sol. worshipped at the high places, and sacrificed at Gibeon because that was the great high place; and v.^{15} speaks not only of his coming back to Jerus. (2 Ch 1^{13}), but also of his standing before the ark and sacrificing there, which Ch omits.

6. 2 Ch $7^{1. 3}$ the sacrifices at the temple dedication are consumed by fire from heaven; there is nothing of this in 1 K $8^{62ff.}$.

7. 2 Ch 7^{12-22} and 1 K 9^{1-9} both describe a second appearance of J″ to Solomon; but the language used by them differs, esp. in the condensation of 1 K 9^{1} and the insertion of vv.$^{13-16}$ in Ch.

8. 2 Ch 14^{5} 17^{6} (cf. 19^{3}) commend both Asa and Jehoshaphat for removing the high places; but 1 K 15^{14} 22^{43} tell us that these kings did not remove the high places (so also 2 Ch 15^{17} 20^{33}).

9. 2 Ch $20^{35. 36}$ says that Jehoshaphat allied himself with Ahaziah of Israel to make ships [for an expedition by sea 1 K 22^{49}]; but 1 K 22^{49} says that Ahaziah proposed the joint expedition, and Jehoshaphat refused.

10. 2 Ch 20^{36} says that they made ships at Ezion-geber to go to Tarshish (on the Mediterranean, not accessible from Ezion-geber); but 1 K 22^{48} simply speaks of Tarshish-ships (large sea-going vessels), and says they were destined for Ophir.

11. 2 Ch 21^{7} says 'J″ would not destroy the house of David, because of the covenant,' etc.; but 2 K 8^{19} says 'J″ would not destroy Judah for David his servant's sake.'

12. 2 Ch 22^{9} describes Jehu's murder of Ahaziah thus: 'And he sought Ahaziah: and they caught him (for he was hid in Samaria) and brought him to Jehu: and when they had slain him, they buried him,' etc.; but according to 2 K $9^{21ff.}$ Ahaziah drove out from Jezreel with Joram to meet Jehu, fled on discovering the treachery, and was killed in his flight. He died at Megiddo, was brought by his servants to Jerusalem,

and buried there 'in his sepulchre with his fathers in the city of David.'

13. 2 Ch 23 represents the overthrow of queen Athaliah thus: Jehoiada and the captains of hundreds, and all the Levites in the cities of Judah, and the heads of families of the people, making 'all the congregation,' were gathered at Jerus.,—Athaliah being ignorant of it,—but while v.^{3} says 'all the congregation made a covenant with the king in the house of God,' v.^{6} provides that only priests and ministering Levites be allowed to enter the temple, and then the king is proclaimed, and Athaliah slain; but 2 K 11, while agreeing as to the main facts, represents a secret conspiracy between Jehoiada and the captains of the foreign mercenaries who served as temple guard; the meeting-place was the temple, into which the foreigners came and took their oath; the Levites, trained singers, burnt-offerings, law of Moses, etc., which appear in Ch, are all lacking in K.

14. 2 Ch 24^{14}, speaking of the collection for repairing the temple, under Jehoash of Judah, says, 'they brought the rest of the money before the king and Jehoiada, whereof were made vessels for J‴'s house'; but 2 K 12^{13} says that no vessels were made for J‴'s house out of the proceeds of the collection.

15. 2 Ch $24^{2.\,17\text{ff.}}$ makes Joash reign righteously 'all the days of Jehoiada the priest,' and after Jehoiada's death apostatise; but 2 K 12^{2} says, 'And Jehoash did that which was right in the eyes of J″ all his days, (namely) wherein Jehoiada the priest instructed him,' and K tells us nothing of any apostasy or wickedness, only criticising (v.^{3}), as in other cases, the non-removal of the high places.

16. 2 Ch $28^{5\text{-}15}$ describes slaughter and bondage inflicted on Judah by Pekah of Israel in the reign of Ahaz, which is not only unknown to 2 K 16 and Is 7, but is inconsistent with 2 K 16^{5}, Is $7^{1.\,4.\,7}$.

17. 2 Ch $28^{16\text{ff.}}$ makes Ahaz send to the king(s) of Assyria for aid against the Edomites and Philistines; but 2 K 16^{7} expressly says that it was against the kings of Aram and Israel.

18. 2 Ch $28^{20.\,21}$ says that 'Tilgath-pilneser king of Assyria came unto him, and distressed him, but strengthened him not,' and again: 'he helped him not.' With this 2 K 16^{9} is in contradiction.

19. 2 Ch $33^{11\text{-}19}$ represents Manasseh as humbled and changed in heart by captivity, and as a reformer in the latter part of his reign. 2 K 21 knows nothing of this, paints him in colours wholly dark, and makes the fall of Jerus. a punishment specifically for Manasseh's sins (cf. also Jer 15^{4}).

20. 2 Ch 34 represents Josiah's reforms as accomplished in his 12th year (v.^{3}), and the law-book as discovered in his 18th year. 2 K 22. 23 represent the reforms as suggested and occasioned by the discovery of the law-book, and as occurring, like that discovery, in the 18th year of his reign.

E. One peculiarity of Ch, which involves some discrepancies with the earlier books, is a fondness for large numbers, *e.g.* 1 Ch 18^{4} 19^{18} make David capture 7000 horsemen and slay 7000 chariotmen, over against 700 of each in 2 S 8^{4} 10^{18}; according to 1 Ch 21^{25} David pays 600 shekels of gold for Ornan's threshing-floor, according to 2 S 24^{24} only 50 shekels of silver; 2½ tribes, according to 1 Ch 5^{21}, capture from the Hagrites 100,000 prisoners, 50,000 camels, 250,000 sheep, and 2000 asses; 1 Ch 12 represents that 339,000 men came to make David king; 1 Ch 22^{14} says that David provided for the temple building 100,000 talents of gold (=4,911,000 kilograms), and 1,000,000 talents of silver (=at least 33,660,000 kgs.); Shishak (2 Ch 2^{3}) came with 1200 chariots, 60,000 horsemen, and people without number; 2 Ch $13^{3.\,17}$ makes Abijah, with 400,000 men, fight against Jeroboam with 800,000, and kill 500,000 of them; Asa (2 Ch 14^{8}) had 300,000 men of Judah and 280,000 of Benjamin; Zerah the Ethiopian, his opponent, had 1,000,000 men and 300 chariots (2 Ch 14^{9}); Amaziah (2 Ch $25^{5.\,6}$) had 300,000 soldiers of his own, and hired 100,000 more from Israel; Azariah (2 Ch 26^{13}) had an army of 307,500 men; Pekah (2 Ch $28^{6.\,8}$) killed 120,000 Judæan warriors in one day, and carried off 200,000 captives.

F. The combination of these various peculiarities of the author gives a very different aspect to the history from that found in the earlier books. The pre-royal time has only a genealogical interest for him. The beginning of the kingdom, the first reign, the attempts of Saul's dynasty to maintain itself, are no concern of his. Practically, David is his first king. David and Solomon are kings of almost spotless excellence, and enjoy undisturbed prosperity. The ceremonial law of the Priests' Code is recognised and observed by David, even before there is a temple. The service is stately and rich. After the division of the kingdom the ten tribes are not of importance enough to be mentioned, except incidentally. Interest is concentrated on Judah and Jerusalem. All good Judæan kings, trained in the law of one exclusive sanctuary, of course forbade the high places. Sins, when they do occur, are sternly punished by God, and public calamities are due to sins. Huge numbers give majesty and importance to many scenes, and to the kingdom in its continuous history, and central in that history is the hand of God, His temple, His solemn ordinances, His ceremonial and impressive worship.

SOURCES.—I. For 1 Ch 1–9 the sources are apparently genealogical lists in Gn, Ex, Nu, Jos, and (occasionally) S,—the relation between Ru $4^{19\text{ff.}}$ and 1 Ch $2^{9\text{ff.}}$ is doubtful,—also other lists not found in the earlier canonical books. The latter is the case particularly in the latter half of 1 Ch 2, and in chs. 4. 6 and the middle of 7 (see esp. Wellh. *De gentibus*, and Kittel). Only twice in these chapters is there reference to an earlier writing; the first is in 1 Ch 5^{17}, but whether this writing (or these writings, *v. infr.* II. 13) really served the Chronicler as a source is extremely doubtful (Kuenen, *Ond.*^{2} i. 483); the second is in 1 Ch 9^{1} (see below).

The Psalm 1 Ch $16^{8\text{-}35}$ is made up of parts of three Psalms found in our Psalter (see PARALLELS, above).

The question as to the origin of 2 Ch $36^{22.\,23}$ (Restoration-decree of Cyrus)=Ezr $1^{1\text{-}3a}$, belongs rather to a discussion of Ezra-Nehemiah.

Ch's own references to earlier writings (with the exceptions noted above) are in the main part of the book, 1 Ch 10^{1}–2 Ch 36^{21}.

II. Ch refers by name to the following works:—

1. (*a*) The Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel, 2 Ch 16^{11} 25^{26} 28^{26}; evidently=(*b*) The Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah, 27^{7} 35^{27} 36^{8}.

2. The Book of the Kings of Israel, 1 Ch 9^{1} (so Bertheau, Keil, Oettli, Kautzsch, RV; 𝔊, Kuenen doubtfully. AV adds 'and Judah,' which otherwise is subj. of following vb.).

3. The Doings of the Kings of Israel (2 Ch 33^{18} (for Manasseh).

4. The Midrash of the Book of Kings, 2 Ch 24^{27} (for Joash).

5. The Vision of Isaiah the Prophet, son of Amoẓ, in the Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel, 2 Ch 32^{32}.

6. The Words of Jehu, son of Hanani, which are taken up into the Book of the Kings of Israel, 1 Ch 20^{34} (for Jehoshaphat).

The following were probably of limited compass:—

7. The Words of Samuel the Seer, and the Words of Nathan the Prophet, and the Words of Gad the Seer, 1 Ch 29^{29}.

8. The Words of Nathan the Prophet, and the Prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite, and the Vision of Iddo the Seer regarding Jeroboam, son of Nebat, 2 Ch 9^{29}.

9. The Words of Shemaiah the Prophet and of Iddo the Seer for reckoning by Genealogies, 2 Ch 12^{15}.

10. The Midrash of the Prophet Iddo, 2 Ch 13^{22}.

11. The rest of the Doings of Uzziah, first and last, did Isaiah the Prophet, son of Amoẓ, write, 2 Ch 26^{22}.

12. The Words of the Seers, 2 Ch 33^{19} (cf. v.^{18}; so 𝔊, Bertheau, Kautzsch; of Hozai, 𝔙, Oettli, RV).

The author refers also to—

13. A genealogical enrolment in the days of Jotham and in the days of Jeroboam [II.], 1 Ch 5^{17} (since these kings were not contemporary, are two lists referred to?).

14. The Later Doings of David, 1 Ch 23^{27}.

15. The Chronicles (דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים) of king David, 1 Ch 27^{24}.

16. The Lamentations (a collection in which the lamentations over Josiah were included), 2 Ch 35^{25}.

But these are not all separate works. 1 (*a*) and (*b*) and 5 refer obviously to the same; so probably do 2, 3, and 6; for although 'Judah' is not mentioned in the title (except possibly in the case of 2), 3 and 6 relate to kings of Judah, and the title is therefore presumably abbreviated. It is highly likely that 4 is another designation of the same work. The prophetic writings 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12 are possibly, though not demonstrably, sections of the same comprehensive book. If not, they are in any case of subordinate consequence. As to 13–16 it is not clear that these have actually contributed anything to Ch; 16 certainly has not.

It is true that the Chronicler explicitly appeals to none of the documents named as authorities for what he states, but only as repositories of (further) information. Nevertheless, it is probable that the Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel, cited under different names, is the main source of Ch. The many agreements with S and K prove that Ch used either these books or some work based on these. There is no evidence that it used the sources of S and K; these books must themselves have been known to the author, for they had long been in existence in his time, and the order and choice of material follow theirs to a large extent; moreover, the matter which is peculiar to Ch shows the marked characteristics of the author's style, in sharp contrast with those of the matter corresponding to that of Samuel and Kings; in particular, the following additional proofs show that Ch does not go behind them for its materials:—

2 Ch 15^{17} 20^{33} state that Asa and Jehoshaphat did not remove the high places. This is in conflict with the author's own statements 14^{5} 17^{6} (cf. 19^{3}), and is evidently due to unthinking imitation of his source. It appears 1 K 15^{14} 22^{43}, and the agreement is almost verbal. These statements, however, certainly belong to the Deuteronomic redaction, and not to the sources of Kings.

Other passages common to Kings and Ch, which must be original with Kings (several of them Deuteronomic, and none from the sources) are 2 Ch 10^{19}=1 K 12^{19}, 2 Ch $21^{7.\,8.\,10ab}$=2 K $8^{19.\,20.\,22}$, 2 Ch $25^{3.\,4}$=2 K $14^{5.\,6}$ (verbally), 2 Ch 28^{4}=2 K 16^{4} (verbally), 2 Ch 31^{1} based on 2 K 18^{4}; cf. also 2 Ch 32^{12}=2 K 18^{22} (substantially), 2 Ch 33^{3a}=2 K 21^{a} (verbally).

A special class of passages consists of those which are appropriate in Sam. and Kings, but have become unfitting or meaningless because of omissions by Ch:—

1 Ch 14^{3-7} begins, 'And David took yet more (עוֹד) wives at Jerus.'=2 S 15^{13-16}, although 2 S 3^{2-5} to which עוֹד refers, is omitted in Ch.

1 Ch 20^{1} 'But David tarried at Jerus.'=2 S 11^{1}; it is in conflict with 1 Ch $20^{2.\,3}$; this is due to the omission of the story of Uriah and Bathsheba 2 S 11^{2}–12^{25}, and of $12^{28.\,29}$ which tell of Joab's summoning David.

2 Ch 8^{11} (=1 K 9^{24} 3^{1b} in part) mentions the daughter of Pharaoh *incidentally* (not indeed with great respect) as Solomon's wife, although 1 K $3^{1a.}$ 7^{8} are omitted.

2 Ch 10^{2} speaks of Jeroboam's return from Egypt, 'whither he had fled from the presence of Solomon the king'=1 K 12^{2}, although 1 K 11^{26-40} are omitted.

2 Ch 10^{15} refers specifically to Ahijah's prophecy about Jeroboam=1 K 12^{15}, although the prophecy itself, 1 K 11^{29-39}, is omitted.

2 Ch 32^{18} specifies 'the Jews' speech'=2 K 18^{28}, although 2 K 18^{25}, which gives point to this detail, is omitted.

Some of these passages are more cogent than others, but all are confirmatory of the position that our S and K and nothing earlier (with possible exceptions noted below) underlie Ch in its narrative portions.

It is, however, improb. that the Chronicler used these canonical books directly, as the chief source of his historical material. We have seen that his main interests are not political, and that he omits or greatly condenses many matters which do not contribute much to his purposes. At the same time some of his material not found in S and K is of a political and personal nature, *e.g.* the fortifications of Rehoboam, and his might and wisdom 2 Ch $11^{5-12.\,17.\,23}$, Asa's war with the Ethiopians 2 Ch 14^{9-15}, Jehoshaphat's war with Moab, Ammon, and Edom 2 Ch 20, Amaziah's relations with his Israelitish mercenaries 2 Ch $25^{6-10.\,13}$, Uzziah's wars and buildings 2 Ch 26^{6-15}, the successful invasion of Pekah 2 Ch 28^{5-15}, and of the Edomites and Philistines vv.$^{17.\,18}$. Some of these narratives the Chronicler uses to point his own moral teachings, but it is most unlikely that he either invented them, or resorted to some special source for them; they are not such as particularly appeal to him. Most likely, therefore, he found them in the document which was his main source for other matter, and, finding them, used them to enforce his religious views. This source was probably the Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel (see above), which was, in that case, based on our S and K, with additional matter of uncertain and probably varying value. Since the style of these additions (with a few minor exceptions) resembles that of the Chronicler, it may be that this Book of the Kings was produced in the school to which he belonged. The alternative is to suppose that he rewrote them. That he at least retouched them is probable. How far the peculiar religious and ecclesiastical tone of Ch is due to this source we cannot tell, but the presence of the same in Ezr-Neh, which do not depend on this Book of the Kings, makes it clear that this tone was such as the Chronicler himself would produce, and probably it is, throughout, mainly due to him.

HISTORICAL TRUSTWORTHINESS.—The late date of Ch presumably hinders it from being a historical witness of the first order. It could be so only if its sources were demonstrably such. But it has no sources certainly older than the canonical S and K; its chief source is probably much later. An interval of 250 or 300 years separates it from the last events recorded in K. In all cases of conflict, then (see the examples above), preference must be given to S and K. The obvious special interests of Ch also (see above) are not to its advantage as a simple witness to facts. Intrinsic probability points the same way in many instances (see especially *Comparison* D, Nos. 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12, 13, 16, 20, and Driver, Bertheau, Oettli, etc., on the passages); this holds true of the huge numbers of Ch as well.

If this is so in the parallel narratives, it must be so likewise in those matters which we owe entirely to Ch. Some of these conflict with the known course of the history, *e.g.* the complete Levitical arrangements of David and his successors; others are in themselves most unlikely, *e.g.* Amaziah's dealings with Israelitish mercenaries. It is plain that the character of Ch's testimony, when we can control it by parallel accounts, is not such as to give us reason to depend on it with security when it stands alone. Perhaps it does not enlarge our stock of historical matter beyond that given in S and K. We cannot say *absolutely* that it does not; *e.g.* Rehoboam's buildings, Uzziah's buildings and wars, Hezekiah's waterworks, Manasseh's captivity, etc., may be in part, or altogether, stated accurately, and to some of them a certain degree of probability attaches (cf. Kittel), but on the unsupported evidence of Ch we cannot be sure of them. It is not certain whether his source derived them from other documents or from tradition, and we cannot tell with positiveness how far they are trustworthy. This uncertainty passes over into Ch itself. Its main value lies in another direction. (On the Restoration-edict of Cyrus, see Kosters, *Het Herstel van Israël*, 1894, and art. EZRA AND NEHEMIAH.)

CHARACTER OF THE CHRONICLER.—It would be most unjust to call the Chronicler a falsifier. He shows himself, on the contrary, as a man of great sincerity and moral earnestness. Even if falsification had, in his time, when his conception of the history was widely accepted, had any sufficient motive, he would have been incapable of it. His view of the past is that of a son of his own age, in whom the historical imagination had not been largely developed. The Pent. had long been complete, and its latest code had a firm grasp on the lives and the minds of the people, and on his own. He did not conceive of a time, since the kingdom began, when it was otherwise. He was almost certainly a Levite, and probably a musician. He was trained in the law, and knew its religious power. God was near His people in it, God Himself enforced it. Membership in God's people was to him a great privilege, and genealogies that assured it, of great importance. These habits and convictions, the result of inheritance and of training, determined his mode of writing history. David and Solomon he idealised, presenting strongly and without much qualification those sides of their character which appealed to him, and depicting the religion of their time according to what seemed to him the necessary conditions of righteousness. The Northern Kingdom, as apostate, was of little interest for him. The history of the Southern Kingdom was his concern mainly because it was ecclesiastical history—'Ecclesiastical Chronicle of Jerusalem' Reuss has called it (cf. *Literature* below). God was watching and judging it on the basis of His complete law; it fell at last because 'all the chief of the priests, and the people, transgressed very much after all the abominations of the heathen; and polluted the house of J",' and when they were rebuked 'mocked the messengers of God, and despised his words, and misused his prophets' (2 Ch 36^{14-16}). The whole conception of the history was not that of a mere individual, but that of an age, from which the individual could not separate himself,

VALUE OF CHRONICLES.—It follows from the foregoing paragraphs that the value of Chronicles is not mainly that of an accurate record of past events. Nevertheless, its value is real and great. It is, however, the value more of a sermon than of a history.

1. We must, indeed, remember that there is a certain negative historical value in the fact that Ch agrees with S and K to so large an extent. It is not an independent witness, but at least it appears that as to the main course of the pre-exilic history there was, when Ch was written, no variant tradition which the author thought worth noticing.

2. We must remember, further, that there *may* be good historical material in matter peculiar to Ch, *e.g.*, in the genealogical lists and some scattered incidents (see Kuenen, Kittel, Gray), although the determination of its limits and the interpretation of it will require critical acumen.

3. The knowledge the author gives us of his own time, also, is historically important. The fact that he clothes old history with his own contemporary habits makes his own time more intelligible to us. We understand better how religious Jews thought and felt in the 3rd cent. B.C. This enlivens and vitalizes the period for us, and prepares us better to appreciate the conditions of the work of Jesus and His disciples.

4. The author's selection of matter emphasizes the fundamental and permanent elements in the history. He gives only a one-sided view of David, and yet he thereby throws stress on David's real, though, as we know, not unwavering desire for righteousness. He thinks chiefly of the Southern Kingdom, but that kingdom is the one of historical importance in the development of religion. And so with other details. In this, as in the particulars following, he served his own age, and the service continues to ours.

5. His belief in God was intense, as one actively governing the world, punishing the evil and rewarding the good, demanding obedience and worship, but long-suffering and gracious to His people in spite of their sin. There is at times something mechanical in his conception, but it is strong and effective.

6. He illustrates for us the value and the limitations of the law in spiritual education. Obedience to its smallest requirements was an avenue to God. Formalism, the subordination of the moral to the ceremonial, is the accompanying danger, and the Chronicler did not wholly escape it. But the law really was a means of spiritual growth, and this the Chronicler exemplifies. Devotion to it did not exclude some breadth of spiritual sympathy, as the beautiful passage 2 Ch $30^{18.19}$ distinctly shows.

7. He bears witness, also, to the value of the liturgical element in religion. Worship is to him a rich and stately thing. The art of music has its contribution to make. The most thorough preparation, and splendid execution, befit the service in which men approach the Almighty God. This thought, too, has its dangers. The essence of worship is always in the soul of the worshipper. But the ideal of worship includes both the genuine spirit and the fitting expression of it, and the Chronicler teaches here a permanent lesson.

Thus Ch illustrates for us God's use of a professedly historical writing to enforce His truth, both in spite of, and by means of, the very qualities which impair its excellence as pure history.

TEXT.—Ch appears to have been less read, and hence less often copied, than many other books. One source of textual error is therefore minimised. The history of its transmission is, however, long enough to give much room to textual criticism. The text of Ch can often be corrected, in parallel passages, by that of S and K, but more often the author is himself responsible for variations. The peculiar characteristics of Ch are certainly not textual. Sometimes Ch has preserved the better reading. The greatest number of textual questions is connected with proper names. The following, taken from parallel texts, may serve as illustrations:—

Ch has the worse reading:—

1 Ch 1^{6} דִּיפַת, 𝔊B Ερειφαθ, A Ριφαε, 𝔊L Ριφαθ = רִיפַת Gn 10^{3}, so 𝔊.

1^{17} מֶשֶׁךְ, 𝔊B om., A 𝔊L Μοσοχ; = מַשׁ Gn 10^{23} (where 𝔊 also Μοσοχ, but erroneously; מֶשֶׁךְ has already occurred, v.^{2}).

1^{39} הוֹמָם, 𝔊B Αιμαν, 𝔊L Ημαν = הֵימָן Gn 36^{22}, 𝔊 Αιμαν (interchange of ו and י especially frequent).

1^{40} עַלְיָן, 𝔊B Σωλαμ, A Ιωλαμ, 𝔊L Αλουαν = עַלְוָן Gn 36^{23}, 𝔊 Γωλων, 𝔊L Γωλαμ.

1^{41} חַמְרָן, 𝔊B Εμερων, A 𝔊L Αμαδα(μ) = חֶמְדָּן Gn 36^{26}, 𝔊 Αμαδα.

1^{51} עַלְיָה *Kethibh*, עַלְוָה *Ḳerê*, 𝔊B Γωλα, 𝔊L Αλουα = עַלְוָה Gn 36^{40}, 𝔊 Γωλα.

1 Ch 3^6 אֱלִישָׁמָע, 𝔊B Ελεισα, A 𝔊L Ελισαμα = אֱלִישׁוּעַ 2 S 5^{15}, 𝔊 Ελεισους, etc.
4^{24} יָרִיב, 𝔊B Ιαρειν, A Ιαρειβ = יָכִין Gn 46^{10} = Ex 6^{15} = Nu 26^{12}, so 𝔊 in all.
$18^{3.5.7}$ הֲדַרְעֶזֶר, 𝔊 Αδρα(α)ζαρ = הֲדַדְעֶזֶר 2 S $8^{3.5.8}$ (𝔊 here also, erron., Αδρααζαρ),

etc. etc.

The reading is doubtful :—

1 Ch 1^{36} צְפִי, 𝔊B Σωφαρ, 𝔊L Σεπφουη = צְפוֹ Gn 36^{11}, 𝔊 Σωφαρ.
1^{40} שְׁפִי, 𝔊B Σωβ, A Σωφαρ, 𝔊L Σαπφει = שְׁפוֹ Gn 36^{23}, 𝔊B Σωφ, 𝔊L Σωφαν.
1^{50} פָּעִי, 𝔊 Φογωρ, 𝔊L Φαουα = פָּעוּ Gn 36^{39}, 𝔊 Φογωρ.
3^1 דָּנִיֵּאל, 𝔊B Δαμνιηλ, A 𝔊L Δαλουια = כִּלְאָב 2 S 3^3, 𝔊 Δαλουια (!).
4^{24} נְמוּאֵל = Nu 26^{12}, 𝔊 (in both) Ναμουηλ = יְמוּאֵל Gn 46^{10} = Ex 6^{15}, so 𝔊 (in both).
זֶרַח = Nu 26^{13}, 𝔊B (in Ch) Ζαρες, A 𝔊L Ζαρα(ε), 𝔊 (in Nu) Ζαρα = צֹחַר Gn 46^{10} = Ex 6^{15}, 𝔊 (in both) Σααρ,

etc. etc.

Ch has the better reading :—

1 Ch 1^7 רוֹדָנִים, 𝔊 Ῥόδιοι (𝔊L Δωδανειμ) = דֹּדָנִים Gn 10^4, 𝔊 Ῥόδιοι.
1^{42} יַעֲקָן, 𝔊B (καὶ) Ωναν, A (καὶ) Ουκαμ, 𝔊L (καὶ) Ιαακαν = וַעֲקָן Gn 36^{27}, 𝔊 (καὶ) Ουκαν, 𝔊L (καὶ) Ιουκαμ.
2^{17} הַיִּשְׁמְעֵאלִי 𝔊B ὁ Ἰσμαηλ(ε)ίτης (𝔊L Ἰσραηλίτης) = הַיִּשְׂרְאֵלִי 2 S 17^{25}, so 𝔊B GL, A Ἰσμαηλείτης.
$8^{33.33}$ = $9^{39.39}$ אֶשְׁבַּעַל, 𝔊 Ασαβααλ, Ιεβααλ, Ισβααλ Βααλ = אִישׁ־בֹּשֶׁת 2 S 2^8 + 10 t. Sam, 𝔊 Ιεβοσδε, and (most often, strangely) Μεμφιβοσθε.
$8^{34.34}$ מְרִיב בַּעַל = 9^{40} and (better, see Kittel) מְרִי־בַעַל v.^{40}, 𝔊 Μεριβααλ, Μεχριβααλ, Μεφριβααλ, 𝔊L Μεμφιβααλ = מְפִיבֹשֶׁת 2 S 4^4 + 14 t. Sam, 𝔊 Μεμφιβοσθε, 𝔊L Μεμφιβααλ, exc. 2 S 21^8 Μεμφιβοσθε (for distinction).
11^{29} סִבְּכַי = 2 S 21^{18}, 𝔊 (in Ch) Σοβοχαι, etc., 𝔊L Σοβοκχα, 𝔊B (in Sam) Οεβοχα, A Σεβοχαει, 𝔊L Σοβεκχι = מְבֻנַּי 2 S 23^{27}, 𝔊B ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν, Σαβενι,

etc. etc.

For further details see in Wellh. *De gentibus*, etc.; Kittel, *Books of Ch. in Hebrew*; Driver, *Hebrew Text of Samuel*.

LITERATURE (selected).—*TEXT.*—S. Baer and F. Delitzsch, *Liber Chronicorum* (1888); R. Kittel, *The Books of Chronicles in Hebrew*, Critical ed. of the Heb. Text. (ed. Paul Haupt), 1895.

TRANSLATIONS.—E. Reuss, *Chronique ecclésiastique de Jérusalem*, 1878 (*La Bible*, iv. part.); E. Kautzsch, Bücher der Chronik, 1893, 1894 (in *Die Heilige Schrift d. A.T.*, ed. Kautzsch).

COMMENTARIES.—E. Bertheau, Bücher der Chronik, 2te Aufl. 1873 (in *Kurzgef. Exeget. Handbuch z. A.T.*); S. Oettli, Bücher der Chronik, 1889 (in *Kurzgef. Exeget. Kommentar z. A.T.*); C. F. Keil, Bücher der Chronik, 1870 (in *Biblischer Kommentar über d. A.T.*), Eng. tr. 1872; W. H. Bennett, *The Books of Chronicles*, 1894 (in *The Expositor's Bible*); J. Robertson in *Book by Book* (1892), pp. 111-119; C. J. Ball in *Bishop Ellicott's Commentary*; Zöckler in Lange's *Bibelwerk*, 1874 (Eng. tr. by J. G. Murphy).

CRITICAL DISCUSSIONS.—M. L. de Wette, *Beiträge zur Einleitung in d. A.T.* i. 1806; K. H. Graf, *Die Geschichtlichen Bücher d. A.T.* 1866, 114-247; W. R. Smith, *Encycl. Britan.* *s.v.* 1876, *OTJC*² (1892) 140 ff., 182 ff.; J. Wellhausen, *Gesch.* 176-237, Eng. tr. 171-227; A. Kuenen, *Onderzoek*, 2nd ed. vol. i. 1887, 433-520; S. R. Driver, *LOT*, 1891, 484-507; C. H. Cornill, *Einleitung*, 1891, 268-276; G. Wildeboer, *Origin of the Canon of the Old Testament* [1891] 1895, 51, 142 f., 152, 162, *Lit. d. A.T.* 1895, 404-420; W. E. Barnes, 'Religious Standpoint of the Chronicler' (in *Am. Journ. Sem. Lang. and Literature*, October 1896), 'Chronicles a Targum' (in *Expository Times*, viii. (1897), p. 316 f.); Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 309, 340, iii. 162; Girdlestone, *Deuterographs*, 1894 (*passim*); Sanday, Bampton Lectures on *Inspiration* (1893), 102, 163, 244, 253 ff., 398, 455, 457; Ewald, *History of Israel*, i. 169 ff.; Jennings, 'Chronicles' (in *Thinker*, July, September, November, 1892); Ryle, *Canon of the Old Testament* (1892), 138 f., 145, 151, 162; Ladd, *The Doctrine of Sacred Scripture* (1883), i. 108 f., 373 ff., 546 ff., 686 f.; Montefiore, *Hibbert Lectures* (1892), pp. 447 ff., 454, 483; Driver, 'The Speeches in Chronicles' in *Expositor*, Apr. and Oct. 1895; Schrader, *KAT*² (1883), 366 ff.; on the *genealogies* in particular, J. Wellhausen, *De gentibus et familiis Judæis quæ 1 Ch. 2-4 enumerantur*, 1870; G. B. Gray, *Studies in Hebrew Proper Names*, 1896, ch. iii.

FRANCIS BROWN.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE OT.—The OT contains data from which a chronology may be compiled from the creation of the world to the destruction of Jerus. by the Chaldæans. For convenience, this chronology may be considered under several periods.

i. FROM THE CREATION TO THE FLOOD.—The data for this period, which are found in the genealogical table of Gn 5 and the notice of the year of the Flood in Gn 7^6, are given differently in the Heb. text, the Sam., and the LXX. These differences are exhibited in the following table :—

	Age of each when next was born or event occurred.		
	Heb.	Sam.	LXX
Adam	130	130	230
Seth	105	105	205
Enosh	90	90	190
Kenan	70	70	170
Mahalalel	65	65	165
Jared	162	62	162
Enoch	65	65	165
Methuselah	187	67	167
Lamech	182	53	188
Noah	600	600	600
Years from Creation to the Flood	1656	1307	2242

Thus we have three different lengths assigned for the period from the creation of man to the Flood. The numbers of the Heb. text have generally been regarded as the original, although recently those of the Sam. have been defended by Dillmann and Budde. The LXX text, however, was accepted by the Hel. Jews and the early Christian Church, and has found defenders among certain Eng. scholars (Hales, Jackson, Poole, Rawlinson, and others), who have looked upon it with favour as furnishing a chronology more in accord with the antiquity of man than that of the Heb. text. But these numbers, whichever table may be regarded as the original, cannot, in any case, be accepted as historical, and hence for a real chronology of the early ages of man they are valueless. To accept them as genuine records is to assume from the creation of man a degree of civilisation high enough to provide a settled calendar, and a regular registration of births and deaths, and the preservation of such records from the creation of man to the time of the composition of Gn. All that is known of primitive antiquity is against such a supposition. The art of writing was not then known; and however tenacious may have been the memory of man, it is doubtful whether language then possessed the requisite terminology for the expression of such lapses of time. Man also has been upon the earth for a far longer period than that given even by the LXX chronology. The conjectural character of the table of Gn 5 may be also recognised from the variations of the three texts. Such liberties would probably not have been taken with figures supposed to rest upon authentic historical documents. The sacred writer chose the form of a genealogical table to represent the early period of the world's history. The number of the patriarchs, *ten*, is a common one in the lists of the prehistoric rulers or heroes of many peoples. It appears at once to be a suggestion from the ten fingers. The length assigned for the period from the Creation to the Flood is more difficult of explanation. Accepting that of the Heb. text, the most probable explanation is seen in connecting the 1656 years with the subsequent data given for the period between the Flood and the Exodus, which together make 2666, or two-thirds of 4000 years. Four thousand years, according to a Jewish tradition, were to elapse from the creation of the world to the coming of the Messiah. Two-thirds of that period, then, would have passed at the Exodus, or the giving of the law and founding of the Jewish Theocracy at Mount Sinai.

ii. FROM THE FLOOD TO THE EXODUS.—For the period from the Flood to the birth of Abraham, we have a genealogical table in Gn $11^{10\text{-}26}$ similar to that of Gn 5, and likewise given differently in the three ancient texts. In this instance, however, the Sam. and LXX VSS are almost identical, both giving a much longer period than the Heb. text. The LXX also has an extra name, Cainan, wanting in both the Heb. and Sam. texts, giving 130 additional years; and the years of Nahor at the birth of Terah in the LXX are 179, while in the Sam. 79. The variations are shown in the following table:—

	Age of each when next was born or event occurred.		
	Heb.	Sam.	LXX
Shem	100	100	100
Arpachshad	35	135	135
Cainan	...	...	130
Shelah	30	130	130
Eber	34	134	134
Peleg	30	130	130
Reu	32	132	132
Serug	30	130	130
Nahor	29	79	179
Terah	70	70	70
Abraham	...	...	...
	390	1040	1270
Yrs. of Shem's life bef. the Flood	[*]100	100	100
From Flood to birth of Abraham	290	940	1170

Of these three texts the Heb. is undoubtedly the original. The LXX and Sam. show an endeavour to gain more time by systematically heightening the birth year of the patriarchs. The extra name of the LXX probably arose from a desire to make the number of the patriarchs ten (perhaps they were so originally), and thus bring the table more into conformity with that of Gn 5. The LXX text has been preferred by Hales, Jackson, Poole, and others as providing a more adequate time than the Heb. text for the growth of the nations of antiquity. But the LXX period is too short. It places the Flood at about 3000 B.C. But Egyptian remains point to a civilisation whose beginnings were not later than 5000 years B.C., and very likely millenniums earlier (Maspero says 8000 or 10,000 years B.C.), and Assyr. discoveries have revealed an historic period extending to as early a date. This table came evidently from the same source as that of Gn 5, and is of the same artificial character, except that in some of the patriarchal names are reminiscences of peoples and places.

The data for the period from the birth of Abraham to the Exodus are given in the notice of the age of Abraham at the birth of Isaac (Gn 21^5), and of Isaac at the birth of Jacob (Gn 25^{26}), and of Jacob at his descent into Egypt (Gn 47^9), and of the length of the sojourn of the children of Israel in Egypt (Ex. 12^{40}). In this last passage the LXX and Sam. texts make the sojourning of the children of Israel to include also the sojourning of the patriarchs in the land of Canaan. From these data we present the following table with a summary of the preceding tables, with also the reference to the age of Abraham at his call from Haran (Gen. 12^4):—

Age of Abraham on leaving Haran . .	75	75
Age of Abraham at the birth of Isaac .	100	25
Age of Isaac at the birth of Jacob . .	60	60
Age of Jacob at the descent into Egypt .	130	130
Years of the patriarchal sojourn in Canaan	215	..
Years of the patriarchal sojourn in Egypt	430	430
Years of the sojourn in Egypt according to LXX	215	..
From the birth of Abraham to the Exodus . .		720
From the Flood to birth of Abraham . . .		290
From the Creation to the Flood . . .		1656
From the Creation to the Exodus		2666

How nearly these numbers represent the actual duration of the beginnings of the people of Israel, and of their sojourn in Egypt, cannot now be determined. They are evidently from the same original source as the previous tables, and there is no reason to suppose that authentic historical records underlie them.[*] Some early hist. reminiscences, however, may be preserved in them. The number 400 for the years of the oppression in Egypt appears in Gn 15^{13}, which belongs to one of the earliest sources of the Hexateuch.

The Period of the Sojourn in Egypt.—The descent of the children of Israel into Egypt, according to the story of Joseph, took place when a Sem. foreigner might be received at the Egyp. court with favour, and his people readily granted possessions in the land. The reign of the Hyksos or Shepherd-kings meets this condition, and the descent of the children of Israel at that time is both an ancient tradition and the view generally accepted by biblical scholars. The period of the Hyksos rule, owing to the obscurity and uncertainty of Egyp. chronology, cannot be very definitely determined. It lasted several centuries, and terminated not later than 1530 B.C.[†] A famine is recorded as occurring during the reign of Aphophis or Apepi, one of the last of the Hyksos rulers; and this monarch may have been the Pharaoh of Joseph. He is so mentioned by George Syncellus, a historian of the 9th cent. A.D.; and the supposition is received with favour by Sayce, Brugsch, Kittel, and others. It is, however, only a supposition.

The Pharaoh of the oppression, under whom the children of Israel built the treasure cities Pithom and Raamses (Ex 1^{11}), was Ramses II. This fact, long conjectured, has been definitely settled by Naville's identification of Pithom, and discovery that it was built by Ramses II. The Exodus has usually been assigned (by Brugsch, Ebers, Rawlinson, Sayce, and others) to the reign of Menephtah (Merenptah) or Seti II., the immediate successors of Ramses II. Since, however, both of these kings were no mean sovereigns, and apparently controlled both Pal. and the Sin. Peninsula, it may be better (with Kittel, Maspero, Wiedemann, and others) to assign the Exodus to the period of royal weakness and general anarchy following their reigns at the close of the 19th dynasty (not later, according to Meyer, than 1180 B.C.; according to Rawlinson and others, about a cent. earlier). M'Curdy (*Hist., Proph., and the Mon.*) places the Exodus in the 20th dynasty, in the latter part of the reign of Ramses III., or immediately after his reign. He does not think the Egyp. control in the Sin. Peninsula or in Pal. to have been sufficiently relaxed at an earlier period for either the Exodus or the conquest of Pal. to have been possible. He gives the date about 1200 B.C. The children of Israel, however, during the reign of Ramses III. (1180–1148) may have been wandering in the desert and taking possession of the country E. of the Jordan. This would allow about 50 years from their departure from Egypt to their entrance into W. Pal., corresponding roughly with the biblical 40 years. This much at least seems certain, that Pal. was for many centuries an Egyp. province, and that the conquests under Joshua cannot well have begun until the close of the 19th dynasty, and probably the close of the reign of Ramses III. The view of some writers (F. C. Cook, Conder, Köhler, Sharpe, and others), who have assigned the Exodus to earlier periods, is refuted by Naville's discovery of Pithom, built by Ramses II.; by the Tel el-Amarna tablets, which show that Pal. was thoroughly an Egyp. province during the 18th dynasty; and by the fact of the control exercised by Seti I. and Ramses II. over Pal. within the 19th dynasty.*

---

[*] More exactly, according to the statement of Gn 11^{10} that Arpachshad was born 'two years after the Flood,' the years of Shem's life before the Flood are 98 years. But the 'two years after the Flood' is probably a gloss inserted by some one who, overlooking the round and systematic character of the data of the lives of the patriarchs, desired to make the birth of Arpachshad correspond exactly to the detailed statements of the duration of the Flood (Gn 7^6 $8^{13.14}$).

[*] According to the documentary hypothesis of the composition of the Pent. or Hex. they belong to the priestly document now generally regarded as the latest portion of the Pentateuch.

[†] This is the date given by Ed. Meyer as the latest possible, and is thus accepted by Wendel and Erman. Other dates given for the close of this period or the beginning of the New Empire are Wiedemann, 1750; Brugsch, 1706; Mariette, 1703; Rawlinson, 1640; Lepsius, 1591.

iii. From the Exodus to the Founding of the Temple.—The founding of Solomon's temple is said in 1 K 6[1] to have taken place in the 480th year after the Exodus (according to the LXX, in the 440th year). Such an exact statement, if historical, requires that an accurate system of reckoning time was employed by the children of Israel during all those years. A provision for this has been seen in the yearly Heb. festivals, and especially in the Sabbatical and Jubilee years. If this, however, was the case, it is strange that we do not find traces of such a mode of reckoning in the OT. While there are allusions to the recurrence of feasts as indicating a year's time, there is nothing to indicate festivals or Sabbatical or Jubilee years as being regarded as the units or termini of any calendar. The only method apparent is by the years of the monarch of the land. Before the royal period we have no evidence of any system of reckoning dates, and it is probable that during the period from the Exodus to the founding of the temple, Sabbatical years and years of Jubilee were not observed. The number 480 appears, like the numbers of the Pent., to be conjectural, arising from the supposition that from the Exodus to the founding of the temple there were 12 generations of 40 years each. This period, however, is too long. The interval from the Exodus to the founding of the temple is probably nearer 300 than 500 years. The Exodus we have seen can in no case be placed earlier than after the reign of Ramses II., and the building of the temple occurred not later than the middle of the 10th cent. B.C. Reliable chron. data for computing the exact length of this period we may well believe were not preserved. The disorganised condition of affairs during the period of the judges, when there was no central authority, is against the supposition of the use of a settled calendar and the official registration of events. The chron. data of the Book of Judges appear also to be somewhat artificial. They are as follows:—

Israel serves Cushan-rishathaim (3[8]) . .	8 years
Deliverance by Othniel: the land rests (3[11]) .	40 ,,
Israel serves Eglon (3[14])	18 ,,
Deliverance by Ehud: the land rests (3[30]) .	80 ,,
Oppression by Jabin (4[3])	20 ,,
Deliverance by Deborah: the land rests (5[31]) .	40 ,,
Oppression by Midian (6[1])	7 ,,
Deliverance by Gideon: the land rests (8[28]) .	40 ,,
Abimelech reigns over Israel (9[22]) . . .	3 ,,
Tola judges Israel (10[2])	23 ,,
Jair judges Israel (10[3])	22 ,,
Oppression by Ammon (10[8])	18 ,,
Jephthah judges Israel (12[7])	6 ,,
Ibzan judges Israel (12[9])	7 ,,
Elon judges Israel (12[11])	10 ,,
Abdon judges Israel (12[14])	8 ,,
Oppression by the Philistines (13[1]) . . .	40 ,,
Samson judges Israel (15[20] 16[31]) . . .	20 ,,
Total . . .	410 years.

To these years must be added—

The sojourn in the Wilderness . .	40 years.
The conquest under Joshua . . .	x ,,
The judgeship of Eli (1 S 4[18]) . . .	40 ,,
The judgeship of Samuel . . .	*20 ,,
The reign of Saul	y ,,
The reign of David (1 K 2[11]) . . .	40 ,,
Of the reign of Solomon (1 K 6[1]) . .	4 ,,
Total . .	144+x+y years.

According to these figures the entire period is over 550 years, and the repeated occurrence of 40 or its multiple shows that some of the numbers are round, and probably conjectural.

Some of the judgeships recorded in the Book of Judges may have been local and contemporaneous with others. In that case no chronology can be computed from these statements. In all likelihood, however, the numbers were designed to represent 480 years,—the years of oppression, like those of a usurper, as is customary in Oriental reckonings, being not counted, their interval being included in the years of rest belonging to a lawful ruler. Arranged on this principle we have the following result:—

Moses	40 years.
Joshua and the Elders	x ,,
Othniel	40 ,,
Ehud	80 ,,
Barak	40 ,,
Gideon	40 ,,
Tola, Jair, Jephthah, Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon	76 ,,
Samson	20 ,,
Eli	40 ,,
Samuel	*20 ,,
Saul	y ,,
David	40 ,,
Solomon	4 ,,
	440+x+y years.

If 30 years (cf. Jos. 24[29]) are given to Joshua and the elders, and 10 years to Saul, we have exactly 480 years.†

iv. From the Founding of the Temple to the Fall of Jerusalem.—This era is marked by an advance in culture among the Hebrews, and in the office of royal recorders or scribes provision seems to have been made for the regular registration of important events. These events were probably dated by the years of reigning monarchs. At least we find this system in 1 and 2 K, Jer, and Ezk. A provision, however, for the keeping of exact chron. records does not necessarily imply their preservation, and the Books of Kings, our biblical source for the chronology of this period, were not written until its close, several centuries after the earlier events narrated. The writer of these books, it is true, refers constantly to 'the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah,' and 'to the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel,' as sources of his information. But it is not known whether he had access to original royal records or only to two historical works based in some way upon them. Probably the latter, because (1) it is unlikely that the State records of the N. kingdom were preserved and brought to Jerus.; (2) the references are not to the chronicles or annals themselves, but to the *book* of the chronicles; and (3) it is difficult to account for the statements of the writer in reference to dates of accession and lengths of reigns, if he had access to original records.

---

* Since the above article was in type, the new inscription of king Merenptah mentioning the people of Israel has been discovered. This may call for a revision of the opinion expressed above in regard to the date of the Exodus, and may require its assignment to an earlier period. See Egypt, Exodus (Route).

* The assignment of 20 years to Samuel is an inference from 1 S 7[2]. The period of Israel's desire for the Lord is regarded as representing Samuel's judgeship, and ceasing when the people desired and chose a king.

† The above scheme is Nöldeke's. Moore (*Judges*, p. xli f.) omits Saul as being to a Judæan writer an illegitimate sovereign, and assigns, after LXX, 20 years to Eli, and conjectures 40 years each for Joshua and Samuel.

1 and 2 K give a complete list of the monarchs of Judah and Israel, and the length of their reigns in years from Solomon to the fall of Samaria and of Jerusalem. The commencement of each reign is dated by the year of the reign of the contemporaneous king in the other kingdom. This mode of cross-reckoning is evidently that of the biblical writer, for it is scarcely possible that in either kingdom the year of the king of the other kingdom should be used to fix the date of its own king. An examination of the synchronisms leads to a similar conclusion. From the construction of the Heb. sentence in many instances the synchronisms appear to be an addition to a statement of the simple duration of a reign, and they seem in some instances to reveal an attempt at an adjustment of two unequal series of numbers. Rehoboam and Jeroboam came to the throne at the same time, also Athaliah and Jehu. The sums of the years of the reigns of the kings of Israel and Judah between these two dates should be the same. That of Israel, however, as is seen in the following table, exceeds that of Judah by 3 years. (The 7 days of the reign of Zimri are omitted, for that week naturally was reckoned as belonging either to the reign of Elah or Omri.):—

Rehoboam	17	Jeroboam	22
Abijam	3	Nadab	2
Asa	41	Baasha	24
Jehoshaphat	25	Elah	2
Joram	8	Omri	12
Ahaziah	1	Ahab	22
		Ahaziah	2
		Joram	12
	95		98

Since the lengths of the reigns are expressed in even years, and since actual reigns must have embraced fractions of a year, it is apparent that these years are calendar years. The question now arises whether the calendar year in which a king died was reckoned as his own last year and the 1st year of his successor, or whether the 1st year of his successor began with the following new year. The former method of *pre-dating* introduces the confusion of a calendar year being reckoned as belonging to two reigns; and yet it is in accordance with the Heb. usage, which reckoned fractions of time as full units. For example, the siege of Samaria, which began in the 4th and ended in the 6th year of Hezekiah, is said to have lasted 3 years (2 K $18^{9f.}$). There is also the familiar example of 'the 3 days' of Christ's being in the grave. The latter method of *post-dating* was the usual one of the Assyrians. With them the general practice was to count the regnal years from the new year's day after the accession, and to call the period between the accession and the 1st new year's day 'the beginning of the reign'; while the year from the new year's day was called 'the 1st year,' and the following ones were numbered successively from it. Which of these methods was systematically used by the Hebrews cannot now be decisively determined. Possibly, neither of them consistently or entirely. The Talm. testifies apparently to the method of pre-dating (Wieseler, *Chron. Synopsis*, p. 47), and this has often been assumed as the Heb. method. Jer. and Ezk., however, post-dated, and many scholars (Dillmann, Stade, Wellhausen, and others) believe this to have been the Heb. method. The writer or compiler of 1 and 2 K, as will be seen from the following table of synchronisms, used both methods:—

Rehoboam	1	1 Jeroboam.
	17	17
In 18th of Jeroboam (1 K 15^{1}), Abijam	1	18
	2	19
In 20th of Jeroboam (1 K 15^{9}), Asa	(1) 3	20
	1	21
	2	22. 1. Nadab in 2nd of Asa (1 K 15^{25}).
	3	1. 2. Baasha in 3rd of Asa (1 K $15^{28.\ 33}$).
	26	24. 1. Elah in 26th of Asa (1 K 16^{8}).
	27	2. Zimri in 27th of Asa (1 K 16^{10}).
		1 Omri in 27th of Asa (1 K $16^{15f.}$).
	31	5
	38	12. 1. Ahab in 38th of Asa (1 K 16^{29}).
	39	2
In 4th of Ahab (1 K 22^{41}), Jehoshaphat	(1) 41	4
	1	5
	17	21 1. Ahaziah in 17th of Jehoshaphat (1 K 22^{51}).
	18	1. 22. 2. Joram in 18th of Jehoshaphat (2 K 3^{1}).
In 5th of Joram (2 K 8^{16}), Jehoram	1. 22	5
	4. 25	8
In 12th of Joram (2 K 8^{25}), Ahaziah	8. 1	12

The method of post-dating is here applied to the reigns of the S. kingdom until the reigns of Jehoram and Ahaziah, the former of whom is made co-regent with his father for four years. Asa and Jehoshaphat come to the throne in the years preceding their 1st years, while Abijam comes in his 1st year. Thus we have two methods of post-dating. The reigns of the N. kingdom are all pre-dated, and Ahaziah is made co-regent with Ahab for one year. Thus the total length of the reigns is shortened, and the interval from Solomon to Athaliah becomes 90 years.

In 1 K 16^{23} Omri is said to have begun to reign in the 31st year of Asa, and in 2 K 1^{17} Joram in the 2nd of Jehoram. Both of these statements are in general harmony with a scheme of post-dating the kings both of Israel and Judah. This fact, with the apparently systematic shortening of the intervals expressed by the reigns of the N. kingdom and then of the S. kingdom, to make them agree, suggests the possibility of the lengths of the reigns not being entirely derived from accurate historical sources, and yet representing a chronological scheme which the author did not feel free to modify.

Samaria fell, according to 2 K 18^{10}, in 'the 6th year of Hezekiah, which was the 9th of Hoshea, king of Israel.' The durations of the reigns of the kings of Judah and Israel from the accessions of Athaliah and Jehu to this year, then, should be the same. The figures recorded in 2 K, however, give quite a different result—

Athaliah	6 years.	Jehu	28 years.
Joash	40 ,,	Jehoahaz	17 ,,
Amaziah	29 ,,	Joash	16 ,,
Azariah	52 ,,	Jeroboam	41 ,,
Jotham	16 ,,	Zachariah	6 months.
Ahaz	16 ,,	Shallum	1 ,,
Hezekiah	6 ,,	Menahem	10 years.
		Pekahiah	2 ,,
		Pekah	20 ,,
		Hoshea	9 ,,
	165		143 yrs. 7 mos.

Thus the years of the reigns of the southern kingdom exceed those of the northern kingdom by over 21 years.

The following table gives the biblical synchronisms of this period.* (The various statements have been adjusted to each other by allowing the variable factor of a co-regency, and reckoning the 1st year either from the commencement of the co-regency or of the sole reign):—

Athaliah . . .	1	1 Jehu.
	6	6
In 7th of Jehu (2 K 12^{1}) Joash	1	7
	22	28
	23	1 Jehoahaz in 23rd of Joash (2 K 13^{1}).
	37	15 (1) Jehoash in 37th of Joash (2 K 13^{10}).
In 2nd of Jehoash (2 K 14^{1}), Amaziah . .	(1) 38	16 (2)
	(2) 39	17 (3)
	(3) 40	4 (1)
	4	5 (2)
	(1) 6	7 (4)
	(10) 15	16 (13) Jeroboam in 15th of Amaziah (2 K 14^{23}).
In 27th of Jeroboam (2 K 15^{1}), Azariah	(24) 29	27
	25	28
	38	41. 1. Zachariah in 38th of Azariah (2 K 15^{8}) 2. Shallum in 39th of Azariah (2 K 15^{13}).
	39	Menahem in 39th of Azariah (2 K 15^{17}).
	40	1
	49	10
	50	1 Pekahiah in 50th of Azariah (2 K 15^{23}).
	51	2
	52	1 Pekah in 52nd of Azariah (2 K 15^{27}).
In 2nd of Pekah (2 K 15^{32}), Jotham	1	2
	(1) 9	10
	(8) 16	17
In 17th of Pekah (2 K 16^{1}), Ahaz		
	9 (17)	18
	11 (19)	20
	12 (20)	1 Hoshea in 20th of Jotham and 12th of Ahaz (2 K 15^{30} 17^{1}).
In 3rd of Hoshea (2 K 18^{1}), Hezekiah . .	14 (1)	3
	15 (1)	4
	16 (2)	5
In 6th of Hezekiah (2 K 18^{10}), Samaria taken .	6	9 Samaria taken in 9th of Hoshea (2 K 17^{6} 18^{10}).

The following tables (*a*) (*b*) (*c*) give dates for the accession of the kings of Judah, and (*d*) (*e*) (*f*) of the kings of Israel—(*a*) according to 1 and 2 Ch, in which the durations of the reigns are the same as those mentioned in 1 and 2 K, and are given without reference to the corresponding reigns of the N. kingdom, so that their sum would be naturally taken as the duration of the S. kingdom; (*b*) according to the tables of synchronisms given above; (*c*) according to a determination from the Assyr. inscriptions. An asterisk indicates a co-regency; but see the following paragraphs. (*d*) corresponds to (*a*), and is adjusted to it by pre-dating the reigns of Nadab, Elah, and Ahaziah, and lengthening that of Jeroboam II. to 51 years, and Pekah's to 30. (*e*) and (*f*) correspond to (*b*) and (*c*). The explanation of (*c*) and (*f*) is given in the following paragraphs. (*a*) and (*d*) correspond essentially to Ussher's system of dates given in the margin of the AV. Of these tables only (*b*) and (*e*) represent approximately the course of history. The others are given merely for the sake of comparison.

	(*a*)	(*b*)	(*c*)
David (40)	1059	1009	1017
Solomon (40)	1019	969	977
Temple founded . . .	1015	965	973
Rehoboam (17)	989	939	937
Abijam (3)	962	922	920
Asa (41)	959	919	917
Jehoshaphat (25) . . .	918	878	876
Jehoram (8)	893	*857	851
Ahaziah (1)	885	850	843
Athaliah (6)	884	849	842
Joash (40)	878	843	836
Amaziah (29)	838	*806	796
Azariah (Uzziah) (52) . .	809	*801	*789 767
Jotham (16)	757	749	*753 737
Ahaz (16)	741	*741	735
Hezekiah (29)	725	*727	*726 715
Fall of Samaria	719	722	722
Invasion of Sennacherib . .	711	..	701
Manasseh (55)	696	..	697 686
Amon (2)	641	..	641
Josiah (31) . . .	639	..	639
Jehoahaz (3 months) . .	608	..	608
Jehoiakim	608	..	608
Jehoiachin (3 months) . .	597	..	597
Zedekiah (11)	597	..	597
Destruction of Jerusalem . .	586	..	586
	(*d*)	(*e*)	(*f*)
Jeroboam (22)	989	939	937
Nadab (2)	967	918	915
Baasha (24)	966	917	914
Elah (2)	942	894	900 890
Zimri (7 days)	941	893	899 889
Omri (12)	941	893	899 889
Ahab (22)	919	882	875
Ahaziah (2)	897	*862	853
Joram (12)	896	861	852
Jehu (28)	884	849	842
Jehoahaz (16)	856	821	815
Joash (17)	840	*807	798
Jeroboam II. (41) . . .	823	*804	782
Zachariah (6 months) . .	771	763	741
Shallum (1 month) . . .	770	763	741
Menahem (10)	770	762	741
Pekahiah (2)	760	752	737
Pekah (20)	758	750	736
Hoshea (9)	728	730	734
Fall of Samaria . . .	719	722	722

Our examination of the biblical statements shows from the variety of the modes of reckoning, and from the apparent inconsistencies of the synchronisms (unless an ever variable factor in co-regencies is assumed), that we must look to another source for determining the true chronology of this period. Such a source, in a limited degree, has been found in the Assyr. inscriptions. These inscriptions are dated by the Assyr. calendar or canon. In this canon, which exists in several copies, all of which closely agree, covering the period from about 900 B.C. to about 650 B.C., each year bears the name of an officer called an eponym. From the mention of a total eclipse, which occurred in 763 B.C., is determined the date of all the remaining years. The following persons and events of biblical history are mentioned in the Assyr. inscriptions, and dated by the Assyr. canon (*COT* ii. p. 167 ff.). :—

Ahab (at the battle of Karkar) . . .	854
Jehu (the payment of tribute) . . .	842
Azariah (war with Tiglath-pileser) . .	742–740
Menahem (payment of tribute) . . .	738
Pekah (conquered by Tiglath-pileser) . .	734
Ahaz (payment of tribute)	734
Hoshea (successor of Pekah) . . .	734
Fall of Samaria (near the close of the year) .	722
Invasion of Sennacherib	701
Manasseh	681–668

According to the Assyr. sources, Tiglath-pileser III. (745–728) conducted a campaign (742–738) against Syria, Hamath, and Palestine. At the head of a coalition against him (742–740) is mentioned

---

* According to this table the number of years from the accessions of Athaliah and Jehu to the fall of Samaria is 129. This table, with the one above of synchronisms, however, has not been given to present the course of history, but to give a bird's-eye view of the chronological statements of 1 and 2 K.

Azariah, king of Judah. Menahem is also mentioned as paying tribute in 738. During the years 737–735 Tiglath-pileser was campaigning in the East, but in 734 he returned to suppress another coalition in the West, when he conquered Pekah, and appointed Hoshea king of Samaria in his stead.

According to the biblical account, Menahem and Azariah were contemporaries, and Menahem paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser (called Pul in 2 K 15^{19}); and after the brief reign of Pekahiah the son of Menahem, in the last year of Azariah, Pekah came to the throne. Pekah, with Rezin king of Damascus, in the reigns of Jotham and Ahaz, made war on Judah, evidently to coerce Judah to form an alliance against Assyria. During the reign of Pekah the N. kingdom suffered great loss of territory and inhabitants by Assyr. invasion, and Pekah was followed by Hoshea.

These two accounts, the biblical and Assyrian, harmonize, and it only remains for us to fix the dates. In 737 Pekahiah is king, perhaps having come to the throne in the previous year. His reign is brief, and in 736 or 735 he is slain by Pekah. In 737 or 736 Azariah dies, and Jotham, who for some 14 years may be thought of as having been co-regent, his father being a leper, becomes sole king. In 735 Ahaz succeeds Jotham; in 734 Pekah is slain, and Hoshea becomes king. Samaria falls in the winter of 722–721. Thus in this period the biblical chronological statements must be considerably modified. The result is given in tables (*c*) and (*f*).

A difficulty is also presented in 2 K 18$^{10.\,13}$, which date the fall of Samaria in the 6th year of Hezekiah, and the invasion of Sennacherib in the 14th; but the former event occurred in 722, and the latter in 701. According to the former reckoning, Hezekiah came to the throne in 728 or 727; and according to the latter, in 715 or 714. If we adopt the latter reckoning, the reign of Ahaz must be lengthened to some 20 years, and that of Manasseh or of Hezekiah shortened some 10 years. A co-regency of Hezekiah with Ahaz has been suggested as the solution, or that the date of an invasion of Sargon in 711 may have been given for that of Sennacherib. According to this latter solution, however, Hezekiah would have come to the throne in 725 or 724.

The presence of Ahab at the battle of Karkar brings his reign down to 854 at least. At this battle, according to the Assyr. inscription, Ahab appears as an ally of the king of Damascus. According to 1 K 20^{34} Ahab formed such an alliance, which lasted three years (1 K 22^{1}). In the third year of the alliance the truce was broken, and Ahab was slain at Ramoth-gilead (1 K 22$^{1\text{-}3\ 37\text{-}40}$). Assuming the alliance to have been made in 855, the close of Ahab's reign, then, may be placed in 853.* See AHAB.

In the period before Ahab a change in the biblical length of the reign of Omri has been thought by some scholars necessary from the statement of Mesha on the Moabite Stone, where he says: 'And Omri took possession of the land of Mĕhēdeba, and it (Israel) dwelt therein during his days, and half his son's days, forty years.' If 'his son' is Ahab, then Omri's reign must be lengthened at the expense of Baasha's. In favour of this is the importance and lasting impression of Omri's reign (Mic 6^{16}). The 'land of the house of Omri' in Assyr. inscriptions is a standing designation for the N. kingdom. If, however, 'his son' means Omri's grandson Joram, then no great change is needed. This is more probable, agreeing with 2 K 1^{1} 3^{5}, which place the revolt of Moab (unlikely to have happened under the powerful king Ahab) in the reign of Joram. If we knew from Egyp. history the precise date of Shishak's reign and invasion of Palestine, we could fix definitely the reign of Rehoboam ('In the 5th year of Rehoboam, Shishak came up against Jerusalem,' 1 K 14^{25}). As far as Egyp. history gives any light on this point, it confirms the date given in (*c*).

For the period between the death of Ahab and that of Azariah (Uzziah) it is necessary to shorten several reigns. The disturbed condition of affairs at the death of Jeroboam II.—a destructive rivalry of factions is indicated in the prophetical writings—suggests the shortening of Menahem's reign to three years to allow the others of Israel to stand. Internal evidence favours allowing the reigns of Athaliah and Joash to remain unchanged. The sole reigns of Azariah (Uzziah) and Jotham, then, may be shortened by making them co-regents for a number of years with their fathers.

The periods given for the reigns of Amon, Josiah, Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah are undoubtedly correct. The following table gives the dates and synchronisms of their reigns:—

	Amon's accession	641	
	Josiah's ,,	639	
	,, 1st year	638	
	,, 13th ,,	626	1st year of Jeremiah's ministry (Jer 1^{2}).
	,, 18th ,,	621	Discovery of the Book of the Law (2 K 22$^{3.\,8}$).
(2 K 23^{31}) Jehoahaz 3 mos. reign and Jehoiakim's accession	,, 31st ,,	608	Battle of Megiddo (2 K 23^{29}).
	Jehoiakim's 1st	607	
	,, 4th	604	Jeremiah's 23rd and Nebuchadrezzar's 1st (Jer 25$^{1.\,3}$).
(2 K 24$^{8\text{-}18}$) Jehoiachin's 3 mos. reign and Zedekiah's accession	,, 11th	597	8th of Nebuchadrezzar (2 K 24^{12}).
	Zedekiah's 1st year	596	
	,, 10th ,,	587	18th of Nebuchadrezzar (Jer 32^{1}).
	,, 11th ,,	586	19th of Nebuchadrezzar and destruction of Jerusalem (2 K 25^{8}).

These dates are determined by Nebuchadrezzar's 1st year, which, according to Ptolemy's Canon,* is 604. The reigns given in the table above are post-dated. This arrangement is the one generally accepted. Some, however, have preferred to pre-date them. Then Jerusalem falls in 587 or 588. In favour of this are Jer 52$^{28.\,29}$, which place seemingly the captivity of Jehoiachin and destruction of Jerusalem in the 8th and 18th years of Nebuchadrezzar. The battle of Carchemish (Jer 46^{2}) is dated in the 4th year of Jehoiakim. According to Tiele and others, this took place in 605, the year of Nebuchadrezzar's accession. This pre-dates the 4th year of Jehoiakim.

From the facts presented, it is evident that only a few dates in Israel's history can be fixed with absolute certainty. The time of most events can only be given definitely within a space of two or three years. There generally remains that amount of uncertainty, hence few tables of dates furnished by OT chronologists exactly agree.

---

* Another explanation of the events of this period is, that the king present as a Syrian ally at the battle of Karkar was not Ahab but Ahaziah or Joram, the Assyr. scribe having unwittingly given the name of the father for that of the son, being ignorant of the latter's accession. The argument for this view is that Israel would not have assisted the Syrians except as a vassal, and that such vassalage immediately followed the battle of Ramoth-gilead. Ahab's death, then, probably would have occurred in 855.

* The Canon of Ptolemy is a chron. compilation by the celebrated Alexandrian scholar Ptolemy of the 2nd cent. A.D., with astronomical notes, commencing B.C. 747 with the reigns of the Bab. kings. As far as it has been tested, it has proved an accurate and reliable document. See ASSYRIA, p. 179^{b}.

In view of the corrections which must be made in the OT chron. statements from the founding of Solomon's temple to the destruction of Jerus., and in view of the apparent endeavour of the writer of 1 and 2 K to preserve and harmonize in his synchronisms the recorded lengths of the reigns of kings, the question may arise whether in this period as well as the former ones the chronological data may not be partially conjectural or artificial, complete historical data for both the S. and N. kingdom not having been preserved. This is the view of W. R. Smith, Stade, Wellhausen, and others. In its favour is the fact that from the founding of Solomon's temple to that of Zerubbabel, according to the biblical numbers, there are 480 years, and the duration of the N. kingdom (omitting the 2 years of Elah or reducing Baasha's to 22) is 240 years. The combinations seen in the length of the reigns suggest also, it is said, artificiality.

Solomon . . .		37
Rehoboam .	17	20
Abijam . .	3	
Asa. . . .		41
Jehoshaphat .	25	40
Jehoram .	8	
Ahaziah . .	1	
Athaliah	6	
Joash . .		40
Amaziah .	29	81
Uzziah . .	52	
Carry forward .		259
Brought forward		259
Jotham . .	16	38
Ahaz . .	16	
Hezekiah . .	6	
Hezekiah . .	23	80
Manasseh .	55	
Amon . .	2	
Josiah . .	31	53
Jehoiakim .	11	
Zedekiah . .	11	
Captivity . . .		50
Total . .		480

The combination of 41+81+38=40+80+40, it is said, cannot be mere chance.

A system likewise, it is claimed, appears in the years of the first eight kings of Israel.

Jerohoam	22	48
Nadab . .	2	
Baasha (24) .	22	
Elah . .	2	
Omri . .	12	48
Ahab . .	22	
Ahaziah .	2	
Joram . .	12	

Here are eight kings reigning 96 years, an average of 12 for each. Three reign 12+10, three 12−10, and two 12.

From the inaccuracy of some of the biblical numbers, and from the symmetry of their sum, it is not improbable that missing lengths of the reigns of some kings were supplied by conjecture, so as to make the duration of the N. kingdom 240 years, and the interval between the founding of the two temples 480 years. Such an arrangement would be helpful to the memory and analogous to reckonings of the early periods of the world and of Israel, and such an arrangement also finds a counterpart in the genealogy of Jesus in Mt, where the generations are reduced to three series of 14 each. But, taking the biblical data as a whole for this period, they do not present sufficient symmetry to be entirely or mainly artificial. Errors doubtless crept into lists of reigns, and the lengths of some probably were not preserved, and hence were supplied by conjecture.

V. Chronology of the Post-Exilic Period.—When Judah became a vassal, and her own kings ceased, the years of foreign rulers, as we have already seen at the beginning of the Captivity, were employed in dating events. The time of these rulers is fixed by the Canon of Ptolemy. The following table gives the principal OT chronological references of this period :—

Nebuchadrezzar's 19th	586	Fall of Jerusalem (2 K 25^{8})
Cyrus' accession . .	539	Capture of Babylon by Cyrus .
„ 1st year . .	538	Edict for the Return (Ezr 1^{1})
	537	Return under Zerubbabel
	536	Founding of the Temple (Ezr 3^{8})
Darius' accession . .	522	
„ 2nd year . .	520	Haggai and Zechariah prophesy (Hag 1^{1}, Zec 1^{1})
„ 6th „ . .	516	Temple finished (Ezr 6^{15})
Artaxerxes' accession .	465	
„ 7th year .	458	Ezra arrives at Jerusalem (Ezr 7^{8})
„ 20th „ .	445	Nehemiah's mission to Jerusalem (Neh 2^{1})

Literature.—*For the Chron. of the Hex.* consult the Commentaries of Delitzsch, Dillmann, and other writers on that portion of the OT; also Lenormant, *Beginnings of History*, ch. vi. ; Budde, *Die Biblisehe Urgeschiehte*, ch. iii. ; Kittel, *History of the Hebrews*, §§ 19, 25 ; (for Chron. of Judges, § 30, 2) ; F. C. König, 'Beiträge zur Biblische Chronologie,' in *ZKW*, 1883 ; Nöldeke, *Untersuchungen zur Kritik des A.T.*, pp. 173-198. *For the regal period* : Brandes, *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte des Orients im Alterthum*, 1874 ; Wellhausen, 'Die Zeitrechnung des Buches der Könige,' in *JDTh*, 1875 ; 'Chronology of the Kings of Israel and Judah compared with the Monuments,' in *Church Quart. Rev.*, Jan. 1886 ; S. Sharpe, *Heb. Nation and Lit.*, pp. 381 ff., 389 ff. ; G. Smith, *Assyr. Epon. Canon*, chs. i. and vii.; W. R. Smith, *Journ. of Philology*, x. p. 209 ff.; Kamphausen, *Chron. der Hebräischen Könige*, 1883 ; Schrader, *COT* ii. 161-175, supplemented by O. C. Whitehouse, pp. 320-324, 1888 ; Orr, 'Assyr. and Heb. Chron.,' in *Pres. Rev.*, Jan. 1889 ; Kittel, *Hist. of the Hebrs.*, § 53A, 1892 ; Wellhausen, *Proleg. to Hist. of Israel*, 285 f., 1883 ; Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 88 ff., 558 ff., 1887.

E. L. Curtis.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

I. THE GOSPELS.

The data for the chronology of the Life of Christ group themselves round three points, the Nativity, the Baptism, and the Crucifixion, and the intervals between these, namely, the age of Christ at the Baptism, and the duration of the Ministry. If some of them could be settled conclusively, the rest could be deduced at once : for instance, the date of Christ's birth combined with his age when baptized would fix the date of the Baptism ; if the moments of the beginning and end of the Ministry are known, its length follows ; and so on. But as it is, since for no one of these dates or intervals is there demonstrative proof, while yet about each of them conclusions more or less probable can be reached, it is imperative to investigate them separately, and to check the tentative results by comparison with one another.

A. The Date of the Nativity.—1. *The Year.* —a. St. Matthew tells us that Jesus Christ was born in the reign of Herod the Great, who at some period not more than two years afterwards ordered a massacre of all the infants at Bethlehem, and that the Holy Family fled to Egypt, where they remained for the rest of the king's lifetime (Mt $2^{1.\ 13-16.\ 19}$). Thus Herod's death is the *terminus ad quem* for the Nativity.

For the chronology of the events of Jewish history of NT times, the primary authorities are the *BJ* and *Ant.* of Josephus (quoted throughout this article in the critical edition of B. Niese, Berlin, 1887-1895). Josephus nowhere states the exact year of Herod's death, but he gives the length of his reign from two more or less fixed starting-points, and the length of his three successors' reigns to more or less fixed concluding points. (i.) Herod when he died, not very long before the Passover, had reigned 37 years * as king *de jure* since the Roman decree of the 184th Olympiad [middle of B.C. 44 to middle of B.C. 40], and consulship of Domitius Calvinus and Asinius Pollio [B.C. 40] ; *Ant.* XIV. xiv. 4, 5, XVII. viii. 1 ; *BJ* I. xxxiii. 8. Thus the decree belongs to the first half of B.C. 40 : but as it is uncertain even so whether the month was earlier or later than the month (March?) of Herod's death, it is uncertain also whether the 37th year had begun before March B.C. 4, or only before March B.C. 3. (ii.) He had reigned also 34 years as king *de facto* since the death of Antigonus ; and Antigonus died 'on the day of the great Fast [Sept.-Oct.] in the consulship of M. Agrippa and Canidius Gallus [B.C. 37], 27 years to a day since the entry of

---

* That is, according to the general rule of ancient calculations,—to which attention is here called once for all,—not 37 years or something over, but 37 years or something less.

Pompey into Jerusalem in the consulship of Antonius and Cicero' [B.C. 63 less 27=B.C. 36]. Of these two discordant reckonings for Antigonus' death, 34 years from the first would put Herod's death in the beginning of B.C. 3, 34 from the second in the beginning of B.C. 2; and if the second may reasonably be set aside as duc to the confusion of all chronology previous to the introduction of the Julian calendar in B.C. 46, even B.C. 37 is inconsistent with the evidence of Dio, a later but equally well informed historian, who names the consuls of B.C. 38, Claudius and Norbanus, so that the 34 years would expire in B.C. 4 (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. iv. 3, XIV. xvi. 4, XVII. viii. 1; *BJ* I. xxxiii. 8: Dio, xlix. 22). (iii.) Of Herod's successors, Archelaus, king of Judæa, was banished in the consulship of Lepidus and Arruntius [A.D. 6], when in the ninth year of his reign according to *BJ*, the tenth according to *Ant.* As his accession was near the beginning of the year, the former reckoning would throw it probably in B.C. 3 (possibly in B.C. 4), the latter probably in B.C. 4 (possibly B.C. 5). If the two may be reconciled by supposing that the banishment fell very early in A.D. 6, before the anniversary of the accession, and that *Ant.* reckons Archelaus' second and succeeding years from Jan. 1, both would point to B.C. 4; if otherwise, *Ant.* as the later and fuller work is more likely to have corrected an earlier error than to have introduced a new one, so that B.C. 4 is in any case the more probable date (*BJ* II. vii. 3; *Ant.* XVII. xiii. 2, 3, cf. *Vita*, 1; Dio, lv. 25. 27). (iv.) Herod Philip, tetrarch of Trachonitis, reigned 37 years, and died in the 20th year of Tiberius—that is, reckoning from Augustus' death in August A.D. 14, between August A.D. 33 and August A.D. 34, which would leave Herod Philip's accession doubtful between B.C. 3 and 4 (*Ant.* XVIII. iv. 6). (v.) Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee, was issuing coins as late as his 44th year; and as his banishment by Gaius Caligula (March A.D. 37–Jan. A.D. 41) can hardly have been later than A.D. 39—his rival and nephew, Herod Agrippa, left Palestine after him, and was apparently at Lyons with the emperor in the winter of A.D. 39–40—his 2nd year would go back to B.C. 4, and his accession (since the Jewish princes apparently reckoned their years from Nisan 1) to the year preceding Nisan 1 B.C. 4 (Dio, lv. 24; see further, Philo *in Flaccum*, 5, cd. Mangey, ii. 521; Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. vi. 11, vii. 2; Madden, *Coins of the Jews*^{2}, p. 122).

Thus the year of Herod's death was probably B.C. 4, possibly B.C. 3; and one further note of time in Josephus may help to resolve the doubt. An eclipse of the moon occurred at a moment when Herod, lying at Jericho in his last illness, had partially revived. He grew worse again, and was taken to the baths of Callirrhoë across the Dead Sea; but when all remedies failed he was brought back to Jericho, and thither as a last caprice of tyranny he summoned to his bedside all the leading Jews of Palestine, intending a general massacre of them at the moment of his death. Then the long expected authorization from Augustus of the execution of Antipater arrives and is at once acted on; five days later the king succumbs himself. The funeral rites occupy a week, and soon afterwards the Passover is 'close at hand' (*Ant.* XVII. vi. 4–ix. 3). Now the only lunar eclipses visible in Palestine during B.C. 5–3 were those of March 23, B.C. 5, Sept. 15, B.C. 5, and March 12–13, B.C. 4. But unless the events just catalogued can be spread over 12 or 13 months, from March 12, B.C. 4, to March 31 (the passover of B.C. 3), which is very unlikely, the year B.C. 3 for Herod's death is excluded. If, on the other hand, one month seems as much too little for them as twelve are too much, the eclipse may be that of September, B.C. 5, the king's death falling six months afterwards, about March, B.C. 4.

The Nativity, however, must be placed, not only before this, but, as St. Matthew's account seems to imply, some time before it; for the age limit fixed for the massacre of the innocents, and the sojourn of the Holy Family in Egypt, have both to be allowed for, even if the one is to be qualified by Herod's determination to set a limit on the safe side, and the other by St. Luke's silence. The Birth of Christ may so far be placed one, two, or even three years before Herod's death, B.C. 7–5.

With the longer interval from B.C. 7 would tally Kepler the astronomer's suggestion, that the star of Mt 2^{2} was a conjunction of the planets Jupiter and Saturn, such as occurred in the constellation Pisces in May, October, and December of B.C. 7. The statement of a mediæval Jew, R. Abarbanel, that the conjunction of these two planets in Pisces is to be a sign of Messiah's coming, may perhaps have been derived ultimately from ancient traditions known to the Chaldæans. On the other hand, it is maintained that the conjunction of B.C. 7 was never close enough for the planets to appear as a single star, though even this would hardly be conclusive against Kepler's view. But in any case chronological conclusions cannot be primarily rested on such a basis.

b. St. Luke dates the Nativity by a general census ordered by Augustus and carried out in Syria by the legate Quirinius (2^{2} *αὕτη [ἡ] ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου*). The bracketed article is to be omitted with B D (and in effect ℵ); the clause is to be rendered, not 'this was the first census [of those that were made] while Quirinius was governor of Syria,' but 'this was taken as the first census [of the whole series down to the present] while Quirinius,' etc.: so Clement of Alexandria, *ὅτε πρῶτον ἐκέλευσαν ἀπογραφὰς γενέσθαι* (*Strom.* i. 21. 147, p. 407, ed. Potter).

A famous census did indeed take place, Quirinius being the governor sent to carry it out, ten years or more after the Nativity, when Judæa, on the deposition of Archelaus in A.D. 6, became a Roman province; and it provoked the revolt of Judas the Gaulonite or Galilean (*Ant.* XVII. xiii. 5, XVIII. i. 1; Ac 5^{37}). But there is also reason to believe that Quirinius must be the name wanting on a mutilated inscription which describes some official who twice governed Syria under Augustus; and in that case another census might be postulated for his other tenure to justify St. Luke, if it were not that even this other cannot possibly have coincided with the Nativity. The period from B.C. 10 or 9 till Herod's death is exhausted by the tenures of M. Titius, C. Sentius Saturninus, and P. Quintilius Varus. Varus came as the immediate successor of Saturninus not later than the summer of B.C. 6—for coins of his are extant of the 25th year of the era of Actium [Sept. B.C. 31], *i.e.* Sept. B.C. 7 to Sept. B.C. 6—and was still in office at the time of Herod's death. Quirinius consequently had either left some years before the Nativity or did not arrive till after it (*Ant.* XVI. viii. 6, ix. 1, XVII. v. 2, ix. 3; Mommsen, *Res Gestæ Divi Augusti*^{2}, p. 169 ff.).

St. Luke then is in error in the name of Quirinius; it does not follow that he is in error in the fact of a census. 'It must be remembered that the chronological data of Lk 2 and 3 were in all probability supplied by himself and not by his "sources"'; Gore, *Dissertations*, p. 20. The evangelist's acquaintance with Palestine was perhaps limited to the two years of St. Paul's imprisonment at Cæsarea; and if his source made mention simply of a census, he may easily have been misled into identifying it with the great Roman census of A.D. 6–7, made the more famous by the revolt it occasioned. Nor is there any inherent improbability in the hypothesis of a census in Judæa somewhere within the years B.C. 8–5. Of another client prince, Archelaus of Cappadocia, Tacitus happens to relate that he took a census 'after the Roman manner' under Tiberius; *Ann.* vi. 41. And if Herod did set himself to supply the information to his suzerain (for the statistics of the resources of the empire, dependent states included, were a favourite study of Augustus), it may well be believed that he veiled his purpose under forms adapted to the susceptibilities of his Jewish subjects, and so, in avoiding the scandal caused by the later Roman census, avoided also the notice of history.

St. Luke's evidence, then, adds nothing trustworthy for the chronology of the Nativity beyond its synchronism with a census.

c. But if St. Luke's census has no date, or rather a wrong one, does early Christian tradition help to fix the Nativity more nearly?

Patristic writers, in nearly all cases where a date is given for the Nativity, appear to deduce it from the date of the Baptism or Crucifixion; though it may be noted in passing that the earlier Fathers are a good deal nearer the mark with the year B.C. 3–2 than Dionysius Exiguus, the 6th cent. author of the present calculation of the Christian era (Iren. *Hær.* III. xxi. 3, ed. Massuet; Clem. Al. *Strom.* i. 21, p. 147; 'Tert.' *adv. Judæos*, 8; Hippolytus *in Dan.* iv., ed. Bratke, p. 19, l. 3).

There is, however, one casual statement of Tertullian's which serves in remarkable fashion to bridge the gap left by the dissociation of Quirinius' name from the census of the Nativity. The Marcionites defended their Doketic views of Christ's humanity by appeal to his own question, 'Who are my mother and my brethren?' interpreted as a denial of all human relationships; the assertion of the Jews, 'Thy mother and thy brethren stand without,' became on their view a mere desire to 'tempt' Christ. Tertullian reminds them *inter alia* that Christ's family could easily have been discovered from the census known to have been taken under Augustus in Judæa by Sentius Saturninus: *census constat actos sub Augusto nunc in Judæa per Sentium Saturninum apud quos genus eius inquirere potuissent* (*adv. Marcionem*, iv. 19). Here, of course, if Tertullian had said Quirinius, he would have been merely repeating St. Luke; but he names instead Quirinius' penultimate predecessor, governor about B.C. 9–6. Whether or not Tertullian himself means to connect this census with the Nativity is not quite clear;

the point is, that the name Saturninus, since it can hardly be a mere slip for St. Luke's Quirinius, must have come from an independent authority, possibly the same as supplied another reference to Saturninus in Tert. *de pallio*, i. In general trustworthiness, Tertullian is immeasurably inferior to St. Luke; but a Roman lawyer could command familiar access to many sources inaccessible to a physician from the provinces, and it is hardly rash to believe that in this one instance the former has by a happy chance preserved the evidence which at once confirms and corrects the latter,—confirms the fact of a census, and corrects the name from Quirinius to Saturninus.[*]

If this correction be accepted, the census taken while Saturninus was Syrian legate cannot fall later than the time when Varus succeeded him, in or before the middle of B.C. 6. The order of events in St. Matthew will permit of an interval of two or three years between the Nativity and Herod's death; and the *data* appear to be best harmonized by attributing the census of the Nativity to B.C. 7 or the beginning of B.C. 6.

2. *The Month and Day of the Nativity.*—Of these nothing is really known; for the patristic evidence, interesting in itself, though too voluminous for discussion here, leads to no real results. It must suffice to say that the oldest traditional date for Christmas Day is, in the East, Jan. 6, in the West, Dec. 25. The earliest trace of the one is the observance of Jan. 6 as the festival, not of the birth of Christ but of his Baptism, by the Basilidian Gnostics of the time of Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* i. 21.147, p. 408); and a Gnostic tradition is worth nothing at all. The other first appears in Hippolytus' newly-recovered *Fourth Book on Daniel* (p. 19, l. 2), and was probably deduced by him from March 25, a day which in his *Chronicle* marks not only the Crucifixion but the Conception, the γένεσις Χριστοῦ side by side with the πάθος.

B. THE INTERVAL BETWEEN THE NATIVITY AND THE BAPTISM.—St. Luke relates that Jesus at the time of the Baptism was about 30 years of age, 3[23] αὐτὸς ἦν Ἰησοῦς ἀρχόμενος ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα. The word ἀρχόμενος does not qualify the description of age, as supposed by the earliest known interpreters, Valentinians of the Ptolemæan school *ap.* Iren. II. xxii. 5, *ad baptismum venit nondum qui triginta annos suppleverat, sed qui inciperet esse tamquam triginta annorum*; and so, too, Epiphanius, *Hær.* li. 16, τριάκοντα μὲν ἐτῶν ἀλλ' οὐ πλήρης· διὸ λέγει Ἀρχόμενος. It rather means 'when just commencing his ministry,' an idiomatic use of ἄρχεσθαι paralleled in Lk 23[5] ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας; Ac 1[22] ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος Ἰωάνου; Ac 10[37] ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα ὃ ἐκήρυξεν Ἰωάνης.

The chronological reference, in fact, is limited to the words ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα, into which in turn the meaning has been read that our Lord waited till he had completed the 30 years of an authorized teacher. But Jewish ideas do not seem to have attached any such importance to this particular age. The *minimum* limit for the Levitical service, even if originally 30,—and against Nu 4[3. 47] (Heb.), 1 Ch 23[3] are to be set Nu 4[3. 47] (LXX) 8[24], which give 25,—had been reduced to 20 before the time of the Chronicler (1 Ch 23[24. 27]), who ascribes the change to David. On the other hand, so far as there was any official age for teaching, it was not 30 but 40: see the treatise *Aboda Zara* in the Bab. Talm. (ed. Frankfort, 1715, fol. 19*b*: quoted by Schoettgen, *ad loc.*): *Ad quodnam vero ætatis momentum exspectandum est antequam vir doctus alios docere possit?* Resp. *Ad exactos annos quadraginta.* Similarly, Irenæus contrasts the *prima indoles iuvenis* of 30 years with the *magistri perfectam ætatem*, which appears to be 40 (II. xxii. 4, 5). The traces of an age standard of 30 for different offices of the Christian ministry are due, of course, directly to this very statement in St. Luke; so expressly the Council of Neo-Cæsarea, canon 11.

Thus there is no reason to press St. Luke's note of time into meaning either 'when not yet 30 years' or 'at the moment of attaining the teacher's age of 30 years.' The phrase is an elastic one, and will cover any age from 28 to 32. Reckoned from the Nativity of Christ in B.C. 7–6, the probable limits for the date of the Baptism would thus be A.D. 22–27, a result which must now be tested by its conformity with the direct evidence for this date.

C. For the BAPTISM the Gospels supply a *terminus ad quem* in the synchronism of the passover mentioned next after it with the years of the building of the temple (Jn 2[20]); and a *terminus a quo* in the synchronism of the beginning of the Baptist's ministry with the years of Tiberius (Lk 3[1]).

a. Jn 2[20] τεσσεράκοντα καὶ ἓξ ἔτεσιν ᾠκοδομήθη ὁ ναὸς οὗτος, say the Jews in argument with our Lord, meaning, not that Herod's temple had taken 46 years from its commencement to its completion at some moment of the past,—for the work was only just complete when the Jewish revolt broke out (Jos. *Ant.* XX. ix. 7),—but that at the time of speaking it 'had been in course of building' 46 years, the aorist being exactly paralleled in the phrase used of the temple of Ezra (Ezr 5[16] ἀπὸ τότε ἕως τοῦ νῦν ᾠκοδομήθη καὶ οὐκ ἐτελέσθη, 'from that time to this it has been in course of building, and has not been brought to completion'). Herod's temple was begun, according to *BJ* in his 15th, according to *Ant.* in his 18th year (*BJ* I. xxi. 1; *Ant.* XV. xi. 1); and as Jos. in both books summarizes the length of Herod's reign by a double computation from the *de jure* kingship in B.C. 40, and the *de facto* kingship in B.C. 37, an obvious solution of the discrepancy would be to count the 15th year from the later, the 18th from the earlier, of the two starting-points, both reckonings then converging on B.C. 23. But in fact Jos., when he gives a single date, invariably computes it from the *de facto* kingship only. So in *Ant.*—the book which on the hypothesis just mentioned would employ the reckoning from B.C. 40 for the commencement of the temple—the battle of Actium (Sept. B.C. 31) is put in the 7th year of Herod; Augustus' second visit to Syria, which was not earlier than B.C. 21 (for it was 10 years after the first, and that in turn was after Actium), is dated in the 17th year; and the completion of Cæsarea is fixed in the 92nd Olympiad (B.C. 12–8), and in the 28th year (*Ant.* XV. v. 2, vi. 7, XVI. v. 1; *BJ* I. xx. 4). Seeing, then, that the divergence cannot be accounted for as a double reckoning, it must arise from the correction in *Ant.* of an error of *BJ*, so that Josephus' ultimate date is the 18th year from B.C. 37, or in other words B.C. 20–19. The passover of the first year will probably be that of B.C. 19, and the passover of the 46th year that of A.D. 27.

Thus the latest date for the Baptism is the early months of A.D. 27.

b. Lk 3[1] ἐν ἔτει πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Τιβερίου Καίσαρος . . . ἐγένετο ῥῆμα θεοῦ ἐπὶ Ἰωάννην. Reckoned from Augustus' death, Aug. 19, A.D. 14, the 15th year of Tiberius would run from Aug. A.D. 28 to Aug. A.D. 29, so that the Baptism of Christ could scarcely fall before A.D. 29. Even if Tiberius' 2nd year be dated from Jan. 1, A.D. 15, so that his 15th corresponds with A.D. 28, matters are hardly mended, for that year, too, would be irreconcilable with the results attained in the first two sections of this article, with the temple chronology just discussed, and with the conclusions which will be established below from a comparison of the length of the Ministry with the date of the Crucifixion. If St. Luke really places the opening of the Baptist's preaching as late as A.D. 28, he must, as in the case of Quirinius, have fallen into error. Writing half a century after the events, and perhaps himself sharing the view which limited the public Ministry of Christ to a single year, he might have deduced the 15th year for the commencement of the Ministry from A.D. 29, the date assigned by very early tradition for its close.

At the same time, it is not quite so easy to suppose him deceived about the beginning of the Ministry as about the census of the Nativity. Not only were the events 30 years nearer his own time, but they were of so much more public a character, that they must have been matter of knowledge in a far wider circle, among the Baptist's disciples—with whom St. Luke's writings seem to show a special acquaintance—as well as among the followers of the Christ. Is it certain, then, what is meant by the 15th year of Tiberius? A modern reader is tempted to transfer to the 1st cent. his own associations with hereditary monarchy, where each ruler's rights and powers come into existence at the moment of his predecessor's demise, neither sooner nor later. The Roman Empire of Augustus was scarcely in fact, certainly not in law, hereditary. The prerogatives of the emperor were due theoretically to the various offices which he held; and in dating events, as on coins and inscriptions, he would recite the number, not of the years of his reign, but of his consulships, his imperatorships, and his years of tribunician power. Clearly, none of these official methods were followed by St. Luke, for Tiberius was never consul more than five times, nor imperator more than eight, while his tribunician power, held permanently as one of the primary factors in the imperial character, was already in its 16th year at the time of Augustus' death. Nor was there yet any stereotyped literary usage upon the point. St. Luke's contemporaries, if Romans, would probably have been employing the old system of dating by the consuls of each year; if Orientals, they might still be using the Olympiads (B.C. 776), the era of Alexander or the Greeks (B.C. 312), the era of Sulla (B.C. 85), or the era of Actium (B.C. 31). So when he himself elected to adopt the still novel reckoning by imperial years, he would find no absolutely fixed tradition as to the moment from which to compute them; and it has lately been pointed out (Ramsay, *St. Paul the Trav.* p. 387) that not very long before the probable date of the Gospel, Titus had been associated in the empire with his father Vespasian by the simultaneous reception of the proconsular and tribunician power, together with other *insignia* of imperial rank (July 1, A.D. 71). The conditions of his own day, Ramsay thinks, may have led the evangelist to emphasize the similar elevation of Tiberius, on whom a special enactment had already in Augustus' lifetime conferred a position in the provinces co-ordinate with the elder emperor's, so that provincial custom may have taken that as the starting-point of his reign (Velleius Paterculus, ii. 121; Suetonius, *Tib.* 21; compare Bury, *Students' Roman Empire*, p. 54; Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, ii. ed. 3, p. 1159, n. 3). As to the exact year of the law, authorities differ; most of them connect it with the grant of the tribunician power for life in A.D. 13; but there is no necessity to synchronize the two, and Mommsen, on the ground of the context in Velleius, puts it two years earlier, in A.D. 11.

---

[*] It is possible that the same source is alluded to in Jos. *Vita*, 1, written at Rome under Domitian, τὴν μὲν τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν διαδοχήν, ὡς ἐν ταῖς δημοσίαις δέλτοις ἀναγεγραμμένην εὗρον.

If this solution is possible—and it is not given here for more—the various *data* are brought into complete harmony. The mission of the Baptist in the 15th year of Tiberius, calculated from A.D. 11, will fall in A.D. 25–26; the Baptism of Christ may be assigned to A.D. 26–27; and the first passover of the Ministry, being at the same time the passover of the 46th year of the temple building, will follow in the spring of A.D. 27.

D. The interval between the Baptism and the Crucifixion, or DURATION OF THE MINISTRY.—a. St. Mark's Gospel, the closest representative of the common synoptic tradition, contains few precise indications of time; events are strung together by no more than the vague expressions 'straightway,' 'after not many days,' 'after many days.' The general impression, however, which the synoptic narrative seems calculated to produce, and probably in primitive times did produce, is that the period described was one of no considerable length. In the absence of other *data*, especial importance accrues to two episodes which contain in themselves or their surroundings evidence of the season of the year. Describing the feeding of the 5000, St. Mark adds to the common tradition the descriptive touch that the grass showed the fresh green of early spring (*ἐπὶ τῷ χλωρῷ χόρτῳ* Mk 6^{39}: cf. Mt 14^{15}, Lk 9^{12}). And the plucking of the ears of corn (Mk 2^{23}=Mt 12^{1}=Lk 6^{1}), the harvest being ripe but not yet cut, will fall, if the ears were barley, at earliest in April, and if wheat, at latest in June; see R. Samuel, quoted by Wetstein on Jn 4^{35}.

Here, then, a spring or early summer in Mk 2 is succeeded by early spring in ch. 6, the lapse of one year intervening; while a second year is postulated by the events of chs. 6^{56}–10^{52}, which include journeys to the districts of Phœnicia, of Upper Galilee, and of Peræa (7^{24} 8^{27} 10^{1}), and shut out the possibility that the miracle of ch. 6 and the passover of the Crucifixion can belong to the same spring; so that, at least if the order is even roughly chronological, a two years' ministry would already underlie the record. And though our earliest authority, Papias, seems to deny just this characteristic to St. Mark, saying that, while the facts were all accurate, the order was not (*ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν οὐ μέντοι τάξει*, quoted in Eusebius, *HE* iii. 39), yet he probably does not mean by this more than the absence of a framework for the history such as St. Luke supplies by notices of movement towards Jerus., and St. John by notices of Jewish festivals. In any case an investigation of the internal evidence borne by the Gospel itself, though necessarily cursory, and limited to a single section, will best show to what extent it may be allowed or denied to be chronological.

From the opening of the Galilean ministry in Mk 1^{14} the narrative runs continuously, the scene, the actors, the horizon being all Galilean, and Galilean only, as far as 3^{6}. At this point a change takes place, and the larger world of Palestine begins to play a part on the stage. The audience is drawn, not from Galilee only, but from Jerus., Judæa, Idumæa, Peræa, and Phœnicia; the opposition is reinforced by scribes from the capital; the apostles are organized into a body for more systematic evangelization ($3^{8.\ 14.\ 22}$). To this division, under which the first two chapters mark the inchoate stage of the Ministry, the character of the sayings and doings recorded in them fairly corresponds. Five miracles arouse the attention of the populace, and spread the fame of their author (1^{21}–2^{12}), just as five episodes bring out teaching which provokes the criticism, and soon the hostility, of the scribes and Pharisees (2^{1}–3^{6}); the cure of the paralytic with the forgiveness of his sins, where the miracle suggests the teaching, forming the transition from the first half of the section to the second. This presentation of development and progress is an argument for the substantially chronological character of the record, so far at least that an episode of the opening section, such as that of the ears of corn, would *primâ facie* be dated in the actual order of events before an episode so much posterior to the great break in 3^{6} as the feeding of the 5000. With much less hesitation it may be laid down that the miracle of ch. 6 cannot possibly be placed in the same spring as the Crucifixion; so that these three *data*, the late spring of one year, the early spring of another, and the passover time of a third, suggest the testimony of St. Mark's Gospel to at least a two years' Ministry (but see below, p. 410^{a}).

On the other hand, it does not follow that the arrangement of events within each section is chronological; rather, the evangelist would certainly seem to have here deserted the principle of temporal order for the principle of grouping. For instance, although his general scheme in 1^{14}–3^{6} is borne out by the natural presumption that some miracles arresting public attention preceded in time the opposition offered to doctrine which might otherwise have passed unnoticed, yet it is hardly likely that all the miracles came first and all the teaching after. That is to say, the probability that the episode of the ears of corn really preceded all events from 3^{6} onward, does not carry with it an equal probability that it preceded also the events of $3^{1\text{-}6}$, or followed those of 1^{21}–2^{22}. Even if the sections as wholes are in chronological order, the events within each section are obviously massed in groups.

b. St. Luke's account of the Ministry divides itself in the main into two well-marked portions, of which the first (4^{14}–9^{50}) is parallel to the common tradition of the other Synoptists, while the second (9^{51}–19^{28}) is almost entirely peculiar; and with this division corresponds a (seemingly methodical) arrangement of notes of place which serves as a setting for the history.

In the first portion, representing the Galilean ministry of the common tradition, the localities named are, with one exception, and that more apparent than real, exclusively Galilean: 4^{14} Galilee, ^{16} Nazareth, ^{31} Capernaum; 5^{1} Lake of Gennesaret; 7^{1} Capernaum, ^{11} Nain; $8^{2f.}$ Mary is of Magdala, and Joanna is wife of Herod's steward; $^{22.\ 26}$ Lake of Galilee, with its opposite shore. Mention is made, as in St. Mark, of the gathering of hearers from Judæa, Jerus., Tyre and Sidon, and of the fame of Christ's miracles 'in all Judæa and the country round' (5^{17} 6^{17} 7^{17}); but nowhere is our Lord himself removed from Galilee save in the single statement in 4^{44} that he was 'preaching in the synagogues of Judæa': Ἰουδαίας, ℵ B C L Q R etc.; Γαλιλαίας, *Textus Receptus.* Apologetic interest has detected here an 'undesigned coincidence' with the Judæan ministry in St. John; but the truth is that in this and some other passages St. Luke is using 'Judæa' in the extended sense of 'Palestine,' a term unfamiliar to NT and to the 1st cent. A.D. generally. When St. Luke wrote, the Rom. province, though it then included all Palestine except Upper Galilee, was still known only as Judæa (Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 257). Traces of this usage in his writings (side by side with the narrower sense in which Judæa was opposed to Samaria or Galilee) would be Ac 26^{20} 'Damascus, Jerus., all the country of Judæa and the Gentiles'; Ac 10^{37} 'throughout all Judæa, beginning from Galilee,' and the similar phrase Lk 23^5 (cf. 6^{17} 7^{17}), in each of which cases 'all Judæa' appears to mean Palestine. The phrase may have been used in 4^{44} as a sort of comprehensive introduction to the Ministry; and though it does not, *totidem verbis*, confine our Lord to Galilee, it does not necessarily take him beyond its borders. The definite indications of the first half of the record are unanimously Galilean.

In sharp contrast with this, the section peculiar to St. Luke opens with the statement about Christ that 'as the days of his assumption were coming to the full, he set his face firmly to go to Jerusalem'; 9^{51} ἐν τῷ συμπληροῦσθαι τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ἀναλήψεως αὐτοῦ. Again and again the same direction is emphasized in the remaining chapters. He is journeying through cities and villages, teaching and making his way to Jerus. 13^{22}; he passes through the midst of Samaria and Galilee on his journey to Jerus. 17^{11}; he is going up to Jerus. 18^{31}; he is near Jerus. 19^{11}. It is clear that all these chapters, to the mind of the evangelist, represent a conscious working up (though not necessarily a direct journey) towards Jerus., and 'the filling up of the days of his assumption' is a phrase which cannot cover more than a few months at the outside. Nor is there anything to suggest that, the second group of chapters being thus limited in duration, the previous group, which occupy a shorter space in the record, extended over any much longer period. Indeed it is not improbable that St. Luke shared the view, widely spread from very early times, that confined the Ministry to a single year; it is even possible that he himself, like so many of the readers of his Gospel, interpreted in this sense the reference preserved by him to Isaiah's prophecy of the 'acceptable year of the Lord' (Lk 4^{19} = Is 61^2).

c. St. John's Gospel distinguishes itself from the other three by its careful enumeration of six notes of time, five of them Jewish festivals, between the Baptism and the Crucifixion; and these precise and detailed recollections of an eyewitness must be allowed decisive weight against the apparently divergent testimony of the third Synoptist, not to say that their very precision may have consciously aimed at a silent correction of impressions erroneously derived from earlier evangelical narratives.

2^{13} καὶ ἐγγὺς ἦν τὸ πάσχα τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἀνέβη εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ὁ Ἰησοῦς. 23 ὡς δὲ ἦν ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐν τῷ πάσχα ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ.

4^{35} οὐχ ὑμεῖς λέγετε ὅτι ἔτι τετράμηνός ἐστιν καὶ ὁ θερισμὸς ἔρχεται; ἰδοὺ λέγω ὑμῖν ἐπάρατε τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὑμῶν καὶ θεάσασθε τὰς χώρας ὅτι λευκαί εἰσιν πρὸς θερισμόν.

5^1 μετὰ ταῦτα ἦν ἑορτὴ [or ἡ ἑορτὴ] τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἀνέβη Ἰησοῦς εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.

6^4 ἦν δὲ ἐγγὺς τὸ πάσχα [or omit τὸ πάσχα] ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

7^2 ἦν δὲ ἐγγὺς ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἡ σκηνοπηγία.

10^{22} ἐγένετο τότε τὰ ἐγκαίνια ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις.

Of these, the first and last two are straightforward statements which need no comment. The second admits of alternative explanations either as harvest-time or as four months before it. To the third attaches, not only a variety of reading between 'the feast' and 'a feast,' but, whichever reading be adopted, a doubt as to the actual feast intended by it. The fourth involves, again, a question of reading, carrying with it the difference of a complete year in the chronology of the Ministry; and as this problem is at once simpler and more momentous than the other two, it will be on all grounds best to begin with it.

(1) Jn 6^4. If the words τὸ πάσχα are retained, three passovers are mentioned by St. John (2^{13} 6^4 11^{55}), so that the Ministry will extend over at least two years. If the words are excised, 'the feast of the Jews,' which was 'near' at hand, may be identified with the Feast of Tabernacles, described as 'near' in 7^2, and the chronology of the Ministry can then be arranged on a single-year basis: $2^{13.23}$ Passover in March or April, 4^{35} harvest in May, 5^1 Pentecost in May or early June, or Trumpets in September, 6^4 7^2 Tabernacles in October, 10^{22} Dedication in December, 11^{55} Passover again.

This latter reading, in the belief that it brought the Fourth Gospel into harmony both with the Synoptists and with the earliest extra-canonical tradition, was championed first by Browne in his *Ordo Sæclorum* (London, 1844), and afterwards with more hesitation by Hort in an exhaustive note *ad loc.* in Westcott and Hort's *Gr. Test.* (App. pp. 77–81), from which many of the *data* in this article have been drawn. But any *primâ facie* presumption on such grounds in favour of the omission of τὸ πάσχα would be counterbalanced by the consideration that every known MS, whether of the original Gr. or of the VSS, contains the phrase or its rendering; moreover, the evidence of St. Mark is, as it stands, against the single-year Ministry, while the evidence of the Fathers is much more evenly divided than these two writers supposed. Still, the high authority which attaches to all that Hort wrote demands a closer investigation of his arguments. It will be shown that the shorter reading (α) is a phrase unlikely to have been penned by St. John; (β) is unsuitable, as interpreted by Hort, to the context; (γ) is unsupported by the direct witness of more than a single Father.

α. If the words τὸ πάσχα are not genuine, St. John wrote simply ἐγγὺς ἦν ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, and by this he is supposed to have meant the Feast of Tabernacles, as being beyond all others '*the* feast' of the Jews. No doubt both in the OT and as late as the Mishna 'the feast' is used to denote Tabernacles: see Cheyne on Is 30^{29}. But even if Tabernacles retained this pre-eminence,* so that St. John as a Jew could have so used the phrase himself, would he have done it in writing for Gentile Christians? To them Passover and Pentecost were instinct with associations from the Gospel, while Tabernacles spoke only of the Law, and '*the* feast' can only have suggested to them, as the same or a still vaguer phrase suggested in 5^1 to Irenæus, the Feast of Passover. And the evangelist, who habitually means by 'the Jews' the enemies of Christ, can hardly have been so wedded to Jewish usage as to employ language which would have one meaning for himself and another for his Ephesian disciples.

β. The evidence of context tells the same tale. In the first place, the abundance of the grass (Jn 6^{10} πολύς: χλωρός in Mk 6^{39} of the same occasion) points to spring and not to autumn. Further, 'after these things Jesus was walking in Galilee' (Jn 7^1 περιεπάτει), and yet on Hort's hypothesis the same feast which was already near in 6^4 is still only near—ἐγγύς in both cases—in 7^2.

γ. The patristic evidence for omission can be reduced from the four witnesses quoted by Browne and Hort—Irenæus, a heretical sect described by Epiphanius and called by him Alogi, Origen, and Cyril of Alexandria—to the single testimony of Origen.

Irenæus brings the Gnostic theory of a one-year Ministry to the test of agreement with St. John's Gospel, where he finds that our Lord went up to Jerus. after the Baptism to three Passovers—the first after the miracle of Cana, the second when he cured the paralytic, the third at the Crucifixion (*Hær.* II. xxii. 3). This Father is so eager, it is urged, to swell the number of Passovers that he includes the unnamed feast of 5^1, and it is impossible that he should have failed to note so clear a case as 6^4 would be, if the word Passover had stood there in his text. But, in fact, Irenæus is professing to quote only the Passovers at which Christ was present, *quoties secundum tempus paschæ Dominus post baptisma ascenderit in Hierusalem*; and with this aim he catalogues minutely the journeys to and fro. He is not professing to exhaust the number of Passovers, for he goes on to argue that the Ministry lasted for ten years or more.

---

* On the one hand, it is for Passover that Joseph and Mary are said to have gone up yearly to Jerus., Lk 2^{41}; on the other, Cyril Alex., probably from Origen, says on Jn 11^{56} οὐχ ὅτι ἀνάγκη ἦν πάντας συνδραμεῖν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐν τῷ πάσχα ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ σκηνοπηγίᾳ.

The Alogi, according to Epiphanius (*Hær.* li. 22), rejected St. John's Gospel as inconsistent with the rest, for the reason, among others, that instead of one Passover it records the observance of two. While they were about it, says Epiphanius, they might have accentuated the inconsistency by pointing to, not two, but three Passovers in this Gospel. Here the answer is again that St. John does not speak of the 'observance' of more than two Passovers by visits to Jerusalem.

Origen's *Comm. on St. John* is defective for chs. 5–7. But on ch. 4^{35} (tom. xiii. 39, 41), against the view of the Valentinian commentator Heracleon, that the material harvest was four months off, and the season therefore winter, he pleads for the alternative of actual harvest-time from the sequence of the events in the succeeding chapters, where 4^{35} is followed almost at once by the feast of 5^1, and the feast of 5^1 by a mention of the Tabernacles as 'nigh at hand' (6^4 or 7^2?). The argument clearly postulates the absence of any intervening Passover at 6^4; and though it is possible in the loss of the commentary on the verse itself to attribute this to mere oversight, yet the omission of τὸ πάσχα in Origen's text is made more probable by the evidence of his follower Cyril, the fourth and last witness alleged.

Cyril of Alexandria's Commentary, like those of so many later Fathers, is composite; his own contributions are inextricably mixed up with those of his predecessors, notably of Origen. Hence, if Cyril (ed. Pusey, i. 398, 399, 404) both gives the disputed words τὸ πάσχα, not only in the biblical text at the head of the section (a position where, no doubt, scribes were prone to replace the more familiar reading), but in two allusions at an earlier point; and at the same time explains our Lord's removal beyond the Sea of Galilee (Jn 6^1) by his desire to avoid the thronging crowds whom the near approach of the Feast (not of Passover but) of Tabernacles would attract to Jerus.,—the simplest solution of the inconsistency is to suppose that τὸ πάσχα really stood in Cyril's own text, and that the connexion of the Tabernacles with the retreat beyond Tiberias is repeated from Origen.

Thus of Hort's four witnesses the evidence of two, Irenæus and the Alogi, does not really bear on the point raised at all; while the testimony of Cyril, so far as it is adverse to the words, appears to resolve itself into the testimony of Origen. But it is much easier to suppose that Origen in his Commentary either conjecturally emended or altogether passed over a notice that he saw to be irreconcilable with his earlier conception of a single-year Ministry, than that he has alone preserved the apostolic text against the concurrence of all other authorities.

On no ground, external or internal, can the omission of the reference to a Passover in 6^4 be defended as original or genuine. The Fourth Gospel excludes the possibility of anything less than a two-year Ministry. The result is a quite simple chronology for the second half of the Gospel. From 6^4 to 11^{55} the space covered is exactly a year, the autumn Feast of Tabernacles (7^2) and the winter Feast of Dedication (10^{22}) being signalized in the course of it. The earlier chapters (2^{13} to 6^4) present a more complicated problem, the solution of which depends primarily on the meaning to be attached to the notices of the season in 4^{35} and of the feast in 5^1.

(2) Jn 4^{35}. Allusion is here made to two seasons of the year, a period four months from harvest: 'Say ye not, There are yet four months, and then cometh harvest?'; and the harvest itself:* 'Behold the fields, for they are white already to harvest.' Of these, only one of course can be meant in the literal sense; and the question is, which? The patristic exegesis of the passage shows that the difficulty was felt from the first. The earliest recorded commentator, the Valentinian Heracleon, 'like the majority, interpreted literally, and said that the material harvest was four months off, but that the harvest of which the Saviour was speaking, the harvest of souls, was ready and ripe.' Origen answers that it was rather the middle or end of harvest-time, for the connexion of the narrative proves that it cannot have been winter. You cannot allow, he says, as much as eight or nine months—April to January—after the passover of ch. 2, for there is nothing in the story to suggest so long a period, and the impression made on the Galileans at that passover was still fresh in their minds when Christ came on to Galilee after leaving Samaria (4^{45}); nor can you allow as much again—January to October—between this episode and the Feast of Tabernacles soon to be mentioned:* Orig. *in Jn.* tom. xiii. 39, 41.

It is not possible at this stage to dismiss either explanation as in itself inadmissible. The words of the verse, especially the ἔτι, '*still* four months,' have, perhaps, a more natural meaning if the harvest was actually four months off. On the other hand, the immediate context, the promise of the water which should quench all thirst, has been thought to suggest a warmer season than January, the discourses in St. John's Gospel being, it is said, always fitted to their external surroundings. On this view it has been supposed that the τετράμηνον is a proverbial phrase for the interval between seed-time and harvest, οὐχ ὑμεῖς λέγετε standing for τὸ λεγόμενον, the regular idiom for a proverb. It is said in answer that no such words are elsewhere preserved; but phrases of similar meaning, emphasizing the interval between preparation and fruition, are common in all languages. It is said also that a strict reckoning would make the interval rather six months than four; but the Rabbis (see Wetstein, *ad loc.*) were accustomed to divide the year into six stages of two months—seed-time, winter, spring, harvest, summer, dog-days—so that four months does actually cover the period between the two. Considering, too, the differences of climate in different parts of Palestine, and the differences of season between barley and wheat harvest, there is nothing improbable in supposing that the interval which can be described as one of six months can be described also as one of four.

Origen has really hit the mark in making the relation of the passage to the general chronological arrangement of the Gospel the determining factor in a date which could otherwise only be left open. This relation involves, in the first place, a discussion of the third and last of the doubtful time-notices in St. John.

(3) Jn 5^1. Alternative readings ἑορτή and ἡ ἑορτή, and alternative explanations of either reading.

ἡ ἑορτή was analyzed in the discussion of Jn 6^4 above, and was found to imply either Passover or Tabernacles, though the very existence of a doubt as to the relative precedence of the two feasts made the use of the phrase without further definition unlikely in itself.

ἑορτή would leave the feast intended quite uncertain. Origen and Epiphanius both argue rightly that the indefiniteness excludes Passover; the former apparently made it Pentecost (as does his follower Cyril, though the text at the head of this section of the Commentary contains the article), the latter gives a choice between Pentecost and Tabernacles (Orig. *in Jn.* tom. xiii. 39; Epiph. *Hær.* li. 21, Dind.).† But just as Tabernacles is important enough to rival the claim of Passover to be meant by the definite ἡ ἑορτή, so equally with Passover it is too important to satisfy the indefinite ἑορτή, which must be referred to one of the less important festivals, Pentecost (May), Trumpets (September), Dedication (December), or Purim (February).

---

* The first ears of barley harvest would be ready in the most forward districts at the end of March; the most backward wheat would be cut in June. April and May would be the principal harvest months.

* The latter part of the argument is, of course, vitiated by Origen's neglect of the Passover of 6^4; see above.

† The fact that Origen, who certainly did not read the article, uses of the same feast the words περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ τῶν Ἰουδαίων . . . πεπραγμένων (tom. xiii. 64), shows how easily in oblique references the article would creep in.

As between the two readings, the article is found in ℵ C L Δ 1-118 33, the Egyp. VSS, Eusebius of Cæsarea, Cyril-text (perhaps, too, Irenæus, since he made the feast a Passover, see above on Jn 6^4); it is omitted by A B D, Origen, Epiph. Chrys. and the *Paschal Chronicle*. The weight of external evidence favours the latter group, for it has not only early but varied attestation; whereas the other is of more homogeneous type, originally purely Alexandrine, and may easily owe its post-Nicene supporters to the influence of Eusebius of Cæsarea, and the theory which he brought into prominence of a three years' Ministry with four Passovers. And when to this is added the suspicious character just shown to attach on internal grounds to ἡ ἑορτή, ἑορτή without the article may confidently claim to represent the text of the evangelist.

Thus the first half of the Gospel gives (1) a passover, $2^{13.\,23}$; (2) a note of time, either May or January, 4^{35}; (3) an unnamed minor feast, 5^1; (4) a second passover, 6^4. These could be combined in more than one way to fit into a single year: *e.g.* (*a*) Passover—May—any lesser feast—Passover; or (*β*) Passover—January—Purim (February)—Passover.

But, *Is the minimum duration of the Ministry which results from St. John's Gospel also the maximum?* Is it to be assumed that if the notes of time in 2^{13}–6^4 can be co-ordinated into a single year, and those of 6^4–11^{55} into a second, no further latitude is possible? This is the crucial question.

A negative answer is implied in Irenæus, the earliest in time, the most trustworthy in position, of all extant patristic authorities (*Hær.* II. xxii. 3–6). The limitation of the Ministry by the Valentinians to a single year he disproves at once from the record of three visits to Jerus. for the passover (see on Jn 6^4 above); but he finds also three other considerations which prove that the total length of the Ministry was far in excess, not only of one, but even of two or three years' duration. (i.) *A priori*: The Lord came to save and sanctify every age, whether of infants, children, boys, youths, or men, and to be at once the perfect example and the perfect master and teacher of all; their example, by passing himself through each of the stages of human life; their teacher, by attaining the age of teaching.[*] (ii.) *Scriptural*: St. John records (8^{57}) that the Jews asserted that Jesus could not have seen Abraham, because he was still under fifty years old—a phrase implying that he was not far off fifty, at any rate over forty, since to a man between thirty and forty the retort would have been, 'Thou art not yet forty years old.' (iii.) *Traditional*: The elders who gathered round St. John during his long old age in Asia, disciples some of them, of other apostles as well, have all handed this down as the apostolic teaching. Of these arguments the first two do not come to much; but the third does establish a *primâ facie* claim, only to be rebutted by the overwhelming evidence on the other side. Is there, then, no method of explaining, or at least minimizing, this at first sight conclusive appeal to Johannine tradition? In a later passage (V. xxxiii. 3) Irenæus makes a similar appeal to 'the elders who had seen John, the disciple of the Lord,' and embodies their witness to the Lord's teaching about the Millennial times in a passage which he then defines as the written testimony of 'Papias, the hearer of John and companion of Polycarp'; and since Papias' work was primarily a commentary on sayings or oracles of the Lord, it is a legitimate conjecture that if the earlier passage contains a particular exegesis of the text Jn 8^{57}, accompanied by emphasis on the authority of the elders, there, too, the authority and the exegesis are those of Papias, and probably of Papias only. But Papias had no title beyond that of antiquity to the exaggerated deference which Irenæus pays him. A writer so 'feeble-minded' (the phrase is from Eusebius) would have been just the one to press home to its narrowest meaning the *à fortiori* argument, 'Thou art not yet fifty years old,' of the Jewish controversialists; it is even conceivable that he attributed the 'forty and six years' of the literal temple to the human temple of our Lord.

But because a theory which extends the length of the Ministry to ten or fifteen years is on all grounds untenable, it does not at once follow that an addition of one year, or even two, to the minimum implied by the recorded passovers would be equally out of court. At the same time, the cumulative effect of the four following considerations seems decisive against even this amount of deviation from the stricter interpretation of St. John's narrative.

α. However widely patristic writers differ from one another in their estimate of the number of passovers mentioned, they all, save Irenæus (*i.e.* Papias?) only, agree in believing that the enumeration, whatever it is, is exhaustive. Origen in his earlier writings appears to have reckoned no more than the two passovers; consequently the Ministry lasted only 'a year and some months' (*de Principiis*, iv. 5). If Eusebius and the Paschal Chronicler find four Passovers in the text, they allot to the Ministry a period of between three years and four. If Jerome, Epiphanius, and Apollinaris speak of three Passovers, they also define the length of the Ministry as two years, or two years and so many days. In itself too much weight must not be attached to this *consensus*, since the natural tendency of chronologers is to make the most of what they find in their authorities, and to build up conclusions even where the *data* are slight and insufficient. In this case, however, the Fathers appear to be doing no violence to the intentions of the evangelist.

β. For if St. John wrote with earlier forms of the Gospel tradition in his mind or before his eyes, and made it one of his objects to supplement their deficiencies by restatement of neglected facts,—as with regard to the Judæan Ministry or the day of the Crucifixion,—it is reasonable to suppose that the numerous notes of time which mark off his narrative into stages are purposely introduced in definite contrast to the looser Synoptic account; and he could only remove the erroneous impression which had perhaps been deduced already from other Gospels as to the length of the Ministry, by substituting in his own Gospel an exact or fairly exact chronology. The proof that St. John mentions so many passovers, and so many only, amounts, then, to a presumptive proof that there were no more to mention.

The two preceding arguments are independent of the particular number of passovers recorded in St. John's Gospel; the two which follow derive their force from the result above established, that three passovers, or a minimum of two years, are there assigned to the Ministry.

γ. An early tradition, dating back certainly to the Gnostics of the 2nd cent., and perhaps to St. Luke himself, limited the Ministry to a single year; every year, therefore, added to the minimum of two years required by St. John makes it more difficult to understand how the error can have had so ancient an origin or so wide a diffusion.

δ. If the apparent narrowness of the framework in which the Synoptic narrative is set paved the way in part for the theory of the single year, an almost equally rapid succession of events is implied by two indications in the Fourth Gospel—indications which, but for the actual enumeration of the feasts, might well have seemed to limit the Ministry to an even shorter duration than two years. Ch 4^{45} 'the Galileans received him, having seen all things that he did at Jerus. at the feast,' refers to 2^{23} 'when he was in Jerus. at the passover at the feast, many believed on his name, beholding the signs which he was doing'; and ch. $7^{21\text{-}23}$ 'One work I did, and ye are all marvelling. . . . I made a man sound every whit on the sabbath day,' reaches back to $5^{1\text{-}9}$. Not only can there have been no visit to Galilee between 2^{23} and 4^{45}, no visit to Jerus. between 5^1 and 7^{21}, but the intervals themselves must have been relatively small; eight or nine months is the outside limit for the former; and since many signs were performed at the first recorded visit to Jerus., the impression of the one miracle which marked the second visit would scarcely stand out with unique distinctness for much more than a similar period. As 7^{21} was spoken at Tabernacles, and a Passover intervenes at 6^4, this is so far an argument for not putting back the visit of 5^1 beyond the previous Purim (February).

The cumulative effect of these considerations warrants the conclusion that while two years *must*, not more than two years *can*, be allowed for the interval from Jn $2^{13.\,23}$ to Jn 11^{55}; and it now remains only to ask how far the results established from St. John's Gospel agree with the more tentative results deduced from St. Mark's.

a compared with **c**. St. Mark's Gospel was shown (p. 406), if its order of events can be taken as chronological, to imply, exactly like St. John's, a two-year Ministry. Its second note of time, the spring of the miracle of the 5000, corresponds exactly to the Passover mentioned as 'nigh' on the same occasion in St. John (Mk 6^{39}=Jn 6^{4}). Its first note, the harvest of the ears of corn (Mk 2^{23}), must, if recorded in its proper place, belong to the months immediately succeeding the passover of Jn 2. It would follow at once that the visit welcomed by the Galileans (Jn 4^{45}), being the first visit to Galilee after Jn 2, must precede Mk 2^{23}; and St. John's note of time in Samaria (Jn 4^{35}) must be placed between the passover and the episode of the ears of corn, *i.e.* at the actual harvest season. Very soon after the passover—room has only to be found for the visit of Nicodemus—perhaps about April 20, since passover in A.D. 27 fell on April 11 or 12, Christ leaves Jerus. with his disciples and makes a stay in the 'land of Judæa' while John was still preaching; but the Baptist's arrest probably followed shortly, and may actually have been the cause of our Lord's removal through Samaria to Galilee, at a time when at least the barley was ripe, say about the middle of May (Jn $3^{22.\,24}$ 4^{1}, and Westcott, *ad loc.*). 'After the arrest of John, Jesus came into Galilee' is St. Mark's description of the same moment, 1^{14}. So far the chronology is smooth enough; the difficulty is to know whether the six weeks, which is the utmost that can be allowed between the middle of May and the end of wheat harvest, are enough to cover the opening stages of the Galilean Ministry down to the episode of the ears of corn. It has been shown above (p. 406^{b}) that within his first section St. Mark certainly groups events by subject-matter rather than by time, so that there is no *à priori* reason against placing the episode of the corn during, or even before, the circuit of the village-towns (*κωμοπόλεις*, i. 38), which is almost the only distinctively marked occurrence in these chapters. No doubt, however, such a scheme as this would crush the early Galilean Ministry into an uncomfortably narrow space; the double call of the apostles, for instance, is more appropriate if a substantial interval, during which they had returned to their ordinary avocations, elapsed between the return to Galilee in May and the second and final call. But if the harmonization is thought impossible, it is the chronological order of the events in St. Mark, and not the limitation of the Ministry to two years, which must be given up. The corn episode must be transferred to the second year of the Ministry, and placed after the miracle of the Five Thousand.

---

[*] *I.e.* 40 years; see above on Lk 3^{23}, p. 405^a.

d. A secure result being thus established from the Gospels for the length of the Ministry, want of space compels the omission of the section on the evidence of antiquity,—evidence the less essential that it is wholly secondary, being based on deductions, some correct, some incorrect, from the Scriptures themselves. Suffice it to say briefly, that among ante-Nicene writers, against the evidence for a single year of the Ptolemæan Valentinians, the *Clementine Homilies* (xvii. 19), Clem. Al. (*Strom.* i. 145, vi. 279), Julius Africanus (Routh, *Rel. Sac.* ii. pp. 240, 306), Hippolytus' later works (*Paschal Cycle* and *Chronicle*), and Origen's earlier (*in Levit. Hom.* ix. 5, *de Princ.* iv. 5), are to be set, for a two to three years' Ministry, Melito (Routh, *Rel. Sac.* i. p. 121), Heracleon (to judge from his interpreting Jn 4^{35} of winter), Tatian's *Diatessaron*, Hippolytus' *Fourth Book on Daniel*, and Origen (*c. Celsum* ii. 12, *Comm. in Matt.* xxiv. 15, and probably in the lost *Comm. on Is.* xxix. 1). No writer before Eusebius maintains a three to four years' Ministry.

E. THE DATE OF THE CRUCIFIXION.—**a.** The Four Gospels.—1. *The dating by officials: α*, the governor; *β*, the high priest.

α. All the Gospels besides the Acts and Pastoral Epistles name Pilate (Pontius Pilate in Mt 27^{2}, Ac 4^{27}, 1 Ti 6^{13}) as the governor before whom Christ was tried. His tenure of the procuratorship is approximately fixed by Josephus, *Ant.* XVIII. ii. 2, iv. 2: (1) he came as successor to Valerius Gratus, whose eleven years, since they fell wholly under Tiberius, must have extended at least to A.D. 25; (2) he left after ten years of office, and was still on his way to Rome when Tiberius died, March A.D. 37, so that he can hardly have reached Palestine before A.D. 27; and as Lk 13^{1} 23^{12} (not to speak of Lk 3^{1}) show that he was not quite newly come at the time of the Crucifixion, the possible passovers for the latter are reduced to nine, A.D. 28–36.

β. As high priest Caiaphas is named by St. Matthew ($26^{3.\,57}$), and so emphatically by St. John (11^{49} $18^{13.\,24}$) as to suggest that he is correcting the less technically accurate statement of St. Luke, who includes under the title both Caiaphas and his sometime previously deposed predecessor Annas (3^{2} *ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Ἄννα καὶ Καιάφα*; but in Ac 4^{6} Annas to the exclusion of Caiaphas, *Ἄννας ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ Καιάφας*). Caiaphas was appointed under Valerius Gratus before Pilate's time. He was deposed by Vitellius, legate of Syria, on the occasion of a visit to Jerus. for the passover, the year of which can be established within certain limits, for (1) his successor Jonathan was deposed by the same Vitellius during another visit for one of the festivals of A.D. 37—probably Pentecost,* since the news of Tiberius' death on March 16 arrived at the same time; at latest, therefore, Caiaphas' deposition was at the passover of A.D. 36, and the Crucifixion at the passover of A.D. 35; (2) the death of Herod Philip in the 20th year of Tiberius, A.D. 33–34, is mentioned by Josephus a page or two after the account of Caiaphas' removal, with the fairly precise indication *τότε*, 'at that time,' so that, if this order of events is correct, the Passover of A.D. 34 is the *terminus ad quem* for Caiaphas, and that of A.D. 33 for the Crucifixion. See Josephus, *Ant.* XVIII. ii. 2, iv. 3–v. 3.

The Crucifixion under Pilate and Caiaphas can hardly then lie outside the years A.D. 28–33.

2. *The dating by the calendar*: *α*, the day of the week; *β*, the day of the (Jewish) month.

α. Since the Resurrection admittedly falls on the first day of the week, Sunday, the Crucifixion, which was according to Jewish reckoning on the 'third day' before, took place on a Friday. No proof of this would be needed were it not that it has been strangely suggested (by Westcott, *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*^{2}, appendix to ch. vi. p. 348) that the day of the Crucifixion was not Friday but Thursday, on the ground of the prediction that the Son of man was to be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth, Mt 12^{40}. But against this view tradition and the NT are equally decisive: (1) The Wednesday and Friday fast is now traced back as far as the *Didache*, 8^{1}. (2) The most common NT phrase for the day of the Resurrection in comparison with the Crucifixion is *τῇ τρίτῃ* (Gospels eight times, besides 1 Co 15^{4}), which in Gr. never did or could mean anything but 'on the second day,' whether the day after to-morrow or the day before yesterday; cf. Lk 13^{32}, Ac $27^{18.\,19}$, Ex $19^{10.\,11}$, 1 Mac 9^{44}. Even the apparently stronger phrases *μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας* (Mk 8^{31}, Mt $27^{63.\,64}$) and *τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ τρεῖς νύκτας* (Mt 12^{40}), mean exactly the same thing; cf. Gn $42^{17.\,18}$ *καὶ ἔθετο αὐτοὺς ἐν φυλακῇ ἡμέρας τρεῖς· εἶπεν*

---

* If it had been the passover, Josephus would probably have mentioned the fact, as he does on the previous occasion of Caiaphas' deposition. If the passover of A.D. 37 fell on March 20–21, Pentecost was about May 8–9, seven to eight weeks after Tiberius' death.

δὲ αὐτοῖς τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ, Est 4^{16} *μὴ φάγητε μηδὲ πίητε ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τρεῖς νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν*, taken up in 5^{1} (=15^{4} Vulg.) *καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ . . . περιεβάλετο τὴν δόξαν αὐτῆς*. (These exx. mostly from Field's admirable note on Mt 16^{21}—misprinted ^{12}—in his *Otium Norvicense*, iii. p. 7.)

β. But the day of the week must be combined with the day of the month before any further results can be attained. On what day, then, of the (Jewish) month did the Crucifixion fall?

The passover was kept at the full moon of Nisan, the first month of the Jewish ecclesiastical year; and the months being lunar and commencing with the new moon, the full moon fell about the 15th. On the 14th, in the afternoon, the paschal lamb was killed, Ex 12^{6} explained by Josephus, *BJ* VI. ix. 3, *ἀπὸ ἐνάτης ὥρας μέχρις ἐνδεκάτης*, and Philo (ed. Mangey, ii. 292) *κατὰ μεσημβρίαν ἕως ἑσπέρας*; it was eaten on the evening of the same natural day, but as the Jewish day began at sunset, that was already Nisan 15. On the 16th the first-fruits of the barley harvest were offered or 'waved' before the Lord (Lv 23$^{11.15}$; Jos. *Ant.* III. x. 5). The whole feast of unleavened bread lasted seven days, from the 15th to the 21st inclusive.

Whether the Crucifixion fell on the 14th or on the 15th, whether (that is) the passover by a few hours followed it or preceded it, has always been a question. For the present purpose, however, it is only an important one in so far as it may happen that in any one of the possible years Friday might be reconcilable with one but not with the other of the two days. But the observation of the Jewish months often cannot be restored with such absolute certainty that if Friday could be Nisan 14 in any particular year it could not be Nisan 15, or *vice versâ*. Moreover, the arguments on each side (unlike most of the points treated hitherto) are well represented in accessible authorities: see in favour of the 14th—Sanday, *Authorship and Historical Character of the Fourth Gospel*, ch. xii., or Westcott, *Introduction to the Gospels*, appendix to ch. vi.: for the 15th—Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, ii. 479–482; Lewin, *Fasti Sacri*, p. xxxi; M'Clellan, *New Testament*, pp. 473–494. No more then need be said here upon the Gospels than that, while *primâ facie* the evidence of St. John tells for the 14th and that of the Synoptists for the 15th, indications are not wanting in the synoptic narrative (*e.g.* the episodes of Simon of Cyrene and of the deposition from the Cross, Mk 15$^{21.42.46}$) which confirm the Johannine view. Probably, here as elsewhere St. John in repeatedly implying that the passover was still future (13^{1} *πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα*, 13^{29} *ἀγόρασον ὧν χρείαν ἔχομεν εἰς τὴν ἑορτήν*, 18^{28} *ἵνα μὴ μιανθῶσιν ἀλλὰ φάγωσιν τὸ πάσχα*) is intending to correct silently a false impression to which other accounts had, or might have, given rise.*

For the decisive evidence of Christian antiquity, reaching back probably to St. Paul himself, in favour of Nisan 14, see below, p. 412.

In which years, then, between the already established limits A.D. 28–33, could Friday have fallen on the 14th—regard being also had to the less probable 15th—of Nisan?

The matter is not so simple as it looks; for it is never possible to be certain which day was reckoned as the new moon or first of any given month, and not always possible to be certain which month was reckoned as the Nisan or first of any given year.

(1) How was the beginning of a Jewish month fixed? Theoretically, no doubt, by simple observation; and since astronomers can calculate the true time of conjunction for any new moon, it is possible, by adding so many hours (not less than about 30) for the crescent to become visible, and by taking the first sunset after that, to know when each month ought to have begun, if the Jewish observations were accurately made. But what was to happen when observation was impossible? Was the new month to be put off as long as every night happened to be cloudy? Were the Jews of the dispersion from Babylon to Rome to be left ignorant on what day the new month was commencing in Jerusalem? Empiric methods must have been qualified by the permanent rules of some sort of calendar. It must at least have been recognised that, the average length of a lunation being 29½ days, no month could be less than 29 or more than 30 days.

The subjoined table (cf. Salmon, *Introd. to NT.* appendix to Lect. xv.; Mas Latrie, *Trésor de Chronologie*, p. 94) gives, first, the *terminus paschalis* or 14th of the paschal moon according to the present Christian calendar; secondly, the beginning of the 14th day, reckoned from the time of the astronomical new moon of Nisan; and thirdly, the fourteenth day, reckoned from the first appearance of the new moon at sunset (it being remembered that the Jewish day began at that hour)—

A.D. 28	Sa. 27 M.	28 M., 2 a.m.	(29-) 30 M.
29	F. 15 A.	15 A., 8 p.m.	(17-) 18 A.
30	Tu. 4 A.	4 A., 8 p.m.	(6-) 7 A.
31	Sa. 24 M.	25 M., 1 a.m.	(26-) 27 M.
32	Sa. 12 A.	11 A., 11 p.m.	(13-) 14 A.
33	W. 1 A.	1 A., 1 p.m.	(2-) 3 A.
			or (3-) 4 A.

The first and third columns may safely be taken to represent the possible extremes in any year, and it will be seen at once that Friday cannot have fallen on Nisan 14 or 15 in the three years A.D. 28, 31, 32—in each of these the choice lies from Saturday to Monday or Tuesday for the 14th, and from Sunday to Tuesday or Wednesday for the 15th—and must be sought for therefore in one of the remaining years, A.D. 29, 30, 33.

(2) But how is it certain that the full moons just given were those of Nisan rather than of some other month?

Nisan was originally that lunation before the middle of which the first ears of barley harvest were ripe (Dt 16^{9}, Lv 23^{10}); and if, when the previous month Adar ended, the earliest barley was not within a fortnight of being ripe, a 13th month, Veadar, was intercalated. But as with the month, so also for the commencement of each year, a systematic calendar must soon have replaced simple observation, for strangers from the Dispersion could not visit Jerus. for the passover unless they knew beforehand whether a 13th month were to be intercalated or not. Such a method as was wanted for correlating the lunar months with the solar year exists in the still familiar rule that the paschal full moon is that immediately following the spring equinox; and this was certainly in use—nor is there any trace of any rival system of harmonization—before the Christian era.*

But the equinox itself, though the reckoning of it varied only within narrow limits, was not an absolutely fixed point. The computation ultimately accepted by the whole Christian world, that of the Alexandrians of the 4th cent., fixed it on March 21. But Anatolius of Laodicea (see the passage of his *κανόνες τοῦ πάσχα*, A.D. 277, preserved in Eus. *HE* vii. 32), assigning the first new moon of the first year of his cycle to Phamenoth 26 =a.d. xi kal. Apr.=March 22, says that the sun is then already in the 4th day of the first *τμῆμα* (or 12th part of his annual course from equinox to equinox), which he therefore placed on March 19. Moreover, according to the same authority, there were those who, disregarding the equinoctial limit, erroneously took for the paschal month what was really not the first month of one year but the last of the preceding—and that against the testimony of the old Jewish authorities, Philo, Josephus, Musæus, and the still earlier Agathobuli and Aristobulus. Who these people were whom he is attacking, Anatolius in the extant fragment does not say; but the evidence of various 4th cent. writers makes it all but certain that they were the Jews of his day. The Encyclical Letter of Constantine at Nicæa dissuades from imitation of the Jewish pascha, celebrated as it is 'twice in one year': the *Apostolic Constitutions* recommend independence of Jewish calculations and careful attention to the equinox, lest the feast should recur 'twice in one year'—*i.e.* once rightly, just after the one spring equinox, and once wrongly, just before the next; and the Paschal Homily of pseudo-Chrysostom (A.D. 387) appeals from the contemporary Jews and their neglect of the equinox to their wise men of antiquity, Philo, Josephus, and others, in terms which seem to be borrowed direct from Anatolius. (Socrates, *HE* i. 9; *Apost. Const.* v. 17; Chrysostom, ed. Bened. viii. Appendix, p. 277; cf., too, Epiphanius, *Hær.* l. 3.)

It is quite likely that this supposed error of the Jews simply meant that they reckoned the equinox earlier than their Christian contemporaries, better equipped in astronomical knowledge, had learned to do; with the result that the Jews would be sometimes keeping the passover when the Christians, holding that the equinox was not yet past, waited for the next full moon. In any case the farther back the Church's paschal calculations can be traced, the earlier does the equinox appear to have been set. Anatolius himself put it two days before the Alexandrian reckoning, just as Hippolytus, the first known author of a Christian cycle (A.D. 222), put it a day before Anatolius. And both Jews and Christians of primitive times may quite possibly have reckoned it a day earlier even than the March 18 of Hippolytus.

---

* The regular synoptic use of *τὸ πάσχα* for the supper on the evening of Nisan 13–14 is possibly illustrated by passages in Philo, *περὶ τῆς ἑβδομῆς καὶ τῶν ἑορτῶν*, which seem to distinguish the *πάσχα* of the 14th from the *ἄζυμα* of the 15th–21st (ii. 278, 292, 293): *e.g.* (1) *τετάρτη δὲ [ἑορτὴ] τῶν διαβατηρίων ἣ καλεῖται πάσχα· πέμπτη δὲ ἡ τῶν ἀσταχύων ἀπαρχή, τὸ ἱερὸν δράγμα· ἕκτη δὲ ἄζυμα.* (2) *ἄγεται δὲ ἡ πάνδημος θυσία τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ τοῦ μηνός.* (3) *συνάπτει δὲ τοῖς διαβατηρίοις ἑορτὴ . . . ἄζυμα.* Does St. Mark, *ἦν δὲ τὸ πάσχα καὶ τὰ ἄζυμα μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας* (14^{1}), imply a consciousness of this distinction? Contrast, however, Mt 26^{17}, Mk 14^{12}, Lk 22$^{1.7}$.

* Philo (*op. cit.* ii. 293) connects the title of 'first month' given to Nisan in the OT with the concurrence of the spring equinox as an annual reminder of the beginning of all things; and see below for the catena of Jewish authorities appealed to by Anatolius, who quotes the actual language of 'Aristobulus, one of the Seventy.'

Now, in the list of the six passovers of A.D. 28–33 there was one year, A.D. 29, in which the new moon of Nisan is placed as late as April 2, 8 p.m., and the 14th as late as April 15–18; but the argument of the last two paragraphs shows that the previous lunation, if its new moon fell in the early hours of March 4 and its 14th on March 17–19, has an equal or superior claim to be considered the month of Nisan. The 14th in this case, if it fell on March 18, would actually be a Friday; and March 18 is really the most probable of the alternatives. It is true that calculation from the *phasis* of the new moon after sunset would make Nisan 1 = March 6, Nisan 14 = March 19. But the caution has already been given that simple observation must have been superseded before A.D. 29 by calendar rules; and one of these rules, which may well go back to our Lord's time, was that Adar never consisted of more than 29 days; Nisan therefore commenced a day sooner in relation to the new moon than if it had followed a month of 30 days, so that in this year Nisan 1 would rather be March 5. Suppose, further, that the equinox was calculated one day earlier than by Hippolytus, two days earlier than by Anatolius, and Nisan 14 = March 18, A.D. 29, satisfies the equinoctial limit also.

Three years then, A.D. 29, 30, 33, satisfy the Gospel evidence for the date of the Crucifixion: and the choice between them must now be made by recourse to other authorities.

b. Tradition outside the Gospels.

1. *The Jewish Date.*—Though the evidence obtained from these supplementary sources deals, as a rule, with Roman or other civil computations, the question as between Nisan 14 and 15 is definitely answered by a continuous chain of tradition from the 1st cent. to the 4th.

St. Paul wrote his First Epistle to the Corinthians about passover-time (5^8 *ὥστε ἑορτάζωμεν*, cf. 16^8), and paschal symbolism underlies his allusions both to the Crucifixion, 5^7 *ἐκκαθάρατε τὴν παλαιὰν ζύμην . . . καὶ γὰρ τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν ἐτύθη Χριστός*, and to the Resurrection, 15^{20} *νυνὶ δὲ Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων*. On Nisan 14 and 16, then, the days of the sacrifice of the passover and of the offering of the first-fruits, St. Paul's Churches appear to have kept the memorials of the Crucifixion and of the Resurrection. In the next century the Quartodecimans, as their name implies, observed Nisan 14, not 15: the theory of the Tübingen school, that what these Johannine Churches observed on the 14th was not the Crucifixion but the Last Supper, is too preposterous to call for refutation. Definite testimony for the 14th, from lost writings of three 'holy Fathers of the Church,' is quoted in the *Paschal Chronicle* (A.D. 641: ed. Ducange, pp. 6, 7). (i.) Claudius Apollinaris of Hierapolis, *c.* A.D. 180, in his *περὶ τοῦ πάσχα λόγος* accused of ignorance those who connected the 14th, not with the true Lord's passover, the great Sacrifice, but with the Last Supper,[*] and put the Crucifixion on the 15th, on the supposed authority of St. Matthew's Gospel: a view, he says, which is out of harmony with the law,—apparently because the paschal lamb is an OT type of Christ,—and sets the Gospels at variance with one another, obviously because St. John was admitted to give the quartodeciman date. (ii.) Clement of Alexandria, in a work bearing the same title, contrasted the years before the Ministry, when Christ ate the Jewish passover, with the year of his preaching, when he did not eat it, but suffered on the 14th, being himself the paschal Lamb of God, and rose on the third day [the 16th], on which the Law commanded the priest to offer the sheaf of first-fruits. (iii.) Hippolytus of Portus, in his *De pascha* and *Adv. omnes hæreses* [to be distinguished from the now recovered longer treatise, *Refutatio omnium hæresium*], asserted that Christ ate a supper before the passover, but not the legal passover: *οὗτος γὰρ ἦν τὸ Πάσχα τὸ προκεκηρυγμένον καὶ τελειούμενον τῇ ὡρισμένῃ ἡμέρᾳ.*

Of other early writers Irenæus (IV. x. 1) is hardly clear; but Tertullian (*adv. Jud.* 8)[*] seems to imply Nisan 14. Africanus is quite unambiguous, *πρὸ δὲ τῆς μιᾶς τοῦ πάσχα τὰ περὶ τὸν Σωτῆρα συνέβη* (*Chronicon*, fr. 50 *ap.* Routh, *Rel. Sac.* ii. 297). Even as late as the end of the 4th cent. three writers, all specialists on chronology, can still be cited on the same side: Epiphanius, *Hær.* l. 2, *ἔδει γὰρ τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ θύεσθαι*; Ps.-Chrysostom (A.D. 387: ed. Bened. viii. App. p. 281), the Crucifixion fulfils the Mosaic ordinance that the lamb should be sacrificed between the evenings on the 14th; Julius Hilarianus (A.D. 397: *de die paschæ et mensis* XV, *ap.* Gallandi, viii. 748), the sacrifice of a lamb from the flock is replaced by the sacrifice of the Lord Christ himself on *luna xiv.* Add to these Anon. in Cramer's *Catena in Mt.* p. 237, and Orosius, *Hist.* vii. 4. 15, the darkness took place *ἐν τῇ ιδ′ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς σελήνης*, *quartam decimam ea die lunam*, as well as the *Paschal Chronicle* itself and the *σύντομος διήγησις*, an Egyptian system incorporated in it (ed. Ducange, pp. 221, 225).

But by this time the opposite view, which first emerges in the 3rd cent.—in the West, Ps.-Cyprian, *Computus de pascha* (A.D. 243: Hartel's *Cyprian*, iii. 248), § 9 *manducavit pascha*, § 21 *passus est luna xv*; in the East, Origen on Mt 26^{17} (Delarue, iii. 895), *Iesus celebravit more Iudaico pascha corporaliter . . . quoniam . . . factus est sub lege*—was beginning to be the prevalent one. So certainly Ambrose, *ad epp. Æmiliæ* (*c.* A.D. 386: ed. Bened. ii. 880), Chrysostom (*e.g. Hom. in Mt.* lxxxii. ed. Field, ii. 461, the passover superseded by the Eucharist, *τὸ κεφάλαιον τῶν ἑορτῶν αὐτῶν καταλύει ἐφ' ἑτέραν αὐτοὺς μετατιθεὶς τράπεζαν*), Proterius of Alexandria, *ad Papam Leonem* (A.D. 444, printed as ep. cxxxiii. in the Ballerini Leo) *xiv luna mensis primi . . . pascha manducans . . . sequenti die xv luna crucifigitur*; and probably Theophilus of Alexandria, *ad Theodosium Imp.* iv. (A.D. 386: Gallandi, vii. 615); for though the Greek has *τῇ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκαταίᾳ*, the Latin *decimaquinta* tallies with Ambrose and Proterius, who both appear to be borrowing from Theophilus.

This later view appears to be derived from the use of *πάσχα* in the Synoptic Gospels: Origen, its most influential supporter, is directly commenting on the text of St. Matthew. On the other hand, none of the earlier witnesses for the 14th, save Apollinaris, the champion of the Johannine Churches of Asia Minor, appeal to St. John's Gospel; rather they represent an independent and decisive confirmation of it by the living voice of primitive tradition.

---

[*] Strictly, of course, the Last Supper and the Crucifixion were on the same Jewish day; but early Christian usage soon began to use, even for these days of the lunar month, not the Jewish reckoning from sunset to sunset, but the ordinary reckoning from midnight to midnight. Apollinaris distinguishes the two days just in the same way as Clement puts the washing of the feet on the 13th, the Passion on the 14th.

[*] In favour of the genuineness of chs. 1–8 of this treatise see Fuller *Dict. Christ. Biogr.* iv. 827^b; Harnack *Gesch. der altchr. Litteratur*, i. 671: against, Burkitt *Old Latin and Itala*, pp 6, 7.

2. *The civil year* may be identified either by the consuls or by the regnal years of the emperor; less frequently by reckoning from some one of the special eras in use in the East, such as the Olympiads or the era of Alexander (otherwise called of the Greeks), B.C. 312.

α. The earliest authority who appears to have fixed the Crucifixion by implication to a definite year is the pagan annalist Phlegon, whose 'chronological collection on the Olympiads' ranged from Ol. 1. 1 (B.C. 776) down to the times of Hadrian, A.D. 117-138. A general account of the work is given by the patriarch Photius (*cod.* 97), though even he failed to get beyond the fifth book, or about B.C. 170. Photius summarizes the last chapter which he read, as a sample of the style and contents of the whole, concluding that 'the reader gets regularly bored with the lists of names and of victors in the Olympic contests, and with the excessive and unseasonable details about prodigies and prophecies, which crowd out all real history.' Probably it was this interest in the marvellous which led Phlegon to mention the predictions of Jesus Christ, though his knowledge was so vague that, if Origen's phrase is rightly understood, he confused the personalities (or perhaps only the miracles) of Christ and of St. Peter (*c. Cels.* ii. 14, *συγχυθεὶς ἐν τοῖς περὶ Πέτρου ὡς περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ*).

What gives him his interest for the present purpose is that he recorded under Ol. 202. 4 (A.D. 32-33) the darkness which accompanied the Crucifixion; though, since the evidence is at second or even at third hand, it is difficult to disentangle his actual words. (i.) The reference in the middle of a fragment quoted by Syncellus from the *Chronicon* of Julius Africanus (Fr. 50; Routh, *Rel. Sac.* ii. 297, 477) is, as Routh has seen, probably an interpolation due to Syncellus' confused recollections of Eusebius. (ii.) The earliest genuine allusions are two in Origen: *c. Cels.* ii. 33, Phlegon recorded in the 13th or 14th book of his *Chronicles* the eclipse under Tiberius and the great earthquakes of that time: *Comm. in Mt.* 134 (Delarue, iii. 922), heathen opponents urge that an eclipse, such as the Gospels mention,* cannot possibly take place at full moon,—Phlegon recorded, indeed, an eclipse under Tiberius, but not an eclipse at full moon. (iii.) But though he did not mention the full moon in so many words, an *Anonymus* in Cramer's *Catenæ in Mt.* p. 237—followed by pseudo-Origen *in Mt.* (see Routh, *op. cit.* 479)—does assert that he related the eclipse as a marvel, *παραδόξως γεγονότος*, and the Christian writer naturally understood by the 'paradox' the coincidence with the full moon. (iv.) A further restoration of Phlegon is possible from the *Chronicle* of Eusebius as represented in the Armenian version, in Jerome's Latin version, and in the quotations of George Syncellus. 'In the same year as the Crucifixion (*i.e.* Tiberius 19; see below) the following notice occurs in pagan historians: "the sun was eclipsed; an earthquake occurred in Bithynia, and most of Nicæa fell to the ground": still more precisely Phlegon, the celebrated chronologer of the Olympiads, registers in his 13th book, under Ol. 202. 4 [A.D. 32-33], "an eclipse of the sun more striking than any previously on record, for it became night at the sixth hour of the day, so that stars were visible in the heavens; and a great earthquake in Bithynia overthrew most of Nicæa."' Obviously, these two quotations are not independent of one another; the first and more general looks like a summary by some intermediate writer of the same passage from Phlegon which Eusebius then transcribes direct and in full.

That Phlegon was here drawing again on Christian sources, whether the canonical Gospels or not, appears not to have been suspected by Origen or Eusebius, but in face of the mention of the '6th hour' cannot admit of doubt. It does not, however, follow that he borrowed the year also from them; for an annalist, if he has not found a precise date in his authorities, is bound to invent one. If he ascribed the portents of the Crucifixion to the 202nd Olympiad simply, A.D. 29-33, he would not stand in manifest contradiction to the other early evidence. But if he really fixed them particularly to the 4th year, A.D. 33, he is the only witness before Eusebius' time to do so; and in that case the most probable hypothesis is that he knew from his Christian authorities no more (and from the Gospels as they stand he could hardly have learned more) than that the Crucifixion fell in the latter part of Tiberius' reign, and fixed on A.D. 33 because he may have already found reason to select that year for the Bithynian earthquake.

Eusebius, however, found Phlegon's date harmonize admirably with his own theory of the length of the Ministry, and so his *Chronicle* assigns the Baptist's mission (after Lk 3^1) to Tiberius 15, the mission of Christ to Tiberius 16, and the Passion to Tiberius 19 (A.D. 33).† The latter item is guaranteed both by Syncellus, *ἔτους ιθʹ τῆς Τιβερίου βασιλείας*, and by the Armenian; Jerome, no doubt because he allotted to the Ministry only two to three years, and not like Eusebius three to four, substitutes Tiberius 18.

β. Far more important is the tradition—found, it is true, in no extant authority as ancient as Phlegon, but found in so many authorities that the common source must ascend to a remote antiquity—which fixes the Crucifixion in the consulship of the two Gemini, or in the 15th or the 16th year of Tiberius, or in the year 340 of the Greeks.

L. Rubellius Geminus and C. Fufius (or Rufius, or Rufus. or Fusius) Geminus were the consuls of A.D. 29. The Seleucid era (era of Alexander, era of the Greeks) commences Sept. B.C. 312, so that its 340th year runs from Sept. A.D. 28 to Sept. A.D. 29. But this same spring of A.D. 29 can be reckoned, according to different methods of calculation, as belonging either to the 15th or 16th year of Tiberius, who succeeded Augustus in Aug. A.D. 14, so that, on the strict reckoning, the passover falling in his 15th year will be that of A.D. 29. But the imperial year might sometimes be adjusted to the calendar year—to which corresponded the consul's tenure of office, Jan. 1 to Dec. 31—by beginning a second imperial year on the first New Year's day of each reign: compare the practice of Trajan and his successors in commencing a 2nd year of *tribunicia potestas* on the annual inauguration day of new tribunes next after their accession (Lightfoot, *Ignatius*^{1}, ii. 398). In this case the 15th year would be exactly equivalent to A.D. 28, the 16th to A.D. 29. Or again, the example of the chronographers suggests that the converse might be done and the fractional year simply omitted, each emperor's first year beginning on some fixed day: thus, for instance, it will be shown (see below in part ii. of this article, THE APOSTOLIC AGE, under Felix and Festus, p. 418) that Eusebius appears to commence each emperor's 1st year in the Sept. following his accession. Either year then is compatible—but the 15th more normally—with the spring of A.D. 29, under the consulship of the Gemini.*

(i.) Clement of Alexandria, 'With the 15th year of Tiberius and 15th of Augustus, so are completed the 30 years to the Passion; and from the Passion to the destruction of Jerusalem are 42 years 3 months,' *Strom.* i. 147 (Potter, i. 407). (ii.) Origen, perhaps copying Clement, 'If you examine the chronology of the Passion and of the fall of Jerusalem . . . from Tiberius 15 to the razing of the temple, 42 years are completed,' *Hom. in Hierem.* xiv. 13 (*c.* A.D. 245; Delarue, iii. 217), and compare *c. Cels.* iv. 22. (iii.) Tertullian, 'In the 15th year of [Tiberius'] reign Christ suffered'; 'the Passion . . . under Tiberius Cæsar in the consulship of Rubellius Geminus and Rufius [*al.* Fufius] Geminus,' *adv. Jud.* 8 (but the authorship is doubtful). (iv.) Hippolytus, in his early 4th book on Daniel (ed. Bratke, p. 19), gives two irreconcilable data, Tiberius 18 [=A.D. 31, 32] and the consulship of 'Rufus and Rubellio,' the former doubtless his own combination of a three years' Ministry (for he also says that Christ suffered in his 33rd year, *loc. cit.*) with St. Luke's 15 Tiberius, the latter already traditional; and this year, 29 A.D., alone reappears in his other works. His *Chronicle* (*Chronica Minora*, ed. Mommsen, I. i. p. 131) reckons 206 years from the Passion to the 13th of Alexander Severus, A.D. 234-235; his *Paschal Cycle* marks the 32nd year as that of the Passion, and since it was a recurring cycle of 112 years beginning in A.D. 222, the 32nd year will be equivalent to A.D. 253, or 141, or 29 (v.) Julius Africanus, as represented in the Greek of Eusebius' *Demonstratio Evangelica* and *Eclogæ Propheticæ*, and in that of Syncellus—Routh, *Rel. Sac.* ii. pp. 301, 302, 304—wrote Tiberius 16, as represented in the Lat. of Jerome, *Comm. in Dan.* ix. (Vallarsi, v. 683), Tiberius 15; but since all authorities agree in the equation to Ol. 202. 2 [=A.D. 30, 31], it is practically certain that the 16th is correct. (vi.) Pseudo-Cyprian, *Computus de Pascha*, 20 (A.D. 243: Hartel, iii. 267) places the Passion of Christ in the 31st year of his age, and 16th of Tiberius Cæsar's reign. (vii.) Lactantius, *Div. inst.* IV. x. 18, 'In the 5th of Tiberius, that is, the consulship of the two Gemini'; *Mort. pers.* 2, 'in the consulship of the two Gemini.' (viii.) The Abgar legend as given in Eusebius, *HE* i. 13, dates the Resurrection and the preaching of Thaddæus in the 340th year [*i.e.* of the Greeks: A.D. 28-29]. (ix.) Of one other authority, the apocr. Gospel narrative entitled 'Acts of Pilate,' the value turns entirely on the date of its composition, and on the true reading of its chronology of the Crucifixion; and both these points call for fuller discussion.

Date of the Acts of Pilate.—Tischendorf, the latest editor (*Evangelia Apocrypha*, ed. 2, 1876, pp. 312-410), concludes for the beginning of the 2nd cent.; Lipsius, the latest critic (*Die Pilatus-Acten*, 1886, pp. 33, 40), 'not before about the middle of the 4th,' 'probably in the reign of Julian' (A.D. 361-363). Appeal is made to these Acts for the *day* of the Crucifixion by pseudo-Chrysostom (A.D. 387: ed. Bened. viii. App. p. 277); so, too, Epiphanius (A.D. 376: *Hær* l. 1) states that certain of the Quartodecimans commemorated the Passion always on March 25 in deference to these Acts, though he himself had found copies of them where the date given was not March 25 but March 18. Now, if in A.D. 376 these Acts were being claimed as the authoritative sanction for a practice unique in the Christian world, and if there existed already divergent traditions of the text on this very point for which they were cited, they must surely have had at that date a history behind them. So far from having been written under Julian, a presumption is raised that they are earlier than the lost Acts published under the same title by the apostate Theotecnus (minister of the persecutor Maximin Daza: Mason, *Persecution of Diocletian*, pp. 321–323), who perhaps drew from them the idea of his own forgery. That, as Lipsius has shown, the chronological prologue bears in all the extant authorities clear traces of Eusebius' influence, proves no more than that these Acts, like so many other *apocrypha*, were subject to successive recastings. Nor are the arguments by which Harnack (*Chronologie*, pp. 603–612) reinforces Lipsius at all conclusive. On the other hand, the treatment of the charge ἐκ πορνείας γεγέννηται seems to speak strongly for an early date; for even if Theotecnus revived the scandal, which is possible enough, a Christian counterblast would have used far stronger language than do the extant Acts about the virginity of the Mother of our Lord. The author was not improbably a second-century Palestinian of Ebionite tendencies.

---

* Mt 27^{45}=Mk 15^{33} simply *σκότος ἐγένετο*; but in Lk 23^{44} the true text appears to add *τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλείποντος* with ℵBCL, both Egyptian versions, Origen $^2/_3$ (rather $^3/_3$) and Cyril of Jerusalem $^4/_4$.

† On Eusebius' reckoning of imperial years see immediately below.

* But the 16th year—see below under Africanus and pseudo-Cyprian—may also be a combination of Lk 3^1 (Tib. 15; as giving the beginning, not of the Baptist's ministry only, but of Christ's, with the estimate of one year for the duration of the Ministry to which both these writers adhered. Julius Hilarianus, however (*infra*, p. 414^{a}), gives both Tiberius 16 and A.D. 29.

Chronology of the Acts of Pilate.—Tischendorf's text of the prologue translated runs: 'In the 15th year [so with two Greek MSS; two others and one of the two Armenian recensions—see Conybeare's edition, *Studia Biblica*, iv., Oxford, 1896—give '18th'; the Latin, the second Armenian, and apparently the Coptic have '19th'] of the government of Tiberius Cæsar, emperor of the Romans, and of Herod, king of Galilee, in the 19th year of his rule, on the 8th before the kalends of April, which is the 25th of March, in the consulship of Rufus and Rubellio, in the 4th year of the 202nd Olympiad, Joseph Caiaphas being high priest of the Jews.' Undeniably, the references to Tiberius 19, to Herod and his 19th year, to Ol. 202. 4, are derived from Eusebius' *Chronicle*; but these may be due to later revision, and there are other data, the 15th of Tiberius, the two Gemini, the 25th or 18th of March, which are as certainly not Eusebian, though the consulship at least is as constant a factor in the different versions as the year of Herod or the Olympiad. Considering how many vicissitudes befell all early Christian literature, how just the apocryphal Gospels would be picked out to satisfy the demand for sacred books in Diocletian's persecution, how easily each generation (all the more that exuberant fancies were allowed no play upon the canonical records) would embellish such material by aid of the newest lights, it is no unreasonable hypothesis that a 'Eusebian' recension has influenced all existing copies, while two of them still betray in their '15th of Tiberius' a relic of the unrevised document in a point where the redactor has most certainly been at work. On this view no more is original than 'In the 15th year of Tiberius, on the 8th [more probably 15th, see below] before the kalends of April, in the consulship of Rufus and Rubellio, in the high priesthood of Joseph Caiaphas.'

Here, then, are nine ante-Nicene authorities, of whom four ('Tert.', Hipp., Lact., Act.-Pil.) give the consulship of the Gemini, four (Clem., Or., 'Tert.', Act.-Pil.) Tiberius 15, two (Afr., Ps.-Cypr.) Tiberius 16. Five post-Nicene Western authorities on the same side need simply be catalogued: *Liberian Chronicle* (A.D. 354; Lightfoot, *Clement*, i. 253) 'under Tiberius, consuls the two Gemini, March 25'; Julius Hilarianus, *De mundi duratione* xvi., and *De die paschæ et mensis* xv (both A.D. 397; Gallandi, viii. 238, 748), 'Tiberius 16,' but *De mund. dur.* xvii., also '369 years from the Passion to the consulate of Cæsarius and Atticus' [A.D. 397], which clearly cannot mean anything later than A.D. 29; Sulpicius Severus, *Chronica*, ii. 27 (A.D. 401), 'Herod 18, consuls Fufius Geminus and Rubellius Geminus,' where the Herod date must be from Jerome's version (A.D. 378) of Eusebius' *Chronicle*; Augustine, *De civ. Dei* xviii. 54, 'consuls the two Gemini, March 25'; Prosper Tiro, *Chronicon* (A.D. 433: *Chronica Minora*, ed. Mommsen, I. ii. p. 409), distinguishes what *quidam ferunt*, *i.e.* Jerome's chronology, from the *usitatior traditio* of 'Tiberius 15, consuls the two Gemini.' The Western Church, then, during the century A.D. 350–450, notwithstanding the authority of Jerome's *Chronicle*, still upheld the traditional date for the Crucifixion in A.D. 29.

γ. (i.) Of divergent notices, the earliest after Phlegon—not counting Hippolytus' 18th of Tiberius, since he himself discarded it—is again from a heathen writing, the Acts of Pilate by Theotecnus. Eusebius (*HE* i. 9) thought it enough proof of forgery that they ascribed the Crucifixion to Tiberius' 4th consulship, for this fell in the 7th year only of his reign [A.D. 21], and Pilate did not even reach Judæa till the 12th. But Lipsius (*l.c.* p. 31) points out that Tiberius' next consulship in A.D. 31, though Eusebius reckoned it the 5th, is the 4th in the *Fasti Idatiani* (the common ground-work of the consular lists in Epiphanius and the *Paschal Chronicle*), so that Theotecnus may really have meant, not A.D. 21 but A.D. 31. (ii.) Of Eusebius' *Chronicle*, both in the original and (iii.) in Jerome's version, mention was made in connexion with Phlegon; of its followers there is no need to speak. (iv.) Epiphanius (A.D. 376; *Hær.* li. 22–25) writes out in full a consular list from his date for the Nativity, Jan. B.C. 2, to his date for the Baptism, Nov. A.D. 28.* Beyond this point the Ministry extends over two complete consulships, the one that of the two Gemini, the second that of Rufus and Rubellio, and closes only in the third, that of Vinicius and Longinus Cassius. Obviously intending to come down to March A.D. 31, he has, by the error—gross even for him—of splitting into two the single pair of A.D. 29, Rubellius Geminus and Fufius Geminus, named in fact for the Crucifixion the consuls of A.D. 30. It is possible that behind the confusion lies some older authority who reckoned a shorter Ministry with the Passion under Vinicius and Longinus in their real year. (v.) Paulus Orosius (A.D. 417: *Hist.* vii. 4. 13) gives Tiberius 17 for the Crucifixion, presumably reckoning two years as from the Baptism in Tiberius 15.

Summary of Patristic Evidence for the Civil Year.—A review of this witness from Phlegon to Epiphanius, from Tertullian to Augustine and Prosper, sums itself up in two questions: (i.) Is it *à priori* probable that tradition would preserve independent evidence for the date of the Crucifixion? (ii.) If so, do the data suggest that such has actually been the case?

(i.) Patristic evidence for the duration of the Ministry was passed over for want of space, being unnecessary in face of the full testimony of the Gospels, and unhelpful because it is all based ultimately on them; is there cause for thinking that the case would be different here? Yes; for while the date of the Nativity, for instance, was known familiarly to too few, and the length of the Ministry was of too secondary importance, to have given occasion to a constant tradition, the conditions are quite dissimilar and indeed unique in respect to the date of the Passion. Here was to every Christian eye from the first the turning point of the world's evolution; and the Church's confession had always put in the forefront the historical setting 'under Pontius Pilate'—see 1 Ti 6[13] τοῦ μαρτυρήσαντος ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, Ign. *Magn.* 11 (with Lightfoot's note) ἐν καιρῷ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Π. Π., and the early Roman Creed, τὸν ἐπὶ Π. Π. σταυρωθέντα. It cannot, then, be considered improbable that a still more definite dating by consuls or by regnal years of the emperor may have been noted while there was yet opportunity, and may have filtered down in oral tradition or lost documents through the obscure generations that intervene, till it could come to light, together with so much else that is beyond question primitive, in the writings of the age of Tertullian.

(ii.) But do the facts bear out what is thus *à priori* not improbable? was there anything in the review of authorities that could claim to be a date of this sort for the Crucifixion? Nothing, clearly, unless it were A.D. 29 (consulship of the Gemini = 15 Tib. = ? 16 Tib.); for if Phlegon's A.D. 32–33 had been traditional, it could not have failed to have reappeared somewhere or other in the ante-Nicene Christian testimony; Hippolytus' (ultimately discarded) 18 Tib. depended simply on a combination of the Johannine chronology of the Ministry with Lk 3[1]; Theotecnus, if he really meant A.D. 31, probably arrived at it by the same process; Eusebius depended jointly on Phlegon and on his own interpretation of St. John; Epiphanius' chronology is, even more than Eusebius', independent of all predecessors. It is easy enough to rid the field of rival theories; the only question is, to what epoch does the evidence for A.D. 29 go back, and how far can it be explained on other hypotheses than that of the survival of an independent and genuine tradition?

The three earliest witnesses for the consulship, the dating that most obviously means A.D. 29, are 'Tertullian,' Hippolytus, and the Acts of Pilate. Of these, Hippolytus, at least, derived it from some pre-existent source, for (not knowing to what year it really belonged) he incorrectly synchronizes it with Tiberius 18. Further, he and Tertullian are independent of one another, since the latter distinguishes the Gemini as Rubellius and Rufius or Fufius, the former (with the Acts of Pilate) erroneously as Rufus and Rubellio. It is hardly possible on the evidence that the common source can be later than A.D. 150, and it may be indefinitely earlier. It is true that Phlegon was apparently ignorant of the tradition, but it need not be supposed that it was universally spread by Hadrian's time, and after all Phlegon was a heathen, and not likely to be conversant with all that was being handed down within the Christian body.

But granting this antiquity, can the year still be accounted for as a mere deduction from the Gospels, in the sense that the consulship is a secondary date developed out of 15 Tiberius (the date for the Passion in Clement and Origen), and that that in turn came from Lk 3[1]? Possibly; yet it is surely not easy to believe that the evangelist's synchronism of the commencement of the Baptist's ministry with a certain year should have been so widely supposed to apply to the whole period, not only before Christ's Baptism, but also as far as his Passion. No doubt the Ptolemæan Valentinians of Irenæus' time (Iren. I. i. 3, iii. 1–3; II. xx. 1, xxi. 1) based calculations on 30 years as the whole Life of Christ, which is really the Gospel reckoning for his age at the commencement of his Ministry; but even they did not leave out of account the period of John's sole ministry.

It appears, then, not indeed certain, but possible and even probable, that a trustworthy Christian tradition does point to A.D. 29 and the consulate of the Gemini as the year of the Crucifixion.

3. A brief review, finally, of the evidence for the *day of the civil month.*

Perhaps the earliest witnesses are Basilidians quoted by Clement (*Strom.* i. 147, ed. Potter, p. 408), who varied between Phamenoth 25, Pharmuthi 25, and Pharmuthi 19 [March 21 April 20, April 14]. To March 25 a larger and weightier group subscribes: in Latin, 'Tert.' *adv. Jud.* 8, *mense Martio temporibus paschæ die viii calendarum Aprilium*; and for *a.d.* viii *kal. Apr.* simply, the Liberian catalogue of A.D. 354, Julius Hilarianus *De die paschæ* xv (Gallandi, viii. 748), Aug. *De civ.*

---

* He counterbalances his omission of the consuls of A.D. 4, Aelius Catus and Sentius Saturninus, by inserting between A.D. 6 and 7 the fictitious pair Cæsar and Capito. His consuls for A.D. 13, Flaccus and Silvanus, are only a corrupt form of the real names Plancus and Silius Cæcina.

xviii. 54, and the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*: in Greek, τῇ πρὸ ὀκτὼ καλανδῶν Ἀπριλλίων, Hippolytus, *Comm. in Dan.*, ed. Bratke, p. 19 (so, too, the πάθος Χριστοῦ in his paschal tables is attached to this day); *Acta Pilati*, according to the Quartodecimans in Epiphanius, *Hær.* l. 1, and to pseudo-Chrysostom (ed. Bened. viii. App. p. 277)—most of Tischendorf's Greek MSS, supported by the Latin and Armenian versions add ἥτις ἐστὶν εἰκὰς πέμπτη Μαρτίου: Φαμενὼθ κθ′, in the Σύντομος διήγησις incorporated in the *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Ducange, pp. 224, 225. For March 23 are three witnesses: Lactantius, *Div. inst.* IV. x. 18, *ante diem decimum kalendarum Aprilium*; persons known to Epiphanius, *l.c.*, τινὲς δὲ τῇ πρὸ δέκα καλανδῶν Ἀπριλλίων; and the Paschal Chronicler (*op. cit.* p. 221), τῇ κγ′ τοῦ Μαρτίου μηνός. Epiphanius had further seen copies of the *Acta Pilati* which gave March 18, while his own view is decided in favour of yet another date, March 20: *Hær.* l. 1, ἔτι δὲ εὕρομεν ἀντίγραφα ἐκ τῶν [*lege* ἄκτων] Πιλάτου ἐν οἷς σημαίνει πρὸ δεκαπέντε καλανδῶν Ἀπριλλίων τὸ πάθος γεγενῆσθαι· τἀληθῆ δέ, ὡς ἐκ πολλῆς ἀκριβείας ἔγνωμεν, ἐν τῇ πρὸ δεκατριῶν καλανδῶν Ἀπριλλίων τὸν σωτῆρα πεπονθέναι κατειλήφαμεν; cf. *Hær.* li. 23.

The first reflection suggested by this *catena* is the unanimity with which (apart from some of the Basilidians) Christian antiquity attributed the Crucifixion to a day not later than March 25; the second, that if a confusion between the πάσχα σταυρώσιμον and the πάσχα ἀναστάσιμον be allowed for, the dates, March 23 and 25, March 18 and 20, pair off with and explain one another—*i.e.* if March 25 was understood, not of the Crucifixion but of the Resurrection, March 23 became the day of the Crucifixion; or by a similar but converse process, March 20 might be transferred from the Resurrection (with the Crucifixion on March 18) to the Crucifixion. Thus eliminating the three Basilidian dates as probably mere Gnostic fancies, of the two pairs that alone are left, March 18–20 and 23–25, March 25 (Tertullian, Hippolytus, Acts of Pilate? etc.) has clearly older and better testimony than March 23 (Lactantius, some known to Epiphanius, *Paschal Chronicle*), and March 18 (ἀντίγραφα of Acts of Pilate older than Epiphanius) than March 20 (Epiphanius himself). But these ultimate days, March 18 and 25, are exactly a week apart, and very likely the one is to be explained as a conscious alteration of the other; but which of which?

For that day of the two for which authority is vastly preponderant, March 25, Dr. Salmon in an admirable article on Hippolytus (*Dict. Christ. Biogr.* iii. 92*b*) looks upon that writer's *Paschal Cycle*, published about A.D. 221, as the single source. Hippolytus there (very erroneously) supposes that after each eight years the full moon comes round to the same day of the solar month again; and accepting the traditional date A.D. 29 for the Crucifixion, he naturally assumes that, since the full moon in A.D. 221 did actually fall on March 25, the full moon in A.D. 29, 192 or 8×24 years earlier, must have fallen on the same day. 'Actually this is a week astray, the true day being March 18. We are safe in presuming that whenever March 25 is mentioned as the day of the Passion, the *Cycle* of Hippolytus is the source of the account.' Yet this theory, simple and attractive as it is, hardly satisfies all the elements of the problem. It might be possible to explain the wide acceptance of March 25 in both East and West by the dual position of Hippolytus, a Greek writer on Western soil; but 'Tert.,' *Adv. Judæos*, if genuine, and Hippolytus' own Commentary on Daniel, would still stand in the way of deducing March 25 as the day for the Passion directly from March 25 as the day of the full moon in A.D. 221. For Tertullian's Montanist writings commence about A.D. 200, and his whole literary activity was almost at an end by A.D. 220, so that if the first portion of the *adversus Judæos* is 'certainly Tertullian's, and Tertullian's while still a churchman' (Fuller in *Dict. Christ. Biogr.* iv. 827*b*), its chronology cannot be due to the *Paschal Cycle* of A.D. 221. In the same way Hippolytus' *Fourth Book on Daniel* 'was apparently written much earlier than the' *Chronicle* and *Paschal Tables* (Lightfoot, *Clement*, ii. 392); and as it, too, gives March 25 for the Passion (from which also ultimately comes its Dec. 25 for the Nativity, see above, p. 405^a), a second reason is supplied for pushing back the origin of the tradition of March 25 into the 2nd cent.

Genuine, of course, the tradition cannot be, because, as Salmon says—see also the table given earlier in this article—not the 25th but the 18th was the March full moon in A.D. 29. But this is exactly the day remaining still for discussion, that, namely, which was given in copies Epiphanius had seen of the Acts of Pilate. It is true that even in these Acts March 25 is supported (i.) by all existing MSS and versions; (ii.) by those Quartodecimans who regularly kept the Pascha on March 25 on the authority of the Acts; (iii.) by pseudo-Chrysostom in A.D. 387, who accepts the date as historically true on the same authority. It is possible, therefore, that the 18th is simply an accidental corruption, IE′ instead of H′ before the kalends of April; but it is possible also that it is the genuine reading of the Acts, altered intentionally at some early period, whether because the 25th was already then the more popular date, or because the 18th was increasingly open to the suspicion of falling before the equinox. And if genuine in the Acts, it is a really curious and remarkable confirmation of a possible date for the Crucifixion, Friday Nisan 14 of the year A.D. 29.

Dr. Salmon indeed says (*loc. cit.*) that 'it is obvious that if early trustworthy tradition had preserved the day of the solar year on which our Lord suffered, the Church would not have perplexed herself with calculations of paschal full moons.' But (i.) not all traditions which may in fact be true were necessarily known to be true to the ancients; (ii.) after all, what the Church was aiming at in paschal cycles was a system for calculating beforehand in terms of the solar year a day that was not solar but lunar. As pseudo-Chrysostom lucidly points out, the different *data* of the chronology of the Crucifixion will not converge in ordinary years; the Church could only imitate the season as far as was practicable, combining elements from the solar year (the equinox as a first term *a quo*), from the lunar year (the full moon as a second term *a quo*), and from the week (Friday). But if the day of the solar year had been considered alone, the full moon would necessarily have been thrown over, and the full moon was the one point which all Christians united in treating as essential to a proper paschal celebration.*

It is not unreasonable, then, to hold that the solitary *datum* preserved by Epiphanius does add a slight additional weight to the probability that the Crucifixion should be placed on Friday March 18, A.D. 29.

Conclusion.—To sum up briefly: the separate results of five lines of enquiry harmonize with one another beyond expectation, so that each in turn supplies fresh security to the rest. The Nativity in B.C. 7–6; the age of our Lord at the Baptism 30 years more or less; the Baptism in A.D. 26 (26–27); the duration of the Ministry between two and three years; the Crucifixion in A.D. 29: these five strands, weak no doubt in isolation, become, when woven together, the strong and stable support of a consistent chronology of the Life of Christ.

LITERATURE.—For all the preliminary chronological matter which underlies subjects such as that of this article, Ideler, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, 2 vols. 1825, is still standard. Of books more especially devoted to the chronology of the life of Christ special mention should perhaps be made of Wieseler, *Chronol. Synops. der Evang.* (Eng. tr. by Venables), and Caspari, *Chronol. u. geog. Einleit.* (E.T. by Evans). The writer of the present article—some points of which had been adumbrated in previous studies of his own, *Patristic evidence and the Gospel Chronology* in the *Church Quarterly Review* for Jan. 1892, pp. 390–415, and *A Paschal Homily printed in the Works of St. Chrysostom*, in *Studia Biblica*, ii. pp. 130–149, Oxford, 1890—has learnt much, and derived many references in certain parts of his work, from three writers (though with their general conclusions he in each case disagrees): H. Browne, *Ordo Sæclorum*, London, 1844; Hort on Jn 6^4, in Westcott and Hort's *Greek Testament*, 1881, App. pp. 77–81; and R. A. Lipsius, *Die Pilatus-Acten*, Kiel, 1886.

II. THE APOSTOLIC AGE.

The Apostolic Age may be defined, for the purposes of this article, as the period lying between the Crucifixion [A.D. 29, less probably A.D. 30] and the destruction of the temple. Outside these limits lie, no doubt, several of the NT *writings*, for the chronology of which see the articles on them; but NT *history* may fitly be said to close with the great catastrophe of A.D. 70.

These first 40 years of Christian history are roughly conterminous with the labours of St. Peter and St. Paul, and the principal documents concerned are, on the one hand, their Epistles, on the other, the Acts, one half of which book is in effect devoted to each of the two great apostles. But the writings in question do not bear on the face of them any continuous system of notes of time; and the chronology must be based, in the first instance, on such synchronisms as are given, principally in Acts, with Jewish or Roman history, namely—

(1) The reign of Aretas of Damascus (2 Co 11^{32}, cf. Ac 9^{25}).
(2) The reign and death of Herod Agrippa I. (Ac 12^{1-23}).
(3) The famine under Claudius (Ac 11^{28-30} 12^{25}).
(4) The proconsulship of Sergius Paulus in Cyprus (Ac 13^7).
(5) The expulsion of the Jews from Rome under Claudius (Ac 18^2).
(6) The proconsulship of Gallio in Achaia (Ac 18^{12}).

---

* The only exceptions to which Dr. Salmon might appeal are as late as the 4th cent.: (i.) the Quartodecimans and Cappadocians, said by Epiphanius, *Hær.* l. 1, always to observe March 25 as their πάσχα; (ii.) the Montanists of Asia Minor, said by pseudo-Chrysostom to observe the 14th, not of a lunar but of the 'Asiatic' solar month beginning on March 24, so that their πάσχα fell always on April 6.

(7) The reign of Herod Agrippa II., and marriage of his sister Drusilla to Felix (Ac 24^{24} 25^{13}–26^{32}).
(8) The procuratorships of Felix and Festus (Ac 21^{38} 23^{24} $24^{10.\,27}$).
(9) The Days of Unleavened Bread (Ac $20^{6.\,7}$).
(10) The persecution under Nero.

Two preliminary notes may be offered here.

a. Imperial Chronology.—Augustus died Aug. 19, A.D. 14; Tiberius died March 16, A.D. 37; Gaius Caligula died Jan. 24, A.D. 41; Claudius died Oct. 13, A.D. 54; Nero died June 9, A.D. 68.

b. Authorities for the Period outside NT Writers.—These are principally three: for Jewish affairs, Josephus; for Roman, Tacitus and Suetonius: and as they are occasionally inconsistent with one another, it is important to define their position and opportunities as historians. (i.) Tacitus, born not later and probably not much earlier than A.D. 54, published his latest work, the *Annals*, or history of the empire from the death of Augustus to the death of Nero, at the end of Trajan's reign, *c.* A.D. 115; but the work as now preserved is imperfect, being deficient for the ten years A.D. 37–47, besides two shorter *lacunæ* in A.D. 30 and 66–68. The materials at his command for all at least that passed in Rome were ample, though his anti-imperial tendencies may colour his version of the facts in relation not only to the emperors, but to their ministers or favourites. (ii.) Suetonius, the junior of Tacitus by some 20 years, wrote his *Lives of the Cæsars* (from Julius to Domitian) under Hadrian, probably about A.D. 120. As private secretary to that emperor, he may have had access to additional personal details about the earlier sovereigns, such as distinguish his anecdotal biographies from the more ambitious and more orderly history of Tacitus. (iii.) Josephus, the historian of Judaism, was more strictly a contemporary of the infancy of the Christian Church than Suetonius or even Tacitus. Born in A.D. 37–38 and brought up in Jerus., he left that city for three years' stay among the Essenes, A.D. 53–56, and left Pal. on a mission to Rome in A.D. 63–64. His share in the Jewish revolt—for he commanded in Galilee, and was taken prisoner at Jotapata—did not prevent him from espousing at once the Roman cause, or attaching himself to the fortunes of Vespasian and Titus. Thus his works on the *Jewish War* (written before A.D. 79) and on the *Antiquities* (completed in Domitian's 13th year, A.D. 93–94) are dominated by the distinct purpose of presenting himself and his countrymen in as favourable a light as possible to the Romans. On the other hand, a writer in Rome enjoying imperial patronage, who had spent in Pal. most of the years with whose events this article is concerned, was unusually well placed for ascertaining the facts, and, except where his 'tendency' has to be discounted, his testimony cannot be dismissed off-hand even when confronted with that of Tacitus.

1. *Aretas at Damascus.*—This Aretas (the fourth Aretas in the line of Nabatæan kings, on which dynasty see Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 348 ff.) reigned within the rough limits B.C. 9–A.D. 40; the exact dates are unknown, but it is certain (*a*) that he reigned over 47 years, inscriptions being extant of his 48th; (*β*) that he died somewhere between the death of Tiberius—which brought to a close operations begun against him at that emperor's order by the legate of Syria, Vitellius (*Ant.* XVIII. v. 1, 3)—and the middle of the reign of Claudius, when his successor Abias is found waging war on Izates of Adiabene (about A.D. 48; *Ant.* XX. iv. 1). But Damascus did not belong to Nabatæa, and was certainly under direct Roman administration in A.D. 33–34, and in A.D. 62–63, for Damascene coins of these years are extant and bear the heads of Tiberius and Nero respectively, without any such allusion to the local prince as was invariable in the coins of client states. It must have come, then, into the hands of Aretas after A.D. 33–34; if by force, the empire would hardly have suffered the Nabatæan line to reign unmolested till A.D. 106; if by grant, the donor must almost certainly have been, not Tiberius, whose quarrel with Aretas has just been mentioned, but Caligula, who, unlike Tiberius (see the instance of Herod Philip in the next section), encouraged the dependent princelings of the East. [The silence of Tacitus will then admit of easy explanation, the *Annals* being defective throughout Caligula's reign.] In this case, St. Paul's escape from the ethnarch of the city must be placed not earlier than the middle of A.D. 37; in any case not earlier than A.D. 34.

2. *Reign and Death of Herod Agrippa I.*—The tetrarchy of Herod Philip (Lk 3^{1}) was on his death, about A.D. 33–34, incorporated by Tiberius into the province of Syria, but 'not many days' after the accession of Gaius (March 16, A.D. 37) was conferred with the title of king on Herod Agrippa, son of Aristobulus, and grandson of Herod the Great, who was then living in Rome; and to this territory the tetrarchy of Antipas was added in A.D. 39–40, and Judæa, Samaria, and Abilene on Claudius' accession, early in A.D. 41. Agrippa reigned altogether, according to *BJ*, three years over the whole kingdom, and three years over the tetrarchies, according to *Ant.*, four years under Gaius,—three over Philip's tetrarchy and the fourth over Antipas' as well,—and three under Claudius over all Pal., the year of his death being 'the 7th of his reign and 54th of his life.' The discrepancy concerns Gaius' reign only (*Ant.*, the later and fuller work, appears the more accurate), and 'three years' under Claudius are common to both accounts. But *Ant.*, as has just been said, also speaks of 'the 7th year,' which (reckoned from the spring of A.D. 37) suggests A.D. 43–44 rather than 44 simply. Against this, however, may be set the evidence of Agrippa's coinage, which apparently goes on to a 9th year;* for even if, as is likely enough, the Jewish kings commenced a fresh year on the 1st of Nisan following their accession,† the 9th year cannot possibly have begun before Nisan 1, A.D. 44, and even then only if the original grant from Caligula preceded Nisan 1, A.D. 37, so that Agrippa's second year may have begun on that day. The coinage reckoning by itself would suggest rather A.D. 45 than 44; Josephus would be compatible with the latter part of A.D. 43; the two in combination are most easily reconciled by a date in A.D. 44 after Nisan (*BJ* II. xi. 6; *Ant.* XVIII. iv. 6, vi. 10, vii. 2, XIX. v. 1, viii. 2).

3. *The Famine under Claudius.*—On Agrippa's death Judæa is made again into a procuratorship under Cuspius Fadus. He intervenes in a quarrel between the Jews of Peræa and the city of Philadelphia, seizes and executes the brigand leader Tholomæus, and from that time forward keeps Judæa clear of similar disturbances; then (τότε) enters on a dispute with the authorities at Jerus. over the custody of the high-priestly robes.‡ 'About this time,' κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρόν, Helena, queen of Adiabene, and her son Izates become converts to Judaism; the story and antecedent circumstances are related at length, and it is added that Helena, seeing that their kingdom was at peace and her son envied even by foreigners for the divine protection he enjoyed, desired to go up to the temple at Jerus., while Izates made great preparations of gifts to be offered there. Her arrival was peculiarly well-timed, for famine was raging 'at that moment,' κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον. But Josephus does not say that all this happened under Fadus. On the contrary, having digressed to relate what

---

* See Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, ed. 2 (1881), p. 130. The ascription of these coins to Herod Agrippa II. is impossible; de Saulcy, however, thinks them Jewish forgeries, and Madden speaks hesitatingly, not having seen the coins themselves. But if the electrotypes may be trusted, the figure is quite certain, and there appears no reason except the chronological difficulty for doubting them.

† See the Gemara of Babylon, Tractate *Rosh-hashanah* or *the New Year*, fol. 2*a*: 'Our rabbis teach that a king who ascends the throne on the 29th Adar has completed a year as soon as he reaches Nisan 1.'

‡ The emperor's answer to the deputation sent to Rome on this subject is dated in the consulship of Rufus and Pompeius Silvanus; and if these were, as is generally assumed, *consules suffecti* of A.D. 45, the letter will fall somewhere after the early months of that year. [Older editors read πρὸ τεσσάρων καλανδῶν Ἰουλίου, but the latter word is simply a retranslation of *Iulii* in the inferior Latin MSS; Niese omits it, and marks a lacuna.] But to date by other than the *consules ordinarii* would be so unusual, if not unexampled, that (especially in the absence of any other proof of the existence of these particular *suffecti*) the genuineness of the letter must be considered doubtful.

was contemporary with Fadus, namely, the conversion of Helena and Izates, he continues the digression through the long chapters XX. ii. iii. iv., bringing the history of Adiabene down to a point much later even than this visit: and then, after returning to Fadus and recording the revolt and death of Theudas under him, he goes on to say that his successor was Tiberius Alexander, 'in whose time it chanced that the great famine in Judæa occurred in which' Helena acted so generously. After Alexander, of whom nothing further is related except the execution of the sons of Judas the Galilean, Cumanus comes as the new procurator; in the 8th year of Claudius [A.D. 48], Herod king of Chalcis dies. These two last events are reversed in *BJ*: 'after Herod of Chalcis' death Claudius gives his kingdom to the younger Agrippa, and Cumanus succeeds Alexander.' Both accounts, in fact, treat the two changes as practically simultaneous, so that Josephus certainly places Cumanus' arrival in A.D. 48. Thus the whole tenure of both Fadus and Alexander falls within the limits of the years 44–48 A.D.; and since the bulk of the events recorded under the former is considerably the greater, Alexander cannot have arrived before, say, the spring of A.D. 46. This is the *terminus a quo* for Helena's visit; and as Helena had not apparently heard of the famine before she arrived, it is the *terminus a quo* for the famine also, while Josephus' language leaves no doubt that 'the great famine' ran its whole course under the same governor. It is therefore possible that it should be placed, or placed partly, in A.D. 47; it is certain that even the earlier part of the crisis cannot be placed before A.D. 46 (*Ant.* XX. i. 1, 2, ii. 1, 5, v. 1, 2; *BJ* II. xii. 1).

4. *The Proconsulship of Sergius Paulus in Cyprus.*—The name of this governor has been found in a Cypriote inscription *ἐπὶ Παύλου [ἀνθ]υπάτου* 'in Paulus' proconsulship,' but unfortunately without any synchronism which would fix the year. On the other hand, a dedication to Claudius in the name of the city of Curium in Cyprus by the proconsul L. Annius Bassus, 'in accordance with a decision previously taken by the proconsul Julius Cordus,' is signed 'in the 12th year,' *i.e.* of the emperor, A.D. 52. Cordus' tenure, if, as seems to be implied, he was Bassus' immediate predecessor, will cover the year 51, so that in neither of those two years can place be found for Paulus. (Cesnola, *Cyprus*, p. 425; Boeckh, *CIG* 2632.)

5. *The Expulsion of the Jews from Rome under Claudius* is recorded in Suetonius (*Claudius* 25), *Iudæos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit*; but as this writer's method is to group together the events in any one reign of similar character—in this case dealings with the provincials—no suggestion of a date is given at all. Tacitus, whose *Annals*, however, are extant during the last seven years only of Claudius' reign, A.D. 47–54, says nothing of the Jews, though he mentions, under A.D. 52, the expulsion of the astrologers from Italy, a measure at once 'cruel and ineffective.' Orosius, A.D. 417 (*Hist.* VII. vi. 15), is the earliest authority to give a date, Claudius IX. = A.D. 49, quoting it as from Josephus; but, in fact, Josephus is as silent as Tacitus, not about the date only, but about the whole matter. Nor is there any reason to believe that Orosius had access to Josephus direct; the only other reference to him (VII. ix. 7) appears to be repeated from Jerome's *Chronicle.* It must therefore remain uncertain whether or not Orosius' source in this case is trustworthy. [Ramsay (*St. Paul*, p. 68) supposes that all Orosius' dates for events under Claudius are a year too early (as might easily be the case if, for instance, he was copying a chronicler like Eusebius, whose 1st of Claudius began, not in Jan., but in Sept. A.D. 41; see below, No. 8. *a*), so that this expulsion would then rather belong to A.D. 50.]

6. *The Proconsulship of Gallio in Achaia* must fall after A.D. 44, in which year (Dio Cassius, lx. 24) this province, taken by Tiberius in A.D. 15 into his own hands, and ruled thenceforward by *legati proprætore* (*ἀντιστράτηγοι*), was restored to the control of the senate, and to administration by proconsuls (*ἀνθύπατοι*). Further, if Gallio so far shared the disgrace of his famous brother Seneca —who was only recalled in A.D. 49 (Tac. *Ann.* xii. 8) from an exile that had lasted about eight years—that he would have been passed over while it lasted, then the *terminus a quo* is not 44 but 49, or rather, since the proconsuls entered on their provincial governments early in the year, A.D. 50. At the same time, the distinction between the method of appointment to imperial and to senatorian provinces was just this, that the emperor was quite unfettered in his choice, while, in the other case, all ex-holders of offices in Rome, ex-consuls and ex-prætors, succeeded naturally to senatorian governorships; Dio, for instance (*loc. cit.*), describes this very change as one from selection to lot: *τὴν δὲ Ἀχαΐαν καὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν αἱρετοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐξ οὗπερ ὁ Τιβέριος ἦρξε διδομένας ἀπέδωκεν ὁ Κλαύδιος τότε τῷ κλήρῳ.* Still, it is likely enough that candidates obnoxious to the government either did not stand at all, or were unsuccessful by arrangement at the balloting. Gallio, then, entered on office in Achaia certainly not before A.D. 44, and probably not before 49, or even 50.*

7. *The Reign of Herod Agrippa II. and Marriage of Drusilla to Felix.*—This Agrippa, son of Herod Agrippa I., at his father's death was thought too young to succeed; but on the death of another Herod, his uncle, king of Chalcis, in the 8th year of Claudius (A.D. 48), he obtained that principality, from which he was transferred after Claudius had completed his 12th year, *i.e.* about the beginning of A.D. 53, to the two tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias, *i.e.* the northern part of Palestine. On this accession to new dignity he bestowed his sister Drusilla in marriage on Azizus of Emesa, a husband whom, not long after, *μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον*, she deserted for the Roman procurator Felix. Thus, if Josephus' order of events is correct, St. Paul's appearance before Felix and Drusilla, which was after, but not very long after, Pentecost (Ac 20^{16} $24^{1.24}$), cannot fall in A.D. 53, but at earliest in A.D. 54 (*Ant.* XX. v. 2, vii. 1, 2).

8. *a. The Procuratorship of Felix.*—The events which led up to the deposition of the last-mentioned procurator, Cumanus (appointed in A.D. 48), are related in full by Josephus, *Ant.* XX. vi. 1–3, more briefly by Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 54; the two writers, while consistent in the main about Cumanus, differ seriously in regard to Felix. Both agree that troubles broke out between the Galileans and Samaritans, originating, says Josephus, in an assault on Galileans travelling up to Jerus. for one of the feasts. Both agree that the Roman soldiery intervened; that the quarrel was taken before Quadratus, legate of Syria, who investigated the responsibility of the Roman officials for their conduct in relation to it; and that the ultimate result was the deposition of Cumanus. Both agree further on the date; for Tacitus records the proceedings under A.D. 52, Josephus mentions the recall of Cumanus immediately before the notice of the completion of Claudius' 12th year, Jan. A.D. 53. On the other hand, Josephus, throughout the

---

* See also Ramsay, *Expositor*, March 1897, p. 206: Seneca addressed his *de Ira* to his brother, not under the adoptive name Gallio, but under the name Novatus; and if it is true that he wrote this treatise after his return from exile, it follows that his brother's adoption, and subsequent appointment to a proconsulship under the name Gallio, must also be not earlier than A.D. 49.

story, speaks of Cumanus as the only governor, whether of Galilee, Samaria, or Judæa. Tacitus gives Cumanus in Galilee and Felix in Samaria co-ordinate jurisdiction; which of them ruled Judæa proper is not said by him in so many words (by his authority perhaps not at all), but he apparently assumes it to be Felix, whom he introduces as *iampridem Iudææ impositus*. Thus in Josephus, Cumanus is the only procurator arraigned before Quadratus, and even he is sent off to the imperial tribunal; in Tacitus, Cumanus and Felix are equally involved; but since Felix was brother to Pallas, the emperor's favourite and minister, the legate, to avoid having to condemn him, puts him on to the commission for the trial of his partner in guilt, who is condemned then and there for the crimes of both.

How are these divergences to be reconciled? The answer is not without a direct bearing on the chronology of St. Paul's life; see below, No. 8. *b*. Let it be conceded, then, to Tacitus, that Felix must have been holding some position in Samaria of sufficient rank to qualify him as one of the *iudices* for Cumanus' trial. So much, indeed, is warranted by Josephus' statement, that the high priest Jonathan was continually urging good government on Felix when procurator, 'lest he himself should incur blame before the populace for having requested his appointment from the emperor' (*Ant.* xx. viii. 5), a request which was more natural if Felix were already known in Palestine. Some of the best modern authorities (Mommsen, *Roman Provinces*, Eng. tr. ii. 202; Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 313) follow Tacitus further still. But Josephus, after all, is giving a detailed account of the history of his own country during his own lifetime; and to him it must be conceded in turn that Cumanus' rule certainly included Judæa (in the narrower sense) with Jerus., and that Felix was probably only a subordinate of his in Samaria. Prejudice against so near a relation of Pallas made it easy for Tacitus or his authority to project back on to the earlier years of Felix' residence something of the position, and a share of the misdeeds, of his later procuratorship.

A third authority for the dates of Felix' tenure is the *Chronicle* of Eusebius—the Armenian VS, with some MSS of Jerome's tr., placing his arrival in the 11th year of Claudius, the other Lat. MSS in the 10th. [In the Bodleian MS of the Jerome, this note commences in the second of the two lines given to the 10th year, is continued through the two lines of the 11th year, and ends in the first line of the 12th.] But how are these imperial years reckoned?

So much weight is laid by Harnack (*Chronologie*, pp. 233-237) on Eusebius' evidence, that this preliminary difficulty must be disentangled in some detail. Both Harnack himself (*ib.* p. 234) and Lightfoot (*e.g. Biblical Essays*, p. 223, n. 2; but this essay is as old as A.D. 1863) assume a reckoning in the case of each emperor from his own accession-day. But it is in the last degree unlikely that a chronicle, where every year is reckoned continuously from Abraham, should admit in the parallel column of imperial years a system perpetually changing; and if Titus, though he reigned three months of a 3rd year (June 79–Sept. 81 A.D.), or Trajan, though he reigned six months of a 20th year (Jan. 98–Aug. 117 A.D.), are yet allotted only two and nineteen years respectively, it seems clear that, as was to be expected, the imperial years are manipulated into accord with the more fixed arrangement. But two questions still remain.

(i.) Where did Eusebius fix his new year? It is natural to think first of Jan. 1, the commencement of the Roman consular year. But Eusebius was an Eastern, and in the East the year was all but universally commenced about September. The Jewish civil year began in September; the old Attic lunar year in July; the old Macedonian lunar year in October; the calendars of Asia Minor in imperial times used the Macedonian months made into a solar year, commencing Sept. 23; the similar calendar of Syria used the same months in the same way, only that each month was pushed down one place, so that the year presumably began at the end of October; the Alexandrian year on Aug. 29; the era of Alexander or the Greeks was reckoned from Sept. B.C. 312; the Indictions, an invention of Eusebius' own day, were counted, certainly from September, probably from Sept. A.D. 312. The strong presumption that Eusebius would range himself with all this mass of usage is reinforced by his use of the Olympiads as parallel, year by year, to his own years of Abraham, for the Olympiads began in July, and a year that began on Jan. 1 must be out of reckoning with an Olympiad year for either its first or last six months.

(ii.) Granted, then, that each Eusebian year began in the September of a Julian year, can that Julian year be conclusively fixed? Now, the starting-point of the Olympiads is known to be July of the Julian year B.C. 776; if, therefore, a fixed relation is established between Eusebian years of Abraham and Olympiads, a fixed relation between Eusebian and Julian years follows. Unfortunately, the two versions of the *Chronicle* differ by one year as to which year of Abraham is parallel to Ol. 1. 1, the Armenian giving *Ann. Abr.* 1240, Jerome 1241, and so throughout. That Jerome is the more trustworthy is now, through the labours of Hort and Lightfoot, recognised even by scholars who had pinned their faith to the Armenian (so, *e.g.*, Harnack, *Chronologie*, p. 113 ff.); and in this particular case two synchronisms of years of Tiberius with the Olympiads, the one given in the preface to the *Chronicle* (Jerome), and repeated in the *Præp. Evang.* of Eusebius himself (x. 9. 1), the other given in the note on the Crucifixion (both Jerome and the Armenian), clench the proof. In the first case Tib. 15 is said to coincide with Ol. 201, or more fully in the *Præp. Evang.* with Ol. 201. 4. Now, in the *Chronicle* itself Tib. 15 = Abr. 2044 (Jerome and Armenian) = Ol. 201. 4 Jerome, but Ol. 202. 1 Arm. In the second case the date for the Crucifixion is supported by appeal to Phlegon's date, Ol. 202. 4. Now, Tiberius 19 (which is unquestionably Eusebius' date for the Passion, see previous art. p. 413^{a}) = Abr. 2048 (Jerome and Arm.) = Ol. 202. 4 Jerome, Ol. 203. 1 Arm. Clearly, then, the parallelism of the columns is right in Jerome, wrong in the Armenian.

It follows from this investigation that, according to Eusebius, Tiberius 1 = Ol. 198. 2 (Jerome) = Sept. A.D. 14 to Sept. A.D. 15; Gaius 1 = Ol. 204. 1 (Jerome) = Sept. 37–Sept. 38 A.D.; Claudius 1 = Ol. 205. 1 (Jerome) = Sept. 41–Sept. 42 A.D.; Nero 1 = Ol. 208. 3 (Jerome) = Sept. 55–Sept. 56 A.D. As the true accession-days of these four emperors were Aug. 19, A.D. 14; Mar. 16, A.D. 37; Jan. 24, A.D. 41; Oct. 13, A.D. 54, an entirely consistent result is obtained, namely, that *Eusebius commences the 1st regnal year of each emperor in the September next after his accession.* When, therefore, he puts the arrival of Felix in Claudius 11, he means not (as Harnack says) Jan. 51 to Jan. 52, but Sept. 51 to Sept. 52, and his evidence, instead of contradicting, comes into line with that of Tacitus and Josephus.

b. The Departure of Felix and Arrival of Festus.—The chronology of so large a period of St. Paul's apostleship can be reckoned without difficulty backwards and forwards from his imprisonment at Cæsarea, that this date of Felix' recall becomes the most important of the series of synchronisms that have been under discussion. Yet there is none about which opinions vary more widely, years so far apart as A.D. 55 and 61 being preferred by different enquirers; what may be called the received chronology (Wieseler, *Chron. des apost. Zeitalters*, pp. 66–99; Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, pp. 217-220; Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 182, and the bibliography there given) assigning it to A.D. (61 or) 60, but not earlier, while a few older writers, reinforced now by Harnack (*o.c.* p. 233 ff.), push it back to quite the beginning of Nero's reign, A.D. 55 or 56. Blass (*Acta Ap.* pp. 21-24) leaves the question open, but is, on the whole, against the 'received' view; Ramsay (see No. 9, below) modifies the latter by one year, to A.D. 59.

(i.) *Arguments for the later date*, A.D. 60 *or* 61.

α. St. Paul at the time of his arrest, two years before Felix' recall, addresses him as 'for many years past a judge of this nation,' *ἐκ πολλῶν ἐτῶν ὄντα κριτὴν τῷ ἔθνει τούτῳ* (Ac 24$^{10.\ 27}$), a phrase which it is said cannot mean less than six or seven years' procuratorship, *i.e.* from 52 to 58 or 59 A.D. But it has just been shown from Tacitus that Felix had been in Samaria before he came into office in Judæa; and since St. Paul's purpose is naturally to press all that could truly be said of Felix' experience, he would not too minutely distinguish between his present position as procurator and his previous position as a subordinate. The *ἔτη πολλά* are therefore to be reckoned from an indeterminate point previous to A.D. 52, and no certain deduction of any sort can be drawn about them.

β. Josephus, after the mention of Nero's accession, records as all happening under Felix: the death of Azizus, king of Emesa; the succession of Aristobulus in Chalcis, and readjustment of the dominions of the younger Agrippa; the jealousy between Felix and the high priest

Jonathan, and the reign of terror which, after Jonathan's assassination, prevailed at each of the feasts; the appearance of various robber chiefs or impostors, especially a certain Egyptian; and lastly, the 'great quarrel' between the Jewish and Syrian inhabitants of Cæsarea (*Ant.* XX. viii. 4–8). Now, this long succession of incidents cannot, it is said, be brought within less than five or six years, *i.e.* from Oct. 54, Nero's accession, to 60 A.D., especially as the rising of the Egyptian was already 'before these days' (Ac 21^{38}) at the time of St. Paul's arrest, two years from the end of Felix' tenure. But two considerations deprive this line of argument of a good deal of its force.

(1) Josephus naturally groups together all he has to say about Pal. under Felix. That he does this after Nero's accession, means that he conceived, not that the whole state of things described began only then to be true, but at most that the main part of Felix' government, and its most striking events, belonged to the new reign; and this, if Felix' procuratorship began in A.D. 52, could easily be the case so long as it ended not earlier than A.D. 57 or 58. Exact information about the latter date Josephus obviously did not possess, or he would, as in other cases, have given it.

(2) The various events described were not necessarily successive. The political arrangements in Galilee or Chalcis, the growing disorder in Jerus., the risings in Palestine, may all have been in progress at one and the same time. Even the revolt of the Egyptian is not given as the last in order of time of a series of such events, but as the most striking illustration of the deceptions practised on the highly-wrought minds of the populace by miracle-mongers of all sorts; for whereas the rest led their followers off into the wilderness with the promise of signs and wonders, 'a fellow from Egypt about this time,' κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρόν, gave rendezvous for the Mt. of Olives, that from thence he might show how the walls of Jerus. should fall down at his bidding. At the same time, if this rising is to be placed under Nero at all, then St. Paul's arrest cannot fall before Pentecost 55, or rather, if the full natural meaning is to be given to the words πρὸ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν, before Pentecost 56, and Felix' recall before the summer of 57 or rather 58 A.D.

It appears, then, that the arguments used to support the 'received' date, A.D. 60, will not bear the whole weight placed on them, but that, so far as they go, they do suggest a year not earlier than A.D. 58, or at any rate than 57. The arguments used on the other side must now, in turn, be subjected to examination.

(ii.) *Arguments for an early date,* A.D. 55 or 56.

a. Eusebius' *Chronicle* places Festus' arrival in Nero 2, *i.e.* according to Harnack, in the year Oct. 55–Oct. 56 A.D.; and Eusebius' chronology of the procurators is probably derived from Julius Africanus (A.D. 220), who, whether through the *Jewish kings* of Josephus' contemporary, Justus of Tiberias,* or through personal enquiry (for he lived in Palestine), had excellent opportunities of arriving at the facts. But, again, a twofold answer may be given. (1) In any case Eusebius' true date for Festus is Nero 2=Sept. 56–Sept. 57 A.D., see above, p. 418^{b}. (2) It cannot be too often repeated that chroniclers were tempted to invent dates for all undated events of historical interest; and as Festus' connexion with St. Paul would deter a Christian from passing him over without mention, it is possible that Eusebius (or Africanus), if the usual authorities failed him, simply set him exactly midway between his predecessor Felix, A.D. 51–52, and his successor Albinus, A.D. 61–62.

For the last procurator, Gessius Florus, Eusebius gives Nero 10=Sept. 64–Sept. 65 A.D.; this agrees well enough with Josephus' statement that the breaking out of the war—Aug. 66 A.D.—fell in the 12th year of Nero (*i.e.* on Josephus' system Oct. 65–Oct. 66) and 2nd of Florus, *Ant.* XX. xi. 1. For Albinus, the last but one, Eusebius has Nero 7=Sept. 61–Sept. 62 A.D.; and Josephus relates that a certain visionary was brought before Albinus at the Feast of Tabernacles, four years before the war, *i.e.* Oct. 62 A.D., *BJ* VI. v. 3, so that Eusebius' date is at any rate the latest possible, and is very likely correct.

β. Felix on his recall was prosecuted before Nero by the leading Jews of Cæsarea, and 'would certainly have been condemned for his wrongdoings towards the Jews had not his brother Pallas, who at that moment stood very high in Nero's favour, interceded on his behalf,' *Ant.* XX. viii. 9. Now, according to Tacitus, *Ann.* xiii. 14, 15, Pallas was removed from office not long before Britannicus celebrated his 14th birthday; and Britannicus was born just after his father Claudius' accession, *circa* Feb. 41 A.D. But, again, if Pallas' retirement fell in Jan. 55 A.D., and Felix' trial preceded it, the latter must have fallen in the very first months of Nero's reign, and Festus must have come out as procurator in the summer of A.D. 54 under Claudius, a result which it is hopeless to try and reconcile with the other authorities.

Harnack, *o.c.* p. 238, on the ground of the confusion which besets even the best chronologists through the different methods of reckoning imperial years, conjectures that Tacitus has mistakenly put Britannicus' 14th birthday for his 15th, so that the whole story should be transferred from A.D. 55 to 56. But this is unlikely: in the first place, because Tacitus reckons his years, as a Roman naturally would, by consulships, and not by regnal years of the emperor at all; in the second place, because the detail about Britannicus' age introduces the account of his murder, and that was far too crucial an event to be likely to be misdated. It seems obvious—there is certainly no reason against the view—that Pallas retained sufficient influence in the early years after his retirement to be able to secure immunity for his family. Tacitus expressly says that he stipulated that no inquiry should be made into his conduct in office, a very different attitude to what most fallen ministers had to adopt under the empire. Doubtless, Josephus exaggerates when he speaks of Nero at the date of the trial as μάλιστα δὴ τότε διὰ τιμῆς ἄγων ἐκεῖνον, but this appears to be only his way of accounting for the acquittal of an oppressor of the Jews.

Stated as a proof for the year A.D. 55 or 56, this argument, too, breaks down; but if restated with a more modest scope, it will be found not without force. It is, in fact, difficult to believe that the Jews would not have gained their case against Felix had Poppæa already acquired that ascendency over Nero which enabled them under the next procuratorship to win their cause in the matter of the temple wall against Festus and Agrippa combined, *Ant.* XX. viii. 11. It is under A.D. 58 that this woman's first introduction to Nero is recorded, but it was not till A.D. 62 that she set the crown to her ambition by marrying him, Tacitus, *Ann.* xiii. 45, 46, xiv. 60 ff. It was in the same year, 62, that Pallas, who, according to *Ann.* xiv. 65, was too rich and too slow in dying for Nero's avarice, was poisoned. Not improbably, the interest of Claudius' favourite waned with that of Claudius' daughter, so that it was no mere coincidence that the same year saw the murder of Octavia to make room for Poppæa, and the murder of Pallas. Anyhow, considering the respective histories of Pallas and Poppæa, the years 57, 58 (59?) would appear to suit the circumstances of Felix' acquittal better than the years 60, 61.

In the result, then, the arguments for the extreme position on either side have been shown to be equally devoid of conclusive force. But, on the other hand, each set of them, though it does not establish its own case, tends to disprove the opposite. The facts about Pallas and Poppæa, not to speak of the evidence of Eusebius, do not prove that Festus succeeded Felix as early as 55 or 56, but they do seem to exclude a date as late as A.D. 60. Conversely, the account of Felix' procuratorship in Josephus, though it does not show that he was governor as late as 60 or 61, does seem to show that he remained later than A.D. 56. The probabilities, therefore, both sides being considered, concentrate themselves on the intermediate years A.D. 57–59 for Felix' recall (A.D. 55–57 for St. Paul's arrest).

9. *The Days of Unleavened Bread* (Ac $20^{6.7}$) in St. Paul's third missionary journey have lately been brought again into notice by Ramsay (*Expositor*, May 1896, p. 336) as a date which 'can be fixed not merely to the year, but to the month and

---

* Photius, *cod.* 33, read this book, and says that it extended from Moses to the death of the last Jewish prince, Herod Agrippa II., in A.D. 100.

day.' 'The Passover was celebrated and the Days of Unleavened Bread were spent in Philippi. Thereafter the company started for Troas; and their voyage continued into the fifth day. In Troas they stayed seven days; the last complete day that they spent there was a Sunday, and they sailed away early on a Monday morning. Now, on the system common in ancient usage and followed by Luke . . . the seven days in Troas . . . began with a Tuesday and ended with a Monday. Further, the Tuesday of the arrival in Troas must be also counted as the fifth day of the voyage.' 'It follows, therefore, that the party started from Philippi on a Friday. The only question that remains is whether the company started on the first morning after the Days of Unleavened Bread. Considering that the plan was to reach Jerus. by Pentecost, and that time was therefore precious, we need not hesitate as to this point. . . . The slaying of the Passover in that year fell on the afternoon of a Thursday, and the Seven Days of Unleavened Bread continued till the following Thursday. That was the case in A.D. 57, but not in any of the years immediately around it.'

On this thesis three remarks suggest themselves. (i.) The calculation of days from the departure from Troas back to the departure from Philippi, and the inference that the latter was made on the earliest day possible, Nisan 22, are probable, though not absolutely certain. (ii.) The only years considered by Ramsay as open to discussion are A.D. 56-59. But these years, though they include the latest, do not include the earliest possible dates for the end of the 3rd missionary journey and the arrest at Jerusalem, which of course followed this passover at Philippi at the interval of a few weeks. A.D. 55 was even found (see No. 8. *b*, above) to be so far one of the three most likely years, and for security's sake A.D. 54 may be also taken into account. (iii.) The uncertainty which day in any year was really kept as Nisan 14 is always considerable. Most investigators, and Ramsay among them, appear to think that the question is solved by labelling the first evening on which the new moon was visible Nisan 1. But the Jews must before this have modified the method of simple observation by something in the nature of a calendar or cycle (CHRON. OF THE GOSPELS, above, p. 411), and any such cycle no doubt deviated not infrequently from the results of simple observation. Certainly, the days of the *terminus paschalis* or Nisan 14 for these years according to the Alexandrine cycle, which has prevailed in the Christian Church ever since the 4th cent., differ sensibly from those supplied by Lewin's *Fasti Sacri* or Wieseler's *Chronologie* p. 115 (and accepted by Ramsay), being always one day, and sometimes two days, the earlier.*

A.D.	Alexandrine.	Lewin.	Wieseler.
54	Apr. 9, T.	Apr. 10, W.	
55	Mar. 29, Sa.	Mar. 30, Su.	
56	Apr. 17, Sa. (or Mar. 18? Th.)	Mar. 19, F.	Apr. 18, Su.
57	Apr. 5, T.	Apr. 7, Th.	Apr. 7, Th.
58	Mar. 25, Sa.	Mar. 27, M.	Mar. 27, M.
59	Apr. 13, F.	Apr. 15, Su.	Apr. 15, Su.

Now, supposing, as seems a fair estimate, that the Alexandrine date is the earliest possible for each year, and two days later the latest, Nisan 14 may have been a Thursday in any of the three years A.D. 54 (Apr. 11), 56 (Mar. 18), 57 (Apr. 7). What, then, can fairly be claimed for Ramsay's investigation is, that against the other three years, A.D. 55, 58, 59, a certain presumption of improbability does remain; and with regard to the two later of these three years this result serves to confirm the result attained in the last section. Combining this with the previous enquiry, A.D. 56 and 57 appear the probable alternatives for the year of St. Paul's arrest, A.D. 58 and 59 for the recall of Felix and close of the two years' captivity at Cæsarea.

10. *The Persecution under Nero, and Martyrdoms of St. Peter and St. Paul.*—That the two apostles were martyred on the same day is an erroneous deduction from the common festival on June 29, which is really the day of the common translation of their relics to the safe concealment of the Catacombs during the persecution of Valerian, *Tusco et Basso coss.* (A.D. 258). But that both were martyred at Rome, and both under Nero, has been in effect the constant tradition of the Church; Peter and Paul, with some date under Nero, headed the Roman episcopal list in Julius Africanus (Harnack, *Chronologie*, pp. 124 ff., 171); according to Dionysius of Corinth, they taught together in Italy, and were martyred *κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν* (ap. Eus. *HE* ii. 25; *c.* A.D. 170); and St. Clement of Rome himself, addressing the Corinthians about A.D. 96, sets before their eyes 'the noble examples of our own generation,' the good apostles, Peter and Paul, and that great multitude of elect which was gathered together with them in divers sufferings and tortures, women being exposed as Danaids and Dirces (1 Clem. v. vi.: *συνηθροίσθη πολὺ πλῆθος*). That the 'great multitude' is that of the Neronian martyrs, would be all but certain from the parallel account in Tacitus of the *multitudo ingens* and *addita ludibria* of the Christian victims of Nero (*Ann.* xv. 44); and the whole proof is clenched by the coincidence of Tacitus' mention of the emperor's gardens—*i.e.* the *horti Neroniani* on the Vatican hill—as the scene of the executions, with the statement of the Roman Gaius (ap. Eus. *H.E.* ii. 25; *c.* A.D. 200), that the relics of St. Peter rested on the Vatican as those of St. Paul on the Ostian Way.

But the date of the apostles' martyrdom, if it fell in the Neronian persecution properly so called, can hardly have been far removed from the great fire of Rome in July A.D. 64, since Tacitus says expressly that it was to provide scape-goats to bear his own responsibility for the arson that Nero first devised an attack on the Church. It is true that Suetonius speaks of the punishment of Christians under Nero in general terms and without assigning any particular date: *Nero* 16 (in the middle of a list of things *animadversa severe et coercita*) *afflicti suppliciis Christiani genus hominum superstitionis novæ ac maleficæ.* But Suet. is not in the habit of giving dates at all; and further it is quite true that the Neronian trials did settle for good the crucial question of the illegality of Christianity, while yet it is clear from Tac. that the violence of the first outbreak stood out as something vastly different in degree if not in kind from the normal condition of occasional martyrdoms which followed. It is true again that Eusebius assigns the apostles' death to the very end of Nero's reign, A.D. 68. But he gives this date to the whole persecution, as the last and worst of all Nero's crimes. As he did not use Latin writers, Tacitus' account was unknown to him, and he has no idea that the persecution had anything to do with the fire at Rome, of which he only speaks in the vaguest terms under Nero 9 (10) ἐμπρησμοὶ γεγόνασι πολλοὶ ἐν Ῥώμῃ. The actual year he doubtless selected because his (or rather Africanus') chronology of the Popes, calculated back from cent. 3 by the years of their tenure of office, brought the accession of Linus, and therefore the apostles' martyrdom, to A.D. 67-68. What is really important is that he, like Clement, closely associates the two apostles with the rest of the victims of the persecution; and this, taken into connexion with the evidence of Tac. and of Gaius, seems to fix their death to within a year at any rate of the great fire, middle of A.D. 64-middle of 65 [Harnack, *o.c.* p. 240, still more precisely, July A.D. 64; but this is to limit the possibilities unreasonably.]

Probably, modern writers would not have been so reluctant to admit this, if the received chronology had not prolonged St. Paul's first Roman captivity till at least the spring of A.D. 63, so that the two years or less which would intervene before his martyrdom on the dating just suggested would be insufficient to cover what is known or reasonably conjectured about his final missionary journey. But it has been now shown (see Nos. 8. *b*, 9) that not 60, but 58 or 59, is the true date of Festus' arrival in Judæa, and therefore not 63, but 61 or 62, the end of the two years (Ac 28^{30}) of the first Roman captivity. Is there, then, any reason to suppose that the two to four years which intervene in this revised chronology are too few to satisfy the evidence as to St. Paul's movements? Properly perhaps this enquiry belongs to a later stage in the investigation; but as it stands outside the Acts, and establishes the *terminus ad quem*, parallel to the *terminus a quo* of the Crucifixion, for the subject-matter of this article, there is a special advantage in speaking of it at this place.

That St. Paul after his release carried out the desire long before expressed by him (Ro 15^{28}) to go on from Rome to Spain, is made more than probable by the testimony of St. Clement, that the apostle 'preached righteousness to the whole world, and reached the boundary of the West' (ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως ἐλθών, *ad Cor.* v.), and of the Muratorian Canon [*c.* A.D. 200], *profectionem Pauli ab urbe ad Spaniam proficiscentis.* For a journey to districts so untouched, where the very foundations of Christianity would still have to be laid, at least a year must be allowed; and six months more must be added for the preaching on the route through Southern Gaul—Marseilles, Arles, Nimes, Narbonne—if the Γαλατία to which Crescens was sent (2 Ti 4^{10}) was, as Eusebius, *HE* iii. 4, and other Greek Fathers suppose, not the lesser Gaul of Asia Minor, but the greater Gaul of the West.

---

* That the Alexandrine date is always beforehand with the date depending on simple observation will be due to the cycle computators reckoning Nisan 1 from the time of astronomical new moon, not from the time, about 30 hours later, when it first became visible to observers.

That St. Paul also revisited the East results from the Pastoral Epistles; and even critics who, like Harnack (*o.c.* p. 239, n. 3), reject these Epistles as a whole, admit that genuine accounts of St. Paul's movements after his release have been incorporated in them. But for the journey to Ephesus and Macedonia (1 Ti 1^{3}), for the evangelization of Crete (Tit 1^{5}), for the final visits to Troas, Miletus, and perhaps Corinth (2 Ti $4^{13.\,20}$), for the winter at Nicopolis (in Epirus; Tit 3^{12}),[*] a second eighteen months are required.

Thus three full years, though not necessarily more, appear to have elapsed between St. Paul's departure from and return to Rome; and it follows that if his martyrdom in the first great outbreak of Nero's persecution holds good, of the two alternative years to which his release was narrowed down (No. 9, above), A.D. 61 has an advantage over A.D. 62, and A.D. 56, 58 over A.D. 57, 59 as the years of his arrest at Jerusalem and of his journey as a prisoner to Rome.

So far, then, ten points from Jewish and secular history have been fixed with more or less probability: (1) Aretas in possession of Damascus, certainly not before A.D. 34, probably not before A.D. 37; (2) Herod Agrippa I.'s death, probably in A.D. 44; (3) the famine in Jerusalem, not before A.D. 46; (4) the proconsulate of Sergius Paulus in Cyprus, not in A.D. 51, 52; (5) the expulsion of the Jews from Rome, perhaps in A.D. 49 or 50; (6) the proconsulship of Gallio in Achaia, probably not before A.D. 49 or 50; (7) the marriage of Drusilla with Felix, not before A.D. 54; (8) the appointment of Felix as procurator of Judæa in A.D. 52, and his recall in one of the years A.D. 57–59; (9) of these three years the first seems to be excluded by the note about the days of unleavened bread; (10) and the third seems to be excluded by the calculation of the necessary interval between St. Paul's hearing before Festus and his martyrdom in A.D. 64 (64–65). Thus the crucial date of Festus' arrival seems to be established as A.D. 58, and therefore the close of the Acts after St. Paul's two years' captivity at Rome as A.D. 61; and a sort of framework is erected into which the details to be gathered, first, from the comprehensive history of the Acts, and, secondly, from the fragmentary notices in the Epistles, have now to be inserted.

(*A*) The Acts; second half (chs. 13–28). For the special criticism of this book, see ACTS OF THE APOSTLES. More need not be said here than that Ac is accepted in what follows as containing, on the whole, an accurate and trustworthy picture of events between Pentecost and St. Paul's (first) Roman captivity, A.D. 29–61. The picture is cut up, as it were, into six panels, each labelled with a general summary of progress; and with so careful an artist, the divisions thus outlined are, in the absence of more precise *data*, the natural starting-point of investigation. (i.) *First period*, 1^{1}. The Church in Jerus., and the preaching of St. Peter: summary in 6^{7} 'and the word of God was increasing, and the number of disciples in Jerus. was being greatly multiplied, and a large number of the priests were becoming obedient to the faith.' (ii.) *Second period*, 6^{8}. Extension of the Church through Pal.; the preaching of St. Stephen; troubles with the Jews: summary in 9^{31} 'the Church throughout all Galilee and Judæa and Samaria was having peace, being built up, and walking in the fear of the Lord and in the consolation of the Holy Spirit was being multiplied.' (iii.) *Third period*, 9^{32}. The extension of the Church to Antioch; St. Peter's conversion of Cornelius; further troubles with the Jews: summary in 12^{24} 'and the word of the Lord was increasing and being multiplied.' (iv.) *Fourth period*, 12^{25}. Extension of the Church to Asia Minor; preaching of St. Paul in 'Galatia'; troubles with the Jewish Christians: summary in 16^{5} 'the Churches then were being confirmed in the faith, and were abounding more in number daily.' (v.) *Fifth period*, 16^{6}. Extension of the Church to Europe; St. Paul's missionary work in the great centres, such as Corinth and Ephesus: summary in 19^{20} 'so forcibly was the word of the Lord increasing and prevailing.' (vi.) *Sixth period*, 19^{21}. Extension of the Church to Rome; St. Paul's captivities: summarized in 28^{31} 'proclaiming the kingdom of God and teaching the things concerning the Lord Jesus Christ with all boldness unhindered.'

Of these six sections the protagonist in the first three is St. Peter, in the last three St. Paul; and the two halves into which the book thus naturally falls make almost equal divisions at the middle of the whole period covered. But the further consideration of the earlier half may best be postponed until the rich chronological material of the later sections has been set in order.

Starting-point of St. Paul's First Missionary Journey (1st M.J., Ac 13^{3}).—The summary which closes the third section of the Acts intervenes between the notices of the death of Herod Agrippa I. (A.D. 44; see No. 2, above), and of the completion of SS. Paul and Barnabas' famine 'ministry' at Jerus.; so that it appears a legitimate inference that between these two events some considerable interval elapsed. Further, as there was no famine before the year A.D. 46 (No. 3, above), the delegates can scarcely have returned earlier to Antioch, unless the Antiochene Church had not merely begun to collect contributions in anticipation, which was natural enough, but had closed their fund before the famine was heard of, which does not seem natural at all. Certainly, if the delegates helped to administer the relief, the year 46 is the earliest possible.

Nor was the start on the 1st M.J. made immediately after their return to Antioch. The description introduced at this point (13^{1}) of the *personnel* of the Antiochene 'prophets and teachers' suggests at least some further period of settled work; and as the journey westwards meant a start either by sea or over the Taurus, it would not be entered upon in the winter months,—indeed it will be assumed in the following discussion as axiomatic that St. Paul's journeys are as far as possible to be placed in the summer (March or April to Nov.), and that during the other months he was in general stationary. Thus the spring of A.D. 47, or more particularly the end of the paschal season (in that year *circa* Mar. 28–Apr. 4), is the earliest starting-point at all probable.

Duration of the First Missionary Journey (Ac 13^{4}–14^{26}).—Crossing to Cyprus the apostles landed at Salamis and passed through the whole island as far as Paphos, preaching in the Jewish synagogues ($13^{5.\,6}$). The stay in Cyprus can hardly have been less than some months; the results, at any rate, encouraged the Cypriote Barnabas to select it as his share of the communities visited or founded in common ($15^{36.\,39}$). At earliest, then, in the summer of the same year, A.D. 47, the party crossed to the mainland of Pamphylia; and whether or not Ramsay's attractive conjecture be true, that the 'infirmity of the flesh' was a malarial fever caught there in the lowlands and necessitating an immediate move up into the hills, no stay is recorded anywhere short of Pisidian Antioch (Antioch P.). To the evangelization of this city and of Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe, the main efforts of the journey were devoted; and as the return was made by the same route, the three first-named cities were visited twice. The first sojourn in Antioch P. was long enough for the word to be 'spread abroad through the whole district' (13^{49}; cf. the similar but stronger phrase in 19^{10} of the two years' stay at Ephesus). At Iconium a 'long time' was spent (ἱκανὸν χρόνον, 14^{3}). With Lystra and Derbe the 'surrounding country' was evangelized ($14^{6.7}$), and at Derbe the disciples made were 'many' (ἱκανούς, 14^{21}). The return visits were no doubt shorter; but as they included the work of confirming and organizing the new communities (ἐπιστηρίζοντες, χειροτονήσαντες πρεσβυτέρους, $14^{22.23}$), they cannot well have been hurried. The second stay at Perga, unlike the first, was sufficiently long for the preaching of the word (14^{25}: contrast $13^{13.14}$). From the Pamphylian coast the voyage homeward was made direct.

---

[*] That is, if St. Paul's intention to winter there was carried out.

Where the indications are expressed in such general language, opinions will differ as to the length of time signified. But as it is certain that no one will estimate the stay in the interior at less than six months, and the hills between Antioch P. and Perga would not have been recrossed in the winter (Dec.-March), the whole absence from Antioch in Syria (Antioch S.) must have prolonged itself beyond a year; indeed the smallest space of time which will reasonably cover the details of the Acts is 18 months. Let it be supposed roughly that the apostles arrived in Cyprus in April and left it in July; that they reached Antioch P. by Aug. 1, Iconium by Nov. 1, spending there the five winter months, down to the paschal season (probably *circa* Mar. 18–25) of A.D. 48, Lystra by April 1, Derbe by May 15, the two latter being far less populous or important cities than the two former; that they began the return journey about July 1, getting down to the Pamphylian lowlands at the beginning of Oct., and back to Antioch S. a month later, say Nov. 1, A.D. 48. It is easy to allow more than this, and Ramsay raises the total from a year and 7 months to 2 years and 3 or 4 months, ending in July A.D. 49 (*Ch. in Rom. Emp.* pp. 65–73). But the shorter estimate, if it satisfies St. Luke's language, and it seems to do so, is to be preferred on the ground that it seems unlikely that the apostles on this their first missionary experiment should have separated themselves from their base at Antioch S., which was yet so near them, for as long a period as over 2 years.

Interval between the First and Second Missionary Journey: the Apostolic Council (Ac 14^{27}–15^{35}).—The two apostles after their return from the 1st M.J., and before their visit to Jerus., 'resided' at Antioch S. 'for no short time' (διέτριβον χρόνον οὐκ ὀλίγον, 14^{28}); and although it is just possible that the phrase may be meant to cover the whole period up to the starting-point of the 2nd M.J., yet even so the earlier portion itself cannot have been less than the four winter months from Nov. 1, A.D. 48, onwards. For the Council, it may be taken for granted, would not have been held during those months; and indeed since the Twelve were by this time no longer settled at Jerus., the opportunity for the Council must have been found in their assembling for one of the great Jewish feasts. Thus the earliest possible occasion will have been the passover of A.D. 49, *circa* April 5–12. But as Paul and Barnabas are said to have 'passed through Phœnice and Samaria, expounding the conversion of the Gentiles' (15^{3}),—and though this does not, of course, imply the same delay as the foundation of new communities, it does exclude the idea of hurried movements,—it is really more likely that they kept their passover at Antioch S., and spent the six weeks following in a leisurely progress towards Jerus., arriving there for the Council at Pentecost (May 24). They may easily have been back again at Antioch S. by the end of June; and as the further stay only amounted to 'certain days' (ἡμέρας τινάς, 15^{36}), there is no reason why the start for the 2nd M.J. should not have been made in the late summer of the same year, say Sept. 1, A.D. 49, ten months after the return from the previous journey. [On the visit of St. Peter to Antioch, Gal 2^{11}, see below, p. 424ᵃ.]

Duration of the Second Missionary Journey (Ac 15^{36}–18^{22}).—That St. Paul should start so late in the year, while it would have been very unnatural when he was breaking new ground in unknown districts, as in the 1st M.J., was natural enough when he was going primarily to revisit existing Churches; the winter would be spent among them, and they would serve in turn for bases from which, in the spring, he might make his way on again to further and more strictly missionary labours. This, in fact, is what St. Paul probably did do on his 2nd M.J. He left Antioch S. by land, 'passing through Syria and Cilicia confirming the Churches' (15^{41} ἐπιστηρίζων; cf. 14^{22} 18^{23}), a phrase which certainly implies a good deal more than a night's rest at each place. Thus several Churches, such as, no doubt, that of Tarsus, were 'visited' before he reached the Churches of the 1st M.J. at all. That of these Derbe is first mentioned, and then Lystra (16^{1}), follows from the adoption on this occasion of the land route over Taurus, which must have been crossed not later than November. It is not St. Luke's habit to describe anything in much detail but the foundation of new Churches,—contrast, *e.g.*, the first visit to Macedonia (16^{12}–17^{15}) with the second (20^{2}),—so that no deduction can be drawn from his silence as to any events beyond the circumcision of Timothy (16^{3}). On the contrary, the interpolation at this point of the fourth period-summary in 16^{5}, though no doubt primarily intended to emphasize the great step forward into Europe which follows, marks also a beating of time between the old work and the new, and suggests that the one was more than a mere episode on the way to the other; St. Paul must have stayed everywhere long enough to mark the progress going on, the 'daily increase in numbers.' Nor is it at all likely that fresh ground would be broken in the winter months. It can only have been after the passover (March 25–April 1) of A.D. 50 that he concluded at Antioch P. the seven months' 'visitation' of existing Churches, and plunged forward into the unknown.

That the phrase 'Phrygian and Galatian district' (τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν, 16^{6}) or 'Galatian and Phrygian district' (τὴν Γαλ. χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν, 18^{23}) means not two places, but one and the same, follows as well from the inclusion of both under a single article, as from the fact that the names are given in reverse order on the second occasion, though the direction of the journey was the same as on the first, from east to west. St. Paul's object on leaving Antioch P. was naturally the group of famous and populous cities on the western coast. [The Phrygo-Galatic region, if it lay on the route to Ephesus, can have had nothing to do with Galatia in the narrower ethnical sense, which was far away to the N. and N.E.; and this is only one of many arguments which combine to make Ramsay's view that the 'Galatian' Churches are those of Antioch P., Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe, all but demonstrably true.] Entrance, however, into the province of Asia was barred by divine intervention; and St. Paul directed his eyes to the next great group of cities, and turned northwards for Bithynia, only to find the same check when he reached the Bithynian border. This time the western direction was left open, and the party skirted Mysia until they touched the coast at a point north of 'Asia,' namely Troas. But as it is implied throughout these verses that no settlement was made for preaching, not more than a month need be allowed between the departure from Antioch P. and the arrival in Europe. The proclamation of the gospel at Philippi, Thessalonica, Berœa, and Athens must have occupied all the summer of A.D. 50: the stay at the two former towns, at least, was long enough to found flourishing Churches, and the 'three Sabbaths' at the synagogue of Thessalonica (17^{2}) represent, no doubt, not the whole of St. Paul's residence, but only the time anterior to the separation of Christians and Jews, cf. $18^{6.7}$ $19^{8.9}$. Ramsay, indeed, allots eleven months to these four places (*Ch. in Rom. Emp.* p. 85); but in the absence of any hint at specially lengthy sojourns—contrast 13^{49} 14^{3} etc.—six weeks at Philippi, two or three months at Thessalonica, and a few weeks each at Berœa and Athens must be considered sufficient. The sea route from Berœa to Athens is likely to have been taken before the autumnal equinox, and the apostle was doubtless eager to get on to his future headquarters, so that the arrival at Corinth may be placed in October A.D. 50. The total stay there of eighteen months (for the ἡμέρας ἱκανάς of 18^{18} are probably to be included in the ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ μῆνας ἕξ of 18^{11}) will last till April A.D. 52, thus covering two winters and a summer. St. Paul, as might be expected, arrives at the end of one travelling season and leaves at the beginning of another. The departure, if made, as in other cases, immediately after the paschal season (*circa* April 2–9, A.D. 52), would be timed to bring St. Paul (*viâ* Ephesus and Cæsarea, 18^{18-22}) to Jerus., as on the 3rd M.J., for the Feast of Pentecost. There the stay was only for the purpose of 'saluting the Church,' and the apostle went on at once to his old home at Antioch S., arriving, say, in June A.D. 52, after an absence of two years and nine months.

Duration of the Third Missionary Journey.—But Antioch was no longer an effective centre for St. Paul's work; it was out of reach of his new Churches in Macedonia and Achaia, while his 'Galatian' Churches would be supervised quite as easily from Ephesus, whither he was pledged to return if he could (18^{21}). If advantage was to be taken of the travelling season for the highlands of Asia Minor, no long delay was possible; the farewells at Antioch S. were therefore probably brief (18^{23} ποιήσας χρόνον τινὰ ἐξῆλθεν; contrast the continuous work implied in 11^{26} 13^{2} 14^{28} 15^{35}), and a start made on the 3rd M.J. about August A.D. 52.

This time the passage across Asia Minor seems to have been less protracted. Nothing is said of a stay in Cilicia (contr. 15^{41}); it is only in the Galatian Churches of the 1st M.J. that St. Paul, as he moved in order from one to another, set himself to 'establish' all the disciples (διερχόμενος καθεξῆς . . . στηρίζων, 18^{23}). This visitation, and the not very long or difficult journey between Antioch P., the westernmost of these cities, and Ephesus, need not have extended over much more than the remaining months of A.D. 52. Perhaps about the turn of the year, while travelling in the less rugged districts was still feasible, St. Paul reached Ephesus, and entered on a long residence there, certainly of two years, almost certainly of two years and three months—that is, if 19^{10} τοῦτο δὲ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ ἔτη δύο refers only to the disputing in the school of Tyrannus, and excludes the three months of the synagogue preaching, 19^{8}. It is true that in the case of the stay at Corinth (see just above) the later and fuller calculation is inclusive and not exclusive of the earlier and briefer: for Ephesus, on the contrary, the supplementary evidence of Ac 20^{31} τριετίαν . . . οὐκ ἐπαυσάμην appears to decide the question in favour of a total length of considerably over two years of residence. The period thus reckoned terminates at earliest in March or April A.D. 55. [A departure not before spring is confirmed by the evidence of the two Corinthian Epistles. 1 Co, written about the paschal season (March 30–April 6 in A.D. 55), announces a plan for leaving Ephesus after Pentecost, for travelling through Macedonia, and perhaps wintering in Corinth (1 Co 5^{8} 16^{5-8}),—a plan which would provide for a much longer, though less immediate, visit to Corinth than the original intention of going there on the way to Macedonia (cf. 2 Co 1^{16} and 1 Co 16^{7} οὐ θέλω γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἄρτι ἐν παρόδῳ ἰδεῖν). The Ephesian riot may have even precipitated the departure before Pentecost (Ac 20^{1}).] At some time, then, in the spring of A.D. 55, St. Paul launches himself on a new cycle of wanderings, intended to include Macedonia, Achaia, Jerus., and Rome (19^{21}). [2 Co implies that he had planned to preach at Troas, and stayed there long enough to find an opening, but ultimately hurried on into Macedonia, the sooner to meet Titus and the news from Corinth ($2^{12.13}$).] Through Macedonia he travelled slowly, visiting as he went the Churches of the 2nd journey, and possibly founding others (20^{2} διελθὼν τὰ μέρη ἐκεῖνα καὶ παρακαλέσας αὐτοὺς λόγῳ πολλῷ), until he reached Greece proper, or 'Hellas.' There, or in other words in Corinth, he stayed three months—obviously the winter months of A.D. 55–56, since the return journey brought him to Philippi just in time for the passover (March 18–25 A.D. 56), 20^{6}. This longer route through Macedonia was a sudden substitute, at the time of starting, for the direct voyage to Pal. (20^{3}), and the party had to hurry in consequence if the distance from Philippi to Jerus. was to be covered in the six weeks between the end of the paschal season and Pentecost (20^{16}). A week (six days) was spent at Troas, and another at Tyre, perhaps while waiting for weather or ships; but the journey between these two places was made with only necessary halts, and appears to have occupied not more than a fortnight. The days that remained to spare were spent at Cæsarea (21^{10}), and Jerus. was probably reached just in time for the feast.

St. Paul's Captivities.—At Jerus. St. Paul was arrested (May A.D. 56), and conveyed thence to Cæsarea, where his imprisonment, though not of a rigorous character, had lasted a full two years (διετίας πληρωθείσης, 24^{27}) when Porcius Festus succeeded Felix in the middle of A.D. 58. Festus, unlike his predecessor, gave a fairly prompt hearing to the case ($25^{1.6.13.23}$), and late in the summer St. Paul, having appealed to Cæsar, was sent, with other prisoners, in charge of a centurion to Rome. But the voyage was much delayed by contrary winds, and they were still off Crete at a time when the great fast (Tisri 10=*circa* Sept. 15 in A.D. 58) had already gone by—how long gone by St. Luke does not say (27^{9}). Even if the wreck took place as late as the beginning of November, and the three months at Malta (28^{11}) are reckoned to the full, the voyage was continued early in February, before navigation would naturally have begun; but no doubt an official on government business would be more likely than ordinary folk to risk sailing at an unpropitious season. Anyhow, somewhere in the early months of A.D. 59 St. Paul may be believed to have arrived in Rome, and after 'two whole years' (διετίαν ὅλην, 28^{30}), *i.e.* in the spring of A.D. 61, the book of the Acts closes, and leaves him still a prisoner; though the mention of the particular period suggests that a different condition of things supervened at the end of it, in which case the release, and visit to Spain, would follow at this point. [See for the rest of St. Paul's life, *supra*, pp. 420^{b} 421^{a}.]

Thus the second portion of the Acts, from the beginning of the 1st M.J. (13^{2}–28^{31}), covers a period of fourteen years, certainly not less, and apparently not more; and if the starting-point was rightly placed in A.D. 47, the fourteen years will come to an end in A.D. 61.

(*B*) The Epistles of St. Paul.

Of these the Pastoral Epistles fall outside the Acts, and have been dealt with already (p. 421^{a}). The two to the Thess. were written in the company of Silas and Timothy, the first not long after leaving Athens, 1 Th 1^{1} $3^{1.2.6}$, 2 Th 1^{1}; that is to say, during the long stay at Corinth on the 2nd M.J., A.D. 51 (50–52). The two to the Cor. fall, the one just before, the other soon after, the departure from Ephesus for Macedonia, towards the end of the 3rd M.J., A.D. 55 (see above, p. 422^{b}). The Epistle to the Rom. belongs to the winter residence at Corinth, A.D. 55–56 (Ro 16^{1} 15^{23-26}=Ac 19^{21}). The Epistles to Philippi, Ephesus, Colossæ, and to Philemon belong in all probability to the Roman imprisonment, A.D. 59–61. But the one Epistle which contains something of a chronology of St. Paul's life (Gal 1^{18}–2^{1}), the one Epistle which would bring together a point in the second half of the Acts with a point in the first, is also, from the absence of allusions to contemporary history, unfortunately the most difficult to date of all the Epistles.

Date of the Galatian Epistle.—(i.) Resemblance of style and subject-matter has generally led critics to assign Gal to the second group of Epistles, with 1, 2 Co and Ro, or even to a particular place in that group, between 2 Co and Ro (so Lightfoot, *Galatians*^{5}, pp. 44–56), *i.e.* on the chronology above adopted, in the latter part of A.D. 55. But perhaps too much stress has been laid on such resemblances taken alone,—as though St. Paul's history was so strictly uniform that a given topic can only have been handled at a given moment,—and too little on the influence of external circumstances to revive old ideas or call out new ones. Thus the Philippian and Ephesian letters belong to the same period; but the difference of conditions between the 'Asiatic' province and a Romanized community in Macedonia has produced a marked difference of topics and illustrated a marked progress of thought. Conversely, Gal and Ro may grapple with the same problems on the same lines (and yet what an alteration of tone between the two!) without being at all nearly synchronous with one another. The Galatian Epistle must be earlier than the Roman, earlier, that is, than A.D. 56; nothing more can be asserted positively, so far. (ii.) At the other end, the *terminus a quo* for the Epistle is the 1st M.J.; thus, even if addressed, as is probable, to the Churches then founded, it falls after A.D. 48. Further, the phrase in 4^{13} 'because of weakness of the flesh I preached the gospel to you τὸ πρότερον,' implies *either* some considerable lapse of years, 'in the old time,' *or* a second visit 'on the former of my two visits.' With the first alternative a date as late as A.D. 53–55 is possible; with the other, the Epistle must fall between the second and third visits, *i.e.* between the spring of A.D. 50 and the autumn of A.D. 52 (*supra*, p. 422).

[Ramsay (*St. Paul*, p. 189) dates the letter from Antioch S. immediately before the third visit, and finds a reason for this precision in the assertion that so critical a situation must have called of necessity for a prompt personal inspection; but it might be urged with at least equal reason, from Gal 1^{6} οὕτως ταχέως μετατίθεσθε, that the interval after St. Paul's last visit—whichever that was—had not been a long one.]

Visits to Jerusalem in the Galatian Epistle.—For the date, then, the years A.D. 50–55 remain open; and therefore St. Paul when he wrote had paid according to the Acts either three visits to Jerus.,—Ac 9^{26-30} after the flight from Damascus, Ac 11^{30} 12^{25} the contribution for the famine, *c.* A.D. 46, Ac 15^{4-30} the apostolic Council, A.D. 49,—or four, adding to the three former Ac 18^{22}, the flying visit at the end of the 2nd M.J., A.D. 52. In the Epistle, on the other hand, two visits only are named, the first a fortnight's visit to Cephas (Gal 1^{18}), the second an official visit of the representatives of Gentile to the representatives of Jewish Christianity (Gal 2^{1-10}). Thus, even if St. Luke's enumeration is exhaustive, St. Paul omits either one or two visits altogether. But if this seems a difficulty, the solution is simple; St. Paul is enumerating, not his visits to Jerus. *per se*, but his visits for intercourse with the elder apostles, πρὸς τοὺς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἀποστόλους (Gal 1^{17}), and would necessarily omit any visit when they were absent. What, then, of the occasion when the famine contribution was brought to Jerusalem? If St. Luke mentions only elders or presbyters as the recipients of the bounty (Ac 11^{30}), the natural, though of course not the only possible, explanation is that the elders—that is, the local ministry with St. James the Lord's brother at their head—were by that time the supreme authority. Certain it is that, whether gradually or at some definite moment, the Twelve did separate themselves from the Church at Jerus., and became more completely the missionaries which after all their commission from Christ and their very title of 'apostles' meant them to be. After the persecution of Herod they are never mentioned at Jerus. save during the Council of ch. 15. Doubtless, they returned from time to time, as opportunity offered, to keep the feasts like other Jews; but neither at St. Paul's fourth nor at his fifth visit is there the least hint of their presence. [If the ancient tradition that the apostles, according to divine command, remained at Jerus. for twelve years after the Ascension (*Prædicatio Petri*, ap. Clem. Al. *Strom.* vi. 5; Apollonius ap. Eus. *HE* v. 18: Harnack, *o.c.* p. 243; von Dobschütz, *Texte u. Unters.* xi. 1, pp. 52, 148) substantially represents historic fact, as may well be the case, then A.D. 41 or thereabouts will mark their departure.] Here is ample reason for St. Paul's silence about the visit of Ac 11. 12 and (if the Epistle was written after the summer of A.D. 52) that of Ac 18. Thus the first visit of Gal corresponds with the first of Ac; the second of Ac is omitted; and the second of Gal answers to the third of Ac (A.D. 49).

[This connexion of Gal 2^{1-10} with Ac 15 is generally accepted, and a strong argument for it is the common atmosphere of crisis which pervades both narratives, told though they are from different points of view. Ramsay, however (*St. Paul*, pp. 153–166), strongly maintains that the second visit of Gal can only be the second of Acts. Some of his points have been answered here by anticipation; some illustrate the *micrologie* which Harnack, not wholly without cause, attributes to him, *e.g.*, that the same visit cannot be said in St. Paul to have been κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν, Gal 2^2, in St. Luke to have been by commission from the Church of Antioch, as though the Spirit and the Church never spoke in harmony. Very attractive, however, is the identification of St. Paul's 'emissaries from James' (Gal 2^{12} τοῦ ἐλθεῖν τινὰς ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου) with St. Luke's 'emissaries from Judæa' (Ac 15^1 τινὲς κατελθόντες ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας), for this would make St. Peter's desertion of the Gentile Christians at Antioch to precede and not to follow his championship of their cause at Jerus., and would be a real point of superiority over the common view that St. Peter and St. James gave a formal pledge of brotherhood, and then violated it. But this identification of the two Judaizing missions from Jerus. to Antioch may be accepted side by side with the ordinary view that Gal $2^{1ff.}$ = Ac 15, *if Gal.* 2^{11-14} *be allowed in order of time to precede Gal* 2^{1-10}. There is nothing like the ἔπειτα of Gal $1^{18.21}$ 2^1 to suggest that the chronological series is continued. On the contrary, St. Paul's argument may perhaps be best paraphrased as follows: 'I have not received my gospel from the elder apostles. I went up to their headquarters at Jerus., not on my conversion, but first at an interval of 3 years, and then at one of 14; the first a private visit, the second an official one, when I treated with them, and was recognized by them, on equal terms. So far from simply submitting to them, I once publicly rebuked their chief on the occasion when he was on my ground at Antioch, and backed out of his own liberal principles under pressure from representatives of James.' If this interpretation be correct, Ramsay has failed indeed to prove his main point, but has shown the way to a subsidiary rearrangement of much importance. The dispute at Antioch may then be placed in the winter (A.D. 48–49) before the Council, at which St. Peter 'employs to others the argument that had convinced himself.']

Date of St. Paul's Conversion.—The second visit of Galatians being thus identified with the Council, the date has already been fixed as in all probability A.D. 49 (above, p. 422ª); and this visit itself was 'at an interval of 14 years' (διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν, Gal 2^1), while the first visit was '3 years after' the conversion (μετὰ τρία ἔτη, Gal 1^{18}). But are the 14 years of the second visit also to be reckoned from the conversion (11 years, therefore, from the first visit), with Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 382, or from the first visit (17 from the conversion), with Lightfoot, *ad loc.*? The Greek suits either alternative; the argument favours the former, for St. Paul would naturally state the intervals at the highest possible figure. The first of the synchronisms established above (p. 416ª) gives weight to the same side; when St. Paul came to Jerus. on his first visit, he had just fled from the ethnarch of Aretas at Damascus (2 Co 11^{32} = Ac $9^{25.26}$), and Aretas probably did not become master of Damascus till A.D. 37. But the addition of the 3 to the 14 years would throw back the first visit to A.D. 35–36, probably beyond the time of Aretas, and the conversion to A.D. 32–33, whereas the inclusion of the 3 in the 14 would put the conversion in A.D. 35–36, and the first visit under Aretas in A.D. 38.

(*C*) The first half of the Acts: chs. 1–12.

Thus, from the dates established in the second half of the Acts, it is possible, by means of the Epistles, to argue back to the first half of the Acts and to reach two rough dates for the conversion of St. Paul (Ac $9^{1ff.}$), A.D. 35–36, and for his first visit to Jerus. (Ac 9^{26}), A.D. 38. It remains only to adjust, by the help of these points, the division into periods (see p. 421ᵇ), which is the single hint at a chronology supplied by St. Luke in the earlier part of his work. St. Paul's conversion apparently followed not very long after St. Stephen's martyrdom, and that, in turn, is the first event recorded in the 2nd section of the Acts (9^1 8^3 6^{7-9}). The first period of relatively undisturbed progress will then end about A.D. 35, having covered six years from A.D. 29. The second period, marking a commencement, but only a commencement, of conflict, begins in A.D. 35, and the last event mentioned in it is St. Paul's first visit to Jerus., A.D. 38; but the peaceful development implied in the summary of this period (9^{31}) justifies, perhaps, the extension of the period as far as A.D. 39–40. The third period ends with the record of advance in 12^{24}, after the death of Herod in A.D. 44, and before St. Paul's second visit (at any rate before its conclusion) at the time of the famine in A.D. 46, and lasts altogether from A.D. 39–40 to, say, A.D. 45. That the chronology here adopted results in a more or less even division of periods—i. from A.D. 29; ii. from A.D. 35; iii. from A.D. 39–40; iv. from A.D. 45–46; v. from A.D. 50; vi. from A.D. 55 (to A.D. 61)—such as St. Luke seems to be contemplating, must be considered a slight step towards its verification. On the other hand, Harnack's chronology, which puts St. Paul's conversion in the same year as the Crucifixion, or, at latest, in the following, allotting even in the latter case no more than about 18 months to Ac 1^1–9^{18}, neglects these period-divisions altogether.

Conclusion.—This article may be concluded by a comparison of the dates here adopted (col. ii.) with schemes preferred by three representative writers—Harnack (col. i.), who throws everything early; Lightfoot (col. iv.), who throws all the latter part late; and Ramsay (col. iii.), who investigates independently, but is nearer to Lightfoot than to Harnack.

	H.		R.	L.
Crucifixion	29 or 30	29	30	[30]
St Paul's conversion . .	30	35–36	33	34
1st visit to Jerus. . .	33	38	35–36	37
2nd " " . .	[44]	46	46	45
1st M.J.	45	47	47	48
Council at Jerus., 2nd M.J. .	47	49	50	51
Corinth reached late in .	48	50	51	52
4th visit to Jerus., 3rd M.J.	50	52	53	54
Ephesus left	53	55	56	57
5th visit to Jerus., arrest at Pentecost	54	56	57	58
Rome reached early in . .	57	59	60	61
Acts closes early in . .	59	61	62	63
St. Peter's martyrdom . .	64	64–65	80	64
St. Paul's martyrdom . .	64	64–65	65	67

If these several schemes are brought to the test of agreement with the ten results established on a balance of probabilities in the first half of this article, it follows with regard to each in turn—

1. That certainly Harnack (A.D. 33), and probably Ramsay (A.D. 35–36), put St. Paul's first visit to Jerus., and therefore his flight from Damascus, earlier than it seems that Aretas can have obtained possession of the latter city.

2. That for the death of Herod Agrippa I., A.D. 44 is accepted in all schemes.

3. That Harnack, at least, puts the return from the second or famine visit to Jerus. [A.D. 44?] considerably before the famine can have begun.

4. That no scheme puts the 1st M.J. and visit to Cyprus (A.D. 45, 47, 48) in either of the two years which are impossible for Sergius Paulus' governorship.

5. That all schemes bring St. Paul to Corinth (autumn of A.D. 48, of 50, of 51, of 52) under Claudius; but that if Orosius' date for the expulsion of the Jews from Rome (A.D. 49–50) is correct, then, since Aquila's arrival immediately preceded St. Paul's (Ac 18^2 προσφάτως ἐληλυθότα), Harnack's date is certainly too early; Lightfoot's certainly, and Ramsay's possibly, too late.

6. That all schemes make St. Paul appear before Gallio at Corinth (A.D. 49–50, 51–52, 52–53, 53–54) in a possible year for the latter's proconsulship; but that the earliest of these years, Harnack's, is not a likely one.

7. That, in the same way, Harnack's scheme makes St. Paul appear before Felix and his wife

Drusilla at Cæsarea (A.D. 54), in the earliest possible year of the marriage.

8. That Harnack puts the recall of Felix and arrival of Festus too early (A.D. 56) to suit the evidence of Josephus, just as Lightfoot puts it too late (A.D. 60) to suit the evidence of Tacitus, and that a date equally distant from these two (A.D. 58) is perhaps best of all.

9. That Harnack's year for St. Paul's arrest (A.D. 54), and still more Lightfoot's (A.D. 58), are less easy to reconcile with the chronology of the passover at Philippi than A.D. 56 or 57.

10. That Lightfoot's year, and, to a less extent, Ramsay's year, for the release of St. Paul from the first Roman captivity, are difficult to reconcile with his martyrdom in A.D. 64–65.

The evidence from these synchronisms, taken individually, does not pretend to amount to demonstrative proof; but the whole of Harnack's scheme, and all the latter part of Lightfoot's, appear to contradict them at too many points to be entertained. Of the other two, Ramsay's is perhaps nowhere superior, and at several points inferior, to that of the present article, which is recommended as a consistent and fairly satisfactory harmonization of a good many results which, like the sticks in the faggot, are separately weak, but together strong.

LITERATURE. — The received view depends on Wieseler's *Chronol. d. apost. Zeitalters*, 1848. The English reader may find it expounded in Venables' tr. of Wieseler, in Lewin's *Fasti Sacri*, 1865, or in Lightfoot's *Biblical Essays*, pp. 216–233, posthumously printed from notes of a course of lectures delivered in 1863, but seeming, in essentials, to represent his latest views. Most recent English writers had accepted this chronology without question, until Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, 1895 (see also for some points his *Church in the Roman Empire*, 1893), subjected it to partial re-examination and restatement. His main contention, the identification of the visits of Gal 2^{1-10} and Ac 12^{25}, has not met, and is perhaps not likely to meet, with much acceptance; but in spite of this, and in spite of an unnecessarily dogmatic tone, his contribution to the subject is a real and substantial one, and the present article is very much more indebted to him than to any other writer. German books have in the main acquiesced in Wieseler's results, *e.g.* Schürer's invaluable *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, ed. 2, 1886–1890. Some Roman Catholic writers, indeed, clung to the system which throws back the chronology of St. Paul's later life by four or five years behind Wieseler's; and these have been now reinforced by Blass, *Acta Apostolorum*, 1895, pp. 21–24, who does not commit himself beyond a trenchant criticism of the received view, and by Harnack, *Chronol. d. altchristl. Litteratur bis Eusebius*, i. 1897, pp. 233–244, whose adhesion is thoroughgoing, though his treatment of the evidence is unequal and unsatisfactory. C. H. TURNER.

CHURCH (*ἐκκλησία*). — For the history of the word *ἐκκλησία* and its relation to such Heb. terms as קָהָל and עֵדָה, see art. CONGREGATION.

In the present art. we shall discuss—

- I. DEFINITION OF CHURCH IN NT.
- II. THE ACTUAL CHURCH.
  - (*A*) Conditions of Membership.
  - (*B*) The Life of the Church.
    - i. The Public Worship.
    - ii. Christian Rule of Conduct.
  - (*C*) The Single Community. Its Functions and Organization.
  - (*D*) The whole Church.
- III. THE IDEAL CHURCH.

I. DEFINITION OF THE CHURCH IN NT. — Ἐκκλησία is used in NT of a single community of Christians, or of the sum of the single communities, the whole body of Christians. In the last sense, two points of view are possible, and both are found in NT. We may think of the Church as an 'empiric matter of fact,' *i.e.* as a collection of individuals, the *actual* Church, or we may cease to think of the Church as a noun of multitude and regard it as a single individual entity, the *ideal* Church. The second point of view is closely related to the first. If we ask what is in the minds of the writers in this usage, we find that ultimately they are thinking, not of a single entity, but of a collection of individuals. So when St. Paul says the Church is the 'body' or 'bride' of Christ, he is really expressing under the figure of a single entity, the Church, the relation in which Christ stands to the individual members. There is, however, a real difference between the conception of actual and ideal Church in two respects. (1) The conception of the actual Church regards it as it really is, *i.e.* a body of individuals of various degrees of imperfection; while the *ideal* Church is a body whose members represent the ideal of membership, *i.e.* it is a perfect Church, or at least one free from the negative aspect of evil. (2) The actual Church is composed of the members who are still alive and in the world at the time of speaking; while the conception of the ideal Church does not denote a definite number of members at a definite time, but implies a membership independent of time. The latter is, in fact, an ideal, not an empirical, body. Hence it splits off from the later conception of the 'invisible' Church, *i.e.* the Church as composed of all its members, dead and living; for it refers neither to dead nor living Christians, but to an indefinite body of members belonging to no time, present, past, or future, because it is a timeless ideal conception.

The conception of the Church in NT stands in so close a relation to two other conceptions, viz. the 'people of Israel' and the 'kingdom of God,' that it is necessary here to say something as to the connexion between these ideas.

(*a*) *The Church and the People of Israel.*—The Jewish nation, by the crucifixion of the Messiah, brought down upon themselves their final and irrevocable rejection. Jews were called upon to save themselves from 'this crooked generation' (Ac 2^{40}). Since Christ came there was 'none other name under heaven which is given among men wherein we must be saved' (4^{12}). It was no longer enough to live after Moses; it was only by accepting the baptism of Christ that the Jew could obtain remission of sins. But at the outset the Christian still remained a Jew. His new profession did not absolve him from the law and the institutions of Moses. So the Church starts as a society *within* the Jewish nation. The distinction is already to hand between the actual Isr. and the true people of God. The believers are the 'remnant' (cf. Ro 11^{5}) in the actual Israel, which is the preparation for the restored and perfected Isr. of the prophets. The Christ, who has already once appeared, is waiting for 'Israel' to repent and believe on Him, that He may come again and all things be restored (Ac 3^{19-21} 5^{31}). All that do not accept Him shall be utterly destroyed from among the people (3^{23}). Here, then, we see the Church identified with the *people of Israel*, but distinguished, on the one hand, from the existing Jewish nation, and, on the other, from the restored Isr. of prophecy. The 'second coming' is to see the identification of the actual with the ideal Isr., by the incorporation of those who believe on Christ with the latter, and the destruction of the unbelievers. So in the Messianic age, Church and ideal Isr. and actual Isr. will be one and the same, but at present they are distinguished. It was necessary, however, that this view should be modified when the admission of Gentiles was permitted without demanding circumcision from them. The previous conception of the Church and of the future restored Isr. was confined to the exclusively national ideals of Jewish tradition. It did not travel beyond the 'Israel after the flesh.' In the Pauline conception, however, the Church is still regarded as the chosen folk, but a distinction appears between Isr. 'after the flesh' (1 Co 10^{18}) and the 'Isr. of God' (Gal 6^{16}). God has taken from the heathen a 'people for his name' (Ac 15^{14}), and in this new Isr. 'they are not all Isr. which are of Isr.' (Ro 9^{6}). The faithful remnant within Isr., which before was identified with the Church, is now but a small part of it. The 'oracles of God' are no longer entrusted to the Jewish nation, for the Christians have succeeded the Jews as the vehicles of inspiration (Eph 3^{5}, He $1^{1.2}$, cf. with $2^{3.4}$). The Church, then, stands over against the actual Isr. as a non-Jewish spiritual Israel. In the picture of Ro 11^{16-24}, the Church is an olive tree in which the patriarchs are the 'root,' the unbelieving Jews are rejected branches, and the Gentiles new branches grafted in from the wild olive. At the same time, to the Jewish and primitive Christian, belief in a restoration of the natural Isr. to the position of a world-subduing kingdom (cf. Ac 1^{6}) succeeds the idea of the kingdom of God as Christ Himself conceived it, *i.e.* the universal rule of Christian principles, a cosmopolitan instead of a national conception.

(*b*) *The Church and the Kingdom* (*of Heaven*) *of God.*—The fundamental conception underlying the various meanings of the kingdom of God is that of the *Kingship* (*βασιλεία*) of God or Christ. Βασιλεία in Greek was a word with a wider range of significance than we generally attach to the Eng. word 'kingdom,' and the shades of meaning which it bore determine also the different conceptions of the kingdom of heaven. We have thus (α) the abstract sense of *βασιλεία*, *i.e.* those moral and spiritual qualities which are in consonance with the will of

God. It is thus that St. Paul says, 'the kingdom of God is . . righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost' (Ro 14^{17}); or that Christ compares it to the hid treasure and the pearl of great price (Mt 13$^{44-46}$); or that He says, 'Seek ye first his kingdom and his righteousness' (Mt 6^{33}, Lk 12^{31}). 'The k. of God is within you' (Lk 17^{21}). It is probably also used in this sense in the expressions, 'the glad tidings (or the gospel) of the kingdom' (Mt 4^{23}, Lk 8^{1} etc.), 'to preach the kingdom' (Lk 4^{43}, Ac 20^{25} etc.). (β) In a concrete sense the establishing of such a rule considered as an *event.* We have here two points of view from which such an event might be considered. (1) As soon as Christ's teaching found disciples, the kingdom was already established; or if we regard the miraculous power of Christ over nature, we might say with Him, 'if I by the spirit of God cast out devils, then is the k. of God come upon you' (Mt 12^{28}, cf. Lk 11^{20}). From the point of view of the kingdom already established, it is compared to the rapid growth of a mustard tree (Mt 13$^{31.32}$), or leaven spreading through meal (*ib.* ^{33}). (2) A future establishment of the kingdom. This idea is especially connected with the second coming of Christ 'with the angels of his power, in flaming fire' (2 Th 1^{8}, cf. *ib.* $^{5.8-10}$), the establishment of the kingdom in power (cf. Mt 3^{2} 6^{10}, Lk 17^{20}, 1 Co 15$^{50-54}$). A third but rare use is (3) the present rule of God in heaven (2 Ti 4^{18}, cf. Lk 23$^{42.43}$, Jn 18^{36}). (γ) Βασιλεία = sphere of rule, not so much local, as in the prevailing use of 'kingdom,' but in the sense of the society or community over which the rule extends. This meaning has also two variations corresponding to the first two meanings of (β). They are (1) the actual society of professing Christians, including good and bad members: so in Parables of the Tares (Mt 13$^{24-30}$), the Draw-net (*ib.* $^{47-50}$), and the Wedding Garment (*ib.* 22$^{1-13}$), but always with a reference to (2) the blessed society of those who are admitted to the kingdom at the second coming, when it is established with power in its perfection. As the society of the blessed, to be rejected from which is eternal misery, its membership is the reward of faithful service; cf. the expressions, 'Theirs is the k. of heaven' (Mt 5$^{3.10}$, cf. Lk 6^{20}), 'to enter into, to inherit the k.' (Mt 5^{20}, Ac 14^{22}, Gal 5^{21}, Col 1^{13}, and many other places).

Of these meanings ἐκκλησία coincides only with the last. It does not *per se* connote any moral or spiritual qualities, *e.g.* we would not say, 'The Church is righteousness and peace and joy,' etc. Nor could we use the word ἐκκλησία of an event. It is properly a *collective* noun, denoting the people of God. Even when it is spoken of ideally or as a person, the fundamental meaning is still that of God's folk.* The 'kingdom of God' is then a very much wider conception than 'Church.' Where the two occur side by side (Mt 16^{18}), the 'kingdom' appears as the future and heavenly counterpart of the Church. The 'bindings' and 'loosings' of the latter shall be counted valid in the former; cf. the words 'on earth' (=Church), 'in heaven' (=kingdom), *ib.* ^{19} 18^{18}, cf. Jn 20^{23}.

II. The Actual Church is the society of Christians, or a part of it.

(*A*) *Membership.*—The necessary qualifications for membership were repentance of former sins and submission to baptism in the name of Jesus Christ (Ac 2^{38}), which carried with it the demand of faith in Christ. The privileges of membership acquired at baptism were: (1) The Christian became reconciled with God through appropriating to himself Christ's satisfaction for sin (Ro 5^{10} 6$^{4-7}$, Col 1$^{21.22}$). His past life of sin no longer stood against him in his account with God. He was justified. (2) He was sanctified, and henceforth was called 'holy' (ἅγιος), because he belonged to God by the consecration of baptism (1 Co 6^{11}). (3) He received the gift of the Holy Ghost (Ac 2^{38}) as a supernatural power within him. (4) He was admitted to the common life and sacraments of the Christian brotherhood. On his part, in turn, he was bound, so far as he could, to live up to the high standard of that life, 'to put on the new man, which after God hath been created in righteousness and holiness of truth' (Eph 4^{24}).

(*B*) *The Life of the Church.*—The new life, to which the convert was introduced by his baptism, was the practical expression of the relation in which he stood to God as a member of His 'people.' His life was henceforth given up to the service of God. And that service was the worship of God in the public gatherings of worship and in the holiness of his private life. So we may consider the life of the Church under these two aspects: (1) the public worship, (2) the Christian conduct.

i. *The Public Worship.*

This subject divides itself into two branches: (1) Occasional ceremonies. These were the rites of baptism and ordination. We hear nothing of special forms of service in connexion with marriage or burial. (2) Ordinary services. These were also of two kinds: (*a*) a public (*i.e.* not confined to Christians) service, which was of a didactic ('edification,' 1 Co 14^{26}) and missionary character; (*b*) the 'breaking of the bread,' a private (*i.e.* confined to Christians) act of worship.

(1) Occasional Ceremonies.—(*a*) *Baptism* was the rite by which the convert was formally admitted as a member of the Church (Ac 2$^{41.42}$). It was therefore (Mt 28^{19}) to be administered to every Christian without exception. St. Paul always takes it for granted that his hearers have been baptized (*e.g.* Ac 19^{3}, Ro 6^{3}, Col 2$^{11.12}$). It is indeed regarded as necessary for salvation that a man should have undergone this ceremony (Jn 3^{5}), which saves the Christian as the ark saved Noah (1 P 3$^{20.21}$). At the same time, it is never regarded as a merely mechanical means of salvation, but is contrasted with circumcision by its spiritual significance (Col 2$^{11.12}$), and the subjective element (*i.e.* faith and a good conscience) is insisted upon as the necessary accompaniment of the ceremonial act, if the receiver would obtain its advantages (1 P 3^{21}). The ritual of baptism consisted of an immersion of the baptized person in water (Mt 3^{16}, Mk 1^{10}, Ac 8^{38}). The baptizer accompanied the act with the formula 'in the name of Jesus Christ' (Ac 2^{38} 8^{16} 10^{48} 19^{5}, cf. Ja 2^{7}), or more fully 'in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost' (Mt 28^{19}, *Didache* 7). No limitations are expressly mentioned in NT which forbid us to suppose that the right to baptize did not belong to every Christian, but as a matter of fact we find no instances of persons baptizing except those with some sort of recognized position of authority. Our Lord (Jn 4^{2}) and the apostles (Ac 10^{48}, 1 Co 1^{17}) generally avoided baptizing in person, and relegated the duty to helpers and assistants. See Baptism.

(*b*) *Ordination.*—Every Christian had a *charisma* (=gift, talent), the nature and degree of which determined his position and duties in the community. But while the *charisma* in most cases is considered as coming direct from the Holy Ghost to the individual at the time of or after his baptism, without any further human agency, in some instances a *charisma* was bestowed through the 'laying on of hands.' The 'laying on of hands' in OT was the symbolic act of conveying a gift (as in blessing Gn 48^{14}, appointing to office Nu 27^{23}) or a curse (as the scapegoat Lv 16^{21}). In the case of our Lord the 'laying on of hands' was especially attached to the miracles of healing (*e.g.* Mt 9^{18}, Mk 5^{23} etc.), and He left to His disciples the power of healing through the same act (Mk 16^{18}). In the apostolic age it is also found in connexion with healing (Ac 9$^{12.17}$ 28^{8}). It thus had the significance of a miraculous power. In the passages where it is mentioned as an accompanying or supplementary ceremony to baptism, the miraculous gift of the Holy Ghost attends its employment (cf. Ac 8^{18} διά, *i.e.* the 'laying on of hands' is the instrument by which the Holy Ghost was given in this instance), and is contrasted with the ordinary gift of the Holy Ghost through baptism. So, too, when a man was to be 'set apart' for a particular work, he receives a special 'gift' for its performance through the 'laying on of hands.' This is especially mentioned of the Seven (Ac 6^{6}), the mission of Barnabas and Saul (Ac 13^{3}), and the work of Timothy at Ephesus (1 Ti 4^{14}, 2 Ti 1^{6}), and it appears in the Pastoral Epp. as the regular form of ordaining a bishop or deacon (1 Ti 5^{22}). It was accompanied by prayer (Ac 6^{6} 13^{3}) and fasting (13^{3}). We find the 'laying on of hands' performed by apostles (Ac 6^{6} 8^{17} 19^{6}, 2 Ti 1^{6}), by an ordinary disciple at the command of the Holy Ghost (Ac $9^{12.17}$), by the prophets and teachers at Antioch under similar circumstances (*ib.* 13^{3}), by the presbytery at Ephesus (1 Ti 4^{14}).

---

* He 12^{23} πανηγύρει καὶ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρωτοτόκων is not to the point as an instance of a distinctively Christian usage of ἐκκλησία. It is plain from the connexion with πανηγύρει that ἐκκλησια is used here in a quite general meaning, 'assembly,' without reference to its technical Christian significance.

(2) *The Regular Worship.*—We turn now to the regular services of the early Christian Church. At the first the community met for the purpose of worship daily (Ac 1^{14} 2^{46}), and we find no intimation or allusion that any day was marked with more solemnity than the others. But at a later period the 'first day of the week' is singled out from the rest and observed with especial honour. The first occasion on which we meet with this is in 1 Co 16^{2} 'upon the first day of the week let each one of you lay by him in store' his contribution to the collection. Then Ac 20^{7} we notice the disciples of Troas gathered together on the first day of the week to break bread. By themselves these two instances could not be pressed. But in Rev 1^{10} there is a mention of '*the* Lord's day,' τῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ, which appears as κυριακὴ κυρίου in the *Didache* 14^{1}, and as κυριακή simply in Ignatius (*ad Mag.* ix. 1). These all hang together with the fact recorded by all the evangelists that on the first day of the week Christ rose from the dead (Mt 28^{1}, Mk 16^{2}, Lk 24^{1}, Jn 20^{1}). The resurrection of Christ was the foundation of Christian hope (1 Co 15^{17-19}), and therefore the day of the resurrection was *par excellence* the Lord's day (see Ignatius, *loc. cit.*, Ep. Barn. 15), and when it became impracticable for the 'breaking of the bread' to be celebrated daily, it was celebrated with careful regularity on this day (*Did.* 14^{1}; Pliny, *Epp.* x. 96, 'stato die convenire'). To what precise date this practice goes back in Christian history we cannot say. St. Paul (Ro 14^{5}) speaks of those who esteem one day above another, and those who esteem every day alike, but he is here probably referring to the Jewish Sabbath. The Jewish Christians themselves observed the Sabbath, and some attempted to force its observance upon the Gentiles (Gal 4^{10}, Col 2^{16}). But the Sabbath and method of its observance are especially distinguished from the **Lord's day** [cf. Ign. *loc. cit.* 'no longer sabbatizing (σαββατίζοντες), but living according to the Lord's day,' and Ep. Barn. *loc. cit.* Sabbaths are not pleasing to God, 'therefore we observe the eighth day for rejoicing']. On the early history of the Christian Sunday, see esp. T. Zahn, *Skizzen aus dem Leben der alten Kirche*, cap. vi.

Of the existence of yearly festivals we have no intimation at all in NT. The Jewish Christians still observed the Jewish feasts (Ac 2^{1} 20^{16}, 1 Co 16^{8}). There is no allusion in 1 Co $5^{7.8}$ ('Our passover also hath been sacrificed, even Christ, wherefore let us keep the feast,' etc.) to the observance of Easter. The context shows that the apostle is not speaking literally. The starting-point of his theme is the comparison of the Church to a 'new lump' from which the old leaven has been purged out. 'We, too,' he says, 'as well as the Jews, have a Passover lamb; therefore let us keep the feast . . . with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth.' His imagery is borrowed from the distinctively Jewish passover, but the lesson drawn applies to the whole Christian life, not to any special occasion—ἑορτάζωμεν is rather 'keep festival' than 'keep *the* feast.' It is noticeable, however, that in the later Paschal controversy both parties referred to apostolic usage (see Eus. *HE* v. 23, 24), in view of which we are not justified in drawing an argument from silence against the apostolic foundation of the Easter festival, and the exact date of its institution must be left an open question.

In 1 Co we find that St. Paul presents to us a picture of two kinds of Christian worship. In ch. 14 is described a meeting whose chief aim is mutual edification; in 11^{17-34} one of a very different character and ceremonial, the purpose of which is to 'eat the Lord's Supper' (κυριακὸν δεῖπνον). In the same way two kinds of religious observance are distinguished in the account of the primitive Church (Ac 2^{42}), 'the breaking of bread and the prayers.' It is not quite certain whether ταῖς προσευχαῖς here refers to the public prayers in the temple which the Christians attended (*e.g.* 3^{1}), or to the meetings of the community; but as the writer is describing the salient elements distinctive of the *Christian* life, the latter has a slight balance in its favour. In any case there is abundant evidence (*e.g.* Ac 1^{14} $2^{4.46.47}$ $4^{24ff.31}$ etc.) that the Christians at this time held assemblies for worship distinct from the 'breaking of the bread.'

This distinctively Christian worship was not held to take the place of the temple services, which were attended with scrupulous regularity (Ac 3^{1}). Neither—and this, of course, refers not only to the first days of Christianity—did it take the place of individual private prayer (cf. Ac 10^{9} 16^{25}, Eph 6^{18}, Ph 1^{4}).

(*a*) The *public* service.—The purpose of this service was before all things edification, and this not only for those who were already believers, but also for unbelievers. It had, then, a missionary aspect, and for this purpose was made as public and open as possible. At Jerus. it took place especially in the temple as long as this was permitted (Ac 2^{46} 3^{11} 5^{12}), or in some public place (Ac 2^{4}, cf. ^{6}). Unbelievers were welcome to attend and listen (1 Co 14^{23}). Every Christian had received the Holy Ghost and a 'gift' as the 'manifestation of the Spirit' within him (see 1 Co $12^{7ff.}$). Whatever was the gift he possessed, he was bound to put it at the service of the community and use it in harmonious working with the whole (*ib.*$^{12ff.}$). But if we look through the lists of gifts in Ro $12^{6ff.}$, 1 Co $12^{8ff.}$ we see that there are some (*e.g.* miracles, healings) which would not qualify their possessors to contribute to the worship of the community. So we find a distinction drawn in 1 P $4^{10.11}$ between the gifts of speaking and the gifts of ministering (διακονεῖν = contributing by personal help or offerings to the common support). To the former it fell to take part in the public worship. St. Paul mentions (1 Co 14^{26}) as constituent elements of this service 'a psalm,' 'a teaching,' 'a revelation,' 'a tongue,' 'an interpretation.' The division is not a rigid one: a 'psalm' might be also a 'tongue' (cf. *ib.*^{15}). Nor is the enumeration exhaustive; prayer is not included, though it formed an integral part of the service (cf. 11^{4}). We may then, perhaps, divide as follows: (α) teaching, (β) prayer, (γ) praise.

(α) *Teaching.*—We are only considering here the place occupied by teaching in the services. We must treat later of the wider question of teaching in general. A discourse formed part of the service in the Jewish synagogue where it was connected with the reading of an appointed portion of the OT Scriptures (Lk $4^{20ff.}$, Ac 13^{15}; see Vitringa, *de Syn. Vet.* Bk. III. pt. i. c. 5, pt. ii. c. 12; Schürer, *HJP*, § 27). We have several instances of discourses in the Christian services (*e.g.* Ac $20^{7ff.}$), and there is no doubt the 'teaching' in these assemblies took the form of one or more discourses. But the question of public reading is not quite so obvious. It is, however, on *à priori* grounds quite probable in itself, and is supported by certain supposed allusions in NT. Thus Timothy is told (1 Ti 4^{13}) to 'give heed to reading, to exhortation, and to teaching'; and the writer of the Apoc. alludes to the arrangements for the public reading of his book (Rev 1^{3}, cf. Col 4^{16}). Somewhat later there arose a separate office called that of the 'reader,' whose duty it was to read in the public services (see Harnack, *Die sog. apost. Kirchenordnung*, 'Texte u. Unt.' Bd. ii. Hft. 5).

(β) *Prayer* was made standing (Mk 11^{25}) or kneeling (Ac 20^{36} 21^{5}) with uplifted hands (1 Ti 2^{8}). Even if the words of the prayer were uttered by one person only, the prayer was regarded as that of the whole congregation. Thus in Ac 4^{24-30} the prayer is given verbally, but is ascribed to the whole assembly ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἦραν φωνὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ εἶπον. We must not press this too literally, as if all actually spoke in the words given. It may mean that they followed it, and by their 'amen' at the end identified themselves with the speaker; or perhaps they repeated his words audibly after him; cf. Ac 20^{36} σὺν πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς προσηύξατο. All prayer did not, however, consist of definite language. The indistinguishable 'glossolalia' comprised prayer as well as praise (1 Co 14^{14}), and such 'prayer with the spirit' was incomprehensible, both to the speaker and to the hearers, unless it were interpreted by one who had the gift of interpreting tongues. The object of the prayers would vary with the occasion. The necessity of the moment supplied the Church with the material for its daily supplications (cf. Ac 12^{5}). We find, however, in addition to these occasional topics, injunctions to establish certain prayers as a permanent part of the worship. Such were prayers for the advance of the gospel preaching through the apostle (Ro 15^{30}, Eph 6^{18}, Col 4^{3}, 2 Th 3^{1}, cf. 1 Th 5^{17}, He 13^{18}); prayers for the civil rulers and all men (1 Ti 2^{1}); prayers for erring members (Ja 5^{16}, 1 Jn 5^{16}). But no special form of prayer is laid down to be followed. Of a formulated liturgy of prayer we find as yet no signs, but there are expressions in NT which bear the appearance of more or less stereotyped formulæ. Such are especially (1) the form of salutation, 'Grace to you (and mercy) and peace from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ,' which occurs with variations in the opening of all the Pauline Epp., and also of 1 P, 2 P, 2 Jn, Jude, and Rev: (2) the benedictions, 'The God of peace be with you' (Ro 15^{33}), 'the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you' (*ib.* 16^{20}), or the much fuller form, 'the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all' (2 Co 13^{14}). These occur also in similar form at the close of all the Pauline Epp., He, 1 P, and Rev. The form of these opening and concluding prayers is in all cases so much alike, that it may very well represent the prayers of salutation and benediction with which the services were begun and finished, differing verbally in different churches, but agreeing in the main. Their liturgical aspect in NT is heightened by the frequent addition of 'amen' (*e.g.* Ro 15^{33}, Gal 6^{18}). The long prayer with which Clement of Rome concludes his Ep. to the Cor., and the set forms of prayer given in the *Didache* (chs. 9, 10), have a strong affinity with Jewish prayers, which suggests that the Church may have for some time used forms of public prayer borrowed from these sources.

It is remarkable that, except in the Gospels, we hear nothing in NT of the **Lord's Prayer**. It is not quoted at all, nor can we find instances in NT language which can be said to contain any distinct reminiscences of it. But in the *Didache* (ch. 8) the Christian is commanded to repeat the Lord's Prayer three times daily, which proves how universal its use became in the sub-apostolic age.

(γ) *Praise, i.e.* the giving of thanks (εὐχαριστεῖν), the act of blessing (εὐλογεῖν), of praising (αἰνεῖν), or of glorifying (δοξάζειν) God. Like prayer, it could be expressed in ordinary language, or in the 'tongue' (1 Co 14^{6}). (See TONGUES.) From its more emotional character, it lent itself more to the latter than was the case with prayer. Examples of praise are to be found in the doxologies which occur with great frequency in the Epistles, *e.g.* Ro 9^{5} 16^{25}, Gal 1^{5}, Eph 3^{20}, Ph 4^{20}, 1 Ti 1^{17}, 2 Ti 4^{18}, He 13^{21}, 1 P 4^{11} 5^{11}, 2 P 3^{18}, Rev 1^{6}. These, again, are given a liturgical form by the 'Amen' which almost invariably follows, but the language is not so stereotyped as in the case of the salutations and benedictions. We see also in sublime outbursts of praise, such as Ro $11^{33\text{ff.}}$ or the hymns of the Apoc. (*e.g.* Rev 4^{11} 11^{17} 15^{3} etc.), examples of praise in freer and less stereotyped form than in the doxologies. We perceive in them the most intense religious emotion. Language of so sublime and ecstatic strain easily passed into the form of song. The singing of a 'psalm' or 'hymn' by a member of the congregation was the form which the giving of praise frequently took (Ac 16^{25}, 1 Co $14^{15.26}$, Eph 5^{19}, Col 3^{16}, Ja 5^{13}). Specimens of these extempore hymns are preserved in Lk 1 or in Rev (*loc. cit.*). Possibly, too, in rhythmic passages such as 1 Ti 3^{16}, Rev $15^{3.4}$ are preserved fragments of hymns sung by the whole congregation together. As in the case of prayer, the congregation made the ascription of praise a corporate act by saying 'Amen' at the close (1 Co 14^{16}, Rev 5^{14} 19^{4}).

The *forms* in which the teaching or prayer or praise might be delivered were three. From the *prophet* it came as a direct revelation from God, with all the force of a verbally inspired message, expressed in ordinary language, and therefore needing no explanation of its meaning. From the *speaker in a tongue* also it came as an 'inspired' utterance (Ac 2^{4} 'to speak with other tongues as the Spirit gave them utterance'), but the language was incomprehensible to the hearers, and to the speaker himself, unless they possessed a further gift, viz. the power to interpret tongues (see 1 Co 14). From the others it did not come as an inspired utterance, but the teacher spoke with greater weight and authority, as one who had received, in a special degree, the 'gift of teaching' from the Holy Ghost. The 'teacher,' by virtue of his gift, ranked higher than the 'speaker in a tongue.' He stood next to the apostles and prophets in the divinely appointed order of the Church (1 Co 12^{28}).

To the necessity which St. Paul felt of correcting certain abuses in the Cor. services we are indebted for an interesting picture of these meetings (1 Co 14^{26-35}). In their eagerness to exercise the gifts of which they were conscious, the Cor. Christians had made their services scenes of confusion. Members did not wait for one another to finish speaking. If a prophet received a 'revelation,' he stood up at once and delivered it while another was still speaking. Again, both the prophets and the 'speakers in a tongue' had allowed their enthusiasm to lead them to excess. The prophet unconsciously added a subjective element to his message. The 'speaker in a tongue' indulged his zeal without troubling whether the others understood what he meant. To prevent this confusion, the apostle lays down the following checks: (1) Not more than one to speak at a time; each must wait his turn. (2) The one who is speaking to stop if he perceives another waiting to deliver a 'revelation.' (3) The 'speaker in tongues' is not allowed to speak unless an interpreter be present. (4) The 'revelation' of the prophet is to be checked by those who possess the gift of 'discerning spirits' (διάκρισις πνευμάτων, cf. 12^{10}). St. Paul does not mention a president in the meetings, and he addresses himself directly to the congregation, as if everything were to be decided at their discretion. But it is almost impossible to suppose that there was no one to direct and manage the gathering, *e.g.* to appoint the time of meeting, to declare the opening and closing of the service, etc. There is no doubt that work of this kind is included in the labour of those 'presidents' described in 1 Th 5^{12}, though we cannot go the length of saying that ἐν Κυρίῳ is a special allusion to these services.

Women were present at the services, and contributed to the worship (1 Co 11^{5}, cf. Ac 21^{9}). St. Paul directs that they shall keep their heads covered during worship, while the man shall pray with uncovered head (1 Co $11^{4.5}$). Both at Corinth (1 Co 14^{34}) and at Ephesus (1 Ti $2^{11.12}$) he forbids women to take an active part in the services, and the general language in which he speaks shows that he enforced the same rule in all his churches.

(*b*) The '*breaking of bread.*'—The expression ἡ κλάσις τοῦ ἄρτου in Ac 2^{42} refers to something more than an institution of common meals. It is indeed doubtful, in the light of $6^{1.2}$, whether a system of universal common meals existed at all. But in any case the double repetition of the article ἡ κλάσις τοῦ ἄρτου would be strange unless the term were technical, and referred to a special breaking of a special bread. And such we find to be the case in 1 Co 10^{16}, where the expression 'the bread which we break' refers to a religious act, and in 11^{20}, where the eating of the bread forms part of an act of worship called 'eating the Lord's Supper,' and its significance is to 'proclaim the Lord's death till he come' (*ib.* ^{26}). From the action of Christ at the institution of this sacrament, the technical name by which it became known was 'the breaking of the bread.' The expression occurs sometimes without the article (*e.g.* Ac 20^{7}, *Didache* 14^{1}), where there can be no doubt as to its technical use. In some places (*e.g.* Ac 2^{46} 27^{35}) it may refer to an ordinary meal. The only other name which is given to it in NT is the **Lord's Supper**, 1 Co 11^{20}, which refers, however, to the whole meal of which the κλάσις τοῦ ἄρτου was the central act. As early, however, as the *Didache* (9^{5}) the word εὐχαριστία is used to express the same thing (cf. also Ign. *ad Smyrn.* ch. 7).

By its nature this service was of a much more private character than the other. It was not held in public, with free admission for non-members, but restricted to baptized Christians (*Didache* 9^{5} 'Let none eat or drink of your Eucharist save those who are baptized in the name of the Lord'). It was the secrecy with which the Christians shrouded the Eucharist that gave rise to the absurd accusations which were popularly brought against them. At the same time, it seems, when possible, to have been made the occasion of a general meeting of the *whole* Church, rich and poor (Ac 20^{7}, 1 Co $11^{18.22.33}$).

The 'breaking of bread' originally took place daily (2^{46}). In the *Didache*, however, it is enjoined weekly, on the Lord's day (cf. also Ac 20^{7}, 1 Co 16^{2}). It was held in the evening, as on the occasion of its institution (cf. Ac $20^{7\text{ff.}}$ and the word δεῖπνον (=evening meal) in 1 Co $11^{20.21}$). The whole ceremony was a 'remembrance' of the last supper which Christ ate with His disciples before His death. It was therefore made a common meal, of which the 'breaking of the bread' and the 'drinking of the cup' were a part (cf. 1 Co $11^{20\text{ff.}}$, *Didache* 10^{1} μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι). To this common meal each brought his share. Chrysostom (*Hom.* 27 *in* 1 *Co* 11, § 1) says that in place of the original community of goods the Christians 'observed common meals on appointed days, and having gathered together after sharing the mysteries, they partook of a common feast, the rich bringing the viands, and the poor, who had nothing, being invited by them, and all feasting together.' The aspect of the meal as an act of love on the part of the rich is supported by the words καταισχύνετε τοὺς μὴ ἔχοντας in 1 Co 11^{22}, which mean the poor generally, not those who have not houses. The common meal was called the 'love-feast' (ἀγάπη, found in NT only in Jude ^{12}. The right reading in 2 P 2^{13} is probably ἀπάταις WH, not ἀγάπαις). Though at first occurring at the same time as the 'breaking of bread,' which formed part of it, the two were afterwards separated, and the Eucharist held in the early morning, while the Agapæ still took place in the evening; so first in Pliny, *Epp.* x. 96. See Lightfoot, *Ignatius*, ii. 312.

St. Paul gives us a picture of this act of worship as it was celebrated in Corinth at the time, which we can supplement by other hints in NT. A discourse preceded it in Ac 20$^{7.11}$, but it is clear that this was not the case in Corinth, for the apostle complains that each one, as he arrived, at once ate up the food he had brought with him, without waiting for the rest (1 Co 11$^{21.33}$). During the meal came the formal 'breaking of bread' (cf. 1 Co 10^{16}), probably with a prayer of thanks (cf. εὐχαριστήσας in the accounts of the institution by Christ, and the prayer of thanks in the *Did.* 9^{2}). All present then partook of the bread thus consecrated (1 Co 11^{26}). Then perhaps *after* the meal (cf. *ib.* ^{25} '*after* supper') a cup containing wine (this is more probable than Harnack's theory that water was used, cf. Mt 26^{29}, Mk 14^{25}, 1 Co 11^{21}) was 'blessed' (1 Co 10^{16}), and all drank from it (11^{26}), The prayers of thanks (εὐχαριστία) by which the bread and wine were consecrated probably varied with the occasion. In the *Didache* (ch. 9) formal prayers are prescribed, but the prophets present are allowed to 'give thanks' (εὐχαριστεῖν) in words of their own choice (ὅσα θέλουσιν), 10^{6}. There is some doubt as to whether the bread or the wine came first in the order of service. In Lk 12$^{17ff.}$ (WH), 1 Co 10^{16}, *Did.* 9, the blessing of the cup is placed before that of the bread. In all other places, however, the cup follows the bread, and this has always been the traditional order in the Christian Church.

LITERATURE.—On the early Christian services the following books may be consulted: Rothe, *De Primordiis cultus sacri Christianorum*, 1851; Abeken, *Der Gottesdienst in der alten Kirche*, 1853; Harnack, *Der christl. Gemeindegottesdienst*, 1854; Volz, 'Untersuch. über die Anfänge des christl. Gottesdienstes,' in *SK* vol. i. 1872; Jacoby, 'Die constitutiven Faktoren des apost. Gottesdienstes,' in *JDTh* vol. xviii. 1873; Weizsäcker, 'Die Versammlungen der ältesten Christengemeinden,' in *JDTh* vol. xxi. 1876; Seyerlen, 'Der christl. Cultus im ap. Zeitalter,' in *Zeitsch. für Prakt. Theol.* 1881; H. A. Köstlin, *Gesch. des christl. Gottesdienstes*, 1887; Jülicher, *Zur Gesch. der Abendmahlsfeier in der alten Kirche*, 1892; F. Spitta, *Zur Gesch. u. Litt. des Urchristenthums, Die urchristl. Trad. über Ursprung und Sinn des Abendmahls*, 1893. (For wider literature on Eucharist, see art. LORD'S SUPPER.) The histories of the Apost. age usually contain chapters on this subject. For these see general literature at the end.

ii. *The Christian Rule of Conduct.*

(1) *The Christian in his Private Life.*—By baptism the Christian died to the world, and so the negative, prohibitive, sphere of law had no longer any meaning for him (Ro 6^{3}, Col 3$^{5-12}$, cf. Gal 2^{19} 5^{24}). His life was consecrated to Christ (Ro 12$^{1-2}$), who is its goal (Ro 14^{8}, Ph 1^{21}), its example (Ph 2^{5}, 1 P 2$^{21-24}$), and the source of its spiritual strength (Jn 6^{48}, 2 Co 12^{9}, Eph 4^{16}). His body is the sacred temple of the Holy Ghost (1 Co 6^{19}), a member of Christ (*ib.* ^{15}), and therefore personal holiness and purity are his natural condition. The near expectation of the second coming of Christ led to two practical results: (*a*) a holy enthusiasm which buoyed him up under every trial with the consciousness that the present evils were only transitory (Ro 8$^{18.23}$, 2 Co 1^{22} 5$^{4-6}$, Eph 1^{14} 4^{30}), and would be succeeded by a glorious future (Ro 6^{8}, 1 Co 15^{53}, Col 3$^{3ff.}$). Death itself is welcomed as a quicker realization of this (Ph 1^{21}). (*b*) A severe and stern discipline of self. Men waited in hourly expectation of Christ's appearance (1 Th 5^{2}, 1 Jn 2^{18}). It was then no time to give oneself up to feasting. Even marriage and family cares are regarded as competitors against the service of the Lord, which should absorb every thought and feeling (1 Co 7$^{34.35}$). The Christian must be ever on his guard, watchful and vigilant, fasting (cf. Ac 13^{3} 14^{23}, *Did.* 7^{4}–8^{1}), ever in arms against temptation (1 Th 5^{8}, Eph 6$^{10-17}$), and pray without ceasing (1 Th 5^{17}). His mind is set on things above, not on things that are upon the earth (Col 3^{2}). But as he is on the earth he has to perform his human duties and to bring into all his relations with fellow-men principles in accord with this high and ideal life.

(2) *The Christian and his Fellow-Christians.*—The central principle of Christian ethics is love, the practical expression of faith, πίστις δι' ἀγάπης ἐνεργουμένη (Gal 5^{6}). Faith without works is dead, says St. James (2^{26}), and St. Paul is at one with him, for above faith he puts love (1 Co 13^{13}, cf. *ib.*^{2}), and love does not exist apart from works of love (cf. 1 Jn 3^{18}). Love is the 'end of the charge' (1 Ti 1^{5}), the bond of perfection (Col 3^{14}). And this love was chiefly exercised towards the fellow-Christian (Gal 6^{10}). The name of 'the brethren,' by which the Christians denoted their fellow-believers, was especially significant. It implies descent from a common ancestor, membership in the same family, and was used among the Jews to denote their fellow-countrymen, the 'sons of Israel' (*e.g.* Ex 2^{11}, Dt 18^{15}, Ac 2^{37} 3^{17}). So when applied by Christians to one another it introduced the idea of a tie as strong as that of blood relationship binding them to one another. The love of the brethren (*φιλαδελφία*, He 13^{1}) manifests itself in a spirit of humility, gentleness, and kindness to all (Gal 5^{22} etc.), in obedience and gratitude towards the workers and rulers in the Church (1 Co 16^{16}, 1 Th 5^{12}, He 13^{17}), forbearance of the stronger towards the weaker (Ro 15^{1}, 1 Co 10^{33}, 1 Th 5^{14}), charity to the poor (Ro 12^{8}, 1 Ti 6^{18}, He 13^{16}, 1 Jn 3^{17}), compassion and help to the suffering and helpless (He 13^{3}, Ja 1^{27}), and hospitality to all who need it (Ro 12^{13}, 1 Ti 5^{10}, He 13^{2}, 1 P 4^{9}). By the strength of this Christian love is realized the truth of the gospel, that all outward distinctions of rank, nation, and sex are abolished in the common participation of membership in Christ (Gal 3^{28}, Col 3^{11}). At the same time, it is important to remember that even within the Christian community concrete social reforms were not aimed at, except so far as was demanded by the new morality. In the expectation of the second coming, social and political questions were matters of secondary importance. The general principle of St. Paul was that a man should stay in the position in which the 'call' of God was received (1 Co 7^{18}), and work truly and honestly in that position (1 Th 4^{11}, 2 Th 3$^{10-12}$) until the Lord came. So the relations of rich and poor still remain, but are softened by the duty of charity; slavery is not abolished (Eph 6$^{5-9}$, Col 3^{22}–4^{1}, 1 Ti 6^{2}, Philem), but its sting withdrawn by the proclamation of a higher equality; the current view of woman's position is accepted (1 Co 11$^{3.7-10}$, 1 Ti 2$^{11ff.}$), but toned down by the same truth (cf. 1 P 3^{7}). In regard to marriage, indeed, new principles were introduced which the laxity of heathen and even Jewish views made necessary on moral grounds. St. Paul (1 Co 7) in view of the second coming discourages the unmarried from seeking marriage, in accordance with his general principle, 'let each man wherein he was called, therein abide with God' (v.^{24}). But he condemns those who would forbid marriage on ascetic grounds (1 Ti 4^{3}; cf. the same teaching in He 13^{4}), and sanctifies the relation of man and wife by comparing it with that of Christ and His Church (Eph 5^{32}). The reform which Christianity introduced was the sacred inviolability which it gave to the marriage bond by forbidding divorce (Mt 19^{9}, 1 Co 7^{39}). The question of remarriage, after the death of one party, is somewhat doubtful. The injunction as to bishops and deacons (1 Ti 3$^{2.12}$, Tit 1^{6}) that they should be the husbands of one wife, and to widows (1 Ti 5^{9}) that they should have had one husband, were interpreted in the 2nd cent. as prohibitions against a second marriage. But this remarriage is recommended in the case of younger widows (1 Ti 5^{14}, cf. 1 Co 7^{39}), which leaves the question doubtful. On the other hand, it is very unlikely that the apostle would speak in such moderate language if he were referring to bigamy.

The natural result of this nobler conception of marriage was to quicken the sense of natural affection between husband and wife, parent and child (Eph 5^{22}–6^{4}, Col 3$^{18-21}$ etc.), and to establish those beautiful family relations which distinguish the Christian home.

The chief difficulty in the way of mutual intercourse within the Church was the traditional exclusiveness which the Jewish Christian brought with him into the Church. The exact relation of Jew and Gentile Christians was one of the most perplexing problems of the apostolic age. St. Paul held with regard to his own relation to the law that, in the abstract, belief in Christ made him free (*e.g.* he says of himself, 'not being myself under [the principle of] law,' 1 Co 9^{20}). But he rated far above this abstract claim to freedom, the love which he owed to his 'brethren in the flesh,' and so to the Jew he became as a Jew, and observed the commands of the law (*e.g.* Ac 18^{18} 20^{16} 21^{26} 28^{17}), although he recognized that a man could be saved, not by the works of the law, but only by faith; cf. Gal 2^{16}. As regards the Gentile, however, the apostle of the Gentiles fought for the freedom which he thought the Jew should abstain from claiming. His position, that the Gentile should be free from circumcision and the law, was confirmed by the conference at Jerus., and at the same time the further question of daily intercourse between Jew and Gentile was also settled. It was assumed, as a matter of course, that the two should mix freely and without restraint; but to lessen the offence which this intercourse would give to Jewish instincts, the Gentile was required to abstain from things offered to idols, from blood, and from things strangled. (These prohibitions were possibly conceived as 'concrete indications of a pure and true religion,' and only indirectly as concessions to Judaism as they were specially reverenced by Jews. This explains the perplexing addition 'and from fornication.' See Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, pp. 68-73.) Thus was established a *modus vivendi* for those communities in which Jew and Gentile converts were to be found together. It is too much to assume from Ja 2^{2} that in such communities the Jews had their separate 'synagogue,' and lived apart. The author is writing from the standpoint of things as they were in his own church, *i.e.* where the community included only Jews who had formed themselves into a synagogue congregation. The incidents related in Gal $2^{11\text{-}14}$ presuppose a close and daily intercourse (especially in the way of meals) between the Jewish and Gentile communities. If St. Paul condemned so strongly in this instance a reaction to the exclusiveness from which a break had been made, it is certain that he would not have encouraged the establishment of such a system in any of his own churches. We are therefore confident that in all Pauline churches the Jews, like the apostle, and even St. Peter himself (cf. Ac 10^{48} 11^{3}), did not refuse to mix with the Gentiles, even if to some extent the two did fall into separate congregations. And intercourse of any kind implied a mutual give-and-take. The Jew resigned his instinctive and traditional hatred of the Gentile and lived as a Gentile (ἐθνικῶς ζῆν, Gal 2^{14}). The Gentile had to subordinate his γνῶσις to the principle of love (1 Co 8^{1}), that he might give no cause of stumbling to Jews. And there were grades between the pure Jew and the pure Gentile. The 'proselyte of the gate' on becoming a Christian naturally felt an instinctive sense of obligation towards the whole or parts of the law. St. Paul has in his mind, not only Jews, but the class of σεβόμενοι in Ro 14^{5}. And Ro $14^{1.\,2}$, 1 Co $8^{1\text{-}13}$ $10^{23\text{-}33}$ must be understood generally without exclusive reference to Jew or proselyte.

In the mixture of religions from which Christianity drew converts, there were many scruples, serious enough to those in whom they were ingrained from childhood, but which might draw a smile of contempt from the man of 'knowledge.' St. Paul's line of teaching is that their observance or non-observance is accidental, but that the principle of love, which enjoins respect and forbearance towards them, is essential (see Ro $14^{15\text{-}17}$, 1 Co 8^{13}).

(3) *The Christian and the World.*—The earliest persecutions proceeded, not from the Romans, but from the Jews, either publicly, where they were allowed a measure of local authority (*e.g.* Ac $4^{1\text{-}22}$ $5^{17\mathrm{ff.}}$ $9^{1.\,2}$, 2 Co 11^{24}), or in the way of private maltreatment. The Jews succeeded in some instances in raising Gentile mobs against their enemies (*e.g.* Ac $9^{23\mathrm{ff.}}$ 13^{50} 14^{2}). On rarer occasions the hatred of the Gentiles was aroused by personal losses occasioned through Christian teaching (Ac $16^{19\mathrm{ff.}}$ $19^{24\mathrm{ff.}}$). But the Roman government and its responsible representatives neither originated nor supported these persecutions. Its attitude was one of indifference (*e.g.* Gallio in Ac 18^{17}) or active protection (cf. Pilate's attitude Mt $27^{18\text{-}24}$, the authorities at Thessalonica Ac 17^{9}, Ephesus $19^{35\mathrm{ff.}}$, Jerus. 21^{32} $23^{17\mathrm{ff.}}$). The Jewish accusation, that the Christians were rebelling against the Romans and setting up another king, was never regarded seriously by the government (cf. Lk 23^{2}, Jn 18^{33}, Ac 17^{7}). On occasions of tumult, indeed, Christians were apprehended as the apparent causes of disturbance, and treated with the rough-and-ready method of Roman provincial justice (Ac 16^{22} 22^{24}); but this was a universal practice, and not confined to Christians. The period of official persecution did not begin till Nero opened it in 64. So the Church looked to the Roman government as a protector rather than a persecutor (cf. 2 Th 2^{7}). Those especially who were fortunate enough to possess the Roman citizenship found it a great safeguard against injustice (Ac 16^{37} 22^{25} $25^{10\text{-}11}$). These facts prepare us for the attitude of favour observed by Christian teachers towards the civil authorities, although they do not wholly account for it, since the principles upon which civil obedience is enjoined are independent of personal like or dislike. 'The powers that be are ordained of God,' says St. Paul (Ro 13^{1}). The Christians are exhorted to obey and respect them as the representatives of divine justice (Ro $13^{1\text{-}6}$, Tit 3^{1}, 1 P $2^{13\text{-}17}$), to pray for them (1 Ti 2^{2}), to pay them tribute as their due (Lk 20^{25}, Ro $13^{6.\,7}$).

From Pliny's letter to Trajan (*Epp.* x. 96) we find that the government regarded the Christian communities as clubs (*hetæriæ*), and the Christians acquiesced in this official definition of their position.

As regards the social and industrial world around them, the Christians did not cut themselves off from their former ties to a greater extent than was necessary. The regulation of St. Paul was, that each should remain as he was until the Lord came. So the believing husband or wife is not to leave an unbelieving spouse (1 Co $7^{12\mathrm{ff.}}$, cf. 1 P 3^{1}). If the unbeliever depart, the believer is, however, not under bondage to follow. But this applies only to marriages contracted before the conversion of the one party. When this is not the case the believer is enjoined not to marry with an unbeliever (1 Co 7^{39} 'she is free to marry whom she will only in the Lord,' *i.e.* a Christian husband, cf. 2 Co 6^{14}). On the same grounds the slave is advised not to seek his freedom (1 Co 7^{21}), but to do his duty to an unbelieving master as to a believer. We hear of Christians, too, carrying on their former professions, *e.g.* physician (Col 4^{14}), tentmakers (Ac 18^{3}), soldiers (Ac 10^{1}, Ph 1^{13}), public officers (Ac 16^{33}, Ro 16^{23}), purple dyers (Ac 16^{14}), lawyer (Tit 3^{13}), and as traders generally (Ja 4^{13}).

A difficult question was the extent to which a Christian should join in heathen social gatherings. There was a danger in so doing, not only because of the actual immorality connected with them (1 P $4^{3.\,4}$), but also on the grounds of the ordinances against eating meat sacrificed to idols. St. Paul does not wish to cut his congregations entirely off from their former connexions (*e.g.* 1 Co 5^{10}). He does not forbid them to accept an invitation to dine with a heathen (1 Co 10^{27}), but leaves it to the individual judgment, 'if ye are disposed.' In regard to the scruple against εἰδωλόθυτα, he recommends the Christian to eat what is given without question; but if the fact be forced upon him that it is an εἰδωλόθυτον, to refuse it for the sake of conscience and example (1 Co $10^{27.\,28}$). We find that some of the advanced liberal party at Corinth even attended the feasts in heathen temples. This St. Paul forbids, not only as 'sinning against the brethren and wounding their conscience when it is weak' (1 Co 8^{12}), but also on the deeper ground that, in the interpretation put upon it, it is really an act of idolatry (*ib.* $10^{15\mathrm{ff.}}$). At a later period it was made a general ground of complaint against the Christian that he held aloof from social gatherings (1 P 4^{4}),

In his contact with unbelievers the Christian had to remember that the law of love extends to all men, although it found a greater outlet for its expression in the relation of Christian to Christian (Mt $5^{44\text{-}48}$, Ro 12^{20}, Tit 3^{2}). The same principles of honesty and charity were, accordingly, to be observed also towards 'them which are without' (Ro 12^{17}, Gal 6^{10}, Col 4^{5}, Ph 4^{5}, 1 Th 3^{12} 4^{12}), even towards the persecutor (Ro 12^{14}), that thus the believers, by their life and conduct, might appeal to and touch the best conscience of the heathen world (1 Ti 3^{7}, 1 P 2^{12}).

(*C*) *The single Community.*—The first centre of the Christian community immediately after the ascension of Christ was the upper room in a house. Hither they returned immediately after parting from Christ to wait 'steadfastly in prayer' for the coming of the promised Holy Ghost (Ac $1^{13\text{-}15}$). Thus the Christian community was in its origin a house-congregation; and when it outgrew the limits of a single house, it did not form a 'synagogue' (such as those, *e.g.*, in Ac 6^{9}), but spread as a number of house-congregations (cf. κατ’ *οἶκον, ib.* 2^{46} 5^{42}). For their general assemblies and their missionary preaching the disciples were able to meet in the temple or its precincts ($5^{12.\,20.\,42}$), but for their private worship they were divided into groups, the centre of each being the household of a convert, who was able and willing to provide the necessary accommodation in his house. Thus the Church presented the aspect of a number of household groups. The same principle of division was established in other places besides Jerus., as Christianity spread farther. It appears, *e.g.*, at Thessalonica (Ac 17^{7}), Troas (20^{8}), Ephesus (20^{20}), Corinth (1 Co 16^{15}), Colossæ (Philem ^{2}), Laodicæa (Col 4^{15}), and in Rome (assuming that Ro 16^{3-16} is an integral part of the Epistle: see vv.$^{5.\,14.\,15}$ *τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀδελφούς*). These house-congregations also bear the name of *ἐκκλησία* (*e.g.* Ro 16^{5}, 1 Co 16^{19}, Col 4^{15}, Philem ^{2}). The condition of the household in ancient society favoured this feature. The master of the house was its lord, and his conversion was generally followed by that of his family and dependants (*e.g.* Ac $10^{24.\,48}$ 16^{33} 18^{8}, 1 Co 1^{16}). In this way the nucleus was at once formed for a house-congregation, and doubtless isolated converts attached themselves to the church in the house of a wealthier convert. The only passage in NT which seems to imply the existence of a church, *i.e.* a building set apart for purposes of worship, is Ja 2^{2} 'if there come into your synagogue,' etc. In this passage we have a picture of a Christian place of worship, with seats of honour like the *πρωτοκαθεδρίαι* in Jewish synagogues. Apparently, then, by the time this Ep. was written, the Jewish Christians of Jerus. (for the writer speaks from the standpoint of the conditions in his own church) had formed themselves into a synagogue and built a place of meeting (cf. Ac 6^{9} 9^{2}). The 'school of Tyrannus,' in which St. Paul taught at Ephesus (Ac 19^{9}), was, however, not of this kind. It did not supersede the house-congregations (20^{20}, 1 Co 16^{19}), but was used, as the context shows (v.^{10}), for the missionary preaching, which had hitherto taken place in the Jewish synagogues.

The city-church was composed of a number of these house-churches, and it grew by the addition of new congregations. The first household which had received the apostle generally became the centre of these smaller groups. To its members, the first-fruits (*ἀπαρχή*) of the city, a special respect was due (1 Co $16^{15.\,16}$). It had been the home of the apostle during his visit, and, in consequence, the centre of guidance and direction. In some cases the prominence of some other member caused the centre of the community to shift from the original household; *e.g.* the house of Mary, the mother of Mark, was at first the centre of church life in Jerus. (Ac 12^{12}), but later (Ac 21^{18}) James' house appears as the official place of meeting. The whole community met together on occasions of necessity either at this central house or some other convenient place (*e.g.* Ac 15^{30} 21^{18}, 1 Co 5^{4}, 1 Th 5^{27}, Col 4^{16}). Thus, apparently, Gaius received the community in his house when they assembled to meet their apostle and founder (Ro 16^{23}). The same community met on occasions for common worship (1 Co 14^{23}), though their numbers do not allow us to suppose that this could always have been the case. For the purpose of worship the house must have been the unit. But for the purpose of direction and administration the unit was not the house- but the city-congregation (cf. Ac 11^{29} 13^{1} 20^{28}). So the apostle directs his letters to the church of the city, *e.g.* at Corinth (1 Co $1^{1.\,2}$), because the city-church and not the house-church was the primary unit in the regulation of affairs.

The Organization of the Community.—The writer of Ac sums up the distinctive elements of the new Christian life in the words (2^{42}) *προσκαρτεροῦντες τῇ διδαχῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ, τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ ταῖς προσευχαῖς* (WH), 'abiding in the teaching of the apostles and the fellowship, in the breaking of the bread and the prayers.' The words go by pairs, the 'breaking of the bread' and 'the prayers' making up the common worship of the community, while the 'teaching' and the 'fellowship' cover the ground of their common life. No community can exist without organization, least of all a community in which are combined a religion and a common life. But before passing on to ask what was the nature of this organization, we must first see what was the nature of the work to be done. This will be found to group itself under four main heads: (1) The instruction of converts, (2) the collection and administration of the common funds, (3) general administration and direction, (4) discipline.

(1) *Instruction.*—When we remember how slowly the disciples assimilated the teaching of their Master, and what patient and careful labour it needed to perfect their faith, we shall realize the work which was involved in the instruction of new converts when the numbers of the Church were counted by thousands. And if this is true with regard to Jews, how much greater must have been the labour when the community included pure Gentiles, who had scarcely any knowledge of Jewish scriptures, and lacked the sound foundation of Jewish monotheism. The labour of 'watering' was not less than the toil of 'planting.' The instruction cannot have been confined to the discourse of the services, or the teaching of the apostle in person or by letter. Such a knowledge of the OT as St. Paul presupposes in Gentile converts (*e.g.* Ro 7^{1}, 1 Co 6^{16} 9^{13} $10^{1\text{ff.}}$, Gal $4^{21\text{ff.}}$) could only be the fruit of long and systematic instruction. This was the main work of men like Aquila and Apollos. There was a special 'gift' of 'teaching,' and a special class of men in the Christian Church who were called 'teachers' from the exercise of this gift. Of the content of this teaching we can only say on *à priori* grounds that it must have embraced the historical facts on which Christianity is based, together with their doctrinal significance, and the practical rule of life directly grounded on the doctrine. A systematic instruction in the OT writings must have been necessary for Gentiles to understand the very frequent allusions to them and interpretations of them which occur in the Pauline Epp. (*e.g.* Ro $9^{6\text{ff.}}$, 1 Co 10^{1-11}, 2 Co 3^{7-15}, Gal 4^{21-31}, cf. also 2 Ti 3^{16}). This last passage shows how the doctrinal and hortatory elements are inextricably interwoven with instruction in a narrower sense. St. Paul's Epp. also are a good example of the same. The historical facts of OT and of Christ's life are regarded as facts of doctrinal significance (*e.g.* Gal 4^{21-31}), and from doctrinal truths practical injunctions are drawn as their consequences (cf. the 'therefore' in 1 Co 15^{58}, Eph 4^{17}, Col $3^{5.\,12}$).

The instruction proceeded on the Jewish method of repeated oral teaching (cf. the word *κατηχέω*, Lk 1^{4}, Ac 18^{25}, 1 Co 14^{19}, Gal 6^{6}). In NT a convert was baptized as soon as he declared his belief in Christ (Ac 2^{41} and often), but later the practice arose of deferring baptism until the convert had been instructed in the rudiments of the faith, and during this period he was called a 'catechumen' (*κατηχούμενος*). The content of the teaching had for its kernel first and foremost *sayings of the Lord* which were remembered and treasured up by those who had known Him (cf. 1 Co $7^{10.\,12.\,25}$ 9^{14} 11^{23} 14^{37}, 1 Th 4^{2}, 1 Ti 5^{18}). These floating sayings were at an early date collected into a book of the 'oracles of the Lord' (Papias ap. Eus. iii. 39), which was one of the main sources of the Gospels of Mt and Lk. To these sayings of Christ were added the divinely inspired teaching of the apostles and prophets. So there arose gradually a fixed body of teaching bearing the stamp of Christ's authority (1 Ti 6^{3}, 2 Jn ^{9}) or the apostolic approval (Gal 1^{6-9}, 1 Th $4^{1.\,2}$, 2 Th 2^{15}, 2 Ti 1^{13} 2^{2} 3^{14}, Tit 1^{9}). The danger arising from the free activity of the 'teacher' was thus lessened by this firm and unalterable foundation of 'tradition,' *παράδοσις*, the faith handed on from one to another (2 Th 2^{15} 3^{6}, Ro 6^{17}, 1 Co 15^{3} 11^{23}, Lk 1^{2}), and guarded by each as a sacred deposit (*παραθήκη*, 1 Ti 6^{20}, 2 Ti 1^{14} 2^{2}). This accredited teaching is also expressed by phrases such as *τύπος διδαχῆς* (Ro 6^{17}), *ὑποτύπωσις ὑγιαινόντων λόγων* (2 Ti 1^{13}, cf. 2^{2}), *οἱ λόγος τῆς πίστεως* (1 Ti 4^{6}). The especial frequency of such expressions in the Pastoral Epp. illustrates the more stereotyped form which this teaching assumed when death and imprisonment were removing the apostles from personal contact with their churches. The frequent recurrence of isolated dicta with the introduction *πιστὸς ὁ λόγος* (1 Ti 1^{15} 3^{1} 4^{9}, 2 Ti 2^{11}, Tit 3^{8}), shows that such sayings were highly valued and carefully preserved. Finally, after the death of the apostles we have a specimen of the way in which their teachings were collected, in a work which has been preserved to us under the title 'The Teaching of the Lord through the Twelve Apostles' (*Did.* 1^{1}).

(2) *The Management of Common Funds.*—(*a*) *Sources of the common revenue.*—In the early days of enthusiasm nothing but the surrender of all private property would satisfy the eagerness of the converts (Ac 2^{45} 4^{34}). Those who had possessions sold them and laid the money at the apostles' feet as a contribution

to the common fund. This condition of things was, however, the result of purely voluntary action in each individual case, and is not to be confused with a compulsory community of goods (4^{32} 5^{4}). It was probably not universal; thus, *e.g.*, we find Mary the mother of Mark in possession of a private house (12^{12}), and Tabitha at Joppa renowned for her many alms-deeds (9^{36}), which implies that she did not hand over all her property to the Church at the time of her conversion. It differed in degree only from a later condition of things in which poor and rich were to be seen in the church (*e.g.* 1 Co 11^{22}, Eph 6^{9}, Col 4^{1}, 1 Ti 6^{17}, Ja 2^{2}). It was a voluntary *almsgiving* (Ac 4^{35}), but collective and organized instead of being individual and sporadic. The sole source of the Church's revenue remained always the voluntary offerings of the congregation. Under the head of such voluntary offerings we must include the contributions of food brought by the rich to the Agapæ (implied in 1 Co $11^{21.\,22}$), the furnishing of the necessary accessories (*e.g.* seats, lights, etc.) for the public worship, which was probably undertaken by the owner of the house in which the services were held, the exercise of private hospitality on behalf of the Church towards visitors from other Churches (cf. 1 Ti 3^{2} 'given to hospitality,' 5^{10} 'if she hath used hospitality to strangers, if she hath washed the feet of the saints'), and the practice of private charity (Ac 9^{36}, 1 Ti 5^{16}). (*b*) *The expenses.*—The money thus offered to the community was spent mainly in the support of the poor and helpless in the Church. Part of this charity was permanent and regular (*e.g.* the support of widows, Ac 6^{1}, 1 Ti $5^{3\text{ff.}}$, except so far as they were provided for by private charity, 1 Ti 5^{16}, Ja 1^{27}; the support of the poor generally, Ac 2^{45} 4^{35}), and part extraordinary and occasional (*e.g.* the offerings sent to the poor brethren in Judæa, Ac 11^{29} 24^{17}, Ro $15^{25\text{-}27.\,31}$, 1 Co $16^{1\text{ff.}}$, 2 Co 8–9, Gal 2^{10}). Another source of expenditure was the support of the ministers of the gospel. The labourer was worthy of his hire. They who proclaimed the gospel had the right to live of the gospel (cf. 1 Co $9^{4\text{-}14}$, Gal 6^{6}, 1 Ti 5^{18}, 1 P 5^{2}). St. Paul remarks that he was an exception in this respect (1 Co 9^{4}), and resigned what was his right in order to avoid offence (2 Co $11^{7\text{ff.}}$ $12^{13\text{ff.}}$, 1 Th 2^{6}, 2 Th 3^{8}). From the Philippians alone did he receive any help (2 Co 11^{9}, Ph $4^{10\text{ff.}}$). In the *Didache* (11–13) order is given to receive and lodge the prophet, and send him on his way with food enough to last him until the evening, but no money gifts are allowed. The resident prophets are to receive the first-fruits of corn, wine, and oxen. We see from this that the burden of supporting these officers fell on certain individuals rather than on the community as a whole, and so came only in a limited degree from public funds. To these charges we must add also the indefinite administrative expenses which would inevitably be incurred from time to time in the management of affairs. See further on this subject ALMS, COMMUNION.

(3) *General Administration and Direction.*—Under this head we must include all such work as the arrangement of times for the services and other common meetings, the ordering of the services, and the management of the thousand and one details involved in the general direction of the common affairs. To this class of duties St. Paul would add the task of arbitrating in the case of disputes among brethren (1 Co 6^{5}) to avoid the scandal of Christian attacking Christian before the public law courts.

(4) *The Enforcing of Discipline.*—To the apostles (Mt $16^{18.\,19}$, Jn $20^{22.\,23}$) and to the Church as a whole (Mt 18^{18}) Christ solemnly committed the power which He Himself possessed (Mt 9^{6} etc.) of remitting or retaining sins. These words laid on the Church the duty of enforcing discipline, of pronouncing punishment upon the sinner, or declaring his forgiveness when the punishment had been followed by repentance. Punishment and forgiveness were dealt out in the name and in the person of Christ (1 Co 5^{4}, 2 Co 2^{10}), This was, then, no arbitrary exercise of authority, but rested upon the guarantee that the decision coincided with the will of God in the matter. The disciplinary power thus belonging to the Church was in practice only exercised against sins which were a public offence to the community. It was only when an act of sinfulness became public, and therefore a scandal to the community, that the Church felt itself called upon to take cognisance of the matter. The searching out of private offences was no part of the common discipline, nor was the system of public confession yet instituted for such offences. Christians are encouraged to confess their sins to one another (Ja 5^{16}), that they may receive the benefit of others' prayers for their forgiveness (cf. *ib.* ^{15}, 1 Jn 5^{16}). From this last passage we see that there are 'sins unto death' which cannot thus find forgiveness (cf. Mk 3^{29}, Lk 12^{10}). But above all, the Christian must settle his sins with God by confession to Him and prayer for pardon (1 Jn 1^{9}), and the punishment for sin comes direct from heaven (1 Co 11^{30}) as well as through the Church. Taking cognisance, then, only of these public offences, public punishment was administered in proportion to the wrong. The lightest punishment was simple reproof. This could be administered by any Christian to a fellow-Christian (Mt 18^{15}, 1 Th 5^{14}). It assumed an official form when the rebuke was publicly administered by a person of recognized authority (1 Ti 5^{20}, Gal 2^{11}) or by the community. In case of obstinacy on the part of the sinner, or of more serious faults, the offender might be expelled from the community, and its members forbidden to speak, or eat, or have any communication with him (Ro 16^{17}, 1 Co $5^{2.\,11.\,13}$, 2 Jn ^{10}). Finally, when the sin was particularly grievous the same sentence of excommunication might be accompanied with the miraculous infliction of a physical punishment (Ac $5^{1\text{-}10}$ 8^{24}, 1 Co 5^{5}, 1 Ti 1^{20}), or with the imprecation of a curse (ἀνάθεμα) on the offender (1 Co 16^{22}, Gal 1^{8}). Christ Himself directed that in the case of brother wronging brother the injured person shall (1) reprove the wrong-doer in private; (2) if that fails, it is to be followed by formal reproof in the presence of witnesses; (3) in case he still refuses to repair the wrong, the matter is to be reported to the Church, by whom the offender shall be excommunicated, 'be to thee as the Gentile and the publican' (Mt $18^{15\text{-}17}$). The object of the punishment is always reformatory and not retributory. This is the case even with the most severe sentences (1 Co 5^{5}, 1 Ti 1^{20}). Their purpose is not destruction, but repentance, and repentance is followed by forgiveness on the part of the injured community (2 Co $2^{5\text{-}10}$, Gal 6^{1}, Jude $^{22.\,23}$). During the time that the ban of the community is upon him the offender is not to be regarded as an enemy, but pitied as an erring brother (2 Th 3^{15}).

Under the four heads of teaching, administration of funds, direction, and discipline, we have summarized the work to be done in the government of the community. Now the question arises, In whose hands did this work lie? The problem here is wider than that of the right to take part in the public worship. There the right of speech was limited only by the nature and degree of the 'gift' received by the individual. All did not possess the higher gifts (1 Co $12^{29.\,31}$) of prophecy and teaching, or even the lower gift of tongues (*ib.* ^{30}). Some there were who, without being unbelievers, did not possess the special gifts which fitted a man to take part in the services (the 'unlearned' of $14^{23.\,24}$, cf. *ib.* ^{38}, Ja 1^{5}). He who had not a 'gift' of speaking (1 P $4^{10.\,11}$) was not called upon to speak. In a case, then, where the number of those qualified to take part in the service was so indefinite, we cannot press the 'each one' of 1 Co 14^{26} to mean 'every one.' There were other gifts of ministration (see Ro $12^{6\text{ff.}}$, 1 Co $12^{8\text{ff.}}$, and cf. 1 Co 7^{7}) besides those of the word; every Christian had received his gift according to the will of the Giver (1 Co 12^{7}, Eph 4^{7}), and each exercised it in its appropriate sphere. But though the number of those qualified to speak in the services was limited, the limit was quite indefinite as far as human recognition was concerned. How far was this so in regard to teaching and general administration?

At the head of all stand the *apostles*. This term is not confined to the Twelve. The two are expressly distinguished in 1 Co 15^{5} 'then to the twelve,' *ib.* ^{7} 'then to all the apostles,' and others besides the Twelve are called apostles (Ro 16^{7}, 1 Co $9^{1.\,6}$, Gal 1^{19}). The conditions of apostleship were to have 'seen the Lord' and to have done missionary work (1 Co $9^{1.\,2}$). The superiority of the apostle's authority rested on this personal contact with Christ (cf. Ac 1^{21}), and for this reason he was of higher rank than the prophet. He received his authority from the Lord (2 Co 10^{8} 13^{10}). His teaching was irrefutable because it came to him from the Lord (1 Co 11^{23}, Gal 1^{12}). The apostles then occupied the first rank in the Church (1 Co 12^{28}, Eph 4^{11}). There was no branch of government in which they had not the supreme right to command. In teaching their doctrine is the norm of truth (Gal $1^{8.\,9}$). They lay down directions in all matters affecting the religious and social life of the community: they pronounce punishments (1 Co 5^{5}), and forgive 'in the person of Christ' (2 Co 2^{7}).

Next to the apostles come the *prophets*, who constitute the second order in the Church (1 Co 12^{28}, Eph 4^{11}). We find them, like the apostles, claiming and exercising an authority in every department of church direction, *e.g.* teaching (Ac 15^{32}, 1 Co $14^{25.\,31}$, cf. *Didache* 11), general direction (Ac 8^{29} $9^{10\text{ff.}}$ $13^{1\text{ff.}}$, 1 Ti 1^{18} 4^{14}, cf. Ignatius, *ad Philad.* 7; *Didache* 11).

These two classes of Church rulers (apostles, prophets) stand entirely above all others in the sole possession of a divine *revelation* (ἀποκάλυψις). Their command was more than human, because they spoke not of themselves, but as the direct mouthpieces of the Holy Ghost. To them have been revealed the mysteries of the gospel (cf. Gal 1^{12} 'the gospel . . . came to me through revelation of Jesus Christ,' Eph 3^{5} 'which, *i.e.* the mystery of Christ . . . hath now been revealed unto his holy apostles and prophets in the Spirit,' cf. 1 Co 13^{2}). Accordingly, in whatever department of the Church's government they issue their injunctions, they speak *in the Spirit* (*ἐν πνεύματι*, *i.e.* under the power of the Spirit, Eph 3^{5}, Rev 1^{10} 4^{2}, cf. Ac 21^{4}). The Holy Ghost resided in every Christian as a power of supernatural strength; but He resided in the apostles and prophets as a revealer of God's will and purpose. The words and actions of apostles and prophets are often spoken of as the *words and actions of the Holy Ghost Himself* (*e.g.* Ac 13^{2}, cf.^{4} 15^{28} $20^{23.\,28}$ 21^{11}, 1 Ti 4^{1}, cf. Ignatius, *ad Philad.* 7). They represent, therefore, the pure theocracy in the same way as the prophets of OT, and in the same way their authority stood above all other as the direct rule of God. In the matter of government they were the only possessors of what we should call a supernatural gift, and therefore in a pre-eminent degree had the right to rule. (The other supernatural gifts, *e.g.* tongues, interpretations of tongues, working of miracles, gifts of healing, 1 Co $12^{8\text{ff.}\,28}$, are not gifts connected with government, and need not be considered here.) In making this division, 'supernatural' and 'natural' gifts, we are, indeed, guilty of drawing a distinction which was not present to the minds of the first Christians. To them every gift was supernatural, because it was the manifestation of the Holy Ghost in the individual. But it is a distinction which exists in the nature of things; and when the Christians regarded *revelation* as the paramount source of authority, they were unconsciously drawing a distinction between 'supernatural' and 'natural' government.

We see, then, that in the apostles and prophets rested an authority which was supreme, because it was based on revelation. Here we have the fundamental principle of NT church government, viz. direct divine rule of the Holy Ghost as expressing itself through its human mouthpieces the recipients of revelation. But the question we have now to consider is, To what extent was this principle carried out in practice? Did the apostles and prophets monopolize *all* the direction of the Church? If we look at the early chapters of Ac, we shall see that this was at first the case. Not only the general supervision, but also the executive work in all its details, falls upon the apostles (cf. 2^{42} $4^{35.\,37}$ 5^{2}). But when the work grew too large for them, a division of labour became necessary, and this led to the appointment of officers called 'the Seven,' whose work was to receive the offerings and attend to the 'daily ministration' of alms to the needy (6^{3}). Here we see the delegation of a definite department of administration. While retaining their supremacy, the apostles surrender the actual daily working of this department to a new class of officers, who were not necessarily apostles or prophets, but appointed by popular election (*ib.* $^{3.\,5}$). We hear nothing further of this office after the persecution by which one of its holders lost his life, and the rest were driven away from Jerus. (8^{1}). When the community is reassembled, the 'presbyters' appear in connexion with the administration of funds (11^{30}). This class of persons is mentioned without introduction, and indeed government by elders was so familiar to Jews, that it is highly probable that from the first the 'heads of families' had held a recognized position of influence. Later we find these same persons forming with the apostles a committee of general management with the widest powers. The great question of Gentile circumcision was first threshed out by them (15^{6}; v.^{12} *πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος* does not necessarily imply the whole community), and their decision put before the whole Church for approval (v.^{22}). Then the letter embodying this decision is drawn up by the committee of apostles and elders (v.^{23}; the reading *πρεσβυτέρους καὶ ἀδέλφους* is now generally abandoned). At their next appearance we find them in a similar position of authority ($21^{18\text{ff.}}$). The government of the Church at Jerus. appears in the hands of a body of presbyters with James at their head. We cannot avoid seeing here an imitation of the synagogal government among the Jews. We find with them also a body of elders who manage the affairs of the synagogue (Lk 7^{3}). We may notice in this connexion that the Jewish Christians call their place of worship a synagogue (Ja 2^{2}). Government by elders was a tradition among Jews (Nu 11^{24}, Jg 8^{14}, 1 S 16^{4}) which had not declined, as with the Greeks and Romans, but was still active (cf. Mt 21^{23}, Ac $4^{5.\,23}$ 6^{12} etc.; Schürer, *HJP* § 27). When we find the term, then, used as the name of the governing body in Jerus., it is almost certain that it had a technical meaning. The 'elders' were not merely the 'old men,' but those among the old men who were selected to manage the affairs of the community. How, or on what principle, they were selected at Jerus. we do not know. But we find the presbyteral organization in other Christian communities also,—Paul and Barnabas introduced it into the Churches founded on the first missionary journey (Ac 14^{23}), — and in this case they appointed the officers at their own discretion.* Whether St. Paul continued this practice in all his Churches is at least doubtful. He speaks of those in the Church at Thessalonica who 'labour among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you' (1 Th 5^{12}); but we cannot prove, except by the analogy of other Churches, that these were not prophets. Writing to the Corinthian Church (1 Co 12^{28}), but speaking of the Church as a whole, he mentions 'helps' (*ἀντιλήψεις*) and 'governments' (*κυβερνήσεις*) in a list of gifts and workers. The names are vague, which suggests that he is using general terms to describe officers bearing different titles in different places. But he has already mentioned in his list 'apostles' and 'prophets,' so that he is *thinking of persons distinct from these.* This is important, because he is here describing a divinely appointed (*ἔθετο ὁ θεός*) arrangement, *i.e.* one which in its outlines he understood to be universal. In Ro 12^{8} he mentions *ὁ προϊστάμενος*, but he is here speaking of 'gifts,' some of them common to all Christians, not of officers, and the same men may have combined the gifts, cf. the list of gifts in 1 Co $12^{8\text{ff.}}$. He includes, *e.g.*, 'giving' (*ὁ μεταδιδούς*), 'pitying' (*ὁ ἐλεῶν*). We find, however, another list of officers in Eph 4^{11}, where the division is apostles, prophets, evangelists,† shepherds, and teachers. From the Gr. *τοὺς δὲ ποιμένας καὶ διδασκάλους* we see that he is referring to one class of persons only, and the

---

* The idea of popular election had become by no means an essential element in the meaning of *χειροτονεῖν* in later Greek. It is still seen in some instances, *e.g.* 2 Co 8^{19}, Jos. *Ant.* VII. xi. 1, but has quite disappeared in many others, *e.g.* Jos. *Ant.* VI. xiii. 9, *τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κεχειροτονημένον βασιλέα*. It is immaterial to our present purpose whether *πρεσβυτέρους* is here the name of the officers created or of the persons from whom they were chosen, but it would be a singularly abrupt way of speaking to say, 'They appointed elders for them' (*i.e.* to be rulers), *χειροτονήσαντες αὐτοῖς πρεσβυτέρους*. In a somewhat similar passage, Tit 1^{5} *ἵνα . . . καταστήσης κατὰ πόλιν πρεσβυτέρους*, it would be just possible that *πρεσβυτερους* represents the class from which selection is made, because *καθιστάναι* (= to set down in a place) had a more technical meaning 'to put into office'; but even here the omission would be strange. With *χειροτονέω*, which had a vaguer meaning, 'to appoint,' the omission would be still more remarkable.

† The evangelist was a wandering missionary working on new ground (Ac 21^{8}; Eus. *HE* ii. 3, iii. 37), and not concerned with the organization of Churches already established. In 2 Ti 4^{5} the word is used in a general (=preacher of the gospel) and not in a special sense. The application to the writers of Gospels is much later.

general language (*ποίμην* is never used as the name of an officer, but to describe his position and work, cf. Ac 20^{28}, 1 P 5^{2}, Jude ^{12}) shows that he is thinking of functions which were universal, while the persons performing them perhaps bore different names. We find, however, presbyters at Ephesus (Ac 20^{17}), whom St. Paul calls *ἐπισκόπους*, 'overseers' or bishops (v.^{28}). The letter to the Philippians, written some years later than the events described in Ac 20, is addressed to 'the saints . . . at Philippi, with the bishops and deacons.' This is the first certain mention of these officers, for *ἐπισκόπους* in Ac 20^{28} has probably only a general sense 'overseers,' and it is by no means certain that *διάκονος* in Ro 16^{1} is used technically (cf. *ib.* 15^{8} 12^{7}), while identifications of the Seven with the deacons, though as early as 2nd cent., are only conjectural (see DEACON). In the Pastoral Epp. (1 Ti 3^{1-13}) the bishops and deacons appear as the two local officers. (For the relation of presbyters to bishops, see BISHOP.) We see from these letters that it was the desire of the writer to establish a uniform organization of bishops and deacons (cf. Tit 1^{5}), such as we find as an accomplished fact in the next generation (cf. the Ep. of Clement of Rome to the Cor., esp. chs. 42, 44). Amongst the Jewish Churches we find the presbyteral organization still in force (Ja 5^{14}); so, too, in 1 P $5^{1ff.}$. We see, then, in the local Churches of the apostolic age various stages of organization, tending towards the end of that period to assume a uniform aspect. In the earlier history we find the greatest contrasts in this respect. In the Church of Jerus. we see a highly developed organization with well-marked distinctions of rulers and ruled. But if we turn to the Corinthian Church of the same time, the state of things there presented to us implies organization of a most rudimentary type. In the proud consciousness of 'knowledge' (cf. 1 Co 1^{7} 8^{1} 14^{26}) the individual member placed too great reliance on his own judgment. The result was a forwardness and independence of action on the part of the individual in his private life and in the meetings for public worship (*e.g.* 8^{10} 14^{20-36}), which indicates the absence of firm central control and obedience to authority. The apostle has to teach them that love is better than knowledge or any other gift (8^{1} 13), that gifts are to be exercised for the benefit of the whole, each in its place and measure ($12^{12ff.}$). We have not, then, to deal with an iron uniformity of local organization, but with a variety of degrees. We can trace in the Pauline Epp. the following stages in the growth of organization. (*a*) At the outset the idea of *ruling* does not appear. Earnest believers come forward and, according as their gifts permit them, volunteer their services in the work of carrying out the necessary arrangements for the community, in the way of teaching, collecting, and distributing the public alms, etc. The incentive is not the desire to rule, for as yet no position of command is attached to the work, but a purely disinterested labour of love. They 'set themselves to minister to the saints,' *εἰς διακονίαν τοῖς ἁγίοις ἔταξαν ἑαυτούς* (1 Co 16^{15}, cf. Ac $16^{15.40}$ $18^{25.26.28}$, Ro 16 *passim*, Ph 2^{30} 4^{2}, 1 P 4^{10}). (*b*) Those who thus volunteered were *accepted* by the apostle in the first instance. They worked under him in the task of constructing the new community. What would be, then, more natural than that in departing he should leave them in charge with instructions how to carry on the work? We cannot suppose that he went away without leaving anyone to superintend the affairs of the infant Church. Such persons are those to whom he alludes as 'presiding in the Lord,' *προϊστάμενοι ἐν Κυρίῳ*, 1 Th 5^{12}, for whom he claims the respect and gratitude due to those who have laboured for the common good. Here we have a status, unofficial indeed, but recognized by the community and the apostle. Compare the position of Stephanas at Corinth (1 Co 16^{15}). (*c*) This position becomes gradually of a more definite and official character. The work of ruling gravitates more exclusively to these presidents, and the appointment becomes more definitely regarded as an appointment. In the Churches of the first missionary journey such a well-marked and definite official position followed after the lapse of, at most, a few months from the first preaching. At Thessalonica (1 Th $5^{12.13}$) such a definite position is perhaps not yet established, but there are persons possessed of a recognized authority to preside and admonish. In Corinth the indefiniteness of authoritative rule, suggested by 1 Co $16^{15.16}$, is quite supported by the condition of things described in the Epistle, of which we have already spoken. Then in the later Epp. (Phil. and the Pastoral Epp.) we see the gradual tendency to a uniform organization of presbyter-bishops (cf. Ac 20^{28} at Ephesus also) and deacons establishing itself in all the Pauline Churches. Later, as we know from the earliest Christian writings, outside NT, which have come down to us, this organization of bishops and deacons became more and more universal. Among Jewish Christians, where previous writers had spoken only of presbyters, *e.g.* Ja 5^{14}, 1 P $5^{1ff.}$ (with perhaps a hint at the name bishop in 2^{25}), Rev 4^{4}, *et sæpe*, we find in the *Didache* the Pauline system of bishops and deacons in full exercise (*Did.* $14^{1ff.}$). Among Gentile Churches Clement of Rome (*Ep. ad Cor.* 42, 44) supposes it to be universal. The single bishop as the centre of all authority in the community appears first at Antioch and in the Asiatic Churches of the Ignatian Epistles.*

Over against the authority of these local officers, which did not extend beyond the single community, stands the universal authority of the apostles and prophets, who constitute the foundation of the whole Church (Eph 2^{20}), whose sphere of action is not limited to the single Church (cf. Ac 11^{27} 21^{10}, *Did.* 11), though they might settle down for some length of time in one place (*e.g.* Ac 13^{1} 18^{11} 15^{10}, *Did.* 13). What was the practical relation of these two authorities in the actual working of affairs in the community?

It will be useful, first, to compare the two in regard to the method of their appointment. Every Christian possessed one or more 'gifts' of the Holy Ghost (1 Co 7^{7}). These gifts were of many kinds, including all the mental, moral, and spiritual endowments of the Christian. Thus we find 'mercy,' 'almsgiving' (Ro 12^{8}), 'faith' (Ro $12^{3.5}$, 1 Co 12^{9}), 'wisdom,' 'knowledge' (1 Co 12^{8}). They are the manifestations of the Spirit in the individual (*ib.* 12^{7}). Every one possessing a gift is called to exercise it for the benefit of the community. Every one, therefore, is a minister to the community in his branch of service: 'each one as he has received a gift, ministering it towards one another as good stewards of the manifold grace of God' (1 P 4^{10}). According, then, to the ideal of the Christian Church, there would have been no appointed officers, but each Christian would have performed his proper part of the work according to the 'gift' or 'gifts' granted to him. In the same way as the Christian was 'called' by the grace of God to be a believer, so he was 'called' by the gift of God to perform certain functions within the community. Among these gifts was that of 'prophecy.' He who possessed, then, the gift of 'prophecy' was 'called' to be an apostle or prophet. (For distinction of apostle and prophet see separate articles. The apostle's authority ranked higher because of his personal contact with the Lord.) So St. Paul speaks of himself, 'Paul, called to be an apostle of Jesus Christ through the will of God' (1 Co 1^{1}). He insists strongly on the direct nature of that call, 'an apostle, not from men, nor through man, but through Jesus Christ and God the Father' (Gal 1^{1}, cf. Ac 20^{24}, 'the ministry which I received from the Lord Jesus'). These facts show that he does not consider the events of Ac 13$^{1ff.}$, but those of his conversion, as the occasion of his appointment to the apostolate. The appointment of Matthias is not to be taken as typical. In the first place, the appointment was for a definite position, *i.e.* to fill up the number of twelve apostles; secondly, the descent of the Holy Ghost had not yet taken place, and the method of determining by 'charisma' was not yet possible. So the method here adopted (*i.e.* popular election, followed by the final selection by lot between the two thus chosen) is extraordinary.

---

* It is not probable that the 'angel' of these Churches in the Apoc. (1^{20} $2^{1.8.12.18}$ $3^{1.7.14}$) is meant to be a single episcopus. The messages are given (see the language throughout) *directly* to the Churches, not through an intermediate representative.

Like the apostle, the prophet was a prophet because he possessed the gift of 'prophecy.' The Holy Spirit divideth 'to each one severally even as he will' (1 Co 12^{11}). It follows, then, that the prophet, like the apostle, received his appointment by a subjective 'call,' *i.e.* he exercised his authority without reference to human appointment or permission. St. Paul gives instructions to Timothy about the appointment of bishops and deacons, but says nothing of prophets. The *Didache* also gives instructions to elect bishops and deacons, but is equally silent as to prophets. Nor is this surprising, for the prophet was not an officer, but the exerciser of a spiritual gift. There could be no more question of electing him than of electing those who should speak with tongues. St. Paul's language in 1 Co 14 (*e.g.* ^{24} 'if *all* prophesy,' ^{37} 'if any *thinketh* himself to be a prophet or spiritual,' ^{39} '*desire* earnestly to prophesy') would be perplexing if those only were prophets who were appointed to the *office* of prophet. It presupposes that the number of prophets is not fixed, but indefinite. But, on the other hand, the 'gift' might on occasions be regarded as coming through 'ordination.' We find instances in which men were appointed to carry out a special work through a prophecy put in the mouth of others, *e.g.* Paul and Barnabas, Ac 13^{2} (but, as we said above, Paul did not regard this as an appointment to the *apostolate*); also Timothy (1 Ti 1^{18} 4^{14}). In the case of the latter the 'gift' is described as coming to him 'through prophecy, with the laying on of hands by the presbytery' (4^{14}), or through the laying on of the apostle's hands (2 Ti 1^{6}). We have here a solemn transmission of gifts by the 'laying on of hands' (cf. Ac 8^{18} 19^{6}), which illustrates the absence of strict uniformity so characteristic of the first age of the Church. Absolutely fixed rules did not yet exist in either way; but, apparently like the possessor of any other 'gift,' the prophet, ordinarily, was neither appointed nor ordained to office, but the bearer of a 'revelation,' of which he was subjectively conscious.

But with the appointment of those who were to manage the daily affairs of the community it was different. The early condition of things in which this work was performed by the chance individual in the voluntary exercise of his gift, led (as in Corinth) to disorder. For the management of everyday administration, it was necessary, in the nature of things, that definitely recognized persons should undertake the work. The 'subjective' appointment was found to be impracticable and productive of confusion, unless confirmed by an objective recognition. And so, somewhat in the manner described above, the voluntary worker became an officer, since, from the moment that his appointment was determined by the community, or an apostle, or his delegate, organization had begun, and an office was created. The actual machinery of appointment varies considerably in NT. We find a system of popular election in the appointment of the Seven (Ac 6^{5}), of Barnabas and Saul to carry alms to Jerusalem (Ac 11^{30}), and of the officers appointed by the Churches of Macedonia and Corinth to take the collection to Jerusalem (2 Co 8^{19}, 1 Co 16^{3}). Presbyters (bishops) and deacons are appointed by the apostle (Ac 14^{23}) or his delegate (1 Ti 3$^{1-13}$ 5^{22}, Tit 1$^{5-9}$, Clem. Rom. *ad Cor.* 42).* In the *Didache* we find a system of popular election for bishops and deacons. These appointed officers have this in common with the apostles and prophets, that they are appointed *because* they have already shown themselves qualified for the work, *i.e.* because they have the necessary 'gifts,' and the will to exercise them (cf. 1 Ti 3$^{6.10}$, *Did.* 15^{1}). The Seven were especially selected because they were 'of good report, full of the Spirit and of wisdom.' Those to whom St. Paul gives a semi-official position by enjoining the community to pay respect to them, had already shown their ability for the position. Clement of Rome, *Ep. ad Cor.* 42, says the apostle 'appointed their first-fruits as bishops and deacons after testing them with the Spirit' (δοκιμάσαντες τῷ πνεύματι) or, in other words, by first making certain that they really possessed the necessary gifts. When he speaks of the appointment of first converts to be bishops and deacons as a uniform practice of the apostles, his language is more universal than the evidence of NT warrants. This may have been occasionally true (*e.g.* Ro 16^{5}, 1 Co 16^{15}), but not necessarily universal.

In the significance of the word 'office' we find the keynote of the relation between the prophetic authority and that of the officers in actual practice. Theoretically, the sphere of 'revelation' covered every branch of work; in practice, the actual details of the daily management fell upon the 'officers,' while the superior authority of revelation appeared in occasional direction on great questions (*e.g.* Ac 13$^{1ff.}$), or negatively in checking an abuse. Another fact is here brought before us. The apostles and prophets were largely an itinerant order. They belonged to the whole Church, not to any particular Church. Only occasionally did they settle in a particular place for any length of time. It was, then, impossible for them to carry on the daily administration of a Church in all its details. In no case does this come out more clearly than with regard to the collection and distribution of alms. This department was the first to be separated from the original centralization of all work in the hands of the apostles and put into the hands of 'officers.' Later we find it in the hands of 'presbyters' at Jerusalem (Ac 11^{30}). In Galatia (1 Co 16^{1}), Achaia (*ib.*, 2 Co 8. 9), Macedonia (2 Co 8^{19}), the apostle gives general instructions about the collection for the poor brethren of Judæa, but the carrying out is left to local workers. In 1 Ti 3$^{3.8}$, Tit 1^{7} the qualification for the office of bishops and deacons, that they should not be 'lovers of money,' 'greedy of filthy lucre,' suggests that dealing with public moneys formed a part of their duties. In Clem. Rom. *Ep. ad Cor.* 44, they are spoken of as those who 'offer the gifts,' τοὺς . . . προσενεγκόντας τὰ δῶρα. The management of finance constituted in later times also one of the most important of the bishop's duties.† In the same way as the management of finance, the daily administration of discipline fell upon the local officers (cf. 1 Th 5^{12}), as well as all those general duties included in presidency.

---

* We have here a double aspect, according as the person who appointed proceeded on a 'revelation' or his own discretion. Thus, on the one hand, St. Paul speaks of the presbyters of Ephesus as those 'whom the Holy Ghost had appointed bishops'; on the other, he gives Timothy and Titus directions as to the character of those whom they are to select for office (1 Ti 3$^{1-13}$, Tit 1$^{5-9}$), and exhorts Timothy not to proceed with too great haste in this matter (1 Ti 5^{22}), both of which suggest that he has in view a system of appointment by their human discretion, not one in which the proper persons were denoted by a revelation.

† Sohm (*Kirchenrecht*, i. 73 ff.) assigns to the prophet this function of collection and distribution on the strength of *Did.* 13^{3} 'The first-fruits shall be brought to the prophets.' But this passage is treating of the support of prophets and teachers by the community, not of financial management. It directs that if there are no prophets in the community, these first-fruits are to be given to the poor. And there is no other passage in which the *prophets as such* appear undertaking these duties. Occasional injunctions given by the prophet as a 'revelation' (*e.g.* *Did.* 11$^{9.12}$) are different from permanent management. Still less is Sohm's case proved from *Did.* 15^{1} χειροτονήσατε οὖν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους ἀξίους τοῦ Κυρίου, ἄνδρας πραεῖς καὶ ἀφιλαργύρους καὶ δεδοκιμασμένους· ὑμῖν γὰρ λειτουργοῦσιν καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων. The γάρ in this passage is most naturally referred back to ἀξίους τοῦ Κυρίου; this is the main thought which πραεῖς, ἀφιλαργύρους, and δεδοκιμασμένους describe more exactly. But if the

The exact division of labour between the 'prophetic' and the local rulers naturally varied with the strength and efficiency of the local organization. In Jerus., where the local organization was very strong, the work of the prophet sinks into the background. There were prophets at Jerus. (cf. Ac 11^{27}), and their voice was heard on great occasions (*e.g.* *ib.* 15^{28} 'it seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us'), but the presbyters are more prominent in the administration of affairs. In Corinth, where the local organization was lax to a degree, St. Paul finds it necessary to issue commands on the arrangement of a variety of matters connected with their private life and assemblies for worship, which, in a more organized community, would have been determined by the local officers. Another feature which would affect the relation of apostle and prophet to the local community, is the possibility that, in cases where the prophet was settled in a place, he was also a local ruler, *i.e.* not *quâ* prophet, but appointed in the regular way; *e.g.* Judas and Silas, who were chief men among the brethren (Ac 15^{22}), appear also as prophets (*ib.* ^{32}). In general, the direct rule by revelation appears as initiative in great steps (*e.g.* Ac 8^{29} 9^{10} $10^{10\text{ff.}}$ 13^2 16^6 etc.).

Growth of the local Ministry.—The closing days of the apostolic age witnessed a rapid advance in the importance of the local officers. The immense growth of the Church made the personal supervision of the apostle more and more intermittent, and naturally threw more initiative on the bishops. Again, certain dangers developed themselves in regard to prophecy. There had always been a risk that the prophet should introduce a subjective element into the message as it was revealed to him. But this was not all. There arose false apostles (2 Co 11^{13}) and false prophets (Mt 24^{11}, Mk 13^{22}, 1 Jn 4^1, Rev 16^{13}). Against these dangers there existed a special gift called the discernment of spirits (1 Co 12^{10}). In Thessalonica (1 Th $5^{19\text{-}21}$) and Corinth (1 Co 14^{29}) St. Paul found it necessary to remind the Christians to exercise discrimination in regard to the prophet's message. He lays down also (1 Co 12^3) an objective criterion by which the false prophet may be detected (cf. 1 Jn $4^{1\text{ff.}}$, Rev 2^2 19^{10}). The great rise of false prophets in later days necessarily weakened the authority of the prophet, and this, again, tended to strengthen the bishops. There are three directions in which this increased authority developed.

(1) *Teaching.*—Of course the apostles and prophets were also teachers. Teaching was one of their main functions. But, exactly as in the case of other local administration, the daily burden of drilling new converts probably did not fall on them. Their teaching was occasional. On whom, then, fell the duty of regular teaching? The existence of a regular class of persons called 'teachers' answers the question for us. These were persons possessing in an eminent degree the 'gift' of teaching (Ro 12^7, 1 Co 12^8), *i.e.* a power of grasping and imparting the truths of the Christian religion. They were not, like the apostles and prophets, guided by direct revelations, but they counted, next to these, as the third order in the Church (1 Co 12^{28}). They appear, too, in the *Didache*, as *wandering* ministers, possessing authority in all Churches, and not confined to any one single Church. Again, they were not appointed to an office of teaching, but became teachers by the voluntary exercise of their 'gift' (cf. Ja 3^1, 1 Co 4^{15}). They appear, then, as a middle stage between the prophetic order and the local administrators, connected with the former by their voluntary exercise of an authority extending over the whole Church, but having, in common with the latter, no claim to a 'revelation.' Teachers, in fact, represent (except that they were not confined to the single Church) the position of the local ruler, before it became transformed, by appointment, into an office. Their right to teach lay in their possession of the gift, and submission to them was the result of a voluntary respect. But every Christian was in some degree a teacher, because every Christian had the responsibility of edifying his brethren (cf. Col 3^{16}). And the local ruler was, from the very nature of his position, a teacher in a higher degree (cf. 1 Th 5^{12}). With the growth of the tendency, already described, of incorporating the apostolic teaching into an approved body of tradition, the work of handing on this sacred 'deposit' became part of the bishop's duty. Timothy is enjoined to select faithful men, and instruct them carefully in this apostolic teaching (2 Ti 2^2). At the same time, the voluntary teacher, who was teaching on his own lines, became discredited, in a similar manner as the prophet, by the rise of false teachers (1 Ti 4^1 6^3 etc.). Everything tended, therefore, to throw extra weight upon these accredited teachers, and diminish the authority of the others. But in 1 Ti 3^2, Tit 1^9 St. Paul expresses the desire that the bishops shall be persons who possess, in an eminent degree, the 'gift' of teaching: in 1 Ti 5^{17} he orders that elders who 'labour in the word and in teaching' (*i.e.* who are also teachers) shall be especially honoured (cf. Eph 4^{11} *τοὺς δὲ ποιμένας καὶ διδασκάλους*, *i.e.* local officers of administration and teaching). Finally, he regards these rulers as the special guardians of the faith, the supporters of true and destroyers of false doctrine (Ac $20^{28\text{-}31}$, Tit $1^{9\text{-}11}$, cf. He 13^{17}). Thus, on the one hand, the voluntary teacher was tending to become merged into the official bishop; and, on the other, the bishop was acquiring an authoritative right to teach. In the *Didache* the teacher still appears by the side of the prophet, but nothing is said of him separately, which shows that his importance was of the nature of a survival rather than active. The bishops and deacons, however, are spoken of as *also* performing the service of the prophets and teachers (15^1). Thus we see in the *Didache* that what St. Paul desired had come to pass, viz. the bishops were all teachers.

(2) *Spiritual Functions.*—The 'ruler' had at first no exclusive right within the assemblies for worship except that he presided. The right of the 'word' belonged to every one who possessed a gift of speaking, and this was possessed in an eminent degree by the 'prophets,' who were regarded with a higher respect than any other possessors of 'gifts of speaking.' Now, when we turn to the *Didache* (chs. 9. 10) we find a fixed liturgy prescribed for the Eucharist, with formal prayers for the consecration of the cup and the breaking of the bread, and, at the close of the service, the whole is followed by the injunction, 'But permit the prophets to give thanks as much as they will,' *τοῖς δὲ προφηταῖς ἐπιτρέπετε εὐχαριστεῖν ὅσα θέλουσι.* The contrast *τοῖς δὲ προφηταῖς, κ.τ.λ.*, implies that the *fixed* formula of prayer was uttered, not by a 'prophet,' but by a bishop in his absence, or in addition to the free 'giving of thanks.' This prominence of the bishop in *spiritual* functions, which he shared with the 'prophet' and 'teacher,' is alluded to in the sentence already quoted (*Did.* 15^1), 'For they *also* perform for you the service of the prophets and teachers.' There were cases in which no 'prophet' or 'teacher' was present in the community (*Did.*

γάρ refers to *ἀφιλαργύρους*, this implies no more with regard to the prophet than is said in ch. 11, viz. that the prophet must not demand monetary payment.

13^3), and in their absence functions which were mainly entrusted to them fell upon the bishops and deacons. This applies, not only to spiritual, but also to other functions.

The advance of bishops and deacons to something approaching an exclusive right to certain ministerial acts seems to have arisen somewhat as follows. In certain cases there were actions to be performed on behalf of the community which it was more convenient to carry out by means of a few representatives than by the whole body. This was, *e.g.*, especially the case with the 'laying on of hands' at ordination. These acts were then naturally transferred to the acknowledged representatives of the assembly (the presbytery, 1 Ti 4^{14}). In the same way James (5^{14}) directs that if any one is ill and desires the help of others' prayers for his physical and spiritual healing, he shall send for the 'presbyters' of the Church; not that the presbyters possess any exclusive privilege in this respect, for it is as 'believers' and 'just men' (vv.$^{15-17}$) that their prayers are potent, but because they are the natural representatives of the Church. In the Apoc. it is the elders who lead in the heavenly worship (4^{10} 5^{14} $11^{16.18}$ 19^4), and present the prayers of the saints on behalf of the Church (5^8).

(3) *Discipline.*—As the apostles one by one died or were hindered by imprisonment, etc., from personal communication with their Churches, and the position of the prophets and teachers began to decline, it was inevitable that the bishops and deacons, who were absorbing teaching and spiritual functions, should increase their powers of discipline. If we may argue from natural causes and the analogy of the Jewish elders, it will appear extremely probable that the presbyter from the first had enjoyed a recognized authority in matters of daily discipline. The maintenance of discipline was indeed part of the duty of every Christian, because every 'gift' entitled the possessor to admonish and exhort. It belonged to the prophet or teacher in a special way, because these were gifted in a special degree, and to the elder through the respect due to old age. But the Pastoral Epistles mark the appearance of a *public* discipline to be exercised by the bishops. This is the significance of the direction that the bishop is to be 'no striker, but gentle, not contentious' (1 Ti 3^3, cf. Tit 1^7). We see here a foundation laid for the establishment of public discipline, with its authority residing in the hands of the bishops.

LITERATURE.—For further details on the separate officers see the artt. on APOSTLE, BISHOP, DEACON, PROPHET, TEACHER. On the question of Church organization the following may be consulted:—Rothe, *Die Anfänge d. christl. Kirche*, 1837; Baur, *Ueber den Urspr. d. Episkopats*, 1838; Ritschl, *Die Entsteh. d. altkathol. Kirche*, 1857; Lightfoot, 'The Christian Ministry,' in *Comm. on Philipp.* 1868 (also in *Dissert. on Ap. Age*, 1892); Beyschlag, *Die christl. Gemeindeverfassung im Zeitalter des N.T.*, 1876; Hatch, *Organization of the Early Christian Churches*, 1880; Kühl, *Die Gemeindeordnung in den Pastoralbriefen*, 1885; Löning, *Die Gemeindeverfassung des Urchristenthums*, 1888; Lefroy, *The Christian Ministry*, 1890; Sohm, *Kirchenrecht*, 1ter Band, *Die gesch. Grundlagen*, 1892 (reviewed by E. Köhler in *ThL.*, No. 24, 1892); Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, 1893; Gore, *The Ministry of the Church*, 1893; Harnack, *Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel*, 1893: Cramer, *Die Fortdauer der Geistesgaben in der alten Kirche*; Réville, *Les origines de l'Episcopat.*, 1894; Hupfeld, *Die apost. Urgemeinde nach der Ap. Gesch.* 1894; Kahl, *Lehrsystem des Kirchenrechts u. der Kirchenpolitik*, 1te Hälfte, 1894; also the Histories of the Apostolic Age given at the end.*

(*D*) *The whole Church.*—Every baptized believer is a member of the Church. The Church universal is therefore the company of all the believers, 'all that call upon the name of the Lord Jesus in every place' (1 Co 1^2), *i.e.* the sum of all the single Churches. Christ prayed for the unity of His future believers (Jn $17^{20.21}$), that they might be one, cf. Jn 10^{16} 'Other sheep have I which are not of this fold: them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice; and they shall become one flock, one shepherd.' And under the training of His apostles the local communities, wherever situated, regarded themselves as members of one body. Each was a Church of God (1 Co 1^2, 1 Th 2^{14}, 2 Th 1^4) in Jesus Christ (Ro 16^{16}, Gal 1^{22}). All believers are 'brethren' and fellow-saints without respect of nation or rank. On this feature of the Christian teaching St. Paul dwells most strongly, both as regards the individual Christians (*e.g.* 1 Co 12) and the individual communities (*e.g.* Eph 2^{20-22} $4^{3.12.16}$). What, then, were the grounds on which this consciousness of unity were based?

1. Strongest of all was the identity of relation between all believers and the Persons of the Holy Trinity (Eph 4^4). By baptism all entered into a corporate society (Ac 2^{41}, Gal 3^{27}), and that society is the 'body of Christ' (1 Co 12^{13}). Faith has cleansed all from their former sins, has reconciled all to God, united all to Christ, and procured for each the presence of the Holy Ghost and His gifts within him. Every Christian has been called with the same calling to the same faith, enters by the same baptism into unity with the same Christ, receives the gifts of the same Spirit, owns the same Lord, worships the same God the Father, and is filled with the same hopes (Eph 4^{3-5}). This is far more than a mere unity of belief: it is the consciousness of a common spiritual power (Eph 1^{19}) working mightily and manifestly in each one. Hand in hand with it follows its practical result in

2. *Participation of a common Life.*—The adoption of Christianity, which snapped so many of the old social ties both for Jew and for heathen, at the same time opened to the convert conditions and precepts of life for the most part new to ancient ideals. The hatred of the Jews and the contempt of the Gentiles, which drove the Christians into one another's arms, at the same time accentuated the division which separated them from the rest of the world. Common unpopularity made them feel their own unity. This affected primarily the single community, but in a lesser degree the whole Church. Within the community the persecuted Christians found an ideal of conduct which drew them together with the ties of brotherhood (ἀδελφοί). The first Christian community started with the principles of a family life, and when the practical conditions of these early days died out, the idea of the 'household of faith' still remained active. It expressed itself in the common worship and in the common daily life which we have described above. The sketch of that life, as we have given it, is in many respects an ideal. It is drawn not only from the statements, but also from the injunctions of NT, and therefore we must not suppose that it was always faithfully carried out. In fact, complaints of failings, and even cases of serious wickedness (esp. 1 Co $5^{1ff.}$), prove that it was not so. But it was an authoritative ideal, and an ideal the acceptance of which implied a great separation from the heathen world, and was therefore one of the most potent factors in confirming the consciousness of Christian unity.

We have described the basis of Christian unity under the two headings of a common belief and a common life. It remains to see how this was strengthened by more personal means. These were (*a*) *a common government*. To its founder a Church naturally looked for guidance in the creation of its first institutions. But beyond its respect to the founder was the universal respect due to the prophet, and above all to the apostle. And the latter stood at the head of the Church government because he had derived his teaching from the Lord directly. We have, then, in the apostolic government of the Church the rule of a united band which traced its authority back to Christ. In spite of differences due to individual character and scope of work, the apostolic teaching agreed in its main outlines, so that the Church can be said to have been under the government of one common principle. (*b*) *The intercourse between Churches.* There exists no higher proof of the facilities afforded by the Roman government for travel and intercourse, than the evidence to be seen in NT of the close relations which the early Churches kept up with one another. (See esp. on this subject Th. Zahn, *Skizzen aus dem Leben der alten Kirche.*) This intercourse was kept up mainly by those who were travelling for the Church or on private business. Amongst the first class, of course, the apostles stand out most prominently, but only second to the extent of their journeyings comes that of their helpers and attendants. The prophets, too, were great travellers (*e.g.* Ac 11^{27} etc.). As conspicuous examples of the extent of private travels we may point to the wanderings of Aquila and Priscilla, whom we find first in Italy (Ac 18^{2}), then in succession at Corinth (*ib.*), Ephesus (18^{18}, 1 Co 16^{19}), Rome (?) (Ro 16^{3}), Ephesus (2 Ti 4^{19}); or those of Onesiphorus (2 Ti $1^{17.\,18}$); or the journeys involved in the collection and delivery of the Gentile collection for the poor of Judæa (*e.g.* Ac 11^{30}, 1 Co 16^{3}, 2 Co $8^{18.\,19}$), and the carriage of the apostles' letters. And besides the wanderings of official or well-known Christians, it must be remembered that there was a constant stream of other Christians moving from place to place on private business, who attached themselves to the community, and found in it a welcome and hospitality until they passed on farther (cf. *Did.* 12; 1 Ti 5^{10}, He 13^{2}). Intercourse by letter was also very frequent. A fruitful cause of this correspondence was the practice of furnishing travellers with letters of recommendation (συστατικαὶ ἐπιστολαί; cf. Ac 18^{27}, 2 Co 3^{1}). We have instances of other correspondence in the letter of the Jerusalem Church to that of Antioch (Ac 15^{23}), and the letter of the Roman to the Corinthian Church (Clem. Rom. *Ep. ad Cor.*).

---

* While this article is in the press, another very important contribution to the literature of the subject has appeared in Hort's *Christian Ecclesia*, 1897.

How far, then, did all this lead to the establishment of one organic unity, or of a higher unity of organization than the city-Church? We find, indeed, in a sense, an organic unity embracing the whole Church in the earliest period. In the Church of Jerus., and esp. in the apostles, is to be seen a centralization of government stretching over all the existing Church, viz. Judæa, Samaria, Galilee, and the district around Antioch, *i.e.* Syria and Cilicia (cf. Ac 8^{14} 9^{32} $11^{1.\,2.\,22}$). This condition of things continued nominally until the time of the conference at Jerus. (Ac $15^{2\text{ff.}}$). But St. Paul's visit to Jerus. on this occasion (which must be taken as identical with that described in Gal $2^{1\text{-}10}$), beyond establishing the freedom of the Gentiles from circumcision, led to a further very important result. Now that a purely Gentile Church was possible, St. Paul saw that not only the separation of distance, but also in a greater degree the vast difference of life and thought, between the Pal. Jew and the ordinary Greek or Roman, made it impolitic that the centralization of power in the Church of Jerus. should coutinue. And the 'pillar' apostles, after convincing themselves of his authority and ability, resigned to him the care of the Gentiles, while they contented themselves with the management of the Jewish Churches (Gal $2^{6\text{-}9}$). The partition of authority here described was not regarded by either side as a rigid separation of spheres. The main work of the Apostle of the Gentiles was with Gentiles, while that of the pillar apostles was with Jews. Thus it was the practice of St. Paul to preach to the Jews first when breaking up new ground (see Ac 13-end, *passim*), and he occasionally, though very rarely, addressed himself to Jews in his epistles (*e.g.* Ro 2^{17}). Again we find St. Peter active at Antioch (Gal 2^{11}), Corinth (?) (1 Co 1^{12}), and Rome. St. James addressed his Epistle to the Jews of the Dispersion, 1^{1}; and 1 P is addressed, not only to Jews, but also to Gentiles throughout Asia Minor (cf. 1^{1} 4^{3}) at a time when St. Paul was probably still living. Nor was the separation accompanied by any bitterness in the relations between the two parties. The pillar apostles gave to St. Paul and Barnabas the 'right hand of fellowship.' These promised in turn to remember the poor of Judæa, and we know that the promise was faithfully kept. St. Paul always speaks with deep affection and respect of the Judæan Christians (*e.g.* 1 Th 2^{14}, Ro 15^{27}). The momentary break with St. Peter (Gal 2^{11}), and the efforts of some to exaggerate and prolong its effects (1 Co 1^{12} 3^{22}), did not impede his recognition of the deeper truth, that all differences found their unity in Christ (3^{11}).

Within these two great divisions, each of which had something of an organic unity in its common rule, resulting to a large extent in common practice (*e.g.* 1 Co 11^{16} 14^{33}), appear smaller divisions, according to the Roman provinces. Such are the Churches of Judæa (Gal 1^{22}, 1 Th 2^{14}), Galatia (Gal 1^{2}, 1 Co 16^{1}), Macedonia (2 Co 8^{1}), Achaia (Ro 15^{26}, 2 Co 1^{1} 9^{2}), Asia (1 Co 16^{19}), Syria and Cilicia (Ac $15^{23.\,41}$). This grouping was also something more than a mere form of speech. The Churches of Galatia (1 Co 16^{1}), Macedonia (2 Co 8^{19}), and Achaia (1 Co 16^{3}, 2 Co 8–9) each formed a separate whole for the purposes of gathering and delivering to Jerus. the collection for the poor of Judæa. Officers were appointed by each province to act for and represent the province in this respect (1 Co 16^{3}, 2 Co $8^{19.\,23}$). St. Paul particularly notes the close and affectionate relationship which bound together the Macedonian Churches (1 Th 4^{10}).

These provincial Churches (it is to be noted that ἐκκλησία is never used of the Church of a province, but always ἐκκλησίαι, 'the Churches') had their natural centre in the capital city (*e.g.* Corinth, 2 Co 1^{1}; Ephesus, Ac 19^{10}; cf. Rev 2^{1} where it comes first in the list of the seven Churches). At a later period these districts were in some cases temporarily put under the authority of an apostolic delegate, *e.g.* Timothy in Asia (1 Ti 1^{3}), Titus in Crete (Tit 1^{5}). At the end of the apostolic age we find the Churches of Asia under the guidance of St. John (Rev 1^{4}).

The extent of the apostolic Church included Palestine, Phœnicia (Ac 15^{3}), Syria (the region around Antioch), Asia Minor (1 P 1^{1}), Macedonia, Achaia, Illyricum (Ro 15^{19}, 2 Ti 4^{10}), Italy (Ac 28^{14}), Crete, and Cyprus. Thus much we know from certain evidence in NT. But there were doubtless many other Churches which are not mentioned, and which, nevertheless, were founded before the close of the NT period. It is quite probable that St. Paul himself preached in Spain (cf. Ro $15^{24.\,28}$; Clem. Rom. *ad Cor.* 5; Murat. Fragment, l. 38). The Church of Alexandria ascribed its foundation to St. Mark (Eus. *HE* ii. 16, 24; Epiph. *Hær.* li. 6; Jer. *de vir. illust.* 8; Nicephorus, *HE* ii. 43; *Acta Barnabæ*). And without setting any value on the traditions (*e.g.* in Eus. *HE* i. 13, iii. 1) current in the later Church, we may well refrain from drawing any arguments from the silence of NT in this respect.

III. The Ideal Church.—So far as we have proceeded hitherto, we have considered the word ἐκκλησία always in the sense of the Christian body in its actual state of imperfection. We come now to a conception of the Church in which the *empirical* idea disappears and an ideal Church appears, still capable of progress, indeed, in some of the similes under which it is depicted (*e.g.* Eph 4^{16}), but free from all the negative elements of evil. From one point of view, every Christian can be regarded as perfect. He was washed by baptism from every stain (cf. 1 Co 6^{11}, He 10^{14}, 1 Jn 3^{9}), and from henceforth is holy (ἅγιος). The Christians are 'the saints' (οἱ ἅγιοι). So the distinction of the ideal from the actual body of Christians was a thought which lay near at hand. It is the actual Church to which reproof and blame are addressed; the ideal which 'shall judge the world,' 1 Co 6^{2}. It is the actual Church upon the foundation of which some build badly and some well (1 Co 3$^{10-15}$), the 'great house' in which some are 'vessels unto honour' and some 'vessels unto dishonour' (2 Ti 2^{20}); it is the ideal which is a 'holy temple of God' (ναός = shrine) (1 Co 3^{17}), sanctified and cleansed by 'the washing of water with the word . . . a glorious Church not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing . . . holy and without blemish' (Eph 5$^{26.27}$). The metaphors under which the ideal Church is spoken of, and its relation to Christ expressed, are of three kinds—(*a*) the Church as a building, (*b*) the Church as a body (σῶμα), (*c*) the Church as a bride.

(1) *The Church as a Building.*—This very natural comparison is, according to St. Matt., as old as the time of Christ Himself (Mt 16^{18} 'On this rock I will build my Church'). St. Paul (1 Co 3$^{10-15}$) compares the growth of the Corinthian community with that of a building, of which he himself laid the foundation, and upon which others are building. He then (still referring primarily to the Corinthian community) passes directly in v.^{16} to the idea of the finished building, 'Ye are a temple of God.' The word used for 'temple,' ναός, means properly an inner shrine or sanctuary, and St. Paul evidently has in his mind the Holy of Holies in the temple at Jerusalem where 'the Lord sitteth upon the cherubims' (2 K 19^{15}), as the Holy Ghost has His shrine in the ἐκκλησία (cf. 2 Co 6^{16}, and for the same thought in regard to the individual believer 1 Co 6^{19}). Then follows in the Ephesian Ep. the conception of the whole Church as a 'holy temple,' a 'habitation of God' in which the individual Christians or communities are the parts, each fitting into his proper place and the whole held together by Christ, the chief cornerstone (Eph 2$^{20-22}$). Here, where the thought is that in Christ Jew and Gentile are made one building by the breaking down of the 'middle wall of partition' (v.^{14}), Christ is the cornerstone and the apostles and prophets the foundation. But in 1 Co 3^{10}, where the thought is the building up of the community, Christ is the foundation, and the apostles, etc., the builders.

(2) *The Church as a Body* (σῶμα).—The idea of the Christian unity in Christ seems to have suggested the comparison of the society to a human body, in which the individuals are members, each performing, according to his 'gift,' his proper function, and accepting his proper position (Ro 12^{5}). Then comes the identification of this Christian body with the body of Christ (1 Co 12$^{12.27}$, cf. 6^{15}, Jn 15$^{1ff.}$), a conception which culminates in the idea of the believers all partaking in the one body of Christ in the Eucharist (1 Co 10^{17}, Jn 6$^{51ff.}$). Not until the later Epp. is the ἐκκλησία called outright the 'body of Christ' (Eph 1^{23} 4^{12} 5^{23}, Col 1$^{18.24}$ 2^{19}). In the earlier Epp. it is the vaguer 'we,' 'you,' *i.e.* primarily the community to which the apostle is writing, although the secondary idea of the whole Church was probably also present to his mind (Ro 12^{5}, 1 Co 12$^{13.27}$, cf. 6^{15}). In this relation Christ is sometimes identified with the whole body (1 Co 12$^{13.27}$), but in the later Epp. He is called the Head, as the guardian and director (Eph 5$^{23.24}$), as the source of its life, filling it with His fulness (Eph 1^{23}), as the centre of its unity and the cause of its growth (Eph 4^{15}, Col 2^{19}). These last two passages represent the actual Church as growing gradually to this ideal perfection.

(3) *The Church as a Bride.*—We have to do here, not only with an ideal conception, but also with the further step of a personification. The comparison of the single community to a virgin is found first in 2 Co 11^{2} 'I espoused you to one husband that I might present you as a pure virgin to Christ.' Here the idea of Christ as the bridegroom is also present. The expressions ἡ συνεκλεκτή (1 P 5^{13}), ἡ ἐκλεκτὴ ἀδελφή (2 Jn ^{13}), ἡ ἐκλεκτὴ κυρία (*ib.*^{1}), are also applied to single communities. But the application of this personification to the whole Church as the Bride of Christ is a step beyond these. We are here, says St. Paul (Eph 5^{32}), face to face with a great mystery. Man and wife become one flesh, so that a man should love his wife as his own body. The Church is the Bride of Christ; the two are one body, just as man and wife are one body; and as Christ loved the Church and gave Himself up for it, so the husband should love his wife. We see here how closely connected is this conception with that of the Church as the *body* of Christ. The union of the two ideas is seen also in the relation of the individual Christian to Christ (1 Co 6$^{15ff.}$). As man and wife become one flesh, so he who cleaveth to Christ (the expression ὁ κολλώμενος τῷ Κυρίῳ is parallel to ὁ κολλώμενος τῇ πόρνῃ) becomes one 'spirit' (πνεῦμα) with Him, and belongs to His (spiritual) body,—'your bodies are members (μέλη) of Christ.' The idea of the Church as bride is found also in the imagery of the Apocalypse. The marriage table is spread (Rev 19^{7}), the bride is arrayed in fine linen, 'which is the righteous acts of the saints' (*ib.*^{8}). In c. 20 the powers of evil are bound or destroyed, and the New Jerusalem comes down out of heaven as a 'bride adorned for her husband' (21^{2}); 'she is the Bride, the wife of the Lamb' (*ib.*^{9}, cf. 22^{17}).

SUMMARY.—Such were the life and teaching of the Church in NT times. If we compare them with that of the succeeding age, two features stand out as specially characteristic of the earlier period. The first is the much more vivid consciousness of the power and presence of God in His Church. The apostles, who were daily with them, had all been in close contact with the Lord, and most of them during a period of some years. The risen Lord was to them a living memory, and they imparted to the Church the force of that memory in all its freshness. The power of the Holy Ghost also was a fact of which men were more directly conscious in themselves than at any other time. Never have the central truths of Christianity—the position of Christ and the significance of His death—been more powerfully realized, and at no time has the Christian life in its practice been more closely connected with, and derived from, that belief. To the fixed apostolic tradition of doctrine and life all succeeding ages have looked as their authority. But in the strongest contrast with this fixedness of doctrine and moral life, stands the freedom from formal conditions in questions outside these. Thus, if we turn to the organization we notice the informal way in which offices grew up, and the comparative absence (until the close of the period) of a fixed division of labour. It is characteristic also of the time, that most of the technical terms are used also in a general sense, *e.g.* πρεσβύτερος, διάκονος (διακονία, διακονέω) διδάσκαλος. Or, if we turn to the worship, we are struck by the freedom of speech, the absence of exclusive ministerial rights, of a formal liturgy and fixed ritual, except in the case of baptism, laying on of hands, and the Eucharist. In the transition period immediately following the apostolic age came the fixing of organization with its clear-cut division of labour, and the stereotyping of liturgies and ritual. And along with these developments came, at once their cause and their effect, the decline of the prophet and prophecy.

GENERAL LITERATURE ON CHURCH.—The Church Histories of the Apostolic age; esp Neander, *Hist. of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church* (Eng.), 1851; Thiersch, *Hist. of Christian Church in Ap. Age* (Eng.), 1852; Baur, *Church Hist. of the First Three Centuries* (Eng.), 1879; Renan, *Origines du Christianisme*, 1883; Schaff, *Hist. of Ap. Age*, 1886; Lechler, *Ap. Age* (Eng.), 1886; Pressensé, *Le siècle apostolique*, 1889; Möller, *Ch. Hist.* (Eng.), 1892; Weizsäcker, *Ap. Age* (Eng.), 1895. Further, Köstlin, *Das Wesen der Kirche nach Lehre und Gesch. des NT*, 1872; Seeberg, *Der Begriff der christlichen Kirche*, 1887; Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma* (Eng.), 1894.

S. C. GAYFORD.

CHURCH GOVERNMENT IN THE APOSTOLIC AGE.—Our knowledge of Church government in the apostolic age comes almost entirely from the NT. We can glean something from Clement and the *Teaching*; but with Ignatius we are already in a new age, and later writers are too full of later ideas to help us much. Besides this, things were in a fluid and transitional state, complicated on one side by the indefinite authority held in reserve by the apostles, on the other by the ministry of gifts, which was crossed, but not yet displaced, by the local ministry of office.

The general development is clear, though its later stages may fall outside NT times. The apostles were of necessity the first rulers of the Church; then were added gradually divers local and unlocal rulers; then the unlocal died out, and the local settled down into the three permanent orders of bishops, elders, and deacons. The chief disputed questions are of the origin of the local ministry, of its relation to the other, and of the time and manner in which it settled down.

Twice over St. Paul gives something like a list of the chief persons of the Church. In 1 Co 12^{28} he counts up 'first, apostles; second, prophets; third, teachers; then powers; then gifts of healings, helps, governments, kinds of tongues.' A few years later (Eph 4^{11}) his list of gifts for the work of service (*διακονία*) is 'some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers.' At the head, then, of both lists is the **Apostle.** The apostles were not limited to the Eleven, or to the number twelve. Whether our Lord ever recognized Matthias or not, Paul and Barnabas (*e.g.* 1 Co 9^{5}) were certainly apostles, and we may safely add (Gal 1^{19}) James the Lord's brother. There are traces of others, and the old disciples Andronicus and Junias (Ro 16^{7}) even seem to be called 'notable' apostles. On the other hand, Timothy is tacitly (2 Co 1^{1}) excluded. The apostle's qualification was first and foremost to have seen (Ac 1^{22}, 1 Co $9^{1.\,2}$) the risen Lord, and to have been sent out by Him; secondly, to have wrought (2 Co 12^{12}) 'the apostle's signs.' His work was to bear witness of the things he had seen and heard (*e.g.* Ac 1^{8})—in short, to preach; and this implied the founding and general care of Churches, though not their ordinary administration. St. Paul interferes only with gross errors or with corporate disorder; and he does not advise the Corinthians on further questions without hinting that they might have settled them for themselves. His mission was (1 Co 1^{17}) simply to preach, so that he had no local ties, but moved from city to city, sometimes working for a while from a centre, but more commonly moving about.

Next to the apostle comes the **Prophet.** He, too, sustained the Church, and shared with him (Eph 2^{20} 3^{5}) the revelation of the mystery. He spoke 'in the Spirit' words of warning, of comfort, or it might be of prediction. His work was universal like the apostle's, but he was not like him an eye-witness of the resurrection, so that he needed not to have 'seen the Lord.' Nor did 'the care of all the Churches' rest on him. His office, so far as we know, was purely spiritual, and there is nowhere any hint that he took a share in the administration of the Churches. Women, too, might prophesy, like Philip's daughters (Ac 21^{9}) at Cæsarea, or the mystic Jezebel (Rev 2^{20}) at Thyatira. Yet even in the apostolic age we see the beginnings (1 Th 5^{20}) of discredit, and false prophets flourishing (2 P, Jude). After the prophet comes a group of preachers, followed in 1 Co 12^{28} by special 'gifts of healings, helps, governments, kinds of tongues.'

It will be seen that the lists have to do with a ministry of special gifts, and leave no place for an ordinary local ministry of office, unless it comes in under 'helps and governments,' or 'pastors and teachers.' Any such ministry must therefore have been subordinate to the other: yet there is ample proof that one existed from a very early time. We have (1) the appointment of the Seven in Ac 6: (2) elders at Jerusalem in 44, in 50, and again in 58; mentioned by James and Peter; appointed by Paul and Barnabas in every Church about 48; at Ephesus in 58: (3) bishops and deacons at Philippi in 63; Phœbe a deaconess at Cenchreæ in 58. Also (4) in the Pastoral Epistles, Timothy and Titus are in charge of four distinct orders of bishops (or elders), deacons, deaconesses (1 Ti 3^{11} *γυναῖκας*, not *τὰς γυναῖκας*, cannot be the wives of deacons), and widows. This great development, which some think points to a much later date, seems fairly accounted for by the vigorous growth of Church life and the need of organization which must have been felt near the end of the apostolic age. To complete our statement of the evidence, we may add (5) the *νεώτεροι* who carried out Ananias (Ac 5^{6}), though the tacit contrast with *πρεσβύτεροι* is clearly one of age, not of office, for we note that *νεανίσκοι* buried Sapphira; (6) the prominent position of James at Jerus. in 44 (Ac 12^{17}), in 50, and in 58; and (7) of Timothy and Titus at Ephesus and in Crete; (8) the indefinite *προϊστάμενοι* of 1 Th 5^{12} and the equally indefinite rulers (*ἡγούμενοι*) of an unknown Church (He $13^{7.\,17}$) of Heb. Christians shortly before 70; and (9) the angels of the seven Churches in Asia.

Our questions may be conveniently grouped round the later orders of bishops, elders, and deacons—taken, however, in reverse order.

i. DEACONS.—The traditional view, that the choice of the Seven in Ac 6 is the formal institution of a permanent order of deacons, does not seem unassailable. The opinion of Irenæus, Cyprian, and later writers is not decisive on a question of this kind; and the vague word *διακονία* (used too in the context of the apostles themselves) is more than balanced by the avoidance of the word *deacon* in the Ac (*e.g.* 21^{8} *Φιλίππου τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ ὄντος ἐκ τῶν ἑπτά*). If we add that the Seven seem to rank next in the Church to the apostles, we may be tempted to see in them (if they are a permanent office at all) the elders whom we find at Jerus. in precisely this position from 44 onward. In this case we are thrown back on the Philippian Church in 63 for the first mention of deacons. As, however, Phœbe (Ro 16^{1}) was deaconess at Cenchreæ in 58, there were probably deacons before this at Corinth, though there is no trace of them in St. Paul's Epistles to that Church.

ii. ELDERS.—We first find elders at Jerus. (Ac 11^{30}) receiving the offerings from Barnabas and Saul in 44. They are joined (15^{6}) with the apostles at the Conference in 50, and with James in 58 (21^{18}). As Paul and Barnabas appoint elders (14^{23}) in every city on their first missionary journey, we may infer that Churches generally had elders, though there is no other express mention of them before 1 Peter and the Pastoral Epistles, unless we adopt an early date for Ja 5^{14}, where, however, it is not certain that the word is official.

The difference of name between elders and bishops may point to some difference of origin or function; but in NT (and Clement) the terms are more or less equivalent. Thus the elders of Ephesus are reminded (Ac 20^{28}) that they are bishops. So, too, we find sundry bishops in the single Church of Philippi. In the Pastoral Epistles, Timothy appoints bishops and deacons, Titus elders and deacons, though (1 Ti 5^{17}) Timothy also has elders under him. The qualifications also of a bishop as laid down for Timothy are practically those of the elder as described to Titus, and equally point to ministerial duties in contrast to what we call episcopal. Though the elder's proper duty is to 'rule' (1 Ti 5^{17}), he does it subject to Timothy, much as a modern elder rules subject to his bishop.

iii. BISHOPS.—Is there any trace of an order of bishops in NT? The *name* of a bishop, as we have seen, is applied to elders; but are there permanent local officials, each ruling singly the elders of his own city? This is the definition of the bishop when he first appears distinct from his elders; and if we find this, we find a bishop, whatever he may be called. The instances commonly given are James the Lord's brother at Jerus., Timothy and Titus in Ephesus and Crete, and the angels of the seven Churches. The plural rulers (He $13^{7.\,17}$) of a single Church are hardly worth mention. Now, James was clearly the leading man of the Church at Jerusalem. His strictness of life and his near relation to the Lord (a more important matter with Easterns than with us) must have given him enormous influence. But influence is one thing, office is another. No doubt he had very much of a bishop's position, and his success at Jerus. may have suggested imitation elsewhere; but there is nothing recorded of him which requires us to believe that he held any definite local office. The case of Timothy and Titus is a stronger one, for we know that they appointed and governed elders like a modern bishop. But this is work which must be done in every Church, so that a man who does it is not necessarily a bishop. Neither Timothy nor Titus is a permanent official, and Titus is not connected with any particular city. They are rather temporary vicars-apostolic, sent on special missions to Ephesus and Crete. The letters by which we know them are (2 Ti 4^9, Tit 3^{12}) letters of recall; and there is no serious evidence that they ever saw Ephesus and Crete again. Titus is last heard of (2 Ti 4^{10}) in Dalmatia, Timothy from the writer to the Hebrews (13^{23}), a work which there is no reason to connect with Ephesus. There remain the angels of the seven Churches; and it would be very bold to take these for literal bishops. In addition to the general presumption from the symbolic character of the Apoc., there is the particular argument that 'the woman Jezebel' at Thyatira (Rev 2^{20}—the reading *τὴν γυναῖκά σου* would make her the angel's wife) can hardly be taken literally. Moreover, these angels are praised and blamed for the doings of their Churches in a way no literal bishop justly can be. It is safer to take them as personifications of the Churches.

Our general conclusion is, that while we find deacons and elders (or bishops in NT sense) in the apostolic age, there is no clear trace of bishops (in the later sense), or of any apostolic ordinance that every Church was to have its bishop. This conclusion is fully confirmed by Clement and Ignatius. If Corinth had had a bishop in Clement's time, or been remarkable or blameworthy in having no bishop, we should scarcely have failed to hear of it in a letter called forth by the unjust deposition of certain elders. Instead of this, it seems clear that the elders at Corinth had no authority of any sort over them to compose their quarrels. Ignatius certainly uses the most emphatic language in urging obedience to the bishop; but the greater his emphasis the more significant is the absence of any appeal (*Trall.* 7 is not one) to any institution of an *order* of bishops by the apostles. The absence of an argument which would have rendered all the rest superfluous, seems nothing less than an admission that he knew of no such institution.

Nevertheless, his earnestness implies apostolic sanction. Episcopacy must have originated before the apostles had all passed away; and its early strength in Asia cannot well be explained without some encouragement from St. John. But it must have been at first local and partial, and due perhaps to more causes than one. On one side, the need of firmer government after the apostles and prophets died out, would often tend to raise the chairman of the elders into something like a bishop's position; on the other, vicars-apostolic of the type of Timothy might occasionally be left stranded by the apostle's death, and if they remained at their post would settle down into genuine bishops. See also Hort, *Christian Ecclesia* (1897), published too late for use in this article,

H. M. GWATKIN.

CHURCHES, ROBBERS OF, is the misleading rendering in AV Ac 19^{37} of the word *ἱερόσυλοι* (applying the word 'churches' in the wider old Eng. sense to pagan temples), while in RV the rendering is 'robbers of temples'; but both are unsatisfactory. The secretary of the city (*γραμματεὺς τῆς πόλεως*) of Ephesus points out to the riotous assembly in the theatre that St. Paul and his friends are not guilty of sacrilege, the category of crime under which it was natural for St. Paul's accusers to bring his action. After the word *ἀσέβεια* had been appropriated to translate the Rom. legal term *læsa majestas* 'treason,' *ἱεροσυλία* was the natural rendering for the Lat. *sacrilegium*; and here for emphasis the speaker uses the double term *οὔτε ἱεροσύλους οὔτε βλασφημοῦντας τὴν θεάν*, which implies 'guilty neither in act nor in language of disrespect to the established religion of our city.'

In 2 Mac 4^{42} the epithet 'church-robber' (AV, 'author of the sacrilege' RV) is applied to Lysimachus, brother of Menelaus the high priest, who perished in a riot (B.C. 170) provoked by the theft of sacred vessels committed by his brother and himself.

LITERATURE.—Neumann, *Der röm. Staat und die allgemeine Kirche*, i. pp. 14, 17; Ramsay, *Church in Rom. Emp.* pp 260, 401.

W. M. RAMSAY.

CHURCHES, SEVEN.—See REVELATION.

CHURL.—'The Saxons made three degrees of free-men; to wit—an earl, a thane, and a churl'—Risdon (1630). And soon 'churl' and 'churlish' were applied to any boorish person. In this sense churlish is used of Nabal, 1 S 25^3, and of Nicanor 2 Mac 14^{30}. But 'churlish' as applied to Nabal being popularly taken in the sense of niggardly, helped to give the meaning of niggard, miser, to 'churl.' In this sense alone churl occurs, Is $32^{5.7}$, though the Heb. (כִּילַי, כֵּלַי) probably means crafty (so RVm) or fraudulent (Vulg.). J. HASTINGS.

CHUSI (Χούς B, Χουσεί A).—Jth 7^{18} mentioned with Ekrebel (*'Akrabeh*) is possibly *Kûzah*, 5 miles S. of Shechem and 5 miles W. of 'Akrabeh. See *SWP* vol, ii. sh. xiv. C. R. CONDER.

CHUZA (Χουζᾶς, Amer. RV Chuzas).—The steward (*ἐπίτροπος*) of Herod Antipas. His wife JOANNA (which see) was one of the women who ministered to our Lord and His disciples (Lk 8^3).

CICCAR (כִּכָּר), 'round.'—A name for the middle broader part of the Jordan Valley (so Buhl, *Pal.* 112; cf. Driver on Dt 34^3), Gn $13^{10.12}$ $19^{17.25.28.29}$, Dt 34^3, 2 S 18^{23}, 1 K 7^{46}, 2 Ch 4^{17}, Ezk 47^8. See PALESTINE. The term is also, perhaps, used of the neighbourhood of Jerus. in a later age, Neh 3^{22} 12^{28} (AV 'plain,' 'plain country').

CIELED, CIELING.—This is the spelling of the Camb. ed. of AV of 1629, the ed. of 1611 having *sieled* and *sieling* in all the passages. Amer. RV prefers the mod. *ceiled, ceiling*. Wright (*Bible Word Book*², p. 134) identifies the word with *seel*, to close a hawk's eyes, and quotes—

> 'But when we in our viciousness grow hard,
> O misery on't!—the wise gods seel our eyes.
> Shaks. *Ant. and Cleop.* III. xiii. 112.
>
> 'Come, seeling night,
> Scarf up the tender eye of pitiful day.'
> *Macbeth*, III. ii. 46.

But Skeat (*Etymol. Dict.*² *s.v.*) denies the identification or connexion. *Ciel*, he holds, is from *cœlum*, 'heaven,' 'sky,' and has no connexion with *sill*, *seal*, or *seel*. Its meaning, therefore, is 'a canopy'; then, as vb., 'to canopy' or 'cover'; and the only meaning in AV, as in mod. Eng., viz. to cover with timber or plaster, *i.e.* wainscot, is a later derivation. The Heb. always means 'to cover.' In Dt 33^{21} AVm gives 'cieled' (text, 'seated,' RV 'reserved,' the Heb. being *sâphan* 'to panel' [see Driver's note and *Add.* in *Deut*² *ad loc.*], trᵈ 'ciel' in Jer 22^{14}, Hag 1^4). The 'cieling' (only 1 K 6^{15}, Ezk 41^{16m}) is any part cieled, walls as well as roof, the roof indeed being formerly distinguished as 'the upper cieling.'

J. HASTINGS.

CILICIA (Κιλικία), a country in the S.E. corner of Asia Minor, on the coast, adjoining Syria, always closely connected with Syria in manners, religion, and nationality, and generally more closely united with Syria than with Asia Minor in political and in Byzantine ecclesiastical arrangement. It was commonly divided into two territories—(1) on the W. (reaching as far as Pamphylia), Cilicia Tracheia (*Aspera*), a land of lofty and rugged mountains, drained by the considerable river Calycadnus; (2) on the E., Cilicia Pedias (*Campestris*), a low-lying and very fertile plain between the sea and the mountain ranges Taurus and Amanus. The entire double country is summed up as C. in Ac 27^5, a geographical description of the lands touching the Cyprian Sea. But elsewhere it is clear that only the civilized and peaceful C. Pedias (in other words, the part subject to Roman rule) is intended when C. is mentioned in NT, whereas C. Tracheia was inhabited by fierce and dangerous tribes, loosely ruled by king Archelaus of Cappadocia from B.C. 20 to A.D. 17, and by king Antiochus of Commagene from A.D. 37 to 74. C. Pedias had been Roman territory from B.C. 103; and, after many changing arrangements for its administration, it was merged by Augustus in the great joint province Syria-Cilicia-Phœnice probably in B.C. 27; and this system probably lasted through the 1st cent. after Christ (though temporary variations may possibly have occurred). Hence Syria and C. are mentioned together in such a way as to imply close connexion in Gal 1^{21}, Ac $15^{23.41}$; the combined Rom. province is there meant, over which the influence of Christianity spread from the two centres, Tarsus in C. and, above all, Antioch in Syria. The close connexion of C. with Syria arose from two causes—(1) C. communicates with it by a very easy pass, the 'Syrian Gates' (*Pylæ Syriæ*, Beilan, summit level 1980 ft.), whereas the passes crossing Taurus into Lycaonia and Cappadocia are all difficult, incomparably the best being the 'Cilician Gates' (*Pylæ Ciliciæ*, Gulek Boghaz, summit level 4300 ft.); (2) C. Pedias was long separated from Roman territory on the W. and N. by a great extent of independent country, while it adjoined Rom. Syria. C. has been identified wrongly with the Tarshish which is so often mentioned in OT (Gn 10^4 etc.), by some modern scholars, following Jos. *Ant.* (I. vi. 1), who says that C. was originally called Θαρσός.

That a large Jewish population existed in C. is evident from Ac 6^6; and it is rather strange that Cilician Jews are not mentioned in Ac 2^{9-11}. The existence of Jewish colonists in the Seleucid cities of C. would be in itself highly probable, for they were always the most faithful and trusted adherents of the Seleucid kings in their foreign settlements; and the Cilician Jews are alluded to by Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium*, § 36 (ii. p. 587, Mang.). St. Paul had the rights of a citizen of Tarsus (which see), as he mentions in Ac 21^{39}; these rights must have been inherited, and they imply, beyond doubt, that there was a colony of Jews forming part of the Tarsian State. An interesting memorial of the religious influence exerted by the Jews in C. is attested by the society of Sabbatistai, mentioned in an inscription, probably dating about the time of Christ, which was found near Elaioussa and Korykos (see Canon Hicks in *Journ. of Hellenic Studies*, 1891, pp. 234–236); this society was evidently an association of non-Jews in the practice of rites modelled, in part at least, on Judaistic ceremonial.

LITERATURE.—Cilicia is very slightly described in Mommsen, *Provinces of Rom. Emp.* (*Römische Geschichte*, vol. v.) ch. viii. See Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i. pp. 379–392; Ramsay, *Hist. Geog. Asia Minor*, pp. 361–387; Bent and Hicks in *Journ. of Hellenic Studies*, 1890, pp. 231–254, 1891, pp. 206–273; Sterrett, *Wolfe Exped. in Asia Minor*, pp. 1–125; Langlois, *Explor. Archéol. de la Cilicie* (1857), and *Voyage dans la Cilicie* (1860); Davis, *Life in Asiatic Turkey* (1879); Kotschy, *Reise in den cilicischen Taurus über Tarsus* (1858); Barker, *Cilicia and its Governors* (1853); Ritter, *Kleinasien* (1859), ii. pp. 56–235; Heberdey and Wilhelm in *Denkschriften der Akademie*, Wien, 1896.

W. M. RAMSAY.

CINNAMON (קִנָּמוֹן *ḳinnâmôn*, κιννάμωμον, *cinnamomum*). — The identity of name makes it impossible to mistake the substance intended. It was early known to the Hebrews, as it entered into the composition of the holy anointing oil (Ex 30^{23}). It is represented as being used to perfume a bed (Pr 7^{17}). The Oriental women use musk for a similar purpose. Like other tropical plants, it seems to have been cultivated in the botanical gardens of Solomon (Ca 4^{14}). It is the product of *Cinnamomum Zeylanicum*, Nees, a plant of the Laurel family, indigenous in Ceylon and other E. India islands, and in China. The tree attains a height of 30 ft., and has panicled clusters of white blossoms, and ovate, acute leaves. The cinnamon is the inner bark, separated from the outer, and dried in the sun, in the shape of cylindrical rolls. The best oil is obtained by boiling the ripe fruit. In Rev 18^{13} it is enumerated among the merchandise of the Great Babylon.

G. E. POST.

CIRCLE.—In AV c. means the *vault* of heaven. It occurs Is 40^{22} 'It is he that sitteth upon the c. of the earth,' *i.e.* the c. overarching the earth (חוּג, also in Job 22^{14}, AV and RV 'circuit,' RVm 'vault'; Pr 8^{27} AV 'compass,' RV 'circle'); and Wis 13^2 'the c. of the stars' (κύκλος ἄστρων, RV 'circling stars,' RVm 'c. of stars').

J. HASTINGS.

CIRCUIT occurs 4 times in AV, 1 S 7^{16} (a late and doubtful passage acc. to which Samuel went on circuit [סָבַב] to various high-places), Job 22^{14} (חוּג RVm and Amer. RV 'vault,' *i.e.* the vault of heaven), Ps 19^6 (תְּקוּפָה, of the sun's course in the heavens), Ec 1^6 (סְבִיב, of the circuits of the wind). Besides retaining these instances, RV substitutes 'made [make] a circuit' for AV 'fetch a compass' in 2 S 5^{23} (where for MT הָסֵב read with Driver and Budde סֹב), 2 K 3^9, Ac 28^{13} (περιελθόντες, RVm 'cast loose,' following WH περιελόντες). See COMPASS.

J. A. SELBIE.

CIRCUMCISION (מוּלֹת Ex 4^{26}, περιτομή Jn 7^{22} etc.). —The cutting off of the foreskin, an initiation rite or religious ceremony among many races, such as the Jews, Arabians, and Colchians in Asia, the Egyptians, Mandingos, Gallas, Falashas, Abyssinians, and some Bantu tribes in Africa, the Otaheitans, Tonga Islanders, and some Melanesians in Polynesia, certain New South Wales tribes in Australia, and the Athabascans, Nahuatl, Aztecs, and certain Amazonian tribes in America.

In Egypt its practice dates back at least to the 14th cent. B.C., and probably much farther. The circumcising of two children is represented on the wall of the temple of Khonsu at Karnak. The record of the invasion of Egypt by Mediterranean tribes in the time of Merenptah states that as the Aquashua (supposed to be Achaians) were circumcised, their dead were not mutilated by the Egyptians, except by cutting off a hand (Lepsius, *Denkm.* iii. 19).

Like other mutilations, such as tattooing, cutting off a finger-joint, filing or chiselling out of teeth, the operation may be a tribal mark. In all these there is the twofold idea of a sacrifice to the tribal god, and the marking of his followers so that they may be known by him and by each other. The sacrifice is a representative one, a part given for the redemption of the rest. Stade (*ZAW*, 1886) has collected a number of notices from many peoples, from which he infers that circumcision is not so much a mark of membership in a tribe as *initiation into manhood* and acquirement of the full rights of citizenship.

However originated, the rite is said to have been appointed by God as the token of the covenant between Him and Abraham, shortly after Abraham's sojourn in Egypt. It was ordained to be performed on himself, on his descendants and slaves, as well as on strangers joining themselves to the Heb. nation (Gn 17^{12} etc. Ex 12^{48} both P), to signify their participation in the benefits of the covenant and their acceptance of its obligations. It was practised by the Jews during their captivity in Egypt (Jos 5^5 D^2), but discontinued in the wilderness. Even Moses neglected to circumcise his son (Ex 4^{24} JE). On this occasion Zipporah recognized the cause of God's displeasure, and removed the reproach by operating (Ex 4^{25}). She thus showed her acquaintance with the ceremony; and as she called Moses on this account a *ḥathan* of blood, which may mean one brought into a family by a blood-rite, it has been conjectured that the Jews received the rite from the Midianites. There is, however, no evidence that this was so, and it is contrary to the whole weight of tradition. As women were not permitted by the Rabbins to circumcise, the case of Zipporah is explained away in the Tosephta on Ex 4 as meaning that she caused Moses to operate.

The characteristic of Hebrew circumcision is its being performed *in infancy*. Wellhausen (*Hist.* 340) sees in Ex 4^{25} the substitution of this for the older and more severe operation in youth or manhood. (See the same writer's *Skizzen*, iii. 154, 215; and cf. Nowack, *Heb. Archäol.* i. 167 ff.; Cheyne, art. 'Circumcision' in *Encyc. Brit.*^{9})

On the arrival of the Jews in Canaan the rite was renewed at Gilgal (Jos 5^3), the operation being performed at a place named *Gibʿath haʿărâlôth*, or 'the hill of the fore-skins,' with flint knives, which, according to the Sept. addition to Jos 24^{31}, were buried with Joshua. Although the ceremony is scarcely again mentioned in the historical part of OT, yet it was probably observed continuously, and there is no real ground for the statement made by the Rabbins (*Yalkut* on Jos), that on the separation of the two kingdoms circumcision was forbidden in Ephraim. The Midrash on La 1^9 conjectures that the priests were uncircumcised in the days of Zedekiah (see 1 Mac 1^{15}); but this is doubtful.

Abraham was circumcised at the age of 99, and, according to *Pirke R. Eliezer*, the anniversary of the ceremony is the great Day of Atonement. Ishmael was circumcised at 13, and among Islamite nations it is performed at some age between 6 and 16, as soon as the child can pronounce the religious formulæ. It is not enjoined in the Koran, but, according to the Arabian tradition, the Prophet declared it to be meritorious, though not an obligatory rite.

As Isaac was circumcised on the eighth day, so that period was named in the institution (Gn 17^{12}), and is observed as the proper date by the Jews to this day. The child is named at the ceremony in memory of the change in Abraham's name (Lk 2^{21}). At the present day the rite is performed either in the house of the parents or in the synagogue, and either by the father or by a *Mohel* or circumciser, who is usually a surgeon, and must be a Jew of unblemished character, who is not paid for his services. In former times the Rabbins preferred flint or glass knives, but now steel is almost invariably used. Blood must be shed in the operation, and the inner layer must be torn with the thumbnail; this supplemental operation is called *pĕrîʿah*, and is said to have been introduced by Joshua. The *pĕrîʿah* is peculiar to the Jewish mode of operating. In former days the flow of blood was encouraged by suction, and the bleeding stopped by wine, with which the Mohel's mouth is filled; but these practices, called by the Jews *Mĕẓîẓah*, are not now adopted in many places, where the operation is performed with antiseptic precautions. Chloroform may be used if the Mohel think it necessary.

The night before the rite the parents keep watch, a survival of the precautions formerly adopted to prevent the child being stolen by Lilith, the devil's mother; they are visited by their friends; and all the little children of the community are gathered together, and the teacher reads the *Shema* or verses from Dt 6$^{4-9}$ 11$^{13-21}$ and Nu 15$^{37-41}$. On the day of the operation the child is carried to the door of the room by a lady, who is called the Baalath Berith, and is taken by a godfather or *sandek*, called also Baal Berith, who sits in a chair, beside which is a vacant seat dedicated to the prophet Elijah, in memorial of his jealousy for the maintenance of the covenant of which this rite is the token. The Mohel sets this chair apart with prayer, asking that the example of Elijah, the messenger of the covenant, may sustain him in his task. Prayers, according to a set form, are recited in Heb. by him, and the child's name is given, then the father and bystanders join in the recitation of formulæ. After the operation a blessing is invoked by the Mohel, and the event is celebrated by feasting in the parents' house. The prayers for the occasion are set forth in the works of Bergson, Asher, Brecher, and Auerbach. The portion cut off is either burned or buried in accordance with ancient rabbinical directions.

After the defeat of Haman's plot, many are said to have been circumcised 'for fear of the Jews' (Est 8^{17} LXX). Circumcision was also imposed by Hyrcanus upon the Idumæans (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. ix. 1). Occasionally Gentiles submitted to it. Elagabalus, Antoninus, and the two sons of Ptolemy Epiphanes (Midrash *Bereshith*) were circumcised; but in the Justinian Code the performance of the operation on a Rom. citizen was prohibited on pain of death (i. 9. 10). Antiochus Epiphanes also prohibited the rite, and many Jews were tortured and put to death on this account (1 Mac 1^{48}, 2 Mac 6^{10}). Similar prohibitions were issued by Hadrian and Constantius, as well as by the Spanish Inquisition in later years.

In apostolic times the Judaizing section of the Church wished to enforce circumcision on Gentile converts; and in order to avoid contention, St. Paul circumcised Timothy as he was a Jew by his mother's side (Ac 16^3). He refused to perform the rite on Titus (Gal 2^3), and argues in the Ep. to the Rom. (4^{10}) that Abraham was as yet uncircumcised when God made His covenant with him. On this subject the Council of Jerusalem gave a final decision adverse to the Judaizers (Ac 15$^{23-29}$). In some of the Ethiopian and Abyssinian Churches, however, the operation was continued, being the persistence of a pre-Christian ethnic practice. In the 12th cent. a short-lived Christian sect of *circumcisi* arose in Italy (Schrökh, *Christl. Kirchengesch.* xxix. 655).

Among the Jewish teachers circumcision was regarded as an operation of purification, and the word foreskin has come to be synonymous with obstinacy and imperfection. The rite was regarded as a token in the flesh of the effect of Divine grace in the heart, hence the phrases used in Dt 30^6. Philo speaks of it as a symbolic inculcation of purity of heart, and having the advantage of promoting cleanliness, fruitfulness, and avoidance of disease. Jeremiah (9$^{25.\,26}$ RV) recognized that the outward rite and the inward grace do not always go together, and he groups together Egypt, Judah, and Edom as races which, though circumcised in the flesh, are uncircumcised in heart.

St. Paul also contrasts strongly the circumcision in the flesh and the purification of the spirit (Ro $2^{28.29}$), and hence in Ph 3^2 he calls the fleshly circumcision *κατατομή*, or **Concision**, a paronomasia, probably indicating, as Theophylact suggests, that those who insist on the fleshly circumcision are endeavouring to cut in sunder the Church of Christ.

LITERATURE.—Schechter, *Studies in Judaism*, 1896, p. 343; Letourneau, *Bulletin Soc. Anthrop.*, Paris, 1893; and Zaborowski, *ibid.* 1894; Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*; Curr, *The Australian Race*; The Karnak monument is figured by Chabas, *Revue Archéol.* 1861, p. 298; Autenrieth, *Ueber den Ursprung der Beschneidung*, Tübingen, 1829; Collin, *Die Beschneidung*, Leipzig, 1842; Bergson, *Die Beschneidung*, Berlin, 1844; Salomon, *Die Beschneidung*, Brunswick, 1844; Brecher, *Die Beschneidung*, Vienna, 1845; Steinschneider, *Ueber die Beschneidung der Araber*, Vienna, 1845; Asher, *The Jewish Rite of Circumcision*, London, 1873. For operations for decircumcision see Celsus, *de Arte Med.* vii. 25, and other authors cited in Groddeck, *de Judæis præput. attrah.*, Leipzig, 1699, and Lossius, *de Epispasmo Judaico*, Jena, 1665. See also Philo, edit. Mangey, ii. 211; Cohen, *Diss. sur la circoncision*, Paris, 1816; Terquem, *Die Beschneidung*, etc., edited by Heymann, Magdeburg, 1844; Meiners, in *Commentationes Soc. Reg.*, Göttingen, xiv. 207. For Circumcision of Elagabalus, etc., see Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs*, Taylor's transl. p. 532; Jost, *Gesch. der Isr.* ii. 78.

A. MACALISTER.

CISTERN (בּוֹר, λάκκος, *cisterna*, *lacus*).—A tank for the collection and storage of rain-water, or, occasionally, of spring-water brought from a distance by a CONDUIT. It was always covered, and so distinguished from the POOL (בְּרֵכָה, κολυμβήθρα, *piscina*), which was a reservoir open to the air.

Cisterns must always have been necessary in Pal., where there are large areas ill supplied with natural springs, a long dry summer, and a small annual rainfall. They were required not only for domestic purposes, but for ceremonial ablutions, irrigation, the watering of animals, and the convenience of travellers. The cisterns in Pal. vary in size and character, and may be classified as follows: 1. Cisterns wholly excavated in the rock. These are the most ancient, and the oldest form is probably the bottle-shaped tank, with a long neck or shaft, which is common in Jerus., the Hauran, and elsewhere. Small rectangular tanks, with draw-holes, are found by the wayside and in vineyards. At Jerus. there are some very large cisterns, and in these the roofs are supported by rude rock-pillars. The finest example is the 'Great Sea' in the Haram esh-Sherif, which has several rock-pillars, and is estimated to hold 3,000,000 gallons. It derived its supply partly from surface drainage and partly from water brought by a conduit from Solomon's Pools, near Bethlehem. 2. Rock-hewn tanks with vaulted roofs are found in many localities. A few of these may possibly be as old as the 3rd cent. B.C. 3. Cisterns of masonry built in the soil are found everywhere. Some of them are of large size, and have vaulted roofs, supported by pillars arranged in parallel rows. They are of all ages, from the Rom. occupation to the present day. Most of the cisterns have their sides and floors coated with cement, which is often very hard and durable. All have one or more openings in their roofs, through which water is drawn to the surface; and many have a flight of steps leading to the floor, partly to facilitate cleansing operations. The rain-water, which falls on the flat roofs of the houses and the paved court-yards, is conveyed to the cisterns by surface gutters and pipes, and carries with it many impurities. This renders periodical cleaning necessary, as the water would otherwise become foul, full of animal life, and dangerous to health. Much of the fever and sickness so prevalent in Pal. is due to the neglected state of the cisterns.

Jer 2^{13} alludes to the rock-hewn cisterns of Jerus., and it would appear from 2 K 18^{31} that every house in the city had its own cistern for the collection of rain-water (cf. Pr 5^{15}, Is 36^{16}). One of the great works of Simon, son of Onias, was to cover the large cistern of the temple with plates of brass (Sir 50^3). When a cistern was empty it formed a convenient prison. It was into one of the roadside cisterns (AV 'pit'), which had become dry, that Joseph was cast by his brethren (Gn $37^{20.22.24}$); and it was into a cistern in the court of the guard, near the temple, in which the muddy deposit was still soft, that Jeremiah was let down with cords (Jer $38^{6\text{ff.}}$). The custom of confining prisoners in an empty cistern is alluded to in Zec 9^{11}; and it may be noted that the word בור 'cistern' is used for the dungeon in which Joseph was confined in Egypt (Gn 40^{15} 41^{14}). In Ec 12^6 there is an allusion to the wheel used in drawing water from a cistern. Jos. mentions the rock-hewn cisterns at Masada (*Ant.* XIV. xiv. 6; *BJ* VII. viii. 3) and at Machærus (*BJ* VII. vi. 2), and describes those constructed in the towers of the walls of Jerus. for the collection of rain-water. In the smaller towers the cisterns were above the apartments, but in the tower Hippicus the cistern was on the solid masonry, and the apartments were built above it (*BJ* V. iv. 3, 4).

C. W. WILSON.

CITHERN.—See MUSIC.

CITIZENSHIP.—So RV for πολιτεία, Ac 22^{28}, instead of the vague AV rendering 'freedom.' Here Claudius Lysias says that he had obtained his c. by purchase, possibly from the wife or the freedman of the Emperor Claudius whose name he bore. Cf. Dio Cass. lx. 17, where, however, it is said that the price of the franchise had fallen to a mere trifle. But the interest of civic privileges in NT lies in their importance in the career of St. Paul. Rom. citizenship was one of the special qualifications of the 'chosen vessel,' and it is a chief purpose of St. Luke (in Ac) to exhibit the apostle as a citizen who, though a Christian, receives for the most part courtesy and justice from the Rom. officials. His citizenship, however, was double, of Tarsus and of Rome. That the former did not carry with it the latter, we know from independent sources; hence a comparison of Ac 21^{39} with 22^{27}, by which the separateness of Tarsian and Rom. citizenship is made evident, furnishes proof of the accuracy of the narrative. Tarsus was not a 'colonia' or 'municipium,' but an 'urbs libera,' Plin. *NH* v. 27 (22), that is to say, a city within a Rom. province, yet enjoying self-government (Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverw.* i. 349–353). St. Paul's citizenship of Tarsus was of no substantial advantage outside that city. But his Rom. citizenship availed throughout the Rom. world, including, besides private rights, (1) exemption from all degrading punishments, *e.g.* scourging and crucifixion; (2) right of appeal to the emperor after sentence in all cases; (3) right to be sent to Rome for trial before the emperor if charged with a capital offence (cf. Plin. *Epp.* x. 96; Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 278). These rights, at least (1) and (3), are illustrated by Ac 16^{37} 22^{25-29} 25^{11}. But there is nothing to show whether he possessed the full citizenship, including the public rights of voting and qualification for office. It was by birth that St. Paul had become a 'Roman.' The word citizen is not used in describing his status. Ῥωμαῖος alone is enough (cf. 'cive di quella Roma onde Cristo è Romano,' Dante, *Purg.* xxxii. 101–2). There were several ways in which St. Paul's father or ancestor might have obtained citizenship. The most probable are by manumission (cf. Philo, *Leg. ad G.* § 23), or as a reward of merit bestowed by the emperor (cf. case of Jos. *Vit.* 76), or by purchase, in which case the contrast implied in Ac 22^{28} would have had less force. The large number of Jews in Asia Minor who were Rom. citizens appears from the decrees quoted in Jos. *Ant.* XIV. x.

Lastly, the metaphorical use of the words citizen and citizenship requires notice. This use is closely connected with Plato's conception of the heavenly city (*Rep.* ix. 592 B), and with later Stoic thought. It appears in Ph 3^{20}, where for 'conversation' we should substitute 'commonwealth' (RVm). See parallels given by Lightfoot, *in loc.* Saints on earth are to live as worthy citizens of the heavenly commonwealth (Ph 1^{27} RVm). The conception of the Church, not as a kingdom subjugating the world, but as a commonwealth gradually extending its citizenship to other lands and alien tribes (cf. Eph 2^{12} and Ps 87), and thus making them fellow-citizens with the saints (Eph 2^{19}), ran parallel with the extension of Rom. citizenship which was going on at the time, and was to culminate in the inclusion of all Rom. subjects by the edict of Caracalla (A.D. 212). The preference for 'Civitas Dei' over 'Regnum Dei,' as the aspect of the Church and of its goal, was, however, also due to OT influence. The picture of the restored Jerus. in Is 60–62 combined easily with the Platonic 'pattern' of a heavenly city, and it is this combination in varying proportions which we have before us in He 11, 12, and 13, in the 'Jerusalem which is above' of Gal 4^{26}, and, perhaps, in Rev 21.

It is worth noticing that it is only in the writings of St. Luke, thorough Greek as he was, that the word 'citizen' occurs, Lk 15^{15} 19^{14} (add RV reading in a LXX quotation in He 8^{11}).

LITERATURE.—For the historical question, in addition to the authorities cited, see Deyling, *Obss. Sacræ*, iii. 40, *De S. Pauli Romana civitate* (very full); Winer, *RWB*, art. 'Bürgerrecht' (many reff.); Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 30 (very brief); Wendt's ed. of Meyer's *Apostelgeschichte* on Ac 16^{37}.

E. R. BERNARD.

CITY (עִיר, πόλις).—1. *Origin.*—The Oriental city owed nothing to organized manufacture, and was only in a few instances, such as Arvad, Sidon, Tyre, and Joppa, dependent upon maritime trade. It was a creation of agriculture, which was an outcome of the pastoral life. As the country settled down to the cultivation of the soil, the peasantry found themselves in constant danger from the wandering tribes of the desert, who often sent their flocks among the standing crops, and carried off the cattle and grain. The necessity of protecting life and property from such enemies was the chief factor in the creation of the village, out of which in turn grew the city. These would naturally be found near those who could protect them, or in grain-growing districts, or in positions of natural strength and in possession of a sufficient water-supply. Hence the village or town was often named from the local well (**Beer-**, **En-**), the hill on which it was built (**Gibeah-**), or its sanctity as 'a high place' (**Baal-**), or became distinguished by the name of its ruling family, or of some conspicuous house (**Beth-**).

2. *Development.*—The city grew out of the village, as the village owed its origin to the house. The expansion was on the same lines as that of the nation from the tribe, and the tribe from the family. Looking, therefore, to these ultimate factors, we find that each house had its ba'al or lord, and under him the family was an independent organism, seeking its own livelihood and welfare. An act of hospitality to a stranger gave him the sacred privileges of the family guild, and the sanctity of the guest became the right of later citizenship. The gradual slackening of this bond is given in the Arab. proverb, 'My brother and I against my cousin, my cousin and I against the stranger.'

These two facts of *authority* and *combination* made up the aristocratic and democratic elements of the village and city. It might be under the protection of a feudal lord living in a fortress around which the city clustered, or near which it was built; or it might depend entirely upon its own wall and the courage and fidelity of its inhabitants. The agricultural life of Palestine knew nothing of separate farmsteads dotting the landscape. The peasants had to retire for the night to the village, like the sheep to the fold. It was customary for the smaller villages to recognize the motherhood or superior protection of a large city. Thus the inhabitants of Laish looked to Zidon the Great (Jg 18^{28}), and at the present day every inhabitant of Syria is considered to belong to Esh-Shâm (Damascus). Hence the expression 'cities and their villages,' 'cities and their daughters,' in Nu 21^{25} 32^{42}, Jos 15 and 19. The feudal lords or the superior cities, in return for protection offered against nomad invasions and other dangers, received payment in service and produce (see TAXES). The service rendered by the peasant to his superior was originally of the nature of a son's obedience to the father's command, and passed eventually into *corvée* labour.*

3. *Characteristics.*—The chief feature of an Oriental city was its wall. This gave it the right to be so named (Lv $25^{30f.}$), though in later times the title turned upon the ecclesiastical distinction of having ten men of leisure and suitability for the services of the synagogue. The wall had one or more gates, which were closed from sunset to sunrise; hence the explanation of their remaining open where there is no night (Rev 21^{25}). All within the wall were of one mind, pledged to obey the laws of the city, and seek the welfare of its inhabitants. The newspaper office and court of tribunal were found at the city gate by which strangers entered and the inhabitants went out to their daily occupation in the fields. Domestic news circulated around the fountain while the women waited their turn to fill the water-jar. The bank was represented by the seat of the money-changer, while our modern factories of organized labour appeared as special streets allocated to special trades. This last arrangement was due to the different artisan guilds, in which the son usually followed the occupation of his father; it was also of fiscal convenience in the collection of taxes through a recognized and responsible head. On occasions of general taxation, each man, wherever he might be living and working, was reckoned as still belonging to the city of his birth. Thus Joseph went up from Nazareth to Bethlehem, the city of his family (Lk 2^{4}).

In an Oriental city each house had its own inviolability, its power to admit and exclude. The passer-by in the narrow street could know nothing of what was going on within those dead walls, with their windows and balconies all opening on the central court. He was as much outside as the dog at his feet. It is probable that the streets of Oriental towns have always by preference been narrow, sufficient for the foot passenger and baggage-animal, and affording shelter from the sun to the merchants and tradesmen. Such are the streets of Hebron and Zidon; and in Damascus the 'street called straight' (Ac 9^{11}), once a broad Roman carriage-way, with a foot-path on each side of the stately colonnade, now shows a return to the Oriental type.

Again, each quarter of a large city might have its own homogeneousness. At the present day the distinction is generally a religious one, as Christian, Jewish, Moslem; or of race, as Western and Oriental. In Damascus, for example, the ringing of an alarm bell in the Greek church can cause the gates of the Christian quarter to be closed, and the district in a few minutes to assume the character of a fortress.

---

* Any payment made from time to time by the Emîr or Sheikh was of the undefined nature of a gratuity, the term for which in Arabic, *fuḍl-in-Na'amah*, is the equivalent of St. Paul's '*exceeding riches of grace.*'

Then, lastly, the entire city, with its massive girdling wall, had the attitude both of friendly enclosure and hostile exclusion.

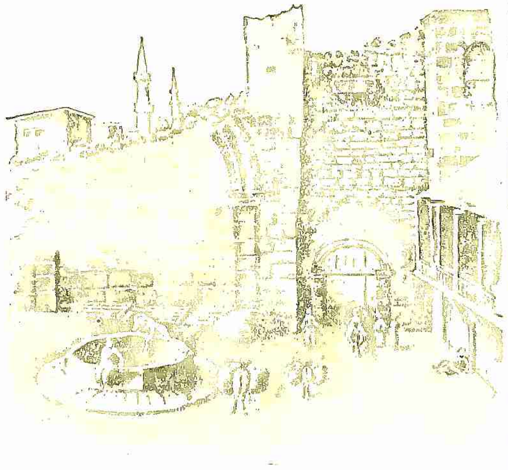

DAMASCUS CITY-GATE—ENTRANCE TO STRAIGHT STREET.

The chief meanings of an Oriental city are thus found to be *Safety*, *Society*, *Service*. Thus we read in Ps 107^{7} of 'a city to dwell in,' 'a city of habitations,' around which men 'sow fields' (vv.$^{4.\,36.\,37}$). Abraham, dwelling in his black movable tent, journeyed by faith towards a fair city 'which hath foundations' (He 11^{10}). In Rev 21. 22 these various features appear as borrowed from the green earth in the glorified vision of the Holy City. There the tabernacle of God is with men; the city has its wall and gates; as an extended family-house it has 'foundations' like the special corner-stone; it is a place of safety into which the nations bring their glory and honour; it has its own fountain-head supply of water, and abundant means of sustaining life; there the servants serve their Lord; and all who are hostile to its order and interests shall in no wise enter into it. (See CITIZENSHIP, ELDER, GOVERNMENT, PALESTINE, REFUGE (CITIES OF), and cf. Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 124 ff.) G. M. MACKIE.

CITY OF DAVID.—See JERUSALEM. **CITY OF SALT.**—See SALT CITY. **CITY OF WATERS** and **CITY ROYAL.**—See RABBAH.

CLASPS.—RV for AV TACHES (wh. see).

CLAUDIA (Κλαυδία).—A Christian lady at Rome, who, with Eubulus, Pudens, and Linus, was on intimate terms of friendship with St. Paul and Timothy at the time of St. Paul's second imprisonment (2 Ti 4^{21}). The name suggests a connexion with the imperial household, but whether as a member of the gens Claudia or as a slave there is nothing to decide. Tradition treats her as the mother or, less probably, the sister of Linus (*Apost. Const.* vii. 46, *Λίνος ὁ Κλαυδίας*); she may also have become wife of Pudens, if they are to be identified with Claudius Pudens and Claudia Quinctilla, whose inscription to the memory of their infant child has been found between Rome and Ostia (*CIL* vi. 15,066). Another very ingenious but precarious conjecture identifies her with Claudia Rufina, wife of Martial's friend, Aulus Pudens (Martial, *Epigr.* iv. 13, xi. 53). On this theory she would be of British origin, a lady of high character and cultivation, and the mother of three sons; perhaps the daughter of the British king Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus, who had taken the name of Rufina from Pomponia, the wife of Aulus Plautus, the Roman commander in Britain, and had come to Rome in her train (T. Williams, *Claudia and Pudens*, Llandovery, 1848; E. H. Plumptre in Ellicott, *N.T. Comm.* ii. p. 185; but against the theory, Lightfoot, *Apost. Fathers*, Clem. i. pp. 29 and 76-79). W. LOCK.

CLAUDIUS (Κλαύδιος), the name by which the fourth emperor of Rome is commonly known. Tiberius Claudius Drusus Nero Germanicus was the son of Nero Claudius Drusus and of Antonia, whose mother, Octavia, was a sister of the emperor Augustus. Born at Lyons on 1st August, B.C. 10, he was of weak health and apparently feeble intellect (see the opinion of Augustus as given in Suet. *Claud.* 4, and the excuse of C. himself in Suet. *Claud.* 38); consequently he was kept in retirement, without being allowed to hold any but unimportant offices, until the reign of Gaius, while the honours conferred upon him by the latter would scarcely seem to have been seriously meant. His time was occupied in historical and literary studies, as well as in less creditable occupations (Suet. *Claud.* 33. 41-42), until the prætorian guards, by a freak which disappointed all previous expectations (cf. Tac. *Ann.* iii. 18. 7), raised him to the principate on 24th Jan. A.D. 41—a position which he occupied until he was murdered by his wife Agrippina, on 12th Oct. 54.

Recent inquiry has conclusively shown that the government of the Roman Empire under Claudius compares not unfavourably with that of the other early emperors. It is pointed out that C., although originally appointed through military influence at a time when the restoration of the republic was being seriously discussed, managed to conciliate the Senate and to obtain a permanent reputation as a constitutional 'princeps'; while, at the same time, considerable advances were made under his rule towards concentrating power more completely in the hands of imperial officers. The views of C. on the citizenship (see the speech quoted in Furneaux, *Annals of Tacitus*, ii. 208) show him to have been very different from the colourless figure to which traditional historians, following exclusively one side of the picture drawn by Tacitus and Suetonius, have reduced him. It might, however, be argued that the present reaction in his favour is going too far. He allowed his wives, Messalina and Agrippina, whether through their influence over him, or even without his knowledge, to interfere with the course of justice, and to do incalculable harm in Rome; he entrusted power to subordinates in a way which (in spite of the just remarks of Bury, *Student's Rom. Emp.* 244) shows him to have been but a weak ruler; and it is probable that C. should be considered to have had good intentions in certain respects, but to have been, for most practical purposes, powerless; while the effects of his reign, for good or evil, will have to be mainly set down to the credit of his leading freedmen, over whom he had proverbially little control (cf. Seneca, *Ludus de morte Claudii*, vi. 2).

For the events mentioned in NT which fall in the reign of Claudius, see CHRONOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

The emperor is twice mentioned by name:—

(1) In Ac 11^{28} the prophecy by Agabus of a famine 'over the whole world' is said to have been fulfilled 'in the time of C.' Meyer and others protest against interpreting these words of any other famine than that to which Josephus refers (*Ant.* XX. ii. 5, v. 2) as occurring under Cuspius Fadus and Tiberius Alexander. Wieseler (*Chron. apost. Zeit.* p. 159), though puzzled by the allusion

in *Ant.* III. xv. 3 to the high priest Ishmael, fixes the date of this famine, with considerable probability, at A.D. 45, adding that it may well have lasted for more than one year. There seems to be no reason to doubt that this famine is the one referred to in Ac 11^{28}. At the same time it must be noted that famines seem to have been unusually prevalent during the reign of C. (see, for instance, Dio, lx. 11; Eus. *Chron.* ii. p. 152, ed. Sch.; Suet. *Claud.* 18, 'assiduæ sterilitates'); the person of C. was in danger from this cause (Tac. *Ann.* xii. 43), and the emperor became so sensitive on the point as to allow a dream, which was interpreted as foretelling dearth, to bring about the ruin of two Rom. knights (Tac. *Ann.* xi. 4). The carelessness of Gaius as regards the corn supply (Sen. *de Brev. Vit.* xviii. 5; Dio, lix. 17. 2) caused great difficulties to C. on his accession, and very vigorous measures were at once taken by the latter, and continued throughout his reign (Suet. *Claud.* xviii. 20; cf. Lehmann, *Claudius*, p. 135). When it was noticed that, in spite of these special precautions, famines were a characteristic of the time of C., it is not hard to see how the prophecy may have come to be regarded as amply fulfilled, even if taken in the widest sense.

(2) St. Paul met at Corinth two Jews, Aquila and his wife Priscilla, who had come thither 'because C. had commanded all the Jews to depart from Rome' (Ac 18^{2}). Suetonius says (*Claud.* 25) that C. 'Judæos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes expulit.' Dio (LX. vi. 6), perhaps correcting Suet., asserts that the Jews, whose numbers were so great as to make expulsion difficult, were not indeed expelled, but only forbidden to assemble together. The general policy of C. towards the Jews was favourable, as is shown by the two edicts, one relating to Alexandria, the other to the whole empire (Jos. *Ant.* XIX. v. 2, 3; cf. the edict of Petronius in XIX. vi. 3), which granted to them religious toleration, exemption from the hated military service, and some measure of self-government. But we are expressly told that he was influenced by his personal feeling towards Herod Agrippa I. (id. *ib.* XX. i. 1; cf. XIX. v. 2), to whom the emperor was indebted at the time of his accession (XIX. iv. 5). Not only did Agrippa receive 'consular honours' and such extensions of territory as to make his dominions coincide with those of Herod the Great, but his brother was given 'prætorian rank,' the rule over Chalcis, and, subsequently, certain other districts, as well as the oversight of the temple (Dio, LX. viii.; Jos. *Ant.* XX. vii. 1, i. 3), while his son is described as having great influence at court (Jos. *Ant.* XX. i. 2; cf. VI. iii.). Anger has accordingly shown that the edict of Ac 18^{2} must be put during the years when Agrippa II. was absent from Rome. As he remained in the capital till A.D. 50 (Wieseler, p. 67 n., 124), and had returned before the end of 52 (Jos. *Ant.* XX. vi. 3), these limits may be regarded as reasonably certain; but the attempt of Wieseler (pp. 125–8) to fix the date absolutely by a comparison with Tac. *Ann.* xii. 52. 3, though interesting and ingenious, is hardly convincing. It is no doubt true that the Jews often practised magic (*e.g.* Ac 8^{9}), and Jews and magicians are often mentioned together, but they are, as Wieseler admits, clearly distinct, and Tacitus does not mention the Jews at all in this connexion.

LITERATURE.—Lehmann, *Claudius und seine Zeit*, Leipzig, 1877 (pp. 1–60 give an account of the original authorities); Furneaux, *The Annals of Tacitus*, vol. ii.; Mommsen, *Provinces of Rom. Emp.* ch. xi. (Eng. tr.); Wieseler, *Chronol. d. apost. Zeitalt.*; Nösgen, *Apostelgeschichte* (on Ac *ll.cc.*, where references to modern works are given).

P. V. M. BENECKE.

CLAUDIUS LYSIAS (Κλαύδιος Λυσίας), the military tribune of the Roman cohort in Jerus., who is mentioned in Ac 21–23. Hearing that all Jerus. was in confusion, he came down with soldiers and centurions to investigate the cause of the uproar, and bound St. Paul with two chains. As the 'sicarii' had recently become very prominent in Judæa (cf. Jos. *Ant.* XX. viii. 5, 6), and were especially in evidence during the great festivals (id. *BJ* II. xiii. 3, 4), he imagined, the season being Pentecost, that St. Paul was an Egyptian who had recently led out 4000 'assassins' into the wilderness (Ac 21^{38}), and who is described by Jos. (*BJ* II. xiii. 5) as having had 30,000 associates in all. On discovering his mistake, L. allowed St. Paul to address the people from the castle stairs; but the mention of the Gentiles renewed the disturbance, so that the tribune was obliged to bring him into the castle, and was only prevented from examining him by scourging through receiving the news that he was a Rom. citizen, and therefore by the *Lex Porcia* exempt from such treatment. L. next arranged an interview between St. Paul and the Jewish Council, but a dispute between the Sadducees and Pharisees was the only result; subsequently he learned that a conspiracy had been formed with the object of killing St. Paul, so he sent him to Cæsarea by night under an escort of 200 foot-soldiers, 70 horsemen, and 200 'spearmen' (δεξιολάβοι, see Meyer on Ac 23^{23}). The letter given in Ac 23^{26-30} as written by L. to the procurator Felix on this occasion has been considered by some eminent critics to be an invention by the historian. The letter would almost certainly have been written in Latin, and the word τύπος (v.^{25}) would seem to imply that only the general sense is given. But it must be noticed that in v.^{27} L. represents himself as having rescued St. Paul because he discovered him to be a Roman, a falsification and inconsistency with Ac 23^{25-27} of which the author of Ac, had he been inventing, would not have been guilty (see, on opposite sides, Wendt and Nösgen on Ac 23^{27}). The admission of L. that he had gained Rom. citizenship 'for a large sum' (implying his incredulity that a native of Tarsus should be a citizen and yet apparently so poor) illustrates the 'avarice of the Claudian times,' and the traffic in honours by Messalina and the imperial freedmen, partly due, no doubt, to a desire to replenish the treasury, partly to even more questionable motives, on which Dio Cassius indignantly comments (lx. 17. 6). See CITIZENSHIP.

P. V. M. BENECKE.

CLAW.—In older Eng. c. was used for an animal's *hoof*, and for any of the parts into which a cloven hoof is divided. So in Dt 14^{6} AV we read, 'And every beast that parteth the hoof, and cleaveth the cleft into two claws, . . . that ye shall eat' (RV 'and hath the hoof cloven in two'); and in Zec 11^{16} 'he shall eat the flesh of the fat, and tear their claws in pieces' (RV 'hoofs'). The Heb. is *parṣah*, the ordinary word for 'hoof,' in both passages. Cf. Lovell (1661): 'With claws like a Cow; but quadrifide.' The bird's c. is mentioned only Dn 4^{33} 'his [Nebuchadrezzar's] nails like birds' *claws*' (no word in Heb., 'nails' [טִפְרִין] being understood).

J. HASTINGS.

CLAY, (טִיט, חֹמֶר, πηλός).—This word is frequently used in the Bible either in a literal or a metaphorical sense, in which latter it is parallel with 'dust' (comp. Gn 2^{7} and Is 64^{8}). Clay is widely distributed over the surface of nearly all countries, especially in valleys, and from the earliest times of the human race was used both for the construction of buildings and habitations and for the manufacture of pottery and works of art. It is a mixture of decomposed minerals of various kinds, and hence is exceedingly variable in composition. Alumina, silica, and potash are the principal constituents; but along with these may be variable quantities of lime, magnesia, and iron, which give variety both to the quality and colour. Hence various kinds of clay are suited for different uses in the arts.

1. As a building material, clay has been used from the earliest ages. Ancient Babylon, as described by Herodotus, and verified by modern discovery, was built altogether of brick, either baked in kilns or dried in the sun; and amongst the other remains is the great quadrilateral pile of brickwork,—known as Babil, the Gate of God, corrupted by the Jews to 'Babel,'[*]—which might well have been supposed to be the 'Tower of Babel' described in Gn 11^{3-7}, but that the inscriptions found thereon, by Sir Henry Rawlinson, show it to have been the famous Tower of the Seven Planets built by Nebuchadrezzar II. (B.C. 604–562). Of similar materials was built, in the main, the capital of Assyria, though blocks of limestone, alabaster, and other materials were also employed. The clay used in Nineveh was derived from the alluvia of the Tigris.[†] The brickmaking in Lower Egypt of the time of the Exodus is still carried on, the clay used being derived from the silt of the Nile; and bricks in the British Museum, inscribed with the names of Tahutmes I., B.C. 1700, and Ramses II., B.C. 1400, show straw mixed with the clay in order to bind it together as described in OT (Ex 1^{14} 5^{7}). Most of the villages both in Lower Egypt and in the Nile Valley are built of sun-dried clay; bricks of clay were also largely used in the construction of ancient Troy.[‡]

2. The use of clay for pottery was coeval with its use for building purposes. Remains of jars, vases, bowls, and other vessels are found amongst the most ancient ruins of Assyria, Babylonia, and Egypt. The potter's wheel was commonly employed in such works, and is often referred to in the Bible; but of all the purposes for which clay was employed in very ancient times, none was more interesting than its use for imprinting letters of cuneiform characters on tablets which have been discovered in immense numbers amongst the ruins of Assyria and Babylonia;[§] they were either in the form of bricks or cylinders of clay, baked after the inscription had been impressed.[‖] Amongst the inscriptions is the story of the Creation, the Fall, and the Deluge, deciphered by the late George Smith of the British Museum:[¶] of only less interest are the Tel el-Amarna tablets in Egypt, one of which has been discovered by Bliss amongst the ruins at Tell el-Hesy in Southern Palestine (supposed to be Lachish, one of the five Amorite cities, Jos 10^{5}), and dating as far back as B.C. 1480.[**]

E. HULL.

CLEAN (see also UNCLEAN, UNCLEANNESS).—1. The orig. meaning of the word is *clear*, free from impurity, as applied to glass, gold, and the like, as Wyclif's tr. of Rev 21^{18} 'The citee it silf was of cleene gold, lijk to cleene glas.' Whence it is used of the transparent *purity* of white garments, Rev $19^{8.14}$ 'fine linen, c. and white' (*καθαρός*, RV 'pure'). And then it is applied to anything that is *not dirty* (its modern use), as Pr 14^{4} 'Where no oxen are, the crib is c.' (בַּר); Is 30^{24} 'c. provender' (חָמִיץ, *salted*, RV 'savoury'); Zec $3^{5\,bis}$ Amer. RV 'a c. mitre' (טָהוֹר, AV and RV 'fair'); Mt 27^{59} 'a c. linen cloth' (*καθαρός*).

2. Before passing from its physical uses we may notice an early application in the sense of *complete*, still retained in such a phrase as 'a c. sweep.' The only example of the *adj.* is Lv 23^{22} 'thou shalt not make c. riddance of the corners of thy field when thou reapest' (RV 'shalt not wholly reap the corners of thy field'). But the *adv.* is more frequent, Jos 3^{17} 'all the people were passed c. over Jordan' (תַּמּוּ לַעֲבוֹר *were finished crossing*), so $4^{1.11}$, Ps 77^{8} 'Is his mercy c. gone for ever?' Jl 1^{7} 'he hath made it c. bare'; Zec 11^{17} 'his arm shall be c. dried up'; Wis 2^{12} 'he is c. contrary to our doings' (*ἐναντιοῦται*); 2 P 2^{18} 'those that were c. escaped' (TR *ὄντως ἀποφυγόντας*, edd. *ὀλίγως ἀποφεύγοντας*, RV 'those who are just escaping'); and Ezk 37^{11} RV 'we are c. cut off' (AV 'cut off for our parts'). Cf. Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.* III. i. 13 'Excommunication neither shutteth out from the mystical, nor clean from the visible Church.'

3. At a very early period the word passed into the language of religion to designate (1) that which *does not ceremonially defile*, whether (*a*) beasts, as Gn 7^{2} 'of every c. beast thou shalt take to thee by sevens'; Dt 14^{11} 'Of all c. birds ye shall eat'; or (*b*) places, as Lv 4^{12} 6^{11} 'without the camp unto a c. place'; or (*c*) things, as Is 66^{20} 'the children of Israel shall bring an offering in a c. vessel'; Ezk 36^{25} 'I will sprinkle c. water upon you'; Lk 11^{41} 'all things are c. unto you' (where the ethical [see 4] closely approaches); and Ro 14^{20} RV 'All things indeed are c.' (*καθαρός*, AV 'pure'); (2) persons who *are not ceremonially defiled*, as Lv 7^{19} 'all that be (RV 'every one that is') c. shall eat thereof'; 1 S 20^{26} 'Something hath befallen him, he is not c.; surely he is not c.'; Ezk 36^{25} (see above) 'ye shall be c.' (passing into 4).

4. Closely related to this ceremonial use is the *ethical*, and quite as old. In passages like Ezk 36^{25} Lk 11^{41}, and esp. Jn $13^{10\,bis.\,11}$ 15^{3} we see the one passing into the other; in others the ethically stands out from the ceremonially religious meaning. Take first of all some passages where the Heb. is the usual vb. (*ṭâhêr*) or adj. (*ṭâhôr*) used for ceremonial cleanness: Ps 19^{9} 'The fear of the LORD is c.' (that is, the religion of J″ is morally undefiled, in contrast to heathen religions; cf. Ps 12^{6} 'the words of the LORD are pure words,' where the Heb. is the same, a word freq. applied to 'pure' gold); Lv 16^{30} 'from all your sins shall ye be c.'; Gn 35^{2} 'Put away the strange gods that are among you, and be c., and change your garments'; Ps 51^{7} 'purge me with hyssop, and I shall be c.'; 51^{10} 'Create in me a clean heart.' Next, where the Heb. is *bar*, that is, 'clean' because cleansed, 'bright' because polished (as a p. arrow, Is 49^{2}); Ps 73^{1} 'such as are of c. heart'; Job 11^{4} 'I am c. in thine eyes'; cf. Is 52^{11} 'be ye c. that bear the vessels of the LORD' (בָּרוּ). Finally, where the Heb. is *zâkhâh* or *zâkhak*, 'be c.,' *zak*, 'c.,' always in a moral sense, Job 15^{14} 'What is man that he should be c.?'; 9^{30} 'If I wash myself with snow water, and make my hands never so c.'; 15^{15} 'the heavens are not c. in his sight'; 33^{9} 'I am c., without transgression'; Pr 16^{2} 'all the ways of a man are c. in his own eyes.'

5. In Ac 18^{6} 'Your blood be upon your own heads; I am c.,' the sense is guiltless, a very rare meaning for this word. Skene (1609) says, 'Gif he be made quit, and cleane: all his gudes salbe restored to him.' See under CLEAR.

J. HASTINGS.

CLEAR, CLEARNESS.—The orig. meanings of these words (from Lat. *clarus*) are 'bright,' 'brilliant,' 'manifest,' 'famous.' But the Eng. words early adopted the moral sense of 'pure,' 'guiltless,' partly through the natural association of these ideas, and partly through confusion with the native words *clean, cleanness*. 1. Of the orig.

---

[*] Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.* ii. 521, ed. 1879.

[†] Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains, passim* (1849)

[‡] Schliemann, *Troja*, ch. i. *et seq.* (1884).

[§] Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.* i. ch. iv.

[‖] Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 185 (ed. 1849).

[¶] Smith, *Chaldæan account of Genesis.*

[**] Sayce, *RP*, N. Ser. ii. iii. iv. and v.; *PEFSt*, 1892–93. The Tel el-Amarna tablets have been translated by Winckler (1896).

meanings, we find in AV (in add. to the mod. sense of 'manifest') (*a*) *Brightness*, 2 S 23^{4} 'By c. shining after rain'; Am 8^{9} 'I will darken the earth in the c. day'; Zec 14^{6} 'the light shall not be c.' (RV 'with brightness'); Is 18^{4} 'like a c. heat upon herbs' (צַח, RV 'like c. heat in sunshine'); Rev 22^{1} 'c. as crystal' (λαμπρός, RV 'bright'); 21^{11} 'c. as crystal (κρυσταλλίζων): so with 'clearness,' Ex 24^{10} 'as it were the body of heaven in his c.' (RV 'the very heaven for c.'); 2 Es 2^{21} 'let the blind man come into the sight of my c.' (RV 'glory'); (*b*) *Brilliance*, Job 11^{17} 'thine age (RV 'thy life') shall be clearer than the noonday' (קוּם, RVm 'arise above'). Cf. Wyclif's tr. of Wis 6^{13} 'Wisdom is cler' (λαμπρός, AV 'glorious,' RV 'radiant'). A thing is bright often because it is unspotted, whence the transition is easy to moral spotlessness. We see the transition taking place in Ca 6^{10} 'fair as the moon, c. as the sun' (בַּר); and Rev 21^{18} 'the city was pure gold, like unto c. glass' (καθαρός, RV 'pure'). 2. *Purity, innocence*, Ps 51^{4} 'that thou mightest be . . . c. when thou judgest' (זָכָה); Gn $24^{8.\ 41\ bis}$ 'thou shalt be c. from my oath' (נָקָה); Sus ^{46} 'I am c. from the blood of this woman' (ἀθῶος); 2 Co 7^{11} 'ye have approved yourselves to be c. in this matter' (ἁγνός). In this sense only is the verb used, Ex 34^{7} 'that will by no means c.' [the guilty]=Nu 14^{18}; Gn 44^{16} 'how shall we c. ourselves?' (הִצְטַדָּק); 2 Co 7^{11} 'what clearing of yourselves' (ἀπολογία). And in this sense there is a solitary instance of the use of 'clearly,' Job 33^{3} 'my lips shall utter knowledge c.' (בָּרוּר, RV 'speak sincerely'), with which cf. Tillotson (1694), 'Deal clearly and impartially with yourselves.'

J. HASTINGS.

CLEAVE, CLEFT, CLIFF, CLIFT.—There are two verbs 'to cleave' distinct in origin and meaning. (1) *Cleave*, to split asunder, *clave, cloven*. (2) *Cleave*, to adhere, cling, *cleaved, cleaved*. But the one has affected the other so as to cause some confusion. Thus c. = to split, has also a past ptcp. *cleft*, Mic 1^{4} 'the valleys shall be cleft'; and c. = to stick, has the quite irregular past tense *clave*, more common in AV than any other form of either verb. **Clift**, meaning a fissure or crevice, is a word of distinct origin from either verb. It occurs in AV Ex 33^{22} 'I will put thee in a clift of the rock'; and Is 57^{5} 'under the clifts of the rocks.' In other places where it occurs in mod. edd. of AV it is spelt **cleft** (and RV so spells it in these passages) through confusion with the verb *cleave*, 'to split.' Thus Ca 2^{14}, Jer 49^{16}, Ob ^{3}, Is 2^{21} (RV 'caverns'), Am 6^{11}. In Dt 14^{6} 'Every beast that parteth the hoof, and cleaveth the cleft into two claws' (lit. 'cleaveth the cleft of the two hoofs'), the word 'cleft' no doubt means the division of the hoof, but it is formed directly from 'cleave' in imitation of the Heb. (cf. Lv 11^{3} שֹׁסַע שֶׁסַע פַּרְסָה), the division or toe of the hoof being properly represented by 'claws.' This word 'clift' has been further confused with **cliff**, a steep face of rock; whence in Job 30^{6} it is spelt 'cliff' in mod. edd. of AV (1611 'clifts,' RV 'clefts'). The word 'cliff' itself occurs once, 2 Ch 20^{16} 'they come up by the c. of Ziz (מַעֲלֵה, RV 'ascent'). J. HASTINGS.

CLEMENT (Κλήμης), a fellow-labourer with St. Paul at Philippi (Ph 4^{3}). It was commonly held in the early Church that this C. is to be identified with Clemens Romanus, one of the first bishops of Rome, who wrote the well-known *Epistle to the Church of Corinth* (cf. Orig. *In Joan*. i. 29; Eus. *HE* iii. 4). But, though in the absence of fuller information it is impossible to say for certain, there are serious difficulties both as to place and time in accepting this view. Thus we hear of St. Paul's fellow-labourer in connexion only with Philippi, while the other C. is associated with Rome. Nor is it likely that the former can have lived till A.D. 110, that is, about 50 years after the date of the Philippian Epistle, and before which date we cannot well place the death of the Rom. bishop. Again, as proving the commonness of the name, it has been pointed out that Tacitus alone mentions five Clements (*Ann*. i. 23, ii. 39, xv. 73; *Hist*. i. 86, iv. 68). (See Lightfoot on Ph 4^{3}, and detached note p. 166; and the same writer's *St. Clement of Rome*.) G. MILLIGAN.

CLEOPAS (Κλεόπας).—Only Lk 24^{18}; whether to be identified with Clopas of Jn 19^{25} and Alphæus of Mt 10^{3} etc., see ALPHÆUS and BRETHREN OF THE LORD.

CLEOPATRA (Κλεοπάτρα, 'sprung from a famous father').—A female name of great antiquity (Apollod. ii. 1. 5; *Il*. ix. 556), and very common in the families of the Ptolemies and Seleucidæ.

1. A daughter of Antiochus the Great. In B.C. 193 she was married to Ptolemy Epiphanes, with the taxes of Cœle-Syria and Pal. as her dowry (Jerome *ad Dan*. 11^{17}; Jos. *Ant*. XII. iv. 1; App. *Syr*. 5; Liv. xxxvii. 3; Polyb. xxviii. 17). After her husband's death she ruled with vigour as regent for her son until her own death, in B.C. 173.

2. A daughter of Cleopatra and Ptolemy Epiphanes. She married in B.C. 173 her own brother Ptolemy Philometor (Ad. Est 11^{1}), and afterwards her second brother Ptolemy Physcon (Liv. xlv. 13; *Epit*. 59; Justin, xxxviii. 8). She greatly favoured the Jews in Egypt (Jos. *c. Apion*. ii. 5), and encouraged Onias IV. in the erection of the temple at Leontopolis (Jos. *Ant*. XIII. iii. 2).

3. A daughter of Cleopatra and Ptolemy Philometor. In B.C. 150 she was given in marriage by her father to Alexander Balas (1 Mac $10^{57.\ 58}$; Jos. *Ant*. XIII. iv. 1). When Balas was driven into Arabia she became (B.C. 146) at her father's bidding the wife of his rival, Demetrius Nikator (1 Mac 11^{12}; Jos. *Ant*. XIII. iv. 7; Liv. *Epit*. 52). Whilst Demetrius was detained in captivity amongst the Parthians, she married (B.C. 140) his brother, Antiochus Sidetes (Jos. *Ant*. XIII. vii. 1). Sidetes died in B.C. 128; but when Demetrius, after his restoration, sought help from Cleopatra, she refused to see him, and possibly instigated his murder (Jos. *Ant*. XIII. ix. 3; Justin, xxxix. 1; App. *Syr*. 68; Liv. *Epit*. 60). Her son, Antiochus Grypus, became king through her influence; but, being detected in treason, she was compelled to take poison in B.C. 120 (Justin, xxxix. 2).

4. A native of Jerus., and wife of Herod the Great (Jos. *Ant*. XVII. i. 3). She was the mother of Philip, tetrarch of Ituræa (Lk 3^{1}).

R. W. MOSS.

CLOKE, so in both AV and RV instead of mod. cloak (מְעִיל *mĕ'il*, שִׂמְלָה *simlah*, etc.; ἱμάτιον, στολή, etc., Arab. *jubbeh*, *abâa'*, etc.).—The cloke was the ordinary upper garment worn over the coat (*kĕthôneth*). The two occur together in Mt 5^{40}, Lk 6^{29}. The prominent meanings in these different terms are those of spaciousness, length, ornament, envelopment. Hence they are used to represent clothing in general, and translated 'apparel,' 'garment,' 'raiment,' 'vesture,' and metaphorically as the cloke of zeal (Is 59^{17}) or the robe of righteousness (Is 61^{10}). In size and material it varied according to age and sex, the class and occupation of the wearer: as shepherd, tradesman, priest, prince. In shape it might be sewn up to have the surplice form of the robe of the ephod (Ex 39^{23}), or be worn loose and open, like a Geneva gown or Spanish cloak. It was the 'garment' not to be kept as a forfeited pledge (Ex 22^{26}, Dt 24^{13}), the 'garment' of Joseph in Potiphar's house (Gn 39^{12}). It is the equivalent of 'mantle,' 'robe,' as the robe that Jonathan gave to David (1 S 18^{4}), Saul's cut robe (1 S 24^{4}), Samuel's robe (1 S 28^{14}), *the 'best robe'* of the parable (Lk 15^{22}). The cloke of 2 Ti 4^{13} (φελόνης) may have been a light mantle like a cashmere dust-cloak, in which the books and parchments were wrapped. The use of cloke in 1 Th 2^{5} (πρόφασις), 1 P 2^{16} (ἐπικάλυμμα) is general for *covering, excuse.* See DRESS, under *mĕʽîl.*

G. M. MACKIE.

CLOPAS (AV Cleophas) is named only in Jn 19^{25} Μαριὰμ ἡ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ. As to his identity see ALPHÆUS and BRETHREN OF THE LORD.

CLOSE in the sense of *secret* occurs Lk 9^{36} 'they kept it c., and told no man' (ἐσίγησαν, RV 'they held their peace'). Cf. Pref. to 1611, 'How shall they understand that which is kept close in an unknown tongue?' The 'close places' of 2 S 22^{46} = Ps 18^{45} are castles or holds, places shut in with high walls, and so deemed safe. Cf. More (1529), 'al close religious houses.' J. HASTINGS.

CLOSET (from Lat. *claudere*, through Fr. *closet*, dim. of *clos*, 'an *enclosed* space').—Any private apartment, as Shaks. *Jul. Cæs.* III. ii. 134—

> 'But here's a parchment with the seal of Cæsar;
> I found it in his closet, 'tis his will;'

Hamlet, II. i. 77—

> 'As I was sewing in my closet.'

The king's private secretary was called 'clerk of the closet.' Closet occurs Jl 2^{16} (חֻפָּה fr. חָפָה 'to cover,' prob. of the bridal tent, used also of the bridegroom's c., Ps 19^{5}); Mt 6^{6}, Lk 12^{3} (RV 'inner chamber.' Gr. ταμεῖον, properly 'a storeroom,' as in Lk 12^{24}: 'store-chambers,' says Plummer *in loc.*, 'are commonly *inner*-chambers, secret rooms, esp. in the East, where outer walls are so easily dug through'). See HOUSE. J. HASTINGS.

CLOTH, CLOTHING.—See DRESS.

CLOTHED UPON in 2 Co 5$^{2.4}$ has been chosen to express the force of the ἐπί in ἐπενδύομαι (only here in NT), to put on something in addition to what is already on. In Jn 21^{7} Peter 'girt his coat (ἐπενδύτης) about him,' without which he was 'naked,' that is, had on only the light undergarment, perhaps only the loin cloth. See DRESS.

J. HASTINGS.

CLOUD (עָנָן *ʽânân*; νέφος).—Much of the precious and beautiful thought of the Bible is written on the clouds, and in the sky of Syria this writing of religious symbolism and moral teaching is as readable to-day as the inscriptions engraved on Assyrian brick or Egyptian granite. Though the Hebrews had various names for clouds, it is probable that their knowledge of the weather, like that of the modern Syrians, was confined to such general and obvious points as the direction of the wind and the deeper flame of the evening sky. This indifference is partly due to the uniformity of the climate, with its recognized season of rainfall from Oct. to April, and of sunshine from May to Sept. Forecasting the changes of the weather would also be difficult on account of their suddenness in that narrow land of mountains and valleys, with a desert on one side and the sea on the other. Except to the fishermen of Galilee, and the husbandmen at the time of sowing, the interpretation of the signs of the sky was a matter of small importance. Further, the Moslems, who generally preserve most of the ancient piety of the land, disapprove of criticising the weather, as savouring of irreverence. Any pointed reference to the weather or inquiry about it usually finds a Syrian surprised and unprepared for comment, as it is a matter out of the usual round of his salutations.

Such attention to the clouds is in fact not held in high repute: as the Arab proverb says, 'The man who will not work becomes an astrologer.'

I. CLOUDS AS AN INDICATION OF RAIN.—**1.** *'A cloud rising in the West'* (Lk 12^{54}).—The rainy quarters are W. and S.W. Hence Gehazi was told (1 K 18^{44}) to look toward the sea for the first sign of rain. He saw what is still often seen at the end of Sept., when the dry summer season is about to end in the early rain, namely, a small cloud of cool ashy-grey colour rising over the glittering horizon. It is the first token that a strong steady S.W. wind has set in, and will carry everything before it. In a few hours the sky becomes a course of swiftly moving black clouds, which congregate in dense masses on the mountains, and before long the storm breaks with a grand prelude of thunder peals and incessant flashes of lightning. **2.** *'Clouds of the latter rain'* (Pr 16^{15}).—Such is the king's favour. This refers to the light showers in March and April. These do not affect the deep roots of the fruit trees, which depend on the more continuous winter rains, but they refresh the ripening fields of barley and wheat, delaying the harvest, and causing the ears to mature into a heavier crop in May and June. **3.** *'Clouds of dew in the heat of harvest'* (Is 18^{4}).—The season is here the autumn harvest of fruits, when unusual moisture in the sky, or a wandering shower, is an unwelcome phenomenon, causing withering heat in the vineyards and feverish symptoms among the people (see, however, Del. *ad loc.*). **4.** *'Heat by the shadow of a cloud'* (Is 25^{5}).—This is most likely an allusion to the prostrating wind from the Syrian desert, S. and S.E., which covers the sky with hot sand-clouds (Sirocco, from Arab. *shirk*, East). It is this that gives the 'sky of brass' (Dt 28^{23}), and the 'cloud without water' (Jude v.^{12}).

II. CLOUDS AS A SYMBOL OF THE TRANSITORY.—It is a common phenomenon of the Syrian sky to see a cloud, borne eastward by the sea-breeze, suddenly and mysteriously dissolve as it encounters the hot dry air of the inland district. The cloud is something that melts and leaves no vestige of its existence. The artistic appreciation of landscape did not exist in ancient times: the thought had not been expressed that the floating clouds can lend their state and grace of motion to those who live in communion with them. The eye was occupied with moral issues. Thus the cloud becomes a text on life's brevity (Job 7^{9}). Such was prosperity (Job 30^{15}). In the same way, it represents the deep reality of forgiveness (Is 44^{22}). Such evanescence is the special peculiarity of *the morning cloud*, which appears at sunrise in the valleys and melts away an hour afterwards. It was the moral emblem and historical epitome of Ephraim and Judah (Hos 6^{4}). Its companions were the chaff of the threshing-floor and the smoke of the chimney (Hos 13^{3}).

III. CLOUDS AS A COVERING.—In this connexion the meaning passes from the screening of the sun's rays (Ezk 32^{7}), to imply shadow, obscurity, and oblivion. Job prays that a cloud may rest upon the day of his birth (Job 3^{5}). Again (Job 38^{9}) we have the majestic metaphor of the cloud as the swaddling-clothes of the new-born world. The union of power and humility in the king, 'when mercy seasons justice,' is likened to the bright benediction of *a morning without clouds* in springtime (2 S 23^{4}).

IV. CLOUDS AS THE DWELLING-PLACE OF THE ETERNAL.—The highest stratum of cloud-imagery was reached when, in addition to what was merely high and wonderful and mysterious in nature, clouds came to be recognized as a means of revelation the vesture of the divine presence, and the vehicle of the divine purpose. 'The bow in the

cloud' (Gn 9^{14}) was so far in the line of the old astrology, which saw a divine meaning in the heavens. The cloud (*'ânân*) seems here to mean the whole circle of the sky: hence *mĕ'ônēn*, soothsayer; cf. Arab. *falák* 'sky,' *falaki* 'astrologer.' Throughout the Bible the cloud often appears as the indication and emblem of God's presence, power, and protection. He keeps the rain-clouds suspended (Job 26^{8}). He numbers, balances, commands them, and has a purpose in their mysterious spreadings and motions (Job 36^{29} 37^{16} 38^{37}, Ps 78^{23}). The cloud of His presence settled upon the mount, and left there the light of His commandments. In this form His presence crowned the preparations of the sanctuary, rested upon it when it rested, led its marches in the wilderness, and reappeared in the completed temple (Ex 13^{21} 40^{34}, 1 K 8^{10}). Clouds are the chariot of God (Ps 104^{3}, Is 19^{1}, Ezk 10^{4}), and the dust of His feet (Nah 1^{3}). The same emblem of intercepted light, partial knowledge, and hidden glory appears in NT, where a cloud closes the story of the Incarnation (Ac 1^{9}), and clouds are the heralds of the Second Advent (Rev 1^{7}). See also PILLAR. G. M. MACKIE.

CLOUT.—As subst. Jer $38^{11.12}$ 'So Ebed-melech took thence old cast clouts and old rotten rags, and . . . said unto Jeremiah, Put now these old cast clouts and rotten rags under thine armholes under the cords.' As vb. Jos 9^{5} 'old shoes and clouted upon their feet' (Amer. RV 'patched'). Cf. Shaks. 2 *Henry VI.* IV. ii. 195—

> 'Spare none but such as go in clouted shoon;'

and Latimer, *Serm.* p. 110, 'Paul yea, and Peter too, had more skill in mending an old net, and in clouting an old tent, than to teach lawyers what diligence they should use in the expedition of matters.' The word is Celtic, and came in early, but Wyclif, in Jos 9^{5}, has 'sowid with patchis.'
J. HASTINGS.

CLUB (Job 41^{29} RV).—The 'club' was a common weapon among shepherds. See HAND-STAVES and also under DART (Heb. *shebhet*).

The rod, sceptre, or club of iron (*shebhet barzel*, Ps 2^{9}) was carried by kings, as seen in the Assyr. reliefs in the Kouyunjik Gallery, B.M., esp. the figure of Assur-naẓir-pal. Cf. Is 10^{5} 'Ho Assyrian, the rod (*shebhet*) of mine anger.'
W. E. BARNES.

CNIDUS (Κνίδος), a city of Caria, a Dorian colony, was situated at the extremity of a narrow peninsula which juts far out towards the W. into the Ægean Sea. In this situation it was the dividing point between the western and southern coast of Asia Minor. Hence a coasting voyage westward along the southern coast of Asia Minor came to an end off C.; and from thence the ship had to begin a new period and method in its course towards Rome (Ac 27^{7}). The city was situated partly on the peninsula, partly on a small island off the peninsula on its south side; the island was connected with the mainland by a causeway in ancient times, and is now joined to it by a sandy isthmus. There were two excellent harbours at C., one of which could be closed by a chain. Like Chios (which see), C. had the rank of a free city. It contained Jewish inhabitants as early as the 2nd cent. (1 Mac 15^{23}; see CARIA, DELOS).

LITERATURE.—Newton, *Hist. of Discov. at Halicarnassus, Cnidus*, etc., and *Travels and Discov. in the Levant*, supersedes all older descriptions. W. M. RAMSAY.

COAL (גַּחֶלֶת, פֶּחָם, רִצְפָּה, רֶשֶׁף, שְׁחוֹר; ἄνθραξ, ἀνθρακιά).—The variety, esp. in OT, of the words rendered 'coal' in AV makes it advisable to consider them separately, first of all. For philological details the lexicons must be consulted.

1. *Gaḥeleth* (LXX uniformly ἄνθραξ, Vulg. *pruna, carbo, scintilla*) is the most frequently used, occurring seventeen times. It designates *glowing fuel, live embers*, and is sometimes found in the full expressions 'coals of fire,' or 'burning coals of fire.' Its special meaning is well seen in Pr 26^{21} (RV *embers*), where it evidently denotes burning, as contrasted with fresh unburnt fuel (see *Peḥam* below). In Pr 6^{28}, Is 44^{19} 47^{14}, Ezk 24^{11} it is used of a fire in reference to such ordinary effects as burning, baking, warming, boiling. In 2 S 14^{7} it describes figuratively the life of a family as embodied in the last surviving member of its line (Vulg. *scintilla*). In 2 S $22^{9.13}$ and the parallel Ps $18^{8.12}$, and also in Ezk 1^{13} 10^{2} 'coals of fire' are associated with the manifestation of God, the reference being to lightning, or to the elemental fires from which lightning is supposed to proceed. *Gaḥeleth* occurs in Job 41^{21} in a metaphor (similar to that in Ps 18 above) descriptive of the fiery breath of leviathan. In Ps 120^{4} we find 'coals of broom' (רֹתֶם, *genista monosperma*, not JUNIPER, which see) used to denote either the punishment of the false tongue's speech, or its devouring character, the embers of the plant in question being known to retain their heat for a specially long time. In Ps 140^{10} 'coals of fire' form one of the punishments of the wicked, as also in the famous figure of retribution by kindness in Pr 25^{22}, repeated in NT Ro 12^{20}.

2. *Peḥam* (LXX ἐσχάρα, ἄνθραξ; Vulg. *carbo, pruna*) occurs three, perhaps four, times. In the passage referred to above (Pr 26^{21}) it clearly means unburnt coals put on live embers. In Is 44^{12} 54^{16}, however, the reference is to the live coals used in smiths' work. In Ps 11^{6}, if the conjectural reading פַּחֲמֵי (for פַּחִים) be correct, we have 'coals of fire' (so AVm) rained on the wicked, along with brimstone, instead of the less congruous 'snares, fire,' etc.

3. *Riẓpah* is found twice, in the phrases 'a cake baken on the coals' (1 K 19^{6}), and 'a live coal . . . from off the altar' (Is 6^{6}). It is probable that in both cases the word means a hot stone (RVm). In the latter, LXX has ἄνθραξ and Vulg. *calculus*, while in the former both VSS are less literal (LXX ἐγκρυφίας ὀλυρείτης, Vulg. *subcinericius panis*), with a general allusion to the process of BAKING (which see).

4. *Resheph* is twice rendered 'coal' in AV, Ca 8^{6} (LXX περίπτερον, Vulg. *lampas*, RV 'flash'), Hab 3^{5} (LXX omits the subject in clause *b*, Vulg. *diabolus*, AVm 'burning diseases,' RV 'fiery bolts'). The word occurs elsewhere in OT (Dt 32^{24}, Job 5^{7}, Ps 76^{3} 78^{48}), and means 'a pointed, darting flame.' In Dt and Hab it seems to denote 'the fiery bolts by which J" was imagined to produce pestilence or fever' (Driver). In connexion with this it is suggestive that *Resheph* appears to have been the name of a Phœn. fire-god. He is referred to as an Asiatic deity in inscriptions found in Egypt and elsewhere, particularly in certain bilingual (Gr. and Phœn.) ones in Cyprus, where he is identified with Apollo. (For this point see the note in Driver, *Deut.* pp. 367, 368, and the authorities there given.)

5. *Shĕḥor* is tr. 'coal' in La 4^{8}. The literal meaning of the word is 'blackness' (RVm).

6. ἄνθραξ (tr. 'carbuncle' To 13^{14}, Sir 32^{5}) means 'coal' in Sir 8^{10} (ἄνθρακας ἁμαρτωλοῦ), Ro 12^{20} (from Pr 25^{22}). ἀνθρακιά is found in Sir 11^{32}, 4 Mac 9^{20}, Jn 18^{18} 21^{9}.

'Coal' therefore is, strictly speaking, a correct rendering only of *gaḥeleth* and *peḥam* and their Gr. equivalents. *Gaḥeleth* may denote the glowing embers of any kind of fuel (wood, bones, etc., Ezk 24^{11}), but by it and *peḥam*, apart from their poetic and figurative use, we are generally to understand charcoal, which is a common article of fuel in the E., and in the preparation of which the forests of Pal., as well as those of other districts, are rapidly disappearing. The subject of fuel will be more fully dealt with under FIRE.

True mineral coal has not been found in Pal. proper, where the geological formation as a whole is recent. The rocks of the carboniferous period, if they exist, are not near the surface. Two strata of this age, however, have been recognized. They are those known as the Desert Sandstone and the Wâdy Nasb limestone, but they are not accompanied by any coal. Coal of an inferior quality has been found at Sidon, and coal-mining was also carried on for a time in Lebanon, but was abandoned after some 12,000 tons had been extracted (Conder, *Tent Work in Pal.* ii. 326. For the geology of Pal. see Hull, *Survey of W. Pal.* and the literature there mentioned, pp. 5, 6). JAMES PATRICK.

COAST (Lat. *costa*, rib, side) is now confined to the sea-shore, but formerly was used of the side of any person, place, or thing, and in AV is freq. used for the border or neighbourhood of any place, inland or other. Thus Mt 2^{16} 'Herod . . . sent forth, and slew all the children that were in Bethlehem, and in all the coasts thereof.'

'It would be unreasonable,' says Lightfoot (*On a Fresh Revision*^{2}, p. 194), 'to expect the English reader to understand that when St. Paul passes "through the *upper coasts*" (τὰ ἀνωτερικὰ μέρη) on his way to Ephesus (Ac 19^{1}), he does in fact traverse the high land which lies in the *interior* of Asia Minor. Again, in the gospels, when he reads of our Lord visiting "the *coasts* of Tyre and Sidon" (Mt 15^{21}, Mk 7^{31}), he naturally thinks of the sea-board, knowing these to be maritime cities, whereas the word in one passage stands for μέρη "parts," and in the other for ὅρια "borders," and the circumstances suggest rather the eastern than the western frontier of the region. And perhaps also his notions of the geography of Pal. may be utterly confused by reading that Capernaum is situated "upon the seacoast" (Mt 4^{13}).' J. HASTINGS.

COAT (כְּתֹנֶת *kĕthôneth*, χιτών), made of cotton, linen, fine wool, and probably silk. The garment of home-life and ordinary work, worn under the cloak and over the undershirt, or sheet (סָדִין), and sometimes instead of it, drawn tightly round the waist by belt or girdle, in shape like a dressing-gown or cassock (see DRESS, under *kĕthôneth*). It is the coat of Joseph (Gn 37^{3}), of the priests (Ex 28^{4}, Lv 8^{13}), of women's dress (Ca 5^{3}), of Christ (Jn 19^{23}), of the disciples (Mt 5^{40}, Lk 6^{29}). Coat is translated 'garment' in 2 S 13$^{18.19}$, Ezr 2^{69}, Neh 7^{70}, Jude ^{23}; 'clothes' in Mk 14^{63}; 'robe' in Is 22^{21}. The coat of 1 S 2^{19}, the annual present to Samuel, was a woollen cloak (*mĕʿîl*); that of Jn 21^{7}, *fisher's c.* (ἐπενδύτης), would be a large cloak for covering in public and protection at night, the fisherman merely wearing a large apron or waist-cloth when busy with the net. The coat of Dn 3^{21}, RV *hosen* (סַרְבַּל, Arab. *sirwâl*), was the skirt-trousers of Persian costume.

Coat of Mail.—See BRIGANDINE and BREASTPLATE. G. M. MACKIE.

COCK (ἀλέκτωρ, *alector*, *gallus*).—The domestic fowl may be the bird mentioned 1 K 4^{23}, בַּרְבֻּרִים *barburîm*, and translated in AV and RV *fatted fowls.* It is not unlikely that Solomon, who had commerce with the far E., and imported peacocks and apes from Ophir (1 K 10^{22}), might have brought barnyard fowls from the same direction. The original stock of these fowls is usually supposed to be indigenous in farther India and China. *Gallus giganteus*, of Malacca, seems to be the feral state of some of the larger tame breeds, and *G. bankiva*, of Java, which is regarded by many as specifically the same as *G. ferrugineus*, the *jungle fowl*, is supposed to be the parent of our ordinary poultry. In India, poultry have been domesticated from the earliest times. But no representation of them is found on the Egyptian monuments. Pindar mentions the cock, and Homer names a man Ἀλέκτωρ, the word for a cock. Aristophanes calls it a Persian bird. It may have been introduced into Pal. before it came to Greece. Nevertheless, unless in this doubtful passage, it is not mentioned in OT. Commentators have tried various other renderings of *barburîm*, as *swans*, *guinea fowls*, *geese*, *capons*, and *fatted fish*. But these are pure conjectures.

The Romans were very much given to raising fowls, both for food and for cock-fighting. The Mishna states that cocks were not allowed in Jerus., for fear of polluting the holy things. But there is rabbinic evidence that the Jews kept fowls. The Romans and other foreigners also kept them.

The cock is mentioned in NT in connexion with Peter's denial of Christ (Mt 26$^{34.74}$ etc.). **Cock-crowing** (Mk 13^{35}) refers to the habit of crowing before the dawn. This is the second cock-crowing (Mk 14^{30}), the first being at midnight, but less certain or less heard than the second. Hence the other evangelists speak of the crowing of the cock without specifying that it was to be a second one (Mt 26^{34}, Lk 22^{34}, Jn 13^{38}). In point of fact, cocks crow somewhat irregularly at intervals in the night. The hen is alluded to (Lk 13^{34}) with reference to her motherly care of her brood, with which the Saviour compares his solicitude for Jerusalem. G. E. POST.

COCKATRICE.—See SERPENT.

COCK-CROWING (ἀλεκτοροφωνία, Mk 13^{35}).—See COCK, TIME.

COCKER.—Sir 30^{9} 'C. thy child, and he shall make thee afraid,' that is 'pamper' (Gr. τιθηνέω, *nurse*, *suckle*). Cf. Shaks. *King John* v. i. 70—

> 'Shall a beardless boy,
> A cocker'd silken wanton, brave our fields?'

and Hull (1611) 'No creatures more cocker their young than the Asse and the Ape.' The word is not found earlier than the 15th cent. Its origin is obscure. J. HASTINGS.

COCKLE (בָּאְשָׁה *bo'shâh*, βάτος, *spina*).—The last word of the second member of a parallelism (Job 31^{40}), 'instead of wheat let thistles grow, and instead of barley, cockle.' The signification of the parallel word חוֹחַ *ḥôaḥ* is general, *brier* or *bramble*. Therefore this word should be general. And as the first is harmful, the second should be the same. The root of the word is בָּאַשׁ = 'stink,' hence the marginal renderings, AV *stinking weeds*, RV *noisome weeds*, suit the case well. There is no want of such in the Holy Land. There are a number of ill-smelling *goose weeds*, *Solanum nigrum*, L., *Datura Stramonium*, L. (the *stink-weed* par excellence), *D. Metel*, L., and several fetid *arums*, and *henbane*, and *mandrake*. Neglected fields are overrun by the host of thorny and unsavoury weeds which afflict the farmer in all parts of Pal. and Syria. Some have thought that *bo'shâh* means *ergot* or *smut* or *bunt*, and others *tares*. There is, however, no ground for this.

A word from the same root, בְּאֻשִׁים *bĕ'ûshîm* (Is 5$^{2.4}$), is tr. in AV and RV *wild grapes*. The context and the etymology are against this rendering. The terrible judgment pronounced against the vineyard (vv.$^{5.6}$) might seem unjust if the product were simply inferior. The contrast must be as sharp as in v.^{7}—between *judgment* and *oppression*, between *righteousness* and the *cry of the oppressed*. We should therefore look for some ill-smelling fruit, having some resemblance to a grape, and occurring in vineyards. Such plants are *Solanum nigrum*, L., and its congeners *S. miniatum*, Berb., and *S. villosum*, Lam., called in Arab. *ʿinab-edh-dhîb*, *wolf's grapes*.' They are of a heavy narcotic odour, and poisonous, and grow commonly in the vineyards. Celsius supposes *aconite*; but the latter is not found south of Amanus, and hence would not be known to the readers of Isaiah. It is perhaps better to regard *bĕ'ûshîm* as *stinking fruits* in general, and *bo'shâh* as *stinking weeds*. G. E. Post.

CODEX.—See ℵ, A, B, C, D; also Text.

CŒLE-SYRIA (Κοίλη Συρία, 'hollow Syria') was the name given under the Seleucids to the valley between the Lebanons (Polyb. i. 3; Dionysius, *Perieg.* 899, 900), and this restricted meaning is retained in 1 Es 4^{48}. The same restriction appears in Am 1^{5}, where, however, 'the valley of Aven' (which see) cannot be certainly identified with Cœle-Syria. 'The valley of Lebanon' (Jos 11^{17} 12^{7}) denotes the same district. Strabo (xvi. 2) confines the term to this valley in describing the boundaries of the separate parts of Syria; but he also uses it more widely as covering the whole of אֲרַם־דַּמֶּשֶׂק or 'Syria of Damascus.' Theophrastus, too (*Hist. plant.* ii. 6. 2; see also ii. 6. 8), extends the name to the valley of the Lower Jordan, and in ii. 6. 5 to the neighbourhood of the Red Sea. Under the later Seleucidæ it almost loses geogr. limitations altogether, and becomes a convenient name for a political division of the empire, the central valley always being included, but the boundaries being extended or contracted with every change in the relative influence of the local governors. For some time Phœnicia and Cœle-Syria include between them the whole of the southern part of the Seleucid kingdom, and the latter term covers the entire district E. and S. of Lebanon. The term is so used in 1 Es $2^{17.\ 24.\ 27}$ 6^{29} 7^{1} 8^{67}, 2 Mac 3^{5} 4^{4} 8^{8} 10^{11}; and the relation between the two provinces is so close that a single governor generally suffices for both. In 1 Mac 10^{69} the settlement of Jewish affairs is entrusted almost as a matter of course to the governor of Cœle-Syria, and in 2 Mac $3^{8.\ 9}$ Jerus. is expressly represented as within that province. In later times Jos. (*Ant.* XIV. iv. 5) wrote of the province as stretching from the Euphrates to Egypt; and within it were the Phil. coast towns of Raphia (Jos. *Wars*, IV. xi. 5; Polyb. v. 80) and Joppa (Diodor. xix. 59). But he generally confines the term to the districts E. of the Jordan, including Moab and Ammon (*Ant.* I. xi. 5; Ptol. v. 15), and admitting Scythopolis (Bethshan) because of its connexion with the Decapolis (*Ant.* XIII. xiii. 2). He mentions also specifically Gadara (*Ant.* XIII. xiii. 3) as in the province, whilst the evidence of coins places within it also the neighbouring towns of Abila and Philadelphia (Rabbah); and Stephen of Byzantium adds Dium, Gerasa, and Philoteria (Polyb. v. 70). Strictly, therefore, the term does not cover Judæa and Samaria, but was made to do so when it was wished to assert or enforce Syrian claims to those districts. In Jos. *Ant.* XII. iv. 1–4, in the time of Ptolemy Euergetes, the fiscal system and prob. the entire administration of C. are distinct from those of Judæa and Samaria. In the civil wars between the sons of Antiochus Grypus (B.C. 95–83), C., with Damascus prob. as its capital, was the name of a trans-Jordanic kingdom, separate from that of Syria proper. In B.C. 47 Herod was appointed by Sextus Cæsar (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. ix. 5; *Wars*, I. x. 8), and again by Cassius in B.C. 43 (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. xi. 4; *Wars*, I. xi. 4), military governor of C.; but on neither of these occasions did his appointment carry the exercise of any authority within Judæa.

R. W. Moss.

COFFER occurs only in 1 S $6^{8.\ 11.\ 15}$, and the Heb. term (אַרְגָּז, LXX θέμα), of which it is the trⁿ, is also found nowhere else. From the fact that in the above passages the word has the article, some have inferred that an *'argâz* was an appendage to every cart (*'ăghâlah*), but this is not necessary (Driver, *Heb. Text of Sam.* p. 43 f.). The *'argâz* appears to have been a small chest which *contained* (?) the golden figures sent by the Philistines as a guilt-offering. (Cf., however, the LXX, and see Wellhausen and Budde on the text of the passage.)

J. A. Selbie.

COFFIN.—See Burial.

COGITATION (Dn 7^{28}, Wis 12^{10}, Sir 17^{5}).—Not the action of thinking, but the thought itself. Cf. Hobbes 1628) 'Being terrified with the cogitation, that not any of those which had been formerly sent had ever returned.' J. Hastings.

COIN.—See Money.

COL-HOZEH (כָּל־חֹזֶה 'seeing all').—A Judahite in time of Nehemiah (Neh 3^{15} 11^{5}).

COLIUS (A Κώλιος, B Κῶνος), 1 Es 9^{23}.—See Calitas, Kelaiah.

COLLAR.—**1.** The collars of Jg 8^{26} (נְטִיפוֹת) are golden ear-drops, RV *pendants*. **2.** The ref. in Job 30^{18} is to the collar-band (פֶּה) of the under-garment or coat (*kĕthôneth*). In v.^{17} the symptoms of high fever are pierced bones and gnawing pains; hence in v.^{18} the complaint that his large outer-garment or cloak (לְבוּשׁ), in which he vainly tried to sleep, had become so completely soaked through with the fever-sweats that it clung around him like the collar of his coat. It is frequently assumed that the reference is to Job's emaciated condition, which causes his outer garment to cling to him like the neck of the close-fitting inner tunic. Davidson suggests that the idea may be that through Job's writhing under his pains his clothes are twisted tightly about him. Dillmann finds a reference to the unnatural swelling of Job's body by elephantiasis, till his garment becomes tight like a collar. G. M. Mackie.

COLLECTION occurs in AV of 2 Ch $24^{6.\ 9}$ as trⁿ of מַשְׂאֵת (*mas'êth*), and in 1 Co 16^{1} as trⁿ of λογία (*logia*, a ἀπ'. λεγ.) [all]. In OT the reference is to the tax prescribed in Ex $30^{12.\ 16}$ (P), and RV more suitably trˢ 'tax.' The NT reference is to the collection made by St. Paul in the Gentile Churches for the poor at Jerusalem. RV retains the word and also substitutes 'collections' in v.^{3} for AV 'gatherings' (where the same Gr. word occurs in the plur. λογίαι). See Communion 3, Tribute-Money. J. A. Selbie.

COLLEGE (מִשְׁנֶה; LXX 2 K 22^{14} μασενά; 2 Ch 34^{22} μασαναί; Zeph 1^{10} ἀπὸ τῆς δευτέρας; Vulg. *in secunda*). — This word properly denotes the 'second quarter' of the city; RV 'the second quarter,' m. '*Heb.* Mishneh'—comp. AVm 'in the second part'; in 2 Ch 34^{22} AVm. gives also 'the school.' From Zeph 1^{10}, where the term occurs again (AV 'the second'), it appears that this quarter of Jerusalem was not far from the Fish-gate, which lay on the north or north-west of the city (Neh 3^{3} 12^{39}). It was perhaps first enclosed within the walls in the time of Manasseh (2 Ch 33^{14}). Probably the 'second quarter' lay to the west of the temple-mount, in the hollow between this and the northern portion of the western hill, the modern Sion. It would thus occupy the upper end of the Tyropœan Valley (comp. Jos. *Ant.* XV. xi. 5).

The Targ. Jonathan on 2 K 22^{14} renders by בֵּית אוּלְפָנָא, *i.e.* 'house of instruction.' This Jewish tradition is clearly the origin of the rendering 'college'

in the AV. It is doubtless due to the influence of the post-biblical Heb. word *Mishna*, which, meaning originally 'repetition,' δευτέρωσις, came to signify the doctrine of the law, and especially the oral law.
H. A. WHITE.

COLLOP.—A collop is a slice of meat, but in Job 15^{27} 'he . . maketh collops of fat on his flanks,' it is used in the now obsolete sense (except in dialects) of 'a thick fold of flesh on the body as evidence of a well-fed condition.' Cf. Fuller, *Worthies*, i. 166, 'Fat folk (whose collops stick to their sides) are generally lazy.'
J. HASTINGS.

COLONY.—Colony (Κολωνία, a literal transcript of the well-known Latin designation) occurs in NT only at Ac 16^{12}, where it is applied to Philippi. The Roman colonies belonged to three periods and classes: (1) those of the earlier republic before 100 B.C.—the burgess and Latin colonies, which served as curb-fortresses and influential centres of Roman authority in conquered or annexed territory; (2) those of the Gracchan times — the agrarian colonies, provided as an outlet for the starving and clamorous proletariat of the capital; and (3) those of the Civil wars and the Empire, termed military colonies, intended for the reception and settlement of soldiers disbanded at the end of their service or at the close of war. While in the former classes the colony was initiated by a formal law (*lex*), and carried out by a commission (generally of three), the later, or military colony, was established simply by the *imperator*, in the exercise of his *imperium*, nominating a legate to give effect to his will. To this latter class Philippi belonged. It had already received (as we learn from Strabo, vii. fr. 41) something of this character after the defeat of Brutus and Cassius in the adjoining plain in the year 42 B.C.; but its full organization as a colony was the work of Augustus, who, having to provide for his soldiers after the battle of Actium (B.C. 31), gifted to them (as we learn from Dio Cassius, li. 4) cities and lands in Italy which had belonged to partisans of Antonius, and transferred most of the inhabitants thereby dispossessed to other quarters, esp. to Dyrrhachium and Philippi. The latter thenceforth bore, in inscriptions and on coins, the name *Colonia Aug. Jul. Philippi* or *Philippensis*. The community thus constituted possessed (Dig. 50, tit. 15, sec. 8) the privileged position known to jurists as that of the *ius Italicum*, which apparently carried, in addition to the right of freedom (*libertas*), and that of exemption from poll-tax and tribute (*immunitas*), the right of holding the soil in full ownership under the forms of Roman law (*ex iure Quiritium*). (On the development of the Roman colonial system, see Marquardt, *Handb.* iv. 427 ff., on the military colonies, pp. 449–56; and on Philippi in particular, Mommsen, *CIL* III. i. p. 120.)
WILLIAM P. DICKSON.

COLOSSÆ (Κολοσσαί) was an ancient city of Phrygia (very important in early history, dwindling in the later centuries as Laodicea waxed greater), overhanging the river Lycus (a tributary of the Mæander) on the upper part of its course. It was distant only about ten miles from Laodicea and thirteen from Hierapolis; and hence the three cities formed a single sphere of missionary labour for Epaphras, an inhabitant of C. (Col $4^{12.13}$). Churches were formed in these three cities at a very early period, partly by the work of Epaphras, but also through the work of Timothy, who had evidently come into personal relations with C. (Col 1^1), and probably of other preachers. In Rev 1^{11} 3^{14} the single Church of Laodicea must be taken as representative of the Churches of the whole Lycus valley. Paul himself had not been at Laodicea or at C. (Col 2^1). C., like Laodicea (which see), stood on the most important route of commerce and intercourse in the eastern part of the Rom. Empire; it was therefore a place where new ideas and new thoughts were always likely to be simmering, and the new religion seems to have developed there with feverish rapidity, and not in a direction that satisfied St. Paul. During his first imprisonment in Rome, the report which was brought to him by Epaphras of the religious views and practices in C. called forth an Epistle, in which he rebuked the tendency of the Colossians to stray from the straight path under the influence partly of Judaism (observance of Sabbaths, etc., Col 2^{16}; circumcision hinted at, 2^{11}), and partly of a species of theosophic speculation, which sought to find demonic or angelic powers intermediate between the supreme unapproachable God and human beings,—a kind of speculation springing from an attempt to express the ideas of Christianity in the terms and forms of the philosophic and religious thought current in Phrygia and in Asia generally. The Judaic elements in this Colossian development of Christianity show that Jewish teachers had visited it, and that Jewish religion and thought had influenced the population; and from the position of the city such influence is natural, and Jewish traders had probably settled in it for commercial purposes (especially trade in the beautiful wool of the peculiar colour called *Colossinus*, perhaps dark purple). There is, however, no evidence that an actual settlement of Jews at C. as colonists by any of the Seleucid kings ever occurred (as is probable or certain at Laodicea, Tarsus, etc., which see); for such a settlement was considered as a re-foundation, and was usually accompanied by change of name. Again, the semi-Gnostic style of Colossian speculation revealed to us by the Epistle shows that the Lycus valley was the seat of some philosophic activity, which had doubtless its centre at Laodicea (which see), but extended to the other cities. The same kind of speculation long clung to the valley, as Theodoret mentions in the 5th century; and in the 9th and 10th centuries Michael, the leader of the host of angels, was worshipped as the great saint of C. (and of its later representative Chonæ), and a legend was told of his appearance to save the city from a great inundation. C. disappeared from history during the 7th or 8th cent., being too much exposed to the terrible raids of the Saracens; and it was succeeded by Chonæ (now called Chonas), a fortress about three miles farther south, in a lofty situation, with an impregnable castle upon the steep slope of Mount Cadmus (summit 8013 ft.). In 787 Bishop Dositheus took his title from C., but had his actual home in Chonæ (ἐπίσκοπος Κολοσσῶν ἤτοι Χωνῶν); but in 870 and 879 Samuel was bishop (afterwards archbishop) of Chonæ, and C. had been practically forgotten.

Colossæ is a grecized form of a Phrygian word (modified to give an apparent meaning in Greek, as if connected with κολοσσός); and the native form was more like Κολασσαί (cf. Abbott on Col 1^2). Hence the ethnic Κολασσαεύς occurs in the (not original) title of the Epistle, and in several Byzantine lists of bishops. Κολοσσηνός is the invariable ethnic on coins.

LITERATURE.—The exact site of C. was first determined by Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, i. p. 508; Arundel and other travellers had previously visited the modern Chonas, and believed it to be C. The situation and history of C. and Chonæ are very fully described in Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, chs. i. and vi., and *Ch. in the Rom. Emp.* ch. xix.
W. M. RAMSAY.

COLOSSIANS, EPISTLE TO THE.—This Epistle forms one of a closely connected group of three. It is linked on the one hand to the little letter to Philemon by the group of personal salutations common to the two, and on the other to the Ep. to 'the Ephesians' by a remarkable and intricate community of contents, by the fact that the two letters are entrusted to the same messenger (4^{7}, cf. Eph 6^{21}), and probably by an express reference in the Colossians to the sister Epistle under the title of 'the Ep. from Laodicea' in 4^{16}.

I. Authorship and Date.—The various questions which have been raised during the present cent. with respect to the authorship of this group of Epp., and the particular stage in St. Paul's first imprisonment (assuming them to have been written by him) to which they may be most suitably assigned, can be best dealt with in connexion with the Ep. to the Ephes. (which see). For the present it will be enough to say (1) that the admitted differences in language, style, and, to a certain extent, in doctrine, between this group of Epp. and those of the central period, 1 and 2 Co, Gal, Ro, are by no means sufficient to establish a diversity of authorship; and (2) that two facts, (*a*) the conversion of Onesimus, who, as far as we know, could hardly have had access to St. Paul in Cæsarea, and (*b*) the remarkable development in the doctrine of the Ecclesia, which marks Eph, make it on the whole most probable that the whole group was written from Rome shortly before the outbreak of the Neronian persecution.

II. Destination.—The situation of Colossæ and the chief elements in its population have already been described (see Colossæ). It will be enough here to notice that whatever may have been the proportion of resident Jews in the place, St. Paul treats the Church throughout as specifically a Gentile Church (1^{27}). It is this fact which brings them within his sphere of influence, and explains the tone in which he addresses them. The difficult and obscure references in 2^{14} *τὸ χειρόγραφον τοῖς δόγμασιν ὃ ἦν ὑπεναντίον ἡμῖν*, and in 2^{8} to *τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου*, both of which must refer chiefly, if not exclusively, to the law of Moses, are not really inconsistent with this. Language of fundamentally the same import occurs in Gal 3^{23} 4^{3}, esp. 4^{9} (*πτωχὰ στοιχεῖα οἷς πάλιν ἄνωθεν δουλεῦσαι θέλετε*). Before the coming of Christ the only way by which a Gentile could enjoy the privileges of the covenant people was by accepting circumcision and submitting to all the ordinances of the law.

St. Paul's language in the Epistle leaves no doubt that the Church at Colossæ had not been directly founded by him, and that he was personally unknown to the bulk of its members, though individuals among them, such as Philemon, may have met him during his long stay at Ephesus, and have owed their conversion to him.

Ramsay's interpretation of *τὰ ἀνωτερικὰ μέρη* (Ac 19^{1}) would make it probable that St. Paul had not, even on his third missionary journey, traversed the valley of the Lycus. But in any case there is no hint of the existence of a Christian Church in that locality at the time of that journey, and still less of any evangelistic activity of St. Paul's there, and so, by whatever road St. Paul reached Ephesus, there is nothing in Ac inconsistent with the obvious meaning of the Epistle.

III. Object and Contents.—The object of this Ep. is to bring before the Colossians a true ideal of Christian life and practice, based on a true conception of the relation of Christ to the universe and to the Church. It was occasioned by the appearance in Colossæ of a form of false teaching, which, under the garb of a 'philosophy' (2^{8}), was enticing men back to the trammels of an outward asceticism. The practices to which reference is made ($2^{16\text{ff.}}$) are in some cases, perhaps in all, distinctively Jewish. And it is probable that they were put forward as the gateway to a higher state of purification than that which was accessible to the ordinary believer. It is uncertain to what extent these practices were connected with any definitely formulated metaphysical or cosmological theories. The term 'philosophy,' as Hort has shown (*Judaistic Christianity*, p. 120 ff.), does not necessarily imply more than an ethical system. Yet the Colossians were in danger, actual or prospective ($2^{3.\,4}$), of doctrinal error respecting the Person of Christ. And some of St. Paul's language regarding Christ's relation to 'the principalities and powers' (1^{16} 2^{10}) would gain in point if we might suppose that a speculative justification of the 'worship of angels' had already been put forward, involving expressly 'either a limitation of His nature to the human sphere, or at most a counting of Him among the angels.' On the other hand, substantially similar language occurs in Eph 1^{21}, where there is no necessity to postulate any polemic reference. And it is hard to believe that St. Paul would have contented himself with this indirect method of attack, if the error had already taken such definite shape. In any case there seems no sufficient ground for postulating a specifically Gnostic or Oriental (non-Jewish) influence on the Church at Colossæ. Above all, the later Valentinian usage of *πλήρωμα* throws back no light on the meaning of the term in the cardinal passages in which it occurs in Col 1^{19} 2^{9} and Eph 1^{23} 3^{19} 4^{13}.

The key to the positive teaching of the Ep. is certainly to be found in the conception of the Person and the Work of Christ which it unfolds. Over against the false philosophy, and as the assurance of the perfect satisfaction of the genuine human need of assistance in the attainment of truth to which that philosophy appealed, St. Paul sets the thought of Christ as the Image of the Invisible God (1^{15}), the perfect manifestation in human form of the Eternal Truth, 'the Mystery of God' (2^{2}), in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. Did men aspire after a new ideal of moral development? Their aspirations were not in vain, because the fulness of the divine perfections had found a permanent embodiment and home in One who had taken our nature upon Him, and borne and bears a human form (2^{9}, cf. 1^{19}). Did they quail before the material forces of this world's potentates that were arrayed against them, or lose their hold of the inherent dignity that belonged to them, as men in the presence of the countless multitudes of the hosts of heaven? There was no power in the universe but from Him. And He had revealed upon the Cross the impotence of all the powers that had set themselves in array to thwart His purposes (2^{15}). The evil from which they were longing to get free clung so close that it might seem almost an integral part of their being; and they were willing to submit to any discipline that would set them free. In the death of Christ they could attain to the reality of that deliverance from the corruption of their nature which had been foreshadowed by circumcision (2^{11}), as they realized the newness of life which was theirs by union with His resurrection.

The following analysis may help to bring out the sequence of thought, and to show how this central conception is interwoven with the whole of the Epistle.

A. The opening section, after the salutation (vv.$^{1.\,2}$), is devoted to an elaborately expanded thanksgiving ($^{3\text{-}24}$). St. Paul singles out for special mention the fruitfulness of the knowledge of the truth among the Colossians as witnessed by their evangelist Epaphras ($^{3\text{-}8}$), and prays for a further development, springing from the same source, to take practical effect in walking worthily of the Lord, as they give thanks to the Father for their deliverance from the power of darkness into the kingdom of the Son of His love ($^{9\text{-}16}$). This reference to the Son leads to a full, though condensed, statement of the office of the Son—

(*a*) In relation to the universe as the source and goal, and the present principle of coherence for all creation ($^{15\text{-}17}$), and

(*b*) In relation to the Church as being, now in His risen state, not only the permanent home of all the divine perfections, but also the source of an all-embracing reconciliation by His death ($^{18-20}$),—a reconciliation the power of which the Colossians had already experienced, and which would not fail of its final consummation if they continued as they had begun, faithful adherents of the world-wide gospel, of which St. Paul was in a special sense the minister.

B. This personal reference forms the starting-point of the second section of the Ep. (1^{24}–2^{5}), in which St. Paul introduces himself to his correspondents, explaining his unique position in relation to the consummation of the divine revelation, and his efforts to bring the hearts of all men under the full power of its influence (1^{24-28}). This will help them to understand the interest that he takes in them and in their neighbours, even though they had never met in the flesh, and also the ground for his prayer for their enlightenment (2^{1-3}). This section closes with a brief warning against some plausible deceiver, coupled with a renewed assurance of his close sympathy with them, and his joy in their constancy ($^{4.\,5}$).

C. He passes now to a series of special exhortations and warnings, which occupy two chapters (2^{6}–4^{6}), and fall into five subdivisions.

(*a*) The first of these (2^{6-19}) is in its main purpose an exhortation to retain their hold on and to develop into all its practical consequences the personal relation to Christ which the gospel had made known to them. As this was the point on which the Colossians had most to fear from false teachers, the exhortation ($^{6.\,7}$) is accompanied by an explicit warning (^{8}), and a careful statement of the grounds on which the Christian who grasps the true conception of the Person of Christ is assured of a complete moral development, and receives, by union in baptism with the death and resurrection of Christ, the reality of that separation from his evil nature which had been foreshadowed by circumcision ($^{9-15}$). In the light of this thought, the attractiveness of outward observances for the attainment of purity and the necessity for angelic mediation disappear ($^{16-19}$).

(*b*) In the second subdivision (2^{20}–3^{4}) union with the death of Christ is shown to be a deliverance from formal and material restrictions, and union with His resurrection determines the true sphere of Christian thought and life.

(*c*) The third subdivision develops the same thought in its present practical application to moral effort, with relation (1) to the appetites and passions (the members on the earth) which need to be done to death, and the evil habits which must be stripped off (3^{5-11}); and (2) to the new graces which the Christian must seek to acquire ($^{12-14}$), and the new principles by which he should regulate his practice ($^{15-17}$).

(*d*) The fourth subdivision (3^{18}–4^{1}) applies the new principle to the fundamental relations of family life, husbands and wives, parents and children, masters and servants.

(*e*) The last subdivision (4^{2-6}) contains an exhortation to perseverance in prayer, and to discretion in their relations with the heathen world.

D. The letter closes with a commendation of the messengers, Tychicus and Onesimus, by whose hands it was sent (4^{7-9}), and a group of personal salutations ($^{10-16}$).

IV. INTEGRITY.—Now, if this be a true account of the connexion between the different parts of the letter, there is little room left for questioning the substantial integrity of the document as it has come down to us,—least of all for any such theory as that of Holtzmann, even in the modified form proposed by von Söden, which requires us to believe that its most characteristic christological passages have been added by an interpolator. The letter must clearly be accepted or rejected as a whole. Holtzmann's theory no doubt deserves all the respect which is due to honest and scholarly workmanship. But it has failed to find support even in the land in which it was produced. And after Sanday's criticism of it in Smith's *DB*^{2} no useful end would be served by a detailed examination of it here.

There remains, however, the subordinate question of the integrity of the *text*. And here it is by no means so easy to speak with confidence. In one or two cases, notably in 2^{18} and ^{23}, it is difficult, if not impossible, to accept any of the attested readings. We are therefore forced to accept Hort's conclusion (App. p. 127), that 'this Epistle, and more especially its second chapter, appears to have been ill preserved in ancient times.' And it may well be, as Sanday has suggested, that some of the harshnesses which have led to suspicion of interpolation may be due to primitive corruptions in the transmitted text.

LITERATURE.—Of Eng. Comm. the most complete is that of Lightfoot, whose conclusions should, however, be carefully checked by reference to the sections in *Judaistic Christianity*, in which Hort examines minutely into the characteristics of the false teaching prevalent at Colossæ. Other commentaries:—Barry, J. Ll. Davies, H. C. G. Moule, Maclaren, T. K. Abbott, and (German) De Wette, Ewald, Lange, Meyer. See also Pfleiderer, *Urchristenthum*, 683; von Soden (in *Jahrb. f. prot. Theol.* 1895, pp. 320 ff., 497 ff., 672 ff.); Holtzmann, *Krit. d. Eph. u. Kolosserbriefe*; Weizsäcker, *Apost. Age*, i. 218, ii. 240 ff., 383, 391, and refer to the Literature at end of EPHESIANS.

J. O. F. MURRAY.

COLOUR is used in the sense of 'pretence' or 'pretext,' Ac 27^{30} 'under c. as though they would have cast anchors' (μελλόντων ἐκτείνειν), and 2 Mac 3^{8} 'under a c. of visiting the cities' (τῇ ἐμφάσει ὡς ἐφοδεύσων). Cf. Greene (1592) 'You carry your pack but for a coulour, to shadow your other villainies.'

J. HASTINGS.

COLOURS.—In his *Juventus Mundi* (p. 540) Gladstone sums up the main conclusions of his investigations into the sense of colour in Homer (cf. *Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age*, iii. 457 ff.):—'1. His perceptions of colour, considered as light decomposed, though highly poetical, are also very indeterminate. 2. His perceptions of light not decomposed as varying between light and dark, white and black, are most vivid and effective. 3. Accordingly, his descriptions of colour generally tend a good deal to range themselves in a scale (so to speak) of degrees rather than of kinds of light.' Very much the same may be said of the colour-sense among the Hebrews. Even in Mesopotamia the colours used in the painting and enamelling of walls were only some five or six in number, and were used for effects of brilliance rather than of actual representation of natural coloured objects (Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, vol. ii. p. 295). Among the Hebrews the pictorial arts seem to have been at first unknown, and later were discouraged on religious grounds. Dyeing was the only art connected with colours known to them before the time of Ezekiel, and even here the *result* rather than the *process* was familiar. Consequently, the references to colour in the oldest literature are very simple. In the Song of Deborah (Jg 5^{30}) dyed stuffs and embroideries (of various colours) are mentioned without any further distinction. In the Song of the Bow (2 S 1^{24}), 'scarlet' raiment is the gift of the king. In the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew Hist.' (JE), the only colours mentioned are black (Gn $30^{32\text{ff.}}$), white (Gn 49^{12}), scarlet (Gn $38^{28.\,30}$), red (Gn 25^{25}), and grey (Gn 44^{29}). All these are used of natural objects. Later, the dyed wares of Phœnicia were introduced and largely used among the Hebrews, whose acquaintance with colours was thus enlarged, though at no time was it very precise in its nature or extensive in its comprehension.

In like manner the *symbolism* of colours in OT and NT is very simple. It may be classed as (*a*) literary, (*b*) apocalyptic, (*c*) ritual.

(*a*) Illustrations of the first use will be found under the individual colours. It is to be found in the literature of most nations, especially in poetical language.

(*b*) The apocalyptic use of colour as symbol is found in a simple form in Zec, in a more developed in Dn, and in its most complete form in the Apocalypse.

(*c*) In matters pertaining to ritual (esp. in the tabernacle), colours are frequently used, but it has not yet been satisfactorily shown that they were used symbolically, or that they were other than the most brilliant colours procurable when the descriptions were given. They are only thus mentioned in P and Ch. In Alexandria, however, in the 1st cent. they were all interpreted symbolically by Philo, who says (*de Vita Mos.* iii. 6) that they represent the elements—fine flax (white), the earth; purple, water; hyacinth (blue), air; scarlet, fire (so also Jos. *Ant.* III. vii. 7).

BLACK is used in OT only of natural objects. (1) שָׁחֹר of hair Lv 13^{26}, Ca 5^{11}, horses Zec $6^{2.6}$, skin that is burnt with the sun Ca 1^{5}, and that peels off in disease Job 30^{30}. (2) חוּם is used of sheep only Gn $30^{32f.35}$, and is rendered in LXX by *φαιός*, a word denoting the greyness of twilight, or any mixture of black and white. In v.^{40} it is an interpolation. (3) The verb קָדַר (originally 'to be dirty, foul') is used of the darkened sky Jer 4^{28}, 1 K 18^{45}, and from its original meaning comes to signify mourning Jer 8^{21} 14^{2}, Ezk 31^{15}, Mal 3^{14}. It is also used of the dark colour of ice-covered water Job 6^{16}. In Pr 7^{9} 'blackness of night' is literally as in RVm 'pupil of eye of night.' In Ep. Jer (v.^{21}) faces are blackened (*μεμελανωμένοι*) by smoke. In NT *μέλας* is used of hair Mt 5^{36}, of horses Rev 6^{5}, and especially of ink 2 Co 3^{3} etc.; *γνόφος* for the darkness of night He 12^{18} (cf. Dt 4^{11}), and *ζόφος* for the darkness of the nether world 2 P 2^{4} (cf. Homer, *Il.* xxi. 56). It is used symbolically for affliction and death Zec 6^{2-6} ('famine in consequence of a siege,' cf. Hitzig-Steiner's *Comm.*), La 4^{8}, and as above for 'mourning' generally Mal 3^{14}.

BLUE (תְּכֵלֶת, LXX *ὑάκινθος*, *ὁλοπόρφυρος* only in Nu 4^{7}, cf. Xen. *Cyrop.* VIII. iii. 13). In NT there is no mention of this colour. In Assyr. the word *ta-kil-tu* occurs in several inscriptions (Delitzsch, *Assyr. Hwb.* p. 706). This colour seems to have been a violet-purple as distinguished from אַרְגָּמָן (see PURPLE), but even in early times there was great indefiniteness in its use (cf. Talm. Bab. *Menachoth* 44^{a}, and for use of *ὑάκινθος* and *hyacinthus* in classical writers see Kitto, *Cyclop. of Bibl. Lit.*^{3} i. 40 f.). It was obtained from a shell-fish found on the Phœn. coast attached to the rocks. The Targ. pseudo-Jonathan to Dt 33^{19} calls it חִלָּזוֹן, and this is usually identified with *Helix ianthina.* (For other purple-producing shell-fish see PURPLE.) Blue was used often with purple (see below) and scarlet (see SCARLET) in the curtains of the tabernacle (Ex 26^{1}), the veil of the ark (26^{31}), the screen of the tent-door (26^{36}), the screen of the gates of the court (27^{16}), parts connected with the ephod (28), the mitre (28^{37}), and the girdle (39^{29}) of the priest, also in the coverings of the table of shewbread, the candlesticks, the golden altar, and the vessels of the sanctuary (Nu 4). A cord of blue was to be put on the fringes or tassels of the Israelites' garments (Nu 15^{38}). In the veil, before the holiest place in Solomon's temple, blue was inwrought with purple and crimson according to the Chronicler (2 Ch 3^{14}). It was also used in the clothing of idols (Jer 10^{9}). In Ezk it is the colour of the clothing of young Assyr. nobles (23^{6}), and in his description of the luxury of Tyre, awnings of blue and purple were their coverings on ships; and bales of blue and broidered work were among their merchandise ($27^{7.24}$). Hangings of white and blue cloth figure in the palace of Ahasuerus (Est 1^{6}), and royal apparel is of blue and white (Est 8^{15}). In Pr 20^{30} the AV 'blueness of a wound' is correctly given in RV as 'stripes that wound.'

CRIMSON is identical with scarlet. It occurs in RV only in Is 1^{18} as tr. of תּוֹלָע (see SCARLET), and in 2 Ch $2^{7.14}$ 3^{14} for כַּרְמִיל, which seems to be a Persian word, from كرم 'a worm,' and thus equivalent to תּוֹלַעַת (cf. Ges-Buhl.). See separate art.

GREEN (in Heb. various derivatives of the root ירק, cf. Assyr. *arāḳu*, 'to be pale' [Delitzsch, *Assyr. Hwb.* p. 243]. Gr. *χλωρός*).—It is used exclusively of vegetation Gn 1^{30} 9^{3}, Mk 6^{39}, Rev 8^{7} 9^{4} etc. **Greenish**, יְרַקְרַק, that is, inclining to yellow, is used of the plague of leprosy in skin or garment Lv 13^{49} 14^{37}. The same word is used of gold Ps 68^{13} (RV 'yellow'). In the many other passages where the word 'green' occurs in RV, the Heb. equivalent contains no reference to colour.

GREY is used only of 'grey hair,' Heb. שֵׂיבָה Gn 44^{29} etc.

PURPLE (LXX and NT *πορφύρα*, *πυρφυροῦς*, Heb. אַרְגָּמָן, Aram. אַרְגְּוָנָא, Assyr. *Argamannu*, Del. *Assyr. Hwb.* p. 129).—This was a precious dye of a red-purple colour obtained from the shell-fish *Murex trunculus*, near Tyre, and *Murex brandaris* on the shores of Taranto and the Peloponnesus. The Phœnicians seem to have long monopolized the sale (and perhaps the preparation) of it, not only on their own coasts, but on those of the 'isles of Elishah' (acc. to Targ. on Gn 10^{4}=Italy, more probably=Greece, Ἑλλάς; cf. Smend's *Comm.*), Ezk 27^{7}, and in the manufactories of Syria (Ezk 27^{16}). In later times the dye was sold (and manufactured ?) in Asia (Ac 16^{14}), and in Pliny's time in the islands on the N. coast of Africa and Madeira (*HN* ix. 36, vi. 36; cf. Strabo, 835). For other methods of preparing purple see Vitruvius, vii. 13, 14. Purple was used—generally in combination with blue and scarlet—in the curtains and veils of the tabernacle, in certain parts of the priests' dress and ornaments, and alone in the cloth spread on the altar (Ex 26-28. 35. 39, Nu 4^{13}, cf. Sir 45^{10}), also in Solomon's temple (see BLUE). It was especially the colour used in the raiment and trappings of royalty. The kings of Midian wore purple raiment (Jg 8^{26}), so did the royal courtiers of Persia (Est 8^{15}), of Babylon (Dn $5^{7.16.29}$), and of Syria (2 Mac 4^{38}). The fittings of Solomon's palanquin (Ca 3^{10}) and the cords in the hangings of the palace of Ahasuerus (Est 1^{6}) were of purple; and the absence of this colour from the dress of the all-powerful Romans was noted with surprise (1 Mac 8^{14}). Purple is thus the sign of royalty and nobility (Pr 31^{22}, Rev 17^{4} $18^{12.16}$), and hence it is used in the dressing of idols (Jer 10^{9}, Ep. Jer ^{12}). A purple robe was put on our Lord in mockery before his crucifixion (Mk 15^{17} [*πορφύραν*], Jn 19^{2} [*ἱμάτιον πορφυροῦν*], but Mt 27^{28} reads 'scarlet' [*χλαμύδα κοκκίνην*]). In Ca 7^{5} the brilliance of the hair is compared with that of purple (see Graetz, *Comm.*).

RED (אָדֹם and אַדְמוֹנִי; for other words see below, LXX and NT *πυῤῥός*, *πυῤῥάκης*, *πυῤῥίζων*. In Assyr. the root *adm* is used for dark-red as of blood [Delitzsch, *Assyr. Hwb.* p. 26]).—This colour is in most passages used of natural objects, as of pottage Gn 25^{30}, a heifer Nu 19^{2}, water discoloured 2 K 3^{22}, wine Pr 23^{31} (cf. RVm to Ps 75^{8}, Heb. חָמַר), horses Zec 1^{8} 6^{2}, Rev 6^{4}, the face red with weeping Job 16^{16} (RVm), and the sky Mt $16^{2.3}$. But it was also artificially produced (Flinders Petrie says that red-dyed leather was made in Egypt before B.C. 3000). Rams' skins dyed red were used for the covering of the tent of the tabernacle Ex 25^{5} $35^{7.23}$ 36^{19} 39^{24} (see TABERNACLE). Garments dyed red are mentioned in Is 63^{2}. In Nah 2^{3} the words 'made red' mean dyed red according to *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* and Siegfried-Stade, but 'lit up by the sun' (cf. 1 Mac 6^{39}) according to Hitzig-Steiner's *Comm.* In Gn 49^{12} the word translated 'red' means 'dull' (cf. *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* to חַכְלִילִי, and Assyr. *akālu*), and in Est 1^{6} 'red' is either 'porphyry' (RVm, cf. *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* to בַּהַט) or malachite (Ryssel's *Commentary*). In one passage (Wis 13^{14}, see VERMILION) it is the RV rendering of *ἐρυθήνας*.

A lighter shade of the same colour is expressed by the word **reddish** (אֲדַמְדָּם), used of leprous spots on the flesh Lv 13, or on the wall of a house Lv 14^{37}.

SCARLET (תּוֹלָע, תּוֹלֵעָה, שָׁנִי, and very commonly תּוֹלַעַת שָׁנִי, LXX and NT *κόκκινος*. See also CRIMSON).—תּוֹלָע denotes the source of the colour, שָׁנִי the brilliance of it (cf. Pliny, *HN* xxxiii. 40, 'Cocci nitor'; Martial, x. 76, '*cocco* mulio *fulget*'). It is an artificial colour obtained from the female of an insect (*Coccus ilicis*) which is found attached to a species of oak, and forms a berry-like protuberance about the size of a cherry-stone. It was found chiefly in Palestine, Asia Minor, and South Europe. The poor of Spain at the time of Pliny paid half their tribute by means of this insect (*HN* xvi. 12). In OT scarlet is used chiefly of thread (Gn 38$^{28.30}$, Jos 2$^{18.21}$), cloth (Nu 4^{8}, 2 S 1^{24}), and wool (He 9^{19}). In the coverings of the tabernacle it was used sometimes alone Nu 4^{8}, oftener with purple and blue Ex 26$^{1.31}$ etc. So also in the dress of the priests Ex 28^{6} etc., cf. Sir 45^{11}. In ordinary life scarlet clothing was a sign of prosperity 2 S 1^{24}, Pr 31^{21}, La 4^{5}. Its brilliance made it a source of attraction Jer 4^{30}, and led to the figurative use for what was glaring Is 1^{18}. Once only it is used of a natural object, when the lips are compared to a thread of scarlet Ca 4^{3}.

SORREL (שָׂרֹק) occurs once of horses in Zec 1^{8}, where LXX translates by *ψαρός*, 'dappled grey,' cf. 6^{3} (LXX).

VERMILION (Heb. שָׁשַׁר, Gr. *μίλτος* [but *ἐν γραφίδι* in Ezk]).—A pigment used among the Assyrians (for reff. see Smith, *DB* i. 623). Rooms were painted with it Jer 22^{14}, images of the Chaldæans are portrayed on a wall with it in a description in Ezk 23^{14}, and wooden idols are smeared with it in Wis 13^{14}. The Vulg. translates by *sinopide* in Jer, *coloribus* in Ezk, and *rubrica* in Wis. Virgil (*Ecl.* x. 26 f.) and Pliny (*HN* xxxv. 45, cf. xxxiii. 36) describe Roman images of deities thus adorned.

WHITE.—In OT the most usual word employed is לָבָן, LXX λευκός. It is used of such objects as snow Is 1^{18}, milk Gn 49^{12}, manna Ex 16^{31}, horses Zec 1^{8} 6$^{3.6}$, and leprous hair Lv 13. Lebanon seems to have received its name either from the white snow on its summits or the limestone of which it was composed (see Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies*, p. 103). In Ca 5^{10} the word צַח 'white' (RV) denotes dazzling, and in Dn 7^{9} a late word חִוָּר is used of raiment. The same root is used in the word translated 'white bread' Gn 40^{16}. In NT λευκός is used of natural objects and of linen, but chiefly as the symbol of purity or innocence and holiness, as in the Transfiguration, or of angels Jn 20^{12}, etc., the saints Rev 6^{11}, or the throne of God Rev 20^{11}, or of victory Rev 6^{2} 19$^{11.14}$ (cf. Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 537 f.).

YELLOW (צָהֹב, *ξανθίζουσα*) is used in OT only of the hair in leprous sores Lv 13$^{30.32.36}$ (but see **Greenish**). In Est 1^{6} the word דַּר tr^{d} 'yellow' in RV, 'alabaster' in RVm, probably means 'pearl' or 'mother-of-pearl' (*Oxf. Heb. Lex.* and Ges-Buhl under דַּר).

In addition to the words denoting specific colours, there are a few used in OT to indicate a mixture, generally of black and white. The chief of these are: 1. **Speckled** נָקֹד, literally dotted or spotted, used of sheep and goats, Gn 30. 31. In Jer 12^{9} it is used of birds and is a tr. of צָבוּעַ, lit. 'dyed.' 2. **Spotted** טָלוּא, *i.e.* covered with patches, Gn 30. The same Heb. word is used in Ezk 16^{16} of high places, and is translated in RV 'decked with divers colours.' 3. **Ringstraked** עָקֹד, marked with rings or bands Gn 30. 31. 4. **Grisled** בָּרֹד, marked with white spots resembling hail, used of he-goats Gn 31$^{10.12}$, of horses Zec 6$^{3.6}$.

In Jg 5^{30} the word צְבָעִים is tr. 'of divers colours' in RV, or 'dyed garments' in RVm (cf. also under **Speckled**). The word רִקְמָה is tr. 'of divers colours' in 1 Ch 29^{2}, of precious stones, similarly in Ezk 17^{3} of feathers. In other places it is generally translated 'broidered work.' It is derived from a root which, according to Fleischer, originally meant to make a thing many-coloured by engraving, drawing, writing, or broidering.

G. W. THATCHER.

COLT is not applied in the Bible to the young horse, but to the young ass, and once (Gn 32^{15}) to the young camel. Outside the Bible it is not applied to the young of any animal but the horse. See ASS. J. HASTINGS.

COME.—1. *Come about*, *i.e.* 'come round,' either lit. 2 Ch 13^{13} 'Jeroboam caused an ambushment to c. about behind them' (הֵסֵב); or fig. 1 S 1^{20} 'when the time was c. about' (לִתְקֻפוֹת הַיָּמִים *on the return of the days*). 2. *Come again*, *i.e.* 'come back' (see AGAIN), as Jg 15^{19} 'when he had drunk, his spirit came a. and he revived' (שׁוּב). 3. *Come at*, (1) 'come near,' 'reach,' Dn 6^{24} 'the lions had the mastery of them, and brake all their bones in pieces or ever they came at the bottom of the den'; Lk 8^{19} 'they could not c. at him for the crowd'; (2) 'come near,' 'touch,' Nu 6^{6} 'he shall c. at no dead body' (RV 'c. near to'); (3) so as to have sexual intercourse, Ex 19^{15} 'c. not at your wives' (RV 'c. not near a woman'). 4. *Come by*, 'come near,' esp. so as to get hold of, Ac 27^{16} 'we had much work to c. by the boat' (RV, 'we were able, with difficulty, to secure the boat'): cf. Pref. to AV 'Translation it is . . . that removeth the cover of the well, that we may c. by the water'; and Shaks. *Two Gent. of Ver.* III. i. 125—

> 'Love is like a child,
> That longs for everything that he can come by.'

5. *Come in*, 'enter upon,' 'begin,' Ro 11^{25} 'until the fulness of the Gentiles be c. in' (*εἰσέρχομαι*). Cf. Shaks. 2 *Henry IV.* V. iii. 52—

> 'Now comes in the sweet of the night.

For the phrase 'He that should come' (ὁ ἐρχόμενος, RV 'he that cometh') see JESUS CHRIST, and MESSIAH. And for the **Second Coming** see PAROUSIA. J. HASTINGS.

COMELY, COMELINESS.—These words, now slightly archaic in any sense, are quite obsol. in the sense of *moral* fitness or beauty, a meaning which they have a few times in EV, as Ps 33^{1} 'praise is c. for the upright.' Dr. Murray (*Oxf. Eng. Dict. s.v.*) thinks the earliest meaning of 'comely' may have been 'delicately fashioned,' so that we may compare Jer 6^{2} 'the c. and delicate one, the daughter of Zion.' But the usage of AV (foll. by RV) gives us: (1) *Befitting*, Ec 5^{18} 'it is good and c. for one to eat and to drink and to enjoy the good of all his labour'; 1 Co 11^{13} 'is it c. that a woman pray unto God uncovered?' (*πρέπει*, RV 'is it seemly?'). (2) *Pleasing to the eye*, because befitting, Job 41^{12} 'his c. proportion' (Amer. RV 'goodly frame'); Ezk 27^{10} 'they set forth thy comeliness' (הָדָר). Then (3) *handsome, beautiful, majestic* (the distinction 'might be rather called comely than beautiful' being quite modern), Ca 6^{4} 'Thou art beautiful, O my love, as Tirzah, c. as Jerusalem, terrible as an army with banners'; Is 53^{2} 'he hath no form nor comeliness.'

J. HASTINGS.

COMFORT (נֶחָמָה, תַּנְחוּמִים, *παράκλησις* *).—The state of relief from trouble, or the means of solace. In OT the evils to which the consolations of God are most characteristically opposed are the calamities of the chosen people, while in NT the divine comfort is mainly represented as enabling the individual Christian to endure, and even to rejoice under, the natural ills of human life and the persecutions to which the faithful are subjected. As the sources of comfort are mentioned the word of God (Ps 119^{50}), the loving-kindness of God (Ps 119^{76}), the Holy Ghost (Ac 9^{31}), the fellowship and sympathy of Christ (2 Co 1^{5}, Ph 2^{1}), God the Father (2 Co 1^{3}). The OT comfort of the individual is, in the main, hope in the eventual manifestation of the retributive justice of God; of the nation, the prophetic promise of the deliverance, purification, and exaltation of Israel. The NT doctrine specially emphasizes as comfort (*a*) under sorrow for sin, that it works repentance (2 Co 7^{10}); (*b*) under affliction, that it is a paternal discipline, a token of the divine love, designed to purify the character of the sufferer (He 12), and to qualify for ministration (2 Co 1^{4}); while, generally, it contrasts the present sufferings, as temporary and light, with the future joys of the redeemed, as eternal and weighty (2 Co 4^{17}). The divine comforts are strong (He 6^{18}), all-embracing (2 Co 1^{3}), and everlasting (2 Th 2^{16}). See PARACLETE.

---

* In AV, *παράκλησις* is tr. '**consolation**' in Lk 2^{25} 6^{24}, Ac 4^{36} 15^{31} (m. 'exhortation'), Ro 15^{5}, 2 Co 1$^{5.6.7}$ 7^{4} 7^{7}, Ph 2^{1}, 2 Th 2^{16}, Philem ^{7}, He 6^{18}; 'comfort' in Ac 9^{31}, Ro 15^{4}, 2 Co 1$^{3.4}$ 7$^{4.13}$; 'exhortation' in Ac 13^{15}, Ro 12^{8}, 1 Co 14^{3}, 2 Co 8^{17}, 1 Th 2^{3}, 1 Ti 4^{13}, He 12^{5} 13^{22}; and 'intreaty' in 2 Co 8^{4}. RV changes 'consolation' into 'comfort,' except in Lk 2^{25} 6^{24}, Ac 15^{31}, He 6^{18} (encouragement), Ac 4^{36} ('exhortation,' m. 'consolation'), and, except in 1 Co 14^{3}, keeps 'exhortation' where AV has it (Ro 12^{8} 'exhorting').

W. P. PATERSON.

COMFORTER.—See PARACLETE.

COMING OF CHRIST.—See PAROUSIA.

COMMANDMENT.—The distinction bet. 'command,' the order of a *secular* authority, and 'commandment,' a *divine* charge, is modern. In older Eng. we find, *e.g.*, Rogers (1642) saying, 'As Papists have done with the second Command'; and in AV 'commandment' is freely used for the orders of a king or other secular power. Thus, Est 2^{20} 'Esther did the commandment of Mordecai'; Mt 15^{9} 'teaching for doctrines the commandments of men' (ἐντάλματα, RV 'precepts'); Ac 25^{23} 'at Festus' commandment Paul was brought forth' (RV 'at the command of Festus'). *To give commandment* is an archaic phrase often used for the simple vb. 'to command,' and even '*to give in commandment*' Ex 34^{32} (צִוָּה). The vb. to **command** is itself used in many obsol. constructions. Besides the mod. use to command one to do a thing, or a thing to be done, we find 'c. to do' without the person, Ac 5^{34} 'Gamaliel . . . c^{ed} to put the men forth.' Sometimes the pers. only is mentioned, as Gn 18^{19} 'he will c. his children and his household after him'; sometimes the thing only, as Ps 133^{3} 'there the LORD c^{ed} the blessing'; or the pers. and thing without the infin. as 1 S 21^{2} 'the king hath c^{ed} me a business.' The subst. 'command' occurs once in AV, Job 39^{27} 'Doth the eagle mount up at thy c.?' and only one earlier occurrence is found in Eng. literature, Shaks. *Two Gent.* IV. iii. 5—

> 'One that attends your Ladyship's command.'

For the **Ten Commandments** see DECALOGUE.

J. HASTINGS.

COMMEND, COMMENDATION.—To c. is now to approve of, speak well of, and in this sense it is used in AV, as Gn 12^{15} 'The princes also of Pharaoh saw her, and c^{ed} her before Pharaoh' (הִלֵּל RV 'praised'); Pr 12^{8} 'A man shall be c^{ed} acc. to his wisdom' (הֻלַּל); Ec 8^{15} 'I c^{ed} mirth' (שִׁבַּח); Lk 16^{8} 'the Lord c^{ed} the unjust steward' (ἐπαινέω). But in older Eng. 'c.' also signified (1) to present a person or thing to another as worthy of approval (mod. *recommend*): thus, Ro 16^{1} 'I c. unto you Phœbe, our sister' (συνίστημι.* So 3^{5} 5^{8}, 2 Co 3^{1} 4^{2} 5^{12} $10^{12.\ 18\ bis}$ 12^{11}); 1 Co 8^{8} 'meat c^{eth} us not to God' (παρίστημι). In this sense is **commendation** used, 2 Co $3^{1\ bis}$ [all], 'epistles of c.' (2) To entrust, Lk 23^{46} 'Father, into thy hands I c. my spirit,' and Ac 14^{23} 20^{32} (all παρατίθημι). Cf. Shaks. *Henry VIII.* V. i. 17—

> 'I love you;
> And durst commend a secret to your ear.'

J. HASTINGS.

COMMENTARY.—Thus RV translates *midhrâsh* (מִדְרָשׁ, AV 'story') in the only passages in which that word is found, 2 Ch 13^{22} 24^{27}.

'The term *Midrash*,' says Driver (*LOT*5 497), 'is common in post-Bibl. literature. *Darash* is "to search out," "investigate," "explore"; as applied to Scripture, to discover or develop a thought not apparent on the surface,—for instance, the hidden meaning of a word, or the particulars implied by an allusion (*e.g.* what Abraham did in Ur of the Chaldees, what Eldad and Medad said when they prophesied, the circumstances of Moses' death, etc.). The Midrash may be defined as an imaginative development of a thought or theme suggested by Scripture, especially a didactic or homiletic exposition, or an edifying religious story (Tobit and Susanna are thus *Midrashim*).'

The two Midrashim of OT are (1) 'The Midrash of the Prophet Iddo' (2 Ch 13^{22}), and (2) 'The Midrash of the Book of Kings' (24^{27}). They were probably didactic developments of the historical narratives we possess, making use of these narratives to emphasize some religious truth; but nothing is known of them beyond their titles. See under CHRONICLES.

J. HASTINGS.

COMMERCE.—See TRADE.

COMMON.—1. Following the Gr. (κοινός), c. is used in NT in two chief senses. 1. That is 'c.' which is shared by all, as Ac 2^{44} 4^{32} 'they had all things c.'; Tit 1^{4} 'Titus, mine own son after the c. faith'; Jude ^{3} 'the common salvation.' 2. That which is common to all is distinguished from that which is peculiar to the few; whence the application to the religious practices of the heathen in contrast with those of the Jews; or of the ordinary people, 'the people of the land' (עַם הָאָרֶץ), in contrast with those of the Pharisees—*i.e.* ceremonially *unclean.* Thus Ac $10^{14.\ 15}$ 'But Peter said, Not so, Lord; for I have never eaten anything that is c. or unclean.* And the voice spake unto him again the second time, What God hath cleansed (ἐκαθάρισε), that call not thou c.' (σὺ μὴ κοίνου, RV 'make not thou c.'). In this sense c. is twice (1 S $21^{4.\ 5}$) the tr. of Heb. *ḥôl* (never tr^{d} by κοινός however in LXX, but always by βέβηλος), elsewhere rendered in AV 'unholy' (Lv 10^{10}) or 'profane' (Ezk 22^{26} 42^{20} 44^{23} 48^{15} [all]), but by RV always 'common.'

2. In Lv 4^{27} we find the expression 'the c. people.' The Heb. (עַם הָאָרֶץ, *'am hâ'ârez*) is lit. 'the people of the land,' and is so tr^{d} Gn 23^{7} (where it describes the Hittites), 2 K $11^{18.\ 19}$ 16^{15} 21^{24}, Jer 1^{18}, Ezk 7^{27}. The phrase was chosen by the Pharisees to describe the people dwelling in the Holy Land who were not Ḥaberim. See under PHARISEES, and consult the foll. literature on the subject—

LITERATURE.—Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 8. 22 ff.; Kuenen, *Rel. of Isr.* iii. 251; Graetz, *Hist. of Jews* ii. 152, 367, iii. 114; Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah* i. 85, 230; Chwolson, *Das letzte Passahmahl Christi* p. 73 n; Montefiore, *Hibb. Lect.* 497 ff.; Friedländer, *Zur Entstehungsgesch. des Christenthums*, ch. i.

3. For 'common hall' Mt 27^{27} see PRÆTORIUM. In Ac 5^{18}, 'the c. prison,' c. is used in the old sense of *public.* This is after Wyclif, who tr. Vulg. *in custodia publica*, 'in comun kepyng' (1388 'in the comyn warde'). Cf. *Eng. Gilds* (1467), 391, 'That no citezen be putt in comyn prisone, but in one of the chambers of the halle benethforth'; Coverdale's tr. of Ac 17^{22} 'Paul stode on the myddes of the comon place'; Latimer's *Serm.* p. 326, 'I told you the diversity of prayer, namely, of the common prayer, and the private'; and 'the Book of Common Prayer.' See PRISON.

J. HASTINGS.

---

* On the meanings of this verb see Sanday-Headlam on Ro 3^{5}, where, as in 5^{8}, the meaning is rather 'prove,' 'establish.'

* RV gives 'c. and unclean,' reading κοινὸν καὶ ἀκάθαρτον with edd., instead of TR κ. ἢ ἀκ. Nevertheless κοινός and ἀκάθαρτος have the same meaning. The classical passage is Mk 7^{2}, κοιναῖς χερσί, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἀνίπτοις, 'with defiled (AVm, RVm 'common'), that is, unwashen, hands.' With which cf. vv.$^{18.\ 19}$, where Jesus says, 'whatsoever from without goeth into the man, it cannot defile him' (αὐτὸν κοινῶσαι, lit. 'make him c.'); and St. Mark adds the comment, '[this he said], making all meats clean' (καθαρίζων). See Page on Ac 10^{14}.

COMMUNE. — In its earliest use 'commune' (which had the same origin as 'common') signified to make common property, to share. This may be either by *giving*, as Wyclif's tr. of Ph 4^{14} 'Ye han don wel, comunynge to my tribulacioun'; or by *receiving*, as his tr. of 2 Jn ^{11} 'He that saith to him, Heyl, comuneth with his yuele werkis.' Being by and by restricted to *speech*, it meant sometimes simply 'talk to,' as Gn 42^{24} '[Joseph] returned to them again, and communed with them' (וַיְדַבֵּר אֲלֵהֶם, RV 'and spake to them'). But generally the sense of both giving and receiving is present, either with others, as Lk 6^{11} 'they communed one with another what they might do to Jesus' (διαλαλέω); or with oneself, as Ps 4^{4} 'c. with your own heart upon your bed, and be still'—a meaning which Dr. Murray (*Oxf. Eng. Dict. s.v.*) describes as 'now only literary, devotional, and poetic.' In 1 S 25^{39} (AV 'And David sent and communed with Abigail') the Heb. (וַיְדַבֵּר בְּ) is lit. 'spake *concerning* A.,' and has the special meaning of 'asked in marriage,' as in Ca 8^{8} (same Heb.) AV and RV 'the day when she shall be *spoken for*.'

J. HASTINGS.

COMMUNICATE.—Like *commune* (wh. see), to c. is to make common property, either more particularly by *giving*, as Gal 2^{2} 'I c^{ed} unto them that gospel' (ἀνατίθεμαι, RV 'laid before them'); Ro 12^{13} RV 'c^{ing} to the necessities of the saints' (AV 'distributing'); He 13^{16} 'to do good and to c. forget not': or by *receiving*, as Ph 4^{14} 'ye did c. with my affliction' (RV 'had fellowship with'). Cf. Fenton (1579) 'Cæsar the Dictator, of whom you beare the surname, and communicate in his fortunes.' But generally by giving and receiving equally, as Ph 4^{15} 'no church c^{ed} with me as concerning giving and receiving' (RV 'had fellowship with me'). **Communication** is generally *conversation*,* as 2 K 9^{11} 'Ye know the man, and his c.' (RV 'what his talk was'); Col 3^{8} 'filthy c. out of your mouth' (αἰσχρολογία, RV 'shameful speaking').

In 1 Co 15^{33} 'evil c^{s} corrupt good manners,' RV takes the Gr. (ὁμιλίαι κακαί) in the sense of 'evil company,' Amer. RV 'evil companionships.' This is a new tr., Vulg. having 'colloquia mala'; Wyclif, 'yuel spechis'; Tindale, 'malicious speakinges'; Cranmer, 'evil wordes'; the Geneva, 'evil speakinges'; the Rheims and AV 'evil communications.' And it is not certain that it is a correct tr^{n}. The vb. ὁμιλέω occurs in NT only in the sense of 'speak with' (as in LXX, Jos. and mod. Greek—see Kennedy, *Sources of NT Greek* p. 155), and ὁμιλία, which occurs only here, may well have the same meaning—a meaning towards which it tends more and more in later Greek. In eccles. usage it is the sermon (*homily*) of the Christian preacher.

J. HASTINGS.

COMMUNION.—The word κοινωνία is variously rendered in the English Bible by 'communion,' 'fellowship,' 'contribution,' 'distribution.' It is used in relation to the Christian Society to express the idea of the fellowship in which it is united, and the acts of fellowship in which the idea is realized. Its general NT use deserves to be considered as introductory to its specific application to the Eucharist, or Holy Communion (see LORD'S SUPPER).

The corresponding verb κοινωνεῖν has two senses: (1) 'to have a share in,' (2) 'to give a share to'; so that we are prepared for a twofold meaning of κοινωνία: (1) 'fellowship' as recognized and enjoyed, (2) 'fellowship' as manifested in acts which give it expression. Four passages, or groups of passages, deserve special examination.

1. 2 Co 13^{14} 'The fellowship of the Holy Spirit'; Ph 2^{1} 'If there be any fellowship of the Spirit.' The first of these passages is one of the few in which, as in the Baptismal formula (Mt 28^{19}), the three Persons of the Holy Trinity are brought into emphatic juxtaposition: 'The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit be with you all.' The order is remarkable. It is explained, however, when we observe that we have here an expansion of the final salutation with which St. Paul regularly closes his epistles. Thus in 2 Th $3^{17.\,18}$ we read: 'The greeting of me Paul with mine own hand, which is the token in every epistle: thus I write: The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all.' It was his invariable habit to take the pen from his amanuensis at the close and write a parting salutation as his sign-manual. This was always a prayer that 'grace' might be with his readers; the word was characteristic of his teaching, and it always occurs, even in the briefest form of the closing salutation.

To understand the enlarged form of this salutation in 2 Co, we must recall the circumstances of the Corinthian Church. Party divisions were distracting it: all its manifold troubles St. Paul traces to this root. Unity must be restored: this is the first injunction of the first epistle (1 Co 1^{10}), and the last injunction of the second (2 Co 13^{11}). His remedy for disunion was his doctrine of the One Body, which he brought to bear on their sin of fornication, their difficulty about idol-meats, their jealousy as to spiritual gifts, their profanation of the Lord's Supper. The second epistle opens with an outburst of relief at their return to obedience. Yet at the close he shows that his fears are still alive. What will he find when he comes? 'Strife, jealousy, wraths, factions, backbitings, whisperings, swellings, tumults?' If so, he warns them that he will not spare. He closes with exhortations to unity and peace, and promises the presence of 'the God of love and peace.' Then his final salutation runs at first in its accustomed form, 'the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ'; but it is expanded to meet the occasion and its needs: 'the God of love' suggests the addition 'the love of God'; and the true sense of membership which the One Spirit gives to the One Body is prayed for in the words 'the fellowship of the Holy Spirit.' It is clear, then, that the genitive here is subjective and not objective; and this is confirmed by the parallel clauses. 'The grace' which is 'of the Lord Jesus,' and 'the love' which is 'of God,' are parallel with 'the fellowship' which is 'of the Holy Spirit.'

The meaning in this place seems to decide the otherwise doubtful sense of Ph 2^{1} 'if there be any fellowship of the Spirit.' Here, again, the context speaks of love and unity. So that it is most natural to interpret the phrase in both places of the sense of unity, membership or fellowship, which it is the peculiar work of the Holy Spirit to preserve in the Christian Church.

2. Ac 2^{42} 'They continued steadfastly in the teaching of the apostles and the fellowship, the breaking of bread and the prayers.' This is the first description given us of the newly-baptized converts after Pentecost, when they numbered already about 3000. It is expanded in the next verses, in which two at least of its phrases are almost verbally repeated: 'the breaking of bread' is represented by 'breaking bread house by house,' and 'the fellowship' or 'communion' (κοινωνία) is echoed in the words, 'all they that believed together held all things common' (κοινά).

Thus 'the fellowship' seems to refer to the unity of recognized membership, the 'community,' in which the first brethren lived together. The words 'they held all things common' are illustrated by the statement that they sold their goods, and distributed to all 'according as any had need.' No systematic plan of relief for the poorer brethren is implied: the wealthier were moved to supply their needs as they occurred, in a way that must have been reckless had they not looked for a speedy return of Christ. The method was incompatible with the higher organization of the Body; but it was a striking exemplification of the new spirit of fellowship, the sense of common interest, the realization of oneness. This oneness is again emphasized in $4^{32\text{ff.}}$: 'Of the whole company of them that believed there was one heart and soul: and not one said that any of his possessions was his own; but they held all things common . . . nor was there any in need among them: for as many as were owners of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prices of the things sold and laid them at the feet of the apostles; and distribution was made to each, according as any had need.' Then follows the account of Barnabas, who thus disposed of his estate; and of Ananias and his wife, who sold a possession and offered a part of the price as the whole. St. Peter makes it plain that Ananias need not have parted with his property at all. It was his own, and in his own power. His offence lay, not in niggardliness, but in deceit. This makes it evident that 'community of goods' was not a part of the apostolic teaching; nor is this the meaning of the term *κοινωνία*. The reference to laying the price at the feet of the apostles shows that indiscriminate almsgiving was quickly yielding place to a central fund for common relief. The events of ch. 6 indicate that a common table for the poorer members was one method of their relief, and so one sign of 'the fellowship' which characterized the Body. This 'daily ministration' led to difficulties which imperilled the sense of unity itself, and so necessitated a more developed organization of the Body.

---

* In Mt 5^{37}, Lk 24^{17}, Eph 4^{29} the Gr. is simply λόγος, word, speech.

Turning back to Ac 2^{42}, we now see that the words 'the breaking of bread and the prayers' are not to be regarded as an explanatory clause exhausting the meaning of the phrase 'the fellowship,' which precedes them. We have four phrases, which fall into two groups: (1) 'the teaching of the apostles and the fellowship,' (2) 'the breaking of the bread and the prayers.' The 'breaking of bread' took place in the homes of the brethren; 'the prayers' are perhaps those which they offered in the temple (cf. 2^{46} and 3^{1}). The 'fellowship' was exemplified, no doubt, in these acts; but it was wider than any of its special manifestations: it was the unity and membership in which the whole Body was constituted and maintained.

3. The third group of passages needing special investigation is that in which the word *κοινωνία* is used in the limited sense of the 'contribution' or 'distribution' of alms. As a general duty this is enforced in Ro 12^{13}, He 13^{16}, 1 Ti 6^{18}, in each of which places the radical meaning of the word employed is that of 'fellowship.' Each act of Christian almsgiving was a witness to the central principle of fellowship in the Christian Society. Most conspicuously is this the case with the great collection for 'the poor saints at Jerusalem,' upon which St. Paul expended so much labour and anxiety. He regarded this as of supreme importance, as the external pledge of the living fellowship of the whole Christian Church. He insisted on carrying it in person, even though he was aware that the visit to Jerusalem endangered his liberty and his life. The Gentiles had enjoyed fellowship with the spiritual blessings of the Jews: it was but right that they should offer a return of fellowship such as was in their power (*κοινωνίαν τινὰ ποιήσασθαι*, Ro 15^{26}, cf. 2 Co 8^{4} 9^{13}). The stress which the apostle lays on this collection is only explained when we regard it as the emblem and the instrument of the corporate fellowship of the locally scattered Christian Society.

4. We come, lastly, to the passage (1 Co $10^{16.\,17}$) in which the word is used in connexion with the Holy Eucharist. To understand this passage, the whole section, commencing at 8^{1}, 'Concerning meats offered to idols,' needs to be studied continuously. The more immediate context begins with 9^{24}. Just as not all who run receive the victor's crown, so in the history of the Chosen People not all who had spiritual privileges were saved thereby. These privileges are described in metaphors borrowed from the Christian Sacraments. They were all 'baptized into Moses,' as when the Cloud overshadowed them, and when they passed through the Sea: 'spiritual food' and 'spiritual drink' they all partook of, namely, the Manna and the Water from the Rock; the Rock was the Messiah. These words are of importance as showing incidentally that St. Paul, like St. John, thought of the Eucharist as 'spiritual food and drink,' although this is not the side of it on which he ordinarily insists. The idolatry into which the Israelites fell in spite of their spiritual privileges is the starting-point of the warning of 10^{14}. From two sides the apostle has approached the danger of idolatry—the idolatry of the Gentiles of his own day, the idolatry of Israel in the past. Worship, whether true or false, implies a fellowship. The Christian fellowship must be recognized and vindicated from contamination.

'The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not *κοινωνία* of the blood of Christ? the bread which we break, is it not *κοινωνία* of the body of Christ? because one bread, one body, we the many are, for all of us partake (*μετέχομεν*) of the one bread.' What is the meaning of *κοινωνία* here? The AV renders 'the communion of'; the RV 'a communion of,' with the marg. alternative 'a participation in.' In the Greek the word, being a predicate, does not take the article; but in English the definite article is in such cases usually supplied; so that in this respect syntax makes no demand for altering the AV. Secondly, as to the word itself. It is no doubt tempting to take it in the simple sense of 'partaking of'; but this loses the force of its derivation from *κοινός*, which implies jointness, or community of some kind. In this very place St. Paul expresses mere 'partaking' by *μετέχειν*, not *κοινωνεῖν*. Fellowship is the ruling idea of the word, and we must not lose sight of it. In regard to the second of the clauses, the apostle himself interprets his meaning to us. The single loaf, broken and distributed and eaten, linked all who partook of it into unity. 'We are one loaf, one body, many though we be; for of the one loaf we all partake.' Thus the loaf was nothing less than 'fellowship with the Body of the Christ.'

This interpretation is borne out by the apostle's next words: You are God's new Israel — Israel after the Spirit; look at Israel after the flesh: they bring their sacrifices to the temple, they eat of them, and thereby they are in fellowship with the altar. Then, recurring to the Gentile sacrifices, he points out that to partake of them is to be in fellowship with the demons to whom they are offered. He contrasts 'the cup of the Lord' and 'the cup of the demons,' 'the table of the Lord' (*i.e.* the Bread) and 'the table of the demons' (*i.e.* the idol-meats). 'I would not have you to enter into fellowship with the demons (*κοινωνοὺς τῶν δαιμονίων γίνεσθαι*).' It is in sharp contrast with such a conception as this that St. Paul declares that to partake of the Eucharistic Cup is to be in fellowship with the Blood of Christ, and to partake of the Eucharistic Bread is to be in fellowship with the Body of Christ. Thus interpreting St. Paul by himself, we see once more the side of the truth on which he peculiarly insisted: fellowship in the New Covenant made by the Death of Christ; fellowship in the Body of Christ, that living corporate unity of which, to his view, Christ is at once the Head and, in a deeper, fuller sense, the Whole (1 Co 12^{12}, Eph 4^{13}).

J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON.

COMPANY was formerly used with more freedom than now, 'a great c.' being loosely employed where we should say 'a great number,' or 'a great crowd.' Thus 2 Ch 20^{12} 'this great c. that cometh against us' (*hâmôn*, crowd); Ac 6^{7} 'a great c. of the priests were obedient to the faith' (ὄχλος; so Lk 5^{29} 6^{17} 9^{38} 11^{27} 12^{13}, Jn 6^{5}); Lk 23^{27} 'there followed him a great c. of people' (πλῆθος, RV 'multitude'); and He 12^{22} 'an innumerable c. of angels' (μυριὰς, RV 'innum. hosts'). Even when the Heb. is a military term, as *maḥănch*, camp (Gn $32^{8bis\ 21}$ 50^{9}, 1 K 5^{15}, 1 Ch 9^{18}), *ḥayîl*, force, army (2 Ch 9^{1}), *gĕdhûdh*, troop (1 S $30^{15bis\ 23}$, 2 K 5^{2}), *ẓâbhâ'*, host (Ps 68^{11} 'great was the c. of those that published it,' RV 'the women that publish the tidings are a great host'), the meaning is quite indefinite.

In Ps 68^{30} the word *ḥayyâh* has been taken by AV in the sense of 'c.' ('Rebuke the c. of spearmen'), after Ibn Ezra, Calvin, etc.; but there is no absolutely certain instance of this meaning of the word (see Driver, *Notes on Sam.*, on 1 S 18^{18}, 2 S 23^{13}, and *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*), and RV returns to the tr. of Vulg. 'Increpa feras arundinis,' and Wyclif 'Blame thou the wielde beestis of the reheed,' giving 'Rebuke the wild beast of the reeds,' the reference then being to the crocodile or hippopotamus of the Nile as symbolical of the power of Egypt.

Ca 6^{13} AV renders 'What will ye see in the Shulamite? As it were the c. of two armies,' this time following Wyclif ('What schalt thou se in the Sunamyte, no but cumpenyes of oostis?'), who takes the 'nisi choros castrorum' of Vulg. in that sense, which is the sense given by most of the VSS and Jewish commentators. But RV takes the Heb. *mĕḥôlâh* in its invariable meaning of 'dance' and *maḥănâyim* as a proper name, 'Why will ye look upon the Shulammite, as upon the dance of Mahanaim?'

The vb. 'to c. together' is used in Apocr. (Sus $1^{54.\ 57.\ 68}$) in the sense of 'to cohabit.' In NT 'to c. with' is simply to associate with; 1 Co 5^{9} 'I wrote unto you in an epistle not to c. with fornicators' (RV 'to have no c.'); Ac 1^{21} 'these men which have companied with us all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us.'

J. HASTINGS.

COMPASS (*cum* together, *passus* step, hence 'a route that comes together or joins itself'—Skeat) is used both as subst. and as vb. 1. As subst. c.= (*a*) a 'circle,' 'sphere,' the vault of heaven (Is 40^{22}, see CIRCLE), or the horizon, Pr 8^{27} 'he set a c. upon the face of the depth' (חוּג, RV 'circle'); (*b*) instrument for making a circle, Is 44^{13} 'the carpenter . . . marketh it [the image] out with the c.' (מְחוּגָה, RV 'the compasses'); (*c*) circumference, margin round, Ex 27^{5} 38^{4} (כַּרְכֹּב), 1 K 7^{36} (סָבִיב); (*d*) the space within a circle, range, limit, 1 Es 1^{53} 'within the c. of their holy temple' (περικύκλῳ, RV 'round about their holy temple'), 1 Mac 14^{48} 'within the c. of the sanctuary' (περίβολος, RV 'precinct'). The phrase *fetch a c.* is 'make a circuit' or 'go round about,' Heb. סָבַב, Nu 34^{5}, Jos 15^{3}, 2 S 5^{23}, 2 K 3^{9}; Gr. περιέρχομαι, Ac 28^{13} 'from thence we fetched a c., and came to Rhegium' (RV 'made a circuit'). 2. As verb the meaning is either (*a*) make a circle round, surround, or (*b*) make a circuit round, go round. Thus (*a*) 1 S 23^{26} 'Saul and his men c^{ed} David and his men round about to take them'; Lk 21^{20} 'When ye shall see Jerus. c^{ed} with armies'; 2 S 22^{6}=Ps 18^{5} 'the sorrows of hell c^{ed} me about' (סָבַב, RV 'the cords of Sheol were round about me'); Ps 139^{3} 'Thou c^{est} my path and my lying down' (זָרָה, RV 'searchest out'); Jer 31^{22} 'A woman shall c. a man' (*i.e.* prob. as protector, cf. Dt 32^{10}, Ps 32^{10}). And (*b*) Dt 2^{1} 'we c^{ed} mount Seir many days'; Jos 6^{11} 'so the ark of the LORD c^{ed} the city, going about it once'; Jer 31^{39} 'the measuring line . . . shall c. about to Goah' (סָבַב, RV 'shall turn about unto Goah'); Mt 23^{15} 'ye c. sea and land to make one proselyte.'

J. HASTINGS.

COMPASSION OR PITY.—These words have become entirely synonymous, and, with two exceptions, they are so employed in AV. But in 1 P 3^{8} and He 10^{34}, *compassion* retains its original meaning of *sympathy*, being used to tr. respectively συμπαθής (see RVm) and συμπαθεῖν.

With these exceptions the words are used indifferently both in AV and RV of the OT to translate the Heb. verbs חָמַל and רִחַם (and adj. and subst. from latter). The second of them is frequently rendered 'have mercy.' The plural רַחֲמִים (Gr. σπλάγχνα) is also tr. 'bowels.' 'Pity' tr. also חוּס, חָנַן (usually='to be gracious'), חֶסֶד (once Job 6^{14}), and נוּד (once Ps 69^{20} marg. 'lament'). The equivalents in the LXX are οἰκτείρειν, with the cognates οἰκτιρμός, οἰκτίρμων, ἐλεεῖν, and φείδεσθαι, used indifferently. In Ezk 24^{21} 'that which your soul *pitieth*' (marg. 'pity of your soul') is equivalent to 'object of affection' (cf. v.^{25}). There is a play upon words in the Hebrew.

In NT *to be moved with c.* tr. σπλαγχνίζεσθαι, while ἐλεεῖν is twice represented by *have c.* (Mt 18^{33}, Ro 9^{15} quoted from Ex 33^{19} LXX). In the former of these passages, on its repetition, ἐλεεῖν is rendered *have pity*. With this exception *pity* only appears in NT in 1 P 3^{8}, where *pitiful* tr. εὔσπλαγχνος, and in Ja 5^{11}, where 'the Lord is very *pitiful* and of tender mercy' represents the common Heb. formula רַחוּם וְחַנּוּן (Ex 34^{6} etc.).

C. is in the Bible a Divine as well as a human quality. But its attribution to God has raised certain questions among theologians.

The relation between *pity* and *grace* (ἔλεος and χάρις) is one of these. In the Divine mind, it is said, and in the order of our salvation *pity* precedes *grace*, but in the order of the manifestation of God's purposes of salvation the grace must go before the pity (Trench, *N.T. Synonyms*, p. 205).

Another point was raised by the Manichæans, who objected that to call God *compassionate* was to make Him capable of suffering. The Latin *misericors* lent itself to such a perversion of truth, and Augustine brushes it aside as a mere pretence of logomachy (*De Civ. Dei*, ix. 5; *De Div. Quæst.* ii. 2; *Lib. de mor. Eccl. Cath.* 27). See the question also discussed in Aquinas (*Summa Quæst.* xxi. art. iii.). It is not God, but only Nature, that is pitiless; only the stars that 'would as soon look down on a Gethsemane as an Eden.' We may be thankful that the OT exulted in speaking of the compassion of God for human misery and human sin, and that the NT tells how the Divine pity went forth in the fulness of time, incarnate in the Son, to seek and to save that which was lost.

With their sense of the pity that was in the heart of God, the prophets could not do other than impress on the Hebrews the duty of pity for each other. Religion without kindness was unmeaning (Hos 6^{6}). It became a proverb that he who pitied the poor lent to the Lord (Pr 19^{17}). 'To him that is afflicted,' said Job, 'pity should be showed from his friend' (6^{14}). The fatherless and widow were to be to man, as they were to God, special objects of compassion (Ps 146^{9}, cf. Ja 1^{27}),

But in regard to foreigners Heb. morality was that common to all the ancients. There is no trace in OT of compassion towards a beaten foe. The solitary stranger who might be 'in their gates' was respected, but for aliens generally pity did not exist. 'Thine eye shall have no pity on them' (Dt 7^{16}) was the law of Israel in regard to enemies. It needed the revelation of NT, the parable of the good Samaritan, and the example of Christ's 'compassion for the multitude' to create the modern idea of general benevolence. The OT religious and ethical standard on the subject is presented in the verse 'Execute true judgment, and show mercy and compassion every man to his *brother*' (Zec 7^{9}).

A. S. AGLEN.

COMPEL.—This verb was sometimes used without any threatening or thought of force, simply in the sense of 'urge successfully.' It is doubtful if it is so used now. Hence we may misunderstand 1 S 28^{23}, where it is said that Saul's servants, together with the woman of Endor, 'c^{ed} him to eat' (וַיִּפְרְצוּ־בוֹ, in 2 S $13^{25.\ 27}$ tr^{d} 'pressed him'); and esp. Lk 14^{23} 'c. them to come in, that my house may be filled' (ἀναγκάζω, RV 'constrain'); cf. Earl Rivers (1477), 'Whiche grace . . . hath compelled me to sette a parte alle ingratitude.' Robertson (*Charles V.* III. xi. 335) says, 'As they could not persuade they tried to compel men to believe'—and this passage in St. Luke was quoted as their authority; but neither the Gr. nor the Eng. sanctions more than 'urging': cf. RV even of Ac 26^{11} 'I strove to make them blaspheme,' where Gr. and AV are the same as in Lk 14^{23}.

In Mt 5^{41} 'Whosoever shall c. thee to go a mile,' 27^{32} 'him they c^{ed} to bear his cross,' and Mk 15^{21} 'they c. one Simon a Cyrenian . . . to bear his cross,' the Gr. vb. (ἀγγαρεύω) has the technical meaning of pressing into the king's service (RVm always 'impress'). The word is of Pers. origin, the ἄγγαροι being the public couriers of the kings of Persia, who had authority to press into their service in any emergency whatever horses or men they met. The word was adopted also into Latin *angariare*, and is used by Vulg. in passages named above.

J. HASTINGS.

COMPOUND.—Ex 30^{25} 'an ointment compound after the art of the apothecary'='compounded,' as RV. Compound is the orig. and only accurate form of the ptcp., the verb being *componen* in middle Eng., from Lat. *componere*.

J. HASTINGS.

COMPREHEND.—C. is used lit.=hold together, contain, in Is 40^{12} 'and c^{ed} the dust of the earth in a measure'; and in the same sense, but fig., in Ro 13^{9} 'it is briefly c^{ed} in the saying' (RV 'summed up in this word'). See APPREHEND.

J. HASTINGS.

CONANIAH (כּוֹנַנְיָהוּ).—**1.** A Levite who had charge of the tithes and offerings in the time of Hezekiah (2 Ch $31^{12.13}$, AV Cononiah). **2.** A chief of the Levites in Josiah's reign (2 Ch 35^{9}). On the form of the word see Kittel, *ad loc.* in Haupt.

J. A. SELBIE.

CONCEIT.—A c. is something conceived, a thought, as Sir 27^{6} 'The fruit declareth if the tree have been dressed; so is the utterance of a c. in the heart of man' (ἐνθύμημα, RV 'thought'); 20^{13} AVm 'pleasant conceits' (χάριτες, AV 'graces,' RV 'pleasantries'); Pr 18^{11} (RV 'imagination'); Ro 11^{25} 12^{16} 'wise in your own conceits' (παρ' ἑαυτοῖς, TR). Though c. is found very early in the sense of *self-conceit*, that is not its meaning in any of the foregoing passages. In Ro 11^{25} 12^{16} 'conceits' is due to Tindale and Coverdale ('consaytes'), but they probably meant simply 'opinions,' the word used in 12^{16} by Tindale, Cranmer, and Geneva. (The plu. 'conceits' is used of more than one person). But in Pr $26^{5.12.16}$ 28^{11} ('wise in his own c.'; Heb. עַיִן *'ayin*, 'eye') the meaning is no doubt the same as in mod. usage. In Wis 8^{11} c. is used in the obsol. sense of 'power of conceiving,' 'mental capacity,' 'I shall be found of a quick c. in judgment'; cf. Shaks. *As You Like It*, v. ii. 48, 'I know you are a gentleman of good conceit'; and *Lucrece*, 701—

'O deeper sin than bottomless conceit
Can comprehend in still imagination.'

J. HASTINGS.

CONCERT.—See CONSORT.

CONCISION.—See CIRCUMCISION.

CONCLUDE.—**1.** In the sense of 'shut up,' 'enclose,' mod. *include*, Ro 11^{32} 'God hath c^{ed} them all in unbelief,' and Gal 3^{22} 'the Scripture hath c^{ed} all under sin' (RV 'shut up,' Gr. συγκλείω, used lit. in Lk 5^{6} 'they *inclosed* a great multitude of fishes'; and fig. as above from Ps 78^{62} LXX, 'He *gave* his people *over* unto the sword'—used with the pregnant sense of giving over so that there can be no escape—Sanday and Headlam). **2.** To come to a conclusion by reasoning, infer, Ro 3^{28} 'Therefore we c. that a man is justified by faith' (λογιζόμεθα, RV 'we reckon'); and in RV, Ac 16^{10} 'c^{ing} that God had called us' (συμβιβάζοντες, AV 'assuredly gathering'). **3.** To decide, Ac 21^{25} 'we have written and c^{ed} that they observe no such thing' (κρίναντες, RV 'giving judgment'); and with direct object='determine upon,' Jth 2^{2} 'Nebuch. . . . c^{ed} the afflicting of the whole earth' (συνετέλεσεν, cf. 1 S 20^{7} 'evil is determined by him,' LXX συντετέλεσται).

J. HASTINGS.

CONCOURSE.—A c. is a 'running together' (*concurrere*) of people, as Wyclif's tr. (1382) of Ac 24^{12} 'makinge concurs or rennyng to gidere of the cumpany of peple.' In this orig. sense c. occurs in AV, Jth 10^{18} 'Then was there a c. throughout all the camp' (συνδρομή); Pr 1^{21} 'She crieth in the chief place of c.' (בְּרֹאשׁ הֹמִיּוֹת, *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* 'at the head of bustling streets'); Ac 19^{40} 'we may give an account of this c.' (συστροφή). J. HASTINGS.

CONCUBINE.—See MARRIAGE.

CONCUPISCENCE.—C. is intense desire (*concupiscere* intensive of *concupere*), always in a bad sense (so that '*evil* c.' of Col 3^{5} is a redundancy in English), and nearly always meaning sexual lust. The Gr. is always ἐπιθυμία, a more general word than the Eng. 'concupiscence.' The passages are Wis 4^{12} (RV 'desire'), Sir 23^{5} (RV 'concupiscence'), Ro 7^{8} (RV 'coveting'), Col 3^{5} (RV 'desire'), 1 Th 4^{5} (RV 'lust'). J. HASTINGS.

CONDEMNATION.—See DAMNATION, JUDGMENT.

CONDITION.—In the obsol. sense of disposition, condition occurs 2 Mac 15^{12} 'gentle in c.' (RV 'manner'; Gr. τρόπος, in this sense also He 13^{5} AV 'conversation,' RVm 'turn of mind'). Cf. Chaucer, *Knight's Tale*, 1431—

'He was so gentil of condicioun,
That thurghout al the court was his renoun.'

J. HASTINGS.

CONDUCT.—1 Es 8^{51} 'I was ashamed to ask the king footmen, and horsemen, and c. for safeguard against our adversaries'—mod. 'escort.' So Shaks. *Cymb.* III. v. 8—

'So, sir, I desire of you
A conduct over land to Milford-Haven.'

See ETHICS. J. HASTINGS.

CONDUIT (תְּעָלָה, ὑδραγωγός, *aquæductus*).—A channel for the conveyance of water from the source whence it was derived to the place where it was delivered. It wound round hills, or passed through them by means of tunnels; and crossed valleys upon arches or upon a substructure of solid masonry. The channel, when not itself a tunnel of varying height, was rectangular in form, and either cut out of the solid rock or constructed of masonry. It was covered by slabs of stone to keep the water pure and cool, and its floor had a slight and fairly uniform fall.

The remains of ancient conduits constructed for the conveyance of water to towns, or for purposes of irrigation, are common in Pal., but it will only be necessary here to allude to those connected with the water supply of Jerusalem. Amongst the oldest of the Jerus. conduits are the rock-hewn channel that entered the temple area from the north, and was cut through when the ditch that separated Bezetha from the Antonia was excavated; one at a low level, beneath 'Robinson's Arch,' which was destroyed when Herod built the west *peribolos* wall of the temple; and the well-known tunnel that conveyed water from the Fountain of the Virgin to the Pool of Siloam. An inscription in Phœn. characters in the last conduit carries the date of its construction back to the 8th cent. B.C.

Equally interesting and, perhaps, in part of greater age, is the conduit about 13½ miles long which conveyed water from the 'Pools of Solomon,' beyond Bethlehem, to the temple enclosure at Jerus., and is known as the 'low-level aqueduct.' Tradition, with great probability, ascribes the construction of this conduit to Solomon, who must have found himself obliged to increase the water supply when the temple services were instituted. The channel, which is about 2 ft. deep and 1½ ft. wide, passes under Bethlehem by a tunnel. It has been conjectured that this conduit was called 'Tannin' by the Jews from its serpentine course, and that the '**Dragon's Well**' of Neh 2^{13} was an outflow from it in the Valley of Hinnom. At a later date a pool (*piscina*) was constructed in the *Wâdy Arrûb* to collect the water from springs in that valley, and this was connected with the 'low-level aqueduct' by a conduit about 28 miles in length, which, near Tekoa, passed through a long tunnel. This conduit is apparently that alluded to by Jos. (*Ant.* XVIII. iii. 2, *BJ* II. ix. 4) as having been made by Pontius Pilate with the Corban.

The most remarkable work, however, is the 'high-level aqueduct,' which probably entered Jerus. at the Jaffa Gate. It was apparently constructed by Herod for the supply of the citadel and palace which he built on the W. hill, and of the fountains and irrigation channels in his palace gardens (*BJ* V. iv. 4); and it displays a very high degree of engineering skill. It derived no portion of its supply from the 'Pools of Solomon,' but had its head in *Wâdy Biâr*, 'valley of wells,' where it passed through a tunnel about four miles long, which collected the water from several small springs, and had numerous shafts leading to the surface. On issuing from the tunnel it entered a *piscina*, where any sediment contained in the water was deposited, and it afterwards passed through a second tunnel 1700 ft. long, which had nine shafts, —one 115 ft. deep. The conduit crossed the valley in which the 'Pools of Solomon' lie, above the upper pool, and at this point its level is 150 ft. above that of the 'low-level aqueduct.' One of its most interesting details is the inverted syphon, composed of perforated limestone blocks, cased in rubble masonry, which crosses the valley between Bethlehem and *Mâr Eliâs*. No details have come down to us of the manner in which the water conveyed by the numerous conduits was distributed after it reached Jerus.; but there were probably fountains, supplied by small conduits of lead or earthenware, as well as cisterns and pools, to which the public had access.

Amongst the conduits mentioned in the Bible are: 'the conduit of the upper pool,' at the end of which Isaiah was commanded to meet Ahaz (Is 7^{3}), and beside which Sennacherib's messengers stood when they spoke to the people on the wall (2 K 18^{17}, Is 36^{2}); that by which the waters of Gihon were brought straight down to the W. side of the city of David (2 Ch 32^{30}); and that connected with the pool made by Hezekiah (2 K 20^{20}). The existence of conduits is also implied in Sir 48^{17}, Is $22^{9.\,11}$. In Sir 24^{30} there is an allusion to a conduit made for irrigating a garden.

C. W. WILSON.

CONEY (שָׁפָן *shâphân*, χοιρογρύλλιος, δασύπους, *chœrogryllus*).—The coney is undoubtedly *Hyrax Syriacus*. It is known by the S. Arabs as *thufn*, evidently the same as *shâphân*. In Pal. it is known as *wabr*, and in Lebanon as *ṭobsûn*. The Arabs also call it *ghanam-Beni-Israîl*, the *sheep of the Children of Israel*. It is a perissodactyl, with dentition and feet strongly resembling those of the rhinoceros. It is as large as a rabbit, has short ears and a very short tail. Its colour is greyish-brown on the back and whitish on the belly. It is declared unclean by the Mosaic law, because it chews the cud, but does not divide the hoof (Lv 11^{5}, Dt 14^{7}). It is not a ruminant, but has a motion of the jaws similar to that of the ruminants. Bruce the traveller kept a tame one, and supposed, from the motion of its jaws, that it was a ruminant. Cowper made a similar mistake in regard to his tame hares.

The conies are among the four 'exceeding wise' animals (Pr $30^{24.\,26}$); they are 'but a feeble folk, yet make they their houses in the rocks.' 'The rocks are a refuge for the conies' (Ps 104^{18}). They do not burrow like rabbits, but live in clefts and holes of the rocks. They are gregarious in habit, and strictly herbivorous. They are very shy, and usually come out of their holes towards evening. When feeding, an old male sits as sentry, and, on the approach of danger, gives a whistle or squeak as a warning to his companions, and they immediately take 'refuge' in the rocks. They are found all the way from Ras-Muhammed to Lebanon. The natives esteem their flesh a delicacy.

G. E. POST.

CONFECTION, CONFECTIONARY.—Confection occurs in AV only Ex 30^{35} 'a c. after the art of the apothecary' (רֹקַח *rôḳaḥ*, RV 'perfume'), and Sir 38^{8} 'Of such doth the apothecary make a c.' (*μίγμα*, RV as AV); to which RV adds 1 Ch 9^{30} 'the sons of the priests prepared the c. of the spices' (רֹקְחֵי הַמִּרְקַחַת, AV 'made the ointment'). Thus 'c.' is always something *made up*, a compound, and always of perfume or medicine, never sweetmeats. So **confectionary** is a perfumer; only 1 S 8^{13} 'he will take your daughters to be confectionaries, and to be cooks, and to be bakers' (רַקָּחוֹת, RVm 'perfumers'). Cf. Bp. Mountagu (1641), *Acts and Mon.* 298, 'the woman was an excellent Confectionary, very cunning in poisons.' See MEDICINE, PERFUMES.

J. HASTINGS.

CONFEDERACY in the common sense of league, alliance, is found Ob ^{7} 'All the men of thy c.' (בְּרִית), 1 Mac $8^{17.\,20.\,22}$ (*συμμαχία*). In Is $8^{12\ bis}$ the meaning is 'conspiracy,'* which is nearly obsol., though D'Israeli (*Charles I.* II. ii. 39) has 'in a perpetual state of confederacy and rebellion.' **Confederate** is both adj. and subst. As adj. Gn 14^{13} 'these were c. with Abram'; Ps 83^{5} 'they are c. against thee' (RV 'against thee do they make a covenant'); Is 7^{2} 'Syria is c. with Ephraim' (RVm after Heb. 'resteth on E.'); 1 Mac 10^{47}. As subst. 1 Mac 8^{20} 'Your confederates and friends.' J. HASTINGS.

CONFERENCE is what we should now call *converse*, almost the same as *conversation*, which is Bacon's meaning in the passage, *Essays* 'Of Studies' (p. 205, Gold. Treas. ed.), 'Reading maketh a full man; Conference a ready man; and Writing an exact man.' C. occurs Wis 8^{18} (ὁμιλία, Vulg. *loquela*) and Gal 2^{6} 'they who seemed to be somewhat in c. added nothing to me' (where the word has no proper equivalent in the Greek, RV 'they, I say, who were of repute imparted nothing to me'; but in 1^{16} 'I conferred not' is the same Greek word as is here tr^{d} 'imparted' (*προσανατίθημι*). In the Pref. to AV c. is used in the more prim. sense of 'comparison' (*con-fero*, 'bring together'), 'We cannot be holpen by c. of places.' J. HASTINGS.

CONFESSION (תּוֹדָה, ὁμολογεῖν, ὁμολογία).—Both the Heb. and the Gr. words are capable of the same double application as the English. To 'confess' is to acknowledge by either word or deed the existence and authority of a divine power, or the sins and offences of which one has been guilty. The biblical use of the verb and its derivatives is about equally divided between these two—(1) *profession* or acknowledgment of God as the true God or of Jesus as the Christ, (2) *confession* or open acknowledgment of sin. (For the distinction cf. further Cic. *pro Sestio*, 51, 109.)

---

* This is the meaning of the Heb. (קֶשֶׁר) also, which Delitzsch in his 4th ed. successfully defends against the substitution of קֹדֶשׁ 'holy thing,' made by Secker, revived by Grätz, and accepted by Cheyne.

1. Confession of God as their God, acknowledgment of Him as the true God, was required of the members of the Chosen Family before it became a nation. It was rendered by Abraham when he 'called upon the name of the Lord' (Gn 13^4 etc.), and by him and his descendants when they claimed the covenant relationship through the rite of circumcision. In process of time this outward confession tended to become conventional, and only external. The consciousness of common nationality superseded that of personal relation to God. In the subsequent reaction of individualism, men of special piety, or in special circumstances, felt constrained to make specific confession of their personal adherence to J″ (cf. Ps 63^1, Is 44^5). The passage in Isaiah shows that this confession was accompanied by an open act of self-dedication, if not, as some think, by the cutting of some permanent mark on the head or forehead. At other times, after a period of national apostasy, the general repentance and return was marked by a solemn renewal of the national confession (cf. 1 K 8^{35}, 2 Ch 6^{26}).

Such confession is the natural result of deep conviction (cf. Jn 4^{19}, Mt 12^{34}), and when Jesus had brought His disciples to the point of recognizing Him as the Christ, He drew from one of them that acknowledgment which is specifically known as St. Peter's Confession (Mt 16^{13-18}). He announced that it was on the rock of such conviction and confession that His Church should be built; and He made this open acknowledgment of Himself, His dignity and authority, a *sine quâ non* of true discipleship (Lk 12^8).

In the Apostolic Church this confession was insisted upon as a sign of true conversion and a condition of baptism. Its contents were at first very general, varying with the circumstances of the conversion and the experience of the convert, but with a growing tendency to include certain constant elements. From the beginning it must have included the recognition of Jesus as 'the Lord' (cf. Ro 10^9, 1 Co 12^3), and an expression of confidence and hope in Him (cf. He 3^6 10^{23}). Such general acknowledgment of allegiance to Christ is referred to in 1 Ti 6^{12}, He 3^1; but even He 4^{14}, 'let us hold fast our confession' (AV 'profession') does not involve a formulated confession. An acknowledgment of the Resurrection doubtless found a place both early and often (Ro 10^9), and prepared the way for a confession including belief of the historical facts of Christianity. Of theological inference there is an early trace in the interpolated confession of the Ethiopian (Ac 8^{37}), but the early appearance of false teaching and imperfect views of Christ accentuated the necessity of more dogmatic expression. Signs of this are found in the Epistles of St. John (1 Jn 4^{15}, cf. 2^{22} $4^{2.3}$, 2 Jn ^{7}). Here we have the necessary antithesis to gnostic docetism; the deepened consciousness of the Church corresponded to a fuller confession, involving both the Fatherhood of God and the true Sonship of Jesus.

2. Both in OT and NT, confession of sin before God is recognized as a condition of forgiveness, being the guarantee of genuine penitence and purpose of amendment. Thus Joshua exhorted Achan to make confession unto the Lord (Jos 7^{19}); the Psalmist 'acknowledged his sin' (Ps 32^5; cf. 51^4); Pr 28^{13} lays it down as a general principle that 'whoso confesseth and forsaketh his sin shall have mercy,' and Jesus exhibits the prodigal son as moved by a natural impulse to confess to his father. Confession, therefore, as at once an instinct of the heart and a principle of God's kingdom, was consistently recognized and inculcated by the Mosaic ritual. It was required of the individual whenever he had committed a trespass (Lv $5^{1.5}$ 26^{40}), and its necessity in regard to both individual and national sins was exhibited in the ceremony of the Scapegoat, over whose head the high-priest was to confess all the iniquities of the whole people (Lv 16^{21}). Confession of sin became the natural and regular accompaniment of prayer (cf. Ezr 10^1). At the same time representative men felt themselves to be partakers in national sins of unbelief and disobedience, and bound to confess these as well as their own (Dn 9^{20}). The whole prayer in Dn 9 shows the nature and contents of such a confession.

The connexion between repentance and confession was so ingrained in the Jewish conscience that when, under the Baptist's preaching, many were led to repent, open confession accompanied their baptism (Mk 1^5), and doubtless the Apostolic baptism was prefaced by a confession in this sense as well as the other. Such a confession was understood to be made to God, but commonly it would be made in the hearing of men (cf. Ac 17^4). It is plain also that Christ taught the necessity of acknowledging, and obtaining forgiveness for, offences committed against other men (Mt 5^{24}, Lk 17^4). As to the mode of confession or the person to receive it, no instruction is given. It is clear, however, from the language of St. John (1 Jn 1^9) and St. James that it was specific, definite, and mutual. In Ja 5^{16} the reading of WH (*τὰς ἁμαρτίας* for TR *τὰ παραπτώματα*) puts it beyond doubt that reference is made to sins against God; but the interpretation (Chrysostom and others) which infers that the confession was to be made to the Presbyters, involves an inadmissible tautology. *'Αλλήλοις* can only refer to the relation of individual believers to one another, so that Cajetan from the Roman standpoint rightly admits 'nec hic est sermo de confessione sacramentali.'

C. A. SCOTT.

CONFIRMATION.—The verb 'confirm' is used in a very general sense in the AV, serving as a rendering of no fewer than eleven words in the original languages—seven Heb. (אָמֵץ, גָּבַר, חָזַק, כּוּן, מָלֵא, עָמַד, קוּם in their proper conjugations) and four Gr. (*βεβαιόω, ἐπιστηρίζω, κυρόω, μεσιτεύω*). The OT group of words suggests the idea of establishing and strengthening; though in some cases the more technical notion of a legal or authoritative confirmation comes in, esp. when the word קִיֵּם is used (*e.g.* Ru 4^7, Est $9^{29.31.32}$). In the NT *βεβαιόω* and *ἐπιστηρίζω* are used in the general sense of strengthening and establishing, while *κυρόω* is used in the sense of giving power or validity (2 Co 2^8, Gal 3^{15}), and *μεσιτεύω* is employed in its natural meaning of acting as a mediator (He 6^{17}). The substantive 'confirmation' (*βεβαίωσις*) is used in the two senses of making firm, establishing (Ph 1^7), and giving authoritative validity (He 6^{16}). It is not used in the Bible to describe an ecclesiastical rite. In the Acts reference is made to St. Paul 'confirming the souls of the disciples' (14^{22}), and 'confirming the Churches' (15^{41}); and it is stated that 'Judas and Silas, being prophets also themselves, exhorted the brethren with many words, and confirmed them' (15^{32})—forms of *ἐπιστηρίζω* being used in each case. There is no indication that any ceremony was performed on these occasions; the narrative would rather suggest the general idea of strengthening and establishing spiritually. But although the laying on of hands (*ἐπίθεσις τῶν χειρῶν*) is not connected with the word confirmation, it appears in association with the gift of the Holy Spirit to disciples by apostles subsequent to baptism (Ac 8^{12-17} $19^{5.6}$), and as a rite following baptism, in He 6^2. This was after the example of the Jewish method of blessing (*e.g.* Gn 48$^{13.14}$), which was recognized by the mothers who brought their children to Jesus that He might 'lay his hands on them,' etc. (Mt 19^{13}). According to the Talmud, a father laid his hands on his child, after which the elders also blessed him (Buxtorf., *Syn. Jud.* 138). As late as Tertullian the laying on of hands was closely associated with baptism as almost part of the same rite (*de Bap.* c. 8 ; *de Resurr. Carn.* c. 8).

W. F. ADENEY.

CONFISCATION.—See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.

CONFOUND.—This vb. is used in three senses. **1.** *Destroy, shatter*, Jer 1^{17} 'be not dismayed at their faces, lest I c. thee before them.' The Geneva and Bishops' Bibles have 'destroy' here, and it is possible that AV chose a milder word on purpose, as RV has a still milder 'lest I dismay thee before them'; but the Heb. (פֶּן־אֲחִתְּךָ, חָתַת in hiph.) has the meaning of 'shatter,' as in Is 9^{4} 'the yoke of his burden . . . thou hast *broken*' (RV); and the Eng. word has this meaning also, as Milton, *Par. Lost*, ii. 380—

> 'Whence,
> But from the author of all ill, could spring
> So deep a malice, to confound the race
> Of Mankind in one root?'

2. *Put to shame.* This is the most frequent meaning. RV often changes 'c^{ed}' into 'ashamed,' but Amer. RV prefers 'put to shame.' Earlier versions sometimes had 'c^{ed}' where AV has 'ashamed,' as 2 S 10^{5} Douay, 'The men were confounded very fowly, and David commanded them, Tary in Jericho, til your beard be growen.' **3.** *Throw into confusion* (stronger than mod. *confuse*, Dr. Murray suggests the colloq. *dumfound*), as Gn 11$^{7.9}$ (see TONGUES, CONFUSION OF), 2 Mac 13^{23} 14^{28} 'he was much c^{ed} in himself'; Ac 2^{6} 9^{22} (συγχέω, cf. Ac 19^{32} 21^{31} 'was in confusion' RV).

J. HASTINGS.

CONFUSED.—Confuse and confusion were much stronger words in Elizabethan than in mod. Eng., Ac 19^{32} 'the assembly was c^{d} (RV 'in confusion'); Is 9^{5} 'with c. noise (RV 'in the tumult'). See CONFOUND 3. **Confusion**: **1.** *Tumultuous disorder*, as Ac 19^{29} 'the whole city was filled with c.' (σύγχυσις), 1 Co 14^{33}, Ja 3^{16} (ἀκαταστασία), 2 Es 16^{21}, Lv 18^{23} 20^{12} (תֶּבֶל), Is 24^{10} 34^{11} 41^{29} (תֹּהוּ). The *Oxf. Eng. Dict.* quotes Is 34^{11} 'he shall stretch out upon it the line of c.' as an example of c. in the sense of *destruction* (see CONFOUND 1); and that meaning was common in 1611, as Shaks. *Mid. Night's Dream*, I. i. 149—

> 'So quick bright things come to confusion.'

But the Heb. (which is the word tr. 'without form,' RV 'waste,' in Gn 1^{2}) makes it probable that in all the passages from Isaiah the meaning is *disorder*. 2. *Shame, disgrace*, as Ps 35$^{4.26}$ 'brought to c.' (חָפֵר, RV 'confounded,' Cheyne 'abashed'); Job 10^{15} 'I am full of c.' (קָלוֹן, RV 'ignominy'); esp. with Heb. *bôsheth*, 1 S 20$^{30\ bis}$, Ezr 9^{7}, Ps 109^{29}, Jer 7^{19}, Dn 9$^{7.8}$. (Except Ps 70^{3}, Is 61^{7}, Jer 7^{19}, Mic 1^{11}, Zeph 3$^{5.19}$, *bôsheth* is tr. by αἰσχύνη in LXX.) See TONGUES, CONFUSION OF.

J. HASTINGS.

CONGREGATION is AV rendering of several Heb. terms, esp. מוֹעֵד, עֵדָה, and קָהָל. It will be necessary to examine minutely the linguistic usage of OT in regard to each of these.

1. מוֹעֵד (*môʿēd*). The root-idea contained in this word is that of a fixed appointed meeting or tryst between God and man. Hence it is frequently employed to mean a 'set time,' or to designate the *sacred seasons* (*môʿădim*) when all the males in Israel had to present themselves at J″'s sanctuary (Hos 9^{5} 12^{9}, Lv 23$^{2.4.37.44}$). It is but a step from this when we find the word used to designate the *assembly* that celebrated the festival, or indeed as a designation for any assembly. In Job 30^{23} we have בֵּית מוֹעֵד לְכָל־חָי 'the place of assembly for all living,' used of Sheol, while in Is 33^{20} Zion is called קִרְיַת מוֹעֲדֵנוּ 'the city of our assemblies' (cf. Ps 74^{4}, La 1^{4}, Ezk 44^{24}). In particular, מוֹעֵד occurs very frequently in the phrase אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד (*'Ohel môʿēd*) the **Tent of Meeting** (between J″ and Israel). The familiar AV **tabernacle of the congregation** fails entirely to suggest the true idea conveyed by the phrase as this is explained in Ex 29$^{42f.}$ (Cf. W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} 246.) The Sept. σκηνὴ τοῦ μαρτυρίου and Vulg. *tabernaculum testimonii*, as well as Luther's *Stiftshütte*, have arisen, as Ges. explains, from improperly regarding מוֹעֵד as synonymous with עֵדוּת (see Nu 9^{15}, where 'tabernacle of the testimony' is the correct rendering). אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד is used with great frequency by P (131 times) and by the Chronicler (1 Ch 6^{32} 9^{21} 23^{32}, 2 Ch 1$^{3.6.13}$ 5^{5}), but it is employed also by E (Ex 33^{7}, where its meaning is explained; cf. Nu 11$^{24.25}$ J), and occurs in at least two passages which belong to JE, viz. Nu 11^{16} 12^{4}. The source of Dt 31^{14} is uncertain, and 1 S 2^{22} and 1 K 8^{4} can scarcely be taken into consideration, because both contain elements of late date. In Ps 74^{8} כָּל־מוֹעֲדֵי אֵל = all the *synagogues* of God, and in La 2^{6} מוֹעֵד is employed as a designation for *the temple*.

It may be worth while to remind the reader that in the expression **solemn assembly**, which is occasionally used by AV as a rendering of מוֹעֵד, 'solemn' has its archaic sense of 'fixed' or 'stated,' Lat. *solennis* (Driver, *Deut.* 189).

In Is 14^{13} **mount of the congregation** probably refers to the assembly of the gods, whose dwelling-place, according to Bab. mythology, was located in the far north, upon the 'mountain of the world' (Driver, *Isaiah*^{2} 129 n.; Delitzsch, *Isaiah*, new ed. i. 310). See BABYLONIA, p. 216^{a}.

2. עֵדָה (*ʿēdāh*) and קָהָל (*ḳāhāl*). Before examining the linguistic usage of OT it may be well to refer to a distinction between these two words which has been contended for by some. Vitringa (*de Synagoga vetere*, 80, 88), with whom Trench (*Synonyms of NT*, 3 f.) agrees, expresses the difference thus, 'notat proprie קָהָל *universam alicujus populi multitudinem* vinculis societatis unitam et rempublicam quandam constituentem; cum vocabulum עֵדָה ex indole et vi significationis suæ tantum dicat *quemcumque hominum cœtum et conventum* sive minorem sive majorem. . . . συναγωγή ut et עֵדָה semper significat *cœtum* conjunctum et congregatum *etiamsi nullo forte vinculo ligatum*, sed ἐκκλησία (קָהָל) designat multitudinem aliquam quæ *populum* constituit, *per leges et vincula inter se junctam*, etsi sæpe fiat ut non sit coacta vel cogi possit.' This is certainly far more plausible and reasonable than the famous distinction which Augustine sought to establish between συναγωγή and ἐκκλησία, or rather between their Latin equivalents, *congregatio* and *convocatio*, the latter being the nobler term, because used of *calling* together *men*, while *congregatio* designated the *gathering* together of *cattle* (grex)! Vitringa's distinction comes, in fact, pretty near to that of Schürer, to which we shall advert presently; but it seems a mistake to endeavour to carry such a distinction back to OT. It may fairly be questioned whether in a single instance the contention of Vitringa can be established. Rather are we inclined to see in the choice of the one or the other of these terms a mark of *authorship*. It is remarkable that עֵדָה finds favour in certain books, while קָהָל is prevailingly, if not exclusively, employed in others.

(*a*) עֵדָה, from the same root as מוֹעֵד, occurs variously, as עֲדַת יִשְׂרָאֵל (Ex 12^{3}), עֲדַת בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל (Ex 16$^{1.2.9}$), עֲדַת יהוה (Nu 27^{17}), and absolutely, הָעֵדָה (Lv 4^{15}). It belongs, like מוֹעֵד, to the vocabulary of P, never occurring in D or JE, and its use in the other *historical* books is rare, Jg 20^1, $21^{10.\ 13.\ 16}$, 1 K 8^5 (=2 Ch 5^6), 12^{20} being the only instances (Driver, *LOT* 126).

(*b*) קָהָל occurs variously, as קְהַל יִשְׂרָאֵל (Dt 31^{30}), קְהַל יהוה (Nu 16^3, 20^4), קְהַל הָאֱלֹהִים (Neh 13^1), and absolutely, הַקָּהָל (Ex 16^3, Lv 4^{13}). It is frequently employed in Dt, 1 and 2 Ch, Ezr, and Neh. In the Ps both עֵדָה and קָהָל are used without any perceptible difference of meaning to designate the 'congregation' of Israel.

In the Sept. συναγωγή generally answers to עֵדָה, and ἐκκλησία to קָהָל. The latter statement holds good uniformly in Jos, Jg, S, K, Ch, Ezr, and Neh, also in Dt (with the exception of 5^{22}, where קָהָל is rendered συναγωγή). On the other hand, קָהָל is rendered by συναγωγή in Ex, Lv, Nu, probably in order to secure uniformity in the Gr., for עֵדָה in these books is always συναγωγή. Once in the Ps קָהָל is rendered συναγωγή (40^{10}); elsewhere we find ἐκκλησία, except in 26^5, where it is συνέδριον.

While we cannot admit that the distinction contended for by Vitringa is traceable in OT, yet a somewhat similar distinction is discovered by Schürer in the usage of the terms by later Judaism. συναγωγή was the term applicable to the *empirical* reality, the actual congregation existing in any one place, while ἐκκλησία designated the *ideal*, the assembly of those called by God to salvation. It is easy to see how, on this account, ἐκκλησία displaced συναγωγή in Christian circles. In classical Greek, as is well known, ἐκκλησία was the name for the body of free citizens summoned by a herald, and in this sense it is used in Ac 19 of the assembly at Ephesus. A statutory meeting was designated κυρία or ἔννομος (the latter in Ac 19^{39}), one specially summoned was σύγκλητος. It can hardly be said, however, that classical usage throws much light upon the nature of the ἐκκλησία, or 'congregation,' so often spoken of in OT. The word may be used of an assembly summoned for a definite purpose (1 K 8^{65}) or met on a festal occasion (Dt 23^1), but far more frequently it has in view *the community of Israel collectively regarded as a congregation.* Wellhausen (*Comp. d. Hex.* 205) finds this last usage distinctive of P, denying that the nation is viewed from such a purely *churchly* standpoint in JE, or even in D. See ASSEMBLY.

In OT Apocr. ἐκκλησία occurs in the sense of a popular assembly (Jth 6^{16} 14^6, Sir 15^5), more rarely as a designation for the people as a whole (1 Mac 4^{59}).

In NT ἐκκλησία is applied to the congregation of the people of Isr. in the speech of Stephen (Ac 7^{38}), but συναγωγή came gradually to be employed to distinguish Isr. from other nations. (It is characteristic of the Ep. of James that in 2^2 συναγωγή is used of an assembly of *Jewish Christians*, and of the Ep. to the Hebrews that in 10^{25} ἐπισυναγωγή [the word has a different meaning in 2 Th 2^1] is spoken of a Christian community.) Hence, apart from the reason noted above, it was natural that ἐκκλησία should be chosen as the designation of the Christian Church, owing to the Judaistic associations of συναγωγή.

While there is little about OT 'congregation' to recall the popular assembly of a Gr. community (for the elders, or in post-exilic times at Jerus., the high priest and his counsellors, seem to have generally acted alone), there are one or two examples of an opposite kind. In Nu $35^{24\text{ff.}}$ (P) it is the 'congregation' that decides the case of the manslayer who has reached a city of refuge, although even here the decision according to D^2 rests with the elders (cf. the above passage with Jos 20^4 [D^2], or the latter with v.^{6a} [P]). Similar functions are ascribed to the 'congregation' in the late and peculiar narrative of Jg 20, 21, and in Ezr 10, on the latter of which Kuenen (*Rel. of Israel*, ii. 214) remarks, 'In very weighty matters the decision even rested with the whole community, which was summoned to Jerus. for that purpose.' (All that concerns the OT congregation as a *worshipping* body will be dealt with under CHURCH, SYNAGOGUE, and TEMPLE.)

For the sake of completeness it may be well to note the usage of some other words of kindred import to the three we have discussed.

(*a*) עֲצֶרֶת (*'ăzereth*), from a root containing the idea of *enclosing* or *confining*, is frequently applied to the 'congregation' that celebrates the festivals (Jl 1^{14} 2^{15}, Am 5^{21}, 2 K 10^{20}, Is 1^{13}, in which last passage it is coupled with מִקְרָא). The nearest Gr. equivalent is πανήγυρις (by which it is rendered in the Sept. of Am 5^{21}, and which occurs in the NT once, He 12^{23} 'the general assembly'). עֲצֶרֶת designates especially such assemblies as were convened on the seventh day of the Feast of Unleavened Bread (Dt 16^8), and the eighth day of the F. of Tabernacles (Lv 23^{36}, Nu 29^{35}, Neh 8^{18}, 2 Ch 7^9).

(*b*) מִקְרָא קֹדֶשׁ (*miḳrâ' ḳōdesh*), which occurs so frequently in the '**holy convocation**' of AV, is a favourite expression in the priestly sections of Ex, Lv, and Nu, particularly in H (Lv 17–26). The Sept. usually renders it κλητὴ ἁγία (cf. Sanday, *Romans*, 12 f.). The simple מִקְרָא occurs in Nu 10^2 and Is 1^{13}. It is hard to discover any difference between this term and עֲצֶרֶת.

(*c*) סוֹד (*sôd*), originally = *friendly conversation* (ὁμιλία), then on the one hand = *friendliness, friendship*, and on the other = *a body of friends* (cf. Driver on Am 3^8). It is used of a gathering for familiar converse (Jer 6^{11} 15^{17}, in the latter of which the Sept. has συνέδριον), of a deliberative council (Job 15^8, Jer 23^{18}, Ps 89^7, in all these used of the Privy Council of the Almighty), of a secret company of wicked men plotting evil (Ps 64^2), or of the select assembly of the upright (Ps 111^1, where סוֹד is coupled with עֵדָה, as it is in Gn 49^6 with קָהָל).

LITERATURE.—Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 59 n.; Driver, *LOT* 126, *Deut.* 188, 195, 234; Thayer, *NT Lex.* and Cremer, *Bib.-Theol. Lex.* s. ἐκκλησία and συναγωγή; Wellhausen, *Comp. d. Hex.* 205; Hort, *Christian Ecclesia* (1897), 1–21; Vitringa, *de Syn. Vet.* 77 f.; Trench, *Syn. of NT*, 1 f.; Holzinger, *ZAW* (1889), p. 105 ff.

J. A. SELBIE.

CONIAH.—See JEHOIACHIN.

CONJECTURE.—Only Wis 8^8 '[Wisdom] c^{eth} aright what is to come' (εἰκάζει). RV has 'divineth the things to come,' with 'c^{eth}' in marg. But it is probable that in AV c^{eth} = 'divineth,' as Scot (1584), 'Conjecture unto me by thy familiar spirit.'

J. HASTINGS.

CONSCIENCE.—The word is not found in OT; it occurs in Apocr., Wis 17^{11} 'wickedness . . . being pressed with c., always forecasteth grievous things' (συνείδησις), Sir 14^2 'Blessed is he whose c. hath not condemned him' (ψυχή, RV 'soul'), and 2 Mac 6^{11} 'they made a c. to help themselves' (εὐλαβῶς ἔχειν, RV 'scrupled'; cf. Purchas [1625], *Pilgrimes*, ii. 1276, 'They will . . . make more conscience to breake a Fast, than to commit a Murther'). In NT 32 times (RV 30 times, omitting Jn 8^9, and reading συνηθείᾳ 1 Co 8^7) always for συνείδησις, of which it is the invariable and approriate tr. But mod. usage would prefer 'consciousness' in 1 Co 8^7 'some with c. of the idol unto this hour eat it as a thing offered unto an idol' (RV with edd. reads συνηθείᾳ, hence '*being used* until now to the idol'); and in He 10^2 'no more c. of sins.' Cf. Milton, *Par. Lost*, viii. 502—

> 'Her virtue and the conscience of her worth.'

See Sanday-Headlam on Ro 2^{15}; P. Ewald, *De Vocis Συνειδήσεως apud Script. NT vi ac potestate* (1883); and the next article. J. HASTINGS.

CONSCIENCE—

A. Historical Sketch.
B. Christian Doctrine.
  i. The Nature of Conscience.
  ii. The Competence of Conscience.
  iii. The Education of Conscience.
    1. Social.
    2. Individual.
  iv. The Witness of Conscience.

A. Historical Sketch.—When man begins to reflect on his experience as a moral agent, two questions emerge. (1) What is the highest good for man? What is the 'chief end' in attainment of which man finds satisfaction? (2) What is the source of moral obligation? What power commands and regulates human action? In the history of thought, these two questions occur in the order stated; and it is not till the second has been asked that a doctrine of conscience is possible.

1. Greek philosophy in its prime is mainly concerned with the first of these. The ethics of Plato and Aristotle are largely occupied with discussing the nature of the Good; and practically their doctrine amounts to this, that man finds his highest welfare in the duties of citizenship. Man is regarded as part of the physical and social world in which he finds himself; and his welfare lies in playing his due part therein. This doctrine was sufficient as long as the Greek State lasted. When this was broken up, however, and there was no longer a life of free and ennobling activity open to men, the moral problem assumed the second form. Man is thrust back on himself. His individuality becomes emphasized over against the world, in which he can now no longer realize himself. Turning in upon himself, he seeks within the guidance he has hitherto found in the life which waited for him without. This type of mind, so characteristic of thoughtful and earnest men under the Roman Empire, finds expression in the philosophical doctrines of the Stoics and Epicureans. These are as intensely subjective as the systems of Plato and Aristotle had been comprehensive and objective. Not, therefore, till man has become aware of himself as an individual, and looks out on life from the standpoint of his subjectivity, does the question of the rule of conduct clearly emerge. In discussing this question, the Stoics found the rule in reason, the Epicureans in sense. The Stoics made wide the opposition between reason and sense. Virtue, according to them, is reasonableness, and is exercised in absolute control of sense, utter indifference to material things, and austere rejection of pleasure. Noble things are said by them in praise of virtue, and eloquent testimony is borne against the views of a corrupt age. But by their own admission the leading principle of their thought and action is sublime but powerless. The moral world needed an active principle which should regenerate character and reconstitute society. This power came with Christianity.

2. In the history of religion as set forth in the Christian Scriptures, we find a similar succession in the order in which the above-mentioned problems emerge. A doctrine of conscience is not found till late in the development of Christian thought, when the consciousness of individuality is strong and full. There are indeed traces of the operations of conscience. Man is always treated as a moral being (so in the prophets, and especially in Ezekiel, whose sense of individual responsibility is new and strong), susceptible of communications from a personal God, and amenable to His judgment. But conscience, or the source of obligation for the individual, is not made a subject of special treatment in the earlier stages of man's spiritual history. Broadly speaking, there is no doctrine of conscience in the OT. The heart is the centre of man's whole spiritual energy, whether intellectual or moral; and no subtle analysis of mental or moral powers is attempted. The characteristic work of conscience, that of condemning us when we do wrong, is ascribed to the heart, Job 27^{6}. The absence of a doctrine of conscience from the OT is to be explained, not by any reference to the alleged disinclination of the Heb. mind for psychological study, but by the fact that the stage of religious development at which the Hebrews were under Mosaism, precluded the question to which the doctrine of conscience is an answer. The law may be compared to the systems of Plato and Aristotle, inasmuch as it answers the first of the moral questions which arise on consideration of man's life, viz. What is the Good? The Good is the will of God expressed in this body of legislation. The question of principle of action, or an organ of moral judgment, cannot emerge till the conception of the Good has been made explicit. The law is the conscience of the Heb. community. Hence, as Oehler points out, the idea of a *νόμος γραπτὸς ἐν καρδίαις* is wholly alien to the OT. This absence of a doctrine of conscience is to be found also in our Lord's teaching. He never uses the word, and for a similar reason. His teaching is essentially revelation. He is dealing with the highest good for man, stating it in words, exhibiting it in life. His teaching and example are addressed to conscience, and are meant to awaken conscience; and for this very reason He does not and cannot discuss conscience. Many of His sayings apply to conscience, and cast light on it, *e.g.* 'the lamp of the body,' Mt $6^{22.23}$; but conscience itself does not form part of His express teaching.

With Christ's work as Redeemer a new stage of man's history is entered on. The first question is answered; the first need is met. The Good is revealed as truth; it is accomplished in act; it is present as power. What Greek philosophy sought after in the speculations of Plato and Aristotle, is possessed in the kingdom of God. The parallel is more than fanciful. As the Greek realized the good in the duties of citizenship in the State, the Christian realizes it in the duties and privileges of citizenship in the kingdom of God. The virtue of the Greek, narrowed by the limitations of the Gr. State, is the obligation and possibility of mankind in the wide realm of grace, which no political change can restrict or destroy.

Now, accordingly, man as an individual gets his rights, and becomes the subject of special study. The NT, apart from the teaching of our Lord, is largely occupied with the consideration of man in relation to the grace of God which has come with Christ. Human nature is studied as it could not be at an earlier stage. It is true that there is no merely speculative treatment, the interest of the NT being practical and not technical. References, however, to various aspects of man's moral constitution abound. In particular, the question of man's relation to the Good as the will of God receives special treatment, and is answered by an explicit doctrine of conscience. Man is confronted by the revealed will of God, revealed not only in a book, but in a Person. How does this will make itself felt in the sphere of man's individual consciousness? How is man guided and impelled towards the fulfilment of this will? The answer of St. Paul, and other writers in the NT, is conscience. Conscience, therefore, at once becomes the object of special practical interest. It is the great aim of a Christian to have a conscience that shall be 'good,' 'void of offence,' or 'pure'; and it is of paramount importance that conscience should be maintained in a condition of enlightenment and power adequate to the discharge of its great function as the organ of moral apprehension and moral judgment.

3. After the varied Christian life of the early centuries of our era had died away, Christian ethic, like Christian theology, fell under the blight of mediæval scholasticism. Christian truth was stiffened into a system of dogma. Christian morality was elaborated into a legal system more cumbrous and wearisome than ever the Mosaic code had been. Under this double burden the souls of men groaned in bondage. Yet even in the darkest ages there were not wanting symptoms of revolt. Mysticism claimed the power of holding fellowship with God, without the intervention of ecclesiastical machinery; but it failed to base its protest on a sound conception of human nature, and so never rose beyond the position of a secret in possession of a few unique spirits. Final deliverance came in the epoch of the Reformation. The Reformation was in essence a religious revival. The cumbrous ecclesiastical machinery by which the mediæval Church, while professing to unite God and man, had really held them apart, was swept away in a burst of righteous wrath. The relations of God and man came to be re-stated under the inspiration of original Christian ideas. In this process conscience necessarily played an important part. Conscience accentuated the antagonism between man and God, and showed man guilty in a degree for which indulgences and priestly absolutions brought no sound relief. Conscience, in like manner, in view of the complete atonement wrought by Christ, testified, to him who rested on Christ alone for salvation, perfect peace with God. Conscience, accordingly, occupies large space in the writings of the Reformers, as it must do in all Christian teaching. It is not made, however, the subject of special theoretical treatment. Speculative interest in the question of the source of moral judgment has not awakened; and the necessity of its discussion is not yet felt. The Reformation, in fact, was not an individualistic movement. It is a misrepresentation to describe it as such, or to quote such phrases as 'the right of private judgment,' as embodying its characteristic ideas. Those philosophical writers who most fully express in the domain of pure thought the Protestant spirit—Descartes and Spinoza—are by no means individualists. At the same time, there can be no doubt that the Reformation contained the possibility of individualism. The external unity of the Church had been broken up. Before a conception of spiritual unity could be formed and wrought out in moral and political life, it was inevitable that an epoch of individualism should supervene, in which man should seek to find the solution of intellectual and moral problems within his own subjectivity. This movement predominated most largely in England, and obtained almost exclusive sway, till within the present century it has met a counter current of thought. Ethical theory during such a period is largely occupied with the question of the source of moral obligation, and the faculty of moral judgment. British moralists may be distinguished and classified mainly by their views on this topic. At the head of the long line stands Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), a writer whose fertile suggestiveness, virile force, and daring paradox, made him a paramount influence in the development of ethical doctrine in Britain. His fundamental position is that man's natural tendencies are only and altogether 'self-regarding.' The good for the individual is simply what he desires for himself. The result of each individual seeking the gratification of his own desires is, of course, a state of war, whose miseries Hobbes depicts to the life. Reason, accordingly, intervenes to stop this intolerable state of matters, and does so by enjoining submission to a strong government. Hobbes thus pushes individualism to an extreme in which it becomes intolerable, and is replaced by an iron system in which the individual is practically extinguished. In such a system there is no place for conscience, properly speaking. Hobbes uses the word only in connexion with the analogous phrase 'conscious.' Conscience is no more than opinion shared by various individuals. Any higher sense is mere metaphor. The moral faculty is no other than reason, calculating how best to secure individual advantage, and deciding upon submission to the State as the best means of securing the end aimed at. Such a doctrine was rather the propounding of a problem than its solution. Accordingly, we find that ethical thought in England consists mainly in answers to Hobbes, or rather in answers to the moral problem so acutely stated by him: What is the source of moral obligation? What is the nature of the moral faculty? These answers follow three distinct lines.

(1) Appeal is made to reason. Reason is regarded as the power by which universal truths and principles are perceived and proclaimed. This is, in general, the view of Cudworth (1617–1688), whose *Treatise concerning Eternal and Immutable Morality*, not published till 1731, is directed against the teaching of Hobbes as destructive of the essential distinctions of good and evil; and of Clarke (1675–1729). Both these writers claim for man this faculty of recognizing truths, ideas, or relations of things, prior to and apart from the suggestions of sensation. Here we have a real answer to Hobbes, and a most hopeful line of ethical thought. If man have this power, then we are lifted at once above the degrading view of man as a creature of merely selfish instincts, and have morality based, not on conventions, but on eternal fact.

The value of such 'dianoetic ethics,' to use Martineau's designation, depends obviously on the view taken of reason; and in the above-mentioned writers, reason is conceived too much as a mere formal power, limited to the recognition of truths submitted to it. Thus, while phrases in Cudworth, for instance, remind one of Kant, there is no approach to the Kantian doctrine of knowledge, still less to its subsequent idealist development.

(2) A fuller analysis of human instincts is attempted. Hobbes had said man's primary instincts are self-regarding. It was obviously open to reply that they were not, or that they all were not. Accordingly, we have such writers as Shaftesbury (1671–1713) and Hutcheson (1694–1747) elaborately proving that man possesses social as well as selfish instincts, and placing virtue in the proper balance of the two. The perception of this balance or proportion is due to a moral sense, which, like the sense of beauty in things artistic, guides us in things moral. At a first glance it might appear, as no doubt it did to the writers themselves, that they were answering Hobbes, and giving a more dignified conception of human nature. Really, however, they are in substantial agreement with Hobbes, entirely so as to presuppositions, and practically so as to result. They also appeal to instincts as providing motives and impulses. Some of these, indeed, they say are not selfish; but if we press them we find that the special power of unselfish instincts is the superior gratification they afford, *i.e.* they are at bottom selfish still. Selfishness, or, to give it a more refined but more misleading title, Utility, is the spring and standard of action. The psychological and even the ethical principles of Hobbes are really continued in Shaftesbury, Hutcheson, Adam Smith, Hume.

(3) Reference is made to a distinct power of human nature, viz. to Conscience, as supreme arbiter in morals. Butler (1692–1752) is distinguished among British moralists for the emphasis he lays on this faculty. He sees that Shaftesbury's reply to Hobbes is defective in this respect, that his 'moral sense' lacks the quality of supremacy, which is required to face and quell the imperiousness of selfish instincts. He labours, therefore, to establish the supremacy of conscience, and to vindicate for it magisterial position and authority. Of the impressiveness and moral strength of Butler's writings it is impossible to speak too highly. As a practical protest against the immorality of his own age, they are deeply interesting; and as a moral tonic in any age, they are invaluable. As ethical theory, or doctrine of conscience, however, they cannot be said to be final or satisfactory. Butler was, to quote the words of T. H. Green, 'the victim of the current psychology.'* To him, as much as to Hobbes, Shaftesbury, Locke, or Hume, feeling was the source of action, as of knowledge. Objects of desire are given. Then conscience, a power whose origin and nature are unexplained and inexplicable, appears to decide among the competing motives. It speaks with authority, but is unable to make its authority felt. Ultimately, Butler is driven to admit practical supremacy to self-love, and takes refuge in the identity of duty and self-interest. A higher principle does indeed appear in Butler, viz. the love of God. But as he never reconsidered his psychology, this rather contributes additional confusion to his scheme. Human nature remains 'a cross of unreconciled principles,' self-love, benevolence, conscience, the love of God. Plainly, such a view of man cannot provide a sure basis of ethics. The whole moral problem must be reconsidered. What is implied in moral action? If it shall appear that the sensationalist psychology is at fault, if feeling cannot present objects of desire, if in the simplest action there is implied the presence of a Self, making itself its own object, then we are led to a view of man as a being who finds his true good in the good of others, and of conscience as not merely authoritative, but also mighty to carry its precepts into effect, being indeed the presence within the individual consciousness of that Reason, Mind, Spirit, or Personality whose revelation is found in all reality and all good.

It is not needful to pursue the line of British moralists any further. Whoever they happen to be, Paley, Bentham, James Mill, J. S. Mill, or Bain, whatever their minor differences or their special excellences, they unite in retaining the psychology which reigned throughout the eighteenth century. In vain for them did Hume carry the conclusions of that psychology to a scepticism which provoked Kant to a reply, which introduced a new conception of man and the spiritual world. All alike they cling to the conviction that it is possible by dissection to arrive at the living man, and by analyzing his sensations to account for knowledge and morality. They may vary in detail, but they are in substantial agreement as to results. The chief end of man is happiness. The moral faculty is a variously described compound of feelings, whose fluidity is stiffened by the sanctions and punishments of society. This psychology has more recently allied itself with the hypothesis of organic evolution, and made draughts of illimitable time aid in establishing its conclusions. Prolonged experience of pleasure in connexion with actions, which serve social ends, has resulted in certain physiological changes in the brain and nervous system, which render these actions constant. Thus, according to Spencer, is begotten a conscience or faculty, to which he even gives the name of intuition. This sensationalist psychology, thus strengthened by evolution, has called forth various replies.

(*a*) Intuitionism enters its earnest denial. Dr. Martineau's strictures on evolutionary ethics are powerful, and his general ethical doctrine is most earnest and impressive. His position closely resembles that of Butler in last century. Like Butler, he gives an account of the springs of moral action. But whereas Butler only mentions two, Self-love and Benevolence, Martineau's list is most elaborate, containing no fewer than thirteen passions, propensions, sentiments, or affections. Quite as Butler had done, he gives to conscience a judicial function in respect to these springs of action. Distinctive in Martineau, however, is his doctrine that conscience judges, not of the rightness of acts, but of the rank of motives. Conscience he defines to be 'the critical perception we have of the relative authority of our several principles of action.' Right and wrong he defines thus: 'Every action is right which, in presence of a lower principle, follows a higher; every action is wrong which, in presence of a higher principle, follows a lower.' Eloquent and powerful as Dr. Martineau's exposition is, it is open to the objection which may be brought against Butler. Whence come these springs of action? Do they simply appear before the judgment-seat of conscience, without any prior determination by self-consciousness? Then we are thrown back, as we were by Butler, upon current sensational psychology. And whence comes conscience? Does it simply appear, and seat itself in judicial state, a separate, unique faculty, inexplicable and mysterious, owning no organic relation to self-consciousness? Then its authority is blind, and, as in Butler's doctrine, is unsupported by power.

(*b*) A conclusive answer can be reached only through a consideration of the possibility of experience in general, and of moral experience in particular. Such an answer is to be found in Green's *Prolegomena to Ethics*. Press the analysis of sensation as far back as we please, make our list of feelings and instincts as detailed as possible, we never get a mere sensation or instinct, such as we might suppose it to be in the lower animals, but always the sensation as it is to a self, already modified by its relation to self-consciousness. In the simplest sensation, there is implied the operation of a spiritual principle, which is the basis of the possibility at once of knowledge and of morality. The sensationalist psychology is thus deprived of its whole *raison d'etre*. It exists in order to get personality out of sensations. It can do so, only because personality is therein already implied.

The hypothesis of evolution is of no use to sensationalism, and does not invalidate the argument of idealism. 'That countless generations should have passed during which a transmitted organism was progressively modified by reaction on its surroundings, by struggle for existence or otherwise, till its functions became such that an eternal consciousness could realize or reproduce itself through them, —this might add to the wonder with which the consideration of what we do and are must always fill us, but it could not alter the results of that consideration. If such be discovered to be the case, the discovery cannot affect the analysis of knowledge of what is implied in there being a world to be known, and in our knowing it, on which we found our theory of the action of a free or self-conditioned and eternal mind in man' (*Prolegomena*, p. 82). Man, therefore, is a self or personality, which is not, however, an incident in a series, but is rooted in an infinite self or personality. Our individual self-consciousness derives from and is maintained by an infinite, eternal, universal, self-consciousness; Green would say, is a 'reproduction' of it,—a phrase open to misconstruction. Knowledge, therefore, is the gradual discovery of mind or spirit in things, the exhibition of the world as the self-manifestation of an infinite personality, with whom the finite intelligence of man is one. Morality is the progressive accomplishment of an eternal purpose, with which the individual is and ought to be at one, whose goal is the perfection of man. The good for man is self-realization, but it is the realization of an infinite self, and is thus identical with the widest possible range of good for others, and is attained by the profoundest self-surrender. The moral faculty in man, the practical reason or conscience, is no special inexplicable endowment, a *vox clamantis in deserto*. It is the man himself, conscious in all action of a good, which he either reaches or fails to reach, which in either case stands above his separate impulses, in the one case approving and beckoning him onward and upward, in the other condemning him and binding on him the penalty due to one who has broken the law of his own being. Conscience, thus conceived, may also with equal truth be described as the revelation of infinite good to man, or the voice of God witnessing to eternal right within the individual soul. It is the voice of the man's true self, and his true self is ideally one with God. On such lines alone is the sensationalist attack on absolute right and on conscience successfully met, and room found for Christian ethic, and a Christian doctrine of conscience.

---

* The most illuminating critique of Butler with which I am acquainted is contained in Green's Works, vol. iii. pp. 98–104.

B. *OUTLINE OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE.*

i. THE NATURE OF CONSCIENCE.—The *locus classicus* here is Ro $2^{14.15}$. The connexion of thought is the responsibility of all men for their actions, their condemnation in sin, their acceptance in righteousness. This applies to Gentiles as well as Jews. It would not apply had Gentiles no revelation of absolute good made to them, as the Jews had in the Law. Such a revelation, however, the Gentiles have. They (v.^{14}) do by nature, *i.e.* instinctively, the things which are articulately prescribed in the Law, and accordingly while they have not the Law as a written code, yet they have it in another sense. In what sense is now explained (v.^{15}). The comparison in the apostle's mind is between Jew and Gentile, in respect of the delivery to each of God's Law. To the Jews, this delivery was made at Sinai, and so in speaking of its delivery to the Gentiles he uses Sinaitic imagery. The apostle's description involves three points. (1) The delivery of the Law in the dictates of natural impulse; 'the work of the law,' *i.e.* a course of conduct conforming to the will of God, being 'written in their hearts,' as in the case of the Jews it was written on tables of stone. (2) The recognition of the Law in its binding obligations by a moral faculty, just as the Jews heard with bodily ear the proclamation of the Ten Commandments; 'their conscience bearing witness therewith,' *i.e.* along with the heart, when it speaks and prompts to duty. (3) Judgments passed upon actions in the light of the witness of conscience, some being favourable, others (as the emphasis implies, the greater number) being unfavourable; 'their thoughts one with another, accusing or else excusing them.'

The doctrine of this passage, borne out by other Scripture usage, therefore, is: (*a*) That man has received a revelation of good, sufficient to make him morally responsible. This revelation comes in different forms to men differently placed in the providential disposition of affairs. Even those who seem least advantageously situated have the revelation of 'nature.' Man is so made that he finds the satisfaction of his true self in moral good only; and towards this the forward impulse of his heart goes forth. The race, charged with the special function of guarding and transmitting the spiritual heritage of humanity, has appropriately a special revelation of good, explicitly bearing the stamp of superhuman origin. Finally, when 'the fulness of time' in the moral discipline of mankind is reached, the good finds complete revelation in a person, the man Christ Jesus. 'Nature,' with its few rudimentary facts of moral life, and 'Law,' with its greater articulateness, are summed up in 'Christ,' in whom moral good is perfectly realized. (*β*) That man possesses a moral faculty, or is possessed by it, that he has a conscience, which is indeed his self-consciousness in respect of moral action, in virtue of which he recognizes, approves, and binds upon himself the Good, in whatsoever form it is revealed to him, and by the authority of which he pronounces judgment upon himself. This doctrine obviously rests upon the general scriptural doctrine of man as made in the image of God, of man as spirit even as God is spirit or personality, a conception which we have seen to be the suggestion of philosophy in its criticism of unphilosophical sensationalist psychology. God reveals His will to man, partially in Nature and Law, fully in Christ. Man as a spiritual being is susceptible of this revelation; his consciousness of it in things moral is conscience.

This view of conscience greatly simplifies it, and reduces it from the position of an inexplicable faculty, fulminating in impotent majesty above the warring impulses of man's nature. It is simply the faculty, if we must use the term, through which we apprehend the divine will so that it may govern our lives. It is no more a separate faculty than faith, and deserves no more than faith the credit of its operations. As faith lays hold of Christ, and thus saves and sanctifies; so conscience lays hold of the divine will, and thus legislates and judges. It is not an independent source of law and judgment. It voices the will of God.

It is plain, however, that this view, if in one sense it deprives conscience of the proud position which an intuitionist theory would confer upon it, in another confers upon it unique and awful supremacy. When conscience wakes and speaks, it means that man is in spiritual contact with God, that God is making His will felt in the depths of man's constitution. Thus it is that 'to him that knoweth to do good, and doeth it not, to him it is sin'; sin, not error or mistake, nor only shortcoming, but trespass against the law of God, which is recognized as the law of our own being, in keeping which our welfare lies.

The practical result is that conscience claims, and must receive if we are to be true to our very nature, a position of absolute supremacy. Every action must be brought beneath its sway; in popular phrase, we must make conscience of all we do. Actions laid upon us by outward authority, we are to do, not because the authority is supported by force, but because conscience recognizes the good of which this authority is an expression; and so we obey 'for conscience' sake' (Ro 13^{5}). Actions which seemingly lie outside the moral judgment, having apparently no relation to moral questions, are to be brought before conscience and carefully scrutinized, so that even in such matters as what we are to eat or refrain from eating, we are still to act 'for conscience' sake' (1 Co 10^{25-29}). The whole domain of life is to be brought within the sweep of conscience, and every element in it is to be made subject to that great and just arbitrament.

It may be true that in a society so largely Christianized as ours, the man who acts from conscience will not behave in a manner markedly distinct from the behaviour of those who simply follow the conventions of society. There will, however, be very distinct differences on a closer scrutiny. He will discover new meanings in actions prescribed by convention, and will perform them the better that he does them with conscience. He will be on the outlook for new duties and new means of realizing the good which he apprehends, not as a code, but as an inner spiritual impulse. Apart from specific differences of action, there is a difference in spring of action, which cannot but tell in the long run. Perceiving the disparity between his own attainments and that good of which conscience is the witness, and to which it summons him, he has within him a divine discontent which drives him to further efforts, and secures for him greater excellences. The morality of a code is rigid, self-satisfied, pharisaic. The morality of conscience is ever aspiring, humble, dissatisfied with self. A conscience thus kept in its supremacy is described as 'good' (Ac 23[1], 1 Ti 1[5. 19], He 13[18], 1 P 3[16. 21]), not in the sense that he who has it has never sinned, but because he has yielded himself to the will of God, and is living in the spirit and aim of his career for the glory of God, while he never permits unforgiven sin to lie upon his heart: 'void of offence toward God and toward man' (Ac 24[16]), because the pleasing of God in all things, and his neighbour in all things for his good unto edification, is the man's constant aim and exercise: 'pure' (1 Ti 3[9], 2 Ti 1[3]), because there is no doubleness of mind, or secret alienation from the will of God, but a sincere desire, an unwavering resolution to live so that He may approve.

It is, of course, always open to man as a free agent to disobey conscience, reject its supremacy, disregard its witness, and defy its authority. On an intuitionist theory, which regards conscience as a *part* of man, separable from other parts, it would be difficult to vindicate the terrible consequences of such conduct. It is because the conscience is the man himself in his consciousness of the divine will, that the consequences are so injurious, penetrate so deeply, and extend so widely. Conscience disobeyed is: (1) Defiled; and this defilement may be either (*a*) occasional (1 Co 8[7]), or (*β*) permanent and pervasive (Tit 1[15]). (2) Branded or seared (1 Ti 4[2]), where the figure is either the branding of a slave with a stamp, or the extinction of faculty by the use of hot iron, in any case expressing the reduction of conscience to a state of moral incapacity. (3) Perverted (Mt 6[23]), so that conscience, the light of the soul, gives, not merely no deliverance, but a deliverance on the wrong side, the man being now, not a servant of the good, but of the evil, having sinned against the Holy Spirit.

That conscience is disobeyed in countless instances is patent fact; and these consequences may be traced in the history of individuals. It is more difficult to see the fact and to trace the consequence in the records of the race. Yet it is certain that sin is not merely an incident in the career of an individual, but a quality inherent in the conduct of man universally, and that the effects of sin are traceable, to what extent it is impossible to define, in the general conscience of mankind.

ii. THE COMPETENCE OF CONSCIENCE.—In all that is said of the supremacy of conscience its competence is, of course, presupposed. This, however, is precisely what is denied by those who desire to explain the phenomena of conscience on the hypothesis of evolution, and facts are urged in disproof of the claim of original authority. It must be remembered, however, what it is that is claimed by the Christian doctrine on behalf of conscience. It is not the infallible authority of an independent faculty, but the ability on the part of a being made in God's image to recognize God's will as it is progressively revealed to him.

Much of the sensationalist and evolutionary attack on conscience really applies only to the intuitionist theory of conscience, and does not touch the Christian doctrine or the idealist philosophy, whose criticism of sensationalist psychology we have noticed above. The special difficulties which call for consideration are these—

1. The diversity of moral judgments, as among different nations now, or at different stages of the world's history. The heathen conscience enjoins what the Christian conscience condemns. Jewish feeling rejoiced in deeds at which Christian sentiment shudders. Amid such divergences, is not the supremacy of conscience lost? The answer to this puzzle lies in our general view of man and his conscience of good. If man be a personal being in constant communication with the infinite Person, God, we can understand how his moral history is an education or development, each step in advance being gained through obedience to conscience, which proclaims as absolute the will of God. The stages of the revelation of good are marked by advance up to the full realization of good in Christ. Conscience at each stage is supreme, though its deliverances, compared together, vary according to the stage reached. Combined with this view is the fact of deterioration through disobedience, so that the conscience of a nation or religious community may become perverted, and proclaim as duty a bloody crime or an unnatural offence. Even among races which have formed the most mistaken standard of duty, it is found, as missionary records amply show, that the revelation of higher excellence meets with ready response, and conscience, revivified by the light, calls upon man to follow it. In order to prove the supremacy of conscience, we do not need to prove uniformity amid the deliverances of conscience, from age to age. The very divergences set its persistent authority in more vivid light.

2. The alleged conflict of duties, which occasionally arises, reducing conscience to perplexity and silence. This certainly would be a fatal objection, not to the supremacy of conscience only, but to morality as a whole. If there arise circumstances, not due to any human crime or error, in which duty confronts duty in absolute contradiction, so that merely to act is to transgress, not only is conscience proved incompetent, but the moral sphere is shown not to include the whole of life, and righteousness by being demonstrated to be impossible is made unnecessary. The question can be met only by analyses of cases. Those cases must, of course, be excluded which are not, properly speaking, cases of *conscience*. One case only needs to be stated to be dismissed, that in which a verdict of conscience, in itself clear and distinct, is opposed by strong passion or self-interest which clamorously demands to be obeyed. Here, plainly, there is no question of the competence of conscience, or its claim to be obeyed. Another case is that in which the clear testimony of conscience is confronted by some instinct of the soul, itself true and noble. Here also there is, strictly speaking, no perplexity of conscience, and it is admitted that there is no wavering in its demand to be obeyed. Hesitation arises from the strong appeal of feeling. Sir Walter Scott has presented such a situation in the classic instance of Jeanie Deans,

tempted to tell a falsehood in order to save her sister's life. Here the obligation of truth is confronted by sisterly affection. The action of Jeanie Deans unquestionably represents the true solution. Conscience is obeyed, while love goes forth in noblest sacrifice on behalf of the beloved. The difficulty of such cases is not speculative, but practical, and is to be met, not by intellectual discussion on the occasion when the difficulty arises, for which, indeed, there would be no time, but by the life habit of obedience, begetting an insight into the nature of the highest good for others, even our best beloved, as well as for ourselves, which will be available in the sudden emergency as an intuitive judgment.

Cases which do affect conscience and seem to perplex it, are those in which there is a 'conflict between different formulæ for expressing the ideal of good in human conduct, or between different institutions for furthering its realization, which have alike obtained authority over men's minds without being intrinsically entitled to more than a partial and relative obedience,' or an 'incompatibility of some such formula or institution,' on the one side, with some moral impulse of the individual on the other, which is really an impulse towards the attainment of human perfection, but cannot adjust itself to recognized rules and established institutions' (*Prolegomena*, p. 342). In such cases 'the requirements of conscience seem to be in conflict with each other. However disposed to do what his conscience enjoins, the man finds it difficult to decide what its injunction is' (*ibid.* p. 351). Such cases may, indeed, become peculiarly complicated, and exceedingly painful. But they do not really constitute a conflict of duties. Right seems to be divided against itself, when in reality it is only rising through contest of opposite one-sided views to a fuller conception, or through the break-up of a system to a higher realization than could be contained within its limits. There is no such thing really as a conflict of duties. 'A man's duty under any particular set of circumstances is always one, though the conditions of the case may be so complicated and obscure as to make it difficult to decide what the duty really is' (*ibid.* p. 355). Here, in like manner, the ability and claim of conscience are not involved. It is true that there is no extant formula which will serve by its mere quotation to settle the case. Conscience is not so formal and unnatural a faculty as such a view would imply. Yet it is not incompetent, because it moves slowly and grows in knowledge and power through the discipline of life and the practice of obedience. With characteristic caution Butler states the matter, 'Let any plain, honest man, before he engages in any course of action, ask himself, Is this I am going about right, or is it wrong? Is it good, or is it evil? I do not in the least doubt but that this question would be answered agreeably to truth and virtue by almost any fair man in almost any circumstances' (Sermon III). A recent essayist, to the question, How am I to know what is right? makes answer, 'By the *αἴσθησις* of the *φρόνιμος*' (Bradley's *Ethical Studies*, p. 177). 'If any man willeth to do his will, he shall know of the teaching,' or system, or institution, or formula, 'whether it be of God' (Jn 7^{17}).

iii. THE EDUCATION OF CONSCIENCE.—We thus see that objections, which might be valid against a doctrine which made conscience an infallible oracle, are not valid against the view which regards conscience as man's consciousness of the will of God. It is now to be regarded, not as an inexplicable part of man, but as man himself in relation to the revelation of right. It is the apprehension of God as Righteousness, just as faith is the apprehension of God as Grace; and Luther, as Dorner points out, speaks of faith as the Christian conscience. Conscience, accordingly, is involved in man's moral history. It suffers in his sin and alienation from God, becoming clouded in its insight, feeble in its testimony, and may even come to be grievously perverted in its judgments. It gains in his restoration through grace, its knowledge is clarified, its judgment strengthened. The deepest characteristic of sin is a liberty, which is, in truth, the bondage of man's will or personality. The deepest characteristic of grace is a service, which is perfect freedom. Man, in yielding himself to God, accepts a law, which is the law of his own being. He is therefore free, self-determining, and self-realizing; a person as God is a person, realizing the fulness of personal life in harmony with God. Conscience shares in this subjection 'which is also emancipation.' The NT everywhere claims for conscience this independence of action, this immediacy and certainty of its deliverances, undetermined by a formal code or the voice of a spiritual director (Ro $14^{1.5.13-23}$, Col 2^{16}, Ja 1^{6-8}). Toward this point, therefore, the growth of conscience must be directed under the guidance of special education. This education is twofold.

1. *Social.*—The highest good for man always involves the relation of man to man. 'Through society,' says Professor Green, 'is personality actualized.' Hence it follows 'that the human spirit can only realize itself, or fulfil its idea, in persons; and that it can only do so through society, since society is the condition of the development of a personality' (*Prolegomena*, pp. 200, 201). Conscience, therefore, being personality in its relation to right, is also socially conditioned. There is no such thing as a merely individual conscience. Even when seemingly most individual, as when a reformer rises to protest against the injustice of some institution, its testimony is still on behalf of a good for man, which this institution, founded, no doubt, to further it, now fails to express and practically opposes. It is plain, therefore, that 'no individual can make a conscience for himself. He always needs a society to make it for him' (*Prolegomena*, p. 351). Conscience is born and cradled in the home, trained and exercised in the Church, in civil society, and the State. The enormous importance of this social education of conscience is thus evident. The ethical functions of parent, teacher, pastor, employer, statesman, are seen to be the highest and most sacred. Under their influence, the conscience of the individual receives its revelation of duty, and its preparation for the exercise of its legislative and judicial vocation.

2. *Individual.*—Man cannot be merely passive in education. All true education is self-education. The education of conscience, in particular, must be the work of the individual, consciously fitting himself for the service in which freedom and life for him lie. The means at his disposal are mainly three.

(*a*) The institutions of society, the sacred rights of life, honour, property, reputation, with all the detailed obligations to which these give rise. Only through the most careful obedience to these elementary conditions of moral life can conscience be kept clear and strong. Negligence here, even in name of high spirituality, has always produced a terrible Nemesis, and those who have claimed emancipation in name of religion have sunk beneath the load of that mere morality they affected to despise. Hence the NT ethic is remarkable for its abundance of commonplace, and has the homeliest directions to give to children, servants, citizens, to fulfil the duties of their station, while it frequently recalls those who are thrilling with consciousness of new light and life to the rudiments of morality, truth, honesty, purity, industry, etc. The attempt to be religious at the expense of morality is very ancient and is still very prevalent, and requires continually the prophetic rebuke (Mic 6^{5-8}).

(*b*) The literature in which the conscience of humanity has given utterance to itself. The whole field of history, biography, and fiction is opened up for the education of conscience. By diligent study, conscience grows informed, and becomes more sure of itself. Along with such general literature we may class the Bible. It requires no *à priori* doctrine of inspiration to establish the supremacy of biblical ethic. Here we have a revelation of right, which has never been seriously questioned, and has commanded the unaffected approval even of unbelievers. The Bible is the touchstone of conscience. Conscience can only be maintained in truth and vigour, according as it is continually refreshed by earnest study of the unveiling of the ideal contained in Scripture and principally in the character of Jesus Christ.

(*c*) Communion with God. Here we are on the borderland of ethic and religion. The education of books becomes the education of living intercourse. The conscience whose sole sources of information have been natural laws, or the records of literature, fails of the highest light, breaks down in critical instances, and is, besides, gloomy stern and hopeless. The conscience which rises through obedience to moral law and study of ethic into fellowship with Him who is Righteousness and Truth, becomes clear and full in its testimony, a reliable guide in the perplexities of life. Of course this result is not reached by a leap. It implies a process carried on through life. The growth of conscience will have its periods of weakness, onesidedness, acrid fanaticism, morbid tenderness, all of which must be most patiently borne with, not only by observers, but by the individual himself. Conscience will even pronounce judgments that are needless, foolish, or actually erroneous. The utmost care must be taken not to wound conscience at such times. Specially must it not be overborne by those who rejoice in higher light and claim a larger liberty. Their higher duty, indeed, may be to deny themselves a liberty which is their right (1 Co 8^{7-13} 10^{23-33}, Ro $15^{1.2}$). The stage of weakness is, however, in itself an effect of sin, and to continue in it is added sin. Strength and truth of conscience are the aim to be consciously striven after (He 5^{14}). The testimony of conscience is meant to be part of our assurance toward God (2 Co 1^{12}, 1 P 3^{21}).

iv. THE WITNESS OF CONSCIENCE.—The work of conscience lies, no doubt, within the moral sphere. But in considering the basis of ethics, we are led to see that moral action implies a reference to an infinite Personality as the ground and origin of man's personal being. Morality presupposes religion as the basis of its possibility, and prepares for religion through its incompleteness. Conscience, accordingly, as the supreme moral faculty, points beyond the merely moral sphere, and becomes a witness to the truth of religion. The witness of conscience is not to be regarded as logical demonstration. In point of fact, spiritual realities cannot be reached by logical processes. The only valid argument for religious truth is that which proceeds by consideration of the constitution of man, and discerns in that constitution the necessity of the existence of a Divine Being in whose image man has been made. In that argument, the witness of conscience forms an important element. To trace this witness fully belongs to dogmatics. We conclude this article by a bare outline of the direction which this witness takes.

1. *God.*—Conscience we have seen to be man's consciousness in action of right to be done. This is with equal truth to be described as the revelation of right within us, or the voice of God speaking in the soul of man. In moral action we are dealing with more than the judgments of our fellowmen, with more even than our own judgment upon ourselves. There is present in the court of conscience an invisible Assessor, who is, indeed, the ultimate source and standard of right by which the judgment proceeds. Individual experience presents this line of proof with an intensity which is best expressed in silence. Biography and history present the demonstration often with tragic articulateness. In conscience, the consciousness of God cannot be got rid of. It haunts the sinner in his revolt as shadow of doom. It accompanies the seeker in his upward movement with ever-growing confirmation. All other arguments for the being of God find their force increased by being combined with this. If the ontological argument leads us to a reason or universal self-consciousness, through man's relation to which knowledge is possible; if the argument *e contingentia mundi* brings us to an eternal substance in which all things inhere; if the teleological argument requires a purpose fulfilling itself in creation, —the moral argument enables us to define that reason, substance, purpose, as a Person whose very nature is righteousness. (See suggestive treatment in Illingworth, *Personality*, Lect. iv.)

2. *Christ.*—The constitution of man requires as its root a Personal God, to whom conscience in man ascribes moral perfection. But Personality is inconceivable apart from Self-revelation and Self-communication. An Incarnation of God, therefore, is profoundly congruous with the demand for God which arises out of the constitution of man. Jesus Christ is presented to the mind of man as such an Incarnation. It will scarcely be denied that He used language regarding Himself which implies such a claim. It is certain that the Church with growing fulness has made it on His behalf. Conscience makes in intensest form the demand for a Personal God. It is fair, therefore, to ask if conscience is satisfied with the claim advanced for Christ. Here there is no hesitation in the answer. The conscience of humanity has recognized in Christ, in His teaching and in His life, the final revelation of Good. Christ *is* the conscience of humanity. The words of J. S. Mill are often and justly adduced as consenting to this dictum. 'Even now it would not be easy, even for an unbeliever, to find a better translation of the rule of virtue from the abstract into the concrete than to endeavour so to live that Christ would approve our life.' Here we have a moral argument, not only for Theism, but for Christianity. Conscience, as Dorner finely says, becomes our 'παιδαγωγός' (Gal 3^{24}), and leads us through obedience into knowledge (Jn 7^{17}). Faith in Christ, accordingly, is no longer an act unrelated to our moral life, but is itself a moral obligation.

3. *Atonement.*—Conscience, especially as enlightened by Christianity, witnesses to infinite perfection. At the same time, it pronounces upon all our actions sentence of failure. Between the absolute good and the individual will there is ever a want of complete harmony. Conscience abates none of its condemnation, when action is largely harmonized with social institutions or codes of moral law. The more entirely it wins the mastery, the more stern is its refusal to be satisfied. Its demand is for absolute harmony with infinite good. Any breach it treats as infinite; and lays upon the heart the burden, not of shortcoming merely, but of guilt. The question of salvation, therefore, is a moral question. It is stated in Hebrews in this form, How can the conscience be cleansed from dead works to serve the living God? (He 9^{14}). How can the incubus of guilt be removed, so that

the will of man may act in unhindered harmony with the will of God? Two solutions conscience declines.

First, that of gratuitous forgiveness. God is sometimes represented as saying, in virtue of His bare almighty will, 'I forgive.' But mere sovereignty is mere unreason. And if to this be added, 'at the prompting of His tender heart,' the reply is still, mere feeling is mere unreason. In either case, the supreme arbiter of life is represented as mere caprice; and in order to save man from consequences of immoral act, we have confounded the whole moral sphere. To conscience, sin is a moral fact, and not until sin is dealt with can the relations of God and man be adjusted on a permanent, *i.e.* on a moral, basis.

Second, that of ritual observance. Action that is good, *i.e.* in absolute moral quality, can spring only from harmony with absolute good. Hence no action of a merely external kind can produce the requisite harmony. The historic demonstration of this incapacity is the Jewish ceremonial law. It did, indeed, cleanse, but the cleansing reached only to the flesh (He 9^{13}), and had to be constantly repeated (He 10$^{1.2}$). The practical point is that the most elaborate scheme ever devised—devised, be it observed, by divine wisdom—failed consciously and intentionally to reach the springs of action, emancipate the will, and purge the conscience. Is it likely that any other scheme will succeed, that any morality which human wisdom can devise or individual care execute, will accomplish what the law failed to do? Conscience steadily pronounces against every such attempt, in name, not of arbitrary creed, but of essential righteousness.

A third solution presents itself. Jesus Christ perfectly reveals God to man, because He is Himself true and perfect man. Accordingly, He not only unveils to men the Absolute Good, but as man He Himself fulfils this Good. If, then, He who is thus in inmost being one with the Good, that is, God, and perfectly satisfactory to Him, shall in virtue of His humanity take man's place, and bear as a substitute man's burden, offering Himself a sacrifice for sin, will not this meet the requirements of conscience? It is now possible, through faith in the Sin-bearer, to enter into that moral union with God which is the condition of good action. Sin no more interposes its barrier. It has been recognized and dealt with by One competent to do so. The blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered Himself without blemish unto God, avails to cleanse the conscience from dead works, and qualifies us to serve the living God (He 9^{14}). In the death of Christ the demand of conscience is satisfied through atonement being made for sin. In union to Christ through faith, the ideal to which conscience witnesses is no longer an impossibility for ever condemning us, but an actual realization upon the basis of which we are justified, and through the power of which we are enabled to fulfil the will of God (Ro 3^{25} 5$^{9.10}$ 6$^{15f.}$ 8$^{4-6}$). The witness of conscience, which brings us to God and Christ, directs us also to that which is central in Christianity, atonement made by sacrifice.

LITERATURE.—Special treatment of the doctrine of conscience is to be found in the ethical works of Dorner, Rothe, Harless, Wuttke, Hofmann, Martensen, Martineau, T. H. Green, Newman Smyth. The last has the advantage of exhibiting the place of conscience in relation to the whole system of Christian ethics. The Biblical Psychologies of Beck and Delitzsch also contain discussions of conscience. Monographs upon conscience have been written by R. H. Hofmann (*Die Lehre von dem Gewissen*, Leipzig, 1866), W. Gass (*Die Lehre vom Gewissen*, Berlin, 1869), A. Ritschl (*Ueber das Gewissen*; Ein Vortrag, Bonn, 1876), M. Kähler (*Das Gewissen*, Halle, 1878), F. D. Maurice (*The Conscience; Lectures on Casuistry*), W. T. Davison (*The Christian Conscience*; Fernley Lecture for 1888). An edition of Butler's *Three Sermons* has been published by T. & T. Clark, with Introduction and Notes by T. B. Kilpatrick; and see Gladstone's ed. of *Butler's Works*, 1896.

T. B. KILPATRICK.

CONSECRATE, CONSECRATION.—In OT several Heb. words are so tr^{d}: 1. *nâzar* Nu 6^{12} or *nêzer* Nu 6$^{7.9}$, better 'separate,' 'separation'; see NAZIRITE. 2. *ḳiddash* as in Ex 28^{3} 30^{30}, 2 Ch 31^{6}, Ezr 3^{5}, or *ḳôdesh* Jos 6^{19}, 2 Ch 29^{33}, better 'sanctify,' 'sanctification' (wh. see). 3. *heḥĕrîm* Mic 4^{13}, better 'devote' (see CURSE). 4. *millā' yâd*; this is the commonest and only characteristic expression for 'consecrate' (with *millû'îm* for 'consecration'): lit. 'fill the hand.' The origin of the phrase is quite obscure.* The Heb. *millû'îm* being plu., AV has 'consecrations' (Ex 29^{34}, Lv 7^{37} 8$^{28.31}$) without difference of meaning; RV sing. always. In Ex 29^{34} 'the flesh of the consecrations,' the c. is transferred to the offering by which the c. took place; so Lv 8^{28} 'they [the cake of unleavened bread, etc.] were consecrations for a sweet savour.'

J. HASTINGS.

CONSENT.—To c. is now no more than to acquiesce; in earlier Eng. it often included approval. Hence (1) to approve of a thing, Ac 8^{1} 'Saul was c^{ing} unto his death' (συνευδοκέω, so 22^{20}; in Lk 11^{48} tr^{d} 'allow'—'ye allow the deeds of your fathers,' RV 'consent unto'); Ro 7^{16} 'I c. unto the law that it is good' (σύμφημι). Cf. Shaks. 1 *Henry VI.* I. v. 34—

> 'You all consented unto Salisbury's death,
> For none would strike a stroke in his revenge.'

Or (2) to be in sympathy with a person, Ps 50^{18} 'When thou sawest a thief, then thou consentedst with him' (רָצָה); Ro 1^{32}, AVm, RV 'not only do the same, but also c. with them that practise them' (συνευδοκέω, AV 'have pleasure in them'). Cf. Ford (1633)—

> ''T had been pity
> To sunder hearts so equally consented.'

J. HASTINGS.

CONSIDER.—To c. is either to look carefully at or think carefully about. The former sense is now obsol. or archaic: Pr 31^{16} 'She c^{eth} a field and buyeth it'; Lv 13^{13} 'the priest shall c.' (*i.e. examine* the leper, רָאָה, RV 'look'); Sir 38^{28} 'The smith also sitting by the anvil, and c^{ing} the iron work'; He 13^{7} 'c^{ing} the end of their conversation' (ἀναθεωροῦντες); Gal 6^{1} 'c. thyself, lest thou also be tempted' (σκοπέω, RV 'looking to'). So Coverdale's tr. of Neh 2^{15} 'Then wente I on in the nighte . . . and considered the wall' (AV 'viewed'). 'Consider of' is now rare: Jg 19^{30} 'c. of it, take advice, and speak'; Ps 64^{9}; Pref. to AV '[they] set them forth openly to be c^{ed} of and perused by all.'

J. HASTINGS.

CONSIST.—Col 1^{17} 'by him all things c.' (συνέστηκε, RVm 'hold together') = mod. 'subsist.' This is the oldest meaning of the word and the tr. of the Rhemish NT; Tindale gives 'have their being,' and is followed by Cranmer and the Geneva; Wyclif simply 'ben' = are.

J. HASTINGS.

CONSOLATION.—See COMFORT.

CONSORT.—To c. with is to associate with, cast in one's lot with (*con* together, *sors, sortem* lot); Ac 17^{4} 'some of them believed, and c^{ed} with Paul and Silas' (a good idiomatic tr. of the Gr. προσκληρόω, fr. πρός to, κλῆρος lot, though the form is pass., lit. 'were allotted to'). Up to the end of the 18th cent. a concert of music was, by a mistaken association with this word, spelt 'consort,' though it comes through Fr. *concert*, It. *concerto* from Lat. *concertare* to contend (or, as Skeat decidedly prefers, *conserere* to unite). Cf. *Rom. and Jul.* III. i. 48—

---

* It is used of the consecration of the *priest* only (except Ezk 43^{26} the *altar*), and the most probable explanation is that the things to be offered were put into the priest's hands, a symbolic act by which he was installed or consecrated. Some (esp. Vatke, *Alttest. Theol.* p. 273 f., and Wellhausen, *Prol.*^{3} p. 130) think that the priest's hand was filled with money as 'earnest' (Scotch *arles*). See PRIESTS AND LEVITES.

> '*Tybalt.*—Mercutio, thou consort'st with Romeo,—
> *Mer.*—Consort! what! dost thou make us minstrels?'

In Sir 32^{5} AV 1611 we have 'A consort of musick in a banquet of wine' (*σύγκριμα μουσικῶν*), but mod. edd. spell 'concert.' See MUSIC. J. HASTINGS.

CONSTANT.—1 Ch 28^{7} 'if he be c. to do my commandments' (אִם־יֶחֱזַק=if he be *firm*). Cf. Shaks. *Jul. Cæs.* III. i. 72—

> 'For I was constant Cimber should be banish'd,
> And constant do remain to keep him so.'

Constantly: Pr 21^{28} 'the man that heareth speaketh c.,' *i.e.* 'confidently,' not 'frequently' (נֶצַח, RV 'unchallenged,' RVm 'so as to endure'); Ac 12^{15} 'she c. affirmed that it was even so' (*διϊσχυρίζετο*, RV 'confidently affirmed'); Tit 3^{8} 'these things I will that thou affirm c.' (*διαβεβαιοῦσθαι*, RV 'affirm confidently'). Cf. the Collect for St. John Baptist's Day, 'After his example c. speak the truth,' *i.e.* firmly, consistently. J. HASTINGS.

CONSULT.—1. To take counsel, deliberate, used of a single person, as Neh 5^{7} 'Then I c^{ed} with myself'; Lk 14^{31} 'Or what king, going to make war against another king, sitteth not down first, and c^{eth} whether he be able' (RV 'will not . . . take counsel'). 2. To devise, contrive, with a simple object, as Mic 6^{5} 'remember now what Balak king of Moab c^{ed}'; Hab 2^{10} 'Thou hast c^{ed} shame to thy house'; or with an infin., as Ps 62^{4} 'They only c. to cast him down from his excellency.'
J. HASTINGS.

CONSUMPTION.—In Lv 26^{16}, Dt 28^{22} the ref. is to the disease (see MEDICINE). But in Is 10^{22} (כִּלָּיוֹן) and 10^{23} 28^{22} (כָּלָה, RV 'consummation,' as Dn 9^{27} AV) the meaning is 'thorough ending.' So Foxe (*Act. and Mon.* iii. 56) says, 'Christ shall sit . . . at the right hand of God, till the consumption of the world.' J. HASTINGS.

CONTAIN.—1 Co 7^{9} 'if they cannot c., let them marry' (RV 'if they have not continency,' *ἐγκρατεύομαι*, fr. *ἐν*, *κράτος* power='have self-control'; it is tr^{d} 'be temperate' 9^{25}). Cf. Young, *Paraphr. Job* (1719), 'Then Job contained no more; but curs'd his fate'; and for the meaning here, Swift, *Letters* (1710), 'No wonder she married when she was so ill at containing.' Wyclif's tr. (after the Vulg. *si non se continent*) is, 'For if thei conteynen not hem silf, *or ben not chast*, weddid be thei.'
J. HASTINGS.

CONTEND.—Generally 'c. with' in the mod. sense of 'fight with,' as Is 49^{25} 'I will c. with him that c^{eth} with thee'; or 'argue with,' as Ac 11^{2} 'they that were of the circumcision c^{ed} with him, saying.' But in the latter sense c. is also found without 'with,' as Is 57^{16} 'I will not c. for ever' (prob.=argue with, accuse, condemn); Job 13^{8} 'will ye c. for God?' (=argue with others for God, be an advocate for God), Am 7^{4} 'the Lord God called to c. by fire' (=argue, and so Mic 6^{1} 'c. thou before the mountains, and let the hills hear thy voice'). In all these passages the Heb. is רִיב *rîbh*. In Jude ^{3} 'ye should earnestly c. for the faith' (*ἐπαγωνίζομαι*), the meaning passes out of strife or argument into the wider sphere of earnest endeavour; as with the simple *ἀγωνίζομαι* in Lk 13^{24} 'Strive to enter in at the strait gate,' and Col 4^{12} 'labouring fervently for you in prayers' (RV 'always striving for you'), and as Bacon, *Essays*, 'Let a man contend, to excell any Competitors of his in Honour.'
J. HASTINGS.

CONTENT.—When Gehazi in his greed begged of Naaman a talent of silver, Naaman said (2 K 5^{23}), 'Be content, take two talents.' Evidently he did not mean 'be satisfied,' but 'be pleased, let it be your pleasure.' So also Ex 2^{21}, Jos 7^{7}, Jg 17^{11} 19^{6}, 2 K 6^{3}, Job 6^{28} (RV 'be pleased') where the Heb. is [יָאַל] *yâ'al* in hiph.='acquiesce,' and where the Eng. is obsol. except in the phrase 'well c.,' as Stevenson, *Underwoods*, I. xxv. 55 (1887), 'So sits the while at home the mother well content.' Cf. the voting formula 'Content' or 'non-Content' used in the House of Lords. In this sense the vb. content is also used, Wis 16^{20} 'bread . . . able to c. every man's delight' (RV 'having the virtue of every pleasant savour'), with which cf. Bacon, *Essays*, 'He that questioneth much, shall learne much, and content much.' J. HASTINGS.

CONTENTMENT.—This is a peculiarly Christian grace, and the form it assumes in the Bible, and esp. in the NT, differentiates it from the allied pagan virtues. It is quite distinct from Oriental apathy, which is pessimistic, while Christian contentment is nearer optimism; and it is almost equally distinct from the calm of Stoicism, because it does not regard external things with absolute indifference, despise pain and pleasure, and rest in its self-sufficiency. It is more cheerful than Buddhism, more human than Stoicism. While it implies a just appreciation of the good and ill of life, it does not base itself on the balance of fortune, but finds its source and its sustenance in the unseen world. The most elementary form of contentment is extolled in the Book of Proverbs as a certain discreet expediency. Here the secret of domestic content is given in the apothegm, 'Better is a dinner of herbs where love is, than a stalled ox and hatred therewith' (Pr 15^{17}), and the superiority of moral to material grounds of content in the saying, 'Better is the poor that walketh in his integrity, than he that is perverse in his lips, and is a fool' (Pr 19^{1}). In the Psalms we meet with more indications of the contentment which is derived directly from faith in God. This is seen in two forms. (1) Trust in Providence, which leads to the conviction that the righteous man's life is rightly ordered so that no evil can befall him (*e.g.* Ps 23). (2) An appreciation of the supreme blessedness of union with God, which is independent of external fortune, God Himself being the portion of the soul (*e.g.* Ps 73^{26}). The prophets concern themselves largely with public affairs, and in so doing never encourage injustice and oppression by preaching an ignoble acquiescence in wrong. In them we see the divine discontent which cannot endure the triumph of the rich and strong over their unhappy victims. Still the essence of the higher contentment is also present in the faith which is assured of God's care for His people and His coming redemption of them, and the promise of the Messianic age, the hope of which should check impatience and prevent despair.

Our Lord's teachings carry the higher forms of contentment up to their supreme excellency. He did not come into contact with those ideas of the prophets which concern the more public treatment of social wrongs, because His method was to work from within, and perhaps because the contemporary condition of the Roman world did not admit of a sudden social revolution. Accordingly He did not contradict the preaching of John the Baptist, who discouraged restless agitation (Lk 3^{14}); and He said nothing directly against the institution of slavery. On the other hand, He inculcated principles of justice, charity, and brotherhood, the effect of which must be to sweep away the wrongs which provoke the most reasonable discontent. In training His disciples personally He rebuked greed of gain and anxiety about temporal affairs, encouraging contentment, (1) by giving the assurance that our Father knows of our needs, and will provide for them, since He provides even for those of birds and flowers; (2) by directing attention to the true riches, the heavenly treasures, which can alone satisfy the soul of man; and (3) by urging the duty of seeking first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, discontent being a phase of self-seeking, and therefore a sin (Lk 12$^{13-32}$). St. Paul inculcates the patient endurance of present sufferings on the grounds of *hope*, these sufferings not being worthy to be compared with the future glory (Ro 8^{18}), and even working for that glory (2 Co 4^{17}); and of *faith*, all things working together for good to them that love God (Ro 8^{28}). Towards the end of his life, when a prisoner at Rome, he claims to have learned the secret of contentment, and he implies that this is found in a certain independence of external things—he has learned to be 'independent' (αὐτάρκης), and he has reached this attainment, as also all others to which he has come, because Christ has strengthened him (Ph 4$^{11-13}$). The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews encourages contentment by reference to God's fatherly chastisement of His children (12$^{5-13}$). St. James rebukes covetousness and contentiousness, and encourages a humble, restful spirit with especial reference to the efficacy of prayer (Ja 4$^{1-10}$ 5$^{7-18}$). St. Peter inculcates patience by dwelling on the example of Christ (1 P 2$^{18-25}$); and St. John endurance of the world's hatred by considering the love of God (1 Jn 3$^{1.13}$). W. F. ADENEY.

CONTRARY.—1. In the sense of 'antagonistic,' c. is now obsol. or dialectic, except in ref. to wind or weather, where the phrase in NT, 'the wind was c.,' has kept the meaning alive. This is the meaning of c. in Lv 26, where it is used as tr. of קְרִי *ḳĕrî* in all its occurrences (26$^{21.23.24.27.28.40.41}$), 'if ye walk c. unto me,' lit. 'in an encounter,' in hostile meeting and revolt, inimically, as Kalisch explains. In NT this is the only meaning, whether the Gr. be ἐναντίος, 'c.' of wind (Mt 14^{24}, Mk 6^{48}, Ac 27^{4}); of Saul's opposition, Ac 26^{9} 'I verily thought with myself that I ought to do many things c. to the name of Jesus of Nazareth'; of the opponents of Christianity, 1 Th 2^{15} (the Jews), Tit 2^{8} 'he that is of the c. part'; or ὑπεναντίος, Col 2^{14} 'the handwriting . . . which was c. to us (ὃ ἦν ὑπεναντίον ἡμῖν describes its *active hostility*—Lightfoot); or ἀπέναντι, Ac 17^{7} 'these all do c. to the decrees of Cæsar,' a charge of treason; or ἀντίκειμαι, Gal 5^{17} 'the Spirit and the flesh . . . are c. the one to the other'; 1 Ti 1^{10}; or even παρά, Ac 18^{13}, Ro 11^{24} 16^{17}. 2. In 2 Es 11$^{3.11}$ c. is used in the sense of opposite in position or direction, 'out of her feathers there grew other c. feathers.' **Contrariwise** (a hybrid, fr. Lat. *contrarius* and Eng. *wise*, way) = 'on the c.,' occurs 2 Co 2^{7}, Gal 2^{7}, 1 P 3^{9}.
J. HASTINGS.

CONTRIBUTION.—See COMMUNION.

CONTRITE (Lat. *contrītus*, bruised, crushed) appears early in Eng. in a fig.* sense, 'bruised in heart,' prob. through the influence of the Vulg. and the Eng. versions, and nearly always with the meaning of *penitent*. Thus Wyclif (1380), *Select Works*, ii. 400, 'To assoile men that ben contrite'; Milton, *Par. Lost*, x. 1091—

> 'Pardon beg, with tears
> Watering the ground, and with our sighs the air
> Frequenting, sent from hearts contrite.'

This is the meaning of c. in AV and RV. But popular as the tr. has been, it is inaccurate, for the Heb. (דַּכָּא Ps 34^{18} 51^{17}, Is 57$^{15\ bis}$, נְכֵה Is 66^{2}) so tr^{d} never describes penitence, but always humility, abasement. Certainly, God will 'not despise a broken and a *penitent* heart'; but more than that, He will not despise a broken and a *crushed* heart: 'Blessed are the poor in spirit.' J. HASTINGS.

CONVENIENT, now greatly restricted in meaning, is freely used in AV in the sense of befitting, becoming, seemly, as Eph 5^{4} 'Neither filthiness, nor foolish talking, nor jesting, which are not c.' (RV 'befitting'): so Pr 30^{8} (RV 'that is needful'), Jer 40$^{4.5}$, Wis 13^{15} 'a c. room,' not 'commodious,' but 'befitting' (ἄξιος, RV 'worthy'), Sir 10^{23} (RV 'right'), 2 Mac 4^{19} (RV 'fit'), Ro 1^{28} (RV 'befitting'), Philem ^{8} (RV 'befitting'). In *Merchant of Venice*, III. iv. 52, Portia says, 'Bring them, I pray thee, with imagined speed,' *i.e.* quick as thought; to which Balthasar replies, 'Madam, I go with all convenient speed,' *i.e.* speed befitting the urgency. In the sense of 'morally becoming' (as Ro 1^{28}, Eph 5^{4}, Philem ^{8}) the word was once quite common, as Trans. of *Agrippa's Van Artes* (1684), 'She sang and danc'd more exquisitely than was convenient for an honest woman.'
J. HASTINGS.

CONVENT.—Jer 49^{19} AVm, 'who will c. me in judgment?' and 50^{44} AVm, 'who will c. me to plead?'—an obsolete vb. = summon (*convenīre*). Cf. Elsing, *Debates House of Lords* (1621), 'The Commons have convented Flood, examyned him, and sentenced him.' J. HASTINGS.

CONVERSATION.—The word never occurs in AV in its modern sense of colloquy, but always in its earlier sense of conduct, behaviour. But as intercourse by speech is a large part of conduct, the word was specialized to its present limited sense at an early date (not much later than the date of AV). See *Oxf. Eng. Dict.** 'Conversation' in AV is probably due to Vulg. *conversatio*, *conversor*. These usually stand in Vulg. for NT ἀναστροφή, ἀναστρέφεσθαι, though in two cases, Ph 1^{27} and 3^{20}, they represent πολιτεύομαι and πολίτευμα. On these latter passages see CITIZENSHIP. In one instance where Vulg. renders πολιτεία by *conversatio* (Eph 2^{12}), AV departs from the guidance of Vulg. and correctly renders 'commonwealth.' In a few other places AV does not render by 'have our c.' but by 'behave,' 'live,' 'pass the time of.'

The true equivalent of ἀναστροφή in mod. Eng. is 'conduct'; and it is an unfortunate result of the AV archaism 'conversation' that the real prominence of conduct in NT teaching is obscured (see ETHICS). Indeed, the substantive 'conduct' nowhere occurs in AV, though RV wisely introduces it in 2 Ti 3^{10} to represent ἀγωγή.

There are but two passages in OT where c. occurs (Ps 37^{14} and 50^{23}). In both it represents דֶּרֶךְ 'way.' Conduct in OT is thought of under the metaphor of walking, and the words describing it are literally tr^{d}, hence abstract nouns to express moral conduct do not occur. Hatch (*Essays in Bibl. Gr.* p. 9) sees the conditions of Syr. and Gr. life respectively mirrored in the metaphors which the two nations severally employed for conduct, viz. περιπατεῖν and ἀναστρέφεσθαι. 'Whereas in Athens and Rome the bustling activity of the streets gave rise to the conception of life as a quick movement to and fro; the constant intercourse on foot between village and village in Syria, and the difficulties of travel on the stony tracks over the hills, gave rise to the metaphors which regard life as a journey.' But the OT metaphor naturally runs on into the NT, and in Epp. of St. Paul περιπατεῖν is far more frequent than ἀναστρέφεσθαι. Christianity is 'the Way.' Cf. Hort, '*Way, Truth, and Life*,' Lect. I.

---

* *Contritus* is never fig. until under the influence of the Vulg., while the Heb. word tr^{d} 'contrite' four times out of five in AV is never literal.

* A good example of conversation in the old as distinguished from the mod. sense, is in Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Prog.* 'Your Conversation gives this your Mouth-profession, the lye.'

The NT words for converse in its modern sense are ὁμιλεῖν (Lk $24^{14.15}$ ‘they talked together’), συνομιλεῖν (Ac 10^{27}). E. R. BERNARD.

CONVERSION.—The noun (ἐπιστροφή) occurs only once in Scripture, Ac 15^3 (cf. Sir 49^2), where it need not denote the definite spiritual change belonging to the word in the verb-form. The verb-form (ἐπιστρέφειν) is frequently found both in OT and NT, answering in the former to such Heb. terms as הָפַךְ, פָּנָה, and esp. שׁוּב. The point to be noted is that it almost invariably denotes an act of man: ‘Turn ye, turn ye (שׁוּבוּ) from your evil ways’ (Ezk 33^{11}); ‘Except ye turn’ (Mt 18^3); ‘When thou hast turned again’ (Lk 22^{32}), etc. It is worth noting also that ‘convert’ is merely a synonym for ‘turn,’ and answers to the same originals. In Ps 19^7 ‘converting’ is a mistransl. of מְשִׁיבַת (RV correctly ‘restoring,’ *i.e.* ‘refreshing,’ cf. Ps 23^3 and La 1^{11}). In Is 1^{27} ‘her converts’ (AVm, RVm ‘they that return of her’) is too technical a trⁿ of שָׁבֶיהָ. Whatever the causes lying behind the act of turning, the act itself is man’s. The idea is esp. prominent in OT; and, while in NT it is often brought into connexion with repentance, in OT the term *repent* seldom occurs in reference to man. Many times it is used to denote an apparent change of purpose on the part of God (Gn 6^6 etc.), but very seldom in the same sense of man (1 K 8^{47}, Job 42^6). It never there becomes a standing term, as in NT. Twice at least in NT, ‘turn’ is associated with ‘repent’ (Ac 3^{19} 26^{20}). We find the term also similarly associated with faith: ‘A great number that believed turned to the Lord’ (Ac 11^{21}). As the very idea of the word implies both a turning *from* and a turning *to* something, it seems equally natural to make the former aspect coincide with repentance, which is a turning from evil, and the latter coincide with faith, which is a turning to God. In other words, conversion on its negative side is repentance, and on its positive side is faith. In some cases one element will be emphasized, in some the other; and in some both will be included. This interpretation will, we believe, explain all the passages of Scripture. ‘Repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ’ (Ac 20^{21}), though the term conversion does not occur, expresses the contents of the idea.

Nor is the divine ground of these acts of man overlooked: ‘Unto you first, God, having raised up his Servant, sent him to bless you, in turning away every one of you from your iniquities’ (Ac 3^{26}; cf. Jn 6^{44}). The ancient prophet held the same faith: ‘Turn thou me, and I shall be turned’* (Jer 31^{18}). Sinful man turns, but the power by which he does so is God’s, given him for Christ’s sake; just as the stretching out of the withered hand was man’s act, but the power by which it was done was divine. The prophets are addressing, not the good, but the wicked; the wicked are to turn and live. In like manner the apostolic exhortations are addressed to those who have not yet come to God.

There is thus little difficulty in fixing both the nature of conversion and its place in the order of salvation in biblical teaching. It is man’s first act under the leading of divine grace in the process of salvation, the initial step in the transition from evil to good. A universal presence and operation of grace is a necessary corollary of universal atonement; the universal work of the Spirit goes along with the universal work of the Redeemer, always, of course, assuming the necessity of conditions on man’s part. The fulfilment of the conditions, divine grace supplying the power, is biblical conversion. Subsequently conversion has been identified with regeneration; and there is less objection to such use, if the term is so defined and accepted.

Scripture recognizes not only divine grace as the efficient cause of conversion, but also human agency in bringing it about. This is the preaching of the truth by prophets and apostles: in other words, the proclamation of God’s truth by men who are themselves witnesses to its power. This is not only implied in the passages already referred to, but is expressly mentioned in other places, *e.g.* Ac 10^{44} 14^1. The importance of the channel which conveys the water, or of the wire which conveys the force, although secondary, is still great. While recognizing that, as a rule, divine grace works through human means and instruments, we need not doubt that it also can and does often work independently.

J. S. BANKS.

CONVERT.—In AV c. is used once intransitively, Is 6^{10} ‘lest they see with their eyes . . . and convert and be healed’ (RV ‘turn again’). Cf. Wyclif’s tr. of Jn 1^{38} (1382) ‘Sothli Ihesu convertid and seynge hem suwynge him, seith to hem, What seken ye?’ The most frequent meaning of c. in early Eng. (and in AV) is simply to turn (*e.g.* Is 60^5); but the mod. use was known, as Shaks. *Merch. of Ven.* III. v. 37: ‘in converting Jews to Christians you raise the price of pork.’ In Ps 23^3 for AV ‘he restoreth my soul,’ Douay reads ‘he hath conuerted my soule,’ with the remark, ‘which is the first justification.’ See CONVERSION. J. HASTINGS.

CONVINCE.—Certainly in most, probably in all the examples of c. in AV, the meaning is to *convict*. Job 32^{12} ‘There was none of you that convinced Job’ (מוֹכִיחַ, cf. Ps 50^{21}, Pr 30^6 where EV have ‘reprove,’ but ‘convict’ would be better); Job’s friends did not try to convince him merely, but to convict him, find him in the wrong, and that is probably the meaning both of the Heb. and of the English. In NT the Gr. is either the simple ἐλέγχω Jn 8^{46} ‘Which of you c^{eth} me of sin?’; 1 Co 14^{24} ‘he is c^{ed} of all, he is judged of all’; Tit 1^9 ‘to c. the gainsayers’ (not merely refute in argument, but convict in conscience); Ja 2^9 ‘are c^{ed} of the law’; Jude ^{15} (edd.; TR ἐξελέγχω) ‘to c. all that are ungodly among them of their ungodly deeds’; or διακατελέγχομαι, a compound occurring here only in all Gr. literature, Ac 18^{28} ‘he mightily c^{ed} the Jews’ (RV ‘powerfully confuted’; but from the analogy of other passages it is prob. that St. Luke means that the apostle brought home moral blame to them, not merely that he refuted their arguments). Cf. Milton, *Par. Reg.* iii. 3, ‘Satan stood . . . confuted, and convinc’t’; and Adams, *Serm.* ii. 38, ‘Whatsoever is written is written either for our instruction or destruction; to convert us if we embrace it, to convince us if we despise it.’

J. HASTINGS.

CONVOCATION.—See CONGREGATION. **COOKING.**—See FOOD. **COPPER.**—See BRASS.

COPTIC VERSION.—See EGYPTIAN VERSIONS. **COR.**—See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

CORAL (רָאמוֹת) is twice (or thrice, if we include Pr 24^7 where ‘too high’ is tr. of same word) mentioned in OT, Job 28^{18} and Ezk 27^{16}; and as coral is abundant in the waters of the Mediterranean, the reference in the latter to Syria as a ‘merchant in coral’ is peculiarly appropriate (cf. Dillm. Job 28^{18}). Red coral (*Corallium rubrum*) is probably meant, as being specially suited for ornament; but from the rareness of ornaments of this material, found amongst those of Egypt and Phœnicia, we may conclude that it was not in much request, at least in OT times; on the other hand, the material may have crumbled away, or been dissolved.

---

* The Heb. is simply ‘I will turn.’ Cf. La 5^{21}, where the same passive form is adopted in both AV and RV. This unfortunate mistransl. implies a technical dogmatic sense, which is not in the original Cf. RV of Ps 51^{13}, Mt 13^{15}, Lk 22^{32}

The polyps, or animals producing coral, belong to those members of the *Actinozoa* which secrete a hard, generally calcareous, skeleton. They flourish in the warm waters of the Mediterranean and Indian Ocean, where these are clear and free from sediment, at various depths down to about 80 fathoms or more. The most important fisheries are off the coasts of Tunis, Algeria, Naples, Genoa, Sardinia, and Corsica. E. HULL.

COR-ASHAN (AV Chor-ashan, 1 S 30^{30}) is the present reading (כּוֹר־עָשָׁן) of MT, but the orig. text was undoubtedly Bor-ashan (בּוֹר־ע׳), as is evident from the LXX (A Βωρασάν, B Βηρσάβεε). Cf. notes of Budde, Driver, and Wellh. *ad loc.* The place may be the same as Ashan of Jos 15^{42} 19^{7}.
J. A. SELBIE.

CORBAN (Heb. קָרְבָּן *ḳorbân*) means (1) an oblation;* (2) a gift. The word occurs Mk 7^{11} 'If a man shall say to his father or his mother, That wherewith thou mightest have been profited by me is Corban, that is to say, Given (to God), ye no longer suffer him to do aught for his father or his mother' (cf. Mt 15^{5} RV). The Talmudic treatise *Nedarim* (=vows) discloses that the Jews were much addicted to rash vows; and קָרְבָּן, or its equivalent קוֹנָס (=*ḳōnaṣ*, which according to Levy is a corruption of קוֹנָם, *ḳōnām*), was in constant use; so that it gradually became a mere formula of interdiction, without any intention of making the thing interdicted 'a gift to God.' A man seeing his house on fire says, 'My tallith shall be ḳorban, if it is not burnt,' *Ned.* iii. 6. In making a vow of abstinence he says, 'Ḳonaṣ be the food (vi. 1) or the wine (viii. 1) which I taste.' When a man resolves not to plough a field, he says, 'Ḳonaṣ be the field, if I plough it,' iv. 7. Repudiation of a wife is thus expressed, 'What my wife might be benefited by me is ḳonaṣ (קוֹנָם אִשְׁתִּי נֶהֱנֵת לִי), because she has stolen my cup' or 'struck my son,' iii. 2; while the precise Heb. formula of our text is קָרְבָּן שֶׁאַתְּ נֶהֱנָה לִי, viii. 11 (Lowe's *Mishna*).

In *Nedarim*, c. ix., retractation of, and absolution from, vows is considered. The problem was a knotty one. Oblations were needed for the sanctuary, and vows were a fruitful source of income; and besides this, Dt 23^{21-23} most rigorously forbade any retractation of vows; and therefore the Rabbis, while they did not encourage vows, ruled that when made they *must* be kept. Here arises an extreme case. A man in haste or passion has vowed that nothing of his shall ever again go to the maintenance of his parents. Must *that* vow hold good? 'Certainly,' the Rabbis say. 'It is hard for the parents, but the law is clear, vows must be kept.' Thus, as often, did they allow the literal to override the ethical. Jesus revealed a different 'spirit,' as He ruled that 'duty to parents is a far higher law than fulfilment of a rash vow.'

R. Eliezer ben Hyrkanos (*c.* A.D. 90), who felt in several ways the influence of Christianity, was apparently the first Rabbi to advocate retractation of vows. I render *Nedarim* 9^{1} thus: 'R. Eliezer said that when rash vows infringe at all on parental obligations, Rabbis should suggest a retractation (*lit.* open a door) by appealing to the honour due to parents. The sages dissented. R. Zadok said, instead of appealing to the honour due to parents let them appeal to the honour due to God; then might rash vows cease. The sages at length agreed with R. Eliezer, that if the case be directly between a man and his parents (as in Mt 15^{5}), they might suggest retractation by appealing to the honour due to parents.'

LITERATURE.—The best elucidation is direct from the Mishna; next from Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus*, c. xxxi.; Mt 15^{5} and Mk 7^{11} are diversely discussed by Wetstein, Grotius, Lightfcot (*Hor. Heb.*), Morison, and in Wünsche's *Erlaüterung*
J. T. MARSHALL.

CORD.—1. חֶבֶל, Arab. *ḥabl*, the common name for rope in Syria. It is translated in RV 'cord' in Jos 2^{15}, Job 36^{8} etc.; 'line' in Mic 2^{5}, 2 S 8^{2}, Ps 16^{6} 78^{55}, Am 7^{17}, Zec 2^{1}; 'ropes' in 1 K 20^{31}; and 'tacklings' in Is 33^{23}. In Syria ropes and cords are made of goat's or camel's hair spun into threads, and then plaited or twisted. Sometimes they are made of strips of goat's skin or cow's hide twisted together. In modern times ropes of hemp are more commonly used. 2. עֲבֹת, Arab. *rŭbŭṭ*, 'band,' a binding or fastening. It is so translated in Ezk 3^{25}, Job 39^{10}, Hos 11^{4}; but 'ropes' in Jg $15^{13.14}$; 'cords' in Ps 118^{27} 129^{4}; and 'cart rope' in Is 5^{18}. The word has the meaning of something interlaced or twisted. See BAND. Besides the common ropes mentioned above, ropes for temporary fastenings are often made from branches of vines interlaced or twisted together, and also from the bark of branches of the mulberry tree. 3. מֵיתָר, Arab. *aṭnâb*, tent ropes, trans. 'cords' in Ex 35^{18} 39^{40}, Is 54^{2}, and Jer 10^{20}. Tent ropes, among the Bedawin, are made of goat's or camel's hair. 4. חוּט, Arab. *khaiṭ*, line, tr. 'cord' in Ec 4^{12}. 5. יֶתֶר, Arab. *wittar*, catgut. In Jg 16^{7} this word is translated 'withes,' in RVm 'bowstring,' which is probably correct. In Job 30^{11} AV 'my cord' may mean 'bowstring' or the 'rein' of a bridle; in Ps 11^{2} 'bowstring.' Catgut is often made in the villages of Lebanon. In the NT σχοινίον, ropes of rushes, is translated 'cord' in Jn 2^{15}, and 'ropes' in Ac 27^{32}. W. CARSLAW.

CORIANDER SEED (גַּד *gad*, κόριον, *coriandrum*).—The fruit of an umbelliferous plant, *Coriandrum sativum*, L., extensively cultivated in the East. It is an annual, with two kinds of leaves, the lower divided into two to three pairs of ovate-cuneate, dentate segments, the upper much dissected into linear-setaceous lobes. The fruits are ovate-globular, straw-coloured, twice as large as a hemp seed, and striate. They have a warm, aromatic taste, and stomachic, carminative properties. Avicenna recites (ii. 198) a long list of virtues attributed to it, in a variety of diseases. The only mention of it in the Bible is in comparison with the size and colour of manna (Ex 16^{31}, Nu 11^{7}). The Arabic name of it is *kuzbarah*. G. E. POST.

CORINTH (Κόρινθος) was in many respects the most important city of Greece (*i.e.* Achaia, according to the Rom. appellation, cf. Ac 20^{2} with 19^{21}) under the Rom. Empire. Whereas Athens was the educational centre, the seat of the greatest university in the world at that time, and the city to which the memories of Greek freedom and older history clung most persistently, C. was the capital of the Rom. province (see ACHAIA), the centre of government and commerce, of actual life and political development in the country; while its situation, again, on the great central route between Rome and the East, made it one of the knots towards which converged a number of subordinate roads. In this last respect it was the next stage to Ephesus (wh. see) on this great highway, and must have been in very close and frequent communication with it. The situation of C. qualified it to be the most important centre whence any new movement in thought or society might radiate over the entire province of Achaia; and therefore it became one of the small list of cities (along with Syrian Antioch and Ephesus) which were most closely connected with the early spread of Christianity towards the West.

C. occupied a striking and powerful position.

---

* In this sense very frequently in Lv and Nu (all P), elsewhere Ezk 20^{28} 40^{43} only.

It was situated at the southern extremity of the narrow isthmus which connected the Peloponnesus with the mainland of Greece, on a slightly raised terrace, sloping up from the low-lying plain to a bold rock, the *Acrocorinthus,* which rises abruptly on the south side of the city to the height of over 1800 ft. above sea-level. Thus the city was easy of access from both east and west, and at the same time possessed of great military importance, on account of its powerful citadel. Its strength was increased by its fortifications, which not merely surrounded the city, but also connected it by the 'Long Walls' with its harbour Lechæum on the western sea, about 1½ miles (12 stadia) distant. Its situation enabled it to command all land communication between central Greece and the Peloponnesus. Along the southern edge of the isthmus stretches a ridge called Oneion from E. to W.; and the Acrocorinthus, which from the north seems to be an isolated rock, is really a spur of Oneion, though separated from the ridge by a deep cleft or ravine. This ridge makes communication with the Peloponnesus difficult, leaving only three paths—one along the western sea (Corinthian Gulf), commanded by Lechæum and the Long Walls, one close under the walls of Corinth, and one along the eastern sea (Saronic Gulf), commanded by the other harbour of Corinth named Cenchreæ (Ac 18^{18}, Ro 16^{1}), about 8½ miles (70 stadia) distant from the city. The Acrocorinthus commands a wonderful view over both seas, on the E. the Saronic Gulf, and on the W. the Corinthian,* and over the low lands bordering the two seas, up to the mountains both in the Peloponnesus and in central Greece; the acropolis of Athens, Mount Parnassus, and many other famous points are clearly visible.

Through its two harbours C. bestrode the isthmus, with one foot planted on each sea; and hence it is called 'two-sea'd Corinth' (*bimaris Corinthi mœnia,* Horace, *Od.* i. 7); and Philip IV. of Macedon called it one of the 'fetters of Greece'; the other two being Chalcis in Eubœa and Demetrias in Thessaly. But the territory belonging to the city was confined and unproductive (except the fertile though narrow strip of soil extending along the Corinthian Gulf towards Sicyon); the low ground of the Isthmus was poor and stony; and Oneion was mere rock. Hence the population was at once tempted by two quiet seas, and compelled by the churlish land, to turn to maritime enterprise; and there lay the greatness of C. so long as Greece was free. Only when Greece was enslaved did C. become one of the fetters of the country.

It was customary in ancient times to haul ships across the low and narrow Isthmus by a made route, called Diolkos (δίολκος), between the W. and the E. sea. Owing to the dread entertained by ancient sailors for the voyage round the southern capes of the Peloponnesus (especially Malea), as well as to the saving of time effected on the voyage from Italy to the Asian coast by the Corinthian route, many smaller ships were thus carried bodily across the Isthmus; though the larger ships (such as that in which St. Paul sailed, Ac $27^{6.37}$) could never have been treated in that way. Many travellers along the great route from Italy to the East came to Lechæum in one ship, and sailed east in another from Cenchreæ, while the merchandise of large ships must have been transhipped; and thus Corinth was thronged with travellers. Under Nero an attempt was made about A.D. 66–67 to cut a ship-canal across the Isthmus (after several earlier schemes had been frustrated as an impious interference with the divine will); and traces of the works were observable before the present ship-canal was made.* The canal was intended to be some distance north of the two harbours, and would have damaged their prosperity. In such a city any new movement of thought originating in the East was certain to become known rapidly, in the frequent intercourse that was maintained between Rome and the East. Moreover, Christians travelling for various reasons were often likely to pass through C.; and hence St. Paul calls Gaius of Corinth 'my host and of the whole Church' (Ro 16^{23}). In the end of the 1st cent. Clement, writing to the Church at C., alludes several times (§ 1, § 10, § 35), to the frequent occasion which the people had to show hospitality to travellers.

In this situation C. had generally been the leading commercial city of Greece. Historical reasons, indeed, occasionally endangered its trading supremacy for a time; sometimes the energy of the Athenians, or of some other rivals, challenged it; and at last the Romans destroyed the city in B.C. 146. But the favourable situation which had made it the originator in Greek history of great fleets and of commercial enterprise on a large scale, and enabled it to become the mother-city of many colonies in the central and western parts of the Mediterranean, could not allow it to remain a ruin and a mere historical memory. For a time, indeed, Delos succeeded to its commercial supremacy, and Sicyon to its presidency at the Isthmian Games; but in B.C. 46 it was refounded by Julius Cæsar as a Rom. colony, under the name *Colonia Laus Julia Corinthus.* Hence a considerable proportion of the small number of names in NT connected with C. are Roman: Crispus, Titius Justus (Ac $18^{7.8}$), Lucius, Tertius, Gaius, Quartus (Ro 16^{21-23}), Fortunatus, Achaicus (1 Co 16^{17}). Since Greece was revived as an independent country in modern times, the claim of C. to be the site of the capital, though mentioned, has been always rejected, partly through the surpassing historical memories that cluster round Athens, and partly through the fact that C. is subject to earthquakes.

The oration of Dion Chrysostom, delivered in C. in the early part of the 2nd cent. (*Or.* 37), gives a lively idea of the prosperity of C.; he describes it as the most prominent and the richest city of Greece (vol. ii. p. 120, ed. Reiske), and alludes to its library, but enlarges chiefly on the historical and mythological associations. Half a century later Aelius Aristides in an oration 'to Poseidon,' delivered at C. in connexion with the Isthmian Games, also draws a picture of the city, enlarging more on the educated and literary spirit manifested there. About the same period Pausanias describes its history and monuments and public buildings (ii. c. 1–4): the old temple of Aphrodite, on the top of the Acrocorinthus; the sacred fountain Peirene on its side, close under the summit; below this the Sisypheum; in the lower city the Agora, with its temples and statues, and so on. The coinage of the Rom. colony proves, by the numerous types taken from old Corinthian history and mythology, the pride which was felt by the Roman C. in the ancient memories of the city; and at once illustrates and confirms the testimony of Dion and Aristides. This feeling in the colony must be taken into account in estimating its character when St. Paul visited it; and the subject is admirably treated by Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner in their *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias* (see *Journal of Hellenic Studies,* vi. 1885, pp. 59–77). It must, however, be remembered that the colonial coins used by them are generally later than the time of St. Paul, and that this feeling grew stronger in the 2nd cent. as the Rom. blood and spirit died out on a foreign and uncongenial soil. The circumference of the lower city was 40 stadia, and the circumference of the fortifications, including in their circuit the Acrocorinthus, was 85 stadia (about 10 miles), as Pausanias and Strabo agree. Only scanty and unimpressive remains of ancient buildings now remain.

---

* A bold hill, projecting a little distance on the west of the Acrocorinthus, seriously interferes with the view on that side; Leake calls it 'the eyesore of Corinth.'

* These traces, which have been entirely obliterated by the modern canal, are described, and a map given showing the line intended to be followed by Nero's canal, in *Bulletin de Correspond. Hellénique,* viii. (1884) p. 228 f.

The population of such a colony as C. would consist (1) of the descendants of the Rom. *coloni*, established there in B.C. 46, who would on the whole constitute a sort of local aristocracy; (2) of many resident 'Romans' who came for commercial reasons, in addition to a few resident officials of the government; (3) of a large Greek population, who ranked as *incolæ*; (4) of many other resident strangers of various nationalities, attracted to C. for various reasons, amid the busy intercourse that characterized the Rom. world. The Rom. colonial blood had not yet had time to melt into the Greek stock, as it probably did in the cent. or two following St. Paul's visit. Among the resident strangers it is clear that a considerable colony of Jews existed at C., where they had a synagogue (Ac 18^{4}); and in such a commercial centre a Jewish settlement was a matter of course. Among the Corinthian Jews a certain number of converts, including some of the most prominent persons, joined St. Paul (Ac 18$^{4.8}$, Ro 16^{21}, 1 Co 9^{20}); and this was, doubtless, one of the reasons why the feeling against St. Paul was so strong in the city, leading even to a plot against his life (Ac 20^{3}). It is clear, however, both from Ac and from the two letters of St. Paul to the Corinthians, that the Church consisted chiefly of non-Jews (see esp. 1 Co 12^{2}). But the presence in the Church of some influential Jews, and probably of a considerable number of Gentiles who had previously been brought under the influence of the synagogue (such as Titus Justus, Ac 18^{7}), constituted an element always likely to cause that strong Judaizing tendency which is revealed in St. Paul's letters.

St. Paul visited C. at first without any definite intention of making it a great centre of his work (Ac 18^{1}). He was still under the impression that his call to Macedonia (Ac 16$^{9.10}$) was operative; and he was eager to return to Macedonia, and specially to Thessalonica (1 Th 2$^{17.18}$), but was prevented by various circumstances and impediments (which he sums up in the expression 'Satan hindered us'). It would appear from the narrative of Ac 17^{16}, 18$^{5f.}$ that in Athens, and at first in C., St. Paul was still strongly possessed with the Macedonian scheme, and was only delaying his return thither until the difficulties were cleared away. But a special revelation (Ac 18$^{9.10}$) altered his plans, when in a night-vision the Lord directed him to speak freely and boldly in C., 'for I have much people in this city.' St. Paul regarded this as releasing him from the Macedonian duty, and now directed his work entirely towards the new sphere, in which he remained altogether for a year and six months. It is not stated what period had elapsed between his arrival and this revelation; but, in all probability, no very long time intervened. It is at least clear that the new governor Junius Gallio arrived after the revelation, and during the second period of work, which was directed towards the new Achaian sphere. But evidently even during the first period St. Paul had been encouraged by considerable success in C. In the Jewish synagogue, indeed, he had met with strong opposition, and had already found himself obliged to break off his connexion definitely with his own nation, and to go unto the Gentiles (Ac 18^{6}) from henceforth (*i.e.* during the rest of his stay in C.). But even among the Jews, Crispus, the ruler of the synagogue, believed with all his house; while among the general population of C. many were baptized (Ac 18^{8}). None of the baptisms in C. were performed by St. Paul himself, except those of Crispus and of Gaius, and of the household of Stephanas (1 Co 1$^{14.16}$). It is not certain whether this abstention from personally baptizing was something peculiar in the special case of C., or was commonly practised by St. Paul; but the other apostles seem to have often left the work of baptizing to ministers and subordinates (Ac 10^{48} 13^{5}); and St. Paul probably did the same. The three exceptions mentioned by him are noteworthy; the circumstances show why St. Paul was likely to attach special importance to them; Stephanas was 'the first-fruits of Achaia' (1 Co 16^{15}); Gaius was his host on his later visit (Ro 16^{23}), and therefore probably a specially beloved friend; Crispus, the ruler of the synagogue, was a convert of uncommon importance.

About five or six weeks, perhaps, after St. Paul's arrival at C., he was rejoined by Silas and Timothy, returning from Macedonia. He had left them at Berœa, and they had joined him probably in Athens, and been immediately sent away on a mission to Thessalonica (1 Th 3^{1}, Ac 17^{15} 18^{5}) and probably also to Philippi.* The fact that Timothy alone is quoted as authority for news from Thessalonica (1 Th 3^{6}), and as messenger to Thessalonica, shows that Silas had been sent to some other city of Macedonia (doubtless to Philippi). Immediately on receipt of Timothy's news St. Paul wrote his First Ep. to the Thess. (1 Th 3^{6}) from C. The date of the second is not so clearly fixed; but it also was probably composed in the early part of the Corinthian work, immediately on receipt of news about the reception of the first letter in Thessalonica.

During St. Paul's residence in C., Gallio came to govern Achaia as proconsul of prætorian rank. There is no evidence, except what can be derived from the life of St. Paul, to fix the year in which Gallio administered the province; but he may probably have come during the summer of A.D. 52, though some authorities fix the date differently (53, Renan, Lightfoot; see GALLIO). During his administration, the Jews—angry at the defection of at least one leading compatriot, at the manner in which St. Paul had turned away from them with a very exasperating gesture, and at the institution of a rival meeting-house next door to the synagogue, in the house of Titius Justus, a Roman, and a 'God-fearing proselyte' (Ac 18$^{6-8}$)—brought an accusation against St. Paul before the proconsul. In order that such an accusation might be admitted for trial, the Jews must have tried to give to it a colouring of offence against Roman law, for the Jews still possessed the right to try among themselves in their own way any offence against purely Jewish religious observance. But the attempt to give colour to a charge which was essentially religious did not deceive Gallio; he refused to admit the case to trial, and 'drave them from the judgment-seat.' His action was highly important; it amounted to an authoritative decision that St. Paul's preaching could not be construed as an offence against Rom. law, and that, if there was anything wrong in it, the wrong was only in respect of Jewish law, and therefore should come before a Jewish court, and could not be admitted before the proconsular court. This decision by an official of such rank formed a precedent which might be appealed to in later trials; and it is not too much to say that it had practically the force of a declaration of freedom to preach in the province. According to our view, this incident had a marked effect in directing St. Paul's attention to the protection which the Roman state might give him against the Jews. Hitherto his position had been so humble that his relation to the state had probably not entered consciously into his mind, or formed any part of his calculations; but the decision of the first Roman imperial official before whom he had been accused (combined with the favourable memory of the other high imperial official, Sergius Paulus, with whom he had come in contact), was calculated to make a strong impression on his mind.

---

* We see that Philippi was in frequent communication with St. Paul (Ph 4$^{15f.}$).

When St. Paul ceased to preach in the synagogue, he began to use the house of Titius Justus, a 'God-fearing proselyte' (evidently Roman from his name), as a centre for teaching. In the following months he was evidently understood by the Corinthian population to be one of those lecturers on philosophy and morals, so common in the Greek world, who often travelled, and settled in new cities where there seemed a good opening for a teacher; and scornful remarks were made contrasting the high fees charged by teachers of established reputation with the gratis lectures of this new aspirant, and an impression was common that St. Paul (like other beginners in philosophy) was working to obtain a reputation and position such as would justify him, after a time, in beginning to charge fees, and make a livelihood by his brains instead of by his hands. The effect produced on St. Paul by these remarks is shown in 1 Co.

As was the case in most other cities, the Greek populace of C. disliked the Jews; and the marked reprimand administered to the latter by Gallio, in refusing to entertain the case against St. Paul, seems to have been popular in the city (Ac 18^{17}). The Greeks took and beat Sosthenes, the ruler of the synagogue (who had apparently succeeded Crispus when the latter became a Christian);[*] and Gallio took no notice of an act which he may probably have considered as a piece of rough justice, and also as a mark of popular approval (which was always grateful to a Rom. official). At this time there can be no doubt that in the popular mind Christianity was looked on merely as an obscure variety of Judaism.

In C. at his first arrival St. Paul became acquainted with two persons who played an important part in subsequent events; these were Priscilla and Aquila (to follow the noteworthy order observed by St. Luke, Ac $18^{18.\,26}$,[†] and by St. Paul himself, Ro 16^3, 2 Ti 4^{19}). Aquila, a Jew of the province Pontus, had left Rome in consequence of Claudius' edict (perhaps issued in the latter part of A.D. 50);[‡] and the commercial advantages of C. attracted him thither. St. Paul resided in their house during his long stay in C.; and they accompanied him to Ephesus, where they were still residing when he came thither after visiting Pal., Syrian Antioch, and the Galatian churches. Priscilla bears a good Rom. name, and was probably a lady of good family (which would explain why she is so often mentioned before her husband); and Aquila doubtless had acquired a wide knowledge of the Rom. world during his life; and they would therefore be well suited to suggest to St. Paul the central importance of Rome in the development of the Church, and form a medium of communication with the great city. We may fairly associate with this friendship the maturing of St. Paul's plan for evangelizing Rome and the West, which we find already fully arranged a little later (Ac 19^{21}, Ro 15^{24}). In this respect, also, the Corinthian residence was an epoch in St. Paul's conception of the development of the Church in the Rom. world.

In C. the development of the Church might be expected to move rapidly. East and West met there, where Rom. colonists, Greek residents, and Jewish settlers all dwelt; and thought progressed in the contact of race with race. But rapid development always implies dissension and conflict of opinions; and hence we find the existence of warring factions mentioned far more emphatically in C. than in any other Church; some were of Paul (the founder), some of Apollos (Paul's eloquent successor), some of Cephas (*i.e.* the Judaizing party), some of Christ (presumably persons who claimed to be above mere apostolic partisanship), as we read in 1 Co 1^{12}. Of these parties it is perhaps a permissible conjecture that the Rom. colonists, and the freedmen who naturally agreed with them, formed the bulk of the first, while the Greek residents had been more attracted by the Alexandrian philosophy, and perhaps the mysticism of Apollos; the Jews and some proselytes would comprise the Judaizing adherents of Cephas. St. Paul, when he came to C., seems to have been moved by the want of success that had attended his very philosophic style of address in Athens; and he deliberately adopted a specially simple style of address. As he says (1 Co $2^{1.\,2}$, cf. Ac 18^5), he came not with oratorical power or philosophic subtlety, expounding the mysterious nature of God; he did not declare to the Corinthians, as he had done to the Athenian audience, 'the Divine Nature' (Ac $17^{23.\,29}$); he determined not to know anything among his hearers at C. save Jesus Christ and Him crucified. To the Greeks, who sought after philosophy, such preaching must have seemed uneducated and unintellectual (1 Co $1^{22.\,23}$); and we might conjecture that, as a rule, they would prefer the message as delivered by Apollos. But there is no evidence to confirm this conjecture; and in the only slight description of Apollos' preaching in Achaia, he is said to have been specially successful among the Jews (Ac 18^{28}). It seems, therefore, not possible to feel any confidence in the details of an hypothesis connecting the parties in the Church with the nationalities that were mingled in the population of C., though we admit the strong probability that the variety of races contributed to cause the variety of parties, and that there would be a tendency for each race to become concentrated in one party.

The preceding paragraphs show that we are justified in attaching great importance to St. Paul's stay in C., as constituting an epoch in his preaching, in his plans, and in his conscious attitude towards the Rom. government, and also as resulting in the formation of a new Church in the track of ready communication alike with the East and with Italy. As to the constitution of this new Church, it is evident that a very considerable congregation had been formed in C. within a few years after St. Paul first entered it, and some of the converts were men of position; on the whole, however, he declares that there were among them not many that were deeply educated in philosophy, not many possessing official dignity and power, not many of aristocratic birth (1 Co 1^{26}); the bulk of the Church was humble, but these words ('not many') may fairly be taken as implying that there were in it some few members of higher position.

St. Paul seems to have departed from C. for the purpose of celebrating the feast at Jerus. (Ac 18^{22}, where RV omits the words intimating his intention —but probably they are original); we cannot doubt that this was the Passover, which fixes his departure to early spring, and his arrival in C. to autumn, acc. to our view Sept. 51–March 53 (52–54 many scholars, 48–50 Harnack). Perhaps his vow, in accordance with which he cut his hair in Cenchreæ, when on the point of going on board the ship, was completed and discharged at the Passover in Jerusalem. Doubtless, he performed the voyage on a ship whose special purpose was to carry pilgrims to Jerus. for the feast from Achaia and Asia. In 20^{3} he probably again thought of performing the voyage on such a ship, and found that the Jews were too incensed against him to make the voyage safe.

---

[*] So in AV; but in RV it seems to be implied that the Jews beat Sosthenes (implying that he was a Christian, as either he or another Sosthenes afterwards was, 1 Co 1^1), but it seems inconceivable that Gallio should have permitted such an act on the part of those whom he had just snubbed so emphatically.

[†] So in RV; but AV has the wrong order in 18^{26}.

[‡] The dates assigned vary. Orosius names 49 as the year; and it has been contended that his dates at this period are all uniformly one year too early (Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, pp. 68, 254). Lightfoot gives the date 52, Renan 51, Lewin 52.

The subsequent history of the Corinthian Church is lightly passed over by St. Luke. Apollos was sent over from Ephesus with a letter of recommendation to the brethren in Achaia (Ac 18^{27}, 2 Co 3^{1}),* and his influence in C. was powerful (Ac $18^{27.28}$, 1 Co 1^{12}). It is generally admitted that St. Paul, during the early part of his stay in Ephesus, sent to C. a letter which has not been preserved (1 Co 5^{9}); and it may be regarded as highly probable that this is not the only one of his letters that has perished. The view has also been strongly maintained that St. Paul paid a short visit to C. from Ephesus, and returned to Ephesus (2 Co 12^{14} 13^{1}); but, more probably, such a short visit was paid later from Macedonia (see Drescher in *SK*, 1897, pp. 50 ff. In the latter part of St. Paul's stay in Ephesus, however, the report that was brought to him from C. by envoys (1 Co $16^{17.18}$) drew from him the letter which has been preserved, and is commonly cited as 1 Co. It seems probable that this letter was sent by the hands of Titus: at least it is certain that he was sent by St. Paul on a mission to C. about this time (2 Co $7^{13.15}$); and St. Paul several times refers to the strong interest which Titus took in the Corinthians (2 Co 7^{15} 8^{16}). Timothy also was sent on a mission to C. from Ephesus (1 Co 4^{17}). When St. Paul left Ephesus and came to Macedonia, he met there Titus on his return from C. (probably at Philippi), after having been disappointed in the hope of finding him at Troas. Evidently, Titus returned from C. by the land route or by a coasting vessel by way of Macedonia and Troas. On this report the second letter to C. was now dispatched; and Titus went on a second mission, accompanied this time by 'the brother whose praise in the gospel is spread through all the Churches' (identified by an early tradition, which may probably be correct, as St. Luke). Timothy also returned by the land route from C., and met St. Paul in Macedonia (2 Co 1^{1}). After spending some months in Macedonia, apparently in several cities (Ac 20^{2}, 1 Co 16^{5}, Ro 15^{19}), St. Paul entered Greece, where he spent three months, chiefly, no doubt, at C., during the winter of 56–57 (or 57–58 acc. to Lightfoot and many others). During the years 55–56 St. Paul had been much occupied with a scheme for a general contribution from his new Churches in the four provinces Achaia, Macedonia, Galatia, and Asia,† which was to be devoted to the benefit of the poor Christians in Jerusalem. To this scheme St. Paul attached the utmost importance, as marking the solidarity of the new foundations with the original Church; and he pays a high compliment to the Corinthians for the readiness with which they had begun to respond to the call (2 Co 9^{2-5}). No envoy from C. is named among the delegates sent in charge of the money to Jerus. (Ac 20^{4}); but it seems possible that the Corinthians asked either St. Paul himself or one of the envoys mentioned in 2 Co 8^{18-22} to act as their steward.

The development of the Church in C. between A.D. 53 and 57, and the kinds of difficulties that beset the early steps of this young congregation, are closely connected with the letters of St. Paul (which form our sole authority), and will be more appropriately treated under the heading of CORINTHIANS, EPISTLES TO THE; but we must here refer to the probable influence of the character of society in the city on the Church. C. had always been a great seat of the worship of Aphrodite; and that goddess retained in her seat on the Isthmus much of the abominable (and really non-Greek) character of the Asian and esp. Phœnician religion from which she sprang, particularly the system of *hierodouloi* who lived a life of vice as part of the religious ceremonial of the goddess. Hence the viciousness of C. was proverbial through the Roman world; and we can realize how vile was the society out of which the Corinthian congregation arose, how hard it was for them to shake off the influence of early and long association with vicious surroundings, how deep they were likely to sink in case of any lapse from religion. It is no wonder that St. Paul wrote (1 Co 5^{10}) that, if they were to cut themselves off altogether from vicious persons, they 'must needs go out of the world.'

Near C. was the scene of the Isthmian Games, one of the four great athletic contests and festivals of Greece. These games were held at the shrine of Poseidon, a little way N.E. of the city, about the narrowest part of the Isthmus, and close to the shore of the Saronic Gulf. They were of the usual Greek style, including foot-races, chariot-races, boxing, etc., and the victor's prize was a wreath of the foliage of the pine-trees, which grow abundantly on the coast. It is usual to say that St. Paul borrows his imagery in such passages as 1 Co 9^{24-26} from these games; but games were universal in all Greek or semi-Greek cities; and St. Paul, who had lived long in such cities as Tarsus and Antioch, and had already visited many others, did not require to visit the Isthmian Games in order to write that 'they which run in a race run all, but one receiveth the prize,' or that 'they do it to receive a corruptible crown.' Such allusions would be as luminous to the inhabitants of every other Greek city in the Mediterranean lands as they were to the Corinthians.

LITERATURE.—Of general works on geography the best are Leake's *Morea*, iii. 229–304, and his *Peloponnesiaca*, 392 ff.; Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, ii. 514 ff.; Clark, *Peloponnesus*, 42–61. The guide-books, especially Bædeker, are good; and the articles in works on Greek geography are in general excellent in regard to Greece proper (far superior to those on the cities of Asia). The works on the life of St. Paul by Conybeare and Howson, and a host of others, are, as a rule, very good in their treatment of Corinth. On the coinage, besides Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner already quoted, see the works of Mionnet, Eckhel, and catalogues like that of the British Museum.

W. M. RAMSAY.

CORINTHIANS, FIRST EPISTLE TO THE.—

1. Place of the Epistle in Tradition.
2. Transmission of the Text.
3. Internal Evidence and Genuineness.
4. Recent Criticism.
5. St. Paul's earlier Relations with Corinth.
6. The Place of the Epistle in Pauline Chronology.
7. Condition of the Corinthian Church.
8. Immediate Circumstances and Subjects of the Epistle.
9. Analysis of the Epistle.
10. Importance of the Epistle (general).
11. Doctrinal Importance.
12. The Christian Life, individual and corporate, in the Epistle.
13. Select Bibliography.

1. The two companion Epistles to the Corinthians have occupied from the first an unchallenged

---

* In the passage of 2 Co 3, probably other Jews who came with letters of recommendation from Jerus. are referred to, as well as Apollos with his Ephesian recommendation.

† St. Paul mentions the contribution of Macedonia and Achaia in Ro 15^{26}, 2 Co $8^{3.6}$ 9^{2}, of Galatia and Corinth, 1 Co 16^{1}. He has no occasion to allude to that of Asia; and he alludes to that of Galatia only perhaps as being the first and supplying the model. The Asian contribution is implied in Ac 20^{4}, where the envoys who carried it to Jerus. are mentioned (cf. Ac 24^{17}).

place among the acknowledged writings of St. Paul. These writings, as is well known, formed a recognized group, under the name of 'the Apostle,'[*] before the date at which we have evidence of a complete NT CANON. The well-known response[†] of the Scillitan Martyrs (A.D. 180) at once includes and distinguishes the 'letters of Paul a just man' among the 'books' carried about by Christians. That a collection of Pauline letters existed at least as early as the reign of Trajan is a strong inference from the now generally accepted date of the Ignatian letters.[‡] Whether or no the whole thirteen letters, already included in the Muratorian list, were part of this collection from the first cannot be discussed here; but it is of special interest for our purpose to note that, although eventually superseded by the modern order, traceable as far back as Origen, a very ancient order of the thirteen Epp., preserved in *Can. Murat.* and attested from other quarters, places the Epp. to Corinth at the head of the list. Zahn infers that this order is the primitive one, and that the collection of Pauline Epp. was first made at Corinth.[§] In any case, the recognition of our Epistle is coeval with the evidence for any collection of the apostle; in fact it goes back beyond any *clear* evidence of the kind. The reference in Clement of Rome (xlvii. 1) is, unlike most of the early references to NT books, a *formal appeal* to our letter. Echoes of the Ep. are too numerous to be quoted here (a fairly full collection is in Charteris' *Canonicity*, p. 222 ff.); they occur in Clement of Rome (seven), Ignatius (nine), Polycarp (three, or with the Martyrdom, four), Justin (at least five) [Hermas, *Sim.* V. vii. 2, is doubtful, and the same may be said of *Didache* x. μαρὰν ἀθά], and others. From the citations in Hippolytus we know that the Ophites knew our Ep.; the same is true of Basilides as well as of the later Gnostics. It is unnecessary to set out in detail the evidence for an undisputed fact (see below, § 4).

2. The Epistle has been transmitted in the Peshitta, Old Lat., Copt., and other oldest versions of NT as well as in the principal Gr. MSS.

Of the latter, the Epistle is contained entire in $\aleph$BAD$^{\text{paul}}$ ($14^{13\text{-}22}$ 'manu alia antiqua'), E (copy of D), L. FG contain all but $3^{8\text{-}16}$ $6^{7\text{-}14}$, C all except 7^{18}–9^{6} 13^{8}–15^{40}, P all except $7^{15\text{-}17}$ 12^{23}–13^{5} $14^{23\text{-}39}$. Fragments are contained in F^{a}, H (cf. Robinson, *Euthaliana*, 50 f.), I^{2}, K (considerable), M, Q, S, ב. Of the cursives, it may suffice to refer to 67**, 5, 47, 37 as of special interest.

The Old Lat. of our Epistle is transmitted in the Lat. VS of the Gr.-Latin MSS DE (d e; on f and g see Gregory, *Prolegomena*, p. 969, and Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*, pp. lxvi ff.), and in x_2, a 9th cent. MS at Oxford; fragments only in m and r.

The Epistle then comes down to us with every possible external attestation of genuineness, and its integrity (see on 2 Co, § 8) is equally free from suspicion.

3. But external attestation is hardly enough to determine the authorship of a book in the face of internal evidence. What then does the Epistle tell us of its authorship? We may remark generally that no NT writing bears a more convincing stamp of originality than this letter; it is clearly the reflex of a great and markedly individual personality. Manifold as are its contents, its several parts hang naturally together, and are strongly homogeneous in treatment and style. Moreover, as we shall see presently, the Ep., read in conjunction with our other sources of knowledge, yields a definitely realizable historical situation, without a particle of evidence to suggest that it stands to those sources in a secondary relation. Until quite modern times, and except within a limited area, this has not been questioned. Our Ep., with 2 Co, Ro, and Gal, have, as is well known, formed the unimpeached and unassailable nucleus of admitted Pauline writings, and have furnished to criticism the standard by which the claims of all other supposed Pauline literature have been estimated. This was conspicuously the case in the period of the Tübingen school. With the exception of the free-lance Bruno Bauer, whose isolated attack is recorded rather as a literary curiosity than as a contribution to historical criticism, the four Epp. were allowed on all sides, even by the most radical criticism, to be the genuine work of St. Paul. This was characteristic of the genuine psychological insight which, in spite of admitted extravagances of subjective criticism, marks the work of F. C. Baur and his ablest followers.

4. Of late years, however, the genuineness of the four 'Pauline homologumena' has been called in question by a somewhat more imposing body of opinion.[*] On the one hand, a somewhat numerous band of Dutch writers (Loman, *Quaestiones Paulinae* in *Th. T.* 1882–1886; Pierson and Naber, *Verisimilia*, 1886; Van Manen in *Jahrbb. f. Prot. Theol.* 1883–1887, and others) have, by subjective criticism of the wildest kind, endeavoured to dissolve the personality of St. Paul and of Jesus Christ, and resolve the teaching of the Epp. into the product of vague and arbitrarily-assumed movements of Jewish religious thought. Kuenen, Scholten, and others have thought the arguments by which these views are supported worthy of refutation, but any detailed notice of extravagances, tending only to bring rational historical criticism into discredit, would be out of place in an article like the present. The same must be said of a somewhat less fanciful critic, Rudolf Steck, professor at Bern, who published (Berlin, 1888) *Der Galaterbrief nach seiner Echtheit untersucht*. His arguments reach our Ep. through that to the Galatians. The latter is condemned, partly on the ground of its discrepancies with Ac (exactly reversing the argument of Baur and his followers, Steck allows Ac a relative superiority as a source), partly on that of its literary dependence upon Ro, and 1 and 2 Co. Extending the method to the latter, Steck[†] finds in our Epistles signs of dependence on Ro (*e.g.* the ἃ γέγραπται of 1 Co 4^6 refers to Ro 12^3!), while the latter in turn presupposes the Gospels, and such post-Christian Apocr. as 2 Es and the Assumption of Moses. Accordingly, all the 'Pauline homologumena' fall to the ground. Our Ep. in particular is dependent upon the synoptic Gospels, especially on Lk, as appears from the accounts of the Last Supper (1 Co 11) and of the post-Resurrection appearances of Christ (1 Co 15). Steck appears to have gained a convert in J. Friedrich (*Die Unechtheit des Galater-Briefes*, 1891).

Those who wish to follow the questions raised by Loman, Steck, and their adherents into further detail, may be referred to the works quoted in the previous notes. A general weakness of all the writers in question appears to be a defective appreciation of personality, carrying with it an inability to distinguish the spontaneous from the artificial. In common with the representatives of every influential school of criticism, we regard the Pauline authorship of our Ep. as unimpeached and unimpeachable.

---

[*] Zahn, *Gesch. d. NT Kanons*, i. 263, n. 2.

[†] Zahn, II. ii. 996, I. 82. 86 *nn.*

[‡] The question will be found discussed under CANON, PAUL; cf. Sanday, *BL* p. 363 ff.

[§] I. 835 ff. But see Clemen, *Einheitlichkeit der PB*, 11, 178.

[*] A careful account of the arguments of the Dutch hypercritical school, and of Steck, is given by Knowling, *The Witness of the Epistles*, ch. iii.; cf. also Schmiedel in *Hand-Kommentar*, vol. ii.; Zahn, *Die Briefe des Paulus seit 50 Jahren im Feuer der Kritik* (in *ZKW*, 1889). The arguments of Völter (*Komposition der paul. H.-Briefe*, 1890) reach a similar conclusion by a superrefined method of analysis.

[†] Steck is answered by Gloël, *Die jüngste Kritik des Galaterbriefes*, and Lindemann, *Die Echtheit der p. Hauptbriefe*; for what specially refers to our Epistle see Knowling, pp. 190–207. The question has been debated from time to time, especially in the *Prot. Kirchen-Zeitung*.

5. St. Paul first visited Corinth during his first European mission (Ac 18$^{1-18}$). The circumstances have been stated under CORINTH. In modification of the view there taken, it should be noted that at any rate the arrival of Timothy and Silas from Macedonia convinced him that Corinth was to be a great centre of work. He 'became engrossed in the word' (συνείχετο τῷ λόγῳ, v.^{5}). The vision of vv.$^{9.10}$ had reference rather to alarms arising on the spot (1 Co 2^{3}) than to any remaining doubt as to his mission to the Corinthians. His earliest converts were made by his addresses in the synagogue, and comprised 'Jews and Greeks' (Ac 18^{4}). To the former class belonged Crispus; but the baptism of the household of Stephanas must have been his first conquest (1 Co 16^{15}). S. and Gaius were probably proselytes (*i.e.* σεβόμενοι). After the arrival of his companions, St. Paul, engrossed in preaching, entrusted the baptism of his converts to them (1 Co 1$^{14.16}$). St. Paul was the first to preach the gospel at Corinth. Hence he describes himself as the planter (1 Co 3^{6}), the first builder (vv.$^{10.11}$), the father (4^{15}) of the Cor. Church. He laid, as its foundation, 'Jesus Christ' (3^{11}), teaching the significance of His death (2^{2}, 2 Co 1^{19} 8^{9}) and resurrection (1 Co 15$^{1-8}$), of the Eucharist (10$^{16f.}$ 11$^{23ff.}$), the fundamental principles of the Christian life (3^{16} 6$^{15.19}$), and the hope beyond the grave (15$^{33.34}$ 1^{8}, cf. 6^{2}). The composition of the Cor. Church was mainly Gentile, but not without Jews (Ro 16^{21}, 1 Co 7^{18} 9^{20} 12^{13}); and heathenish antecedents (12^{2} 6^{11}) were the cause of most of the troubles of the community. The Christians of Corinth were of the lower ranks of life (1$^{26-28}$ 7^{21}), though there were marked differences of wealth among them (11^{21}); Gaius and Erastus (Ro 16^{23}) may be added to Crispus and Stephanas (above) as persons of higher social position.

Of the numbers of the Cor. Church we cannot form any safe conjecture. St. Paul preached at first in the house of Titius Justus (Ac 18^{7}) while residing with Aquila and Priscilla (v.^{2}). Later (1 Co 16^{19}) we hear of an ἐκκλησία at the house of the latter, which probably implies that the Christians were no longer capable of being contained in any one house. In any case, the language of 1 Co 3, 4 suggests continued growth under other teachers after the departure of St. Paul himself. Chief among these was APOLLOS (Ac 18$^{27.28}$). The Acts hints at two lines of his activity at Corinth: edification of the believers (^{27}), and successful controversy with Jews (^{28}, the γάρ here cannot fairly be held to *restrict* the scope of συνεβάλετο to his success with the Jews). For both purposes his Alexandrian training was a high qualification. The contrast between his style of preaching and the severe simplicity of St. Paul was laid hold of by frivolous minds as a basis of party spirit (*infra*, § 7). The date of Apollos' arrival at Corinth is uncertain, except that it precedes St. Paul's arrival at Ephesus (Ac 19^{1}). To Ephesus, at some time during St. Paul's τριετία there, Apollos returned. The remaining points in the history of the Church of Corinth enter into the situation out of which our Ep. arises. Before dealing with this, it is desirable to consider the dates.

6. The chronology of St. Paul's life has recently been the subject of renewed investigations, which have tended to disturb the scheme which, in its broad features, may be described as in possession of the field previous to 1893. Among the most important of recent discussions are those of Clemen (*Chronol. d. Paul. Briefe*, 1893) and of Ramsay (*St. Paul the Traveller*, 1895, also in *Expositor*, May 1896). A discussion of the questions raised will be found in articles CHRONOLOGY OF NT, and FESTUS. Here it will suffice to state that the prevalent view, as represented (*e.g.*) by Wiesler, Lewin (*Fasti S.*), and Lightfoot (on *Acts* in Smith *DB*^{2}, and *Biblical Essays*, p. 223), used the arrival of Festus in Palestine as the pivot date for the reconstruction of the period. It was argued, on grounds not to be entered on here (see FESTUS), that this pivot, though not absolutely rigid, yet oscillated only as between the years A.D. 60 and 61, and that of these two, the year 60 was the more probably correct. Subtracting, then, the two years of St. Paul's imprisonment at Cæsarea, we obtained 58 as the year of his last journey from Corinth to Jerusalem. As he left Corinth before the Passover (Ac 20^{6}), the three months spent there carried us back to his arrival at Corinth in Nov. 57 (see CORINTHIANS, SECOND EP. TO, § 6). This, corresponding as it does with the intention of wintering at Corinth expressed 1 Co 16^{5}, made the spring of 57 the probable date of 1 Co.

Moreover, if 37 was the earliest possible date for St. Paul's escape from Damascus (2 Co 11^{32}, Ac 9^{25}, see ARETAS), and 14 years elapsed between this and the apostolic conference of Ac 15, identified with that of Gal 2, the latter must have occurred about 51. Subtracting, then, from 57, the date of 1 Co, the three years (Ac 20^{31}) of his Ephesian ministry, we had 54 as the date of St. Paul's arrival at Ephesus (Ac 19^{1}), and three years remained for all the events of Ac 16–18, or hardly eighteen months for his movements before and after the year and a half claimed (Ac 18$^{11.18}$) by his first sojourn at Corinth. And this residual space of time was certainly none too large for the movements of the apostle which had to be fitted into it. Now the argument of Ramsay, from the days of the week which the data of Ac 20$^{5ff.}$ require, in relation to the calendar of the year 57 (*Expos.* May 1896, 'A Fixed Date in the Life of St. Paul'), if accepted, pushes back our Epistles by a year. He insists on the absolute looseness, amounting to uselessness, of the pivot date referred to above (a question to be discussed under FESTUS), and, identifying the conference of Gal 2 with St. Paul's famine visit (dated by him in 46) to Jerus. (Ac 11^{30} 12^{25}), pushes back St. Paul's conversion to the year 32 (*St. Paul the Traveller*, ch. 14 and note). The latter date is too early to satisfy the reference to ARETAS in 2 Co 11^{32}; while the objections to Ramsay's identification of the conference of Gal 2 seem overwhelming. But GALATIANS rather than our Ep. is the battle-ground of this controversy, which after all affects the absolute rather than the relative chronology of the Epp. to the Corinthians. It may suffice for our purpose to remark that Ramsay's 'fixed date' depends on the twofold assumption that St. Paul and his party left Philippi (Ac 20^{5}) on the very morning after the last day of unleavened bread,—a mere matter of inference,—and that the night on which St. Paul preached at Troas was, as Meyer, etc., assume, a Sunday night, not (as Hackett, Conybeare and Howson, etc.) a Saturday night,—a very dubious point in view of the Jewish phraseology used to denote the day. We do not think, therefore, that the accepted chronology has been shattered by Ramsay's assault. That of Clemen proceeds on far more radical lines. Here again the battle-ground is ultimately the Ep. to the GALATIANS. But we may sketch the outlines of Clemen's construction as bearing on our Epistle. Accepting 60 as the date for Festus, and consequently 58 as that of St. Paul's arrest, he yet brings St. Paul to Jerusalem (Ac 20–21^{21}) in 54, where the conference of Gal 2 is inserted; between 54 and 58 the apostle is lost to our ken; the rebuke of Cephas at Antioch and the Ep. to the Gal belong to this nebulous interval. The winter of 53–54 was spent at Cor., the previous summer in the evangelization of Illyricum (Ro 15^{19}), the winter 52–53 at Nicopolis (Tit 3^{12}); in the summer of 52 the apostle left Ephesus, where he had been since the beginning of 50. This is the period of our Epp. to the Corinthians, which may be conveniently renumbered as follows: A.D. 50, early spring, *1st letter* (that of 1 Co 5^{9}); later spring, *2nd letter* (=1 Co); 51, summer, Titus carries to Corinth the *3rd letter* (2 Co 9); then, after a revolt in the Cor. Church, and a painful visit of the apostle to Corinth, comes a *4th* (painful) *letter* (=2 Co 10–13^{10}); lastly, when St. Paul has already reached Macedonia, in the summer of 52, the *5th letter* (=2 Co 1–8^{13} 13^{11}–end). (On the above details compare art. 2 CORINTHIANS, §§ 4 (*g*), 8.) The vision referred to in 2 Co 12^{2} is that at the conversion, which thus falls 14 years before 51, *i.e.* in 37, two years after the crucifixion (A.D. 35).

To discuss this scheme in detail is out of place here. The present writer, holding that the Pauline chapters of the Acts give a trustworthy *consecutive outline* of the apostle's life; that Ac 15 is *meant* to describe the conference of Gal 2, and that the hiatus left between A.D. 54 and 58, with the dislocation of the sequence of events in Ac 21$^{17-40}$, amounts to a failure of the entire scheme, is not predisposed in favour of the proposed re-adjustment of the chronology of our Epistles. In particular, that 1 Co comes at the beginning rather than at the end of the Ephesian ministry of St. Paul, is not only contrary to the indications of Ac 19$^{1.21}$ 20^{1}, a consideration which would weigh lightly with Clemen, but is contrary to the spirit of 1 Co 4^{19}, and especially 16. That $16^{8.9}$ are anything but natural in the closing period of the Ephesian sojourn, is surely a desperate argument.

The time has not arrived, then, to abandon the year 57, and the latter end of St. Paul's three years' ministry at Ephesus, as the date of 1 Co, unless, indeed, it be held (as Godet and others maintain, but without conclusive reasons) that it must have preceded 2 Co by at least a complete year (see 2 CORINTHIANS, § 6).

7. The history of the Cor. Church after the departure of Apollos for Ephesus is known to us solely from the two Epp. to the Corinthians. That communications passed from time to time between St. Paul and this Church is only what we might expect from our general knowledge of St. Paul's life. In one letter, written not very long before 1 Co, he had had occasion to warn the Corinthians not to allow themselves to associate (συναναμίγνυσθαι) with fornicators. This warning, in view of the conditions of the place (CORINTH), does not indicate circumstances of special urgency there. But we gather that there was a tendency in Corinth to treat the apostle's command as impracticable in its severity (1 Co $5^{10f.}$); the tone of public opinion in the Cor. Church was ominously low (cf. 1 Co 6^{12-20}); and when a case of exceptional repulsiveness occurred, it was treated by the community with a tolerance amounting almost to levity (5^{1-8}). How St. Paul heard of this, of the litigious recourse to heathen tribunals ($6^{1f.}$), and of other matters for blame (11^{18} 15^{12}), we do not know. Speaking broadly, these were all anxieties of a kind likely to occur, in a more or less acute form, in any community whose Christianity was recent, while the heathen instincts of its members were bred in the bone and not to be overcome except by time.

It was somewhat different with the σχίσματα or dissensions which occupy the early chapters of the Epistle. Partly no doubt, and specially as regards the use of the names of St. Paul and Apollos as party watchwords, they are explicable by the frivolous and excitable temper of the people. The Epistle of Clement shows us that forty years later than St. Paul's time, although the party watchwords of the year 57 have disappeared, the tendency to faction is still at work (§§ 1, 47, etc.). In communities of this kind, as Renan observes (*St. Paul*, p. 373 f.), 'divisions, parties, are a social necessity; life would seem dull without them.' 'The talent of Apollos turned all their heads.' The contrast between the Alexandrian methods of Apollos and the simpler spiritual preaching of St. Paul, would, in fact, furnish this tendency with an irresistible temptation. But in Corinth we are in the presence of a more serious and far-reaching phenomenon. Apart from the question of the personal presence there at any time of one of the older apostles (see below), it is clear from the data of our Ep., combined with those of 2 Co (§ 4 [*e*] there), that Corinth was the scene of an anti-Pauline mission identical in its source and aims, though naturally differing in tactics, with that which troubled the Churches of Galatia. At Corinth the demand for circumcision would appear to have been dropped or held back; the point of attack was the apostolic mission of St. Paul (1 Co $9^{1f.}$), whose conduct and position had become the object of suspicious criticism (ἀνακρίνειν, 1 Co 4^{3} 9^{3} etc.). The Judaic movement against St. Paul is probably responsible for the two watchwords ἐγὼ δὲ Κηφᾶ· ἐγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ. This is clearly the case with the former (cf. Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, p. 96 f.). Ἐγὼ δὲ Κηφᾶ must have been, in the first instance, the utterance of a person who knew St. Peter by his Pal. name. Such persons must have found their way to Corinth, and attached to themselves partisans, whether Gentile or Jewish, who were impressed by the prior claim of St. Peter to apostolic rank, or perhaps repelled by the lengths to which emancipation from Jewish prejudices had carried some of the Christians at Corinth (1 Co $8^{1f.}$). It does not follow that, in order to say ἐγὼ δὲ Κηφᾶ, it was necessary to be a personal pupil of St. Peter. The name of Cephas must have become a household word in every Church visited by the Pal. propagandists; there is nothing in 1 Co 1^{12}, even combined with 9^{5}, to justify us in inferring, as a 2nd cent. bishop of Corinth inferred (Dionys. ap. Euseb. *HE* ii. 25), that St. Peter had actually visited Corinth and shared with St. Paul the claim to rank as founder of the Church there. St. Paul's silence would in that case suggest a more painful relation between himself and the partisans of Cephas than we need otherwise assume. He blames the partisans of Cephas indeed, but neither more nor less than he blames those of Apollos and of himself; there is nothing to suggest any special hostility between St. Paul and any one of the three. This would equally apply to the fourth party, whose watchword was ἐγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ, had we only our present Ep. to go by. But on them the second Ep. throws a peculiar light, which reduces the other three parties to a comparatively unimportant rank. It is true that the Cephas-party must have been under the influence of the Judaizing propaganda; but the second Ep. shows that it is not among them (cf. 1 Co 3^{22}) that we are to look for its extreme and dangerous partisans.

In considering the 'Christ-party,' it will be needless to discuss the endless suggestions that have been made apart from the light derived from 2 Co. That ἐγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ were the words of St. Paul himself, or of Christians who formed a party against party spirit, etc., are views for which the reader must consult the Commentaries (see also Räbiger, *Krit. Untersuchungen über den Inhalt der beiden Briefe an die Kor. Gemeinde*, etc., 1886. Räbiger denies the existence of a Christ-party). Quite certainly there were men in Corinth who put forward the name of Christ as a party watchword, as others put forward that of Cephas, Apollos, or St. Paul. It is instructive to note the absolute contrast between the ὑμεῖς δὲ Χριστοῦ of 3^{23} (cf. 15^{23} etc.), where the apostle asserts τὸ Χριστοῦ εἶναι as *true of all*, and the ἐγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ of 1^{12} where he stamps its falsehood (v.^{13} 'is Christ portioned off' to any) as the *exclusive claim of some.*

There were, then, those at Corinth who falsely claimed a monopoly of Christ, and the renewed repudiation of this claim in 2 Co 10^{7} lets in a flood of light upon their position. The claim stands in the closest connexion with the disparagement of St. Paul's apostolic rank. He had not, like the Twelve, known Christ personally; while his witness of Christ, therefore, was second-hand, theirs was direct; they were, and he was not, appointed to the apostolate by Christ Himself. This contention was due in the first instance, no doubt, to newcomers at Corinth (2 Co $11^{13.23}$), but appears to have imposed upon some native members of the Church (1 Co 1^{12} ἕκαστος ὑμῶν). This view of the matter is clinched by St. Paul's depreciation of a knowledge of Christ 'after the flesh' (2 Co 5^{16}). By the time the second Ep. was written, this agitation had grown to far more alarming dimensions than we can trace in our present letter (see CORINTHIANS, SECOND EP. TO THE, § 4 [*e*]).

While fully recognizing the nature and importance of these σχίσματα, we must not exaggerate their intensity by supposing that they constituted 'schisms' in the modern sense of the word. They were dissensions within the society, not separately organized bodies. Our Ep. presupposes throughout a corporate life, impaired indeed, but not destroyed, by these dissensions, and the other burning questions which existed at Corinth seem to have had no party relation to the σχίσματα—

in some cases they may have mitigated their intensity by causing cross-divisions. The attempt has indeed been made to connect each of the several evils touched upon in 1 Co with one or other of the parties (*e.g.* in the work of Räbiger mentioned above), but this entirely outruns the evidence, and assigns to the parties a too fundamental significance in the life of the Cor. Church. That the enlightened persons, who went too far in their emancipation from prejudice about εἰδωλόθυτα, were not under Judaizing influence is no doubt pretty certain; but that does not connect them without more ado with the 'party' of St. Paul or Apollos; that the τινές of 15^{12} embody a thoroughly Gr. prejudice does not prove that Apollos was their watchword. Nothing in the morbid exaltation of the gift of tongues (14) betrays (even in the light of Ac 2^{14} 11^{15}) the Petrine partisan.

8. Tidings of the σχίσματα reached St. Paul for the first time through some persons described by him as οἱ Χλόης (1^{11}). These were probably, by the analogy of St. Paul's language elsewhere, slaves. Whether their mistress was a Christian, and where she lived, are uncertain points (CHLOE). Stephanas, who had a household of his own (1^{16} 16^{15}), can hardly have been one of οἱ Χλόης. Stephanas and his companions must have reached St. Paul after Chloe's people; they to some extent allayed the disquieting impression which the news of the latter had produced (16^{18}). Whether they were the carriers of a letter from Corinth is not quite clear. Such a letter, in any case, reached the apostle about this time. He begins to answer it in 7^{1}; its contents may be inferred to be unconnected with the matters dealt with in 1–6—even, probably, with the misunderstood injunction of the apostle in $5^{9f.}$. The Corinthians consulted him about marriage and its problems (7), probably about εἰδωλόθυτα (8–10), about the veiling of women in public worship ($11^{2f.}$), and not improbably about πνευματικά; the λογία ($16^{1f.}$) was very likely another matter upon which they consulted St. Paul—probably in reply to some previous indication of his wish that something should be done for the purpose. Before the receipt of the letter from Corinth, as it would seem, but after the arrival of Chloe's people, St. Paul had instructed Timothy, whom he was employing for a mission to Macedonia (Ac 19^{22}), to proceed afterwards to Corinth and endeavour to restore discipline (4^{17} $16^{10.11}$). But the task required a strong man, and St. Paul is evidently anxious as to Timothy's reception. And as an opportunity, probably the Cor. letter and the visit of Stephanas and his party, offered itself, shortly after Timothy's departure, for the dispatch of a letter, the apostle penned the Epistle before us. After a preamble of guarded but sincere general commendation (1^{4-9}), he deals (1^{10}–6) with the more urgent matters for blame: the σχίσματα (1–4), the case of incest (5), litigation before heathen courts (6^{1-9}), and immorality generally (6^{9-20}). He then takes up the Cor. letter, and answers its inquiries about marriage in general (7^{1-7}), the duties of various classes in relation to marriage ($^{8-24}$), and specially the duty of the unmarried, or rather of the parents of virgins, as regards the question of marrying ($^{25-40}$). Then follows the difficult question of the εἰδωλόθυτα, which brings out the principle that privilege is to be exercised only subject to considerations of the higher expediency (8–10); to exercise it without regard to this, leads men to overstep its lawful limits (10^{14-23}). Next follows a series of matters relating to public worship (11^{2}–14): first, the veiling of women (11^{2-16}); then the disorders connected with the Eucharist (11^{17-34}); then (12–14) the πνευματικά. The principle which emerges here is closely analogous to that which determines the discussion of the εἰδωλόθυτα. Chapter 13 occupies the same place here as does ch. 9 in the former subject; only the principle of forbearance from privilege enforced in 9 is here carried to the higher and deeper ground of ἀγάπη, itself the greatest of the Spirit's gifts. We then reach the only properly doctrinal subject dealt with *ex professo* in the Epistle, that of the Resurrection. Our account of this must be a little more full. The question arises from the denial, on the part of 'some' (15^{12}), of the future resurrection of the body. St. Paul's reply is, that if Christ has risen,—if the truth of His resurrection is part of the gospel common to St. Paul and the Twelve (15^{1-11}),—then the dead in Christ will rise also. The denial of the τινές, 'some,' extended to the latter or consequent proposition, not to its antecedent. St. Paul's argument is ($^{12-19}$), that their denial of the consequent truth overthrows the antecedent, viz. the resurrection of Christ. On the other hand ($^{20-23}$), if the latter is a certain truth of the gospel, the resurrection of the dead in Christ, denied by the τινές, follows *as effect from cause.* This is supplemented ($^{24-28}$) by an explanation which puts the resurrection of the dead into context with the return of Christ and the consummation of all things. Two practical and corroboratory arguments ($^{29-34}$) complete the refutation. Then follows the answer to the objection, founded on the nature of the resurrection body ($^{35-58}$), issuing in the triumphant vindication of the hope of a resurrection as the basis of quiet Christian perseverance. St. Paul now turns to purely epistolary matters: directions as to the λογία (16^{1-4}) lead to a statement of his plans of travel ($^{5-9}$). Then follows a recommendation of Timothy ($^{10.11}$), a message on behalf of Apollos (^{12}), a brief general exhortation ($^{13.14}$), a commendation of Stephanas and his household, and an expression of thankfulness for his presence, with Fortunatus and Achaicus, at Ephesus ($^{15-18}$). Salutations ($^{19-24}$) form the close, the solemn anathema of v.^{21} comes in abruptly in their midst. That it is directed against the Judaizing agitators (cf. 2 Co 11^{13-15}) is not improbable, but can hardly be proved.

Such is the general plan of the letter. Its contents can be exhibited more in detail by the aid of a table.

9. *Analysis of the Epistle.*

I. EPISTOLARY INTRODUCTION (1^{1-9}).
A. THE SALUTATION ($^{1-3}$). [α. The writer (^{1}); β. the readers (^{2}); γ. the greeting (^{3}).]
B. PREAMBLE ($^{4-9}$). α. The apostle's thankfulness for the work of grace at Corinth, especially in regard to λόγος and γνῶσις ($^{4-6}$).
β. The end to which this should tend, and which will not fail for lack of anything on God's part ($^{7-9}$).

II. URGENT MATTERS FOR BLAME (1^{10}–6^{20}).
A. PARTY SPIRIT (1^{10}–4^{21}).
α. *The facts* (1^{10-17a}).
(1) The facts stated ($^{10-12}$).
(2) The facts characterized ($^{13-17a}$). [Christ degraded to the leadership of some; Paul exalted as if the saviour of any.]
β. *Party spirit forgets the essential nature of the Christian teaching* (1^{17b}–3^{4}).
(1) The gospel has no room for σοφία (in the lower sense, σ. λόγου) (1^{17b}–2^{5}).
This shown by (*a*) the facts in general ($^{18-25}$); (*b*) the history of the growth of the Corinthian Church; ($^{26-31}$); and by (*c*) the way in which the apostle founded it (2^{1-5}).
(2) The gospel is σοφία in the true sense (σ. θεοῦ) (2^{5}–3^{4}).
(*a*) This wisdom hidden from the world, but revealed to the saints (2^{5-10a}).
(*b*) The Spirit of God the vehicle of its revelation ($^{10-12}$).
(*c*) Hence it is revealed to spiritual (^{13}), but not to unspiritual ($^{14-16}$), nor, except in a rudimentary form, to unripe hearers (3^{1-4}).
γ. *Party spirit forgets the essential character of the Christian teacher* (3^{5}–4^{16}).
(1) All alike, whatever their ministry, are but secondary to God, who determines the result ($^{5-8a}$).

(2) This in no way diminishes their several responsibility ($^{8b-15}$).

Paul the (planter v.^{6}, father 4^{15}) founder, others the after-builders (^{10}, waterers ^{6}, guardians 4^{15}). The Day will test the work of all alike.

(3) The temple of God destroyed by those who practically deny the above truths by 'glorying in men' ($^{16-21}$).

(4) All teachers, like all that enters into the existence and experience of the Christian, are part of God's gift to him, means to the one end, God in Christ ($^{22.\ 23}$).

(5) The Christian teacher to be regarded as an underling (ὑπηρέτης) of Christ, to whose judgment alone he is ultimately subject (4^{1-5}).

(6) The Corinthians have only too good cause to look down on the apostles from a higher level (4^{6-13}); yet the apostle's aim is not to crush by sarcasm, but to reclaim them as their father ($^{14-16}$).

δ. *Epilogue on the party spirit.* The mission of Timothy, and the coming visit of Paul ($^{17-21}$).

B. The Moral Scandal (5^{1-13}).

α. *The facts* (^{1}).

β. *False attitude of the Corinthians* (^{2}, cf. ^{6}).

γ. *The proper way to deal with the case* ($^{3-5}$).

(1) The Paschal metaphor of the leaven ($^{6b-8}$).

(2) A repetition, with removal of an objection, of a former injunction on the subject ($^{9-13}$).

C. Litigation before the Unrighteous (6^{1-9a}). This—

α. *Unworthy of the eternal destiny of Christians* ($^{1-4}$).

β. *Speaks ill for the wisdom* ($^{5.\ 6}$), but still worse for *the moral tone*, of the community ($^{7.\ 8}$).

γ. The injustice, or unrighteousness, thus shown to exist among them is part of a heathen past ($^{9-11}$, transitional, working the argument back to *B*).

D. Fornication.

α. *Not a legitimate use* of the body ($^{12.\ 13a}$), but

β. *A denial of the true destiny of the body* ($^{13b-20}$).

(1) This destiny described ($^{13b.\ 14}$).

(2) Fornication desecrates the limbs of Christ ($^{15-17}$).

(3) Fornication, beyond any other sin, assails (the eternal destiny of) the body ($^{18.\ 19}$) in which we are to glorify God (^{20}).

III. Reply to the Corinthian Letter: Marriage and its Problems (7).

A. Preamble ($^{1-7}$). While the single state is preferable, marriage is meant for some, and its obligations are to be maintained.

B. Advice to Different Classes.

α. *The unmarried* ($^{8.\ 9}$).

β. *Those who 'have married'* (as Christians) ($^{10.\ 11}$).

γ. *The rest* (*i.e.* those who have been converted as married persons) ($^{12-24}$).

(1) General principle; existing relations to be loyally maintained ($^{12.\ 13}$, cf. $^{17.\ 20.\ 24}$) [a reason for this, as regards family life, v.^{14}].

(2) This general principle not to enslave a Christian to union with a reluctant heathen partner ($^{15.\ 16}$); but

(3) The general principle to be observed where possible (^{17}).

(4) This principle is the same as is to govern all relations of life.

(*a*) Circumcision or uncircumcision ($^{18-20}$).

(*b*) Slavery ($^{21-23}$: this does not forbid an opportunity of emancipation being accepted, ^{21b}).

δ. *Virgins* ($^{25-38}$).

(1) St. Paul's opinion tentative, but he decidedly advises celibacy ($^{25.\ 26}$).

(2) Reasons for this:

(*a*) The general principle (γ. 1) makes this way ($^{27.\ 28}$), especially

(*b*) In view of the precariousness of all earthly relations, given the 'shortness of the time' ($^{28b-35}$): the unmarried are freer to serve the Lord undividedly.

(3) This applied to the duty of the parent of a virgin ($^{36-38}$).

(4) The same principle applies to widows ($^{39.\ 40}$).

IV. Food offered to Idols ($8-11^{1}$).

A. General Principles: to act on mere knowledge not right (8).

α. *Knowledge* does not guarantee truth of instinct ($^{1-3}$).

β. *The truth about idols* ($^{4-6}$).

γ. *This truth not equally grasped by all* ($^{7-13}$).

(1) Some, influenced by association of ideas, cannot eat without sin (^{7}).

(2) No one sins by abstaining (^{8}).

(3) The enlightened may by eating injure the weak ($^{9-13}$).

B. The great Principle that of Forbearance in view of the higher expediency (9).

α. The Apostolic position ($^{1-3}$), and rights ($^{4-12a}$) to maintenance, of St. Paul ($^{13.\ 14}$ a supplementary corroboration).

β. His forbearance to exercise these rights ($^{12b.\ 15-18}$).

γ. His motive in this: ($^{19-23a}$) to save others.
($^{23b-27}$) to save himself.

C. The above Principles applied ($10^{1}-11^{1}$).

α. *The example of the Israelites* warns us of the danger, even to ourselves, of *presuming on privilege* (10^{1-12}).

β. *The danger of idolatry*, for all their enlightenment, a *real one* to the Corinthians ($^{13-22}$).

(1) There is no necessity to yield (^{13}).

(2) The partaking of a sacrificial feast (cf. 8^{10}) is an act of idolatry, as is evident ($^{14.\ 15}$) from the parallels of

(*a*) The Christian Eucharist, a partaking of the blood-shedding of Christ ($^{16.\ 17}$).

(*b*) The Jewish sacrifices, to eat of which is to partake of the altar (^{18}).

(3) Result; to eat ceremonially of εἰδωλόθυτα totally forbidden ($^{19-22}$).

γ. *Practical rules for other cases.*

(1) Preliminary repetition of the principle of the higher expediency ($^{23.\ 24}$).

(2) Where the history of the food is not forced on your attention, it may be freely eaten ($^{25.\ 26}$).

(3) Where the history of the food is forced on your attention, better abstain for the sake of others ($^{27-29a}$), and to avoid exposing yourselves to misconstruction ($^{29b.\ 30.\ 32}$).

(4) Epilogue ($^{31}-11^{1}$). The glory of God and the higher expediency to be your guides, as they are mine.

V. Matters relating to Public Worship ($11^{2}-14$).

11^{2}. *General commendatory preamble to this section.*

A. The Veiling of Women (11^{3-16}).

α. *Principle of organic subordination* (^{3}).

β. *The covering or uncovering the head a recognition of this principle* ($^{4-10}$).

γ. *Women not lowered by this* ($^{11.\ 12}$).

δ. *Corroboratory considerations*
from nature ($^{13-15}$).
from the custom of the Churches (^{16}).

B. Disorders connected with the Eucharist (11^{17-34}).

α. *The assemblies of the Church marked by dissensions* ($^{17-19}$).

β. *They substitute their own feast for the Lord's* ($^{20.\ 21}$).

γ. *Unseemliness of the above* ($^{22-27}$).

(1) In the spirit displayed (^{22}).

(2) In view of
the history ($^{23-25}$), and of
the significance ($^{26.\ 27}$) of the eucharistic acts (which are the central feature of the κυριακὸν δεῖπνον).

(3) Precautions for worthy, and dangers of unworthy, reception ($^{28-32}$).

(4) Conclusion: the feast not to be used to satisfy hunger; other directions postponed till the apostle's arrival ($^{33.\ 34}$).

C. The Spiritual Gifts (12–14).

α. *General principles*: The purpose of these gifts forbids their use as ends-in-themselves (12).

(1) A caution necessitated by the reader's heathen antecedents: the nature of the utterance the criterion of its divine origin ($^{1-3}$).

(2) Diversity of these gifts, but all from one source, and for one aim—the higher expediency ($^{4-11}$).

(3) The organic unity of the body of Christ ($^{12-27}$)

(*a*) Forbids us
to envy those who have gifts which we lack ($^{15-20}$).
to despise those who lack gifts which we have (^{21}).

(*b*) Implies organic interdependence of all ($^{22-27}$).

(4) Church organization and functions based on these principles ($^{28-30}$).

[Transition to (β) (^{31}).]

β. *Charity*, the greatest gift of all, *the principle determining the use of all* the rest (12^{31} 13).

(1) No gift, miraculous or moral, of any value without charity ($^{1-3}$).

(2) Charity, its nature and pre-eminence ($^{4-13}$).

(*a*) Charity described ($^{4-7}$).

(*b*) Charity outlasts prophecy, tongues, knowledge, all of which belong to our childhood, *i.e.* our present dim and partial vision of truth ($^{8-12}$).

(*c*) Conclusion, of the three lasting gifts, charity the chief (^{13}).

γ. *Practical application* Spiritual gifts to be valued only as means to edification (14).

(1) Prophecy preferable to tongues ($^{1-25}$).

(*a*) Prophecy edifies all present, tongues the speaker only ($^{1-6}$).

(*b*) The inutility of tongues illustrated by analogy
of musical instruments ($^{7-8}$).
of human language ($^{9-11}$).

(*c*) Consequent practical superiority of worship 'with the understanding' ($^{12-19}$).

(*d*) Practical application of the above ($^{20-25}$).

(2) Concluding directions (*a*) as to the exercise of πνευματικά ($^{26-33}$).
(*b*) as to the silence of women ($^{34-36}$).

(3) Epilogue: (*a*) Gainsayers rebuked ($^{37.\ 38}$).
(*b*) Result ($^{39.\ 40}$).

VI. The Resurrection of the Dead (15).

A. The Resurrection of Christ an essential Article of the Gospel ($^{1-11}$).

α. *The creed* originally delivered to the Corinthians ($^{1-4}$).

β. *Witnesses to the resurrection of Christ* from Cephas to St. Paul ($^{5-8}$).

γ. *Paul as apostle* $^{9-10}$).

δ. *This truth common to all the apostles* (^{11}).
B. IF CHRIST IS RISEN, THE DEAD IN CHRIST SHALL RISE ($^{12-34}$).
  α. *To deny the consequent overthrows the antecedent* ($^{12-19}$).
    (1) The denial of a resurrection of the dead by 'some among you' (^{12}).
    (2) What this denial involves:
      (*a*) The falsification of apostolic preaching and of Christian faith ($^{13-17a}$).
      (*b*) The destruction of Christian hope ($^{17b-19}$).
  β. *The resurrection of Christ carries with it that of those who are Christ's* ($^{20-29}$).
    (1) Christ leads the way in resurrection as Adam did in death ($^{20-22}$).
    (2) The resurrection in relation to the consummation of Christ's mediatorial reign ($^{23-28}$).
      (*a*) The order.
        1. Resurrection of Christ.
        2. Return of Christ and resurrection of His people.
        3. The end, or re-delivery of the kingdom to God ($^{23.24a}$).
      (*b*) Before the end must come the subjugation of all powers, all enemies to Christ, and, last of all, that of death ($^{24b-26}$).
      (*c*) The end itself, and subjection of the Son to the Father ($^{27.28}$).
  γ. *Subsidiary arguments:* (*a*) Baptism for the dead (^{29}).
    (*b*) The motive of the Christian life ($^{30-34}$).
C. ANSWER TO OBJECTIONS: THE BODY OF THE RISEN ($^{35-55}$).
  α. *One kind of body is sown, another is raised up* ($^{35-44}$).
    (1) The seed differs from the fruit ($^{35-38}$).
    (2) Flesh differs from flesh, heavenly bodies from earthly ($^{39-42}$).
    (3) The spiritual body differs from the natural as the second Adam from the first ($^{43-49}$).
  β. *The change from the one to the other,* at the coming of Christ, will destroy the strength and sting of death ($^{50-55}$).
  γ. *Epilogue*: (1) Sin and the law (^{56}).
    (2) Our victory in Christ (^{57}).
    (3) Result (^{58}).

VII. EPISTOLARY CONCLUSION (16).
  A. *Directions for the λογία* ($^{1-4}$).
  B. *Personal plans* of the apostle ($^{5-9}$).
  C. *Personal notices* ($^{10-18}$).
    α. The mission of Timothy ($^{10.11}$).
    β. Apollos (^{12}).
    γ. A closing exhortation interjected ($^{13.14}$).
    δ. Stephanas ($^{15-18}$).
      (1) His household ($^{15.18}$).
      (2) His mission to Ephesus ($^{17.18}$).
  D. *Conclusion of the Epistle.*
    α. Salutations ($^{19-21}$).
    β. Anathema against false brethren (^{22}).
    γ. Concluding benediction ($^{23.24}$).

10. IMPORTANCE OF THE EPISTLE.—The above synopsis is enough to show the richness and diversity of the light thrown by our letter upon the spirit and circumstances of the apostolic age. In its fulness of light and shadow it vividly reproduces the life of a typical Gentile-Christian community, seething with the beginnings of that age-long warfare of the highest and lowest in man, which constitutes the history of the Church of Christ from the time when His fire was kindled on the earth down to this day. To do justice to the manifold lessons of the Epistle would require a commentary; but without trespassing beyond the limits of this article, a few salient points may be noted.

Pastoral character.—The two Epistles to the Corinthians are the most pastoral of the Epistles. For details of pastoral work and organization, indeed, we go to the letters to Timothy and Titus. But for the deep-seated principles, for the essential relations between pastor and people, for the conception of the apostolic office, and the nature of apostolic authority, these Epp. are our primary source. The questions touched upon in our Ep. furnish a fair sample of the difficulties of Church government; and as each is taken up in turn some deep-lying principle springs naturally to the apostle's lips, and is brought to bear with all its power upon the matter in hand. The letter is unique as an object-lesson in the bishopric of souls.

11. *Doctrinal importance.*—It is impossible within our limits to do more than glance at the main points of interest. (*a*) The Epistle bears fewer traces than 2 Co of the great controversy of the period to which it belongs. The only express reference to the subject is 15^{56} 'the strength of sin is the law' (cf. Ro 7$^{7-25}$). But the foundation-stone of his preaching in Corinth, 'Jesus Christ, and that crucified' (2^{2} 3$^{10.11}$), is the root of the apostle's whole mind and thought on the subject. (*b*) The doctrine of the Person of Christ, indissolubly correlated with that of His work, is touched upon 8^{6}, where the *δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα* anticipates Col 1$^{15ff.}$ The redelivery of the kingdom (15$^{24-28}$) by the glorified Christ, and His final 'subjection' to His Father, is a thought not elsewhere brought out (but see 1 Co 3^{23} 8^{6}, Ro 11^{35}). With regard to the pre-existence and human nature of Christ, the passage 15$^{45-48}$ is of great importance, and has given rise, from Baur onwards, to startling interpretations (Pfleiderer, *Paulinism*, Eng. tr. i. 139 ff.; Schmiedel *in loc.*). (*c*) The Holy Spirit (2$^{10ff.}$ and 12) is the vehicle of all true enlightenment and receptivity to revealed truth (2$^{4.13}$), and of all the *χαρίσματα* which enable Christians to live their corporate life. The language of 12^{11} involves the personality of the Spirit (see further the art. on 2 CORINTHIANS, § 7). The Spirit is assumed to be the active power in baptism, and to be present in all baptized persons (12^{13} 6^{11}); though this is ideally rather than actually true of all (3$^{1ff.}$). (*d*) With regard to the sacraments, baptism and its significance are touched upon in the passages just mentioned. It was administered in the name of Christ (1^{13}, cf. Ac 19^{5}). An enigmatical practice of baptizing 'for the dead' is referred to (15^{29}); the context (*ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν*) forbids us to regard this as merely an aspect of ordinary baptism. On the doctrine of the Eucharist a side-light is thrown in 10$^{15-17}$. The reference is introduced to illustrate the principle that to eat the sacrifice is to take part in the sacrificial act. The sacrifice here is that of the cross, offered by Christ; the Eucharist has a sacrificial character analogous to that of the Jewish or heathen sacrificial meal, and like them has the effect of establishing a communion between the worshipper and his God. The reference involves the belief on St. Paul's part that the body of Christ is eaten (cf. 11$^{27.29}$). In what sense this is so, St. Paul does not define. (*e*) With reference to the resurrection (see above, § 8), that of Christ is the premise of St. Paul's argument in 15$^{1-34}$. In vv.$^{3.4}$ we have the germ of a creed. In vv.$^{5-7}$ we have the earliest record of the post-resurrection appearances of the Lord; v.^{6} is of special importance. That He rose with a *σῶμα πνευματικόν* is implied in v.$^{44ff.}$ The whole argument is addressed, not to the general resurrection of all men, but to that of *οἱ Χριστοῦ*, the *κεκοιμημένοι*, whose rising again is the effect of their being quickened in Christ. From other places we know that St. Paul taught a future life and judgment for all, good and bad alike; but (except in the hypothetical *ἀπώλοντο* of v.^{18}) this chapter has no word applicable to the latter. (*f*) Eschatology in general the Ep. touches upon 7$^{26.29}$ 15^{51}, whence we see that the apostle still expected the early return of Christ, and especially in 15$^{23-28}$ (see analysis, § 9). In this latter passage the coming of Christ appears as the last and final act of His reign, immediately ushering in the end. At His coming Christ will, by raising His dead to incorruption, destroy death (v.^{54}), and thus complete the subjugation of all inimical powers (^{26}). Then all is ready for the redelivery of the kingdom, that God may be all in all. This seems incompatible with the millennial reign after the resurrection of the just, which some commentators (Godet, etc.) would read into our passage from the Apocalypse.

12. *The Christian life.*—The whole Ep. is 'an inexhaustible mine of Christian thought and life.' Nowhere else in the NT is there a more many-sided

embodiment of the imperishable principles and instincts which should inspire each member of the body of Christ for all time. With regard to *personal* life, it may be noted that the ascetic instinct which has ever asserted itself in the Christian Church finds its first utterance in 7 ($^{1.\,25.\,40}$ θέλω, νομίζω ὅτι κάλον, etc.); but coupled with a solemn and lofty insistence (οὐκ ἐγὼ ἀλλὰ ὁ κύριος) on the obligations of married life, and founded on the simple ground of the higher expediency. This latter principle (τὸ συμφέρον) is the keynote of the *ethics* of the Epistle. The whole content of life is to the Christian but means to a supreme end; free in his sole responsibility to God (3^{21} 2^{15} 10^{23}), the spiritual man limits his own freedom (6^{12} 9^{19}) for the building up of others and the discipline of self (9^{24-27}). The *corporate* life of the Church is reflected in our Epistle as nowhere else in NT (see Weizsäcker, *Ap. Zeit.* pp. 567-605, Eng. tr. ii. 246 ff., for a careful and interesting discussion, mainly on the data of our Epistle). We note especially the development of *discipline*, of *organization*, and of *worship*. With regard to discipline, the leading passage is $5^{1ff.}$, where are described, not indeed the actual proceedings against the immoral person, but those which might and ought to have been carried out. St. Paul sees the Corinthian Church assemble; he himself is with them in spirit; the power of the Lord Jesus is in their midst. In the name of the Lord Jesus they expel the offender, 'deliver him to Satan for the destruction of his flesh, that his spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord.' We have here the beginning of ecclesiastical censures, inflicted by the community as a whole, and it is not surprising in the apostolic age (1 Co 11^{30}, Ac $5^{1ff.}$) to find physical suffering associated with the spiritual penalty. Such an assembly as St. Paul here pictures could, *à fortiori*, dispose of such matters of personal rights as should arise ($6^{1.\,2.\,5}$ 5^{12}). The *organization* of the Cor. Church is evidently in a very early stage. We hear of no bishop, presbyter, or deacon (contrast Ph 1^{1}), but of prophets and teachers, as the ranks immediately following the apostles. This is in remarkable conformity with what we hear of at Antioch (Ac 13^{1}), and its correspondence with the lists given in other Epistles is too close to be accidental. The following list compares the data of $12^{28ff.}$ with those of Ro 7^{6-8}, Eph 4^{11} :—

1. ἀπόστολοι (Co, Eph).
2. προφῆται (Co, Eph, -εία Ro).
   [εὐαγγελισταί (Eph)
      ποιμένες (Eph)
      διακονία (Ro)].
3. διδάσκαλοι (Co, Eph, -ων Ro)
   [παρακαλῶν (Ro)
      δυνάμεις, ἰάματα (Eph)]
   ἀντιλήψεις (Co) [μεταδιδούς (Ro)]
   κυβερνήσεις (Co) [προιστάμενος (Ro)]
   [ἐλεῶν (Ro)]
   γένη γλωσσῶν (Co).

These lists are evidently not to be regarded as statistical, and their variations are clearly due to the unstudied spontaneity with which each enumeration is made. All the more significant, then, is it that 'prophets' everywhere take rank next after the apostles, while 'teachers,' who stand high in all these lists, are the only other class common to all. In our Epistle these three classes alone are expressly assigned an order, 'first,' 'second,' 'third.' To interpret these facts would take us beyond our limits, but it is worth noting that the prophetic gift is not strictly limited to a class, but potentially belongs to all (14^{30-32}). That administrative gifts (κυβερνήσεις) come so low, perhaps implies that they are still voluntary (cf. the προιστάμενος of Ro). To organize the λογία ($16^{1ff.}$) the presence of Titus was required (2 Co 8^{6}). The ἐποικοδομοῦντες or παιδαγωγοί of 3^{10} 4^{15}, who, like Apollos (3^{6}), carried on the work begun by St. Paul at Corinth, were therefore probably 'prophets and teachers'; but the Ep. makes little reference to them (perhaps 16^{16}, cf. 1 Th $5^{12f.}$). *Public worship* is the subject of a long section of the Epistle (see analysis, § 9). At some ἐκκλησίαι, ἰδιῶται (possibly unbaptized persons) might be present ($14^{16.\,23}$); this would not be at the κυριακὸν δεῖπνον. The 'Amen' is in use as the response to prayer or praise (14^{16}). The discussion $11^{2ff.}$ would suggest that women might, under certain conditions, pray or prophesy in public; but 14^{34} shows that the apostle was merely holding in reserve a total prohibition, at any rate as regards speaking ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ. Otherwise, the liberty of prophesying belonged to all; the utterances were to be tested (14^{29}), but the test was simply the character of the utterance ($12^{1ff.}$). Prayer or praise ἐν γλώσσῃ (see TONGUES) was a marked feature of public worship, but St. Paul insists on its inferiority to prophecy. Sunday is mentioned as a day for setting apart alms (16^{2}), and was therefore probably a day for common worship; but this is not expressly stated. To come together for common worship constituted an ἐκκλησία (11^{18}). It is possible that assemblies for propheey and teaching (14^{26}) were distinct from those held εἰς τὸ φαγεῖν (11^{33}). This was the case apparently in Pliny's time (see Weizsäcker, *Apost. Zeitalter*, p. 568 f.). The purpose of the latter assembly was to break the bread and bless the cup of the Lord. In 11^{17-34} we have the *locus classicus* for the Eucharist of the apostolic age. Two views may be referred to which appear to be erroneous. One, represented, for example, by Beet in his commentary on the passage, is founded on the abuse censured in v.^{21} (cf.^{33}), that 'each one taketh before other his own supper,' thereby destroying the character of the meal as a 'Lord's Supper.' If, it is argued, previous consecration of the bread and wine by the προεστώς, and reception at his hands, had been an essential of the Eucharist then, as we find it to be in the age of Justin (*Apol.* i. § 65), the abuse in question could not have occurred; and St. Paul's remedy would have been 'wait for the consecration,' not 'wait for each other' (v.^{33}). This argument assumes, firstly, a departure from the procedure of Christ in instituting the sacrament, which is quite incredible. That in carrying out His command, τοῦτο ποιεῖτε, the apostolic Churches omitted precisely the actions which accompanied His words, and that the presence of those actions in Justin's Eucharist is due to a reversion, not to continuous repetition, is improbable to the last degree. The argument is really due to a second erroneous assumption that 'the Lord's Supper' in v.^{20} 'can be no other than the bread and the cup of the Lord in v.^{27}.' This assumption is a reaction from the anachronism of introducing the *Agape* of later times* to explain the passage. The 'Lord's Supper' is not the Eucharist proper, still less the *Agape*, but the entire re-enactment of the Last Supper, with the eucharistic acts occurring in the course of it, as they do in the paschal meal of the synoptic Gospels. The name 'Lord's Supper' is not elsewhere used in the NT, but in the Church the 'Lord's Supper' was neither the earliest nor the commonest name for the Eucharist; it primarily, though not exclusively, meant the annual re-enactment of the Last Supper, which survived after the *Agape* had first been separated from the Eucharist, and then had gradually dropped out of use (see Smith's *Dict. Christ. Antiq. s.v.* 'Lord's Supper'). In any case, then, the 'Lord's Supper' at Corinth would be already in progress when the bread and cup were blessed; St. Paul's censure and remedy (vv.$^{21.\,33}$)

---

* The name *Agape* is occasionally used for the Eucharist itself, but more properly for the meal from which the Eucharist has been entirely separated (*Dict. Christ. Ant. s.v.* 'Agape').

are entirely compatible with the closest adherence to the procedure of the Last Supper. *Who* presided, we do not know, but it may be taken as certain that someone did. In v.^{34} we see the first impulse toward the separation of the Eucharist proper from the common meal in which it was embedded (see Weizsäcker, p. 601). St. Paul's account of the words of institution has probably crept into the text of St. Luke's account of the Last Supper (see Hort's critical note). But it has recently been argued by Percy Gardner (*The Origin of the Lord's Supper*, 1893) that a revelation to St. Paul at Corinth (so he very questionably understands 11^{23}) may have been the sole source of the institution of the Eucharist; and it is suggested further, that this revelation was largely coloured by the neighbouring mysteries of Eleusis. The tradition of the institution in the first two Gospels is enough to refute this view. That they have derived it from Pauline influence is not to be believed for a moment; nor, in view of its thoroughly Palestinian and Jewish antecedents, can great weight be assigned to the fact that they do not expressly record a command to repeat the ordinance (cf. Bickell, *Messe und Pascha*; Anrich, *Antike Mysterienwesen*, p. 127). We note the stress laid by the apostle on previous preparation (11^{28}). The solemnity of the rite in St. Paul's eyes can hardly be exaggerated.

12. LITERATURE.—(For complete commentaries on the NT see NEW TESTAMENT; for commentaries on the Epp. of St. Paul generally, and Introductions to them, see PAUL, ROMANS; for grammatical works, see LANGUAGE OF THE NT.) A very complete list of works on the Epp. to the Cor. will be found in Meyer's Commentary (Eng. tr.), also in Plummer's articles on Corinthians in Smith DB^2, see also Wald. Schmidt in PRE^2 xi. 369 ff., 378; Reuss, *Gesch. der H. Schriften NT*, § 88 ff. In a select bibliography we must be content with mentioning a few books of special importance without implying in any way that those omitted are without (often great) value. (*a*) On both Epistles: The historical situation has been specially discussed (among others) by Bleek, *SK* 1830; Baur, *Tüb. Z.* 1831 (important for the *σχίσματα*), *Paulus*^{2}, pp. 287–343; Räbiger (see above, § 7); Schenkel, *De eccl. Cor. factionibus turbata*, 1838; Beyschlag, *De eccl. Cor. factione Christiana*, 1861, and in *SK*, 1865, 1871; Hilgenfeld in his *ZWTh.* 1865, 1866, 1871, 1872; Heinrici, *das erste SS. des Ap. P. an die Kor.* 1880, and in his edd. of Meyer (see below); Klöpper (see next article); Krenkel, *Beiträge z. Aufhellung d. Gesch. u. d. Briefe des P.* 1890; Eylau, *Zur Chron. d. P. Briefe*, 1873; Hagge in *J. prot. Th.* 1876; Weizsäcker (as cited above and) in *J. Th.* 1876; Pfleiderer, *Urchristentum*, pp. 89–117, 1887; Hausrath, *Paulus*^{2}, 1865 (see also his *Hist. of N.T. Times*, Eng. tr. 1895); Lisco, *Paulus Antipaulinus* (a very novel theory on 1 Co 1–4), 1894; Ekedal, *Inter Paul. et Corr. quæ intercesserint rationes usq. ad* [1 *Cor*] (London), 1887; Godet, *Introd.* (Edin.) 1894; Clemen (see above, § 6), and Schmiedel in *Hand-Kommentar*^{1}, 1891, ^{2}1892, the most searching and accurate digest of the many complicated questions involved; Zahn, *Einleit. in d. NT*, i. 195 ff. Of commentaries on both Epp. the homilies of Chrysostom 'have ever been considered by devout men as among the most perfect specimens of his mind and teaching' (see *Nicene and P. N. Library*, series i. vol. xii.); they were delivered at Antioch, *i.e.* before 398; 44 are on 1 Co, 30 on 2 Co. On the commentaries of Theodoret, John Damascene, Theophylact, Oecumenius, Euthymius, 'Ambrosiaster,' Pelagius, Thomas Aquinas, the reader may be referred to the remarks in Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*, p. xcix ff. The 'Postils' of Nic. de Lyra (first in 1471–1472) mark a revival of exegetical insight upon some points in our Epp. Melanchthon wrote on both Epp., but 2 Co was not finished. Of more modern writers, Locke's *Paraphrase* and *Essay* on St. Paul (1705–1707) dealt with 1 and 2 Co. For lists of 17th and 18th cent. commentators, see the references given above. The list of strictly modern commentaries opens with Pott, 1826; Billroth, 1853; Rückert, 1836. Olshausen, de Wette, Meyer dealt with the Epistles in their general works on the NT. Meyer remains the nearest approach to a standard commentary; his latest edd. have been revised by Heinrici, who had previously published a commentary of his own. Osiander, 1847–1858; Neander, 1859; Kling in Lange's *Bibelwerk*, 1861; Maier (Rom. Cath.), 1857–1865; Schnedermann (in Strack-Zöckler), 1887; Schmiedel (see above). On both Epistles, in English, the best modern works are those of Hodge (New York), 1857–1860; F. W. Robertson ^{5} (lectures); Stanley, ^{4}1876; J. A. Beet, ^{3}1885; Kay, 1887 (scholarly but slight, posthumous); Lias (in Camb. Greek Test.), 1886–1892. We may add T. K. Abbott, *Short Notes on St. Paul's Epp.* 1892. Several excellent commentaries exist on 1 Co only. Dean Colet's (ed. by Lupton), 1874; Heydenreich, 1825–1828; Holsten (in *Das Evang. des Paulus*), 1880; T. C. Edwards, 1885 (very valuable); Ellicott, 1887 (possibly the most thorough English commentary); Evans (in *Speaker's Comm.*), 1881 (unsurpassed insight in many passages); Godet, 1887 (excellent); Bois, *Adversaria Critica*, 1887; Milligan, *The Resurrection of the Dead* (on 1 Co 15), 1894; Lightfoot's *Notes on Epistles of St. Paul*, 1895, contain notes on 1 Co 1–7. References to Field's *Otium Norvicense*, to articles in the *Expositor*, etc., are given by Plummer in DB^2, *s.v.* 1 and 2 Co; the articles give interesting and valuable details as to style, coincidences with Acts, etc. The art. Paulus in PRE^2 by W. Schmidt, contains some useful references; that in Ersch and Gruber (1886) is by Schmiedel, and represents his earlier views on both Epistles.

A. ROBERTSON.

CORINTHIANS, SECOND EPISTLE TO THE.—

1. External Tradition.
2. Transmission of the Text.
3. Internal Evidence and Genuineness.
4. Elements of the Historical Situation.
    (*a*) Timothy, (*b*) Titus and the *λογία*, (*c*) the troubles at Corinth, (*d*) the Offender, (*e*) the Judaizers, (*f*) St. Paul's plans of travel, (*g*) letters of St. Paul, (*h*) visits of St. Paul to Corinth, (*i*) summary.
5. The Situation reconstructed.
6. Chronological Relation of 1 and 2 Co.
7. Purpose of the Epistle.
8. Integrity of the Epistle.
9. Contents and Analysis.
10. Importance of the Epistle.
11. Apocryphal Correspondence of St. Paul and the Corinthians.
12. Select Bibliography.

1. The traces of this Epistle in the post-apostolic age are as slight as those of the first Epistle are exceptionally strong. Clement of Rome does not quote it. Where the Epistle would have furnished him with most apposite material (*e.g.* Clem. *ad Cor.* v. 6), he makes no use of it. It is not referred to by Ignatius. Polycarp, on the other hand, distinctly quotes 2 Co 4^{14} (Polyc. *ad Phil.* ii. 4, *ὁ δὲ ἐγείρας . . . καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐγερεῖ*), and apparently 8^{21} (*ad Phil.* vi. 1, comparing Pr 3^4). The letter to Diognetus v.^{8} shows a knowledge of 2 Co 6^{8-10} 10^3. The reference of Athenagoras (*de Resurr.* 18) to v.^{10} is fairly clear; two references, at least in Theophilus (*ad Autol.* i. 2, iii. 4), to 7^1 11^{19} are quite distinct. The 'Presbyters' quoted by Irenæus (v. v. 1) refer to 12^4. Moreover, the Epistle was in the canon of Marcion, and appears to have been used by the Sethites, (ap. Hippol. *Philos.* v. iii. 19, p. 216, Cruice) and by the Ophites, who quoted 2 Co $12^{2.4}$ (*ib.* p. 166). The above references fairly cover the period prior to the Muratorian Canon, Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian, all of which authorities bear full witness to the Epistle. The utmost we can say is that there is no evidence that our Ep. was absent from any list of writings of St. Paul. This would hardly hold good if we were to follow Zahn (*Kanon*, 2. 833 ff.) in his view that a definitive collection of Pauline Epp. had been compiled before the date of Clemens Romanus. For, as we have seen, his knowledge of our Epistle is more than doubtful.

2. The text of the Epistle has been transmitted by the same versions and MSS as 1 Co (see last art.), with the following exceptions:—A lacks 4^{13} (*-νον ἐπίστευσα*) -12^7 *καὶ τ.*; C lacks all from 10^8; it is contained entire in FGKL; H contains 4^{2-7}, $10^{8-12.\,18}$–$11^{6.\,12}$–12^2, the first fragment at St. Petersburg, the rest at Mt. Athos; I^2 contains no part of our Epistle; M contains the first fifteen verses of chapter 1, and 10^{13}–12^5 (Brit. Mus.); O has 1^{20}–2^{12}; P lacks only 2^{13-16}; Q has no part of the Ep.; R has 11^{9-19}. For the old Latin, r lacks 2^{11}–3^{16} 5^2–7^9 8^{13}–9^9 11^{22}–12^{13} $13^{11ff.}$

3. Although inferior in its external attestation to the first Epistle, the internal character of 2 Co removes it far above any suspicion as to its authenticity. On whatever ground its integrity may be called in question (see § 8), the several parts of the Epistle are acknowledged as Pauline by all sober criticism (see 1 COR. § 3). In fact, in its individuality of style, intensity of feeling, inimitable expression of the writer's idiosyncrasy, it may be said to stand at the head of all the Pauline Epistles, Galatians not excepted. Moreover, its

historical references are so unstudied, so manifold, so intricate, that difficult as it is to reconstruct with any certainty the historical situation (§§ 4, 5), the difficulty is rather analogous to the 'subtilitas Naturae,' than such as would result from the inconsistencies of a literary fabrication. It is the most personal, least doctrinal, of all the Epistles except Philemon; but at the same time it is saturated with the characteristic theological conceptions of St. Paul. The personal relation of the apostle to the community is viewed in the light of the apostolic office as such, and this in turn in that of the distinctive character of the gospel: the profoundest conceptions of grace, reconciliation, consummation, thus enter into the very fibre of chs. 1–7. This interpenetration of practical detail with first principles of the faith is a characteristic which our Epistle shares with 1 Co. But here it is even more strongly marked. Not only do the relations between the Old and New Covenants (3), the Earthly and the Future Life (4), not only do the doctrines of Redemption and the Incarnation (5. 7. 8) find classical expression, but there is not the smallest matter mentioned in the letter which does not carry us back to the highest and most ultimate laws; the mere organization of the λογία is sowing for eternity (9), a carrying out of the principle of the Incarnation (8); 'from the surface of things he everywhere penetrates to the depths.'

The Epistle is a letter of many moods, but all under strong control. 'Joy and heaviness, anxiety and hope, trust and resentment, anger and love, follow one another, the one as intense as the other. Yet there is no touch of changeableness, nor any contradiction. The circumstances dictate and justify it all, and he is master of it all, the same throughout, and always his whole self. An extraordinary susceptibility of feeling and impression, such as only an extraordinary character can hold in control' (Weizsäcker, *Apost. Ztlter*, p. 328; cf. the whole section).

In the discussions (art. 1 CORINTHIANS, § 4) raised by the Dutch hypercritical school, and by Steck, on the genuineness of the 'Haupt-briefe,' our Epistle has played a somewhat subordinate part (see Knowling, *ubi supra*, pp. 192, 174). We may therefore dispense with any discussion on the subject, and postpone the question of Integrity until we have dealt with the difficulties connected with the historical situation.

4. As we have seen above (on 1 COR. § 7), the complete elucidation of the circumstances of 1 Co depends on the recovery of the thread of events connected with and ascertainable from the second Epistle. Here we enter upon what the most accurate of explorers has compared to a 'trackless forest.' The problem is especially tantalizing, because the abundance of material at once stimulates and mocks the attempt at a complete combination.

The broad question, How does the historical situation in 2 Co differ from that in 1 Co? how many letters, how many visits, of St. Paul to Corinth, how many estrangements and reconciliations, are to be traced or assumed? depends for its solution on our success or failure in unravelling several distinct threads. Such are the movements of Timothy, the movements of Titus, the history of the λογία (1 Co 16^{1}) at Corinth, the sequel of the case of the offender of 1 Co $5^{1ff.}$, the progress of party spirit and of opposition to St. Paul at Corinth, and, lastly, St. Paul's references to his plans of travel, and to letters and visits of his own.

We will briefly sketch the position of each of these questions, and then consider the possibilities of a satisfactory reconstruction of the history.

(*a*) As to Timothy, the case is comparatively simple. We have seen (on 1 COR. § 7) that Timothy left St. Paul at Ephesus for Macedonia, probably not long before the dispatch of 1 Co. He was to reach Corinth eventually (1 Co 4^{17}), though St. Paul implies some doubt (*ἐὰν ἔλθῃ*, 16^{10}) as to the prospect of his doing so. St. Paul expected him to return to Ephesus with the bearers of 1 Co (16^{11}) by Pentecost (16^{12}). His return from Corinth would in that case be by sea direct. The expression of Luke (Ac 19^{22} *εἰς τὴν Μακ.* only) is, however, easily understood if he failed to reach Corinth. Lightfoot (*Bibl. Ess.* 275 ff.), who maintained that he probably did not do so, suggested that Titus might have overtaken him on the way to Corinth, or, if he went thither by sea, have met Timothy on the way back. Certainty on this point is not possible; we have to weigh the total silence of St. Paul in 2 Co (in the face of 1 Co 4^{17}) as to any result of Timothy's mission to Cor., against the absence from 2 Co of any explanation (in face, again, of 1 Co 4^{17}) of the non-arrival of a messenger so impressively announced. The latter argument seems to the present writer to be slightly outweighed by the former. 'It is patent that the mission had in some way miscarried' (Waite); but that Timothy had failed painfully at Corinth is hardly to be assumed (as by Jülicher, *Einl.* p. 61) without more proof than we possess. Anyhow, Timothy was with St. Paul when he wrote 2 Co. They may have met either at Ephesus or in Macedonia.

(*b*) Of Titus (Gal 2^{3}) we do not hear by name in 1 Co. From 2 Co we learn that he was the bearer of our letter ($8^{6.\ 16\text{-}24}$), accompanied by two unnamed brethren, one of whom, 'whose praise is in the Gospel,' may or may not have been Luke.

From 2 Co 12^{18} we see that Titus had been to Corinth before, as we should also gather from 8^{6} *καθὼς προενήρξατο*. This also follows independently from $7^{6.\ 13}$ 2^{13}. Titus, then, paid at any rate two visits to Corinth; and on one of them, previous to 2 Co, he had been accompanied by a (single, unnamed) brother (2 Co 12^{18}).

We will come back to Titus after briefly considering the history of the λογία at Corinth. The directions given 1 Co $16^{1\text{-}4}$ were possibly in answer to some inquiry on the part of the Corinthians (*supra*, 1 COR. § 7). They had offered (2 Co 9^{5} *προεπηγγελμένην*) to contribute, and, acc. to 8^{6}, Titus had assisted in the preliminary organization of their efforts (8^{10}, cf. v.^{6} *προενήρξατο*). To this reference appears to be made 2 Co 12^{18} (cf. *ἐπλεονέκτησεν* with 9^{5}). Why not, then, identify (as Lightfoot, *Bibl. Ess.* 281) Titus and 'the brother' with 'the brethren' who carried 1 Co? (*supra*, 1 COR. § 7). This combination seems free from any objection, and the note of time, *ἀπὸ πέρυσι* (8^{10} 9^{2}), pushes back this visit of Titus to a date in any case very near 1 Co (see 1 COR. § 6). Titus visited Corinth, then, *in connexion with the* λογία on two occasions; on the second occasion he was one of the bearers of 2 Co; on the first, not improbably he was one of the bearers of 1 Co.

(*c*) The person of Titus (cf. *infr.* §§ 6, 7) forms the link between the λογία and the more painful questions between St. Paul and the Church of Corinth. The question whether Titus paid yet a third visit thither depends upon the consideration of the troubles which threatened to estrange St. Paul and the Corinthians. Firstly, the case of incest (1 Co $5^{1ff.}$) was dealt with in 1 Co, and the expulsion there ordered would naturally follow upon the arrival of the letter. Did it? It is the prevalent view (the grounds for it are stated with admirable conciseness by Holtzmann, *Einl.*^{2} p. 255) that 2 Co $2^{5\text{-}11}$ ($=7^{9\text{-}12}$) records the sequel. Stung by St. Paul's summons, the Corinthians, by a majority

(2^{6}), inflict a punishment which St. Paul pronounces sufficient, and, lest the pain of it should drive the offender to desperation, advises the Corinthians to relax. The punishment had been inflicted in the presence and at the summons (7^{15}) of Titus, who reported the contrition, zeal, and loyalty wrought by the letter he had borne. This letter would accordingly be 1 Co, unless we should have, on further consideration, to infer that the inattention or disaffection with which that letter had been received, or some other cause, had necessitated the dispatch by the hand of Titus of a sharper summons (see below, *g*).

(*d*) But a closer examination of the passages we are considering makes it doubtful whether they really relate to the offender of 1 Co 5^{1}. The object in view, in St. Paul's treatment of the case now in question, had been to prove the loyalty of the Corinthians to himself (7^{12b} 2^{9}). To have persisted in withholding pardon would have been to give Satan an advantage over them all, St. Paul included; *i.e.* to have intensified the very evil St. Paul was combating. Moreover, St. Paul is specially careful to depreciate the grief inflicted upon himself (2^{5}), which strongly suggests that the *ἀδικηθεὶς* of 7^{12} is also none other than himself. The *οὐχ ἕνεκεν τοῦ ἀδικήσαντος* of the latter verse contradicts the *ἵνα* of 1 Co 5^{5b} even more sharply than the notion of a personal *wrong*, the prominent thought in 2 Co 2. 7, contrasts with that of a *sin against God*, such as the *πορνεία* of 1 Co 5. There are, then, weighty grounds for eliminating from these verses any reference to the incestuous offender (who may none the less be glanced at among the *προημαρτηκότες* of 12^{21} 13^{2}), and for referring them to some other individual. Here, again, it is a question of probability; but the view adopted by very many scholars,* that the offender of 2 Co 2. 7 is a personal opponent of St. Paul, who has grossly slandered him, and has temporarily succeeded in undermining the loyalty of the Corinthians, has much to recommend it. On this view, which is as old as Tertullian, *de Pud.* xiii. ff., this mission of Titus, and the letter then carried by him, must be quite independent of, and subsequent to, 1 Co. The *ἄγνους* of 2 Co 7^{11} then harmonizes in sense with 11^{2}.

(*e*) The *σχίσματα* of 1 Co 1–4 have undergone a change of aspect in 2 Co. Of the watchwords Paul, Apollos, Cephas, we hear no more. It is otherwise with the name of Christ. In the section 10–13^{10} a distinct group of opponents are in view who arrogate the distinction *Χριστοῦ εἶναι* (10^{7}). The final consideration of this movement must be deferred (see below, § 7). For our present purpose it is enough to dwell on the marked change of situation. In 1 Co indeed we trace the tendency to arraign (*ἀνακρίνειν*, $4^{1\text{ff.}}$) the apostle, and to question his apostolic rank ($9^{1\text{ff.}}$) But it is disposed of briefly and quietly; it is not as in 2 Co the subject of a long and passionate indictment. The first (1–7) and last (10–13^{10}) sections of the Epistle present somewhat different aspects of the case. In the former, we have references to 'the many who traffic in the word of God' (2^{17}; cf. 4^{2}); to 'certain, who need letters of introduction' to the Corinthians (3^{1}); to imputations against the apostle of fleshly motives, of duplicity ($1^{12.\,17}$ 4^{2} 6^{8}). These imputations proceed, it would seem, from *ἄπιστοι*, men blinded by worldliness to the light of the gospel (4^{4}), who yet, as we infer from 5^{16}, lay great stress on having known Christ after the flesh. The last two points throw light on the purpose of such passages as 1^{19} $2^{14\text{-}17}$, above all $3^{6\text{-}18}$ $5^{14\text{-}21}$. The Judaizing tendencies faintly traceable in 1 Co have assumed a doctrinal character. Still, the polemic of these chapters is not direct; St. Paul assumes that his readers are with him; so far as they are concerned (*εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ*, contrast $13^{5.\,6}$) 'old things are passed away, and new things have come.' We seem to hear 'not the threatenings of a coming so much as the rumblings of a departing storm.' But when we turn to the concluding chapters (10–13^{10}) the brightness and confidence of tone is gone. The features of the opposition of 1–7 are still there. St. Paul is charged with fleshly motives (10^{2}), with lording it over the Church (10^{8} 13^{10}; cf. 1^{24}), with deceit (11^{31}). His opponents still come armed with letters of introduction ($10^{12.\,18}$), they are—not now *ἄπιστοι* but—ministers of Satan, false apostles ($11^{13\text{-}15}$); they preach another Jesus, another gospel (11^{4}); they claim to be ministers of Christ, to be 'Christ's' (11^{22} 10^{7}; cf. 1 Co 1^{12}). All the features of the opponents of 1–7 are here, but they are heightened, and the polemic against them is more painfully intense. Their accusations against St. Paul, too, are more direct and audacious,—embezzlement ($12^{16\text{-}18}$), bullying by letters ($10^{9\text{ff.}}$) in contrast with weakness when face to face, reckless folly (11^{16}), are imputed to him; if he refuses direct sustentation, it is because he knows he has no right to it, being no true apostle (11^{5} $12^{11\text{-}18}$). But, worse than all, St. Paul is conscious that his readers are not with him; their loyalty is undermined. Their obedience is unfulfilled—'Ye look at the outside of things' ($10^{6.\,7}$). They are in imminent peril of being corrupted, in fact they tolerate another gospel,—yes, gladly tolerate the yoke of 'the fools' who are tyrannizing over them ($11^{1\text{-}4.\,19.\,20}$); they accept the invidious construction put upon St. Paul's conduct, are prepared to doubt his love for them ($11^{7\text{-}11}$; cf. $12^{16\text{-}18}$). They are wavering in faith, Christ can hardly be in them; St. Paul dreads to think of the impenitent state in which he will find them, dreads the humiliation which awaits him at Corinth, dreads the unsparing severity he will have to exercise (12^{19}–13^{10}),—his last hope is that the letter may pave the way to better things. Note that St. Paul is addressing the community *as a whole* throughout, not the Judaizing *τινές*, not a minority still under their influence; of this the chapters give no hint. Can the situation still be that of 1–7, or even that of 8. 9? There is *some* plausibility, *primâ facie*, in the severance of 10–13^{10} from the rest of the Epistle. But in any case the situation in these chapters is a new one as compared with that in 1 Co; and from its nature can hardly have been revealed to St. Paul by the arrival of Titus in Macedonia, for he brought news of quite a different kind (7^{13}).

(*f*) St. Paul entertained, at different times, two distinct plans of travel. The simpler of the two is that announced in 1 Co 16^{5}, and carried out Ac 20^{1}, viz. from Ephesus to Macedonia and thence to Corinth. But from 2 Co $1^{15.\,16}$ we learn that he had at one time entertained, but (v.^{23} in order to spare the Corinthians) had abandoned, the more complicated plan of proceeding direct from Asia to Corinth, thence to Macedonia, and thence to Corinth again. This plan had been communicated to the Corinthians, at least in the form of a promise of a prompt visit. This is not satisfied by 1 Co 4^{18}; for if so, the withdrawal would be announced in 1 Co $16^{5.\,6}$, a passage totally out of correspondence (v.^{18}) with the situation presupposed in 2 Co 1^{23}. Moreover, in defending his change of plan (2 Co $1^{15\text{-}23}$), St. Paul would not have failed to appeal to the clear statement of his intentions in 1 Co 16^{5}. The inference seems irresistible that the change of plan was *subsequent* to 1 Co, and that the

---

* It is well put by Dr. Llewelyn Davies in Smith's *DB*, *s.v.* PAUL. It had been maintained by Bleek, Credner, Olshausen, Neander, Ewald; and is also adopted by Hilgenfeld, Weizsäcker, Jülicher, Godet, etc. Krenkel and Clemen suppose that the slander was directly aimed, not at St. Paul, but at a fellow-worker. See Schmiedel, *Exc.* on 2 Co 2^{11}.

Complicated Plan was formed in consequence of something that had transpired after 1 Co was dispatched, and that further events caused St. Paul to fall back upon the original Simple Plan.

(*g*) We have now to take note of St. Paul's references to letters written by himself to Corinth. That there were three such is certain, viz. the two canonical letters, and the 'pre-canonical' or lost letter referred to in 1 Co 5^{9}. But we have seen that the Complicated Plan of travel was communicated to the Corinthians after 1 Co; whether this was by letter or not, depends on the interpretation of 2 Co 1^{12-14}. At any rate the promise of a direct visit was given in the confidence (πεποίθησις, v.^{15}) of happy relations between the apostle and the Corinthians, and the promised visit was looked forward to as a 'joy' (χαρά). But something occurred to upset this confidence, and to demand that the visit, if paid, should be one of stern judgment. St. Paul decided 'to spare' them, and not to return to them in sorrow (2^{1}). And this he had stated in a letter ($2^{3.4}$), written in affliction and distress of heart and many tears,—a letter calculated to cause pain, and one which he for a time regretted having written ($7^{8\text{ff.}}$), but which, aided by the presence of Titus (*supra*, *c*, *d*), produced a happy revolution in the temper of the Corinthians. Two questions arise—(1) Did the letter *announce* the abandonment of the Complicated Plan, or did the latter merely follow tacitly by way of postponement? This depends on the sense of τοῦτο αὐτό (2^{3}), which *may* merely mean 'for this very cause' (cf. 2 P 1^{5}; Winer, III. § xxi. *fin.*). (2) Can this letter be our 1 Co? Certainly not, if, as we have argued, it arose out of a situation subsequent to that of 1 Co. But, quite independently of this, 1 Co is hardly a letter which St. Paul could even temporarily have repented writing. Stern passages it contains, but they are relieved by frequent encouragement, calm discussion, quiet practical advice; its emotional tension is not to be compared with that of 2 Co 10-13, or even 1-7; it does not correspond to the description 2 Co 2^{4} (see Waite, p. 383). This is a vital point, but it seems hardly doubtful. The one strong counter-argument, the supposed identity of reference in 2 Co $2^{4\text{ff.}}$ and 1 Co $5^{1\text{ff.}}$, has already been examined (*d*), and found to be of very dubious validity.

We must therefore insert a stern and highly painful letter between 1 and 2 Co; and if 2 Co 1^{13-15} refers to a letter at all, it is certainly not to 1 Co, and still less to the painful letter just mentioned. St. Paul then, who in any case wrote not fewer than *three*, can be fairly proved to have written *four*, and may very probably have written *five* letters to the Corinthians, including our two canonical Epistles (cf. Clemen, *Einheitl.* p. 66; and see below, § 8).

(*h*) Lastly, we consider the references to his visits to Corinth. First of all, in 2 Co 12^{14} 13^{1} he says, ἰδοὺ τρίτον τοῦτο ἑτοίμως ἔχω ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς . . . τρίτον τοῦτο ἔρχομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς. Taken by themselves, these words would be held by any-one to establish two previous visits. And the more natural interpretation of 2^{1} ἔκρινα . . . τὸ μὴ πάλιν ἐν λύπῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλθεῖν, connects πάλιν with ἐν λύπῃ rather than with ἐλθεῖν. If so, a previous visit ἐν λύπῃ is implied; the attempt to explain this by 1 Co 2^{1} ἐλθὼν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, is unworthy of serious discussion. We are therefore obliged to assume provisionally that, when the painful letter was written, St. Paul had visited Corinth twice, and the second time ἐν λύπῃ. Only if this assumption proves so improbable as to outweigh the more obvious sense of the passages just quoted, shall we be justified in throwing into the scale against them the δευτέρα χαρά of 1^{15}, the ὡς παρὼν τὸ δεύτερον of 13^{2}. As a matter of fact, the assumption of a visit ἐν λύπῃ does encounter hopeless obstacles, whether we seek to place it before or after 1 Co.

Let us consider the latter possibility first. St. Paul abandoned his direct visit (*i.e.* the Complicated Plan) 'in order to spare' the Corinthians. This excludes at once from consideration the period between the painful letter and 2 Co. Let us suppose then that St. Paul, on receiving from Corinth unfavourable news (probably connected with the offender of 2^{5} 7^{12}), after he had dispatched 1 Co, proceeded thither in person. If so, St. Paul, unsuccessful (12^{21}) at Corinth, returns to Ephesus (still ἐν λύπῃ); receives better news; announces another immediate visit (*i.e.* the Complicated Plan) 'ἐν πεποιθήσει' (1^{13}); another estrangement, connected again with the offender of 2^{5} 7^{12}, breaks out; St. Paul writes again ἐν λύπῃ, and this time with more permanent success, which he at last learns from Titus in Macedonia. The improbability of this duplication of events condemns the entire hypothesis, and drives us back on the other alternative, that St. Paul's visit ἐν λύπῃ must have preceded 1 Co. But here we are encountered by the total ignorance of such a visit which that Epistle betrays. Not only is there 'not a single trace' of it (Weizsäcker, pp. 277, 300); we are compelled to ask, and ask in vain, to what, on this assumption, was the λύπη due? Not to the σχίσματα, of which St. Paul knew only from Chloe's people. Not to the πορνεία nor to the disorders in their 'assembling together,' of which he knew only by report (5^{1} 11^{18}). Not to the litigiousness (1 Co 6) nor to the denial of the Resurrection, of both of which he speaks with indignant surprise. If the distressing second visit preceded 1 Co, the λύπη which occasioned it was dead and buried when 1 Co was written, it had nothing to do with any of the subjects touched upon in 1 Co, and St. Paul's references to it in 2 Co are inexplicable.

In fact, the main ground on which Weizsäcker, Clemen, and others place it after 1 Co is the inadmissibility of placing it earlier; while Schmiedel follows Neander, Olshausen, Reuss, Wieseler, Meyer, Klöpper, and many others in placing it earlier, because the attempt to find room for it later breaks down. He justly observes that in a complicated hypothesis we cannot expect to harmonize all details satisfactorily, but must be content with certainty where possible. But this may justify us in questioning the finality of the inferences drawn at first sight from 2 Co 2^{1} 12^{14} 13^{1}.

Against the probability of either of the two hypotheses just discussed, we must weigh that of the interpretation of those verses adopted by Paley (*Horae Paul.*), Baur, de Wette, Renan, Hilgenfeld, Davidson, Farrar, and others, that by τρίτον τοῦτο ἔρχομαι St. Paul means 'this is the third time I am coming' (*i.e.* meaning to come), while 2^{1} simply states his resolve that his new visit (πάλιν ἐλθεῖν) shall not be ἐν λύπῃ. This interpretation is at first sight of inferior probability to the more obvious sense of the words, but it harmonizes well with 13^{2} (RVm) and with the οὐκέτι of 1^{23} (RV; AV is against the idiom).

(*i*) *Summary.* — Timothy's visit, then, hardly enters into our problem; Titus visits Corinth three times, first (possibly as bearer of 1 Co) to organize the λογία, the second time to cope with the troubles there, thirdly as bearer of 2 Co, and to complete the λογία. The troubles at Corinth were mainly due to events subsequent to the situation of 1 Co, and the offender of 2 Co 2. 7 was more probably an offender against St. Paul, connected with the Judaizing party, than the incestuous person of 1 Co 5. The troubles, however, had taken root and hold in Corinth to a degree far beyond what is traceable in 1 Co. It is not altogether easy to combine the situation presupposed in 2 Co 10-13^{10} with that in 2 Co 1-9; it is quite impossible to identify it with the situation of 1 Co. St. Paul, then, dispatched Titus to cope with new troubles at Corinth, the news of which had reached him after the dispatch of 1 Co, and had induced him to abandon an intended visit to Corinth, and to write a painful letter instead. To insert a visit of St. Paul to Corinth in connexion with this crisis is impossible, while the painful letter, and the abandonment of the δευτέρα χαρά, are so closely bound up with the visit ἐν λύπῃ, that *the three must rest on a single basis of fact.* If so, *the visit ἐν λύπῃ was a visit abandoned, not one actually paid.* Still less can we find a probable place for a second visit anterior to 1 Co and connected with a painful crisis not dealt with in that Epistle. Accordingly, as the language of 2 Co is susceptible of a different though perhaps less prepossessing explanation, we remove the intermediate visit from the horizon of either Epistle.

5. (*a*) *A too simple scheme impossible.*—We are now in a position to reconstruct the order of events from the evidence. The simpler such an order, the fewer the events assumed, the better; but we must not be tempted by this consideration to force the phenomena to combine where they do not naturally do so.

Let us begin by trying the combination suggested in art. CORINTH, which is in substance that of Bishop Lightfoot (*Bibl. Essays*, p. 282 ff.). The order of events suggested is—1. Paul at Corinth (A.D. 51 ?). 2. Apollos at Corinth (52-53 ?). 3. Paul at Ephesus (53-56). [Here Lightfoot inserts the second visit of Paul to Corinth.] 4. Lost letter of 1 Co 5^9 ['announcing the plan of 2 Co 1^{16},' Lightfoot]. 5. ('Possible, but not proved') Second visit of Paul to Cor. 6. Stephanas, etc., to Ephesus (1 Co $16^{17.\,18}$). (Letter of the Corinthians.) 8. Dispatch by Titus of 1 Co ['with the brother, 2 Co 12^{18},' Lightf.]; or 9. Titus sent close after 1 Co. 10. Titus returns to Macedonia (2 Co 7^6). 11. Titus and the brother (2 Co 12^{18} or 8^{18}?) sent back, with 2 Co, to Corinth.

The schemes of Waite (in *Speaker's Comm.*) and of Weiss (most recently in *die Paul. Briefe*, 1896, pp. 9, 10) are in substantial agreement with the above, but Waite inserts the painful letter after 8. The arguments against the view taken below are best put by Holtzmann, *Einl.*^{2} p. 254 f.

To begin with, we must insert here, before 6, the arrival at Ephesus of οἱ Χλόης (1 Co 1^{10}). But more important is the need for further links between 8 and 10. It seems, indeed, needless to distinguish 9 from 8. But between the mission of Titus (possibly as one of the bearers of 1 Co) to begin the organization (2 Co $8^{6.\,10}$) of the λογία, and his mission (v.^{6}) to complete it, *i.e.* the dispatch of 2 Co, many events, as we have seen, demand room. The ἀδίκημα of 2 Co 2^5 7^{12}, almost certainly; a visit of Titus in connexion therewith (2 Co 7^7), quite certainly; and a letter, not corresponding in its character (*sup.* § 4, *g*) with 1 Co, probably carried by Titus on the same occasion. Titus, then, had returned to Ephesus before that; and since St. Paul, though he eventually carried out the plan of travel announced 1 Co 16^5, yet has to defend himself from the charge of fickleness with respect to his plans, we must find room for his adoption of the plan of two visits to Corinth, for the announcement of this, and for its abandonment. If the latter coincides, as we have shown to be probable, with the painful letter, we have to insert the first change of plan between 8 and the return of Titus to Ephesus.

(*b*) *Resultant scheme.*—We therefore revise the scheme as follows: 1-8 (as above). 9 or 10. St. Paul determines to pay a double visit to Corinth (δευτέρα χαρά, 2 Co 1^{15}). 11. Painful news from Corinth (possibly brought back by Titus) changes this plan; the δευτέρα χαρά given up, the visit—now painful in prospect—abandoned; and 12. A painfully severe letter sent. 13. Titus at Corinth (2 Co $7^{7\text{-}15}$), with happy results. 14. Titus meets St. Paul in Macedonia; and 15. Returns to Corinth with 2 Co.

6. The above seems to be the simplest scheme that permits the insertion of all the events implied in 2 Co. (For a comparison of the views of different critics, see Schmiedel's Table in *Hand-Kommentar*, pp. xii, xiii). It remains to consider the interval of time required between the letters 1 and 2 Co.

We have to provide time for Titus making one double journey between Ephesus and Corinth, a second journey to Corinth, and a return journey as far as, say, Philippi. And, assuming the correctness of the view taken above (§ 4, *b*) as to the connexion of the first journey with the λογία, we have so to place the journeys that, in dispatching Titus for the third time (§ 5 : 15), Paul could speak of his first visit (§ 5 : 8, 9) as having taken place 'last year' (ἀπὸ πέρυσιν, 2 Co $8^{6.\,10}$ 9^2). This latter condition is elastic; it only implies in strictness that the beginning of a new year had intervened; and the interval between the two letters is so far left open within somewhat wide limits. The movements of Titus, however, require a considerable minimum of time. As 1 Co was likely to reach Corinth before Timothy, who was on his way through Macedonia, it was probably dispatched (8) by sea direct. This was possible at any time after Mar. 5, when the *mare clausum* properly ended. 'The voyage was often accomplished in three or four days' (Con. and Howson, ch. xii. p. 449 n.; for full details see Schmiedel in *HK* xvi. 3*a*); let us allow seven. Titus may, but need not, have returned (11) by Macedonia. This route would require, with rapid travelling, about a month; let us allow six weeks. Another week will then be claimed by the second journey (12) to Corinth, and four weeks, let us suppose, for Titus at last to meet St. Paul in Macedonia (14). We thus require at most 12 weeks for the actual journeys of Titus; and for his two visits (8, 13) to Corinth, in default of any statement as to their duration, we should allow about four weeks in all as a minimum. Accordingly we require 16 weeks for the movements of Titus, allowing him but little repose.

But St. Paul (assuming the year to be 57) must have reached Corinth by the end of November (Ac $20^{3.\,6}$), and this pushes back the dispatch (15) of 2 Co into the month of October. Now the new year, according to the Macedonian calendar, began on Sept. 21, and the civil reckoning of the Jews (1 Tisri) coincided within a few days. St. Paul, therefore, could easily speak of the first mission of Titus (8) as 'last year.' From the *beginning* of October (which we adopt in order to deal liberally with the time) the 20 weeks carry us back to the midsummer solstice, or over three weeks after Pentecost (May 28). These three weeks then are at our disposal as spare time. To these we add the time between Pentecost and the previous (1 Co 16^{10}) dispatch of 1 Co (8); to this interval we cannot assign a definite value, unless (following a possible suggestion from 1 Co 5) we place 1 Co about the paschal season. If so, there is time for Titus to rejoin St. Paul (11) at Eph., even if he returned through Macedonia; but there is no strong reason to suppose that he did not return, as he probably went, by sea (*supr.* § 4, *a*, cf. *b*).

There is thus no impossibility in the view taken by the majority of critics, that 2 Co was written in the autumn of the *Roman* year, in the spring of which the apostle had written 1 Co. The separation of the two Epistles by a longer interval is not, indeed, forbidden by their contents; but the necessity of finding a place here for an evangelization of Illyricum (Godet, Clemen), in order to satisfy Ro 15^{19}, is not so apparent as to claim a voice in the settlement of our question. 1 Co 16^6 is *prima facie* evidence that St. Paul's three months at Corinth belong to the winter next following that Epistle; nor are his changes of plan revealed in 2 Co such as to affect the broad outline. At the same time, the question as to the interval between the two Epistles must be finally decided, if at all, by reference to the general chronology of St. Paul's Epistles (see on 1 COR. § 6, and art. CHRONOLOGY OF NT); always recollecting that the two must, by 2 Co 8^{10} 9^2, 1 Co $16^{1\text{ff.}}$ (assuming the integrity of 2 Co 1-9, see below, § 8), fall within two successive calendar years.

7. The purpose of the Epistle follows from the circumstances of its origin. The effect of 1 Co had been, it would seem, good at first. Titus had begun actively the organization of the λογία (2 Co 8^6 9^2) in a spirit to the purity of which the apostle appeals as a fact above question (the exact force of 2 Co 12^{18} is often overlooked, *e.g.* by Clemen). Titus had needed encouragement (παρεκάλεσα), and St. Paul had given this in the form of a warm recommendation of the Corinthians (7^{14}), which was fully justified only after serious disappointments. Meanwhile, apparently, St. Paul was incurring the danger at Ephesus described 1^8 (cf. Ro 16^4 [?], Ac $19^{23\text{ff.}}$ [??]) of which he characteristically first informs the Corinthians when the worst of the crisis at Corinth is over. St. Paul had formed the plan of visiting Corinth earlier than he had intended (§ 4, *f*), when the return of Titus with bad news of a quite unlooked-for character convinced him that such a visit would be most painful to both sides. Hence the painful letter, again dispatched by Titus, and the reversion to the Simple Plan of 1 Co 16^5. This was before the apostle's departure from Ephesus; and the period immediately succeeding, during which St. Paul moved first to Troas ($2^{12.\,13}$)

and then on to Macedonia, anxiously awaiting the return of Titus to put an end to his suspense, is the time of intense mental strain of which our Epistle is the outcome. The relief expressed in 1–7 finds its outlet along with much of the pent-up indignation and self-vindication (10–13) which had been all the while accumulating in the apostle's mind. The main purpose of the Epistle, then, turns upon the new troubles at Corinth, which differentiate our Epistle from 1 Co. These have been touched upon above (§ 4, *e*), but require a little further examination in this connexion.

The difference between the new troubles at Corinth and those connected with the 'Christ-party' of 1 Co is one of degree, not of kind. But the difference of degree is very great, and is probably due to the arrival of a fresh agitator (10^{10} φησίν) or fresh agitators (10^{12} 11^{4}) on the scene. Can we identify them with any closeness? The ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον of 11^{4} links them on to the agitators of Gal 1^{6}. At Corinth, this is rather in prospect than actually preached; but 11^{22} shows that we have to do with Christians of Jewish birth. Were they personal disciples of Christ? (10^{7}, cf. 11^{18} 5^{12}). This is matter for conjecture rather than proof. The original Twelve seem to be referred to in the twice-recurring phrase ὑπερλίαν ἀπόστολοι (11^{5} 12^{11}); but to suppose that any of the Twelve were personally concerned is out of the question, St. Paul would not in that case have stigmatized them as ψευδαπόστολοι, etc. (11^{13}). But did the agitators *claim to represent* the Twelve, to whose superior authority they certainly made appeal? In this connexion, the Letters of Introduction (3^{1}, cf. Ro 16^{1}) are of importance. As the ἐξ ὑμῶν of 3^{1} is meant rather to point the contrast with 3^{3} than to positively describe the τινές, we must understand that the claims of the latter were backed by these letters. These claims would have lost all their danger and prestige had not the letters come from some well-known names. That the agitators used letters of merely personal commendation for purposes beyond the scope of such letters is, of course, possible (Gal 2^{12}, Ac $15^{1.\,24}$). At any rate St. Paul ignores any real connexion between the agitators and the Twelve. In loyal conformity to his side of the Jerusalem agreement (Gal 2^{10}) he pushes forward the λογία (cf. 9^{11-15} with Ro $15^{30\text{ff.}}$), in the assurance that his uncompromising warfare against the agitators will in no way compromise his relation with the older apostles. Chapters 8. 9 therefore stand in a close relation to the main purpose of the Epistle. The first seven chapters, with their suggestive passages on the relation of the Law to the Gospel, their profound glances into the doctrine of Redemption, also lead up to the same principal purpose (*sup.* § 3). Whether the ἄλλος Ἰησοῦς of 11^{4} (cf. 5^{12} 1^{19}) refers to a lower view of the Person of Christ, cannot be regarded as certain. Unquestionably, the question of Christology underlies the question of Law and Grace, of Faith and Works; but this fundamental issue is felt rather than perceived in the NT as a rule. At any rate it was necessary to throw aside all thoughts of compromise, and to endeavour to stamp out from Corinth a movement which bade fair to result in complete apostasy (11^{3}). Hence the peculiar transition in the Epistle from thankful reconciliation (1–7) to bitter polemic (10–13), the alternating tones of endearment and rebuke, first the appeal to the higher, then the withering exposure of the lower tendencies at work among the Corinthians.

8. We must now, accordingly, endeavour to reach a result with regard to the Integrity of the Epistle. We have seen that the canonical Epp. to the Corinthians are the remains of a correspondence which comprised other letters now lost (§ 4, *g*), and that possibly not fewer than three lost letters were addressed by St. Paul to the Corinthians. The temptation to rediscover all or part of these in our extant letters, coupled with undeniable difficulties in their sequence of ideas (cf. § 4, *e*), has naturally been strong. Clemen (whose *Einheitlichkeit der Paul. Briefe*, 1894, contains the most searching and acute of recent essays in this direction) has redivided our Epistles into five (see 1 CORINTHIANS, § 6), thus providing wholly or in part for each letter of St. Paul to the Corinthians of which we have any trace whatever. As affecting 1 Co, his result consists merely in the relegation to the lost letter of 1 Co 5^{9} of certain passages in chs. 3. 7. 9. 14, where the connexion is difficult, and of the whole of 15 (except the rejected v.^{56}). We venture to think that a little more patience, or exegetical penetration, might have very greatly reduced the compass of these fragments. But with regard to 2 Co the difficulties are more serious. They fall into three main heads—(1) The interjected warning (see below, § 9, *A* 2, *b β*) 6^{14}–7^{1}. The direct continuity of 6^{13} 7^{2} is too obvious to be mistaken; the interjected appeal simply breaks the connexion. Accordingly Clemen, following Hilgenfeld and others, refers it to the lost letter of 1 Co 5^{9}, while many other critics (see Heinrici, *Das zweite SS. u.s.w.* pp. 329–334) agree that it is out of place here. It must be allowed that if this is the case, the insertion was made at a date prior to the first circulation of the Epistle, for textual tradition of any kind is totally silent as to it. Whether this objection is fatal *in limine* will be considered at the close of this section. Waiving it for the present, the question becomes one (*a*) of exegesis, which on the whole has hitherto failed to find a clear line of connexion with the context before or after; and (*b*) of the general analogy of St. Paul's style, and of this Epistle especially. True, 'there is no literary work in which the cross-currents are so violent and so frequent'; but there is no other 'cross-current' in the Epistle which cuts with so clean an edge as this. On the whole, if we may assume an interpolation at all without textual evidence, this is perhaps *dignus vindice nodus*. Whether, if out of place here, the section is part of the letter of 1 Co 5^{9}, is not so clear; the injunction of 6^{14} does not fit so exactly with 1 Co 5^{10} as to preclude all doubt. To reject the passage as un-Pauline (Holsten, etc.) is quite arbitrary. (See the discussions of Whitelaw, Chase, and Sanday in *Class. Review*, 1890, pp. 12, 150, 248, 317, 359; Schmiedel's *Exc. in loc.*; Clemen, *Einh.* 58 f.)

(2) *Chapters* 8 *and* 9.—All allow chapter 8 to remain part of our (the 'Fifth') Epistle, but chapter 9 is thrown back to the 'Third.' This divorce, in which Clemen follows Semler and a long series of later critics, is mainly on grounds which are more suitable for discussion in a commentary (see Waite *in loc.*). That chs. 8 and 9, especially in view of 9^{1} (γάρ), are impossible in one and the same letter, is an assumption founded, surely, upon a somewhat narrow view of St. Paul's logic.

(3) *The great invective*, or 'Vierkapitelbrief.'—The main grounds for relegating this to a different Epistle are given above (§ 4, *e*). If they have any validity they make for its identification with the 'Fourth' or Painful Letter (§ 4, *g*). This is the view of Hausrath (*Vierkapitelbrief*, 1870) and of Schmiedel (in Ersch and Gruber, and in *Hand-Kommentar*). The arguments are not easy to meet directly—they are not indeed conclusive; we know less of the circumstances than did St. Paul's readers (cf. Jülicher, *Einleit.* § 7; Weizsäcker, *Apost. Zeitalter*, 314–316). The difficulty is that in 1–9 the Corinthians are reconciled, whereas in 10–13 they are still in a state of hostility, or at best of dubious fidelity. That the apostle is addressing a section only of the Corinthians is against all the evidence. That after the good news brought by Titus, some worse news again arrived to change the apostle's tone, is unproved and improbable. The opening of chapter 10, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐγὼ Παῦλος, is of importance as bearing on the question. Assuming that the words mark, not the beginning of an interpolated document, but the opening of a new section in the letter, they indicate some change of treatment. Possibly, St. Paul may have sent Timothy (1^{1}) away and begun to write, either by his own hand or by a confidential amanuensis, words that had been maturing in his mind (§ 7) in the period of suspense before the arrival of Titus, and which not even the good news brought by Titus could persuade him to leave unwritten. If this view be correct, we can, with Weizsäcker and others, regard these chapters as the final assault, prepared for in the whole previous course of the letter, which is decisively to secure for the apostle the allegiance of the Corinthians, and to drive the interlopers (11^{4}), who had gained

a partial hold over them, headlong from the field. The Corinthians are already won 'in part' (1^{14}), but a leaven of disloyalty exists among them, and the success reported by Titus must be followed up to be lasting, and the disloyal leaven effectually stamped out. Add to this that the identification of these chapters with the Painful Letter (§ 4, *g*) would seem to demand that they should refer to the (*ex hypothesi*) still unsettled case of the Offender (chs. 2. 7). But no such reference can be traced; the argument for separating 10–13 from the rest of the Epistle thus loses a very strong positive factor. On the whole, then, as regards internal evidence, we may say that the case for separation is not proved; but it would be going too far to say that it is absolutely disproved. Whether this is so or not must depend on the weight to be attached to the entire lack of external evidence. Can we suppose that interpolations so serious as to amount (if we accept all the three hypotheses discussed above) to the formation of an entire Epistle out of heterogeneous fragments—or even the interpolation of any one of the passages in question—can have taken place without leaving so much as a ripple upon the stream of textual tradition? Certainly, there exist 'primitive corruptions' of the NT text, *i.e.* changes which occurred so early that the original text has left no documentary traces of itself. But these are small in number and in scale. 'We cannot too strongly express our disbelief in the existence of undetected interpolations of any moment' (Westcott and Hort). The strongest internal evidence might conceivably modify this in an exceptional case; only our witnesses to the text push its history back so very early as to leave very scanty room for the occurrence of such interpolations. But the literary relations of the synoptic Gospels furnish an analogy which warns us against too summary a rejection of any such hypothesis in this case. The question is whether the Second Epistle to the Corinthians passed into general circulation as soon as the first. The latter, formally appealed to within forty years of its origin, was circulated too early to permit us to assume interpolations in it on any large scale unreflected in the textual tradition. But Clement appears to know nothing of 2 Co, and its comparatively late appearance in the stream of attestation (see above, § 1) is perhaps compatible with some process of editing on the part of the Corinthian Church before it was copied for public reading and imparted to other Churches. This would be easier to suppose, if the autographs were written on leaves or tablets rather than on rolls. (See Sir E. M. Thompson, *Handbook of Palæography*, pp. 20 ff., 54–61.) We do not therefore regard the absence of textual evidence in this particular case as absolutely fatal *in limine* to the hypotheses we have been considering; but it must be allowed to weigh heavily against them; and we believe that a patient and circumspect exegesis will gradually dissolve the arguments, at first sight very tempting, for the segregation of chs. 10–13, and even perhaps of 6^{14}–7^{1}.

9. *Contents of the Epistle.*—The nature of the Letter (§§ 3, 7) makes it far less readily divisible into well-marked sections than the first Epistle. The order of ideas is emotional rather than logical; a subject is not taken up, dealt with, and disposed of, but, like some strain in a piece of impassioned music, occurs, is lost in a maze of crowding harmonies, and recurs again and again. This is especially the case in chs. 10–13. But certain broad lines of division may be recognized, and we shall exhibit these, without pursuing the analysis into its subtler subdivisions.

A. ANSWER TO THE WELCOME TIDINGS OF TITUS (1–7).
1. *Epistolary Introduction* ($1^{1\text{-}11}$).
2. REVIEW OF RECENT RELATIONS WITH THE CORINTHIANS (1^{12}–7^{16}).
(*a*) *Self-vindication* { with regard to his promised visit / with regard to the case of the Offender } (1^{12}–2^{13}).
(*b*) *The great Digression* (2^{14}–7^{4}).
α. Apostleship (2^{14}–6^{10}).
αα. The office of an apostle (2^{14}–4^{6}).
[St. Paul's self-vindication (2^{14}–3^{4}).
The OLD MINISTRY AND THE NEW ($3^{5\text{-}18}$).
Self-vindication completed ($4^{1\text{-}6}$).]
ββ. The sufferings of an apostle (4^{7}–5^{10}).
[In relation to the work of an apostle ($4^{7\text{-}15}$).
In relation to the HOPE OF RESURRECTION (4^{16}–5^{5}).
In relation to life, death, and judgment ($5^{6\text{-}10}$).]
γγ. The life of an apostle (5^{11}–6^{10}).
[Its motive ($5^{11\text{-}15}$).
Its basis in THE REDEEMER and HIS WORK (5^{16}–6^{2}).
Its credentials ($6^{3\text{-}10}$).]
β. Appeal of the reconciled apostle to his readers (6^{11}–7^{4}).
[**Interjected appeal** against heathenish defilements (6^{14}–7^{1}).]
(*c*) *The reconciliation completed* ($7^{5\text{-}16}$).
α. Arrival of Titus ($7^{5\text{-}6}$).
β. The Offender and the Painful Letter ($^{7\text{-}12}$).
γ. The joy of Titus ($^{13\text{-}16}$).

B. THE COLLECTION FOR THE SAINTS (8. 9).
(*a*) The example of Macedonia ($8^{1\text{-}7}$).
(*b*) The example of Christ, and the new mission of Titus and the brethren (8^{8}–9^{5}).
(*c*) Exhortation to liberality ($9^{6\text{-}15}$).

C. THE GREAT INVECTIVE (10^{1}–13^{10}).
1. *St. Paul and his opponents* (10^{1}–12^{18}).
(*a*) Self-vindication of St. Paul as an apostle ($10^{1\text{-}12}$).
(*b*) St. Paul and the area of his mission ($10^{13\text{-}18}$).
(*c*) Reply to opponents (10^{13}–12^{18}).
α. The question of personal loyalty ($11^{1\text{-}6}$).
β. The question of maintenance ($11^{7\text{-}15}$).
γ. The apostolic καύχησις (11^{16}–12^{10}).
δ. Completion of the ἀπολογία ($12^{11\text{-}18}$).
2. *Warnings in view of his coming visit* (12^{19}–13^{10}).

D. FINAL SALUTATIONS AND BENEDICTION ($13^{11\text{-}13}$).

10. IMPORTANCE OF THE EPISTLE.—The Epistle is far less various in its contents than 1 Co, and throws correspondingly less direct light on the theology of St. Paul and on the life of the apostolic Church. All the more important is its contribution to our personal knowledge of St. Paul. The most important biographical material is supplied in $11^{23\text{-}33}$. Some of the details (v.^{25}) are not easy to fit into the otherwise known life of the apostle; but this is only what one would expect from a genuine source. The notice of ARETAS is exceptionally important for chronological reasons. Whether the same can be said of 12^{2} (see Clemen's view, referred to in 1 CORINTHIANS, § 6) may be doubted. The attempts to identify the vision with any point of contact in Ac have been various and precarious. The apostle's καύχημα (1 Co $9^{15\text{f.}}$), of taking no sustenance from the Corinthians, is more fully elucidated 2 Co $11^{7\text{-}13}$ $12^{13\text{ff.}}$. Of a more personal kind are the notices of the apostle's miracles 12^{12}; of the much-debated σκόλοψ τῇ σαρκί (12^{7}) (see Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 183 ff.; Lias, p. xxiv; Ramsay, *Ch. in Rom. Emp.*^{2} pp. 62–66; *St. Paul*^{1}, p. 94 f.), and the references to St. Paul's comparative inferiority as a speaker (11^{6} 10^{10}) and lack of commanding presence (Plummer in *DB*, p. 658^{a}; Ramsay, *CRE*^{2}, p. 30 f.). But the interest of such details is far transcended by the Epistle's revelation of the writer's personality. To draw out this in detail is superfluous; let it suffice to say that to this Epistle, more than to any other, we owe our knowledge of the true 'pectus Paulinum,'—our intimacy with the apostle's inmost self. From this point of view it takes its place side by side with 1 Co as the most pastoral of all Epistles. 'What an admirable Epistle is the second to the Corinthians! how full of affections! he joys and he is sorry, he grieves and he glories; never was there such care of a flock expressed, save in the great Shepherd of the Fold, who first shed tears over Jerusalem, and afterwards blood' (George Herbert; cf. Lightfoot, *Galatians*, pp. 44, 51). The *doctrinal interest* of the Epistle must be very briefly indicated. The eschatology of 4^{16}–5^{8} is difficult, and involves at any rate a less confident expectation of living until the return of Christ than is expressed 1 Co 15^{51} (for a very accurate exegesis of the passage see Waite *in loc.*). The contrast of the spirit and letter ($3^{6\text{-}18}$) leads to the difficult passage $3^{17.\,18}$, apparently

identifying the 'Lord' with the 'Spirit,' a thought with a long sequel in the history of theology (see Gebhardt and Harnack on Herm. *Sim.* v. 2; Swete in *Dict. Chr. Biog.* iii. 115^{a}; Bull, *Def. Fid. Nic.* I. ii. 5, II. ii. 3; Harnack, *Dogmengesch.*^{2} 494 n.; Athan. *de Syn.* 27 [Anath. 21]); and so to the Christology of St. Paul, which receives striking sidelights from the Epistle. The glory of the exalted Christ is the dominant thought of 3^{18}–4^{6}, a glory which shines upon and transforms (Ac 9$^{3f.}$) the Christian, constituting in the life of grace a foretaste of the life of glory (v.^{18}, see Ro 6$^{5-11}$ 8$^{10f. 21-23}$ etc.). The doctrine of renovation (5^{17}) and of the Christian life (4$^{7-15}$) thus rests upon the agency of a living Christ as the sustaining force; but there is presupposed, as the fountainhead of union with Christ, forgiveness of sin (3^{9}), founded on the reconciling work of the Sinless (5^{21}) Christ (5$^{15. 18ff.}$). The last-mentioned passage is a most important contribution to St. Paul's soteriology. In 8^{9} the thought of Ph 2$^{5ff.}$ is anticipated. The concluding verse of the Epistle is not a doctrinal announcement of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, but may fairly be combined with other passages in which that doctrine is implicit.

We do not directly know the effect this Epistle produced at Corinth; but from the fact that St. Paul's promised visit was carried out, and that our two Epistles were treasured up at Corinth and thence eventually found their way into the Church's canon, we infer that the Epistle produced the effect of which such a letter was worthy.

11. APOCRYPHAL CORRESPONDENCE OF ST. PAUL AND THE CORINTHIANS.—A letter of the Corinthian Church to St. Paul, and a reply by the apostle, formed part of the NT of the Syrian Church in the time of Aphraates and Ephraim. From the Syrian Church the letters passed over into the Armenian, which retained them to a late date (they are still quoted by a writer of the 7th cent.). The Corinthians ask St. Paul to condemn certain false teachers who have appeared among them, and the apostle duly replies. Ephraim, in his commentary on St. Paul (given in Zahn, *Gesch. d. N.T. K.* ii. 595 ff.), already noticed that the false doctrine is that taught by the school of Bardesanes, who lived from A.D. 155 to 223. The letters are accordingly in all probability a product of the 3rd cent., and directed against the school in question. They were first made known in Europe by Usher, 1644, (*Sylloge Annotat.* p. 29), from an imperfect Arm. MS; then in 1736 Whiston published a Gr. and Lat. transl. from a complete MS. The Arm. text was printed by Zohrab in 1805. The commentary of Ephraim on St. Paul (where our Epp. follow 2 Co) was printed from an Arm. MS of A.D. 999 at Venice in 1836. At last, in 1890, Berger discovered at Milan a Latin MS of the Bible ('saec. x. ut videtur') containing our two Epp. (after He), and a second Lat. MS (saec. xiii.) has been discovered at Laon by Bratke, where the Epp. come after the Apoc. and Cath. Epp. The text of the Milan MS is given in *ThL*, 1892, p. 7 ff., that of the Laon MS in the same volume, p. 586 ff. The existence in a Latin version of letters known only to Syrian and Armenian tradition, and which have left no trace in Greek Christian literature, is not as yet explained. See Harnack, *Gesch. d. altchrist. Lit.* i. 37 ff.; Carrière et Berger, *Corresp. Apocr. de S. P. et des Corinthiens*, 1891; Vetter, *D. apokr.* 3 *Korintherbrief* (Tüb.), 1894; also in *Th. Quartalschrift* (1895) iv.; Zahn (*ubi sup.*, maintains that the correspondence comes from the lost *Acta Pauli*), *PRE*^{2} xi. 378; Jülicher in *ThL.* 1889, p. 164.

LITERATURE.—For works on both Epistles see previous article. On 2 Co only, Emmerling (Commentary), 1823; Fritzsche, *De locis nonnullis*, 1824; Burger, 1860; Klöpper, *Untersuchungen*, 1869, *Kommentar*, 1874 (important); Waite (in *Speaker's Comm.*), 1881 (excellent); Denney (in *Expositor's Bible*), 1894; Lisco, *Entstehung d.* 2 *Kor.-briefes*, 1896; Drescber in *SK* (1897) pp. 43–111. Other works as quoted in the body of the above article.

A. ROBERTSON.

CORMORANT is the rendering of AV for two Heb. words, קָאַת *ḳâ'ath* (see PELICAN), and שָׁלָךְ *shâlâk*, *καταράκτης*, *mergulus*.

Shâlâk occurs only in the list of unclean birds (Lv 11^{17}, Dt 14^{17}), with no context to assist in determining its meaning except its association with *ḳâ'ath*. From its etymology it should be a plunging bird. The difficulty of identifying it is enhanced by the uncertainty of the meaning of the LXX rendering *καταράκτης*, which is also a plunging bird. Tristram is inclined to the rendering of AV, which is also that of RV, saying that the cormorant, *Phalacrocorax carbo*, is common along the coast, coming up the Kishon, and visiting the Sea of Galilee. It is likewise abundant along the Jordan.

G. E. POST.

CORN.—In Jn 12^{24} 'a corn of wheat,' we have a solitary instance of 'corn' used for a particle. The AV went back for it to Wyclif, intermediate versions having 'the wheat corn,' except Rheims, 'the graine of wheat,' which RV ('a grain of wheat') adopts. It is the earliest meaning of the word 'corn.' Cf. Jewel, *On Thess.* (1611), 'We must understand this authoritie with a corn of salt (*cum grano salis*), otherwise it may bee vnsauorie'; and Hall (1656), *Occas. Med.* 11, 'He, that cannot make one spire of grass, or corn of sand, will yet be framing of worlds.' The Gr. is *κόκκος*, everywhere else tr^{d} 'grain.'

J. HASTINGS.

CORN (דָּגָן *dâgân*, *σῖτος*, *fruges*).—The generic (?) name for the cereal grains. Those cultivated in Bible lands are: **Wheat**, חִטָּה *ḥiṭṭâh*, the same as the Arab. *ḥinṭah*. The Arab., with its usual wealth of names for familiar objects, has also *burr* and *ḳomḥ* for wheat. **Barley**, שְׂעֹרָה *sĕ'ôrâh*. The Arab. for this grain is *sha'îr*. **Yetch**, כֻּסֶּמֶת *kusṣemeth*, called in AV (Ex 9^{32}, Is 28^{25}) *rye*, (Ezk 4^{9}) *fitches*. The *kirsenneh* of the Arab. is a modified form, with *n* substituted for *m*, and *r* inserted. This grain is *Vicia Ervilia*, L. It is extensively cultivated in the East. **Fitches**, קֶצַח *ḳeẓaḥ* (Is 28$^{25. 27}$), the seeds of the *nutmeg flower*, *Nigella sativa*, L., which is known in the E. as *el-ḥabbat es-saudâ*, the *black seed*, or *ḥabbat el-barakat*, the *seed of blessing*. This seed, which has carminative properties, is sprinkled on the top of loaves of bread. **Millet**, דֹּחַן *dōḥan* (Ezk 4^{9}), which is the same as the Arab. *dukhn*, *Panicum miliaceum*, L., also *Milium Italicum*, L. **Beans**, פּוֹל *pôl*, Arab. *fûl*. **Lentils**, עֲדָשִׁים *'adâshîm*, Arab. *'adas*. **Pulse**, זֵרֹעִים *zērō'îm* (Dn 1$^{12. 16}$), *seeds*, probably refers to edible seeds in general, corresponding to the Arab. *ḳuṭnîyah*, plur. *ḳaṭânî*, which includes not only the leguminous seeds which we know as pulse, but millet, etc.; but excludes wheat. **Rye**, as above stated, is an incorrect rendering for *vetch*, and is not otherwise mentioned in Scripture, nor cultivated in the Holy Land. **Oats**, also, are not mentioned nor cultivated.

Corn of all kinds is carried in sheaves from the harvest-fields on asses, mules, horses, or camels. It is threshed by the *nauraj* or *mauraj* (Heb. *môrag*), and *winnowed*, and stored in earthen, barrel-shaped receptacles or oblong bins in the houses (2 S 4^{6}), or in pits under the floor (2 S 17^{19}), or in storehouses (2 Ch 32^{28}). It is now often stored in underground chambers, with domed roofs, at the top of which is an opening to introduce the corn and remove it. These chambers, contrary to what might be expected, are dry and free from vermin. They are sometimes excavated in the rock, at other times in a sort of soft marl called *ḥuwwârah*.

The corn is liable to mildew, יֵרָקוֹן *yêrâḳôn* (the equivalent of the Arab. *yeraḳân*, which means *jaundice*), and blasting, שִׁדָּפוֹן *shiddâphôn* (1 K 8^{37}), caused by the hot and withering east wind (Hos 13^{15}, Jon 4^{8}). When the corn was burned by carelessness, restitution was enjoined (Ex 22^{6}). Also if the corn land was made pasture ground for flocks other than those of the owners of the land (Ex 22^{5}).

Palestine exported corn in Solomon's time (2 Ch $2^{10.15}$) and in Ezekiel's (Ezk 27^{17}). Even now it exports some corn, although its imports of grain exceed its exports. See further under BARLEY, WHEAT, etc. G. E. POST.

CORNELIUS (Κορνήλιος).—A centurion in the garrison of Cæsarea (Ac 10^{1}). He was probably an Italian, the Italian Cohort (cf. Blass *ad loc.*), being so named to distinguish it from companies locally enrolled, while his name is pure Roman, having been borne by the Scipios and Sulla. In Ae 10 he flits across the line of apostolic history, being brought, in consequence of a series of mutually supplementary visions, into contact with St. Peter, and admitted by baptism into the Church. According to a later tradition he founded a church at Cæsarea, while another legend makes him bishop of Scamandros. The baptism of C. has generally been regarded as the first step in the admission of the uncircumcised into the Church; but before this can be definitely maintained, we should have to assume that the events related in Ac 8–11 are narrated chronologically. The eunuch's baptism by Philip (8^{38}), that of C. by St. Peter (10^{48}), and the admission of the Greeks (RV) at Antioch (11^{20}), may all have occurred coincidently, or in any order; the events are dovetailed into each other without any necessary implication of historical sequence. There is no evidence that the eunuch was circumcised, though he was probably a proselyte of the wider class (proselytes of the Gate); while the Greeks at Antioch may also have belonged to this class. But C., too, is described as φοβούμενος τὸν θεόν, the regular phrase in Ac for such proselytes (Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 43), though Renan (*The Apostles*, ch. xi.) says he was not a proselyte in any degree whatever. Now, if C. was a proselyte, the question regarding the admission of the unmitigated heathen still remained, since the apostles could hardly wish to make the door of the Church narrower than that of the Synagogue. Some have therefore conjectured that St. Peter simply gave C. a standing in the Church similar to that which he had in the Synagogue (see Weizsäcker, *Apostolic Age*, i. 103 f.); others, that his case was passed as an exceptional one (Ramsay). St. Peter, however, according to Ac $11^{3ff.}$, uses it as a true precedent, though, had it been accepted as such, what was the purpose of the subsequent Council at Jerusalem (Ac 15)? Arguing from this, and from the fact that St. Peter was blamed, not for admitting the Gentiles, but for eating with them, Pfleiderer (*Urchristentum*, *Apostelgeschichte*) holds that the case of C. is given to show the cessation of ceremonial exclusiveness from the *Jewish* standpoint. But if so, it is strange to find St. Peter later on (Gal $2^{11ff.}$) hesitating about this very point. On the whole, it is *à priori* unlikely that a terse writer like St. Luke would have bestowed such pains upon anything but a matter of prime importance, which the relaxing of Jewish exclusiveness could hardly have appeared to him—a Gentile—to be. We may, therefore, most safely infer that he looked on the baptism of C. as an all-important step in the admission of the Gentiles, while a long advance still remained to be made. A. GRIEVE.

CORNER.—See AGRICULTURE.

CORNER-STONE (in Job 38^{6} אֶבֶן פִּנָּה, λίθος γωνιαῖος, in Jer 51 (Gr. 28) ^{26} אֶבֶן לְפִנָּה, λίθος εἰς γωνίαν).—The corner-stones of important buildings, such as palaces or temples, were sometimes of an exceedingly ornate and costly description, and of extraordinary dimensions. With the view of giving greater strength to the two walls which they connected, they were generally arranged lengthways and endways alternately, or a single angular stone might be inserted at the corner (Layard, *Nin.* ii. 254).

There are two passages in the OT where corner-stones are spoken of, which are of primary importance because of the use made of them in the NT. These are Is 28^{16} 'Behold I lay in Zion,' etc., and Ps 118^{22} 'The stone which the builders rejected,' etc. The first is quoted in 1 P 2^{6} and underlies Eph 2^{20}, in both of which λίθος ἀκρογωνιαῖος represents אֶבֶן פִּנָּה of Is 28^{16}. (On the unusual construction of the latter verse see Davidson's *Heb. Syntax*, p. 37.) The second is quoted in Mt 21^{42}, Mk 12^{10}, Lk 20^{17}, Ac 4^{11}, and 1 P 2^{7}. Here instead of אֶבֶן פִּנָּה we find רֹאשׁ פִּנָּה, answering to κεφαλὴ γωνίας, 'head of the corner.' In Ps 144^{12} a different word occurs, זָוִיּוֹת (Syr. ܙܘܝܬܐ), which in Zee 9^{15} is applied to the corners of the altar. It is doubtful whether in the above psalm corner-*stones* (accepted by both AV and RV) is the correct rendering. The Sept. has simply κεκαλλωπισμέναι, Aq. ὡς ἐπιγώνια, Symm. ὡς γωνίαι κεκοσμημέναι, Vulg. *quasi anguli*. Gesenius understands the word of 'corner-*columns* beautifully carved,' or of Caryatides. Kautzsch, who in all the other OT passages offers the rendering *Eckstein*, has here *Ecksäulen*. In all the NT passages Weizsäcker gives *Eckstein*, rightly treating 'corner-stone' and 'head of the corner' as synonymous expressions.

As to Is 28^{16}, Driver (*Isaiah*^{2}, p. 52) finds in the prophet's language an allusion to the huge and costly foundation stones of the temple (1 K 5^{17}), the prominent thought of the passage being that of the *permanent* element in Zion (the theocracy or the Davidic dynasty). It is easy to understand St. Peter's application of the words. (Cf. Delitzsch, *Isaiah*, new ed. vol. ii. p. 9.) Similarly, the expressions used of Israel in Ps 118^{22} were readily transferred to Christ. The figure of Eph 2^{20} is well explained by Grimm (*Clavis*, *s.* ἀκρογωνιαῖος). As the corner-stone is inserted at the angle of a building, holding two walls together and supporting the superstructure, so Christ unites Jew and Gentile, and is the support of the Church. The additional thought of 1 P 2^{8} can be without violence derived from the same figure. As one recklessly turning the corner of a building may stumble over the corner-stone, so, while some find in Christ their support, others stumble at Him and perish. (Cf. Alford and Ellicott on Eph 2^{20}.) For various superstitions and religious rites connected with the corner-stone, comp. Trumbull, *Threshold Covenant*, 22, 51, 55, and see FOUNDATION.

J. A. SELBIE.

CORNET.—See MUSIC.

CORONATION.—Only 2 Mae 4^{21} 'the coronation of king Ptolemeus Philometor,' AVm 'enthronizing' (Rawlinson in *Speaker's Com.* 'inthronization'), RV 'enthronement.'

The Greek τὰ πρωτοκλίσια is found only here, and its meaning is doubtful. It has been identified, as by Bissell *in loc.*, with ἡ πρωτοκλισία, the 'chief seat' (AV 'highest room') at a feast, which occurs Mt 23^{6}, Mk 12^{39}, Lk 20^{46}, and Lk $14^{7.8}$, elsewhere only in eccles. writers. But cod. A (fol^{d} by Swete) has πρωτοκλήσια in our passage, 'a first assembly,' whence Luther's *ersten Reichstag*. J. HASTINGS.

CORPSE, from Lat. *corpus*, is in earliest Eng. a body, living[*] or dead, and is so found as late as 1707. Hence 'dead corpses,' 2 K 19^{35}=Is 37^{36}, as in Fuller, *Holy War*, iv. 27, 'the cruditie of a dead corpse.' RV retains 'dead corpses' because of the Heb. (פְּגָרִים מֵתִים) of which it is a literal translation. J. HASTINGS.

CORRECT, CORRECTION.—Both vb. and subst. are used in the (nearly) obsol. sense of chastisement, and it is doubtful if in any other. Thus Jer 10^{24} 'O LORD, correct me, but with judgment; not in thine anger, lest thou bring me to nothing'; and Sir 16^{12} 'As his mercy is great, so is his correction also' (ἔλεγχος). In Job 37^{13} the Heb. is 'a rod' (שֵׁבֶט) as it is tr^{d} in 21^{9}. The Heb., however, is generally מוּסָר *mûṣâr* (or vb. יָסַר), a word very characteristic of Pr, in AV most freq. tr^{d} 'instruction,' but RV prefers 'correction,' though not consistently. In He 12^{9} *παιδευτής* is tr^{d} by a verb, AV 'which corrected us,' RV 'to chasten us' (as the vb. *παιδεύω* is tr^{d} in v.^{10}); but the same word is rendered in Ro 2^{20} AV 'an instructor,' RV 'a corrector.' In 2 Ti 3^{16} Scripture is said to be profitable for 'correction.' The Eng. word prob. means 'chastening' (if not 'chastisement,' Wyclif has 'to chastise'), and this is prob. the meaning of the Gr. *ἐπανόρθωσις*, which occurs only here in NT, though in the classics it is common for 'amendment.' J. HASTINGS.

CORRUPT.—In older English 'corrupt' (and its derivatives) had the meaning of *destroy*, *consume*, and in that sense, not in the sense of *taint*, it is most freq. in AV. Thus Mt 6^{19} 'where moth and rust doth corrupt' (*ἀφανίζει*, 'causes to disappear,' RV 'doth consume'); Lk 12^{33} 'neither moth corrupteth' (*διαφθείρει*, RV 'destroyeth'); Ja 5^{2} 'Your riches are corrupted' (*σέσηπε*). *Corrupter*: Is 1^{4} 'children that are corrupters' (RV 'that deal corruptly'), but the Heb. (בָּנִים מַשְׁחִיתִים) means 'sons that *deal* or *act* corruptly.' *Corrupt* as participial adj., Job 17^{1} 'My breath is c.' (חֻבָּלָה, RV 'my spirit is consumed'); Eph 4^{22} 'c. acc. to the deceitful lusts' (*φθειρόμενον*='morally decaying, on the way to final ruin'—Moule). *Corruptible*: Wis 19^{21} 'the flesh of c. living things' (*εὐφθάρτων ζῴων*); Ro 1^{23} 'c. man,' *i.e.* liable to decay, mortal (*φθαρτός*); 1 Co 9^{25} 'a c. crown,' referring to the garland of bay leaves with which the victors in the games were crowned, and which soon went to decay. *Corruption*: Ps 16^{10} 'Neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see c.' (RVm correctly 'the pit,' שַׁחַת, LXX *διαφθορά*, whence Ac 2^{27} 13^{35}); Ro 8^{21} 'the bondage of c.' (*δουλεία τῆς φθορᾶς*, 'the state of subjection or thraldom to dissolution and decay'—Sanday-Headlam, *in loc.*

There is an obsol. meaning of 'corrupt'=*adulterate*, of which *Oxf. Eng. Dict.* has found two examples: *Act 23 Elizab.* c. 8, § 4 (1581), 'Everye Person and Persons that shall corrupt the Honny . . . with any deceyptfull myxture, shall forfeyte the Barrell'; and *View Penal Laws*, 244 (1697), 'If any . . . Vintners shall Corrupt or Adulterate any Wine.' Of this rare usage there is an instance in AV, 2 Co 2^{17} 'For we are not as many, which corrupt the word of God.' This tr^{n} is a change from that of the Rhemish Bible 'adulterating,' which again resembles Wyclif's 'for we ben not as many that don avouterie (=adultery) bi the word of god.' The Gr. verb (*καπηλεύω* from *κάπηλος*, a vintner, huckster, Is 1^{22}, Sir 26^{29}) signifies to make money by trading, esp. by trading basely in anything; and some prefer that more common meaning here; hence Tindale's tr^{n} 'many . . . which choppe and chaunge with the word of God,' foll^{d} by Cranmer. But as such hucksters sought to increase their gain by adulterating their goods (the reference is esp. to wine) the word came to mean 'adulterate,' and is taken in that sense by most here.

In 2 K 23^{13} the Mount of Olives is called, on account of the 'high places' which Solomon built there, or, rather, turned to idolatrous uses, 'the mount of corruption' (RVm 'destruction'; Heb. הַר־הַמַּשְׁחִית, LXX *τὸ ὄρος τοῦ Μοσοάθ*, Vulg. *mons offensionis*, whence the name of a part of Olivet in later Christian writings 'Mount of Offence.' See OLIVES, MOUNT OF. J. HASTINGS.

CORRUPTION (usual rendering of שַׁחַת, *διαφθορά*, *φθορά*) has in OT only a literal and physical meaning, though the verb is also emblematical and moral (Gn 6^{11}, Jg 2^{19}, Dn 2^{9}). In profane Gr. both *φθορά* and *διαφθορά* bear the physico-moral sense of sensual corruption (Xen. *Apol.* 19; Plut. 2. 712*c*); and *διαφθορά*, the more strictly moral corruption of bribery (Arist. *Rhet.* i. 12. 8). Both the verbs are used of bribery and also of the degradation of the judgment (Æsch. *Ag.* 932), the preference being, both in class. Greek and in LXX, for *διαφθείρω* in the moral region. In NT *διαφθορά* (six times) denotes only physical decomposition and decay (Ac 2^{31} $13^{34\text{-}37}$), while *φθορά* stands in 2 P 1^{4} $2^{12.\,19}$, Jude ^{10}, Gal 6^{8}, Ro 8^{21}, for the natural decay of the world, the unreasoning animals, or the flesh, as emblematic of the immoral, sin being behind the decomposition of the natural body and nature generally (2 P 1^{4}, Ro 8^{21}; cf. Gn $3^{17.\,18}$), fettering free development and keeping the creation in slavery (Ro 8^{21}). Both verbs (with a balance in favour of *φθείρω*) are used morally without any medium of metaphor (1 Ti 6^{5}, 1 Co 15^{33}, Rev 19^{2}, Jude ^{10}, 2 Co 11^{3}). In Gal 6^{8} (of the flesh reap *φθορὰν* . . . of the spirit reap *ζωὴν αἰώνιον*) *φθορὰ* is antithetical to eternal life and all that is therein contained. But while *φθορά* in this connexion includes the moral death, which is the lowest depth of moral deterioration and decay, and the kindred verbs mean not only to *make worse*, but also to *destroy* (*διαφθείρω* in NT only in two passages, Rev 8^{9} 11^{18}; *φθείρω* perhaps in three, 1 Co 3^{17}, 2 P 2^{12}, Jude ^{10}), there is nothing in NT usage which involves the substitution of annihilation, literal destruction of spirit, for the continuation of the miserable and penal existence which, according to later OT ideas and the more definite Jewish views in NT times, was the destiny of the wicked after the death of the body. (Cf. for the general misery of after existence, Job 14^{22}; penal for the wicked, Ps 9^{17}; the righteous rescued from it, Ps 16^{10}; climax for both in resurrection, Dn 12^{2}; Jewish idea of Hades in NT times, Lk 16^{23}, *Ps-Sol* 14^{6} 15^{11} 16^{2}, *Enoch* 63^{10}. 'In the Talm., Sheol has become synonymous with Gehenna. Weber, *L.d.T.* 326^{7}.' Charles, *Enoch*, p. 69.) The corrupted state of the moral functions, brought to a kind of completion (cf. perfect participle *διεφθαρμένοι*), may be already reached in this life (1 Ti 6^{5}; cf. 2 Co 11^{3}, 2 P 2^{12}, Eph 4^{22}). J. MASSIE.

COS (Κῶς).—An island off the Carian coast, nearly blocking the entrance to the Ceramic gulf, very fertile (producing ointments, wheat, wines, and, above all, silk), famous for its rich and comfortable country life and the beauty and character of its people, with a city of the same name at its eastern end. It was one of the six Dorian colonies. Its famous temple of Æsculapius was the centre of one of the oldest and greatest medical schools in Greece, adorned especially by the genius of Hippocrates in the 5th century. Amid the busy and frequent trade and intercourse between the Ægean cities and the Syrian and Egyp. coasts, which existed for many centuries after the time of Alexander the Great (336–321), C., which lay on the path of all ships engaged in that trade, S. of Miletus and Samos, and N. of Rhodes (Ac 21^{1}; Lucan, viii. 243 f.; Livy, xxxvii. 16), became a place of great importance and wealth. In the 3rd cent. C. clung closely to the Egyp. kings; but in the

---

[*] T. Adams (quoted by Davies, *Bible English*, p. 161) speaks of those to whom 'orchards, fishponds, parks, warrens, and whatsoever may yield pleasurable stuffing to the corpse, is a very heaven upon earth.'—*Sermons* (Pur. Divines), i. 276.

2nd cent. it was a good deal under the influence of Rhodes, and like it a staunch ally of Rome. It is uncertain whether C. was incorporated in the Rom. province Asia in B.C. 129 along with the rest of Caria (which see); it had always the dignity of a free city (see CHIOS) as a reward for its faithful alliance; and this perhaps implied a position of approximate autonomy until the time of Augustus, when C. became definitely a part of the province (after the death or deposition of the tyrant Nicias). It suffered from earthquakes in B.C. 6, under Pius (A.D. 138–161), and in A.D. 554 (Agathias, p. 98, gives a vivid description of the latter). There is a famous plane tree of great size and age in the square of the modern city, declared by tradition to be over 2000 years old.

From its Syrian and Alexandrian trading connexion, C. was one of the great Jewish centres in the Ægean. In B.C. 139–138 the Romans wrote to its government in favour of the Jews (1 Mac 15^{23}; see CARIA). The position of C. naturally made it one of the great banking and financial centres of the E. commercial world; and the treasure of Cleopatra, which Mithridates seized in B.C. 87, is thought by Rayet to have been deposited with the Jewish bankers of C., as certainly were the 800 talents (£192,000) belonging to Jews of Asia Minor, which Mithridates also seized there (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. vii. 2). In B.C. 49, C. Fannius, governor of the province Asia, wrote to the Coans urging them to observe the decree of the Rom. Senate,* and provide for the safe passage of Jewish pilgrims through C. (which lay on their route) to Jerusalem (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. x. 15). The poet Meleager, who lived in C. in that century, complains that his mistress deserted him for a Jewish lover (Ep. 83, *Anthol. Gr.* v. 160). Herod the Great was a benefactor of the Coans; and the inscription of a statue to his son Herod the Tetrarch has been found at Cos.

LITERATURE.—Strabo, p. 657 f. The latest and best account is by Paton and Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos*; Rayet, *Mémoire sur l'île de Kos* (*extr. des archives des missions*, iii. 3); Dubois, *De Co insula*; Ross, *Reisen nach Kos, u.s.w.*, and his *Reisen auf den griech. Inseln*, ii. pp. 86–92, iii. pp. 126–139, are also useful. A list of other works is given, Paton-Hicks, p. ix.

W. M. RAMSAY.

COSAM (Κωσάμ).—An ancestor of Jesus (Lk 3^{28}). See GENEALOGY.

COSMOGONY.—I. Two cosmogonies or narratives of creation confront us in the opening chapters of the Bible. The first, contained in the first chapter of the Book of Genesis, is a part of the document P, belonging to the early post-exilic period; while the second, contained in Gn 2^{4b-7}, forms the introduction to the Jahwistic document (J), redacted in the pre-exilic period, and therefore earlier than the first.

(A) THE FIRST CREATION NARRATIVE.—The writer† of the opening chapter of the Book of Genesis (Gn 1^{1}–2^{4a}) set before himself the task of giving a comprehensive survey of the origins of Israel's history. 'It was his purpose to show that the theocracy which became historically realized in Israel as hierocracy was the end and aim of the creation of the world' (Holzinger). To his consciousness Israel and Israel's sacerdotal institutions stand central to the great movement of history, and he consistently works out this grandiose conception to its ultimate origins. Accordingly, he unfolds the narrative in successive gradations, the scope of which narrows from the universal to the particular as it passes from heaven and earth to Adam, from Adam to Noah, from Noah to Abraham, and, lastly, from Abraham to Israel and his descendants. Beginning each section we find an enumeration of *Tôlĕdôth* or 'generations.' First we have the Tôlĕdôth of the universe (heaven and earth) of which God is the Creator, then of man (Adam), then of Noah, then of Abraham. We are here concerned only with the first of the series, which deals with the prehuman stages in the drama of the world.

The following is a brief summary of the First Creation Story. The week of seven days forms a calendar into which the different successive stages of the work of creation are divided. The creation of man forms the climax and conclusion of the work on the sixth day, while the close of the narrative describes the seventh or day of rest, when J″ ceased from His creation-work.

First day (Gn 1^{1-5}). Light created amid the waste and void of the primal chaos. Division of day and night.

Second day (vv.$^{6-8}$). Creation of the firmament, dividing the upper from the lower waters.

Third day (vv.$^{9-13}$). Dry land and seas formed. Vegetation.

Fourth day (vv.$^{14-19}$). Heavenly bodies created.

Fifth day (vv.$^{20-23}$). Waters swarm with living creatures—flying things, monsters of the deep, reptiles and birds created.

Sixth day (vv.$^{24-31}$). Creation of land animals—cattle, reptiles, wild beasts. Man fashioned in divine image and placed as head and lord of created things.

Seventh day (2^{1-3}). Sabbath of divine rest.

(B) THE SECOND CREATION NARRATIVE is the Jahwistic account contained in Gn 2^{4b-7}, and follows immediately upon the preceding. It belongs to an earlier document, composed during the national and pre-exilic period of Hebrew life, before the Jewish nation became merged in an ecclesiastical polity, and at a time when the traditions of patriarchal story, which clustered around certain sacred spots, were still vivid. Religious conceptions were then simple and concrete, and the representations of God were strongly anthropomorphic. The interests of the writer are national and human. Not a priestly system, but a *people*, is the centre of his universe. Moreover, his thought moves along the lines of prophetic rather than priestly ideas. Accordingly, the creation of man plays a much more important part in the Jahwistic cosmogony. We hear nothing of moon and stars to regulate festival seasons, but of plants and animals. Nor is man's position made so distinct from that of animated nature around him (cf. Wellhausen, *Prolegg.*^{2} p. 323).

It is exceedingly doubtful whether we have the Jahwistic cosmogony complete, and the abrupt introduction to v.^{5} וְכֹל שִׂיחַ וְג suggests that something between vv.^{4} and ^{5} has been omitted by the redactor, and perhaps also between ^{6} and ^{7}, either because it repeated or because it was inconsistent with the preceding creation narrative. The succession of circumstantial clauses in vv.^{5} and ^{6} certainly presents an interesting parallel to Gn 1^{2}. But what we actually possess of the Jahwistic cosmogony in the biblical record is in striking contrast to the work of P. Vv.^{5} and ^{6} in external form bear a certain resemblance to the 'New Babylonian version of the creation story,' discovered by Pinches and published in *JRAS* vol. xxiii. (1891) p. 393 ff.

> 'The sacred house of the gods had not been
> erected in the Holy Place,
> No reed had yet budded, no tree had been
> formed,' etc.

The dryness of the earth before the growth of plants, the mention of the ascending mist, the creation of man, and the description of Paradise in which man was placed, as well as the creation of woman, of which a special account is given in $2^{21ff.}$, stand in remarkable contrast to the preceding post-exilic cosmogony. In language we specially note the use of יָצַר (or עָשָׂה) in place of בָּרָא in Gn 1. (See Dillmann's commentary for a complete list of divergencies in style.)

---

* The decree is erroneously termed by some modern authorities an edict of Julius Cæsar.

† The work of this writer constitutes the fundamental document of the larger work, P, hence called by Holzinger, Pg (g = *Grundschrift*), by Wellhausen, Q. A clear and comprehensive statement of the specialities of language and style of this document may be found in Holzinger's *Hexateuch*, pp. 335–354.

II. We shall now proceed to examine in greater detail the first creation account. The narrative in Gn 1^1–2^{4a} opens with a reference to a pre-existent dark chaos (*tōhu wabōhu*). 'In the beginning, when God created the heavens and the earth—now the earth was waste and void, and darkness was over the watery abyss (*tĕhôm*), and the breath of God was brooding over the waters — then God said: Let there be light.' This rendering, which is adopted by Ewald, Dillmann, and Schrader (following Rashi), regards v.^{2} as a circumstantial or parenthetic clause. This yields the best construction as well as meaning, and is parallel to the opening of the Jahwistic creation account $2^{4b.\,5.\,6}$, and also of the Bab. creation tablet to be presently cited. All these are curiously similar in the form of the opening, which consists of a series of temporal clauses.

How long the pre-existing waste and emptiness of chaos existed, and how long the darkness prevailed over the primal waters before the quickening spirit or breath of God brooded over its surface, we do not know. The remarkable phrase in the first cosmogony, 'the spirit (or breath) of God was brooding over the waters,' is probably intended to indicate the ultimate origin of the generating influences that operated during creation as grounded in the divine spiritual activity. That the form, however, in which this conception is conveyed was suggested by ancient Semitic cosmogonies, is a fact which we shall subsequently have occasion to confirm.

The immediate cause of light, in the mind of the writer, is clearly indicated as the divine word which went forth as a *fiat*, and it is this divine word regarded as an agent that ushers in each succeeding act in the divine drama of creation. The creation of light in itself involves a distinction between light and darkness; but the division between light and darkness in v.^{4} implies that this was a division, not in space but in time, as the context immediately shows: 'and God called the light day, and the darkness he called night.' It was therefore through the creation of light that the first creation-day was constituted. What, then, constituted the night and what the daytime? Was it the primal darkness of chaos that constituted the night, to which day succeeded? If so, we might compare the conception of the first day and of the succeeding ones to the ecclesiastical day of Judaism, which begins with the darkness after sunset and continues till the sunset which inaugurates the following day. Some colour is given to this view by the specification of evening *before* the morning in the concluding formula in describing each stage of creation: 'and there was evening and there was morning. . . .' But the difficulties which stand in the way of accepting this view have been clearly set forth in Dillmann's Commentary. He emphasizes the fact that the darkness of chaos lay entirely outside the reckoning of day and night [properly, we might add, outside the actual work of divine creation here recorded]. Evening first arises after light has been created. In fact, the word from its very etymology (*'ereb*, derived from the root ערב, in Assyrian *'erîbu*, 'enter,' 'pass under' *) implies that 'day' had preceded. Moreover, the fact that we are reading a post-exilic narrative in which the months of the calendar were regulated by the Bab. system, which reckoned from Nisan (a name of Bab. origin), would lead us to the supposition that the Bab. tradition would also affect the reckoning of the *day* in the creation account. Now, on the testimony of Pliny (*HN* ii. 79, cited by Del.) the Babylonians reckoned the day from sunrise to sunrise. We may therefore infer that the creation-day was also reckoned from sunrise to sunrise, according to the tradition of the Jewish *civil* day.

Vv.$^{6-8}$ portray the *second day's* creation-work, viz. the separation of the upper from the lower waters by the formation of a heavenly firmament (Heb. *rāḳîa'*) which divides them. The Hebrew word רָקִיעַ properly signifies something beaten or hammered out,* fairly represented by LXX, Aq., Symm. *στερέωμα*, Vulg. *firmamentum*. That the ancient Greeks conceived of this vault as consisting of burnished metal is shown by the epithets *σιδήρεος* (*Od.* xv. 329) and *χάλκεος* (*Il.* xvii. 425; Pindar, *Pyth.* x. 42; *Nem.* vi. 5) occurring in their early literature. And these conceptions have their parallels in the language of the OT. Numerous passages may be cited to prove that the Heb. Semite regarded the sky as a solid vault or arched dome. In Job 37^{18} it is compared to a firm molten mirror, the hue of which in Ex 24^{10} is described as resembling sapphire, while from Am 9^6, Job $26^{10.\,11}$, Pr $8^{27.\,28}$ we gather the additional details that this solid compacted vault or arched dome was supported on the loftiest mountains as pillars (Job 26^{11}). It was also provided with windows and gates (Gn 7^{11} 28^{17}, 2 K $7^{2.\,19}$, Ps 78^{23}). Above this solid *rāḳîa'* flowed the upper or heavenly waters (v.^{7}), which descended in rain through these openings (Ps 104^3 148^4, 2 K 7^{19}). Dillmann, from whose clear exposition of these conceptions we have borrowed, compares also the language of the Vedas and of the Avesta, where we likewise meet with this conception of an upper or heavenly sea. Similarly, the ancient Egyptians believed that the sun-god Ra daily traverses the celestial waters in his boat. The Assyrians and Babylonians also had their conceptions of a deep which rolled over the firmament of heaven. These we shall illustrate in some measure from their creation-epic. Cf. Sayce, *Hib. Lect.* p. 374; Jensen, *Cosmol. der Bab.* p. 254.

Vv.$^{9-13}$ portray the work of the third creative day, which involves two separate acts: (1) the creation of dry land and the segregation of the waters into seas; (2) the creation of plants. According to the writer of 2 P 3^5 land was created from water by divine command. This is not distinctly stated in the biblical narrative, which simply affirms that the waters were gathered together into one place, and that the land thereby appeared. But from subsequent considerations and the parallels from ancient religions which will be cited, it will appear that water was undoubtedly regarded as the primitive element out of which created things, including land, emerged, and there can be no question that this conception underlies the first creation narrative, though it is not clearly expressed.

Vv.$^{14-19}$ describe the work of the *fourth* day, the creation of heavenly bodies. Light in a diffused form (אוֹר) had been summoned into existence by God's first creative fiat. How it emerged we are not told, but are left to infer that it was the immediate outflow of divine energy. The heavenly bodies are naturally regarded purely from the terrestrial standpoint. To the naïve conceptions of antiquity it was necessary that the creation of a firmament should have preceded that of the luminaries. For these luminaries were placed on or attached to the firmament or solid vault, and their courses prescribed thereon. It should be observed that in Job 38⁴⁻⁷ the underlying tradition respecting the stars is very different. In the latter the stars, personified as 'sons of God,' take their part in the work of creation at the beginning, and cry aloud with exultant strains (cf. Jg 5²⁰).

---

* Thus *erib šamši* in Assyrian means 'sunset.'

* From the Hebrew root רָקַע 'beat' or 'stamp' (hence extend, or stretch out) we have an interesting derivative מרקע preserved in the Phœn. inscriptions meaning plate or dish. Cf. *CIS*, Pars Prima, Tom. i. p. 107, No 90—

מרקע חרץ אש יתן מלך מלכיתן מלך כתי

(the gold plate (or bowl) which king Melechjathon, king of Citium, gave).

Passing over the work of the *fifth* day (vv.²⁰⁻²³), which includes the creation of the lowest forms of animal life that *swarm* in the water, as well as of the flying creatures, we come to the *sixth* day (vv.²⁴⁻³¹), on which the larger land animals as well as reptiles and sea and river monsters were created. The creation of man in the divine image concludes the narrative. This is not the place to enter into the theological aspects of the parallel phrases 'image' (*ẓelem*) and 'likeness' (*dĕmûth*), which misplaced ingenuity has separated by hard-and-fast lines of demarcation.* It is necessary, however, to enter a *caveat* against the view recently propounded by Gunkel in his stimulating work, *Schöpfung u. Chaos*, p. 11 ff., who, in opposition to the interpretation usually adopted (sustained by Dillmann and Wellhausen), which regards the likeness as internal and spiritual, argues from a comparison of 5¹⁻³ and 9⁵ᶠᶠ·, where the same expressions occur, that the resemblance here refers to *external form* or *shape*. But such an inference is altogether gratuitous. Though it is quite conceivable that in some ancient form of the tradition, or in another connexion as 5³, such terms as *ẓelem* might connote external shape, such a meaning here in relation to God is altogether out of harmony with the spirit of this post-exilic document. Another point to which we must refer is the much discussed 'let *us* make man . . .' The plural is here best explained in reference to angels who participate in the work of creation (in Job called 'sons of God,' and identified with stars Job 38⁴⁻⁷, cf. Jg 5²⁰, and elsewhere called צְבָאוֹת, cf. 1 K 22¹⁹). Such an interpretation is sustained by Gn 11⁷ (J) and Is 6⁸. For other explanations see Spurrell, *ad loc.*

III. In interpreting this *first cosmogony* the greatest difficulties encounter us at the earlier stages of the drama as it unfolds to us, and the only means of dispelling the obscurity is a closer and, moreover, a comparative study of the Heb. Semitic cosmos. An endeavour will therefore be made to throw light on this subject from the data of Phœn. as well as Bab. mythology, preserved for us either in Greek writings or upon inscriptions, so as to present as clear and vivid a conception as possible of the ancient Heb. cosmos.

The Phœn., like the Heb. and the Bab. cosmogony, starts with the conception of a dark abyss of waters or *chaos*, called by the Hebrews תְּהוֹם רַבָּה 'great Tĕhôm' (Gn 7¹¹), or simply תְּהוֹם, and by the Babylonians *Tiâmat* (Tiâmtu). According to the Phœn. cosmogony cited by Eusebius (*Præp. Evang.* i. 10) from Philo Byblius, this watery material was generated from desire (πόθος) and spirit (πνεῦμα). Here we find a point of contact with the רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים of Gn 1², though in the biblical cosmogony the water is not regarded as a product of the action of spirit, but appears to stand as a coefficient with spirit of the subsequent generative processes. Now the three clauses,

> The earth was waste and void,
> And darkness was upon the face of the deep (Tĕhôm),
> And the breath (spirit) of God was brooding over the waters,

conduct us to the conclusion that the writer regards waste and void (tōhu wabōhu), deep (Tĕhôm), and waters, as three epithets designating the same thing, viz. the chaotic watery abyss. Accordingly, we may infer that when God entered upon the creative work there was no distinction between (*a*) day and night, (*b*) heaven and earth, (*c*) dry land (earth) and sea. All that existed were (1) darkness; (2) Tĕhôm = Tōhu wabōhu = waters, *i.e.* the chaotic watery abyss; (3) the brooding spirit of God materialized as air. (*a*) The first distinction emerges with the creation of light, whereby day is separated from night (v.⁵). (*b*) The second distinction arises when the firmament or 'heavens' are formed (v.⁸). (*c*) The third distinction was effectuated by the separation of water from land, whereby 'dry land,' or 'earth' in the narrower sense, was formed.

The Tĕhôm (תְּהוֹם רַבָּה) was no mere figment of the imagination, or the conception of some far distant cosmic condition, to the mind of the ancient Hebrew. Though it apparently assumed the latter character in cosmogonic narrative, it was also a very present and vivid reality. The accompanying diagram will enable the reader to comprehend the ordinary conceptions of an ancient Semite (whether Babylonian or Hebrew) respecting the universe in which he lived. The writer of this article sketched this outline from a study of numerous OT passages about twelve years ago, and found in Jensen's *Cosmologie der Bab.*, published in 1890, a diagram almost identical in character, descriptive of the universe according to Bab. conceptions, and based purely upon the data of the cuneiform inscriptions. In both we have a heavenly upper ocean, and in both the earth was conceived as resting upon a vast water-depth or Tĕhôm (called also in Babylonian *apsu*). The Hebrews thought of the world as a disc (חוּג, cf. Is 40²²); and to this earthly disc corresponded the heavenly disc (also called חוּג, cf. Job 22¹⁴, Pr 8²⁷). Beneath the earth rested the unknown and mysterious *Tĕhôm Rabbâh* (cf. the language of Ps 24³). The flood not only descended through the windows of heaven (see above), but also *ascended* from the deep nether springs, called 'springs of the great Tĕhôm' (Gn 7¹¹ Pᵍ), which were cleft open. These deep springs were accordingly called *Tĕhômôth* (Pr 3²⁰), and were believed to communicate through the depths of the earth by means of passages with the great Tĕhôm which lay below. In a striking passage in Am (7⁴) the prophet portrays a judgment in which the fire of J″ will devour this great water-depth. Within the earth itself lay the realm of the departed, *Sheôl* or Hades.

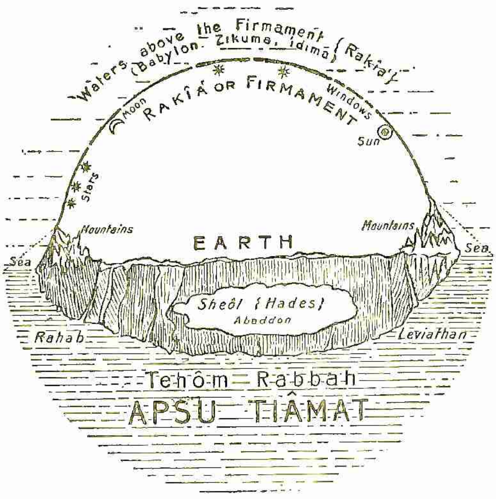

That mythical ideas and personifications clustered round this mysterious chaotic water-depth in the thoughts of the ancient Semites, is abundantly shown, not only in the legends of the Babylonians, preserved in their inscriptions, to which we shall presently refer, but also in the references to be found in Heb. literature. The dark water-depth was represented as a dragon or serpent, and was called by various names. Images were formed of it * (Ex 20^4). Sometimes it is called *Rahab*, a dragon which entered into conflict with J″ and was destroyed by Him (Is $51^{9ff.}$, Job $26^{12ff.}$). At other times it is named *Leviathan* † (Job 41, cf. Ps 74^{12-19}), or again it is simply called the 'serpent' (Am $9^{2.3}$).

---

* On the distinction between *image* and *similitude* among Rom. Cath. theologians, see Nitzsch, *Evang. Dogmatik*, p. 271 ff.

IV. We shall now proceed to quote from those Sem. cosmogonies, which should be brought into comparison with the Heb. narrative. Since the Hebrews were Semites, and were nurtured from a common stock of ancient Sem. inheritance, both as to beliefs and usages, such a comparison will be fertile of results.

(A) The *Phœnician* cosmogony has come down to us in a very fragmentary and dubious condition. It is contained in the *Præparatio Evangelica* of Eusebius (I. chs. ix. x. and IV. ch. xvi.). He obtained his materials from the *φοινικὴ ἱστορία* of Philo Byblius. According to Eusebius, i. 6, as well as Porphyry, Philo of Byblus translated these fragments from a Phœn. original by Sanchuniathon. It is not possible for us to enter into the discussion respecting Sanchuniathon. (It will be sufficient to refer the reader to Baudissin's elaborate essay in his *Studien zur Sem. Religiongeschichte*, i. pp. 1–46, where references to the literature on this subject are fully given.) We shall content ourselves with citing in summarized form the Phœn. cosmogony so far as it can be intelligibly presented from the obscure pages of Eusebius.

At the beginning of things nothing existed but limitless Chaos and Spirit (*πνεῦμα*). A third factor is introduced in the form of Desire (*πόθος*), corresponding to the *ἔρως* of Greek legend. Desire arose as a blending (*πλοκή*) of the 'spirit' with 'love.' The ultimate issue, obscurely described and difficult to interpret, was Μώτ. This name Μώτ is a feminine abstract form from מוֹ = מַי water.‡ This corresponds in all probability to the *Tĕhôm* of the biblical narrative. 'Out of this,' says the account from which we are quoting, 'sprang all the seed of the Creation.' All these seeds or germs of things were formed into an egg (and, according to Damascius, broke into two parts, heaven and earth). From Μώτ gleamed forth sun, moon, and stars; and these became endowed with intelligence, and received the name *Ζωφασήμιν*, צֹפֵי שָׁמַיִם heavenly watchers or guardians. As soon as air, land, and sea were heated by the sun, winds arose as well as clouds and violent downpours of the heavenly waters, thunder and lightning. By these thunderstorms animated shapes, male and female, began to stir in sea and on land. It may be remarked that the conception of the origin of the universe from water is thoroughly Semitic. Berosus, as we shall have occasion to see, interprets the name of the primal matter, *Ὀμόρκα* or *Θάλατθ*, by *Θάλασσα*.

Another cosmogony cited by Eusebius makes the two mortals *Αἰών* and *Πρωτόγονος* begotten of *Κολπία* and his wife Βααῦ. The word *Κολπία* has been variously interpreted as קוֹל פִּי יָהּ, voice of J″'s mouth, and as קוֹל פִּיחַ voice of breath. Neither of these explanations has much probability, but it is generally held that Βααῦ is the Heb. בֹּהוּ or chaos. It is not necessary to cite further varieties of the Phœnician cosmogonic legend, as they fail to throw any light on the biblical narrative.

(B) More important for the biblical student is the *Babylonian cosmogony*. Not only are its features more significant in their bearing on the first creation narrative, but it has come down to us in a more complete form, and through two distinct sources. It has been handed down to us through Greek sources, which have been obscured by transmission through a Christian writing, and we also possess it in a series of tablets containing the original cuneiform Bab. creation epic.

Before the discovery, in 1875, by the late George Smith, of the fragments of the Bab. creation account in the ruined library of Ašurbanipal (published in *TSBA* iv. 1876), this legend was known to us only in the mutilated records of Berosus. Berosus was a priest of Bel in Babylon about B.C. 300. His recital of the Bab. story of creation was handed down by Alexander Polyhistor, and it is from this source that Eusebius (in his *Chronicon*, bk. i.) has borrowed. We shall now give the translation of the more salient passages in the words of Gunkel, who has carefully examined the text.

'Primarily all consisted of darkness and water, and strange creatures of peculiar form arose therein. There were men with two wings, some also with four wings and two faces, and some which had one body but two heads, one male and the other female . . . other men with goat's feet and horns, or with horse's feet, or like horses behind and like men in front, and therefore in the form of hippocentaurs. . . . Besides these there were fish, creeping things, serpents, and all kinds of strange creatures of varied shapes. The images of them are to be seen in the temple of Bel as dedication gifts. Over them there reigned a woman, Om Orka,* which in Chaldee is Thamte † [Tiâmat], in Greek *Θάλασσα*. Under this condition of the world Bel came over [*i.e.* the Marduk of the cuneiform narrative], cleft the woman in twain, and made from one half of her the earth, and from the other the heavens, and destroyed the beasts which belonged to her.

'Now this narrative, as he asserts [*i.e.* Berosus, for at this point Eusebius interrupts the citation in order to give an allegorical explanation], is intended to be an allegorical representation of the processes of nature. The universe was formerly in a state of flux, and the creatures above described arose in it. Bel, however (in Greek *Ζεῦς*), cleft the darkness in the midst, and so divided heaven and earth from one another, and thereby established the order of the universe. The creatures, however, could not endure the power of light, and perished [so far the allegorical interpretation, then follows the remainder of the myth].

'So when Bel saw the earth destitute of inhabitants and fruit, he commanded one of the gods to cut off his [Bel's] head, and to mix the earth with the blood which flowed from it, and thereby to fashion men and animals that should be capable of enduring the air. Bel also completed the creation of the stars, sun, moon, and five planets.'

Unfortunately, the polemical bias of [Eusebius mars the rational consistency of his quotations. He appears to make his excerpts in order to hold them up to ridicule. Thus Bel creates heavenly bodies after his decapitation. There seems to be a confusion here between Bel and Tiâmat, as the cuneiform record appears to show. It is quite possible that some of the confusions in the narrative may have existed in the text of Alexander Polyhistor.

We shall now proceed to give a summary of the Babylonian creation epic brought to light by the discovery of the original cuneiform texts.

In the beginning, before heaven and earth existed, when the primal father Apsu (ocean) and the primal mother Tiâmat mingled their waters, the gods arose, Laḫmu, Laḫamu, Ansbar, Kishar, and Anu. This is the summary of the fragmentary creation account cited by Schrader in *COT* i. on Gn 1^1. The following translation of the first tablet in the Babylonian creation epic we give approximately in the words of Prof. Friedrich Delitzsch, who has recently published a carefully edited text of the entire Creation Epic Series (*Das Babylonische Weltschöpfungs Epos*, Leipzig: Hirzel, 1896)—

'When above the heaven was not named ‡
Beneath the earth did not record a name,
The ocean (*Apsu*) the primeval was their begetter
The tumult § Tiâmat was mother of them all,
Their waters in one united together
Fields ‖ were not bounded, marshes were not yet to be seen.

---

* Comp. the ref. by Berosus to animal shapes in the temple of Bel (cited below), and Gunkel, *Schöpf.* p. 28.

† The diagram clearly exhibits the close connexion between ocean and the water-depth. Leviathan embodies the idea of a serpent, like Oceanus, coiled round the earth. Jensen, *Cosmologie*, p. 251; Sayce, *Hibb. Lect.* pp. 104, 116; Gunkel, *Schöpf.* p. 46.

‡ Baudissin, *Studien*, i. p. 12. Cf. Schröder, *Phön. Sprache*, p. 133. Philo adds the explanation that Μώτ was explained by some as *mud* and by others as a putrefying watery mixture.

* Gunkel rightly interprets *Ὀμόρκα* as אם ארקא mother of the depth. See his long and instructive note, p. 18.

† The texts give *Θαλάτθ*. Robertson Smith, however, corrects to *Θαμτέ*, *ZA* vi. p. 339.

‡ To a Semite *name* connotes existence and power.

§ So Schrader and Jensen ('Wirrwarr'); Delitzsch renders 'Getöse.' The meaning of *mummu* is very doubtful. Delitzsch questions the derivation of the word from the root הוּם or הָמַם.

‖ Again a doubtful passage. On *giparu* see Delitzsch, *Das Bab. Schöpfungsepos*, p. 119; Jensen, *Cosmol.* p. 325.

At a time when of the gods none had come forth
No name did they bear, destinations were not [determined]
Then were the gods born
Laḥmu Laḥamu came forth,
Great periods vanished [of times many passed by]
Anshar, Kishar were born
Long days passed by' [or as Jensen and Zimmern : 'the days became long'].
[The rest is fragmentary, and simply contains the names Anu and Anshar].

We can only infer from the context what the lost remainder of this tablet contained. Probably, it described how the gods of the upper world and of the depth came into being, and possibly the creation of light. Then must have followed the rebellion of the lower deities, arrayed under Tiâmat, against the upper deities. We have a fragment describing a conversation between Apsu and Tiâmat, in which the end of their consultation is that they 'plan evil' against the gods. Gunkel thinks that the creation of light was the cause of their insurrection, but of this we have not sufficient evidence. The legible portion of the tablet then proceeds to describe the conflict between Tiâmat and the gods. In their war against Tiâmat and the deities ranged under her leadership, the gods are commanded by Anshar, father of Anu. He is supported, not only by Anu, but also by Ea and his son Marduk. Laḥmu and Laḥamu bring up the rear. Anshar at first sends Anu and then Ea to conduct the battle against Tiâmat, but as both shrink back in terror, Marduk the son of Ea is eventually commissioned to undertake the struggle with Tiâmat. He is armed with a net, bow, javelin, and apparently a trident (*mittu*), and so advances to the conflict. The goddess of the deep is skilfully caught by Marduk in a net, a hurricane is driven into her open throat, and he smites her body with his javelin. Her allies flee, but are overtaken, and their weapons broken. The body of Tiâmat is then divided into two parts, 'like that of a fish.' With one part Marduk 'made and covered' the heaven.[*] Bars are placed, and sentinels, so that the waters may not stream through. The arch of heaven is placed opposite the primal waters. After this Marduk created the heavenly bodies; but the fifth tablet of the creation epic on which this is described is very obscure. The first few lines may be rendered—

He erected the station for the great gods
Stars like . . .
He appointed the year, divided off sections
He divided the twelve months [each] by three stars.

On another doubtful tablet we read that he created three classes of land animals—field-cattle, wild beasts of the field, and creeping things. The conclusion of the Bab. creation poem is recorded on the sixth tablet, which contains a hymn to the glory of Marduk. 'God of pure life, God of kindly breath, Lord of hearing and grace, creator of fulness, maker of abundance, God of the pure crown, raiser of the dead. . . . May one rejoice over the Lord of Gods, Marduk, cause one's land to abound, himself enjoy peace. Firm abideth His word, His command changeth not. No god hath caused the utterance of His mouth to fail.'

It is impossible to study the features of this epic without noting remarkable parallels to the first biblical cosmogony. What, then, is the actual relation which subsists between them? If the creation account in Gn 1 and this Bab. epic were the only points of contact between Israel and Babylonia, it might be possible to explain the Bab. myth as a development from the simpler and purer tradition contained in the Bible. But such an explanation is untenable in view of the established results—(1) Of a critical examination of the OT literature, which cannot allow an earlier date for the document P^g than the period of the Exile. (2) Of Assyriology. The discovery of the Tel el-Amarna tablets in 1887, and of a cuneiform tablet at Lachish belonging to the same period as those of Tel el-Amarna, renders it absolutely certain that Bab. influence widely prevailed in Palestine about B.C. 1500–1400. (3) We have many other remarkable parallels, viz. in the Flood story and other elements in the pre-exilian Jahwistic document (including the account of Paradise and the story of the Fall) between the Scripture records and those of the cuneiform tablets. All this renders it extremely probable that the biblical form in which these narrations have been preserved, with their unquestionably Palestinian colouring, is the result of many centuries of growth on Palestinian soil (cf. Schrader, *COT* i. pp. 43 ff., 52–55). This problem of the relation of the Bab. epic to Gn 1 has recently been made the subject of a searching investigation by Gunkel, *Schöpf. u. Chaos*,[†] from which quotation has already been made. This writer does full justice to the glaring contrasts. In the Bab. epic we have wild, grotesque, tumultuous mythology expressed in poetic form. In the biblical account we have serene majestic calm and sober prose. In the one, the gods rise into being in the course of the drama. In the other, God pre-exists and remains from the first the creative source whose command summons each new order of created things into existence.

Yet the parallels are as remarkable as the contrasts. For (1) in both the world at the beginning consists of water and darkness. (2) The Tĕhôm of the 2nd verse is the Babylonian *Tiâmtu* (Tiâmat). (3) God divides the primal waters by means of the firmament into two parts. This feature corresponds to the episode in the 4th tablet of the creation epic (lines 137ff. in Fried. Delitzsch's version)—

'He cleft her (Tiâmat) like a fish . . . in two halves,
From the one half he made and covered the heaven :
He drew a barrier, placed sentinels,
Commanded them not to let its waters through.'

(4) In Gn 1 light arises before the creation of the heavenly bodies. Also in the Bab. myth we may suppose that light appeared before the coming of Marduk the youngest of the gods, since light belongs to the essence of the 'upper gods.' (5) The creation of sun, moon, and stars on the fourth day may be placed parallel with the creation of the heavenly bodies by Marduk, recorded in the 5th creation tablet, special mention being made of the moon-god (Nannaru) as ruler of the night (lines 12ff. in Fried. Delitzsch's ed.). (6) God beholds all, and calls it good. Compare the hymn of praise to Marduk (already quoted) at the conclusion of the Bab. epic. (7) Creation of the beasts of the field, wild animals, and creeping things is also found on a fragment (copied in cuneiform by Delitzsch, *Assyr. Lesest.*^{3}), but it is not certain whether it belongs to the same Creation Epic Series above quoted. (8) Lastly, the seventh day, or Sabbath of divine rest, is essentially of Bab. origin. See Schrader, *COT* i. p. 18 ff.; Sayce, *Expos. Times*, March 1896, p. 264.

It has been forcibly argued by Gunkel that the Bab. creation myth, involving a conflict between Tiâmat, the dragon of chaotic darkness, and Marduk, the god of light and order, had influenced Israel long before the Exile period. It is true that passages like Is $51^{9ff.}$ (where Rahab the dragon is a reminiscence of Tiâmat) belong to the Exile period, and Cheyne thinks 'there is sufficient evidence that there was a great revival of the mythologic spirit among the Jews in the Bab. and Pers. periods, and it is very possible that the old myths assumed more definite forms through the direct and indirect influence of Babylonia.'[‡] On the other hand, it must be remembered that Jer 4^{23-26} (cf. 5^{22}) is a genuine product of the 7th cent. (cf. Cornill's ed. in *SBOT*), and this apparently reflects the same tradition of J″'s conflict with watery chaos (an idea which we also meet in Nah 1^4), while the reference in Am 9^3 to the serpent at the bottom of the ocean belongs to the 8th cent., and the brazen sea of Solomon's temple (1 K 7^{23-25}), with its twelve supporting oxen, carries us back to the 10th. This last was evidently based on the *apsî* or ocean-abysses of the temples of Marduk.[‡] (Cf. Schrader, *KIB* iii. 1, pp. 13, 143, and footnotes.)

---

[*] How widespread this conception was of a primeval rending asunder of sky and earth into an upper and lower half may be gathered from the New Zealand Maori myth quoted in Tylor, *Prim. Culture*, i. 322 ff. This feature, we are told, is 'a far-spread Polynesian legend.'

[*] See the discriminating review of this work by Prof. Cheyne in *Crit. Rev.* July 1895.

[†] *Crit. Rev. ib.* p. 260.

[‡] Cf. Sayce, *Expos. Times*, March 1896, p. 264.

These facts, as well as the features in the Jahwistic narrative above referred to, justify us in seeking a much earlier period than the Exile for the original adoption by primitive Israel of the elements of Bab. tradition. The most probable theory is that these influences found their way into Palestine, together with certain features of Bab. civilization (including measures of weight and money) some time before B.C. 1450 (the age of the Tel el-Amarna inscr.), and along this path passed ultimately into the possession of ancient Israel, and became assimilated into their stock of intellectual possessions. It then became, in the course of centuries, gradually modified and stripped of its mythological features. In Gn 1^1 we have it in the purified Judaic form. There is a complete obliteration of the polytheistic elements of the genesis of the gods, and the titanic struggle between Tiâmat and Marduk, which preceded the creative process in the Bab. myth. On the other hand, it contains certain features which clearly reveal a primitive Bab. type. Driver (*Guardian*, July 29, 1896) accurately states the true relation of the biblical to the Bab. cosmogony when he says: 'The narrative of Gn 1 comes at the end of a long process of gradual elimination of heathen elements, and of gradual assimilation to the purer teachings of Israelitish theology, carried on under the spiritual influences of the religion of Israel.'

V. According to the biblical narrative, the world was created by a divine command, and every new stage in the creative process is introduced by the formula 'God said.' Another noteworthy feature to which attention has already been called, is the phrase 'let us make man' (v.^{6}), wherein we have a point of contact with the conception of subordinate angelic powers ('sons of God'), who co-operated with God in the work of creation (Job 38^{4-7}). Here we observe the germ of that belief in intermediate agencies between God and the universe which was destined in later times to become a most important factor in Jewish theology. This conception became developed into the 'Wisdom' which was with God in the beginning, before the creation of the cosmos, and was with God when He established the heavens (Pr 8^{22-31}, cf. $3^{19.20}$). This 'third cosmogony,' as Cheyne not inaptly calls it,* is the product of that growing belief in the transcendent greatness of God which began with Amos, and received a great impulse from the sublime teachings of the Deutero-Isaiah (cf. esp. Is 40). The influence of Greek philosophy—more particularly of Platonism—made itself felt in Judaism, and in proportion as God came to be regarded as transcendent and absolute, a Logos doctrine became a necessary factor of thought. Philo became the representative in Judaism of the Alexandrine philosophy. On one side, from eternity we have God as the absolutely active principle; on the other, matter formless and without qualities, the principle of absolute passivity. God produces first the world of ideas, Logos or *κόσμος νοητός*. This Logos becomes the mediating cause, between the absolute and transcendent Deity and the passive formless matter, in the generation of the world. This is not the place to indicate the transition from this position to that occupied by the writer of the Ep. to the Hebrews or the Logos doctrine of the Fourth Gospel, for this subject belongs to Christology.

In *Judaic theology* the place of the Logos in the creation of the world is partly occupied by the doctrine of the pre-existent emanation of the Tôrah from God, partly by *Memra*. This principle of the Tôrah as a mediating element or occasion in the creation of the world is expressed in Bĕrêshith Rabba 1, for the Tôrah cannot be realized without the creation of man. From the same treatise (c. 9) we learn that a curious inference was drawn from the words, 'God saw all that he had made, and behold it was very good' (Gn 1^{31}), viz. that God had previously created worlds, and they did not please Him, so He destroyed them. According to Shemoth Rabba, c. 30, these reverted to the primal *Tōhu Wabōhu* until the present world was created. Moreover, there are undoubted traces in the Talmud of the influence of the old Bab. traditions. For later Jewish writers held that primal matter exercised certain powers of resistance until God's creative energy coerced them by the limitations it imposed. They believed in the existence of primeval monstrous animal forms, and in a *female* Leviathan (cf. *Tiâmat*), who was slaughtered in order to prevent the increase of the monstrous brood.

The doctrine respecting the *Heavens and the Earth*, taught in later Judaism, also possesses its points of contact with ancient Babylonian tradition though founded upon biblical record. To one of these we shall refer presently. Meanwhile it may be observed that while Scripture regards the universe as *one*, having the earth as its centre, later Judaism did not adhere to this unity. We read of the upper world and the under world, of God's world and man's world. In the Targ. Jerusal. 1, Gn 18^{30} Abraham calls J″ 'Lord of all worlds.' Aboda Zara 3^b reckons 18,000 worlds.

But the most remarkable cosmic doctrine is that of the *Seven Heavens*. Jewish Rabbis were not quite agreed as to this number. According to Rabbi Jehuda there were only two, but according to the common doctrine there were seven. R. H. Charles has recently contributed two exceedingly instructive papers on this subject to the *Expos. Times* (Nov. and Dec. 1895), in which he draws special attention to the Bab. conception of the sevenfold division of the Lower World. (On this point interesting information may be obtained from Jensen's *Cosmologie der Bab.* p. 232 ff.) Readers of the Babylonian mythic romance (in the Gilgamîsh [Izdubar] series), called the 'Descent of Ishtar to Hades,' will remember that she was obliged to pass through seven gateways in order to reach the interior of the infernal city. Though the inscriptions do not expressly state that the *heavens* were so divided, it is legitimate to surmise either that the Babylonians themselves conceived of a similar division of the heavens, or that this correlative became subsequently developed. The former is more probable, for not only do we find the doctrine of the Seven Heavens among the Jews, but also among the Parsees. We find the same conception in the recently discovered Slavonic Enoch (translated by Morfill), and also in other apocalyptic literature, as the 'Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs.' This later cosmic conception, which grew up in connexion with the doctrine of God's absolute transcendence, is of some importance in its bearing upon such passages as 2 Co $12^{2.3}$, He $4^{10.14}$. In reference to the difficult passage Eph 6^{12}, Charles most usefully cites from Slavonic Enoch $29^{4.5}$. (Further information respecting the Jewish doctrine may be found in Weber, *System der Altsynag. Paläst. Theol.* p. 197 ff.)

VI. We have now concluded our task of expounding the biblical conceptions respecting cosmogony and the cosmos. It is manifestly beyond the true scope of this article to deal with the cosmogonies of Egypt, *Persia*, and *India*, though these also exhibit interesting parallels with the Scripture narrative. Undoubtedly there were points of historic contact, and these of no little importance, between Egypt and ancient Israel, but the course of recent investigation has not strengthened the impression that Egypt exercised any deep or lasting influence on Hebrew cosmogony. It is to

---

* In his article 'Cosmogony' (*Encycl. Brit.*).

Babylonia, the land of the highest and most ancient Sem. culture, we must look for the most fruitful clues to ancient Heb. thought and life.—Nor is it necessary to refer to *Persian* cosmogonies, for Pers. influence entered into the sphere of Jewish life too late to affect the cosmogonic conceptions of Genesis. It may here be remarked that no chaos exists in the Persian cosmogony as it is presented in the Bundehesh. A separation is made between the creation of the present world and of the other world. Moreover, in the former we find a distinct creation by the Good and by the Evil deity. But these conceptions have a comparatively late origin. Respecting the creation legends of Egypt, Persia, and India, the reader is referred to Dillmann's introductory remarks to Genesis, ch. i. in his great commentary (6th ed. pp. 5-10), and also to Otto Zöckler's article 'Schöpfung' in Herzog and Plitt, *RE*^{2}, where a comprehensive survey is given of these cosmogonies as well as those of savage races.

Nor have we thought it necessary to describe the various apologetic schemes whereby the statements that are contained in Genesis are brought into supposed harmony with the ascertained results of modern science. A history of these successive attempts, with a succinct classification of them, will be found in the article by Zöckler to which reference has been made. This eminent evangelical scholar and divine concludes his examination of these varied theories with the significant and just remarks: 'The Mosaic account postulates a graduated advance of organic life from plants to animals, and among the latter, from water animals to creeping things and birds, and after that to land animals in the proper sense. But *geology regards animals and plants as coming into existence together from the first.* These considerations plainly reveal that the first chapter of Genesis is not intended to teach us the elements of geology, but to reveal to us the fundamental ideas of all theology, those ideas being religious in their essence. It is out of place, therefore, to insist on carrying out the parallel between the Bible and geology into every detail. We can only hope to exhibit a concordance of both in their large bearings and main outlines.' A very useful article on the same subject, written in a deeply reverent spirit, will be found in the *Expositor,* Jan. 1886, by Driver ('The Cosmogony of Genesis'), in which the results of geological research are carefully examined and compared with the statements of Scripture.

Probably, the most fatal objection, however, is the *creation* of the heavenly bodies on the *fourth* day. The language here clearly shows that in the mind of the writer they had not previously existed. It is obvious, therefore, that day and night were not regarded as standing in any causal connexion with the sun. In fact, the sun is no more regarded as causal than the moon. The sun rules or *regulates* the day, and the moon *regulates* the night.

Much as we value the remarkable harmonies that nevertheless exist between science and Scripture, there is clear proof that biblical apologetic is proceeding on false lines when it seeks to constrain the biblical narrative into harmony with the results of modern science. The preceding exposition shows that that narrative emerged from a divinely guided history and a divinely moulded process of thought not isolated from the currents of the world of human life around it, but charged with a great mission to garner out of all the efforts of humanity to spell out the awful enigma of the universe, that which was most vital and precious for the good of man, to purify it from all mythologic taint and inform it with the spiritual monotheistic conceptions of Judaism. The supreme value of our biblical cosmogony lies in the fact that it furnishes us with the only key that can solve the dark riddle of life. It sets God above the great complex world-process, and yet closely linked with it, as a *personal* intelligence and will that rules victoriously and without a rival. And as the supreme object of His creative energy, it sets man, fashioned in His divine likeness, to be the ruler of created things. All else is secondary, and it is for scientific investigation to determine the exact details of those intermediate steps in the stupendous ascent whereby God's work advanced along the vistas of past time to the dawn of human existence. But without that clear and sublime attestation at the threshold of the inspired record of the *personal* source from which all has flowed, and of the *unique worth and dignity of man, and his near kinship with that source,* surely human life would have been far darker and more hopeless, and its deepest problems would have remained unsolved. Upon this basis, laid broad and clear in Genesis, the revelation of the New Covenant of Redemption in Christ Jesus rests. For the mediatorial work of Christ rests on the Fatherhood of the Creator of all things, and on the supreme worth of man, whom Jesus came to save. OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

COTE.—2 Ch 32^{28} 'stalls for all manner of beasts, and cotes (1611 'coats') for flocks' (RV 'flocks in folds'). Cf. Milton, *Comus,* 344—

> Might we but hear
> The folded flocks, penned in their wattled cotes';

which Matthew Arnold borrowed in *The Scholar Gipsy*—

> 'Go, shepherd, and untie the wattled cotes.'

The word was orig. used of any small house, like the mod. use of *cot* (which was the same word in Old Eng. in the neuter, cote being fem.) and *cottage* (which was perhaps a cote and its appendages—Murray). Thus Langland, *Piers Pl.* viii. 16—

> 'Bothe prynces paleyses and pore mennes cotes.'

No doubt the sheep often shared the shepherd's 'cote,' as in the *Shep. Calender,* Dec. 77, 78—

> 'And learned of lighter timber cotes to frame,
> Such as might save my sheep and me fro shame.'

In course of time the word was restricted to a slight building for sheltering small animals in, esp. sheep. 'Sheepcote' occurs 1 S 24^3, 2 S 7^8, 1 Ch 17^7.

Cottage is used in the sense of *hut* in Is 1^8 (RV 'booth') 24^{20} (RV 'hut'), Zeph 2^6 (RVm 'caves'), Sir 29^{22} 'a mean cottage' (RV 'a shelter of logs'), much as *cote* above. J. HASTINGS.

COTTON (כַּרְפַּס *karpaṣ*).—The word *karpaṣ* (Est 1^6) is rendered by AV, as also by RV, *green,* but in the marg. of the latter, *cotton.* It is certainly either *cotton* or *linen stuff. Karpaṣ* is a loan-word. Sansk. *karpâsa,* 'cotton'; Persian *karpaṣ,* 'fine linen' (Richardson's *Lex.*); hence also κάρπασος and *carbasus.* Passages have been quoted from Arrian and others to prove that it grew and was used for clothing in India. G. E. POST.

COUCH.—See BED. As a verb, 'couch,' which means 'to stoop,' 'to lie down' (or transitively 'to lay down'), and is now used only of beasts, and esp. in the sense of lurking to spring, was formerly used also of persons and things. Thus Shaks. *Merry Wives,* V. ii. 1: 'Come, come, we'll couch i' the castle-ditch till we see the light of our fairies.' So Dt 33^{13} 'the deep that coucheth beneath,' where it is possible, however, as Driver suggests, that the subterranean deep is pictured as a gigantic monster (cf. p. 505 f. above). J. HASTINGS.

COULTER.—'The iron blade fixed in front of the share in a plough; it makes a vertical cut in the soil, which is then sliced horizontally by the share.' The Eng. word occurs 1 S $13^{20.21}$ as tr^{n} of Heb. *'êth* (אֵת), which is tr^{d} 'plowshare,' Is 2^{4}= Mic 4^{3}, Jl 3^{10} [all, but Klost. adds 2 K 6^{5} אֶת־הַבַּרְזֶל, taking אֵת thus for the instrument (=the axe of iron), not as the sign of the accusative]. See AGRICULTURE. J. HASTINGS.

COUNCIL, COUNSEL.—These words are distinct in origin, council from *concilium* (*con-calere*, to call together) 'an assembly'; counsel from *consilium* (*con-sulere*, to consult) 'consultation,' 'advice.' And they are now kept distinct in spelling and in meaning, their meaning nearly corresponding with the Lat. words from which they come. But from the earliest times they were completely confused in the Eng. lang.; and although efforts were made from the beg. of the 16th cent. to separate them, it took two centuries to effect the separation. In AV of 1611 *counsel* is once (2 S 17^{23}) spelt 'counsel,' elsewhere always 'counsell' (with a cap., Counsell, in Is 11^{2}). The plu. is always 'counsels,' except Pr 22^{20} 'counsailes.' But *council* appears in a great variety of forms: Council, Councill, Councels, councell, Councell, counsel, counsell, Counsell. Subsequent edd. varied these indefinitely, but for the last century or thereby the spelling has been uniformly 'council.'

Council is the tr^{n} of—1. רִגְמָה *righmah*, Ps 68^{27} only, (RVm 'company'; see notes in Perowne and Delitzsch; Wellh. says the word is prob. corrupt, and certainly unintelligible). 2. *συμβούλιον*, Mt 12^{14}, Ac 25^{12}. In Mt 12^{14} RV gives (with AVm) 'took counsel' (for AV 'held a council'), which is the tr^{n} of *σ.* where it occurs elsewhere in the Gospels (Mt 22^{15} $27^{1.7}$ 28^{12}, Mk 3^{6} 15^{1}, 'held a consultation,' AV, RV). But in Ac 25^{12} both AV and RV render 'council.' The Lat. *consilium* (of which *συμβούλιον* is a tr^{n}) had this twofold meaning of 'deliberation' (mod. 'counsel'), and 'a deliberating body' (still retained in law as 'counsel for the defence'). 3. Elsewhere *συνέδριον*, for which see SANHEDRIN.

Counsel.—In OT mostly עֵצָה *'êẓah*, 'advice,' then (as in Ps 1^{1}) 'resolution, bent of will, character,'—Del.; and סוֹד, a most interesting word, whose primary meaning is that of '*confidential* communion'; whereupon the two meanings already seen in *συμβούλιον* emerge, viz. (1) those who are in confidential communication, council; and (2) the communication itself, counsel. The most freq. tr^{n} in EV is 'secret,' as Ps 25^{14} 'the secret of the LORD is with them that fear him.' Where AV has 'counsel' RV retains, except Jer $23^{18.22}$, RV 'council.' In NT either *βουλή* (which, though it is the usual tr^{n} of *'êẓah* in LXX, rarely in NT means *advice*, almost always *will, purpose*, as Ac 2^{23} 'the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God') or *συμβούλιον* as above.

Counsellor.—This is the only spelling in mod. edd. of AV. It does not, however, occur in AV of 1611, though 'counsellours' is found thrice, Ezr 8^{25}, Pr 12^{20} 15^{22}; there the spelling is always 'counseller' (or 'Counseller,' Is 1^{26} 9^{6}, Dn 6^{7}, 1 Es 8^{11}). The Oxf. and Camb. Parallel Bibles restore 'counseller' everywhere except Mk 15^{43}, Lk 23^{50} (both *βουλευτής*, used of Joseph of Arimathæa as a member of the Sanhedrin, RV 'councillor') and Ro 11^{34} (*σύμβουλος*, the LXX word in Is 40^{13}, of which this is a quotation). J. HASTINGS.

COUNTENANCE.—As a subst. frequent, always =face. As a vb. only Ex 23^{3} 'Neither shalt thou c. a poor man in his cause,' RV 'favour,' older versions 'esteem.' Cf. Brinsley (1612), 'that the painfull and obedient be . . . countenanced, incouraged, and preferred'; and Shaks. 2 *Henry IV.* v. i. 41, 'I beseech you, sir, to countenance William Visor of Wincot against Clement Perkes of the hill.'

The Heb. vb. is *hâdhar*, 'honour,' which is used in a bad sense again in Lv 19^{15b} 'nor honour the person of the mighty.' Knobel would make Ex 23^{3} correspond with Lv 19^{15b} by reading גָּדֹל 'great,' for וָדָל 'and a poor man.' But the versions do not support any change (LXX reads *καὶ πένητα*), and the statement is parallel to Lv 19^{15a} 'thou shalt not respect the person of the poor.' As the Bishops' Bible explains, 'Trueth of the matter, and not respect of *any* person is to be esteemed in judgement.' J. HASTINGS.

COUNTERFEIT.—Only in Apocr. 1. As *adj.* Wis 15^{9} '[the potter] endeavoureth to do like the workers in brass, and counteth it his glory to make c. things'; Gr. *κίβδηλα*, things made in imitation of other more valuable things, hence *spurious*, the mod. meaning of the word. This reference is to earthenware figures made and glazed so as to resemble the precious metals.* 2. As *subst.* Wis 2^{16} 'We are esteemed of him as counterfeits' (*εἰς κίβδηλον*; Vulg. *tamquam nugaces*, the only occurrence of *nugax* in Vulg.); 14^{17} 'they took the c. of his visage from far' (*τὴν πόῤῥωθεν ὄψιν ἀνατυπωσάμενοι*, RV 'imagining the likeness from afar'). Here c. is used in the obsol. sense of a representation of any person or thing by painting, sculpture, etc., a likeness, image. Cf. Shaks. *Merch. of Venice*, III. ii. 115—

'What find I here?
Fair Portia's counterfeit;'

and Holland (1606), *Sucton.* 39, 'An olde little counterfeit in brasse representing him being a child.' 3. As *vb.* Sir 38^{27} 'They that cut and grave seals . . . give themselves to c. imagery' (*ὁμοιῶσαι ζωγραφίαν*, RV 'to preserve likeness in his portraiture'). Cf. Tindale's Address to the Reader (NT 1525), 'I had no man to counterfet, nether was holpe with englysshe of eny that had interpreted the same.' J. HASTINGS.

COUNTERVAIL.—Est 7^{4} 'the enemy could not c. the king's damage' (RV 'the adversary could not have compensated for the king's damage'); and Sir 6^{15} 'Nothing doth c. a faithful friend' (RV 'there is nothing that can be taken in exchange for a faithful friend'). In Est 7^{4} the meaning is 'make an equivalent return for' (Geneva 'recompense'), as Stubbes (1583), *Anat. Abus.* 63, 'though I be unable with any benefit to countervail your great pains.' In Sir 6^{15} c. has the older meaning of 'equal in value'; cf. More, *Utopia* (Robinson's tr. 1551), 'All the goodes in the worlde are not liable to countervayle man's life.' J. HASTINGS.

COUNTRYMAN.—1. Of the same *nation*, 2 Co 11^{26} 'in perils by mine own countrymen' (*ἐκ γένους*, Wyclif 'of kyn,' other VSS 'mine own nation'). 2. Of the same *tribe*, 1 Th 2^{14} 'ye also have suffered like things of your own countrymen' (*τῶν ἰδίων συμφυλετῶν*, the *Jewish* inhabitants of Macedonia). The word is only here in eccles. writers; Wyclif, 'lynagis' (='lineage,' Rheims), Tindale 'kinsmen'; Geneva and Bishops' as AV). 3. Of the same *city*, 2 Es 10^{2m} (*cives*, AV, RV 'neighbours,' RVm 'townsmen'). J. HASTINGS.

COUPLE is now used only of two persons or things having some affinity, or wont to be considered in pairs. But in older Eng. the usage was free, as Steele, *Spect.* No. 8, 'I shall here communicate to the world a couple of letters.' So in AV, 2 S 13^{6} 'make me a c. of cakes.'

J. HASTINGS.

COURAGE ranks as one of the four cardinal virtues (Wis 8^{7}) acc. to the classification derived from Gr. philosophers. In the early days of Israel's battles, courage in its simplest sense was naturally rated very highly. Much stress is laid on it in Dt 31 and Jos 1; neither of these passages, however, belongs to the earlier parts of the Pentateuch. The courageous feats of Jonathan and David and others are related with admiration (*e.g.* 1 S 14. 17). We hear much of 'men of valour' (Jg, S, etc., and esp. Ch). The faint-hearted are not to be allowed to serve in battle (Jg 7^{3}, Dt 20^{8}, 1 Mac 3^{56}). Between the earlier kings and the Maccabees we hear little or nothing of courage in war. The courage of endurance shown by martyrs is a leading topic in Dn, Mac, and parts of NT, esp. He 11, 1 P and Rev.

---

* 'Many [counterfeit gems], in the form of beads, have been met with in different parts of Egypt, particularly at Thebes; and so far did the Egyptians carry this spirit of imitation, that even small figures, scarabæi, and objects made of ordinary porcelain, were counterfeited, being composed of still cheaper materials. A figure which was entirely of earthenware, with a glazed exterior, underwent a somewhat more complicated process than when cut out of stone and simply covered with a vitrified coating; this last could therefore be sold at a low price; it offered all the brilliancy of the former, and its weight alone betrayed its inferiority.'—Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, ii. 148.

The secondary forms of the virtue also have their place in the Bible. Man is not to fear unpopularity nor the blame of his fellow-men (Is 51^{7}, Ezr 10^{4}, Pr 29^{25} etc.). This moral courage is esp. demanded of the prophets (*e.g.* Ezk 3^{9}, cf. Mk 13$^{9-13}$): they were therefore encouraged for their work by special revelations and calls (Ex 4$^{10-16}$, Jer 1^{8}, Ezk 2^{6}). Men must not be daunted by tribulation (Ps 27^{14} 31^{24}); nor give way to any superstitious fear of false gods (Jos 23$^{6.7}$, 2 Ch 15^{8}, Jer 10^{5}). Again, David charges Solomon to be of good courage in building the temple (1 Ch 22^{13} 28^{20}). Jehoshaphat bids his judges of assize deal courageously (2 Ch 19^{11}). The spiritual conflict with the hosts of evil demands courage (Eph 6$^{10-17}$).

The Heb. words for courage and kindred ideas (*e.g.* אָמֵץ, חָזַק) suggest firmness, strength, power of resistance. The man is to be himself, his best self, in spite of all that might unman him. Here the thought is close to that of *ἀνδρεία*, manliness (not in NT, but *ἀνδρίζομαι* occurs 1 Co 16^{13}, and is common in LXX). That which will enable a man to stand firm is faith, which is expressly connected with courage in Ps 56^{3}, Mt 8^{26} etc. (cf. 2 S 10^{12}). Faith implies the consciousness of God's sympathy, which is the secret of all courage that is more than natural spirit and the love of fighting (see Is 50^{7}, Pr 28^{1}, 1 Ti 3^{13}). In a secondary degree the knowledge of man's sympathy confirms courage (Ac 28^{15}, He 12$^{1-13}$). In Rev 21^{8} cowardice is coupled with unbelief, and the two head the list of deadly sins (cf. Sir 2$^{12.13}$). See also FEAR. W. O. BURROWS.

COURSE (from *cursum*, running, race).—**1.** Onward movement in a particular path, as of a *ship*, Ac 16^{11} 21$^{1.7}$; of the *stars*, Jg 5^{20} 'the stars in their courses fought against Sisera'; of the *sun*, 1 Es 4^{34} 'swift is the sun in his c.'; and fig. of the *gospel*, 2 Th 3^{1} 'that the word of the Lord may have free c.' (*τρέχῃ*, RV 'may run'). **2.** The path in which the onward movement is made, of a *river*, Is 44^{4} 'willows by the watercourses'; fig. of one's manner of life, Jer 8^{6} 23^{10}; and of the manner of the present age, Eph 2^{2} 'the c. (*αἰών*, RVm 'age') of this world.'[*] **3.** The space over which a race extends, as the duration of life (or perhaps rather of special *service*), Ac 13^{25} 20^{24}, 2 Ti 4^{7} 'I have finished my c.' **4.** The fixed order of things, Ps 82^{5} 'the foundations of the earth are out of c.' (RV 'are moved'); or regular succession, Ezr 3^{11} 'they sang together by c.' (RV 'one to another'), 1 Co 14^{27} 'by c.' (*ἀνὰ μέρος*, RV 'in turn'), and especially the Courses of the Priests and Levites. See PRIESTS AND LEVITES. J. HASTINGS.

COURT.—See TEMPLE.

COUSIN.—This word was formerly used of any near kinsman or kinswoman, except those of the first degree. Shakespeare uses it of a nephew (*King John*, III. iii. 6), a niece (*Twelfth Night*, I. iii. 5), an uncle (I. v. 131), etc. Thus, *As You Like It*, I. iii. 44—

> '*Rosalind*— Me, uncle?
> *Duke Frederick*— You, cousin.'

It is in this older and wider sense that c. is used in To 6^{10} 7$^{2.12}$, 2 Mac 11$^{1.35}$, Lk 1$^{36.58}$. C. is also applied by a sovereign to one whose rank is the same, or is courteously assumed to be the same. In this sense is c. in 1 Es 3^{7} 4^{42} ('thou shalt sit next me, and shalt be called my c.'), 1 Mac 11^{31}. The Greek is *συγγενής*, Lk 1$^{36.58}$, 1 Es 3^{7} 4^{42}, To 4^{10}, 1 Mac 11^{31}, 2 Mac 11$^{1.35}$; *ἀνεψιός*, To 7^{2}; and *ἀδελφός*, 7^{12}. The older VSS nearly always have 'cousin' as AV; it is only in RV that the change is made into 'kinswoman,' Lk 1^{36}; 'kinsfolk,' 1^{58}; 'kinsman,' To 6^{10}, 1 Mac 11^{31}, 2 Mac 11$^{1.35}$; and 'brother,' To 7^{12}: while 'cousin' is retained in 1 Es 3^{7} 4^{42}, To 7^{2}. On the relationship bet. Elisabeth and Mary, who are called 'cousins' in AV, see Plummer on Lk 1^{36}, and art. ELISABETH.

J. HASTINGS.

COVENANT (בְּרִית *bĕrîth*, LXX *διαθήκη*, in other Gr. versions sometimes *συνθήκη*).—The Eng. word *covenant* (from Lat. *convenire*) means a convention, agreement, compact, etc., and may thus embrace a variety of agreements, from a treaty or league between two nations down to a contract between two persons. The Heb. term is used with the same latitude, though properly *bĕrîth* is employed only of the more important class of conventions, at the forming of which a religious rite was performed, by which the Deity was involved as a party to the covenant, or as the guardian of it. Other uses are derived, and are either less strict or metaphorical.

The term *bĕrîth* occurs well on to 300 times in OT, and is rendered 'covenant' in AV with a few exceptions, *e.g.* 'league,' Jos 9$^{6ff.}$, 2 S 3$^{12ff.}$, and some other places; 'confederacy,' Ob^{7}, cf. Gn 14^{13}. The word is used in a variety of significations, appearing to mean not only covenant but also appointment, ordinance, law; and opinions differ on the question what its primary meaning is. Some have assumed that the word properly means a bilateral covenant with reciprocal obligations or undertakings, and that then being applied to the conditions of the covenant, which were of the nature of binding ordinances, it thus came to have the general sense of ordinance or law. Not very different from this idea is the other, that, seeing among the Shemitic peoples no authority existed from which *law* could emanate, the only idea they had of a binding law was that of a contract or agreement on the part of those who were to be bound by it. Others have supposed that the original meaning of *bĕrîth* was ordinance or appointment laid down by a single party, but that, as in all such cases a second party necessarily existed, the term came to have the sense of a reciprocal arrangement. The transition from the primary to the derived sense would on this last supposition be much less natural than it is on the other. The derivation of the word is uncertain. Ges. assumed a root בָּרָה *to cut*, after Arab., supposing the term derived from the primitive rite of cutting victims into pieces, between which the contracting parties passed (Gn 15^{17}, Jer 34$^{18.19}$). It is probable that the early phrase to make a covenant, viz. 'to cut' (כָּרַת) a covenant, was derived from this usage; but it is more natural to suppose that both the idea of *bĕrîth* and the term itself existed independently of the rites employed at its formation in particular instances (cf. Lat. *fœdus icere*, etc.) More recently it has been suggested that the word may be connected with the Assyr. *birtu* 'a fetter,' *berîtu* a fettering, enclosing. It does not quite appear, however, whether the supposed verb from which 'fetter' is derived meant 'to enclose' or 'to bind' (Del. *Assyr. HWB*). At any rate, the word *bond* would approximate more nearly towards expressing the various usages of *bĕrîth* than any other word, for the term is used not only where two parties reciprocally bind themselves, but where one party imposes a bond upon the other, or where a party assumes a bond upon himself.

---

[*] For Ja 3^{6} see Mayor *in loc.*

There are two classes of covenants mentioned in OT—those between men and men, and those between God and men. It may be assumed that the ideas associated with the latter class, the divine covenants, are secondary, and transferred from covenants among men.

i. COVENANTS AMONG MEN.—In Gn $26^{26\mathrm{ff.}}$ mention is made of a covenant between Abimelech, Ahuzzath, and Phicol on the one side, and Isaac on the other. (1) The proposal came from Abimelech, 'Let there now be an oath (or curse, אָלָה) betwixt us, betwixt us and thee, and let us make a covenant with thee' (v.^{28}). (2) The contents or terms of the covenant were that they should mutually abstain from hurting one another, or positively do as Abimelech had done to Isaac, 'we have done unto thee nothing but good, and sent thee away in peace' (v.^{29}). (3) The covenant was contracted by an oath taken by both parties, 'they sware one to another' (v.^{31}). Reference is made to a meal or feast provided by Isaac; but as this took place the night before the covenant was sworn, it formed no part of the covenant ceremonies. What appears to be another version of the same transaction is given in Gn $21^{22\mathrm{ff.}}$ in the history of Abraham. If the transaction there be a different one, the passage has probably suffered interpolation from $26^{26\mathrm{ff.}}$ (in LXX Ahuzzath as well as Phicol appears). The covenant in these passages was an international treaty between the two peoples, Israel and the Philistines.

A similar covenant is described in the history of Jacob (Gn $31^{44\mathrm{ff.}}$). The passage is composite, and it is not easy to apportion the verses between the sources J and E. The most important part of the passage is v.$^{51\mathrm{ff.}}$ (E). (1) The initiative was taken by Laban, 'Come, let us make a covenant, I and thou' (v.^{44}). (2) A cairn was raised by Laban (or by both) to be a witness, and apparently also a boundary landmark. (3) The terms of the covenant were that neither party should overstep this boundary for harm to the other. (4) Both parties bound themselves by a solemn oath, Laban taking to witness the God of Abraham and Nahor, and Jacob swearing by the Fear of his father Isaac. In v.^{50} (possibly J) an addition or a variation appears, having a more personal character, and referring to Jacob's treatment of Laban's daughters. Reference is twice made to a meal (vv.$^{46.\,54}$), but in neither case does the meal appear part of the covenant ceremonies; in the second case it was a sacrificial meal, of which Jacob and 'his brethren,' that is, the Hebrews, alone partook. It is obvious that the covenant here is again an international treaty between Hebrews and Aramæans, to establish Gilead as a boundary-line between the two peoples.

These two cases may be taken as types. In Gn $26^{26\mathrm{ff.}}$ mention is made of the 'curse' (אָלָה). The word may also mean 'oath,' and was used just like 'oath' as a general name for covenant (Ezk 17^{13}); in Dt $29^{12.\,14}$ and Neh 10^{29} both words, 'oath' and 'curse,' are used, though the expressions may merely be cumulative to denote one thing (Ezk 17^{16}). It may be supposed, however, that 'curse' was originally used in its literal sense. Very probably, the ceremonies originally in use in concluding covenants were in later times abridged or fell into disuse. If the details of the two covenants just referred to were supplemented from the solemn ceremony described in Gn 15 of passing between the pieces of the victim, a ceremony still in use in Jeremiah's days (34^{18}), we might suppose a covenant concluded with all the rites to have consisted of three things—(1) the agreement on the terms; (2) the positive oath (שְׁבוּעָה) taken by each party to the other (Gn 26^{31}) to perform them; and (3) the imprecation or curse (compare 'cursed,' 1 S 14^{24}, Dt $27^{15\mathrm{ff.}}$) invoked by each party on himself in case of failure, this curse being, at the same time, symbolically expressed by passing between the pieces of the slaughtered animal.*

It is evident, first, that the essential thing in the covenant, distinguishing it from ordinary contracts or agreements, was the oath under the solemn and terrible rites in use—a covenant is an intensified oath, and in later times the term 'oath' is usual as synonym of covenant. And, secondly, as the consequence of these solemnities, that the covenant was an inviolable and immutable deed. Hence a frequent epithet applied to covenants is 'eternal' (2 S 23^{5}, Lv 24^{8}). The penalty of breaking the covenant was death through the curse taking effect. And this explains the terrible imprecation of David, 2 S $3^{28\mathrm{f.}}$. The language is not that of mere passion, though there may be passion in it; it is the invocation on Joab's head of the 'curse' due to his violating the covenant, and the safe-conduct granted to Abner.

Some other covenants of a similar kind are referred to in OT: a covenant of Israel with the natives of Canaan (Ex 23^{32} $34^{12.\,15}$, Dt 7^{2}, Jg 2^{2}). Such covenants would imply mutual commerce and intermarriage, but are forbidden. The covenant between Joshua and the Gibeonites (Jos 9), the conditions of which were that he should spare their lives, and that they should be servants to Israel. Though Israel found that it had been deceived, the sacredness of the 'oath' was such that its terms, at least in the letter, were held binding. The story reposes on the supposition that Israel was putting the native population to the sword. A covenant between the people of Jabesh and king Nahash of Ammon, with similar conditions (1 S $11^{1\mathrm{ff.}}$). A covenant between Jonathan and David (1 S 18^{3} 20^{8}), the only one mentioned between two persons, though 1 S $23^{16\mathrm{ff.}}$, if it referred to the same thing, might put a different complexion on the covenant. A covenant between David and Abner (2 S 3^{12}), and between David and the elders of Israel (2 S 5^{3}); and some others, *e.g.* that between Nebuchadrezzar and Zedekiah (Ezk 17), and that between Zedekiah and the people to set free their slaves, in conformity with the law, Ex 21^{2}, Dt 15^{12} (Jer $34^{8\mathrm{ff.}}$); cf. 1 K 5^{12}, Am 1^{9}, 1 K 15^{19}.

In all the above cases the covenant appears two-sided, there being two parties incurring mutual obligations. The term *bĕrîth* is used, however, in some cases where only one of the parties accepts an obligation, while the other suggests or imposes it. No doubt in these cases the party imposing the obligation or line of conduct is already committed or commits himself to the same course, as, for example, Jehoiada is said to have taken the princes with him into the covenant (2 Ch 23^{1}). In Jos 24 Joshua is said to have 'made a covenant with the people' (v.^{25}). The covenant is not one between the people and God, made by Joshua as mediator, but a solemn bond laid by Joshua on the people, or rather assumed by the people at his suggestion, that they would 'serve J″ their God.' Joshua had already announced his own resolution to serve J″ (v.^{15}). It is added that Joshua set the people a statute and an ordinance in Shechem (v.^{25}); but this appears to be something additional to the covenant. An instance of a similar kind is recorded in 2 K 11^{4}, where Jehoiada is said to have made a covenant with the centurions and chiefs of the guard. In explanation it is added that 'he made them swear,' and then showed them the young king. Again, in 2 K 23^{3} we read that Josiah 'stood by the pillar and made a covenant before the Lord, to walk after the Lord and to keep his commandments.' This covenant was not made with the Lord, but before the Lord; neither was it made with the people, although the people afterward also entered into the covenant (v.^{3}).

---

[*] Liv. i. 24, 'tum illo die, Juppiter, populum Romanum sic ferito, ut ego hunc porcum hic hodie feriam, tantoque magis ferito quanto magis potes pollesque.' The Heb. formula of oath, 'God do so to me and more also,' may be connected with such ceremonies.

The covenant was an engagement or bond assumed by Josiah, and differs little in idea from a vow; and this sense is even clearer when Hezekiah says, 'It is in mine heart to make a covenant with J″ the God of Israel' (2 Ch 29^{10}, cf. Ezr 10^{3}). From these passages it appears that *bĕrîth* is used, not only when the engagement or obligation is mutual, but also when it is imposed on one party by another, or when one assumes it on himself.

ii. God's Covenants with Men.—Some points are common to covenants in general—(1) Every covenant implies two parties, and that the parties are free moral agents, and that, whether the engagement be mutual or not, both parties acquiesce. (2) Every covenant is made *in bonum*; the relation formed is always friendly, and for the benefit at least of one of the parties. (3) A covenant creates a *new* relation between the parties, not existing previously. (4) A covenant creates also a *jus* or right on the side of each party against the other. These general points belong also to divine covenants, though the introduction of God as one of the parties may cause some modification. For example, God always initiates the covenant; and the evil conscience of Israel, as reflected in the prophets, restrains it from claiming the protection of J″ as a *right*. It does go so far as to plead that it is His people (Is 64^{9}), and for that reason it claims to be treated differently from the nations, and chastened in measure and with restraint of His anger (Jer 10^{24}). But it usually finds its pleas, not in itself, but in God. It beseeches Him to remember His covenant and His grace, and to deal with it for His name's sake—His name of God alone, already begun to be revealed to the world in the great acts of Israel's redemptive history. If in later times Israel pleads its 'righteousness,' and invokes God's righteousness in its behalf, this is not a plea of moral righteousness, but of being in the right as against the world—a plea that it has in it the true religion, and represents the cause of God.

In Gn 15 (cf. $22^{16ff.}$ $26^{3ff.}$) J″ makes a covenant with Abram. The passage, though perhaps composite, is sufficiently connected, v.$^{1-7}$ having reference to the question who should be Abram's heir, and v.$^{8ff.}$ to the question what the inheritance should be. The covenant has reference to the inheritance, the important verses being $^{8-11.\,17.\,18}$. The passage is strongly anthropomorphic, though what occurred may have been of the nature of a vision. Certain animals were slain and divided into their parts, the corresponding parts being placed opposite each other with a space between. At night-fall there passed between the pieces a smoke as of a furnace and a flaming torch. The smoke and flame was a symbol of the Divine Being. The explanation follows: 'In that day J″ made a covenant with Abram, saying, Unto thy seed have I given this land' (cf. 13^{15}). Now this covenant is a promise on the part of J″. The promise has the form of an oath or curse symbolized by the act of passing between the pieces of the victims. Among men this would have meant the most solemn invocation of J″ as guardian of the covenant, but here it is J″ Himself who performs the rite—because He could swear by no greater, He sware by Himself.

Two other covenants of a similar nature are mentioned—the covenant with David, constituting his seed perpetual rulers of the kingdom of God, and that with Levi, bestowing inalienably the priesthood on that family. In 2 S 7 David, because of his purpose to build an house to the Lord, receives through Nathan the promise that J″ will build him a house, *i.e.* establish his dynasty as perpetual rulers in Israel. In 2 S 23^{5} this promise is spoken of as 'a covenant ordered in all things,' *i.e.* constituted with all the due and solemn rites, and therefore 'sure' (cf. Gal $3^{15.\,17}$, He $6^{17.\,18}$). In 23^{5} it is called 'eternal' (cf. 7^{16}). In later writings this covenant is referred to as an oath (Ps $89^{3.\,35}$ 132^{11}), and spoken of as the 'sure mercies of David' (Is 55^{3}). But it appears to be alluded to as early as Is 16^{5}, and the idea of it is what gives meaning to the whole Messianic passage, Is 7^{1}–9^{7}. The setting apart of the tribe of Levi for priestly functions is several times alluded to, Ex 32^{29}, Dt 10^{8} 18^{5} (cf. Nu $25^{12.\,13}$); and elsewhere this appointment is called a covenant, Dt 33^{9}, Jer 33^{21}, Mal $2^{4ff.}$.

These three covenants bear upon three great facts or institutions in OT religious history—the inalienable right of Israel to the possession of Canaan, the perpetual monarchy in the house of David, and the perpetual priesthood in the family of Levi. In the mind of one standing far down in the history of Israel in the midst of these established institutions, and conceiving of them as due to covenants made in the distant past by J″, one main conception in covenant must have appeared its immutability. This idea of unchangeableness belongs so much to the conception of covenant that any established custom, such as the exhibition of the shewbread, is called 'an everlasting covenant' (Lv 24^{8}). Similarly, the observance of the Sabbath is so called (Ex $31^{16.\,17}$), and Jer 33^{20} applies the term covenant to the laws of nature, speaking of J″'s covenant with the day and with the night; and the covenants with David and Levi have the same security as this law of nature. But the conception of J″ implied in the idea of such covenants is remarkable. J″ is conceived of as a free moral Being, having power to dispose of the world to whom He will (Gn 15), and to select among men whom He wills for His ends (2 S 7), standing above men and the world, but entering graciously into their history, and initiating consciously great movements that are to govern all the future.

Some modern writers on OT religion contend that these conceptions regarding J″ implied in the notion of covenant cannot have existed so early as the dates assigned to these various covenants. They argue that such covenants as those with Abram, David, and Levi, not to mention the Sinaitic covenant, the basis of which is the Moral Law, are antedated, they all presuppose an established and permanent condition of things, and are merely a religious view taken of existing conditions. The covenant of J″ with Abram to give his seed the land of Canaan is just the fact that Israel was now firmly in possession of Canaan brought under the religious idea that all Israel's blessings were due to their God. And the covenant with David is merely a religious view of the fact that his dynasty, unlike those in the northern kingdom, was established and secure. J″ is the author of all Israel's blessings, He is self-conscious, and foresees the end from the beginning, and therefore that which is seen to be established has been a determination of His from of old, and His determinations He communicates graciously to those who are the subjects of them (Am 3^{7}). But this mode of thinking regarding J″, and this mode of interpreting institutions and facts that have historically arisen, are modes of thinking not quite early in Israel's religious history. The relation of J″ to Israel must originally have been similar to that of the gods of the heathen to their particular peoples; the relation existed, but it was never formed; it was natural, and not the result of a conscious act or a historical transaction. Even admitting that from the earliest times some ethical elements entered into the conception of J″, the idea of a covenant with Israel implying, as it did, a conception of a Divine Being entirely free and unconnected with Israel, and entering into voluntary relation with that people, could not have arisen before the conception of J″ was completely ethicized and He was recognized as God over all. And such views of J″, it is contended, are to be observed first among the canonical prophets, or at earliest in the sub-prophetic age, the times of Elijah and Elisha.—It is enough to state the question here (its discussion falls under other rubrics, DECALOGUE, GOD, ISRAEL), though a reference to it was necessary in order to indicate what place the idea of covenant holds in the history of OT religion. The question of the covenant runs up into what is the main question of OT religious history, viz., To what date is the conception of J″ as an absolutely ethical Being to be assigned?

iii. HISTORY OF THE DIVINE COVENANTS.—1. The passage Ex 19–34 (apart from 25^{1}–31^{17}, assigned to P), giving an account of the transactions at Sinai, is extremely, almost hopelessly, complicated (see EXODUS). In Ex 34 (assigned to J) mention is made of a covenant which appears to be constituted on the basis of certain laws, partly moral and partly ritual, and differing considerably from the ordinary Decalogue of Ex 20. Several scholars detect under this passage (Ex $34^{10ff.}$), now considerably retouched, the Decalogue as given by J (v.^{28}). The main parts of Ex 19ff. are usually assigned to E. As the passage now stands, no covenant is connected with the simple Decalogue of Ex 20, but Dt ($5^{1ff.}$ $9^{9ff.}$) affirms that the covenant at Horeb was made on the basis of the Decalogue written on the tables of stone (4^{13} 5^{22}). It also appears to say that no laws were promulgated at Horeb beyond the Decalogue (5^{22}); Moses received 'judgments' at Horeb ($4^{1.14}$ 5^{30}–6^{1}), which he promulgated first in the plains of Moab ($4^{1.40}$ $5^{1.31}$ 12^{1}). In Ex 24 mention is made of a covenant and a Book of the Covenant. This covenant seems made (or renewed) when Moses received the second tables of stone. The Book of the Covenant appears to be Ex 20–23, but the testimony of Dt makes it probable that Ex 21ff. did not originally stand in connexion with the events at Horeb, but with those in the plains of Moab. When Moses told the people the words of J″ they answered with one voice, 'all the words which J″ hath spoken will we do'; and the covenant thus formed was followed by a sacrifice and a ceremony with the blood, half of which was sprinkled on the altar and the other half on the people. This rite has been supposed to be an instance of the ancient way of making a covenant by both parties having communion in the same blood (W. R. Smith, *RS* 461). This may be; but in the main the sacrifice, being an offering to J″, was piacular, atoning for and consecrating the people on their entering upon their new relation to J″ (He $9^{19ff.}$).* The words, 'I am J″ thy God' (Ex 20^{2}), form no part of the Decalogue, they rather express the one side of the covenant, the Decalogue proper expressing the other side. In brief, the covenant is, 'I am J″ thy God, and thou art my people,' and the Decalogue (Ex 20^{3-17}) is the expression or the analysis of what this means.

2. *The prophets.*—The idea of the divine covenant appears very little in the prophets down to Jer and Ezk, two prophets directly under the influence of Dt. The notion of covenant in general is not unfamiliar to them (Am 1^{9}, Hos 2^{18}, Is 28^{15-18} 33^{8}), but a covenant of God with men is not referred to except Hos 6^{7} 8^{1}. The former of these passages is obscure, and the second is considered by some an interpolation, though mainly just because it does refer to the divine covenant.† It can hardly be because the idea of a divine covenant was as yet little current that the early prophets avoid the use of the term, for later prophets (Zeph, Nah, Hab, Hag, Jon, Jl, Zec 1–8) also fail to use it; the reason must rather be that their thoughts moved on different lines. The prophets have to do with an existing people, and their main conceptions are—(1) that there is a relation between J″ and Israel; He is their God and they are His people. (2) This relation of J″ and the people was formed by His act of redeeming them from Egypt: 'I am J″ thy God from the land of Egypt' (Hos 12^{9}). This was the day of Israel's 'birth' (Hos 2^{3} 11^{1} 12^{9} 13^{4}), the time when J″ 'knew' her (Am 3^{2}). (3) In this as in all His other acts towards Israel the motive of J″ was His goodness (Am $2^{9ff.}$), His 'love' (Hos 11^{1}, cf. Is 1^{2} $5^{1ff.}$). (4) The nature of this relation between J″ and the people is perfectly well understood. It is given in the conception of J″, and is purely ethical. What is required of the people is to seek 'good'—civil and moral righteousness and the service of J″ alone. In demanding this from the people the prophets do not found on a book or on laws, they speak off their own minds. To themselves their principles are axiomatic, and wherever these principles were learned they coincide with the Moral Law (Hos 4^{1-3}). Thus the prophets dealing with an existing people have no occasion to go further back than the Exodus, when the people came into existence. It is doubtful if Isaiah goes further up than David and Zion. The 'judges, as at the first' (1^{26}), are supreme rulers like David; 'the Lord hath founded Zion' (14^{32}); 'He dwelleth in Mount Zion' (8^{18}). J″, who is universal Sovereign, has founded His kingdom of righteousness in Israel ($28^{16ff.}$). If Isaiah has any covenant in his mind it is the Davidic, on which his Messianic prophecies repose (7^{1}–9^{7} 11). Thus the prophetic idea differs from the idea of a covenant as real differs from formal; the assurance of redemption reposes, not on the divine promise, but on the divine nature, on God Himself as men have historically found Him in His acts of redemption already done, and as He is known in the heart of man. (5) And the nature of God, as it explains the present, guarantees the future. However Hosea came by his ideas, whether in the course of his domestic trials he discovered in his own heart a love which could not let its object go, however degraded she might become, and rose by inspiration to the intuition that such was God's love,—however this be, he has the idea of a love which is stronger than custom or law, or even than moral repugnance, a love which nothing can overcome. And this is God's love to Israel. The relation between J″ and Israel, of God and people, is indissoluble, because J″ has loved (Hos 2^{23} 3).

3. *Deuteronomy.*—Dt knows of three covenants—that with the fathers, that at Horeb, and that in the plains of Moab. The covenant with the fathers (4^{31} 7^{12}), specifically Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (1^{8} 6^{10}), was a promise to increase their seed (13^{18}) and give them the land of Canaan (6^{18}). The covenant is called an 'oath' (7^{8}), and is often said to have been sworn. The covenant at Horeb was based on the Decalogue (4^{13} $5^{2ff.}$ $9^{9ff.}$, cf. 4^{23}). In addition to these Dt mentions a covenant in the plains of Moab, which is expressly distinguished from the covenant at Horeb (29^{1} [Heb. 28^{69}], cf. $29^{9.12.14.21}$ 26^{17-19}). The contents of this covenant are formed by Dt itself (*i.e.* ch. 12–26, 28), which is called the Book of the Covenant (2 K $23^{2.21}$, cf. Jer 11^{2-10}). Dt is in the main an expansion of Ex 21ff., the place of which it is meant to take. The terms of this covenant are given in $26^{17.18}$ 'Thou hast avouched * J″ this day that he shall be thy God,

---

* It is doubtful if Ps 50^{5} refers to this covenant; the ptcp. may have a present sense *those that make* a covenant, ref. being to the sacrificial worship, which is a continuous making or maintaining of the covenant with J″. Cf. § iii. (4) *end.*

† For 'forsaken thy covenant,' 1 K 19^{10} LXX reads forsaken *thee*, and in v.^{14} 'thy covenant and' seems a duplicate of *thee* in previous clause, and is wanting in A.

* The word, occurring only here, is very obscure; LXX 'chosen,' so Vulg. and virtually Targ.; Aq. ἀντηλλάξω, *ex*

and that thou wilt walk in his ways, and keep his statutes and commandments and judgments, and hearken unto his voice. And J″ has this day avouched thee that thou shalt be his particular people . . . and that he will make thee high above all nations . . . and that thou shalt be an holy people unto J″ thy God.’ It is obvious that the essential thing in the people’s undertaking is that J″ shall be their God, and the essential part of His undertaking is that they shall be His peculiar people (cf. Ex 19^{5}); all else is but the exposition or analysis of what these terms imply. Like the prophets, Dt greatly insists on the duties of the people, though with surprising inwardness it sums up all duties in love to J″ their God (6^{5} 10^{12}). Like the prophets also, it fills up the formal outline of the divine covenant (Gn 15) with contents from the nature of God: J″ ‘loved thy fathers’ (4^{37}), and this love continues to their descendants (7^{8}). The ‘covenant and the grace’ (חֶסֶד) are coupled; the covenant was an expression of grace (7^{12}). Dt also lays great emphasis on the uniformity of the divine mind and the continuity of His operations. It was because He loved the fathers that He ‘chose’ their seed, the people Israel; this ‘choice’ meaning, not election beforehand, but the concrete act of separating Israel to Himself from among the nations at the Exodus (4^{37} 7^{7} 10^{15}). J″ ‘keepeth covenant,’ though this again is explained from His nature —‘He is the faithful God’ (7$^{9.12}$). All Israel’s blessings, its deliverance from Egypt, entrance to Canaan, and prosperity there, are but the first covenant (Gn 15) unfolding itself—‘to uphold His covenant which he sware unto thy fathers’ (8^{18} 9^{5} 10^{15}). And this first covenant, as it has operated in the past and operates now, will continue operative in the future: Israel may be scattered among the nations, but J″ will not forget His covenant, for He is merciful (4^{31}). The term *bĕrîth* is used in Dt for the terms or contents of the covenant, *e.g.* the Decalogue or any of its laws (4^{23} 17$^{2.3}$); so Dt speaks of the ‘tables of the covenant,’ ‘the ark of the covenant,’ cf. 1 K 8^{21} ‘the ark wherein is the covenant of the Lord.’—The prophets Jer. and Ezk. follow Dt in their use of the term covenant, though they draw no distinction between the covenant at Horeb and that in the plains of Moab (Jer 11$^{3.4.5}$ 31^{31} 7$^{22.23}$, Ezk 16$^{8.59}$). It is curious that in his prophecies anterior to the promulgation of Dt (ch. 1–6) Jer., like other prophets, does not make use of the covenant idea (cf., however, 3^{16}). See § iv.

4. *The Priests’ Code.*—P is a historical account of the rise and completion of Israel’s *sacra*, its religious institutions and rites. When it was written, these sacred institutions had run through their full development, and could be described in their historical succession, *e.g.* the law in regard to blood (Gn 9), the law of circumcision (Gn 17), the tabernacle as the dwelling-place of God among His people (Ex 25 ff.), and the like. In this history P records two covenants—that with Noah (Gn 9) and that with Abraham (Gn 17). The former was a covenant with man and all creation, consisting of a promise or oath (Is 54^{9}) on God’s side that He would no more destroy the world with a flood, and laying on men the obligation of abstaining from human bloodshed and the eating of blood. It is very much a question of words whether this covenant was two-sided. Of course being made with mankind and all creation, it was an absolute promise on God’s part in regard to the human race and the world; but in regard to individuals the penalty of violating it was death (9$^{5.6}$), and in later law even a beast that shed human blood was to be slain (Ex 21^{28}). This covenant was a law for mankind (Is 24^{5}), and in later times abstinence from blood was imposed on proselytes, and even on Gentiles in the early Church (Ac 15^{29}). The covenant of Noah is not referred to in JE, but Is 54^{9} is proof that knowledge of it was current before the date usually assigned to P. It is possible that it was the increasing intercourse between Israel and the heathen, and the fact that many of the latter were accepting the religion of Israel, which induced the author of P to preserve a record of this covenant. The Abrahamic covenant (Gn 17) was made with Abraham and his seed. It consisted of a promise of God, called also an oath (Ex 6^{8}), to multiply Abraham, to give Canaan to him and his seed, and to be their God (Gn 17$^{4.7.8}$); and it imposed on him and his seed the obligation of circumcision (v.^{10}). Circumcision is called the sign of the covenant but also the covenant itself (v.$^{10.11.13}$), just as the Sabbath is both the covenant and the sign of it (Ex 31$^{16.17}$). As in Noah’s covenant, the promise to Abraham and his seed regarded as a people was absolute (v.^{7}), but in regard to individuals the penalty of neglecting circumcision was death (v.^{14}). The OT idea is hardly that Abraham *represented* his seed; his seed are conceived as existing—as they were when the author wrote (cf. Dt 29^{14}). The Decalogue does not now stand in P, neither does it speak of any covenant at Sinai, except in the general reference Lv 26^{45} ‘the covenant of their ancestors,’ at the Exodus; the only part of the Decalogue spoken of as a covenant is the Sabbath (Ex 31^{16}).[*] The ‘ark of the covenant’ becomes ‘the ark of the testimony’ (עֵדֻת). P gives an account of the historical revelation of the divine names, Elohim, El-Shaddai, and J″. The covenant with Noah was made by Elohim, that with Abraham by El-Shaddai, and a covenant made by J″ might have been expected. It is wanting; the covenant in Ex 6$^{4.8}$ is the Abrahamic. Thus in P, (1) the only covenant with Israel is the Abrahamic; all Israel’s subsequent history, their multiplication in Egypt and their entrance into Canaan, is but the fulfilment of this covenant (Ex 2^{24} 6$^{4.5}$, cf. Ps 105$^{8-11}$). In P, as everywhere else, the essence of the covenant is, ‘I will be their God’ (Gn 17$^{7.8}$), or more fully, ‘I will take you to me for people, and I will be to you God’ (Ex 6^{7}). In the idea of P this promise was realized by God dwelling among the people on the one hand, and accepting their offerings on the other. Hence the need of the tabernacle, God’s dwelling-place, offerings, and ministrants. These are all divine institutions, creations and gifts of God, the fulfilment in detail of the covenant to be their God. And (2) the covenant is everlasting (Gn 17^{7}); it continues valid in the Exile and at all times, and it will yet prove effectual in the restoration of the people and in their being the people of God in truth (Lv 26$^{41-45}$). Neither in P nor in Ezk are the ritual institutions the means of salvation, they express the *state* of salvation, which is altogether of God; and their performance merely conserves it. If a different way of thinking ever came to prevail, it arose long after P.

---

changed, connecting perhaps with הֵימִיר (Jer 2^{11}). As v.^{17} plainly states what the people undertake, and v.^{18} what J″ undertakes, the rendering, ‘thou hast caused J″ to say,’ could only mean that the people by their words or demeanour had caused J″ to understand and repeat their pledges in regard to Him, while He had caused or enabled them to repeat His pledges to them—a strangely roundabout form of thought. The passage is difficult in other ways, the exact bearing of the subordinate clauses being in some cases obscure. See Avouch.

[*] As the history of creation (Gn 1^{1}-2^{4}) is written mainly to introduce the rest of the Sabbath, in which creation issued, the Sabbath might have been expected to be a covenant with creation and Adam. This is not the case, nor does OT speak of a covenant with Adam (Hos 6^{7} is obscure). In Sir 14^{17} ‘the covenant from the beginning was, thou shalt die the death,’ covenant appears = appointment, ordinance; and death, being universal, is regarded as the destiny of man from the beginning.

iv. The New Covenant.—As an idea in the religious history of Israel the new covenant means: first, that Israel's national existence and all her institutions, civil and sacred, shall be dissolved (Hos $3^{3f.}$); J″ shall say of her, 'She is not my people, neither am I hers' (Hos 1^{9} 2^{2}). And secondly, that this divorce of Israel shall be but temporary—as it is, in fact, merely apparent (Is 40^{1} $49^{14ff.}$ $50^{1ff.}$ $51^{6ff.}$); the relation between her and J″ shall be renewed: 'I will say unto them which were not my people, Thou art my people; and they shall say, Thou art my God' (Hos 2^{23} 1^{10}). This is the faith and prediction of all the prophets, of Dt and of P (above in § iii.). The Exile was the dissolution of the relation between Israel and J″, the rupture of the old covenant (Jer 31^{32}); the Restoration shall be the renewal of the relation, the establishment of a new covenant. But around the renewal of the relation gather all the religious ideals and aspirations of the prophets, the forgiveness of sin, righteousness and peace, and everlasting joy—the relation is renewed amidst the tumultuous jubilation of creation (Is 42^{10} 44^{21-23}). In its visions of the new covenant OT becomes Christian. Jer. is the first to use the word *new*, but the term adds nothing to what had been already said in the words spoken by J″ to her who had been cast off: 'I will betroth thee unto me for ever' (Hos 2^{19} 3^{1}). In terms the new covenant is nothing but the old: 'I will be their God, and they shall be my people' (Jer 31^{33}); its novelty (apart from the reference to the future) lies in its subjective reality; its terms are realized in their deepest sense. It is in this view only that its promises are 'better' (He 8^{6}). The prophets and Dt insist greatly on the duties of the people, and assume that they are able to perform them. But when Jer. and Ezk. review the people's history, which has been one long act of unfaithfulness, they despair of the people (Jer 13^{23}). To Jeremiah's expostulations the reply seems to come back, 'It is hopeless' (2^{25}). Hope is now only in God. J″ will make a new covenant with Israel, that is, forgive their sins and write His law on their hearts—the one in His free grace, the other by His creative act; and thus the covenant idea shall be realized, 'I will be their God,' etc. The second part of the promise is developed in Deutero-Is. 'This is my covenant, saith J″, my spirit which is upon thee, and my words which I have put in thy mouth' (59^{21}); and even more fully in Ezk $36^{24ff.}$, cf. 11^{16}. In $20^{34ff.}$ Ezk. describes the act of making the new covenant, which is a repetition of that at the Exodus. This new, everlasting covenant is due to God's remembrance of His former covenant ($16^{59ff.}$). Both Jer. and Ezk. bring the new covenant into connexion with the Davidic or Messianic covenant (Jer $33^{14-16.\,20-26}$, Ezk 37^{21-28}, cf. $17^{22ff.}$).

In Deutero-Is. (40 ff.) the assurance of a new covenant reposes on two great conceptions—the universalistic conception of J″ as God, and that of the invincible power of the knowledge of the true God once implanted in the heart of mankind. J″ is God alone, Creator, He that giveth breath unto the people, and in this all is said: He shall yet be acknowledged by all, 'By myself have I sworn that to me every knee shall bow' (45^{23} 42^{8}). And Israel is His witness (43^{12}). There is no mention of former covenants with the fathers or Israel. J″ *called* Israel (41^{9} 42^{6} 49^{1-6} 51^{2}), and in the act of calling He planted in Israel the consciousness of its meaning in the moral history of mankind—'I said unto thee, Thou art my servant' ($41^{8ff.}$). There is no God but J″, and Israel is His servant, to bring forth judgment to the nations, to be the light of the Gentiles, that the salvation of J″ may be to the end of the earth (49^{6}). The knowledge of the true God has been given to mankind once for all in Israel; and this idea of the true knowledge or word of the true God implanted in Israel, incarnated in the seed of Abraham—this idea personified into a Being is the Servant of the Lord. One might not be able anywhere or at any time to lay his finger on this Being, but he was there, had always been there since Israel's call and the creation of its consciousness (49^{1-6}). And the religious history of mankind was a Process at Law, the conduct of the great Cause of the Servant against the nations, their wrongs and idolatries. In this cause he was righteous, that is, in the right: his cause was that of J″, and though he stood *contra mundum* he would surely prevail: 'I know that I shall not be put to shame' (50^{4-9}). So the Servant becomes a covenant of the people, to restore the tribes of Jacob (42^{6} 49^{6}). And this is too light a thing, he shall also be the light of the nations. The new covenant is one of peace (54^{10}), is everlasting (55^{3} 61^{8}), and the Gentiles may take hold of it (56^{1-8} 44^{5}).

In the above and all late writings *bĕrîth* is used in a general way, not of the act of agreement, but of its conditions or any one of them, and thus of the religion of Israel as a whole (Is 56^{4}, Ps 103^{18}). So it is used of the relation created by the covenant; the new covenant is not thought of as a formal act of agreement, but as the realizing in history of the true covenant idea. The term *bĕrîth* had a charm and power, and was clung to, partly because it expressed the most solemn and unalterable assurance on God's part that He would be the people's salvation, and partly, perhaps, because it suggested that He acted with men after the manner of men, graciously engaging Himself to them, and entering into their life. The covenant thus took form in their heart, awakening hopes and ideals towards which, kindled and elevated by the divine fellowship, they might strive. And thus the covenants were not only promises of redemption, but stages in its attainment. For God's covenants were not isolated and unmotived interpositions, they attached themselves to lofty spiritual conditions of men's minds,—to the 'faith' of Abraham (Gn 15^{7}), to David's absorbing purpose to prepare an house for J″ (2 S 7, Ps 132), to the 'zeal' of Levi and Phinehas, and to the elevated religious mind of Israel in the hour of its redemption.

By the time of the LXX translation *bĕrîth* had become a religious term in the sense of a onesided engagement on the part of God, as in P and late writings; and to this may be due the use of the word διαθήκη, disposition or appointment, though the term was then somewhat inappropriately applied to reciprocal engagements among men.[*] In the Ep. to the Hebrews the word is used both for covenant and testament, the idea of covenant as a onesided disposition naturally sliding into that of testament when the other ideas of inheritance and death are involved (9^{15-17}). The Ep. develops in detail Jer $31^{31ff.}$, particularly the promise, 'I will remember their sins no more.' The Day of Atonement (Lv 16), in which the piacular rites of OT culminated, is used as a frame into which to insert the work of Christ; and the rites and actions of the high priest on that day, which could never realize the idea they embodied, serve as a foil to the sacrifice and high priesthood of Christ, which 'for ever perfected the sanctified.' The other half of the promise, 'In their hearts I will write my law,' is not developed in the Ep. (cf. ref. to the Spirit, Is 59^{21}, Ezk $36^{24ff.}$). St. Paul employs the term διαθήκη (Gal 3^{15}), but in the sense of an engagement on the part of God, which is, as he calls it, a promise. In the main he follows P, *e.g.* (1) in assuming that there is but one covenant, the

---

[*] Aristoph. *Av.* 439, is quoted as an ex. of the meaning 'convention,' mutual engagement. Had this sense established itself in the 'common' dialect of the 3rd cent. B.C.?

Abrahamic (Gn 17); (2) in regarding circumcision as the sign of it; and (3) in regarding the Sinaitic revelation as subordinate to the covenant and a means of realizing it—though in a different sense from P. The revelation at Sinai was not the making of a covenant, but the giving of a law. With Gn 17, however, he combines Gn 15, and the wider promise that all nations should be blessed in the seed of Abraham. The covenant with Abraham was a purely spiritual deed, and contemplated only spiritual ends. The promise of heirship of the world was given to Abraham and to his seed, which seed is Christ, in whom the promise has been fulfilled. Further, the promise was given to Abraham, the believer, and to his seed, which seed all believers are, who are heirs according to the promise, being, as one with Christ, joint-heirs with Him. In the institution of the Supper the term διαθήκη is also used, and combined with the sacrificial idea as in Ex $24^{5ff.}$, cf. He $9^{19ff.}$.

Phraseology.—The usual phrase to make a covenant is 'to cut' (כָּרַת); in 2 S 23^5 'to appoint' (שִׂים). In P 'to give' (נָתַן Gn 9^{12} 17^2), and 'to set up a covenant' (הֵקִים), are common. The latter word often means 'to uphold,' but the sense 'set up' or make is undoubted; the determination of 'covenant' by pron. occurs also with נָתַן and כָּרַת (2 S 3^{12}). Of both parties it is said, 'they made a covenant' (Gn 21^{27} 31^{44}); the superior, or whoever takes the initiative, makes a covenant *with* (אֵת, עִם) the other (2 S 3^{12}, Gn 26^{28}). To make a covenant *to* or *for* (לְ) may mean to 'submit a covenant to,' *i.e.* for acceptance (Jos 24^{25}), or to make a covenant or undertake an obligation 'for the advantage of' one (Ex 23^{32}, 2 S 5^3). This construction is always used of covenants with the natives of Canaan (Ex 23^{32} $34^{12.15}$, Dt 7^2, Jg 2^2), and becomes very common in later style in conformity with the extended usage of prep. *to*. See more fully Valeton, xii. 2 ff., 227 ff.; Krætzsch. pp. 50 f., 205 ff., 247 ff.; *Oxf. He . Lex. s.v.*

Literature.—Art. 'Bund' in Schenkel's and Riehm's *DB*. The OT Theologies: Riehm, p. 68 ff.; Schultz (Eng. tr.), ii. 1 ff.; Smend, pp. 24 ff., 294 ff.; Dillmann, pp. 107 ff., 419 ff. H. Guthe, *De foederis notione Jeremiana*, Leip. 1877; Valeton, *ZAW* xii. xiii. (1892–93); Candlish, *Expository Times*, 1892 (Oct., Nov.); Krætzschmar, *Die Bundesvorstellung im Alt. Test.*, Marburg, 1896. On the Federal Theology see an art. by T. M. Lindsay, *Brit. and For. Ev. Rev.* July 1879. A. B. Davidson.

COVER.—1. Following Sa'adya, Talm., and most Eng. VSS, AV gives 'covers . . . to cover withal,' as one of the vessels used in the tabernacle, Ex 25^{29} 37^{16}, Nu 4^7. RV (after LXX, Vulg., Syr., Targ., Luther) gives 'flagons . . . to pour out withal.' The same word (קְשׂוֹת) is used in 1 Ch 28^{17} of one kind of vessels given by David to Solomon for the temple; EV 'cups.' 2. In Jg 3^{24}, 1 S 24^3 'to cover one's feet' is a literal tr. of the Heb. (הֵסֵךְ רַגְלָיו) euphemistically used for performing the offices of nature (so LXX, Jg 3^{24} ἀποκενοῦν τοὺς πόδας, but 1 S $24^{3(4)}$ παρασκευάσασθαι; Vulg. *purgare alvum*, and *p. ventrem*; Luther in Jg, *zu Stuhl gegangen*, but in 1 S, *Füsse zu decken*). On the scrupulous regard for decency among Orientals, see Ges. *Lex. s.v.* שָׁתַן. J. Hastings.

COVERT.—Scarcely now in use, except for game, and then generally spelt *cover*, 'covert' is used in AV for—1. 'A covered place,' 2 K 16^{18}; 'the c. for the sabbath that they had built in the house' (Heb. *Kth.* מֵיסַךְ, *ḳerê* מוּסַךְ, LXX τὸν θεμέλιον τῆς καθέδρας, RV 'the covered way for the sabbath,' RVm 'covered place'). 2. Any shelter, as Is 4^6 'a c. from storm and from rain'; or hiding place, as Job 38^{40} 'the young lions . . . abide in the c. to lie in wait'; 1 S 25^{20} 'she [Abigail] came down by the c. of the hill,' that is, where the hill hid her from view; cf. 1 Mac 9^{38} 'hid themselves under the c. of the mountain.' J. Hastings.

COVET.—'The law had said, Thou shalt not covet' (Ro 7^7); 'Covet earnestly the best gifts' (1 Co 12^{31}), and 'covet to prophesy' (14^{39}). It is not St. Paul that offers this startling contradiction; he uses two different words, ἐπιθυμέω in Ro, ζηλόω in 1 Co; it is AV only. The older Eng. VSS have generally 'lust' in quoting the commandment, or where they have 'covet' they give some other word in 1 Co, as 1 Co 12^{31} Wyclif 'sue,' Rheims 'pursue'; 14^{39} W. 'love,' R. 'be earnest.' RV has 'desire earnestly' in 1 Co. 'Covet' (from Fr. *convoiter*, Lat. *cupere*, *cupiditare*), scarcely used now in a good sense, was at first quite neutral = eagerly desire, as Caxton (1483), 'She ever coveyted the pees and love of her lord.' 'Covet *after*,' as 1 Ti 6^{10}, is obsolete. (The Gr. in this place is ὀρέγω, and RV gives 'reach after,' a happy change, ὀρέγω and 'reach' being phonetically as well as idiomatically identical.) J. Hastings.

COVETOUSNESS.—The verb covet and its parts are used in a wider sense in the Scriptures than the noun covetousness, which has always a reference to property, and is a rendering of the Heb. בֶּצַע and the Gr. πλεονεξία. In OT there are found frequent denunciations of this sin, which is brought into close connexion on the one hand with violence (Jer 22^{17}, Hab 2^9), and on the other with fraud (Jer 8^{10}); and this connexion shows that action as well as desire to get another's goods is meant (Mic 2^2). The forms of the sin singled out for rebuke are usury, seizing the land of the weak and poor, selling debtors into slavery, and taking bribes to pervert justice. The judges to be chosen by Moses were to be men 'hating unjust gain' (Ex 18^{21}). Covetousness brought ruin on Achan and his house (Jos 7^{21}). Samuel in laying down office asserted his innocence of this sin (1 S 12^3).

Turning to NT, we find that Jesus warned men against covetousness, wherewith His opponents the Pharisees were charged (Lk 16^{14}), and enforced His warning with the parable of the Rich Fool (Lk 12^{13-21}). St. Paul in several of his letters includes covetousness, which he calls idolatry (Col 3^5), among the very worst sins (Ro 1^{29}, Eph 5^3, 1 Co 6^{10}). He had to defend himself against the charge of covetousness in connexion with the collection for the poor at Jerus. (1 Th 2^5, 2 Co 8; cf. Ac 20^{33}). There were some teachers in the Church whose aim was worldly gain (2 P 2^3); and accordingly one of the necessary qualifications of a bishop was freedom from the love of money (1 Ti 3^3). The remedy for covetousness as for the anxiety about food and raiment, which hinders undivided service (Mt 6^{19-34}), is trust in God's fatherly care and abiding faithfulness (He 13^5). Regarding the sense of 'covet' in the tenth commandment (Ex 20^{17}), it is held by some that it includes not only the desire to have another's property, but also the effort to make it one's own (Schultz, *O.T. Theol.*, Eng. tr. ii. p. 52). In Dt 5^{21} with its more inward morality, only the desire may be referred to. In St. Paul's reference the inwardness of the law is asserted (Ro 7^7). He might claim to be blameless in outward acts, but this commandment convicted him of sinfulness in his wishes, not for gain simply, but also for other unlawful objects.

A. E. Garvie.

COW.—See Cattle.

COZBI (כָּזְבִּי 'deceitful,' Χασβί).—The Midianitess slain by Phinehas (Nu $25^{15.18}$ P).

COZEBA (1 Ch 4^{22}).—See Achzib.

CRACKNELS.—Only 1 K 14^3 'take with thee ten loaves and cracknels.' The Heb. (נִקֻּדִים) is found elsewhere only Jos 9^5, of the 'bread' the Gibeonites carried with them on their pretended long journey. It is supposed to mean bread that *crumbles* easily, hence the Eng. tr., 'cracknel' being a dialectic variety of *crackling*. See Bread.

J. Hastings.

CRAFT.—In the mod. sense of *guile*, Dn 8^{25}, 2 Mac 12^{24}, Mk 14^{1}; for already by 1611 the word had lost its orig. sense of 'power,' 'strength,' when it could be distinctly set against 'cunning,' as Caxton (1474), *Chesse*, 'Thou hast vaynquisshed them . . . by subtilnes. . . . But I that am a romayn shal vaynquisshe them by craft and strength of armes.' Elsewhere in AV 'c.' means 'trade,' an early application of the word (=that to which a man gives his strength). So '**Craftsman**'='tradesman,' as Rev 18^{22} 'no craftsman of whatsoever craft he be.' In *Rich. II.* I. iv. 28, Shaks. plays upon the double sense of 'craft'—

> 'Wooing poor craftsmen with the craft of smiles.'

Crafty and **Craftiness** are always used in the modern degenerated sense. J. HASTINGS.

CRANE.—The word סוּס *ṣûṣ*, or סִיס *ṣîṣ*, tr. in AV *crane*, should be tr. *swallow* (so RV). The first of these words occurs in Hezekiah's prayer (Is 38^{14}). Here (כְּסוּס עָגוּר כֵּן אֲצַפְצֵף) *ṣûṣ* is a *swallow*, and *'agûr* possibly an adjective which means *twittering*. The passage would then be tr. 'as a twittering swallow I chatter.' In the second passage (Jer 8^{7}) occurs the second form (כְּסִיס וְעָגוּר), and here *ṣîṣ* is again a *swallow*, and *'agûr* the *twitterer* (?). If the passage be tr. 'as a swallow and a twitterer,' the latter probably refers to another species of swallow, or one of the twittering birds of passage, of which there are many in the Holy Land. In the passage in Jer. the allusion is to the migratory habits of the bird, and its note; in Isaiah to its note alone. Some of the swallows, as the swift or martin, are known to the Arabs by the name *ṣuṣ* or *ṣiṣ*, and utter a piercing shriek as they fly, but the allusion here is to the twittering of the birds in nesting time. By no stretch of imagination could the whoop or trumpeting of the crane be called twittering. Some have supposed that the *yanshûph* (Lv 11^{17}, Dt 14^{16}), tr. in AV and RV *great owl*, and *yanshôph* (Is 34^{11}), tr. in both *owl*, are the crane. But, in the absence of evidence in its favour, we must drop the crane from the fauna of the Bible. G. E. POST.

CRATES (Κράτης), a deputy left in charge of the citadel at Jerusalem (Acra) when the regular governor, Sostratus, was summoned to Antioch by Antiochus Epiphanes, in consequence of a dispute with the high priest Menelaus (2 Mac 4^{29}). Crates is termed the governor of the Cyprians (*τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν Κυπρίων*, RV 'who was over the Cyprians'): probably he was sent to Cyprus shortly afterwards, when, in 168 B.C., Antiochus obtained possession of the island. Some MSS read here *Σώστρατος δὲ κρατήσας τῶν ἐπὶ τ. Κυπ.*; so Vulg. *Sostratus prælatus est Cypriis.* H. A. WHITE.

CREATION.—See COSMOGONY, CREATURE.

CREATURE is the somewhat loose rendering of *nephesh* (נֶפֶשׁ), *breathing* being, in Gn and Lv (once in Gn—1^{20}—of *sherez* (שֶׁרֶץ), *swarming* being, or, as it is there put, *moving* creature), and, in Ezk, of *ḥai* (חַי), *living* being (rendered, in each case, *living creature*). In NT, quite accurately, it represents *κτίσμα*, and shares with *creation* the representation of *κτίσις*. Neither *κτίσμα* nor *κτίσις* is ever employed by the LXX as a tr. of *nephesh*, *sherez*, or *ḥai*, the favourite equivalents for these words respectively being *ψυχή*, *ἑρπετόν*, and *ζῶον*. In Gn the verb *bārā'* (בָּרָא, 'create') is tr. solely by *ποιεῖν*: *κτίζειν* represents it first in Dt 4^{32}, and afterwards more usually than *ποιεῖν*; while both stand for it, sometimes side by side, in Deutero-Isaiah (*e.g.* 45^{7}). Since *ποιεῖν* is simply *to make*, while *κτίζειν* is (classically) *to found* (a city, a colony), and so *to make from the beginning, originally, for the first time* (not necessarily out of nothing), *κτίζειν* is especially fitted to express God's creative activity not only in the physical (Ec 12^{1}, Ro 1^{25}), but also in the spiritual sphere (Col 3^{10}. For an OT premonition of the spiritual sense, see Ps 51^{12}, where *create*, *κτίζειν*, and *renew*, *ἐνκαινίζειν*, recall together the *καινὴ κτίσις*, *new creature*, of 2 Co 5^{17}). The use of the subst. *κτίσις* exactly corresponds. In contradistinction to *κτίσμα*, which points to the creative act completed and embodied, it denotes sometimes the creative act in process (Ro 1^{20}), at other times the thing created, regard being paid to the process of its production. It is used (1) *physically* (*a*) of the *whole creation* (so invariably in OT and Apocr.; in NT, Ro 8^{22}), often with special reference to mankind as *the* creation (Mk 16^{15}, Col 1^{23}); (*b*) of the *individual creation*, the *creature* (like the purely physical *κτίσμα* of the Apocr. and NT), Ro 8^{39}; (2) *spiritually*, of the *new creature* (2 Co 5^{17}, Gal 6^{15}), and the *new creation* (Ro 8^{20-23}) in Christ Jesus, the original and originator of the new race, and the renovator of nature as a whole. Cf. the rabbinical expressions *bĕrîyah ḥădāshāh*, 'new creation,' of a man converted to Judaism; and *ḥiddûsh ha'ôlām*, 'the new age' (lit. *newness of the age*) to be ushered in by the Messiah; also Isaiah's 'new heavens and new earth' (65^{17}), the *παλιγγενεσία*, *regeneration* (Mt 19^{28}), and the *ἀποκατάστασις πάντων*, *restitution of all things* (Ac 3^{21}). The classical sense of *κτίζειν*, *to found*, occurs only in 1 Es 4^{53}, but is traceable in the meaning of *κτίσις* in 1 P 2^{13}, *πάσῃ ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει*, 'every *institution*, i.e. *ordinance*, of man.' J. MASSIE.

CREDIT.—1 Mac 10^{46} 'When Jonathan and the people heard these words, they gave no credit unto them' (*οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν αὐτοῖς*, RV 'credence'). Cf. Introd. to Rhemish NT, 'The discerning of Canonical from not Canonical, and of their infallible truth, and sense, commeth unto us, only by the credite we give unto the Catholike Churche.' J. HASTINGS.

CREDITOR.—See DEBT.

CREED.—A creed is an authorized statement or definition of religious beliefs. The name is usually limited in its application to the three formulas known as the Apostles', the Nicene (or Constantinopolitan), and the Athanasian. The history of these documents has been the subject of minute and elaborate investigation. The most convenient collection of the materials for study is to be found in Hahn's *Biblioth. d. Symb. u. Glaubensreg. d. alt. Kirche*^{3}, 1897. The earliest traces of the Apostles' Creed are investigated in vol. i. pt. 2, of Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn's *Patr. Apost. Op.*, and Harnack, *Anhang* to Hahn (ed. 2); and the recent controversy as to its original meaning, and the source of certain clauses, is accessible in Harnack, *Apost. Glaubensbek.*, and Swete, *Apostles' Creed.* As Swainson has observed, it is necessary to remark that until the tenth century the name 'apostles'' or 'apostolic' was applied to the Nicene as well as to the Western symbol to which it is now appropriated; both were regarded as embodying the apostolic teaching, and the epithet 'apostolic' does not always entitle us to say that the Latin symbol is the one meant. But the purpose of this article is not to enter on the origin and history of the creeds, but to indicate their biblical suggestions or anticipations.

Pagan religion was a rite rather than a doctrine; if the ceremonial were duly performed, the worshipper was at liberty to interpret it, or leave it unexplained, as he pleased. The myths which in a certain sense rationalize ritual do not amount to a doctrine; there is nothing in them binding the reason or faith of the worshipper; and pagan religion has no theology or creed. Neither has it a historical basis, which might be exhibited and guarded by a solemn recital of sacred facts. In both respects it is distinguished from the religion of revelation. This rests upon facts, which have to be perpetually made visible, and upon an interpretation of those facts, without which they lose their value and power as a basis for religion. This is true both of OT and NT stages in revelation, but it is in the latter only that we can be said to see the first approaches to the formation of a creed. The Ten Words, with their demand for monolatry, if not their proclamation of monotheism, might be regarded as the 'symbol' of the ancient religion: the *Shema*—Hear, O Israel, J″ our God is one J″—in Dt 6^4 is the nearest approach to the enunciation of a doctrine. In NT there are various more distinct indications, sometimes of the existence, sometimes of the contents, of what would now be called a creed. The emphasis which Jesus lays upon faith in Himself makes Him, naturally, the principal subject in these. The Christian creed is a confession of faith in Him; there is nothing in it which is not a more or less immediate inference from what He is, or teaches, or does. The early confession of Nathanael (Jn 1^{49}), 'Rabbi, thou art the Son of God; thou art the King of Israel,' is the germ of a creed. There is probably more, though not everything, in Peter's confession at Cæsarea Philippi (Mt 16^{16}), 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.' The exclamation of Thomas in Jn 20^{28} goes further still. We may infer from such passages as 1 Co 12^3 ('Jesus is Lord') and Ro 10^9 ('If thou shalt confess with thy mouth that Jesus is Lord, and believe in thy heart that God raised him from the dead'), that a confession of the exaltation of the crucified Jesus was the earliest form of Christian creed. Cf. Ac 2^{36}. Some such confession seems to have been connected from the beginning with the administration of baptism. This appears from the ancient interpolation in Ac 8^{37} in which the eunuch is made, before his baptism, to say, 'I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God'; but still more from Mt 28^{19}. The formula, 'into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit,' which is here prescribed for baptism, is undoubtedly the outline on which both the Western (Apostolic) and the Eastern (Nicene) symbols were moulded; and candidates for baptism were at a very early date required to profess their faith, sometimes in the very words of those symbols, sometimes in forms virtually equivalent to them. (See BAPTISM.) It has indeed been pointed out that where baptism is mentioned historically in NT, it is 'into the name of the Lord Jesus' (Ac 8^{16} 19^5 etc.), not into the triune name of Mt 28^{19}; but the surprise of St. Paul in Ac 19^3 that any one could have been baptized without hearing of the Holy Spirit, is fair evidence that the Holy Spirit *was* mentioned whenever Christian baptism was dispensed (observe the force of *οὖν* in Ac 19^3). Expansions of this trinitarian formula constituted what Irenæus calls 'the canon of the truth which one receives at baptism' (Iren. *Hær.* I. x. 1, and the note in Harvey's ed. vol. i. p. 87 f.). Such expansions, however, are hardly to be found in NT. The brief summaries of Christian fundamentals are usually of a different character. Thus St. Paul mentions, as the elements of his gospel in 1 Co $15^{3f.}$ Christ's death for sins, His burial, and His resurrection. In 1 Ti 3^{16} there is what is usually considered a liturgical fragment, defining at least for devotional purposes the contents of 'the mystery of godliness,' the open secret of the true religion. There the first emphasis is laid on the Incarnation—He who was manifested in the flesh; and the last on the Ascension—He who was received up in glory. As in the individual confessions mentioned above, Christ is the subject throughout. It is difficult to say whether the summaries of his gospel in which St. Paul delights, sometimes objective as in Ro $1^{3f.}$, sometimes subjective as in 2 Th $2^{13f.}$, Tit 3^{4-7}, influenced the formulation of Christian truth for catechetical purposes, or were themselves due to the need for it; but it is obvious that outlines of gospel teaching, such as the apostles delivered everywhere, must soon have been required and supplied. Such an outline may be referred to in 2 Ti 1^{13}—*ὑποτύπωσιν ἔχε ὑγιαινόντων λόγων*—though it may well be the case that something is denoted much more copious than anything we call a creed: a catechist's manual, for instance, such as might contain the bulk of one of our gospels. It is usual to assume that by *παραθήκη* or *παρακαταθήκη* (1 Ti 6^{20}, 2 Ti 1^{13}) is meant 'the faith once delivered to the saints,' in the sense of a creed or deposit of doctrine; and though good scholars dispute this, and suppose the ref. to be to Timothy's vocation as a minister of the gospel, the assumption is probably correct. For in the first passage the *παραθήκη* is opposed to 'profane babblings and oppositions of knowledge falsely so called, which some professing have erred concerning *the faith*'; and in the second, it is evidently parallel to the 'form' or 'outline of sound words.' There are several passages in which St. Paul uses the word *κήρυγμα* to denote the contents of his gospel (Ro 16^{25}, Tit 1^3 *κήρυγμα ὃ ἐπιστεύθην ἐγώ*) in a way which suggests that idea of the gospel which would naturally find embodiment in a creed. The *τύπος διδαχῆς* of Ro 6^{17} is evidently wider than anything we mean by creed. There is one passage in NT (He $6^{1f.}$) in which the elementary doctrines of the Christian religion are enumerated, partly from a subjective point of view (repentance and faith), partly more objectively (resurrection and judgment). In one place the reality of the Incarnation is expressly asserted as the foundation of the Christian religion, and as a test of all 'spirits,' in a tone which had immense influence on early Christian dogma (1 Jn $4^{2f.}$). The creeds of Christendom go back to these small beginnings. The tendency to produce them is plainly as old as the work of Christian preaching and teaching; and their legitimate use, as all these NT passages suggest, is to exhibit and guard the truth as it has been revealed in and by Jesus. If it be true that *the* dogma of Christianity is the Trinity, and that this is the central content of the creeds, it must be remembered that the trinitarian conception of God depends upon the revelation of the Father, and the gift of the Spirit, both of which are dependent on the knowledge of the Son. In other words, it is truth 'as truth is in Jesus.' But on this view of the content of the creeds, we should have to refer for the Scripture basis of them to such passages (besides those quoted above) as 1 Co 12^{4-6}, 2 Co 13^{14}, Eph 2^{18}, Jude $^{20-21}$, Jn 14–16. Apart from the authenticity of Mt 28^{19}, these are sufficient to show how instinctive is the combination of Father, Son, and Spirit in the thought of NT writers, and how completely the problem is set in Christian experience to which the Church doctrine of the Trinity, as embodied in the Nicene-Constantinopolitan creed, is an answer. The historical, as opposed to theological, statements in the creeds claim to rest on direct Scripture authority.

LITERATURE.—Swainson, *Apostolic and Nicene Creeds*; Heurtley, *Harmonia Symbolica*; Caspari, *Ungedruckte*, etc., *Quellen z. Ges. d. Taufsymbols u. d. Glaubensregel*; Lumby, *Hist. of Creeds*; Zahn, *Apost. Symb.* (1892); and the works of Hahn, Harnack, and Swete referred to above.

J. DENNEY.

CREEPING THINGS.—Much confusion is sometimes occasioned by the fact that two distinct Heb. terms are (frequently) represented by this expression in the EV.

(1) The term which is most correctly so represented is *rémes* (רֶמֶשׂ), from *rāmas*, to *glide* or *creep*:

under this term ‘creeping things’ are mentioned Gn $1^{24.25}$ (as created, together with ‘cattle,’ and ‘beasts of the earth’ [*i.e.* speaking generally, herbivora and carnivora], on the sixth day); 1^{26} (as given into the dominion of man, together with the ‘fish of the sea,’ the ‘fowl of the air,’ the ‘cattle and all beasts [Pesh.] of the earth’); $6^{7.20}$ $7^{14.23}$ $8^{17.19}$ (as spared, usually together with ‘cattle’ and ‘fowl,’ on occasion of the Flood); in other allusions to the animal kingdom, often by the side of ‘beasts,’ ‘cattle,’ ‘fowl,’ or ‘fishes,’ 1 K 4^{33} (5^{13}) ‘He spake also of cattle, and of fowl, and of *creeping things*, and of fishes,’ Hos $2^{18\,(20)}$; Hab 1^{14} (the Chaldæan makes men to be ‘as the fishes of the sea, as the *creeping things*, over whom is no ruler’), Ezk 8^{10} (figures of them worshipped by Israelites), 38^{20}, Ps 148^{10}. In Gn 9^{3} [RV *moving thing*], where the term stands by itself, it is used more generally of all gliding or creeping things (cf. the verb in Gn 1^{28} 7^{21} 8^{19} [RV *moveth, moved*]; Ps 104^{20}): and in Ps 104^{25} of gliding *aquatic* creatures (cf. the verb in Gn 1^{21}, Lv 11^{46}, Ps $69^{34\,(35)}$ [RV *moveth*]); so also perhaps (note the context, esp. v.^{15}) in Hab 1^{14}. The corresponding verb is often found closely joined to it, Gn 1^{26} 7^{14} 8^{17}, Ezk 38^{20}; or used synonymously, Gn 1^{30} 7^{8} 9^{2} (RV *teemeth*), Lv 20^{25} (RV *id.*), Dt 4^{18} (by the side of cattle, fowl, and fish), cf. Lv 11^{44} (RV *moveth*). These are all the occurrences of either the subst. or the verb. From a survey of the passages in which *rémes* occurs, especially those (as Gn 1^{26}, 1 K 4^{3}) in which it stands beside beasts, fowls, and fishes, in popular classifications of the animal kingdom, it is evident that it is the most general term denoting *reptiles*, which, especially in the East, would be the most conspicuous and characteristic of living species, when beasts, fowls, and fishes had been excluded. Dillm. and Keil (on Gn 1^{24}) both define it as denoting creatures moving on the ground ‘either without feet, or with imperceptible feet.’ It is often defined more precisely by the addition of ‘that creepeth upon the earth,’ or (Gn 1^{25} 6^{20}, Hos 2^{18}) ‘upon the ground.’ The term not being a scientific one, it included also, perhaps, creeping insects, and *possibly* even very small quadrupeds: but the *limitation* of *rémes* to the ‘smaller quadrupeds of the earth’ (to the *exclusion* of reptiles), which has been devised (Dawson, *Modern Science in Bible Lands*, 1888, p. 28) for the purpose of ‘harmonizing’ Gn 1 with the teachings of palæontology, is arbitrary, and cannot be sustained.

(2) The other term, also sometimes unfortunately rendered ‘creeping things,’ is *shérez* (שֶׁרֶץ): this is applied to creatures, whether terrestrial or aquatic, which appear in swarms, and is accordingly best represented by *swarming things*. It occurs (sometimes with the cognate verb) Gn 1^{20} ‘let the water *swarm* with *swarming things*,’ cf. v.^{21} ‘every living soul [see SOUL] that creepeth, wherewith the waters *swarmed*’; 7^{21} (beside fowl and cattle and beast) ‘every *swarming thing* that *swarmed* upon the earth’; Lv 5^{2} ‘the carcases of unclean *swarming things*’; 11^{10} ‘of all the *swarming things* of the waters’; v.^{20} (=Dt 14^{19}), vv.$^{21.23}$ ‘winged *swarming things*’ (*i.e.* flying insects: locusts are instanced); v.^{29} ‘*swarming things*, that *swarm* upon the earth’ (the weasel, the mouse, and various kinds of lizards are instanced), cf. v.^{31} ‘among all *swarming things*’; vv.$^{41.42.43}$ ‘every *swarming thing* that *swarmeth* upon the earth’—including (v.^{42}) insects with more than four feet; v.^{44} ‘any *swarming thing* that creepeth upon the earth’; v.^{46} ‘every living soul that glideth (cf. above, No. 1) in the waters, and every living soul that *swarmeth* upon the earth’; 22^{5} ‘whoso toucheth any *swarming thing* by which he may become unclean.’ The cognate verb *shāraẓ* occurs also Ex 8^{3} (7^{28}) ‘the river shall *swarm* with frogs’ (cf. Ps 105^{30}); Ezk 47^{9} ‘every living soul that *swarmeth*’ (viz. in a river); and fig., of animals generally, Gn 8^{17} (RV *breed abundantly*), and of men, 9^{7} (RV *id.*) Ex 1^{7} (of the Israelites multiplying in Egypt: RV *increased abundantly*). *Shéreẓ* thus denotes creatures that appear in swarms, whether such as teem in the water, or those which swarm on the ground or in the air, *i.e.* creeping and flying insects, small reptiles, such as lizards, and small quadrupeds, as the weasel and the mouse. *Shéreẓ* and *rémes* are not co-extensive; for, though particular animals, as small reptiles, would no doubt be included under either designation, *rémes* would not be applied to flying insects, or (at least properly) to aquatic creatures, nor is it *certain* that it was applied to small quadrupeds, or even to creeping insects; while *shéreẓ* would not probably be used of large reptiles, or of any, in fact, which did not usually appear in swarms.

S. R. DRIVER.

CREMATION.—It is sometimes stated that burning was the ordinary mode of disposing of the dead among all ancient nations, except the Egyptians, who embalmed them; the Chinese, who buried them in the earth; and the Jews, who buried them in the sepulchres. This statement requires a good deal of qualification. Lucian tells us that the Greeks burned their dead while the Persians buried them (*De Luctu*, xxi.); and it is certain that among the Greeks bodies were often buried without being burned (Thuc. i. 134. 6; Plat. *Phædo*, 115 E; Plut. *Lyc.* xxvii.). Among the Romans both methods were in use; and Cicero believed that burial was the more ancient (*De Legibus*, ii. 22. 56). So that Persians, Greeks, and Romans must be added as, at any rate, partial exceptions. Whether religious, or sanitary, or practical reasons were uppermost in deciding between the different methods is uncertain. Where fuel was scarce, cremation would be difficult or impossible.

That the Jews’ preference for sepulchres was determined by a belief in the resurrection of the body is very doubtful. The doctrine itself seems to have been of late development; and modern Jews, who accept the doctrine, do not object to cremation. Nevertheless, their forefathers rarely practised it, and perhaps then only as an alternative to what would be more distasteful. The bodies of Saul and his sons were burned by the men of Jabesh-gilead (1 S 31^{12}), perhaps to secure them from further insult by the Philistines, and to make it more easy to conceal the bones. Am 6^{10} gives a horrible picture of a whole household having died, and a man’s uncle and a servant being the only survivors left to burn the last body. But we are probably to understand a plague, or something exceptional. That bodies were burned in the valley of Hinnom in times of pestilence is an assertion which lacks support. However large the number of the dead, burial was the manner of disposing of them (Ezk $39^{11\text{-}16}$). The ‘very great burning’ made for Asa at his burial (2 Ch 16^{14}) is not a case of cremation, but of burning spices and furniture in his honour (comp. Jer 34^{5}). ‘When R. Gamaliel the elder died, Onkelos the proselyte burned in his honour the worth of seventy *minæ* of Tyrian money’ (T.B. *Aboda Zara* 11*a*). Comp. 2 Ch 21^{19}. Nor is 1 K 13^{2} an allusion to cremation. Bones of men previously buried are to be burned on the altar to pollute it and render it abominable.

In the NT there is no instance of cremation, whether Jewish, Christian, or heathen; and there is abundant evidence that the early Christians followed the Jewish practice of burial, with or without embalming (Minuc. Felix, *Octav.* xxxix.; Tert. *Apol.* xlii.; Aug. *De Civ. Dei*, i. 12, 13). It was to outrage this well-known Christian sentiment that persecutors sometimes burned the bodies of the martyrs and scattered their ashes in mockery of the resurrection (Eus. *H.E.* v. 1. 62, 63; comp. Lact. *Inst.* vi. 12). The example of the Jews, the fact that Christ was buried, the association of burning with heathen practices, and perhaps rather material views respecting the resurrection, have contributed to make cremation unpopular among Christians. But there is nothing essentially antichristian in it: and charity requires us to adopt any reverent manner of disposing of the dead which science may prove to be least injurious to the living. A. PLUMMER.

CRESCENS.—A companion of St. Paul in his final imprisonment, sent by him to Galatia (2 Ti 4^{10}), *i.e.* either to Asiatic Galatia,—a view supported by St. Paul's usage elsewhere, and by the context, in which all the other places mentioned lie east of Rome (so *Const. Apost.* vii. 46; Tillemont, *Mémoires sur St. Paul*, Note 81; Smith, *DB*^{2} *s.v.*); or possibly to Gaul (so ℵ C, reading Γαλλίαν; Euseb. *HE* iii. 4; Epiph. *Hær.* 51. 11; Theodore and Theodoret ad 2 Ti 4^{10}; Lightfoot, *Gal.* pp. 3 and 30). A late Western tradition treats him as the founder of the Churches of Vienne and of Mayence (Gams. *Series Episc.*). His memory is honoured in the Roman martyrology on June 27, in the Greek Menologion on May 30, and there he is treated as one of the seventy disciples, and a bishop of Chalcedon. [*Acta Sanctorum*, June 27; *Menologion*, May 30.] The name is Latin, and is found among the freedmen of Nero (Tac. *Hist.* i. 76), the centurions (*Ann.* xv. 11), and the priests of Phœbus (*Inscr. Græcæ*, Sic. et Ital. 1020). W. LOCK.

CRESCENTS.—RV tr. of שַׂהֲרֹנִים Jg $8^{21.26}$ (AV 'ornaments'), Is 3^{18} (AV 'round tires like the moon'). As clearly indicated by its etym. (from Aram. *sahrâ*, 'moon,' with *ôn* as diminutive termination,—for which see Barth, *Nominalbildg.* § 212),—the *sahărôn* was a crescent or moon-shaped ornament of gold (Jg 8^{26}), introduced presumably by Syrian traders from Babylonia. In OT we find these crescents worn by Midianite chiefs (Jg 8^{26}), by the ladies of Jerus. (Is 3^{18}), and hung by the former on the necks of their camels (Jg 8^{21}). They were in all probability worn on the breast by a chain round the neck, like the crescents (*hilâlât*) of a modern Arab. belle (see Del. and Dillm. on Is 3^{18}; Keil, *Bibl. Archæol.* Eng. tr. ii. 149; Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* i. 129; cf. Jg 8^{26b}, where the crescents seem to be distinguished from the chains by which they were suspended). Others (*e.g.* Moore, *Comm. in loc.*) consider the latter to have been 'necklaces or collars, the elements of which were little golden crescents.' Originally the crescents were amulets or charms (W. R. Smith in *Journ. of Philology*, xiv. 122-123;[*] Wellh. *Skizzen*, iii. 144), although by Isaiah's time they may have become more purely ornamental. A. R. S. KENNEDY.

CRETE.—Crete, the modern Candia, is an island in the Mediterranean, 60 miles to the S. of Greece. Its greatest length from E. to W. is 156 miles, while its width varies from 30 to 7 miles. The orig. inhabitants were prob. a kindred race with those of Asia Minor. C. plays a prominent part in the legendary, as well as in the early historical period. Lying as a convenient stepping-stone between the continents of the Old World, the island was probably colonised by the Dorians in the 3rd generation after their conquest of the Peloponnesus. Homer numbers them together with the Achæans and Pelasgians among the inhabitants. Some striking points of resemblance are noticed by Aristotle (*Politics*, ii. 10) between the institutions of Sparta and those of C., prominent among them being the military training, and the system of common meals. The mythical king Minos, round whom so many legends cluster, is alluded to as a historical person by Thucyd. (i. 4. 8) and Aristotle. He was the first to gain command of the sea; he insured the payment of tribute by the suppression of piracy, and finally failed in an attempt to conquer Sicily. C. was mountainous, fertile, and thickly populated. Its cities were said to be 100 in number (Hom. *Il.* ii. 649; Virg. *Aen.* iii. 106), and elsewhere 90 (Hom. *Od.* xix. 174), the most important being Gnossus, Gortyna (1 Mac 15^{23}), Cydonia, and Lyctus. The warlike spirit of the inhabitants, due to their position and training, was fostered by their internal disputes and their fondness for service as mercenaries. Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 2) says that the Jews were fugitives from C., and connects their name, Ἰουδαῖοι, with the mountain in the island called Ida. This probably arose from a confusion between the Jews and Philistines, the latter of whom are called Caphtorim, from Caphtor (Dt 2^{23}, Am 9^{7}), the country from which they migrated to Pal., and may possibly be identified with the Cherethites mentioned 1 S 30^{14}, Ezk 25^{16}. In Jer 47^{4} the passage 'the Philistines, the remnant of the isle of Caphtor,' has marginal alternative in RV 'of the sea-coast' for 'isle'; and in the LXX (Zeph 2^{5}) *πάροικοι Κρητῶν* is found and is tr. 'inhabitants of the sea-coast, the nation of the Cherethites' (RV), and *Κρήτη* (Zeph 2^{6}) = 'the sea-coast.' Caphtor may have been a part of Crete, possibly Cydonia on the N. coast, which contained a river, Jardanus (cf. Jordan), Hom. *Od.* iii. 292. In any case C. was prob. a primitive settlement of the Caphtorim, and the Cretan character resembles in some respects what we know that of the Philistines to have been. The capture of Jerus. by Ptolemy Soter, and the forced emigration of the Jews, B.C. 320, drove many doubtless to C. as well as to Egypt. C. is mentioned in 1 Mac 10^{67}. Demetrius Soter, an enemy of the Jews, had retired to a life of self-indulgence in Antioch, and was defeated and killed by the usurper Balas. The latter was in turn attacked by Demetrius Nikator, the son of Soter, who invaded Cilicia from C., and, though joined by Apollonius, the Rom. governor of Cœle-Syria, was defeated by Jonathan Maccabæus near Azotus, B.C. 148.

In B.C. 141 Simon Maccabæus, on the recognition of his authority, renewed the old friendship with the Romans, and obtained from the consul Lucius the promise of protection for the Jews from the inhabitants of Gortyna in C. (1 Mac 15^{23}). There is no doubt that, after this date, the number of Jews in the island increased greatly. Internal quarrels among the Cretans led to the invitation to Philip IV. of Macedon to act as mediator, but the effects of his intervention were not lasting. C. was taken by the Romans under Metellus, B.C. 67, and joined to Cyrene and made a Roman province. Under Augustus, Creta-Cyrene became a senatorial province governed by a proprætor and a legatus.

Cretans are mentioned (Ac 2^{11}) among the strangers present at Jerus. at the Feast of Pentecost.

St. Paul touched at C. in the course of his disastrous voyage to Rome. Starting from Myra in Lycia, in the charge of a centurion, on board a corn ship of Alexandria, since the winds prevented a straight course, he sailed under the lee of C., *i.e.* S. instead of N. of the island. Skirting the promontory of Salmone (Ac 27^{7}) on the E. side, and coasting along the S., the vessel reached an anchorage called Fair Havens, a little to the E. of Cape Matala. Five miles to the E. some ruins have been discovered which may be those of Lasea. This harbour was not considered safe for wintering in, though St. Paul recommended keeping to it. It was getting late in the year. The Fast, *i.e.* the great Day of Atonement, on the 10th day of the 7th month Tisri, about the time of the autumnal equinox, had passed, and the ancients did not usually sail after the setting of the Pleiades, Oct. 20 (Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 619) or the beginning of Nov. The centurion, however, preferred the advice of the master and the owner of the vessel, who wished to reach the shelter of Phœnix on the S.W. of the island. This has usually been identified with Lutro, said to have been called by the ancients Phœnike, the only secure harbour on the S. coast which faced E. (RV). There is no harbour existing at that spot now, but one is marked in some Admiralty charts of the middle of the last cent., and called Lutro. In order to identify Phœnix (Ac 27^{12}) with this roadstead, the forced interpretation of the words *κατὰ λίβα καὶ κατὰ χῶρον*, 'down the S.W. wind and down the N.W. wind,' found in the RVm is adopted. It is better, however, to take the words as in AV in their usual sense, 'lying toward S.W. and N.W.,' esp. as there is a harbour opposite Lutro called Phineka in that position.

---

[*] Smith suggests that the *sahărônîm* may have been of horseshoe form, 'so that this is the same kind of amulet which is still often found on stable doors.'

On a gentle S. wind springing up, the attempt was made to reach Phœnix, and the vessel coasted along the S. shore of C. There suddenly, however, blew down from the island (*κατ' αὐτῆς*) a wind, Euraquilo E.N.E., in the teeth of which it was found impossible to sail, so the ship was allowed to scud before the gale to the lee of Cauda (or Clauda, AV), 20 miles S. of Cape Matala, the southernmost promontory of the island. Fourteen days later the vessel was wrecked on the coast of Melita.

It is not known who planted Christianity in C. If St. Paul did so, it must have been before his first imprisonment, possibly in the course of a visit while he was staying at Corinth or Ephesus. Perhaps the Church in the island had been founded by Christian converts. St. Paul seems to imply from his words to Titus (Tit 1^5), 'For this cause left I thee in C.,' that he had been to the island. The fact that Titus was left to supply all omissions and appoint elders in every city, shows that the Church had been established long enough to admit the presence of irregularities, and had been imperfectly organised.

The untrustworthy character of the **Cretans** (Κρῆτες, Ac 2^{11} AV Cretes, Tit 1^{12} AV Cretians) was proverbial. St. Paul quotes from one of their own poets, Epimenides (Tit 1^{12}), who lived about B.C. 600, and is called by Plato 'a divine man,' that 'they were always liars, evil beasts, idle gluttons.' Witness to their avarice is also borne by Livy (xliv. 45) and Plutarch Æmilius (§ 23), 'the Cretans are as eager for riches as bees for honey'; to their ferocity and fraud by Polybius and Strabo; and to their mendacity by Callimachus, Hymn in *Jov.* 8, who begins a line *Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται* with the same words as Epimenides.

LITERATURE.—Bunbury, *Hist. of Ancient Geog.*; Weldon's tr. of Aristotle's *Politics*; Rawlinson, *Herodotus*; and the Comm. on Acts, esp. Page, Blass, and Rendall.

C. H. PRICHARD.

CRIB (אֵבוּס).—The earliest meaning of the Eng. word (of which the origin is unknown) is 'a barred receptacle for fodder used in cowsheds and fold-yards; also in fields, for beasts lying out during the winter.' And that is precisely the meaning of the Heb. word *'êbhûs* (fr. אָבַס to feed), which is used Is 1^3 of a crib for the ass, Pr 14^4 for the ox, Job 39^9 for the 'unicorn,' *i.e.* wild ox.

J. HASTINGS.

CRICKET.—See LOCUST.

CRIER.—In this form the word is not found in the Bible, but the verb from which it is derived (קָרָא, *βοάω*) is sometimes used in the sense of *crying aloud*, or *proclaiming*. Of Wisdom it is said that she 'crieth in the chief place of concourse,' Pr 1^{21}; and in answer to the question of the Jews, 'Who art thou?' the Baptist calls himself 'the voice of one crying in the wilderness,' Jn 1^{23}. In ancient times, when men were illiterate, and could not read written mandates, public criers proclaimed the orders of the king or men of authority. In the Middle Ages *heralds*, preceded by trumpeters who announced their mission, made public proclamations. This custom is still carried out in the E. In every town and village a public crier, distinguished for his loud voice, is appointed to give notice on the part of governors or other authorities of some fresh order. Or, going through the streets, or standing on some height, he announces the loss of some article,—sometimes the straying of a young child,—giving a description of the lost object, offering sometimes a reward, and always concluding with a reminder of the divine promise of a 'reward in heaven.' Of this class of public criers is the *muezzin* among Moslems, who at the five appointed times of prayer mounts the minaret, and, after proclaiming the unity and greatness of God, calls men to 'prayer and eternal happiness.' In the quiet watches of the night this cry, heard from many a minaret, is often very impressive.

J. WORTABET.

CRIME.—About 1611 and earlier, 'crime' was used, like Lat. *crimen*, in the sense of charge or accusation; as Grafton (1568), *Chron.* ii. 92, 'The common people raysed a great cryme upon the Archbishop,' and Milton, *Par. Lost*, ix. 1181—

> 'But I rue
> That error now, which is become my crime
> And thou th' accuser.'

In three out of the four occurrences of c. in AV, this is the meaning. In Job 31^{11} (זִמָּה) the Heb., and presumably the Eng., is crime in the mod. sense. But in Ezk 7^{23} 'the land is full of bloody crimes,' the Heb. (מִשְׁפַּט דָּמִים) is 'accusation of bloodshed,' or as RVm, 'judgment of blood.' In Ac 25^{16} 'the c. (RV 'matter') laid against him,' the Gr. *ἔγκλημα* means an accusation, and is so used distinctly in the only other occurrence in NT, Ac 23^{29} (AV and RV 'charge'). Lastly, in Ac 25^{27} 'to signify the crimes laid against him,' the Gr. *αἰτία* certainly means 'accusation' (RV 'charge') as always in class. Greek. Cf. Ac 25^{18} Geneva, 'Against whom when the accusers stood up, they brought no crime of such things as I supposed.'

J. HASTINGS.

CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.—*A*. CRIMES.—The term occurs in the Scriptures as a tr. of the foll. words:—מִשְׁפָּט, Ezk 7^{23}; זִמָּה, Job 31^{11}; אָשָׁם, Gn 26^{10}; *αἰτία*, Ac 25^{27}, changed in RV to 'charges,' and 'fault' in AV Jn 18^{38} $19^{4.6}$ to 'crime'; *ἔγκλημα*, Ac 25^{16}, changed in RV to 'matter.' Crime is an act that subjects the doer to legal punishment; a grave offence against the legal order; wickedness; iniquity. In the Bible such an act is regarded as an offence against (1) God or (2) man. The distinction cannot always be maintained, for an injury to the creature is obnoxious to the Creator. For convenience of reference the list appears in alphabetical order.

Adultery in general terms was forbidden in the seventh commandment (Ex 20^{14}). It usually denotes sexual intercourse of a married woman with any other man than her husband, or of a married man with any other than his wife. More specifically in the Isr. as well as Rom. law, the term was confined to illicit intercourse of a married or betrothed woman with any other man than her husband. Other unchaste relations were disapproved, but they were described by different words. It was deemed an outrageous crime, striking at the laws of inheritance and inflicting a spurious offspring on the husband, and was to be punished with death, Lv 20^{10} 19^{20-22}, Ezk $16^{38. 40}$, by the act of stoning, Jn 8^{5}. It has been seriously doubted whether the extreme penalty was executed, Lightfoot failing to find the record of a single instance, except of a priest's daughter who was burnt according to the order, but she was unmarried. A bondmaid was only scourged (Lv 19^{20}). Mutilation of nose and ears is mentioned (Ezk 23^{25}). See **Mutilation.** Divorce became a substitute for severer penalties. The word is used to describe the unfaithfulness of the covenant people who dissolved their relation with God (Jer 2^{2} 3^{14} 13^{27} 31^{32}, Hos 8^{9}), and those who rejected Christ are described as an 'adulterous generation' (Mt 12^{39} 16^{4}, Mk 8^{38}).

Affray.—He who inflicted an injury was required to pay for loss of time and the medical expenses, and an especial consideration for a pregnant woman indirectly injured (Ex $21^{18. 19. 20-22}$). A certain form of vicious attempt was to be summarily and pitilessly punished (Dt $25^{11. 12}$).

Assassination.—See **Murder.**

Assault, resulting in damage, incurred the penalty of retaliation. The *gêr* as well as the home-born was protected (Lv 24^{19-22}).

Bestiality, treated as a rank and mortal offence (Ex 22^{19}, Lv 18^{23} $20^{15. 16}$). The Talm. gives as a reason for slaughter of the beast, that all memory of the low transaction might be obliterated. The crime was charged on the Canaanites, and was said to exist in Egypt.

Blasphemy.—An irreverent use of the name of God, accompanied with cursing (Lv 24^{10-14}); a presumptuous deed, or, RV, an act done 'with a high hand' (Nu 15^{30}); contempt towards God. See separate article.

Breach of Covenant.—In this term are included: (1) A failure to observe the Day of Atonement (Lv 23^{29}); work on that day (Lv 23^{28}). (2) The Sacrifice of Children to Molech (Lv 20^{3}). (3) Neglect to Circumcise the holy seed (Gn 17^{14}, Ex 4^{24}). (4) An unauthorized manufacture of the holy Oil (Ex 30^{33}), and (5) Anointing a Stranger therewith (Ex 30^{33}). (6) Neglect of the Passover (Nu 9^{13}).

Breach of Ritual.—(1) Eating Blood, whether of fowl or beast (Lv 7^{27} 17^{14}); because God has sanctified the life to Himself. (2) Eating Fat of the beast of sacrifice (Lv 7^{25}); regarded as insanitary. (3) Eating Leavened Bread during the passover (Ex $12^{15. 19}$). (4) Offering a sacrifice after the appointed time (Lv 19^{8}). See 7^{15-18}. (5) Failure to bring an Offering when an animal is slaughtered for food (Lv 17^{4}). The notion that such was dedicated to a deity existed even in Egypt. (6) Offering a sacrifice while the worshipper is in an Unclean condition (Lv $7^{20. 21}$ $22^{3. 4. 9}$). (7) Manufacturing holy Ointment for private use (Ex $30^{32. 33}$). Perfume was regarded by the Semites as a holy thing (Pliny, xii. 54; see W. R. Smith, *RS* p. 433). (8) Using the same for Perfume (Ex 30^{38}). (9) Neglect of Purification in general (Nu $19^{13. 20}$). The offender 'defileth the tabernacle of the Lord.' Cf. 1 Co 3^{17}. (10) Slaughtering an animal for food away from the door of the Tabernacle (Lv $17^{4. 9}$). The order was designed to enforce religious proprieties in eating, and to prevent formal worship elsewhere. Even the *gêr* must comply. (11) Touching holy things (RV the sanctuary) illegally (Nu $4^{15. 18-20}$). See 2 S 6^{7}, 2 Ch 26^{21}.

Breach or Betrayal of Trust, including false dealing 'in a matter of deposit, or of bargain, or of robbery, or oppression,' and involving the concealment of stolen goods, was regarded as a crime to which not only a penalty was attached, but a sacrificial service was required for expiation (Lv 6^{2-7}). In this may be included breach of contract, which was also severely condemned in the religion of the ancient Persians (Zend. *Farg.* iv.). The removal of landmarks as set by God is an offence that exposes to the divine curse, Dt 19^{14} 27^{17} (Jos. *Ant.* IV. viii. 18.). It was wrong to move them when set by the fathers (Pr 22^{28} 23^{10}).

Bribery in general was forbidden, Ex 23^{8}, Dt 16^{19}, and condemned, 2 Ch 19^{7}, Job 15^{34}, Ps 26^{10}, Pr 6^{35} 17^{23}, Is 1^{23} 33^{15}, Ezk 22^{12}. It was a vice to which rulers seem to have been addicted (1 S 8^{3} 12^{3}, Am 5^{12}).

Burglary.—See **Robbery.**

Debt, while it might be a misfortune, could be incurred so as to expose to penalty where the insolvency was the result of fraud or neglect (Mt 5^{26} 18^{28-34}). Perhaps punishment was inflicted to deter others, rather than as a vindictive act against the offender. In Egypt he was subjected to the bastinado (Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, 1854, ii. 211). See separate article.

Divination.—See MAGIC and sep. art.

Drunkenness, a vice which, in view of its consequences, may be regarded as a crime (Is $28^{1. 3. 7}$ 56^{12}, Ezk 23^{42} RV). Religious abstinence from strong drink was viewed in the same light as refraining from unclean meats (W. R. Smith, *RS* 465). Teetotalism was required of a Nazirite, Jg 13^{4}, and commended, Jer 35^{19}. Inebriety is forbidden in the Koran. See STRONG DRINK and DRUNKENNESS.

Fornication, a sexual vice that was common before the time of Moses, being grossly prevalent in Egypt, as shown in Gn 39^{7} and the evidence of the monuments; also in Babylonia (Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies*, iii. 30). Prostitution, a heinous crime (Jos. *Ant.* IV. viii. 9), was not tolerated by the Sin. code, being an abomination in the sight of God (Lv 19^{29}, Dt $23^{17. 18}$). Its price could not be accepted in the sanctuary, Mic 1^{7}, and death by stoning was the penalty for an unmarried woman who had concealed her crime, Dt $22^{20. 21}$. It would seem from the term 'strange woman,' in Pr 2^{16}, that harlots were procured from foreigners. By the Koran a courtesan was not allowed to testify, and, according to the Zendavesta, she might be killed without warrant, like a snake. Her vile methods and their terrible effects are severely portrayed in Pr 2^{16-19} 5^{3-6} 7^{5-27}, and as arousing the displeasure of God, Jer 5^{7}, Am 2^{7} 7^{17}. Such excesses were very common among the heathen in the time of the apostles (1 Co $5^{1. 9. 10}$ 6^{9}, Gal 5^{19}, Eph 5^{3}). Terms for this vice are frequently used in a symbolical sense, the chosen nation being represented as a harlot or adulteress (Is 1^{21}, Jer 2^{20}, Ezk 16, Hos 1^{2} 3^{1}). Idolatry itself is so designated (Jer $3^{8. 9}$, Ezk $16^{26. 29}$ 23^{37}). Fornication is a type of unholy alliances in the Bk. of Rev, especially in chs. 17, 18, and 19.

Homicide, which consists in taking human life without hatred or thirst of blood, or by mistake or accident, included cases like that of the owner of an ox which gored a man when it was not known to be vicious (Ex 21^{28}); the slaying of a thief overtaken in the night (Ex $22^{2. 3}$); taking life without premeditation, or by casting a stone or missile at random (Nu 35^{22-23}), or by the slipping of an axe-head from its helve (Dt 19^{5}). See Dt 22^{8} and art. GOEL.

Idolatry.—See separate article.

Incest.—Carnal intercourse is treated as criminal when between a man and his mother, step-mother, half-sister, grand-daughter, step-sister, aunt, wife of an uncle, daughter-in-law, sister-in-law, step-daughter, step-grand-daughter (Lv 18^{6-18}); or his mother-in-law (Dt $27^{20. 23}$). Mention of an own sister is omitted as too gross to consider.

Infanticide.—See **Murder.**

Kidnapping was a mortal offence (Dt 24^{7}).

Lying, an attempt to deceive by speaking an untruth, was forbidden in the Mosaic law (Lv 19^{11}), and included in the category of sins against God. It was a common evil among Oriental people, but considered very disgraceful (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyptians*, 1854, ii. 207). The prophets especially fulminated against the effort to lead the people astray by false teaching (Is 9^{15} $28^{15.17}$, Jer 14^{14} $27^{10.14.15.16}$, Ezk 21^{29}, Mic 1^{14}, Zec 13^{3}, and many other passages). Falsehood is severely rebuked in Ps 62^{4} 119^{69}, Pr $14^{5.25}$ $19^{5.9}$. In NT it is regarded as a sin odious to God (Ac $5^{3.4}$); contrary to the essence of the gospel (1 Jn 1^{6} $2^{21.27}$); and disqualifying the perpetrator for the new order (Rev $21^{8.27}$ 22^{15}). It is associated with perjury (1 Ti 1^{10}). See OATH, WITNESS, and LYING.

Malice, that was made apparent in tale-bearing, lying in wait for blood, secret hatred, and bearing a grudge, is condemned (Lv 19^{16-18}).

Murder, according to the divine word, is a crime against which all nature revolts (Gn $4^{10.23.24}$). The sanctity of human life is founded on the fact that man was made in the image of God (Gn 9^{6}). Murder may be instigated by hatred (Nu $35^{20.21}$); or by thirst for blood, prompted by premeditated design (Dt 19^{11}); or accomplished by deceitful stratagem (Ex 21^{14}). **Assassination** is an aggravated form in which life is destroyed by surprise or unexpected assault and treacherous violence (2 S $4^{5.6}$), and the following instances occur: Eglon, Jg 3^{20-22}; Ishbosheth, 2 S $4^{5.6}$; Nadab, 1 K $15^{27.28}$; Sennacherib, 2 K 19^{37}, 2 Ch 32^{21}; Gedaliah, Jer 41^{2}. In the times of Felix and Festus there appeared a fanatical faction of Jewish patriots known as Sicarii, armed with daggers, *siccæ*, who, flitting about unobserved among the crowds during festival seasons, removed opponents by assassination, and then feigned deep sorrow to avert suspicion. See Ac 21^{38} (Jos. *Ant.* XX. viii. 5, *Wars*, II. xiii. 3, II. xvii. 6, IV. vii. 2, ix. 5, VII. viii. 1, x. 1, xi. 1; Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 178, 185). There is no mention of **parricide** and **infanticide** in the Mosaic code, as if these crimes were not known to exist or be possible. In Egypt the parent was doomed to embrace the corpse of the child for three days (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyp.* ii. 209); and while the Koran condemned prenatal murder as well, E. H. Palmer states in a note to Koran vi. 137, that female children were buried alive in Arabia. The following cases of **suicide** appear: Saul and his armour-bearer, 1 S $31^{4.5}$; Ahithophel, 2 S 17^{23}; Zimri, 1 K 16^{18}; Judas Iscariot, Mt 27^{5}; also Ptolemy Macron, 2 Mac 10^{13}, and Razis, 2 Mac 14^{41-46}. It could be treated as a crime by the Jews (Jos. *Wars*, III. viii. 5), but there is no mention of penalty in the Scriptures. Murder in all its forms is forbidden in Ex 20^{13}, Dt 5^{17}. No sanctuary was to be allowed to the criminal (Ex 21^{12}, Lv $24^{17.21}$, Nu $35^{16.18}$, Dt 19^{1-13}, 1 K 2^{28-34}). In poetic thought the voice of blood shed cried for vengeance until the murderer was punished (Gn 4^{10}). A woe is pronounced on the city that is regarded as guilty (Ezk 24^{6-8}); and when unsuccessful, after the most diligent efforts, in detecting the criminal (Jos. *Ant.* IV. viii. 16), it must by an elaborate and impressive ceremony exonerate itself (Dt 21^{1-9}). So sacred was the regard for human life, that the owner of an ox known to be vicious and causing death was held guilty of a capital crime, and the ox was stoned (Ex 21^{29}). In Egypt, he who witnessed a murder without giving information of it was considered *particeps criminis*.

Irreverence and Unkindness to Parents.—The command to honour father and mother (Ex 20^{12}), also inculcated in the Koran (xvii. 24. 25), rests on a sacred relation corresponding to that of the divine creation. God's majesty is violated when parents are dishonoured (Ex 22^{14}). Hence the following are prohibited: (1) Cursing father or mother (Ex 21^{17}, Lv 20^{9}). Examples of this offence in practice are condemned in Mt 15^{4-6}, Mk 7^{9-12}. (2) Striking (Ex 21^{15}). This was a capital crime (Dt 21^{18-21}). It is possible that insolence to parents was condonable by reformation, and there are evidences that the laws were not invariably executed with extreme rigour. Jos. (*Ant.* XVI. xi. 2) recounts an ineffectual attempt of Herod at Berytus to get rid of his sons on this charge.

Prophesying Falsely.—See PROPHECY.

Prostitution.—See *Fornication.*

Rape, a foul crime that demanded capital punishment (Dt 22^{25}). See *Seduction.*

Robbery, when the act is accompanied with violence, as burglary, placed the offender beyond protection (Ex 22^{2}). The Egyp. law was similar. Various degrees of the crime were recognized, it being a capital offence to take the 'devoted thing' (Jos 7^{25}), or to steal a man (Ex 21^{16}, Dt 24^{7}). See *Kidnapping.*

Sabbath-Breaking.—See SABBATH.

Seduction consisted in the enticement of an unbetrothed virgin, for which restitution was to be made by subsequent marriage, unless the father interposed an obstacle, but then the usual dowry was exacted (Ex 22^{16}). In Dt 22^{28} it is stated that a fine of 50 shekels was required, and there is no hint of possible compromise. Selden (*Heb. Laws*) states that the Sanhedrin added other mulcts, because this was so insignificant: one for the shame and dishonour; one for the loss of virginity and the vitiating of the body, and still another if force had been used; and some account was taken of the quality and station of the person injured (see W. R. Smith, *RS* 276). An offending bondmaid was scourged, and her enticer, besides paying the fine, must make a trespass-offering (Lv 19^{20-22}).

Slander was prohibited, though no punishment is named (Ex 23^{1}) except when a wife's chastity was falsely impeached (Dt 32^{13-19}). See separate article.

Sodomy was delicately but positively condemned in Gn 13^{13} $19^{5.7}$, and regarded as an abomination (Lv 18^{22} 20^{13}). On this crime the Koran and Zendavesta likewise are very severe. The Israelites were not always innocent. It was an evil practised in religious ceremonies, as appears from the terms קָדֵשׁ and קְדֵשָׁה (Gn 38^{21} and Hos 4^{14}), which show that both males and females were set apart for such flagitious uses; but if allowed in heathen temples, it was never to be permitted in the worship of J", Dt 23^{17}, 1 K 14^{24} 15^{12} 22^{46}, 2 K 23^{7}, Job 36^{14}, Hos 4^{14} (W. R. Smith, *RS* 133).

Speaking Evil of Rulers.—In the theocracy rulers are regarded as standing in the place of God, and so all reproachful words are prohibited. In Ex $22^{8.28}$, Jg 5^{8}, 1 S 2^{25}, Ps $82^{1.2.6}$ the term אֱלֹהִים is used so as to imply that judges or legal officers are divine representatives.

Swearing Falsely was never excusable even on behalf of the poor (Ex 20^{16} 23^{1-3}); but when it was directed against the innocent, it was so aggravated a crime as to permit of no reprieve or pity (Dt 19^{16-21}). See LYING and OATH.

Theft involved the culprit, when convicted, in fines of varying grades, and it has been thought, from Pr $6^{30.31}$ compared with Ex 22^{1}, that the evil was more prevalent in the later history of the people. Harmer (*Observations*, ii. 194) shows that it was shameful to steal in a caravanserai (Sir 41^{19}). In later times it was not considered a crime to steal from a Samaritan or another thief.

Uncleanness as the result of incontinence, lack of restraint, or self-abuse, was forbidden directly (Lv 18^{19} 20^{18}); marked with the divine displeasure (Gn 38^{10}); and indirectly disapproved (Lv 15^{1-18}). The Zendavesta pronounces a similar condemnation, and allows of no atonement for the last-named. See separate article.

Usury might not be taken from Isr. brethren, although the foreigner (*nokhri*) was expressly excluded from this and similar privileges (Ex 22^{25}, Dt $23^{20.21}$). The practice was forbidden by Egyp. laws, and is reproved in the Koran (xxx. 38). In various passages those who abstain from the evil are commended (Dt 15^{7-11} 24^{13}, Ps 15^{5} $37^{21.26}$ 112^{5}, Pr 19^{17}, Ezk 18^{17}). Extortionate and oppressive dealing is condemned (Job 22^{6} $24^{3.7}$). See sep. article.

B. PUNISHMENTS.—Punishment is defined as 'pain or any other penalty on a person for a crime or offence by an authority to which the offender is subject; any pain or detriment suffered in consequence of wrong-doing' (*Standard Dict.*). This article will describe some forms of suffering inflicted on victims who might not be guilty of legal offences. Various words in OT are tr. by 'punishment,' but the Heb. word that most frequently represents the idea is פָּקַד, in the sense of 'visit.' In NT the word is employed generally as a tr. of κόλασις and τιμωρία; also of δική (2 Th 1^{9}), ἐπιτιμία (2 Co 2^{6}), ἐκδίκησις (1 P 2^{14}). Its purpose is not so much to execute vengeance as to deter from further violations, so that the offender 'will hear and fear and do no more presumptuously' (Dt 17^{13} 19^{20}). It was the belief of the Israelites that crimes were encouraged by indulgence (Jos. *Ant.* VI. vii. 4). The ancient Parsees taught that crime was punished in the next as well as in this world (Darmesteter, *Sac. Bks. E.* p. xcvi). The term is properly restricted to penalty for violation of law; but suffering has often been imposed on the innocent and weak, as if these had transgressed order, when it meant no more than the arbitrary will of one in superior authority. Punishment may extend to the forfeiture of life, and is then known in common law as Capital. In the Bible one thus liable is described as having committed a sin of death (Dt 22^{26}); a sin worthy of death (Dt 21^{22}). Such as he are said to be 'sons of death' (1 S 20^{31} 26^{16}, 2 S 12^{5}), or 'men of death' (19^{28}). 'He shall be put to death for his own sin' (Dt 24^{16}, 2 K 14^{6}). See also Jn $8^{21.24}$: 'Ye shall die in your sin.' Various modes of inflicting the penalty are mentioned, some of them as legally authorized among the chosen people, and others as administered by other nations or without regular warrant. The larger class of penalties was of secondary grade, and various means were devised to punish the offender and deter others from repeating the crime.

The following are either alluded to or mentioned in the Bible and the historical or literary works of the people of Israel:—

Anathema (ἀνάθεμα).—See sep. art. CURSE.

Banishment.—There was no provision in the Mosaic code for exile, unless it is to be understood that in some instances he who was cut off from the congregation was expelled from his country as well as from his people. Temporary exclusion was ordered in the case of Miriam (Nu 12^{15}). In the Pers. period it appears as a possible penalty, Ezr 7^{26} (Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.* iii. 194). The Rom. authority resorted to this measure in the case of John, the author of the Apoc. (1^{9}), and it was much dreaded by the Jews (Jos. *Ant.* XVI. i. 1). A wholesale deportation, as a military measure, was made by Sargon, king of Assyria (2 K 18^{11}). The flight of Absalom to Geshur to escape his father's displeasure after Amnon's assassination (2 S 13^{38} $14^{13.14}$), and of Jeroboam to Egypt to avoid king Solomon (1 K 11^{40}), are cases of voluntary exile, but not formal punishment.

Beating (τυμπανισμός, He 11^{35}).—The bastinado was in common use among the Egyptians for thefts, petty frauds, and breach of trust. With it the male adulterer was punished. In minor offences a stick was used. A debtor was often beaten (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyp.* ii. 210 ff.). In Assyria a mace was used to crush the skull (Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* 458). Though designed as a chastisement for slaves by the Greeks, a criminal might be beaten to death (2 Mac $6^{19.28.30}$). See **Braying.**

Beheading.—A capital punishment not sanctioned in Mosaic law, but frequently practised among the Assyr., Pers., Gr., Rom., and others. A cut in Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies* shows the victim standing upright, while the executioner seizes him by a lock of the hair in despatching him. In this way the chief baker who incurred Pharaoh's displeasure may have suffered (Gn 40^{19}), the subsequent suspension of the body being an added reproach (see **Hanging**). It is doubtful whether the seven sons of Gideon were thus slain, Jg 9^{5} (see **Slaying with Spear or Sword.** Ahab's seventy sons lost their heads by command of Jehu (2 K 10^{6-8}). The head of John the Baptist was severed by order of Herod (Mt $14^{8.10}$, Mk 6^{27}). Thus also suffered James the Apostle (Ac 12^{2}). Many of the early martyrs were beheaded (Rev 20^{4}). The head of Ishbosheth was removed after death (2 S 4^{8}). Whether Sheba was slain before he was beheaded is not stated (2 S 20^{21-22}).

Blinding.—The only legal authority for putting out the eyes under the Mosaic dispensation would be found indirectly in the law of retaliation 'an eye for an eye' (Ex 21^{24}, Lv 24^{20}, Dt 19^{18-20}), and therefore the punishment would be seldom inflicted. There is an indistinct reference to something of this sort in boring out the eyes of the spies (Nu 16^{14}). As practised by foreign nations, the Assyrians and Babylonians sometimes using hot irons for the purpose, it was rather designed to incapacitate the victim from rebellion, revolt, or the power of doing further harm. Thus Samson suffered (Jg 16^{21}). Zedekiah lost his eyes partly as a vindictive visitation, but more to effectually unfit him for rulership (2 K 25^{7} and Jer 52^{11}). In Persia it was inflicted for rascality, thieving, and rebellion. Criminals were not permitted to look on the face of the king (Est 7^{8}). Nahash the Ammonite threatened that he would thrust out the right eyes of the inhabitants of Jabesh-gilead as a reproach on Israel, 1 S 11^{2} (Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.*; Harmer, *Observations*).

Branding and Burning.—It has been surmised that in some cases where burning was inflicted as the punishment for unchastity, it meant branding on the forehead as a mark of shame. If, however, the extreme penalty is intended, it is represented as of pre-Mosaic authority, and was proposed for Tamar (Gn 38^{24}). The Sinaitic law directs that a priest's daughter shall be burned for fornication (Lv 21^{9}); and that this shall be the form of punishment for incest with a wife's mother (Lv 20^{14}). Fire from the Lord supernaturally slew Nadab and Abihu (Lv 10^{1-3}). Burning alive or scorching was practised by the Phil. (Jg 14^{15}), and associated with a sort of confiscation (12^{1}); also by the Bab. and Chald. (Jer 29^{22}). Esarhaddon burned a king alive (G. Smith, *Assyr. Discov.*), and burning was attempted on Shadrach and his companions (Dn 3). There is an allusion to the practice in Is 43^{2}; see also 2 Mac 7^{5}. Tradition states that Nimrod cast Abraham into the fiery furnace for refusing to worship Chald. gods (Layard, *Bab. and Nin.*; Koran xxi. 68, xxxvii. 95). Cf. Gn 11^{31} with Neh 9^{7}, where אוּר, *'ur*, may be interpreted as light (of a flame). The pouring of molten lead down the throat (Jahn, *Bib. Arch.*) has no other authority than that of Rabbin. statement. Slaves were sometimes branded on the hand (Is 44^{5}), but such disfigurement was forbidden by Jewish law (Lv 19^{28}; cf. Gal 6^{17}). Branding accompanied deportation by the Persians (Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.* iii. 194).

Braying or Pounding in a Mortar.—This act is mentioned in Pr 27^{22} as unavailing in the cure of a fool. RV specifies that the victim may be bruised as with a pestle among corn (see Nestle, Cheyne, etc. in *Expos. Times*, 1897, viii. 287, 335,etc.). Tennant is authority for the statement that it still remains as a Cingalese penalty. The Turks have been charged with such cruelty, and a king of Canday is said to have compelled a wife to pound her infant child to death. There is probable allusion to this form of punishment in He 11$^{35.36}$, where the faithful are said to have been tortured or beaten (*ἐτυμπανίσθησαν*), and to have had trial of scourgings. It is said that Eleazar was beaten on an instrument like a drum (2 Mac 6^{30}), and Jos. (*De. Macc.* 5, 9) mentions a wheel (*τροχός*) as an instrument of torture. Hazael put men under sledges with iron spikes (2 K 8^{12} 10$^{32.33}$, with Am 1$^{3.4}$), to which also the Ammonites were probably subjected (2 S 12^{31}, 1 Ch 20^{3}). The Talm. is quoted by Lightfoot as saying that Nebuzaradan used iron rakes on some of his captives (Jer 39^{9} 52$^{28-30}$).

Confiscation.—An act for which no provision is made in the Mosaic economy, but authorized in a modified form by Pers. rule, so that a residence might be destroyed; but no mention is made of the forfeiture of property for the benefit of the State (Ezr 6^{11}, Dn 2^{5} 3^{29}). The act described in Ezr 7^{26} seems to convey the idea of modern confiscation.

Crucifixion.—See sep. art. CROSS.

Cutting Asunder.—In carrying out the threat as recorded in Dn 2^{5} and 3^{29}, the body might be cut in more than two pieces. The verb used in Mt 24^{51}, Lk 12^{46}, is *διχοτομεῖν*, which in its etymology signifies severing in two parts.

Cutting off from the People (מֵעַמָּיו, כָּרַת מֵעַמֶּיהָ, כ׳,* LXX *ἐξολοθρεύω*).—A term used in Gn 17^{14} as penalty for neglect of circumcision, and in the law to be employed as a punishment for certain breaches (1) in morals, (2) in the Abrahamic covenant, and (3) in the Levitical ritual. For immorality such as filial irreverence, incest, and unclean connexions, the offender, in at least seven cases, was unquestionably exposed to death (Lv 18^{29} 20$^{9-21}$). In like manner he who does aught presumptuously (RV 'with a high hand'), that is, wilful sin in general, was liable (Nu 15$^{30-31}$). In the breach of the covenant it may be doubted whether the extreme penalty of death was invariably inflicted, as in Ex 30^{33}, Lv 23$^{29.30}$, and Nu 9^{13}. There are instances where the punishment for offences that were kindred to such as are expressly designated as a breach of ritual, meant death. Such are the cases of (1) Nadab and Abihu (Lv 10$^{1.2}$); (2) Korah, Dathan, and Abiram (Nu 16^{33}). These 'perished from the congregation' (see Nu 12^{12}, in which it is stated that Miriam, for leprosy, was 'as one dead' in her temporary exclusion). The punishment in general seems so severe that it has been suggested that it was possibly voidable either by an elaborate atonement on the offender's part (Nu 15$^{27-31}$), or by a divine commutation, the penalty being recorded but not executed. In some instances it meant, perhaps, only deprivation of certain civil and social privileges. There are two such cases: (1) when the people ate of the blood in one of Saul's campaigns (1 S 14^{32}); (2) when king Uzziah offered incense (2 Ch 26$^{19.20}$). On the other hand, in Ex 31$^{14f.}$ the meaning of the penalty as attached to Sabbath-breaking is interpreted as death.†

Divine Visitation.—In the theocratic economy there were certain sins for which the nation at large suffered. The punishment was considered as inflicted by the divine hand, the visitation itself being manifestly due to no human instrumentality, though man was sometimes the executioner of God's will. Divine condemnation was executed against idolatry, Sabbath-breaking, oppression of the poor, covetousness, and other sins which betokened a rebellious or unholy spirit, or for which an individual could not obtain redress. Human agencies might be employed in the administration of the penalty, but God Himself was regarded as the avenger of the wrong. He it was who led the people, for their wickedness, into captivity (Ezr 9^{7}, Jer 15^{2}, Am 9^{4}), threatened them with the curse (Dt 28$^{15-20}$, Jer 24^{9}), with consumption and fever (Lv 26^{16}), and inflammation and fiery heat (Dt 28^{22}), caused the drought (Dt 11^{17} 28$^{23.24}$, Is 5^{6}, Jer 14$^{1-7}$ 50^{36}, Hag 1$^{10.11}$), and famine (Lv 26^{26}, Jer 24^{10} 34^{17}, Rev 6^{8}), kindled a consuming fire (Dt 4^{24}, Is 66^{16}, He 12^{29}), showed His indignation by hail and tempest (Is 30^{30}, Hag 2^{17}), inflicted pestilence and plague (Ezk 6^{11} 7^{15}), exposed to the taunt of proverb and reproach (Dt 28^{37}, 2 Ch 7^{20}, Jer 24^{10}), smote with scourge (Is 10^{26} 28$^{15.18}$), and with the sword in the hands of enemies, as shown in so many passages that the reader may consult a concordance for a complete view of these and all other providential punishments named. His displeasure at Korah was shown by the earthquake (Nu 16^{30}). Idolatry was punished by captivity. Delay of justice provoked war. Perjury invited wild beasts. Neglect of tithes was attended with drought and famine (Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 91).

Drowning was not distinctively a Jewish punishment. It was the penalty in Babylonia for the wife who repudiated her husband (*Encyc. Brit.* art. 'Babylonia'). Jerome, however, says that offenders were thus sometimes put to death among the Jews as well as among the Romans. There is an allusion to this mode of dying in Mt 18^{6}, Mk 9^{42}. Jos. (*Ant.* XIV. xv. 10) states that some Galileans revolted and drowned the partisans of Herod.

Exposure to Wild Beasts.—Daniel and his enemies were cast into a den of lions (Dn 6), and the practice of thus dealing with offenders is said to be still in vogue in Fez and Morocco. In the use of a strong figure in Mic 4^{13} human beings are represented as being gored or trodden by beasts. The lion from whom St. Paul was said to be delivered (2 Ti 4^{17}) undoubtedly means Nero. No conclusive exegesis has been given of 1 Co 15^{32}. Many are of the opinion that human foes are described, but there is some plausible argument in favour of the literal view. The inroads of wild animals, as by an act of God, are to be regarded as a punishment of Israel for unfaithfulness (Lv 26^{22}, Dt 32^{24}, 2 K 17^{26}). The disobedient prophet, named Jadon according to Jos. (*Ant.* VIII. ix. 1), met death from God by a lion (1 K 13^{26}). Contrariwise, the righteous are protected (Job 5^{23}, Hos 2^{18}).

Fines were permitted at the option of the injured party as a special privilege to freedmen (slaves being punished), and in earliest times the money was presented to the priest or at the sanctuary. It was not in accordance with Sem. doctrine to compel the aggrieved to accept material compensation (W. R. Smith, *RS* 329, 378). In the case of a mortal result, the mulct which might be in lieu of corporal penalty was called 'ransom (RV 'redemption') of life' (Ex 21^{30}), but was never allowed for wilful murder (Nu 35$^{31.32}$). The specific amount was generally left to be determined by the judicial tribunal (Ex 21$^{22.30}$), but the sum for fatal injury by an ox to a servant was fixed at 30 shekels (Ex 21^{32}), for humbling an unbetrothed virgin at 50 shekels (Dt 22^{29}), and the highest amount named is for slander against a wife's chastity, 100 shekels (Dt 22^{19}). See **Restitution.**

---

* The plural עַמִּים apparently means 'kinsfolk,' 'relatives,' so that 'cut off from *his* (their) people' is a better rendering than 'from *the* people.'

† It may be questioned whether, when 'cut off from his people' stands alone, anything more is intended than to express strongly the divine disapproval under threat of excommunication. Cf. '*I* will cut off,' Lv 17^{10} 20$^{3.5.6}$ [all H], and see Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* i. 333 f. and Dillm. on Gn 17^{14}.

Flaying is mentioned (fig.) Mic $3^{2.3}$. It was a practice in Assyria, though the victim may have previously died (Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.* i. 478; Layard, *Nin. and Bab.*; *Mon. of Nin.*). The Persians would flay and then crucify (Rawlinson, iii. 246; also recognized in the Zendavesta). Herodotus (iv. 64, v. 25) states that Persians and Scythians used the skins so obtained.

Hanging consisted usually in the suspension of the lifeless form as a mark of reproach. By this David showed his disapproval of the slaughter of Ishbosheth (2 S 4^{12}). The person whose body was so exposed was 'accursed of God' (Dt 21^{23}, Gal 3^{13}), and for this reason it might not remain in view over night (Jos 8^{29} 10^{26}). This word is used for the act of impaling (ἀνασκολοπίζειν, Ezr 6^{11}), a common custom in Assyria. A sharp-pointed stake in a perpendicular position penetrated the body just below the breast-bone (Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.* i. 477). It was frequent in Persia. Darius impaled 3000 Babylonians (Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* 295 n.; Herodotus, iii. 159). The Philistines gibbeted (on crosses, Jos. *Ant.* VI. xiv. 8) the dead bodies of Saul and Jonathan (1 S 31^{10}, 2 S $21^{12.13}$). Other Greek words used to represent this act are ἐξηλιάζειν and παραδειγματίζειν, for which the Vulg. uses *crucifigere* (see Cross); and so St. Paul, according to the accepted exegesis of the time, applied Dt 21^{23} to the ignominy of Jesus. Execution on the gallows was not prescribed for any crime in the Mosaic code. There is a difference of opinion whether the chief baker (Gn 41^{13}) lost his life by being hanged by the neck, or whether his body, after being despatched, was exposed to shame (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyptians*, ii. 213). In later history offenders were hanged by the hands (La 5^{12}, Targ. 12), and in 1 Mac 1^{61} it is stated that dead children were hanged to the necks of their mothers. Ahithophel (2 S 17^{23}) and Judas (Mt 27^{5}, Ac 1^{18}) voluntarily, in chagrin and remorse, took their lives by hanging. There is an apparent allusion to this form of punishment in 1 K 20^{31}). The Gibeonites may have adopted this method of avengement on the sons of Saul (2 S 21^{9}), because it was in vogue among the aboriginal nations of the land. Stanley (*Hist. Jew. Ch.* ii. 37) says the victims were first crucified, then suspended. Under the Persian rule there was resort to the gallows (עֵץ, but called 'tree' in Gn 40^{19}, Dt 21^{22}) for punishing the conspirators against Ahasuerus (Est 2^{23}), Haman ($7^{9.10}$) and his ten sons (9^{14}); possibly the same as impalement.

Imprisonment.—Offenders were confined by the Israelites as well as other nations. The prison was often used merely for keeping a person in ward until the pleasure of the judicial power should be known. So Joseph by Potiphar (Gn $39^{20.21}$); the son of Shelomith, for blasphemy (Lv 24^{12}); the man who gathered sticks on the Sabbath (Nu 15^{34}); the apostles after healing the lame man (Ac 4^{3}); St. Peter, by order of Herod, till a convenient time for his execution (Ac 12^{4}). Incarceration was often accompanied with other punishments (cf. Samson grinding for the Philistines, Jg 16^{21}), or it was regarded as an alternative (Ezr 7^{26}). Jeremiah was smitten as well as imprisoned (Jer 37^{15}). The murderer and debtor might be delivered both to prison and the tormentors (Mt 18^{30}). Zedekiah used the prison for the protection of Jeremiah from his enemies (Jer 37^{21}). He was then transferred to the princes, who cast him into the dungeon or pit (Jer 38^{6}). For the Eng. word 'dungeon' or 'prison' in Gn 40^{15} 39^{20}, 1 K 22^{27}, 2 K 25^{29}, 2 Ch 16^{10}, Ps 142^{7}, Ec 4^{14}, Is 24^{22} 42^{7}, Jer $37^{4.15}$ 52^{11}, there are eight different roots in the Heb. which would imply that detention of those under accusation or in disfavour was regular and quite common, the confinement itself being for the purpose of punishment. Confinement in jail was inflicted as a preliminary punishment by Ahab on Micaiah, accompanied with spare bread and water diet (1 K 22^{27}); by Asa on Hanani (2 Ch 16^{10}). The motive of Herod in imprisoning John the Baptist is uncertain (Mt 4^{12}). Barabbas was committed for insurrection, and it would appear as if this were intended to be final (Lk 23^{19}). In the prison-house, which might contain cells (Jer 37^{16}), there was sometimes a pit with or without water (Jer 38^{6}, Zec 9^{11}), and the court of the prison is mentioned in Jer 37, 38, 39, and elsewhere. In some prisons there were stocks (Jer 20^{2} 29^{26}, Ac 16^{24}). To the Rom. prison there were three parts: *communiora*, *ulteriora*, where Paul and Silas were kept, and the *Tullianum* or dungeon, the place of execution (Conybeare and Howson, *St. Paul*, i. 304 n.). There is an allusion to prisoners at labour in Job 3^{18}, and they might be held in chains (Ps 105^{18} 107^{10}, Jer 40^{4}).

Indignities.—There was resort to various means of heaping contumely on an offender; such as ignominious or obscure burial for a blasphemer (Jos. *Ant.* IV. viii. 6; 1 K 14^{13}, 2 K 9^{10} $21^{18.26}$, 2 Ch 24^{25}, Jer 22^{19}). Some victims were slain and left in the street or cast behind the walls (Ps $79^{2.3}$, To 2^{3}). Heads of the slain were removed and carried in triumph (1 S 17^{57} 31^{9}). Dead bodies were burned (Jos $7^{15.25}$, Lv 20^{14}, Am 2^{1}. See **Burning**) or hanged (2 S 4^{12}, Gn 40^{17-19} [see **Hanging**], Nu $25^{4.5}$, Dt $21^{22.23}$). Stones were thrown on the corpse, as on that of Achan (Jos $7^{25.26}$), the king of Ai (Jos 8^{29}), and on the tomb of Absalom (2 S 18^{17}). Mohammedans still maintain the custom when passing by its supposed site (Thomson, *Land and Book*, i. 61); but Harmer plausibly suggests that the 'heap of stones' was erected in honour. Some forms of execution were regarded as more disgraceful than others, as crucifixion (Jn 19^{31}), but it was not the design of the Mosaic law to cover a sufferer with perpetual infamy. In Egypt a calumniator of the dead was subject to severe punishment (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyp.*).

Mutilation was practised, but not under direct sanction of the covenant law. The thumbs and great toes of Adonibezek were severed (Jg $1^{6.7}$). The slayers of Ishbosheth (2 S 4^{12}) lost their hands, but possibly after death. Nebuchadrezzar threatened to cut in pieces his offending counsellors (Dn 2^{5}). At the command of Antiochus Epiphanes (acc. to 2 Mac 7^{1-40}), seven brothers suffered horrible outrages, among others that of tearing out the tongue, a very common cruelty among the Assyrians. In Egypt robbers were sometimes deprived of the right hand for the first offence, the left foot for the second, and the left hand for the third; though the theft of food not quickly perishable was not so severely punished (Lane, *Mod. Egyp.*). To this act our Saviour's statement in Mt 24^{51}, Lk 12^{46}, seems to allude. An Egyptian victor was known to display severed hands as proof of the number of his trophies (see 1 S 18^{27}). The town of Rhinocolura was said to be peopled by robbers who had lost their noses. The nose and ears of an adulterer were cut off (Diod. Sic. i. 78), and from Ezk 23^{25} it appears that the usage was in vogue among the Babylonians. (On the horrible cruelties of Assurbanipal, as recorded on his cylinder, see *RP* iii. 39–50.) Rings were put in the lips or noses of captives (2 Ch 33^{11} 'among the thorns,' RV 'in chains,' Is 37^{29}, Ezk $19^{4.9}$; Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.* iii. 7; and see Am 4^{2}).

Plucking off the Hair was a punishment inflicted on Jews who had indulged in mixed marriages (Neh 13^{25}). It may have been intended simply for disfigurement. The prophet in Is 50^{6} alludes to the judicial practice as common in his time. The effort was so vicious as described in 2 Mac 7^{7}, that the skin was torn off with the hair; but in scalping, as practised by the N. American Indians, a knife was used. As an insult to David's servants, half of the beard was shaven off (2 S 10^{4}). The head was subjected to other indignities (Job 30^{10}, Mt 27^{30}, Mk 12^{4}).

Precipitation.—It is stated in 2 Ch 25^{12} that 10,000 Edomites were cast from a rock by the children of Judah. So two Jewish women are said to have suffered (2 Mac 6^{10}). Of the same sort are the acts mentioned in 2 K 8^{12}, Hos 10^{14} 13^{16}. On column iv. 100, 101 of Assurbanipal (G. Smith), it is stated that certain persons were thrown on the stone lions and bulls in a quarry, the fall designed to be fatal. Calmet is of opinion, with Jerome as authority, that this was the fate of Oreb and Zeeb (Jg 7^{25}). An attempt after this manner was made on the life of Jesus (Lk 4^{29}).

Restitution.—There was enacted an elaborate system for compensating an injured party under the sanction of Mosaism. As far as possible the restoration was identical with, or analogous to, the loss of time or power (Ex 21^{18-36}, Lv 24^{18-21}, Dt 19^{21}). He who stole and then slew or sold a live ox had to restore fivefold; if it was a live sheep fourfold. The penalty was designed in part to be prohibitory, because sheep were more exposed in the desert, while oxen were necessary and not so easily taken. In later history it appears as if sevenfold might be exacted (Pr 6^{31}. See also the LXX tr. of 2 S 12^{6}, where seven is substituted for four). If the identical animal was restored, another of equal value was all that the law required besides. Burglary doomed the culprit to unrequited death or to slavery. For breach of trust or for trespass, twenty per cent. additional to the original sum was demanded (Lv 6^{1-5}, Nu 5^{5-10}). He who was detected in the theft of a pledge, or was found guilty in the matter of trespass while the property was in his hand, must pay double. Pecuniary compensation must be furnished for damages by an animal, when not on its own ground (Ex 22^{5}); and when a fatality occurred in the case of a servant, thirty shekels must be paid to the loser (Ex 21^{32}; see Dt 22^{19}). One case only is mentioned of permitted commutation for bull-goring (Ex 21^{28-32}). In case a married woman was killed, the fine was paid to her father's (instead of her own) family (Lewis, *Heb. Ant.*). Akin to restoration is redemption, referred to in Lv $25^{27.28}$, Ezk $18^{7.12}$. Remuneration was expected for loss by fire, through negligence, of a standing grain field; or for the loss or damage of a pledge (Ex $22^{6.12.13}$). Under Rom. law a jailer losing his prisoner was liable to the punishment which was to be inflicted for the crime on which the arrest had been made (Ac 12^{19} 16^{27}). In NT morals it was taught that the guilt of theft could not be compounded by restitution. 'Let him that stole steal no more' (Eph 4^{28}); but Zacchæus, on the occasion of his pardon, proposed to restore fourfold (Lk 19^{8}).

Retaliation was authorized in the code of Ex $21^{24.25}$. It was in use among other nations, esp. the Egyptians (cf. the *lex talionis* of the Romans). It was not unequivocally approved by ancient authors, because it was apt to degenerate into mere revenge and would often be unfair in its operation. The possibility of its baneful consequences is shown by Thomson (*Land and Book*, i. 447, 449). Diodorus Siculus instances a one-eyed man as suffering more than the victim with two eyes. Favorinus shows the injustice of this principle in operation as contained in one of the Twelve Tables, in that the same member may be worth more to one man than to another, as the right hand of a scribe or painter compared with that of a singer. Hence it had to be administered with certain modifications. Thus Heb. law adopted the principle, but lodged the application with the judge (Ex $21^{22\text{ff.}}$, Lv 24^{19-22}); and an aggressor, by the payment of a ransom, could compound with the aggrieved and be relieved from the full penalty of the law. A false accuser was required to suffer the same penalty that he proposed against the accused (Dt 19^{19}). Heb. law was milder in spirit than that of heathen jurisprudence. Moses would not allow parents or children to suffer for the offences of each other (Dt 24^{16}). This equitable exemption was not regarded by the Chaldæans (Dn 6^{24}), or even by the kings of Israel (1 K 21^{21}, 2 K 9^{26}).

Sawing Asunder.—In He 11^{37} the term is used to describe an ancient form of punishment, which was possibly a crushing under instruments of iron (Am 1^{3}); and it is said, on the authority of Justin Martyr (*Dial. with Trypho*), to have been practised on Isaiah. There is an allusion to something of this sort in Pr 20^{26} (RV) 'He bringeth the threshing wheel over them' (cf. Is $28^{27.28}$). Saws are mentioned in 2 S 12^{31}, 1 Ch 20^{3}; and while it is painful to admit that David may have been guilty of such severity, the literal interpretation is the most plausible and accords with the usages of the times. (See, however, Driver, *Heb. Text of Sam.* 226 ff.). In Shaw's *Travels* a case is described where the victim was placed between two boards and dissevered longitudinally (Smith, *DB*), and another case is mentioned by Harmer (*Observations*) as occurring on Stewart's journey to Mequinez.

Scourging with Thorns (see also **Stripes**).—In the marginal reading of Jg 8^{7}, Gideon is represented as threatening to thresh the men of Succoth with thorns and briers, and in the margin to 8^{16} it is stated that they were thus punished, as Stanley (*Hist. Jew. Ch.*) suggests, with the acacia. The scorpions (עַקְרַבִּים) mentioned in 1 K 12^{11} may have been knotted sticks, or ropes into which wire was plaited, or iron points or nails or cutting pieces of lead were inserted. Calmet guesses that David so treated the Moabites (2 S 8^{2}). Some attempt to solve the much-mooted difficulties of 2 S 12^{31} by a reference to this mode of punishment.

Slavery.—In Heb. law it was possible for a person to fall into servitude for a limited time. A thief, when unable to make restitution, was sold with wife and children (Ex 22^{3}). The misfortune of debt led to the same result (2 K 4^{1}, Neh 5^{5}). The statute of limitations mercifully provided against oppressive usage and permanent enslavement (Lv 25^{39-43}, Dt 15^{12}, Jer 34^{14}). The Rabbins say a woman could not be sold for theft. Joseph proposed, as an Egyptian procedure, to make a slave of the detected pilferer of his cup (Gn 44^{17}). See separate article.

Slaying by Spear or Sword.—This was an expeditious method, sometimes adopted in an emergency. The spear, javelin, or dart (He 12^{20}) was to be used on trespassers at the foot of Sinai (Ex 19^{13}). Phinehas went so armed in eager and immediate punishment of the man found with a Midianitish woman (Nu $25^{7.8}$). The sword was taken by the Levites against the worshippers of the golden calf (Ex 32^{27}), and in Dt 13^{13-15} authority is given for its use in the wholesale slaughter of a city for idolatry. Some cutting instrument was employed by Abimelech in the murder of his brethren (Jg 9^{5}). Samuel hewed Agag to pieces with the sword (1 S 15^{33}), and with the same Doeg massacred the priests in Nob (1 S $22^{18.19}$). According to the *lex talionis*, the young Amalekite who claimed that he drew the sword to kill Saul was put to death with the same kind of implement (2 S 1^{15}), with which or the spear Ishbosheth was assassinated (2 S $4^{6.7}$). The sword was used in the summary executions ordered by Solomon (1 K $2^{25.29.31.34}$). By it Elijah slew the prophets of Baal (1 K 19^{1}), and it was common in regal and martial proceedings, becoming still more prominent in post-Bab. times. The sword or axe was employed to carry out the order of Jehu on Ahab's sons (2 K 10^{7}) (see **Beheading**). Thus Jehoram murdered his brethren (2 Ch 21^{4}), and Jehoiakim despatched Urijah (Jer 26^{23}). The sword as an instrument of punishment is specifically mentioned in Job 19^{29}. See also **Divine Visitation**.

The Stocks (מַהְפֶּכֶת, ξυλόν πεντεσύριγγον). This machine, though probably of Egyp. origin, is not described in the Mosaic legislation, but in it Hanani, the seer, was put by Asa (2 Ch 16^{10}), and Jeremiah was punished (Jer 20^{2}). In Jer 27^{2} RV uses 'bars' for AV 'yokes,' and in Jer 29^{26} changes 'prison' to 'stocks,' and 'stocks' to 'shackles,' that is, the pillory. It usually contained five holes for the neck, arms, and legs, which sometimes were inserted crosswise. One form (סַד) was designed for the legs only. The word 'stocks' is employed in Job 13^{27} 33^{11} and Pr 7^{22}, and this form of torture was probably in mind when Ps 105^{18} was written. It was an infliction among the Romans as indicated by Ac 16^{24}.

Stoning was the ordinary formal and legal mode of inflicting punishment in the earlier history of the children of Israel, and was in vogue before the departure from Egypt (Ex 8^{26}). Even beasts might be the victims, evidently as a spectacular example (Ex 19^{13} 21$^{28.\,29.\,32}$). Stoning was the penalty for taking 'the accursed thing' (Jos 7^{25}); for adultery and unchastity, the death sentence being pronounced in Lv 20^{10}, and the means of carrying it out stated in Dt 22$^{21.\,24}$, Jn 8$^{5.\,7}$; for blasphemy (Lv 24$^{10-24}$), and on this specious charge Naboth (1 K 21^{10}) and Stephen (Ac 7^{58}) suffered, and an effort was made to show Jesus guilty by a feint to stone Him (Jn 10^{31}); for divination (Lv 20$^{6.\,27}$), idolatry (Dt 13^{10}), dishonour to parents (Dt 21^{21}), prophesying falsely (Dt 13$^{5.\,10}$), and Sabbath-breaking (Ex 31^{14} 35^{2}, Nu 15$^{35.\,36}$). Doubtless other capital crimes would thus be punished, and the city of Jerusalem was so threatened as if it were an individual culprit (Ezk 16^{40}). In an orderly proceeding the witness was to cast the first stone (Dt 17^{7}, Jn 8^{7}), and as the Rabbins say, on the chest; and if others were necessary to produce death, the bystanders hurled them. Lawless movements are mentioned or suggested, like that to which Moses thought himself exposed (Ex 17^{4}), the accomplished acts on Adoram (1 K 12^{18}) and Zechariah (2 Ch 24^{21}), in the danger dreaded by the priests on account of their estimate of the Baptist (Lk 20^{6}), and the assault on St. Paul in Iconium (Ac 14^{5}). Poisoners among the Persians were laid on one stone and crushed by another (Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.* iii. 247; see Mt 21^{44}, Lk 20^{18}).

Strangling was a later form of capital punishment among the Jews (W. R. Smith, *RS* 398), but there is no scriptural authority for it. The convict was immersed in clay or mud, and a cloth was twisted around the neck and drawn in opposite directions by two lictors, so as to take the breath. During the operation molten lead might be poured down the throat (Sanhedr. 10. 3). The proposed humiliation of the Syrians before Israel (1 K 20^{31}) may hint at the practice. See **Hanging**.

Stripes.—The Mosaic economy ordained that an offender might be punished with stripes (Lv 19^{20}, Dt 22^{18}), not exceeding forty (Dt 25^{3}); and this limit was carefully observed, as on St. Paul (2 Co 11^{24}), for a single stroke in excess subjected the executioner to punishment. The scourge was composed of three thongs, of which 39 was the largest multiple within the limit. It was the most common mode of secondary punishment, and the idea of disgrace did not seem to attach to it (but see Jos. *Ant.* IV. viii. 21). No station of life was exempt (see from Pr 17^{26}, indicating that the noble may be smitten, and 10^{13} that a rod is proper for the vacant-minded). The bastinado may have been used on Jeremiah (20^{2} 37^{15}). Scourging was inflicted on a bondmaid overtaken in illegal intercourse (Lv 19^{20}), on a husband who falsely accused his wife, on a person who used abusive language (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. x. 6), on ecclesiastical offenders in the synagogue (Mt 10^{17}, Ac 26^{11}), and it might be used on the debtor (Mt 5^{25} 18^{34}). As to the method: the culprit lay on the ground while under castigation, in the presence of the judge, who during the infliction proclaimed the words in Dt 28$^{58.\,59}$, and concluded with those in Ps 78^{38}. In later times an adult male was stripped to the waist and in a bending posture lashed to a pillar; a female received the stripes while sitting with head and shoulders bent forward; and a boy was punished with his hands tied behind him. The Mosaic regulations were in pleasing contrast with those of the Zendavesta, which authorizes as many as 10,000 stripes for the murder of a water dog (Darmesteter, *Intro.*). The Porcian law forbade the scourging of Rom. citizens (Cic. in *Verr.* v. 53, Ac 16^{37} 22^{25}). Nevertheless, it was regarded as a wholesome punishment, and is zealously advocated in Pr 13^{24} 23$^{13.\,14}$; see also Sir 30$^{1-13}$. It is a symbol of divine correction (Ps 89^{32}), and is regarded as a purifier (Pr 20^{30}). The Moslems have a proverb that the stick is from heaven, a blessing from God.

Suffocation was a recognized Pers. mode of dealing with offenders. A case is described (2 Mac 13$^{4-8}$): Menelaus was fastened to a revolving wheel in a standpipe 50 cubits high, filled with ashes, in which he was repeatedly immersed, until death ensued. Another description attributes a similar method to the Macedonians, the victim being placed on a beam, under which the ashes were constantly stirred until he was overcome with heat and dust (see Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.* iii. 246).

LITERATURE.—In addition to the authorities cited in the art., the reader may consult Hamburger, *RE*, art. 'Lohn u. Strafe' (pp. 691–703) and 'Vergeltung' (pp. 1252–57); artt. on the various crimes and punishments enumerated above, in Riehm, *HWB*, Herzog, *RE*, and Schenkel, *Bibellex.*; Saalschutz, *das Mosaische Recht*; the *Bib. Archäol.* of Keil, Benzinger, and Nowack; Post, *Familienrecht*, 358 f.; Hartmann, *Enge. Verbind. d. A.T. mit d. N.* 197 ff.; Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 90 ff.; W. R Smith, *OTJC*^{2} 340 f., 368 f.; J. W. Haley, *Esther* (1885), pp. 122–130; Dillmann, *Com.* on the Pent., and Driver, *Deut.* (*passim*),

J. POUCHER.

CRIMSON.—Two words are tr. 'crimson' in both AV and RV, תּוֹלָע *tôlā'* (Is 1^{18}), LXX κόκκινος, and כַּרְמִיל *karmîl* (2 Ch 2$^{7.\,14}$ 3^{14}). *Karmîl* is a later word used in place of the earlier שָׁנִי *shânî*. *Shânî* is rendered once (Jer 4^{30} AV) *crimson*. In the same passage in RV, and in all other passages where it occurs in both VSS, it is rendered *scarlet*. In Is 1^{18} שָׁנִים is rendered *scarlet*, LXX φοινικοῦν, and תּוֹלָע *crimson*, LXX κόκκινον. It is probable that the distinction of these two colours was not accurately made at that time, as indeed it has not been preserved in the VSS. See COLOURS; and for the *insect* producing both these colours see SCARLET.

G. E. POST.

CRIPPLE.—See MEDICINE.

CRISPING PINS (חֲרִיטִים, Is 3^{22}, RV 'satchels,' and 2 K 5^{23}, AV and RV 'bags'; see BAG 3*b*).—To 'crisp' is in mod. language to 'crimp,' that is, curl in short wavy folds. The word is often used in Shaks., Milton, and others, of the curl a breeze makes on the water, as *Par. Lost*, iv. 237, 'the crisped brooks'; cf. Byron, *Childe Harold*, iv. 211, 'I would not their vile breath should crisp the stream.' But the earliest ref. is to the hair; and a 'crisping pin' is an instrument for crimping the hair. Cf. Pocklington (1637), 'Fetch me my Crisping pinnes to curle my lockes.'

J. HASTINGS.

CRISPUS (Κρίσπος).—The chief ruler of the Jewish synagogue at Corinth (Ac 18^{8}). Convinced by the reasonings of St. Paul that Jesus was the Messiah, he believed with all his house. The apostle mentions him (1 Co 1^{14}) as one of the few persons whom he himself had baptized. Tradition represents him as having afterwards become bishop of Ægina (*Const. Apost.* vii. 46). R. M. BOYD.

CROCODILE (RVm Job 41^{1}).—The crocodile is doubtless meant by leviathan in the above passage and Job 3^{8}. In Ps 74^{14} leviathan refers to Pharaoh, under the simile of a crocodile. Cf. Ezk 29^{3}, where Pharaoh is called 'the great dragon (*tannîm*, for the usual *tannîn*) that lieth in the midst of his rivers,' and 32^{2}, where he is compared to a 'whale (also *tannîm* AVm, RV text 'dragon') in the seas,' the reference being to the crocodile of the river (Arab. *baḥr*=sea, the usual Arab. way of speaking of their great river the Nile). See LEVIATHAN, DRAGON. The crocodile is a saurian, sometimes attaining a length of 20 feet. His back and sides are covered with an armour, impenetrable to spears, swords, slingstones, and arrows (Job 41$^{7.15-17.26.28.29}$); not to be injured by clubs (RV for AV 'darts' v.^{29}), or even spherical bullets. The scales of which this armour is composed are beautifully marked. His jaws are set with numerous sharp-pointed teeth (v.^{14}). His neck is extremely powerful (v.^{22}). His tail is also very muscular, and a blow from it will crush a man. His legs are short. The toes of the fore feet are five, and of the hind feet only four. The inner two toes of the fore feet and the inner one of the hind feet are destitute of claws. The rest have strong claws (v.^{30}). The crocodile is well characterized as 'a king over all the children of pride' (v.^{34}). In one other passage (Jer 14^{6}) RVm gives 'crocodile' for *tannîm*, AV 'dragons.'

The **Land Crocodile** (Lv 11^{30} RV) is not a crocodile, but probably the MONITOR (see CHAMELEON). G. E. POST.

CROOKBACKT (Amer. RV 'crook-backed'), Lv 21^{20}. See MEDICINE.

CROSS is the tr. of the Gr. σταυρός, the name applied in NT to the instrument upon which Jesus Christ suffered death. Owing to the variety of the methods in which crucifixion might be inflicted, and the indefiniteness of the terms employed, it is impossible to determine with certainty the exact nature of the cross used in His case. σταυρός means properly a stake, and is the tr. not merely of the Lat. *crux* (cross), but of *palus* (stake) as well. As used in NT, however, it refers evidently not to the simple stake used for impaling, of which widespread punishment crucifixion was a refinement, but to the more elaborate cross used by the Romans in the time of Christ. Besides the *crux simplex*, or simple stake, we may exclude from consideration the so-called cross of St. Andrew, shaped like an X, the origin of which is much later, and concerning the actual use of which there is much doubt. There remain of the four varieties of cross usually enumerated only two, between which the choice must lie—the *crux commissa* or St. Anthony's cross, shaped like a T, and consisting of a single upright post, across the top of which is fastened a horizontal cross-bar; and the *crux immissa* or Lat. cross, in which the top of the upright shaft projects above the cross-bar, as in the form with which we are most familiar. In favour of the latter is not only the testimony of the oldest tradition, which in such a matter is entitled to great weight, but also the statements of the evangelists concerning the title nailed to the cross (Mt 27^{37}, Mk 15^{26}, Lk 23^{38}, Jn 19$^{19-22}$).

The upright post to which alone the name properly belongs, was usually a piece of some strong, cheap wood, pine or oak, of such length that when firmly planted in the ground the top was from 7½ to 9 ft. high. Most modern illustrations err in making the upright much too high. It was erected on some spot outside the city, convenient for the execution, and remained there as a permanent fixture, only the cross-bar or *patibulum* being carried to the spot, usually by the person who was to suffer death. This consisted sometimes of a single piece of wood, more often of two parallel bars joined at one end, between which the head of the victim passed, and to the ends of which his hands were fastened. The cross which Jesus carried was doubtless simply the cross-bar in one of these two forms. Keim argues in favour of the simpler, partly because Jesus is represented as clothed, which would hardly have been the case had He carried the double *patibulum*; partly because of the carrying of it by Simon, which he regards rather as a rude joke of the soldiers than as rendered necessary by the weight of the cross-bar, which could in no case have been very heavy (*Jesu von Nazara*, iii. 398, Eng. tr. vi. 125). Besides the *patibulum*, the cross was furnished with a support for the body called the *sedile*. This was a small piece of wood projecting at right angles from the upright, upon which the victim sat as upon a saddle. It was designed to bear part of the weight of the body, which would otherwise have been too great to be supported by the hands alone. Whether there was also a support for the feet, the so-called ὑποπόδιον, is still in dispute.

The origin of crucifixion must be sought in the E., probably among the Phœn., from whom it passed to the Greeks and Romans. The long list of peoples given by Winer (*RWB* i. 680), and often copied, includes many cases which prove no more than impaling (so the Persians, Egyptians, Indians). For the practice among the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, and Numidians we have good authority. We hear of Alexander on one occasion crucifying as many as 2000 Tyrians. Among the Romans this was a very common punishment. At first they confined it to slaves and seditious persons, but gradually extended its use, especially in the provinces, here following Punic examples. In Sicily, Verres crucified even Roman citizens. The same was done by Galba in Spain. But these were rare exceptions, and excited universal indignation. In Judæa the punishment was frequently used. Thus Varus crucified 2000 rioters after the death of Herod the Great (Jos. *Ant.* XVII. x. 10). Under Claudius and Nero, various governors, Tiberius Alexander, Quadratus, Felix, Florus, crucified robbers and rioters of political and religious character, including two sons of Judas Galilæus (*Ant.* XX. v. 2; *BJ* II. xii. 6, II. xiii. 2), and even respectable citizens and Roman knights (*BJ* II. xiv. 9). Titus crucified so many after the destruction of Jerus. that there was neither wood for the crosses nor place to set them up (*BJ* V. xi. 1). Especially under Tiberius, who held that simple death was escape, was this method of punishment frequent.

The Jews did not practise the crucifixion of living persons. The case of Jannæus, referred to by Jos. (*BJ* I. iv. 6), was an exception which called forth universal reprobation. But the hanging up of dead bodies meets us frequently in OT. See Jos 10^{26} (the five kings), 2 S 4^{12} (the murderers of Ish-bosheth), 1 S 31^{10} (the Philistines and Saul, cf. 2 S 21^{12}), Ezr 6^{11} (the decree of Darius), and is distinctly authorized in the law (Dt 21^{22}, cf. Nu 25^{4}, where J″ commands this punishment in the case of the men who have led the people away to Baal-peor). In such cases the dead body became accursed, and must be buried before nightfall, that the land might not suffer pollution (Dt 21^{23}). Those who suffered crucifixion came under this curse, and hence the passage in Dt is applied to Jesus not only in the Talm., but also by NT writers. This explains the frequent reference to the cross in NT as the tree (ξύλον), that being the LXX tr. of the

Heb. עֵץ. (Cf. Ac 5^{30} 10^{39} 13^{29}, 1 P 2^{24}, and esp. Gal 3^{13} 'Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, having become a curse for us; for it is written, Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree.')

The method of crucifixion is clearly described in NT. After condemnation, the victim was scourged with the *flagellum*, a punishment so terrible that men often died under it. In Jesus' case the scourging seems to have taken place before rather than after, possibly to excite pity (Jn 19^{1}). The cross-bar was then bound on the victim's back, or his head inserted in the *patibulum*, and he was led through the city accompanied by the centurion and four soldiers detailed to conduct the execution. The title, a piece of wood covered with white gypsum on which the nature of his offence was set forth in letters of black, was usually carried before the condemned person, so that all might know the reason for which he was to die. This custom of carrying the cross gave rise to 'the proverb *αἴρειν* or *λαμβάνειν* or *βαστάζειν τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ* which was wont to be used of those who on behalf of God's cause do not hesitate cheerfully and manfully to bear persecutions, troubles, distresses, thus recalling the fate of Christ, and the spirit in which He encountered it' (Thayer, *Lex.* p. 586). In this sense it is used by Jesus Himself in the well-known saying, 'If any man would come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me' (Mt 16^{24}, Mk 8^{34}, Lk 9^{23}; cf. Mt 10^{38}, Lk 14^{27}). Arrived at the place of execution, the prisoner was stripped, his garments falling to the soldiers as their booty. He was then bound to the *patibulum*, and both were raised on ladders until the cross-bar rested on the notch prepared to receive it. This was the more common custom. In a few cases the cross piece was fastened to the upright lying on the ground, and the whole then raised together. After the *patibulum* was firmly fastened, the hands were nailed to its extremities, and possibly the feet to the upright, although this was less frequent. Afterwards the title was fastened to the head of the cross, and the victim was left to the slow agonies of a death which might endure many hours, and even days.

All authorities agree that of all deaths crucifixion was the most abhorred. This was due not only to its pain, which was of the most intense character (see the account of Richter, quoted in Smith, *DB*), but also to its shame, which in the case of the Roman was due to its servile association, in that of the Jew to its rendering the sufferer accursed. Cicero in his oration against Verres (v. 66) declares that it is impossible to find a fit word to describe such an outrage as the crucifixion of a Roman citizen. '*Facinus est vinciri civem Romanum: scelus verberari: prope parricidium necari; quid dicam in crucem tolli? Verbo satis digno tam nefaria res appellari nullo modo potest.*'

The shame of this death is often referred to in NT. So He 12^{2} 'Jesus, who endured the cross, despising shame'; He 13^{13} 'Let us therefore go forth unto him without the camp, bearing his reproach'; cf. He 11^{26}. With more particular reference to its relation to the ceremonial law, Gal 3^{13} 'Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, having become a curse for us; for it is written, Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree'; 1 Co 12^{3} 'No man speaking in the Spirit of God saith Jesus is anathema.' Because of this character, the death of Jesus upon the cross, viewed in the light of His Messianic claims, became not merely foolishness to Greeks, but a stumbling-block to Jews (1 Co $1^{18.23}$, cf. Gal 5^{11}). It was an outrage to Jewish propriety that He who had become accursed in the sight of the law by His death on the cross should claim to be the Messiah in whom the law was fulfilled. This element of ceremonial defilement has been particularly emphasized by C. C. Everett in *The Gospel of Paul* (Boston, 1893), as a clue to the understanding of St. Paul's view of the significance of Christ's death. This significance he finds not at all in its penal character, but in its character as ceremonial defilement. Christ by His death on the cross became accursed (anathema). Those Christians who accepted this accursed sufferer as the Messiah of God, shared His curse, and were in like manner cut off by the law. But this cutting off by the law brought with it also freedom from the law, since those who were thus outcast were no longer within its realm. Thus Christ's death under the law, followed by His resurrection, was God's way of showing that the Jewish law was done away, and a new method of salvation, even that through faith in Christ, ushered in.

The use of the word 'cross' in a theological sense, as a brief designation of Christ's saving work, is characteristic of St. Paul. The gospel of salvation is 'the word of the cross' (1 Co 1^{18}). Those who suffer persecution because of their faith in the saving efficacy of Christ's death, do so 'for the cross of Christ' (Gal 6^{12}). They who refuse this gospel are 'enemies of the cross of Christ' (Ph 3^{18}). The cross is not only the instrument of the reconciliation between God and man (Col 1^{20}, Eph 2^{16}), through the death of Him who there suffered (Col 1^{20} 'the blood of the cross'), but also between Jew and Gentile (Col 2^{14} the bond nailed to the cross), since by it the 'bond written in ordinances,' which up to that time had barred the way of the Gentiles to God, is put out of the way. It was through the cross, *i.e.* acceptance of the crucified Christ as Saviour, that the world was crucified to Paul, and Paul to the world (Gal 6^{14}). Thus crucifixion becomes not merely the means of salvation, but the type of that absolute renunciation of the world which characterizes the true Christian life (Gal 5^{24}).

LITERATURE.—The articles on *Cross* and *Crucifixion* in Smith, *DB* and in Herzog, *RE*. Monographs by Lipsius, *De Cruce*, Antwerp, 1595; Nicquetus, *Titulus s. Crucis*, Ant., 1670; Curtius, *De Clavis Dominicis*, Ant., 1670; Bartolinus, *De Cruce*, Amsterdam, 1670; and more recently by Zöckler, *Das Kreuz Christi*, 1875, and Fulda, *Das Kreuz und die Kreuzigung*, 1878. Much information is contained in the Lives of Christ of Keim and Hase. On the theological significance of the cross, cf. besides the *Biblical Theologies*, Everett, *The Gospel of Paul*, Boston, 1893.

W. ADAMS BROWN.

CROW occurs once in Apocr. (Bar 6^{54}), where the helplessness of idols is illustrated by the remark that 'they are* as crows (*κορῶναι*) between heaven and earth.' In Jer 3^{2} the LXX has *ὡσεὶ κορώνη ἐρημουμένη* for MT כַּעֲרָבִי בַּמִּדְבָּר ('as an Arabian in the wilderness,' RV), which implies the punctuation עֹרֵב ('raven') instead of עֲרָבִי ('Arabian'). The common LXX equivalent of עֹרֵב is *κόραξ*. See RAVEN.

J. A. SELBIE.

CROWN.—In OT (both AV and RV) *Crown* is used to translate several Heb. words, the particular meanings of which must be distinguished. 1. The golden fillets or mouldings placed around the ark of the covenant (Ex 25^{11} 37^{2}), the table of shewbread (Ex 25^{24} 37^{11}) and its border (Ex 25^{25} 37^{12}), and the altar of incense (Ex $30^{3.4}$ $37^{26.27}$) in the Mosaic tabernacle are called Crowns (RVm 'rim or moulding'). The Heb. word (זֵר) means a cincture like a wreath, and describes rather the foliated appearance of the band than its position on the object to which it was attached. (LXX tr. it by a phrase meaning 'twisted golden wavelets' [*κυμάτια χρυσᾶ στρεπτά*] or 'twisted golden crown' [*στρεπτὴν στεφάνην χρυσῆν*]; Pal. Targ. by זֵיר a wreath; Vulg. by *corona*, whence Eng. translation. The later Rabbins also describe it as כֶּתֶר a crown). The brevity of the description in Ex has occasioned differences of opinion among archæologists as to both its purpose and its position. Some imagine it a rim to prevent objects from falling off. But the border which passed round the table of shewbread, as well as the table itself, had a crown; nor would the ark need a rim for the purpose suggested. The crown therefore was ornamental. As to its position, Bähr (*Symbolik*, i. 377, 378) regards the crown of the ark as an ornamental design placed round its middle, but his arguments are not conclusive; and since the crown is said to be 'upon' (עָלָיו) the ark, we should doubtless imagine it as placed round the top of the sacred chest as it was round the top of the table of shewbread (see Neumann, *Die Stiftshütte*, p. 127). Bähr, however, also denies that 'the border of a handbreadth round about' the table (Ex 25^{25}) had a crown of its own (*Symb.* i. 409, citing also the Rabbins Jarchi and Aben-Ezra; so Keil, *Archæol.* § 19, but not in his *Comm.*; Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* ii. 60), but the language of Exodus seems clearly to state that it had (Jahn, *Archäol.* p. 421; Abarbanal cited by Bähr; Neumann, p. 96; Bissell, *Bibl. Antiq.* p. 292). The crown of the altar of incense likewise is placed by some round its top (Carpzov, *Appar. Crit.* p. 273; Neumann, p. 120), by others round its middle (Bähr, i. 378, 419). But, whatever their positions, these crowns were evidently golden wreaths intended for decoration. Assyr. monuments afford examples of similar ornamentations (Neumann, p. 27; Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 236, 354).

---

* The Syr. VS reads 'are *not*.'

2. Another word tr. Crown (נֵזֶר) means *consecration*, and is applied to the symbolic ornament worn by the high priest upon his forehead over the mitre (Ex 29^{6} 39^{30}, Lv 8^{9} 21^{12}); and to that worn upon the head by the Heb. monarch (2 S 1^{10}, 2 K 11^{12}, 2 Ch 23^{11}, Ps 89^{39} 132^{18}, so also Zec 9^{16}). It is also used figuratively for dignity or honour (Pr 27^{24}, Nah 3^{17} 'crowned ones'). The high priest's crown (LXX τὸ πέταλον, Vulg. *lamina*) was a narrow plate (צִיץ) of pure gold, on which was engraved 'Holy to J".' Tradition represents it as about two fingers broad. It was fastened 'upon the mitre above' by a piece of blue lace (Ex 28^{37} 39^{31}). The Rabbin. commentators suppose three ribbons of lace—two from the ends and one from the top of the front of the crown—all tied together at the back of the head. Jos. (*Ant.* III. vii. 6) describes the high priest's crown as of three rows, one above another, upon which were carved cups of gold like the calyx of the plant Hyoscyamus, while the plate with the inscription covered the forehead; but he probably refers to an ornamentation introduced at a late period. Acc. to 1 Mac 10^{20} a crown was given to the high priest Jonathan by Alex. Epiphanes. Braunius (*De Vestitu Sacerd. Heb.* ch. xxii.) admits that Ex gives no support to Josephus' description. The crown was the symbol of the high priest's special consecration, as the people's representative, to make atonement for sin (Ex 28^{38}). The same term is also applied to the symbolic headtire of the Heb. king, but no description of it is given (LXX τὸ βασίλειον, ἰέζερ, ἔζερ, τὸ ἁγίασμα). It was prob. a light, narrow fillet of silk, perhaps studded with jewels, like the early diadems of E. kings (see DIADEM). It was light enough to be worn in battle (2 S 1^{10}). The term indicates that the king, as well as the priest, was divinely consecrated to his office. Hence it is attributed to the ideal Davidic King (Ps 89^{39} 132^{18}), and His people are called the stones of their Saviour's *Crown* (Zec 9^{16}).

3. The commonest use of *Crown* in OT (generally as tr. of עֲטָרָה, LXX στέφανος, but in Est of כֶּתֶר, Gr. κίδαρις or κίταρις, LXX διάδημα) corresponds with the use of the word in mod. times. It is applied to crowns worn by kings (2 S 12^{30}, 1 Ch 20^{2}, the crown of the king of Rabbah, which weighed a talent of gold; Est 1^{11} 2^{17} 6^{8} 8^{15}, the tiaras of the king and queen of Persia, probably high, jewelled turbans; see also Is 62^{3}, Jer 13^{18}, Ezk 21^{26}); to wreaths worn at banquets (Ca 3^{11}, Is $28^{1.3.5}$, Ezk 23^{42}); and fig. as an emblem of honour or victory (Job 19^{9} 31^{36}, Ps 8^{5} 21^{3} 65^{11} 103^{4}, Pr 4^{9} 12^{4} 14^{18} [כָּתַר] ^{24} 16^{31} 17^{6}, La 5^{16}, Ezk 16^{12}). In Is 23^{8} Tyre is called 'the crowning city' because ruling over kingdoms and dispensing crowns. Some have supposed that the kings of Israel had two crowns—the light diadem mentioned above, and a heavier one for state occasions. It has also been inferred from 2 S 12^{30} that the crown taken by David from the king of Rabbah became the state crown, and Jos. (*Ant.* VII. vii. 5) enlarges the biblical account by stating that 'this crown David ever after wore on his own head.' But there is no positive evidence for this, and only the term נֵזֶר is used in the Bible for the crown of the Heb. kings. In Zec $6^{11.14}$ a crown (עֲטָרָה) is represented as placed on Joshua, the high priest, to indicate the union of the royal and priestly offices; but the usual word for the kingly crown of Israel is in this instance apparently avoided because it described also, as has been stated, that of the high priest. The crowns used at banquets were doubtless wreaths of flowers (see Is 28^{1}, also Wis 2^{8}, 3 Mac 4^{8} 7^{16}). Heroes were also received with them (Jth 3^{8}), and dwellings decorated (1 Mac 4^{57}).

4. In 1 Mac 10^{29} 11^{35} 13^{39} allusion is made to crowns due from the Jews to the Syrian kings, by which are meant, not coins so named, but money tribute, which represented allegiance as formerly the presentation of a crown had done (1 Mac 13^{37}, 2 Mac 14^{4}; Jos. *Ant.* XII. iii. 3, στεφανίτης φόρος; see Levy, *Gesch. der Jüd. Münzen*; Madden, *Jewish Coinage*).

The Heb. has other words synonymous with those mentioned (as פְּאֵר head-dress; צָנִיף turban; צְפִירָה diadem; לִוְיָה garland), but their consideration does not fall here. The later Jews spoke of three crowns, of the law, the priesthood, and the king, and added 'the crown of a good name' as best of all (Carpzov, *Appar. Crit.* p. 60; Braunius, *De Vestitu*, p. 634). The word is also used in AV for the top of the head (Gn 49^{26}, Dt 33^{20}, 2 S 14^{25}, Is 3^{17}, Jer 2^{16} 48^{45}; tr. *pate* Ps 7^{16}, *head* [RV 'crown of the head'] Dt 33^{16}, *scalp* Ps 68^{22}).

In NT the AV gives 'Crown' for two words (στέφανος and διάδημα) which RV properly distinguishes. Στέφανος was not applied by the Greeks to a king's crown. 'It is the crown of victory in the games, of civic worth, of military valour, of nuptial joy, of festal gladness . . . the *wreath* in fact, or the *garland* . . . but never, any more than *corona* in Latin, the emblem and sign of royalty' (Trench, *Syn. of NT*, xxiii.; see, too, Lightfoot on Ph 4^{1}). Roman law likewise regulated the bestowment of special *coronæ* as rewards of military valour and civic service; and while it was customary to use crowns on ceremonial and festive occasions, they never symbolized royalty. The word for the latter was *diadema* (see DIADEM). This distinction is observed in NT, though not always in the LXX (see 2 S 12^{30}, 1 Ch 20^{2}, Ps $21(20)^{4}$, Ezk 21^{26}, Zec $6^{11.14}$). In NT a crown is an emblem of victory or reward. It describes the Christian's final recompense (1 Co 9^{25}, Rev 3^{11} $4^{4.10}$), specifically called a crown of righteousness (2 Ti 4^{8}), of life (Ja 1^{12}, Rev 2^{10}), of glory (1 P 5^{4}). St. Paul applies it to his converts as being his reward (Ph 4^{1}, 1 Th 2^{19}). Hence in the Apoc. a crown is represented on the conquering Christ (Rev 6^{2} 14^{14}), on the symbolic locusts (Rev 9^{7}), and on the 'woman' of ch. 12, as a sign of victory. In 12^{3} 13^{1} 19^{12}, on the other hand, the 'dragon' and the 'beast' and the kingly Christ have diadems, the 'many diadems' signifying Christ's universal empire (see v.^{16}). Thus *Crown* in NT is the emblem of attainment, the reward of service. Even the 'crown of thorns' was probably a mock symbol of victory, suggested to the soldiers by the *coronæ* of military or civic service; though Trench remarks that 'woven of such materials as it was, διάδημα could not be applied to it.'

While the use of crowns among the Greeks and Romans seems to have originated with the athletic games,—allusions to which are made by St. Paul in the places cited above,—and while the crown does not appear in Homer as an emblem of victory, later traditions attributed its invention to one or other of the gods. Those traditions are collected by Tertullian in his tract *De Corona*, in which he violently inveighs against the use of crowns by Christians.

LITERATURE.—Paschalius, *Coronæ*; Meursius, *De Coronis*; Fabricius, *Bibliographia Antiquaria*; Reland, *Antiquitates sacr. veter. Hebr.*; Braunius, *De Vestitu sacerd. Hebr.*; Jahn's and Keil's *Bib. Arch.*; Bähr, *Symbolik des Mosaischen Cultus*; Nowack, *Hebr. Archäol.* G. T. PURVES.

CROWN OF THORNS.—See THORN. **CRUCIFIXION.**—See CROSS.

CRUELTY. — The habits and sentiments of Gentiles and average Israelites, both in OT and NT, are often tainted with gross cruelty. Even acts of divinely appointed leaders of Israel, utterances of the psalmists and prophets, and ordinances of the inspired Law, sometimes seem inhuman when judged by the highest standards of modern Christianity. These standards require the righteous man to treat human life as sacred, and to refrain scrupulously from inflicting unnecessary pain. But Christianity has only recently secured any widespread practical recognition of these principles, and even now they prevail only with minorities in a few of the most advanced communities. Moreover, civilization has developed a sensitiveness which often renders the punishment of a criminal really as severe as in ancient times; the mitigation of physical cruelty has been compensated for by the refinement of mental torture. The constant tendency of inspired teaching is towards humanity, and ordinances which seem inhuman often mitigate prevailing barbarity.

The facts are as follows. The extermination of enemies is frequently commanded, Dt 20^{17} etc., and such extermination is described with apparent approval, Jos 6^{21} etc. David massacred the Ammonites with great barbarity, 2 S 12^{31}, 1 Ch 20^{3}, cf. 2 K 15^{16}. Amongst the Israelites themselves the Law ventures to impose only a moderate limitation of blood-revenge. Ex 21$^{20.21}$ (JE) forbids the actual beating to death of a male or female slave, but does not feel it possible to deal with cases in which the victim survives a day or two. Death is to be inflicted for a large number of offences, some of them slight, *e.g.* sabbath-breaking, Ex 35^{2} (P). An incestuous person, Lv 20^{14} (H), and an unchaste woman of the priestly clan, Lv 21^{9} (H), were to be burnt to death. The OT records great cruelty on the part of Gentiles, barbarous outrages on women and children, 2 K 8^{12}, Hos 13^{16}, Am 1^{13}, and cruel mutilation, 2 K 25^{7}. These are more than borne out by the sculptures of the Assyrians, who delighted to depict flaying alive and other tortures inflicted upon their enemies, *e.g.* upon the Elamite prisoners on slabs 48–50 in the Kouyunjik Gallery of the British Museum. In the NT we meet with the barbarous Roman punishments of scourging and crucifixion. W. H. BENNETT.

CRUSE.—See FOOD. The English word, now archaic though not quite obsolete, is apparently of Scandinavian origin, and means an earthenware jar for holding liquids; less freq. for drinking from, as Skelton (1526), 'Then he may drink out of a stone cruyse.' In AV it holds water (1 S 26$^{11.12.16}$, 1 K 19^{6}), oil (1 K 17$^{12.14.16}$), honey (1 K 14^{3}), and salt (2 K 2^{20}). J. HASTINGS.

CRYSTAL.—1. In Job 28^{17} זְכוּכִית is rendered in AV 'crystal' (*i.e.* rock-crystal); and as it occurs in a passage descriptive of the treasures of mines, this is probably to be accepted as correct. (See, however, *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* and RV which tr. 'glass'). 2. In Ezk 1^{22} another word קֶרַח is also tr. 'crystal' (RVm 'ice'), and, in this case, there is no certainty whether rock-crystal or ice is referred to (cf. Davidson, *ad loc.*); the same remark applies to κρύσταλλος in Rev 4^{6} 21^{11} 22^{1}; but this is immaterial in the case of poetic imagery, as the two substances are similar as regards transparency and absence of colour; hence the Greeks applied the same word (κρύσταλλος) to both. 3. In Job 28^{18} RV substitutes 'crystal' for 'pearls' of AV as tr. of גָּבִישׁ.

Rock-crystal is pure quartz, crystallizing in hexagonal prisms with pyramidal apices, and is abundant in veins amongst the older rocks in nearly all countries. It was used in ancient times for ornamental purposes, and being softer, could be cut by the diamond or corundum. It is possible that the Heb. word (יַהֲלֹם) tr. 'diamond' as one of the stones on the breastplate of the high priest was really rock-crystal, as it was engraved with the name of one of the tribes (Ex 28^{21}). [See, however, art. STONES (PRECIOUS), and *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*, where the jasper or the onyx are suggested as equivalents of יַהֲלֹם.] E. HULL.

CUB (כּוּב, AV Chub), in Ezk 30^{5}, is almost certainly a corruption of לוּב (*i.e.* Lybia) as was read by LXX. The 'Lybia' of AV is a mistranslation of Put (see RV). Cf. Nah 3^{9}, where Lybians are mentioned along with Cush (Ethiopia), Egypt, and Put, as here; also 2 Ch 12^{3} 16^{8}. Identifications which assume the correctness of the text lead to no satisfactory result, and hardly deserve notice. J. SKINNER.

CUBIT.—See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

CUCKOW (שַׁחַף *shaḥaph*, λάρος, *larus*). — The Heb. word is from a root signifying *leanness.* It occurs only in Lv 11^{16} and Dt 14^{15}, in the list of unclean birds. No scholar now renders it by *cuckow* (*cuckoo*). Various slender birds have been proposed, as the *stormy petrel*, the *shearwater*, the *tern*, and the *gull* or *seamew*. The RV, following the LXX and the Vulg., has *seamew*. It is probably to be understood generically for birds of the *Laridæ*, the *gull* family. G. E. POST.

CUCUMBER (קִשֻּׁאִים *ḳishshu'îm*, σίκυοι, *cucumeres*). —Cucumbers are universally cultivated in the E., and are a favourite article of food. Two species or varieties are common, *Cucumis sativus*, L., which is the ordinary green or whitish cucumber, and *C. Chate*, L., which is originally an Egyptian plant. The former is called in Arab. *khiyâr*. It has a very delicate flavour, and is more wholesome than the European variety. The latter is known by the name *ḳiththâ* or *miḳtî*, which is a modification of the Heb. קִשֻּׁא, and is doubtless the vegetable referred to as one of the good things of Egypt (Nu 11^{5}). It is longer and more slender than the common cucumber, being often more than a foot long, and sometimes less than an inch thick, and pointed at both ends. It has a thick, hairy, mottled or striped green rind, with a less juicy pulp than the *khiyâr*, but a similar, though less delicate, flavour. Although originating in Egypt, it is everywhere cultivated in the East. It is esteemed coarser than the *khiyâr*, and sold cheaper.

A cardinal difference between the *ḳiththâ* and the *khiyâr* is that the latter cannot be cultivated without constant irrigation. The *ḳiththâ*, while often cultivated on watered soil, and then attaining a large size, grows on perfectly dry soil also, without a drop of water through the hot summer months, during which it flourishes. The word *khiyâr* is said to be of Persian origin.

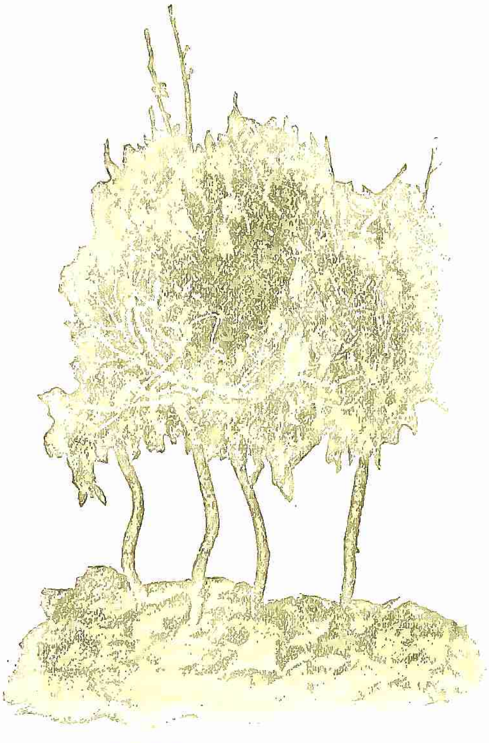

A 'LODGE IN A GARDEN OF CUCUMBERS.'

The expression 'garden of cucumbers' (Is 1^{8}) is מִקְשָׁה *mikshâh*, a noun of place, meaning the place of *ḳishshu*, and is exactly reproduced in the Arab. *miḳtha'at*. The lodge is the booth of the man who watches the patch. This booth is made of four upright poles, 6 or 8 ft. high, planted in the ground, and tied by withes of flexible bark to four horizontal poles at their tip. Over the frame made by these horizontal poles are laid cross poles, and, over all, branches of trees. Sometimes a floor is made by tying four other horizontal poles at a few inches or feet above the ground, and laying over them a flooring of cross poles. Walls are sometimes made of wattled branches, more or less enclosing the frail tenement. Such booths are to be seen in all the cucumber and melon patches, and in vineyards and other cultivated land which requires watching. They are fitting emblems of instability, as the withes with which they are tied together give way before the winds of autumn, the branches are scattered, and the whole structure soon drops into a shapeless heap of poles and wattles, themselves soon to be carried off and used as firewood, or left to rot on the ground.

G. E. POST.

CULTURE.—Only 2 Es 8^{6} AV and RV, 'give us seed unto our heart, and culture to our understanding, that there may come fruit of it.' The Eng. word is a direct and accurate tr. of the Lat. (*cultura*), and is used in its own earliest sense of the cultivation or tillage of the soil. Coverdale, Matthew, and the Bishops have 'build,' Geneva 'prepare,' but Douay 'give tillage to' the understanding.

J. HASTINGS.

CUMBER (from old Fr. *combrer*, 'to hinder,' which is from low Lat. *cumbrus*, i.e. *cumulus*, 'a heap'; thus c. = 'put a heap in the way').—1. To harass, worry, Lk 10^{40} 'Martha was cumbered about much serving.' Cf. Coverdale's tr. of 1 K 21^{5} 'What is ye matter that thy sprete is so combred?' The usual prep. is 'with'; here 'about' is a lit. tr. of the Gr. περί (περιεσπᾶτο περὶ πολλὴν διακονίαν). RVm gives 'distracted,' like Ostervald's *distraite*, and as 1 Co 7^{35} 'without distraction,' AV and RV (ἀπερισπάστως). 'Cumbered' is Tindale's; Wyclif has 'martha bisied aboute the oft seruyse'; Coverdale, 'Martha made hir self moch to do to serue him.' 2. To 'block up,' 'burden,' Lk 13^{7} 'Cut it down; why cumbereth it the ground?' again from Tindale (and scarcely obsolete in this sense); Wyclif 'ocupieth,' fr. Vulg. *occupat*; Geneva, 'why kepeth it the ground baren?' a better tr. of the Gr. here (καταργέω, a favourite word with St. Paul, elsewhere only in this passage and He 2^{14}, AV 'destroy,' RV 'bring to nought'). Cf. Bunyan, *Holy War* (Clar. Press ed. p. 47), 'Thou hast been a Cumber-ground long already.' **Cumbrance**, only Dt 1^{12} 'your c.' (טָרְחֲכֶם), and Is 1^{14} RVm 'your new moons . . . are a c. unto me' (הָיוּ עָלַי לָטֹרַח, AV and RV 'trouble'). The mod. forms 'encumber,' etc., are not quite equivalent, being too wholly passive. As Davies (*Bible Eng.* p. 211) remarks, Spenser's 'cumbrous gnattes' (*F. Q.* I. i. 23) seems now a singularly inappropriate epithet.

J. HASTINGS.

CUMI.—See TALITHA.

CUMMIN (כַּמֹּן *kammôn*, κύμινον, *cyminum*).—The seed of *Cuminum cyminum*, L., an umbelliferous plant cultivated in Bible lands. It is known in Arab. by the same name as in Heb., *kammûn*, and is used in cookery as a condiment, esp. in the dishes prepared during the fasts, which, being made without meat, require more seasoning to make them palatable. It has also carminative properties, and is used in poultices for the dissipation of swellings. It has a penetrating odour and savour, not over-agreeable to most Europeans. It is twice mentioned in Scripture. Once the reference is to the mode of threshing it (Is 28$^{25.27}$) by a rod instead of the *môrag*. This is still practised with this and other seeds of plants cultivated in small quantities. It is also mentioned as subject to tithe (Mt 23^{23}).

G. E. POST.

CUN (כּוּן), 1 Ch 18^{8}.—See BEROTHAI.

CUNNING.—The Anglo-Saxon *cunnan* meant both 'to know' and 'to be able,' whence both *can*, which Bacon uses as a finite verb, *Essays* (Gold Treas. ed. p. 40), 'In Evill, the best condition is, not to will; The Second, not to Can'; and also *cunning*, which is really the pres. ptcp. of the A.-S. *cunnan* as it appears in its Middle-Eng. form *cunnen*, to know. 'Cunning,' then, up to and after 1611, is generally knowledge, skill. Cf. Purvey's Preface to the Wycliffite Version of 1388, 'the Holy Spyrit author of all wisdom and cunnynge and truth'; Bp. Barlowe's translation of Ja 3^{13} (*Dialoge* [1531], ed. of 1897, p. 34), 'Who that among you is wyse endued with connynge'; and Shaks. *Othello*, III. iii. 50, 'That errs in ignorance, and not in cunning.' In AV the subst. 'cunning' occurs only Ps 137^{5}, 'If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning.'* The adj. is common, applied to men who are skilful in some work, or to the work they do skilfully. Thus Ex 35^{35} 'the c. workman . . . and . . . those that devise c. work.' Once to women, Jer 9^{17}, in ref. to their skill as hired mourners (on which see Thomson, *Land and Book*, iii. 403). But in Eph 4^{14} 'c. craftiness,' 2 P 1^{16} 'cunningly devised fables,' the meaning is probably 'wily,' 'deceitful.' Amer. RV prefers 'skilful' where cunning has that meaning (except Is 3^{3} 'expert').

J. HASTINGS.

CUP.—1. In OT the rendering of various words, the precise distinction between which, either as to form or use, is unknown to us. The usual word is כּוֹס *kôṣ* (ποτήριον, *calix*), the ordinary drinking-vessel of rich (Gn 40$^{11. 13. 21}$) and poor (2 S 12^{3}) alike, the material of which varied, no doubt, with the rank and wealth of the owner. Numerous illustrations are found on the reliefs of the Assyrian palaces, such, *e.g.*, as the cups in the hands of Assurbanipal and his queen, in a scene often reproduced. With these compare the specimens of pottery actually found on Jewish soil, in Bliss, *Mound of Many Cities*, Nos. 174, 181, etc., and the illustration cited below.

Joseph's divining cup (גָּבִיעַ Gn 44$^{2ff.}$) was of silver, and, we may infer, of elaborate workmanship, since the same word is used for the bowls (AV) or cups (RV), *i.e.* the flower-shaped ornamentation, on the candlestick of the tabernacle (which see for details, also BOWL). That the גָּבִיעַ was larger than the *kôṣ* is clear from Jer 35^{5}. The קְשָׂוֹת *ḳĕsâvôth*, of 1 Ch 28^{17} (Phœn. קסם, see Bloch's *Phœn. Glossar*, *sub voce*), were more probably flagons, as RV in Ex 25^{29} 37^{16} (but Nu 4^{7} RV cups). The *'aggān* (אַגָּן Is 22^{24}) was rather a basin, as Ex 24^{6}, than a cup (EV).

In NT ποτήριον is the corresponding name of the ordinary drinking-cup (water Mt 10^{42} etc., wine 23^{25} etc.). The 'cup of blessing' (1 Co 10^{16}) is so named from the כּוֹס הַבְּרָכָה *kôṣ habbĕrâkhah* of the Jewish Passover (which see, also LORD'S SUPPER). The cup represented on the obverse of the so-called Maccabæan shekels may be a cup such as was used on this occasion.

2. The word cup has received an extended figurative application in both OT and NT. (*a*) As in various other literatures, 'cup' stands, esp. in Psalms, for the happy fortune or experience of one's earthly lot, mankind being thought of as receiving this lot from the hand of God, as the guest the wine-cup from the hand of his host, Ps 16^{5} 23^{5} 73^{10} etc. But also conversely for the bitter lot of the wicked, Ps 11^{6} (cf. *c*, below), and in particular for the sufferings of Jesus Christ, Mt 20$^{22. 23}$, Mk 10$^{38. 39}$ 14^{36}, Lk 22^{42}, Jn 18^{11}. (*b*) Another figure is the 'cup of salvation' (lit. 'of deliverances'), Ps 116^{13}. The reference is to the wine of the thank-offerings (שְׁלָמִים), part of the ritual of which was the festal meal before J″ (cf. vv.$^{14a. 17ff.}$). A striking parallel is found in the inscription of יחומלך of Gebal (Byblus), who is figured on his stele in the act of presenting such a cup of thanksgiving to the local deity (see his inscription in *CIS* i. 1). (*c*) By a still bolder figure the punitive wrath of the offended Deity is spoken of as a cup which the guilty, Israelites and heathen alike, must drain to the dregs. So Jer 25$^{15ff.}$ (the wine-cup [of] fury), Ezk 23$^{32-34}$, Is 51$^{17ff.}$ ('the cup of trembling' RV 'staggering'), Zec 12^{2} (RV 'cup of reeling'), Ps 75^{8}, Rev 14^{10} 16^{19} 18^{6}, for all which see the commentaries. (*d*) Lastly, we have 'the cup of consolation (ποτήριον εἰς παράκλησιν)' offered to the mourners after the funeral-rites were performed, Jer 16^{7} (cf. Pr 31^{6} and see Commentaries *in loc.* and Schwally, *Das Leben nach d. Tode*, § 8).

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

CUPBEARER (מַשְׁקֶה).—An officer of considerable importance at Oriental courts, whose duty it was to serve the wine at the table of the king. The first mention of this officer is in the story of Joseph (Gn 40$^{1-15}$), where the term rendered 'butler' (wh. see) in EV is the Heb. word above, rendered in other passages *cupbearer* (Arabic *es-sâḳi*). The holder of this office was brought into confidential relations with the king, and must have been thoroughly trustworthy, as part of his duty was to guard against poison in the king's cup. In some cases he was required to taste the wine before presenting it. The position of Nehemiah as cupbearer to Artaxerxes Longimanus was evidently high. Herodotus (iii. 34) speaks of the office at the court of Cambyses, king of Persia, as 'an honour of no small account,' and the narrative of Neh. shows the high esteem of the king for him, who is so solicitous for his welfare that he asks the cause of his sadness (2^{2}). The cupbearers among the officers of king Solomon's household (1 K 10^{5}) impressed the queen of Sheba, and they are mentioned among other indications of the grandeur of his court, which was modelled upon courts of other Oriental kings. The Rabshakeh, who was sent to Hezekiah (2 K 18^{17}), was formerly supposed to have been cupbearer to Sennacherib, but the word (רַבְשָׁקֵה) means *chief of the princes* (see Del. on Is 36^{2}, and Sayce, *HCM* p. 441). Among the Assyrians, the cupbearers, like other attendants of the king, were commonly eunuchs, as may be seen from the monuments; and such was the case generally at Oriental courts. The Persians, however, did not so uniformly employ eunuchs, and probably never so degraded their own people or the Jews who served them. Certainly, Nehemiah was not a eunuch. Herod the Great had a cupbearer who was a eunuch (Jos. *Ant.* XVI. viii. 1).

H. PORTER.

CUPBOARD (κυλίκιον, 1 Mac 15^{32}).—A sideboard used for the display of gold and silver plate. This is the earliest meaning of cupboard, a board or table for displaying cups and other vessels; cf. Greene (1592), 'Her mistress . . . set all her plate on the cubboorde for shewe.'

J. HASTINGS.

CURIOUS.—Of the many meanings which once belonged to this word only two now remain, *inquisitive* and *peculiar*. Of these the first is found in Apocr., 2 Es 4^{23} (*interrogare*) 9^{13} (*curiosus esse*), Sir 3^{23} (μὴ περιεργάζου, RV 'Be not over busy'), 2 Mac 2^{30} (πολυπραγμονεῖν). In OT curious occurs as a description of 'the girdle of the ephod' in Ex 28$^{8. 27. 28}$ 29^{5} 39$^{5. 20. 21}$, Lv 8^{7}, for which RV substitutes 'cunningly woven,' Amer. RV 'skilfully woven.' 'Curious girdle' (AV) or 'cunningly woven band' (RV) represents one word in Heb., חֵשֶׁב *ḥêshebh*, which comes from חָשַׁב *ḥâshabh*, to think, devise, invent ingenious or artistic things; whence also חֹשֵׁב *ḥôshêbh*, tr^{d} 'cunning workman'; and מַחֲשָׁבָה *maḥăshâbhah*, device, invention, tr^{d} 'curious works,' Ex 35^{32} (RV 'cunning works'),

---

* The Heb. is simply 'let my right hand forget' (תִּשְׁכַּח יְמִינִי), which may be dealt with in three ways. 1. As a passive: so LXX, ἐπιλησθείη ἡ δεξιά μου; Vulg., oblivioni detur dextera mea; Luth., so werde meiner Rechten vergessen; Ostervald, que ma droite s'oublie elle-même; Coverdale, 'let my right hande be forgotten.' But the Heb. as it stands cannot be tr^{d} passively. 2. As a corrupt text. The simplest emendation is proposed by Delitzsch, תִּשָּׁכַח, which gives the pass. at once, and with which may be compared Jer 23^{40}. Other suggested emendations will be found in Cheyne, *Book of Psalms*, crit. n. *in loc.* But Wellhausen (in Haupt) leaves the Heb. untouched and unnoticed. 3. As an ellipsis. So Del. as an alternative, 'let my right hand show itself forgetful' (cf. Wyclif's tr. 'my rigt hond be gouun [given] to forgeting'; Cheyne, 'let my right hand deny its service' (but in parchment ed. 1884, 'let the strength of my right hand dry up'); Geneva, 'forget to play'; Bishops' Bible, AV, and RV 'forget her cunning.'

'Crafty,' 'cunning,' and 'curious' were all used formerly in the sense of clever, ingenious; cf. Barbour (1375), *Bruce*, x. 359—

> 'A crafty man and a curiouss';

and as a good parallel to the passages in Ex, Shaks. *Cymb.* v. v. 361—

> 'He, sir, was lapp'd
> In a most curious mantle, wrought by the hand
> Of his queen mother.'

The same thought is found in Ps 139^{15} 'I was made in secret, and curiously wrought in the lowest parts of the earth.' The Heb. here (רֻקַּמְתִּי) means 'variegated'; 'the body or the fœtus is described as woven together of so many different-coloured threads, like a cunning and beautiful network or tapestry'—Perowne.

The only other occurrence of 'curious' is in Ac 19^{19} 'c. arts,' meaning 'magical arts,' as RVm (Gr. *τὰ περίεργα*, lit. 'superfluous things,' 'things better left alone' (Page); cf. Sir 3^{23} above, and see BUSYBODY). 'Curious' here is due to Wyclif, 'curiouse thingis,' a literal tr. of Vulg. *curiosa*; Tindale, 'c. crafts'; Geneva, 'c. artes' (Vulg. marg. *curiosas artes*). From this place it has passed into English literature, as Bacon, *Essays*, 35, 'the Q. Mother, who was given to Curious Arts, caused the King her Husbands Nativitie, to be Calculated, under a false Name.' J. HASTINGS.

CURSE.—Under this title an account is given of the ideas connected primarily with the Heb. words הֶחֱרִים and חֵרֶם (*ḥērem*), and with the Gr. word ἀνάθεμα (*anathema*), so far as it is representative of the latter. The Heb. words are variously rendered in AV: 'the *accursed* thing' in Jos $7^{1.\,11\,\text{etc.}}$; 'everything *devoted*' in Nu 18^{14}; 'every *dedicated*' thing in Ezk 44^{29}; 'and I will *consecrate* their spoil' in Mic 4^{13}. RV has in all these places 'devote' or 'devoted thing'; where the object is personal, it has usually 'utterly destroy' (see Driver on Dt 2^{34} 7^{2} or *Sam.* p. 100 f.). A thing which is חֵרֶם is irrevocably withdrawn from common use. This may be done in two ways, or at least may have two kinds of result. In the one case, the devoted thing becomes God's; it falls irredeemably to Him, or to His sanctuary or His priests. In this sense, as has been pointed out, to 'devote' a thing is to make a peculiar kind of vow concerning it. The most instructive passage, in illustration of this sense, is Lv $27^{28\text{f.}}$ 'No devoted thing, that a man shall devote unto the Lord of all that he hath, whether of man or beast, or of the field of his possession, shall be sold or redeemed: every devoted thing is most holy unto the Lord. None devoted, which shall be devoted from among men, shall be ransomed; he shall surely be put to death.' In the second and third of the passages quoted above (Nu 18^{14}, Ezk 44^{29}), it is said expressly that every devoted thing in Israel is the priest's: this might include the spoil of conquered nations, carried into the temple treasury, as perhaps in Mic 4^{13}, or property of any other description which a man irrevocably alienated. But the last words in Lv 27^{29} (he shall surely be put to death) point to the second, and much the commoner, use of the words הֶחֱרִים and חֵרֶם. To 'devote' a thing means to put it under the ban, to make and to execute a vow of extermination, so far as that thing is concerned. It is this meaning that has occasioned the Eng. rendering for חֵרֶם—the accursed thing. Whatever is devoted to utter destruction is regarded as under a curse. Things which are so devoted are in a sense inviolable; in the old, morally neutral sense of holiness, it may be said that a peculiar degree of holiness attaches to them. The thing called חֵרֶם is at the same time קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים ליהוה (compare the seemingly opp. meanings of *sacer* in Latin, and the idea of *taboo*). It was common in ancient warfare to 'devote,' or put under the ban, the enemy and anything or everything which belonged to him. All wars were holy wars; warriors were consecrated (Is 13^{2}); and the ban, which seemed natural in the circumstances, might be of greater or less extent. In Dt 2^{34}, which speaks of the conquest of Sihon's kingdom, we are told that Israel 'utterly destroyed (devoted) every inhabited city, with the women and the little ones,' and the same terrible account is given in Dt 3^{6} of Og and Bashan. In Dt 7^{2} this is even laid down as the law for the conduct of the sacred war against the Canaanites. But it is only human beings that are here put under the ban: 'The cattle we took for a prey unto ourselves, with the spoil of the cities which we had taken.' In some cases the ban was more stringent. In Dt 7^{25} it is specially extended to the precious metal on the images of the Canaanites: this is an abomination to J″; and 'thou shalt not bring an abomination into thy house, and become a devoted thing (חֵרֶם) like it . . . for it is a devoted thing.' It was a ban, or curse, of this stringent type which Achan violated at the conquest of Jericho, and Hiel the Bethelite, long afterwards, when he rebuilt the town. He who appropriates what is חֵרֶם, as Achan did, becomes himself (Dt 7^{25}, Jos 6^{18}) חֵרֶם: the ban, or sentence of extermination, is extended to him, and he is ruthlessly destroyed, with all the persons and property that attach to him. It was a similar ban which Saul violated, or allowed the people to violate, in the war with Amalek; and his action is represented as equally serious, though not followed on the instant by such tragical results. In point of fact, it was not practicable for the Israelites to 'devote' the Canaanites wholesale (1 K 9^{21}); and the proclamation of ruthless warfare, under the auspices of a god, was no peculiarity of theirs. The same thing is affirmed of the Assyrians in 2 K 19^{11}, and of Mesha on the Moabite stone. It is more interesting to note that God Himself is sometimes the subject who proclaims this war, or pronounces this sentence of destruction. Thus in Is 34^{2} 'The Lord hath indignation against all the nations . . . He hath devoted them (הֶחֱרִימָם), He hath given them up to the slaughter.' So in v.^{5} Edom is עַם־חֶרְמִי the people whom I have devoted. And in Mal 4^{6} God threatens to come and lay the earth under a ban.

It is usual to point to Ezr 10^{8} as an instance marking the transition between the ancient and awful use of חֵרֶם, and that post-biblical use in which it is equivalent to Excommunication. We are told here that all the substance of a man who did not answer a certain summons should be forfeited (יָחֳרַם), and he himself separated (יִבָּדֵל) from the congregation. Probably this is the first trace of Jewish ecclesiastical usages, of which hints are to be found in NT in such passages as Mt 18^{17}, Jn 9^{22} 12^{42} 16^{2}, Lk 6^{22}. Though such usages, no doubt, would influence the practice of the Christian Church, it is not likely that they have anything to do with that 'delivering' of offenders 'to Satan,' of which we read in 1 Co 5^{5}, 1 Ti 1^{20}. The suggestion in both these cases, and especially in the first, which has been interpreted of a sentence of death, is rather of a severity resembling that of the ancient 'ban'; but with the significant difference, that in both the purpose of this solemn exclusion from the Christian community is remedial. Both the incestuous person at Corinth, and Hymenæus and Alexander in Asia, are to profit eventually by their discipline.

The true succession to חֵרֶם is represented in NT by those passages in which ἀνάθεμα (Anathema) is found. This is the usual LXX rendering of the word. Thus in Dt 7^{26} referred to above, the Gr. is *ἀνάθεμα ἔσῃ ὥσπερ καὶ τοῦτο*: thou shalt be 'accursed' like the accursed thing which thou takest. Cf. Jos $6^{17\text{f.}}$, Zec 14^{11}.

Even the place-name Hormah (Nu 21^{3}) is rendered *ἀνάθεμα*; a variant is *ἐξολέθρευσις*. In NT the word is used only by St. Luke and St. Paul (Rev 22^{3} quotes Zec 14^{11}, but with the form *κατάθεμα*). In Ac 23$^{12. 14. 21}$ we read of men who '*ἀναθέματι ἀνεθεματίσαμεν ἑαυτούς*'—bound themselves with imprecations on their own heads—neither to eat nor to drink till they had killed Paul. The same verb is used in Mk 14^{71} with *ὀμνύναι* to describe Peter's profane denial of Christ: he wished he might be cursed or damned if he knew the man. But the serious passages are in St. Paul. In 1 Co 12^{3} we have, No man speaking in the spirit of God says, Jesus is *ἀνάθεμα*. This *may* mean that no man speaking in the spirit of God can do what Paul once tried to get Christians to do—blaspheme Christ, *i.e.* speak profanely of Him, without defining more precisely how (Ac 26^{11}). Or it may mean that no one speaking in the spirit of God can speak of Christ as an object of hatred to God, as Jews with the cross in their minds might do. For illustrations of the passage, see Edwards, *ad loc.* (*Com.* on 1 Cor.), and Harnack's note on *Didache*, xvi. 5 (*ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος*). In Ro 9^{3} St. Paul says he could wish himself to be *ἀνάθεμα* from Christ for his brethren's sake. This is exactly the חֵרֶם of OT: he could wish to perish that they might be saved—'a spark from the fire of Christ's substitutionary love.' It is only the other side of this passion which is seen in the other passages where the word is used: 1 Co 16^{22}, Gal 1$^{8f.}$. 'If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be *ἀνάθεμα*': the apostle assents to God's will that no part in bliss, but only utter perdition, can be his who does not love the Saviour. So again, when he says, and says deliberately and repeatedly, of the man or the angel who preaches another gospel than he has preached, 'let him be *ἀνάθεμα*,' he expresses in the strongest possible style his assurance that the gospel he preaches is the one way of salvation, that to preach another is to make the grace of God vain, to stultify the death of Christ and to delude men, and that for such sins there can be nothing but a final irremediable judgment, to which he assents. The vehemence is like that with which Christ says, that better than a man should make one of His little ones stumble would it be for that man to have a millstone hanged about his neck, and be cast into the depths of the sea. In both cases the passion of indignation is the passion of sympathy with the love of God, and with the weak, to whom an irreparable injury is being done.

The word 'curse' is also used in the English Bible as the tr. of קְלָלָה and *κατάρα*. The interest of this centres in the passage Gal 3$^{10-13}$, and in the ref. there to Dt 21^{23}. The non-observance of the law, St. Paul teaches, puts men (some limit it to the Jews) under a curse; from this curse Christ redeems them by becoming Himself a curse (*κατάρα*) on their behalf. The proof that Christ did become a curse is given in the form of a reference to the Crucifixion: it is written, 'cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree' (Dt 21^{23}). The Heb. is קִלְלַת אֱלֹהִים, the LXX *κεκατηραμένος ὑπὸ θεοῦ*; and it has been often remarked that St. Paul does not introduce 'by God' into his quotation. Some seem to think that he shrank from doing it, as if it would have been equivalent to saying *ἀνάθεμα Ἰησοῦς*. But he does not shrink from saying that God made Christ to be sin for us (2 Co 5^{21}), which, in its identification of Christ with, or its substitution of Christ for, the sinner, is exactly the same as His becoming a curse in Gal 3^{13}. The important thing is not that St. Paul omits the *ὑπὸ θεοῦ*, but that, as Cremer remarks, he avoids the personal *κεκατηραμένος* of the LXX, and employs the abstract *κατάρα*. In His death on the cross He was identified under God's dispensation with the doom of sin: He became curse for us; and it is on this our redemption depends. See Cross.

Literature.—Besides the comm. on the various passages quoted, see Merx in Schenkel, *Bibel-Lex. s.v.* 'Bann'; Ewald, *Ant. of Isr.* pp. 76-79 (Eng. tr.); Smend, *A.T. Religionsgeschichte*, § 334; W. R. Smith, *RS*, p. 434 f.; Weber, *Die Lehren des Talmud*, 137-139; Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 60 ff., 157.

J. Denney.

CURTAIN.—1. The ordinary tent of the Semitic nomad, in modern times, is made by sewing together a number of narrow lengths of a water-resisting material, as a rule cloth woven from yarn of goats' and camels' hair mixed with sheeps' wool. And so it must have been in ancient times.* Hence we read of a Heb. country maid being 'black as the tents of Kedar' (Ca 1^{5}). The name of these lengths of tent-cloth was in the Heb. יְרִיעוֹת (AV and RV 'curtains'). The weaving of them, as well as the previous spinning of the yarn, was and is one of the chief occupations of the women of the tribe (Ex 35$^{25. 26}$; Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, i. pp. 81, 125; Doughty, see footnote). With a more advanced civilization men also took to weaving as a trade (1 Ch 4^{21}); indeed this particular branch, the weaving of goats' hair cloth, is well known to have been one of the staple industries of Tarsus, which has led many scholars to interpret *σκηνοποιός* (Ac 18^{3}) as 'a weaver of tent-cloth' (see art. 'Paulus' in *PRE*^{2} xi. 359).† In OT we find that ten of these *yĕrî'ôth* or curtains, of special width and workmanship, were to be 'coupled together,' in two sets of five, to form the innermost covering of the tabernacle proper (the *Mishkān*), as given in detail Ex 26$^{1ff.}$. Above this was a more ordinary covering, composed of eleven curtains of the usual goats' hair, and constituting the אֹהֶל or tent of the tabernacle (Ex 26$^{7ff.}$). For further particulars about these curtains see Tabernacle. *Yĕrî'ôth* is also used in OT of the curtains or tent-cloth of ordinary nomad tents (Jer 49^{29}) and of the gala-tents of king Solomon (Ca 1^{5}), and often stands in poetic parallelism with אֹהֶל 'tent,' Is 54^{2}, Jer 4^{20} 10^{20}, Hab 3^{7}. The sing. יְרִיעָה is even used of the tent erected by David for the ark on Mt. Zion, 2 S 7^{2} (LXX *ἐν μέσῳ τῆς σκηνῆς*, but 1 Ch 17^{1} יְרִיעוֹת plur.).

2. In AV the portière (מָסָךְ) which closed the entrance to the Holy Place of the tabernacle, and is elsewhere in AV tr^{d} 'hanging,' is once rendered curtain (Nu 3^{26}). The same Heb. word is also applied to the similar curtain at the entrance of the court of the tabernacle. The uniform tr^{n} in RV is 'screen,' even when the name is applied to the 'veil of the screen' which separated the Holy Place from the Holy of Holies, cf. Ex 26^{36} 35^{12} etc. See further Tabernacle.

3. Is 40^{22} the word tr^{d} curtain (דֹּק) seems from its etymology to denote some fine material such as gauze (so RVm, Dillm., Duhm).

4. In the Book of Judith we read of Holofernes possessing a very magnificent *κωνωπεῖον* (EV 'canopy,' Jth 10^{21} 13$^{9. 15}$ 16^{19}) 'of purple and gold and emerald and precious stones inwoven.' This, as the name and the context of 10^{21} imply, must have been a mosquito-curtain. See Canopy.

A. R. S. Kennedy.

CUSH (כּוּשׁ).—1. In the hieroglyphs Kash, Kaish, Kish, Keshi, Kesh, or Kesha, a nation to which frequent reference is made in the Bible. Its founder is given in the ethnological tables of Gn (10^{6}) as son of Ham, and brother of Mizraim (Egypt), Put, and Canaan. Though the form Kush is not found in the hieroglyphs, there is no doubt of the identity of the nation ordinarily referred to in the Bible, and located by Ezk 29^{10} S. of Egypt, with the *Kesh*, whose home was in Ethiopia, but who were known to the Hebrews through the prominent part they played in Egyp. affairs. This country, 'embracing the territories S. of Egypt originally inhabited by negro tribes called Nahs. u' (Brugsch, *Geographie der Nachbarländer Ægyptens*, p. 4), and extending S. from the first cataract, though repeatedly invaded by Egyp. kings of the early dynasties, was formally enrolled in Egypt by Tahutmes I. of the 18th dynasty, and put under a governor called the prince of Kesh (Egyp. *seten-si en Kesh*, king's-son of Cush), who from the 18th dynasty regularly figures in the Egyp. records by the side of the king of Egypt. Somewhere about 1000 B.C., during the wars between the high priests of Amon (descendants of Ḥrihor) and the Tanites, the Upper Nile was lost to Egypt, and it is probable that descendants of Ḥrihor, escaping to Napata, on Mt. Barkal (according to some authorities, the Heb. נֹף, which is more probably to be identified with Memphis), founded a dynasty. These kings took the same titles as the Egyp. monarchs; at about B.C. 800, at the end of the reign of Sheshonḳ II., they occupied Thebes; and about 775, under the king Pi'anchi, they had spread as far S. as Hermopolis, while all important towns had Eth. garrisons. An attempt made by Tefnaht of Sais (whose name survives in Gr. authors under the form Τνέφαχθος) to unite the petty princes under whose rule Lower Egypt had now fallen, in resisting them, was defeated at Memphis, (the great stele of Pi'anchi, edited by Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, and tr. by Brugsch, *Gesch. Ægyp.* 682–707, in which this event is described, is one of the most important of the hieroglyphic monuments), although for reasons not known Pi'anchi afterwards made terms with Tefnaht, whose son Bokenranf, or Bocchoris, is represented by Manetho as the founder of the 24th dynasty. During the reign of this king (about B.C. 728), a successor of Pi'anchi (probably after some intermediate reigns), Shabaka, son of Kashtu, called in the Bible סוא *So'* (2 K 17^{4}, which should rather be read Sava, representing the name without the definite article), himself on the mother's side a descendant of Osorkon III. of the 23rd dynasty, invaded Lower Egypt, defeated Bocchoris, and put him to death; and, unlike his predecessor Pi'anchi, succeeded in obtaining a permanent hold on the country, whence he and his two successors are regarded as constituting a 25th, or Eth. dynasty. The conspiracy between this king and Hosea of Isr. against the Assyr. led to the defeat of the former at Raphia in 720, and to the captivity of the ten tribes; and the identification of Egypt with Ethiopia at this time is alluded to in Is 7^{18}, where the 'fly that is in the uttermost part of the river of Egypt,' *i.e.* Ethiopia, is made co-ordinate with Assyria as a first-rate power; and in Is $20^{4f.}$ the names Cush and Mizraim are used as synonyms. (See especially Lenormant, 'Mémoire sur l'époque Eth.' *Rev. Archéologique*, 1870). Under Shabaka's son Shabataka, or Sebichos (perhaps the *Sabteca* of Gn 10^{7}), it is probable that anarchy again broke out in the Delta, a state of things reflected in the prophecy of Is 19. The king Shabataka, who had acceded in 716, was followed in 704 by Taharka (the תִּרְהָקָה of the Bible, 2 K 19^{9}), who is said to have murdered his predecessor and to have married Shabaka's widow, acknowledging her son as co-regent. As in 2 K 19^{9} he is officially described as king of Cush only, it is probable that his authority was not at first recognized in Egypt. During his reign occurred the famous conspiracy which led to Sennacherib's invasion of Pal., terminating most probably in the defeat of the Egyp. forces at Altaku, although, as the Assyr. were unable to follow up their victory, peace was made between the two powers, giving Taharka time to consolidate his authority; until in 671 a fresh quarrel with the Assyr. led to the invasion of Egypt by Esarhaddon, who conquered the country as far S. as Thebes; and a fresh attempt of Taharka to turn out the Assyr. at the accession of Assurbanipal in 668 led only to a fresh invasion and renewed disasters in the following year. Taharka's son and successor Tanuatama, or Urdamani, who acceded in 664, would seem to have made one more attempt to free the country from the Assyr., but without more success than his predecessors, and in the following year the Eth. rule came finally to an end. Their own country was invaded by Cambyses in B.C. 525, whence in the lists of Darius the Cushiya figure as a subject race. Though the Persians could not permanently occupy the country, they would seem to have destroyed Napata, the chief town after this time being Meroë or Barua, slightly N. of Shendi on the Upper Nile, which Herodotus regards as the chief city, although Napata was long regarded as the sacred city. The ancients tell us about the elective nature of the Eth. monarchy, their statements being, in part, confirmed by the monuments of Napata; and it would seem that the kings were chosen out of certain families by the god, *i.e.* by the priests, who also had the right to command the king to put an end to his life if they thought fit—a right which was finally abolished by king Erkamon, or Ergamenes, early in the 3rd cent. B.C. This custom, which has been illustrated from the practice of tribes still existing in Africa, may be regarded as specifically Eth., as also the female rule, which at most periods of Eth. history seems to have had theoretical or practical recognition; in Rom. times they were governed by queens, called always Candace (cf. Ae 8^{27}), apparently associated with their sons; but even in their earlier history the important position given to the kings' mothers and sisters anticipates this practice. Otherwise, Eth. culture, art, and religion, as well as the official language, would seem to have been directly borrowed from Egypt; and while the idea that Egyp. culture was Eth. in origin must be distinctly rejected, the theory of Lepsius, that the Cush were the nation who circulated that culture through the ancient world, would seem to rest on no secure foundation. **2.** The fact that Cush in Gn 10^{8} is represented as the father of Nimrod, probably comes from the confusion of the Kesh with the *Cossæi*, or Kashshu, a tribe who had possession of Babylonia between the 16th and 13th cent. B.C.* **3.** For the names of the sons of Cush in Gn 10^{7}, see SEBA, HAVILAH, SABTAH, RAAMAH, and SABTACA.

---

* 'The tent-stuff is seamed of narrow lengths of the housewives' rude worsted weaving; the yarn is their own spinning, of the mingled wool of the sheep and camels' and goats' hair together. Thus it is that the cloth is blackish,' Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, i. p. 225.

† *σκηνοποιός*, *loc. cit.*, is more probably a synonym of *σκηνοῤῥάφος*, one who prepared and put together the lengths supplied by the weavers. See Ramsay and Nestle in *Expos. Times*, viii. (1897) 109, 153, 286.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

CUSH (כּוּשׁ, LXX *Χουσεί*).—Mentioned only in the title of Ps 7. The older translators appear to have read כּוּשִׁי (Aq. Symm. Theod. Jer.). 'As the name of a person, the word is of uncertain meaning' (Delitzsch). Cush is described as a Benjamite, and was probably a follower of Saul who opposed David. The seventh psalm sheds no light on name, person, or character.

W. T. DAVISON.

CUSHAN-RISHATHAIM (כּוּשַׁן רִשְׁעָתַיִם, Χουσαρσαθάιμ, AV Chushan-rishathaim), king of Mesopotamia or Aram-naharaim, was the first of those oppressors into whose hands God delivered Israel for their apostasy in the days of the Judges (Jg 3^{8-10}). For eight years they were in bondage to this king, till they were delivered by Caleb's younger brother Othniel. Of Cushan-rishathaim nothing more is known directly, and his name has not yet been found on the monuments. The country over which he ruled, 'Aram of the Two Rivers,' was in all probability the territory lying between the Euphrates and the Chabōras, the last of the tributaries of the Great River. (See Aram-naharaim in art. ARAM, p. 138^b.) Its two cities mentioned in Scripture are Haran (Gn 28^{10}) and Pethor (Dt 23^4, Nu 22^5). It is known as Nahrina on the Egyptian monuments, and Nahrima in the Tel el-Amarna tablets, the native name of its people being Mitanni. Sayce (the soundness of whose argument, however, is denied by Moore and Driver) finds a remarkable correspondence between the notice of Cushan-rishathaim in Jg and the history of the reign of Ramses III. 'The eight years,' he says, 'during which the king of Aram-naharaim oppressed Israel would exactly agree with the interval between the beginning of the Libyan attack upon Egypt and the campaign of the Pharaoh against Syria. We know from the Egyptian records that Mitanni of Aram-naharaim took part in the invasion of Egypt; we also know from them that the king of Mitanni was not among those who actually marched into the Delta. He participated in the southward movement of the peoples of the north, and nevertheless lingered on the way. What is more probable than that he again sought to secure that dominion in Canaan which had belonged to some of his predecessors?' See further OTHNIEL.

---

* Hommel, however (*Expository Times* [1897], viii. 378) would regard the tribe mentioned here as one existing in Central Arabia, to which he finds further reference in 2 Ch 14^{9}, where Zerah the Cushite is said to have invaded Judah in the days of Asa (cf. LXX both here and in 2 Ch 21^{16}, where he finds the Arab. tribe Μασουῖται, *Mazin*, mentioned). The name Zerah (or Dirrih) is found as a title of early Sabæan kings. It may be doubted, however, if the LXX readings really preserve either the original text or an ancient tradition respecting its meaning.

LITERATURE.—Moore, *Judges*, pp. 84-89; Driver, *Contemp. Rev.* (1894), p. 420 ff.; Sayce, *HCM*, pp. 297-304.

T. NICOL.

CUSHI, CUSHITE (כּוּשִׁי, הַכּוּשִׁי).—The word occurs with the article in Nu 12^1, 2 S 18^{21}; without the article in Jer 36^{14}, Zeph 1^1. 1. With the article it is probably merely an expression of nationality, 'the Cushite' (see CUSH). That in both instances it was a sufficient designation of the person in question, seems to show that there were but few Cushites among the Israelites. In both, the foreign character of the person intended is indicated by the narrative. It was looked upon as a disgrace that Moses should have married a Cushite. In 2 S 18^{23} the stranger is unacquainted with the short-cut made use of by Ahimaaz. 2. Without the article the word is used merely as a proper name. It is borne by (1) the great-grandfather of Jehudi, the latter one of Jehoiakim's courtiers (Jer 36^{14}); (2) the father of the prophet Zephaniah (Zeph 1^1).

F. H. WOODS.

CUSTOM (τέλος, Mt 17^{25}, Ro 13^7, comp. 1 Mac 10^{31} 11^{35}), toll, tax upon goods, generally *ad valorem*, as distinguished from κῆνσος and φόρος, tribute, an annual tax on houses, lands, and persons. Custom ordinarily went into the treasury of the native government. Thus in Palestine the Herods in Galilee and Peræa received the custom, whereas in Judæa it was paid to the procurator for behoof of the Roman government. The custom (τέλος) was collected by the tax-gatherer (τελώνης). For full details see PUBLICAN and TAXES.

J. MACPHERSON.

CUTH, CUTHAH (כּוּתָה, כּוּת; B Χουνθά, Χούθ; A Χουά).—One of the cities from which Sargon brought colonists to take the place of the Israelites whom he had deported from Samaria, B.C. 722 (2 K $17^{24.30}$). These colonists intermingled with the Israelite inhabitants who were left by Sargon; and their descendants, the Samaritans, were in consequence termed by the Jews Cuthæans (כּוּתִים). According to the old Arabic geographers, Cuthah was situated not far from Babylon, and there seem to have been two cities of the same name close to each other (de Sacy, *Chrest. Arab.* i. 331). This view as to the site of Cuthah is borne out by the Assyrian inscriptions, from which we learn that *Kutî* (or *Kutû*) was a city of Middle-Babylonia. It has now been identified with the modern *Tell-Ibrâhîm*, N.E. of Babylon, where remains of the temple of Nergal (cf. $v.^{30}$) have been discovered (see Schrader, *COT*, i. 270 f.). Cuthah has also been identified as the name of a country near Kurdistan, possibly = *Ur Kasdîm* (Gn 11^{31})—Neubauer, *Géogr.* p. 379; while others consider 'Cutheans' to be another form of 'Cossæans,' a tribe dwelling in the Persian province Jutipa, the modern Khuzistan, E. of the mouth of the Tigris.

J. F. STENNING.

CUTHA (A Κουθά, B om., AV **Coutha**), 1 Es 5^{32}.—His sons were among the temple servants who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel. There is no corresponding name in the lists of Ezra and Neh. The name may be taken from the Babylonian town Cuthah or Cuth (2 K $17^{24.30}$).

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

CUTTINGS IN THE FLESH.—i. In the legislation of Dt (D) and in the *corpus* known as the 'Law of Holiness' (H), the Hebrews are forbidden to 'cut themselves' (לֹא תִתְגֹּדְדוּ Dt 14^1) or to 'make any cutting' (lit. an incision שֶׂרֶט Lv 19^{28}, שָׂרֶטֶת Lv 21^5, LXX ἐντομίς) in their flesh 'for the dead.' The prohibition in question is aimed at one of the most widely-spread tokens of grief at the loss of relatives or friends. To scratch and beat one's self to the effusion of blood, nay, to gash and hack one's self of set purpose, may be said to be an all but universal custom among uncivilized and semi-civilized races at the present day. It must suffice to refer to such well-known works as Waitz's *Anthropologie der Naturvölker* (*passim*), and H. Spencer's *Principles of Sociology*, 3rd ed. vol. i. pp. 163 ff., 277, 292, etc. (see also authorities named at the close of this art.). The prevalence of the custom is equally attested for nearly all the nations of antiquity, the Egyptians being the most notable exception (Herod. bk. ii. 61, 85; Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyp.* [1854] vol. ii. p. 374). Thus Herodotus tells us that the Scythians of his time on the death of their king 'cut off their ears, shear their hair, and make incisions all over (περιτάμνονται) their arms' (iv. 71). Xenophon gives a similar account of the Armenians and Assyrians (*Cyrop.* iii. 1. 13). The legislation of Solon, acc. to Plutarch, forbade the women of Athens to beat themselves to the effusion of blood (ἀμυχὰς κοπτομένων . . . ἀφεῖλεν, *Sol.* 21), and the same is affirmed of the laws of the Twelve Tables ('mulieres genas ne radunto'—quoted by Cicero, *de Leg.* ii. 23). Among the ancient Arabs, further, the practice forbidden at Athens and Rome was associated, as it was among the Heb. (see below), with the cutting off of the hair (*Kitâb al-Aghâni*, xiv. 101, 28—this and other reff. in Wellh. *Skizzen*, iii. 160 f.). Thus the poet Lebîd 'says to his daughters, When I die, do not scratch your faces or shave off your hair,' xxi. 4 [ed. Huber and Brockelmann].* The earliest reference to this custom of making cuttings in the flesh among the Hebrews is in what appears to be the orig. reading in Hos 7^{14} (see RVm), where several MSS (see De Rossi, *Var. Lectt. Vet. Test. in loc.*) have יתגודדו, which was also the reading of the Greek translators (κατατέμνονται). It was widely prevalent in the time of Jeremiah, not only among his countrymen of the South (16^6) and those of the central highlands

---

* Quoted by Driver, *Comm.* on Deut. 14^1, p. 156, from a MS note of the late Professor W. R. Smith.

(41^5), but also among the neighbouring Philistines (47^5), and Moabites 'upon all the hands shall be cuttings' גְּדֻדֹת 48^{37}. The passages cited, taken along with the abundant evidence for the usually associated practice of shaving the head (Am 8^{10}, Is 3^{24} 15^2 22^{12}, Mic 1^{16}, Jer 48^{37}, Ezk 7^{18}), clearly prove that the customs in question were universally practised by the Hebrews in pre-exilic times. And further, the remarkable phraseology of Is 22^{12} 'J″ *called* to weeping and to mourning and *to baldness*' (with which cf. Mic 1^{16}), seems to show that the prohibition of D was unknown in the age of Hezekiah. The attitude of this code to both the above-mentioned practices is very decided: 'Ye shall not cut yourselves, nor make any baldness between your eyes for the dead' (Dt 14^1). H, incorporated in the priestly legislation of P, re-states the prohibition in more technical language, both for the people generally (Lv 19^{28}) and *à fortiori* for the priests in particular (21^5).

ii. When we inquire as to the *raison d'être* of these prohibitions we find considerable difference of opinion. We may, however, at once set aside as entirely inadequate the view that their purpose was to restrain that exuberance of emotion which the Hebrews shared with other Oriental peoples; in other words, to prohibit certain extravagant manifestations of grief as such. To say, for example, that 'the practices here (Dt 14^1) named seem to be forbidden . . . because such excesses of grief would be inconsistent in those who as children of a heavenly Father had prospects beyond this world' (*Speaker's Comm.* on Dt 14^1), is quite unscientific, inasmuch as considerations are here introduced altogether foreign to this stage of revelation. Nor yet is it sufficient to regard these prohibitions—for we must remember that artificial baldness and tattooing the skin (see below) stand in the same category with the more drastic cuttings in the flesh—as *primarily* directed against the disfigurement of the human body which is God's handiwork. It cannot be denied that both the explanations just adduced have a certain amount of force and truth, but they do not seem to reach the original significance of the prohibitions in question.

In our search for the real origin of the latter, two points have to be kept in mind: both the cuttings and the baldness are expressly stated to be 'for the dead,' and, not less explicitly, to be incompatible with Israel's unique relation to J″, a relation at once of sonship (Dt 41^1) and of consecration (קדש לי״ 14^2). Now it is admitted on all hands (1) that such mutilations of the body as are here condemned have in almost all countries formed part of the religious rites of heathenism. And, in particular, they must have been familiar enough in the Pal. of those days where such self-inflicted bloodshed formed part of the everyday ritual of the Canaanite Baal (see 1 K 18^{28}, the only passage not already cited where the Heb. word has this signification, and note 'after their manner'). (2) Both the shedding of the blood and the dedication of the hair are found, as we have seen, in the most intimate connexion with the ritual of heathen burial and the belief in the necessity of propitiating the spirit of the deceased. Thus (to give but a single example) we are told that 'a Samoan ceremony, on the occasion of a decease, was "beating the head with stones till the blood runs"; and this they called "an offering of blood" for the dead' (quoted from Turner's *Samoa* by Spencer, *Princip. of Sociol.* p. 166).

In view of the facts now stated, we are led to the conclusion that both the tokens of grief prohibited by the Heb. legislation were so prohibited because they carried with them associations of a character incompatible with the pure religion of J″. Whether we hold with Stade and others that a developed ancestor-worship was practised by the primitive Hebrews or not, there can be little doubt that the gashing of the body and the shaving of the head as practised by the Semitic peoples generally must, *in the last resort*, be traced to the desire to propitiate the *manes* of the departed, and 'to make an enduring covenant with the dead' (W. R. Smith, *RS*¹ p. 305). But while we are forced by the evidence to this conclusion as to the ultimate origin of the practices in question, we would not have it supposed that any such animistic conception was present to the minds of the contemporaries of Isaiah and Jeremiah. In nothing is mankind so conservative as in all that concerns the respect due to the dead, and so, to the spiritually-minded at least, the practices prohibited were but the wonted outward signs of excessive grief. All excesses, then—so we conclude—such as making incisions in the hand (Jer 48^{37}) or other part of the body to the effusion of blood, and shaving the head in whole or in part, were strictly forbidden by the legislation of D and of H, not merely or even chiefly *quâ* excesses, but as being alike in origin and association unworthy of those who had attained to the dignity of the sons of J″.

iii. Under the head of 'cuttings in the flesh' falls to be considered also the particular practice forbidden in Lv 19^{28b} [Ye shall not] 'print any marks (כְּתֹבֶת קַעֲקַע, LXX *γράμματα στικτά*, Vulg. *stigmata*) upon you.' The expression does not occur elsewhere, but we may be sure that the reference is to the ancient and widely-spread custom of tattooing or branding. Which of these two modes of marking is to be understood here it is impossible to say with absolute certainty, the verbal stem, קעקע, having both meanings in post-biblical Heb., while the same ambiguity attaches to *στίζω* and its derivatives, *στίγμα*, etc. In favour of tattooing, however, the following may be urged: (1) the exegetical tradition; Rashi, for example, explains the marks in question as made with a needle (*Comm. in loc.*); (2) the probable origin of the custom, as advocated by the acute author of *RS*. 'In Lv 19^{28}, where tattooing is condemned as a heathenish practice, it is immediately associated with incisions in the flesh made in mourning or in honour of the dead, and this suggests that in their ultimate origin the *stigmata* are nothing more than the permanent scars of punctures made to draw blood for a ceremony of self-dedication to the deity' (p. 316, note 1).

The best-known illustration of the prevalence of the practice of tattooing or making *stigmata* in Syria is supplied by the priests of 'the Syrian goddess' in Lucian's treatise of that name, who were tattooed on wrist and neck (ch. 59—on which cf. the classical work of John Spencer, below). Philo (*De Monarch.* i.) refers to the allied practice of branding, familiar to us in the case of slaves and criminals, as practised by certain misguided idol-worshippers in his own time. In 3 Mac, also, Ptolemy IV. (Philopator) is represented as having the contumacious Jews branded with the ivy-leaf, the symbol of Dionysus (2^{29}). These passages, then, show that it was not an unusual practice to have tattooed or branded in one's flesh the name or symbol of the deity to whom one was specially devoted—a practice which at once gives us the true explanation of the interesting passage, Is 44^5 (another shall mark on his hand 'Yahweh's,' cf. RVm, also Gal 6^{17} *στίγματα Ἰησοῦ*). Jewish tradition, we may add, has it that the obscure phrase of the Chronicler with regard to Jehoiakim, 'that which was found in him' (2 Ch 36^8), refers to his breach of the command in Lv 19^{28b}, letters having been discovered tattooed on his flesh, presumably the name of some heathen deity (Midrash *Levit. Rabba* 19—quoted by Strack, *Comm. in loc.*; Jerome, *Quæst. Heb. in Paralipom. l.c.*).

Here, then, we have another heathen custom forbidden to the worshippers of J″; and the unmistakable evidence of its unworthy associations being the cause of its prohibition—although in itself a thing indifferent (Dillm. *Theol. d. A.T.* p. 428)—strengthens the view above advanced as to the historical *raison d'être* of the ancient custom, here (Lv 9^{28a}) forbidden along with it, as alike incompatible with whole-hearted loyalty to J″.

LITERATURE.—Martin Geier, *De Ebræorum Luctu* (ed. 3, 1683), and (esp. for the *stigmata*) John Spencer, *De Leg. Hebr.* (ed. 2, 1686) lib. ii. cap. xiii. *Lex contra carnis incisuram lata* and cap. xiv. *Lex stigmata prohibens*; Knobel-Dillmann, *Exodus-Leviticus* on Lv 19^{28}; Driver, *Deut.* on 14^{1}; Lightfoot, *Gal.* on 6^{17}; W. R. Smith, *RS*, Lect. ix.; Schwally, *Das Leben nach d. Tode*, 1892, Kap. i. §§ 3, 5; Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* § 23; Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* i. § 33. See also the works of Waitz and H. Spencer (mentioned above), and Tylor's *Primitive Culture* for the customs of savage tribes.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

CYAMON (Κυαμών), Jth 7^{3}.—The same as JOKNEAM, which see.

CYMBAL.—See MUSIC.

CYPRESS (תִּרְזָה *tirzâh*, *ilex*).—As in the case of the box tree (*tĕashshûr*), there is nothing in the philology to indicate what tree is signified. The root, which is obsolete in Heb., signifies in Arab. to be *strong* or *hard*. The tree is mentioned (Is 44^{14}) in connexion with the cedar and the oak. It might be any of the numerous coniferous or cupuliferous trees of Bible lands, but there is no means of telling which. The LXX gives us no help, the sentence being confused, and not a tr. of the Hebrew. The cypress, *Cupressus sempervirens*, L., is abundant, and suitable as to hardness, but we have no certainty that it is intended. Furthermore, it is probable that *Cupressus sempervirens* is the *fir*. See FIR. Under these circumstances, the best way would be to transliterate, as in the case of the *algum* and *almug*, and call the tree *tirzah*.

G. E. POST.

CYPRUS lies in the N.E. corner of the Levant (34° 33′—35° 41′ N. lat., 32° 17′—34° 36′ E. long.), between the convergent coasts of Cilicia and Syria. On its N. coast Cape Kormakíti is only 46 Eng. miles from Cape Anamur, in Cilicia, and its E. extremity, Cape Andrea, only 60 (miles) from Latakia on the Syrian coast. Consequently, the whole line of the Cilician coast is easily visible from the sea-level in C., and *vice versâ*, while the Lebanon can be seen at sunrise even from Stavrovúni near Larnaka (2260 ft.).* Its greatest breadth, from Cape Gata to Cape Kormakíti, is 60 Eng. miles, and its extreme length, from Cape Drepano to Cape Andrea, is 145; but the latter includes the Karpass promontory, which, though 45 miles long, is nowhere more than 10 miles across. The nearly straight N. coast from Cape Kormakíti to Cape Andrea measures about 100 miles. The area of C. is 3707 square miles, or about equal to that of Norfolk and Suffolk; it is larger than Corsica or Crete, but smaller than Sicily or Sardinia.

C. consists of two mountain masses, separated by a broad low-lying plain: (1) The S.W. half of the island is occupied by a range composed of crystalline and metalliferous rocks, which in its western and highest section is called Tróodos (6406 ft.), and is continued through Mádhari (5305 ft.), Papútsa (5124 ft.), and the Mákhaera range (4674 ft.) to the almost isolated Stavrovúni (2260 ft.), about 12 miles from Larnaka. The same rocks reappear in the plateau of limestone and gypsum beds between Larnaka and Famagústa, but never rise to more than 300 ft. (2) The Messaorià or 'midland' plain extends along the N. and N.E. side of Mákhaera from the Bay of Mórphu to that of Famagústa. A very low watershed divides the basin of the Serákhis, flowing towards Mórphu, from that of the Pediàs (Πεδιαῖος) and Yaliàs, which rise from the N. side of Mákhaera and reach the sea at Salamis through extensive marshes. (3) The N. range is a straight, narrow, and abrupt ridge of the Anatolian limestone, and extends 100 miles from Cape Kormakíti to Cape Andrea. Its highest peak is Buffavénto (3135 ft.), crowned by a Byzantine fortress. H. Elías or Kórnos (3106 ft.) and Trýpa Vunò (3085 ft.) are conspicuous peaks in the West. Pentedáktylo, farther E., rises to 2405 ft., and Olymbos to 2431 ft.; but in the Karpass nothing is higher than Sina Óros (2380 ft.), close to the fortress of Kantára (161 ft.). Pámbulos, near Rhizokárpaso, reaches only 1194 ft. The northern coastland E. and W. of Kerynia is narrow, but well watered and very fertile.

The only accurate map of C. is the Government Trigonometrical Survey (Stanford, 1885), incorporated in the subsequent editions of the Admiralty Chart of Cyprus (No. 2074).

The principal resources of C. in ancient and mediæval times were copper and timber. The former, which in fact derives its name from that of the island, was worked in great abundance on the N. side of Tróodos and Mákhaera, from Límni near the Bay of Khrýsokhu, to Frángissa (Tamassòs) and Lithrodónda; and in less quantity near Tremithushà (Tremithus). The principal centres of export were Soloi (Karavostási) and Marion (Póli dis Khrýsokhu). The supply was finally exhausted some time in the Middle Ages. Iron was worked from the 9th cent. B.C. onwards in the country about Mákhaera, though it never rivalled copper in commercial importance. Pliny (xxxiv. 2) says that only inferior qualities were worked in his time. Much glass was made in Roman times at Tamassos and elsewhere (Pliny, xxxvi. 193).

The forests of C. had not wholly disappeared even in imperial times, though they were already very much reduced in area by the continuous export of timber (Strabo, xiv. 5). The cypress (AV 'fir') or Karamanian pine is the principal forest tree; and the juniper (?, the 'cypress' [*tirzah*] of Is $44^{14f.}$) probably formerly attained great size in C., and still grows freely between Larnaka and Famagústa. Besides these, C. has always produced much wine and oil; and carobs, anise, and madder are considerable crops. It grew enough corn for its own population in the time of Augustus (Strabo, xiv. 5), and exports it now. Ladanum and resin were exported under the Roman Empire (Pliny, xii. 74, xiv. 123, xxiv. 34). Both Pliny (xxvii. 23. 58. 121, etc.) and Strabo (iii. 15) record the occurrence of precious stones; and the former, mines of alum and gypsum (xxxvi. 183). Salt is made in lagoons near Larnaka (Kition), and Pliny records the manufacture here (xxxi. 75) and at Salamis (xxxi. 84).

HISTORY.—The copper and the timber of C., so long as the supply lasted, gave the island an importance in commerce and civilization out of all proportion to its size. From the earlier part of the Bronze Age Cyprus maintained a large population and an art and culture distinct and in many respects highly developed, and exported copper to Syria, Cilicia, and probably to Egypt, to the farther parts of Asia Minor, and even to Central Europe. The influence also of Cypriote pottery was felt in Syria, and widely in Asia Minor; some of the finer varieties have been found in Egypt, South Palestine, Thera, Athens, and the Troad.

C. was invaded by Tahutmes III. of the 18th dynasty of Egypt (B.C. 1503–1449), and appears to have remained tributary to Egypt for some time.

---

* Cf. Is 23^{1}, where the homeward-bound merchantmen first see the smoke of burning Tyre from their last anchorage at Kition; 'from the land of Kittim it is revealed to them.'

It has been suggested by Maspero and others that the Keftiu (cf. OT 'Caphtor') include the inhabitants of C.; but the usual Egyp. name for C. is Asi (Flinders Petrie, *Hist. Eg.* ii. 118. 124).

The next period of Cypriote art and civilization is of great importance, but very obscure. Mycenæan settlements have been found on a number of sites, and the contact with their higher art and culture brought about a profound change in that of Cyprus. About the same time the abundant deposits of iron began to be worked, at first for ornaments, but very soon for weapons and tools. Greek tradition asserted a very early colonization of C., and esp. of Kurion and Salamis, both of which are now known to have been Mycenæan centres; and tradition is confirmed by the primitive 'Æolic' dialect of Greek which was spoken, and the peculiar syllabic script, which was not displaced by the Greek alphabet until the 4th cent. On the other hand, Phœn. inscriptions have been found in C. of the 9th cent. and onwards, and there are indications that the culture of the Syrian coast had influence in C. even earlier. The natural centre of Phœn. influence was Kition (mod. Larnaka), but Phœnicians and Greeks seem to have settled side by side all over the island. Kition (and perhaps all C.) appears to have been irregularly tributary to Tyre in the 10th to 8th cent. (Jos. *c. Ap.* I. 18; *Ant.* VIII. v. 3, X. xiv.). Consequently, C. was involved in the conquest of Phœnicia in 709 by Sargon, an important inscription of whom has been found at Kition (Berlin Museum). Later, Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal record tribute received from twelve kings of C., some of whom appear to bear Greek names, while the island itself appears as *Javnan* ('Ionian').

About 560 C. was conquered and attached to Egypt by Amasis (Hd. ii. 182), and on his fall in 525 passed, with Egypt, to Cambyses of Persia (*id.* iii. 19. 21). In 501 the Greeks of C., in sympathy with those of Ionia, rebelled against Persia (*id.* v. 105 f.), but in so mixed a population united effort was impracticable; the revolt was soon put down, and in 480 C. furnished 150 ships to the fleet of Xerxes (*id.* vii. 90). During the 5th cent. C. remained under Persia, in spite of Cimon's repeated attempts to attach it to the Athenian League; but a brisk copper trade was maintained with Athens, which sent fine pottery and bronze work in return. Early in the 4th cent. Evagoras succeeded in making Salamis the leading state in C., and in 387 openly revolted from Persia. But the Phœnician interest was wholly against him; the Greeks, as usual, were divided, and the attempt failed. Alexander the Great, however, received the voluntary submission of all the states of C. after the battle of Issus, and efficient help at the siege of Tyre from their fleets, and supplies of timber. At his death (323) C. fell, with Egypt, to the share of Ptolemy, but was seized by Demetrius Poliorcetes, after a desperate sea-fight (Diod. Sic. xx. 759–761) and vigorous siege of Salamis. In 295, however, Ptolemy reconquered the island, which long remained closely attached to Egypt. It is under this régime that we first hear of Jewish settlers in C. (1 Mac 15^{23}). It was for a few years (B.C. 107–89) a separate but dependent kingdom under Ptolemy Lathyrus, but in B.C. 58 was annexed by Rome, as security for financial loans to the bankrupt Ptolemy Auletes. After reorganization by M. Cato it was first attached to the province of Cilicia, but was made a separate province by Augustus after Actium. As long as serious danger was to be apprehended in the East, the new province, with its neighbours, remained imperial, and was governed by a proprætor (Dio. Cass. liii. 12; Strabo, xiv. 683 [*καὶ νῦν*]). No monuments remain of this period. But very soon afterwards C. was transferred to the Senate (Dio. Cass. liii. 12, liv. 4); consequently, Ac 13^7 is strictly accurate in describing Sergius Paulus as proconsul (*ἀνθύπατος*) in A.D. 46. Of this Sergius Paulus no coins are known, but an inscription exists at Karavostasi, which is dated *ἐπὶ Παύλου [ἀνθυ] πάτου* (Hogarth, *Devia Cypria* p. 114). Several other names of proconsuls are known, *e.g.* Julius Cordus, *CIG* 2631, L. Annius Bassus, his successor, A.D. 52, *CIG* 2632 (quoted Conybeare and Howson, i. p. 187). See Hogarth, *Devia Cypria*, Appx., for a complete list.

The seat of government was at **Paphos** (wh. see), which had been the capital of the Ptolemaic priest-king, deposed in B.C. 58, and was most easily accessible from the west, though **Salamis** (wh. see) was by far the largest and most important town in the island, owing to its proximity to the Syrian coast. Paphos was connected with Salamis by two roads—one inland and north of Tróodos, *viâ* Soloi, Tamassos, and Tremithus, about four days' journey; the other easier, and along the south coast, *viâ* Kurion, Amathus, and Kition, about three days.* Neither of these was a Roman military road, but both followed well-worn native tracks.

Jews appear to have settled in C. in large numbers under the Ptolemaic régime, and probably more were attracted thither under the early Empire by the fact that Herod the Great farmed the Cypriote copper mines (Jos. *Ant.* XVI. iv. 5, cf. xix. 26, 28). They seem to have had more than one synagogue in Salamis (Ac 13^5).

The dispersion after the death of Stephen carried Christians as far as Cyprus (Ac 11^{19}), and shortly afterwards Cypriotes were preaching in Antioch (Ac 11^{20}). Of Cypriote Christians, two are known by name: Mnason, 'an original convert' (*ἀρχαῖος μαθητής*, Ac 21^{16}), and Joseph the Levite, surnamed Barnabas, the friend and companion of St. Paul (Ac 4^{36}).

In A.D. 117 the Jews of C. revolted, massacred 240,000 pagans, and destroyed a large part of Salamis. Hadrian, afterwards emperor, suppressed the disorder, and expelled all Jews from Cyprus (Milman, iii. 111, 112).

The Christian Church of C. was divided into thirteen bishoprics; in the 4th cent., in consequence of the supposed discovery at Salamis (wh. see) of St. Matthew's Gospel in the tomb of Barnabas, it was made autonomous, and the Patriarch has ever since enjoyed the right to sign his name in red ink. The Council of C. in 401 was summoned, on the suggestion of Theophilus of Alexandria, to prohibit the reading of the works of Origen.

The word 'Cyprus' does not occur in OT, but the island and the town Kition are frequently alluded to as 'Kittim,' which is identified with Cyprus by Jos. (*Ant.* I. vi. 1), *Χέθιμα . . . Κύπρος αὔτη νῦν καλεῖται* (cf. Epiph. *Hær.* xxx. 25). See KITTIM.

LITERATURE.—(*A*) MISCELLANEOUS: Cobham, *An Attempt at a Bibliography of Cyprus*, Nicosia (3rd ed.), 1894 (exhaustive); Engel, *Kypros*, Berlin, 1841, 3 vols.; Unger u. Kotschy, *Die Insel Cypern*, Vienna, 1865-66; Oberhummer, *Aus Cypern*, Berlin, 1890-92, *Studien zur alten Geographie von Cypern*, Munich, 1891; A. Sakellarios, *Τὰ Κυπριακά*, Athens, 1890-91, 2 vols. (*B*) ANTIQUITIES: Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité* (vol. iii. *Phœnicia and Cyprus*), Paris, 1885 (E.T. London, 1885); Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, Berlin, 1892, 4to, 2 vols. (many plates); and the papers of de Mas Latrie, L. Ross, R. H. Lang, L. P. and A. P. di Cesnola, and G. Colonna Ceccaldi; cf. historical sketch in Heuzey, *Les Figurines de Terre Cuite du Louvre*, Paris, 1891; Myres and O.-Richter, *Cyprus Museum Catalogue*, Oxford, 1897.

J. L. MYRES.

CYRENE (Κυρήνη), the chief city in Libya in N. Africa, about half-way between Carthage and

---

* The Peutinger Table gives (*α*) Paphos—xi—Palæphato (Palæpaphos)—xxii—Curio—xvi—Amathus—xxiiii—Cito—[xxiii]—Salamina: (xcvi in all). (*β*) Paphos—xxiii—Soloæ—xxix—Tamiso—xxiiii—Thremitus—xviii—Cito—[xxiii]—Salamina: (cxvi in all).

Alexandria, was the capital of a small province corresponding to the modern Tripoli. Although in Africa, it was a Greek city, dating from B.C. 631. It was famous for its beauty of situation, its commerce, and its culture. Alexander the Great granted the rights of citizenship in it to Jews on equal terms with Greeks, and it became an important centre of the Jews of the Dispersion, the fourth of the population being Jewish according to Josephus. In the reign of Manasseh, Psammitichus, king of Egypt, carried off many Jews and settled them in the parts of Libya about C., while one of the Ptolemies transported 100,000 Jews to Pentapolis in the same district. Like other communities of the Hel. Jews, the Cyrenians had a synagogue of their own in Jerus., and seem to have been more Jewish than the Jews themselves (Ac 6^{9}). There were Cyrenians among the first preachers of the gospel, and they were associated with the great forward movement of preaching it for the first time to the Gentiles (Ac 11$^{19-21}$).

Lucius of C. (Ac 13^{1}) is said by tradition to have been the first bishop of his native district. Tradition also connects St. Mark with the first establishment of Christianity in this part of Africa. An interesting speculation gathers round the name of Simon of C. (Mt 27^{32}). He is referred to as the father of Alexander and Rufus, evidently well known to Mark's readers (Mk 15^{21}); while St. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans refers to one Rufus as holding an honourable position among the brethren there, 'Salute Rufus, chosen in the Lord, and his mother and mine' (Ro 16^{13}). From this it has been conjectured that while St. Paul was studying at Jerus. he enjoyed the motherly care of Simon's wife.

After Alexander's death, the district of which C. was capital became a dependency of Egypt. Under the Rom. rule it was called Cyrenaica, and was politically connected with Crete. In the 4th cent. the city was destroyed by the Saracens, and is now desolate.

Cyrenian (Κυρηναῖος).—Two Cyrenians are mentioned in Scripture: Simon who bore our Lord's cross (Mt 27^{32}), and Lucius a Christian teacher (Ac 13^{1}).

W. MUIR.

CYRENIUS.—See QUIRINIUS.

CYRUS (כּוֹרֶשׁ, Κῦρος).—The name of Cyrus is written Kuras in Bab. cuneiform, Kurush in Old Persian. Ctesias stated on the authority of Parysatis, the wife of the Persian king Ochus, that her younger son was named Cyrus from the sun, as 'the Persians call the sun Κῦρος' (*Epit. Phot.* 80; Plut. *Artax.* 1). In Zend, however, the 'sun' is *hware*, which could not take the form Κῦρος in Old Persian, though in modern Persian it is *khur*, and in certain Aram. dialects of the Pamir it is *khir* and *kher*. According to Strabo (xv. 3), the original name of Cyrus was Agradates, his later name being adopted from that of the river Cyrus. But this is contrary to the fact that his grandfather's name was also Cyrus.

The classical writers have given contradictory accounts of his birth and rise to power. Herodotus (i. 95) says that he knew of three accounts different from the one he himself adopted, which was that Cyrus was the son of a Persian nobleman named Cambyses and Mandanê, a daughter of the Median king Astyages, who had caused her to marry beneath her station in consequence of a dream which the magi interpreted as predicting danger to himself from her son. A second dream induced him to order his relative Harpagus to kill the child. Harpagus gave it to the herdsman Mithridates to expose, but he and his wife Spako brought it up as their own. Subsequently Cyrus was recognized by Astyages, who, in consequence of the advice of the magi, sent him back to his parents, but punished Harpagus by giving him the mutilated limbs of his own son to eat. Harpagus therefore persuaded Cyrus to lead the Persians into revolt; after which the infatuated Astyages appointed him the general of the Median army. The result was an easy victory on the part of Cyrus; Astyages, however, impaled the magi who had advised him to let his adversary go, raised another army, and himself led it into the field. But he was defeated and captured, though his life was spared, and Cyrus became king of Media as well as of Persia.

Xenophon, in the romance of the *Cyropædia*, gives a wholly different account. He makes Cambyses, the father of Cyrus, king of Persia. Cyrus is educated first in Persia and then by his grandfather Astyages; and when the latter is succeeded by his son Cyaxares, Cyrus acts as his general, subduing the Lydians, Babylonians, and other nations, and finally succeeding him in the natural course of things. His first victory over the Babylonians was when he was sixteen years old, when Evil-Merodach wantonly invaded Media; the second when he was forty, when Neriglissar, the ally of Crœsus of Lydia, attacked Cyaxares. His final conquest of Babylonia took place before the death of the king of Media.

Nicolaus of Damascus (vii. fr. 66) asserts that Cyrus was the son of a Mardian bandit named Atradates, whose wife Argostê tended goats. He began his career as a servant in the palace of Astyages. Here he was adopted by Artembares, the cupbearer, and recommended to Astyages, who raised him to power and wealth. Cyrus now made his father Atradates satrap of Persia, and urged by a 'Chaldæan' began to plot against Astyages, with the help of Œbares a Persian. Eventually, after obtaining leave to visit Persia, where everything had been prepared for a revolt, he defeated at Hyrba the troops which had been sent against him. In a battle before Pasargadæ, however, he and his general Œbares were driven within the walls, and his father was captured and soon afterwards died. The Persians now fled to the precipitous mountain-peak where Cyrus had been reared, and there, excited by the taunts of their wives, they utterly overthrew their Median assailants and destroyed the kingdom of Astyages.

Ctesias calls Astyages Astyigas, and states that after his defeat by Cyrus he fled to Ecbatana, where he was concealed in the palace by his daughter Amytis and her husband Spitamas, whom Cyrus ordered to be tortured, along with their children Spitakes and Megabernes, to make them confess where he was. Astyages was put into fetters by Œbares, but released by Cyrus, who married Amytis after putting her husband to death.

All these versions have been shown to be unhistorical by contemporaneous cuneiform inscriptions. The most important of these are—(1) a cylinder inscription of Nabonidus, the last king of the Bab. empire, from Abu Habba (Sippara); (2) an annalistic tablet written shortly after the conquest of Babylonia by Cyrus; (3) a proclamation of Cyrus of the same date.

The inscription of Nabonidus was composed soon after the conquest of Astyages by Cyrus in B.C. 549. Nabonidus calls Astyages (Istuvigu) king of the Manda or 'Nomads,' whom the Assyr. texts identify with the Gimirrâ or Cimmerians. He states that the temple of the moon-god at Harran had been destroyed by the Manda, but that Merodach had ordered him in a dream to restore it, assuring him that within three years 'Cyrus the king of Anzan, their little servant, with his small army, shall overthrow the widespread people of the Manda; Istuvigu, the king of the people of the Manda, he shall capture, and bring him a prisoner to his own country.'

The annalistic tablet, which, when complete, began with the first year of the reign of Nabonidus, tells us that in the seventh year of the latter's reign (B.C. 549) Astyages had marched against 'Cyrus, king of Ansan,' but that his army revolted against him and delivered him to Cyrus, who then marched to Ecbatana, captured it, and carried its spoil to Ansan. Three years later (B.C. 546), Cyrus bears for the first time the title of 'king of Persia,' so that he must have gained possession of Persia between B.C. 549 and 546. In the latter year he crossed the Tigris below Arbela and conquered northern Mesopotamia as well as Armenia.

In B.C. 538, aided by a revolt in southern Babylonia, he attacked Nabonidus from the north. A battle was fought at Opis, which resulted in the defeat of the Bab. army; and a few days later, on the 14th of Tammuz (June), 'Sippara was taken without fighting.' Nabonidus fled and concealed himself in Babylon, followed by Gobryas, the governor of Kurdistan, with the army of Cyrus. On the 16th, Gobryas entered Babylon without resistance, and Nabonidus was captured. The daily services went on as usual in the temples of the city, and the contract-tablets show that there was no disturbance of trade. On the 3rd of Marcheshvan (October), Cyrus came to Babylon, and henceforth bore the title of 'king of Babylonia.' 'Peace to the city did Cyrus establish; peace to all the province of Babylon did Gobryas his governor proclaim. Governors in Babylon he appointed.' On the 11th of the month the wife[*] of Nabonidus died, and for six days there was mourning for her. On the 4th of Nisan, Cambyses conducted her funeral in the temple of Nebo. After this, offerings to ten times the usual amount were made to the Bab. deities.

The proclamation of Cyrus justifies his seizure of the Bab. crown, and declares that he had been called to it by Bel-Merodach, who was angry with Nabonidus. He describes himself as 'king of the city of Ansan,' the son of Cambyses, king of Ansan, grandson of Cyrus, king of Ansan, and great-grandson of Teispes, king of Ansan, and says that he had restored to their homes the exiles who were in Babylonia as well as their gods. He concludes by praying that the deities he has thus restored may daily intercede for him before Bel-Merodach and Nebo, whose 'worshipper' Cyrus professes himself to be.

It is clear that the Greek writers have confounded the Manda or nomad Scyths and Cimmerians with the Madâ or Medes. Cyrus, moreover, like his ancestors, was not king of Persia, but of Ansan or Anzan, one of the most important divisions of Elam, which is stated in a cuneiform tablet to be the equivalent of Elam, and of which the native kings of Susa called themselves rulers. Teispes, the son of the Persian Achæmenes, seems to have conquered it at the time of the fall of the Assyr. empire. The fact explains Is 21^2, as well as the use of Susian as one of the three official languages of the Persian empire. At Behistun, Darius states that eight of his ancestors had been kings 'in a double line.' As Teispes was the father of his great-grandfather Ariaramnes, we should have exactly the eight kings, if we suppose that while the line of Cyrus was ruling in Anzan, that of Darius was reigning in Persia.

Another fact which is due to the cuneiform texts is, that the account of the siege of Babylon by Cyrus, given by Herodotus, is a fiction, derived probably from one of the sieges of the city by Darius Hystaspis. The date of the conquest of Astyages is also fixed. The conquest of Crœsus and the Lydian empire probably took place before that of Babylon, as well as the reduction of the Greek cities in Asia Minor by the Medes, Mazares and Harpagus.

Before his death the empire of Cyrus extended from the Mediterranean to Bactria, and was thus larger than that of the Assyrians. Different stories are told of his death. Herodotus, who knew of more than one, says that he was slain when invading the Massagetæ. According to Ctesias, he had invaded the Derbikes, and after gaining a victory over them by stratagem, and capturing the son of their queen, Tomyris, was killed in a second engagement in which his troops were defeated. Diodorus asserts that he was taken prisoner by Tomyris, who crucified him; while Xenophon makes him die peacefully, and be buried at Pasargada, seven years after the death of Cyaxares.

The Bab. contract-tablets, on the contrary, prove that he reigned nine years over Babylon and 'the empire,' dying in July B.C. 529. A year before his death he had made his son, Cambyses, king of Babylon. According to Herodotus, Cambyses was the son of Cassandana, the daughter of Pharnaspês. The supposed tomb of Cyrus at Murghâb can hardly belong to the great conqueror: it is difficult to reconcile its character and position with the account given by Arrian (vi. 29), and the figure on a neighbouring column, above whose head is the inscription, 'I am Cyrus, the king, the Akhæmenian,' is that of a winged demi-god who wears an Egyptian head-dress. It can hardly, therefore, have been sculptured before the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses. The most probable view is that it represents Cyrus the younger.

The proclamation of Cyrus shows that he was not a Zoroastrian like Darius and Xerxes, but that as he claimed to be the successor of the Bab. kings, so also he acknowledged the supremacy of Bel-Merodach the supreme Babylonian god. Hence the restoration of the Jewish exiles was not due to any sympathy with monotheism, but was part of a general policy. Experience had taught him the danger of allowing a disaffected population to exist in a country which might be invaded by an enemy; his own conquest of Babylonia had been assisted by the revolt of a part of its population; and he therefore reversed the policy of deportation and denationalization which had been attempted by the Assyr. and Bab. kings. The exiles and the images of their gods were sent back to their old homes; only in the case of the Jews, who had no images, it was the sacred vessels of the temple which were restored (Ezr 1^{7-11}). See *RP*, New Series, v. pp. 143 ff.

LITERATURE.—Herodotus i. 95, 108–130, 177–214; Xen. *Cyrop.*; Ctesias, *Persika*, ed. Gilmore, vii.–xi.; *Nicolaus Damascenus*, frg. 66–68 (Müller's Fragm. iii. pp. 406 ff.); Diodorus Siculus, xxxi. 19, *Exc.* pp. 239 f.; *RP* new ser. v. pp. 143–175 (where references are given to the various editions of the cuneiform texts); Clinton, Fasti Hellenici, i. ii.; Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies*, iv. ch. vii.; Duncker, *Hist. of Antiquity*, Eng. ed. v.; Büdinger in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Academy of Vienna, xcvii. 711 (1880); Halévy in *Rev. des Études Juives* i. (1880); Floigl, *Cyrus and Herodot* (1881); Bauer, *Die Kyrossage und Verwandtes* (1882); Keiper, *Die neuentdeckten Inschriften über Cyrus* (1882); Sayce, *Le Muséon* (1882), pp. 548, 596, *Herodotus* i.–iii. pp. 386 f., 438 ff.; Evers, *Emporkommen der persischen Macht unter Kyros* (1884); Justi, *Gesch. der orient. Völker im Altertum*, pp. 371 ff. (1884); Tiele, *Bab.-Assyr. Gesch.* iv. 35 (1886); Winckler, *Untersuch. zur altorient. Gesch.* i. pp. 109–132; Sayce, *HCM* ch. xi. (1893); Prášek, *Medien und das Haus des Kyaxares* (1890), *Kambyses und die Ueberlieferung des Alterthums* (1897); Tiele, 'Cyrus de Groote en de godsdienst van Babel,' in *Mélanges Charles de Harlez* (1896). The latest ed. of Cyrus' Annalistic Tablet is by Hager in Delitzsch and Haupt's *Beiträge zur Assyr.* ii. (1891), 215 ff.

A. H. SAYCE.

---

[*] Or, according to the reading of Pinches, the son.

D

D.—In critical notes on the text of the Gospels and Acts this symbol is used to indicate the readings of *Codex Bezæ*, a Græco-Latin MS of the 6th cent. preserved in the Cambridge University Library. The text, both Greek and Latin, is written stichometrically, *i.e.* in lines of unequal length, divided according to the sense—the Greek on the left, the Latin on the right hand page of each opening.

The Gospels are arranged in the order, Mt, Jn, Lk, Mk—an order found also in many old Latin MSS, the Gothic version, and in *Const. Apost.* ii. 57.

Between Mk and Ac there is a gap which, according to the original numbering of the quires, must have contained 67 leaves (8 quires and 3 leaves). It closes with a fragment of a Latin version of 3 Jn$^{11-15}$. Clearly, therefore, the Epp. of Jn occupied part of the vacant space (14 or 15 leaves). What else the missing leaves contained it is impossible to say. The other Catholic Epistles, if they were all present, would require about 36 leaves. This would leave 16 leaves (=2 quires) unaccounted for; and it is possible, though not very likely, that, as Scrivener suggests, the scribe had made a mistake of 2 in numbering his quires at this point in the MS.

About 37 leaves are missing in other parts of the MS, and 12 are more or less mutilated. It is also mutilated at the end. The following passages are in consequence wanting in the Greek Text—Mt 1$^{1-20}$ [3$^{7-16}$] 6^{20}–9^{2} 27$^{2-12}$, Jn 1^{16}–3^{26} [18^{14}–20^{12}], [Mk 16$^{15-20}$], Ac 8^{29}–10^{14} 21$^{15-18}$ 22$^{10-20}$ 22^{29} end. The gaps in the Latin are Mt 1$^{1-11}$ 6^{8}–8^{27} 26^{65}–27^{1}, Jn 1^{1}–3^{16} [18^{2}–20^{1}], [Mk 16$^{6-20}$]. The passages in square brackets have been supplied by a 9th cent. hand.

The MS was written in all probability in Gaul, and Rendel Harris has given good reason for believing that it did not travel far from its birthplace for the first 1000 years of its existence. During this period it was corrected at various times by eight or nine different hands.

Its modern history begins with the Council of Trent, whither apparently it was taken in 1546 by the Bishop of Clermont in Auvergne. Stephens, in his 1550 edition, published readings from it derived from collations made for him by his friends in Italy—perhaps during this visit to the Council. When Beza presented the MS to the University of Cambridge in 1581, he stated that it had been taken from the Abbey of St. Irenæus in Lyons at the sack of that city in 1562. It is for the most part the only witness among Greek MSS to a type of text which we know from the evidence of patristic quotations and the earliest versions to have been widely current as early as the 2nd cent. It has in consequence, especially in recent years, received a great deal of attention, notably in a most ingenious work by J. Rendel Harris, *A Study of Codex Bezæ* ('Texts and Studies'), 1891, and in two careful but not altogether convincing volumes, *The Old Syriac Element in Codex Bezæ*, 1893, and *The Syro-Latin Text of the Gospels*, by F. H. Chase, 1895. The problems raised by these writers will require fuller treatment in connexion with the whole subject of the Textual Criticism of the New Testament.

An excellent edition of the MS, including a complete transcription of the text and a full introduction, was published by Scrivener in 1864, and this year (1897) the University of Cambridge has undertaken to bring out an edition in photographic facsimile.

D$_2$.—In the Epistles of St. Paul the same symbol—written more properly D$_2$ to avoid confusion—is used to denote the readings of the MS in the National Library at Paris, the *Codex Claromontanus*. This is also a Græco-Latin MS of the 6th cent. written stichometrically. It seems clear that it was the work of a Greek scribe, and that it remained for some time in scholarly Greek hands; but there seems no decisive evidence to fix either the place where it was written or its first home. The remarkable list of the canonical books of OT and NT inserted between Philemon and Hebrews—known as the Claromontane stichometry—points on the whole to a Western origin,—Carthage, Rome, or Gaul. The Latin version is of great importance throughout. In Hebrews it is the main representative of the old Latin version of the epistle.

It contains all the Pauline epistles virtually complete—including Hebrews. It has been most carefully collated both by Tischendorf and Tregelles, and sumptuously edited by Tischendorf, 1852.

J. O. F. MURRAY.

D.—The symbol ordinarily used in criticism of Hex. to signify the work of the Deuteronomist; often so as to include also his school, although this creates confusion, which may be avoided by using for this sense D^2, D^3, and similar symbols. See HEXATEUCH. F. H. WOODS.

DABBESHETH (דַּבָּשֶׁת), Jos 19^{11}.—A place on the borders of Zebulun. The line is difficult to follow, but the extreme limits on N. and S. seem to be defined by the names Dabbesheth and Jokneam. In this case the ruin *Dabsheh*, on the hills E. of Acco, may be intended, the only place where this name (meaning 'hump,' cf. Is 30^{6}) occurs. See *SWP*, vol. i. sheet iii. C. R. CONDER.

DABERATH (הַדָּבְרַת), Jos 19^{12} 21^{28}, 1 Ch 6^{72}.—A city of Zebulun given to the Levites, noticed as the extreme point on the S.E. border; now the village *Debûrieh* at the foot of Tabor on the W. In the record of the conquests of Ramses II. (Brugsch, *Hist.* ii. p. 64) we learn that, about 1325 B.C., he attacked places in the Amorite country, named Dapur, Shalama (Shunem), Maroma (Meirûn), Ain Anamim, Kalopu (perhaps Shalabûn), and Beitha Antha (Beth Anath); and of these places Shunem was in Lower Galilee, and Beth Anath and Meirûn in Upper Galilee. Dapur is thought to be Tabor or Daberath, and is represented as a walled town. But in Egyptian the letters L and R are not distinguished, and the name may have been Dapul. In the latter case *Dibl* in Upper Galilee would be the site. See DIBLAH. The site of Daberath on Tabor was known in the 4th cent. A.D. (*Onomasticon*, *s.v.* Dabira), but wrongly identified with Debir. See *SWP* vol. i. sheet vi.

C. R. CONDER.

DABRIA.—One of the five scribes who wrote to the dictation of Ezra (2 Es 14^{24}).

DACUBI (A Δακουβί, B om., AV **Dacobi**) = AKKUB, Ezr 2^{42}, Neh 7^{45}.

DAGGER (Jg 3^{16} AV, 'sword' RV, Heb. חֶרֶב *ḥerebh*).—The Heb. word means in most cases a short weapon used for stabbing (cf. 2 S 20$^{8.10}$). The Arab '*khanjar*,' still in use E. of Jordan, has a curved blade, and inflicts by a downward stab just such a horrible wound as is described in 2 S 20^{10}. See SWORD. W. E. BARNES.

DAGON (דָּגוֹן, Δαγών).—The principal deity of the Philistines, whose worship, however, seems to have extended beyond the Phil. country, as is proved by the geographical name Beth-dagon (which see), and perhaps by the later name Dagon (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. viii. 1; *Wars*, I. ii. 3).

It has commonly been held by scholars that the name is a diminutive, and so a term of endearment, from *dag*, which signifies fish, and hence that D. was worshipped under the form of a fish. He has been generally identified with a Bab. god who is represented on seals and elsewhere as having in part that form. And though there is nothing in the biblical account to confirm this view, there is also nothing to contradict it. D. had face and hands, and, according to the Sept., feet also (1 S 5^4); but this is not inconsistent with his having in part the shape of a fish. The pictures of the Bab. fish-god show face and hands, and in some instances feet. Indeed, one is strongly tempted to find in the phrase 'only D. remained,' the meaning 'only little fish remained,' the point being that, after the head and hands of D. were cut off, nothing was left of him save the fish-shaped part. Nevertheless, Sayce and others now insist that D. was not a fish-god, and that the resemblance of name is a mere coincidence. The Bab. fish-god was Ea, the patron god of the city of Eridu, the god of the ocean, of water, of wisdom. In some sense Ea was god of the sea, Anu of the sky, and Bel (Baal) of the earth and the under-world. Bel is closely associated with Anu, but not with Ea. And D. appears in the inscriptions as one of the names or one of the forms of Bel.

The name and worship of D. were upon either theory imported into Pal. from Babylonia. The name is held to have been originally Sumerian, but a Semitic derivation was found for it in connexion with its use to designate the god of *agriculture*. D. was identified with *dagan*, the Heb. word for corn, when corn is thought of as an agricultural product.

Presumably, D. was worshipped in Phœnicia as well as in Philistia. There is a Phœn. cylindrical seal of crystal now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, on which, according to Sayce, the name Baal-dagon is written in Phœn. letters, with an ear of corn engraved near it, and other symbols, such as the winged solar disc, a gazelle, and several stars, but no figure of a fish. Eusebius (*Præp. Evang.* i. 6) quotes Philo Byblius of the 2nd cent. A.D. as citing the ancient Phœn. legends that go under the name of Sanchoniathon, to the effect that Ouranos (Anu) married his sister the earth, 'and by her had four sons, Ilus (El), who is called Kronos, and Betylus, and D., which signifies "corn," and Atlas.' 'D., after he had discovered bread-corn and the plough, was called Zeus Arotrios.'

The Phœn. Dagon, then, like the Bab., is properly 'Zeus of the plough.' With this agree all the notices found in OT in regard to the Phil. Dagon. He had temples in Gaza and Ashdod (Jg 16^{23}, 1 S $5^{1.2}$), and presumably in the other Phil. cities. His worship among the Philistines was national, and not merely local (1 Ch 10^{10}, 1 S 5^8–6^{18}). His worship did not exclude that of other Baals (2 K $1^{2.3}$). The Philistines regarded him as giving them victory over their enemies, rejoicing before him when Samson was in their power, and placing Saul's head in his temple (Jg 16^{23}, 1 Ch 10^{10}). But he was eminently the god of agriculture; they acknowledged J″'s victory over him through the mice that marred their fields, and offered golden mice in token of the acknowledgment (1 S $6^{4.5}$).

Apparently, the worship of D. among the Philistines was conducted with a highly developed and technical ritual. We may infer this from the elaborate discussions and arrangements for returning the ark, as described in 1 S 5. 6, the golden mice and golden tumours as a guilt-offering, the new cart, the new milch kine with their calves shut up at home. The worship of D. at Gaza continued to a late period. During the Maccabæan wars Jonathan destroyed the temple of D. there (1 Mac $10^{83.84}$ 11^4; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. iv. 4, 5).

LITERATURE.—Sayce, *HCM* 325-327; Sayce in *SS Times*, May 27, 1893; Smith, *HGHL* 164; Moore, *Judges*, 358 f.; Wellh. and Driver on 1 S 5^4; *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.* W. J. BEECHER.

DAISAN (B Δαισάν, A Δεσ-), 1 Es 5^{31}.—Called REZIN, Ezr 2^{48}, Neh 7^{50}. The form in 1 Es is due to confusion of ד and ר.

DALAN (A Δαλάν, B 'Ασάν, AV Ladan), 1 Es 5^{37} = DELAIAH, Ezr 2^{60}.

DALE.—See KING'S DALE.

DALETH (ד).—Fourth letter of Heb. alphabet, and as such used in the 119th Psalm to designate the 4th part, each verse of which begins with this letter.

DALLY.—Only Wis 12^{26} 'correction, wherein he dallied with them.' By a bold anthropomorphism God is described as only sporting with the Egyptians in the lighter plagues that fell on them. The Gr. is παιγνίοις ἐπιτιμήσεως, lit. 'play-games of correction'; Vulg. *ludibriis et increpationibus*, Cov. 'scornes and rebukes,' Geneva 'scornful rebukes,' RV 'a mocking correction as of children.' 'Dally' has now chiefly the sense of 'delay,' which easily arose from the older sense of 'sport,' as in Milton, *Of Reformation* (Prose Works, ii. 410), 'Let us not dally with God when he offers us a full blessing'; and Bunyan, *Heavenly Footman* (Clar. Press ed. p. 270), 'it is not good dallying with things of so great concernment, as the Salvation or Damnation of thy Soul.' J. HASTINGS.

DALMANUTHA (Δαλμανουθά) is mentioned only in Mk 8^{10}. The corresponding statement of Mt (15^{39} RV) gives Magadan. In Tatian, *Diatessaron* (Hill's ed. p. 134), it is Magheda. Rendel Harris (*Study of Codex Bezæ*, p. 178) suggests that Dalmanutha may be simply a corruption from the Syriac; but see Chase, *Bezan Text of the Acts*, p. 145 n^2. On the variants in Mk see Chase, *Syro-Latin Text of the Gospels*, p. 97 f. The common reading Magdala is probably a substitution of a better for a less known place. Ewald suggested that Magadan stands here for Megidon = Megiddo; but Eusebius says this Magadan was near Gerasa. Thomson places Dalmanutha at Ed-Delemîyeh, one mile N. of the Jarmûk, at the S.E. corner of the Sea of Galilee. As the scene of the second Feeding of the Multitude is uncertain, and as there is nothing said to indicate in what direction the boat into which our Lord went was steered, the site of Dalmanutha cannot be determined with certainty. Tristram suggests a site 1½ mile from Migdel (Magdala), and Sir C. Wilson thinks it was not far from that.

LITERATURE.—Besides the works mentioned above, consult Keim, *Jesus of Nazara* (Eng. Tr.), iv. 238 n.; Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*^{2} (1887), ii. 67 ff.; Andrews, *Life of our Lord*, ed. 1892, p. 338; Herz and Nestle in *Expos. Times*, viii. 563, ix. 45, 95.
A. HENDERSON.

DALMATIA (Δαλματία) in apostolic times was an ill-defined mountainous district on the E. coast of the Adriatic, stretching towards Macedonia. In its more exact use, the name, which is not known to the earlier Greek writers, was used of the S. portion of the Rom. province Illyricum, between the Drinus and the sea. In its more indefinite use it was practically another name for Illyricum. St. Paul preached the gospel in the district, or, at any rate, in its neighbourhood (Ro 15^{19}), and during his last imprisonment in Rome it was visited by Titus (2 Ti 4^{10}). In our ignorance of the place where the apostle was arrested, we cannot determine either the exact time when Titus was sent to D. or the reason why he was sent; but it has been conjectured that, having failed to find St. Paul at Nicopolis as he expected (Ti 3^{12}), he went on to Dalmatia. W. Muir.

DALPHON (דַּלְפוֹן, Est 9^{7}), the second son of Haman, put to death by the Jews. In the LXX Δελφών.

DAMARIS (Δάμαρις).—The name of a woman who, with Dionysius the Areopagite and certain others, is mentioned as having been converted by St. Paul at Athens (Ac 17^{34}). Ramsay (*St. Paul the Trav.* p. 252) points out that it is not stated that she was of good birth (in contrast with 17^{12} and 13^{50}); that this arose from the fact that women of social position in Athens would certainly not have the opportunity of hearing St. Paul; and that her name suggests that she was a foreigner, perhaps 'one of the class of educated *Hetairai*.' This suggestion seems to go rather beyond the evidence. The name is said to be a corruption of δάμαλις, a heifer, which is the reading of one Lat. MS (*et mulier nomine Damalis*, Flor.). Chrys. (*ad loc.*) suggests quite erroneously that she was the wife of Dionysius; this could not be the tr. of καὶ γυνὴ ὀνόματι Δ. These words and all mention of this woman are omitted by Codex Bezæ. Ramsay (*Church in Rom. Emp.* p. 161) quotes this in proof of his assertion that the reviser to whom we owe the Western text was a Catholic who objected to the prominent position assigned to women in the Acts; 'this was, firstly, pagan rather than Christian; and, secondly, heretical rather than Catholic.' (See also 17^{12} and the variation there.) A. C. Headlam.

DAMASCUS (דַּמֶּשֶׂק, Δαμασκός).

This city is the contemporary of all history. Its origin is lost in antiquity. Jos. (*Ant.* I. vi. 4) says it was founded by Uz, grandson of Shem. It is first mentioned in connexion with Abraham's pursuit of the defeated Chedorlaomer (Gn 14^{15}). Then (Gn 15^{2}) his servant is called Dammesek Eliezer, where both the Chaldee and the Syr. have 'Eliezer the Damascene.' It occurs in 2 S 8^{6} as אֲרַם דַּמֶּשֶׂק, Aram Dammesek, which suggests comparison with the modern Arabic name, *Dimashk esh-Shâm*. As it was the capital of Aram, so it is the chief city of *esh-Shâm*, the modern Syria. *Esh-Shâm*='the left,' *i.e.* the country on the left; as *el-Yemen*, Arabia Felix, is on the right of the Arabian looking northward. A Moslem tradition makes Eliezer the founder of the city, and Abraham king for some years before he went south to Palestine. So also Nicolaus of D., quoted by Jos. (*Ant.* I. vii. 2). He mentions a village called 'the Habitation of Abraham,' which may be identical with *el-Burzeh*, 3 miles N. of the city, where there is a *wely* sacred to the patriarch.

i. History.—The history of D. really begins for us with its capture by David. Coming to succour Hadadezer, king of Zobah, the Damascenes were themselves overthrown. David smote of the Syrians 22,000 men, took and garrisoned the city, and 'the Syrians became servants to David, and brought presents' (2 S 8^{3-6}). Nicolaus of Damascus says the battle was fought on the Euphrates. Rezon, son of Eliada, a follower of Hadadezer, escaped, gathered a company around him, possibly fugitives like himself, and obtained possession of Damascus. 'He was an adversary to Israel all the days of Solomon.' His experience on the Euphrates possibly led him to abhor Israel (1 K 11^{23-25}). But soon again the sceptre passed to the family of Hadad. Syria and Israel were in league against Judah. Hard pressed by the king of Israel, Asa bought the friendship of Benhadad with costly presents, and induced him to break with Baasha and invade his territory. A successful raid into the northern dominions of Israel called off Baasha and relieved Judah (1 K 15^{16-21}). Benhadad seems to have followed up his advantage in the reign of Omri. Retaining the captured cities, he held the right to 'make streets' in the new capital, Samaria (1 K 20^{34}). 'Streets' may have meant quarters for a permanent embassy, or simply accommodation for Syrian merchants, who, like the Tyrians in Memphis, would congregate in one quarter. It was a concession to a power which could enforce it if necessary. Benhadad, son of this monarch, led a great expedition against Samaria. There were with him thirty-two subject kings, with horses and chariots. Conducting the siege with a contemptuous carelessness, born of a sense of absolute superiority, he was surprised by a sudden attack, and his army routed, he himself escaping with difficulty on horseback. Meeting Israel again at Aphek, he was defeated and his army destroyed. Taken by Ahab, his freedom was granted on most humiliating terms (1 K 20). In about three years' time we find them again at war, fighting for possession of Ramoth-gilead; and there Ahab was slain (1 K 22). From D. came Naaman, to be healed of leprosy (2 K 5). Again the Syrians invaded Israel, and a company sent to arrest Elisha at Dothan was led by him, blinded, into Samaria (2 K 6^{8-23}). Unaffected by their chivalrous treatment, we find Benhadad directly again besieging Samaria. The city was reduced to the most appalling straits by famine, when, by a miraculous discomfiture of the Syrians, it was delivered, and plentiful supplies provided (2 K 6^{24}–7^{20}). From the cuneiform inscriptions we learn that the Assyrians also harassed Benhadad, and were too strong for him and his allies. His reputation suffered heavily from these disasters, making it easier for a strong man to usurp his place. Falling sick, he sent a messenger laden with gifts to consult Elisha. To this man, Hazael, the prophet promised the kingdom. On his return he secured the swift fulfilment of the promise by the murder of his master (2 K 8^{15}). In his encounters with the great Assyr. power, the new king was not more fortunate than his predecessor; but elsewhere success waited upon his standards. Jehoram of Israel and Ahaziah of Judah attacked Ramoth-gilead. Hazael repulsed them, the former being seriously wounded (2 K $8^{28.29}$). He then laid waste the whole country east of the Jordan (2 K $10^{32.33}$). He captured Gath (*ib.* 12^{17}), and threatened Jerusalem. Jehoash purchased immunity from attack, stripping the temple and the palace of all valuables for this purpose (*ib.* 12^{18}). Hazael also prevailed against Israel, and superiority was maintained by his son Benhadad (*ib.* 13^{3}). Ultimately Jehoash, son of Jehoahaz, asserted his independence, and recovered the cities Hazael had taken (*ib.* 13^{25}). Jeroboam II., son of Jehoash, the great warrior-king of the northern monarchy, extended the borders of Israel, recovering D. and Hamath, probably making their kings tributary to Israel (*ib.* 14^{28}). D. and Samaria next appear in league against Jerusalem (2 K 15^{37} 16^{5}). Rezin of D. reconquered Elath, driving out 'the Jews.' Meantime the Assyrians, under Tiglath-pileser III., whose Bab. name was Pul or Pulu (2 K 15^{19}), were rapidly extending their sway, threatening the independence of D. and Samaria alike. To consolidate their power against Assyria, Rezin and Pekah sought to attach Judah to their cause by dethroning Ahaz, and setting up 'a king in the midst of it, the son of Tabeel' (Is 7^{6}). The attempt not only failed: it hastened the disaster they wished to avert. Ahaz appealed to Tiglath-pileser, who at once 'went up against D. and took it, and carried the people of it captive to Kir,' Rezin himself being slain (2 K 16^{9}); and Assyr. colonists were placed in it (Jos. *Ant.* IX. xii. 3). This was the heaviest blow the city had yet received, and for a time she seems to have been crushed by it. To this period probably refer the prophecies of Isaiah and Amos, 'The riches of D. . . . shall be carried away before the king of Assyria' (Is 8^{4}), 'Behold, D. is taken away from being a city, and it shall be a ruinous heap' (Is 17^{1}), 'I will send a fire into the house of Hazael, and it shall devour the palaces of Benhadad . . . and the people of Syria shall go into captivity to Kir, saith the Lord' (Am 1$^{4.5}$; see also Jer 49$^{23-27}$). Ahaz came to D. to do homage to Tiglath-pileser. Here he saw the great altar, of which, at his order, a duplicate was made by Urijah the priest, and put in the temple to supplant the brazen altar (2 K 16$^{10-16}$). For the important issues of this act see W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} 265, 443, *RS* 359, 466 ff.

A city occupying the position of D. could not be permanently overwhelmed. During the Persian period she displayed afresh her perennial vigour, playing a distinguished part (Strabo, xvi. 2. 9). When Darius advanced against Alexander at Issus, he sent his harem and treasures to D. for safety. After his defeat and inglorious flight, the city was treacherously surrendered to Alexander's general, Parmenio (Arrian, *Exped. Al.* ii. 11). During the Greek occupation D. yielded to Antioch on the Orontes the rank of first city in Syria. In the course of the wars with Egypt, D., with Palestine and Cœlesyria, fell at times into the hands of the Ptolemies. On the division of Syria (B.C. 111) between Antiochus Grypus and Antiochus Cyzicenus, D. fell to the latter. Against this prince Hyrcanus made a successful stand (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. x. 1–3). The next king was Demetrius Eucærus, who, assisted by Ptolemy Lathyrus, established himself in D., and divided the rule of Syria with his brother Philip (*Ant.* XIII. xiii. 4). Invited by discontented Jews, he marched against Alexander Jannæus, and defeated that prince near Shechem, returning immediately to war with Philip. The latter, assisted by Arabs and Parthians, was victorious. Demetrius was sent to Mithridates, king of Parthia, and remained with him till his death. A younger brother, Antiochus Dionysus, now seized the throne of Damascus. He fell in an encounter with Aretas, king of Arabia; and this monarch, invited by the inhabitants, entered D. and assumed the reins of government. Against Ptolemy Mennæus, 'who was such a bad neighbour to the city,' Alexandra, widow of Jannæus, sent an expedition to D., under her son Aristobulus, which achieved nothing (*Ant.* XIII. xvi. 3). Tigranes, king of Armenia, obtained temporary possession. The Romans under Metellus took the city, and here, B.C. 64, Pompey received ambassadors from the neighbouring kings, who brought him presents; among others, a golden vine from Aristobulus, valued at 500 talents. In B.C. 63 the whole of Syria became a Roman province; and, while the proconsul usually resided in Antioch, D. began to assume her old ascendency. Herod, while still a young man, escaping judgment from the Sanhedrin, came here to visit Sextus Cæsar, and was made by him general of the army of Cœlesyria (*Ant.* XIV. ix. 5). Later, according to Jos. (*BJ* I. xxi. 11), he showed his magnanimity by adorning many cities, not only within but also beyond his own dominions. To D. he added the attractions of a gymnasium and a theatre. It was on the way to D. that the miraculous event occurred through which Saul of Tarsus was converted to Christianity; and in this city he first testified for Christ (Ac 9$^{2-27}$). It was then under the Arabian Aretas, and governed by an ethnarch, whose vigilance Paul escaped, being let down over the wall in a basket (2 Co 11^{32}). Hither the apostle returned, after his sojourn in Arabia (Gal 1^{17}). It was reckoned to the Decapolis (Pliny, *HN* v. 16). Josephus curiously remarks that Scythopolis was the greatest of these cities. After Herod's time he says little of D.; but there must have been a strong Jewish colony there: at one time some 10,000 of these were slain by the populace (*BJ* II. xx. 2). Under Trajan, D. attained the rank of a Roman provincial city. Since that time, although she has often changed hands, her career of prosperity has hardly been interrupted, save perhaps when she fell before the ferocious Tamerlane (1399). D. is still the chief city in Syria, with a population of not less than 150,000. Christians have always been fairly numerous in the city. Theodosius transformed the great temple into a Christian church. On the advent of Islam it was changed into a Moslem mosque. D. was originally subordinate to Antioch, which was the seat of the patriarch; but this official, still taking his title from Antioch, now resides in Damascus. The darkest blot on the history of the city is the massacre of some 6000 Christians in the summer of 1860.

ii. GEOGRAPHY.—One of the most beautiful and fertile plains in the world is that which lies to the east of the Anti-Lebanon range, at an elevation of about 2200 ft. above sea-level. Great Hermon, *Jebel esh-Sheikh*, a vast snowy bank filling all the horizon, forms the western boundary. A chain of hills, thrown off to eastward from Anti-Libanus, runs along the northern edge. *Jebel el-Aswad* and *Jebel Mâni'* shut it in on the south. Three marshy lakes mark the eastern frontier of fertility; and away beyond them rises a range of low hills, which definitely cuts off this district from the sandy wastes of the Arabian desert. These surrounding hills, all bare and forbidding, save in the deeper and shadier wadies, enclose within their rocky arms a broad expanse of rich waving green.

This plain owes its fertility almost entirely to the river *el-Barada*, 'the cool,' which bursts through the limestone ramparts on the north, to fling itself in many a refreshing stream over its surface; and to the waters of *el-A'waj*, 'the crooked,' which, coming down from the eastern slopes of Gt. Hermon, flows through the southern meadows. Something is also due to the protection of the desert hills in the east, which in a measure bar the way against the drifting sand-storms from the wilderness. In the plain the natives distinguish five districts. The western portion, extending about two hours east of the gorge of the *Barada*, is divided by that river into the northern and southern *Ghautah*. To the east is the *Merj*, also divided by the *Barada* into north and south; while all lying between these districts and *Jebel el-Aswad* and the valley of *el-A'waj*, is known as *Wady el-'Ajam*. Scattered over this tract are some 140 villages. A population of about 50,000 are engaged almost exclusively in agricultural pursuits. Clumps of olives, and many varieties of fruit trees pleasantly diversify the landscape, while between them, in season, far and wide, wave seas of golden grain. On the edge of the plain, east of *el-Barada*, just under *Jebel Ḳasiûn*, which rises some 1700 ft., lie the famous orchards, some 30 miles in circumference, which encircle with luxuriant foliage the ancient city of Damascus. From afar are seen the white roofs, domes, and minarets, in striking relief against the green. The scene of rich beauty here presented, with the shade of fruitful trees, and on every hand the music of running water, has ever inspired the Arab with admiration; and when he dreamed of Paradise—'the garden' *par excellence*—his imagery was drawn from the gardens and streams of Damascus. Nor need we wonder if, coming from the dreary monotony of the burning desert, the Bedawi, fascinated by its delights, thinks himself in the midst of an earthly Paradise. Even for the eye accustomed to the fresh beauty and fruitfulness of the West, it possesses many a charm, although the descriptive language of the Arab may appear somewhat exaggerated. There are few places where so rich a variety of fruits is brought to maturity within a similar area. In the vicinity of the city are large vegetable gardens; and in the fields beyond different kinds of grain, tobacco, cotton, flax, hemp, madder-roots, and vicinus are grown. The olive is plentiful, and much of the oil used in the city is made in the neighbourhood. Tall, graceful poplars line the banks of the streams, yielding excellent timber for building purposes. Firewood is mostly made of the olive and the apricot. There are also the cypress, the plane tree, and the stately palm. But the charm of D. is felt chiefly in her gardens, and under the shadow of her far-stretching thickets of fruit trees. There, in generous rivalry, are found the orange, the lemon, and the citron; the apple, the pear, and the quince; plums and prunes, grapes and figs, pomegranate and mulberry, almonds and walnuts, hazel-nuts and pistachios.

D. is situated about 60 miles from the coast. Its exact position is 33° 30′ N. lat., 36° 18′ E. long. It is now most easily approached by the magnificent French diligence road from Beirût, which scales Mount Lebanon, crosses *el-Beḳa'*, and then follows the easy passes through Anti-Lebanon to the plain of Damascus. The routes by which of old she communicated with the seaboard varied with political conditions. The way to Tripoli lay past *Ba'albeḳ* and Bĕsherreh. That to Beirût followed closely the line of the present road; while the great height of the two Lebanons lay also between D. and Tyre and Sidon. When the way was clear, she found the most convenient outlet at Acre. This road led to the south-west past *Sa'sa'* and *Ḳuneiterah* over the *Jedûr* uplands, crossed the Jordan below lake *Ḥûleh* by *Jisr Benât Ya'ḳûb*, traversed the rolling downs of the upper Jordan valley, and splitting towards the west, one arm took the difficult but direct route by way of *Ṣafed*; the other swept southward past *Khân Jubb Yusif* to the plain of Gennesaret at *Khân Minyeh*, and, following an easy line by the wadies to the north-west, joined the *Ṣafed* road at *Er-Râmeh*. From Gennesaret a branch of this highway ascended the uplands west of the Sea of Galilee to *Khân et-Tujjâr*, and, passing round the base of Tabor, crossed the plain of Esdraelon to Megiddo, and thence to the Philistine plain and Egypt. Another branch kept the valley along the shore of the lake, and southward past Bethshan to Jericho. This was crossed by a road, which, leaving D. in a more southerly direction, traversed the level reaches of the *Ḥaurân*, came down into the valley from the *Jaulân* highlands east of the sea, by way of Aphek, and here dividing, one limb crossed the Jordan below the lake, climbed the hills to westward, and reached Acre by way of Kefr Kennah; the other passed up the vale of Jezreel, and again bifurcating, one branch went straight to the sea over Esdraelon: the other, bending to the south-west, is identified with the ancient caravan road from Gilead, which passes by Dothan, and comes down upon the plain of Sharon. The old gold and frankincense caravan road from Arabia the Happy has frequently changed its course in the northern reaches. The traffic has long been confined to the passing of the *Haj*, the Moslem pilgrimage to and from *El-Ḥaramein*, *El-Medînah*, and *Mecca*. The great road from Aleppo in the north is split as with a wedge at Emesa by the Anti-Lebanon ridge. It throws an arm round either side of the mountain, that on the west traversing the valley of Cœlesyria by way of *Ba'albeḳ*, and unites again at Damascus. Eastward lay the highways across the desert to Palmyra and Baghdād. Thus the great avenues of communication between north and south, east and west, along which flowed the commerce and marched the armies of the ancient world, lay through the heart of the city. Resting in the midst of a beautiful oasis on the edge of the changeless desert, surrounded by desert hills, she formed the natural harbour whither steered the argosies from the sea of sand, bearing the treasures of the East: whence again the sombre mariners set forth upon their dreary voyage homeward. Herein we have the secret of her perennial greatness. A strong position she never was, and often has she bowed beneath the stroke of the conqueror, becoming 'a servant to task work.' But, ever as the tides of war rolled back, she has arisen again, fresh and vigorous as of yore. She has been the meeting place and mart of the nations; and as she has been of use to all, to the desert nomad and to the more civilized and settled peoples alike, so the necessities of all have conspired to perpetuate her prosperity.

iii. TRADE.—It seems probable that the chief source of income to the people of D. would be the constantly passing caravans. But that they also traded on their own account is shown in Ezk 27[18], the 'handyworks' of Tyre being exchanged for 'the wine of Helbon and white wool.' *Ḥalbûn*, a village about 12 miles north of D., is still famous for its vine produce; and the mountain shepherds of Anti-Lebanon would always have a supply of white wool for the D. merchants. From Am 3[12] (RV) we may gather that the city was already known for silken manufactures. Our word 'Damask' is derived from a product of the looms of Damascus. At a later time her armourers also achieved wide fame, and the 'Damascus blade' was highly prized. They were carried off *en masse* by Tamerlane, and settled in Samarkand.

iv. ANTIQUITIES.—The main stream of *El-Barada*, the true creator of the city, enters from the N.W., and, passing under the great square, part escapes to water the gardens on the north, while the rest is carried off through multitudinous conduits to supply the houses of the inhabitants. The distribution of the water has always been a matter requiring the exercise of both care and tact among these excitable people: so it has come to be a common saying, that 'every drop of the water of *El-Barada* has to run according to law.' The ancient city was built on the southern bank of the stream. Much more ground is now covered to the north, and especially to the S. and S.W., while the long limb of *El-Mêdân*, terminating in the 'Gate of God,' *Bawwabet Ullah*, whence issue the pilgrims for *Mecca*, stretches far to the S. The old walls may be traced, however, along the edge of the stream, and through the centre of the modern city, in circumference about 4 miles. For a city of such extraordinary age, D. is not rich in antiquities. The castle, a rectangular building of great extent, standing at the N.W. corner of the old wall, probably dates only from the Middle Ages, although the substructures are ancient. To the S. of the eastern gate part of the wall is very old. The gate itself dates from Roman times; and the line of the *Via Recta*, 'the street called straight,' may be traced from this to the western gate. It is still called *Derb el-Mus-*

takîm, straight street, by the natives (*Derb eṣ-Ṣulṭâny*, 'the king's highway,' is the name given to every important road in the country). This is the straight street common to all Syro-Greek and Syro-Roman cities, of which fine examples are still to be seen at *Boṣrah* and *Shuhbah*. The great mosque possibly occupies the site of the temple of Rimmon (2 K 5^{18}). It is in accordance with the conservatism of the Orient, that the spot has preserved its religious character under the dominion of successive faiths. It was a spacious Greek temple, then a Christian church, and finally it became a Moslem mosque; the only remaining evidence of Christian use being the Greek inscription over the southern gateway, 'Thy kingdom, O Christ, is an everlasting kingdom, and Thy dominion endureth for all generations.' The Moslems say that the head of John the Baptist was buried here; but Christian tradition has it that the church was dedicated to John Damascenus, whose tomb was within it; and there his body was miraculously retained, when an effort was made to remove it. Of this mosque, which for centuries had been the pride of the Moslem world, a large part was destroyed by fire in October 1893.

The traditions associating certain spots with Abraham, Naaman, and Elisha are of the most shadowy character. Hardly more reliable are those relating to the experiences of St. Paul. A spot about half a mile E. of the city is shown as the scene of his conversion. It is now the Christian burying-ground. But tradition has several times contradicted itself as to the scene of this miracle: in any case it could not be here, as the traveller from the S. would not enter the city from the E. Between this and the gate is the grave of St. George, the kindly porter who connived at St. Paul's escape, and suffered martyrdom. The spot where the apostle was let down over the wall in a basket, 'the house of Judas' in Straight street, and also the house of Ananias, are pointed out; but considerable uncertainty attaches to them all. W. EWING.

DAMN, DAMNABLE, DAMNATION.—These words have in the course of time suffered a process of degeneration, for which, says Bishop Sanderson, 'we are not so much beholden to good acts as to bad manners.' The Lat. *damnare* signified 'to inflict loss on one,' 'to condemn.' But, under the influence of theology, the Eng. words thence derived soon acquired the sense of 'condemnation to eternal punishment'; and this special application ran alongside the orig. meaning from the 14th cent. to the 18th. In the 1619 ed. of the Bishops' NT, the translation of 1 Ti 5^{12} is 'having damnation, because they have cast away their first faith'; and there is added this note: 'S. Paul doth not here speake of the everlasting damnation, but by this word damnation, doeth rather understand the shame that those wanton widowes shall have in the world for breaking their promise.' Thus even then the sense to which the words are now wholly confined was the most familiar. But in earlier English it was not so. To Wyclif's ear the words must have had a very different suggestion, for he not only uses 'damn' freely in the sense of 'condemn,' as in his tr. of Job 9^{20} 'If I wole make me iust, my mouth shall dampne me,' but even uses it of our Lord Himself, as in Mk 10^{33} 'For lo! we stien to Jerusalem, and mannus sone schal be bitraied to the princis of prestis, and to scribis, and to the eldre men; and thei schulen dampne hym bi deth.'

In AV 'damned' occurs as tr. of *κατακρίνω* Mk 16^{16}, Ro 14^{23} (RV 'condemned'), of *κρίνω* 2 Th 2^{12} (RV 'judged'). 'Damnable' is found only 2 P 2^{1} 'damnable heresies,' Gr. *αἱρέσεις ἀπωλείας*, RV 'destructive heresies,' RVm 'sects of perdition.' 'Damnation' is the tr. of *καταδίκη* Wis 12^{27} (RV 'condemnation'); of *ἀπώλεια* 2 P 2^{3} (RV 'destruction'); of *κρίσις* Mt 23^{33}, Jn 5^{29} (RV 'judgment'), Mk 3^{29} (RV 'sin,' reading *ἁμάρτημα*); and of *κρίμα* Mk 12^{40}, Lk 20^{47}, Ro 3^{8}, 1 Ti 5^{12} (RV 'condemnation'), Ro 13^{2}, 1 Co 11^{29} (RV 'judgment'), while Mt 23^{14} is omitted from RV. Thus the words are never used in AV in the sense now attaching to them, and they are completely banished from RV. See more fully Roberts in *Expos. Times*, iii. 549 ff., and the art. JUDGMENT.

J. HASTINGS.

DAMSEL, now archaic or poetical, is freely used in AV; and it is retained in RV, except where the Gr. is *παιδίον* (Mk $5^{39.\ 40\ bis.\ 41}$ 'child') or *παιδίσκη* (Mt 26^{69}, Jn 18^{17}, Ac 12^{13} 16^{16} 'maid').* In Gn 34^{3} one word (נַעֲרָה *na'ărâh*) is twice tr^{d} in AV 'd.,' in v.^{4} another (יַלְדָּה *yaldâh*); and again in Mk $5^{39.\ 40\ bis.\ 41}$ we have one word (*παιδίον*), in vv.$^{41.\ 42}$ another (*κοράσιον*). RV preserves the distinction in St. Mark. J. HASTINGS.

DAN (דָּן 'judge,' *Δάν*).—The elder of the two sons borne to Jacob by Bilhah, Rachel's handmaid. The origin of the name, given in Gn 30^{6} (E), is that, after her long barrenness, God had judged Rachel and had given her a son, the son of her handmaid counting as her own. No details of his history are given in the patriarchal narratives. Modern critics usually regard him as, like the other sons of Jacob, the eponymous ancestor of the tribe of Dan. These tribes are divided into two main branches, the Leah tribes and the Rachel tribes. Dan belongs to the latter; but the representation of Dan and Naphtali as sons of Bilhah implies that they were inferior members of the Rachel group. That the tribe was quite small appears from various indications. Only one son is mentioned in Gn 46^{23} Hushim (in Nu 26^{42} Shuham), that is, the tribe consisted of a single clan. It is referred to as a 'family' in the important narrative of its migration to Laish, Jg $18^{2.\ 11.\ 19}$. The fighting men on this expedition are only 600, and they seem to have been the majority of the tribe. It is unnecessary to attach much importance to the characteristic statement of P, which places the fighting men of Dan, during the wilderness wandering, at more than 60,000 (Nu 1^{39} 26^{43}).

After the settlement in Canaan, the clan seems to have broken off from the main Joseph group in order to secure a district for itself. In this it was only partially successful. Its territory lay to the S.W. of Ephraim, and joined that of Benjamin and Judah. It seems to have stretched forward towards the fertile lowlands, but whether it ever occupied any portion of them or not is uncertain. The reference in the Song of Deborah (Jg 5^{17}) is itself very obscure, and the chronology of the period so uncertain, that we learn little from it. We do not know whether it refers to the northern or the southern settlements. The most obvious sense of the words is that Dan had pushed forward to the sea. But we have no other evidence that it ever reached the coast. Nor is it certain that the words require this interpretation. Moore translates: 'Dan, why does he live neighbour to ships?' and explains—Why does he live as a dependent under the protection of Phœnician seafarers? He thinks the northern Danites are meant. G. A. Smith thinks Deborah may speak 'in scorn of futile ambitions westward, which were stirred in Dan by the sight of the sea from the Shephelah,' but admits that Dan may have reached the coast at some time (*Hist. Geog.* p. 220). RV, 'Dan, why did he remain in ships?' is not satisfactory. It is most probable that the tribe never reached the sea; but even if it did so, it must have been soon compelled to retreat. Not only so, but we learn that it was forced back even from the lowlands by the Amorites (Jg 1^{34-36}). Wellhausen thinks that it was really the Philistines who drove them back into the hill country. But it seems safer to accept the statement of the text, though possibly the Philistines forced back the Amorites, who, in turn, pushed Dan back. We find the tribe after this living in the vales of Aijalon and Sorek, in and about the towns of Zorah and Eshtaol (Jg 18, cf. 13). The lot of the tribe as given in Jos 19^{41-46} includes very much more. But it cannot be taken as proving that Dan's territory ever included, even in idea, during its actual history, all the towns mentioned. It is the work of the Priestly Writer, and therefore very late. Not only so, but the general account of the territories of the tribes makes it clear that the whole land of Palestine was regarded as occupied by the Hebrews, though the actual history was very different. In this case the method of the writer has been to specify places actually occupied by Dan (Zorah, Eshtaol, Shaalabbin, Aijalon), and to add all the adjacent places which were not assigned to other tribes, though strangely Eshtaol and Zorah are assigned to Judah as border towns (15^{33}).

---

* The spelling of AV 1611 is never 'damsel'; 'damsell' occurs in Gn 24. 34, and Damsell Mt 14^{11}, while 'damsels' is found Gn 24^{61}, Jg 19^{9}. Elsewhere it is either 'damosel' or (most freq.) 'damosell,' with 'damosels' for plural and possessive. This is nearer the Lat. *dominicella*, dim. of *domina*, 'mistress,' and the Fr. *demoiselle*.

Although the tribe still retained this small district, it was so cramped in it that it became necessary to seek a new home. We have a most valuable account of this expedition in Jg 18. The narrative in this chapter and the preceding, of which it is a continuation, is probably composite. Budde prints his analysis (which has been followed in the main both by Kittel and by Moore) in his *Richter und Samuel*. It is not, however, important for our purpose to follow the analysis, as the outlines of the story are quite clear. A small party of spies was sent northward, and found in Laish (Leshem, Jos 19^{47}, which Wellhausen thinks was originally Lesham), a city which from the fertility of the district was very inviting, and from its isolation, and the peaceful, unsuspecting character of the inhabitants, was likely to fall an easy prey. Six hundred armed men with their families and goods set out for Laish. On their way they plundered the sanctuary of Micah, an Ephraimite, of its images, and took his priest with them. He pursued them with a few neighbours; but his remonstrance was met with a grimly humorous warning that unless he was silent he might irritate them into killing him and his family, a hint which Micah discreetly took. The Danites then moved on to Laish, which they captured and burnt, while they butchered the inhabitants. They built a new city and called it Dan. Probably only a small remnant was left behind in the south, but at least a remnant, with its home between Zorah and Eshtaol in the camp of Dan (Jg 13^{25}, in Jg 18^{12} Mahaneh-dan is said to be in Kiriath-jearim, but this is less likely). That a remnant was left is made probable by the story of Samson, who belonged to this tribe. That it was small seems clear from the subsequent history. It plays no part in the later history of Israel. It is omitted from the tribes in the genealogies of Chronicles and in the list of the Apocalypse.

The character of the tribe is sketched in the blessings of Jacob and Moses. In the former we read—

> 'Dan shall judge his people,
> As one of the tribes of Israel.
> Dan shall be a serpent in the way,
> An adder in the path,
> That biteth the horse's heels,
> So that his rider falleth backward.
> I have waited for thy salvation, O Lord' (Gn 49^{16-18}).

The first sentence has been variously understood, but probably the meaning is that Dan shall take his part with the other tribes in defending Israel. The writer probably has Samson in mind. The comparison in v.^{17} is to the stealthy tactics adopted by Dan in war or on marauding expeditions, by which, weak tribe though it was, it secured a victory over foes of superior strength. The attack on Laish is a good example. In the Blessing of Moses we read—

> 'Dan is a lion's whelp,
> That leapeth forth from Bashan' (Dt 33^{22}).

Here, too, the point of the metaphor is the suddenness with which the tribe would attack. The reference is not so much to war, probably, as to attacks on caravans, for which it would lie in wait. Although the second line refers to the 'lion's whelp,' yet the mention of Bashan makes it probable that the northern portion of the tribe is in the author's mind. From 2 S 20^{18}, where we should probably read 'in Abel and in Dan,' it seems that Dan was regarded as a tribe that held fast to the good old Israelite customs.

The gentilic name **Danites** (הַדָּנִי) occurs Jg 13^{2} $18^{1.11}$, 1 Ch 12^{35}. A. S. PEAKE.

DAN (דָּן, Δάν).—A city which marked the most N. point of Pal., and naturally became linked with Beersheba, the boundary town in the south. The phrase 'from Dan to Beersheba' was at once picturesque and suggestive of dimension, and in times of national crisis emphasized the fact that amid all tribal distinctions there was a common inheritance —the whole land of Israel (Jg 20^{1}, 1 S 3^{20}, 2 S 3^{10}). The chief independent notice is the account of the Danite invasion given in Jg 18, where the change of name from Laish or Leshem is accounted for. In all likelihood it is the same place that is referred to in the census-journey of Joab as **Danjaan**, 2 S 24^{6}. If the reading *ja'ar* instead of *ja'an* be accepted, it would indicate the first point of contact with the rocky ground and oak scrub of Lebanon, which the Arabs call *wa'ar*.

At Dan Jeroboam set up one of the calves of gold (1 K 12^{29}). Dan disappears from Scripture after the invasion of Benhadad (1 K 15^{20}, 2 Ch 16^{4}). It is referred to by Josephus, Eusebius, and Jerome in terms that identify it with the present Tell el-Ḳadi (although G. A. Smith prefers to locate Dan at Banias). The mound rises out of a close jungle of tall bushes and rank reeds, with larger trees on the higher slopes, until an irregular oblong plateau is reached, about 40 ft. high on the N. side and 80 ft. on the S., and resting upon one of the broad fringe-like terraces with which the skirts of Hermon sweep down towards the plain of Huleh (L. Merom). On the W. side, amid the rough boulders and blocks of ancient masonry that cover the ground, there gushes out the immense fountain (Leddan) that forms by far the largest source of the Jordan current, where 5 miles down it meets the waters from the upper springs of Hasbeya and Banias.

LITERATURE.—Robinson, *BRP*; Thomson, *Land and Book*; Smith, *HGHL* 473, 480 f.; Moore, *Judges*, 390; see also art. CALF (GOLDEN). G. M. MACKIE.

DANCING is, in its origin, an expression of the feelings by movements of the body more or less controlled by a sense of rhythm. It was practised, therefore, long before it was raised to the dignity of an art, being simply a natural development of the tendency to employ gesture, either as an accompaniment to, or a substitute for, speech. We may distinguish three stages in the early history of dancing, as exemplified in the practice of ancient nations: (1) Its rudest and most unstudied form, the outward expression of exuberant feeling; (2) the pantomimic dance, in which, *e.g.*, the movements of hostile armies were represented; (3) the dance pure and simple, the exhibition of the poetry of motion, of all the grace of attitude and all the flexibility of which the body is capable. Social dancing, as we now understand it, was almost, if not altogether, unknown in ancient times.

Whatever view we may hold of the presence or position of Israel in Egypt, we have no evidence to show that the Hebrews borrowed thence their love or their methods of dancing. They never seem, in ancient times, to have reached the third of the stages which we have enumerated. We hear nothing of performances by professional artists, similar to those represented on the Egyp. monuments, and supposed by Lane to have been the direct ancestors of the modern Ghawazee. There is no mention of solo or figure dancing, of contra-dances (unless we attach this meaning to the מְחֹלַת הַמַּחֲנָיִם, Ca 6^{13}), or of anything approaching in elaboration the performances associated with the Feast of Eternity. Still less can we expect a reasoned appreciation of the exercise as a means of developing the mind and body, such as we have in Plato's Laws. All the allusions point to spontaneous movements; in processions these would be impromptu on the part of the leaders, and more or less closely imitated by the others. Three ideas are represented in the vocabulary: leaping, circling, and making merry. Thus רָקַד, רִקֵּד (Ec 3^4, 1 Ch 15^{29}), to leap; כִּרְכֵּר, to circle (2 S $6^{14.16}$); חוֹלֵל (Jg 21^{23}, Ps 87^7), to twist oneself; שִׂחֵק, צִחֵק (Jg 16^{25}, 1 S 18^7, 1 Ch 15^{29}), *lit.* to laugh. It is self-evident that these words might be used in a looser and in a more technical sense. They were applied to the artless play of the children (Job $21^{11f.}$), as well as to the dancing of the adults.

Few as are the references in the Bible, they show that almost any occurrence might be associated with dancing: the return of the prodigal, the commemoration of an hist. event, the welcoming of a hero on his return from battle, the ingathering of the vintage,—whatever called for an expression of joy or excited the heart to gladness. Of dancing for its own sake, of its practice as an art, there is no trace. Leyrer sees a possible exception to this in Ca 6^{13}, but the passage is too obscure to admit positively of such an explanation. Whether we should look on Mahanaim as the name of a place, or as descriptive of a dancing in which two rows of performers took part, or whether, with Delitzsch, we should understand an allusion to the angels, must remain a matter of doubt. The only unmistakable instance of artistic dancing is that mentioned in Mt 14^6, the performance of Herodias' daughter 'in the midst' of the guests assembled on Herod's birthday. This was due, however, to the introduction of Greek fashions, through contact with the Romans, who had adopted them, and hardly belongs to our subject.

It is with dancing in connexion with the religious rites and ceremonies of the Hebrews that we are mainly concerned in this article. Their religion was, esp. in pre-exilic times, predominantly social and joyful. It found its proper æsthetic expression in a merry sacrificial feast, which was the public ceremony of a township or clan. Then the crowds streamed into the sanctuary from all sides, dressed in their gayest attire, marching joyfully to the sound of music. Universal hilarity prevailed; men ate and drank and made merry together, rejoicing before their god (W. R. Smith, *RS* 236 ff.). To such a religion dancing would be a natural adjunct. The cultus was not a system of rites, artificially contrived to express and maintain theological doctrines, but the free outcome of the religious feelings, which found vent in the way suggested by, and in harmony with, the disposition and genius of the people. It is not surprising, however, that we find comparatively few references to this part of the cultus in OT, or that no provision is made for it in the regulations contained in the recognized standards of the priests. There is no trace of the existence among the Hebrews of any class of priests corresponding to the Salii of ancient Rome, and their vintage and other festivals are far from possessing the significance of the great carnivals of the pagan world. The fact seems to be that the priestly historians and legislators resolutely excluded, as far as possible, everything that could infer any similarity between the worship of J″ and that of heathen deities. Nevertheless, enough remains to show that dancing was practised and acknowledged as part of the Heb. ritual. The dancing of Miriam and the women of Israel (Ex $15^{20f.}$) may have been due to an ancient ceremony connected with the Passover. In any view of it, the dance formed an essential part of an act of worship (cf. Is 30^{29}). At the annual vintage festival at Shiloh—'a feast of the Lord'—the maidens came out and joined in dances in the vineyards (Jg 21^{19-21}). When David took part in the procession at the removal of the ark, he did so in a priestly capacity: he wore the linen ephod, the official dress of the priests (2 S 6^{14}). These passages exhaust the list of religious dances in OT. But the allusions in the Psalms and Prophets, and the references to the rites in honour of idols, point in the same direction; *e.g.* the dance round the golden calf (Ex 32^{19}), and at the altar of Baal (1 K 18^{26}).

The people retained in later times their fondness for dancing in connexion with religious rites, as is shown by the ceremonies connected with the Feast of Tabernacles and the Day of Atonement. On the latter day, and on the 15th Abib, the maidens of Jerus. are said to have gone in white garments, specially lent them for the purpose so that rich and poor might be on an equality, into the vineyards close to the city, where they danced and sang. The following fragment of one of their songs has been preserved, and is thus given by Edersheim—

> 'Around in circle gay, the Hebrew maidens see;
> From them our happy youths their partners choose.
> Remember! Beauty soon its charm must lose—
> And seek to win a maid of fair degree.
> When fading grace and beauty low are laid,
> Then praise shall her who fears the Lord await;
> God does bless her handiwork—and, in the gate,
> "Her works do follow her," it shall be said.'

The other dance festival was held on the day preceding the Feast of Tabernacles, and is said to have been instituted by Judas Maccabæus. At the appointed time everyone went to the 'house of the Sho'ēbah,' carrying branches with lemons attached, for the procession round the altar. In the court were large candelabra, each with four arms; four priests, or youths of priestly descent, climbed ladders, filled the vessels with oil, and lit the wicks, which were made of cast-off belts of the priests. All Jerus. was lighted from the fires. The whole multitude joined in the laudations that followed. Men famous for their piety and good works danced with lighted torches, and great scholars like Hillel were not above exhibiting their dexterity and agility to the admiring crowd. Meanwhile the Levites, standing on the steps that led from the court of the men to that of the women, accompanied the performance with psalms and canticles, and the sound of the *kinnôrs* and cymbals was heard, with trumpets and other musical instruments. The whole festival is proof of that irrepressible love of display and hilarity which revealed itself in the popular religion of Judaism.

LITERATURE.—Spencer, *De Leg. Rit.* iv. 4; Voss, *Gesch. der Tanzkunst*; Grove (etc.), *Dancing*, in 'Badminton Library'; Leyrer, *PRE*² xv. pp. 206–208; Wetstein, *Zeitschr. für Eth-*

nologie, 1873, p. 285 ff.; Smith, *RS*^{2} p. 432; Tristram, *Eastern Customs*, pp. 207–210; Delitzsch, *Iris*, pp. 189–206; Conder, *Tent Work*, pp. 306, 326, 346. J. MILLAR.

DANDLE (prob. from It. *dandola* or *dondola*, a doll), to 'toss gently,' is found Is 66^{12} 'be dandled upon her knees.' Cf. Palsgrave (1530), 'I dandyll, as a mother or nourryee doth a childe upon her lappe'; and Bp. Hall (1614), 'If our Church, on whose lappe the vilest miscreants are dandled.' It is doubtful, however, if this tr. is accurate enough, though RV retains it. The Heb. (שִׁעֲשַׁע) is to stroke or caress, rather than to toss or dandle. The older versions have 'be joyful upon her knees'; except Wyc. 1380, 'daunte you,' 1388, 'speke plesauntly to you,' and Douay, 'speake you fayre.' J. HASTINGS.

DANGER.—In Apocr. (Ad. Est 14^4, Sir 3^{26} 29^{17} 34^{12} 43^{24}, 2 Mac 15^1) and in Ac $19^{27.\,40}$ 'danger' has its modern meaning; and so the adj. 'dangerous,' Sir 9^{18}, Ac 27^9. But in the other passages in which 'danger' occurs (Mt $5^{21.\,22\,ter}$, Mk 3^{29}) it is used in the obsol. sense of 'power,' 'control'; Gr. ἔνοχος, fr. ἐν-ἔχω, *held in* the power of some person or thing, hence (1) 'guilty of,' as Ja 2^{10}, 1 Co 11^{27}; (2) 'liable to,' as here. RV retains 'in danger of,' except Mk 3^{29} 'guilty of an eternal sin,' for AV 'in danger of eternal damnation,' reading ἁμαρτήματος for κρίσεως.

The Lat. *dominus* 'lord,' was contracted in old French in various ways, of which one was *dans*, and was thence adopted into Eng. in the form *dan*. Spenser, *F. Q.* IV. ii. 32, has—

> 'Dan Chaucer, well of English undefyld.'

Chaucer himself uses 'dan' freely as a title of respect=sir. From this word was formed *danger* (first in late Lat. or Fr., and then adopted into Eng.) by adding the term. *ger*, seen in passenger, messenger. This 'danger' became a great legal word in mediæval Eng., signifying a lord's rights or sway, the extent of his jurisdiction. Hence 'power,' 'control,' as Chaucer, *Prol.* 663 (Oxf. ed.)—

> 'In daunger hadde he at his owne gyse
> The yonge girles of the diocyse.'

Cf. More, *Utopia*, p. 116, l. 5 (Lumby), 'so disdaining to be in her daunger, that he renounceth and refuseth all her benefites'; and Shaks. *Mer. of Ven.* IV. i. 180—

> 'You stand within his danger, do you not?'

Thus 'to be in one's danger' passed easily into the meaning of 'be liable to' punishment or the like, and then 'be exposed to' any harm, the mod. meaning. J. HASTINGS.

DANIEL, דָּנִיֵּאל (in Ezk $14^{14.\,20}$ 28^3 דנאל, *ḳerê* דניאל), meaning 'God is my judge,' occurs in OT as the name of three (or four) persons.

1. David's second son, 'born unto him in Hebron' 'of Abigail the Carmelitess' (1 Ch 3^1). In the parallel passage, 2 S 3^3, the name is Chileab (כִּלְאָב); and since this is the evident source of the chronicler's list, the name D. probably arose from a corruption of the text. This apparently can be traced through the LXX, which in each passage has Δαλουιά (B Δαμνιήλ in 1 Ch 3^1) (כלאב, דלאה, דניאל) (Kittel on 1 Ch 3^1 in Haupt's *OT*).

2. A priest of the line of Ithamar who returned in the time of Artaxerxes with Ezra to Judæa (Ezr 8^2), and sealed the covenant drawn up by Nehemiah (Neh 10^6), unless two distinct persons are mentioned.

3. The hero and traditional author of the Bk. of Daniel. According to this book, D. was a youth of noble descent and high physical and intellectual endowments, carried by Nebuchadnezzar in the third year of Jehoiakim from Jerus. to Babylon, and with other Jewish youths, esp. three companions, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, assigned for education at the king's court (Dn 1^{1-7}). D. and his companions refused to defile themselves with the royal food, and for their fidelity were rewarded by being fairer in appearance 'than all the youths which did eat of the king's meat,' and in their final examination before the king by being superior in understanding and wisdom to all the magicians and enchanters of the realm (Dn 1^{8-20}). In the second year of Nebuchadnezzar, D. revealed and interpreted, on the failure of all the other wise men, the king's dream of the composite image, and was made ruler over the whole province of Babylon and chief ruler over all the wise men (Dn 2). He also interpreted the king's dream of the tree (Dn 4). After the death of Nebuch. he seems to have lost his high office and gone into retirement; but when the handwriting appeared on the wall of the palace during Belshazzar's feast (Dn $5^{1.\,5}$), again D. was, on the failure of the other magicians, summoned at the instigation of the queen (vv.$^{10-12}$). He interpreted the writing, and was then clothed with purple, decked with a chain, and proclaimed the third ruler in the kingdom (v.^{29}). Under Darius the Mede, D. was appointed one of three presidents over 120 satraps, and was distinguished above all the others; 'and the king thought to set him over the whole realm' (Dn 6^3). Through this favour he incurred the enmity of his fellow-officers, who, finding no occasion of accusing him, persuaded Darius to pass a decree that for 30 days no one should present a petition unto any god or man except himself on pain of being cast into a den of lions. As they expected, D. faithfully continued his custom of praying unto his God three times a day. Thus an accusation was brought against D.; and although the king tried to rescue him, yet he was cast into the den of lions (vv.$^{12-16}$), but was miraculously saved (v.^{22}). D.'s accusers were then cast into the den and quickly devoured, and the king decreed that all men should fear and tremble before the God of D. (vv.$^{24-27}$). 'So this D. prospered in the reign of Darius and the reign of Cyrus the Persian' (v.^{28}). This is the story of D. in Dn 1–6. In chs. 7–12 he appears as the recipient of a series of divine apocalyptic revelations respecting the future of Israel, for whose welfare he is extremely concerned. Two additional stories, that of Bel and the Dragon and that of Susanna, are also related concerning him in the Apocrypha.

This narrative of D. is evidently an example of Jewish *Haggadoth* (see next art.). Whether D. represents in any way a real hist. character cannot be absolutely determined. In Ezk $14^{14.\,20}$ a D. is mentioned with Noah and Job as a pre-eminently righteous character, and in Ezk 28^3 as an example of the highest wisdom. This association and allusion imply that the D. in the mind of the prophet was an ancient worthy in the traditions of Israel. (We can with difficulty conceive of Ezekiel speaking thus of a younger contemporary. See Cheyne in *Expositor*, July 1897, p. 25.) Of this D. of Jewish tradition we are entirely ignorant; yet probably he was the prototype of the D. of the Exile, and many features of this ancient character probably reappear in the later one. Ewald supposed that the D. of Ezk was a Jewish exile of the ten tribes who lived at the court of Nineveh and had acquired there a reputation for wisdom and righteousness, and whom later Jewish tradition transferred to Babylon. Or it is possible that there was such a distinguished Jew at Babylon, who enjoyed the favour first of Nebuch. and then of the Persian conquerors, who was actually named D., or owing to his wisdom and righteousness was so called by his countrymen after the ancient worthy alluded to by Ezk, and thus a real historical character may have been the basis of the hero of the Bk. of Daniel.*

The story of D. appears to have been written in imitation of that of Joseph—history, however, often repeats itself; yet, if the story is historical, it is strange that no reference is made to D. in the

---

* Cheyne suggests a connexion between D. and Zoroaster, the name having been coined out of the Zend *dânu*, 'wise' or 'wisdom' (*Bamp. Lect.* on Psalter, 105 ff.).

OT narrative of the restoration; that no post-exilic writer before the Maccabæan age knows anything about him; that no one else shared his expectations; and that he, with all his patriotism, did not avail himself of the opportunity of returning to Pal.; and that Ben-Sirach, writing about B.C. 170, should entirely omit him from the worthies of Israel, and also write (Sir 49^{15}), 'Neither was there a man born like unto Joseph, a governor of his brethren, a stay of the people.' E. L. CURTIS.

DANIEL, THE BOOK OF, in the Heb. Canon, is placed among the Hagiographa, between Est and Ezr, but in the LXX, Vulg., and Eng. Bible as one of the four great prophets, immediately after Ezekiel. It falls into two divisions: chs. 1–6, the history of Daniel; chs. 7–12, visions and revelations given to Daniel. In the original, 2^{4b}–7^{28} is written in Aramaic instead of Hebrew. In literary character the Bk. of Dn is mainly an apocalypse, representing in visions under symbolical forms various historical epochs. The beginning of this kind of writing appears in Ezk and Zec; but Dn is far more complete and elaborate, and exercised a great influence upon subsequent Jewish and Christian literature.

i. AUTHORSHIP AND DATE.—The visions (chs. 7–12) are represented as given in the words of Dn (7^{2} 8^{1} 9^{2} 10^{2}), hence the inference that he wrote the entire book. This was the ancient Jewish opinion,* and the prevailing Christian one, until within recent years.† Now, however, it has generally been abandoned, and in its place are quite a variety of views all agreeing in this, that the book *in its present form* must be assigned to the age of Antiochus Epiphanes (B.C. 175–163); and there is a growing consensus of opinion that the book as a whole belongs to that period, for the following reasons:—

1. *Acquaintance with Ant. Epiphanes.*—Ch. 11 shows a clear acquaintance with minor events in his reign and in those of his predecessors. In the veiled form of a revelation of the future it gives an outline of history from the time of Cyrus to near the death of Antiochus.‡ There are sketched the Persian period (v.^{2}), the rise and conquest of Alexander the Great (v.^{3}), the dismemberment of his empire (v.^{4}), and then principally the varying relations of the Ptolemaic and Seleucid dynasties to each other and of the latter to the Jews (vv.$^{5-39}$). Attention is called in succession to Ptolemy I. and Seleucus Nikator (v.^{5}), Ptolemy Philadelphus and Antiochus II. (v.^{6}), Ptolemy Euergetes (vv.$^{7-9}$), Antiochus the Great (vv.$^{10-19}$), Seleucus Philopator (v.^{20}), and Antiochus Epiphanes (vv.$^{21-45}$). While, from the obscurity of the history and the difficulty of determining the meaning of the Heb. text, some references are not perfectly plain, yet it is easy to point out definitely the accessions of these sovereigns, their alliances, intrigues, campaigns, victories, defeats, bestowment of gifts, treacheries, acts of violence, and frequently untimely deaths. The older commentators regarded these details as signal examples of divine prediction; but since such a revelation of the future is without analogy elsewhere in Scripture, and without any apparent moral or spiritual import, this chapter or insertions in it are now allowed, even by those who regard Daniel as the author of his visions or the rest of the book, to belong to the period of Antiochus Epiphanes.* Similar references elsewhere, however, seem to require these to be taken with their natural force, indicating the true date of the entire book, and not as later additions. In ch. 8 is a clear description of the conquests of Alexander (vv.$^{5-8. 21}$) and the division of his empire (vv.$^{8. 22}$), and of Antiochus Epiphanes (vv.$^{9-12. 23-25}$). These appear again, acc. to the most probable interpretation (see below), in ch. 7, the fourth beast representing Alexander's kingdom and its succession in the Seleucid dynasty (with which alone the writer here is concerned), culminating in Antiochus Epiphanes (vv.$^{8. 20-25}$). The descriptions are very exact. While the numbers of the kings, ten and three (v.^{24}), might be taken relatively or symbolically, yet the correspondence to the Seleucidæ is so precise that these kings seem evidently meant.† The eleventh corresponds exactly to Antiochus Epiphanes. Another clear reference to this sovereign seems also to appear in $9^{26f.}$.‡ Thus throughout all these

---

* The Talm. statement (Baba bathra 15), that the men of the Great Synagogue 'wrote' Dn, does not necessarily imply the contrary or express the idea of a later editing: it may simply mean a 'recording' of the book.

† Porphyry, the Neo-Platonist († 303), wrote a treatise denying the genuineness of Daniel's prophecy. His views are known from the Commentary of Jerome, who refuted them. Porphyry had no followers in the Christian Church. The first systematic modern rejection of Daniel's authorship was by Corrodi in 1783 and 1792. He was followed by Bertholdt, Eichhorn, Gesenius, Bleek, De Wette, Ewald, *et al.*; while the genuineness was stoutly defended by Hengstenberg, Hävernick, Auberlen, Keil, Pusey, *et al.* Cf. for history of the criticism, Bleek's *Einleitung*; Zöckler's *Comm.* in the Lange Series, and Hengstenberg on *Genuineness of Daniel.*

‡ Vv.$^{40-45}$ are perhaps an ideal description of events which the writer expected.

* Zöckler in Lange's *Bibelwerk*, 1869; C. H. H. Wright, *Introd. to OT*, 1890; Köhler, *Lehrbuch der Biblischen Gesch.* vol. ii. p. 545, 1893.

† We do not know, of course, just how the author reckoned these kings. Two main schemes have been suggested: (*a*) (Hitzig, Kuenen, Cornill, Bevan, *et al.*), (1) Alexander, (2) Seleucus I. Nikator, (3) Antiochus I. Soter, (4) Antiochus II. Theos, (5) Seleucus II. Callinicus, (6) Seleucus III. Ceraunus, (7) Antiochus the Great, (8) Seleucus IV. Philopator, (9) Heliodorus, (10) Demetrius I. Soter, or an unknown elder brother; (*b*) (Bertholdt Von Lengerke, Delitzsch, Meinhold, *et al.*), (1) Seleucus I. Nikator, (2)-(9)=(3)-(10) of (*a*) (10) Ptolemaus VI. Philometor. (8) (9) (10) of either (*a*) or (*b*) fulfil the conditions of the three kings put down (v.^{24}). Seleucus IV. Philopator was assassinated (the Jews may have thought by the connivance of Ant. Epiphanes). Heliodorus, who seized the government, was overthrown by Antiochus; Demetrius, the rightful heir, was thrust aside, and Ptolemy, who laid claim to it, was bitterly humbled. For Demetrius, who never became king, Kuenen, after Von Gutschmidt (*Kleine Schriften*, vol. ii. pp. 175–179), was inclined to place an elder brother who acc. to a fragment of John of Antioch was put to death by Antiochus.

‡ Antiochus Epiphanes, to the Jewish mind, was the incarnation of wickedness, arrogance, and blasphemy (cf. 1 Mac $1^{10. 21}$ 2^{62}, 2 Mac $9^{7-10. 28}$), and every term mentioned in the above references in Dn is most appropriate to describe him and his career. The eyes ($7^{8. 20}$) and 'understanding dark sentences' (8^{23}) indicate his vigilance and cunning; 'the look more stout than his fellows' and 'the fierce countenance' (7^{20} 8^{23}), the terror he inspired, and his cruelty; 'the mouth speaking great things' ($7^{8. 20}$ 11^{36}), his boastful arrogance, seen in the assumption of the title Epiphanes, 'the illustrious'—changed to Epimanes 'the mad' by his subjects,—and the title Theos, 'the god,' on some of his coins. His fearful persecution of the Jews and his suppression of their laws and sacred days are clearly indicated in 7^{25} 8^{24}. The following outline (abridged from *LOT* p. 461 f.) gives the leading events of his reign and the references to them in Dn:—

B.C.

176. Accession (1 Mac 1^{10}), Dn $7^{8. 11. 20}$ $8^{9. 23}$ 11^{21}.

175. Jason intriguing against Onias III. procures from Antiochus the high priesthood. Rise of Hellenizing party in Jerus. (1 Mac 1^{11-15}, 2 Mac 4^{7-22}).

172 [171]. Onias III. murdered (2 Mac 4^{32-35}), Dn 9^{26a} 11^{22b}.

171. 1st expedition of Antiochus against Egypt (1 Mac 1^{16-19}), Dn 11^{22-24}.

170. 2nd expedition against Egypt (1 Mac 1^{20}), Dn 11^{25-27}. Antiochus on his return plunders the temple and massacres many Jews (1 Mac 1^{21-28}, 2 Mac 5^{11-21}, Dn 8^{9b-10}, 11^{28}).

169. 3rd expedition against Egypt. Rom. legate Popilius Lænas obliges Antiochus to retire, Polyb. xxix. 1; Livy, xliv. 19, xlv. 12; Dn 11^{29-30a}.

169–8. Fresh measures against Jerusalem. City surprised on Sabbath day. Many inhabitants slain or captured and sold as slaves. Syrian garrison placed in citadel. God-fearing Jews flee. All practices of Jewish religion prohibited. Temple worship suspended, and, on 15 Chislev, B.C. 168, 'the abomination of desolation' (a small heathen altar erected on the altar of burnt-offering). Books of the law burnt, and women who had their children circumcised put to death (1 Mac 1^{29-64}, 2 Mac 6–7, Dn $7^{21. 24b. 25}$ $8^{11f. 13b. 24. 25}$ $9^{26b. 27a}$ $11^{30b-32a}$ (renegade Jews) $^{32b-35}$ (the faithful) $^{36-39}$ $12^{1. 7. 11}$).

167. Revolt of the Maccabees (1 Mac 2), Dn 11^{34} (the little help).

165. After victories by the Maccabees (1 Mac 4^{28-35}), temple puri-

chapters there are indications of the same kind of knowledge of Antiochus and of previous history as in ch. 11. Antiochus and his persecution of the Jews and defilement of their sanctuary seem ever present before the writer (cf. 1 Mac 1). When, however, he touches upon a subsequent period he gives nothing which need be interpreted as referring to specific historical events, but only symbolizes the general Messianic hope of Israel ($2^{44f.}$ 7^{27} $12^{1ff.}$). Hence the conclusion that chs. 7–12 belong to the age of Antiochus Epiphanes appears warranted, and then also chs. 1–6 if by the same author.

Unity of Authorship has been the prevailing view among scholars of all schools.* That chs. 1–6 belong to one author is evident. Ch. 1 is a necessary introduction to the others. Without it $2^{14ff.}$ and 2^{49} would be unintelligible, and 3^{12} requires 2^{49}; and $5^{10ff.}$ require chs. 2 and 4. Ch. 6 is closely connected with the preceding ones. The visions (chs. 7–12) require an account of D.'s personality and life, and the unity of the two sections is seen from the fact that the substance of the dream of the composite image (ch. 2) is repeated in the vision of the four beasts (ch. 7), and that 'they shall mingle themselves with the seed of men' (2^{43}) is evidently a reference to the unhappy marriages of the Ptolemies and Seleucidæ ($11^{6.17}$). The homiletical or didactic purpose of each section is also the same.†

2. *Historical Statements.* Daniel, according to 1^1, began his career as a youthful student at the Bab. court in the 3rd year of Jehoiakim, and lived at least until the 3rd year of Cyrus, *i.e.* from 606 or 605 to 536 or 535 B.C. Within this period are mentioned as kings of Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar (2^1), Belshazzar ($5^{1.30}$), Darius the Mede (5^{31} $6^{25.28}$), and Cyrus (6^{28}). Events are dated by the years of these kings (2^1 7^1 8^1 9^1 10^1), showing that the writer must have regarded all of them as reigning sovereigns, and not in any way as subordinate rulers. Belshazzar is further described as the son of Nebuchadnezzar ($5^{11.18}$) and king of Babylon at its capture by the Medes and Persians, when (acc. to $5^{30f.}$) he was slain and Darius received the kingdom. But history knows nothing of a Babylonian king Darius the Mede preceding Cyrus. The reigning monarchs within this period were Nebuchadnezzar, Evil-Merodach, Neriglissar, Nabunahid, and Cyrus. No Darius reigned in Babylon until a score of years later. The person whom Belshazzar represents was undoubtedly Bîl-sar-usur, son of Nabunahid and commander of the Babylonian army during the last years of his father's reign (*COT* ii. p. 130 f.). Being more active and energetic than his father, he seems to have supplanted him in tradition as sovereign. In reality, however, he was never king. This is proved by the long series of contract tablets, 'which, dated month by month and almost day by day from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar to that of Xerxes,' make no mention of an intermediate ruler between Nabunahid and Cyrus (Sayce, *HCM* p. 528). Belshazzar also was not a son of Nebuchadnezzar even by descent, for his father, Nabunahid, belonged to a different family.* In introducing Darius the Mede the writer shows the same confused idea of the order of events as the Greek writers.† Cyrus, we now know from the cuneiform inscriptions, obtained possession of Babylon peaceably. During the reign of Darius (B.C. 521–486) Babylon rebelled, and Darius was obliged to besiege the city, and took it by stratagem. In the tradition followed by Herodotus this siege is transferred to Cyrus (Her. i. 191). In Dn both the king and the siege seem to have been transferred to the earlier period.‡

A further confusion about Darius appears in 9^1, where he is called the son of Ahasuerus or Xerxes. Darius I. was the father of Xerxes.

Another apparently inaccurate statement is that of Nebuchadnezzar's siege and capture of Jerus. in the 3rd year of Jehoiakim, B.C. 605 (Dn 1^1). The historical books relate no such event, and that it did not happen seems implied in Jer 25^{1-9}, and necessary from the movements of Nebuchadnezzar. Shortly after the battle of Carchemish (605) he returned to Babylon to secure his accession to the throne. The conquest of the West occupied four years more, since not until 601 or 600 did Jehoiakim begin to pay tribute (Tiele, *Bab. und Assyr. Gesch.* p. 425 f.).§

A class of wise men or magicians are called Chaldæans ($2^{2.4.10}$ 4^7 $5^{7.11}$). 'This signification is foreign to Assyrian and Babylonian usage, and did not arise till after the fall of the Babylonian empire' (*COT* ii. p. 125). These Chaldæans are also represented as addressing Nebuchadnezzar in Aramaic (2^4), which probably was not spoken then at the Bab. court, and, in no case, in the western Aramaic dialect which the writer gives.‖

In 9^2 D. is said to have 'understood by the books the number of the years whereof the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah the prophet.' This expression

---

fied and public worship re-established just *three years* after its desecration (1 Mac 4^{36-61}), Dn 8^{14b}.

164 [163]. Antiochus dies somewhat suddenly in Persia (1 Mac 6^{1-16}, but see also Polyb. xxxi. 11), Dn $7^{11.26}$ $8^{14b.25\,end}$ $9^{26b.27b}$ 11^{45b}.

(The explanation of 11^{22-24} is uncertain, for we do not know whether they refer to an Egyp. campaign or to conduct in Assyria. On Antiochus the student should consult J. F. Hoffmann, *Ant. Epiph.*, Leipzig, 1873.)

* That of Gesenius, De Wette, Bleek, Cornill, Kuenen, Driver, König, *et al.*, as well as Hävernick, Hengstenberg, Keil, Pusey, Fuller, *et al.* Diversity of authorship has, however, been held, both by those holding the late authorship and by those regarding chs. 7–12 as genuine. Of the former, Bertholdt thought the book to have been written by nine authors. Strack and Meinhold regard 2^{4b}–6 as by an earlier writer, about B.C. 300. Of the latter, Sir Isaac Newton thought Daniel wrote only chs. 6–12. Köhler (*Lehrbuch der biblischen Geschichte*, ii. p. 537, 1893) holds that chs. 1–6 were written some time after the reign of Cyrus by the editor of chs. 7–12.

† No reason is clearly perceptible why the book is partly written in Heb. and partly in Aramaic. The following have been suggested: (1) Diversity of origin (Strack, Meinhold, see fn. above); (2) portion of the original Heb. lost and replaced by the Aram. translation (Lenormant, Bevan, Haupt); (3) the Aram. language a secret sign that the Chaldæans represented the Syrians, *i.e.* Antiochus and his followers (mentioned by König, *Einleit.* p. 382); (4) author preferred to give the speeches of the heathen in Aram. rather than in the sacred Heb., and being more at home in that language continued to use it (Behrmann).

* The remote possibility that B. was a grandson of N. on his mother's side has been urged as an explanation of the author's statements. This, however, is highly improbable, and an unnatural interpretation (cf. Bar $1^{11f.}$).

† They have given four different accounts of the origin of Cyrus and his relation to the last king of Media, no one of which is entirely correct (art. 'Cyrus,' *Ency. Brit.* 9th ed.).

‡ Ch. 5 implies no peaceable surrender of Babylon, but its capture by assault or stratagem. That Darius should be called a Mede may have arisen from Is 13^{17}, Jer $51^{11.28}$, where it is predicted that the Medes will conquer Babylon. The Medes also were allies of Cyrus, and Gobryas, to whom the city surrendered, and whom Cyrus placed in command, was governor of 'Gutium,' a Median province (*Beiträge z. Assyriologie*, Delitzsch and Haupt, vol. ii. p. 223). The older commentators generally saw in Darius, Cyaxares II. of Xenophon's *Cyropædia*. This probably was the view of Jos. (*Ant.* x. xi. 4). But the *Cyropædia* is a romance, and modern hist. investigation has failed to find a place for this king. The story of festivities at the time of the fall of Babylon is given in Herodotus, i. 193. The cuneiform tablets mention a religious festival in connexion with the account of the capture of Babylon, but earlier than the entrance of Cyrus or Gobryas into the city.

§ The writer perhaps drew his statement from a combination of 2 K $24^{1f.}$ and 2 Ch 36^6, misunderstanding the three years in Kings and reckoning them from the beginning of Jehoiakim's reign. Or by reckoning backward he may have regarded the 3rd year of Jehoiakim as the beginning of the 70 years of captivity. That the author of Dn, both here and elsewhere, does not seem to have rightly apprehended or presented recorded facts of OT history, is no more surprising than the similar variations between the statements of Kings and Ch, and esp. the departures in NT from the Heb. text. Cf. Gn 11^{31} $12^{1.4}$ (Haran) with Ac 7^2 (Ur), Dt 10^{22} (70 souls) with Ac 7^{14} (75), Gn 23 (Ephron in Hebron) with Ac 7^{16} (Hamor in Shechem), Ex 12^{40} (430 years in Egypt) with Gal 3^{19} (430 years in Canaan and Egypt).

‖ The word ארמית = 'in Aramaic' (v.^{4} RVm), may be a gloss. So Lenormant, Bevan, Kautzsch-Marti, P. Haupt (*Bk. of Dn.*, Crit. Heb. Text, p. 16), *et al.*

implies that the prophecies of Jer. belonged to a well-known collection of sacred books, and suggests (this is the prevailing interpretation) the second division of the Heb. Canon, which was formed a century or more after the Exile. See art. CANON.

Thus the Bk. of Dn contains a series of historical statements which imply a misconception of the exilic period, and that their author lived considerably later, and may well have written during the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes.

3. *The Language* of Dn points likewise in the same direction.[*] The Heb. is distinguished from that of the exilic Ezk and the immediately following Hag and Zec, and resembles more nearly that of 1 and 2 Ch written about B.C. 300, and certainly does not belong to an earlier period. The Aram. also, as far as can be determined, is of the same late date. Persian words appear in both sections, some in connexion with the description of Bab. institutions before the conquest of Cyrus (see list, *LOT* p. 469). This indicates a period long enough after that conquest for Persian words to have become a part of the Jewish language. Three Gr. words, the names of musical instruments (קיתרס, *κίθαρις*, flute; פסנתרין, *ψαλτήριον*, psaltery; and סומפניה, *συμφωνία*, dulcimer or bagpipe, $3^{5.\,7.\,10.\,15}$), also occur. One of these, *συμφωνία*, as the name of a musical instrument, is peculiar to late Gr., and according to Polybius was a favourite instrument with Antiochus Epiphanes (Bevan, p. 41). This evidence brings the composition of Dn to a date at least later than the conquest of Alexander, unless the supposition be made that the Gr. musical instruments had at an earlier period through channels of trade found their way into the East, and their names become domesticated in the Aram. language. This, however, is unlikely.[†]

4. *The Doctrines* of Dn with respect to angels and the resurrection are the most developed in the OT. Angels have special personal names (8^{16} 9^{21} $10^{13.\,21}$ 12^{1}), special ranks ($10^{13.\,20}$ 12^{1}), and the guardianship of different countries ($10^{13.\,20.\,21}$). These representations go far beyond those of Ezk and Zec, and are relatively identical with those of Tobit and other Jewish writings of the 1st cent. B.C. Dn plainly teaches a personal resurrection both of the righteous and the wicked (12^{2}). This also is a decided advance upon the doctrine elsewhere in OT, and is mentioned by later Jewish tradition in connexion with the Maccabees (cf. 2 Mac $12^{43\text{ff.}}$). Thus, while the determination of the date of an OT writing from its religious doctrines is always a delicate procedure, yet, as far as a doctrinal development can be found in OT, the Bk. of Dn comes after all the other OT writings, and approximates most closely to the Jewish literature of the 1st cent. B.C.

5. *The Homiletical Purpose* of the Bk. of Dn is most agreeable to the Antiochian period. The narratives in chs. 1. 3. 6 are exhortations to keep the Jewish law and to remain faithful to the worship of J". While such teaching might be appropriate at all times, it was esp. so then in its peculiar form. The question of eating meat was at that time a test of faith. Then pious Jews 'chose to die that they might not be defiled with food, and that they might not profane the covenant' (1 Mac $1^{62\text{f.}}$). The lessons of the 'fiery furnace' and the 'lions' den,' chs. 3 and 6, never could have been more fitly presented than when 'came there forth out of Isr. transgressors of the law, and persuaded many, saying, Let us go and make a covenant with the nations that are round about us' (1 Mac 1^{11}), and when Antiochus commanded the worship of foreign deities on pain of death (1 Mac $1^{41\text{-}50}$). The stories of the humbling of Nebuch. (ch. 4) and the fall of Belshazzar (ch. 5) would also be fraught with particular consolation when Israel was oppressed by the heathen. The visions (chs. 7-12), whatever view is taken of their date, are universally acknowledged to have been primarily designed for consolation during the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes.

6. *The External History* of the Bk. of Dn likewise favours its composition at the time of Antiochus. There is no evidence in any OT or Apocr. writing of its earlier existence. The testimony of Josephus, written near the close of the 1st cent. A.D., that the book was shown to Alexander the Great (*Ant.* XI. viii. 5), prob. represents only a Jewish legend, and historically is of no decisive value. The earliest possible reference is in the Sibylline Verses, iii. 388 ff. (about B.C. 140), where there may be an allusion to Antiochus Epiphanes and the ten horns (Dn $7^{7.\,20.\,24}$; Schürer, *HJP* div. ii. vol. iii. p. 280). The next reference is 1 Mac $2^{59\text{f.}}$ where Matthias is reported in his dying exhortation to have said 'that Hananiah, Azariah, and Mishael believed and were saved out of the flame. Daniel for his innocency was delivered from the mouth of lions.' While this might simply indicate a knowledge of these stories, it is probable that the author of 1 Mac (about B.C. 100), who evidently composed the speech of Matthias, was acquainted with our book. From this period on there are abundant evidences of its being well known. Its influence is very appreciable in NT, esp. in Rev, but it is only once directly mentioned (Mt 24^{15}).[*]

The place of the Bk. of Dn among the Hagiographa favours also its late composition. If it had been written during the Exile, notwithstanding its apocalyptic character, it naturally would have been placed among the Prophets.

The Conclusion, then, in favour of the Maccabæan date, in view of this accumulation of concurrent facts, seems abundantly warranted. The exact date of composition is usually placed within the year B.C. 165. The 'abomination of desolation,' 168, is clearly before the writer, and also the Maccabæan uprising in 167, but not the re-dedication of the temple in Dec. 165, and the death of Antiochus in 163.

The great difficulty, of course, in assigning the Bk. of Dn to the late date is the fact that chs. 7-12 are represented as revelations of the future given to Daniel during the Exile. But this difficulty vanishes the moment one considers how prevailing in OT and among Jewish writers was the custom of representing present messages as given in the past through ancient worthies. Thus the law of Deut. is given as though spoken by Moses in the land of Moab, and the legislation of P as though revealed to Moses in the wilderness. The Bk. of Eccles. is written as the experience of Solomon. While in 2 Es, Bar, the Bk. of Enoch, and the Jewish Apocalypses generally, this method of composition is abundantly illustrated, and was evidently a favourite one with the devout and pious of the centuries immediately preceding and following Christ.

Assigning the entire book to the Maccabæan period, destroys, it is true, the hist. reliability of chs. 1-6. These chapters must be regarded as a species of the later Jewish Haggada, or method of inculcating moral and spiritual lessons by tales of the imagination. Here, again, we meet with striking parallels in the OT Bk. of Jonah and in the Apocr. stories of Tobit and Judith. A *quasi* defence of chs. 1-6 is frequently made on the ground that the writer used authentic written material of the Exile which he revised. This, of course, is possible, but it is a mere hypothesis, and it is more probable that his material was only traditions or tales.*

---

[*] Delitzsch, art. 'Daniel,' *PRE* (1878), Driver, *LOT* pp. 469-476 (1891); König, *Einleit.* § 80 (1893); Bevan, *Com.* pp. 26-42 (1892); Behrmann, *Komm.* pp. i-x (1894).

[†] Additional evidence in language appears also in the proper names Nebuchadnezzar 1^{1}, Belteshazzar 1^{7}, and Abed-Nego 1^{7}, since their spelling and formation show a lack of acquaintance with the language and gods of Babylon during the Exile (*COT* ii. $124^{\text{ff.}}$; Sayce, *HCM* p. 532).

[*] This passage, like other similar NT ones, reflects the Jewish opinion of the 1st cent. A.D., but has no further weight in deciding the question of authorship. Christ or the writer of the Gospel naturally expressed himself according to this opinion, for we have no reason to believe that the Divine Spirit ever led either of them to instruct or correct their contemporaries on questions of literary and historical criticism.

The view which has been presented of the Bk. of Dn doubtless will appear to some to destroy its religious value and render it unworthy of a place within the sacred Canon. No one, however, under the modern view can read the book without being taught lessons of sublime faith, and having a firmer assurance of the ultimate triumph of the kingdom of God. The book has in the past been blessed as an instrument of the Holy Spirit for the strengthening of the Church, and, interpreted in the light of its real origin, this will continue and be enhanced. Great difficulties in receiving its lessons will be removed, and the Church will be spared endless profitless discussion and exegesis necessitated by the old view.†

ii. THE INTERPRETATION.—The Bk. of Dn contains three representations of the world's history more or less closely related to each other, which, with their interpretations, may be outlined as follows:—

	Ch. 2	Ch. 7	Ch. 8		
A.	Golden head	= The lion		= Babylonian Empire.	
	Silver breast	= The bear	= The ram	= Medo-Persian	,,
	Brazen belly and thighs	= The leopard	= The he-goat	= Grecian	,,
	Iron legs and iron and clay feet	= The fourth beast		= Roman	,,

	Ch. 2	Ch. 7	Ch. 8		
B.	Golden head	= The lion		= Babylonian Empire	
	Silver breast	= The bear	= The ram	= Medo-Persian	,,
	Brazen belly and thighs	= The leopard	= The he-goat	= Macedonian	,,
	Iron legs and iron and clay feet	= The fourth beast		= Syrian	,,

	Ch. 2	Ch. 7	Ch. 8		
C.	Golden head	= The lion		= Babylonian Empire.	
	Silver breast	= The bear	= The ram	= Median	,,
	Brazen belly and thighs	= The leopard	=	= Persian	,,
	Iron legs and iron and clay feet	= The fourth beast	= The he-goat	= Grecian	,,

The parallelism between the composite image (ch. 2) and the four beasts (ch. 7) shows that they were designed to represent the same world-powers. In this interpreters are generally agreed. The historic fact that after the fall of the Bab. kingdom there was no distinct Median kingdom, but Media was united to Persia, naturally gave the interpretation of Medo-Persian to the silver breast and the bear, and such a united kingdom appeared in the two-horned ram of ch. 8. The brazen belly and thighs and the leopard then well symbolized the Grecian kingdom of Alexander and his successors, who acc. to ch. 8 were represented by the he-goat. While the legs of iron and feet of iron and clay and the fourth beast with the ten horns, in connexion with which appeared the final everlasting kingdom (2^{44} 7^{27}), would represent the Roman Empire in whose days the Christ appeared. Elsewhere, both in OT and NT, there were indications of great wars and distress, and even an Antichrist to precede the final consummation of the kingdom of J". Hence the interpretation A was most plausible, and became almost universal in the early Jewish and the Christian Church.*

The prevailing modern interpretation is C (B has had few advocates). The reasons for the adoption of C are as follows: Whatever may have been the facts of history, the author does distinguish between the Median and Persian kingdoms. After the Babylonian he places the Median represented in the reign of Darius ($5^{30f.}$ 6^1 9^1), who has the position of an independent and absolute sovereign, and then follows the reign of Cyrus the Persian (6^{28} 10^1). A Medo-Persian kingdom could scarcely have been designated by the writer as *inferior* to Nebuchadnezzar or the Babylonian (2^{39}), while this would aptly describe the short-lived Median of his scheme. This kingdom seems also well represented in the bear (7^5). The kingdom of brass which shall rule over all the earth (2^{39}), or the leopard to which dominion was given (7^6), with its four wings representing rapid and successive conquests, and with its four heads (corresponding to the four kings of 11^{2}), symbolizes particularly well the Persian kingdom which advanced so widely and rapidly under Cyrus and Cambyses, and whose dominion was so great under Darius I. and his successors. It must also be noted that the two horns of 8^{3}, one of which comes up last, which are interpreted as the kings of Media and Persia (8^{20}), can as well represent two successive kingdoms, the power of one of which entered into the other, as one consolidated empire. The fourth kingdom of the image, which shall be strong as iron and break in pieces and crush (2^{40}), and the beast terrible and powerful with great iron teeth, that devoured and brake in pieces and stamped the residue with his feet (7^{7}), seem identical with the he-goat of furious power ($8^{5\text{-}7}$) interpreted as Alexander (8^{21}). The feet, part of clay and part of iron (2^{42}), represent well the successors of Alexander, often 'externally allied but inwardly disunited'; and the ten toes (2^{42}) seem to be reproduced in the ten horns, which fitly represent the Seleucidæ (see footnote, p. 552). The mingling of the seed seems to refer to the futile endeavours of the Ptolemies and Seleucidæ to form stable alliances by marriages (cf. $11^{6.\,17\,?}$). *But the clear description of Antiochus Epiphanes in the little horn* ($7^{8.\,20.\,24\text{f.}}$) *is decisive for the modern interpretation.* The introduction of the Messianic kingdom immediately in connexion with or following events of the author's own time, is fully in accord with other OT representations. Isaiah places the advent of the Messianic king in immediate connexion with a deliverance from Assyr. oppression (Is 8^{16}–9^{7} 10^{33}–$11^{1\text{ff.}}$), likewise Micah ($5^{4\text{-}6}$); and Deutero-Isaiah blends in one picture the release and restoration from Bab. captivity, and the final consummation of the divine purposes for Israel. The same principle is illustrated in Christ's eschatological discourse in Mt 24.

---

* An argument often repeated rests on the assertion that the whole colouring and character of the book are Oriental and esp. Babylonian, impossible to an age so unfamiliar with them as the Maccabæan, and reference is made to the colossal image, the fiery furnace, the martyr-like boldness of the three confessors, the decree of Darius, the lions' den, the dreams of Nebuch., and his demands of the Chaldæans, etc. (Fuller, art. 'Daniel,' Smith, *DB*²). Such a view had the countenance and authority of Lenormant (*La Divination*, pp. 169-267). The truth is, however, that the Bk. of Dn contains no allusions to Bab. customs which might not have been known to a Jewish writer of the 2nd cent. B.C. (who even might have visited Babylon), or have been preserved in the tales from which he drew his material; while, on the other hand, there are the statements already given which seem to prove the author's real lack of acquaintance with Babylon during the Exile. In addition to these may be mentioned the statement of Daniel's appointment as 'chief governor over all the wise men of Babylon' (2^{48}). This, owing to the exclusiveness of Bab. sacred caste, even Lenormant regarded as impossible, and hence held the words 'all the wise men' to be an interpolation. Indeed, Lenormant's or any similar theory of the composition of the book (*i.e.* an early work thoroughly revised in the Greek period) is worthless for a defence either of the truth of its narrative or of its genuineness, because the line of separation between the early and late contents cannot be determined. The account of Nebuchadnezzar's insanity (ch. 4) has been thought to receive confirmation by a story given in a fragment of the historian Abydenus (preserved in Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.* ix. 41). The story relates that Nebuch. on the roof of his palace was inspired by some god or other, and announced the future calamities of Babylon and then suddenly vanished. In this announcement there is a wish that the author of these calamities might be driven into the desert where the wild beasts seek their food, and wander among the mountains and rocks alone. The similarity between this and the biblical narrative is not very great, and yet enough perhaps to show that the same story originally was the basis of each (Bevan, p. 87 ff.; Schrader, *JPT*, 1881, pp. 618-629).

† The following from Farrar is worthy of quotation in this connexion: 'Though I am compelled to regard the Bk. of Dn as a work which in its present form first saw the light in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, and though I believe that its six magnificent opening chapters were never meant to be regarded in any other light than that of moral and religious *Haggadoth*, yet no words of mine can exaggerate the value which I attach to this part of our Canonical Scriptures. The book, as we shall see, has exercised a powerful influence over Christian conduct and Christian thought. Its right to a place in the Canon is undisputed and indisputable, and there is scarcely a single book of the OT which can be more richly profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be complete, completely furnished to every good work. Such religious lessons . . are not in the slightest degree impaired by those results of archæological discovery and criticism which are almost universally accepted by the scholars of the Continent and many of our chief English critics. Finally unfavourable to authenticity, they are yet in no way derogatory to the preciousness of this OT Apocalypse' (*Bk. of Dan.* p. 3 f.).

* Indeed it is difficult to see how a different interpretation could have been given according to the prevailing exegesis which ignored the original historical situation and meaning of OT prophecies, and sought some fulfilment agreeable to the actual history or expected future of the Church. Christ had applied to His second coming the words of Dn 7^{13} (Mk 13^{26} 14^{62}), hence His parousia was regarded as preceded by the little horn of v.^{8}, which thus became the Antichrist. Many commentators sought hist. kingdoms to represent the 10 horns, and since the Reformation the papal power has very often been regarded as the Antichrist. The numbers three, four, and ten have also been freq. interpreted symbolically (so Briggs, *Mess. Proph.* § 105).

Corresponding with the interpretations of the four beasts are those of 'one like unto a son of man' ($7^{13\text{f.}}$). The prevailing Christian and Jewish interpretation has referred these words to the Messiah. In favour of this view is their application by Christ to Himself (Mt 26^{64}, Mk 14^{62}, Lk 22^{69}, cf. Mk 13^{26}, Lk 21^{27}, Mt 16^{28}, Lk 12^{40} 18^{8}, Rev 14^{14} *et al.*), and the repeated designation of Christ in NT by the term 'the Son of Man.' The Bk. of Enoch applies the same expression to the Messiah ($46^{1\text{-}6}$ $48^{1\text{-}3}$ $62^{5\text{-}9}$ $69^{26\text{-}29}$),* and this is the general exposition of our passage by the Jewish Rabbins, also in the Talm. (*Sanh.* p. 98, col. 1). A growing modern view, however, finds in 7^{13} a symbolization of the kingdom of Israel, and this probably was the intention of the writer. The expression 'son of man' (Aram. בַּר אֱנָשׁ = Heb. בֶּן־אָדָם) acc. to a common Heb. idiom is synonymous for man or one of mankind (cf. Ps 8^{4}, Ezk 2^{1} $3^{1.\,4.\,10.\,17}$ *et al.*), and stands here evidently for one in human form representing Israel, in contrast with the beasts symbolizing the heathen powers. A striking parallel occurs in Ps 80, where in v.^{17} 'son of man' symbolizes Israel, and 'the boar' v.^{13} the heathen. The interpretation in v.^{27} seems also decisive for this view. The kingdom is given to 'the people of the saints of the Most High; his (the people's) kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him (the people).' Again, no other possible similar Messianic allusion appears elsewhere in Daniel. The 'coming with the clouds of the heaven' is in evident contrast to the heathen kingdoms 'rising out of the sea' (7^{3}). The latter appearance is fig., indicating earthly origin; the former indicates then, by parallelism, a source in the special power of God, just as the stone cut out of the mountain without hands ($2^{34.\,45}$) stands in contrast to the image, an evidently human or earthly product. That later writers, esp. those of the NT, should find in this passage a direct allusion to the Messiah, is in exact accord with their interpretation of other OT figures which primarily denote mankind or Israel (cf. Ps $8^{4\text{ff.}}$ and He $2^{6\text{-}9}$, Hos 11^{1} and Mt 2^{15}, Gn 12^{7} and Gal 3^{16} *et al.*).

iii. THE 'TIMES' OF DANIEL (7^{25} 8^{14} $9^{24\text{-}27}$ $12^{11.\,12}$) are difficult of interpretation. They are mainly an endeavour under the Antiochian persecution to answer the anxious thought and piercing cry, 'Lord, how long? When wilt Thou restore the kingdom to Israel? When will the Messianic hope be realized?' They express the thought that the time of the fulfilment of the divine promise is very near at hand. The glorious assurances of Is 40–66 had never been realized. The Jews, in their pitiful poverty and national smallness, and above all in this hour of persecution, seemed still in their captivity, still within the period of the seventy years mentioned by Jeremiah (Jer 29^{10}), and an explanation of their duration and the announcement of their end is the evident endeavour of our author in $9^{24\text{-}27}$.

Of the weeks subdivided into 7 + 62 + 1 ($9^{25\text{-}27}$), as in the case of the image (ch. 2), and the four beasts (ch. 7), there are two main interpretations differing generally according to the view taken of the Bk. of Dn as a whole, or esp. according to the historical and prophetic references in (*a*) 'the anointed one, the prince' (^{25}), (*b*) 'the anointed one cut off' ($^{26\text{a}}$), (*c*) the destruction ($^{26\text{b}}$), (*d*) the maker of the covenant ($^{27\text{a}}$), (*e*) the desolation ($^{27\text{b}}$). The prevailing view in the past in the Christian Church has seen in (*a*) (*b*) and (*d*) the Messiah, and in (*c*) and (*e*) the destruction of Jerus. by Titus, 70 A.D. The view received at present, agreeably to the Maccabæan date of Dn, refers (*a*) to Cyrus (cf. Is 45^{1}), (*b*) to Onias III. (2 Mac 4^{34}), (*d*) to Antiochus Epiphanes, (*c*) and (*e*) to the havoc and desolation wrought by Antiochus at Jerusalem. In the case of both interpretations a week has usually been held to represent seven years, but a difficulty has always been experienced in fixing the termini, and the various solutions proposed for adjusting the 49 + 434 + 7 years have been almost endless. The more prevailing one, in the old view, places the advent of Christ at the end of 69 weeks (v.^{25} AV and RVm), and refers the commandment to the decree of the 7th year of Artaxerxes, B.C. 457 or 458 (cf. Ezr $7^{6\text{-}26}$), and then 483 yrs. later is A.D. 25 or 26, the date usually assigned for Christ's baptism, which, from His anointing with the Holy Spirit, might represent His proper Messianic advent (Pusey, *Lect. IV.*). This view and all other similar ones presented by those holding the genuineness of the Bk. of Dn contain their own refutation, for the *termini a quo* must be later than the period of the prophet, who would have died many years at the latest before the commencement of the 490 years or the 70 weeks B.C., and such a date could not have been taken as the basis of his reckoning, unless the history of Israel after his death had been revealed to him in detail.

Under the other view the natural interpretation would be as follows: To the decree of Cyrus seven weeks (v.^{25}), *i.e.* 586 − 49 = 537. From this decree the city stands rebuilt during 62 weeks of 434 years, but after this period (v.^{26}) the anointed priest Onias III. shall be cut off in B.C. 171 (*i.e.* 537 − 434 = 103. This should be 171; see below). During the next seven years, the last week (v.$^{26\text{bf.}}$), occur the havoc and ruin wrought by Antiochus. The sacrifice ceased, and the heathen altar was set up in the sanctuary. The latter event was in Dec. 168 (1 Mac 1^{54}); but the former, with the terrible ruin and slaughter (1 Mac 1^{29-40}), occurred probably some months earlier. The temple was re-dedicated in Dec. 165 (1 Mac 4^{52}). These three years and some months represent the half week of the ceasing of the oblation, mentioned in the time, times, and half a time (7^{25}), in the 2300 evenings and mornings (8^{14}), *i.e.* 1150 days, and in the 1290 days (12^{11}) and the 1335 days (12^{12}). The representations, of course, are not exact, *i.e.* the number of days exceed in each instance 3½ years, or half a week. Did we know all the circumstances of the times, we might see a clear solution, or possibly the author designed an enigmatic surplus or remainder to be interpreted only through the future course of events, even as he had endeavoured to interpret the 70 weeks.

---

* The references given from the Bk. of Enoch are by some regarded as belonging to a Christian addition to the original Jewish work (see art. ENOCH, BOOK OF).

In the above interpretation the actual period between the decree of Cyrus and the death of Onias is shorter than the 62 weeks, *i.e.* 366 years instead of 434. This probably has arisen from the defective chronology of the writer. He placed the reign of Cyrus too early * (Bevan, Cornill, Schürer). Owing to the great difficulty of finding any consistent explanation of the 'times' of Dn, many writers have regarded the numbers as entirely symbolical.

iv. VERSIONS.—The LXX text of Dn has been preserved only in one MS, Codex Chisianus, which cannot be older than the 9th cent., and is perhaps much later (Bevan). In place of the LXX the Greek VS of Theodotion was used (even by Irenæus, † 202). There is no Targ. on Daniel. The following diagram (from Behrmann, p. xxx) shows tentatively the relation of the VSS to the original text and to each other :—

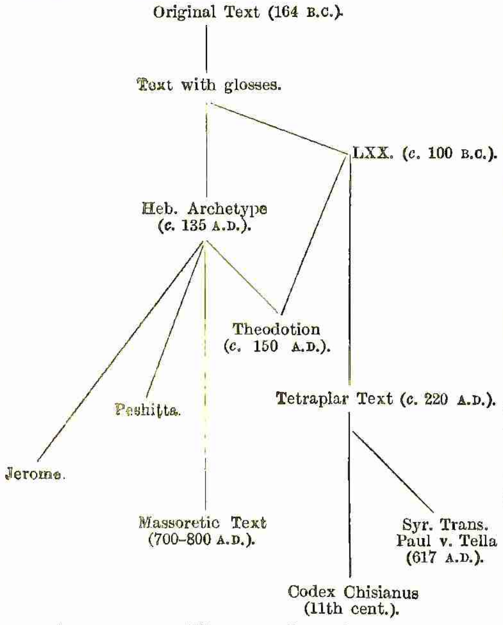
Original Text (164 B.C.).
Text with glosses.
LXX. (c. 100 B.C.).
Heb. Archetype (c. 135 A.D.).
Theodotion (c. 150 A.D.).
Tetraplar Text (c. 220 A.D.).
Peshiṭta.
Jerome.
Massoretic Text (700–800 A.D.).
Syr. Trans. Paul v. Tella (617 A.D.).
Codex Chisianus (11th cent.).

v. ADDITIONS.—There are three Apocr. additions to Dn : (1) The Song of the Three Children, preceded by the Prayer of Azarias, in LXX and Vulg. at 3^{24-90}; (2) The Story of Susanna, in Vulg. ch. 13, in LXX a separate book (?) ; (3) The Story of Bel and the Dragon, in Vulg. ch. 14, in LXX a separate book (?). (See sep. artt.)

LITERATURE. — The literature on Daniel is exceedingly voluminous. 'On no other book' (says C. H. H. Wright) 'has so much worthless matter been written in the shape of exegesis.' The most important *Commentaries* are those of Bertholdt, 1806–8 ; Von Lengerke, 1835 ; Hävernick, 1832 ; Hitzig (*Kgf. Hndb.*), 1850 ; Stuart, 1850 ; Ewald (*Proph. d. AB*), 1867, Eng. tr., 1881 ; Keil, 1869, Eng. tr., 1872 ; Zöckler (Lange's *Bibelwerk*), 1870, Eng. tr. and add. by Strong, 1875 ; Fuller (*Speaker's Com.*), 1876 ; Meinhold (*Kgf. Kom.*), 1889 ; Bevan, 1892 ; Behrmann (*Hand-Kom.*), 1894 ; Farrar (*Expositor's Bible*), 1895.

Special Treatises and Articles. — Hengstenberg, *Beiträge*, 1831, Eng. tr., 1848 ; Tregelles, *Defence of Authenticity*, 1852 ; Auberlen, *Der Prophet Daniel und Offenbarung Johannes*, 1854–57, Eng. tr., 1857 ; Pusey, *Dan. the Prophet*, 1864, 3rd ed. 1869 ; Fuller, *Essay on the Authenticity of Daniel*, 1864 ; Lenormant, *La Divination chez les Chald.* (pp. 169–236), 1875 ; Cornill, 'Die Siebzig Jahrwochen Daniels,' in *Theol. Stud. u. Skizzen*, 1889 ; Schrader, 'Die Sage vom Wahnsinn Nebuch.' *JPT*, 1881 ; Kamphausen, 'Das Buch Daniel,' in *Neu. Geschichtsforschung*, 1893 ; Margoliouth in *Expos.* Apr. 1890 ; Fuller in *Expos.* 3rd series, vols. i. and ii. ; Sayce, *HCM* (pp. 495–537), 1893 ; Terry, *Proph. of Dan. Expounded*, 1893 ; C. Bruston, *Études sur Dan. et l'Apoc.* 1896.

In add. to these works, the student will find valuable material on Dn in Kamphausen's *Daniel* in Haupt's *OT*, in the *OT Introductions* of Cornill, Driver, König, Strack, *et al.*, and the *OT Theologies* of Dillmann, Schultz, Smend, *et al.*, and the *Messianic* or *OT Prophecies* of Briggs, Delitzsch, Hofmann (*Weissagung u. Erfüllung*), Orelli, Riehm, *et al.*, and in the *Histories of Israel* or *the Jews* of Ewald, Grätz, Köhler, Kittel, Stade, Schürer, *et al.* See also art. APOCRYPHA.

E. L. CURTIS.

DAN-JAAN.—Joab and his officers in taking the census came 'to Dan-jaan and round about to Zidon' (דָּנָה יַּעַן וְסָבִיב אֶל־צִידוֹן), 2 S 24^6. No such place is mentioned anywhere else in OT, and it is generally assumed that the text is corrupt. It has indeed been proposed to locate Dan-jaan at a ruin N. of Achzib which is said to bear the name *Khan Dâniân* ; but this identification, although accepted by Conder, has not made headway. The reference is more probably to the city of Dan which appears so frequently as the northern limit of the kingdom. Three leading emendations of the text have been proposed. (1) Wellhausen (*Sam. ad loc.*) instead of the MT יַעַן וְסָבִיב would read וּמִדָּן סָבְבוּ ('They came to Dan) *and from Dan they went about.*' This is accepted by Driver (*Sam. ad loc.*, cf. *Deut.* p. 421), Budde (in Haupt's *OT*), Kittel (in Kautzsch's *AT*). (2) Klostermann would read וְעִיּוֹן וַיָּסֹבּוּ . . . 'and to Ijon and they went about.' Ijon and Dan are associated in 1 K 15^{20} (cf. 2 K 15^{29}). (3) Gesenius would change יַעַן into יַעַר . . . 'to Dan *in the wood*' (cf. Vulg. *silvestria*). After εἰς Δάν LXX reads, B Εἰδὰν καὶ Οὐδάν, A Ἰαρὰν καὶ Ἰουδάν. This does not help us much, but Wellh. points out that it indicates at least that the translators found דן twice in their text and had a verb in place of וסביב.

J. A. SELBIE.

DANNAH (דַּנָּה), Jos 15^{49}. — A town of Judah mentioned next to Debir and Socoh. It was clearly in the mountains S.W. of Hebron, probably the present *Idhnah*. This place is noticed in the 4th cent. A.D. (*Onomasticon*, *s.v.* Jedna) as six Roman miles from Eleutheropolis (*Beit Jibrîn*). It is now a small village on the W. slopes. See *SWP*, vol. iii. sheet xxi. LXX has Ρεννά.

C. R. CONDER.

DAPHNE (Δάφνη).—A place mentioned in 2 Mac 4^{33} to which Onias withdrew for refuge, but from which he was decoyed by Andronicus and treacherously slain. Its site, which has been identified with the mod. *Beit el-Mâ*, or House of Waters, is placed by Strabo and the Jerus. Itinerary at a distance of 40 stadia, or about 5 miles, from Antioch. This grove, which owed its establishment to Seleucus Nikator, was famous for its fountains, its temple in honour of Apollo and Diana, its oracle, and its right of asylum. (See Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, c. xxiii.)

R. M. BOYD.

DARA, דָּרַע 1 Ch 2^6, Δάρα AB ; but codd. Heb., Luc. Δαραδέ, Pesh., Targ. presuppose דַּרְדַּע DARDA (which see).

DARDA (דַּרְדַּע, Δαραλά B, Δαραά A, Δαρδαέ Luc.)—Mentioned with Ethan the Ezrahite, Heman, and Calcol as a son of Mahol, and a proverbial type of wisdom, but yet surpassed by Solomon (1 K 4^{31}). In 1 Ch 2^6 apparently the same four (Dara is probably an error for Darda. See DARA) are mentioned with Zimri as sons of Zerah, the son of Judah by Tamar (Gn 38^{30}). So Targ. in 1 K 4^{31} interprets 'the Ezrahite' as בר זרח 'the son of Zerah.' This statement of Ch need not conflict with that of K, 'sons of Mahol,' since Zerah, as is suggested by the title 'the Ezrahite,' may have been the remoter ancestor, Mahol the immediate father. See MAHOL. C. F. BURNEY.

---

* Josephus fell into a similar error, also the Jewish Hellenist, Demetrius (Schürer, *HJP* II. vol. iii. p. 53 f.).

DARIC.—See MONEY.

DARIUS (דָּרְיָוֶשׁ, *Δαρεῖος*).—**1.** Darius, the son of Hystaspes (Vistáshpa), written Dârayavaush in Old Persian, was the true founder of the Persian empire. The usurpation of the crown by the Magian Gaumáta, who pretended to be Smerdis the brother of Cambyses, had thoroughly shaken the empire of Cyrus, and the murder of the usurper by Darius and six others (B.C. 521) caused it to break up. The nations of which it was composed revolted under different pretenders, and had to be reconquered and reorganized by Darius. The history of all this is given in the trilingual inscription he caused to be engraved on the rock of Behistun (Bagistana). First Susiana rebelled under Atrina, then Babylon under Nidinta-Bel, who pretended to be Nebuchadrezzar, son of Nabonidus. Contract-tablets show that the latter pretender reigned from October B.C. 521 to August B.C. 520, when Babylon was taken and Nidinta-Bel himself put to death. Next came the revolts of Martiya in Susiana; of Phraortes in Media, who called himself Khshathrita, descendant of Uvakhshatara; of the Armenians; of Chitrantakhma in Sagartia, who said he was a descendant of Uvakhshatara; of Phraortes in Parthia and Hyrcania, where Hystaspes was satrap; of Frâda in Margiana; of a second false Smerdis in Persia itself; and of the Armenian Arakha, son of Khaldita, in Babylon, who professed to be Nebuchadrezzar, the son of Nabonidus. But the revolts were all suppressed and the leaders impaled, though many months of hard fighting were needed for the work. D. ascribes all his successes to the help of Ahuramazda (Ormazd), the supreme god of the Zoroastrian faith.

He now set about the organization of the empire, which he placed under a bureaucracy centralized in himself. The provinces were governed by satraps appointed by the king, and each province was required to furnish the royal treasury with a fixed amount of annual tribute. Justice was administered by royal judges who went on circuit.

The second revolt of Babylon probably took place in B.C. 514, as no Bab. contract-tablets have been found dated in the seventh year of Darius, and after its suppression a part of the walls of the city were pulled down. Soon afterwards Darius overcame Iskunka the Sakian or Scyth, and henceforward the Sakians formed part of the Persian army. The expedition against the Scyths of Europe was still later. Darius crossed the Danube near Ismail by a bridge constructed by the Ionians, who had already performed the same service in the case of the Bosphorus, and, leaving it in charge of the Ionian 'tyrants,' he marched eastward to the Don. Eight fortresses were built on the banks of the Oarus (probably the Volga), and Darius then returned through a desert country to the Danube, harassed by the Scyths. Histiæus of Miletus saved his army by dissuading the Greeks from destroying the bridge. Histiæus was afterwards the indirect cause of the Ionian revolt, which led to the burning of Sardis by the Athenians, and the determination of Darius to punish Athens and annex Greece. Thrace and Macedonia had already submitted. Mardonius, the son of Gobryas, was sent against Attica; but his ships were wrecked off Mount Athos, and he was compelled to return. Another army was despatched accordingly the following year. Eretria was pillaged; but the Persian host was utterly defeated by the Athenians at Marathon (B.C. 491), and compelled to retreat. Darius now fitted out another expedition on a larger scale, but just as it was ready to start Egypt revolted.

D. had already explored the Indian Ocean. Skylax of Karyandria sailed down the Indus, and, after a voyage of thirty months, reached Suez. One of the results of the expedition was the subjugation of the Indians.

The Egyptian revolt was followed by the death of the king, B.C. 486. He had married the daughter of Gobryas in early life, and Artobarzanes, his eldest son by her, was not allowed to succeed him, as he had been born while Darius was still a private citizen. After his accession he married Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus and wife of Cambyses and of the pseudo-Smerdis, as well as Parmys the daughter of Smerdis, and Phædyma the daughter of Otanes. Xerxes, his son by Atossa, was his successor to the crown.

It was in the reign of Darius that the second temple of Jerusalem was finished. The work had languished till the second year of his reign, when Haggai and Zechariah excited Zerubbabel, 'the governor of Judah,' and the high priest Joshua to undertake it afresh (Ezr $5^{1ff.}$). This made Tattenai, the Persian governor of Syria, inquire by what authority they acted (v.$^{3ff.}$). On being told that it was a decree of Cyrus, he wrote to Darius, who had search made for the decree, which was found in the palace of Ecbatana. Darius caused it to be published, and added that money for the building should be given out of the revenue of the province, as well as cattle and other things for the temple services, 'that they may offer sacrifice . . . and pray for the life of the king and of his sons.' Accordingly, the temple was completed on the 3rd of Adar, in the sixth year of Darius (6^{1-15}).

According to Josephus (*Ant.* XI. i. 3), whose narrative rests on chs. 2 and 3 of 1 Es, the goodwill of Darius towards the Jews went back to the time when he was a private individual, and had vowed that if he became king he would restore the sacred vessels to the temple of Jerusalem. He and Zerubbabel were old friends, and, after the return of the Jewish prince from Jerusalem, Darius made him one of his bodyguard. In this capacity Zerubbabel was called on to amuse the king one night when he was sleepless, in the first year of his reign, by determining the relative strength of 'wine, kings, women, and truth.' His explanation that truth was the strongest pleased Darius, who promised to grant whatever he asked. He therefore reminded the king of his promise to build Jerusalem and its temple, and Darius thereupon did all he could to further the work, giving fifty talents towards it, and relieving the Jews of all taxation.

2. DARIUS *the Persian* (Neh 12^{22}). Which king of Persia is meant is uncertain. Some commentators have supposed it to be Darius II. (Nothus) B.C. 423–404, but it was more probably Darius III. (Codomannus), the last king of Persia, and the contemporary of the high priest Jaddua, who is mentioned in the same verse. Darius III. reigned from B.C. 336 to 330, when he was overthrown by Alexander of Macedon in the decisive battle of Arbela, and the Persian empire destroyed.

3. DARIUS in 1 Mac 12^7 AV is a false reading for the Lacedæmonian Areus. See ARIUS.

4. DARIUS *the Mede.*—See next article.

LITERATURE.—Spiegel, *Die altpersischen Keilinschriften* (1881).

A. H. SAYCE.

DARIUS THE MEDE (דָּרְיָוֶשׁ הַמָּדִי Dn 11^1, Aram. ד' מְדָיָא (*Kethibh*), ד' מָדָאָה (*Kerê*) 6^1 [Eng. 5^{31}]), the son of Ahasuerus (=Xerxes), 'of the seed of the Medes' (9^1), is said (5^{31}) to have succeeded to the Bab. kingdom after Belshazzar's violent death, and to have been 62 years old when he 'received the kingdom.' His first year only is mentioned (5^{31} 9^1 11^1).

Who this D. was, is difficult to ascertain with certainty. Besides other proposals, D. the Mede has been identified with (1) Cyaxares II., the son and successor of Astyages (Jos. *Ant.* X. xi. 4), but no proof is given to support this theory; (2) Darius Hystaspis; (3) Astyages himself; but all these identifications seem quite untenable. It is true that D. Hystaspis conquered Babylon, but that was some thirty years later. Besides this, he was a Persian, not a Mede; and he was about thirty-six years old, not sixty-two, when he began to reign.

The passage in Dn 5^{31} where he is described as having received the kingdom (RV) leads one to ask whether, in spite of the title of king which is given to him ($6^{6.7}$ etc.), he may not have been really governor only. In the Gr. historians and in the *Bab. Chronicle* the name of D. the Mede does not occur, he who preceded Cyrus to Babylon, on the occasion of the siege and capture of that city, being Gobryas, who may thus be regarded as having 'received the kingdom for him.'* Gobryas, like Darius the Mede (6^1), appointed governors in Babylon, and seems also to have been in the attack which resulted in Belshazzar's death (*Bab. Chronicle*, Rev. col. i. l. 22). It will thus be seen that Cyrus gave great power to Gobryas, who was, in fact, his viceroy.† Apparently, therefore, the later Jewish writers looked upon Gobryas as having as much authority as Belshazzar, whom they regarded likewise as king, though he does not appear ever to have reigned. The confusion of the names of D. the Mede and Gobryas of Gutium (he being governor of that place, which is regarded as having included a part of Media), may have been due to the scribes, who, being more familiar with the Gr. form of the name of D. (the end of which, when carelessly pronounced, bears a certain resemblance to that of Gobryas in that language) than with the Heb. form *Daryawesh*, wrote one name for the other; and there is also the possibility that one of Gobryas' names was Darius,‡ which would account for the mistake. Under these circumstances we must accept, until further proof, the explanation, that D. the Mede was no other than Gobryas of Gutium, who, being practically viceroy, may have been regarded as king during the absence of Cyrus from Babylon, and who, under the name of D. the Mede, by which he was known to the Hebrews later on, conquered and entered Babylon on the 16th Tammuz, called Daniel to the very high dignity of 'one of the three presidents who were placed over the hundred and twenty satraps,' and issued a decree, after Daniel's miraculous deliverance, enjoining 'reverence for the God of Daniel' throughout his dominions. Josephus gets rid of all difficulties presented by the title of 'king' which is given to D. the Mede in Daniel, by explaining that he took Daniel the prophet with him into Media, and that it was there that he appointed him one of the three presidents whom he set over his 'three hundred and sixty' provinces. According to this authority, therefore, D. the Mede was in fact never ruler of Babylonia.*

I. A. PINCHES.

DARKNESS (Heb. חֹשֶׁךְ and אֹפֶל [and their cognates], עֵיפָה, עֲרָפֶל, Gr. *σκότος, σκοτία, ζόφος*). Besides its literal meaning, darkness is frequently used in Scrip. metaphorically. Since God is light, because the perfect embodiment of rational and moral truth, and since the knowledge of Him is man's light, darkness is the natural antithesis of these ideas. Hence in OT it is emblematic of nothingness (Job $3^{4.5.6}$); more freq. it is equivalent to death (Job $10^{21.22}$ 15^{23} $17^{12.13}$, 1 S 2^9, Ec 11^8 etc.), and to the unknown or undiscovered (Job 12^{22} 28^3, Is 45^3 etc.). So, too, it is the emblem of mysterious affliction, and of the ignorance and frailty of human life (2 S 22^{29}, Job 19^8 23^{17}, Ps 18^{28} $107^{10.14}$, Is 9^2 29^{18} $42^{7.16}$ etc.); of moral depravity (Is 5^{20} 60^2, Pr 2^{13}), and of confusion and destruction visited on the wicked (Job 5^{14} 15^{30} 20^{26}, Ps 82^5, Pr 4^{19} 20^{20}, Is 8^{22} 59^9, Ec 2^{14}, Jer 2^{31} etc.). It is also the symbol of that which causes terror and distress (Gn 15^{12}, Is 5^{30} 47^5, La 3^2, Ezk 32^8 etc.). Since, moreover, God is incomprehensible, His ways mysterious, and His judgments severe, darkness is sometimes associated with His operations in providence (Ps $18^{9.11}$), in punishing (Am 5^{18}, Zeph 1^{15}), and in His self-manifestations generally (Ps 97^2, 1 K 8^{12}, 2 Ch 6^1), even as the guiding 'pillar' was light to Israel but darkness to the Egyptians (Ex 14^{20}), and Sinai was covered with dark clouds when J″ descended on it (Ex 20^{21}, Dt 4^{11} 5^{23}, Heb 12^{18}). In NT darkness is prevailingly the emblem of sin as a state of spiritual ignorance and moral depravity (Mt 4^{16} 6^{23}, Lk 1^{79} 11^{35} 22^{53}, Jn 1^5 3^{19} 8^{12} $12^{35.46}$, Ac 26^{18}, Ro 2^{19} 13^{12}, 1 Co 4^5, 2 Co 6^{14}, Eph $5^{8.11}$ 6^{12}, Col 1^{13}, 1 Th $5^{4.5}$, 1 P 2^9, 1 Jn $1^{5.6}$ $2^{8.9.11}$), but also of the desolation of divine punishment (Mt 8^{12} 22^{13} 25^{30}, 2 P $2^{14.17}$, Jude $^{6.13}$).

Two instances of special darkness, recorded in the Bible, call for notice. (1) The ninth of the plagues sent by God upon the Egyptians was a plague of darkness (Ex $10^{21.23}$). Many commentators explain this as due to a storm of fine dust and sand driven from the desert by the S. wind, the *Hamsîn*, noted for such effects in the spring. The LXX seems to have taken such a view, describing it as 'darkness, thick cloud (*γνόφος*), storm (*θύελλα*).' Some have regarded it as wholly miraculous; but the other plagues seem due to God's use of natural agencies. (2) The darkness at the crucifixion from the sixth to the ninth hour (Mt 27^{45}, Mk 15^{33}, Lk $23^{44.45}$). This the evangelists seem plainly to represent as supernatural. The true text of Lk 23^{45} (*τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλείποντος* or *ἐκλιπόντος*, 'the sun failing' or 'having failed'; RV 'the sun's light failing') has indeed been thought to describe it as an eclipse. This reading and interpretation were noted by Origen, from whose remarks it appears that objectors to Christianity had so explained it. Origen rejected the reading, attributing it either to a scribe's wish to provide an explanation or to an enemy's wish to pervert the evangelical account (see WH, Notes on selected readings). Origen also rejected the view itself that an eclipse, natural or miraculous (for so some explained it), was intended by Luke, though his language elsewhere seems to imply the true text. The charge that it was a natural eclipse is put into the mouth of the Jews in the *Acts of Pilate*, contained in the pseudo-

---

* He brought the army of Cyrus to Babylon on the 16th Tammuz, Cyrus arriving nearly four months later, on the 3rd Marcheshvan.

† It is noteworthy that Xenophon (*Cyrop.* N. 6) says that Gobryas was 'a man in years.'

‡ Jos. (*Ant.* x. xi. 4, says that Darius (the Mede), whom he represents as the kinsman of Cyrus, 'had another name among the Greeks.' Apparently, the name of Gobryas was present to his mind when he wrote this.

* Driver, who in *LOT*^{1} pp. 469, 479 n. maintained a cautious reserve, admitting the possibility that D. the Mede might prove to be a historical character, agrees in his later editions with Sayce, that the existence of such a ruler is completely excluded by the monuments (cf. Sayce, *HCM* 528 ff.). The latter, as well as P. Haupt (note on Dn 6^1 in Haupt's *OT*), and a host of modern scholars, argue that 'D. the Mede' is due to confusion with D. Hystaspis, who conquered Babylon (B.C. 520). On the theory of the Maccabæan date of Daniel, such a confusion is held to be quite explicable.

Gospel of Nicodemus. Eusebius (*Chronicon*) and later Fathers appealed also to the statement of Phlegon of Tralles (of the 2nd cent.) that in the 202nd Olympiad (July A.D. 29 to 33) there was the greatest eclipse of the sun ever known, that it became night at the sixth hour of the day, so that stars appeared, and that there was a great earthquake in Bithynia. These writers differ as to the year of the Olympiad, but Wurm and Ideler place it on Nov. 24, A.D. 29 (Wieseler, *Synopsis of Four Gospels*, p. 354; see, on the other hand, Whiston, *Testimony of Phlegon Vindicated*, Lond. 1732). The insuperable objections to its identification with the darkness at the crucifixion are, even apart from the above date, that at passover the moon was full, and the darkness lasted three hours. Seyffarth's view (*Chron. Sacr.* pp. 58, 59), that the Jewish calendar was so deflected that the passover actually fell at a new moon, has found no advocates, and is wholly improbable, since the Jewish calendar depended on observations of the moon. There is, however, no need to interpret Luke of an eclipse in the astronomical sense (WH, Notes on selected readings). It is simply a statement that the sun's light failed. See also LIGHT, PLAGUES.

G. T. PURVES.

DARKON (דַּרְקוֹן).—'Children of D.' were among those who returned with Zerubbabel (Ezr 2^{56}, Neh 7^{58}). D. is called in 1 Es 5^{33} **Lozon.** See GENEALOGY.

DARK SAYING.—This is the tr^{n} of Heb. חִידָה *ḥîdhâh*, in Ps 49^{4} 78^{2}, Pr 1^{6}. Elsewhere *ḥîdhâh* is tr^{d} 'dark speech' Nu 12^{8}; 'dark sentence' Dn 8^{23}; 'hard question' 1 K 10^{1}, 2 Ch 9^{1}; 'riddle' Jg $14^{12.\,13.\,14.\,15.\,16.\,17.\,18.\,19}$, Ezk 17^{2}; and 'proverb' Hab 2^{6}. See RIDDLE. In Wis 8^{8} we find 'dark sayings,' and in first Prologue to Sir 'd. sentences' (αἰνίγματα. This Gr. word is the LXX tr. of *ḥîdhâh* in Nu 12^{8}, 1 K 10^{1}, 2 Ch 9^{1}, Pr 1^{6}; it is found in NT only 1 Co 13^{12} ἐν αἰνίγματι, 'darkly,' marg. 'in a riddle'). In Jn $16^{25.\,29}$ Amer. RV has 'dark saying' for AV and RV 'proverb' (παροιμία). Cf. Coverdale, *Letter to Cromwell* of Dec. 13, 1538, 'Pitie it were that the darck places of the text (upon the which I have alwaye set a hande) shulde so passe undeclared.'

J. HASTINGS.

DARLING.—This is the tr^{n} of Heb. יָחִיד *yâḥîdh*, in Ps 22^{20} 'Deliver . . . my d. from the power of the dog,' and 35^{17} 'rescue . . . my d. from the lions' (marg. 'my only one'). 'My darlings' is also found in Bar 4^{26} AVm (AV and RV 'my delicate ones,' Gr. οἱ τρυφεροί μου). Cf. Ro 1^{7} Wyclif, 'to alle that ben at rome, derlyngis of god and clepid holy'; and Latimer (*Works*, ii. 438), 'Christ Jesus, the dear darling and only begotten and beloved son of God.' The word, now too familiar for such usage, is formed from *dear* with suffix *-ing*, which became *-ling* through its freq. addition to words ending in *l*; so nestling, seedling, etc. The Heb. *yâḥîdh* is used for an only son, but in Ps 22^{20} 35^{17} it is poetically transferred to the psalmist's own life 'as the one unique and priceless possession which can never be replaced'—*Oxf. Heb. Lex.* For the Eng. use compare Shaks. *Othello*, III. iv. 70—

> 'Make it a darling like your precious eye.'

J. HASTINGS.

DART.—Joab is said to have thrust three 'darts' (שְׁבָטִים *shĕbhâṭîm*, LXX βέλη) into the heart of Absalom (2 S 18^{14}). *Shēbheṭ* is, however, rather a shepherd's rod, which might be used as a club if one end were heavy and studded with nails (cf. Cheyne on Ps 23^{4}), or as a rough spear if one end were pointed. Hezekiah (2 Ch 32^{5}) made darts, שֶׁלַח *shelaḥ*, in abundance for the defence of Jerusalem.

In Job 41^{26} AV and RV give 'dart' for מַסָּע *maṣṣa'*, a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον of uncertain meaning.

In 1 Mac 6^{51} two kinds of darts are referred to as employed at a siege, and cast by engines—(*a*) ordinary bolts or large arrows; (*b*) darts wrapped in some burning material. Ancient defences, being built largely of wood, were easily set on fire.

In Eph 6^{16} the suggestions of the evil one are called βέλη πεπυρωμένα, with an obvious allusion to the practice mentioned above. St. Paul opposes Faith to the suggestions, as the soldier would oppose the great shield (θυρεός) to the darts.

W. E. BARNES.

DATHAN.—See KORAH.

DATHEMA (Δάθεμα), 1 Mac 5^{9}.—A fortress in Bashan. It may perhaps be the modern *Dâmeh* on the S. border of the Lejjah district, N. of Ashteroth-karnaim. The Peshiṭta reads *Rametha* (Ramoth-gilead ?). See G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* 588 f.

C. R. CONDER.

DAUB.—To daub, from Lat. *dealbare* (*de* down, *albus* white), is properly to rub down a wall with whitewash. But in English the word has always been used for washing or plastering with any available substance. It is now used, even in its literal sense, contemptuously. It has always been used to describe bad writing, as *Marprel. Ep.* (1589), 'When men have a gift in writing, howe easie it is for them to daube paper'; or painting, as Foote (1752), *Works*, i. 9, 'How high did your genius soar? To the daubing diabolical angels for ale-houses'; or besmearing of any kind, but esp. with flattery, as South (1716), 'Let every one therefore attend the sentence of his conscience; for, he may be sure, it will not daub, nor flatter'; or to hide deformity. In AV daub occurs once literally, Ex 2^{3} 'she took for him an ark of bulrushes, and daubed it with slime and with pitch' (וַתַּחְמְרָה, from חֵמָר, mortar, clay). Elsewhere only in Ezk ($13^{10.\,12.\,14.\,15\,bis}$ 22^{28}) fig. of whitewashing Jerus. to hide its corruption, Heb. [טוּח], which is also found in Lv $14^{42.\,43.\,48}$ (EV 'plaister'), 1 Ch 29^{4} (EV 'overlay'), Is 44^{18} (EV 'shut,' margins 'daubed'). The subst. **daubing** occurs only Ezk 13^{12} 'where is the d. wherewith ye have daubed it?' (טִיחַ) for the plaster itself, a tr^{n} which has come from Wyclif.

J. HASTINGS.

DAUGHTER.—See FAMILY.

DAVID (דָּוִד, but דָּוִיד 1 K 3^{14} $11^{4.\,36}$, Ezk 34^{23}, Hos, Am, Zec, Ca, Ezr, Neh, Ch [except 1 Ch 13^{6}]; LXX, NT, Δαυείδ, but TR Δαβίδ).—The name, which in the Bible is given to no one except the great king of Israel, is perhaps a shortened form of Dodavahu (דּוֹדָוָהוּ 2 Ch 20^{37}), 'beloved of J",' or Dodo (דּוֹדוֹ 2 S 23^{24}, דּוֹדַי 2 S 23^{9}, *Kethibh*), 'beloved of him'; but, according to Sayce, was originally Dodo, a title of the sun-god (cf. דודה on Moabite Stone, l. 12). In the Tel el-Amarna tablets of the 15th cent. B.C. the form Dûdu is found. Our authorities for the life of David are derived entirely from the OT. The extra-biblical narratives, of which the earliest are the fragments of Eupolemus in Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.* ix. 30, and of Nicolas of Damascus in Josephus, *Ant.* VII. v. 2, are either dependent upon the OT, or are entirely legendary (cf. Stanley, art. 'David' in Smith's *DB*). The reign of D., according to the traditional chronology, is dated B.C. 1055–1015; but from Assyr. inscriptions it appears that Jehu is placed about 40 years too early in Ussher's chronology, and we must accordingly bring down the reign of D. by a period of from 30 to 50 years.

The biblical account of D. is to be found (i.) in the narrative of 1 S 16–1 K 2; (ii.) in 1 Ch 2. 3.

10–29; see also Ru 4^{18-22}; and (iii.) in the titles of many psalms. Of these three sources the first is alike the oldest and the primary authority; information derived from the other two can be used only sparingly.

A considerable portion of the history in 1 Ch is derived directly or ultimately from the Books of Samuel, and cannot be cited as an independent narrative, though it is often valuable for the restoration of the text. The fresh information given by the Chronicler consists mainly of lists of names and statistical details. In many cases the numbers given condemn themselves; where we have to deal with series of names, there is no absolute criterion to guide us; but it is to be noticed that the new narratives are nearly always marked by their late Heb. style, and by the characteristic language of the Chronicler, while the statements made are often more or less at variance with the older account in Samuel. It is rarely clear that the author had access to ancient documents other than the Books of Samuel, and his unverified statements must therefore be received with caution. The picture of D. presented by him differs in important respects from the earlier portrait; it is indeed the picture of an idealized David, such as was present to the minds of devout Jews of the 3rd cent. B.C., when the true founder of the Isr. monarchy was regarded as a model of piety; and the recognition of the full Priestly Code in the time of D. was a fact never questioned (see CHRONICLES).

Seventy-three psalms bear the title 'to David,' and in many cases, especially in Book II., there is a fuller inscription connecting the psalm with some particular event in D.'s life. Many of these titles recall the language of the Books of Sam., from which indeed they may be derived. The picture of D. which they suggest is not unlike that of Chronicles. On closer examination, however, it is seen that the contents of the psalm are often not suitable to the alleged occasion; and so frequently is this the case, that it becomes unsafe to accept the superscriptions, or even the Davidic authorship of 'Davidic' psalms, unless the titles are directly supported by internal evidence. But, without entering upon the wide question of the date and authorship of the Psalter (see PSALMS), it may be said that in a large number of cases the thoughts and language even of 'Davidic' psalms remind us of the teaching of the great prophets, and seem to be largely dependent on it; the circumstances of the psalmists are often those of the post-exilic Jews; and the religious ideas and spiritual tone of the Psalter as a whole differ widely from those which the most trustworthy authorities ascribe to D. himself, or to the period of the early monarchy. The tendency among the best scholars of the present day is to reduce the directly Davidic element in the Psalter to the narrowest limits. Hence it does not seem advisable to illustrate the history or character of D. by quotations from the Psalms.

For the history of D. we are thus practically reduced to the Books of Samuel (with 1 K 1. 2); but even this work contains elements of unequal historical value, and it is necessary to consider briefly the structure of the book, and to form a critical estimate of its contents.

One noticeable feature of the D. narratives contained in 1 S 16–31 is the existence of a number of 'doublets,' *i.e.* accounts of very similar events, or divergent accounts of the same event. These may be here enumerated. (1) The introduction of D. to Saul, 1 S 16^{14-23} and 17^{1}–18^{5}; (2) the slaying of Goliath of Gath, 1 S 17^{1}–18^{5} and 2 S 21^{19}; (3) Saul casts his spear at D., 1 S $18^{10.11}$ and $19^{9.10}$; (4) Jonathan's intercession for D., 19^{1-7} and 20; (5) the covenant between D. and Jonathan, $20^{12-23.42}$ and 23^{16-18}; (6) the origin of the proverb, 'Is Saul also among the prophets?' $19^{23f.}$ and 10^{10-13}; (7) D. at the court of Achish, 21^{10-15} and 27–28^{2} 29; (8) D. spares Saul's life, 24 and 26; (9) the death of Saul, 1 S 31 and 2 S 1^{1-16}. These parallels are not all equally convincing; in certain cases the divergent narratives may be harmonized more or less satisfactorily; in others it is possible that an event occurred more than once in D.'s life, though it would be strange that with reference, *e.g.*, to D.'s flight to Gath, or his sparing Saul's life, no allusion should be made in the narrative to a previous similar occurrence. We cannot, however, separate these peculiarities in the history of D. from similar phenomena in the history of Saul, where we find two accounts of his appointment as king, and of his rejection. We are therefore obliged to recognize the existence of two parallel narratives in the present 1 S, and these must be separated as far as possible, and compared, if we would gain a clear idea of D.'s earlier life. In 2 S the case is somewhat different. Of a double narrative there we have hardly any traces. On the other hand, we have a detailed and continuous narrative (ch. 9–20 with 1 K 1. 2), the work of a single writer, which describes the history of D.'s family and court at Jerus., and is a document of the highest importance. The earlier chapters (1–8) and the appendix (21–24) are of composite origin; there are indications that their contents have been partially rearranged; and later editors or redactors have left their mark on these chapters. The following analysis, taken mainly from Budde (*Richter und Samuel*), will be found useful. Some comments upon it will be found in the course of this article; for fuller particulars see SAMUEL, BOOKS OF.

A. (Budde, J) 1 S 16^{14-23} $18^{5.20-30\,(6-8)\,9-11}$ 20. 22. $23^{1-14a.19-29}$ 25^{2-44} 24. 27. $28^{1.2}$ 29. 30. 28^{4-25} 31, 2 S $1^{1-4.17-27}$ 2. $3^{1.6-39}$ 4. $5^{1-3.17-25}$ (? 21^{15-22} 23^{8-39}) 5^{6-12} 6. 3^{2-5} 5^{13-16} 8^{16-18}=20^{23-26} 9–20, 1 K 1. 2.

B. (Budde, E) 1 S 17. $18^{1-4\,(6-8)\,12-19}$ 19^{1-17} 21^{1-9} $23^{14b-18b}$? 26, 2 S 1^{5-16}.

Detached narratives of various dates:—2 S 21^{1-14} 24, 1 S 16^{1-13} 19^{18-24} 21^{10-15}, 2 S 7. 22. 23^{1-7}.

Editorial additions, based in part on older material:—2 S 8^{1-15}, 1 K $2^{(1-12)}$.

No account is taken here of minor interpolations and editorial additions.

Of these different authorities the oldest and most valuable is the family history of D. referred to above (2 S 9–20, 1 K 1. 2); its detailed descriptions and graphic touches do not indeed prove the writer to have been a contemporary of the events; but he clearly possessed trustworthy sources of information, and must be placed not very long after D.'s time. The remaining portions of A are not so detailed, and are apparently of somewhat later date. B is still later, and in several points less reliable than A; while of the shorter sections some are shown by their contents, and by the ideas there expressed, to be of high antiquity (2 S 21. 24), others are certainly later than B, and in part dependent on B. All, however, are earlier than the time of Josiah; and only in 2 S 7 (pre-exilic), in the Songs (2 S 22. 23^{1-7}) and the editorial additions, can we trace the influence of Deuteronomy.

David was the youngest son of Jesse, a Judæan of Bethlehem, who seems to have belonged to one of the principal families of his native town (yet cf. 1 S 18^{18}). No particulars as to the ancestry of Jesse are given in 1 Sam. (contrast the case of Saul, 1 S 9^{1}); but in the (later) genealogy in Ruth he is called the son of Obed, and grandson of Boaz, and his descent is traced back to the family of Perez (Ru 4^{18-22}; see also 1 Ch 2^{3-17}). The name of D.'s mother is nowhere given; his three elder brothers were called Eliab (? Elihu, 1 Ch 27^{18}), Abinadab, and Shammah (Shimeah, 2 S 13^{3}; Shimei, 2 S 21^{21}), see 1 S 16^{6-9} 17^{13}. 1 S $16^{10f.}$ and 17^{12} speak of eight sons of Jesse, and in 1 Ch 2^{14-16} three more names are given, Nethanel the 4th, Raddai the 5th, and Ozem the 6th, D. being there termed the 7th. The sisters of D., Zeruiah (the mother of Joab, Abishai, and Asahel) and Abigail (the mother of Amasa), were probably half-sisters, for in 2 S 17^{25} Abigail is called daughter of Nahash and sister to Zeruiah; cf. 1 Ch $2^{16.17}$).

We first hear of D. when he was introduced to the court of Saul. The king had been attacked with morbid melancholy, called by the historian 'an evil spirit from J".' His servants suggested that a skilful player upon the harp should be brought to soothe the king with his music, and D., the son of Jesse, was chosen for this office. The narrative (1 S 16^{14-23}) is probably to be connected with the statement of 14^{52}, that Saul gathered round him every valiant warrior in Israel; and in like manner D., who is described as 'a mighty man of valour and a man of war,' was summoned to the court. In addition to being a skilful musician, he was prudent in speech (or business), a comely person, and one who enjoyed the favour of J". The young minstrel won the favour of the king, who made him his armour-bearer (cf. 1 S $14^{1\text{ff.}}$ $31^{4\text{-}6}$, 2 S 18^{15} 23^{37}), and kept him in attendance upon his person.

From another source, however, we have a different account of D.'s first introduction to Saul, in the beautiful and familiar story of the encounter with Goliath (ch. 17^{1}–18^{4}). Here David is represented as a mere lad, a goodly youth of fair countenance, inexperienced in war ($17^{33.\,42}$), who used to tend his father's sheep. During a war with the Philistines, D. was sent by his father with a present to his three brothers, who were serving in Saul's army in the Valley of Elah. On reaching the camp he heard the defiant words of the giant, Goliath of Gath, and, undeterred by his eldest brother's reproaches, he inquired among the soldiers concerning the king's reward promised to any man who would overcome the Philistine champion. When brought before the king, the youth at once offered to go out against the Philistine, relating how he had protected his father's sheep from the lions and bears which had attacked them (tenses in $17^{34\text{f.}}$ frequentative, see Driver, *Text of Sam.*). Putting aside the armour offered by the king, he advanced to meet the giant. He brought his opponent to the ground by a stone slung against his forehead, and then cut off his head with his own sword. The fall of their champion was followed by the rout of the Philistine army. So far was D. at this time unknown to Saul, that the king instructed his chief commander, Abner, to inquire concerning the 'stripling's' parentage,—a question which D. answered for himself as he returned from the fray with the giant's head in his hand. From this time forward D. was kept at the court of Saul, while a close friendship sprang up at once between him and the king's son Jonathan.

Many attempts have been made to harmonize the two narratives. It is suggested that D. had returned home from his position as minstrel, and had since grown out of recognition; or that Saul's question to Abner related to D.'s family, but that he personally was known to Saul. Neither of these explanations can be regarded as satisfactory, nor do they account for the discrepancy between the skilled warrior of 16^{18} and the shepherd lad of $17^{33.\,42}$. The difficulty attracted attention at an early period. 17^{15} seems to be a harmonistic addition by some later editor, and represents D. as going backwards and forwards between his home and the court. Similarly, 16^{19} 'which is with the sheep,' a clause which does not agree with v.^{18}, must be regarded as a later gloss. The LXX (cod. B) offers a more violent solution of the problem, omitting $17^{12\text{-}31.\,41.\,50.\,55}$–$18^{5}$; it thus gets rid of the description of D. as sent to the camp by his father, and of Saul's question concerning the young hero, D. being represented (v.^{32}) as already in attendance upon Saul. The LXX text has been accepted as original by competent scholars (W. R. Smith, Stade, Cornill); but others with good reason adhere to the MT, and regard the omissions of the LXX as due to an attempt to reconcile chs. 16 and 17 (Driver, Cheyne, Wellhausen [*Composition*], Kuenen, Budde, etc.). Even in the LXX text D. is a shepherd lad (vv.$^{33.\,42}$), not the warrior of $16^{18.\,21}$; in language and style the omitted paragraphs do not differ from the rest of the chapter, while certain expressions which suggest a later hand (*e.g.* *assembly* v.^{47}, *Jerusalem* ^{54}) are found also in the LXX; and the original covenant between D. and Jonathan, to which allusion is made more than once subsequently, is related only in $18^{1\text{-}4}$. In fact all these attempts to reconcile the two accounts of the first meeting of D. and Saul are unsuccessful; we can only recognize them as two versions of the history, and choose between them. And here we see the importance of the statement of 2 S 21^{19} that 'Elhanan the son of Jair (cf. Driver, *Text of Sam.*) the Bethlehemite, slew Goliath the Gittite, the staff of whose spear was like a weaver's beam' (cf. 1 S 17^{7}). The Chronicler indeed states that 'Elhanan slew Lahmi the brother of Goliath' (1 Ch 20^{5}), but the 'harder' reading of 2 Sam. is certainly to be preferred. It has been suggested that Elhanan was the original name of David (Böttcher, Sayce),—but of this there is no hint in either passage, and the father of Elhanan is Jair (or Jaʿûr), not Jesse;—or that the name of Goliath has been wrongly transferred to D.'s enemy, who, in 1 S 17, is usually termed simply 'the Philistine.' On the whole, however, it seems more probable that Goliath of Gath was slain at a later period by one of D.'s warriors, also a native of Bethlehem; and subsequently the victory was by tradition ascribed to D. himself, and put back to the period of his boyhood. In this case we must accept 1 S $16^{14\text{-}23}$ as giving the true narrative of D.'s first introduction to Saul; but the popular tradition has left its mark on other parts of the history of David.

A story of D.'s earliest life is given in 1 S $16^{1\text{-}13}$, where we read how, after Saul's rejection, Samuel was sent in accordance with J″'s instructions to Bethlehem. There he invited Jesse to a sacrifice, and, after sending a special summons to the young David, who was tending the sheep, anointed him in the midst of his brothers. This narrative now forms the introduction to the history of D.; it is the counterpart to 1 S $10^{1\text{ff.}}$ (the anointing of Saul by Samuel), and explains the coming of the Spirit of God upon D., and its departure from Saul; but, as it stands, the account can hardly be accepted as historical. Independently of any difficulties raised by the character and position here assigned to Samuel, which resemble what we find in the later narrative of the choice of Saul, the fact that D.'s anointing attracted so little attention has more than once been remarked as strange. His own brother Eliab seems unaware of it (17^{28}), while D. himself appears unconscious of his destiny (18^{18}), and always regards Saul as the Anointed of J″ (1 S 24^{6} 26^{9}, 2 S 1^{14}). The explanation that this anointing was only a mark of favour bestowed on the most honoured guest, and that D. was here given a place like that assigned to Saul at Ramah (9^{22}, so Klostermann, Ewald, W. R. Smith), does not do justice to the narrative, and anointing in the OT implies the conferring of some office.

Our authorities do not enable us to say how long D. continued in the position of Saul's minstrel and armour-bearer. His success in war against the Philistines; his popularity among the soldiers; the love of Michal and her marriage with D.; the strong friendship between D. and Jonathan, who entered into a covenant of brotherhood, — these facts are all attested by more than one passage in both the main narratives. But it is not quite easy to trace and explain the beginning of the distrust which Saul conceived for his young favourite, who had been promoted to the position of captain of the bodyguard (1 S 22^{14} LXX). It is only natural that there should be some want of definiteness in the narratives. The facts could be known only to those belonging to the innermost circle of the court, and all our records are written from the point of view of friends of David. If any ill-advised action on his part contributed to excite Saul's ill-will, we are told nothing about it. The main reason alleged for Saul's enmity is his jealousy of D.'s popularity and success in war, which is said to have been excited by the song of the women, who met the victorious warriors with the words, 'Saul hath slain his thousands, and D. his ten thousands.' But besides this there are hints of a suspicion that D. had conspired with Jonathan to dethrone him (cf. 1 S $20^{30f.}$ 22^{13}). Everything that we are told of Jonathan goes to prove the baselessness of such a suspicion, and his continued affection for D. is evidence of D.'s innocence; but we can well imagine that the melancholy from which Saul suffered served to increase any jealousy or distrust when once aroused, and it is possible that he feared that his subjects might regard him, owing to his occasional attacks of madness, as no longer a fit ruler of the nation.

The chapter which describes the growth of the estrangement between Saul and D. lies before us in two forms. Here again the LXX has a shorter text, omitting from ch. 18 vv.$^{9-11. 12b. 17-19. 21b. 29b. 30}$. Thus the account of Saul's casting his spear at D. is omitted, and the promise of marriage with the elder daughter Merab; the gradual growth of Saul's jealousy is described, and each stage is appropriately emphasized with the words 'Saul was afraid of D.' (v.^{12}), 'Stood in awe of him' (v.^{15}), 'was yet more afraid' (v.^{29}); and on account of the clear and consistent picture given in this version, many scholars accept the LXX text as original (so Wellh., Kuenen, Stade, Driver, W. R. Smith, Kirkpatrick). But Cornill allows that the promise of Merab is the proper fulfilment of the king's promise to the slayer of Goliath (17^{25}); and Budde urges the inconsistency of adopting the LXX recension in ch. 18, and rejecting it (as Wellh., Kuenen, Driver do) in ch. 17. He accounts for the difficulties presented by the MT by analysing the chapter into sections derived from the two principal documents (so also Cheyne); and this seems to be the most satisfactory solution of the problem. Comparing the parallel narratives, we gather that D. was placed by Saul at the head of an armed force, either as a mark of favour (18^{5} A), or because of his growing distrust (v.^{13} B); that Saul's jealousy was excited on some occasion when D. returned from a victory over the Philistines (vv.$^{6-9}$, probably A and B,—note the double introduction to v.^{6}); that this did not prevent the marriage of D. to Saul's younger daughter Michal (vv.$^{20-30}$ A, cf. $^{17-19}$ B). Indeed it is not improbable that the estrangement is placed too early, and that Saul gave his daughter to the popular and successful officer in order to bind him to his interests, rather than that he already desired to compass D.'s death. Jonathan's intercession for his friend failed to effect a real reconciliation (19^{1-7} B, 20 A); and when Saul, in a fit of madness, hurled his spear at D. while he played the harp before the king, D. felt that his life was in danger, and that he must flee from the court ($19^{9. 10}$ B, $18^{10. 11}$ A, probably removed from its original position when A and B were combined).

The details given by the two narratives differ. According to A, Saul offered his daughter to D. as a mere snare, hoping that he might fall in battle, as the dowry was fixed at 100 foreskins of the Philistines; but D., without loss of time, procured twice the required number (18^{27} 200, MT; 100, LXX), and won his bride. After this (vv.$^{9-11}$), Saul in a frenzy attempted the life of his son-in-law, and, when D. complained to Jonathan, the latter repudiated the idea that his father had any real intention of harming him. To determine the king's true feelings, it was then agreed that D. should stay in hiding during the new-moon festival, while Jonathan was to excuse his friend's absence from the royal table on the pretext that he had been summoned to a family feast at Bethlehem. On the first day of D.'s absence nothing was said; on the next day, in answer to Saul's inquiries, Jonathan made the excuse agreed upon, whereat the king burst forth into furious reproaches against D. and his son, and hurled his spear at Jonathan, who attempted to intercede for his friend. In anger Jonathan left the table, and next morning went to the appointed place in the field. Under pretence of shooting at a mark, he sent an arrow beyond the stone where D. lay concealed; and while the boy carried back his master's weapons, the two friends took an affectionate farewell. On ch. 20, which has perhaps not reached us quite in its original form, it may be remarked that Jonathan's denial of any wish on the part of Saul to harm D. (20^{2}) is hardly appropriate after $19^{1-7. 11-17}$; and that while a mere act of frenzy ($18^{10f.}$ $19^{9f.}$) might leave D. uncertain as to Saul's intentions, he could not have any doubt after Saul had deliberately sent messengers to kill him (19^{11-17}), or be expected to appear at the king's table ($20^{5. 6. 27}$).

According to the second narrative (B), it was owing to Saul's jealousy that D. was removed from the position of armour-bearer to that of captain of a thousand (18^{13}), and when the time came for his promised marriage (cf. 17^{25}), Merab the elder daughter was given to Adriel of Meholah. Our account of D.'s marriage with Michal seems to be derived from the other source, but the obscure words at the end of v.^{21} are perhaps a fragment of the second narrative. Saul's ill-will towards his former favourite increased so greatly that he purposed to put him to death. Jonathan, however, pleaded to his father D.'s good deeds, and especially his victory over the Philistine (Goliath); and on Saul's relenting he brought D. out of his hiding-place in the field, and presented him to his father (19^{1-7}). The reconciliation, however, was of no long duration, for, shortly *after* Jonathan's appeal, Saul, in a fit of madness, cast his spear at D. as he played on the harp before him. D. fled to his house, but that night (19^{11} LXX) Saul sent messengers to watch the house, and, while respecting his sleeping enemy in accordance with Oriental custom, he ordered them to kill him in the morning. D. was saved by the faithful Michal, who lowered him through the window, while she placed in his bed the *teraphim* or household image, and covered it with the bed-clothes. Next morning the messengers brought word that D. was ill; but, when charged to bring him in the bed, the fraud was discovered, and Michal had to plead in self-defence that D. had threatened her life if she hindered his escape. With regard to this series of narratives it may be pointed out that the similarities between portions of 19^{1-7} and ch. 20 suggest, though they do not prove, that we have before us two different versions of the same event, while the reference to the victory over Goliath connects the former passage with ch. 17. Further, the difference of phraseology in $18^{10f.}$ $19^{9f.}$ (cf. also 20^{33}) favours the view that these verses are the work of independent writers, rather than that the former passage has merely been borrowed from the latter after the time of the LXX.

For the rest of Saul's reign D. was an exile from his home, and an outlaw (1 S 21–31). Some incidents during this period of his life are described with minute and graphic touches, which bear the evident stamp of genuineness; in other cases the accuracy of the narrative is more doubtful. The analysis of these chapters does not present many difficulties, and more than once the existence of double versions of the same story can hardly be doubted. It is only natural that many stories of D.'s adventures should have been current among the people long before they were written down; and many a place in the wilds of Judah would doubtless claim to be the site of some memorable event in the outlaw life of the great national hero; while from ch. 30^{26-31} it is clear that we possess but a fragmentary account of his many wanderings. According to the present Book of Samuel, D., after escaping from Saul's messengers, fled first to Ramah, where he took refuge with Samuel at a prophetic school. Thrice Saul sent messengers to capture him (cf. 2 K 1), but each time the men were overcome by the sacred minstrelsy of the prophets; and when Saul came in person, he too was filled with prophetic frenzy, and stripping off his clothes lay naked all the night (19^{18-24}). Grave doubts, however, have been raised against this narrative. For a Judæan like D., flight southwards was more natural from Gibeah than northwards to Ramah; the connexion between Samuel and the prophets is not that presented by the older history of Saul and Samuel, where indeed there is another explanation given of the proverb 'Is Saul also among the prophets?' ($10^{11f.}$); while the present narrative can hardly be by the author of ch. 15, who implies (v.^{35}) that Saul and Samuel did not meet again. The conception of the prophetic school as here described is probably later than the time of D.; and we must regard it as at least doubtful whether D. had any dealings with Samuel.

If we reject this narrative as of later origin, the first place visited by D. in his flight will be the priestly city of Nob, which lay south of Gibeah and due north of Jerusalem. To Ahimelech, the head of the priests of Eli's family, he alleged that he was bound on urgent business for the king, and accordingly obtained through him, as on previous occasions (22^{15}), an answer from the oracle. The only provisions which the priest could offer was the sacred shewbread, removed that day from the sanctuary; and this David accepted, stating that he and his companions were ceremonially clean. Ahimelech is said also to have given to D. the sword of Goliath, which was kept wrapped in a cloth behind the EPHOD. This visit to Nob was followed by important consequences. Shortly afterwards, while Saul was holding court under the tamarisk in Gibeah, he complained to his Benjamite followers of their ingratitude in taking part against him with his own son and David. Hereupon the Edomite Doeg, the chief herdman of Saul, or rather 'the mightiest of his runners' (21^{7}, so Grätz, Driver), declared that he had seen D. at Nob, where Ahimelech had consulted the oracle on his behalf, and supplied him with food and weapons. Saul at once suspected that the priest also was party to a conspiracy against him, and perhaps that he had been consulting the oracle as to its success. He summoned to his presence Ahimelech and the priests of his family, and, refusing to accept their denial of any knowledge of a conspiracy, ordered his guards to put them to death. The guards hesitated, but Doeg carried out the king's orders. Eighty-five priests were slain, and the city of Nob completely destroyed. Only one member of Eli's family escaped the massacre, Abiathar, a son of Ahimelech, who fled to D., probably to Adullam; and the latter, feeling that the disaster was in some measure due to himself, promised the fugitive his protection. According to Budde, we have underlying 1 S 21^{1-9} 22^{6-23} two versions of D.'s visit to Nob, and the denunciation of Doeg: notice that $22^{10.\,15}$ imply that Ahimelech consulted the oracle for David, whereas nothing is said of this in 21^{1-9}. Budde connects the earlier passage with B, the second with A, and regards the allusions to Goliath's sword in $22^{10.\,13}$ as added to connect the two narratives. Others (Wellh., Kuenen, Stade) ascribe both chapters to the same writer, and reject $21^{8.\,9}$ (Heb. $^{9.\,10}$) 22^{10b} as later glosses. In any case, these verses presuppose the account of D. and Goliath in ch. 17.

Our present narrative represents D. as fleeing from Nob to Gath. Here, it is said, at the court of Achish, he was recognized as the Isr. warrior, and 'king of the land'; in consequence he feigned madness, drumming (v.^{13} LXX) on the doors, and letting the spittle fall on his beard, so that at the command of Achish he was driven away (21^{10-15}). It is doubtful, however, whether D. would really have taken refuge among the Philistines at such an early period of his wanderings; and when he appears at Gath at a later time, no hint is given of this earlier visit. Probably we have here again a 'doublet,' and our narrative represents a popular legend, the product of a desire to represent in a more patriotic light D.'s residence among the Philistines. Far more reliable is the account in $22^{1ff.}$, according to which D. fled (from Nob) to the cave, or stronghold (so Wellh., Stade, Budde; cf. v.^{4}), of Adullam. This place must be looked for, not, according to a tradition dating from the 12th cent. A.D., on the south of Bethlehem in the *Wady Khareitun*, but in the Shephêlah west of Hebron (cf. Gn 38^{1}, Jos 15^{35}; and see G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* p. 229 f.). Here the wild character of the country afforded him a hiding-place; he was among his own tribesmen, and on the extremity of Judah Saul's authority was weakest. The brothers and kinsmen of D., who had to fear Saul's vengeance, gathered round him, together with distressed debtors and discontented men of every class, so that D. soon found himself the leader of a band of some 400 men. Of these, several doubtless were not of Israelitish origin (cf. 1 S 26^{6} and perhaps 2 S $23^{37.\,39}$); according to 1 Ch 12^{8-18} certain valiant Gadites and men of Judah and Benjamin joined him here, and not long afterwards (1 S 23^{13}) D.'s followers are reckoned at 600. His parents he placed under the protection of the king of Moab, a step which may perhaps be explained by reference to the Book of Ruth, where D.'s descent is traced from Ruth the Moabitess. According to 22^{5}, a verse of which the connexion is somewhat obscure, D., at the advice of the prophet Gad, removed from his stronghold to the forest of Hareth; but he is certainly again in the Shephêlah when we next hear of him. News came to D. that the Philistines were raiding Keilah, doubtless a frontier town west of Hebron, and perhaps south of Adullam. An opportunity now offered itself to him of at once assisting his countrymen and making a fresh name as a warrior. Having inquired of the priestly ephod, which Abiathar had brought from Nob, and received a favourable answer, D. marched down with his band, and drove away the Philistines from Keilah. To Saul it seemed that the time for capturing his enemy had now come. He summoned his army in order to besiege Keilah; but D., learning from the oracle that the inhabitants would save themselves by delivering over him and his men to Saul, escaped betimes, and Saul abandoned his expedition.

D. is next found in the wild and partially desert country to the south of Judah, or in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea. The wilderness of Ziph and of Maon are especially connected with his wanderings. Here doubtless D. was welcome, and probably he was able to protect the inhabitants from the inroads of wild nomad tribes living farther to the south and east.

At this point the double narrative reappears, as is specially noticeable in the case of the two accounts of D. sparing Saul's life. That ch. 26 refers to a second occasion, although no reference is there made to a former proof of D.'s generosity, seems antecedently improbable; and this impression is confirmed on comparing the two narratives. Each is introduced by an offer of the Ziphites to betray D.'s hiding-place to Saul (23^{19} 26^{1}); each ends with a confession of D.'s noble conduct placed in the mouth of Saul; and a careful comparison of the language (see Kuenen, Budde) shows either literary dependence of one upon the other, or the dependence of both on some common tradition. Owing to the occurrence in ch. 26 of certain antique conceptions (esp. v.^{19}), it has commonly been supposed that this is the earlier chapter (so Kuenen, Wellh., Stade, Driver); Budde, on the other hand (so Cheyne), shows good reason for connecting ch. 24 with the A narratives, in which case it belongs to the earlier document, while the archaic colouring of ch. 26 may be due to the fact that it has undergone less editorial revision than the earlier chapter (see esp. $24^{20f.}$). Budde further argues from the scene of ch. 25 (Maon v.^{2} LXX^{1}, cf. $23^{24ff.}$) that this chapter came originally between chs. 23 and 24, probably having been transposed in order to separate the doublets, chs. 24 and 26. There are other traces of editorial revision in ch. 23, especially in the somewhat exaggerated language of v.$^{14f.}$, and the redundant description of D.'s haunts (*ib.*) is probably the result of conflation. Many regard the covenant of the two friends (vv.$^{18.\,18}$) as a mere doublet of 20^{11-23}; like that passage, the verses suggest the objection that Jonathan could hardly have thus definitely regarded D. as his father's successor. However this may be, the narrative proceeds smoothly after the account of Jonathan's visit, when the transposition above mentioned has been made.

While D. was hiding in the hill of Hachilah and the neighbouring desert, the Ziphites sent word of his haunts to Saul, and at the king's request began to watch his movements, while an army was being collected. D. meanwhile withdrew southwards to the wilderness of Maon, on the edge of the Arabah, whither he was pursued by Saul. At one time, we are told, a single rocky ridge separated the two forces; but while D. was endeavouring to make good his escape before his band was completely surrounded, Saul was unexpectedly recalled to repel a sudden raid of the Philistines. Popular tradition pointed out the cliff known as *Sela-hammaḥlĕḳôth* (*i.e.* prob. 'Rock of Divisions') as the scene of this narrow escape (23^{19-29}).

One of the most detailed and most reliable accounts which we possess of the whole period of D.'s wanderings relates to the time when he was still in the region of Maon. Here dwelt a wealthy landowner named Nabal, belonging to the Calebites, a tribe closely connected with that of Judah, though originally distinct from it. His large flocks were pastured on Carmel, S.E. of Hebron; and not only were they unmolested by D.'s men, but the latter had served to protect them from the attacks of nomad tribes. Hearing that Nabal was shearing his sheep, D. sent ten men with a courteous request for a present for his band, but was met with a churlish refusal. In wrath D. at once commanded his men to arm; and while a third of the company was left in charge of the baggage, he marched with the rest to avenge the insult received from Nabal. Fortunately Abigail, Nabal's beautiful and prudent wife, had been warned by a servant of her husband's unseemly conduct. She immediately caused a large supply of provisions to be prepared, and without informing her husband rode to meet D. with her present. She met the armed band coming down the mountain side, and throwing herself at D.'s feet begged him to accept the gift, and to pay no heed to her husband's insults, while she expressed a hope that in time to come no remembrance of blood needlessly shed might rise up to trouble his mind. Her discretion and her pleadings were not lost on D.; he accepted the present from her hand, and abandoned his purpose of vengeance and bloodshed. When Abigail returned home, she found her husband drunk at a shearing feast, but next morning she told him of the danger which he had just escaped. Fear and vexation caused a shock, of which he died ten days later; and D., who felt that now J″ had indeed defended his cause, took Abigail to wife. He thus established a powerful family connexion with the south of Judah, and he further increased his influence by marriage with Ahinoam of the southern Jezreel (cf. Jos 15^{56}). At the same time his first wife, Michal, was given by Saul to Paltiel, the son of Laish, of Gallim (1 S 25).

It seems to have been after this, according to the original history of A, that David removed to the desert tract west of the Dead Sea, and made his abode in Engedi, whither he was followed by Saul, after the retreat of the Philistines. We are told that on one occasion Saul entered a large cave for a necessary purpose, at a time when D. and his men were hidden in the recesses of the cave. Though urged by his followers to slay his pursuer, D. refused to harm the 'Anointed of J″,' and contented himself with cutting off a corner of the long robe which lay spread out before and behind the owner. D. followed Saul as he left the cave, and, holding out the portion of his robe, showed the king how he had been at the mercy of the man whom he was so relentlessly pursuing; and he begged him no longer to listen to those who charged D. with conspiring against him. Saul was touched at this generosity; and in language which clearly reflects the thoughts of a historian of a later time, he is made to openly acknowledge his rival's superiority, and to recognize him as the future king of Israel (1 S 24). The other version of this story (ch. 26), which, though coming from a later document, has preserved many original features lost in ch. 24, places D. in the hill of Hachilah, and attributes his pursuit hither by Saul to the information of the Ziphites. One night Saul encamped in a deep valley surrounded by steep cliffs; but the place being discovered by D.'s spies, D., accompanied by Abishai, descended from the hills, and entered unobserved into the laager where Saul lay sleeping. Refusing to allow Abishai to smite a sleeping enemy, he bade him carry away Saul's spear and water-cruse; and when they had again climbed the hill above the camp, D. shouted aloud, and thus aroused first Abner, whom he blamed severely for his careless watch, and then Saul himself. To Saul, who recognized his voice, D. made a passionate appeal: 'Why did the king continually pursue him? if J″ had stirred him up to do so, might he be propitiated with an offering; or were men seeking to drive D. out of J″'s land?' The king confessed that he had sinned, and promised to do D. no more harm, and the two parted their several ways.

Whatever be the exact details of this meeting, it is clear that D. felt himself no longer safe in Judah, and as a last resort he passed over to the national enemy, and took refuge with his family and his followers at the court of Achish, son of Maoch, king of Gath. A tried warrior at the head of 600 men, he was readily welcomed; but, not liking to dwell in the capital, he asked for a settlement of his own, and received the southern town of Ziklag, where he established himself as the vassal of his protector. It was now necessary for David to devise some means of ensuring the confidence of his master without injuring or estranging his own people. Accordingly, he made a succession of raids upon the Amalekites, Girzites, and other desert tribes living between Egypt and the south of Palestine. By putting to death all who fell into his hands, D. was able to represent to Achish that his frays were directed against Judah, and against the allied tribes of the Kenites and Jerahmeelites (1 S 27). He had been living at Ziklag some 16 months (v.^{7}), when the Philistines prepared for a decisive struggle against Israel. Achish called upon his vassal to accompany him to the war, and D. with professions of fidelity responded to the call. He had now placed himself in a false and dangerous position. Even if he were willing to aid the Philistines against his fellow-countrymen, success in the war would have effectually prevented him from becoming the accepted leader of Israel. Fortunately, the other Phil. leaders were less ready than Achish to trust him. When D. and his troops appeared in the rearguard with Achish at Aphek, as the Philistine hosts were mustering, the princes protested against the presence of the famed Israelitish leader, and urged that treachery to them in battle would be the surest way to a reconciliation with the king of Israel. Achish was therefore reluctantly compelled to bid D. depart, and next morning he turned homewards with his men (chs. $28^{1f.}$ 29). Two days later they reached Ziklag, to find that a sudden raid of the Amalekites had laid the town in ruins and carried the inhabitants captive. D. was the first to recover his composure, and, encouraged by an answer from J″ given through the ephod of Abiathar, he started to pursue the foe. At the brook Besor, probably the *Wady Esheria* south of Gaza, 200 of his men were compelled to remain, overcome by fatigue. The pursuit, however, was continued, and an Egyp. slave, who was found half dead in the way, offered in return for a promise of life and liberty to guide D. to the enemy's encampment. The Amalekites were surprised at dusk while feasting, and few of the men escaped. All the captives were recovered, and a large booty was taken. On the return to the brook Besor, a dispute arose as to the right of the men who had been left there to share in the spoil. D., however, decided in their favour, and thus established the principle that those who fought and those who guarded the baggage should share alike. Of the rich spoil D. had a further use to make, for he sent costly presents to the elders of Hebron and other towns in the south of Judah, where he had been accustomed to find shelter during his earlier outlaw life (ch. 30). In this way he secured friends whose assistance was soon to be of the highest importance to him. It would seem, indeed, that these presents were sent *after* the battle of Gilboa, for it was only two days after his return to Ziklag that D. heard of the defeat of Israel and the death of Saul and his three eldest sons. The tidings were brought by a young Amalekite, who is said to have presented to D. the royal crown and bracelet; but the account given by him of the death of Saul (2 S 1$^{1-10}$) cannot be reconciled with the more reliable narrative in 1 S 31. The messenger was rewarded for his tidings by being at once put to death (2 S 1$^{13-16}$, cf. 4^{10}); the defeat of Israel was commemorated with mourning and fasting, while D. himself expressed in a beautiful ode his grief for Saul and Jonathan. Of both he speaks in tones of warmest respect and affection; his love for Jonathan is expressed in a burst of passionate feeling; but it is noticeable that no religious thoughts are contained in the poem. Its genuineness is not unquestioned, but its Davidic authorship is accepted by Kuenen, Wellh., Stade, Budde, Cheyne, Driver, and others.

The opportunity had at last arrived for D. to return to his native country. After inquiring of J″, he removed to Hebron, the ancient sacred city of Judah, accompanied by his family and his followers with their households. His presents had already gained him the goodwill of the Judæan elders; a renowned warrior of their own tribe was more likely to defend their interests than a younger descendant of the house of Saul; and D. was forthwith anointed king in Hebron (2 S 2$^{1-4}$). We hear of no opposition on the part of the Philistines. D. still retained Ziklag (1 S 27^{6}), and doubtless continued to be a Philistine vassal. A division of the Isr. kingdom was conducive to the Philistine supremacy. According to the Chronicler, he had received accessions to his forces, outside his own tribe, while still at Ziklag; twenty-two men are named of Saul's tribe (1 Ch 12$^{1-7}$), while of the tribe of Manasseh several chiefs are said to have deserted to D., when he came with the Phil. army against Saul, and to have assisted him against the Amalekites (*ib.* vv.$^{19-22}$). The Chronicler, indeed, makes no direct mention of the reign of Eshbaal (Ishbosheth), or of the division of the kingdom, but in reality there were still several years of fighting and waiting before D. was recognized as king over all Israel.

D.'s first public act was at once generous and politic. He sent messengers to the men of Jabesh-gilead, and thanked them for their loyal and courageous conduct in rescuing the bodies of Saul and his sons. But the adherents of the house of Saul still remained true to the family. The natural heir to the throne was the only surviving legitimate son of the late king, Ishbosheth, or rather Eshbaal (1 Ch 8^{33}), who was perhaps still under age; for the later gloss in 2 S 2^{10} is certainly incorrect. His kinsman Abner, Saul's powerful general, retired with him across the Jordan to the ancient city of Mahanaim, and there made Eshbaal king. His dominions extended over Gilead and Geshur (Vulg. and Syr.), and on the west of Jordan over Jezreel, Ephraim, and Benjamin; but Abner was the real ruler and the support of the dynasty, and perhaps he, too, was compelled to recognize the over-lordship of the Philistines (so Kamphausen). Regarding the seven years during which D. reigned at Hebron we have but the scantiest information. He seems to have acted on the defensive, and probably felt that his cause would gain by waiting. Possibly, it was only by degrees that Abner extended his authority, so that some time elapsed before the rival forces were brought into collision. Only of one engagement is any account given; Joab's followers were victorious, but in the flight Abner killed Asahel, Joab's youngest brother. The cause of Eshbaal was declining even before he alienated his protector Abner, whom he reproached for taking one of his father's concubines. In anger Abner entered into communication with D., offering to bring over the whole kingdom into his hands. The only condition made by D. was the restoration of his wife Michal, through whom he doubtless hoped to support his claim as Saul's successor. Michal was sent back by Eshbaal's orders, and Abner conferred with the elders of the various tribes, who had already begun to recognize the inability of the house of Saul to defend them against their foes, and to look to D. as the one hope of the nation. Abner then visited Hebron, where he was entertained by D.; but on his departure he was murdered by Joab, in revenge for his brother Asahel. D. already began to find his loyal but unscrupulous nephew too strong for him. He could only express his abhorrence of the murder, which was indeed likely to alienate the supporters of Saul's house, and cause Abner to be honourably buried in Hebron, while he himself composed the funeral dirge—conduct which further increased the king's popularity (2 S 3). The death of Abner could not long delay the fall of Eshbaal; two Benjamite captains shortly afterwards murdered him during his midday sleep, and brought his head to D. in Hebron. The king commanded the instant execution of the murderers, while Eshbaal's head was buried in the tomb of Abner (ch. 4). D., who had formerly led Israel to victory against the Philistines, was now recognized as the natural leader of the people; the elders of the nation assembled at Hebron, a solemn league was made, and D. anointed king over the whole of Israel. He is said to have been at this time 37 years of age (2 S 5$^{1-5}$). The Chronicler gives an account of the bodies of men sent by the different tribes to make D. king, and of the three days' feast which they kept at Hebron (1 Ch 12$^{23-40}$); but the language used is that of a later time, the numbers given are in most cases certainly too large, while the position assigned to the contingent of priests and Levites does not increase our confidence in the narrative.

Except for the important record of events in D.'s family, our accounts of his reign are fragmentary and incomplete; our history is not arranged in a strictly chronological manner, and the time and order of events must be to some extent a matter of conjecture. In spite of the present arrangement of 2 S 5, there can be little doubt that the Phil. wars were the first important events after D.'s recognition by the whole nation. The task imposed upon him by his election as king was that of freeing his country from Phil. domination. It was no longer possible for him to continue a vassal to a foreign power, nor were the Philistines likely to acquiesce, when without their consent he assumed sovereignty over all Israel. When, therefore, 'the Phil. heard that they had anointed D. king over Israel' (2 S 5^{17}), they at once invaded the country. D. seems to have been unprepared, and was compelled 'to go down to the hold,' *i.e.* probably the old stronghold of Adullam, of such importance during his outlaw life, while the Philistines penetrated to the heart of the country and occupied Bethlehem and the Valley of Rephaim, probably between Bethlehem and Jerusalem (2 S 23$^{13f.}$; so Stade, and Kittel who places the valley of Rephaim north of Jerusalem). Of the duration and progress of the war we have no certain information, but some detached notices of it have been preserved. It was while the Philistines had a garrison in Bethlehem that the three 'mighty men' forced their way to the well by the gate, to bring D. a draught of water for which he had expressed a wish; but the gift obtained at such a risk was too precious to drink, and D. poured out the water as an offering to J″ (2 S 23$^{13-17}$). Other incidents of the war are recorded in 2 S 21^{15-22}. At Gob D. was nearly slain in combat with a giant, but rescued by Abishai, and in consequence D.'s men declared that he should no longer risk his life in battle. On another occasion Elhanan of Bethlehem slew Goliath of Gath, and other feats of D.'s heroes are recorded (2 S 23^{8-12}). A decisive battle was fought at Baal-perazim, where D., encouraged by an oracle, attacked his enemies, and dispersed them 'like a breach of waters,' and the images of the enemy were carried off as booty (2 S 5^{18-21}, cf. Is 28^{21}). Another decisive engagement took place in the valley of Rephaim. D. on inquiring of J″ was bidden not to make a direct attack, *i.e.* from the south, but to take the enemy in the rear, and attack them when a rustling noise was heard in the *Baca* trees. He was again completely successful, and the Philistines were defeated from Gibeon to Gezer (1 Ch 14^{13-17}, 2 S 5^{22-25}). Following up his victories, D. destroyed the Philistine supremacy, taking from them, as is said, 'the bridle of the mother city' (2 S 8^{1}). The importance of these victories must have been far greater than the scanty notices of them would at first suggest.

The nation was now freed from external oppression: the next task was to weld it into one whole. A great step towards this end was the capture of Jebus, and the creation of a new capital. A Can. tribe still unsubdued occupied the district between Judah and Benjamin, settled round the city of Jebus, from which they derived their name. The strong fortress of Zion, standing on the eastern ridge between the Kidron and the so-called Tyropœan valley, protected their city (see JERUSALEM). Situated as it was in the centre of the land, and commanding the principal lines of communication between north and south, and between east and west, it was admirably suited for a capital; and here D. marched with his forces. The inhabitants, trusting in their strong walls, derisively declared that 'the blind and lame' would be sufficient to defend them. Nevertheless, the place was taken by storm (2 S 5^{6-10}). According to 1 Ch 11^{6} Joab was the first to scale the walls, and received in reward the post of commander-in-chief. The city was newly fortified, and here D. removed with his family and court. The importance of this step can hardly be overestimated. Gibeah of Saul and Hebron were merely tribal capitals; Jerus. stood on neutral ground, and was the capital of the whole nation, while, bordering alike on Judah and Benjamin, it would be regarded with favour by the king's own tribe and by that of his predecessor. The choice of the site is a signal proof of D.'s genius and statesmanship. Here gathered now inhabitants from all Israel, but mainly, no doubt, from Judah and Benjamin, while, to judge from the case of Araunah (2 S 24^{18-25}), the original Jebusite population was allowed to retain its former possessions. The effects of the capture of Jerus. were felt beyond the borders of Israel. Hiram, king of Tyre, entered into friendly relations with D., and supplied him with builders and material for a palace in his new capital. In true Oriental fashion D. marked the fresh increase of his power by increasing his harem. While still in Hebron he had married four more wives, and had already six sons: Amnon the firstborn, the son of Ahinoam of Jezreel; Chileab the son of the prudent Abigail; Absalom the son of Maacah, daughter of Talmai, the Aramæan king of Geshur; Adonijah the son of Haggith; Shephatiah the son of Abital; and Ithream the son of Eglah (2 S 3^{2-5}; cf. 1 Ch 3^{1-3}, where Daniel is put for Chileab). Michal, who had been restored to David, unfortunately bore no children; otherwise the grandson of Saul would have been the natural heir to the throne, and the subsequent disputes with regard to the succession would have been avoided. On removing to Jerusalem D. took fresh wives and concubines from this place, and the names of several more sons are recorded (2 S 5^{13-16}, 1 Ch 3^{5-9} 14^{3-7}; on variations in the three lists, cf. Driver, *Text of Sam.*). We must not judge D. herein from a modern Western standpoint. In the East a man's wealth and power are to a great extent measured by the number of his wives and the size of his family; and by politic alliances, as, for example, with the daughter of the king of Geshur, D. increased his influence at home and abroad. At the same time he introduced into his capital the source of many of the dangers and corruptions of an Oriental court, and the evil was increased by the weak affection with which D. treated his favourite sons.

The next measure was to make the political capital also the religious centre of the nation; and for this purpose D. resolved to bring up to Jerus. the old sacred ark, which had for many years been left at Kiriath-jearim (1 S 7^{1}), or Baal-judah (2 S 6^{2}; cf. Jos $15^{9, 60}$, 1 Ch 13^{6}). Thither D. went with a large number of Israelites; the ark was drawn in a new cart, accompanied by two of its attendants, Uzzah and Ahio; while D. and his subjects marched behind to the strains of festal music. But at Nacon's threshing-floor, probably not far from Jerus., Uzzah, while attempting to steady the ark, suddenly fell dead. Dismayed at this occurrence, D. was afraid to have so dangerous a symbol near him, and the ark was placed in the house of Obed-edom the Gittite, probably one of David's Philistine mercenaries. Three months later, however, on hearing that the ark had brought blessing upon this house, D. took courage to carry out his original design. This time the ark was safely carried in triumph into the 'city of David,' while the king himself, wearing a priestly linen ephod, danced in the procession before it. A tent had already been prepared for its reception in the citadel; here solemn sacrifices were offered, after which the people were dismissed with the king's blessing and gifts of food. When D. returned to his house, he had to meet the scoffs of Michal, who taunted him with his undignified appearance in the procession that day; but the king with true dignity expressed his readiness to dance before J″, who had chosen him above the house of Saul. To this irreverence of Michal's was attributed the fact that she remained childless: but she had at this time been married some fifteen or twenty years.

It is instructive to compare with the narrative of 2 S 6 the account given by the Chronicler of the bringing of the ark to Jerus. (1 Ch 13. 15. 16). The old history is largely rewritten to bring it into accordance with later ideas and institutions. An important place in the ceremonial is assigned to the priests and Levites, who in the older version are conspicuous by their absence: Obed-edom of Gath becomes a Levitical musician and doorkeeper.

The contrast between the simple tent for the ark and his own palace suggested to D. the need of building some more permanent temple; but the king's adviser, the prophet Nathan, who had at first approved of the design, subsequently induced D. to abandon it. Possibly, both prophet and people feared the effects of innovations in religious matters. Nathan's message to D. is contained in 2 S 7, a chapter which in its present form shows the influence of Deut., but is in the main of somewhat earlier date (see Budde). There we are told how Nathan, the night after his approval of D.'s design, received from God a message for the king: Never yet had J″ required a temple of the judges of His people; tent and tabernacle had been sufficient hitherto. D. should not build a house for Him; He would build a house (*i.e.* a line of descendants) for D.; and though D.'s seed might need to be chastised, God's mercy should not depart from them, (v.^{13}, which speaks of D.'s successor, who was to build a temple for J″, seems not to belong to the original form of the chapter; it weakens the antithesis of vv.^{12} and ^{14}). This message is followed by a beautiful prayer, in which D. thanks God for all His goodness to himself and his people.

It was probably soon after his settlement in Jerus. that D., in remembrance of his covenant with Jonathan, inquired whether there remained yet any survivors of Saul's house, whom he might benefit for the sake of his friend. He was told that there was still a son of Jonathan, and at D.'s orders Mephibosheth or Meribaal (1 Ch 8^{34} 9^{40}) was brought from the house of Machir at Lo-debar; the property of Saul, apparently confiscated, was restored to him, and given to Ziba, a former servant of Saul's family, who was to till the ground for his master, while Meribaal dwelt at Jerus., where his conduct would be under the royal supervision, and ate at the king's table. Meribaal was lame, having been dropped by his nurse as she fled on hearing of the Israelite defeat at Mt. Gilboa. He was then five years old; now he is described as having a young son, an indication that these events took place some ten years after D. became king over all Israel. With other descendants of Saul, however, D. was compelled shortly afterwards to deal in a different manner. The land was afflicted with drought, and consequent famine, for three years, and D., on inquiring of the sacred oracle, was told that a curse of blood rested upon the land, because of an attempt made by Saul to exterminate the Gibeonites, an Amorite tribe bound by a covenant to Israel. The only compensation which the Gibeonites would accept was that seven of Saul's sons should be put to death; and D. delivered to them the two sons of Saul's concubine Rizpah, and five sons of his daughter Merab (MT wrongly Michal). These were accordingly hanged to J″ in the sacred hill of Gibeon (cf. Driver, *Text of Sam.*), while the corpses were lovingly watched by the devoted Rizpah, till the first rains showed that the atonement was accepted. Then D., in recognition of the mother's devotion, gave orders for the burial of the corpses; and the bones, as well as those of Saul and Jonathan, were interred in the ancestral sepulchre of Kish (2 S 21^{1-14}). This occurrence must be placed after the recognition of Meribaal (v.^{7}), but before the rebellion of Absalom (2 S 16^{8}). We have no right to blame D.'s action in this matter; he acted in accordance with the religious beliefs of his time, and with what he conceived to be the best interests of the nation; and, in spite of Shimei's reproaches, we may believe that D.'s contemporaries regarded the matter in the same light as himself.

Under D. the kingdom was more completely organized than it had been under his predecessor, and the administration was intrusted to royal officers (2 S 8^{16-18}, 20^{23-26}). Foremost of these was Joab the son of Zeruiah, D.'s nephew, who was commander-in-chief of the whole army; the scribe or chancellor, to whom belonged the control of all official documents, was Shisha (1 K 4^{3}; corrupt readings in 2 S 8^{17} 20^{25}, 1 Ch 18^{16}); the state historian or chronicler (*mazkîr*, *i.e.* remembrancer), Jehoshaphat the son of Ahilud; Adoram controlled the levy, *i.e.* the forced service exacted by the king from his subjects; at the head of the priesthood, beside Abiathar, the representative of the house of Eli, stood Zadok, the ancestor of the later priestly house, but of his origin or appointment no authentic information is preserved; Ira, a Manassite of the family of Jair, was another priest, and D.'s sons also performed priestly duties. Traces of a royal council are to be found in allusions to Ahithophel, D.'s counsellor (2 S 15^{12}), and to Hushai, D.'s friend (*ib.* v.^{37}, cf. 1 K 4^{5}). A very important institution was that of the royal bodyguard, taking the place of the 'runners' of Saul (1 S 22^{17}). The nucleus of it was doubtless David's old band, which had accompanied him during his wanderings and his residence at Ziklag. The technical name of this force was the *Gibborim*, heroes or mighty men; and their numbers were probably kept at the traditional 600. They were now largely recruited from foreigners, especially Philistines and Cherethites, a people of the south of Palestine (1 S 30^{14}, Zeph 2^{5}), perhaps originally connected with Crete; hence the guards were commonly called the **Cherethites and Pelethites** (wh. see). That these were the same body as the Gibborim appears from 1 K $1^{8.10.38}$: the text of 2 S 15^{18} is too uncertain to form an argument to the contrary. The whole corps was under the command of Benaiah the son of Jehoiada. Included in or distinct from this guard, was a select body of *Thirty* distinguished for special valour, over whom was Abishai, the brother of Joab; while *Three* warriors are named as ranking even higher than Abishai and Benaiah (2 S 23^{8-39}, and cf. Driver, *ad loc.*). This guard of experienced soldiers formed the only standing army in the kingdom; and being stationed in the capital (cf. 2 S $11^{8\text{ff.}}$, Neh 3^{16}) they became a powerful support to the king's authority, and ensured the discharge of his orders. As will appear later, they played an important part at the accession of Solomon.

For war on a large scale the army still consisted of the whole male population of military age, who were summoned to arms in time of danger. The force seems to have consisted wholly of infantry, except for a few chariots and horses retained after the defeat of Hadadezer (2 S 8^{4}). But when D.'s wars of foreign conquest began to involve protracted campaigns, and long absence from home, some new system became desirable. It was perhaps partly to meet these requirements that D. instituted the **census**, which was carried out evidently after the completion of the Syrian wars, for his officers travelled as far north as the Hittite city of Kadesh (2 S 24^{6}, LXX. Luc.). The military aspect of this measure is clear from its being intrusted to Joab and the captains of the host (v.^{4}, 1 Ch 21^{2}); but the census may have been also intended as a basis for a regular system of fixed taxation, to meet the needs of an organized government. The measure was regarded with suspicion, perhaps as involving an undue increase of royal authority, and even Joab protested against it; nevertheless, he carried out his task in 9 months and 20 days. A severe pestilence, which visited the land immediately afterwards, was regarded by D. and the people as a sign of the divine displeasure. We are told that the prophet Gad offered D. the choice of three punishments—three years' famine (LXX, 1 Ch), three months' flight before his enemies, or three days' pestilence; and that the king chose the last, preferring to fall into the hand of God rather than of man. But when the destroying angel reached Jerus., he was bidden, in consequence of D.'s penitence, to stay his hand; and D., at Gad's bidding, bought the threshing-floor of Araunah or Ornan (Ch) the Jebusite, and offered there a sacrifice, whereby he obtained from God mercy for the land (2 S 24). The place of sacrifice became afterwards the site of Solomon's temple (2 Ch 3^{1}). The narrative shows that we must not expect to find for D.'s reign careful records of the numbers and divisions of the people. Yet such statistics are presupposed by the Chronicler, who in his account of David's armies and officers (1 Ch 23–27) describes a far more numerous and elaborately organized body of religious and civil and military officials than is likely to have existed in the time of David. Fragments of old records may be incorporated in his work (*e.g.* 1 Ch 27^{25-31}); but the older history shows no trace of the thousands of Levites, or of the bodies of 24,000 men continually under arms (1 Ch 27^{1-15}) of which the later historian speaks.

Of most of D.'s wars we possess but a short summary in 2 S 8; the Ammonite war, on account of its connexion with Bathsheba's history, is related at length. The complete victory over the Philistines (8^{1}) has been already named. For some unexplained reason D. made war on Moab, where his parents had formerly taken refuge, and, on conquering the country, treated it with great severity, putting to death two-thirds of the prisoners. The exploits of Benaiah (2 S 23^{20}) may be referred to this campaign. Moab now became tributary. The next war was provoked by the neighbouring Ammonites. Their king, Nahash, Saul's enemy (1 S 11), had shown himself friendly to D., and on his death D. sent an embassy of condolence to his successor Hanun. But Hanun, suspicious of D.'s intentions, and perhaps alarmed by the subjugation of Moab, dismissed the messengers with gross insults. The Ammonites knew that they must now prepare for war, and sought for alliances among the small Aramæan kingdoms of Zobah, Beth-rehob, Maacah, and Tob, which were united in a common interest to check the rising power of Israel. Joab, with the Isr. army, marched out to Rabbah, the Ammonite capital, and, finding an enemy opposing him on both sides, divided his forces. With the picked troops he prepared to meet the Aramæan allies, 33,000 strong, while the rest of the army he placed under the command of his brother Abishai, to confront the Ammonites. The rout of the Syrians by Joab was the signal for the flight of the Ammonites within the walls of their capital, and thus ended the first campaign. The next year Hadadezer, king of Zobah, summoned to his assistance allies from beyond the Euphrates. The whole Aramæan force, under his general Shobach, was encamped at Helam, where D. himself, having crossed the Jordan at the head of the whole Isr. army, attacked them, and defeated them with great slaughter, Shobach being among the slain. All the chariot-horses which were captured were disabled, with the exception of sufficient for a hundred chariots. The summary (8^{5}) seems to speak of another great victory won by D., when the Syrians of Damascus came to the assistance of Hadadezer. Zobah now made peace with Israel; prefects were appointed in Damascus and elsewhere, and, in addition to numerous presents, D. brought back to Jerus. the golden shields of Hadadezer's guard, and large quantities of brass from two of his treasure cities. An alliance was made between D. and Tou (v.$^{9f.}$ LXX, 1 Ch $18^{9f.}$), king of Hamath, and Hadoram (1 Ch 18^{10}) the son of Tou was sent with presents and greetings to David. These and other treasures, including spoil taken from the Amalekites, D. is said to have dedicated to J″ (2 S 8^{10}). Ammon remained unsubdued, but in a third campaign Joab besieged Rabbah, and at last succeeded in capturing the part known as 'the city of waters.' As the fall of the whole city was now assured, Joab summoned D. from Jerus., that the king himself might have the glory of the conquest. D. advanced with a fresh army, and completed the capture of Rabbah. A large amount of spoil fell into his hands, including the costly gold crown of the idol Milcom (RVm, see 2 S 12^{26-31}). The prisoners, according to the ordinary translation of 12^{31}, were tortured and treated with great cruelty. There are, however, difficulties about the rendering of the verse; a slight change of reading (הֶעֱבִיד for הֶעֱבִיר, see RVm) would give the meaning that the people were reduced to servitude (so Hoffmann, Kautzsch, Driver [doubtfully]; Stade regards the verse as corrupt). The last of D.'s foreign conquests was that of Edom, but we have only a few disconnected allusions to the war. It appears that D. gained a great victory in the Valley of Salt after his Syrian campaign (2 S $8^{13f.}$ LXX, 1 Ch $18^{11f.}$, Ps 60 title). By this conquest he obtained command of the ports on the Red Sea. Prefects were appointed throughout the country, and for six months Joab remained in Edom, to destroy the male population (1 K $11^{15f.}$).

It now remains to relate certain events in D.'s own family which troubled the later years of his reign. During the Ammonite war, D., who had remained in Jerus., committed adultery with Bathsheba, the wife of one of his officers then serving before Rabbah. In hopes of concealing his guilt he sent for Uriah; but the latter, who had perhaps heard rumours of what had taken place, refused, on the plea of military duty, to see his wife. Thereupon D. sent orders to Joab to place Uriah in a post of danger, and ensure his death. When the husband was dead, and the time of mourning past, Bathsheba was taken into the royal harem. The story was doubtless not unknown in Jerus.; the moral sense of the people found expression through Nathan the prophet, who by means of a parable boldly rebuked David; and though on the king's confessing his guilt the prophet assured him of forgiveness, he predicted the death of Bathsheba's newly-born child. (2 S 12^{10-12} are perhaps a later addition, a true comment on the subsequent history; for it has been pointed out that with the old Heb. ideas of guilt and penalty it is hardly consistent to regard the sin as forgiven [v.^{13}] while the curse remains. So Kuenen, Wellh., Stade.) In spite of all D.'s prayers and fastings, the child died; but in due time a second son was born to Bathsheba, the future king Solomon (2 S 11. 12^{1-25}).

It was probably not long afterwards that the fruit of D.'s evil example appeared. His eldest son Amnon outraged his half-sister Tamar, and when D., though greatly displeased, yet partly from partiality for his firstborn (13^{21} LXX), partly perhaps from the remembrance of his own guilt, failed to punish the offender, the duty of avenging the maiden's wrong fell to her own brother Absalom. He waited his opportunity for two years, and then caused Amnon to be murdered at a sheep-shearing feast, to which all the king's sons had been invited. Absalom fled to the court of his grandfather, the king of Geshur. D. mourned long for his firstborn, then his longings turned to the son in exile; but out of season he could show severity. For three years Absalom remained in banishment; then Joab, divining the king's secret feelings, by the instrumentality of the woman of Tekoa procured his recall. For two years longer Absalom was excluded from the court, until he compelled Joab to intercede for him; then he was brought to the king, and received a kiss of reconciliation (2 S 13. 14). After the death of Amnon, and probably also of Chileab, Absalom was the natural heir to the throne. He was now completely estranged from his father, and soon began to endeavour to supplant him. To impress the people, he assumed royal state; to gain their favour, he would stand by the gate to meet all who came to the king with their suits, and lament that he was not king to do them justice. Thus he 'stole the hearts of the men of Israel.' There is no evidence that D., who used to 'execute judgments and justice to all his people' (2 S 8^{15}), now neglected to do so. The stories of Nathan and the woman of Tekoa imply the contrary, but with the extension of the borders of Israel the number of suits may well have increased beyond the king's power to deal with them. We cannot say whether the crimes in the royal household had shaken the loyalty of the people,—in certain matters the nation at large did not show itself very sensitive to moral irregularities (2 S 16^{21-23}),—but it is probable that at Hebron the removal of the capital to Jerus. was still a grievance, and the tribesmen of Judah seem to have considered themselves not sufficiently favoured by the king. Absalom made preparations for four years (15^{7} LXX. Luc.), then under pretence of a vow he visited the old sacred city of Hebron. Here he was joined by D.'s counsellor, Ahithophel of Giloh, perhaps the grandfather of Bathsheba (cf. 2 S 11^{3} 23^{34}), and Absalom's rebellion was proclaimed by messengers throughout the country. D. was taken entirely by surprise, and resolved to withdraw at once from Jerusalem. If he escaped the first attack of the conspirators, he possessed better troops than were to be found on the other side. Delay would increase the difficulties of his opponents, and give his supporters time to rally. Leaving the palace in charge of ten concubines, he crossed the Kidron, accompanied by his household and bodyguard, amid the weeping of the whole land, and took the road by Olivet to Jordan. Many traits of D.'s character are brought out during this flight,—the devotion which he inspired in his followers, when Ittai of Gath, though but a short time in his service, refused to leave him; his piety and confidence, when he commanded the priests to carry back the ark, trusting to J″, without any outward symbol of His presence; his craft and dissimulation, when he bade Hushai ingratiate himself with Absalom, and try to frustrate his plans; his prudence, in establishing communications between himself and the capital by means of Ahimaaz and Jonathan; his impetuous hastiness in judgment, when he promised Ziba the lands of Meribaal; and at the same time his submission and forbearance, when he endured the curses of Shimei because J″ had bidden him, and urged that a Benjamite had more right than his own son to seek his life (2 S 15. 16$^{1-14}$).

D.'s plan of meeting treachery by treachery was successful. By Ahithophel's advice, Absalom did take over his father's concubines as a token of succession to his throne; but, instead of pursuing D. at once, he accepted the counsel of Hushai, to wait till he could muster troops from the whole country. Ahithophel, who realized the artificial nature of the enthusiasm for Absalom, foresaw that this delay was fatal to the rebellion, and forthwith hanged himself. Warned by the two priests' sons, Ahimaaz and Jonathan, of the need of haste, D. and his followers crossed the Jordan in safety before daybreak. He took up his headquarters at Mahanaim, the former capital of Eshbaal, and there received support from Shobi, the son of his old protector the king of Ammon, who may now have been a vassal prince; from Machir, the guardian of Meribaal, and from a wealthy Gileadite named Barzillai (16^{15}–17). Absalom was the first to act on the offensive, and crossed the Jordan with his army. D. was prevented from going into battle by the entreaty of the people, who urged that he was worth 10,000 of them; but he publicly charged his generals, Joab, Abishai, and Ittai, to deal gently with Absalom. Joab knew that he was strong enough to disobey, and that the death of the leader would put an end to the rebellion. D.'s soldiers were victorious, and Joab himself slew Absalom as he hung in the branches of a large terebinth. D. by the gate of Mahanaim awaited anxiously the issue of the day; then he forgot all else in his passionate grief for his ungrateful son. Joab, however, roused him to put his duty as a king above his private feelings as a father, and D. returned to the gate to receive the greetings of his servants who had risked their lives for him (18–19^{8}).

Only tact and diplomacy were now required to bring about the king's return. Among the tribes of Israel a speedy revulsion of feeling took place, and they repented of their ingratitude to the king who had saved them from their enemies. But Judah still stood aloof; D. therefore sent to Zadok and Abiathar, to influence in his behalf the elders of his own tribe, and to urge them not to be behind the rest of Israel in bringing back their king. At the same time he sent a special message to Amasa, the son of his sister Abigail, whom Absalom had made commander-in-chief, and swore to give him the office now held by the self-willed Joab. The men of Judah were soon won over; and when, in response to their invitation, the king returned homewards, the tribe assembled at Gilgal on the Jordan to welcome him. Shimei came with them at the head of a thousand Benjamites, and implored D.'s pardon, which was freely granted. In spite of Abishai's remonstrance, D. would not have the day of his triumph marred by putting any man to death. To Meribaal, however, who also came to meet the king, D. gave less than justice. Meribaal charged Ziba with slandering him, and failing to provide him with an ass to follow D. in his flight; Ziba had said that his master was waiting in Jerus. in hopes of recovering his grandfather's throne. It was not easy to decide where the truth lay, and D. hastily dismissed the matter by bidding the two divide the land. The king appears in a more favourable light when he turns to reward his benefactors. He pressed the aged Barzillai, who accompanied him to Jordan, to come and live with him in Jerus.; and when Barzillai pleaded to be excused, on the ground of his great age, his son Chimham was allowed to take his place and be the recipient of the royal favours. But even before the king reached Jerus. it appeared that he had not succeeded in conciliating Judah without exciting the jealousy of the other tribes. While he had sent special messengers to his own tribesmen, he had taken no notice of the half-expressed goodwill of the rest of Israel. When therefore, at Gilgal, half the host of Israel came to escort D. home, they complained that the men of Judah had stolen him away; they had been slighted, although they had ten parts in the king, and the rights of the firstborn (2 S 19^{43} LXX). A sharp dispute arose between the two sections of the nation, and a Benjamite, Sheba the son of Bichri, gave the signal for a fresh revolt. The men of Israel followed him, renouncing all part in the son of Jesse, while the men of Judah accompanied D. to Jerusalem. It was necessary to take immediate steps against the rebels. D. therefore bade Amasa assemble the forces of Judah within three days, thus tacitly depriving Joab of the supreme command. Amasa delayed beyond the appointed time, and D. was compelled to have recourse again to his old tried general. Joab (20^{6} Pesh., MT Abishai) was bidden to take the royal bodyguard, 'the mighty men,' and pursue after Sheba. At Gibeon Amasa met him. It might have been expected how Joab would treat his rival; he took his opportunity to murder him, and then, with his troops, hastened to Abel-beth-maacah, a town in the far north of the country, where Sheba had taken refuge. To save the town the inhabitants delivered up Sheba's head, and the rebellion was at an end (19^{8}–20^{22}). From 2 S 24^{13} we may perhaps infer with Ewald that Absalom's rebellion lasted for three months.

Some years must have elapsed before the closing scene of D.'s life. The old warrior, who at the time of Absalom's rebellion was never without resource, and had to be kept back by his soldiers from the battle, is now seen in the feebleness of extreme old age, kept within the palace, where no clothing will supply warmth to his bodily frame, and he is nursed by a fair young damsel of Shunem, named Abishag. He had neglected to make any definite arrangements with regard to the succession to the throne, but his eldest surviving son was generally regarded as the heir. This was Adonijah, a young man of great beauty, who had always been indulged by his fond father. Like Absalom before him, he assumed the state appropriate to the heir-apparent. On his side were most of D.'s older supporters, including Joab and Abiathar, but another party in the palace favoured Solomon, the son of D.'s favourite wife, Bathsheba. To the latter belonged the prophet Nathan, who perhaps felt that Adonijah was not the fittest man to rule, Zadok, the younger and probably rival priest, and Benaiah the captain of the bodyguard. An obvious danger awaited the unsuccessful aspirant to the throne after D.'s death (cf. 1 K 1^{21}), and Adonijah resolved to make in good time a public declaration of his claims. He invited his supporters, including the king's sons and the royal officers of the tribe of Judah, to a feast at the sacred stone of Zoheleth, at the lower end of the Kidron Valley, and here the guests are said to have greeted Adonijah as already king. But tidings of this step were brought by

Nathan to Bathsheba, and at the prophet's advice she informed the king, and reminded him of a promise that her son should reign. By agreement Nathan came in and confirmed her words, whereupon D. repeated with an oath to Bathsheba the promise that Solomon should succeed. Then, rousing himself to act, the old king commanded Nathan, Zadok, and Benaiah to place Solomon on the royal mule, conduct him to the spring of Gihon, and solemnly proclaim him king. The support of Benaiah and the troops would make opposition useless. D.'s orders were carried out, Solomon was anointed, and a rejoicing crowd escorted the young king back to the city to set him on the royal throne. The shouts from Gihon, half-way up the Kidron Valley, had reached Adonijah at his feast, when Jonathan the son of Abiathar came in with news of Solomon's coronation. The guests fled, and Adonijah took sanctuary at the altar, but received from Solomon a promise of his life on condition of good conduct (1 K 1).

Our narrative in 1 K 2^{1-12} gives us an unpleasing picture of D.'s last days. He is represented as counselling Solomon to do good to Barzillai, but not to let Joab or Shimei die in peace. The genuineness of the narrative is much disputed. Vv.$^{2-4}$ are doubtless a later addition by a Deuteronomic editor; Wellh., Stade, Kautzsch reject the whole of vv.$^{1-9}$; but it seems more probable that vv.$^{5-9}$ formed part of the original document (so Kuenen, Budde, Kittel, Cheyne). Their historical character is another question, which can only be judged on subjective grounds. It is argued, with considerable exaggeration, that D. was too infirm to trouble about public matters, or to counsel his successor; and that another tradition gives us a religious song under the title of D.'s 'Last Words' (2 S 23^{1-7}). We must not measure the advice ascribed to D. by our own standard. A young and untried ruler like Solomon might be endangered by opponents whom D. was strong enough to spare; and the king, who had delivered up to death Saul's seven sons to atone for their father's guilt, may have feared that the curse of Shimei, or the murders of Joab, unless avenged, would bring down punishment on some other man. To us the words put into D.'s mouth do not appear seemly for a dying man, or in accordance with the noblest traits of D.'s character; it cannot be said they are impossible. Many would be glad to think that they are only due to the historian, who represented D. as the real author of some of Solomon's earliest acts, hoping to glorify the aged king, or else to clear the memory of the builder of the temple. It is easy to understand why a later historian preferred to ascribe to D. far nobler sentiments when he recorded the king's last words and his final charge to Solomon (1 Ch 28. 29).

D. is recorded to have reigned 7 years and 6 months in Hebron, and 33 years in Jerus. (2 S 2^{11} $5^{4f.}$, 1 K 2^{11}). Forty years is a conventional round number in Heb. chronology, but the figure is approximately correct. Absalom, who was born in Hebron (2 S 3^{2}), was grown up at the time of Amnon's outrage; his rebellion took place some 10 or 11 years later ($13^{23.\,38}$ 14^{28} 15^{7}), and, as was remarked above, several years must have intervened between this and D.'s death. Again, the Philistines and Moabites had been subdued before the Ammonite war; the marriage of Bathsheba took place in the third campaign against Ammon; and Solomon, her second son by D., was of full age when he came to the throne. Since D., when he first appears before Saul, is a tried warrior, he must have died at an advanced age. According to 2 S $5^{4f.}$ he reached 70 years. He was buried in the capital, which received from him the name of the 'city of David'; and after the return from exile the sepulchres of D. were still pointed out between Siloam and the 'house of the mighty men' (Neh $3^{15f.}$; cf. Ac 2^{29}).

Later biblical writers and editors describe D. as he appeared to the Jews of their own age. To the compiler of the Books of Kings D. is a standard of piety, with whom his successors are compared; he is the king whose 'heart was perfect with J″' (1 K 11^{4} etc.), 'who turned not aside save in the matter of Uriah the Hittite' (*ib.* 15^{5}). The Chronicler, from feelings easily understood, passes entirely over the darker side of D.'s life, and the troubles in his family (see esp. 1 Ch 20). He represents the pious king in his later years as absorbed in preparations for the temple; for this he has accumulated vast treasures, and he exhorts the people to give freely for the same purpose (1 Ch 22. 29). He arranges for the services of the future sanctuary, organizing the sacred choirs, and determining the courses of priests and Levites, porters and treasurers (chs. 22–26). Finally, he hands to Solomon the pattern of the temple, which has been revealed to him by God (28^{11-19}), and admonishes his son on the greatness of the sacred duty which has been laid upon him (22^{6-19} $28^{1-10.\,20f.}$). The figures given in these chapters, as in many parts of Chronicles, are incredibly large; the arrangements described for the sacred ministers and services are those of Zerubbabel's temple, though on a grander scale. In the older records the only direct connexion between D. and the temple is that implied in his sacrifice at Araunah's threshing-floor (2 S 24^{18-25}), and possibly in his dedication of his spoils (*ib.* $8^{11f.}$). Older material may well underlie the narrative of the Chronicler or his authority; but for our general estimate of D. and his times we must rely entirely on the Books of Samuel.

Allusion has been made earlier in this article to D.'s connexion with the Psalter. Minuter study makes it more and more difficult to conceive of him as the author of some of the most spiritual products of the OT religion. This is not merely on account of D.'s sins, acknowledged and repented of, but because of his crude ideas on religious matters which appear from time to time in the old records, and because the historians attribute to him, apparently without blame, both words and acts, which from the standard of a higher religion must be emphatically condemned. D. was first introduced to Saul as a minstrel; as a deviser of musical instruments he is named in Am 6^{5}. The Lament over Saul and Jonathan, a secular song, reveals to us D.'s poetic power; as a composer of sacred poems he appears in the appendix to Samuel (2 S 22. 23^{1-7}) and in Chronicles (esp. 1 Ch 16^{7-36}). How much older this representation may be is hard to say; but it points to a tradition that D. was the father of Heb. psalmody, and it would be rash to deny the possibility that some psalms or portions of psalms of Davidic authorship are to be found in the Psalter. If such there be, we may expect to find them in the group of psalms which Ewald selected as being genuinely Davidic, viz. Ps 3. 4. 7. 8. 11. 15. 18. 19^{1-6} $24^{1-6.\,7-10}$ 29. 32. 101, and the fragments 60^{6-9} 68^{13-18} 144^{12-14}; but probably this list requires to be considerably reduced. By the titles 73 psalms are assigned to D., the principal groups being Ps 3–41 (omitting 10. 33) and 51–70 (omitting 66. 67). In the LXX the number is somewhat larger, the title 'to David' being added to 14 more (including 93–99 Heb.), but omitted in some MSS from 3 or 4 others. The following special occasions are named in the Heb. titles:—3, when he fled from Absalom; 7, concerning the words of Cush, a Benjamite; 18, when J″ delivered him from his enemies and from Saul; 30, at the dedication of the House; 34, when he changed his behaviour before Abimelech; 51, after his rebuke by Nathan; 52, when Doeg denounced him to Saul; 54, when the Ziphites betrayed his hiding-place; 56, when the Philistines took him in Gath; 57, when he fled from Saul, in the cave; 59, when Saul's messengers watched the house to kill him; 60, after the defeat of Edom in the Valley of Salt; 63, in the wilderness of Judah; 142, when he was in the cave.

The character of D. has been very variously estimated, exaggerated praise naturally producing a revulsion to the opposite extreme. Undue weight has often been attached to the description of D. as 'the man after God's own heart'; but the phrase, which occurs only in 1 S 13^{14} (quoted thence in Ac 13^{22}), may be seen in the original context to denote one according to God's mind or purpose, one who possesses the necessary qualities for a ruler of God's people (cf. Jer 3^{15}). It has been more difficult to do justice to D. on account of the different representations, found together in the Bible, but belonging to very different dates. The picture in Chron. of a Jewish saint has led many to censure unfairly the warrior king of a rude age. But if a critical examination of our authorities compels us to reject as unhistorical some pious deeds or noble words attributed to D., on the other hand it affords a more trustworthy standard by which to measure D.'s position among his contemporaries, and removes many of the glaring inconsistencies which have occasioned difficulties to students and historians.

We may first look at the darker side of his character and its numerous limitations, which show that he did not rise entirely above the level of the barbarous age in which he lived. His foreign wars are sometimes marked by very great cruelty. Even if the Ammonites were not tortured, yet in his desert raids no life was spared (1 S 27$^{9ff.}$), and the victories over Moab and Edom were followed by massacres. The story of the patriarch Jacob suggests that deception and cunning were part of the Isr. character; certainly they often appear in D.'s history. The deceit practised at Nob may be excused by his circumstances; his professions of loyalty to Achish (1 S 28^{2} 29^{8}) may have been cautious words used to one who has power to compel; but the continued fraud practised at Ziklag points to a man who was used to crooked dealing; he could induce Hushai to counteract Ahithophel's advice by mean and treacherous ways; and after his sin with Bathsheba he stooped to base and cowardly means to conceal his guilt and remove Uriah from his path. Moreover, D.'s religious beliefs fell far short of the teaching of the great prophets. If he did not himself worship idols, he at least allowed Michal to keep the teraphim in his house; and to determine the will of God he had constant recourse to the sacred ephod. He associated the worship of J″ with His presence in the land of Israel, could think that J″ had stirred up Saul to pursue him, and that His displeasure might be removed by the fragrance of a sacrifice (1 S 26^{19}); and he put to death seven innocent men to procure J″s favour for the land (2 S 21$^{1-14}$). And there are other blemishes in D.'s character. He can judge a case on the impulse of a moment (2 S 16^{4}), or dismiss one but half heard (19^{29}); and breaks out against Nabal into a passionate desire for vengeance. The great sins of his life, his adultery with Bathsheba and murder of Uriah, are perhaps but the common crimes of an Oriental despot; but, so far as we can judge, they were not common to Israel, and D. as well as his subjects knew of a higher moral standard. Lastly, his weakness in dealing with his own family is little to his credit. The imperious Joab is 'too hard' for him; Amnon and Adonijah are indulged and spoiled, and even the outrageous conduct of the former meets with no punishment; Absalom and Adonijah are allowed to declare their pretensions to the crown, while D. neglects to take proper measures to determine the succession to the throne. But in justice to D. it must be remembered that his family difficulties were in part the natural outcome of polygamy, and partly due to the state of culture of his time. In the East the same unwise and selfish love is still often manifested by a brave father to his children. The last charge to Solomon (1 K 2$^{1-9}$) has been already sufficiently discussed.

It is now necessary to turn to the other side of the picture, remembering that we must not expect to find a saint, but a king, a hero, and a man. No testimony to D. could be more eloquent than that of the charm he exerted on all who had to do with him. Everywhere he inspires love and devotion. Jonathan is his closest friend; Saul, Michal, all Israel love him. It is the same in later years. Achish pronounces him blameless (1 S 29$^{6.9}$); whatever D. does pleases the people (2 S 3^{36}); the three mighty men risk their life to bring him a draught of water; his soldiers call him the 'lamp of Israel,' and will not let him endanger himself in battle (2 S 21^{17} 18^{3}); Ittai of Gath will follow him in life or death (*ib.* 15^{21}). Nor was this devotion and admiration undeserved. A brave and successful warrior, who had fought many a campaign against his country's foes, he safely led and ruled the rough men who gathered round him as an outlaw. His justice was experienced alike by Nabal's shepherds and his own followers (1 S 25$^{7.15f.}$ 30$^{23-25}$); his concern for his followers' lives is seen when he cannot drink the water from the well of Bethlehem. Hasty and passionate he could be, even in his zeal for justice (2 S 4$^{9-12}$ 12$^{5f.}$); but far more marked is his signal generosity. He spares Saul's life when he is in his power (1 S 24. 26), and laments for his death in a noble song (2 S 1); the messenger from Mt. Gilboa and the murderers of Eshbaal are put to death, when they think that they are bringing D. good tidings. He can bear with Shimei's curses during his flight, and forgive him freely on his return. For the sake of Jonathan he spares and shows favour to his son, and in the person of Chimham he repays the kindness of Barzillai. The warmth and tenderness of D.'s affection is revealed in his lamentation for his 'brother' Jonathan; and still more in his own family, as in his distress at the illness of Bathsheba's child, or at the death of Amnon and Absalom. Nor are higher elements wanting in D.'s religion; as may be seen from his simple but pious faith, when he dances before the ark, and is ready to abase himself before J″ who has exalted him (2 S 6^{21}); or still more when he prepares to leave Jerus. without the protection of the ark. He accepts his misfortunes with resignation, and acknowledges them as the consequence of his sins; while he retains his trust in God's goodness (2 S 12$^{22f.}$ 15$^{25f.}$ 16$^{10-12}$ 24$^{14.17}$). And even in the record of his sin his better qualities come out; for not many rulers would have accepted such a plain rebuke, or manifested such sincere repentance. When compared with a Joab or a Gideon, we recognize the greatness of David's character.

But it is especially as a ruler that D. left his mark on his own generation and on posterity. He set himself to free his country from its enemies, to secure it against invasion, and to make the people one. Jerus. was virtually his creation; he strove to make it the religious and political centre of his kingdom; and the discontent of Judah bears witness to the zeal with which he laboured for the whole nation, and not only for his own tribe. His efforts were the more successful, because with remarkable penetration (cf. 2 S 14^{19}) he always knew the right measures to adopt. He wins the Judæan elders by judicious presents, but can wait at Hebron for Eshbaal's fall; he thanks the men of Jabesh-gilead, disavows all part in Abner's murder, retires from the first attack of Absalom, but keeps up communication with the capital. In all the varied difficulties of his eventful life he is never without resource. Nor was he negligent of the administration of his kingdom. It is said that he 'executed judgment and justice to all his people' (2 S 8^{15}); and this statement is borne out by the readiness with which he listened to Nathan or the woman of Tekoa. Doubtless he once forced a census on an unwilling people, but except in one instance we never hear of him using his power for selfish ends.

In two respects the reign of D. became an ideal for later times. He was remembered as a just and patriotic ruler; and when oppression and injustice became only too common in Israel, the great prophets looked forward to a time when again a righteous king should sit on his throne (Jer 23^{5}, cf. Is 16^{5}); and the name of D. became the symbol of the ideal ruler of his line, who they believed must come (Jer 30^{9}, Ezk $34^{23f.}$ $37^{24f.}$), and who was afterwards termed the Messiah. Again, it was through D. that the group of Isr. tribes became a powerful nation, and extended its sway over the neighbouring peoples. Thus Israel began to feel that it had a mission in the world; and though D.'s empire began to melt away even before his successor's death, this conviction never died, even in the darkest hour. Still the people believed that in God's own time they would be called upon once more to subdue the surrounding nations (cf. Am 9^{12}), or like a second D. to proclaim to heathen races J″'s great and holy name (cf. Is $55^{3\text{-}5}$).

Literature.—For the analysis of Samuel see esp. Wellhausen, *Composition* (1889), pp. 248–266; Kuenen, *Onderzoek* (1887), i. 386 ff., or *Hist. Krit. Einleitung* (1890), I. ii. 37–62, 72; Budde, *Richter und Samuel* (1890), pp. 210–276. For the text, Driver, *Heb. Text of Sam.* (1890); Wellhausen, *Text d. Bücher Sam.* (1871). For the criticism of Chronicles, *ib. Prolegomena*, Eng. tr. (1885), p. 171 ff. See, further, W. R. Smith, 'David,' in *Encycl. Brit.*^{9}; Dillmann in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexicon*; Kamphausen, 'Philister und Hebräer,' *ZATW*, 1886, pp. 43–97; Ewald, *History*, Eng. tr. iii. 54–203; Stade, *Geschichte* (1889), i. 224–299; Kittel, *Hist. of the Hebrews*, Eng. tr. (1896), ii. 35–49, 119–182; Cheyne, *Devout Study of Criticism* (1892).

H. A. White.

DAY (יוֹם, *ἡμέρα*).—In Hebrew the word 'day' is frequently used in phrases such as 'day of distress,' 'of evil,' 'of calamity,' 'of death' (cf. 'day of salvation,' Is 49^{8}), which for the most part explain themselves. It is also used more widely of *time* in general, esp. when some event is described vividly as that of a single day, *e.g.* Dt 16^{3}, Jg 18^{30}, Mal 3^{2} (בְּיוֹם with infin. or perf., but not בְּיוֹם אֲשֶׁר, which refers to some particular day, 2 S 19^{19} (^{20} Heb.), Est 9^{1}). With a personal genitive we find the singular used to express (1) the birthday, or festal day, Job 3^{1}, Hos 7^{5}; and (2) the time of calamity or death, Jer 50^{31}, Ezk 21^{25}, 1 S 26^{10}, Ps 37^{13}, Job 18^{20}. The plural 'days,' according to a very common usage, denotes the lifetime, reign, or period of activity of any one, Gn 26^{1}, Jg 5^{6}, 1 K 10^{21}, Is 1^{1} etc. Hence the repeated דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים of K and Ch = Annals. With a local proper name the 'day' implies some notable battle, a signal judgment or disaster, *e.g.* Is 9^{4} the day of the defeat of Midian; Ps 137^{7} the day of the fall of Jerus.; Ezk 30^{9} the day of Egypt; Hos 1^{11} the day of Jezreel. With the prophets 'in that day' is a common formula in describing what is to come at some future period of blessing or retribution, Is 2^{11}, Jer 4^{9}, Am 2^{16} etc. etc. Cf. also the phrases 'Lo, days are coming' (esp. in Jer and Am), and 'in the latter end of the days' (בְּאַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים), *i.e.* at the end of the period to which the prophet's vision extends, *e.g.* Gn 49^{1} (the time of the settlement in Caanan), Dt 4^{30} (Israel's repentance in exile), Hos 3^{5}, Mic 4^{1} (the Messianic period).

Many of these expressions have passed into the language of NT, *e.g.* 'in the days of Herod,' Mt 2^{1}, Lk 1^{5}; 'in these (those) days,' Lk 1^{39} 2^{1}, Ac 3^{24}; 'in the last days,' 2 Ti 3^{1}, Ja 5^{3}; also 'my day,' the day when Christ appeared among men, Jn 8^{56}; 'the day of salvation,' the time during which salvation is offered to mankind, 2 Co 6^{2}; 'the evil day' of trial and temptation, Eph 6^{13}; 'in that day,' *e.g.*, when Christ reveals Himself more fully to His disciples, Jn 14^{20} $16^{23.\,26}$. In particular, the last day of the present dispensation, when Christ shall return to earth for the final judgment, is described in various phrases: 'the day,' He 10^{25}; 'that day,' Mt 7^{22}, 2 Th 1^{10}; 'the last day,' Jn 6^{39} 11^{24}; 'the day of judgment,' Mt 11^{22}, 1 Jn 4^{17}; 'the day of Christ,' Ph 1^{10}; 'the day of the Lord,' 2 Th 2^{2}, cf. Lk 17^{30}, Ro 2^{16}, 2 Co 1^{14}, Rev 6^{17} etc.; 'the day of God,' 2 P 3^{12}.

Prob. it is with allusion to the 'day of the Lord' or 'the day of judgment' that St. Paul uses the phrase 'of man's day' (*ὑπὸ ἀνθρωπίνης ἡμέρας*) to denote mere human judgment (1 Co 4^{3}).

The contrast between *day* and *night* gives rise to certain metaphorical expressions. Thus 'day' is the period of life during which there is opportunity for working (Jn 9^{4}, cf. 11^{9}). Christians are said to belong to the day, since they should abstain from evil deeds, which are usually done under the cover of darkness, 1 Th $5^{5.\,8}$, cf. Ro 13^{13}. On the other hand, this life, with its ignorance, trials, and difficulties, is contrasted with the future day of fuller knowledge (2 P 1^{19}) and of completed salvation (Ro 13^{12}). See also TIME; for the Creative 'Day' see COSMOGONY; and for **Day of the Lord** see ESCHATOLOGY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

H. A. White.

DAY OF ATONEMENT.—See ATONEMENT, DAY OF.

DAY'S JOURNEY (Gn 30^{36} דֶּרֶךְ יוֹם, Jon 3^{4} מַהֲלַךְ יוֹם, Lk 2^{44} *ἡμέρας ὁδός*).—When the making of a day's journey is predicated of any one, we are not to understand merely that the person travelled for a day or for so many hours thereof. 'Day's journey' is no mere indication of time, but a real though very indefinite measure of space. Its length would vary according to the nature of the ground traversed; on a level plain it would be longer than over a country broken by hills or water-courses. Its distance would, again, be conditioned by the circumstances or capabilities of the traveller; a messenger on a hasty errand (cf. Gn 31^{23}) would achieve better results than a caravan, the rate of which would be regulated by the slowest beast of burden. A sturdy courier, without undue exertion, might put 25 to 30 miles behind him in a day; while a caravan, with its encumbrances, would not be able to overtake more than about 20 miles at the most. The camel usually proceeds at a rate of about 2½ miles an hour, and as 6 to 8 hours would be sufficient for a day, a caravan (probably implied Lk 2^{44}) might accomplish 15 to 20 miles; with much impedimenta, as recorded in the travels of the patriarchs Gn 30^{36}, or of the Israelites Nu 10^{33}, the day's journey would necessarily be much less. In the present-day pilgrimages to Mecca, 22½ miles is said to be a common day's journey for a caravan. We may perhaps safely figure to ourselves in connexion with the expression 'day's journey' an average distance of 20 to 25 miles. See further SABBATH DAY'S JOURNEY.

A. Grieve.

DAYSMAN.—In 1 Co 4^{3} 'man's judgment' is lit. 'man's day' (*ἀνθρωπίνη ἡμέρα*), and is so tr^{d} in Wyclif, Tind., Cov., and Rheims; for the word 'day,' or its equivalent, has been used in many languages in the special sense of a day for hearing causes and giving judgment. (See DAY.) From 'day' in this sense was formed the word 'daysman,' after the example of craftsman, herdsman, and the like, to signify a judge, umpire, or arbiter. The oldest instance given in *Oxf. Eng. Dict.* is *Plumpton Corresp.* (1489) p. 82, 'Sir, the dayesmen cannot agre us'; the next, Coverdale's tr. of Job 9^{33} 'Nether is there eny dayes man to reprove both the partes, or to laye his honde betwixte us,' from whom it has been retained in AV and RV.

J. Hastings.

DAYSPRING.—Job 38^{12} 'Hast thou . . . caused the dayspring to know his place?' (שַׁחַר); Wis 16^{28}

'at the dayspring pray unto thee' (*πρὸς ἀνατολὴν φωτός*, RV 'at the dawning of the day'); and Lk 1^{78} 'the d. from on high hath visited us' (*ἀνατολὴ ἐξ ὕψους*). The word is of freq. occurrence for the dawn of day, as Eden, *Decades* (1555), p. 264, 'The day sprynge or dawnynge of the daye gyveth a certeyne lyght before the rysinge of the soonne.' Davies (*Bible Eng.* p. 249) points out that virtually the same expression occurs in Jg 19^{25} 'when the day began to spring, they let her go,' and 1 S 9^{26} 'it came to pass about the spring of the day.' In Gn 32^{24} the marg. has 'ascending of the morning' for 'breaking of the day'; and in Ps 65^{8} east and west are called 'the outgoings of the morning and evening.'

J. HASTINGS.

DAY-STAR.—This is Wyclif's transl. of the Gr. *φωσφόρος* in 2 P 1^{19}, and he has been followed by all subsequent translators. The Eng. word (in all VSS till RV there are two sep. words, 'day star,' RV 'day-star') was used in two senses. (1) It signified the planet Venus (Lat. *Lucifer*), that star which preceded or accompanied the rising of the sun, the morning star, as in Lydgate, *Temple of Glas* (1355), 'Fairest of sterres . . . O Venus . . . O mighti goddes, daister after nyght'; and Holland's *Pliny*, ii. 8, 'For all the while that shee [the planet Venus] preventeth the morning, and riseth Orientall before, she taketh the name of Lucifer (or Day Starre) as a second sun hastening the day.' (2) It was applied poetically to the sun, especially by Milton, as *Lycidas*, 168—

> 'So sinks the day-star in the ocean bed,
> And yet anon repairs his drooping head,
> And tricks his beams.'

In 2 P the word is used in the first sense, the morning star. The passage is therefore parallel to Rev 2^{28} 'the morning star,' and 22^{16} 'the bright, the morning star.' These passages, Plumptre thinks, are evidence that this had come to be recognized among the apostolic Christians as a symbolic name of the Lord Jesus as manifested to the souls of His people.

Wyclif has 'day-star' in Job 38^{32} 'Whether thou bryngist forth Lucifer, *that is, dai-sterre*, in his tyme'; and it is found in Is 14^{12} AVm and RV 'O day star,' AV text 'O Lucifer.' See LUCIFER.

J. HASTINGS.

DEACON.—The words *διάκονος* (*-εῖν-ία*) refer to service rendered without regard to the quality of the person rendering it. Thus the *διάκονοι* at a feast may be either bond or free; and any one doing such service is a *διάκ.* for the time being. Thus, in NT they are used—(1) of service generally (Ac 12^{25}, Ro 15^{25}, 1 Co 16^{15}); (2) of our Lord's work in particular (Mt 20^{28}); (3) of the temporal ruler (Ro 13^{4}) as *θεοῦ διάκ.*; (4) of the work of the apostles (*e.g.* Ac 1^{17} 6^{3}, 1 Co 3^{5}, 1 Ti 1^{12}): but in none of these places is there any trace of *διάκονος* as an official title. The transition is found Ro 12^{7}, where the *διακονία* in contrast with *προφητεία*, *διδασκαλία*, *παράκλησις*, seems to indicate specific services, though the *διάκονος* himself is not mentioned. (Cf. Hort, *Christian Ecclesia*, 198 f.).

Where do we first find official *διάκονοι*? In Ac 5^{6} *οἱ νεώτεροι* are of course tacitly contrasted (as Lk 22^{26}) with *οἱ πρεσβύτεροι*; but the parallel *νεανίσκοι* in 5^{10} seems to show that the contrast is only of age, not of office. Coming to Ac 6, were 'the seven' deacons? Permanent officials of some sort they probably were; if we take account of St. Luke's way of recording 'beginnings' of movements.

For the common identification of them with the later deacons, we have (1) The general correspondence of their duties. (2) The word *διακονεῖν τραπέζαις* used of them, though this is balanced by *διακονία τοῦ λόγου* of the apostles themselves in the next verse. (3) Common opinion from Irenæus (*Hær.* iii. 12. 10, iv. 15. 1 'Stephanus primus diac.') onward. (4) The number of deacons limited to seven at Rome (Cornelius ap. Eus. *HE* vi. 43: also Soz. *HE* vii. 19, referring to Ac 6), and by Conc. Neocæs. *Can.* 15, also referring to Ac 6, though Conc. Trull. *Can.* 16 rejects it.

Against it, (1) They are nowhere in NT called *διάκονοι*, and Philip in Ac 21^{8} is simply 'one of the Seven.' So neither is their work called *διακονία*. (2) The qualifications laid down Ac 6^{3} for the seven are higher than those required by St. Paul, 1 Ti 3^{8}, for deacons. (3) Of the Seven, Stephen was largely a preacher, and Philip in Ac 21^{8} (some twenty-five years later) holds the much higher rank of an evangelist. (4) The Seven evidently rank next to the apostles, and have much the same position at Jerusalem as the presbyters we find a little later. The arguments are not very strong either way; but, upon the whole, the adverse one seems the stronger, for this is a question on which tradition (150 years to Irenæus) would seem specially liable to slip. The Seven, then, would seem to have been neither (*a*) deacons, nor (*b*) temporary officers (Weizsäcker), and concern us no further if they were (*c*) almoners pure and simple (Conc. Trull. *supra*), or (*d*) presbyters (Ritschl), though they may have been (*e*) the original from which both the two later orders diverged, of deacons and presbyters (Lange).

In any case, the first explicit mention of deacons (Ph 1^{1}) is at Philippi, about A.D. 63; and again (1 Ti 3^{8}) at Ephesus a few years later. They are not mentioned with Titus in Crete, but afterwards every church seems to have had its deacons.

Concerning Jewish parallels to the office. The deacon has no likeness to the Levite, who was rather a porter of the temple, who looked after the beasts, and sang in the choir. Neither do the deacons resemble the single חַזָּן (Lk 4^{20}, *ὑπηρέτης*) of the synagogue, who was more like our verger, opening and shutting the doors, cleaning the building, handing the roll of the Law to the reader, etc. The nearest Jewish parallel is the גַּבָּאֵי צְדָקָה or collectors of the alms. This phrase, however, rather suggests the tax-gatherer (ורמא מגביתא על עמא דארעא, 2 K 23^{33} Targ., with which compare Clement, *Ep.* 42, misquoting Is 60^{17}), than the deacon whose duties lay so much among the poor. Upon the whole, the office was substantially new.

Qualifications are laid down by St. Paul (1 Ti 3) first for the bishop, then for the deacon. Generically they are alike, but with clear specific differences. Each must be grave, temperate, and free from greed of money, the husband of one wife, and a good ruler of his own house. But while the deacon may serve, if there is no actual charge against him, the bishop must be *ἀνεπίλημπτος*—one against whom no just charge can be made. The deacon's temperance and gravity are emphasized for the bishop, who is further reminded that if he cannot rule his own house well, he cannot be trusted to rule the house of God. The deacon is specially told not to be double-tongued or a lover of dirty gain, whereas it is enough to say generally that the bishop is not to be a lover of money. Then the bishop must have sundry qualifications for dealing with other men. He must be apt to teach others, whereas it is enough for the deacon to hold the mystery of faith in a pure conscience. He must also be a lover of hospitality, and a moderate and peaceable man, with some experience, and a good character even among the heathen.

Different qualifications point to different duties. The deacon's work evidently consists very much in visiting and relieving the poor, where his special temptations would be in one direction to gossip and slander, in the other to picking and stealing from the alms. If he uses his office well, he may look forward to a good footing towards God, and much boldness towards men. On the other hand, the teaching, the hospitality, and the general intercourse with Christians and heathens, which are so conspicuous in the bishop's work, seem no *regular* part of the deacon's.

Of the appointment of deacons we are told very little. In the case of the Seven (Ac 6), first the apostles lay down the qualifications required, then the Church elects seven, then the apostles approve and admit them. In the Pastoral Epistles St. Paul does not get beyond the first stage of laying down qualifications, though Timothy is plainly intended to approve the candidates, and there is no hint given that the Church did not elect them. The process would most likely be the same as for the bishops or elders. H. M. GWATKIN.

DEACONESS.—See WOMAN.

DEADLY has now only an active meaning, 'causing death'; but formerly was passive also, 'subject to death.' Thus Wyclif's tr. of 1 Co 15^{53} is, 'For it byhoueth this corruptible thing to clothe vncorrupcioun, and this deedli thing to putte awei vndeedlinesse.' Wyclif has 'deadly' in all passages in which AV has 'mortal' (except that in Job 4^{17} he omits the adj.), as well as often elsewhere, as He 7^{8} 'heere deedi men taken tithis,' Ja 5^{17} 'Elye was a deedli man lijk vs.' In AV d. occurs in this sense Rev $13^{3.12}$ 'his d. wound was healed' (πληγὴ τοῦ θανάτου, RV 'death-stroke'); and as an adv. Ezk 30^{24} 'a d. wounded man' (חָלָל).

J. HASTINGS.

DEAD SEA (Arab. *Baḥr Lûṭ*, or 'Sea of Lot').—This remarkable inland lake lies in the deepest part of the depression of the earth's surface which stretches from the Gulf of Akabah northwards into the Jordan Valley (see ARABAH). The name 'Dead Sea' is not found in the Bible, and appears first to have been used in Gr. (θάλασσα νεκρά) by Pausanias and Galen, and in Lat. by Justin. In OT it is known as the **Salt Sea** (Gn 14^{3}, Dt 3^{17}) and as the Sea of the Arabah (Jos 3^{16}). Both these names are appropriate and expressive of its physical conditions. With reference to its geograph. situation, it is called the **East Sea** (Ezk 47^{18}, Jl 2^{20}). The name 'Asphaltites' given to it by Josephus (*Ant.* I. ix.) is derived from the deposits of bitumen which are found in some of the valleys entering the W. shore; and, lastly, the name Dead Sea (*Mare mortuum*) is used to indicate the absence of animal life in its waters. This is owing, not so much to the high salinity of the waters, as to the large proportion of bromide of magnesium which they contain. In the streams, often of a high temperature, which enter the lake to the S. of the promontory of El-Lisân, some living forms are exceedingly abundant, especially those of small fishes of the genus *Cyprinodon*. The name 'Baḥr Lûṭ,' by which the Dead Sea is known amongst the Arabs, is a remarkable instance of the persistence of traditionary names amongst these E. tribes, if, as is believed by not a few, it comes down to us through a period of nearly 4000 years, and has been preserved by the descendants of the patriarch Lot, who took possession of the territory of Moab and Ammon on the borders of the Arabian desert overlooking the Dead Sea basin, and who naturally associated this inland lake with the name of their progenitor who had lived on its shores (Gn 13^{11}).

Physical Features.—The Dead Sea lies nearly N.–S. along a line corresponding to that of the Jordan Valley; its length is 47 miles, and its greatest breadth about 10 miles. It receives the waters of the Jordan from the N.; those of El-Hessi, El-Jeib, and El-Fikreh from the S.; those of the Kerak, Arnon (Mojib), Zerka Ma'in from the E., and the Kidron (En-Nar) and several lesser streams from the W.; and as the Dead Sea, like all salt lakes, has no outlet, the consequence is that the waters which enter it pass off in the form of vapour into the atmosphere. The quantity of water poured into the Dead Sea basin must be very great, especially during the months of April and May, when the Jordan is swollen by the melting of the snow in the Lebanon range; but such is the dryness of the air and the heat of the sun's rays in the Ghōr that this increased supply fails permanently to raise the level of the surface, which seems only to rise and fall within the limits of 10 to 15 ft., between the months of October and May, as estimated by Dr. Robinson from the position of the driftwood along the shore.

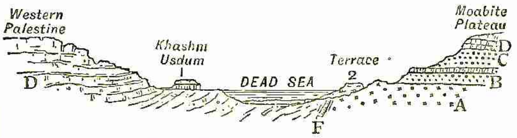

El-Lisân.—The Dead Sea is divided into two unequal portions by a remarkable promontory known as 'El-Lisân' (the tongue), which projects outwards from the E. shore for a distance of half the breadth of the lake. This promontory seems to be referred to in the passage describing the boundary of the lot of the tribe of Judah (Jos 15^{2}, marg. '*tongue*'). El-Lisân is composed, according to Lartet, of white calcareous marl with beds of salt and gypsum. It breaks off in a cliff facing the W., 300 ft. high and 9 miles long, terminating northwards at Point Costigan, and is connected with the Moabite coast by a narrow neck of marshy land. The terraced form, as well as the composition, of El-Lisân show that it was once part of the bed of the lake when its waters rose several hundred feet higher than at present; and it corresponds in character and composition to the terraced ridge of Khashm Usdum now to be described.

Khashm Usdum (or Salt-mountain).—This remarkable ridge follows the W. shore of the lake from Umm Zoghal southwards to the banks of Wady el-Fikreh at the S. margin of the Ghōr, a distance of 7 miles. Its upper surface is about 600 ft. above the lake, and seen from a distance appears flat; but it is deeply furrowed and seamed by streamlets, which have penetrated into the mass below. The upper part of Khashm Usdum is formed of strata of white saliferous and gypseous marl, the lower of solid salt-rock; and these materials are laid open to view in the nearly vertical cliff along which the ridge breaks off on the E. side. There can be no doubt that this terrace, like that of El-Lisân, and others to be found at intervals on both sides of the lake, were parts of the bed of the lake itself when its waters stood at a much higher level than at present. It is separated from the base of the limestone table-land by a valley of broken ground, strewn with blocks of rock, about half a mile in width, and eroded by torrential action.

The Ascent of Aḳrabbim ('scorpions').—From the S. shore of the lake an extensive tract, composed partly of slime, partly of woods and pastures, extends as far as the semicircular terrace which bounds the Ghōr in that direction. This marsh is liable to floods, and its surface is strewn with trunks of trees brought down by the torrents. The terrace by which it is bounded is 500 ft. high, and is formed of marls overlaid by beds of sand, gravel, and loam, which extend southwards into the Arabah. They are deposits formed over the old bed of the lake when its waters were 500-600 ft. above their present level. The terrace seems to answer to the 'Ascent of Akrabbim' referred to in Jos 15[3] in connexion with the boundary of Judah. Robinson regards the edge of the terrace as marking the limits of the Ghōr and the Arabah respectively: a view in which the present writer concurs.

Level of the Surface.—The Dead Sea was sounded in 1848 by Lieut. Lynch, who found that it descended to a depth of 1278 ft. at a point about 5 miles N. of Costigan. It is now known that the surface itself descends to a greater depth below that of the ocean than any sheet of water on the globe. This fact remained unrecognized until 1836–7, when H. von Schubert and Prof. Roth visited Palestine, and made barometric observations in the Jordanic basin. These were followed and confirmed by Col. Wilson (now Gen. Sir C. W. Wilson) and the officers of the Ordnance Survey of Palestine by actual levelling from the shore of the Mediterranean to that of the Dead Sea itself, and have established the fact that the surface of the latter falls to a depth of 1292 ft. below that of the former. Nor is it surprising that this result was not detected before the barometer and the level were brought to bear on its determination; for there is nothing in the atmosphere around the lake which suggests to the traveller, by his sensations alone, that he sustains a more than ordinary atmospheric pressure; and the two seas being shut off from each other by a high table-land 50 miles across, comparison of levels by means of the eye is impossible. With the increase of barometric pressure there is a corresponding increase of temperature. Hence, while in winter snow frequently lies on the plateaux of Judæa and of Moab, it is unknown on the shores of the Dead Sea; and the Arab tribes go down to the Ghōr with their flocks of sheep and goats, and camp over the plain during the winter months. Thus when, in December 1893, the writer found himself standing on the edge of the terrace overlooking the Ghōr, he beheld at his feet a wide plain stretching away northwards towards the margin of the Dead Sea, and to a large extent green with vegetation and thickets of small trees. To the right in an open space were seen several large Bedâwin camps, from which the shouts of wild men, the barking of dogs, and the bellowing of camels ascended. Numerous flocks of black goats and white sheep were being tended by women in long blue cloaks; and on the party of travellers being observed, groups of merry children came tripping up towards the path accompanied by a few of the elders, and, ranging themselves in a line, courteously returned salutations. Here the Arabs remain enjoying the warmth of the plain till the increasing heat of the summer's sun calls them away to their high pasture grounds on the table-land of Edom and Moab. At a short distance farther towards the shore of the lake is the village of Es-Safieh, inhabited by a tribe of fellahîn called the Ghawarneh, who by means of irrigation from the Wady el-Hessi cultivate with success fields of wheat, maize, dhurah, indigo, and cotton, while they rear herds of camels and flocks of sheep and goats. On the produce of these fields the Arabs largely depend for their supplies of food and raiment, which they obtain by a kind of rude, often compulsory, barter.

Boundaries of the Ghōr.—The Dead Sea basin and its ancient deposits are bounded along the E. by the high plateau of Moab, and on the W. by the nearly equally high table-land of Judæa. The plain of El-Ammaya in Moab reaches a level of 3100 ft. above the Mediterranean, and, consequently, of about 4400 ft. above the Dead Sea. The slopes of the escarpment along which the plateau breaks off are sometimes terraced, sometimes precipitous, and are eroded by numerous streams with thermal springs, of which that of the Zerka Ma'in (or Callirhoë) is the most celebrated. The W. slopes of the Ghōr are equally seamed by river courses which cut deep into the limestone strata, and have their sources in springs near the summit of the table-land. The cliffs of Râs Mersed, Engedi, and Masada,* the latter crowned by the ruined fortress, are prominent features of the W. shore; while the walled city of Kerak, the capital of Moab, crowns the heights on the E. side.

Geology.—Investigations by geologists in recent times have dispelled some of the old ideas regarding the origin of this mysterious inland lake. It is now known not to be the crater of a volcano, and it is almost equally certain that Sodom and Gomorrah were not overwhelmed in its waters. These researches have also resulted in showing that the area of the Dead Sea waters is not very different from what it was in the days of Abraham and Lot. It is now known, through the observations of Tristram, Lartet, Hull, and others, that the Dead Sea occupies a part of the trough, or depression in the crust, produced by subsidence along the line of a 'fault' or system of 'faults' (fractures accompanied by displacement of the strata) which has been traced from the G. of Akabah along the line of the Jordan-Arabah Valley to the base of Hermon (see ARABAH). This fracture was produced owing to the terrestrial movements which resulted in the whole region being elevated out of the sea after the close of the Eocene period. In consequence of this faulting and displacement, the formations on the opposite sides of the Ghōr do not correspond with each other; those on the E., or Moabite, side being more ancient than those on the W. side at similar levels. Thus, while the whole W. side of the Ghōr is formed of Cretaceous limestones, the flanks of the Moabite escarpment are composed of very ancient volcanic rocks at the base; overlain successively by Carboniferous and older Cretaceous beds, and only surmounted at a level of about 3000–4000 ft. above the lake by the Cretaceous limestones which come down to the water's edge along the W. shore.

The fundamental rocks laid open on the flanks of Jebel Shomar, a massive and precipitous mountain which rises behind Es-Safieh, and runs along the E. side of the Ghōr for several miles, are composed of great beds of volcanic materials (agglomerates, tuffs, and sheets of porphyry, penetrated by numerous dykes). They have a slight dip northwards, and are overlain by red and purple sandstones and conglomerates of Carboniferous age ('Desert sandstone'), then by Carboniferous limestone forming the terrace of Lebrusch, and this by the red and variegated sandstones of Lower Cretaceous age ('Nubian sandstone') which form the greater part of the mountain flanks, and are ultimately overlain by the Cretaceous limestones composing the crest of the Moabite and Edomite escarpment.

Such is the general geological structure as far as regards the more ancient formations. The form and features of the Ghōr were considerably modified by rain and river action in Pliocene and Pleistocene times. At the latter stage, corresponding to the close of the Glacial epoch, the waters of the Jordanic Valley appear to have risen to such a degree as to have formed a lake whose area included those of Merom, Galilee, and the Dead Sea, and whose S. margin extended into the Arabah as far as the 'Ain Abu Werideh; thus producing a lake which had a length from N. to S. of 200 miles, and whose surface rose to the level of the Mediterranean. The evidence for this conclusion is to be found in the occurrence of terraces of lacustrine materials at intervals down the Arabah from 'Ain Abu Werideh, a locality nearly 40 miles S. of the margin of the Ghōr. These terraces contain numerous semi-fossil shells of the genera *Melania* and *Melanopsis.** It is easy to understand that during the Glacial epoch the large rainfall and the melting of the snows of the Lebanon, accompanied by a climate less tropical than that which now prevails, may have added enormously to the supplies of water poured into the Jordanic basin, thus raising the surface to the level indicated. With the subsequent diminishing rainfall, and the recurrence of sub-tropical conditions of climate, evaporation would gradually gain upon precipitation; and the surface of the waters, contracting stage by stage, would ultimately fall to their present limits, where evaporation and supply have nearly balanced each other. It was during such successive stages of diminution in volume, and lowering of the surface, that the terraces of lacustrine materials were formed, and converted into land surfaces; these commence at their highest limit with those of Abu Werideh, and are succeeded by others at lower and lower levels till the present margin of the Dead Sea shore is reached. The salinification of the waters necessarily accompanied this process; because the salts dissolved in the waters remained behind during the process of evaporation, and consequently tended to augment till saturation was reached. The Dead Sea waters, therefore, resemble those of all closed lakes which are more or less saline owing to similar causes.†

---

* The fortress of Masada was the last refuge of the band of Zealots of the Jews who defended themselves against Silva, the Roman general (A.D. 71), and at last destroyed themselves to escape capture (Jos. *Wars*, VII. viii. ix.).

LITERATURE.—Conder, *Tent Work*, 1880; Hull, 'Arabia Petræa and Palestine,' in *Mem. PEF*, 1886; Lartet, *Voyage d'Exploration de la Mer Morte*, 1880; Lynch, *Report of U.S. Expedition to the Jordan and Dead Sea*, 1852; Robinson, *BR*, 1865; De Saulcy, *Voyage dans la Syrie*, 1853; Schubert, *Reise in den Morgenland*, 1837; Tristram, *Land of Israel*, 2nd ed. 1872, *Land of Moab*, 1873, 'Fauna and Flora of Palestine,' in *Mem. PEF*, 1884; G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* 499 ff.

E. HULL.

DEAFNESS.—See MEDICINE.

DEAL.—A 'deal' is a part or share (A.-S. *dael*, Ger. *theil*), and it may be a large or small part. In mod. Eng. we are allowed to say only 'he gave a great deal, or a good deal, of trouble,' scarcely 'he gave a deal of trouble,' and never 'a small deal.' In older Eng. Chaucer could say (*House of Fame*, i. 331)—

'O, have ye men swich goodliheed
In speche, and never a deel of trouthe?'

And Latimer could represent philosophers saying that 'God walked up and down in Heaven, and thinketh never a deal of our affairs.' In AV deal is used in the phrase 'tenth deal' or 'tenth deals,' for Heb. עִשָּׂרוֹן *'issârôn*, wherever that word occurs (RV 'tenth part' or 'tenth parts'). See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

To 'deal' is to divide or distribute (A.-S. *daelan*), as in 2 S 6¹⁹ 'he dealt among all the people . . . to every one a cake'; 1 Ch 16³, Is 58⁷ 'd. thy bread to the hungry'; and Ro 12³ 'according as God hath dealt to every man the measure of faith.' Cf. Wyclif, Lk 9¹⁶ 'And whanne he hadde take the fyue looves and twei fischis, he biheeld in to heuene, and blesside hem, and brak and delide to hise disciplis, that thei schulden sette forth bifor the cumpanyes'; and Coverdale, Dn 5²⁸ 'Thy kyngdome is delt in partes.' From this the verb passed into the sense of dealing well or ill with a person, and then having any transaction with,—meanings that are freely found in AV as in mod. use, Ac 25²⁴ 'this man, about whom all the multitude of the Jews have dealt with me' (ἐνέτυχόν μοι, RV 'made suit to me').

J. HASTINGS.

DEAR, DEARTH.—Dear is used in AV in two senses: (1) *Beloved*, as Eph 5¹ 'Be ye therefore followers of God as dear children' (ἀγαπητός, RV 'beloved'). In this sense is Col 1¹³ 'the kingdom of his d. Son,' which AV, along with Cov., Cran., Gen., and Bishops', retained from Tindale, though Wyclif's 'the sone of his louynge' was nearer the Greek (ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀγάπης αὐτοῦ; Rheims, RV, 'the Son of his love'). See BELOVED. (2) *Precious*, Ac 20²⁴ 'neither count I my life d. unto myself' (τίμιος). Cf. Ps 72¹⁴ Cov. 'deare shal their bloude be in his sight,' and 116¹⁵ 'right deare in the sight of the Lorde is the death of his sayntes,' both preserved in Pr. Bk. version, the meaning being that he counts it too precious to leave it unavenged.

Dearth.—That which is precious is rare, as 1 S 3¹ Cov. 'The worde of yᵉ Lorde was deare at the same tyme'; and from 'dear' in this sense was formed 'dearth'=scarcity, famine. Dearth occurs in AV Gn 41⁵⁴ *bis*, 2 K 4³⁸, 2 Ch 6²⁸, Neh 5³ (all רָעָב, RV 'famine' in Gn, 2 Ch, keeping 'dearth' in 2 K, Neh); Jer 14¹ (בַּצָּרֹת, RV 'drought'); Ac 7¹¹ 11²⁸ (λιμός, RV 'famine'); and RV adds Job 5²² (כָּפָן, AV 'famine'), though it retains 'famine' for the same Heb. in 30³.

J. HASTINGS.

DEATH.—See ESCHATOLOGY, LIFE.

DEBATE.—To debate (fr. old Fr. *debatre*, Lat. *de* down, *batuere* beat) now means to discuss, and a 'd.' is a discussion, which is expected to be amicable. But in earlier Eng. 'to debate' was to fight or wrangle, and 'debate' was strife, quarrelling. Thus Gn 13⁷ Geneva 'there was debate betweene the heardmen of Abrams cattell, and the heardmen of Lots cattell'; and Lk 12⁵¹ Cov. 'Thynke ye that I am come to brynge peace upon earth—I tell you nay, but rather debate.' In this sense only is debate used in AV, whether as vb. or subst. As vb. Pr 25⁹ 'Debate thy cause with thy neighbour' (so RV), and Is 27⁸ (RV 'contend'; both רִיב= 'strive,' 'go to law'). As subst. Is 58⁴ (מַצָּה, RV 'contention'); Sir 28⁹ 'A sinful man disquieteth friends, and maketh d. among them that be at peace' (ἐκβάλλει διαβολήν; cf. 2 Ti 3³ AVm, Tit 2³ AVm, and see MAKEBATE); Ro 1²⁹, 2 Co 12²⁰ (ἔρις, RV 'strife').

J. HASTINGS.

DEBIR (דְּבִיר).—The king of Eglon, who acc. to Jos 10³ joined other four kings against Joshua, but was defeated and put to death along with his allies at Makkedah.

DEBIR (דְּבִיר, Δαβείρ, *Dabir*).—1. The name is generally supposed to mean 'back'; hence= *hindmost chamber, innermost room of a temple*, and so it is used in 1 K 6⁵ to denote the Holy of Holies. The city must have been a sacred one, with a well-known temple. This is borne out by its two other names, Kiriath-sepher or 'Book-town' (Jos 15¹⁵, Sept. πόλις γραμμάτων), and Kiriath-sannah, 'city of instruction' (?) (Jos 15⁴⁹); and W. Max Müller (*Asien und Europa*, 1894) has shown that in an Egyptian papyrus, known as the 'Travels of the Mohar,' which was written in the time of Ramses II. (B.C. 1300), and is a sarcastic account of an Egyptian traveller's misadventures in Canaan, reference is made to the town. The writer remarks: 'Thou hast not seen Kiriath-anab near Beth-thupar, nor dost thou know Adullam and Zididuta.' We learn from the geographical list of Shishak that the last-named place was in the south of Judah, and the Egyptian Thupar, which is followed by the determinative of 'writing,' would represent a Hebrew *Sōpher* or 'scribe.' As Anab is associated with Kiriath-sepher in Jos 11²¹ 15⁵⁰, we must conclude that the Egyptian writer has interchanged the equivalent terms Kiriath and Beth, and that the Massoretes have wrongly vocalised the second element in the name of the city, which should be *sōpher*, 'scribe,' instead of *sēpher*, 'book.' It was a 'city of scribes,' where a library must have existed, filled with clay books inscribed with cuneiform characters similar to those found at Tel el-Amarna, and in the libraries of Assyria and Babylonia. The latter were usually established in the chamber of a temple.[*]

---

* *Mount Seir*, p. 99; *Phys. Geol. Arabia Petræa, etc.* pp. 15–79.

† The waters of the Dead Sea yield 24·57 lbs. of salt in 100 lbs. of water, those of the Atlantic yielding only 6 lbs. of salt in the same quantity; the former consist of chlorides of lime, magnesia, sodium, and potassium, and in smaller proportions of sulphates and bromides of the same substances. The large quantity of bromine (occurring as bromide of magnesium) has attracted the attention of naturalists, and is supposed to be a volcanic emanation.

It is possible that the name of Kiriath-sannah may be found in one of the Tel el-Amarna tablets (*Mittheilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen*, iii. No. 199), where we read: 'The country of Gath-carmel has fallen away to Tagi, and the men of the city of Gath; he is in Beth-sani.' This would locate the city in the neighbourhood of Gath.

In the OT Debir is described as in the mountains of Judah, like Socoh and Eshtemoh (Jos 15^{48-50}), and not far from Hebron, from whence Caleb 'went up' to it (v.^{15}). It was in 'the Negeb' of Judah, and near it were 'the upper springs and the nether springs' of water. After leaving Lachish (*Tell el-Hesy*) and Eglon (*Tell en-Nejîleh* ?), Joshua marched to Hebron, and then 'returned' to Debir (Jos 10^{38}). Unfortunately, these passages do not enable us to fix the exact position of the city, though the expression 'went up' may imply that it lay to the north. This would certainly have been the case if it is the same as the Beth-sani of the Tel el-Amarna tablet. The identification with the modern Dhâherîyeh (from Arab. *dhahr*, 'back') rests upon a mistaken interpretation of the name of Debir: Petrie found there no traces of anything older than the Roman period.

Debir was taken by Othniel the Kenizzite, in return for which Caleb gave him his daughter Achsah in marriage (Jos 15^{15-19}, Jg 1^{11-15}). There must consequently be some error in the text of Jos $10^{38.\ 39}$, where it is said that Joshua had already taken Debir, and destroyed all its inhabitants. Moreover, the city of Debir is not mentioned among the confederates in vv.$^{3.\ 5}$, where, on the contrary, Debir is stated to be the king of Eglon.

2. Debir (Jos 13^{26}). The border of Debir (or Lidebir) is stated to have formed part of the frontiers of Gad, not far from Mahanaim. If the reading Lidebir is accepted, the place may perhaps be identified with Lodebar of 2 S 9^4.

3. Debir in Jos 15^7 is described as in the direction of the north-eastern corner of Judah, towards the valley of Achor and Gilgal. The Sept. however, reads ἐπὶ τὸ τέταρτον τῆς φάραγγος Ἀχώρ, and the Vulg. has *Debera*. Acc. to Hupfeld (Ps 28^2) and Wellh. (*Sam.* 145 n.) דְּבִירָה here = *westward*.

A. H. Sayce.

DEBORAH (דְּבוֹרָה 'a bee').—1. The nurse of Rebekah, died on Jacob's return to Can., and was buried under the terebinth ('Allon-bacuth') below Bethel (Gn 35^8 E). 2. The heroine of the great battle by the Kishon in which Sisera and his allies were defeated (Jg 4 and 5). After a period of oppression and insecurity, which had lasted since the days of Shamgar (Jg 5^6), and had fallen heavily upon the tribes bordering on the plain of Jezreel, D., a woman of martial and determined spirit, together with Barak, resolved to free their people from the aggressions of the Canaanites. Issachar, their tribe (Jg 5^{15}), had been the principal sufferer, but could not cope with the enemy unaided. Accordingly, the summons was sent round to all the tribes,[*] claiming their assistance in the cause of J″ the national God. Ephraim, Benjamin, West Manasseh, Zebulun, Naphtali, with their chiefs, rallied round Issachar; Reuben, Gilead (= Gad), Dan, and Asher refused to respond (Jg 5^{12-18}). For the first time after the settlement in Canaan the tribes of Isr. acted in something like a national capacity; it was the genius and courage of D. that instigated this united action. To meet the Isr. confederation, the kings of Canaan, under the leadership of Sisera, marched to the attack; the battle took place in the neighbourhood of Taanach and Megiddo, along the right bank of the Kishon (Jg 5^{19}). A great storm came on, and the swollen torrent worked havoc among the Can. forces, so that it seemed as if the powers of nature were fighting against them (Jg 5^{20-22}); Sisera had to seek safety in flight. A woman had successfully initiated the war, and a woman brought it to a victorious conclusion. Jael, by a bold stratagem, slew Sisera with a shattering blow from a tent-mallet as he stood drinking in her tent (Jg 5^{24-27}).

Such is the history of the event which has made D. famous among the women of the Bible, as it may be gathered from the song in Jg 5. This splendid ode was prob. not written by D. herself; the verbs in v.^{7b} are to be rendered by the 2nd pers. rather than by the 1st; cf. v.^{12}. V.^{1} merely says, 'then sang D. and Barak,' a remark due to the later editor. But the song may well be the work of a contemporary, as its style and contents suggest; it may claim, therefore, to be the highest authority for the events which it records.

Another account, a prose version, is contained in chapter 4. The two accounts agree in the main features, but exhibit considerable differences in detail. In 4^{4-22} D. is styled both prophetess and judge, while her seat is 'under the palm-tree of D., between Ramah and Bethel, in the hill country of Ephraim,' whither the children of Israel resorted for judgment.

It is here implied that her authority had been long established, and that it extended over Israel ('she was judging Israel at that time,' 4^4). This generalization of her position reflects the theory of the compiler of Judges—a late writer.[†] Further, her seat is placed in the S., in the territory of Benjamin, far from the area of the troubles. This necessitates distant negotiations with Barak, and introduces serious difficulties into the narrative. It is possible that D.'s connexion with Ramah and Bethel may be due to a confusion based on Gn 35^8, for which, again, the compiler may be responsible. We may conclude from 4^{6-9} that her home was somewhere near Kadesh, the city of Barak;[‡] thus both would belong to Issachar (as 5^{15}), the chief sufferer under the oppression. See Barak.

In the prose version (4^{4-22} *in the main*) she is styled a prophetess. Thus, in the manner of prophecy, she announces the plan of the attack ($4^{6.\ 7a}$), promises success (v.^{7b}), and declares who shall carry off the honours of the victory (v.^{9}). All these are features not found in ch. 5, and as coming from ch. 4 must be pronounced of inferior historical value.

For the other divergences connected with the mention of Jabin, the position of the battle, the deed of Jael, the authorities must be consulted.

Literature.—Hilliger, *Das Deborah-Lied übersetzt u. erklärt*, 1867; A. Müller, *Das Lied der Deborah*, 1887 (*Königsberger Studien*, i.); Budde, *Richt. u. Sam.* 66–72, 101–107; M. Vernes in *Revue des Études Juives*, xxiv. 1892; G. A. Cooke, *Hist. and Song of Deb.* 1892; C. Niebuhr, *Versuch einer Reconst. des Deboraliedes*, 1894; G. F. Moore, *Judges* (1895), 127–173.

---

[*] A full discussion of the meaning of the name is given by Moore (*Judges*, p. 25 ff.), who formerly connected ספר in ק׳ ספר with Aramaic סְפָר 'border, frontier.' Kiriath-sepher would on this etymology be 'Frontier-town,' a suitable enough meaning. But for phonetic difficulties that stand in the way Moore has now abandoned this derivation.

[*] Except Simeon and Levi. Judah is not mentioned; it had not entered into any close connexion with the other tribes, and was cut off from them by a line of Canaanite strongholds (Jg $1^{29.\ 35}$, Jos 9^{17}).

[†] $4^{1-3.\ 23.\ 24}$ $5^{1.\ 31b}$ belong to the Deuteronomic compiler of Judges; his hand may also be traced in 4^{4b} $9^{a\beta}$ 14^a.

[‡] Barak = *lightning*, Lappidoth = *flames* (4^4); hence some think that both are names of the same person, and that Barak was Deborah's husband. This is merely a fancy.

3. Deborah (AV Debora), the grandmother of Tobit, To 1^{8}. G. A. COOKE.

DEBT, DEBTOR.—*A.* IN OT.—i. *Terms.*—לוה in *Qal*, EV *borrow*, ptcp. *borrower*, LXX δανείζεσθαι, Vulg. *fœnus accipio, mutuo sumo pecunias, mutuor, mutuum accipio*; in *Hiph.* EV *lend* (*i.e.* cause to borrow), ptcp. *lender*, LXX δανίζω, ἐκδανίζω, κίχρημι, Vulg. *pecuniam mutuam do, fœneror.* לוה is also used in the sense of *join*, and the sense of *borrow* may be derived from the dependence of the borrower on the lender; but לוה *join*, and לוה *borrow*, may be independent roots of different origin (so Fuerst). לֵוִי *Levi, Levite*, is not necessarily connected with either.

נשה (also in form נשא) *Qal* and *Hiph.*, EV *lend on usury, take usury, exact* (*usury*); *Qal* ptcp. *creditor, extortioner*, also given in Dt 15^{2} for בַּעַל מַשֵּׁה יָדוֹ ‘possessor of a loan of his hand,’ in Dt 24^{11} *thy debtor* is הָאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר אַתָּה נֹשֶׁה בוֹ, *i.e.* ‘the man to whom thou are lending,’ or ‘a creditor.’ So Is 24^{2} אֲשֶׁר נֹשֶׁא בוֹ, cf. 1 S 22^{2} ‘he to whom anyone is a usurer,’ *i.e.* ‘one who borrows on usury,’ EV *the giver of usury to him.* LXX ἀπαιτεῖν, paraphrases with ὀφείλειν (owe), and (for ptcp.) δανειστής, and in Is 50^{1} ὑπόχρεως (debtor). Vulg. *commodo, exigo, usuras exigo*, and for ptcp. *creditor, fœnerator.* נְשִׁי 2 K 4^{7} EV *debt*, LXX τόκους, Vulg. *creditori* (reading the ptcp.). מַשָּׁאָה, EV *debt, loan*, LXX ὀφείλημα, Vulg. *debitum.*

מַשָּׁא, EV *usury, exaction*, LXX ἀπαίτησις, Vulg. *æs alienum, exactio.* This root has been connected with נשך *bite*, cf. נֶשֶׁךְ in ref. to the nature and effects of usury; or with נשה *forget*, because payment of a debt is remitted for a time (Ges. *Thes.*).

נֶשֶׁךְ (נשך = bite) EV *usury*, LXX τόκος, Vulg. *usura.* In Dt 23$^{20. 21}$ (Eng.$^{19. 20}$) the *Hiph.* of נשך is used for ‘lend on usury,’ and the *Qal* for ‘borrow on usury.’ LXX *Hiph.* ἐκτοκιεῖς, *Qal* ἐκδανίσῃς; Vulg. *Hiph. fœnero, commodo.*

מַרְבִּית, תַּרְבִּית (רבה become great), EV *increase* (and in AV of Pr 28^{8} *unjust gain*), LXX πλεονασμός, ἐπὶ πλήθει, Vulg. *superabundantia, fœnus, amplius.* נֶשֶׁךְ and תַּרְבִּית are often coupled together, Lv 25^{36}, Ezk 18$^{8.17}$ etc.; Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* i. 354, takes נשך as interest on a loan of money, and תרבית as interest on a loan of corn, etc. etc., but in Dt 23^{20} (Eng. ^{19}) we have נשך ‘of money . . . of food . . . of anything.’

חוב, Ezk 18^{7}, EV *debtor*, Oxf. Heb. Lex. *debt*, LXX ὀφείλοντος, Vulg. *debitori.*

עבט *Qal*, borrow on pledge, EV *borrow*, LXX δανείζομαι, Vulg. *accipio mutuum*; *Hiph.* lend on pledge, EV *lend*, LXX δανείζω, Vulg. *fœnero, mutuum do.* עֲבוֹט, anything given as security for the payment of a loan or the fulfilment of any obligation, EV *pledge*, LXX ἐνέχυρον, Vulg. *pignus.* In Dt 24^{10} a *Qal* denom. occurs = secure (the security). עַבְטִיט Hab 2^{6}, RV *pledge* = עֲבֹט; AV *thick clay*, Vulg. *densum lutum*, is due to a mistaken etymology. In Jl 2^{7} *Piel* of עבט = twist, bind; so the root = ‘borrow,’ because the borrower was bound to the lender; but Wellhausen regards עבט as an Aram. loan word, and Driver proposes to connect with צבט ‘hold firmly.’

חבל *Qal* (lit. *bind*, cf. עבט), EV *take* or *lay a pledge*, LXX ἐνεχυράζω, Vulg. phrases with *pignus*; חֲבֹל, חֲבֹלָה, EV *pledge*, LXX ἐνεχύρασμα, -μός, Vulg. *pignus.*

ערב *Qal, Hithpa.*, EV *be surety, give pledges, mortgage, make a wager*, LXX διεγγύειν, Vulg. *spondo, fidem facio, fidejussor ersto, vadem me offero.* ערבון, EV *pledge*, LXX ἀῤῥαβών, Vulg. *arrhabo, pignus.* עֹרֵב עֲרֻבָּה (Pr 17^{18}), EV *becometh surety*, LXX ἐγγυώμενον ἐγγυᾶσθαι, Vulg. *spondo.*

שָׁאַל (*ask*) obtains from the context the sense of *borrow* in Ex 22^{14}, 2 K 4^{3} EV, and similarly the *Hiph.* may = *lend* in 1 S 1^{28} RVm.

ii. *In History.*—1. *Causes of Debt.*—There is no trace in OT of any system of commercial credit. Loans of money or large purchases on credit do not occur as ordinary and natural incidents of trade. Debt (except of the most temporary character, see below on Pledges, and on Gn 38^{18}; and cf. Ex 22^{14}) is an exceptional misfortune; it is always the poor man who borrows, Ex 22^{25}. The existence of a developed credit system in Babylonia is no proof of the existence of any similar system in Israel. In such, as in many other matters, it is as precarious to argue from Babylon to Israel as it would be now from England to Afghanistan. This absence of commercial credit naturally resulted from the fact that the Israelites of the monarchy were not a commercial people, and that their trade was mostly in the hands of the Phœn. and other foreigners. The other ordinary causes of debt must have operated in Israel. Passing exigencies would create debts speedily paid (Gn 38^{18}); misfortune, extravagance, and suretyship gave rise to more serious indebtedness. Such misfortunes specially arose from failure of crops (Neh 5^{3}), foreign raids, pressure of taxation for the home government or for the payment of foreign tribute (Neh 5^{4}). Though debt cannot be said to have been uncommon in Israel,—Is 24^{2} mentions the borrower and the lender as social types,—yet it seems to have been comparatively rare, so that it was never accepted as natural and legitimate. This appears from the paucity of references to debt, and of terms connected with debt, and also from the primitive character of these terms, *e.g.* ‘he who has a creditor’ for ‘debtor’ (1 S 22^{2}).

2. *Leading Cases.*—In Gn 38^{18} Judah promises Tamar a kid, and gives her his signet, etc., as a pledge that he will discharge the debt thus created. He forthwith sends her the kid. In 2 K 4$^{1-7}$ a widow's late husband had incurred a moderate debt,—it could be paid by selling a quantity of oil,—his family were still liable for the debt. The creditors were expected to recoup themselves by selling her two sons for slaves. Elisha accepts this as a matter of course, and can only relieve his friend by a miracle. In Neh 5 the farmers are in distress through drought and taxes, they have borrowed money at 1 p. c. per month on their land. (Nowack, i. 354, proposes to read משאת for מאת.) The debtors had defaulted, their lands had been seized, and some had been compelled to sell their children. In response to a solemn appeal from Nehemiah (he and his suite being among the lenders) the lands and interest were restored, possibly the debts were wholly or partially cancelled. The only other mention of actual debt is 1 S 22^{2}, where debtors resort to David in his exile.

iii. *In the Law, Prophets, etc.*—The necessity of borrowing is regarded as a misfortune, sometimes a punishment for sin (Dt 15^{6} 28$^{12. 44}$), oftener undeserved, and therefore entitling the borrower to assistance. His richer brethren should assist him with loans (Dt 15$^{7-11}$), even in view of the approaching year of release (Ps 37^{26} 112^{5}, Pr 19^{17}); without interest (Ex 22^{25} [JE], Dt 23$^{20. 21}$ [Eng. $^{19. 20}$], Lv 25$^{36. 37}$ [H], Ps 15^{5}, Pr 28^{8}, Ezk 18$^{8-17}$ 22^{12}, Neh 5). Nowack, i. 354, and Benzinger, 350, understand that Ex 22^{25} only forbids excessive usury (B. takes ^{25b} as gloss), so that the absolute prohibition of interest first appears in Dt. Such prohibitions do not extend to loans to foreigners. No provision is made in the law for the recovery of debt, but nonpayment of debt is condemned in Ps 37^{21}. Both the law and the prophets are chiefly concerned to protect the debtor. The law restricts the exaction of pledges: a widow's clothing (Dt 24^{17}), the nether or upper millstone (Dt 24^{6}), the widow's ox (Job 24^{3}), should not be taken in pledge. The creditor (Dt 24$^{10-13}$) may not go into the debtor's house to fetch a pledge, but must wait outside till the debtor brings him a pledge of the debtor's choosing (Dillm., Benz.). This pledge would often consist of clothing (Am 2^{8}, Pr 20^{16} 27^{13}, Job 22^{6}); and might not be kept overnight (Ex 22^{26} [JE], Dt 24^{13}). Pledges are rather tolerated than approved of; a pious Israelite would not require a pledge (Job 22^{6} 24^{9}), or, at any rate, would promptly restore it (Ezk 18$^{7-16}$ 33^{15})—whether with or without payment is not obvious. The law also limits claims on debtors by the laws of Jubilee and of the Seventh Year. In Ex 23$^{10. 11ff.}$ (JE) the *land* is to be released (תִּשְׁמְטֶנָּה ‘thou shalt release it’), *i.e.* left fallow, every seventh year; cf. Lv 25 $^{1-7}$ (H). This provision does not occur in Dt, but Dt 15^{1-6} appoints a release, שְׁמִטָּה, of debt every seventh year. This שְׁמִטָּה has been understood (*a*) as a cancelling of interest during the seventh year, which is impossible in view of the absolute prohibition of interest in the immediate context; (*b*) as *moratorium*, the creditor being forbidden to demand payment during the seventh year, but being allowed to do so at its close; (*c*) as an absolute and final cancelling of debt, as in Solon's *χρεῶν ἀποκοπή*. In any case, some relief in the matter of debt would be specially welcome for the year during which the land lay fallow. The שְׁמִטָּה did not extend to foreigners.

As the debtor or his family might be sold to pay debt (cf. above and Lv $25^{39.47}$, Is 50^{1}), the provisions for the humane treatment of Heb. slaves, for their release in the seventh year (Ex 21^{2}), or (with the land) at the Jubilee (Lv 25^{30-55}), are a further limitation of the rights of creditors.

iv. *Actual Practice.*—Apart from Neh 5 and the vague engagement in Neh 10^{31} we do not read of these benevolent laws being observed. Probably, they were never consistently enforced as public law for any long period. When the Jews conceived themselves bound by the letter of the law, they at once devised a means of systematically evading the Deuteronomic שְׁמִטָּה. This and other laws represent a standard favoured by public opinion and sometimes observed by generous and pious Israelites (Ezk 18^{7}). Creditors generally took pledges, required sureties, exacted interest, and seized the land, family, and person of their debtors. Is 24^{2} mentions the giver and taker of usury as social types. The warnings against suretyship (Pr 6^{1} 11^{15} 20^{16} 22^{26} 27^{13}) indicate severe treatment of debtors; according to Pr 22^{7} the borrower is the slave of the lender, and Jer 15^{10} indicates a bitter feeling between borrower and lender quite at variance with the ideal of charitable loans.

B. APOCR. AND NT.—No actual case of debt occurs in either. Both, like OT, inculcate duty of lending and paying (Sir 29, Lk $6^{34.35}$, Ro 13^{8}). Mt 6^{12} suggests a generous treatment of debtors. Sir 18^{33} points out the danger of borrowing.

In NT debt occurs chiefly in the parables, The Two Debtors (Lk $7^{41.42}$), the Two Creditors (Mt 18^{23-35}). In the latter we find that, as in Greece and Rome, the slave could have property of his own, and thus become a debtor to his master. The treatment of a defaulter is entirely at his master's disposal. Here too, however, the person of the ordinary debtor may be seized for debt. In the parables of the Talents (Mt 25^{14-30}) and Pounds (Lk 19^{11-27}), and the narratives of the Cleansing of the Temple (Mt $21^{12f.}$, Mk 11^{15-18}, Lk 19^{45-48}, Jn 2^{12-17}), we come upon the advanced commercial system of the Rom. Empire, with money-changers, bankers, and commercial usury, which Christ mentions without condemning. In the parable of the Unjust Steward (Lk 16^{1-13}) we trace a credit system in connexion with agriculture. Interest is not condemned in NT.

LITERATURE.—See commentaries on passages cited, esp. Driver on Dt 15^{1-8}, and sections on debt in *Heb. Arch.* of Benzinger and of Nowack.

W. H. BENNETT.

DECALOGUE.—The law of the Ten Words, virtually a translation of the original Heb. name עֲשֶׂרֶת הַדְּבָרִים Dt 4^{13} 10^{4}, cf. Ex 34^{28}) is the most suitable title of the ethical code prefixed to the Sinaitic legislation. The name 'Ten Commandments' is a less accurate rendering, and it prejudges the disputed question as to whether all of the ten words are of the nature of commandments. It is also called the Testimony (עֵדוּת Ex 25^{21}), and the Covenant (בְּרִית, Dt 9^{9}).

The accounts of the first publication of the D. contain a variety of extraordinary particulars in attestation of its immediate divine origin and of its sovereign authority. The nation gathered at the foot of Sinai to receive a revelation (Ex 19^{17}). Amid thunder and lightning, and with the sound of a trumpet, the Lord descended upon the smoking mount ($19^{16ff.}$), and from thence proclaimed the words of the law in articulate tones in the ears of the terrified people (20^{19}, Dt 4^{12}). The words thus uttered by the very voice were thereafter graven by the very finger of God on two tables of stone (Ex 31^{18}, Dt 4^{13}). These tables, which were broken by Moses on witnessing the temporary apostasy of the people (Ex 32^{19}), were replaced by another pair on which God had promised to rewrite the former words (Ex 34^{1}), and which were thereafter deposited in the ark with a view to their safe-keeping and in token of their paramount importance (Dt 10^{5}).*

In consideration of these details, in which so much stress is laid on the authority of the D. and on the precautions taken for preserving it in its purity, it is remarkable that the Pent. contains two versions of it which exhibit not a few, or altogether unimportant, variations—the classic version, as it may be called, of Ex 20^{2-17}, and the less-regarded version of Dt 5^{6-21}. The principal divergences occur in the reasons annexed to the fourth and fifth commandments. Under the fourth Dt founds the duty of Sabbath observance, not upon the example of the God of Creation who rested from His works on the seventh day (Ex 20^{11}), but upon the dictates of humanity and of gratitude. 'Observe the Sabbath-day to keep it holy . . . that thy man-servant and thy maid-servant may rest as well as thou. And thou shalt remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and J″ thy God brought thee out thence by a mighty hand and by a stretched out arm: therefore J″ thy God commanded thee to keep the Sabbath-day' (Dt 5^{12-15}). The fifth commandment, in the Deuteronomic text, sanctions filial conduct with the promise of prosperity as well as of long life (5^{16}). In the tenth, it may be added, Dt has a different order from Ex—the wife being placed at the head of the series, while the coveting of the neighbour's field, which would count for much with a peasant people, is expressly prohibited (5^{21}).†

That the Exodus version of the D. is on the whole superior to, *i.e.* older and purer than, the text of Dt, is the opinion of the great majority of modern scholars, including Delitzsch, Dillmann, W. R. Smith, Driver.‡ For this opinion the principal ground is that the variations in Dt are obviously a personal contribution from this author, some being mere amplifications in his wonted style, others instances of the intrusion of his characteristic ideas or expressions (cf. Dillmann, *Exod.* p. 200; Driver, *LOT* p. 31).

---

* The account in Ex of the Sinaitic revelation is highly composite, and many details of the critical analysis are still unsettled. The Decalogue is imbedded in E, which furnishes most of the matter in Ex 19-24; but this is not decisive as to its date—one section regarding it as derived by E from pre-existing sources (Driver, *LOT* p. 30), while another assumes its intrusion into the E stratum after the formulation of the Decalogue of Dt (Meisner, *Der Dekalog* p. 11). The J narrative is more prominent in Ex 32-34, and has often been alleged to set forth an older summary as the kernel of the legislation (see *infra*). This latter inference, apart from other grounds, is rendered very precarious by the fact that a great part of the original contents of J is no longer before us. The final redaction does not determine whether the words were rewritten by God (Ex 34^{1}) or by Moses (Ex 34^{28}).

† Other Dt variations are multiplication of connecting particles, and of details (the ox and the ass entitled to Sabbath rest), verbal changes ('observe' for 'remember' in c. 4, 'desire' for 'covet' in the main body of c. 10), and allusive phrases ('As the Lord thy God commanded thee' in cs. 4 and 5).

‡ Wellhausen, however, 'protests against the *à priori* and consistent preference of the Exod. text,' *Comp. d. Hex.*; and evidence that his view is spreading is furnished by the argument of Meisner's painstaking monograph (*Der Dekalog*).

In opposition to the traditional conception of the D. as strictly Mosaic, three theories are widely represented in modern criticism—(1) that it is a prophetic compendium or manifesto belonging at the earliest to the 8th cent. B.C.; (2) that it is in substance Mosaic, but that it was enlarged at a later period by the addition of one or more commandments, or at least (3) of amplifications and sanctions of the original 'words.'

(1) Against the Mosaic origin it is argued that the tradition does not consistently maintain its claim, but alternatively exhibits a summary of a widely different character (Ex $34^{14ff.}$) as the Mosaic D. (Wellhausen, *Comp. d. Hex.* p. 331 ff.)[*]; that the ancient 'Book of the Covenant' shows no acquaintance with its content (Baentsch, *Das Bundesbuch*, p. 92 ff.), and especially that both in general spirit and in detail it is out of harmony with the essentially ritualistic religion of pre-prophetic times (following Wellhausen, Kayser, Smend, Baentsch, *op. cit.* 98). Upon this it is sufficient here to observe that the cardinal assumption of this group of scholars, viz. that the D. was impossible before the prophetical teaching of the 8th cent., exaggerates the part played by the prophets in fixing the character of the OT religion. Assuredly, the prophets did not first enunciate, but inherited, the doctrine that true religion utters itself in morality; and it is an obvious inference from the broad facts of the tradition that this fundamental idea was affirmed by and descended from Moses. That as the founder or reformer of a religion he should have embodied its leading principles in 'terse' sentences is not only possible but probable, and the testimony to the fact that in the D. we possess such a summary is too strong to be set aside in the interests of a historical theory.[†]

(2) A second group of critics, while holding that 'Moses in the name of J″ prescribed to the Israelites such a law as is contained in the ten words' (Kuenen, *Rel. Isr.*, Eng. tr. i. p. 285), support the contention of the first group, that one or more of the commandments are post-Mosaic. The main objection to the Mosaic authorship of c. 4—that it presupposes conditions of agricultural life unlike those under which Moses could have conceived and promulgated it (Montefiore, *Hib. Lect.* p. 554; cf. Smend, *Religionsgesch.* p. 139)—is at the most valid against certain of the amplifications. More serious is the case against the Mosaic origin of c. 2, founded on the facts that its prohibition of graven images was disregarded in the time of the judges and of the early monarchy, that the prophets of the Northern Kingdom offered no opposition to the cult of the golden calves, and that the prophetic conscience appears first to have revolted against them in the 8th cent. in Judah (Kuenen, *Rel. Isr.*, Eng. tr. i. 283 ff.). To this it is replied, in general, that the non-observance of a religious law is no proof of its non-existence; and, in particular, that as the central sanctuaries possessed no image in the times of Eli, David, and Solomon, the prohibition must have been early operative as a recognized part of the pure Mosaic system (cf. Kittel, *Hist. Heb.*, Eng. tr. i. pp. 248, 249). It may be added that contact with Egyptian idolatry is likely to have made Moses recoil from image-worship. It must, however, be granted that the historical facts are perplexing; and it is at least possible that c. 2 is a development by the prophetical school of a consequence originally only latent in the Mosaic prohibition of the worship of other gods.

(3) A third view leaves undisturbed the tradition that Moses was the author of an essentially spiritual and ethical code of ten precepts, but alleges the probability of this having originally existed in a briefer form, to which from time to time various reflexions and promises were added which strengthened their appeal to the mind and will. On this theory, widely held by scholars since Ewald (*Gesch. Isr.*^{3} ii. 231), commandments 2, 3, 4, 5 originally wanted the 'reasons annexed,' while 10 may have stopped at 'house.' It is strongly supported by the variations of the two texts, and seems irresistible in consideration of the fact that c. 4 presupposes acquaintance with Gn 1^1–2^3. It may be added that the terser version gives a better balance to the two tables, and was more suited to the capacity of the popular memory; and in particular that it represents material common to, and thus attested by, the joint testimony of the two divergent recensions.[*]

The division of the D. into its ten constituent parts has occasioned considerable difficulty. The three systems, as adopted by different religious communities, may be thus represented—

	Greek and Reformed.	R. C. and Lutheran.	Jewish.
God the Deliverer out of Egypt . . .	Preface	Preface	c. 1.
Prohibition of polytheism . . .	c. 1	c. 1	c. 2.
Prohibition of graven images . .	c. 2		
* * * * *	cs. 3–9	cs. 2–8	cs. 3–9.
Prohibitions of covetousness . . .	c. 10	c. 9 c. 10[†]	c. 10.

The second of these divisions, introduced after Jewish precedent by Augustine (*ad Exod.*) is slightly supported by the fact that cs. 1 and 2 have a joint sanction, and also by the Dt text of c. 10, but is equally unhappy in combining the two distinct prohibitions of polytheism and idolatry, and in separating the particulars, possibly not original, of the precept against covetousness. The Talmudic division, which treats the preface as the first word, is liable to the objection, not only that it affects the unity of the code, but that the same formula appears elsewhere as introduction or conclusion (Lv 18^2 19^{36}). In view of these objections the Greek-Reformed division, represented in antiquity by Philo, Josephus, and many Fathers (Origen, *In Ex. Homilia*, 12), is favoured by the majority of modern critics (Oehler, Ewald, Delitzsch, Dillmann). See also Nestle in *Exp. Times*, June 1897.

The original sequence of the 'words' is disturbed in LXX, where the two commandments which bear upon the life of the family (5 and 7) are brought together, and the sixth becomes the eighth. In NT the order is variable, but usually the seventh precedes the sixth (Mk 10^{19}, Ro 13^9).

The classification of the commandments is suggested by their distribution between two tables. Obviously, they fall into two groups—(1) the religious (1–4), which define certain duties which man owes to God; and (2) the ethical (5–10), which define certain duties which he owes to his brother man. It has, however, been frequently pointed out that, in the antique mode of thought, filial duty was more closely allied to the religious than to the ethical obligation, and that the first five commandments may accordingly be suitably grouped as precepts of piety, the last five as laws of probity.

---

[*] The so-called Jahwistic D., first indicated by Goethe, has been finally reconstructed by Wellhausen as follows (*Isr. Gesch* p. 66):—

1. Thou shalt not worship any strange god.
2. Thou shalt not make unto thee molten gods.
3. Thou shalt keep the feast of Unleavened Bread.
4. All the first-born are mine.
5. Thou shalt keep the feast of Weeks.
6. Thou shalt keep the feast of Ingathering in the fall of the year.
7. Thou shalt not mingle leavened bread with the blood of my sacrifice.
8. Thou shalt not retain until the morning the fat of my feast.
9. Thou shalt bring the best of the first-fruits of thy field to the house of J″ thy God.
10. Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk.

In Ex the code really contains 12 precepts, hence there is no agreement as to the selection to be made. It may be noted that it is not claimed that it is Mosaic, but only that it is older than the D. of Ex 20 (cf. Smend, *Religionsgesch.* p. 47).

[†] Of this evidence an important element is the tradition that two tables of stone containing the D. were placed by Moses in the ark (Ex 40^{20}, Dt 10^5). The arguments used to discredit the tradition are set forth fully by Stade, *Gesch. d. V. Isr.* i. p. 457 ff., where its existence is explained by the supposition that the ark originally contained sacred stones associated with the presence of J″. But surely Mosaism cannot have bequeathed to posterity as its most precious legacy a stone-fetish (see ARK OF THE COVENANT).

[*] The view that the 'torso' was the original D. is assailed by Meisner on the ground that the irreducible minimum of the words of the first table has been 'inundated' by Dt (*Dek.* p. 10), but it is at least as probable that the vocabulary of Dt was enriched by the original D.

[†] While the R.C. and Luth. Churches agree in subdividing the prohibitions of covetousness, the former makes c. 9 protect the neighbour's wife, the latter his house.

The precepts of piety, which may fairly be assigned to the first table, are on the whole clear. The first, while not unambiguously sounding the monotheistic note, at least excludes polytheism from Israel. The second prohibits the worship of the true God under a visible form—idolatry. That the third had an equally definite aim is probable, and it is a plausible suggestion that its point was directed against the use of God's name in spiritualistic and other magical rites (Smend), though most exegetes make it include various abuses of God's name—as perjury, lying, cursing, and other forms of profanity. In the reasons annexed to the words of this table may be noticed the two remarkable features of c. 2, the profound insight into the law of heredity, and the intimation that the soul of religion is the love of God; the Deut. grounding of c. 4, which breathes compassion towards man and beast; and the confident assertion in c. 5 of the doctrine of temporal retribution.

The laws of probity take under their protection human life (c. 6), the institution of marriage (c. 7), property (c. 8), and character or reputation (c. 9); while c. 10 strikes at the roots of wrong-doing by proscribing the lawless desire. They may be further classified according as they condemn criminality in act (cs. 6–8), in word (c. 9), and in thought (c. 10).

From this brief sketch of the contents of the D. we may obtain an impression both of its greatness and its limitations. Its first distinction is that within the brief compass of the ten words it lays down the fundamental articles of religion (sovereignty and spirituality of God), and asserts the claims of morality in the chief spheres of human relationship (home, calling, society). Its ethical precepts are the most far-reaching and the most indispensable. It is, again, a further testimony to the moral value of the code that it provided forms capable of receiving a richer and fuller content than that which they originally held. But the sovereign distinction of the D. lies less in its exhibition of the foundations of religion and of the landmarks of morality, than in its representation of religion and morality as knit together by a vital and indissoluble bond. The D. is, in brief, the charter of ethical piety, or, in other words, the great pre-Christian advocate for righteousness as the highest form of ritual. In an age of the world's history when popular religion found satisfaction in an ethically indifferent ceremonialism, in a country where Mosaic sanction was claimed for an elaborate system of sacrifices and festivals, the D. excluded from the summary of duty almost every reference to this class of obligations, and made it clear that what God above all required was justice and mercy. Consistently with this, the one religious duty, narrowly so called, which finds a place in the code, is Sabbath observance; for this commandment not only had in view the provision of an opportunity for meditation and worship, but was equally conceived, if we may follow Dt, as a beneficent institution founded in compassion toward the weary and heavy laden.

The limitations of the D. lie on the surface. Its brevity forbids us to expect exhaustiveness, and, as a fact, its ethical requirements may almost all be connected with the single virtue of justice. Wisdom and fortitude, which figure prominently in the Greek scheme of virtue, are not recognized, and even in the prohibitions of adultery and covetousness it is less temperance or self-control than justice that appears to interpose to forbid the sin. Again, it followed from the undisciplined character of the people to whom it was first given, that the D. should be elementary in its teaching. They were children who had need to be taught the first principles of the oracles of God. The demands accordingly are not very high-pitched: with the exception of the tenth, the moral precepts belong exclusively to the region of conduct where actions condemned by the conscience as sins are also punished by the state as crimes. Further, of the ten, eight are prohibitions, two only are positive injunctions. And herein lies the principal limitation of the D. In the main a condemnation of superstition and crime, and as such of the highest value in the training of a primitive people, it does not meet the demand of the enlightened conscience for a positive moral ideal. For this we must advance to Christ's interpretation or revision of the Decalogue.

The frequent references of Christ to the D. are marked by two main features—(1) a hearty recognition of its divine authority (Mt 5^{17}); (2) a purpose of so interpreting its precepts as to widen their range and exalt their demands. Its inadequacy as an ideal, due to its preponderantly negative character, He rectified by condensing the law into the two positive commandments to love God with all our heart, and our neighbour as ourselves (Mt 22^{36-40}). Indeed, so closely did the teaching of Jesus lean on the Mosaic form that it is possible to construct with scarcely a gap the D. according to Christ. The following are the principal additions: C. 1. Thou shalt love the Lord with all thy heart (Mt 22^{37}). C. 2. They that worship, worship in spirit and truth (Jn 4^{24}). C. 3. Swear not at all (Mt 5^{34}). C. 4. The Sabbath was made for man (Mk 2^{27}). C. 5. Duty to parents paramount over other religious obligation (Mt 15^{4-6}). C. 6. Murder includes anger (Mt 5^{22}). C. 7. Adultery includes lust (5^{28}). Of c. 8 we have not Christ's exposition, but the absence is readily explained by the fact that c. 10 had already extended the prohibition of theft in the spirit of the teaching of Jesus. Similarly, the false witness of c. 9 is referred to a foul heart (Mt 12^{34}), while the idle is included in condemnation with the calumnious word (12^{37}). Of Christ's definite consciousness of a mission to handle the D. in the light of the final revelation there is further evidence in His announcement of the new commandment of brotherly love (Jn 13^{34}), by which He re-emphasizes the nature of the positive ideal substituted for the warnings of the second table.[*]

Of the apostolic references to the D. those of St. Paul are most noteworthy. Like Jesus, he employs it as a standard to test conduct and measure wickedness. He supposes the law to have been communicated to Moses through angelic mediation (Gal 3^{19}, cf. He 2^{2}). What St. Paul held as to the place of the D. in the Christian dispensation is a question of some difficulty. He nowhere draws a distinction between the ceremonial and the moral elements of the Mosaic law, and declares that, while the former are repealed, the latter remain binding: his general thesis is that the law as such has no longer dominion over the Christian (Ro 7^{4}). But as certainly it follows for St. Paul that the Christian, while placed in a new attitude to the law, voluntarily and joyfully re-subjects himself to and obeys its ethical commandments. Filled by the Spirit and animated with gratitude, he exhibits towards his fellow-men a measure of love to which it is a small thing to forbear from injustice, as required in the second table of the ancient law (Ro 13^{9}).

In Christian theology the D. is commonly regarded as a revelation, or as a republication, of the fundamentals of religion and morality. It is the most important part of the OT or legal economy, and as such was designed to show the path of duty, to deepen the sense of guilt, and to awaken a profound sense of human inability. The question of its continued validity for the Christian, while capable of being diversely grounded, possesses practical importance only in the case of c. 4, where the issue is whether the Sabbath is to be kept as a divine command or as a measure of Christian expediency and a dictate of Christian feeling (see SABBATH). The latter view, energetically maintained by Luther, and favoured in the Federal School of Reformed theology, is most in harmony with the Pauline doctrines of law and Christian liberty. See LAW.

---

[*] The perfection of the D. was a favourite thesis of 17th cent. orthodoxy as against the Socinians and Arminians, who declared that Christian ethics added three principles—abnegatio nostri, tolerantia crucis propter Christum, imitatio Christi. The orthodox view was that it did not require to be supplemented or corrected, but only properly interpreted, to furnish the full Christian ideal (see Turretin, *Theol. Elenc. Inst.* Locus 11).

LITERATURE.—Ewald, *Hist. of Israel*; Kuenen, *Religion of Israel*; Oehler's *OT Theology*; W. R. Smith, art. 'Decalogue' in *Encycl. Brit.*^{9}; Wellhausen, *Composition des Hex.*; Driver, *LOT*; H. Schultz, *OT Theology*; Smend, *Lehrbuch der AT Religionsgeschichte*; Baentsch, *Das Bundesbuch*; Meisner, *Der Dekalog*; Stade, *Gesch. Israel's*; Kittel, *Hist. of Israel*; Dillmann, *Exod.*; Driver, *Deut.*; Montefiore, *Hibbert Lect.*; Harper, *Deut.* For the treatment of the D. in the old polemical divinity, reference may be made to F. Turretin, *Institutio Theologiæ Elencticæ*; H. Grotius, *Explicatio Decalogi*, and Cocceius, *De Sabbato*; for homiletical treatment, to R. W. Dale, *The Ten Commandments*. W. P. PATERSON.

DECAPOLIS (Δεκάπολις), 'ten cities,' Mt 4^{25}, Mk 5^{20} 7^{31}.—A region of allied cities (see PALESTINE) E. of Jordan in Bashan, but including Bethshean W. of the river. Such leagues existed in other parts of the Roman Empire for purposes of trade and of defence. The mention of swine kept by the people of Decapolis suggests the presence of a Gr. colony; and the region had a Gr.-speaking population, mingled with natives, as early as the time of Herod the Great. The cities of Decapolis, according to Pliny (*HN* v. 18), were Scythopolis (*Beisân*), Hippos (*Susieh*), Gadara (*Umm Keis*), Pella (*Fahil*), Philadelphia (*'Ammân*), Gerasa (*Jerâsh*), Dion (*Adûn*), Canatha (*Kanawât*), Damascus, and Raphana. The region thus included all Bashan and Gilead. In the *Onomasticon* (*s.v.*) it is defined as the region round Hippos, Pella, and Gadara. (Cf. further, Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 94 ff.; G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* 593 ff.)
C. R. CONDER.

DECEASE.—In OT Is 26^{14} only, 'they are deceased.' The Heb. is *rĕphâ'îm* (רְפָאִים), 'shades,' which RV translates 'they that are deceased' in Job 26^5, Ps 88^{10}. See REPHAIM. In NT 'decease' is used as an intrans. vb. in Mt 22^{25} 'the first, when he had married a wife, deceased' (τελευτάω, 'come to an end,' used with θανάτῳ, Mt 15^4). Cf. Fuller, *Holy War* (1639), III. x. 132, 'Queen Sibyll who deceased of the plague.' The subst. is found Lk 9^{31} 'his decease which he should accomplish at Jerusalem,' and 2 P 1^{15} (both ἔξοδος, *exodus*, 'outgoing'; used of death also Wis 3^2 7^6, Sir 38^{23}; cf. εἴσοδος='entering into' the world, Ac 13^{24}). J. HASTINGS.

DECEIT.—The misleading of another by word or deed, in which case it is equivalent to falsehood (Pr 14^{25}, Hos 12^7); or the overreaching of another, as when a false balance is used. Every kind of wickedness, as a rule, involves deceit, since the just and holy must be assumed as a mask, in order to gain credit with men, and make the accomplishment of the evil design possible (Pr 12^{20} and 26^{24}). D. shows itself not merely in isolated acts, but also as a settled habit of mind (Jer 23^{26}). It is so characteristic an element of evil that it is frequently used in Scripture as synonymous with it (Ps 119^{118}, Jer 7^5). W. MORGAN.

DECEIVABLENESS.—Only in 2 Th 2^{10} 'With all d. of unrighteousness' (RV 'deceit'). The adj. 'deceivable' also occurs only once, Sir 10^{19} 'a d. seed.' The meaning is 'able to deceive,' 'deceitful'; and that is the usual meaning of the words, as 2 P 1^{16} Tind. 'we followed not deceivable fables,' and Gouge (1653) on He 3^{14} 'Sin prevails the more by the deceiveablenesse thereof.' But Milton uses the adj. in the sense of 'liable to be deceived' in *Samson Agonistes*, 942, 'blind, and thereby deceivable.' J. HASTINGS.

DECENTLY.—'Decent' and 'decently' have deteriorated with use. From Lat. *decens*, they expressed originally that which is becoming, as Latimer, *1st Serm. bef. Edw. VI.* (1547) 'God teacheth what honoure is decente for the kynge'; and generally that which, by being seemly, adds lustre, hence comely, handsome (cf. Lat. *decus*), as Pref. to *Pr. Bk.* (1549) 'this godly and decent Order of the ancient Fathers': Bacon, *Essays*, p. 177, 'the Principall part of Beauty is in decent motion'; Milton, *Il Pens.* 36—

> 'And sable stole of cypress lawn
> Over thy decent shoulders drawn.'

Now, the meaning is no more than 'fair,' 'passable,' as Darwin, *Life*, i. 151, 'If I keep decently well.' In AV 'decent' does not occur, and 'decently' only 1 Co 14^{40} 'Let all things be done d. and in order,' for which all previous VSS have 'honestly,' after Vulg. *honeste*, Luther *ehrlich* (Gr. εὐσχημόνως, which occurs also Ro 13^{13}, 1 Th 4^{12}, where all Eng. VSS have 'honestly,' with 'decently' in AVm of Ro 13^{13}). J. HASTINGS.

DECISION.—**1.** The decision of questions of right between man and man necessarily depends on the form of authority recognized in each successive stage of society. In the nomadic condition a patriarchal government is tempered by custom and the counsels of tribal headsmen. It can scarcely be altogether as a reflection from later times, that Moses continually appears in the Pentateuch accompanied by elders. The appointment of the 70 is distinctly described as designed to afford relief to the leader in the decision of cases of dispute between Israelites (Nu 11^{10-17}). The judges appear as dictators, who would necessarily add to their military rule the administrative and judicial functions that accompany supreme power, though the local influence of heads and families must always have tempered their authority. It is as judge to settle disputes that Samuel is represented as making his annual visitation of Bethel, Gilgal, and Mizpah (1 S 7^{16}, which is of late origin). The kings of Judah and Israel were supreme judges. A judicial decision is the typical instance of Solomon's wisdom (1 K 3^{16-28}). After the Captivity, since the Jews were now a subject race, the supreme authority for the decision of important cases rested with an alien government; but the transformation of the nation into a Church led to the private settlement of internal affairs on the advice of the scribes. The development of the synagogue may have given shape to this method, the local court of elders settling minor cases. The formation of the Sanhedrin at Jerus. as both a civil and an ecclesiastical court led to the decision there of cases affecting Judæa, though with various powers at different times, the Romans recognizing the legal authority of this court, but requiring cases of life and death to be referred to the procurator (Jn 18^{31}). Our Lord instructed His disciples to avoid litigation and to settle disputes with their brethren privately, or, if that were impossible, by reference to the Church as a court of judgment (Mt 18^{17}). St. Paul expostulated with the Corinthians for resorting to the heathen law courts on account of quarrels among themselves, directing them to appoint their own judges within the Church (1 Co 6^{1-8}).

2. The decision of questions of perplexity in early times was determined by **casting lots**, with the conviction that what seemed to be chance with man was really directed by God (Pr 16^{33}). This method was employed in the division of the land (Jos 14^2, P), and in the cases of Achan (Jos 7^{14}), Saul (1 S 10^{21}), Saul and Jonathan (14^{42}). The Urim and Thummim and the ephod seem to have been used for casting lots (Ex 28^{30}, Nu 27^{21}, 1 S 28^6). This method of decision was missed at the restoration, but its recovery anticipated (Ezr 2^{63}, Neh 7^{65}). The prophets, however, did not encourage it. Under the influence of the inspiration they enjoyed, the oracle was obtained more directly. Thus, unlike the choice of Saul, the choice of David was made by means of the prophetic spirit in Samuel (1 S 16^{1-13}). Kings would resort to prophets for advice on questions of going into battle, etc., *e.g.* the case of Ahab and Jehoshaphat, in which the contrast between the lying spirit of the false prophet and the true spirit of the genuine prophet of J″ is illustrated (1 K 22^{1-28}). The decision of the prophet is clearly distinguished from divination, witchcraft, dealings with familiar spirits, and attempts to consult the dead—dark practices which are severely condemned (Dt 18^{9-12}). In NT the lot reappears, not only in the case of the division of the garments of Jesus among the Rom. soldiers (Mk 15^{24}, Lk 23^{34}, Jn 19^{24}), but also in a solemn decision of the Christians as a means of obtaining a successor to Judas. In this case, however, it only decides between two men, each of whom has been chosen after careful investigation has proved him to possess the qualities essential to apostleship, and then with prayer for divine guidance (Ac 1^{21-26}). Doubts have been thrown on the wisdom of this course. It is a significant fact that it never seems to have been followed in subsequent elections of church officers in the apostolic Churches.

For **Valley of Decision** see JEHOSHAPHAT (VALLEY).

W. F. ADENEY.

DECK.—To deck (=Lat. *tegere*, Ger. *decken*, Eng. *thatch*) is simply 'to cover,' hence the 'deck' of a ship. Thus Cov. has (Hag 1^{6}) 'Ye decke youre selves, but ye are not warme' (Gen., AV, and RV 'Ye clothe you'). In this sense possibly is Pr 7^{16} 'I have decked my bed with coverings of tapestry' (רָבַדְתִּי, LXX *τέτακα*, Vulg. *intexui*). But Luther has 'Ich habe mein Bette *schön geschmücket*, Wyc. 'I have arayed,' and it is certain that by 1611 'deck' had taken on the sense of *decorate*, no doubt through confusion with that word, with which it has no proper connexion. Thus *Pr. Bk.* (1552) Com. Service (Keeling, p. 191), 'when a man hath prepared a rich feast, decked his table with all kind of provision, so that there lacketh nothing but the guests to sit down.' In this sense 'deck' is used elsewhere in AV.

J. HASTINGS.

DECLARE, DECLARATION.—The oldest meaning of the vb. 'declare' is to make clear (*de-clarus*), explain, expound, as in the Title of Tylle's ed. of Tindale's NT, 'declaryng many harde places conteyned in the texte.' So perhaps Dt 1^{5} (see Driver). Elsewhere in AV 'declare' is the tr. of a great number of different Heb. and Gr. words, but its meaning is probably never more precise than 'make known,' as Ps 50^{6} 'the heavens shall d. his righteousness,' Ac 17^{23} 'Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, him d. I unto you' (RV 'set forth'), Ro 1^{4} 'declared to be the Son of God with power . . . by the resurrection from the dead.' And this is the meaning of **declaration** in its few occurrences, Job 13^{17}, Est 10^{2} (RV 'full account'), Sir 43^{6}, Lk 1^{1} (RV 'narrative'), 2 Co 8^{19} (RV 'to shew').

J. HASTINGS.

DECLINE.—In AV to 'decline' is always (except Ps 102^{11} 109^{23}) used in the original but now obsolete sense of 'turn aside.' Thus, Job 23^{11} 'His way have I kept, and not declined' (RV 'turned not aside'); Ps 119^{51} 'yet have I not declined from thy law' (RV 'swerved'; so 119^{157}); Pr 7^{25} 'Let not thine heart decline to her ways' (so RV). In Ps 102^{11} 'My days are like a shadow that declineth,' and 109^{23}, the image is of the shadow which lengthens as the sun goes down, till at last it vanishes into night. RV adds Jg 19^{8} 'until the day declineth' (see AVm), 2 K 20^{10} 'It is a light thing for the shadow to decline ten steps' (AV 'go down'), and Jer 6^{4} 'the day declineth' (AV 'goeth away'). Tennyson combines both meanings (*Locksley Hall*, l. 43)—

> 'Having known me, to decline
> On a range of lower feelings and a narrower heart than mine.'

J. HASTINGS.

DEDAN, דְּדָן, LXX *Δαδάν*, *Δεδάν* (in Is, Jer, Ezk, *Δαιδάν*), according to Gn 10^{7}, a son of Raamah, one of the sons of Cush. In Gn 25^{3} he is named along with Sheba, as in Gn 10^{7}, but is represented, not as a Cushite, but as a Keturæan. Dedan is in this latter passage a son of Jokshan, son of Abraham by Keturah; but according to Josephus (*Ant.* I. xv. 1) he was the son of Shuah (or Sous), another of Keturah's sons. The Shuhites were neighbours of the Temanites (Job 2^{11}) in North-Western Arabia. There are traces still of the ruins of a city Daidan in that region, and the Sabæan inscriptions mention the Dedanites as a tribe in that neighbourhood.

The **Dedanites** are represented as an important commercial people, carrying on an extensive caravan trade with Damascus and Tyre. They frequented the highway that ran through the Arabian desert as they journeyed northward with their wares, and when driven back by a hostile force they were thrown upon the charity of their southern neighbours of Tema (Is 21^{13}). According to Jeremiah (25^{23}) they formed an Arabian tribe alongside of Tema and Buz, and were accustomed on their business journeys to pass through the land of Edom. The Dedanites share in the judgments which fall upon the Edomites and upon the kings of Arabia. In all these prophetic passages, as in the OT generally, Arabia designates, not the whole of the peninsula now known by that name, but merely the northern part, colonized by the Ishmaelite and Keturæan descendants of Abraham. In Jer 25^{23} the reference to Dedan follows immediately upon the mention of the kings of Tyre and Sidon, and the coast beyond the sea. This does not seem to require the locating of Dedan by the sea-coast. The connexion with Tyre is quite sufficient to justify such an arrangement. Besides, the order in which the countries and peoples are named in vv.$^{20-26}$ is evidently in a broad way from west to east, with an excursion midway northward and then southward, from Edom to Tyre and back again to Arabia. In Ezk 25^{13} Dedan is described as forming the extreme south of Edom, as Teman represents the farthest north. This may only mean that the country of the Dedanites constituted the southern frontier of Edom. The destruction of all Edom is described as a desolation extending from Teman to Dedan. In Ezk 27^{20} Dedan is spoken of as carrying to the market of the wealthy and luxurious Tyre precious cloths for chariots or saddle cloths for riding. From the place which it occupies in this passage, it is evidently to be regarded as a country of Northern Arabia. If we accept the correction of some of the ablest modern critics in the reading of v.^{19}, we find the mention of Dedan preceded by a reference to Southern Arabia; while v.^{21} names Arabia, in the narrower acceptation of Northern Arabia, and the princes of Kedar. This precisely suits the locality assigned in other passages to the Keturæan Dedanites.

Considerable difficulty has arisen over the only other allusion to Dedan in the OT, to which we have not yet referred. In Ezk 27^{15} we read: 'The men of Dedan were thy traffickers; many isles were the mart of thine hand: they brought thee in exchange horns of ivory and ebony.' The ivory and ebony are represented as tribute due to the supreme importance of Tyre as mistress of the commercial world. There is no reason why the Dedanites of Northern Arabia should not have acted as intermediaries in transporting to the western markets the products of the far East. But the mention of the isles is supposed to make the assumption of a Dedanite people on the sea necessary. The LXX reads *Rhodians*, R (ר) and D (ד) in the writing of Heb. being easily mistaken for one another. In this case, however, it has all the appearance of a correction made by the Gr. translators, so as to make the whole verse refer to islands and islanders. But the order in which the names are given in this passage seems unfavourable to such a view. The list of those who brought their goods to the market of Tyre begins with Tarshish in the far West, passing on to Javan, Tubal, Meshech (Asia Minor and the coasts of the Black Sea), Togarmah (Armenia). With Dedan there is clearly a fresh start made, whether we understand it of Rhodes or of a part of North-Western Arabia. But if in v.^{16} we read Edom instead of Aram (Syria), where again only the interchange of R and D is required, we have in vv.$^{16-18}$ the order from south to north (Edom, Judah, Damascus). Seeing, then, that Dedan lay south of Edom, it would form the appropriate starting-point for this second list.

Thus in all the prophetic passages the only theory that easily and naturally fits into the text is that which places Dedan on the south border of Edom, and regards the Dedanites as a Keturæan tribe, occupying a position alongside of other allied tribes in the north-west of Arabia. The only trace, therefore, that we have of a Cushite Dedan is in Gn 10^{7}. It is quite impossible to conjecture with any confidence how it came about that both Sheba and Dedan should be names recurring in two families so far removed from one another as that of the Cushite Raamah and that of the Keturæan Jokshan. Possibly, a branch of the Keturæan Dedanites may have settled among Cushites near the Persian Gulf, and, while retaining their ancestral name, may have been included in the genealogy with their Cushite neighbours. It is, however, difficult to assume that the same had happened with respect to the sons of Sheba.

The Dedan of the Edomite border is placed by Eusebius in the neighbourhood of Phana on the east of Mount Seir, between Petra and Zoar, the ancient Punon or Phunon, at which the Israelites encamped during their wanderings (Nu $33^{42f.}$).

LITERATURE.—Besides Dillmann and Delitzsch on Gn and Is, and Davidson on Ezk, see Winer, *Realwörterbuch*,^{3} 263 f., whose article is much more satisfactory than those of Steiner (Schenkel, *Bibellexicon*, i. 595 f.) and Kautzsch (Riehm, *Handwörterbuch*, 266). See also Hommel, *Anc. Heb. Trad.* 239 f.

J. MACPHERSON.

DEDICATION.—The idea of withdrawing (persons, places, things) from a common and setting apart to a sacred use, which seems to be the original connotation of the important Sem. root קדשׁ, is embodied in various expressions of EV, such as consecrate, dedicate, devote, hallow (holy, etc.), sanctify. Of the first two we may say that the general usage is to apply 'consecrate' and 'consecration' to the setting apart of persons, and 'dedicate' and 'dedication' to the setting apart of things. Accordingly, we read of silver being 'dedicated unto J″' (Jg 17^{3}), so that it could no longer be used for other than sacred purposes, of 'vessels of silver, and vessels of gold, and vessels of brass (נְחֹשֶׁת)' so dedicated or set apart by David (2 S $8^{10.11}$ = 1 Ch $18^{10.11}$, 1 K 7^{51} = 2 Ch 5^{1}), just as we read of the dedication of a bowl 'of the first (quality) of copper (נְחֹשֶׁת)' to Baal-Lebanon (*CIS*, Tab. iv.; cf. Mesha's inscription, lines 17, 18, כְּלֵי יהוה vessels of J″ dedicated to Chemosh). The same Heb. word is used of the dedication of the 'tent of meeting' (Ex 29^{44}, EV 'sanctify'), of the altar of burnt-offering (Ex 29^{36}), and of other parts of the furniture (Ex 40^{10}), all as described in Lv $8^{10ff.}$. In another ref. to this dedication (so EV, but RVm dedication-gift, Nu $7^{84.88}$) we first meet with the חֲנֻכָּה *Hănukkah* (for wh. see Dillmann *in loco*, Jo. Selden, *De Synedriis*, 1679, bk. iii. p. 148 ff., and the next art.). Other dedication ceremonies in OT are the dedication of Solomon's temple, related in detail, 1 K 8 (where note v.^{63} חָנַךְ, *ἐνεκαίνισεν*, EV dedicate, but v.^{64} קִדַּשׁ, *ἡγίασεν*, EV hallow), the dedication of the second temple (Ezr $6^{16.17}$) [*] and of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh 12^{27}). The last passage is of interest, moreover, as showing that the completion of buildings of a more secular character was also the occasion of a dedicatory service. That this holds good, even of a private house, is to be inferred from Dt 20^{5}. For much curious information on this practice among other ancient peoples, and on its continuation in later times, see Selden, *op. cit.* (cf. CONSECRATION).

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

DEDICATION, THE FEAST OF THE (*τὰ ἐγκαίνια* Jn 10^{22}, *ὁ ἐγκαινισμὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου* 1 Mac 4^{56}), was instituted by Judas Maccabæus (B.C. 164) in commemoration of the purification of the temple and altar after they had been polluted by Antiochus Epiphanes (1 Mac 4^{59}). It was to be 'kept from year to year by the space of eight days from the five and twentieth day of the month Chislev' (about the time of the winter solstice). The Feast of the Ded. is only once mentioned in NT (Jn 10^{22}), and in this passage there is an incidental reference to the season of the year, apparently to explain why it was that Jesus was walking under cover instead of in the open air. This is one of the numerous instances in which the author of the Fourth Gospel shows a close acquaintance with Jewish customs. Westcott thinks that the title chosen by our Lord in Jn 9^{5} may refer to the lighting of lamps at this feast, no less than to the ceremonies of the Feast of Tabernacles. This illumination was so prominent a feature in the Feast of the Ded. that it was sometimes called the Feast of Lights (Jos. *Ant.* XII. vii. 7). Josephus, however, does not mention the illumination in private houses, which has been a marked feature of the feast from the end of the 1st cent. to the present time. According to Maimonides, every house should set up at least one light. Those who did honour to the command should set up a light for each person in the house, and those who did more honour still should begin with one light for each person, and double the number each night (Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb. in loc.*). Another school directed that eight lights should be used on the first night, and the number diminished by one each night. The feast lasted eight days. The reference in 2 Mac 10^{6} seems to show that the points of resemblance between some of the ordinances of this feast and the Feast of Tabernacles were not accidental, but were designed from the first. The Feast of Dedication, however, was unlike the great feasts, in that it could be celebrated anywhere and did not require the worshipper to go up to Jerusalem.

The words of the Jews in Jn 10^{24} would naturally be suggested by the direction which this feast would give to men's thoughts. The hymn which is at present used in Jewish synagogues during its continuance records the successive deliverances of Israel, and contains a prayer for yet another.

J. H. KENNEDY.

DEEM was once in freq. use, but is now almost extinct. Even in AV it occurs but twice, Wis 13^{2} 'deemed either fire or wind or the swift air, or the circle of the stars, or the violent water, or the lights of heaven, to be the gods which govern the world' (ἐνόμισαν, RV 'thought'), and Ac 27^{27} 'the shipmen deemed (ὑπενόουν) that they drew near to some country,' though Wyclif has the word and its cognates often, and uses it with fine effect. Thus 1 Co $11^{29.31.32}$ 'for he that etith and drynkith unworthili etith and drinkith *dome* to hym, not wiseli *demynge* the bodi of the Lord. And if we *demeden* wiseli us silf we schulden not be *demed*, but while we ben *demed* of the Lord we ben chastisid, that we be not *dampned* with this world.' RV gives 'surmised' for 'deemed' in Ac 27^{27}, but 'deemed' for 'as' in Ezr 2^{62}, Neh 7^{64} 'therefore were they deemed polluted and put from the priesthood' (Heb. simply 'and were polluted from the priesthood'). J. HASTINGS.

---

[*] The title of Ps 30 most probably refers to the dedication by Judas Maccabæus (see Baethgen *in loco*, and next art.).

DEEP.—The adj. is used fig. in the sense of 'profound' without any thought of malevolence, as Ps 92^{5} 'Thy thoughts are very deep'; Ec 7^{24} 'that which is far off, and exceeding deep' (עָמֹק עָמֹק 'deep, deep'); Is 29^{15} 'woe unto them that seek deep to hide their counsel from the Lord' (הַמַּעֲמִיקִים); Dn 2^{22} 'He revealeth the deep and secret things'; 1 Co 2^{10} 'the deep things of God' (Wyclif's tr.; Tind. 'the bottome of Goddes secretes,' so Cranmer, Geneva (1557); but Gen. 1560 restored 'the deepe things of God,' and so Bishops'; Rhem. 'the profoundities of God'). Cf. Bacon, *Essays*, 'the more deepe and sober sort of Politique persons.'

'Deep' is a common subst. in Shaks. and others of that day, and is often used figuratively, as *Jul. Cæs.* IV. iii. 226—

> 'The deep of night is crept upon our talk.'

But in AV where 'the deep' is not the sea, it refers to the waste of waters (the primitive *tĕhôm*), or to the bottomless pit. The Heb. words are תְּהוֹם *tĕhôm*, as Gn 1^{2} 'darkness was upon the face of the deep' (see COSMOGONY); צוּלָה *zûlâh*, Is 44^{27}, and מְצוּלָה *mĕzûlâh*, Job 41^{31}, Ps 69^{15} 107^{24}, or מְצוֹלָה *mĕzôlâh* (in the plu. 'deeps'), Neh 9^{11}, Ps 88^{6}. The Gr. words are ἄβυσσος (see ABYSS), βάθος, Lk 5^{4}, 2 Co 8^{2}; and βυθός, 2 Co 11^{25}.

Deepness, now almost replaced by 'depth,' is retained from Wyc. in Mt 13^{5} 'they had no deepness of earth' (RV retains, and restores 'deepness' to the par. passage Mk 4^{5}, which Wyc. had also; Tind. has 'depth' in both places). J. HASTINGS.

DEER.—See FALLOWDEER.

DEFECTIVE.—Sir 49^{4} only, and the meaning is 'guilty of wrongdoing,' 'All, except David and Ezechias and Josias, were defective: for they forsook the law of the Most High' (πλημμέλειαν ἐπλημμέλησαν, lit. 'erred an error,' *i.e.* acc. to the Heb. idiom 'erred greatly,' RV 'committed trespass.' The same Gr. is found in LXX Lv 5^{19}, Jos 7^{1} $22^{20.31}$). Bissell (*in loc.*) says 'were defective' is not strong enough. Nor is it now, but in older Eng. it was used for positive transgression or wrongdoing, as *Act* 10 *Henry VIII.* 1518, 'Persons . . . so founden defective or trespassing in any of the said statutes.' 'Defect' in the mod. sense of a shortcoming is given by RV in 1 Co 6^{7} (ἥττημα, AV after Wyc. 'fault,' Gen. 'impatience,' RVm 'loss': see Sanday-Headlam on Ro 11^{12}). J. HASTINGS.

DEFENCED is used in AV (only of cities) where we should now say 'fortified,' the Heb. being either the vb. [בָּצַר] *bâzar* (Is 25^{2} 27^{10} 36^{1} 37^{26}, Ezk 21^{20}) 'to cut off, render inaccessible,' or the subst. מִבְצָר *mibhzâr* (Jer 1^{18} 4^{5} 8^{14} 34^{7}, always with עִיר *'îr*, city), 'a place cut off.' RV gives 'fenced' in Is 36^{1} 37^{26} and in Jer 4^{5} 34^{7}; Amer. RV has 'fortified' in all the passages. J. HASTINGS.

DEFER.—From *dis* apart, and *ferre* to carry, to defer is properly 'to put aside,' and this meaning is found in early English. The mod. meaning is 'to put off to another occasion,' 'to postpone'; but in older Eng. the word was loosely used in the general sense of 'put of,' 'delay,' as Dn 9^{19} 'defer not, for thine own sake, O my God' (אַל־תְּאַחַר 'delay not,' 'tarry not,' the vb. is never used in the sense of putting off to another occasion; so Gn 34^{19}, Ec 5^{4}); Pr 13^{12} 'Hope deferred maketh the heart sick' (מְמֻשָּׁכָה 'drawn out,' 'protracted,' cf. Is $18^{2.7}$ where same part of vb. is tr. 'tall' in RV); Is 48^{9} 'For my name's sake will I defer mine anger' (אַאֲרִיךְ, not postpone to another occasion, but delay so as not to vent it at all if possible, so Pr 19^{11}). Delay is the meaning also in Apocr., Jth 2^{13} (μακρύνω), Sir 4^{3} (παρέλκω), 18^{22} (μείνω). But in NT (Ac 24^{22} only) the meaning is postpone to another occasion, viz. to a fuller hearing; the obsol. construction is, however, employed of having a person as the object, 'Felix . . . deferred them' (ἀνεβάλετο αὐτούς). Cf. Rogers (1642), *Naaman*, 137, 'If it seem goode to thy wisdome to deferre me.' RV gives 'deferred' for 'prolonged' Ezk $12^{25.28}$ (מָשַׁךְ). J. HASTINGS.

DEFILEMENT.—See UNCLEANNESS.

DEFY.—When Goliath 'defied' the armies of Israel, it is probable that the translators of AV understood him to challenge them to combat, though the Heb. (חֵרֵף) means to *taunt* or *scorn* (so 1 S $17^{10.25.26.36.45}$, 2 S 21^{21} 23^{9}, 1 Ch 20^{7}). But when Balaam is summoned to Balak's camp with the words (Nu $23^{7.8}$),

> 'Come, curse me Jacob,
> And come, defy Israel,'

it is manifest that 'defy' is used in some other and now obsol. sense. The Heb. (זָעַם) means to be indignant, then express indignation against one, denounce, curse; and that is the meaning the parallelism would require (LXX ἐπικατάρασαι, Vulg. *detestare*, Luth. *schelten*). Now 'defy' (from late Lat. *dis-fidare*, dis-trust) primarily means to renounce allegiance or affiance, to pronounce all bonds of faith and fellowship dissolved (whence war would generally follow, and so the modern sense of the word). Thus Tindale's tr. of 1 Co 12^{3} 'no man speakynge in the sprete of God defieth Jesus.' This is probably the sense in which 'defy' should be taken in Nu, since it is Tindale's word; though there is a meaning of the word that is closer to the Greek, viz. 'despise,' 'set at nought,' as Olde (1549), *Erasm. Par. Thess.* 4, 'I defie all thinges in comparison of the gospel of Christ'; and a rare use nearer still, viz. 'curse,' as Hall (1548), *Chron.* 52*b*, 'The faire damoselles defied that daie [at Agincourt] in the whiche thei had lost their paramors.' Geneva and Douay have 'detest' in its old sense of 'denounce.' J. HASTINGS.

DEGREE.—Late Lat. *degradus* (*de* down, *gradus* a step) gave Fr. *degré*, whence Eng. 'degree.' So a 'degree' is simply a *step*, whether up or down, and esp. one of a flight of steps, or the rung of a ladder. Thus Chaucer, *Romaunt of Rose*, 485—

> 'Into that gardyn, wel y-wrought,
> Who-so that me coude have brought,
> By laddre, or elles by degree,
> It wolde wel have lyked me.'

And Shaks. *Jul. Cæsar*, II. i. 26—

> 'But when he once attains the upmost round,
> He then unto the ladder turns his back,
> Looks in the clouds, scorning the base degrees
> By which he did ascend.'

This is the meaning of 'degree' in AV wherever it occurs in the plur.: the ref. being either to the degrees of Ahaz's dial (2 K $20^{9\,bis.\,10\,bis.\,11}$, Is $38^{8\,ter}$, see DIAL) or to the Songs of Degrees (Ps 120-134 titles, see PSALMS) and the Heb. מַעֲלָה *ma'ălâh*.

But from signifying a step literally, 'degree' soon passed to express also a step in rank, whence 1 Ch 15^{18} 'their brethren of the second d.' (הַמִּשְׁנִים, lit. 'the seconds'); 17^{17} 'a man of high degree (הָאָדָם הַמַּעֲלָה), Ps 62^{9} 'men of high d.' (בְּנֵי־אִישׁ); 62^{9} 'men of low d.' (בְּנֵי־אָדָם), Sir 11^{1} 'wisdom lifteth up the head of him that is of low d.' (ταπεινός: so Lk 1^{52}, Ja 1^{9}); 1 Ti 3^{13} 'they that have used the office of a deacon will purchase to themselves a good d.' (βαθμός, lit. 'step,' RV 'standing').

In the last passage the meaning is quite exceptional in the Eng. as in the Greek. The Eng. word is Wyclif's, who has been followed by all the versions except RV. It is simply a literal tr. of the Vulg. *gradus*, itself a literal tr. of the Greek. The Gr. word occurs here only in NT. In the LXX it is used either as tr. of *ma'ălâh* (2 K $20^{9\,bis.\,10\,bis.\,11}$) or of *miphtân* (1 S 5^{5}), the former being the 'steps' or 'degrees' of Ahaz's dial, the latter the 'threshold' of Dagon's temple: it is also found once in Apocr. (Sir 6^{36}) for the 'steps' of the wise man's door. See further Humphrey's note *in loc.* (*Camb. Bible*), and Hort, *Ecclesia* (1897), p. 202. J. HASTINGS.

DEGREES, SONGS OF.—See PSALMS.

DEHAITES (AV Dehavites, דֶּהָוֵא, *Ḳĕrê* דֶּהָיֵא, Ezr 4^{9}).—The Dehaites were among the peoples settled in Samaria by Osnappar, *i.e.* probably the Assyr. king Assurbanipal. They joined with their fellow-colonists in sending the letter written by Rehum and Shimshai to king Artaxerxes, to complain of the attempt made by the Jews to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem (probably about 447 B.C.). The name has been connected with that of a nomadic Persian tribe, the Δάοι, mentioned in Herod. i. 125 (Rawlinson), or with the name of the city Du'-ûa, mentioned on Assyrian contract-tablets (Fried. Delitzsch); but according to Schrader these identifications are very doubtful. The LXX reads Δαναῖοι (A), but in B the text runs Σουσυναχαῖοι οἵ εἰσιν Ἠλαμαῖοι (for 'the Shushanchites, the Dehaites, the Elamites'; cf. Meyer, *Judenthum*, 36). H. A. WHITE.

DEHORT.—Only 1 Mac 9^{9} 'they dehorted him, saying, We shall never be able' (ἀποστρέφω); and in the headings of some chapters. 'Dehort' (fr. Lat. *dehortari*) is the opposite of 'exhort.' '"Exhort" continues, but "dehort," a word whose place "dissuade" does not exactly supply, has escaped us'*—Trench, *Eng. Past and Pres.*^{7} 179. Ussher (1656) in *Ann.* iv. 24 has 'Exhorting them to observe the law of God . . . and dehorting them the breach of that law.' J. HASTINGS.

DELAIAH (דְּלָיָה, דְּלָיָהוּ).—**1.** One of the sons of Elioenai, a descendant of David (1 Ch 3^{24}, AV **Dalaiah**). **2.** A priest and leader of the 23d course of priests in the time of David (1 Ch 24^{18}). **3.** The son of Shemaiah, one of the 'princes' or officers of state at the court of Jehoiakim (Jer $36^{12.\,25}$). **4.** The son of Mehetabel, and father of Shemaiah, who was associated with Neh. in the rebuilding of Jerus. (Neh 6^{10}). **5.** The head of the children of D., who returned with Zerub. from Babylon (Ezr 2^{60}=Neh 7^{62}). The name in 1 Es 5^{37} is **Dalan.** R. M. BOYD.

DELECTABLE.—Is 44^{9} only, 'Their d. things shall not profit.' AV and RV retain the word from Geneva Bible, which explains, 'Whatsoever they bestow upon their idoles to make them to seeme glorious.' But it is the idols themselves that are called 'the d. things' (חֲמוּדִים *ḥămûdhîm*), which the Bishops' expressed by the (too) free tr. 'the carved image that they love can doe no good.' 'Delectable,' from Lat. *delectabilis*, came in through old Fr., whence came also the form 'delitable,' which was afterwards spelt 'delightable' by a mistaken association with *light*; later forms are 'delightsome' and 'delightful.' Only the last has held its ground; but 'delectable' is remembered by Bunyan's 'delectable Mountains' (*Pil. Prog.* p. 52); cf. Shaks. *Rich. II.* II. iii. 7—

> 'And yet your fair discourse hath been as sugar,
> Making the hard way sweet and delectable.'

J. HASTINGS.

DELICACY.—Trench (*Select Glossary*, p. 52 f.) says, 'In the same way as self-indulgence creeps over us by unmarked degrees, so there creeps over the words that designate it a subtle change; they come to contain less and less of rebuke and blame; the thing itself being tolerated, nay allowed, it must needs be that the words which express it should be received into favour too. It has been thus with *luxury*; it has been thus also with this whole group of words.' The words are 'delicacy,' 'delicate' (adj. and subst.), 'delicately,' 'delicateness,' 'delicious,' 'deliciously,' all of which except 'delicious' are found in AV.

Delicacy.—Rev 18^{3} 'the merchants of the earth are waxed rich through the abundance of her delicacies' (στρῆνος sing., RV 'wantonness,' RVm 'luxury'). 'Delicacies' is Rhemish tr., after Vulg. *deliciæ*, so Wyclif; but Tind. and others 'pleasures.' Voluptuousness is the oldest meaning of 'delicacy'; see *Delicate*, and cf. Chaucer, *Former Age*, 58—

> 'Jupiter the likerous, [=lecherous]
> That first was fader of delicacye.'

Delicate.—The adj. has two meanings in AV. 1. *Softly nurtured*, as Sus ^{31} 'Now Susanna was a very d. woman, and beauteous to behold' (τρυφερός); Bar 4^{26} 'my d. ones' (οἱ τρυφεροί μου); and probably Dt $28^{54.\,56}$, Is 47^{1} (all עָנֹג, LXX τρυφερός), Jer 6^{2} 'a comely and d. woman' (הַמְּעֻנָּגָה, LXX different reading), and Mic 1^{16} (תַּעֲנוּג, LXX τρυφερός). 2. *Luxurious*, as Wis 19^{11} 'they asked d. meats' (ἐδέσματα τρυφῆς, RV 'luxurious dainties'); Sir 29^{22} 'Better is the life of a poor man in a mean cottage, than d. fare in another man's house' (ἐδέσματα λαμπρά, RV 'sumptuous fare'); and Pr 19^{10} RV 'delicate living' (תַּעֲנוּג, AV 'delight'). As a *subst.* **delicates** occurs Jer 51^{34} 'he hath filled his belly with my d.' (עֲדָנִים, Amer. RV 'delicacies'); Sir 30^{18} (ἀγαθά, RV 'good things'), 31^{3} (τρυφήματα, RV 'good things'). Cf. Ps 141^{4} Gen. 'let mee not eate of their delicates' (AV 'dainties'); W. Brough (1650), 'Hunger cooks all meats to delicates,' which Herrick seems to copy (*Country Life*), 'Hunger makes coarse meats delicates.' **Delicately** means 'luxuriously' in the foll. passages in AV, La 4^{5} (מַעֲדַן), Pr 29^{21} 'he that d. bringeth up his servant from a child, shall have him become his son at the length' (פִּנֵּק='fondle,' 'indulge'; 'delicately' is Wyclif's tr., who, following Vulg., renders 'who delicatli fro childhed nurshith his seruaunt, afterward shal feelen hym vnobeisaunt,' V. *contumacem*); Lk 7^{25} 'they which are gorgeously apparelled, and live delicately, are in kings' courts' (τρυφή, as LXX La 4^{5}, and at 2 P 2^{13} where AV 'riot,' RV 'revel'); 1 Ti 5^{6} AVm 'she that liveth delicately (text 'in pleasure,' Gr. ἡ σπαταλῶσα), is dead while she liveth'; and add 2 S 1^{24} Ja 5^{5} RV. But in Ad. Est 15^{3} (AVm and RV 'carrying herself d.,' AV 'daintily,' Gr. τρυφερεύομαι) the meaning is 'as one that was tender' (Cov.), that is, *weak*; and so perhaps 1 S 15^{32} 'Agag came unto him delicately.'

The last is the only doubtful passage. AV took 'delicately' from the Bishops' Bible; Cov. 'tenderly,' Gen. 'pleasantly.' The Bishops' marg. is 'in hondes,' and RVm 'cheerfully.' The LXX gives τρέμων; Vulg. *pinguissimus, et tremens*, whence Douay 'very fatte, trembling'; Luther, *getrost* (confidently); Ostervald, *gaiement*. The possible ways of taking the Heb. (מַעֲדַנֹּת) are given by Driver (*Notes on Sam.* p. 99), who decides that it is safest, on the whole, to acquiesce in 'delicately,' 'voluptuously.' And, undoubtedly, voluptuously or luxuriously is the most natural meaning of the Heb. (for which see La 4^{5}), but its use in this place is not very apparent. The Eng. expression 'delicately' is probably meant to express weakness and fear (as Ad. Est 15^3) rather than pride or voluptuousness.

---

* Yet *Oxf. Eng. Dict.* quotes from Cheyne, *Isaiah* (1882), p. xx, 'Isaiah had good reason . . . to dehort the Jews from an Egyptian alliance.'

Delicateness.—Only Dt 28^{56} 'the tender and delicate woman . . . which would not adventure to set the sole of her foot upon the ground for d. (מֵהִתְעַנֵּג) and tenderness,' *i.e.* not 'weakness,' but 'fineness.' **Deliciously**=luxuriously, Rev $18^{7.9}$ 'lived deliciously' (*στρηνιάω*, RV 'lived wantonly'). Cf. Latimer, ii. 412, 'I am more inclined to feed many grossly and necessarily, than a few deliciously and voluptuously'; and Lk 16^{19} Tind. 'a certaine rich man, which . . . fared deliciously every daye.'

J. HASTINGS.

DELIGHTSOME, now only poet. for 'delightful,' was once good prose, and occurs in Mal 3^{12} 'ye shall be a d. land' (אֶרֶץ חֵפֶץ). Davies (*Bible Eng.* p. 236) quotes appositely from T. Adams, *Works*, i. 273, 'If this gentle physic make thee madder, He hath a dark chamber to put thee in—a dungeon is more lightsome and delightsome—the grave.'

J. HASTINGS.

DELILAH (דְּלִילָה, Δαλειδά).—The woman who betrayed Samson into the hands of the Philistines. The account as given in Jg 16 does not say whether she was an Israelite or a Philistine; but she was doubtless the latter, and Sorek, her place of residence, was then within the Philistine territory. Samson often sought her society, and allowed her to gain a great influence over him. That she was his wife is very improbable, notwithstanding that that is the opinion of Chrysostom and other patristic writers. See SAMSON. W. J. BEECHER.

DELOS (Δῆλος), a famous island in the Ægean Sea, has played a part in history quite out of proportion to its tiny size and rocky unproductive character. It was considered to have been anchored by Zeus to the bottom of the sea, and therefore not to be exposed to ordinary earthquakes.* It was the seat of a very ancient and widely-spread worship of Apollo, who, with his twin sister Artemis, was said to have been born there; and the Gr. peoples flocked from a great distance to the annual festival on the island, which is celebrated in the Homeric hymn to the Delian Apollo. The festival of the Virgin on the neighbouring island of Tenos is the modern representative of the ancient feast of Apollo. D., in B.C. 478, was selected as the meeting-place of the great confederacy of Gr. states on the Ægean coasts and islands for defence against the Persians; but after a time Athens, the presiding city of the confederacy, became also its centre. The Athenians treated D. as a rival to their own interests. As Athens became great, D. lost its importance; but when Athens grew weak, D. recovered. During the 2nd and 1st cent. B.C. it became one of the greatest harbours of the Ægean Sea, playing the same part in ancient trade that the island of Syra has played in modern commerce, and being favoured by the Romans after B.C. 190 as a rival to the maritime power of Rhodes. It was a nominally independent state under Rom. protection from B.C. 197 to 167. Then it was punished, for coquetting with Macedonia, with the loss of freedom; it was given to Athens, and its natives fled and settled in Achaia; and the Delian archons came to an end. The island was repeopled by Athenian colonists (*κληροῦχοι*), along with many Roman settlers; and henceforth its inscriptions are dated by the Athenian archons; and it was always considered to be part of the Roman province Achaia (which see). The earliest trace of a Roman settler in D. is contained in an inscription of B.C. 250. During the 2nd cent. it became the largest settlement of Roman (or Italian) merchants and traders in the Mediter. lands; mainly through their efforts and wealth its rather poor harbour was greatly improved; in their interest it was declared a free port by the Roman state in B.C. 166 in order to strike a blow at their commercial rivals, the merchants of Rhodes; and to satisfy them their other commercial rival Corinth (which see) was destroyed utterly by the Romans in B.C. 146.

Owing to its great importance in the E. Mediterranean trade, D. is mentioned in the list of states to which the Roman government addressed letters in favour of the Jews in B.C. 138–137, 1 Mac 15^{16-23}; and the inscriptions of D. form the best commentary on that important historical document. D. was the great exchange where the products and the slaves of all the states of the E. were bought for the Italian market, and most of the names mentioned in the passage of 1 Mac occur in the Delian documents. The strange omission of the kingdoms of Pontus and Bithynia in 1 Mac becomes all the more remarkable by comparison with the frequent mention of them at Delos. As Homolle says, 'Among the Orientals who frequented D., the Jews doubtless held a considerable place' (*Bulletin de Corresp. Hellén.* viii. 1884, p. 98); but, as the inscriptions are to a large extent concerned with religious purposes, it is not easy to find the traces of their presence. A decree of the Delians confirming the immunity of the Jews from military service is quoted in full by Jos. (*Ant.* XIV. x. 14).

A frightful calamity brought the prosperity of D., and especially of the Roman settlers, to an end. In the Mithridatic war Athens took part with the king, while D., where the Roman settlers were so numerous, naturally remained true to the Roman interest. After maintaining itself for a short time, D. was captured in B.C. 87 by the enemy; 20,000 Italians were massacred there and in the neighbouring Cyclades; and, when the Romans recovered it in the course of the war, they found it, as Strabo says, deserted. It recovered to a certain extent in the following years; but direct trade between Italy and the E. harbours now became more common; Ostia and Puteoli took the place of D. as the great emporia for the purchase of E. products required in Italy, and under the Roman Empire D. became utterly insignificant.

LITERATURE.—The excavations conducted at Delos for many years by the French School of Athens have thrown a flood of light on the history of the island. An excellent summary and estimate of their earlier results, as published in many scattered works, is given by Jebb in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1880, pp. 7–62. Since then numerous articles in the *Bulletin de Corresp. Hellén.*, by Homolle, S. Reinach, and others, have added much information, especially vi. pp. 1–167, vii. pp. 103–125, 329–373, viii. pp. 75–158, xiv. pp. 389–511, xv. pp. 113–168. See also Homolle, *Archives de l'Intendance Sacrée à Delos*; Schœffer, *de Deli Insulæ rebus*. W. M. RAMSAY.

DELUGE.—See FLOOD.

DEMAND.—Throughout AV 'demand' is simply to ask, as Fr. *demander*, without the sense of authority. This is manifest from the Heb. and Gr. words so tr$^{\text{d}}$, which have all this simple meaning. In Introd. to Gen. Bible we read, 'The Catechisme, or maner to teache children the Christian religion, wherein the minister demandeth the question, and the childe maketh answer.' See Field, *ON* iii. on Mt 2^4. As a subst. d. occurs only Dn 4^{17} with the same simple meaning. Cf. Chaucer, *Troilus*, v. 859—

> 'And of th' assege (siege) he gan hir eek byseche,
> To telle him what was hir opinioun.
> Fro that demaunde he so descendeth doun
> To asken hir, if that hir straunge thoughte
> The Grekes gyse, and werkes that they wroughte.'

Once RV introduces d. in mod. sense (Neh 5^{18}) for AV 'require' (see Ryle's note). J. HASTINGS.

---

* An earthquake at D. was considered a specially grave expression of the will and power of the god; see Herod. vi. 98; Thucyd. ii. 8.

DEMAS (Δημᾶς, possibly an abbrev. of Demetrius) is described by the Apostle Paul as a fellow-labourer, and unites with him in sending salutations from Rome to the Colossians and to Philemon (Col 4^{14}, Philem v.^{24}). In the 2nd Ep. to Timothy (4^{10}) he is described as having forsaken the apostle when he was awaiting his trial before Nero, because he 'loved this present world.' Whether he was discouraged by the hardships of the Christian life, or allured by the hope of some earthly advantage, and whether his apostasy was temporary or final, we have no means of knowing. Tradition leans to the darker view of his character, and classes him among the apostates from the faith (Epiph. *Hær.* 51).

R. M. BOYD.

DEMETRIUS I., surnamed Σωτήρ, 'Saviour,' by the Babylonians in gratitude for the removal of their satrap Heraclides, was the son of Seleucus Philopator. In his boyhood he was sent (B.C. 175) to Rome as a hostage, and remained there during the reign of his uncle, Antiochus Epiphanes. When the Senate several times refused his request to be recognized as the king of Syria, he fled from Rome, with the assistance chiefly of the historian Polybius (Polyb. xxxi.; Justin, xxxiv. 3). Landing at Tripolis, he was joined by large bodies of the people, and even by the bodyguard of his cousin, Antiochus Eupator. Eupator was soon defeated and put to death, and in B.C. 162 D. was proclaimed king (1 Mac 7^{1-4}, 2 Mac $14^{1, 2}$; Jos. *Ant.* XII. x. 1; Liv. *Epit.* xlvi.). He conciliated Rome by valuable presents (Polyb. xxxi. 23), and, after interfering in the affairs of Babylon (App. *Syr.* 47; Polyb. xxxii. 4), turned his attention to Judæa. Alcimus (wh. see) was established in the high priesthood, and the Syrian lordship was for a time completely renewed. In the seven years that followed, D. again offended the Romans by putting a supporter of his own in the place of Ariarathes on the throne of Cappadocia (Polyb. xxxii. 20; Liv. *Epit.* xlvii.), whilst his tyranny and excesses alienated his own people. Alexander Balas (wh. see) was set up as a claimant to the crown of Syria (B.C. 153); and he and D. competed for the support of Jonathan (1 Mac 10^{1-21}; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. ii. 1–3). The former, offering princely rank and the high priesthood, won at the first bid; and when the latter made a further promise of exemption from taxation and investment with privilege (1 Mac 10^{25-45}), the people 'gave no credence' to his words, which are very important for the light they cast upon the nature of the imposts exacted by the Syrian kings. The salt tax, the king's share of the crops and fruits, the poll-tax, the pressed service, with a variety of other burdens, were to be remitted, and the expenses of the temple to be met from the royal revenue (see Mahaffy, *Emp. of Ptolemies*, § 117). With the help of the Jews, Balas was able to recover from the reverses he suffered during the two years' war that followed; and in B.C. 150 a decisive engagement took place, in which D. displayed the utmost personal bravery, but was defeated and slain (1 Mac 10^{48-50}; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. ii. 4; App. *Syr.* 67; Polyb. iii. 5; Justin, xxxv. 1; Euseb. *Chron.* ed. Schoene, i. 263 sq.).

R. W. MOSS.

DEMETRIUS II., surnamed Νικάτωρ, 'Conqueror,' was sent by his father, D. Soter, for safety to Cnidus after the success of Balas seemed probable (Justin, xxxv. 2). For several years he remained in exile; but as soon as the unpopularity of Balas gave him an opportunity, he landed (B.C. 147) with an army of Cretan mercenaries on the Cilician coast. The entire country rallied to him except Judæa, where Jonathan still supported Balas. But Ptolemy Philometor declared in his favour, and their combined forces inflicted a fatal defeat upon Balas (B.C. 145) on the banks of the Œnoparas, from which event D. derived his surname (1 Mac 11^{14-19}; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. iv. 8; App. *Syr.* 67; Liv. *Epit.* lii.). Jonathan now set himself to separate Judæa from the Syrian Empire, and besieged the citadel in Jerus.; but D. persuaded him to raise the siege on the addition of three Samaritan provinces to Judæa, and the exemption of the country thus enlarged from tribute (1 Mac 11^{20-37}; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. iv. 9). When the excesses of D. had estranged his subjects, Tryphon (Diodotus), a former general of Balas, set up the latter's son as a pretender to the throne; but D. obtained the help of Jonathan by promising the removal of the Syrian garrisons from Judæa, and put down the revolt (1 Mac 11^{41-52}; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. v. 2, 3). On Jonathan's return to Judæa the revolt broke out again, and Tryphon made himself master of Antioch. As D. failed to keep his promise to the Jews, they now took the side of Tryphon, and drove the royal forces out of Cœle-Syria (1 Mac 11^{53-74}; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. v. 5–11). D. withdrew from the S. part of his kingdom; but when Tryphon, who had secured the Syrian crown for himself, attempted to reduce Judæa, Jonathan's brother Simon attached himself to D., and extracted from him a formal recognition of independence (1 Mac 13^{34-42}; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. vi. 7). Soon after D. invaded the dominions of the king of Parthia, by whom, in B.C. 138, he was taken prisoner (1 Mac 14^{1-3}: though Jos. *Ant.* XIII. v. 11, Justin, xxxvi. 1, and App. *Syr.* 67, 68, arrange the events in a different order, and support B.C. 140 as the date of the disaster). The imprisonment lasted for ten years, at the close of which D. was liberated by the Parthian king, who was engaged in war with Antiochus Sidetes, brother of D. (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. viii. 4; Eus. *Chron.* ed. Schoene, i. 255). D. recovered the kingdom (B.C. 128), and at once undertook a war against Ptolemy Physkon of Egypt. Ptolemy thereupon claimed the Syrian crown for Alexander Zabinas, who was announced to be the son of Balas (Eus. *Chron.* i. 257), or of Sidetes (Justin, xxxix. 1). D. was conquered by Zabinas at Damascus, and fled to Ptolemais, and thence to Tyre, where in B.C. 125 he was murdered (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. ix. 3), possibly at the instigation of his wife Cleopatra (App. *Syr.* 68; Liv. *Epit.* lx.).

R. W. MOSS.

DEMETRIUS III. (surnamed Εὔκαιρος, 'Prosperous,' and on coins Theos, Soter, Philometor, etc.) was a son of Antiochus Grypus, and grandson of D. Nikator. On the death of his father civil wars ensued, in the course of which two of his elder brothers lost their lives, whilst Philip, the third, secured a part of Syria, and D. established himself in Cœle-Syria, with Damascus as his capital, by the aid of Ptolemy Lathyrus, king of Cyprus (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. xiii. 4). In Judæa, too, civil war broke out between Alexander Jannæus and his Pharisee subjects. The latter invited the assistance of D. (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. xiii. 5; *Wars*, I. iv. 4), who possibly regarded it as a good opportunity to extend his kingdom to its ancient limits on the West and the South. He entered the country with a large army, was joined by the insurgent Jews, and defeated Jannæus in a pitched battle near Shechem (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. xiv. 1; *Wars*, I. iv. 5). But the desertion of the Jews, who either pitied the plight of Jannæus (Jos. *Wars*, *ib.*) or more probably feared the re-establishment of Syrian supremacy, made it impossible for D. to follow up the victory, and he withdrew to Berœa (Aleppo). The town was occupied by Philip, who, when besieged by his brother, called the Parthians to his aid. D. was in turn shut up closely within his encampment and starved into surrender. He was sent as a prisoner to Arsaces IX., by whom he was detained in captivity until his death (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. xiv. 3). The dates of the reign of D. cannot be fixed with precision; but coins of his are known, dated from the Seleucid year 217 to 224, *i.e.* approximately from B.C. 95 to 88 (Eckhel, iii. 245; Gardner, *Catalogue of Gr. Coins in the Brit. Mus.* 101). R. W. MOSS.

DEMETRIUS (Δημήτριος).—Two persons of the name are mentioned in NT—the ringleader in the riot at Ephesus (Ac 19^{24}), and a disciple commended by St. John (3 Jn v.^{12}). Both of these dwelt either in Ephesus or its vicinity,—the very name is redolent of Ephesian surroundings, and there is nothing impossible in the suggestion that the agitator had become the disciple of good report, and that, therefore, both references are to the same man. In its contracted form of Demas this is also the name of one who has an unhappy notoriety as a recreant, 'Demas hath forsaken me' (2 Ti 4^{10}). He is also mentioned in Col 4^{14} and Philem v.^{24}, and it is not certain that St. Paul meant to imply anything like utter apostasy. W. MUIR.

DEMON, DEVIL, Gr. δαίμων, or δαιμόνιον (more frequently), Heb. שֵׁד, Syr. ܫܐܕܐ, Aram. שֵׁידָא (cf. Assyr. *šîdu*). The supposed Heb. root is [שׁוּד] 'to be mighty,' hence 'to rule,' Arab. سَادَ (cf. שָׁדַד 'to treat violently, to destroy'). **Demoniac,** δαιμονιζόμενος. For 'devil' (properly διάβολος, see SATAN) RV rightly substitutes 'demon' wherever the Greek text has δαιμόνιον.

Both physical and moral evil may be regarded from two standpoints—(1) As existing *in* man physically in the form of bodily disease, or spiritually as moral evil; (2) as having a source *outside* man. It is with physical and moral evil in the *latter* aspect that we are now dealing. Among the Hebrews, both in pre-exilic and post-exilic times down to a comparatively late period of the Christian era, both moral and physical evil were attributed to personal agencies. This conception of personal evil agencies, that affected man's body and soul, exercised a profound and enduring influence over the minds of Christ and the apostles, and played a very considerable part in the writings of the Church Fathers.

In tracing this conception of evil spirits influencing man to its primitive sources, we shall find that it has its springs in early Semitic ideas which surrounded the Israelite people in the dawn of their history. Baudissin has clearly shown how the demonology of the Græco-Roman period of Judaism emerged out of the earlier polytheism. On this we shall have more to say later on. But it should be noted that that polytheism was itself the outcome of the principle called by Tylor, in his well-known work *Primitive Culture*, by the name 'animism.' Even early mankind instinctively sought for *causes*, and interpreted the forces and other manifestations of nature as *personal*, *i.e.* as emanating from beings analogous to himself (cf. Siebeck, *Lehrb. d. Religionsphilosophie*, p. 58 ff.). Thus primitive man dwelt in a cosmic society of superhuman agencies, some of which ministered to his well-being and others to his injury. At the dawn of human consciousness man found himself confronted by forces which he was unable to control, and which exercised a baleful or destructive influence. Hurricane, lightning, sunstroke, plague, flood, and earthquake were ascribed to wrathful personal agencies, whose malignity man would endeavour to avert or appease.

The nomadic Arabs of the time of Mohammed believed in the existence of hostile powers or *Jinns*, who were held to be the inhabitants of lonely spots, and Mohammed himself recognized their existence just as fully as his heathen contemporaries did. Various names were given to them, viz. *Ghûl*, *'Ifrît*, *Si'lâ*, *'Alûk*; and we have likewise feminine names. The word *'Ifrît*, which occurs so frequently in the 'One thousand and one nights,' is also found in the Korân (Sur. 27. 39), and according to Wellhausen means, like the Heb. שָׂעִיר, 'hairy.'* 'The desert is full of these spectral shapes. Whoever spends his time there as a traveller must steel his heart against them. A child of the desert must be on friendly terms with the wolf and on terms of intimacy with the *ghûl*.' On this subject consult W. R. Smith, *RS*^{2}, p. 119 f.

A. THE DEMONOLOGY OF THE OT.—The parallels which we find in OT to the *Jinn* of ancient as well as modern Arabia may now be noted. Isaiah, in an oracle describing the doom of Edom, portrays a scene among Edom's ruined fortresses, when 'one שָׂעִיר (hairy satyr) shall call out to another, and Lilîth (the night hag) shall take up her abode' (Is 34^{14}). This Lilîth is a demon of feminine sex. The same mythical creature meets us in the cuneiform inscriptions (see Schrader, *COT* ii. p. 311). In one of the magical texts cited by Hommel (*Semiten*, p. 367) occurs the line (iv. Rawl. 29, No. 1, Rev. 23)—

> 'The *lilu*, the *lilat*, the handmaid of *Lilu*.'

The Babylonian *lîlâtu* or *lîlîtu* is placed in this incantation in close connexion with the plague-demon *Namtar*. There can be little doubt that this plague-demon was connected in the popular imagination with the Semitic-Babylonian word *lilâtu*, which means 'night,' and so became a word of terror, denoting the night-demon, who sucked the blood of her sleeping victims. This grim feminine personality became a subject for later Jewish legends (see Sayce, *Hibbert Lect.* p. 146), which multiplied these night-demons (*lîlîn*).

---

* *Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten*, iii. ('Reste des Arabischen Heidenthums'), p. 135 *ad fin.* But this view appears to me somewhat doubtful, and the connexion of عِفْرِيت with عَفَر (עָפָר) 'dust,' seems more probable. When we bear in mind the close connexion between the *Jinn* and the serpent according to Arabic belief (see Nöldeke, *Zeitschr. für Völkerpsychologie u. Sprachwissenschaft*, vol. i. 1860, p. 412 ff.; and Baudissin, *Stud. zur Semit. Religiongesch.* i. 279 ff.), we might connect with this the curse pronounced on the serpent in Gn 3^{14} 'Dust thou shalt eat' . . . Winckler, it is true, regards this as simply an expression of dishonour or disgrace, and compares the phrase *tikalu ipra* in one of the Tel el-Amarna letters (*Altorient. Forsch.* iii. 271). But a hint which we obtain from Doughty's *Arabia Deserta* (i. p. 136) places us on the right track both for the explanation of the word *'Ifrît* and of Gn 3^{14} 'Malignity of the soil is ascribed to *jân*, ground demons, *ahl el-ard*, or earth-folk.' Malignant demons are believed to inhabit the seven stages of the under-world (*ib.* p. 259). I should therefore prefer to cite, as an Assyrian illustration of Gn 3^{14}, the 8th line in the Descent of Ištar to Hades, *ašar ipru madu bubussunu akalšunu ṭiṭu*, 'a place where much dust is their sustenance, mire their food.' Mr. Buchanan Gray of Mansfield College, Oxford, in a letter which he kindly sent to me on this subject, says, 'I have looked through the article in the *Lisân el'Arab* on عفر, and can find nothing that *necessitates* giving to *'Ifreet* the sense "hairy." I daresay you have noticed that some of the derivatives of the root عِفْرًا, عِفْرَى (in plu.) denote the feathers of the neck, or the mane, or the front hairs of a horse. In the line cited by Wellh. from *Hudh.* 227^{10} عَفَارَى (plu. of عِفْرَى) is used of the hair of women. The feminine of عِفْرَى is عِفْرِيَة, whence, according to Arabic lexicographers, عِفْرِيت (*Ifrît*), through quiescence of the *yā*, and subsequent change of the ة into ت. This is all the connexion with hair which I have yet been able to find, and thus there seems less in favour of connecting *'Ifreet* with hairiness, than of your attractive alternative view of connecting it with dust.' In the new ed. (1897) of Wellhausen's *Reste*, see pp. 151 ff., and footnote 1. p. 152.

See Weber, *Syst. der altsynagog. Palästin. Theol.* p. 246; Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenth.* ii. p. 413 ff.

Even conservative critics like Dillmann and König assign Is 34 (together with 35) to a period not earlier than the end of the exile; Cheyne, indeed, would regard it as post-exilic (*Introd. to Isaiah*, p. 205 ff.). In the case of this chapter, as well as 13^2–14^{23}, it is impossible to deny the existence of clear traces of direct Babylonian influence. But the date of authorship of these passages does not determine the question when the belief in demonic personalities embodied in animal shapes first became prevalent in Israel. From the mention of jackals, ostriches, wild cats, and hyænas in connexion with the שְׂעִירִים 'satyrs,' both in $34^{13ff.}$ and its parallel $13^{21ff.}$, we are led to infer that demons were held to reside more or less in all these animal denizens of the ruined solitude. From Lv 17^7 we also learn that in post-ex. times sacrifices were offered to שְׂעִירִים—a practice which is expressly forbidden. On the other hand, the curious rite respecting 'Azâzel (עֲזָאזֵל), detailed in Lv $16^{8ff.}$, formed an integral part of the ceremonies on the great Day of Atonement, and clearly shows how firmly embedded in popular imagination was this belief in evil powers of the solitude. 'Azâzel is here an evil spirit, and stands opposed to J".* See AZAZEL.

The belief that certain animals were endowed with demonic powers, somewhat like the Arabic *Jinn*, must have existed in comparatively early pre-ex. times, since Gn 3^{1-19}, containing the temptation of Eve by the serpent, belongs to the earlier stratum of J. We might compare with this Nu 22^{22-34}, coming from the same documentary source. But in the narrative of the temptation of Eve by the serpent there is no hint that an evil spirit resided in the serpent. The serpent is identified with it, and we have no suggestion that a demon was able to detach itself from the animal and pass into something else. This was a later development. The animal was itself the demonic power, and the latter is not abstracted or treated as a separable personality.

The Jewish exile, covering the larger part of the 6th cent. B.C. and the close of the 7th, wrought a great change. It is probably to this period that we owe the Heb. word שֵׁד. This word, occurring in the plural form שֵׁדִים in Dt 32^{17}, like the Aram. שֵׁידָא, is probably a loan-word, taken from the Assyro-Babylonian (*šidu*). The word *šidu* in Assyr. means good or evil genius, represented in the monuments in the form of a colossal bull. The word occurs only twice in OT (Dt 32^{17} and Ps 106^{37}). The Song of Moses (Dt 32) in its present form can hardly be earlier than the time of Jeremiah and Ezekiel (Kuenen). Indeed, its retrospective and didactic character, as well as the references to Israel's past sins of idolatry, would point quite as well to the 6th cent. as to the 7th for the date of its composition. In other words, it may be held, with considerable probability, to reflect the feelings of pious Jews in the exile period.

Now, magic played a very considerable part in Babylonian religion. Magic rests on the basis of a belief in evil and destructive spirits, to whose baleful influences man is daily exposed, and which can be counteracted by certain incantations, whereby the countervailing name and power of the higher beneficent gods are invoked. As Sayce has clearly shown (*Hibbert Lect.* p. 317), magic was closely bound up with medicine, since 'all sickness was ascribed to demoniacal possession; the demon had been eaten with the food and drunk with the water, or breathed in with the air, and until he could be expelled there was no chance of recovery' (p. 310). Specimens of these magical texts may be seen in the translations given in Appendix 3 of Sayce's *Hibbert Lectures*. We subjoin the following specimen:—

> 'The plague (*namtar*), the fever which will carry the people away,
> The sickness, the consumption which will trouble mankind,
> Harmful to the flesh, injurious to the body,
> The evil incubus, the evil *alu*, the evil *maskum*,
> The evil man, the evil eye, the evil mouth, the evil tongue . . .
> Against my body never may they come,
> My eye never may they injure . . .
> Into my house never may they enter,
> O spirit of heaven conjure, O spirit of earth conjure.'*

A comparison of this vast system of belief in evil spirits and in incantations, which prevailed in Babylonia, with the later Jewish traditions of demonology, at once reveals the close connexion between the two. During the exile these Babylonian traditions effected an entrance into the Jewish world of ideas, and there became permanently domiciled.

But while שֵׁד is obviously borrowed from the Bab. *šidu*, its signification was by no means the same. For שֵׁדִים is used in the sense of deities of the heathen, אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים. Now, the attitude of ancient Israel towards foreign deities varied considerably in different periods of the nation's history. The continued declension of the people towards idolatry in the pre-exilic times clearly shows that, in the popular mind, belief in the power as well as existence of foreign deities was firmly rooted. Many OT passages clearly indicate this, Jg 6^{31} 9^{24}, Nu 21^{29} (cf. Jer 48^{46} 49^1), 1 S 26^{19}, Ru 1^{15} 2^{12} (see Baudissin, *Stud. zur Semit. Religionsgesch.* Heft i.). In other words, the religion of Israel in early times was henotheism rather than monotheism. In fact, monotheism came very slowly to displace the 'monarchic polytheistic' belief of primitive Israel. It is true that, from the 8th cent. B.C. downwards, the 'other gods' are called 'no gods,' 'emptiness,' 'wind,' 'vanity' (or 'breath'), 'corpses,' and 'dead'; but these are terms which are rather selected to express the utter powerlessness and insufficiency of foreign deities in comparison with the supreme might of J", the true living God of Israel, than to assert their absolute non-existence.†

Accordingly, in the two passages Dt 32^{17} and Ps 106^{37}, the word שֵׁדִים 'demons' is used to describe the subordinate position, as compared with J", of the Moabite deities, to whom the Hebrews sacrificed in the time of Moses. Baudissin rightly observes in reference to Dt 32^{12} 'when in the Song of Moses it is said that J" alone has led Israel, and no strange god (אֵל נֵכָר) was with Him, we must merely understand that the active influence of strange gods over Israel is excluded, but that their existence was rather recognized than denied.'

The use of שֵׁדִים in these two passages may, in fact, be regarded as the first step taken by Israel in the direction of demonology, under Babylonian influence, the deities of foreign nations being relegated to this subordinate rank, and designated by this term. Elsewhere in OT and in the literature of a later period, we find the deities of the heathen identified with the host of stars. Of this we have an example in the apocalyptic section in Isaiah (24–26), which is placed by many critics, with good reason, in the Greek period, not much earlier than the Maccabæan book of Daniel. In Is 24^{21} we read 'And it shall come to pass in that day, that J″ will visit the host of the height in the height, and the kings of the earth upon the earth, and they shall be carried away captive to the pit, and shut up in the prison, and the moon shall grow pale,' etc. This is a fresh development of the old pre-exilic Heb. conception of the heavenly host of attendant personal powers or angels, represented as stars. This belief is reflected in Micaiah's vision (1 K 22^{19}), Deborah's song (Jg $5^{4.20}$), and embodied in the name יהוה צְבָאוֹת, which frequently recurs in prophetic literature (Am 5^{27}, Is 1^{9} 6^{3} etc.),* and thence passed into post-exilic psalm liturgy (Ps 103^{21} 148^{2}). In the apocalyptic passage Is 24^{21}, the host of the height are the heathen deities identified with fallen angels. Here, again, the roots of the conception of *fallen* national deities may be found in the influences of the exile (cf. Is 46^{1}). It is impossible to mistake the significance of the passage Is $14^{12\text{ff.}}$—

---

* See Schultz, *Alttest. Theologie*⁴ (1888), p. 368; and also Cheyne in *ZATW*, 1895, Heft i. p. 135 ff. The curious rite of sending forth the goat for 'Azâzel into the wilderness (Lv $16^{21.22}$) should be compared with the despatch of the bird into the field in the ceremony respecting leprosy (14^{53}).

* See Tiele, *Babylon-Assyr. Gesch.* p. 548 ff.; Hommel, *Gesch. Babyl. Assyr.* p. 388 ff. The subject was first comprehensively dealt with in Lenormant's *Chaldæan Magic*, about twenty years ago. The latest work is L. W. King's *Bab. Magic and Sorcery, Cuneiform Texts from the Kouyunjik Collections in B.M.*

† Baudissin (*ib.* p. 72) in our opinion errs in holding that, in all passages which describe the victorious conflict in which J" engages with the gods of the heathen, we have merely poetic personification of the latter, *e.g.* Is 19^1, Jer 46^{25}. The language of Ex 15^{11} 'Who is like unto thee, O J", among the gods' (בָּאֵלִים, cf. Ps $77^{14ff.}$ 105^3 96^4, in which comparison is made between God and the deities of other nations), clearly indicates that *some* kind of existence and power, however slight, is assigned to the latter. That the terms אֱלִילִים, הֶבֶל, שֶׁקֶר, לֹא אֱלֹהִים, etc., cannot be pressed into signifying the absolute denial of existence, is recognized by Baudissin himself (*ib.* p. 101 *ad fin.*).

> 'Oh! how art thou fallen from heaven Lucifer (הֵילֵל) son of the dawn!
> How art thou hewn down to earth who didst lay peoples low!
> And thou saidst in thy heart: To the heavens will I mount up,
> Above the stars of God will I set my throne on high' . . .

B. THE DEMONOLOGY OF LATER JUDAISM.—During the Greek period the conception of the gods of the heathen as demons became firmly established, and its development was no doubt largely helped by a growing tendency to assume an intermediate realm of δαίμονες (later δαιμόνια). Its beginnings may be traced even in Hesiod, who made a distinction between θεοί and δαίμονες—the latter being good, and the survivors of the happy golden race whom the Olympic gods first made. But in the 5th cent. B.C. Empedocles widened the gap between gods and demons. The gods were powerful and good, without appetite or passion; the demons, on the other hand, held a middle position between men and gods, and were the ministers from the latter to the former. These δαίμονες lived long, but were not immortal like the gods. They had passions like men, and there existed varying grades among them, some being beneficent and others malignant. It was the demons who communicated dreams and oracles to men, and inspired them towards good and evil (Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, i. pp. 66, 409 ff.). Stoic theology subsequently adopted into its system this conception of an intermediate realm of δαιμόνια, in order that polytheism, as a moral power, might be rehabilitated. This finds full expression in the 2nd cent. A.D. in such writers as Plutarch, Apuleius, and Maximus of Tyre. The demons stand between men and gods, and all the elements of mythology that were derogatory to the character of the national deities were referred to the demons.

Greek influence, therefore, stimulated the growth of Hebrew angelology and demonology. Intermediate personal agencies became interpolated between the absolute transcendent God and the phenomenal world. As God in His transcendence became removed from participation in the material world, these mediating personalities became a quasi-intellectual necessity. Accordingly, the LXX renders אֱלִילִים in Ps 95 [Heb. 96]^{5} by δαιμόνια, and so also שֵׁדִים in Dt 32^{17}, Ps 105 [Heb. 106]^{37}, גַּד in Is 65^{11}, and צִיִּים in Is 34^{14}. Similarly, in the Bk. of Baruch heathen deities are called δαιμόνια or evil spirits. The Ethiopic Bk. of Enoch designates the gods *Aganent*, 'demons,' while in the pröem to the Sibylline books the gods of the heathen are called δαίμονες οἱ ἐν ἄδῃ. It should be noted, moreover, that both in the Sibylline books and in the Bk. of Enoch the deities are regarded as *evil* spirits. Philo, on the other hand, who came more directly and completely under Greek influence, occupied an exceptional position. He treats the gods of the heathen as *good* heavenly powers, identified with stars, in opposition to the prevalent Jewish-Alexandrine conception.* We notice again in To $6^{15\text{ff.}}$ the evil spirit Asmodæus is called simply δαιμόνιον, and in $3^{8.17}$ πονηρὸν δαιμόνιον. Similarly, in Josephus δαιμόνιον is used of the ghostly evil spirit.

The subject of Jewish demonology is too vast to compress into the compass of this article. We shall therefore cite a few only among the salient features which may be gathered from Weber's *System der altsynagog. Paläst. Theol.* § 54.

The ordinary word for 'devil' in later Heb. is שֵׁד. Similarly, in the Peshiṭtâ ܫܺܐܕܳܐ is the rendering of the δαιμόνιον of NT.† Another term employed by the Jews was מַזִּיקִין, meaning 'destructive' or 'injurious ones' (cf. Pael נַזֵּיק 'injure'). Thus the Targ. renders שֵׁדִים in Ps 106^{37} by מַזִּיקַיָּא. In fact, the πνεύματα ἀκάθαρτα (πονηρά) of NT is merely a rendering of רוּחִין בִּישִׁין or רוּחֵי מְסָאֲבָא; and just as רוּחִין is sometimes used by itself to express this, so also in NT with πνεύματα.

According to Jewish conceptions, **Satan** stands at the head of the demons. From *Berachôth* 51*a* we learn that they form societies or bands which lie in wait for men. The sick, women in menstruation, bridegrooms and brides, those in sorrow, and even disciples (תַּלְמִידֵי חֲכָמִים), are liable to their assaults. According to *Pesachim* 112*b* the nightly wanderer is specially open to danger, for the night season until cock-crow is the time when demons walk abroad. They surround the house, and injure those who fall into their hands. More particularly, they destroy children who during the night pass outside the house. As soon as the cock crows this power ceases, and the demons return to their place of abode. Also there are special animals which, according to Jewish belief, are united with demons, viz. serpents, asses, bulls, mosquitos, etc. We are here again reminded of the *Jinn* of the desert in primitive as well as modern Arabian belief.‡ 'Don't remain standing,' is the warning of *Pesachim* 112*b*, 'when the bull comes from the meadow, for Satan dances between his horns.' God alone has power to quell the demons. His protection is always bestowed on the congregation when the priest recites the יִשְׁמְרֶךָ of Nu 6^{24}, an expression which, according to *Sifre* 12*a*, bears special reference to evil thoughts and demons. The protection is afforded by means of the guardian angels whom God assigns to His pious followers. *Berachôth* 40*a* gives the advice that covenant salt (Lv 2^{13}, Nu 18^{19}) should be eaten and drunk at every meal as a protection against demons. Certain formulæ or passages from Holy

---

* I disagree, however, with Smend in his conclusion that this name was a speciality of prophetic literature, borrowed, as Wellhausen suggests, from Amos (*Lehrbuch d. Alttest. Religionsgesch.* p. 185 ff.). The origin of the phrase was undoubtedly much more primitive.

* Philo also identifies the heroes and demons of Greek speculation with the angels of Moses. His tendency was to rationalize myth, 'In souls and demons and angels we have, it is true, different *names*, but, in conceiving the thing represented by them all to be one and the same, you will set aside a heavy burden, viz. superstition' (Conybeare in *JQR*, Oct. 1896, p. 79).

† This is the Syr. equivalent of δαίμων in Lk 8^{29}, and δαιμόνιον (Mt 17^{18} etc.), and שָׂעִיר (Lv 17^{7}, Is 13^{21} 34^{14}).

‡ Cf. Mk 1^{13} ἦν μετὰ τῶν θηρίων.

Writ were considered specially potent against demons. *Berach.* 51*a* recommends the passage from Zec 3² 'The Lord rebuke thee, Satan,' as specially effective against the Angel of Death. *Aboda Zara* 12*b*, *Pesachim* 112*b*, warn the reader against drinking water in the night, for he runs the risk of death, or of the demon Shabriri, who can make men blind. The remedy is to strike the water-jug with the lid, and say to oneself, 'Thou N., son of N., thy mother hath warned thee, and said, Guard thyself from the *Shabriri, beriri riri, iri, ri*,' the pronunciation of the name with a syllable short each time being a potent spell to drive the demon away.

We shall now cite an interesting illustrative passage from Josephus (*Ant.* VIII. ii. 5), which is significant because it shows how profoundly the belief in demonology affected even the most cultivated and cosmopolitan of Jews. In his account of Solomon's wisdom * we are informed that 'God enabled him to learn that skill which expels demons,' and that Solomon composed such incantations as alleviate distempers. 'And he left behind him the mode of using exorcism by which they drive away demons so that they never return. And this method is prevalent unto this day, for I have seen a certain man of my own country, whose name was Eleazar, releasing people that were demoniacal in the presence of Vespasian. . . . The manner of the cure was as follows :—He put a ring that had a root, of one of those sorts mentioned by Solomon, to the nostrils of the demoniac, after which he drew the demon out through his nostrils ; and when the man fell down at once, he adjured him (the demon) to return unto him no more, making still mention of Solomon, and reciting the incantations which he composed.' Another passage shows that Josephus considered demons to be the spirits of departed wicked men (*BJ* VII. vi. 3).

Passing for a few moments to the Jewish apocryphal literature of the age *preceding* the birth of Jesus, we observe that according to the *Book of Enoch* the demons are lost angels. They assail men's bodies, cause convulsions, and in other ways vex and oppress mankind (ch. 15) ; and this war of the demons on men will continue until the day of consummation—the great judgment (16), when they will receive dire chastisement.† In 19¹ we learn that evil spirits in various shapes shall corrupt men, and lead them astray to sacrifice to demons as if to gods until the great judgment day. In 53⁵ we read of the iron chains prepared for the angelic hosts who are hurled down into the abyss of condemnation (cf. 2 P 2⁴, Rev 20²·³).

In the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (test. Reuben) we are informed that there are seven evil spirits sent out from Beliar against mankind, viz. those of life, seeing, hearing, smell, talking, taste, and the procreative impulses. Another group of seven is mentioned, viz. of fornication, gluttony, combativeness, flattery, pride, falsehood, injustice.

C. THE DEMONOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. —This is in all its broad characteristics the demonology of the contemporary Judaism stripped of its cruder and exaggerated features. Evil demons or unclean demons, *δαιμόνια* (שֵׁדִים), *πνεύματα ἀκάθαρτα* or *πονηρά* (רוּחִין בִּישִׁין), hover about the world, and these are under subjection to Satan (*ἄρχων τῶν δαιμονίων*), Mt 9³⁴ 12²⁴, Mk 3²², Lk 11¹⁵. The demon was said to enter (*εἰσέρχεσθαι*) into a man somewhat as though it were a physical entity, and similarly was said to pass out (*ἐξέρχεσθαι*), or was forcibly expelled by some superior power who had authority to cast out (*ἐκβάλλειν*) demons. The demons may pass into other animals, *e.g.* into the Gadarene swine. A man possessed with a devil was said to have or hold a demon (*ἔχει δαιμόνιον*), or to be a demoniac (*δαιμονιζόμενος*, cf. the Arabic *mejnûn*, said of a man possessed by a *Jinn*, Doughty, i. p. 259). Mt (4²⁴ 17¹⁵) also employs the verb *σεληνιάζεσθαι*, 'to be a lunatic,' as though it expressed something distinct from *δαιμονίζεσθαι* (4²⁴). In Mk 1²³ 5³ the phrase used is (*ἄνθρωποι*) *ἐν πνεύματι ἀκαθάρτῳ*, where the preposition *ἐν* means 'in the power or under the influence of' ; cf. Winer, § xlviii. (Eng. ed. p. 483*a*). Luke also uses *ἐνοχλεῖσθαι* of demon possession (6¹⁸).

The manifestations of demoniac possession are very varied in NT. In the case of the Gadarene he is compelled to dwell among the tombs, which are associated with solitude and uncleanness. As water is connected with purity and cleansing, the demons have a preference for waterless spots. Demons are, however, chiefly associated with abnormal forms of human life, especially disease. Dumbness (Lk 9³⁹, Mk 9¹⁷), deafness and dumbness (Mk 9²⁵), blindness and deafness combined (Mt 12²²), and epilepsy (Mk 1²⁶ 9²⁰, Lk 9³⁹), are the manifestations of demoniac influence. Of all the synoptic evangelists, *Luke* is the most powerfully impressed with this conception. Even high fever is attributed to demoniac agency, as we can clearly infer from the fact that, in the case of Peter's mother-in-law, Jesus stood over her and *rebuked* the fever which possessed her (Lk 4³⁸·³⁹, cf. 13¹⁶). It is to be noted, however, that in this Gospel a saying of our Lord is reported which expressly distinguishes between ordinary cures and expulsion of demons, *ἐκβάλλω δαιμόνια καὶ ἰάσεις ἀποτελῶ* (Lk 13³²). The demons, moreover, were able to *speak*, and exercised mastery over the vocal organs of the human subject. Thus in one case, as the demon came forth, it cried with a loud voice (Mk 1²⁶). It was possible for many demons to possess a human being at the same time. Seven demons were cast out from Mary Magdalene by Jesus (Lk 8²), while the Gadarene demoniac was possessed by a legion.

As regards the *method of procedure* adopted by Jesus, we observe the stress which is laid upon His own personality. The power which He wielded in His person is placed in direct opposition to the kingdom of moral and physical anarchy. Faith was necessary in order that the exorcist should accomplish his task (Mt 17¹⁹·²⁰), and this was aided by prayer (Mk 9²⁹). Faith was sometimes required on the part of near relatives, as in the case of the father of the epileptic patient (Mk 9²³·²⁴), in order that the cure might be effected. In these circumstances Jesus relied upon a simple direct command addressed to the demon, 'Thou dumb and deaf spirit, I charge thee come out of him' (Mk 9²⁵), or 'be muzzled and depart' (Mk 1²⁵). 'He cast out spirits with a word, and healed all who were sick.' He Himself declared that He did this by the finger or spirit of God (Lk 11²⁰, Mt 12²⁸). There was no use of magic formulæ. In the case of the woman who had been bound by Satan for eighteen years, He merely laid His hand upon her (Lk 13¹³). In Mt 12²⁷ He appears to place His own expulsions of demons on a footing of equality with those worked by Jewish exorcists ; but here it is impossible to deny that there is irony latent in the question, 'By whom do your sons cast them out?' It is asked by way of argument rather than direct statement, and is intended to apply to the special belief and standpoint held by His Jewish opponents.

This power of delivering men from unclean spirits Jesus bequeathed to His disciples (Mt 10^{1}). They effected their cures simply by *naming the name* of Jesus (Mk 16^{17}, Ac 3^{6}). This belief in the powerful efficacy of the *name* comes from a hoary Semitic past (see Sayce's *Hibbert Lect.* pp. 302–307). It should be remembered that *name* meant to an ancient Semite personal power and existence, and hence involved to those who invoked the name of Jesus belief in the actual presence and might of the divine Saviour of mankind.

---

* Respecting Solomon as a nucleus of later legend, see Stade, *Gesch.* p. 309 ff., and the Arabic story of Bilkis (given in the Chrestomathy of Socin's *Arabic Grammar*).

† Conybeare, in quoting this, appositely cites the cry of the demons to Jesus, 'Art thou come hither to torment us *before our time?*' I desire here to express my obligations to this writer, whose interesting articles on the 'Demonology of the New Testament' (*JQR*, July and October 1896) contain much valuable information. They are occasionally marked, however, by a certain tendency to accentuate unduly some of the details of the NT narrative. Note, for example, his rendering of ἐπέπεσε as 'fell bodily' in Ac 10⁴⁴, whereas it has no more physical significance than in Eurip. *Androm.* 1042, σοὶ μόνᾳ δύσφρονες ἐπέπεσον λῦπαι.

Before passing from the subject of the Gospel narratives in their relation to demonology, it should not be forgotten (1) that we are dealing with the *reports of chroniclers whose minds were necessarily coloured by the prevailing beliefs of the age, psychic and cosmic*; (2) that the properly demoniac element *is almost wholly absent* from the *Fourth* Gospel. In 8^{48} 10^{20} the language employed by the Jews is quoted, while in 6^{70} Judas is called *διάβολος* and not *δαιμόνιον*.

St. Paul, however, shared the conceptions of his contemporaries respecting devils. Several passages may be cited in illustration. In the first place, the much disputed passage 1 Co $10^{19,20}$ points, in our opinion, to the conclusion adopted by Baudissin, and more recently by Everling (*Die Paulinische Angelologie u. Dämonologie*, p. 27 ff.), that St. Paul had borrowed from Alexandrian Judaism the belief that the offerings to heathen deities were offerings to demons (cf. above the demonology of the Bk. of Enoch and the Sibylline books). In 1 Co 10^{20} Paul argues, 'But I say, that the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils, and not to God: and I would not that ye should have communion with devils. Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of devils.' He is pleading that it is not permissible to partake of the heathen sacrificial offerings. He quotes the two examples of the Christian Lord's Supper and the Jewish sacrifice. In both cases there is a real communion between the participator and the object of worship. The statement in 8^{4} 'We know that no idol is anything in the world,' does not involve any inconsistency. For St. Paul the gods *as such* are creatures of the imagination; yet he does not hold that nothing at all exists behind the image-worship of the heathen, but that demons lurk there and the kingdom of Satan, and that participators in heathen feasts are drawn into the circle of their evil influence (so Holsten).* Moreover, Everling (*ib.* p. 33 ff.) has shown with considerable probability that the reference in the obscure phrase 1 Co 11^{10} 'for this cause ought the woman to have *power* over her head on account of the angels' is to be found in the legend of the intercourse of the fallen angels with the daughters of men. Book of Enoch (ch. 6) and other citations from the Book of Jubilees, Apocalypse of Baruch 56^{12} in Charles' ed., and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (test. Reuben 5), show the important place held by this tradition in the literature that preceded the time of St. Paul.

It would lie beyond the scope of this article to trace the development of demonology in post-apostolic Christian writers. The elaborate demonology of Origen is portrayed in Conybeare's interesting article (*JQR*, Oct. 1896), to which the reader is referred. The enormous range of this belief in all its varieties, and the extent to which it penetrated into popular belief and practice from the hoary antiquity of Babylonian and Egyptian magic down to the time of the Reformation and beyond, is a fact of which this modern age of scientific discovery is but dimly conscious. Readers of Doughty's *Arabia Deserta*, however, soon become aware how fervently the modern Arab of the desert believes in the *Jân* (see especially vol. ii. p. 188 ff.). Monumental evidence presents a vast array of examples. A considerable mass of Aramaic inscriptions could be cited, if space permitted, consisting of nothing else than conjurations, charms, or spells. See, for example, the transcription and translation by Jos. Wohlstein, in *Zeitschr. für Assyriologie*, April 1894, of Aramaic inscriptions on clay vessels preserved in the Royal Museum at Berlin, No. 2416 (consisting of nearly 100 lines); also in Dec. 1893, No. 2422 (of 44 lines). See also the interesting Greek form in Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, p. 26 ff., and cf. art. EXORCISM. Respecting modern examples of demoniacal possession and exorcism it is difficult to speak with certainty, though some examples appear well authenticated. One of the most striking is to be found in the account given by the missionary Waldmeier of his ten years' labour in Abyssinia, *Autobiography of Thomas Waldmeier*, pp. 64–66. Though the shadows of such beliefs have been slowly passing away from Western Europe, the gloom still invests a large portion of the world, and fills the hearts of many millions of our fellow-men with anguish and terror. Like our first parents, we behold

> 'all the eastern side
> With dreadful faces thronged and fiery arms.'

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

DEMOPHON (*Δημοφῶν*, 2 Mac 12^{2}), a Syrian commandant in Palestine under Antiochus Eupator. According to the author of 2 Mac, after terms of peace had been agreed upon for the first time between Judas Maccabæus and Lysias (see ABSALOM IN APOCR.), some of the provincial commandants, and Demophon among them, continued to act in a hostile manner towards the Jews.

H. A. WHITE.

DEN (אֶרֶב the lurking-place of wild beasts, Job 37^{8}; מְעָרָה a cave where robbers hide, Jer 7^{11}; מִנְהָרָה in Jg 6^{2} is perhaps [but see Moore, *ad loc.*] a deep valley or water-course. In NT *σπήλαιον*).—The lions' den into which Daniel was cast (Dn 6^{7} etc.) was doubtless that in which the king's lions were kept, in accordance with a custom known to prevail at Oriental courts. Layard (*Nin. and Bab.*) shows that these beasts were used for purposes of sport by the kings of Assyria. A royal lion hunt is depicted in a bas-relief of the palace of Assur-naẓir-pal (B.C. 885–860) discovered at Nimroud, now in the British Museum. A seal of Darius has also been found, on which the king is represented in the act of shooting an arrow at a lion rampant.

G. WALKER.

DENARIUS.—See MONEY.

DENOUNCE.—In AV Dt 30^{18} only, 'I d. unto you this day, that ye shall surely perish' (הִגַּדְתִּי, tr^{d} 'I profess' 26^{3}). This is the orig. meaning of the word (fr. Lat. *denuntiare*, 'to give official intimation'). So Peacock (1449), 'The Euangelie of God . . . which to alle men oughte be denouncid'; and 2 Th 3^{10} Wyc. (1380) 'we denounceden this thing to you, that if ony man wole not worche: nether ete he' (after Vulg. *hoc denunciabamus vobis*).

J. HASTINGS.

DENY.—In the sense of 'refuse,' deny (Lat. *de-negare*, 'say no,' 'refuse') is not yet obsolete. Examples in AV are 1 K 2^{16} 'I ask one petition of thee, deny me not' (אַל־תָּשִׁבִי אֶת־פָּנָי 'turn not away my face'; in v.^{20} the same phrase is twice tr^{d} in AV 'say not nay,' RV 'deny not'; cf. Lk 12^{27}); 1 K 20^{7}, Pr 30^{7} 'Two things have I required (RV 'asked') of thee; deny me them not before I die' (both מָנַע). But we cannot now say 'deny to do' a thing, as Wis 12^{27} 'the true God, whom before they denied to know' (ἠρνοῦντο εἰδέναι, Vulg. *negabant se nosse*, RV 'refused to know,' RVm 'denied that they knew'); so 16^{16} 'the ungodly that denied to know thee'; and 1 Mac 5$^{\text{heading}}$ 'He destroyeth Ephron for denying him to pass through it.' Cf. Shaks. *Winter's Tale*, v. ii. 128: 'You denied to fight with me this other day, because I was no gentleman born'; and Knox, *Historie*, 88, 'the Lord Gray . . . plainely denyed to charge again.'

---

* The opposite view is taken by Beyschlag in his Programme, 'Did the Apostle Paul regard the gods of the heathen as demons?' and he is followed by Marcus Dods (*Expositor*, March 1895, p. 237 ff.). But on the subject of Demonology in the NT, and the belief of Jesus in a personal devil, Beyschlag is an unsafe guide, as I shall attempt to show in my article SATAN.

J. HASTINGS.

DEPART.—The earliest meaning of 'depart' is 'divide into parts' (*dis-partire*), as Maundeville, xi. 43: 'The yerde of Moyses, with the whilk he departid the Reed See.' Then to 'distribute,' as Jn 19^{24} Gen. 'They departed my rayment among them.' Next came 'separate,' which occurs once (intrans.) in AV, Ac 15^{39} 'they departed asunder one from the other' (ἀποχωρίζομαι, RV 'parted asunder'). This is the meaning (but trans.) of 'depart' in the Pr. Bk., 'till death us depart,' which was retained from 1549 till 1662, when 'depart' was changed into 'do part.' Cf. Ru 1^{17} Cov. 'death onely shal departe us.'

J. HASTINGS.

DEPUTY, the rendering once (1 K 22^{47}) of נִצָּב, elsewhere in OT of פֶּחָה. The latter was a governor subordinate to the satrap (which see), and is mentioned under both the Assyr. and the Chald. governments (2 K 18^{24}, Ezk 23$^{6.23}$), although the office seems to have been better defined under the Persian rule (Est 8^{9} 9^{3}, cf. *Behist. Inscr.* col. iii. par. 3, § 4; par. 9, § 2). The deputies who were set over the lesser districts and cities within the satrap's province occupied a position of considerable dignity and authority (Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.* iv. 416; cf. Xen. *Hell.* iii. 1. § 10–12; iv. 1. § 1).

In NT 'deputy' is AV tr. in Ac 13^{7} 18^{12} 19^{38} of ἀνθύπατος, which is more accurately rendered in RV 'proconsul' (which see). G. WALKER.

DERBE (Δέρβη, ethnic Δερβαῖος, Ac 20^{4}, but Δερβήτης in Strabo, p. 569, and Cicero, *ad Fam.* xiii. 73) was a city of Lycaonia, on the main road from Iconium (or Lystra), S.E. to Laranda. Of its early history nothing is recorded. It was in the part of Lycaonia that was added to Cappadocia as an 'eleventh *Strategia*' by the Romans (prob. in B.C. 65); but, under the weak rule of the Cappadocian kings, it was seized by a native ruler, Antipater (called 'the robber' by Strabo, p. 569, which merely shows that he opposed the Rom. policy; he was a friend of Cicero, *ad Fam.* xiii. 73). Amyntas, king of Galatia, conquered Derbe and Laranda, and at his death in B.C. 25 they passed with his kingdom to the Romans, were incorporated in the province Galatia, and supplied soldiers to the Rom. legions (*CIL* iii. 2709, 2818). In A.D. 37 or 41 Laranda was probably transferred to the kingdom of Antiochus, and the coins of king Antiochus mentioning the Lycaones must have been struck there; hence from 41 to 72 Derbe became the frontier city of the Rom. province, and was honoured with the title Claudio-Derbe. Soon after, it was visited by St. Paul (Ac 14^{6}), who, having here reached the extremity of Rom. territory, now turned back and retraced his former steps to Lystra, Iconium, Antioch, and Perga. Nothing is said in Ac about any sufferings of St. Paul at D., nor is it mentioned among the places (like Antioch, Iconium, and Lystra) where he had suffered (2 Ti 3^{11}). On his second journey, coming from Cilicia (doubtless through the 'Cilician Gates'), St. Paul passed through D. to Lystra, etc., and on his third journey he took the same route (acc. to those who maintain the 'S. Galatian' view, though most scholars consider that on this occasion he went northward from the 'Gates' through Cappadocia towards N. Galatia). Gaius of D. was one of the delegation which accompanied St. Paul to Jerusalem in charge of the contributions of the Pauline Churches for the benefit of the poor in Jerus. (Ac 20^{4}). According to the text of *Codex Bezæ*, Gaius is styled Δούβριος; this is the ethnic derived from Doubra, doubtless a local pronunciation of the name (which may be compared with Seiblia or Silbion or Soublaion). A third form, Δέλβεια, is mentioned by Stephanus Byzant. as meaning 'juniper' in the Lycaonian tongue (cf. Ac 14^{11}). Very little is recorded of D. in NT; it is rarely mentioned in general history; and in Christian history it hardly reappears until A.D. 381, when its bishop, Daphnus, was present at the Council of Constantinople.

The site of D., after many diverse conjectures, was placed by Prof. Sterrett at Zosta or Losta; though the evidence is still not perfect, yet general considerations point conclusively to this neighbourhood, and especially to a large mound called Gudelissin, evidently in great part artificial, from which protrude numerous remains of a city, about three miles N.W. of Zosta. The buildings that remain above ground at Gudelissin are all of the Byzantine period; but the mound has the appearance of great antiquity, as one of those sites where city has been built over city, until a hill is formed (like the 'mounds of Semiramis' at Tyana and Zela, Strab. pp. 537, 559). The statement of Stephanus Byzant., that Derbe was a fortress and harbour (λιμήν) of Isauria is erroneous; and the proposed change of text (λίμνη) has no authority.

LITERATURE about Derbe begins with Sterrett, *Wolfe Expedition in Asia Minor*, pp. 22–30; Losta was visited by MM. Radet and Paris, who, however, wrongly identified it with Lystra, *Bulletin de Correspond. Hellénique*, 1886, pp. 509–512. The reasons for the identification of D. with Zosta are stated by Ramsay, *Hist. Geog. of Asia Minor*, p. 336 f., and more definitely (after a visit to the place) in *Church in Rom. Emp.* pp. 54–58; *St. Paul the Trav.* pp. 110 ff., 178 ff. See GALATIA.

W. M. RAMSAY.

DERISION.—With one exception, all instances of the phrase 'have in derision' represent a simple verb: either לָעַג *lâ'agh*, 'mock,' Ps 2^{4} 59^{8}, Ezk 23^{32}; שָׂחַק *sâḥaḳ* 'laugh at,' Job 30^{1}; הֵלִיץ *hêlîẓ*, 'deride'; or μυκτηρίζω, 1 Es 1^{51} (RV 'mocked'). The exception is Wis 5^{3} 'This was he whom we had sometimes in derision' (ὃν ἔσχομέν ποτε εἰς γέλωτα, Vulg. *habuimus in derisum*).

J. HASTINGS.

DESCRIBE.—In Jos 18$^{4.\,6.\,8\,bis.\,9}$ 'to describe' is to map out, or divide into lots, as Jos 18^{6} 'Ye shall therefore describe the land into seven parts, and bring the description hither to me, that I may cast lots for you here before the Lord our God.' This is Coverdale's tr., from Vulg. *describere* (in Jos 18$^{4.\,6.\,8.\,bis}$, in ^{9} *diviserunt, scribentes*). In Jg 8^{14} the same Heb. (כָּתַב 'write') is again tr. 'describe' (Vulg. *describere*), but the meaning is 'write a list of.' In this passage the LXX gives γράφω, the word used in Ro 10^{5} 'Moses describeth the righteousness which is of the law' (RV 'writeth that,' etc.); while in 4^{6} 'describeth the blessedness' the vb. is λέγω (RV 'pronounceth blessing upon').

Besides Jos 18^{6} (above), where there is no corresp. Heb., **description** occurs only 1 Es 5^{39} with the meaning of 'list': the description of 'the kindred' (τῆς γενικῆς γραφῆς, *i.e.* the genealogy).

J. HASTINGS.

DESCRY.—'Describe' and 'descry' are both from Lat. *describere*, the former immediately, the latter through the old Fr. *descrire*. And in earlier Eng. their meanings were often very close, to 'descry' being to 'reveal,' even as late as Milton, *Comus*, 141—

'And to the tell-tale Sun descry
Our concealed solemnity.'

But Milton uses the word also in the sense of reconnoitre, as *Par. Lost*, vi. 530—

> 'And scouts each coast light-armed scour,
> Each quarter, to descry the distant foe.'

This is the meaning of 'descry' in AV, where it occurs only Jg 1^{23} 'And the house of Joseph sent to descry Bethel' (וַיָּתִירוּ, RV 'sent to spy out').

J. HASTINGS.

DESERT.—See WILDERNESS.

DESIRE.—'To desire,' says Trench (*Sel. Gloss.* 56), 'is only to look *forward* with longing now: the word has lost the sense of regret or looking *back* upon the lost but still loved. This it once possessed in common with *desiderium* and *desiderare*, from which more remotely, and *désirer*, from which more immediately, we derive it.' And he quotes as an example 2 Ch 21^{20} 'and [Jehoram] departed without being desired.' Now this sense of 'desire' is certainly found, as Berners (1533), 'Of the death of suche an entierly desyred husbande'; Jer. Taylor, 'she shall be pleasant while she lives, and desired when she dies.' But it is not so certain that 2 Ch 21^{20} is an example. The Heb. is lit. 'he went [or walked] without desire' (וַיֵּלֶךְ בְּלֹא חֶמְדָּה; LXX καὶ ἐπορεύθη οὐκ ἐν ἐπαίνῳ; Vulg. *Ambulavitque non recte*, whence Cov. 'and walked not well'), and the tr. of AV is taken from Gen. Bible, which has 'and *lived* without being desired,' with the gloss 'he was not regarded, but deposed for his wickedness.'*

J. HASTINGS.

DESOLATE.—An example of the primary meaning (*de-solus*, alone) 'left alone,' 'solitary,' is Ad. Est 14^3 'help me, d. woman, which have no helper but thee'; and an example of the obsolete constr. with 'of,' is Bar 2^{23} 'the whole land shall be d. of inhabitants' (RV 'd. without inh.'). So 1 Ti 5^5 Wyc. 'sche that is a widewe verili, and desolate'; and Ru 1^5 Cov. 'the woman remayned desolate of both hir sonnes and hir huszbande.' For **Desolation** see ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION.

J. HASTINGS.

DESPITE is now only a prep., though as a subst. it is still used in poetry. The subst. (='contempt' actively shown, 'dishonour,' from Lat. *despicere*, to look down on) occurs Ezk 25^6 'rejoiced in heart with all thy despite against the land of Israel' (בְּכָל־שָׁאטְךָ בְּנֶפֶשׁ, RV 'with all the d. of thy soul'); and He 10^{29} 'hath done despite unto the Spirit of grace' (ἐνυβρίσας; 'doith dispit' is Wyclif's word; Tin., Cov., Cran., Gen. 'doth dishonour'; Rhem. 'hath done contumelie'). Cf. Jer. Taylor, 'Liberality . . . consists in the despite and neglect of money.' As a vb. 'd.' occurs in Pref. to AV, 'The Romanists . . . did no lesse then despite the spirit of grace,' that is, 'treated with contempt.' **Despiteful** is found Ezk 25^{15} 'a d. heart,' 36^5 'd. minds'; Sir 31^{31} 'give him no d. words' (λόγον ὀνειδισμοῦ, RV 'a word of reproach'); and Ro 1^{30} (ὑβριστάς, RV 'insolent'). **Despitefully**, 1 Mac 9^{26} 'used them d.' (ἐνέπαιζον αὐτοῖς); Mt 5^{44}, Lk 6^{28} 'which d. use you' (ἐπηρεάζω); Ac 14^5 'to use them d.' (ὑβρίσαι αὐτούς, RV 'to entreat them shamefully'). **Despitefulness**, Wis 2^{19} 'Let us examine him with d. and torture'. (ὕβρει, Vulg. *contumelia*, RV 'outrage'). Here, and in the passages where 'despitefully' occurs, the idea is cruelty more than contempt; but the meaning of 'spite,' 'spitefulness,' is never present in these words. In Est 1^{18} Cov., 'thus shall there aryse despytefulness and wrath ynough,' d.=contempt, as AV and RV.

J. HASTINGS.

DESTRUCTION (אֲבַדּוֹן).—See ABADDON.

DETERMINATE.—Only Ac 2^{23} 'the d. counsel and foreknowledge of God' (ὡρισμένος, fr. ὁρίζω, to mark a boundary, fix, appoint. The closest parallel is Lk 22^{22} 'the Son of man indeed goeth, as it hath been determined' RV, Gr. κατὰ τὸ ὡρισμένον). 'Determinate' is Tindale's word, whom all the VSS follow; but Wyclif has the form we should now employ 'determyned.' Chaucer has 'determinat' in the same sense, as *Astrolabe*, I. xxi. 7: 'sterres fixes, with hir longitudes and latitudes determinat'; and cf. Shaks. *Twelfth Night*, II. i. 10: 'My determinate voyage is mere extravagancy.' **Determination**, Zeph 3^8 'my d. is to gather the nations' (מִשְׁפָּט, lit. 'judgement,' as RVm); 2 Es 10^{16} 'if thou shalt acknowledge the d. of God to be just' (*terminus*, lit. 'end,' RV 'decree'; cf. Ja 5^{11} 'ye have seen the end of the Lord,' τέλος). **Determine** was common about 1611 in the sense of 'end,' 'terminate'; but in AV only the derived meanings are found, fix, decide, resolve. In AV Pref. the obsolete construction with 'of' is used: 'For as it is a fault of incredulity, to doubt of those things that are evident; so to determine of such things as the Spirit of God hath left (even in the judgement of the judicious) questionable, can be no less than presumption.'

J. HASTINGS.

DETESTABLE THINGS.—The tr^n in AV and RV of שִׁקּוּצִים in Jer 16^{18}, Ezk 5^{11} 7^{20} $11^{18.\,21}$ 37^{23}, the reference being either to actual idols or to objects connected with idolatry. Elsewhere the word is tr^d ABOMINATION (see the references above, p. 12,—adding Nah 3^6 [AV, RV 'abominable filth'], Dn 9^{27} 11^{31} 12^{11}, 2 Ch 15^8), which usually represents תּוֹעֵבָה (see p. 11); but as in the first five passages cited both Heb. words occur together, 'detestable things' is adopted for שִׁקּוּצִים for the sake of distinction. It would have conduced to accuracy and clearness, had it been adopted uniformly. The cognate verb שִׁקֵּץ, *to treat as detestable*, is rendered 'to detest' in Dt 7^{26}, but unfortunately 'to have in abomination' in Lv $11^{11.\,13}$, and 'to make abominable' (for 'make detestable') in Lv 11^{43} 20^{25} (in these four passages, in connexion with שֶׁקֶץ, the technical term for the flesh of prohibited animals. See ABOMINATION, No. 3).

In 2 Mac 5^{24} 'that detestable ringleader' (Apollonius) stands for τὸν μυσάρχην; RV 'lord of pollutions,' with marg. 'Gr. *Mysarch*, which may also mean ruler of the Mysians.' The tr^n of the text is, no doubt, correct (similarly Grimm, Rawl., Zöckler: Pesh. 'ruler of all the unclean'); the term is evidently one of disparagement, framed on the model of titles such as ἐθνάρχης, στρατοπεδάρχης, etc.

S. R. DRIVER.

DEUEL (דְּעוּאֵל 'knowledge of God,' Ῥαγουήλ).—Father of Eliasaph, prince of Gad (Nu 1^{14} $7^{42.\,47}$ 10^{20}) =Reuel, Nu 2^{14} (perhaps the original name, see LXX, ר being put for ד) P.

G. H. BATTERSBY.

DEUTERONOMY.—i. THE NAME OF THE BOOK.—The name Deuteronomy is taken from the Lat. 'Deuteronomium,' which transliterated the Gr. word Δευτερονόμιον. This Gr. word appears in the LXX of Dt 17^{18}, where the words 'a copy of this law' (מִשְׁנֵה הַתּוֹרָה הַזֹּאת) are incorrectly tr^d τὸ Δευτερονόμιον τοῦτο, as if the Heb. had been 'this copy of the law' (מִשְׁנֵה הַתּוֹרָה הַזֶּה). The word also occurs, with the same error of tr^n, in Jos 9^5 [Heb. 8^{32}]. Though the word was a mistranslation, it furnished an appropriate title to a book which in a large measure 'reformulated' previous laws. The book is referred to by this name in the writings of Philo (*Leg. Allegor.* iii. § 61, i. 121, *Quod Deus immutab.* § 10, i. 280), although that writer also quotes it by the name of 'The Appendix to the Laws,' ἡ Ἐπινομίς (*Quis rer. dives hæres.* § 33, i. 495).

---

* This is the sense in which the passage is taken by *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* (*s.v.* חמדה), 'he lived as no one desired.'

In Heb. literature the book was known by a title taken from its opening words, 'These are the words' (אֵלֶּה הַדְּבָרִים), or, simply, 'words' (דְּבָרִים). In Rabbinic writing it is sometimes cited as 'The book of Threatenings' (סֵפֶר תּוֹכָחוֹת); but in such cases the reference is to the latter portion of the book, which also appears to have been known to Philo as 'The Curses' (αἱ Ἀραί). See *Leg. Allegor.* iii. § 35, i. 109, quoting Dt 27^{17}; *De Posterit. Caini*, § 8, i. 230, quoting Dt 28^{65}. (Ryle's *Philo and Holy Scripture*, Introd. p. xxiii f.)

ii. THE CONTENTS OF THE BOOK.—The book purports to contain the last utterances of Moses, delivered in the plains of Moab just before his death. The historical position is defined by the brief Introduction (1^{1-5}) and by the Epilogue (34), which narrates the death of Moses. The utterances of Moses comprise *three* main discourses: (1) The first is chiefly historical, reviewing the life of Israel in the wilderness, 1^{6}–4^{43}. (2) The second, which has a brief historical preface (4^{44-49}), is, at first, hortatory (5-11), but is chiefly taken up with the legislation (12-26), *i.e.* the code of laws which constitutes the nucleus of the whole work. To this is appended the description of a ceremony which was to symbolize the popular ratification of the laws in the land of Canaan (27), and a rehearsal of warnings and blessings that should ensue upon the neglect and observance of these laws (20). (3) The third address is an additional exhortation urging the people to keep the covenant with J", promising restoration even after relapse into idolatry, and offering the alternatives of obedience or disloyalty to J" (29. 30).

These *three* addresses to the people are followed by a collection of more miscellaneous materials, such as Moses' farewell, his deliverance of the Deut. law to the priests, his commission to Joshua, the Song of Moses, the Blessing of Moses (31-33). The whole is concluded by an account of the Death of Moses (34).

Although it is true to say that the legislation constitutes the nucleus of the book, the character of the writing is very far from being that of a legal work. The tone of exhortation which runs through the earlier and later addresses, pervades also the legislative portion. The laws are not systematically and technically stated. They are ethically expounded in order to set forth their relation to the theocratic principles laid down in chs. 5-11. The purpose of the book is thus, practically, wholly 'hortatory,' or, as it has been termed, 'parenetic'; and its 'parenetic' aim accounts for the diffuse and somewhat discursive treatment which is found in the historical and legislative, no less than in the directly homiletical passages. A very cursory perusal enables us to see that the writer is neither historian nor jurist, but a religious teacher.

When we investigate Dt in relation to the books which immediately precede and follow it in the Hex., we cannot fail to be struck by the general unity of its composition, and by the distinctiveness of its character and style.

In Nu $27^{12f.}$ it has already been said, 'And the LORD said unto Moses, Get thee up into this mountain of Abarim, and behold the land which I have given unto the children of Israel. And when thou hast seen it, thou also shalt be gathered unto thy people, as Aaron thy brother was gathered.' Again, in Nu 27^{18-23} we find the commission to Joshua thus described, 'And the LORD said unto Moses, Take thee Joshua the son of Nun, a man in whom is the spirit, and lay thine hand upon him, etc. And Moses did as the LORD commanded him; and he took Joshua and set him before Eleazar the priest, and before all the congregation; and he laid his hands upon him, and gave him a charge, as the LORD spake, by the hand of Moses.'

Now, at the close of Dt we find in 32^{48-50} 'And the LORD spake unto Moses that self-same day, saying, Get thee up into this mountain of Abarim . . . and behold the land of Canaan, which I give unto the children of Israel for a possession; and die in the mount whither thou goest up, and be gathered unto thy people; as Aaron thy brother died in Mount Hor, and was gathered unto his people.' Again, we find in 31^{14-23} the charge given to Joshua, 'And the LORD said unto Moses, Behold, thy days approach that thou must die; call Joshua, and present yourselves in the tent of meeting, etc. And he gave Joshua the son of Nun a charge, and said, Be strong and of a good courage.' Dt thus practically repeats the incidents which have already been recorded in Nu 27; and the whole work, which intervenes between the two commands to Moses to prepare for death, presents the appearance of a great parenthesis, interrupting the main thread of the narrative. The command to go up to the heights of Abarim, in Dt 32, is followed almost immediately by the narrative, in Dt 34, of the death of Moses. The same command has occurred in Nu 27; but between the two commands is interposed the series of three addresses which were given, according to Dt 1^{3}, on the first day of the eleventh month of the fortieth year.

Not only, however, has the Book of Dt all the appearance of a parenthesis, but it is rendered distinct from the other books of the Pent. by its very clearly marked characteristics of style and diction. These will require fuller consideration later on. But they are so distinct and so obvious to the reader, whether of the original or of a translation, that they inevitably contribute very largely to the general impression that Dt represents a work in some way separate from the rest of the Pentateuch.

The same general impression is produced by a comparison of the laws in Dt with the three principal groups of laws contained in Ex, Lv, and Nu. The Deut. legislation 'stands in a different relation to each of the three codes referred to; it is an *expansion* of that in Ex 20-23; it is, in several features, *parallel* to that in Lv 17-26; it contains *allusions* to laws such as those codified in the rest of Lv-Nu' (Driver, *s.v.* 'Deuteronomy' in Smith's *DB*²). The legislative section of Dt is distinct in contents and treatment from the parallel sections in Ex-Nu.

The principal historical allusions in Dt (as presented by Driver) are the following:—

1^{8} (and frequently) the *oath* to the patriarchs	Gn 15^{16} $22^{16f.}$ 24^{7} 26^{3}.
4^{3} (Ba'al-pe'or)	Nu 25^{1-5}.
$4^{10ff.}$ $5^{2ff.}$ 18^{16} delivery of Decalogue, etc.	Ex 19^{3}–20^{21}.
6^{16} (Massah)	Ex 17^{7}.
$6^{21f.}$ and elsewhere (deliverance from Egypt)	Ex 13^{14} 14^{30}.
$8^{3.16}$ (the manna)	Ex $16^{4.5}$.
8^{15} (fiery serpents; and rock (צוּר) of flint)	Nu 21^{6} and Ex 17^{6}. [*N.B.* In Nu 20^{8-11} (P) the term for 'rock' is סֶלַע, not צוּר.]
9^{22} Tab'ērāh, Massah, Ḳibroth-hattá'ăvah)	Nu 11^{1-3}, Ex 17^{7}, Nu 11^{34}.
11 (passage of the Red Sea)	Ex 14^{27}.
11^{6} (Dathan and Abiram)	Nu $16^{1b.27b.30.32a}$.
$23^{5f.}$ ($^{4f.}$) Bala'am)	Nu 22^{2}–24^{25}.
24^{9} (Miriam's leprosy)	Nu 12^{10}.
25^{17-19} (opposition of 'Amalek)	Ex 17^{8-16}.
26^{6-8} (affliction and deliverance from Egypt)	Ex $1^{9.12}$ $3^{7.9}$ etc.
29^{22} (^{23}) (overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah)	Gn $19^{24f.}$

An investigation of the historical allusions in Dt confirms the impression produced by the legislative portion. The references are, almost without exception, made to events recorded in those portions of Ex and Nu which scholars assign to JE, or the 'prophetic' group of narratives incorporated in the Pentateuch. The other main group of narratives in the Pent., denominated P from its generally 'priestly' characteristics, does not appear to have supplied the foundation for the treatment of the history in D. Thus in 1^{36} the reader notices that Caleb alone is mentioned as the recipient of especial favour; there is no mention made of Joshua. In the Book of Nu the passage which records the favour granted to Caleb alone (Nu 14^{24}) belongs to JE, the passage which associates Joshua with Caleb (Nu 14^{30}) belongs to P. Similarly, in 11^{6} we find mention of Dathan and Abiram, but not of Korah, who figures so conspicuously in Nu 16. But in Nu 16 the Korah passages are assigned by scholars to P; the JE portion of the narrative speaks only of Dathan and Abiram.

There are only *three* incidents in the historical references of Dt which are to be found in the P and not in the JE narrative of the Pentateuch. These are (1) the mention of the number 'twelve,' of the spies, Dt 1^{23}, cf. Nu 13^{2-16}; (2) the mention of the number 'seventy,' of the family of Jacob, Dt 10^{22}, cf. Gn 46^{27}, Ex 1^{5}; (3) the mention of acacia-wood as the material of which the ark was made, Dt 10^{3}, cf. Ex 25^{10}. But it is to be remembered that these facts may have been recorded in JE, but have been preserved to us only in the excerpts from the P narrative.

Assuming the correctness of the general proposition, which is universally admitted by modern scholars, that the Pent. is of composite origin, we are brought, by a consideration of the distinctiveness in D's treatment and style, to the opinion that D must take rank with JE and P as one of the component elements of the Pentateuch. Not, of course, that D should necessarily be assigned any more than J, or E, or P, to any one writer or author, but only that in style and treatment it may be attributed to a literary source, representing the influence of a particular period, or of particular circumstances, upon a writer, or a school, or a succession of writers.

iii. THE UNITY OF THE BOOK.—Though we have hitherto spoken of Dt as if it were a unity in itself, it would be a mistake to suppose that it presents an unbroken homogeneous piece of literature written by a single person. There is good reason to suppose that the same kind of literary history is to be attributed to D as to JE and P. The original nucleus of writing has been revised, expanded, and modified. It is not difficult to indicate portions which could hardly have worn their present appearance if from the first they had been part of a consecutive piece of writing.

It appears the most probable view that Dt 5–26 ($27^{9.\,10}$). 28 represent the original work, either in part or in its entirety. In this work chs. 5–11 formed the introduction; ch. 28 the peroration.

Wellhausen, indeed, limits the original work of Dt to chs. 12–26. But there seems no sufficient ground for separating 5–11 from 12–26. The style and diction are in marked agreement; and the differences which have been detected in the two sections are only those which might be expected to arise from the difference of subject-matter.

With regard to chs. 1–4 doubts have been more generally expressed. It has seemed to many improbable that the introduction, consisting of 5–11, should have been preceded by a long prefatory section. It is objected that the arrangement is too cumbrous to be the original one; that the awkwardness of the present arrangement is emphasized by the presence of two formal headings, $1^{1\text{-}5}$ and $4^{44\text{-}49}$. Moreover, the absence in the hortatory passage $4^{1\text{-}40}$ of any allusion to the preceding historical summary has suggested a doubt whether ch. 4 could be homogeneous with chs. 1–3. On the other hand, the style is admittedly Deuteronomic; and it is difficult to believe that 1–4 did not come in some form or another from the same writer or school as the contents of 5–26. 28.

Dillmann has made the suggestion that 1–3 formed originally the hist. introduction, which was written in the third person, and that this was altered in character from narrative into a speech by the redactor of the Pent., who incorporated Dt into the main work. Dillm. also considered that $4^{1\text{-}40}$ originally belonged to the conclusion of the book, and that it was transferred from that position by the redactor: for confirmation of this view, he appealed to the disordered and inconsecutive condition of chs. 29. 30, and to the use of the past tense in 4^{5}, which seemed to imply that the legislative portion had already been recorded, and was present to the reader's mind.

It may, however, be doubted whether there is not a danger of too great ingenuity in the hypothetical rearrangement of the original materials. Taking into consideration (1) the very close resemblance of style, and (2) the absence of any serious contradiction in statement between the different portions, there is not room for any confident theory of different authorship for 1–4, though it may have been composed at a later time than the rest, and prefixed afterwards.

When, however, we come to consider the question of chs. 29–34, it is impossible not to admit that we have there to deal with materials widely differing in origin.

One passage in particular, $30^{1\text{-}10}$, obviously has no direct connexion with the section $30^{11\text{-}20}$, which immediately follows; $31^{16\text{-}22}$ interrupts the thread of the narrative; while $32^{1\text{-}43}$ and 33, two lyrical pieces, have evidently been derived from some independent collection of early Heb. songs. A few portions of 32 and 34 ($32^{48\text{-}52}$ and $34^{1a.\,5b.\,7\text{-}9}$) are, on literary grounds, assigned with great probability to P as their original source.

The most reasonable explanation of the history of the structure of the book is excellently summarised in Driver's *Deuteronomy* (p. lxxvii). 'Some little time after the kernel [chs. 5–26. 28] of Dt was composed, it was enlarged by a second Deuteronomic writer (or writers), D^{2}, who (1) supplemented the work of D by adding the passages indicated; (2) incorporated, with additions of his (or their) own, the excerpts from JE, and (taking it probably from a separate source) the Song $32^{1\text{-}43}$, with the historical notices belonging to it, $31^{16\text{-}22}$ 32^{44}. Finally, at a still later date, the whole thus constituted was brought formally into relation with the literary framework of the Hexateuch as a whole by the addition of the extracts from P.'

iv. THE RELIGIOUS TEACHING OF DEUTERONOMY. — The characteristics of the religious thought of this book are very marked. They exercised a profound influence upon the religious development of the people.

The great lessons of the spirituality of the Godhead (4^{12}), and the uniqueness of J″, and His absolute unity ($4^{35.\,39}$ 6^{4} 7^{9} 10^{17}), are strongly and impressively taught. We pass from the older conception of 'monolatry' into the fuller and deeper thought of 'monotheism.' The relation in which the God of the people stands to the people is represented primarily as one of love rather than of law. The thought of the love of Israel towards her God, which is indeed laid down in the words of the Decalogue (Ex 20^{6}, Dt 5^{10}), is not required elsewhere in the Pent., but in Dt it is earnestly insisted on as the basis of faithful service on the part of the creature to the Creator and of the redeemed to the Deliverer (cf. 10^{12} $12^{1.\,13.\,22}$ 13^{3} 19^{9} $30^{6.\,16.\,20}$). Appeals made to Israel to keep the commandments are, it is true, often based on the recollection of God's might and of His terrible visitation, on motives of awe and fear; but the highest appeal is made to the consciousness of J″'s love, in that He had *chosen* Israel, not for Israel's greatness or goodness, but out of His own free love (Dt $7^{7.\,8}$ 8^{17} $9^{4\text{-}6}$). The love and affection of God towards the *nation*, as distinguished from His love towards *individuals*, constitutes an especial feature in Dt (4^{37} 7^{13} 23^{6} 33^{3}); and Dt shares with Hosea (3^{1} 11^{1} 14^{4}) the distinction of first familiarizing Israel with the thought and teaching that underlie so much of NT theology (cf. 1 K 10^{9}, 2 Ch 2^{11} 9^{8}, Mal 1^{2}). Again, love as indicating the people's affection and devotion to J″ is again and again insisted on as the true spring of all human action (cf. 5^{10} 6^{5} 7^{8} $10^{12.\,15}$ $11^{1.\,13.\,22}$ 13^{8} 19^{9} $30^{6.\,16.\,20}$). This teaching of the reciprocal relation of love between J″ and Israel has left the mark of Dt deeply impressed upon OT theology. It is this which leads more directly than any other line of OT teaching to the revelation ultimately contained in the words, 'God so loved the world,' etc. (Jn 3^{16}).

As the outcome of the thought of the divine love which Israel has enjoyed, there also comes into view the consideration of Israel as 'the son' and of J″ as the people's Father. The loving God had given Israel life by redemption from Egypt; He had brought Israel up and educated him in the wilderness (see Dt 14^{2} and $8^{2.3.16}$).

The intimacy of the relation between J″ and Isr. emphasizes the demand that Israel should also 'cleave' to J″ (11^{22} 13^{4}), and not follow 'other gods' ($6^{14.15}$ 7^{4} $8^{19.20}$ $11^{16.17.20}$ $30^{17.18}$). Idolatry is the great peril; its temptations must be resisted with ruthless severity (13^{2-18} 17^{5}); no compromise is to be allowed nor alliance struck with the idolater (7^{2} 20^{16-18}).

The inducements to yield to superstitious practices are pictured as strong and numerous; but to yield is fatal. J″'s wrath and His just punishment are the nation's penalty, and will be its extermination (6^{10-15} 8^{11-20} $11^{16.17}$ 31^{29}). The alternative between obedience and disobedience, between the service of J″ and the service of 'other gods,' constitutes the theme of the great passage of warning and denunciation which is presented in ch. 28.

The holiness of the people is another chief thought, the prominence of which is a marked feature in this book, resulting from the conception of the close relationship between Israel and J″ the Holy One. The people are holy to J″, and cannot therefore join themselves to 'other gods' (7^{6}). It is this 'holiness' which should prevent them from bodily mutilation as a sign of mourning; for such behaviour was the mark of a nation serving 'other gods' (14^{2}). This 'holiness' is the reason for which the people must refrain from food that would render unclean those who were J″'s possession (14^{21}). God has chosen His people, not only to make them 'high above all nations which he hath made, in praise, and in name, and in honour'; but also that they may be 'an holy people' unto J″' (26^{19}). The 'holiness' of the people depends upon its obedience (28^{9}). The spirit of 'holiness' to J″ is ethically to be expressed by the observance of love towards the neighbour, and by kindness and charity towards the poor, the widow, the orphan, the Levite, and the stranger ($10^{18.19}$ 24^{17-21}). The millstone was never to be taken in pledge; the garment taken in pledge was to be returned before nightfall ($24^{6.10-13}$). Feelings of humanity were to be extended towards the animals; the ox treading out the corn was not to be muzzled (25^{4}); and thought was even given to the bird and its young ones ($22^{6.7}$).

In outward worship the 'holiness' of the people can be adequately safeguarded only by worship at the central sanctuary chosen by J″. This regulation, which is laid down in ch. 12, is repeated in connexion with the laws of tithe (14^{23} etc.), the firstborn (15^{20}), the festivals ($16^{2.6.11}$), the firstlings (26^{2}), the judges ($17^{8.10}$). So long as worship was carried on at local shrines, on the high-places, and under trees (12^{2}), it was inevitably tainted with heathenism; the hearts of the people would be alienated from the service of J″; and the moral purity of the nation would be corrupted by the assimilation of idolatrous practices.

Thus the relationship of Israel to J″ is asserted as the spiritual principle which must animate the people's whole existence. The laws which are mentioned illustrate how the high mission of Israel is to be interpreted in daily life. These laws are no formal code. The blessing for obedience is promised as a reward for particular acts, and for the whole regulation of life; and the blessing promised is expressed in terms which Israel could understand and appreciate,—outward prosperity and length of life ($12^{25.28}$ 13^{18} 14^{29} $15^{10.18}$ 16^{20} 19^{13} 23^{21} 24^{19} 25^{15}). It is to preserve unimpaired the recollection of their spiritual relation to J″ that so much stress is laid upon the training of the children (4^{9} $6^{7.20-25}$ 11^{19}); while provision is also made, that even in the dress and the dwellings of individuals ($6^{8.9}$ $11^{19.20}$ 22^{12}) the people should be reminded of their spiritual duties.

v. LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF DEUTERONOMY.—The style in which the book is written has very clearly marked characteristics of its own. It is quite distinct, and easily recognizable. It bears no resemblance to the style of P, nor does it show any likeness to the narrative style of JE. In certain hortatory passages of JE there may be noticed 'an approximation to the style of Dt; and these sections [Gn 26^{5}, Ex 13^{3-16} 15^{26} 19^{3-6}, parts of 20^{2-17} 23^{20-33} 34^{10-26}] appear to have been the source from which the author of Dt adopted some of the expressions currently used by him' (Driver).

The style of Dt is remarkable for its command of rich and effective periods, in which the sentences are framed with great oratorical skill. They are rhythmical without being tedious; and copious without being shallow and rhetorical. Some of the writing of Jeremiah approaches most closely in style to Dt; and the influence of Dt upon subsequent Heb. literature was very marked. The Deut. style was imitated and adopted by a group or succession of writers in and after the days of the exile. The Deut. passages in Jos, Jg, and K are easily distinguishable; they are generally of a hortatory character, and represent a particular attitude of fervent patriotism and religious thought, expressed with considerable redundancy of language, and with the use of certain characteristic phrases.

Very full and complete lists of the characteristic Deut. words and phrases have been drawn up by Driver (*Deut.* Introd. p. lxxviii ff.) and Holzinger (*Einleit. in d. Hex.*). The following are instances of words perfectly simple in themselves, but used with great frequency or with marked effect in Dt, though elsewhere not found, or only used with great rareness, in the Hexateuch :—

Thy (*your*) *gates* (=cities).
A mighty hand and a stretched out arm.
The land whither thou goest in to possess it.
Statutes and judgments; commandments and statutes.
With all your heart and with all your soul.
the priests the Levites.
observe to do.
that it may be well for thee.
a peculiar people.
to make his name to dwell there.
to do that which is right (*good or evil*) *in the eyes of J″.*
as J″ hath spoken.
to walk in the ways of J″.
to hearken to the voice.

Under this head should be noticed the use of אָהַב *to love* (*a*) with God as obj.; (*b*) of God's love to His people.

אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים	*other gods.*
הֶאֱרִיךְ	*to prolong* (of days).
הוֹרִישׁ	*to dispossess.*
בָּחַר	*to choose.*
דָּבַק בְּ	*to cleave to.*
הֵיטֵב	*thoroughly.*
נָתַן לִפְנֵי	*to deliver up before.*
פָּדָה	*to ransom.*
מִשְׁלַח יָדְךָ	*that to which thou puttest thine hand.*
הִשְׁמִיד	*to destroy.*
תּוֹעֲבַת יהוה	*the abomination of J″* (of idolatry).
בִּעֵר הָרָע	*to root out the evil.*
כַּיּוֹם הַזֶּה	*as at this day.*
כָּל־הַיָּמִים	*continually.*
עַם קָדוֹשׁ	*a holy people.*

Other characteristics of his style are—

(1) The preference for אָנֹכִי (56 times) above אֲנִי (12^{30} 29^{5}); the use of אֲנִי in the Song $32^{21.39}$ and $32^{49.52}$ is not from the same hand as D.

(2) The preference for לֵבָב (47 times) above לֵב (4^{11} 28^{65} $29^{3.18}$).

(3) The use of the emphatic ־וּן in the 2nd and 3rd per. plur. of the impf.

(4) The frequent employment of the reflexive dative.
(5) The collocation of words without the conjunction (*asyndeta*).
(6) The fem. form of the infin. יִרְאָה, אַהֲבָה, שִׂנְאָה.

The following words or phrases are found in Dt only (see Driver, *Deut.* p. lxxxiv).

אָזֵן	23^{14}.	נָשַׁל	19^{5} 28^{40}.
הֶאֱמִיר	$26^{17.18}$.	מִסְכֵּנֻת	8^{9}.
מְבוּשִׁים	25^{11}.	סָכַת	27^{9}.
מִגְעֶרֶת	28^{20}.	עָבַט	$15^{6.8}$ $24^{10.13}$.
דְּאָבוֹן	28^{65}.	עֲלִילוֹת דְּבָר״	$22^{14.17}$.
מַדְוֶה	7^{15} 28^{60}.	הִתְעַמֵּר	21^{14} 24^{7}.
דַּלֶּקֶת	28^{22}.	הֶעֱנִיק	15^{14}.
הֶהִין	1^{41}.	מַעֲקֶה	22^{8}.
חָסַל	28^{38}.	עַשְׁתְּרוֹת	7^{13} $28^{4.18.51}$.
חֶרְמֵשׁ	16^{9} 23^{26}.	עֶרְוַת דָּבָר	23^{14} 24^{1}.
חַרְחֻר	28^{22}.	פֵּאֵר	24^{20}.
חֶרֶס	28^{27}.	צְלָצַל	28^{42}.
חָשַׁל	25^{18}.	קְשִׁי	9^{27}.
טֶנֶא	$26^{2.4}$ $28^{5.17}$.	רַגָּז	28^{65}.
כָּלֶה	28^{32}.	שְׁגַר אֲלָפֶיךָ	7^{13} $28^{4.18.51}$.
לֵחַ	34^{7}.	שִׁלְיָה	28^{57}.
מְלִילֹה	23^{26} [EV 25].	שְׁמִטָּה	$15^{1.2.9}$ 31^{10}.
מַסַּת	16^{10}.	שִׁנֵּן	6^{7}.
עִיר מְתִים	2^{34} 3^{6} (cf. Jg 20^{48}).		

'The following expressions, occurring mostly only once in Dt, are more or less frequent in subsequent writers, esp. those of the Deuteronomic school :—

גִּלּוּלִים and שִׁקּוּצִים $29^{16\ 17}$; זַעֲוָה 28^{25} ; הִכְעִים *to vex* (esp. by idolatry), 4^{25} 9^{18} 31^{29} 32^{16} (cf. כַּעַס v.^{21}); הִדִּיחַ *to expel* (from Canaan), 30^{1}, cf. v.^{4} ; *the name to be called over*, 28^{10} ; רֹעַ מַעַלְלֶיךָ 28^{20} ; שְׁנִינָה, שְׁנִינָה 28^{37} ; שְׁרִירוּת $29^{18\ 19}$; נָתַשׁ 29^{27}.' (Driver *ib.*)

vi. THE LEGISLATION OF DEUTERONOMY.—Turning to the subject of the laws contained in Dt, we have only space to make the following general observations :—

(1) The laws are arranged upon a rough general plan, in which the order observed is that of (*a*) religious duties, chs. 12–16 ; (*b*) civil ordinances, chs. 17–20 ; (*c*) rules for social and domestic life, chs. 21–25. But the reader will notice that there is no strict adherence to orderly arrangement.

(2) The language in which the laws recorded in 12–20 are written is, as a rule, somewhat diffuse and hortatory ; but in 21–25 there are many passages having a close resemblance to the style of Ex 21–23, terse, and evidently often reproducing the precise terms of the ancient codes.

(3) The laws make no claim to be a new code. So far as they are peculiar to D, they 'have, with very few exceptions, the appearance either of being taken directly, with unessential modifications of form, from older law-books (especially many of those in 21^{10}–25^{19}), or else of being accepted applications of long-established principles (as 17^{8-13} 19^{16-21}), or the formulation of ancient customs (as 21^{1-9} 22^{13-21} 25^{5-10}) expressed in Deuteronomic phraseology. And such laws as are really new in Dt are but the logical and consistent development of Mosaic principles' (Driver, *Deuteronomy*, Introd. p. lvi).

The following outline will serve as a rough analysis of the principal laws :—

A. NATIONAL RELIGIOUS LIFE.
  1. *Public Worship.*
    (*a*) Law of single sanctuary, 12^{1-28}.
    (*b*) Law against idolatry, 12^{29}–13^{19}.
  2. *Religious Duties.*
    (*a*) Personal purity, 14^{1-21}.
    (*b*) Charity, 14^{22}–15^{18}.
  3. *Religious Observances.*
    Offering and festivals, 15^{19}–16^{17}.
B. NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION.
  1. *Civil Officers.*
    (*a*) Judseg, $16^{18\text{-}20}$ $17^{8\text{-}13}$.
    (*b*) King, $17^{14\ 20}$.
  2. *Religious.*
    (*a*) Priests, 18^{1-8}
    (*b*) Prophets, $18^{9\text{-}22}$.
C. CRIMINAL LAW.
    (*a*) Murder and homicide, 19^{1-13} 21^{1-9}.
    (*b*) Property, 19^{14}.
    (*c*) Witness, $19^{15\text{-}21}$.
    (*d*) War, 20. 21^{10-14}.
D. MISCELLANEOUS LAWS, *e.g.* primogeniture, seduction divorce, 21^{15-21} 22^{13-30} 24^{1-5} 25^{5-11}, interest and loans, $23^{20.21}$ $24^{6.10-13}$.

SYNOPSIS OF LAWS IN DEUTERONOMY
(taken from Driver's *Commentary*, pp. iv–vii).

JE.	DEUTERONOMY.	P (INCLUDING H).
Ex 20^{2-17}.	$5^{6-18\ (21)}$ (the Decalogue).	
20^{24}.*	12^{1-28} (place of sacrifice).	Lv 17^{1-9}.*
cf. 23^{24}. $34^{12-15f.}$	12^{29-31} (not to imitate Canaanite rites).	Nu 33^{52}.
cf. $22^{19\ (20)}$.	ch. 13 (cases of seduction to idolatry).	
	$14^{1.2}$ (disfigurement in mourning).	Lv 19^{28a}.
	$14^{3\text{-}20}$ (clean and unclean animals).	,, 11^{2-23} 20^{25}.
$22^{30\ (31)}$.	14^{21a} (food improperly killed).	,, 17^{15} 11^{40}.
23^{19b} 34^{26b}.	14^{21b} (kid in mother's milk).	
	14^{22-29} (tithes).	,, 27^{30-33} ; Nu 18^{21-32}.*
$23^{10f.}$.*	15^{1-11} (year of release).	,, 25^{1-7}.*
21^{2-11}.*	15^{12-18} (Hebrew slaves).	,, 25^{39-46}.*
$22^{29\ (30)}$ 13^{12} 34^{19}.	$15^{19\text{-}23}$ (firstlings of ox and sheep: cf. $12^{6.17.18}$ 14^{23}).	Nu $18^{17f.}$* (cf. Ex $13^{1f.}$; Lv 27^{26} ; Nu 3^{13} 8^{17}).
23^{14-17} 34^{18-20} *end.* 22-24.	16^{1-17} (the three annual pilgrimages).	Lv 23* ; Nu 28–29.*
	16^{18} (appointment of judges).	
$23^{1-3.6-8}$.	16^{19-20} (just judgment).	,, 19^{15}.
	16^{21-22} (Asherahs and 'pillars' prohibited).	,, 26^{1}.
	17^{1} (sacrifices to be without blemish ; cf. 15^{21}).	,, 22^{17-24}.
$22^{19\ (20)}$ 20^{3} 23^{13} 34^{14}.	$17^{2\text{-}7}$ (worship of 'other gods,' or of the host of heaven).	
	17^{8-13} (supreme tribunal).	
	$17^{14\text{-}20}$ (law of the king).	
	18^{1-8} (rights and revenues of the tribe of Levi).	,, 7^{32-34}* ; Nu $18^{1-7.8-20}$.*
	18^{9-22} (law of the prophet).	
	18^{10a} (Molech-worship ; cf. 12^{31}).	,, 18^{21} $20^{2\text{-}5}$.
$22^{17\ (18)}$ (sorceress alone).	$18^{10b.11}$ (different kinds of divination and magic).	,, $19^{26b.31}$. $20^{6.27}$.
$21^{12.14}$.*	19^{1-13} (asylum for manslayer : murder).	Nu 35^{9-34} ; Lv 24^{17-21}.
	19^{14} (the landmark).	
23^{1}.	$19^{15\text{-}21}$ (law of witness).	Lv 19^{16b}.
	ch. 20 (military service and war ; cf. 24^{5}).	
	21^{1-9} (expiation of an untraced murder).	
	21^{10-14} (treatment of female captives).	
	$21^{15\text{-}17}$ (primogeniture).	
cf. 21^{15-17}.	21^{18-21} (undutiful son).	cf. Lv 20^{9}.
	$21^{22.23}$ (body of malefactor).	
$23^{4.5}$.	22^{1-4} (animal straying or fallen ; lost property).	
	22^{5} (sexes not to interchange garments).	
	$22^{6.7}$ (bird's nest).	
	22^{8} (battlement).	
	$22^{9\text{-}11}$ (against non-natural mixtures).	Lv 19^{19}.
	22^{12} (law of 'tassels').	Nu 15^{37-41}.
	$22^{13\text{-}21}$ (slander against a newly-married maiden).	
20^{14}.	22^{22-27} (adultery).	Lv 18^{20} 20^{10}.
$22^{15\ (16)}$ f.	$22^{28f.}$ (seduction).	
	23^{1} (22^{30}) (incest with step-mother).	,, 18^{8} 20^{11}.
	$23^{2\text{-}9}$ ($^{1\text{-}8}$) (conditions of admittance into the theocratic community).	
	23^{10-15} ($9^{\text{-}14}$) (cleanliness in the camp).	Nu 5^{1-4}.*
	$23^{16\ (15)}$ f. (humanity to escaped slave).	
	$23^{18\ (17)}$ f. (against religious prostitution).	
$22^{24\ (25)}$.	$23^{20\ (19)}$ f. (usury).	Lv 25^{35-37}.
	$23^{22\text{-}24\ (21\text{-}23)}$ (vows).	Nu 30^{2}.
	$23^{25\ (24)}$ f. (regard for neighbour's crops).	
	24^{1-4} (divorce).	
$22^{25\ (26)}$ f.	$24^{6.10\text{-}13}$ (pledges).	
21^{16}.	24^{7} (man-stealing).	
	$24^{8f.}$ (leprosy).	Lv 13–14

JE.	Deuteronomy.	P (including H).
	$24^{14f.}$ (wages of hired servant not to be detained).	Lv 19^{13}.
	24^{16} (the family of a criminal not to suffer with him).	
Ex 22^{20-23} $^{(21-24)}$ 23^{9}.	$24^{17f.}$ (justice towards stranger, widow, and orphan).	,, $19^{33f.}$.
	24^{19-22} (gleanings).	,, $19^{9f.}$ 23^{22}.
	25^{1-3} (moderation in infliction of the bastinado).	
	25^{4} (threshing ox not to be muzzled).	
	25^{5-10} (levirate marriage).	
	$25^{11.12}$ (modesty in women).	
	25^{13-16} (just weights).	,, $19^{35f.}$.
17^{14}.	25^{17-19} (Amalek).	
cf. 22^{28a} $^{(29a)}$ 23^{19a} 34^{26a}.	26^{1-11} (thanksgiving at the offering of first-fruits).	cf. Nu $18^{12f.}$.
	26^{12-15} (thanksgiving at the payment of the triennial tithe).	
23^{20-33}.	ch. 28 (peroration, presenting motives for the observance of the Code).	Lv 26^{3-45}.
$20^{4.23}$ 34^{17}.	$4^{16-18.23}$ 7^{25} (against images).	Lv 19^{4b} 26^{1}.
23^{12b}.	5^{14b} (philanthropic object of Sabbath).	
cf. $13^{9.16}$.	6^{8} 11^{18} (law of frontlets).	
20^{3} $13^{13.14}$.	6^{14} 11^{16} (against 'other gods').	,, 19^{4a}.
13^{14}.	6^{20} (instruction to children).	
$23^{24a.32f.}$ $34^{12.15f.}$.	$7^{2-4.16}$ (no compact with Canaanites).	Nu 33^{55}.
23^{24b} 34^{13}.	7^{5} 12^{3} (Canaanite altars, 'pillars,' etc. to be destroyed).	,, 33^{52}.
19^{6} 22^{29} (30).	7^{6} $14^{2.21}$ 26^{19} 28^{9} (Israel a 'holy people'). (in different connexions).	Lv $11^{44f.}$ 19^{2} $20^{7.26}$; Nu 15^{40}.
22^{20} (21) 23^{9}.	10^{19} (to love the 'stranger').	,, 19^{34}.
	$12^{16.23}$ 15^{23} (blood not to be eaten).	,, 17^{10-14} 19^{26a} (cf. 3^{17} $7^{26f.}$; Gn 9^{4}).
23^{18a} 34^{25a}.	16^{3a} (leavened bread not to be eaten with Passover).	Ex 12^{8}.
$13^{6f.}$ 23^{15} 34^{18}.	$16^{3b\,4a\,8}$ (unleavened cakes for seven days afterwards).	,, $12^{15.18-20}$, Lv 23^{6}.
23^{18b} 34^{25b}.	16^{4b} (flesh of Passover not to remain till morning).	,, 12^{10} Nu 9^{12}.
	$16^{13.15}$ (feast of 'booths,' 'seven days').	Lv $23^{34.39.41-43}$.
	17^{6} 19^{15} ('two or three witnesses').	Nu 35^{30}.
21^{23-25}.	19^{21} (*lex talionis*). (but in a different application in each case).	Lv $24^{19f.}$
20^{25}.	$27^{5.6}$ (altars of unhewn stones).	

[The instances in which the divergence is most marked are indicated by an asterisk *.]

vii. Date and Authorship.—The date to which the composition of Dt should be assigned cannot be determined with any degree of certainty. But it is clear, from what has been already said, that it cannot reasonably be attributed to any very early period in the history of Heb. literature.

a. The testimony of the style and language connects it with the period preceding the age in which the imitators of the Deut. style wrote and flourished. Certainly, the rich and fluent oratorical periods of Dt belong to a period of ripe literary development, and not to the rough beginnings of a national literature.

It has been asserted that this is contradicted by the presence of certain archaisms. But, even if there were a few archaisms, their presence would not affect the general impression produced by the character of the Deut. style. The alleged 'archaisms,' however, are not of a kind to furnish any proof of the antiquity of the book.

(*a*) הִוא. The 'epicene' use of the pronoun throws more light upon the history of the text than upon the antiquity of the book.

The vowels in הִוא and הִיא were in all probability absent from the original autographs.

The fem. form *hi* seems to have existed in the earliest periods of the language.

(*b*) הָאֵל for הָאֵלֶּה. This form occurs 8 times in the Pent., 4 times in Dt 4^{42} 7^{22} 9^{11}, once in 1 Ch 20^{8} אֵל. As the usual 'dissyllabic' form occurs in the Pent. some 260 times, and in the cognate dialects the dissyllabic form was usual, the monosyllable is almost certainly an orthographical anomaly, and should have a second vowel, אֵלֶ, הָאֵלֶ; cf. אַתְּ.

(*c*) זְכוּר (16^{16} 20^{13}), as in Ex 23^{17} 34^{33}, instead of זָכָר, which is used over 50 times in the Pent. The use of זְכוּר for זָכָר goes back to the old law of Ex 23^{17}.

(*d*) יְרֵחוֹ (32^{49} $34^{1.3}$), as elsewhere in Pent. In Jos it is spelt יְרִיחוֹ 28 times, and we have יְרֵחוֹ in 2 S 10^{5}, Jer 39^{5} 52^{8}. The suggestion has been offered that 'Israel picked up a new pronunciation after they came to the place,' in other words, that until the death of Moses the Israelites called the place 'Yĕrēchō' incorrectly, and that this was embodied in the Pent., but that the local pronunciation was given by Joshua. It might have been supposed that the writer of the account of the death of Moses (Dt $34^{1.3}$) would have had as good opportunities for 'picking up a new pronunciation' as the writer of Jos 2^{1}. But the pronunciation followed in the Pent. is found also in K, Ezr-Neh, and Ch; so that no argument can be based upon the variety of the spelling.

Other supposed archaisms seem to arise from the mannerism of the author rather than from any real antiquity in their form.

The use of נַעַר, equally for masc. or fem., appears indeed to be a genuine archaism; but the fact that נַעֲרָה appears as the fem. of נַעַר elsewhere in the Heb. Scriptures except in the Pent., is merely an indication that the text of the Pent. had become regarded as too sacred to modify, at an earlier date than the other books subsequently admitted into the Heb. Canon.

Finally, the presence of an archaism is no more proof of a very early date than the presence of an Aramaism would be proof of a very late date. We have to account for the one as well as for the other.

b. The evidence derived from the language is corroborated by that which the religious teaching supplies.

(1) It has already been noticed that the emphasis laid upon the *love* of God is a feature almost unique (except for Ex 20); and it is generally believed that the prophet Hosea is the first exponent of this teaching. Dt 'builds upon the foundation of the prophets' (Driver).

(2) The 'monotheism' of Dt is an expansion of the 'monolatry' of early Israel; and the command to worship at a single sanctuary expresses in a concrete form the conception of a monotheistic religion. We are confronted with a stage of religious thought which has been reached only after a long preparatory period of discipline and teaching.

c. A comparison of the laws with those in Ex 20–23 shows that whereas the Deut. legislation is founded upon the laws of 'the Covenant,' and often repeats them almost *verbatim*, *e.g.* 14^{21} = Ex 23^{19} 34^{26}, 7^{5} = Ex 34^{13}, and, as a rule, merely expands them with hortatory phrase, in other cases Dt presents us with a modification of the earlier law, showing a more advanced and humane civilization. Thus comparing the law of release for bondservants in Dt 15^{12-17} with the parallel law in Ex $21^{2ff.}$, we notice (1) that female slaves are included in the law of release, (2) that provision is granted to the released slave so that he should not starve, (3) that the old custom of boring the ear is not required to be done publicly. Similarly, in Dt 5 the institution of the sabbatic year is put in force to restrain the exactions of the usurer, whereas in Ex 23^{10} it had only an agricultural significance.

d. The laws in Dt regulating national worship represent a later stage of Isr. history than those in Ex 20–23. This is conspicuously shown in regard to the place of sacrifice. In Ex 20^{24} an Israelite may erect local altars: 'in every place where I record my name, I will come unto thee and bless thee.' The practice of sacrificing at local altars and shrines was apparently universal from the time of Joshua (Jos $24^{1.26}$, 1 S 7^{9} 9^{12-14} 10^{3-8} 11^{15} 14^{35} 20^{6}, 2 S $15^{12.32}$) until the days of Hezekiah, who endeavoured to centralize all worship at Jerus. as the one national sanctuary (2 K $18^{4.22}$). The law of Dt insists (12^{4-18} etc.) upon the necessity of sacrificing at one place which J″ shall have chosen 'to set his name there.' It expresses in the terms of direct injunction the change for which Hezekiah contended and which Josiah finally carried into execution.

e. It may be granted that the laws of worship in Dt are quite too incomplete to be regarded as containing any exhaustive account. Thus the precise dates for the Festivals of Passover and Tabernacles are not given. In the former case the month is given, but not the day; in the latter case, neither month nor day. In the description of the Passover no direction is given that everyone should partake of it; while the command to observe the 7th day of Passover as 'a solemn assembly' and a day of rest is not applied to the other two feasts.

But, making all allowance for the general and fragmentary character of the religious legislation in Dt, we cannot pretend to be able to reconcile the discrepancies between the law of Dt and that of the (so-called) Priestly Code. The most notable discrepancy is in reference to the status of the Levite, and the provision for his maintenance. In Dt the regular expression 'the priests, the Levites' ($17^{9.18}$ 18^{1} 24^{8} 27^{9}), does not seem to recognize the distinction between 'the sons of Aaron' and 'the Levites,' which is found in the priestly laws. The Levites are pictured as wanderers and objects of Israelite charity, for which special regulations are laid down (12^{12-19} $14^{27.29}$ $16^{11.14}$ 18^{6} $26^{11.12}$); there is no reference to the provision in Nu 18 for the maintenance of priests and Levites, and in Nu 35 for the reservation of 48 cities for their place of residence.

A complete difference is also expressed in the laws relating to *firstlings* and to tithes. In Dt $12^{6.17\text{ff.}}$ $15^{19\text{ff.}}$ the firstlings are to be presented at the central sanctuary, and there eaten by the owner. In Nu 18^{18} the firstlings are pronounced to belong to Aaron, 'And the flesh of them shall be thine; as the wave-breast and as the right thigh it shall be thine.' In Dt ($12^{17\text{ff.}}$ 14^{22}) it is enjoined that a tithe of the vegetable produce is to be set aside, and to be consumed by the offerer at the central sanctuary; while, in every third year, the tithe is to be devoted to the poor or the destitute and the Levite. In this there is no resemblance to the tithe law of Nu 18^{21-28} and Lv $27^{30.32}$, according to which the tithe was to be paid of animal as well as of vegetable produce; it was to be paid to the Levites, who, in their turn, were enjoined to render a tenth to the priests.

Another instance of ritual discrepancy is found in the description of the priestly dues. In Dt 18^{3-5} the sacrificing priest received as his share 'the shoulder, two cheeks, and maw'; in Lv 7^{31-34} 'the wave-breast' and 'heave-thigh' or shoulder are assigned to the priest.

Added to this, there is the argument from silence, in that Dt makes no mention of the year of jubilee, the great Day of Atonement, the Levitical cities, the meal-offering, guilt-offering, or sin-offering, nor even of the tent of meeting (Dt $31^{14\text{f.}}$ is from JE). And it is incredible to suppose that the Levitical system, if formulated as we have it in P, should have been so wholly overlooked in an address to the people.

It is impossible to resist the impression that the law of Dt represents an expansion and development of the ancient code contained in Ex 20–23, and precedes the final formulation of the priestly ritual, which only received its ultimate form in the last period of revising the structure of the Pentateuch.

In order to approach more nearly the limits of time within which it is reasonable to suppose that Dt was composed, we may take into consideration the further possible indications of time, and judge of them not as individually convincing items of evidence, but as collectively carrying considerable weight.

(*a*) It was written on the W. side of the Jordan; cf. the use of 'beyond Jordan' in Dt $1^{1.5}$ 3^{8} $4^{41.46.47.49}$, as in Jos 2^{10} 7^{7} etc. See BEYOND.

(*b*) The law of the kingdom, 17^{14-20}, is expressed in language indicating acquaintance with the evils of Solomon's reign.

(*c*) The law of the judicial tribunal in 17^{8-13} does not ordain a new institution, but *describes a court already existing*, and having a close resemblance to the one described in 2 Ch $19^{8.11}$ as appointed by Jehoshaphat.

(*d*) Isaiah, who speaks of the erection of an 'obelisk' (*maẓẓēbâh*) for a sacred purpose in connexion with the worship of J″ in Egypt, could hardly have been acquainted with the law of Dt 16^{22} 'Thou shalt not set thee up an obelisk, which J″ thy God hateth.'

(*e*) Dt refers to the worship of 'the host of heaven' as a dangerous form of idolatry (4^{19} 17^{3}). We do not find in the historical books any mention of this superstition being a source of religious temptation until the days of Ahaz; see 2 K 23^{12}.

(*f*) The style of Jeremiah's writing shows abundant traces of the influence of Dt.

If we may take these hints together, we arrive at the probability of Dt having been composed during the period which intervenes between the accession of Ahaz and the literary activity of Jeremiah.

A *terminus ad quem* for the composition of Dt is supplied by the discovery of 'the book of the law' in the 18th year of the reign of Josiah (B.C. 621). There can be no manner of doubt that this book corresponded to a work practically identical with the main portion of Dt (5–26. 28). This work contained denunciations and curses, such as are found in Dt 28 (cf. 2 K $22^{11.13.19}$); it contained mention of the covenant with J″, with clear reference to Dt 28^{69} (cf. 2 K $23^{2.3.21}$). The reforms instituted by Josiah are such as would be required by conformity with the law of Dt, especially in regard to the centralization of worship, 2 K $23^{8.9}$; the prohibition of the worship of the heavenly bodies, 2 K $23^{4.5.11}$; the prohibition of the high-places, obelisks, Ashērim, etc., 2 K $23^{4.5.14.15}$; the prohibition of religious prostitutes, 2 K 23^{7}; the maintenance of the priests ejected from the local shrines, 2 K $23^{8.9}$; the prohibition of Molech worship, 2 K 23^{10}; the celebration of the Passover in Jerusalem 'as it is written in this book of the covenant,' 2 K 23^{21-23}; the ejection of diviners and consulters with familiar spirits, 2 K 23^{24}.

The finding of this 'book of the law' in the temple is described as a fortuitous occurrence. There is no foundation for the suggestion that Hilkiah himself had written the book, and that the story of its finding was a fabrication. The account is straightforward and natural. It is generally agreed that the book may have been written in the reign of Manasseh, or in the early part of the reign of Josiah. Hezekiah, who had commanded all Isr. worship to be offered at the sanctuary in Jerus. (2 K $18^{4.22}$ 21^3), commenced the policy of removing the high-places. Manasseh's reign reversed all that Hezekiah had done. It is thought probable that the composition of Dt was intended, in the days of Manasseh, to protest against the religious evils of that time, against the forms of superstition that had begun to find their way into Judah from Babylonia, as well as against the corruptions and disorders at the high-places which presented a form of J″ worship wholly alien to the teaching and spirit of the prophets of Israel.

Such a work, written in the troublous reign of Manasseh, may well have been deposited for safety within the precincts of the temple. The description of its discovery leads the reader to suppose that the book was one that had been written some considerable time before the 18th year of Josiah's reign. The character of Dt agrees exactly with the spirit of Huldah's warning in 2 K 22^{16-20}, where she speaks of the people of Judah having forsaken J″, and burned incense to other gods, etc.

The traditional view, that the work in its present form was written by Moses, is now generally recognized by critical scholarship as impossible. The fact that Moses is described in Dt $31^{9.24}$ as having committed the Deut. legislation to writing, was, in former times, regarded as sufficient proof that the whole work came from his hand. The writer (Dt 31^9) narrates the fact that Moses 'wrote this law'; he also narrates the fact that Moses delivered farewell discourses to the people. There is no appearance of autobiography in Dt. There is no claim to Mosaic authorship for the whole work. A copy of the Deut. law is stated (Dt 31^{26}) to have been committed by Moses to the keeping of the priests 'by the side of the ark.'

Heb. laws went back to the founding of the nation under Moses. The name of Moses embraced the whole legislation, both in its earlier forms and in their later expansion and modification. The writer of Dt employed the nucleus of ancient law as the means of conveying the teaching needed by his time. The authority of Moses is invoked as impersonating the spirit of Isr. law in its later application, no less than in its original framing. Moses is made to plead with his people, and to show the abiding principles of the worship of J″.

The work is that of a prophet, a religious teacher, not of a jurist or a statesman. In language, in thought, and in character, it is most easily understood as the composition of one who lived in the 7th cent., and who sought, by a 'dramatic' use of the last words of Moses, to recall his countrymen to a holier life, and a purer service of J″. It has been objected that the allusions to the dwellers in Canaan, and to the Amalekites (7^{1-5} 20^{16-19}), would be unintelligible and unnecessary at so late a period as the 7th cent. B.C. But the writer's purpose is to transfer himself to the age of Moses, and from that historic standpoint to appeal to the nation's conscience. If Moses were represented as speaking in the plains of Moab, it would be natural for the writer to make him refer to the Canaanites, and to introduce suitable local allusions. And the writer's argument was perfectly intelligible. If severity of the sternest kind was traditionally said to have been inculcated by Moses against the idolatrous inhabitants of the land, how much more was it required in dealing with those who, in Israel itself, had proved so faithless to J″, in spite of the warnings of the prophets!

It has been objected that the substance of Deut. laws is alluded to in writings earlier than the 7th cent. B.C. Thus 1 S 28^3 has been compared with Dt 18^{11}, Hos 4^{14} with Dt 23^{18}, Hos 5^{10} with Dt 19^{14}, Am 8^5 with Dt 25^4, Neh 2^1 with Dt 1^{15}, while 2 K 14^6 refers to the law contained in Dt 24^{16}. But this line of objection assumes that the existence of the laws is contemporaneous with the composition of Dt, and it ignores the fact, which criticism has clearly revealed and strenuously reiterated, that Dt contains and expands laws of very much greater antiquity than its own composition.

In the following passages, in which the words of the prophetical writers have been regarded as referring to Dt, it is obvious that Dt, as well as the prophets, refers back to the older law of Ex 20–23 :—

Is $1^{17.23}$ 10^2 = Ex 22^{21}, Dt 24^{17}.
„ 1^{23} 5^{23} = „ 23^8 „ 16^{19}.
Am 2^8 = „ 22^{25} „ 24^{12}.
„ 5^{12} = „ 23^6 „ 16^{10}.

There are, of course, in Dt abundant allusions to offerings (*e.g.* ch. 12), tithes (14^{22-29}), distinctions of 'clean' and 'unclean' ($12^{15.22}$ 14^{3-20}), the 'solemn assembly' (16^8), law of leprosy (24^8), and kindred topics, which show the familiarity of Dt with the national religious observances; they do not exhibit acquaintance with the distinctive ordinances of P, although reference to them is necessarily made with technical terms.

Certain words and phrases have also been adduced from the prophetical writers, which it is alleged must have been taken from Dt, *e.g.* Hos 5^{11} *oppressed* from Dt 28^{33}; 8^{13} *they shall return to Egypt* from Dt 28^{68}; 11^8 *Admah and Zeboim* from Dt 29^{22}; Am 4^9 *blasting and mildew* from Dt 28^{22}; 4^{11} overthrow of Sodom and *Gomorrah* from Dt 29^{23}; 5^7 *wormwood* from Dt 29^{17} etc. But the occurrence of such words and phrases is not sufficient to justify the claim for direct citation. They are expressions, most of them, which would quite naturally occur independently to the writers. Nor is there any means of showing that there is more probability of these writers having borrowed a phrase from Dt than of Dt having borrowed a phrase from them. Considering the resemblance of Dt's style to the writing in Jer and Kings, it would be more natural to expect Dt to have borrowed from Hosea or Amos than for Hosea or Amos to have borrowed from Dt. The Deuteronomic style in Jer, Jos, Jg, Kings, shows at once the influence of Dt; but there is no clear proof of the earlier prophets having been acquainted with Dt.

LITERATURE.—For a fuller discussion of the subject the reader is referred to the admirable treatment of it by Driver, in his commentary on 'Deuteronomy' (*International Critical Commentary*, T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh), in his *LOT*, and in his art. 'Deuteronomy' in Smith's *DB*²; to all of which the writer of the present article is largely indebted. Other works dealing with the same subject, to which reference may be made, are the commentaries of Oettli and Harper, and *Einleitungen* of Riehm, Cornill, König, Strack, Kuenen, Holzinger; Cheyne, *Jeremiah* ('Men of the Bible' series); W. R. Smith, *OTJC*²; Ryle, *Canon of the OT*; Montefiore, *Religion of the Ancient Hebrews*; Wildeboer, *Lit. d. A.T.*; Piepenbring, 'La Reforme et le Code de Josias,' in *Revue d. l'Histoire des Religions*, t. xxix. 1894.

H. E. RYLE.

DEVIL. — See DEMON, SATAN. **DEVOTED THINGS.**—See ACCURSED, CURSE.

DEVOTION. — RV gives 'devotion' for AV 'prayer' in Job 15^4 (שִׂיחָה). In AV the word is found only Ac 17^{23} 'as I passed by, and beheld your devotions,' Gr. *τὰ σεβάσματα ὑμῶν*, RV 'the objects of your worship.'

That RV gives the meaning of the Greek there is no doubt. The same Gr. word occurs Wis 14^{20} (Vulg. *deus*, AV 'a god,' RV 'object of devotion'), 15^{17} (Vulg. *quos colit*, AV 'the things which he worshippeth,' RV 'object of his worship'); Bel ^{27} (EV 'the gods ye worship'); and 2 Th 2^4 (EV 'that is worshipped,' RVm 'an object of worship'). Did the AV translators understand 'devotions' in the sense of 'objects of worship,' then? Aldis Wright (*Bible Word-Book*,² p. 198 f.), after a full discussion, concludes that they did not. He quotes, however, from Sidney, *Arcadia* (ed. 1598, p. 282 [ed. 1622, p. 277]), as follows: 'Dametas began to speake his lowd voyce, to looke big, to march up and downe, and in his march to lift his legges higher than he was wont, swearing by no meane devotions, that the walls should not keepe the coward from him.' The *Oxf. Eng. Dict.* gives 'an object of religious worship' as one of the meanings of 'devotion,' quoting the above from Sidney, Ac 17^{23}, and a passage from Fletcher (1625), *Double Marriage*, IV. iv.: 'Churches and altars, priests and all devotions, Tumbled together into one rude chaos'; but says, 'this sense is not very certain, the meaning of the quotations being in every case doubtful.' As Wright points out, AV took the word from Gen. Bible of 1560; Wyclif (1380) having 'mawmetis'; Tind. 'the maner how ye worship your goddes,' so Cran., Gen. of 1557 (Whittingham), Bishops'; Cov. 'youre gods seruyce' (from Zurich Bible, *euwre Gottsdienst*); Rhem. 'your Idols.' But it has not been observed that Tomson's NT of 1576, which from 1587 onwards supplanted the NT of 1560 in most copies of the Gen. Bible, has the marg. note: 'Whatsoever men worship for religion's sake, that we call devotion.' That note, which removes all doubt of this meaning from the word, was before the translators of AV, and they would have no hesitation in using an abstract word in this concrete sense: cf. Ac 14^{15} Gr. *τὰ μάταια*, AV 'vanities,' RV 'vain things.' Coverdale has 'devotion' in Ja 1^{26} for AV and RV 'religion.'

J. HASTINGS.

DEW (טַל, *tal*).—i. The atmosphere is capable of holding in suspension a certain amount of aqueous vapour proportionate to its temperature under a given pressure. The greatest amount is taken up during the daytime; but on the approach of sunset, when the temperature is lowered, part of the vapour is precipitated in the form of dew, till the dew-point is reached.

This process is enhanced in Eastern countries like Palestine, where the surface of the ground and the air in contact therewith are highly heated during the daytime, but where at night, and particularly under a cloudless sky, the heat of the ground is radiated into space and the air becomes rapidly cooled down. The excess of moisture in the air then gently 'falls as dew on the tender herb,' and sometimes so copiously as to sustain the life of many plants which would otherwise perish during the rainless season; or even, as in the case of Gideon, to saturate a fleece of wool (Jg 6^{38}). When the sky is clouded, radiation is retarded, and rain may fall. Thus rain and dew alternately benefit the vegetation; and to the latter agent may possibly be ascribed the presence of a beauteous, though dwarfed, flora amongst the waterless valleys of the Sinaitic Peninsula, which in the early morn sparkles in the sunshine, owing to the multitudes of dewdrops which have settled on the leaves and stems of the plants during the cool hours of the night.

ii. Thus deprivation of dew, as well as of rain, becomes a terrible calamity in the East. On this account 'dew and rain' are associated in the imprecation called down by David on the mountains of Gilboa in his distress at the tidings of the death of Saul and Jonathan (2 S 1^{21}); and in the curse pronounced on Ahab and his kingdom by Elijah (1 K 17^{1}); as also by the prophet Haggai on the Jews after the Restoration (Hag 1^{10}) owing to their unwillingness to rebuild the temple.

iii. In the Book of Job the formation of dew is pointed to as one of the mysteries of nature insoluble by man (Job 38^{28}); but in Pr it is ascribed to the omniscience and power of the Lord (Pr 3^{20}).

iv. Dew is a favourite emblem in Scripture; the following are examples: (*a*) Richness and Fertility, 'God give thee of the dew of heaven (Gn 27^{28}, Dt 33^{13}). (*b*) Refreshing and Vivifying effects, 'My speech shall distil as the dew' (Dt 32^{2}); 'Like a cloud of dew in the heat of summer' (Is 18^{4}). (*c*) Stealth, 'We will light upon him as the dew falleth on the ground' (2 S 17^{12}). (*d*) Inconstancy; the goodness of Judah is 'as the early dew, it goeth away' (Hos 6^{4}); Ephraim . . . shall be 'as the early dew that passeth away' (ch. 13^{3}). (*e*) The young warriors of the Messianic king, with flashing weapons like dewdrops, 'Thou hast the dew of thy youth' (Ps 110^{3}).

E. HULL.

DIADEM.—This term (*διάδημα*) was applied by the Greeks to the emblem of royalty worn on the head by Pers. monarchs (Xen. *Cyr.* viii. 3. 13). It consisted of a silken fillet, 2 inches broad, of blue or purple, mixed with white, tied at the back of the head. Originally intended to confine the hair, and worn by all Persians, it became an ornamental head-dress, the king's being distinguished by its colour, and perhaps by jewels studding it. It was tied round the lower part of the *khshatram* (Heb. כֶּתֶר, Gr. *κίδαρις* or *κίταρις*; see Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.* iii. 204 note), a tall, stiff cap, probably of felt, and of bright colours, which formed the tiara or turban of the king (Q. Curt. iii. 3. 18, 19; see head from Persepolis in Rawlinson, iii. 166). The head-dress of soldiers other than the king was soft, and fell back on the head (Suidas, *Lexicon*, *τιάρα*. See also the Pompeian mosaic of the battle of Issus, given in Ainé, *Herculaneum and Pompeii*). Later, the fillet was enlarged by broad pendants falling on the shoulders. The Persian diadem was adopted by Alexander and his successors (1 Mac 1^{9}; Herodian, i. 3. 7). To the Greeks and Romans it was the distinctive badge of royalty, unlike the wreath, and is commonly described as white (Tac. *Annales*, vi. 37). Its presentation to Julius Cæsar was therefore specially offensive (Cic. *Phil.* ii. 34; Sueton. *Jul.* 79). Pliny (*NH* vii. 57) attributes its invention to Father Liber (the supposed Latin Dionysus), and it was long confined in art to him; but later artists placed it on the head of other deities. Diocletian was the first Rom. emperor to wear it permanently and publicly. Out of it, in combination with the 'corona,' the later royal crowns were developed.

In LXX *διάδημα* is used loosely to translate not only 'crown royal' (כֶּתֶר מַלְכוּת Est 1^{11} 2^{17}) but 'pallium' (תַּכְרִיךְ Est 8^{15} *διάδημα βύσσινον πορφυροῦν*) and 'tiara' (צָנִיף Is 62^{3}. But not so in Job 29^{14}, Is 3^{23}; in Zec 3^{5} צָנִיף is tr. *κίδαρις*, a rendering also given to the high priest's turban in Ezk $21^{31\,(26)}$ 28^{4}, Lv 16^{4}). In 1 Mac 1^{9} 13^{32} it describes the strictly royal insignia for the head adopted by the Greeks from the Persians (*διάδημα τῆς Ἀσίας*). In AV of OT, diadem is again used loosely for the high priest's turban (Ezk 21^{26} מִצְנֶפֶת), a royal tiara (Job 29^{14}, Is 62^{3} צָנִיף) and a crown (Is 28^{5} צְפִירָה). RV more properly confines diadem to the last three passages, using 'mitre' in Ezk 21^{26}, and also 'turban' in the marg. of Job 29^{14}. But though thus the royal head-dress of the kings of Israel is not described as a diadem, there can be but little doubt that it was such (see CROWN). In NT the distinction between *crown* and *diadem* is accurately observed in the Gr. and in RV, but not in AV. *Diadem* should be read in Rev 12^{3} 13^{1} 19^{12}, where it symbolizes respectively the empire of 'the dragon,' 'the beast,' and of the royal Christ. The phrase 'on his head were many diadems,' describes Christ's universal dominion (see CROWN; also for bibliography).

G. T. PURVES.

DIAL (מַעֲלוֹת, *ἀναβαθμοί*, *horologium*), RVm 'Heb. *steps*,' 2 K 20^{11}, Is 38^{8}.—The Heb. word commonly denotes 'steps' (see Ex 20^{26}, 1 K 10^{19}), and is so rendered elsewhere in this narrative (2 K 20^{9-11}, Is 38^{8}; AV *degrees*). The 'steps' referred to are doubtless not simply the steps of the palace (so LXX, Jos. *Ant.* x. ii. 1), but formed part of some kind of sun-clock (so Targ., Vulg., Jerome on Is 38^{8}, and most commentators). According to Herod. ii. 109, the Babylonians were the inventors of the *πολός* or concave dial, the *γνώμων*, and the division of the day into 12 hours. The introduction by Ahaz of a device for measuring the time may be regarded as a result of his intercourse with the

Assyrians (2 K $16^{10\text{ff.}}$), but it is uncertain what kind of clock is intended. Some have supposed that it was in the form of a dial with concentric circles, and a central gnomon (Ges., Hitz., Keil, etc.); but it is doubtful whether מַעֲלוֹת can denote 'degrees.' Hence it seems simpler to think of actual 'steps' arranged round a pillar or obelisk, the time of day being then indicated by the position of the shadow on the steps. Since in 2 K *l.c.* it is regarded as possible for the shadow to go down or to return 10 steps, it is clear that these steps did not each mark an hour of the day, but some smaller period of time. In biblical Heb., indeed, no word denoting an *hour* is found; שָׁעָה first appears in the Aram. of Dn 4^{16} (Eng. ^{19}) 5^{5}. Our ignorance of the real form of the 'dial' of Ahaz renders precarious all attempts at explaining the phenomenon of the recession of the sun's shadow. Moreover, a discussion of the problem requires a critical comparison of the parallel accounts in Is and 2 K; and it must be recognized as probable on independent grounds, that our narrative is considerably later than the time of Hezekiah. Cf. esp. Dillmann and Cheyne on Is 38^{1-8}.

H. A. WHITE.

DIAMOND.—See STONES (PRECIOUS).

DIANA OF THE EPHESIANS is the Latinized rendering of the name Artemis (Ἄρτεμις τῶν Ἐφεσίων), by which the Greeks designated a goddess whose sanctuary was situated close to Ephesus. The situation and splendour of the temple, and the part that the sanctuary and its priests played in the history of the city, through the influence of the conservative anti-Greek party, which favoured the interests of the temple and the power of the goddess, are described under EPHESUS. The goddess, who had her seat in the rich valley near the mouth of the Cayster long before Gr. colonists had set foot on the Asian coast, had little in common with the chaste virgin goddess Artemis of Greek poetry and mythology. She was the impersonation of the vitality and power of nature, of the reproductive power which keeps up the race of man and animals in an unbroken series of offspring, and of the nourishing power by which the earth tenders to the use of man and animals all that they require to keep them in life. She was worshipped, with almost complete identity of character and image, over the whole of Lydia; and the Lydian Artemis presents such close analogies with the Phrygian Cybele, and with other feminine envisagements of the divine power in Asiatic countries, like the Cappadocian Ma, the Phœnician Astarte or Ashtaroth, the Syrian Atargatis and Mylitta, as to suggest that these are all mere varieties of one ultimate religious conception, presenting in different countries certain differences, due to varying development according to local circumstances and national character. The old hypothesis that this widespread similarity was due to Phœn. colonists, who carried their own goddess with them to new lands, is now discredited: there is no evidence that Phœnicians ever settled in the Cayster Valley, still less in other parts of Lydia.

The Ephesian goddess was represented by a rude idol, which was said to have fallen from heaven (Ac 19^{35}*)—a tradition which attached to many sacred and rude old statues, such as that of Cybele at Pessinus (said to be merely a shapeless stone), Athena Polias on the Athenian Acropolis, etc. In the representation which is familiar to us from coins, statues, and statuettes, the goddess appears as a standing idol, in shape partly human; the upper part of the body in front is covered with rows of breasts (symbolizing her function as the nourishing mother of all life); the lower part is merely an upright block, without distinction of legs or feet, covered with symbols and figures of animals; the arms from below the elbows are extended on each side, and the hands are supported by props; the head is surmounted either by a lofty ornament, *polos*, or by a mural crown, and something like a heavy veil hangs on each side of the face down to the shoulders; the figure stands on a peculiarly shaped pedestal, generally low on coins, but sometimes high; frequently stags accompany the goddess, one on each side. A similar representation of the native goddess is found very widely both in Lydia and in Phrygia. The Gr. colonists in Ephesus identified this Oriental deity with their own Artemis, on account of certain analogies between them; they represented her on their coins in the Gr. character, and introduced some of the Gr. mythology of the twins Artemis and Apollo; but they never succeeded in really affecting the cultus, which remained always purely Asian and non-Greek. The chief priest bore the Persian title *Megabyzos*, and in earlier time he had to be a eunuch; but Strabo seems perhaps to imply that this condition was no longer required, when he was writing (about A.D. 19). Some authorities think that there was a body of Megabyzoi in the ritual; but Canon Hicks seems rightly to argue that the title was appropriated to the single chief priest, who represented the divine associate of the goddess, Attis or Atys, whom she herself mutilated. A large body of priestesses were under his authority, divided into three classes (Plutarch, *An seni sit per. resp.* p. 795, § 24), called Mellierai, Hierai, and Parierai; and according to Strabo they originally had to be virgins. Some authorities seem to apply the name Melissai, 'Bees,' to them; and the bee is the most characteristic type on earlier Gr. coins of Ephesus. A single priestess (ἱέρεια) is mentioned in inscriptions, who was probably the head of the cultus and representative of the goddess.

There was also a body of priests (some wrongly say a single high priest), to whom was given the title *Essenes*. The Essenes were appointed for a year only (Paus. viii. 13. 1); and they seem to have been officials at once of the city and of the sanctuary, for they allotted new citizens to their proper tribe and division, sacrificed to the goddess on behalf of the city, and seem in general to have guarded the relations between the State and the goddess. Various other bodies of ministers attended the sanctuary, such as the Kouretes, the Akrobatai, the Hieroi, whose nature and duties are obscure (the first two, perhaps, colleges similar to the modern dervishes, the last a Greek form of *hierodouloi*). There can be no doubt that the ritual was of an orgiastic type, and accompanied with ceremonial prostitution and other abominations: traces of the ritual and its accompaniments are collected in the works on Ephesus (which see); the Lydian ritual of the Mysteries, which are mentioned at Ephesus in inscriptions (Hicks, p. 147, *CIG* 3002; Strabo, p. 640), as well as in many other cities, is described in *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* (Ramsay), i. p. 91 ff., and the general character of the religion in *Lyd. et le Monde Grec.* (Radet), p. 261 ff.

The epithets 'Queen of Ephesus' and 'great' or 'greatest' seem to have been specially appropriated to Artemis in Asia: so *CIG* 2963 c. τῆς μεγάλης θεᾶς Ἄ., 6797, Ἐφέσου ἄνασσα; Xen. *Eph.* i. 11. p. 15, τὴν μεγάλην Ἐφεσίων Ἄ.; Achilles, *Tat.* viii. 9. p. 501, ἡ Ἄ. ἡ μεγάλη θεος; Hicks, No. 481, l. 278, τῆς μεγίστης θεᾶς Ἄ. Further, the expression μεγάλη Ἄρτεμις seems to have been a formula of an invocatory character: see the inscriptions given in *Bulletin de Corresp. Hellénique*, 1880, p. 430, from Lesbos; and in Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr. of As. Min.* p. 410, from Pisidia (cf. *μέγας* Ἀπόλλων, *id. Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, p. 151, No. 49, *μεγάλη* Ἄναιτις; *Mous. et Bibliotheca Smyrn*, No. νλζʹ). It is therefore probable that the shouts of the excited crowd in the Ephesian theatre (Ac 19^{34}) were really invocations to the goddess, as her worshippers repeated a formula familiar in her ritual (see Ramsay, *Church in Rom. Emp.* p. 138 f.).

---

* In this place the rendering 'which fell down from Jupiter' (AV and RV) gives a wrong impression: the word διοπετοῦς merely indicates that the image was believed to have fallen from the clear sky. In Eurip. *Iph. T.* 977, 1384, οὐρανοῦ πέσημα is given as the equivalent and explanation of διοπετὲς ἄγαλμα.

The **Naoi** or **Shrines** of Artemis, which were made in silver by artisans such as Demetrius, and in other less expensive materials (esp. marble and terra-cotta) by 'the workmen of like occupation' (*τοὺς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐργάτας*, Ac 19^{25}), were first correctly explained by Prof. E. Curtius (*Athen. Mittheil. d. Instituts*, ii. p. 49 f.). They were not mere statuettes of the Ephesian Diana,[*] for such could not be called 'shrines.' The worshippers of the goddess dedicated to her representations of herself in her shrine: 'a great city erected a great temple with a colossal statue of the goddess; private individuals propitiated her with miniature shrines containing embodiments of her living presence. The vast temple and the tiny terra-cotta shrine were equally acceptable to Artemis; she accepted from her votaries offerings according to their means; she dwelt neither in the temple nor in the terra-cotta shrine; she lived in the life of nature; mother of all, and nurse of all, she was most really present wherever the unrestrained life of nature was most freely manifested: in the woods, on the mountains, among the wild beasts. Her worshippers expressed their devotion, and their belief in her omnipresence, by offering shrines to her, and doubtless by keeping shrines of the same kind in their own homes, certainly also by placing such shrines in graves beside the corpse, as a sign that the dead had gone back to the mother who bore them' (*Church in Rom. Emp.* p. 125 f.). These small dedicatory shrines were not modelled after the splendid Gr. temple of Artemis; for the creations of Gr. art in sculpture and architecture, beautiful as they were, were never so holy in the estimation of devotees as the simple and rude types of primitive art and religion. The type most familiar to us from extant remains shows the goddess seated in a niche or naiskos, sometimes alone, sometimes accompanied by one or two figures (among them her favourite Atys). In the ruder examples, she sits in stiff fashion, holding in one hand the tambourine (*τύμπανον*), in the other a cup (*φιάλη*). Beside her are one or two lions. In some more artistic examples, she has laid aside the stiff symbols, and sometimes caresses with one hand the lion which climbs to her knee or lies in her lap. Sometimes the lion serves her as a footstool; in other cases two sit in stiff symmetry, one on each side of her throne. Works of this class are found very widely both at Ephesus and elsewhere, in marble and in terra-cotta; the examples in marble are usually marked by inscriptions as dedicatory; no examples in silver have been preserved, but naturally their intrinsic value led to their being melted down. The precise relation between this type and the Lydian type already described (commonly designated, wherever found, as the Eph. Artemis) has not yet been determined. It is highly probable that the whole class of sacred dedicatory objects fabricated by the artisans for use in the cultus of Artemis were designated by the generic term *naoi*, taken from the most common and characteristic type.

LITERATURE.—See under EPHESUS.

W. M. RAMSAY.

DIBLAH (דִּבְלָה), Ezk 6^{14}.—Four MSS read Riblah (which is accepted by Cheyne, Davidson, Hitzig, Smend, Cornill, Siegfried-Stade, and *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*). It was near a wilderness, and this would suit for Riblah. It has also been supposed to be Beth-Diblathaim. There is a village in Upper Galilee called *Dibl*. See *SWP* vol. i. sh. iii.

C. R. CONDER.

DIBLAIM (דִּבְלַיִם, Διβηλαίμ), the father of Gomer, Hosea's wife. See GOMER, HOSEA.

DIBON.—**1.** (דִּיבוֹן in MT, but the spelling דיבן of the Moabite Stone and Δαιβών of LXX indicate that the י had a consonantal value; see Driver, *Notes on Heb. Text of Samuel*, lxxxix.). A city east of the Dead Sea and north of the Arnon in the land which, before the coming of the Israelites, Sihon, king of the Amorites, had taken from a former king of Moab (Nu $21^{26.\ 30}$). The Israelites dispossessed Sihon, and the territory was assigned to Reuben (Jos $13^{9.\ 17}$), but the city Dibon is mentioned among those built (or rebuilt) by Gad (Nu $32^{3.\ 34}$), hence the name **Dibon-gad** by which it is once called (Nu 33^{45}). The children of Israel were not able to retain possession of the land, and in the time of Isaiah Dibon is reckoned among the cities of Moab (Is 15). In Is 15^9 **Dimon** is supposed to be a modified form of Dibon, adopted in order to resemble more closely the Hebrew word for blood (Dām), and support the play on words in that verse.

The modern name of the town is Dhibân, about half an hour N. of ʽAraʽir, which is on the edge of the Arnon Valley. It is a dreary and featureless ruin on two adjacent knolls, but has acquired notoriety in consequence of the discovery there of the Moabite Stone. See Tristram, *Land of Moab*, p. 132 f., Seetzen, *Reisen*, i. 400, and cf. MOAB.

2. A town in Judah inhabited in Nehemiah's time by some of the children of Judah (Neh 11^{25}). Perhaps it is the same as **Dimonah** (Jos 15^{22}) among the southernmost cities of Judah. If this identification be correct, it illustrates the passage Is 15^9 referred to in (1).

Dibon-gad (Nu 33^{45} only); see above.

A. T. CHAPMAN.

DIBRI (דִּבְרִי).—A Danite, grandfather of the blasphemer who was stoned to death, Lv 24^{11}.

DIDRACHMA.—See MONEY.

DIDYMUS.—See THOMAS.

DIE.—To die by a specified form of death is a common expression; as Caxton (1477), *Jason*, 42: 'If I dye not of bodily deth I shal dye of spirituel deth'; and so Caxton, *G. de la Tour*, Gv v.: 'Your sone dcyd this nyght of a good dethe.' Similar is the phrase Nu 16^{29} 'If these men die the common death of all men'; and 23^{10} 'Let me die the death of the righteous,' and other examples in which the prep. is omitted. But the expression 'die the death' is un-English, and is prob. everywhere due to a literal rendering of the Heb. idiom. It occurs Sir 14^{17} 'the covenant from the beginning is, Thou shalt die the death' (Gr. *θανάτῳ ἀποθανῇ*, from Gn 2^{17} 'thou shalt surely die,' Heb. מוֹת תָּמוּת, lit. 'dying thou shalt die,' LXX *θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖσθε*); and Mt 15^4 'He that curseth father or mother, let him die the death' (Gr. *θανάτῳ τελευτάτω*, lit. 'let him end by death,' Vulg. *morte moriatur*, Cov. 'shal dye the death,' after whom Cran., Gen., Bish., AV, RV; but Rhem. 'dying let him dye'). The phrase 'die the death' is not uncommon in Shaks., and is generally interpreted as meaning 'die the death appointed for the particular offence'; but it is probably a reminiscence of the phrase in Mt,[*] and means 'let him assuredly die.' Thus *Mids. Night's Dream*, I. i. 65—

> 'Either to die the death, or to abjure
> For ever the society of men.'

J. HASTINGS.

DIET (fr. Gr. *δίαιτα*, mode of life, through late Lat. *dieta*) is used in AV in the obsol. sense of 'an allowance of food,' Jer 52^{34} 'And for his [Jehoiachin's] diet, there was a continual diet given him' (אֲרֻחָתוֹ אֲרֻחַת תָּמִיד, RV 'allowance,' as AV in par. passage 2 K 25^{30}. In Pr 15^{17} the same Heb. is tr. 'dinner,' with 'portion' in RVm; in Jer 40^5 'victuals,' RVm 'an allowance'). The Eng. word is rare in this sense, and is not used in any previous version here. In the more usual sense it occurs Sir 30^{25} 'A cheerful and good heart will have a care of his meat and diet'; cf. Chaucer (*Prol.* 435)—

> 'Of his diet measurable was he,
> For it was of no superfluitee,
> But of greet norissing and digestible.'

J. HASTINGS.

DIKLAH (דִּקְלָה, Δεκλά).—The name of a son of Joktan (Gn 10^{27}, 1 Ch 1^{21}), probably representing a nation or community. The Aramaic name for the river Tigris (*Diḳlath*) is practically identical with this form, and hence the conjecture of Michaelis, that Diklah signified the dwellers on that river, is not wholly improbable; we know, however, of no community so called, and the home of such of the Joktanidæ as can be identified with certainty is in Arabia. The word *daḳal* (in Syr. *deḳla'*, 'palm') is well known in Arabic, and signifies dry dates of bad quality; as they possess no cohesive power, to 'scatter like *daḳal*' is a proverbial phrase. The geographer Yākūt knows of a place in Yemamah called *Daḳalah*, 'where there were palm trees,' of too little importance to be connected with the son of Joktan; moreover, the corresponding form in Hebrew should be Dĕkālāh rather than Diklah. The names immediately preceding and following Diklah give no clue to its identification. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

---

[*] Canon Hicks, *Expositor*, June 1890, p. 403 ff., takes a different view.

[*] Cf. *Macbeth*, IV. iii. 111: 'Died every day she lived,' a recollection, no doubt, of 1 Co 15^{31} 'I die daily.'

DILAN (דִּלְעָן), Jos 15[38].—A town of Judah in the same group with Lachish and Eglon. The site is unknown. C. R. CONDER.

DILIGENCE.—'Derived from *diligo*, to love, "diligence" reminds us that the secret of true industry in our work is love of that work' (Trench, *Study of Words*, p. 314). But as diligence has gradually forgotten the rock whence it was hewn, it has also lost some of its proper meaning. It is a synonym now for 'industry'; but formerly it was also a syn. for 'carefulness,' since our love of a work may express itself as readily in care or caution as in perseverance. Hence Wyclif's tr. of 1 Ti 3[5] 'If ony man kan not gouerne his hous, how schal he haue diligence of the chirche of God'; and Coverdale's tr. of Pr 4[23] 'Kepe thine hert with all diligence,' which is retained in AV and RV. Cf. Knox, *Historie*, 15: 'He declared what diligence the ancients took to try true miracles from false.' *Diligent* and *diligently* had the same range of meaning. Thus Job 42[5] Cov. 'I have geuen diligent eare unto the' (Gen., AV 'I have heard of thee by the hearing of the ear,' RV 'I had heard,' etc.—thus reversing Coverdale's meaning); AV 1611 Title, 'with the former Translations diligently compared and revised'; Shaks. *Tempest*, III. i. 42—

> 'The harmony of their tongues hath into bondage
> Brought my too diligent ear.'

J. HASTINGS.

DILL.—See ANISE.

DIMINISH.—To diminish is to make less, and that primary meaning is alone in use now. We do not even use the word figuratively, 'to lessen the influence of,' 'belittle,' as Ezk 5[11] 'therefore will I also d. thee'; 29[15] 'I will d. them, that they shall no more rule over the nations'; Is 21[17] 'the mighty men . . . shall be diminished' (RV 'shall be few'); Ro 11[12] 'if . . . the diminishing of them [be] the riches of the Gentiles' (τὸ ἥττημα αὐτῶν, RV 'their loss,' Sanday-Headlam 'their defeat'). Cf. Argument of Ep. to Heb. in Gen. NT: 'For seing the Spirit of God is the autor thereof, it diminisheth nothing the autoritie, although we knowe not with what penne he wrote it.' Still less can we speak of diminishing one thing from another, *i.e.* withdrawing or withholding, so as to *cause* diminution, as Dt 4[2] 'Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you, neither shall ye d. ought from it'; Jer 26[2] 'd. not a word' (RV 'keep not back'). So in Atkinson's tr. (1504) of *De Imitatione*, IV. ix.: 'Take from our hertis . . . all that may . . . dimynyshe vs from thy eternall loue.' J. HASTINGS.

DIMNAH (דִּמְנָה).—A Levitical city in Zebulun, Jos 21[35]. Dillmann, followed by Bennett in Haupt's *OT*, emends to רִמֹּנָה, Rimmon (cf. 1 Ch 6[22], Jos 19[13]). J. A. SELBIE.

DIMON, DIMONAH.—See DIBON.

DINAH (דִּינָה).—The daughter of Jacob by Leah (Gn 30[21]). The composite and very obscure narrative of Gn 34 relates how, when Jacob was encamped at Shechem, after his return from Mesopotamia, she was seduced by Shechem the son of Hamor, a Hivite prince. This outrage was bitterly resented by her full brothers, Simeon and Levi. Shechem was ready to prove his attachment by marrying the maiden, and offered to pay any marriage price or dowry that might be fixed by her family. To this her brothers consented, but only on condition that all the men of Shechem should be circumcised. This being conceded, her brothers made it the means of inflicting a barbarous revenge for their sister's dishonour, by killing all the men of the place on the third day, when the effects of the circumcision made them incapable of self-defence. Both at the time and on his death-bed, their father Jacob (according to J) spoke of this act with indignation and abhorrence (Gn 34[30] 49[5-7]). It was, however, approved by later Jewish fanatics (Jth 9[2]). (For the tribal significance of Dinah and the historical incidents which may underlie the above narrative, see SIMEON). R. M. BOYD.

DINAITES (דִּינָיֵא, LXX Δειναῖοι, Ezr 4[9]), a people settled in Samaria by Osnappar (*i.e.* probably Assurbanipal). They joined with the other Samaritans in denouncing the Jews to Artaxerxes. The Dinaites have been variously identified with the Da-ja-êni, a tribe of western Armenia, mentioned in inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser I. (Schrader); and with the inhabitants of Deinaver, a Median city (Ewald), or of Din-Sharru near Susa (Fried. Delitzsch). On account of the other peoples named in the same verse, the last view seems the most probable. See further Meyer, *Judenthum*, 39 f. H. A. WHITE.

DINHABAH (דִּנְהָבָה).—The capital city of king Bela in Edom (Gn 36[32]=1 Ch 1[43]). There is some doubt as to its identification. The name, which is accented so as to mean 'Give judgment' (Ball, *Genesis*, *ad loc.*), occurs in Palmyrene as *Danaba* or *Dahbâna* (דהבנא); cf. Δανάβη in Babylonia, and see Dillm. and Del. on Gn 36[32]. It has been proposed by Neubauer (*Academy*, 1891, p. 260) to identify Dinhabah with *Tennib*. This is accepted by Tomkins (*ib.* p. 284), who further identifies Tennib with Thenib, E.N.E. from Heshbon, described in Tristram's *Moab*, p. 222. See further Hommel, *Anc. Heb. Tradition*, 223 n. J. A. SELBIE.

DINNER.—See FOOD.

DIONYSIA (Διονύσια, *Bacchanalia*, EV 'Feast of Bacchus'), 2 Mac 6[7].—A festival in honour of Dionysus. Dionysus is usually regarded as the god of the vine, but, as Frazer shows in the *Golden Bough*, he was a god of trees in general. As he comes before us in Greek worship, he is quite clearly a vegetation deity; but Jevons may be right in thinking that two cults have been combined,—that of the vegetation spirit and that of the wine-god Dionysus, the latter lending its name to the former, which at first was naturally nameless. The character of the god is to be determined, not from the myths told about him, which are tales invented to explain the ritual, but from the ritual itself, interpreted through comparison with parallel rites among other peoples. The festival was intended to celebrate the revival of vegetation in spring after the long sleep of winter. Not only to celebrate it, however, but by sympathetic magic to secure the fertility of the fields. This imitation of the processes of nature was associated with the wildest orgies and excesses, stimulated no doubt, in this instance, by the connexion of Dionysus with the vine. Jevons gives a reconstruction of the festival as it was held at Thebes and other places. A branch, or something else representing the vegetation spirit, was carried round the cultivated fields, to secure his blessing on the crops. A human figure, also representing this spirit, was fastened to the top of a tree trunk, which had been felled and prepared for the purpose. This was hoisted up and then pelted till it fell. The women then tore it in pieces, and the woman who got the head raced with it to the temple or chief house and nailed it to the door. But in many cases the rites were much more savage, and bulls or goats, which represented the god himself, were torn to pieces by the worshippers in a mad scramble to possess themselves of portions of the flesh, and even human beings suffered at times in this way. The flesh was taken home and some of it buried in the fields. (For parallels to this custom of killing the god the *Golden Bough* should be consulted. It secured a certain communion with the deity, the preservation of his vigour through the death of his temporary representative and his re-incarnation in a fresh life, and the fertility of the land in which the flesh was buried). The most famous festivals of Dionysus were held in Attica. Besides the *Anthesteria* and *Lenæa* there were two, known as the Lesser and the Greater Dionysia. The former was held in country districts in December, and was a vintage festival, accompanied by dancing, songs, improvised dramatic performances, and a procession, in which the phallus was borne. The utmost licence of speech and conduct characterized it. The Greater Dionysia were held in the city, and were chiefly important from the fact that at them the great dramas of the tragic and comic poets were produced. Before the dramatic performances there was a great public procession of worshippers, wearing masks and singing the dithyramb, in which an image of Dionysus was carried from one temple to another. This was followed by a chorus of boys. According to 2 Mac 6^{7} Antiochus compelled the Jews, when the feast of Dionysia (RVm) came, to go in procession in honour of Dionysus, wearing wreaths of ivy. The ivy was specially sacred to the god. See further under DIONYSUS. A. S. PEAKE.

DIONYSIUS.—Dionysius, designated the Areopagite (ὁ Ἀρειοπαγίτης), is mentioned as one of the few converts made by St. Paul at Athens (Ac 17^{34}). He is probably thus specially named as having been a member of the Council of Areopagus (see AREOPAGUS). Nothing further is known of him. It has been suggested that St. Luke, who apparently was not at Athens, may have owed to Dionysius his report of the speech on Mars' hill. According to Dionysius of Corinth (in Euseb. *HE* iii. 4) he became the first bishop of the church at Athens; according to one account (Niceph. *HE* iii. 11) he suffered martyrdom at Athens under Domitian; according to another (*Martyr. Rom.*), having come to Rome, he was sent by Clemens I. (about 95) to Paris, and there beheaded on the Martyrs' Mount (*Montmartre*); and no small controversy has arisen in France over his title to be regarded as St. Denys, the patron saint of France. Various mystical writings, circulated in the Middle Ages under his name, are still extant; but they have long been regarded as non-genuine, and are now generally supposed to have been put into circulation about the 5th century. WILLIAM P. DICKSON.

DIONYSUS (Bacchus).—A Greek god, in whose worship there are three distinct strata. The first consists of those rites with which spirits of vegetation (originally probably plant-totems) are worshipped by all primitive peoples, in the new world as well as the old, who possess any cultivated plants. This stratum is probably not older than the separation of the European from the other members of the Aryan family, for it was only after that separation that the Aryans began to domesticate plants. The next consists in the worship associated with the cultivation of the vine: this originated where, according to the most recent researches, the vine was first cultivated by the European branch of the Aryans, viz. in Thrace. The process of syncretism by which these rites were amalgamated with those of the vegetation-spirit was not completed, if indeed it had begun, in the time of Homer; for in the Homeric poems D. occurs as a god, but is not associated with the vine, except in passages generally admitted to be comparatively late interpolations. The third stratum belongs to the 7th cent. B.C., the period in which, among the E. nations conquered by the Assyrians and Babylonians, national calamity led men to look for assistance to a ritual more potent than that in daily use. This more potent ritual was found in the older and more awful forms of sacrifice which lingered on in connexion with out-of-the-way altars. To the form of worship thus revived, only those were admitted who were formally initiated into these 'mysteries.' From the East the institution of 'mysteries' spread to Greece; and the reason why it attached itself particularly to the worship of such deities as Demeter and Dionysus was that that worship was an evolved form of the rites (common to many Aryan and Semitic and other peoples) with which vegetation-spirits were originally worshipped. The resemblances which thus made possible the spread of 'mysteries' from the East to the West also facilitated that dissemination of the worship of Dionysus over the E., for which mythologists (*e.g.* Nonnus) accounted by the hypothesis of an E. campaign on the part of the god. It is in the readiness with which the worship of D. was received in many parts of Syria and Pal. that we find the explanation of the attempts or threats to establish the worship of D. amongst the Jews: it was presumed, *e.g.* by Nicanor (2 Mac 14^{33}) and Antiochus Epiphanes (2 Mac 6^{7}), that it would be acceptable to them as to other peoples, while Ptolemy Philopator, who branded the Jews with the ivy-leaf of Dionysus (3 Mac 2^{29}), had an additional motive, in the fact that D. was the family God of the Ptolemies, for forcing his worship on them by a means analogous to that which many Hindoo sects adopt to symbolize their devotion to their particular god, and which has a further parallel in the common barbaric custom of tattooing the worshipper's body with the symbol of the god under whose protection and power he is. See further under DIONYSIA. F. B. JEVONS.

DIOSCORINTHIUS (Διὸς Κορινθίου [τετράδι καὶ εἰκάδι], *Dioscorus*, 2 Mac 11^{21}). See TIME.

DIOSCURI (Διόσκουροι, RVm at Ac 28^{11}; text, **The Twin Brothers**; AV, **Castor and Pollux**) are mentioned as giving their name to the ship in which St. Paul sailed from Melita to Puteoli, on his way to Rome. The D. in mythology were the sons of Zeus and Leda, and brothers of Helen. Castor was the horse-tamer, and Pollux the prince of boxers. For their brotherly affection they were placed in the sky as the constellation of the Twins (Gemini). They were worshipped from early times in Greece, ('Græcia Castoris memor' Hor. *Od.* iv. 5. 35), in Cyrene in Africa (Pind. *Pyth.* v.), not far from Alexandria, in Southern Italy, and enjoyed especial honour at Rome on account of their supernatural appearance at the battle of Lake Regillus. Their image was printed on the reverse of the earliest silver coins of the Romans (*denarii*) as that of two youths on horseback. They were, however, best known as the tutelary gods of sailors, who identified their presence with the pale blue flame or light seen in thundery weather at the mast-head. They are thus mentioned Hor. *Od.* i. 3. 2: 'Sic fratres Helenæ *lucida* sidera'; also *Od.* iii. 29. 64: 'tutum feret geminus Pollux'; also *Catull.* iv. 27 and lxviii. 65; and Eurip. *Helen.* 1663–65. It was a common practice to put, as a *παράσημον* (Ac 28^{11}) or *insigne,* some device for a figure-head to a ship, in imitation of the person or object (not always complimentary, Virg. *Æn.* x. 188) after which the vessel was named. See Virg. *Æn.* v. 116, 'Mnestheus agit Pristin'; *Æn.* x. 166, 195, 209, 'Hunc vehit immanis Triton,' etc. This figure-head was to be distinguished from the *tutela* (Ov. *Trist.* i. 10. 1), 'tutela Minervæ,' or image of the protecting genius, under which the ship sailed, placed generally in the stern of the vessel. In later times the distinction appears to have been effaced, and, in the vessel which carried St. Paul, the Dioscuri were probably intended for the 'tutela' as well as the 'insigne,' and their heads were probably fastened, one on each side, in front.

LITERATURE.—Seyffart, *Dict. of Class. Antiq.* by Nettleship and Sandys; Rich, *Dict. of Antiq.*; Page, *Acts of the Apostles, in loc.*
C. H. PRICHARD.

DIOTREPHES (Διοτρεφής, WH -έφης).—A person, otherwise unknown, who is introduced in 3 John (vv.$^{9.10}$) as ambitious, resisting the writer's authority, and standing in the way of the hospitable reception of brethren who visited the Church—probably travelling evangelists, such as are mentioned in the *Didaché.* It has been inferred by some that he was a presbyter or a deacon in the Church. It has also been supposed that he was in conflict with the Jewish-Christian party; or, on the other hand, that he was a teacher of false doctrine, Judaistic or Gnostic. But all is matter of conjecture. Others think that his action indicates an illegitimate assumption of authority over the Church, connected with the tendency to the establishment of a monarchical episcopate, which may have begun during the lifetime of St. John.
S. D. F. SALMOND.

DIPHATH (דִּיפַת) occurs in RV and AVm of 1 Ch 1^{6}, but it is practically certain that AV Riphath is the correct reading. By an easily explicable scribal error דִּיפַת has arisen from רִיפַת, the reading of MT in the parallel passage Gn 10^{3}. See RIPHATH.
J. A. SELBIE.

DISALLOW. — 'Allow' is in AV either to 'approve' or 'accept' (see ALLOW); 'disallow' is always distinctly to 'reject.' So Nu $30^{5\,bis.\,8.\,11}$ (הֵנִיא refuse, reject; see Ps 141^{5} RV); and 1 P $2^{4.7}$ (ἀποδοκιμάζω, RV 'reject'). So Latimer (*Serm. and Rem.*, 11), 'I must not suffer the devil to have the victory over me. I must disallow his instructions and suggestions.' J. HASTINGS.

DISANNUL, which scarcely differs in meaning from 'annul,' the prefix being only intensive, is now going out of use. RV removes it only from Gal 3^{15}, giving 'make void' instead (Gr. ἀθετέω, of which the subst. ἀθέτησις is tr^{d} 'disannulling' He 7^{18} and retained by RV). Amer. RV prefers 'annul' in Job 40^{8}, Is 14^{27} 28^{18}. The use of the word in biblical English may be illustrated by Coverdale's tr^{n} of Is 14^{27} 'For yf the LORDE of hoostes determe a thing, who wyl dysanulle it?'; and Tindale's tr^{n} of He 8^{13} 'In that he sayth a new testament he hath abrogat (πεπαλαίωκεν) the olde. Now that which is disanulled (παλαιούμενον) and wexed olde, is redy to vannysche awaye.'
J. HASTINGS.

DISAPPOINT has a stronger meaning in AV than in mod. English, Job 5^{12} 'He disappointeth the devices of the crafty' (מֵפֵר, RV 'frustrateth,' as Is 44^{25} AV, RV; so Pr 15^{22}); Ps 17^{13} 'Arise, O Lord, d. him' (קַדְּמָה פָנָיו, RV 'confront him,' RVm 'forestall him,' Cheyne 'intercept him'); Jth 16^{6} 'the Almighty Lord hath disappointed them by the hand of a woman' (ἠθέτησεν αὐτούς, RV 'brought them to nought': see under DISANNUL). Cf. Hall, *Hard Texts* (1633), 311: 'All those curious and wealthy Trades . . . shall be utterly undone and disappointed.' J. HASTINGS.

DISCERN.—To discern (Lat. *dis* apart, *cernere* separate) is to separate things so as to distinguish them, as Coverdale, *Erasm. Par.* 1 *Jn*, p. 48: 'It is not the sacramentes that discerne the children of God from the children of the devyll; but the puritie of lyfe and charitie.' So Ezr 3^{13} 'the people could not discern the noise of the shout of joy from the noise of the weeping.'

To discern a person or thing is therefore, in biblical lang., to separate out from others, so as to recognize, as Gn 27^{23} 'he discerned him not, because his hands were hairy, as his brother Esau's hands'; He 4^{12} 'the word of God . . . is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart' (κριτικός, RV 'quick to discern'); 1 Co 11^{29} 'not discerning the Lord's body' (μὴ διακρίνων τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κυρίου; Vulg. *non dijudicans corpus Domini*; Calvin, *non discernens*; Wyc. 'not wiseli demynge'; Luther, *dass er nicht unterscheidet*; Tind. 'because he maketh no difference of'; so Cov., Cran., Gen. 1557; but Gen. 1560, 'because he discerneth not,' with marg. note, 'But as thogh these holie mysteries of the Lordes bodie and blood were commune meats, so without reverence he commeth unto them'; so Tomson; Bisb. 'making no difference of'; Rhem. 'not discerning the body of our Lord'; whence AV; but RV 'if he discern not the body'—omitting τοῦ Κυρίου with edd. J. HASTINGS.

DISCIPLE.—This word—in Greek *μαθητής*; fem. *μαθήτρια* (occurring only Ac 9^{36}); verb, *μαθητεύω* (occurring four times)—is in sacred literature confined to the Gospels and the Acts, though it often appears in Attic Greek (esp. Plato) as denoting the *pupil* of a philosopher or rhetorician, in contradistinction to the *master,* διδάσκαλος (just as in NT, Mt 10^{24}), or to the *discoverer,* εὑρετής. We have a similar contrast in OT, *e.g.* 1 Ch 25^{8} τελείων καὶ μανθανόντων, *the perfect and the learning* (AV and RV, *the teacher* and *the scholar*), referring to the senior and junior members of David's trained musical guilds. Likewise, in the case of the prophetic guilds superintended by Samuel and more fully organized by Elijah and Elisha, in order that by spiritual force they might cherish the theocratic spirit among the people, and check the tendency to apostasy, the general 'company' is contrasted with him who 'stood as head over them' (1 S 19^{20}), and the 'sons,' 2 K 2^{7} (*i.e.* pupils; cf. Pr $4^{1.10}$, and *passim*) with him 'before' whom they 'sat,' 2 K 4^{38}, their *master* (κύριος), 2 K 6^{5}. [*Teacher,* διδάσκαλος, however, occurs in LXX only in connexion with heathen monarchs, and then but twice: Est 6^{1} (the teacher of Ahasuerus) and 2 Mac 1^{10} (the teacher of Ptolemy); and the phrase '*schools* of the prophets' (however truly it may represent facts) is 'a pure invention of the commentators' (Smith, *Prophets of Israel*, 85).] In Talmudic literature *talmîdê ḥăkhâmîm, pupils of the learned* (*i.e.* the scribes), is a frequently recurring phrase, and of these St. Paul was one when he was 'brought up at the feet of Gamaliel,' sitting, *i.e.* with the rest of the pupils, on the lower benches in front of him (Ac 22^{3}; cf. Mt 5^{1}).

The usage of the word in NT is very simple. We read of the disciples of John the Baptist (Mk 2^{18}), of the Pharisees (same place), of Moses, Jn 9^{28} (only by way of contrast to Jesus), but most of all of Jesus, to whose disciples, in fact, the subst. is almost entirely, and the verb entirely, limited. The word maintains its classical connotation of compliance with the instruction given: the μαθητής is not only a *pupil*, but an *adherent* (see Cremer, *Bib. Theol. Lex.*; cf. Xen. *Mem.* i. 6. 3, where μαθηταὶ are called the μιμηταί, *imitators*, of their διδάσκαλος; so Jn 8^{31}, '*If ye abide in my word, then are ye truly my disciples*,' cf. 15^{8}). Hence it is applied most esp. to the Twelve in all four Gospels, sometimes with δώδεκα and sometimes without; they are '*the* disciples,' Mt 10^{1} 12^{1}, Mk 8^{27}, Lk 8^{9}, Jn 3^{22}. Mt seems, indeed, to confine the plural to them (Weiss), unless 8^{21} and 5^{1} be exceptions. When it denotes the wider circle, as in Lk (particularly 6^{13} 7^{11}), it has the same sense of adherence. Hence it stands, occasionally in Gospels (Mt 10^{42}, taken with 18^{6}) and invariably in Ac, as a synonym for πιστεύων, *a believer* (cf. Aristot. Περὶ σοφ. ἐλεγχ. 161^{b} 3—δεῖ πιστεύειν τὸν μανθάνοντα, *the learner is bound to have faith*), even where, as in Ac $19^{1.\,4}$, the word is applied to half-instructed believers, who, while believing apparently in Jesus as greater than John the Baptist, were still (as it seems) not sure that Jesus was absolutely the Messiah, and that they had not to 'look for another' (Mt 11^{3}). So also, quite distinctly, with the verb μαθητεύω (three times in Mt, once in Ac), which is once intrans. (Mt 27^{57}), twice trans. (Mt 28^{19}, Ac 14^{21}), and once deponent (?) (Mt 13^{52}, where, in accordance with the usual dative construction, the phrase signifies *a disciple of the kingdom of heaven* personified). (See Meyer and Meyer-Weiss).

J. MASSIE.

DISCIPLINE.—'Discipline' is properly instruction, that which belongs to the *discipulus* or scholar, and is distinguished from 'doctrine,' which pertains to the *doctor* or teacher. In this sense Wyclif (1382) gives Pr 3^{4} 'Thou shalt finde grace and good discipline (1388 'teching') befor God and men'; and Chaucer (Skeat's Student's ed. p. 716), 'Thanne shaltow understonde, that bodily peyne stant in disciplyne or techinge, by word or by wrytinge, or in ensample.' But under the influence of the Vulg. and the Church, 'discipline' came early to be used for 'chastisement.' In Pr 3^{11} Wyc. has 'the discipline of the Lord, my sone, ne caste thou awey.' See CHASTISEMENT.

In AV whether 'discipline' means instruction or chastisement it is not easy always to decide. It occurs Job 36^{10} 'He openeth also their ear to d.' (*mûsâr*, RV 'instruction,' which the sense seems to demand; but the Heb. has nowhere else this meaning, and the whole passage is of chastening or moral discipline); Wis 1^{5} 6^{17} *bis*, Sir 4^{17} [-ία] 17^{18} 18^{14} $23^{2.\,7}$ 32^{14} 41^{14}, Bar 4^{13} (all παιδεία, which in class. Greek means 'education' or its result, 'mental culture,' never 'chastisement,' but is used in LXX as the regular tr. of *mûsâr*, hence = chastisement there, and so in NT thrice, He $12^{5.\,6.\,8}$; see Kennedy, *Sources of N.T. Greek*, p. 101).

J. HASTINGS.

DISCOMFIT, DISCOMFITURE.—From *dis* apart, and *conficere* to put together, to 'discomfit' is to undo, destroy. Both words, now archaic if not obsolete, are always used in AV of defeat in battle, Is 31^{8} being a mistrans. for 'become liable to forced service.' Cf. More, *Utopia* (Rob. tr.), p. 140: 'if al their whole armie be discumfeted and overcum'; and Chaucer, *Knight's Tale*, 150—

> 'After the bataille and disconfiture.'

RV introduces 'discomfit' for 'destroy,' Ex 23^{27}, Ps 144^{6} (הָמַם), Dt 7^{23} (הוּם); for 'trouble,' Ex 14^{24} (הָמַם); and 'discomfiture,' Dt 7^{23}, 1 S 5^{9} (AV 'destruction'), Dt 28^{20} (AV 'vexation'), Is 22^{5} (AV 'trouble'), the Heb. being always מְהוּמָה *mĕhûmah*.

J. HASTINGS.

DISCOVER.—In mod. Eng. 'to discover' is 'to detect,' 'find out,' which is a late use of the word. The meanings in AV are: **1.** Uncover, lay bare (the primary sense, lit. 'to take off the cover,' Fr. *découvrir*), Ps 29^{9} 'The voice of the Lord . . . discovereth the forests' (חָשַׂף, RV 'strippeth bare': 'I do not understand this of stripping the foliage merely, but rather of the breaches and openings made by the lightning and the wind in the heart of the wood'—Earle, *Psalter of* 1539, p. 271); Ezk 16^{57} 'Before thy wickedness was discovered'; Hos 2^{10} 'now will I d. her lewdness in the sight of her lovers'; 7^{1} 'the iniquity of Ephraim was discovered'; Sir 1^{30} 'Exalt not thyself, lest thou fall . . . and so God d. thy secrets' (RV 'reveal'); 11^{27} 'his deeds shall be discovered' (RV 'the revelation of his deeds'). Cf. Knox, *Hist.* p. 182, 'Which God of his infinite goodness hath now discovered to the eyes of all that list to behold'; and p. 250, 'who rashly discovering himself in the Trenches, was shot in the head.' **2.** Withdraw (spoken of the cover itself, so as to uncover), Job 41^{13} 'who can d. the face of his garment?' (RV 'strip off his outer garment'—see Davidson *in loc.*); Is 22^{8} 'he discovered the covering of Judah' (RV 'took away'); Jer 13^{26} (= Nah 3^{5}) 'I will d. thy skirts upon thy face.' So Bacon, *New Atlantis*, 129: 'At the beginning he discovered the face of the deep, and brought forth dry land'; Chapman, *Hesiod*, i. 161—

> 'When the woman the unwieldy lid
> Had once discover'd, all the miseries hid
> . . . dispersed and flew
> About the world.'

3. Disclose or reveal, 1 S 14^{8} 'we will d. ourselves unto them'; 22^{6} 'when Saul heard that David was discovered' (נוֹדַע 'made known,' 'revealed'); Job 12^{22} 'He discovereth deep things out of darkness'; Pr 25^{9} 'd. not a secret to another' (RV 'disclose not the secret of another'); Sir 6^{9} 27^{16}, 1 Mac 7^{31} 'when he saw that his counsel was discovered' (ἀπεκαλύφθη, 'made known,' 'revealed,' not 'found out'); 2 Mac 6^{11} 'others, that had run together into caves near by, to keep the Sabbath secretly, being discovered to Philip, were all burnt together' (RV 'betrayed'). Cf. Bacon, *Essays*, p. 17: 'For Prosperity doth best discover Vice; But Adversity doth best discover Vertue'; and Shaks. *Merry Wives*, II. ii. 190—

> 'I shall discover a thing to you.'

4. Exhibit, display, as Blount (1600): 'The more he mounted, the more he discovered his incapacitie.' In AV Pr 18^{2} 'A fool hath no delight in understanding, but that his heart may d. itself' (RV 'reveal'). **5.** Descry, sight, Ac 21^{3} 'When we had discovered Cyprus, we left it on the left hand' (ἀναφαίνω, RV 'come in sight of'). **6.** Notice, Ac 27^{39} 'they discovered a certain creek' (κατενόουν, RV 'perceived').

J. HASTINGS.

DISCUS.—See GAMES. **DISEASE.**—See MEDICINE. **DISH.**—See FOOD.

DISHAN (דִּישָׁן).—A son of Seir, Gn $36^{21.\,28.\,30}$ = 1 Ch $1^{38.\,42}$. In Gn 36^{26} the reading דִּישָׁן of MT should be emended to דִּישׁוֹן, after 1 Ch 1^{41}. See following article.

DISHON.—**1.** A son of Seir, דִּישׁוֹן Gn 36^{21} = דִּישֹׁן 1 Ch 1^{38}. **2.** A son of Anah and grandson of Seir, דִּשֹׁן Gn 36^{25}, cf. v.^{30} = דִּישׁוֹן 1 Ch 1^{41}, which should also be read for MT דִּישָׁן in Gn 36^{26}. Dishan (see art. above) and Dishon are, of course, not individual names, but the eponyms of Horite clans. Their exact location is a matter of uncertainty. דִּישֹׁן occurs in Dt 14^{5} (only) as the name of a clean animal (LXX πύγαργος, AV and RV 'pygarg'), which is generally taken to be some species of gazelle or antelope. Tristram (*Nat. Hist. of Bible*, 127) identifies it with the *Antilope addax*; but Hommel (*Namen der Säugethiere*, 391), deriving the word from a root דוש = *spring, leap* (cf. Assyr. *daššu*), thinks of the mountain-goat. So also Delitzsch (*Assyr. Stud.* i. 54). The existence of such animal names amongst the Horites has been used by W. R. Smith as an argument in favour of totemism. See *Journal of Philology*, ix. 75 ff., *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, and *RS* (*passim*); and for the contrary opinion, Nöldeke in *ZDMG* (1886), 148–187. Cf. also Jacobs, *Studies in Bib. Archæol.* (1894), and Gray, *Heb. Prop. Names* (1896), p. 86 ff. J. A. SELBIE.

DISHONESTY in 2 Co 4^2 is used in the obsolete sense of 'disgrace' (αἰσχύνη, RV 'shame,' after Wyc., Gen.; AV followed Rhemish NT; Tindale has 'unhonesty'). Cf. Coverdale's tr. of Ru 2^{15} 'Let her gather betwene the sheues also, and do her no dishonestye'; and of Sir 3^{11} 'Where the father is without honoure, it is the dishonesty of the sonne.' 'Dishonest' Sir 26^{24}, and 'dishonestly' 22^4, are used in the same sense. J. HASTINGS.

DISPATCH.—To 'dispatch business' is still in use, as in To 7^8 'let this business be dispatched,' 2 Mac 12^{18} 'before he had d. anything he departed.' But to 'd. a journey,' *i.e.* 'expedite,' is out of use; nor is any example given in *Oxf. Eng. Dict.*, 2 Mac 9^4 being missed: 'Therefore commanded he his chariotman to drive without ceasing, and to dispatch the journey.'

To 'dispatch,' *i.e.* 'get rid of quickly' by death, is found Wis 11^{19}, and in Ezk 23^{47}, where RV gives 'despatch,' a spelling which is incorrect, and which was unknown till the beg. of the 19th cent. It seems to have arisen from Johnson having accidentally entered the word so in his Dict., though he himself always spells it 'dispatch.' See *Oxf. Eng. Dict. s.v.*

J. HASTINGS.

DISPERSION.—See ISRAEL.

DISPOSITION.—Ac 7^{53} 'Who have received the law by the d. of angels' (Gr. εἰς διαταγὰς ἀγγέλων; RV 'as it was ordained by angels'; RVm 'unto ordinances of angels,' cf. Ro 13^2 τοῦ θεοῦ διαταγῇ, AV and RV 'the ordinance of God'). 'Disposition' is the Rhemish word here (Wyc., Tind., Gen. have 'ordinance'; Cov., Cran. 'ministration'), and it is used in the archaic sense of administration. In the same sense 'disposer' is used by Tind. in 1 Co 4^1 'Let men this wise esteeme us, even as the ministers of Christ, and disposers of the secretes of God' (EV 'stewards,' Gr. οἰκονόμοι); and by Gen. (1560) in 1 P 4^{10} 'Let euerie man as he hathe received the gifte, minister the same one to another, as good disposers of the manifolde grace of God' (EV 'stewards'). 'Disposing' in Pr 16^{33} 'The lot is cast into the lap; but the whole disposing thereof is of the Lord,' is used in the earlier sense of control, disposal; while the vb. 'dispose' in Job 34^{13} 37^{15}, 2 Es 5^{49} 8^{11}, Sir 16^{26} has the still earlier and primary meaning of 'arrange in proper order.' This primary meaning (as Lat. *disponere*) seems to be intended by 'disposition' in 2 Es 8^{38} (*plasma*) 8^{39} (*figmentum*), the Lat. words so tr. having ref. to the creation of man; but in Jth 8^{29}, Ad. Est 16^6, Sir 20^{26}, the word is used in the familiar sense of 'bent of mind,' 'character,' a sense which is found as early as 1387: Trevisa, *Higden*, iii. 113: 'Nought by chaungynge of body, but by chaungynge of disposicioun of wit and of semynge.'

J. HASTINGS.

DISPUTE, DISPUTATION.—As 'debate' has lost the meaning of wrangling, so 'dispute' has acquired it. In older Eng. to 'dispute' was to discuss or argue, without strife. Thus Bp. Carleton (1610), *Jurisd.* Pref., 'I have disputed the Kings right with a good conscience, from the rules of Gods word,' *i.e.* I have discussed it, argued *for* it: cf. Sir T. More, *Utopia*, p. 53, 'that they maye in everye matter despute and reason for the kynges right'; Knox, *Hist.* p. 25, 'after that Sir James Hamilton was beheaded (justly or unjustly we dispute not),' and p. 215 'He [Knox] did gravely dispute upon the nature of the blinde world.' So in AV, Job 23^7 'There the righteous might dispute with him' (נוֹכָח, RV 'reason'); Mk 9^{33} 'What was it that ye disputed among yourselves by the way?' (διαλογίζομαι, RV 'were ye reasoning,' as $2^{6.8}$ AV); 9^{34} 'for by the way they had disputed among themselves who should be the greatest' (διαλέγομαι): RV keeps 'dispute' here, but the disciples' shame was not that they had wrangled, but that they had discussed such a question at all. The same Greek is similarly tr^d in AV of Ac 17^{17} (RV 'reasoned'), $19^{8.9}$ (RV 'reasoning'), 24^{12}, Jude ^{9} (so RV). The subst. διαλογισμός is once tr. 'disputing,' Ph 2^{14} AV, RV, 'Do all things without murmurings and disputings'; but even here Thayer prefers 'hesitation,' 'doubting,' Lightfoot 'inward questionings.' In Ac 6^9 9^{29} (συζητέω) the meaning is plainly 'discuss,' 'argue'; so 15^7 (συζήτησις) and 1 Co 1^{20} (συζητητής). The only passage in which 'dispute' seems to have the meaning of 'wrangle' is 1 Ti 6^5 'Perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds' (TR παραδιατριβαί, edd. διαπαρατριβαί, RV 'wranglings'). Here Wyc. has 'fightyngis' and Rhem. 'conflictes' after Vulg. *conflictationes*, but Tind. and the rest 'disputations,' a word which never seems to signify 'altercation,' 'wrangling.' The Gr. word is found nowhere else.

'Disputation' occurs in AV, Ac 15^2 (TR συζήτησις, edd. ζήτησις, RV 'questioning'), and Ro 14^1 'Him that is weak in the faith receive ye, but not to doubtful disputations' (εἰς διακρίσεις διαλογισμῶν; lit. 'unto discussions of doubts'; RVm 'for decisions of doubts'; see Sanday-Headlam *in loc.*). Bp. Bonner's injunction for the reading of the Bible (1541) ends thus: 'he is not to expound, nor to reade with a lowde voyce, and without disputacion,' where, as elsewhere, d. means 'discussion': the reader is neither to expound the meaning himself, nor to discuss it with others.

J. HASTINGS.

DISTAFF (פֶּלֶךְ).—This term occurs in AV only in Pr 31^{19}. The Hebrew word is found repeatedly in Neh 3, where it means 'part' or 'district' of the city, something 'cut off' or 'divided' from the rest. It is found also in 2 S 3^{29}, where it is rendered 'staff,' but prob. = *distaff* (see Driver's note). RV renders the word in Pr 31^{19} 'spindle,' for which it may no doubt be used; but if we may judge from the cognate Arab. word (*falkat*), it means the *whorl* of the spindle, a piece of wood or other material, of hemispherical form, through which the spindle-pin passes, and above which is the hook holding the thread. The design of this piece is to give steadiness to the circular motion of the spindle. This form of spindle is in common use among the women of Syria to-day.

H. PORTER.

DIVERS, DIVERSE.—'Divers' has now dropped out of use, or, if used archaically, is restricted to the sense of 'several.' But formerly 'divers' and 'diverse' were indifferent spellings of the same adj., which expressed either 'varied,' 'different' (Lat. *diversus*); or 'various,' 'several.' Thus Ridley, *A Brefe Declaration* (Moule's ed. p. 106): 'in the matter of thys Sacrament ther be diverse [=several] poyntes, wherein menne (counted to be learned) can not agree'; Grindal, *Letter to Q. Eliz.* (1577): 'divers [=different] men make divers senses of one sentence of Scripture.' In AV 1611 'diverse' occurs Lv 19^{19}, Est 3^8, Dn $7^{19.23.24}$, Mt 4^{24}; elsewhere 'divers.' The conjunction of 'divers' with 'sundry,' as in He 1^1, is common in old Eng., as in the Act authorizing Matthew's Bible (Hen. VIII. 1543): 'divers and sundrye his subjects of this his realme.' J. HASTINGS.

DIVES.—See LAZARUS.

DIVINATION has many different modes amongst the different peoples of the earth, but all are in their origin either natural or supernatural. Methods which originally were supernatural may come to lose their supernatural character; methods which were at first natural may come to be regarded as supernatural; and, from lack of evidence, it may be difficult or impossible to say with regard to any given method whether in its origin it was a natural or a supernatural method.

We shall begin with the supernatural methods as being those first suggested by the word 'divination,' and we shall define them as those by which man gains foreknowledge of the future from a supernatural source, *e.g.* by inspiration, possession, or direct interrogation of the divine will. These methods, the supernatural, again fall into two classes, the licit and the illicit, according as the supernatural source is or is not a god of the community. We may think what we will of the honesty of the priests of Apollo, and entertain what idea we like as to the way in which the oracle of Delphi or of Baal-zebub (2 K 1$^{2-6}$) was worked, but the worshipper of Apollo who consulted the oracle was doing what was approved of by the religious consciousness of his age and race (however low we rank it in the scale of religion): his action was licit. On the other hand, we may pity both the witch and the witch-finder of the time of James I. of England, but we cannot deny that witchcraft was considered, both by those who practised and those who persecuted it, to be irreligious: it was illicit. And the same distinction has prevailed over the world: savages, however low, distinguish in their way between the worship of their tribal gods and commerce with supernatural spirits who are no gods of theirs.

But before proceeding to inquire more closely into the licit modes of divination, *i.e.* those which are religious, we must notice that these, again, fall into two classes, viz. those which are objectively religious and those which are only subjectively religious. That is objectively right, true, or religious which is so, whether a man thinks it so or not; that is subjectively right, true, or religious which is honestly believed to be so, whether it really is so or not. All peoples of the earth have honestly believed that their gods communicated supernatural foresight to certain favoured men, and so divine inspiration or possession is a subjectively religious method of divination. When and where the belief is not merely subjectively but also objectively true, the divine inspiration takes the form, not of 'divination,' but of PROPHECY (which see). In this article the only side of inspiration we have to deal with is the subjectively religious — without prejudice to the question whether any given example is or is not, as it is honestly believed to be, really divine.

Amongst this class of diviners we must place the sacred scribes of Gn 41^{8} and the 'magicians' of Ex 7^{11}, as also the Sibyl of Virgil or the Pythia of Delphi, and the inspired priests or 'divine kings' of savages all over the world. All are believed by themselves and their fellow-worshippers to be inspired by one of their respective national or tribal gods; and in all cases possession or inspiration is conditioned by some kind of sacrament or communion. That communion may take the form either of a sacramental meal or of a sacramental investiture. The worshipper may partake of the substance of the animal or plant in the shape of which his deity habitually manifests himself, and which is sacrificed to the deity: thus the priestess of Apollo Diradiotes at Argos and the priestess of Earth at Aegira became inspired by drinking the blood of the animals offered to those deities respectively; the Bacchæ of Dionysus obtained inspiration by tasting the blood of the grape, sacred to that god; the Pythia, by eating the leaves of Apollo's sacred plant, the laurel. Or the worshipper may be (like the idol of the god) clad in the skin or smeared with the blood or fat of the animal, or the juice or oil of the plant, which is the corporate manifestation of the deity, or be robed in the insignia of the god, and so be 'invested' by the power of the divinity. Possession, then (whether by means of the sacred meal or of sacramental investiture), is one of the licit and subjectively religious ways in which foreknowledge of the future may be derived from a supernatural source. It is the way peculiarly appropriate to gods which manifest themselves in animal or vegetable form. But it is not the only way: there are deities of earth, air, fire, and water, who may or must be interrogated in another way. In one cult a draught of a sacred stream may have the same effect as a draught of sacred blood in producing inspiration; but in another cult the deity of the stream may be consulted by casting offerings into the sacred waters, and inferring that the prayer made at the time will or will not be granted, according as the offering is or is not accepted by the sacred waters. And the ordeal by fire is based on the same principle as this ordeal by water. Divination by a bowl or cup of sacred water (Gn 44^{5}), again, has the same origin. The leaves of a sacred tree may be eaten to produce inspiration, but their voice in the wind may speak directly to the worshipper, as did the rustling of the leaves of the sacred oaks of Dodona. Or the branches and twigs themselves, being of the substance of the divinity, may be made to give indications of the divine will: our word 'lot,' like the Gr. κλῆρος, originally meant simply 'a twig.' See LOT. Rhabdomancy or xylomancy (Hos 4^{12}) and belomancy (Ezk 21^{21}) are but forms of divining by the aid of a tree-god. Still more, when a deity habitually manifests himself in animal form, may the inward disposition of the deity be augured by the sacrificing priest, according as the entrails of the victim have or have not anything extraordinary in their appearance (Ezk 21^{21}). In the same way and for the same reason the flight of a sacred bird may be 'auspicious' or 'inauspicious' (Ps 58^{5}, 2 K 17^{17} 21^{6}).

The illicit or irreligious forms of divination need not detain us long. They are those in which the supernatural Being consulted is one who is not a god of the community, has no bond of loving-kindness with the community, and is accordingly regarded by it, not merely as a strange god, but as a malevolent and evil spirit. No man consults such a spirit except for purposes which the national gods, as being the guardians of the nation's interests and the national morality, cannot sanction. Commerce with such a spirit is anti-social as well as anti-religious; and the man who is guilty of it is a wizard (Lv 19^{3} 20^{6}), and has always been punished as a criminal all over the world by the peoples who believe in the possibility of such commerce.

Necromancy, consulting the spirits of the dead (Lv 19^{31}, Is 8^{19} 19^{3}), is a way of obtaining foreknowledge from a supernatural source which was illicit among the Jews (to whom ancestor-worship was forbidden), but licit amongst all other peoples. Consultation of the teraphim (Ezk 21^{21}, Zec 10^{2}) seems to have persisted amongst the Jews in spite of the fact that it was, strictly speaking, idolatrous: the teraphim were images (1 S 19^{13}), like the altar-stones of the Scandinavians and the clay or wooden idols of the Balonda and Barotse, which could be made to prophesy by smearing them with the blood of sacrifice. For oneiromancy see DREAMS. All we need here remark is that it is a form of divination which may be licit (Jg 7^{13}) or illicit (Dt 13$^{2.\ 3}$), according as the source of the dream is a divine or an evil spirit. We have now finished our account of the supernatural methods of divination, and may sum it up in tabular form as follows:—

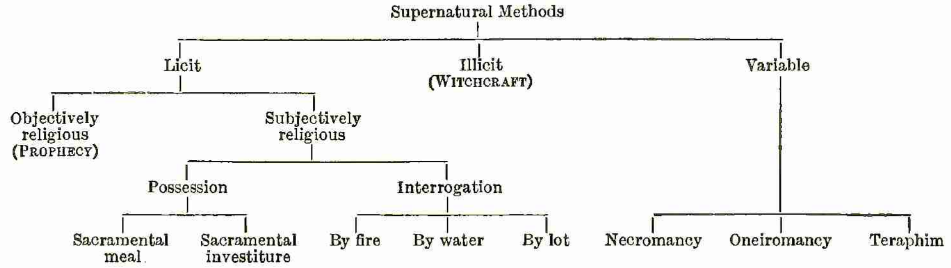

We have now to consider the natural methods: they are, in a word, exploded science. The modern man of science makes forecasts of the future which are not supernatural, but strictly scientific. So, too, the savage and primitive man make forecasts (*e.g.* as to the rising and the setting of the sun and stars) which may not be exact but are certainly scientific, and which, even when wholly erroneous, are not supernatural or superstitious. The science of the savant has been evolved by slow and imperceptible degrees out of the science of the savage. The difference between them is, not that the savant uses methods of observation and experiment unknown to the savage,—for the savage employs all four of the Inductive Methods,—but that the savage, when he goes wrong (which he does not do always, else he would speedily perish), does so because he has not yet learned the limits within which the method or logical conception is valid. Thus he observes that in many cases the effect resembles the cause: fire causes fire; to make a thing moist, or to make it move, you must impart moisture or movement to it; and he jumps to the conclusion that in all cases 'like produces like.' Thus he becomes armed with a very simple and ready means of forecasting the future: the effect of anything which strikingly arrests his attention will resemble the cause—a fiery comet will be followed by conflagrations, the mention of the name of what is evil will be followed by the appearance of the evil thing, that which moves as the sun moves (*i.e.* E., S., W., N., 'clock-wise') will follow the same glorious and beneficent course as the sun, and so on. In the same way the savage unduly extends the sphere of the Inductive Method which is known as the Method of Concomitant Variations: according to that method, things which vary together are causally related to one another. Thus the movement of the great tidal wave varies with the movement of the moon round the earth, and it is therefore inferred that the motion of the moon causes the movement of the tides. But the savage jumps to the conclusion that all things which are related together (according to *his* notion of relation) vary together and are cause and effect, the one of the other. A footprint and the foot which makes it vary together, and what affects the one affects the other, and therefore a knife stuck in a footprint will cause a wound in the foot. And so, if you can observe one of two things which are thus related to each other, you can, by watching the changes in it, tell what changes are going on in the other: a lock of a person's hair will inform you by the changes in its condition of the changes in the fortunes of the person from whose head it was cut. In making these and similar primitive forecasts the savage is but acting on the same theory of causation, and employing the same methods of induction, as he uses, *e.g.*, in judging as to the probable behaviour of the animal he is hunting. In a word, at first, and until he finds out their incorrectness, they are to him just as scientific as the rest of his stock of acquired and inherited knowledge; and consequently it would be as erroneous to call them 'divination' as it would be to apply that term to the predictions in the *Nautical Almanac.* But as these primitive modes of forecasting the future come to be discarded, with the advance of knowledge, as erroneous and unscientific, their character also changes. They still continue to be practised in holes and corners not yet illumined by the rising sun of science; they are known to be wholly unscientific, and yet the ignorant to whom they have descended believe in them more sincerely than in the science which they do not comprehend. The exploded science of primitive times becomes the divination of a later age. It is then literally a 'superstition,' something which 'stands over' and survives into a period and environment with which it is wholly incongruous. Finally, a deeper shade than that cast by mere ignorance is frequently imparted to the character of this antiquated science because it is practised by the same persons who give themselves up to the illicit and irreligious forms of divination described above. See also EXORCISM, MAGIC, SOOTHSAYING.

LITERATURE.—A. Bouché Leclerq, *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité*; W. R. Smith, *RS*, 246, 407, 427; F. B. Jevons, *Introd. to Hist. of Religion*; Driver on Dt $18^{10ff.}$.

F. B. JEVONS.

DIVORCE.—See MARRIAGE.

DIZAHAB (דִּי־זָהָב; Καταχρύσεα; *ubi auri est plurimum*).—The name of a place mentioned in the obscure topographical notice Dt 1^1, which is intended apparently to define the locality in the 'steppes of Moab,' in which the Deuteronomic discourses were delivered, but several of the names in which resemble those of places passed by the Israelites in the previous stages of their wanderings. If it be the name of a place in the 'steppes of Moab,' the situation is unknown. Upon the supposition that it is the name of some previous camping-place of the Israelites, it has been identified by Burckhardt, *Syria* (1822), p. 523, Knobel, and others, with *Mina edh-Dhahab*, the third of seven boat-harbours between the Rās Muḥammad and 'Aḳaba, nearly due E. of Jebel Mûsa. Keil objects that this is too inaccessible on the side of Sinai for the Israelites to have made it one of their halting-places, and considers it to be the name of a place otherwise unknown in the desert of the wanderings. The same view is taken by Dillm. (who supposes the verse to have originally formed part of an itinerary of the Israelites). The form of the name is curious; the דִּי suggests naturally the oblique case of ذُو *possessor of* (often in names of places); but it is not apparent how an Arabic ذو ذهب would become in Hebrew די־זהב, the ذ being represented differently in the two parts of the name. Jerome, in rendering 'ubi auri est *plurimum*,' probably thought of דַּי, constr. of דַּי *enough.*

S. R. DRIVER.

DO.—Most of the forms and uses are familiar. But as to *form*, notice 'doeth' in the plu. Sir 35^{15} (AV 1611) 'Doeth not the teares run downe the widowes cheeks?' (mod. edd. 'do'). Cf. *Pr. Bk.* (1549) Com. Ser.: 'And whosoever willingly upon no just cause, doth absent themselves: or doth ungodly in the Parish church occupy themselves: . . . to be excommunicate'; and in the imperat. *Piers Plowman*, v. 44—

> 'That ye prechen to the peple · preue it on yowre-seluen,
> And doth it in dede · it shal drawe yow to good.'

As to *usage*, notice that 'do' is steadily losing its active and independent power. 1. We now prefer a stronger word like 'perform' in such phrases as 'do sacrifice,' Is 19^{21} 'the Egyptians . . . shall do sacrifice* and oblation' (RV 'shall worship with sac. and obl.'); or 'do a trespass' Nu 5^{6}; or 'do goodness' Nu 10^{32} (RV 'do good'); or 'do service' (Heb. לַעֲבֹד אֶת־עֲבֹדָה, lit. 'to serve the service'), a freq. phrase in Nu; cf. also Jn 16^{2} 'whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service' (λατρείαν προσφέρειν, RV 'offereth service unto God'). 2. 'Do' meaning to *act* is still in use, but scarcely as Ac 17^{7} 'these all do contrary to the decrees of Cæsar' (TR πράττουσι, edd. πράσσουσιν); Ph 2^{13} 'it is God which worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure' (τὸ ἐνεργεῖν, RV 'to work'). 3. But 'do well' is good Eng. still, as Jn 11^{12} 'if he sleep, he shall do well' (σωθήσεται, Tindale 'he shall do well ynough,' and so Cov., Cran., Gen. 1557; but Wyc. 'he schal be saaf,' and so Gen. 1560, Tomson, Rheims; RV 'he will recover,' RVm 'be saved'). 4. To 'do,' meaning to 'fare,' is in use in the phrase 'how d'ye do?' but not as 2 S 11^{7} 'David demanded of him how Joab did and how the people did' (לִשְׁלוֹם יוֹאָב וְלִשְׁלוֹם הָעָם, lit. 'for the health of Joab and for the health of the people,' RV 'how Joab did and how the people fared'), so Est 2^{11}; Ac 15^{36} 'Let us go again and visit our brethren . . . and see how they do' (πῶς ἔχουσι, RV 'how they fare'); Eph 6^{21} 'that ye also may know my affairs and how I do' (τί πράσσω). 5. The phrase 'to have to do with' is still good idiomatic Eng., but notice the Greek Mt 8^{29} 'what have we to do with thee?' (τί ἡμῖν καὶ σοί; lit. 'what to us and to thee?' as Wyc. has it, after Vulg. *quid nobis et tibi?* the idiom of AV being Tindale's); He 4^{13} 'all things are naked and opened unto the eyes of him with whom we have to do' (πρὸς ὃν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος, lit. as Wyc. 'to whom a word to us,' Vulg. *ad quem nobis sermo*, Tind. 'of whom we speake,' Gen. 1557 'with whome we have to do'). 6. As an auxiliary, 'do' is noted by the grammarians as (1) the vicegerent for any antecedent verb, Ac 7^{28} 'Wilt thou kill me, as thou diddest the Egyptian yesterday?' (in Gr. the vb. is repeated, ἀνελεῖν . . . ὃν τρόπον ἀνεῖλες, hence RV 'as thou killedst); (2) to express the tense, now used in negative sentences, as 'I do not know' and interrog. 'do you know?' but formerly in affirm. also, as Gn 22^{1} 'God did tempt Abraham.' This is a peculiarly Eng. idiom; but closely akin to it is another, which is older, and is common to French, but now quite obsolete. As Fr. has *faire savoir* 'cause to know,' so Eng. had 'I do you to know' with the same meaning. Thus North, *Plutarch*, p. 561: 'I do thee to understand that I had rather excell others in excellency of knowledge than in greatness of power'; Chaucer, *Troilus*, ii. 1022—

> 'And we shal speke of thee somwhat, I trowe,
> When thou art goon, to do thine eres glowe!'

In Malory's *King Arthur* we read: 'And so they looked upon him and felt his pulse, to wit (*i.e.* to know) whether there were any life in him. In the name of God, said an old man. For I do you verily to wit he is not dead.' That is, 'I cause you to know,' mod. Eng. 'I would have you know.' This phrase is found in AV, 2 Co 8^{1} 'we do you to wit of the grace of God bestowed on the churches of Macedonia' (γνωρίζομεν ὑμῖν, RV 'we make known to you,' which was Wyclif's tr.; 'do you to wit' came from Tindale; Rheims has 'we doe you to understand'). The Eng. auxiliary and this form are sometimes found together; an interesting example being in Caxton's *Game of the Chesse* (1474), Pref.: 'I delybered in myself to translate it in to our maternal tonge. And whan I so had achyeued [achieved] the sayd translacion, I dyde doo set in enprynte [I caused to be printed] a certyn nombre of theym, Which anone were depesshed and solde.' 7. Lastly, notice the phrase 'do away,' Nu 27^{4} 'Why should the name of our father be done away from among his family, because he hath no son?' (יִגָּרַע, RV 'be taken away'); 1 Ch 21^{8} 'I beseech thee, do away the iniquity of thy servant' (הַעֲבֶר־נָא, RV 'put away'); 1 Co 13^{10}, 2 Co 3$^{7.\,11.\,14}$ (all καταργέω='render inoperative,' a peculiarly Pauline word; St. Paul uses it 25 times, elsewhere in NT Lk 13^{7}, He 2^{14} only; RV in 2 Co 3$^{7.\,11}$ 'pass away'). Cf. Wyclif's tr. of He 10^{9} 'he doith awei thi first, that he make stidfast the secunde,' and of 12^{1} 'do we aweie al charge and synne.'

J. HASTINGS.

DOCTOR, DOCTRINE.—Doctor is used in the old Eng. sense of 'teacher' in Lk 2^{46} (διδάσκαλος); and 'doctor of the law' for 'teacher of the law' in Lk 5^{17}, Ac 5^{34} (νομοδιδάσκαλος). Cf. *Melvill's Diary* (Wodrow, p. 95), 'to the Doctor is giffen the word of knawlage, to open upe, be simple doctrine, the mysteries of fathe.' So Bacon (*Essays*, p. 9) calls St. Paul 'the Doctor of the Gentiles,' and Latimer (*Works*, i. 430) calls the devil 'that old Doctor,' and this is the use in Pope's lines—

> 'Who shall decide, when doctors disagree,
> And soundest casuists doubt, like you and me?'
> *Ep. to Ld. Bathurst*, i. 1.

See under SCRIBE. **Doctrine** (see next art.) is similarly used for 'teaching' in Dt 32^{2}, Job 11^{4}, Pr 4^{2}, Is 29^{24} (all לֶקַח, lit. 'something received,' elsewhere only Pr 1^{5} 4^{2} 9^{9} 16$^{21.\,23}$); Is 28^{9} (שְׁמוּעָה, lit. 'something heard,' RV 'message,' RVm 'report'); Jer 10^{8} (מוּסָר, really 'discipline,' RV 'instruction'); 1 Es 5^{40} (δήλωσις), Sir 16^{25} 24$^{27.\,32}$ (παιδεία), 24^{33} (διδασκαλία); and freq. in NT for Gr. διδασκαλία. Still more freq. for 'the process of teaching,' 'instruction' (διδαχή), as Ac 2^{42} 'they continued stedfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship.' Cf. Chaucer, *Non. Preest. Tale*, 622—

> 'For seint Paul seith, that al that writen is,
> To our doctryne it is y-write, y-wis.'

J. HASTINGS.

DOCTRINE, etymologically regarded, signifies the work of a *doctor* or teacher, from *doceo*, to teach; hence it denotes sometimes the act of teaching, sometimes the substance or matter of that which is taught. It may also be theoretical or practical, refer, that is, to either truth or duty—that which is to be believed, or that which is to be done.

On the theoretical side, doctrine may be compared with, and distinguished from, dogma or tenet. Dogma and doctrine, especially in the plural, are often identified, but the latter is really a wider conception than the former. It differs from it in two respects—a doctrine is less formal, less of a scientific construction than a dogma, and there is implied in the latter a reference to some religious community on whose authority it is maintained. By some the distinction is thus stated: 'Doctrine summarizes the statements of Scripture on a particular point, adding and diminishing nothing; dogma formulates the principles and relations involved in the doctrine, and the inferences following from it. Every dogma, therefore, is of the nature of a theory, giving the *rationale* of the facts.' The word dogma does not occur in EV nor in the original, except in the sense of a 'decree' or 'ordinance' (Lk 2^{1}, Ac 16^{4} 17^{7}, Eph 2^{15}, Col 2^{14}, He 11^{23} [Lachm. *δόγμα*, but TR and WH *διάταγμα*]). The modern meaning of the word is foreign to the sacred book. On its practical side, doctrine is almost synonymous with *precept* or *principle*.

---

* Cf. Shaks. *Jul. Cæs.* II. ii. 5: 'Go bid the priests do present sacrifice.'

In OT, doctrine occurs chiefly as tr. of לֶקַח (mostly in Wisdom literature) 'that which is received' (Dt 32^{2}, Job 11^{4}, Pr 4^{2}, Is 29^{24}); it appears once only in each case as tr^{n} of מוּסָר 'discipline' (Jer 10^{8}), and שְׁמוּעָה 'that which is heard' (Is 28^{9}, RV 'message'). In Apocr. there are several occurrences of the word. It appears in Sir as tr. of *παιδεία*, as when 16^{25} the writer says: 'I will show forth doctrine in weight' (RV 'instruction by weight'), that is, as is made apparent by the parallel clause, 'with exactness.' In 1 Es 5^{40} 'doctrine and truth' appear for the Gr. *δήλωσις καὶ ἀλήθεια*, which in their turn represent the אוּרִים וְתֻמִּים, Urim and Thummim—'Lights and Perfections (?)' of the parallel passage Neh 7^{65}. In NT, with one exception (He 6^{1}, where for AV 'the principles of the doctrine of Christ' RV reads 'the first principles of Christ'), doctrine is employed to represent either *διδαχή* or *διδασκαλία*, both of which words are used in active and passive sense, the active being predominant in the case of *διδασκαλία*, the passive in that of *διδαχή*. 'The latter emphasizes the authority, the former the act' (Cremer; but see Hort, *Chr. Ecclesia*, 191). Both words are employed in an absolute way for 'the teaching' (*διδαχή* in Tit 1^{9}, 2 Jn ^{9} RV; *διδασκαλία* in 1 Ti 4^{16} 6^{1}, Tit 2^{7}). It is worth noting that out of 21 occurrences of *διδασκαλία* in NT, no fewer than 15 are in the Pastoral Epistles. RV has almost uniformly substituted 'teaching' for doctrine as tr. of *διδαχή*, but has only occasionally made the same substitution in the case of *διδασκαλία*. In only one instance has it introduced the word doctrine when it does not appear in AV, viz. in 1 Ti 6^{3} where it reads 'If any man teacheth a different doctrine,' for AV 'If any man teach otherwise.'

The intimate relation between doctrine and practice, between right thoughts and right action, is fully and constantly recognized in Scripture. The warnings against false doctrine and its evil effects are numerous (1 Ti 1^{10} 4^{1}, Tit 2^{1}, He 13^{9}, 2 Jn ^{9} etc.). Christ's hearers were astonished at His doctrine (Mk 1^{22}) not less than at His wonderful works; while, on the other hand, He Himself indicated that His doctrine is only to be truly known through obedience (Jn 7^{17}). The forms of teaching characteristic of the Bible as a whole, as well as of its individual writers, will fall to be considered in the article THEOLOGY.

A. STEWART.

DODAI.—See DODO.

DODANIM (דֹּדָנִים, LXX Ῥόδιοι, Gn 10^{4}).—Fourth son of Javan (Ionians, Greeks), and therefore undoubtedly intended to designate a Gr. tribe or colony. There can be no connexion, beyond an accidental similarity in sound, with the inland town of Dodona in Epirus. Nor can it mean Dardanians, as Delitzsch still maintains, for the Trojan province of Dardania was never of such consequence as to give its name to a leading family in the genealogy of mankind. Dillmann and others are inclined to accept the reading of the LXX (which is also that of the Samaritan translation of the Pent. and of Jerome, as well as the MT of 1 Ch 1^{7}), and identify the Dodanim with the Rhodians or the inhabitants of the islands of the Ægean Sea. If Elishah be Southern Italy and Sicily, the two pairs of sons of Javan will be named from east to west: Elishah and Tarshish; Kittim (Cyprus) and Dodanim (Rhodes). The inhabitants of Rhodes from B.C. 800 onward were Ionian Greeks, sons of Javan, who took the place of the earlier Phœnician population. The Rhodians are certainly in their proper place alongside of the Kittim. They were known even to Homer, and were visited from a very early period by all the trading peoples of the Mediterranean coasts. Bochart's idea that they might be identified with the Gr. colonists on the banks of the Rhone (Rhodanus) has not commended itself to anyone.

LITERATURE.—Baudissin in Herzog^{2}, iii. 634, under 'Dodanim,' treats ably of the four sons of Javan. See also Winer, Schenkel, Riehm; and Bertheau on 1 Ch 1^{7} in his Commentary.

J. MACPHERSON.

DODAVAHU (דּוֹדָוָהוּ 'beloved of J″,' AV **Dodavah**).—Father of Eliezer of Mareshah, the prophet who censured Jehoshaphat for entering into alliance with Ahaziah (2 Ch 20^{37}). Gray (*Heb. Prop. Names*, 62, 232) contends that the correct Heb. text is דּוֹדִיָּה. So also Kittel in *SBOT* (cf. Nestle, *Eigennamen*, 70). J. A. SELBIE.

DODO (so the Ḳerê דּוֹדוֹ, Kethibh **Dodai** (דּוֹדַי), or possibly **Dodi** (דּוֹדִי); LXX combines the two, translating, *υἱὸς πατραδέλφου αὐτοῦ υἱὸς Σουσεί*).—**1.** The father of Eleazar, the second of the three captains who were over 'the thirty' (2 S 23^{9}). In the parallel list (1 Ch 11^{12}) the name is given as Dodo (דּוֹדוֹ, LXX *Δωδαί*), and also 'the Ahohite' for the erroneous 'son of Ahohi.' In the third list (1 Ch 27^{4}) Dodai (דּוֹדַי, LXX *Δωδειά*) is described as general of the second division of the army, but the words 'Eleazar the son of' appear to have been accidentally omitted. Bertheau considers that Dodai is the more correct form, and appeals to the LXX and Jos. (*Δωδείου*); he accordingly restores this form in 2 S 23^{9} and 1 Ch 11^{12}.

The traditional spelling (Dodo), however, is most probably right: the name Dudu has been found on the Tel el-Amarna tablets, apparently as that of an Amorite official at the Egyp. court. In the Inscription of Mesha (l. 12) we also find דודה (probably דּוֹדֹה = Dodo); it appears to be the name of some deity. **2.** A Bethlehemite, father of Elhanan, one of 'the thirty' (2 S 23^{24}, 1 Ch 11^{26} דּוֹדוֹ). **3.** A man of Issachar, the forefather of Tola the judge (Jg 10^{1}). LXX and Vulg. tr. *πατραδέλφου αὐτοῦ*; *patrui Abimelech*. J. F. STENNING.

DOE.—RV (Pr 5^{19}), AV 'roe,' is in Heb. יַעֲלָה *ya'ălâh*, the *female ibex*. See GOAT, under יְעֵלִים.

DOEG (דֹּאֵג, דּוֹאֵג, דּוֹיֵג *).—An Edomite, and chief of the herdmen [or better, 'runners,' reading with Grätz הָרָצִים for הָרֹעִים] of king Saul. When David fled to Nob, to Ahimelech (or Ahijah) the priest, D. was there 'detained before the Lord.' Having witnessed the aid given to the fugitive, he reported what he had seen to the king, who summoned Ahimelech before him, and accused him of treason. Regardless of his protestations of innocence, Saul ordered him to be slain. The king's guard shrank from laying hands upon the sacred person of a priest, and the order was then given to D., who not only slew all the priests, but perpetrated a general massacre of all the inhabitants of Nob, destroying even the cattle (1 S 21^{7} 22$^{9-19}$). D. is mentioned in the title of Ps 52. R. M. BOYD.

DOG (כֶּלֶב *keleb*, *κυών*, *κυνάριον*, *canis*).—The dog is mentioned in many places in the Bible, and (with the somewhat uncertain exception of the *greyhound*, Pr 30^{31}, where the Heb. signifies *slender in the loins*, and is rendered in the marg. *horse*, RVm *war-horse*) always with contempt. The dog referred to is doubtless the pariah animal so common in the streets of all villages and cities in Bible lands. The original of this degenerate race of dogs is probably the shepherd dog (Job 30^{1}), which differs from the town animal chiefly in his long fur and bushy tail, and his far greater strength, courage, and ferocity. All of these qualities are the natural result of the hardships of his life. Compelled to go long distances, to guard the flocks from the wolves and other savage beasts, to face the cold winds of winter, and its pelting rains or sleet or snow, he needs all the endowments which he possesses over those of his idle, cowardly relative, who spends most of the time, when not in search of his carrion food, in sleeping under the shelter of walls or vaulted passages, or sprawling in the soft mud or dust of the streets.

---

* On this form see Driver on 1 S 22^{18}.

The street dog is 2 to 3 ft. long, exclusive of his tail, and from 18 inches to 2 ft. high, usually tawny in colour, but often cream-coloured, white, or black, with short, stiff fur, small eyes, and usually with little or no bushiness to the tail. These dogs usually occupy defined quarters of the towns, and any dog intruding into a quarter not his own is certain to be set upon and very severely bitten. They act as public scavengers (1 K 14^{11} 16^{4} $21^{19.23}$ 22^{38}, 2 K $9^{10.36}$, Jer 15^{3}). They wander from place to place, especially in the neighbourhood of the city walls, and make the night hideous with their barking (Ps $59^{6.14}$). They not infrequently attack passers in lonely places, especially in the neighbourhood of Arab encampments. Violent men are compared to them (Ps $22^{16.20}$). They are used to watch houses and tents (Is 56^{10}). The name dog is a term of reproach (1 S 24^{14}, 2 S 3^{8} 9^{8} 16^{9}, 2 K 8^{13}, Is 66^{3}, Ph 3^{2}, Rev 22^{15}). 'The price of a dog' (Dt 23^{18}) probably refers to the practices of the male *ḳĕdēshîm* (see Driver *ad loc.* and Hommel, *Anc. Heb. Trad.* 114). In a word, the Eastern street dog is a type of all that is cowardly, lazy, filthy, treacherous, and contemptible. They seem to have been omnipresent in the time of Christ (Mt 15^{26}, Mk 7^{27}, Lk 16^{21}), as the former citations prove them to have been in more ancient times.

With the doubtful exception before given (Pr 30^{31}), there is no allusion to hunting dogs in Scripture. As the friend of man, endowed with noble intelligence, the dog had no place in Heb. life.

G. E. POST.

DOGMA, properly an opinion or judgment; then, as a decision of one in authority, a decree—of rulers (Lk 2^{1}, Ac 17^{7}, He 11^{23}), of Moses (Eph 2^{15}, Col 2^{14}), of apostles (Ac 16^{4}). The same word in its verbal form is used of the decisions of the elders (Ac $15^{22.25.28}$). Hatch (*Hib. Lect.* 1888, pp. 119–120) has very well shown how, from this original meaning of 'personal opinion,' the word came to signify 'decrees' in the case of rulers, and 'doctrines' in the case of teachers. By far the most important NT use of the term is in Eph and Col. All the early Gr. commentators understand by 'dogmas' in both passages the doctrines or precepts of the gospel. Lightfoot correctly insists upon rendering the word, as in all other NT passages, *decree, ordinance*; in Eph it is restricted to *Mosaic* ordinances, but in Col it is applied more generally to all decrees in which moral principles and religious precepts are set forth. The restriction in the one case, however, is not in the word, but only in the context. In Eph the δόγματα as 'authoritative decrees' are distinguished from ἐντολαί as separate precepts, by both of which terms the Mosaic law is characterized from different points of view. By styling these precepts 'dogmas' the apostle emphasizes the point that they were imposed by external authority. This is in keeping with the ecclesiastical use of the word to indicate doctrines which are enunciated authoritatively by the Church. See DOCTRINE.

J. MACPHERSON.

DOK (Δώκ).—A fortress near Jericho, where Simon the Maccabee, along with two of his sons, was murdered by his son-in-law Ptolemy, 1 Mac 16^{15}. The name survives in the modern *'Ain Dûk*, 4 miles N.W. of Jericho (Robinson, *BRP* ii. 309; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XV. i. 460; *SWP* iii. 173, 191, 209). In Jos. (*Ant.* XIII. viii. 1; *Wars*, I. ii. 3) it appears as Dagon (cf. G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* 250).

J. A. SELBIE.

DOLEFUL.—Is 13^{21} 'their houses shall be full of doleful creatures' (Heb. אֹחִים *'ôḥîm*); and Mic 2^{4} 'and lament with a doleful lamentation' (וְנָהָה נְהִי נִהְיָה, AVm 'lament with a lamentation of lamentations,' RVm 'lament with the lamentation, It is done,' after Ewald, Cheyne, and others, taking the last word as Niph. of הָיָה, instead of a subst. from נָהָה to wail). There is a general agreement that the *'ôḥim* of Is 13^{21} are jackals, as there is the Assyr. *aḥû* used in the bilingual texts for Bab. *likbarra*, lit. 'evil-dog.' The older Eng. VSS mostly give 'great owls,' the Geneva keeping the Heb. Ohim, with a note suggesting the possibility that they and the Ziim (AV 'wild beasts') are 'wicked spirits whereby Satan deluded man, as by the fairies, gobblins, and suche like fantasies,' which probably suggested the 'doleful creatures' of AV (cf. Wyc., Douay, 'dragons'). The Heb. is probably onomatopoetic, from [אחח] to howl; but 'doleful' is mournful (fr. Lat. *dolere*), as in Shaks. *Pass. Pil.* xxi.—

'She, poor bird, as all forlorn,
Lean'd her breast up till a thorn,
And there sang the dolefull'st ditty.'

Shaks. uses 'dole' in the same sense, as *Hamlet*, I. ii. 13—

'In equal scale weighing delight and dole.'

J. HASTINGS.

DOLPHIN.—See BADGER.

DOMINION, used in the ordinary sense, is the tr. of various words in OT and NT, and only noteworthy as the rendering of κυριότης in Eph 1^{21}, Col 1^{16} (pl.), and, perhaps, 2 P 2^{10} and Jude ^{8} (sing.). Associated as it is in Col 1^{16} with ἀρχαί and ἐξουσίαι, and in Eph 1^{21} with these and δύναμις (all sing.),—words used elsewhere (*e.g.* Eph 6^{12}, Col 2^{15}, Ro 8^{38}, 1 Co 15^{24}) primarily, at any rate, of the angelic powers, good or bad or both,—it stands, without doubt, in Eph (ascensively) and Col (descensively) for a grade in the angelic hierarchy; probably, along with θρόνοι (Col), the highest grade (as Lightfoot concludes from the earliest lists; see his note on Col 1^{16}), being at the same time second in that grade, while ἀρχαί and ἐξουσίαι belong to the next grade below; just as *kingship*, suggested in θρόνος, is naturally superior to *lordship* (κυριότης), (compare the θεοί and κύριοι of 1 Co 8^{5}), and both are superior to the ordinary *rule* and *authority*. Θρόνος, κυριότης, ἀρχή, ἐξουσία, and δύναμις, or their linguistic equivalents, are found among the orders of angels in Jewish or Jewish-Chr. books ranging over the NT period or its immediate neighbourhood. Thus in *Jubilees*, § 15: 'Over all [the Gentile nations] hath [God] set spirits as *lords*' (cf. Sir 17^{17}); in *Test. XII. Patr. Levi* 3, 'In the heaven next to God are thrones (θρόνοι), powers (ἐξουσίαι),' angels being, in the same passage, assigned to each of the first six out of the seven heavens, in descending order; in Enoch 6^{10}, 'The host of the heavens and all the holy ones above, and the host of God . . . all the angels of *power*, and all the angels of *principalities*,' etc. Christian Fathers, such as Origen, Ephrem Syrus, Pseudo-Dionysius, accept similar though varying gradations (see Lightfoot, Col 1^{16}). The belief in such gradations may be traced to the OT, with its Elohim and sons of Elohim (Pss 58 and 82), the mighty beings of the same class as God, yet ruled by Him (Ps $103^{19f.}$), His host, led by His captain (Jos $5^{13\text{-}15}$ *ἀρχιστράτηγος δυνάμεως κυρίου*, cf. ἀρχάγγελος, 1 Th 4^{16}). Being originally, in all probability, the nature-spirits of Semitic heathenism, they were physical rather than ethical (Gn $6^{1\text{-}3}$), and are sometimes connected or identified with the stars of heaven (Job 38^{7}, Is 45^{12}; cf. Enoch $18^{13\text{-}16}$, and see article ELEMENT). As the knowledge of God advanced, these 'gods' ceased to have any religious importance, and receded more and more into the position of comparative nonentities (Ps 89^{6}), but were still regarded as superintending the nations under Him (Dn 10^{13}, Is 24^{21}), though in some special sense God reserved Israel for Himself (Dt $32^{8f.}$ LXX), making Michael, the chief archangel (Dn 12^{1}), their prince. Being thus distinguished from God, and not irrevocably bound by the moral law, they could come into opposition to Him, not merely relative but actual, either by blameworthy conduct of the charges committed to them (Is 24^{21}, Job 4^{18}, cf. Enoch $18^{13\text{-}16}$; also the 'angels' in Rev 2, 3), or by diametrical contravention of God's purposes (Dn 10^{13}, 2 Co 4^{4}, Eph $6^{11\text{-}16}$; and see ANGEL, DEMON, and SATAN).

The interpretation of *κυριότης* in Jude [8] and its parallel 2 P 2^{10} is perplexing, and is much disputed. A reference to angelic powers—unseen dignities worthy of reverence (cf. 1 Co 11^{10})—is supported by the contiguous *δόξαι* ('beings in light like God'), and by the example of the sin of the Sodomites (Gn 19); while a reference to the lordship of Christ or God is suggested by Jude [4], and 2 P 2^{6} (angels that sinned, *i.e.* against God). See Spitta on the two passages, and Harnack, *Texte*, ii. 14.

LITERATURE.—Schultz, *Old Test. Theology* (Eng. tr.), i. 215 ff.; Everling, *Die Paulinische Angelologie und Dämonologie*, pp. 88, 122 ff.; Lightfoot, *Colossians*. J. MASSIE.

DOOM.—In AV, 2 Es 7^{43} only, 'the day of doom shall be the end of this time' (*dies judicii*, RV 'the day of judgment'); to which RV adds Ezk 7^{7} 'Thy doom is come unto thee, O inhabitant of the land,' v.[10] 'thy doom is gone forth' (הַצְּפִירָה, AV 'the morning,' RVm 'the turn' or 'the crowning time'—see Davidson), and the vb. 1 Co 4^{9} 'God hath set forth us the apostles last of all, as men doomed to death' (*ὡς ἐπιθανατίους*), AV 1611 'approved to death,' mod. editions 'appointed,' of which Scrivener (*Camb. Parag. Bible*, p. xcvii) says: 'A deliberate but needless correction [in 1616] derived from Tind., Cov., the Great and the Bishops' Bibles. The Gen. (1557) has "destinate to death."'

For 'doom' in the sense of 'judgment,' cf. Wyclif's tr. of Ps 9^{8} 'He made redi his trone in dome,' and of Rev 19^{2} 'trewe and iust ben the domes of hym.' Shaks. (*Macbeth*, II. iii. 59) speaks of 'the great doom,' *i.e.* the day of judgment; and in *Jul. Cæs.* III. i. 98—

> 'Men, wives, and children stare, cry out, and run
> As it were doomsday.'

The word is connected with 'deem' to judge, whence the 'Deemsters' of Isle of Man and Jersey, and philologically with Gr. *θέμις* law, fr. *τίθημι* place, whence 'something laid down,' 'a decision.' See Craik's *Eng. of Shaks.* p. 226; Verity, *Shaks. Jul. Cæs.* p. 158 f.; and art. DEEM. J. HASTINGS.

DOOR, DOORKEEPER, DOORPOST.—See HOUSE.

DOPHKAH (דָּפְקָה).—A station in the itinerary of the children of Israel (Nu $33^{12f.}$). This station and the next one, **Alush**, which lie between the 'encampment by the sea' and Rephidim, have not been identified, and they are not alluded to in Exodus. As, however, the itinerary in Nu has every appearance of being taken from a regular pilgrim book, we should say that, on the hypothesis that Mount Sinai and Rephidim [=Feiran] have been correctly located, the position of Dophkah cannot be far from the entrance to the Wady Maghara; this wady contains the oldest Egyptian mines, and as the blue-stone which the Egyptians quarried is known by the name of Mafkat, and gave its name to the district of Mafkat, it is a tempting suggestion to identify Dophkah as an erroneous transcription of Mafkah. Alush would then lie half-way between this and Feiran; it does not appear that any more exact location can be suggested. The identification suggested for Dophkah was made, in the first instance, by Ebers; I arrived at it independently.

J. RENDEL HARRIS.

DOR (דּוֹר, דֹּאר), Jos 11^{2} 12^{23} 17^{11}, Jg 1^{27}, 1 K 4^{11}, 1 Ch 7^{29}.—A Can. city in Galilee, in the 'uplands' (נפת, RVm Naphath-[or Naphoth-]dor) towards the W. Its king is noticed between Jokneam and Gilgal of the Goiim—which was in Sharon. It seems to have been in Issachar or in Asher, and is noticed as attacked by Manasseh with Taanach. The 'uplands' of Dor formed that part of Solomon's kingdom, which seems to correspond with Zebulun, the next province to Issachar; but, according to the last cited passage, Dor belonged to Manasseh, though noticed with towns of Issachar. These indications do not suffice to fix the site. Jos. makes it a seaside town (*Ant.* V. i. 22, VIII. ii. 3) near Carmel (*Contra Apion.*, ii. 10). It was at Dor that Tryphon (*c.* B.C. 139) was besieged by Antiochus Sidetes, 1 Mac $15^{11ff.}$. In the 4th cent. A.D. (*Onomasticon, s.v.* Dornapheth) it is identified with *Tantûrah* on the sea-coast, 9 Roman miles from Cæsarea Palestina on the way to Tyre; but the names have no connexion, and the site is not on the uplands. The low hills S. of Carmel may be intended, but the name has not been recovered.

C. R. CONDER.

DORCAS.—'Tabītha, which is by interpretation called Dorcas' (Ac 9^{36}); טְבִיתָא is Aram. for Heb. צְבִי, by regular interchange of ט for צ (see Driver, *Hebrew Tenses*³, p. 225 f.). When occurring as the name of an animal, it is trᵈ in AV 'roebuck' or 'roe,' in RV 'gazelle.' *Δορκάς* is the Gr. equivalent, used in LXX. Both the Aramaic and the Greek were, also, not uncommon names for women: the former denoting 'beauty,' the latter the animal's gaze (fr. *δέρκομαι*). For instances see Wetstein's Comm. on Ac 9^{36}; Jos. *BJ* IV. iii. 5 may be mentioned as one.

The raising of Dorcas of Joppa is the second of three narratives (Ac $9^{32\text{-}35.\,36\text{-}43}$ $10\text{-}11^{18}$) connected with St. Peter's visit to the towns of the Maritime Plain on the W. coast of Pal., whither he came in the course of a journey undertaken by him after the Church at Jerus. was scattered through 'the persecution which arose about Stephen.' The first of these narratives, like the second, relates a miracle; they are told to illustrate the supernatural powers granted to St. Peter, whose miracles in Jerus. have already been described Ac $3^{1\text{-}11}$ $5^{1\text{-}11.\,15}$. The Churches in Lydda and Joppa were not founded by St. Peter (Ac $9^{32.\,38}$), but on this occasion his presence and his miracles served to strengthen and extend them. He does not seem to have visited Joppa till the Church there, in its distress on account of Dorcas' death, sent to fetch him from Lydda (9^{38}).

Dorcas was a 'disciple' (*μαθήτρια*, this fem. form occurs in NT only here). She must have been a person of some worldly substance so as to have had leisure for the 'good works' and means for the 'almsdeeds' of which she was 'full.' The former term is more comprehensive than the latter. Nevertheless, by it also in all probability, according to Jewish associations, works of charity are more especially denoted (cf. the Talm. expression מעשים טובים, and see on it Weber, *Theol. d. Synagoge*, § 61; see also *τὰ ἀγαθά μου* at Sir 20^{16}, and cf. *ib.* 18^{15} and To 12^{13}). Dorcas' labours for the good of others were instances. We may note that they were the more creditable in one who was able to give alms, and might have contented herself with doing this. The garments which the widows showed to St. Peter may most naturally be supposed to be those which she had previously given to them. The widows are thus seen here, as in 6^{1}, to form a recognized class, dependent upon bounty. The account of the actual raising of Dorcas (vv.$^{40.41}$) bears a close resemblance to that of the raising of Jairus' daughter (Mt 9^{25}, Mk 5$^{40.41}$, Lk 8^{54}).

V. H. STANTON.

DORYMENES (Δορυμένης), the father of Ptolemy Macron, who was a trusted friend of Antiochus Epiphanes (2 Mac 4^{45}), and was chosen by Lysias to command the Syrian army in Pal. in conjunction with Nicanor and Gorgias (1 Mac 3^{38}). Ptolemy had formerly been in the service of the Egyp. king Ptolemy VI. Philometor (2 Mac 10^{13}); and his father, Dorymenes, may perhaps be identified with the Ætolian Dorymenes who fought for Ptolemy IV. against Antiochus the Great (Polybius, v. 61). H. A. WHITE.

DOSITHEUS (Δοσίθεος). — **1.** The priest who, according to a note in one of the Greek recensions of Esther, brought the book to Alexandria in the 4th year of Ptolemy Philometor (?) and Cleopatra, *c.* B.C. 178 (Ad. Est 11^{1}). **2.** A soldier of Judas Maccabæus, who (2 Mac 12^{35}) laid hold, in the heat of battle, of Gorgias the general of the enemy, and sought to take him alive. The attempt was frustrated by a Thracian horseman, who cut off the arm of Dositheus. **3.** A renegade Jew who frustrated the plot of Theodotus to assassinate king Ptolemy Philopator (3 Mac 1^{3}). **4.** An officer of Judas Maccabæus (2 Mac 12$^{19.24}$). J. A. SELBIE.

DOTÆA (Δωταία).—Another form of DOTHAN (which see). AV has incorrectly Judæa.

DOTE.—The orig. meaning of to 'dote' is to be foolish (cf. 'dotage,' and Scotch 'doited'), as in Chaucer, *Legend of Good Women*, 261—

> 'Wel wot I ther-by thou beginnest dote
> As olde foles, whan hir spirit fayleth';

and *Piers Plowman*, i. 138—

> 'Thow doted daffe, quod she, dull arne thi wittes.'

In this sense occurs 'dote' in Jer 50^{36} 'A sword is upon the liars, and they shall dote' (Cov. 'they shall become fooles,' Heb. נֹאָלוּ, the vb. [יאל] is only found in Niph., and always=be foolish, or act foolishly, whether innocently as Jer 5^{4}, or not as Is 19^{13}); Sir 25^{2} 'an old adulterer that doteth' (ἐλαττούμενον συνέσει, RV 'lacking understanding'); and 1 Ti 6^{4} 'doting about questions and strifes of words' (AVm 'a fool,' RVm 'sick,' Gr. νοσῶν, only here in NT, and νόσημα only Jn 5^{4} TR; but the sense is clearly 'unsound,' 'mad,' a common meaning of the word; Tind. tr. freely 'wasteth his braynes'; 'doteth' is the Geneva word of 1560). Elsewhere 'dote' occurs only in the sense of 'be (foolishly) fond,' Ezk 23$^{5.7.9.12.16.20}$ (עָגַב). J. HASTINGS.

DOTHAN (דֹּתַיְן and דֹּתָן, Δωθάειμ), Gn 37^{17} (**Dothaim**, in Jth 4^{6} etc.), now Tell Dothân, was an ancient town situated 10 miles N. of Samaria. Thither Joseph followed his brethren from Shechem (Gn 37^{15}). The pasturage about it is still the best and freshest in a time of drought (Thomson, *Land and Book*, p. 466). The site of Dothan, known in earlier times by Eusebius, who placed it 12 miles N. of Samaria, had for some centuries been lost till recovered by Van de Velde (vol. i. p. 364 ff.). It lay on an ancient (Jewish?) road, of which Van de Velde found the remains, crossing from the plain of Esdraelon into the plain of Sharon, and must have always been an important military post. It stood on the top of a mound, as the language of 2 K 6$^{14-17}$ would suggest. There are still two large ancient cisterns, into one of which possibly Joseph was cast. There are two wells, as the name implies, but only one of them seems ancient. It bursts from the foot of the hill (*Sur. Mem.* ii. 169, 215). Most probably, Joseph's brethren were gathered watering their flocks when he approached. Dothan was the residence of Elisha when the incident of 2 K 6$^{12ff.}$ occurred. It is several times mentioned in the account of the siege of Bethulia (Jth 4^{6} 7$^{3.18}$ 8^{3}).

A. HENDERSON.

DOUBT.—See next article. The middle Eng. *douten* most freq. meant to *fear*, after *dubitare* in late Lat. And this meaning is still very common for 'doubt' in Shaks., as *Macbeth*, IV. ii. 66—

> 'I doubt some danger does approach you nearly.'

In AV this meaning is evident in Sir 9^{13} 'Keep thee far from the man that hath power to kill; so shalt thou not doubt the fear of death' (οὐ μὴ ὑποπτεύσῃς φόβον θανάτου, RV 'thou shalt have no suspicion of the fear of death'). But in NT also it is often more than 'hesitate' or 'mistrust,' esp. where the Gr. is ἀπορέομαι, 'to be at a loss' (Jn 13^{22}, Ac 25^{20}, Gal 4^{20}), or the stronger διαπορέω, 'to be utterly at a loss' (Ac 2^{12} 5^{24} 10^{17}). In like manner **doubtful** means 'perplexing' or 'perplexed,' Sir 18^{7} (ἀπορέομαι, RV 'in perplexity'); Lk 12^{29} 'neither be ye of doubtful mind' (μὴ μετεωρίζεσθε, a word of disputed meaning here, see Plummer, *ad loc.*); Ro 14^{1} 'd. disputations' (see under DISPUTE).

J. HASTINGS.

DOUBT.—The Heb. of OT seems to lack an exact equivalent to our term 'doubt,' when used in a religious reference. Some have, indeed, understood 'doubters,' 'sceptics' to be meant when the Psalmist, who loves God's law and hopes in His word and delights in keeping His commandments, declares that he 'hates them that are of a double mind' (Ps 119^{113} סֵעֲפִים). Apparently, however, it is rather hypocrites, what we should call 'double-faced men,' who are meant; and it seems to be hypocrisy, rather than doubt, which is in mind also in 1 K 18^{21}, where the kindred term סְעִפִּים occurs, and in 1 Ch 12^{33}, Ps 12^{2}, where the similar phrase 'double heart' (לֵב וָלֵב) appears, as well as in Hos 10^{2}, where the comm. differ as to whether the words חָלַק לִבָּם are to be tr^{d} 'their heart is divided,' or, perhaps better, 'their heart is smooth,' *i.e.* deceitful.

In NT, on the other hand, we meet with a series of terms which run through the shades of meaning expressed by our words, perplexity, suspense, distraction, hesitation, questioning, scepticism, shading down into unbelief.

Perplexity is expressed by the verb ἀπορέω (Mk 6^{20}, Lk 24^{4}, Jn 13^{22}, Ac 25^{20}, 2 Co 4^{8}, Gal 4^{20}), with its strengthened compound, διαπορέω (Lk 9^{7}, Ac 2^{12} 5^{24} 10^{17}), expressing thorough perplexity, when one is utterly at a loss, and the still stronger compound ἐξαπορέω (2 Co 1^{8} 4^{8}), in which perplexity has passed into despair. This perplexity is never assigned in NT to the sphere of religion. Even in such instances as Lk 24^{4}, where we are told that the women, finding the Lord's tomb empty, 'were perplexed thereabout;' Mk 6^{20}, Lk 9^{6}, where Herod's perplexity over John's preaching and the subsequent preaching of Jesus and His followers is spoken of; and Ac 2^{12}, where the extreme perplexity of those who witnessed the wonders of the Day of Pentecost is adverted to, it is not a state of religious doubt but of pure mental bewilderment which is described. The women merely had no explanation of the empty tomb ready, they were at a loss how to account for it; Herod simply found John's preaching and the reports concerning the preaching and work of Jesus and His disciples inexplicable, he had no theory ready for their explanation; the marvels of Pentecost, before Peter's explanation of them, were wholly without meaning to their witnesses; and, similarly, in Ac 10^{17}, Peter was just at a complete loss to understand what the vision he had received could mean, and required a revelation to make it significant to him. It was this state of mind, a state of what we may call objective suspense due to lack of light, which the Jews claimed for themselves when in Jn 10^{24} they demanded of Jesus: 'How long dost thou lift up our soul (*τὴν ψυχὴν ἡμῶν αἴρεις*)? If thou art the Christ, tell us plainly.' They would suggest that they were in a state of strained expectation regarding His claims, and that the lagging of their decision was due, not to subjective causes rooted in an evil heart of unbelief, but to a lack of bold frankness on His part. Jesus, in His reply, repels this insinuation and ascribes the fault to their own unbelief. They were not eager seekers after truth, held in suspense by His ambiguous speech; they were men in possession of full evidence, who would not follow it to a conclusion opposing their wishes; they were therefore not perplexed, but unbelieving.

For the doubt of the distracted mind the NT appears to have two expressions, *μετεωρίζεσθαι* (Lk 12^{29}) and *διστάζειν* (Mt 14^{31} 28^{17}). This state of mind is superinduced on faith, and is a witness to the faith which lies behind it; only those who have faith can waver or be distracted from it. But the faith to which it witnesses is equally necessarily an incomplete and imperfect faith; only an imperfect faith can waver or be distracted from its firm assurance. The exhortation, 'Be ye not of a wavering mind,' is appropriately given, therefore, in Lk 12^{29}, to those who are addressed as 'of little faith' (*ὀλιγόπιστοι*), of whom it is the specific characteristic. It is to trust in God's providential care without carking anxiety as to our food and drink and clothing that the Saviour is exhorting His hearers in this context—to fulness of faith, which, according to its definition in He 11^{1}, is absorbed in the unseen and future in contrast with the seen and present. Those who have full faith will have their whole life hid with God; and in proportion as care for earthly things enters, in that proportion do we fall away from the heights of faith and exhibit a wavering mind. It was a similar weakness which attacked Peter, when, walking, by virtue of faith, upon the water to come to Jesus, he saw the wind and was afraid (Mt 14^{31}); and, accordingly, our Saviour addressed him similarly, 'O thou of little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt (*ἐδίστασας*)?' Here, again, is real faith though weak, but a faith that is distracted by the entrance of fear. The same term, and surely with similar implications, is used again and on an even more interesting occasion. When the disciples of Jesus came to the mountain where He had appointed them and there saw their risen Lord, we are told (Mt 28^{17}), 'They worshipped: but some doubted (*ἐδίστασαν*).' It is this same doubt of imperfect and distracted faith, and not the sceptical doubt of unbelief, that is intended. All worshipped Him, though some not without that doubt of the distracted mind which is no more 'psychologically absurd' here than in Lk 12^{29} and Mt 14^{31}. Whence the distraction arose, whether possibly from joy itself, as in Lk 24^{41}, or from a less noble emotion, as possibly in Jn 20^{25}, we do not know. But the quality of doubt resulting from it, although manifesting the incompleteness of the disciples' faith, was not inconsistent with its reality; and the record of it is valuable to us as showing, along with such passages as Lk $24^{37.\,41}$, Jn 20^{25}, that the apostles' testimony to the resurrection was that of convinced rather than of credulous witnesses.

A kindred product of weak faith, the doubt of questioning hesitation, is expressed in NT by the term *διαλογισμός* (Lk 24^{38}, Ro 14^{1}, Ph 2^{14}, 1 Ti 2^{8}). It is the Nemesis of weakness of faith that it is pursued by anxious questionings and mental doubts. Thus, when Christ appeared to His disciples in Jerus., 'they were terrified and affrighted, and supposed that they had beheld a spirit' (Lk 24^{36}), provoking their Master's rebuke, 'Wherefore do questionings arise in your heart?' And in St. Paul's Epistles, the timid outlook of the weak in faith is recognized as their chief characteristic. This seems to be the meaning of Ro 14^{1}, where 'he that is weak in faith' is to be received into full Christian brotherhood, but not 'for the adjudication of questionings' (cf. the *κρινέτω* of v.^{3} and the *κρίνων* of v.^{4}): here is a man whose mind is crowded with scruples and doubts,—he is to be received, of course, but not as if his agitated conscience were to be law to the community; he is to be borne with, not to be obeyed. The same implication underlies Ph 2^{14}, where the contrast between 'murmurings and disputings' seems to be not so much between moral and intellectual rebellion, as between violent and timid obstacles in the Christian pathway,—a contrast which appears also in 1 Ti 2^{8}. It would seem that those who are troubled with questionings are everywhere recognized as men who possess faith, but who are deterred from a proper entrance into their privileges and a proper performance of their Christian duties by a settled habit of hesitant casuistry, which argues lack of robustness in their faith.

The NT term which expresses that deeper doubt which argues not merely the weakness but the lack of faith is the verb *διακρίνεσθαι* (Mt 21^{21}, Mk 11^{23}, Ro 4^{20} 14^{23}, Ja $1^{6\,bis}$, Jude ^{22}). Wherever this critical attitude towards divine things is found, there faith is absent. The term may be used in contrast to that faith by which miracles are wrought, or in which God is approached in prayer (Mt 21^{21}, Mk 11^{23}, Ja $1^{6\,bis}$); in either case it implies the absence of the faith in question and the consequent failure of the result,—he that 'doubteth' in this sense cannot expect to receive anything of the Lord. It may be used of a frame of mind in which one lives his life out in the Christian profession (Ro 14^{23}); in this case, the intrusion of this critical spirit vitiates the whole course of his activities,—because they are no longer of faith, and 'whatsoever is not of faith is sin.' Or it may be used as the extreme contrast to that fulness of faith which Abraham exhibited in his typical act of faith; and then it is represented as the outgrowth of unbelief (Ro 4^{20}). From the full description of its opposite here, and the equally full description of it itself in Ja $1^{6\mathrm{ff.}}$ (see Mayor's note), we may attain a tolerably complete conception of its nature as the critical, self-debating habit of the typical sceptic, which casts him upon life like a derelict ship upon the sea, and makes him in all things 'double-minded' and 'unstable.' Such a habit of mind is the extreme contradiction of faith, and cannot coexist with it; and it is therefore treated everywhere with condemnation—unless Jude ^{22} be an exception, and there the reading is too uncertain to justify its citation as such. See further, FAITH.

B. B. WARFIELD.

DOVE (יוֹנָה *yônâh*, *περιστερά*, *columba*).—There are several species of wild doves in Bible lands, which all go by the name of *ḥamâm* in Arabic. (1) The ring dove or wood pigeon (*Columba Palumbus*, L.), which appears twice a year, at the spring and autumn migration, in all the wooded districts of

Palestine. It is taken by means of a decoy bird, tied to a perch, with its eyelids sewn up. A considerable number remain through the winter. (2) The stock dove (*Columba œnas*, L.), which is common in Gilead and Bashan, and in the Jordan Valley. (3) The rock dove (*Columba livia*, Bonnat), which is found along the coast, and in the highlands W. of the Jordan and in Lebanon. (4) The ash-rumped rock dove (*Columba Schimperi*, Bp.), which is found in the interior of Pal., and makes its nests in the caves and fissures of the chalk precipices. The name *ḥamâm* is associated with a number of wadis and other natural features of the country.

Tame doves are found in every city and village, often in immense numbers. They have been kept from most ancient times. The writer discovered in Wady Sîr, in Gilead, a rock-hewn dove-cot of large size. It is described and figured in *PEFSt*, Oct. 1886. It is a favourite amusement of boys and young men, especially in the interior cities, as Damascus, Ḥems, Ḥamath, etc., to spend the later afternoon hours in superintending the flight of pigeons. They train them to wheel about over the houses, making their own home a centre, and to come back and alight on their owner's hand, and, with a shrill whistle, to be tossed off into the air again for a short whirl. It is one of the earliest mentioned birds in the Bible (Gn 8[8-12]). It is a bird capable of distant flight (Ps 55[6]). A domesticated variety has yellow plumage (Ps 68[13]). The wild doves make their nests in the cliffs overhanging the wadis (Ca 2[14], Jer 48[28], Ezk 7[16]). The mournful cooing of the dove is well known, and often alluded to in Scripture (Is 38[14] 59[11], Nah 2[7]). Its harmlessness is proverbial (Mt 10[16]). Its foolishness is used to illustrate the stupidity of Ephraim (Hos 7[11]). Its lovable qualities are also proverbial (Ca 1[15] etc.). Young pigeons were used in sacrifice (Gn 15[9]).

Dove's Dung accumulates in immense quantities around the dove-cots, and is an invaluable manure, especially for cantelopes. It is owing to the use of this fertilizer that the melons of Persia are so renowned for their excellence. The talus in front of the cliffs where wild doves nest in large numbers is covered with thick deposits of their excrement, which is almost as powerful a fertilizer as guano.*

G. E. POST.

DOVE'S DUNG.—See DOVE and FOOD.

DOWRY.—See MARRIAGE.

DOXOLOGY, which is not a biblical word, is the name which has been applied to any formal ascription of praise or glory to God (δοξολογία, *glorificatio*). Such are the closing sentences of several apostolic prayers, *e.g.* Ro 16[27], Jude[25], Eph 3[20]. In particular, the name is given to the last sentence of the Lord's Prayer as it stands in TR and our AV of Matthew (cf. 1 Ch 29[11]). This verse, however, is omitted in the parallel passage of St. Luke, neither is it found in the earlier Uncials or the Vulg., but first in the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* and Chrysostom. Hence it has been omitted from the text of WH and RV (text, not margin). See Chase, *Lord's Prayer*, 168 ff.

The 'angels' hymn' (Lk 2[14]), *Gloria in Excelsis*, etc., has been made the foundation of another doxology by the addition of several non-biblical sentences. This, which is known liturgically as the 'greater doxology,' occurs in one of its forms in the Psalter of Codex A (LXX), while the 'lesser' (*Gloria Patri*, etc.) is wholly extra-biblical.

C. A. SCOTT.

DRACHMA.—See MONEY. **DRAG.**—See NET.

DRAGON.—Four Heb. words are rendered in AV by this fabulous name. 1. תַּנִּים *tannîm*, *dragons*, the plural of תַּן *tan*, which latter is not used in Scripture. This word signifies *a howler*, and refers to a beast inhabiting the desert. RV tr. it in every instance by *jackals*. But in Is 13[22] 34[13. 14] it is found associated with אִיִּים *'iyyîm* (which would seem to be the same as *ibn-âwa* in Arab., vulgo *wâwi*). This animal is undoubtedly the *jackal*. It is clear that the same animal would not be mentioned twice in a short list of animals, and by two totally different names. We must therefore seek for another desert howler, than which none could fulfil the conditions better than the *wolf*. The Arab. word *tinân* is one of the names of the wolf. The LXX renders *tannîm* variously. Thus Job 30[29], Is 34[13] 43[20] σειρῆνες, Ps 44[19] κάκωσις, Is 13[22] ἐχῖνοι, Jer 10[22] 49[33] στρουθοί, Jer 9[11] 14[6] 51[37], Mic 1[8] δράκοντες. 2. תַּנִּים *tannîm*, a singular form, which is probably a clerical slip for תַּנִּין *tannîn* (Ezk 29[3] 32[2]), as the latter is the reading in several MSS. This is properly rendered *dragon* in both AV and RV of the first passage, and in RV of the second, where AV has *whale* in text and *dragon* in marg., the reference being to the *crocodile*, and applied to Pharaoh. 3. תַּנּוֹת *tannôth* (Mal 1[3]), a fem. plural of *tan*, rendered by RV *jackals*, but preferably, for the reason given above (1), *female wolves*. 4. תַּנִּין *tannîn*, pl. תַּנִּינִים *tanninîm*. This word is the exact equivalent of the Arab. *tannîn*, pl. *tanânîn*, which signifies 'a great serpent,' or 'a dragon,' or some mythical sea monster, of which it is said that it was two leagues in length, of a colour like that of a leopard, with scales like those of a fish, two great fins, a head of the size of a hill, but in shape like a man's, two great ears, and two round eyes, and from its neck branched six other necks, every one nearly 20 cubits long, and every one with a head like a serpent. The LXX translates this δράκων, *dragon*, in every case except Gn 1[21], where it is κῆτος, AV *whales*, RV *sea*

---

* There seems to be no doubt of the etymological significance of the word חֲרֵי־יוֹנִים *ḥărî yônîm* (2 K 6[25]). *Ḥărî* means literally *dung*. The Arab. preserves the word exactly, *ḥeri*, with the same signification. It is, however, now regarded as obscene, and constantly so used by low-lived people in the East. What was the substance which was sold at the rate of five pieces of silver the quarter cab, that is, 6s. 4d. the pint? Many efforts have been made to find some *plant* which might have been called by this name. Avicenna says (ii. 141) that the best quality of *ushnân*, a name for several species of *Salsolaceæ*, is called *ḥeri el-'aṣâfîr*, that is, *sparrow's dung*. There are numerous instances of a similar nomenclature. Nevertheless, no one has as yet found a plant that bears the name of *dove's dung*, or which can be identified with the material which was sold so dear; and nothing is gained for science by mere conjecture. It is better to accept the literal interpretation, and conclude that, in the last resort, the dove-cots were drawn upon to satisfy the cravings of starving men. The ordure and urine of almost all kinds of animals and birds, domestic and wild, were administered by the ancients as medicine—among them dove's dung. There are long unsavoury articles in the ancient medical treatises of Avicenna and others on their virtues. They were and are still used as collyria in the treatment of ophthalmia. Houghton cites a statement from a Spanish author, who says that in the year 1316 so great a famine distressed the English that 'men ate their own children, dogs, mice, and *pigeons' dung*.' With this statement compare Rabshakeh's threat (2 K 18[27], Is 36[12]). It is well known that pigeons and other birds often pass seeds unchanged through their alimentary canal. When the Dutch tried to enhance the price of nutmegs in their E. Indian possessions by limiting the growth of the trees, the large wild pigeons of those regions thwarted their purpose by carrying the nutmegs in their crops, and depositing them in their excrement at points far removed from the Dutch possessions. The seeds took root, and produced nutmeg trees. Birds are a recognized factor in the propagation of plants in this manner. The flora of the coral islands is largely indebted to them for species thus introduced. The existence of such undigested seeds would account for the alimentary value (slight though it might be) of dove's dung. Furthermore, doves convey nourishment to their squabs by disgorging some of the partially digested food from their crops. Some of the grains would occasionally be spilled. In addition, the dung contains feathers, scales of epidermis, and other organic débris. When it is remembered that such substances as *tanned leather, glue, ground wood*, and all manner of *tainted garbage* are greedily devoured by starving men, it is not strange, or beyond belief, that dove's dung was eaten in Samaria in the last agony of despair.

monsters. In AV (Job 7^{12}) it is rendered *whale*, and in RV *sea monster*. It is applied to sea monsters under the name *dragons*, in AV and RV (Ps 74^{13} 148^{7}, Is 27^{1}); and to *land serpents*, even of the smaller sort (Ex $7^{9.10.12}$, where it is tr. *serpents* [RVm 'Heb. *tannin*, any large reptile,'] Dt 32^{33}, Ps 91^{13}, where it is tr. in AV *dragon*, and in RV *serpent*). In every case it might have been translated 'dragon' as in LXX (see SERPENT, 2). It is applied metaphorically to Pharaoh (Ps 74^{13}, Is 51^{9}; cf. תַּנִּים (2) above). In the comparison of Nebuchadnezzar with a *dragon* (Jer 51^{34}), we may still imagine the reference to be to a *crocodile*, which may well have existed in the Euphrates at that time.

The word תַּנִּין *tannîn* (La 4^{3}) is either the Aram. form of תַּנִּים *tannîm* or a textual error for it (Siegf.-Stade), or a defective scription for תַּנִּינִים (Löhr). It is rendered in AV *sea monsters*, and in RV *jackals*. The reference is prob. to some fierce desert mammalian. The same objection obtains to the *jackal* as that stated in the case of תַּנִּים *tannîm* (1). The word is preferably rendered *wolves*. It might, as in AV, refer to some cetacean sea monster were it not for the comparison with the ostrich, which would seem to imply that it was a land animal.

In NT the word *dragon* (Rev $12^{3ff.}$) clearly refers to a symbolical, serpent-like monster. Modifications of this ideal have obtained credence in the legends of almost all civilized nations. Dragons of all shapes and sizes have been described and figured, and their lairs are still pointed out in every land. Representations of them are found on coins, in pictures, sculptures, and even on the banners of nations, as on that of China to-day. Dragon worship has prevailed in many lands. The serpent of Gn 3 was transformed ultimately into the 'old serpent called the Devil and Satan' (Rev 20^{2}). Apollo slew the Python. The story of Bel and the Dragon shows how the idea of this monster was lodged in the Hebrew mind. G. E. POST.

DRAGON'S WELL.—See JERUSALEM and WELL.

DRAM.—See MONEY.

DRAUGHT, DRAUGHT HOUSE.—The 'draught' (ἀφεδρών) of Mt 15^{17}, Mk 7^{19} is a privy, as in Burton, *Anat. of Mel.* 165: 'Muck hills, draughts, sinks, where any carcasses or carrion lies.' And the 'd. house' (מַחֲרָאָה) of 2 K 10^{27} is the same (lit. 'place of *ḥărî*,' see p. 620 n.); Cov. 'prevy house.' In earlier writers this and other words in *ugh* are generally spelt with *f* (see Earle, *Philology*, § 153); thus Wyclif's tr. of Ps 40^{3} 'he ledde out me fro the lake of wretchidnesse, and fro the filthe of draft.'

J. HASTINGS.

DRAW.—In mod. usage 'draw' is too mild a word for the action expressed by סָחַב *ṣâḥabh*, in Jer 49^{20} 50^{45} (RV 'draw out'); or by σύρω in Ac 14^{19} 'having stoned Paul, drew him out of the city' (RV 'dragged'), 17^{6} 'they drew Jason and certain men unto the rulers of the city' (RV 'dragged'); Rev 12^{4} 'his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to the earth' (RV 'draweth'): or by ἕλκω in Ac 16^{19} 'they caught Paul and Silas, and drew them into the market-place' (RV 'dragged'); 21^{30} 'they took Paul and drew him out of the temple' (RV 'dragged'). In older Eng. 'draw' had a stronger sense than now; the verb to 'drag,' which sprang from the same Anglo-Saxon *dragan*, having in course of time carried off some of its strength. Cf. Spenser, *F.Q.* II. v. 23—

> 'Tho gan that villein wex so fiers and strong,
> That nothing might sustaine his furious forse;
> He cast him downe to ground, and all along
> Drew him through durt and myre without remorse,
> And fowly battered his comely corse.'

J. HASTINGS.

DRAWER OF WATER (שֹׁאֵב מַיִם).—According to Jos $9^{21.23.27}$ the humiliating drudgery of bringing water for the service of the sanctuary, coupled with the task of providing wood, was the price paid by the Gibeonites for being allowed to live (cf. Dt 29^{11} and Driver's note there). The business of carrying water to the different houses in a town or village is one of the humblest and most poorly paid in Oriental life. It requires little skill or capital. The water is carried in a goat-skin, slung on the back; or two skins are loaded, one on each side of a small donkey, usually driven along by an infirm old man. His clothes are splashed and soiled; the fountain is often some distance away, and on account of the number of women impatiently waiting to fill each one her jar in turn, he has often to bring some of the water at night or very early in the morning. He is engaged continually in what the Samaritan woman found irksome even as an occasional duty (Jn 4^{15}).

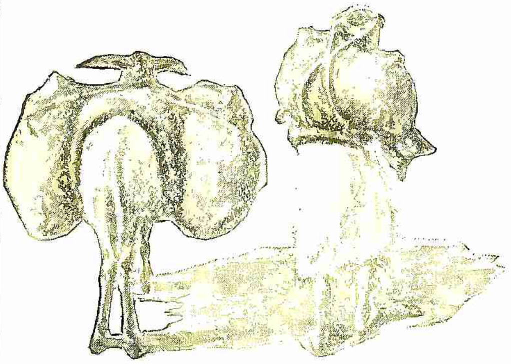

CARRIER AND WINE-SKIN.

G. M. MACKIE.

DREAD, DREADFUL.—1. These words have gained in intensity during their history. Bp. Fisher says: 'I well perceived it in myself, but all too late, I dread me'; and it once was possible to say 'without dread' for 'without doubt,' as in Chaucer (?) *Rom. of Rose*, B. 2199—

> 'For certeynly, withouten drede,
> A cherle is deemed by his dede.'

By 1611 the word had gained somewhat of its present strength, so that 'fear' is used in AV where 'dread' was used by Wyclif, as Mt 2^{22} 'he hirde that Archilaus regnede in Judee for Eroude, his fadir, and dredde to go thidir'; 14^{5} 21^{46} 'thei dredden the puple'; Lk 2^{9} 'thei dredden with great drede' (AV 'they were sore afraid'). But even in AV dread is used with scarce more intensity than modern 'fear,' as 1 Ch 22^{13} 'dread not, nor be dismayed' (אַל־תִּירָא, RV 'fear not'). 2. But the change is not in intensity only; there is also a change in quality. We may still say that we *fear* God, but we must not say that we *dread* Him, or that He is our dread, as in Is 8^{13} 'let him be your fear, and let him be your dread' (הוּא מוֹרַאֲכֶם וְהוּא מַעֲרִיצְכֶם), for 'dread' has lost the sense of 'awe' or 'reverential fear' it once possessed, and signifies that which shocks or terrifies. Jacob's exclamation, Gn 28^{17} 'how dreadful is this place,' conveys a wrong impression to our ears; 'awful' would be a nearer word now. So in Dn 9^{4} 'the great and dreadful God.' Dreadful in AV is simply that which may be feared, as Wis 10^{16} 'd. kings' (φοβερός, RV 'terrible'); 17^{6} 'a fire kindled by itself, very d.' (αὐτομάτη πυρὰ φόβου πλήρης, RV 'full of fear'). Cf. *Act. Henry VIII.* (1543) 'by lawes dredful and penall, to take awaye, purg, and clense this his highnes realme.' J. HASTINGS.

DREAMS are regarded by men in the lowest stage of culture as objective realities, and all dreams are to them equally true: in the case of every dream the savage believes that he really visits the places he dreams of, or is visited by the persons of whom he dreams. Hence those savages whose gods are, for instance, animal-totems, believe that when they dream of the animal they have been visited by the god: thus the young Red Indian adopts as his manitou the animal of which he dreams during his puberty-fast. A person who is visited by frequent dreams is regarded as a chosen medium between men and gods: the Zulus term a person thus chosen 'a house of dreams.' For the purpose of obtaining supernatural communications of this kind, dreams are induced by artificial means, *e.g.* by fasting or the use of drugs. Then dreams come to be considered less as objective experiences than as visions, warnings, revelations of the future sent by the gods. Such revelations may be sought, *e.g.* as by those who visited and slept in the cave of Trophonius for the express purpose of obtaining supernatural communications, or they may come unsought, as, *e.g.*, the dream sent by Zeus to Agamemnon in the *Iliad* (ii. 1-34), or that of Xerxes described by Herodotus (vii. 12). To Homer and Herodotus it seems quite natural that the gods should, to accomplish their larger ends, send dreams to the individual which are intended to deceive him, and the dreams of Agamemnon and Xerxes are deceptive dreams of this kind. But to the deeper spiritual insight of Plato it appears a manifest impossibility, a violation, so to speak, of the laws of religious thought, that a god should deceive men in any way (*Rep.* 382 E), whether by waking visions or by dreams in the night; while at the same time he does not deny that dreams may come from the gods, and elsewhere (*Tim.* cc. 46 and 47) he assigns a prophetic character to some dreams. But side by side with this, the religious view of dreams, there existed and exists the superstitious view: the religious view discriminates between dreams (which are sub-conscious states) just as it discriminates between our waking states of full consciousness, and marks off some of them as moments in which the spirit of man is in direct communication with his god; the superstitious view, however, makes no such discrimination, it regards all dreams as omens, none as having a religious import. Its object is not to know the will of God, but to forecast the future; and its method of doing so is neither religious nor scientific;—not religious, for it makes no attempt humbly to approach the throne of heavenly grace; and not scientific, because for the patient study of the laws by which God rules the universe it substitutes a system of jumping at conclusions. It applies to dreams the same mode of interpretation as to other omens: it blindly assumes that things casually connected in thought are causally connected in fact, and draws its erroneous conclusions accordingly. These illogical processes frequently become developed into regular codes of interpretation (as, for instance, among the Arabs, the Persians, and in the *Oneirocritica* of Artemidorus) by means of which anyone can interpret his own dreams, and thus the uneducated classes in a civilized people relapse into a stage of thought as low as that of the savage.

Assuming it, for the moment, to be true that the state of partial consciousness which we call dreaming may, in exceptional cases, be chosen as the moment for divine communications to man, we see from the above sketch that the human race generally has reached the truth only after, and in consequence of, making many mistakes, just as Kepler invented and rejected fourteen theories to account for the apparent position of Mars before he hit upon the right one, and just as the path of every science is strewed with the ruins of abandoned hypotheses. The question then arises whether the Jews also struggled through error into truth. In the first place, dreams are recorded both in NT (Mt 1^{20} $2^{13.20}$) and in OT (Dn 2^{28}) which are expressly said to be communications from God; though it is only in OT, and there only in Gn (28^{12}, Jacob's ladder), that God is said to appear Himself. In the next place there are dreams recorded (*e.g.* those of the chief butler and baker and of Pharaoh, Gn 40 and 41) which, though prophetic, are not expressly said to come from God; indeed, from Gn 40^{8} it appears that in the case of such dreams it is rather the 'interpretations' that 'belong to God.' Third, all the dreams actually mentioned in the Bible are dreams which came unsought, but the words of Saul (1 S 28^{15} 'God is departed from me and answereth me no more, neither by prophets nor by dreams') seem to indicate the existence of the practice (whether approved or disapproved of by the higher religious consciousness of the community) of deliberately seeking supernatural dreams, as they were sought in the cave of Trophonius. Fourth, it would appear from Jer 27^{9} that there was amongst the Israelites a tendency, which the prophets opposed, to regard the mere dreaming of dreams as itself an indication that the dreamer was a chosen medium of divine communications, as the Zulus regard a 'house of dreams' as a chosen medium also. On the other hand, we do not find in the Bible any traces of the superstitious interpretation of dreams such as was known to the Arabs; on the contrary, Joseph declares (Gn 40^{8}) with emphasis that 'interpretations belong to God'; and we do not find that dreams, when sought, were induced by artificial means. Thus, to sum up, on the one hand the Scriptures start from a spiritual height to which the religious consciousness of the heathen world attained only after a long course of evolution, and then only in the case of an isolated genius like Plato; on the other hand, there are indications that the Israelites passed through several of the same stages of error as the rest of mankind.

Thus far we have said nothing of the psychological and physiological laws of dreams. The connexion between bodily states and dreams is recognized in practice if not in theory by the savage who induces dreams by fasting or the use of drugs. Civilized man, even in the prescientific period, further recognizes that the experiences of the day furnish most of the material for our fancies of the night: dreams, says Lily, 'come either by things we see in the day or meates that we eat'; Herodotus makes Artabanus explain Xerxes' dream as due to his anxiety about his projected invasion of Greece; and the dream of Pharaoh may similarly have been due to the anxiety which a 'low Nile' must cause in any one responsible for the government of Egypt. Hippocrates discovered that certain diseases announce their approach by disturbing dreams, and modern medical science confirms the discovery. Without going further into the physiological theory of dreams, we may note that the ordinary concomitant of dreaming is probably an excessive or a deficient supply of blood to the brain. Now, the recognition of the fact that dreaming has its laws, combined with the belief that some dreams are supernatural communications, sometimes leads to the statement that some dreams are sent by God, some (most) not; and this statement conveys a truth in a form open to serious misapprehension. It may be taken to imply two things, both false, viz. (1) that dreams which happen according to natural laws are not part of God's will and design; (2) that dreams which are divine are irreconcilable with the laws by which He governs the universe. A less misleading way of stating the facts would seem to be to say that His laws act in such a way that we find ourselves at some times in closer communion with Him than at others. All our states of consciousness (whether of complete or of partial consciousness) have their psychological laws and also their physical counterparts in the chemical processes of the brain and nervous tissue; the mental processes which issued in the production of the *Iliad* or *Hamlet* were all in accordance with psychological laws, and all had their physiological counterparts. So, too, every process of reasoning has its psychological and physiological laws, but we do not consider that this fact impedes us in any way from distinguishing good reasoning from bad, or that it prevents us from recognizing the truth when it is presented to us, or that any study of either of those sciences will enable us to dispense with logic or supply us with a better means of distinguishing, say, between a correct syllogistic inference and an illicit process of the minor than logic already affords us. So, too, the fact that our states of partial consciousness are all under law—physiological and psychological—does not constitute any impediment to our distinguishing those states which do from those states which do not possess the characteristics of divine revelations; nor can it impeach the validity of the distinction thus drawn by the religious consciousness of mankind, Christian, Jew, and Gentile, any more than it can impeach the validity drawn by logic between correct and incorrect inferences. The question is one of fact. Do sub-conscious states, possessing the characteristics in question, occur? And to recognize those characteristics is the prerogative of the religious consciousness. If it be said that in the waking state such recognition is possible, but not in a state of partial consciousness, we must inquire on what grounds the statement is made. If on the ground that our sub-conscious states are under physiological laws, then our reply is that so also are states of complete consciousness. If on the ground that in a state of partial consciousness the very faculty whose function is recognition of the kind in question may be dormant, to this our reply is that in the vast number of cases it undoubtedly is dormant; but just as Condorcet, in an exceptional abnormal condition, could, in sub-conscious sleep, work out a mathematical problem which awake he could not solve, and just as Coleridge could compose in sleep the poem of *Kubla Khan*, so in abnormal cases the power of spiritual perception, relieved from the pressure of external sensations, may conceivably be heightened to a pitch of exaltation as far above its ordinary degree of activity and receptivity as the imagination of Coleridge or the mathematical reason of Condorcet was in the cases alluded to. 'The fact that all or most men suppose some significance in dreams constitutes a ground for believing that the supposition is based on experience' (Aristotle, *Div. per Somn.* i.).

LITERATURE.—Carpenter, *Mental Physiology*; Clodd, *Myths and Dreams*; Ladd, *Doctrine of Sacred Scripture* (1883), ii. 429-436; Reynolds (J. W.), *Natural History of Immortality* (1891), 124-139; Driver on Dt. 13^2.

F. B. JEVONS.

DRESS.—To 'dress' (fr. Lat. *directus*, through old Fr. *dresser*) is in meaning as in deriv. the same as 'direct.' Thus Wyclif translates Ps 5^8 'dresse thou my weie in thi sight,' 40^2 'he dresside my goyngis'; Lk 1^{79} 'to dresse oure feet in to the weie of pees.' (Cf. the use still of 'dress' as a military technical term.) In AV the word is used in the general sense of 'put right,' much as we now use 'do.' Indeed the Heb. most freq. translated 'dress' is the ordinary verb 'to do' (עָשָׂה *'âsâh*), Gn $18^{7.8}$ a calf for food; Lv 7^9 meat-offering, 'dressed in the frying-pan,' 1 S 25^{18} sheep for food, 2 S $12^{4\,bis}$ a lamb for food, $13^{5.7}$ meat, 19^{24} the feet=wash, 1 K 17^{12} a cake, $18^{23.25.26}$ a bullock for sacrifice. The other words are עָבַד *'âbhadh*, to 'work,' Gn 2^{15} the garden of Eden (in 2^5 tr. 'till'), Dt 28^{39} vineyards; cf. Lk 13^7 ἀμπελουργός, AV 'dresser of his vineyard,' RV 'vinedresser'; γεώργιον ξύλου, Sir 27^6, AV 'if the tree have been dressed,' RV 'the husbandry,' as in 1 Co 3^9; γεωργέω He 6^7, AV 'dress,' RV 'till'; הֵיטִיב *hêṭîbh*, 'prepare' (lit. 'do good to'), Ex 30^7 lamps. Cf. Tindale, *Works*, p. 453: 'The lampe must be dressed and snuffed dayly.' RV gives 'dresser' for AV 'gatherer' Am 7^{14} (בּוֹלֵס, see Driver's note).

J. HASTINGS.

DRESS.—The study of Oriental dress serves to explain particular allusions to clothing in the Bible; it imparts a fresh interest to the narrative by presenting to the eye a picture of those written about; and through a knowledge of the various articles of costume and of Oriental usage and sentiment connected with them, it enables us to follow the sacred writers into the figurative meanings they sought to convey when common facts about the outward garments were applied to the clothing of the inner man. Special attention is rendered necessary by the fact that while the general character of Oriental dress is recognized by all, it is often difficult to pronounce upon particular articles as to origin, material, and usage. In this respect the subject resembles that of Pal. architecture, inasmuch as an ancient wall may have stones of Phœnician, Jewish, Greek, Roman, Saracenic, and Crusading styles, and yet the experienced archæologist may have much difficulty in naming the builder and assigning the date of actual construction. So with regard to dress, amid certain features that were characteristic of Israel, the separated people copied largely from the customs of Canaan, Egypt, Babylon, Greece, and Rome. The chief points of inquiry are those that deal with 1. Materials of Dress; 2. Articles of Dress; 3. Oriental Custom and thought about Dress.

I. MATERIALS OF DRESS.—These were (1) wool and hair; (2) linen and cotton; (3) silk. 1. Wool (צֶמֶר), Hair (שֵׂעָר). One of the earliest forms of clothing in the East would be that of a sheepskin worn as a vest or jacket, or in the larger form of a cloak made of several sewn together, with the wool left on. These are still in use with the wool either inside or outside. The next stage was the removal of the wool and the art of weaving (which see). Sheep-shearing is mentioned in Gn 31^{19} 38^{12}, 1 S $25^{2ff.}$, 2 S $13^{23ff.}$ etc. The hair of the goat has also been used from time immemorial, especially for material that had to bear much exposure and strain. The shepherds' tents are made of it, also bags for holding grain and flour. Hence it is called sackcloth (שַׂק). The hair of the camel was also manufactured into cloth, rougher than that made from wool, but softer than sackcloth. At present it is largely employed for cloaks and rugs, and naturally for camel-harness. The term אַדֶּרֶת (1 K $19^{13.19}$, 2 K 2^{13}, Jos $7^{21.24}$, Jon 3^6) may either indicate that the cloak was originally taken from a skin, or may be simply descriptive of its size. The combination אַדֶּרֶת שֵׂעָר occurs Gn 25^{25}, Zec 13^4.

2. Cotton, Linen, שֵׁשׁ (Arab. *shash*), פִּשְׁתִּים; בַּד, בּוּץ (Arab. *bazz*), βύσσος; כְּתֹנֶת (Arab. *kitan*), ὀθόνιον, λίνεος. The warmth of the Oriental climate and the advance of civilization bringing more of indoor-life and social gradation, tended to create a widespread demand for this manufacture. Egypt and Syria sent their merchandise of linen and broidered goods to Tyre, Ezk $27^{7.16}$. The Indian source of supply is preserved in the Arab. name *Shesh-Hindi* (Indian cambric). The word *karpas* (of Persian origin) should also be translated 'cotton' in Est 1^6. See COTTON. Cotton and linen were not carefully distinguished. At the present day the Indian

cotton cloth with stamped bright patterns, used for hangings and dados, is very like the linen of the Egyptian mummy-cloths. For the Israelites it was enough to know that those stuffs were both of vegetable fibre, and not of wool. The mixture of wool and linen was called שַׁעַטְנֵז (Dt 22^{11}, Lv 19^{19} only), a word of uncertain (perhaps Egyptian) origin (see Driver, *ad loc.*). Garments made of it were forbidden to the Israelites.

3. Silk. מֶשִׁי* Ezk 16$^{10.13}$, *σηρικόν*, Rev 18^{12} (from Σῆρες, the name of an Indian people from whom, acc. to Strabo [516, 701], the ancients got the first silk). A common name for silk in Arabic is *ḥarîr*, a word whose derivation is most uncertain (see Fränkel, *Aram. Fremdwörter*, 39. In Pr 31^{22} AV incorrectly gives 'silk' as tr^{n} of שֵׁשׁ (RV correctly 'fine linen').

II. ARTICLES OF DRESS.—1. *Shirt, Sheet, Linen Garment* (סָדִין *ṣādîn*, *σινδών*, Jg 14$^{12.13}$, Pr 31^{24}, Is 3^{23}, 1 Mac 10^{14}, Mk 14^{51}). This was worn next to the body, and was nearest in purpose to the first coverings mentioned in Gn 3$^{7.21}$. When it appears as the only garment, it is a cotton or linen wrapper of various sizes. Once representing all, it continued to give something of its character to all the other articles of Oriental dress. It would be the waist-cloth of the Israelites in the brick-fields of Egypt as shown in the monuments, a towel, white or coloured, wrapped tightly round the loins or reaching down towards the knees. Of similar material and shape, though somewhat larger, it was worn in Palestine by boatmen, fishermen, wood-sawyers, and drawers of water. It was also found as a simple large sheet thrown round the body (Mk 14^{51}), with an end flung over the shoulder, with or without a girdle.

When worn with other garments it took the form of a night shirt, of white cotton or linen, or coarse silk, reaching below the knees. It was made by taking a long piece of the material and folding it into two equal lengths, with the sides sewn up, and holes at the top corners for the arms, or with sleeves inserted. At the present day it is usually sold without any opening for the head. This is the proof that it is new, and allows the purchaser to please himself as to whether the opening is to be small or large, plain or ornamental. It is the same for men and women, the latter requiring a larger opening for convenience in nursing. Anyone wearing only the shirt is called naked (Jn 21^{7}). It is undress.

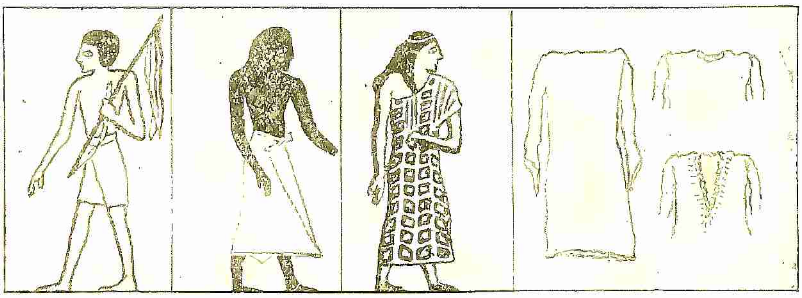

EGYPTIAN LOIN-CLOTH AND SYRIAN SHIRT.

2. *Coat* (כְּתֹנֶת *kĕthôneth*, *χιτών*, *tunica*). The shirt passed by easy transition to the tunic-coat or second garment. It completed the indoor costume for family life, the shop, and familiar outdoor surroundings. It was not needed in the simple privacy of pastoral or Bedawi life, and its presence marked the change to the life of the village and town under conditions of trade and agriculture. The alterations consisted in having the entire front cut open, long sleeves attached, and the shape more adapted to the figure. The two fronts were drawn tightly round the body overlapping each other, and the waist was firmly bound with a belt or sash. It thus resembled a cassock or dressing-gown. From the fact of its covering and supplementing the shirt, and being like it in form, it was obviously meant to be superior to it in material and appearance. It was most frequently made of striped and bright-coloured cotton or linen, and sometimes of woollen cloth. The overlapping front confined by the girdle formed a recess for carrying any small parcel, such as bread for the journey. A slit was made on each side of the skirt, about a foot long, so as to allow greater freedom in walking. See COAT.

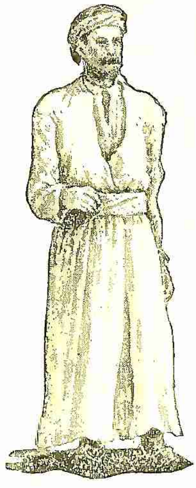

COAT (*Kĕthôneth*).

3. *Cloak* (מְעִיל *mĕ-'îl*, שִׂמְלָה *simlâh*, בֶּגֶד *beged*, *ἱμάτιον*; Arab. *jubbeh*, *meshlaḥ*, *abâa'*).—The outermost garment was distinguished by its greater size, and the absence of the girdle. There was much variety in shape, quality, and material caused by the social position of the wearer and the style of Babylonia, Egypt, or Syria, which it most resembled. It was called מַד, *ποδήρης*, from its length; לְבוּשׁ, כְּסוּת, שִׁית, *ἐπενδύτης*, *περιβόλαιον*, from its enveloping fulness. Hence it represents clothing generally, and is translated 'apparel,' 'raiment,' 'vesture,' 'attire,' etc. To it especially refer the expressions 'changes of raiment,' 'suits of apparel.' Two varieties may be distinguished. (*a*) מְעִיל, *στολή*. This was a long loose robe with very wide sleeves worn over the belted coat and shirt. It was a dress

---

* 'Silk' is accepted by Siegfried-Stade as the meaning of מֶשִׁי, but A. B. Davidson (*Comm. ad loc.*) doubts if silk was worn as early as the time of Ezekiel. 'The LXX (*τρίχαπτος*) and ancients thought of some very thin and delicate material. The kind of garment was probably some large wrapper or veil covering the whole person.'

that expressed dignity, culture, and distinction, and was expressly the mark of the priestly, educated, wealthy, and official classes. It resembled (2) in length, and was as much superior to it as it was to the shirt. While a public dress, it was of lighter and more ornamental material than the square *simlâh*, which was pre-eminently the outdoor cloak. It was the characteristic robe of the professions (1 Ch 15[27], 1 S 2[19] 15[27]), the mark of high rank and station (1 S 18[4] 24[5]), the מַחֲלָצָה *maḥălâẓâh*, suit of exchange of the Hebrews (Is 3[22], Zec 3[4]), the *thaub* or *badăleh* of the Arabs. In Egypt it is sometimes worn as a long black surplice, but usually it is open and unconfined. Such was the robe of the Ephod with its fringes and bells swaying with the motion of the figure. The Jewish *tallith* and the Arabic *burnous* resemble it in ornamental lightness, but the stripes of the one and the form of the other point rather to the *simlâh*. It was worn by Saul (1 S 24[4]), was given by Jonathan to David (1 S 18[4]), was the long robe of the Pharisees (Lk 20[46]), and of those 'arrayed in white robes' (Rev 7[13]). It was always emblematic of social intercourse and high rank. It was the *full dress* of ancient times. At present in Syria it is almost confined to the Oriental clergy, and to Moslems of the official and merchant classes, the latter often having it faced and partly lined with soft fur. Joseph's coat (כְּתֹנֶת פַּסִּים) was most likely an open long *mĕ-'îl*. It was an unusual article of pastoral or Bedawi dress, which generally comprises the shirt with belt, and the square cloak or *simlâh* of wool or haircloth, with frequently a sheepskin vest between. Such a special garment worn by Joseph would be a mark of favour and an occasion of jealous comparison. The coat (RV 'robe'), 1 S 2[19], annually brought to Samuel would also be of this sort.

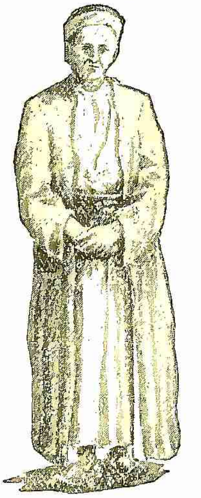
CLOAK OR ROBE (*Mĕ-'îl*, στολή).

(*b*) שִׂמְלָה *simlâh*, ἱμάτιον. This was the largest and heaviest article of Oriental dress, being the dress of travel, of the shepherd, worn for protection against cold and rain, and used as a covering during sleep (Ex 22[26]). It consisted of a piece of cloth about 7 ft. from right to left, and 4½ from top to bottom. A width of 1½ ft. was folded in at each side, and sewn along the top, with a slit at each top-corner through which the hand and wrist could pass. The garment thus losing about 1½ ft. on each side became a square. Usually, two pieces, each 7 ft. long and 2 ft. wide, were sewn together to make the block material, and the over-edged joining is seen running across the back. The finest kind, however, is made of one entire piece. Such, most likely, was Christ's 'garment without seam' (Jn 19[23]). The 'hairy garment' (אַדֶּרֶת), Gn 25[25], may have been a camel-hair *simlâh*. The Arabs call their black tents *houses of hair*, and the term usually distinguishes cloth of camel or goat hair from that made of sheep's wool. Cloaks of camel hair are common at the present day, those made in the neighbourhood of ancient Cilicia having a rough surface like that of Scotch shooting tweed, but much firmer and heavier in the make. They are often of a coppery-brown colour, and the comparison in Gn 25[25] would be easily suggested. They are also made of wool and of goats' hair. Ornamentation of coloured silk or red wool is frequently sewn upon the neck, front, and back. The general surface is often further relieved by its being woven in broad stripes of darker and lighter, or black and white colours. In the ordinary *simlâh* of the Syrian shepherd and farmer this is the most characteristic feature. Elijah's mantle and John the Baptist's raiment were of the square cloak pattern. The Bab. garment in Jericho was an ornamental one, possibly of crimson colour, like those described in Ezk 23[15]. The large outer garments of shepherds on the hills and inward plains is often made of sheep skins with the fleece left on; but as frequently this is a vest, and the ordinary cloak is worn over it. See CLOKE.

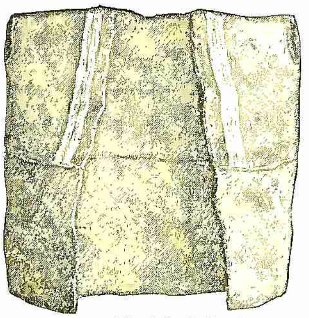
CLOAK (*Simlâh*, ἱμάτιον).

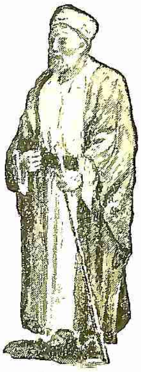
SIMLÂH AS WORN.

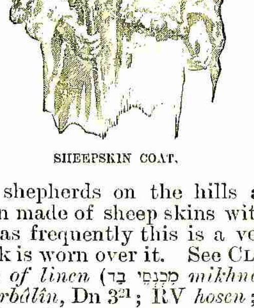
SHEEPSKIN COAT.

4. *Breeches of linen* (מִכְנְסֵי בַד *mikhnĕsê bad*, Ex 28[42]; סַרְבָּלִין *ṣarbâlîn*, Dn 3[21]; RV *hosen*; Ges. *Thes.* 'vel feminalia vel pallia'). The first word indicates that which is drawn together, that is, by the waist-cord passing inside the hem of the gathers. The second means most likely the Persian divided skirt or loose trousers, Arab. *sirwâl*, as the principal article of the common dress when such trousers are worn. In modern Arab. it is called

libâs='clothing,' for the same reason. It was evidently a modification of the long shirt or tunic-coat, dividing it into two parts at the belt, the upper part being a short Zouave jacket, often highly ornamented, and the lower part being the *ṣarbâlîn*, 'hosen.' A long piece of cloth was made into a wide open bag by sewing up the bottom, except a hole at each corner for the feet to pass through. The upper edge was hemmed, and drawn together by a cord or sash within the hem. A mass of plaited cloth thus hung down between the knees, and even trailed between the feet, as a sign of leisure and luxury. During active exercise, such as hoeing, walking, running, these folds were tucked up under the belt in front or behind or at the sides. This was to have the loins girt.

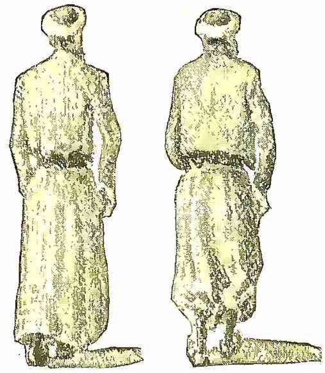

TRANSITION FROM 'KĔTHÔNETH' TO 'SARBÂLÎN.'

5. *Girdle*. **1.** חֲגוֹר 1 S 18⁴. **2.** אַבְנֵט *'abnêṭ*, only of high priest or a high official, Ex 28⁴, Is 22²¹, prob. a sash wound round the waist several times and falling to the feet; cf. Stade, *ThL* (1894), p. 236; Jos. *Ant.* III. vii. 2. **3.** אֵזוֹר 'waistband,' see W. R. Smith as quoted in *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*, also *Expos. Times*, iii. (1893), 243, 256. The girdle was worn over (1) and (2), and was sometimes a cord, often a leather belt as now worn by Eastern monks. For the purse arrangement in it, see BAG. The girdle braced the hip-joints for prolonged exertion, and under it the hanging skirts were drawn up. It served to hold the ink-horn of the scribe, with its box of *atramentum* or black fluid, soaked up into sponge or pith, and its case for holding reed pens. The sash was *the order of the garter* in Oriental costume, the ends being richly ornamented with needlework in silk and gold (see EMBROIDERY). The military girdle (2 S 20⁸) was a baldrick, often set with gems. The girdle was not used to bind up the loose outer garment for purposes of activity, although the Bedawin occasionally apply it to this purpose. The *simlâh*, cloak, was then rather folded over the arm, or thrown over the shoulder, or laid aside, as at the stoning of Stephen. But when a large bundle had to be carried a considerable distance, the cloak was drawn up somewhat, and the belt fastened tightly around it over the waist, thus forming a large pouch or sack behind. This was prob. the way in which the Israelites carried their kneading-troughs (Ex 12³⁴).

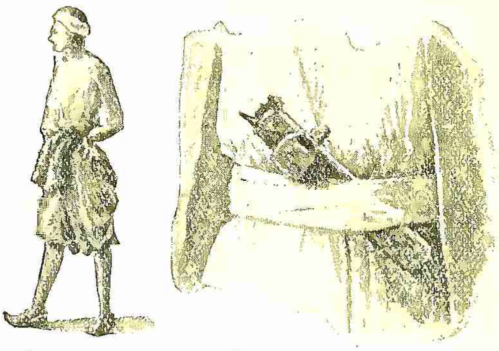

1. LOINS GIRT. 2. GIRDLE WITH INKHORN.

6. *Head-dress*; AV Bonnet, RV Head-tire (מִגְבָּעָה *migbâ'âh* (see BONNET); פְּאֵר *pĕ'êr*, Is 3²⁰; צָנִיף *ẓânîph*, Is 3²³). The head-dress of the Israelites in early pastoral times would be the same as that which is worn by their successors the Bedawin. It is a piece of cotton or linen, white, blue, or black, or of brightly coloured silk, about a yard square, folded diagonally, and laid on the head so as to screen the eyes, protect the cheek-bones and the back of the neck. It is held in its place by a cord (פְּתִיל Gn 38¹⁸) of soft elastic wool, usually dark brown or black, or of twisted cotton whipped with threads of silk and gold, coiled in several rings tightly round the head, making a covering at once picturesque, comfortable, and protective. The rich colours of the Bab. head-dress are described as 'dyed attire,' טְבוּלִים (Ezk 23¹⁵). The article is now called *kufiyeh* (from the town of Kufah). Afterwards a skull-cap came to be worn, with a napkin usually white, or white with gold thread, folded into a long band and wound round it. In 1 K 20³⁸. ⁴¹ the *head-band* is drawn over the face to conceal the features, after the manner of Bedawin robbers. The פַּטִּישׁ of Dn 3²¹ (RV tunics, RVm turbans, see Bevan, *ad loc.*) may have been the Persian *fez*, named from the mould in which the felt was pressed. In the case of the royal crown the cord

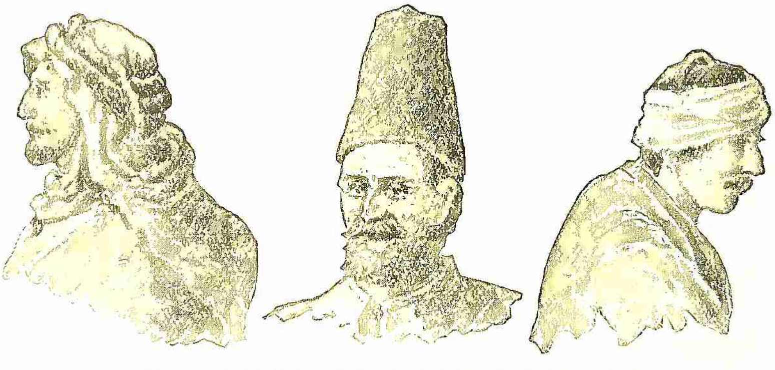

MALE HEAD-DRESS (1. PASTORAL. 2. PERSIAN. 3. SYRIAN PEASANT).

of the original head-dress was represented by the gold circlet, and the scarf by the cap of cloth and the coronation veil. For military head-dress see HELMET.

7. *Border, Hem, Skirt* (כָּנָף *kânâph*, 1 S 24⁴; שׁוּל *shûl*, Ex 39⁴; κράσπεδον, Mt 9²⁰). The outer garment had four cords with tassels (צִיצִת *ẓîẓîth*, Nu 15³⁸, גְּדִלִים Dt 22¹², see Driver's note) at the corners. To make the border and fringes large and conspicuous was part of the Pharisaic form (Mt 23⁵). The corner fringes are seen on the large *ṭallith* of synagogue worship, and on the small one of white cotton worn like an unseen ephod next to the shirt. In the large *ṭallith*, about 2 yds. sq., of white cotton or wool with black border or stripes, a sq. inch of coloured silk is sown on each corner inside, and through a hole made precisely in the middle of the patch, so as to make the opening a mathematical corner, there is passed a cord composed of eight threads and five knots. This, with the numerical value of צִיצִת, 600, makes up 613, the rabbinical number of commandments in the Law. During worship the tassel is taken in the hand and raised to the lips, and the symbol of devotion used by an unchanged heart becomes a substitute for obedience. It is the letter that killeth.

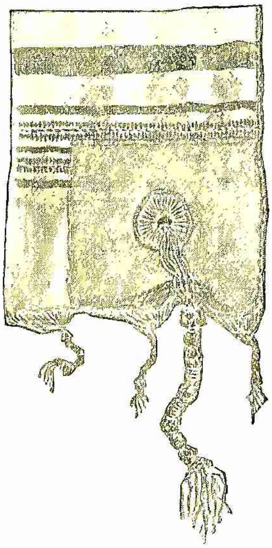
FRINGES.

8. *Napkin* (σουδάριον, Lk 19²⁰, Jn 20⁷, Ac 19¹²). In a climate like that of Palestine the need of a napkin was occasioned not by cold so much as by dust and heat, as its name implies. At the present day it is used to wipe the face and the back of the hands, and is often partly folded in around the neck to protect the collar of the coat from perspiration and to give coolness. The same name is given by the Arabs to the small cotton cap which they wear under the woollen fez, and call an *arḳîyeh* (sweat-cloth).

9. *Sandals* (נְעָלַיִם, נְעָלִים, נַעֲלוֹת, σανδάλια, Mk 6⁹, Ac 12⁸). The primitive shoe or sandal was a flat sole of leather, wood, or matted grass with loops attached, through which the shoe-latchet, a leather thong, passed and strapped in the foot. The Arab. *na'al* means the sole of the shoe, as being the principal part, thus pointing to the sandal origin. Even with the shoes or slippers of red, black, and yellow leather in common usage, the ancient habits survive, as the natives like to bend down the leather behind the heel, and make it more like a sandal. The wooden sandal in very common use has a strap nailed on to hold the foot across the toes, showing the beginning of the upper. Those worn by brides at the marriage feast are made 7 or 8 inches high to give the dignity of the cothurnus. Sandals are removed when entering a house or church, or any place where prayer is offered. The shoe being associated with outside defilement, and being the lowest article of dress, is used as an epithet of contempt and vituperation, and as an implement of beating. Socks are seldom worn, and in walking the shoe is often removed, or the foot with the shoe on is held up to shake out the dust.

10. *Female Dress.* This so far resembled male attire as to make interchange possible and prohibited, Dt 22⁵. There was the *ṣâdîn* or shirt-dress, Is 3²³; over it a *kĕthôneth* or tunic-robe, Ca 5³, bound with a girdle, Is 3²⁴. Over this, ladies of nobility wore an ungirded *mĕ'îl* or robe after the pattern of Joseph's 'coat,' 2 S 13¹⁸. Social life made it possible also for women to have festival robes (AV 'changeable suits of apparel,' Is 3²²). There is mention of *turbans*, ornamental bands of silk, or embroidered linen, Is 3²³, probably rather deeper than those commonly worn by men. Another ornamental head-dress is described by the term used for the priestly head-dress, פְּאֵר. These must have been very elaborate, judging from those of the Egyptian monuments, and the tardiness with which the metal head-bowl and horn (Arab. *tantur*) were given up by the women of Syria in modern times. The horn was worn erect, day and night, the veil of a widow being black, others white.

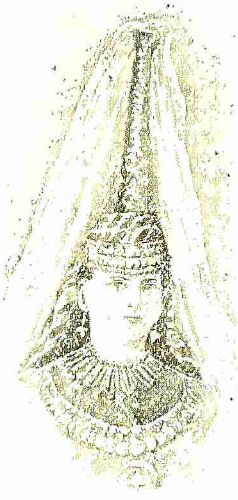
ELEVATED HORN.

The chief articles of specially fem. attire were the veils and mantles. There were *mufflers* (רְעָלוֹת), Is 3¹⁹, thin face-veils like gauze-muslin and nun's-veiling, the former brightly coloured with floral designs, used for the face and breast (Arab. *barḳa'a, mandil*).

It is impossible to say precisely what sort of mantle-robe the מַעֲטָפָה *mantle*, Is 3²², may have been. The מִטְפָּחוֹת *shawls* (AV *wimples*), Is 3²², were large veils of white lace, or tough muslin (white or indigo at present), worn over the head and falling down the back. Those worn by Bedawi and peasant women are often used for carrying grass, vegetables, or various parcels, Ru 3¹⁵.

The *veils* (רְדִידִים Is 3²³) were the largest enveloping veils, now called by the Arabs *izars*, made of white cotton, black twilled silk, or rich silk stuffs of the brightest colours and of highly ornamental patterns. This veil is one of the most familiar objects in the streets of Eastern towns. About the *caul* (RVm 'networks,' שְׁבִיסִים Is 3[18]) there is no certainty; possibly it was a light netted veil covering the hair and falling over the shoulders, set with tiny discs of silver and gold and other pendants, something like what is still worn. So with regard to *stomacher* (פְּתִיגִיל), Is 3[24]; as the antithesis suggests some sort of girdle, highly or even fantastically ornamental in contrast with sackcloth, it may have been the loose apron-sash with dangling ribbons and attachments worn by dancing girls.

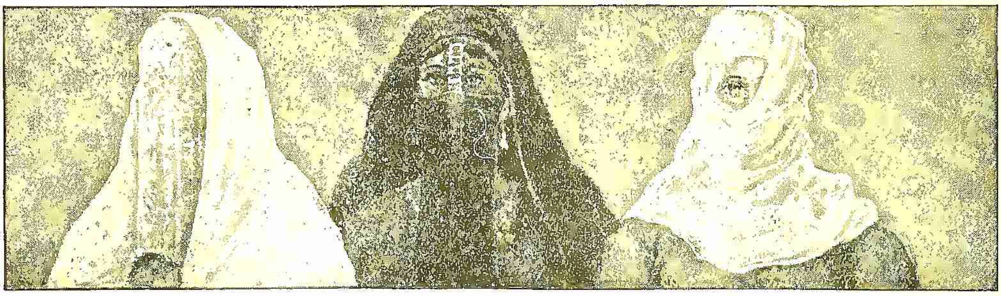

FACE VEILS (1. SYRIAN MOSLEM. 2. EGYPTIAN. 3. LEBANON DRUZE).

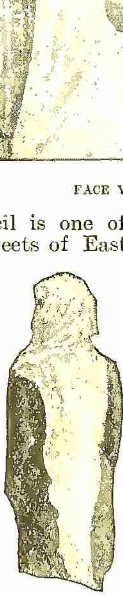

HEAD AND BACK VEIL (*Mitpahath*).

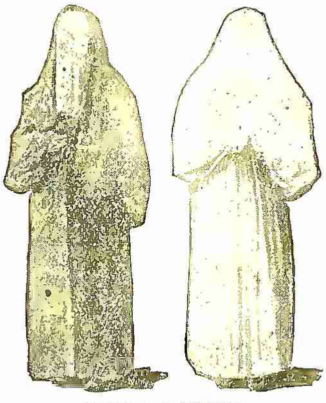

LARGE VEIL (*Rădîd*).

III. Oriental Custom and thought concerning Dress.—Food and clothing are the two great requisites of the natural life, 1 Ti 6[8]. Clothing is the second necessity. Of its three services, *protection*, *decency*, and *ornament*, the warmth of the climate of Palestine causes the first to be less important than it is in colder countries, while the domestic customs make the second very important for women, and the love of respectful attention and dignity makes the third equally so for men. Clothing distinguishes man from the beast. 'To be unclothed' is not merely to suffer cold, but 'to be found naked' (2 Co 5[3]). The phrase 'naked, and ye clothed me' (Mt 25[36]), over and above personal comfort to the individual, means restoration to human society and human dignity. 'Clothed and in his right mind' (Mk 5[15]) were two equal indications that Legion was no longer an outcast. So to have fine apparel was apt to carry the assumption of all inward graces (Ja 2[3]).

Eastern clothing is throughout an adaptation not only to climate but to character. Clothes are flung off and on with the same rapidity as that with which heat changes to cold and sunshine to starlight; so it is with the quickly-varying moods of the people. Oriental clothes appear to the European to be cumbersome and prohibitive of exercise. This to the ordinary Oriental mind carries a subtle recommendation, implying that the wearer does not need to work. A common Arab proverb says, 'There is a blessing in being busy,' but it is usually the spectator that quotes it. The loose and ornamental style of Oriental dress emphasizes the thought that the chief good of life is not in active achievement, but in rest and the privilege of rest. Among the trades a work loses in public respect in proportion as the worker has to take off clothing when engaged in it. All clothing above the undermost easily takes on meanings of office, investiture, and precedence. Brightness and colour are synonymous with happiness and prosperity, and grief of soul is expressed by the darkest object seen in nature, the intense black of goat hair (Rev 6[12]). Orientals always travel in their best clothes; it was scarcely necessary for the Gibeonites to assure Joshua that their raiment had been new when they started, except as indicating the length of their journey. In public worship Orientals are impressed and apparently satisfied by changed vestments and spectacular ritual to a degree that always puzzles the more ethical and introspective mind of the West.

In the Bible there are numberless instances of the employment of facts concerning dress for the expression of spiritual truth. The metaphorical application is carried out in much detail, showing that the subject was at once familiar and of extreme interest. We have such phrases as 'clothed with humility' (1 P 5[5]), 'the garment of salvation, the robe of righteousness' (Is 61[10]), into which is meant to be borne all that Oriental dress means with regard to completeness of covering and dignified grace. The girdle, head-dress, and sandals are especially rich in similitudes of strength, honour, and defilement. Thus with ref. to the *girdle*, there is the significance of its cleaving to the loins (Jer 13[11]); of its being loosened (Is 5[27]); its strengthening value (Is 22[21], 1 P 1[13], Eph 6[14]);

there is the pathos of being compulsorily girded (Jn 21^{18}); and the mystery of invisible support (Is 45^{5}).

LITERATURE.—Keil, Benzinger, and Nowack, *Heb. Arch.*; Schürer, *HJP* (see 'Clothing' in Index); Conder, *Handbook to the Bible*; Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah* ^{4} (1887), i. 621-626; Thomson, *Land and Book*, 3 vols. 1881-1886 (see 'Garments' under 'Manners and Customs' in Index to each vol.); Tristram, *Eastern Customs in Bible Lands* (1894), pp. 155-176; Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization* (1896), p. 718 f.; Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (1866), p. 209 ff. G. M. MACKIE.

DRINK.—See FOOD. **DRINK-OFFERING.**—See SACRIFICE.

DROMEDARY.—Besides the word (בֵּכֶר) rendered dromedary, but which ought to have been tr^{d}. young camel (see CAMEL), there are two words, רֶכֶשׁ *rekesh* (rendered in 1 K 4^{28} *dromedaries*, and in Est $8^{10.\,14}$ *mules*, and in Mic 1^{13} *swift beasts*), and רַמָּךְ *rammâk* (Est 8^{10} AV *young dromedaries*). *Rekesh* (a rare synonym of סוּס) probably denoted a species of horse noted for some choice quality. That this quality was *swiftness* is quite uncertain. *Rammâk* is Pers. *ramah*, 'flock' or 'herd' (see Ges. *Thes.*). In Est 8^{10} בְּנֵי ר׳, lit. 'sons of the herd,' is tr^{d} in RV 'bred of the stud.' To all appearance, then, we must drop the dromedary from the list of Bible animals. G. E. POST.

DROPSY.—See MEDICINE.

DROSS (סִיג, Kethibh סוּג, sing. only in Ezk 22^{18a}, elsewhere always plur. סִיגִים, סְגִים, סָגִים).—For the process whereby dross was separated from the pure metal, see FURNACE, REFINER. The word is several times used in the OT metaphorically for what is base and worthless, *e.g.* Ps 119^{119} (of the wicked), Is $1^{22.\,25}$, Ezk $22^{18.\,19}$ (of degenerate Israel). J. A. SELBIE.

DROUGHT.—See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS, also FAMINE.

DROVE.—This word is the equivalent in AV of two Heb. words. 1. עֵדֶר *'êder* (Gn $32^{16.\,19}$). *'Êder* is elsewhere rendered *flock* (see FLOCK), except in one place (Jl 1^{18}), where it occurs twice in the construct state, עֶדְרֵי־בָקָר, which is tr^{d} '*herds* of *cattle*,' and עֶדְרֵי הַצֹּאן '*flocks* of *sheep*.' 2. מַחֲנֶה *maḥăneh*. This word, although rendered in Gn 33^{8} AV *drove*, is rendered once in the same connexion (32^{7}) *bands*, and twice (32^{8}) *company*. This last, which is the correct tr., is adopted by RV (cf. Gn 50^{9}). See HERD. G. E. POST.

DROWNING.—See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.

DRUNKENNESS.—The spectacle of men beside themselves through alcoholic drink has been familiar from the beginning of history, and all languages have terms in which to describe it. It is a subject that appears in the Bible, as in other ancient writings.

1. *Some of the terms used in the Scriptures in connexion with drunkenness.*—The Heb. has no word that describes this vice, like the Eng. words 'drunken,' 'drunkard,' 'drunkenness,' 'inebriate,' in terms derived from the physical act of drinking. It has two stems in common use ([*shâḳâh*] and *shâthâh*, שָׁקָה and שָׁתָה) referring to the act of drinking; and each denotes indifferently the drinking of water or wine or other liquids, drinking by men or by animals or by the ground. From one of these stems comes the word *mashḳeh*, not often used, denoting a butler or cupbearer, one who serves wine at table (Neh 1^{11}, Gn 40^{1} etc.). From the other comes the word *mishteh*, much used, denoting a formal feast, a banquet. This is often tr^{d} by the Gr. *πότος*, and once (Est 7^{7}) by *συμπόσιον*. Like the Gr. word, it has in it the idea of a social feast as a gathering where men *drink* together. This shows that the idea of social drinking is older than the differentiation of the Heb. language. Hence it is the more remarkable that the words of these Heb. stems never, of themselves, denote either vicious carousal or intoxication. They are sometimes used in connexion with carousal or intoxication, but in such cases the author always adds other words to indicate the vicious meaning. Even Ec 10^{17} is not an exception to this. See BANQUET.

A different stem is *râwâh* (רָוָה), occurring 14 times as a verb, and 6 times in all in the form of three different nouns. The idea is that of being brimful, or saturated, or soaked (Ps 23^{5}, Job 37^{11}, Is 58^{11} 16^{9} $34^{5.\,7}$ etc.). It is possible to tr. the Heb., in every passage where these words occur, without recognizing an allusion to drunkenness. But LXX commonly tr. them by derivatives of *μεθύω* or *πίνω*, and they are no doubt to be regarded as denoting drunkenness. It is as when we speak of a habitually drunken man as a soaker, or as sodden with drink (Jer 46^{10}, La 3^{15}).

Another stem, *ṣâbhâ* (סָבָא), is used in all 8 or 9 times. Its meaning is nearly that of our Eng. 'to guzzle,' that is, to drink intoxicants greedily, with stupefying effect. The active participle denotes the guzzler as in the act, the passive participle describes him as affected by the liquor, the noun denotes either the liquor or the act of guzzling (Is 56^{12}, Dt 21^{20}, Pr $23^{20.\,21}$, Nah 1^{10}, Is 1^{22}, Hos 4^{18}).

More important than all these is the stem *shâkhar* (שָׁכַר). The verb means to become intoxicated, and in common use are the nouns *shēkhār*, 'intoxicating liquor' (see STRONG DRINK); *shikkōr*, 'drunkard,' and *shikkārôn*, 'drunkenness.' Many hold that the word is the same with our *sugar*, and that group of words in the Western languages. If so, the Heb. word and the Western word start together with the fact that sugar is present at the formation of alcohol, but follow entirely different lines of meaning. The usage of the Heb. stem is abundant and clear, leaving no doubt as to its meaning. Hebrew-speaking people were familiar with the spectacle of men overcome by alcohol, and they used the words of this stem to express this familiar fact.

In NT, and in Gr. VSS of OT, quite a variety of terms are used, but we need mention only one group: *μέθη*, 'habitual intoxication'; *μεθύω*, 'to be intoxicated'; *μεθύσκω*, 'to make intoxicated'; *μεθύσμα*, 'an intoxicant'; *μέθυσος*, 'intoxicated.' In their meaning and use (both literal and metaphorical) the words of this group are similar to those of the Heb. group last mentioned.

2. *Particulars given in the Bible concerning drunkenness.*—The OT and NT passages that give these particulars, though numerous, are too familiar to need direct citation. If one needs to refer to them, they are easily found by the help of a concordance. Of apocr. passages one will easily recall the contest concerning wine, kings, women, and truth, in 1 Es $3^{4\,\text{ff.}}$; the drunkenness of Holofernes, as described in Jth 12^{20} 13^{2}; the many references to drinking usages in Sir; and other like passages.

These various canon. or apocr. passages mention abundantly many of the familiar physical effects of drunkenness: staggering, reeling, dizziness, incoherent speech, redness of eyes, vomiting, stupid sleep, insensibility to blows, insatiable appetite for more stimulant. They speak of its mental effects: exhilaration, jollity, loss of good judgment, inconsequence of thought and purpose, inability to keep secrets, quarrelsomeness, shamelessness, failure to remember afterwards what occurred while one was drunk, the purposed forgetting of one's misery, such facts as the nakedness of Noah, the helplessness of Amnon, the sodden condition of Nabal. They speak of festal drinking, of usages compelling one to drink, or exempting him from compulsion (Est 1^{8}), of carousals, dissipations, excess, riot, of the Syrian king drinking himself drunk in his tent in the face of the enemy, many times of the high-born people of both Israel and Judah as wasting their property and energies in costly drinking feasts, of the connexion of drunkenness with licentiousness and gambling, of orgies in which the three were mingled (Jl 3^{3}). They speak of the permanent effects of these things on one's condition of life, of the guzzler and the glutton who bring themselves to poverty, to loss of energy, to rags. They speak of sociological effects, of men who by reason of private dissipations neglect public duty, of men who ought to be ambitious to serve God and their country, but whose actual ambitions run in the line of compounding or drinking intoxicating beverages (*e.g.* Is $5^{11. 12. 22}$), of consequent incapacitation for leadership, and resulting oppression and injustice at home, and boundless defeat and slaughter by foreign invaders.

In these and other particulars no one can fail to recognize the widespread prevalence of drunkenness and its evils in the biblical times, and their identity with the same evils as now existing. Especial importance attaches, therefore, to anything the Bible has to say in regard to the remedy.

The author of Sir says: 'Wine drunk in season and to satisfy is joy of heart and gladness of soul; wine drunk largely is bitterness of soul, with provocation and conflict' ($31^{28. 29}$). Similar passages abound in ancient literature. They commend the moderate use of intoxicants, and condemn the excessive use; generally drawing the line, however, not between exhilaration and drunkenness, but between drunkenness that is regarded as occasional and seasonable and drunkenness that is habitual and unseasonable. In view of this, it is worth noting that our canonical books contain no such passage. On the other hand, they unqualifiedly condemn drunkenness. They lay down the proposition, 'Look not on the wine when it is red' (Pr 23^{31}). In such cases as those of the priests (Lv 10^{9}), of Daniel, of the Rechabites, of the Nazirites, they teach that even total abstinence is sometimes a duty.

An account of the intoxicating liquors mentioned in the Bible will be found under the titles STRONG DRINK and WINE. See also FOOD.

3. *The difference between the ancient and the modern problem.*—With all their many points of identity, there is a large and important group of differences. Any one who will carefully study all the passages in the Bible which speak of this matter will note that, in a large majority of them, drunkenness is explicitly spoken of as the vice of the wealthy. Perhaps there is not an instance in which habitual drunkenness is attributed to any who are not wealthy. In modern times, on the contrary, drunkenness is supposed to be much more prevalent among the poor than among the well-to-do. This difference is not an accident. It is mainly the result of the cheapening of intoxicants, through improved processes of distilling and brewing, introduced within the past two or three centuries. When the price of enough wine or beer to make a man drunk was equal to half a month's wages, and no other intoxicants were to be had, it was impossible for most men to become sodden drunkards. The case is different when an hour's labour will pay for an intoxicating quantity of cheap liquor. In the older time, habitual drunkenness was possible for thousands where it is now possible for hundreds of thousands. This vast modern extension of the domain of intemperance should not be forgotten when we study the Bible for practical light on the subject. To this might be added a large number of important differences of detail between ancient life and modern life that have bearings on the question in hand. The outcome of such a comparison is that drunkenness and its attendant evils, inexcusable, widespread, harmful, and dangerous as they were in the civilizations in which the Scriptures were written, are immeasurably more so in our existing civilization, and we ought to deal with the problem accordingly.
W. J. BEECHER.

DRUSILLA (Δρούσιλλα).—See HEROD.

DUKE.—This word being applied in AV with two exceptions * to the chiefs of Edom, the impression is formed that in the family of Esau this was a hereditary title, as it is in Britain now. It is, however, never a title in AV, but a general expression for 'chief,' being formed from Lat. *dux* (the word in the Vulg.), and the tr. of a word (אַלֻּף or אַלּוּף *'allûph*) which is also applied to the princes of Judah (Zec 9^{7} $12^{5. 6}$. See CHIEF, ii. 3).

The Heb. word is probably more specific than its Eng. equivalent, being held by Dillmann (on Gn 36^{15}) to be derived from אֶלֶף *'eleph*, a thousand; so properly 'a chiliarch,' and understood by Driver (*Expos.* III. ii. 9) 'to denote properly the *leader of a clan*,' and as 'probably the indigenous name borne in Edom by the chiefs of the several φυλαί or clans'; while in Eng. 'duke' was freely applied to any leader or chief of any rank and nation. Thus 'Annibal, duke of Carthaginensis'—Sir T. Elyot, *The Governour*, ii. 233: 'Ther was a duk that highte Theseus'—Chaucer, *Knight's Tale*, 2; after whom Shaks. *Mids. Night's Dream*, I. i. 20: 'Happy be Theseus, our renowned duke!'; Latimer (*Works*, i. 31) calls Gideon 'a duke'; and Wyclif uses the word of the Messiah, Mt 2^{6} 'And thou, Bethleem, the lond of Juda, art not the leest among the prynces of Juda; for of thee a duyk schal go out, that schal gouerne my puple of Israel'; and *Select Works*, iii. 137, 'Jesus Christ, duke of oure batel, taght us lawe of pacience, and not to feght bodily.' Between 1572 and 1623 (that is, when AV was made) the title was extinct in England.
J. HASTINGS.

DULCIMER.—See MUSIC.

DUMAH (דּוּמָה).—1. Son of Ishmael (Gn 25^{14}, 1 Ch 1^{30}), representing some Arabian tribe or locality. There are many places of this name mentioned by the Arabian geographers, its signification in Arabic (*daumun*, nom. unit. *daumatun*) being the branched wild nut, common in Arabia Deserta (Doughty, *Travels in A. D.*, Index). The most important of the places called after it, *Dumat al-Jandal* (also written *Daumat* and *Daumā'*) was identified by the earlier Mohammedan archæologists with the place mentioned in Gn (Yakut, *s.v.*); and it is probable that the same place is referred to by Pliny (*HN* vi. 32), who is acquainted with a *Domatha* in the neighbourhood of the Thamudeni (as well as a Thumati), and Ptolemy, who mentions a city Δουμεθά or Δουμαιθά in Arabia Deserta (v. 19, 7), as well as a city of importance of the same name in Arabia Felix (viii. 22, 3). Stephanus Byz. *s.v.* quotes Glaucus in the second book of his *Arabian Antiquities* as mentioning a city of the name, and Porphyry, *De Abstinent.* ii. 56, asserts that an Arabian tribe named *Dumathii* sacrificed a boy every year, and buried him under the altar which they used as an idol, probably with reference to the same place. Its site is fixed by the geographer Al-Bekri (i. 353) as 'ten days' journey from Medina, ten from Cufa, eight from Damascus, and twelve from Misr'; but by Mas'udi (*Bibl. Geog. Arab.* vii. 248) as 'five from Medina, and fifteen or thirteen from Damascus,' the latter numbers being probably more correct. The 'sūḳ Dūma,' discovered by Burckhardt in the Jauf (*Travels in Syria*, 662), has been identified with it partly on the ground of the correspondence of the names of the surrounding villages with those mentioned by the geographers (cf. Ritter, *Erdkunde von Arabien*, ii. 360–388). The only further reference to it in the Bible is perhaps to be found in the heading of Is 21^{11}, where an obscure oracle in a strange dialect is introduced with the words 'the *massa'* of Dumah'; for this the LXX substitutes Idumæa, and many modern critics are inclined to interpret the name Dumah (in Heb. 'silence') allegorically. It is probable that more accurate knowledge of the purport of the oracle would show the geographical interpretation to be right. **2.** Name of one of the mountain cities of Judah (Jos 15^{52}) according to the reading of most of the editions; but in that of Ginsburg, Rumah (רוּמָה) is substituted, and this reading is supported by the LXX (Ῥεμνά or Ῥουμά) and the Vulg. It is probable, however, that the ordinary reading Dumah is correct. In the *Onomast.* Δουμά is given as the name of a large village in the Daroma, seventeen miles from Eleutheropolis (Beit Jibrin); and it was identified by Robinson with *Khirbet Daumah*, in the neighbourhood of Beit Jibrin, where are to be seen the ruins of a village situated on two hills separated by a valley, with remains of many cisterns and caves excavated in the rock, belonging to the Canaanite or Jewish epoch, as well as vestiges of Christian buildings. The 'seventeen miles' of the *Onomast.* is an overstatement, due to the tortuous routes followed in the mountain country (Guérin, *Judée*, iii. 359–361).

---

* The one exception is Jos 13^{21} 'dukes of Sihon' (נְסִיכִים, RV 'princes'), and the other 1 Mac 10^{65}, where Jonathan Maccabæus is said to have been made a 'duke' by king Alexander (στρατηγός, RV 'captain').

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

DUMB.—See MEDICINE.

DUNG.—1. Used in the East as manure (Lk 13^{8}) and for fuel; especially that of cattle, where wood and charcoal are scarce or unattainable. In Eastern cities there is usually a receptacle for the offal of cattle, whence it is carried out and either burnt or used as manure. Directions for personal cleanliness are given in Dt 23^{10-14}; and in the case of sacrifices the dung of the animals was burnt outside the camp (Ex 29^{14}, Lv $4^{11.\ 12}$ 8^{17}, Nu 19^{5}).

2. The word is used (*a*) to express contempt and abhorrence, as in the case of the carcase of Jezebel (2 K 9^{37}); and in that of the Jews (Jer 9^{22}, Zeph 1^{17}). (*b*) To spread dung upon the face was a sign of humiliation (Mal 2^{3}). (*c*) As representing worthlessness, St. Paul counted all things but dung that he might win Christ (Ph 3^{8}). E. HULL.

DUNG GATE.—See JERUSALEM.

DURA (דּוּרָא Dn 3^{1}, a plain 'in the province of Babylon'). Etym. uncertain. The word may be connected with the Bab. *duru*, a strong wall or fortification, possibly also with Dor (Jg 1^{27}) and with צוּר. Ammianus Marcellinus (xxv. 6) mentions it as situated E. of the Tigris. The distance of such a locality from Babylon seems to preclude the possibility of its being the same as that alluded to in Daniel. The validity of this objection depends upon the extent of territory which may be regarded as included in the expression בִּמְדִינַת בָּבֶל. The same objection of distance applies to the place of this name which occurs in Polybius (v. 48), which was on the Euphrates near the mouth of the Chaboras, more than 200 miles N.W. of Babylon.

A third (and the most probable) locality suggested is to the E. of Babylon, where Oppert found what appears to be the base of a great statue, near a mound known as Dúair. G. WALKER.

DURE.—The simple vb. 'dure' (fr. Lat. *durare*, 'be hard,' 'last') is now obsol., its place being filled by 'endure.' It occurs in AV Mt 13^{21} only: 'Yet hath he not root in himself, but dureth for a while' (RV 'endureth for a while,' Gr. πρόσκαιρός ἐστι, lit. 'is temporary'; Wyc. 'is temperal,' Rhem. 'is for a time'; 'dureth' is Tindale's word, who translates the same expression in Mk 4^{17} by 'endure,' and is followed by AV). 'During,' still in use, is the pres. ptcp. of this verb; cf. Tindale, *Works*, p. 476: 'when the disciples were come together vnto the breakyng of the bread, Paule made a sermon duryng to mydnight.' Not in AV, 'during' is introduced by RV into Mt 26^{5}, Jn 2^{23} 13^{2}, Rev 11^{6}. **Durable** is still in use, and applicable to *clothing*, as Is 23^{18}, but scarcely now to *riches*, as in Pr 8^{18}. Cf. Purchas, *Pil.* p. 28: 'They might take up their Crosse, and follow the second Adam unto a durable happinesse.' J. HASTINGS.

DUTY is that which is *due*. In mod. Eng. it is only that which is due *by* one, but formerly expressed also that which is due *to* one. This is the meaning of Ex 21^{10}, AV 'If he take him another wife; her food, her raiment, and her duty of marriage shall he not diminish' (so RV). Cf. Tindale's tr. of Mt 20^{14} 'Take that which is thy duty, and go thy waye,' and of Lk 12^{42} 'to geve them their deutie of meate at due season'; and Knox, *Hist.* p. 117: 'I will serve my Prince with body, heart, goods, strength, and all that is in my power, except that which is God's duty, which I will reserve to him alone.' Shaks. uses the word in both senses, *Tam. of Shrew*, IV. i. 40: 'Do thy duty, and have thy duty.' For the biblical conception of Duty, see ETHICS. J. HASTINGS.

DWARF is the rendering in AV and RV of דַּק, a word (Lv 21^{20}) denoting one of the physical disqualifications by which a priest was unfitted for service. The word means thin, lean, small. It is applied to Pharaoh's lean kine (Gn 41^{3} etc.), to the minute grains of manna (Ex 16^{14}), to the still, small voice (1 K 19^{12}), and in other like instances. The conjecture that it here means a dwarf is plausible. But others regard it as meaning an unnaturally thin man—a consumptive, perhaps. The Sept. (ἔφηλος) and Vulg. connect this specification with the one that follows, as indicating defective eyes. So the meaning must be regarded as uncertain.

W. J. BEECHER.

DYEING.—The art of dyeing is not mentioned in Scripture, but *dyed stuffs* are referred to in various passages, and hence it is altogether probable that dyeing was known to the Israelites. The coloured stuffs mentioned are *blue*, *purple*, and *scarlet*; these all occurring together in the description of the hangings of the tabernacle (Ex 26^{36}). It would seem that the yarn was dyed before weaving (cf. Ex 35^{25}), as we know was the custom of the Egyptians (cf. Wilk. *Anc. Eg.* ii. p. 166, ed. 1878), from whom the Israelitish women may have acquired the art. The Egyptians were certainly acquainted with the art of dyeing by the use of chemicals, though they may not have understood the chemical properties of the materials employed (cf. Pliny, xxxv. 11, and Wilk. ii. 168, 169), and the Hebrews no doubt knew something of it at the time of the Exodus. At a later period they may have learned from the Phœnicians the process of making the Tyrian purple, so renowned among the ancients; but it is not probable that they produced it, as they could not readily procure the shell-fish used in its manufacture. The purple of the tabernacle, if made by the Hebrews, must have been obtained from other sources and by other methods. Purple occurs in Pr 31^{22} as the clothing of the virtuous woman; and as it stands in a long list of items of her handiwork, it may indicate that she knew how to make it. Scarlet was obtained by a process similar to that of purple, as we learn from Kenrick, *Phœn.* ch. viii., and Rawlinson, *Phœn.* ch. viii. Blue was doubtless obtained from indigo, which was known to the Egyptians from their commerce with India (Wilk. ii. 164). See COLOURS.

Rams' skins 'dyed' red (עֹרֹת אֵילִם מְאָדָּמִים) are mentioned in Ex 25^{5}. This process the Hebrews could have learned also from the Egyptians (cf. Wilk. ii. 185). The art is still carried on in Syria, and large quantities of skins are tanned red for the native shoes and saddles. H. PORTER.

DYSENTERY.—See MEDICINE.

E

E.—The symbol ordinarily used in criticism of Hex. to signify the work of the [second] Elohist. See HEXATEUCH.

EAGLE (נֶשֶׁר *nesher*, ἀετός, *aquila*).—The Arab. retains the same name, in a modified form, *nisr*, substituting *sîn* for *shîn*. This term is used by the Arabs for the vultures, of which there are four species in the Holy Land. (1) *Gypætus barbatus*, Cuv., the lammergeier, the פֶּרֶס *pereṣ* of the Hebrews, AV *ossifrage*, Arab. *'anûḳ*. (2) *Gyps fulvus*, Sav., the griffon. (3) *Neophron percnopterus*, L., the Egyptian vulture, called in Arab. *raḥam* or *dejâj-Fir'aun*, Pharaoh's hen. It is the *gier eagle* of AV, not of RV. (4) *Vultur monachus*, L.

It is also used for the true eagles, of which there are eight species in the Holy Land. (1) *Aquila chrysætus*, L., the ospray of AV, which is the golden eagle, עָזְנִיָּה *'ozniyyâh*. (2) *A. heliaca*, Sar., the imperial eagle. (3) *A. clanga*, Pall., the greater spotted eagle, and perhaps *A. pomarina*, Brehm, the lesser spotted eagle, of which, however, only one specimen has been noted. (4) *A. rapax*, Temm., the tawny eagle. (5) *A. pennata*, Gmel. (6) *A. Nipalensis*, Hodges, the steppe eagle. (7) *A. bonelli*, Temm. (8) *Circætus Gallicus*, Gmel., the short-toed eagle. The last is easily recognized by its large flat head, its huge golden eyes, and brightly spotted breast. Its short toes and tarsi are covered with tesselated scales to protect it from the serpents on which it preys. It is the most abundant of the eagle tribe in Palestine. All the above birds are included by the Arabs under the generic term *nisr=nesher*, even those which have also specific names, as the ossifrage, the ospray, and the Egyptian vulture. They agree in swiftness of flight (Dt 28^{49} etc), in soaring high into the air (Pr 23^{5} 30^{19}, Is 40^{31}), in making their nests in high trees or inaccessible rocks (Job 39$^{27-30}$, Jer 49^{16}), and in keenness of vision (Job 39^{29}).

The expression 'enlarge thy baldness as the eagle' (Mic 1^{16}), refers to the griffon, which has its head and neck free from feathers. The references to feeding on the slain (Job 39^{30}, Mt 24^{28}) are not to be understood of vultures alone, as eagles also will feed on dead animals if they find them. But it is especially applicable to the griffon and Pharaoh's hen. Therefore in such passages (cf. Pr 30^{17}, Mt 24^{28}) the allusion is generic. The 'ravenous bird from the East' (Is 46^{11}) describes Cyrus, probably in allusion to the fact that the griffon was the emblem of Persia, and embroidered on its standard. This emblem in various forms has been copied by the Romans, Russians, Austrians, Germans, and by the United States.

The renewal of the youth of the eagle (Ps 103^{5}) is an allusion to its longevity, which sometimes reaches a hundred years. The eagle is one of the 'living creatures' of Ezk 1^{10}, Rev 4^{7}. It has been adopted as an emblem of St. John (in Irenæus of St. Mark), owing to his insight into the divine character, and his power of looking at the divine glory. The 'bearing on eagles' wings' (Ex 19^{4}) is clearly metaphorical, and does not refer to any habit of the eagle. The passage in Dt 32^{11} 'As an eagle stirreth up her nest, fluttereth over her young, spreadeth abroad her wings, taketh them, beareth them on her wings,' is explained by the preceding verse, which reads, 'He found him in a desert land, and in the waste, howling wilderness; he led him about, he instructed him, he kept him as the apple of his eye'; and in the following verse, 'So the Lord alone did lead him, and there was no strange god with him.' The allusion is to the fostering care of the eagles for their young, and the pains they take to lure them from the nest and teach them to fly. These are well-known facts. It would be no wise difficult for an observer to fancy, in their evolutions, that the old birds actually bore up the younger ones in the air, as well as fluttered over them. G. E. POST.

EAR (אֹזֶן, *'ôzen*, οὖς).—Hearing is associated with obedience as seeing is with conviction. In the East when an order is given, the responsive gesture is to lift the hand to the head and breast, implying that the order is understood and will be carried out. Thus also in the *Arabian Nights*, after a command by a superior, the invariable reply is, 'Hearing and obeying!'

Eye, ear, and heart are concrete terms for understanding, will, and affection, and the gospel is declared to be something beyond human thoughts, desires, and passions. Men had at all times offered sacrifices to influence the will of the gods appealed to, but here God made the sacrifice to lead captive the will of man. 'Ear hath not heard' (1 Co 2^{9}). Its limit is in man's willingness to listen (Mt 13^{9}, Rev 2$^{7.11.17}$, etc.). Assurance concerning God's ability to hear is drawn from the fact that He planted the ear (Ps 94^{9}). The alienated heart is called an uncircumcised ear (Jer 6^{10}).

The boring of a slave's ear by his consent was the token of life-long surrender and ownership (Ex 21^{6}; but not Ps 40^{5}, see Kirkpatrick, *ad loc.*); the tip of the ear was touched with blood in the consecration of Aaron and his sons (Lv 8$^{23f.}$) and in the cleansing of a leper (14$^{14.17.25.28}$); the cutting off of the ears is mentioned as one of the atrocities perpetrated by an enemy (Ezk 23^{25}); to incline the ear is a frequent expression for to give attention (Ps 45^{10}, Pr 22^{17} etc.); the ears tingle (צָלַל) at dreadful news (1 S 3^{11}, 2 K 21^{12}, Jer 19^{3}); to open one's ear (גָּלָה אֹזֶן) is a common expression for to reveal a secret to one (1 S 9^{15} 20$^{2.12.13}$, 2 S 7^{27}, 1 Ch 17^{25} etc.). G. M. MACKIE.

EAR.—To 'ear' is to plough (Old Eng. *erian*, connected with ἀρόειν and *arare*), as 'After that he tempereth it with dong, then eareth it, soweth it, and haroweth it' (*Pilgr. Perf.* 1526, p. 23); 'A silver saucer . . . was eared up by a plough' (Harrison, *England*, i. 361). In AV, Dt 21^{4} 'A rough valley, which is neither eared nor sown'

(RV 'plowed'; so at Gn 45^{6}, Ex 34^{21}, 1 S 8^{12}); Is 30^{24} 'the young asses that ear the ground' (RV 'till,' Heb. עָבַד 'work,' as in Dt 21^{4}).

J. Hastings.

EARNEST.—There are three well-known NT passages in which this word occurs: Eph 1^{14} 'The earnest of our inheritance'; 2 Co 1^{22} and 2 Co 5^{5} 'The earnest of the Spirit.' In all three instances the Greek word (introduced perhaps by Phœnician traders) is the same, *ἀῤῥαβών*. Its Lat. equivalent is *arrha* or *arrhabo* (not *pignus*), and its Eng. *arles*, now obsolete except in Scotland. The corresponding word in Heb. עֵרָבוֹן (Gn $38^{17.\,18.\,20}$) means a pledge or token, something to be returned when the terms of the contract have been observed; but by *ἀῤῥαβών*, *arrhabo*, *arles*, we are to understand a first instalment, given as a sure and binding engagement that the rest shall follow in due time. The earnest is a pledge, but it is a pledge consisting of part of the possession, or benefit, or blessing with which the contracting parties are concerned. The *arles* given to a servant signifies that a contract has been entered into, and it is a binding promise that the wages agreed upon will be forthcoming when the term of engagement has expired. It is really a part of the wages, and it is the same in kind as the money payment to be afterwards made. In very olden times a similar formality used to obtain in connexion with the conveyance of land, or houses, or mills. In buying a field, the purchaser had given him a clod of earth as an earnest that, at the appointed time, he should enter upon complete possession. When houses were transferred from one owner to another, the purchaser or receiver had handed him some of the thatch as *arles* or earnest that by and by the whole property should pass over into his possession. In the case of a mill, some small piece of the machinery was passed from hand to hand. These simple ceremonies were as binding as an agreement written upon parchment and made valid by the impression of a Government stamp. The idea underlying them all appears in various forms in Scripture history. Abraham's sojourn in Canaan was a kind of earnest to a wanderer like him that his seed should by and by possess the land. When Abraham's servant, having gone to Mesopotamia to fetch a wife for Isaac, gave Rebekah a nose-ring and bracelets and jewels of gold and silver, these were to her an earnest of Isaac's wealth, and the evidence of a comfortable home in Canaan. Using the word in the sense above explained and illustrated, the apostle tells us that the work of the Holy Spirit in our hearts is an earnest of our heavenly inheritance. Christian knowledge, holiness, and happiness are not only a pledge, but also a foretaste of heaven's bliss. See Eadie, *Eph.* p. 68f.

G. M. Philps.

EAR-RING.—נֶזֶם *nezem*, orig. nose-ring (וָאָשִׂים הַנֶּזֶם עַל־אַפָּהּ Gn 24^{47}, נִזְמֵי הָאָף Is 3^{21}, cf. Ezk 16^{12}, where first clause should read as in RV 'I put a ring upon thy nose'), perhaps equiv. to חָח in Ex 35^{22} (AV bracelet, RV brooch); also applied to ear-ring, הַנְּזָמִים אֲשֶׁר בְּאָזְנֵיהֶם, Gn 35^{4}. In RV it is tr. *ring*, where the text makes no special reference to nose or ear. For the nose the *nezem* was a plain ring of gold worn either in the wing or central cartilage of the nose. For the ear the circular form (עָגִיל Ezk 16^{12}) was the most common, but usually ornamented with some sacred or talismanic symbol, or having one or more balls attached, hence called נְטִפוֹת Is 3^{19} (AV *chains*, RV *pendants*). In Is 3^{20} for לְחָשִׁים AV 'ear-rings,' RV gives 'amulets' (see Amulet). Such rings formed an important part of the bride's ornaments (Gn 24^{22}). At the present day in Syria, when a young peasant woman comes into town with her friends to buy the marriage outfit, the first purchase is usually that of the ear-rings. Ear-rings are now confined to women, being regarded as barbaric and effeminate when worn by men. Among the Bedawin, in the case of an only son, the ear-ring is sometimes worn as an amulet in the form of a large silver ring suspended round the outer ear, with discs or balls attached to the lower half of the ring, hanging visible below the lobe of the ear. Rings for nose and ear formed the material of the golden calf (Ex 32^{2}), of Gideon's image (Jg 8^{24}), and were offered for the furnishing of the tabernacle (Ex 35^{22}).

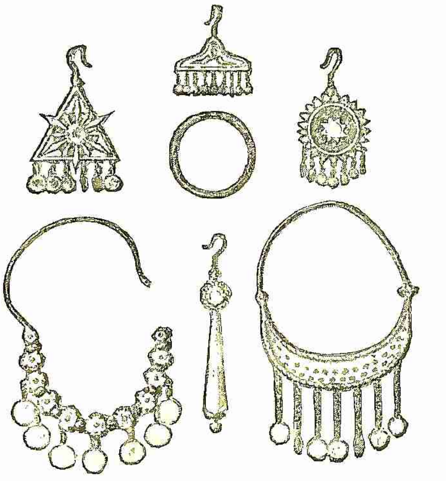

SYRIAN EAR-RINGS.

Literature.—Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 107; Lane, *Modern Egyptians* (Append. A. 'Female Ornaments'); Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyp.* ii. 336 ff.; Hartmann, *Hebräerin*, iii. 205; Wellsted, *Travels*, i. 321; Harmer, *Obs.* iv. 311, 314; Moore on Jg 8^{24}.

G. M. Mackie.

EARTH is the tr. of various Heb. and Gr. terms, the most notable of which are—

1. אֲדָמָה (deriv. uncertain, perhaps from a root containing notion of being *tilled*, or of *smoothly covering and closely fitting*. See *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*), which with its LXX and NT equivalent *γῆ* is used (1) of the earth as tilled, Gn 2^{5} 3^{17} etc. Hence אִישׁ הָאֲדָמָה = a husbandman, Gn 9^{20}. (2) Of earth as a material substance, from which were fashioned man Gn 2^{7}, animals v.^{19}, vessels Is 45^{9} (see Pottery), of which at times altars were made Ex 20^{24}, cf. 2 K 5^{17}, and which was put upon the head as a token of woe or of contrition 1 S 4^{12}, 2 S 1^{2}, Neh 9^{1}. In this last reference the term more frequently employed is עָפָר = dust, which is rendered *earth* in such passages as Gn 26^{15}, Job 8^{19} 19^{25} 28^{2} 30^{6} 41^{33}, Is 2^{19}, Dn 12^{2}. (3) Of earth as the visible surface of the globe, in such phrases as 'everything that creepeth upon the face of the earth' (RV 'ground') Gn 1^{25} 6^{20} etc. (4) Of earth as = land or country Gn 47^{19}, Is 19^{17}, esp. of the Holy Land Zec 2^{12}. (5) Of earth as = whole earth Gn 12^{3} 28^{14}. This last usage is rare, and, like the preceding, belongs rather to—

2. אֶרֶץ (in Aram. portions of Ezr and Dn אֲרַע, Syr. *'ar'â'*), which is used (1) of earth as opposed to heaven Gn 1^{1}, cf. Mt 28^{18}; (2) of earth as opposed to sea Gn 1^{20}, cf. Mk 4^{1} 6^{47}; (3) of the whole earth Gn 18^{18}, or its inhabitants Gn 1^{28}, cf. Lk 18^{8} 21^{35}; (4) = land, country, district Gn 10^{10} 19^{28}, cf. Mt 2^{20} 4^{34}; (5) as synonymous with אֲדָמָה = soil Gn $1^{11.\,12}$, cf. Mt 13^{5}. See Ground.

3. A poetic synon. of אֶרֶץ is תֵּבֵל (perhaps fr. a root = *productive*; according to Hommel, *Expos. Times*, 1897, viii. 472, it had originally a mythological sense), 1 S 2^{8}, Is 14^{21} etc. Both אֶרֶץ and תֵּבֵל are reproduced in the LXX by *γῆ* and *οἰκουμένη*, the

latter of which occurs a good many times also in NT, *e.g.* Lk 4^{5}, Ro 10^{18}, Rev 16^{14}.

See further COSMOGONY, WORLD.

J. A. SELBIE.

EARTHQUAKE.—Palestine has from time immemorial been a country subject to earthquakes, and it is therefore not surprising that several references to these phenomena should be found in Holy Writ. Nor is it improbable that during prehistoric times, especially during the Miocene and Pliocene epochs, it was even more liable to seismic shocks than in the former period, when we consider that the regions beyond the Jordan witnessed volcanic eruptions on a vast scale from craters and foci which are now altogether dormant.*

The references in this article will be restricted to the region of Pal. and the adjoining territories of Syria, Asia Minor, and Arabia Petræa, and the subject will be treated under the foll. heads:—

1. Historical. 2. Prophetic. 3. Earthquakes of the Christian Era. 4. Origin of Earthquake Phenomena. 5. Literature.

1. HISTORICAL.—(*a*) Earthquake at Mount Sinai on the giving of the Law: 'the whole mount quaked greatly' (Ex 19^{18}).

(*b*) Earthquake accompanied by fissures and sinking of the ground, by which Korah and his companions were destroyed (Nu 16^{31}; also Jos. *Ant.* IV. iii. 3).

(*c*) Earthquake in the days of Saul (1 S 14^{15}).

(*d*) Elijah, fleeing from the wrath of Jezebel, finds a refuge on the solitary heights of Horeb (Mount Sinai) in Arabia Petræa (1 K 19^{11}). Assuming Jebel Musâ to be actually the mount in question, tradition has handed down to us the name of the cave from which the prophet witnessed the effects of the earthquake. At about 200 feet below the summit of this mountain there lies in a recess a circular pool surrounded by rocks of granite and porphyry penetrated at one spot by a cave, probably of artificial origin, known amongst the Arabs and the monks of St. Catherine as 'Elijah's cave.' The position and surroundings fit in so well with the narrative that it would be useless to call in question the truth of this identification.† The solitude of the place would have afforded the prophet protection; the cave, shelter; and the pool, water to quench his thirst.

(*e*) Earthquake in the reign of Uzziah. This earthquake must have been one of extraordinary severity, as it is twice referred to, Am 1^{1} and Zec 14^{5}; and from the latter passage we may infer that it caused a precipitate flight of the inhabitants of Jerus., and may have been accompanied by fissuring of the earth at the Mount of Olives. The exact date cannot be determined, as Uzziah's reign was long, extending from *c.* B.C. 790–740.

(*f*) B.C. 31, Sept. 2. In the reign of Herod an earthquake occurred in Judæa, 'such as had not happened at any other time,' destructive to men and animals (Jos. *Ant.* XV. v. 2).

(*g*) Earthquake at the Crucifixion. In this case the earthquake described in Mt 27^{51} was one of the miraculous manifestations of divine power which accompanied the death of our Lord on the cross, and was followed by rending of the rocks and of the veil of the temple, and opening of the tombs, A.D. 29.

(*h*) Earthquake at Philippi. This has often been considered a miraculous manifestation of divine power, called forth for the release from prison of St. Paul and Silas, A.D. 51.

2. PROPHETIC.—Earthquakes being amongst the most terrible and impressive of natural phenomena, are made use of in the Bible for prophetic imagery connected with future calamitous events; thus—(*a*) 'she (Ariel or Mount Zion) shall be visited of the Lord of hosts with thunder and with earthquake' (Is 29^{6}, RV). (*b*) 'And there shall be famines and earthquakes in divers places' (Mt 24^{7}). (*c*) 'And I saw when he opened the sixth seal, and there was a great earthquake' (Rev 6^{12}). (*d*) 'And he (the angel) taketh the censer, and he filled it with the fire of the altar, and cast it upon the earth; and there followed thunders, and voices, and lightnings, and an earthquake' (Rev 8^{5}). (*e*) 'And there were killed in the earthquake seven thousand persons' (Rev 11^{13}). (*f*) 'And there was a great earthquake, such as was not since there were men upon the earth' (Rev 16^{18}).

3. EARTHQUAKES OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA.—Out of the large number of recorded earthquakes, of greater or less intensity, from which Pal. and the neighbouring countries have suffered, only a few of special importance can be noticed here.

(1) A.D. 494. Syria and Asia Minor; the cities of Laodicea, Hierapolis, Tripolis, and Agathicum were overthrown (*Mar. Comes*, p. 46, quot. by Mallet).

(2) A.D. 551. Felt over Pal., Arabia, and Syria (Theophanes, p. 192).

(3) A.D. 658. Month of June; very destructive in Pal. and Syria (Theoph. p. 282).

(4) A.D. 746. Jerus. and surrounding regions suffered greatly (Theoph. p. 363).

(5) A.D. 755. A severe shock of earthquake occurred at Jerus., whereby the Haram es-Sherif ('Mosque of Omar') was much injured (Besant and Palmer, *Hist. Jerusalem*, ed. 1888, p. 97).

(6) A.D. 859. Earthquake throughout Syria; in Antioch 1500 houses were thrown down (Abulfaraj, p. 166, quot. by Mallet).

(7) A.D. 1036. Earthquake by which Jerus. was much injured (Cedrenus, p. 737).

(8) A.D. 1170. Succession of earthquakes passed through Pal., which, by their violence and frequency, filled all men's hearts with fear; hundreds perished in the ruins of their houses; grief and consternation spread around (*Hist. Jerusalem*, p. 352).

(9) A.D. 1202 (or 1204). An earthquake shook Pal. from end to end; Damascus, Tyre, and Nablûs were reduced to heaps of ruins; the walls of Acre and Tripoli fell; Jerus. alone seemed spared, and there Christian and Mohammedan met together to thank God for their safety (*Hist. Jerusalem*, p. 492; Abulfeda, *Ann.* iv. p. 211).

(10) A.D. 1402. Coast of Syria affected; sea retired and then invaded the land; several towns ruined (Muratori, t. xviii. p. 974).

(11) A.D. 1759. An earthquake protracted through a period of three months, in which Acco, Saphat, Baalbek, Damascus, Sidon, etc., were severely injured (*Volcanoes, Past and Present*, p. 219).

(12) A.D. 1822. On Aug. 13 an earthquake occurred at Aleppo, lasting only ten or twelve seconds, by which this town, together with several others in Syria, were converted into a heap of ruins, and 20,000 human beings were destroyed (Chesney, *Survey of the Euphrates and Tigris*).

(13) A.D. 1837, 1st Jan. Great earthquake in Pal. by which the town of Safed was destroyed, with many of the inhabitants (Tristram, *Land of Israel*, p. 581).

4. ORIGIN OF EARTHQUAKE PHENOMENA.—From the observations made by Hopkins, Lyell, and others regarding the cause and nature of earthquakes, it seems clearly established that they have their origin in some sudden impact of gas, steam, or molten matter, impelled by gas or steam under high pressure, beneath the solid crust. The effect of such impact is to originate a wave of translation through the crust, travelling outwards from a focus, and causing a movement of the surface to greater or less distances. These waves of translation can in some cases be represented on a map by curved lines; each line representing approximately an equal degree of seismal intensity. That there is an intimate connexion between earthquake shocks and volcanic action is proved by the fact that eruptions from volcanic craters

---

* In Keith Johnston's *Physical Atlas*, as also in Prestwich's *Map of Active and Extinct Volcanoes* (*Geology*, vol. i.), the region of Pal. and Syria is shown as one greatly subject to earthquake shocks.

† The only other rival is that of Serbâl; but the claims of J. Musâ to be Horeb far outweigh those of Serbâl. See Stanley, *Sinai and Pal.*, ed. 1860, p. 49; *Picturesque Pal.*, p. 113.

are generally preceded by earthquake shocks, and these latter are more frequent in those regions where volcanoes, either active or extinct, abound. At the same time, the most destructive earthquakes are not necessarily in the neighbourhood of volcanoes, many of the most disastrous having occurred in places far removed from centres of eruption; as, for example, those of Lisbon in 1755, and of Charleston in N. America in 1886. Such cases as these have given rise to the view that active volcanoes act as safety-valves for the escape of the elastic gases and vapour underlying the crust.*

LITERATURE.—Hopkins, 'Theory of Earthquakes,' in *Rep. Brit. Assoc.* 1847, p. 33; Mallet, *Earthquake Catalogue*, *ibid.* 1858; Lyell, *Principles of Geology*, vol. ii.; Prestwich, *Geology*, vol. i. ch. 13, with map of earthquake areas; Judd, *Volcanoes*, ed. 1888, p. 343; Hull, *Volcanoes, Past and Present*, Contemp. Science Ser. p. 217 (1892): for the earthquakes referred to in Bible, Plumptre, *Biblical Studies*, 136; Andrews, *Life of Our Lord*, 561, 575; Schürer, *HJP*, I. i. 403, 426; Pusey on Am 4[11].

E. HULL.

EASE.—The subst. is found chiefly in the phrase 'at ease,' which has both a good and a bad meaning: Ps 25[13] 'His soul shall dwell at ease; and his seed shall inherit the earth' (בְּטוֹב 'in good'); but Am 6[1] 'Woe to them that are at ease in Zion' (הַשַּׁאֲנַנִּים), so Job 12[5], Ps 123[4], Is 32[9. 11], Zec 1[15] with same Hebrew. Once 'ease' means 'relief,' Sir 38[14] 'that which they give for ease and remedy to prolong life' (*ἀνάπαυσις*, RV 'relief'). Elsewhere 'rest' or 'enjoyment,' as Dt 28[65] 'among these nations shalt thou find no ease' (לֹא תַרְגִּיעַ); Jth 1[16] 'there he took his ease, and banqueted' (*ἦν ἐκεῖ ῥαθυμῶν*); Lk 12[19] 'take thine ease, eat, drink, and be merry' (*ἀναπαύου*). But in Apocr. the word occurs as the opposite of difficulty, as 2 Mac 2[25] 'that they that are desirous to commit to memory might have ease' (*εὐκοπία*), 2[27] 'it is no ease' (*οὐκ εὐχερές*). In these places we should now use the adverb 'easily.' But we still have 'with ease,' as in Jg 20[43] 'they . . . chased them, and trod them down with ease' (מְנוּחָה, RV 'at their resting place').

But the meaning of this passage is uncertain; Moore thinks the Heb. is corrupt. The word *mĕnûḥâh* means 'a resting place,' as Nu 10[33], and is often translated 'rest' (see Cox on Ru 1[9]); but it may be a place-name here, as AVm 'from Menuchah,' RVm 'at Menuhah'; there is, however, no prep. in the Heb. The older versions are at a loss. The AV rendering is from the Geneva Bible 'chased them at ease,' with marg. 'drove them from their reste.' Taverner gives 'chased them to Menoah'; Cov. 'folowed upon them unto Menuah'; Bishops' 'chased them diligently,' m. 'from their rest'; Wyc., Douay, 'neither was there any rest of men dying,' after Vulg. 'nec erat ulla requies morientium.' The LXX is *ἀπὸ Νουά*; Luther 'bis gen Menuah'; Ostervald 'depuis Ménuha.' On the whole it seems best, if we are to accept the text, to take the word as a place-name; and then Ostervald is probably nearest the mark 'depuis Ménuha jusqu' à l'opposite de Guibha.'

The verb has always the meaning of 'give relief'; but that may be either by lightening a burden, as 2 Ch 10[4] 'ease thou somewhat the grievous servitude of thy father'; or by removing it altogether, as Is 1[24] 'I will ease me of mine adversaries' (אִנָּחֵם), 2 Es 7[68] 'if he did not so of his goodness, that they which have committed iniquities might be eased of them, the ten thousandth part of men should not remain living' (*ut alleventur*). Cf. Jer. Taylor (1630), *Works*, iii. 90, 'I am no sooner eased of him, but Gregory Gandergoose . . . catches me by the goll'; and Pope, *Odyss.* xxi. 342, 'Ease your bosoms of a fear so vain.' Tindale meant to express the *removal* of the burden when he tr^d Mt 11[28] 'Come unto me all ye that laboure and are laden, and I will ease you'; and so Hos 11[7] Cov. 'their prophetes laye the yocke vpon them, but they ease them not of their burthen.'

J. HASTINGS.

EAST, CHILDREN OF THE (בְּנֵי־קֶדֶם, *υἱοὶ ἀνατολῶν*).—A general name for the inhabitants of the country east of Palestine, especially the Syrian desert, but also including what was known of Arabia; in Jg 6[3] 7[12] and 8[10], the Children of the East are coupled with Midian and Amalek; in Jer 49[28] with Kedar. The mention of their טִירוֹת, or Bedawin encampments (Ezk 25[4. 10]), which they are to erect on the lands of Moab and Ammon, identifies them with the Ishmaelites, of whom the same technical term is used. To their proverbial wisdom reference is made in 1 K 5[10] and Is 19[11], and it is probably the reason why the author of the Book of Job made his hero one of them (Job 1[3]). In Gn 29[1] 'the land of the children of the E.' might seem to be Mesopotamia; but it is more probable that different views of the habitation of Laban are conflated in that chapter.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

EAST SEA, EASTERN SEA.—See DEAD SEA.

EASTER, used in AV as the tr. of *τὸ πάσχα* in Ac 12[4] 'intending after E. to bring him forth to the people.' RV has substituted correctly 'the Passover.' The anachronism of AV was inherited from older VSS which avoided, as far as possible, expressions which could not be understood by the people.

A. C. HEADLAM.

EBAL or OBAL.—1. Name of a son of Joktan (עוֹבָל Gn 10[28] MT, עֵיבָל *ib.* Sam., *Γαιβάλ* Luc., 1 Ch 1[22]), probably representing a place or tribe in Arabia. There are several places in S. Arabia with names approximating to the Hebrew forms, *e.g.* *'Aibān*, a mountain near San'ā frequently mentioned by Hamdani; *'Obal*, a place in the neighbourhood of Hujailah visited by Glaser (*Skizze*, ii. 427); *'Ābil*, mentioned by Halévy; but till more is known of the source of the ethnological tables in Gn, it is impossible to assign any probability to such identifications. Derivatives from the root *'abl* occur as tribal names at the commencement of Islam (*Tāj al-'arūs*, viii. 4), and it is likely that the author had in mind some tribe, otherwise unknown, bearing such an appellation. 2. Name of a son of Shobal son of Seir (עֵיבָל Gn 36[23], 1 Ch 1[40]).

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

EBAL (עֵיבָל, Arab. *el-Islamîyeh*).—Ebal and Gerizim, the mounts of Cursing and Blessing, form the most conspicuous and important summits of the hills of Samaria. This distinction is due partly to their superior height and to their central position in the whole land, but chiefly to the deep cleft between them which breaks the outline of the long mountain ridge running N. and S. This natural pass between E. and W., led up to by wheat-growing plains on each side, became inevitably a place of importance both for purposes of commerce and in times of war. The existence of a branch of the main road from N. to S. leading through the narrow opening between Ebal and Gerizim, would still further tend to make the locality familiar and important. It needed only the additional circumstance of numerous fountains in the fertile hollow where the bases met, to create an Oriental town where the traveller might rest in safety and the inhabitants would possess all that was necessary for man and beast. Such a town was the ancient Shechem (Gr. Neapolis, Arab. Nablûs), occupying the defile where it is only 150 yds. wide.

This attractiveness and convenience of the place is exemplified in the lives of Abraham and Jacob; the former arriving here on his first entry into the land of Canaan (Gn 12[6. 7]), and Jacob resting at the same spot on his return from Paddan-aram (Gn 33^{18-20}).

---

* The theory of Mr. R. Mallet differs somewhat from the above; briefly stated, he considers that earthquakes originate in shocks caused by the strain overcoming the resistance along lines of fracture traversing the earth's crust; this strain being due to the secular cooling of the crust and consequent contraction (*Trans. Roy. Irish Acad.* vol. xxi.).

Ebal and Gerizim face N. and S., the latter being the more celebrated in religious history, but the N. summit (3077 ft.) being 200 ft. higher, and commanding a more free and extensive prospect.

1. *View of the Land from Ebal.*—The beginning of the ascent from Nablûs is over grass of intensest green and enamelled lustre, through irrigated vegetable gardens of rank luxuriance, and under foliage of juicy transparency sparkling in the sunlight—one of the most fertile and picturesque spots in Palestine.

Above this, one enters immediately upon the silvery grey of the olive trees, which rapidly become scanty and irregular as the path opens in earnest upon the mountain climb. Then stony terraces and rocky face, with thistles and thorny shrubs, until the traveller reaches the broad, bare summit, and stands upon the central height of the whole land. Looking N., one sees Mt. Hermon towering aloft in the distance, glimmering with snow-streaked crests beyond the boundary plain in which lay Abel (Ibl), Baal-gad (Cæsarea Philippi, Banias), and Dan (Tell el-Ḳadi). On the E., rising steeply from the Jordan bed, is seen the long, slumbrous, uniform ridge of Gilead and Moab. To the S., conspicuous summits can be identified in the neighbourhood of Jerus.; and to the W., beyond the lower hills and patchwork of broad plain, the yellow coast-line sweeps from Jaffa to Carmel.

Such a commanding view from such a central point emphasizes at once the limitations of the land and the grandeur of the events that have given it immortality.

2. *Religious Connexion.*—One of the most important of those events was the arrival at this spot of Abraham in his journey of faith to the land of Canaan, and his receiving by the terebinth of Moreh a promise from the Lord, 'unto thy seed will I give this land' (Gn 12^7). It was fitting that the fulfilment of the promise, after more than 400 years of waiting and preparation, should receive its great public announcement at the very place where it had been given. It was also deeply appropriate that in a land where customs and occupations, scenery and social life, were to be a storehouse of parable and moral teaching to the world, its central heights of Ebal and Gerizim should be baptized into this service and be known as the mountains of Cursing and Blessing. It was accordingly here that Joshua (Jos 8^{30-35}) assembled the congregation, and erected the memorial altar according to the command and detailed instructions of Moses (Dt $11^{29.30}$ and 27. 28). In addition to the duty of formal compliance with such a command, there was an inner urgency of the hour that called for such an act of declaration and decision. During the past 40 years the Isr. had received the discipline of adversity: they were now to face the greater temptation of success. The emergency was a suitable one for setting forth the moral regalia of the kingdom, and the responsibilities of its service. The recent experience at Jericho and Ai had emphasized the plain conditions of triumph and failure. Still further the incident of the Gibeonites, and the rumour of confederated opposition, set before them the dangers and difficulties of the work. And so on that memorable day, in the defile between Ebal and Gerizim, the Isr. entered upon the inheritance of the promises in the only way that it can be entered—through the door of complete and conscious surrender to the will of God. They were to possess the land, but not for themselves. The assemblage was on a scale of vastness suitable to the moral elevation of the thought. In the central hollow of the hills rested the sacred ark that had so unerringly guided them in their journeyings, and was now pointing to the final resting-place of secure possession. Up the opposing sides of Ebal and Gerizim, six tribes to each, rising with the mountain slopes and terraces in solid masses where the ground was level, with fluttering groups and sprinklings on points of advantage, all bright colours mingling with the predominant white, the whole congregation of Israel was drawn up—an army in array for the battle of life. It was the Coronation Day of the Moral Law. God could not do more for His people, and, to invert the familiar phrase, *His* extremity became *man's* opportunity. If righteousness could come by law, it might have come then and continued. As the solemn entail of forfeiture was proclaimed from Ebal, and the bright succession of blessings from Gerizim, the announcement was received with an acclamation of amens. It was a mingling of the two voices of Destiny and Disposition, of Divine purpose and human choice.

LITERATURE.—Robinson, *BRP*; Stanley, *Sinai and Pal.*; Thomson, *Land and Book*; Smith, *Hist. Geog.*; Murray's and Bædeker's *Guide Books*.
G. M. MACKIE.

EBED (עֶבֶר).—**1.** The father of Gaal, who headed the rebellion against Abimelech (Jg 9^{26-35}). **2.** One of those who returned from Babylon with Ezra (Ezr 8^6), called in 1 Es 8^{32} Obeth.

EBED-MELECH (עֶבֶד־מֶלֶךְ).—An Ethiop. eunuch, at whose intercession and by whose personal exertions Jeremiah was released from the pit-prison of Malchiah. For this kindly service E. was promised immunity from the fate of his companions at the capture of Jerus. (Jer $38^{7ff.}$ $39^{15ff.}$). It is possible that the name E., which means 'servant of [the] king,' may have been an official title. A very ancient seal (see fig. on p. 258 of Benzinger's *Heb. Arch.*) is inscribed 'Obadiah servant of the king' (*Obadjahu 'ebhed hammelekh*). More probable, however, is the view of Gray (*Heb. Prop. Names*, 117, 147), who takes Melech as a divine name.
J. A. SELBIE.

EBENEZER (אֶבֶן הָעֵזֶר or הָאֶבֶן 'Stone of help').—Mentioned three times in 1 S. According to 4^1 5^1 it is the scene of a great defeat of the Isr. at the hands of the Phil. in the time of Eli, while in 7^{12} it is the name of a stone set up by Samuel to commemorate a great victory over the Philistines; it is further noticeable that in 7^{12} the name is apparently given for the first time, though the victory there described happened some twenty years after the events of ch. 4^1 5^1. In 7^{12}, which belongs to a somewhat later document, E. is placed under Beth-car, and between Mizpah and Hasshen ('the tooth'); but we must here follow the LXX (τῆς παλαιᾶς), and read 'between Mizpah and Jashan (or Jeshanah)'; the latter (cf. 2 Ch 13^{19}) is probably the modern 'Ain Sinia, to the N. of Bethel. On this view, E. would lie somewhere at the head of the valley of Aijalon; this site is further favoured by the notice in $4^{1f.}$. The more generally accepted theory, however, places E. more to the south, at the head of the vale of Sorek, and either identifies the stone set up by Samuel with the great stone at Bethshemesh (6^{18}) or places it in the immediate neighbourhood. But this identification does not suit 7^{12}, and is hardly compatible with the narrative of 4^1–7^1. See G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geogr.* p. 223 f.
J. F. STENNING.

EBER (עֵבֶר).—**1.** The eponymous ancestor of the HEBREWS (which see), great-grandson of Shem, son of Shelah, and father of Peleg and Joktan (Gn $10^{24f.}$ $11^{14ff.}$, 1 Ch $1^{18.19.25}$), perhaps used poetically for Israel in Nu 24^{24} (but see Dillm. *ad loc.*).

2. The representative of the priestly family of Amok in the days of Joiakim, Neh 12^{20}. 3. A Gadite family name, 1 Ch 5^{13}. 4. 5. The name of two Benjamite families, 1 Ch $8^{12.\ 22}$. See GENEALOGY. J. A. SELBIE.

EBEZ (אֶבֶץ), 'white.'—A city of Issachar (Jos 19^{20}). The site is uncertain. Probably the ruin *El-Beidhah*, 'the white,' east of Carmel. *SWP* vol. i. sheet v. C. R. CONDER.

EBIASAPH.—See ABIASAPH.

EBONY (הָבְנִים *hobnîm*).—The Arab. name for this wood is very near the Heb., being *ebnûs*. There can be no reasonable doubt of the identity of the wood intended in the single passage in which it is mentioned (Ezk 27^{15}). It was brought to Tyre by merchants from Dedan, on the Pers. Gulf. It is the black heart-wood of *Diospyros Ebenum*, L., and several other species of the same genus, trees growing to a large size in Ceylon and S. India. *D. Ebenum*, however, furnishes the best wood. It resembles the common and the Japanese *persimmon* in its mode of growth and inflorescence, and in bearing an edible fruit, between a pome and a berry. The sap-wood is white and valueless, but the heart often yields a log 2 ft. in diameter, and 10 to 15 ft. long. G. E. POST.

EBRON (עֶבְרֹן).—A town in the territory assigned to Asher (Jos 19^{28} RV; wrongly written Hebron in AV, as if from חֶבְרוֹן, the name of the famous Judæan city). It is just possible that we should read 'Ebdon, for 'Ebron, the latter form having arisen from the substitution, not uncommon, of ר for ד. It is noteworthy that this name, 'Ebron, occurs but once, while in the other name-lists for Asher (Jos 21^{30}, 1 Ch 6^{74}) we have an 'Ebdon or 'Abdon, which is absent here. This supposition has the support of twenty MSS (Gesenius). It is, however, in conflict with the ancient versions, all of which give 'Ebron, with the single exception of B, which unaccountably has Ἐλβών. From the order in which the towns are mentioned, we should seek for E. somewhere north of Cabûl, and south of Rehob, Hammôn, and Ḳanah. No certain identification has yet been made: in position the ruin of *'Abdeh* answers well enough the condition indicated. Twelve miles north of Cabûl, about 10 miles N.N.E. of Acre, and 3 miles east of Achzib,—the modern Ez-Zîb,—it occupies a slight eminence on the northern edge of the Plain of Acre, the mountains rising like grim guardians behind. If we accept the identification of 'Ebron with 'Abdon, this seems to be the most probable site. W. EWING.

ECBATANA.—See ACHMETHA.

ECCLESIASTES (קֹהֶלֶת *Ḳoheleth*, LXX Ἐκκλησιαστής, Aq. Κωλέθ).—1. The TITLE.—This presents some difficulties, which have scarcely as yet been satisfactorily explained. The word is a fem. part. of the Qal conj. The verb is not found elsewhere in this conj. In the Hiph. the word means 'to call an assembly together.' It is commonly held that here the Qal is used with the force of the Hiph., and that *Ḳoheleth* means 'one who convenes an assembly.' There have been other interpretations, such as 'a collector of sayings,' or 'one who gathers wisdom from various quarters.' But since the verb is always used with ref. to persons and never with ref. to things, these are untenable. Tyler urges that the causative force cannot be put into the word, and he explains it to mean 'one who *is* an assembly.' *Koheleth* would thus be a personification of 'an ideal assembly of those Jewish philosophers, Stoic, Epicurean, and others, whose opinions were influential at the time when the book was composed' (Tyler, *Ec.* 59). But this is too artificial to be probable, and it seems best to fall back on the common view, that *Ḳ.* means 'the convener of an assembly.' A greater difficulty is caused by the fem. form. This has been explained on the hypothesis that the speaker is Wisdom, impersonated in Solomon, and *Ḳ.* is fem. as agreeing with the fem. word for Wisdom. This view has been taken by Ewald, Hitzig, Ginsburg, and others. Against this, however, serious objections may be urged. It is strange that Wisdom should be nowhere mentioned as the speaker. Further, it is barely conceivable that Wisdom should have used some of the language put into the mouth of *Ḳ.* ($1^{17.\ 18}$ 7^{23} etc.), or that Solomon should be regarded as her impersonation, considering the experiences through which the speaker says that he has passed. Again, the tone of the discourses is so different from what we find in those passages where Wisdom is actually represented as speaking, that if the writer had intended to make Solomon the spokesman of Wisdom he would have felt it necessary, in view of this striking difference, to say so explicitly. It is also to be observed that the verb used with *Ḳ.* is masc., and on the view we are discussing it is explained by the theory that the fem. Wisdom speaks through the masc. Solomon. The objections already urged against the identification of *Ḳ.* with Wisdom have led to the view that we are to find in the fem. form, not a distinction of sex, but a variation in meaning. In other words, the Preacher is a male, but the fem. termination conveys a special shade of meaning. This gives a better account of the use of the masc. verb. The word may then mean 'one who holds the office of a teacher or preacher' (Delitzsch, Nowack, Cheyne), or, if the fem. has an intensive force, 'the great orator' (W. Wright, RVm). Kuenen feels himself unable to decide between the view that *Ḳ.* is Wisdom and that the fem. does not express distinction of sex. The arguments for the latter view seem to be stronger, and we should probably interpret *Ḳ.* to mean 'one who holds the office of teacher.' The title *Ecclesiastes* comes from the LXX.

That by *Ḳ.* the author means Solomon has been subject to dispute, but should admit of none. He is identified with 'the son of David, king in Jerus.' (1^{1}), and says of himself, 'I, *Ḳ.*, was king over Israel in Jerusalem.' The son of David who was king is best explained strictly and not loosely to mean descendant. After the division of the kingdom a king could not have spoken of himself as reigning over Israel in Jerusalem. It is also clear that Solomon is the king whose varied experiences of wisdom and luxury are referred to in chs. 1 and 2.

2. AUTHORSHIP AND DATE.—The book was, till the period of critical investigation, almost universally ascribed to Solomon. Some writers still support this view, though it is abandoned by all critics of eminence. The main reason is that *Koheleth* speaks in the first person, and therefore if the author was not Solomon he would be deceiving his readers. This does not follow. The author of Job uses the literary vehicle of a debate to reach the solution of his problem. Here the writer has chosen an autobiographical sketch of Solomon as his literary vehicle. And he has done so for reasons which are quite obvious. Solomon was the typical representative of Wisdom, and the author wished to set forth his conclusions as those of a man who had brought the deepest and sanest reflection to bear upon life. But it was also important that his experience should be wide, and his opportunities of testing the value of life in its

various forms of the fullest. Here Solomon admirably served his purpose. Not only was he the wise man, but he was a king whose magnificence has passed into a proverb, and who was able to gratify every wish. He was thus able to wring the most out of life, and from him the sentence 'All is vanity' would come with greater force than from any other. This is no proof that he is not the author, but it removes any antecedent prejudice against the denial of the Solomonic authorship, based on the statements of the book.

The objections to the Solomonic authorship are overwhelming. The very language quoted to prove it is seen on examination to be unfavourable to it. Solomon can hardly have said 'I was king,' as if he had ceased to be so, for he reigned till his death. The words 'over Israel in Jerus.' are most naturally explained by the writer's knowledge of kings of Israel who did not reign in Jerusalem. And since it was his own father who had made Jerus. the royal city, and Solomon had not been preceded by a long line of kings, he could scarcely have spoken of 'all that were before me in Jerus.' (1^{16} $2^{7.9}$). There are also many passages which do not suit the Solomon of history. The writer speaks with bitterness of the oppression of the weak and the perversion of judgment. Solomon would not have tolerated such abuses if he had felt them so keenly as the author. Certainly, so far from feeling any keen distress at oppression, his government was systematically oppressive. The words of the author do not impress us as those of a king who stands above his subjects, but as those of a subject sympathizing with the misery of his fellow-subjects. Instead of judgment and righteousness he sees wickedness, and bids his readers not to wonder at oppression and violence. The State is not well-ordered and prosperous as in the time of Solomon. 'Folly is set in great dignity, and the rich sit in low places.' This is an error which proceeds from the ruler. Servants ride on horses, and princes walk on the earth. Nor can the reference to the king's system of spies, and the writer's bitter advice based upon it, be seriously regarded as from a king (10^{20}). Other references to kings (4^{13-16} $10^{16.17}$) are equally inconceivable in Solomon's mouth. Nor has the popular view, that Solomon wrote the book in his old age after repenting of his idolatry, any support in the book itself. From beginning to end there is no confession of wrong-doing, no ref. to idolatry, no hint of repentance. It dwells on the unsatisfying nature of life, but penitent confession is quite alien to its whole spirit and purpose. The author is certainly not a satisfactory or edifying penitent.

But the same conclusion that Solomon cannot be the author is shown by the language. The linguistic evidence is so decisive that Delitzsch has said, in words that have been quoted with approval by many critics since: 'If the Book of *K.* be of old-Solomonic origin, then there is no history of the Heb. language.' And Driver, whose opinion on such a matter is of exceptional value, says: 'Linguistically, *K.* stands by itself in OT. The Heb. in which it is written has numerous features in common with the latest parts of OT, Ezr, Neh, Ch, Est, but it has in addition many not met with in these books, but found first in the fragments of Ben-Sira (*c.* B.C. 200) or in the Mishnah (*c.* A.D. 200). The characteristic of the Hebrew in which these latest parts of OT are written is, that while many of the old classical words and expressions still continue in use, and, in fact, still preponderate, the syntax is deteriorated, the structure of sentences is cumbrous and inelegant, and there is a very decided admixture of words and idioms not found before, having usually affinities with the Aramaic, or being such as are in constant and regular use in the Heb. of post-Christian times (the Mishnah, etc.). And this latter element is decidedly larger and more prominent in Ec than in either Est or Ezr-Neh-Ch' (*LOT*, 444). The phenomena, in fact, are consistent only with the post-exilic date, and the Solomonic authorship is therefore out of the question. The detailed evidence may be found in Delitzsch's *Com.* (Germ. ed.), or in Wright's *Ecclesiastes*, Excursus iv. (see also Driver, *LOT* as above).

Critics who deny the Solomonic authorship, *i.e.* all critics who need be taken into account, are unanimous in assigning the book to the post-ex. period. There are two main theories—one that it belongs to the later years of the Pers. period, which came to a close B.C. 332; the other, that it comes from the Gr. period, and should be dated about B.C. 200. The former is the view of Ewald, Delitzsch, Ginsburg, and Cheyne in his *Job and Solomon*. In favour of the latter are Nöldeke, Kuenen, Hitzig, Tyler, Plumptre, Cornill, and Toy; while Cheyne in his *Founders* thinks it is probably correct. Nowack and Driver think the language points to the later date, but is not decisive; and so much is undoubtedly correct, if we ought not to accept the later date on the ground of the linguistic evidence alone. There are other criteria of importance. The political conditions implied yield valuable data. Cornill says: 'The general picture of the circumstances makes us fix on a period of complete anarchy, in which well-ordered political life cannot be spoken of, worthless revolutionaries seize the government and exhaust the country, and political wisdom is recognized to consist in a dull, listless submission to despotism and tyranny' (*Einleit.* 251). The justice of this description is clear from these passages, 4^{1-3} 5^{9} $10^{5-7.20}$. This compels us to place it at the earliest in the later years of the Pers. period, and precludes a date in the earlier part of that period. But it will suit equally well the date in the Gr. period, about B.C. 200. Hitzig thinks on account of 10^{16} that its date is B.C. 204, when Ptolemy Epiphanes ascended the throne at the age of five. He takes 9^{13-16} to be an allusion to the siege of Dora in B.C. 218. But this did not succeed owing to the strength of the place, not because a poor wise man delivered it. He explains 4^{13-16} of the high priest Onias ('the old and foolish king') and his nephew Joseph ('the poor and wise youth'), but the statements of the passage are not true of them. The political circumstances admit of either date. Kuenen thinks that the cosmopolitan tone of the book speaks for its origin in the Gr. period; but, as Nowack points out, this is characteristic of Heb. Wisdom generally. In its attitude to the doctrine of a future life Kuenen regards it as a forerunner of Sadduceeism. The writer's views, it is true, are those of the older Heb. theology, but they are put forth in opposition to the newer doctrine. Nowack thinks that these arguments would tell rather in favour of a Maccabæan date, when the two tendencies of Pharisaism and Sadduceeism became explicit. This does not follow, since, as Kuenen points out, while he is a forerunner of the Sadducees, he is so little a Sadducee that Graetz could regard him as a disciple of Hillel. This is most naturally explained by the view that he wrote before the rise of these distinct parties.

The most plausible argument in favour of the later date is derived from the supposed influence of Gr. philosophy. Tyler was the first to work out in detail the supposed influences of post-Aristotelian philosophy, and he was followed by Plumptre in his Commentary. A full and apparently conclusive refutation may be found in Cheyne's *Job and Sol.* (see also Nowack). Tyler's view is that the signs of acquaintance with Stoicism and Epicureanism are unmistakable. The author, however, he takes to be neither Stoic nor Epicurean, but one who leaves the doctrines of the two schools side by side in order to warn his readers against studies which could conduct to no certain goal, but led to opinions so opposed. The following points of contact with Stoicism are adduced. The doctrine that man should live according to nature is set forth in the catalogue of Times and Seasons (3^{1-8}). The doctrine of cycles, according to which history presents no progress, but only movement in a circle, is found in the description of the endless round in which the affairs of men move, so that all effort secures no progress but only return to a former condition (1^{2-10}). Fatalism is present in both; both regard the weaknesses of men as a kind of insanity, and both dwell on the nothingness of life. But no weight can be attached to these. The dreary repetition which characterizes life is not put forward as a philosophical doctrine, but as something taught by observation and experience. The sense of the emptiness of life is due to disillusion, and was not learnt in a school of philosophy, but in the hard school of life. Fatalism is only a coincidence, the Semite has a natural tendency to it. The view that the weaknesses of men are a kind of insanity is a genuine idea of Heb. Wisdom, which treats wisdom and folly as moral rather than intellectual. And the catalogue of Times and Seasons contains in its main idea nothing that cannot be well derived from Heb. thought. The traces of Epicureanism are equally unsatisfactory. Men are as beasts, coming from the dust and returning to it; pleasure is the highest good, esp. in the form of undisturbed tranquillity. The rivers run into the sea, yet the sea does not fill, the body is dissolved into its elements. The parallels are commonplace, and no distinctively Epicurean doctrine is to be found. It needed no acquaintance with Gr. philosophy to learn that man returned to dust, or that the sea was not filled by the rivers that fed it, or that pleasure was good if enjoyed in moderation. The comparison of man to the beasts that perish might occur to a Hebrew who did not accept the newer view of the future life. For traces of either Epicureanism or Stoicism the appeal is often to late authorities. And the coincidences are either unreal or insignificant, or readily explained from Heb. as well as Gr. ideas. We can therefore hardly rely on this alleged influence of Gr. philosophy as a criterion of date. Kuenen thinks that the proofs break down, and that the philosophical element in the stricter sense is absent. But a general influence, he thinks, may be detected. And if the date in the Gr. period is accepted, we may believe that the writer was susceptible to the influence of the atmosphere of Gr. thought, rather than of any special view.

So far, then, as the arguments for the two dates go, they cannot be said to be decisive. The linguistic argument pleads strongly for the later date, and there is no argument to set against it on the other side. The balance of probability, therefore, dips towards a date *c.* B.C. 200, though the book may possibly belong to the Persian period. Renan has put forward the view that the date is B.C. 125. But it was probably quoted as scripture shortly afterwards, which implies a longer previous history than Renan assigns to it. And after the Maccabæan struggle we should expect greater religious fervour. Graetz' view, that it belongs to the reign of Herod the Great (whom he identifies with *K.*), is probably excluded by the fact that it seems to have been quoted as scripture before that time; and apart from this it is questionable if the history of the Canon will permit of its composition so late.

3. THE INTEGRITY OF THE BOOK.—Certain passages have been suspected by several critics as later interpolations. The Epilogue (12^{9-14}) was the first to be suspected, but later the authenticity of the following has also been denied, 3^{17} 7^{5} $8^{12.13}$ 11^{9c} $12^{1a.7b}$. The whole of 12^{9-14}, however, does not stand or fall together, since vv.$^{9-12}$ are denied on other grounds than vv.$^{13.14}$. It will be most convenient to take 12^{9-12} first. The substance of the book evidently ends at 12^{8}. *K.* ends on the same note as that on which he began, 'Vanity of vanities, all is vanity.' In itself, however, this does not mark these verses as due to another hand. To the end of 12^{8} Solomon is represented as speaking, and in 12^{9-12} the real author may be regarded as speaking in his own person, and commending the book as the work of one of 'the wise.' Nor is it any serious argument against this that the author is represented in the body of the book as a king, but here as a wise man, for Solomon was the chief representative of 'the wise.' It is true that there are difficulties in the passage, and some uncommon expressions, but in themselves they do not warrant the view that the verses are the work of another writer. Those who think so regard them as a recommendation affixed to the work by a later hand. But the writer speaks of the author as if he were another than himself, in order to keep up the assumption of Solomonic authorship.

The other alleged interpolations raise a much more difficult question. $12^{13.14}$ are suspected partly on account of their general tenor, partly from their reference to the judgment. It seems strange to announce as the conclusion of the matter, that the teaching of the book may be summed up in the injunctions to 'fear God and keep his commandments.' Its teaching is rather that 'all is vanity and striving after wind,' and that man's wisest course is to recognize this and extract as much pleasure from life as he can. It is not denied that the fear of God is advised in the book, but that it is its main theme, or the chief lesson to be drawn from it. Kuenen, who gives a very long and elaborate defence of the authenticity of the entire Epilogue, admits that if this were interpreted in the highest sense as the one thing about which man had to concern himself, we should be compelled to deny $12^{13.14}$ to the author of the rest of the book. He argues, however, that the writer simply means that the fear of God and keeping of His commandments is the indispensable condition of enjoying life. But it is questionable whether the explicit words, 'for this is the whole duty of man,' do not compel us to interpret the command in the larger sense which Kuenen denies. This passage has been also suspected because of its ref. to a judgment. And the same objection lies against 3^{17} and 11^{9c} ('but know thou that for all these things God will bring thee into judgment'). If the reference is to a judgment after death, it seems improbable that they can be harmonized with other passages in the book (cf. 3^{19-21} $9^{5.6.10}$). But it is possible that a judgment in this life is referred to. This requires a change of reading in 3^{17}, when instead of 'there' (שָׁם *shām*), 'he hath appointed' (שָׂם *sām*) would be read. It is not clear, however, that this yields so good a sense, and it is not improbable that in all the passages a judgment after death is spoken of. In 12^{1a} the difficulty arises partly from the idea, which is thought to be alien to the general tenor of the book, partly from its incongruity with the context. The counsel, 'Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth,' is not what we expect from the author of such a book. Nor do the preceding counsels lead up to this. The young man is bidden to rejoice in all the days of his life, esp. in the days of his youth, remembering the dark days that await him in Sheol. But remembering not only these, but all the failure of manly vigour and his physical powers, and of the zest for pleasure that will come upon him with old age, he would do well to make the most of his prime of life. This gives a connected sense, and one in harmony with the rest of the book, and we obtain it by deleting 12^{1a} and connecting 12^{1b} with 11^{10}. The meaning in that case will be—make the best of your youth in the enjoyment of pleasures before the evil days of old age come, when you will say, I have no delight in them. It is true that the connexion of 12^{1b} with 11^{10} is a little awkward if 12^{1a} is omitted, but the connexion in the text is even more awkward. Graetz proposes to retain the words with a slight alteration of the Hebrew, and to read, 'Remember also thy fountain (*i.e.* thy wife) in the days of thy youth.' This is not grotesque, though it has been criticized as such; nor even unworthy, for it is an exhortation to a life of conjugal purity (in opposition to illicit amours), such as we have also in 9^{9}. But it is scarcely a happy suggestion. Bickell not only adopts the correction of the text, but attempts to improve the connexion by transposition. 12^{7b} ('and the spirit return unto God who gave it') may be retained on the ground that it simply implies the dissolution of the personality into its original sources, the body will return to dust, the spirit to God. The 'spirit' probably means nothing more than the breath of life (cf. Ps 104^{29}). No very serious objection need be felt to 7^5 or $8^{12.13}$.

While Kuenen retains these passages (except 12^{1a}, which he regards as altered on dogmatic grounds) by denying that they contain anything of a higher point of view than we generally find in the book, several critics defend the genuineness of the whole, with the obvious interpretation. Sanday in his *Bampton Lectures* argues that they must have been included, for otherwise a scribe would have passed it by, and it would have been simply left out of the Canon. This, however, is questionable. A book professing Solomonic authorship would not be lightly rejected; it would be assumed that it must really teach true religion, and a few interpolations would bring this out more clearly. He also urges that it is psychologically more probable that an Isr. would 'have this reserve in the bottom of his soul, than that he should give way to blank and unrelieved pessimism.' It is more remarkable to find so radical a critic as Cornill defending their authenticity. He maintains that the same thoughts run through the whole book; the fear of God and God the Judge are cardinal conceptions. In his very striking passage on the contents of the book he says: 'OT piety has never achieved a greater triumph than in the Bk of Ḳ.' (*Einleit.* 251). While the author sees the misery of the world as clearly as our modern pessimists, he is so penetrated by the piety of OT that he does not hit on the simplest and most obvious solution, that the world is the plaything of blind chance. He returns to the faith of his childhood in a personal God and a moral order of the world.

These views, and they are shared by other critics, are of weight. Yet it is doubtful if they do justice to the phenomena on the other side. It is very significant that the author's meditations end as they began—'Vanity of vanities, all is vanity.' Would this have been so if he had really fought his way back to the faith of his childhood? Cornill seems to overstate the case when he says that similar passages run through the book, and that the fear of God and God the Judge are cardinal conceptions. The theism of the book is not very pronounced. Cheyne says with justice: 'To me, Ḳ. is not a theist in any vital sense in his philosophic meditations. . . . He certainly never lost his theism, though pale and cheerless it was indeed, and utterly unable to stand against the assaults of doubt and despondency.' Looking at his speculations from a somewhat different viewpoint, it might even be alleged that Ḳ.'s theism is the source of all his perplexities. To every Hebrew, God and Providence were convertible notions, and this God, which to Job was an immorality, might be to Ḳ. a puzzle. Upon this theory it may, of course, be urged that rigid consistency is not to be expected in a man of the writer's temperament, who would speak according to his mood. Yet we may surely think that a man of his intellectual power and close observation of life would have some fixed principles; and we find them running through most of his meditations. When we find a few sayings that seem to run contrary to these, we may either try to explain them in harmony with the general view of the author, or regard them as interpolations due to a working over in the interests of orthodoxy. Either course seems preferable to that of leaving them as unreconciled contradictions. It seems on the whole most probable that at least $12^{1a.13.14}$ are later interpolations (assuming that 'thy Creator' is correctly read in 12^{1a}), and possibly also 3^{17} and 11^{9c}. On the other hand, 12^{7b} can be explained so as to avoid any conflict with the author's views.

The view of Krochmal with reference to the Epilogue must not be passed over in silence. He regarded $12^{11.12}$ or 12^{11-14} (it is not clear which) as appended to the whole of the third division of the Canon (the Kethubim or Hagiographa), and not simply to Ec. Graetz adopted the view that 12^{11-14} was added as the conclusion of the Kethubim, but thought also that the collectors of the third Canon added $12^{9.10}$ as an apology for Ec. Renan accepts $12^{9.10}$ as by the author of Ec, and agrees with Krochmal as to $12^{11.12}$, and also considers $12^{13.14}$ as unauthentic. It is unnecessary to discuss this view, which rests on pure hypothesis, and has been almost universally rejected.

Before leaving this part of the subject, it remains only to speak of the bold and original theory of Bickell. Eng. readers may find it presented in Dillon's *Sceptics of OT*, with a tr. of the book as rearranged, and in Cheyne's *Job and Solomon* (p. 273 ff.), where it is criticized. It is that the Heb. MS. from which our text is descended met with an accident. The sheets became disconnected, and, in replacing them, owing to a turning of the 2nd and 3rd sheets inside out, the text was completely dislocated, and passages were brought into juxtaposition which had originally no connexion with each other. Two sets of interpolations were then made. One series was designed to connect the verses which had been thus brought together. The other interpolations were intended to give the book an orthodox tone. The detailed working-out, which is very brilliant and ingenious, cannot be exhibited here. We may, however, give his results as to the original book and its order. He makes the orig. Ḳ. to consist of the following passages in the order given:—1^2–2^{12} 5^9–6^7 3^9–4^8 2^{12}–3^8 8^6–9^3 8^{15} 7^{11}–10^1 6^8–$7^{22.20}$ 4^9–5^8 10^{16}–$11^{6.5}$ 7^{23}–8^{5a} $10^{2-15.14b}$ 9^{3-10} 11^7–12^8. The theory is open to very serious objections. It is questionable whether it will stand the test of exegesis; and to quote Cheyne's words: 'Apart from other difficulties in the way of the theory, the number and arbitrariness of the transpositions, additions, and alterations are reason enough to make one hesitate to accept it.' Kuenen also says that it is as good as unthinkable that all the accidents assumed should have taken place together, and combined to produce our Bk of Ec. Euringer has urged an objection, which if valid is fatal to the supposition that such an accident could have occurred. It is that, at so early a period, the codex form would not be used, but the roll form, and therefore there would be no sheets to be dislocated by such accidents as are postulated by the theory.

4. Contents and Thought.—It is very difficult to give an account of the contents of Ec which shall be at once clear, brief, and adequate. There is very little strict development of the thought, and the endless repetition which the writer sees in nature and life has its partial counterpart in his book. The difficulty is increased by the uncertainty as to interpolations and the exegesis of particular passages. The following outline may be given. Vanity of vanities, all is vanity. No profit comes to man from all his toil. Nature and man go ceaselessly round and round in the same course with utterly wearisome monotony, and there is no new thing under the sun (1^{2-11}). Ḳ. being king over Jerus. uses his wisdom to understand the life of men, and finds that all is vanity (1^{12-15}). He finds, too, that the search to know wisdom and folly is vanity, and that wisdom brings sorrow (1^{16-18}). He tries to find happiness in pleasure, and exhausts every source of enjoyment, but finds it is all vanity (2^{1-11}). Wisdom far excels folly, yet wise and fool perish and are forgotten alike (2^{12-17}). The accumulation of wealth is vanity, for the man who has gathered it by toil and wisdom must die and leave it to another, it may be to a fool (2^{18-23}). The best thing in life is to eat and drink, as God permits. Yet even this is vanity (2^{24-26}). A time is allotted for everything. This is the doing of God, who has set the world [or eternity] in man's heart, yet so that His plan cannot be understood. Since man cannot understand the plan by which the season for everything is appointed, he will do well to enjoy life as much as he can. All is fixed unalterably by God, that men should fear Him (3^{1-15}). The sight of oppression makes him think that God will judge the righteous and the wicked. But man dies like the beasts, and should enjoy life while he may, for he cannot return to it after he is dead (3^{16-22}). The oppression of the helpless convinces him that the dead are in better case than the living, and best of all is not to have been born at all (4^{1-3}). Successful labour is vanity, for it only causes a man to be envied (4^{4-6}). The efforts of the lonely man to attain wealth are vanity; and there is safety and comfort in the possession of a friend (4^{7-12}). A

poor wise youth succeeded an old and foolish king, yet the bright expectations of his rejoicing subjects were disappointed (4^{13-16}). Be very circumspect in your service of God and the vows you make to Him, or it will be worse for you (5^{1-7}). Do not be surprised at oppression, for the oppressors themselves are under tyranny. Far better the state which depends for prosperity on the pursuit of agriculture [*or* men are much more on a level than they seem ; the king himself depends like all his subjects on the products of the earth] ($5^{8, 9}$). Accumulation of wealth is vanity, for it brings little pleasure and much anxiety (5^{10-12}). Sometimes wealth is accumulated by labour and lost by misfortune, so that the possessor has no enjoyment out of it (5^{13-17}). It is best to eat and drink and enjoy life, so far as God gives one the power, and thus make life pass without too much reflexion (5^{18-20}). God sometimes gives the means of enjoying life, but withholds the power of enjoyment (6^{1-6}). Toil is for the appetite which is insatiable, the wise is no better off than the fool ; possession is better than inordinate desire, but this too is vanity (6^{7-9}). The destiny of man has been determined for him, he cannot struggle against it, nor does he know what is good for him (6^{10-12}). A good name is better than ointment, death than birth, sorrow than mirth (7^{1-6}). The end is better than the beginning, patience than vexation, wisdom than property. Whether prosperity or adversity be your lot, consider that both come from God, and cannot be altered (7^{7-14}). Do not go to extremes in virtue or vice, in wisdom or folly (7^{15-18}). Yet wisdom is strength, since all sin and may need it. Gossip should not be listened to, for a man is sure to hear something unpleasant about himself (7^{19-22}). Ḳ. sought wisdom, but could not fully attain it. But he found this, that woman was more bitter than death, and only the man who pleased God would escape her snares. A good man was as one in a thousand, but a good woman he had not found at all. This was not the fault of God, but of man, who had sought out many inventions (7^{23-29}). Wisdom is the best. Be obedient to the king, and in time of oppression do not be tempted to rebel, for judgment will come on the tyrant (8^{1-9}). The wicked sometimes fare as the righteous, and the righteous as the wicked, yet it is better with the righteous than with the wicked ; but since all is vanity, it is best to eat, drink, and be merry, for that, at any rate, will last as long as life (8^{10-15}). However wise a man may be, he cannot understand the work of God. All men are in His hand, and cannot escape the universal lot. Life is bad, but it has hope ; death comes to all, and with it the loss of consciousness, feeling, and activity (8^{16}–9^{6}). Enjoy life to the full, unvexed by scruple as to the approval of God (?) ; get the most out of this life, for there is nothing to be looked for beyond it (9^{7-10}). In the conflict of life merit does not ensure success, but it is matter of chance and circumstance. Men are snared by misfortune as fish are caught in a net. Wisdom is better than strength, yet, as in the case of the poor man who delivered the city, it meets with ingratitude and forgetfulness (9^{11-16}). Wisdom is far better than folly, it will guide man aright in his relations with princes, save him from danger by putting him on his guard, and guide him in practical life. Yet a capricious ruler may exalt folly (9^{17}–10^{11}). A fool's talk is worthless, and his labour wearisome (10^{12-15}). Unhappy is the land whose king is a child and whose princes are slothful and gluttonous ; while that country is blessed whose king is of noble character and whose princes are temperate. But if the king be bad, it is prudent not to curse him even in secrecy, for his spies are everywhere, and will tell him of it (10^{16-20}). Be benevolent [or prudent], so that you may be safe in time of calamity. Do the work you have to do without waiting for the exact circumstances you would like. The laws of nature are above you, and the attempt to attain too close conformity with them is likely to paralyze industry (11^{1-6}). Life is sweet, but let man remember also the days of darkness that await him after death. And, remembering these, let him enjoy life to the full in his youth, before the evil days of old age come on him, when all his physical powers will fail, and all appetite for pleasure be gone; before his life be shattered, and he pass away. Vanity of vanities, all is vanity (11^{7}–12^{8}).

So end the meditations of Ḳ.; for the Epilogue, whether in whole or part authentic or not, lies outside the work itself. There can be little question as to the fundamental thought of the book. All is vanity, life yields no real satisfaction. If we had unlimited means at our disposal to secure happiness, it is quite unattainable. The best thing is to seek for enjoyment, to eat, drink, and be merry. Yet we should do the author an injustice if we regarded him as a mere sensualist. From gross indulgence he would have turned with disgust. It was madness, and no man who valued his peace of mind would be enticed by it (cf. his words on 'the woman whose heart is snares and nets,' 7^{26}). He urges rather a moderate enjoyment of the good things of life : 'Eat thy bread with joy, and drink thy wine with a merry heart ; . . . Let thy garments always be white ; and let not thy head lack ointment. Live joyfully with the wife whom thou lovest all the days of the life of thy vanity.' Life is a bad business at the best, but it lies within our power to palliate its misery by prudence and the due enjoyment of what little pleasure we can get. And we should be all the more eager to make the most of our opportunities for pleasure that in the dreary darkness of Sheol no possibility of enjoyment will be found. His motto is *Carpe diem* ; and if in the abstract it be not a high motto, we must remember the misery of his time, and the absence of any hope of improvement in this world or immortality in the next. If we ask the cause of this misery, and of the general vanity of life and uselessness of all endeavour, it lies in the conditions of human life. God has a plan of the world, everything has its time and season. But man cannot find out what this plan is, and hence rarely orders his life in accordance with it. He may think that a certain line of conduct will produce a certain result ; but it may be quite different, so that life may seem ruled by chance, not by law. And he is not master of his own fate. God has ordained this, and he helplessly struggles against it. He is caught in an evil snare and cannot escape. But when Ḳ. speaks of God, we may easily read more into his language than he meant. J", the national name of the God of Israel, nowhere occurs. Ḳ. is certainly a theist, and the name of God frequently occurs. But God is withdrawn from the life of men ('God is in heaven, and thou upon earth,' 5^{2}). God is to be regarded with fear, and man must be very circumspect in his approaches to Him ($5^{1, 2}$). Man should be very careful in his utterances, and especially avoid a hasty vow. If he vows he should not defer to pay, for God 'hath no pleasure in fools,' and if provoked to anger may destroy the work of his hands (5^{2-6}). Ḳ.'s conception of God has nothing attractive or winning, He is rather set before us as the omnipotent Ruler who has ordained all the course of history, which man vainly seeks to comprehend, and as the austere Deity on whose favour or forbearance none may venture to presume. Such enjoyment as may be gained from life in harmony with His laws is legitimate, hence the gratification of appetite in a legitimate manner has His approval, it is His gift (2^{24} 3^{13} $5^{18, 19}$ 9^{7} etc.).

His view of the future is equally gloomy, but in this he stands upon the old ways of thought. Men are beasts. 'For that which befalleth the sons of men befalleth beasts; even one thing befalleth them: as the one dieth, so dieth the other; yea they have all one spirit; and man hath no pre-eminence above the beasts: for all is vanity. All go unto one place; all are of the dust, and all turn to dust again' (3^{19-20}). On this follows the question: 'Who knoweth the spirit of man whether it goeth upward, and the spirit of the beast whether it goeth downward to the earth?' (3^{21}). This has been interpreted as if the writer meant to say that such a distinction really existed. But in face of the plain statements just quoted, it is hard to see how such a view can be maintained. The state of the dead is described in the most cheerless language. 'The dead know not anything, neither have they any more a reward; for the memory of them is forgotten. As well their love as their hatred and envy is now perished; neither have they any more a portion for ever in anything that is done under the sun' ($9^{5.6}$). 'There is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom in Sheol, whither thou goest' (9^{10}). 'Let him remember the days of darkness, for they shall be many' (11^{8}). Sometimes he speaks as though life were worse than death, and as if it had been best never to have been born at all ($4^{2.3}$ 7^{1}); sometimes as if death were worse than life ($9^{4.5}$), though for the grim reason that 'the living know that they shall die; but the dead know not anything.' There is no fundamental inconsistency; both life and death were so evil, that there was little to choose between them, and now one, now the other, might according to his mood be esteemed the worse. It would be different if we could assume, as some do, that he reached a higher point of view. Some of the passages already discussed under the head of the *Integrity of the Book* might be so interpreted. But it seems quite decisive against this that he *ends* his work with the words, 'Vanity of vanities, saith Ḳ., all is vanity.' Another passage which has been variously interpreted, is 3^{11} 'Also He hath set the world [or eternity] in their heart.' The word tr. 'world' is עֹלָם, and it is found in this sense in later Heb., but nowhere else in OT. It is true that this pleads for the sense 'eternity' adopted by Delitzsch, Wright, and others. And this would point to belief in a future life in the higher sense. Man has the longing for immortality placed in his heart by God. But the context speaks rather for the other rendering. God has a plan for the course of history, and has given men their labour in which they toil. He has set the world in their heart; in other words, He has implanted in men the instinct which causes them to busy themselves with the things of the world.

5. CANONICITY OF THE BOOK.—It does not fall within the province of this article to discuss whether Ec is or is not rightly included in the Canon. But the question of its canonicity is of considerable historical interest. It is well known that in the 2nd cent. A.D. there was dispute about it in the Jewish schools. The evidence may be conveniently seen in Wildeboer's *Origin of Can. of OT*. The question which is disputed by scholars is whether it was regarded as canonical in the 1st cent. B.C., and whether the later discussions concerned the question of its right to retain the position it had already attained, or whether it was first admitted into the Canon in consequence of these discussions. The question hardly admits of examination in our space, but the evidence seems to us to favour the latter view. The reader may consult the art. OLD TESTAMENT CANON, and the works of Ryle, Buhl, and Wildeboer, especially the last.

LITERATURE.—The *Comm.* of Ewald, Hitzig, Ginsburg, Graetz, Delitzsch, Tyler, Nowack, Plumptre, C. H. H. Wright. The *Introductions to OT* by Kuenen, Driver, Cornill, Wildeboer; A. B. Davidson in *Book by Book*; W. T. Davison, *Wis. Lit. of OT*; Cheyne, *Job and Sol.*; Renan, *L'ecclésiaste trad. de l'héb.* etc.; Bickell, *Der Prediger über d. Wert d. Daseins* (1884), and *Koheleth Untersuch. über d. Wert d. Daseins* (1886); Dillon, *Sceptics of OT*; C. Taylor, *Dirge of Koh. in Ec.* 12; Salmond, *Christ. Doct. of Immortality*, 165 ff., 267 ff.; and the literature in Strong, *Student's Comm.* pp. 31–38. A. S. PEAKE.

ECCLESIASTICUS.—See SIRACH.

ECLIPSE.—See ASTRONOMY AND ASTROLOGY.

ED.—In the Hebrew (and also in the Greek) text of Jos 22^{34} the name given by the two and a half tribes to the altar erected by them on the east bank* of the Jordan has dropped out. Our English translators have filled the gap by inserting *Ed* as the name of the altar in question. For this they have the authority of a few MSS (see de Rossi, *Variæ Lectiones Vet. Test., in loc.*).

The Syriac (Peshiṭta) reads מדבחא דשהדותא 'altar of witness.' The suggestion of Dillmann in his commentary, *Die Bücher Num. Deut. u. Josua* (1886), that the original text had גַּלְעֵד *Gal'ed* (as Gn 31^{47}, EV Galeed), 'Mound of witness,' has been very favourably received (Oettli, Kautzsch, Bennett. See footnote). This name was probably dropped by some later copyist or editor who detected therein a possible inconsistency with the earlier narrative in Gn 31. The MT in its present form can only mean that the name of the altar was the whole sentence: It-is-a-witness-between-us-that-J″-is-God! A. R. S. KENNEDY.

EDDINUS (Ἐδδεινοῦς B, Ἐδδινοῦς A), one of the 'holy singers' at Josiah's passover, 1 Es 1^{15}. In the parallel passage 2 Ch 35^{15} the corresponding name is Jeduthun, which is read also, contrary to MS authority, by AV in 1 Es. The text of the latter is probably corrupt. Ἐδδεινοῦς may have arisen from one or other of the numerous Gr. equivalents (perhaps Ἐδειθοῦν) of the name Jeduthun, but a more difficult question is the substitution in the same verse of Zacharias (wh. see) for Heman. J. A. SELBIE.

EDEN (עֵדֶן).—A Levite in the time of Hezekiah (2 Ch 29^{12} 31^{15}).

EDEN (עֶדֶן).—1. 'The children of E. which are (not *were* as in EV) in Telassar' are enumerated in 2 K 19^{12} (=Is 37^{12}) amongst the peoples conquered by Sennacherib's predecessors. Telassar, if Schrader is right in identifying it with *Til-Aŝurri* of the inscriptions, lay on the east of the Tigris, and must have been the district to which the conquered had been deported, in accordance with the custom introduced by Tiglath-pileser III. From their being mentioned along with Gozan, Haran, and Rezeph, we naturally seek for the original home of the Bênê-Eden in Mesopotamia. They are doubtless the *Bit-'Adini* of the inscriptions, an Aramæan principality in the far west of Mesopotamia, some 200 miles N.N.E. of Damascus, which we know to have offered a stubborn resistance to Assur-naẓir-pal, and to have been conquered by Shalmaneser II., B.C. 856 (see ASSYRIA, pp. 183^{b}, 184^{b}). In Ezk 27^{23} Eden is mentioned amongst the traders with Tyre. The name here also occurs in connexion with Haran, and is therefore probably *Bit-'Adini*, although the conjecture of Margoliouth (see ARABIA, p. 131^{b}), that it may be the modern Aden in S. Arabia, is not without plausibility.

---

* This location is required by the whole tenor of the narrative. The west bank is suggested by v.^{10} in its present form, and maintained also by RV in v.^{11}, by a translation of doubtful admissibility, 'in the forefront of the land of Canaan, *on the side that pertaineth to the children of Israel.*' See further the Comm. *in loc.*, and Bennett's edition of Joshua in Haupt's polychrome OT.

LITERATURE.—Schrader, *KAT*^{2}, 327; Delitzsch on Is 37^{12}; Davidson on Ezk 27^{23}; Frd. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 4, 98, 184.

2. 'The house of Eden' (AVm and RVm **Beth-eden**) is mentioned in Am 1^{5}. The context has led to the inference that it was in the neighbourhood of Damascus, 'some royal paradise in that region which is still the Paradise of the Arab world' (G. A. Smith, *Twelve Proph.* 125). Ewald (*Prophets*, i. 159, Eng. tr.) identifies it with the *Paradise* of Strabo, xvi. 2-19; and Farrar (*Minor Prophets*, 53) thinks it may be *Beit el-janne* 'House of Paradise' (see, however, Driver's note on Am 1^{5}), about eight miles from Damascus, referring in support of this view to Porter (*Five Years in Damascus*, i. 313). Driver considers the most probable identifications to be (1) the modern *Ehden*, 20 miles N.W. of Baalbek; or (2) *Bit-'Adini*, described above. Wellhausen (*Kl. Proph.* 68) considers it improbable that Beth-eden is to be sought *near* Damascus, and is sceptical also about identifying Aven of the same passage with Baalbek. (See, further, G. Hoffmann in *ZAW*, 1883, p. 97; Schrader, *KAT*^{2} p. 442; and esp. Driver, *Joel and Amos*, 132 f., 228 f.) J. A. SELBIE.

EDEN (עֵדֶן, Ἔδεμ).—We read that 'the LORD God planted a garden in Eden, eastward, and there put the man whom he had formed' (Gn 2^{8}). 'And a river went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became four heads' (v.^{10}). Two of these were the Tigris and Euphrates; a third was the Pison, which compassed the land of Havilah; the fourth being the Gihon, which compassed Cush. After Adam had been expelled from the Paradise, his firstborn, Cain, 'dwelt in the land of Nod, on the east of Eden,' and there built the city of Enoch (Gn 4$^{16f.}$).

Eden means 'delight' in Hebrew, and the position of its garden has been assigned to various parts of the world. Even the North Pole and Australia have found advocates. Josephus (*Ant.* I. i. 3), the Book of Enoch (xxxii.), and Cosmas Indicopleustes place it in the extreme north-east, towards the Altai mountains of Mongolia. Sanson, Reland, Calmet, Bunsen, Keil, and von Raumer locate it in Armenia, between the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates, the Araxes and the Phasis. Calvin, Bochart, Huet, Rask, and the modern Assyriologists assign it to Chaldæa. Le Clercq places it in the neighbourhood of Damascus, between the Chrysorrhoas and the Orontes; while Heidegger seeks for it in Palestine, near the sources of the Jordan; and Hardouin and Halévy in southern Arabia. Renan identifies Eden with Udyâna, 'the garden,' near Kashmir; Bertheau, Lassen, Obry, Spiegel, and Lenormant, with the Meru of the Hindu Puranas, and the Airyana-Vaêja and Harâ-Berezaiti of the Zoroastrian Vendidâd and Avesta. Meru seems primarily to have denoted the mountains above the Pamir, Airyana-Vaêja being the country between the sources of the Oxus and Jaxartes, and Harâ-Berezaiti the Belur-dagh. Ezk 28^{14} is appealed to in behalf of the theory that the garden of Eden was on a mountain, though the text may be differently explained.

The rivers Pison and Gihon have been the subject of a similar variety of identifications. Josephus, Eusebius, Augustine, Ambrose, and Jerome make the Pison the Ganges, Cosmas Indicopleustes identifies it with the Indus, while the Jewish commentators, Sa'adya and Rashi, as well as the Samaritans, declare it to be the Nile. The Nile, on the other hand, is identified with the Gihon by Josephus (*Ant.* I. i. 3), most of the Fathers, Kalisch, Gesenius, Lengerke, and Bertheau, as well as in Sir 24^{25}. The Sept. also, in Jer 2^{18}, substitutes Gihon (Γηών) for Sihor, the Nile. Cosmas makes Gihon the Ganges; the Samaritan version calls it the Asḳôph, which seems to be the Cho-aspes. Mohammedan writers identified the Gihon and Pison with the Oxus and Jaxartes, whence their modern names of Jihûn and Sihûn, which were transferred by the Seljuk Turks to the Pyramus and Sarus in Cilicia. St. Martin identifies the Pison with the waterless Wady er-Ruma in Arabia.

The cuneiform inscriptions have, however, cleared up the geography of the garden of Eden. The Sumerian name of the 'plain' of Babylonia was Edin, which was adopted by the Semites under the form of Edinu. Its Assyr. equivalent was *Zeru*, corresponding to the Arab. Zor, the name still applied to the 'depression' between the Tigris and Euphrates. These rivers formerly flowed immediately into the Persian Gulf, though, owing to the silt annually deposited by them, their ancient mouths are now more than eighty miles distant from the sea. The seaport of primitive Chaldæa was Eridu, 'the good city,' now Abu-Shahrein, which stood near the mouth of the Euphrates. In its neighbourhood was a garden, 'a holy place,' wherein grew the sacred palm-tree—the tree of life—whose roots of bright lapis lazuli were planted in the cosmic abyss, whose position marked the centre of the world, and whose foliage was the couch of the goddess Bahu, while the god Tammuz dwelt in the shrine under the shadow of its branches, within which no mortal had ever entered. An oracle was attached to 'the holy tree of Eridu,' and Eri-Aku (Arioch) calls himself its 'executor.' This tree of life is frequently represented in the Assyr. sculptures, where it is depicted with two guardian spirits or cherubs, kneeling or standing on either side of it. They are winged, with the heads sometimes of eagles, sometimes of men. Lenormant states that on an Assyrian talisman in the collection of M. de Clercq he found the word *Kirubu* in place of the ordinary *sedu* or 'protecting genius' (*Les Origines de l'Histoire*, i. p. 118). The flaming sword of the cherubim has its counterpart in the sword of Merodach 'with fifty heads,' 'whose light gleams forth like the day'; and Sumerian texts speak of 'the wicked serpent,' 'the serpent of darkness.' See further, art. CHERUBIM.

The statement of Genesis, that the river which went out of Eden was parted into four heads, is explained by the fact that the Persian Gulf was held to be a river by the Babylonians, and was accordingly called by them *nar marratum*, 'the bitter river.' In the second millennium B.C., not only the **Tigris and Euphrates**, but other rivers besides flowed into it; but the tide, which carried the salt water a long way up their channels, made it possible to speak of their mouths as 'heads.' The Tigris was called Idigla and Idigna, 'the encircling,' in Sumerian, and *id* signified 'a river.' The **Pison** and **Gihon** were identified by Sir Henry Rawlinson with the Uknu and Surappu, which Tiglath-pileser III. couples with the Tigris in southern Babylonia (*Report of Fortieth Meeting of British Assoc.* p. 173). Subsequently he held the Pison to be the Arakhtu or canal on which Babylon was built; and the Gihon the modern Jûkhâ, which flows westward from the Euphrates towards Abu-Shahrein. Friedrich Delitzsch also identifies the Gihon with the Arakhtu, which he believes to be the Shatt-en-Nîl of to-day; but the Pison with the Pallukat, the Pallacopas of classical geography.

The names of the two rivers are, however, still unidentified in the inscriptions. But the land of Havilah encompassed by the Pison was the 'sandy' region of northern Arabia, which extended westward towards the frontier of Egypt (Gn 25^{18}, 1 S 15^{7}). The 'bdellium' that came from it may be the *budilkhati* of the cuneiform inscriptions, which is preceded by the determinative of vegetable; the 'onyx-stone' or *shoham* is the Assyr. *sâmtu*, which we are told was brought from the desert which lay to the east of Egypt.

The Gihon is perhaps the Kerkha, which rises east of the Tigris among the mountains of Luristan, formerly inhabited by the Kossæans, called Kassi in the cuneiform texts. The whole of Susiana was termed Kissia or Kyssia by the classical writers, and its two chief rivers were the Eulæus or Choaspes, the modern Kerkha, and the Pasi-tigris, the modern Karûn. In a cuneiform text the Ulai or Eulæus is described as entering 'the sea.' The land of Nod or the 'Nomads,' to the east of Edom, would correspond with the country of the nomad Sute and Manda in the Babylonian inscriptions.

Pinches has found the name of Pardêsu or 'Paradise' as that of a country, apparently mythological, in some Babylonian cuneiform tablets (*PSBA*, Dec. 1896). It is coupled with the 'land of Bit-Napsanu,' and in one passage, by a punning etymology, is derived from the name of 'the god Esu.'

LITERATURE.—Friedr. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* (1881); Sayce, *HCM* 95 ff.; Hommel, *Anc. Heb. Tradition*, p. 314.

A. H. SAYCE.

EDER (עֵדֶר).—1. Gn 35^{21} 'And Israel journeyed, and spread his tent beyond the tower of Eder' (AV Edar). '*Eder* means 'a flock'; and the phrase **Migdal-eder** ('flock-tower,' cf. Mic 4^{8}) would have been the appellation given to a tower occupied by shepherds for the protection of their flocks against robbers (cf. 2 K 18^{8}, 2 Ch 26^{10}). The tower here mentioned lay between Bethlehem and Hebron cf. vv.$^{19.\ 27}$). Jerome mentions a Jewish tradition that this Eder was the site of the temple, 'hunc locum Hebræi esse volunt, ubi postea templum ædificatum est: et *turrim Ader*, turrim gregis significare, hoc est, *congregationis* et *coetus*: quod et Michæas Propheta testatur, dicens; Et tu turris gregis nebulosa, filia Sion.' Jerome himself, however, prefers to think that it was the spot on which the shepherds received the angels' message, 'pastorum juxta Bethleem locus est, ubi vel Angelorum rex in ortu Domini cecinit' (*Quæst. in Gen.*). The tradition that the locality was near Jerusalem probably accounts for the verse (^{21}) appearing in the LXX before v.^{16}. This transposition would favour any identification which placed '*Migdal-Eder*' between Bethel and Bethlehem. The LXX transliterates עֵדֶר as Γάδερ. 2. Jos 15^{21}. The name of one of the towns of Judah 'in the south,' close to the Edomite frontier. For Eder, the LXX (B) gives Ἄρα; and (A) Ἐδραί. Conder (*PEF Mem.* iii. 236) identifies with Kh. el-'Adâr, 5 miles S. of Gaza. 3. 1 Ch 23^{23} 24^{30}. The name of one of the Levites in the days of David, of the house of Merari, and the son of Muhi. For Eder we find in the LXX (B) of 1 Ch 23^{23} Αἴδαθ, and of 1 Ch 24^{30} Ἠλά, where (A) has Ἔδερ in both instances. 4. A Benjamite, 1 Ch 8^{15} (AV Ader), where LXX (B) gives Ὠδηδ and (A) Ὧδερ.

H. E. RYLE.

EDIFICATION, EDIFY, EDIFYING.—These words are always used in AV in the sense of building up *spiritually*, either (*a*) the Church, or (*b*) the individual Christian.

The Gr. vb. *οἰκοδομέω* and subst. *οἰκοδομή* are used in NT, as in class. Greek and in the LXX, in the lit. sense of building—a house (Ac 7^{47}), tombs (Mt 23^{29}), etc. But our Lord having employed the figure of building His *Church*, which is expressed in St. Matthew's report (Mt 16^{18}) by the verb *οἰκοδομέω*, the metaphor was taken up, and gradually both verb and subst. were used with more and more freedom in this spiritual sense, esp. by St. Paul, to whom the metaphor may almost be said to belong. The Vulg. renders *οἰκοδομεῖν* by *ædificare*, and *οἰκοδομή* by *ædificatio*; and Wyclif, and all VSS following, render *ædificare* by 'edify,' *ædificatio* by 'edification,' or 'edifying.' See *Ecce Homo*, ch. xviii.

The word 'edification' seems to have been introduced into Eng. direct from the Lat. *ædificatio*, but 'edify' more probably through the Fr. *édifier*. They were used early, and probably first of all in a literal sense. Thus Paston, *Lett.* (1462), 'A plase late be the said Sir John edified at Caster'; Thomas, *Hist. Ital.* (1549), 'About 700 yeres after the edification of Rome.' The spiritual sense was due perhaps entirely to the influence of the Vulg., which sometimes was the cause of the literal use, as Wyclif's tr. of Gn 2^{22} 'and the Lord God edified the rib, the whiche he toke of Adam, into a woman,' after Vulg. 'ædificavit.' Trench (*Eng. Past and Pres.* p. 161) states that the mod. use of 'edify' and 'edification' began with the Puritans; it is more correct to say that by them the words were first used freely and extensively in the spiritual sense, whence Oldham's complaint—

> 'The graver sort dislike all poetry,
> Which does not, as they call it, edify.'

J. HASTINGS.

EDNA (Ἔδνα = עֶדְנָה 'delight,' but Fagius עֲדִנָה) was wife of Raguel of Ecbatana, and mother of Sarah, who became wife of Tobias. She gave a cordial welcome to Tobias and his attendant Raphael in disguise, and questioned them as to their kindred (To 7^{3}), weeping over the recital of Tobit's adversities (7^{8}). She prepared once more the ill-fated bridal chamber (7^{14}), and led Sarah thither. Her maternal blessing (om. in Vulg.) was given on the departure of the bridal pair (10^{12}); and (B only) she received the blessing of Tobias in return (11^{1}). Vulg. and Itala call her Anna.

J. T. MARSHALL.

EDOM, EDOMITES (אֱדֹם, Ἐδώμ, *Idumæa*).—Edom, the 'Red' Land, so called from the red colour of its sandstone cliffs, embraced the ranges of Mount Seir on either side of the 'Arabah, or depression which runs southward from the Dead Sea to the head of the Gulf of Aḳabah. The name corresponds with that of Deser or 'Red,' applied by the Egyptians to the desert to the east of their country which was inhabited by the Shasu or Bedawin, and included Mount Seir. In the time of the Twelfth Dynasty, as we learn from the story of Sinuhit, the country in which Edom was situated went by the name of Tonu (or Tennu), the portion to the north-east of it being called Ḳadûmâ, the Ḳedem of the OT, whence the Kadmonites of Gn 15^{19} (see also 1 K 4^{30}). Sinuhit received in it the district of Aia. In one of the Tel el-Amarna tablets (*The Tel el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*, No. 64) the city of Udumu or Edom is mentioned as hostile to the Egyptian king, and as being in a foreign land, together with the cities of Aduri (Addar), Magdalim (Migdol), and Khini-anabi (En-ha(n)-nabi). Udumu is sometimes called a 'city' in the later Assyr. inscriptions, though it is also spoken of in them as a 'country.' We may conclude, therefore, that the country took its name from its capital. In the Leyden Papyrus (i. 343, 7) the wife of the Semitic fire-god Reshpu is said to be 'Edom' (*Etum*), and at Karnak both Amenophis II. and Thothmes III. mention the city of Shemesh-Edom (*Shemshu-Edum*), which is coupled with Anukhertu, the Anaharath in Issachar of Jos 19^{19}. Rethpana, the Egyptian name of the Dead Sea, may be a derivative from Reshpu (cf. Job 5^{7}, where 'sparks' are called 'the sons of Resheph'). The name Obed-edom, 'servant of Edom,' occurs in the OT (2 S 6^{10}). Edom, therefore, was probably (but not certainly [see Driver, *Text of Sam.* 205]) the name of a deity; and since both Udum and Etum correspond to the same Hebrew word, it would seem that the local and divine names were connected with one another.

The original inhabitants of Mount Seir were Horites (which see), who were 'destroyed' by the children of Esau (Dt 2^{22}). The genealogies in Gn 36, however, show that the destruction was not complete, and that the two races intermarried. Esau himself married a descendant of 'Seir the Horite' (36^{2}, where $36^{20.\ 21}$ show that we must read 'Horite' for 'Hivite'). When the campaign of Chedorlaomer and his Babylonian allies took place the Horites had not yet been dispossessed (Gn 14^{6}). The Horites were governed by *'allûphîm* or 'dukes,' and both the office and name were handed on to their Edomite successors (Gn 36$^{29.\ 40-43}$). As the '*'allûphîm* of Edom' are alone referred to in the song of Moses (Ex 15) after the overthrow of the Egyptians, we may perhaps infer that at the time of the Exodus a king had not been established in Edom; at any rate the reference is an indication of the antiquity of the passage in which it occurs. Before the Israelites had quitted the desert, however, there was a king in Edom. Moses sent messengers from Kadesh-barnea to the king of Edom asking him to permit his 'brother Israel' to pass through his territories, promising that they would march along the highway and do no injury to the country. But the Edomites refused permission, and came out with an army, so that the Israelites were obliged to 'compass the land of Edom' (Nu 20$^{14-21}$ 21^{4}).

The kings of Edom who reigned 'before there reigned any king over the children of Israel' are enumerated in Gn 36$^{31-39}$. The first, Bela the son of Beor, seems to be identical with Balaam the son of Beor, the seer of Pethor. If so, this would account for his having been slain in the war with the Midianites (Nu 31^{8}). 'Rehoboth by the river,' from which Shaul came (Gn 36^{37}), must have stood on the Euphrates, as that is 'the river' of the OT; consequently it cannot be the Rehoboth or 'Suburbs' of Nineveh (Assyr. *Ribit*), which were on the Tigris. The list of Edomite kings must have been extracted from the royal annals, and, as it breaks off in the reign of Hadar (Gn 36^{39}) (or Hadad, 1 Ch 1^{50}), may have been composed at that time. It will be noticed that the monarchy was elective, not hereditary.

The children of Israel were ordered not to 'contend' with their 'brethren the children of Esau, which dwell in Seir,' for God had 'given Mount Seir unto Esau for a possession'; and accordingly they turned eastward after passing the Edomite ports of Elath and Eziongeber (now 'Aḳabah and Ḳala'at el-'Aḳabah), at the head of the Gulf of Aḳabah, and made their way to Moab along the eastern edge of Mount Seir (Dt 2$^{4-8}$). Similarly, the Edomite, like the Egyptian, was allowed to 'enter into the congregation of the Lord in the third generation' (Dt 23$^{7.\ 8}$), in contrast to the Ammonite and Moabite, who could not do so till the tenth generation.

Ramses III. of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty, after defeating the northern hordes who had attacked Egypt, and overrunning the south of Palestine, 'smote the people of Seir who belong to the Shasu (Bedawin), and plundered their tents.' Among the pictures of his prisoners at Medînet Habu is that of the Edomite 'chief,' who, it must be observed, is not called 'king.' So far as we know, it was the only campaign ever undertaken by a Pharaoh against Mount Seir. Its date was about B.C. 1230–1200, some thirty years after the Exodus, so that the Israelites might have been in the neighbourhood of Edom at the time (cf. Nu 21^{14}).

Edomite tribes settled in the south of Judah, and even Othniel the brother of Caleb, and the first judge, was a Kenizzite (Nu 32^{12}, Jos 15^{17}, Gn 36$^{11.\ 15}$). Saul warred with Edom (1 S 14^{47}); and David conquered the country, putting garrisons throughout it, and occupying its ports in the Gulf of Aḳabah (2 S 8$^{13.\ 14}$, where we must read 'Edom' for 'Aram,' AV 'Syrians'). It was in these ports that Solomon with the help of the Tyrians constructed the merchant vessels which traded to Ophir for gold (1 K 9$^{26-28}$). Throughout his reign, however, Edom was in a state of revolt under Hadad, 'of the king's seed,' who had escaped to Midian when Joab was for six months cutting 'off every male in Edom' after David's conquest of the country. From Midian he and his companions went to Paran, and from thence to the court of Egypt, where the Pharaoh gave him his sister-in-law as a wife, and his son Genubath was brought up as an Egyptian prince. But on the death of David and Joab, Hadad obtained leave to return to Edom, and became 'an adversary unto Solomon' (1 K 11$^{14-22}$). He does not seem to have succeeded in making himself independent, however, as we find Edom still subject to Judah after the revolt of the Ten Tribes. Jehoshaphat still held Ezion-geber, where he built ships to trade to Ophir; and it is stated that 'there was then no king in Edom: a deputy was king' (1 K 22^{47}). This means that there was no independent king there, since, in the war against Moab, when Edom had to follow its suzerain, its ruler is called 'king' (2 K 3$^{9.\ 10.\ 12.\ 26}$). In the reign of Jehoram, Jehoshaphat's successor, Edom revolted, 'and made a king over themselves.' The revolt spread to the south of Judah, where Libnah was the centre of disaffection; and though Jehoram defeated the Edomites at Zair, he was unable to reduce them to obedience (2 K 8$^{20-22}$). About fifty years later Amaziah invaded Edom, slaying 10,000 of the enemy in the Valley of Salt, and taking Sela (or Petra), which he named Joktheel (2 K 14^{7}). Edom seems to have been crushed by this defeat, as Amaziah's successor, Uzziah, 'restored' Elath to Judah, and rebuilt it (2 K 14^{22}). It remained in Jewish hands till it was captured by Rezin of Damascus, who colonized it with Syrians* (2 K 16^{6}). This was in the reign of Ahaz, when 'the Edomites had come and smitten Judah, and carried away captives' (2 Ch 28^{17}). Rezin, however, was conquered and put to death in B.C. 732 by Tiglath-pileser III. of Assyria, who thereupon held a court at Damascus, where he received the homage and tribute of numerous princes, among them being 'Jehoahaz (Ahaz) of the land of the Jews,' and 'Ḳaus-malaka (Ḳaus-melech) of the land of the Edomites.' Schrader has pointed out that Ḳaus is the name of a god which appears as Kos in Greek inscriptions, with which Halévy compares the name of the early Arab. deity Ḳais (Heb. Kish, Kishon). In B.C. 711, Edom joined the league against Sargon along with Judah, Philistia, Moab, Egypt, and Merodach-baladan of Babylon; but Ashdod, the Syrian centre of the league, was taken by the Assyrians, and Edom, like Moab and Judah, paid tribute to the conqueror. Edom again joined the revolt against Assyria in B.C. 701, of which Hezekiah was the head; but when Sennacherib marched into Palestine, A-rammu of Edom submitted like the kings of Moab and Ammon. Esar-haddon caused Ḳaus-gabri, 'king of the city of Edom,' together with the other vassal kings of the west, including Manasseh of 'the city of Judah' and the king of 'the city of Moab,' to convey to Nineveh timber from Lebanon and various stones for the construction of his palace. When Jerusalem was destroyed by Nebuchadrezzar, the Edomites took part with the enemy, and rejoiced over the calamities of Judah,—conduct which aroused bitter feelings against them on the part of the Jews (La 4$^{21.\ 22}$, Ezk 35$^{3-15}$, Ob$^{10-16}$). These feelings were not diminished by their occupation of southern Judah, with Hebron as their capital, and their attacks upon the Jews during the Maccabæan war. Judas Maccabæus, however, drove them from the south of Judah (B.C. 164); and John Hyrcanus, in B.C. 109, conquered their country, and compelled them to adopt Judaism. Mount Seir, as far north as Petra, had already fallen into the hands of the Nabatæans, who spoke an Aramaic dialect. Hyrcanus II., the

---

[*] So the Kethibh ארומים. The Kerê, however, reads אֲרוֹמִים (Edomites); and this, which has the support of the LXX Ἰδουμαῖοι, is adopted by Siegfried-Stade and *Oxf. Heb. Lexicon*.

grandson of John Hyrcanus, on being driven out of Jerusalem, was induced by the Idumæan Antipater to seek the help of Aretas, the king of Petra. Pompey, however, intervened, and after sacking Jerusalem, made Hyrcanus high priest (B.C. 63), while Antipater was subsequently (B.C. 47) appointed by Julius Cæsar procurator of Judæa, Samaria, and Galilee on account of his services against Pompey. His son was Herod the Great.

Edomite proper names show that the language of Edom was practically identical with Hebrew. Of Edomite deities we know only the names of Hadad (also Dad), Ḳaus, Kozé, Edom, and Â. The name of Esau's son Jeush (Gn 36^{5}), however, corresponds phonetically with that of Yaghûth, a pre-Mohammedan deity of Arabia.

LITERATURE.—Bæthgen, *Beiträge zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, 10 ff.; Reland, *Pal.* 230 ff.; Robinson, *BRP* ii. 117 ff., 168 ff.; Baedeker, *Pal.* 183 ff.; Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, 429 ff.; Hull, *Mount Seir*, 85 ff.; Trumbull, *Kadesh-Barnea*; Hommel, *Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, 263 f.

A. H. SAYCE.

EDOS (B 'Ηδός, A 'Ηδαίς, AV Edes), 1 Es 9^{35} = IDDO, Ezr 10^{43}.

EDREI (אֶדְרֶעִי, 'Εδράειν, *Edrai*).—1. Edrei was a city of Bashan (now the Haurân, eastward of Lake Tiberias), where the Amorite king Og was defeated and slain by the Israelites (Nu 21^{33}, Dt 3^{1}, Jos 13^{12}). It was then given to Machir, the son of Manasseh (Jos 13^{31}, see Jg 5^{14}), the district in which it was situated being known as Gilead (Nu 32^{39}). The Amorites do not seem to have been long in possession of it, as one of the letters of Tel el-Amarna, about a century and a half before the Exodus, is from Artama-Samas,[*] the governor of Ziri-Basana, 'the field of Bashan.' Edrei is the Adraha of classical geography, and in Christian times was the seat of a bishop. It has been identified with the modern Der'ât or Der'a, where there is a large reservoir, as well as an aqueduct and mausoleum. About 10 miles to the north of it is Tell 'Ashtera, the supposed site of Ashtaroth, which is associated with Edrei, and in the time of Abraham was inhabited by the Rephaim (Gn 14^{5}). In one of the Tel el-Amarna letters (B. M. 43. 10) it is called Astartu, and the writer of the despatch accuses a certain Biridasyi of taking the chariots out of it and giving them to the Bedawin. The neighbouring city of Buzruna (Bostra) was at the time under a king of its own. W. Max Müller identifies the city of Autarâ in the Karnak List of Thothmes III. (No. 91) with Edrei. Philologically the names would correspond, but the identification is impossible, as Autarâ is enumerated among the towns of southern Palestine. Astartu or Ashtaroth is in an earlier part of the list (No. 28).

2. EDREI is mentioned in Jos 19^{37} between Kadesh and En-hazor, in the tribe of Naphtali. The site of it is unknown.

LITERATURE.—Tomkins in *Records of the Past*, New Series, v. p. 43 ff.; Wetzstein, *Reisebericht üb. Hauran*, etc., 47, 77, 123; Porter, *Giant Cities of Bashan*, 93 ff.; Baedeker, *Pal.* 201; Schumacher, *Across the Jordan*, 121–147; Dillmann on Nu 21^{33} and Dt 3^{10}; Driver on Dt 1^{4} 3^{1} 3^{10}, and his art. ASHTAROTH in present vol.; G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* 528 n., 576.

A. H. SAYCE.

EDUCATION.—Every student of the history of education will endorse the judgment of the Alexandrian scholar (Prol. to Sirach), that Israel must needs be commended for its zeal in the cause of moral and intellectual culture (παιδεία καὶ σοφία), since the canonical Books of Deuteronomy and Proverbs, the deutero-canonical Wisdom of Jesus ben-Sira, and the Mishna treatise commonly called the *Sayings of the Fathers* (פִּרְקֵי אָבוֹת *Pirḳê 'Abôth*), provide a catena of pedagogic principles without a parallel in ancient literature. Two sentences only may be selected for quotation at this stage. The one is the motto prefixed to the Book of Proverbs: 'The fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge' (Pr 1^{7}, cf. 9^{10}); the other is attributed to Simeon, the son of the famous Gamaliel: 'Not learning but doing is the chief thing' (*Ab.* i. 17).[*] In these maxims we find the two distinguishing notes of Hebrew education, which from first to last was at once religious and practical—an education which sought to combine instruction in the positive truths of the ancestral faith[†] with preparation for the practical duties of life. It was this successful combination which led Josephus in his treatise *Against Apion* to contrast the education of his countrymen with that of the Lacedæmonians and Cretans on the one hand, and with that of the Athenians on the other—the former being too severely practical, the latter too exclusively theoretical. 'But our lawgiver with great care combined these two methods, for he neither left the practice of right habits without oral instruction (lit. 'dumb,' κωφήν), nor did he permit the rules thus taught to remain unpractised.'

We propose here to study the educational methods of the Israelites historically. For this purpose it will be convenient to group the material at our disposal under three historical periods, as follows:—

i. HEBREW EDUCATION FROM THE CONQUEST TO THE EXILE.—When the Hebrews came to settle in the valleys west of the Jordan, they found themselves among a race or races immensely their superiors in all the arts of civilization and culture. Of this there can be no reasonable doubt, though we *may* doubt whether the country was so thickly studded with schools, teachers, and libraries as has recently been maintained.[‡] In any case the troublous times of the conquest were not the most suitable for assimilating the higher civilization of the Canaanites. Reading and still more writing (Jg 8^{14}) must rather have been the accomplishment of the few than the custom of the many. However that may be, one fact of Hebrew history remains indisputable, namely, that throughout the long period closing with the exile, education was exclusively domestic and private. It is true that the late Jewish writings, Talmud, Targum, and Midrash—those storehouses of magnificent anachronisms—represent even the patriarchs as attending school and college, but such statements are merely harmless flights of fancy. In the whole range of pre-exilic literature there is no trace of any provision by public authority for either elementary or higher education. The word 'school' occurs neither in the OT nor in the Apocrypha, and in the NT only of the lecture-room of a Greek rhetorician at Ephesus (Ac 19^{9}). The explanation is that the home was the school, and the parents, in all but the highest ranks of society, were the only teachers. The duty of reverence for and obedience to parents imposed on children by the oldest legislation (Ex 20^{12}), had its counterpart in the duty incumbent on the parents (and in particular on the father) to instruct their children in religion and morals. This aspect of parental responsibility is repeatedly emphasized in the Book of Deuteronomy (4^{9} 6^{7}), 'Thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when

---

[*] Now read Artama-Ya or Artama-anya by Winckler.

---

[*] Quotations from *Aboth* will be made from 'The Authorized Daily Prayer-Book of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Empire' (ed. Singer), as providing the most easily accessible text and translation. References to other treatises of the Mishna are given acc. to the sections of Jost's edition.

[†] Contrast this with the statement of Iwan Müller: 'Special instruction in religion was not known to either the Greeks or the Romans of antiquity' (*Handb. d. klass. Alterthumswissenschaft*, iv. p. 451 *b*).

[‡] Esp. by Sayce in *Patriarchal Palestine* (*passim*), and elsewhere.

thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up' (6^{20-25} 11^{19} 32^{46}). The special provision of Dt 31^{10-13}, requiring the presence of the children at the reading of the law in 'the year of release,' *i.e.* every seventh year, can have had only a very limited application before the great calamity of the exile (cf. Dt 31^{10} with Neh 8^{17}). In the families of the aristocracy the place of the parents, the child's natural teachers, was taken by tutors (אֹמְנִים 2 K $10^{1.5}$). The infant Solomon, according to the simplest rendering of 2 S 12^{25}, was entrusted to the care of the prophet Nathan.

It is now impossible to form an exact estimate of the extent to which education, as tested by the ability to read and write, was common among the people. The standard of learning would naturally be higher in the cities than in the country districts, highest of all in the neighbourhood of the court. Yet such facts as that Amos and Micah among the literary prophets belonged to the ranks of the people; that Mesha, king of Moab, could count on readers for the stele commemorating his victories; that the workmen who excavated the tunnel from the Virgin's spring to the pool of Siloam carved in the rock the manner of their work,—these facts, taken along with more than one passage of Isaiah (8^{1} 10^{19} 'a child may write them'; cf. $29^{11.12}$ the distinction between the literate and the illiterate), should make us pause before drawing the line of illiteracy too high in the social scale.

A single word must suffice for the **schools of the prophets** (an expression with no scriptural authority), of which so much was made by scholars of former days. All that the Scripture narrative warrants us in holding is that in a few centres, such as Bethel (2 K 2^{3}), Jericho (2^{5}), and Gilgal (4^{38}), men of prophetic spirit formed associations or brotherhoods (hence the name 'sons of the prophets') for the purpose of stimulating their devotion to J″ through the common life of the brotherhood. Edification, not education, was the main purpose of these so-called 'schools.'

ii. FROM THE EXILE TO SIMON BEN-SHETACH, *c.* B.C. 75.—The arrival in Jerusalem of Ezra the 'ready scribe' (סֹפֵר) in the law of Moses (Ezr 7^{6}) was an event of epoch-making importance in the educational not less than in the religious history of the Jews. For Ezra had set his heart to *study* (לִדְרֹשׁ) the law (*Torah*) of J″ and to do it, and to *teach* (לְלַמֵּד) in Israel statutes and judgments (Ezr 7^{10}). The story of Ezra's activity belongs to the general history of the period. For our present purpose it is enough to recall the fact that the culmination of that activity was the acceptance by the Jewish community of the Torah, in its written form, as the regulating norm in every relation of life. From this time onwards the Jews were pre-eminently 'the people of the book.' But in order that the moral precepts of a book may be obeyed, and its ritual requirements duly observed, the book must be circulated, must be read and studied. The first step in this direction was the great assembly of which we read in Neh 8 ff. The centre of interest throughout is not the living word of a prophet, but the book of the law and the exposition of its contents by accredited teachers (note Neh $8^{7.8}$ מְבִינִים, the same word as is rendered 'teacher' in 1 Ch 25^{8} and in Ezr 8^{16} RV). We would gladly know what measures were taken by Ezra and his associates for the continuance of the public instruction so auspiciously begun. Unfortunately, we have no information on this point from contemporary records, and what a late age has to tell of the work of the so-called 'Great Synagogue' belongs to the world of fable.* There can be little doubt, however, that one of the oldest institutions of Judaism, the **synagogue**, goes back to the time of Ezra, if not indeed to the days of the exile. The synagogue, it is important to remember, was not originally a place of worship but a place of religious instruction, and indeed it is so named by a writer so late as Philo of Alexandria (*Vita Mosis*, iii. 27, *τὰ προσευκτήρια τί ἑτερόν ἐστιν ἢ διδασκαλεῖα, κ.τ.λ.*). With this agrees the fact that in NT times *διδάσκειν*, to teach, is still used to express the function of the preacher in the synagogue (Mt 4^{23}, Mk 1^{21}, Lk 4^{15} and often).* But whether we regard Ezra as the immediate founder of the synagogue or not, there can be no doubt of the fact that, by securing the recognition by the public authorities of the need of organized religious instruction, he accomplished a work of supreme importance in the educational history of the Jews. 'The Bible became the spelling-book, the community a school, religion an affair of teaching and learning. Piety and education were inseparable; whoever could not read was no true Jew. We may say that in this way were created the beginnings of popular education. In what way this took place is, it is true, wrapped in mystery; in the synagogue men did not learn to write and read, and the scribes were not elementary teachers. But the ideal of education for religion's sake was set up and awoke emulation, even though the goal was not reached all at once' (Wellhausen, *Isr. u. jüd. Gesch.*^{1} p. 159).

During the whole of the period under review the early education of the Jewish child continued, even more than before, to be the business of his parents. Elementary schools were still unknown. Now, as in much later times, it was 'the duty of the father to instruct his son in the Torah (*Kiddushin*, 29*a*),' a duty in which the mother took her share (Pr 6^{20} 31^{1}, Sus ^{3}). The obligation extended even to 'children's children' (Dt 4^{9}). A noteworthy feature of the pentateuchal precepts, from the view-point of pedagogic method, is the extent to which certain religious rites are to be used as object-lessons to the children [Ex $12^{26f.}$ 13^{8} (passover) 13^{14} (first-fruits), cf. Jos 4^{6}]. Their interest and attention are first to be aroused, and only after question asked is the explanation of the rite to be given. In the case of the passover the question, 'What mean ye by this service?' (Ex 12^{26})—now expanded to four—has remained as part of the ceremony to the present day.

The leading feature of the educational history of this period is the rise of a body of men as professional teachers. These are the *Sōphĕrîm* (סֹפְרִים, literally 'book men'), or scribes. For the circumstances which led during the exile to a species of literary renaissance, or rather to a new interest in the literature of the past, and thereby to the growth of a body of *literati* (*γραμματεῖς*),—students, copyists, and teachers,—we must refer to the article SCRIBES. We have seen, however, under what circumstances the study and the exposition of the Torah, in particular, were begun among 'the children of the captivity' in the new community at Jerusalem. From that time to the end of the Jewish state and beyond it, the office of the scribe was one of ever-increasing importance. But to identify, as is too often done, the scribes of the Persian and early Greek period with those whose character and aims are familiar to us from the Gospels, is to do the former great injustice. For these ancient scribes have shared in the rehabilitation of the late Persian and early Greek periods of Jewish history, which is so remarkable a feature of the critical scholarship of the day.† Here we are concerned with them only in so far as they continued the work of instruction committed to them by Ezra. Unfortunately, from the lack of historical material, it is now impossible to trace the development of education under their guidance. We know, however, that by the time of the Chronicler (1 Ch 2^{55}) they had been 'organized in regular "families," or as we should now say "guilds," an institution quite in accordance with the whole spirit of the East, which forms a guild or trades-union of every class possessing special technical knowledge' (W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} p. 44). From the proverbial form of 1 Ch 25^{8b}—'as well the small as the great, the teacher as the scholar'—we may further infer that the relation of master and pupil was by this time (*c.* B.C. 300) a familiar one; which, of course, implies facilities for education other than the Levitical music schools to which the proverb is here applied.

---

* See esp. Kuenen's classical essay, 'On the Men of the Great Synagogue,' now accessible in German in Budde's *Gesammelte Abhandlungen, etc., von Dr. A. Kuenen* (1894).

* For further testimony by Philo and Josephus to the teaching function of the synagogue, see Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. p. 54.

† See, *inter alios*, Wellhausen, *Israelitische u. jüdische Geschichte*^{1}, p. 154.

Here we are met by one of the most interesting but difficult problems in the history of Hebrew education. Not the least important of the critical results above referred to, is the bringing down of the compilation of our present Book of Proverbs, and so of the Golden Age of the Wisdom Literature, to the Persian period. In this case, who are the 'Wise' (חֲכָמִים), the sages of whom this department of Hebrew literature is the characteristic and enduring memorial? May we identify them with the older race of Sopherim, the book-men or *literati* of the period?* The temptation is great. Thus the scribes were the accredited teachers of the people (see above), and the most venerable of the traditions preserved by the fraternity from the 'men of the Great Synagogue' was the obligation to 'raise up many disciples' (*Ab.* i. 1). But the sages were also teachers (מוֹרִים, מְלַמְּדִים Pr 5^{13}), who address a pupil as 'my son,' and whose teaching is known as 'the words of the wise' (Pr 1^{6} 22^{17}, Ec 9^{17} 12^{11}; see also the *Oxf. Heb. Lex. sub* חָכָם). Again, the scribes formed, as we have seen, a guild or corporation. But we have abundant evidence that the sages are also to be regarded as forming a distinct fraternity (Pr 1^{6} 13^{14} 22^{17} 24^{23}, Ec 12^{11}. Cf. Cheyne, *Job and Solomon*, p. 123 and *passim*; Riehm, *Handwört. d. Bibl. Alt.*^{2} *sub* 'Weise'†; Kautzsch, *Abriss d. Gesch. d. AT Schrifttums*^{2}, 1897, p. 135 ff.). Wellhausen in his recent history, while maintaining their original independence, admits that by the time of Jesus ben-Sira (B.C. 200–180) the scribes 'were scarcely any longer to be distinguished from the sages' (*Gesch.* p. 154, note 1). This admission is due to the fact—and here perhaps we have the strongest argument for the identity of the two classes—that Ben-Sira, the last of the sages, was himself a scribe. Of this there can be no doubt; one has but to read his glowing panegyric on 'the wisdom of the scribe,' and the glory of his calling (Sir 38^{24}–39^{11}). It is therefore but natural that 'the best, and almost the only data regarding the earlier scribes, are to be found in the Book of Ecclesiasticus, $6^{33ff.}$ $9^{14ff.}$ $14^{20ff.}$ $38^{24ff.}$' (Wellhausen, *loc. cit.*).

For our present purpose the final answer to our query regarding the *personnel* of the sages is immaterial; for whether we hold that they are identical with the Sopherim or book-men, or regard them as forming a distinct but allied class in the pre-Maccabæan community, the fact remains that the sages represent a great educational force in the period under review. The Book of Proverbs is the repository of their pedagogic experience (see esp. 1^{2-6}), and so the oldest handbook of education. Life is here conceived as a discipline (מוּסָר, a word occurring 30 times in the book acc. to Driver, *LOT*^{1} 380). This is its central thought. 'The whole of life is considered from the view-point of a pedagogic institution. God educates men, and men educate each other' (O. Holtzmann in Stade's *GVI*^{2} ii. 296–97). Father and mother are the child's natural instructors (1^{8} 4^{1-4} 6^{20} 13^{1} 30^{17}); from them he shall first learn that 'fear of the Lord which is the beginning—or it may be the chief part—of wisdom' (9^{10}). Their duty in this respect is emphasized; they are to study their child, since his character is known by his conduct (20^{11}). To them is addressed the golden maxim, 'train up a child in the way he should go, and even when he is old he will not depart from it' (22^{6} RV). The child is by nature foolish, and needs the 'rod of correction' (22^{15}). Corporal punishment is repeatedly advocated ('he that spareth his rod hateth his son,' 13^{24}, cf. 19^{18} $23^{13.\,14}$ $29^{15.\,17}$, also La 3^{27}), yet with the intelligent child reproof is better than 'a hundred stripes' (17^{10}). From the parents' care the child—of the upper classes only, in all probability, cf. 17^{16} 4^{7} (RV) with Sir 51^{28}—if he would attain to 'wisdom,' passes into the hands of professional teachers (5^{13}), the sages, whose words 'spoken in quiet' (Ec 9^{17} RV) 'are as goads' (Ec 12^{11}), and whose direction (תּוֹרָה) is 'a fountain of life' (Pr 13^{14}). The pupil's progress in religion and morality is the teacher's highest joy ($23^{15.\,16}$), but not all are capable of receiving this higher instruction (27^{22}). Prudence and forethought (24^{27}), temperance (21^{17} $23^{20.\,21.\,29-35}$) and chastity ($7^{6ff.}$ 29^{3} and oft.), diligence (6^{6-11}) and truthfulness (17^{7}), consideration for the poor (14^{21} 19^{17} 22^{9}), and a truly noble charity towards enemies ($25^{21.\,22}$ = Ro 12^{20}), the value of true friendship (17^{17} 18^{24} 27^{10}), and the dignity of womanhood (31^{10-31}),—these are some of the moral lessons to be learned in 'the house of discipline' (*οἴκῳ παιδείας*, Sir 51^{23}) from 'the lips of the wise' (Pr 15^{7}).*

The founding of Alexandria was an event the importance of which for the history of Jewish life and thought even in Palestine it is impossible to overestimate. What would we not give to be able to trace the working of the subtle influences on the religious thought of the time, in particular, of those forces of Hellenism by which the little Jewish state was girt about on every side (cf. 1 Mac 1^{11})! For something like a century Alexandria, with its great library and university, its brilliant array of scholars and *littérateurs*, was the capital of Southern Syria as well as of Egypt. How was popular education affected by this close connexion of Alexandria and Jerusalem? A solitary notice, so far as we have been able to discover, from the period in question, almost warrants us in believing that the Greek educational methods had penetrated to Jerusalem. The infamous tax-farmer Joseph (*c.* B.C. 220),† we are told, sent his sons 'severally to those that had the best reputation for instructing youth' (Josephus, *Ant.* XII. iv. 6). The education required was certainly of the Greek type, and this fact, taken in connexion with the rapid progress of Hellenism at this particular epoch, even under the shadow of the temple (see 1 Mac 1, 2 Mac 2–4), makes it very probable that schools on the Greek model were then established in Jerusalem. When the author of Ps 119 says, 'I have more understanding than all my teachers,' etc. (vv.$^{99.\,100}$), there is good reason for thinking that he wishes to exalt the study of Holy Scripture above the secular learning of the Greek schools. However this may be, Ben-Sira was still true to Jewish traditions and uninfluenced by Hellenistic culture. He had travelled in other countries, and studied perhaps in other literatures, but he remained 'a true "scribe," and gloried in the name' (38^{24}). The object his translator had in view, as we learn from his preface to his grandfather's work, 'was to correct the inequalities of moral and religious culture (παιδεία) among the Jews of Egypt by setting before them a standard and a lesson book of true religious wisdom' (Cheyne, *Job and Solomon*). 'The Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach,' or 'Ecclesiasticus,' is therefore avowedly a manual of ethics, and as such deserves more space than we can give it in this review of Jewish educational history. 'Draw near unto me, ye unlearned,' we read in the epilogue, 'and lodge in the house of instruction. Say, wherefore are ye lacking in these things, and your souls are very thirsty?' (Sir $51^{23ff.}$). His religious standpoint is essentially that of the Book of Proverbs, on which his own is modelled. Thus the fear of the Lord is not only 'the beginning of wisdom' (1^{14}), but also wisdom's fulness (1^{16}) and crown (1^{18}). Yet the author's ethical tone is distinctly lower than that of his model. As a disciplinarian he is severe even to excess (30^{1-13} $7^{23.24}$). The principles of humane conduct are exhibited in many lights, including even the 'manners' of the dinner table (31^{16-21}). The notable passage (38^{24}–39^{11}) in which he sketches his ideal of the scribe has been already adverted to. One point, however, must be further emphasized, viz. the assertion that learning is the monopoly of the wealthy: 'The wisdom of the scribe cometh by opportunity of leisure. How shall he become wise that holdeth the plough,' etc.? ($38^{24ff.}$) Education is costly (51^{28}), but he himself offers the means of culture 'without money and without price' (cf. 51^{25}).

---

* This identification was first proposed by A. T. Hartmann (*Die enge Verbindung d. AT. mit d. Neuem*, 1831), and more recently and independently by Smend in his *Alttest. Religionsgeschichte*, 1893, p. 512 ff. Cf. Montefiore, *Hibb. Lect.* 396 f.

† 'They (the sages) occupy in the everyday life of ancient Israel a position precisely similar to that of the scribes in later Judaism.' Riehm is, of course, assuming the *pre-exilic* date of Proverbs.

* How much, one wonders, of what is best in our Scottish character to-day is due to the use till almost the other day of this great book (*ἡ πανάρετος σοφία*) as the reading-book of our parish schools?

† For this corrected date see Wellhausen, *op. cit.* pp. 197–98.

Many questions regarding the practical aspects of education in this period suggest themselves, to which only tentative answers can be given. Where, for example, did the teachers of whom we read (Pr 5^{13}, Ps 119^{99}, perhaps Dn 12^{3})—be they sages or scribes—meet their pupils? What were their methods of instruction? The synagogues first occur to one as the scene of those expositions of Scripture to which the name of *Midrash* was already applied (2 Ch 13^{22} 24^{27}). There the people were instructed on Sabbaths and feast-days by competent expounders of the Scriptures, as a rule, no doubt, by the scribes, although these never had a monopoly of the synagogue teaching. As early as the beginning of the 3rd cent. the scribes had apparently facilities for teaching within the temple precincts: such, at least, seems the legitimate inference from their description as 'scribes of the temple' in the edict of Antiochus III. (Jos. *Ant.* XII. iii. 3). 'Within the massive city gates or in the adjacent squares or "broad places" on which the streets converged (Pr $1^{20.21}$, cf. Job 29^{7}) the "wise men" awaited their disciples' (Cheyne, *op. cit.* p. 124). Most of the instruction, however, was doubtless given by sage and scribe alike in private houses, their own or those of wealthy disciples. 'My son,' says Ben-Sira, 'if thou seest a man of understanding, get thee betimes unto him, and let thy foot wear out the steps of his house' (Sir 6^{36} RV). With this advice we compare that of José ben-Joezer of Zeredah, in the early Maccabæan days: 'Let thy house be a meeting-place (בֵּית וַעַד) for the wise; sit amidst the dust of their feet, and drink their words with thirst' (*Ab.* i. 4).*

Here was found the opportunity for those 'words spoken in quiet' that were 'like nails fastened by the masters of assemblies' (Ec 12^{11}).

As to methods, we have still less information. To judge from the practice of a later age, the pupils would learn by frequent repetition the proverbs of the wise (cf. Cheyne, *loc. cit.*). The alphabet was already used in ways calculated to assist the memory, as in the 119th Psalm. To this period may be assigned the invention of the mnemonic device known as *Athbash* (אתבש), of which the present text of Jer 25^{26} 51^{1} affords the classical examples (see Giesebrecht's *Comm. in loc.*), as also the introduction of the 'numerical' proverbs, so much in vogue in later times (cf. Pr 30^{11-31} with *Aboth*, v.).

Finally, we may assume that, at least from the beginning of the Greek period, a fairly high standard of general culture prevailed. It was now that the editor, if not the author, of Ecclesiastes could write: 'Of making many books there is no end; and much study is a weariness of the flesh' (Ec 12^{12}). At the beginning of the Maccabæan revolt, also, the possession of copies of the 'book of the covenant' was certainly not the exclusive privilege of priest and scribe (1 Mac 1^{57}).

III. FROM SIMON BEN-SHETACH (*c.* B.C. 75) TO THE END OF THE JEWISH STATE (A.D. 70).—Just as the synagogue was the novel feature of the preceding period from the educational point of view, so is the elementary school the feature of this third period. Such, at least, is the tradition preserved in the so-called Talmud of Jerusalem. In a passage commemorating the merits of the famous scribe and leader of the Pharisees, Simon ben-Shetach (or Shātach),* brother of queen Alexandra, we read that three additions were made by him to the statute-book, so to say, the second of which runs thus—

שיהיו התינוקות הולכין לבית הספר 'that the children shall attend the elementary school' (Talm. Jer. *Kethuboth*, viii. 11, p. 32*b*; see the whole passage in Derenbourg, *op. cit.* p. 108). The words quoted, it will be seen, are not altogether free from ambiguity. They may also be interpreted to mean that attendance on schools *already existing* was henceforth to be compulsory. In view of what was said above regarding the spread of Greek ideas in pre-Maccabæan days, it is difficult to believe that schools preparatory to the more advanced instruction in the scribal college (see below) were not to be found—at least in Jerusalem. One can hardly escape the conviction that the erection of the Greek gymnasium at Jerusalem (1 Mac 1^{14}, cf. 2 Mac $4^{9ff.}$) was not the first step, but the last, in the assimilation of Jewish and Greek education. Be this as it may, there is no good reason for rejecting the tradition regarding Simon ben-Shetach's efforts on behalf of popular education. All that we know regarding the predominant influence of the scribes in the reign of Alexandra (B.C. 78–69) prepares us for more aggressive measures for the extension of their principles among the people. According to unanimous tradition, the elementary school (בֵּית הַסֵּפֶר 'house of the book,' see below) was always in intimate connexion with the synagogue. Either the synagogue proper—in this period to be found in every considerable village in the land—was used for this purpose (Löw, *Die Lebensalter in jüd. Literatur*, p. 287, where the reff. are to *Berachoth*, 17*a*, *Taanith*, 23*b*, *Kiddushin*, 30*a*), or a room in the same building. The school might also be held in the teacher's house (Hamburger).

By all writers on Jewish education it is stated

---

* The אֶשְׁכּוֹלוֹת which, according to *Sota*, ix. 9, ceased since José's time, cannot, as some have thought, mean schools (σχολή—in late Heb. אַסְכּוֹלֵי); see Derenbourg, *Hist. de la Palestine*, p. 456 ff

* See Schürer, *HJP*, index; Derenbourg, *Essai sur l'histoire de la Palestine*, pp. 96-111, and the Jewish historians Grätz, Herzfeld, etc.

Life in the Days of Christ (esp. chs. vii. viii.), and *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*; L. Löw, *Die Lebensalter in d. jüd. Literatur*, 1875, *passim* (esp. p. 130 ff.: 'Education in Bible Times,' and relative notes); S. Schechter, *Studies in Judaism*, 1896 (p. 343 ff.: 'The Child in Jewish Literature'). The standard authorities for Jewish education in the Middle Ages (which may be added for completeness' sake) are the works of M. Güdemann, *Geschichte d. Erziehungswesen u. d. Kultur d. Juden*, etc., France and Germany, 1880; Italy, 1884; Spain, 1888. See also I. Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, 1896 (esp. chs. xix. xx.).

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

EFFECT.—In 2 Es 9^{6} 'effect' is used in the obsolete sense of 'deed,' 'the times also of the Highest have . . . endings in effects and signs' (consummatio in actu et in signis); cf. Shaks. *Lear*, II. iv. 182—

'Thou better know'st
The offices of nature, bond of childhood,
Effects of courtesy, dues of gratitude.'

In Ezk 12^{23} the sense is *purport, significance*. 'The days are at hand, and the effect of every vision' (דָּבָר 'word,' as RVm). So Chaucer, *Merch. Tale*, 153—

'And for his freendes on a day he sente,
To tellen hem th' effect of his entente.'

With those exceptions, the use of 'effect' is much as in mod. English, though the phrase in Ro 9^{6} may be noticed, 'as though the word of God hath taken none effect' (ἐκπέπτωκεν, lit. 'has fallen out,' RV 'hath come to nought'). The usual phrase is 'to make of none effect,' always a single vb. in the original, of which the most interesting is καταργέω (Ro 4^{14}, Gal 3^{17}; tr^{d} 'make without effect' Ro 3^{3}), a characteristically Pauline word. Its opposite is ἐνεργέω, a word always in NT of some principle or power at work, esp. in the soul (see Mayor on Ja 5^{16}). Wherever 'effectual' and 'effectually' occur in NT they translate either ἐνεργεῖν, as Gal 2^{8}, 1 Th 2^{13} 'work effectually'; 2 Co 1^{6} 'be effectual'; Ja 5^{16} 'the *effectual fervent* prayer of a righteous man availeth much' (RV 'the supplication of a righteous man availeth much *in its working*,' Rendel Harris, 'the *energized* prayer of a righteous man is of great force'[*]); its adj. ἐνεργής, as 1 Co 16^{9}, Philem ^{6}; or its subst. ἐνέργεια, whence Eng. 'energy,' as Eph 3^{7} 4^{16} 'effectual working,' RV 'working.' In all these places we should now use 'effective,' 'effectively.'

J. HASTINGS.

EGGS.—See FOWL.

EGLAH (עֶגְלָה 'a heifer').—One of the wives of David, and mother of Ithream (2 S 3^{5}). Both here and in 1 Ch 3^{3} she is distinguished by the title 'David's wife.' Jewish tradition (cf. Jer. *Quæst. Heb. in libros Regum*) identified E. with Michal, since the latter was his first and best-loved wife. More probably the name of E.'s first husband is concealed in the word 'David.'

J. F. STENNING.

EGLAIM (אֶגְלַיִם), Is 15^{8}.—Noticed with Moab. The name has not been recovered. In the *Onomasticon* (*s.v.* Agallim) it is placed 8 Roman miles south of Areopolis.

C. R. CONDER.

EGLATH-SHELISHIYAH (עֶגְלַת שְׁלִשִׁיָּה) occurs in an ancient oracle against Moab, which is quoted in Is 15^{5} and Jer 48^{34}. In both these passages RV takes the word to be a proper name, giving in margin the alternative tr^{n} '[as] an heifer of three years old,' which is AV in Jer 48^{34} and AVm in Is 15^{5}. In the latter passage, AV text omits '[as].' It is still somewhat uncertain whether the word is an appellative or a proper name, although the latter view has commended itself to the majority of modern scholars (Ewald, Reuss, Graf, Rothstein in Kautzsch's *A.T.* etc.). Delitzsch (*Isaiah, ad loc.*) defends the rendering of AV and Luther, laying stress upon the fact that both in Is and Jer 'עֶג' 'שְׁל occurs asyndetically. He points out that it might be an appellative of Moab (cf. Jer 46^{20} 50^{11}, Hos 4^{16} 10^{11}, in all of which 'heifer' is similarly used), but thinks it more probable that the reference is to Zoar (Is) or Horonaim (Jer) as beautiful, strong, and hitherto unsubdued cities. In Is 15^{5} after Σήγωρ (Zoar) LXX has δάμαλις γάρ ἐστιν τριετής, referring to Moab. In Jer 48 [Gr. 31] ^{34} the MSS show a perplexing variety of readings (see Swete). B has, after Horonaim, καὶ ἀγγελίαν Σαλασειά. Aq. and Symm., however, had δάμαλις τριετής (see Field).

LITERATURE.—Comm. on Is and Jer; Baudissin in *SK*, 1888, p. 509 ff.; Dietrich in Merx' *Archiv*, i. 342 ff.

J. A. SELBIE.

EGLON (עֶגְלוֹן).—A king of Moab who, upon the relapse of the children of Israel into idolatry after the death of Othniel, was the divine instrument for punishing them. He is represented as forming a confederation with Amalek and Ammon,[†] and in conjunction with them taking possession of Jericho ('the city of palm trees,' Jg 3^{13}).[‡] For eighteen years he ruled over them, till a deliverer arose in the person of Ehud, of the clan of Gera, of the tribe of Benjamin. With the excuse of taking Eglon his tribute (or, perhaps, a present), Ehud with a retinue of servants went to the king's court. The king, we are told, in order that we may understand what is coming, was a very fat man. The present was offered, and the whole party started on their way home again. When they reached the graven images (LXX, Vulg. AVm, RVm), or perhaps graven stones (by some connected with the twelve stones of Jos 4^{20}), or the quarries (AV, RV, following Targ. Syr.),[§] Ehud went back to the king by himself, and, by giving him to believe that he had a secret to communicate to him, obtained an interview with him by himself alone. He was sitting in his cool upper-chamber. Now that he has the king by himself, Ehud claims that his message for the king is from God, upon which Eglon rises out of respect to the source of the message. Ehud then draws his two-edged dagger, taking advantage of his left-handedness, which would enable him to do so without much notice being taken of his act, and stabs E. with such force that the dagger, haft and all, goes into him, while the fat closes upon the blade.[‖] It is some little time before the murder of E. is discovered, and meanwhile Ehud has escaped and summoned his countrymen to the destruction of the Moabites on the W. of Jordan with such success, that 'the land had rest fourscore years.'

Jos. (*Ant.* V. iv.) makes several additions to, and variations in, the story told in the Book of Judges; that E. built a palace at Jericho; that Ehud also dwelt there, and became familiar with E. by means of his presents, and was beloved by E.'s courtiers. Ehud gathers the Israelites together to destroy Moab almost before his murder of E. is known.

LITERATURE.—For the latest description of the history of Eglon, see Moore, *Judges*, 89 ff.

H. A. REDPATH.

EGLON (עֶגְלוֹן).—An ancient town in the Shephelah, close to Lachish. Its king, Debir, joined in the alliance formed by the king of Jerus. against the Isr. under Joshua, and after the battle of Aijalon it was captured and destroyed (Jos 10^{1-37} 12^{12}). It is not again named in Scripture, so that it was prob. utterly destroyed. In LXX, cf. Jos 10, Adullam takes its place by some (prob.) early mistake, they are in consequence identified in the *Onomasticon*. The name remains in 'Ajlân, some 15 miles N.E. from Gaza and 2 miles N. of Tell Hesy, now conclusively identified with the ancient Lachish. But Flinders Petrie (*PEFSt*, 1890, pp. 161–163) points out *Tell Nejîleh* as probably the true site. *Khŭrbet 'Ajlân* his practised eye pronounced unlikely to be the site of an ancient town. On the other hand, 'it is certain,' he says, 'that Tell Hesy and subordinately *Tell Nejîleh* must have been positions of first-rate importance from the time of the earliest settlements; they would then agree to the character of Lachish and Eglon. The history of *Tell Hesy* begins about B.C. 1500, and ends about B.C. 500; while Tell Nejîleh, as far as can be seen on the surface, is of the same age, or ruined even earlier.' 'There are no sites in the country around so suited to the importance of Lachish and Eglon as these two Tells.' To this may be added, that the course of Joshua (ch. 10) brought him first to Lachish—Eglon lying between Lachish and Hebron; and the position of Tell Nejîleh suits this account better than that of 'Ajlân. See LACHISH.

---

[*] Having given 'earnest' as one meaning of 'effectual' when used of prayers, the *Oxf. Eng. Dict.* (*s.v.*) adds: 'Cf. Anglo-Lat. *effectuose supplicantes* "earnestly entreating," A.D. 1229 in Rymer, I. 308. Perhaps this use was originally due to confusion with *affectual*; but the translators of AV ingeniously availed themselves of it in Ja 5^{16} to render Gr. ἐνεργουμένη.' It is to be observed, however, that AV uses two words, 'effectual fervent,' for this one Gr. word. Tindale's tr. is 'if it be fervent.'

[†] This is held to be an exaggeration of D by those who distinguish various hands in this book; see, however, Ps $83^{6.7}$, which seems to refer to the period of the Judges.

[‡] The fortifications, at any rate, of Jericho must have been in ruins (cf. Jos 6^{26} with 1 K 16^{34}), but we are never told that the ruins left from the burning of Jericho were pulled down.

[§] The notion that they were boundary stones or images scarcely deserves mention.

[‖] For the meaning of the last clause of verse ^{22} see Moore, pp. 97, 98.

LITERATURE.—Robinson, *BRP* ii. 49; Porter, *Giant Cities of Bashan*, 209; *PEF St* (1895), 165; Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities* (1894), 142.
A. HENDERSON.

EGYPT.—

i. Name.
ii. Physical character.
iii. Fauna.
iv. Flora.
v. Ethnology.
vi. Language.
vii. Chronology.
viii. History.
ix. Relations with Asia.
x. Religion.

i. NAME.—The name by which the Egyptians at all times designated their country was Kîme*t* (Copt. ⲕⲏⲙⲉ, ⲭⲏⲙⲓ), a word of which the probable etymology—root *km* 'black'—would confirm the statements of Herodotus and Plutarch, who connect it with the dark colour of the soil. The contrasting redness of the neighbouring desert sand gave to that the name of 'the Red Land.' It is phonetically impossible to connect Kîme*t* with the name Ham (חָם). To the Semites the country was known as Mizraim (מִצְרַיִם, seldom מָצוֹר, Μεστραίμ, Μεσαραίμ), the termination here being no doubt locative and not a dual. The older cuneiform texts vocalize Muṣr, the later Miṣr; the Amarna letters have generally Miṣrî, *pl.** For this word a favourite though undemonstrable derivation is that from מָצוֹר 'fort.' The Greek name Αἴγυπτος (Arab. *Ḳibt*, Eth. *Gebṣ*, and European *Copt*) is of equally obscure origin. It cannot be satisfactorily derived from any Egyptian or Semitic word or combination of words. In the earliest Greek writers (*Odyssey* generally) it is the name of the river, for which Νεῖλος (cf. נַחַל, נְהַר?) is first found in Hesiod. In the later epochs and in poetical texts we meet with many other names for Egypt. Of such *t' mri* is among the most frequent, and seems connected specially with Lower Egypt and the inundation. 'The Land of the Sycamore,' 'of the Olive,' 'of the Sacred Eye,' are names which require for their explanation a greater knowledge of the geographical myths than we possess.

ii. PHYSICAL CHARACTER.—The geological constitution of Egypt is simple; its elements are three—the bed of rock (limestone for the most part, with sandstone and granite in the S.), which stretches across the N.E. corner of Africa; then the sand which lies upon this, and extends from the Arabian desert hills on the E. to the Libyan range on the W.; lastly, the black Nile mud, resting upon the sand in the centre of the valley, and forming the highroad for the great stream on which the prosperity of the country depends. The number and dimensions of the buildings erected at all periods gave a high importance to the geological elements of the country. The limestone obtained near Memphis (Turrah) furnished the material for the principal works of the early periods. The great temples higher up the valley, especially those of Thebes, are built of sandstone, conveniently obtainable at Silsileh. Red granite for statues, sarcophagi, etc., was worked at the first Cataract (Aswân); black granite and diorite for similar purposes came from the eastern desert (Hammâmât). Alabaster, a favourite material, usually for smaller objects, was quarried opposite Dahshûr, or (a better quality) at *Ḥtnb*, near Beni-Hasan, whence it was extracted under the earliest Dynasties. In metals the Nile valley itself is poor; those most valued come from abroad,—gold in plenty from Nubia or the eastern desert; silver, which was rarer, probably from Cilicia; copper from Sinai, later also from Cyprus; malachite and lapis lazuli from Sinai and Mesopotamia. Bronze, familiar during all later epochs, was made with tin, the provenance of which is uncertain, but which was already used under the 6th Dynasty. Nor can we tell whence iron, well known at any rate from about 800 B.C., was obtained, though a limited amount could be got from the western desert.

The course of the Nile through Nubia is hindered by a succession of rocky barriers, the last or northernmost of which—the first Cataract—has often been the political as it is the natural frontier of Egypt. Between the Cataracts and the Delta the country is of a very uniform character. The valley is extensive or narrow as the two hill-ranges recede from or approach the stream. Its breadth varies from about nine to four miles. As the river progresses northward, the hills gradually fall back and the valley expands into the plain of the Delta, across which the river makes its way by various channels to the Mediterranean. Although the surface-denudation recognizable at certain points of the river's course and the petrified forests still extant testify to very different climatic conditions at a remote geological period, it is unlikely that during the five or six thousand years of historic Egypt there has been much change in the aspect of the country. By the opening of that period the valley had been dried, the river-bed raised, and the stream's course fixed practically to its actual extent, though the number of its mouths was greater than it is to-day.

History is concerned during the earlier periods almost exclusively with the upper valley; the Delta was evidently still but partially reclaimed, though certain towns there are already met with in the myths and in the earliest history. Physical contrasts are coincident with that division into Upper and Lower Egypt which we find an established fact of the remotest historic times; already the two kingdoms—for such undoubtedly they once had been—are united, each, however, retaining its own tutelary deity, and its independent capital, *Nḫb* (El-Kab) and Buto.

Beyond this twofold partition, Egypt appears from the earliest times subdivided into a number (about 22 in south and north respectively) of smaller districts (nomes, from *νομός*), which become later the basis of an administrative system, but which originated probably in the vaguely defined settlements of different tribes. The lists of the nomes are our chief source of topographical knowledge; but no full lists are preserved from early periods, although several most ancient documents (tomb of *Mtn*, Pyramid texts) mention a few of the nomes. In the later lists each nome is personified by its guardian deity, fetish, or emblem, which serves as a kind of coat-of-arms. A nome was held to be composed of four elements: (1) the metropolis, the seat of the tribal religion and residence of the chief; (2) the cultivated land; (3) the canals by which the fields were fed with river-water; (4) the marshes which, rarely cultivable, served as a hunting-ground for the local nobles. The hieroglyphic , which expressed one of the words for 'nome,' is a testimony to some primitive irrigation system, representing as it does a canal-divided field, and the founder of the 1st Dynasty is credited with the construction of the great dyke which still protects the province of Gizeh from a too extensive inundation, while his successors had all to occupy themselves with the regulation of the water, the cutting of canals, and the satisfaction of local claims upon the benefits of proximity to the river itself. Variations in the annual height of the inundation were no doubt carefully observed in the remotest ages; we know that they were recorded in the Cataract district by the kings of the 12th Dynasty, and at Karnak in later times.

---

* According to W. Max Müller (*Z. Ass.* viii. 209), Muṣru, whence Shalmaneser II. received presents, was Egypt, not a N. Syrian or Armenian district (Winckler, Hommel, etc.). Winckler has suggested (*Alt. For.* 24 ff.) that another Muṣri, which he locates in Edom or Sinai, may have been the real origin of the Exodus tradition, reminiscences of wanderings in that district having got confused with the name of Egypt. In S. Arabian inscriptions this Muṣri and Egypt are distinguished as מצרן and מצר (Hommel in *Festschrift f. Ebers*, 27).

The Nile is not only the great fertilizer; it is also, now as formerly, the main highway. We hear relatively little of journeys by road; locomotion was normally by water, either upon the river or upon the subsidiary canals. The commonest words for journeying implied the idea of sailing up or down stream. The dead were drawn to their rock-cut tombs on boat-formed cars; the solar gods were thought to traverse the sky in a divine bark. Such roads as we do hear of are chiefly those leading from the Nile across the desert—eastwards (from Coptos) to the Red Sea, westwards to the Natron Lakes, or southwards into the Soudan.

iii. FAUNA.—The bones of sacrificial animals from various periods, and countless animal mummies from the base epochs, might, if carefully preserved and located, teach much as to the ultimate homes of several species, while an extensive knowledge of both the domesticated and wild animals might be had from the frescoes of the tombs—especially those of the Middle Kingdom. Each animal is there accompanied by its name, though it is often difficult to find for these their modern equivalents. For the earliest times the hieroglyphic signs themselves would supply a considerable list, giving evidence that the species then known have since changed little. The lion is frequently depicted, though probably seldom met with until the desert had been reached. The lion hunts recorded in the New Kingdom refer mainly to Syria or Nubia, though Thutmosis IV. hunted lions in the neighbourhood of Memphis. Leopards (or panthers?) seem to have been seen in the south; elephants and giraffes were not unknown to those who traded on the Upper Nile; jackals, then as now, were very familiar; desert wolves and hyænas somewhat less so; many kinds of antelopes were well known. The hippopotamus, once commonly met in the river and hunted in the swamps, has by now been driven far up the Nile. Of oxen various breeds were kept; the familiar long-horned species existed until the plague in the middle of the present century. Oxen are often represented ploughing or threshing. Certain varieties, or rather individual members of certain varieties, distinguished by peculiar, carefully sought markings, were held sacred from the earliest times—Apis at Memphis, Mnevis at Heliopolis, Bacis at Hermonthis. Sheep were no doubt kept, but occur rarely on the monuments. Varieties of the long- and the spiral-horned ram were sacred. The ass was the usual beast of burden, and was not rivalled by the camel till a very late date. It will be remembered that in Gn 12^{16} (Abraham and Pharaoh) and Ex 9^{3} (Moses) camels are nevertheless mentioned—both by J—as if known in Egypt. The horse is likewise unknown in the older epochs; as it appears first after the Hyksos period, it is assumed to have been introduced by those invaders. The reference to Egyptian horse-breeding in 1 K 10^{28} should more probably be applied to some Asiatic country (Winckler, *Altt. Unt.* 173 A). The Egyptian name for the horse meant properly 'a pair,' and was due probably to its first employment in the war-chariot. Foreign names, among them Semit. סוס, once borrowed, became even more usual. The horse appears to have been seldom ridden. Several breeds of dogs were known; some were valued for the chase. The names of some breeds are preserved, and show that certain Libyan (or Nubian?) varieties were popular. The cat, sacred to the goddess *B'stt*, was larger in ancient than in modern Egypt. It figures in a very ancient solar myth (*Book of the Dead*, ch. 17). The pig, except for its mention in the sacred books, is not met with until late times. Of birds a great number are depicted—geese, ducks, herons of many sorts; migratory birds, *e.g.* swallows, plovers, quails. Eagle, vulture, hawk, and owl are among the most constantly recurring hieroglyphics, while the vulture, hawk, and ibis were sacred to prominent divinities, and were embalmed in numbers (in the base epochs) in the localities of which those divinities were the patrons. It is remarkable that, though hen-breeding is universal in Egypt to-day, that bird was apparently unknown to the ancients. Of the larger reptiles the most important was the crocodile, now no longer to be met with below the Cataracts. There is a variety of snakes, the best known being the *uræus*, emblem of the patron-goddess of Lower Egypt and hence of the king, and the horned viper. From the importance and frequency in the earliest religious literature of charms against large snakes, it may be inferred that their numbers and dimensions were once greater than they are at present.

The texts show us several insects, notably the *scarabæus*-beetle, regarded, especially in later times, as a symbol of eternity and of the sun-god, and the bee, associated in writing from the remotest times with royalty in Lower Egypt.

Fish are often represented. The most peculiar is the *oxyrrhynchus*, the badge of the 19th nome of Upper Egypt. Fish were much eaten; some of the oldest frescoes depict them speared in the marshes, landed in drag-nets, and then split for drying; while texts equally ancient tell of the construction of fish-ponds.

iv. FLORA.—Egypt is remarkably poor in variety of vegetation. Many of the cultivated plants most common now—cotton, sugar, rice—are modern importations.

In prehistoric ages the valley was no doubt considerably wooded; but to-day, with the exception of the various palm species, trees occur only singly or in small groups. The representations of the flora—of trees especially—in the frescoes, carvings, or hieroglyphics are generally too far conventionalized to be instructive. More can be learned from extant remains of edible grains or funerary floral wreaths (from the New Kingdom onwards), or of woodwork (from all periods). From these it is clear that the native vegetation has altered very little during the course of history. The Egyptians were at all times ill off for workable woods, and were compelled—where the stalks of river plants would not serve—to make the best of their own sycomore or acacia (the latter especially in the older epochs), or to import yew from Cilicia (?) and ebony from Nubia. More than one Pharaoh of the New Kingdom brought specimens of trees and vegetables from Syria or the Red Sea coasts, either as curiosities or with a view to their propagation. From the nature of the soil, agriculture must always have been the main occupation of the population, and we learn from the monuments the names of several cereals, of which wheat and barley were the commonest, dhurah being well known since the New Kingdom. Gardens were laid out, and much interest was shown in them since the 4th Dynasty. Many vegetables are represented in the frescoes and as hieroglyphic signs, especially the bulbous sorts—onions, leeks, etc. (cf. Nu xi. 5). The vine was always largely cultivated, and from the Delta came several famous wines of Greek and Roman times. The fig, too, is early represented. Many plants were valued medicinally, as can be shown from the numbers occurring in the medical works, notably in the Papyrus Ebers; others were used for dyeing. The most important of all plants to the Egyptians was the **papyrus**, which, unknown now in the Delta, grew there once in vast thickets where the nobles hunted, and whence was obtained the material, not only for writing, but also for numerous other purposes, decorative and useful. As the papyrus became one of the pictorial emblems of Lower Egypt, so the lotus was often that of the southern country, although a sort of water-reed seems also to have been so employed.

v. ETHNOLOGY.—The problem of the origin and relationships of the Egyptian race is still unsolved. Its solution is to be sought in the evidence of (1) philology; (2) mythology; (3) physical anthropology; and (4) material culture. Investigations in these various fields have hitherto given results partially discordant. (1) The most ancient linguistic documents point to an undeniable though already very remote relationship with the Semitic languages (see below). (2) The divinities and myths familiar to the earliest texts were, until recently, accepted as growths of the Egyptian soil, the inclination being to recognize in extraneous elements, if any, the influence of neighbouring African races. Hommel indeed invites us to take other considerations into account by pointing out certain coincidences between the ancient religions of Egypt and Babylonia. (3) Racial types, as depicted on the monuments, and the measurements, etc., of mummies, have led to no uniform results. Formerly, anthropologists saw in the sculptures and paintings one race, identical with the Copts of to-day; now they generally discern various types among the most ancient portraits, and seek on such evidence to distinguish at least two races. Few mummies remain from the oldest epochs—one of the most ancient is that from Medûm, at present in the Royal College of Surgeons, London,—and those from later times point apparently to a short-skulled, while the modern Egyptian is of a long-skulled type. Probably the oldest group of remains (from Abydos, 1895–96) seems to point to a long-skulled, orthognathous, smooth-haired race; but the type there is not homogeneous, neither is that of the Medûm mummies, and their relationship to the race of historic Egypt is not yet clear. (4) There is certainly evidence of African elements, whether due to primitive kinship or to mere proximity, in some branches of the material civilization, such as dress, weapons, possibly circumcision. On the other hand, Hommel seeks to show that a very early form of religious or sepulchral architecture (pyramid) is derived from Babylonia. It must be owned that the oldest remains of Mesopotamian civilization appear to exceed in antiquity any hitherto brought to light in Egypt.

Most are agreed that, whatever be the case with their forerunners, the Egyptians from the 3rd or 4th Dynasty onwards were not a negroid race; that they came, on the contrary, from Asia. But the questions of their previous home there and the route by which they reached the Nile,—whether by Bab el-Mandeb and Abyssinia or the Wady Hammâmât and Coptos, or by the Syrian desert and the Isthmus,—are as yet unanswered. The route S. Arabia-Hammâmât-Coptos has for it the evidence (*a*) of prehistoric remains at Coptos, pointing to a people coming direct from the Red Sea; (*b*) of certain facts—physical resemblance, peaceful relations, and the apparently reverential attitude of the Egyptians—which have been held to point to *Pwnt, i.e.* the country about the southern end of the Red Sea, as a former home of the race. To this may be added the tradition that the founders of the monarchy came from Thinis, a town not far distant from Coptos—a tradition which has been confirmed by the recent discovery of the First Dynasty tombs in the same neighbourhood (Abydos). No reminiscence has been discerned in the literature of a prehistoric immigration. The people apparently considered themselves aborigenes, and called themselves merely *Rôme(t)*, 'men' *par excellence*. Traces of a stone age, undeniable though complicated by the long historic survival of flint-working, show that the country has been inhabited since the Pliocene period. Palæolithic remains are rare, but some half-dozen stations are said to have been recognized. Considerable evidence has been adduced (though contested) to demonstrate a New Stone age. That a Hebrew writer of the 6th or 7th cent. speaks (Gn 10^{6}) of Mizraim as related to Cush (Ethiopia), Put (S. Arabia, *Pwnt*), and Canaan, is not a fact of much ethnological importance. By the earlier annalist (*ib.*$^{13f.}$) eight names—mostly unidentifiable—are given which may preserve a then current Hebrew view of Egypt's ethnological relationships.

vi. LANGUAGE.—The relative position of the Egyptian language among its neighbours is a question closely associated with that as to the racial connexions of the people. Our means of comparison with the surrounding idioms are not of equal value. For the Semitic languages—for the Mesopotamian dialects at least—we have documents perhaps as ancient as any from Egypt. For the Berber and Cushite languages of Africa we can but infer from quite modern evidence the linguistic conditions of earlier ages; and in this important field, therefore, little has as yet been attempted.

The Egyptian language, together with certain languages of Barbary, Nubia, and Abyssinia, used to be regarded as forming one of the distinct main divisions of human speech; now it is clear that this isolating classification cannot be justified. The group is not independent. Since Benfey's attempt to demonstrate the affinity of the Egyptian and Semitic languages, his main contention has received increasing confirmation, until it is no longer possible to deny an originally very close relationship—collateral rather than filial—between the proto-Hamitic and proto-Semitic groups. The affinity is specially prominent in grammatical features common to both. Of these the principal are—(1) the same gender-endings, masc. *w*, fem. *t*; (2) an all but identical series of pronominal suffixes; (3) the use in both of a peculiar adjectival termination, 'nisbeh'; (4) identity in four or five of the numerals; (5) analogous treatment of the weak verb and derivatives; (6) the identity of an old form of Egyp. verbal flection and the Sem. perfect; (7) verbal nouns with prefixed *m*; (8) the importance of a single accent-vowel in each word or syntactical group, and the resultant 'construct' state of the remaining vowels. There is, moreover, to be noted the correspondence between the Sem. and Egyp. consonants, extending to some fifteen undoubted equations (which embrace the important series א, ו, ', ע); also two or three more which are almost certain.* Further, the same lack of any written representatives of the vowels. In the vocabulary the case for Sem. affinity is less strong. The number of Egyp. roots for which correspondents can reasonably be claimed in any Sem. dialect is small; the large Sem. element in the language of the New Kingdom owes its presence, not to any primitive relationship, but merely to the political circumstances of the time. The bulk of Egyp. roots is of a decidedly non-Sem. type. One of the most distinctive features of the Sem. languages—the preponderance of triliteral roots—is, at any rate, not paralleled, even in the oldest Egyptian documents, though it has been suggested that the divergence here is due to early phonetic degeneration. Hommel offers another explanation of the facts. By the aid of certain very potent phonetic laws he institutes comparisons between a number of Egyp. and Sumerian words, the latter being, in his view, an import dating from the prehistoric (Semitic) immigration from Mesopotamia. It is a question of at least equal difficulty how large a proportion of the roots should be regarded as of African, *i.e.* negroid, origin, and so as vestiges of a still remoter, pre-Semitic period, during which the valley was peopled by an African race, part of whose linguistic stock was subsequently amalgamated with that of the invading Asiatics.

If it were possible to trace with certainty the genealogy of the hieroglyphic script, we might expect to find ourselves nearer the birthplace of the language. Hommel's theories do not ignore this problem; the hieroglyphics came, he holds, like the rest of the intellectual equipment of the Egyptians, from Mesopotamia. If this were true of the script as a whole, it would nevertheless be obvious that many of the signs had their origin in Africa; they represent natural objects, to be met with only there. Be this as it may, it is evident that the Babylonian and Egyptian systems had, for ages before we first meet with them, followed widely divergent lines of development. The former, influenced by the nature of its writing materials, had lost almost entirely the pictorial character which the latter, on the contrary, retained from the beginning to the end of historic times. A conventionalizing, abbreviating tendency was, of course, inevitable if a script so ponderous was to be put to any but occasional decorative uses. But the abbreviated forms — first the 'hieratic,' later the 'demotic' script—grew and found employment side by side with their prototypes, the hieroglyphics, which to the end were alone held suitable for sacred literature or ornamental inscriptions.

The signs in general employment during the classical period — the Middle and earlier New Kingdoms — are estimated at about 500; some from the older epochs had then fallen into disuse, many employed later had not yet appeared.

The signs are pictures of material objects—natural and artificial,—or of parts of such objects. Primarily, each sign must have had for its phonetic value merely the name of the object depicted. But since no provision was thus made for expressing abstract ideas or the grammatical needs of the language, a secondary use of the signs had been developed, and abstractions were expressed by the same signs as those material objects of which the names contained the identical consonants. For example, is the picture of a 'rib,' written by the consonants *s p r*; the verb 'reach' is also spelt *s p r*; it, too, is therefore written with the sign . Besides such signs as these, capable unassisted of expressing complete words, there are many with only the value of single syllables (*i.e.* consonant + vowel + consonant). These are, no doubt, primitive word-signs which have lost their original function, and so become available as pure phonetics for the writing of longer words. A still remoter stage of the language is recalled by the 24 signs called by us the 'alphabet,' and reduced from the representation of 24 monosyllabic words (? consonant + vowel) to that of 24 consonants, the initials of those forgotten words. To these three phonetic elements is to be added one purely ideographic and complementary. To avoid ambiguities certain signs, 'determinatives,' are added, as in Babylonian and Chinese, to phonetically written words in order to indicate the class of ideas to which such words refer. Thus, dignity or age would be followed by the figure of an old man, strength or power by that of an armed hand, literature or learning by that of a papyrus roll. The absence of written vowels leaves us ignorant of the correct pronunciation of Egyptian words; our only guides are the transcriptions in vocalized foreign languages—cuneiform or Greek,—or in Coptic, which is but the youngest stage of Egyptian, expressed in the Greek alphabet. Yet by these aids we merely approximate to the vocalization of the later epochs; for that of the Old Kingdom we have no guide. The Egyptians themselves did indeed, during the period of their intimacy with Asia (18th and following Dynasties), feel the need of some system of vowel-transcription, and they naturally took as their model the cuneiform syllabary, already in common use in Syria. The vowels which under this influence they aimed at representing were *a*, *i*, and *u*, and for their hieroglyphic representation the signs for three approximate weak consonants were selected. Similar necessities were met at later periods (the Persian, Ptolemaic, and Roman supremacies) by similar means, though during these the elements of the ancient hieroglyphic system were speedily losing their original values, and complete irregularity already reigned in the transcription of foreign consonants as well as vowels.

vii. CHRONOLOGY.—Many of the problems involved in this subject still await satisfactory solution. Astronomical calculations combined with the monumental evidence have doubtless done much already to fix the dates of later epochs; but beyond the age of the New Kingdom it seems impossible to find unanimous acceptance for more than approximate dates. Much obscurity still prevails as to the eras and methods employed by the Egyptians in their calculations.

A. The available Egyptian documents are—(1) The lists of kings inscribed in temples or private tombs. The three most important (at Abydos, Karnak, Sakkara) date from Dynasties 18 and 19, and give the names of 76, 61, and 47 kings respectively. Tombs and MSS of the same period have preserved shorter lists. In such lists the sequence of names is not always correct, nor is more than a selection (political or ritualistic?) from the full series of past kings given. They supply no data as to length of reign. (2) The lists in a dilapidated papyrus of the Ramesside period at Turin, which probably enumerated when complete all kings from the 1st to the Hyksos Dynasty. (3) Dates are found in, or can be reckoned from, the annals inscribed in the temples by certain kings, or incidentally in the tombs of private persons. This is the most reliable class of document, and the records in private tombs are the sole contemporary source for a chronology of the early Dynasties.

---

* The following are the conventional transcriptions used in this article (see *Æg. Zeitschr.* xxxiv. 61 and *ZDMG* xlvi. 727).

1. Ascertained equations: א ʾ, ב *b*, ה *h*, ו *w*, ח *ḥ*, خ *ḫ*, י *i*, כ *k*, ל *l*, ר *r*, מ *m*, נ *n*, ע ʿ, פ *p*, ק *ḳ*, ת *t*; 2. doubtful: ג غ *g*, ז *ṯ*, ט *d*, ס *s*, *ṯ*, צ ظ *ḍ*, שׁ *s* (the values of the sibilants, of course, particularly uncertain). The Egyp. *f* and a form of *ẖ* are without Semitic equivalents. Ï and ï represent secondary forms of י *i*.

B. Of Greek writers, by far the most important is Manetho, a native priest, *c.* B.C. 250, whose works are known only by the excerpts preserved by Josephus, Africanus, and Eusebius, or by the medium of still later chronologists. We are ignorant of the sources upon which his *Αἰγυπτιακά* was based; presumably, he had at his disposal documents far fuller and more reliable than any now available, though his chronology of the remoter periods can be proved much at fault. Nor can we judge how far he manipulated his authorities to suit his own views; and it is, moreover, probable that his Jewish and Christian abbreviators had their own systems to harmonize with his statements. The misfortunes inevitable in the long transmission of such writings must also be considered in estimating their present value. The lists appended to Manetho's history divided the Egyptian kings into 31 Dynasties. The grounds for such divisions are often difficult to appreciate; they do not always coincide with the divisions in the Turin papyrus. The lists compiled by Eratosthenes, B.C. 275–194, in which pretended Greek interpretations of the royal names are given, contain in reality many words which are but inaccurate transcriptions of titles, formulæ, etc., which accompanied the names.

Many scholars have occupied themselves with these Greek chronologists. Böckh sought to demonstrate an astronomical era as the basis of Manetho's calculations. Lepsius appealed to the 'Sothis' book, — a Christian forgery, — which ascribed 3555 years as total duration to the Egyptian monarchy; while, according to Unger, Manetho's system gave 5613 as the date of its foundation. Brugsch has attempted reckoning from the basis of average length of generations and reigns, and thus arrives at 4400 for the same event. Ed. Meyer lays stress chiefly on data as to length of reigns actually recorded on the monuments, and has thus constructed a series of 'minimum dates,' *i.e.* dates *below* which, at any rate, the various periods could not be brought down; but C. Torr has since re-examined the monuments with the result of a possible further reduction of Meyer's figures.

The most important assistance towards the establishment of indisputable dates is derived from astronomical calculations, based on the following ascertained facts as to the Egyptian calendar. The Egyptians did not use a leap year. Consequently in every four years a day was lost, and in 1460 years these losses had resulted in a complete shift of all the nominal months throughout the seasonal year. An absolute method of reckoning could, however, be obtained by observing the variation in the sun's position. This variation was gauged by the first visible (heliacal) rising of Sothis (Sirius), an event which coincided with the beginning of the Inundation. When the 'natural' years, reckoned from this point, amount to 1460, that total is therefore called a Sothis period. The natural or Sothic year was probably of importance to the Egyptians only for agricultural and ritualistic calculations; but to us it is of great value. For the known fact that a Sothis period began in A.D. 139 enables us to fix its previous occurrences in B.C. 1322, 2784, 4242, etc. With these points for a basis, and taking into consideration the recorded Sothis risings under kings *Mrnpth* (Merenptah) and Amenophis I., Ed. Mahler fixes the reign of Thutmosis III. at 1503–1449. He has, indeed, also calculated exact dates for the remainder of the 18th and 19th Dynasties; but results drawn from documents still often disputable cannot be relied on. To such astronomical dates Flinders Petrie has contributed 3410 as the probable commencement of the 6th Dynasty. The following are selected dates, from those provisionally adopted by Petrie,[*] Ed. Meyer, Mahler, and Steindorff (in 'Baedeker,' 1897):—

Dynasty.	Petrie. B.C.	Meyer. B.C.	
I.	4777	3180	
IV.	3998	2830	
VI.	3410	2530	
XI.	2985		
XII.	2778	2130	
XIII.	2565	1930	Mahler.
XVIII.	1587	1530	1575
XIX.	1327	1320	
XX.			1240
XXI.	1089	1060	
XXII.		930	
XXV.		728	
XXVI.		663	
XXVII.		525	Steindorff.
XXX.			382
Macedonians.			332
Romans.			30

viii. HISTORY.—Modern historians conveniently partition Manetho's series of 31 Dynasties into the following groups: (*a*) *the Old Kingdom*, Dyns. i.–vi.; (*b*) *the Middle Kingdom*, Dyns. xi.–xiii.; (*c*) *the New Kingdom*, Dyns. xviii.–xx.; (*d*) *the Foreign Dominion*, Dyns. xxii.–xxv.; (*e*) *the Restoration*, Dyn. xxvi.; (*f*) *the Persian Supremacy*, Dyn. xxxi. Between these lie obscure, disturbed periods, not assignable to any of the more distinctly defined groups.

(*a*) *The Old Kingdom.*—Although nothing is known of the history of the earliest Pharaohs, the tombs of the 1st and 2nd Dynasties have lately been discovered at Abydos (Om el-Ja'ab), the legendary cradle, it will be remembered, of the monarchy. Unfamiliar royal names of the same remote age have come to light somewhat farther south (Negadeh);[†] while the so-called 'New Race' cemetery—the remains of a very rude stage of culture—in the latter locality, is regarded as dating from at least as distant a period. In Greek times legends could still be collected, attributing to some of these early kings notable achievements, such as the first damming of the river, the establishment of a certain divine cult, or the regulation of succession to the throne; to others, some memorable experience—a devastating plague, or an earthquake.

It is to be remembered that, while the first historic Dynasty and that of demigods which preceded it are said to be native to Upper Egypt, the legends of the still remoter Dynasty of gods are localized in the North; the great gods were at home first in Heliopolis and the Delta. This may point, it is said, to a racial contrast which, however strong at first, was early obliterated. One of the prehistoric races had occupied districts about the river's mouth; another—that, perhaps, to which the rude monuments at Coptos are due—had arrived in the upper valley, and one of its chiefs, attaining, we may suppose, at Abydos, or more properly Thinis, to a position of supremacy, had been able to extend thence his power down the river, settling near the later Memphis, subduing or absorbing the Delta tribes, and finally identifying himself with the religion of the district which became thenceforth the state religion of the nation. Relics of a possibly pre-dynastic monarchy can be traced in archaic survivals in the titles, functions, dress, etc., of the later kings; but of the people ruled by these primitive Pharaohs, or of the limits of their domains, little can as yet be said. Interments, flints, pottery, regarded by some as prehistoric, are by others assigned to far later ages.

---

[*] So far as yet published; see *History*, vols. i. ii.; Meyer's are the minimum dates referred to above.

[†] See *Æg. Zeitschr.* xxxv. 1 ff.

History properly so called opens with Dyn. 3. Yet here still we have knowledge of only one or two out of half a dozen kings. Some fragments on which the name of *Nbk’* (Nebka) occurs are held to belong to his time; *Ḏsr* (Zezer), his successor, in all probability built (possibly usurped) the step-pyramid of Sakkara. He was a monarch of some power, for he extended his activity to the mines of Sinai, where his name is found, and his cult was revived at quite a late epoch. The Dynasty closes (or the next begins) with a better known king, *Snfrw*-Soris, whose name survives on numerous monuments, the most important being his pyramid-tomb at Medûm. He, too, exploited the Sinaitic copper, not, however, as his inscriptions there show, until he had crushed the hostile nomads of the neighbourhood. The tombs of several of his nobles are extant in the cemeteries of Abusir, Dahshur, and Medûm. The 4th Dynasty has left a memorial more indelible than that of any that followed it; for the successors of Soris built as their tombs the three great pyramids of Gizeh. Their relationships to Soris and to one another are uncertain. Some close blood connexion can be argued from genealogies in contemporary tombs and from later tradition. *Ḫwfw*-Cheops, *Ḫfr‘*-Chephren, and *Mnk’wr‘*-Mykerinus appear to have spent their energies chiefly on the construction of their pyramids. With this object they brought granite from Aswân and alabaster from quarries near Tel el-Amarna. Cheops, however, continued the work in Sinai, and built in the Delta (Tideh and Bubastis). Indeed we learn from the inscriptions of *Mṭn* (Methen), a magnate of the time, that the Delta was already, at any rate in part, reclaimed and worked for the crown by great functionaries. Of the remaining three or four kings of the Dynasty, one at least is known to have built a pyramid. The great Sphinx is usually attributed to this period, though it possibly belongs to a considerably later age. The relative scarcity of remains of the 4th Dynasty probably points to the small development of the custom of building monumental tombs.

Tradition regarded the 5th Dynasty as a new family, possibly as one of usurpers. One legend—probably not without interested motives—ascribes to it an origin half-priestly, half-divine, and places its home in the neighbourhood of Heliopolis; elsewhere it is called native to Elephantine. The Dynasty consisted of some nine kings, mostly little more now than names; for we know of no achievements more remarkable than work in the mines of Sinai or Hammâmât and a trading expedition down the coasts of the Red Sea. The pyramids of all but one of the kings are identified—mostly at Abusir. That of *Wnis*-Onnos, the last of the Dynasty, is at Sakkara, and, though smaller than most tombs of its class, is to us of much greater importance than the gigantic but barren erections of earlier reigns; for in it are inscribed the most ancient texts of all Egyptian literature (see below).

The 6th Dynasty, in its widespread activity abroad and at home, is a strong contrast to its forerunner. Inscriptions of its kings meet us in all parts of Upper and Lower Egypt, as well as in Sinai and the desert quarries. And now, moreover, we may read in the earliest of narrative inscriptions—those of *Wni* (Una) and *Ḥrḫwf* (Herkhuf), the generals and ambassadors of kings *Ppy* (Pepy) I. and *Mrnr‘* (Merenera)—of expeditions against both the Syrian and Nubian barbarians. These resulted, indeed, in little but booty and conciliatory presents from the tribes over whom a temporary victory could probably be achieved with little trouble, by the (at least partially) disciplined troops of Egypt. One of the latter kings of this Dynasty, *Ppy* II., sat longer on the throne than any monarch in the world's history; native and Greek documents assign him a reign of over 90 years.

We know not under what circumstances the 6th Dynasty had reached the throne,—whether through some blood claim or by violence,—nor do we know amidst what events its rule closed. Evidently, however, it had no peaceful end. The last of its kings are but empty names, and indeed in the latter years of *Ppy* II. complete obscurity surrounds the political and social existence of Egypt. When, some two or three centuries later, that obscurity is dissipated, the country has assumed a new face, the capital is no longer at Memphis, the centre of gravity is several hundred miles farther south.

The outward characteristics of the Egyptian polity show little change under the 3rd, 4th, and 5th Dynasties. The southern and northern kingdoms, bound together, it has been said, in a sort of personal union, each retains to some extent its separate organization, although important offices, once proper to one or other of them, are often found united in the hands of a single functionary, just as the official nomenclature of the Pharaoh combined the royal titles of both South and North. The king is omnipotent; his ministers—a mere bureaucracy—are members of the royal house or of the great territorial families. The ancient division of the country into nomes forms the basis of an elaborate financial and judicial administration, yet controlled by the court through officials dependent on the central government, by whom the royal dues are collected and legal questions settled independently of the local authorities. But as time goes on, and (as we may infer) weak rulers succeed the strong, the old provincial independence reasserts itself, and the nomarchs begin to move beneath the weight of central despotism. One of the first signs of this decentralizing tendency is the growth of the custom of burial, now no longer at Memphis, beside the king, but at home, in the cemeteries of the provincial capitals, at Akhmîm, Abydos, Thebes, Elephantine, and elsewhere. The court of the nomarch was modelled upon that of the king; its officials grew in number, its militia in strength. The kings of the 6th Dynasty are left surrounded only by courtiers and placemen; the magnates seem to have withdrawn, and to be ready, when opportunity offers, to reassert the primitive independence of their position.

The period between the 6th and the 11th Dynasties is one of the most obscure in Egypt's history; yet the complete dearth of monuments can scarcely be fortuitous. Manetho localizes the 7th and 8th Dynasties still at Memphis, and we may indeed suppose that there was no sudden break with the past. The provincial nobles could only gradually assert their strength, and the Pharaohs still reigned, at least nominally, in their ancient capital. But of these kings we know nothing, scarcely their names. Possibly they were, in later times, regarded as usurpers. Genealogies in certain tombs (El-Bersheh) appear to reach back to their times, and show how the nomarchs already flourished. The succeeding Dynasties, the 9th and 10th, would be equally unknown were it not for the inscriptions of Siut, whose princes record their participation in the struggle of the petty Dynasty of Heracleopolis (Ahnas) against 'the South.' The 9th and 10th Dynasties are indeed currently ascribed to Heracleopolis, while subsequent events make it evident that by 'the South' is here meant the principality of Thebes. That town had been the seat of a noble family under the 6th Dynasty; and while the royal power had grown weak, the Theban nomarchs had nursed their strength, till at length, having overcome the Heracleopolites, they by degrees re-established unity and order.

(*b*) *The Middle Kingdom.*—The claims of these first Theban Pharaohs—the 11th Dynasty—to be the legitimate successors of the Memphite kings were recognized in their own and future generations. Their number and sequence is not clear. They bear alternately the names *Mnṭwḥtp* (Mentuhotep) and *Intf* (Intef), though it is pretty certain this does not imply the undisturbed succession of one family. The royal honours were not attained by the first member of the series, who bears merely the title of nomarch; the kingly titles are assumed by his successors. One at least of them—*Mnṭwḥtp* III.—had a long reign, and left evidence of his power from the Cataracts to the Delta. Another records a trading expedition on the Red Sea as well as quarrying work in the eastern desert.

Whether the 12th Dynasty succeeded the 11th without disturbance is not certain. It gave to Egypt seven of the most active, powerful, and long-lived of her kings, and seems in every sense to have been worthy of the admiration bestowed on it in after ages. To *Imnmḥ't*-Amenemes I. fell the task of completing the work of union and pacification initiated by his predecessors. The magnates of Middle Egypt (Beni-Hasan) have recorded his intervention to settle local disputes as to territory on the basis of former arrangements, and to confirm his faithful vassals in their possessions. Elsewhere we read of revolts suppressed and of conquests abroad. Indeed, Egypt had now for the first time a royal house whose aspiration it was to extend the frontiers of their dominions. It is true that booty or tribute were still the chief inducements to war; but the campaigns were now upon a larger scale, the enemies attacked more distant, and the results of victory more lasting. The energies of the kings were turned chiefly southward, towards the gold mines of Nubia. That country, once subdued,—mainly by the exertions of *Wsrṭsn* (Usertesen) III.,—was to be held by means of fortresses, of which two can still be traced beyond the second Cataract. All Egypt contains scattered remains of the building activity of the 12th Dynasty, whose kings resided in various capitals—the earlier in Thebes, where the nucleus of the Amon temple dates from their time, and possibly at Memphis; the later, in the Fayyûm, where Amenemes III. built the most colossal of Egyptian funerary temples, known in later ages as the Labyrinth, and where he utilized an extensive natural lake (L. Moeris) to fertilize the whole district. The custom of burial in pyramids, maintained on a modest scale by the 11th Dynasty at Thebes, was carried on by their successors, who built large tombs of this class near Memphis (Lisht, Turrah, Dahshur) or in the Fayyûm (Illahun, Hawarah). There are grounds for supposing the later kings of the Dynasty to have had foreign blood in their veins; their portraits show features singularly different from the accustomed type of the age. The internal history of the middle kingdom is the history of the development of the decentralizing tendencies which had their rise in the conditions of the 6th Dynasty. The development can be traced in the inscribed tombs of the noble families buried at Beni-Hasan, El-Bersheh, Siut, and Aswân. The nomes of Middle and Upper Egypt are the centres of interest, each of them in the hands of a family of which the genealogy can, in some cases, be traced back to the Old Kingdom. The nomarchs were still, however, under certain obligations to the central power. But the crown was no longer in the position of irresponsible despotism which it had enjoyed in former times. Its powers were restricted on all sides by the growth of the provincial resources. The nomarchs, some of whom by judicious marriages had become lords of several provinces at once, had their own courts, officials, and levies, though the latter were apparently at the king's disposal for external wars. So far, however, as we can judge, the country suffered little as yet from these conditions. The age of the Middle Kingdom, though differing rather in degree than in kind from that of the Memphite Dynasties, was one of probably greater material, artistic, and literary wealth, and appeared, not undeservedly, to succeeding generations as a golden age.

The obscurity which gradually follows the extinction of the 12th Dynasty is no less impenetrable than that which follows on the Dynasties of the Old Kingdom. On some sides, indeed, the decline is scarcely perceptible; the outward aspect of the kingdom is little changed; the southern conquests are maintained, commerce on the Red Sea continues, and the art of the period does not fall far short of the high standard lately set. But of the individual Pharaohs of the 13th Dynasty we know scarcely anything; of those of the 14th, absolutely nothing. The former series, with the names (among others) of *Sbkḥtp* (Sebekhotep) and *Sbkms'f* (Sebekemsef), is localized in Thebes; the latter in Chois, an obscure Delta town, though it is quite possible that the Theban tradition was being upheld by a contemporary Dynasty in the south. The whole interval, indeed, between the 12th and 17th Dynasties may have been occupied by the struggles of rival houses, each claiming legitimate rights to the throne, yet none strong enough to vindicate its claims permanently.

We do not know at what point in this dark period of some 150 years the internal troubles were first complicated by foreign invasion. The name of one of the kings assigned to this time is regarded as evidence for an Ethiopic supremacy; on the other hand, there is perhaps ground for placing here one of the frequent Libyan invasions. Of trustworthy contemporary documents there is a complete dearth; the Turin papyrus and the Manethonian fragments are our sole authorities. In Manetho's arrangement these two obscure Dynasties are followed by two more of which still less is known; yet they are of greater interest, for they are drawn from those foreign invaders who by this time had subdued at least a part of northern Egypt, and whom Manetho names Hyksos (Ὑκσώς, ? pl. Ὑκουσσώς). The racial position of this people is still unknown. Their Greek (=Egyptian) name means merely 'Sheikhs of the (south Syrian) Bedawin,'* and it has been supposed that they consisted of mixed hordes, partly Semite, partly of some other race. Another hypothesis, based on the fact that the worship of *Swtḫ* (Set) was common to Hyksos and Hittites, and on the occurrence in cuneiform documents of *Ḫy'n* (Khyan) as a Hittite king's name, while his namesake in Egypt is regarded as a Hyksos king, would make of Hyksos and Hittites one race. From the language we can draw no arguments, for we know nothing of it save a few Greek transcriptions of the royal names. Nor can we appeal to the portraits of the kings; for the Sphinxes, etc., formerly regarded as such, are now held by many to belong rather to the latter kings of the 12th Dynasty.

---

* The gloss 'shepherd' for *Šsw* is demonstrable only at a far later period of the language.

Asiatics had undoubtedly been crossing the frontier for ages past; but only in small numbers. Now they appear to have made a much more formidable onslaught upon the eastern Delta, and, after slaying, plundering, and burning, to have established themselves there in a dominant position. The events which had produced this southward migration from Asia are quite unknown; possibly, the contemporary attack of Elam on Mesopotamia gave the immediate impetus.

Egypt was weak, and the earlier at least of the Hyksos princes were strong rulers; and though resistance was persistent farther south, northern Egypt remained in their hands for two or three centuries, possibly longer. They resided in the eastern Delta, in the fortress of *Ḥtwʿrt*-Avaris or at *Ḍʿnt*-Tanis (Zoan), where they soon so far assimilated Egyptian civilization that the remains of their work is indistinguishable from that of the native kings.

(*c*) *The New Kingdom.*—Just as the disorders of a former period had been ended by the energy or fortunate position of the Theban nomarchs, so now resistance to the Hyksos oppression centred at Thebes, which may even itself have suffered at their hands, since traces of them have come to light still farther south. Their expulsion necessitated a long struggle, and they probably only finally quitted the Delta many years after being driven from Upper Egypt. The 17th Dynasty, which began the war of liberation, seems for some time to have been contemporary with the Hyksos kings. It is, however, only of its later members that we have any knowledge. There is preserved from this period the autobiography of an Egyptian officer, *ʿḥms*-Amosis, who took part in the war, and from it we learn that, Avaris having been captured, the foreigners were not merely expelled from Egypt, but pursued into S. Palestine and their stronghold (or, perhaps, place of temporary retreat) Sharuhen (Jos 19⁶) taken.

The military expeditions here described are the first-fruits of a new tendency in the history of the nation. The art, language, and social organization of the early period of the New Kingdom bear a close resemblance to those of the age that had sunk in the obscurity of the Hyksos invasion. Indeed, that the change had been so slight may be an argument for the relatively short duration of the foreign occupation. But the political history of Egypt, with the rise of the new Theban Dynasty, begins to follow a new course. Instead of a nation content with victories over the wild tribes of Nubia and the Soudan, both kings and people appear now to be eager for conquest among races of quite other attainments, in the arts both of peace and war. The nations of Syria had not, so far as we know, seen an Egyptian invasion since that conducted by *Wni* (6th Dynasty). The Pharaohs of the New Kingdom, however, initiated into Asiatic warfare by the circumstances of the Hyksos expulsion, soon came to regard such campaigns—aggressive now—as their most important occupation. But first they set about the reconquest of Nubia, and before long carried their southern frontier as far as Dongola.

The decisive strokes in the war of liberation were fought under the first king of the 18th Dynasty, *ʿḥms*-Amosis, who seems to have been the lineal descendant of his predecessors. The relationships and sequence of the kings and queens—the latter, heiresses in their own right—who followed him are much disputed. His son and successor, *Imnḥtp*-Amenophis I., was a king of no great political importance, though popularly revered, as we see from his special deification in later times. His chief occupation was the reorganization of the Nubian dependencies. He was followed by his son, *Dḥwtïms*-Thutmosis I., though this prince's succession was only legitimized by marriage with a half-sister, the direct heiress. Whether he was the father of his three successors Th. II., Th. III., and queen *Ḥʿtšpswt* (Hatasu) or only of Th. II. and the queen, Th. III. being a generation farther off, it is difficult to decide. The queen, though certainly daughter and heiress to Th. I. and wife of her brother Th. II., may have been either half-sister or aunt (and stepmother) to Th. III. She was, at any rate, a princess of strong character, and a very important factor in the politics of the time, acting at least once as co-regent and, during the minority of Th. III., ruling on his behalf. We have evidence, however, in the successive erasure of these royal names upon the monuments, that, whatever was the sequence of the changes of rule among them, such changes were not made in any spirit of friendly acquiescence. Queen *Ḥʿtšpswt* never really reigned alone, though for years, whether owing to the insignificance or youth of the king, the fortunes of the country were in her hands. Beyond the proofs of her activity recorded at Deir el-Bahri (Thebes), we know little of the direction her energies took. The Hyksos were no doubt not yet completely expelled, and there is again mention of a Nubian campaign. The event of which we know most, however, is her expedition to *Pwnt*, *i.e.* the Somali coast. Her fleet had, like its predecessors from the 6th Dynasty onwards, solely a commercial object. *Pwnt* (Punt), the 'Land of the Gods,' the home of the 'bearded' people,* was rich in frankincense, and a market for ebony, ivory, and panther skins. Beyond the vast temple, on whose walls the expedition is depicted, the queen found opportunity to build also in other quarters of Thebes, and erected at Karnak the loftiest (with one exception) of extant Egyptian obelisks.

Left free by the death or final retirement of *Ḥʿtšpswt*, Thutmosis III., who had already reached the age of thirty, at once set about a campaign in Syria which culminated in a great defeat at Megiddo of the confederated Syrian princes, who forthwith recognized the Pharaoh as overlord, and professed themselves, with more or less sincerity, the vassals of Egypt. Not, however, that one campaign sufficed to ensure this condition of things. During twenty years Thutmosis III. himself led some fifteen expeditions into Syria, where the withdrawal of his armies was repeatedly the signal for a rising among the subjugated states. His most distant vassals at the time of his death were in the neighbourhood of Mt. Amanus and the upper Euphrates; he was suzerain of the Canaanite plain and coasts and of the Amorite hill-country, while Egypt's 'sphere of influence' embraced, moreover, 'the isles of the Great Sea,' *i.e.* the Ægean islands, as well as Cyprus, the nearer parts of Asia Minor, and the Hittite territory around Kadesh (on the Orontes). 'Tribute' is recorded from Assyria, though here, as often elsewhere, the annalist probably refers but to propitiatory gifts, which indicated a desire to stand well with the powerful invader. The Nubian dependencies were also extended in this reign as far south as Gebel Barkal and probably far across the Soudan, while we hear, too, of campaigns against the Libyan nomads. Thutmosis III. was not less active as a builder than as a warrior; his architecture meets us on all hands. In every considerable town he built or enlarged a temple, as at Thebes, where he surrounded the central shrine of Amon with extensive halls and corridors. His name, engraved on scarabs, etc., is more frequent than that of any other king, and seems, in later ages, to have been regarded as a talisman.

---

* So W. Max Müller, *Z. Ass.* xi. 82, and not حبشى Abyssinians.

He was succeeded peacefully by his son, Amenophis II., whose long reign is not remarkable. His father's energy had secured, for the time, the Syrian conquests. Nubia seems to have occupied him somewhat more, and from his reign date the most southerly of Egyptian monuments (Ben-Naga). The reign of the next king, Thutmosis IV., was short and still less remarkable. There were occasional demonstrations of supremacy to be made in Syria and Nubia, and tributes of respect to be paid to the gods by some additions to their temples. That the contact with Asia was already of influence is shown by this king's marriage with a princess of *Mṯn*-Mitanni, the then leading power beyond the Euphrates.

Amenophis III. sat for thirty-five years on his father's throne. He seems to have been still able without much exertion to maintain abroad the position he inherited, for we hear nothing of Asiatic and but once of Nubian campaigns. Extensive building and much observance of religious ceremonies are—for us, at least—the characteristics of the reign. At this period of the 18th Dynasty the royal marriages are among the most significant and influential in Egyptian history. Amenophis III., himself possibly the son of his father's foreign wife, took into his harem *Kïrgïp'* (cuneif. Giluḫipa), another daughter of the house of Mitanni, while we know that among his wives was also a Babylonian princess. He had, moreover, already married a lady named *Tyï*, who may or may not have been of foreign parentage, but who, at any rate, took a prominent share in the public life both of her husband and son. It is thought, indeed, that Amenophis IV. was influenced by his mother towards those reforms in the state religion, initiated a few years after his accession, which have left to his name a peculiar interest. (See below.)

The marriages, domestic relations, and foreign history of this period can be followed in exceptional detail owing to the records deposited at el-Amarna, where a portion of the correspondence between the Egyptian court and its allies, envoys, and vassals in Syria lay stored until its discovery in 1887. The correspondence was almost wholly in the Babylonian language,—clearly the diplomatic medium of the age,—though the writers were not, with one or two exceptions, Babylonians. Some of the letters are from the kings of Mitanni, but most are from the Syrians entrusted with the government of the subjugated provinces. Those letters which belong to the reign of Amenophis III. show a condition still of peaceful allegiance to Egypt and respect for its king. Those, however, dating from his son's reign bear witness to the defection of the vassals and speedy loss of the Asiatic empire, which resulted from the neglect and incapacity of the suzerain power. Amenophis IV. was too fully engrossed at home to spend time or money upon external affairs.

Although this king reigned for some seventeen years, there is nothing recorded of him beyond his religious activity. The religious revolution was accompanied by an ephemeral, though for the time complete, revolution in art, traceable throughout the remains of the great palace and temple which Amenophis, no longer content to reside at Thebes, had built at el-Amarna in Middle Egypt. Place and personal names were changed, in accordance with the reformed cult; the new residence was called 'Horizon of the Sun,' the king took the name *Iḫnitn* (Khuenaten), 'Spirit of the Sun,' the names of his wife—another princess of Mitanni and his own cousin—and daughters being likewise altered. There has been much speculation as to the king's personality, owing to the wide divergence between his youthful and mature portraits. The peculiar, almost deformed, type of the latter has been thought in some way connected with the religious change. It is scarcely likely that the very similar portraits of his courtiers are due to more than imitative flattery.

On the death of the reformer-king, he was presumably interred in the great tomb hewn for him at el-Amarna. His courtiers had planned to lie around him there; but only some of them were destined to complete their tombs. For in a short time it was clear that the schism had depended on the energies of its originator; with him dead, the ancient religion quickly reasserted itself. His two sons-in-law, who succeeded him, were not the men to resist the reaction which, within twenty years of Amenophis' death, was complete, and left the 18th Dynasty to end its course where it had begun it, at Thebes.

The most conspicuous results of the intercourse with Asia of which the 18th Dynasty had witnessed the growth, are naturally seen in the military character of the age, the new basis on which the army was levied,—dependent no longer on the feudal nomarchs, but immediately on the king,—and the new methods of warfare taught by the introduction of the hitherto unknown horse and chariot into Egypt. The gradual extinction of the nomarchs—an effect perhaps of civil war—implied a corresponding exaltation of the crown; their lands seem mostly to have passed into the king's hands. Conquest gave to the new monarchy a prestige and resources (treasure and slave-labour) which placed it in a position of hitherto unattained magnificence. The country became, as under the early Dynasties, filled with royal officials and favourites, who soon rose to form a new nobility; a royal tax was levied upon all land, and royal justice administered by mixed courts of officials and priests. The Asiatic vassal-provinces were governed chiefly by native viceroys, whom the Egyptian court controlled by means of envoys. Nubia and part of S. Egypt were entrusted to an official known as the 'Prince of Kush.' The evils of the irresponsible security attained by the capacity and fortune of the earlier Pharaohs of the New Kingdom and those resulting from their close alliance with the all-powerful priesthood, become visible first under the following Dynasty.

Whether *Ḥ̱rmḥb*-Armais be reckoned the last king of the 18th or the first of the 19th Dynasty, it is he who really initiates the new epoch. The disturbance for which Amenophis IV. had been responsible could not be quieted without vigorous reorganization, and this was the main work of Armais, a strong ruler, and probably already acting regent when called by his patrons, the priests of Thebes, to the throne. Beyond reconstructive work at home, we hear of one Asiatic war in which the principal enemy is the Hittite power, now advanced southward (probably from the Armenian highlands) and making havoc among Egypt's allies and vassals in N. Syria. It is uncertain whether this reign saw a treaty between them and Egypt. Armais was followed by the first of the famous Ramesside Pharaohs who ruled Egypt during the following 200 years. But

Ramses I. died after a short and uneventful reign, and his son *Sty*-Sethôs was the first whose hands were free enough at home to allow of any real attempt to regain abroad the ground of late lost. Yet now even Sethôs was unable to do more than assure his hold upon such districts as the Hittites had not already annexed. A march through Palestine to the Orontes and back by the Phœnician coast overawed Bedawins and Canaanites; but he made no fresh conquests, and finally came to terms with the Hittite king, who was to be suzerain from the Lebanon northwards, while Palestine remained in allegiance to Egypt. Nubia, Libya, and, with the last, the Mediterranean pirate hordes who now begin to appear on the N. and W. for the first time, were likewise chastised or repelled; but most of the reign must have been spent peacefully, as the king's colossal monuments at Thebes and Abydos testify.

His son, Ramses II.—the best known of Egyptian Pharaohs, because the most industrious in recording his own glory,—succeeded young, and reigned for 67 years. Of these the first score were occupied in the war with the Hittites, till it became evident that a peace, similar to that of the last reign, could alone end a struggle in which neither side was strong enough to retain the mastery. An alliance, offensive and defensive, was at the same time concluded and cemented, some years later, by a marriage. The war had been signalized by at least one great battle—that at Kadesh,—in which prodigies of valour are ascribed to the king. But the position of Egypt in Asia, as defined by the peace of the king's 21st year, was far inferior to that attained two centuries earlier by Thutmosis III. Instead of the frontier at the Euphrates and Mt. Amanus, Ramses II. had to be content with one which crossed the Lebanon about Beirût. As a means of controlling Phœnicia and Palestine, he erected a series of forts across the desert, while strengthening various Delta towns (cf. the Hebrew tradition of 'Pithom and Raamses,' Ex 1^{11}), and choosing for his favourite residence Tanis (Zoan), a much more apt centre than Thebes for the direction of operations in Syria.

After the Hittite peace, Ramses II. appears to have devoted himself principally to architecture. Not only did he build endless temples to the gods (and some even to himself) throughout the country, but he did not scruple, while restoring, to appropriate the work of his predecessors, whose names he frequently replaced on their buildings and statues by his own. He had more than 150 children. His successor was his fourteenth son, *Mrnptḥ* (Merenptah), whose reign is as yet the only one in which reference has been found to the Israelites (see below). As well as his famous Libyan war, *Mrnptḥ* boasts of a campaign in Syria, where he still claimed the allegiance of the southern half of the country. The great Libyan host, defeated in his 5th year, had come allied again with those pirate hordes which had appeared in the Delta under Sethôs, and whose homes it is impossible to localize, owing to the difficulty in exactly identifying their names. They came, at any rate, from the Mediterranean coasts; but whether Asia Minor, the Ægean islands, and the Italic countries all sent contingents, cannot be decided. The name of *Mrnptḥ* is found on numerous monuments, but we know little of his doings.

The long reign of Ramses II., and perhaps apathy and self-indulgence in his latter years, had enfeebled the royal power, and by the time of *Mrnptḥ's* death the country was ready for revolution. Power fell into the hands of the magnates and great officials, and only after half a century of disturbance did *Stnḫt* succeed in re-establishing order. This prince, who presumably had claimed legitimate Ramesside descent, left the throne to his son, Ramses III., whose reign lasted over 30 years. During its first decade, three formidable attacks from without had to be repelled—two by Libyan coalitions, and one by a host of the northern maritime invaders, whom the wealth of Egypt had more than once attracted under former kings. This time, however, they approached the eastern Delta by land through Syria as well as by sea, and it was only after a destructive battle at the frontier fortress of Magdolos that they were repulsed. The hold of each successive Pharaoh upon the Asiatic provinces was growing weaker, and it is doubtful how far the authority of Ramses III. was effective there, even though the Hittite empire had long been dissipated. At home the king's tranquillity was broken by a widespread and mysterious conspiracy, originating in the palace, and suppressed with great severity. Otherwise, the reign appears to have been peaceful. The king's chief ambition was the imitation in all points of his ancestor, Ramses II. The wealth of the country was enormous. The king lived the life of a self-indulgent despot, while the real power was with the Theban priests and the foreign mercenaries—mainly Libyans and *Š'rdïn'*, *i.e.* Sardinians, of whom the latter had already served the Pharaohs of the preceding Dynasty.

Ramses III. was followed by a series of his sons and grandsons, who each bore the name of Ramses. Under their weak rule Egypt finally lost her Syrian dependencies, and left them open to the conquests of Assyria. Each king seems to have been principally occupied with the preparation of a vast rock-tomb (Bîbân el-Mulûk), and meanwhile the ascendency of the priests of Amon grew always greater, until *Ḥrḥr* (Herhor), who had already added to the office of chief priest the principal political and military titles, felt strong enough to mount the throne and thus put an end to the Ramesside rule. The Ramesside Pharaohs had, with even greater resources at their command, rarely displayed the capacity or vigour of the 18th Dynasty, and the nation had readily relapsed into the unwarlike apathy and distaste for foreign intercourse which had marked its earlier history. Mercenary troops became therefore the only means of retaining a hold on the foreign provinces, and the king grew more and more completely the tool of the military leaders. On the other hand, the recent triumph of orthodoxy had further strengthened the position of the priesthood, on whom royal piety heaped untold quantities of treasure, the product of the foreign tributaries. The great offices of state in the hands of a mere bureaucracy were effective only in filling the royal treasury, while the population at large was starving and discontented.

(*d*) *The Foreign Dominion.*—But the 21st Dynasty does not, according to Manetho, consist of the priestly successors of *Ḥrḥr*. The legitimate Pharaohs he held to be the Tanite princes (*S'mnṯw*-Smendes, *P'sbḫ'nnt*-Psousennes, etc.) who rebelled against this usurpation, and were acknowledged first in the North, then also in the Thebaid. Before long the rival families intermarried and so restored unity; but their relationships and sequence are not clearly ascertained. On the monuments little more than their names occur, though mummies (of the priestly family) and much genealogical evidence were found in the famous *cachette* at Deir el-Bahri.

The next Dynasty, the 22nd, owed its rise to the political conditions of the period. The captains of the Libyan mercenaries had by this time attained a position, territorial as well as military, which made usurpation easy, and, when the opportunity offered, their chief *Š'š'nḳ*-Sousakim-Shishak was able without serious opposition to assume the royal titles. He was ambitious, and had pretensions to a reconquest of Syria. His inscription records a raid against both the Hebrew kingdoms—not against Judah only (1 K $14^{25\text{ff.}}$). The Dynasty resided at Bubastis, and built extensively upon the ancient temple of the goddess *B'stt* (Bast); but we know little of its kings beyond their names, *Š'š'nḳ*, *W's'rkn*-Osorkon, *Ṭkrṭ*-Takelothis. The Dynasty by which they were (presumably) overthrown shows likewise Libyan names, but ruled from Tanis. The times may well have been too disturbed by dynastic rivalries to leave leisure for building; at any rate, the history of the 23rd Dynasty is as yet totally obscure.

During the period of weakness and dissension through which Egypt had been passing, the Nubian princes of Napata (Gebel Barkal) had been growing in strength, and were able now to shake off the Pharaoh's sovereignty, and even to contemplate the invasion of Egypt. This adventure was not difficult to carry out in the southern country, where there was no leader to withstand them; but as they advanced northward, the Ethiopians found an obstinate opponent in *Tfnḫt*-Tnephachthos, the powerful prince of Sais (W. Delta), whose supremacy was recognized as far south as Hermopolis (Eshmunein). To this town the Ethiopian king, *P'nḫy* (Piankhi) (775) laid siege. The Saites capitulated, and Tnephachthos fled, while the victors advanced to Memphis. A treaty was, however, soon arranged, neither party being strong enough to suppress the other. The Ethiopians retired up the river, nominally in possession of the whole valley; but the Delta remained in the hands of Tnephachthos and his son *Bknrnf*-Bocchoris, who seems to have finally extinguished the old legitimist families, extended his authority up to Thebes, and reigned for some time in comparative tranquillity. The Ethiopians, however, had not abandoned their ambitions, and, strengthened by a marriage with a Tanite princess, and favoured by the still powerful Theban priesthood, they again marched northward and put an end to the rule of Bocchoris. This time their conquest was more complete. Their family, whose relationships and history are as yet far from clear, constitutes Manetho's 25th Dynasty, and its most conspicuous member is its first king, *Š'b'k'*-Sabakon (707-695). His successors were not, however, strong enough, at such a distance from home, to maintain a dominant position in the North, though the petty princes of the Delta towns accepted for the moment the Ethiopian suzerainty. One of the latter—and probably not Sabakon himself, as was formerly assumed—was the So (סוא = Sewe[*]) of 2 K 17^4, who ventured, in alliance with Gaza and Israel, to withstand the threatening growth of the Assyrian power in Palestine. Sargon, however, defeated the coalition at Raphia, though he seems afterwards to have made a treaty with Egypt.

Throughout this period the hopes of the small Syrian states were placed on Egypt, whence, however, in the confusion of party strife, no effectual help could come. Yet it was toward Syria that the ambitions of Sabakon's son, *Thrḳ*-Tharaka-Tirhakah (690-664), were directed. He was there brought, however, into speedy collision with Sargon's successor, Sennacherib, who, at Eltekeh, defeated the combined troops of several Egyptian princes. Attempts at interference in Asia were thus for a time checked, and Tirhakah had leisure for considerable building, both at Napata and at Thebes. But the Syrians still counted on an Egyptian alliance, and it was clear that, if the Assyrian rule was ever to be peacefully accepted by them, Egypt must once and for all be rendered powerless. An Assyrian army proceeded therefore southwards, and, while Tirhakah fled to Ethiopia and the minor princes submitted, Esarhaddon advanced as far as Thebes and subsequently organized a government under twenty local regents, of whom the most notable was *Nk'w*-Necho of Sais. Yet still Tirhakah had hopes, and his advances from the south, abetted by some of the local princes on whom Assyria relied, resulted at length in the expulsion of the invaders from Memphis. Assurbanipal, the son of Esarhaddon, thereupon hastened to Egypt, and, with small trouble, re-established the Assyrian supremacy, while Necho, who had joined Tirhakah, became a temporary captive in Nineveh. At length Tirhakah died, and his successor, *Tnwtimn* (cuneif. Tandamanie), having failed to recover the lost position, the Ethiopians finally retired homeward, while Assurbanipal requited the sympathy his opponent had received in Upper Egypt by devastating Thebes. For two or three years Assurbanipal was undisputed master of Egypt. Then came an Elamite war and simultaneous revolts in Babylon, Arabia, and Lydia.

(*e*) *The Restoration.*—Incited by Gyges, king of the last country, *Psmtk*-Psammitichus of Sais (663-610), son of Necho, whom the Assyrians had reinstated, seized this opportunity to raise a fresh insurrection. He was himself of either Libyan or Nubian descent, and the success of his policy depended wholly on the foreign troops he employed. With the help of Lydia and of Ionian and Carian mercenaries (the *χάλκεοι ἄνδρες* of the prophecy, Herod. ii. 152), Psammitichus overthrew the Dodecarchy, *i.e.* the Assyrian regents, and, by marriage with a niece of Sabakon's, gained the approval of the Theban priests and so of Upper Egypt. He pursued the Assyrians into Palestine, and captured after a long siege the town of Ashdod. The misfortunes of Assyria favoured the attempts of the Saite Pharaohs to re-establish their dominance in Asia, and during this and the following reign (Necho II.) Syria was again brought under Egypt's sovereignty. But the rise of Babylon under Nebuchadrezzar put a check on this revival, and Necho II. (610-594), after defeating Josiah of Judah at Megiddo,[*] was himself routed by Nebuchadrezzar at Carchemish, and expelled from Syria.

The energies of the 26th Dynasty were directed before all things to taking advantage of Egypt's geographical situation and bringing her, by the help of hired Phœnician ships, within the sphere of Mediterranean commerce. Relations were opened with Periander of Corinth and with other Greek states. Greek traders were assigned special quarters in Memphis, where a Tyrian colony had already been settled; indeed, *I'ḥms*-Amasis, a later king of the Dynasty, allowed them to found a separate town on the Greek model—Naucratis in the W. Delta—to which their operations were to be restricted, and which only waned in importance before the rise of Alexandria. Amasis had been the general of *W'ḥibr'*-Apries-Hophra (588-569), whom the troops had driven from the throne in his favour. About this time Nebuchadrezzar appears to have invaded Egypt, though the history of the campaign is not known. His object was presumably vengeance for the part which Apries had recently played in Syria, where Judah, again trusting to Egyptian support, had begun the hostilities which ended in the fall of Jerusalem (586) and the flight of many of the inhabitants—among them Jeremiah—to Egypt, where they were settled in Tahpanhes (Tell Defeneh), a frontier fort in the E. Delta.

---

[*] Greek Σηγώρ, Σώα. The Lucianic text has the inexplicable variant 'Αδαρμέλεχ.

[*] Presumably S. of Carmel, though this identification is disputed.

The characteristics of the Saite period are, in all but commercial aspects, those of an archaizing renaissance. To judge by art, literature, names, titles, etc., we might imagine ourselves again in the age of the Pyramid builders, though on closer inspection the resemblance is seen to be but superficial.

(*f*) *The Persian Supremacy.*—This prosperous and uneventful period was suddenly terminated by an invasion by the great power which was now overturning the political balance of W. Asia. Cyrus had seen the formation of a hostile league between Lydia, Babylon, and Egypt; but his death had delayed chastisement, and the expedition against Egypt was left for his son, Cambyses (525), who appears not to have acted with the customary clemency of Persian conquerors; for his memory was execrated throughout Egypt. The Saites had grown weak, and the country lay an easy prey to the invaders. The conquest was turned to full advantage by his successor Darius (521–486), who set about the reorganization of the country on its former lines, and won the acquiescence of priests and people by assuming the ancient titles and functions of the native kings. The check suffered by the Persians at Marathon, however, gave courage to the patriotic party in Egypt, and under the leadership of a Libyan, *Ḫbbš* (Chabash), the Persians were for a time expelled. But a fresh expedition was undertaken by Xerxes (486–465), and the insurrection suppressed with severity, Egypt being constituted a satrapy under the king's brother Achæmenes. Some years of quiet followed, and then, in the W. Delta, came a fresh revolt led by Inaros—possibly a Saite prince—and aided by the Athenians (463). This in turn was suppressed by Megabyzus, the general of Artaxerxes, while the leadership of the party fell to Amyrtæus, for whose support Cimon, on his Cyprian expedition, sent a fleet (449).

The history of this period is fragmentary and obscure; of native records we have none. The chronology of events cannot be accurately settled. We gather that, throughout the time of Persia's decline, various revolts of the national party took place in northern Egypt—the upper valley plays by this time no historical part. Manetho introduces, in the midst of the Persian supremacy, two more native Dynasties, the 28th and 29th, of which we know very little, and then another, the 30th, to which belong two kings, *Nḫtḥrḥbt*-Nektanebes (382–364) and *Nḫtnbf*-Nektanebo (361–343), the former of whom succeeded in suppressing his rivals, while the latter, during a long reign, was active as a builder throughout the country (Philæ, Edfu, Thebes, Heliopolis, the Delta). Persia, however, by a final effort, was able to reinstate herself (343), and Nektanebo, the last of the Pharaohs, abandoned his Greek allies and fled to Ethiopia.

But the Persian domination, too, was at an end. In a few years Alexander of Macedon had dismembered the empire of the Achæmenides, and in 332 he led his armies into Egypt, which submitted without resistance.

The Macedonians.—The rule of Alexander's successors, the Ptolemies, brought Egypt again into the advantageous position attained for her in some degree by the 26th Dynasty. Now, however, the Greek element became the dominant factor in her prosperity; the ancient native culture gradually faded and retreated from the North, where Alexandria, the new capital, had become the centre of the Hellenic world. But the wide dominions of the Ptolemies were not to be retained by a series of rulers so degenerate as those of the house of Lagus soon became. After a century of good government and unequalled prosperity (323–222), the political fortunes of Egypt began again to decline and anarchy to spread throughout the country. Insurrections followed each other in constant succession, while treachery and murder shortened the reigns of many of the kings. At length the Romans, under whose toleration the Lagides had for a century and a half existed, were able, by the victory of Octavius over Anthony and Cleopatra (30), to assume the actual government of the country, which remained thenceforth a part of the empire, either of Rome or of Byzantium, until conquered by the Saracens A.D. 642.

ix. EGYPT'S RELATIONS WITH ASIA.—Our sources of knowledge are (1) for the primitive periods, chiefly inferences from the foreign words already in use in the ancient (religious) texts, especially the names of cereals, woods, oils, etc., known to have been not native; (2) under the Dynasties of the Old Kingdom we have early evidence from the mines of Sinai,* where the troublesome nomad tribes were known as *Šs* (cf. ? שְׂסָה), from a 5th (?) Dynasty fresco depicting the capture of a Syrian fortress, and from at least one biographical narrative—that of *Wni*, Dyn. 6—recounting several military and commercial expeditions to Syria, the land of the *''mw* (root probably *''m*, 'boomerang,' not עַם). We here read of the fruitfulness of the land through which the Egyptian army marched, and it is evident the description is that of S. Palestine. The same text tells, too, of a journey by sea to the Phœnician coast; (3) under the Middle Kingdom Dynasties we can see that a considerable intercourse is arising. Embassies come with presents from Semitic chiefs and are received by the king or the nobles (Beni-Hasan), and no doubt many groups of nomads had by this time crossed the frontier and got leave, as they did later (*Æg. Zeitschr.* xxvii. 125), to settle in the Delta. Journeys into Palestine became so frequent that they formed the subject for a story—founded, no doubt, upon fact, and popular for many centuries—whence many details of Syrian desert life at the time may be learned (*S'nht*). The tribes among which the hero of this story passes many years are called by the general term *stï*, 'archers' (cf. Babyl. *sutī*). Egyptian traders visited them, and the conditions of life appear very similar to those of the modern Bedawin. (4) But the relations of Egypt with her northern neighbours were revolutionized by the Hyksos invasion and the long series of military expeditions which followed. The language receives a very strong admixture of foreign (not exclusively Semitic) loan-words, and is forced even to evolve a new system of orthography for their reproduction. Syrian slaves—females, at least, *''mt*—met with in the households of the Middle Kingdom, are now employed in great numbers. Asiatic textile work, weapons, vases (pottery and metal), musical instruments, besides various wines, beers, oils, breads, etc., are imported from Syria, Asia Minor, and possibly even lands farther west, and preferred to the native products. The native names even of many objects are discarded and replaced by corresponding foreign terms. Syrian deities—Baal, Astarte, Anat, Resheph—are gradually admitted to places beside the Egyptian gods, and the Pharaohs appear now and then under their special protection.

The countries whence these new influences emanate, bear in the Egyptian texts of different epochs different names, many of which are confusing and elude exact definition. All Syria, as far as the Euphrates, is divided into the countries of Upper (Southern) and Lower (Northern) *Rṭnw* (cf. the more ancient *Tnw* and the cuneif. *Tidnu*). Palestine proper bears also the name *Ḫ'rw*, originally only the designation of the southern (later

---

* See *Æg. Zeitschr.* xxxv. 7 ff.

Philistine) coast. Phœnicia, on the other hand, was known by the name *Ḍ'hï*, and, together with the still more northerly coast, by the vaguer term *Ḳdï*, 'the Circular (land),' perhaps from the form of the Gulf of Issus. *Kft* was the name, perhaps, of Cilicia, perhaps of the N. Syrian coasts. Certain peoples whom we find, under the 19th Dynasty, among the allies of the Hittites, have been localized in W. Asia Minor; the *Rwk'* Lycians, *D'rdny* Dardanians, *Ywnn'* Ionians, *Iḳ'yw'š'* Achæans,[*] and others. The difficult designation *Ḥ'wnbw*, found in the oldest literature, appears to embrace the peoples of the North in the vaguest way; only in late epochs was it used for the Hellenic race. Cyprus, whence much copper was imported, is *'sy*, a part of it *Irs'*-Alasia. Mesopotamia was, until the New Kingdom, practically unknown to Egypt; then we begin to read of presents passing between the court of Egypt and those of *Bbr*-Babylon, called in the Amarna letters Shankhar (*S'ng'r* שִׁנְעָר) or Karduniash, and *Isswr*-Assyria. Asia east of these was always unknown to Egypt.

The votive inscriptions, in which the 18th and 19th Dynasties recorded their conquests, have preserved the names of many towns, etc., in Syria, of which, however, the majority are still unidentified. The campaigns of Thutmosis III. furnish the best of such material; the lists of his successors are often mere copies of his, and of relatively small value. The Amarna tablets show several of these same names in a cuneiform transcription. Of the localities identified the following are among the best known: Aleppo, Carchemish, Kadesh (on Orontes), Damascus, Hamath, Byblos, Simyra, Beirût, Sidon, Tyre, Megiddo, Akko, Joppa, Gaza, Ashkelon, Janoah, Taanak. In one group of the Amarna letters Jerusalem is often mentioned, but in hieroglyphic texts it has not been found. Certain names, though not yet identified, are compounded of interesting elements: for example, *H'rir* הראל, *B'ty'* ביתיה, in which the divine names appear—the second already (Dyn. 18) abbreviated; or *Y'ḳbi'r*, *Yš'pir*, in which have been recognized the names יַעֲקֹב and יֹשֵׁף combined with אֵל (as in Israel, Ishmael). These much-discussed names are more likely to have then had local than ethnic significance.[†] A connexion between them and the names of the patriarchs, Jacob and Joseph, cannot of course be proved; indeed the equation *Yš'p* = יוֹסֵף has considerable phonetic difficulties. It may here be noted that certain scarabs, probably of the Hyksos period, appear to bear royal (?) names compounded of *Y'ḳb* and *hr* (? אֵל), which might point, at any rate, to the Semitic name Jacob at an unexpectedly early period. The whole tradition of Israel's early connexion with Egypt—the sojourn there of the patriarchs and the exodus of their descendants—is still obscure, and the recent discovery for the first time of 'Israel' in a hieroglyphic text seems but further to complicate the problem.

The facts as to this document are the following: In 1896 an immense stele was discovered, one text of which commemorates the victory of *Mrnptḥ*, son and successor of Ramses II., over the Libyans in his 5th year.[‡] In the latter part of the text where other triumphs are enumerated, the localities subjugated occur in the following order: the Hittite land, Canaan (? land or town), Ashkelon, Gezer, Janoah (?), *Ysïri'r*-Israel, S. Palestine, 'all lands.' There is no corroborative evidence for an Asiatic campaign of *Mrnptḥ*; possibly, in the fashion of the age, he is here merely assuming to himself the conquests of his predecessors. The name Israel is written so as unmistakably to indicate a people, not, like the other names, a locality. Further, the words used of its condition imply devastation and the destruction of crops. The obvious and only safe conclusions to be drawn from these facts are that Israel, or a part of that people, was already in some part of Syria, and had been in hostile contact with Egypt. On the assumption that 'Pithom and Raamses' were built for Ramses II., whose long reign answered the requirements of Ex ii. 23, the Pharaoh of the Exodus has been identified as *Mrnptḥ*;[*] though, owing to the supposed more appropriate political conditions, others would place the Exodus 30 or 40 years later, about the time of *Stnḥt*.

If we assume that by the reign of *Mrnptḥ* the Exodus had already been accomplished,—the name *Isrw* is found in the previous reigns in the territory of the tribe of Asher,—we have an argument for the proposed identification of the Hebrews with the Khabiri, of whose invasion of Palestine, some 150 years earlier, the Amarna letters say so much, and whom it is proposed to identify with the *Š'sw* chastised by Sethos I.[†] The story of the priest Osarsiph (?=Osiris+x) and the impious lepers, whose revolt he led, converted by Josephus into a history of Moses and the Hebrew struggle for freedom, has been with some probability referred rather to a reminiscence of the expulsion of the heretics of Amenophis IV.[‡] The name Hebrews has not been met with in Egyptian texts. That of the foreign tribe of *'prw*, found variously employed throughout the 19th Dynasty, is rarely now held to represent it, and may be merely a form of a familiar Egyptian term for 'workmen.' The Egyptian names given to Joseph, his wife, and father-in-law in Gn xli. 45 have received various inadmissible interpretations. The only transcriptions which conform to Egyptian grammar and usage are (1) *Jephnoute'fônch*, 'God speaks (and) he lives'; (2) [*N*]*asneith*, 'devoted to (the goddess) Neith'; (3) *Pedephrê*, 'he whom the sun-god gives.' All three names are cast in forms increasingly frequent from the time of the 22nd Dynasty onwards, but practically unknown earlier —except, indeed, the second; and this fact agrees with the date (8th cent.) to which the document E is assigned.[§] For a difficult word used in the story of Joseph, אַבְרֵךְ Gn xli. 43, a parallel expression has been noticed in a text of the 21st Dynasty, where the words *ib rk* seem to form an interjection, '*Give heed!*' or the like.[‖]

X. RELIGION.—Our sources of information on this subject are very numerous, but at the same time very inadequate. Egyptian texts not bearing, even indirectly, upon some aspect of the religion are in an extremely small minority; yet some primary questions remain unsolved for lack of explanatory documents. Since it is wholly owing to the supreme importance attached to the preparation for a future life that Egyptian antiquity has come again within our reach, it is natural that the side of religious life upon which we are best informed should be that dealing with the dead. Of the everyday religion of the people we know practically nothing. We have the names of many deities, and can enumerate their functions, attributes, and temples; but we are quite ignorant as to the way in which they were worshipped. It has been mentioned that Hommel is eager to demonstrate a Babylonian origin for the civilization of Egypt. One of his chief contentions is that some of the principal Egyptian deities can be proved identical with those of Babylon, from the identity of their attributes, distinctive animals, legends, etc. It is, however, as yet in many cases impossible to recognize what were the original rôles and functions of the Egyptian gods, and it seems more probable that, should a prehistoric immigration from Mesopotamia ever be demonstrated, the invaders will be found to have at most adopted certain of the native divinities and combined them with corresponding figures from their own Pantheon.

---

[*] See Streitberg in *Indoger. For.* vi. 134.

[†] The former, which occurs twice, can be localized in the district Ephraim-Dan (see W. M. Müller, *Asien*, 164).

[‡] His reign began, according to Mahler, in 1280.

[*] On the still less demonstrable assumption that the Hebrew immigration had been a part of the Hyksos invasion, Mahler bases calculations which give 1335 (*i.e.* Ramses II.) as the year, and, with the help of Rabbinical tradition, March 27 as the day of the Exodus (*Der Pharao des Exodus*, 1896).

[†] See Ed. Meyer in *Festschr. f. Ebers*, 75.

[‡] Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. Æg.* 276; Wilcken in *Festschr. f. Ebers* 146.

[§] See Steindorff, *Æg. Zeitschr.* xxvii. 41.

[‖] See Spiegelberg in *Not. et Extr.* xxxiv. 261.

No religious document of the earlier ages compares in importance with the great body of texts —some 4000 lines—collected and copied on the interiors of the 5th and 6th Dynasty Pyramids, but in partial use, too, in all succeeding ages. Some of the documents thus brought together belong undoubtedly to a far earlier period, and give evidence that the official religion was even then completely developed, many of the gods having already the rôles by which they are characterized throughout history, and several of the most popular myths—notably that of Osiris—being referred to as already current. Certain of the gods are conspicuously absent from the Pyramid texts; Amon, for example, who being originally but the local god of Thebes, remained obscure until his city rose (Dyn. 11) to political importance.

Indeed the local divinities as such play a remarkably small part in these texts. Yet the local cults were the real basis of the popular religion, which did not, so far as we can see, recognize any single unifying element before the various tribal districts had been united under the first historic Dynasties. The nomes (see above) corresponded to independent cults, each centred in the shrine of the local god, who revealed himself to his worshippers in an animal, tree, or other material object—perhaps once the tribal totem. One aspect of the advance from this primitive stage of fetish worship can be seen in the semi-human and finally completely human representations of certain of the gods in art. Yet the sacred animal was revered side by side with the anthropomorphic god, receiving, as we know, much honour even in Greek and Roman times.

Beyond the famous story of Osiris and many otherwise unknown legends, the Pyramids contain countless allusions to that cycle of myths which subsequently produced the doctrines of the other great school of theology. For as Abydos appears very early—though probably not originally—as the home of the Osirian legend and of the all-important views of future life and retribution attached to it, so does Heliopolis (Ὦν, און) become the centre of the solar theology represented by the myth of Reʿ, the sun-god, and his daily contest with the dragon of darkness.

A number of the gods—many merely local deities once—had been gradually drawn within the cycles of Osiris or of Reʿ. The chief actors in the former story are, besides Osiris himself (whose original locality and character are very obscure), his brother Sêt-Typhon, regarded now as the impersonation of darkness (when Osiris is a solar god), now as the god of the barren desert (when Osiris is the fruitful river-valley); Isis, wife of Osiris, a goddess (from the Delta or Philæ) of merely mythological importance until the base epochs; Horus, his son and avenger, a puzzling figure owing to the variety of his local forms; and Thouth, the god of Hermopolis, the ally of Horus.

The myths of the sun-god are concerned either with the phases of the sun's daily and also supposed nightly, invisible journeys, or with cosmic phenomena. In the former, Horus again plays a part, now as the son of Reʿ; in the latter, local divinities such as *Itm* (Tum) of Heliopolis, or elemental gods, as *Ḳb*, *Nwt*, *Šw*, *Tfnwt*, are introduced. Cosmic speculations produced a variety of myths. In one heaven and earth are female and male; in another the sky is a cow with spotted hide (the stars); another held the earth to be a box, with the sky for its raised lid, supported on the encircling hills or on four tree-stems. The gods and goddesses associated with Reʿ are 9 in number (Ennead), and are regarded as a related family, just as later theology grouped several of the local deities into family 'triads.'

Not all cosmic doctrines, however, were concerned with the Heliopolitan gods; various local gods had once been regarded as creators, *e.g.* *Ḫnmw*-Chnoubis who, in the clay districts near the Cataracts, had formed the world upon a potter's wheel; and Ptah of Memphis was a similar artisan god.

Other and very ancient divinities were the local earth and harvest gods, *e.g.* Mîn of Coptos and (perhaps) Amon of Thebes. Others, again, were water deities, *e.g.* *Sbk*-Souchos of the Fayyûm and Ombos—for the same god is frequently met with in several localities, though originally proper, no doubt, to but one of them. Several were guardians of the local cemeteries, *e.g.* Sokaris at Memphis, Anubis at Siut, 'The Lord of those in the West' at Abydos.

The doctrines and practices of which the Osirian legend was at once the pattern and consequence are chiefly to be studied—beyond very numerous passages in the Pyramid texts—in the great heterogeneous collection of incantations known to us as the 'Book of the Dead,' but to the Egyptians probably as ('the Book of) coming out from (*i.e.* departing from) the Day and from the Necropolis.' The work is composed of texts ('chapters'), some as ancient as those of the Pyramids, others much later, and was intended as a guide through the various difficulties, and a magical protection against the enemies to be encountered by the dead, with whom a copy of it was buried. Some of the texts seem to be remnants of primitive rituals, but all had been by the time of their definite collection (beginning of the New Kingdom) edited for the use of the dead himself. It is this more than once repeated editing which has rendered the Book for the most part unintelligible to us. It may be asserted that none of the older chapters are now available in their first simplicity. The oldest MSS (Dyn. 12, 13) already show the glosses of more than one redactor, and each successive gloss seems but to obscure the original text.

Several totally divergent views, Solar and Osirian, as to the future life are represented in the work. The soul is, according to some chapters, to take the form of a bird and quit the tomb, and may accompany the sun bark on its heavenly journey; elsewhere it is regarded as appearing before Osiris, and, after the famous 'negative confession,' receiving merited justice. If judged 'of true voice,' *i.e.* correctly pronouncing the potent magic formulæ, the deceased proceeds to the 'Fields of *I'rw*,' and spends eternity in a very materialistic paradise, conceived upon the model of rural life in Egypt.

The elements in man which survived death were four: *b'* soul, *iḫw* spirit (?), *ḫ'ybt* shadow, and *k'* double. What were intended by the first three of these it is difficult to say; the fourth is that of which we hear most; for its maintenance was the object of all the funerary rites which from the earliest times occupied so much attention among all classes. The double, in appearance the exact counterpart of the man, after accompanying him through life, lived on in the tomb so long as the corpse remained intact, and the piety of the survivors provided sufficient nourishment. Hence the processes of mummification, the inscriptions whose magic could, if supplies failed, call up food, the portrait-statues into which the double could enter.

Certain of the Pyramid texts and recent excavations do indeed recall an age in which funerary practices differed much from those of historic times — an age in which cannibalism and human sacrifice were not extinct, and in which all but the most rudimentary embalmment was unknown.

Confusion of doctrines is not characteristic of the funerary literature alone; it is common to all aspects of the Egyptian religion. The priestly tendency, discernible from the first Theban supremacy onwards, to assimilate all secondary deities to those at the head of the Pantheon, and, finally, to teach that all were but manifestations of the supreme deity (*i.e.* the sun-god), introduced, indeed, a kind of order, though for us the course of the foregoing development is thereby but obscured. The supremacy of the Theban Amon, assimilated in the first place to the sun-god, led to his identification with such a host of other deities, while the wealth and power of his priests became so threatening a danger to the state, that Amenophis IV., urged perhaps by the ancient hierarchy of Heliopolis, was tempted to a reform which should replace as the state religion the worship of Amon and his associated divinities by that of the sun's orb, *itn*, alone. This is the only conscious movement towards monotheism recorded in the religious history of Egypt. It is not necessary to seek in it the reflexion of some of the foreign influences of the time; the *itn* was a recognized aspect of the sun-god in Egypt in previous periods. The reformed doctrine contained conceptions far more lofty and enlightened than those of the ancient religion; yet it had but an ephemeral success, and became extinct shortly after the reforming king's death.

LITERATURE.—(*A*) GENERAL :—*Descript. de l'Égypte*, a colossal publication, the result of the Napoleonic expedition, containing monographs upon many branches of Egyptology, ancient and modern (1809 and 1817); Wilkinson, *Mann. and Cust.*, ed. Birch (1878); Erman, *Ægypten u. Ægypt. Leben* (1885 ff.), supersedes in most respects the foregoing work; Ebers, *Cicerone* (1886); *Baedeker*, by Steindorff (1897). (*B*) LAND :—On Geology, Zittel, in *Baedeker*, *Unterägypten*^{2} by Ebers (1885); first part of De Morgan, *Rechs. s. les Origines de l'Ég.* (1896); chaps. in Fl. Petrie, *Ten Years' Digging*, *History I.* and in *Ninth Or. Congr.* (1893). On Metals, Lepsius, *Die Metalle* (1872), and articles by Montelius, M. Berthelot, etc. (*C*) FAUNA AND FLORA :—The respective chapters in *Baedeker* (1885 and 1897); articles by V. Loret in *Rec. de Trav.* (Paris); chapters of the works under *A* (above).—(*D*) ETHNOLOGY:—J. de Morgan, *Rechs. s. les Origines* (1896); Sergi, *Anthrop. de la Stirpe Camitica* (1897); R. Hartmann, *Völker Afrikas* (1879); Amélineau, *Nouv. fouil. d'Abydos* (1896); articles by Virchow; chapters by Schweinfurth in *Baedeker*; chapters in the works of Erman, Maspero, Ed. Meyer, Petrie. (*E*) LANGUAGE :—Erman, *Ægypt. Gram.* (1894), esp. for classical periods; do. *Neuäg. Gram.* (1880), for the New Kingdom; Brugsch, *Gram. démotique* (1855), works and articles by Revillout, Krall, W. Max Müller, J. J. Hess, for language of Saite and following epochs; G. Steindorff, *Kopt. Gram.* (1894), for language of Christian epoch; Dictionary, Brugsch, *Dict. hiérogl.* (1867 ff.). For Semitic affinities, Erman in *ZDMG* xlvi.; Bondi, *Dem Hebr. Sprachzw. angeh. Lehnwörter* (1886); Hommel in *Beitr. z. Assyr.* ii., and in *Ninth Or. Congr.* (1893, cf. Brünnow in *Z. Ass.* viii.). For African affinities, Prætorius *Beitr. z. Assyr.* ii. (*F*) PROFANE LITERATURE :—Chapters in the works of Erman, Maspero; Maspero, *Contes pops.* (1889); Petrie, *Egyp. Tales* (1895); Amélineau, *Contes de l'Eg. chrét.* (1888). (*G*) CHRONOLOGY :—Lepsius, *Königsbuch* (1858); Brugsch-Bouriant, *Livre des Rois* (1887); Wislicenus, *Astron. Chronol.* (1895); articles by Mahler in *Æg. Z.* xxvii. xxviii. xxxii., and *Der Pharao d. Exod.* (1896); articles by Petrie and chapters in his *History*; C. Torr, *Memphis and Mycenæ* (1896, cf. Myres in *Class. Rev.* 1897); for Manetho, Unger, *Chronol. d. Man.* (1867). (*H*) HISTORY :—Maspero, *Hist. anc. d. peup. de l'Or. class.* (2 vols. 1895–96, transl. *SPCK*); Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Altert.* i. ii. (1884, 1893); do. *Gesch. d. Alt. Æg.* (1887); Erman, *Ægypten* (*passim*); Petrie, *Hist. of Eg.* i. ii. (1894, 1896); Wiedemann, *Ægypt. Gesch.* (1884 ff.); do. *Gesch. v. Altäg.* (1891), with special ref. to OT; Mahaffy, *Emp. of Ptols.* (1895). For Herodotus, Wiedemann, *Herod.'s 2. Buch* (1890). Hist. Geography, Dümichen, *Geogr. d. Alt. Æg.* (1878). (*J*) RELATIONS WITH ASIA :—W. Max Müller, *Asien u. Europa* (1893, cf. Jensen in *Z. Ass.* x.). For relations with OT, Ebers, *Æg. u. Büch. Mose's* (1868); do. *Durch Gosen z. Sinai* (1872); C. Niebuhr, *Gesch. d. Ebr. Zeitalters* (1894); Sayce, *Patr. Palestine* (1895); Ed. Meyer in *Festschr. f. Ebers* (1897). (*K*) RELIGION :—Erman's *Ægypten*; Maspero's and Meyer's Histories (*passim*); Maspero, *Éts. de Mythol.* (1893), the most important work on the subject; do. *Pyramides de Saqqarah* (1894 = *Rec. de Trav.* iii.-xiv.), with transl.; Le P. Renouf, *The Book of the Dead*, transl. (*PSBA* xiv. ff.); Lange in C. de la Saussaye, *Lehrb.*^{2} (1897), an excellent summary. (*L*) ART :—Perrot-Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, i. (1882); Maspero, *L'Archéologie ég.* (1887); chapters in Erman's *Ægypten*, Maspero's *Histoire*. (*M*) PUBLISHED MONUMENTS, ETC. :—The chief collections are those of Champollion, Rosellini, Lepsius, Sharpe, Prisse, de Rougé, Mariette, the *Mission franç. au Caire*, *Eg. Explor. Fund*, the Leyden Museum. Catalogues of the museums of Gizeh-Boulak (Maspero), Berlin (Erman), Louvre (de Rougé, Pierret, Devéria), Florence (Schiaparelli), Turin (Rossi, Lanzone), St. Petersburg (Golénischeff). Further, the works of Fl. Petrie; de Morgan, etc., *Catal. de Mons. et Inscrs.* (1894 ff.); do. *Dahshour* (1895); Translations in *Records of the Past* (first and second series). (*N*) PERIODICALS :—*Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.* (Leipz.); *Rec. de trav. rel. à la phil. ég. et ass.* (Paris); *PSBA* (Lond.); *Sphinx* (Upsala, Leipz.). W. E. CRUM.

EGYPT, RIVER OF, occurs repeatedly in AV (Nu 34^{5}, Jos 15$^{4.\,47}$, 1 K 8^{65}, 2 K 24^{7}, 2 Ch 7^{8}, Is 27^{12}) as tr^{n} of נַחַל מִצְרַיִם (ποταμὸς Αἰγύπτου, Jth 1^{9}). The term is used to designate not the Nile, whose common title is יְאֹר, and which cd. never be called נַחַל, the latter word being the exact equivalent of the modern *wady*. (See BROOK.) In all the above OT passages (cf. also Ezk 47^{19} 48^{28}) RV substitutes 'brook' for 'river,' but inconsistently retains 'river' in Jth 1^{9}. The stream referred to is the *Wady el-'Arîsh*, which flows through the northern portion of the Sinaitic peninsula, draining into itself the waters of many other wadies, and flows into the Mediterranean midway between Pelusium and Gaza (Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, 348). It derives its name from the village *el-'Arîsh* (the ancient *Rhinocolura*, Diodor. i. 60), situated near its mouth. The 'river of Egypt' is repeatedly specified in OT as the S.W. boundary of Canaan. The same stream is called *naḥal Muẓur* by the Assyrian king Esarhaddon, who apparently means to distinguish it from the Nile by adding *ashar naru lâ ishu*, 'where no river is,' *i.e.* no continuous stream (Hommel, *Anc. Heb. Trad.* 257).

Once in OT (Gn 15^{18}) the 'river of Egypt' (נְהַר 'מִצְ, not נַחַל) means the Nile if MT is correct, but we shd. probably emend to נַחַל (so Lagarde, followed by Ball in Haupt's *OT*). *Shiḥôr*, which elsewhere (Is 23^{3}, Jer 2^{18}) is applied to the Nile, appears to be a designation of the *Wady el-'Arîsh* in Jos 13^{3}, 'Shihor (RV 'the Shihor') which is before Egypt,' and 1 Ch 13^{5} (cf. 1 K 8^{65}), 'from Shihor of Egypt (RV 'Shihor *the brook* of Egypt') even unto the entering in of Hamath.' (So Del. on Gn 15^{18} and Hommel, *Anc. Heb. Trad.* 242 f., although Frd. Delitzsch and Dillmann prefer to understand it of the most easterly arm of the Nile.)

J. A. SELBIE.

EGYPTIAN, THE (ὁ Αἰγύπτιος). — In Ac 21^{38} Claudius Lysias the chief captain (Chiliarch) is represented as saying to St. Paul, 'Art thou not then the Egyptian, which before these days stirred up to sedition and led out into the wilderness the four thousand men of the Assassins?'

This E. is mentioned by Josephus in both his works. While describing the procuratorship of Felix, he mentions the Sicarii or ASSASSINS, then in distinction to these the religious impostors, then a certain Egyptian. The latter professed to be a prophet, and collected together a body of 30,000 persons, whom he led to the Mount of Olives, asserting that the wall of Jerus. would fall down before him, and that he could capture the city. Felix attacked him with a considerable force, and dispersed his followers, slaying 400, and taking prisoner 200. The Egyptian himself escaped.

Krenkel, following Holtzmann, Hausrath, Keim, and the author of *Supernatural Religion*, attempts to show that the author of the Acts is indebted to Josephus for his knowledge of this event. He is quite unsuccessful. There are no signs of literary obligation, and very definite discrepancies. Josephus gives different numbers; he does not definitely connect the Egyptian with the Sicarii, but rather contrasts him; and he does not represent the wilderness as the place to which the people were led, but the Mount of Olives. It may be quite possible to explain these discrepancies so as to save the historical accuracy of both writers, but they are fatal to our regarding Josephus as the source of information. The only reasonable opinion that can be held is that we have two independent and contemporary accounts of the same event, and that the resemblances arise from this fact.

LITERATURE.—Jos. *Ant.* xx. viii. 6; *BJ* II. xiii. 5; Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 180; Krenkel, *Josephus und Lucas*, p. 240.

A. C. HEADLAM.

EGYPTIAN VERSIONS.—The various Egyptian dialects and the Versions contained in them are a subject of so much confusion that it will be well for the sake of distinctness to deal in this article first with the Dialects and their proximate dates, and then with the extant remains of the Versions and their proximate dates. We will conclude with a short study of the Greek Text implied by the Versions, and the history of the criticism of them.

1. DIALECTS OF COPTIC.—The latest stage of the Egyptian language, and that which was spoken in Christian times, is now known by the name of Coptic. The word itself comes from a corruption of the Greek Αἴγυπτος. Coptic was written in Greek characters, with the addition of some extra letters representing sounds which could only imperfectly be expressed by the Greek alphabet. These letters were modifications of characters found in Demotic—the popular form of the old Egyptian language spoken in the centuries immediately before the Christian era. Although it is still used in the services of the Church, Coptic is now practically a dead language. Our knowledge, therefore, of it must be derived from manuscripts and inscriptions. When these began to be studied by European scholars, it soon became evident that the language as spoken in different parts of the country presented certain dialectical peculiarities. Not only was it early recognized that the dialect used in the North differed considerably from that used in the South, but a third dialect was also detected, which, as a general rule, resembled the southern: it had, however, many northern forms, and sometimes showed peculiarities of its own. A long controversy, lasting for more than a century, was waged over the district to which this third dialect was to be assigned. The attention of Coptic scholars was early directed to a noteworthy passage from Athanasius, a bishop of Kos in the Thebaid, who flourished in the 11th century. In his Arabic-Coptic Grammar, Athanasius says: 'Know that the Coptic language is divided into three branches. One of them is the Coptic of Misr, which is the Sahidic; and another is the Bohairic Coptic, which gets its name from El-Bohaira;[α] and the other is the Bushmuric Coptic, which is used in the country of El-Bushmur, as thou knowest. But those now in use are only the Bohairic Coptic and the Sahidic. And the origin of them is one language.'[β] Here we have a mention of three dialects — Sahidic, Bohairic, and Bushmuric. The first two are, as Quatremère pointed out,[α] clearly the same as those sometimes called Thebaic and Memphitic. But what was the last? Was it to be identified with the third dialect known to us? Or was it the name of a still unknown dialect? Before this question could be answered, the position of Bushmur had to be determined. Quatremère proved that it could not be placed in the South of Egypt, nor in the Oasis and neighbouring deserts, but that it must be situated in the North.[β] It is the country in the east of the Delta bordering on the sea.[γ] Quatremère was of opinion that our third dialect had no connexion with Bushmuric, of which we had only a single word preserved to us.[δ] But if it was not Bushmuric, how came it not to be mentioned by Athanasius? Quatremère answered the question by supposing that it was in use not exactly in Egypt, but in a country close by—the great and little Oases, 'which, situated at a little distance from Egypt, stretch from north to south, from the parallel of Assouan as far as the frontier of the Fayûm.'[ε] Since Quatremère's time a large number of fragments have come to light which prove that he was right in refusing to call the dialect Bushmuric. Whether or not it was spoken in the southern Oasis, we now know for certain that it was used in the neighbourhood of the Fayûm and Memphis; and a study of Middle Egyptian shows us that the reason why Athanasius did not mention it may have been that he did not regard it as a separate dialect. This third dialect, lying as it does geographically and linguistically between Sahidic and Bohairic,[ζ] may conveniently be termed Middle Egyptian. When we come to examine it more carefully, we are confronted with fresh difficulties. Whilst Sahidic and Bohairic are for the most part clearly defined and regular dialects, Middle Egyptian presents us with an almost bewildering number of alternative forms. When spoken in the Nile Valley the dialect is a kind of mixture between Sahidic and Bohairic. But in some of the fragments which come from the Fayûm—a district some distance to the west—the dialect has developed more decided peculiarities of its own. It is dangerous, however, to draw any hard-and-fast distinction between the forms of the language current in the two places; for at a later date the dialect used in the Fayûm bore a considerable resemblance to that used at one time in Memphis.[η] Many of the other varieties are no doubt due to ignorance or indifference on the part of scribes, some of whom in the Fayûm belonged to the peasant and artisan class.[θ] Such an explanation does not, however, cover the case of some fragments recently found in Akhmîm and in the Fayûm, which present further dialectical peculiarities unknown to us before. Stern has carefully examined the dialect of these fragments, and has shown good reason to believe that it presents us with an earlier form of Middle Egyptian, closely allied to the dialect found in fragments written at Memphis.[ι]

We may sum up these results as follows:—

Sahidic=Dialect of Southern (or Upper) Egypt: sometimes called 'Thebaic.'

[α] *I.e.* the district south of Alexandria.

[β] The original of the passage is given in Quatremère, *Recherches sur la Langue et la Littérature de l'Égypte* (Paris, 1808), p. 21.

[α] Quatremère, *op. cit.* p. 22.

[β] *Ib.* p. 147 ff.

[γ] See Yâkût, i. 634.

[δ] Quatremère, *op. cit.* p. 214.

[ε] *Ib.* p. 217.

[ζ] Sometimes it very closely resembles Bohairic. See the dialect of the Fragment of the Song of Moses given by Crum, *Coptic MSS brought from the Fayyum*, p. 12 ff.

[η] Cf. the dialect of the Fayûm fragment published by Quatremère, *op. cit.* p. 248 ff., with the dialect of those edited by Revillout, *Papyrus Coptes* (Paris, 1876), p. 101 ff.

[θ] See Krall, *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer* (Vienna, 1887), i. p. 65.

[ι] *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache*, 1886, p. 129 ff.

Middle Egyptian = Dialect of (*a*) Memphis and neighbourhood, and (*b*) the Fayûm.

Bohairic = Dialect of district south of Alexandria: sometimes called 'Memphitic' (or 'Coptic').

2. Relative Dates of Dialects.—The Arabic historian Macrizi, who flourished at the beginning of the 15th century, speaks of Sahidic as 'the primitive source of the Coptic language, and that from which is derived the Bohairic dialect.'[α] Such evidence as there is confirms his statement as to the late date of Bohairic. Bohairic (which was originally confined to the district south of Alexandria) is the most literary and artificial of Coptic dialects. The form of many of its words, when compared with the corresponding Sahidic, points to a later stage of development. Its frequent use of connecting particles, reminding us of Greek rather than Egyptian, seems also to point in the same direction. It was most probably developed from Middle Egyptian, which at one time may possibly have been spoken in the neighbourhood of Alexandria itself.[β] To what extent it was used for other than ecclesiastical purposes we have at present no means of ascertaining.[γ] But if it was in the main a literary rather than a popular language, this fact would explain why it died out, except for ecclesiastical purposes, earlier than Middle Egyptian and Sahidic.[δ] There is, on the contrary, no doubt that the last-named dialects were the language of the people. We have numerous fragments of letters in Middle Egyptian and remains of school-books in Sahidic.[ε] The line of demarcation between the two dialects was not sharp, and sometimes pieces of writing are found in which single sentences are almost entirely written in Sahidic, whilst others are almost entirely in Middle Egyptian.[ζ] Thus, whilst we find Sahidic forms in use in documents written in the neighbourhood of Hermopolis Magna and Antinoe,[η] we have evidence that as far south as Thebes pure Sahidic was not always written.[θ] When Middle Egyptian and Sahidic began to be written we do not know. As far as the evidence of documents is concerned, we have fragments in Middle Egyptian (earlier and later) and Sahidic, some of which take us back to the 4th or 5th centuries.[α] But as early as the 2nd century efforts were made to write Egyptian in characters not unlike our present Coptic ones.[β]

3. Extant Remains of Versions.—We have remains of biblical versions in all three dialects; but a considerable portion of the Sahidic has disappeared, whilst only very short fragments of the Middle Egyptian are extant. A useful list of MSS containing portions of the Coptic Bible has been given by M. Hyvernat in the *Revue Biblique Internationale* for 1896, No. 4, p. 540 ff. We shall here confine ourselves to editions of the versions.

(*a*) *Sahidic.*—The fullest collections of extant fragments of the version of the NT are those published by Woide[γ] and Amélineau.[δ] Some fragments of the Apocalypse have recently been brought together by Goussen.[ε] A complete collection, together with a translation, is urgently needed. The best collections of the remains of the OT have been made by Ciasca,[ζ] Maspero,[η] and Lagarde.[θ] Quotations from the Sahidic Bible are found in the 'Pistis Sophia,'[ι] and other Sahidic books. The Psalms quoted in the former work resemble the Sahidic version. In fact, as a general rule citations in either the Bohairic or Sahidic dialect agree with the version of the Bible current in that dialect.[κ] Other collections of fragments of the Sahidic Bible are described in the *Revue Biblique Internationale*, 1897, No. 1, pp. 55–62.

(*b*) *Middle Egyptian.*—That there was a separate Middle Egyptian recension of part, at least, of the Bible is proved by the text of some of the NT fragments published by Zoega[λ] and Maspero.[μ] These are written in the dialect as spoken in the Fayûm, and sometimes in text and translation differ considerably from the corresponding Sahidic and Bohairic. How far all the biblical fragments extant in Middle Egyptian really constitute a separate version, we shall be able to judge with greater certainty when more fragments have been discovered, and when the Sahidic NT has been edited. Meanwhile, it is unsafe to conclude that a fragment written in this dialect necessarily presents a distinct recension. It may give, with merely dialectical changes, exactly the same version as the Sahidic.[ν] We shall here simply state where specimens of the Bible written in Middle Egyptian may be found, without venturing to determine whether they are parts of a single version. Besides the fragments already alluded to,[ξ] Bouriant has published two Gospel fragments, together with a

---

[α] Quatremère, *op. cit.* p. 42.

[β] See the interesting fragment published by Krall, at the end of an art. "über die Anfänge der Koptischen Schrift," *op. cit.* i. p. 112, where an Alexandrian in signing his name makes use of the Fayûmic dialect. Too much stress, however, must not be laid on this passage; for, as Mommsen points out, 'the belonging to' an Egyptian district 'was independent of dwelling-place, and hereditary. The Egyptian from the Chemmitic nome belonged to it with his dependents, just as much when he had his abode in Alexandria as the Alexandrian dwelling in Chemmis belonged to the burgess-body of Alexandria' (Mommsen, *The Provinces of the Roman Empire*, c. xii. Eng. trans. p. 235). The arguments put forward in that article in favour of an early date for the Bohairic dialect (see also Headlam in Scrivener's *Introduction to NT*^{4}, ii. 126 f., and Hyvernat, *Revue Biblique*, 1897, No. 1, p. 67) are valueless. (1) The abbreviations found in Coptic MSS for 'God' and 'Lord' need not have originated in Bohairic. If they occurred (and they never do, as far as I know) in MSS written in pure Sahidic, they might as easily have been taken from M.E. as from Bohairic. Indeed an abbreviation of 'Lord,' which is almost exactly the same as the one in common use in Bohairic, is found in a M.E. MS, which 'in its writing,' says Krall (p. 110 f.), 'reminds us of the Codex Sinaiticus.' (2) Even if Krall's hypothesis of the origin of the last letter of the Coptic alphabet were satisfactory, it does not prove his point. The contraction might have arisen in M.E. as easily as in Bohairic. But most probably his hypothesis is wrong, and the letter is derived from Demotic (see Steindorff, *Koptische Grammatik*, § 4).

[γ] Attempts to use Bohairic for letter-writing, using throughout Greek characters, are given by Krall, *op. cit.* ii.–iii. p. 56, v. 41; Crum, *op. cit.* p. 59 f. Unfortunately, as Krall says, 'the geographical and climatic conditions of the Delta are not favourable to the preservation of papyrus.' We cannot therefore be certain of the exact dialect which the hermits near Lake Menzaleh spoke, when Cassian visited them at the end of the 4th century. It may have been a form of M.E. or Bohairic. We gather from Cassian (*Coll.* xi. 3, xvi. 1; Migne, *P.L.* xlix. 850, 1011) that some of them did not know Greek.

[δ] Quatremère, *op. cit.* p. 41 f.

[ε] Krall, *op. cit.* ii.–iii. 43 ff., iv. 128 ff.

[ζ] Krall, *op. cit.* i. 64.

[η] Krall, *op. cit.* i. 64, ii. 63 f.

[θ] *ZAS*, 1884, p. 140 ff.

[α] Crum, *op. cit.* plate i. No. 2; Kenyon, *Our Bible and the Ancient MSS*, p. 163 (plate xvii.); Krall, *op. cit.* i. 110; *Führer durch die Ausstellung* (Vienna, 1892), p. 33, Tafel iii.; Stern, *ZAS*, 1886, p. 135.

[β] Steindorff, *Koptische Grammatik*, § 2.

[γ] *Appendix ad editionem Novi Testamenti Græci* (Oxford, 1799).

[δ] *ZAS*, 1886–1888.

[ε] *Apocalypsis S. Johannis Apostoli* (Leipzig, 1895).

[ζ] *Sacrorum Bibliorum Fragmenta Copto-Sahidica Musei Borgiani*, Rome, vol. i., 1885; vol. ii., 1889.

[η] *Mémoires publiées par les Membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire* (Paris, 1892), vol. vi.

[θ] *Ægyptiaca* (Göttingen, 1883), p. 65 ff.

[ι] Cf. Harnack, *Texte u. Unters.* vii. 2. 2 ff.

[κ] See *e.g.* F. Robinson, *Texts and Studies*, vol. iv. No. 2, p. xix.

[λ] *Catalogus Codicum Copticorum* (Rome, 1810), p. 149 ff.: cf. Engelbreth, *Fragmenta Basmurico-Coptica Veteris et Novi Testamenti* (Copenhagen, 1811), p. 20 ff.

[μ] *Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Phil. et à l'Arch. Égypt. et Assyr.* (1889), xi. p. 116.

[ν] Cf. the translation in old M.E. of Jude $^{17\text{-}19}$ with the corresponding Sahidic. See Crum, *op. cit.* p. 4.

[ξ] Zoega publishes the first half of 1 Th and part of the following chapters: Is 1. 5, Jn 4, 1 Co 6–9. 14. 15, Eph 6, Ph 1. 2, He 5–10 (Engelbreth gives the same). 1 Co 9. 10–15 had already been edited by Giorgi (*Fragmentum Evangelii S. Johannis*, etc., Rome, 1789, p. 55 ff.), and Münter (*Commentatio* small portion of Isaiah, the end of 2 Co and the beginning of Hebrews.[α] A single verse from Jon 2 will be found in Tuki;[β] the last part of La and most of the Epistle of Jer. (with Latin translations) in Quatremère.[γ] Crum has given a few verses from Mt 11. 12,[δ] and Krall some verses of Ro 11. 12.[ε] Besides these, Von Lemm has made another short collection of fragments in this dialect.[ζ] To this list must be added some interesting biblical remains written in Old Middle Egyptian.[η] Small portions of Exodus, Sirach, and 2 Mac are published by Bouriant.[θ] We have an incomplete MS of the Minor Prophets, from which Krall has published specimen verses,[ι] briefly enumerating the contents of the rest, which he will shortly publish.[κ] Part of the same MS has recently been edited by Bouriant.[λ] The NT fragments published by Crum[μ] are unfortunately very minute. Jude $^{17-20}$ and part of Ja 4$^{12. 13}$ alone survive.

(*c*) *Bohairic.*—The best edition of the Gospels is that of Schwartze,[ν] and of the Acts and Epistles, that of Lagarde.[ξ] The NT as a whole has never been satisfactorily edited. A serviceable edition was made by Wilkins, but the Latin translation which it contains is unsatisfactory.[ο] A new edition of the Gospels is being prepared for the Clarendon Press by G. Horner. The Pentateuch was first published by Wilkins (with a translation),[π] and then more carefully by Lagarde.[ρ] Tattam has edited and translated (but uncritically) the Major and Minor Prophets and the Book of Job.[σ] The best editions of the Psalms have been made by Schwartze[τ] and Lagarde,[υ] the latter edition being unfortunately printed in Latin characters. F. Rossi has lately edited a MS containing part of the Psalter.[φ] Only small portions of the rest of the OT have been printed. For a list of these portions and of editions not mentioned here, see Hyvernat, *op. cit.* 1897, No 1, p. 48 ff.

4. DATE OF VERSIONS.—The earliest evidence for the existence of a Coptic version is usually said to be afforded by the Life of St. Antony, commonly attributed to St. Athanasius. We are there told that he was an Egyptian, that his parents were Christians, and that as a child he went with them to church, and 'gave attendance to the readings' (*i.e.* from the Scriptures).[α] When about 20 years of age 'he went into the church, and it happened that the Gospel was then being read.'[β] He heard a text which influenced him profoundly. On other occasions, also, he heard passages read, and 'he gave such attendance to the reading that none of those things which were written fell from him to the ground, but he retained all, and thereafter his memory served him for books.'[γ] From these passages it has been argued that, since we further know that St. Antony as a boy refused to learn letters,[δ] and was unable throughout life to speak Greek,[ε] there must have been in his boyhood a translation of the Scriptures in the Egyptian tongue. This, it is maintained, is confirmed by other passages in his Life, especially by the discourse which begins at c. xvi. We are there told that he spoke to the monks in the Egyptian tongue, saying, 'The Scriptures are sufficient for teaching; but it is good for us to exhort one another in the faith, and encourage with words.'[ζ] In the discourse which follows there are quotations from, or allusions to, texts from various parts of the Bible. Since Antony, shortly before his death in A.D. 356, said, 'I am well-nigh one hundred and five years old,'[η] he must have been born about A.D. 250. Therefore there must have been a translation of the Bible into Egyptian about the middle of the 3rd century. But such reasoning is not conclusive. This Life never speaks of Antony as reading the Bible. He only hears it read. The Coptic translation which he heard might well have been made at the time by an interpreter. The need of a written translation in the services of the Church would not at once be felt.[θ] The Gospel would first be read in Greek, and then the Greek would be rendered into Coptic,[ι] as at a later date the Coptic was rendered into Arabic by 'anyone who had the gift of speaking, so that he could interpret aright.'[κ] In so far as Antony was in the habit of repeating texts in his discourses, he was enabled to do so by his remarkable memory. For we have no reason to suppose that he had a Bible of his own. But the speeches put into the mouth of the hermit cannot be used as evidence in such a case. For, even if we admit the historical character of the biography, it does not in the least follow that the discourses are verbatim reports.[λ] On the authority, therefore, of this Life alone it is unsafe to base any conclusion as to the existence of a Coptic version of the Bible in the 3rd century.

There is, however, good ground for believing that a version existed in the 4th cent. It was at the beginning of this century that St. Pachomius first gathered solitary ascetics together in the south of Egypt under a common rule. If we may trust the

---

de Indole Versionis Novi Testamenti Sahidicæ, Copenhagen, 1789, p. 78 ff.). Maspero has published Mt 5^{46}–6^{19a}.

[α] Bouriant, *Mémoires de l'Institut égyptien*, vol. ii. (Cairo, 1889), p. 567 ff. The Gospel fragments are parts of Mt 13. 14, and of Mk 8. 9. The difficulty of drawing a sharp line of distinction between the various forms of the M.E. dialect is shown by the fact that Headlam is inclined to regard two parts of one MS of the Gospels as belonging to separate versions and dialects (see Headlam, *op. cit.* ii. p. 141 f.; cf. Hyvernat, *op. cit.* 1896, No. 4, p. 565 ff.).

[β] *Rudimenta Linguæ Coptæ* (Rome, 1778), p. 446.

[γ] Quatremère, *op. cit.* p. 228 ff.

[δ] Crum, *op. cit.* p. 1 f. Cf. also the fragments of the Song of Moses and the Song of the Three Children on p. 12 ff.

[ε] *Op. cit.* ii.–iii. p. 69 ff. In i. p. 69 he gives quotations in this dialect from Mt 11^{27}, Ps 148^{4}.

[ζ] *Mittelaegyptische Bibelfragmente, Études Archéologiques Linguistiques et Historiques dédiées à M. le Dr. C. Leemans*, Leyden, 1885.

[η] Old M.E. is often called Akhmimic, because most of the fragments of it come from Akmîm.

[θ] *Mémoires Miss. Arch.* i. p. 246 ff.

[ι] Krall, *op. cit.* ii.–iii. (1887) p. 265 ff. A list of the verses will be found in Hyvernat, *op. cit.* (1896), No. 4, p. 568, under the title 'Version Akhmimienne.'

[κ] *Ib.* iv. p. 143 f.

[λ] *Recueil de Travaux*, xix. (1897) p. 1 ff.; cf. also viii. (1886) p. 181 ff.

[μ] Crum, *op. cit.* p. 2 ff.

[ν] *Quatuor Evangelia in Dial. Memph.* (Leipzig, 1846–7).

[ξ] *Acta Apost. Coptice, Epist. Novi Test. Coptice* (Halle, 1852).

[ο] *Nov. Test. Ægyptium vulgo Copticum* (Oxford, 1716).

[π] *Quinque libri Moysis Prophetæ* (London, 1731).

[ρ] *Der Pentateuch Koptisch* (Leipzig, 1867).

[σ] *Prophetæ Majores* (Oxford, 1852); *Duod. Proph. Min. Libr.* (Oxford, 1836); *The Ancient Coptic Version of the Book of Job* (London, 1846).

[τ] *Psalterium in Dialectum Memph. translatum* (Leipzig, 1843).

[υ] *Psalterii Versio Memphitica* (Göttingen, 1875).

[φ] *Di Alcuni Manuscritti Copti* (Turin, 1893)

[α] Athan. *Vit Ant.* 1 (Migne, *PG*, xxvi. 840 f.).

[β] *Ib.* 2. The Syriac version of the Life has: 'There was the reading in the church; and at the end of all the Scriptures the Gospel was read' (see Schulthess, *Probe einer Syrischen Version der Vita St. Antonii* (Leipzig, 1894), Syriac text, p. 6, lines 12 f.

[γ] *Vit. Ant.* 3.

[δ] *Ib.* 1.

[ε] *Ib.* 74; Hier. *Vit. Hil.* 30 (Vall. ii. 31); Pallad. *Hist. Laus.* 26 (*PG*, xxxiv. 1076).

[ζ] *Vit. Ant.* 16.

[η] *Ib.* 89.

[θ] See Renaudot, *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio* (Paris, 1716), vol. 1, p. 203 ff.

[ι] *Ib.* pp. cxxiii, 207.

[κ] *Ib.* p. 204.

[λ] *E.g.* the discourse in chapter 74. Robertson, who believes in the genuineness of the Life, admits that 'even an Athanasius would not so entirely rise out of the biographical habits of his day as to mingle nothing of his own with the speeches of his hero' ('Athanasius' in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, p. 191).

accounts given in his Life, he himself spoke Egyptian, and only acquired Greek in later years.[α] His monks as a rule were common Egyptian peasants, who knew no language but their own. The Greeks and Romans of his settlement were in a separate house, presided over by Theodore of Alexandria.[β] Yet throughout his Life great stress is laid on the study of the Bible, and there are frequent allusions to learning passages by heart.[γ] Pachomius himself was in the habit of speaking from the Scriptures to his monks.[δ] When a novice first came, according to the rules of the monastery extant in Greek, he began by receiving 'the Prayer of the Gospel' (τὴν εὐχὴν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου) and learning certain Psalms.[ε] Unless our accounts of Pachomius' life and work are most misleading, we can scarcely doubt that there was, early in the 4th cent., a Coptic version of the Bible. The attempt to trace the translation further back is beset with difficulties. We know very little concerning Christianity in Upper Egypt before the time of Pachomius. Eusebius indeed tells us that in the persecution under Severus (A.D. 202), which was especially felt at Alexandria, martyrs were brought to that city from 'Egypt and all the Thebaid.'[ζ] But no such tradition survives in Coptic literature. We have no evidence that in early days the Alexandrian Church seriously attempted missionary work. If the Alexandrians had wished to do so, it would have been no easy task. For they were regarded as foreigners by the rest of Egypt;[η] and their position was not unlike that which Englishmen occupy in India to-day.[θ] Besides the difficulty of the language,[ι] they found it, as Origen says, no easy task to persuade an Egyptian to give up idolatry and 'despise those things which he had received from his fathers.'[κ] Heathen worship down to a late time 'retained its firmest stronghold in the pious land of Egypt.'[λ] The increase of the Episcopate under Demetrius (*c.* 189–232 A.D.), and more especially under his successor Heraclas (*c.* 233–248 A.D.), must indeed be regarded as an indication of missionary activity.[μ] If Christianity in the time of Demetrius had spread as far south as Antinoe,[ν] the Church was evidently becoming too large for the personal supervision of a single bishop at Alexandria.

The bishop who succeeded Heraclas—Dionysius the Great—has given in his letters a vivid picture of the Alexandrian Church of his time, but has told us little of the rest of Egypt. In his day no imperial edict was needed to start a persecution of Christians (A.D. 249). A large part of the population of Alexandria was still pagan, and only needed a leader to revive 'their native superstition' (τὴν ἐπιχώριον δεισιδαιμονίαν). When the Decian persecution (A.D. 250) broke out, he specially mentions four 'Egyptians' as among the sufferers.[α] The persecution was not confined to Alexandria, but many others 'in cities and villages' were martyred, and the bishop of Nilus (in Middle Egypt) fled from his see.[β] Coptic traditions of this persecution are scanty,[γ] and we do not precisely know how far it extended. We find the same bishop writing letters to the brethren in Egypt[δ] and to Egyptian bishops.[ε] He also went to the Fayûm district. Here the teaching of Nepos, an Egyptian bishop (ἐπίσκοπος τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον), had for a long time prevailed, so that 'schisms and defections of whole churches had taken place.' Dionysius therefore called together 'the presbyters and teachers of the brethren in the villages,' and discussed their difficulties with them for three successive days.[ζ] We cannot gather, from any letters of his which have come down to us, information regarding Christianity farther south. We have to wait for such information till the beginning of the next cent. In the latter part of the Diocletian persecution Eusebius in person visited the Thebaid. He was an eye-witness of the massacres, and of the fanatical enthusiasm of many of the martyrs. The persecution continued, 'not for a few days or for a short time, but for a long period of whole years' (ἐπὶ μακρὸν ὅλων ἐτῶν διάστημα). Most of the sufferers apparently belonged to the lower classes of society, but there were some of high birth and distinction.[η] Many bishops suffered for the faith,[θ] but Eusebius does not say whether any of them came from the south. He has described the sufferings of the rest of the Egyptian Church in Egypt itself[ι] and elsewhere;[κ] and has preserved an account by an eye-witness of the persecution in Alexandria.[λ] But when we bring together all the historian's statements, it is singularly difficult to determine how far they imply the existence of a widespread native Christianity. We can only conjecture that amongst the numerous martyrs some of those in a lower station of life were natives. A century had passed since the bishop of Jerusalem wrote to the Greek-speaking population of the capital of the Thebaid.[μ] In the meantime the Christians in that town may have done good work amongst the 'barbarians,' even if they had not attempted such work at first.

[α] Cf. Amélineau, *Annales du Musée Guimet*, xvii. pp. 147, 629; Acta SS. Mai. xiv. *Vit. Pach.* 60; *Paral. de SS. Pach. et Theodor.* 27.

[β] Amél. *op. cit.* pp. 147, 150.

[γ] See *e.g.* Amél. *op. cit.* pp. 12, 18, 22, 37, 41 f., 50 f., 73 f., 92, 99.

[δ] *Ib.* p. 141; *Mission Arch. Mémoires*, iv. p. 553.

[ε] Migne, *PG*, xl. 949. For the corresponding Ethiopic see Basset, *Les Apoc. Éthiopiens*, viii. (1896) p. 31. The Latin form is found in Hieron. *Vall.* ii. 62.

[ζ] Eusebius, *HE*, vi. 1.

[η] In the Life of Theodore we hear of brethren 'who interpreted his words in Greek to those who did not know Egyptian, because they were strangers (ξενικοί) and Alexandrians.' See Zoega, *op. cit.* p. 371; Amél. *Annales du MG*, xvii. p. 302.

[θ] Cf. Mommsen, *Provinces of the Roman Empire* (Dickson's Eng. trans.), ii. p. 262.

[ι] See the account of Macarius, bishop of Antaeopolis, in Amél. *Mission Arch. Mémoires*, iv. pp. 93, 95 f.; Zoega, *op. cit.* p. 99.

[κ] Origen, *Contra Cels.* i. 52 (Lomm. xviii. p. 97).

[λ] Mommsen, *op. cit.* ii. p. 266. See also Amél. *Les Actes des Martyrs de l'église copte* (Paris, 1890), p. 7, note 2; Erman, *ZAS*, 1895, p. 43 ff.

[μ] Eutychius, *Annales* (Pococke, Oxford, 1656), i. p. 332 (see Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 231 f.). The fact that before the time of Demetrius there was no Egyptian bishop outside of Alexandria need not suggest that 'the progress of Christianity was for a long time confined within the limits of a single city' (see Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, c. xv. Bury's ed. ii. p. 60). For the Alexandrian diocese might have been, like the early dioceses of Gaul and N. Italy (Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*, i. p. 33 ff.), of very considerable extent. See Pearson, *Vindiciæ Epist. S. Ignatii* (Cambridge, 1672) i. p. 170.

[ν] Between the years *c.* 212–216 A.D. we find Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, writing to the Antinoites and exhorting them to be of one mind (ὁμοφρονῆσαι). See Eus. *HE*, vi. 11. In the next century a bishop of Antinoe was present at the Council of Nicæa (Zoega, *op. cit.* p. 244).

[α] Dion. ap. Eus. *HE*, vi. 41. Their names were Heron, Ater, Isidore, and Nemesion. Dionysius seems to imply that most of the others at Alexandria were Greeks. Arguments cannot be safely based on the absence of Egyptian names. Thus we have in the Fayûm a son of Satabus bearing a Latin and Greek name 'Aurelius Diogenes.' See Benson, *Cyprian*, Appendix E, p. 542.

[β] Dion. ap. Eus. *HE*, vi. 42.

[γ] See Amél. *Actes des M.* pp. 14–17. 'Matra' (p. 15) is probably the same as 'Metras,' who suffered the year before the Decian persecution (Eus. *HE*, vi. 41). See also Malan, *Calendar of the Coptic Church*, p. 10.

[δ] Eus. *HE*, vi. 46, vii. 22.

[ε] The bishop of Hermopolis (vi. 46), Hierax, an Egyptian bishop (vii. 21).

[ζ] *HE*, vii. 24.

[η] *HE*, viii. 9.

[θ] *HE*, viii. 9, 13, ix. 6; *De Mart. Pal.* 13. We gather from Epiphanius, *Hær.* lxviii. 8 (*PG*, xlii. 197), that Potamo of Heraclea lost an eye in the persecution.

[ι] *HE*, viii. 6, 8, 13, ix. 11; *De Mart. Pal.* 8, 13.

[κ] *HE*, viii. 6 f.; *De Mart. Pal.* 8, 10, 13.

[λ] Phileas, ap. Eus. *HE*, viii. 10. The account of Phileas' own trial is given by Ruinart, *Act. Sinc.* 2nd ed. p. 494 ff.

[μ] Eus. *HE*, vi. 11.

The Coptic accounts of this persecution were written at a later date, and are disfigured by legendary additions. Yet the traditions of martyrdoms having taken place in the towns lying between Antinoe and Latopolis[α] must have some historical foundation. They point to the fact that the persecution was particularly severe in the south. Many of the martyrs bear Greek names, and are connected with the army.[β] Comparatively few bishops are mentioned.[γ] Diocletian is hated with a wild, unreasoning hatred, due no doubt in part to political considerations. A religion must have gained in popularity among the fanatical, disorderly natives of Upper Egypt, simply because Diocletian and the Government were opposed to it. In fact we find, as we study these Coptic traditions, that however much the new religion had already appealed to the natives, a fresh era began with Diocletian,[δ] and Christianity became, in a fuller sense than ever before, the religion of the people. Hatred of Diocletian, the faith of the martyrs, the sufferings which they endured, all contributed to this result. The consequence was that, when the persecution was over, 'the repentance of the heathen (τῶν ἐθνῶν) was multiplied in the Church, the bishops leading the way unto God, according to the teaching of the apostles.'[ε]

It will be evident from this brief study of the subject, that but little is known of Egyptian Christianity outside of Alexandria before the time of Pachomius. The state of the Church in his time—the history and legends of the Diocletian persecution—the increase of the Egyptian episcopate under Demetrius and Heraclas—suggest, but do not prove, that some time before the end of the 3rd cent. there was a considerable number of native Christians. They would soon feel the need of a translation of the Bible. Historical evidence, then, on the whole, points to the 3rd cent. as the period when the first Coptic translation was made.[ζ] But this view can only be regarded as tentative. In the light of future discoveries it may have to be modified. This translation was most probably made, not in the neighbourhood of Alexandria, but in Middle or Upper Egypt. Here the native element was stronger than in the north; and, as Greek was less spoken, the need for a translation would be more keenly felt. All the evidence that we possess at present goes to prove that Coptic literature, whether orthodox or heretical, took its rise in the south; its development being assisted by the hatred felt towards the foreign or Greek element.[η]

5. Greek Text implied by Versions.—All three versions of the NT must be more carefully edited before we can determine with certainty the underlying Greek text. The Sahidic NT contains some remarkable interpolations, usually classed as Western. Two striking ones are found in Lk. The parable of Dives and Lazarus begins thus in the Sahidic Bible: 'Now there was a certain rich man, whose name was (*lit.* is) Nineveh' (16^{19}).[α] When Joseph had laid the body of Jesus in the tomb (23^{53}), the Sahidic adds: 'Now when he had laid him, he placed (*or* laid) a stone at the door of the sepulchre, which twenty men could not have rolled'[β] (cf. Dc). Several interesting 'Western' interpolations are found in the Acts. Three examples may be quoted.[γ] After the words 'ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence,' the Sahidic has a strange gloss, 'but (ἀλλά) until Pentecost' (1^5, cf. D). The negative form of the 'Golden Rule' is placed at the end of the apostolic injunctions to Gentile converts ($15^{20.\ 29}$, cf. D). After the vision of the man of Macedonia to St. Paul, the tenth verse of Ac 16 runs thus: 'And when he had risen, he told us the vision. Straightway we sought to go forth into Macedonia, telling (*or* showing) them that the Lord had called us for to preach unto them' (cf. D). On the other hand, several 'Western' interpolations, which we might have expected to find, are absent from the Sahidic.

The text of the Bohairic version, as is well known, corresponds in general with that of Codex Vaticanus. Whether it is yet more closely allied to the text used by Cyril of Alexandria is a matter which still remains to be determined. There can be but little doubt that in their original form both the Bohairic and Sahidic were free from 'Antiochian' interpolations. A collation of the versions in those parts of the NT, where all three are extant together, proves that the Middle Egyptian is often closely related to the Sahidic. This is most clearly seen in the Pauline Epistles. Thus an examination of the three versions in 1 Co proves that the Sahidic and Middle Egyptian are not entirely independent translations. Sometimes they are based on a different Greek text from that which underlies the Bohairic. But, even when they are translating the same original, their rendering is often strikingly different from that of the Northern version. We may take 1 Co $15^{12\text{-}14}$ as an example. Here the Sah. and M.E. translations are practically identical: 'But[δ] if Christ is preached that he rose from the dead, in what manner do some among you say that the dead do not rise? If the dead do not rise, then Christ did not rise. If Christ did not rise, then is our preaching vain, and vain is our[ε] faith also.'[ζ] The Boh. translation is not so free: 'But if Christ is preached that he was raised from the dead, how (πῶς) do some among you say that there is no resurrection (ἀνάστασις) of the dead? But if there is no resurrection (ἀνάστασις) of the dead, then not even (οὐδέ) was Christ raised. But if Christ was not raised, then (ἄρα) vain is our preaching, vain also is your faith.'[η] This instance—and it is one among many—shows us that the Sah. and M.E. must in some way be related to one another. A cursory examination might suggest that they are practically the same version,

---

[α] Amél. *Actes des M.* p. 30 ff.

[β] *Ib.* pp. 26, 30, 103, 219.

[γ] Zoega (*Cat.* pp. 237, 239) and Amélineau (*op. cit.* pp. 39, 53 f.) speak of the martyrdom of the bishops of Ptolemais and Hermopolis Magna. Amélineau (*op. cit.* p. 47 ff.) tells of the martyrdom of the bishop of Latopolis. Pisura and three other bishops (Zoega, *Cat.* p. 52; Hyvernat, *Actes des M.* i. p. 114 ff.), and the bishop of Prosopis in Lower Egypt (Zoega, *Cat.* pp. 62, 133; Hyvernat, *Actes des M.* i. p. 225 ff.), were also martyred. The bishop of Akmîm fled (Amélineau, *Actes des M.* p. 32). The bishop of Lycopolis used the persecution as a means of self-aggrandisement (Hyvernat, *Actes des M.* i. 260), and, according to Athanasius (*Apol. c. Arianos*, 59) and Socrates (*HE*, i. 6), actually sacrificed.

[δ] The era of the martyrs, on which Coptic chronology is usually based, begins with A.D. 284, the year of the accession of Diocletian.

[ε] See Amél. *Vie de Pakhôme*, *Annales du MG*, xvii. pp. 2, 339; Acta SS. Mai. xiv. *Vit. Pach.* Prolog.; cf. also Migne, *PL*, lxxiii. 231.

[ζ] The evidence of MSS does not help us much. Our oldest MSS are fragmentary, and their date a matter of uncertainty. But a Sahidic MS of part of 2 Th 3 (Kenyon, *op. cit.* plate xviii), and fragments in Old Middle Egyptian of Jude (Crum, *op. cit.* plate 1, No. 2), and of the Minor Prophets (Krall, *Führer*, p. 33, Tafel iii.) take us back to the 4th or 5th cents. Cf. also Stern, *ZAS*, 1886, p. 135.

[η] Cf. Guidi, *Nachrichten von der K. G. d. W. zu Göttingen*, 1889, No. 3, p. 50 f.

[α] Cf. Harnack, *Texte u. Unters.* xiii. 1, 75 ff.

[β] In the bilingual MS described by Amélineau (*Notice des MSS Coptes de la Bibl. Nationale*, Paris, 1895) the Gr. runs thus: *και θεντοσ αυτου επεθηκαν τω μνημιω λιθον μεγαν ον μογισ εικοσι ανδρεσ εκυλιον*. The corresponding Sahidic is not published.

[γ] Other interpolations will be found in Ac 1^2 2^{33} 3^{22} 5^{35} 6^8 8^1 9^{40} 12^7 14^{10} $15^{1.\ 23.\ 34}$ $18^{12.\ 19}$ $19^{6.\ 25}$ 20^{24} 21^1.

[δ] M.E. omits 'but.'

[ε] So Engelbreth's Sah. Amélineau has 'your.'

[ζ] Sah. omits 'also.'

[η] A Coptic word for 'faith' is used. B. and M.E. employ the Greek *πίστις*.

and that the differences between them are purely dialectical. But when we inquire more closely into the passages where all three are extant, we find that such an explanation is not satisfactory. Sometimes each version is apparently an independent translation. Occasionally the Sahidic and Bohairic agree in rendering or in underlying text as against the Middle Egyptian. In other places—and this is especially the case in the Gospels[α]—the Bohairic and Middle Egyptian are opposed to the Sahidic. Thus, in St. Matthew's account of the Lord's Prayer the difficult word *ἐπιούσιος* is represented in Sahidic by *that which is coming*, in the other two versions by *of to-morrow*.[β] When we have recovered a larger portion of the Middle Egyptian version, and when the fragments already known have been collected and edited, we shall be able to speak with greater security. Meanwhile we may provisionally state our view as follows. The New Testament was first translated into Sahidic from a text containing a considerable 'Western' element. The translation was idiomatic and in some cases inexact. The Middle Egyptian,[γ] probably made very soon afterwards, was largely influenced by the Sahidic. The Bohairic, made last of all, though in places influenced by the two previous translations, represented an effort to translate with more literal exactness what was felt to be a superior Greek text.

The Coptic versions of the Old Testament are based upon the LXX. The study of them is of great interest, because it may help us to reconstruct the edition of the LXX made by Hesychius, which, as we learn from Jerome, was well known in Alexandria and Egypt.[δ] Whether any of the versions of the Coptic Old Testament are free from the influence of Origen's revision is doubtful. Some Sahidic MSS give the Book of Job in a shortened form. The claim has been put forward[ε] that we have in these MSS a witness to the original text of the LXX, before Origen made his copious additions from Theodotion's version.[ζ] But the last word on this subject has not been said. (Cf. Burkitt, *Texts and Studies*, iv. 3, p. 8.) The relation of the Middle Egyp. of OT to the Sah. has yet to be worked out.[η]

5. History of Criticism of Versions.—A careful study of the Coptic versions of the New Testament is given by Lightfoot in Scrivener's *Introd. to the New Test*.[θ] Lightfoot, as many distinguished scholars before him,[ι] believed that 'we should probably not be exaggerating, if we placed one or both of the principal Egyptian versions,' *i.e.* the Bohairic and the Sahidic, 'or at least parts of them, before the close of the 2nd cent.'[α] This view has been followed by Westcott and Hort, who maintain that 'the greater part of the' Bohairic 'version cannot well be later than the 2nd cent.,' whilst 'the Version of Upper Egypt . . . was probably little if at all inferior in antiquity.'[β] Headlam, who, in the last edition (1894) of Scrivener's *Introduction*, has given a summary of the history of the criticism of the Coptic NT from the point where Lightfoot stopped, considers that 'it has been sufficiently proved that translations into Coptic existed in the 3rd cent., very probably in the 2nd.'[γ] Ciasca, in the introd. to his edition of the Sahidic OT (where references will be found to the work of former editors[δ]), discusses the text and date of the Book of Job.[ε] His examination of the book confirms him in the belief that Lightfoot was right in assigning part at least of the Coptic versions to the 2nd cent.[ζ] It is with the greatest diffidence that we have ventured to suggest that this early date (even if it is right) has not been proved. Our belief in the historical evidence for such a date was shaken by an article[η] published by Prof. Guidi, to which reference has already been made; and subsequent study has confirmed us in the view that there is, as yet, no adequate evidence of the existence of a Coptic version at such an early date as is often maintained.

Forbes Robinson.

EHI (אֵחִי).—The eponym of a Benjamite family, Gn 46^{21}, where, however, אֵחִי וְרֹאשׁ מֻפִּים must be corrected after Nu $26^{38f.}$ to אֲחִירָם וְשׁוּפָם. 'The corruption was perhaps prior to the adoption of the square character; ם and ש in the old script being similar and liable to confusion. It may, however, be due to mere transposition of the two letters' (Ball in Haupt's *Genesis*, *ad loc.*). See further Ahiram, and cf. Gray, *Heb. Prop. Names*, 35.

J. A. Selbie.

EHUD (אֵהוּד), son of Gera, a left-handed Benjamite, delivered his people by a bold exploit from Eglon, king of Moab, who had captured Jericho and oppressed Israel for eighteen years. This history is given in Jg 3^{12-30}. The compiler has furnished an introduction and conclusion in his usual manner (vv.$^{12-15a.\ 30b}$); the narrative itself (vv.$^{15b-30a}$) is one of the most ancient in the book, and a characteristic specimen of the best style of Heb. story-telling. Doubts have been cast upon the name of the hero, because Ehud and Gera elsewhere are names of Benjamite clans. Gera is a son (Gn 46^{21}) or grandson (1 Ch 8^{3}), Ehud is a great-grandson (1 Ch 7^{10}), of Benjamin (Nöldeke, *Untersuch.* p. 179 f.; Stade, *Gesch.* i. 68). But E. may well have been the name of the hero before it was the name of the clan called after him (Budde, *Richt. u. Sam.* 100). Wellhausen (*Gott. Nachrichten*, 1893, p. 480) suggests that אהוד may be an abbreviation of אביהוד in 1 Ch 8^{3}.

G. A. Cooke.

EITHER.—1. Now alternative, *one or the other*; in older Eng. 'either' was comprehensive, *each of*

[α] An examination of Mt 6^{5-15} and Jn 4^{28-30} will prove the truth of this assertion.

[β] This translation in the Bohairic of Mt is probably the result of a deliberate revision. The older rendering (cf. Lat. Vulg.) still remains in Lk, where the Boh. has *that which is coming* (M.E. is wanting in Lk 11). At the end of the prayer the Doxology is wanting in Boh. The Sah. has, 'For thine is the power and the dominion for ever and ever, Amen.' The M.E. has, 'For thine is the power and the glory for ever, Amen' (cf. Didache viii. *ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας*).

[γ] The fragments of the NT written in Old M.E. are too minute for classification. The little that remains shows the same text as the Sahidic. But when we recover more, we may find that it differs only dialectically from the ordinary M.E. version.

[δ] *Præf. in Par.* (Vall. ix. 1405); *Apol. adv. Rufin.* ii. 27 (Vall. ii. 522).

[ε] See Ciasca, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. xviii ff.; Hatch, *Essays in Biblical Greek*, p. 216.

[ζ] Hier. *Præf. in Job* (Vall. ix. 1097).

[η] The translations of Zec 13^{5} in Sah. and Old M.E. cannot be independent. Both add (? cf. Field) *καὶ ἔδειξέ με*—a reading evidently derived from Theodotion, and omitted in Boh. The words *διότι ἄνθρωπος ἐργαζόμενος τὴν γῆν ἐγώ εἰμι* are found in the Old M.E., but not in Boh. and Sah.

[θ] Scrivener, *Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the NT*, ed. iii. p. 365 ff.; see also Gregory, *Prolegomena* (1884), 859 ff. For an interesting and concise account of these versions see Kenyon, *Our Bible and the Ancient MSS* (1895), p. 75 f. 160 ff. A useful summary of the literature of the subject is given by Nestle, *Urtext und Übersetzungen der Bibel* (1897), p. 144 ff.

[ι] See Quatremère, *op. cit.* p. 9. Cf. Schwartze, *Ev. in Dial. Memph.* p. xviii.

[α] Scrivener, *op. cit.* ed. iii. p. 371.

[β] Westcott and Hort, *The NT in the Original Greek*, smaller ed. p. 574.

[γ] Scrivener, *op. cit.* ed. iv. vol. ii. p. 105 f.

[δ] Ciasca, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. viii f.

[ε] *Op. cit.* vol. ii. p. xviii ff.

[ζ] *Op. cit.* vol. ii. p. xxxvi f.

[η] *Nachrichten von der K.G. d. W. zu Göttingen*, 1889, No. 3, p. 49 ff. Steindorff (*op. cit.* § 2) suggests the end of the 3rd cent. as the date of the Coptic translation of the Bible. Stern in his *Critische Anmerkungen zu der boheirischen Übersetzung der Proverbia Salomonis* (*ZAS*, 1882, p. 191 ff.) conjectures that the Boh. Version may be much later than the Sah., which, in part at least, was made in the 3rd cent. (p. 202). He thinks it possible that the Boh. and Sah. Versions may prove to be based on some form of the M.E. (*ZAS*, 1886, p. 135).

two, like its German equivalent 'jeder.' Thus Lv 10^{1} 'Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, took either of them his censer'; 1 K 7^{15}; Jn 19^{18} 'on either side one,' and Rev 22^{2} 'on either side of the river was there the tree of life.' Cf. Ridley, *Brefe Declaration* (1555), p. 102 (Moule's ed.), 'as some of them do odiously call either other'—changed in the Oxf. ed. 1688 into 'each other.' **2.** 'Either' was formerly used to introduce the second or any later alternative, as well as the first; so Ja 3^{12} and Ph 3^{12} 'Not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect' (RV 'or'); and so Lk 6^{42} 'Either how canst thou say to thy brother' (RV 'Or'). In this sense 'either else' is also found, as Stubbes, *Anat. Abus.* ii. 10, 'Either else they would never be so desirous of revenge.'

J. HASTINGS.

EKER (עֵקֶר).—A Jerahmeelite (1 Ch 2^{27}). See GENEALOGY.

EKREBEL ('Εκρεβήλ), Jth 7^{18}.—Apparently the town of *'Akrabeh*, E. of Shechem, the capital of Akrabattine (*SWP* ii. sh. 12).

EKRON (עֶקְרוֹן, 'Ακκαρών), one of the five principal cities of the Philistines, the one farthest to the N. (Jos 13^{3}). It was a centre, having towns and villages dependent upon it (Jos 15^{45}). In the first division of the land W. of the Jordan it was assigned to Judah, being on the N. boundary of that tribe (Jos 15$^{45.46.11}$), but in the later division the boundaries were so rectified as to give it to Dan (Jos 19^{43}). It is mentioned as among the cities not captured under Joshua (Jos 13^{3}). After his death it was taken by Judah (Jg 1^{18}); but the possession was not permanent, for we afterwards find it in the hands of the Philistines till the time of David. It is prominently mentioned in the history of the time when the ark was in the land of the Philistines (1 S 5. 6), and in connexion with later events (1 S 7^{14} 17^{52}). Like the rest of the Phil. cities, it became practically independent soon after the disruption. It is mentioned in history in the time of Jehoshaphat (2 K 1$^{2.3.6.16}$), in the time of Amos (Am 1^{8}, Zec 9$^{5.7}$), and in the time of Jeremiah (Jer 25^{20}). The records of Sennacherib, king of Assyria, mention a revolt of E. from the Assyrians to Hezekiah, and the condign punishment inflicted (see, *e.g.*, Smith's *Assyr. Disc.* pp. 304–306). It is found in the Apocrypha (1 Mac 10^{89}, AV **Accaron**) as a place given by Alexander Balas to Jonathan Maccabæus in reward for his services. It is spoken of in connexion with a march of king Baldwin the crusader, A.D. 1100 (Robinson, *BRP* ii. 228). It is apparently identified with *'Akîr*, 4 miles E. of *Yebna*, and is now a station on the railway from Jaffa to Jerusalem. (See PHILISTINES. See also Smith, *HGHL* 193, 218). **Ekronite.**—A citizen of Ekron. The word is used in the singular in Jos 13^{3}, where 'the Ekronite' is spoken of, meaning the people of Ekron collectively, and in the plural in 1 S 5^{10}, where the citizens are spoken of individually.

W. J. BEECHER.

EL.—See GOD.

ELA ('Ηλά). **1.** 1 Es 9^{27}=ELAM, Ezr 10^{26}. **2.** (1 K 4^{18} אֵלָא, AV Elah) Father of Shimei, who was Solomon's commissariat officer in Benjamin.

ELAH (אֵלָה 'terebinth').—**1.** (Gn 36^{41}, 1 Ch 1^{52}) The fifth 'duke of Edom.' These names prob. indicate districts called after certain chieftains. Comp. the use of Mamre, Caleb, etc. **2.** (1 K 16$^{6-14}$) King of Israel, son of Baasha. His reign can scarcely have lasted two years, since he came to the throne in the 26th year of Asa, and was killed in the 27th. The story of Elah's death suggests that he was a worthless sot ('drinking himself drunk in the house of Arza his steward,' 1 K 16^{9}). Jos. (*Ant.* VIII. xii. 4) says that Zimri took advantage of the absence of the army at Gibbethon (1 K 16^{15}) to kill Elah while unprotected. His death was followed by the extirpation of his family, in fulfilment of the prophecy of Jehu (1 K 16$^{3.4}$); but the sacred narrative reminds us that the fact of a man's being the rod of God's anger does not exempt him from punishment for the crimes he commits in accomplishing the design of Providence (1 K 16^{7}), cf. Hos 1^{4}, Am 1^{4}. The office which Arza held was a very high one, see 1 K 4$^{2.6}$. **3.** Father of Hoshea, last king of Israel (2 K 15^{30} 17^{1} 18$^{1.9}$). **4.** (1 Ch 4^{15}) Second son of Caleb. Rawlinson suggests that the last words of the verse should be: 'and the sons of Elah, Jehallelel and Kenaz.' (So Keil.) Similar omissions occur in 6^{28} 8^{29} 9^{41}. **5.** (1 Ch 9^{8}) A Benjamite who dwelt in Jerus. in the time of Neh. He is not mentioned in the parallel list, Neh 11.

N. J. D. WHITE.

ELAH, THE VALLEY OF (עֵמֶק הָאֵלָה; ἡ κοιλὰς 'Ηλα, A τῆς δρυὸς 'the valley of the terebinth').—The scene of the defeat of the Phil. champion Goliath at the hands of David (1 S 17$^{2.19}$ 21^{9}). The valley of E. is probably the modern Wady es-Sunt (=terebinth), the third and most southerly of the valleys which cut through the Shephelah, and so lead up from the Phil. plain into the heart of Judæa. 'An hour's ride from Tell es-Safi' (at the entrance to the Phil. plain) 'up the winding vale of E. brings us through the Shephelah to the spot where the Wady es-Sur turns S. towards Hebron, and the narrow Wady el-Jindy strikes up towards Bethlehem. At the junction of the three there is a level plain, a quarter of a mile broad, cut by two streams, which combine to form the stream down Wady es-Sunt. This plain is probably the scene of David's encounter with Goliath' (G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geogr.* p. 227).

The Philistines had pitched their camp between Socoh and Azekah, *i.e.* on a ridge separated from the rest of the low hills, and facing the Israelites across the valley. The 'gai' (גַּיְא) or ravine, which separated the two armies, is the deep trench formed by the combination of the two streams; this, in fact, formed a valley within the valley. The Israelites had taken up their position on the farther or eastern side of the vale, somewhere on the slopes of the Wady el-Jindy, thus securing their line of retreat up the Wady. The natural strength of both positions was thus very great, since, if either army attacked, they must not only cross the ravine, but also climb the opposite slopes, and so place themselves at a great disadvantage; the long delay of the two armies, in face of each other, was probably due to this fact.

J. F. STENNING.

ELAM (עֵילָם).—**1.** A son of Shem (Gn 10^{22}=1 Ch 1^{17}), the eponymous ancestor of the Elamites (see following article). **2.** A Korahite (1 Ch 26^{3}). **3.** A Benjamite (1 Ch 8^{24}). **4.** The eponym of a family of which 1254 returned with Zerub. (Ezr 2^{7}, Neh 7^{12}, 1 Es 5^{12}) and 71 with Ezra (Ezr 8^{7}, 1 Es 8^{33}). It was one of the Benê-Elam that urged Ezra to take action against mixed marriages (Ezr 10^{2}), and six of the same family are reported to have put away their foreign wives (Ezr 10^{26}). Elam acc. to Neh 10^{14} 'sealed the covenant.' **5.** In the parallel lists Ezr 2^{31}, Neh 7^{34} 'the other Elam' has also 1254 descendants who return with Zerubbabel. It appears certain that there is some confusion here (cf. Berth.-Ryssel, *ad loc.*, and Smend, *Listen*, p. 19). **6.** A priest who took part in the dedication of the walls (Neh 12^{42}).

J. A. SELBIE.

ELAM, ELAMITES (עֵילָם, 'Ελάμ, *Elymais*).—The Heb. Elam is the Assyr. Elamtu, 'the Highlands' (a name also applied to the Amorite 'Highlands' in the west), Elamû, 'an Elamite.' Elamtu is the Semitic translation of the Sumerian Numma or Nimma, which has the same signification, and was the name applied by the Proto-chaldæans to the mountainous land to the east of them. Elam possessed two ruling cities, Susa or Shushan, called Susun ('the old') in the native texts (now Shuster), on the Ulai or Eulæus, and Anzan or Ansan, nearer Babylonia in the south-west. The two cities gave their names to the districts in which they were situated, an inhabitant of Susiana being called Susunka, the 'Susanchite' of Ezr 4^{9}. The district of Anzan was more extensive than that of Susa, and at one time was equivalent to 'the land of Elam' among the Babylonians (*W. A. I.* ii. 47. 18). Cyrus and his immediate predecessors were kings of Anzan, the country having apparently been conquered by the Persian Teispes during the decline of the Assyr. empire. Sir H. Rawlinson notices that an early Arab. writer, Ibn en-Nadîm, states that writing was invented by Jemshîd, who lived at Assan, one of the districts of Shuster. The kings of Susa, however, eventually got possession of Anzan, and so founded the kingdom of Elam. They call themselves lords 'of the kingdom of Anzan'; and as this title is found on their bricks at Bushire, the kingdom must have extended as far as the sea.

To the east is the plain of Mal-Amir, where there are sculptures and cuneiform inscriptions, from which we learn that here was another kingdom called Apirti, the 'Apharsites' of Ezr 4^{9}. In the agglutinative language of the second transcript of the Achæmenian texts the name is written Khapirti, and it has there taken the place of Anzan or Susa as the equivalent of the Bab. Elamtu. The equivalent in the Persian transcript is Uwaja, whence the modern Khuzistan.

The dialects of Mal-Amir, of Susa, and of the second Achæmenian transcripts differ but slightly from one another. They are agglutinative, and, so far as can be judged, unrelated to any other known language. The statement in Gn 10^{22}, that Elam was the son of Shem, does not imply any racial or linguistic connexion, the object of the chapter being purely geographical.

According to Nearchus, as reported by Strabo (xi. 13. 3, 6), 'four bandit nations' inhabited the mountainous region east of the Euphrates, the Amardians or Mardians who bordered on the Persians, the Uxians and Elymeans on the frontiers of Persia and Susa, and the Kossæans contiguous to the Medes. The Amardians may be the people of Khapirti, the Uxians belonged to Uwaja, Elymais (1 Mac 6^{1}) is Elam, and the Kossæans are the Kassi of the Assyr. inscriptions of whose language many words are preserved, which, however, seem to have no connexion with the dialects of Elam.

'Ansan, in the land of Numma' or Elam, was conquered by Gudea, an early viceroy of southern Babylonia (in B.C. 2700), whose monuments have been found at Telloh; and Mutabil, another early viceroy (of Dur-ilu on the eastern frontier), 'broke the head of the armies of Ansan.' Kudur-Mabug, the prince of Iamutbal, a district of Elam immediately eastward of Chaldæa, was the father of Eri-Aku or Arioch (which see), and 'father of the land of the Amorites' or Syria. At the same period Chedorlaomer (Kudur-Lagamar) was suzerain of Babylonia and Palestine (Gn 14^{1-16}), and the notices in the Bab. astrological tablets which refer to 'the king of Anzan and Subarti' or Mesopotamia probably belong to the same date. The defeat of the Elamites by Khammurabi, king of Babylon, enabled him to overcome Eri-Aku, and make Babylonia a united monarchy (B.C. 2330). In B.C. 2280 the Elamite king Kudur-Nankhundi made a raid into Babylonia, and carried away the image of the goddess Nanæa (see 2 Mac 1^{13}), which Assurbani-pal recovered 1635 years afterwards. Nearly a thousand years later we find Khurba-tila of Elam going to war with Kuri-galzu II. of Babylonia (B.C. 1340); but his own men revolted from him, and he was defeated and captured at Dur-Dungi by Kuri-galzu. About a century afterwards (*c.* B.C. 1230) Kidin-Khutru invaded Babylonia, and, after taking Dur-ilu, put an end to the Kassite dynasty at Babylon. A second invasion by the same king was not so successful. In B.C. 1115 (?) Babylonia seems to have been conquered by the Elamites, as a dynasty of two Elamite kings then began to rule it. In B.C. 742 Umman-nigas or Khumba-nigas became king of Elam, and in 721 assisted Merodach-baladan against Sargon of Assyria, whom he repulsed at Dur-ilu. He died in 718, and was succeeded by his sister's son, Sutruk-Nankhundi, who in 711 again assisted Merodach-baladan, but this time to no purpose. Sargon defeated and captured his general Singusibu, and added the Elamite districts of Iatbur, Lakhiru, and Rasi to Assyria. After a reign of eighteen years Sutruk-Nankhundi was imprisoned by his brother Khalludus, who seized the crown. He captured Babylon in the rear of Sennacherib, who had gone by sea to Nagitu, on the Elamite coast, in order to destroy a settlement made there by the fugitive Merodach-baladan, and the Bab. king, who was a son of Sennacherib, was carried captive to Elam. A year and a half afterwards (B.C. 693) the Elamite nominee at Babylon was captured by the Assyrians, and in the following September Khalludus was murdered. Kudur-Nankhundi succeeded him, and Sennacherib ravaged Elam, capturing even Madaktu north of Susa, until driven back by the winter. The following July, Kudur-Nankh. was killed in an insurrection, and Umman-menanu put on the throne. In B.C. 690 came the great battle of Khalulê, when Sennacherib met the combined forces of Elam and Babylonia, and both sides claimed the victory. The king of Elam had under him the troops of Parsuas (Persia), Anzan, Pasiru, and Ellipi (where Ecbatana afterwards stood), besides the Aramæans and Kaldi or Chaldæans of southern Babylonia. On the 15th of Nisan, B.C. 689, he was paralyzed, and died the following November. Umman-Khaldas I., his successor, reigned eight years, when he was burnt to death on the 3rd of Tisri, and Umman-Khaldas II. ascended the throne. He was murdered in 675 by his two brothers, Urtaki and Te-Umman, the elder of whom took the crown, and about ten years later made an unprovoked raid into Babylonia. The result was the conquest of Elam by the Assyr. king Assurbanipal, who placed Umman-igas the son of Urtaki on the throne as a tributary prince. He joined the great revolt against Assyria, which was headed by the viceroy of Babylonia; but he had hardly sent his army into that country when his son Tammaritu conspired against him, and, cutting off his head, sent it to Assurbanipal. Tammaritu then joined the Babylonians, and, during his absence, one of his servants, Inda-bigas, usurped the throne. Thereupon Tammaritu surrendered to the Assyrians. Shortly afterwards Inda-bigas was murdered by another military adventurer, Umman-Khaldas III., and the Assyr. army again entered Elam, took Madaktu, and restored Tammaritu to the throne. He was soon found to be plotting against his masters; and as Umman-Khaldas once more possessed himself of the country, the Assyr. general wasted it with fire and sword. Susa and the other cities were levelled with the ground, the temples and palaces destroyed, and the sacred groves cut down. Thirty-two statues of the kings were carried to Assyria, as well as the images of all the Elamite deities—Susinak, the god who delivered oracles, and whose image was concealed from the sight of the laity, Sumudu, Lagamar, Partikira, Amman-Kasimas, Uduran, Sapak, Ragiba, Sungursara, Karsa and Kirsamas, Sudanu, Apak-sina, Bilala, Panintimri, Silagara, Napsa, Nabritu, and Kindakarbu (to whom we have to add also Laguda, Nakhkhunte or Nankhundi, and Khumba). The kingdom of Elam perished, and a desolated province was added to the Assyr. empire. But the empire was already on the decline, and in a few years Elam ceased to belong to it. In B.C. 606, the year probably of the destruction of Nineveh, Jeremiah refers to 'the kings of Elam' (Jer 25^{25}), and eight years later he declares that Elam is about to be consumed by its enemies, its king and princes destroyed, and its people scattered (49^{35-39}). This would fit in with the conquest of Anzan by Teispes the Persian, the ancestor of Cyrus (which see). When Elam and Media are called upon to besiege Babylon in Is 21^2, Cyrus, king of Anzan, must be meant, as Anzan was synonymous with Elam among the Babylonians. It would appear from Ac 2^9 that the old language of Elam was still spoken there in the first century of our era.

LITERATURE.—Billerbeck, *Susa* (1893); Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse* (1890); Sayce, 'The Inscriptions of Mal-Amir,' in the *Transactions of the Leyden Oriental Congress* (1885); Loftus, *Chaldæa and Susiana* (1857). A. H. SAYCE.

ELASA (’Αλασά), 1 Mac 9^5.—The site may be at the ruin *Il'asa*, near Bethhoron (*SWP* iii. sh. 17).

ELASAH (אֶלְעָשָׂה 'God hath made').—1. One of those who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{22}). 2. The son of Shaphan, who along with Gemariah, the son of Hilkiah, carried a message from king Zedekiah to Babylon (Jer 29^3). For no apparent reason, RV retains the AV spelling Elasah in both the above passages, although both AV and RV give for the same Heb. the form **Eleasah** (wh. see) elsewhere. J. A. SELBIE.

ELATH or **ELOTH** (אֵילַת, אֵילוֹת).—A seaport in the extreme S. of Edom, at the head of the Gulf of Akabah. It is mentioned in Dt 2^8 in connexion with Ezion-geber, one of the 'stations' of the Israelites. Elath, Eloth, and Elim may possibly be various names of one and the same place, the 'palm-grove' which was the second halting-place after the passage of the Red Sea. (See Sayce, *HCM* p. 268). E. is probably identical with **El-paran** of Gn 14^6 and **Elah** of Gn 36^{41}. It has also been suggested that it is referred to in 1 Ch 4^{15}, where for 'Iru, Elah' (עִירוּ, אֵלָה) we might read 'Ir and Elah' (עִיר וְאֵלָה). See further Dillmann on Gn 36^{41}. The history of E. was a chequered one. Coming into the possession of Israel when Edom was subdued by David (2 S 8^{14}), it was an important naval station during the reign of Solomon (1 K 9^{26}). When the disruption of the kingdom took place, Edom continued to be a vassal of the house of David, until it recovered its independence in the time of Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat (2 K 8^{20}). The port of E. passed once more into the possession of Judah, when Amaziah and Uzziah had inflicted a succession of defeats upon Edom (2 K 14^{22}). It was wrested permanently from Judah during the operations undertaken against Ahaz by Pekah and Rezin (2 K 16^6), and either the Syrians (*Kethîbh*) or the Edomites (*Ḳerê*) became its possessors. With this event (*c.* B.C. 734) ends its history as far as OT is concerned. E. is the modern *'Aḳabah.* J. A. SELBIE.

EL-BERITH (Jg 9^{46}).—See BAAL-BERITH, and cf. Moore, *Judges*, 242, 265; W. R. Smith, *RS* 93 n.; Baudissin in *PRE*^{3} ii. p. 334.

EL-BETHEL (אֵל בֵּית־אֵל).—The name which Jacob is said to have given to the scene of his vision on his way back from Paddan-aram, Gn 35^7 (P ?). The LXX (Βαιθήλ), Vulg. (*Domus Dei*), Pesh. and Arab. VSS omit 'El,' which Ball (in Haupt's *OT*) suggests may have been corrupted from הַהוּא 'that,' which would naturally be attached to לַמָּקוֹם (so in Pesh. and Vulg.). Ball justly adds that *God of Bethel* is an extraordinary name for a *place.* See, however, the note (*) on p. 278^a of the present volume. J. A. SELBIE.

ELDAAH (אֶלְדָּעָה, perhaps 'God hath called').—A son of Midian (Gn 25^4, 1 Ch 1^{33}). See GENEALOGY.

ELDAD (אֶלְדָּד).—One of the seventy elders appointed to assist Moses in the government of the people. On a memorable occasion in the wilderness journey, he and another named Medad were not present with Moses and the rest of the elders at the door of the tabernacle to hear God's message and receive His spirit. But the spirit of the Lord came upon them where they were, and they prophesied in the camp. Joshua regarded this as an irregularity, and appealed to Moses to forbid them. But he received the reply, 'Art thou jealous for my sake? would God that all the Lord's people were prophets, that the Lord would put his spirit upon them!' (Nu 11^{26-29}). R. M. BOYD.

ELDAD AND MODAD, BOOK OF.—The fact that the prophecies of these men are unrecorded in Nu 11^{26-29} furnished an inviting theme for imagination to some unknown seer and author. His book is quoted in Hermas, *Vis.* ii. 3: 'Thou shalt say to Maximus. Behold the tribulation cometh . . . "The Lord is near to them that turn to Him," as it is written in the (book) of Eldad and Modad.' The Pal. Targums (*Jerus.* i. and *Jerus.* ii.) both supply us with the subject of E. and M.'s prophecy, filling in, as is their wont, the supposed hiatus in the Heb. Bible. They agree with Hermas that it had reference to pre-Messianic tribulation, which is described under the coming of Magog against Israel at the end of days. *Jerus.* ii. says that Gog and Magog shall both fall by the hand of King Messiah. *Jerus.* i. omits this; but adds, 'The Lord (see Levy, *s.v.* קירים) is near to them that are in the hour of tribulation.' The close resemblance thus pointed out between Hermas and the two Targums seems certainly to indicate that all three authors were acquainted with the same Bk of E. and M.; and renders the hesitancy of Schürer and Zöckler no longer necessary. In 1 Clem. xxiii. 3. 4 and 2 Clem. xi. 2. 3 is a long quotation, called in the one case γραφή, in the other προφητικὸς λόγος, but not in OT, which Lightfoot and Holtzmann conjecture to have been taken from our book. In both cases, as well as in Hermas, the quotation is designed to refute one who is sceptical about the approaching tribulations 'at the end of the days.' Our book is found in the Stichometry of Nicephorus (400 στίχοι), and in the Synopsis Athanasii (see ABRAHAM, BOOK OF).

LITERATURE.—Fabricius, *Codex pseudep. V.T.* i. 801-804; Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. 29; Zöckler, *Apoc. des A.T.* 439; Weber, *Lehren des Talm.* 1886, p. 370 (who, however, mistranslates the Targ. *Jerus.* i. in the line cited); Holtzmann, *Einleitung*, 553. J. T. MARSHALL.

ELDER (IN OT).—In ancient days the institution of Elders was not peculiar to the Jewish people, and the word *elder* did not suggest those purely ecclesiastical and religious functions with which it is now associated. The origin of the office is easily traced. Under the primitive conditions of society that prevail in the early history of all nations, *age* is an indispensable condition of investment with authority. [Cf. the *γέροντες* so frequently mentioned by Homer (*e.g. Il.* xviii. 503), the *γερουσία* of the Dorian states, the *Patres* and *Senatus* of the Romans, the *πρεσβύς* at Sparta, and the *Sheikh*, *i.e.* elder, in Arabia]. Hence from the beginning of Israel's history downwards we hear of elders (זְקֵנִים, *πρεσβύτεροι*) as an official class. The title, which at first is inseparably associated with the idea of age, came afterwards to designate merely the dignity to which age was formerly the necessary passport.* In the narratives of the Hex. both J and E are acquainted with the institution of elders (Ex 3^{16} 19^{7} 24^{1}, Nu $11^{16ff.}$, etc.), and that not only in Israel but amongst the Egyptians (Gn 50^{7}) and the Moabites and Midianites (Nu 22^{7}). Their position and functions in early times are thus described by Wellhausen (*Hist. of Isr. and Jud.* 15), 'What there was of permanent official authority lay in the hands of the elders and heads of houses; in time of war they commanded each his own household, and in peace they dispensed justice each within his own circle.' They are frequently referred to in Deut. as discharging the functions of local authorities (Dt 19^{12} 21^{2} 22^{15} 25^{7}, cf. also Jos 20^{4}, Jg 8^{14}, Ru 4^{2}). Their number varied with the locality, it must sometimes have been considerable; *e.g.* the elders of Succoth who came into collision with Gideon (Jg 8^{14}) numbered seventy-seven. At a later period they appear in connexion with the adoption of the kingly form of government (1 S 8^{4}), with the intrigues of David and Abner about the succession to the throne (1 S 30^{26}, 2 S 3^{17}), while the part they played in the judicial murder of Naboth is well known (1 K 21^{8-11}). It was from amongst the previously existing body of elders that Moses, according to Nu $11^{16ff.}$ (JE), chose an inner circle of seventy 'to bear with him the burden of the people.' (The important part played by this incident in late Jewish traditions will be referred to under SANHEDRIN).

The elders of the city (זִקְנֵי הָעִיר) acted as judges (Dt 22^{15}), just as the village *Ḳādi* and his assistants do in an Arab community at the present day (Driver, *Deut.* 199). It is true that in Dt 16^{18} 'judges' (שֹׁפְטִים) and 'officers' (שֹׁטְרִים) appear to be distinguished from elders; but Schürer is prob. right in his suggestion, that both these classes were selected from the general body of elders, the 'judges' being entrusted with the administration of justice, while the 'officers' took charge of the executive department. Elders reappear in the Persian and Greek periods (Ezr $5^{5.9}$ $6^{7.14}$ 10^{8}, Jth 6^{16} 7^{23} 8^{10} 10^{6} 13^{12}, 1 Mac 12^{35}, and in the story of Susanna), while the *πρεσβύτεροι τοῦ λαοῦ* during the Rom. period are often mentioned by Josephus and NT. The authority which the elders of any community possessed as the municipal council in civil affairs extended also to religious matters, particularly after the synagogue (see SYNAGOGUE) had become a flourishing institution. 'In purely Jewish localities the elders of the place would be also the elders of the synagogue' (Schürer). As a general rule, at least, they had absolute jurisdiction, and had not to take the sense of the congregation or the community. In Nu $35^{24f.}$, Jg 20. 21, Ezr 10, we have rare exceptions to this rule (see CONGREGATION). The right of exercising religious discipline was in their hands, and in particular it lay with them to pass the sentence of exclusion from the synagogue, to which allusion is frequently made in NT (*e.g.* Lk 6^{22}, Jn 9^{22} 12^{42} 16^{2}).

In addition to what is contained on the NT Elder in art. BISHOP, various details regarding this office, esp. in the later periods of Jewish history, will be found under artt. SANHEDRIN and SYNAGOGUE.

LITERATURE.—Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 150, 165 f., 174 f., ii. 58 f.; Cremer, *Bib.-Theol. Lex.*, and Thayer, *NT Lex.*, *s.* *πρεσβύτερος*; Driver, *Deut.* 233; Hartmann, *Die enge Verbind. d. AT mit d. N.* 168 f.; art. 'Aelteste,' in Herzog, *RE*³, Winer, *RW*, and Schenkel, *Bibellexicon*; Vitringa, *de Syn. Vet.* 595, 613, etc.; Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 296, 306, 314 f., 320, 328 f.; Kosters, *Het herstel v. Isr.* etc. 99 f., 116 f.; Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* i. 300 f., 320 f.; Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, 153 f.

J. A. SELBIE.

ELDER IN NT.—See BISHOP.

ELEAD (אֶלְעָד 'God hath testified').—An Ephraimite (1 Ch 7^{21}). See GENEALOGY.

ELEADAH (אֶלְעָדָה 'God hath adorned,' AV Eladah).—An Ephraimite (1 Ch 7^{20}). See GENEALOGY.

ELEALEH (אֶלְעָלֵה in Nu 32^{37} א ֵ־'), Nu $32^{3.37}$, Is 15^{4} 16^{9}, Jer 48^{34}.—A town of the Moabite plateau, conquered by Gad and Reuben, and rebuilt by the latter tribe. The expression (v.^{38}), 'their names being changed,' referring to this and other towns, is rendered by Knobel (following the LXX), 'enclosing them with walls'; but this is very improbable (שׁוּר 'wall' is only poetic). See Dillm. *ad loc.* Elealeh is noticed with Heshbon, and in the 4th cent. A.D. was known (*Onomasticon*, *s.v.*) as being a Roman mile from Heshbon. It is now the ruined mound of *El-'Al*, about a mile N. of Heshbon. See *SEP* vol. i. under the Arab. name.

C. R. CONDER.

ELEASAH (אֶלְעָשָׂה 'God hath made').—1. A Judahite (1 Ch $2^{39.40}$). 2. A descendant of Saul (1 Ch 8^{37} 9^{43}). See ELASAH.

ELEAZAR (אֶלְעָזָר 'God has helped.'—Cf. Azarel, 1 Ch 12^{6}, and the Phœn. names Eshmunazar = 'Eshmun has helped,' *CIS* I. i. 3, l. 1; Baalazar = 'Baal has helped,' *CIS* I. i. 256, l. 2).

Ten or eleven persons bearing this name are mentioned in the canonical and apocryphal books.

1. The third son of Aaron by Elisheba (Ex 6^{23}, Nu 3^{2}), who, with his father and three brothers, was admitted to the priestly office (Ex 28^{1}). After the death of Nadab and Abihu by fire, E. and Ithamar were the chief assistants of Aaron (Lv $10^{12.16}$). The former is represented as the chief of the Levites in the time of Moses (Nu 3^{32}). When Aaron died, E. succeeded him in his functions (Nu $20^{25.28}$, Dt 10^{6}). He is spoken of as taking part with Moses in the numbering of the people (Nu $26^{1.63}$); and after the death of Moses he aided Joshua in the work of partitioning the newly conquered land of Canaan amongst the twelve tribes (Jos 14^{1} 17^{4} 19^{51} 21^{1}). His burial-place is mentioned in Jos 24^{33}. From Eleazar and his wife, a daughter of Putiel (Ex 6^{25}), were descended all succeeding high priests down to the Maccabæan period; the only exceptions being the high priests who lived in the period between Eli and Solomon, when, for some unexplained reason, the office was held by members of the family of Ithamar. 2. A son of Abinadab, who was sanctified to take charge of the ark at Kiriath-jearim, after its return from the country of the Philistines (1 S 7^{1}). 3. Son of Dodo, one of David's three principal mighty men (2 S 23^{9}, 1 Ch $11^{12.13}$). The name should probably be inserted in 1 Ch 27^{4}. 4. A Levite, son of Mahli, and grandson of Merari (1 Ch $23^{21.22}$ 24^{28}). 5. A priest of the time of Ezra (Ezr 8^{33}, Neh 12^{42}). (There may be here two distinct persons.) 6. One of the family of Parosh, who had married a 'strange woman,' *i.e.* one of non-Israelitish descent, in the time of Ezra (Ezr 10^{25}). 7. The fourth son of Mattathias, and brother of Judas Maccabæus, surnamed Avaran (1 Mac 2^{5}). He fell in the battle

---

* The AV tr. of זְקֵנִים sometimes by 'elders' and sometimes by 'ancients' (*e.g.* Is 3^{14}, Jer 19^{1}) is unfortunate and misleading. See ANCIENT.

fought at Bethzacharias against Antiochus V. Eupator, B.C. 163 (1 Mac 6^{43-46}). His name occurs also in 2 Mac 8^{23}. **8.** 'One of the principal scribes' martyred during the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, B.C. 168 (2 Mac 6^{18-31}). **9.** The father of that Jason who was sent on an embassy to Rome by Judas Maccabæus in B.C. 161 (1 Mac 8^{17}). **10.** An E. is mentioned in the genealogy of our Lord given by St. Matthew (1^{15}).

W. C. ALLEN.

ELECTION [ἐκλογή. The subst. is rare, not found in LXX (yet Aq. Is 22^{7}, Symm. Th. Is 37^{24}, cf. Ps.-Sol 9^{7} 18^{6}). In NT, Ac 9^{15}, Ro 9^{11} $11^{5.7.28}$, 1 Th 1^{4}, 2 P 1^{10}. Cf. ἐκλέγομαι (in LXX generally for בחר) = to 'choose,' implying (see Cremer's *Lex.*) (1) a special relation between the chooser and the object of his choice, and (2) the selection of one object out of many: ἐκλεκτός (in LXX for בָּחוּר or בָּחִיר, also fairly often for var. forms of ברר, besides being used occasionally, sometimes by a misreading of the Heb. text, for 17 other Heb. roots = 'chosen' or 'choice' (adj.)]. The word is common in Dt and II Is. It is not in Hos, Am (but *idea* in 3^{2}), or Is (yet cf. LXX Is 28^{16}, which is the source of 1 P 2^{6}). It is used chiefly to describe God's choice of Israel out of all the nations of the world to be His own people, Dt 4^{37} 7^{7} etc., and of Jerus. to be the covenant home of worship, Dt 12^{5} etc. It is used also of God's choice of individuals to the chief offices in the nation, *e.g.* His choice of Aaron and his family for the service of the sanctuary, His choice of the king, and especially of David. It is once used of Abraham; and in Is 40–66 it passes naturally from its use in connexion with Israel to the 'Servant of the Lord.'

It is rare in the Apocrypha; yet cf. Wis 3^{9}, Sir 46^{1} etc. It is constant in Enoch. Cf. Ps-Sol 9^{7} 18^{6}.

In NT it is used once of God's choice of OT Israel (Ac 13^{17}), but for the most part it passes over with other theocratic titles to the 'Israel of God,' and describes either the Church as a whole, or individual members of it, sometimes merely in virtue of their membership, sometimes as chosen to some special office or work, *e.g.* the Twelve, St. Peter, St. Paul. It is twice used as part of the title of our Lord (Lk 9^{35} [*var. lect.*] 23^{35}, Jn 1^{34}). The word appears constantly in the Apostolic Fathers, especially in 1 Clement and Hermas.

The thought of 'election' has formed so prominent a feature in all the most important attempts that have been made in Western Christendom for the last 1500 years to provide a complete and formulated scheme of Christian doctrine, that it is peculiarly hard for us to approach the consideration of the original meaning of the term in Holy Scripture without distracting associations. And yet the effort is worth making. The only hope of any further progress in the elucidation of the problem, the only prospect of extricating its discussion from the deadlock at which it has arrived, lies in a careful reconsideration of the scriptural premisses on which the whole argument has been based.

The questions that require examination fall naturally into three divisions. i. The questions touching the author of election—who chooses the elect? What can we know of His character? What are the grounds of His choice so far as He has vouchsafed to reveal them? ii. The questions touching the persons of the elect—who are they? and for what end are they chosen? iii. The question belonging to the effect of election—what influence does the fact that they have been chosen by God exert over the elect?

i. On the first part of this question there is no difference of opinion. Every theory of election is based on the fact, constantly emphasized in Holy Scripture, that election is the immediate work of God. It is His act as directly as creation is. In fact, God's purpose in creation, His eternal purpose (ἡ πρόθεσις τῶν αἰώνων, Eph 3^{11}), is revealed in Holy Scripture as working to its end by the method of election. It is in St. Paul's language κατ' ἐκλογὴν πρόθεσις, Ro 9^{11}. The two thoughts are in reality inseparable. We can understand, therefore, how it is that St. Paul should say that God chose His elect before the foundation of the world in His Son (Eph 1^{4}). He is only expressing the truth that underlies our Lord's words when He says, 'To sit on my right hand and on my left hand is not mine to give, but it is for them for whom it hath been prepared of my Father' (Mt 20^{23}). Our first conclusion then, the one fixed point in the whole discussion, is this: God is the author of election. He Himself chooses His own elect.

When we go on to ask on what grounds His election is based, by what considerations, in accordance with what law His choice is determined, we find ourselves at once on debatable ground. To some minds, indeed, the question put in this form seems foolish, not to say irreverent. It involves in their judgment a pitiable blindness in regard to the inexorable limits of human knowledge. In the spirit, sometimes in the very words of Zophar the Naamathite (Job 11^{7}), they ask, 'Canst thou by searching find out God? canst thou find out the Almighty to perfection?' 'The main facts of the divine government may, indeed, be known, but the reasons which underlie them, the motives which prompt them, are unfathomable; only an unchastened curiosity can seek to intrude into such secrets.' To some minds, again, the question involves an assumption inconsistent with one of their primary philosophical or theological postulates. It seems to them inconsistent with the reality of the divine freedom, which in this connexion is only another name for the divine omnipotence, to suppose that God should acknowledge any law as regulating His choice.

If either of these objections is well grounded, further discussion of the question is, of course, precluded. We must therefore begin by defining the position we are prepared to take up with regard to them. Let us consider the second objection first. No doubt, if in its ultimate analysis our conception of God resolves itself into a conception of abstract omnipotence, or of an absolutely sovereign will, and if omnipotence means the power to do *anything*, and if no will can be absolutely sovereign which is not as free to do wrong as to do right, it is meaningless if not profane to inquire into the laws which regulate the choice of God. An abstract omnipotence must be inscrutable. We cannot even begin to understand the action of a will in this sense 'absolute.' But if goodness, and not power, lies at the heart of our conception of God, then we shall not be ashamed to confess that for us, in Westcott's magnificent phrase, 'Truth and justice define omnipotence.' And we shall not shrink from pressing to the full the human analogy which is present, though latent, every time we use the word 'will' in relation to God. We shall contend that the action of the divine will, like the action of the human will, of which it is the archetype, must be at once determined by, and reveal, the character which lies behind it. We shall maintain the paradox, if paradox it be, that the will of God is free, only because, by the blessed necessity of His being, He cannot will anything but that which is perfectly holy and righteous and good. And we shall claim every revelation that He has given us of His character as a revelation of the principles which regulate His choice, the laws of His election.

And if we are met at this point by the warning, that as men our powers of apprehending and expressing truth are limited, and that there must be infinite depths of mystery in the divine nature which we are powerless to fathom, we shall hope to learn humility and patience from the caution. But we shall not desist from pushing our inquiries to the utmost limit of the power that is given to us. We believe that, in spite of all our limitations, we yet were created to know God. And it is a matter of life and death for us that we should be able to bring this revealed method of His working into harmony with the rest of the revelation that He has given us of His character. Nor can we doubt that He will justify us as He justified Job for refusing to be satisfied with any explanation of the facts of the divine government which cannot be reconciled with the sense of justice which He has Himself implanted in us. He has revealed election to us as the method of His working. There can be no presumption in asking whether in making this revelation He has given us any help to enable us to understand His purpose and enter into His plan.

When in this spirit we approach the examination of the scriptural evidence, the result may well, at first sight, seem disappointing. Great pains are taken to negative what we are naturally inclined to regard as the simplest and most obvious solution. The ground of a man's choice lies not so much in himself as in the object that he chooses. It is, of course, true that his own character determines what qualities in an object will, and what qualities will not, prove attractive to him. But, for all that, it is the real or supposed loveliness of the object that rules his choice. It would be natural, therefore, to assume that the choice of God is in like manner determined by the loveliness of its object. But it is just at this point that the analogy of the human will is necessarily imperfect. It is not, indeed, that we are required to believe that God can love that which is, in itself, neither lovely nor capable of developing loveliness; but that since the root of all loveliness is in God, and since there can be no goodness apart from Him, we cannot argue as if it were possible for man to possess or develop any goodness or loveliness independent of, and so constituting a claim on, the choice of God. We ought not, therefore, to be surprised when we find Israel expressly warned in Holy Scripture to reject the flattering assumption that they had been chosen on the ground of their own inherent attractiveness. They were not as a nation either more numerous or more amenable to the divine discipline than other nations (Dt 7^{7} 9^{6}). We can understand why St. Paul declares that the election of Christians does not depend on the will or the energy of men (Ro 9^{16}). It is not of works but of grace (Ro 11^{6}, cf. Jn 1^{13}).

It must therefore be a mistake to try to discover the ultimate ground of God's choice in any consideration drawn from outside Himself, even though it be in His foreknowledge of the faith and obedience of His chosen; for the goodness in which He takes delight is, after all, from first to last His own creation. The testimony of Scripture is not, however, really limited to this negative result. The choice which is not determined from without is all the more certainly determined from within. And the ground of the choice which we are forbidden to look for in ourselves or in human nature is expressly declared to lie in the love (Dt 7^{8}) and the faithfulness (Dt 9^{5}, Ro 11^{29}) and the mercy of our God (Ro 9^{16}).

ii. We pass on now to consider the second group of questions connected with our subject. Who are the elect? and for what end are they chosen? In OT the term 'elect' is most often applied to the nation of Israel, regarded as a whole. They are at all periods of their history taught to regard themselves as the 'chosen people.' At the same time special divisions of the nation, *e.g.* the tribe of Levi and the house of Aaron, are chosen to perform certain functions on behalf of the whole body; and certain prominent individuals, *e.g.* Abraham and David, are regarded as the objects of a special election. In Is 40-66 the term is applied to the nation generally and to the 'servant of J″' in all the different connotations of that many-sided title,—so little is the prophet conscious of any fundamental contradiction between the thought of a national and an individual election. In NT the universal Church takes the place of Israel as the 'chosen race,' and not only her head and her most prominent ministers, but also all her individual members, sometimes by name, sometimes by an inclusive form of address, which it is impossible to narrow down, are described as 'elect,' just as they are described in similar connexions as 'called' and 'holy' and 'faithful' and 'beloved.'* It does not seem possible to determine on NT evidence whether the individuals are regarded as owing their membership in the Church to their election, or as becoming elect by virtue of their membership. Three points are clear—(1) that they were chosen before the foundation of the world; (2) that they were chosen 'in Christ'; (3) that membership in the Church is treated as an objective assurance to each individual of his personal interest in this eternal election.

Such in outline are the different classes described as 'elect' in Holy Scripture. We must consider next what can be learnt with regard to the purpose for which they were chosen. We must not, of course, assume that the purpose is the same, or even in all points analogous in the different cases. Still it is not unnatural to suppose that we shall gain some help towards understanding the application of the method in any one case by a careful study of its application to the rest.

The selection of the family of Aaron and the tribe of Levi need not detain us long. It is a simple case of the choice of certain individuals to fill an office of trust, a position at once of privilege and responsibility on behalf of their fellow-countrymen.

The choice of Israel presents a more complicated problem. The choice in the first instance involved a call to occupy a special position in relation to J″—to be, and to be acknowledged before the world as, His peculiar people. 'Ye are my witnesses,' saith the Lord, 'my servant whom I have chosen; that ye may know and believe me, and understand that I am he' (Is 43^{10}). And this position of privilege involved a special responsibility towards God and towards the rest of mankind. On the one side, they were the trustees of God's glory in the world, 'his witnesses,' 'the people which he formed for himself, to show forth his praise.' On the other, they were the heirs of the promise made at the call of the Father of the elect, that 'in him and in his seed should all the families of the earth be blessed' (cf. Gn 18^{19}). And this work for others is the characteristic function of the ideal 'servant of the Lord,' who embodies in himself all that is most characteristic of the chosen Israel.

In NT comparatively little is told us of the purpose of election. 'The poor in this world,' St. James writes, 'God chose (to be) rich in faith and heirs of the kingdom which he promised to them that love him.' 'God chose you,' writes St. Paul to the Thessalonians, 'from the beginning (*or* "as a firstfruit," ἀπαρχήν for ἀπ' ἀρχῆς) unto salvation.' 'He chose us,' he writes again (Eph 1^{4}) 'in him (*i.e.* in Christ) that we should be holy and without blemish before him in love.' The Christian, therefore, stands as the Israelite stood before him in a special relation of intimacy with God, receiving from Him the spiritual gifts and graces, together with the responsibility for appropriating them (Col 3^{12}), which such an intimacy presupposes, and the assurance of eternal salvation, of which that intimacy is at once the foretaste and the pledge.

---

* There is, indeed, one passage in the Gospels, which will call for notice later on, in which a distinction is drawn between the many 'called' and the few 'chosen.' But the existence of this one passage does not invalidate the statement in the text, which merely asserts that there are other passages in which this narrow signification for 'elect' is excluded.

The indications of a wider purpose in the election of the Christian are not, indeed, as definite as in the case of OT Israel. It would, however, be a mistake to regard them as altogether wanting. Our Lord (Jn 15) Himself told His apostles that He had chosen them that they might bear much fruit. The chosen race exists, as St. Peter reminds us (1 P 2^{9}), appropriating the words of Is 43, 'to show forth the excellencies of him who called them out of darkness into his glorious light.' And St. Paul, in the same sentence (Eph 1^{4-14}) in which he speaks of our election in Christ 'to the praise of the glory of his grace,' reveals as the final goal of the eternal purpose, 'the summing up of all things in Christ, the things in heaven and the things upon the earth'; a goal towards the attainment of which our election cannot be regarded as more than a preparatory stage.

We conclude, therefore, that according to the predominant use of the term in Holy Scripture, election is an attribute of the visible Church, and finds its true goal, not simply in the salvation of certain elect individuals, but in the evangelization of the race. There is indeed good scriptural analogy for a concurrent use of the term in a narrower sense, to describe as it were an election within the elect. For St. Paul uses it (Ro 11^{7}) to describe the inner circle in Israel who accepted the gospel when it came to them—'the remnant' to which alone an immediate salvation had been promised by Isaiah (Ro 9^{27}, Is 10^{23}). And our Lord again and again warns us in His parables that the members of His Church will be subjected to a searching judgment—as the result of which the unworthy will be cast into the outer darkness. It is in this connexion that He uses the warning words about the many called and the few chosen to which allusion has already been made. But there seems no authority for restricting the use of the term, as some theological systems do to this narrower sense—refusing to recognize as elect in any real sense, either those Israelites who in St. Paul's day were disobedient to the gospel, or those members of the visible Church who fail to stand in the judgment. Still less justification is there for assuming that the object of the election of this restricted circle has no end beyond the personal salvation of the individuals who compose it.

iii. We pass on now to the last stage in our inquiry, the consideration of the effect of election. We ask what influence does the fact that they have been chosen by God exert over the elect? May we assume that the divine purpose working through election must of necessity attain its goal? Can we, granting this assumption, find a place in our system for any self-determining power in the human will?

The theological systems, which adopt the restricted sense of the term election, and limit the scope of its operation to its effect on this limited circle, find no difficulty in supplying a logically coherent set of answers to these questions. It is inconsistent with any real faith in the divine Omnipotence to suppose that any deliberate purpose of God can finally fail of its accomplishment. The elect, therefore, being chosen for salvation, cannot fail to attain salvation. No power from without or from within can prevent this result. The fact that they have been chosen for this end carries with it the divine determination to provide all the means required to ensure its attainment. The elect, therefore, receive first a gift of 'irresistible grace' to raise them out of their naturally depraved state, and then a gift of 'final perseverance,' as the result of which they are assured, whatever their intervening lapses may have been, of being found at the moment of death in a state of grace.

These systems do not seem to find room, at least in the all-important moment of conversion, for any true act of self-determination on the part of the human will. A doctrine of reprobation forms an inevitable, however unwelcome, complement to the doctrine of election so defined.

It is impossible not to regard with the deepest respect systems which embody the conclusions of the most strenuous thinkers on this subject, from St. Augustine to Calvin and Jonathan Edwards. At the same time it is a remarkable fact that these conclusions have never been able to secure general acceptance. Unassailable as they may be in logic, it is felt that somehow they fail to fit the facts of life. There are elements in human experience and elements in the divine revelation for which they fail to account. And the general result is one from which the Christian consciousness seems instinctively to shrink in horror. It can only be accepted, if it is accepted at all, as a dark enigma, which our present faculties have no power to solve.

What, then, we seem forced to ask, are the foundations on which these conclusions rest? Can it be that the results of the argument are vitiated by any unsuspected flaw in the premisses?

The premisses are these—(1) God is omnipotent. (2) Because God is omnipotent, the final goal of creation must correspond at all points to His original purpose. (3) The final goal of creation, as far as it affects the human race, involves the division of mankind at the day of judgment into two sharply defined classes, the saved and the lost. (4) The position of any individual man in one or other of these two classes must be traced back in the last resort to the original purpose of God with regard to him.

It seems impossible to take exception to either of the first two of these premisses. It is part of the idea of God, that He must be able to effect what He purposes. To speak in human language, there may be enormous difficulties to overcome in the tasks to which He sets Himself. We have therefore no right to assume that at any moment before the end all things are as He would have them to be. But the end must be a perfect embodiment of His original design.

Again, if the third of these premisses is sound, the fourth seems to follow from it by an inevitable deduction. Everything, therefore, depends on the validity of the third premiss. Is it, or is it not, a true and complete statement of the end towards which 'the whole creation moves'? Now, there can be no doubt that it expresses accurately one side of the scriptural teaching on the subject. It is, however, very far from expressing the whole. On this point, as is well known,* the evidence of Holy Scripture seems divided against itself. It speaks of eternal punishment (Mt 25^{46}). It speaks also of the divine will that all men should be saved (1 Ti 2^{4}). It speaks of those who shall be cast into the outer darkness on their Lord's return (Mt 24^{51} etc.). It speaks also of an end, when God shall be all in all (1 Co 15^{28}). It seems clear that to our apprehension these two sets of statements must be mutually exclusive, unless we may regard the judgment as being not the end, but only a means towards the end. If we reject this solution of the difficulty, we must remain content with an unreconciled antinomy. But, in any case, it is important to remember which side of the antinomy was dominant in St. Paul's mind in the chapters (Ro 9–11) which contain his most explicit teaching on the subject of election.

---

* Westcott, *Historic Faith*, p. 50 ff.

These chapters are devoted to a consideration of the problems raised by the failure of Israel to accept the offer of salvation made to them in the gospel. The first line of solution is suggested by the thought, to which attention has already been called, of an election within the chosen people (Ro 9^{6} 11^{7}). Such an election has parallels in the history of the patriarchal family (9$^{8-13}$). It is in accordance with express utterances of prophecy (9^{27}). It is therefore no evidence of a final defeat of the divine plan that Israel, as a whole, should for a time be shut out from salvation, and only the election should attain it. St. Paul, however, expressly and indignantly refuses to accept this as a complete solution (11^{11}). It is very far from the perfect triumph, the vision of which has been opened before him. He finds in the salvation of the part a sure pledge of the ultimate deliverance of the whole. 'If the first-fruit be holy, the lump is holy too' (11^{16}). However much the nation as a whole had incurred the divine wrath by their opposition to the gospel, they were yet dear to God for their fathers' sake (11^{28}). The power of their original election was by no means exhausted. The gifts and the calling of God are without repentance (11^{29}). In the end all Israel shall be saved (11^{26}). And lest we should think that in this respect Israel stands on a different footing from the rest of the world, he adds—'God hath shut up *all men* unto disobedience, that he may have mercy upon all' (11^{32}).

In the face of these utterances no scheme of election which assumes the doctrine of everlasting punishment as one of its fundamental postulates, can claim to rest on the authority of St. Paul.

Leaving, then, on one side the attempt to consider the effect of election in its relation to the elect in the narrower sense of the term, what are we to say of its influence in the case of the wider circle? St. Paul's argument in relation to Israel (11$^{28ff.}$) is sufficient to show that in his view, even in the wider sense, the fact of God's election carries with it an unalterable declaration of the divine purpose for good towards those to whom His call came. He believed also that the will of each man was in its natural state so utterly enslaved to evil that nothing but the divine power could set it free (Ro 7$^{14-25}$). At the same time, the action of the divine will on the human was not to overwhelm it, but to restore its power of action. He exhorts men to work out their own salvation, just because it is God who is working in them both to will and to do of His good pleasure (Ph 2^{13}). The love of Christ is indeed a constraining motive (2 Co 5^{14}). Without faith in that love as its abiding source and spring the Christian life is impossible (Gal 2^{20}, cf. 1 Jn 4^{19}).* And surrender to that love is the last act for which a man could dream of claiming any credit to himself. It is the gift of God (Eph 2^{8}). Yet the refusal to surrender is not due to defect of grace. It is possible to receive the grace of God in vain (2 Co 6^{1}).

Again, the presence of the divine grace does not supersede the necessity for constant watchfulness (cf. Mk 13^{37} etc.). Even the 'chosen vessel' (Ac 9^{18}) contemplates the possibility of becoming himself a castaway (1 Co 9^{27}). Branches have been cut out of the good olive tree before now —and what has been done once may be done again (Ro 11^{22}). While, however, his language does not leave us room to believe that he regarded himself, at least at this part of his career, as possessing any inalienable gift of 'final perseverance,' or as absolved from the necessity for strenuous effort on his own part 'to make his own calling and election sure' (2 P 1^{10}), it is clear that he had an unfaltering faith in the perseverance of God. He knows whom he has trusted (2 Ti 1^{12}), and is convinced that He is able to keep what has been entrusted to Him. He can trust God to bring to perfection any good work in a man when He has once set His hand to it (Ph 1^{6}). Even the human potter, whom the prophet watched at his work (Jer 18^{4}), when the vessel that he made of clay was marred in his hand, made it again another vessel, as seemed good to the potter to make it.

If anything like this is the truth about the doctrine of election, we need no longer shrink from the contemplation of it as if it were 'a portion of eternity too great for the eye of man.' The favoured few are not chosen, while the rest of their race are left to their doom in hopeless misery. The existence of the Church, however much it may, nay must, witness to a coming judgment, has in it a promise of hope, not a message of despair for the world. As Israel of old was chosen to keep alive in the hearts of men the hope of a coming Saviour of the world, so the Church is chosen to bear abroad into all the world the gospel of a universal redemption, forbidden to leave out one single soul from the vast circle of her intercessions and her giving of thanks, because she is called to live in the light of a revelation which bids her believe and act in the belief that God will have all men to be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth (1 Ti 2$^{1-4}$). We can enter with full hearts into the spirit of the marvellous doxology with which St. Paul concludes his study of the subject, and cry with him in exultant adoration, 'Oh, the depth of the riches, both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments and his ways past finding out. . . . For of him and through him and to him are all things; to whom be glory for ever.'

LITERATURE.—The history of the various controversies connected with Election is given in outline in various treatises on the history of Christian Doctrine as a whole, *e.g.* Hagenbach, Shedd, and G. P. Fisher. The Pelagian controversy is treated at length, in Latin, by G. T. Vossius, 1618; and, in German, by Wiggers, 1821, 1833; Part I. tr. by R. Emerson, Andover, U.S., 1840. *The Anti-Pelagian Treatises of St. Augustine* have been edited for the Oxford University Press by W. Bright, D.D. (1880), and for D. Nutt by Woods and Johnston (1888): cf. J. B. Mozley on *The Augustinian Doctrine of Predestination* (3rd ed. 1883); Cassian's *Conferences*, tr. by E. C. Gibson in Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, 1894. A full collection of documents connected with the Gottschalk controversy in 9th cent. in Mauguin, Paris, 1650, 2 vols. 4to; cf. Archbp. Ussher, *Works*, vol. iii. The Scholastic Theories are discussed in chs. ix. and x. of J. B. Mozley. Special treatises by St. Anselm, *De conc. Præsc. et Præd.* etc. (1100), and Thomas of Bradwardine, *De causa Dei c. Pelag.* etc. 1325. For Reformation and Post-Reformation controversies see esp. the various collections of Confessions and Doctrinal Standards, esp. Winer, *Confessions of Christendom*; Niemeyer, *Coll. conff. eccl. reform.* in Latin; cf. Melanchthon's *Loci Communes*, 1521; Luther, *De servo arbitrio*, with Erasmus' reply, 1525; Calvin, *Christianæ Religionis Institutio*, 1536; Arminius, *Disputationes*, xxiv., 1609. For the Jansenist controversy see Molina, *Conc. lib. arb.* etc. 1588, and Jansenius, 'Augustinus,' 1640. The most important treatise of 18th cent. is J. Edwards on *Free Will*. In 19th cent. note esp. Whately, *Essays on some difficulties in the writings of St. Paul*, 1828; G. S. Faber, *The Primitive Doctrine of Election*, 1835; T. Erskine, *The Doctrine of Election*, 1837; T. Chalmers, *Five Lect. on Predestination*, 1837; W. Channing, *The Moral Argument against Calvinism*; Müller, *The Christian Doctrine of Sin*, 1839; M'Cosh, *The Method of the Divine Government*, 1850; Copinger, *A Treatise on Predestination, Election, and Grace*, 1889, including a full bibliography, pp. ccxvi. The relevant sections in Martensen's *Christian Dogmatics* and Cunningham's *Historical Theology* repay careful study; cf. also Sanday-Headlam on *Romans* ix.-xi.

J. O. F. MURRAY.

ELECT LADY.—See JOHN (EPISTLES).

EL-ELOHE-ISRAEL (אֵל אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל).—Upon the 'parcel of ground' which he had bought from the Bĕnê-Hamor, Jacob erected a *maẓẓēbāh* (so Well.,

---

* Cf. Council of Orange, A.D. 529, Canon xxv, *Donum Dei est diligere Deum. Ipse ut diligeretur dedit qui non dilectus diligit.*

Kautzsch-Socin, Ball, Dillm., etc.), and built an altar, giving to the latter the name *El-elohe-Israel*, 'El, the god of Israel,' Gn 33^{20} (E). This appears a strange name for an *altar*, hence Delitzsch (*ad loc.*) supposes it to be meant, as it were, of its inscription. The LXX reads ἐπεκαλέσατο τὸν θεὸν Ἰσραήλ, 'he called upon the God of Israel'; and it is just possible that this is correct, and that we should emend the MT וַיִּקְרָא לוֹ אֵל to וַיִּקְרָא לְאֵל. See God.

J. A. Selbie.

EL ELYON (אֵל עֶלְיוֹן) occurs in RVm of Gn $14^{18. 19. 20. 22}$ where RV (text) has 'God most High,' and AV 'the most high God.' It is probably a proper name, the appellation of a Canaanite deity. In v.^{22} 'I have lift up mine hand unto J", God most High,' there can be little doubt that the introduction of the word 'J"' and the identification of the latter with El Elyon are due to a redactor (so Ball, Kautzsch-Socin, Hommel, etc.). The word J" is wanting in the LXX (θεὸν τὸν ὕψιστον), and the collocation of names reminds one of 'Jahweh-Elohim' of Gn 2^4–3. See further under God.

It has been proposed by Sayce to identify El Elyon with the 'mighty king' referred to in the letters of Ebed-tob (or, as Hommel writes the name, Abdi-khiba) to the Pharaoh Amenôphis (*c.* B.C. 1400). This 'mighty king' is indeed generally supposed to be the king of Egypt; but Hommel, while agreeing with Driver, against Sayce, that an *earthly* potentate is meant, argues, from the use of the term in the letter of Rib-Adda of Gebal, that it cannot be intended to designate the Pharaoh, but was more probably the king of the Hittites. He suggests, further, that the title 'mighty king' had *originally* a religious significance. He remarks that the thrice-repeated asseveration of Abdi-khiba, that he owed his exalted position not to his father or his mother, but to the 'arm of the mighty king,' sounds like the echo of some ancient sacred formula. 'To the Pharaoh, of course, the "mighty king" meant nothing more than his rival the king of the Hittites; but in Jerusalem the original significance of the words "not my father and not my mother, but the arm of the mighty king" (*i.e.* of El Elyon), must still have been perfectly familiar.' It is well, however, to remember that this is pure conjecture. There is no reason why a title like the 'mighty king' should not have been applied to more monarchs than one. In the letters of Abdi-khiba it may refer to the Hittite king, as elsewhere it may designate the king of Egypt or the king of Babylon, but that it has ever anything to do with El Elyon remains to be proved.

Literature.—Dillm. and Del. on Gn 14; Kittel, *Hist. of Hebrews*, i. 179 f.; Hommel, *Anc. Heb. Tradition* (1897), 151 ff., 156 ff., 226; a series of papers in the *Expository Times*, vols. vii.-viii. (1896–97), on 'Melchizedek,' by Sayce, Driver, and Hommel.

J. A. Selbie.

ELEMENT.—A word, with its original στοιχεῖον (always in pl.) and its derivative στοιχείωσις, entirely confined in sacred literature to the Apocr. and NT. AV renders the Greek variously: six times as 'elements' (Wis 7^{17} 19^{18}, Gal $4^{3. 9}$, 2 P $3^{10. 12}$), twice as 'rudiments' (Col $2^{8. 20}$), once as 'principles' (He 5^{12}), once (στοιχείωσις) as 'members' (2 Mac 7^{22}). RV gives 'elements' in Wis, 2 Mac, and 2 P; elsewhere (St. Paul and He) 'rudiments.' In the untranslated (LXX) Apocr. it occurs once, 4 Mac 12^{13}, plainly meaning *elements*. In Wis, as in 2 P, it means unmistakably the physical elements of which the cosmos is composed; in 2 and 4 Mac those of which the human body is composed; in Hebrews its defining genitives show that it stands with them for the elements of Christian knowledge. All these significations march with the usage of the word in secular Greek and follow from its original signification—that which stands in a στοῖχος, 'row,' 'series'; then (1) in pl. the letters of the alphabet, not as written signs, but as the primary elements of words (Plat., Aristot.); (2) the primary elements of the universe (from Plat. downwards); (3) as suggested by the usage in Xenoph. (*Mem.* II. i. 1) and Aristot. (see Bonitz, *Index Arist.* p. 702),—where it occurs as the simplest elements of an argument or demonstration,—but definitely only in later Greek from Cornutus (1st cent. A.D.), Plut., Diog. L., downwards, the primary elements, the first principles, of knowledge, almost always with a defining genitive or a guide from the context determining what the knowledge is.

The passages in St. Paul alone remain, Gal $4^{3. 9}$, Col $2^{8. 20}$. In each of these there is the defining genitive τοῦ κόσμου, except in Gal 4^9, where, however, the τοῦ κόσμου of v.^{3} clearly fixes the context. The first natural impression, therefore, is that the στοιχεῖα in all these places should be interpreted in the same way; and the second is that, as τοῦ κόσμου is not a branch of instruction, like λογίων in He, or ἀρετῆς in Plut. (*De puer. educ.* 16), the basis of the interpretation should be physical, as with the other instances in biblical literature (cf. for the influence of Wis upon St. Paul, Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*, p. 51), rather than ethical; 'elements of the material world' (cf. Philo, *De Vita Contempl.* ii. 472), rather than 'elements [of religious knowledge] furnished by the material world' (Lightfoot), or 'elements [of religious knowledge] characteristic of the non-Christian world,' *i.e.* elements of religious truth belonging to mankind in general (Meyer). The 'religious knowledge' and 'religious truth,' with their alleged relation to τοῦ κόσμου, seem to be imported to help interpreters out of a difficulty.

The impression in favour of the physical interpretation (the interpretation of the word in Clem. *Hom.* x. 9) is confirmed by the context of the passages. In Col 2^8 what is referred to is not an elementary knowledge from which a moral and spiritual advance could be made, not a circumcision and a ceremonial law with which the heathen cultus would in its ritual have something in common, but a 'philosophy' and a 'deceit,' a delusive speculation offered as superior to the ordinary belief in Christ, and spoken of later (v.^{18}) as characterized by a false humility and a worship of angels. In Gal $4^{3. 9}$ the 'elements of the world,' 'the weak and beggarly elements,' to whose service Jew and heathen Christians were set on returning, are put parallel to 'them that by nature are not gods,' and such service is exemplified in the keeping of days and months and seasons and years. This context at once suggests the worship of the heavenly bodies, which were called especially στοιχεῖα as elements of the universe (Just. Mart. *Dial.* 23; Polycrates in Euseb. *HE* iii. 31; Epiphanius, *adv. Hær.* i. *in hær. Pharisæorum*, 2), and whose movements regulated the calendar (Just. Mart. *Apol.* ii. 5; *Letter to Diognetus*, 4); the Colossian worship of angels finding its explanation in the fact that the heavenly bodies were supposed by Jew and heathen to be animated heavenly beings; cf. Philo, *Mundi op.* i. 34; *Enoch* 41. 43; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 5; Orig. on *Jn* 4^{22}; and, within the Scriptures themselves, Job 38^7 (*morning stars=sons of God*), 1 Co 15^{40} (*bodies* clothing spirits), Ja 1^{17} (*Father of the lights*). Cf. also Holtzmann, *Neutest. Theol.* 52 f., and Meyer-Haupt on Col 2^8.

But a philosophy of astral spirits (which reminds us of modern theosophical speculation) is not quite homogeneous, after all, with the reference to food and drink in Col 2^{16}, though, no doubt, food and drink were 'features of the world's life,' which, for its times and seasons, was under the governance of the heavenly *στοιχεῖα*. And, further, *κόσμος*, as predominantly used in biblical Greek, seems to lead us away from rather than towards *οὐρανός*, and must, at any rate, emphatically include the world inhabited by men. Hence, apparently, we must seek a consistent interpretation for the Pauline passages in a meaning of *στοιχεῖα* clearly sanctioned by usage at a later date, and also in harmony with ideas prevalent in St. Paul's day. It may be called an extension of the meaning we have just been considering, for it maintained that not only the heavenly bodies, but *all things*, in the heavens and in the earth alike, had their angels, and were under the governance of spirits. This view reveals itself not only in the later Jewish literature, but also in OT and NT.

In the former region we find, for example, in the *Book of Jubilees*, a Jewish composition belonging to the century immediately preceding the Christian era (see Charles, *Eth. Version of the Heb. Book of Jubilees*, Oxford, 1895), the following passage (c. 2): 'On the first day created he the heavens which are above and the earth and the waters and all the spirits that serve before him, and the angels of the face (or presence), and the angels that cry "holy," and the angels of the spirit of fire, and the angels of the spirit of wind, and the angels of the spirit of the clouds of darkness and of hail and of hoarfrost, and the angels of the depths and of thunder and of lightning, and the angels of the spirits of cold and of heat, of winter and of spring, of autumn and of summer, and of all the spirits of his works in the heavens and on the earth and in all depths, and of darkness and of light, and of dawn and of evening, which he has prepared according to the discernment of his understanding.' Everling (see appended literature) quotes also *Enoch* 82^{10-14} (angels of the stars, with names of leaders), $60^{11ff.}$ (angels appointed over the various phenomena of nature); *Ascensio Isaiæ* (2nd cent. A.D., according to Harnack) 4^{18} (angel of the sun, etc.), 2 Es (81-96 A.D., acc. to Schürer) $8^{21f.}$ (army of angels . . . in wind and fire), and *Sibyll. Orac.* (2nd cent.) 7^{33-35} (angels of fire, rivers, cities, winds).

The same view is found in the region of OT and NT. In Ps 104^4 (according to the LXX, as quoted also in He 1^7) angels take the shape of winds and fire; in Rev 7^2 there are the four angels of the four winds, in 14^{18} there is an angel of the fire, in 16^5 an angel of the waters (cf. the angel of the pool of Bethesda in the spurious passage Jn 5^4). In Dn $10^{13.20}$ we have angels as princes of Persia and Greece, and in 12^1 Michael as the great prince 'standing' for Israel, just as he stands for the Church as a whole (Rev 12^7), and as each of the seven Churches has its angel (Rev 2. 3), and perhaps also each individual human being (Mt 18^{10}). Everything that happens is wrought by angels: 'there are no secondary causes.' Angel powers are the invisible background of human life and of nature. Such angels are sometimes called 'gods,' as in Ps $82^{1.6}$, being 'sons of the Most High' (the Peshitta actually gives *angels* in both clauses of the first verse), and God Himself is the 'God of gods' and 'Lord of lords' Dt 10^{17}, Ps $136^{2.3}$; cf. *Apoc. of Zephaniah.* 'In the fifth heaven . . . angels called lords,' quoted by Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. xi. 77. Hence St. Paul's expression 1 Co 8^5 'are called gods, whether in heaven or on earth, just as there are gods many and lords many,' yet (Gal 4^8) 'by nature not gods' like the 'one God' and the 'one Lord' (1 Co 8^6). Thus there was common ground for heathen nature-worship and for Jewish legalism, for the law had been 'administered by angels' Gal 3^{19}, He 2^2, Ac $7^{38.53}$ (cf. Jos. *Ant.* XV. v. 3; II. i. 3), and was thus on a level lower than the new dispensation; He 2^5 'For not to *angels* did he subject the world to come, whereof we speak.' Angels were the media of God's government; and, having 'a certain independence in the discharge of their functions, could stand (to use Ritschl's phrase) in "relative opposition to God," so that, in some cases, their service was an imperfect representation of God, in other cases an actual misrepresentation of Him, and consequently a veiling rather than an unveiling of Him. In this light we can more easily understand how St. Paul can attribute to angels the imperfect and transitory dispensation of the law; and the perplexing passage Col 2^{15}, where Christ is said to have "stripped off from himself the principalities and the powers, and made a show of them openly, triumphing over them in [his cross],"—or, as it may be otherwise worded, "exhibited them in their real nature, leading them in his triumphal train,"—may possibly find its elucidation in the idea that these *ἀρχαί* and *ἐξουσίαι* (cf. *ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων* Rev 11^6) had hidden His personal activity, and even attracted worship to themselves.' * This relative opposition may become absolute, the relative independence may become absolute insubordination, as in the case of the Prince of Persia (Dn 10^{13}), and Satan and his angels (2 P 2^4, Jude ^{6}), yet never in the dualistic sense. Accordingly, Christ can speak of 'the prince of this world' (Jn 12^{31}), and St. Paul of the 'god of this age' (2 Co 4^4): both can attribute evils and hindrances to Satan (Lk 13^{16}, Mk 8^{33}, 2 Co 12^7, 1 Th 2^{18}), and St. Paul can see the *δαιμόνια* in the dark background of idolatry (1 Co $10^{20f.}$). Over all these powers Christ is to triumph (1 Co 15^{24}), either by crushing insubordination and destroying the insubordinate (Rev $19^{20f.}$), or by displaying His real headship, which by the 'tradition of men' has been concealed (Ph 2^{10}, Eph $1^{20f.}$, Col $2^{15.19}$), and delivering the 'heirs' from the tutelage of the *ἐπίτροποι*, the 'governors,' the *στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου*, under whom they had been enslaved (Gal 4^{1-4}) (cf. Everling, *Angelologie*, 74 n., for Michael as called *ἐπίτροπος* of Israel in later Jewish literature, the word being transliterated into Hebrew).

The suggestion by St. Paul in his *τοῖς φύσει μὴ οὖσι θεοῖς* (Gal 4^8), that by his *στοιχεῖα* he means angelic powers, is not illustrated by any actual use of the word in this sense in the extant literature of the 1st cent.; but Everling (p. 70) quotes the following passage from the *Testament of Solomon* (date uncertain, probably not very early; Harnack, *Gesch. Alt. Christ. Lit.* i. 2, 858), where the spirits that appear to Solomon say, 'We are the so-called *στοιχεῖα*, the world rulers of this world.'

For the 'Stoicheiolatry' of the modern Greeks and their belief that there is a *στοιχεῖον* everywhere to be propitiated, see Kean in *Expos. Times*, viii. (1897) 514.

LITERATURE.—Klöpper, *Brief an die Kol.* 1882; Spitta, *Zweite Brief des Petrus*, 1885; Meyer-Haupt, *Die Gefangenschaftsbriefe*, 1897; Everling, *Die Paulinische Angelologie und Dämonologie*, 1888; Hincks, *Journal of Bib. Lit.*, Boston, 1896, pp. 183-192; and Kean, as above quoted.

J. MASSIE.

ELEPH (הָאֶלֶף), Jos 18^{28} only.—A town of Benjamin, probably the present village *Lifta* W. of Jerus., which has often been wrongly identified with Nephtoah. See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvii.

C. R. CONDER.

ELEPHANT ('Ελέφας, *elephas*).—This animal is mentioned in 1 and 2 Mac as employed in war. It is not found in AV of OT, except in the marg. for *behemoth* (Job 40^{15}), and *elephants' teeth* for *ivory* (1 K 10^{22}, 2 Ch 9^{21}). The word is שֶׁנְהַבִּים *shen-*

---

* Quoted from an article by the present writer in the *Thinker*, May 1895, on 'St. Paul's view of the Greek gods.'

ḥabbîm. The word *shēn* is the ordinary word for ivory in OT, and *ḥabbîm* seems to be the same as the modern vernacular word for *elephant* in the languages of Malabar and Ceylon. See IVORY.

G. E. POST.

ELEUTHERUS (Ἐλεύθερος), 1 Mac 11^{7} 12^{30}.—A river which separated Syria and Phœnicia (Strabo, xvi.), and appears to be the mod. *Nahr el-Kebîr* or 'Great River,' which divides the Lebanon in two north of Tripoli. C. R. CONDER.

ELHANAN (אֶלְחָנָן).—**1.** In 2 S 21^{19} we read: 'and Elhanan the son of Jaare-oregim the Bethlehemite slew Goliath the Gittite, the staff of whose spear was like a weaver's beam'; in the parallel passage, 1 Ch 20^{5}, by a slight change in the Heb. this becomes 'and Elhanan the son of Jair slew Lahmi the brother of Goliath the Gittite, etc.' The *ductus litterarum* in each case is so similar that most moderns agree that the two passages represent but one original text. It is evident that the superfluous 'oregim' in 2 S has merely crept into the text from the following line ('ʼoregim'= weavers); for the rest, it can hardly be disputed that 'Lahmi the brother of' (אֶת־לַחְמִי אֲחִי, 1 Ch) is a corruption or harmonistic correction of 'the Bethlehemite' (בֵּית הַלַּחְמִי אֶת, 2 S), whilst 'Jaare' (יַעְרֵי, 2 S) is merely a transposition of the letters of 'Jair' (יָעִיר, 1 Ch). It is impossible that any one who had a similar text to that of 1 Ch before him, and who knew the story of 1 S 17, should have altered it into direct contradiction with the earlier narrative, whilst the correction of 2 S by the Chronicler is clearly due to harmonistic motives. It is admitted by most modern critics that the story of David and Goliath in 1 S 17^{1}–18^{5} embodies a later tradition as to the introduction of David to Saul (as opposed to the earlier account, 16$^{14-23}$), in which the exploit of the warrior Elhanan was transferred to his royal master. The reading of 1 Ch, then, is merely an attempt to harmonize the two independent narratives. **2.** Son of Dodo the Bethlehemite, one of David's 'Thirty' (2 S 23^{24}=1 Ch 11^{26}). See DODO (2). J. F. STENNING.

ELI (עֵלִי) belonged to the house of Ithamar, the fourth son of Aaron, and was apparently the first high priest of that line; cf. 1 Ch 24^{3}, where Ahimelech the son of Abiathar (2 S 8^{17}), who escaped from the massacre at Nob (1 S 22^{20}), is expressly stated to be one 'of the sons of Ithamar.' It is owing to this fact that neither E. nor his immediate successors in the high priestly office, up to and including Abiathar, are mentioned in the genealogy of the high priests from Aaron and Eleazar down to the destruction of the temple (1 Ch 6$^{3-15}$). The last high priest mentioned before E., Phinehas, belonged to the house of Eleazar (Jg 20^{28}); but no account is given of how or when this change in the priestly succession took place, though it would seem to have had the divine sanction (1 S 2^{28}). The high priesthood returned to the descendants of the house of Eleazar in the reign of Solomon, when Abiathar was deprived of his office and banished from Jerus. because of his participation in the revolt of Adonijah; his place was filled by Zadok, of the house of Eleazar (1 K 2$^{26ff.}$), 'the faithful priest' of 1 S 2^{35}.

In the person of E. were united for the first time in the history of Israel the two offices of high priest and judge. He is stated to have judged Israel 40 years (1 S 4^{18} LXX εἴκοσι ἔτη); but this chronological notice, as also the statement of his age (4^{15}), is prob. due to a later deuteronomic redactor. We learn little of the life and character of E. from 1 S, the first eight chapters of which are mainly concerned with the history of Samuel. We gather, however, that he was a man of kindly disposition, and, setting aside the treatment of his sons, sincere and upright in the performance of his twofold office; while his ready submission to the divine sentence pronounced against his house, proves the reality of his belief in the God of Israel. Thus while officiating, by virtue of his priestly office, at Shiloh, he first reproves Hannah, and then, on discovering his error, gives her his blessing; whilst the kindliness of his disposition shows itself in his treatment of the youthful Samuel. It was, however, the kindliness, not of a strong but of a weak character, and as such was destined to come into conflict with the stern dictates of duty. His two sons, Hophni and Phinehas, were, in the language of Scripture, 'men of Belial' (or worthlessness); they 'knew not the Lord,' and profaned their sacred calling by their greed and licentiousness. Nevertheless, their father shrank from the distasteful task of punishing their conduct in the way that it deserved, and contented himself with administering a mild rebuke. Their punishment, therefore, must be left to a higher tribunal, and on two occasions was the aged priest warned of the fate that would befall his sons in consequence of their neglect of duty. At the first an anonymous prophet is sent to show him his sin in honouring his sons above God, and to announce the downfall of his house ('there shall not be an old man in thy house for ever'). In token of the certainty of this impending doom, E. is given a sign, viz. the death of his two sons in one day (1 S 2$^{27-36}$). The text of this section is apparently in disorder, and would seem to have been expanded by a later deuteronomic author. On the second occasion, the Lord Himself appears to the child Samuel and confirms the sentence which had previously been announced. His faith unshaken, E. submits without a murmur to the divine decree (1 S 3$^{1ff.}$). The end is not far off; the Philistines once more swarm across the Shephelah, and at the first attack defeat the Israelites. In vain is the ark of the covenant brought from Shiloh by Hophni and Phinehas. The Philistines renew the battle, and inflict a further crushing defeat on the Israelites; the ark is captured, and Eli's two sons are slain. Overcome by the terrible news, the aged E. fell from his seat by the gate of the city; 'his neck brake, and he died' (1 S 4^{18}). J. F. STENNING.

ELI, ELI, LAMA SABACHTHANI and **ELOI, ELOI, LAMA SABACHTHANI.**—Slightly different forms of the exclamation uttered by Jesus, according to the evangelists Matt. (27^{46}) and Mark (15^{34}) respectively, shortly before his death. Both evangelists follow it with the translation, in slightly varying terms: 'My God, my God (in Gospel of St. Peter ἡ δύναμίς μου 'my power') why hast thou forsaken me' (*or* 'why didst thou forsake me')—which shows the cry to be a reminiscence of Ps 22^{1}. But the Heb. of the psalm (אֵלִי אֵלִי לָמָה עֲזַבְתָּנִי, *i.e.* eli, eli, lama azabhtani) agrees with neither form of the saying as given by the evangelists. Indeed the MSS of the Gospels exhibit considerable variety of spelling in the case of nearly every word (see Tischendorf, *Nov. Test. Gr. ed. octava crit. maior, ll.cc.*). These variations start interesting inquiries, which this is not the place to follow out. Suffice it to say, that there is in the words a singular and somewhat perplexing combination of Heb. and Aramaic. Whether, for instance, the *Eloi* (Ἐλωί) represents a provincial (Galilean ?) pronunciation of the Heb. *Eli* (ἠλί), or the (poetic) sing. *Eloah* (even the reading ἐλωείμ occurs; cf. too, ἐλωεί, Jg 5^{5} Sept.), or is intended for a transliteration of the Aram. *alohi* (*elahi*), has been questioned. Either form, we must suppose, could be so perverted as to serve the mocking pretence that the sufferer was invoking Elijah. For the form *lama* or *lamma* (so in Mark the Geneva version of 1557, and Rheims), representing the Heb. (?), even some modern translators read *lema*, after the Aramaic. The Aram. *shebaḳtani* reappears in *σαβακτανεί* or *σαβακθανί* (so Lachmann in Matt.):—the substitution in the majority of texts of χ for κ being due, perhaps, simply to the ordinary law of Greek euphony; or, should the spelling with χ be equally ancient, it may indicate a variant pronunciation; for the Heb. ק is transliterated by χ in other words also (as ἀχελδαμάχ Tdf. Treg., ῥαχά Tdf.; see Dalman, *Gram. d. jüdisch-pal. Aramäisch*, p. 304). The curious readings *ζαφθανεί* and *ζαβαφθανεί* (see Tischendorf, *u.s.*) show the influence of the Hebrew. This mixture of tongues points, perhaps, to independent traditions; see the ed. of the Vulg. by Wordsworth and White, esp. the note on Matt. *l.c.* It seems, however, to afford but equivocal support to the theory that an Aram. version was current in our Lord's day, as the ecclesiastical or popular Bible [cf. Gesenius, *Gesch. d. Hebr. Sprache u. Schrift.*, Leip. 1815, p. 73; De Wette, *Einl. ins A.T.* § 57 (ed. Schrader, 1869, § 68); E. Böhl, *Forsch. nach ein. Volksbibel zur Zeit Jesu*, Wien, 1873]. J. H. THAYER.

ELIAB (אֱלִיאָב 'God is father,' A Ἐλιάβ, except in 1 Ch 15^{18}, B ℵ^1 Ἐλιαβά, ℵ* Ἐλιβά, 2 Ch 11^{18} B Ἐλιάν, Jth 8^1 B Ἐλειάβ, ℵ Ἐνάβ).—1. According to P, son of Helon, and prince of Zebulun, who represented his tribe at the census and on certain other occasions, Nu 1^9 2^7 $7^{24.29}$ 10^{16} (P). 2. A Reubenite, father of Dathan and Abiram, Nu $16^{1b.12}$ (JE), Dt 11^6. P gives, as further details, Eliab's father's name, Pallu, and the name of another son, Nemuel (Nu $26^{8f.}$). The father's name, Pallu, probably stood in the original text of Nu 16^{1b}. See Dillmann, *ad loc.*, and art. KORAH. 3. Eldest son of Jesse, and brother of David. His appearance led Samuel to suppose that he must be the chosen of J″ to succeed Saul. With his two brothers, Abinadab and Shammah, he joined Saul's army at the time that Goliath was insulting Israel; during this time David visited his brother in the camp, and was addressed by E. in insulting terms. E. had a daughter named Abihail (see art.), 1 S $16^{6f.}$ 17^{13-28}, 1 Ch 2^{13}, 2 Ch 11^{18}: on 1 Ch 27^{18} see ELIHU. 4. According to the reading of 1 Ch 6^{27} (Heb. ^{12}) the name of an ancestor of Samuel—an Ephraimite. Variants are Eliel, 1 Ch 6^{34} (Heb. ^{19}), and Elihu, 1 S 1^1. See ELIHU. 5. One of the Gadite warriors who joined David during his wanderings, 1 Ch 12^9. These warriors and their doings are described in 1 Ch $12^{8.14f.}$. 6. A Levite who, according to the Chronicler, was a musician appointed in the time of David to play the psaltery (נֶבֶל), in the first instance in connexion with the bringing up of the ark to Jerus., 1 Ch $15^{20ff.}$. Perhaps the name was that of a (post-exilic) family of singers. Cf. references in AMMIEL (No. 3). 7. According to the genealogy in Jth 8^1, a remote ancestor of Judith, and consequently a Simeonite, cf. 9^2; and with 'Salamiel, the son of Salasadai' (8^1), cf. Nu 1^6 (Heb. and LXX). G. B. GRAY.

ELIADA (אֶלְיָדָע 'whom God takes notice of,' *or* 'cares for'; *lit.* 'knows.' For this *nuance* of the verb, cf. Gn 18^{19}, Ex 2^{25}, Ps 1^6 RV).—1. Ἐπιδαέ, repeated as Βααλειμάθ B, Ἐλιδαέ A, Βααλιλάθ Luc. A son of David (2 S 5^{16}), called בְּעֶלְיָדָע Beeliada (which see) in 1 Ch 14^7. 2. (Ἐλιαδαέ A, om. B Luc.) Father of Rezon, a Syrian, captain of a marauding band which resisted Solomon's authority (1 K 11^{23}). 3. (Ἐλειδά B, Ἐλιαδά A Luc.) A warrior of Benjamin (2 Ch 17^{17}). C. F. BURNEY.

ELIADAS (Ἐλιαδᾶς), 1 Es 9^{28}.—In Ezr 10^{27} ELIOENAI.

ELIAHBA (אֶלְיַחְבָּא 'God hideth'), one of David's 'Thirty,' 2 S 23^{32}, 1 Ch 11^{33}; הַשַּׁעַלְבֹנִי 'the Shaalbonite' of the Heb. text, should be more correctly pointed הַשַּׁעֲלַבִּנִי 'the Shaalabbinnite' (cf. Jos 19^{42}). J. F. STENNING.

ELIAKIM (אֶלְיָקִים 'whom God sets up'; cf. Sabæan הקמאל, יקמאל; Ἐλιακείμ (Ἐλιακίμ ℵ Q^a in Is 22^{20})).—1. Son of Hilkiah, and prefect of the palace in succession to Shebna during the latter or middle portion of Hezekiah's reign (Is $22^{20ff.}$, 2 K $18^{18ff.}$ = Is $36^{3ff.}$). This prefecture, described as עַל־הַבַּיִת 'over the household,' seems to have embraced the discharge of all the domestic affairs of the king, and was a position of the highest rank, being held by Jotham the heir to the throne, after his father king Azariah had been smitten with leprosy (2 K 15^5). First mention of the office occurs during Solomon's reign (1 K 4^6), and it existed, apparently with similar powers and dignity, in the kingdom of Israel as in Judah (1 K 16^9 18^3, 2 K 10^5). Delitzsch and others compare the Merovingian office of *major domus* (*maire du palais*). The prefect appears to have also been known as סֹכֵן *ṣōkēn*, rendered by RV 'treasurer,' m 'steward.' This title is connected by Cheyne (*Is.* ii. 153) with the Assyr. *šaknu* 'a high officer,' from *šakin* 'to set up, place'; but the fact that the fem. סֹכֶנֶת *ṣōkéneth* is used of Abishag in 1 K 1^2 seems rather to connect the word with the verb הִסְכִּין *hiṣkīn*, 'deal familiarly with,' from which was derived the general meaning of *caretaker* or *attendant* (see the writer's note on 1 K 1^2). The title occurs in a Phœn. inscription from Lebanon belonging probably to the 8th cent. B.C.: 'Sōkēn of the New City, servant of Hiram, king of the Sidonians' (*CIS* I. i. 5).

E. appears to have been a disciple or political ally of the prophet Isaiah, who predicts in glowing terms his succession to the office of prefect in place of his unworthy predecessor (Is $22^{20ff.}$). At his institution he is to be invested with long tunic and girdle, the insignia proper to his office, and is to receive as prime minister the title of 'Father' of the kingdom (v.^{21}, cf. Gn 45^8, 1 Mac 11^{32}). In figure, if not literally, as part of the ceremony of institution, the key of the house of David is said to be laid on his back, *i.e.* he is to act with full powers as the king's vizier or representative (v.^{22}, quoted as a Messianic type Rev 3^7; cf. Mt 16^{19}). At Sennacherib's invasion of Judæa, B.C. 701, Isaiah's prediction has come to fulfilment, and E. appears as prefect, while Shebna holds merely the lower office of scribe.

The last two vv. of the prophecy (Is $22^{24.25}$) are involved in considerable obscurity.

(*a*) Most obviously 'the nail that was fastened in a sure place,' v.^{25}, must refer, as in v.^{23}, to E., whose fall will result from the abuse of his high position by the undue exercise of nepotism (v.^{24}, the vessels large and small denote the various members of his family of greater or less importance. כֹּל כְּבוֹד, RV 'all the glory,' is rendered by Delitzsch '*the whole heavy lot*'). Such a prediction, however, is scarcely consistent with the enthusiasm of vv.$^{20-23}$, supposing the whole prophecy to have been written down by Isaiah at one sitting, either prior to E.'s elevation (Orelli), or 'after the fate of both dignitaries, revealed to him at two different times, had found its fulfilment' (Delitzsch). If, therefore, vv.$^{24.25}$ refer to E., we must conclude (Hitzig, Cheyne) that they were penned subsequently to the former part of the prophecy, whether by Isaiah himself, or by some other hand.

(*b*) Gesenius, Ewald, Driver, Dillmann consider the 'nail' of v.^{25} to be different from that of v.^{23}, and to refer back to Shebna, whose fall is to take place 'in that day,' *i.e.* simultaneously with the rise of E.

2. The orig. name of Jehoiakim, king of Judah,

which see (2 K 23^{34}=2 Ch 36^{4}). **3.** A priest who took part in the dedication of the wall of Jerus. under Nehemiah (Neh 12^{41}). **4. 5.** In Mt 1^{13} and in Lk $3^{30.\,31}$; ancestors of our Lord (see GENEALOGY).
C. F. BURNEY.

ELIALI (A Ἐλιαλεί, B Ἐδιαλείς), 1 Es 9^{34}.—The name either corresponds to Binnui in Ezr 10^{38} or is unrepresented there.

ELIAM (אֱלִיעָם 'God is kinsman'; Ἐλιάβ, BA in 2 S 11^{3}, and B in 2 S 23^{34}, where A has Οὐελιαφ).*—**1.** Father of Bath-sheba, whose first husband was a Hittite, 1 S 11^{3} (=1 Ch 3^{5}, where Eliam is called Ammiel; see below). Eliam himself, therefore, may have been a foreigner. **2.** Son of Ahithophel the Gilonite, and one of David's heroes. It is not impossible that this Eliam is the same as the preceding, but there is no evidence that such was the case (2 S 23^{34}). The omission of the name from the parallel list in 1 Ch 11 is probably due to textual corruption. See Driver, *Samuel*, note on 2 S 23^{34}.
G. B. GRAY.

ELIAONIAS (A Ἐλιαωνίας, B Ἐλιαλωνίας), 1 Es 8^{31}.—A descendant of Phaath-moab, who returned from Babylon with Esdras. In Ezr 8^{4} ELIEHOENAI.

ELIAS.—See ELIJAH.

ELIASAPH (אֶלְיָסָף 'God has added,' Ἐλισάφ).—**1.** Son of Deuel, and prince of Gad at the first census (Nu 1^{14} 2^{14} $7^{42.\,47}$ 10^{20} P). **2.** Son of Lael, and prince of the Gershonites (Nu 3^{24} P).

ELIASHIB [אֶלְיָשִׁיב 'God will (or, does) bring back (or, restore).' In LXX the most frequent forms are Ἐλεισούβ (B), Ἐλισούβ (א A), Ἐλειασείβ (א B), Ἐλιασείβ (AB)].—A popular name after the Exile; perhaps, in spite of 1 Ch 24^{12}, it was not in use in pre-exilic times. The persons of this name mentioned in OT are—**1.** The high priest who was contemporary with Nehemiah. He was son of Joiakim, grandson of Jeshua the son of Jozadak, the contemporary of Zerubbabel (Neh 12^{10}, Ezr 3^{1}), and father of Joiada (Neh 12^{10} 13^{28}). He assisted in the rebuilding of the walls of Jerus. during Nehemiah's governorship (Neh 3^{1}). He can have had no sympathy with the exclusive policy of Ezra and Nehemiah, for both he himself and members of his family allied themselves with the leading foreign opponents of Nehemiah (Neh 2^{10}). The exact nature of Eliashib's own alliance with Tobiah the Ammonite is not stated (Neh 13^{4}), but a son of his son Joiada, during the period of Nehemiah's recall to the Pers. court, married a daughter of Sanballat the Horonite, and was in consequence driven away by Nehemiah on his return (Neh 13^{28}). This, combined with the expulsion of Tobiah from the temple-chamber provided for him by E. (Neh $13^{4\text{ff.}}$), must have created, even if it had not existed before, an open schism between E. and Nehemiah. Cf. further below (No. 7), and Ryle's notes on the passages cited above in the Cam. Bible ed. of Ezr-Neh. **2.** A singer of the time of Ezra, who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{24}), called in 1 Es 9^{24} Eliasibus. **3.** An Isr. of the family of Zattu (Ezr 10^{27}, in 1 Es 9^{28} Eliasimus); and **4.** another of the family of Bani (Ezr 10^{36}), who had married foreign wives. **5.** A son of Elioenai and descendant of David. From the position of the name in the genealogy this E. must have lived after the Exile, and possibly as late as the middle of the 4th cent. (1 Ch 3^{24}). **6.** According to the Chronicler (1 Ch 24^{12}), E. was the name of a priestly house in the time of David. But see the references and the literature cited in AMMIEL 3. **7.** Father of Jehohanan, to whose chamber in the temple Ezra resorted (Ezr 10^{6}). But the suggestion (see, *e.g.*, Ryle on Ezr 10^{6}) that this E. is identical with No. 1 is not improbable. See art. JOHANAN.
G. B. GRAY.

ELIASIB (A Ἐλιάσιβος, B Νάσειβος), 1 Es 9^{1}.—A high priest in the time of Neh. Ezr 10^{6}, ELIASHIB.

ELIASIBUS (A Ἐλιάσιβος, B -σεβος, AV **Eleazurus**, perhaps from the Aldine Ἐλιάζουφος, ρ being read for φ), 1 Es 9^{24}.—One of the 'holy singers,' who put away his strange wife. In Ezr 10^{24} ELIASHIB.

ELIASIMUS (A Ἐλιάσιμος, B -ει-ει-, AV **Elisimus**), 1 Es 9^{28}.—In Ezr 10^{27} ELIASHIB.

ELIASIS (Ἐλιασείς), 1 Es 9^{34}.—This name and Enasibus may be duplicate forms answering to Eliashib in Ezr 10^{36} (Speaker's *Comm.*).

ELIATHAH (אֱלִיאָתָה or אֱלִיָּתָה 'God hath come').—A Hemanite, whose family formed the twentieth division of the temple service (1 Ch $25^{4.\,27}$).

ELIDAD (אֱלִידָד 'God has loved,' Ἐλδάδ).—Son of Chislon, and Benjamin's representative for dividing the land, Nu 34^{21} P (perh.=Eldad, one of the elders, Nu $11^{26\text{f.}}$ E).

ELIEHOENAI (אֶלְיְהוֹעֵינַי 'to J" are mine eyes').—**1.** A Korahite (1 Ch 26^{3}, AV **Elioenai**). **2.** The head of a family of exiles that returned (Ezr 8^{4}, AV **Elihoenai**), called in 1 Es 8^{31} Eliaonias.

ELIEL (אֱלִיאֵל, prob. 'El is God').—**1.** A Korahite (1 Ch 6^{34}), prob.=**Eliab** of v.^{27} and **Elihu** of 1 S 1^{1}. **2. 3. 4.** Mighty men in the service of David (1 Ch $11^{46.\,47}$ 12^{11}. **5.** A chief of eastern Manasseh (1 Ch 5^{24}). **6. 7.** Two Benjamite chiefs (1 Ch $8^{20.\,22}$). **8.** A Levite mentioned in connexion with the removal of the ark from the house of Obed-edom (1 Ch $15^{9.\,11}$). **9.** A Levite in time of Hezekiah (2 Ch 31^{13}).

ELIENAI (אֱלִיעֵינַי, textual error for אֶלְיוֹעֵנַי Elioenai).—A Benjamite (1 Ch 8^{20}). See GENEALOGY.

ELIEZER (אֱלִיעֶזֶר 'God is help').—See ELEAZAR. **1.** Abraham's chief servant, a Damascene (Gn 15^{2}, AV, RVm). (The construction here is difficult, but the words can hardly be rendered as a double proper name as RV, 'Dammesek Eliezer.' Whatever the exact construction, the words, unless there is a corruption in the text, must be intended to suggest that E. was in some way connected with Damascus. See Delitzsch, *New Com. on Gen.* ii. 4). This same E. is prob. the servant referred to in Gn 24. **2.** A son of Moses by Zipporah; so named to commemorate the deliverance of Moses from Pharaoh (Ex 18^{4}, 1 Ch $23^{15.\,17}$). **3.** The son of Becher a Benjamite (1 Ch 7^{8}). **4.** The son of Zichri, captain of the tribe of Reuben in David's reign (1 Ch 27^{16}). **5.** The son of Dodavahu of Mareshah, who prophesied the destruction of the fleet of ships which Jehoshaphat built in co-operation with Ahaziah (2 Ch 20^{37}). **6.** An E. is mentioned among the 'chief men' whom Ezra sent from Ahava to Casiphia to find Levites and Nethinim willing to join the expedition to Jerusalem (Ezr 8^16ff.^). **7. 8. 9.** A priest, a Levite, and a son of Harim, who had married 'strange women,' *i.e.* wives of non-Israelitish descent, in the time of Ezra (Ezr 10$^{18.\ 23.\ 31}$). **10.** One of the priests appointed to blow with the trumpets before the ark of God when David brought it from the house of Obed-edom to Jerus. (1 Ch 15^{24}). **11.** A Levite mentioned in 1 Ch 26^{25}. **12.** An E. is mentioned in the genealogy of our Lord given by St. Luke (3^{29}).

---

* *Note on the genuineness of the name.*—The name occurs but twice in MT; in one case (2 S 11^{3}) all VSS except the Vulg., and in the other the LXX, show a different name. In spite of this a close comparison of the VSS confirms the correctness of the Massoretic tradition of the rare name Eliam, which certainly occurs in Phœn. (*CIS* 147, אלעם, on a Sardinian inscription) as against the commoner names which appear in the VSS. Ammiel (1 Ch 3^{5}) may be an actual alternative name of the same man (cf. Jehoiachin and Coniah), or may be the alteration of an offensive, because misunderstood, name (Eliam being regarded as='God of the people') into a less exceptional form (Ammiel regarded as='People of God'); see further, Gray, *Stud. in Heb. Proper Names*, p. 45.

W. C. ALLEN.

ELIHOREPH (אֱלִיחֹרֶף, possibly 'God of autumn,' *or* 'of ripe age'; cf. Job 29^{4} RV. Ἐλιάφ B, Ἐναρέφ A, Ἐλιάβ Luc.).—One of Solomon's scribes (1 K 4^{3}).

ELIHU (אֱלִיהוּ).—**1.** An ancestor of Samuel, 1 S 1^{1}, called in 1 Ch 6^{34} Eliel and in 1 Ch 6^{27} Eliab (wh. see). **2.** A variation in 1 Ch 27^{18} for Eliab, David's eldest son, 1 S 16^{6}. Kittel (in Haupt's *OT*) emends the text of Ch to אֱלִיאָב. **3.** A Manassite who joined David at Ziklag, 1 Ch 12^{20}. **4.** A Korahite porter, 1 Ch 26^{7}. **5.** See next article. **6.** (Ἠλειού) an ancestor of Judith, Jth 8^{1}.

ELIHU (אֱלִיהוּא, LXX Ἐλιοῦς, 'my God is He,' cf. Elijah, 'my God is J″').—Described in Job 32^{2} as 'son of Barachel the Buzite, of the family of Ram'; he would therefore be descended from Nahor, brother of Abraham (Gn 22^{21}, J). E. is introduced as an interlocutor in the Book of Job, speaking after the three friends Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar have failed to convince Job by their arguments. He is described as younger than the three; he undertakes, however, to act as moderator between the disputants, and speaks at length in chs. 32–37. But the fact that E. is mentioned neither in the prologue nor in the epilogue of the book; that his arguments do not add substantially to the discussion; that the transition from ch. 38 to ch. 39 is abrupt and awkward; together with certain features of style in the speeches assigned to E.,—have led most critics to the conclusion that chs. 32-37 represent a later addition to the book. Lightfoot, Rosenmüller, Derenbourg, and others support the strange conjecture that E. is the name of the author himself (see JOB, BOOK OF).

W. T. DAVISON.

ELIJAH (אֵלִיָּהוּ; אֵלִיָּה in 2 K 1$^{3.\ 8.\ 12}$, Mal 3^{23} [Eng. 4^{5}] 'J″ is God'; LXX Ἠλειού; NT Ἠλείας, AV Elias).—**1.** The loftiest prophet of the OT, raised up by J″ at a crisis in the history of Israel to save the nation from lapsing into heathenism. His public life is sketched in a few narratives wonderful for their vivid representations and graphic details. His personal history is full of human interest, and presents lessons of the highest ethical and spiritual value. His first appearance is surrounded with an element of mystery which is in keeping with his whole history. There is but a single brief reference (1 K 17^{1}) to his origin, and even that is not without ambiguity. The words are tr. by AV, in accordance with the MT, 'E. the Tishbite, who was of the inhabitants of Gilead.' If this rendering is correct, it signifies that a certain place called Tishbeh or Tishbi of Gilead, not named elsewhere, had the distinction of giving birth to the prophet. Some have sought to identify it with Thisbe of Naphtali, mentioned in To 1^{2}. They point out that the correct rendering of מתשבי (on the assumption that it is a common, not a proper name) is not 'of the inhabitants,' but 'of the sojourners' (so RV), which would imply that E. came from another or foreign district. But the LXX makes the disputed word a proper name, and reads 'E. the Tishbite from Thesbon of Gilead.' This reading seems to be followed by Josephus (*Ant.* VIII. xiii. 2). It is supported by the fact that, whenever the word is a common noun, it is written תושב. There seems therefore little reason to doubt that E. was a native of the wild but beautiful mountain district of Gilead, the highlands of Palestine, on the eastern side of the Jordan, bordering on the great desert. There he had a prophet's nurture in solitude. He always loved the wild defiles and rushing torrents of his native land. Lonely mountains and bleak deserts were congenial to his spirit. He learned to dwell familiarly on the sterner aspects of religion and morality. He had the austere, ascetic, monotheistic spirit of the desert. He learned the fear of J″ which knew no other fear.

Nothing is said of his parentage, and the omission is in striking contrast to the wealth of detail with which the descent of some other prophets is stated. E. occupied from the first a unique and exalted position in the goodly fellowship. He seemed to be like Melchizedek 'without father, without mother, without genealogy, having neither beginning of days nor end of life.' Strange traditions arose in later times among the Rabbis, as that he was Phinehas, the grandson of Aaron, returned to life, or an angel in human form.

E.'s whole manner of life is meant to be a protest against a corrupt civilisation. He has some of the habits of the ancient Nazirite, and not a few of the characteristics of the modern Bedawin. His unshorn locks streaming down his shoulders and his rough mantle of camel's hair (2 K 1^{8}) alone make him a remarkable figure in Israel. He has the fleet foot of a true son of the desert (1 K 18^{46}), and an iron frame which enables him to endure a forty days' fast (19^{8}). He dwells in the clefts of the Cherith (17^{3}), sleeps under a desert broom (19^{5}), lodges in the cave of Horeb (19^{9}), and haunts the slopes of Carmel. If he enters a city, it is only to deliver the message of J″ and be gone. His startling appearances, abrupt speeches, and sudden disappearances create around his personality a profound air of mystery. He is believed to be borne hither and thither by the Spirit of J″ (1 K 18^{12}, 2 K 2^{16}). He comes down from the hills of Gilead as the champion and prophet of J″ in the dark days of Israel's apostasy. He comes to bear witness to truths which ought never to have been denied in Israel. Like every true reformer, he takes his stand upon old principles. He is the personified conscience of the nation. He comes, a prophet of heroic mould, to witness by deeds rather than by words.

The spiritual danger which E. was called to avert arose out of a political alliance formed between Israel and Phœnicia, and cemented by the marriage of Ahab and Jezebel, the son and the daughter of the allied kings. A covenant between two Semitic peoples was always supposed to imply a friendship between their gods. Its natural sequel was a syncretism of faith and worship. That Ahab did not at first think of denying J″ is proved by the names he gave his sons—Ahaziah (J″ holds) and Jehoram (J″ is high). But his religious instincts were as dull as his political instincts were keen. Brave enough in battle, and on the whole a successful ruler, he was morally weak, and came completely under the baneful influence of his strong-minded Tyrian wife, a fanatic in her own faith. It was to please her that he not only erected a temple to Baal at Samaria (1 K 16^{32}) and introduced a multitude of foreign priests (18^{19}), but allowed a religious persecution, in which many of the prophets of J″ are said to have been slain (18$^{4.\ 13}$). The effect of these events on the religious life of Israel could not be small. The people had hitherto been ensnared only by the gods of the hostile tribes of Canaan whom they had subdued. They were now tempted to adopt the cultus of a great allied nation, and the temptation proved too strong to be resisted. Baal-worship became the court religion, and, if its progress had not been effectually checked, would soon have become the national religion.

To prevent this disastrous consummation is E.'s life-task. His fiery zeal against the Tyrian cultus springs from moral at least as much as religious considerations. That superstition had such accompaniments as would soon sap the moral vigour of any nation. A patriot as well as a prophet, E. comes to save his country. His ruling passion is jealousy for the Lord God of hosts (1 K 19^{10}). He knows the God of Israel as a moral and spiritual being, and all his demands on behalf of J″ are moral and spiritual. The details of ritual do not trammel a man of his spiritual force. He knows nothing of the Deuteronomic law which condemns local altars (1 K 18^{32}). It is not recorded that he ever visits Jerusalem. But Gilgal, Bethel, Carmel, and other ancient sanctuaries of the true religion, are dear to him. Sinai is, from its associations, the holiest ground. He believes in a covenant in virtue of which J″ became the God of Israel, and Israel the people of J″. And the conviction is burned into his mind that there can be no alliance between the God of Israel and any other divinity. His jealousy for J″ is the counterpart of J″'s jealousy for Israel. It is to E. an intuitive truth that J″ can brook no rival in His kingdom, and he is amazed that any can doubt it: his spirit blazes with contempt against all 'weak-kneed' persons (1 K 18^{21}) who halt between two opinions.

It is contended by some critics (Wellhausen, Stade, etc.) that E. was not a monotheist, like Amos, Hosea, and the other literary prophets: that he was like the mass of the people of his time in regarding J″ as only the God of Israel—a local god—and believing that every other nation had its own deity. It is affirmed that E. was a 'henotheist.' Now, it is sufficiently clear that the faith of many of his contemporaries is of this rudimentary order: the contest between J″ and Baal is to them a real struggle between rival deities. But E.'s lofty conception of J″ virtually excludes all other objects of worship—makes all the gods idols. It is difficult to believe that the Baal whom he treats with such irony and contempt (1 K 18^{27}) has to his mind any reality. At any rate, it is but a short step from E.'s 'henotheism' to absolute monotheism.

The memoirs of E. seem to be derived from several sources. The narratives in 1 K 17–19. 21, 2 K 2, form a unity. They took shape in Northern Israel, as is indicated by the remark that Beersheba 'belongeth to Judah' (1 K 19^{3}). They were probably written under the influence of the literary prophets of the Northern Kingdom, about the beginning of the 7th cent. B.C. These narratives are composed in the highest style of literary art. Their distinctly popular character is apparent, and it has been noted by W. R. Smith that they read like a transcript of a vivid oral tradition (*Prophets of Israel*, 116). Like other historical parts of the OT, they may have lived in the mouths of the people for generations, forming a powerful means of religious education, before they were committed to writing.

E. comes on the stage of history with the same startling abruptness with which he makes his first appearance before Ahab. He is sent to announce that J″ is about to avenge the apostasy of Israel by bringing a long drought on the land. This message delivered, he vanishes into solitude. He is guided by the Spirit of J″ to the brook Cherith 'that is before,' *i.e.* to the east of, 'Jordan' (1 K 17^{3}), probably in his native Gilead. See CHERITH. There his life is miraculously sustained by ravens, which bring him flesh every morning and evening (vv.$^{4-6}$). Prosaic critics have tried to eliminate the marvellous element from the story. They call attention to the fact that the word ערבים, which is so pointed in the MT as to mean 'ravens,' signifies with another set of vowel-points 'Arabs,' with another 'merchants,' or 'inhabitants of Oreb.' But, not to emphasize the fact that ravens eat flesh, which Arabs generally avoid, it is to be noted that the marvellous element is quite in keeping with other parts of E.'s story. In the oral tradition the prophet's friends were doubtless 'ravens': the narrative would not have been thought worth preserving but for the miraculous feature, which is reproduced in all the ancient versions.

When the brook Cherith dries up in the long drought, the prophet goes, under divine direction, to Zarephath, a city of heathen Tyre (17^{8}), where he is hospitably received by a poor widow whom the famine has reduced to her last meal (v.^{12}). The prophet finds a well-spring of kindness in the heart of a heathen country. He learns to sympathize with one of another race and a strange religion, and his stern nature is in some degree softened by contact with human suffering. He rewards the widow's charity first by miraculously increasing her small store of meal and oil, and later by restoring her child to life (vv.$^{14-24}$). His experience begins to prepare him for a higher revelation, which he is in due time to receive.

Meanwhile the king, in his rage against the prophet of evil, sends messengers into all nations (1 K 18^{10}) to search for E., but they report that their quest has been fruitless. For three years there falls no rain or dew in Israel. The famine is so severe that the king and his chamberlain, Obadiah, have to scour the country in search of provender for the royal stables (v.$^{5f.}$). While they are engaged in this quest, E. suddenly appears before Obadiah and bids him summon his master (v.$^{7ff.}$). The meeting of the prophet and the king is very dramatic. Ahab has never been able to stifle the conscience of an Israelite, and cannot withhold his respect from the prophet of J″. He bitterly accuses E. of being the troubler of Israel; but when the prophet flings back the charge, the king is silenced (v.$^{17ff.}$). E. challenges, or rather commands, him to summon the prophets of Baal to a contest between J″ and Baal on Mount Carmel. The worshippers of Baal shall sacrifice to their God; E. himself will sacrifice to J″: the god who answers by fire, he shall be the God. The king consents (v.$^{19f.}$). The narrative of the contest (1 K $18^{21ff.}$) is one of the grandest in the OT. Apart from its historical value, it is precious as an ideal representation of the conflict which is always being waged between true and false religion, and of combatants who are always meeting. On the appointed day the king and the 400 prophets of Baal, E. and 'all the people,' assemble on Carmel. The prophets of Baal, having built an altar and laid their sacrifice, pray to their god from morning till evening, and are excited to a frenzy by their fruitless efforts and the biting sarcasm of E. In the evening E. rebuilds the ancient altar of J″—thrown down in these times of persecution—and utters a few calm words of prayer to J″. The lightning falls and consumes not only the sacrifice, but the altar and the water poured into trenches around it. The people fall on their faces, and with loud voices acknowledge that J″ is God. Then, in an access of irrepressible zeal, they fall upon the 400 prophets who have deceived the nation, and put them all to the sword. E. prays that the drought may cease, and before nightfall there is a tempest of rain, in the midst of which the strange prophet, seized by a sudden impulse, carried away by the emotion of triumph, rolls his mantle together and runs like an *avant-courier* in front of the royal chariot all the sixteen miles from Carmel to the gates of Jezreel (vv.$^{42-46}$).

E. imagines that the battle for truth has been fought and won, and that his task is virtually accomplished. But his triumph is brief. When he receives a message that Jezebel has sworn to have his life (19^{2}), his sanguine hope for the restoration of the true religion is changed in a moment into blank despair. He feels with a sinking heart that he has laboured for naught and in vain. God Himself has contended in vain with human folly. Nothing can be made of a king whom miracles will not convince, but who is turned round the finger of a woman. The apostate nation will remain apostate. Seeing all this (the LXX and other ancient versions, instead of 'and he saw it,' read 'and he was afraid,' 19^{3}), E. flees for his life to Judæa, and, leaving his servant at Beersheba, plunges into the desert, where he is alone with J″. Weary, famished, and heavy of heart, he lies down under a desert broom [so RVm; see JUNIPER], and is willing to die. He feels that his life has been a failure. He has been worsted in the battle of life, and something tells him that he has deserved to be. He is no better than his fathers. He has now nothing more to live for. It is vain to continue the unequal struggle. All men have forsaken him. He has no friend but J″, and he prays that He would release him from his fruitless task (vv.$^{3.4}$).

God is very kind to his servant, first satisfying his bodily wants, and then giving him a new revelation such as his soul needs. As the prophet sleeps under the desert bush, he is awakened by the touch of an angel, who sets meat and drink before him, and on the strength of that food he goes a forty days' journey (forty being, as usual, a round number) to Horeb (vv.$^{5-9}$). It is not difficult to understand what the prophet seeks at that mountain sanctuary. He desires to meet J″. Men have failed him: he wants to make sure of God. He goes to Horeb to stand where Moses stood. His heart cries out for the vindication of the moral law. Finding a cave, he lodges there (v.^{9}). (In the Heb. it is *the* cave, either as already a place to which pilgrims resorted, or from the fame of this single visit: the traditional cave is in a secluded plain under the highest peak of Jebel Mûsa; see SINAI.) The narrative which follows (vv.$^{11-18}$) is spiritually one of the profoundest in the OT. J″ represents to E., by a magnificent acted parable, the contrast between law and grace, judgment and mercy. As the prophet of J″, E. has been using the weapon of force. He has never conceived it possible to defeat the enemies of God by any other weapon. He has magnified God's strictness with a zeal He will not own. And he has failed. Force has left men hard and indifferent. J″ here makes experiment upon E. with his own weapon. He visits the mountain with a hurricane, with an earthquake, and with a fire. The prophet's wounded spirit is not moved by any of these. J″ is not in them. But in the calm which follows the tumult he hears a still small voice (RVm 'a sound of gentle stillness') which thrills his inmost being; he feels that God is there; self-abased, he wraps his face in his mantle and waits to receive the divine communications. He is thus taught the meaning of his failure. He is shown in a parable 'a more excellent way.' In the heart of Sinai he learns the gentleness of God. Others like himself may be won by grace, whom might and wrath have failed to move. The kingdom of God comes not so much by startling miracles, but through quiet human agencies and in the slow movements of history. E. is therefore shown that J″ has still a great work for him to do: he must shape the destinies of two great nations, and provide for the continuance of the prophetic succession. Three commands are laid upon him: to anoint Hazael to be king over Syria, Jehu to be king over Israel, and Elisha to be his own successor. And he is comforted with the assurance that the work in which he has been engaged has not been a failure: J″ reserves for Himself seven thousand who have not bowed the knee to Baal.

With faith restored E. returns to his task (vv.$^{19-21}$). On his way to Damascus he finds Elisha at the plough, and throws his mantle over him—a symbolic action by which he claims him as his son and invests him with the prophetic office. Elisha leaves all, and ministers unto him. From this time E. is never alone: he has a companion to whom he becomes a true spiritual father (2 K 2^{12}), winning his filial affection as well as profound veneration.

Here there is a break in the narrative. It is nowhere stated by what means E. sought to fulfil the other two parts of the commission which he received at Horeb. The account of the actual completion of his task by Elisha in 2 K 9. 10 is apparently by another narrator. Nor is it directly recorded what means E. afterwards used for the advancement of the true religion. But there are deeply interesting hints in the memoirs. Cheyne's singular statements (*Hallowing of Criticism*, p. 143), that E. was weak in spiritual intuition, and that the lesson of Horeb was lost upon him, do not seem to be warranted. On the contrary, there are not wanting indications that from the day on which E. heard the still small voice there was another spirit in him. He does not again attempt to suppress Ahab's idolatry by force. He leaves the apostate king alone, and waits the course of events. If he does not entirely abandon his lonely desert life, he at least becomes a familiar figure in the schools of the prophets at Gilgal, Bethel, and Jericho (2 K 2^{1-4}). His personality, and probably his teaching, make a profound impression upon the young prophets. He kindles in their minds his own zeal for J″; he transfuses his spirit into them; the homage which they pay to Elisha (2 K 2^{15}) is entirely due to the fact that they perceive in him the spirit of the greater prophet.

When E.'s moral indignation once more flashes out against the house of Ahab (1 K 21), it is not now for the destruction of idolatry but in the cause of justice and humanity that he appears. He has become the champion of the civil and moral rights of the people. Ahab violates the ancient laws of property, which are the charter of the people's liberties, by forcibly alienating the vineyard of Naboth. He deepens his guilt by allowing his wife to compass the innocent man's ruin by peculiarly nefarious means (1 K 21^{8}). This crime is the signal for E.'s reappearance at Jezreel. On the day after Naboth's murder, the king is proceeding in state to take possession of the coveted gardens, when he is confronted by the prophet, and quails once more before his moral indignation. His enemy has found him (v.^{20}). His own sin finds him out. His conscience condemns him. He stands speechless while the prophet's words of doom smite him like thunderbolts: Ahab's house shall fall; dogs shall eat the carcase of Jezebel; the king's whole posterity shall perish, and their bodies be given to the dogs of the city or the fowls of the air (so D^{2} in vv.$^{20b-26}$). In the chariot behind Ahab on that memorable day was an officer named Jehu, on whose mind the words of E. left an indelible impression (2 K 9^{25}); and though the execution of the sentence was deferred in consideration of the king's penitence, this man was the instrument chosen by J″ for the overthrow of the house of Ahab.

The episode of Naboth's vineyard produced a great change in the popular sentiment. It revealed the true character of the issues in E.'s conflict against idolatry. It showed the people, that while idolatry went hand in hand with injustice and crime, the religion of J″ was the bulwark of righteousness and liberty. At the same time, it opened their eyes to the real grandeur of the prophet in their midst, and doubtless we are to date from this event a great increase in his power as the prophet of J″.

It is impossible to determine the extent and duration of E.'s subsequent labours. There are two other narratives, one of which brings him into contact with Ahaziah, son of Ahab (B.C. *c.* 853), while the other implies that he lived on till the reign of Jehoram of Judah (*c.* 849–844). It is difficult to harmonize this chronology with that of 2 K 3, which makes it clear that E.'s career ended and Elisha's began before the death of Jehoshaphat (*c.* 874–849). It is possible, however, that Jehoram reigned for a time during the life of his father Jehoshaphat (2 K 8^{16}; the text is doubtful).

According to the narrative in 2 K 1, Ahaziah, son of Ahab, having injured himself by falling from a balcony of his palace, sends messengers to the shrine of Baal-zebub, god of Ekron, to inquire if he shall recover. On their way they are intercepted by Elijah, who indignantly asks them if there is not a God in Israel of whom they might inquire, and commands them to go back and tell the king that his injuries will certainly prove fatal. When the messengers describe to the king the person who waylaid them, he immediately recognizes in him the old enemy of his house, and in the true spirit of Jezebel, his mother, sends out a band of fifty men to capture him. They find the prophet seated 'on the top of the hill' (name not given: Carmel, say some critics, but it is not on the way to Ekron). At his word, fire comes down from heaven and consumes them all. Another band of the same number meet the same fate. A third company is sent out, but their leader takes warning, adopts a humble tone, and he and his men are spared. E. then goes in person to the king, and repeats the declaration that his doom is sealed.

This narrative differs widely in language, style, and spirit from those of the preceding group. The prophet's personal appearance has altered (1^{8}); his name has changed from אליהו to the later form אליה; and instead of being directly inspired and guided by J″ as hitherto, he receives the word of prophecy from an angel (1$^{3.15}$). 'The representation of the prophet assumes gigantic proportions, but at the same time becomes rigid and lifeless: it ceases to be available as a pattern of human action' (Ewald). The narrator tells the story, without apology, for the glorification of his hero; but no narrative in the OT presents greater moral difficulties. If it is regarded as literal history, one's moral sense is shocked at the destruction of a great number of men whose only fault is obedience to the orders of their captain and their king. One cannot conceive the story to have been penned by the historian who related the parable of the still small voice at Horeb. The best comment on the story was supplied by Christ. He condemned with unmistakable plainness the vindictive spirit which His disciples, by citing the example of Elijah, sought to justify (Lk 9$^{51ff.}$). Others besides the disciples have used the story as an argument for persecution. E. was the patron of the Inquisitors. Even Calvin and Beza argued from this narrative that fire was the proper instrument of punishment for heretics. But the story itself can hardly be regarded as history. It is rather one of those imaginative apologues—abundant in the schools of the scribes—which borrowed the names of ancient heroes to lend vividness and concreteness to abstract doctrines.

The other narrative (2 Ch 21$^{12ff.}$) is given only by the Chronicler, and bears distinct marks of lateness. Jehoram, king of Judah, son-in-law of Ahab and Jezebel, having fallen under the spell of sensuous Baal-worship, E. is represented as sending him a letter warning him that J″ will bring a plague upon Judah, by which all the king's house will be afflicted, and to which the king himself will early fall a victim. This is the only narrative which brings E. into connexion with the kingdom of Judah, and the only one which represents him as carrying on his work by means of writing. The style and language of the letter correspond very closely with those of the Chronicler.

The narrative of E.'s translation (2 K 2$^{1-18}$) returns to the lofty style of the writer of 1 K 17–19. 21. Ewald, indeed, regarded it as the work of the same great narrator; more recent critics consider that from a literary point of view it is more closely connected with the history of Elisha (2 K 2$^{19ff.}$). E.'s end is still more mysterious than his beginning. He alone shares with Enoch the glory of being 'translated,' so that he should not taste death (He 11^{5}). Of him alone is it recorded, as of Christ (Lk 24^{51}), that he was carried up into heaven. He is residing at the ancient sanctuary of Gilgal (now Jiljilia, between Shechem and Bethel, not the town of the same name on the Jordan), where a prophetic guild is established, when he is warned that the time of his departure is come. His invisible Guide calls him for the last time into solitude. The appointed place is beyond Jordan, not now in the ravines of his native Gilead, but southward in the wild region of Nebo, where his greatest forerunner fell asleep. As he went to Horeb for inspiration in his time of spiritual storm and stress, so he is drawn in the final crisis of his life to the mountain region in which Moses was summoned to die, away from the face of man. But he begins his last journey by visiting the prophetic guilds at Bethel and Jericho, probably for the purpose of confirming the young prophets in the faith. Wishing to spare Elisha the pain of witnessing the last fiery ordeal, he tenderly entreats him to remain at Gilgal. His faithful companion cannot brook the idea of separation: he solemnly vows that he will never leave his master. At Bethel the sons of the prophets, foreboding E.'s coming removal, ask Elisha if he knows that his master is to be taken away from him. He knows it well, but is too straitened in spirit to speak of it, and entreats them to hold their peace. From Bethel E. proceeds to Jericho, where he again endeavours to persuade his disciple to let him go on this journey alone; but Elisha repeats his vow. At Jericho some of the prophetic guild wish to question Elisha about the impending event, but he begs them to be silent. Fifty sons of the prophets ascend the heights above the city to watch the prophet as he descends with his disciple to the Jordan. They see him strike the river with his mantle; the waters part; the two men cross by the bed of the river and pass out of sight. As they approach their destination, E. asks his disciple if he has any last request to make. Elisha seeks 'a double portion' of his master's spirit—not twice E.'s inspiration, but the portion of an eldest son, who received twice as much as the younger sons (Dt 21^{17}). E. replies that it is a hard request. Spiritual gifts are the most difficult of all to transmit. Nevertheless, he assures his follower that if he prove his fitness for prophetic gifts by remaining with his master to the end, and looking without fear on the dread messengers of the invisible world, his request will not be denied. They now enter the dark mountains of Moab. Somewhere here J″ Himself laid His servant Moses to rest. No man knew the exact place. 'The whole region is a sepulchre.' As they still advance and talk together, black clouds gather, a tempest descends, the air is filled with fire, and, 'behold, there appear chariots of fire and horses of fire, and E. is taken up to heaven in a whirlwind.' Elisha sees him no more. He rends his clothes, and mourns for his master as one mourns for the dead. He is bereft of the prophet who has been to him a father, and to Israel a power as great as its chariots and horsemen. But he has stood the severe test imposed upon him, and receives the reward—the spirit of E. rests upon him. Taking up the mantle which has fallen from his master, he returns from the scene of the translation to the Jordan, and puts his new power to the proof by striking the waters with the mantle and calling upon the God of Elijah. The waters divide as before, and he passes over on dry land. When the sons of the prophets at Jericho hear of what has happened, and perceive that the spirit of E. rests upon his disciple, they bow themselves to the earth and acknowledge Elisha as their new master. But the story of the translation awakens their scepticism, and they send out fifty strong men to make search for the missing prophet, Elisha trying in vain to dissuade them. For three days they prosecute the search among the mountains of Moab, expecting to find E. on some lonely peak or in some dark valley, cast away as at other times by the Spirit of J″. When they return and confess that the search has been vain, Elisha gently chides their unbelief (2 K 2[18]).

E. is thus removed from the scene of his labours before the whole task laid upon him (1 K 19[15]) is finished. But Elisha and others enter into his labours, sons of the prophets animated by his spirit are raised up in hundreds, his teaching spreads, his spirit penetrates the nation. Then the harvest is reaped. After two short reigns the idolatrous house of Ahab falls (2 K 9). The enemies of J″ and of E. perish. Superstition dies hard, but there is never again any question of rivalry between J″ and Baal. There is no more danger of Baal-worship becoming the national religion. It sinks into the superstition of a sect, known to later prophets as the *remnant* of Baal (Zeph 1[4]).

The weapons by which this reformation was accomplished were mainly spiritual. It cannot be denied that some of E.'s own actions may have furnished an excuse for certain deeds of violence. It is like a Nemesis that the finishing touch has to be given to the work by a man of blood like Jehu. Yet it was not the fire and sword of Carmel, but the still small voice speaking in the schools of the prophets and the hearts of the faithful that again made Israel a people prepared for J″.

E.'s moral power lies in the simplicity of his faith. He realizes the belief in J″ intensely, and lives a heroic life in the strength of it. 'J″ before whom I stand' is his favourite formula (1 K 17[1] 18[15]). He stands erect and haughty before kings; but in the presence of J″ he wraps his head in his mantle, or crouches to the ground with his face between his knees (1 K 18[42] 19[13]). Stern and rugged by nature, a prophet moulded for heroic work in evil days, he is led through an experience which awakens in him the tenderness that is only to be found in union with strength. His personal history, especially the narrative of the breakdown and restoration of his faith, brings him into touch with human beings in all ages. He is so great that readers of his story are not unthankful for his failings. 'E. was a man of like passions with us' (Ja 5[17]).

Critics differ widely in their estimates of the historical importance of E. Wellhausen thinks that his influence is appraised too highly in the biblical narratives. His struggle with Baal cannot have possessed the importance attributed to it from the point of view of a later time. Israel was never torn asunder by such a religious commotion as that described in 1 K 18. It was not Baal that brought about the fall of the house of Ahab, but common treason on the part of Jehu (*Proleg.* 291). Wellhausen is given to depreciating the part played by prophecy in the history of Israel. 'In the eyes of their contemporaries,' he says, 'the prophets were completely overshadowed by the kings; only to later times did they become the principal personages.' E. must hide his diminished head before Ahab. 'He effected nothing against the king, and quite failed to draw the people over to his side.' Wellhausen states no convincing reasons for this interesting view. There is probably more truth in the opinion of those who say that the history of Israel is essentially the history of prophecy. And Kuenen's estimate of E. appears much fairer: 'The consequences of the struggle with the Syrian Baal and the victory of Jahvism were most important. Had the issue of the conflict been different, the existence of J″-worship would have been at stake; the averting of this danger was an important result. From this period onward the belief in "J″ the God of Israel" is assailed no longer. The prophets of the eighth century are able to start from it as a universal conviction. For this foundation for their preaching they have to thank Elijah and his school' (*Religion of Israel*, i. 360).

No OT hero fills a larger place in Jewish tradition than Elijah. How he impressed the minds of his own people in after-ages is shown by the striking eulogium pronounced upon him by the son of Sirach (Sir 48[1ff.]). It became a fixed belief that E. would appear again for the deliverance and restoration of Israel. This is expressed in the very last words of the OT (Mal 4[5-6]). Jesus teaches that this expectation was fulfilled by the appearance of John the Baptist (Mt 17[11-12]). Jesus' cry on the cross, 'Eli, Eli,' was mistaken for a call to Elijah to come for His deliverance (Mt 27[47], Mk 15[35]). No prophet is mentioned so frequently in the NT as Elijah. The priests and Levites (Jn 1[25]) cannot understand John's right to baptize, if he is neither the Christ, nor Elijah, nor that prophet (like unto Moses, Dt 18[15]). As E. was with Moses in spirit at Sinai and Nebo, so these two prophets appear together conversing with Jesus on the Mount of the Transfiguration (Mt 17[3], Mk 9[4], Lk 9[30]).

It only remains to be said that E. occupies a conspicuous place in the legends and rites of many peoples. Among the Jews he is the expected guest at every passover, for whom a vacant seat is reserved. Among the Greeks he is the patron saint of mountains, and many summits in Greece are now called by his name. In the Roman Catholic Church he is revered as the founder of the Order of the Barefooted Carmelites. By the Mohammedans he is often confounded with the great and mysterious El-Khudr, the Eternal Wanderer, who having drunk the water of life retains everlasting youth, and appears ever and anon to right the wrongs of men. E. is canonized both in the Greek and the Latin Church, his festival being on the 20th July.

LITERATURE.—Driver, *LOT* 184 ff.; Wellhausen, *Comp.* 281 ff., *Proleg.* 290 ff., *Hist. of Isr. and Judah*, 64 ff.; Stade, *Ges. d V. Isr.* i. 524 ff.; W. R. Smith, *OTJC*² 236 f., *Proph. of*

Isr. 76 ff., 116 ff.; Cornill, *Isr. Proph.* 12, 15, 20, 29-36, 157; Kittel, *Hist. of Heb.* ii. 213, 266 ff., 275, 279; Ewald, *HI* iv. 63 ff.; Graetz, *Hist. of Jews* (tr. by B. Löwy), i. 204 ff.; Maurice, *Prophets and Kings*, p. 126 ff.; Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 156 f. iii. 129 ff.; Kuenen, *Rel. of Isr.* i. 354 ff.; Renan, *Hist. of People of Isr.* (Eng. tr.) ii. 229-242; Montefiore, *Hibbert Lect.* p. 91 f.; Liddon, *Sermons on OT Subjects*, 185, 209; Milligan, *Elijah* ('Men of Bible'); Cheyne, *Hallowing of Criticism*; Farrar, *Books of Kings*, *ll.cit.*; Walker and Paterson in *Expos. Times*, iv. 252 ff., 321.

2. (אֵלִיָּה, AV Eliah) A Benjamite chief, 1 Ch 8^{27}. **3. 4.** A priest and a layman who had married foreign wives, Ezr 10$^{21. 26}$. J. STRACHAN.

ELIJAH, APOCALYPSE OF.—This is the title of a lost pseudepigr. work which stands eighth in the stichometrical list of Nicephorus and tenth in an anonymous early list. In the first of these it is called Ἡλία προφήτου, and said to consist of 316 verses. In the other its title is Ἡλίου ἀποκάλυψις. The *Constitut. Apost.* vi. 16 also contain a reference to a writing bearing the name of Elijah. Origen (*Comm.* Mt 27^{9}) informs us that this work was the source of the quotation in 1 Co 2^{9} 'Things which eye saw not, and ear heard not,' etc. Similar testimony is borne by Euthalius and others, and it is probable that the statement is correct, although Jerome (*Comm.* Is 64^{3}, *Ep.* 57 *ad Pamm.*) denies it for apologetic reasons. On the other hand, there seems to be less probability in the statement of Epiphanius (*Hær.* ch. 43), that Eph 5^{14} 'Awake thou that sleepest,' etc., was quoted from the same Apoc. of Elijah. Origen makes no mention of this where he might be expected to do so, and Euthalius alleges that the words of Eph 5^{14} are derived from a lost apocryphon which bore the name of *Jeremiah*. For further information and for the patristic quotations in full, see Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* i. 1070-1086; Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. 129 ff. J. A. SELBIE.

ELIKA (אֱלִיקָא), the Harodite, one of David's 'Thirty' (2 S 23^{25}).—The name is omitted in B, and in the parallel passage 1 Ch 11, possibly owing to the repetition of the gentilic 'the Harodite.' J. F. STENNING.

ELIM (אֵילִם).—One of the stations in the wanderings of the children of Israel (Ex 15^{27}, Nu 33^{9}); apparently the fourth station after the passage of the Red Sea, and the first place where the Israelites met with fresh water. It was also marked by an abundant growth of palm trees (cf. Ex 15^{27}, twelve wells and seventy palms).

If the traditional site of Mt. Sinai be correct, the likeliest place for Elim is the Wady Ghurundel, where there is a good deal of vegetation, especially stunted palms, and a number of water-holes in the sand; but some travellers have pushed the site of Elim farther on, and placed it almost a day's journey nearer to Sinai, in the Wady Tayibeh, where there are again palm trees and a scanty supply of brackish water. The Greek monks who have located Elim at *Tôr* were probably guided thereto by the luxuriant palms and a special taste for the extravagant in miracle. The biblical account takes the Israelites from Elim to a camp by the sea; and this accords very well with the experience of travellers who go to Mt. Sinai by the southern route, camping one night in the Wady Ghurundel, and the next night by the shore of the Red Sea.

It should be remembered, however, that grave doubts have been cast upon the popular identification of Mt. Sinai (see SINAI); and as these doubts turn, in part, upon the identification of Elim and of the encampment by the sea, we must be careful not to fall into a topographical reasoning in a circle, so as to identify Sinai by means of Elim, and then Elim by means of Sinai.

It has been suggested that the Elim of Ex 15, Nu 33, is only a variant form of the plural name Eloth which we find in 1 K 9^{26}, 2 Ch 8^{17}, a place which was certainly situated near the head of the gulf of Akabah, and whose name still survives in the Arabic *Aileh* (cf. the suggestive doublet of Hazeroth, Nu 11^{35}, and Hazerim, Dt 2^{23}). If this be so, then the camp by the sea is to be sought for in the neighbourhood of Akabah, the position of Mt. Sinai is unknown, and the earlier stages of the journey of the children of Israel are to be sought in the line of the present *Haj* route from Egypt to Mecca. See Beke, *Origines Biblicæ*, 1839; Baker Greene, *The Hebrew Migration from Egypt*, 1879; Sayce, *HCM*, 1894; and the art. EXODUS (ROUTE). J. RENDEL HARRIS.

ELIMELECH (אֱלִימֶלֶךְ 'God is king,'* so the name Malchiel).—The husband of Naomi and father of Mahlon and Chilion, Ephrathites of Beth-lehem-judah (cf. 1 S 17^{12}). He was driven by a famine into the country of Moab, where, after a residence of undefined length, he died. He is spoken of as if he were the head of a clan in the tribe of Judah (cf. Ru 2$^{1. 3}$). This would be the Hezronites (1 Ch 2^{9}, cf. Gn 46^{12}). H. A. REDPATH.

ELIOENAI (אֶלְיוֹעֵינַי 'to J" are mine eyes').—**1.** A Simeonite chief (1 Ch 4^{36}). **2.** A Benjamite (1 Ch 7^{8}). **3.** A descendant of David who lived after the Exile (1 Ch 3$^{23. 24}$). **4.** A son of Pashhur who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{22}), called in 1 Es 9^{22} Elionas. **5.** A son of Zattu who had committed the same offence (Ezr 10^{27}), called in 1 Es 9^{28} Eliadas. **6.** A priest (Neh 12^{41}).

ELIONAS.—**1.** (A Ἐλιωνάς, B Ἐλιωναίς), 1 Es 9^{22}.—In Ezr 10^{22}, ELIOENAI. **2.** (A Ἐλιωνάς, B -δᾶς), 1 Es 9^{32} = Ezr 10^{31} ELIEZER.

ELIPHAL (אֱלִיפַל 'God hath judged').—One of David's mighty men (1 Ch 11^{35}), called in 2 S 23^{34} **Eliphelet** (wh. see).

ELIPHALAT.—**1.** (A Ἐλιφάλατος, B Ἐλειφάλα, AV **Eliphalet**), 1 Es 8^{39}.—In Ezr 8^{13} ELIPHELET. **2.** (Ἐλειφαλάτ), 1 Es 9^{33} = Ezr 10^{33} ELIPHELET.

ELIPHAZ [אֱלִיפַז, possibly 'God is fine gold'; but in the absence of analogous meanings this must be considered very doubtful. LXX generally Ἐλιφάς (so A in Gn) or Ἐλειφάς (so B in Ch and Job, except 2^{11}) or Ἐλιφάζ (so A in Ch and Job, and D in Gn 36^{15})] is the name of two foreigners (Arabs) mentioned in OT. **1.** E. appears in the Edomite genealogy of Gn 36 (and hence 1 Ch 1$^{35f.}$) as son of Esau by Adah (vv.$^{4. 10}$), and father of Amalek by his Horite concubine Timnah (vv.$^{12. 22}$). In v.$^{15f.}$ various other sons are mentioned, as 'the dukes that came of E. in the land of Edom,' noticeable among them being 'Duke Teman,' and another is the well-known *tribal* name Kenaz. See further, art. EDOM. **2.** See next article. G. B. GRAY.

ELIPHAZ (אֱלִיפַז, LXX Ἐλιφάς, an Idumæan name, transposed = Phasael?).—Described as the first, and apparently the oldest and most important, friend of Job. He is called 'the Temanite.' Teman was a son of Eliphaz, the eldest son of Esau (Gn 36$^{10. 15}$); and תֵּימָן was a district of Idumæa, proverbially known for its wisdom (Jer 49^{7}). It is mentioned in close connexion with Edom in Jer 49^{20}. E. speaks at greater length than either Bildad or Zophar; his speeches are recorded in Job 4. 5. 15. and 22. He is also more moderate in tone than the others; his first speech, especially, is gravely tender towards what he holds to be Job's errors. Many of his utterances, taken by themselves, contain important truth; but his orthodox statements and maxims fail to cover the facts of Job's case. In his later speeches E. speaks more directly and sharply, but he never becomes violent or cruel. For an outline of his arguments, see JOB, BOOK OF. W. T. DAVISON.

---

* Or acc. to others, 'My god is Melek' (the god-king).

ELIPHELEHU (אֱלִיפְלֵהוּ 'may God distinguish him,' AV Elipheleh).—A doorkeeper (1 Ch 15$^{18. 21}$).

ELIPHELET (אֱלִיפֶלֶט 'God is deliverance').—**1.** One of David's sons (2 S 5^{16}, 1 Ch 14^{7} (AV **Eliphalet**), 1 Ch 3$^{6. 8}$=**Elpelet** of 1 Ch 14^{5}). The double occurrence of the name in Chronicles, as if David had had two sons named E., is probably due to a scribal error. **2.** One of David's mighty men (2 S 23^{34}=**Eliphal** of 1 Ch 11^{35}). **3.** A descendant of Jonathan (1 Ch 8^{39}). **4.** One of the sons of Adonikam who returned from exile (Ezr 8^{13}=**Eliphalat** of 1 Es 8^{39}). **5.** A son of Hashum who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{33}=**Eliphalat** of 1 Es 9^{33}).

ELISABETH ('Ελισάβετ [WH 'Ελει.]; Heb. אֱלִישֶׁבַע 'God is an oath,' Ex 6^{23}).—The wife of Zacharias, and the mother of John the Baptist (Lk 1$^{5ff.}$). E. herself belonged to the priestly family of Aaron, and was a kinswoman (*συγγενίς*) of the Virgin Mary, though we do not know what the actual relationship was. She is described, along with Zacharias, as 'righteous before God, walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless.' Upon her, however, had fallen what to a Jewish woman was the heaviest of misfortunes, the reproach of barrenness. And not till she and her husband were 'well stricken in years' was the promise of a son given them. Five months later Elisabeth was visited in her home in the hill-country of Judah by her kinswoman Mary, and the degree of illumination which she had reached is proved by her addressing Mary as 'the mother of my Lord' (Lk 1^{43}). See ZACHARIAS. G. MILLIGAN.

ELISEUS.—See ELISHA.

ELISHA (אֱלִישָׁע 'God is salvation'; LXX 'Ελεισαῖε; NT 'Ελισαῖος, AV Eliseus).—The son of Shaphat, of the tribe of Issachar, the disciple and successor of the prophet Elijah. He is first mentioned in the threefold commission with which Elijah is charged by J″ at Horeb (1 K 19^{16}). Obeying the divine voice, Elijah goes to Abel-meholah ('meadow of the dance,' probably '*Ain Ḥelweh*) in the N. part of the Jordan Valley, not far from his native Gilead, where he finds E. ploughing with twelve yoke of oxen in one of the rich level fields of his father's heritage, eleven yoke being with his servants, and he last with the twelfth (19^{19}). Leaving the highway, Elijah passes over to him, and throws his mantle over his shoulders—a symbolic act of double significance: he adopts E. as his son, and invests him with the prophetic office. No word is spoken, but the symbol is understood. Elijah, probably resuming his mantle, strides on, leaving E. amazed at the sudden call, and bewildered by the necessity of making so tremendous a decision. But the young man's natural shrinking from so high a calling—a hesitation similar to that of Moses, Isaiah, Jeremiah—is quickly overcome by the consciousness that this is a call from God. Running after Elijah, he declares his readiness to follow him, only begging permission to return and give the kiss of farewell to his father and mother. The mention of domestic ties opens Elijah's eyes to the greatness of the sacrifice he is calling E. to make: perhaps it is too great for the youth; at any rate his choice must be voluntary and deliberate; the casting of the mantle over him was in itself nothing. There is no accent of rebuke, but tender consideration for E.'s natural feelings, in the austere prophet's testing words: 'Go back again, for what have I done unto thee?' E. however, has made his choice. He is ready to leave father and mother, and houses and lands, and marks his act of self-renunciation by a sacrifice which has sacramental significance. Unyoking the oxen from his plough, he slays them, and taking the plough, the goad and the yokes for fuel, roasts the flesh of the oxen, and invites his people to a farewell feast. Then, having kissed his parents, he follows Elijah, and ministers unto him. One graphic touch indicates his relation to the greater prophet: he is referred to as 'E. the son of Shaphat, who poured water on the hands of Elijah' (2 K 3^{11}). They seem to have been together some six or seven years (1 K 22^{1}, 2 K 1^{17}). How and where this time was spent is not definitely stated. There is no evidence that Elijah ever called E. to be a dweller in desert solitudes. There are rather indications that during these years they lived in familiar intercourse with the sons of the prophets (2 K 2). The narrative of Elijah's last journey shows the deep filial affection, as well as reverence, which he had awakened in his disciple. See ELIJAH. From the scene of the translation, Elisha returns bearing Elijah's mantle, and endued with a 'double portion' of his spirit. Thus began a prophetic career in N. Israel which lasted for more than half a century, during the reigns of Jehoram, Jehu, Jehoahaz, and Joash.

E. is Elijah's spiritual successor, but he presents in many respects a striking contrast to his teacher. Only metaphorically does he wear Elijah's mantle: after its first display it appears no more. He wears the common garments (בְּגָדִים 2 K 2^{12}), and carries the walking-staff of 'ordinary grave citizens,' sometimes using it for working miracles (2 K 4^{29}). With his bald head, he does not escape unfavourable comparison with the prophet of the flowing locks (2 K 2^{23}). E. is no son of the desert. Brought up at a peaceful farm in the Jordan Valley, amid the sweet charities of home (1 K 19^{20}), he always prefers human companionship. He is generally found in cities, sojourning at Jericho among the sons of the prophets, or dwelling in his own house at Samaria or at Dothan (2 K 6$^{14. 32}$). A prophet's chamber is built for him by a lady of Shunem (4^{10}). Elijah's power was derived from communion with J″ in lonely mountains and valleys; E. is helped by the strains of music—'the hand of J″' is upon him when the minstrel plays (2 K 3^{15}).

Elijah's short career was memorable for a few grand and impressive scenes, E.'s long career is marked by innumerable deeds of mercy. Both in public and in private life his activity is incessant. He enters palaces not as an enemy, but as a friend and counsellor. Kings reverently address him as 'father' (2 K 6^{21} 13^{14}). The kings of Israel, Judah, and Moab come to seek his advice in war (3$^{11-19}$). The king of Syria consults him in sickness, and offers him costly presents (8$^{7. 8}$). The king of Israel comes to receive his parting counsels (13$^{14-19}$). His influence at court and in the army would immediately secure a boon for a friend from the king or the captain of the host (4^{13}). He is expert in camp-life, ambush, and scouting, and more than once is the means of saving the life of the king (6^{10}). Even more than in palaces is he welcome in the homes of the people. He is 'the holy man of God who passeth by us continually' (4^{9}). Most of his miracles are deeds of gracious and homely beneficence. Elijah began his career by predicting a famine in the land; E. begins his by healing a spring, that there might not be 'from thence any more death or barren land' (2^{21}).

Several of E.'s recorded words and deeds seem to show how much he profited by the chastening experience—and it may be by the direct teaching—of Elijah. He has learned the lesson of toleration: when Naaman inquires if it is possible to reconcile the homage due to Rimmon with loyalty to J″, E. sends him away with a word of peace (5^{18}). He knows how to temper justice with mercy; he forgives his own and his country's fierce enemies when he has them entirely in his hands (6^{22}). Yet he has his master's sternness when it is needed. He refuses to speak to Jehoram king of Israel, that 'son of a murderer' (3^{13} 6^{32}). Not in vain was it prophesied at Horeb, 'him that escapeth from the sword of Jehu shall E. slay.' It is E. who devises the plot that leads to the overthrow of the house of Ahab (9^{1-3}). And though he weeps for his country when he foresees the evil which the ferocious Hazael will bring upon Israel, yet he does not shrink from anointing him king of Syria ($8^{12.13}$).

As a prophet E. had no new truth to proclaim. But he exercised a wide and lasting influence as the head of the prophetic guilds for more than half a century. The sons of the prophets regard him with profound reverence (2^{15}), and obey him implicitly (9^{1}). E.'s single aim is to complete the reforms begun by Elijah—to re-establish the ancient truth, and repel heathen superstition. He is a statesman as well as a prophet. Among all the prophets, none intervene in the highest national affairs more boldly than E., and none so successfully. For many years he eagerly watches every turn of events. When the nation is ripe for revolution, he summons the destined man at an opportune moment, puts an end to the Tyrian domination, and extirpates the base Tyrian superstition. After the fall of the Omrite dynasty, he is the trusted friend and sagacious adviser of the house of Jehu, and the strength and inspiration of Israel in all its trials. Even to old age his zeal burns unquenchable: in the closing scene of his life the patriot is as evident as the seer; and his bequest to Israel is hope (13^{15-19}). E. has no stormy spiritual experience like his master, and does not hold such immediate converse with J″, yet he too has visions. He sees Elijah borne away to heaven by chariots and horses of fire; and at Dothan, when the town is surrounded by enemies, and his servant cries out to him in fear, he bids the young man look to the mountains, and see that they are full of chariots and horses of fire round about Elisha (6^{17}).

It is impossible to arrange the events of E.'s life in chronological sequence. While the topography of the narrative is often precise, there is a singular want of definiteness as to personal names and dates. The only indication of time afforded by several of the anecdotes is the mention of the 'king of Israel'; but as no name is specified, the reader is left to conjecture which of the four kings who were the prophet's contemporaries may be referred to. It is impossible to say in whose reign the cure of Naaman, or the attempt of the Syrians to capture E., took place. In some cases occurrences are obviously grouped together, according to the connexion of their contents (2 K 2. 4). In others no principle of arrangement is apparent, and the loose connexion of the narratives becomes very awkward. For instance, the siege of Samaria by the Syrians is described immediately after it has been stated that 'the bands of Syria came no more into the land of Israel' ($6^{23f.}$). Gehazi appears in familiar intercourse with 'the king of Israel' after the account of his punishment with leprosy (5^{27} 8^{4}); and the visit of Joash to E. during the prophet's last illness is related just after the mention of the death of Joash ($13^{13f.}$). Most of E.'s deeds and experiences are set down before the account of Jehu's revolution; but the prophet lived 45 years after that event, and his influence in the nation was certainly greater, and his deeds of beneficence probably more numerous, after than before the overthrow of his enemies.

The narratives are for the most part a record of E.'s activity as a seer, diviner, and worker of miracles, rather than as a prophet in the usual sense of the word. The ordinary prophet is a revealer of spiritual truth, and a preacher of righteousness. If he is represented as working miracles at all, they are entirely subsidiary to his teaching functions. But the reminiscences and traditions of E. represent him chiefly as a wonder-worker. He suspends the laws of nature (6^{6}), foresees future events (8^{12}), divines the secret thoughts of men (5^{26} 6^{12}), and knows what events are happening out of sight or at a distance (6^{32}).

It will be convenient (A) to group together E.'s deeds in his more private capacity, and afterwards (B) refer to his achievements as the friend and adviser of kings.

A. (1) Recrossing the Jordan after Elijah's translation, E. either dwells or sojourns (יֵשֶׁב) at Jericho, lately rebuilt (1 K 16^{34}) in a 'pleasant situation' (2 K 2^{19}), the fertility of whose groves and gardens was due then, as always, to its perennial springs. At the time of E.'s visit one of these springs has noxious properties, which make it unfit for drinking, and injurious to the land (2^{19}). The citizens represent the facts to E., who, taking salt in a new vessel, casts it into the spring, and in the name of J″ declares the water healed (2^{21}). (2) From Jericho E. goes to Bethel, which he had lately visited with Elijah ($2^{23ff.}$). Passing through the wooded gorge (now called the Wady Suweinit), which leads up to the town, he is met by a noisy troop of boys, who, though they were probably very respectful to the great and awful Elijah, stand in no fear of his youthful successor, and rudely greet him with shouts of 'Go up, thou bald head!' E. turns and curses them in the name of J″, and two she-bears come out of the wood and rend forty-two of them in pieces. One naturally asks if this narrative is literal history. The extreme severity of the punishment is evidently out of all proportion to the offence. The deed is strikingly in contrast to E.'s conduct on other occasions (see especially 2 K 6^{20-22}). One MS of the Sept. inserts the word ἐλίθαζον ('they pelted him with stones'), the transcriber evidently feeling the moral difficulty. Some of the Rabbis say that E. was punished with sickness for the deed. The story probably had some basis in fact, but in its present form it reads like a folklore tale, of the kind familiar in all lands, intended for the admonition of rude and naughty children. (3) The widow of one of the sons of the prophets—the name and place are wanting—is in debt, and her sons are about to be taken away by her creditor and sold as slaves. She has nothing left in her house but a pot of oil, but E. causes the oil to multiply till it fills all the vessels she can borrow from her neighbours. Having sold the oil, she pays her debt, and lives with her sons on the surplus (2 K 4^{1-7}). (4) The next reminiscence (2 K 4^{8-37}) gives a charming picture of private life in Israel. As E. chances to pass the village of Shunem (now Sôlam, three miles from Jezreel, on the slopes of little Hermon), he is pressed to accept hospitality by a lady of substance. Whenever he passes that way again, he turns in to eat bread. The lady is so impressed by the character of the man of God that she persuades her husband to build a chamber on the roof of the house, to which the prophet may have free access at all times. As a recompense for her kindness, E. grants her fondest wish: a child is born to her. After some years—

the narrative goes on without break—her son dies of sunstroke. The lady rides to Carmel, and summons E., who comes and restores the boy to life. (5) E. is next found residing at Gilgal, with the sons of the prophets, during a famine (4^{38-41}). People are subsisting on any roots that can be found. One of the young prophets brings home some wild gourds (פַּקֻּעֹת, Vulg. *colocynthidas agri*), and shreds them into the caldron. But when they begin to eat, the taste reveals the presence of poison, and they cry out, 'O man of God, there is death in the pot.' 'Bring meal,' answers the wonder-worker, and forthwith the dish is rendered harmless and wholesome. (6) Apparently during the same famine, while E. is still living at Gilgal, he is visited by a farmer from Baal-shalishah ($4^{42ff.}$), who brings him a present of first-fruits—twenty loaves of new barley and a sack full of fresh ears of corn (Lv 2^{14} 23^{14}). E. bids his servant set them before a hundred men. The servant hesitates, but the small supply is miraculously rendered sufficient for the whole company. (7) The next narrative (2 K 5) gives an account of the healing of Naaman—the only miracle of E. which is referred to in the NT (Lk 4^{27}). Naaman, commander-in-chief of the army of Syria, being afflicted with the most malignant kind of leprosy (the white variety, v.^{25}), hears of the prophet in Samaria through a Hebrew maid, kidnapped in a border foray and taken into his household. He resolves to visit the great healer. When he arrives at the prophet's door, attended by his train of horses and chariots, E. sends a servant to direct him to go and bathe seven times in the Jordan. Naaman, who has expected a deferential reception and a striking ceremonial, is enraged by the seeming want of courtesy, and even more by the nature of the prescription. But his servants calm his ruffled temper; and when he obeys the prophet's command, his flesh comes again as the flesh of a little child. He returns to thank and reward his benefactor, but E. refuses to touch any of the presents which are pressed on his acceptance. Naaman, made to feel by E.'s self-denial that the glory is due to E.'s God, resolves to become a worshipper of J". He asks permission to take earth from Israel, that he may erect an altar to the God of Israel; his idea being the popular one, that J" was a local deity, and could only be worshipped on his own soil. E. does not seek to correct his mistake. He even gives the proselyte permission to continue to pay outward homage to Rimmon, the god worshipped by the king of Syria ($5^{18.19}$). Naaman having departed in peace, E.'s servant Gehazi follows him, and by dint of lying obtains the treasure which E. refused. But E. divines his dishonesty, and dooms him and his house to be afflicted with the leprosy of Naaman for ever (5^{27}). (8) The sons of the prophets, who are increasing in numbers, resolve to build a larger dwelling-place by the Jordan. While they are engaged in felling trees, the head of a borrowed axe flies off and falls into the water. It would be vain to search for it in the deep and turbid river. But a cry brings the man of God to the spot. He breaks off a stick and casts it into the stream, and forthwith the iron comes to the surface, and is restored to its possessor.

B. The remaining narratives exhibit E. in his relation to kings and rulers, and recount some of his services to his country as an inspired seer and wise counsellor. (1) E. is with the confederate armies of Israel, Judah, and Edom, in a campaign against Mesha, king of Moab (2 K 3^{11-20}). His presence is not discovered till the armies are perishing for lack of water. When the three kings, in their extremity, come to him for counsel, he refuses to have anything to do with the king of Israel, bidding him go to the prophets of his father Ahab and his mother Jezebel. But out of respect for Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, he consents to give his advice. When a minstrel plays before him and the hand of J" is upon him, he commands that deep trenches be dug, and prophesies that though they shall see no rain, yet the valley will be filled with water. His orders are obeyed, and next morning, owing to a plentiful fall of rain high among the mountains of Moab, the torrents swell, and all the country is filled with water. (2) The next narrative (2 K 6^{8-23}) presents the prophet in a very pleasing light, fearless though an host encamps against him, confident though war rises against him, and magnanimous in his treatment of his baffled enemies. Marauding bands of Syrians have made numerous incursions into the north country, but all their movements have been mysteriously checkmated. Whenever they have laid an ambush in 'such and such a place,' E. has warned the king of Israel to avoid the spot, thereby saving the king's life 'not once nor twice.' Benhadad, finding all his designs frustrated, begins to suspect treachery in his camp. When he hears the true explanation, he sends a strong force of horses and chariots to Dothan to capture Elisha. After comforting his alarmed servant with a vision of the spiritual hosts that always surround the dwellings of the just, the prophet goes down to meet the Syrians, and in answer to his prayer they are struck with blindness (סַנְוֵרִים, a word found only here and in Gn 19^{11}, probably meaning illusion, *ἀβλεψία*). Then telling them, evidently not without a relish of the ludicrous aspect of the situation, that they have lost their way and come to the wrong city, he offers to conduct them to the person whom they are seeking. He leads them into the heart of Samaria. When their eyes are opened in answer to E.'s prayer, they find themselves at the mercy of the enemy. The king would have destroyed them, but E. enjoins him to set food before them, and send them back to their master. An enemy at once so powerful and so merciful makes such an impression upon the Syrians that their marauding expeditions entirely cease. (3) The next incident ($6^{24ff.}$), though introduced without remark immediately after the last, evidently occurred at a different time. The king of Syria gathers a great army to besiege Samaria. E. encourages the men of Israel to defend their city to the last. When the besieged are reduced to famine, he still counsels no surrender, and heartens the people with the prophecy of coming deliverance. The king of Israel—who is not named—wishes to capitulate. He vents his helpless rage upon E., and vows to take his life, because the prophet will not swerve from his purpose even when the people of the city are eating the flesh of their own children. While E. is in his house giving counsel to the elders of Israel, he divines that a messenger of the king is on his way to take his life, and that the king is following close behind. When the king enters, the prophet declares that on the morrow there will be abundance of food at the gate of the city. One of the king's officers sneers at the sanguine prediction: 'Yes, no doubt, J" will open windows in heaven! And yet can this thing be?' E. retorts that the officer will see the abundance, but shall not eat of it. During the night there is a panic in the Syrian host, the camp is deserted, and every part of the prophecy fulfilled. (4) We next find E. at Damascus. Having heard of the mortal sickness of Benhadad, he realizes that the time has come to execute the commission which Elijah received at Sinai, by anointing Hazael to be king of Syria. No sooner does E., whose fame as a prophet has now spread far beyond Israel, enter the city of Damascus, than the tidings are carried to the palace. King Benhadad immediately sends Hazael, his commander-in-chief, laden with presents, to inquire of the seer if he may recover of his sickness. E.'s reply is uncertain: according to one reading, he bids Hazael return and tell the king that he shall surely recover; according to another reading (the *kĕthîbh*, and therefore probably authentic), Hazael is to reply that Benhadad shall surely die. At any rate, E. leaves Hazael in no doubt that the king is not to recover, and that his successor is none other than Hazael himself. But it is a hard task which J″ has laid upon E.—to anoint the man whom he knows as the destined scourge of Israel. E., as he looks steadfastly in the fierce captain's face and foresees the coming evil, bursts into tears. When Hazael inquires what this weeping means, E. shows him his future. The Syrian, who has no ear for the tale of Israel's sufferings, and thinks only of the promise of personal distinction, replies ironically that the task is too great for a dog like him. But E. assures him in plain words that J″ has chosen him to be king of Syria. (5) The chief business of E.'s life is to avenge the crimes and apostasy of the house of Ahab. The mission to anoint Jehu king over Israel, which Elijah did not live to fulfil, must be carried out by his successor. During a war between Israel and Syria for the possession of Ramoth-gilead, Ahab's son Jehoram is wounded, and goes home to Samaria to be cured. His ally the king of Judah leaves the army, and goes to visit him (8$^{28f.}$). During their absence E. calls one of the sons of the prophets, and sends him to Ramoth-gilead, with instructions to seek out Jehu, and secretly anoint him king. As soon as Jehu divulges the secret to his brother officers, they proclaim him king, and the whole army at once espouses his cause. The nation has long been ready for a change, and the house of Omri falls without being able to strike a blow in self-defence (9$^{1ff.}$). (6) E. lives to extreme old age, and his last thoughts are given to his country. It is sad to reflect that, in spite of all his labours, Israel has become feeble and dependent. During the reigns of the pusillanimous sons of Jehu, the Syrians have done to Israel according to their will, and the nation has more than once been brought to the verge of extinction. But Jehu's grandson Joash is a youth of great promise, and E. sees in him one capable of making Israel once more independent and prosperous. The young king comes down to visit the aged prophet as he lies on his peaceful death-bed (13$^{14ff.}$). The king is moved to tears. No words could be more appropriate than those in which he addresses the prophet: 'My father, my father, the chariots of Israel and the horsemen thereof.' E. has still the spirit of the master to whom he first applied these words (2 K 2^{12}). To impress on the young king's mind a sense of his duty, he uses a fine piece of symbolism. The window is opened eastward, toward the country of the enemy, the king's bow is pointed in that direction, the prophet's consecrating hand is laid on the king's right hand, and 'the arrow of J″'s deliverance, of deliverance from Syria,' is discharged. The king is then commanded to take up a sheaf of arrows and smite the ground. He smites only three times, and halts. This does not please the zealous old prophet: before closing his eyes he would fain have foreseen that the enemies of the people of J″ would be defeated five or six times; as it is, the king has only energy enough to smite them thrice.

There is one other tradition regarding E., and that the most marvellous of all. His wonder-working power does not terminate with his life. In the spring of the year after his decease a burial is taking place in the cemetery which contains his sepulchre, when it chances that a band of marauding Moabites comes in sight. The mourners, in their eagerness either to attack or to escape from the invaders, hastily place the corpse in the tomb of Elisha. No sooner does the body touch the bones of the prophet than the dead man revives and stands upon his feet (13$^{20f.}$)

The foundation of E.'s character is laid in the strong affections of his home-life (1 K 19^{20}). He learns to call the great ascetic prophet his 'father,' but he never ceases to be attached to his fellow-men. While his career is less impressive than that of Elijah, his achievement is to make a common life illustrious. It cannot be said that all the narratives show him in an equally favourable light, but on the whole he is represented as humane, large-minded, tender-hearted, a prophet called to comfort, heal, and reconcile. Interesting side-lights are thrown on his character. His quick perception of the fitness of things is evidenced by his choice of beasts for a burnt-offering and fuel for his sacrifice (1 K 19^{21}), his sense of humour by his treatment of the Syrian emissaries (2 K 6^{19}), and his tenderness of heart by his tears over Israel's coming misfortunes (2 K 8^{11}). He is constantly (29 times in all) called the man of God, and he proves his love of God by loving men. His religion is to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction (2 K 4^{1}). And amid all the seductions of court favour he retains the true prophetic simplicity of character and contempt for worldly wealth (5^{16}). Like his great master Elijah, he is eulogized by the son of Sirach (Sir 48$^{12-14}$).

Some of E.'s miracles—the dividing of the Jordan, the increase of the widow's oil, the restoration of the Shunammite's son—are almost identical with the recorded miracles of Elijah. The healing of the leper and the multiplying of the barley loaves bring to mind some of the miracles of Jesus. But it has often been remarked that to find parallels to the miracles of the iron axe-head made to swim, the noxious well healed with salt, the poisoned pot rendered harmless with meal, and the dead man quickened by the touch of the prophet's bones, we must go outside the Scriptures. Stanley says that 'E.'s works stand alone in their likeness to the acts of the mediæval saints. There alone in the sacred history the gulf between biblical and ecclesiastical miracles almost disappears.' And Farrar compares the stories of E. to 'other Jewish haggadoth, written for edification in the schools of the prophets, but no more intended for perfectly literal acceptance in all their details than the life of St. Anthony or St. Francis.'

Elisha is canonized in the Greek Church, his festival being on the 14th of June.

LITERATURE.—Driver, *LOT* 185 f.; Wellhausen, *Comp.* 286 ff.; W. R. Smith, *Proph. of Isr.* 85 ff., 116, 208 f.; Cornill, *Isr. Proph.* 14 f., 33 ff.; Kittel, *Hist. of Heb.* ii. 214 f., 268, 278, 280 ff., 290, 292 f.; Farrar, *Bks. of Kings, ll. cit.*; Kuenen, *Rel. of Isr.* i. 360 ff.; Graetz, *Hist. of Jews* (tr. by B. Löwy), i. 213; Renan, *Hist. of People of Isr.* (Eng. tr.), ii. 229 ff.; Montefiore, *Hibbert Lect.* p. 94 f.; Maurice, *Prophets and Kings*, 142; Liddon, *Sermons on OT Subjects*, 195–334.

J. STRACHAN.

ELISHAH (אֱלִישָׁה, Ἐλισά, Ἐλεισαί, *Elisa*).—The eldest son of Javan according to Gn 10^{4}. In Ezk 27^{7} the Tyrians are said to have procured their purple dye from the 'isles' or 'coastlands' of E., which shows that we must look for the locality in the Greek seas. Josephus (*Ant.* I. vi. 1) identified E. with the Æolians; phonetically, however, this is impossible; moreover, Greek ethnology made Æolus the brother, and not the son, of Ion, the Heb. Javan. Many modern writers have seen Elis in E.; but the name of Elis properly began with digamma, and is probably the same as the Lat. *vallis*. Dillmann proposed to identify E. with Southern Italy, and Movers with Carthage; both identifications, however, are inconsistent with the statement that it was the source of the purple dye, and it is difficult to find any name on either the Italian or the African coast which can be compared with that of Elishah.

The Tel el-Amarna tablets have thrown a new light on the question. Several of them are letters to the Pharaoh from 'the king of Alasia,' a country which a hieratic docket attached to one of them identifies with the Egyptian Alsa. Alsa, sometimes read Arosa, was overrun by Thothmes III., and is mentioned in the list of his Syrian conquests engraved on the walls of Karnak (Nos. 213 and 236). Maspero (*Recueil de Travaux*, x. p. 210) makes Alsa or Alasia the northern part of Cœle-Syria. An unpublished hieratic papyrus, however, now in the Hermitage of St. Petersburg, which describes an embassy sent by sea to the king of Gebal in the time of the high priest Hir-Hor, states that the Egyptian envoys were wrecked on the coast of Alsa, where they were afterwards hospitably entertained by the queen of the country. Alsa or Alasia therefore must have adjoined the Mediterranean, and Winckler and W. Max Müller accordingly propose to see in it the island of Cyprus. Conder had already suggested that Alasia and E. are one and the same. The two chief objections to the identification with Cyprus are that the ordinary Egyptian name of that island was Asi, and that Thothmes III. includes the country among his Syrian conquests.

It is tempting to identify E., on the phonetic side, with the Greek Hellas. We might assume that the Egyptian form of the name, Alsa, was taken from the cuneiform Alasia, in which the initial aspirate of the Greek would not be expressed. But the Homeric poems seem to show that the name of Hellas could not have migrated from its original home in northern Greece to the eastern basin of the Mediterranean so early as the age of the Tel el-Amarna tablets. Moreover, as late as the reign of the Assyrian Sargon, Cyprus was still known to the inhabitants of Asia as 'the country of the Ionians,' not of the Hellenes, while a *Yivana* or 'Ionian' is mentioned in two of the Tel el-Amarna letters. The termination of Alasia implies a Greek adjective in *-σιος*, and it is possible that Crete, rather than Cyprus, is intended by the name.

LITERATURE.—Sayce, *HCM* 130; Conder, *Bible and the East*.

A. H. SAYCE.

ELISHAMA (אֱלִישָׁמָע 'God has heard').—**1.** A prince of the tribe of Ephraim at the census in the wilderness, son of Ammihud, and grandfather of Joshua (Nu 1^{10} 2^{18}, 1 Ch 7^{26}). **2.** One of David's sons, born in Jerusalem (2 S 5^{16}, 1 Ch 3^{8} 14^{7}). **3.** In 1 Ch 3^{6} by mistake for **Elishua** (which see) of 2 S 5^{15}, 1 Ch 14^{5}. **4.** A descendant of Judah, son of Jekamiah (1 Ch 2^{41}). **5.** The father of Nethaniah, and grandfather of Ishmael, 'of the seed royal,' who killed Gedaliah at the time of the Exile (2 K 25^{25}, Jer 41^{1}). Jerome, following Jewish tradition, identifies him with No. 4. See Sayce *HCM* 380 f. **6.** A scribe or secretary to Jehoiakim (Jer $36^{12.20.21}$). **7.** A priest sent by Jehoshaphat to teach the law in the cities of Judah (2 Ch 17^{8}). R. M. BOYD.

ELISHAPHAT (אֱלִישָׁפָט 'God hath judged').—One of the captains who helped Jehoiada to instal king Joash (2 Ch 23^{1}).

ELISHEBA (אֱלִישֶׁבַע 'God is an oath'), LXX, Ἐλεισάβεθ B, Ἐλισάβετ A[1] (cf. Lk 1^{7}), daughter of Amminadab, sister of Nahshon, a prince of the tribe of Judah, and wife of Aaron. The name occurs only in Ex 6^{23} (P). W. C. ALLEN.

ELISHUA (אֱלִישׁוּעַ, 2 S 5^{15}, 1 Ch 14^{5}).—A son of David born at Jerusalem. The variant in 1 Ch 3^{6}, אֱלִישָׁמָע, is due to the similar name occurring in the next line. J. F. STENNING.

ELIUD (Ἐλιούδ).—An ancestor of Jesus (Mt 1^{15}). See GENEALOGY.

ELIZAPHAN (אֱלִיצָפָן 'God has protected'; cf. Phœn. צפנבעל, Ἐλεισαφάν).—**1.** Prince of the Kohathites, son of Uzziel, Nu 3^{30}, 1 Ch 15^{8} (Ἐλισαφάτ), 2 Ch 29^{13} = **Elzaphan** (אֶלְצָפָן, Ἐλεισαφάν), Ex 6^{22}, Lv 10^{4} P. **2.** Zebulun's representative for dividing the land (Nu 34^{25} P). G. H. BATTERSBY.

ELIZUR (אֱלִיצוּר 'God is a Rock,' cf. ZURIEL, Ἐλεισούρ).—Prince of Reuben at the first census (Nu 1^{5} 2^{10} $7^{30.35}$ 10^{18} P). A similar name occurs in the Zinjerli inscriptions (8th cent. B.C.), Bir-tsûr, 'the god Bir is a rock' (Hommel, *Anc. Heb. Trad.*, 320), or Bar-tsûr, 'son of a rock' (D. H. Müller).

G. H. BATTERSBY.

ELKANAH (אֶלְקָנָה 'God has possessed').—**1.** The second son of Korah, brother to Assir and Abiasaph, one of the clans of the Korahites (Ex 6^{24}). We are told that 'the children of Korah died not' in the overthrow of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram (Nu 26^{11}). **2.** The son of Jeroham, the son of Elihu, the son of Tohu, the son of Zuph, an Ephraimite of Ramathaim-zophim,* of the hill country of Ephraim, the husband of Hannah, his favourite wife, and Peninnah. Hannah felt her childlessness very much, especially as Peninnah mocked her for it; but E. endeavoured to comfort her. At length, after several yearly visits to the temple at Shiloh, Hannah was promised a son. This son was called Samuel, and Hannah and her husband offered him to the Lord when he was but an infant, and left him with Eli on their return to Ramah (1 S 1^{1}–2^{11}). **3.** The son of Assir, the son of Korah (1 Ch 6^{23}), apparently identical with (1), and an ancestor of (2). **4.** The father of Zuph or Zophai (1 Ch $6^{26.35}$). **5.** An ancestor of Berechiah, the son of Asa, 'that dwelt in the villages of the Netophathites' (1 Ch 9^{16}). **6.** One of David's mighty men, a Korahite (1 Ch 12^{6}). **7.** One of the two doorkeepers for the ark (1 Ch 15^{23}), perhaps identical with (6). **8.** 'That was next to the king,' slain in the reign of Ahaz with 'Maaseiah the king's son, and Azrikam the ruler of the house,' by Zichri, 'a mighty man of Ephraim' (2 Ch 28^{7}).

H. A. REDPATH.

ELKIAH (Ἐλκειά). — An ancestor of Judith, Jth 8^{1}.

ELKOSHITE (הָאֶלְקֹשִׁי, LXX Ἐλκεσαῖος).—A gentilic adjective employed to describe the prophet Nahum (1^{1}), implying that a place named Elkosh was his birthplace. Three identifications have been proposed for the latter. (1) Jerome (in his *Comm.*) locates Elkosh at a village in Galilee named *Elcesi* (cf. also Capernaum = כְּפַר נַחוּם (?), 'village of Nahum'). (2) In a work ascribed to Epiphanius, *On the Prophets, how they died and where they were buried*, we are told that 'Nahum was of Elkosh, beyond Bêt Gabrê, of the tribe of Simeon.' This Bêt Gabrê is *Beit Jibrin*, the ancient Eleutheropolis, N.E. of Lachish. (3) Mediæval tradition connected Nahum with *Elkush* on a tributary of the Tigris, 2 days' journey N. of Mosul (Nineveh). We must be content to leave the prophet's birthplace uncertain, although weighty considerations plead in favour of the second of the above identifications.

---

* For this name see art. RAMATHAIM-ZOPHIM. In 1 Ch 6^{26-28} and $^{33-35}$ Samuel is represented as a Levite, and the three names, Elihu, Tohu, Zuph, appear as Eliab, Nahath, Zophai (6^{26-28}); Eliel, Toah, Zuph (*Kethibh* Ziph) (6^{33-35}). It is noticeable that in the first of these places there is no connecting link between the Elkanah mentioned and Samuel. The usual explanation given of this apparent discrepancy is that the Levites in any particular city were counted as part of the tribe amongst whom they were dwelling; but this does not seem very satisfactory.

Literature.—A. B. Davidson, *Nahum*, Introd. § 1; Nestle, *Zeitsch. d. deutsch. Pal. Vereins*, i. 222 ff. (transl. in *PEFSt* (1879), p. 136 ff.); G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* 231 n.

J. A. Selbie.

ELLASAR (אֶלָּסָר, Ἐλλασάρ, *Pontus*).—Arioch, king of Ellasar, was one of the vassal Babylonian kings who took part along with their suzerain, Chedor-laomer of Elam, in his campaign against Canaan (Gn 14^{1}). In the early days of Assyriology (see F. Lenormant, *La Langue primitive de la Chaldée* (1875), pp. 377–379) he was already identified by the decipherers of the cuneiform inscriptions with Eri-Aku, king of Larsa, who was called Rim-Sin (or Rim-Agu) by his Semitic subjects. The identification has now been verified by further discoveries, which have shown that Eri-Aku was a contemporary of Kudur-Lagamar (Chedor-laomer) of Elam, Tudghula or Tid'al, and Khammurabi or Ammi-rabi, whom recent research has proved to be the Am-raphel of Genesis. Larsa is now represented by the mounds of Senkereh, in Lower Babylonia, on the east bank of the Euphrates and about midway between the sites of Erech (*Warka*) and Ur (*Muḳayyar*). One of its early names was Ararma, and it was celebrated for its temple and worship of the Sun-god (see Sayce, *Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 166, 167). The temple, called Bil-Uri by the Semites, was of very ancient date, and had been restored by Ur-Bau (?), B.C. 2700, by Khammurabi, by Nebuchadrezzar, and by Nabonidus. Among the ruins of its library and tombs Loftus found fragments of a mathematical work (*Chaldæa and Susiana*, pp. 255, 256). The biblical form of the name probably represents *âl Larsa*, 'the city of Larsa' (but see Ball's note on Gn 14^{1} in Haupt's *OT*).

Literature.—Sayce, *HCM* 165 ff.; Loftus, *Chaldæa and Susiana*, 240 ff.; Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* 223 f.; Tiele, *Gesch.* i. 86; Schrader, *COT* on Gn 14. See also Hommel's art. Babylonia, p. 226^{b} in present vol., and his *Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, 148 f.

A. H. Sayce.

ELM.—A mistranslation of AV for *terebinth* (Hos 4^{13}).

ELMADAM (Ἐλμαδάμ, AV **Elmodam**, perh. = אַלְמוֹדָד Gn 10^{26}).—An ancestor of Jesus (Lk 3^{28}). See Genealogy.

ELNAAM (אֶלְנַעַם 'God is pleasantness').—The father of two of David's mighty men (1 Ch 11^{46}).

ELNATHAN (אֶלְנָתָן 'God has given'; cf. יוֹנָתָן), 2 K 24^{8}, Jer 26^{22} 36$^{12.25}$, Ezr 8^{16}.—**1.** The father of Nehushta, the mother of Jehoiachin. **2.** The son of Achbor. A person of influence in Jehoiakim's court. He was the chief of those sent to Egypt to fetch Uriah, who had offended Jehoiakim by his prophecy, and one of those who had entreated Jehoiakim not to burn the roll. It is possible that (1) and (2) are the same person, but by no means certain when we consider the commonness of the name. **3.** The name occurs no fewer than three times in the list of those sent for by Ezra when he encamped near Ahava in the course of his journey to Jerus., twice among the chief men, and also as one of the teachers. But it is extremely probable that the second occurrence of the name is a corrupt reading, arising out of the following name Nathan.

F. H. Woods.

ELOHIM.—See God. **ELOHIST.**—See Hexateuch.

ELOI.—See Eli.

ELON (אֵלֹן 'a terebinth').—**1.** Of the tribe of Zebulun, one of the minor judges (Jg 12$^{11.12}$). All that is told of him is simply that he judged Israel for ten years, that he died, and was buried in Elon (אילן) in Zebulun. The MT points אַיָּלוֹן Aijalon; but the distinction thus made between the name of the judge and his burying-place is quite arbitrary. Baer, *Libri Jos. et Jud.* p. 98, reads אֵלֹן Elon, in both verses. **2.** A son of Zebulun (Gn 46^{14}, Nu 26^{26}, where gentilic name **Elonites** occurs). **3.** A Hittite, the father-in-law of Esau (Gn 26^{34} 36^{2}).

G. A. Cooke.

ELON (אֵילוֹן), Jos 19^{43}.—A town of Dan, perhaps the same as **Elon-beth-hanan** (1 K 4^{9}), which was in Solomon's province corresponding to the territory of Dan. The site of Ananiah seems too far E., being in Benjamin. In some MSS Elon and Beth-hanan are made distinct places, in which case the latter may be Ananiah, and the former is unknown unless Aijalon was the original reading.

C. R. Conder.

ELON-BETH-HANAN.—See Elon. **ELOTH.**—See Elath.

ELPAAL (אֶלְפַּעַל 'God of doing' (?)).—The head of a Benjamite family (1 Ch 8$^{11.12.18}$). See Genealogy.

ELPARAN (Gn 14^{6}).—See Paran.

ELPELET (אֶלְפָּלֶט, AV **Elpalet**).—One of David's sons = Eliphelet No. 1.

EL-SHADDAI.—See God.

ELTEKEH (Jos 19^{44} אֶלְתְּקֵה, 21^{23} אֶלְתְּקֵא).—A town of the territory of Dan, mentioned in connexion with Ekron and Gibbethon. It is probably the same as Altaḳu (Al-ta-ḳu-u), a town mentioned in the Prism Inscription of Sennacherib as the scene of the defeat of the Philistines and their Egyp. allies by the Assyrians in the days of Hezekiah. G. A. Smith (*Hist. Geog.* p. 236) urges that Altaḳu (Eltekeh) cannot have been situated up the valley of Aijalon, where it is marked on the *PEF* map, for such a site is unsuitable as the meeting-place of the main Assyr. and Egyp. armies. The *PEF* identification may, however, be correct, and the fight may have been between detachments. Yet a site near Ekron suits Sennacherib's narrative, for after taking Altaḳu he tells us next that he took Ekron (Am-ḳar-ru-na). In any case it is improbable that the retreat of Sennacherib was the result of the encounter.

W. E. Barnes.

ELTEKON (אֶלְתְּקֹן), Jos 15^{59}.—A town of Judah, noticed with Maarath and Beth-anoth. It was in the mountains. The site is unknown. Possibly Tekoa.

ELTOLAD (אֶלְתּוֹלַד), Jos 15^{30}.—A town in the extreme S. of Judah, given to Simeon (19^{4}); probably **Tolad** (1 Ch 4^{29}). The site is unknown.

ELUL (אֱלוּל, Ἐλούλ, *Elul*, Neh 6^{15}, 1 Mac 14^{27}).—See Time.

ELUZAI (אֶלְעוּזַי 'God is my strength').—One of the mighty men who joined David at Ziklag (1 Ch 12^{5}).

ELYMAEANS.—See Elamites.

ELYMAIS (Ἐλύμαις).—This name, which represents the OT Elam, was given to a district of Persia, lying, according to Strabo (xvi. p. 744), along the southern spurs of Mt. Zagros, S of Media and N of Susiana. In 1 Mac 6^{1}, according to the common reading, which is adopted by the AV, Elymais is named as a rich city in Persia. No such city, however, is mentioned elsewhere, except by Josephus (*Ant.* XII. ix. 1), who is simply following 1 Mac. There can be no doubt, therefore, that we should correct the text with A (ἐν Ἐλύμες), ℵ (ἐν Λύμαις), and most cursives, and read 'in Elymais in Persia there was a city'; so Fritzsche and RV. In the year B.C. 164 Antiochus Epiphanes made an unsuccessful attack upon the rich treasures of a temple of Artemis in this province, but the name of the place is unknown. Polybius (xxxi. 11), like 1 Mac, merely speaks of the temple as being in Elymais; while Persepolis, which is mentioned by the later account in 2 Mac 9^{2}, was not situated in this district. Comp. Rawlinson (*Speaker's Comment.*), and Strack and Zöckler on 1 Mac 6^{1}.

H. A. WHITE.

ELYMAS.—See BARJESUS.

ELYON.—See EL ELYON, GOD.

ELZABAD (אֶלְזָבָר 'God hath given').—**1.** A Gadite chief who joined David (1 Ch 12^{12}). **2.** A Korahite doorkeeper (1 Ch 26^{7}).

EMADABUN (Ἠμαδαβούν, AV Madiabun, after the Aldine text Μαδιαβοῦν), 1 Es 5^{58} (^{56} LXX).—E., of the sons of Jesus (AV 'the sons of Madiabun'), is mentioned among the Levites who superintended the restoration of the temple. There is no corresponding name in the parallel Ezr 3^{9}, and it is omitted in the Vulg.: it is probably due to a repetition of the name which follows, Εἰλιαδούν.

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

EMATHEIS (B Ἐμαθθίς, A Ἐμαθείς, AV Amatheis), 1 Es 9^{29}.—Called ATHLAI, Ezr 10^{28}.

EMBALMING.—See MEDICINE.

EMBROIDERY was the ornamentation of cloth, usually linen, by means of variegated colour and artistic design.

(1) תַּשְׁבֵּץ *tashbēẓ* (the verb in *Pi.* and *Pu.* occurs Ex $28^{20. 39}$ [all], the noun מִשְׁבְּצוֹת 8 times in Ex 28. 39, and in Ps 45^{13}) is used (only) of the high priest's coat (כְּתֹנֶת). AV has 'broidered,' RV 'chequer-work,' Ex 28^{4}. This was simply a surface device of lustre upon one colour giving an effect of broken light, like the sparkle of jet-bead ornament. Work of this kind is still done by hand by the Jewish women of Damascus, and by the people around Iconium. The coat is cut in two kinds of material, the outer one often of silk or of shining linen, the inner of white or coloured cotton. Then threads of cotton-twist are inserted between the two, and are carefully and patiently stitched in according to pattern. This has been copied in modern manufacture in such articles as the white honeycomb bedcover, except that the hand-wrought article is the same on both sides. This ornamental effect of light upon a uniform surface seems to be the origin of damask in all its beautiful varieties. The 'coat' of the high priest would be of this description, either sewn by hand or woven in squares and lines, so as to give the effect of chequer and lustre.

(2) רִקְמָה *riḳmâh*, needle-work, broidered-work, Jg 5^{30}, Ezk $16^{10. 13. 18}$ 26^{16} $27^{7. 16. 24}$ (cf. Ex 26^{36} 35^{35}, Ps 45^{14}). The same word is used in 1 Ch 29^{2} of stones, and in Ezk 17^{3} of feathers. In both instances AV and RV tr. 'of divers colours.' מַעֲשֵׂה רֹקֵם 'work of the variegator' (*QPB* uses this term consistently) occurs 6 times in Ex, and רֹקֵם 'the variegator' by itself twice (cf. Ps 139^{15} רֻקַּמְתִּי 'I was curiously wrought,' AV, RV).

(3) מַעֲשֵׂה חֹשֵׁב 'work of the designer' (of artistic designs in weaving; *QPB* 'pattern weaver'), Ex $26^{1. 31}$ $28^{6. 15}$ $36^{8. 35}$ $39^{3. 8}$, cf. חֹשֵׁב Ex 38^{23} and (somewhat more generally) חָשֹׁב מַחֲשָׁבֹת Ex 31^{4} ('to devise designs') $35^{32. 35}$, 2 Ch 2^{13}, cf. Ex 35^{33} ('designed work').

Where the process was that of needlework, the cloth was stretched and held in a frame, and the sewn work in coloured thread was added; or it might be introduced during the weaving.

Anything in nature or art that was variegated by spots, lines, squares, etc., was *riḳmâh*, something embroidered. Where a principal part of the charm was due to originality of decorative design, or successful drawing of resemblances, the intellectual distinction would give it the name *cunning-work* ('work of the designer').

Oriental broidered cloth, whether hand-wrought or woven, is usually the same on both sides. In Damascus, prayer-cloths are made in stripes of crimson, sky-blue, white, purple, etc., with gold thread interwoven, after the manner of the tabernacle fabrics.

LITERATURE.—Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyp.* ii. 81; Moore on Jg 5^{30}; Hartmann, *Hebräerin*, i. 401 ff., iii. 138 ff.; Schroeder, *De vestitu mulierum*, 221 f.; Braun, *De vestitu sacerdotum*, 301 ff.; Knob.-Dillm. on Ex $26^{1. 31}$ 28^{11}.

G. M. MACKIE.

EMEK-KEZIZ (עֵמֶק קְצִיץ), Jos 18^{21}, AV 'Valley of Keziz,' mentioned among the towns of Benjamin.—A place apparently in the Jordan Valley near Jericho. The site is unknown. See Dillmann, *ad loc.*

C. R. CONDER.

EMERALD.—See STONES (PRECIOUS).

EMERODS (that is, hæmorrhoids).—The word used in AV to denote the disease brought upon the Philistines when they had captured the ark (1 S 5). Two Heb. words are used for this disease. One of these is *'ōphel* (עֹפֶל). It is supposed to mean something swollen. It is the name of a portion of the fortifications of Jerus. (2 Ch 27^{3} 33^{14}, Neh $3^{26. 27}$ 11^{21}). The verb of the stem is used twice, in the sense of being puffed up, presumptuous (Hab 2^{4}, Nu 14^{44}). This exhausts the use of the stem, except in the six places where *'ōphel*, in the plural, is used for the disease in question (Dt 28^{27}, 1 S $5^{6. 9. 12}$ $6^{4. 5}$). So far, the disease seems to be something tumid, a swelling of some sort.

The other word, *ṭĕḥōrîm* (טְחוֹרִים), is the only word of its stem in the language. It is used in the six places last mentioned, as the *ḳerê*, or marginal reading, to be substituted for *'ōphel*, and is also used in 1 S $6^{11. 17}$. Cognate words in Syr. and Arab. convey the idea of breathing hard, of easing the belly with violent effort, of tenesmus with flow of blood. It is said that the Massoretes directed this word to be substituted for the other as being a less indelicate term.

As to the nature of the disease, not much can be inferred from 1 S 5^{9}, where AV tr. 'They had emerods in their secret parts,' and RV 'tumours brake out upon them,' for the verb there used appears nowhere else. That the disease was externally loathsome is evident from Dt 28^{27}, where it is classed with the boil of Egypt, the scurvy and the itch. That it was terribly fatal seems to be implied in 1 S 5^{10-12}. That it had some particularly noteworthy symptom appears from the fact that they made golden images of it.

The traditions handed down in Josephus, and in the added specifications in the Sept. and Vulg., are sufficiently specific and horrible. According to the Vulg. 'computrescebant prominentes extales eorum.' Josephus says, 'They died of the dysentery, a sore distemper that brought death upon them very suddenly; for . . . they brought up their entrails, which were eaten through, and vomited them up entirely rotted away by the disease' (*Ant.* VI. i. 1). Josephus is imaginative, but the evidence indicates some form of dysenteric or typhoid disease, in which a loathsome rectal protrusion was a prominent symptom. See MEDICINE.

LITERATURE.—Driver and Dillm. on Dt 28^{27}; Thenius, Wellhausen, and Driver on 1 S 5$^{6.\,9}$ 6^{4}; Hitzig, *Urgesch. d. Philistäer* (1845), p. 201; Geiger, *Urschrift*, 408 f.; *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* and Siegfried-Stade, *s.vv.* W. J. BEECHER.

EMIM (אֵימִים, Ὀμμαεὶν, Ὀομεὶν; AV Emims).—The name is that of a body of Rephaim or giant people, living E. of the Jordan, in the S. half of the territory between Bashan and Seir (Dt 2$^{10.\,11}$). The name signifies 'formidable ones,' and we are told that it was given them by the Moabites. The Emim were in this region in Abraham's time, and were attacked by the four invading kings during their march S. (Gn 14^{5}). They are said to have been 'a people great and numerous, and tall as the Anakim.' We are not told what became of them, but the natural suggestions of the narrative are to the effect that the Moabites destroyed and superseded them. See GIANT. W. J. BEECHER.

EMINENT is now only metaphorical, 'exalted,' but in AV it is always literal: an 'eminent place,' Ezk 16$^{24.\,31.\,39}$ (גַּב, RVm 'a vaulted chamber,' see Davidson on Ezk 16^{24}), 2 Es 15^{40} (*locus eminens*); 'an high mountain and eminent,' Ezk 17^{22} (תָּלוּל). Cf. Elyot, *The Governour*, i. 4, 'he made not only herbes to garnisshe the erthe, but also trees of a more eminent stature than herbes.' **Eminence** occurs in AV only in the compound 'pre-eminence' (Ec 3^{19}, Sir 33^{22}, 1 Mac 11^{27}, Col 1^{18}, 3 Jn ^{9}). RV gives 'eminency' in Ezk 7^{11} 'neither shall there be eminency among them' (וְלֹא־נֹהַּ בָּהֶם, AV 'wailing for them,' so RVm), using the word in its modern sense, and following the Arab. for the translation. See Davidson, *ad loc.* J. HASTINGS.

EMMANUEL.—See IMMANUEL.

EMMAUS (Ἐμμαούς).—**1.** Lk 24^{13} only. This place was 60 furlongs from Jerusalem. Some MSS follow א in reading 'an hundred and sixty'; but this is probably a corruption, to suit the views held as to the site in the 4th cent. A.D.; for a journey of 320 furlongs, or 40 miles, in one day (see vv.$^{13.\,28.\,29.\,33}$), would have been improbable. In the *Onomasticon* (*s.v.*) it is placed at Emmaus Nicopolis—now *'Amwâs*, 20 miles from Jerus., near Aijalon. Josephus, however, speaks of an Emmaus 60 furlongs from Jerusalem (*Wars*, VII. vi. 6), the habitation of a colony of Titus' soldiers. The direction is unknown. The name *Kulônieh* or 'Colony,' and the distance from Jerus. (which, however, is not exact), have suggested the village so named in the valley W. of the Holy City. In the twelfth cent. Emmaus was shown at another village, *Kubeibeh*, to the N.W., at about the required distance. To the S.W. of Jerus., near the main road to the plain, is a ruin called *Khamasah*, which recalls the name of Emmaus. The distance is more than 60 furlongs, but perhaps not too great for a rough estimate. The site, however, remains uncertain. See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvii.

2. Emmaus Nicopolis is not mentioned in OT, but appears as a place of importance in the time of the Maccabees. It was in the neighbouring plain that the Syrian army was defeated by Judas (1 Mac 3$^{40.\,57}$ 4$^{3\text{-}25}$). Emmaus was one of the towns fortified by Bacchides in order to 'vex' Israel (1 Mac 9$^{50\text{f.}}$, Jos. *Ant.* XIII. i. 3).

LITERATURE.—Robinson, *BRP* iii. 147 f.; Guérin, *Judée*, i. 29 f., 301 f.; Reland, *Pal.* 427, 758; Thomson, *Land and Book*, i. 116, 123 ff., 132, ii. 59; Schwarz, *Das heil. Land*, p. 98; Neubauer, *Géog. du Talmud*, 101 f., 152 f.; Baedeker-Socin, *Hdbk. to Pal.* 141; Sepp, *Das heil. Land*, i. 42; *PEFSt*, 1876, 172, 174; 1879, 105; 1881, 46, 237, 274; 1882, 24, 59; 1883, 53, 55; 1884, 83, 189, 243; 1885, 116, 156; 1886, 17; Smith, *HGHL* 214; Schürer, *HJP* I. i. 215, 236, ii. 231, 253, 386 ff., II. i. 157 ff.; Conder, *Tent Work in Pal.* 8, 140; *Bible Places*, 73, 103; Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, vi. 306; Caspari, *Chronol.-Geog. Leben Jesu*; Andrews, *Life of our Lord*, 617–619. C. R. CONDER.

EMMER (A Ἐμμήρ, B Ἐμήρ), 1 Es 9^{21}.—In Ezr 10^{20} IMMER.

EMMERUTH (A Ἐμμηρούθ, B Ἕρμηρος, AV **Meruth**), 1 Es 5^{24}.—A corruption of Immer in Ezr 2^{37}. Probably Ἕμμηρ was first Grecized into Ἕμμηρος, and the form in A arose from mistaking Ἐμμήρου for a nominative. The AV is due to the Aldine text, which has υἱοὶ ἐκ Μηρούθ for υ. Ἐμμ. H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

EMULATION is now used only in a good sense, healthy rivalry. But about 1611 it wavered between that and a distinctly bad meaning, 'ambitious strife,' or 'malicious envy.' Shakespeare uses it in both ways, and of the three occurrences in AV, two are bad (1 Mac 8^{16}, Gal 5^{20}, both ζῆλος) and one good (Ro 11^{14} 'If by any means I may provoke to e.', εἴ πως παραζηλώσω, RV 'to jealousy'). The Douay Bible uses 'emulation' of God, after Vulg. *æmulatio*, in Ps 78^{58} 'in their grauens they provoked him to emulation,' where AV has 'jealousy' ('moved him to jealousy with their graven images'). For the sense of 'malicious envy' take the Rheims tr. of Ac 7^{9} 'the Patriarches through emulation, sold Joseph into Ægypt.' Emulation and envy are distinguished and discussed by Trench, *NT Synonyms*, p. 83 ff., in his article on the Gr. words ζῆλος and φθόνος. J. HASTINGS.

ENABLE occurs only 1 Ti 1^{12}, and it is used, without an infinitive following, in the obsolete or at least archaic sense of 'strengthen.' Cf. Mulcaster (1581), *Positions*, xli. 232, 'Exercise to enable the body'; and Melvill, *Diary* (Wodrow, p. 280), 'obteining of God's mercie that night's repose, quhilk I luiked nocht for, to inable me for the morne's action.' J. HASTINGS.

ENAIM (עֵינַיִם), probably the same as **Enam** (עֵינָם) which is mentioned among the towns of lowland Judah in Jos 15^{34}. From the reference to Enaim in Gn 38$^{14.\,21}$ we gather that it was the name of a village on the road to Timnah; and, as the incident recorded in this chapter is prefaced by the mention of the sojourn of Judah with his friend Hirah the Adullamite, the village possibly stood on the road between Timnah and Adullam. In Jos 15^{34} Enam stands in the same group of towns with Tappuah and Adullam and Azekah.

The AV in its rendering Gn 38^{14} 'in an open place' (RV 'in the gate of Enaim'), and Gn 38^{21} 'openly by the way side' (RV 'at Enaim by the way side'), has followed the explanation adopted by the Targums, the Pesh. Syriac, and the Latin Vulgate (*in bivio itineris*), on the supposition that *'ênayim* had its usual meaning 'eyes,' and was not a proper name. Cf. Jerome, who, commenting on the words 'Et sedit ad portam Enam,' remarks 'Sermo Hebraicus Enaim transfertur in oculos. Non est igitur nomen loci; sed est sensus: sedit in bivio, sive in compito, ubi diligentius debet viator aspicere, quod iter gradiendi capiat.' The Old Latin (Lyons Pent.) and the LXX (Αἰνάν) rightly rendered the word as a proper name. The double form Enaim and Enam may be compared with Dothain and Dothan (Gn 37^{17} and 2 K 6^{13}). The meaning of the name was presumably 'the two springs.' Conder has identified it with *Kh. Wady Alin*, which is close to Beth-shemesh and En-gannim. H. E. RYLE.

ENAN (עֵינָן 'having fountains,' or 'eyes' *i.e.* 'keen-eyed,' Αἰνάν).—Prince of Naphtali at the first census (Nu 1^{15} 2^{29} 7$^{78.\,83}$ 10^{27} P).

ENASIBUS (A Ἐνάσιβος, B -ει-), 1 Es 9^{34}.—In Ezr 10^{36} ELIASHIB. The form is probably due to reading AI as N.

ENCAMPMENT BY THE SEA.—One of the stations in the itinerary of the children of Israel, where they encamp after leaving Elim, Nu 33^{10} [see ELIM]. If the position of Elim be in the Wady Ghurundel, then the camp by the sea is on the shore of the Gulf of Suez, somewhere south of the point where the Wady Tayibeh opens to the coast. The curious return of the line of march to the seashore is a phenomenon that has always arrested the attention of travellers to Mt. Sinai: and if Mt. Sinai be really in the so-called Sinaitic peninsula, the camp can be located within a half-mile. [But it is within the bounds of a reasonable probability that the 'Encampment by the Sea' may mean the Gulf of 'Aḳabah, and Sinai be out of the peninsula.] St. Silvia of Aquitaine [? in the year 388] returned from the traditional Sinai, and especially notices the approach of the line of march to the seashore ('pervenimus ad mansionem, quæ erat jam super mare, id est in eo loco, ubi iam de inter montes exitur, et incipitur denuo totum iam iuxta mare ambulari; sic tamen iuxta mare, ut subito fluctus animalibus pedes cedat'). Her identification is that of an accepted tradition which must be many years older than herself. It is very valuable evidence for a Christian tradition which is sensibly constant in her time, and shows no signs of having undergone any revision at the hands of ecclesiastics.

J. RENDEL HARRIS.

ENCHANTMENT.—See DIVINATION.

END.—The uses of this word are not so often obsolete as *biblical*, and demand attention from their very familiarity.

1. The end as opposed to the beginning. To the Heb. mind, especially in the later and more rigorous days of the history of Israel, the most perplexing problem was the prosperity of the wicked; and the conclusion which gave the most satisfying shelter, was the thought of the *end*. Ps $37^{37.38}$ 'Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright: for the end (RV 'latter end') of that man is peace. But the transgressors shall be destroyed together; the end (RV 'latter end') of the wicked shall be cut off.' So even the author of Ps 73, who, though a true worshipper, felt the perplexity so keenly that he said, 'Surely in vain have I cleansed my heart' (v.^{13}), found rest when he went into the sanctuary of God and 'considered their latter end' (v.^{17}). Moreover, this is the solution of the Book of Job, if (apart from the Elihu chapters) that book may be accepted as a unity. It is Bildad who utters the prophecy (Job 8^7), unconsciously as Caiaphas; but it is fulfilled to the letter (42^{12}), for the word used of Job's 'latter end' is the same in both places. And it is a truly religious solution, since it is God that declares the end from the beginning (Is 46^{10}). Nor was it so precarious as we may suppose, for the word (*'aḥărîth*) had a certain elasticity of meaning, and did not absolutely restrict the thought to the end of this present life. Its sense varied with the context, but it was capable of standing for even the great Messianic future. Still, we must observe that this source of encouragement, while frequent in the Apocr. (Wis 2^{16} 5^4, Sir 1^{13} 7^{36} 9^{11} 11^{27} [16^{22}] 18^{12} $21^{9.10}$), is scarcely found in NT; cf. (doubtfully) He 13^7 'considering the end of their conversation' (τὴν ἔκβασιν τῆς ἀναστροφῆς, Wyc. 'the goynge out of lyuynge'; but Rendall takes it in another sense, 'the issue, *sc.* of the word which they had preached, presented to the observer by their daily course of life'); and 2 P 2^{20} 'the latter end is worse with them than the beginning' (τὰ ἔσχατα, RV 'the last state').

2. The 'end' is used to denote the extremity. The Heb. words are (1) *gabhlûth*, only Ex 28^{22} 39^{15} (AV 'at the ends,' RV 'like cords,' fr. [*gâbhal*] to twist). (2) *peh*, lit. 'mouth,' 2 K 10^{21} 21^{16}, Ezr 9^{11} 'full from one end to another' (AVm 'full from mouth to mouth,' but Ryle thinks the metaphor has been taken from a drinking vessel). (3) *pê'âh*, Ezk 41^{12} (usually 'side,' as RV here). (4) *rō'sh*, 'head,' 1 K 8^8=2 Ch 5^9 'the ends of the staves' of the ark. (5) *sôph* (a late word, 2 Ch 20^{16}, Ec 3^{11} 7^2 12^{13}, Jl 2^{20}, and in Dn). But the most freq. is (6) *'ephes*, only in the phrase *'aphsê 'ereẓ*, 'ends of the earth'; which is also the tr. of (7) *kanĕphôth hâ'âreẓ*, lit. 'wings of the earth' in Job 37^3 38^{13}. On the last passage Davidson says, 'The figure is beautiful; the dawn as it pours forth along the whole horizon, on both sides of the beholder, lays hold of the borders of the earth, over which night lay like a covering; and seizing this covering by its extremities it shakes the wicked out of it. The wicked flee from the light. The dawn is not a physical phenomenon merely, it is a moral agent.' In NT cf. Mt 24^{31} 'from one end of heaven to the other' (ἀπ' ἄκρων οὐρανῶν ἕως ἄκρων αὐτῶν), Ro 10^{18} 'the ends of the world' (τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης). See EARTH, WORLD.

3. The end may also be the *conclusion*, as Is 24^8 'the noise of them that rejoice endeth' (*ḥâdhal*). The Heb. is nearly always *ḳâẓâh* and its derivatives; but once we find *yâẓâh*, 'to go out,' Ex 23^{16} 'in the end of the year'; and twice the subst. *tĕḳûphâh*, 'the circuit' (of the sun, Ps 19^6), used of the year, Ex 34^{22}, 2 Ch 24^{23} (AVm and RVm 'revolution'). In NT the chief word is τέλος, but the more precise συντέλεια is found in Mt ($13^{39.40.49}$ 24^3 28^{20}, always followed by τοῦ αἰῶνος, EV 'end of the world,' RVm 'consummation of the age') and in He 9^{26} (σ. τῶν αἰώνων, AV 'end of the world,' RV 'end of the ages,' RVm 'consummation of the ages'). See ESCHATOLOGY; also MILLENNIUM, PAROUSIA, WORLD, and B. W. Bacon in *Old and New Test. Student*, xiii. 225–233. 'End' in the sense of conclusion is common in Apocr., as 1 Es 9^{17} 'their cause . . . was brought to an end' (ἤχθη ἐπὶ πέρας); with which cf. He 6^{16} 'an oath for confirmation is to them an end of all strife' (πέρας εἰς βεβαίωσιν, RV 'is final for confirmation'). 'In the end of the Sabbath' (Mt 28^1) is lit. 'late of the Sabbath' (ὀψὲ σαββάτων).

4. A work may be ended, not merely because it is concluded or terminated, but because it is *completed* or *perfected*. In this sense 'end' occurs both as vb. and subst. The Heb. is mostly either *kâlâh* or *tâmam* in some of their parts; and the meaning is either completeness, as of the end of sin (Dn 9^{24}), or perfection, as of the end of God's creative work (Gn 2^2). The subst. *kâlâh* is tr. 'a full end' in Jer 4^{27} $5^{10.18}$ 30^{11} *bis* 46^{28} *bis*, Ezk 11^{13}, and 'an utter end' in Nah $1^{8.9}$ (RV 'a full end'). The phrase εἰς τέλος carries the sense both of termination and of completeness, so that in Jn 13^1 it is difficult to decide between 'he loved them to the end' and 'he loved them to the uttermost.' In 1 Th 2^{16} 'to the uttermost' is clear; in Lk 18^5 'to the end' is most natural. In 1 P 1^{13} the adv. τελείως, which occurs in bibl. Gr. only here, is tr^{d} in AV 'to the end,' in RV more probably 'perfectly.' These meanings easily pass into that of *perpetuity*, which is manifest in Ps $119^{33.112}$, EV 'unto the end' (Heb. *'êḳebh*); Job 34^{36} (*'adh-neẓaḥ*); Jer 3^5 (*lâneẓaḥ*); and 'world without end' Is 45^{17} (עַד־עוֹלְמֵי עַד), Eph 3^{21} (τοῦ αἰῶνος τῶν αἰώνων, RV 'for ever and ever').

Like Lat. *finis* (and probably owing to it), 'end' is used in Eng. for the *purpose*, as in Tomson's NT (1576) Heading of Ep. to He, 'The drift and end of this Epistle is.' In AV this meaning is found only in the phrase 'to the end . . .' or 'to this end . . .,' and once 'to what end'? (Am 5^{18}). In old Eng. this phrase is sometimes followed by the infin., as Bacon's *Essays*, p. 201, 'Some undertake Sutes . . . to the end to gratify the adverse partie.' But in AV it is followed by 'that,' or the conj. is omitted. The constructions in the orig. are: 1. לְמַעַן 'in order that,' Ex 8^{22} 'to the end thou mayest know'; Lv 17^5, Dt $17^{16.20}$, Ps 30^{12}, Ezk 20^{26} 31^{14}, Ob ^{9}. 2. עַל־דִּבְרַת 'for the sake of' (see Ec 3^{18} 8^2), Ec 7^{14} 'to the end that man should find nothing after him.' 3. τοῦ with infin., 1 Mac 13^{34} 14^{23}. 4. ὅπως, 1 Mac 14^{49}. 5. εἰς τό with infin., Ac 7^{19}, Ro 1^{11} 4^{16}, 1 Th 3^{13}. 6. εἰς τοῦτο, 'to this end,' Jn 18^{37}, Ro 14^9, 2 Co 2^9. 7. πρὸς τό, Lk 18^1 'to this end that men ought always to pray' (RV 'to the end that'). RV has shown much fondness for this phrase, introducing 'to the end that' in place of the simple 'that' of AV, for לְמַעַן in Gn 18^{19} *bis*, Ex 33^{13}, Nu 16^{40}; for εἰς τό with infin. (on which see Votaw, *The Use of the Infin. in Bibl. Gr.*, 1896, p. 21) in Ro 4^{18}, Eph 1^{12}, 2 Th 1^5 $2^{2.6}$, 1 P 3^7; and for ἵνα in Eph 3^{17}, 2 Th 3^{14}, Tit 3^8. RV also introduces 'to this end' for εἰς τοῦτο in Mk 1^{38}, 1 Ti 4^{10} (AV 'therefore'), Ac 26^{16}, 1 Jn 3^8 (AV 'for this purpose'), and Jn 18^{37} (AV 'for this cause'); 'unto this end' in 1 P 4^6 (Gr. εἰς τοῦτο, AV 'for this cause'); and 'to which end' in 2 Th 1^{11} (Gr. εἰς ὅ, AV 'wherefore').

J. HASTINGS.

ENDAMAGE.—Ezr 4^{13} 'thou shalt e. the revenue of the kings' (אַפְּתֹם), and 1 Es 6^{33} 'that stretcheth out his hand to hinder or e. that house of the Lord in Jerusalem' (κακοποιῆσαι). The word is still used, but is somewhat old-fashioned. Cf. Quarles, *Emblems*, I. xi. 47, 'The Devil smileth that he may endamage'; and H. Vaughan, *Silex*, i. Pref., 'No loss is so doleful as that gain that will endamage the soul.'

J. HASTINGS.

ENDEAVOUR.—'Endeavour' seems a very inadequate tr. of σπουδάζω, which in 2 Ti $4^{9.21}$ is rendered 'do thy diligence,' in Tit 3^{12} 'be diligent,' (RV 'give diligence'), and in Gal 2^{10} 'was forward' (RV 'was zealous'). But 'endeavour once denoted all possible tension, the highest energy that could be directed to an object. With us it means the last feeble hopeless attempt of a person who knows that he cannot accomplish his aim, but makes a conscience of going through some formalities for the purpose of showing that the failure is not his fault' (Maurice, *Lincoln's Inn Ser.* quoted by Trench, *On the AV*, p. 43). One of the places where in AV σπουδάζω is tr. 'endeavour' is Eph 4^3 'endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace,' and in his comment on that passage, Abp. Laud (*Sermons*, i. 155) shows the force of 'endeavour' in his day: 'If you will keep it you must endeavour to keep it. For it is not so easy a thing to keep unity in great bodies as it is thought; there goes much labour and endeavour to it.' Cf. also Act 7, Henry VII. c. 22, 'Endevoir youre self and put to your hand and spare no cost.' The subst. occurs only Ps 28^4 'according to the wickedness of their endeavours' (מַעַלְלֵיהֶם, RV 'doings'). The vb. is found for Gr. *ζητέω* Ad. Est 16^3, Ac 16^{10} (RV 'seek'); for *πειράζω* 2 Mac 11^{19}; for *σπουδάζω* Eph 4^3 (RV 'give diligence'), 1 Th 2^{17}, 2 P 1^{15} (RV 'give diligence').

To 'endeavour' is 'to do one's *devoir*' or duty: *en* having a verbal and active force as in 'encumber,' 'enforce,' etc., it is the expression in one word of Chaucer's 'Doth now your devoir' (*Cant. Tales*, 1600). 'Devoir' is the Fr. form of Lat. *debere*, to owe, and 'en' is the Fr. form of Lat. *in*. The spelling in AV 1611 is always 'endeuour' (except 2 Th 2^{17}, by accident 'endeuor'). But about this time it was customary to affect the Latin form, so in Pref. we find 'that hath bene our indeauour, that our marke.' J. HASTINGS.

ENDIRONS.—Ezk 40^{43m} (text 'hooks' [which see] m. 'or endirons, or the two hearth-stones').

The spelling of 1611 is 'andirons.' The change into 'endirons' was first made in 1638, under the impression, no doubt, as Wright says, that being the *iron* standards, one at each *end* of the fireplace, to support the log of wood that was burning, this was the derivation, and should be the spelling. But this is not the derivation. It cannot be traced farther back than old Fr. *andier* and late Lat. *anderia*; and the form *-iron* is an Eng. corruption as much as *end-*. Another false spelling is 'handiron,' as Florio (1591), *Sec. Frutes*, 159, 'Set that firebrand upon the handiron.' J. HASTINGS.

EN-DOR (עֵין דֹּר Jos 17^{11}, עֵ׳ דּוֹר 1 S 28^7, עֵ׳ דֹּאר Ps 83^{10}.—A town in Issachar belonging to Manasseh, mentioned with Dor as one of 'three countries' (AV; the text נֶפֶת is undoubtedly corrupt) which appear to have been in the Jordan Valley (Bethshean and Ibleam), in the Esdraelon plateau (Dor and En-dor), and in the low hills to the W. (Taanach); but for 'countries' we may read 'heights' (RV), as referring only to Dor, En-dor, and Taanach. It was not far from Shunem and Gilboa, and near the Kishon and Tabor, where Sisera is said in the last passage (Ps 83^{10}) to have perished. In the fourth cent. A.D. it was known as a large village 4 Roman miles south of Tabor—now the hamlet *Endûr* in this position, on the N. slope of the conical hill of *Nebi Dhahy*. Possibly the site of Dor should be placed near En-dor, which means the 'spring of Dor'; but it may be objected that both are noticed in a single passage (cf., however, Sheba and Beersheba in Jos 19^2).[*] En-dor was one of the places conquered by Tahutmes III. about 1600 B.C. See *SWP* vol. ii. sheet viii. See DOR.

LITERATURE.—Lagarde, *Onom.* 96, 121, 226; Robinson, *BRP* iii. 460, 468 f.; Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.*^{2} 460 f.; Van de Velde, ii. 383; Tristram, *Land of Israel*, p. 127; Conder, *Tent-Work in Pal.* 63; Porter, *Giant Cities of Bashan*, 247, 250. C. R. CONDER.

ENDOW, ENDUE.—These words are distinct in origin. Endow is fr. Lat. *in-dotere* (fr. *dotem*, a dowry), through the Fr. *en-douer*. Its proper meaning is, therefore, to provide with a dowry. Endue is fr. Lat. *inducere*, through the old Fr. *induire*, and properly means 'to lead on,' 'introduce.' But a supposed derivation from Lat. *induere*, 'to put on (clothing),' helped to give the word its meanings of 'clothe,' and then 'invest' with some quality or spiritual gift. Then this was so close to the meaning of 'endow,' and the spelling was so uncertain, that the two words were often confounded. When the spelling is 'endow' the meaning is rarely wrong; but 'endue' (often spelt 'indue' from the influence of Lat. *induere*) took on all the meanings of both words.

In AV they occur Gn 30^{20} 'God hath endued me with a good dowry' (זְבַר, RV 'endowed'); Ex 22^{16} 'he shall surely endow her to be his wife' (מָהֹר יִמְהָרֶנָּה, RV 'pay a dowry for her'); 2 Ch $2^{12.13}$ 'endued (1611 'indued') with prudence . . . understanding' (יוֹדֵעַ); Sir 17^3 'he endued them with strength' (ἐνέδυσεν); Lk 24^{49} 'till ye be endued (1611 'indued') with power from on high' (εὥς οὗ ἐνδύσησθε, RV 'be clothed'); and Ja 3^{13} 'endued (1611 'indued') with knowledge' (ἐπιστήμων, RV 'understanding'). That the distinction between the words was not always forgotten about 1611 is shown by this quot. from Hieron (1616), *Works*, ii. 37, 'Was it with what religion is the woman endewed, or with what portion is shee endowed?' J. HASTINGS.

EN-EGLAIM (עֵין־עֶגְלַיִם).—A locality on the Dead Sea, mentioned along with En-gedi, Ezk 47^{10}. It has not been identified, but is not improbably *'Ain Feshkah* (Robinson, *BRP* ii. 489). Tristram (*Bible Places*, 93) would make it *'Ain Hajlah* (Beth-hoglah). In any case, it probably lay to the N. towards the mouth of the Jordan. Eglaim of Is 15^8 is a different place, its initial letter being א, not ע, and its situation apparently to the *south* of the Dead Sea (cf. Davidson on Ezk 47^{10}). J. A. SELBIE.

ENEMESSAR (Ἐνεμεσσάρ).—The name of a king of Assyria, found in Gr. codd. of To 1^2, where Heb., Aram., and Lat. codd. all read Shalmaneser. Shalmaneser is explained by recent Assyriologists to mean 'Salman (the god) is chief'; but, in accounting for the form Enemessar, it is possible that the Hebrews interpreted the name to mean 'Esar (or Assur) is peaceful' (cf. Esarhaddon); then the Gr. translator capriciously altered שלמן אסר 'Esar is peaceful' to חנן אסר 'Esar is gracious,' toning down the final ן to ם as in Hanamel (Jer 32^7) for חנן אל 'El is gracious.'

Other explanations are: 1. That Enemessar is for Senemessar (*sh* changed to *s*, and then to the light breathing, as in Arkeanos for Sargon), *l* being dropped, and the *m* and *n* transposed (so Pinches). 2. That Shalmaneser drops the של (which was possibly mistaken for the genitive) and then transposes *m* and *n* (so Rawlinson). 3. It is an unrecorded private name of Sargon, for Anumasir = 'the god Anu is gracious' (so Oppert). 4. It is a corruption of Sarru-kinu = Sargon reversed (so Bickell). J. T. MARSHALL.

ENENEUS (Ἐνήνιος, AV Enenius), 1 Es 5^8.—One of the twelve leaders of the return from Babylon under Zerubbabel. The name is omitted in the parallel list in Ezr 2, which gives only eleven leaders; but answers to NAHAMANI, Neh 7^7.

ENFLAME.—This is the spelling of mod. edd. of AV in Is 57^5, though that of 1611 was 'inflame.'

---

[*] W. H. Bennett in Haupt's *OT* remarks on Jos 17^{11} 'As the Endor clause does not occur in Jg 1^{27}, and Endor is about 25 miles E. of Dor, the clause is probably due to accidental repetition of the Dor clause.' In Jos 19^2 in like manner Sheba, which is wanting in 1 Ch 4^{28} and in some Heb. MSS, may be an accidental repetition of the שבע in באר שבע.

In Is 5^{11} 1611 had 'enflame,' mod. edd. 'inflame.' The word also occurs Sir 28^{10}, Sus ^{8}, 1 Mac 2^{24} (1611 and mod. edd. 'inflame'). The meaning is always 'excite,' and the ref. is to lust in Is 57^{5}, Sus ^{8}; to wine Is 5^{11}; to anger Sir 28^{10}; while the sense is good in 1 Mac 2^{24} 'Mattathias . . . was inflamed with zeal' (ἐζήλωσε). Wyclif uses the word in Ja 3^{6} of the tongue, 'it is enflawmed of helle, and enflawmeth the wheel of oure birthe.' J. HASTINGS.

ENGAGE.—Jer 30^{21} only, 'who is this that engageth his heart to approach unto me?' (עָרַב אֶת־לִבּוֹ; Vulg. 'applicet cor suum'). Engage is used in the sense of 'pledge,' though to 'engage one's heart' seems to be a unique expression. Shaks. has 'I do engage my life,' and 'I will engage my words,' where the meaning is nearly the same. The older VSS vary: Cov. 'what is he, that geveth over his herte'; Gen. 'that directeth his heart'; Dou. 'that applieth his hart.' RV tr. 'that hath had boldness to approach unto them,' with marg. 'Heb. *hath been surety for his heart.*'

J. HASTINGS.

EN-GANNIM (עֵין גַּנִּים).—Two places so named are noticed in the Book of Joshua, the name signifying 'the spring of gardens.' **1.** Jos 15^{34}. A town of Judah noticed with Zanoah and Eshtaol. It is supposed by Clermont-Ganneau to be the ruin *Umm Jîna* in the valley near Zanoah—a suitable site. See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvii. **2.** Jos 19^{21} 21^{29} (in 1 Ch 6^{58} Anem). A town of Issachar given to the Levites, now *Jenîn*, a town on the S. border of Esdraelon, with a fine spring, gardens and palms. It marked the S. limit of Galilee, and appears to have been always a flourishing town. The 'garden house,' *Beth-hag-gan*, in 2 K 9^{27} has been thought to be En-gannim, bnt it is more probably *Beit Jenn* E. of Tabor. See IBLEAM. See *SWP* vol. ii. sheet viii.

LITERATURE.—Guérin, *Samarie*, i. 327; Robinson, *BRP* iii. 116, 337; Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.*^{2} 237; Van de Velde, p. 359; Tristram, *Land of Israel*, 65, 130; Conder, *Tent-Work in Pal.* 58; *Bible Places* (ed. 1897), 67, 180, 265.

C. R. CONDER.

EN-GEDI (עֵין גֶּדִי, Arab. *'Ain Jidi*, 'fountain of the kid'), the name of a spring of warm water which bursts forth from the cliffs overlooking the W. shore of the Dead Sea near its centre, and 2 miles S. of Râs Mersed. The ancient name of the spot was Hazazon-tamar (2 Ch 20^{2}), by which it was known in the days of Abraham (Gn 14^{7}); and it has been suggested by Tristram that a group of ruins below the cascade near the shore of the Dead Sea may mark the site of a town through which marched the Assyrian host of Chedorlaomer (Gn 14^{7}). The place was included in the wide skirts of the tribe of Judah (Jos 15^{62}), and is associated with the City of Salt, which probably lay a few miles farther S. on the shore of the lake near Khashm Usdum (the Salt-mountain). The name 'Wilderness of En-gedi' applies to the wild rocky district forming the E. part of the Wilderness of Judah; and here amongst the deep ravines, rocky gorges, and the caves, which nature or art have hewn out in their sides, David found a safe hiding-place from the vengeance of Saul (1 S 24^{1}). At a later period it was the scene of the slaughter of the hordes of Ammon, Moab, and Edom, who had invaded the kingdom of Judah in the reign of Jehoshaphat (2 Ch 20^{2}). The limestone cliffs of En-gedi are deeply intersected by numerous river channels which descend from the table-land of Judah towards the Dead Sea. At the place itself two streams, the Wady Sudeir and Wady el-'Areyeh, enclose a small plateau, nearly 2000 ft. above the waters and bounded by nearly vertical walls of rock. Terraces of shingle and white calcareous marl envelop their bases to a height of several hundred feet, and mark the level at which the waters of the lake formerly stood. Only a few bushes of acacia, tamarisk, *Solanum*, and *Calotropis procera* (Apple of Sodom) decorate the spot where palms and vines were formerly cultivated (Ca 1^{14}). The district is tenanted by a few Arabs of the Jâhalîn and Rashâybeh tribes, and is the safe retreat of the *Ibex* ('wild goat,' 1 S 24^{2}), the coney (*Hyrax syriacus*), and numerous birds of prey. The spot is amongst the wildest and most desolate in the whole of Palestine.

LITERATURE.—Lagarde, *Onom.* 119, 254; Seetzen, *Reisen*, ii. 227 ff.; Robinson, *BRP* ii. 439 ff.; Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.*^{2} 175; Tristram, *Land of Israel*, 280 ff., 296; Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 160; Neubauer, *Géog. du Talmud*, 160; G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* 269 ff.; Conder, *Tent-Work in Pal.* 266; *Bible Places* (1897), 8, 113; Sayce, *Patriarchal Pal.* 40. E. HULL.

ENGINE.—Besides the battering-ram, 'forts' *dāyēḳ*, דָּיֵק (LXX προμαχῶνες, *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* 'bulwark,' 'siege-wall'), are mentioned as used in sieges in the Chaldæan era (2 K 25^{1}=Jer 52^{4}, Ezk 4^{2} 17^{17} $21^{22\,(27)}$ 26^{8} [all]). These forts were prob. towers on wheels manned with archers, and pushed forward by degrees against the wall to be attacked (cf. 1 Mac $13^{43\text{-}45}$). Such a tower might be combined with a battering-ram, or at least used to cover the attack of the ram. See BATTERING-RAM.

In 1 Ch 26^{15} Uzziah is said to have 'made in Jerusalem engines invented by cunning men (lit. 'contrivances, the invention of inventive men,' חִשְּׁבֹנוֹת מַחֲשֶׁבֶת חוֹשֵׁב, see *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.* חִשָּׁבוֹן) to be on the towers and upon the battlements, to shoot arrows and great stones withal.' These 'engines' were probably similar to the Roman *catapulta* and *balista*. The only other occurrence of the word חִשָּׁבוֹן is in Ec 7^{29} 'God made man upright, but they have sought out many *inventions.*'

In Maccabæan times several different kinds of engines were in use. 'He encamped,' writes the author of 1 Mac, 'against the sanctuary many days, and set there artillery, and engines, and instruments to cast fire (*or* 'fiery darts'), and others to cast stones, and *tormenta* (σκορπίδια) to cast darts, and slings' (6^{51}). W. E. BARNES.

ENGRAFTED.—Ja 1^{21} only, 'the e. word.' This tr^{n} may be traced from Tind. 'grafted' (which would be the mod. form), through Gen. 'graffed,' Rhem. 'engraffed.'[*] J. HASTINGS.

ENGRAVING.—**1.** חֲרֹשֶׁת *ḥărôsheth*, Ex 31^{5} $35^{33.\,35}$ [חָרוּת in Ex 32^{16} is prob. text. error for חָרוּשׁ, cf. Jer 17^{1}]. **2.** פִּתּוּחַ *pittûaḥ*, Ex $28^{11.\,21.\,36}$ $39^{14.\,30}$, Zec 3^{9} (cf. 2 Ch $2^{6.\,13}$), 1 K 6^{29}, Ps 74^{6}. **3.** מִקְלַעַת *miḳla'ath*, 1 K $6^{18.\,29.\,32}$ 7^{31}. **4.** מְחֻקֶּה *mĕḥuḳḳeh*, 1 K 6^{35} (cf. Is 49^{16}, Ezk 8^{10} 23^{14}, Job 13^{27}). **5.** χάραγμα, Ac 17^{29}.

Of these terms, the first possibly refers to the artistic skill of the worker, and the others to indicate the process or result of etching, punching, gouging, relief, etc. The material used was stone, wood (2 S 5^{11} = 1 Ch 14^{1}), metal (1 S 13^{19}), and jewels (Ex 28^{11}). The effect sought was either that of engraving into the surface, as in the signet-ring, and the jewels of the high priest's dress, or that of relief by the removal of the surrounding material, as in the cherubim carvings on the temple doors.

The incisions made by the graving-tool (חֶרֶט, Ex 32^{4}) gradually led to ornamental inlaying in metal, and to mosaic of marble, ivory, and mother-of-pearl in palaces (Ps 45[8]).

---

[*] The Gr. (ἔμφυτος), which occurs only here in NT, gave the late Lat. *impotus*, whence our Eng. word 'imp.' An 'imp' is orig. a graft, as *Piers Plowman*, v. 137—

> 'I was sum-tyme a frere,
> And the Couentes [Convent's] Gardyner, for to graffe ympes.'

So 'an imp of Satan' is a graft, scion, child of the devil.

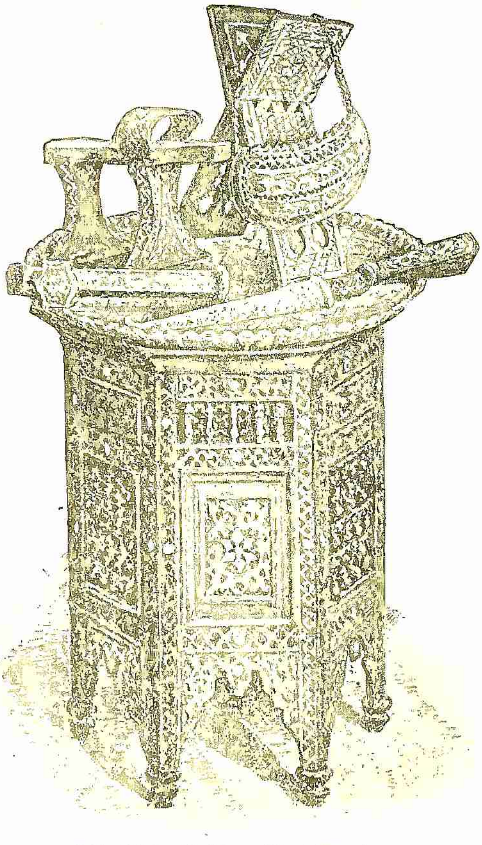

WOOD, IVORY, AND METAL 'ENGRAVING.'

The final form of engraving, amounting to complete separation, was that of the פֶּסֶל (Arab. *faṣl*) graven image (see CARVING).

LITERATURE.—Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 255 ff.; Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyp.* ii. 337; Herod. vii. 69; Müller, *Hdb. d. Archäol. der Kunst*, § 311. G. M. MACKIE.

EN-HADDAH (עֵין חַדָּה), Jos 19[21]. — A city of Issachar noticed with En-gannim and Remeth. It is perhaps the present village *Kefr Adhân* on the edge of the Dothan plain, W. of En-gannim. See *SWP* vol. ii. sheet viii. C. R. CONDER.

EN-HAKKORE (עֵין הַקּוֹרֵא 'spring of the partridge'; cf. 1 S 26[20], Jer 17[11]). — The name of a fountain at Lehi (Jg 15[19]). The narrator (J (?)) of the story characteristically connects *haḳḳōrē* with the word *yiḳrā* ('he called') of v.[18], and evidently interprets '*En-haḳḳōrē* as 'the spring of him that called.' The whole narrative is rather obscure, and the tr. in some instances doubtful, but probably the story is something to the following effect. After his exertions in slaughtering the Philistines, Samson was very thirsty, and, finding no water, he cried to J″, who clave the *maktēsh* ('mortar' or 'hollow place') which is in Lehi, and from a cleft in one of its sides water flowed (so Moore). This certainly seems preferable to the interpretation represented by AV, which understands the water to have sprung from a hollow place in the jaw (*leḥi*).

There is much difference of opinion regarding the situation of 'En-haḳḳōrē. In Jerome's time it was shown at Eleutheropolis; Conder identifies it with 'Ayūn Ḳāra, N.W. of Zorah; Van de Velde with a large spring between Tell el-Lekîyeh (4 miles N. of Beersheba) and Khuweilfeh.

LITERATURE.—Conder, *Tent-Work*, i. 277, *Bible Places*, 67; Guérin, *Judée*, ii. 318 f., 396 ff.; Van de Velde, *Memoir*, 343; Moore, *Judges*, 346 ff.; Reuss, *AT* i. 158; *PEFSt*, 1869, 182. J. A. SELBIE.

EN-HAZOR (עֵין חָצוֹר), 'spring of Hazor,' Jos 19[37]. —A town of Naphtali, noticed between Kedesh, Edrei, and Iron. There were three Hazors in Upper Galilee, and the site is uncertain; but the most probable place for En-hazor seems to be *Hazîreh*, on the W. slopes of the mountains of Upper Galilee, W. of Kedesh. See *SWP* vol. i. sheet iii. C. R. CONDER.

ENJOIN.—To enjoin is first to 'join together' (Lat. *in-jungere*), as Mt 19[6] Wyc. (1380), 'therefore a man departe nat that thing that God enjoyngde, or knytte to gidre.' But it early came to mean to 'impose' something on some one. Generally it is a duty or penalty; but in Job 36[23] it is used in the rare sense of commanding or directing one's way, 'Who hath enjoyned him his way?' (פָּקַד). The later and mod. sense of 'command' is found in Est 9[31], He 9[20] ('enjoined unto you'; RV 'commanded to you-ward'), and Philem [8] 'I might be much bold in Christ to enjoin thee.' J. HASTINGS.

ENLARGE, ENLARGEMENT.—To 'enlarge' is to 'cause to be large' that which is narrow or confined. It also signifies 'to make larger' that which may be considered large already, as Mt 23[5] 'they make broad their phylacteries, and enlarge the borders of their garments' (μεγαλύνω); but the prefix *en-* (=Lat. *in*) has properly a strong causative force, as in 'enable,' 'enfeeble,' 'enrich.' Hence arises the meaning of 'set at large,' 'liberate,' as in Sidney, *Arcadia* (1622), 329, 'Like a Lionesse lately enlarged.' This is undoubtedly the meaning of **enlargement** in its only occurrence Est 4[14] 'For if thou altogether holdest thy peace at this time, then shall there e. and deliverance arise to the Jews from another place' (רֶוַח, AVm 'respiration,' RV 'relief'). Cf. Act 32, Henry VIII. c. 2, § 9 (1540), 'After his enlargement and commyng out of prison.' And that 'enlarge' is used in this sense in AV is evident, as Ps 4[1] 'thou hast enlarged me when I was in distress' (RV 'hast set me at large'); prob. also 2 S 22[37]=Ps 18[36] 'thou hast enlarged my steps under me.' So when applied to the heart, Ps 119[32] (הִרְחִיב), Is 60[5] (רָחַב), 2 Co 6[11] (πλατύνω), the sense is first of all freedom, and then the joy that flows from it (cf. 2 Co 6[13] πλατύνω, and 10[15] μεγαλύνω), the opp. being 'to be straitened,' as in La 1[20] (cf. Jer 4[19] 'I am pained at my very heart,' lit., as RVm 'the walls of my heart!'), and 2 Co 6[12]. J. HASTINGS.

EN-MISHPAT (עֵין מִשְׁפָּט), 'spring of judgment,' or 'decision' (by oracle), Gn 14[7].—A name for Kadesh—probably Kadesh-barnea. See KADESH.

ENNATAN (Ἐνvατάν, AV **Eunatan**), 1 Es 8[44] ([43] LXX).—See ELNATHAN.

ENOCH (חֲנוֹךְ).—**1.** The eldest son of Cain (Gn 4[17. 18]). His father is said to have built a city and called it after his son's name. Its identity is quite uncertain (cf. Dillm. and Del. *ad loc.*, also Budde, *Urgesch.* 120 ff.). **2.** The son of Jared, and father of Methuselah, seventh in descent from Adam in the line of Seth. His life is described by the remarkable expression, 'Enoch walked with God' (Gn 5[24]). Not less remarkable is the brief account given of his death. After 365 years 'he was not, for God took him.' This is understood by the writer to the Hebrews to mean, 'By faith Enoch was translated that he should not see death; and he was not found, because God translated him' (He 11^{5}). In Jewish tradition many fabulous legends gathered around Enoch. He was represented as the inventor of letters, arithmetic, and astronomy, and as the first author. A book containing his visions and prophecies was said to have been preserved by Noah in the ark, and handed down through successive generations. (See Ryle in *Expos. Times*, iii. (1892), 355, and *Early Narratives of Genesis*, p. 90 f.; and the next three articles.) R. M. BOYD.

ENOCH IN NT.—Enoch, the son of Jared (Gn 5$^{18\text{ff.}}$), is mentioned in three passages of the NT; traditional exegesis has found an allusion to him in a fourth.

1. In Lk 3^{37} he has a place among the ancestors of our Lord.

2. In He 11^{5} it is said that 'by faith Enoch was translated.' His faith is inferred (v.^{6}) from the LXX word εὐηρέστησεν (Gn 5$^{22.\ 24}$; this verb is used in translating the Heb. 'to walk with [before]' in Genesis *ll.cc.* 6^{9} 17^{1} 24^{40} 48^{15}, Ps 114^{9}, Sir 44^{16}, cf. Ps 25^{3} 34^{14}). Nothing is added in He 11^{5} to the record of Gen. *l.c.* (LXX), except the explanatory phrase τοῦ μὴ ἰδεῖν θάνατον. With this exposition in the Alexandrian Epistle to the Hebrews it is interesting to compare the allegorical interpretation of Philo *de Abr.* §§ 3, 4. The name Ἐνώχ is explained by him as meaning (ὡς ἂν Ἕλληνες εἴποιεν) κεχαρισμένος (*i.e.* חֲנוֹךְ is connected with חָנַן). The μετάθεσις is explained as πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον μεταβολή; the οὐχ ηὑρίσκετο as signifying *either* that after repentance the old evil life is blotted out as though it had never been, *or* that the good man (ὁ ἀστεῖος) ὑποχωρεῖ καὶ μόνωσιν ἀγαπᾷ. Though in the original Hebrew of Sir 44^{16} Enoch is described as 'an example (*lit.* sign) of knowledge' (cf. σύνεσιν αὐτοῦ, Wis 4^{11}), yet in the Greek and Old Latin (Cod. Am. 'ut det gentibus pænitentiam'), as in Philo, he is represented as 'an example of repentance.' In Sir 49^{14} (ἀνελήμφθη ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς; cf. Cod. Am. in 44^{16} 'translatus est in paradiso') his translation is interpreted literally. Josephus (*Ant.* I. iii. 4) uses an ambiguous classical phrase, 'He went unto the Deity (ἀνεχώρησεν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον); hence neither is his death recorded.' For Jewish and Christian legends about Enoch, see the references in Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 342, II. iii. 70.

3. In Jude ^{14} the description ἕβδομος ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ is taken from the Book of Enoch (60^{8} 93^{3}), and a passage from that book (1$^{1.\ 9}$) is quoted as a warning actually uttered by the patriarch, dealing prophetically (ἐπροφ. καὶ τούτοις) with the false teachers of the apostolic age. The text of the passage in Enoch comes to us in three forms. (*a*) The Akhmîm fragment: ὅτι ἔρχεται σὺν τοῖς [*sic*] μυριάσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ ποιῆσαι κρίσιν κατὰ πάντων, καὶ ἀπολέσει πάντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς καὶ ἐλέγξει (MS λένξει) πᾶσαν σάρκα περὶ πάντων ἔργων τῆς ἀσεβείας αὐτῶν ὧν ἠσέβησαν καὶ σκληρῶν ὧν ἐλάλησαν λόγων καὶ περὶ πάντων ὧν κατελάλησαν κατ' αὐτοῦ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἀσεβεῖς. (*b*) *Ad Novatianum* 16 (Hartel, *Cyprian*, iii. p. 67; Harnack, *Texte u. Untersuch.* xiii. 1, assigns the treatise to Sixtus II. of Rome, cf. Benson, *Cyprian*, p. 557 ff.): 'Sicut scriptum est: Ecce venit cum multis milibus nuntiorum suorum facere judicium de omnibus et perdere omnes impios et arguere omnem carnem de omnibus factis impiorum quæ fecerunt impie et de omnibus verbis impiis quæ de Deo locuti sunt peccatores.' (*c*) The Ethiopic version (ed. Charles, p. 59): 'And lo! He comes with ten thousands of (His) holy ones to execute judgment upon them, and He will destroy the ungodly, and will convict all flesh of all that the sinners and ungodly have wrought and ungodly committed against Him.' It is clear that Jude * quotes loosely and abbreviates, but it will be noticed that (1) in ἰδού Jude agrees with *Novat.* Eth. against Gr.; (2) in ἐλέγξαι he coincides with *Novat.* alone, as possibly (for the tense of *venit* is ambiguous) in ἦλθε. On the importance of the citation in *ad Novat.* and its independence of Jude (contrast Westcott, *Canon*, p. 374), see Harnack, *op. cit.* p. 57, and especially Zahn, *Gesch. des Neut. Kanons*, ii. p. 797 ff. It may be added that Jude's quotation from Enoch was regarded (α) by Tertullian, *De Cult. Fem.* i. 3, as upholding Enoch; (β) by some referred to by Jerome, *De Vir. Illust.* 4, as condemning Jude.

4. A very common Patristic opinion, found as early as Tert. *De Anima*, 50; Hippol. *De Antichr.* 43 (cf. Bonwetsch, *Texte u. Untersuch.* xvi. 2, p. 48), identified 'the two witnesses' of Rev 11 with Enoch and Elijah (see the references in *Speaker's Commentary*, p. 651). F. H. CHASE.

ENOCH, (ETHIOPIC) BOOK OF—

I. SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BOOK.—In Gn 5^{24} it is said of Enoch that he walked with God. This expression was taken in later times to mean that he enjoyed superhuman privileges, by means of which he received special revelations as to the origin of evil, the relations of men and angels in the past, their future destinies, and particularly the ultimate triumph of righteousness. It was not unnatural, therefore, that an apocalyptic literature began to circulate under his name in the centuries when such literature became current. In the *Book of Enoch*, translated from the Ethiopic, we have large fragments of such a literature proceeding from a variety of Pharisaic writers in Palestine, and in the *Book of the Secrets of Enoch* (see next art.), translated from the Slavonic, we have additional portions of this literature. The latter book was written for the most part by Hellenistic Jews in Egypt.

The Ethiopic Book of Enoch was written in the second and first centuries B.C. It was well known to the writers of NT, and to some extent influenced alike their thought and diction. Thus it is quoted as a genuine work of Enoch by Jude ($^{14\text{f.}}$). Phrases, and at times entire clauses, belonging to it are reproduced in NT, but without acknowledgment of their source. Barnabas (*Ep.* iv. 3, xvi. 5) quotes it as Scripture. It was much used by the Jewish authors of the *Book of the Secrets of E.* and of the *Book of Jubilees*; in the *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs* its citations are treated as Scripture, and in the later apocalypses of Baruch and 4 Ezra there are many tokens of its influence. Thus during the 1st cent. of the Christian era it possessed, alike with Jew and Christian, the authority of a deuterocanonical book. In the 2nd cent. of our era it was rejected by the Jews, as were also many other Jewish Messianic writings that had been tr$^{\text{d}}$ into Greek and well received in the Christian Church. But with the earlier Fathers and apologists of Christianity it preserved its high position till about the close of the 3rd cent. Henceforth it gradually fell into discredit, and finally was banned by the chief teachers of the Church. Thus the book ceased to circulate in all but the Church of Abyssinia, where it was rediscovered in 1773 by Bruce. This traveller brought home two MSS of this book, and from one of these Lawrence made the first modern translation of Enoch in 1821.

II. ORIGINAL LANGUAGE.—Apocalyptic scholars are now practically agreed that E. was derived from a Sem. original. The only question at issue now is: Was the original in Heb. or Aramaic? Halévy, in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1867, pp. 352–395, decides in favour of the former; and, so far as our present materials go, this view may be regarded as valid. Some Dutch and German scholars, it is true, think that it is possible to prove an Aram. original by means of the Aram. forms preserved in the Gizeh Greek fragment, *i.e.* *φουκα* in 18^{8}, *μανδοβαρα* in 28^{1}, and *βαβδηρα* in 29^{1}. The first is undoubtedly an Aram. form of פּוּךְ, and the two latter of מִדְבָּר. But it is over-hasty to conclude from the presence of these two Aramaisms upon an Aram. original; for exactly on the same grounds we should be obliged to conclude to an Aram. original of Neh 2^{14}, where the Aram. form *Αἰνά* is found in the LXX as a transliteration of עַיִן. In the Eth. VS also of Jos 5^{6}, 1 K 5^{25} [Eng.^{11}], and Ezk 1^{14} there are transliterations of Heb. words in Aram. forms.

---

* In the text of Jude there are some important variants, the chief being these: (1) in v.^{14} ℵ cur.^{3} sah. arm. read ἐν μυριάσιν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων (cf. *Novat.*); (2) in v.^{15} ℵ sah. for π. τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς read πᾶσαν ψυχήν.

III. VERSIONS.—*Greek, Latin, and Ethiopic.*—The Heb. original was translated into Greek, and the Greek in turn into Ethiopic and Latin. Of the Gr. VS chs. 6–9^{4} 8^{4}–10^{14} 15–16^{1} have been preserved in the Chronography of George Syncellus (*c.* A.D. 800); 89$^{42-49}$ in a Vatican MS published by Mai in the *Patrum Nova Bibliotheca*, vol. ii.; and 1–32 in the Gizeh MS discovered only a few years ago, and published in 1892. A critical edition of this last fragment by M. Lods appeared shortly afterwards, and in 1893 it was edited by the present writer with an exhaustive comparison of the Eth. and Gr. VSS of 1–32 as an appendix to his work on Enoch. This study led to the following conclusions:—'The Eth. VS preserves a more ancient and trustworthy form of text than the Gizeh Greek MS; it has fewer additions, fewer omissions, and fewer and less serious corruptions of the text' (Charles, *Book of Enoch*, p. 324). The other two Gr. fragments will be found in the same work.

The Lat. VS is wholly lost with the exception of two small fragments: of these the first is 1^{9}, and is found in the pseudo-Cyprian treatise, *Ad Novatianum* (see Zahn's *Gesch. des Neutest. Kanons*, ii. 797–801). The second, which embraces 106$^{1-18}$, was found by James in an 8th cent. MS in the British Museum, and published in his *Apocrypha Anecdota*, vol. i. A critical ed. of its text will be found in Charles, *Book of Enoch*, pp. 372–375. To these we might also add Tertullian's *De Cult. Fem.* i. 2, and *De Idol.* iv., which may point to a Latin text of 8^{1} and 99^{7}.

The Eth. VS alone preserves the entire text, and that in a most trustworthy condition. (*a*) *The Ethiopic MSS.*—There are twenty or more of these in the different libraries of Europe. Of these about half are in the British Museum alone, which happily also possesses the most valuable of all the MSS—that designated Orient. 485 in its catalogue of Eth. MSS. (*b*) *Editions of the Eth. Text.*—Only two edd. have appeared—that of Lawrence in 1838 from one MS, and that of Dillmann in 1851 from five MSS. Unhappily, these MSS were late and corrupt. The present writer hopes to issue later a text based on the incomparably better MSS now accessible to scholars. Such a text is actually presupposed in his translation and commentary of 1893. (*c*) *Translations and Commentaries.*—Translations accompanied by commentaries have been edited by Lawrence (1821), Hofmann (1833–1838), Dillmann (1853), Schodde (1882), and Charles (1893). Of Dillmann's and Schodde's translations the reader will find a short review in Charles (pp. 6–9). (*d*) *Critical Inquiries.*—Some account of these will be found in Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. 70–73, and in Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 9–21, 309–311.

Of the many scholars who have written on this book, the works of the following deserve special mention here:—Lücke, *Einleit. in d. Offenb. d. Johannes*^{2}, 1852; Ewald, *Abhandl. über d. äthiop. B. Henokh Entsteh., Sinn, und Zusammensetzung*, 1855; Köstlin, 'Ueber d. Entsteh. d. B. Henoch' (*Theol. Jahrb.* 1856, pp. 240–279, 370–386); Hilgenfeld, *Die Jüd. Apokalyptik*, 1857, pp. 91–184; Gebhardt, *Die 70 Hirten d. B. Henoch u. ihre Deutungen* (Merx' *Archiv*, 1872, vol. ii. Heft ii. pp. 163–246); Drummond, *Jewish Messiah*, 1887, 17–73; Lipsius in Smith and Wace's *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* 1880, ii. 124–128; Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. 54–73; Lawlor in *Journ. of Philology*, xxv. (1897) 164–225.

IV. THE DIFFERENT ELEMENTS IN THE BOOK, WITH THEIR RESPECTIVE CHARACTERISTICS AND DATES.—The Bk. of E. is a fragmentary survival of an entire literature that once circulated under his name. To this fact the plurality of books assigned to E. from the first may in some degree point; as, for instance, the expression 'books' in 104^{12}; *Test. XII Patriarch. Jud.* 18; Origen, *c. Celsum*, v. 54, *In Num. Homil.* xxviii. 2, and elsewhere. Of this literature five distinct fragments have been preserved in the five books into which the Bk. of E. is divided (*i.e.* 1–37. 37–71. 72–82. 83–90. 91–108). These books were originally separate treatises; in later times they were collected and edited, but were much mutilated in the course of redaction and incorporation into a single work. In addition to this E. literature, the final editor of the book made use of a lost Apocalypse, the Bk. of Noah, from which, as well as from other sources, he drew 6^{3}–8^{3} 9^{7} 10$^{1-3.11}$ 17–20 39$^{1.2a}$ 41$^{3-8}$ 43–44. 50. 54^{7}–55^{2} 56^{5}–57^{3a} 59–60. 65–69^{25} 71. 80–81. 105–107. This Bk. of Noah is mentioned in the Bk. of Jubilees 10^{13} 21^{10}. Another large fragment of the Bk. of Noah is to be found in the latter.

We have already remarked that in the five books into which the whole work is divided we have the writings of five different authors. Before we proceed to give some of the grounds for this statement, we shall give in merest outline the different constituents which the chief scholars on this subject have found in this work. Lücke in his *Einl. in die Offenb. d. Johannes* regards the book as consisting of two parts. The first part embraces 1–36. 72–105, written at the beg. of the Maccab. revolt, or, according to his later view, in the reign of John Hyrcanus; the second consists of the Similitudes, 36–71, and was written in the early days of Herod the Great. In the latter, however, there are some interpolations. Hofmann (J. Chr. K.) ascribes the entire work to a Christian author of the 2nd cent. In this view he was followed later by Weisse and Philippi. Hofmann deserves mention in this connexion on the ground of his having been the first to give the correct interpretation of the seventy shepherds in 89–90. Ewald (*Abhandl.* 1855) gives the following scheme:—Bk. I. 37–71, *c.* B.C. 144; Bk. II. 1–16. 81$^{1-4}$ 84. 91–105, *c.* B.C. 135; Bk. III. 20–36. 72–90. 106–107, *c.* B.C. 128; 108 later. Bk. IV., the Bk. of Noah, 6$^{3-8}$ 8$^{1-3}$ 9^{7} 10$^{1-3.11.22b}$ 17–19. 54^{7}–55^{2} 60$^{1-10.24.25}$ 64–69^{16}, somewhat later than the preceding. Köstlin in his essay, 'Ueber d. Entsteh. d. B. Henoch' (*Theol. Jahrb.* 1856), a contribution of great worth, arrives at the following analysis:—The groundwork, 1–16. 21–34. 72–105, *c.* B.C. 110. The Similitudes, 37–71 and 17–19, before B.C. 64. Noachic fragments, 54^{7}–55^{2} 60. 65–69^{25}, possibly also 20. 82$^{9-20}$ 106–107. 108 is an Essene addition. Hilgenfeld (*Jüd. Apok.* 1857) regards the groundwork, consisting of 1–16. 20–36. 72–105, as written before B.C. 98; and the remaining chapters as coming from the hand of a Christian Gnostic after the time of Saturninus. We should mention also the interesting studies of Tideman, *ThT.* 1875, pp. 261–296; Lipsius, art. 'Enoch' in Smith's *Dict. Chr. Biog.*; Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. 54–73; Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah*, 1877, pp. 17–23; and Schodde, *The Book of Enoch*, 1882. As Dillmann changed his mind three times, and in each instance for the better, it will be enough to give his final analysis. The groundwork, 1–36. 72–105, in the time of John Hyrcanus; the Similitudes and 17–19, before B.C. 64; the Noachic fragments, 6$^{3-8}$ 8$^{1-3}$ 9^{7} 10$^{1.11}$ 20. 39$^{1.2a}$ 54^{7}–55^{2} 60. 65–69^{25} 106–107. 108, from a later hand.

We shall now proceed to discuss this question directly, and try to carry the criticism of the book one stage further towards finality. Disregarding the interpolations from the Bk. of Noah already mentioned, as well as the closing chapter, we shall adduce a few of the grounds on which the compositeness of the rest of the book is determined.

First of all, critics are agreed in ascribing the Similitudes (37–71) to a different authorship from the rest. This is done on the following grounds:—(*a*) Certain names of God are found frequently in 37–71, but not elsewhere in the book. (*b*) The angelology differs. (*c*) The demonology differs. (*d*) The Messianic doctrine not only differs from that of the rest of the book, but is unique in apocalyptic literature.

As for the remaining chs. 1-36, 72-104, all critics but Ewald and Lipsius have regarded them as the work of one and the same author. But these scholars have differed much from each other on the determination of the different elements present in these chapters, and have failed to gain the suffrage of other scholars as to the justness of their views. In one respect they are undoubtedly right. These chapters are of a composite nature; the more closely they are examined, the more clearly they exhibit conflicting characteristics. When submitted to a searching criticism they fall naturally into four distinct parts, *i.e.* 1-36. 72-82, 83-90, 91-104, differing from each other in authorship, system of thought, and date.

For the grounds for these conclusions the reader must refer to Charles' *Book of Enoch*, pp. 55-56, 187-189, 220-221, 260-263. It will be sufficient here to give some of the reasons for differentiating 83-90 and 91-104, as an illustration of the method there pursued in the criticism of the earlier sections. (*a*) The Messianic kingdom in 91-104 is finite in duration, whereas in 83-90 it is eternal. (*b*) In the former the Messianic judgment takes place at the close of the Messianic kingdom, in the latter at its beginning. (*c*) In the former there is a resurrection of the righteous only, in the latter a resurrection of apostate Jews also. (*d*) In the former the building of the temple precedes the final judgment, in the latter it is subsequent to the final judgment. (*e*) In the former the scene of the Messianic kingdom is apparently heaven, in the latter a purified earth. Now, our conclusion as to the distinct authorship of these two sections on the grounds just given is strikingly confirmed when we observe the forcible dislocations that 91-104 have undergone at the hands of the final editor in order to adapt them to the chapters that precede. Former critics have remarked that 93 must originally have preceded $91^{12\text{-}17}$, because we have in 93 an account of the first seven weeks of the ten into which the world's history is divided, and in $91^{12\text{-}17}$ the account of the remaining three weeks. They failed, however, to observe that 92^{1}, 'Written by Enoch the scribe, this complete doctrine of wisdom,' etc., formed originally the real beginning of this section. Next, on 92 follows $91^{1\text{-}10}$ as a natural sequel, where E. summons his children to receive his parting words. Then comes the short Apocalypse of ten weeks, $93^{1\text{-}10}$ $91^{12\text{-}17}$, while $91^{18.\,19}$ form a natural transition to 94. This section underwent these derangements in the process of its incorporation into a larger work.

As our space does not admit dealing further with the actual criticism of the book, we shall confine ourselves to the statement of results, and to a brief sketch of the various independent writings contained in the entire work, with their probable dates.

Part I., consisting of chs. 1-36 (for the Noachic interpolations see above), was written at latest B.C. 170, and mainly from the prophetic standpoint of such chs. as Is 65-66. This is, undoubtedly, the oldest part of the book, being anterior to 72-82. 83-90. 91-104, as it is used by the writers of these sections. As 83-90 was written not later than B.C. 161, 1-36 must be some years earlier; and as there is no allusion to the massacres of Antiochus Epiphanes, the above date (170) is the latest reasonable limit for its composition. This book, *i.e.* 1-36, is the oldest piece of Jewish literature that teaches the general resurrection of Israel, that describes Sheol according to the conception that prevails in NT as opposed to that of OT, and that represents Gehenna as a final place of punishment. The problem of the author is to justify the ways of God to men. The righteous will not always suffer (1^{1}). Sin is the cause of this suffering, and the sin of man is due, not to Adam, but to the lust of the angels—the watchers ($9^{6.\,9.\,10}$ 10^{8}). Hence the watchers, their companions, and their children will be destroyed ($10^{4\text{-}10.\,12}$), and their destruction will form the prelude to the first world-judgment, of which the Deluge will form the completion ($10^{1\text{-}3}$). But sin still prevails after the Deluge, through the influence of the evil spirits that go forth from the slaughtered children of the watchers and the daughters of men (16^{1}). These act with impunity till the final judgment. In the meantime, character finds its recompense, in some measure, immediately after death (22). In the last judgment the watchers, the demons, and all classes of Isr., with one exception, will receive their final award (1^{9} 22^{13}). This judgment is preceded by a general resur. of Israel (22). The wicked are cast into Gehenna (27^{2}), the earth is cleansed from sin ($10^{20\text{-}22}$), the Mess. kingdom is established with Jerus. as its centre (25^{5}), and God abides with men (25^{3}). The Gentiles become righteous and worship God (10^{21}). The righteous eat of the tree of life ($25^{4\text{-}6}$), and thereby enjoy patriarchal lives (5^{9}). As to what befalls the righteous after the second death, there is no hint in this fragmentary section.

Part II., consisting of 83-90, was written between B.C. 166-161 by a Ḥasid in support of the Maccab. movement, and mainly from the same standpoint as Daniel. On a variety of grounds we are obliged to discriminate this section from the preceding. It will be enough to mention that, whereas there is a Messiah in the latter, there is none in the former; in the latter the life of the righteous is apparently unending, in the former it is finite; in the latter the scene of the kingdom is the New Jerus. set up by God Himself, in the former it is Jerus. and the entire earth unchanged though purified. Finally, the picture in 83-90 is developed and spiritual, while that in 1-36 is naïve, primitive, and sensuous.

The date assigned above is not difficult to fix. The Ḥasidim, symbolized by the lambs that are born to the white sheep (90^{6}), are already an organized party in the Maccab. revolt. The lambs that become horned are the Maccab. family, and the great horn who is still warring while the author of the section is writing, is Judas the Maccabee (90^{9}), who died B.C. 161. Chs. 83-90 recount two visions, 83-84 deal with the first world-judgment, 85-90 with the entire history of the world till the final judgment. In the second vision the interest centres mainly in the calamities that befall Isr. from the exile onwards. Why has Isr. become a byword among the nations, and the servant of one Gentile power after another? Is there no recompense for the righteous nation and the righteous individual? Isr. has indeed sinned, but the punishment immeasurably transcends the guilt. But these undue severities, according to the author, have not come upon Isr. from God's hand, but from the seventy shepherds into whose care God committed Isr. (89^{59}). These shepherds or angels have proved faithless to their trust, but not with impunity. An account has been taken of all their deeds and of all whom they have wickedly destroyed ($89^{61\text{-}64}$). Moreover, when the outlook is darkest, a righteous league will be established in Isr. (90^{6}), and from a family belonging to it will come forth the deliverer, *i.e.* Judas Maccabæus ($90^{9\text{-}16}$). Every effort of the Gentiles to destroy him will prove vain, and God's intervention personally will be the signal for their destruction (90^{19}). The wicked shepherds and fallen watchers will be cast into the abyss of fire (Tartarus), and the apostates into Gehenna ($90^{20\text{-}25}$). Then God Himself will set up the New Jerus. ($90^{28.\,29}$), the dispersion will be brought back to Jerus., the righteous dead raised to take part in the kingdom, and the surviving Gentiles will be converted and serve Isr. (90^{30}). Finally, the Messiah will appear amongst them (90^{37}), and His kingdom will endure for ever. It should be observed that we have here the earliest appearance of the Messiah in non-canonical literature.

Part III., consisting of 91-104, was written between B.C. 134-95. The clearly defined opposition between the righteous and their Sadducean opponents which appears so frequently in this section cannot have been earlier than the breach between John Hyrcanus and the Pharisees, hence not earlier than B.C. 134, and not subsequent to B.C. 95; for it is not reasonable to suppose that the savage cruelties that won for Jannæus the title 'slayer of the pious' could have been referred to only once, and that incidentally, in the general terms of 103^{15}. On the derangements which this section has sustained at the hands of the final editor we have already touched above.

The internal difference that subsists between this section and Part II. is very remarkable. As we pass from 83-90 to 91-104 we feel we are entering into a world of new conceptions. In all previous apocalyptic writings the resur. and the final judgment have been the prelude to an everlasting Mess. kingdom, and not till then, in fact, do the righteous enter on their reward. But the Mess. kingdom to which this writer looks forward is only of temporary duration ($91^{12\text{-}15}$). In this kingdom no place is found for a Messiah; the righteous, with God's help, vindicate their just cause and destroy their oppressors. On the close of this kingdom follow the final judgment and the risen spiritual life of blessedness in a new heaven (91^{10} 92^{3}). From such a view of the future it is obvious that, for the writer, the centre of interest has passed from the material world to the spiritual, and the Mess. kingdom is no longer the goal of the hopes of the righteous. Their faith finds its satisfaction only in a blessed immortality in heaven itself. The righteous, it is true, who are living on the advent of the Mess. kingdom will indeed be recompensed with all good things, but the departed righteous will not rise thereto, but to the everlasting spiritual life which will follow the final judgment. This blessed immortality after the final judgment is an immortality of the soul only ($103^{3.\,4}$), a view that is implied also in the later books, the Ps-Sol and the Book of Jubilees. As for the wicked, they shall descend into the Sheol of darkness and flame, and abide there everlastingly ($98^{3.\,10}$ $104^{7.\,8}$). In this section Sheol appears as hell, possibly for the first time in literature (103^{7}).

Part IV. The Similitudes, consisting of 37-70, were written between B.C. 94-79 or B.C. 70-64. With some of the characteristics which distinguish these chapters from the rest of the book we have already dealt above. We are here concerned mainly with the determination of the date. 'The kings and the mighty,' so often denounced in the Similitudes, are the *later* Maccab. princes and their Sadducean supporters; for the blood of the righteous was not shed, as the writer complains, before B.C. 95:—the later *Maccab.* princes and not the Herods; for the Sadducees were not allies of the latter, and Rome was not as yet known to the writer as one of the great world-powers. This last fact necessitates an earlier date than B.C. 64, when Rome interposed authoritatively in the affairs of Judæa. If the reader will turn to the list of Noachic interpolations he will find that many of them are to be found in this section. These have, as a rule, been drawn from an already existing Apoc. of Noah and adapted by their editor to their adjoining contexts in Enoch. This he does by borrowing characteristic terms, such as 'Lord of Spirits,' 'Head of Days,' 'Son of Man,' to which, either through ignorance or of set intention, he generally gives a new connotation.

In his attempt to solve the problem of the suffering of the righteous, this author has no interest save in the moral and spiritual worlds. His view, too, is strongly apocalyptic, and follows closely in the wake of Daniel. The origin of sin is traced one stage farther back than in 1–36. The first authors of sin were the Satans (40^{7}). The watchers fell through becoming subject to these, and leading mankind astray (54^{6}). Though the watchers were forthwith confined in a deep abyss, sin still flourishes in the world, and sinners deny the name of the Lord of spirits (38^{2}) and of His Anointed (48^{10}), and the kings and the mighty oppress the children of God (62^{11}). But suddenly there will appear the Head of Days, and with Him the Son of Man ($46^{2.3.4}$ 48^{2}), to execute judgment upon all alike. And to this end there will be a resur. of all Isr. (51^{1} 61^{5}), and all judgment will be committed to the Son of Man (41^{9}, 69^{27}), who will judge all according to their deeds (41^{1}). Sin and wrong-doing will be banished from the earth (49^{2}), and heaven and earth will be transformed ($45^{4.5}$), and the righteous will have their mansions therein (39^{6} 41^{2}). The Elect One will dwell amongst them (45^{4}); they will be clad in garments of life ($62^{15.16}$), and become angels in heaven (51^{4}), and continue to grow in knowledge and righteousness (58^{5}).

It will be observed that the Messianic doctrine in this section is unique, not only as regards the other sections of E., but also in Jewish literature as a whole. The Messiah pre-exists from the beginning (48^{2}); He sits on the throne of God (45^{3} 47^{3}), and possesses universal dominion (62^{6}), and all judgment is committed unto Him (69^{27}). If we turn to the other sections we find that in 1–36 and 91–104 there is no Messiah at all, while in 83–90 the Messiah is evidently human, and has no real rôle to play in the doctrine of the last things.

Before we pass to Part V. it will be advantageous to observe that the varying relations in which the Maccabees stood to the Hasid or Pharisaic party are faithfully reflected in the Books of E., *i.e.* Parts II., III., and IV. In Part II., *i.e.* 83–90, the Maccabees are the leaders of the righteous, and their efforts form the prelude to the Mess. kingdom. In Part III., *i.e.* 91–104, they are no longer at the head of the Ḥasids, but as yet they have not become their declared foes: they are the secret abettors of their Sadducean oppressors. But when we come to Part IV., *i.e.* the Similitudes, the Maccab. princes have ceased to disguise their enmity, and now take the lead in every act of oppression and murder practised on the Pharisees.

Part V. The Book of Celestial Physics consists of 72–78. 82. 79. Here, as in Part III., the order of the chapters has been changed by the final editor; 79, which forms the true conclusion of this work, has been placed immediately after 78, and two chapters, 80–81, which are quite alien in spirit and statement, have been interpolated.

The chronological system of this book, which is most perplexing, constitutes an attempt to establish an essentially Heb. calendar over-against the heathen calendars in vogue around. Though quite valueless in itself, it gives us some knowledge of the chronological systems that were known to Pal. Jews. Thus the writer is acquainted with the signs of the zodiac, the spring and autumn equinoxes, the summer and winter solstices, and the synodic months. He is familiar also with the Gr. eight-year cycle, and the seventy-six years' cycle of Calippus.

Part VI. The interpolations from the Book of Noah. These have been enumerated above. By means of these fragments, and of the large section of this lost book preserved in the Book of Jubilees, and of others still surviving in later Heb. literature, it would be possible to restore the Book of Noah in some of its main outlines.

V. INFLUENCE ON LATER LITERATURE.—The influence of E. on Jewish literature, to exclude for the moment the NT, is seen in the Bk. of Jubilees (written about the beginning of the Christian era), the Slavonic Enoch (A.D. 1–50), the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, the Apocalypse of Baruch, and 4 Ezra. It is important to observe that, in the last two books just enumerated, E. is not mentioned by name, although their writers laid the Enochic books not infrequently under contribution. This silence, however, was intentional. E.'s acceptance among Christians as a Messianic prophet was the ground of his rejection among the Jews; and although, prior to A.D. 40, he was the chief figure, next to Daniel, in Jewish apocalyptic, in subsequent Jewish literature his functions and achievements are assigned to others, such as Moses, Ezra, Baruch. This opposition to E. is unswervingly pursued in the Talm., and his name and works are always studiously ignored (see Charles, *Apocalypse of Baruch*, pp. 21–22, 101). On these facts we might found an Enochic canon. *No early Jewish book which extols E. could have been written after* A.D. 50, *and the attribution of E.'s words and achievements in early Jewish works to some other OT hero is a sign that they were written subsequent to the Pauline preaching of Christianity.*

In Patristic literature Enoch is twice cited as Scripture in the Ep. of Barnabas (4^{3} 16^{5}). It is also quoted with approval, though not always by name, by Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Athenagoras, Tertullian, Clement Alex., Origen, Anatolius. Thenceforward it is mentioned with disapproval by Hilary, Chrysostom, Jerome, Augustine, and finally condemned in explicit terms in the *Const. Ap.* vi. 16.

Far surpassing in importance the preceding was its influence on NT (*a*) diction and (*b*) doctrine.

(*a*) We shall here draw attention only to the indubitable instances. It is quoted directly in Jude$^{14.15}$. Phrases, clauses, or thoughts derived from it are found also in Jude^{4}, Rev 2^{7} 3^{10} 4^{6} 6^{10} 9^{1} 14^{20} 20^{13}, Ro 8^{38} 9^{5}, Eph 1^{21}, He 11^{5}, Ac 3^{14}, Jn $5^{22.27}$, Lk 9^{35} 16^{9} 23^{35}, Mt 19^{28} 25^{41} 26^{24}.

(*b*) The doctrines in E. that had a share in moulding the corresponding NT doctrines, or formed a necessary link in the development of doctrine from OT to NT, are those concerning the Messianic kingdom and the Messiah, Sheol and the Resurrection, and demonology. As we cannot here enter into a discussion of these questions, we shall confine our remarks to the doctrine of the Messiah in Enoch. First, we should observe that four titles, applied, for the first time in literature, to the personal Messiah in the Similitudes, are afterwards reproduced in NT. These are 'Christ' (or 'the Anointed One'), 'the Righteous One,' 'the Elect One,' and 'the Son of Man.' The first title, found repeatedly in earlier writings, but always in reference to actual contemporary kings or priests, is now for the first time (48^{10} 52^{4}) applied to the Messianic king that is to come. It is here associated with supernatural attributes. In Ps-Sol, written a few years later, it is applied to a merely human Messiah. The second and third titles, 'the Righteous One,' 'the Elect One,' which are found first in E., have passed over into NT, the former occurring in Ac 3^{14} 7^{52} 22^{14}, the latter in Lk 9^{35} 23^{35}. The last title, 'the Son of Man,' appears for the first time in Jewish literature in E., and is historically the source of the NT designation. To the latter it contributes some of its most characteristic contents, particularly those relating to judgment and universal authority. Thus statements in E. respecting the Son of Man are quoted by the evangelists respecting the NT Son of Man. Jn $5^{22.27}$ 'He hath committed all judgment unto the Son . . . because he is the Son of Man,' is a quotation from Enoch 69^{27} 'The sum of judgment was committed unto him, the Son of Man.' It should be here observed that in E. the Messiah is represented for the first time as Judge of mankind. Again, Mt 19^{28} 'When the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of his glory' is from Enoch 62^{5} 'When they see the Son of Man sitting on the throne of his glory.' It is well known that the use of this phrase as a Mess. title is confined in NT, with two exceptions, to the Gospels, and in them it is used only by our Lord in speaking of Himself. Its survival, however, as a Mess. designation among the Jews, is attested by a passage in the Talm. Jer., *Taanith* ii. 1: 'Abbahu said: "If a man says to thee—I am God, he lies; I am the Son of Man—he will at last repent it: I ascend to heaven—if he said it, he will not prove it."' See further, ESCHAT. OF APOCR.

R. H. CHARLES.

ENOCH, BOOK OF THE SECRETS OF.—In Origen's *de Princip.* i. 3. 2 we find the following statement in reference to the Bk. of Enoch:—'Nam et in eo libello . . . quem Hermas conscripsit, ita refertur: Primo omnium crede, quia unus est Deus, qui . . . esse fecit omnia . . . sed et in Enoch libro his similia describuntur.' Now, as a matter of fact, this statement cannot be justified from the Ethiopic Enoch. Accordingly, till the discovery of the present book it was necessary to assume either that we had here a mistake of Origen, or else that he had before him a portion of the Enoch literature unknown to later generations. That the latter assumption was the true one we are now able to see; for in the 'The Book of the Secrets of Enoch' we have an elaborate account of the creation, 24–29^{3}, and an insistence on the unity of God, 33^{8} 36^{1}. Further, in the *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs* there are several direct references to the Bk. of Enoch. Some of them have clearly to do with the Ethiopic Enoch, but others have as clearly no connexion with it. Now, the bulk of the latter may be traced to the book with which we are at present dealing. This book, as it has been preserved only in Slavonic, it will be convenient to call 'the Slavonic Enoch' in contradistinction to the older book, which we may fitly designate 'the Ethiopic Enoch,' seeing that it has come down to us in its entirety only in that language.

This new fragment of the Enoch literature has only recently come to light through certain MSS which were found in Russia and Servia. Although the very knowledge that such a book ever existed was lost for probably 1200 years, it was nevertheless much used both by Christian and heretic in the early centuries. Thus citations appear from it, though without acknowledgment, in the Book of Adam and Eve, the Apocalypses of Moses and Paul (A.D. 400–500), the Sibylline Oracles, the Ascension of Isaiah, and the Ep. of Barnabas (A.D. 70–90). It is quoted by name in the apocalyptic portions of the *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs* (*c.* A.D. 1). It was referred to by Origen, and probably by Clement of Alexandria, and was used by Irenæus. Some phrases of NT may be derived from it.

The Slavonic MSS.—There are five Slav. MSS. The first (*i.e.* A) belongs to the 17th cent., and contains the complete text. It was edited by Popov in 1880, and forms the basis of the text which appears in the Morfill-Charles ed. of 1896. The second MS—a 16th cent. one—was discovered by Sokolov in 1886. This also preserves the complete text. The remaining three MSS are very incomplete. The most important of these (*i.e.* B) is preserved in the Public Library of Belgrade.

Editions and Translations.—The present writer, learning through a German review in 1892 of the existence of a Slav. VS of the Ethiopic Bk. of Enoch, at once proceeded by Mr. Morfill's help to make himself acquainted with two distinct recensions of this work. This speedily led to the discovery that it was not a Slav. VS of the Ethiopic Enoch, but of a hitherto unknown and extremely valuable pseudepigraph. By means of Mr. Morfill's tr. of the MSS A and B and of Sokolov's texts, an Eng. VS and ed. of this book was issued in the beginning of 1896. Six months later Bonwetsch's *Das Slav. Henochbuch* appeared, in which German tr^{s}. of the MSS A and B are given side by side, preceded by a short introduction, founded professedly in the main on Charles' edition. This is a serviceable work.

II. LANGUAGE AND PLACE OF WRITING.—The main part of this book was written at the first in Greek. This is clear from such statements as (1) 30^{13} 'And I gave him a name (*i.e.* Adam) from the four substances: the East, the West, the North, and the South.' Adam's name is thus derived from the initial letters of the Gr. names of the four quarters, *i.e.* ἀνατολή, δύσις, ἄρκτος, μεσημβρία. This fanciful derivation was first elaborated in Greek, as it is impossible in the Sem. languages; but the idea that Adam was created from dust belonging to the four quarters of the earth is Jewish. (2) The writer follows the chronology of the LXX. (3) In 50^{4} he reproduces the LXX text of Dt 32^{35} against the Hebrew. (4) He constantly uses Sir, which was chiefly current in Egypt. But though the main part of the book was written originally in Greek, certain portions of it were based on Heb. originals. Such an hypothesis is necessary to account for the quotations from or references to it which appear in the *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs*. The fact that the latter work was written in Hebrew obliges us to conclude that its authors drew upon Heb. originals in their references to and quotations from the Slavonic Enoch.

The book was written in Egypt. This is deducible from the following facts:—(1) From the variety of speculations which it holds in common with Philo and other Hellenistic writers: thus souls were created before the foundation of the world, 23^{5}; cf. Philo, *de Somno*, i. 22; Wis $8^{19.\,20}$. Again, man has seven natures, 30^{9}; cf. Philo, *de Mundi Op.* 40. (2) The whole Messianic teaching of OT finds not a single echo in the work of this Hellenized Israelite of Egypt, although he shows familiarity with most of its books. (3) The Phœnixes and Chalkydries of ch. 12 are natural products of the Egyp. imagination. (4) The syncretistic character of the creation narrative in 25–26 betrays Egyp. elements.

III. RELATION TO JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

Materials originally derived from this book are discoverable in Cedrenus and Joel (A.D. 1050–1200), though in these authors these materials are assigned to other names. Two passages of the Book of Adam and Eve in I. vi. and viii. are all but quotations from $29^{4.\,5}$ and 31^{2} of our book. Again, in the Apoc. of Moses (ed. Tisch. 1866), p. 19, we have a further development of $14^{2\text{-}4}$ of our text, just as in the Apoc. of Paul, p. 64, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ παράδεισος, ἔνθα . . . δένδρον . . . ἐν ᾧ ἐπανεπαύετο τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, is a Christian adaptation of 8^{3} 'And in the midst (of Paradise is) the tree of life . . . on which God rests when he comes unto Paradise.' Again, the words, p. 64, ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης αὐτοῦ ἐξήρχετο . . . ὕδωρ, μεριζόμενον εἰς τέσσαρα ὀρύγματα, and p. 52, ποταμοὶ τέσσαρες . . . ῥέοντες μέλι καὶ γάλα καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ οἶνον, are verbal reproductions of 8^{5} 'From its root in the garden there go forth four streams which pour honey and milk, oil and wine, and are separated in four directions.' The passage in the anonymous *De Montibus Sina et Sion*, 4, is ultimately derived from 30^{13}, and Augustine's peculiar speculation on the eighth eternal day (*De Civ.* xxii. 30. 5) from 33^{2}.

Still earlier we find almost a verbal reproduction of 50^{5}–51^{1} in the Sibylline Oracles, ii. 75. In Irenæus, *Contra Hær.* v. 28. 3, the Jewish speculation of $33^{1\text{-}2}$ is reproduced, and possibly in Origen (see Lommatzsch, ed. xxi. 59). However this may be, there is no doubt as to the direct reference to 24–30. 33^{8}, in the *De Princip.* i. 3. 2, as we have already shown above. In a still earlier period, A.D. 50–100, the writer of the Ascension of Isaiah 8^{16} was most probably acquainted with 19^{1}, and the writer of the Apoc. Bar $59^{5.\,8.\,10.\,11}$ with various passages of this book. In the Ep. of Barnabas $15^{5\text{-}8}$, and probably in 18^{1}, the thought and diction are dependent on 32^{2}–33 and 30^{15}.

In NT the similarity of matter and language is sufficiently great to establish a close connexion, if not a literary dependence. With Mt 5^{9} 'Blessed are the peacemakers,' cf. 52^{11} 'Blessed is he who establishes peace'; with Mt $5^{34.\,35.\,37}$ 'Swear not at all,' etc., cf. 49^{1} 'I will not swear by a single oath, neither by heaven, nor by earth, nor by any other creature which God made. . . . If there is no truth in man, let them swear by a word, yea, yea, or nay, nay.' Again, with Mt 7^{20} and 25^{34} cf. 42^{14} and 9^{1}; with Jn 14^{2} cf. 61^{2}; with Eph 4^{25} cf. 42^{12}; with Rev 9^{1} and $10^{5\text{-}6}$ cf. 42^{1} and 65^{7}.

Still earlier we find this book not only used, but quoted by name in the *Test. Dan.* 5, where the statement, τῶν πνευμάτων τῆς πλάνης· ἀνέγνων γὰρ ἐν βίβλῳ Ἐνὼχ τοῦ δικαίου, ὅτι ὁ ἄρχων ὑμῶν ἐστὶν ὁ Σατανᾶς, is drawn from 18^{3} 'These are the Grigori (*i.e.* Ἐγρήγοροι) who with their prince Satanail rejected the holy Lord.' Finally, the references to Enoch in *Test. Naph.* 4, ἀνέγνων ἐν γραφῇ ἁγίᾳ Ἐνώχ, ὅτι καίγε καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀποστήσεσθε ἀπὸ Κυρίου, πορευόμενοι κατὰ πᾶσαν πονηρίαν ἐθνῶν, καὶ ποιήσετε κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀνομίαν Σοδόμων· καὶ ἐπάξει ὑμῖν Κύριος αἰχμαλωσίαν . . . ἕως ἂν ἀναλώσῃ Κύριος πάντας ὑμᾶς, are an adaptation of $34^{1\text{-}3}$ 'I know the wickedness of men . . . that they will cast off my yoke . . . and fill all the world with . . . sodomy and all other impure practices . . . and on this account I will bring a deluge upon the earth, and I will destroy all.' In the *Test. Sim.* 5, *Test. Benj.* 9, we find additional references to this prophecy, in which Enoch foretold the impure practices of men. *Test. Jud.* 18 may be derived from the same source.

IV. DATE AND AUTHORSHIP.—The question of the date has to a large extent been determined already. The portions which have a Heb. background are at latest pre-Christian. This follows from the fact of their quotation in the *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs*. Turning to the rest of the book, the *terminus a quo* is determined by the fact that it frequently uses Sir, cf. $43^{2\text{-}3}$ 47^{5} 52^{8} $61^{2.\,4}$ etc. The Ethiopic Enoch, further, is continually presupposed in the background. Its phraseology and conceptions are reproduced, $7^{4.5}$ $33^{4.9\text{-}10}$ 35^{2} etc. At times its views are put forward in a developed form, $8^{1.5\text{-}6}$ 40^{13} 64^{5}; and occasionally divergent conceptions are enunciated, 16^{7} 18^{4}. Finally, explanations are claimed to have been given by this writer which, as a matter of fact, are not to be found in his writings, but in the Ethiopic Enoch, see $40^{5.6.8.9}$. It is possible that Wis was also used by our author, see 65^{4}. Since, therefore, Sir, Eth. Enoch, and Wis (?) were used by this author, his work cannot have been earlier than B.C. 30.

The *terminus ad quem* must be set down as earlier than 70 A.D. For (1) the temple is still standing. (2) This book was known and used by the writers of the Ep. of Barnabas and the Ascension of Isaiah, and probably by some of the writers of NT. We may therefore with reasonable certainty assign the composition of this book in Greek to the period A.D. 1–50, to an author who is thus a contemporary of Philo, and who holds many speculations in common with him.

The author was an orthodox Hellenistic Jew who lived in Egypt. He believed in the value of sacrifices, 42^{6} $59^{1.2}$ 66^{2} (but he is careful to enforce enlightened views with regard to them, $45^{3.4}$ $61^{4.5}$), in the law, $52^{8.9}$, and in a blessed immortality, 50^{2} $65^{6.8\text{-}10}$, in which the righteous will wear 'the raiment of God's glory,' 22^{8}. In questions affecting the origin of the earth, sin, death, he allows himself the most unrestricted freedom, and borrows from every quarter. Thus Platonic 30^{16}, Egyptian 25^{2}, and Zend $58^{4\text{-}6}$ elements are incorporated in this system. The result is highly syncretistic.

V. ANALYSIS OF CONTENTS.—The book opens with a short account of Enoch as 'a very wise man' whom 'God loved and received, so that he should see the heavenly abodes, the kingdoms of the wise, great, and never-changing God.' In ch. 1 two angels appear to E., and bid him to make ready to ascend with them unto heaven. In ch. 2 E. admonishes his sons 'not to worship vain gods; not to turn aside from God, but to walk before the face of the Lord and keep his judgments,' and directs them not to seek for him till he is brought back to them. Thereupon (3–6) the angels carry E. aloft through the air to the first heaven, where he sees a very great sea, greater than the earthly sea; likewise the elders and the rulers of the stars, and the treasuries of the snow and ice and the dread angels that guard them, and the treasuries of the clouds and of the dew and their guardian angels. Thence (7) he is carried to the second heaven, where he sees 'the prisoners suspended, reserved for, and awaiting the eternal judgment.' And these angels, who together with their prince had rebelled against God, besought E. (just as in Eth. Enoch 13^{4}) to intercede for them. And E. answered, 'Who am I, a mortal man, that I should pray for angels? Who knows whither I go, or what awaits me?' Next E. is carried up to the third heaven (8), and placed 'in the midst of a garden.' And he sees there 'all the trees of beautiful colours, and their fruits ripe and fragrant . . . and the tree of life . . . on which God rests when he comes into Paradise,' and the four streams which go forth from its root, 'pouring honey and milk, oil and wine. . . . And these go down to the Paradise of Eden, between corruptibility and incorruptibility. . . .' And the angels inform E. that 'this place is prepared as an eternal inheritance' for those 'who turn their eyes from unrighteousness and accomplish a righteous judgment, and give bread to the hungry, and clothe the naked, and raise the fallen, . . . and walk without blame before the face of the Lord.' E. is then taken to the northern region of this heaven (10), and shown 'a very terrible place' of 'savage darkness and impenetrable gloom,' with 'fire on all sides, and on all sides cold and ice.' He is then told that 'this place is prepared as an eternal inheritance' for those 'who commit evil deeds on earth, sodomy, witchcraft,' . . . who oppress the poor, who are guilty of 'stealing, lying, calumnies, envy, evil thoughts, fornication, murder,' who 'worship gods without life.' Thence E. is conducted to the fourth heaven, where he is shown the courses of the sun and moon (11), and the phœnixes and the chalkadri (12), 'with the feet and tails of lions and the heads of crocodiles; their appearance was of purple colour like the rainbow; their size nine hundred measures. Their wings were like those of angels, each with twelve, and they attend the chariot of the sun.' And the angels show him also the eastern and western gates of the sun (13–16), and 'an armed host serving the Lord with cymbals and organs' (17). In 18 E. is taken up to the fifth heaven, where he sees the watchers who had rebelled, and whose brethren were already confined in torment in the second heaven. Then he passes to the sixth heaven (19), where are the angels who regulate all the powers of nature and the courses of the stars, and write down the deeds of men. Finally, E. is raised to the seventh heaven (20–21), where he sees God sitting on His throne, and the heavenly hosts in their ten orders on the steps of the throne, and the seraphim singing the trisagion. And E. (22) fell down and worshipped; and Michael, at God's command, took from him his earthly robe and anointed him with the holy oil from the *arbor misericordiæ*, the olive tree that stood in the garden, and clothed him with the 'raiment of God's glory.' And thus E. became like one of the glorious ones. And E. (23), under the instruction of Vretil, wrote 366 books in thirty days and thirty nights about things in heaven and earth, and about the souls of men created from eternity, and their future dwelling-places. In 24–26 God makes known to E. how He created the invisible out of the visible: how He commanded Adoil (possibly a corruption of Uriel = light of God) and Arkhas to come forth and burst asunder, and so the light on high and the world below were produced. And God divided the light and the darkness (27), and made the seven heavens. And God caused the waters which are under the heavens to be gathered into one place, and out of the waters He made the earth and an abyss in its midst (28). Such was the work of the first day. And on the second day God 'fashioned for all the heavenly hosts a nature like that of fire' ($29^{1\text{-}3}$), and one of the archangels, Satanail, rebelled, and God cast him down from the heights ($29^{4.5}$). And on the third day God ($30^{1.2}$) caused the earth to produce trees and herbs and every seed that is sown, and planted Paradise. And on the fourth ($30^{3\text{-}6}$) God ordered great lights to be in the various circles of the heavens, *i.e.* Kruno, Aphrodite, Ares, the Sun, Zeus, Hermes, the Moon. And God appointed the sun and moon to give light to the earth, and to proceed through the twelve signs of the zodiac. And on the fifth ($30^{7\text{-}18}$) God created the fish of the sea and the fowl of heaven, and everything that moveth on the earth. And on the sixth He made man from seven substances, and called him Adam, from the four quarters of the world, and showed to him the two ways of light and darkness. And while Adam was in Paradise the heavens were open so that he could see the angels in heaven (31); but Satan envied him, and deceived Eve. And God established the eighth day ($33^{1.2}$), at the beginning of which time should be no more. And God announced Himself to E. as 'the eternal One, and the One not made with hands.' 'My wisdom is my counsellor, and my word is reality.' The corruption of the earth and the Deluge are then foretold, and the preservation of Noah, ch. 35. God bids E. to return to the earth for thirty days and teach his sons during that time (36–38). E. admonishes and instructs his sons, and tells them what he has seen, the courses of the sun and moon, the seasons, the winds, the thunder and lightning, Hades and hell and Paradise, and gives utterance to nine beatitudes (39–42). He impresses on them the incomparable dignity of goodness—'none is greater than he who fears God' (43). They are not to revile the person of man, for he who reviles man in reality reviles God: they are to make their offerings, and yet not to value them unduly, but consider the motive rather from which they spring (44–46). E. gives his books to his sons (47); instructs them not to swear, neither by heaven nor by earth nor by any other creature which God made (49); bids them in meekness to accomplish the number of their days, to refrain from avenging themselves, and to be open-handed to those in need (50–51). Again he enunciates seven beatitudes and their corresponding woes (52). The departed saints do not intercede for the living (53). At the close of the appointed time (55–59) E. again addresses his sons. He announces to them his coming departure to the highest heavens. He declares that no soul shall perish till the final judgment, and that the souls of beasts will then bring charges against the men who ill-treated them. He gives further instruction as to sacrifice, and their duty to the needy, and warns against unnatural sins, contempt and lying (60–63). The people assemble in Achuzan to take leave of E. He addresses them on various topics, and exhorts them to faithfulness. He announces the great judgment, after which 'the times shall perish, and there shall be no year, nor month, nor day, and there shall be no hours.' 'Moreover, there shall be no labour, nor sickness, nor sorrow, anxiety, nor need, nor night, nor darkness, but a great light.' He is then carried off to the highest heaven. And his sons thereupon build an altar in Achuzan and hold high festival, rejoicing and praising God (64–68).

VI. THE AUTHOR'S VIEWS ON ANTHROPOLOGY.—All the souls of men were created before the foundation of the world, 23^{5}, and also a future place of abode in heaven or hell for every individual soul, 49^{2} 58^{5} 61^{2}. Man's body was made of seven substances, 30^{8}, and his name, as we have already seen, was given to him by God from the four quarters. Man was created originally good; free will was bestowed upon him, with the knowledge of good and evil. He was instructed in the two ways of light and darkness, and then permitted to mould his own destiny, 30^{15}. But his connexion with the body biassed his preferences in the direction of evil, and death ensued as the wages of sin, 30^{16}. All men will be judged finally, $40^{12.13}$; the righteous will escape the last judgment, 65^{8} 66^{7}, and be gathered to eternal life; but hell will be the eternal abode of the wicked, $10^{4.6}$, and there is no place of repentance after death, 42^{2}.

VII. Value of the Book in elucidating contemporary and subsequent Thought.—Fresh evidence on the following beliefs is contributed by this book. i. *The millennium.*—This Jewish conception is first found in 32²–33². From this its origin is clear. The account in Gn of the first week of creation came in pre-Christian times to be regarded, not only as a history of the past, but as a forecast of the future history of the world so created. Thus, as the world was created in six days, its history was to last 6000; for 1000 years with God are as one day (Ps 90⁴, *Jub.* 4³⁰, 2 P 3⁸); and as God rested on the seventh day, so at the close of 6000 years there should be a rest of 1000 years, *i.e.* the millennium. Thereupon followed the future world of eternal bliss, designated as the *eighth eternal day.* ii. *The seven heavens.*—The detailed account of the seven heavens in this book has served to explain difficulties in OT conceptions of the heavens, and has shown beyond the reach of controversy that the sevenfold division of the heavens was accepted by St. Paul and the author of Hebrews, and probably in Rev. From this book, further, it is clear that a feature impossible in modern conceptions of heaven shows itself from time to time in pre-Christian and also in early Christian conceptions, *i.e.* the belief in the presence of evil, or in the possibility of its appearance in the heavens. For a discussion of this question the reader should consult *Expository Times* (art. 'The Seven Heavens'), Nov. and Dec. 1895, and Charles, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, pp. xxx–xlvii.

R. H. Charles.

ENOCH (City).—See Enoch 1 (p. 704ᵇ).

ENOS (so RV in Lk 3³⁸), the same as **Enosh** (אֱנוֹשׁ), the name of the son of Seth (Gn 4²⁶). He was the father of Kenan; and the length of his life is stated as 905 years (Gn 5⁹). It is said in connexion with the mention of his birth, 'then began men to call upon the name of J″' (4²⁶). 'Enosh' denotes 'man in his frailty and weakness.' The fact of prayer being made to J″ first when Enosh was born, perhaps indicates allegorically the belief that men were then first driven by sickness, and by a sense of frailty and dependence, to cry for help to the invisible Creator. The LXX, which translates the second clause of 4²⁶ *οὗτος ἤλπισεν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι κ.τ.λ.*, associates Enosh himself with this step in the spiritual life of the human race (cf. parallels 4²⁰ and 10⁸). The advance thus made by the generation of Enosh the son of Seth is evidently intended to stand as the counterpart to the advance in another aspect of life represented by Enoch—the parallel generation in the line of Cain (4¹⁷). It has been suggested that this mention of Enosh and of the first recourse to prayer to J″ must have been derived from a source of J tradition distinct from that which records the sacrifices of Cain and Abel, inasmuch as sacrifice would imply supplication to the Deity.

H. E. Ryle.

EN-RIMMON (עֵין רִמּוֹן 'spring of [the] pomegranate').—One of the settlements of Judahites after the return from the Exile, Neh 11²⁹. In Jos 15³² amongst the towns assigned to Judah we find 'Ain and Rimmon,' and in 19⁷ (cf. 1 Ch 4³²) amongst those assigned to Simon are 'Ain, Rimmon.' In all these instances there can be little doubt that we ought to read neither עַיִן וְרִמּוֹן nor עַיִן רִמּוֹן, but עֵין רִמּוֹן (En-rimmon). This reading is accepted by Bennett and Kittel in *Joshua* and *Chronicles* in Haupt's *OT*. En-rimmon is probably to be identified with the modern *Umm-er-Rumâmîn*, about 9 miles N. of Beersheba.

Literature.—Lagarde, *Onom.* 120, 256; Robinson, *BRP* iii. 233; Van de Velde, *Memoir*, 344; *PEF Mem.* iii. 392, 398.

J. A. Selbie.

EN-ROGEL (עֵין רֹגֵל 'spring of the fuller'), a spring in the immediate vicinity of Jerus., on the boundary between Judah and Benjamin (Jos 15⁷ 18¹⁶). Owing to its position close to but yet out of view of the city, Jonathan and Ahimaaz, the sons of the priests, were stationed there during the rebellion of Absalom, in order that they might secretly receive and carry news from Hushai in Jerus. to David in his camp by the Jordan (2 S 17¹⁷). At a later period of history it was the scene of a great feast given by Adonijah, the eldest son of David, presumably with a view to forcibly seizing the crown (1 K 1⁹ 'by the stone of Zoheleth, which is beside E.'). Jos. (*Ant.* vii. xiv. 4) describes it as being 'without the city, in the royal gardens'; and again (*Ant.* ix. x. 4) speaks of a place called Eroge (clearly, as Mr. Grove has pointed out, a mistake for En-rogel), at which the earthquake consequent on the sacrilegious act of Uzziah dislodged a portion of the eastern hill, 'so as to obstruct the roads and the royal gardens.' Modern authorities are somewhat divided as to the exact site of the spring; but the bulk of the evidence is certainly in favour of the identification of E. with 'the Fountain of the Virgin.' This spring, now called *'Ain Umm ed-Deraj* = 'the spring of the steps,' lies in the Kidron valley, close to the village of Siloam, and is, in fact, the source from which the Upper Pool of Siloam derives its supply of water; the latter flows through a rock-hewn tunnel 'dating from the time of the Kings' (Sir C. Wilson). The latter authority further considers that originally this supply of water was carried as far as the Lower Pool (*Birket el-Hamra*), and that it was stored there for irrigating the king's gardens. The arguments brought forward in support of this identification are, briefly, as follows:—(1) The 'Fountain of the Virgin' is the only real spring near to Jerusalem. (2) Immediately fronting it, on the farther side of the valley, there is a rude flight of steps, cut out of the precipitous face of the cliff, which leads to the village of Siloam; this place is called at the present time *ez-Zehweleh*, and is identified by M. Clermont-Ganneau (*PEFSt*, 1869–70, p. 253) with the stone of Zoheleth. (3) The spring must have always been well known, and so would naturally form a landmark on the boundary-line between Judah and Benjamin. (4) In the account of St. James' martyrdom, he is said to have been cast from the temple wall into the valley of Kidron, and finally slain by a fuller with his stick. From this it has been inferred that St. James was cast down near the spot where the fullers were working. (5) This spring is still the great resort of the women of Jerus. for washing and treading their clothes.

Others, however, identify E. with *Bîr Eyûb* = 'the well of Job,' or 'the well of Nehemiah' (acc. to a later tradition). Three points are urged in favour of this view: (1) that in the Arab. VS of Jos 15⁷ E. is translated by 'Ain Eyûb; (2) that in an early Jewish itinerary (Uri of Biel in Hottinger's *Cippi Hebraici*) it is called 'the well of Joab,' as if referring to Joab's connexion with Adonijah; and (3) that its situation agrees better with the common boundary of Judah and Benjamin. But these arguments are not sufficiently weighty to counterbalance the following objections: (1) The *Bîr Eyûb* is a well, not a spring, its waters, as a rule, being 70 to 80 ft. below the level of the ground. (2) Its situation does not suit the narrative of 2 S 17. Lying below the junction of the valleys of Kidron and Hinnom, it is at once too far from the city and from the direct road over the Mt. of Olives to the Jordan; and if *ez-Zehweleh* is the same as Zoheleth, it would also be too far from this latter spot. (3) Its date is uncertain; but it is hardly probable that it goes back to the time of Joshua.

LITERATURE.—Besides the authorities cited above, see Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.*^{2} 113; Robinson, *BRP* i. 331 f.; Williams, *Holy City*, ii. 489 ff.; *PEF Mem.* 'Jerusalem,' p. 365 ff.; Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 42; W. R. Smith, *RS*^{2} 172, 489; *PEFSt*, 1874, 70; 1884, 185; 1885, 20, 184, 228; 1886, 56; 1889, 45 ff.; 1890, 125.

J. F. STENNING.

ENROLMENT.—See QUIRINIUS.

ENSAMPLE.—This is the tr. in AV of *τύπος*, 1 Co 10^{11}, Ph 3^{17}, 1 Th 1^{7}, 2 Th 3^{9}, 1 P 5^{3}; and of *ὑπόδειγμα*, 2 P 2^{6}; while 'example' is the tr. of *τύπος*, 1 Co 10^{6}, 1 Ti 4^{12}; of *ὑπόδειγμα*, Jn 13^{15}, He 4^{11} 8^{5}, Ja 5^{10}; of *δεῖγμα*, Jude ^{7}; of the vb. *παραδειγματίζω* ('make a publick example'), Mt 1^{19}; and of *ὑπογραμμός*, 1 P 2^{21}. Both forms have the same meaning, and in AV they are always synonymous with 'pattern' or 'model.' Thus in He 8^{5} *ὑπόδειγμα* is tr^{d} 'example,' and *τύπος* 'pattern,' after Tindale's 'ensample' and 'patrone,' though in both places Wyclif has 'saumpler,' Gen. (1560) 'paterne,' Rhem. 'exampler.' But the pattern may be either for imitation or avoidance. In mod. Eng. wherever 'ensample' is used, it has a biblical flavour, and suggests a *good* example. Hence RV retains 'ensample' in Ph 3^{17}, 1 Th 1^{7}, 2 Th 3^{9}, 1 P 5^{3}, but gives 'example' in 1 Co 10^{11}, 2 P 2^{6}.

'Ensample' seems to be an Eng. spelling. The Lat. *exemplum* appears in old Fr. as *essample*; this becomes in Eng. 'asaumple,' of which *Oxf. Eng. Dict.* quotes a single instance (but it may be noticed that Wyc. has the *u* always, 'ensaumple'). Then 'asaumple' becomes 'ensample.' Skeat quotes an old Fr. tr. of Ru 4^{11} 'que ele soit ensample de vertu,' evidently after Vulg. 'ut sit exemplum virtutis' (cf. Cov. 'that she maye be an ensample of vertue'). But *Oxf. Eng. Dict.* rejects this French spelling, and reckons 'ensample' only English. The earliest instance of 'example' that has been found is dated 1447 (though there is a various reading 'exsaumple' in the Wyclifite version of 1382 at Jude ^{7}), while 'ensample' is found as early as 1250. And 'ensample' is most common by far till it began to be fashionable to spell Eng. words after their Lat. originals. Tindale has 'ensample' (though he spells it thrice 'insample') in all the passages given above; and he is followed by all the Eng. VSS till the Rhemish.

J. HASTINGS.

EN-SHEMESH (עֵין שֶׁמֶשׁ), 'sun-spring,' Jos 15^{7} 18^{17}.—A spring E. of En-rogel, on the way to Jericho. It is believed to be the spring on the Jericho road, E. of Olivet, generally known as the 'apostles' fountain' (*'Ain Hōd*). See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvii.; also Tristram, *Land of Israel*, 196; *PEFSt*, 1874, 70; and Dillmann on Jos 15^{7}.

C. R. CONDER.

ENSIGN.—See BANNER.

ENSUE.—Coverdale's tr. of Ps 34^{14} is 'Let him seke peace and ensue it'; and this was retained in the Bishops' Bible, and is now read in the Pr. Bk. But AV adopted the Douay word 'pursue.' In 1 P 3^{11}, however, which is a quot. of Ps 34^{14}, AV accepted 'ensue,' which had come from Tindale, the Rhemish having here 'follow.' 'Ensue' is thus used with the unusual force of 'strive after' or 'pursue' (Gr. *διωξάτω*), as Caxton, *Cato*, 2*b*, 'Eschewe alle vyces and ensiewe vertue.' RV gives 'pursue.' As intrans. vb. 'ensue' is found in Jth 9^{5} 'the things . . . which ensued after' (so RV; Gr. *τὰ μετέπειτα*). We still use the word in dates, as 'the ensuing year.'

J. HASTINGS.

EN-TAPPUAH (עֵין־תַּפּוּחַ 'the spring of citron or apple').—A place on the boundary of Manasseh (Jos 17^{7}). It is mentioned between 'Michmethath, which is before (east of) Shechem,' and the 'brook of Ḳanah.' Michmethath is generally (but see Dillm. *ad loc.*) identified with *Mukhna*, E. of *Nâblus*, and the brook Ḳanah is *Wâdy Ḳânah*. Conder's identification of En-tappuah with a spring, near *Yâsûf*, in a valley to the S. of Mukhna, which drains into Wâdy Ḳânah, is accepted by most authorities. The place is probably the Tappuah (which see) of Jos 16^{8} 17^{8}.

C. W. WILSON.

ENTREAT.—See INTREAT.

ENVY is a feeling of uneasiness or displeasure occasioned by beholding the prosperity or advantages enjoyed by others. Butler, in a note to the first of his *Sermons on Human Nature*, indicates it as the vice of that quality of soul of which Emulation is the corresponding virtue. The latter is that 'desire and hope of equality with, or superiority over, others, with whom we compare ourselves,' which not only may be free from any unworthy feeling towards them, but is obviously the very spring of human progress. The characteristic of Envy, on the other hand, is 'to desire the attainment of this equality or superiority by the particular means of others being brought down to our own level or below it.'

The scriptural use of the term is quite in accordance with this description of it, and of its relation to the emotion of which it is a perversion. Of the three words, one in OT and two in NT, of which it appears as a translation, only one, *φθόνος* (with its cognate verb *φθονέω*), has uniformly the evil signification. The difficult verse Ja 4^{5} 'Do you think that the Scripture saith in vain, The spirit that dwelleth in us lusteth to envy?' is scarcely an exception. If, as seems probable, having regard to the context, the rendering of the second clause given in RVm is correct—'That spirit which he made to dwell in us yearneth for us even unto jealous envy'—the phrase must be held as merely illustrating the intensity of the divine affection, which requires the exclusive devotion of its object, by a reference to the human passion of jealousy or envy. (See *Expos. Times*, viii. [1896] p. 76 f.)

The other two words, of which mention has been made, are קִנֵּא (noun קִנְאָה) in OT, and *ζῆλος* (verb *ζηλόω*) in NT; and of each of these words both meanings, the worthy and the unworthy, often appear. קִנֵּא, the original force of which is, apparently, *burning*, *glowing*, naturally denotes, in the first instance, intense emotion. It is used to express the indignation of Joshua (Nu 11^{29}), the zeal of Phinehas (Nu 25^{13}), and the jealousy of Elijah (1 K $19^{10.\,14}$), as well as the envy of Rachel for her sister (Gn 30^{1}), of his brethren for Joseph (Gn 37^{11}), of the people for Moses (Ps 106^{16}), or the mutual envy of Judah and Ephraim (Is 11^{13}). In the Book of Proverbs the evil sense alone appears. Contrasted with 'a sound heart,' which is 'the life of the flesh,' Envy is 'the rottenness of the bones' (Pr 14^{30}); it is more formidable than wrath or anger, for 'who is able to stand before envy?'

The corresponding NT term is *ζῆλος*, in which the same variation of sense is found. In 1 Co 14^{1} (RV) we read 'Desire earnestly spiritual gifts'; in Gal 4^{18} 'it is good to be zealously affected (RV 'sought') always in a good thing'; and in Rev 3^{19} the command 'Be zealous' is coupled with an admonition to repent. In like manner the 'zeal' of Jn 2^{17}, Ro 10^{2}, 2 Co 7^{11} 9^{2}, Ph 3^{6}, Col 4^{13}, the 'fervent mind' of 2 Co 7^{7}, and the 'jealousy' of 2 Co 11^{2}, illustrate the commendable aspect of the emotion indicated. In lists of vices, on the other hand, such as those in Ro 1^{29}, 1 Ti 6^{4}, envy has a conspicuous place. Trench, in *New Testament Synonyms*, points out that in the list given in Mk $7^{21.\,22}$ the place of *φθόνος* is taken by the circumlocution *ὀφθαλμὸς πονηρός*, 'an evil eye' (compare Mt 20^{15}, also 1 S 18^{9} 'Saul *eyed* David'), which reminds us of the derivation of the Lat. *invidia*, Eng. 'envy,' from *invideo* 'to look closely at,' so 'to look maliciously.'

It may be noted that in the following passages, Job 5^{2}, Pr 27^{4}, Ac 7^{9} 13^{45} 17^{5}, Ro 13^{13}, 1 Co 3^{3}, 2 Co

12^{20}, Ja $3^{14.16}$ RV substitutes 'jealousy,' or its cognates, for 'envy.'

For the difference between *ζῆλος* and *φθόνος* see Trench, *Synon. of NT*, p. 83 ff., and art. ZEAL.

A. STEWART.

EPAENETUS (Ἐπαίνετος).—One of the Christians greeted by St. Paul at the end of the Ep. to the Romans (16^5). He is mentioned at the beginning of the list immediately after Prisca and Aquila, is described as 'my beloved' (*τὸν ἀγαπητόν μου*), and as the 'first fruits (*ἀπαρχή*) of Asia unto Christ' (the reading Achaia of TR is clearly wrong, being derived from 1 Co 16^{15}). The name, which is Greek, is not uncommon, occurring in inscriptions both of Rome and Asia. One from the former place mentions an E. who was a native of Ephesus (*CIL* vi. 17171).

The mention of Prisca, Aquila, and E. forms the basis of the theory that Ro 16^{3-16} was addressed to the Church at Ephesus; but three names—two of them belonging to persons originally resident at Rome—out of a total of more than twenty, are not sufficient evidence for it. It was natural that the Christian body in the capital should consist largely at first of foreigners; and even one hundred years later, in the time of Justin Martyr, out of a body of seven Christians condemned to death in Rome, three are foreigners (*Acta Justini*, § 4).

LITERATURE.—Renan, *St. Paul*, p. lxv; Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, p. 301; Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, p. 421.

A. C. HEADLAM.

EPAPHRAS (Ἐπαφρᾶς, a shortened form of Ἐπαφρόδιτος; see EPAPHRODITUS) was a native of Colossæ (*ὁ ἐξ ὑμῶν* Col 4^{12}), and as we learn from the correct reading of Col 1^7 the founder of the Col. Church (*καθὼς ἐμάθετε ἀπὸ Ἐπαφρᾶ*, 'even as ye learned of Epaphras,' where the omission of *καί* (also) of TR makes Epaphras more than an accessory teacher). It is prob. that he was also the evangelist of the neighbouring towns of Laodicea and Hierapolis (Col $4^{12.13}$). He visited St. Paul during his first Rom. imprisonment, bringing him an encouraging report of the state of the Colossian Church (Col 1^{4-8}), and for his zeal would seem to have been condemned to share the apostle's imprisonment (*ὁ συναιχμάλωτός μου* Philem ^{23}), though the reference may be to spiritual rather than physical captivity (cf. Ro 16^7, Col 4^{10}). To him alone (except once Timothy, Ph 1^1) does St. Paul apply the designation he uses several times of himself, 'a bond-servant of Jesus Christ' (*δοῦλος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ* Col 4^{12}); while the extent of his services is further proved by the description 'a faithful minister of Christ' (*πιστὸς διάκονος τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, Col 1^7).

G. MILLIGAN.

EPAPHRODITUS (Ἐπαφρόδιτος 'handsome' = Lat. 'venustus,' a common name in the Rom. period; see, *e.g.* Tacit. *Ann.* xv. 55; Suet. *Domit.* 14; Jos. *Life*, § 76), to be distinguished from Epaphras [which see], and known to us only from one or two allusions in the Ep. to the Philippians. From these we learn that he visited St. Paul during his first Roman imprisonment, bringing pecuniary aid to him from the Church at Philippi, and that instead of at once returning home he remained with the apostle in Rome, devoting himself to the ministry under his guidance (Ph 2^{25-30} 4^{10-18}). The strain, however, was too great for him. He lost his health, and 'was sick nigh unto death'; but the danger passed. 'God had mercy on him,' says St. Paul, 'and not on him only, but on me also, that I might not have sorrow upon sorrow' (Ph 2^{27}). On his recovery E. was anxious to return to Philippi to quiet his friends' alarm on his behalf (Ph 2^{26}); and this St. Paul approved, making him at the same time the bearer of the Ep. to the Philippians. St. Paul's sense of E.'s services is marked by his description of him as 'my brother and fellow-worker and fellow-soldier,' the three words being arranged in an ascending scale to denote 'common sympathy, common work, common danger and toil and suffering' (Lightfoot on Ph 2^{25}).

LITERATURE.—The *Comm.* on Ph 2^{25}, esp. Lightfoot, p. 61 ff., 122; Ellicott, p. 60; Moule, p. 79; and Vincent, pp. xxiii, 75. Also Thayer, *NT Lex. s.* Ἐπαφρᾶς; Winer, *RWB*, *s.* 'Epaphras'; and Beet in *Expositor*, 3rd Ser. ix. (1889) 64–75, 'Epaphroditus and the gift from Philippi.'

G. MILLIGAN.

EPHAH (עֵיפָה).—**1.** A son of Midian, descended from Abraham and Keturah (Gn 25^4=1 Ch 1^{33}), the eponymous ancestor of an Arabian tribe whose identity is uncertain. This tribe appears in Is 60^6 as engaged in the transport of gold and frankincense from Sheba. According to Frd. Delitzsch (*Paradies*, 304), and Schrader (*KAT*^{2} 146 f., 613), followed by Hommel (*Anc. Heb. Trad.* 238 n.), *'Ephah* is properly *'Ayappa*, the Khayappa Arabs of the time of Tiglath-pileser III. and Sargon (see further, Dillmann on Gn 25^4). **2.** A concubine of Caleb, 1 Ch 2^{46}. **3.** A Judahite, son of Jahdai, 1 Ch 2^{47}. See GENEALOGY.

J. A. SELBIE.

EPHAH.—See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

EPHAI, עֵיפַי (*Ḳerê*), but **Ophai**, עוֹפַי (*Kethîbh*), Sept. Ἰωφέ, Ὠφή, described in Jer 40 (Gr. 47)^8 as 'the Netophatite,' whose sons were amongst the 'captains of the forces' who joined Gedaliah at Mizpah, and were murdered along with him by Ishmael (Jer 41^3).

J. A. SELBIE.

EPHER (עֵפֶר 'a [deer] calf').—**1.** The name of the second of the sons of Midian mentioned in Gn 25^4, 1 Ch 1^{33}, and recorded as one of the descendants of Abraham by his wife Keturah (Gn 25^1). For precarious attempts to identify this Epher with 'Ofr in Arabia (Wetzstein), with Appar-u mentioned in Assurbanipal's Inscriptions (Glaser), see the references in Dillmann. **2.** The name of one of the sons of Ezrah, a branch of the family of Judah (1 Ch 4^{17}). **3.** The first of a group of five heads of fathers' houses belonging to the half tribe of Manasseh, who dwelt in the land between Bashan and Mt. Hermon (1 Ch 5^{24}).

H. E. RYLE.

EPHES-DAMMIM (אֶפֶס דַּמִּים, Ἐφερμέν, Ἀφεσδομμείν).—The place in Judah where the Philistines were encamped at the time when David slew Goliath (1 S 17^1). The same name appears in 1 Ch 11^{13} as **Pas-Dammim**. The form אֶפֶס דַּמִּים is strange and probably corrupt (see Driver, *Sam.* 292).

W. J. BEECHER.

EPHESIAN (Ἐφέσιος), an inhabitant of the city of Ephesus (which see), is a term used in Ac $19^{28.34.35}$ 21^{29}. The usage of St. Luke is more correct than that of Stephanus Byzant.; the latter gives Ἐφεσεύς as the ethnic; but the coins and inscriptions show that in the local and universal usage Ἐφέσιος meant an inhabitant of the city, while Ἐφεσεύς denoted a member of the tribe Ἐφεσεῖς, the first of the six tribes into which the E. population was divided (the other five were called Σεβαστή, Τήϊοι, Καρηναῖοι, Εὐώνυμοι, Βεμβιναῖοι, of which Σεβαστή was added in compliment to Augustus, the total number having previously been five). The term Ἐφέσιοι is also applied in the Bezan and Philoxenian Syr. texts of Ac 20^4 to Tychicus and Trophimus, where the true reading is 'Asians' (Ἀσιανοί, men of the province Asia). Trophimus was an E. (Ac 21^{29}); but we may fairly understand that St. Luke refrained from using that term about both Tychicus and Trophimus, on the ground that it was not strictly applicable to the former. The reason can hardly be that Tychicus belonged to some other city of Asia, for the usage in this verse leads the writer to state the city where each delegate was a citizen; and we should expect that he would have mentioned Tychicus by the ethnic of his own city. Moreover, Tychicus probably inhabited Ephesus.* We may, then, perhaps conclude that Tychicus, though a resident (*incola*), did not possess the citizenship of Ephesus; and hence Ἐφέσιος, which strictly is restricted to citizens of Ephesus, could not properly be used about him. There were many families of residents who, for various reasons, were not enrolled in any of the tribes, and were therefore not entitled to be called citizens of Ephesus. The entry Ἀσία ἡ Ἔφεσος in a late Byzantine list of cities which had changed their names (published by Parthey, *Hieroclis Synecd. et Notitiæ*, p. 316; Burckhardt, *Hieroclis Synecd.* p. 68) cannot be relied on to justify the taking of Ἀσιανός in 20^4 as a mere synonym for Ἐφέσιος: the document is not earlier than the 12th cent. (cf. the entries Κιλικία, Κολωνία, etc.), and affords no trustworthy evidence for the usage of the time of St. Luke.

W. M. Ramsay.

EPHESIANS, EPISTLE TO—

- i. Substance and purpose, as gathered
  - (*a*) From internal evidence.
  - (*b*) From a comparison with Colossians.
- ii. Authorship and Date, as gathered from
  - (*a*) Internal evidence.
  - (*b*) External tradition.
- iii. Destination.
- iv. Place of Composition.
- v. Doctrinal Importance.
- vi. Literature.

i. Substance and Purpose.—The questions of the authorship, date, and destination of this Epistle have been, and are still, so much disputed that it will be well to deal first with the subject-matter and the purpose which reveals itself on a close examination of that. The Ep. might be summed up in the words of the Angelic song (Lk 2^{14})—

δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς·
εἰρήνη ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας.

Or, again, it might be described as an expression of thanksgiving that the Lord's prayer for His Church as embodied in Jn 17 was in process of fulfilment. For the writer's tone is eucharistic and his main theme is unity: he does not argue, he makes dogmatic statements; he blesses God for the great truths revealed in the Gospel; and calls upon his readers to rise to the high dignity of their calling; and, as he does so, there emerges a picture of the Church as the body predestined before the ages to unite Jew and Gentile together, which through ages yet to come has to exhibit before the universe the fulness of the Divine life, living the life of God, imitating God's character, wearing God's panoply, fighting God's battles, forgiving as God forgives, educating as God educates; and all this that it may fulfil the wider work whereby Christ is to be the centre of the universe. Two dangers seem to threaten it when the writer writes,—the danger lest it should slip back into the lower moral standard of the surrounding heathendom, and the danger of a want of unity between the Jewish and Gentile Christians. To meet these, the writer presents the ideal of a body predestined before all ages and to last to all ages, whose aim it is to make men holy and without blemish, and to unite all mankind in peace and love.

A fuller analysis will bear out these outlines.

1–3 Doctrinal.

$1^{1.2}$ greeting.

(*a*) 1^{3-14}. Thanksgiving to God for the blessings given to the whole Chr. Church. These blessings are represented as corresponding in spiritual form to the material blessings granted to the Jewish nation, especially as summed up in the year of Jubilee, and they are described in what may be called a hymn of three stanzas, ending with the same refrain; the three stanzas expressing the work of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. For these blessings were (1) predestined by the Father, who chose us to be sons, holy and without blemish, before the foundation of the world, *for the praise of the glory of His grace* ($1^{4.5}$).

(2) Communicated in Christ at the right moment, conveying redemption, forgiveness, knowledge of God's universal purpose for all creation, and inheritance among the saints—*to the praise of His glory* (1^{6-11}).

(3) Sealed first to the Jews (ἡμᾶς), then to the Gentiles (καὶ ὑμεῖς), by the Holy Spirit, as an earnest of the complete redemption which lies in the future—*for the praise of His glory* ($1^{12.13}$).

(*b*) 1^{15-19}. Thanksgiving to God for the spiritual state of the readers, and a prayer to the Father of this glory that they may have a yet fuller knowledge of their privileges and of the power of God.

(*c*) 1^{20}–2^{22}. A dogmatic statement of this power of God, which has shown itself in a threefold way.

(1) As exerted upon Christ Himself, granting Him

Resurrection from death (^{20}).
Ascension to God's right hand (^{21}).
Supremacy over the whole universe and Headship over the Church ($^{22.23}$).

(2) As exerted upon individuals, whether Gentile ($2^{1.2}$) or Jew (2^3), granting them a similar threefold gift, viz. Resurrection from spiritual death (2^4).

Ascension with Christ to a spiritual sphere above the world (2^5).
The power to do good works and manifest God's grace through the coming ages (2^{6-10}).

(3) As exerted upon the whole of Humanity.

The Gentiles who formerly were alienated from God have been brought nigh by the Cross; so that both Gentile and Jew have peace with God and peace with each other: they form one city, one family, one temple, built on the foundation of apostles and prophets, and the Gentiles are now being built into that (2^{11-22}).

(*d*) 3^{1-19}. Personal relations between the writer and his readers.

The writer, who emphasizes his authority to preach this great truth of God's choice of a universal Church intended to exhibit his richly-variegated wisdom to the universe (3^{1-12}), begs his readers not to be faint-hearted owing to his imprisonment (3^{13}), and once more prays for them to the Father, that they may have spiritual strength so that Christ may dwell in them in love and knowledge to understand the greatness of their privileges, so that the fulness of the Divine life may be exhibited through them (3^{14-19}).

(*e*) $3^{20.21}$. This section of the Ep. ends with a doxology, emphasizing the power of God manifested in man, and the eternal duty of praise to Him both in heaven and on earth.

4–6 Hortatory.

A. An appeal to the whole Church

(1) To live a life worthy of the members of a Society whose essential characteristic is unity (4^{1-16}). (This is based on $1^{12.13}$ 2^{11-22}; cf. also 4^{25}–5^2.)

An appeal for the moral qualities which preserve unity (4^{1-3})

is followed by a fuller description of the unity, as one of both form and spirit, and resting upon the unity of God (4^{4-6});

and a recognition of the variety of gifts, especially the ministry, given to the Church by the Risen Christ, the Lord of the whole universe, in order to produce unity and spiritual perfection and steadfastness in truth; so that the body may ever grow into closer union with its Head (4^{7-16}).

(2) To live a life different from the old evil Gentile life (4^{17-24}). (This is based on 1^{7-9} 2^{1-10}, cf. 5^{3-21}.)

A description of the old Gentile life as one of aimlessness, ignorance, impurity (4^{17-19}) is contrasted with

A description of the Christian life as implying renewal of intellect, righteousness, and holiness in conformity with God's standard (4^{20-24}).

(3) To cultivate certain particular virtues and avoid particular vices (4^{25}–5^{21}). The choice of these rises out of the two preceding paragraphs; they are either such virtues as make for unity and such vices as destroy it (so mainly 4^{25}–5^2, cf. the motives appealed to in $^{25.27.28.29.32}$), *or* such virtues as form the antithesis to the old Gentile life, either on the side of morality or of knowledge (so mainly 5^{3-22}; cf. the motives in 4^{30} 5^3 καθὼς πρέπει ἁγίοις, $^{5.6.15.16.18}$).

These virtues are—1. Truthfulness: based upon our close union with each other (4^{25}).

2. A right use of anger: based upon the harm which the devil may do (4^{26}).

3. Honest toil: based on the duty of helping others (4^{27}).

4. Pure conversation: based on the duty of helping those who hear (4^{28}), and the danger of grieving the indwelling Spirit (4^{29}).

5. Gentleness and forgiveness: based on God's forgiveness of us (4^{31-32}).

6. Love: based on Christ's love and self-sacrifice ($5^{1.2}$).

7. Avoidance of all impurity and covetousness as unworthy of our consecration (5^3), and of all foolish jesting and talk, as excluding from the kingdom of Christ and of God (5^{4-6}), as sure to incur God's wrath (5^7), as inconsistent with the Christian life, which is one of light (5^{8-14}).

8. Wise use of opportunities: based upon the evil of the time ($5^{15.16}$).

---

* We regard the Bezan and Syr. reading as founded on a good tradition (cf. 2 Ti 4^{12}; Ramsay, *Church in Rom. Emp.* p. 154); while Blass and others consider it to originate from St. Luke himself.

9. An intelligent understanding of God's will (5^{17}).

10. Temperance in wine—perhaps especially at the Love-feasts (5^{18}).

11. Fulness of spiritual joy and thankful praise of God—perhaps especially at the meetings for common worship (5$^{19-21}$).

This leads back through the thought of the common worship of the Church to the ideal of unity and subjection, and so forms a transition to

B. 5^{23}–6^{9}. An appeal to various classes in the Church.

Wives exhorted to submission to their husbands (5^{22})

Because of the relation of man to woman (5^{23}),

And the analogy of the Church's submission to Christ (5^{24}).

Husbands exhorted to love their wives (5^{25})

Because of the analogy of Christ's love for His Church (5$^{25-27\ 30-33}$),

And the closeness of the union between man and wife (5$^{28.\ 29}$).

Children exhorted to obey their parents

Because of the natural sense of right (6^{1})

And God's commandment and promise (6$^{2-4}$).

Parents exhorted to train their children patiently

Because of the analogy of God's training of His sons (6^{4}).

Slaves exhorted to loyal obedience to their masters (6$^{5-7}$)

Because of the impartiality of God's judgment (6^{8}).

Masters to avoid threatening

Because of the thought of their own Master in heaven (6^{9}).

(*N.B.*—This is no accidental digression, nor is it merely an attempt to lay down a new decalogue or moral code for Gentile Christians (Ewald), which should draw them nearer to the Jewish Christians by removing one of the great stumbling-blocks (Ac 15^{20}); but the writer takes a Christian household with all its members, and treats it as a type of the Church, in which the duties of subjection, love, obedience, forbearance, which are needed for the unity of the Church, may be first learned. Cf. 5$^{24.\ 25-27}$ 6$^{1.\ 4.\ 7.\ 9}$, 1 Ti 3^{5}. The thought of 3^{15} *πᾶσα πατριά* is the link between the two.

C. Addressed to the whole Church.

An exhortation to be true soldiers, to put on the full armour of God, that they may realize His strength and fight His battles (6$^{10.\ 11}$, cf. 1^{19} 2^{2}).

Description of the seriousness of the conflict (6^{12}).

Description of the armour, as complete (^{13}), as consisting of truth and righteousness (cf. 4^{24}), of peace (cf. 2^{15}), and faith (cf. 1^{13}), of God's saving grace (cf. 1^{13} 2^{8}), of God's word of truth (cf. 4^{21} 5^{26}), of prayer and watchfulness (6$^{13-18}$). The choice of the weapons is partly motived by the description of J''s armour in Isaiah (59, etc.), partly by the virtues already emphasized in this Epistle, partly perhaps by the armour of the soldier to whom the writer is chained (^{20}).

A request for their prayer for himself (6$^{19.\ 20}$).

An account of the purpose of the mission of Titus (6$^{21.\ 22}$).

Final salutation, with prayer for peace, love, and faith, to those who have love for the Lord (6$^{23.\ 24}$).

The Ep. is thus marked by extraordinary unity of structure and interlacing of paragraph with paragraph, and the analysis shows that there is no sense of controversy on the surface of it; 2^{11} hints at the controversial nicknames of the Jewish and Gentile struggle (*οἱ λεγόμενοι ἀκροβυστία ὑπὸ τῆς λεγομένης περιτομῆς*); 4^{14} and perhaps 4^{21} point to the danger of false teaching, but the allusions are vague. The purpose is to emphasize the moral and spiritual fulness of the Christian life (cf. *πληροῦν* and *πλήρωμα*, 1$^{10.\ 23}$ 3^{19} 4$^{10.\ 13}$ 5^{18}), and the closeness of the union which binds Christians to Christ and to each other: cf. *ἐν Κυρίῳ* or *ἐν Χριστῷ* (Eph 30 times, Col 11); *ἑνότης* (4$^{3.\ 13}$ here only); *ἀγάπη* and *ἀγαπᾶν* (19 times in Eph as compared with 16 in Ro and 1 Co); *εἰρήνη* (8 times Eph, 11 Ro, in no other Ep. oftener than 3); and the many compounds of *σύν*, emphasizing the 'with'-ness of Christians with Christ *συγκαθίζειν* (2^{6} only), *συζωοποιεῖν* (2^{5} and Col 2^{13}), *συνεγείρειν* (2^{6}, Col 2^{12} 3^{1}); or with each other, *συγκληρόνομος* (3^{6}, Ro 7^{9}), *συμβιβάζειν* (4^{16}, Col 2$^{2.\ 19}$), *συμμέτοχος* (3^{6} 5^{7} only), *συμπολίτης* (2^{19} only), *συναρμολογεῖν* (2^{21} 4^{16} only), *σύνδεσμος* (4^{3}, Col 2^{19} 3^{14}), *συνοικοδομεῖν* (2^{22} only), *σύσσωμος* (3^{6} only). The purpose of all this, too, lies beyond itself. The Church must be one, because a great conflict lies before it; the spiritual forces of evil are gathering, and it must be on its guard.

A comparison with Colossians will partly confirm, partly supplement this result. Whoever may be the author of this Ep., it is clear that there is a close relation between it and that. The salutations are almost identical: the structure of the Epistles is the same: the subjects are mainly the same, the need of knowledge is emphasized, and the relation of Christ to the universe and to the Church: the same moral virtues are inculcated; the laws of family life are laid down in each; the same phrases and words recur; they are both conveyed by Tychicus (cf. Holtzmann, *Einleitung*^{2} p. 291, for exact details). But there are important differences; the personal element is strongly marked in Col (2$^{1-4}$ 4$^{10-17}$) and almost absent here; the controversial tone (Col 2$^{4-23}$) is dropped; the stress there was on Christ's relation to the universe, here on His relation to the Church; there Christ was spoken of as the *πλήρωμα* of God, here the Church as the *πλήρωμα* of Christ and of God. Again, there are new points emphasized in this Ep.; the sense of the continuity of the Church throughout the ages (Eph 1$^{3-14}$), the work of the Holy Spirit (12 times in Eph, 1 in Col), the unity of the Church (2$^{11-22}$ 4$^{4-6}$), the analogy between family life and the Church (5^{22}–6^{9}), the simile of the Christian armour (6$^{10-18}$), are all additions in this Ep., or at best are expansions of very slight references there.

The points of similarity justify us in finding below the surface allusions to the Col. controversy. That arose from teaching which either grew simply out of Jewish soil, or perhaps was influenced by extraneous Oriental speculation (cf. Lightfoot, *Colossians*: 'The Colossian Heresy'; and Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, pp. 116–129), laying great stress on a system of elaborate rules, termed a philosophy, and separating God from the material world by the introduction of the worship of angels. In answer to this the Ep. to the Col emphasized the cosmic work of Christ, and the need of a truer and higher wisdom, and of faith as the means of approach to God. This controversy is now in the background; but it is justifiable to fill out the vague allusions in such passages as 1$^{9.\ 10.\ 21}$ 2$^{2.\ 8}$ 3$^{10.\ 15.\ 19}$ 4$^{10.\ 14.\ 21}$ 6^{12}, by the more detailed parallels in Col (cf. esp. Findlay in *Expositor's Bible*).

On the other hand, the points of dissimilarity which cover the larger part of the Ep. show that the stress of that controversy is absent here, and that other motives are prominent.

The purpose, then, is *primarily* to stir up the readers to a higher activity and a closer unity by reminding them of the ideal of the Church in God's eternal purposes; *secondarily*, to guard them against false teaching that was current at the time, tending to take a low view of the created world.

ii. AUTHORSHIP AND DATE.—Three possible alternatives are open to us: either the author is St. Paul, or some friend writing for him and with his knowledge, or some later writer assuming after St. Paul's death that he is justified in writing in his name. The second of these alternatives may be put aside; it is only another form of the first, as the Ep. would practically be St. Paul's and have all his authority. Now, as the third alternative is possible, we must eliminate at first from the discussion all that speaks of the exact situation in St. Paul's life; for on that alternative, that will be part of an imaginary situation. But, apart from this, we have a few indications of date and writer.

Date.—The *terminus a quo* is A.D. 58 or 59, the earliest date at which St. Paul could be described as having suffered a long imprisonment (3$^{1-13}$ 4^{1}) as the champion of the Gentiles.

The *terminus ad quem* is more doubtful. The Church organization implied is very slight; there is a ministry, both of apostles and prophets for the first foundation of Churches (2^{20} 3^{5} 4^{11}), and of evangelists, shepherds and teachers for the building up of Churches once founded (4^{11}). There is stress laid on Baptism, perhaps an allusion to the profession at Baptism of faith in God, the Lord, and the Spirit (4$^{4-6}$ 5^{26}), perhaps also an allusion to a formula or hymn used at Baptism (5^{14}). There is evidence of the growth of Christian hymnody (5$^{14.\ 19}$ 3^{20}?), and apparently of its use in the Love-feasts (cf. 5$^{18.19}$ with 1 Co 10^{21}. Tert. *Apol.* 39). But this evidence is indeterminate; it might all be illustrated from 1 Co (6^{11} 12$^{4-7.28}$ 14^{26}); while the absence of mention of *ἐπίσκοποι*, *πρεσβύτεροι*, and *διάκονοι* is against a late date. The absence of the freer *χαρίσματα* of 1 Co 12 is no objection, as they were esp. characteristic of the Corinthian Church, and as, even there, St. Paul discouraged them in comparison with the more fixed ministry.

The controversies referred to are again undecisive. The attempt to see allusions to a developed 2nd cent. Gnosticism are now abandoned, for its technical words *αἰῶνες*, *πλήρωμα*, *γενεαί* are clearly used here in a less technical sense; again, possible allusions to a false Docetism in 4^{9} 5^{21} are too uncertain to build upon. On the doctrinal side there is nothing which may not be explained as falling within the 1st century. So with the struggle of parties within the Church. There is still a certain friction between the Jewish and Gentile Christians, and the danger is that the Gentiles may despise the Jewish Christians; they need reminding that they have been brought into a commonwealth which existed before (1^{12} 2^{11}). Such a condition would have been possible even in the 2nd cent. (cf. Justin Martyr, *Trypho*, ch. 47); but it would also have been possible at any date after St. Paul's missionary work (cf. Ro 11$^{13-24}$), and the language used seems to imply that the readers belonged to the first generation of converts, who had themselves come over from paganism to Christianity (1^{13} 2$^{2.12}$ 4^{20}).

Again, the absence of any mention of the destruction of Jerus. possibly points to a date earlier than A.D. 70, and the absence of any clear allusion to any danger of persecution by the state (though that may be included in the dangers against which the Christian has to arm himself, 6^{12}) is, when compared with 1 P, a strong indication of a date before A.D. 70 if St. Peter refers to the Neronian, before A.D. 80 if to the Flavian persecution. On internal grounds, therefore, A.D. 70 forms the most probable limit, though a date even in the 2nd cent. would be conceivable.

The use of the letter in other Christian literature supports an early date. By A.D. 150 it was known widely by Catholics and heretics, and treated by both as Scripture; for it was included in the Lat. and Syr. versions; its destination was discussed by Marcion (see below); it was used by the Ophites, Valentinians, and Basilideans, prob. by Basilides and Valentinus themselves, perhaps even commented upon by them (Westcott, *Canon*, 291, 295). It was included with the title 'to the Laodiceans' in Marcion's Canon (*c.* 140): a canon the existence of which implies a Church Canon, to which it was placed in opposition (Sanday, *BL* p. 19). In the years 95–150 we have probable reminiscences of its language in Clement, cf. xxxvi. with Eph 1^{18}, xxxviii., *σωζέσθω οὖν ὅλον τὸ σῶμα ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ καὶ ὑποτασσέσθω ἕκαστος τῷ πλήσιον αὐτοῦ*, with 5$^{21-23}$, xlvi. with 4$^{4-6}$, lxiv. with 1^{4}(?); in Ignatius, *ad Ephes.* i. 1 with Eph 1^{3} ff.; ix. and xv. with Eph 2^{21}; xii. with 3^{4}, *Παύλου συμμύσται . . . ὃς ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστόλῃ μνημονεύει ὑμῶν*, possibly a direct reference to the letter (Smith, *DB*^{2} p. 952 n; but see Lightfoot, *ad loc.*, and Hort, *Ro and Eph*, p. 113); *ad Polyc.* v. with 5^{25}.

In *The Two Ways*—the document which underlies the Didaché (iv. 10) and Ep. Barnabas (xix.) there seems a reminiscence of Eph 6^{9}.

In Polycarp, *ad Phil.* ch. i. may be compared with Eph 2$^{5.8.9}$, and xii. with Eph 4^{26}. In Hermas, cf. *Mand.* iii. 4 and x. 2–5 with 4^{30}, and v. and xii. 5 with 4^{26}; *Similitude* ix. 13 with 4$^{4.5}$.

Moreover, in nearly all these sub-apost. writings there is an advance in thought or church life. The stress on episcopacy, the development of Docetism, the elaboration of the metaphor of the Church as a temple in the Ignatian letters; the stress on the threefold ministry and the more marked use of liturgical language in Clement of Rome; above all, the fuller working out into detail of the many similes in this Ep. in the Shepherd of Hermas, all seem to imply a later date. In this latter treatise, the phrase 'giving place to the devil' is elaborately drawn out in *Mand.* v. and xii. 5. The conception of the Church as existing through all ages is expanded in *Vis.* ii. 4; of the Church as a bride without spot or wrinkle in *Vis.* iii. 10–13; as a building in *Vis.* iii. 2, *Sim.* ix. 9; as resting upon the apostles as foundation in *Sim.* ix. 15. In each case the simile is at a later stage of development.

'It is all but certain on this evidence that the Epistle was in existence by A.D. 95, quite certain that it was in existence by about 15 years later, or conceivably a little more' (Hort, p. 118). But there is possibly other evidence to be drawn from NT. The points of comparison with the Synoptic Gospels (*e.g.* Lk 21^{36} with Eph 6^{18}, Mk 4^{11} with Eph 3^{4}, Mk 12^{10} with Eph 2^{20}, Mt 16^{18} with Eph 2^{20} 4^{9}), or with the Acts (2^{39} with Eph 2^{13}, 2^{33} with Eph 4^{8}, 10^{36} with Eph 2^{17}), do not prove literary dependence nor go beyond parallels found in the earlier Epistles. [For details cf. Holtzmann, *Kritik*, pp. 248–255, but his analogies are often fanciful. For possible allusions to Agrapha of our Lord in 2$^{16.17}$ 3^{15} 4$^{26.27.36}$ cf. Resch, *Agrapha*, p. 109.] There are striking similarities between the Ep. and the Fourth Gospel; *e.g.* the stress on *χάρις*, the use of *πλήρωμα*, the contrast between light and darkness, the continuity of the work of the Logos, the predestination of the disciples, the activities of the Holy Spirit, the purifying power of baptism and of the word. The most striking similarity in thought is with Jn 17, where almost every verse offers a parallel to this Ep.; *e.g.* [1] the stress on God's fatherhood, [2] the power over all flesh, [3] life identified with knowledge, [5] the pre-existent glory of Christ, [6] the revelation to a few, [10] Christ glorified in His disciples, [11] the prayer for unity based on God's unity, [12] Christ's joy fulfilled in His disciples, [14] the antagonism of the world, [15] the protection from the evil one, [17] sanctification by truth, [21] the unity of Christians as a means of promoting Christ's work, [23] God's love for Christians like His love for Christ, [24] God's love for Christ before the foundation of the world. So again between the Ep. and the Apoc. [*e.g.* the city with foundations, which are the twelve apostles (21^{14}), the Church as a bride (21^{2}), the prominence of the prophets (10^{7} 11^{18} 18^{20})]: even more frequent are the points of contact with 1 P; *e.g.* 1 P 1^{2} with Eph 1$^{3-14}$, 1^{12} with Eph 3^{10}, 2^{4} with Eph 2^{20}, 2^{18}–3^{7} with Eph 5^{22}–6^{9}, 3^{19} with Eph 4^{9}, 3^{22} with Eph 1^{20}.

It is doubtful whether in any case the amount of similarity is sufficient to prove literary dependence. The similarity with St. John is one mainly of thought. It is possible that the language of St. John was influenced by this Ep., but it is more probable that this Ep. was written by one who had heard of that great prayer of our Lord. May not St. Paul have heard it direct from St. John's lips, possibly at Jerus., when they met to discuss the terms of unity between Jew and Gentile in the one Church; or possibly at Rome, if, as Renan suggests, St. John had been there, or even was there when St. Paul was writing? In the case of 1 Peter there is a stronger probability of literary dependence; if so, and if we assume the priority of 1 Peter (but see Weiss, *Introd.* i. p. 355), we should have indication that our Ep. was in existence before A.D. 70 or 80—at least it proves that the tone of thought and phraseology is such as was possible and natural before that date.

Author.—The author must have been a Jewish Christian, proud of his Jewish privileges, steeped in OT symbolism (1^{3-14} 6^{14-18}). Further, he must have been an original thinker, able to trace out a philosophy of history through the ages, able to move in the mystical sphere of heavenly places, and yet able to pass thence into the lower region of simple daily duties and of family life. Lastly, he was one who cared that his writing should appear under the name and with all the authority of St. Paul. There is, then, a *primà facie* probability that it was St. Paul himself; and a detailed examination will bear this out.

(*a*) The structure of the Ep. is clearly Pauline. The commencement with words of thanksgiving (cf. Ro 1^{8}, 1 Co 1^{4}, 2 Co 1^{3}); the great statement of doctrine as the basis for moral exhortation (cf. Ro 1^{18}–8); the moral exhortation, introduced by οὖν (cf. Ro 12^{1}, Gal 5^{1}), and passing from the general to the particular (cf. Ro 12–15); the apparent digression on family life, which really proves to be an important illustration of the whole subject (cf. 1 Co 7^{17-24} 9^{1}–10^{13}, Ro 9–11), all find parallels in St. Paul.

(*b*) The main thoughts often show an advance on the earlier Epp., but it is an advance on a line already marked out. Thus the continuity of the Christian Church with the Jewish, as a part of God's eternal plan ($1^{3.14}$), finds parallels in Ro 9–11. 16^{25-27}, Gal $4^{1.4}$; the conception of Christ as the original source of creation and the restorer of its unity (1^{10}), in 1 Co 8^{6}, 2 Co $5^{18.19}$, Ro 8^{18-23}; the conception of the Church as the body of Christ, which receives His life and shows it forth to the universe, is an expansion of the germs in 1 Co 4^{9} 12^{27}; the unity of the Church is presupposed in the whole argument of 1 Co, where St. Paul is anxious to keep the customs and doctrines of the Corinthian Church in a line with those of all the Churches of the Saints (1 Co 1^{2} 4^{17} 7^{17} 11^{16} 15^{3-11})—even the use of ἐκκλησία for the Church universal is probable in 1 Co 1^{2} 10^{32}(?) 12^{28}; the stress laid on the Holy Spirit as the inspirer of the Church's life is analogous to 1 Co 12; the identification of the events of Christ's death and resurrection with those of the life of each Christian (2^{1-10}), to Ro 6 and 1 Co 15; the residence of sin in the σάρξ (2^{3}), and its effect on intellect as well as will, to Ro 7; the universal sinfulness of Jew and Gentile alike as the basis of a universal redemption (2^{1-4}) is a summary of Ro 1^{18}–2^{29}, cf. Gal $2^{15.21}$; the destruction of the barrier between Jew and Gentile ($2^{11.22}$) is St. Paul's most favourite doctrine.

But it is urged that here the parts are changed: elsewhere St. Paul is the champion of the Gentile against Jewish narrowness; here he reminds Gentiles of the privileges of the Jews, and appears as the champion of Jewish Christians against Gentile exclusiveness. This is true, but the balance between the preponderance of Jew and Gentile might differ in each Church, or even at different moments in the history of one Church; and St. Paul was bent always, not on upholding one side, but on securing the rights of both within the Church. Further, this attitude on his part towards the Gentile Christians finds an exact parallel in Ro 11^{17-24}. Indeed the strongest argument for the Pauline authorship lies in the undesigned coincidences between Eph and the Ep. to the Romans. Both are of the nature of a general treatise; both are an attempt to show that Jew and Gentile are united by the work of Christ; both base this on the sinfulness of Jew and Gentile alike; both emphasize the privileges of the Jews; both build up a new morality, centring in love and made possible by the gift of the Spirit; both hint at the extension of Christ's work beyond man to the whole creation; both emphasize the eternal plan of God, hidden for ages, hinted at in prophetic writings and revealed at the due moment; both express the writer's amazement at the depths of the wisdom of God, and in each case the style rises into the beauty and cadence of a poem (Ro 8^{31-39}).

There are two points indeed which present a rather striking difference from the earlier Epistles. The thought of the quick return of the Lord is absent, and in its stead we have a vista of generations yet to come, through which the Church is to glorify God (3^{21}). But it is conceivable that these generations are thought of by the writer as following the Lord's return; it is conceivable, in accord with this, that the struggle which lies before the Church (6^{12}) is that which is to precede the coming of the Lord (cf. 2 Th 2^{8-12}); and further, it is clear that St. Paul, when he wrote the Ep. to the Romans, had contemplated the possibility of some long period of Church history before the Lord's coming (Ro 11^{25}).

Once more, the high conception of family life is at first sight inconsistent with the preference for celibacy and discouragement of marriage in 1 Co 7. But that was written in the presence of a pressing necessity: even there St. Paul recognizes that both the celibate and the married have a gift from God; and as time went on and the Lord did not return, it became necessary to build up a true conception of marriage in the face of heathen laxity. It is as likely that St. Paul should organize family life as that he should organize church order, and this he had done from the first.

(*c*) The style is again admittedly Pauline up to a point. There are some twenty words peculiar to St. Paul in his earlier Epp.; others common to Eph with the Pastoral Epp. (cf. Holtzmann, *Kritik*, p. 257); there is the love of paradoxical antithesis (cf. $6^{15.20}$); the play upon cognate words (4^{8-10} $5^{13.14}$); the same free paraphrasing of OT (4^{8-11}, cf. Ro 10^{6-8}); the same unacknowledged adaptation of OT language (1^{22} 2^{13-17} $4^{25.26}$ 5^{2} 6^{1-4} 6^{14-18}, cf. 1 Co 3^{10-15}, 2 Co 3^{12-18}). On the other hand the sentences are less broken, rather more elaborate and complicated by parentheses;* but this applies mainly to the earlier part of the Ep., where we have great statements of doctrine rather than controversial arguments, so that it may be adequately explained as due to the quieter tone in which St. Paul was writing. So, too, of verbal differences; there is a large number of ἅπαξ λεγόμενα (76), but not proportionately larger than in the other Epp. (for details cf. Von Soden, p. 87; Holtzmann, *Einleitung*, p. 289). Some of them occur in quotations; the majority of them rise naturally out of the subject-matter of the Ep.; even where the application is different from that in the earlier Epp., *e.g.* in οἰκονομία, πλήρωμα, κεφάλη, θεμέλιον, this, too, grows naturally out of the change of subject; and certainly there is no one word which St. Paul could not have used. The two that have been most objected to are the use of ὁ διάβολος (4^{27} 6^{11}) and οἱ ἅγιοι ἀπόστολοι (3^{5}). To the first it is objected that St. Paul elsewhere uses ὁ σατανᾶς or ὁ πειράζων; but St. Mt, St. Lk, St. Jn (Gosp. and Apoc.), the writer of 1 Ti, and St. Paul himself as reported by St. Luke in the Acts (13^{10} 26^{18}), use both ὁ διάβολος and ὁ σατανᾶς; and the stress on unity in this Ep. makes the use of διάβολος, *i.e.* the slanderer, more appropriate than σατανᾶς. Possibly, too, the word means here 'any human slanderer' (Zahn, *Einl.* 367). Again, the phrase 'the holy apostles' sounds like the ecclesiastical formula of a later generation looking back on its canonized founders; but, apart from the consideration that the reading is a little doubtful (cf. Smith, *DB*² pp. 956 and 964), the context shows that ἅγιοι refers to special consecration of the apostles and prophets as recipients of the new revelation, in contrast to the sons of men (cf. Rev 21^{14} and Lk 1^{70}).

(*d*) The relation of the Ep. to that to the Col adds to the complexity of the problem. The extent of this has been brought out already, and the fuller details may be seen in Holtzmann, *Kritik der Epheser- und Kolosser-briefe*, cap. ii., or in Von Soden, pp. 94, 95. There is nothing exactly like the problem elsewhere in NT. The nearest parallels are the relation of the Synoptic Gospels to each other, or the relation of 2 Peter and Jude: in those cases the similarity is due partly to the use of common documents, partly to the deliberate use of the earlier writer by the later. In this case a somewhat similar theory has been propounded by Holtzmann; he holds that St. Paul himself wrote a short letter to the Col., that some later writer elaborated this into the Ep. to the Eph, and that the same writer, or another, subsequently composed our present Ep. to the Col, based upon the two preceding letters. Such a theory rests upon the fact that in some resemblances priority seems to be on the side of Eph, in others on the side of Col; but such an argument is very subjective and precarious; it has not met with any acceptance, and may safely be set aside as too artificial (see Smith, *DB*² pp. 959, 960, for a fuller examination of it).

The more probable theory, then, is that of simultaneous authorship by one writer; and that such a similarity is not unworthy of St. Paul may be seen by comparing instances of similar though less marked resemblance between Ro and Gal (cf. Lightfoot, *Galatians*, Introd. cap. iii.), and between 1 Ti and Titus.

(*e*) The indications of the personal character of the writer are naturally few in so general an Ep.; yet such as they are, they are quite true to the character of St. Paul as revealed in the earlier letters. The spirit of thankfulness bursting out into doxologies (1^{3} 3^{21}), the courteous recognition of good in his converts (1^{15}), the prayerfulness for them (1^{16} $3^{13.14}$), the longing for their intercession (6^{18}), the fondness for applying great principles to the details of daily life ($5^{23\text{ff.}}$), the sense of his own personal unworthiness (a sense which has grown stronger with advancing years, but yet was destined to grow stronger still, 3^{8}, cf. 1 Co 15^{9}, 1 Ti 1^{15}), combined with the bold appeal to his authority as based upon revelation and upon his sufferings for the truth (3^{1} 4^{1}),—all these may indeed be the accidental outcome of borrowing from the early letters, but far more probably are they the natural outcome of the work of the same man.

There can, then, be little doubt that the writer is St. Paul. The alternative is a Jewish-Christian Paulinist, steeped in St. Paul's language, doctrine, and character, composing 'a mosaic out of the material of the Pauline Epistles' (Von Soden), giving a slightly wider scope to his conceptions of Christ and of the Church, emphasizing the universal character of the Church as a part of God's eternal purpose, 'in the spirit of the Fourth Gospel' (Hort, p. 126). It would be a tenable view that the writer was the author of the Fourth Gospel, writing in the name of St. Paul. But if our alternatives are limited so narrowly as this, the witness of the early Church may be regarded as absolutely decisive. We have seen how early the evidence is of the existence of the Ep., and evidence of existence is in this case evidence of belief in the Pauline authorship. The work is not anonymous (like the Fourth Gospel or the Ep. to the Hebrews); it has not merely a salutation easily separable from the Ep.; the claim to Pauline authorship is knit into the very fabric of the letter, and some of the earliest reminiscences of its language are of the parts which imply the authorship. It was, then, written by St. Paul himself.

---

* There are scarcely any interrogatory sentences; one only in Eph, as compared with 88 in Ro 1–11, and 4 in Ro 12–16. (Sanday and Headlam, *International Commentary on the Romans*, the best discussion in English of the difference of style between Ro and Eph.)

iii. Destination.—The readers to whom the letter was addressed were mainly Gentiles (1^{13} 2^{13} 3^{1} 4^{17} 5^{8}); but this does not, any more than Ro 11^{13}, exclude the presence of some Jewish Christians. Indeed, 2^{13} seems to require the presence of Jewish Christians as forming a minority in the Church. St. Paul is laying down guidance to the Gentiles in their treatment of the Jewish Christians. Hence some commentators have treated the Ep. as a general encyclical to all Gentile converts throughout the world.

But there are personal bonds between him and them; he has had recent news of their faith and love (1^{15}); they have heard of his imprisonment and are sad at heart about it (3^{13}), and are anxious as to the issue of it (6^{21}); they seem acquainted with Tychicus ($6^{21.22}$); and they are distinguished from other Christians (1^{15} 3^{18} 6^{18}). There is little doubt, then, that the destination must be localized. But in 1^{1} the words *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ* are of very doubtful authority. They are absent in the first hand of ℵ and B, and are marked as an interpolation in 67; but found in all other MSS. Further, Basil (*c. Eunom.* ii. 19) says that there was a tradition of their absence, and that he found them omitted in the *old* copies known to him. Again, the interpretation of *τοῖς οὖσι* as 'those who have true life,' 'those who really are,'—an interpretation which presupposes the omission of the words,—is quoted by Basil as a traditional interpretation, and is found in Origen (Cramer, *Cat. ad loc.*), and is repeated by Victorinus Afer, Jerome, and Hilary. Further, Tertullian, in arguing against Marcion that the Ep. was addressed to the Eph., does not appeal to the salutation. It is, then, a fair inference that the words were absent from some copies in the 2nd cent., as it is a certainty that they were absent from many in the 3rd and 4th centuries.

The title *πρὸς Ἐφεσίους* gives us surer ground, and yet not quite sure. It is universally found in all MSS and versions, and all Church tradition has connected the Epistle with Ephesus. But Tertullian tells us that some heretics, and notably Marcion (*adv. Marc.* v. 11 and 17, cf. Epiphanius, *Hær.* 42), had a different title 'ad Laodicenos': now this may have been a mere critical conjecture by Marcion, based upon the obvious likeness of this Ep. with the Col, and the indication of Col 4^{16} that there was a letter written to Laodicea at this time. If so, this at least implies the absence of *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ* from the copies: but it is equally probable that the alternative title is a real fact, and that the Ep. was originally sent to Laodicea.

Tradition, then, points to two Churches of Proconsular Asia, Ephesus and Laodicea, and internal evidence is consistent with this. As long as it was regarded as addressed only to Ephesus, the language of 1^{15} 3^{2} 4^{21} and the absence of any special ref. to the circumstances of a Church in which St. Paul had spent three years, and on which he had been on the intimate terms implied in Ac 20, was a stumbling-block; but this difficulty entirely disappears on the theory that the letter was intended for several Churches.

That Ephesus was one of these Churches is practically certain; the unanimity of Church tradition in its favour is conclusive itself; but besides this the points of similarity with the speech to the elders of Ephesus (Ac 20^{19} *ταπεινοφροσύνη* ($=4^{2}$), 24^{33} the stress on *χάρις*; 27 *δεσμά* (cf. 3^{1}), 27 *βουλήν* (cf. 1^{11}), 28 *περιεποιήσατο* (cf. 1^{14}), *ποιμαίνειν* (cf. *ποιμένας* 4^{11}), *κληρονομίαν* (cf. $1^{14.18}$)); with the Gospel of St. John and esp. with the Prologue (see above), with the letter of Ignatius to the Eph. (see above); in a less marked degree with 1 Ti (*e.g.* 2^{5-7} 4^{4} the stress on the universality of creation and redemption; 3^{16} 5^{21} the appeal to the angels as witnessing the Christian life; 3^{5} the treatment of the family as a type of the Church),—all strongly confirm the tradition.

It may be added that the mention of Tychicus (cf. Ac 20^{4}, 2 Ti 4^{12}), the ref. to the power of the spirits of evil (cf Ac 20^{13-19}), the stress on the unity of Baptism (cf. Ac 20^{1-7}), all fall in with the same tradition, though too indeterminate in themselves to prove the destination.

The address to Laodicea is borne out by Col 2^{1} 4^{13-16}, which witness to St. Paul's anxiety for Laodicea at this moment, and show that he was writing at the same time a general letter—not necessarily addressed to Laodicea only, but one which could be obtained from Laodicea (*τὴν ἐκ Λαοδικείας*), and is quite consistent with Rev 3^{14-22}, where the Church at Laodicea is rebuked for lukewarmness.

Nor is there any reason why the destination should be limited to these two Churches. Col 4^{13} suggests that it may also have been sent to Hierapolis, while the analogy of Rev 1–3 and 1 P 1^{1} might lead us to infer that it was intended for all the Gentile converts of Proconsular Asia (cf. Ac 19^{10}).

iv. Place of Composition.—St. Paul was at the time a prisoner, suffering imprisonment on behalf of the Gentiles (3^{1} 4^{1}), and an imprisonment lasting long enough to have caused anxiety to his converts (3^{13} 6^{22}). Hence the place must be either Cæsarea (Ac 24^{27}) or Rome (*ib.* 28^{30}). As between these two places this Ep. gives no guidance, save that the points of similarity with the Pastoral Epp. (cf. Salmon, *Introd.* cap. xx.) indicate the later date, and the tone of imperialism (see below) suits Rome better. But owing to the great similarity with Col we may certainly use any indications of date found there; and this is linked on by the personal allusions in it to the Ep. to Philemon (Col $4^{9.17}$ with Philem ^{22}), so that indications there too may be used; again, the allusions to the imprisonment in Ph $1^{12ff.}$ make it probable that that too was written at the same place. Some commentators would place Ph at Cæsarea, the other three at Rome, but more probably all are to be placed at Rome; for the phrase *ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ πραιτωρίῳ* (Ph 1^{13}), though applicable to Herod's prætorium at Cæsarea (Ac 23^{35}), is equally applicable to the prætorian soldiers or the Supreme Court at Rome; the phrase *οἱ ἐκ τῆς Καίσαρος οἰκίας* (Ph 4^{22}) is more applicable to Rome; the state of feeling between Jewish and Gentile Christians as reflected in Ph 1^{15-20} corresponds well with that implied in the Ep. to the Romans: the freedom for preaching which St. Paul enjoys, and the importance which he attaches to it (Ph 1^{12}, Eph 6^{23}), are more natural at Rome: the expectation of a speedy release (Philem ^{22}) points the same way; and, although Cæsarea was nearer for a runaway slave from Colossæ, yet there were more frequent opportunities of communication with Rome, a greater chance of hiding, and an easier access there to St. Paul. Finally, the points of contact between all four Epp. and the Pastoral Epp. in phraseology, in stress on organized church and family life, and in Christology, all favour the later date. We place, then, all four Epp. at Rome. Of their relative order it is again impossible to speak with certainty; but most probably (so Lightfoot, *Phil.*; Hort, *Rom. and Eph.* p. 102; but see on the other side, Ramsay, *St. Paul the*

Traveller, p. 357) the Ep. to the Phil. stands by itself comparatively early in the Rom. imprisonment; for it offers more points of comparison in phraseology and doctrinal discussion with the earlier group; there is more discussion of the doctrine of justification by faith, more protest against the Judaizing Christians. On the other hand, Eph Col Philem form a group by themselves, written comparatively late in the imprisonment—with fewer points of contact with the earlier group, and with more agreement with the Pastoral Epistles. They may, then, be all placed about A.D. 63 at Rome.*

By that time St. Paul had been in prison for three or four years. That imprisonment had been incurred at Jerus. just at the moment when he had taken up the alms of the Gentile Churches to the Churches of Judæa; his anxiety about his reception by the brethren there (Ro 15^{32}) had been removed; he had been welcomed, misunderstandings had been smoothed over, he had shown his willingness to work with them (Ac 21^{17-26}). The unity between Jewish and Gentile Christians was assured. But an outburst of Jewish fanaticism, on the false charge that he had taken a Gentile Christian, *an Ephesian*, within the centre wall of partition in the temple precincts (cf. Eph 2^{14} *τὸ μεσότοιχον*), had led to his arrest; he had been kept two years at Cæsarea, thence on his own appeal had been transferred to Rome; on his way he had been marvellously protected from danger of shipwreck; he had been welcomed once more by the brethren at Rome on his arrival (Ac 28^{15}), and since he had been in prison he had had freedom to preach and wonderful success in preaching. Naturally, then, one of his main thoughts was of God's overruling power, which could bring good out of apparent evil, and turn even imprisonment into the means of furthering His work (Ph 1^{12}, Eph 3^{13}).

Further, he was now in Rome, the great centre of the empire, which he had for many years longed to see. He would look, with the eyes of a provincial, upon the centre of the world's administration; he would see a power, small at first, confined to one Italian town, growing by steady growth till it launched itself forth on the whole world, brought all nations under its subjection, opened its franchise freely to all, and allowed them to enjoy its privileges, yet still requiring its prætorian soldiers ready to defend its emperor or to move out against any enemies that might attack its borders; while as ultimate source of authority stood the one man, the Emperor, the head, the ruler, the court of appeal for the oppressed, set forward more and more even as an object of worship. At the same time St. Paul would hear more of the teaching of Seneca and of the great Stoic conception of a universal city, of which all men were citizens, and in which each true citizen rose above the limitations of place and of environment, and became independent, self-centred (*αὐτάρκης*), the master and not the slave of circumstances (cf. Lightfoot, *Phil.*, 'St. Paul and Seneca').

Naturally, then, his thoughts would dwell upon the new brotherhood of the Church, 'the kingdom of Christ and of God' (Eph 5^{5}), 'the citizenship in the heavens' (Ph 1^{27} 3^{20}, Eph 2^{19}). That, too, had grown out of a small centre, and by a longer growth, for it had begun before the foundation of the world; that, too, had at the right moment launched itself on the world, and all divisions of race had been broken down in it; that, too, centred in its king, who had won his triumphs and given gifts to his followers (4^{8}, cf. 2 Co 2^{14}), who himself was the source of peace (Eph 2^{14}), who was the head of the body; that, too, had its enemies to conquer, and therefore needed its soldiers ever prepared to fight (Eph 2^{2} 6^{10-17}); but its citizenship was in heaven, its enemies were spiritual, the scene of battle was in the heavenly places; its aim was wider, for it had once more to bring to a unity (*ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι*, 'recapitulare,' Iren. *adv. Hær.* iii. 18; 'instaurare,' Vulg.; 'ad initium reciprocare, Tertul. *Monog.* c. 5) the whole universe; as it was founded on all past history, so its rule was to embrace all future time (Eph 3^{21}). Dead as well as living were its subjects (4^{9} (?)).

Such thoughts might of themselves almost account for the genesis of this Ep.; but a new turn was given to them by the arrival of Epaphras from Colossæ. He brought news of the development of teaching there tending to degrade the dignity of Christ, to substitute the worship of angels, to take low views of the material world, to lay an undue stress upon knowledge as the one method of access to Christ. At the same time he brought news of the neighbouring Churches of Proconsular Asia; their faith was sound, their love strong; but they were disheartened by the apostle's imprisonment, and, as in all Churches in Gentile cities, there was the danger lest the surrounding heathenism should draw them back, lest 'empty arguments' (*κένοι λόγοι*, Eph 5^{6}) should lead them to treat immorality lightly and indifferently; and, as in all mixed Churches of Jews and Gentiles, there was the danger lest racial jealousy should destroy unity. With the special danger at Colossæ, St. Paul dealt in the Ep. to the Col; then he turned to the wider condition of the Asiatic Churches, with his thoughts perhaps mainly fixed on Ephesus, his favourite abode, the centre of Gentile Christendom in that neighbourhood. No longer associating Timothy with him (contrast Col 1^{1}, Ph 1^{1}), but speaking only in his own name, he writes what is rather an encyclical treatise, a Cath. Ep., than a mere letter (cf. Ro and 1 P). Dropping all tone of controversy, and with only side allusions to false teaching, he tries to win them to a higher standard by a picture of the ideal Church which had been growing in his mind. He had done something of the kind to the Romans before; but that was an elaborate argument trying to convince them that all needed redemption, and that it had been brought to all by the power of Christ. This is a statement that the redemption has come, and that it has come—for here he is writing to Orientals—as part of a divine wisdom, and leading men to a fuller knowledge (*ἐπίγνωσις*, cf. 1 Co 1^{24} *αὐτοῖς δὲ τοῖς κλητοῖς, Ἰουδαίοις τε καὶ Ἕλλησι, Χριστὸν Θεοῦ δύναμιν* [the theme of Romans] *καὶ Θεοῦ σοφίαν* [the theme of Ephesians]). He is anxious that they too (*καὶ ὑμεῖς*, 'you in the recesses of Provincial Asia as well as the brethren at Rome,' Hort) should know what is happening in his imprisonment, that it is bringing fresh glory to the Gentile Christians (3^{13}); they need not be out of heart, for God is watching his fortunes with that same overruling power which has ordered all history. He it was—thanks be to Him—who eternally planned our redemption; who chose the Jews for special privileges and promises; who at the right moment revealed His Son and broke down the division between Jew and Gentile; who has now drawn both Jew and Gentile into one body; who raised Christ and made Him Head of the Church; who enabled individuals to do good works; who is now building up His Church and watching over His apostle. Therefore, you must lift up your hearts and minds; you must keep the unity which He has given; you must not be drawn back into the old impure aimless life; you must build up family life; and you must remember that round about you, as about the Jews of old or about the Rom. Empire now, there are enemies, spiritual enemies; you must be ready both for defence and for attack, for you have to fight God's battles, and to represent His cause and to illustrate His wisdom in the eyes of the angels. Peace, Love, and Faith: these are the graces which I ask for you.

---

* Von Soden, while rejecting the Pauline authorship of Eph, hesitates between Rome and Asia Minor as the place of its composition.

Such was the substance of the letter: whether St. Paul inserted any address must be uncertain. Either he inserted ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, but as Tychicus was intended to leave it at other Churches too, other names were inserted by these Churches in their own copies, or more probably a blank was left from the first that Tychicus might fill it up with the name of each Church to which he read the letter; possibly, again, several copies may have been made at Rome for the different Churches, and carried by Tychicus. It is a legacy of peace left to the Church by Paul the aged, 'das Testament des greisen Apostels' (Jülicher); 'one of the divinest compositions of man' (Coleridge, *Table Talk*); νοημάτων μεστὴ ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ὑψηλῶν καὶ δογμάτων (S. Chrys. *Comm.*); truth expressed 'sub specie gratiarum actionis' (Theod. Mops. on 1^{2}). 'Though the vehement moods of the earlier contests have subsided, many parts of the Ep. glow with a steady white heat' (Hort, p. 153). It is a letter rising at times to the level of a poem, 'the Christian's 68th Psalm'[*] (Dr. Kay); 'ipso verborum tenore et quasi rhythmo canticum imitatur' (Bengel on 2^{14-18}); 'der ganze erste Hauptteil (1-3) hat liturgischen Charakter und erscheint in seinen Höhepunkten wie einer jener ὕμνοι durch welche nach Col 3^{16}, Eph 5^{19}, die Christen sie belehren sollen' (Von Soden). When St. Paul wrote this letter, he was, as at Philippi, singing hymns in prison.

v. Doctrinal Importance. — The doctrines implied in the whole group of the Epp. of the Captivity are well analyzed, and their relation to that of the previous Epp. drawn out, in B. Weiss, *Bibl. Theol.* part iii. § iii. Those which are most prominent in this particular Ep. are—

(*a*) *The Universal Fatherhood of God* (πατήρ applied to God eight times; in Ro only four times). While the unity of God's nature is the starting-point of the whole argument (4^{5}), yet He is represented as the Father of the Lord Jesus Christ (1^{3}), *i.e.* there is within the Godhead a relationship of Father and Son, there is a giving forth of life and love (1^{6} τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ), there is a social bond, so that every community, whether of angels or of men, is named after and reflects the fatherhood of God (3^{15} πατριά here only in St. Paul). He is in the widest and most absolute sense 'the Father' (2^{18} 3^{14} 5^{20} 6^{23}); the Father of the glory manifested in men (1^{17}); the Father of all (4^{6}); the Father of us Christians (1^{2}).

(*b*) *The Pre-existence of Christ* — and this not merely in relation to God, as elsewhere, but in relation to man, so that before the foundation of the world He contains within Himself ideal Humanity (1^{4}), and men have only to grow up into that which He already is ($4^{15.16}$): and also in relation to the whole universe which centred originally in Him, and is re-centred in Him by the Incarnation (1^{10} ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι, 2^{12} 4^{18} ἀπηλλοτριωμένοι).

(*c*) *The Dignity of Human Nature*, as redeemed within the Church, lifted above this earthly sphere into the heavenlies, showing forth the attributes of God Himself to the world, and becoming a link for the whole creation (1^{23} 2^{5} $3^{18.19}$ 4^{8} [τῆς ζώης τοῦ Θεοῦ] 4^{32} 5^{1} μιμηταὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ, 6^{4} 6^{13}).

(*d*) *The Continuity of all History* in the past and in the future. Each καιρός is regarded as contributing its quota to the whole, until the whole complement of καιροί shall be complete (1^{10} τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν καιρῶν [cf. Mk 1^{15}, Lk 21^{24}] and 3^{11}).

(*e*) *The Essential Unity of the Church*, as based upon the unity of God, as an ideal already realized, yet needing to be secured (4^{3}), and in a sense still future (4^{15}); as practically begun by baptism (4^{5}), and as secured by the gift of an organized ministry, whose purpose is to fit all Christians for the work of service (πρὸς καταρτισμὸν τῶν ἁγίων εἰς ἔργον διακονίας), to build up Church life until the complete unity is secured ($4^{12.13}$).

(*f*) *The Insistence on Wisdom and Knowledge*, as an integral and necessary part of the true religious life. This truth, which St. Paul had first proclaimed in the centre of Gr. philosophy at Athens (Ac 17^{23}, cf. Hort, *Hulsean Lect.* p. 62), is here more explicitly laid down in an epistle to Gentiles. The value of this insistence is all the more striking as addressed to converts who were inclined to give an apparently undue value to knowledge. The remedy for a little knowledge is more knowledge.

(*g*) *The Consecration of Family Life.* Family life is regulated in Col (3^{18}–4^{1}): it is dignified in 1 P (2^{18}–3^{7}) as a means whereby Christians may hope to attract heathens to the faith; but here it is lifted to a higher level still, as a type and nursery of Church life.

(*h*) *The Picture of the Christian as a Soldier*, and his life as a warfare, which finds its fullest expression here, has had a wonderful influence both on Christian history and on Christian literature, enriching the latter with poems and allegories such as the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius, and the *Pilgrim's Progress* and the *Taking of Mansoul* by Bunyan, and nerving many a Christian hero and martyr for his task.

vi. Literature.—If we may see a literary dependence of 1 P and of the Apoc. upon our Ep., its importance must have been recognized at once, and it must have been at once known in Rome; the reminiscences found in the sub-apos. writers show a knowledge of it at least in Asia Minor and Italy. There is some evidence that it was commented upon by the Gnostics in the 2nd cent. Origen wrote three books upon it, large fragments of which are preserved in Cramer's *Catena*, vol. vi.; probably a much larger part is embodied in Jerome's *Commentary*. In the next cent. Ephraem the Syrian, Victorinus the African, Ambrosiaster, St. Chrysostom, and Severianus, and rather later Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret, and Jerome, treated it in their general comm. on St. Paul's Epp. For an account of these comm. see Lightfoot, *Gal.* (pp. 217 ff.), and Swete's ed. of Theodore of Mopsuestia (vol. i. pp. lix-lxxix). For later comm. cf. Meyer's *Comm.* (Introd.), or Macpherson, pp. 96–106.

St. Chrysostom remains still the best comm. for his combination of exegetical, doctrinal, and spiritual power, and for sympathy with the writer's mind and character. He wants exact treatment of exegetical difficulties, and is at times fanciful; but he seizes well the whole drift of a passage; he never avoids discussing a difficulty; he has a firm hold on doctrine, and is especially strong in the spiritual application of truth, dwelling on the contrast between virtue and vice; on the strength of the will, on the beauty of the Christian character in contrast to the unnaturalness and impotence of sin. Theodore of Mopsuestia is acute as an exegete, but has less spiritual insight; *e.g.* he explains all the blessings spoken of in the Ep. as referring to a future life.

Of mod. comm. Macpherson (Edinr. 1892) is full and useful, but not very stimulating; Ellicott, Alford, Moule (Camb. Bible), Beet, are all good; Bishop Lightfoot's notes on 1^{1-12} have been published posthumously (*Notes on the Epp. of St. Paul*, 1895). W. Schmidt in Meyer's *Comm. on NT*, and Von Soden in the *Handkommentar zum NT* (Freiburg, 1891), are excellent in exegesis.

For the doctrinal treatment of the Ep., Dale, *Lectures on Eph.*, and Findlay in *The Expos. Bible*, are equally good, though both fail to rise to the writer's conception of the Church. For devotional use, Bernardine of Picquigny, in Lat. or in Eng. (tr. by A. H. Pritchard, 1888), is most useful. The introductory questions are best dealt with by Pfleiderer, *Paulinism*, ii. pp. 162-193; Von Soden, *ubi supra*; and Holtzmann, *Kritik der Epheser- und Kolosser-briefe*, Leipzig, 1882, as against the Pauline authorship: on behalf of it, by Lightfoot, *Bibl. Essays*; Hort, *Prolegomena to the Ro. and Eph.* 1895; A. Robertson in Smith's *DB*^{2}; Weiss, *Introd. to NT*; Zahn, *Einl.* i.

W. Lock.

EPHESUS (Ἔφεσος) was the metropolis of the

---

[*] Ps 68^{18} is quoted in 4^{8}; there are other possible reminiscences of it; *e.g.* cf. Ps ^{5} with 5^{19}; ^{10} with 1^{18}; ^{17} with 2^{22}; ^{20} and ^{36} with 1^{3}; ^{27} and ^{35} with $3^{21.22}$; ^{28} and ^{36} with 3^{16} 6^{10}.

Roman province of Asia (wh. see), and one of the three great cities of the East Mediterranean lands (along with Antioch in Syria and Alexandria in Egypt), a rank to which geographical and historical causes conspired to raise it. It was situated within 3 miles of the sea, on the river Cayster, which was navigable as far up as the city in the Rom. period. It stood at the entrance to one of the four river valleys that extend upwards and eastwards like long narrow clefts in the high plateau forming the main mass of Asia Minor; these valleys are separated by chains of mountains, which are really prolongations, like fingers, stretching out towards the W. from the main plateau. The roads connecting the western sea, the Ægean, with the central and eastern lands, must necessarily follow the lines of these four valleys; and near the mouth of each of them stood a Gr. city, in which the importance of the valley was centred. The four valleys are those of the river Caicus with the city Pergamus, of the Hermus with Smyrna, of the Cayster with E., and of the Mæander with Miletus. The four cities played a prominent part in the early history of Christianity in Asia Minor. The shorter courses of the Caicus and Cayster make their valleys unsuited for routes of communication with the far East; and natural circumstances make the road that leads up from the Hermus valley to the plateau too difficult. Hence the route up the Mæander to its junction with the Lycus, and thence up the Lycus by Laodicea (wh. see) towards Apamea, has been the great road of history, and was one of the chief avenues of intercourse, of commerce, and of advancing civilization and thought under the Rom. Empire. Now E., from the beginning, competed with Miletus as the seaport towards which the trade of that great road was attracted; for, owing to the configuration of the coast and of the valley, the line from the Lycus down the Mæander, and across the mountains by a pass only about 600 ft. high to E., is shorter by many miles than the line down the Mæander to Miletus. The superior energy and more thoroughly Gr. character of the people of Miletus, combined with their more advantageous harbour, gave them the advantage in earlier times; but under the later Gr. kings, and still more decisively under the Roman rule, E. had established itself in undisputed supremacy as the sea-end of the great eastern highway, while the silting up of the Mæander seems to have been permitted to interfere with the excellence of the harbour of Miletus. Thus E. became the great commercial centre for the whole country within, *i.e.* on the Roman side of, Mt. Taurus, as Strabo mentions (p. 641, cf. pp. 540, 663).

On the great line of communication between Rome and the East in general, E. was one of the knots where many side roads converged to feed the main route. From the N. and the S. coasting ships and land roads (Ac 19^{21} $20^{1.17}$, 1 Ti 1^3, 2 Ti 4^{12}) brought travellers to the city on their way to Rome, or carried away travellers and officials who were going from Rome to other parts of the province. Thus it was a regulation that the Rom. governors under the empire must land at E.; and the system of roads was such as to make the city the most easily accessible from all quarters of Asia. Hence it was naturally marked out as the centre where St. Paul should station himself in order to affect that great province; and from thence the new religion radiated over the whole of the province (Ac 19^{10}), partly through the fact that great numbers of the provincials came to E. for various purposes (*e.g.* to trade, to see the great Rom. festivals and shows, to worship the great goddess, etc.), and heard the word, and carried it back to their homes, partly through special missions on which, doubtless, St. Paul's helpers, like Timothy and others, were sent by him. Corinth was the next great knot on the way to Rome, and communication between E. and Corinth must have been very frequent. The ship that conveyed St. Paul to Jerus. from Corinth, doubtless a pilgrim ship carrying Jews to Jerus. expressly for the Passover, crossed first to E. (Ac 18^{19}), and thence coasted round Asia Minor, and crossed, doubtless by the W. side of Cyprus, to the Syrian coast (as in Ac 21^3). The same character, as a pilgrim ship, doubtless belonged to the ship by which St. Paul intended to sail from Corinth for the Passover four years later (Ac 20^3); on board of such a ship Jewish fanaticism would have been specially strong, and the conspiracy which was dreaded by St. Paul's friends would have had every chance of being successful.

After St. Paul's work in Asia was ended, Timothy seems to have been stationed in E. for a time (1 Ti 1^3), with general authority, extending probably over the whole province, as is implied throughout the first Epistle; and he was summoned thence by St. Paul to join him in Rome during his second imprisonment (2 Ti 4^9); and John Mark must have been in Asia, perhaps in or at least near E., at that time, as Timothy was charged (4^{11}) to bring Mark with him to Rome. A wide acquaintance of Mark with the Asian Churches is implied in Col 4^{10}, 1 P 5^{13}; and on each of the journeys between Rome and Asia which are implied in these passages, he must have passed through Ephesus. The rank of the Ephesian Church in the province is attested further by its being named first in Rev 1^{11} 2^1. It became the home of St. John in the latter part of the century; and a few incidents of his residence in E. are preserved by Eusebius. According to tradition, not merely Timothy and John, but also the Virgin Mary, were buried at Ephesus.[*]

The connexion of the Ephesian city harbour with the sea depended on the proper maintenance of the channel of the Cayster; but this was difficult, for the river, which drains a valley of fertile alluvial soil, carried much silt in its water, and deposited this toward its mouth, as the current became weak. According to Strabo (p. 641), an ill-advised engineering scheme under the Pergamenian king Attalus Philadelphus (B.C. 159–138), when a breakwater was built to narrow the entrance from the river, increased the tendency to silt up the mouth of the city harbour; and in A.D. 65 measures had to be taken by the governor of Asia to improve the connexion between the harbour and the sea (Tacit. *Ann.* xvi. 23). Either then or at some other time, an embankment, which can still be seen as one rides down from E. to the sea (see Weber, p. 52), was built along the lower course of the river, to help the action of the stream in sweeping the silt out towards the sea. The harbour of E. was maintained, apparently, under the Rom. Empire; but in later centuries the care and energy needed for so great a task failed, the harbour became a mere marsh, and with it E. necessarily decayed, as its qualifications for being the sea-end of the great highway had ceased. Even in the time of St. Paul, it was somewhat troublesome to ascend the channel to the harbour; and ships which were trading between the N. Ægean ports and Syria, avoided E., unless the exigencies of loading or discharging freight required them to enter the harbour (Ac 20^{16}).

---

[*] As to the supposed connexion of St. Luke with E., no ancient evidence for it exists (but rather only contrary evidence); in Ac there is nothing to suggest personal knowledge of the city on the part of the author; and the so-called 'Tomb of St. Luke' is the creation of a mere error on the part of Mr. J. T. Wood, who mistook a rude cross, incised in later times on the marble door of an old Gr. *polyandrion* or family tomb, for a proof of the Christian origin of the monument, imagining that the figure of a bull (a Gr. ornament) which was sculptured on it was the symbol of St. Luke, and completing his delusion by the false belief that the modern name Ayassaluk (on which see below) was derived from *Ἅγιος Λουκᾶς*. Yet from his idea there has been developed a modern legend; and in recent years there has been some attempt to institute a ceremonial at this false 'tomb of St. Luke.'

While the road up the Cayster valley towards the East was too difficult to be a commercial route, it afforded decidedly the shorter path from E. to Pisidian Antioch and the East in general; and naturally foot-passengers, to whom precipitous descents caused no difficulty, would prefer that road to the longer but more level route by Apamea and Laodicea. The Cayster route leads over higher ground than the other, and does not descend into the low coast valley till it comes nearer E.; and this also would make it preferable in the summer. Hence St. Paul, journeying from Pisidian Antioch to E., preferred the Cayster route, and traversed the higher-lying districts (*τὰ ἀνωτερικὰ μέρη*, Ac 19^{1});* and the statement of Ac on this point is confirmed by Col 2^{1}, which shows that the apostle had never visited Colossæ or Laodicea (which were situated on the great highway). He had doubtless entered on the same path in his second journey, when, after revisiting Derbe, Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch, he advanced into Asia, but found himself 'forbidden of the Holy Ghost to preach the word in Asia' (Ac 16^{6}).

The lower end of the Cayster valley is divided from the middle valley (called the Caystrian plain) by the projection of the bounding mountain ranges, for Mt. Gallesus on the N. stretches down towards the S., as if trying to reach across the valley to Mt. Messogis (the part of which overlooking E. was called Pactyas), and forces the Cayster to wind southward, when it is coming near the sea-level. Below this narrow pass, the valley opens again to form a low marshy plain, raised very little above the sea, from which the hills spring very sharply, as Mt. Coressus, the outermost peak of Pactyas, overhanging the site of E., extends in a long sharp ridge westward towards the sea; and the Cayster turns again sharply to the W. through this 13 miles long plain to the sea. In the open plain, about 5 miles from the sea, on the S. side of the river, stands a little hill, close on the W., above the modern railway station; this hill has always been the religious centre of the valley; below its S.W. slope stood the sacred precinct of the Asian goddess, who was identified by the Greeks with their own Artemis (see DIANA); on the hill Justinian built one of his greatest ecclesiastical foundations,† the church (whose ruins, projecting out of the hill, can still be traced) dedicated to St. John the Evangelist (*ὁ ἅγιος θεολόγος*, from whom the hill and the little village beside is still called Ayo-solúk or Ayas-salúk, *i.e.* Ayo-thológ); and between the two was built a fine mosque, formerly one of the most exquisite monuments of late Arab.-Pers. art, now seriously dilapidated (founded probably by one of the Seljuk princes, who reigned and coined money with Lat. inscription ‡ at Ayo-solúk). Round this religious centre the earliest and the latest inhabitants have congregated; whereas, in opposition to the religious foundation, the Gr. colonists built the city of E., at a distance of 1 to 2 miles S.-W., partly on the slope of Coressus, partly on the low ground at its foot, and partly on a low isolated hill, called Pion or Prion (about 500 ft.), which rises in the plain.

The history of E. turns, to a great extent, on the opposition between the Greeks, the party of progress and freedom and maritime enterprise, and the non-Gr. population, centred at the temple, and championed by the priesthood, the party of stagnation and ignorance and Asiatic submission. The Lydian conquest by Crœsus for a time enslaved the city to the temple; the new foundation of E. by Lysimachus in B.C. 295 again redressed the balance;* but the proximity of the temple gave it always an immense power in the city. The city owed its pre-eminence in the province in part to the temple, for the temple was the greatest and most influential in Asia, and the city boasted of the title 'warden of the temple of Artemis' *νεωκόρος τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος*, Ac 19^{35}, lit. 'temple-sweeper,' in RV 'temple-keeper,' in AV 'worshipper.' The title 'Temple-Warden' is more commonly applied to E., and to many other Asian cities, as warden of a temple of the imperial cultus; in the time of St. Paul, E. was warden of one such temple, and later she became warden of two temples, and finally of three temples of the imperial religion (*δὶς, τρὶς, νεωκόρος*); and when the Eph. Neocorate simply is mentioned, that is the sense in which it is ordinarily to be understood.† But the ref. to the Eph. Neocorate of Artemis in Ac 19^{35} is justified by an inscription of the 2nd cent., in which E. is said to be 'doubly temple-warden of the Emperors, and warden of Artemis' (*δὶς νεωκόρος τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ νεωκόρος τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος*, Wood, *Appendix Inscr.* vi. 6, p. 50); and coins of the 3rd cent. have the legend *Ἐφεσίων τρὶς νεωκόρων καὶ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος*, *i.e.* 'triply temple-warden (of the emperors), and (temple-warden) ‡ of Artemis.' The festivals of the goddess were thronged by pilgrims and devotees from the Cayster valley and from the whole of Asia. The crowds which attended these festivals contributed greatly to the wealth of the city; many trades were mainly dependent on the pilgrims, who required entertainment, food, amusement, victims to sacrifice, offerings to dedicate, curiosities and images for worship to carry home.§ The order of events during St. Paul's long residence in E. of 2 years and 3 months (Ac $19^{8.\ 10}$, called 3 years by the apostle himself, Ac 20^{31}, in the usual ancient style of reckoning an intermediate period by the superior round number) illustrates in a striking way the relation of the priestly centre to the preaching of Christianity. At first there was no opposition; for new religions, which were often brought in from the east, had never been found prejudicial to the influence of Artemis and her priests. Then the missionaries were brought into collision with the practisers and votaries of magic; E. was one of the great centres of magical art, and a kind of magic formulæ, called Ephesian Letters (Ἐφέσια γράμματα), became famous;* the magicians were naturally soon arrayed in opposition to the religion which freed the human mind from such superstitions; but their discomfiture (Ac 19^{13-19}) would not directly and immediately affect the priests and the temple. As time passed and the new religion became more powerful, it began to affect the worshippers, who did not need so many articles for dedication (ἀναθήματα), and ceased to purchase the small representations of the goddess in her shrine, which were produced in vast numbers and in various materials—silver, marble, and terra-cotta (see DIANA). Thus several trades were seriously affected, and the associated trades (τοὺς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐργάτας, Ac 19^{25}), under the leadership of one of their wealthy merchants (who dealt in silver 'shrines,' and therefore needed more capital for his business in the precious metal), Demetrius, probably master of the guild for the year,† eager to defend their interests, raised a demonstration against the Christian preachers. It is clear that in the riot the Christians ran serious risk (19^{31}), and that, even after (and also before) the riot, the passions and superstitions of the vulgar mob, having once been roused against the puritanic tendencies of the Christians, continued to be a serious danger to St. Paul (1 Co 15^{32} 16^{9}, 2 Co 1^{8-10}).

---

* In this sentence we speak only on the 'South Galatian' theory (Ramsay, *Church in Rom. Emp.* p. 93 f., esp. ed. 2 or later editions); those who hold the 'North Galatian' view may omit this one sentence.

† It is briefly described by Procopius, *Ædific.* v. 1, as equalling in size and magnificence Justinian's great foundation in Constantinople, the Church of the Holy Apostles. Justinian built it in place of an earlier church on the same site, dedicated to St. John.

‡ *Moneta quæ fit in theologo.* Several of these coins were among a find made in the soil, a little to the north of the temple, by Mr. Wood. The coins had been buried about 1370.

* Even under the Delian confederacy it seems clear that the Eph. contribution of 6 to 7½ talents was paid only under compulsion (Head, p. 18), and the Gr. spirit was nearly dead. Lysimachus called his new city Arsinoe, after his wife, but this name lasted only a few years.

† The Eph. Neocorate in the imperial cultus is first mentioned on coins of Nero; probably the ref. is to the *Augusteum*, a temple built in the precinct of Artemis to Rome and Augustus by the city E. (not by the *Commune Asiæ*, see ASIA, ASIARCH) before B.C. 6 (Wood, *Appendix*, i. 1); Buchner, *de Neocoria*, p. 38, indeed considers that the reference is to a temple of Claudius, which he supposes to have been dedicated by the *Commune Asiæ*, on account of aid given to the city by the emperor, Malalas, p. 246, ed. Bonn; but there is no evidence that such a temple ever existed. The second imperial neocorate was granted under Hadrian, and the third under Caracalla. A decree of the Senate was required to grant this distinction (as Asia was a senatorial province).

‡ The phrase *τετράκις νεωκόρος* on the later coins refers to this same fact.

§ Artemis Ephesia was worshipped more widely by private persons than any other deity known to Pausanias (iv. 31. 8; cf. also Xen. *Anab.* v. 3. 4).

The early stages of the riot involve some reference to the topography of Ephesus. It is obvious that the inflammatory speech of Demetrius was delivered at a meeting of the associated trades, doubtless held in a building belonging to the guild (19^{25}). The text of the Bezan Codex explicitly states (what obviously must have occurred) that the assembled tradesmen and craftsmen then rushed out into the street (εἰς τὸ ἄμφοδον), and at last congregated in the theatre. The ruins of the theatre are on a large scale; and it has been calculated that the building could hold 24,000 people. It was situated on the western slope of Mount Pion, overlooking the city harbour (which is now a marsh).

It is an interesting and important point that the Asiarchs were friendly to St. Paul, and intervened to save him from adventuring himself in the crowd. They doubtless pointed out to him that his presence would still further enrage the excited crowd; that if the mob once proceeded to violence, they were more likely to extend their violence to his companions; and that the best course therefore was for St. Paul not to show himself at the moment. The attitude of the Asiarchs may be taken as a fair indication of the feeling entertained towards St. Paul by the educated and influential class in the city, and also of the attitude of the imperial administration, for they were officials of the province, not of the city; they were part of the Rom. imperial machinery. It is perhaps implied in Ac 19^{31} that they were present as a body or council in the city: this may be accounted for either by a festival which was in progress about the same time, or by the natural appropriateness of a provincial body or council meeting in the capital of the province. A council of the Asiarchs is probably referred to in an Apamean inscription (Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, ii. No. 299).

In the narrative (Ac 19^{23-41}) allusions occur to the government of E., and also of the whole province of Asia. The **Town-Clerk**, or 'Secretary of the City' (γραμματεύς), appears as an official of great authority; the assembly of the citizens (ἐκκλησία) is mentioned as the highest municipal authority; and the Roman courts (*conventus*, αἱ ἀγοραῖοι, *i.e.* ἀγοραὶ δικῶν) and proconsuls are declared to be the final judicial authority in case of any complaint against individuals. The government of the municipality of E., like that of the other great Asian cities, was lodged in the hands of two deliberative bodies, the **Senate** (βουλή) and the **Assembly** (ἐκκλησία), and of certain boards of magistrates, notably the Strategoi (στρατηγοί). All power ultimately resided in the Assembly of the citizens; and in the old free Gr. city-constitution the Assembly had really held the reins of power, and exercised the final control over all the other departments of the government. But its meetings under the Rom. system tended to become mere formalities, at which the Bills sent to it by the Senate were merely approved; for the imperial government, which had abolished the powers of the popular assembly in Rome, naturally discouraged popular assemblies in the cities of the empire; when St. Paul, however, was at E., the Assembly was still, in name at least, the supreme and final authority in the city (Ac 19^{39}), where the last decision lay on matters that did not properly fall within the cognizance of the Rom. courts and officers; and it is also regularly mentioned in the preamble to decrees, along with the Senate, as giving validity and authority to decrees which had been prepared by the Senate and submitted to it for its approval.* The Senate (βουλή) in the Asian cities was transformed by gradual steps from the old Gr. form of a body elected annually by the citizens, to the Rom. form of a body filled up by distinguished citizens (esp. all who had held any of the higher magistracies), retaining their seats for life. Concurrently with this change in its constitution, it encroached more and more on the powers of the Assembly. But at the same time another transforming process went on simultaneously, as the Rom. imperial authority encroached on the municipal privilege of self-administration; and in this transformation the Senate was made by slow steps a mere instrument of the Rom. imperial government.

The Secretary of the city (γραμματεὺς τῆς πόλεως, called also ὁ Ἐφεσίων γραμματεύς, or γραμματεὺς τοῦ δήμου) was perhaps the most influential individual in the city. Mr. Hicks well says that 'as the real vigour of the Assembly declined in the atmosphere of imperial rule, it was more and more left to the Secretary to arrange the business of the Assembly. Together with the Strategoi he drafted the decrees to be proposed.† He had the decrees engraved. He took charge of money left to the people of Ephesus.' Further, it is clear that he acted as a channel of communication between the Rom. provincial administration and the municipality (*e.g.* in the inscription, Hicks, p. 154); and thus, as the Rom. central authority encroached on the municipality, the Secretary became more and more important. These facts explain the part played by this official in Ac 19^{35-41}, an incident which throws a clear light on this obscure subject, and is in perfect accord with all that we learn about it from other sources. He came forward as the agent of the municipal government, and calmed the mob by a skilful speech; he spoke of the close relation between the city and the temple, and the sacredness of the goddess, as universally acknowledged; he mentioned, as an obvious and familiar fact, that Paul and his associates had not been guilty of acts or words disrespectful to the goddess (see CHURCHES, ROBBERS OF); he pointed out that there was an established method of legal procedure, whereby they should seek redress for any injury of which they complained, but that persistence in their riotous conduct was criminal, and likely to call down severe punishment; and then he dismissed the assembly. His recognition of the meeting as an ἐκκλησία was important: he did so in order to shield it, so far as he could, from Roman censure.

The Secretary advised the concourse to disperse, and wait until the lawful Ecclesia (so AV, regular assembly RV) should meet, and settle anything further which they wished to bring before it. The old Gr. distinction between regular ordinary meetings on days agreed beforehand (νόμιμοι ἐκκλησίαι, Hicks, No. 481, l. 340) and extraordinary meetings, especially summoned, had been modified by the Rom. government in such a way that permission of the Rom. officials was required before a meeting of the Ecclesia could be legally held; and from this it resulted that no extraordinary Assembly could be summoned except by the Rom. officials themselves, who had the right to call the people together at any time.‡ Hence this suddenly convened meeting was not legal, and could not carry any business through; and, moreover, it might provoke inquiry from the Romans (who were always jealous of the right of free meeting), and even result in punishment (such as the prohibition for a time of all right of holding the Ecclesia); for, as the Secretary pointed out, the city could not justify it by pleading any cause for it.

In the city of E., then, there were three distinct powers, which were brought into contact or conflict in the 1st and 2nd cent.: the hierarchy of the temple, the government of the city, and the new religion preached by St. Paul. At first it is clear that there was no opposition on the part of the municipal government to Christianity. The Secretary of the city speaks for the government, and points out that the Christians have not been guilty of disrespect in act or word towards the established system, while the rioters have brought the city into danger of reprimand and punishment from the imperial rule. The whole tone is one of superiority to, and almost of contempt for, the superstitious vulgar, together with recognition of the right of St. Paul to preach, so long as he showed proper respect to the laws and institutions of the city. A convinced Christian, who was at the same time a man of affairs, could not have taken a line that was better calculated to put St. Paul in the right and the rioters in the wrong; and we shall probably not err in believing that the general tone of the educated officials and the priests of high rank at this time was one of perfect equanimity and general philosophic interest in the preaching of St. Paul, whereas the superstitious and vulgar mob were strongly opposed to him. This state of opinion lasted till near the end of the 1st century. But the violent feelings roused during the persecution of Domitian, combined with the realization on the part of the officials and the higher priesthood that the growing power of Christianity threatened the existing order of things, and would, if successful, sweep it away, led to a union among all the classes which were not opposed to the existing order, *i.e.* among all who were not Christians. We may confidently assume, also, that at first Christianity spread with great rapidity, and produced a neglect of the Eph. ritual similar to that which Pliny describes as having existed in Bithynia, until the measures carried out by him in A.D. 112 caused a revival of the pagan worship (*Epist. ad Trajan.* 95). A similar revival of paganism in E. about the same period is attested by ancient documents, as Canon Hicks was the first to recognize clearly. A great inscription, dating A.D. 104 (Hicks, No. 481, p. 135), contains a series of decrees honouring C. Vibius Salutaris, a Rom. citizen resident in E., who had presented to the goddess and the city government a number of statues, images, and moneys, and arranging for the acceptance and use of the gifts and for the institution of a new festival and procession which should unite and bind more closely together the sanctuary and the city of Artemis. From this time onwards the city began to boast more than before of its title of 'temple-guardian of Artemis' (νεωκόρος ’Αρτέμιδος); and the imperial government also allied itself with the religion of Artemis, for under Hadrian imperial silver coins bear the type and legend of DIANA EPHESIA, showing that the vindication of the goddess was accepted as a duty by the emperor as Pontifex Maximus (for Rom. coins could not bear the effigy and title of any but a Rom. deity). This agreement of the imperial government, the municipal authorities, the temple-hierarchy, and the superstitious mob of the city, lasted unbroken until Christianity triumphed. It is true that the text of a decree, passed by the Senate and Assembly of E. in A.D. 161, is commonly quoted 'as an involuntary confession of the decline of the Artemis-worship under the growing influence of the new faith,' and as an indication that the reaction visible in A.D. 104 had ceased. The text (Hicks, No. 482, p. 145), according to the usually accepted interpretation, states that 'the Eph. goddess, whose worship had hitherto been universally recognized, was now being dishonoured, not only in her own city (ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῆς πατρίδι ἀτιμᾶται), but also among Greeks and barbarians.' But, as has been urged in *Classical Rev.* 1893, p. 100, it is impossible to accept the idea that a decree in honour of the goddess had such an ill-omened introduction (for to ancient feeling it was profane and impious and dangerous to use such words); and probably there has been a slight error of the engraver, who wrote δι once instead of twice, thus reversing the meaning; the true text, then, states that Artemis is honoured in her own city and everywhere (πατρίδι διατιμᾶται).*

---

* Perhaps an example of these *Ephesia Grammata* occurs on a coin of the imperial time, as Mr. Head suggests in his *Cat. Brit. Mus.* (*Ionia*), p. 70.

† At E. the guilds of the Woolworkers (λανάριοι), the Surveyors (προμέτραι), and the Workmen before the Gate (ἐργάται προπυλεῖται πρὸς τῷ Ποσειδῶνι) are mentioned in inscriptions. A list of trade-guilds in the Asian cities is given by Oehler in *Eranos Vindobonensis*, p. 276 f.; cf. Liebenam, *Römisches Vereinswesen*, p. 157.

* It is best described by M. Lévy, *Revue des Études Grecques*, 1895, p. 203 ff.

† This implies that he sat on the board of the Strategoi as an assessor (or perhaps as a chairman).

‡ Lévy in *Revue des Études Grecques*, 1895, p 216.

The temple of Artemis at E. was one of the greatest and most famous architectural works known to the ancient world. The building which existed when St. Paul lived in E. was not the oldest temple. An earlier temple, containing columns dedicated by Crœsus, king of Lydia, B.C. 560–539 (fragments of which are now exhibited in the Brit. Mus. containing parts of the king's dedicatory inscriptions—Hicks, p. 173, No. 518), but not finally completed until about B.C. 400, was burnt to the ground in B.C. 356, on the same night that Alexander the Great was born; and a vast temple, measuring, according to Pliny, 425 ft. by 220,* was built in its place with the help of contributions from the whole of Asia (*tota Asia exstruente*, Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xvi. 40, 213; cf. Hicks, p. 174)—a fact which attests the veneration paid to the goddess by the whole province (Ac 19^{27}, see also *CIG*, No. 2954, and Hicks, p. 144, No. 482, on the reading of which see above). Owing to the marshy soil on which it stood, it required much care and contrivance to lay the foundations firmly (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 95). Possibly, the impressiveness of this great temple suggested to St. Paul the allegory in 1 Co 3$^{10-17}$ (written from E.), and gave point to his words addressed to the Ephesians (2$^{20-22}$); but it is unnecessary to suppose that on each occasion, when he refers to the ideas of foundation or building, as in 1 Ti 3^{15} 6^{19}, 2 Ti 2$^{19-20}$, Ac 20^{32}, he was thinking of this temple. The site of this temple was discovered by Mr. J. T. Wood in 1870, after many years' patient and laborious search; but, unfortunately, he has given no sufficient indications as to what remains of the building he found actually *in situ*, and has left no plan of the site as it was when he uncovered it. He merely gives his own restorations, and his own theories as to what the temple must have been when it was perfect; but his knowledge of Gr. architecture was not so thorough as to make his views trustworthy; and it is hardly possible now to acquire sufficient knowledge of the facts to form a clear conception of the building. Officials called νεωποῖαι or νεοποιοί were charged 'to take care of the fabric and repairs of the temple, and to superintend any additions such as the setting up of inscriptions' (Hicks, p. 80).

There can be no doubt that the Temple of Ephesian Artemis was used as a place of deposit for treasure both by the city and by private individuals (as, *e.g.*, by Xenophon, *Anab.* v. 3. 4). This function strengthened the bonds that united the city and the temple. It is uncertain how the treasure deposited in the temple by the city was managed, but, as Canon Hicks says (p. 82), 'it is remarkable how little is said in the Ephesian inscriptions about any financial officers.' The temple and its precinct were inviolable: no arms might be borne within the sacred precinct (implying that in primitive times, when arms were commonly carried, the goddess provided that her worship should be a peaceful influence). The Rom. government, in A.D. 22, recognized the right of asylum that belonged to the soil of Artemis (Tacit. *Ann.* iii. 63); but the local limits of asylum varied widely at different periods.

The twelve disciples of the baptism of John whom St. Paul found at E. (Ac 19^{3}) had possibly been converted by Apollos during his recent visit; though it is more probable that a small sect of Jews had emigrated to E., as a great centre of commerce and intercourse, soon after the coming of St. John. St. Paul, on his first brief visit, seems to have found the Jews in E. very well disposed towards the new teaching; and, though a rupture between him and them is recorded (Ac 19^{9}), it is hardly described in such terms as to suggest that it was so serious as those that occurred in Corinth or Thessalonica. The existence of a Jewish colony at E. in B.C. 44 is vouched for by Jos. *Ant.* XIV. x. 12 (cf. XIV. x. 25, XVI. vi. 2 and 7), when Dolabella granted them religious freedom (esp. from engagements inconsistent with proper observance of the Sabbath) and exemption from military service. When Augustus afterwards confirmed the privileges of the Asian Jews, esp. guaranteeing them safe-conduct for transmission of their offerings to Jerus., he doubtless had E. prominent in his mind (Jos. *Ant.* XVI. vi. 2, cf. Ac. 2^{9} 6^{9}). Jewish inscriptions at Eph. are published, Hicks, Nos. 676, 677. Some of these Jews appear to have made a practice of exorcism and magic, Ac 19$^{14-16}$, like Bar-jesus at Paphos, Ac 13^{6} (see SCEVA). Similar practices were engaged in by the Jewish settlers at Thyatira (wh. see).

---

* In his *addenda*, Canon Hicks also is disposed to recognize an engraver's blunder.

* According to Mr. Wood's measurements the temple itself measured 343 ft. by 164, and the stylobate or basement 418 ft. by 239.

When St. Paul broke with the Jews, he passed forth beyond the narrower circle which had come within the influence of the synagogue, and addressed the entire Eph. population. He was understood by the Ephesians to be the teacher of a new school of philosophy; and, agreeably to this view, he lectured daily in the school of Tyrannus (wh. see), just as other philosophers gave public lectures. In the Bezan Text there is added the statement that he taught from the 5th to the 10th hour. It is probable that this is correct, showing that St. Paul employed the hours when the building would no longer be in use; for the business in the Asian cities seems to have ended at the 5th hour (one hour before midday).* We may, then, picture Paul's life in Eph. as spent thus: he wrought 'night and day' with his hands, *i.e.* he started his craft before sunrise and continued at work through the earlier hours of the day (Ac 20^{34}, 1 Co 4^{12},† 1 Th 2^{9}); then, after the ordinary day's work was finished, he began to teach publicly in this building, and expounded his philosophy to all comers freely. These public lectures were, as we might naturally expect, supplemented by teaching in private houses (Ac 20^{20}).

The name *St. Paul's Prison*, which is applied to a Gr. tower forming part of the line of fortification along the ridge of Coressus, near its W. end, is purely fanciful. There is no record that St. Paul was imprisoned in E.; and, if he had been imprisoned, this tower is not the kind of place where he would have been immured. 'It is a two-storeyed fort with eight chambers, and the upper storey is reached by an external staircase' (Wilson, *Handbook*, p. 99). There are some important Christian remains in the city, notably the double church near the gymnasium adjoining the theatre. This church is older than the great Basilica of St. John the Evangelist on the hill at Ayo-Solúk; and may well be the very church where the Council was held in A.D. 431.‡ On the E. side of Mount Pion, overhanging the road that leads from the temple of Diana to the Magnesian Gate of the city, is a rock-hewn church, close to a cave in which the 'Seven Sleepers of E.' were, according to the legend, saved from the Rom. persecution by a slumber of some centuries' duration.

The actual foundation of a Christian community in E. may be ascribed to Priscilla and Aquila (wh. see), whom St. Paul left there at his first hurried visit (Ac 18^{19}), and whom he found there on his return.

LITERATURE.—The vast mass of lit. about E. is to a great extent antiquated by recent works. The inscriptions, with the commentaries of Boeckh and Hicks, must form the foundation of all methodical study. On the topography, see esp. Weber, *Guide du Voyageur à Ephèse*, Smyrne, 1891 (excellent maps); also Sir C. Wilson, *Handbook to Asia Minor*, etc. (Murray) 1895: on the antiquities, Hicks, *Gr. Inscrip. of the Brit. Mus.* iii. p. 67 ff.; Menadier, *Qua condicione Ephesii usi sint*; Zimmermann, *Eph. im erst. christl. Jahrh.*; Lévy, in *Revue des Études Grecques*, 1895, p. 203 f., and subsequent artt., gives a careful and admirable study of the constitution of the Asian cities; and Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, ch. ii., gives a brief sketch of the same subject. Guhl's *Ephesiaca* is not wholly antiquated, and Falkener's *E. and the Temple of Diana* contains some things to reward study. Wood's *Discoveries at E.* is almost purely a popular book (except for the appendix of inscriptions, most of which are republished by Hicks, *l.c.*); and the scientific account of his discoveries, which doubtless he contemplated, was never published. The sketch of the history, esp. the early history, given by E. Curtius in 'Beiträge z. Ges. u. Topog. Kleinasiens' in *Abhandl. Akad.* Berlin, 1872 (repub. in his *Gesam. Abhandl.* i. 233-265), is singularly charming and instructive. Lightfoot's 'Discoveries illustrating the Acts of the Apostles' in *Contemp. Rev.* May 1878 (repub. as app. to his *Essays on Supernat. Rel.* p. 291 ff.), is useful: see also Ramsay, *Church in Rom. Emp.* pp. 112-156, and *St. Paul the Traveller*, pp. 267-282. On the coinage, see Head's excellent *Hist. of the Coinage of E.* (which unfortunately ends with the Christian era, but may be completed from his 'Catalogue of the Gr. Coins in the Brit. Mus.' *Ionia*, pp. 70-115. On the great highway between E. and the East see G. Hirschfeld, 'Kelainai-Apameia-Kibotos,' in *Abhandl. Akad.*, Berlin, 1875; Ramsay, *Hist. Geog. of As. Min.* pp. 35-51. On the supposed 'tomb of St. Luke,' see Weber, Rylands, and Falkener, in *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.* vii. 1881, and Simpson, *ibid.* vi. p. 323.

W. M. RAMSAY.

EPHLAL (אֶפְלָל).—A descendant of Judah (1 Ch 2^{37}). See GENEALOGY.

EPHOD (אֵפוֹד, אֵפֹד; ἐπωμίς Ex, Lv, but ἐφώδ, ἐφούδ, Jg and 1 S).—In treating of this term, which is apparently used in different meanings, it will be convenient to consider first the passages in which there is least doubt about the signification of the word.

1. The 'ephod' was a priestly garment made of white linen (בַּד), and attached to the body by a girdle (חָגַר). An ephod such as this was worn by Samuel as a temple-servant (1 S 2^{18}), by the 85 priests belonging to the sanctuary at Nob, who were slain by Doeg (1 S 22^{18}), and by David when he danced before the ark (2 S 6^{14b}; cf. 1 Ch 15^{27b}). The nature of this priestly garment is not further described; but it may be assumed to have been a simpler form of the more ornate garment of the same name described in P (Ex 28$^{6-8. 27f.}$ 29^{5} 39$^{2-5. 19f.}$, Lv 8^{7}) among the vestments peculiar to the High Priest. This more ornate 'ephod' was, in a word, an ornamental kind of *waistcoat*. It consisted of an oblong piece of richly variegated material (blue, purple, scarlet, and fine twined linen, interwoven with gold thread, the 'work of the designer'), bound round the body under the arms, and reaching down as far (apparently) as the waist. The ephod was supported by two 'shoulder-pieces,' *i.e.* two flaps or straps attached to it behind, and passing over the shoulders to the front, where they were again fastened to the ephod: on the top of each of these shoulder-pieces was an onyx-stone, engraven with the names of six of the tribes of Israel. Round the body, the ephod was further held in its place by a band (חֵשֶׁב הָאֵפֹד, *i.e.* prob. the 'ingenious work of the ephod' *), of the same material as the ephod, and woven in one piece with it, by which it was 'girt' (Lv 8^{7}) round the waist. The ephod was worn over a blue frock, woven entirely of blue, and put on by being drawn over the head, something in the manner of a cassock (but without arms), called the 'robe (מְעִיל) of the ephod.' The skirt of this robe was adorned with a border of pomegranates in colours, with golden bells between them, the sound of which was to be heard whenever the High Priest was ministering in the Holy Place (Ex 28$^{31-35}$). On the front of the ephod was fastened the jewelled BREAST-PLATE, containing the pocket or pouch in which were put the Urim and Thummim, or sacred lots (Ex 28$^{16. 29f.}$, Lv 8^{8}).†

2. There is, however, a second group of passages in which 'ephod' has been supposed to denote, not a priestly garment, but some kind of idol or image. a. In Jg 8$^{26f.}$ Gideon is said to have made an 'ephod' of the gold rings‡ taken from the Ishmaelites and Midianites, which he 'set'—or 'stood' (יַצֵּג, implying location somewhat more definitely than יָשֶׂם; see Gn 30^{38} 43^{9}, and of the

---

* See illustrations collected *Expositor*, March 1892, p. 223; *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 271.

† This Epistle was written from Ephesus.

‡ The Council was held *in E.* (not outside the city) ἐν τῇ ἁγιωτάτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ καλουμένῃ Μαρίᾳ, as is stated in the *Acta*.

* According to others, 'the *band* of the ephod,' חֵשֶׁב being supposed to be transposed from חֵבֶשׁ. The verb חָבַשׁ is, however (in connexion with dress), used only of binding on headgear.

† It is possible that the ephod was of Egyptian origin. At least V. Ancessi (*Annales de philos. chrétienne*, 1872, pp. 45, 47) gives illustrations from Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. plates 224*a*, *d*, 274*b* (cf. 222*h*), of divine and royal personages having similarly a richly decorated garment round the body, supported by two shoulder-straps, fastened at the top by a gem, and secured round the waist by a girdle.

‡ 'It' in v.^{27a} refers naturally only to the 'gold' of v.^{26a}: the crescents, etc., of v.^{26b} do not seem to be included.

ark, 1 S 5^{2}, 2 S 6^{17})—in Ophrah. That this was an object of idolatrous worship seems plain from the comment of the later historian (v.^{27}), who states that 'all Israel *went a whoring* after it,' and that 'it became a snare to Gideon and to his house.' The amount of gold spent upon this ephod (1700 shekels =about 75 lbs. troy, which would be worth now some £3600) points also to something more than an ornamental vestment for a priest: indeed the ephod appears to be the chief object in the sanctuary.* **b.** In other passages also the ephod figures as part of the regular equipment of a sanctuary. In Jg $17^{4f.}$ $18^{14. 17. 18. 20}$, Micah provides for his private shrine in Ephraim a graven and molten image (*peṣel* and *maṣṣēkhāh*),† and an *ephod* and teraphim; and in Hos 3^{4} the prophet speaks of a time when Israel should be left 'without king and prince, without sacrifice and pillar (*maẓẓēbāh*), and without *ephod* and teraphim.' The juxtaposition of ephod and teraphim in these passages is noticeable. The latter were idols (Gn 31^{19}, cf. v.^{30}), apparently of human form (1 S 19^{13-16}), and were used in divination (Ezk $21^{21\ (26)}$, Zec 10^{2}; cf. Hab 2^{19}): hence it is reasonable to conclude that the ephod was in some way associated with the teraphim in divination. It does not, however, follow that it was any kind of image: rather, as the teraphim were idols, the ephod will have been something different. **c.** In 1 S 21^{9} [Heb.^{10}] the sword of Goliath was preserved at Nob as a trophy, wrapped in a mantle 'behind the ephod,' which therefore would seem to have been something having a fixed place by the wall, but standing free from it. **d.** In the Books of Samuel, the ephod is several times mentioned as a means of ascertaining the will of J″; the verb used in connexion with it, when thus employed, is—not 'put on,' but—'bring near' (הַגִּישׁ 1 S 14^{18} LXX,‡ 23^{9} $30^{7. 7}$): the priest (whose privilege it is to possess it) is said to 'carry' or 'bear' it (נָשָׂא 1 S 2^{28} $14^{3. 18}$ LXX,§—not 'wear'); and Abiathar brings it down with him 'in his hand' to David in Ḳe'ila (1 S 23^{6}). These passages seem to imply that the 'ephod' was something moved about or carried, rather than something worn as a garment. **e.** The derivative אֲפֻדָּה—the same word which is used in connexion with the high priest's ephod in the phrase (Ex 28^{8} 39^{5}) 'the band of its *attachment*'—is used actually of some part of the metal plating of an idol in Is 30^{22} 'the silver overlaying (צִפּוּי) of thy graven images, and the gold *attachment*, or *casing* (אֲפֻדָּה), of thy molten images.' On the strength of these passages, Wellhausen (*Hist.* 130 n.), summarizing the conclusions of Vatke (*Bibl. Theol.* 1835, pp. 267, 269), writes, 'Outside the Priestly Code, *ephod* is the image, *ephod bad* the priestly garment'—the term, when used in the latter sense, being thus distinguished by the addition of 'linen' (Stade, Kautzsch, Smend, Nowack, Benzinger).

The places in which *ephod bad* occurs are 1 S 2^{18} 22^{18}, 2 S 6^{14}; so that, taken strictly, the passages in which *ephod* denotes, upon this view, an image would be Jg 8. 17 f., 1 S 2^{28} 14^{3} 21^{9} $23^{6. 9}$ 30^{7}, Hos 3^{4} (to which 1 S 14^{18} LXX must naturally be added); though Vatke excludes 1 S 14^{3}, and Smend, Kittel, and Budde ('perhaps') exclude 1 S 2^{28} ('to bear the ephod *before me*'). It may, however, be doubted whether, the connexion being so similar (esp. in the Sam. passages,—though 1 S 2^{28} is, no doubt, later than the rest), the term must not be understood throughout in the same sense.

The explanation of the passages quoted is possible, but not certain. (1) The difficulty that the same term should be used to denote both a priestly vestment and an image is not insuperable. The 'ephod' was essentially a *casing* round the body; and hence the same word might well have denoted the casing of precious metal, which (as was usual in ancient images) was spread over a wooden core (cf. Is 40^{19}); the derivative אֲפֻדָּה appears actually to be used in this sense in Is 30^{22} (quoted above): and a term denoting properly the decorated casing of an image, might easily have come gradually to be used for the entire figure. (2) It is true, נָשָׂא (to *carry* or *bear*) is not elsewhere used of garments, but only of shields, weapons, burdens, etc.: if, however, at the time to which Jg 17 f. and 1 S refer, the ephod worn by the principal priest at a sanctuary was in any sense a prototype of the later high priest's ephod, and had a pouch containing the sacred lots (cf. 1 S $14^{41f.}$, esp. v.^{41} LXX [Urim and Thummim],—provided, at least, as seems a natural inference from what is stated on other similar occasions, and from v.^{18} LXX $^{19. 36f.}$, the ephod may be presumed to have been used in Saul's inquiry,—and 28^{6}), it might be fairly described as 'carried' or 'borne,' and mentioned (in Jg 17 f., Hos 3, for instance) as a prominent and essential part of the priest's dress, without which the oracle could not be consulted. It is, however, strange that the same term נָשָׂא should be used also of the *linen* ephods of the priests at Nob.* (3) In 1 S 21^{9}, as also in $14^{3. 18}$ LXX, $23^{6. 9}$ 30^{7}, the term does seem to denote something different from what it does in 22^{18}: in 21^{9} the 'ephod' is spoken of in terms implying that there was but one at a sanctuary (here Nob);† and $14^{3. 18}$ (LXX) mention one as being, apparently κατ᾽ ἐξοχήν, in the possession of the principal priest in Israel; whereas 85 priests, belonging to the same sanctuary as the one named in 21^{9}, are said in 22^{18} to have borne linen ephods. The single ephod may, of course, have been the more elaborate ephod of the high priest (though this would hardly suit well in 21^{9}); but for those who doubt whether the high priest's dress had yet acquired the ornate character described in P, the way is open for the inference that it was an oracular image.

On the whole, we can hardly be said to possess the *data* for deciding this controverted question with confidence. There is, however, a decided probability that, at least in Jg 8^{27}, the term 'ephod' is used of the gold casing of an oracular image. And if it has this meaning (in addition to that of a priestly linen waistcoat) in one passage, the presumption against its having the same second meaning in other passages is lessened, though, naturally, it is not proved that it has it actually.

The opinion that אֵפוֹד denotes a plated image is adopted by Ges. (for Jg 8. 17 f., Hos 3); Studer, *Comm. on Jud.* (for Jg 8 only); Stade, *Gesch.* 466 (for Jg 8. 17, 1 S 21^{9}: with regard to the 'ephod' in which the sacred lots were kept, he merely says, p. 471 bottom, that it is disputed whether it was an image, or the priestly vestment); cf. (for Jg 8) Ewald, *Alt.*^{3} 298 n.: generally for these and the other passages named (sometimes with the exception of 1 S 2^{28}) by Vatke, *l.c.* (except 1 S 14^{3}), Wellh. *l.c.*; Reuss, *Gesch. d. Heil. Schr. AT.s*^{1}, §§ 102, 139;

---

* It is argued (*e.g.* by Berth. *ad loc.*) that the money may have been used for defraying the entire cost of establishing the sanctuary; but the expression is distinctly 'made into an ephod'; and *set* (or *stood*) is hardly applicable to a movable priestly garment.

† In reality, it may be, only a *peṣel*: see $18^{30. 31}$, and cf. Moore, *Judges*, p. 375 f.

‡ 'Bring hither the ephod. For he bare the ephod at that time before Israel.'

§ Read also by Klost. in 1 K 2^{26} ('ephod' for אֲרוֹן 'ark'). The same verb is used in 1 S 22^{18} of the 'linen' ephod.

* Smend, Nowack, and Benzinger explain the identity of name by the conjecture that originally the body of the image was dressed in an 'ephod' of linen, which was afterwards replaced by one of precious metal, while the ephod of linen became the priest's garment, and think consistently that '*bear* the linen ephod' in 1 S 22^{18} is a survival from the time in which the expression was applied, as they consider it still is in 1 S $14^{3. 18}$ LXX, to carrying the oracular image. LXX omits 'linen' in 1 S 22^{18}; but this does not seem to be right: as said above (No 3), the ephod of 22^{18} appears (upon grounds independent of the word 'linen') to have denoted something different from the ephod of $14^{3. 18}$ LXX, $23^{6. 9}$ 30^{7}.

† Whether this was the same ephod as that which was brought afterwards from Nob by Abiathar to David ($23^{6. 9}$ 30^{7}), is uncertain; for in 23^{6} both MT and LXX have '*an* ephod' (not '*the* ephod').

Kuenen, *Hibb. Lect.* 82 ('probably'); Kautzsch in Herzog's *PRE* ^{2}, xvi. (1885), 229; Budde, *Richt. u. Sam.* 115 f.; Kittel, *Gesch.* ii. 174 n.; Smend, *AT Rel.-Gesch.* 41; Nowack, *Arch.* ii. 21 f.; Benzinger, *Arch.* 382; cf. W. R. Smith, *OTJC* ^{2}, 241; G. A. Smith, *The XII Proph.* 23, 38; Dillm. *AT Theol.* 136, 153. See further Moore, *Judges*, 232, 379, 381, who adopts the same view without hesitation for Jg 8, and seems to prefer it for some of the other passages, but allows that they do not 'imperatively' require it, and that 'all that can with certainty be gathered from them is that the ephod was a portable object which was employed or manipulated by the priest in consulting the oracle' (p. 379). It has been opposed by Thenius on 1 S 21^{10}; Bertheau, *Richter* ^{2}, 164; Nowack on Hos 3^4 (in his *Comm.* of 1880); Riehm, *HWB*, *s.v.*; and especially by König, *Hauptprobleme*, 59-63 (who does not, however, appear to maintain more than that the view is not 'undoubtedly' correct).

The etymology of אֵפוֹד is too uncertain to throw light on the meaning of the word. The Heb. verb אפד (Ex 29^5, Lv 8^7) seems to be a denominative. Lagarde (*Bildung der Nom.* 178; *Mittheil.* iv. 17) derived אֵפוֹד from the root preserved in the Arab. *wafada, to come as an envoy* (to a ruler, etc.), supposing that *ephod*='approach' was abbreviated for '(garment of) approach (*sc.* to God),' and comparing Syr. *pedthā* (which would be another derivative of the same root), a long robe (oft. in Pesh. for אֵפוֹד). But this etymology, though ingenious, cannot claim to be more than a conjecture. In usage, the word was probably felt to denote something *closely surrounding* or *encasing*.

S. R. DRIVER.

EPHOD (אֵפֹד).—Father of Hanniel, Manasseh's representative for dividing the land (Nu 34^{23} P).

EPHPHATHA.—The word spoken by our Lord (acc. to St. Mark, 7^{34}) to a deaf and dumb man brought to Him on His return through Decapolis to the Sea of Galilee. It is the Ithpeel (or Ethpa'al) imperat. of an Aram. verb meaning 'to open'—the ת of the prefix being assimilated to the foll. consonant; but as respects philological details the specialists are not agreed (see Dalman, *Gram. des jüdisch-paläst. Aramäisch*, p. 222 n.). The evangelist interprets it in Greek by the 2 pers. sing. 1 aor. pass. impv. 'Be (thou) opened.' The word was used in the Western rites of baptism (cf. Ambr. *de Myst.* 3).

J. H. THAYER.

EPHRAIM (אֶפְרַיִם).—The name of a patriarch and tribe in Israel. E. was the second son of Joseph and Asenath, the daughter of Potiphera, priest of On, and was born in Egypt (Gn $41^{50ff.}$). He was adopted, along with his elder brother Manasseh, by Jacob, who thus gave his favourite son Joseph two tribes among his descendants. At the ceremony of adoption (Gn $48^{13ff.}$) Jacob, in spite of Joseph's resistance, reversed the order of birth, gave E. the precedence over Manasseh, and prophesied that the younger should be the greater. In Jacob's testament (Gn 49) E. and M. are included under the name of Joseph, their future fortunes being conjoined. The tribe of E. is said (Nu 1^{33}) to have, at the Exodus, contributed 40,500 men to the army of Israel, a number reduced, presumably by war and privations, to 32,500 at the close of the wanderings in the desert (Nu 26^{37}). The value of these figures may be estimated by the fact that during the same period the warriors of Manasseh increased from 32,200 to 52,700 (Nu 1^{35} 26^{34}).

Apart from this, however, there is sufficient evidence to show that, in the earliest period of Isr. history in Canaan, the tribe of Joseph, or of Rachel, was still undivided. It embraced not only E. and M., but Benjamin; and therefore we find Shimei the Benjamite regarding himself as a member of the house of Joseph (2 S 19^{20}). After Benjamin constituted a separate tribe, E. and M. still remained undistinguished for a considerable time; they formed together the house of Joseph in the more general sense; and this can alone explain their union for administrative purposes under Solomon (1 K 11^{28}). To what precise period we should assign the subdivision of Joseph it is impossible to discover. All we can say is that it would naturally result from the ever-increasing extent of territory occupied by the tribe, and the emergence of different and conflicting interests in the separate regions of it.

E., like the other tribes of Israel (see ALLIANCE), was far from owing its territory entirely to force of arms (see TRIBE). Can. elements are found in its midst at a comparatively late date (Jos 16^{10}), and Jg 5^{14}, though very corrupt, may imply that the population was composed to some extent of Amalekites. The earliest settlement was in Mt. Ephraim, which was densely wooded. Hence when a complaint was made to Joshua that the territory assigned was too small for the tribe, he advised them to make clearances, and thus make good the defect (Jos 17^{14-18}). From this point E. extended northwards over the wooded hill-country of Samaria to the borders of the plain of Jezreel. The boundary between E. and Manasseh is stated to have been the brook Kanah (Jos 16^8), but this line of demarcation was not strictly observed. The S. limit was fixed at the two fortresses of Upper and Nether Beth-horon, on the borders of Benjamin. To the W. of these lay the territory of the Can. town of Gezer, received by Solomon on his marriage with the daughter of Pharaoh (1 K 9^{15-17}).

The Ephraimites were the most powerful tribe in Israel, and their ambition and sense of superiority are continually in evidence in the history. Their later characteristics and conduct are foreshadowed in the Bk. of Jg. Here we find them attacking Gideon for going to war with the Midianites without summoning them to his aid; their resentment is allayed only with the greatest difficulty (Jg 8^{1-3}). In the same way they complain against Jephthah, and on this occasion they actually come to blows with their kinsmen, with the most disastrous consequences to themselves (Jg 12^{1-6}). But they not only aspire to leadership in war. Shiloh, the seat of the 'house of God' until the destruction of this sanctuary by the Philistines, is within their borders. Samuel still further adds to the prestige of the tribe from whose midst it was only natural that the kingmaker should arise, thus realizing the idea of monarchy in the land, if not among the people, of Jerubbaal and Abimelech. After Saul's death E. set up Ishbosheth, and instigated, or at least joined in, the opposition to David and the tribe of Judah (2 S 2^9); but after the assassination of their prince they yielded to the force of circumstances, and gave in their adherence to David. The traditional jealousy of Judah was not, however, allayed. It can hardly be doubted that this had much to do with the initial success of Absalom's revolt, and it found expression after the failure of the conspiracy in a formal complaint (2 S 19^{40-43}). The succession of Rehoboam to the throne furnished a favourable opportunity for a final attempt at obtaining independence. The first intimation of the meditated secession is stated to have come from Shiloh, the ancient headquarters of the priesthood and of the first kingmaker. The revolt was precipitated by the tyranny of Solomon and Rehoboam, and was consummated under the leadership of Jeroboam, who became the first ruler of the N. kingdom. From that date E. and Judah were irrevocably divided, and the history of the former tribe is merged in that of Israel. The capital, whether Shechem, Tirzah, or Samaria, was always situated in E., and the name of that tribe was constantly applied, especially by the prophets, to the whole kingdom. See ISRAEL.

Mount Ephraim occurs repeatedly in AV (Jos 17^{15} 19^{50} 20^7, Jg 2^9 3^{27} etc., 32 times in all) as tr. of הַר אֶפְרַיִם, which RV more correctly tr. 'the hill country of Ephraim.' It designates the mountainous ridge in Central Palestine, stretching N. to S. from the Great Plain to the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, occupied by West Manasseh, Ephraim, and Benjamin. It had fruitful land on both slopes, especially the western (see Moore on Jg 3^{27}, Dillm. on Jos 16^{1}, and G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 325, 338).

LITERATURE.—Moore, *Judges*, 152, 205, 314 ff.; Budde, *Richt. u. Sam.* (*passim*); Kittel, *Hist. of Heb.* (see Index).

J. MILLAR.

EPHRAIM ('Εφραίμ).—A town not mentioned in the Synoptic Gospels, nor in any other part of the NT except Jn 11^{54}. In that passage we are told that, in consequence of the plots formed by the rulers of the Jews after the raising of Lazarus, Jesus went from the neighbourhood of Jerus. and Bethany 'into the country near to the wilderness, into a city called Ephraim, and there he tarried with his disciples.' The 'wilderness' (ἡ ἔρημος) apparently means the grassy mountain lands near Jerus.; and Josephus (*Wars*, IV. ix. 9) mentions a small fort named Ephraim in the mountain district north of Judæa, which he couples with Bethel. In 2 Ch 13^{19} we have Ephrain (עפרין) instead of **Ephron** (עֶפְרוֹן) suggested in the *Ḳerê* and RVm as the correct name of one of the towns taken by Abijah; and in this verse we again find it coupled with Bethel, if the suggestion be adopted. Lightfoot remarks that, whether the *Ḳerê* be the right reading or not, it shows that such a place existed just in the region where from St. John's account we should expect it to be. Robinson suggests that it is the same as **Ophrah** mentioned in 1 S 13^{17}, and enumerated by Joshua among the cities of Benjamin (Jos 18^{23}). He identifies it with a village now called et-Ṭaiyibeh, situated on a conspicuous conical hill commanding a view over the valley of the Jordan and the Dead Sea (Robinson, i. 444). This site is a very probable one; it is 4 miles N.E. of Bethel, with which Ephraim is coupled both in 2 Ch and by Josephus; and it is about 14 miles from Jerusalem.

Ewald identifies it with the Ephraim in the neighbourhood of which Absalom's sheep farm was situated (2 S 13^{23}); but the Ephraim there referred to is differently spelled, beginning with א, whereas Ephraim of Benjamin begins with ע. If Ewald is right in accepting as genuine the words which the LXX puts in the watchman's mouth in 2 S 13^{34}, and in interpreting them as referring to Beth-horon, this would in reality put a further difficulty in the way of the identification which he proposes; for this would indicate a site N.W. of Jerus., whereas et-Ṭaiyibeh lies N.E. of the capital, and the neighbourhood of Bethel seems to show that Ephraim of Benjamin must have been in the same locality. Jerome describes it as being 'In tribu Juda, villa prægrandis, Ephræa nomine, contra septentrionem in vicesimo ab Ælia milliario.'

LITERATURE.—Robinson, *BRP* i. 444–447; Guérin, *Judée*, iii. 45–51; Ewald, *HI*, Eng. tr. iii. 172; Schürer, *HJP* I. i. 246; *PEFSt*, 1886, p. 57; Andrews, *Life of Our Lord*, 409–411; Smith, *HGHL* 352; Driver, *Sam.* 233. J. H. KENNEDY.

EPHRAIM, FOREST OF (יַעַר אֶפְרַיִם).—The scene of the battle between the forces of David and the followers of Absalom (2 S 18^{6}). As 'the city' (18^{3}) out of which David was to succour Joab, if needed, was Mahanaim (17^{27}), the battle must have been fought on the other side of a plain from that city (18^{23}). Though the site of Mahanaim has not been certainly determined, it must have been in Gilead (see MAHANAIM). The most probable site is *Mukhnah* on the eastern side of the circular plain 'El-Bukeia.' Instead of 'Εφράιμ of LXX, Luc. has Μαάιναν = מַחֲנַיִם. This is accepted by Klosterm., and Budde (in Haupt's *OT*) remarks that Mahanaim 'would be good, but is perhaps a guess.' אֶפְרַיִם is 'unquestionably wrong' and could well be dispensed with, but can hardly have originated 'out of nothing.' It has been suggested that the 'F. of E.' got its name from the battle recorded Jg $12^{1ff.}$. It is more prob. that it was from a settlement of Ephraimites on the east of Jordan, an attempt to have a lot there as well as Manasseh, for the Ephraimites were from the first dissatisfied with their portion (Jos 17^{14-18}). To this the obscure words of Jg 12^{4} may refer. See Smith, *HGHL* p. 335 n.^{2}. A. HENDERSON.

EPHRAIM, GATE OF.—See JERUSALEM.

EPHRATHAH (אֶפְרָתָה, LXX 'Εφραθά, AV wrongly **Ephratah**) in Ps 132^{6} is prob. not an ancient name of Bethlehem, but means the territory bordering on Judah and Benjamin, in which lay Kiriath-jearim, where the ark rested for a time, and where it is represented as being 'heard of,' found 'in the field of Jaar.' So Ges., Del., and see RVm. **2.** A place near Bethel where Rachel died and was buried, Gn 35^{19} 48^{7} (in both of which passages 'the same is Bethlehem' is a gloss). **3.** A name of Bethlehem, Ru 4^{11}, Mic 5^{2}. **4.** The wife of Caleb (1 Ch 2^{50} 4^{4}, abbrev. in 1 Ch 2^{19} to **Ephrath**). See CALEB.

W. T. DAVISON.

EPHRATHITE (אֶפְרָתִי).—**1.** A native of Bethlehem (Ru 1^{2}). **2.** An Ephraimite (Jg 12^{4}, 1 S 1^{1} [cf. Driver, *ad loc.*, and see art. SAMUEL], 1 K 11^{26}).

EPHRON (עֶפְרוֹן).—The son of Zohar the Hittite, from whom Abraham purchased the field or plot of ground over-against Mamre, in which was the cave of Machpelah (Gn 23). The purchase is described with great particularity; and the transactions between Ephron and Abraham are conducted with an elaborate courtesy characteristic of Oriental proceedings. Ephron received 400 shekels' weight of silver (23^{15}): coined money apparently did not exist at that time. If we compare the sale of the site with other instances (Gn 33^{19}, 1 K 16^{24}), Ephron seems to have made a good bargain.

The presence of Hittites in Palestine in the days of Abraham is noticeable. It is possible that Ephron belonged to a different group of Hittites from those who dwelt in Asia Minor. 'Indeed it seems probable that before either Canaanites or Aramæans appeared west of the Euphrates, the Hittites had settled throughout Syria, and the Amorites in Palestine . . . It is also not without a special allusion to the distant past that the learned Ezekiel ($16^{3.\,45}$) says of ancient Jerusalem, "the Amorite was thy father and thy mother a Hittite"' (McCurdy, *History, Prophecy, and Monuments*, vol. i. p. 196). See further under HITTITES.

H. E. RYLE.

EPHRON (עֶפְרוֹן), Jos 15^{9}.—A mountain district, containing cities, on the border of Judah, between Nephtoah and Kiriath-jearim. The ridge W. of Bethlehem seems intended. **2.** ('Εφρών) 1 Mac 5^{46-52}, 2 Mac 12^{27}. A strong fortress in the W. part of Bashan between Ashteroth-karnaim and Beth-shean. The site is unknown. **3.** See EPHRAIM in preceding col. C. R. CONDER.

EPICUREANS ('Επικουρεῖοι).—We read in Ac 17^{18} that when St. Paul came to Athens 'certain of the Epicurean and Stoic philosophers encountered him.' Whether he discussed their tenets with them is not related, nor what they thought of his; for we need not refer to the two sects the unfavourable criticisms, that St. Paul was a babbler and a setter forth of strange gods.

Epicurus was born B.C. 342, and spent his early life in the Ionian Islands. In 307 he domiciled himself at Athens, and soon gathered round him a group of friends and pupils who never forsook him. Their meeting-place was a small garden and villa which he owned in the suburbs, and which he afterwards bequeathed to the sect or 'thiasus.' He died in B.C. 270 of stone, the pain of which he bore with philosophic calmness.

The moral or ethical theory of Epicurus was suggested by that of his predecessor Aristippus of Cyrene, who formulated the human good or end of life as consisting in the pleasure of each moment. E. adopted pleasure as the end; but insisted that it is the pleasure of an entire life at which we must aim, and taught that this can be secured, not by indulging whims and instincts as they momentarily arise in us and solicit us, but only by reconciling them into a systematic whole, in which each will receive the amount of satisfaction which belongs to each. Before indulging any instinct, bodily or mental, we are to consider, said Epicurus, what will be the consequences to ourselves and those whose happiness or pleasure is bound up with our own. Thus the general upshot of his teaching is not unlike that of Bishop Butler; and the charge made against him by the ancient Stoics, that he encouraged sloth and sensuality, was unjust. Conybeare and Howson are right when they speak (*Life and Letters of St. Paul*, ch. x.) 'of the quiet garden, where E. lived a life of philosophic contentment, and taught his disciples that the enjoyment of tranquil pleasure was the highest end of human existence.'

The Stoics also stigmatized E. as an atheist, because he held that the gods live a sublime life of divine calm, as far removed from the passions and hatreds which make men unhappy as from the turmoil of the elements. The contemporaries of E., like the Greek or Italian peasantry of to-day, believed that every clap of thunder, every flash of lightning, every earthquake, was a direct act of a god, who, except in abnormal paroxysms, never acted at all. If a man was blind from birth, the gods were angry with him or his forefathers. If there was a drought, the gods meant to signify their displeasure with someone or other. The gods were perpetually meddling with nature and man, and oftener in a malign than in a loving manner. An instinctive dislike for such peddling views of Providence inclined E. to the philosophy of secondary causes, which Anaxagoras and Democritus had already broached in an earlier generation; and he elaborated a philosophy of nature according to which all phenomena, especially the thunder and lightning, in which Zeus was popularly supposed to vent his ire, were referred to the play of atoms moving about in a void space. To this regular action and interaction of atoms were to be ascribed the stars and their movements. Here, again, Epicureanism struck at the widespread superstition of astrology, and rendered a great service to humanity. For if a man's whole life and destiny depended on the position of the stars at his birth, he was not free to mould his own character, but was the slave of alien forces. In opposition to such a degrading and paralyzing fatalism, E. taught that man has a free will, and can make the best of himself.

A modern writer (Mr. Pater, in his work *Marius the Epicurean*) has shown how naturally Epicureanism, the most humane of ancient creeds, could in the 2nd cent. pass into Christianity. And indeed the two had much in common. Both were opposed to the vulgar mythology of antiquity; both ascribed to the Deity a lofty immunity and repose from every lower passion and feeling; both taught the doctrine of free will in opposition to the astrologers; both inculcated kindness and gentleness to man and beast; both frugality and contentment with moderate circumstances. And as Epicureanism, being the offspring of an age when the intense but narrowing patriotism of the ancient city-state was gone by, was capable of being practised under any form of political institutions, so the moral system of Christianity was formed in detachment from any special set of institutions, and even in defiance of many which, both before and since, have been held essential.

LITERATURE.—The best short account of Epicureanism is Wallace's *Epicureanism* in 'Chief Ancient Philosophies' (S.P.C.K.). See also his article in *Encyc. Brit.*^{9}. For a fuller treatment of the subject, and for a knowledge of the Greek sources, consult Ritter and Preller's *Historia Philosophiæ Græcæ*, or Zeller's *Hist. of Gr. Philosophy*; also H. Usener's *Epicurea*. Among older works, Gassendi's *De Vita, Moribus et Doctrina Epicuri*; *The Life of E.*, by Diogenes Laertius; the poem of Lucretius in Latin, or as tr. by Munro. Late in the last cent. an entire library of Epicurean writings was found at Herculaneum. Many of these rolls have been deciphered and printed since 1793, when the task of unrolling them was first essayed. But many of them are too much charred by the hot lava which overwhelmed the city in A.D. 79 to be of much use. Still many writings of E. and of the leading members of his school, which would have been lost except for this famous cataclysm of nature, have been thus preserved to us.

F. C. CONYBEARE.

EPIPHANES.—See ANTIOCHUS IV.

EPIPHI (Ἐπιφί, 3 Mac 6^{38}).—See TIME.

EPISTLE.—1. IN OT.—The epistle is so spontaneous a form of literature that it may be regarded as one of the earlier applications of the art of writing (see WRITING). Letter-writing must, however, have been confined at first to the few; and official rather than private correspondence would be the prevailing type. In OT verbal messages alone appear prior to the Kingdom in Israel, the letter of David to Joab touching Uriah (2 S 11$^{14.\,15}$) being the first recorded example. Here the message was one which could not have been sent verbally through Uriah; and a similar need for secrecy explains the use of sealed letters by Jezebel in the matter of Naboth (1 K 21$^{8.\,9}$, cf. 2 K 10$^{1\text{-}7}$, Jehu and the sons of Ahab; also 2 Ch 21^{12}). The answer in each case was verbal; hence we infer that writing was still the rare exception even in high official matters. Other reasons for resorting to written messages were the desire to be emphatic or peremptory, as in the cases of Benhadad's letter sent with Naaman to Jehoram of Israel (2 K 5$^{5\text{-}7}$), and of Sennacherib's open letter to Hezekiah (2 K 19^{14}, Is 37^{14}, 2 Ch 32^{17}); or the wish to be specially courteous, as with the letters and present sent by Merodach-baladan on hearing of Hezekiah's recovery from sickness (2 K 20^{12} = Is 39^{1}). So far letters have been chiefly those of kings. Akin to these, in formal or authoritative character, is the letter sent by Jeremiah to the exiles in Babylon (Jer 29^{1}), which also alludes to similar letters sent by a certain Shemaiah, a false prophet, to Jerusalem in order to undermine Jeremiah's own position (vv$^{25.\,31}$). From this it would seem fair to infer that the conditions of the Captivity gave a marked stimulus to the use of letters by the Hebrews as a medium for important messages. Certain it is that hereafter we find not only more frequent reference to such correspondence, but also a new and more precise terminology used to express the notion 'epistle' as a specific form of writing. Hitherto the term employed, as in 2 S, K, (= Is), and even Jer, has been quite vague and general. A letter is simply 'a book' (סֵפֶר, *βιβλίον*, *βίβλος*), its precise nature being learnt only from the context. But henceforth there emerge, in Ch, Ezr, Neh, Est, certain specialized terms, the most distinctive coming from foreign tongues. Besides words for a 'writing' (כְּתָב, 2 Ch 2^{11} וַיֹּאמֶר . . . בִּכְתָב, Est 3$^{13.\,14}$ 8$^{10.\,13}$ with סְפָרִים hard by in either case; or מִכְתָּב, 2 Ch 21^{12} = *γραφή*, as in Dt 10^{4}), we find the strange אִגֶּרֶת of Assyr. (*êgirtu*, so Frd. Delitzsch) or at least Pers. origin (2 Ch 30$^{1.\,6}$, Ezr 5$^{5\text{ff.}}$, Neh 2$^{7\text{-}9}$ 6$^{5.\,17.\,19}$, Est 9$^{26.\,29}$. Cf. *ἀγγαρήϊον*, Herod. viii. 98; Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 6. 9), and נִשְׁתְּוָן, a Pers. form [Ezr 4$^{7\text{ff.}}$, where כְּתָב הַנִּשְׁתְּוָן (v.^{7}) = אִגְּרָא (vv.$^{8.\,11}$) = נִשְׁתְּוָנָא (v.^{18});

while Artaxerxes' פַּתְגָּמָא (rescript, v.^{17}) also = נִשְׁתְּוָנָא (v.^{23})]. The two latter terms are regularly rendered by ἐπιστολή in the LXX. From all this it seems probable that familiarity with the royal posting system of the Persians (cf. ἀγγαρεύειν in Mt 5^{41}) helped to make the letter stand out more clearly to the Jewish mind as a distinct literary type. In the post-exilic historical books the exact epistolary form is often preserved, including a formal address in certain cases. This is a marked feature in the Bks. of Mac, belonging to the Greek period, where also a closing 'Farewell' occurs, sometimes with the addition of the exact date (*e.g.* 2 Mac $11^{27.33.38}$ χαίρειν . . . ἔρρωσθε or ὑγιαίνετε). As yet, however, we have no models of private correspondence among the Hebrews; so that here, as often, we are dependent upon the light shed backwards by NT.

2. IN NT.—In view of the numbers and influence of the Diaspora, the collateral evidence of non-Heb. analogies now becomes of moment. But the letters of literary men, like Cicero or Seneca, are hardly to our purpose. It is rather to the Egyp. papyri, and to the collections of epistles mostly fathered upon great Greek names during the Alexandrine age, that we must look for hints of real value.* The evidence has been well collected by G. A. Deissmann, who, in his *Bibelstudien* (pp. 189-252), reaches the following results. A broad line is to be drawn between the letter and the epistle. The one is essentially a spontaneous product, dominated throughout by the image of the reader, his sympathies and interests, instinct also with the writer's own soul: it is virtually one half of an imaginary dialogue, the suppressed responses of the other party shaping the course of what is actually written: it is confidential in the sense that it is meant for particular readers known to the writer. The other has a general aim, addressing all and sundry whom it may concern: it is like a public speech, and looks towards publication. But publication is the very note of literature proper. Hence the letter, as private, differs from the epistle in being a 'pre-literary' type of self-expression, akin to a diary. But, like a diary, if meant ultimately for the public eye a letter may, in spite of its original use, be in fact an epistle (*e.g.* certain letters of Cicero, Seneca, and Pliny). The literary epistle would arise from actual experience of the posthumous value placed on a great man's letters, and might take one of two forms: (1) those written to make or enhance one's own fame; (2) those forged under some great name, either for practice, after the fashion of the schools of rhetoric, or to give weight to propaganda of some sort. But in any case it will betray care, effort after finish—in a word, art; whereas the letter proper is unstudied, a thing of nature. This being so, letters require an exegesis all their own, one which sets their contents in vital relations with author and readers. Thus only can their proper sense be ascertained.

These principles have a real bearing on NT epp., and must rank among the tests of authenticity. But certain special features of primitive Christianity modify their application; and the universal nature of the interests involved makes the line between letter and epistle a fainter one, as we see by placing 1 Th alongside an epistle like Romans, or even the encyclical Ephesians. It was, no doubt, by writing letters that St. Paul came to feel an epistle a fit medium of exposition. And it seems that he, partly in virtue of his unique missionary labours, partly as a Jew of Gr.-Rom. culture, was the creator of the NT type of epistle, itself the most characteristic blossom of the New Life in the souls of men, the most notable differentia of NT among sacred books. It is even possible that all other NT epistles owe their birth to St. Paul as pioneer. Be this as it may, the relevant data can best be grouped as (*a*) pre-Pauline, (*b*) Pauline, (*c*) post-Pauline.

(*a*) PRE-PAULINE EPISTLES.—Letters of instruction to the synagogal authorities even outside Pal. were sent by the supreme court of the mother-city as occasion arose (Ac 9^{2} with 22^{5}, cf. 28^{21}). It was, perhaps, not without some vague sense of this analogy that the Jerus. community, acting through the apostles and the elder brethren (Ac $15^{22.23}$, cf. 2 Mac $1^{1.10}$), addressed their Gentile brethren of the province Syria-Cilicia touching terms of communion. Common use of 'letters of introduction' is implied in 2 Co 3^{1} (see Ac 18^{27}, and cf. Ro $16^{1.2}$ as a sample), and in a slightly different sense in 1 Co 16^{3}. No doubt, too, foreign synagogues were wont to refer doubtful points to Jerus. and thus elicit written responses. But we cannot view the letter of the Cor. Church to its spiritual father or apostle (1 Co 7^{1}, 4^{14-17} $9^{2.7.12}$) exactly in this light. Rather it seems a natural result of the unique relation which St. Paul's personality, at once strong and tender, caused to grow up between him and his 'children in the gospel.' This is the secret of the Pauline letters.

(*b*) PAULINE EPISTLES.—There was an imperative need for the single Apostle of the Gentiles to multiply his presence, as it were. This he did in part by trusted companions, but in part also by letters. Doubtless, their exact form would have been other than it is had the current models been other than they were.* But existing literary usages, whether Jewish or Gentile, gave to them no more than Rabbinism gave to his gospel—certain vehicles of thought that lay readiest to use. What his gospel adopted, it transfigured; and nowhere more strikingly than in the conventionalities of the epistolary form. Address, salutation, final benediction, all pulsate with life, and expand at his touch into clauses charged with emotion, every word of which reveals his estimate of some group of souls that were ever in his heart's prayers. One may well see in 2 Th 3^{17} (cf. 2^{2}) tokens that Thessalonica was not the first Church addressed by St. Paul. Yet it is equally certain that the true cause of his very first letter lay deep in the same spirit as breathes in 1 Th, the essentially 'pastoral' instinct. His letters were indeed the life-blood of a noble spirit, ever ready to be poured forth to nourish its spiritual offspring (1 Th $2^{7.8}$). Of a temper too ardent for the more studied forms of writing, St. Paul could yet by letter, and so on the spur of occasion, concentrate all his wealth of thought, feeling, and maturing experience upon some particular religious situation, and sweep away the difficulty or danger. Such 'waiting upon Providence' was the attitude of the apostolic age, which took no thought for a future the next event of which might be the return of Jesus Messiah in heavenly power. In this sense, likewise, the occasional epistle was the typical form of its literature.

The Pauline letters have a style all their own—though style was far from the writer's thoughts. It was indeed the man. Hence their enormous value: first, as the data for his *journal intime* and *Life* all in one; and next as the immovable critical basis of historical Christianity. Just as certain of these letters articulate a unique personality, manifold yet mastered by one absorbing passion, so surely must all theories reckon with what they imply as to the origins of Christianity. They reflect the mood of the time and given circle with perfect vividness of light and shade, ere it fades into the neutral tints of a set narrative. No criticism can ignore them. But neither can Christian theology. This means that they are to be read first of all as letters, and by the canons which govern such a reading. Until any reading can be put into relation to both writer and correspondents, so far as yet known, it cannot be held real and valid. We must reach the theology, if we reach it truly, through the missionary and man of God. So reached, it is full of qualification, of the flexibility that marks spirit off from letter. And, most valuable of all, a feeling for the practical reference of Christian truth—the ideal of 'being,' even more than 'knowing' or even 'doing'—can never be lacking when these writings are read as letters. To this end their very ordering contributes. For the body of the contents falls into two parts. The prophet—for herein lies their continuity with OT (cf. Jer 29)—carries the soul, on the wings of vision, to a level where the will finds its feet free to run in the ways of God, and life is seen *sub specie æternitatis*, in the light of God. But then the apostle never fails to depict what this means for daily life, ere he turns the eye once more to the founts of inspiration with a closing Doxology or Benediction. It is in such applications that the actual face-to-face nature of the Pauline letter allows certain self-revelations to be elicited by the virtual dialogue. Some of these are among our most precious hints towards a theory of biblical inspiration, which by its very recognition of human limitations stands out in contrast to the pagan notion of inspiration as uniform dictation through a passive organ; an idea which soon tainted the ecclesiastical theory from Justin onwards (see Sanday, *BL* 350 ff., cf. 31 ff., 391 ff.).

---

* A certain proportion of the Alexandrine pseudo-epistles, being Græco-Jewish in origin, have a special claim to attention.

* Renan, relying apparently on Talmudic and mediæval data, asserts that 'correspondence between synagogues already existed in Judaism; the envoy charged with such letters was even a dignitary drawn from the synagogues,' and he implies that doubtful points of doctrine or practice were thus discussed (*St. Paul*, 228, 229 and n2). But he gives no references. Sanday speaks more guardedly, and indeed doubts if 'the writing of doctrinal epp. would come to the first generation of Christians as a matter of course' (*Bamp. Lect.* 335, 344).

Finally, it may be noted, even as regards the growth of thought marked by certain Pauline epistles, that of all literary forms the letter least professes to exhaust a writer's ideas—the limit being given rather by the reader's conditions—or commits the writer to his own past. It is, in fact, the ideal form of utterance for a spirit in which great germs are ever being quickened by the touch of practical problems.

(*c*) POST-PAULINE EPISTLES, in a broad sense at least, we may style the other NT epistles (for *James*, see Sanday, *BL* 344). Some of them largely partake of the 'epistle' in contrast to 'letter.' Deissmann, indeed, goes too far when he puts at least half of them into the former class in such a sense as to infer their pseudonymity (pp. 242 ff.). But we may group them as 'letters' and 'epistles' according as they were or were not meant originally for readers more or less known to the writer. Here *Hebrews* first claims notice; for, though not actually Pauline, it was most likely suggested by St. Paul's example, seeing that Timothy is known to its author (13^{23}). Its closing greetings mark it a true letter; yet its abrupt opening makes it, even more than some Pauline epistles, hover between a letter and a homily. Possibly, the writer does not feel his name weighty enough to prefix in formal fashion (cf. *Ep. Barn.* $1^{1.\,8}$). On the other hand, *James* has a formal address, but no final greetings; which marks it an epistle proper, meant for a class, not for given circles personally known to the writer. Otherwise is it with 1 *Peter* ($1^{1.\,2}$ $5^{12\text{-}14}$), which is quite on the lines of an epistle like Ro, and involves some familiarity with the readers' concrete relations. And this seems true even of 1 *Jn*, devoid as it is of the usual marks; for the tone of paternal affection (*τεκνία*) seems best to suit a Church or Churches that knew and revered the writer—probably those addressed out of full knowledge, though in a public or literary fashion, in the Bk. of Rev (2–4). 2 *Jn* is surely a real letter, in due form, to one such Church by the same apostle, whose cryptic use of ὁ *πρεσβύτεροι* and *ἐκλεκτὴ κυρία* is due to fear of a hostile State (v.^{12}). So is it with 3 *Jn* (v.^{13}), a sequel (cf. ^{9}) sent to a private friend when access to this Church was cut off by an ambitious official. In all of the above one seems to feel personality going forth in subtle ways to reach its proper audience. This is hardly so with *Jude*, whose address is quite vague; still less with 2 *Peter*, which as it stands seems dependent on *Jude*. Nor need this surprise, when its author, in implying anxious study of certain Pauline epistles, can rank them as Scripture ($3^{15.\,16}$).

To sum up. While we gain new insight into differences of type among NT epistles by placing them in line with other ancient epistles, yet on reflexion we see afresh the strange distinctiveness of the former as a whole. It turns on the special nature both of the originating impulse and of the ties binding writer and readers in virtue of their common faith. Outside Judaism, religion meant neither passionate belief nor elevated conduct so much as correct ritual. From this could spring no literature of persuasion, least of all in epistolary form. But given the new motive for the religious letter, its native form could hardly stop short where it began, in the splendidly personal prophesyings and exhortations of St. Paul the inspired missionary. Even in him new and more settled conditions evoked a new manner; the sermon gets the upper hand, changing Christian letter into Christian epistle. Of the later, or strictly pastoral type, 1 Jn seems a true sample. Placed alongside 1 Th, it, or even 1 P, might appear marked off as Deissmann's 'artistic epistle' from his 'pre-literary letter.' But, with all intervening stages supplied in even acknowledged Pauline letters, these categories cannot apply with such rigour as to be synonymous with 'Catholic' and 'Pauline' epistles respectively. Various problems remain, *e.g.* as to the Pauline Pastoral Epp., whose integrity is open to doubt; but flexibility and nice discrimination must here be the order of the day. This is not the place to see how the NT epistles became, first literature, and then canonical literature. But it here falls to note that even the most personal Pauline letters thereby became for the Church pure epistles or theological pamphlets. They were, that is, read for the most part *in abstracto*, their writer and original readers—and therefore the original sense—alike becoming of little or no moment.

LITERATURE.—Farrar, *Messages of the Books* (1884), ch. vii.; Sanday, *BL* 334 ff., 344; and esp. *Proleg. zu den bibl. Briefen und Episteln*, in G. A. Deissmann's *Bibelstudien*, 1895.

J. V. BARTLET.

EQUAL.—**1.** As adj. in the sense of 'impartial,' 'fair' (=Lat. *æquus*), Ps 17^{2} 'Let thine eyes behold the things that are equal' (מֵישָׁרִים, either the obj. of the vb. hence AV, and RV 'Let thine eyes look upon equity'; or, more probably, an adv. [=בְּמֵישָׁרִים] as Del. and RVm 'Thine eyes behold with equity'). This meaning of 'equal' is elsewhere in OT found only in Ezk ($18^{25\,bis,\ 29\,bis}$ $33^{17\,bis.\ 20}$, Heb. יִתָּכֵן, lit. 'is proportioned' or 'adjusted') in ref. to God's dealings. In Apocr. it is found 2 Mac 13^{23} 'sware to all equal conditions' (*τὰ δίκαια*, RV 'to acknowledge all their rights'); and in NT, Col 4^{1} 'Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal' (*τὴν ἰσότητα*, RVm 'equality,' Lightft. 'equity,' 'fairness'). Tindale in Prol. to Genesis, says 'that Joseph brought the Egyptians into soch subjection wold seme unto some a very cruel deade, howbeit it was a very equal waye'; and in 'The Obedience of a Christian Man' (*Works*, i. 209) he says, 'it is impossible that a man should be a righteous, an egal, or an indifferent judge in his own cause—lusts and appetites so blind us.' Cf. Milton, *PL* x. 748—

> 'As my will
> Concurred not to my being, it were but right
> And equal to reduce me to my dust.'

2. As subst. in the sense of a contemporary, one of the same generation (=Lat. *æqualis*), Gal 1^{14} 'And profited in the Jews' religion above many my equals in mine own nation' (*συνηλικιώτης*, RV 'beyond many of mine own age'). In the argt. to *Samson Agonistes*, Samson is 'visited by certain friends and equals of his tribe.' In Ps 55^{13}, however, 'equal' is one of my own rank, as AVm Heb. אֱנוֹשׁ כְּעֶרְכִּי, a man after my valuation, *i.e.* esteemed as I am esteemed. So Elyot, ii. 417, 'to acquire by the executyng of iustice nat only an opinion of tyrannye amonge the people, and consequently haterede, but also malignitie amonge his equalles and superiours.'

3. As verb—(1) to 'come up to,' 'match,' Job $28^{17. 19}$ 'The gold and the crystal cannot equal it'; 'The topaz of Ethiopia shall not equal it' (עָרַךְ); and (2) to 'compare,' La 2^{13} 'What thing shall I liken to thee, O daughter of Jerusalem? what shall I equal to thee?' (מָה אַשְׁוֶה־לָּךְ).

J. HASTINGS.

ER (עֵר).—**1.** The eldest son of Judah by his Canaanitish wife, the daughter of Shua. He was married to Tamar, who was apparently also of Canaanite origin. For wickedness, the nature of which is not described, 'J" slew him' (Gn 38^{3-7}, Nu 26^{19}). **2.** A son of 'Shelah the son of Judah' (1 Ch 4^{21}). **3.** The name of 'Er the son of Jesus' appears in the genealogy of our Lord (Lk 3^{28}) in the 7th generation before Zerubbabel, and the 15th after David.

H. E. RYLE.

ERAN (עֵרָן 'watchful').—Grandson of Ephraim, Nu 26^{36} P. Patronymic, **Eranites**, *ib.*

ERASTUS (Ἔραστος) occurs three times as the name of a companion of St. Paul. **1.** From Ac 19^{22} we learn that during St. Paul's long stay at Ephesus he sent Timothy and E., two of those that ministered unto him (*δύο τῶν διακονούντων αὐτῷ*), into Macedonia. **2.** In Ro 16^{23} E. 'the treasurer (*οἰκονόμος*) of the city' is mentioned among those who send their salutations. His office implies that he was a man of some considerable importance. **3.** In 2 Ti 4^{20} E. is mentioned as having 'remained in Corinth.'

Whether these reff. apply to one, two, or three persons we have no means of conjecturing. It is, however, not probable that the 'treasurer of the city,' who held an office which implied residence in one locality, should have been, like the others, an itinerant companion of St. Paul.

A. C. HEADLAM.

ERECH (אֶרֶךְ) was called by the Babylonians and Assyrians Uruk (or Arku), whence Heb. Erech and Arab. Warka. A very ancient city, thought at first to be Edessa or Calirrhoë (Urfah) in the N.W. of Mesopotamia. It is the second in the list of the four towns of Gn 10^{10} (Babel, *Erech*, Accad, and Calneh), comprising Nimrod's kingdom in the land of Shinar (Babylonia). Erech (or Warka) lies half-way between Hillah and Korna, on the left bank of the Euphrates, and W. of the Nile Canal. It is supposed by Fried. Delitzsch that this river must have flowed nearer to the city at the time of Gilgameš, as the legend relates that Gilgameš and Ea-bânî washed their hands in the stream after having killed, in Erech, the divine bull sent out by the goddess Ishtar. Its orig. name was Unu, Unug, or Unuga, translated in the bilingual texts by *šubtu* * 'seat' 'dwelling.'

It was a very important city—the capital, in fact, of the mythical hero-king Gilgameš. The ruins found on its site show the remains of elegant buildings with fluted walls, sometimes decorated with patterns formed with the circular ends of various coloured cones imbedded in mortar, bricks bearing archaic Accad. and Bab. inscriptions, etc. Remains of canals traverse the mass of hillocks (which in some parts are nearly 90 feet high) and the country around the city, showing that it must have been well drained in ancient times. Those portions of the walls of the city which can be traced seem to have been in the form of an irregular circle about 40 feet high, and show that its average circumference was about six miles. The houses of the people are supposed to have extended beyond the walls.

The antiquity of the city is indicated by the non-Semitic (bilingual) version of the creation-story, in which its foundation is attributed to the god Merodach (*RP* 2nd ser. vi. 107–114). Another and important proof of its antiquity is given in the number of names it bears in the inscriptions. Besides its original appellation of Unug, it was called Illag (or Illab) (*WAI* v. pl. 41. 15), Namerim (ii. 50. 58; v. 41. 16), Tir-ana 'the heavenly grove' (v. 41. 16), Ara-imina 'the seven districts' (*ib.* 17), Gipar-imina * 'the seven enclosures' (*ib.* 18), Ki-na-ana 'the heavenly resting-place' (*ib.* 19)—poetical names implying that the city and its surroundings were regarded by the Babylonians as fertile and beautiful in the extreme, and very different, naturally, from the scene of desolation which now meets the traveller's eyes. The **Archevites** mentioned in the Bk. of Ezra, 4^{9}, were inhabitants of the Bab. Arku or Erech, which was the seat of a celebrated school of learned men. Strabo speaks of the Orcheni (Archevites) as a sect of Chaldæan astronomers dwelling near Babylon (xxi. p. 739); Ptolemy, as a people of Arabia near the Persian Gulf (v. 19, § 2); and Pliny, as an agricultural population, who banked up the waters of the Euphrates and compelled them to flow into the Tigris (vi. 27, s. 31).

Two deities who had temples in the city seem to have been worshipped in E., namely, Ishtar and Nanâ. The temple dedicated to Ishtar (Venus, as the evening star) was called Ê-ulmaš 'the house of the oracle'; the other, dedicated to Nanâ (the goddess whose image was carried off by the Elamite king, Kudur-nankhundi, B.C. 2280, and only restored to its place 1635 years later by Assur-bani-pal, king of Assyria), was called Ê-ana 'the house of heaven,' and is now represented by the Buwariyya mound.

Among the inscribed and stamped bricks found in Erech are many of the time of the historical kings—Dungi, Ur-Ban, Gudea, Sin-gašid, Merodach-baladan I., etc. Tablets of the reigns of Nabopolassar, Nebuchadrezzar, Nabonidus, Cyrus, Darius, and some of the Seleucidæ, have been excavated in the site. In the ruins of the town and the country around, a large number of glazed earthenware coffins and other receptacles, used no doubt for the burial of the dead, mostly of the Parthian period, has been found, showing that part of the town and its neighbourhood must have been used as a necropolis.

LITERATURE.—Schrader, *KAT*² 94 f.; Loftus, *Chaldæa and Susiana*, 162 f.; Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 221 f.; Smith, *Chaldæan Genesis*, 194; Sayce, *Hib. Lect. on Rel. of Anc. Babylonians*, 184 f., *HCM* 102; Hommel, *Anc. Heb. Trad.* 122 n., 129, 168, 177, also art. BABYLONIA, p. 224ᵇ.

I. A. PINCHES.

ERI (עֵרִי 'watcher').—Son of Gad, Gn 46^{16}, Nu 26^{16}, P. Patronymic, **Erites**, *ib.*

---

* The pronunciation of the word seems, from a Greek transcription, to have been *sobthu*.

* This apparently refers to the great tower there, in seven stages, similar to the tower of Babel. It was called E-gipar-îmina (*WAI* ii. 50. 20).

ESAIAS.—The familiar AV spelling of ISAIAH in Apocr. and NT is retained by RV only in 2 Es 2^{18}.

ESAR-HADDON (אֵסַר־חַדֹּן, *Σαχερδονός*, *'Ασορδάν*).—Esar-haddon, in Assyr. Assur-akh-iddina, 'Assur hasgiven a brother,' seems to have been the favourite son of Sennacherib, by whom his name was changed to Assur-etil-yukin-abla, 'Assur, the hero, has established the son.' Sennacherib bequeathed to him golden bracelets, necklaces, and other valuables, 1½ manehs, 2½ shekels in weight, which were stored up in the house of a certain Amuk, and probably intended him to be his successor. In B.C. 681 Esar-haddon was at the head of the Assyr. army fighting against Erimenas of Ararat (Van), when Sennacherib was murdered by his sons Adrammelech (or rather Arad-malik) and [Nergal-] sharezer (2 K 19^{37}, Is 37^{38}) on the 20th of Tebet (December). For forty-two days the conspirators held the capital, but on the 2nd of Adar (January) they were compelled to fly to the Armenian king. Esar-haddon met his brothers and the army of Ararat near Malatiyeh on the 12th of Iyyar (April); the veterans of Assyria won the battle, and at the end of it saluted Esar-haddon as king. Eusebius quotes from Abydenus that the battle-field was at 'the city of the Byzantines,' which von Gutschmidt corrects into Bizana on the Cappadocian frontier. After the victory Esar-haddon returned to Nineveh, and on the 8th of Sivan (May) was crowned king.

He was an able general, and by his conciliatory policy prevented such rebellions as had troubled his father's reign. His first care was to rebuild Babylon, which Sennacherib had destroyed (in B.C. 689), and to make it the second capital of his empire. Manasseh of Judah became his vassal, and was called upon, along with the other kings of the west, including those of Cyprus, to furnish timber and stone for the palace of their Assyrian lord. The statement in 2 Ch 33^{11}, that he was carried prisoner to Babylon after his revolt from Assyria, is explained by the fact that Babylon had become one of the residences of Esar-haddon.

The early part of Esar-haddon's reign was occupied in defending his kingdom against the hordes of Gimirrâ or Kimmerians, called Gomer in OT, and included by the Assyrians under the general title of Manda or 'Nomads,' who were now pouring into Western Asia. For a time the issue seemed doubtful, and a hundred days of humiliation and prayer to the gods were ordered that the empire might be protected against the Kimmerians and their allies, Kastarit of Karkassi, Mamiti-arsu the Mede, the Minni, and the people of Saparda (Sepharad) and Asguza (Ashkenaz). At last Teuspa the Kimmerian was overthrown in a decisive battle on the northern frontier of Assyria, and driven westward into Asia Minor. Then came a campaign against the Medes.

In B.C. 677 Sidon revolted, but was promptly captured and destroyed, and another city, called 'the city of Esar-haddon,' was built in place of it, and colonized with captives from Elam and Babylonia (see Ezr 4^{2}). The following year the king of Sidon and his ally, a Cilician prince, were beheaded, and their heads sent to Nineveh. In the autumn Esar-haddon marched into the heart of Arabia, through a waterless desert, a distance of more than 600 miles, and conquered the eight kings of Bazu and Khazu (the Buz and Hazo of Gn $22^{21.22}$). In B.C. 674 he invaded Egypt, and the invasion was repeated in the February of the following year. In 672 his wife died on the 5th of Adar, and in 670 came the final attack on Egypt. The Egyptian forces were driven before the Assyr. army (from the 3rd to the 18th of Tammuz or June) all the way from the frontier to Memphis, being thrice defeated with heavy loss; while Tirhakah, their king, was wounded. On the 22nd of Tammuz, Memphis surrendered, Tirhakah and his son fled to Ethiopia, and Egypt became an Assyr. province. In B.C. 668 it revolted, and while on the march to punish it Esar-haddon fell ill, and died on the 10th of Marcheshvan (October). His empire was divided between two of his sons, Samas-sum-ukin having Babylonia, while the rest of the empire passed to an older son, Assur-bani-pal, whose suzerainty Samas-sum-ukin was called upon to acknowledge. A third son, Assur-mukin-paliya, was raised to the priesthood, while a fourth became priest of the moon-god at Harran.

LITERATURE.—*Records of the Past*, new series, iv.; Knudtzon, *Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott* (1893); Meyer, *Gesch.* i. 473 ff.; Budge, *History of Esarhaddon*; Ragozin, *Assyria*, 331–346; Plumptre in *Expos.* 2nd ser. iv. 448–461; Driver, *Isaiah*² ('Men of Bible'), 220; Buxton, *Side-Lights*, 207–213; McCurdy, *Hist., Proph., and the Mon.* ii. 333–350.

A. H. SAYCE.

ESAU.—1. (עֵשָׂו), elder of Isaac's twin sons. The name ('hairy')[*] is said to have been suggested by his appearance at birth (Gn 25^{25}, J). The surname Edom ('red'), applied chiefly to his posterity, commemorated, according to Gn 25^{30} (J), the incident there related, but referred also, possibly, to his red hair. Sayce [see EDOM, p. 644^{b}] derives the name from the red colour of the sandstone cliffs of Idumæa. The struggle between E. and Jacob, prior to birth,[†] foreshadowed subsequent relations between the brothers as well as their descendants (see EDOM), and was oracularly declared to signify that 'the elder shall serve the younger.' The premature tokens of manly strength were premonitory of E.'s future. When he grew up, he preferred the wilder life of the chase to the quieter routine of sheep-farming at Beersheba. He became a 'man of the field,' an expert hunter, and eventually chief of a tribe occupying the hilly land of Seir, whose Horite inhabitants were displaced or subdued by E., his followers, and their posterity (Gn 25^{27} $32^{3.6}$ 36, Dt 2^{12}).

The main incidents of E.'s life are (1) *Sale of birthright.*—Hungry, faint, and feeling as if about to die, he arrives one day,[‡] after a (presumably) unsuccessful hunt, at the patriarchal camp, finds his brother cooking lentils, and cries, 'Let me devour some of that same red food.'[§] Jacob, taking mean advantage of E.'s condition, and aware probably of the oracle in his own favour, demands, as price of the pottage,[||] a renunciation of the birthright. The latter included precedence, and authority after his father's death (Gn 27^{29}); perhaps, also, as in later times, a double portion of the patrimony (Dt 21^{17}), and the domestic priesthood (Nu $3^{12f.}$). Along therewith would naturally, in the case of the chosen family, be transmitted the covenant blessing, which secured for its possessor the divine special favour, with promise of Canaan for his posterity, and the honour of conveying a blessing, through future seed, to 'all the families of the earth' (Gn 12^{3} $22^{17f.}$). In E.'s eyes the temporal advantages of the birthright were distant and shadowy; to spiritual privilege he was apparently insensible. 'What profit shall the birthright do to me?' he cries, and barters it away with a levity which even the oath exacted by Jacob fails to turn into gravity. (2) *E.'s marriages.*—One who 'despised his birthright,' as heir of Abraham, was not likely to value highly connexion with Abraham's kindred. He associated freely with Canaanites, who were 'strangers from the covenants of promise,' and, at the age of 40, married two Hittite wives, Judith and Basemath, to the grief of his parents, who could not forget Abraham's anxiety to avoid such alliances. Afterwards, when Jacob had been directed by Isaac to seek a wife among their kinsfolk in Paddan, E., in hope of propitiating his parents, married, in the lifetime of his first two wives, his cousin Mahalath, daughter of Ishmael.* Of these wives five sons were born (Gn 36$^{1ff.}$). (3) *Loss of patriarchal blessing.*—When Isaac's death apparently approached, E. seems to have realized the temporal profit of the benediction. Not forgetting (Gn 27^{36}), but ignoring his bargain with Jacob, he enters readily into Isaac's plan for the bestowal of the blessing on his favourite first-born. When the blessing is lost through Jacob's repulsive artifice, and E. receives a lower benediction,† indicating that he would live by the spoils of war and chase (27^{40}), he resolves to slay his brother after Isaac's death, and thus regain all he has lost. (4) *Reconciliation with Jacob and final departure from Canaan.*—During Jacob's sojourn in Paddan, E., while retaining connexion with Canaan (Gn 36^{6}), seems to have become a 'duke' in Seir (Gn 32^{3}).‡ When Jacob is on his way back to the S. of Pal., E. meets him with 400 men. It is not clear that his purpose was hostile, as Jacob supposed: the men may have been mustered for war against Horites. Twenty years had intervened since J.'s departure; time is a great healer; and E.'s wrath may have been mollified by success. Any remaining animosity was appeased by Jacob's abundant gifts (which had the aspect of tribute), and vanished at the sight of the prostrate brother. 'E. ran to meet him, and embraced him, and fell on his neck, and kissed him' (Gn 33^{4}). They met once more, in peace, at Isaac's funeral, after which E., partly 'because their substance was too great for them to dwell together,' severed his connexion with Canaan, and made Seir his permanent abode (36^{8}).

---

[*] Ges., Kalisch, etc. Acc. to Pseudo-Jon.'s Targ. 'ready made,' from עָשָׂה to make, or make ready, because E. 'was born with hair of head, beard, and teeth.'

[†] Cf. the story of the twins Acrisius and Proetus, related by Apollodorus, *De Deor. Orig.* ii. 2. 1.

[‡] Ps.-Jon.'s Targ. records a tradition that it was the day of Abraham's death.

[§] So Ges. (לָעַט). Lit. 'that red, red thing,' as if he could not wait to recall the proper word.

[||] Farinaceous food may have been a tempting luxury owing to 'famine in the land' (Gn 26^{1}, assigned to the same J document as $25^{27ff.}$).

The epithet βέβηλος 'profane' (He 12^{16}), § *i.e.* unconsecrated, secular (Lv 10^{10}, 1 S 21^{4}, Soph. *Œd. Col.* 10), rather than blasphemous, supplies a key to E.'s character and history. Frank and manly, affectionate and impulsively generous, irascible but not implacable, E. is naturally lovable, and exhibits materials out of which a fine character might have been developed. But he discloses no spiritual aspiration or God-ward bent; no sense of unworthiness or devout surrender to divine guidance, such as Jacob, amid grave faults, exemplifies. This lack of consecration leaves E. subject to animal appetite; leads him into secularizing, if not demoralizing, alliance with Canaanites; renders him careless of spiritual blessing and insensible to high ideals; causes his conduct to be dominated by impulse, not regulated by principle; and prevents that moral growth through which Jacob, originally far less amiable, is transformed from a tricky 'supplanter' into Israel, a prince of God. Even E.'s natural frankness and generosity fail him, when he tries, without Jacob's knowledge, to obtain the blessing virtually forfeited, and resolves to slay his brother, not in the first heat of resentment, but prudently, in cool blood, after Isaac's death has removed the peril of paternal curse. His later pacification—the outcome, directly, of affectionate impulse—was probably due also to the conviction that the head of a host of 400 had, after all, lost nothing through being supplanted by one whom the coveted blessing, after twenty years, had made only a successful cattle-breeder.

Some modern critics * regard the history of E. and Jacob as more or less mythical. Ewald supposes the details about E. were suggested by the rough nature of Idumæa (שֵׂעִיר Seir=rough), and by the later relations of Edom and Israel. Kuenen lays stress on the representation of E. and Jacob (with other personages in Gn) as 'progenitors of tribes'—a 'theory of the origin of nations' which 'the historical sense of the present day rejects.' Families, he declares, become nations, not so much by multiplying as by conquest of and combination with other populations. For discussion of the general question, see TRIBE. As regards Esau in particular, (1) the roughness of Edomite territory may be reasonably traced to the disposition of a progenitor whose rough strength prompted him to choose an abode suited to his habits. (2) Nothing in Gn precludes the supposition that the Edomites (as well as the Israelites) included within their communities the descendants of retainers and immigrants. (3) It is difficult to believe that legends containing so much that is derogatory to the venerated Jacob, and favourable (comparatively) to the ancestor of unfriendly Edomites, should grow up among the Jews. Of the stories and features of character which would naturally cluster round E.'s name in Heb. circles, we have specimens in Rabbinical writings which represent E. as thief, fornicator, blasphemer, etc., as committing five heinous sins in one day, as giving his father dog's flesh for venison, and biting Jacob after the latter's return.† The impartiality of Gn in revealing much that is attractive about E. and repulsive (even to an Eastern mind) about Jacob, suggests a substantially historical record which could hold its ground in spite of its (to the Jews) unpalatable character.

LITERATURE (in addition to works quoted above).—Kalisch, Dillmann, and Delitzsch on *Genesis*; Yonge in *Expositor* for 1884; Farrar in *Fall of Man*; Dods, *Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph*; Cox, *Hebrew Twins*; Lightfoot, *Cambridge Sermons*, 3; Moinet, *Great Alternative*, 119; Welldon, *Fire upon Altar*, 79, 92; Jacobs, *Studies in Bibl. Archæology*, 48-63.

2. (Ἠσαύ), 1 Es 5^{29}=ZIHA, Ezr 2^{43}, Neh 7^{46}.

H. COWAN.

ESCHATOLOGY (*τὰ ἔσχατα, the last things*).—Eschatology gives an account of the final condition of man and the world as this is represented in scripture. The idea of a final condition of mankind and the world rests on the other idea that history is a moral process, with a goal towards which it is moving. In scripture this moral process is specifically a redemptive process, of which the author and the finisher is God, He Himself being the end towards which mankind is being drawn, for the perfection of man lies in full fellowship with God; and the perfection of man is reflected in, and subserved by, a new condition of the world, which is transfigured with his redemption. In this view the Messianic idea and hope becomes an important element in eschatology; but in OT, at least in its earlier portions, the Messianic is not yet so developed as to be a constant feature in the eschatological picture, much less that which gives its whole colour to the picture. The redeemer is God—'salvation belongeth unto the LORD' (Ps 3); and if the Messiah anywhere be redeemer or king of the redeemed people, he is so in virtue of the *divine* in him, as being in some way God in manifestation (Is 9^{2-7}). The nomenclature, therefore, of some writers, who employ eschatological and Messianic as synonymous terms, is somewhat confusing; for, though this terminology be more and more justified as revelation advances, there are many eschatological passages even in late writings in which there is not only no mention of the personal Messiah, but in which there is no reason to suppose that the idea of a personal Messiah lay as a presupposition in the background of the author's thought. The OT reveals its conceptions piecemeal. Its writers are like subordinate workmen, each absorbed in his own particular task, in polishing a corner or carving a chapiter or wreathing a pillar; it is only when the master-builder appears, with the full idea of the house in his mind, that each of the separate parts takes its place in the building. While, therefore, every Messianic passage is eschatological, there are many eschatological passages not Messianic.

---

* The differences in the names and parentage of E.'s wives, as given in Gn 26^{34} 28^{9} and 36^{2} are due, perhaps, not to divergent traditions (for these passages are all assigned to the same 'source,' P), but (1) to double names, (2) to errors in transcription by the editor of the documents.

† The words in Gn 27^{39} may mean either (partitively) that E.'s dwelling would be 'of the fatness' or (privatively) 'away from the fatness.' The latter suits better the character of Seir.

‡ Gn 36 (P) suggests, when taken by itself, that E.'s departure to Seir took place only after Jacob's return to Canaan, not before it; as 32^{3} (J) intimates; but if we suppose that, so long as Isaac lived, E., while dwelling much in Seir, retained an abode in Can., the discrepancy disappears.

§ If πόρνος 'fornicator' in this verse refer to E. (which is doubtful), the ref. is either to his marriages with idolatresses, or to Heb. traditions of his gross immorality.

* Ewald, *Hist. of Isr.* bk. i. sec. i. C; Kuenen, *Rel. of Isr.* ch. ii.; more moderately, Kittel, *Hist. of Hebrews*, Eng. tr. i. 169.

† See instances collected by Wetstein, on He 12^{16}, and by Stanley, *Jewish Church*, i. p. 47.

Besides exhibiting the scripture views of the final condition of things, eschatology may take notice of the phenomena, the physical convulsions, or the national commotions amidst which the final condition is ushered in; or it may go a step farther back and refer to the moral forces bringing about these manifestations and revealed in them. In OT physical nature has no meaning of its own; it is a mere medium for the transmission and manifestation of moral impulses; and the same is true in a sense of human history, for, though men and nations act voluntarily, ultimately all their movements are inspired and led by God, the First and the Last (Is 41^{4} 48^{12}). The final condition of men and the world is therefore regarded in OT less as the perfect issue of a gradual ethical advancement in the mind of men and the nations than as the result of an interposition, or a chain of interpositions, on the part of God, though these interpositions, under whatever external forms they may be revealed, are of course all moral.

THE ESCHATOLOGY OF OT may be treated under two heads: The eschatology of the People, and the eschatology of the individual Person. As the People in their final condition have necessarily some relation to the nations, the eschatology of the People widens out in many passages to be an eschatology of mankind and the world; while, on the other hand, owing to the idea prevalent in OT, particularly in the prophets, that the religious subject in relation with God is the People, the eschatology of the individual Person in distinction from the People is little developed, and some of the passages that appear to relate to it are uncertain in meaning. In other words, the eschatology of the People is the doctrine of the perfection of the kingdom of God upon the earth, while the eschatology of the individual Person is the doctrine of Immortality.

I. ESCHATOLOGY OF THE PEOPLE.—Though formally the people came into existence only at the Exodus, yet ideally it already existed in the patriarchal family from Abraham downwards (Is 41^{8}), and some of the widest hopes and aspirations cherished by the people in later times in regard to their place in the religious history of mankind are already expressed in connexion with Abraham. But previous to the time when, by a process of divine selection, the religious destinies of mankind were entrusted to his family, some eschatological intimations were given. It is characteristic of all these early intimations that they are general both in meaning and in regard to time. The earliest of them, the promise that the seed of the woman would bruise the head of the serpent (Gn 3^{15}), bears upon the family of mankind universally. It may not be easy to say what sense our first parents or even Israelitish readers put into these words. The fulness of meaning which we are now able to express by them, and the individual application of 'the seed of the woman' which we can make, can hardly have been suggested to them. But they would be assured that the family of mankind would have the upper hand in the struggle against the author of their calamitous transgression; and as the meaning and consequences of what had befallen them became clearer, so would their conception of what was meant by bruising the serpent's head, and how alone that could be done. Equally universalistic, though more definite in regard to the means of its accomplishment, is the promise given to Abraham, 'In thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed' (Gn 12^{3}). Such a promise could not soon be fulfilled, and there might be room for conjecture even as to the manner of fulfilment; yet the patriarch, knowing wherein his own blessedness lay, in his knowledge of God and fellowship with Him, would surmise that through his seed this true knowledge of God would reach all peoples. The sense is little altered if for 'be blessed' we render 'bless themselves,' *i.e.* wish for themselves the same blessings as Abraham and his seed are seen to enjoy (cf. Nu 23^{10}). Some other passages, such as the Blessing of Noah (Gn $9^{25\text{ff.}}$), are international, religious prominence being given to the family of Shem; while others, such as the Blessing of Jacob and Moses (Gn 49, Dt 33), are more national, having respect to the place of the tribes in Canaan. The phrase 'the last days' (אַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים) describes the farthest future into which the eye of the seer reaches, and may have different senses. In Gn 49^{1} it refers to the final disposition of the tribes in Canaan (though 49^{10} may have a wider outlook; see PROPHECY); while in Is 2^{2} it refers to the final condition of the family of mankind, when all nations shall appeal to the God of Jacob as the righteous arbiter in all international causes. Dt 32 ends with the hope of the victory of Israel over all its enemies, and in his Last Words (2 S 23) David expresses the assurance that under his family a kingdom of Righteousness will arise.

The Day of the Lord.—In the 8th century B.C. the faith of Israel was virtually complete. Amos taught that God is Righteousness; Hosea, that He is Love; Isaiah, that He is the Lord the King, who has founded His kingdom in Zion, on the throne of which shall sit for ever one of the house of David, the Prince of Peace, filled with the fulness of the Spirit of God (Is 9. 11). But besides this Messianic eschatology belonging to the second period of Isaiah's career, there is another belonging to the earliest period (chs. 2. 3), which he calls 'the Day of the Lord.' The prophet does not expressly combine the two, though they are probably to be regarded the one as the dark side and the other as the light side of the same cloud of judgment. In the earlier chapters he moves more among principles, moral necessities; in the second period (ch. 7 ff.) the actors are already on the scene who shall carry out the programme which in his first days he perceived to be inevitable. The phrase 'the Day of the Lord' is first heard in the mouths of the people (Am $5^{18\text{ff.}}$). The term 'day' is much used in Arabic of a battle day, as the day of Badr, Ohod, and the like, and so in Heb. 'the day of

Midian' (Is 9^{4}), and this may be its primary meaning. The day of the Lord to the popular mind would be the day when J″ their God would interpose in their behalf to deliver them. The deliverance would be primarily from external hostile oppression, but internal social miseries might also be included. The idea and the phrase may thus be very ancient, though they appear first in Amos. All that the phrase connotes in the mouth of the people is the sense of misery and oppression, the belief that only their God can deliver them, faith in His power, and a hope or conviction of His approaching intervention, though on what this conviction was founded does not appear. But to the prophets of this age J″ is a purely ethical Being, the moral ruler of Israel and the nations, and the sin of Israel and the world demands His intervention. Hence the first aspect of the day of the Lord is always a day of judgment. But judgment is not an end in itself; it is only in order to redemption, and behind the storm of judgment there always rises clear the day of salvation. The conception of the sin of the world which compels the intervention of the Judge differs in different prophets. In Amos it is social and civil unrighteousness; in Hosea, religious unfaithfulness; in Isaiah, insensibility to the majesty of the great King, who must interpose to bring the sense of Himself home to men's minds.

'The day of the Lord' is an eschatological idea; the phrase cannot be rendered '*a* day of the Lord,' as if any great calamity or judgment felt to be impending might be so named; the 'day' is that of the final and universal judgment. But, of course, a prophet's presentiment of its nearness might not be realized; the crisis which he saw impending and deemed the great 'day' itself, or the beginning of it, might pass over and the 'day' be deferred. But this fact should not lead us to suppose that the prophets call any great visitation of God by the name of 'the day of the Lord.' Again, the term 'day,' if it originally meant battle day, suggests the presence of some foe whom God uses as His instrument of judgment. This feature, however, is not always present in descriptions of the day. Sometimes the terrors of the day of the Lord are represented as due to His manifestation of Himself and the convulsions of nature that accompany His appearing, 'when He arises to shake terribly the earth' (Is 2^{10-22}). But at other times, besides the supernatural gloom and terrors that surround Him when He appears, He is represented as using some fierce, distant nation as the instrument by which He executes His judgment (Is 13, Zeph). The judgment of the day of the Lord is a judgment on the known world, and the nation that executes the judgment is some wild people emerging from the dark places of the earth lying beyond the confines of the known world.* Once more, when the prophets speak of the day of the Lord they always regard it as near (Is 13^{6}, Jl 1^{15} 2^{1}). The coming of the 'day' itself was a settled belief, but of its time knew no man; the presentiment of its nearness was awakened in the mind of the prophet by what he saw of the moral condition of mankind or of the operations of God in the world. To one prophet the insensibility of men to the majesty of the Lord the King seems so frightful that He must interpose to cast down everything that is high, so that He alone shall be exalted in that day (Is 2. 3); to another He is so visibly operating in the convulsions of the nations that His full manifestation of Himself seems at hand (Is 13, Zeph); while to a third the severe natural calamities with which He is visiting His people seem the tokens and heralds of His final judgment (Jl 1. 2). The prophets' hearts were filled with great religious issues, with presentiments of the future of the world in God's hand. These presentiments were so vivid in their hearts that they were constantly looking for the fulfilment of them. And thus when the currents of providence, often too sluggish to their eager eyes, received a sudden quickening, when great events were moving and J″ visibly interposing in the affairs of the world, they felt that He was taking to Him His great power. It was but a step or two when the kingdom would be the Lord's.

(1) In the pre-exilic prophets the day of the Lord is a judgment primarily on Israel (Am 3^{2}), though it also embraces the nations. It is Israel's national dissolution, though the dissolution is only in order to a new reconstruction. The sinners of the people shall be destroyed, and a poor and humble people left behind (Zeph 3^{12}, Is 2. 3, Hos 4^{3} $2^{18\text{ff.}}$). (2) With the Exile the judgment on Israel seemed to have been fulfilled, and during the Exile and at the period of the Restoration the judgment of the day of the Lord is represented as falling on the heathen world, and its issue is Israel's redemption (Is 13, Hag, Zec 1–8). And this feeling is often expressed in passages where the day of the Lord is not formally mentioned (Is 40 ff., Ps 93–99). (3) But after the Restoration, when Israel was again a people, and the old internal antagonisms and wrongs once more manifested themselves, prophets have to threaten it anew with the refiner's fire of the Day of the Lord (Mal $3^{2\text{ff.}}$). Still, though in the post-exilic literature the judgment is also a sifting of Israel itself (*e.g.* Ps 50), it is mainly regarded as falling on the heathen world, and issues in Israel's deliverance and the restoration of the Diaspora (Dn $7^{21\text{ff.}}$). This idea largely pervades the later Psalms. Psalms differ from prophecy. Like the hymns of all peoples, they are not creative but representative. They give back, in thanksgiving, in praise, and often in prayer, the faiths and hopes already contained in the mind of the community and long cherished. And these hopes and faiths are in the main eschatological. When the Psalms speak of the judgment (1^{5} $7^{6\text{ff.}}$ 35^{23} etc.), and of the meek inheriting the earth (37^{11}), of the nearness of the day of the wicked (37^{13}), of seeing God's face in righteousness (17^{15}), of the upright having dominion speedily over the unrighteous (49^{14}), and much of the same kind, they are not uttering vague hopes never before expressed, but reflecting the certainties of a faith as old at least as the prophets of the 8th cent., the certainty of a judgment of God (Is $1^{24\text{ff.}}$ 2. 3), and of the rise behind it of a kingdom of righteousness (Is 1^{26} 9^{7} $11^{4\text{ff.}}$), and peace (Is 2^{4} 9^{7} 11^{9}), and everlasting joy (Is 9^{3}, Hos $2^{18\text{ff.}}$).

To follow the scripture statements regarding the Day of the Lord through the three periods just mentioned would lead to much repetition: it will be enough to state some general points connected with the Day. The Day of the Lord is His time for manifesting Himself, for displaying His character, for performing His work, His short and strange work upon the earth. 'The Lord of Hosts hath a day upon every one that is proud and lofty, and he shall be brought low . . . and the Lord alone shall be exalted in that day' (Is $2^{12.\,17}$).

1. As it was a day of the manifestation of J″, God of Israel, in His fulness and therefore in a way to realize His purposes, which with Israel and even with the world were those of grace, it is fundamentally a day of joy to Israel, and even to the world—'the Lord is king, let the earth rejoice, let the multitude of the Isles be glad thereof. Say among the nations, The Lord is King; let the heavens rejoice, and let the earth be glad' (Ps 96). That J″ should reign, and that He should come to the earth as king, must, in spite of all the terrors that might attend His coming, bring to the world

---

* Davidson, *Nah, Hab, and Zeph* in 'Cambridge Bible,' p. 118; Driver, *Joel and Amos* in same series, p. 185.

a pervading gladness. For the falsehood and injustice that had cursed the earth so long would disappear, and the longing of men, who were ever in words or sighs saying, Show us the Father, would be satisfied. But it would be a day of joy above all to Israel, His people, when He should plead her cause, for the day of vengeance was in His heart and the year of His redeemed was come. Naturally, an accompaniment of the manifestation of J″ was the disappearance of the idols—'On that day men shall cast their idols of silver and their idols of gold to the moles and to the bats' (Is 2[20]). But in the view of the prophets those gigantic oppressions, the empires of Assyria and Babylon, were but projections of their idolatry, with its cruelties and licentiousness and pride. The later prophet Daniel expresses this idea in a graphic figure when he represents the heathen monarchies under the symbol of various savage beasts, while the kingdom of God is represented under the image of a man.

2. To those in Israel who looked for His coming, apart from the natural terrors of it, it was unmixed joy (Hab 3). And it would have been so to all Israel had fidelity to their God been universal. But this was far from being the condition of Israel. There were many who belonged to Israel only in race. They were filled from the East, and soothsayers like the Philistines. They imitated the idolatries and practised the sins of the nations. Hence the prophets warn the people against a superficial conception of the Day of the Lord, as if it would be a mere interference of J″ in behalf of His people as a nation, and not a revelation of His righteous judgment—'Woe unto you that desire the day of the Lord. Wherefore will ye have the day of the Lord? It is darkness and not light; as if a man did flee from a lion and a bear met him' (Am 5[18]). Hence the Day is first of all judgment, and only through this salvation. Sometimes one side is made prominent and sometimes another, the side of judgment (as has been said) in the pre-exile prophets, and the other side in prophets later down (*e.g.* Ob [15]). It is around the Day as one of judgment that all the terrible pictures of gloom and the dissolution of nature are gathered (Is 2. 3. 13. 24, Hos 10[8], Am 5[18], Jl 2[2. 10] 3, Zeph 1). These convulsions in nature which accompany the Day of the Lord may not be all to be explained in the same way, but the general idea seems this: the universe is a human world; man is the head of creation, and creation is virtually the earth; the heavens are a mere appendage of the earth, subserving the moral life of mankind—being for signs and seasons, and days and years. Hence in man's judgment the world suffers dissolution, and in his redemption it is renewed and transfigured.

3. As has been said, the coming of the Day was an article of faith as much as our belief in the Last Day, but the presentiment of its nearness was awakened by what the prophet perceived around him: the moral condition of the world (Is 2. 3, Mic 3), God's operations among the nations of the earth (Is 13, Zeph 1), His judgments on His people (Jl 1. 2), or the beginnings of their redemption already experienced at the Restoration, which led to the hope of His full manifestation to dwell in His House when it should be prepared (Hag, Zec). Naturally, though the Day of the Lord was a crisis, and itself of brief duration, the phrase 'that day' is often used to cover the period ushered in by the day. This is the period of final perfection and blessedness. It is identical with what in other passages is the Messianic age, and with the ideal condition following the Restoration as conceived by such prophets as Deutero-Isaiah (Is 60). It is a period entirely homogeneous. There are no occurrences within it. It has characteristics, but no internal development. It is a period of light and peace and the knowledge of God, which covers the earth as the waters cover the sea. Subsequent revelation has broken up the coming of the Messiah into a coming and a coming again, and history has intercalated between the two an age full of developments and vast changes. But the prophets embrace all in one period over which there hangs a divine light. The characteristics they assign to the Messianic age or the period introduced by the Day of the Lord are in the main those characteristics which we assign to the age which the second coming shall introduce. These characteristics are the issue of the first coming, the natural expansion of its principles; and to the prophets the principles and their realization all seem condensed into one point.

4. The prophets are not interested in giving mere predictions of external events or conditions of the world, but in setting before the people the moral development and issues of the kingdom; and just as the Day of the Lord seems to them to issue out of the conditions of the world of their own day, so they sometimes bring down the moral issues of the kingdom upon an external condition of the world such as it was in their own time. There is perfect realizing of moral principles, but the condition of the world in its kingdoms and the like remains unchanged. But ordinarily this is not the case.

(*a*) A constant feature in the eschatological picture is Israel's restoration to its own land. The Lord will say to the North, Give up; and to the South, Keep not back: bring my sons from far, and my daughters from the ends of the earth; even every one that is called by my name (Is 43[6]). And in this land all earthly blessings attend the people (Am 9[11-15]); they attain joy and gladness, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away (Is 35[10] 65[19]). The people are also truly the people of God—'Thy people shall be all righteous'; 'In the Lord shall all the seed of Israel be justified, and shall glory' (Is 45[25]). The people's restoration to everlasting felicity and their righteousness are but different sides of the same thing. Cast out because of their sins, they are restored because of their righteousness, although the righteousness be one bestowed on them by God (Is 43[25ff.]); and their restoration is the outer side of their justification, the token to their own heart and to the eyes of the nations that they are in truth now the people of God (Is 61[9] 65[17ff.]). The question how in our day we are to interpret such prophecies is a double one. It is a question, first, of what the prophets meant. And to this question there can be but one answer—their meaning is the literal sense of their words. They spoke of the people Israel and of the land of Canaan, and predicted the restoration of the people to their land, and their everlasting abode there with their God in the midst of them. This was their view in their day of the final condition of the people. Of course, to the prophets the essential thing was the spiritual perfection and blessedness of the people given by the presence among them of their God in His fulness, but they were unable to conceive this except as reflected in an external condition of the people. The other question is how we may expect these OT prophecies to be fulfilled now that the NT dispensation is come. There is no question as to the meaning of the OT prophecies; the question is how far this meaning is now valid. The question is not one to be dogmatic on, but we should naturally say that it is to be decided by the principles of the NT dispensation. The only NT writer who seems formally to argue the question is St. Paul (Ro 9-11). Now, he argues only on the spiritual side of the Abrahamic covenant, or rather he regards the covenant as an exclusively spiritual or redemptive instrument (see art. COVENANT, last par.). Those, therefore, who, in advocating the idea of the Restoration of Israel to their own land, think themselves entitled to reason on the material side of the covenant (the promise of the land), cannot plead the apostle's authority nor his example. It may be made a question, indeed, whether his reasoning does not exclude theirs, for his view appears to be that the covenant from the moment it took effect was a purely spiritual and redemptive deed. To his mind the covenant guarantees the final salvation of Israel. The church of God is historical and continuous. It was planted in Abraham, and it is perennial. Israel was the church, and continues to be; and if the Gentiles be in it, they have been grafted in; and if some of the natural branches be meantime broken off, God is able to graft them in again; and this He will do, 'and so all Israel shall be saved.' This is St. Paul's manner of stating the idea of Deutero-Isaiah, that the true knowledge of the true God has been given once for all to Israel, and given to be the heritage of mankind. If the OT prophecies are to be brought into the argument, the order in which they place things must be observed. That order is, first, righteousness and faith, and then restoration to Canaan. A return of Jews to Canaan while still in unbelief, however interesting a thing in itself, does not come into contact with OT prophecy.

(*b*) Another feature in the eschatological picture is the relation of the nations to Israel and their God. In some prophecies, especially those that are apocalyptic in their character, there is the idea of a final attack on Israel by the nations, and a great conflict near Jerusalem or in Canaan, in which the nations are overthrown and destroyed (Ezk 38. 39, Jl 3, Zec 14, Ob v.^{18}, Dn). But usually the nations are represented as attaching themselves to Israel, drawn either by the righteousness and humanity of the Messianic King (Ps 72), or convinced that the God of Israel is God alone (Is 2)—a conviction which they receive in various ways, as through J″'s terrible revelation of Himself (Zeph 3$^{8.9}$, Is 66$^{18ff.}$), but chiefly through the teaching of Israel, the servant of the Lord, who becomes the light of the nations, and the peoples wait on His arm (Is 42^{6} 49^{6} 50$^{5ff.}$ 51$^{4ff.}$ 60). But while already in the OT the Gentiles are fellow-heirs of salvation with Israel, the racial distinction is not obliterated. Jews and Gentiles do not amalgamate into one people or church—Israel 'inherits the Gentiles' (Is 54^{3}), 'the kingdom is given to the people of the saints of the Most High' (Dn 7^{27}). The nations occupy a subordinate place. There may be different shades of view in different passages. Of course, when the prophets wrote, Israel alone possessed the knowledge of the true God, and its place was that of benefactor of the nations, while theirs was that of recipients of blessing from Israel. Therefore the nations do homage to Israel, but it is to Israel as having the only true God within it—'they shall make supplication unto thee, saying, Surely God is in thee; and there is none else, no God' (Is 45^{14} 49^{23}, cf. 14^{2} 60^{9} 61^{6}).

5. From what has been said, it can be seen what general conceptions the OT contributes to Christian Eschatology. They are such as these: (1) the manifestation or advent of God; (2) the universal judgment; (3) behind the judgment the coming of the perfect kingdom of the Lord, when all Israel shall be saved, and when the nations shall be partakers of their salvation; and (4) the finality and eternity of this condition, that which constitutes the blessedness of the saved people being the Presence of God in the midst of them—this last point corresponding to the Christian idea of heaven. All this is said of the people as a people. The people is immortal and its life eternal; and this life is conceived as lived in this world, though this world transfigured—a new heavens and a new earth (Is 65^{17}). But are the individuals of the people immortal, or is their life, however prolonged and blessed, yet finally closed by death? It is probable that in most passages the prophets have in view the destinies of the people as a unity, the ultimate fate of individuals not being present to their mind. In some passages, however, the destiny of the individual is referred to, and a progress of idea may be observed, though, owing to the uncertain authorship of the passages, it may be precarious to infer at once that the more advanced are the later. In Is 65$^{20ff.}$ only a very prolonged life appears promised, 'the days of a tree,' he that dieth at a hundred years shall die a child (cf. Zec 8^{4}). But in the apocalyptic passage Is 24–27 death is represented as abolished, 'the Lord will swallow up death for ever' (25^{8}); and the promise extends to the nations as well as to Israel (ver.$^{6ff.}$). The conception of a resurrection first appears in the prophets, who speak of a resuscitation of the dead nation (Hos 6, Ezk 37). In Is 26^{19}, however, the literal resurrection of individuals is predicted. This is the complement of the Restoration of the living members of the people. And in Dn 12 a resurrection both of the just and unjust is prophesied, though it remains somewhat uncertain whether the resurrection be universal, or be only of those who, in the preceding troublous times, had been specially prominent, whether on the side of righteousness or of evil.

II. ESCHATOLOGY OF THE INDIVIDUAL PERSON.—One of the strangest things in OT is the little place which the individual feels he has, and his tendency to lose himself in larger wholes, such as the tribe or the nation. When in earlier times the individual approached death, he felt that he had received the blessing of life from God and had enjoyed it in His communion; his sojourn with God had come to an end, he was old and full of days, and he acquiesced in death, however strange his acquiescence may seem to us. He consoled himself with the thought that he did not all die—'The memory of the righteous is blessed' (cf. Is 56$^{4.5}$). He lived, too, in his children and in his people. He saw the good of Israel; his spirit lived, and the work of his hands was established. The great subject was the people, the nation; J″ had established His covenant with the nation, and the individual was blessed in the blessing and fortune of the whole. And he was content to have poured his little stream of life and service into the tide of national life, and in some degree to have swelled it. This was particularly the case, so far as can be judged, in earlier times. But when the nation came to an end with the Captivity, when national life and religion no more existed, the individual rose to his own proper place and rights, and felt his own worth and responsibility. Though the nation had fallen the individuals remained, and J″ and religion remained, though religion remained only in the heart of the individual. The religious unit, formerly the people, now became more and more the single person, and the truths regarding duty and responsibility, and the hopes of the future, enunciated by the prophets in regard to the people, were appropriated by the individual to himself.

In regard to the Eschatology of the individual person there are two things which require to be carefully distinguished. There are, *first*, certain ideas regarding death and the state of the dead lying in the popular mind, though cherished by all classes, the righteous as well as others, alike. These ideas are common to Israel with some other Shemitic peoples. They have in themselves no moral significance. But some of them, such as the idea that the person, though he died, was not extinguished, but still subsisted as a person, however shadowy the state of subsistence was; and the other idea, that the dead person, though still subsisting, was in death cut off from all fellowship with the living, whether men or God,—these ideas formed points to which the aspirations of the pious might attach themselves, whether in the way of development, as of the first idea, or protest, as against the second idea. And, *secondly*, there are the aspirations, intuitions, or inferences of the pious mind itself. It is only these that can properly be called OT teaching. Such aspirations and intuitions may be either intellectual or emotional, that is, virtually, either ethical or religious, though the basis even of the religious is ethical. The fundamental idea is the moral one: God and man are moral beings, their relation is moral; the universe is a moral constitution, the stage where God displays His righteousness, and where man sees God's face in righteousness. Righteousness must win, and righteousness is eternal (Is 51^{6}). This is the idea that underlies the Book of Job and such Psalms as 37. 49. and 73. There are thus three things to look at: (1) Death and the state of the dead; (2) Life; and (3) the Reconciliation of Death and Life.

(1) By death OT means what we mean when we use the word. It is the phenomenon which we observe. Now, all parts of OT indicate the view that at death the person is not annihilated; he continues to subsist in Sheôl, the place of the dead, though in a shadowy and feeble form occasioned by the withdrawal of the spirit of life. In this condition of subsistence, which is not life but death, in Sheôl, the common abode of all dead persons, there is no distinction in destiny between the righteous and the ungodly. OT does not name those in Sheôl either souls or spirits, they are persons. It is possible that they were conceived as retaining a shadowy flickering outline of their former personality, for in Is 14 they sit on thrones, from which they rise up and speak. Subsistence in Sheôl is a feeble, nerveless reflection of life on earth. These conceptions, as has been said, are not properly scripture teaching, only the popular notions from which its teaching starts. Illustrations of them are such passages as these among others, Ps 6. 30, Is 14. 38, Job 3. 10. Thus, to start with, OT is not materialistic, death is not the extinction of the formerly living person. Neither is it philosophic, regarding the body as the prison-house of the soul, released from which it can spread its wings and soar unfettered into regions of pure and perfect life. Nor is it, to begin with at least, Christian in the sense that the spirit attains to perfection at death.

(2) As by death so by life OT means what we mean by it. It starts from the idea, not of the soul, but of the person. Life is what we so call when we see it, the subsistence of the complete personality in the unity of its parts, body and soul. An essential part of man's being is the body; and life is life in the body, such as it is before the analysis which we call death, and corresponds therefore to the Christian synthesis called the resurrection life. Hence Job, when the idea of a second life first dawns upon him, can conceive it only as a renewal of the natural life—'If a man die, shall he live again?' (ch. 14). But as life was due to the communication by God of the spirit of life, and death to the withdrawal of this spirit, these operations came under the moral idea, and 'life' meant moral life in the favour of God (Ezk 33)—'in the way of righteousness is life'; 'righteousness delivereth from death.' OT scriptures occupy themselves chiefly with the condition of man on this side of death, and they teach that whatever principles are involved in the relations of men to God they come always to light in this life; death does not change these relations; on the contrary, by its manner or circumstances it reveals them (Ps 37. 73).

(3) Now, this conception of life naturally came into collision with the fact of death. And OT doctrine of immortality, when *death* is had in view, consists of the efforts made by the faith of pious men to gain for the idea of life just referred to the victory over the fact of death. These efforts are of two kinds: one consists of an appeal against the fact of death, a demand for immortality or not dying, a protest against the fellowship of the living man here with God being interrupted, or a lofty assurance that it cannot be interrupted. It is quite possible that the examples of this may have to be referred to particular circumstances, when death might be actually threatening; but the language used, the demand made for the continuance of life, the lofty assurance of faith that the relation of the person to God cannot be interrupted, rise to the expression of principles, and are by no means merely the expression of an assurance that God would save from death on this particular occasion. This is the meaning of Ps 16, 'I have set the Lord always before me; because he is at my right hand, I shall not be moved. Thou wilt not leave my soul over to Sheôl; thou wilt not let thine holy one see the pit.' What the speaker is assured of is deliverance from death. But his assurance has an absoluteness in it. It expresses principles. In his ecstasy of life in God he feels life to be eternal. The tie between him and J" is indissoluble. With our more reflecting habits of thought this ecstasy of faith is hard to conceive. To us the fact of death is so inevitable that we cannot imagine any one resisting it. We accept the fact, and rest on what lies beyond. But the resistance of the pious Hebrew was due just to his not knowing what lay beyond, and was but a mode of making a demand for that which we now know to lie beyond.

The other line of thought was somewhat different; it was not so much a protest against dying, as a protest that dying was not death; it was a denial that death was to the saint of God that which the popular mind regarded it to be—a separation from God and descent into Sheôl. The fellowship with God had in life, and which was life, would remain unbroken in death. This amounted to the faith that the godly soul would overleap Sheôl and pass to God. This appears to be the faith expressed in Ps 49 and 73, and in a certain sense in Job 19.

Before these poetical passages, which are obscure, are briefly looked at, something must be said of Sheôl and the state of the dead; though, as has been said, OT statements about Sheôl chiefly reflect the popular sentiments, and have little positive value. It might be surmised from the strong expressions used many times of death in the OT that in death existence absolutely came to an end. Thus Ps 146^{4} 'his breath goeth forth, he returneth to his earth; in that very day his thoughts perish'; Ps 39^{13} 'O spare me, that I may recover strength, before I go hence, and be no more.' And perhaps most strongly of all Job $14^{7ff.}$ 'for a tree hath hope, if it be cut down, it will sprout again; but man lieth down, and riseth not; till the heavens be no more, they shall not awake, nor be raised out of their sleep' (cf. 7^{21}). But these are only the strong expressions of despondency and regret over a life mournfully soon ended, and that never returns to be lived on this earth again. The conception of

Sheòl is sufficient answer to the apparent doctrine which they teach. The word Sheòl (שְׁאוֹל, twice written defectively, and usually *fem.*, as nouns of place mostly are), is of uncertain derivation. Its root has been supposed to be a softened form of another root (שׁעל, represented by שֹׁעַל the hollow hand, Is 40^{12}) signifying perhaps 'to be hollow,' in which case it would have the same meaning as our word 'hell' (Germ. *Hölle*); and the name 'pit' with which it is interchanged in OT (*ἄβυσσος* in NT) might seem to favour this derivation. A corresponding Assyrian *Suâlu* (Fried. Del., Jeremias) is denied by Jensen. Sheòl is the opposite of the upper sphere of light and life; it is 'deep Sheòl' (Ps 86^{13} 63^{9}), the region of darkness, 'a land of darkness as darkness itself, without any order, and where the light is as darkness' (Job 10^{22}). There is no strict topography to be sought for Sheòl; it is in great measure the creation of the imagination, deep down under the earth or under the waters (Job 26^{5}). It is not to be identified with the grave, though the grave be often regarded as the mouth of it; and it is sometimes represented as a vast burying-place (Is 14^{11}, Ezk 32^{23}). Sheòl is the place of departed personalities; the generations of one's forefathers are there, and he who dies is gathered unto his fathers; the tribal divisions of one's race are there, and the dead is gathered unto his peoples, and if his descendants have died before him, they are there and he goes down to them, as Jacob to his son, and David to his child (Gn 37^{35} 42^{38}, 2 S 12^{23}).

(1) *The state of those in Sheòl.*—As death consists in the withdrawal by God of the spirit of life, the source of energy and vital power, the personalities in Sheòl are feeble and flaccid. They are shades (רְפָאִים Job 26^{5}, Is 14^{9}). Their abode is called 'silence' (Ps 94^{17}); it is 'the land of forgetfulness' (Ps 88^{12}); 'the living know that they must die, the dead know not anything' (Ec 9^{5}); 'his sons come to honour, and he knoweth it not; and they are brought low, and he perceiveth it not of them' (Job 14^{21}). But other passages represent the existence of the dead in Sheòl as a dreamy reflection of life on earth, in which self-consciousness and ability to recognize others still remain—'Art thou become weak as we; art thou become like unto us?' is the language addressed by the Shades to the prince of Babylon when he descends among them. (2) *There is no distinction of good and evil in Sheòl.*—All must go into Sheòl, and all alike are there (Job 3^{17}). Sheòl itself is no place of punishment nor of reward (Ec 9^{5}), neither is it divided into compartments having this meaning: 'To-morrow,' said Samuel to the king whom God had rejected, 'to-morrow shalt thou and thy sons be with me' (1 S 28^{19}). The idea of a deeper or darker Sheòl in any penal sense cannot be verified. 'The farthest recesses of the pit' into which the prince of Babylon is thrust in death forms a mere antithesis to the 'farthest recesses of the North,' the abode of the gods, where he aspired to seat himself when alive (Is 14^{15}). If the 'prison' referred to Is 24^{22} be Sheòl, incarceration in Sheòl, *i.e.* death, is regarded as the penal issue of the judgment. And the state of the dead being a reflection of life on earth, any dishonour done to one on earth, such as being deprived of sepulture, may still cleave to him when he descends into the Underworld (Is 14, Ezk 32). The language of Is 66^{24} 'their worm dieth not, and their fire is not quenched,' refers to the bodies of the ungodly, which are cast out upon earth, an abhorring to all flesh, and not to the ungodly themselves in Sheòl. (3) *All connexion with the world of the living is broken off.*—The dead can neither return to earth, nor does he know anything of the events passing there (Job 7^{9} 14^{12}, Ec 9^{5}). Yet with the strong belief in the existence of the persons in Sheòl, there was naturally a popular superstition that they could be reached. This belief gave rise to the necromancy practised among the Hebrews, as among most peoples, though it is proscribed in the law and ridiculed by the prophets (Is 8^{19}). The practice probably did not repose on any general idea that the dead must have a wider knowledge than the living, that 'there must be wisdom with great Death,' but on the idea that great personages continued still to be in death that which they had been in life. This appears to have been the idea of Saul in seeking unto Samuel. There is no record of any one answering from the dead except Samuel. The question whether any connexion was thought to exist between the person in Sheòl and his body can hardly be answered. No such connexion existed as to interfere with the passage of the person into Sheòl, whatever befell the body. The want of burial was in itself dishonouring, and the dishonour continued to cleave to the person among the dead, but it did not, as among some nations, prevent his descent to the world of the dead. There are some passages which seem to speak of a sympathetic *rapport* still existing between the body and the person in Sheòl, but probably they hardly go further than to suggest the idea that the body, though thrown off, was still part of the man, and not mere common unrelated dust. (4) The main point is that *the relation between the dead person and God is cut off.* This is what gave death its significance to the religious mind. Fellowship with God ceases—'In death there is no remembrance of thee; in Sheòl who shall give thee thanks?' 'For Sheòl cannot praise thee; they that go down to the pit cannot hope for thy truth' (Is 38^{18}).

The passages relating to the eschatology of the individual person are mostly poetical, and they are in some points obscure. They are such passages as Ps 16. 17. 22. 37. 49. 73, and many fragments of others, and Job. Now, with regard to these passages several things must be said: first, they are all late, later at all events than the prophetic faith of the 8th cent. This faith—belief in the coming manifestation of God, in the judgment, and in the eternal rest of the people in God's perfect kingdom—was the faith of the writers. Again, all the passages repose upon an acknowledged distinction among men, the distinction of the righteous and the ungodly. This distinction is visible, men are differently related to God. But the problem arose from the fact that men's destinies in the world were not seen to correspond to this distinction: in a moral world morality was not triumphant, in the government of the righteous God righteousness was not acknowledged. No doubt, the pious mind sometimes composed itself by a deeper analysis of that wherein true prosperity or felicity lay—the portion falling to it, even God Himself, was a profounder good than all earthly possessions (Ps 17. 73). Nevertheless, the problem remained and demanded solution. The solution was always an eschatological one, and was just the distinction between the righteous and the ungodly truly realizing itself. In other words, immortality or eternal life is the corollary of religion, as Christ, summing up the whole OT teaching, said, God is not the God of the dead, but of the living; it might even be said to be the corollary of morality—if the universe be a moral world there is everlasting life. The general position of OT saints, with their faith in the advent of God to judge, was very similar to that of the early Christians, who looked for the speedy coming of Christ. This coming would change the world and the Church, but the Church would pass living into perfect blessedness; and, of course, individuals would share the change—'We shall not all die, but we shall all be changed.' Now, this was very like the feeling of OT saints. The individual would share the transition of the community, the Day of the Lord would break, and the living would enter into fulness of life without tasting death. True individualism is little seen in OT. It is real to this extent: the individual realized keenly his own personal life, and longed earnestly to share for himself in the blessings upon which the community would enter when God appeared to abide for ever among them. He longed that he, the living man, should see with his people the glory of the Lord revealed, and enter with his people into life. It was, perhaps, only the prospect of death, or reflection on it, that rounded off individualism and revealed its energies. The life of the community was perennial, but with death before him the individual could not share this life, and he sought to forecast his own personal destiny.

Thus there may be two classes of passages: (1) passages which, though spoken perhaps by individuals, express the hope of the living people, and refer to that great change which the Day of the Lord shall introduce, and which the individual, as part of the people, shall experience without tasting death; and (2) passages where the individual contemplates death, but expresses the assurance that he will not, like the ungodly, fall into Sheðl, but see life. Ps 37 belongs to the first class, and possibly Ps 73, though the phrase 'take me' might, as in Ps 49, refer to escaping Sheðl at death. Ps 49 has two peculiarities: first, its opening verses imply that its teaching on immortality is no more an aspiration, but a firm conviction; and secondly, it seems to start from the assumption that death is universal. If this be the case, the words, 'God will redeem my soul from Sheðl,' must refer to the Psalmist's hope in death. This interpretation may certainly be supported by reference to the parable of Lazarus in Abraham's bosom, which shows that the idea of a blessedness of the spirit at death had been reached before the time of our Lord. It is enough here to state some general principles and give a classification of passages; for details the commentaries must be consulted.* The prophets and saints of the OT were not speculative men. They did not reason that the soul was immortal from its nature,—this was not the kind of immortality in which they were interested,—though, for all that appears, the idea that any human person should become extinguished or be annihilated never occurred to them. They did not lay stress in a reflective way on man's instinctive hopes of immortality, though they may be observed giving these instinctive desires expression. So far as they reasoned, their assurance was based on the moral idea—Righteousness is eternal. So far as they experienced and felt, their assurance was immediate — religion is reciprocal, the consciousness of God is God's giving Himself in the consciousness.

It has always been felt strange that the Pentateuch, which gives the constitution of the people of God, should be silent on death and immortality, or only refer to the popular idea of Sheðl. In explanation it may be said that the earliest part of the Pent. is anterior to the prophets of the 8th cent., while the later portions are the reflection of the prophetic teaching. Deut. reposes on Isaiah and the prophets of the Assyrian age, and the Priests' Code on Ezekiel. The constitution which they furnish for Israel is the embodiment of the prophetic conceptions. But the conceptions of the prophets are ideal, their pictures of the true Israel are pictures of Israel of the future, Israel of the perfect and final state; in other words, of Israel in what may be called its condition of immortality. The legislation seeks to impose this ideal on Israel of the present. Of necessity, when applied to the conditions of the actual Israel, the ideal was imperfectly realized, and was anew projected into the future.

LITERATURE.—Von Orelli, *Prophecies of the Consummation of the Kingdom*; Bertheau, 'Die Altt. Weissagung von Israel's Reichsherrlichkeit in seinem Lande,' *Jahrbb. für Deutsche Theol.* vols. iv. v. The older literature on Immortality is given in Boettcher, *De Inferis*, 1846, and particularly in W. R. Alger, *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life, with a Complete Bibliography by Ezra Abbot*, New York, 1871. Besides the relative sections in the *Bib. Theologies*, useful works are: Oehler, *Vet. Test. Sententia de rebus post mortem futuris*, 1846; Perowne (Bp.), *Immortality* (Hulsean Lecture), 1869; Schultz, *Voraussetzungen der Christ. Lehre v. d. Unsterblichkeit*, 1861; Stade, *Die Alttest. Vorstellungen vom Zustand nach dem Tode*, 1868, and relative section in Hist. vol. i.; Jeremias, *Die Babyl.-Assyr. Vorstellungen vom Zustand nach dem Tode*, 1887; Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode*, 1892; A. B. Davidson, 'Modern Religion and OT Immortality,' *Expositor*, May 1895; especially Salmond, *The Christian Doctrine of Immortality*, 3rd ed., 1897.

A. B. DAVIDSON.

ESCHATOLOGY OF THE APOCRYPHAL AND APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE.—We shall treat this subject under four heads. 1. The authorities for Jewish Eschatology, B.C. 200–A.D. 80. 2. Some of the conceptions which gave birth to and controlled the evolution of later Jewish Eschatology. 3. Its historical development. 4. Its systematic exposition.

I. THE AUTHORITIES.

2nd cent. B.C.—Sirach.
,, Ethiopic Enoch 1–36.
,, Daniel.
,, Ethiopic Enoch 83–90; 91–104.
,, Tobit.
,, Sibylline Oracles — Prooemium and 3^{97-818}.
,, Testaments of the XII Patriarchs — Apocalyptic Sections. Between B.C. 140 and A.D. 30.
,, Judith.
1st cent. B.C.—Ethiopic Enoch 37–70.
,, 1 Maccabees.
,, Psalms of Solomon.
,, 2 Maccabees.
1st cent. A.D.—Book of Jubilees.
,, Assumption of Moses.
,, Philo.
,, Slavonic Enoch.
,, Book of Wisdom.
,, 4 Maccabees.

Apocalypse of Baruch
Book of Baruch
4 Ezra
Ascension of Isaiah
} Composite works written partly before and partly after A.D. 70. Part of the Book of Baruch may belong to the 2nd cent. B.C.

Josephus.

The above authorities vary indefinitely in the degree of light they shed on the evolution of eschatological thought among the Jews. Thus very little help in this direction is to be derived from Sirach, the Book of Baruch, Judith, and 1 Maccabees. It is, in fact, to the pseudonymous apocalyptic writings that we are almost entirely beholden for the materials of which we are in quest. These not only supply the missing links which unite in orderly development the thought of OT to that of NT, but also in not a few cases are the only documentary authorities for views and doctrines which in later times established themselves securely in Christianity or Judaism.

II. SOME OF THE CONCEPTIONS WHICH GAVE BIRTH TO AND CONTROLLED THE EVOLUTION OF

---

* See particularly the *Anhang* to Studer's *Das Buch Hiob*, Bremen, 1881.

LATER JEWISH ESCHATOLOGY.—These conceptions were already at work in OT, but were applied only sporadically, and in a partially developed form. In the later period they gradually attain to their full rights.

1. *The enlarged conception of God as the Creator and Moral Governor of all the world, and its consequences.*—When once this idea is fully comprehended, the OT conception of Sheol can no longer *logically* exist. And yet these two conflicting conceptions did exist side by side for several centuries. So long as J″ was conceived simply as the tribal God of Israel, and as one among other gods, whose sole concern was the moral well-being and prosperity of His people on earth, then Sheol was naturally conceived as beyond the sphere of His dominion, and so preserved its ancient nonmoral character. It is not, indeed, till almost the Maccabæan period that the former conception has transformed the latter, and the abode of the shades has become a place of moral retribution.

Another consequence of this enlarged conception of God was an enlarged conception of judgment. Since God was the Creator and Ruler of all men, the idea of a final and world judgment, in which the destinies of all should be decided, naturally arose. It must be conceded, however, that in Judaism this idea was, so far as the Gentiles went, always of the most one-sided and inequitable character. In their case, judgment, as a rule, meant simply condemnation. At best they were spared only to become subject to Israel.

2. *The conception of the individual, and his growing claims.*—The doctrine of individual retribution was evolved in OT.* It is the direct antithesis of the earlier view of the solidarity of the family, tribe, or nation. The latter doctrine, which identified the responsibilities of the individual with his family or nation, naturally led to strange consequences. Ezekiel (esp. in ch. 18) was the first to attack this doctrine in its entirety, and to replace it by an equally exaggerated and false individualism. As the consequences of sin were still confined to this life, the difficulties of this conception soon came to light. According to it every misfortune is a divine punishment, and every piece of prosperity a special instance of God's favour. The antinomies arising from such a view are discussed in Job and Ecclesiastes, and its untenableness demonstrated no less certainly than that of the doctrine it was intended to supersede. As long as the consequences of man's action were regarded as limited to this life, these antinomies were incapable of solution, and God's dealings with His righteous servants incapable of justification. But notwithstanding the bankruptcy of both these theories, or rather in consequence of it, the faith and religious thought of Israel were set free to attempt a truer and profounder solution of the problem. On the one hand, the *faithful servant* of J″ in due time came to be assured that neither here nor hereafter could he be separated from the love and presence of God; and that for him the ancient Sheol would stretch out its arms in vain. On the other, the *religious thinker* of Israel was equally assured that since God's righteousness did not attain to its full consequences here, it must do so elsewhere; and thus the doctrine of retribution was carried into the after-life, and a personal blessed existence, whether of limited or endless duration, whether as a member of the Messianic kingdom or a direct participant in a blessed immortality, became a postulate of religious thought. In due course the moralization of the old conception of Sheol was effected, not indeed in OT times, but in the subsequent centuries, as we find in Apocalyptic literature.

3. *The growing transcendence of the Messianic expectations.*—In OT the hopes of Israel were in the main confined *to this world and to the well-being of the nation.* Thus they looked for the destruction of their national foes, for the purification of their people, and the establishment of an earthly kingdom of limited or endless duration. The scene of this kingdom was to be the earth purged from all violence and sin. But in the later period the gulf between the present and future begins to widen, and this process goes on till the last resemblances vanish, and the present appears a moral chaos under the rule of Satan and his angels, and the future is conceived as an unending kingdom of blessedness under the immediate sway of God or the Messiah.

III. THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF JEWISH ESCHATOLOGY.—(*A*) 2nd cent. B.C.

Sirach.—The eschatology of this book belongs to the OT. Hades is the place of the shades and the region of death (9^{12} $14^{12.16}$ 21^{10} 41^{4} 48^{5}). There is no delight there (14^{16}), no praise of God (17^{27-28}), man is plunged in an eternal sleep (46^{19} 22^{11} 30^{17} 38^{23}). Retribution does not follow a man into the after-life (41^{4}), but his sins are visited through the evil remembrance of his name, and in the misfortunes of his children after him (11^{28} 23^{24-26} 40^{15} 41^{5-8}). As regards the future of the nation, the writer looks forward to the Messianic kingdom of which Elijah is to be the forerunner (48^{10}), when Israel will be delivered from evil ($50^{23.24}$), the scattered tribes restored (33^{13a}, AV 36^{11}), the heathen nations duly punished (32^{22-24}, AV $35^{18.19}$). He expects also the eternal duration of Israel (37^{25}), and likewise of David's line (47^{11}).

*Ethiopic Enoch** 1–36.—This fragmentary writing represents the earliest, and at all events the most primitive, view of the 'last things' in the literature of the 2nd cent. B.C. According to this writer, retribution inevitably dogs the heels of sin. Thus punishment has already befallen sinful angels and men ($10^{4-10.12}$) in the first world-judgment (10^{1-3}). But the final judgment is yet to come. Meanwhile all who die enter one of the four divisions of Sheol, where they have a foretaste of their ultimate bliss or woe (22). In due course the final judgment comes, ushered in by the resurrection of the righteous and the wicked (with the exception of one class of the latter, $22^{12.13}$). The resurrection seems to be limited to Israel and its progenitors. The fallen angels, demons, and men then receive their final award (10^{12} 16^{1} 1^{9}). The former are plunged into an abyss of fire (=Tartarus, $10^{13.14}$), while the wicked amongst men are cast into Gehenna, and their punishment is a spectacle for the righteous ($27^{2.3}$). Then the eternal Messianic kingdom is established, with Jerusalem and Palestine for its centre (25^{5}). God makes His abode with man (25^{3})—there is no Messiah. All the Gentiles become righteous and worship God (10^{21}). The righteous eat of the tree of life, and enjoy patriarchal lives (5^{9} 25^{6}) and every material blessing (5^{7} $10^{18.19}$ 11^{2}), begetting each 1000 children (10^{17}). There is no hint as to what becomes of the righteous after the second death.

Observe that (1) justice is done to the claims of the righteous nation by the establishment of an eternal Messianic kingdom; (2) and likewise to those of the righteous individual by his resurrection to a long life in this kingdom; also (3) that Sheol has undergone transformation, and become *an intermediate place of moral retribution* for the righteous and the wicked for the first time in literature; (4) Gehenna appears as the final place of punishment for apostate Jews, and Tartarus for the fallen angels; and (5) that the final judgment precedes the Messianic kingdom, and is limited to Israel.

---

* Cf. Gn 18^{23-33}, Ex 32^{33}, Nu 16^{22}, Dt 7^{10} 24^{16} etc.

* For some treatment of the critical and exegetical questions of this work, the readers should consult the article on this book.

Daniel.—The eschatology of this book in some respects marks an advance on that of the writer just quoted. When the need of the 'saints of the Most High' is greatest ($7^{21.\,22}$ 12^{1}, in the persecution under Antiochus), the Ancient of Days will intervene, and His throne of judgment will be set up (7^{9}), and the kingdoms of the world will be overthrown ($7^{11.\,12}$), and supreme and everlasting dominion given to His saints ($7^{14.\,22.\,27}$); and these will 'break in pieces and consume' (2^{44}) all the kingdoms of the world, and all 'peoples, nations, and languages shall serve' them (7^{14}); their 'dominion is an everlasting dominion which shall not pass away' (7^{14}). And the righteous who 'sleep in a land of dust* shall awake,' to share in the eternal life and blessedness of this kingdom ($12^{1\text{-}3}$).

Observe that (1) the Messianic kingdom—there is no Messiah—is established not only through the personal intervention of God, but also through the active efforts of His saints. The latter feature reappears frequently in the later Apocalypses as the 'period of the sword.' (2) The resurrection is a resurrection of the body, and embraces all Israel. (3) The scene of the kingdom is the earth; for 'all peoples, nations, and languages' are its subjects (7^{14}). (4) The context does not decide whether the risen body will possess its natural appetites, as in Eth. En. 1–36, but seems to favour this idea. (5) 'Everlasting life' (12^{2}, or rather 'æonian life' חַיֵּי עוֹלָם) may mean nothing more than a very long life, as in Eth. En. 1–36. (6) Nothing is said as to the future abode of the Gentiles.

Ethiopic Enoch 83–90 (B.C. 166–161).—The writer of this book has advanced considerably beyond the naïve and sensuous views presented in Eth. En. 1–36. His views are more spiritual, and closely allied to the Daniel Apocalypse, which was written a few years earlier. His eschatology is developed at greater length than that of Daniel. Like Daniel, he regards every people under heaven as being under the control of a guardian angel. But this view is peculiarly applied in this author. The undue severities that have befallen Israel are not from God's hand, but are the doing of the 70 shepherds (*i.e.* angels) into whose care God had committed Israel (89^{59}). But these angels have not wronged Israel with impunity; for judgment is at hand. When their oppression is sorest, a righteous league will be formed (*i.e.* the Ḥasidim, 90^{6}), and in it there will be a family from which will come forth Judas the Maccabee ($90^{9\text{-}16}$), who will war victoriously against all the enemies of Israel. While the struggle is still raging, God will appear in person, and the earth will swallow the adversaries of the righteous (90^{18}). The wicked shepherds and the fallen watchers will then be cast into an abyss of fire (*i.e.* Tartarus, $90^{20\text{-}25}$), and the apostates into Gehenna (90^{26}). Then God Himself will set up the New Jerusalem ($90^{28.\,29}$), and the surviving Gentiles will be converted and serve Israel (90^{30}), and the dispersion will be brought back, and the *righteous* Israelites will be raised to take part in the kingdom (90^{33}). When all is accomplished, the Messiah will appear (90^{37}), and all will be transformed into his likeness.

Observe (1) the growing consciousness of the evils and imperfections of the present world. Thus even Israel for a time is ruled by wicked angels. This dualism manifests itself also in the picture of the future kingdom. Then its centre is not the earthly Jerusalem, but the New Jerusalem, brought down from heaven obviously on the ground of the unfitness of the former. Yet the writers of Eth. En. 1–36 and Daniel were not conscious of this unfitness. (2) As against the two preceding books, Eth. En. 1–36 and Daniel, this book teaches the resurrection of the righteous only. (3) We have here the earliest reference to the Messiah in Apocalyptic literature. But he has no real part to play in the kingdom, and his introduction seems due merely to literary reminiscence.

Ethiopic Enoch 91–104 (B.C. 134–94).—As we pass from the eschatological views of the three preceding books to those of the present, we feel conscious we are entering into a world of new conceptions. In the former books the resurrection and the final judgment were the prelude to an everlasting Messianic kingdom, but in this these great events are relegated to its close. The author acknowledges that the wicked are seemingly sinning with impunity; but this is not so: their evil deeds are recorded every day (104^{7}), and for these they will suffer endless retribution in Sheol (99^{11}); and from this hell of darkness and of flame, into which their souls enter on death, they will never escape ($98^{3.\,10}$ $104^{7.\,8}$). In the eighth week, moreover, the Messianic kingdom will be set up, and the righteous will slay the wicked with the sword (91^{12} 95^{7} 96^{1} etc.). At the close of this kingdom in the tenth week the final judgment will be held, and the former heaven and earth will be destroyed, and a new heaven created ($91^{14\text{-}16}$). Then the righteous dead, who have hitherto been guarded by angels (100^{5}), will be raised (91^{10} 92^{3}), but not in the body, but as spirits only ($103^{3.\,4}$), and they shall joy as the angels (104^{4}), and become companions of the heavenly hosts (104^{6}), and shine as the stars for ever (104^{2}).

Observe that (1) the dualism we have noticed above has already led to its logical results. (2) Thus the Messianic kingdom is apparently for the first time in literature conceived of as temporary. (3) Sheol has for the first time become the equivalent of hell (yet see Eth. En. 22^{13}). (4) The resurrection is for the first time regarded as of the spirit only. (5) Even the heavens need to be created anew.

Tobit.—The eschatology of this book, like that of Sirach, belongs to the OT. The same view of the after-life prevails (4^{10}). It entertains, like the OT, high hopes for the nation. Thus Jerusalem and the temple will be rebuilt with gold and precious stones, the scattered tribes restored, and the heathen, forsaking their idols, will worship the God of Israel ($13^{10\text{-}18}$ $14^{4\text{-}6}$).

Sibylline Oracles, Prooemium and $3^{97\text{-}818}$.—This book contains many details concerning the last times; but as it belongs to Hellenistic Judaism, it is only of secondary interest in this study of Jewish Palestinian eschatology. It contains, however, a vivid account of the Messianic kingdom. Very soon the people of the Mighty God will grow strong ($3^{194\text{-}195}$), and God will send the Messiah from the East, who will put an end to evil war, slaying some and fulfilling the promises in behalf of others, and he will be guided in all things by God. And the temple will be resplendent with glory, and the earth teem with fruitfulness ($3^{652\text{-}660}$). Then the nations will muster their forces and attack Palestine ($3^{660\text{-}668}$); but God will destroy them, and their judgment will be accompanied by fearful portents ($3^{667\text{-}697}$). But Israel will dwell safely under the divine protection ($3^{702\text{-}709}$); and the rest of the cities and the islands will be converted, and unite with Israel in praising God ($3^{710\text{-}731}$). The blessings of the Messianic age are recounted $3^{744\text{-}754}$; cf. also $3^{367\text{-}380.\,619\text{-}623}$. And the kings of the earth will be at peace with one another ($3^{755\text{-}759}$).

---

* This is the natural translation of אַדְמַת־עָפָר. For Sheol in this sense compare Job 17^{16}. Sheol here seems to preserve its OT sense as a place of semi-conscious existence where moral retribution is unknown. Only by waking from this condition can man enter on the retribution that is his due.

And God will establish a universal kingdom over all mankind, with Jerusalem as centre ($3^{767-771}$), and the prophets of God will lay down the sword and become judges and kings of the earth ($3^{781-782}$), and men will bring offerings to the temple from all parts of the earth ($3^{772-773}$).

Testaments of the XII Patriarchs. — Until a critical edition of this composite work is published, it is dangerous to quote it as an authority. While it contains many sections that appear to be as early as B.C. 140, the body of the work seems to have been written about the beginning of the Christian era. There are, moreover, numerous Christian interpolations. Till a critical edition of the text and contents is published, it is best not to cite it as evidence on the present subject. Its evidence, though valuable, is in no respect extraordinary, or unvouched for elsewhere.

Judith.—This book is singularly barren in eschatological thought. It speaks of the judgment of the heathen (16^{17}).

(*B*) 1st cent. B.C.

Ethiopic Enoch 37–70 (B.C. 94–64).—These chapters form the well-known 'Similitudes,' the most important element in the Book of Enoch. The writer's eschatological views are as follows:—In the latter days sin will flourish in the world; sinners will deny the name of the Lord of Spirits (38^2 41^2) and of His Anointed (48^{10}); and the kings and the mighty will oppress the elect of the children of God (62^{11}). But suddenly the Head of Days will appear, and with Him the Son of Man ($46^{2.\,3.\,4}$ 48^2), to execute universal judgment. And all Israel will be raised from the dead (51^1 61^5), and all judgment will be committed to the Son of Man (41^9 69^{27}), who will possess universal dominion (62^6) and sit on the throne of God (47^3 51^3). And he will judge all the angels, unfallen and fallen (61^8 55^4), and the righteous and the sinners amongst men ($62^{2.\,3}$), and the kings and the mighty (62^{3-11} $63^{1-4.\,11}$). And the fallen angels will be cast into a fiery furnace (54^6), and the kings and the mighty will be tortured in Gehenna by the angels of punishment (53^{3-5} $54^{1.\,2}$), and the remaining sinners and godless will be driven from off the face of the earth (38^3 41^2 45^6); the Son of Man will slay them by the word of his mouth (62^2). And heaven and earth will be transformed ($45^{4.\,5}$), and the righteous will have their mansions therein (39^6 41^2). And the Elect One will dwell amongst them (45^4). And they will be clad in garments of life ($62^{15.\,16}$), and become angels in heaven (51^4), and grow in knowledge and righteousness (58^5).

Observe that (1) the Messianic kingdom is here of everlasting duration, but its scene is no longer the present earth, as in the literature of the preceding century, but a transformed heaven and earth. Thus in the process of evolution Messianic thought has become more transcendent. (2) The Messiah for the first time in Jewish literature is represented as a supernatural being and as the Judge of men and angels. (3) The hopes of a Messiah, which in the 2nd cent. B.C. were practically dead, have, owing partly to the circumstances of the time, risen to a new and vigorous life. See the review of the Pss. of Solomon, below. (4) Several Messianic titles appear in this book for the first time in literature: 'Christ' (48^{10} 52^4), 'the Righteous One' (38^2 53^6), 'the Elect One' (40^5 $45^{3.\,4}$), 'the Son of Man' ($46^{2.\,3.\,4}$ 48^2 etc.). (5) All questions affecting the future destinies of the Gentiles are ignored, if we regard 50 as an interpolation; but if it belongs to the context, the writer teaches that when the kings and the mighty and the sinners are destroyed, the remaining Gentiles will be saved if they repent and forsake their idols. God will have mercy on them, but give them no honour or glory.

1 *Maccabees.*—This book is entirely wanting in eschatological teaching, if we except the writer's expectation of a prophet in 4^{46} 14^{41}.

Psalms of Solomon (B.C. 70–40).—Like the Similitudes, this book is of Pharisaic authorship. They proclaim in common a vigorous Messianic hope, but on very divergent lines. In the preceding century this hope was practically non-existent. So long as Judas and Simon were chiefs of the nation, the need of a Messiah was hardly felt. But in the first half of the next century it was very different. Subject to ruthless oppression, the righteous were in sore need of help. As their princes were the leaders in this oppression, they were forced to look for divine aid. Thus the bold and original thinker to whom we owe the Similitudes conceived the Messiah as the supernatural Son of Man, who should enjoy universal dominion and execute judgment on men and angels. But other religious thinkers, returning afresh to the study of OT, revived, as in the Psalms of Solomon, the expectation of the prophetic Messiah, sprung from the house and lineage of David (17^{23}). As the hopes of this Messiah are confined to Pss 17. 18, and in all the Pss that precede there is not even the remotest hint of such hopes, it is reasonable to infer a difference of authorship. There are other grounds for the same inference, but we cannot deal with them here. In recounting, therefore, the eschatology of Ps.-Sol, we shall first deal with Pss 17. 18.

Pss 17. 18. The Messiah—specifically so called in 17^{36} 18^6—is to spring from the lineage of David (17^{23}), to be a righteous king (17^{35}), pure from sin (17^{41}). He will gather the dispersed tribes together ($17^{28.\,50}$), and purify Israel ($17^{28.\,29}$), and will suffer no Gentile to sojourn amongst them (17^{31}), nor any iniquity to lodge in their midst, nor any that knoweth wickedness ($17^{29.\,36}$); and all the people will be holy (17^{36}), even sons of God (17^{30}). But as for the ungodly nations, he will destroy them with the word of his mouth (17^{27}, cf. 17^{39}), for his weapons will not be carnal; nor will he trust in horse or rider or bow, or in silver or gold (17^{37}), but he will overthrow sinners by the might of his word (17^{41}). And the remaining Gentiles will become subject to him ($17^{31.\,32}$); and he will have mercy on all the nations that come before him in fear (17^{38}), and they will come from the ends of the world to see his glory (17^{34}), and bring her sons as gifts to Zion (17^{34}). And the Messiah will not faint all his days (17^{42}).

Observe that (1) the Messiah is, however highly endowed, a man and nothing more. (2) It follows that his kingdom can only be of temporary duration. (3) It falls in with both these observations, that there is not a hint of the righteous rising from the dead to share in it. This conclusion is confirmed by the beatitude of 17^{50}, 'Blessed are they that shall be born in those days to behold the blessing of Israel which God shall bring to pass in the gathering together of the tribes.' Thus only the surviving righteous share in this temporary earthly kingdom. (4) The Gentiles are still mercifully dealt with. Such as have not been hostile to Israel are spared and become subject.

Pss 1–16. The bulk of these Pss are silent as to the future. They are all absolutely silent as to the Messiah. On the other hand, they paint in glowing colours the restoration of the tribes (8^{34} 11^{3-9}). A Messianic kingdom was therefore probably expected—at all events a period of prosperity, when God's help is promised (7^9). But beyond prophesying vengeance on the hostile nations and the sinners, the psalmists do not dwell on this period. The real recompense of the righteous is not, in their thoughts, bound up with this earthly kingdom. The righteous rise not to any kingdom of temporal prosperity, but to eternal life (3^{16} 13^9), they inherit life in gladness (14^7), and live in the righteousness of their God (15^{15}). There seems to be no resurrection of the body. As for the wicked, on the other hand, 'their inheritance is Hades (here=hell) and darkness and destruction' (14^{6}), destruction and darkness (15^{11}), and into their heritage in Hades they enter immediately on dying (16^{2}), and their iniquities pursue them thither (15^{11}). Thus the eschatology of Pss 1–16 agrees in nearly every point with that of Eth. En. 91–104, and so calls for no further comment here.

2 *Maccabees.*—There is no direct reference to a Messianic kingdom in this book, though it might be possible to reason back to it from the expectation of the restoration of the tribes (2^{18}). There is certainly no hint of a Messiah. On the other hand, however, the doctrine of retribution, present and future, plays a significant rôle. Present retribution follows sin alike in the case of Israel and of the Gentiles, but in the case of Israel its purpose is corrective, whereas in that of the Gentiles it is vindictive (6^{13-15}). Though God punish His people, He does not withdraw His mercy from them (6^{12-16} 14^{15}). In order to show the certainty of retribution in this life, the writer rewrites history, and makes individual sinners suffer the penalties which he thinks, in strict justice, they ought to have suffered: thus compare the final earthly destinies of the heathen oppressors, Epiphanes (7^{17} 9^{5-12}) and Nicanor (15^{32-35}); and of the Hellenizing Jews, Jason (5^{7-10}) and Menelaus (13^{8}). Even the martyrs confess their sufferings to be due to sin ($7^{18.\ 32.\ 38}$). Immediate retribution is a token of God's goodness (6^{13}). But our present concern is mainly with retribution beyond the grave. The righteous and the wicked of Israel enter after death the intermediate state (Hades), where they have a foretaste of their final doom (6^{26}), which takes effect after the resurrection. There is to be a resurrection of the righteous ($7^{9.\ 11.\ 14.\ 23.\ 29.\ 36}$), possibly even of all Jews ($12^{43.44}$). The resurrection is to be clearly that of the body (7^{11}). Apparently, it is to accompany the final judgment. Of the heathen there will be no resurrection: when they die they enter at once on their eternal doom (7^{14}). There appears to be no blessed future for any of the Gentiles.

(*C*) 1st cent. A.D.

Book of Jubilees.—Like many of the books just reviewed, the Book of Jubilees makes no mention of a Messianic king. It sketches, however, in vigorous terms, the woes that are to be the prelude of the Messianic kingdom, the attacks of the heathen powers, and then the gradual introduction of the kingdom effected through devotion to and observance of the law. Thus the Messianic woes are described in $23^{13.\ 19.\ 22}$ 'Calamity follows on calamity, and wound on wound, and tribulation on tribulation, and evil tidings on evil tidings, and illness on illness, and all evil judgments such as these, one with another, illness and overthrow, and snow and frost and ice, and fever, and chills, and torpor, famine, and death, and sword, and captivity, and all kinds of calamities and pains. 19. And they will strive one with another, the young with the old, and the old with the young, the poor with the rich, and the lowly with the great, and the beggar with the prince, on account of the law and the covenant; for they have forgotten His commandment, and the covenant and the feasts, and the months, and the Sabbaths, and the jubilees, and all judgments. 22. And a great punishment will befall the deeds of this generation from the Lord; and he will give them over to the sword and to judgment and to captivity, and to be plundered and devoured.'

And thereupon will ensue the invasion of Palestine by the Gentiles ($23^{23.\ 24}$). 'And he will wake up against them the sinners of the Gentiles, who will show them no mercy or grace, and who respect the person of none, neither old nor young, nor any one, for they are wicked and powerful, so that they are more wicked than all the children of men. And they will use violence against Israel and transgression against Jacob, and much blood will be shed upon the earth, and there will be none to gather it and none to bury. 24. In those days they will cry aloud, and call and pray that they may be saved from the hand of the sinful Gentiles; but none will be saved.'

Then Israel will repent (23^{26}). 'And in those days the children will begin to study the laws, and to seek the commandments, and to return to the paths of righteousness' ($23^{16.\ 27-30}$). '16. And in that generation the sons will convict their fathers and their elders of sin and unrighteousness, and the words of their mouth and the great wickednesses which they perpetrate, and concerning their forsaking the covenant which the Lord made between them and Him, that they should observe and do all His commandments and His ordinances and all His laws, without departing either to the right hand or the left. 27. And the days of the children of men will begin to grow many, and increase from generation to generation and day to day, till their days draw near to one thousand years, and to a greater number of years than (before) were their days. 28. And there will be no old man nor one that is not satisfied with his days, for all will be (as) children and youths. 29. And all their days they will complete in peace and in joy, and they will live, and there will be no Satan nor any evil destroyer; for all their days will be days of blessing and healing. 30. And at that time the Lord will heal His servants, and they will rise up and see great peace and drive out His adversary, and the righteous will see and be thankful, and rejoice with joy for ever and ever, and will see all their judgments and all their curses on their enemies.' Finally, when the righteous die their spirits will enter into a blessed immortality (23^{31}). 'And their bones will rest in the earth and their spirits will have much joy, and they will know that it is the Lord who executes judgments, and shows mercy to hundreds and thousands of all that love Him.'

Observe that (1) apparently there is no resurrection of the dead, and that the soul enters at death on its final destiny. (2) Sheol has thus become hell (24^{31}). 'For though he ascend unto heaven, thence will he be brought down; and whithersoever he flee on earth, thence will he be dragged forth; and though he hide himself amongst the nations, even from thence will he be rooted out; and though he descend into Sheol, there also shall his condemnation be great, and there also he will have no peace.'

Assumption of Moses (A.D. 7–29).—This book is closely allied to that of Jubilees in many respects. Thus the preparation for the advent of the Theocratic or Messianic kingdom will be a period of repentance (1^{18}). 1750 years after the death of Moses, God will intervene on behalf of Israel (10^{12}), and the ten tribes will be brought back from the captivity.* During this kingdom Israel will destroy her natural enemies (10^{8}), and finally be exalted to heaven (10^{9}), whence she shall see her enemies in Gehenna (10^{10}).

Observe that (1) there is no Messiah. Indeed the author in 10 appears to be really inimical to this expectation: 'The eternal God alone . . . will punish the Gentiles.' (2) There appears to be no resurrection of the body, but of the spirit only after the final judgment, similarly as in Eth. En. 91–104, Pss of Solomon, and Jubilees. (3) Gehenna, which originally was the specific place of punishment for apostate Jews, has now become the final abode of the wicked generally.

---

* See Charles' *Assumption of Moses*, pp. 59, 60.

Philo (B.C. 25–A.D. 50).—We shall touch only on the main points of Philonic eschatology. Philo looked forward to the return of the tribes from captivity, to the establishment of a Messianic kingdom of temporal prosperity, and even to a Messiah. The *loci classici* on this subject are *De Execrat.* § 8–9, and *De Præm. et Pœn.* § 15–20. The inclusion of the Messiah and the Messianic kingdom in Philo's eschatology, though really foreign to his system, is strong evidence as to the prevalence of these expectations even in Hellenistic Judaism. Apparently, he did not look forward to a general and final judgment. All entered after death into their final abode. The punishment of the wicked was for everlasting (*De Cherub.* § 1); even wicked Jews were committed to Tartarus (*De Execrat.* § 6). As matter was incurably evil, there could of course be no resurrection of the body. Our present life in the body is death (*De Leg. Alleg.* § 1).

*Slavonic Enoch** (A.D. 1–50).—As the earth was created in six days, its history, according to this book, will be accomplished in 6000 years; and as the six days of creation were followed by one of rest, so the 6000 years of the world's history will be followed by a rest of 1000 years—the millennium or Messianic kingdom. Then time will pass into eternity (32^{2}–33^{2}). In this Messianic kingdom there is no Messiah. At the close of this kingdom the final judgment is held, variously called 'the day of judgment' (39^{1} 51^{3}), 'the great day of the Lord' (18^{6}), 'the great judgment' (52^{15} 58^{5} 65^{6} 66^{7}), 'the day of the great judgment' (50^{4}), 'the eternal judgment' (7^{1}), 'the great judgment for ever' (60^{4}), 'the terrible judgment' (48^{8}), 'the immeasurable judgment' (40^{12}). But prior to the final judgment the souls of the departed are in intermediate places. Thus the rebellious angels are confined to the second heaven, awaiting in torment the eternal judgment (7^{1-3}). The fallen lustful angels are kept in durance under the earth (18^{7}). Satan, being hurled down from heaven, has the air as his habitation ($29^{4.\,5}$). There is no definite account of the intermediate place for men's souls. The writer declares, however, that places have been prepared for every human soul (49^{2} 58^{5}). From the latter context these appear to constitute the intermediate place for human souls. In 32^{1} Adam is sent back to this receptacle of souls on his death, and is transferred from it to paradise in the third heaven after the great judgment (42^{5}). Even the souls of beasts are preserved till the final judgment, in order to testify against the ill-usage of man ($58^{5.\,6}$). On the conclusion of the final judgment the righteous enter paradise as their eternal inheritance and final abode (8. 9. $42^{3.\,5}$ 61^{3} 65^{10}). The wicked are cast into hell in the third heaven, where their torment will be for everlasting (10. 40^{12} 41^{2} 42^{1-2} 61^{3}). There is apparently no resurrection of the body—the righteous are clothed with the garments of God's glory (22^{8}, cf. Eth. En. 62^{16} 108^{12}). The seventh heaven is the final abode of Enoch (55^{2} 67^{2}), but this is an exceptional privilege.

Observe that (1) we have here the first mention of the millennium. (2) There is no resurrection of the body; but at the final judgment the souls of the righteous, which have in the interval been in the intermediate place, are now clothed with God's glory and admitted to paradise.

Book of Wisdom.—In this Alexandrian work there is no Messiah, but there is an expectation of the Messianic or Theocratic kingdom, where the righteous will judge the nations and have dominion ($3^{7.\,8}$). There will be no resurrection of the body; for the soul is the proper self: the body is a mere burden taken up by the pre-existent soul, but in due season laid down again. Accordingly, there is only an immortality of the soul. The immortality of the righteous soul and its future blessedness are set forth in terms remarkable at once for their beauty and vigour (3^{1-4} $4^{2.\,7.\,10}$ 15^{3}). As for the wicked, they will be punished with death ($1^{12.\,16.}$ 2^{24}); they will be bereft of hope ($3^{11.\,18.}$ 5^{14}): the time for repentance is past (5^{3}); they will be utterly destroyed (4^{19}), yet not annihilated; for they will be subject to pain (4^{19}); and be aware of the blessedness of the righteous ($5^{1.\,2}$).

Observe that the righteous in Israel are to judge the nations. This seems to be a later development of the judgment by the sword frequently mentioned in previous literature (cf. Dn 2^{44}; Eth. En. 91^{12} etc.). Thus the judgment of the saints has become a *forensic* one, as that of the Messiah (cf. 1 Co 6^{2}).

4 *Maccabees.* — This book is a philosophical treatise on the supremacy of the reason. The writer adopts, so far as possible, the tenets of Stoicism. He teaches the eternal existence of all souls, good and bad, but no resurrection of the body: the good will enjoy eternal blessedness in heaven (9^{2} 12^{12} 13^{17} 15^{3} 17^{5}); but the wicked will be tormented in fire for ever (9^{9} 10^{15}).

*Apocalypse of Baruch** (A.D. 50–80).—Of this composite work the six or more independent constituents may be ranged in three classes when treated from the standpoint of their eschatology. Thus the Messiah Apocalypses A^{1} A^{2} A^{3}, *i.e.* 27–30^{1} 36–40 53–74, form the first class. i. This differs from the remaining part of the book in being written prior to A.D. 70 and in teaching the doctrine of a personal Messiah. The rôle of the Messiah in A^{1} is entirely a passive one, whereas in A^{2} and A^{3} he is a warrior who slays the enemies of Israel with his own hand. In all three Apocalypses the Messiah-Kingdom is of temporary duration. In A^{2} 'his principate will stand for ever until the world of corruption is at an end' (40^{3}); in A^{3} his reign is described as 'the consummation of that which is corruptible, and the beginning of that which is incorruptible' (74^{2}). In A^{2} and A^{3} the kingdom is inaugurated with the judgment of the sword (39^{7}–40^{2} 72^{2-6}). The Gentiles that had ruled or oppressed Israel should be destroyed, but those that had not done so should be spared, in order to be subject to Israel (72^{3-6}). The final judgment and the resurrection follow on the close of these kingdoms. Of the two remaining classes, the second consists of B^{1}, and the third of B^{2} and B^{3}, written after A.D. 70.

ii. In B^{1}, *i.e.* 1–9^{1} 43–44^{7} 45–46^{6} 77–82. 84. 86–87, the writer looks forward to the rebuilding of Jerusalem (6^{9}), the restoration of the exiles (77^{6} 78^{7}), the Messianic kingdom, but no Messiah (1^{5} 46^{6} 77^{12}). There is no consideration shown for the Gentiles (82^{2-7}).

iii. In B^{2}, *i.e.* 13–25. 30^{2}–35. 41–42. 44^{8-15} 47–52. 75–76. 83, the writer has relinquished all hope as to the present corruptible world, and fixes his regards wholly on the incorruptible world that is to be. The world will be renewed (32^{6}), and in this renewal, from being transitory and verging to its close (48^{50} 85^{10}), it will become undying (51^{3}) and everlasting (48^{50}); from being a world of corruption (40^{3} 74^{2} 21^{19} etc.), it will become incorruptible and invisible (74^{2} 51^{8}). The teaching as to the resurrection proceeds on parallel lines. Thus in answer to the question, 'Wilt thou perchance change these things (*i.e.* man's material body) which have been in the world, as also the world?' (49^{3}), it is shown in 50 that the dead will be raised with their bodies, exactly in the same form in which they had been committed to the earth, with a view to their recognition by those who knew them. When this recognition is completed, the bodies of the righteous will be transformed, with a view to a spiritual existence of unending duration and glory ($51^{1. 3. 7-9}$); and they will be made like unto the angels and equal to the stars, and changed from beauty into loveliness, and from light into the splendour of glory (51^{10}). They will surpass the angels in excellency (51^{12}). In B^3, *i.e.* 85, there is the same despair of a national restoration as in B^2, and only spiritual blessedness is looked for in the world of incorruption ($85^{4. 5}$).

---

* For further details see Morfill and Charles' *editio princeps* of this book; also the art. ENOCH (Bk. of Secrets of).

* For a fuller treatment of the questions touched upon here see Charles' *Apocalypse of Baruch.*

Observe that (1) in B^2 Sheol is the intermediate abode of the souls of the departed prior to the final judgment (23^5 48^{16} 52^2, cf. 56^6). This intermediate place is one involving certain degrees of happiness or torment. For the wicked it is an abode of pain (30^5 36^{11}), but not to be compared with their torments after the final judgment. As for the righteous, these are preserved in certain 'chambers' or 'treasuries' which are in Sheol (4 Ezr 4^{41}), where they enjoy rest and peace and are guarded by angels (Eth. En. 100^5, 4 Ezr 7^{95}). From these they issue forth at the final judgment, to receive their everlasting reward (30^2) (2) From the account of the resurrection in 49^3–51, it is clear that the Pauline teaching in 1 Co 15^{35-50} is in some respects a developed and more spiritual expression of ideas already current in Judaism.

Book of Baruch.—In this composite work there is little that demands our attention. 1–3^8 is undoubtedly derived from a Hebrew original, and possibly part of 3^9–5. It is composed of at least three independent writings. As to their dates, nothing satisfactory has been yet arrived at. It is noteworthy that in 2^{17} Hades still possesses its OT connotation. The restoration of Jerusalem is looked for (4^{19-35}) and the return of the exiles (4^{36}–5).

4 *Ezra.*—We shall adopt provisionally some of the critical results attained by Kabisch on this book. Of the five independent writings which he discovers in it, two were written prior to A.D. 70, and three subsequently. The two former he designates respectively as an Ezra Apocalypse and a Son-of-Man Vision. (*a*) The Ezra Apocalypse consists of chapters 4^{52}–5^{13a} $6^{13-25. 28}$ 7^{26-44} 8^{63}–9^{12}, and is largely eschatological. The signs of the last times are recounted at great length (5^{1-12} 6^{18} $9^{1-3. 6}$), the destruction of Rome (5^3), and the advent of the Messiah, the Son of God (5^6 7^{26}). Certain saints will accompany the Messiah (7^{28}), and all the faithful who have survived the troubles that preceded the kingdom will rejoice together with the Messiah for 400 years.* Then the Messiah and all men will die (7^{29}), and in the course of seven days the world will return into its primeval silence, even as in seven days it was created (7^{30}). Then the next world will awake and the corruptible will perish (7^{31}), and all mankind will be raised from the dead (7^{32}) and appear at the last judgment (7^{33}). Then Paradise (=final abode of the righteous) and Gehenna will be revealed. And the judgment will last seven years (7^{43}).

Observe that besides the general resurrection in $7^{31. 32}$ there seems to be a preliminary resurrection of some special saints to the Messianic kingdom in 7^{28}, but this is doubtful.

(*b*) A Son-of-Man Vision.—This writing consists of chapter 13, and was probably composed before A.D. 70. Many signs will precede the advent of the Messiah (13^{32}), who will appear in the clouds of heaven ($13^{3. 32}$); and the nations will assemble from the four winds of heaven to attack him ($13^{5. 34}$), but the Messiah will destroy them, not with spear or weapon of war ($13^{9. 28}$), but 'by the law, which is like fire' ($13^{38. 49}$). And he will restore the ten tribes ($13^{40. 47}$), and preserve the residue of God's people that are in Palestine (13^{48}).

We shall now set forth the eschatological expectations which appear in the remaining three constituents of this work, which were composed between A.D. 70 and 100. (*c*) The Eagle Vision, *i.e.* 10^{60}–12^{35}. Here the destruction of Rome is predicted, through the agency of the Messiah sprung from the house of David (12^{32}), who will judge its people and destroy them (12^{33}). He will save the residue of God's people in Palestine, and he will fill them with joy to the end, even the day of judgment (12^{34}). (*d*) An Ezra fragment, *i.e.* $14^{1-17a. 18-27. 36-47}$. Ezra is to be translated and live with the Messiah till the times are ended (14^9). These times are twelve. Of these, ten and a half have already elapsed (14^{11}). There seems to be no Messianic kingdom.

(*e*) The Apocalypse of Salathiel, *i.e.* 3^{1-31} 4^{1-51} 5^{13b}–6^{10} 6^{30}–7^{25} 7^{45}–8^{62} 9^{13}–10^{57} 12^{40-48} 14^{28-35}. The world is nearly at an end (4^{44-50}). As it was created, so it will be judged by God alone (5^{56} 6^6). Very few will be saved (7^{47-61} $8^{2. 3}$). Judgment and all things relating to it were prepared before the creation of the world and of man (7^{70}). The day of judgment will arrive when the number of the righteous is completed (4^{36}); for the sins of earth will not retard it (4^{39-42}). In the meantime retribution sets in immediately after death ($7^{69. 75. 80. 86. 95}$ 14^{35}). On dying, the souls of the righteous will be allowed seven days to see what will befall them ($7^{100. 101}$); they will be guarded by angels in the 'chambers' ($7^{75. 85. 95. 121}$). They will have the joy of rest in seven ways (7^{91-98}). These chambers form their intermediate abode: after the final judgment glory and transfiguration await them ($7^{95. 97}$). But the souls of the wicked will not enter into the 'chambers,' but roam to and fro in torment in seven ways ($7^{80-87. 93}$). After the final judgment they will be tormented more grievously still (7^{84}). Intercession, though permissible now ($7^{106-112}$), will not be allowed on the day of judgment ($7^{102-105}$). All things will then be finally determined ($7^{113-115}$). With the final judgment this world closes and the next begins (7^{113}): it will be a new creation (7^{75}). With its establishment the righteous enter on their final reward. They shall be bright as stars (7^{97}); and, beyond them (7^{125}), they shall shine as the sun and be immortal (7^{97}). Paradise will be their final abode (7^{123}).

Josephus (A.D. 37–101).—Josephus' interpretation of Messianic prophecy as pointing to Vespasian (*BJ* VI. v. 4) must be set down to the exigencies of his position with regard to the Romans. For it is clear from *Ant.* IV. vi. 5 that he looked forward to a Messianic era. As the troubles predicted by Daniel had befallen Israel, so likewise would the prosperity (*Ant.* X. xi. 7). Apparently, he believed in an intermediate state for the righteous. Thus in *Ant.* XVIII. i. 3 it is said that 'souls have an immortal vigour, and that under the earth (ὑπὸ χθονός, cf. *BJ* II. viii. 14 καθ' ᾅδου) there will be rewards and punishments, accordingly as they have lived virtuously or viciously in this life; and the latter are to be detained in an everlasting prison, but the former will have power to revive and live again.' Here the wicked enter at once into everlasting punishment. Sheol is here hell. But the righteous rise from the intermediate place of happiness and enter into other bodies, probably spiritual bodies (*BJ* II. viii. 14). Such was the Pharisaic doctrine according to Josephus. The Essenes believed that a blessed immortality awaited the souls of the righteous (*BJ* II. viii. 11), but that those of the wicked were destined to a dark, cold region, full of undying torment.

---

* This number has originated as follows. According to Gn 15^{13} Israel was to be oppressed 400 years in Egypt. Now in Ps 90 the writer prays: 'Make us glad according to the days wherein thou hast afflicted us, and the years wherein we have seen evil.' From the combination of these two passages it was inferred that the Messianic kingdom would last 400 years, as a set-off against the period of oppression in Egypt.

The above account of Pharisaic belief which we derive from Josephus may be regarded as fairly trustworthy; but that which he gives in *BJ* III. viii. 5 is misleading in a high degree. There he describes the soul as a 'particle of Divinity' (θεοῦ μοῖρα) which has taken up its abode in a mortal body. After death the souls of the righteous 'receive as their lot the most holy place in heaven, from whence, in the revolution of ages, they are again sent into pure bodies.' For the souls of suicides the darkest place in Hades is reserved.

IV. Systematic Exposition of Jewish Eschatology (B.C. 200–A.D. 100).—In the preceding section we have given a survey of eschatological ideas in the order of their historical attestation, and consequently, in large measure, of their actual evolution. By presenting the eschatological scheme of each writer by itself in that section, we have made it possible for the reader to see the various conceptions, such as Sheol, Gehenna, Messiah, Resurrection, in their actual organic relations and historical environment. In this section, however, we shall isolate several of these conceptions, and deal briefly with the various forms they assumed from B.C. 200 to A.D. 100 in Jewish circles. These conceptions are: the Last Woes, the Messiah, the Messianic Kingdom, the Return of the Dispersion, the Resurrection, Judgment, Sheol or Hades, Gehenna, Paradise, Heaven.

The Last Woes.—It will be sufficient for our present purpose to mention the passages where these woes preluding the Messianic kingdom are recounted. These are: Dn 12^{1}, *Or. Sibyll.* 3$^{796-804}$, 2 Mac 5$^{2.\,3}$, *Jubilees* 23$^{13.\,19.\,22}$, Apoc. Bar 27. 48$^{31-41}$ 70$^{2-8}$, 4 Ezr 5$^{1-13}$ 6$^{18-28}$ 9$^{1-12}$ 13$^{29-31}$. For further information the reader should consult Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah, in loc.*; Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 154–156; Schoettgen, *Hor. Hebr.* ii. 509 sqq. 550 sqq.

The Messiah.—As this subject will be treated under the general art. MESSIAH, we shall sketch here only its leading phases.

i. The Messiah—conceived merely as a passive though supreme member of the Messianic kingdom. He is so represented in Eth. En. 83–90, where his appearance is largely otiose, and due probably to literary reminiscence. He rules over a transfigured Israel, with the Heavenly Jerusalem set up as the centre of his kingdom, and his reign is apparently for ever. In the 1st cent. of the Christian era this conception reappears twice in Apoc. Bar 27–30^{1} where his rule is of temporary duration, and in 4 Ezr 7^{28} (*i.e.* in the Ezra Apoc. See p. 747^{a}), where he dies after a reign of 400 years. In the second and third cases the Messiah appears after the Messianic woes and judgment; in the third, simultaneously with the first resurrection.

ii. The Messiah—conceived as an active warrior, who slays his enemies with his own hand. This conception is attested in the *Or. Sibyll.* 3$^{652-660}$, which belongs to the 2nd cent. B.C.; in the Pss. of Sol 17$^{23.\,26}$, where the Messiah is to be of Davidic descent—but this book belongs properly to the next division; in Apoc. Bar 36–40; also in another independent writing in the same book, 53–74; 4 Ezr 10^{60}–12^{35}. In the last the Messiah is of Davidic origin. In all these books save the first (?) the Messianic kingdom is of temporary duration.

iii. The Messiah—conceived more loftily as one who slays his enemies by the word of his mouth, and rules by virtue of his justice, faith, and holiness (cf. Ps.-Sol 17$^{27.\,31.\,37.\,39.\,41}$). A similar conception is found in 4 Ezr 13. In both writings his reign is probably of temporary duration.

iv. The Messiah—conceived as supernatural, as eternal Ruler and Judge of mankind (Eth. En. 37–70). This conception of the Messiah is logically in some measure a development of that in the third division, and yet it is chronologically antecedent to it. It is the most sublime conception of the Messiah to be found in all Jewish literature outside the Canon. For further details see above, p. 744^{a}.

The Messianic Kingdom.—Three views in the main prevailed amongst the Jews as to this kingdom. i. It was to be of eternal duration. ii. It was to be of temporary duration. iii. There was to be no Messianic kingdom.

i. The Messianic kingdom was to be of eternal duration.

(*a*) On earth as it is (Eth. En. 1–36, Dn, *Or. Sibyll.* 3$^{766-783}$ (?)).

(*b*) On a transformed earth and in heaven (Eth. En. 37–70). As the Messianic kingdom is here eternal, it is preceded in Palestinian literature by the resurrection and the final judgment.

ii. The Messianic kingdom was to be of temporary duration on earth (Eth. En. 91–104, Ps.-Sol 17. 18, 2 Mac, Jubilees, Slav. En., Assumption of Moses, Book of Wisdom, Apoc. Bar—parts A^{1} A^{2} A^{3} B^{1},—4 Ezr—all parts but Salathiel Apoc.).

When the Messianic kingdom is of temporary duration, there appears to be no transformation of the earth. The resurrection and final judgment take place at its close. The resurrection is all but universally a resurrection of the righteous only. Hence in many of these books the wicked are held to enter at once into their final abode. Thus Hades in these cases becomes Hell.

iii. No Messianic kingdom expected [4 Mac (?), Apoc. Bar (B^{2}), 4 Ezr, Salathiel Apoc.].

In these books man does not enter till after the last judgment on his final award. After death he meets with a foretaste of his final lot in Hades or Sheol.

The Return from the Dispersion.—The promise that God would turn again the captivity of Israel is frequently made in the OT; also in Sir 33^{11} (AV 36^{11}), To 13^{13}, Eth. En. 57$^{1.\,2}$ 90^{33}, *Or. Sibyll.* 2$^{170-173}$, Bar 2$^{27-35}$ 4$^{36.\,37}$ 5$^{5-7}$, Ps.-Sol 11, 2 Mac 2^{18}, Apoc. Bar 77^{6} 78^{7} (cf. 84$^{2.\,8.\,10}$), 4 Ezr 13$^{12.\,39-47}$, Targ. Jon. on Jer 33^{13}, and *Shemoneh Esreh*: 'Lift up a banner to gather our dispersed, and assemble us from the four ends of the earth.' Yet Rabbi Akiba (*Sanh.* 10^{3}), in the 2nd cent. A.D., denied this return.

The Resurrection.—The resurrection is very variously conceived. The earliest attested view in the 2nd cent. B.C. is that of (*a*) the resurrection of *all* Israel (Dn 12$^{1-3}$). About the same period the doctrine of (*b*) the resurrection of the righteous only is taught in Eth. En. 83–90. Towards the close of the same century another writer looks forward, not to a resurrection of the body, but to (*c*) a blessed immortality of the soul or spirit after the final judgment (Eth. En. 91–104). These views hold the field throughout the next century, and it is not till the 1st cent. of the Christian era that they are in some measure displaced by others. These latter, which are developments of the former, are: (*d*) a blessed immortality for the souls of the righteous after death. This is one side of the larger doctrine of an immediate and final retribution after death affecting only the soul or spirit; (*e*) a general resurrection of all mankind preceding the final judgment.

(*a*) The resurrection of all Israel [Eth. En. 1–36 (see 22), Dn 12$^{1-3}$, Eth. En. 37–70 (see 51, etc.), 2 Mac 7$^{7.\,11.\,14.}$ etc. 12$^{43.\,44}$, Apoc. Bar (B^{2}) (see 24. 30$^{2-5}$ 50. 51)].

In 2 Mac 12$^{42-45}$ the possibility of a moral change taking place in Sheol seems to be implied.

(*b*) The resurrection of the righteous only [Eth. En. 83–90 (see 90^{33})].

In this book the righteous have no concern in the last judgment, and do not rise till it is over.

(*c*) A blessed immortality for the souls of the righteous after the final judgment [Eth. En. 91–104 (see 103$^{3.\,4}$ 91^{10} 92^{3} 104$^{2.\,4}$), Assumption of Moses (see 10^{9}), Slav. En. (?), Eth. En. 108 (?)].

(*d*) A blessed immortality for the souls of the righteous immediately after death [Jubilees (see 23), Philo, Book of Wisdom (see 3$^{1-4}$ 4$^{2.\,7.\,10}$ etc.), 4 Mac (see 5^{37} 9^{8} 13^{17} etc.)], Essene doctrine according to Josephus, *BJ* II. viii. 11.

Observe the expression in 4 Mac 13^{17} *θανόντας ἡμᾶς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακὼβ ὑποδέξονται* (cf. Lk 16^{22}).

(*e*) Resurrection of all mankind [Apoc. Bar 30$^{2-5}$ 50–51, 4 Ezr (Ezra Apoc. See 7$^{32.\,37}$), Test. XII. Patr., Benj. 10].

Judgment.—Judgment is variously conceived, either as retribution which takes effect from day to day, or at great crises in national history, or as retribution which is universal and final. The last may take place either at the beginning or the close of the Messianic kingdom. In Apocalyptic literature little attention is paid to the first division. A most emphatic presentation of the doctrine of retribution in this life pervades 2 Mac and Jubilees. We shall here, however, confine our attention to judgment as connected with the consummation of the world. Now, in the last times there were generally two stages in this judgment. The former was executed by human agents,—the saints of Israel or these led by the Messiah,—and may be designated as the judgment by the sword, or, better, the Messianic judgment; the latter was administered by God or, in one instance only, by the Messiah, and constitutes in reality the final judgment.

(*a*) *The Messianic Judgment.* — This judgment (i.) may be realistically conceived as involving the destruction of the wicked by the *personal prowess* of the Messiah or the saints; or (ii.) it may be *forensically* conceived: the word of the Messiah or of the saints judges or destroys the wicked. The latter form of judgment is obviously a development of the former, but the two are not always kept apart.

i. The Messianic judgment realistically conceived:

(*α*) Executed by the Messiah [Ps.-Sol 17. 18 (?), Apoc. Bar 39. 40. 72. 73, 4 Ezr 12$^{32-34}$].

(*β*) Executed by the saints (Dn 2^{44}, Eth. En. 90^{19} 91^{12} 96^{1} 98^{12}, Or. Sibyll. 3^{781}, Jubilees, Assumption of Moses 10^{9}).

ii. The Messianic judgment forensically conceived:

(*α*) Executed by the Messiah (Ps.-Sol 17. 18, 4 Ezr 13$^{28.\,32-50}$).

(*β*) Executed by the saints (Book of Wisdom 3^{8}, cf. 1 Co 6^{2}).

(*b*) *The Final Judgment.*—This judgment is always administered by God save in Eth. En. 37–70, where it is committed to the Messiah, the Son of Man. This judgment takes place either at the beginning of the Messianic kingdom or, where this kingdom is of temporary duration, at its close; or, where no such kingdom is expected, simply at the end of this world (see section above on *The Messianic Kingdom*, p. 748^{b}).

As to Sheol, Gehenna, Paradise, Heaven, see the separate articles.

Literature.—The Jewish eschatology of our period has been greatly neglected in the past. This has been due partly to the ignorance of Christian scholars, and partly to the deliberate ignoring by Jewish scholars of the chief sources of information on this subject, *i.e.* the Apocalyptic books. To Lücke, Hilgenfeld, and Drummond belongs, in large measure, the merit of emphasizing the importance of this literature. Drummond's work, *The Jewish Messiah*, is a splendid contribution to our knowledge of Jewish thought, though much of it is no longer abreast of our knowledge of this subject. Schwally's *Das Leben nach dem Tode* is very stimulating on this period, though frequently misleading. The reader may consult also Salmond's *Christian Doctrine of Immortality*, and Stanton's *The Jewish and the Christian Messiah*, where they deal with our subject.

Abundant information, and copious, though undiscriminating, references to authorities will be found in Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 126–187. Marti also (*Geschichte der Israelitischen Religion*, pp. 270–310) is well worth consulting.

The present writer hopes to edit, towards the close of next year (1898), a critical work on Jewish Eschatology from the earliest OT times down to A.D. 100. R. H. Charles.

ESCHATOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.—The eschatology of the NT attaches itself in the first instance to that of the OT. The Heb. Scriptures do not contain anything like a definite or complete doctrine of the things of the end. They are the records, however, of an important contribution to the faith in a future life, and that contribution was an ever-enlarging one. It had its reason in the two fundamental articles of Israel's faith—the doctrine of one *God*: a living, personal, righteous, gracious God, who made Himself known to His people and entered into fellowship with them; and the doctrine of *Man* as a creature different in origin and in end from other creatures, the bearer of God's image, made for communion with God, and for life in that communion. These great truths, unfolding their meaning more and more, and acting on the popular conceptions of Death and the Hereafter which Israel had in common with the Babylonians and other nations, led by steps of gradual advance to a clearer, more determinate, and more moral conception of existence beyond the grave. The experiences and intuitions of saints, the visions and forecasts and inferences of faith, seen in the poetical books, combined with thoughts and words of sublime suggestion occasionally found in the historical books, and with the more definite teaching of the prophets, to further this enlargement of belief and the march towards a definite doctrine. So the popular ideas of a dark Sheol with a chill attenuated existence in its sunless deeps gave way to higher views; the thought of the lot of the individual disentangled itself from that of the destiny of the community; the belief in a moral order with judicial awards following men into the other world took shape and became increasingly distinct; and at last the faith and the teaching of the OT rose to the great hope of a resurrection to life. This eschatology of the OT, which grew from less to more in the course of Israel's history, remained nevertheless incomplete at its highest, and pointed to something beyond itself. The eschatology of the NT became its heir, passing beyond its limits and carrying its principles to their issues.

But the eschatology of the NT attaches itself also, though in another way, to the popular faith of the Jews of its time, and to certain developments of thought and belief which had taken place in the period following that which produced the last of the OT books. These developments were considerable. We gather what they were from the literature of Judaism which has descended to us, the Apocr. of the OT, to some extent the Rabbinical books, and most particularly the pseudepigraphic and apocalyptic writings. This literature furnishes the key to much in the NT doctrine of the Last Things. It shows in what way the OT faith was retained and enlarged in harmony with its essential principles; in what way also it was materialized and subjected to changes which were not consistent with its true spirit; in what directions belief became more positive; and in what respects it became fanciful, speculative, grotesque; how certain OT terms and ideas were modified in sense and application, and in what measure new terms and ideas were introduced. The eschatology of the NT bears the impress of these things. It cannot be understood apart from them. From much that emerged in this intervening period it stands aloof. Other things in this development, which were consistent with the principles of the OT revelation, are reflected in it, purified of the gross, exaggerated, and unspiritual elements which mixed themselves with them.

The eschatology of the NT is not given in systematic form, neither is it expressed in the precise and measured language of metaphysics or theology. It appears in the shape of a number of ideas which are common to the NT books, but which are presented in different aspects and connexions by the several writers. It is given in occasional form, in Christ's words, the discourses in the Bk. of Acts, the records of evangelists, the Epistles of apostles, on the promptings of circumstances which from time to time called forth declarations in speech or in writing on the matters of the end. It is not given in the terms of the schools nor with a view to speculative interests, but always for the purposes of life and practice, and in the language of the people. It makes free use of the figurative, parabolic, imaginative phraseology in which the Eastern mind naturally expresses itself. It never claims to give an exhaustive disclosure or a constructive account of the Last Things. The message of the NT also being distinctively a message of hope, the eschatology is occupied mainly with the issues of the kingdom of God and the destiny of the righteous. It says less of the graver issues of the future of the unrighteous.

The eschatology of the NT being conveyed in this occasional and discontinuous form, we may best understand it by following out the great ideas as they appear first in one and then in another of the main groups of writings. The fundamental question is that of Christ's own mind on the subject. It will be convenient, therefore, to deal with the eschatology *first* as it appears in Christ's own words reported in the Gospels, and *then* as it is found in the teaching of the several divisions of the NT writings. It will thus be seen whether or how far the NT has a consistent doctrine of the Last Things.

I. CHRIST'S ESCHATOLOGY.—There are questions of criticism to which regard must be had in studying the eschatology of the NT. In the case of our Lord's teaching there is the debated question of what is primitive and what is secondary in the records of His words, with the various tests proposed for distinguishing between the one and the other. It is impossible to enter at length into these things here. It is enough to say that the substance of Christ's teaching will be found to be the same whichever of the leading theories of the construction of the Gospels is followed. Its main points belong to the large stream of narrative and discourse which is common to the first three Gospels, and in which the most primitive tradition is probably preserved. There is also the question of the relation in which the report of Christ's words given in the Fourth Gospel stands to that contained in the Synoptists. Of this it must suffice to say that the difference in the form is a reason for taking the two accounts separately; from which, however, it does not follow that there is an essential difference between them.

In the Synoptic Gospels the eschatology centres in the great idea of the KINGDOM OF GOD (which see). Christ's whole disclosure of the Future has its point of issue in this doctrine of the Divine kingdom and its consummation. In this His teaching connects itself with the large ideas of the OT, carrying them further and fulfilling them. As the OT, too, in its conceptions of the future knew nothing of the philosophy of the subject and furnished no reasoned statement, but followed the logic of experience and the heart, giving no dogma of immortality, but the expression of a living fellowship with God which involved the continuance of life; so Christ's teaching lies apart from all theoretic questions, all speculative discussions, all that is of curious interest, and deals with practical relations and broad moral issues. It offers no proof of the reality of a future existence, but presupposes it, and speaks of life as man's destiny. It unfolds the course of the Divine kingdom which had been the object of OT faith and the centre of OT hope. It presents that kingdom as a thing of the actual present, brought to men in and by the Teacher Himself, but also as a thing of the future which looks through all historical fulfilments to a completer realization,—a thing, too, of gradual, unobtrusive growth, yet destined to be finally established by a great conclusive event. Christ's whole teaching on the subject of the Last Things, as regards the Church, the world, and the individual, is connected with this lofty OT idea of a new order in which God shall be confessed to be Sovereign, and has regard to it in its primary deliverances.

Among these deliverances a large place is given to the promise of His own *Return*. In the OT the consummation of the Divine kingdom was to be brought about by a descent of God to earth, and in certain prophecies it was further connected with the coming of an ideal King, the agent of J″ in the fulfilment of His purpose. So Christ connects the completion of the kingdom with a decisive occurrence, the great event of His own Parousia (Mt $24^{3.\ 37.\ 39}$). The time of this new interposition is not declared, it is not known even to the Son (Mt 24^{36} RV, Mk 13^{32} RV). But it is to come when the times are ripe for it, and there are prelusive tokens of it. This event of His coming is the burden of the great eschatological discourse in Mt 24. 25, in which there are problems both for criticism and for interpretation. In that discourse two distinct occurrences, the destruction of Jerusalem and the end of the world, seem to be spoken of as coincident and as near. This is in accordance with the nature of biblical prophecy as it is seen in the OT, which brings together in prophetic perspective or 'timeless sequence' events which were widely separated in actual occurrence (Is 8. 9, Zeph, Ob). It does not require for its explanation the affirmation of mistake on Christ's part (Strauss, Renan, Keim, Weizsäcker, S. Davidson, etc.), the supposition of misunderstanding or misreporting on the part of the evangelists (Baur, Colani, De Wette, Holtzmann, etc.), the limitation of the whole declaration to the single catastrophe of the fall of Jerusalem and the Jewish state (J. S. Russell, etc.), the theory of a double coming, or the hypothesis either of a Jewish (Weizsäcker) or of a Jewish-Christian (Colani, Keim, Pfleiderer, Wendt, Weiffenbach, Vischer, etc.) apocalypse in the discourse. Nor is this form of statement confined to this particular section of the Synoptic Gospels. Sayings of similar import are given elsewhere (Mk 13^{30}, Lk 21^{32}, Mt 10^{23} $16^{27.\ 28}$; cf. also Mk 8^{38} 9^{1}, Lk $9^{26.\ 27}$). In these Gospels, too, the Return appears to be an objective event, the expression given to it being such as goes beyond any figurative description simply of the final victory of principles or the supersession of old forms of religion. In the Fourth Gospel the case is somewhat different. It is the coming of the Spirit that chiefly appears there, and that in such measure as to suggest to many that only a dynamical coming is in view (Neander, Godet, etc.). Yet a distinction is observed between the coming of the Spirit and Christ's coming, and there are passages in which the idea seems to be the same as that of the Synoptic records (14^{3} 21^{22}, cf. 1 Jn 2^{28}). The first point, therefore, in Christ's teaching on the subject of the future is the announcement of the objective event of His own Return. But His declarations on this Parousia know nothing of the minute and fantastic inventions of Jewish theology, as seen in the Book of Enoch, the Assumption of Moses, the Sibylline Oracles, and similar products of Jewish thought, with their elaborate machinery of signs and portents and mystic numbers, their extravagant chronologies, their grotesque descriptions of the literal re-settlement of the Jews in their own land, their many eccentricities and ineptitudes. They know as little of those *Chiliastic* conceptions of the future, those curious calculations of the duration of Messiah's kingdom, those puerile ideas of the erection of a new Jerusalem on the ruins of the old, which took hold of the Jewish mind before Christian times, and, entering into Christian thought, gave shape to the doctrine of a millennial reign of Christ on earth which was to end in a great apostasy and to herald the consummation.

With this doctrine of the second advent is associated the doctrine of a *Final Judgment.* This judgment is presented as the object of the coming, and it occupies a place of like prominence in Christ's teaching. It is expressed in various of His sayings, but at greatest length in the eschatological discourse in the First Gospel. According to the consentient teaching of the Synoptic Gospels, it is a judgment at the end of the world, a judgment of individuals (Mt 22^{1-14} etc.), a judgment of universal scope (Mt $13^{36-42.\ 47-50}$ 16^{27} 25^{31} etc.), and a judgment in which Christ, the Son of Man, is Himself to be the Judge (Mt 25^{31} etc.). In the Fourth Gospel the judgment appears for the most part under another aspect. In that Gospel the emphasis is laid upon a judgment which is *present* and subjective, fulfilling itself in a probation of character and a self-verdict which proceed now ($3^{17.\ 18}$ $12^{47.\ 48}$). But this subjective judgment of the present in life and conscience is not inconsistent with an objective judgment of the future. And the latter is not strange to the Fourth Gospel. The Johannine phrase 'the last day' (12^{48}) points to it, and it is contained in such words as those in $5^{27.\ 28}$ (cf. 1 Jn 2^{28} 4^{17}, in which Johannine writing the judgment is connected, as in the Synoptists, with Christ's coming). The doctrine of a final judgment so declared by Christ stands in intimate relation to certain leading ideas of the OT, completing these and giving them certainty. The Heb. Scriptures, penetrated through and through by the idea of a Divine retribution, have a large doctrine of judgment, a judgment for Israel, more frequently a judgment for the nations or a world-judgment. But for the most part it is a world-judgment which has its scene in this world, a triumph of the kingdom of God in the form of an overthrow of its living adversaries on earth. And in this J″ Himself is the Judge. In certain prophecies (Is 9. 11, Mic 5, Jer 23. 33. 34. 36, Ezk 34. 37, Zec 9–11) the triumph of the kingdom of God is connected with the advent of a great Davidic King, and Messiah appears as the agent of J″. But in the OT the final arbitrament of men's lives is not committed to the Messiah or the ideal King, as in Christ's teaching it is given to the Son of Man. Further, while the foundations of the doctrine of a final universal and individual judgment are laid in the OT ideas of the righteousness of God, His covenant relations with Israel, and His sovereignty over the nations, the conception of a judgment after death does not take distinct and definite form till near the close of the OT. Even when the idea of an individual judgment at the end of things appears, the subjects of the judgment seem to be limited to those of Israel. Christ's doctrine has also its relations to the ideas of the non-canonical literature. In the representative books of Judaism the doctrine of a judgment bulks largely, and is taught with much novel and peculiar detail. It has also different forms. In certain books (*e.g.* the *Book of Enoch* $90^{18.\ 19}$, the *Assumption of Moses* 3. 4, etc.) the OT idea of a destruction of living enemies of J″'s kingdom here on earth survives. In many cases, though not in all, the Messiah is the agent of God in this judgment; and the judgment is placed usually at the beginning of His reign, but sometimes (where a limited duration is ascribed to that reign) at its close. In other books, however, and especially in the *Book of Enoch,* this passes over into the idea of a final judgment, in the forensic sense, occurring after death, extending to all men and to angels as well. In these books, too, God is the Judge and Messiah His instrument. Only in the later section of the *Book of Enoch* does the Messiah appear in any certain and definite form as the Judge at the last day. Christ's doctrine of a universal, individual judgment at the end of things, in which judgment He Himself is Arbiter of human destinies, carried the OT conception to its proper issue, while it gave a new certainty, consistency, and spirituality to the developed ideas which had arisen in Judaism in the period following the last of the Jewish prophets.

In conjunction with these doctrines of the Parousia and the Judgment, the doctrine of a *Resurrection* has an essential place in Christ's eschatological teaching. The doctrine of a resurrection from the dead is implied in the doctrine of a final universal judgment at the end of things. It lies also in the great principles of OT. The Psalmists and the Prophets have their visions of a limitation of the power of death, a destruction of death, a deliverance from Sheol, a life superior to death; and, in the progress of the prophetic teaching, the faith in a resurrection of the dead rises gradually into distinctness. It appears first as a belief in the re-animation of the dead nation, and at last in Isaiah (26^{19}) and Daniel as a belief in the return of deceased individuals to life. In the final utterance of OT on the subject (Dn $12^{2.\ 3}$) this enlargement of the idea appears to have its occasion in the question regarding the fate of departed members of Israel—whether there is reward for the faithful among these, whether there is penalty for the unfaithful. But OT does not seem to go beyond the case of Israel. It tarries with the announcement that Israel's dead, true and false, shall come forth from the dust of earth to receive the awards of their truth or falsehood. In the period between this and the Christian era the belief passed through various fortunes. It did not become the universal faith of the Jewish people. In some of the non-canonical books the old idea of Sheol continues (Sir $17^{27.\ 28}$ 41^{4}, Bar 2^{17}). In some the hope appears to be that of an incorporeal immortality (Wis 2^{23} 3^{1-4} $4^{13.\ 14}$ 15^{3}, 4 Mac 14^{3} 16^{12} 18^{23}). But in others the belief in a resurrection is seen in more or less definite form (Enoch 91^{10} 92^{3}, Ps.-Sol 3^{16} 13^{9} etc., most distinctly and most frequently in 2 Mac, *e.g.* $7^{9.\ 14.\ 23}$; cf. also Sibyll. Oracles 1^{440} $2^{274.\ 275}$ $4^{228.\ 229}$, Apoc. Bar 30^{1-5} 50^{1} 51^{6}, 2 Es 7^{32}). Rejected by the Sadducees, it became the belief of the Pharisees and the majority of the Jewish people. It had become, too, a belief in the resurrection of the unjust as well as the just, although in certain cases the limited belief in a rising only of the righteous seems to have persisted (Ps.-Sol 3^{16} 14^{2} etc.). Opinion varied to some extent as to the object of the resurrection, whether it was for judgment or for participation in the glories of Messiah's kingdom, and as to its time, whether it was to be immediately before Messiah's era or at its close (cf. on the one hand Enoch 51, on the other Apoc. Bar and 2 Es). The doctrine, then, which had its roots in the great principles of the OT touching *life*, the nature of man, and his relation to God; which in the OT had grown gradually in magnitude and in definiteness; which also in Judaism had undergone changes in part natural and consistent, in part forced and inharmonious, forms an integral part of Christ's eschatological teaching. It is given in discourses which belong to the triple tradition in the Synoptic records (Mt 22$^{23-33}$, Mk 12$^{18-27}$, Lk 20$^{27-40}$). It is implied in utterances reflecting current Jewish opinion (Mt 8^{11}, Lk 13$^{28.29}$). It is presupposed where it is not affirmed in terms (*e.g.* in Mt 24. 25). It is stated in its essential relations to the great principles of the OT, and is relieved of the extravagances, the crudities, and the literalities with which it had become associated in Jewish speculation and Jewish popular thought. It is the doctrine of a real bodily resurrection, far removed from Hellenic or Essene ideas of a bare immortality of soul, affirming in harmony with the OT view of man's relation to God (Mt 22$^{31.32}$, Mk 12$^{26.27}$, Lk 20$^{37.38}$) a continuance of life for man in his entire self. In this the Synoptic records and the Fourth Gospel agree. In the latter, it is true, the fact of the resurrection is presented mainly in its spiritual aspects and its immediate relations. Some of Christ's largest words on the subject go beyond the idea of the resurrection at the last day (11$^{21-26}$); and others, if they stood alone, might perhaps be taken as strong descriptions of a spiritual renovation only (5$^{25.26}$). But in the Johannine record there are also words too definite to admit of being limited to the expression of a purely spiritual resurrection (5$^{28.29}$). Christ's doctrine, further, is the doctrine of a *universal* resurrection. Certain passages in the Synoptic Gospels (Mt 22^{30}, Mk 13^{27}, Lk 20$^{36.37}$, Mt 24^{31}, Lk 14^{14}), indeed, have been supposed to imply that Christ taught only a resurrection of the righteous. But there are others with a different implication (Mt 5$^{29.30}$ 10^{28}). The 'resurrection of the just' (Lk 14^{14}) suggests its own antithesis. The Fourth Gospel, too, declares a 'resurrection unto condemnation' as well as a 'resurrection unto life,' and in speaking of the re-awakening of the dead uses terms too large for the limited view. This resurrection, which extends to just and unjust, is further referred to the last day. In Christ's own words there is no statement of a separation of the resurrection of the unrighteous from that of the righteous as if they were events belonging to different times.

In contrast with the fulness and explicitness of Christ's declarations on the Parousia, the Judgment, and the Resurrection, is the reserve of His teaching on the subject of the *Intermediate State.* This is the more remarkable in view of the position given to that topic in the theology and the popular thought of the Jews of the time. The OT idea of Sheol, originally that of an underworld forming the final abode of men, in course of time passed through changes which are indicated to some extent in the canonical books themselves, but which took larger effect at a later period, and are known to us from the non-canonical literature. These changes followed different directions, and various ideas of Sheol continued to prevail. In part the old conception survived, with some modification (*e.g.* Sir 17$^{28-30}$ 41$^{1-4}$, Bar 2^{17}, To 3$^{6.10}$ 13^{2}, 1 Mac 2^{69} 14^{30}); in part the term came to denote a place of relative retribution (Wis 3$^{1-10}$ 5$^{1-14}$ 6$^{18-20}$ 17^{14}, 2 Mac 7$^{9.11.14.29}$ 12$^{43-45}$ etc.). Most particularly in the Apocalyptic books it is found to have assumed the sense of an intermediate state with relative rewards and penalties (Enoch 10^{12} 22. 100^{5} 103^{7}; cf. Jubilees 5^{243} 7^{248} 22^{21} 24$^{27.36}$, 2 Es 7$^{75.80}$, Apoc. Bar 52$^{1-3}$). Jewish thought seems thus to have occupied itself largely with the idea of the period between death and judgment, and with the conditions and the possibilities of an intermediate state. Of all this there is little or no recognition in Christ's words. He uses, it is true, the word **Hades**, the Greek equivalent to the Heb. Sheol, thrice. But in two of these cases the application is obviously metaphorical (Mt 11^{23} 16^{18}); and in the third (Lk 16^{23}) the term forms part of the imagery of a parable intended to teach the broad moral lesson of the penalty of a selfish life, the retribution that pursues it and changes its conditions in the other world. In the same parable He uses the term **Abraham's bosom** (Lk 16^{22}), but in a connexion that does not suggest a definite doctrinal intention. He also uses the term **Paradise**, a term with which various and uncertain ideas had been associated in Jewish thought. But He uses it only once (Lk 23^{43}), and in a large and general sense, as a word of hope and comfort; in which sense also He uses the word *sleep*,—not to inculcate the doctrine of an intermediate state as a space of unconsciousness, or as a place for the detention, the recompense, or the purification of souls. Some of His words appear to point rather to the hope of an immediate entrance of the just dead into the Father's house and the Father's glory (Jn 14$^{2.3}$ 17^{24}). But in general His attitude to the question of the condition between death and judgment is one of reserve, and His words convey nothing approaching to a doctrine of the intermediate state.

It is otherwise with the question of what follows the resurrection and the judgment. The eschatology of NT as it is given by Christ Himself has a pronounced doctrine of the *Moral Issues* of life. It speaks largely and distinctly of final reward for the good, and final penalty for the evil. These are expressed by a great variety of suggestive terms. The recompense of the righteous is described as an inheritance, entrance into the kingdom, treasure in heaven, an existence like the angelic, a place prepared, the Father's house, the joy of the Lord, life, eternal life, and the like; and there is no intimation that the reward is capable of change, that the condition is a terminable one. The retribution of the wicked is described as death, outer darkness, weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth, the undying worm, the quenchless fire, exclusion from the kingdom, eternal punishment, and the like. Different measures of reward and of penalty are intimated, according to different degrees of merit and demerit (Lk 12$^{47.48}$). In Christ's own words there is no certain declaration of the terminableness of the penalty of the finally impenitent, no indication either of an intermediate purgatorial process or of an ultimate universal restoration. In the Synoptic Gospels, and in the groundwork of their narrative, the term *Gehenna*, *Hell*, is applied to the future condition of the lost (Mt 5$^{22.29.30}$ 10^{28} 18^{9} 23$^{15.33}$, Mk 9$^{43.45.47}$, Lk 12^{5}). This term, though in the later Judaism it had at times the sense of an intermediate condition, whether as a temporary purgatory or as a place of punishment, appears to have been in the earlier Judaism and in our Lord's time a term for the retributive state after judgment (cf. *e.g.* Enoch 27$^{2.3}$ 90$^{24-26}$ etc., which are probably its first occurrences in this sense; cf. also 2 Es 6$^{1-4}$ 7^{36}). The question whether Christ teaches the *permanence* of the penal condition resulting from the judgment is variously answered. Certain of His sayings are taken to point to a terminable penalty. These, however, are few in number, and appear either to be irrelevant (*e.g.* Lk $12^{47.\,48}$, where the question is, not the *duration* of the judicial awards, but their adjustment to different degrees of wrong), or to suggest the opposite conclusion (*e.g.* Mt $5^{25.\,26}$, Lk $12^{58.\,59}$, where the idea seems to be that of a liability that cannot be discharged, and a justice that is inexorable; Mt $12^{31.\,32}$, Mk $3^{28.\,29}$, Lk 12^{10}, where the terms appear to be exclusive terms, expressing the irremediableness of the condition, the fact that there can be no forgiveness at any period for the sin in question). It is urged, too, but on grounds open to challenge, that the distinctive terms 'eternal' (αἰώνιος) and 'punishment' (κόλασις) may have in this connexion other than their usual and obvious applications. But, on the other hand, the finality of destiny appears to be expressed unmistakably and in many different forms—in the words with which at the close of the great eschatological discourse the moral issues of life are summed up (Mt 25^{46}), in such contrasts as that between the 'kingdom prepared from the foundation of the world' and 'the eternal fire which is prepared for the devil and his angels' (Mt 25^{41}); in the statements of the issues of God's kingdom and of man's life given in the parables (*e.g.* Mt $13^{24\text{-}30.\,37\text{-}43}$); in the figures of 'the unquenchable fire' (Mk 9^{43}), the 'worm' that 'dieth not' (Mk 9^{48}), the salting with fire (Mk 9^{49}), and the like; in the many other terms of solemn moment by which the final lot of the unworthy is described—banishment from Christ (Mt $7^{21\text{-}23}$), rejection (Mt 10^{33}, Lk 9^{26}), the loss of the soul or the life (Mk 8^{36}), dying in one's sins (Jn $8^{21.\,24}$), perishing (Jn 3^{16}), being judged already (Jn 3^{18}), its being good never to have been born (Mt 26^{24}, Mk 14^{21}), etc. These sayings are to be understood in the light of the beliefs which prevailed among the Jews on the nature and the duration of the retribution of the wicked. These are by no means easy to determine, as they varied at different periods and in different schools. Yet the general condition of opinion in our Lord's time and in the immediately preceding period can be stated with approximate certainty. The Jewish books relevant to the question contain little to bear out any large belief in the final restoration of all. They often use terms—*death*, *perdition*, *destruction*, and the like, which might be taken to point to annihilation as the final lot of the wicked, if interpreted apart from the old popular ideas of Sheol (*e.g.* Ps.-Sol 3^{13} 9^{9} 12^{8} 13^{10} 15^{13}; cf. 2 Es 7^{30} $8^{52\text{-}62}$, Apoc. Bar 30). But in many cases the language is definitely expressive of the finality of the retribution (*e.g.* Jth 16^{17}, 4 Mac $9^{8.\,9}$, Enoch $5^{5.\,6}$ $10^{11\text{-}14}$ $12^{3\text{-}6}$ $22^{4\text{-}11}$ $27^{2.\,3}$ etc.). The schools of Hillel and Shammai, too, seem both to have taught, though in different ways, the immediate sealing of certain classes of sinners to Gehenna, or their punishment there to 'ages of ages.' It would appear, therefore, that in Christ's time, with certain variations and exceptions, the belief was general in an enduring penalty in the other world for the absolutely evil—unrighteous Gentiles, guilty and apostate Jews. Christ's eschatology is one of grace. His doctrine is a revelation of life. But it throws into strong relief the responsibilities of the present existence, the certainty of the retribution of sin, the possibility of an eternal sin (Mk 3^{29}) with an eternal penalty.

II. THE APOSTOLIC ESCHATOLOGY.—Under this title we include the eschatological ideas and truths delivered in the various groups of NT writings outside the evangelical records of Christ's own words. Taking each writer separately, we have to ascertain what contribution he makes to the eschatological system, in what relation it stands to Christ's doctrine, in what sense it is in harmony with that, in what degree it is supplementary. There are questions of literary criticism connected with not a few of the writings, questions both of genuineness and of integrity. Into these it is not necessary to enter here. In increasing measure these writings are being lifted above the uncertainties of criticism. It is enough for our present purpose to take them as representatives of different types of NT doctrine, earlier and later. Their ideas exhibit certain characteristic differences in form in the different groups. They bear the impress of the beliefs, opinions, and ways of speech that were current among the Jews of the time. They have obvious points of affinity with the ideas of the OT. They stand in a special relation, of dependence and agreement, to Christ's doctrine.

The *Epistle of James*, a notable product of primitive Jewish Christianity, says comparatively little on the things of the end. It speaks most definitely of the *Parousia*, of that as an event nigh at hand, and as having judgment associated with it (5^{8}). It speaks also of a *Kingdom* that is promised (2^{5}); of a *Judge* who 'standeth at the door' (5^{9}); of a judgment that will be according to character and responsibility (2^{13} 3^{1}); of recompenses for the tried and proved (1^{12}), and retributions for the oppressive rich ($5^{1.\,4.\,7}$); of a penalty which appears to be eternal (5^{20}).

In the *Epistle of Jude* Christ's Return is the great event of the future (v.^{24}); the reward of the good is 'eternal life' (v.^{21}); the truth of the final judgment (vv.$^{7.\,14}$) is asserted; the doom of the evil is described as the 'blackness of darkness,' a doom 'reserved for ever' (v.^{13}). A peculiar feature (appearing also in 2 *Peter*), in the eschatology of this Epistle, is the place given to the judgment of fallen angels—a subject on which the Jewish imagination ran riot (see especially the Book of Enoch 6–10. 21; cf. also Jubilees 5, Apoc. Bar $56^{10\text{-}13}$). Here their doom is described, free from the extravagances which meet us in the Apocalyptic books, as that of being 'kept in everlasting bonds under darkness unto the judgment of the great day' (RV v.^{6}).

The writings bearing Peter's name, together with the discourses ascribed to that apostle in the Bk. of Acts, represent a distinct type of eschatological teaching, as of doctrinal statement generally. The *Second Epistle*, the genuineness of which has been so largely questioned, exhibits an affinity in many things with the Epistle of Jude. It has the same conception of the coming of Christ as the conclusive event of the future (1^{16} 2^{4}). It speaks in much the same terms of the judgment, and of the doom of evil men ($2^{1.\,3.\,6.\,9.\,17}$). It designates the recompense of the good as an 'eternal kingdom' (1^{11}), as Jude designates it 'eternal life.' It has the same exceptional doctrine of the punishment of fallen angels, applying the unusual term *Tartarus* to the intermediate place of their detention, and describing them as committed to 'pits of darkness in reserve unto judgment' (2^{4}). But it also makes its own peculiar contribution to the eschatology of the canonical writings in a remarkable paragraph, the most detailed of its kind in NT, on the end of the world ($3^{3\text{-}13}$). It teaches that Christ's Parousia is to bring the whole present system of things to its conclusion, and the world itself to its consummation. With the great event of His coming the existing order shall be dissolved; the present heavens and earth are to give place to 'fresh heavens and a fresh earth'; and a reconstructed world is to come forth as the abode of righteousness and the scene of the perfected kingdom of God. In this 2 P attaches itself to OT conceptions of a world-conflagration (Ps 50^{3} 97^{3}, Is $66^{15.\,16.\,24}$, Dn $7^{9.\,10}$), and a dissolution of the present system, effected by fire, in connexion with J″'s judgment and the day of His recompense (Ps $102^{26.\,27}$, Job 14^{12}, Is 34^{4} 66^{22}).

First Peter, which is an epistle of hope, looks at all things in the light of the future. It has a large eschatology, the central point of which is Christ's 'Apocalypse,' His revelation or appearing (1^{7} 5^{4}). Its dominant notes are the 'last time,' the 'end of all things,' the judgment (1^{5} $4^{7.\,17}$). In the judgment God Himself is Judge (1^{17}); Christ also appears to be Judge (4^{5}). The judgment is universal, alike of quick and of dead (4^{5}). It begins with the house of God now, and it has its fate reserved for the 'ungodly and the sinner' ($4^{17.\,18}$). The judgment of the unrighteous is referred to only incidentally. The reward of the good is declared in various terms, as an 'inheritance,' 'honour,' 'life,' a 'crown of glory,' etc. ($1^{4.\,7}$ 5^{4}). The question of greatest interest in the eschatology of this Epistle, however, is its relation to the 'larger hope.' This turns upon the interpretation given to the two famous passages touching the preaching to 'the spirits in prison' (3^{18-22}), and the preaching of the gospel to 'the dead' (4^{6}). In connexion with these the application which Peter makes of Ps 16 in his Pentecostal discourse (Ac 2^{31}) is also brought into view. The terms in which Peter speaks here of Christ, 'neither was he left in Hades, nor did his flesh see corruption,' have been taken to point to a visit of Christ to the under-world, and a consequent activity of His grace there. It is with Christ's *resurrection*, however, that Peter is specially concerned in that discourse, and the words do not go beyond the broad statement that Christ at His death passed into the world of the departed like other men, but passed thither only to rise again. The two passages in the Epistle itself are of a different nature, and rank among the chief *cruces interpretum* in NT. The former passage has been expounded in the interest of many different theories—those of the liberation of saints of OT times; Christ's penal endurance of God's wrath; the purgatorial detention and purification of souls; Christ's descent to Hades for the purpose of a judicial manifestation of Himself, for a fresh proclamation of the gospel [there, for the provision of a continuous ministry of grace there, for the prolongation of opportunities of repentance and offers of forgiveness to the departed, and the like. The latter passage has also been very differently interpreted. On the basis of both, the eschatology of this Epistle has been understood by many to favour the 'larger hope,' and to suggest that this life is not in every case the theatre of human fates, if not to teach the doctrine of the existence of a ministry of grace in the world of the departed with untold possibilities of after-death repentance and salvation. For the details of the interpretation and for its history the commentaries must be consulted. It must be enough here to say that, while the view in question has been largely adopted, it has not commended itself to all scholars of authority. The exegesis of these passages has still many uncertainties, and waits yet for its key; while the passages themselves stand entirely alone in NT. (See especially Güder, *Die Lehre von der Erscheinung Christi unter den Todten*; König, *Die Lehre von Christi Höllenfahrt*; Dietelmaier, *Historia dogmatis de Descensu Christi ad Inferos litteraria*; Hofmann, *Schriftbeweis*; Usteri, *Hinabgefahren zur Hölle*; Schweitzer, *Hinabgefahren zur Hölle*; Spitta, *Christi Predigt an die Geister*; Bruston, *La Descente du Christ aux Enfers.*) The further question has been raised whether Peter's eschatology does not contain the doctrine of a *Universal Restoration*. In his discourse to the people in Solomon's porch (Ac $3^{19.\,21}$) he is reported to have spoken of a *restoration* or *restitution of all things*. This has been sometimes supposed to intimate the final restoration of all men. But the words have their key in the passage of Malachi ($4^{5.\,6}$) to which they refer, and in Christ's application of that passage (Mt 17^{9-13}). So regarded, the *restoration* of which Peter speaks becomes either the moral renewal of Israel, as some explain it, or the renovation of the world, as others think. It is in any case a restoration, not of persons, but of *conditions*. Peter's eschatology, therefore, is in general concord with that which has so far been recognized in NT. The points in which it has been supposed to be different yet remain doubtful.

The writings associated with *John's* name have a distinct and peculiar character in their doctrine of the end as in all things else. There is a marked difference, too, between the Apocalypse and the Epistles. The former is an eschatological writing, following the order of the Jewish Apocalyptic. In the latter eschatological truths also appear, but in a subordinate place. The *Epistles of John*, with their ideal teaching, find the future in the present. As in the version of Christ's teaching which is given in the Fourth Gospel, their great conception is *life*, and that as opposed to *death* and *perdition*. As in the one, so, too, in the other, this *life* is in the first instance a present thing (1 Jn $5^{12.\,13}$). But it is also a thing of the future (1 Jn 2^{25}), and it is an *eternal* life, life after the divine order, life with the ethical quality of real, perfect life. But it is none the less a life that looks to a future—to a manifestation yet to be made of what the children of God *shall* be (1 Jn 3^{2}). In these Epistles the eschatological relations are not lost in the ideal. They speak of the 'last hour' (1 Jn 2^{18}); of an 'antichrist' that 'cometh' as well as of antichrists that already are (1 Jn $2^{18.\,19.\,22}$ 4^{3}, 2 Jn ^{7}); of a future 'full reward' (2 Jn ^{8}); of a vision of Christ and a conformity to Him which are not of the present (1 Jn $3^{2.\,3}$); of a manifestation of Christ yet to be made, of His expected *Parousia* (1 Jn 2^{28}). The use of the term *Parousia*, which elsewhere, and especially in the Pauline writings, has a very definite sense, indicates that, while to John Christ's Return was in one sense a spiritual advent, a present act of grace or judgment, it was in another sense an objective event of the future. While in John's writings, too, the *Resurrection* and the *Judgment* are for the most part spiritual processes and present conditions, they are also events of the future associated, as they are elsewhere, with the Parousia. That it is so with regard to the former is implied in what is said of the judgment and the manifestation of the children of God. That it is so with the judgment itself appears especially in 1 Jn 2^{18} 4^{17}.

In the *Apocalypse of St. John* we have a large and impressive eschatology, in which Christian truth appears in the garb of Jewish ideas and Jewish terms. This book is beyond all others the book of the future. That future is near, and it is filled with the figure of the returning Christ. Its whole doctrine of the end has its centre in the event of the Parousia, and that doctrine is conveyed in a form which bears the stamp both of the visions of OT prophets (especially Ezekiel, Zechariah, and Daniel) and the symbolism of the Jewish Apocalyptic books. The Parousia appears occasionally as a spiritual advent taking effect in history (2^{5} 3^{20}), but usually as the objective return which belongs to the end of things. It is regarded as near (2^{17} 3^{11} $22^{12.\,20}$); it is to be an event of *glory*, and to have *judgment* for its object (1^{7}). The Judge is God Himself (20^{12}); but Christ also appears as Judge (1^{18} $6^{16.\,17}$ 22^{12}). Like the non-canonical books of the same class, it speaks much of the signs of the end, and of the prelusive events, but avoids the trivialities and the gross imaginings, the fanciful and long-drawn-out calculations, which are characteristic of the ordinary Jewish Apocalyptic (*e.g.* Enoch 10^{12} 91^{12-17} 93, Assump. Moses 10^{29}, Sibyll.

Or. 4^{47}, 2 Es $14^{11.12}$ etc.). At times it seems to combine different ideas which prevailed in Judaism of the things of the end. In one paragraph (20^{1-10}), of difficult interpretation, it appears to follow a view of the final events which differs from the general doctrine of the NT, but is given in certain of the Jewish books—the idea of a millennial reign of Christ on earth, to be followed first by a final burst of Satanic power, and then by Christ's judicial advent. The paragraph, which will not fit a purely figurative interpretation, represents the Day of the Lord as consisting of two divisions, with a double resurrection and a double judgment —a first resurrection, which is only of the saints, and more particularly the martyred saints, and a second, which is for 'the rest of the dead'; a first judgment taking effect in the overthrow of Satan, and a second, which is in forensic form, and for all classes of the dead. The book is also understood to express two views of the lot of the righteous dead: one in which they are presented as having immediate entrance into heaven (13^6), another in which they are presented as in the underworld, in consciousness and rest, waiting for their complete reward (6^{9-11}). In the latter case, however, the martyrs alone are in view, and in both cases the language is that of the imagination. The Apocalypse, however, has a pronounced doctrine of the final awards. The reward of the righteous is conveyed in a varied imagery of the OT order—'hidden manna,' a 'new name,' the 'crown of life,' 'right to the tree of life,' the place of a 'pillar' in the temple, a reign with Christ, a position before the throne, entrance into the city, the vision of God's face, the heirship of all things ($2^{7.10.17}$ $3^{12.21}$ 7^{15} 21^7 $22^{4.14}$). The penalty of the unrighteous is described as 'great tribulation,' being 'without,' killing with death, burning with fire ($2^{22.23}$ $18^{8.9}$ 22^{15}); but above all by two terms, 'the second death' (2^{11} $20^{6.14}$ 21^8) and 'the lake of fire' (19^{20} 20^{10} 21^8), which are peculiar to this book among the NT writings, but which occur in one form or other in the Rabbinical and Apocalyptic literature (*e.g.* Enoch 18^{11} 21^{7-10} 90^{42}). In this book they appear to denote a lasting retribution. Further, the Apoc. expresses the doctrine of a perfected world as well as that of a perfected society. It has the vision of a new heaven and a new earth (21^{1-6}) as well as that of a perfected city of God (21^1–22^5).

In the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, where we have a series of ideas and forms of expression in general affinity with the Pauline type of doctrine, and not less with the older apostolic type, eschatology is not the prominent subject. Even the 'rest' and 'the world to come' are not presented primarily as of the future. Yet the things of the end make a considerable element of the thought of the Epistle. The doctrines of 'resurrection of the dead' and 'eternal judgment' are dealt with as things that should be well understood ($6^{1f.}$). The day of Christ's coming is in the writer's eye; it is a day that draws nigh, and with it the judgment is connected (9^{28} $10^{24.25}$). In the judgment it is God Himself, not the Son, that is Judge, and He is 'Judge of all' (12^{23} $10^{30.31}$). The Epistle also has a definite doctrine of *final awards.* The recompense of the righteous is the 'heaven' into which the Forerunner and High Priest has passed, an 'eternal inheritance,' an 'enduring substance,' a 'better country,' a 'city prepared,' a 'kingdom which cannot be moved' (4^4 $6^{19.20}$ 9^{15} $10^{34.36}$ 11^{16} 12^{28}). The retribution of the unrighteous is 'judgment,' 'fierceness of fire,' 'perdition' ($10^{27.39}$).

In the *Pauline Epistles,* together with the discourses attributed to St. Paul in the Book of Acts, we find a remarkable eschatology, larger, more developed, and in some points, especially in the doctrine of the resurrection, having more of the aspect of reasoned statement. Even this eschatology, however, is not given in anything like orderly or systematic form, but incidentally as occasion arose from time to time in the discharge of St. Paul's ministry. Nor is it the fundamental doctrine of the Pauline writings. The questions of its precise nature and measure, its consistency, and its relations to what is found elsewhere in Scripture, have been made dependent on questions regarding the authenticity and integrity of the Epistles and the growth of St. Paul's ideas. In its main elements, however, it is unaffected by these questions. Its essential points would remain the same had we only the four primary Epistles accepted by Baur. They appear in all the four distinct groups into which the Pauline writings fall. They do not appear in the same proportions and relations, or under precisely the same aspects, in the several groups. But the differences which have to be recognized do not amount to inconsistency. They do not imply any essential change of view, and do not appear to go beyond what finds its explanation in differences of circumstance, occasion, and circle of readers.

As in other sections of NT, the doctrine of the things of the end is closely related in the Pauline writings to that of the kingdom of God, an idea which recurs in all the four groups of Epistles. This 'kingdom,' though sometimes described as a *present* kingdom (Ro 14^{17}, cf. 1 Co 4^{20}, Col 1^{13}), is usually a kingdom of the future, and the idea of its consummation is the centre of the Pauline eschatology. A foremost place is given in this eschatology to the doctrine of Christ's *coming*, which event is described under a variety of terms —His 'day,' His 'revelation,' His 'Parousia,' etc. (1 Co $1^{7.8}$ 5^5, 1 Th 2^{19} 3^{13} 4^{15} $5^{2.23}$, 2 Th 1^7 $2^{1.8.9}$, Ph 1^{10}, 1 Ti 6^{14}, 2 Ti 1^{12} $4^{1.8}$, Tit 2^{13} etc.). This Parousia is regarded as an objective event. The passages in which this 'coming' is declared are not confined to any one section of the writings; and when compared with each other they do not suggest a change in St. Paul's mind from a less spiritual idea in the earlier Epistles to a more spiritual in the later. The doctrines of the *Resurrection*, the *Judgment*, and the *Final Awards* also appear in essentially the same form in the Pauline writings, and in the several groups of these writings, as elsewhere in the NT. The *resurrection* finds its largest exposition in the primary Epistles, but it is given also in others, and it is a real *bodily* resurrection, a return of the complete man to life (Ro 4^{17}, 8^{11}, 1 Co 15, 2 Co 1^{10} 4^{14} 5^{1-5}, Ph $3^{11.21}$). The *judgment* is the judgment of *God* (Ro 2^3 14^{11}, cf. 3^{19}), of *Christ* (2 Co 5^{10}, 2 Ti 4^1), of *God through Christ* (Ro 2^{16}); a future, final judgment (Ro 2^5, 1 Co 3^{13}); a righteous judgment, discovering the secrets of all hearts, giving to every man according to his works (Ro 2^5, 2 Th 1^5, 2 Ti 4^8); a universal judgment, for both quick and dead (Ac 17^{31}, cf. Ro 14^{11}, 2 Ti 4^1). The issues of that judgment are declared with remarkable frequency and variety of statement; they are described as 'eternal' (αἰώνιος), which term in the Pauline Epistles is essentially, and in most applications, one of duration (cf. *e.g.* Ro 16^{26}, 2 Co 5^1 etc.). The lot of the unrighteous has a subordinate place, but is expressed as 'wrath,' 'the wrath to come,' 'death,' 'punishment,' 'destruction,' 'eternal destruction from the face of the Lord' (Ro 2^5, 1 Th 1^{10}, Ro 2^8 6^{21}, 2 Th 1^9, Ph 3^{19}). The lot of the righteous is a salvation 'with eternal glory,' a 'prize,' a 'crown,' an 'inheritance,' a 'manifestation,' a 'reign,' a 'life' with Christ, 'eternal life,' 'the life which is life indeed' (Ro 2^7 $5^{9.21}$ $6^{8.23}$, 1 Co 9^{25}, Gal 5^5 6^8, Ph 3^{14}, Col 1^{12} 3^{24}, 1 Ti 1^{16} $6^{12.16}$, 2 Ti $2^{1.10}$ 4^8, Tit 1^2 etc.).

The Pauline eschatology has elements which are, in some sense, peculiar to itself. Among these are the doctrines of the Rapture of the Saints (1 Th 4^{17}) and the Man of Sin (2 Th 2^{3-10}). Of these the former has a certain affinity with one of the apocalyptic visions (Rev $11^{11.12}$), as well as with Christ's word regarding the 'gathering of the elect' (Mt 24^{31}), and the narratives of the ascension, especially those by Luke (Mk 16^{19}, Lk 24^{51}, Ac $1^{9.10}$). The latter takes its form from Daniel's predictions (9^{27} $11^{36.37}$ 12^{11}), and is in affinity with Christ's eschatological discourse (Mt 24^{24}), and John's declaration on Antichrist (1 Jn 2^{18}).

There are also things in the Pauline eschatology on the interpretation and relations of which opinion has been divided. It is thought by some to depart from the general view of the NT, and to join the Apocalypse (20^{1-10}) in teaching the intervention of a *millennial* period between two distinct resurrections. But this idea, which is otherwise alien to St. Paul's writings, turns upon the particular interpretation of a single passage (1 Co 15^{22-24}), in which the immediate question is not one of *succession* or chronological order, and in which nothing is said of any other resurrection than that of those who are Christ's. The Pauline Epistles have also been supposed to contain a definite doctrine of the *intermediate state*, with activities of grace in it. The doctrine of a *purgatory*, or some provision for the purgation of souls in the other world, has been ascribed to the great paragraph in 1 Co 3^{12-15}, in which, however, the 'day' in question is that of the judgment, and the action referred to is that of *testing*, not purifying. The doctrine of a *middle state*, with a descent of Christ implying the extension of grace and opportunity, is supposed to be contained, in particular, in certain passages of the greater Epistles. One of these is the section in Romans (10^{5-10}) in which use is made of Dt 30^{11-14}. But the main idea there is the *accessibility* of the Divine commandment, the *nearness* and *attainability* of the righteousness of God, and the words say nothing of a Hades-ministry of Christ, nothing of the world of the dead, beyond the fact that Christ entered it and was raised from it. Another is the paragraph in Ephesians (4^{7-10}) in which the subject of *gifts* is dealt with, and the 68th Psalm is introduced in that connexion. It speaks of a *descent* of Christ, by which some understand the descent from heaven in the incarnation, and others the descent from earth to Hades. But even on the latter interpretation the paragraph says nothing of any work of Christ, or any possibilities for the dead in Hades. Of greater interest is the question whether the Pauline eschatology contains the doctrine of a *universal restoration*. The answer turns mainly on certain passages of large suggestion in the Epistles of the Captivity, together with one or two in the earlier Epistles. The comparison between *Adam* and *Christ* in 1 Co 15^{20} is cited in this interest. The universality expressed there, however, does not mean that all shall in the end be made certain of blessedness. The point is either, as some take it, that all who are Christ's shall be raised (the 'all' being limited by the nature of the case); or, as others think, that, as in Adam all are made subject to physical death, so in Christ all shall be raised out of it. The statement in the same chapter (1 Co 15^{24-28}) on the subduing of all things, and the consummation in which God shall be 'all in all,' is also supposed to imply Paul's hope of a final restoration of all. But the subjects to be subdued are not sinful men, but 'all rule and all authority and power'—all powers opposed to God; and the end expressed by the 'all in all' is a condition of things in which the world in all its parts will answer to God's will, or in which the will of God will be recognized as the sole authority. The declaration of the universal adoration that is to be paid to the exalted Christ (Ph $2^{10.11}$) is also cited as a distinct witness to the same; in which, however, there is probably nothing beyond the broad statement of a homage wide as universal nature, or an acknowledgment of sovereignty made by three great classes of living beings. The passages which are most definite and most relevant are the one in Ephesians ($1^{9.10}$) which speaks of a 'summing up' of all things in Christ, and the one in Colossians (1^{20}) which speaks of a 'reconciliation' of all things. In these the terms are large enough to include all created things, and go beyond the case of universal man, or even the whole animate creation. They are passages which express the cosmic effects of Christ's work, and appear best interpreted as declarations of the Divine purpose to bring back all things to their pristine condition of harmony, through Christ as the centre of unity and bond of reconciliation.

The Pauline eschatology has its point of culmination in its doctrine of the *resurrection*. That doctrine is a consistent as well as a lofty one. It does not limit itself to a resurrection of the just, but has its place also for that of the unjust. Neither does it regard the resurrection of the just and that of the unjust as two successive acts, separated by a millennial period, the passage (1 Co 15^{20-28}) chiefly relied on for that being insufficient to sustain it. Nor does it seem to predicate the provision of an *interim* body, as some have argued on the basis of a single paragraph (2 Co 5^{1-8}), for the existence between death and the resurrection. Nor, again, does it entangle itself with curious questions regarding the *how* of the resurrection, the nature of the risen body, or the conditions of the future life, but contents itself with the simplest analogies drawn from nature and from Christ's own case. It consistently affirms for man a real and complete continuance of being, not an incorporeal immortality like that to which Greek thought looked, but a bodily immortality, a permanence of life in the integrity of man's entire nature. It connects its doctrine of the resurrection with other cardinal Pauline doctrines—the indwelling of the Spirit, the inward presence of Christ, the mystical union. It links it further with the doctrine of a renovated earth and a ransomed creation (Ro 8^{19-23}).

The eschatology of the NT, therefore, is in its broad outlines a consistent though not a systematized doctrine. In the different sections of NT, and with all differences in detail, the eschatology turns on the great truths of the Parousia, the bodily resurrection, the universal, righteous judgment, the final awards of recompense and penalty. It is in essential harmony with the faith and teaching of the OT, and requires for its explanation no theories of derivation from ethnic thought. The distinctive points in the Pauline eschatology are in affinity with Hebrew faith, not, as some argue (Pfleiderer, etc.), with Greek thought. The same is even more obviously the case with the eschatology of the NT writings outside the Pauline circle. Essene or Alexandrian (Philonic) ideas are not in place as sources of Christ's teaching on the things of the end. Even the doctrine of the *resurrection* as it is given in the NT cannot be said to be dependent, in the sense affirmed by some (L. H. Mills, etc.), on the Zoroastrian theology. It is possible that in some of its affirmations the NT eschatology has been influenced to a certain extent in its form by external modes of thought. In all that is of its substance it is in relation to Hebrew faith, and has its point of issue in the principles and ideas of the Old Testament.

LITERATURE.—The various books on *NT Theology*, the *Biblical Theology of NT*, the *Teaching* of Christ and the Apostles, by Baur, Neander, Reuss, Lechler, Schmid, Oosterzee,

Meyer, Weiss, Beyschlag, Wendt, Holtzmann, etc.; the various treatises illustrative of NT Times and Jewish beliefs: Colani, *Jésus-Christ et les croyances messianiques de son temps*; Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*; Drummond, *Jewish Messiah*; Stanton, *Jewish and Christian Messiah*; Hilgenfeld, *Jüdische Apok.*; Gfrörer, *Jahrhundert des Heils*; Schürer, *HJP*; Hausrath, *New Test. Times*; Weber, *Jüd. Theologie*; Delitzsch, *Biblical Psychology*; S. Davidson, *Doctrine of Last Things*; Salmond, *Christian Doctrine of Immortality*; Pusey, *What is of Faith as to Everlasting Punishment?* White, *Life in Christ*; Petavel-Olliff, *Problem of Immortality*; Kabisch, *Eschatologie des Paulus*; Russell, *The Parousia*; Riemann, *Lehre von der Apocatastasis*.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

ESCHEW.—In the older versions 'eschew' is common, and is used in two senses. — 1. To 'escape,' as Pr 11^{15} Wyc. 'He that escheweth snaris, schal be sikur'; cf. Knox, *Hist.* p. 70, 'If they will not convert themselves from their wicked errour, there shall hastily come upon them the wrath of God, which they shall not eschew.' Of this meaning AV has retained no example.

2. To 'turn away from,' as Pr 17^{16} Wyc. 'He that eschewith to lerne, schal falle in to yuels.' Of this AV preserves three examples in OT, Job 1$^{1.8}$ 2^{3}, all in the phrase 'to fear God and e. evil' (Heb. סוּר); and one in NT, 1 P 3^{11} 'Let him eschew evil, and do good' (Gr. ἐκκλίνω). Cf. Is 7^{16} Cov. 'But or euer that childe come to knowledge, to eschue the euel and chose the good.' RV prefers 'turn away from' in 1 P, Amer. RV in Job also. Eschew came into the Eng. lang. from the Old High Ger. *sciuhen* (through the Fr. *eschever*), whence came also 'shy,' adj. and verb.

J. HASTINGS.

ESDRAELON.—This is the Gr. way of writing the Heb. name **Jezreel**—יִזְרְעֶאל 'God soweth'—the royal city of Ahab and Jezebel, which, standing on the E. edge, gave its name to 'the great plain' of central Palestine. It is variously given, *e.g.* Jth 3^{9} א^{ca} A Ἐσδρηλών (B Ἐσδραηλών); 7^{3} A Ἐσδρηλώμ (B א Ἐσδρηλών); 4^{6} B Ἐσρηλών, A Ἐσερηχών. The name by which it is now known among the natives is *Merj Ibn-'Âmr* 'Meadow of the son of 'Amr.'

At one time the mountain range must have stretched unbroken from the uplands of Samaria, behind *Jenîn*, to those of Galilee, which run N. into the Lebanons. Now it is as if a gigantic mass had been torn from the bosom of the range, leaving the rough protuberances of Gilboa, Little Hermon, and Tabor, along the edge of the Jordan Valley, and thrust violently towards the sea, in a N.W. direction. This mass forms the wooded bulk of Carmel, which, rising to a height of over 1800 feet, terminates in a bold promontory, guarding the S. end of the Bay of Acre. The undulating floor of this great gap among the hills forms the 'valley' or plain of Esdraelon. The name by which it is mentioned 2 Ch 35^{22}, Zec 12^{11}, בִּקְעָה 'an opening,' from בָּקַע 'to split' or 'cleave asunder,' as distinguished from עֵמֶק 'a depression' or 'deepening,' applied to its offshoot, the vale of Jezreel, suits the conditions admirably. The word still persists in *El-Beḳâ'*, the great hollow between the Lebanons; and in its dim. form, *El-Baḳei'a*, a village with a tract of fertile land around it, enclosed by ridges, high in the mountains of Naphtali. So the plain of E. is shut in by hills on every side. It may be described generally as triangular in form. It is bounded by irregular lines, drawn from the foot of Carmel, along the N. edge of the low hills which join Carmel to the Samaritan mountains, to *Jenîn*; from Jenîn to the base of Mt. Tabor; and thence under the Nazareth hills, back again to Carmel. The S. boundary is the longest, extending some 20 miles; the other two are nearly equal, being each about 15 miles in length. From *Jenîn* a little bay runs east into the bosom of Gilboa, but finds no outlet. Between Gilboa and Little Hermon a broad and easy descent passes down as far as *Beisân*, and then, with a sudden leap, plunges to the level of the Jordan Valley. This is properly the vale of Jezreel. Between Little Hermon and Tabor another offshoot of the plain makes its way down to the *Ghôr*, throwing off a spur to the N.E. of Tabor. Westward the plain narrows to a gorge between the lower hills of Galilee and Carmel, through which the Kishon forces a passage to the plain of Acre, and thence to the sea. We have practically one continuous plain from the sea-shore to the lip of the Jordan Valley. There is the plain of Acre, running up to the gorge at the E. end of Carmel; the great central plain spreading N. and S., and rolling E. to the base of Gilboa and Little Hermon, the general elevation of which is about 200 ft. above sea-level; then the vale of Jezreel, which, in the 12 miles from *Zer'în* to *Beisân*, sinks about 600 ft., before falling steeply into the Jordan Valley.

For the most part, the plain consists of deep, rich, loamy soil. After the removal of the crops, where it is cultivated, the autumnal suns burn the surface almost to brick; and when the rains come, it sucks them in like a huge sponge. In winter it becomes a nearly unbroken sheet of mud, extremely dangerous to cross; disaster not seldom befalling those who travel even by the most frequented and thoroughly beaten tracks. Its fertility has always been remarkable, ever generously rewarding the toils of the husbandmen. In season you may pass over many acres where the man on horseback can just see over the tall stalks of grain. Where left to itself, the rank luxuriance it produces is proof enough of what it might do in skilful hands. Of trees, in the plain there are few, but on its borders, esp. at *Jenîn*, there are clumps of olives and other fruit trees, the stately palm waving high over all. The low hills that run down towards Carmel from the N. are thickly covered by oak trees, and are known among the natives as 'the forest.'

The only stream of importance in the plain is the Kishon, visible, for the most part, only from its own steep banks. Rising at *Jenîn*, it pursues its crooked course, justifying its name 'the tortuous,' along a deep muddy bed, gathering contributions from other parts of the plain, and carrying all, through the gorge at Carmel, to the sea. The chief fountains are at *Jenîn*, where, creating the gardens, they gave rise to the ancient name *En-Gannîm*; at Jezreel, where, in close proximity, are three springs, the principal being *'Ain Jalûd*, just under the northern cliff of Gilboa, identified with the well of Harod. The stream which these three supply flows eastward to Jordan. At *Lejjûn*, the ancient Megiddo, there are also copious springs, sufficient to form considerable marshes to the N., besides turning several mills, and serving largely for irrigation.

The plain owed its importance chiefly to its central position, and to the great highways that lay athwart it. The main gateways of entrance were five in number. (1) That coming down from the N. between Tabor and the Nazareth hills, guarded by the fortress on the mountain. (2) That from the E. up the vale of Jezreel, commanded by this city. (3) The approach from the S. by *Jenîn*. (4) That up *Wady 'Arah* into the plain by the old stronghold of Megiddo, now *Lejjûn*. (5) That through the pass under Carmel, from the plain of Acre, dominated by Harosheth—*Harithîyeh*—on the N., and by Jokneam of Carmel on the edge of the plain. By one or other of these portals the merchant caravans and the armies of contending powers had to enter, and find exit, on their passage N., S., E., or W. These strongholds, together with Bethshean—*Beisân*, Shunem—*Sôlam*, Nain, on the N.W. shoulder of Little Hermon, Daberath—*Debûriyeh*, on the W. slope of Tabor, and Chesulloth—*Iksâl*, under the Nazareth hills, were the chief cities around the plain. At no time have towns of any importance been built on the plain itself.

E. formed the main part of the 'lot' of Issachar (Jos 19^{17-22}). This tribe seems to have reverted at once to the old nomadic life, 'dwelling in tents' (Dt 33^{18}), and the fatness of the land becoming a snare to them, they were ignobly content to secure its enjoyment by stooping as servants 'under task-work' (Gn 49^{14}). The 'men who had understanding of the times,' of the children of Issachar, who came to David at Hebron (1 Ch 12^{32}), were probably astrologers, and skilled in the arts of divination, so popular from of old among the children of the wilds. This goes to show how closely the inhabitants of the plain were identified with their *Bedawi* neighbours. In the same chapter, v.^{40}, we have an indication of the character of its ancient produce. The men of Issachar, Zebulun, and Naphtali 'brought bread on asses, and on camels, and on mules, and on oxen, victual of meal, cakes of figs, and clusters of raisins, and wine, and oil, and oxen, and sheep in abundance.'

Four battles, famous in Israel's history, were fought in this plain. On the banks of Kishon Sisera was overthrown, 'the stars in their courses' contributing to his defeat (Jg 5^{20}). In the hollow between Gilboa and Little Hermon, the swarms of 'the children of the East' perished in the midnight alarm, before Gideon and his brave 300 (Jg 7). Saul and Jonathan, driven back by the victorious Philistines, retired to the heights, and were slain on the 'high places' of Gilboa (1 S 31). Josiah's disastrous mistake, in attempting to arrest the progress of Pharaoh-necoh in the valley of Megiddo, was paid for with his life. Wounded in the battle, he was carried to Jerus. dead (2 K 23^{30}) or dying (2 Ch 35^{20-27}). Imperishable memories of Elijah's encounter with the prophets of Baal cling to its western border. Up from the way of the Jordan came Jehu, driving furiously, to the slaughter of Ahab's house, and across the plain fled Ahaziah, to perish by Megiddo. The army of Holofernes spread out from the hills above *Jenîn* to Cyamon—*Tell Kaimûn* (Jth 7^{3}). During the long period of the Jewish wars, the plain often resounded with the tramp of armies and the noise of battle. In the vision of the Jewish-Christian seer (Rev $16^{14.16}$), the most fitting place whither 'the kings of the whole world shall be gathered together unto the war of the great day of God, the Almighty,' is the level reaches, so often drenched in blood, which take their name from 'the place which is called in the Heb. tongue Har-Magedon.'

Open of old to the eastern tribesmen, who kept the peasants in constant fear, the Romans inaugurated a period of security, and the people made progress in the arts of civilization. But with the fall of the eastern empire, the Arab hordes rushed back, and restored the ancient conditions. In recent years the Turks have established more effectual control over the nomads; and the peasants, delivered from the rapacity of the Arabs, have been handed over to the tender mercies of certain Greek capitalists in Beirût. We may doubt if their burdens have thus been lightened.

LITERATURE.—G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 381–410; Baedeker, *Pal.*^{3} 229; Furrer in Schenkel's *Bibellex.* iii. 302; Thomson, *Land and Book*, ii. 179 f.; Porter, *Giant Cities of Bashan*, 245 f.; *PEFSt*, 1872, 180 f.; 1873, 3 ff., 46, 60; 1875, 40; 1879, 13; Conder, *Tent-Work*, 58 ff.; Moore, *Judges*, 197 f.; Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 89.

W. EWING.

ESDRAS, FIRST BOOK OF.—TITLE.—The titles of the books that deal with the history of Ezra are confusing. In the Sept. this book is entitled Esdras A, Esdras B embracing the canonical books of Ezra and Nehemiah. In the Vulg., however, Jerome had used the words Esdras I. and II. for the canonical books; Esdras A therefore became Esdras III., Esdras IV. being the designation of the other and later apocryphal book. In the sixth article of the Book of Common Prayer, and in all the early Eng. Bibles, the four books are numbered as in the Vulgate. The Geneva Bible (1560) was the first to adopt our present classification, which keeps the Heb. names Ezra and Nehemiah for the canonical, and gives the Latin names Esdras I. and Esdras II. to the apocryphal books.

Another title, ὁ ἱερεύς, appears as the heading of Esdras A in Cod. A of the LXX, which also has ἱερεύς at the head of Esdras B; the subscriptions in both books give the ordinary names.

Yet another name for our book appears in the subscription to the Old Latin, 'Explicit Esdrae liber primus *de templi restitutione*,' which aptly describes the contents of the book. To avoid confusion, 'The Greek Esdras' has been suggested as a suitable title.

CONTENTS.—Except for one original section (3^{1}–5^{6}), the book is made up wholly from materials that exist in canonical books. It is a repetition of the history of the rebuilding of the temple. The first chapter corresponds to the last two of 2 Ch, the last to a portion of Neh 8; the intervening portion runs parallel to Ezra, and contains the whole of that book, with one transposition and one interpolation.

The following scheme gives the canonical parallels, and shows the chronological confusion of the book. (The verses are those of the Camb. LXX.)

Es 1=2 Ch 35. 36. Great passover of Josiah; his defeat at Megiddo, and death; the succeeding Jewish reigns and the Captivity briefly sketched.

Es 2^{1-14}=Ezr 1. *Cyrus'* proclamation. Delivery of the sacred vessels to Sanabassar, and his return to Jerusalem.

Es 2^{15-25}=Ezr 4^{6-24}. Opposition to the rebuilding of the temple. Letter of Persian officials resident in Samaria to *Artaxerxes.* The work abandoned *till the reign of Darius.*

Es 3^{1}–5^{6}. Original. Story of the three pages at the court of *Darius*, who each maintain a thesis before the king. The third, Zerubbabel, as a reward for his wisdom, is granted leave to lead a body of Jews to Jerusalem. Departure of the caravan under *Joachim, son of Zerubbabel*, and others.

Es 5^{7-45}=Ezr 2. Lists of those returning with Zerubbabel.

Es 5^{46-70}=Ezr 3–4^{5}. Altar of burnt-offering set up; Feast of Tabernacles celebrated; foundation of temple laid; offer of 'the enemies' to co-operate rejected. The work hindered through their opposition *till the reign of Darius.*

Es 6. 7=Ezr 5. 6. Work resumed in second year of Darius. Letter of the Persian governors to Darius, and his favourable rescript. Completion of the temple.

Es 8–9^{36}=Ezr 7–10. Return under Ezra in reign of *Artaxerxes.* The abuse of mixed marriages redressed. Names of the transgressors.

Es 9^{37-55}=Neh 7^{73}–8^{13}. Reading of the law by Ezra.

The history goes directly backwards: first Artaxerxes (2^{15-25}), then Darius (3–5^{6}), lastly Cyrus (5^{7-70}), instead of Cyrus, Darius, Artaxerxes. After expressly stating that it was Darius who gave permission to Zerubbabel to return, the writer in 5^{68-70} calmly refers this return to the time of Cyrus.

The book is incomplete. It breaks off in the middle of a sentence, καὶ ἐπισυνήχθησαν (cf. Neh 8^{13}). It probably continued the history to the Feast of Tabernacles described in Neh 8, but no further; this is suggested by Jos. *Ant.* XI. v. 5, who describes that feast, using an Esdras word ἐπανόρθωσις, and at this point, having hitherto followed Es as his authority, passes on to the Book of Neh. The Latin versions add a clause completing the broken sentence of the Greek. There is no indication that the book ever began at an earlier point in the history than it does now.

RECEPTION AND USE OF THE BOOK.—The first witness to the existence of Es A is Josephus, who uses it in place of the canonical book not only in his description of the Return (*Ant.* XI. i.–v.), but also in his account of Josiah (*Ant.* X. iv. 5 ff.). He agrees with Es in shifting the first opposition to the work, and the letter to the Persian king, from its place in the canonical Ezr, altering Artaxerxes to Cambyses to correct the chronological error; he introduces the story of the three pages; with Es he passes directly from the end of Ezr to Neh 8; and he borrows a good deal of the language of our book. His preference for it was probably due to its more elegant Gr. style, and a desire not to omit the additional matter contained in it. He occasionally supplements his authority by information derived apparently from the Heb. Ezr; the indications of his knowledge of the Gr. Es B are too slight to warrant the supposition that he made any use of that book (but see XI. i. 3, § 15, ψυκτῆρες; XI. v. 2, § 136). His narrative is worthless as history, since in trying to remove the inaccuracies of his original he has only introduced greater confusion himself.

Our book is quoted fairly often by the early Christian Fathers, both Gr. and Latin. Among Gr. Fathers, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 392, Potter (ἐνταῦθα Ζοροβαβὲλ σοφίᾳ νικήσας τοὺς ἀνταγωνιστὰς, κ.τ.λ.); Origen, *Hom. ix. in Josuam*, § 10, *Comm. in Johann.* vi. 1; Eusebius, *Comm.* in Ps. 76, § 19; Athanasius, *Orat. cont. Arianos*, ii. 20. Tertullian, *De Cor. Milit.* 9, perhaps refers to 1 Es 5^2; Cyprian, Ep. 74, 9, quotes the passage, 'Veritas manet et invalescit in æternum, et vivit et obtinet in sæcula sæculorum' (iv. 38); and Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, xviii. 36, refers to the same passage, suggesting that it may be prophetical of Christ, who is the Truth. No passage has perhaps been more freq. quoted, or misquoted, than iv. 41, Magna est veritas et prævalet 'Great is truth, and strong above all things' (ὑπερισχύει). (The patristic references are collected in the *Tübingen Theol. Quartalschrift*, 1859, p. 263 sq.) The first writer to throw discredit on the book was Jerome. He refused to translate the 'dreams' of 3 and 4 Esdras. His words are (*Præf. in Ezram*), 'Tertius annus est quod semper scribitis atque rescribitis, ut Esdræ librum et Esther vobis de Hebræo transferam. . . . Nec quenquam moveat quod unus a nobis liber editus est: *nec apocryphorum tertii et quarti somniis delectetur*; quia et apud Hebræos Ezræ Nehemiæque sermones in unum volumen coarctantur; et quæ non habentur apud illos, nec de viginti quatuor senibus sunt, procul abjicienda.' Consequently, the Old Latin was left untouched by him, and the book is absent from the older MSS of the Vulg. (*e.g.* Cod. Amiatinus).

It was probably owing to the influence of this estimate of Jerome, that the Tridentine Fathers in 1546 excluded 1 Es from the Canon. 1 and 2 Es, with the Prayer of Manasses, are the only books admitted as apocryphal into the Romish Bibles, the rest of our Apocr. being declared canonical by the Council of Trent. In modern editions of the Vulg. they form an Appendix, being placed after the NT, with a prefatory note stating that they are placed 'hoc in loco extra scilicet seriem canonicorum librorum . . . ne prorsus interirent, quippe qui a nonnullis sanctis Patribus citantur, et in aliquibus Bibliis tam manuscriptis quam impressis reperiuntur.' In the Eng. Bible our book stands first in the Apocrypha.

RELATION TO THE CANONICAL EZRA.—On this question, the most interesting which arises in connexion with the book, the most opposite opinions have been held. The various theories resolve themselves into three.

1. It is regarded as a mere compilation from the Gr. of the LXX (2 Ch and Es B). Those books, according to this theory, have been worked over and modified for the sake of Greek readers, to whom the Hebraic style of the LXX version rendered it unintelligible. Such is the view of Keil, Schürer (in Herzog, *Encycl.* i. 496, 'nach der Septuaginta übersetzung bearbeitet,' and *HJP* II. iii. 177 ff. Eng. tr.), and Bissell (in Lange's *OT Comm.*). In favour of this view it is urged (i.) that our book often agrees literally with the LXX in the Gr. used, even in rare and unfamiliar words; (ii.) that the LXX is often followed in its *deviations* from the Heb. text; and (iii.) that in the case of deviations from both Heb. and LXX, the readings of Es A are more easily referred to the latter than to the former. The best instances of (i.) are Es A 8^{83} ὁ κουφίσας τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν = Es B 9^{13} ἐκούφισας ἡμῶν τὰς ἀνομίας, RV 'punished us less than our iniquities deserve'; Es A 9^{51} = Es B 18^{10} φάγετε λιπάσματα. For (ii.) may be quoted Es A 1^{10} καὶ οὕτω τὸ πρωινόν = 2 Ch 35^{12} καὶ οὕτως εἰς τὸ πρωί, against Heb. 'and so they did with the oxen.' The two Heb. words בָּקָר ('oxen') and בֹּקֶר ('morning') are indistinguishable without the vowel points; the agreement need not prove the use of one version by the other. More striking is Es A 1^{11} μετ' εὐωδίας καὶ ἀπήνεγκαν, compared with 2 Ch 35^{13} καὶ εὐωδώθη καὶ ἔδραμον. This looks like a confusion of εὐωδέω and εὐοδόω; the Heb. equivalent is 'and in pans.' But here Es renders the Hiphil וַיָּרִיצוּ correctly by ἀπήνεγκαν, which ἔδραμον fails to do, thus showing independent knowledge of the Hebrew. Compare also Es A 1^{26} πολεμεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπεχείρει, and 2 Ch 35^{22} ἀλλ' ἢ πολεμεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκραταιώθη, with the Heb. '*disguised himself* that he might fight with him.'

A comparison of the two books, however, renders it impossible to maintain the view any longer, that Es A is compiled *solely* from the Gr. of the other books. There are numerous passages where Es preserves the Heb. more closely than the LXX, or points to a different word in the Heb. original. An examination of all the passages given by Bissell (p. 69) in support of the opposite opinion will show that there is not one where Es does not preserve some touch in the Heb. which is missed in the LXX Ezr, which cannot therefore have been the only authority possessed by our author in those parts which agree with the canonical book. It still remains possible that Es A is a mere recension of the canonical books *by the help of the Heb.*; but the Gr. of the two books is of such a different character as to make it improbable that this is the true view of the relation between them.

2. It is regarded as a working over of an earlier Gr. translation of Ch, Ezr, and Neh, but a translation quite distinct from the LXX. This view is held by Ewald (*Hist. of Isr.* v. 126-128, Eng. tr.). He first gives the alternative that the writer 'was either a translator of the books of Ch, or else found them already translated, and worked up the tr.,' and then decides for the latter view (p. 128 n.). 'He found the work of the chronicler tolerably freely translated from the original. This tr. was different from that of the LXX, and no doubt much older.'

This theory admits an independent tr. of the Heb. as the basis of the book, but denies that the compiler was himself the translator; it presupposes a lost Gr. version of Ch, Ezr, Neh. It gives a satisfactory explanation of the coincidences in tr. and deviation from the Heb. in Es A and Es B, if we suppose that both are to some extent dependent on a lost Gr. original. We should then have in the two books a parallel case to the two Gr. versions of Dn, the LXX very paraphrastic, Theod. fairly literal, both being dependent on an earlier version (Smith, *Dict. Christ. Biog.* art. 'Theodotion').

3. It is held to be a direct and independent tr. from the Heb., and from a text in some instances superior to the Massoretic; Es B was entirely unknown to the writer. This view is held by Michaelis, Trendelenburg (in Eichhorn's *Allgemeine Bibliothek der bibl. litt.* 1787), Pohlmann (in *Tübingen Quartalschrift*, 1859, p. 257), Herzfeld, Fritzsche, and others. It is simpler than the last, but fails to account for the coincidences in the two books. The question whether (2) or (3) is the true view depends also on the date which, on linguistic and other grounds, we are led to assign to the work. It cannot be said to have been yet decided which is right, but (2) appears to satisfy all the requirements of the problem, while (3) does not.

The two translations are of an essentially different character. While the writer of Es B shows a slavish adherence to the Hebrew, often transliterating his original, and making no pretensions to style, Es A is marked by a free style of translation, an elegant and idiomatic Gr., a happy rendering of Hebraisms, and an omission of difficulties, which make it a far more readable book than the other. It was clearly intended for Gr. readers unacquainted with Hebrew. The writer was a litterateur in possession of a wide Gr. vocabulary.

A few instances of his manner may be given. He consistently translates the phrase 'beyond the river' (the Persian name for Palestine, Es B πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ) by Κοιλὴ Συρία καὶ Φοινίκη (7 times in Es A; only 3 times elsewhere, viz. in the Books of Mac). He writes ἄγειν τὸ πάσχα for Ch ποιεῖν τὸ φάσεχ. A good instance of idiomatic Gr. style is $5^{69.70}$ (contrast Es B $4^{4.5}$). A list of some words peculiar to Es A in the Gr. OT may not be superfluous. ἀκολούθως c. dat. for κατά (5 times), ἀναγνώστης (of Ezra, ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ ἀναγνώστης τοῦ νόμου = Es B ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ ὁ γραμματεύς, 6 times), ἀναμφισβητήτως, ἀρχιερεύς (of Ezra), βιβλιοφυλακίον, δημαγωγία, ἐγχάσκειν, ἐκπαίζειν, ἐμφυσιοῦν, ἐπακουστός, ἐπιδόξως, ἱερόδουλος (6 times = Es B Ναθινείμ), ἱεροστάτης, ἱεροψάλτης (6 times, Es B ᾄδοντες), κάρρον 'a car,' μεριδαρχία (4 times), μεταγενέστερος, ὀνοματογραφία, πραγματικός (subst.), συμβραβεύειν, συνεξορμᾶσθαι, σύννους, διὰ ταλάντων λαλεῖν, χαμαιπετής, χρηματιστήριον. Other words rarely found elsewhere than in this book (which may for the most part be paralleled from Est, Dn, and Mac) are—ἀνιεροῦν 'confiscate,' ἀξίωμα, ἀτενίζειν, δογματίζειν, εἴργειν, ἐνακούειν, ἐπανόρθωσις, ἐπικωμᾶσθαι 'attack,' ἐπισύστασις (al. σύστασις), εὐίλατος, εὐοδία, εὐφυής (Es B ταχύς), θυρωρός (Es B πυλωρός), καταλοχισμός, κωθωνίζεσθαι, μανιάκης, μεταλλάσσειν τὸν βίον, οἰκονόμος, ὁλοσχερῶς, παστοφόριον.

The passages which point to a more accurate rendering of the Heb., or a different Heb. original from that tr$^{d.}$ by the LXX, are collected by Trendelenburg (see also Bissell, 65–69). The foll. instances, partly unnoticed before, may be given :—

In the account of the death of Josiah, Es A 1^{25-27} = 2 Ch 35^{21-23}. Es 1^{25} ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ὁ πόλεμός μού ἐστιν; Ch LXX omit; Heb. 'but against the house of my war' (אֶל בֵּית מִלְחַמְתִּי). Es apparently read פְּרָת (Euphrates) for בֵּית. The Heb. as it stands is harsh for 'the house with which I have war'; and Es is a decided improvement.

Es 1^{26} οὐ προσέχων ῥήμασιν Ἱερεμίου προφήτου; Ch LXX οὐκ ἤκουσε τῶν λόγων Νεχαώ = Heb. Es perhaps read נָבִיא for נְכוֹ. Ἱερεμίου is a later insertion; the Vulg. has 'non attendens verbum prophetæ.'

Es 1^{27} καὶ κατέβησαν οἱ ἄρχοντες πρὸς βασιλέα; Ch LXX καὶ ἐτόξευσαν οἱ τοξόται ἐπὶ βασ. = Heb. Es read וַיֵּרְדוּ 'and they came down') for וַיֹּרוּ 'and they shot').

In Es A 8^{30} καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ γραφῆς ἄνδρες ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα, the Heb. is more closely rendered ('and with him were reckoned *by genealogy of the males*') than in LXX (Es B 8^{3}) καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ τὸ σύστρεμμα· κ. καὶ πεντ.

In 8^{66} ὁ Μοσερεί of LXX is rightly given as Αἰγύπτιοι. A writer working on the LXX without the Heb. could hardly infer that Μοσερεί stood for הַמִּצְרִי ('the people of Mizraim').

In 8^{68} ἔρρηξα τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν ἐσθῆτα, the last words of the Heb. וּמְעִילִי ('and my mantle are rightly given; the LXX twice misconstrues them ($9^{3.5}$), διερρηξα τὰ ἱμάτιά μου καὶ ἐπαλλόμην.

In 8^{75} καὶ νῦν κατὰ πόσον τι ἡμῖν ἐγενήθη ἔλεος παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου, the Heb. phrase כִּמְעַט־רֶגַע ('for a little moment') is rendered, and the passive construction kept. Es B 9^{8} καὶ νῦν ἐπιεικεύσατο ἡμῖν ὁ θεός, omits the phrase and changes the construction.

8^{84} ἀνεκάμψαμεν παραβῆναι, and Es B 9^{14} ἐπεστρέψαμεν διασκεδάσαι, are independent versions of הֲנָשׁוּב לְהָפֵר ('shall we again break?').

8^{90} ὡς ἐκρίθη σοι καὶ ὅσοι πειθαρχήσουσιν τοῦ νόμου τοῦ κυρίου, renders the Heb. ('according to the council of my Lord and of those that tremble at the command of our God') where the LXX (Es B 10^{3}) departs from it, ὡς ἂν βούλῃ ἀνάστηθι καὶ φοβέρισον αὐτοὺς ἐν ἐντολαῖς θεοῦ ἡμῶν.

In 9^{2} Es A points to a neat and certain correction of the Hebrew. The LXX (10^{6}) runs, καὶ ἐπορεύθη εἰς γαζοφυλάκιον Ἰωανὰν . . . καὶ ἐπορεύθη ἐκεῖ, where the second ἐπορεύθη is tautological. Es A has ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸ παστοφόριον Ἰωνᾶ . . . καὶ αὐλισθεὶς ἐκεῖ. The compiler clearly read וַיָּלֶן שָׁם ('and he passed the night there') for וַיֵּלֶךְ שָׁם ('and he went there'). The letters ן and ך are very liable to confusion; and αὐλίζεσθαι is the constant rendering of the verb לין ('to dwell') in the LXX.

9^{10} εἶπον μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ Οὕτως ὡς εἴρηκας ποιήσομεν is a literal rendering of the Heb. (וַיֹּאמְרוּ קוֹל גָּדוֹל 'and they said with a loud voice'); LXX (10^{12}) is again wrong with καὶ εἶπον Μέγα τοῦτο τὸ ῥῆμά σου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ποιῆσαι.

These few instances out of many show beyond a doubt that the compiler, or the author of the version he is using, had a knowledge of the Heb. as against the other Gr. version, and that Es A is an important authority for a critical emendation of the Heb. text.

The most recent supporter of the third view, and of the claims of this book to attention, is Sir H. H. Howorth, in a series of six articles in the *Academy* for 1893 on 'The real character and the importance of the first book of Esdras.' His attempt to establish the historical credibility of the book and its chronological accuracy, as against the canonical Ezra, is beset by numerous difficulties, and cannot be maintained. Thus he regards the Darius who despatched Zerubbabel as Darius II. Nothus (424), who was a century later than Darius Hystaspes (522), and is forced to date the return under Ezra, and that under Nehemiah, more than half a century later than the dates ordinarily assigned to those events; he regards Sanabassar or Sheshbazzar as a distinct person from Zerubbabel; he says that the misplaced section Es A 2^{15-25} preserves the original order of the Aramaic chronicle from which it is derived; and he regards the story of the three pages as 'equally valuable and worthy of credit with the rest of the book.' It is lost labour to attempt to reconcile this book with history; the compiler has put together his materials regardless of the inconsequences involved. But Sir H. Howorth's views on the relations between the two Gr. books are far more deserving of notice; he has here been partly anticipated by Pohlmann (*op. cit.* 273–275). He argues that 'Es A represents the true LXX text; Es B represents another tr., which in all probability was that of Theodotion'; and he quotes the parallel of the two versions of Daniel. The existing evidence makes it probable that this view is so far correct, that Es A represents the first attempt to present the story of the Return in a Gr. dress, the story of the three pages being perhaps added by a later compiler. Subsequently a complete and a more accurate rendering of the Heb. was required, and this was supplied by what is now called the LXX version of Ch, Ezr, Neh. Whether this took place so late as the time of Theodotion may be questioned.

In favour of the priority of Es A, these points may be noted :—

1. *The Position of the Book and its earliest Title in the MSS* ("Εσδρας α').—The explanation usually given is that the events described in it precede in part the events in the LXX Ezr. It is equally probable that it was assigned the prior position because it was the earlier of the two Gr. versions.

2. *The Contents.*—These point to a time when Ch, Ezr, and Neh formed one continuous work, and the division into sections had not yet been made. Es A passes without a break from one book to another, and does not contain the reduplication whereby the last two verses of Ch are repeated as the first two of Ezra.

3. *The Use of Es A by Josephus.*—There is no certain evidence of his acquaintance with the other Gr. book, or of its existence before his time. This looks as if he were using the only Gr. materials available to him; that is, that in the LXX as known to him this part of the Bible was represented by Es A.

4. During the first five centuries the Christian Fathers quote the book with respect as canonical. It was included in Origen's Hexapla.

5. As shown above, it has in many places preserved a better Heb. text than the LXX Ezra.

THE ORIGINAL SECTION (3^{1}–5^{6}).—The source of the story of the three pages at the court of Darius is unknown. In what language it was originally written is also doubtful; but Ewald is prob. right in holding that while the main body of the book is a tr. from Heb., 'on the other hand the work from which he took the story about Zerubbabel was originally composed in Gr.' At any rate there are no clear traces of Hebraisms (Fritzsche adduces 4^{39} *τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἀδίκων* = עָשָׂה מִשְׁפָּט מִן), and the paronomasia *ἄνεσιν καὶ ἄφεσιν* in 4^{62} points to a Gr. original. The compiler seems to have been acquainted with traditions of Persian history. The account of Darius and Apame the daughter of Bartacus (4^{29}, Jos. gives his name as *Ῥαβεζάκης*, so the Latin versions Bezaces) is perhaps derived from some book of Persian court stories.* The presence of Zerubbabel at the court of *Darius* is, of course, an anachronism: it was Cyrus who despatched him to Jerusalem. It is noticeable that in 5^5, acc. to the most natural construction, it is Joachim the son of Zerubbabel who spake wise words before Darius. In 4^{58} the speaker is merely called *ὁ νεανίσκος* (a name hardly suitable to Z.), and at his first introduction in 4^{13} the third speaker is identified in a parenthesis only *ὁ τρίτος . . . οὗτός ἐστιν Ζοροβαβέλ*, which is certainly a later addition. This has led to the conjecture that Joachim was the hero of the story, and that there were two expeditions—one in the time of Cyrus led by Zerubbabel, one under Darius led by Joachim (Fritzsche and Reuss). But no Joachim is mentioned among the sons of Z. in 1 Ch 3^{19}. These inconsistencies certainly show the composite nature of the book. It would appear that an earlier Pers. story was adopted by the Jews of Alexandria and became attached to Zerubbabel; the speakers in the original story were Persian courtiers (3^4 *οἱ σωματοφύλακες*). The second of the theses maintained by the third speaker—the superiority of the truth—may also be a Jewish addition to the original, though the eulogy of truth would not be out of place in a Persian story, since the Persians were taught from boyhood 'to ride, to use the bow, and to speak the truth' (Hdt. i. 136).

The story is told in what perhaps was thought a more plausible way in Josephus (*Ant.* XI. iii. 2). There Darius, unable to sleep, proposes a reward to that one of his three pages who shall best prove his thesis: to the first he gives the thesis, that 'wine is the strongest'; to the second, 'the king is the strongest'; to the third, 'whether women are the strongest or truth is stronger than they'? The speeches are held on the following day. In Es the king makes no promise of rewards: the three pages suggest the idea to each other, and while he sleeps they each write the subject which he means to maintain, and put it under the king's pillow for him to find in the morning. The speeches before the Pers. monarch are not unlike the answers of the 72 translators at the court of Ptolemy Philadelphus, as described in the letter of Aristeas. The applause which greets the third speech (4^{41}), and the feasting for seven days 'with music and gladness' (4^{63}), may be illustrated from that work. But there is hardly sufficient ground for saying, with Ewald, that 'the book of Aristeas must have been already known to the author.' The story in Es is a composition of the same class, and probably of the same time as the Aristeas letter.

It should be noted that in the third speech there is an allusion to Gn 2^{24} (Es 4^{20} *ἄνθρωπος τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πατέρα ἐνκαταλείπει . . . καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν γυναῖκα κολλᾶται*).

OBJECT OF THE BOOK.—The body of the book appears, as has been shown, to be the earliest version of the work of the Chronicler. It was written to render Gr.-speaking Jews acquainted with the favour which through the Divine Providence was once shown to their nation by foreign monarchs. The original section (3–4) is perhaps the nucleus of the whole, round which the rest is grouped. One object of the compiler was to give currency to this story, from whatever source, Persian or Jewish, he had derived it. He may also have had an ulterior object in view. The exaggerated accounts of the munificence of Cyrus and Darius lead us to suppose that he aimed at securing to the Jews 'the favour of a Ptolemaic or other heathen power' (Ewald).

TIME AND PLACE OF COMPOSITION.—The extreme limits between which the book must be placed are given on the one hand by the date of the composition of the Heb. books of Ezr and Neh, which is fixed as late as B.C. 300 (Ryle, *Cam. Bible*, Introd. xxvi), on the other by the date of Josephus, A.D. 100. Within these rather wide limits it is difficult to define the time more accurately with any certainty. As Fritzsche remarks, the writer has kept his own personality in the background and nowhere left any traces of his own time (*Einleitung*, p. 9). Still there remain a few indications to be mentioned. The similarity to Aristeas, as we have seen, shows nothing more than that the Zerubbabel story is of the same character and probably the same time as that book (*circa* B.C. 150).

1. But Ewald notes further (*Abhand. über d. Sibyll. Büch.* p. 36) that this story was known and referred to by the writer of the oldest of the Sibylline books. Now, this book (iii. of the Sibylline Oracles) is definitely fixed to the reign of Ptolemy Philometor (B.C. 181–146). In it is an allusion to Persian kings helping forward the rebuilding of the temple in consequence of a dream: iii. 293–4, *Αὐτὸς γὰρ δώσει Θεὸς ἔννυχον ἄγνον ὄνειρον, καὶ τότε δὴ ναὸς πάλιν ἔσσεται, ὡς πάρος ἦν περ.* This, in Ewald's opinion, is suggested by Es 3–4. But in Es $4^{43.45}$ there is no mention of a dream, but only a vow, which influenced Darius. Still, as the dream is not alluded to elsewhere, it is not improbable that the Sibyllist had some older form of this story before him, from which our Esdras also borrowed.

2. The book has, further, some parallels with the LXX version of Dn and Est. The opening of Es 3 seems to be imitated from the opening of Est 1^{1-3}: the phrases *ἐποίησεν δοχήν, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς μέχρι Αἰθιοπίας*, and 'the hundred and seventy satrapies,' are common to both. Cf. also Es 3^9 *οἱ τρεῖς μεγιστᾶνες τῆς Περσίδος* with Est 1^{14} LXX, Dn 6^2. (The Heb. of Est as also Ezr 7^4 name seven Persian councillors.)

The agreements between Es and Dn LXX are remarkable. Of these the most striking is a clause which they have in common in the account of the treasures which Nebuchadnezzar recovered from Jerus. (Es 2^9 = Dn 1^2 LXX, *καὶ ἀπηρείσατο αὐτὰ ἐν τῷ εἰδωλίῳ αὐτοῦ*). In this place, since *ἀπερείδεσθαι* is an Esdras word, occurring three times in this connexion in Es and nowhere else in Dn, and since *εἰδώλιον* renders the Heb. of Ezr (בֵּית אֱלָהָיו) but not of Dn (בֵּית אוֹצַר אֱלֹהָיו, Theod. *εἰς τὸν οἶκον θησαυροῦ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ*), it would seem that the obligation is on the side of the Dn translator.

But, in view of the other parallels between the books, another explanation is more probable, that *the translations are the work of one and the same hand.* In one place the same Aramaic phrase, 'And his house shall be made a dunghill,' is mistranslated or paraphrased in the same way (Es 6^{31} *καὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ εἶναι βασιλικά*, Dn 2^5 *καὶ ἀναληφθήσεται ὑμῶν τὰ ὑπάρχοντα εἰς τὸ βασιλικόν*). It may be noted that both books are written in an idiomatic Gr. style foreign to most books of the LXX; both are very free translations; both have interpolations of a similar character (the three pages in Es, the three children in Dn); the original Heb. of both books has Aramaic sections interspersed in it. If this theory be true, the parallel between the two Gr. books of Es and the two versions of Dn is very close.*

---

* The name Apame is Oriental, though not found till the Macedonian period. No such person occurs among the wives of Darius I. The first of the name was the wife of Seleucus Nikator, Alexander's general, and daughter of Artabazus (Strabo). Does this last name give the explanation of the name Bartacus or *Ῥαβεζάκης*?

* The theory has already been suggested by Dr. Gwynn (*Dict. Christ. Biog.*, *s.v.* Theodotion, p. 977); cf. Dn 2^{11} *ἐπίδοξος* (Es 9^{45} *ἐπιδόξως*); *δογματίζειν* (Dn 2^{13}, Es 3^9); Dn 3^1, Es 3^2 *οἱ προσγεγραμμένοι* (Dn 3^3, Es 6^{31} [A] only); use of *ἅμα* c. inf. *ἅμα τῷ*

3. Graetz (*Gesch. der Juden*, 1863, p. 445) points to the use of ὕπατοι in 3^{14}, and says that the Roman consulate is known to the writer. This would indicate a time later than the first interference of the Romans in the East, *i.e.* later than B.C. 200.

4. On the other hand, the term Κοιλὴ Συρία which so frequently occurs is used in the sense which it bore during the Gr. period, meaning all S. Syria except Phœnicia. Before the coming of the Romans to Palestine (*c.* B.C. 63, the date of Pompey's taking of Jerus.) this name had acquired a new significance, being restricted to the country E. of the Jordan (G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* p. 538). The way in which this phrase is used appears, therefore, to afford certain proof that the book is at least as old as the first half of the last century before the Christian era.

Whether it goes back to the 2nd cent. B.C. is more uncertain.

5. That such is the case is the opinion of Herzfeld (*Ges. d. Volk. Isr.* 1863, vol. ii. p. 73), who dates it before the Maccabæan wars, on the ground that after that date, when the books of Ezr and Neh had become canonical (Ryle, *Cam. Bible, Ezr. and Neh.* lxv), a translator would not have been bold enough to excerpt and rearrange materials from those books.

6. This view is also supported by Lupton, who has an ingenious theory as to the occasion when the book was written. He regards it as edited at the time (B.C. 170) when Onias, having fled from the persecution in Pal. under Antiochus Epiphanes, petitioned for leave from Ptolemy Philometor to build a temple for the Alexandrian Jews at Heliopolis on the site of a ruined Egyp. temple of Bubastis. At that time 'a work which described the rebuilding of the temple, and the beneficence of foreign kings to the work, and which also introduced the story of Josiah, slain in an invasion of Syria by the Egyptians, would have a special interest.' The account of the building of the Egyp. temple (ὅμοιον τῷ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, μικρότερον δὲ καὶ πενιχρότερον) is given in Jos. *Ant.* XIII. iii. 1; the reader is referred to the interesting remarks of Lupton (*Speaker's Comm.*, Apoc. vol. i. 11–14). This is, of course, no more than conjectural, and it is unsafe to base any argument upon it; if the theory about the relation to the LXX Dn be correct, the date given is rather too early. The limits within which the book may be placed may be taken to be B.C. 170–100. Most editors, however, assign it to the 1st cent. B.C. (De Wette, Ewald, Fritzsche).

As to the *place* where the compiler lived, the character of the translation seems to show that it was written for Alexandrian Jews rather than for natives of Palestine, for whom the original Hebrew of the Chronicler would suffice. One slight allusion in 4^{23} to 'sailing upon the sea and upon the rivers' for the purpose of 'robbing and stealing' is thought to point to Egypt. Certain small peculiarities of the language also indicate Alexandria as the place of writing: οἱ φίλοι τοῦ βασιλέως (8^{26}) takes the place of Es B οἱ σύμβουλοι (οἱ πρῶτοι φίλοι were the third in the scale of courtiers at the Alexandrian court): in 2^{18} ἂν φαίνηταί σοι is inserted. The phrase ἐὰν φαίνηται ('if it seem good') occurs in Aristeas (in Merx' *Archiv*, i. 1870, p. 19), and repeatedly in Egyptian papyri.

Fritzsche, on the other hand, concludes that the writer was a Palestinian from his knowledge of sites in Jerusalem, referring to 5^{46} εἰς τὸ εὐρύχωρον τοῦ πρώτου πυλῶνος τοῦ πρὸς τῇ ἀνατολῇ (=Es B εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ). Cf. also 9^{38} ἐπὶ τὸ εὐρύχωρον τοῦ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἱεροῦ πυλῶνος (=Neh 8^{1} εἰς τὸ πλάτος τὸ ἔμπροσθεν πύλης τοῦ ὕδατος).

MSS AND TEXT.—Es A exists in two out of the three oldest MSS of the LXX, viz. Cod. Vaticanus (B) and Cod. Alexandrinus (A). It is not found in either of the portions of the Sinaitic MS (א) discovered by Tischendorf (Cod. Frederico-Augustanus and Cod. Sinaiticus Petropolitanus); but this is perhaps due only to the fact that that MS is incomplete, and, except for some few fragments of the Pent. and a portion of 1 Ch, contains in its present form no part of the OT earlier than Es B 9, after which it is fairly complete. There has been a curious error in connexion with the Esdras books; 13 chapters of 1 Ch having been apparently inserted in the middle of Es B. Cod. Sin.-Pet. contains one leaf with 1 Ch 9^{27}–11^{22}; Cod. F.-A. has four more leaves headed Es B, but in reality containing 1 Ch 11^{22}–19^{17}; but in the fourth column of the verso of the fourth leaf we suddenly pass in the middle of a line with no break from Ch (καὶ ἐπολέμησεν αὐτόν) to Es B 9^{9} (κ̅ς̅ ὁ θ̅ς̅ ἡμῶν καὶ ἔκλινεν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἔλεος). A note at the bottom of that leaf in a later hand calls attention to the *seven* superfluous leaves that are 'not of Esdras' (τὸ τέλος τῶν ἑπτὰ φύλλων τω̄ περισσῶν ϗ μὴ ὄντων τοῦ ἔσδρα). Of these seven leaves we now possess five; and reckoning back we find that the divergence must have begun about 1 Ch 6^{50} (list of the sons of Aaron). This error, whereby fragments of 1 Ch have been interpolated into the middle of Es B, is probably due to 'a mistake in binding in the copy from which the MS was transcribed' (Westcott, *Bible in the Church*, p. 307, Append. B); a less probable explanation is given by Lupton (Introd. p. 1). The presence of the title Es B is not sufficient by itself to prove, as Lupton supposes, that Es A ever stood in Cod. א; since the same MS contains only the first and fourth books of Maccabees with the headings μακκ. α', μακκ. δ', and the two intervening books certainly never found a place in the MS.

An interesting problem is presented by the relation of the texts of Codd. A and B in this book. The text of A is always the smoother and more readable; and wherever the reading of B suggests a suspicion of corruption, A almost invariably gives the requisite correction. Several of these corrections may be attributed to an 'Alexandrian' revision of the text, removing grammatical solecisms and harsh phrases; such are 1^{30} ἐθρήνουν (B ἐθρηνοῦσαν), 1^{33} ἀπεκατέστησεν αὐτὸν . . . τοῦ μὴ βασιλεύειν (B om. τοῦ μή), 1^{51} τὰ σκεύη κιβωτοῦ (B τὰς κιβωτούς), 3^{9} ὃν κρίνῃ . . . ὅτι ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ σοφώτερος (B ὃν ἂν κρίνῃ . . . ὅτι οὗ ὁ λ. αὐτοῦ σοφ.), 3^{33} ἔβλεπον ἕτερος πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον (B εἷς τὸν ἕτερον), 8^{12} ἀκολούθως ὡς ἔχει ἐν τῷ νόμῳ (B ἀκολ. ᾧ ἔχει νόμῳ). But in other places it is hard to suppose that A does not preserve the original text. Thus 1^{22} (24) καὶ ἐλύπησαν αὐτὸν ἐν αἰσθήσει ('they grieved him to the heart,' a phrase illustrated by Jth 16^{17}; B καὶ ἃ ἐλύπησαν αὐτὸν ἔστιν), 1^{41} Joachim at his accession ἦν ἐτῶν δέκα ὀκτώ (cf. 2 Ch 36^{9}, B ἦν ἐτῶν ὀκτώ), 4^{45} τὸν ναὸν ὃν ἐνεπύρισαν οἱ Ἰδουμαῖοι (B Ἰουδαῖοι), 5^{53} κατὰ τὸ πρόσταγμα (B καὶ τὸ πρόστ.), 8^{41} ἐπὶ τὸν λεγόμενον Θερὰν ποταμόν (B om. Θερὰν), 8^{68} καὶ κατέτιλα τοῦ τριχώματος (B κατέτεινον τοῦ τριχ.). Fritzsche (*Einleitung*, 1851, § 8) remarks that B is on the whole a very pure and A an emended text; but it is noticeable that in his subsequent critical edition (*Libri Apocryphi Vet. Test.* 1871) in the passages given above and in numerous others he adopts the reading of A and abandons 'the pure text of B.' Still more noticeable is it that the earliest author to quote Es A supports the A text against the B. It is not always possible to reconstruct the text which Josephus used owing to his habit of paraphrasing the authority which lay before him; but out of 13 passages in this book where a comparison is possible, in 10 he agrees with A against B, while in three only does he side with B against A. Jos. *Ant.* XI. iii. 8 προσετάξε τοὺς Ἰδουμαίους . . . ἀφεῖναι τὰς κώμας (Es 4^{50} καὶ ἵνα οἱ Ἰδουμαῖοι ἀφίωσιν τὰς κώμας, B οἱ Χαλδαῖοι), XI. iv. 1 τοῦ ἑβδόμου μηνός (Es 5^{52} ἑβδόμου, B πρώτου), XI. iv. 6 καὶ εὑρέθη ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις τῇ βάρει τῇ ἐν Μηδίᾳ βιβλίον, ἐν ᾧ κ.τ.λ. (Es 6^{23} κ. εὑρ. ἐν Ἐκβ. τῇ βάρει τῇ ἐν Μηδείᾳ χώρᾳ τόμος εἷς ἐν ᾧ . . . B τόπος ἐν ᾧ. A preserves the indefinite article; cf. Es B 6^{2} κεφαλὶς μία; B is a corruption of the Greek of A); XI. v. 1 ἀνενέγκωσι δῶρα τῷ Ἰσραηλιτῶν θεῷ (Es 8^{13} ἀπενεγκεῖν δῶρα τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ ι̅σ̅λ̅, B τῷ κυρίῳ); *id.* κολασθήσονται δ' ἤτοι θανάτῳ ἢ ζημίᾳ χρηματικῇ (Es 8^{24} κολασθήσονται ἐάν τε καὶ θανάτῳ ἐάν τε καὶ τιμωρίᾳ, ἢ ἀργυρικῇ ζημίᾳ ἢ ἀπαγωγῇ; B μὴ ἀργυρίῳ ζημίᾳ. A is undoubtedly best); XI. v. 2 συναγαγὼν εἰς τὸ πέραν τοῦ Εὐφράτου (did Jos. read ἐπὶ τὸ λεγόμενον πέραν ποταμοῦ in Es 8^{41}? A Θέραν ποταμόν, B ποταμόν); *id.* ταύρους δώδεκα ὑπὲρ κοινῆς τοῦ λαοῦ

ἀκοῦσαι (Dn 3^{15}, Es 8^{68}); καρπόω='to burn' (Dn 3^{38}, Es 4^{52}); ἀχρειοῦν (Dn 4^{11} 6^{20}, Es 1^{53}); μανιάκης (Dn 5^{7}, Es 3^{6} only); Dn 6^{1}, Es 3^{1}; use of ὑποπίπτειν (Sus 51^{a}, Es 8^{17}). The parallels are chiefly in the first six chapters of Dn.

σωτηρίας, κρίους ἐνενήκοντα, κ.τ.λ. with A in Es 8^{63} (B omits a line through confusion, perhaps, of ΚΥΡΙΩ and ΚΡΙΟΥΣ); XI. v. 3 διέρρηξε τὴν ἐσθῆτα (Es 8^{68} διέρρηξα, B ἔρρηξα); XI. v. 4 Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἐλιασίβου (Es 9^{1} Ἰωανὰν τοῦ Ἐλιασίβου, B Ἰωνᾶ τοῦ Νασειβου).

These instances form a strong argument for the early existence if not the originality of the A text. The chief passage where Jos. appears to favour B is Es 5^{53} (B καὶ χάρα τοῖς Σειδωνίοις καὶ Τυρίοις εἰς τὸ παράγειν; A κάρρα = 'cars'; Jos. XI. iv. 1 τοῖς τε Σιδωνίοις ἡδὺ καὶ κοῦφον ἦν . . . κατάγουσιν).

On the MSS generally see Fritzsche, *Einleitung*, § 8.

Of VSS, Sabatier prints two Lat. versions, one of which he calls the Vulg., and a 'versio altera' ('ex MS Colbertino annorum circiter 800'). In reality they appear to be two distinct VSS of the O.L. Jerome left the O.L. untouched, and the Lat. now given in the Appendix to the Vulg. is not his work. A third Lat. version of Es A 3-4 (abbreviated) and of a few verses elsewhere in the book is given in Lagarde (*Septuaginta Studien*, ii. 1892) from a MS in the cathedral of Lucca written about 570. The book did not exist in the Peshiṭta Syriac, but is found in the Syro-Hexaplar of Paul of Tella (A.D. 616); the Syriac is given in Walton's Polyglot, 1657. There is a free rendering of the book in the Armenian version.

LITERATURE.—Fritzsche, *Exeget. Handb. z. d. Apokr.* i. (Leipzig, 1851), Introd. and Comm.; Fritzsche, *Libri Apocr. Vet. Test. græce* (Leipzig, 1871), a crit. ed. of the text; Zöckler, *Die Apokryphen*, 155-161 (in Strack und Zöckler's *Kgf. Komm.* 1889); Schürer, *HJP*, Eng. tr. II. iii. 177-181; Ewald, *Hist. of Isr.*, Eng. tr. v. 126-128. Special treatises on the relation between Es A and Es B; Trendelenburg (in Eichhorn's *Allgemeine Bibliothek der Bibl. Litt.* i. 178-232, Leipzig, 1787); Pohlmann, 'Ueber das Ansehen des apokr. dritten Buchs Esras, in *Tübingen Theol. Quartalschrift*, 1859, 257-275). In English the best edd. are Bissell (in Lange's *Comm. on OT*, 1880) and Lupton in *The Speaker's Comm.*, Apocrypha, vol. i. 1888. A series of papers on 'The Character and Importance of 1 Esdras,' by Sir H. H. Howorth in the *Academy*, 1893, vol. 43 (pp. 13, 60, 106, 174, 326, 524). Jos. *Ant.* xi. 1-5 (Niese). For further references see Schürer. H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

ESDRAS, SECOND BOOK OF.—TITLE.—The title which this book bears in the English Apocrypha is derived from the opening words of ch. i., 'the second book of the prophet Esdras'; but it is more commonly known by the name which is given it in most Latin MSS, 'The *fourth* book of Esdras.' The variation in the titles of the books of Esdras is due to two causes—(1) The adoption of the Latin name Esdras in the Vulg. for the canonical Ezr and Neh; (2) the composite nature of this book, the first two and the last two chapters being later additions to the orig. work, and reckoned by the MSS as separate books. The most frequent arrangement in the MSS is 1 Es = Ezr-Neh; 2 Es = 2 Es 1. 2; 3 Es = 1 Es; 4 Es = 2 Es 3-14; 5 Es = 2 Es 15. 16. The central portion of the book bears every number from one to four. The original Greek had probably no number attached to it. Two suggestions have been made for the original title—(1) Ἔζρας ὁ προφήτης, adopted by Hilgenfeld in his restoration of the Greek, and based on a quotation of Clem. Alex. from Ἔσδρας ὁ προφήτης, and of Ambrose from 'propheta Ezra' (*Mess. Jud.* 18). The title would then be parallel to ὁ ἱερεύς attached to 1 Es in Cod. A. (2) Ἀποκάλυψις Ἔσδρα, suggested by Dr. Westcott, and found in a catalogue of the 60 books, canonical and apocryphal, made in Asia (Westcott, *Canon*⁶, 559). The title is far the most suitable to the contents of the book, but has already become appropriated to a later and inferior Greek Apocalypse published by Tischendorf (*Apocal. Apocryphæ*, 1866).

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE AND VERSIONS.—The original language of 2 Es was undoubtedly Greek; two quotations from the Greek exist, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 16. 100 (= 2 Es 5^{35}), and *Apost. Constitut.* viii. 7 (= 2 Es 8^{23}). Otherwise we possess the book only in versions. The Latin version abounds in Grecisms, such as the use of the comparative with the genit. ('horum maiora,' 'omnium maior,' etc.), the genit. abs. (10^{9}), the prepositions *ad* and *pro* with the inf. (7^{135} 13^{28}), *de* and *ex* followed by the genit., the double negative ('nihil nemini,' 'nunquam nemo'), redundant prepositions after verbs ('timere a,' 15^{3}; 'multiplicare super,' 9^{16}). The theory of a Heb. original, of which the Greek was a trⁿ, has now been given up; one Hebraism, which, however, had become naturalized in Greek, is of constant occurrence, namely, the use of the participle with a finite tense of the same verb (*e.g.* excedens excessit, 4^{2}; proficiscens profectus sum, 4^{13}).

The popularity which this book has enjoyed is shown by the number of versions that have been made of it. For many years the text of *the Latin* depended on a few MSS, Codex Sangermanensis (S, A.D. 822), Cod. Turicensis (T, 13th cent.), Cod. Dresdensis (D, 15th cent.), which presented a text from which it was clear that a considerable section was missing between vv. 35 and 36 of the 7th chapter. The other versions contained 70 additional verses in this place. In 1865 Prof. Gildemeister discovered that this 'missing fragment' had once been contained in Cod. S, from which a leaf had been purposely cut out in early times; and drew the certain and important conclusion that all MSS of 4 Es which do not contain the passages were ultimately derived from Cod. S. The discovery of this missing fragment was made by R. L. Bensly, who in 1874 found a MS of the 9th cent. in the *Bibliothèque Communale* of Amiens containing the entire Latin text; he thus had the unique distinction of adding a chapter to the Apocrypha, for hitherto the verses in the Oriental VSS had not been universally considered genuine. An account of the MS and its discovery, with a full commentary on the new passage, was published by him in the following year (*The Missing Fragment of the Fourth Book of Ezra*, Camb. 1875). It subsequently appeared that he had been anticipated in the discovery, for a transcript of the lost passage, made in 1826 from a Spanish MS, was found among the papers of Prof. Palmer: this was not published till 1877 (*Journ. of Philology*, vol. vii. 264). The excision of 736-105 was probably made for dogmatic reasons. The verses contain a description of the intermediate state of souls, and an emphatic denial of the efficacy of intercessions for the dead (v.^{105}), a passage which called forth a severe reproof from Jerome ('Tu . . . proponis mihi librum apocryphum, qui sub nomine Esdræ a te et similibus tuis legitur: ubi scriptum est, quod post mortem nullus pro aliis audeat deprecari: quem ego librum nunquam legi,' *Cont. Vigilant.* c. 7), and this estimate not improbably accounts for the disappearance of the section from Cod. S. The number of known MSS which give a complete text of 2 Es has now been increased, through the discoveries of M. Berger, to five. A complete text of the book, based on four of these MSS and Cod. S, has at length been edited from Bensly's papers, with an introd. by Dr. James (*Texts and Studies*, iii. 2, Camb. 1895); while the missing fragment has been restored to its place in the English Bible in the Revision of the Apocrypha. The Latin MSS fall into two groups: (1) those which preserve a French text. S (Sangermanensis) once in the Abbey of S. Germain des Prés, now in the Bibl. Nat. Paris, 11504-5, Fonds Latin, dated A.D. 822, the oldest extant MS, and the parent of numerous later MSS, and A (Ambianensis), Amiens, *Bibl. Comm.* 10, cent. ix., containing a text very similar to but independent of S, and agreeing with the quotations of Gildas the Briton in his Epistle (6th cent.); (2) a Spanish text, perhaps traceable to Priscillian (*Texts and Studies*, xxxvi.), represented by three MSS. C (Complutensis), now at Madrid, cent. ix., from which Prof. Palmer copied the missing fragment in 1826. M (Mazarinæus), Paris, *Bibl. Mazarine*, 3, 4, cent. ix.–x., discovered by M. Berger. V (Abulensis), Madrid, *Bibl. Nac. E. R.* 8, cent. xiii., a copy of C, discovered by M. Berger, and a fourth, not yet fully collated, but probably belonging to this group. L (Legionensis), at Leon, of the year 1162. For one section of the book, the Confessio Esdræ (8^{20-36}), which was often copied in collections of Cantica, an additional group of MSS exists. The two groups differ most widely from each other in the interpolated chapters (1. 2, 15. 16). An examination of their relative values in these chs. has been made by Dr. James (*T. and S.* xliv.–lxxviii.), from which he concludes that in 1. 2. the Spanish form of text is more accurate than the French, which has corrected the text to agree with the canonical Scriptures, whereas in 15. 16 the Spanish is on the whole an emended text, and in 15^{59}–16^{32} A, which has the support of Gildas, is to be preferred to S C M.

The *other versions* agree in omitting the interpolated chapters at the beg. and end (1. 2. 15. 16). Of these the best is the *Syriac*, which exists only in a celebrated MS of the Peshitta in the Ambrosian Library, Milan, B. 21 Inf. The Syriac was edited by Ceriani in *Monumenta Sacra et Profana*, vol. v. fasc. 1 (1868), and tr^d into Latin in vol. i. fasc. 2 of the same work (1866). There are two independent *Arabic* versions: Ar.^{1} in an Oxford MS (Bodl. 251, A.D. 1354), of which an English tr^n was made by W. Whiston for his *Primitive Christianity Reviv'd*, 1711, and the Arabic text was edited by Ewald in 1863 (*Abhandl. der Königl. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch. zu Göttingen*); and Ar.^{2} preserved *in toto* in a Vatican MS Arab. 462, and in part in Bodl. 260.

The *Ethiopic* version was first published in 1820 by Dr. Richard Laurence from a Bodleian MS (Æth. 7). Dillmann collected readings from other MSS, which are given at the end of Ewald's ed. of the Arabic. The Syr. Ar. Eth. versions were probably all made directly from the Greek; the *Armenian*, however, given in Zohrab's ed. of the Armenian Bible (1805, Venice) was perhaps from the Syriac. A reconstruction of the Greek has been made by Hilgenfeld in his *Messias Judæorum*.

CONTENTS. — The original Apocalypse (3–14) consists of a series of revelations or visions given to Ezra by an angel.

1st Vision, 3^{1}–5^{20}. Ezra, in captivity at Babylon in the thirtieth year after the destruction of Jerus. [the date is nearly a century too early], recounts God's favours to Isr. in their earlier history, and while admitting their 'evil heart,' yet complains of their subjection to Babylon, which is more wicked than they (ch. 3). The angel Uriel replies that E. should not enquire into things beyond his understanding. E. pleads with the angel as Abraham did at Mamre ('If I have found favour in thy sight,' 4^{44}; cf. Gn 18^{1}), and asks, further, whether the time that is past exceeds the time to come; and is told that it is so. The signs of the end are given, 5^{1-13}; and he is ordered to fast for seven days.

2nd Vision, 5^{21}–6^{34}. E. renews his complaints, and is told why God 'doeth not all at once' so as to hasten the judgment; and of the degeneracy of the world, which cannot produce such children as of old ($5^{42ff.}$). The next world is to follow this as closely as Jacob followed Esau from the womb (6^{10}). More signs of the end follow, and E. is again bidden to fast for seven days.

3rd Vision, 6^{35}–9^{25}. E. recounts the works of creation, including the creatures Behemoth and Leviathan, who were reserved to be meat for the saints (6^{49-52}) [this idea is met with also in Enoch 60^{7}, Apoc. Bar 29^{4}]; and asks, why, if the world was made for us, we do not possess our inheritance. He is told that the narrow way must be traversed before the large room of the next age be attained (7^{1-16}). Then follows a picture of the Messianic age, the appearance of 'My Son' [or 'My Son Jesus': the name is omitted in the Oriental versions] with His attendants, their reign of 400 years, succeeded by the death of 'My Son Christ' and all living, and the return of the world for seven days into 'the old silence,' and then the resurrection (7^{26-35}). The 'missing fragment' describes the pit of torment and the paradise of delight over-against it: ineffectual intercession of E. for the wicked, leading him to exclaim that the beasts are more fortunate than man: the seven ways of punishment for the wicked, and the 'seven orders' of blessings for the righteous: the seven days' respite after death, before the souls are gathered to their habitations: and the severe declaration of the inefficacy of intercession for the departed (7^{36-105}). E. says it were better if Adam had never been born ('O tu quid fecisti Adam,' cf. Apoc. Bar 48), but acknowledges God's mercy. Ch. 8 contains the same theme, 'Many are created, but few shall be saved,' and fresh intercession in the Confessio Esdræ. In answer to the question, When shall the end be? fresh signs are given.

4th Vision, 9^{26}–10^{60}. E. eats of the herbs in the field of Ardat,* and sees a vision of a woman mourning for her son, who died on his marriage day. The woman, he is told, is Sion lamenting the fall of her city, and her thirty years' sterility represents the 3000 years before Solomon built the city. The city in building, which appears after the woman vanishes, is the heavenly Jerusalem which is to replace the earthly.

5th Vision, 11^{1}–12^{39}. Of the Eagle (Rome) with 12 wings and 8 little wings (*contrariæ pennæ*) and 3 heads, which bear rule in turn, until sentence is pronounced on the eagle by a lion (the Messiah), and it is burnt up. A partial interpretation is given of the vision.

6th Vision, 13^{1-58}. A man (the Messiah) arises from the sea, and graves for himself a mountain (Sion): his enemies collect to fight against him, and are burnt up: and he gathers to him 'a peaceable multitude,' *i.e.* the ten lost tribes, who are to return from Arzareth (*i.e.* 'another land' אֶרֶץ אַחֶרֶת, cf. Dt 29^{28}).

7th Vision, 14^{1-47}. E. is told he is to be taken from men; and to console the people for his departure, he in forty days writes ninety-four books (the twenty-four canonical books of the OT that were lost, and seventy books of mysteries for the wise among the people).

The interpolation at the beginning (1. 2), written in an anti-Jewish spirit, contains a reproof of the Isr. for their desertion of God, and threatens the transference of God's favours from them to the Gentiles. The concluding chs. (15. 16) are not of an apocalyptic character, but a denunciation of woe on the nations of the world (Egypt, Asia, Babylon) in the style of the OT prophets. Both sections have numerous reminiscences of the NT (*e.g.* $1^{30.33}$=Mt $23^{37.38}$, 1^{32}=Lk $11^{49.50}$, 2^{11} 'tabernacula æterna'=Lk 16^{9}, 2^{13}=Mt 7^{7} and 25^{34}, $2^{38.42}$=Rev $7^{4.9}$, $16^{42ff.}$=1 Co $7^{29ff.}$).

CHARACTER AND DATE. — The book is written in a tone of deep despondency, and offers a marked contrast in this respect to the Book of Enoch. The prospect of ultimate triumph and blessedness is almost lost in dismal forebodings about the immediate future and the destiny of the world. The time and place in which the scene is laid demanded that this should be so; but the meaning of this despairing tone is greatly enhanced if we suppose that recent events are referred to, that Jerusalem was in ruins at the time when it was written, and that the whole work portrays the hopeless outlook of the Jew after the terrible events of the year A.D. 70. Hence the gloomy picture of the few that shall be saved (8^{3}), the dying of the Messiah and all that draw breath (7^{29}), the discussion of the problem of the origin of evil ('quare cor malignum,' 4^{4}), the oft-repeated cry that it were better not to be born, or to be without consciousness of our doom like the beasts (7^{62-64} 4^{12} 5^{35} 6^{59}), the consolation to be found in the permanence of the law (9^{37}) though the city is gone.

The date of the book has been the subject of much controversy. It is obviously not a genuine work of the time of Ezra, as is shown, *e.g.*, by the error in Ezra's date (3^{1}) and the allusion to the Book of Daniel ($12^{11.12}$). An ultimate limit is given by the quotation of Clem. Alex. from it referred to above (A.D. 200). Internal notices must fix it more nearly. Hilgenfeld adduces for the earlier date (B.C. 30) 6^{9} 'Finis huius sæculi Esau,' which he thinks proves the time of writing to be the reign of the Idumæan Herod. But Edom is found in Rabbinical literature equally as a designation of Rome; and the Herodian dynasty, if that is referred to, lasted on through the first century of our era. He also draws an argument from the description of the twelve ages of the world, of which ten and a half are past (14^{11}), taken in connexion with 10^{46} (Solomon built the temple in the year of the world 3000), from which he calculates about B.C. 30 as the date (*Mess. Jud.* 104); but the description of the world-ages is too uncertain (the Syr. omits the verses) to base any inference upon it. Another argument for the early date is that a Jew, writing after the death of Christ, would not have introduced a prophecy of the death of the Messiah (7^{25}) which would have been employed against him by Christians. No inference can be drawn from the signs of the end ($5^{1\text{ff.}}$ $6^{18\text{ff.}}$ 9^{1}) as applicable rather to the portents that preceded the battle of Actium than to those in the time of Vespasian. On the other hand, the allusion to the pulling down of the walls of Jerus. (11^{42} 'humiliasti muros eorum qui te non nocuerunt') was true of Titus, but not of the capture of the city by Pompey in B.C. 63.

---

* This name (in the Arm. Ardab) is explained by Rendel Harris as a corruption of (Kiriath) Arba, the old name of Hebron, which is the scene of the visions of Baruch in the sister Apocalypse (Rest of the Words of Baruch, 35). The oak (14^{1}) is the terebinth of Mamre. Hilg. takes it to mean Arpad (’Αρφάτ, 2 K 18^{34}).

But the question of the date really depends upon the interpretation given to the Eagle Vision. The details given about the reign of the several wings show that historic facts are here alluded to; the interpretation which follows the vision is perhaps purposely obscure, and does not help much as to the solution of it. The vision describes the reign of 12 'feathered wings,' 8 subordinate wings, and 3 heads — in all, of 23 kings; the attempt to take the wings in pairs, each pair representing a single king, their number being so reduced to 10 (Volkmar), is opposed to the interpretation given to Esdras (12^{14} 'regnabunt xii reges, unus post unum,' 12^{20} 'exsurgent octo reges'). The following points are to be borne in mind in the interpretation (Schürer, *HJP* III. ii. 100). (1) The author writes during the reign of the third head, in which the Messiah is to appear; the subsequent reign of the two last subordinate wings is not history, but prophecy. (2) The second wing reigns more than twice as long as any of the rest (11^{17}). (3) Several wings do not get so far as to reign, and represent pretenders only. (4) The wings and heads all belong to one and the same kingdom. (5) The first head dies a natural death (12^{26}); the second is murdered by the third, who also is to die by the sword (11^{35} 12^{28}). Three main explanations are proposed—(i.) The wings represent Rome under the kings and the republic, and the 3 heads are Sulla, Pompey, and Cæsar; the date of the work is shortly after Cæsar's death (Laurence, Van der Vlis, Lücke). This view has no probability. Early Roman history would have no interest to a Jew, and there is great difficulty in adapting the 8 minor wings to the period before Sulla. (ii.) Hilgenfeld's view, that the wings represent the *Greek* empire reckoned from Alexander, either, as he first held, the line of the Ptolemies (*Jüd. Apokalyptik,* 217 ff.), or, according to his later theory, that of the Seleucidæ (*Mess. Jud.* liv ff.): in either case the three heads are Cæsar, Antony, and Octavian, and the book was written directly after Antony's death in B.C. 30, thirty years after the capture of Jerus. by Pompey (cf. 2 Es 3^{1} 'in the thirtieth year'). It is true that in 2 Es 11^{39} the eagle is compared to the fourth beast of Daniel (7^{7}=the Greek empire); but the fourth kingdom was often referred to the Romans. The chief objections to this view are—(1) The heads and the wings must all refer to a single kingdom, not to a combination of Roman and Greek rulers; (2) the rule of the second in the dynasty, whether Ptolemy I. Lagi or Seleucus I. Nikator, was not more than twice the length of any succeeding reign; (3) Cæsar was assassinated, and did not die in his bed, as the first head is said to have done.

(iii.) It is now the generally accredited view, and it has most arguments in its favour, that the book should be dated in the reign of Domitian (A.D. 81–96). So Gfrörer, Dillmann, Volkmar, Ewald, Schürer, and others. The eagle represents Imperial Rome, the line of the emperors beginning with J. Cæsar. The second wing is certainly to be identified with Augustus, who, reckoning from his first consulate, held rule for 56 years (B.C. 43–A.D. 14), *i.e.* more than twice the time of any of his successors. The three heads with equal probability are referred to the Flavian emperors: Vespasian died on his bed in torment (Suet. *Vesp.* 24; 2 Es 12^{26}); Titus was commonly believed to have been murdered by Domitian. The difficulty lies in supplying the twenty rulers to precede Vespasian. The following proposals are made—(1) Gfrörer takes the twelve greater wings to be the first nine emperors, Cæsar to Vitellius, with three usurpers, Vindex, Nymphidius, and Piso Licinianus: the eight lesser wings are petty kings and leaders in Pal. (Herod the Great, Agrippa I., Eleazar, John of Gischala, Simon Bar Giora, John the Idumæan, Agrippa II., and Berenice: the last two attached themselves to Rome in the war). (2) Schürer agrees as to the twelve, but regards six of the lesser wings (the last two being matter of prophecy) as Roman generals who laid claim to the empire in the years of disorder, A.D. 68–70. (3) Wieseler takes the eight subordinate wings to mean the Herodian dynasty, vassals of Rome (Antipater, Herod I. and his three sons, Archelaus, Antipas, Philip, Agrippa I. and II., and Berenice). (4) Ewald, who is followed by Drummond (*Jewish Messiah,* 107), takes the twelve wings to be the twelve emperors up to Domitian: the eight little wings are the eight emperors among these who reigned less than ten years (Domitian included, for whom a short reign was anticipated), and the three heads are the Flavian princes, reckoned a third time under a different aspect. The double and triple repetition of the same names is unsatisfactory; Schürer's view (2) appears on the whole the most free from objection.

The simpler theory, on the other hand, of Gutschmid and Le Hir (*Études Bibliques,* i. 184 ff.), that twenty-three actual emperors are intended, the three heads being Sept. Severus, Caracalla, and Geta, is shown to be wrong by the fact that the book was quoted by Clem. Alex. at an earlier date than these emperors, and can be maintained only by supposing an interpolation, of which there is no sign in the Eagle Vision.

In considering the date, reference should be made to a companion volume to 2 Esdras, which curiously reproduces the language and visions of that book, namely, the Apocalypse of Baruch, first pub. in 1866 by Ceriani from a Syr. MS at Milan (*Mon. sacra et prof.,* tom. i. fasc. ii., and tom. v. fasc. ii.; also in Fritzsche, *Libri Apocr. V.T.* 654). It also is a product of the Jewish literature called forth by the events of A.D. 70, but written before the final destruction of Jerus. in 133, which is not foreseen (Apoc. Bar 32; Jerus. is to be rebuilt, and then again destroyed [A.D. 70] for a time, and then rebuilt for ever). The similarities in tone and language with 2 Es are so striking that Ewald ascribed it to the same author. The general belief now held is that Baruch is the later, and has used Es, because, *e.g.*, Bar corrects the crude notions of Es about original sin (cf. Es 7^{118} 'O tu quid fecisti Adam? si enim tu peccasti non est factum solius tuus casus sed et nostrum,' with Bar 54, 'Non est ergo Adam causa nisi animæ suæ tantum; nos vero unusquisque fuit animæ suæ Adam'): and whereas Ezra complains that Jerus. should at least have been punished by the hands of God (5^{30}), Bar accordingly represents it as destroyed by four angels before the entry of the Chaldæan army (6–8). Some of the parallels are the division of each book into seven scenes, separated in most cases by intervals of seven days of fasting: the division of time into twelve parts (Bar 27 = Es 14^{11}): the legend of Behemoth and Leviathan (Bar 29 = Es 6^{49}): the prayer of Baruch (48, cf. the Confessio Esdræ 8^{20}): the importance of Adam's transgression, prefaced in each by 'O quid fecisti Adam?' (Bar 48 = Es 7^{118}): the vision of a cloud ascending from the sea (Bar 53, cf. Es 13): the permanence of the law though the teachers depart (Bar 77, cf. Es 9^{37}): the interest in the lost tribes, to whom Baruch sends a letter of consolation (78–86, cf. Es 13^{40}), besides frequent minute resemblances of language.

The writing is a characteristically Jewish work in its apocalyptic form, its knowledge of Jewish traditions (Behemoth, etc.), its interest in the ten tribes, and its deep concern in the fate of Jerusalem. There is no ground for supposing that the author was a Jewish Christian: there is a marked contrast between the Christian interpolations (1–2, 15–16, and the insertion of the name Jesus in 7^{28}) and the remainder of the book. The place of writing is given as Rome (Ewald) or Alexandria (Hilgenfeld, lxii, and most edd.), from which the added chapters certainly emanate; this would account for the earliest quotation being found in Clem. Alex. On the other hand, the fall of Jerus. would be more impressive to a Palestinian Jew than to an Alexandrian; and the geography (if Ardat is rightly explained by Rendel Harris) points the same way.

The date of the concluding chs. (15. 16) is placed about A.D. 268 by most critics. 15^{10-12} refers to the troubles of Alexandria under Gallienus (260–268), when two-thirds of the population were destroyed by a plague following upon a famine (Eus. *HE* vii. 21. 22). 15^{28-33} refers to the conquests of the Sassanidæ ('Carmonii insanientes'), esp. Sapor I. (240–273), who overran Syria but was repulsed by Odenathus and Zenobia ('dracones Arabum'), the founders of Palmyra; they, in turn, were defeated by Aurelian. 33 describes the murder of Odenathus at Emesa (266) by his cousin Mæonius. 34 ff. are referred to the invasion of Asia Minor by Goths and Scythians from the N. of the Euxine: Gallienus marched against them, but was recalled by the revolt of Aureolus (38 'portio alia ab occidente'). 46 'Asia consors in specie Babylonis' alludes to the association of Odenathus in the empire, A.D. 264 (Hilgenfeld, *Mess. Jud.* 208).

The chapters were written apparently as an appendix to 3–14, and were never current in a separate form.

Chs. 1. 2 are not fixed so definitely, but are probably earlier than the close. They are a compilation from various sources, and perhaps a fragment of a larger work: they show some relation to an Apocalypse of Zephaniah (*T. and S.* lxxix).

RECEPTION. — The early quotations from the book are collected by Dr. James (*T. and S.* xxvii–xliii). The Ep. of Barnabas 12^{1} (*ὅταν ξύλον κλιθῇ καὶ ἀναστῇ καὶ ὅταν ἐκ ξύλου αἷμα στάξῃ*) is thought to refer to 2 Es 5^{5}, and the Rest of the Words of Baruch (A.D. 136), ch. 9, has similar words; the last scene of that book, where a stone takes the form of Jeremiah and speaks to the people, may be an amplification of 'lapis dabit vocem suam' of 2 Es. But the first express quotation is Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 16. 100, who regards it as the work of 'the prophet' Ezra. It is made use of in an Hippolytæan fragment *περὶ τοῦ παντός*, and quoted in the Greek in the *Apost. Constit.* viii. 7. The supposed references in Tert. (*de præscr. hæret.* 3), Cyprian, and Commodian (3rd cent., *Carm. Apol.* 943, on the lost tribes) are doubtful. But it is quoted very frequently by Ambrose (*de bono Mortis*, 10–12, and elsewhere), who regards it as prophetical: in his time chs. 15. 16 were already current in the Latin version, and probably attached to 3–14. In Spain it was known to Priscillian and Vigilantius; and in Britain to Gildas, who quotes 15. 16 (Bensly, 36–40). The legend of the restoration of the books of Scripture (2 Es 14) is widespread, and may be derived from tradition apart from 2 Es (Iren. iii. 21. 2; Tert. *de cult. fem.* i. 3; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 22. 149). Jerome is alone unfavourable to it (*adv. Vigilantium*, 6, *Præf. in vers. libr. Ezræ*, quoted in last art.). It was perhaps owing to his estimate that the book was excluded from the Canon by the Council of Trent: it now with 1 Es forms an appendix to the Vulg. after the NT. The liturgical use of the book shows its popularity: the words of $2^{34.35}$ are employed in the 'Missa pro defunctis' of the Breviary ad Usum Sarum, and the word Requiem is derived from this passage; and $2^{36.37}$ were formerly used by the Eng. Church as an Introit for Whit Tuesday. Otherwise no use is made of it in the services of the Church.

LITERATURE.—A full list of the wide lit. on the subject is given in Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. 93–114. The best critical edd. of the Lat. text are in the Camb. *Texts and Studies*, vol. iii. 2, ed. Bensly and James, 1895; and Bensly, *The Missing Fragment of the Fourth Book of Ezra*, 1875. The versions are collected in Hilgenfeld's *Messias Judæorum* (Lips. 1869). Eng. commentaries and introductions are Lupton in the *Speaker's Comm. on the Apoc.*; Bissell (in Lange's *OT Comm.*); Churton's *Uncan. and Apocr. Scriptures*; and Drummond's *Jewish Messiah*, 1877.

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

ESDRIS (Ἔσδρις).—Mentioned only 2 Mac 12^{36}. The text is probably corrupt. AV has *Gorgias*, and this is likely enough to be correct.

ESEK (עֵשֶׂק), 'contention,' Gn 26^{20}.—A well dug by Isaac, in the region near Rehoboth and Gerar. The site is unknown.

ESEREBIAS (Ἐσερεβίας, AV **Esebrias**), 1 Es 8^{54}. See SHEREBIAH.

ESHAN (אֶשְׁעָן), Jos 15^{52}.—A town of Judah in the Hebron mountains, noticed with Arab and Dumah. The site is doubtful.

ESHBAAL.—See ISHBOSHETH.

ESHBAN (אֶשְׁבָּן).—An Edomite chief (Gn 36^{26}, 1 Ch 1^{41}). See GENEALOGY.

ESHCOL (אֶשְׁכֹּל). — The brother of Mamre and Aner, the Amorite confederates of Abraham, who assisted the patriarch in his pursuit and defeat of Chedorlaomer's forces (Gn $14^{13.24}$). He lived in the neighbourhood of Hebron (Gn 13^{18}); and possibly gave his name to the valley of Eshcol, that lay a little to the N. of Hebron (Nu 13^{23}).

It is noteworthy that Josephus, in recording the event described in Gn 14^{13-24}, mentions Eshcol first. 'The first of them was called Eshcol, the second Enner, and the third Mambres' (*Ant.* I. x. 2). In the Heb. of Gn 14^{24} they are mentioned in the order Aner, Eshcol, and Mamre. But in the LXX the order is Ἐσχώλ, Αὐνάν, Μαμβρή; and this order is found also in Philo (*De Migrat. Abrah.* § 30, i. 461).

H. E. RYLE.

ESHCOL (אֶשְׁכּוֹל), Nu $13^{23.24}$ 32^{9}, Dt 1^{24}.—A wady, with vineyards and pomegranates, apparently near Hebron. E. is usually rendered 'bunch of grapes.' The name has not been recovered, since the '*Ain*

Keshkaleh at Hebron has no connexion with the Hebrew.

LITERATURE.—Robinson, *BRP* i. 114; Tristram, *Land of Israel*, 388, 393; Conder, *Tent-Work*, 237; *Bible Places*, 89; Besant, *Thirty Years' Work in the Holy Land*, 70, 84.

C. R. CONDER.

ESHEK (עֵשֶׁק).—A descendant of Saul (1 Ch 8^{39}). See GENEALOGY.

ESHTAOL (אֶשְׁתָּאוֹל Jos 15^{33} 19^{41}, Jg 13^{25} 16^{31} $18^{2.8.11}$).—A town in the Shephelah, first assigned to Judah, afterwards to Dan, always named with Zorah, now *Sura'a*, which is beside 'Ain Shems, where the Wady es-Surar is joined by valleys from the N. and S. and a great basin formed, fertile and well-watered, just beneath the hill country of Judæa. *Eshua'*, close to Sura'a, represents Eshtaol. Guérin says he heard in the neighbourhood that it formerly was called Eshu'al or Eshthu'al, which, if confirmed, might be held decisive; but the degeneration of Eshtaol into Eshua is not impossible. Between Zorah and E. was the 'camp of Dan'; and there (Jg 13^{25}) Samson's achievements began, and there he was buried (16^{31}). (See Smith's *Hist. Geog.* p. 218.) **The Eshtaolites** (*lit.* 'Eshtaolite') were, according to 1 Ch 2^{53}, descended from the families of Kiriath-jearim, etc., who are there described as Calebites. The narratives of Jos 15^{33} and 19^{41} suggest how mingling of the tribes of Judah and of Dan might arise, perhaps leading to the Danite migration from Zorah and Eshtaol.

LITERATURE.—*PEFSt*, 1874, 17; Conder, *Palestine*, 49; Smith, *HGHL*, 218; Guérin, *Judée*, ii. 12 ff.; *SWP Memoirs*, iii. 25.

A. HENDERSON.

ESHTEMOA (אֶשְׁתְּמוֹעַ), named in Jos 15^{50} (where it is called Eshtemoh, אֶשְׁתְּמֹה) among towns of Judah. It was made afterwards a Levitical city (21^{14}, 1 Ch 6^{57}). During David's wanderings in S. Judah its inhabitants were on his side (1 S 30^{28}). It is said in 1 Ch 4^{17} to have been inhabited by the descendants of Ishbah; and Eshtemoa, its founder, is called (4^{19}) a Maacathite, which would naturally suggest that he came from the small kingdom of Maacah (wh. see). It may have been here 'the Maacathite' among his heroes joined David (2 S 23^{34}). The site was recovered by Robinson some 8 miles S. of Hebron. It is now *Es-Semû'a*, a considerable village (*BR* ii. p. 204), and full of ancient remains (*PEF Memoirs*, iii. 403, 412).

A. HENDERSON.

ESHTEMOH.—See ESHTEMOA.

ESHTON (אֶשְׁתּוֹן, perhaps 'uxorious').—A Judahite (1 Ch $4^{11.12}$). See GENEALOGY.

ESLI ('Εσλεί, perhaps = אֲצַלְיָהוּ 'J" hath reserved').—An ancestor of Jesus (Lk 3^{25}). See GENEALOGY.

ESPOUSAL, ESPOUSE.—To espouse (fr. Lat. *sponsus*, ptcp. of *spondēre*, to betroth, through Old Fr. *espouser*) meant either to betroth or to marry. Thus Camden, *Rem.* (1637) 414, 'Two Lovers who being espoused, dyed both before they were married'; but Shaks. *Rich. III.* IV. v. 8—

> 'Withal, say, that the Queene hath heartily consented,
> He should espouse Elizabeth her daughter.'

So also 'espousal' is used in both senses, and Murray (*Oxf. Eng. Dict. s.v.*) thinks marriage is the primary sense. In AV 'espouse' occurs 2 S 3^{14} 'Deliver me my wife Michal, which I espoused to me' (RV, 'whom I betrothed to me,' Heb. אֵרַשְׂתִּי לִי, which always means 'betroth'); Mt 1^{18}, Lk 1^{27} 2^{5}, all of the Virgin Mary (RV 'betrothed'; Gr. μνηστεύω, always 'to ask or engage in marriage'); 2 Co 11^{2} 'I have espoused you to one husband' (ἡρμοσάμην, lit. 'joined you unto,' and here the ref. seems to be to marriage, not betrothal, 'I have given you in marriage,' though the betrothal, which was also carried out by the bridegroom's friend, may be meant). Espousal is found Ca 3^{11} 'in the day of his espousals' (בְּיוֹם חֲתֻנָּתוֹ, 'on the day of his marriage,' undoubtedly); and Jer 2^{2} 'the love of thine espousals' (אַהֲבַת כְּלוּלֹתָיִךְ, as Cheyne, 'thy bridal state'). Thus it is probable that AV (following older VSS.*) used these words indiscriminately, or at least with a less clear distinction than now obtains between betrothal and marriage. For the solemnity of betrothal in Italy (= England) in Shakespeare's day, see *Twelfth Night*, IV. iii. 26: it enables Olivia to speak of Sebastian as 'husband' (v. 146). It was not less solemn and binding in Israel. See MARRIAGE.

J. HASTINGS.

ESPY.—The verb to 'espy' occurs only six times in AV, Gn 42^{27}, Jos 14^{7}, Jer 48^{19}, Ezk 20^{6}, To 11^{6}, 1 Mac 5^{38}, while the mod. form to 'spy' is found eighteen times, and RV turns 'espy' of Jos 14^{7} into 'spy.' The word is apparently of Teutonic origin (Old High Ger. *spehon*), though it is connected with Lat. *specere*, to look, Gr. σκέπτομαι, and entered Eng. through the Old Fr. *espier*.

1. The most common and the oldest meaning is to *inspect* (secretly) a place, as Nu 21^{32} 'Moses sent to spy out Jaazer,' when the Heb. is רִגֵּל, except Nu $13^{16.17}$ (תּוּר), and the Eng. is always 'spy (Jos 14^{7} AV 'espy') *out*,' except Jos 2^{1} 'to spy secretly' (כְּרַגְּלִים חֶרֶשׁ, RV 'as spies secretly'), and Ezk 20^{6} 'a land that I had espied for them' (אֲשֶׁר־תַּרְתִּי לָהֶם). Once the ref. is not to land but to liberty, Gal 2^{4} 'false brethren . . . who came in privily to spy out our liberty' (Tindale's trn.; Wyc. 'to aspie oure fredom,' Gr. κατασκοπῆσαι). **2.** But we also find the sense of *keep watch*, as Jer 48^{19} 'O, inhabitant of Aroer, stand by the way, and espy' (וְצַפִּי). **3.** More freq. is the idea of *suddenly perceiving* anything, as Gn 42^{27} 'And as one of them opened his sack to give his ass provender in the inn, he espied his money'; so Ex 2^{11}, 2 K 9^{17} 13^{21} 23^{16} (all רָאָה 'see'). **4.** Finally, simply to discover or *perceive*, as 2 K 23^{24} 'All the abominations that were spied in the land of Judah . . . did Josiah put away' (רָאָה). Cf. Barlowe, *Dialoge* (Lunn's ed. p. 73), 'Woulde God they were as prest to remoue ye balk out of their owne eyes, as they be prompte to aspye a lytle mote in other mens.'

The subst. is always plu. 'spies,' except Sir 11^{30} 'spy.' The Heb. is generally מְרַגְּלִים (Gn $42^{9.11.14.16.30.31.34}$, Jos 6^{23}, 1 S 26^{4}, 2 S 15^{10}); also שֹׁמְרִים (Jg 1^{24}, RV 'watchers'), אֲתָרִים (Nu 21^{1}, RV 'Atharim' as place-name, wh. see). The Gr. words are κατάσκοπος (Sir 11^{30}, 1 Mac 12^{26}, He 11^{31}), the usual LXX tr. of *mĕraggĕlîm*; and ἐγκάθετος (Lk 20^{20}, lit. 'sent down into,' and so, as Plummer, 'suborned to lie in wait.' The word is not found elsewhere in NT).

J. HASTINGS.

ESSENES.—In regard to the origin and nature of this sect very various views have been held. It is therefore best to confine oneself to stating succinctly what is known about them from ancient authors.

Our earliest witness is Philo of Alexandria, who, having visited Jerusalem in his youth, may have come into personal contact with them. In his treatise *Quod Omnis Probus Liber*, which is one of his earlier works, written probably before A.D. 20, he describes them as follows :—

---

* Tindale, in his tr. published in 1525–26, rendered the Gr. μνηστευθείσης (Mt 1^{18}) by 'maried,' and in this he is followed by Coverdale. In the ed. of 1534, however, he altered it to 'betrouthed.' In 2 S 3^{14} Cov. has 'maried,' and so have the Geneva and Bishops' Bibles. In the NT our translators were probably influenced by the Rhemish Version, which in Mt 1^{18} has 'spoused,' or by Udall's tr. of Erasmus' Paraphrase (1548) which has 'espouse.'

They were a sect of Jews, and lived in Syria Palestine, over 4000 in number, and called Essæi, because of their saintliness; for *hosios*=saintly, is the same word as Essæus. Worshippers of God, they yet did not sacrifice animals, regarding a reverent mind as the only true sacrifice. At first they lived in villages and avoided cities, in order to escape the contagion of evils rife therein. They pursued agriculture and other peaceful arts; but accumulated not gold or silver, nor owned mines. No maker of warlike weapons, no huckster or trader by land or sea, was to be found among them. Least of all were any slaves found among them; for they saw in slavery a violation of the law of nature, which made all men free brethren, one of the other.

Abstract philosophy and logic they eschewed, except so far as it could subserve ethical truth and practice. Natural philosophy they only studied so far as it teaches that there is a God who made and watches over all things. Moral philosophy or ethic was their chief preoccupation, and their conduct was regulated by their national (Jewish) laws. These laws they esp. studied on the seventh day, which they held holy, leaving off all work upon it and meeting in their synagogues, as these places of resort were called. In them they sat down in ranks, the older ones above the younger. Then one took and read the Bible, while the rest listened attentively; and another, who was very learned in the Bible, would expound whatever was obscure in the lesson read, explaining most things in their time-honoured fashion by means of symbols. They were taught piety, holiness, justice, the art of regulating home and city, knowledge of what is really good and bad and of what is indifferent, what ends to avoid, what to pursue,—in short, love of God, of virtue, and of man.

And such teaching bore fruit. Their life-long purity, their avoiding of oaths or falsehood, their recognition of a good providence alone, showed their love of God. Their love of virtue revealed itself in their indifference to money, worldly position, and pleasure. Their love of man in their kindliness, their equality, their fellowship passing all words. For no one had his private house, but shared his dwelling with all; and, living as they did in colonies (θιάσους), they threw open their doors to any of their sect who came their way. They had a storehouse, common expenditure, common raiments, common food eaten in Syssitia or common meals. This was made possible by their practice of putting whatever they each earned day by day into a common fund, out of which also the sick were supported when they could not work. The aged among them were objects of reverence and honour, and treated by the rest as parents by real children.

The most cruel and deceitful tyrants, says Philo, that had been the scourge of their country, had yet been moved to admiration of their quiet but invincible freedom, of their common meals, of their consummate fellowship.

Perhaps in these last words Philo refers to Herod the Great, whose subsequent rise to greatness was foretold to him as a child by an E. named Manæmus (Menahem), and who in consequence befriended and honoured the sect (Josephus, *Ant.* xv. x. 5).

Eusebius in his *Præparatio Evangelica* has preserved a fragment of Philo's 'Apology for the Jews,' which repeats much of the information given by Philo, but also supplements it.

Our lawgiver, he says, trains into fellowship and communion thousands of his disciples, who for their saintliness (ὁσιότητα) are called Essenes. They inhabit many cities of Judæa, as well as many villages and populous tracts. Their tenets are espoused by them of free choice, and not as a matter of race.

There are no children or youths among them, but only full-grown men, or men already in the decline of life. They have no private property, but put all they have into a common fund, and live as members of a thiasus or philosophic colony, having common meals. They are very industrious, and work hard from early sunrise to sunset, as tillers of the soil, or herdsmen, or bee-farmers, or as craftsmen. Whatever they so earn they hand over to the elected steward (ταμίᾳ χειροτονηθέντι), who at once buys victuals for the common repast.

No Essene, adds Philo in this account, marries, but all practise continence. For women are selfish and jealous, and apt to pervert men's characters by ceaseless chicanery and wiles. While, if they have children, they are puffed up and bold in speech; driving their husbands to actions which are a bar to any real fellowship with other men.

The next writer who describes the Essenes is Pliny the elder († A.D. 79), in his *Natural History*, bk. v. ch. 17. 'The Hessenes,' he says, 'live on the W. side away from the shores (of the Dead Sea), out of reach of their baneful influences. A solitary race, and strange above all others in the entire world. They live without women, renouncing all sexual love. They eschew money, and live among the palm-trees. Yet the number of their fellows (convenarum) is kept up and day by day renewed; for there flock to them from afar many who, wearied of battling with the rough sea of life, drift into their system' (*ad mores*). 'Thus for thousands of ages (strange to tell) the race is perpetuated, and yet no one is born in it. So does the contrition felt by others for their past life enrich this set of men. Below them lay Engadi, a town once second only to Jerus. in its fertility and groves of palms. Now 'tis but one more tomb. Next comes Masada, a fort on a rock, and, like the former, not far from the Dead Sea. And here ends our account of Judæa.'

There are two passages in Josephus in which the E. are described at length, and many minor references. The following is an epitome of his information :—

Josephus calls them Esseni in *BJ* ii. viii. 2, *Ant.* xiii. v. 9, x. 6, etc., and with Philo, Essæi in *Ant.* xv. x. 4. They arose along with the sects of Pharisees (*Ant.* xiii. v. 9) and Sadducees, about B.C. 144, and formed from the first an αἵρεσις or sect.

About B.C. 107 (*Ant.* xiii. xi. 2) a certain Essene, named Judas, had a school, it would seem, in the temple, in which he taught his companions and pupils the art of predicting events. Again, about B.C. 21 we read (*Ant.* xv. x. 4) that Herod excused them along with the Pharisees from taking the oath of fidelity to himself. In the Jewish war (*BJ* ii. xx. 4) we hear of one John the Essene leading the Jewish rebels in Thamna. And at that time (*c.* A.D. 70) there was a gate at the S.E. corner of the city of David called the Gate of the E. (*BJ* v. iv. 2), which is proof that they were then a numerous sect.

The E. were so called because of their holiness (σεμνότητα) (*BJ* ii. viii. 5; *Ant.* xviii. i. 5). They believed that God controls all things, and committed all things to Him. Sometimes, however, Josephus says that they regarded Fate (εἱμαρμένη) as the supreme determinant of all human affairs (so a Mussulman believes in Allah and Kismet both at once) (*Ant.* xviii. i. 3).

There was no single city of the E., but they were sojourners (μετοικοῦσιν) in many, being in number over 4000 (*Ant.* xviii. i. 5). They eschewed marriage, and, adopting others' children as their own, imbued them with their own tenets (*BJ* ii. viii. 2; *Ant.* xviii. i. 5).

There was, however, another sect (τάγμα) of E., who made trial of women for three years and then married them if they were fruitful (*BJ* ii. viii. 13). They owned no slaves (*Ant.* xvii. i. 5), and were wholly devoted to agricultural pursuits. They despised wealth and shared their possessions, so that a rich man among them had no more enjoyment of his own property than had a member who owned nothing (*BJ* ii. viii. 3 and *Ant.* xviii. i. 5). For in entering their sect (αἵρεσις) a man made over his property to the institution (τῷ τάγματι) (*BJ* ii. viii. 3). There was no buying and selling between members; but the elected stewards administered the common fund,* impartially satisfying the needs of all alike (*BJ* ii. viii. 3). In every city a special relieving officer (κηδεμών) was appointed to take care of the garments and supplies of the sect and entertain its travelling members.

But though so knit together among themselves the Essenes succoured the deserving, and pitied all men and fed the needy (*BJ* ii. viii. 6). This was a primary duty to be fulfilled by each on his own responsibility, and without waiting for a hint from the overseer (ἐπιμελητής or ἐπίτροπος); without whose authority, however, they might do nothing else, nor even give to their own kinsmen.

Their general mode of life (δίαιτα) Jos. in one place declares to be the same as that which Pythagoras instituted among the Greeks; in another place he compares them to Dacians, presumably because of their simple and communal mode of living (*Ant.* xv. x. 4, xviii. i. 5). He thus describes a day of an Essene's life inside his brotherhood :—

As for their piety towards God, it is very extraordinary. For before the sun rises they speak not a word about profane matters, but address to the sun certain prayers, which they have received from their forefathers, as if they supplicated it to rise (*BJ* ii. viii. 5). After this every one of them is sent away by their curators to exercise those arts wherein they are skilled, in which they labour with great diligence till the fifth hour (11 A.M.). After this they assemble together into one place, and when they have clothed themselves in white veils, they bathe their bodies in cold water. And after this purification is over, they meet together in an apartment of their own, into which it is not permitted to any one of another persuasion to enter; and they themselves being pure enter the dining-room as if it were some holy temple, and quietly sit down. Upon which the baker lays them loaves in order, and the cook also brings a single plate of one sort of food and sets it before every one of them. But the priest says grace before meat, and it is unlawful for any one to taste of the food before prayer is offered. And when they have made their breakfast, he again prays over them. And when they begin and when they end, they praise God as

---

* χειροτονητοὶ οἱ τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμεληταί.

Him that bestoweth life. After which they lay aside their white garments as holy, and betake themselves to their labours again till the evening. Then they return home to supper after the same manner; and if there be any strangers there, they sit down with them. Nor is there ever any clamour or disturbance to pollute their house; but they give every one leave to speak in their turn. Which silence thus kept in their house appears to outsiders like some tremendous mystery; and the same is due to their unswerving sobriety, and to this, that their food and drink is measured out to satisfy them and no more.

Like Philo, Josephus is full of praise for their moral qualities, and lauds their self-restraint in anger, their faithfulness, their peace-making, their truthfulness, which made all oaths to them a mere superfluity.

The mode of joining the sect was this. The intending member remained outside the order one year, following, however, the same discipline, and invested with its symbols, namely a spud wherewith to hide his excrement out of sight of God, the girdle and white raiment. After the lapse of a year, if he had given good proof of his continence, he was allowed to join more closely in their way of life and partake of a *purer* quality of the waters of purification, though not yet to live entirely with them. Two years of moral probation must yet be passed before he was chosen a member of their band (ὅμιλος). And then before he touched the common food he took tremendous oaths to them: first to reverence the Deity, next to observe justice towards men, to hate the wicked and assist the just. To be loyal ever to all men, but in especial to those in authority, because none hath authority except by God's help. He swore also, if he should ever be in authority, not to abuse the same, nor outshine those subject to him in his garments or in any other finery; to love truth and repel falsehood; to keep his hands clean from theft and his soul from unholy gain; to conceal nothing from members of the sect, nor reveal aught to others, even at peril of his life. Moreover, he swore to communicate to none the dogmas of the sect, otherwise than as he received them himself, to abstain from brigandage, and to preserve with like care the books of their sect and the names of the angels.

Jos. gives many indications that the E. were very strict Jews (*BJ* II. viii. 9). They revered the name of the lawgiver next after God, and punished with death one that blasphemed against Moses. Above all other Jews they observed the Sabbath, not only not cooking on that day, and avoiding the lighting of a fire, but forbearing also to move a vessel, or even evacuate. In the Jewish war many died under torture at the hands of the Romans rather than blaspheme the lawgiver or eat unclean food. Many details supplied by Josephus prove how much importance they attached to ceremonial purity. We have seen how they bathed before each meal, and wore linen garments; linen, of course, being prescribed because it was a vegetable substance, and not made of dead animal refuse, as would be a leathern or woollen tunic. That the waters of purification in their purer quality were denied to novices, proves that the water of the bath was ceremonially cleansed, and probably exorcised. By immersion in it they were themselves rendered καθαροί or pure before they sat down to meat, by contrast with the ἑτερόδοξοι, or persons of any other persuasion (*BJ* II. viii. 10). They were distinguished acc. to their purity and seniority into four grades; and a senior member was polluted by the very touch of a junior member, and had to wash after being so touched, as if he had been jostled by Gentiles. So an Indian Brahman is polluted by the touch and even sight of a low-caste native. They did not anoint themselves with oil, regarding it as a defilement; prob. because they could not easily get oil prepared by members of their own caste. Josephus elsewhere assures us that no Jew would anoint himself except with Jewish oil.

The same pursuit of ceremonial purity is to be noticed in regard to their meals. Their food and viands were specially prepared by their priests (*Ant.* XVIII. i. 5); just as in a Hindoo prison the cook must be a Brahman, because any lower-caste man may eat what a higher-caste man has cooked, but not *vice versâ*. In each city a special officer (κηδεμών) was appointed to supply travelling E. with their ceremonially pure garments and food. Lastly, an E. expelled for his sins by a court of 100 members from the brotherhood was still so held by its oaths and customs that he could not eat of food provided by others, and in consequence starved to death. To the same concern for ceremonial purity must prob. be ascribed their attitude of reserve towards the temple sacrifices. 'They send offerings (ἀναθήματα) to the temple and perform sacrifices with superiority of purificatory rites,* which they claim to practise (*Ant.* XVIII. i. 5). And being for this reason excluded from the common court of the temple, they perform their sacrifices by themselves.' † These words are obscure, and barely reconcilable with Philo's statement that the E. did not sacrifice animals (Philo, ii. 457 = *Quod om. prob. lib.* § 12). The offerings sent, according to Jos., need not of course have been blood-offerings; and as to the nature of the sacrifices (θυσίας) which they performed by themselves, *i.e.* without the help of the temple priests, Jos. tells us nothing; but we should certainly connect it with a practice, which he elsewhere attests, viz. that they *elected* their own priests for the making of their own food and eatables. This much is clear, that the ordinary lustrations of the temple were not good enough for an E., and were incompatible with his notions of ceremonial purity. Presumably, they were excluded from the temple court for thus flouting the usual lustrations. Unable to enter it, they sent offerings, but did not go themselves. At the same time 'they performed their sacrifices by themselves.' There seems to be some connexion between this statement and Philo's that they offered up the sacrifice of a devout and reverent mind. They could not possibly have offered up animal sacrifices save in the temple and in the ordinary way; and Josephus' own statement elsewhere, that their mode of life was Pythagorean, is in favour of Philo's declaration that they did not sacrifice animals. It is natural to suppose that they regarded their common meals as of the nature of a sacrifice, just as Christians regard the eucharistic elements. Only thus can we explain the fact that they *elected priests* to prepare those meals; for a priest implies a sacrifice to be offered.

Their abstention from marriage must also be set down to their desire for a levitical purity. For acc. to the Mosaic law sexual relations involved a defilement of the person, and the uncleanness lasted until the even (Lv 15[18]).

Notwithstanding their attachment to the Mosaic law and striving after levitical purity, there were certainly many non-Jewish elements in their religious practices and beliefs. Thus they adored the sun, and prayed to him to rise. In Appian and other writers we find the phrase, 'the *god* rose,' or 'the *god* set,' used instead of 'the *sun* rose,' or 'the *sun* set'; and Philo regarded the sun and stars as holy and divine natures.

The Essene beliefs about the soul and a future life were also non-Jewish. They believed that they received their souls back after death (*BJ* II. viii. 11), and so very cheerfully died for the faith. 'The body is corruptible, they taught; and the matter of which it is composed is not lasting. But souls are immortal, and last for ever, and, proceeding out of the most subtle ether, are entangled in bodies as in prison-cells, being drawn down by some natural yearning. But when they are set free from the bonds of the flesh, as being now released from a long bondage, they rejoice and mount upwards. And in agreement with the opinions of the Greeks they declare that there lies away across the ocean a habitation for the good souls, in a region that is oppressed neither with storms of rain or snow, nor with intense heat; a region ever refreshed by the gentle breathing of a breeze blowing from the ocean. But they allot to bad souls a dark and tempestuous den full of never-ceasing punishments.'

---

* τὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν διαφορότητι ἁγνειῶν, ἃς νομίζοιεν.

† ἐφ' αὑτῶν.

The Essenes had hereditary prayers to the sun, as well as the usual Jewish sacred books; they had purificatory rites of different sorts or degrees, and utterances of the prophets. By diligent study of these, some of them learned and professed to read the future. And their predictions, says Jos., were rarely belied; indeed he gives several instances up and down his history of the fulfilment of their prophecies (*BJ* II. viii. 12). They also had compositions of the ancients from which they chose out whatever benefited soul and body; and they inquired after such roots and peculiar stones as would ward off their distempers. The regular books and dogmas of the sect, as we have seen, they took oath to carefully keep, as also the names of the angels. These names, of course, were powerful weapons against evil demons, with a belief in which they must, like other Jews of the age, have been imbued. The stones and roots were the ordinary magic remedies against diseases.

This is the sum of what Jos. has to say about the Essenes. Hippolytus in the 9th Book of his *Refutation of Heresies*, § 18–28, substantially copies out Josephus' account in the *BJ* ii. ch. 8, here and there adding Christian touches in a way which proves that he was not loth to assimilate them to Christians. Yet some of the information which he adds is not of this sort, but serves to intensify their Jewish complexion. Such are the statements that on the Sabbath some Essenes would not so much as leave their beds (§ 25); that some were so scrupulous that they would not carry a coin, declaring it wrong to carry or look at or make an image (§ 26, cf. Mt 22^{20}); that no one of them would enter a city over the gate of which stood a statue (§ 26); that others of them, if they heard any one talking about God and His law, would waylay him when alone, and threaten to slay him unless he were circumcised, and slay him actually if he did not submit; for which reason, says Hippolytus, they got the name of Zealots and Sicarii; that others would call no one Lord (Κύριον) but only God, submitting to torment and death rather than do so. It is difficult to believe that Hippolytus had no authority for these statements; which indeed might seem to be taken from Jos., since they are embedded in his long citation of that author. If so, they have been removed from all the MSS of Josephus. The same account of Jos. was excerpted by Porphyry in the 3rd cent. in his book on Abstinence from Meats, and later by Eusebius in his *De Præp. Evang.* The account given by Epiphanius of the E. is late, confused, and of little value. It is clear that, even if the majority of the E. were cultivators and voluntarily poor, that did not prevent some of their number from occupying important posts in the court and camp; for we hear of one Simon * the interpreter of Archelaus' dream (*Ant.* XVII. xiii. 3), and of John the strategus, and of Menahem the friend of Herod. Nor did their gospel of peace and their prejudice against arms, as reported by Philo, prevent them from taking part in the final struggle against the Romans. Jos., moreover, implies that they were constantly moving about from city to city; and we can only suppose that the object of this travelling was to preach their tenets and secure recruits. We should like to know if the sect was not mainly recruited from Greek-speaking Jews, but on this point Jos. tells us nothing. In his autobiog. (*Vita*, 10) he implies that as a youth he had tried the discipline of this sect, as also of the Pharisees and Sadducees, and this inner acquaintance with them entitles his account to our entire credit; but just because he and his countrymen knew the sect so well, he omits to inform us about so essential a point as in what language their books were written, and what tongue, whether Greek or Aramaic, they usually spoke among themselves.

Some writers, impressed with the fact that Jesus constantly inveighed against the Pharisees and Sadducees, but never against the members of the third of the three great Jewish sects, who yet must have everywhere confronted Him, have inferred that He and John the Baptist, His precursor, were Essenes. The silence of the Gospels about the E. is certainly remarkable; and there are many striking traits in common between the E. and the earliest Christians. These are the following:—

1. The community of goods and voluntary poverty. **2.** The art of prophecy. In the earliest Church, as we know from Acts and from the *Didaché*, there was a regular order of prophets. **3.** The teaching about the future life, and about a hell. These tenets, however, were equally found among the Pharisees; nor does Jos. support Hippolytus in the latter's statement that the Essenes believed in the resurrection of the flesh, though the picture of the Islands of the Blest implies as much, and answers well enough to the Refrigerium of later Christian belief. As to the teaching of future punishment, we also find it in Philo. **4.** Abstention from marriage. This was equally a counsel of perfection in the early Church, but was there held to be right in view of the impending second advent and end of the world (1 Co $7^{25ff.}$). **5.** Obedience to established authorities. **6.** Internal government. The officers of the E. community were variously termed ἀποδέκται τῶν προσόδων 'receivers of the revenue,' ἐπιμεληταί 'curators,' κηδεμόνες 'relieving officers,' ταμίαι 'stewards' (in Philo). These officers were, like the bishops of the early Church, elected by show of hands (χειροτονηθέντες), acc. to the testimony of both Philo and Josephus. It is significant that Hippolytus calls them outright προεστῶτες or presidents (lib. ix. § 25), the regular 2nd cent. equivalent of 'bishop.' **7.** The common meals, with which we may compare the picture of the early Church of Jerusalem given in the Acts. But whereas the Essenes dined together because of their anxiety to eat no food but what was ceremonially pure, the Christians were chiefly actuated, it would seem, by charitable and communistic reasons. Their love-feast, however, also had from an early date, if not from the very first, a sacramental character and conclusion, and required, like the Essene common meal, the presence of a priest both to prepare it and to give thanks before and after it to God 'the Giver of Life.' **8.** The Essene priests (ἱερεῖς) were *elected* to preside at the common meal, and *make* the food eaten thereat. Since the Essene common repasts had plainly a sacramental character, the function of their priests, as of Christian ones, was simply to prepare and preside over a sacramental meal, to which none were admitted save those rendered pure by previous baptism. **9.** General organization. (α) Obedience to the Essene officers. The brethren in their deportment and bodily habit were like children under the eye of a schoolmaster whom they feared (*BJ* II. viii. 9). (β) They were all brethren, but the elder members were revered by the juniors as if they were their parents. (γ) The entire body or class of Essenes (γένος as Jos. calls it) is a θίασος, an αἵρεσις, an ὅμιλος, a τάγμα. The two former were generic names for any body of co-religionists, and Christian congregations among the Gentiles were so described. (δ) The travelling precepts of the E. resembled those enjoined by Jesus on the Seventy. They were to take nothing at all with them, but only to go armed for fear of robbers.* (ε) They were to wear their cloaks and shoes right out, never changing them till they were quite worn out. Hippolytus paraphrases this by saying that no E. owned two cloaks or two pairs of shoes (Hipp. *l.c.* § 20). (ζ) The four grades of E. resembled the steps of the catechumenate. Such a distinction, however, of grades of initiation was common to most ancient mysteries, and was not special to Christianity. The *disciplina arcani* of the E. was also reproduced in the Christian Church, but equally in the pagan mysteries. **10.** Like the Christians, the Essenes were not content with the ordinary lustrations (ἁγνεῖαι) of Judaism, but had superior ones of their own. Whereas, however, the Christian baptism was conferred once and for all, the Essene baptism was daily. The Essene affectation of a purity of food superior even to the ordinary purity of the Jews, also recalls the eucharistic meal of the Christians. From it the novice was excluded, just as was the catechumen from the Eucharist. And just as the priest among the E. was *elected* to *make* the food eaten in their syssitia, so the priest in the Gr. Church, even to this day, himself prepares and bakes the eucharistic loaves. Jos. expressly says that the Essenes *elected* priests. They were therefore not content with the hereditary Levites of Judaism.

More analogies between the Essenes and the earliest Christians could no doubt be discerned. But it is a fatal objection to any real identification, that the Essenes were ultra-Jewish in the observance of the Sabbath, and, if we may credit Hippolytus, in their insistence on the circumcision of converts. The most we can say is that the

---

* Σιμων ἀνὴρ γενος Ἐσσαῖος.

* οὐδὲν μὲν ὅλως ἐπικομιζόμενοι, διὰ δὲ τοὺς λῃστὰς ἔνοπλοι.

Christians copied many features of their organization and propagandist activity from the Essenes.

The relation of the different sources on which our knowledge of the E. depends requires further sifting than it has generally received. Of course there have been attempts to prove the Philonean sources to be not authentic, but they are based on mere ignorance. There are occasional verbal resemblances[*] between the accounts of Philo and Jos. which indicate that Jos., besides his own personal experience of the sect, used either Philo or else a document previously used by Philo. The accounts of the two writers, however, do not always agree. Thus Philo says that all the E. were full-grown men, or verging on old age; but Jos. avers that they recruited their sect by adopting other people's children while they were still supple and plastic to receive their teachings (*BJ* II. viii. 2). Yet in the same context Jos. speaks of those who *desired* to become members of the sect,[†] and also of *their* period of probation, in words suitable only to the view that these recruits were adult men. We may perhaps infer that the sect was recruited in both ways. Pliny's statement that the men from all quarters joined it when they repented of their lives, and left the world, agrees well enough with Philo's statement; and, if we translate *pœnitentia* as 'repentance' rather than mere *ennui*, offers a striking parallel to John the Baptist's preaching: Repent of your sins and be baptized, because the kingdom of God is at hand. There is reason to suspect some close affinity between John, who came fasting, and the E.; the more so as John's sphere of activity in the valley of Jordan lay close to the Essene settlement on the shores of the Dead Sea.

The recluse Bannus, with whom Jos. as a young man spent three years as a disciple, resembled the Essenes. For he lived in the desert, wore garments made of the bark of trees, and lived on anything he found growing about, washing himself often day and night with cold water by way of purification. However, Josephus' context rather implies that he was not one. An almost certain reference to the E. is contained in an eloquent passage of Philo's, from the same treatise in which his longer description of the sect is preserved.

> Even in our own day, he writes, there are still men whose only guide is God; men who live by the true reason of nature, not only themselves free, but filling their neighbours with a spirit of freedom. They are not very numerous indeed. But that is not strange. For the highest nobility is ever rare; and then these men have turned aside from the vulgar herd to devote themselves to a contemplation of nature's verities. They pray, if it were possible, that they may reform our fallen lives; but, if they cannot, owing to the tide of evils and wrongs which surges up in cities, they flee away, lest they too be swept off their feet by the force of its current. And we, he continues, if we had a true zeal for self-improvement, would have to track them to their places of retreat, and, halting as suppliants before them, would beseech them to come to us and tame our life, grown too fierce and wild; preaching, instead of war and slavery and untold ills, their gospel of peace and freedom, and all the fulness of other blessings.

The Therapeutæ of Alexandria, of whom Philo has left so striking a description in his tract *De Vita Contemplativa*, in many ways resembled the Pal. Essenes; but were, as was natural in an Egyp. sect, more addicted to contemplation. Here is not the place for a detailed comparison between them and the E.; nor is it possible to review the numerous theories which have been framed with regard to the origin of the E. It, however, deserves to be remarked that acc. to the evidence of Jos. they arose just at the time when the friendship between Lacedæmon and Jerus. was at its highest. Areus the king of Sparta had written as early as B.C. 309–300 to Onias the high priest in these terms: 'It is found in writing that the Spartans and the Jews are brethren, and that they are of the stock of Abraham' (1 Mac 12^{21}). And in B.C. 144 Jonathan the high priest, in renewing the relations of his country with Lacedæmon, reminded the Spartans of this long-standing friendship based on ancient kinship. Is it possible that the E. sect was partly an outcome of this contact with the Peloponnese—an attempt to imitate on Jewish soil, and in a religious and moral sense only, the Syssitia and organization of the Lycurgean polity? That most of the Jews mentioned in Jos. as belonging to the Maccabæan period have Greek second names is good evidence of the wide diffusion in Pal. at that time of the Gr. language. And the very information proffered by Jos., that the E. were Jews by race, almost implies in its context that in language they were something else. So Philo assures us that the holy places in which the E. met on the Sabbath were called *συναγωγαί, synagogues*. Unless they spoke Greek, why should this term rather than the usual one *σαββατεῖον*[*] have been employed? Friedländer (*Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Christenthums*, Wien, 1894) has remarked that the very circumstance of Jos. having used, if not Philo's account, at least a Gr. description of the sect already used by Philo, is some indication that they were a Gr. sect of Jews. Their Pythagorean régime, their belief in the preexistence of the soul, their view of its nature and incarnation, all point the same way. The statement also of Philo, not repeated by Jos., that they philosophized most things in the Bible allegorically or in a symbolic way with old-fashioned zeal,[†] is an almost certain proof of their Hellenism. And Philo's own allegorization of the passage Dt 23 ff. is, as Friedländer has seen (p. 118), an allusion to the Essene probation and discipline (Philo, *Legis Alleg.* i. 117).

Again, Philo, when he states that the E. were taught the art of regulating home and state, and a knowledge of what things are really good and bad and indifferent, how to choose what is right and avoid the opposite courses, seems to imply a familiarity on their part with Greek, especially with Stoic, moral philosophy, inconceivable among Jews who spoke Aramaic only. But here we must be cautious, for Philo would naturally describe any sect in terms of his own Gr. culture. That he twice over described this Pal. sect, yet apparently left unnoticed the purely Jewish schools of Pal., is in any case significant, and suggests that they had a Gr. culture which interested him, and led him to couple them, as he does, with the Alexandrine Therapeutæ.

Jos. equally implies that they were more or less Hellenized. Would he have conspired with Philo to misrepresent them? Nothing is more improbable.

The conclusion, then, is probable that they owed their origin to the introduction and diffusion of Greek culture in the early part of the 2nd cent. B.C. They were in some respects very strict Jews, and even fanatical observers of the Mosaic Law; but in others, notably in their election of their own priests,[‡] and in the thereby implied supersession of the Levite hereditary priesthood, and in their repudiation of animal sacrifices, they were a new departure in Judaism, and very closely akin to Jesus and His disciples.

---

[*] *E.g. Ant.* XVIII. i. 5: *τάδε πράσσουσιν ἄνδρες ὑπὲρ τετρακισχίλιοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες.* Cf. Philo, ii. 457: *πλῆθος ὑπὲρ τετρακισχίλιοι.* It is not likely that their numbers were the same at the very beg. of our era as in A.D. 70. Again Jos. writes (*BJ* II. viii. 4): *τοῖς ἑτέρωθεν ἥκουσιν αἱρετισταῖς ταντ' ἀναπέπταται τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς.* Cf. Philo (ii. 458): *ἀναπέπταται καὶ τοῖς ἑτέρωθεν ἀφικνουμένοις τῶν ὁμοζήλων.*

[†] *τοῖς δὲ ζηλοῦσιν τὴν αἵρεσιν.*

[*] Jos. uses *σαββατεῖον* (*Ant.* XVI. vi. 2). It is found in a very early Græco-Jewish papyrus, edited by Mr. B. P. Grenfell, of Oxford.

[†] *τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα διὰ συμβόλων ἀρχαιοτρόπῳ ζηλώσει παρ' αὐτοῖς φιλοσοφεῖται.*

[‡] *Ant.* XVIII. i. 5: *ἀποδέκτας τῶν προσόδων χειροτονοῦντες . . . ἱερεῖς δὲ ἐπὶ ποιήσει σίτου τε καὶ βρωμάτων.* If the Essenes discarded sacrifices, they had no need for priests of the old kind.

The literature relating to the Essenes is so vast as to defy detailed reference. The student may be advised to study for himself the very limited documentary sources relating to them, and then to draw his own conclusions.* F. C. CONYBEARE.

ESTATE.—In AV (1611 and mod. edd.) 'estate' occurs 19 times, 'state' 14 times, without difference of meaning; thus Col 4^7 'All my state (*τὰ κατ' ἐμὲ πάντα*) shall Tychicus declare unto you,' but v.^{8} 'that he might know your estate' (TR *τὰ περὶ ὑμῶν*); and again, Ph $2^{19.\,20}$ 'your state' (*τὰ περὶ ὑμῶν*). Cf. Melvill, *Diary*, 289, 'We fand him in a miserable esteat'; Calderwood, *History*, 144, 'I, Mr. Andrew Melville . . . most earnestly hath prayed at all times, and specially in the foresaid Sermon, for the preservation and prosperous estate of his Majestie.' The meaning is either 'condition' as in those examples, or 'position' as Ps 136^{23} 'Who remembered us in our low estate' (בְּשִׁפְלֵנוּ), Ec 1^{16} 'I am come to great estate' (הִגְדַּלְתִּי). Cf. T. Elyot, *The Governour* (Croft's ed. i. 26), 'a man of the base estate of the communaltie'; Calderwood, *History*, 149, 'They declare how some of low estate, borne to no heritage . . . have creeped in favour with the King.' But in Dn $11^{7.\,20.\,21.\,38}$ the meaning seems to be 'high rank,' 'dignity,' as 11^7 'Out of a branch of her roots shall one stand up in his estate.' The Heb. is כֵּן *kēn*, which means 'place' (as RV here) or 'office' (as RVm), and the favourite translation before AV was 'in his stead' (Cov. Gen. Bish.); once, however, the word is translated 'state' (Pr 28^2, AV and RV). Akin to this meaning is Mk 6^{21} 'Herod on his birthday made a supper to his lords, high captains, and chief estates of Galilee' (*τοῖς πρώτοις*, RV 'the chief men'), where, however, the word is used of the men to whom the dignity belongs. Cf. Fuller, *Ch. Hist.* v. iii. 28, 'Item, that God never gave grace or knowledge of Holy Scripture to any great estate or rich man.' See also Ac 22^5 'The high priest doth bear me witness, and all the estate of the elders,' Gr. *πᾶν τὸ πρεσβυτέριον*, lit. 'all the presbytery,' *i.e.* the Sanhedrin (which see). Compare Communion Office in Pr. Bk. 1549, 'the whole estate of Christ's Church militant here in earth,' changed in 1552 into 'state.' In Ezk 36^{11} 'I will settle you after your old estates,' the plu. is used simply because the ref. is to more than one person; so Pref. to AV 1611, 'support fit for their estates.' J. HASTINGS.

ESTEEM, ESTIMATION.—'Esteem' and 'estimate' both come from Lat. *æstimare*, the latter directly, the former through Old Fr. *estimer*. The meaning of *æstimare* is to assign a value, appraise, rate; and that is the meaning of 'estimate' (Heb. הֶעֱרִיךְ) in Lv $27^{14\,bis}$, its only occurrences in EV. 'Estimation' occurs 20 times in the same chapter; elsewhere Lv $5^{15.\,18}$ 6^6, Nu 18^{16}, and always in the same sense as 'estimate,' that is, valuation, price (Heb. עֵרֶךְ). Only once is 'estimation' found in the mod. sense of 'high value,' 'repute,' Wis 8^{10} 'For her sake I shall have estimation among the multitude, and honour with the elders, though I be young' (*δόξα*, RV 'glory').

Cranmer (*Works*, i. 14) says, 'But to mine estimation, as much as I could view the ground, there was not slain upon both parties two thousand men.' This meaning of 'estimation' is not found in AV, but it is the almost invariable sense in which 'esteem' is used, that is, to esteem is to have an opinion (good or bad), reckon, as in He 10^{29} Rhem. 'estemed the bloud of the testament polluted,' where AV and most VSS have 'counted'; and as Knox, *Hist.* 312, 'he shall be esteemed and holden a seditious person.' Thus Ro 14^5 'One man esteemeth one day above another: another esteemeth every day alike' (both *κρίνει*). Then the kind of judgment is expressed by an adverb, 'highly,' 'lightly,' or the like.

Sometimes 'esteem' might appear to be used, like 'estimation,' in the mod. sense of 'think highly of.' But this impression is probably due to the context or the presence of some adverb. Thus Wis 12^7 'that land which thou esteemest above all other' (*ἡ . . . τιμιωτάτη γῆ*, RV 'is most precious'); Sir 40^{25} 'Gold and silver make the foot stand sure; but counsel is esteemed above them both' (*εὐδοκιμεῖται*); Job 23^{12} 'I have esteemed the words of his mouth more than my necessary food' (צָפַנְתִּי, RV 'I have treasured up'), 36^{19} 'Will he esteem thy riches?' (הֲיַעֲרֹךְ). And in particular, Is 53^3 'He was despised, and we esteemed him not,' is generally taken in the sense of 'highly value'; but the Heb. verb (חָשַׁב) is very rare in that sense, and is used in the next verse in its familiar sense of 'reckon'—'we did esteem him stricken.' Cf. Ridley, *A Brefe Declaration*, 1535 (Moule's ed. p. 101), 'eateth and drynketh his owne damnacion, bycause he estemeth not the Lordes body; that is, he reuerenceth not the Lordes bodi with the honour that is due unto him,' where the paraphrase contains more than the translation.

J. HASTINGS.

ESTHER (אֶסְתֵּר, *Ἐσθήρ*, Pers. *stâra*, 'star'), originally named Hadassah (הֲדַסָּה 'myrtle').—A Jewess who has given her name to a book of the OT, in which she holds a prominent place. Sprung from a family of the tribe of Benjamin, she spent her life in the Captivity in Persia, where she was brought up in humble circumstances as the orphan ward of her cousin Mordecai (Est $2^{5ff.}$). On the deposition of the Pers. queen Vashti for refusing to come at the command of her husband Ahasuerus (*Xerxes*, B.C. 485–465), 'to show the peoples and the princes her beauty,' on an occasion of high festivity at the court of Susa ($1^{10ff.}$), E. was selected to fill the vacant place of honour, as the fairest of many beautiful maidens brought before the king ($2^{8ff.}$). Shortly after her elevation a great disaster threatened her countrymen. The grand vizier, 'Haman the Agagite,' enraged at the refusal of Mordecai to do obeisance to him, accused the whole nation of the Jews to the king as a disloyal and unprofitable people, and undertook to pay 10,000 talents of silver into the treasury as the proceeds of pillaging them. An edict was thereupon issued for the extermination of all Jewish families throughout the empire, and for the confiscation of their property, on a certain day, which Haman had previously determined by lot (ch. 3). In this crisis, moved by the tears of her fellow-countrymen, and incited by Mordecai, who urged her to rise to the great opportunity set before her for the deliverance of her nation, E. (after a fast of three days on the part of the whole Jewish community) resolved to venture uninvited, at the risk of her life, into the presence of Ahasuerus, in order to intercede with him for her people (ch. 4). A gracious reception was accorded to her by the king, who held out the golden sceptre, and agreed to dine with her in her apartments on two consecutive days (ch. 5). On the night preceding the second banquet (at which E. intended to make known her request) it happened by a singular coincidence that there was read to the king, to while away some sleepless hours, a portion of the national archives, which recorded a valuable service rendered by Mordecai in the detection of a plot against the king's life on the part of two of his chamberlains. For this service Mordecai had never been rewarded; and when Haman, elated with the high honour shown him by the queen (who had invited him to the banquet provided for the king), appeared at the palace next morning in order to ask permission to put Mordecai at once to an ignominious death, he was met with the question from the royal lips, 'What shall be done unto the man whom the king delighteth to honour?' Imagining, in his overweening pride, that it must be himself that was meant, he suggested a triumphal procession, in which one of the chief nobles should act the part of attendant. To his surprise and mortification he found himself called upon to serve in a menial capacity in the triumph of his Jewish adversary (ch. 6). This, as his wife divined, was only the prelude to his downfall, which came to pass next day at the second banquet, when the king, learning for the first time the nationality of the queen, and the distressing position in which the edict had placed her, ordered that Haman should be seized, and hanged forthwith on a lofty gallows which (as the king was at that moment informed by one of his courtiers) had been erected by Haman for the execution of Mordecai (ch. 7). The latter was at the same time raised to the vacant post of honour, and through his influence, and that of E., a second edict was issued and circulated, granting to the Jews the same powers, in the way of self-defence, as had been conferred in the previous edict on their enemies for the purpose of attack,—a direct revocation of the former edict being impossible according to the laws of the Medes and Persians. In consequence of these proceedings a dread of the Jews fell upon all peoples, many proselytes being gained—convinced, apparently, by the logic of events (ch. 8); and when the fatal day arrived, the conflict issued in a great slaughter of their enemies and a decisive victory for the Jews, who, however, waived their right of plunder. To commemorate their great deliverance, the joyful Feast of Purim (which see) was instituted by E. and Mordecai as an annual observance for the whole nation.

---

* Schürer (*HJP* ɪɪ. ii. 188 ff.) has a full record of the literature. The important names are Frankel, 'Die Essäer,' in *Zeitschr. für die religiösen Interessen des Judenthums*, 1846, 441–461; and 'Die Essäer nach thalmud. Quellen,' in *Monatschr. für Gesch. u. Wissensch. des Judenth.* 1853, 30–40, 61–73; Jost, *Gesch. des Judenthums u. seiner Secten*, 1857, i. 207–214; Herzfeld, *Gesch. des Volkes Isr.* (2nd ed. 1863), ii. 368 ff., 388 ff., 509 ff.; Lightfoot in *Colossians and Philemon*, 82–98, 349–419; same in *Dissertations*, 323–407; Lucius, *Der Essenismus*, 1881; Hilgenfeld, *Ketzergesch. des Urchristenthums*, 1884, 87–149. Schürer may be supplemented by adding: Ginsburg in Smith and Wace, *Dict. Chr. Biog.* 1880; Ohle, 'Die Essener,' in *JPTh* (1888) xiv; also 'Die Pseudophilonischen Essäer und die Therapeuten,' in *Beiträge zur Kirchengesch.* 1888; Thomson, *Books which influenced our Lord*, 1889, 75–122; Morrison, *Jews under Roman Rule*, 1890, 323–347; Cheyne, *Origin of the Psalter*, 1891, 418–421, 446–449; Cohn in *JQR*, 1892, 38–42; Friedländer, *Zur Entstehungsgesch. des Christenthums*, 1894, 98–142; Conybeare, *Philo about the Contemplative Life*, 1895, 278 ff.—EDITOR.

How far E. is to be regarded as a historical personage, depends on the historicity of the Book of Est (see below), her name not being mentioned in any other book of the OT, nor anywhere else in pre-Alex. literature. The only queen of Xerxes mentioned by Herodotus (vii. 61, 82, 114; ix. 108–112; cf. Ctesias, 20) is Amestris, a cruel and superstitious woman, whom some (Scaliger, Pfeiffer, Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Bunsen, Shickard, etc.) would identify with Esther. But Amestris was a daughter of a Pers. general connected with the royal family, and the chronology and circumstances of her reign cannot be reconciled with the biblical account either of E. or of Vashti. Xerxes (like his predecessors) may have had more wives than one, but, according to Pers. custom, they must have been taken from some of the great families connected with the throne, or from some other royal house; and the most tenable hypothesis seems to be that E. (as well as Vashti) was merely the chief favourite of the seraglio, gaining a remarkable influence over the foolish and capricious monarch, and using that influence at a critical moment for the benefit of her Jewish compatriots. While there are some things recorded of E. that offend our Christian feeling,—in particular her vindictive treatment of the bodies of Haman's sons (9^{7}), and her request for an extension of time to the Jews at Susa for the slaughter of their enemies (9^{13}),—regard must be had to the spirit of the age in which she lived, and to the passions that had been excited by Haman's inhuman malignity. On the other hand, her devotion to the cause of her oppressed nationality ('I will go in unto the king; and if I perish, I perish'), and her dutiful bearing towards her foster-father, notwithstanding the sudden rise in her fortunes, explain the honour in which her memory has been held by her countrymen.

J. A. M'CLYMONT.

ESTHER, BOOK OF.—I. CANONICITY.—Est is one of the latest of the *Hagiographa* or *Kethubim*, the third and latest accretion of the OT Canon. It may have been among 'the other books of the Fathers' which the Gr. translator of Sir (B.C. 132) mentions (in his Prologue) along with the 'Law and the Prophets' as well known to his grandfather, the author of that book (*c.* B.C. 180); but this seems unlikely, in view of the fact that neither Esther nor Mordecai is mentioned in the *πατέρων ὕμνος* towards the close of the book. The earliest undoubted reference to E. is in Jos. (*c. Ap.* i. 8), who includes it among the 22 books long held sacred (*δικαίως θεῖα πεπιστευμένα*), as is evident from the *terminus ad quem* which he assigns to the history (*μεχρὶ τῆς Ἀρταξέρξου Περσῶν βασιλέως ἀρχῆς*), Artaxerxes being, in Josephus as in the Sept., erroneously identified with Ahasuerus. The secular and foreign character of the book * gave rise among the Jews of the 1st and 2nd cent. of the Christian era to questionings as to its right to a place in the Canon. In the Jerus. Talm. (*Meg.* 70. 4) there is a statement that 85 elders, including more than 30 prophets, had scruples about the recognition of the Feast of Purim (at which the Book of Est was publicly read) because there was no sanction for it in the law of Moses; and elsewhere (*Bab. Meg.* 7*a*) we find traces of various difficulties felt by Rabbis as to the full inspiration of the book. It appears certain, however, that it formed an integral part of the Jewish Canon when the latter was virtually, if not formally, closed at the Councils of Jerus. and Jamnia in the 1st cent. A.D., as the same books that are in our OT are implied (numerically) in ch. 14 of 2 Es, which was written in end of 1st cent., and are embodied in the Mishna, committed to writing by R. Judah I. about A.D. 200. Breathing a spirit of intense patriotism, the book soon became popular with the Jews, and its annual reading in the synagogue was accompanied with lively tokens of sympathy on the part of the congregation, while the reader pronounced the names of Haman's 10 sons in one breath to indicate that they all expired at the same moment, the names being written by the scribes in large letters in 3 perpendicular lines of 3, 3, 4 to signify that the 10 men were hung on 3 parallel cords. Although the last of the 5 *Megilloth* or *Rolls* which were read at 5 different feasts,† it came to be known as *the* Roll (*Megillah*) *par excellence*, and we may judge of the honour in which it was held from a saying of Maimonides (Carpzov, *Intr.* xx. § 6), that in the days of the Messiah the only Scriptures left would be the Law and the Roll. The excessive love which the Jews have ever shown for this book (of which Ewald has said that in passing to it from the other books of the OT 'we fall, as it were, from heaven to earth') illustrates their complete surrender to the spirit of the age in which it was produced. It was an age that had fallen out of sympathy with the teaching of the prophets, and was unprepared for the spiritual conception of the gospel,—when national pride and a certain faith in their own fortunes as a people, with a disposition to make the most of their heathen masters by the use of such worldly wisdom as they possessed, seem to have formed the chief characteristics of those who still claimed to be God's people.

---

* The name of God is never mentioned in it, but the king of Persia 187 times, and his kingdom 26 times; while the nearest approach to any recognition of religion is to be found in the fasting of 4^{16}, and possibly also in the confidence expressed in 4^{14}.

† The order is different in the Eng. Bible, as also in the Sept and Vulg., where Est closes the historical books.

In the Christian Church the book has naturally been less esteemed. It is one of the few books of the OT that are not quoted in the NT (nor in Philo). It has no place in the Canon of Melito of Sardis, who had made careful inquiry among the Jews of Syria regarding the books of the OT; of Theodore of Mopsuestia (followed by the Nestorians); of Athanasius, who put it in the second rank among the ἀναγινωσκόμενα; of Amphilochius, who mentions that 'some add the Book of Esther'; of Gregory of Naz., and others. Junilius in the 6th cent. mentions that there were grave doubts on the subject in his day; while Luther, after referring to 2 Mac, says (*Tischreden*), 'I have so little favour for this book and the Book of Est that I wish they did not exist; they are too Judaizing, and contain many heathenish improprieties.' In some of these cases, however, it may have been the corrupt Sept. transl. that caused suspicion, while in others it is possible that Est may be included under the name of Ezra or some other book. Est is recognized as canonical by Origen, Cyril of Jerus., Jerome (who puts it last in the list), Augustine, and others. We may also reckon it an indirect testimony to the authority of the book in the beginning of the Christian era, that, according to 2 Mac (15^{36}), 'Mordecai's day' (ἡμέρα Μαρδοχαϊκή), doubtless the Feast of Purim, was observed in the writer's lifetime. The fact that it has a place (in an enlarged form) in the Sept., with an epilogue stating that the tr. was brought (to Alexandria) by one Dositheus in the 4th year of Ptolemy and Cleopatra, is regarded by some as a proof that the book existed in its Gr. form as early as B.C. 178, in the reign of Ptolemy VI. (Philometor), who was friendly to the Jews. But there were two later kings of that name, and one earlier (B.C. 204–81), whose wives were called Cleopatra; and the inference is doubtful, even admitting the authenticity of the statement in question (Riehm, *HWB*; Fritzsche, *Handb. z. d. Apocr.* i.). While the Heb. text is good, there are large interpolations in the Sept., of which there are two different texts, A and B, the latter, according to Lagarde, Field, etc., being an improved recension of the 3rd cent. These interpolations contradict the Heb. in several particulars,* and betray their later Gr. origin by representing Haman as a Macedonian who sought to transfer the sovereignty from the Persians to the Macedonians (16$^{10\text{-}15}$), and by other inconsistencies and anachronisms,† and were, no doubt, the work of successive Hellenistic writers desirous to give a religious character to the book,‡ and to supplement other apparent defects.§ In the Vulg. these additions are all put by Jerome at the end of the book, beginning with a portion that takes up the narrative where the Heb. ends—with notes to show where the other additions occur in the Sept. In the RV Eng. Apocr. (where they are similarly combined under the name of 'The Rest of the Chapters of the Bk. of Esther') these explanations are given in the margin.

Owing to the influence of the Sept. and Vulg. (in the Syr. they have no place) the additions were often read in church, and even regarded as canonical (in common with other Apocr. books of OT), receiving the sanction of several Ch. Councils, from that of Carthage in 397 to the Council of Trent in 1546. They are composed of the following passages—the twofold references showing where they stand in the Sept. and the Rest of Est respectively:—(1) Mordecai's pedigree, dream, and detection of conspiracy, with his immediate reward, exciting Haman's wrath (Intr.; 12^{2}–12^{6}). (2). Terms of the king's writ, authorizing the destruction of the Jews (after 3^{13} 13$^{1\text{-}7}$). (3) Prayers of Mordecai and Est (after 4; 13^{8}–14^{19}). (4) Fuller account of Est's first intercession with the king (in place of 5$^{1.2}$ 15). (5) Terms of the king's writ, authorizing the Jews to defend themselves (after 8^{13} 16). (6) Mordecai's devout interpretation of his dream in the light of events, and his permanent institution of the Feast of Purim, followed by epilogue regarding the Gr. tr. (End; 10$^{4\text{-}13}$ 11^{1}). In Josephus we can trace other additions to the story not found in the Sept., which shows the popularity of the subject, and the tendency to embroider the Heb. narrative with Alex. inventions. Similar embellishments are to be found in the 'first' and 'second' Chaldæan Targums or commentaries, independent of the Gr. additions, which only found their way into the Midrashim at a much later time through the medium of the writings ascribed to Josipon ben-Gorion (Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge*; Fritzsche, *as above*).

II. HISTORICITY.—On this subject the most diverse opinions have been held. Many old and a few modern writers* maintain the narrative to be thoroughly historical. But an increasing number† hold it to be more or less a work of imagination; while some‡ regard it as a poetical invention, having no appreciable basis of fact to rest on.

The following are the principal arguments for the historical character of the book.—(1) The narrative claims to be historical, referring more than once to 'the chronicles' of Persia as containing a record of the events in question (10^{2} 2^{23} 6^{1}); and its admission to the Pal. Canon, notwithstanding the absence of any allusion to the Holy Land or to Jewish ordinances, is so far a confirmation of its claim. (2) The Feast of Purim, with which it was so closely connected as to be known among Alex. writers as 'the Epistle of Purim,' and which, in the time of Jos. (*Ant.* XI. vi. 13) was observed by Jews in all parts of the world, is a standing memorial of the remarkable episode in Jewish history which the book records. (3) Its lifelike representation of Pers. manners and customs, especially in connexion with the palace at Susa (1$^{5.10.14}$ 2$^{9.21.23}$ 3$^{7.12.13}$ 4$^{6.11}$ 5^{4} 8^{8}), is borne out by the results of modern travel and research (Rawlinson's *Anc. Monarchies*, iv. pp. 269–287; Morier, Fergusson, Loftus, Dieulafoy), and finds support in Herodotus and other ancient writers. (4) The conduct of Ahasuerus is in harmony with the vain, capricious, passionate character of Xerxes (the identification of the two names was the first result obtained from the deciphering of the cuneiform inscriptions by Grotefend in 1802), as depicted by heathen writers (Herod. vii. ix.; Æsch. *Pers.* 467 ff.; Juv. x. 174–187); and this may account for some things in the narrative that would otherwise seem almost incredible. (5) It appears from

---

* Cf. 2^{21} and Ad. Est 11$^{2\text{ff.}}$, 6^{3} and 12^{5}, 3$^{1.5}$ and 12^{6}, 9^{12} and 15^{18}.

† For example, 'month Adar' 16^{20}, 'chosen people' 16^{21}, 'Hades' 13^{7}, 'I am thy brother' 15^{9}, 'Aman's table,' 'drink-offerings' 14^{17}.

‡ Ad. Est 10$^{9.10.11.12.13}$ 11^{10} 13$^{9\text{-}18}$ 14$^{3\text{-}9}$ 15^{28} 16$^{4.16}$.

§ For example, by giving the terms of the royal edicts, which are not at all Oriental in style, 13$^{1\text{-}7}$ 16.

* Kelle, *Vindiciæ Est.*; Hävernick, *Einleitung*; Baumgarten, *De Fide Lib. Est.*; Welte, *Einleitung*; Keil, *Einleitung*; Hervey, *Smith's DB*; Nickes, *De Est. Lib.*; Cassel, *Kom.*; Rawlinson, *Speaker's Com.*; Wordsworth, *Com.*; J. Oppert, *Annales Phil. Chrét.*, and *Revue des Ét. Ju.* 1894; J. W. Haley, *Bk. of Est.*; and, in the main, F. W. Schultz, *Lange's Com.*; and Orelli, *PRE*, art. 'Esther.'

† Eichhorn, *Einleitung*; De Wette, *Einleitung*; Bleek, *Einleitung*; Winer, *Bibl. RWB* i.; Dillmann in Schenkel's *Bibellex.* art. 'Purim'; Ewald, *Gesch. Isr.*; Stähelin, *Einleitung*; Ryssel-Bertheau, *Exeg. Handb.*; Oettli, *S. and Z. Kg. Kom.*; Davidson, *Introduction*; Hitzig, *Gesch. Isr.*; Herzfeld, *Gesch. Isr.*; Stanley, *Jewish Ch.*; Driver, *LOT* 449 ff.; Cheyne, *Enc. Brit.* art. 'Esther'; König, *Einleitung*.

‡ Semler, *Appar. VT*; Bertholdt, *Einleitung*; Kuenen, *Relig. Isr.*, and *Onderz.*^{2} i. 551 ff. (*Hist. Crit.* vol. i.); Nöldeke, *Alttest. Lit.*; Reuss, *Gesch. AT*; Zunz, *ZDMG*, 1893; Grätz, *MGWJ*, 1886; Bloch, 'Hel. Bestandth. im Bib. Schr.,' *Jüd. Lit. BL*, 1877; Cornill, *Einleit.*; Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Isr.*

Herod. vii. 8 that Xerxes held a great council of war in the third year of his reign before setting out for Greece, and that he returned to Susa in the spring of his seventh year,—which agrees with the dates assigned to the great feast and the choice of a successor to Vashti (1^{3} 2^{16}). (6) Although the narrative is minute and circumstantial, containing many names (of courtiers, princes, 10 sons of Haman, etc., $1^{10.\,14}$ 9^{7-9}) as well as other details, it is remarkably free from literary and historical discrepancies, such as have been detected in the Apocr. books of To and Jth and Ad. Est. According to Oppert, there is not a single proper name that may not be regarded as belonging to the idiom of Cyrus and of Darius, and after the conquests of Alexander such writing was philologically impossible. (7) The silence of contemporary and later writings regarding the events narrated in the Bk. of Est is partly due to the disappearance of literature bearing on the history of Persia, and partly to the interest of Herodotus and Ctesias being centred in the points of contact between Persia and Greece. As for the Bk. of Ezra, it leaves the period from B.C. 516 to 459 (between chs. 6 and 7) a blank, except in $4^{5.\,6}$.

On the other hand, the following are the chief objections that have been taken to the historicity of the book. (1) The story bears on the face of it the appearance of a historical romance, a number of its features being in themselves extremely improbable, *e.g.* the six months' feast, involving such prolonged absence of the governors from their duties in the provinces; the summons of Vashti before the assembled peoples and princes, and the subsequent decree, suggested by 'the wise men,' that every man should bear rule in his own house, which would have been the publication of Ahasuerus' folly; the long interval before the choice of Vashti's successor; the decree for the wholesale massacre of the Jews (not excepting those in Judæa, and numbering probably two millions) on account of the obstinacy of a single Jew; the publication of this decree eleven months before the time for its execution; the issue of a subsequent decree virtually sanctioning civil war; the immense slaughter of the Persians notwithstanding their superiority in numbers, and the wonderful preservation of Jewish lives, as well as the absence of revenge on the part of the Persians; the institution by Mordecai and E. of a feast that would perpetuate the disgrace of the sovereign in the eyes of his subjects, and embitter the relations between Jew and Persian (but cf. the annual commemoration of the massacre of the Magians, Herod. iii. 79—with which Niebuhr was disposed to connect the story). Add to this that the series of coincidences and contrasts culminating in the overthrow of Haman '*the Agagite*' (1 S 15—but Oppert connects this name with Agaz, a tribe of Media mentioned in the inscriptions of Sargon) and the exaltation of Mordecai of *the tribe of Benjamin*, is too perfect to have been drawn from real life. (2) The manifest aim of the writer is to encourage and glorify the Jews; and the whole narrative, which is marked by exaggeration and innuendo, is artfully designed to serve that purpose ($2^{15.\,17.\,22}$ $3^{2.\,15}$ 4^{14} $6^{10.\,11.\,13}$ 7^{9} $8^{9.\,15.\,17}$ 9^{16} 10). (3) The references to 'the chronicles' may be merely a rhetorical device in imitation of similar allusions in Neh and Ezr (in this connexion it is noteworthy that the terms of the royal edicts are not given); or the sources referred to may be like the Bab.-Pers. chronicles, from which Ctesias professes to have derived information—the story being 'an example of Jewish Haggada founded upon one of those semi-historical tales of which the Pers. chronicles seem to have been full' (Sayce, *HCM* p. 475). (4) A strictly historical interpretation of the narrative is beset with difficulties. Neither Vashti nor Esther can be identified with Amestris, the only queen (judging from Herodotus and Ctesias) that Xerxes ever had. Nor is it easy to reconcile Ahasuerus' and Haman's ignorance of Esther's nationality with the frequent presence of Mordecai (who was known to be a Jew, 3^{4}) 'in the king's gate,' and his constant communications with Esther. Moreover, Haman's description of the Jews ($3^{8.\,9}$), as 'dispersed among the people in all the provinces of thy kingdom,' and of their disobedience to 'the king's laws,' is not true of the Pers. period (especially so early as the reign of Xerxes), and betrays a Maced.-Greek origin, as does also the stress laid on financial considerations (cf. 9^{10}), and the part taken against the Jews by 'their enemies' ($9^{5.\,16.\,22}$). (5) In several respects the writer's knowledge of Pers. customs is alleged to be defective (Grätz in *MGWJ*, Dec. 1886), *e.g.* the '127 provinces,' cf. the '20 satrapies' of Herod. iii. 89; the command to 'kneel' (כרע) before Haman, an act of worship due to God only and the king, while the refusal to 'do him reverence' by prostration (השתחוה = προσκυνεῖν) betrays a Gr. spirit of independence at variance with Gn 23^{7} 33^{3} (cf. Herod. vii. 136); the un-Oriental toleration so long shown to Mordecai by the vizier; the queen's difficulty of gaining access to the royal presence; the alleged Semitic character of some of the proper names, suspiciously profuse, and very few of which occur elsewhere; and Mordecai's obscurity, notwithstanding his officially-recorded services to the king (2^{23}, cf. Herod. viii. 85). Even admitting the general consistency of the narrative, both with itself and with Pers. surroundings, this is held to be sufficiently accounted for by consummate dramatic skill on the part of the writer, and his possessing such a knowledge of Persia and its ancient régime as was attainable by a Jew who had lived in that country or even in Palestine in the Maced.-Gr. period. (6) The true explanation of the silence of ancient Jewish writers (Ch, Ezr, Neh, Sir, Dn, Philo) as well as of profane writers, is held to lie in the fact that no such facts as those related in the Bk. of Est ever took place. (7) The Heb. of the book, which closely resembles that of Ec, belongs to a much later time than that of Xerxes; and the way in which the writer explains Pers. customs (1^{13} 8^{8}) seems to imply that the Pers. rule was over, while his description of Ahasuerus, and of his wide dominions, and the magnificence of his court, gives the impression that he is recalling the glories of a bygone age. (8) In answer to the argument from the Feast of Purim, it is alleged that the story of Est was engrafted on a festival already in vogue among the Jews, borrowed from a Pers. or a Gr. source, for the purpose of promoting its wider observance or imparting to it a more national character; and various attempts have been made to trace it to a definite heathen source. None of these attempts, however (art. PURIM), can be said to be successful, and the connexion of the book with such an ancient Jewish observance still forms a considerable presumption in favour of its being founded on facts. It may be that fresh confirmation of its truth will be found in some of the monumental discoveries which still await the explorer, and that the suspicion attaching to its contents will yet be removed.

III. DATE AND AUTHORSHIP.—The date generally assigned to the book by those who maintain it to be historical is somewhere in the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, the successor of Xerxes (B.C. 464–425), or a little later; while most of those who regard the story as more or less of a legend or romance bring its composition down to the Gr. period, say in the 3rd cent. B.C. Hitzig traces its composition (as well as the introduction of Purim) to the Parthian ascendency after B.C. 238, and in the description of the Jews in 3^{8} he finds evidence that it was written subsequently to the colonizing activity of Seleucus Nikator. Others (Reuss, Grätz, Bloch, etc.) give it a still later date, tracing it to the time of the Maccabæan revolt (B.C. 167). Bloch regards it as an attempt to justify the Jewish party at the Gr. court, who thought they could best promote the interests of their country by conciliating the heathen power; but with this it is difficult to reconcile Mordecai's attitude towards Haman, or the slaughter of Pers. women and children and its commemoration. Grätz assigns the book to an adherent of the Maccabæan party, and, with the ingenuity of a special pleader, presents a great array of arguments to prove that Ahasuerus represents Antiochus (with some intentional vagueness as to the identity of Ah. himself), and that the book was intended to appeal to those who, like the deputies to Tyre (2 Mac 4^{18-20}), were disposed to resist the king's attempt to force them into idolatry, although they had very little religion of their own,—hinting at the influences which they might bring to bear upon the king, and at a possible turn in the wheel of fortune,—much as the Bk. of Dn was meant, a year or two later, to tell upon the more devout (Ḥasidim), who still believed in the possibility of direct divine interpositions. Kuenen and Cornill find in it an echo of the same struggle (cf. $3^{8.9}$ and 1 Mac 1^{41} $3^{34.36}$) after it was over (B.C. 135), when religious heroism had given place to animosity and pride. Similarly, Zunz believes it to have been an Eastern reflex (*c.* B.C. 130) of the Maccabæan enthusiasm, and lays stress on the lateness and servility of the language, as well as on the want of any recognition of the Jewish community as a whole, Mordecai and Esther being the only Jews who are credited with any influence. But the language, though late, is very far from exhibiting the stage represented by the Mishna;* and as regards the supposed Maccabæan origin for the story, it must be remembered that even under the Pers. rule (Jos. *c. Ap.* i. 22) there had been times when the Jews suffered persecution for their attachment to their faith. That the book was written by a Persian Jew may fairly be inferred from its tone and structure, notwithstanding Grätz' denial that the use of Heb. for literary purposes was possible outside of Palestine, except during the Bab. Captivity. It is vain, however, to attempt to determine the authorship more particularly. The references to Mordecai's writing in 9^{20-32} have given rise to the idea that he may have been the author; but the peculiarities of the passage, both in language and contents, stamp it as an interpolation or interpolations (vv. $^{20-28}$ $^{29-32}$), perhaps borrowed from another book of Purim (v. ^{32}). Moreover, some of the allusions to Mordecai (*e.g.* $9^{3.4}$) preclude the idea of his being the writer. All that can be said with confidence is that it was written by a Jew connected with Persia, and full of the nationalist feeling of his time, the absence of religious phraseology being due partly to the decline in the spiritual life of the nation, occasioned by centuries of exposure to heathen influences, leading to reserve in the expression of religious sentiment, partly to the secular character of the Feast of Purim associated with it, which rested on no divine authority, and was marked by a gay conviviality, varied with an occasional outburst of passion that was not favourable to religious solemnity. See further under PURIM.

LITERATURE.—Driver, *LOT* 449 ff.; Cheyne, art. 'Esther' in *Encyc. Brit.* (1878), *Founders of OT Criticism*, 359 ff.; Kuenen, *Onderzoek* ², 551 ff.; Zimmern in *ZAW*, 1891, p. 168; Lagarde, *Purim*; Jacob in *ZAW*, 1890, p. 241 ff.; Dieulafoy in *Rev. d. Ét. Ju.* 1888; Sayce, *Ezr. Neh. and Est.*, also *HCM* p. 469 ff.; Cornill, *Einleitung*², 253 ff. 281 ff. 308; Ryle, *Canon of OT*, 139, 205; Wildeboer, *Die Lit. d. AT*, 444 ff.; Schwally, *Leben n. d. Tode*, p. 42 ff.; Bertheau, *Ezr. Neh. u. Est.* (in *Kgf. Hdb.*) 1862, 2nd ed. by V. Ryssel, 1887; Oettli (in Strack and Zöckler's *Kgf. Kom.* 1889, p. 227 ff.); Reuss, *AT* vii. 193 ff. See also references in footnotes above.

J. A. M'CLYMONT.

ESTHER (Apocryphal).—See preceding article.

ESYELUS (Ἠσύηλος, B^a?b ἡ σύνοδος, AV Syelus) 1 Es 1^{8}=Jehiel.—One of the rulers of the temple in Josiah's time (2 Ch 35^{8}).

ETAM (עֵיטָם, possibly 'place of birds of prey,' from עַיִט 'bird of prey').—It is uncertain whether there may not have been two places so called in Judah. The town Etam (1 Ch $4^{3.32}$) was in Simeon, near Rimmon. It may be the place fortified by Rehoboam (2 Ch 11^{6}), though there noticed with Bethlehem and Tekoa. The Rock Etam (Jg $15^{8.11}$) was Samson's refuge, and had in it a peculiar 'fissure' (סְעִיף) or 'cavern' (AV 'top'). In the Talm. an Etam near Bethlehem is noticed (see Neubauer, *Géog. Talm. s.v.*). These may represent three distinct sites. **1.** Etam of Simeon is very clearly the ruin *'Aitûn* near Rimmon of Simeon, on the hills N.W. of Beersheba. *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xxiv. **2.** Etam near Bethlehem is represented by the present *'Ain 'Atân*, at the so-called Pools of Solomon (Rom. reservoirs connected with Pilate's aqueduct to Jerus.), the traditional site of the 'sealed fountain' (Ca 4^{12}), identified by the Rabbis with Nephtoah. *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvii. **3.** The Rock Etam is an undefined site, but may have been near Samson's home at Zorah. There is a remarkable rocky hill to the E., on which the village *Beit 'Atâb* now stands, under which is a curious cavern in the rock. The change of B for M is not uncommon (cf. TIMNAH), and this is a possible site for Samson's refuge. *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvii.

LITERATURE.—Besides the above, see Robinson, *BRP*² i. 477; Guérin, *Judée*, iii. 117 f., 303; Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.*³ 134 f.; Schick, *ZDPV* i. 152 f.; *PEFSt*, 1875, 12; 1876, 175; 1878, 116; 1881, 43, 323; Conder, *Tent-Work*, i. 275 ff.; Moore, *Judges*, 342 ff.

C. R. CONDER.

ETHAM (אֵתָם, LXX Ὀθόμ, Ex 13^{20}; Βουθάν, Nu $33^{6.7}$. The Coptic has επεθωμ, Ex 13^{20} [Wilkins], and εβουθαι [Wilkins], εβουθαν [Sah. Ciasca]. LXX and Cop. omit Etham in Nu 33^{8}).—The station at which the Israelites arrived after leaving Succoth. It is described (Ex 13^{20}, Nu 33^{6}) as being 'on the edge of the wilderness.' This wilderness (called W. of Etham, Nu 33^{8}, and W. of Shur, Ex 15^{22}) was traversed by the Israelites after crossing the sea. It must therefore be east of the Isthmus of Suez, and Etham would be on its W. edge. If on leaving Egypt the Israelites went along Wady Tumilat [see EXODUS (ROUTE OF), § i.], they would make for the broad tract of dry ground to the N. of Lake Timsah, and the position of Etham would be where their route crossed the Egyp. frontier, *i.e.* in the neighbourhood of the modern Ismailia. Naville places Etham here, but explains the word as designating the land of Atuma, which is mentioned in the papyrus Anastasi vi. The land of Atuma there mentioned is generally supposed to be the land of Edom. See PIHAHIROTH and the Literature under EXODUS (ROUTE OF), § ii. [Brugsch's 'Exodus and the Egyptian Monuments' may be read in English in vol. ii. of the translation (1879) of his *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, or in New Ed. (1891, in one vol.) p. 318 ff.]. A. T. CHAPMAN.

ETHAN (אֵיתָן).—**1.** 'THE EZRAHITE' of 1 K 4^{31}

---

* At the same time it must be admitted that, even after the Mishna style was formed, books in imitation of the classical style were written, otherwise Ec would have to be placed long after Sirach.

and Ps 89 (title). In the first of these passages he is mentioned along with other contemporaries (?) of Solomon, who were all surpassed in wisdom by the Jewish monarch. In 1 Ch 2^6 he is said to have been a Judæan of the family of *Zeraḥ*, which is prob. another form of *Ezraḥ* (hence the patronymic *Ezrahite*). Instead of 'the Ezrahite' it has been proposed to render אֶזְרָחִי of 1 K 4^{31} 'the native,' *i.e.* the *Israelite*, in opposition to some of the other wise men named, who were *foreigners* (Cheyne, *Job and Solomon*, p. 131). The ascribing of Ps 89 to E. occasioned one of the curiosities of Rabbinical exegesis. אֶזְרָחִי was connected with מִזְרָח (the east), then 'the man from the east' of Is 41^2 was interpreted of Abraham, and Ethan the Ezrahite was identified with the patriarch, who thus became the author of the psalm (Driver, *LOT* p. xxxiii, *n.*). **2.** An ancestor of Asaph (1 Ch 6^{42}). In v.^{21} he is called Joah. **3.** The eponymous ancestor of a guild of temple-singers (mentioned along with Heman and Asaph in 1 Ch 6^{44} $15^{17.19}$ etc.). His genealogy is traced by the Chronicler back to Merari, one of the sons of Levi. He is generally identified with Jeduthun. (See JEDUTHUN.) J. A. SELBIE.

ETHANIM (הָאֵתָנִים, Ἀθαμείν B, Ἀθανείμ A, *Ethanim*, 1 K 8^2). See TIME.

ETHANUS, one of the 'swift scribes' who wrote to the dictation of Ezra (2 Es 14^{24}). The name occurs in the MSS variously as Ecanus, Echanus, Elkana, etc.

ETHBAAL (אֶתְבַּעַל 'with Baal,' *i.e.* enjoying his favour and protection; Ἰεθεβάαλ B, Ἰαβάαλ A, Ἰεθβάαλ Luc.).—King of the Sidonians, and father of Jezebel wife of Ahab king of Israel (1 K 16^{31}).

According to Jos., Ittobaal (Ἰθόβαλος, Εἰθώβαλος, *i.e.* אִתּוֹבַעַל 'Baal is with him,' a form of the name preferred by Thenius, Stade, etc.) was king of the Tyrians and Sidonians (*Ant.* VIII. xiii. 1), and is stated by Menander the Ephesian to have been a priest of Astarte who attained to the throne by the murder of the usurper Phelles (*C. Ap.* i. 18). This identification with the Ethbaal of K is allowed by moderns. The Taylor cylinder, *col.* ii. 48, mentions a later king of Sidon of the same name; Assyr. *Tuba'lu* (Schrader, *COT*, on Gn 10^{15}).

C. F. BURNEY.

ETHER (עֶתֶר), Jos 15^{42} 19^7.—A town of Judah noticed with Libnah, apparently near the plain of Philistia, given to Simeon, and near Rimmon. The site is unknown.

ETHICS.—The treatment of this subject is involved in a certain amount of difficulty, from the fact that while the ethical character of the whole Jewish dispensation is strongly and unmistakably marked, there is no ethical system, strictly so called, in the Bible at all. The ethical ideas, like the metaphysical ideas, underlie the histories, the prophecies, the legislation, and the writings of the apostles; they are not deduced or criticised, but assumed as premises. For such a purpose as that of the present article they have to be extracted and presented systematically; and there is always danger that when this is done some greater precision of definition may be given to the ideas than they really possessed.

There is another difficulty, even greater than this, which arises from the critical discussions recently raised over the authorship and date of books. This presses more hardly on the student of OT ideas than of Christianity. For even if the date of individual books of the NT be uncertain, the margin of uncertainty is comparatively narrow; and the period within which they all must fall is, comparatively speaking, a short one. Hence critical questions may be neglected without any serious loss. But with the OT it is different. We can no longer take for granted the traditional order or date of the books; and, what is much more serious, the period within which they must all have been written is a very long one, so that it would be unreasonable to expect that the ethical point of view can have suffered no serious change. It is obviously impossible to discuss the various critical questions by the way. We can only call attention to the part they play in the whole discussion of our present subject, and then leave them aside. The plan of the present article is, then, to set forth the ethical ideas in the Bible, as far as possible, without reference to the literary history of the books, following such order as the subject itself seems to require.

I. IN THE OT AND APOCRYPHA.—The first point requiring attention is one of great importance, which will have decisive significance in regard to our whole subject-matter. With the partial exception (considered later) of the Sapiential Books, the whole of the Jewish Scriptures are *under the sway of religion.* The ruling idea of life was conditioned by the prevalent conception of God, and the peculiar relation in which the Jewish people stood towards Him. Hence the larger portion of the discussions with which other ethical writings have made us familiar, has no place whatever in Jewish literature. Greek ethical speculation busied itself with the questions of the end of life, or the ideal order of life, or the nature of virtue, or the sanction of the moral law. But to the Jewish mind all these questions were prejudged by the peculiarly close relation of religion with life. The God they worshipped was to the Jews the source and the sanction of the moral law. Their moral evolution consisted in their gradual discovery of the full meaning of their primary ethical conviction. Their notion of the content of the ethical idea varied as time went on; their history is, in a sense, reflected in their ethical evolution. Things which at one time were thought compatible with the due worship of God, cease to be thought so; but the general relation in which they stand to God remains undisturbed: morality is, to them, the embodied will of God.

It follows necessarily from this that there are, roughly speaking, two, and only two, questions for the Jewish moralists. (1) What conduct does God command? (2) What conduct does God forbid? Why He ordains or prohibits one or another line of conduct does not matter to them. They are concerned only with the fact. The answers to these remoter questions may, to some extent, be revealed in the process of moral evolution, but they are not of primary interest or importance. The central question is that of the actual content of the divine law.

It might seem, at first sight, as if this theory of the moral law must exclude a people from any marked development in ethical matters. The most cursory glance, however, at the actual facts would destroy this supposition. The law of God is adapted to various stages in the progress of the people, and enforces the morality characteristic of the stage at which they are. It is obvious that this must necessarily have been the case. If, as the Jews believed, God Himself revealed the moral law to them, it must necessarily have been in terms which they could understand. It would have been idle, for instance, to promulgate to a nation, as yet only in the tribal stage of its existence, a law which assumed the existence of settled civic ideas. Thus the conviction of the special union of God with His people, and interest in their moral life, affects the character of the evolution of ethical ideas, but does not prevent their real growth.

(*A*) *The Pentateuch and the Historical Books.*—The note of law is struck in the account of *Paradise and the Fall.* In this story we have all the elements of the ethical idea as it presented itself to the Jews. God gave a command which man disobeyed. In like manner the sin which led to the Flood was disobedience or rebellion against God. The law of murder, enacted after the Flood has disappeared, is given as a definite act of legislation on the part of God (Gn 9^{4-7}). In the same way the sin of Sodom is represented as an outrage upon God; and the destruction of the cities as the judgment of God. When we reach the *times of Abraham* the same phenomena appear in a more complex form. The intercourse between God and man, of which the covenant after the Flood was typical, is concentrated and intensified in the relation of God with Abraham. A demand is made for a more complete and detailed obedience; and the rite of circumcision has a special significance assigned to it. The special covenant is based on the readiness of Abraham to accept the guidance of God; cf. Gn $17^{1.2}$. 'The LORD appeared to Abram, and said unto him, I am God Almighty: walk before me, and be thou perfect. And I will make my covenant between me and thee, and will multiply thee exceedingly.' The same idea of a covenant is sustained throughout the whole history between Abraham and Moses; the people are regarded as standing in a peculiar relation to God, and bound by it to certain lines of conduct. The protection and interest of God in the chosen family is represented as a thing which they are bound to cherish with the greatest care, and it is implied throughout that the arrangement is part of a larger scheme. The sin of Esau consists in the neglect of this covenanted right of access to God; and the blessing of Jacob consists in his fitness to be the vehicle of the covenant-relation, rather than in any commendation bestowed upon his own character.

Whatever may be the literary history of the books in which this story is preserved, there is no doubt that it represents the belief of the Jewish people, and, that being so, it characterized their ethical ideas. But it is important to notice also the area of moral action covered by the commands of God. We have already noticed the prohibition of murder, and the condemnation of Sodom. Apart from these, the morality consistent with the stage of civilization so far attained is implicitly permitted. There is no condemnation of polygamy; the fraud of Abraham upon Abimelech is not condemned, though its uselessness is displayed by the action of God; and, in like manner, Jacob's fraud upon Isaac is shown to be unprofitable by the fact of his exile. At the same time the witness of God is sought in order to preserve the validity of treaties (Gn $26^{27\text{ff.}}$), and His worship is regarded as distinct from that of many other deities. There is little sign at present of any elaborate moral reform depending on the covenant-relation; and the morality of the people as it is described is strictly governed by principles which prevail in the patriarchal stage. What is new and has the germs of much of the future development in it, is the intensification of the idea of the tribal God. The relation asserted between God and the family of Abraham is peculiarly close and far-reaching in its character; and the ground is prepared for the substitution of a moral for a physical or tribal basis of the covenant.

The next stage in the history as it is presented in the OT books is marked by *the Levitical legislation.* It is here, probably, that the difficulties caused by critical discussions reach their highest point. In pursuance of our plan we shall describe, first, the facts of the legislation as they stand, and reserve such discussion as there is space for, of the bearing of criticism upon the matter. Under the head of the Mosaic legislation we have to consider the Decalogue, the Priestly Code, and the Deuteronomic exposition of the Mosaic law. This will involve a brief consideration of the meaning and character of Sacrifice, and the meaning of Sin.

Of the *Decalogue* it is not necessary to say much. We need only call attention to the fact that it consists of two distinct parts: one containing prohibitions concerning man's relations to God, the other dealing more directly with ordinary social questions. The Decalogue throws comparatively little light on the condition of society at the time of its promulgation. It deals with acts forbidden before, such as murder and idolatry; but its last three sections imply the existence of a settled mode of life different from that of the patriarchal family. Theft, false witness, and covetous desire belong to a social state in which there existed within the social whole various houses or families holding property. The process of *ξυνοικισμός* must have taken place; but beyond this there is nothing that can be said definitely. It is, however, important to notice that the commandments come with the *imprimatur* of God upon them, and that the covenant-relation is alluded to in the prefatory verse as it stands in Ex 20^{2}: 'I am the LORD thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.'

The *Priestly Code* consists of a number of regulations which are largely ceremonial in character. The laws of ceremonial uncleanness and other kindred matters are precisely defined: the great occasions of the ecclesiastical year are ordained, and the ritual due to them established. Further, the various types of sacrifice are described, the occasions on which they are to be performed, and the method of performing them. In regard to the whole of this legislation, we need only for our present purpose to call attention to two points. In the first place, it is important to observe that the whole order is rested upon the covenant-relation with God, and, more than this, that the character of God is placed in definite connexion with the rules laid down. The holiness of God requires this elaborate ceremonial order to preserve it from the contamination of hasty and unfit intruders, and to retain the condition of the people at a level high enough to enable them to use their covenant privileges. This is proved by the refrain which recurs at intervals in the course of Leviticus—'I am the LORD'; and by such marked phrases as the following: 'Ye shall not profane my holy name; but I will be hallowed among the children of Israel; I am the LORD which hallow you, that brought you out of the land of Egypt to be your God; I am the LORD' (Lv $22^{32.33}$). But, in the second place, it is no less important to notice the extraordinarily limited moral range of the laws enacted. In Lv 6 there is a short list of moral delinquencies which require the atonement of a guilt offering. These consist chiefly of broken pledge and other forms of dishonest dealing. Besides this there are sacrifices ordained for sins of ignorance: 'If any one shall sin unwittingly, in any of the things which the LORD hath commanded not to be done, and shall do any one of them; and if the anointed priest shall sin so as to bring guilt upon the people' (Lv $4^{2.3}$). If we are justified in referring this command to the legislation which appears in Exodus, it will include a certain number of other moral delinquencies. Thus, besides the Decalogue, there are regulations concerning assault and murder, the proper treatment of slaves, the relations of parents and children, and specially concerning idol-worship and magic. Besides these there are ordinances referring to lost property; the duty of actively aiding the restoration of straying animals is inculcated; the poor are remembered, and severe condemnations passed upon those who judge unjustly. The service for the Day of Atonement is placed in close connexion with the unwarranted intrusion of the sons of Aaron into the presence of the Lord (Lv 16[1]), and is apparently intended to do away with ceremonial breaches of the covenant-relation, though the ritual would lend itself easily to a deeper meaning. See ATONEMENT (DAY OF).

The legislation in the Book of *Deuteronomy*, as it stands at present, covers a good deal of the ground of the preceding books. It repeats and further develops laws elsewhere laid down. There is the same rigorous condemnation of idolatry, the same care for justice and equality between man and man, and the like. But there is a more pronounced insistence on the moral character of God, and the close relation of God to the people in view of His moral character. He is represented as demanding exclusive worship, but as being faithful and long-suffering (Dt 7[9]), caring not only for the people of His choice, but also in a special degree for the fatherless and stranger. The characteristic feature of Dt is that which it is now the fashion to call its *parenetic* tone; it goes so far, indeed, as to find a spiritual meaning for circumcision as opposed to that which is purely ceremonial. Moreover, the relation of the people to God is presented in a more spiritual manner: the 'first great commandment of the law,' 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind,' is in Dt 6[5].*

It has seemed hardly consistent with the subject of the present article to go into any preciseness of detail as regards the Pent. legislation. Enough, however, has been said to establish the truth of the position maintained at the outset, that morality for the Jew meant that which God had commanded; immorality, that which God forbade. It is obvious that the Bk. of Dt takes a slightly different view of moral life from that which is expounded in Lv. The laws concerning the functions of judges (12[18. 20]), the kingly office (17[14-20]), the single central shrine, and the killing of animals for food (12[15]), clearly contemplate, either in fact or in anticipation, the position of a settled nation. Similar cases might be quoted from the earlier books. But whereas in Lv the largest portion of the book concerns the ritual order in the land of Canaan, the Bk. of Dt is chiefly concerned with the religious effect upon the people.

One fact, however, is noticeable about all the books alike, and that is the highly archaic character of the regulations themselves. The law and the ritual of sacrifice, the importance given to ceremonial pollution, the practices connected with the avenger of blood, the use of the *lex talionis*, the levirate law of marriage, the use of the ordeal, are all of them archaic in character, and must have survived into later Judaism out of an archaic state of society. As in other cases upon which anthropology has thrown much light, practices have survived after their primary meaning has been lost. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the evolution of ethics among the Jews followed something like the same course as among other progressive nations. Having been first expressed in terms analogous to those of early humanity all the world over, the distinctively moral elements were disentangled from the mass of rudimentary ideas, and took their place as the ruling principles of the religious polity of Judæa. It has sometimes been maintained that the elaborate ceremonial is a subsequent development to the more spiritual attitude of Deuteronomy. This is surely inconsistent with the teaching of anthropology. The more spiritual conceptions rise naturally out of the less spiritual; the moral truth breaks loose from the half-savage practice in which it was enshrined. It is almost inconceivable that this order should be reversed; and that the mind of the nation should have passed from a lofty spiritual conception of life to one that belongs by natural association to minds largely buried in matter. The characteristic note of this legislation is that God takes command over life as a whole, and, while the actual condition of the people is left unaltered, the way is prepared for further progress. The fundamental ideas as to right and wrong and the proper means of communicating with the national God are left unmodified; but practices are condemned which degrade and materialize the life of the nation and its conceptions of God.*

It has often been observed that the indications of the operation of the Levitical law are rare, if not altogether non-existent, in the historical books. It is certainly true that the supremacy of the sanctuary at Shiloh, and then later at Jerus., falls considerably short of the unique sanctity ascribed in the law to the central shrine of J″. Further, there are no records of the celebration of the legal feasts till the time of the later kings. It is plain that the worship of J″ had not established its hold upon the common people; they are continually liable to defections to the gods of neighbouring races. Moreover, the unity of the people is hardly attained; there are obviously differences of opinion and interest between various tribes. These facts and others like them have been quoted, reasonably enough, as bearing on the literary history of the books of the law. They do not affect what has been said above as to the archaic character of many of the legal enactments. And we may say even more than this. The records contained in the historical books are the records of a people emerging from the tribal state into that of national life. The assumptions of such a state of things underlie the action of Jael: they are displayed in the wars of extermination which form a somewhat repellent feature (to modern eyes) in the history of the invasion of Canaan, and in Samuel's denunciation of the Amalekites; they appear in the attitude of the Jews towards the gods of the neighbouring tribes, still more noticeably in such a story as that of the Levite and his concubine (Jg 19. 20), or that of Micah the Ephraimite (*ib.* 17. 18).

The means by which the change is effected is, to a large extent, the institution of the *Kingship*. It is this that prevents the separate action of the separate tribes, and develops the idea of a justice which is due to an individual, as opposed to the tribal notion according to which the tribe, not the individual, is the unit. At the same time it is clear that J″ is regarded as the protector of moral rights. David, for instance, commends Abigail for preserving him from the sin against the Lord that reckless vengeance implies (1 S 25[27ff.]). The eating of blood is a sin against J″ (1 S 14[33]); there is, to use a modern phrase, a taboo upon the shew-bread offered to J″;† and other cases might be quoted showing that, though evidence is lacking for a complete ecclesiastical organization, such as is described in the Pent., much of the legislation embodied therein (and therefore the morality implied by it) dates from a time in which these social ideas prevailed.

(*B*) *The Prophetical Literature.*—We must now turn to the prophets and endeavour to estimate the importance of their work in the ethical development of Israel. They are rightly identified with the higher moral progress of the people; but it is necessary in dealing with them, more even than with any of the other OT authors, to remember that their writings are occasional and not systematic. They deal with the condition of the people as it appears to them, they comment on the vices which arrest their attention, and they give special weight to the effect of these lines of conduct on the field of politics.

---

* The second, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself, occurs in Lv 19[18].

* Cf. Lv 18[24] 20[1-6], Dt 12[2-5] etc.

† It is not accurate to say, with Wellhausen (*Proleg.* p. 131, Eng. tr.), that there is no distinction between holy and unholy in the matter of the shew-bread.

The cycle of ideas in which the prophets move is much the same in outline, though of course some speak more precisely and fully than others.

(*a*) The most conspicuous feature in their moral doctrine is their sense of the union of the nation with God, and the interest of God in the moral development of men. Condemnations of idolatry and of all forms of defection from the proper allegiance to God are frequent in the prophetic books. The nation is described under the figure of a bride, bound by the marriage-tie to J″, and continually breaking it. This appears in Is, Jer, Ezk, Hos; it will not be necessary to quote passages in illustration of so familiar a phrase. The practices most frequently condemned are unrighteous judgment, oppression of the poor, and various forms of luxury and extravagance, especially drunkenness. These do not take us much beyond the ideas which appear in the earliest legislation. The development is to be found rather in the application of the ideas which have already prevailed, and in the appearance of some of the problems which necessarily belong to moral life. Thus the theory of evil receives some consideration. We have seen that the ceremonial legislation referred largely to ceremonial pollutions. It may possibly have been due to this association that the presence of evil was treated as a taint which affected others besides the actual sinner. On the other hand, holiness or righteousness was also regarded as a state which was effectual as a preservation against judgment. Thus in Abraham's colloquy with God (Gn 18) the presence of righteous persons is admitted as a reason for suspending the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. There is, of course, a real moral difficulty contained in this doctrine. It must be remembered that evil is inseparably connected by the Jews with acts of rebellion, *i.e.* with individual self-will and disobedience. If, therefore, others who have not taken part in the sin are involved in its consequences, it is obvious that a serious question must be raised as to the definition of responsibility, and the relation of responsibility to guilt. We find in Is a sense of the polluting effect of the presence of evil. Thus in the account of his call to the prophetic work (6^{5}) he says: 'Woe is me, for I am undone; because I am a man of unclean lips, and I dwell among a people of unclean lips.' Isaiah expresses the general effect of evil in the people, and acknowledges its influence upon himself. It is, further, a general doctrine of the OT that the guilt of sin extends to those who are connected with the sinner, as is expressed in the second commandment. These ideas give rise to several lines of moral speculation. In the first place, the sense of individual responsibility is greatly strengthened, so that we find in Ezk a definite restriction or correction of the principle laid down in the Decalogue. Thus (ch. 18^{20}), 'The soul that sinneth, it shall die: the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son; the righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him.' This position is carried out on the side of virtue also; the presence even of the three men, Noah, Daniel, and Job, shall not avail to suspend judgment upon a sinful city (Ezk 14^{12-23}), nor shall righteousness at one time prevent judgment if a soul relapse into wickedness (Ezk $33^{10\text{ff.}}$). Responsibility belongs to the individual soul for actual things done, and for nothing else.

On the other hand, the prevalence of evil and the uncertain incidence of affliction absolutely prevent the adoption of the view that each man is punished simply for his own sins. Evil enters far too deeply into the constitution of things to be explained on these terms. Hence we find in Is and elsewhere the view expressed that God works through evil, and leads men to higher things. This notion is involved in the idea of *visitation*; it gives meaning to the metaphor of the *refining fire*; and it expresses itself in the doctrine of the faithful remnant. These are they on whom suffering and trouble have done their proper work; they have learnt the lessons which God was teaching them. This conception reaches a climax in Is 53. The boldness in language, which is so characteristic of the prophets, is nowhere more noticeable than in some isolated statements to be found on the subject of evil. Not content with describing the probationary functions of it in the divine order, both Amos and Deutero-Isaiah speak of it as the direct effect of God's action. 'Shall evil befall a city, and the Lord hath not done it?' Am 3^{6}. 'I form the light, and create darkness; I make peace, and create evil; I am the Lord that doeth all these things,' Is 45^{7}. These passages, in which 'evil' has not the moral sense but ='calamity,' 'misfortune,' are not inconsistent with the condemnation of sin ascribed to God, and with His character as elsewhere described. Their real aim is to express in the sharpest form the absolute supremacy of God over the whole course of things.

(*b*) A second point in regard to which the prophetic attitude is fairly consistent is the contrast between ceremonial performance and real morality. The emphasis laid by the prophets upon the moral law, the growing sense of the holiness of God, the comparative lack of moral reference in the ceremonial legislation, are factors in this development. Sacrifice in various parts of the world has tended to pass from an act of communion into an act of commerce. Instead of being a means of reopening intercourse that had in some way become suspended, it is a process of barter by which something valuable is given up or destroyed in order to secure some gain. Further, the tendency to polytheism—so rife in Palestine during the time of the kings—rests upon an assumption that it is worth while to make friends with a variety of gods in hopes of benefits to be received from them. This theory, as well as the other, is inconsistent alike with the ceremonial law as we now read it, and with the prophetic doctrine of God. In proportion, therefore, as the sense of moral conditions to communion with God prevailed over every other, it became necessary to insist on the inadequacy of sacrifice in itself as a means of religious approach. This law is a common subject of the declamation of the prophets. We find it in Is (1^{10-17}), Jer ($6^{19.\,20}$ etc.), Hos (2^{11} 6^{6}), Am (ch. 6), Mic (ch. 2), Zec (7^{5}), and many other places, and in a most elaborate form in II Is (58). In all these, the close relation of J″ to His people, their sinfulness and His hatred of sin, are the basal assumptions. It is the sense of the failure of material means of intercourse, and the difficulty of the more spiritual view of moral life, that gives force to the whole doctrine of salvation. The moral character of God was itself an assertion that evil was not final. If the means at hand of getting rid of it were inadequate, God Himself must take measures to remove it. The one thing certain is that it cannot remain unmodified; the holiness of God forbids this. Hence we find God continually represented as longing to pardon—rising up early and sending His prophets—that men may come back to their allegiance, and realize the blessings of the covenant-union. The two ideas are here held together—the separation from God caused by sin—the prospect of forgiveness from the side of God. It would take us into the region of theology, pure and simple, if we discussed this matter further; but it is impossible to avoid reference to it, as it is the characteristic feature of the ethics of the prophets, and is perhaps an inevitable result of the peculiarly theological tone of the ethical thought of Israel.

It has already been observed that the ordinary list of virtues and vices in the prophets falls roughly under the same heads as those in the law. They are vices or virtues connected with the intercourse of man with man; in other words, they are political rather than ethical, in the narrower sense. They belong to the political activity of the prophets, and express their influence upon the ordinary life of the State.

There are, besides these, certain other conditions mentioned from time to time which are more purely subjective. Such is the peace which comes to those who are in true union with God, which the wicked can never share. But these are not the most frequent types of virtue. For these and such conditions we must go to the Psalms.

(*C*) *The Psalms* really require a treatise to themselves to set forth their ethical contents adequately. They have formed men's devotional handbook for century after century; and this, in spite of the fact that they are full of national feeling, and are unmistakably Jewish. There are frequent allusions in them to the situation of the Jewish people in politics or warfare; they must have been written, in many cases, like the prophecies, in close connexion with various political events. Yet their significance is never exhausted. They have the twofold right to perpetuity, that they regard the current history in the light of the permanent principles that underlie all history and all life, and that they present these in the form of the highest poetry. The Psalmists see in the events of their own day the manifestation of the divine laws, and it is often this aspect of them alone which they present. Hence the task of dating the Psalms is no easy one; the particular immediate event is often lost in the sense of the universal laws, the working of which it displays. In this connexion, as before in this article, we must disclaim any intention of discussing or deciding the dates of the individual psalms, and confine ourselves to a general presentation of the moral indications in the book as a whole.

As before in Jewish writings, we have to notice the decisive way in which the character of God is represented as the rule for the character of man. A very striking expression is given to this principle in Ps 18$^{25.26}$ (RV): 'With the merciful thou wilt show thyself merciful; with the perfect man thou wilt show thyself perfect; with the pure thou wilt show thyself pure; and with the perverse thou wilt show thyself froward.' The reference of all this is put beyond question by the next verse: 'For thou wilt save the afflicted people; but the haughty eyes thou wilt bring down' (cf. Ps 25$^{8-10}$ 97$^{10.11}$, and many other passages). Here, therefore, in the most decisive way, the character of God is represented as the moral ideal. If we ask, further, for greater detail in regard to this divine character, we find many points of contact with the books already considered. It is a commonplace throughout the Psalms that God has a fiery hatred of evil. This is especially displayed in a hatred of all forms of oppression. 'For the spoiling of the poor, for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise, saith the LORD' (12^{5}). 'Depart from evil, and do good; seek peace, and pursue it. The eyes of the LORD are toward the righteous, and his ears are open unto their cry. . . . The righteous cried, and the LORD heard, and delivered them out of all their troubles. The LORD is nigh unto them that are of a broken heart, and saveth such as be of a contrite spirit' (34$^{14-18}$). It is probably this care for the poor that leads, both in the Ps and Dt, to the condemnation of usury (Ps 15^{5}) and of unrighteous judgment (Ps 82 throughout). But the Psalmists take us much further than this condemnation of wickedness. God is represented as a God of loving-kindness—that is, looking with interest and love upon mankind. It is this character which, if the phrase may be used, accounts for and is expressed in the special intimacy between the Lord and His people. 'The earth is full of the loving-kindness of the LORD' (Ps 33^{5}): it is 'in the multitude of the loving-kindness' of God that the Psalmist goes to the temple (Ps 5^{7}): 'He showeth loving-kindness to his anointed, to David, and to his seed for evermore' (Ps 18^{50}). The merciful nature of God shows itself in two directions: in forgiveness and in judgment. The two are not apparently regarded as incompatible. He is full of compassion and gracious, slow to anger and plenteous in mercy (Ps 103^{8}). 'If thou, Lord, shouldest mark iniquities, O Lord, who shall stand? But there is forgiveness with thee, that thou mayest be feared' (Ps 130$^{3.4}$). At the same time, upon those who work wickedness, the judgment of God falls severely and relentlessly. 'Thou settest them in slippery places; thou casteth them down to destruction' (Ps 73^{18} etc.).

The character of God as thus described forms the model of the true follower of J″. His central motive is that of love and adoration to God; but, at the same time, he so far identifies himself with the cause of God that he too burns with anger against the wicked. This is partly the explanation of the tone of unmodified hatred that pervades certain psalms (esp. 69. 109). It is not merely the annoyance of a person whose will is crossed, and who vents himself in petulant cursing of those who stand in his way. It is the wrath of the person who feels that God's cause is attacked through him, and who is persecuted by the powers of evil. Such a condition is no doubt a perilous one; but it is important to observe that these psalms by no means stand alone. The echo of conflict pervades the whole book. The course of this world is largely affected by the presence of sin and unfaithfulness. The followers of God are not by any means in the majority; nor do they always prevail against their enemies. They pass through times of oppression, of menace, of persecution; they are the victims of treachery in the house of friends; they see the ungodly in apparent prosperity, and the holy things of God defiled and insulted. This condition of the world produces the fury against the enemies of God, already mentioned, together with some other remarkable conditions of mind. It is to this — the apparent triumph of the enemy—that we must assign the sense of being forsaken by God Himself which appears in Ps 22; to this also is to be traced the perplexity of mind as regards the providence of God which appears in Ps 73. The moods in which this problem is approached vary greatly. At times it produces deep depression, almost despair; at times it is treated (as in Ps 37) with calm and quiet triumph. But it is important, for it is to the Jewish mind the fundamental problem of ethics, to account for the lack of apparent balance between a man's lot and the life he leads. The idea of the probationary value of suffering appears in some places; but the full discussion of the problem belongs rather to the Sapiential Books than to the Psalms.

It would not, however, be true to suppose that all the evil in the world is due to the action of the enemies of God. There are in many places signs that sinfulness is regarded as a trouble that touches even the good. It erects a barrier between the soul and God which sacrifices and burnt-offerings are powerless to break down. In one place

(Ps 51^{5}) it seems to be regarded as affecting the actual birth of men. The man stands in solitary responsibility before God (49^{7} 51^{4}); and the essence of sin consists in not having the heart right (78^{8}). Together with this sense of incapacity and weakness may be classed the yearning after God which marks Ps 42, and the passionate enthusiasm for the service of God which appears in Pss 119 and 84.

There would be no difficulty in extending largely this account of the ethical features of the Psalms; but the space at our disposal does not permit it. We therefore can only point out here the general character of the whole book. It is essentially a book of reflective devotion. The whole of life is viewed from the point of view of the worship of and intercourse with J″. It never reaches the point of ethical theory, even in regard to the ethical problem noticed above. The solution, so far as any is offered, is always spiritual and religious, and not philosophical.

(*D*) *The Sapiential Books.*—It is in these only that we find any definite ethical philosophy among the Jews; and even in these, speculation moves over a restricted area. As in other nations, speculation begins in the proverbial form; the first moral philosophers were men who spoke proverbs. These trace their intellectual lineage to the wise king Solomon, who was wiser than Ethan the Ezrahite, and Heman, and Calcol, and Darda, the sons of Mahol . . . and who spake three thousand proverbs (1 K 4$^{31\text{f.}}$). These *proverbs*, if we may judge from the Bk. of Pr as we have it, were of a somewhat utilitarian tone. They started with the assumption that virtue leads to worldly success and happiness; and they dwelt on this relation with various degrees of insistence. They were maxims of ordinary prudence, rather than speculations as to ultimate moral problems, and the religious view of all these questions was somewhat left on one side. Moral practice is still closely allied with the fear of the LORD, but its natural outcome is expected to appear in the form of worldly prosperity. Thus 3$^{9.\,10}$ 'Honour the LORD with thy substance, and with the first-fruits of all thine increase: so shall thy barns be filled with plenty, and thy fats shall overflow with new wine.' The reflections upon life which fill up the larger portion of the book are also somewhat subdued in enthusiasm, and seem to lack in some degree high moral inspiration. But it must not be supposed that commonplace utilitarian reflections are the sum of the contents of the Sapiental Books. It is to these that we must trace the development of two of the most striking of all the ethical figures of the OT—the Wise Man and the Fool. The wise man is he whose life is orderly and well arranged —the man who follows the law of the LORD. The fool is he who is self-willed and sinful, and whose life therefore lacks principle, and fails to attain success. A large portion of the antitheses in the Bks. of Pr and Sir present the contrasted pictures of these two characters. They are seen in various relations of life; but the essence of the two characters lies in their different relation to the law of the LORD; for the fear of the LORD is the beginning of knowledge (Pr 1^{7}, Sir 1$^{14-20}$). 'All wisdom is the fear of the LORD, and in all wisdom is the doing of the law' (Sir 19^{20}). The grossest forms of transgression, as well as the less impressive, are regarded as acts of folly (see esp. Pr 7$^{6-27}$, and comp. Pr 10$^{8.\,9}$ 13^{16} 14$^{8.\,9}$ etc.). It is noticeable that the nature of wisdom and of folly consists, not in an accurate intellectual knowledge of things, but in a prudent or imprudent ordering of life. The wise man shows his wisdom by his right choice, his far-seeing plans, his control of passion, and avoidance of all self-assertion. The fool is he who does the exact opposite of all these things. See FOOL.

It is this notion of a wise ordering of practical life which reappears in the far more magnificent conception which we owe to these books—of the wisdom of God. This is conceived partly as an attribute of God, partly as a counsellor standing, as it were, by the throne of God. According to the latter view, which appears in some of the finest passages in these books, wisdom was the counsellor and helper of God in the creation of the world (Pr 8, cf. Wis 10, Job 28^{20} etc.), and has been conspicuously embodied in the law (Sir 24^{23}). Wisdom is the power that guides the history of man, and has watched over that of the chosen people (cf. Wis 10$^{15\text{f.}}$). Hence the previous connexion between morality and wisdom is explained. Man's wisdom consists in following out the embodied wisdom of God in the law.

This particular character of the divine wisdom brings us back to the consideration of the problems which, as has been already pointed out, appear in the Psalms. The problem of the true relation of virtuous action or righteousness is set forth, as in a tragedy, in the Bk. of Job. The author emphasizes the fact that Job was free from all blame in the truest and strictest sense. He bewails his misery—the cruel change of fortune which comes upon him; but in it all 'he sinned not.' He neither rejected the verdict of his conscience, which acquitted him of wrong-doing, nor called in question the supreme justice of God. In this he proves superior to the popular opinion on such matters, as it is represented in the utterances of the friends. And the justification of his attitude is found in the answer of J″ out of the whirlwind, the point of which consists in the assertion of the variety and mysteriousness of the activity of God. The question is not solved by any philosophical formula, but is referred simply to the nature of God Himself.

In the Bk. of Ec we find a much more gloomy point of view. In this case the obscurity of the whole matter presses very hard upon the author's mind. He is impressed with the apparent futility and lack of coherence in the life of man; he can see no purpose served and no object attained by the pursuit of wisdom, or the indulgence of pleasure, or the enjoyment of high place. Everything lies under the doom of vanity; there is no profit under the sun — nothing that endures, and can satisfy man's desire for the enduring. Under these circumstances he approaches the form of ethical thought which, in modern times, is called pessimism. Indeed he only falls short of it in so far as he finds the good of man in the grim adherence to the commandments of God (if Ec 11^{13} be genuine).

In both these works the general view of the life of man is closely akin to that which we have had occasion to notice before. It is noted (Job 1^{5}) that Job rose up early in the morning and offered burnt-offerings according to the number of them all (*i.e.* his family), 'for Job said, It may be that my sons have sinned, and renounced God in their hearts.' He deemed it necessary to provide against inadvertences of this sort as regards God, and this of course adds to the impression of his complete virtue. In later chapters we find the usual emphasis laid upon the protection of the poor, and the wickedness of oppression (cf. ch. 24. 31^{16} etc.), upon purity (ch. 31), and justice (29^{16}). In like manner, oppression is one of the things which attracts the attention of the preacher (Ec 4$^{1-3}$), as well as the vanity of the efforts of the righteous, when death comes and cuts short all that he is planning to achieve.

We may now review briefly the drift of this very imperfect sketch of the ethical ideas of the OT.

It seems that the central feature of OT morality is that it is religious; it is grafted on to the national faith and worship. But this must not be taken to imply that the ceremonial order was indissolubly bound up with the moral ideas; the various sacrifices, and the like, are, on the whole, held apart from the definite scheme (so far as there is one traceable) of virtues and vices. It would be truer to say that the ceremonial order and the ethical code are two co-ordinate developments of the one principle—the holiness of J″. The character of God was the final rule of the life of man, and the archaic details of sacrificial purification were filled with this meaning; the great holiness of God demanded cautious approach. On the other hand, the general impression left upon the mind by the history of the people and the reflections upon their life is one of considerable simplicity. The acts condemned, the ideals commended, belong to a comparatively simple condition of society. Acts of violence and oppression are the chief burden of denunciation; the tendency is manifest to exact usurious interest; and there are some few other forms of sin noticed, such as drunkenness and impurity. But the real depth and value of Jewish moral teaching is found, not in the political or social sphere, but in the religious life. It is in the Psalms and in those passages of the Prophets which come nearest in tone to the Psalms that we find the permanent and supreme value of the Jewish notion of life. Varieties of religious emotion and aspiration such as we find in these forms are possible only to a people whose whole ethical outlook is religious.

II. In the NT.—When we pass over into the NT we come into an atmosphere which is in many respects strikingly different from that of the OT. In the first place, the literature covers a comparatively small area in point of time, instead of containing history and tradition from a long series of ages. Hence the type of life and thought, though there are signs of rapid development in it, is much the same throughout. Further, the history in NT describes in fragmentary style a single life, and the results which flowed from its activity. We are not concerned with the history of a people, but of a body that was included in, but claimed to be wider than, the firmly established Roman Empire. Our knowledge of its external history is comparatively slight; the emphasis falls on the development of its mind. Hence, while a large portion of OT requires to be explained out of the political history of the time, the tone of NT is more definitely moral, and deals more positively with the qualities and errors of individual minds; it is ethical rather than political. And once more, the NT stands in much closer relation to our own modern experience than anything in the OT. At the best, it is always difficult to get back to the point of view from which the OT writers spoke and wrote; there is much which it requires careful argumentation to explain at all. But with the NT this is different. In spite of the obvious differences of national character, and the effects of all the history that has happened since, we still feel that we understand and are in sympathy with the ethical attitude of those who wrote the NT books. Indeed, the fact that they seem so little strange is the measure of their effect.

On the other hand, there are points of very close contact between the OT and the NT. We do not find the same external conditions, but the moral attitude is much the same. The morality of the NT is essentially a religious morality; it stands in very close relation to the worship of God. That which was hope or aspiration under the old covenant is fulfilled in the new; the access to God, which was before an object of longing, is attained through Christ; the forgiveness, the lack of which so seriously complicated the ancient religious efforts, has become possible through Christ. This is, in fact, the central point in the comparison of the two systems; the note of the old covenant is *promise*, that of the new is *fulfilment*. From this most of the other differences may be derived, directly or indirectly.

As in connexion with the OT, so here, it will be impossible to enter into the various critical questions raised over the Gospels and Epistles. Taking the NT as it is, we shall endeavour to indicate its bearing on ethical questions.

(*A*) *The Sermon on the Mount.*—Different views have been taken as to the actual history of this sermon as it stands in the Gospels, and of its meaning in relation to the purpose of Christ. All are agreed that it stands to the new covenant as the promulgation of the law on Sinai stood to the old; it contains the law of the new kingdom. From this point of view two questions arise in regard to it. (1) What is its relation to the old law? (2) What new features does it add of its own?

(1) In the Sermon on the Mount the old law is revised and fulfilled; the precepts which it contained are interpreted, and their application deepened. Our Lord definitely affirms that He has come, not to destroy (καταλῦσαι), but to fulfil (πληρῶσαι). Hence He touches on a series of points upon which the law had defined its position, and develops them. The law of Murder includes in its prohibition the sin of anger and the harsh unforgiving temper.* The law against Adultery includes lustful thoughts, and condemns them. The law of Divorce and of Perjury are extended in like manner. But the law of Retaliation is reversed; and the narrow command to love the neighbour is extended so as to cover the enemy. In all this the difference lies not so much in principle as in interpretation. We are still in the region of law. Commands are addressed to the will from without, which it has to obey. But the significance of the law is increased tenfold by means of the application of the rules. They no longer concern outward conduct only; they touch the inmost springs of conduct in the heart. In this they are akin to the deeper aspirations of the Prophets and Psalmists; these too, though with less profound and unflinching moral insight, saw that it was in these inward regions that the real issue of right and wrong was to be tried. In the same way, on the positive side, in the matter of almsgiving, prayer, and fasting, our Lord lays emphasis on the spiritual side of these acts, without in any way condemning the exterior and formal aspect of them.

(2) But the indications given of the character of the citizens of the new kingdom contain the most significant departures from ancient rule. These appear chiefly in the Beatitudes, and in other parts of the NT in which the character of the new kingdom is described. The nature of the description given in the Beatitudes is not, perhaps, easy to bring into formal order; but there is no question as to the fundamental principles of the character therein set forth. Its rules and interests are in the spiritual world, and there alone. The rewards of its virtues are spiritual. The pure in heart see God; those that hunger and thirst after righteousness gain their desire; the merciful receive mercy; the poor in spirit (or the poor, Lk 6^{20}) are those to whom the kingdom of heaven belongs; the peacemakers are called the sons of God. The meek are said to inherit the earth; but this must not be assumed to contradict the blessing upon those whom the world persecutes. The general drift of the passage is to bless those who are characterized

---

* Cf. Philo, *De Spec. Legg.* Tom. ii. p. 314, ed. Mang.

by certain spiritual qualities, and to leave on one side their relation to the ordinary standards of the world. The opinion of the world is, as such, of no value; all that matters is the spiritual condition of the citizens of the kingdom. In like manner, later on in the sermon, the motive to prayer and fasting is found in the same region. The critical temper is excluded from the true life (Mt 7[1-5], Lk 6[37-39]); and it is distinctly asserted that care is to be exercised in the presentation of that which is holy. The whole temper indicated is inward and spiritual, though it is affirmed that the character must be expressed in act: the tree is to be known by its fruit.

(*B*) Similar principles appear in our Lord's *Parabolic teachings*. A large number of the parables refer to the general characteristics of the new Society, and therefore do not immediately concern us.* But others deal directly with moral character. Thus the Parable of the Unmerciful Servant deals with the law of forgiveness; that of the Pharisee and the Publican condemns self-righteousness; the Good Samaritan defines the duty of the love of our neighbour; that of the Two Sons distinguishes true and false obedience. Dives and Lazarus illustrates the peril of the love of this world. Besides these, the Prodigal Son, the Unjust Judge, and the Friend at midnight declare the relations between the true believers and God. In these, and in the generality of the teaching recorded in the synoptic Gospels, our Lord uses a quasi-proverbial method. He does not promulgate rules of conduct, but describes in indirect fashion the principles upon which true conduct is to be based.

(*C*) In the more profound teaching recorded in *St. John's Gospel*, we are taken still further into the inner secrets of the moral life. While in the Synoptists we have the life presented in the simple picture of the Two Ways, St. John represents the true and the false life as two opposed conditions of being—Life and Judgment. This, while it contains ultimately the same idea as the simpler language in St. Matthew, lies deeper, and contains assumptions which do not appear elsewhere. In this type of teaching, as in the other, the essential principle is that human life is truly seen only on its spiritual side, and that in this view of it there is a single issue offered for the determination of each particular man. That course which places man on the side of God is described as Life; the other is in itself Judgment. Further, whereas in synoptic tradition we find our Lord opening His mission with the preaching of repentance, so, in the first discourse recorded by St. John (ch. 3), He sets forth the necessity of regeneration for the recognition of and entry into the new kingdom. Here, again, the positions are ultimately the same, but that in St. John is the deeper. The new birth spoken of is essential to the repentance. Once more, the need of faith, which is constantly emphasized in the synoptic Gospels, is by St. John shown to involve moral issues of a serious kind. It is the self-assertion, the self-seeking of the Jews, that prevents their understanding the claims of Christ. And, lastly, it is union with Christ, and dependence upon His life, which sustains those who are His representatives in the world. And thus, again, a moral virtue inculcated in the synoptic tradition is asserted in deeper form in St. John. The love which the followers of Christ are to have to one another rests upon their union with Christ, the indwelling of the Spirit, and has as its ideal the love of the Father and the Son.

In this Gospel there is very little direct exhortation, even of the proverbial kind. The most conspicuous parenetic passage is that in which our Lord (as also in the other Gospels) lays down the absolute necessity of sacrifice for all (Jn 12[25]). The discourses are concerned rather with the exposition of the final conditions of moral action, and in this sense they are of vital importance for the Christian ethic. It should be noticed that they deal with action, so it seems at first sight, very simply. Truths which are complementary are stated, sometimes in antithesis, sometimes without any sign in the context of the complementary truth, which may appear elsewhere also without qualification. Thus, in ch. 6, the mysterious relations of the work of the Father and the coming of men to Christ are asserted, but not connected by any theory. Or, on the other hand, the judgment given is said to be the coming of the light into the world, and the consequent action of men (3[19]); whereas in vv.[22. 30] judgment is placed in the control of the Son of Man. This is largely due to the close connexion of the discourses in this Gospel with the circumstances under which they were delivered, and to the fact that, in life, different aspects of complex unities have a tendency to emerge into exclusive prominence. But the great importance of all these passages for our present purpose is this: they represent the Christian development of the principles already asserted in Judaism—the connexion of the character of God with moral life, and the historic operation of God in the lives of men. Where God declares Himself as a merciful God—in answer to the request of Moses to see Him—and declares His condemnation of the guilty (Ex 34[7]), Christ in St. John sets out the love of God as the rule of life for the Christian society (Jn 17[26]). Whereas in the OT the hand of God is seen in the guidance of man throughout his life and history, Christ in St. John affirms definitely the entry of the Father's will into the actual life and choice of individual man. The importance of this, in regard to life, can hardly be exaggerated. It means that the apparent simplification of moral ideas attained by referring all things to a spiritual standard must not be regarded as extinguishing all moral problems. The Gospel of St. John contains no elaborate discussion of such problems, such as we find in St. Paul's Epistles; it only indicates, in the direct way which lies close to immediate experience, that they are present. Thus we derive from the preaching of Christ, not only a deeper view of positive duty, but also an indication of a large field of moral thought of which comparatively little had been known before.

(*D*) In turning to the *Apostolic Epistles* we find the Church engaged in the endeavour to introduce the Christian law into the world. We derive, therefore, from these writings some knowledge of the effect of Christianity upon the life of Greece and Rome. And, further, we find in the Epistles, especially in those of St. Paul, an endeavour to connect the faith of the Church with its practice. It will be desirable to consider these points in the reverse order, as the dogmatic basis of Christian practice in many cases largely determines its form. In the first place, let us observe that there are, in the NT writers, certain moral premises or assumptions which are inherited from the OT, and have been accentuated by the teaching of Christ. The end of man is union or intercourse with God, and sin impedes it. Men are in a position of enmity—sin dwells in them—the wrath of God at present abides upon them—they have not passed from death to life. And they have no power of their own to break loose from this position; the old lamentations of the Psalmist over their moral incapacity are taken up and confirmed by the authority of the apostolic writers. However great and sincere man's desire may be to attain to virtue and to holiness, there is an impediment. The law did little to improve the position; it killed instead of reviving; it displayed the real nature of sin, so far as man was capable of appreciating it, but it gave him no power to express his knowledge in his life. The sacrifices and other ceremonies, which were part of the legal dispensation, could never take away sin. They only symbolized a purification which they could never convey.

---

* Such are: the Leaven, the Draw-net, the Hidden Treasure, the Seed growing secretly, etc.

In all this the apostolic writers are using partly ideas which are inherited, partly ideas which are original in them. The sense of failure and ruin appears, as we have said, in the OT, but in the Epistles it is more precise in itself, and its causes and range are more clearly known. The disabilities thus described are removed by the work of Christ. And it is in consequence of this that the dogmatic basis of the Christian practice is so firmly and carefully fixed. The views of man's condition, with which the apostles start, are such that the first thing to be done in order to attain morality is to remove the impediment which at present bars the way. To describe the advantages or the beauties of moral life—to develop a system of new and attractive moral ideas, is secondary to this; to have made it the first interest would have been to leave mankind in the position of the law. It was power they wanted, more even than knowledge. Christ in His teaching had concentrated attention increasingly upon Himself; the central feature of the discourses recorded by St. John had been the presentation of Himself as satisfying in various ways the desires and the needs of man. Thus the apostles had general guidance as to the way in which they were to deal with life, as well as particular instructions for certain occasions. Christ had not, so far as we can gather from His recorded teaching, entered into any detailed and precise account of the effect of His work in the moral world. It is this that the apostolic writers undertake.

In this respect it is possible to observe development and the presence of individual tendencies of thought. At first, the sum of their preaching seems to be contained in the phrase, *Jesus is Lord.* The resurrection, of which all are witnesses, is the proof of this; and the effect is that men have repentance and remission of their sins. The Holy Spirit has been poured out upon them, and they have thus gained various moral and spiritual powers. They are not left, as before, to struggle vainly; a new spring of new life has entered into the world, arising from the person of the risen and ascended Lord. St. Paul develops this position with great fulness in his Epistles. 'If Christ be not risen,' he says (1 Co 15^{17}), 'ye are yet in your sins.' And this position is elsewhere described as the state 'under law,' the condition of inability and partial knowledge which prevailed in the earlier dispensation (Gal $4^{5ff.}$). There is no question that to St. Paul's mind the possibility of moral achievement depends absolutely on the person and work of the Son of God. And we can go further than this. The death of Christ, which was the means of removing the barrier of separation between us and God, was of the nature of a sacrifice—a sacrifice of propitiation (*ἱλαστήριον*, cf. Ro 3^{25}). Thus the ancient efforts at reconciliation were made effectual. In similar fashion St. John represents Jesus Christ the righteous as a propitiation (*ἱλασμός*) for our sins and for the sins of the whole world (1 Jn 2^{2}). The author of the Ep. to the Hebrews dwells at length upon the unique importance of the priesthood of Christ, and emphasizes the effect of it upon man's relations with God. St. John, the cast of whose mind is more contemplative than argumentative, sets forth as the essential condition of real Christian life, the confession that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh (2 Jn ^{7}, cf. 1 Jn 5^{1}). His characteristic interest is in the truth of the incarnation considered as a fact in history; his treatment of all the other points arises out of this. The others, not less certain than St. John as to the nature of Christ, have given more space to the discussion of the redemptive acts of Christ. But, in spite of differences in the nature and order of the presentation, one salient fact appears on the very surface of the NT, namely, that moral life depends upon the acts and the nature of Christ; in other words, that the true basis for morality is theological. The controversy over the principles of faith and works, which occupies so large a place in St. Paul, has no meaning apart from this; it arises, and is of practical importance, just because it affects the relations of God and man. In like manner, as has been already implied in our remarks upon St. John's Gospel, the controlling will of God in history becomes an element in man's moral life; and in this connexion we have, of course, the Pauline doctrine of predestination. Here, again, we are dealing, not with a mere philosophical speculation, but with a series of facts which must be taken into consideration in any valid account of actual practical life.

It would be beyond our purpose to dwell further on these theological points. We have said thus much about them in order to call attention to the fact that the Christian ethic as it appears in the NT, rests upon certain convictions as to the nature and acts of Christ. The whole bearing and range of morality depends upon these.

We must now return to the other matter remaining for discussion, viz. the attitude of the Church in its endeavour to spread the Christian view of life through the world, and in this connexion we shall consider two points—(1) the general attitude of the Church towards practical life; (2) the system of virtues and vices which flowed from the use of the Christian ideal.

(1) We notice, first of all, that the Church displays an attitude of unflinching hostility to all that is characteristically worldly. The world, to the eyes of St. Paul, presents a spectacle of varied and widespread wickedness. The heathen have lost the light that might once have belonged to them, and, as they have lost the knowledge of God, have fallen into idolatry, and so into gross sin. They have concentrated their attention and interests upon the material side of life, and find their satisfaction in the created world (Ro $1^{18ff.}$). The same point appears in connexion with the moral use of the term 'the flesh.' St. Paul does not mean by this that the flesh, as such, is the seat of evil; but it is the material and transient side of man's nature, which has no right to stand as the object of his life. The works of the flesh (Gal 5^{19}) are all those acts and states of which the real explanation lies in man's choice of the material and transient, his desire for selfish satisfaction. Though there are still higher ideas and signs of moral aspiration among the heathen, yet the predominant note of their life is degradation and sensuality.*

---

* It is always hard to read St. Paul's descriptions, esp. in Ro 1, without wondering whether he has exaggerated, and, if so, to what extent. It must, however, be remembered that we derive our views of the ancient world rather from the highest minds of the particular periods we consider, than from men on ordinary levels. It was these lower, more ordinary strata of society with which St. Paul was chiefly acquainted. And, further, there can be no question that the entry of Christianity has altered the face of things in many more directions than we ordinarily think; so that, in all probability, the tone of ancient society is much farther from us than we are wont to suppose. St. Paul represents the case of a person with sentiments very like our own acting and thinking under the old conditions. And, lastly, it must always be remembered that St. Paul's method of presenting his ideas is to insist strongly on one aspect of a matter at one time, modifying it or insisting on the complementary truth in

In like manner, St. John speaks of the world as lying in the evil one (κεῖται ἐν τῷ πονηρῷ, 1 Jn 5^{19}), and uses the word κόσμος somewhat in the same way as St. Paul uses the word σάρξ, for the material creation considered, first as apart from, and then as hostile to God. The world is guided by principles of self-will and self-indulgence, and is doomed to pass away with all the objects of its desire. As Christ had anticipated persecution and hatred for those who followed Him, so St. Paul and St. John recognize an endless hostility between the world and those born of God—between the flesh and the Spirit. There is no compromise and no cessation in the strife.

Hence the first thing which strikes us in the general attitude of the Church towards the world is its uncompromising hostility. But in large measure these phrases, the flesh and the world, stand for tendencies or principles rather than for individuals. These tendencies appear in individuals; but there is quite another aspect in which the individuals arrest the attention of the Church. The world from this point of view is capable of being saved; and this fact determines *the character of the warfare.* There is no limit to the sacrifices which must be expected of the Christian: he must, as Christ said, hate his father and mother if he is worthy of his calling. But he will not retire into himself, and live an isolated withdrawn life in which mankind in general has no part. He will live quietly in the state in which his lot is cast, fulfilling ordinary duties of citizenship (Ro 13, cf. 1 P 4^{15}), accepting even such an institution as slavery (1 Co 7^{17}, Philem), without strife or cry. At the same time, he will not conceal his way of life, nor evade inquiry into its motive; the power of example, the mere presence of the new principles of action, will tell. The world will know by this the disciples of Christ—by the fact that they love one another. And the love to the brethren, which is the sign that they have passed from death to life (1 Jn 3^{14}), is extended to the neighbour, and in this is the fulfilling of the law (Ro 13^{10}). As God loved the world, even when men were in a state of rebellion against Him, so those who are called by the name of Christ will endeavour, so far as in them lies, to fulfil God's desire to save it. Thus the Christian's attitude towards the world is partly hostile and partly friendly—hostile so far as the world tries to convert him, but friendly in so far as he endeavours to convert the world. We must now consider certain special conditions of mind which, owing to the peculiar views of life characteristic of the Church, are now brought within the ethical sphere.

(*a*) We propose to consider, first, three moral conditions which are sufficiently similar to admit of such treatment, and which all depend upon a lack of zeal or whole-heartedness. In Ja 1$^{5-8}$ we find a severe condemnation passed upon the δίψυχος or *double-souled* man. In Rev 3$^{15-17}$ the severest judgment of all those passed upon the Seven Churches is the denunciation of the *lukewarm* (χλιαροί). And, again, in Rev 21^{8} the first of those whose portion is the second death are the *cowards* (δειλοί). These three words, especially in view of the context they are in, seem to convey more than a reproach upon vacillation of purpose. The man who is double-souled and unstable in all his ways fails to obtain his prayers; his life loses consistency and firmness, and becomes like the sea, driven by the wind and tossed. So the lukewarm is worse than the open enemy ('I would thou wert cold or hot'), and the coward is coupled in his condemnation with the unfaithful as well as those who are guilty of open and obvious sin. All three are cases of insincerity. They are attempts to serve two masters, and they lack the absolute singleness of aim which Christ demands of those who follow Him. The severity of the condemnation upon them is the measure of the importance of the demand made upon the believer. He is to live a spiritual life pure and simple, guided by spiritual principles and spiritual aims; cowardice or lukewarmness or double-souledness is nothing less than the surrender of all this; in other words, the rejection of Christ. On the positive side, we have St. Paul's exhortations to sincerity of work (Col 3^{22}), to tolerance of weaker consciences in all things lawful (1 Co 8$^{8-13}$, Ro 14), and these exhortations are based upon the same general principle. The sole concern of men is to be their relation to God, and this will colour all that they do in the ordinary ways of life.

Under the same condemnation will be placed various sensual sins. Thus St. Paul bases his exhortation to purity on the true function of the body, and its capacity as a temple of the Holy Ghost (1 Co 6^{12} etc.). Covetousness, mentioned at the end of a list of sensual sins, is stigmatized as idolatry (Col 3^{5}); the love of money is said to have power to pervert men from the faith, and to be a root of all evil things (1 Ti 6^{10}); and again the love of pleasure is set over-against the love of God (2 Ti 3^{5}). In all these cases the error lies in misdirection of aim, the transient is preferred to the eternal. They are not merely breaches of law, or, as a Greek philosopher might have said, disturbances of the due balance of man's nature. In the light of the faith they are errors in principle, a choice of the wrong thing altogether.

This singleness of aim takes shape in social life in various noticeable forms. The bond which holds the Christian society together is love—love to God and love to the brethren. This, in itself, would prevent any violence of self-assertion or rivalry. But there are also positive virtues based upon the conception of the Christian society. One of the most striking of these is *humility.* This appears in St. Paul primarily as a social virtue. It consists in voluntarily accepting a subdued estimate of oneself. It is distinguished from all diffidence or indisposition to accept the call of God to special work by the fact that it deals fairly and simply with reality. On the practical side it consists largely in doing without hesitation or discontent the work assigned. So St. Paul exhorts the Romans (12^{3}) not to think more highly of themselves than they ought; and gives as his reason their unity in the body of Christ. Immediately afterwards he exhorts them to perform faithfully the function that has been allotted to them in the Church. So in the Epistle to the Philippians (2^{3}) the spirit of humility is opposed to the vainglorious temper, and the factious ungracious service of a hireling. So St. Peter finds in humility the principle of church order (1 P 5^{5}). Thus the normal aspect of this virtue in the apostolic writings is social; it answers to the social reserve of the Greeks—the disposition to give and take without savage selfishness or personal rivalry. But it differs widely from this, in that it is not based upon the mere fact that all men cannot have the same thing, and must give way to one another; it rests upon a positive love of men, one to another, and a profound conviction of the unique value of spiritual things. Moreover, it goes back upon the example and the precept of Christ Himself; it is a conspicuous embodiment of His mind and temper.

In this connexion it will be well to speak of another virtue which holds a high place in St. Paul's teaching. In the list of the fruits of the Spirit (Gal 5^{23}), the virtue which appears at the

---

another context. If Ro 1 represents the darker side of his mind, Ro 2, not to mention his practical attitude towards the Gentiles, represents the aspect of the question neglected here.

end as a kind of climax is ἐγκράτεια, *self-control.* It will not be justifiable to press too far its position in this catalogue; but there can be no doubt that it holds an important position in St. Paul's mind. It is one of the qualities required of the bishop (Tit 1^6); it is inculcated by the example of the zealous athlete (1 Co 9^{25}), and it appears in 2 P 1^6 as a stage in the progress of men in this world. It is in regard to this virtue, probably, that the ethical ideas of the apostolic writers differ most characteristically from the views of contemporary Gr. writers. The Gr. view of virtue was chiefly that of a condition attained after struggle; it did not contemplate the persistence of temptation, or of any disposition to yield on the part of the virtuous man. The material side of man was not, so to speak, an actual element in virtuous action; it required suppression, not control: on the other hand, the Christian virtue does not pretend to introduce warfare or separation into the organization of man. It recognizes the need of self-control, but the character of the man who manages his physical nature and keeps it in its proper relation to his whole life is selected for commendation. The ἐγκράτεια of St. Paul is a more real thing than the σωφροσύνη of a Gr. philosopher; and it is not, morally speaking, a lower conception of virtuous life.

(*b*) We now come to consider three states or conditions or virtues which are most of all identified with the Christian point of view. These are the well-known triad, *Faith, Hope,* and *Love.* They are for the most part identified with St. Paul, and found especially in 1 Co 13. But it is not true to suppose that they are limited to that passage. They occur in close connexion, both in St. Peter ($1^{1.21.22}$), and in the Ep. to the Hebrews (10^{22}), and in other passages of St. Paul (1 Th $1^{2.3}$ 5^8, Col 1^{3-5}). Indeed their connexion is so remarkable that it has been recently argued that it must have been based on the teaching of Christ Himself.[*] Without committing ourselves on this point, it is at least worth noticing that the connexion is frequent, and it is natural to infer that it had some definitely ethical significance. The question then arises, What is implied by the combination of these three virtues? There is practically no doubt as to the meaning of ἐλπίς and ἀγάπη. It is true that ἐλπίς means sometimes a particular state of mind, sometimes the object on which it rests, but there is no serious ambiguity. But with the third πίστις this is not the case. It is ambiguous (1) because it stands both for the temper of the faithful person and for the object of his faith; but (2) more seriously, because the character of the moral temper is not clear. The word means not only trustfulness, but also trustworthiness. And even in those passages where the context excludes the passive sense, there are further differences in the associations given by various writers to the words. St. James (2^{19}) seems to mean by it little more than an intellectual assent to a proposition; it is a state of mind in which the devils can be said to be. The word in St. Paul has a moral rather than a purely intellectual meaning. It describes the temper of one who, in full view of all that makes the other way, trusts in the character and power of God (cf. Ro 4^{19} RV). And so St. Paul speaks naturally of faith being made active by love (ἐνεργουμένη δι' ἀγάπης, Gal 5^6). It is inspired by the love of the person on whom it rests, and therefore does not fail. In the Ep. to the Hebrews we again notice a slight variation in use. The author describes faith in somewhat precise fashion as 'the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen' (11^1). By this he seems to mean a certainty in the mind of the faithful person that the hopes he has will be realized. The confidence is so great that he seems almost to have in his possession the things which are not yet in being. Such a man, like Moses, 'endures as seeing the invisible.'

It is somewhat difficult to describe succinctly the character in which these three virtues converge. It must be remembered that, for the apostles, the death and resurrection of Christ were the primary and salient facts with which all life had to deal. Hence these determine the primary reference of the faith, hope, and love of the believer. His *faith* rests upon Christ as risen and ascended; his *hope* is in the consummation of God's purpose in the world; his *love* is directed to the Father who guided, and the Son who effected, his redemption. The whole atmosphere of the Epistles is full of these facts, and all practical results which flow out from the presence of these virtues are dependent on the truth of these facts. Thus, because the believer holds to the truth of the death and resurrection of Christ, he has certainty, where others doubt, in his view of the history of the world and of himself. His *faith* is not a blind acceptance of anything that happens. He knows as well as any one the difficulties in life, and the darkness which hangs over human things. He sees things occur which he did not foresee and cannot explain. But he is not in presence of a mere chaos of irrational forces, with a blind belief in the existence of a purpose behind them; he has a sure confidence in the death and resurrection of Christ; that is, he is able to take them as a type of the action of God, and to find in them a ground of anticipation for the future. Because Christ has risen from the dead, instead of being of all men the most miserable he is the person of all others who has a sure hold upon life. See FAITH.

In like manner, the natural object of the virtue of *hope* is the second coming of our Lord, and the consummation of all things which that event will bring. It is this hope that enables men to endure the sorrows and pain of the world; it is hidden in some sort in the groaning and travailing of creation (Ro 8^{18-25}). It results from the steady endurance of persecution (Ro 5^5), and it does not make ashamed. It is not difficult to see how this confidence in the future will affect life on its practical side. It involves no unreality, and no optimistic veiling of the real evil in things. With a full sense of the presence of pain and other troubles in the world, it looks upon the course of history with certainty and fearlessness. There is no haunting dread lest the world may be, after all, a chaos of irrational forces without purpose or true guidance; because the events of Christ's life, the truth of His person, and the certainty of His promises, prevent all such hazy and depressing conditions of mind. The virtue of hope is closely allied with the virtue of faith. They both rest upon the character and self-manifestation of God; they both affect life by bringing within its sphere the realities of the spiritual order.

And, lastly, the virtue of *love* depends upon the cessation of the feeling of hostility and estrangement which had so long been abroad in the world. The efforts of God for the salvation of man, His care for the souls of individual men—that is, the prominent events in the incarnate life of His Son—commend the love of God to us. From of old, men had sought by various means for intercourse with God, and yet had fallen short. The life of Christ opened the way to a fuller communion than they had ventured to anticipate. The law of God, seen in the light of the death and resurrection of Christ, could be a regular principle of action; not imposed arbitrarily from without, but accepted and understood as the true form of intercourse with God in life. Again, in regard to men, the old barriers which separated them would tend to be broken down, because all alike came under the condemnation of sin and within the range of salvation. The brotherhood of men amongst themselves is the expression of the knowledge of the love of God towards all. To profess love to God and to fail in love to man is, morally speaking, a contradiction. The one, by the logic of moral life, involves the other.

---

[*] Resch, *Agrapha*, p. 181; cf. Ropes, *Die Sprüche Jesu*, p. 24. Both these works are in Harnack's series of *Texte und Untersuchungen*, Bd. v. 4 and Bd. xiv. 2.

We have now concluded what it seems necessary to say as to the ethics of the Bible. It would be possible to develop the similarities and the contrasts between the ethics of the Greeks or of modern philosophy and the moral doctrines of Christianity. Or we might endeavour to trace the effect of the principles here indicated in the history of the Christian Church. Both of these topics would be necessary to a complete discussion of Christian ethics. Being restricted here to the ethics of the Bible, we must leave them aside as irrelevant. It remains, therefore, merely to emphasize the general principles which follow from our consideration of the subject. It seems to emerge clearly as a result of the whole, that the ethics of the Bible from one end of it to the other are *religious*. In the early days an ethical meaning was given to religious ceremonies which distinguished them sharply from the generality of such rites. In the hands of the prophets the ethical principles of life were asserted with exceptional vigour and clearness; but always, with however severe a side-glance at ceremonial, as an essential element in the worship of J″. In the Psalmists the various shades of moral feeling are described with infinite knowledge and fulness, but the further reference is always to the desire for intercourse with God. Even in the Sapiential Books, where the tone is least lofty and spiritual, the wisdom of man is found in the fear of the Lord and in obedience to His law.

The change which results from Christianity is partly due to the deeper insight and more alluring attractiveness of the example and preaching of Christ; but it owes more still to the vast increase in knowledge of actual spiritual truth which Christ brought to man, and the infinite significance of the acts of Christ upon the life of men. The truth is summed up, finally, in the words of St. John, 'The law was given by Moses, grace and truth came by Jesus Christ' (1^{16}). It was not merely that He charmed the world with the example of a sinless Man suffering because other men were sinful; nor, again, does the effect of His life rest merely upon the graciousness or the austerity of His words; but it flows from the fact that He brought truth as well as grace; power to achieve what the world had so long failed to attain; and knowledge of the spiritual order when all had been guesswork and hazardous conjecture before.

Many things follow from this. The various ethical doctrines which are from time to time represented as the only contribution of Christianity to the world's history are really corollaries of the facts upon which Christianity rests. The infinite value of each human soul, with all that has come of it in the changed position of individuals, presupposes, speaking historically, the belief in the scheme of salvation. The idea of universal love is not the result of a change of sentiment in the world, so much as the practical exposition (as we have indicated above) of the true relation of God to man. And, again, the principle of self-sacrifice is not an arbitrary law imposed on men, challenging an explanation which it never receives, but is the practical expression of the law of love, together with the paramount importance of the spiritual world.

We are well aware of the importance and the difficulty of many of the critical questions which surround the books of the Bible. In the present article, as has been already observed, they have been deliberately left aside. It would have been impossible, in the first place, to treat them adequately in passing, and inadequate discussion is useless. But there is a further reason, which, now that the exposition of the ethics is completed, it seems well to mention again and emphasize. These critical questions are not only irrelevant to the present discussion, they are largely irrelevant to any discussion. Speaking generally, we may say that the Bible has had its effect very largely as it stands. It comes before us a whole, and, though criticism may display for us the process by which some of the OT books have come into existence, it will not seriously alter this fact. And in the case of the NT the date of the formation of the Canon and the publication of the various books is now put back so far that there is not room for a complicated evolution of ideas of which the traces are largely lost. Those who are concerned to trace the formative ideas in the Bible must take it as a whole. For it is in view of the unity of thought which runs through it that the separate books have been gathered into one; this was the chief guiding principle in the formation of the Canon.

LITERATURE [added by the EDITOR: the more useful names are in small capitals].—*A. THE OLD TESTAMENT:* DILLMANN, *Ueber den Ursprung der Alttest. Religion*, 1865; BAUDISSIN, *Studien zur semit. Religionsgesch.* (1878), ii. 1–142; Bestmann, *Gesch. der christ. Sitte* (1880), i.; KÖNIO (Ed.), *Hauptprobleme der altisr. Religionsgesch.* 1884; Delitzsch in *PRE*^{2} v. 178; Riehm, *HWB* ii. 1274; Kuenen, *Religion of Israel*, i. 395–397 (Eng. tr. 1874); Mozley, *Ruling Ideas in Early Ages*, 1877; Luthardt, *Hist. of Christian Ethics* (Eng. tr. 1889), 33–56; Ebrard, *Apologetics* (Eng. tr. 1886), i. 236–288; Hessey, *Moral Difficulties in the Bible*, 3 vols. 1872, 1873; MOORE in *Lux Mundi*^{12}, 1891, 52–55; Ladd, *Doctrine of Sacred Scripture* (1883), i. 454–489, 738–742; Robertson, *Early Religion of Israel* (Baird Lecture, 1889), 296–325; Caillard, *Progressive Revelation* (1895), 20–37; SCHULTZ, *OT Theol.* (Eng. tr. 1892), i. 147 ff., 213 ff., ii. 52 ff.; BRUCE, *Ethics of the Old Test.* 1895; SMYTH, *Christian Ethics* (1892), 88–93, 483–486; Stanton in *Camb. Comp.* (1893), 314–319; STRONO, *Christian Ethics* (*BL*, 1895), 12–20, 35–46.

B. THE APOCRYPHA: Keerl, *Apokryphen des AT*, 1852, *Das Wort Gottes u. die Apokr.* 1853, *Die Apokryphenfrage*, 1855; Luthardt, *Hist. of Chr. Ethics* (Eng. tr. 1889), 57–74; Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 90 ff.; MONTEFIORE, *Origin and Growth of Religion* (Hib. Lect. 1892), 484–496.

C. THE NEW TESTAMENT AND CHRISTIANITY: Böhmer, *System des chr. Lebens*, 1853; Wendt, *Einleitung in die Ethik*, 1864; Schmid, *Christ. Sittenlehre*, ed. Heller, 1867; Maurice, *Epistles of St. John, Christian Ethics*, 1867; Lightfoot, 'St. Paul and Seneca,' in *Com. on Philipp.* (1868), 270–333, also in *Dissertations*, 247–322; Harless, *System of Chr. Ethics* (Eng. tr.), 1868; Weizsäcker, 'Anfänge christlicher Sitte,' in *JDTh*, 1876, 1–36; THOMA, *Gesch. der christ. Sittenlehre in der Zeit des NT*, 1879; Wuttke, *Handb. der chr. Sittenlehre* (1873), 17–242 (Eng. tr. *Christian Ethics*, 1873), new ed. by Schulze, 1895; Culmann, *Chr. Ethik*, 1874; Wace, *Christianity and Morality*, 1876; Smith (I. G.), *Characteristics of Chr. Morality* (*BL*, 1876); von Hofmann, *Theologische Ethik*, 1878; Lange, *Grund. der christ. Ethik*, 1878; Martensen, *Christian Ethics*, Eng. tr., 3 vols. 1878–1882; BESTMANN, *Gesch. der christ. Sitte*, vol. i. 1880 (ii. 1885); ERNESTI, *Ethik des Apostels Paulus*, 1880; Pfleiderer, *Grund. der Glaubens- und Sittenlehre*, 1880; Lecky, *Hist. of European Morals*, 1882; Frank, *System der christ. Sittlichkeit*, 1884–1887; Martineau, *Types of Ethical Theory*, 1885; DORNER, *Christ. Sittenlehre*, 1885 (Eng. tr. 1887); CHURCH, *Discipline of the Chr. Character*, 1885; Gass, *Gesch. der christ. Ethik*, 1881–1886; SIDOWICK, *Outlines of Hist. of Ethics*, 1886; Ziegler, *Gesch. der christ. Ethik*, 1886; Westcott, *Social Aspects of Christianity*, 1887; Flügel, *Die Sittenlehre Jesu*, 1888; Hatch, *Greek Ideas and the Chr. Church* (Hib. Lect. 1888), 158–170; Matheson, *Landmarks of NT Morality*, 1888; Luthardt, *Hist. of Chr. Ethics* (Eng. tr. 1889), 77–104; Stanton, *Province of Chr. Ethics*, 1890; OTTLEY, 'Christian Ethics,' in *Lux Mundi* (12th ed. 1891), 340–395; Scharling, *Christ. Sittenlehre*, 1892; Bright, *Morality in Doctrine*, 1892; SMYTH, *Christian Ethics*, 1892; Caird, *Evolution of Religion* (Gifford Lect. 1893), i. 389 ff., ii. 92 ff., 127 ff.; KNIOHT, *The Christian Ethic*, 1893; DRUMMOND, *Via Veritas Vita* (Hib. Lect. 1894), 209–280; FINDLAY, *Christian Doctrine and Morals* (Fernley Lect.), 1894; STRONO, *Christian Ethics* (*BL*, 1895), esp. 20–22, 47–73, and sects. iii. iv.; Harless, *Christ. Ethik*, 8th ed. 1895; KIDD, *Morality and Religion* (Kerr Lect. 1895), 363–401; Kuebel, *Christ. Ethik*, 1896; Luthardt.

Kompend. der theol. Ethik, 1896; Tymms in *The Ancient Faith in Mod. Light* (1897), 49–58; HARRIS, *God the Creator* (1897), ii. 175–192; BURTON, 'The Ethical Teachings of Jesus in Relation to the Ethics of the Pharisees and OT,' in *Biblical World* (1897), x. 198–208; BOVON, *Morale Chrétienne*, 1897–1898.

T. B. STRONG.

ETHIOPIA (*Αἰθιοπία*), the name whereby the LXX translators rendered the Heb. כּוּשׁ *passim*, and in Ps 72⁹ and 74¹⁴ the Heb. צִיִּים.

1. DERIVATION, etc.—The word occurs in the earliest Gr. literature as the name of a race to be found in the extreme E. and the extreme W.; in later writers[*] the nation is more definitely localized as dwelling S. of Egypt. The name would seem to be Greek, and to signify 'Red-faces' (cf. the similar word *αἶθοψ* applied by Homer to wine), a designation derived from the colour of the people, just as many names given by the Gr. geographers to African tribes are derived from their characteristics, habits, or mode of life; and indeed the present inhabitants of Abyssinia are said to call themselves *Kay* ('red' in Amharic), as opposed to the Nubians, whom they term black (*tekour* in Amharic, *salim* in Ethiopic; Lejean, *Voyage en Abyssinie,* 1872, p. 77). As, however, the colour that is associated with the 'Ethiopians' is not red, but *black* (Juv. *Sat.* ii. 23), it has been suggested that the Gr. name represents the Grecized form of some foreign appellation, such as *Atyāb*, plural of the Arab. *ṭib*, 'scents,' used to designate the inhabitants of the country whence the incense came (Glaser, *Die Abyssinier in Arabien*, p. 10). The word is a loan-word in the language called Ethiopic, imported from the Greek, and only employed by the Abyssinians in Christian times to denote themselves. In the inscription of Adulis, the Abyssinian king claims to have defeated the Ethiopians among other foreign races; meaning by this name, according to Lejean's suggestion, the Shangallas, a tribe placed in the maps of Harris and Lefèvre to the W. of the Abyssinian province Shirē, between the rivers Mareb and Taccazē. The name *Ḥabash*, whereby the Abyssinian country and people are designated in Arabic (whence the European Abyssinia), would appear to represent an ancient Egyp. name for some African race (Glaser, *l.c.*, after W. Max Müller); the native name is Geez.

2. GEOGRAPHY.—Although the Gr. geographers after the time of the Ptolemies distinguish the kingdom of Meroë from the neighbouring tribes, they make the term Ethiopia include both. The extent of territory covered by this name is therefore very great: to the ancients it represented all the land bounded by the Upper Nile on the W., and the Red Sea and Arabian Gulf on the E.; the southern extremity they did not profess to be able to fix. Only modern — the most modern — researches have been able to map out accurately the land known to the old geographers by vague reports.

The land whence the Nile derives its waters is described by Lucan as *putres arenæ*, but this description is not true of the whole of Ethiopia. While the political divisions have constantly been, and are still, fluctuating, the natural divisions are three. The highlands of Abyssinia separate the *Sūdān* (usually spelt Soudan), or 'black country,' on the N. and W. from the *Danākil* country, which lies between the Ethiopian range and the sea.

(*a*) The Soudan, having been rarely traversed by Europeans before Sir Samuel Baker (*Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia*, 1867), has, since the enterprise of Mohammed Ahmad, been frequently the centre of European interest, and the campaigns that have been fought there have led to the elucidation of its geography; and the works of Wingate (*Mahdiism in the Egyptian Soudan*, 1891), Slatin Pasha (*Fire and Sword in the Soudan*, 1896), and others, give accurate details both of the nature of the country (2,000,000 sq. miles in extent) and of the tribes that inhabit it. South of the thirteenth parallel of latitude is fertile country with a six months' rainfall; N. of it are vast steppes with frequent thorns and thinly-scattered wells (Wingate, p. 8). A narrow strip of rich vegetation is to be found on either side of the Nile, which flows through it, making a gigantic curve between the third and fifth cataracts, and receiving at Al-Damer (about 33° 45′ E. long., 17° 30′ N. lat.) the Atbara, laden in the rainy season with the waters of Abyssinia, but in the dry season a bed of white sand; and some two degrees farther S. splitting at the modern town of Khartoum into the Blue and White Nile. The scenery is diversified by mountain ranges of no great height.

(*b*) Very different from this flat rolling plain is the Switzerland of Africa, Abyssinia, a plateau with a mean elevation of 6000 ft., extending from 9° to 15° 26′ N. lat., and at its greatest width from 37° to 40° E. long. Never completely severed from communication with Europe, this country was first accurately described in the *Historia Æthiopiæ* of the Ethiopic scholar Job Ludolf (1681), while the scientific observations and measurements of the explorers Rüppell (*Reise in Abessinien*, 1838), Lefèvre (*Voyage en Abyssinie*, 1839–1843), and Ferret and Galinier (contemporary with the last), have in recent times vastly increased our knowledge of it, which has been supplemented yet more recently by the researches of Mme d'Abbadie (*Géographie de l'Éthiopie*, 1890) and others (*e.g.* Theodore Bent, *The Sacred City of the Ethiopians*, 1893; Schoeller, *Mittheilungen über meine Reise in der Colonia Eritrea*, etc.). Separated on the E. from the Red Sea by the Ethiopian range (as it was first named by M. Theoph. Lefèvre), bounded on the S. by the rivers Hawash and Abay (afterwards the Blue Nile), on the N. by the rivers Ansaba, Barka, and Gash, and on the W. by the Atbara, the Abyssinian plateau inclines towards the N.W., but reaches its greatest elevation in the mts. of Samen or Semyen, of which the loftiest, Ras Dedjen, is 14,200 ft. high. The four rivers Taccazē (the Nile of Ethiopia), Mareb, Abay, and Hawash, with their numerous tributaries, divide the country into a great number of natural provinces; and as these rivers flow in deep ravines, intercommunication during the rainy season is frequently suspended; while the Mareb and the Hawash lose themselves in the sand after dividing into many channels, the Taccazē (called during part of its course the Settite) flows into the Atbara at Tomat (in the province of Katarif), while the Abay (which near its rise curves through Lake Tsana, the greatest of the Abyssinian lakes) later on in its course is called the Blue Nile. The political and linguistic division of the country into Tigre, Amhara, Shoa, and Galla districts is recent; a more natural division is that according to which the native geographers divide their land into *zones*—the Kola or lowlands (below 5500 ft.), the Woina-Deja (5500–7500 ft.), and the Deja (over 7500 ft.), distinguished by their flora and fauna. (See on these esp. J. Dove, *Ergänzungsheft* 37 to Petermann's *Mittheilungen* 'die Kulturzonen Nord-Abessiniens,' and for another division A. Raffray, *Bulletin de la société de Géographie*, 1882.)

(*c*) Thirdly, on the E. side of the Ethiopian range, and extending to the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden, is a vast tract inhabited now by three Hamitic races called Oromo or Gallas, Afār or Danākils, and Somālis, not yet thoroughly explored, among the descriptions of which may be mentioned Borelli's *Éthiopie Méridionale* (Paris, 1890), and Paulitsche's *Ethnologie Ost-Afrika's* (Wien, 1893), The geology, botany, and zoology of 'Ethiopia' are elaborately treated in Decken's *Reisen in Ost-Afrika* (1879), ap. iii. 3.

3. SKETCH OF HISTORY.—Portions of this vast region were under some sort of government during the existence of the ancient kingdom of Napata, the earlier history of which has been sketched in the article CUSH. In the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus we find an Amonian king Ergamenes reigning at Meroë (Diod. iii. 6), whose name (Erkamon, 'oath of Amon') was found in cartouches on Nubian monuments shortly after the commencement of hieroglyphic studies (see Champollion, *Voyage en Nubie*, 119; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storichi*, ii. 321). To the time of the same Ptolemy, Brugsch (*Zschr. f. Ägypt. Sprache*, etc. 1890, p. 29) assigns the reign of a king Horsiatef or Arsiotes (whose stele with a lengthy inscription is reproduced by Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, plate 11); and two kings of the same family as Ergamenes, Onchmachis and Hormachis, after the death of Ptolemy Philopator seized the Thebaid, where they reigned twenty years (Brugsch, *l.c.*; Révillout, *Rev. Égyptol.* v. 39 ff.). As Euergetes I. is said to have sent an expedition into Lower Nubia (*Mon. Adul.*), the two powers must have been long at variance. The invaders of the Thebaid were ejected by Ptolemy Epiphanes—if the combinations of Révillout be correct—by the aid of the Blemmyans, an Ethiopian tribe, whose princes henceforth become supreme at Meroë, though acknowledging the suzerainty of the Egyptians and their heirs the Romans, whence it comes that

---

[*] Still the confusion of Ethiopia with India continues long into the Christian era (Letronne, *Matériaux pour l'histoire du Christianisme*, p. 32).

inscriptions in honour of Tiberius and Nero have been found at Dakke (the ancient Pselcis).

An attempt was made during the reign of Augustus by a queen named Candace to drive the Romans out of the Thebaid, resulting in the taking of Napata and Meroë by C. Petronius in B.C. 24; but as peace was made with the Ethiopian queen by Augustus at Samos in B.C. 21, the defeat of the former may not have been so complete as Strabo represents it (Book xvii.; Révillout, *l.c.*). The same queen has been identified with a *κυρία βασίλισσα*, who is mentioned in an inscription of the year B.C. 13 as sending an embassy into Rom. territory (Wilcken in *Hermes* for 1893, p. 145 on *CIG* iii. 5080); and this name Kandake (in Egyp. *Knθaki-t* with family name *Amn-ārit*; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 47 *a* and *b*; *ap.* Brugsch, *Entziff. der Meroit. Denkm.* p. 7) is said to have been the official name of the queen of Ethiopia (Bion of Soli, *Frag. Hist. Græce*, iv. 351, 5). Beyond a solitary allusion to the queen of Meroë in Ac 8^{27} the history of this state is blank till a much later period, when the Blemmyans came into collision with the Roman empire (Révillout, *Mém. sur les Blemmyens* in 'Mém. prés. par divers savants à l'Académie,' viii. 2. 371); and Pliny asserts that a tribune with some prætorians sent to reconnoitre by Nero, who was contemplating an Ethiopian war, reported that the regions about Meroë were deserted (*Nat. Hist.* vi. 35). It has been conjectured by Dillmann ('Über die Anfänge des Aksumitischen Reiches' in *Abhandll. der Akad. zu Berlin*, 1878, p. 204) that the downfall of Meroë was the result of the campaign of Petronius. Though this may seem doubtful, he is probably right in connecting with the fall of Meroë the rise of another state in Abyssinia; for whereas the classical geographers prior to A.D. 50 (Agatharchides of Cnidus, of the 2nd cent. B.C., excerpted in Photii *Bibliotheca*; Artemidorus of Ephesus, of the 1st cent. B.C.; Diodorus Siculus, who relies in his elaborate account of Ethiopia, Bk. iii. 10–37, chiefly on Agatharchides, but partly on information which he had himself collected in Egypt; Strabo, and Pliny) know of no other *state* but that of Meroë, the author of the *Periplus Maris Erythræi* (of the second half of the 1st cent. A.D.) knows of a metropolis of the Auxomitæ (Αὐξωμῖται) situated at a distance of eight days from Adulis, 'whither all the ivory from beyond the Nile is brought through Cyenium to Adulis' for exportation. It was governed by a king named Zoskales; and in one of the inscriptions of Adulis recorded by Cosmas Indicopleustes, the king, inferred from the phrases he employs to have been king of Axum, a worshipper of the Greek gods Ares, Zeus, and Poseidon, enumerates conquests extending over a great portion of modern Abyssinia, and into neighbouring tribes and countries, in a list wherein many extant names figure for the first time. Since this king claims to have been the first of his line to conquer tribes which, in the time of the *Periplus*, were subject to Zoskales, Dillmann (*l.c.* 200) argues plausibly that the monument of Adulis is earlier than the *Periplus*; whence it would appear that the empire of Axum came into being somewhere in the middle of the 1st cent. A.D. The date cannot be much earlier, since otherwise its existence could not have escaped the Greeks, who had many factories on the Red Sea coast, dating from the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, who is said to have organized elephant-hunting expeditions. Although there follows a gap of some centuries in the history of Axum, it is clear that the great antiquity claimed for their empire by the native Abyssinian chroniclers is fabulous (see Dillmann, *ZDMG* vii.) as well as its supposed Jewish basis. Besides Meroë and Axum, the classical writers know only of tribes existing in Ethiopia in various stages of savagery, some of whose characteristics may well be preserved in extant races, while some may be relegated to the region of fable. (See further CUSH.)

4. LANGUAGE, etc.—The chief monuments of Nubian monarchs are in the Egyp. character and language; although, in the opinion of experts, many of them display a very imperfect acquaintance with both. Ergamenes, however, in the 3rd cent. B.C., after overthrowing the power of the priests (it is thought), introduced the native language of Nubia into the monuments, using for it modifications of the hieroglyphic and demotic writing, in which the phonetic value of the Egyp. symbols seems to have been shifted. In his Nubian grammar (1880) Lepsius speaks of these inscriptions as a still unsolved mystery; and the important study of them by Brugsch (*Entziff. der Meroit. Denkm.*, Leipzig, 1887) is not regarded as having finally solved it, although the discovery by Schäfer (*Zschr. für Ägyptologie*, 1896) of elements of modern Nubian in the Nubian words recorded by classical writers makes in favour of Brugsch's system. While the basis of the language is, according to these authorities, to be sought, not in the Beja dialect (as Lepsius had imagined), but in modern Nubian, Brugsch has made it probable that the language of the inscriptions was largely intermixed with Egyp. words, and indeed he fancies that many such are to be detected in the existing language. While the Ethiopian Pantheon was largely peopled with Egyp. gods, a few native names are recorded by the ancients, as may be made out from the inscriptions; and likewise Ethiopian civilization, though largely borrowed from Egypt, retained not a few native peculiarities.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

ETHIOPIAN EUNUCH.—According to Ac 8^{27} an Ethiopian eunuch, minister of Candace, queen of the Ethiopians, who was over all her treasure, shortly after the martyrdom of Stephen was met by the deacon Philip when returning from a religious journey to Jerusalem, and converted to Christianity. From the authorities cited in the article ETHIOPIA we know that Gr. literature had spread to the kingdom of Meroë as early as the 3rd cent. B.C.: there is therefore nothing improbable in the LXX translation, which this Ethiopian was found reading, having penetrated thither by the same channels; but whether he also belonged to the Jewish community cannot be made out with certainty. While his journey to Jerusalem 'to worship' (cf. the inscription quoted in ETHIOPIA) might imply it, his apparent unfamiliarity with OT (v.^{31}) and his physical condition render it improbable. The word 'eunuch' might indeed be regarded as a mistranslation for 'minister' if there were any likelihood that this narrative was originally in Aramaic, since in some dialects of that language the same word signifies both; but the fact that the passage of Isaiah quoted (Is $53^{7.8}$) is given according to the LXX, takes away the ground from any such supposition.

The notices of the Eth. kingdom for this period failing us altogether, it is impossible to identify this personage from external sources; but the historical character of the narrative seems to be acknowledged in most quarters.

The confession of faith put into his mouth in v.^{37} AV is now universally admitted to be an early interpolation. Assuming the Lucan authorship of the Acts, the source of the above narrative may have been personal information received from Philip (cf. Ac 21^{8}). Like the baptism of Cornelius by St. Peter, the case of the Ethiopian eunuch marked an important stage in the question of the admission of the Gentiles to the Christian Church. Its bearing from this point of view will be discussed in art. PHILIP (the evangelist). See also CORNELIUS. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

ETHIOPIAN WOMAN (כּוּשִׁית).—According to Nu 12^{1} (JE), when the children of Israel were at Hazeroth, Miriam and Aaron 'spake against' Moses on account of his marriage with an Ethiopian (RV 'Cushite') woman. In the sequel, however, Moses' conduct in this matter is neither impugned nor defended; for the complaint brought by Miriam and Aaron turns into a claim of equal inspiration with Moses (v.^{2})—a claim which is refuted by J″ in a theophany, while Miriam is punished with leprosy, from which she is immediately relieved through Moses' intercession made at Aaron's request, but has nevertheless to be confined for seven days (v.$^{4ff.}$). As the 'Ethiopian woman' is mentioned nowhere else, and the death of Moses' wife Zipporah is not recorded, some of the early interpreters thought the two must be identical; and this view is favoured by the Jewish expositors, who assign reasons for Zipporah's being called Eth. that are either frivolous (as Rashi) or merely uncritical (as Ibn Ezra); Rashi's interpretation being as old as Targ. Onk. On the other hand, LXX has *Αἰθιόπισσα*, and Jos. (*Ant.* II. x. 2) makes her an Eth. princess. If the woman mentioned in Nu be identical with Zipporah, the word *Kûshîth* must be used in the sense of non-Israelite—a usage which is found in late Rabbin. writings (Levy, *NHWB*), and cannot be dissociated from the similar employment of *Kûthî* (properly Samaritan). But besides the improbability of this usage being found in the Bible, the text implies (though it does not expressly assert) that the marriage was of recent occurrence. It is therefore more likely that a black slave-girl is meant, and that the fault found by Miriam and Aaron was with the indignity of such a union; and this accords with the statement (v.[3]) that Moses was the 'meekest' of mankind. The employment of Nubians as slaves dates back to the early dynasties of Egypt (cf. Brugsch, *Gesch. Ægyp.* p. 266). Although no etym. of the name Hazeroth is given in the text, this word (from the Arab. *ḥaẓara*, 'confine') would seem to stand in some etymological connexion with the confinement of Miriam. Perhaps it is merely accidental that the word *ḥaẓir* in Arab. is employed in an idiom meaning to 'calumniate' (Maydani, c. 3); albeit this double etym. would contain implicitly a large portion of the narrative. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

ETHIOPIC VERSION.—This subject will be treated under the following heads:—

i. The Ethiopic Canonical Books.
ii. The Manuscripts.
iii. Printed Editions.
iv. Source of the Text.
v. Critical Value.
vi. Date.

i. THE ETHIOPIC CANONICAL BOOKS.—(A) *Old Testament.*—The Eth. OT embraces all the books included in the LXX (except the Books of the Maccabees), together with several others, such as the Book of Enoch, Jubilees, 4 Ezra, Rest of the Words of Baruch, etc. The Maccabees were either never translated or else were early lost. Since, however, the Eth. scholars found the titles of these books in their *Sînôdôs* and *Fetha Nagast*, they proceeded to supply them from their own imagination. In this way these books came into circulation (Dillmann). In later times, indeed, the Latin version of these books was translated into Ethiopic. (See Wright, *Cat. Eth. MSS Brit. Mus.* p. 14.) No distinction whatever appears to have been made between the canonical and the uncanonical books of OT. The number of books in OT is set down unanimously at 46, but hardly two lists of these books agree. As a rule, the apocryphal and pseudepigraphal books which appear in one list are replaced in another by quite different works of the same class of literature. (See Walton's *Polyglot* i., Proleg. p. 100; Dillmann in Ewald's *Jahrbücher d. bibl. Wissenschaft*, v. 1853, pp. 144–151; Fell, *Canones Apostolorum Æthiopice*, p. 46.)

(B) *New Testament.*—35 books are reckoned in NT. This number is arrived at by including a book of Canon Law with the usual 27 books of NT. As this work, called the *Sînôdôs*, is counted as 8 books, we thus get 35 in all. (See Zotenberg, *Cat. des MSS Éthiopiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, p. 141 ff.; Ludolf, *Historia Æthiopica*, III. iv. 27; Vansleb, *Histoire de l'Église d'Alexandria*, 239 ff.)

The Western division of the Bible into chapters made its way into Abyssinia through the contact in later times of the latter with Western Christendom. The older MSS exhibit quite a different division of the books.

ii. THE MSS OF THE ETHIOPIC VERSION.—The chief MSS of OT, the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, and of NT will be found in the following catalogues:—Wright, *Ethiopic MSS of the British Museum*, OT and Apocr. pp. 1–22, NT pp. 23–29, 1878; Zotenberg, *Catalogue des MSS Éthiopiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, OT and Apocr. Nos. 1–31, 49–51, NT Nos. 32–48; D'Abbadie, *Catalogue Raisonné de MSS Éthiopiens*, Paris, 1859, OT and Apocr. Nos. 16, 21, 22, 30, 35, 55, 99, 105, 117, 137, 141, 149, 195, 197, 203, 204, 205. Some of these MSS contain only single books. MSS of Enoch are found in 16, 30, 99, 197; Gospels, Nos. 2, 9, 47, 82, 95, 112, 173; Pauline Epp. 9, 119, 164; Cath. Epp., Apoc. and Acts, 9, 119, 164. Dillmann, *Catalogus MSS Æthiop. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, 1848, OT and Apocr. 1–9, NT 10–15. There are small collections of MSS also in Berlin. See Dillmann, *Abessinische Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*; OT and Apocr. Nos. 1–6, of the Psalms 7–19; NT 20, 21. Of these, No. 1 is a MS of Enoch. For the MSS in Vienna, see *ZDMG* xvi. p. 554; in St. Petersburg, see *Bulletin scientifique publié par l'Académie impériale des Sciences*, ii. 302, iii. 145 ff.; in Tübingen, see *ZDMG* v. 164 ff. There are also a few MSS in Frankfort of some value, and in private libraries in England.*

iii. PRINTED EDITIONS.—We shall mention only a few of these. For further information the reader may consult Le Long, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1878, ii. 140–157; Fell, *Literarische Rundschau für das Kathol. Deutschland*, Feb. 1, 1896.

(A) *Old Testament.* — Of OT Dillmann has edited vol. i. Gn–Ruth, 1853 (some of the best MSS were inaccessible when this volume was edited); vol. ii. Samuel and Kings, 1861–1871; Joel (in Merx, *Die Prophetie des Joels*). The Psalms were edited by Ludolf in 1701, and in the various Polyglots and by the Bible Society. Bachmann published texts of Isaiah, Lamentations, and Malachi. The text of the last two books neither adequately nor accurately represents the best Ethiopic MSS in Europe.

(B) *Apocrypha.*—The honour of publishing the first Apocryphal texts belongs to Oxford. Thus Laurence edited the Ascension of Isaiah in 1819, the Apocalypse of Ezra in 1820, and the Book of Enoch in 1838. These are valuable now only from an historical point of view. Dillmann has given us a splendid edition of the Apocryphal books, Baruch, Epistola Jeremiæ, Tobit, Judith, Ecclesiasticus, Sapientia, Esdræ Apocalypsis, Esdras Græcus (1894). He edited texts also of Enoch (1851), Jubilees (1859), and the Ascension of Isaiah (1877). In 1893 Charles published an edition of Enoch, in which there is a continuous correction of Dillmann's text from 10 hitherto uncollated MSS, and in 1894 the Ethiopic text of Jubilees from 4 MSS.

(C) *New Testament.*—The NT was first printed at Rome in 1548–49 by the Abyssinian Tasfâ-Ṣion, with the omission, however, of the 13 Pauline Epistles. As the translator possessed only a fragmentary MS of the Acts, he supplied an Eth. version of the missing chapters from the Greek and Latin. This edition, which is disfigured by countless errors, was reprinted in Walton's Polyglot. Another edition, *Nov. Testamentum . . . Æthiopice, ad codicum manuscriptorum fidem*, was issued by T. P. Platt for the Brit. and For. Bible Society, 1826–1830. A reprint of this edition appeared at Basle in 1874. These editions are of no critical value.

iv. SOURCE OF THE TEXT.—(A) *Old Testament.*—The Ethiopic or Geez version, which from the earliest times was universally used in all branches of the Abyssinian Church as well as amongst the Jewish Falashas, was, according to some of the poets of the country, derived from the Arabic, its authors being variously said to be the Abba Salâmâ (=Frumentius, the Apostle of the Abyssinians, according to Ludolf, see Zotenberg, *Cat. des MSS Éth.* pp. 3, 4, or a later Abba Salâmâ, see Zotenberg, 194; Dillm. *Zur Gesch. des axum. Reichs*, p. 20) or the holy Nine (Guidi, *Le traduzioni degli evangelii in arabo e in etiopico*, p. 33, note). But Ludolf saw reason for doubting this view later (*Historia æthiopica*, pp. 295, 296) when he came to recognize that the Ethiopic version was closely dependent on the text of the LXX. Subsequent investigation has tended to substantiate the later view of Ludolf. Hence the view of Renaudot, that the version was made from the Egyptian, must be summarily rejected; likewise the preposterous theory of Lagarde, that it was derived either from the Egyp. or Arab. in the 14th cent.

---

* See also Margoliouth's art. on the Eth. VS in Miller's edition of Scrivener's *Introduction to the Criticism of the NT.*

It is unquestionable that our version was made in the main from the Greek,—in the main, for there are certain phenomena in the MSS which cannot be explained from this hypothesis alone. These we will touch upon presently, and in the meantime give Dillmann's account of the various texts attested by the MSS. In his *V.T. Æthiopici*, Tom. i. apparat. crit. p. 8 (1853), he draws attention to a large number of readings which agree with the Hebrew against the LXX, and suggests that these are due to the use of the Hexapla of Origen. Later he revises this theory and replaces it by another; thus in Herzog's *RE*, 1877, i. 205, he writes that there are three distinct types of text. i. The original translation more or less corrupted but seldom represented in the MSS. (See also Zotenberg, *op. cit.* 3, 5, 7, 8.) ii. A text revised and completed from the Greek, and found most frequently in the MSS. This is the Eth. Κοινή or *Textus receptus*. iii. A text corrected from the Hebrew, younger in age. See also *V.T. Æthiopici*, Tom. ii. Fasc. i. apparat. crit. pp. 3–6. This theory has been accepted by Zotenberg, and lately by Prætorius, Herzog's *RE*^{3} iii. p. 87 ff.

It is possible, however, to interpret the evidence otherwise. Thus Dillmann may be wrong (*a*) in his later rejection of his first theory that the Hexapla of Origen was used by the Eth. translators, and (*b*) in attributing all Eth. transliterations of Heb. words and many Eth. readings which agree with the Heb. against the LXX to the work of later scholars correcting from the Heb. text.

Some evidence will now be cited which points in this direction. This evidence will be drawn from Lamentations and Malachi. First as regards (*a*), we find that in La 2^{13} the Eth. *âstamâslakî* agrees exactly with the version of Symmachus ἐξισώσω σε against the Heb., LXX, and all other Gr. VSS. Likewise in 3^{44} and 5^{15} our text again agrees with Symm. against the LXX, but this time it is in harmony with the Hebrew. As some other divergences from the LXX can be explained by this version and that of Aquila, it seems reasonable to conclude that the Hexapla was used by the Eth. translators. These divergences, however, may have been derived directly from the Heb. text. In many passages in all the biblical books the Eth. version is independent of and attests a purer form of text than the LXX. Next as regards (*b*), it is just as likely that many of the transliterations of Heb. words which are found in certain Eth. MSS,* but not in the LXX, may be survivals of the earliest form of the text made directly in many cases from the Hebrew. If they are all to be ascribed to the corrections of later scholars, how are we to account for their appearance in all MSS of La 3^{12} and Job 16^{12}? What we usually find in the history of a version is that the unintelligible or foreign words are by degrees displaced either by their native equivalents or by emendations, or else they are simply omitted. The theory that the primitive Eth. version contained a large number of words transliterated from the Heb. receives some confirmation from the fact that the Abyssinians first received Christianity through Aramæan missionaries, and that very many Aram. words were actually naturalized in order to express the new doctrines of the Christian faith. The Levitical character of Ethiopic Christianity points in the same direction, *i.e.* its acceptance of the rite of circumcision, and the Levitical laws regarding the purification of women.

Until, however, we have a complete and critical edition of the Eth. version, it will not be possible to settle finally the above questions. Even Dillmann's edition (vols. i. ii. v.) is inadequate for this purpose, as vols. i. and ii. were completed before the best MSS were accessible.*

(B) *New Testament.*—Zotenberg (*Cat. des MSS Éth. de la bibliot. Nat.* pp. 24, 25, 30, 1877) showed that there were two forms of text present in the MSS,—the first, that which was made from the Greek original; the second, a corrected text. In the same year Dillmann (Herzog's *RE* i. pp. 203–206) suggested that the numerous variations in the more widely read books of the NT, such as the Gospels, were due to the influence of the Copt. and Arab. versions. That such versions were known in Abyssinia he infers on the following grounds: Prolegomena translated from the Arab. were prefixed to the NT writings; names of NT books derived from the Arab. displaced occasionally in later times the native nomenclature of the NT books; *e.g.* the Acts were called *Abraxis* (= Πράξεις), Revelation *Abukalamis* ('Αποκάλυψις). The Arabic-Coptic *Sînôdôs* became early naturalized in the Eth. Church.

These hints of Dillmann's are further developed by Guidi, who pointed out that such corrections are derived from an Arab. tr. circulating in Egypt (Guidi, *Le Traduzioni degli Evangelii in Arabo e in Ethiopico*, Accad. Lincei, 1888, p. 33 ff.). The MSS are affected in various degrees by these corrections. In some they appear side by side with the original text.

v. CRITICAL VALUE.—The Eth. version of the OT is generally a very faithful and verbal tr. of the Greek. It frequently reproduces the very order of the words. On the other hand, it is not possible to explain many of its readings by any extant Gr. text, and over-against the LXX it frequently attests a purer text. But its critical value cannot be determined until the questions discussed in the preceding section have been treated exhaustively.

As regards the NT, this version is related to the older type of text attested by the great Greek Vatican and Sinaitic MSS. It has also Western and Alexandrian and Syrian elements. But no critical text has yet been published.

vi. DATE.—Dillmann (Herzog's *RE* i. 203, 204) confidently ascribes the Eth. version to the 4th and 5th centuries of our era, and regards it as constituting not only the oldest memorial but also the foundation of Eth. literature. This conclusion he draws from the following facts: i. Christianity was already firmly established in the 5th cent. ii. The poet and musician Jared had already produced a church hymnal in the 6th cent. iii. Chrysostom † (*Hom. in Johan.*, Opera

---

Such as the MS E for the books of the Kings. See Dillmann, *op. cit.* ii. apparat. crit. p. 5; see also Zotenberg, *Cat.* pp. 9, 10, 11 on *Version corrigée d'après le texte hébreu.* Dorn called attention as early as 1825 to the use of the Heb. text in his Introduction to Ludolf's edition of the Psalter.

* For many interesting details see Reckendorf, 'Ueber den Werth der altäthiopischen Pentateuch-übersetzung für die Reconstruction der Septuaginta,' in *ZATW* (1887) pp. 61-90. Among other points he controverts Cornill's view in his Commentary on Ezekiel (p. 67 ff.), that the Ethiopic version is derived from the Hesychian recension of the LXX.

† ἀλλὰ καὶ Σύροι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Ἰνδοὶ καὶ Πέρσαι καὶ Αἰθίοπες . . . εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν μεταβαλόντες γλῶτταν τὰ παρὰ τούτου δόγματα εἰσαχθέντα, κ.τ.λ.

[Montfaucon], viii. p. 10) appears to have known of an Eth. version of the Bible. iv. The version is made directly from the Greek. Now, it was only in the first period of Eth. literature that translations were made from the Greek; for after the appearance of the Arab. language in Egypt, Eth. literature came under the sway of the Arabic.

The above views of Dillmann have recently been confirmed by the peculiar title used for God in Sir 31[3] 37[21], *i.e.* *Astâr.* This shows that heathenism still prevailed when this book was translated (Dillmann, *V.T. Æthiopici*, Tom. v. p. 117). Guidi assigns the version to the end of the 5th and the beginning of the 6th cent. Lagarde's view (*Ankündigung einer neuen Ausgabe der griech. Uebersetzung des AT.s*, 1882, p. 28), that the version was made in the 14th cent., not from a Gr. but from an Arab. or an Egyp. translation of the original, is wholly contradicted by the evidence. We may safely assume that the version was completed before the 7th cent.

R. H. CHARLES.

ETH-KAZIN (עִתָּה קָצִין, where AV, misunderstanding the ה *locale*, writes Ittah-kazin, as in same verse Gittah-hepher for Gath-hepher).—A town on the E. frontier of Zebulun, whose site has not been identified, Jos 19[13]. J. A. SELBIE.

ETHNAN (אֶתְנָן).—A Judahite (1 Ch 4[7]). See GENEALOGY.

ETHNARCH (*ἐθνάρχης*).—In 2 Co 11[32] it is stated that 'in Damascus the ethnarch under Aretas the king guarded the city of the Damascenes,' the word ethnarch being tr. in both AV and RV by GOVERNOR. Its exact meaning seems doubtful: it is used of Simon the high priest (1 Mac 14[47] 15[1. 2]), of Hyrcanus (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. x. 2), and of Archelaus (*Ant.* XVII. xi. 4; *BJ* II. vi. 3). It was also used for the governor of the Jews in Alexandria (Strabo, *ap.* Jos. *Ant.* XIV. vii. 2), and the head of the Jewish community in Pal. in the time of Origen (Origenes, *Ep. ad Africanum*, § 14). The last two instances suggest that the normal use of the word was for the ruler of a nation or *ἔθνος* living with separate laws and customs amongst those of a different race. But the sense of the term seems to have widened, and it became a little superior to that of tetrarch, but inferior to that of king (Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 244, etc.). A. C. HEADLAM.

ETHNI (אֶתְנִי).—An ancestor of Asaph (1 Ch 6[41], called in v.[21] Jeatherai). See GENEALOGY.

ETHNOLOGY.—See RACES.

EUBULUS (Εὔβουλος).—A leading member of the Christian community at Rome, who sends greeting to Timothy through St. Paul at the time of the second imprisonment (2 Ti 4[21]). His name is Greek, but nothing further is known of him.

W. LOCK.

EUERGETES (Prol. to Sirach).—See BENEFACTOR.

EUMENES (Εὐμενής, 'well-disposed') II., king of Pergamus, succeeded his father Attalus in B.C. 197. Through the friendship of Rome he secured a large extension of his territories, so that his kingdom became for a time one of the greatest in the East. In B.C. 169 he was suspected of secret correspondence with the enemies of Rome, but died (probably in B.C. 159; see Clinton, *F. H.* iii. 403, 406) before an open rupture took place. The principal authorities for his life are Livy (*Ann.*, esp. bk. xxxvii. and *Epit.* xlvi.), Polybius, and Appian, with Strabo xiii. p. 264, and Justin xxxi. 8, xxxii. 4. In 1 Mac 8[8] the Romans are said to have taken 'the country of India and Media and Lydia' from Antiochus the Great, and to have given these dominions to E. The MSS agree in this reading, which is, however, impossible, since India was never under the rule of Antiochus. Media, too, on account of its eastward position, is not likely to have ever been ceded to E. The best correction is to substitute, with Michaelis, Mysia for Media, and, with Grotius, Ionia for India. In agreement with this are Livy's statements (xxxvii. 44) that the Roman Senate required from Antiochus the cession of all Asia north of the Taurus, and of these districts granted (xxxvii. 55) the part north of the Mæander to Eumenes. R. W. MOSS.

EUNICE (Εὐνίκη, so Tisch., WH, with all the uncial MSS; not Εὐνείκη, as TR with many cursives).—The mother of Timothy, and probably the daughter of Lois (2 Ti 1[5]). The name is Greek, so that conceivably she may have been a proselyte; but this is not a necessary inference, and more probably she was by birth a Jewess (Ἰουδαίας, Ac 16[1]). She was married to a Gentile husband, and, probably out of deference to his prejudices, her son was not circumcised; but she gave him a God-fearing name (Τιμό-θεος), and trained him carefully in the OT Scriptures (2 Ti 3[15]). She was probably converted to Christianity on St. Paul's first visit to Lystra, as she is described as already a believer on the second visit (Ac 16[1]). She is not mentioned afterwards, but the curious addition of *χήρας* (Ac 16[1]) in cursive 25, and the substitution of it for Ἰουδαίας in Gig. fu., may embody a tradition of her widowhood; this would give a fresh point to the injunction in 1 Ti 5[4]. W. LOCK.

EUNUCH (סָרִיס, *σπάδων*, *εὐνοῦχος*).—סָרִיס is rendered in AV eunuch, officer, chamberlain. The employment of eunuchs in Oriental courts was one of the base accompaniments of polygamy and despotism. The harems of the monarchs were committed to their charge, and they frequently superintended the education of young princes. Much influence was thus at times acquired by them in affairs of state (see Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.* iv. 175). They were often closely connected with the palace intrigues, which played so important a part in Oriental history. It seems that the Heb. word was also used in a wide sense of persons not emasculated, who held offices which were usually entrusted to eunuchs. Such is probably its use in the case of Potiphar (Gn 39[1]; Whiston's *Jos. Ant.* X. x. 2 n.). Where the word occurs in 1 and 2 K, it is sometimes difficult to determine whether it bears its proper or its derived signification. Herodotus (viii. 105) says that 'among the barbarians eunuchs are more valued than others on account of their perfect fidelity,' and instances the case of Hermotimus, who was highly esteemed by Xerxes. Xenophon (*Cyrop.* vii. 5. 60 ff.), in giving the reasons why Cyrus employed them, alludes to the alleged fact that their having no domestic ties rendered them capable of peculiar devotion to the interests of their masters, and of gratitude to those who conferred honour and consideration upon them. They also naturally adhered to one able to protect them, as they found themselves objects of contempt to other men. He denies the allegation that they are lacking in vigour and excellent qualities, and illustrates their tendencies by the case of 'dogs, which, when castrated, cease to desert their masters, but are not at all less fitted for watching and the chase.'

The Law of Dt 23[1] (cf. Lv 22[23]) attaches a religious stigma to the condition. (See, for the prob. ground of this, Driver on Dt 23[1]). The prediction in 1 S 8[15] was designed to intimate the deterioration of the national life consequent upon the establishment of the kingdom, through the adoption of unsanctioned Gentile customs. Acc. to Herodotus (vi. 32), the Persians made eunuchs of the goodliest of the youth of captured countries; but as to whether Daniel and his companions were thus treated by the Bab. conquerors, no absolutely certain conclusions can be reached (cf. 2 K $20^{17.\,18}$). Eunuchs were in the courts of the Herods in our Lord's time (Jos. *Ant.* XV. vii. 4; XVI. viii. 1); hence His allusion to them (Mt 19^{12}) as familiar to His hearers. See ETHIOPIAN EUNUCH.

G. WALKER.

EUODIA, AV Euodias (Εὐοδία, fem. form of Εὔοδιος. Both names are found in Gr. literature and on the inscriptions. The Euodias of AV seems to have arisen from a mistake of the translators, who took Εὐοδίαν for the accusative of the masculine form Εὐοδίας, and regarded it as the name of a man).—A Christian woman of Philippi, whom the Apostle Paul beseeches 'to be of the same mind in the Lord' with another Christian woman named Syntyche (Ph 4^2). They may have been deaconesses, or women of some position in whose houses the brethren were accustomed to meet. The language of St. Paul suggests a religious difference rather than a private quarrel (Ph 2^2). They may have represented different types of piety, or may have differed on some question of church life. St. Paul begs a certain *Syzygus*, or, as some critics think, an unnamed 'true yoke-fellow,' to help forward the work of reconciliation, being mindful of the former services of these women to the cause of the gospel (Ph 4^3). The theory of Baur, Schwegler, and Volkmar, that Euodia and Syntyche are symbolical names for Jewish and Gentile Christianity, is now generally abandoned. A mode of speaking so mysterious is out of harmony with the general tenor of the Epistle. J. GIBB.

EUPATOR (Εὐπάτωρ, 1 Mac 6^{17} etc., 2 Mac 2^{20} etc.), the surname of Antiochus V., son and successor of Antiochus IV. Epiphanes. See ANTIOCHUS V.

EUPHRATES (פְּרָת, Εὐφράτης).—The Euphrates was called Pura-nun, 'the great water,' or simply Pura, 'the water,' in Sumerian, the pre-Semitic language of Chaldæa (cf. Gn 15^{18}). From this the Semitic Babylonians derived their Purat or Purattu with the feminine suffix. Purat is the Heb. Pĕrath, the Old Persian Ufrâtu, where the prosthetic *u* was explained as the word *u*, 'good,' and so gave rise to the Greek Eu-phrates. In the OT it is generally known as 'the river' (*e.g.* Dt 11^{24}, Ex 23^{31}), it being the largest and most notable river of Western Asia, and accordingly in Gn 2^{14} alone of the rivers of Paradise no geographical description is given of it.* In Babylonia it was also called 'the river of Sippara' as well as the Uruttu, a dialectical form of Purattu.

The Euphrates (Arab. *Frat*) has two sources, one of which was called the Euphrates in antiquity; in Armenian, Yephrat; while the other, which rises to the south-east, the modern Murâd-Su, was termed the Arsanias, Arm. Aradzani, Arzania in the Assyr. inscriptions. They rise in two valleys of Armenia, from 6000 to 6500 feet high, the one in the Anti-Taurus, the other in Mount Ararat, and unite near Malatiyeh (Melitênê, Assyr. Melid) in a valley about 2000 feet high, whence they flow eastward through a narrow gorge towards Syria. From this point to the alluvial plain of Babylonia the fall of the river is about 1000 feet in 700 miles, so that it is navigable only down stream. The high road from east to west passed it in OT times at Birtu (*Birejik*) and Carchemish (*Jerabis*). There was another passage at Thapsakos, the Tiphsah of 1 K 4^{24}. A little to the south of Carchemish was Pethor (Assyr. Pitru), on the western bank at the junction of the Euphrates with the Sajur (Assyr. Sagura). Still farther south, but on the eastern bank, it was joined by the Belikh (Assyr. Balikh) and Khabûr (Assyr. Khabur), which came from the land of Gozan (Assyr. Guzanu, 2 K 17^6). At the mouth of the Khabûr was Circesium (now Karkisia, Assyr. Sirki). After this the Euphrates receives no more affluents; but northward of Sippara or Sepharvaim it approaches the Tigris very nearly, and by again widening out forms the plain of Babylonia. The Euphrates and Tigris now unite before falling into the sea, owing to the accumulation of silt at the head of the Persian Gulf, but in OT times they still entered the sea by separate mouths. The water of the Euphrates was dissipated over Babylonia by means of canals for the purposes of irrigation, and at its mouth were great salt marshes, called Marratu by the Babylonians (see Jer 50^{21}). Here lived the Kaldâ or Chaldæans, with their capital Bit-Yakin, of which Merodach-baladan was king.

LITERATURE.—Frd. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 169 f.; Schrader, *KAT*^{2} 34 f.; Chesney, *Euphrates Exped.* vol. i.; Loftus, *Chaldœa and Susiana*; Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* chs. xxi.–xxii.; Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, i. Essay ix. A. H. SAYCE.

EUPOLEMUS (Εὐπόλεμος), the son of John, the son of Accos, one of the ambassadors sent to Rome by Judas Maccabæus, after his victory over Nicanor, in order to conclude an alliance between the Romans and the Jews in B.C. 161 (1 Mac 8^{17}, 2 Mac 4^{11}, comp. Jos. *Ant.* XII. x. 6). Eupolemus has often been identified with the author of a history of the Jews, written in Greek, which is quoted by Alexander Polyhistor, Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* i. 23), and Eusebius (*Præp. Ev.* ix. 30–34). Since the historian Eupolemus seems to have written about B.C. 157, and was almost certainly a Jew, this identification may be correct (comp. Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. 203 ff.).

H. A. WHITE.

EURAQUILO.—Euraquilo (εὐρακύλων) is the reading adopted at Ac 27^{14} by WH and the RV, instead of **Euroclydon** in the TR and AV, as the name of the wind, which, suddenly descending from the heights of Crete on St. Paul's ship as it was sailing closely along the shore, seized it and drove it before the storm, which ended in the shipwreck on Melita. St. Luke describes the wind as, in character, 'typhonic' (RV 'tempestuous'), that is, marked by whirlwinds or 'sudden eddying squalls,' as Ramsay calls them, adding that 'every one who has any experience of sailing on lakes or bays overhung by mountains will appreciate the epithet "typhonic" which Luke uses' (*St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 326), and by way of greater exactness adds its nautical name, 'which is called' (ὁ καλούμενος). Unhappily, the state of the text leaves the precise name doubtful. A summary of the various readings will be found in Sanday, *Appendices ad NT*, p. 140. The great mass of later testimony yields 'Euroclydon'; the oldest uncials Aℵ have ευρακυλων, and this was probably the reading of B*. To B^2 appear to be due the superimposed Υ and Λ which appear in this MS (ΕΥΡ^{Υ}ΑΚ^{Λ}ΥΛΩΝ). B^3 then either turned Λ into Δ, or, if it was done by B^2, patched up the letter afresh. Vercellone-Cozza in the appendix to their facsimile say 'ευρακυλων B^1, ευρυκλυδων B^3.' The Vulg. Cassiod. give *Euro-aquilo*. Apart from ampler attestation, Euroclydon may claim a preference as the more difficult reading, by positing which we may explain the others as emendations, but hardly the converse. The word in this form is not found anywhere else. The meaning of the compound is obscure. Etymologically, it would mean 'a surge raised by Eurus,' the E. or S.E. wind, but such a description of the effect could hardly be applied to the wind itself which caused it. If we should take the form εὐρυκλύδων (which occurs in B^2, one or two cursives, and a gloss of the *Etym. M. s.v.* τυφών, and is approved by Griesb.) and derive it from εὐρύς, 'broad,' it would mean 'a wind raising a broad surge or surf'; but besides its lack of attestation, it is for the very reason of its greater suitableness dismissed by Meyer as an obvious correction; and it would yield a character more or less applicable to any wind blowing strongly rather than such a note (*e.g.* of direction) as we might expect to be the basis of a distinctive nautical name. Euraquilo, on the other hand, commends itself not only by its early attestation, but by its special precision, as made up of Eurus the S.E. or rather (as Smith adduces strong reasons for holding) the E., and Aquilo the N.E., wind, fitly expressing the direction E.N.E. whence this wind blew. It well accords (*a*) with the narrative of the incidence and effects of the storm, and (*b*) with the experience of navigators in the Levant, quoted by Smith and others, in which 'southerly winds almost invariably shift to a violent northerly wind.' The exception taken to the form as 'inadmissible' (Reuss and others), 'because it is composed of a Greek and a Latin element,' vanishes in presence of analogous compounds such as Euronotus and Euroauster, and of the probably mixed nationality of the sailors and traders to whom such coinages were primarily due; to say nothing of the survival, to which Renan calls attention, of the word *Euraquilo* itself in the name *Gregolia* given to the same wind by the Levantines 'as *Euripus* has become *Egripou*.' Following strict analogy, we might expect the word to be, as in the Vulg., *Euroaquilo*, and the presence of a less regular form may have led to conjectural emendation (Overbeck); but we can hardly see how this should have deviated into so enigmatic a word as Euroclydon. Meyer says, 'Far more naturally would the converse take place, and the Εὐροκλύδων, not being understood, would be displaced by the similar Εὐρακύλων . . . so that the latter form remains a product of old emendatory conjecture'—a curious anticipation, in this particular case, of the theory more recently formulated by Burgon and Miller as to the older witnesses whom they designate 'the licentious scribes of the West.' For them (*Causes of the Corruption of the Traditional Text*, p. 46 f.) this passage supplies a signal confirmation of their view, leading them to denounce in strong language Euraquilo as 'an imaginary name,' 'an impossible Latin name,' 'utterly missing the point, which is the violence of the wind as expressed in the term Euroclydon' (a remarkable begging of the question, where the violence of the wind had already been explicitly affirmed in the epithet 'typhonic' !). Why should these early copyists be thus severely blamed for suspecting some corruption to underlie the anomalous Euroclydon, and preferring the more intelligible Euraquilo on such grounds of internal probability as have since commended it to the majority of critics and commentators? But when we consider the mass of testimony on the side of Euroclydon, and the difficulty of accounting for the emergence of this form, if it had not been original, may we not find a feasible key to the solution of the problem in the view put forward by Conybeare and Howson (ii. p. 402 n.): 'The addition of the words ὁ καλούμενος seems to us to show that it was a name popularly given by the sailors to the wind; and nothing is more natural than that St. Luke should use the word which he heard the sailors employ on the occasion'?

---

* It is disputed whether Jer $13^{4\text{-}7}$ really refers to the Euphrates (see Ewald, *ad loc.*).

LITERATURE.—The subject is discussed in the 'Lives of St. Paul' by Conybeare and Howson, Lewin, and others; at considerable length, but with unequal relevancy, by Falconer, *Diss. on St. Paul's Voyage*, 2nd ed. pp. 12–19, 24–26; most fully and satisfactorily by Smith, *Voyage and Shipwreck*, in his 'Diss. on the wind Euroclydon,' p. 119 ff., with Appendices from Bentley and Granville Penn, pp. 287–292; cf. Blass, *ad loc.*

WILLIAM P. DICKSON.

EUTYCHUS (Εὔτυχος).—When St. Paul was at Troas on his final journey to Jerus., on the first day of the week he and his party, with the Christians of the place, assembled in an upper room to break bread. As St. Paul was leaving the next morning, his speech was lengthy, and a young man of the name of Eutychus, who was sitting at the window (ἐπὶ τῆς θυρίδος), fell asleep (perhaps owing to the heat of the many lamps that were lighted), and, falling down from the third storey, was taken up dead (ἤρθη νεκρός). St. Paul went down and embraced him, and bade them not trouble themselves, as his life was yet in him. Then he went upstairs, broke bread, and continued talking until the morning. As they departed the young man was brought to them alive (Ae 20$^{7-12}$).

The incident occurs in the 'we' section of the Ac and is clearly authentic, but two opinions are held. It has been pointed out that it may be capable of a perfectly natural explanation, and it is suggested that it illustrates the growth of mythical stories on a basis of fact, and has been introduced here as a parallel incident to that related concerning Peter (9$^{36-43}$). But Ramsay points out that St. Luke's language is very precise; that he does not, as in 14^{19}, merely state that E. was thought to be dead, and that weight must be attached to his medical knowledge. Even if this be (as is perhaps the case) putting an unnatural strain on the words, it is perfectly clear that the story was related as an instance of the exhibition of power by the apostle, and that the writer, who was an eye-witness, believed it to be such.

LITERATURE.—Ramsay, *St. Paul the Trav.* p. 290; Holtzmann, *Hand-Commentar.* p. 402; Zeller, *Acts*, ii. p. 62, Eng. tr.

A. C. HEADLAM.

EVANGELIST (εὐαγγελιστής,—'a preacher of good news,' the substantive of εὐαγγελίζω—or εὐαγγελίζομαι, the commoner bibl. form). The verb is used in bibl. Gr. occasionally in the general sense of class. Gr. (1 S 31^9, Lk 1^{19}), and, when specialized, stands for the work of Gospel preachers of all kinds: the subst., however—which is rare, and entirely sacred and eccles., occurring in bibl. Gr. only in Ac 21^8, Eph 4^{11}, 2 Ti 4^5—is confined strictly to the Christian good tidings, and, apparently, to a particular office or function (see Hort, *Ecclesia*, 158). The clearest evidence for the distinctness of office or function lies in Eph 4^{11} '[Christ] gave some to be apostles; and some, prophets; and some, *evangelists*; and some, pastors and teachers.' It is true that, in the list at 1 Co 12^{28}, evangelists are omitted (also ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι); but there the point is, perhaps, to illustrate spiritual aptitude rather than to give an exhaustive list of eccles. offices. When a similar omission occurs, Ro 12$^{6-8}$, St. Paul seems bent chiefly on distinguishing certain charismata, being content to leave the catalogue incomplete. Possibly, in each case local considerations partly account for the omissions. But in Eph the context suggests that the writer desires to mention all the principal offices, whereby Christ had provided for the spiritual edification of the Church universal, and εὐαγγελιστής appears to come third in order of institution and of spiritual significance. At the same time it is noticeable that we do not find the word (even in places where it might naturally be looked for) in any of the Pauline Epistles whose genuineness meets with most general acceptance. Subsequent reference will be made to the passage in the Pastoral Epistles, 2 Ti 4^{5}; it will be sufficient here to say that the phrase ἔργον ποίησον εὐαγγελιστοῦ, 'do the work of an evangelist,' is too marked and peculiar to be satisfactorily interpreted as merely equivalent to 'preach the Gospel.' The third and last instance—that in Ac 21^{8} (a verse in one of the 'we' passages), 'we came unto Cæsarea; and entering into the house of Philip the *evangelist*, who was one of the seven, we abode with him'—must be compared with Ac 8^{5-40}, where it is said that among those who were scattered from Jerus. after the martyrdom of Stephen, and went hither and thither *preaching the word*, Philip preached the Christ at Samaria, *without being qualified* (v.$^{14f.}$) *to impart the Holy Spirit*; was *sent by the Spirit* to *teach* the Ethiopian eunuch in the desert between Jerus. and Gaza; was afterwards *carried off by the Spirit* and found at Azotus; and, finally, having evangelized 'all the cities' in his route, *took up his abode* at Cæsarea. He may therefore have been called εὐαγγελιστής, not because he had been definitely set apart for the office, but because of the missionary work he had done and was perhaps still doing with Cæsarea as centre. He had, in fact, been set apart for something else, 'to serve tables' (Ac 6^{1-6}, 21^{8}), but had superadded, and possibly, in the end, substituted, the work of a missionary, because he was, like Stephen, 'full of the Holy Ghost' (Ac 6^{5}), and possessed the charisma for the work of preaching to those who had not heard the Gospel before.

The three passages, as above discussed and illustrated, suggest the following conclusions: (1) *The evangelists were inferior to the apostles.* They are placed third in order in Eph; Philip was unable to impart the Holy Spirit to the Samaritans; Timothy was the assistant and delegate of St. Paul. Consistent with this conclusion is the epigram of Pseudo-Jerome (*in Eph* 4^{11}) 'omnis apostolus evangelista, non omnis evangelista apostolus.' (2) They were *travelling missionaries*, preaching the Gospel to those unacquainted with it, yet sometimes with a settled place of abode, as Philip at Cæsarea, and Timothy at Ephesus. Thus they were officers acting for the whole Christian community, not for a single church only. Their function could be general, covering wide districts, or it could be, in practice, local and circumscribed. Thus Theodoret's apparently contradictory statements can be reconciled: περιϊόντες ἐκήρυττον, yet μὴ περιϊόντες πανταχοῦ. 'Going about they used to preach,' yet 'not going about *everywhere*' (as apostles might do). (3) *They were charismatically endowed.* Compare the influence of the Holy Spirit upon Philip, and the χάρισμα of Timothy (1 Ti 4^{14}, 2 Ti 1^{6}). Yet the revelations to the prophet and apostle were of a higher and more striking order. The apostles were fitted to be the direct authoritative representatives of Christ (Mt 10^{40}, Gal 4^{14}, 1 Co 11^{23}); the prophets, to sway the heart and conscience by the demonstration of the Spirit and of power (1 Co $14^{24f.}$); the evangelists were more 'matter-of-fact men,' preaching the word, communicating the facts of the Gospel, paving the way for the more systematic work of the pastors and teachers (see order in Eph 4^{11}) who watched over and trained the churches when founded (2 Ti 4^{2-5}). But while this may suffice for a distinction in *work*, it must not be taken as exclusive, so that apostles could not be prophets, or that apostles and prophets could not be evangelists, or that evangelists could not be pastors or teachers, or both. In the floating constitution of the half-organized early Church, different kinds of work were amalgamated (as must always happen) according to qualifications and circumstances (cf. 1 Co 1^{17}, Ac 8^{25}, and the mixed instructions to Timothy and Titus). (4) *They were, sometimes at any rate, solemnly set apart for the special function.* Thus Timothy (1 Ti 4^{14}, 2 Ti 1^{6}); and probably Paul and Barnabas (Ac 13^{1-3}) were (so far as the Church was concerned) set apart, in the first instance, not as apostles, but as evangelists from among the 'prophets and teachers' at Antioch.

But we are still left in much uncertainty as to the exact position of the εὐαγγελιστής, and this uncertainty is increased rather than diminished by the contributions of later literature to the subject. Why, for instance, is there no mention of evangelists in the Apostolic Fathers? Because, says Harnack, there was no definite primitive distinction between apostle and evangelist, and in the *Didaché* the 'apostles' are just evangelists. But why should not evangelist have survived, and apostle have been reserved (as in later days) for the first direct representatives of Christ? And, further, when in the *Didaché* the 'apostles' are forbidden to stay more than two days in the same place, can we regard them as parallels to Paul, or Philip, or Timothy, especially as in a letter to the last named such constant itinerancy is condemned (1 Ti 5^{13})? Of course the strict injunction in the *Didaché* may be due to the growing opportunities for imposing upon the hospitality of well-to-do Christians, and the missionaries referred to in 1 Ti may have been caricatures of the evangelist type; but the difference is striking. A partial reply to the former question may be that the extension of the apostolate beyond the Twelve and St. Paul (an extension obtaining apparently in the apostolic age itself) soon submerged the less familiar and less dignified name of evangelist. This, however, scarcely accounts for the speedy and growing exclusiveness of the apostolic title; or for the fact that Eusebius recognizes in Pantænus the evangelist a type of an old order still largely surviving in the days of the Alexandrian, but not common in his own days (Eus. *HE* v. 10).

The material Eusebius affords us on this subject, though to some extent unhistorical, throws back light on the primitive use of the term evangelist. He tells how Pantænus found that his arrival in India had been anticipated by the written Gospel of Matthew; he tells how Thaddæus, one of the Seventy, had been sent by the Apostle Thomas, under divine impulse, to Edessa, as a preacher and evangelist of the teaching of Christ (*HE* i. 13), and this 'teaching' (also called 'the seed of the word of God') is the story of Jesus (§ 19). We may combine these hints with the fact that Eusebius (leaving the rest unmentioned) avowedly records 'the names of those [post-apostolic evangelists] only who have transmitted the apostolic doctrine to us in writings still extant'; that Theodoret definitely *restricted* the *name* to this class; that, finally, Œcumenius and Chrysostom confined the name to the writers of the Four Gospels; and that εὐαγγελιστής became (in the *Apostolic Ordinances*, Harnack, *Texte*, ii. 5) an appellation of the ἀναγνώστης, the reader of the Gospel for the day, who had also to be διηγητικός, *capable of explaining* it. We may further recall that Philip interpreted the prophet Isaiah to the eunuch; that Apollos (probably an evangelist) was mighty in the Scriptures; that he had been taught the 'way of the Lord' more perfectly by Aquila and Priscilla (probably evangelists also, as Theophylact believes); that Timothy the evangelist was strong in the Scriptures, one of the reasons doubtless for his choice; that Paul passes on to Timothy the 'deposit' of the Gospel he had received from Christ, exhorts him to keep the original model of sound words, and reminds him of the word that is trustworthy, and of the (open) mystery of godliness which is the story of Jesus (2 Ti 1^{12}, 1 Ti $6^{20\text{f.}}\cdot 1^{15}$, 2 Ti $2^{11\text{ff.}}$; cf. Tit 3^{8}, 1 Ti 3^{16}). We shall, then, favour the conclusion that the NT evangelists, as such, were depositaries of the facts of the Gospel as it gradually crystallized; dealing with these facts orally and in writing, now as missionaries, now as interpreters, without the special *σοφία* of the apostles, or their peculiar weight and authority; demi-apostolic men, with a charisma, but one not so commanding as that of the apostle, or so striking as that of the prophet. In a word, they might be called specially inspired *teachers*; the *εὐαγγελιστής* being distinctively and originally a teacher *abroad*, aggressive, awakening; the *διδάσκαλος* a teacher *at home*, quiet and edifying. If this was the practical difference between *evangelist* and *teacher*, we can better understand Eph 4^{11} 'some (general and missionary) evangelists, and some pastors and teachers' (local officers with the double capacity for moral supervision and for instruction in doctrine). We can better understand 1 Co 12^{28}, where *διδασκάλους* (in the third place) would include evangelists. We can better understand how, in the letters to Timothy the 'evangelist,' so great a stress is laid on *teaching*. Furthermore, we can better understand the meaning of *teacher* in the *Didaché*, when the phrase, 'whoever *cometh* and *teacheth*, you,' is followed immediately by 'but in regard to the *apostles and prophets*' (ch. 11); here the teacher seems to be a wandering teacher, that is, an evangelist; and the order 'apostles and prophets' is so far against the supposition that the apostles are evangelists. This contention is confirmed by the order in other passages, *e.g.* (ch. 15) 'Bishops and deacons . . . they too render you the service of *prophets and teachers*' [when, *i.e.* you have none such sojourning among you]; for 'prophets and teachers' may 'settle among' them (ch. 13), though apostles may not.

If this progressive convergence of *evangelist* and *teacher* be a fact, it is easy to see how the title of apostle became increasingly exclusive, and how the title of evangelist gradually confined itself to the writers of the Four Gospels. See CHURCH, p. 433.

LITERATURE.—Zöckler, *Diakonen und Evangelisten*; Réville, *Les origines de l'épiscopat*; Sohm, *Kirchenrecht*; Weizsäcker, *Apostolic Age* (Eng. tr.); Harnack, Texte ii. *Lehre der Apostel*; Zahn, *Missionsmethoden im Zeitalter der Apostel*; Smith, *DB*, art. 'Evangelist.'

J. MASSIE.

EVE (חַוָּה *ḥavvah*),[*] is the name given in J to the first woman, the wife of Adam, the mother of Cain, Abel, and Seth. In Gn 3^{20} (which is sometimes regarded as a gloss) it is said that she was so named because הָיְתָה אֵם כָּל־חָי 'she was the mother of all living,' *i.e.* of course, 'all living men.' חַוָּה is a form of the widespread Sem. root חוה, חיה, or חיי, and = *life*, as LXX, *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*; rather than *living* (RVm *Living* or *Life*), or *life-giving* (Symm.), as if a shortened Pi. ptcp. W. R. Smith (*Kinship and Marriage in Arabia*, p. 177) makes *Ḥavvah* a phonetic variation of *ḥayy*, and thus a personification of the bond of kinship, conceived as exclusively mother-kinship (*ḥayy*). Wellh. (*Proleg.* 308 n. Eng. tr.) follows Nöldeke in suggesting that *ḥavvah* = serpent, as explained in Philo (*de agric. Noe*, § 21) and Midrash Rabba on Gn 3^{20}, and finds here a trace of the primitive belief that all earthly life originated in a primeval serpent (cf. the function of Tiamat in the Bab. cosmology, and Arab. *ḥayyatun*, serpent).

For Eve's relation to Adam, and the account of her in the narrative of the Creation[*] and the Fall, see ADAM. Her utterance on the birth of Cain, Gn 4^{1}, is very obscure,—קָנִיתִי אִישׁ אֶת־יהוה 'I have gotten a man,' AV 'from the Lord,' with Targ. Onk.; RV '*with the help* of the Lord,' with LXX, *διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ*; Vulg. *per deum*; Symm. *σὺν κυρίῳ*. Another Gr. tr. quoted in Field's *Hexapla*, *ἐκτησάμην ἄνθρωπον κύριον*, 'I have gotten a man, even the Lord,' has been adopted by Luther and others, and understood as expressing Eve's conviction that the promised Messiah of 3^{15} had been born. Umbreit proposed 'I have gotten J″ for a husband.' The RV is the only probable translation. The text is possibly corrupt. (See CAIN).

W. H. BENNETT.

EVENING.—See TIME.

EVENT occurs thrice in Ec (2^{14} $9^{2.3}$) as the tr. of *miḳreh* in the obsol. sense of 'that which befalls,' 'fate': as 9^{2} 'There is one event to the righteous and to the wicked.' Cf. Shaks. 2 *Henry IV.* IV. ii. 83—

> 'Against ill chances men are ever merry,
> But heaviness foreruns the good event.'

Elsewhere event is found only in the sense of 'issue,' 'result,' Wis 8^{8} '[Wisdom] foreseeth . . . the events of seasons and times' (*ἐκβάσεις*); 2 Mac 9^{25} 'expect what shall be the event' (*τὸ ἀποβησόμενον*). This, which is the common meaning of Lat. *eventus*, is most frequent in writers of the time of AV, as Shaks. *T. of Shrew*, III. ii. 126—

> 'I'll after him, and see the event of this.'

The mod. sense of an occurrence is very rare in writers of the period. Carlyle quotes Cromwell (*Letters*, 12 Sept. 1650) '[We do not think] of the hand of the great God in this mighty and strange appearance of His; but can slightly call it an "event."'

J. HASTINGS.

EVERLASTINGNESS.—For **everlasting** see ESCHATOLOGY. 'Everlastingness,' once common for 'eternity,' is now used only where its special signification is emphasized, as Cheyne, *Isaiah*, i. 242, 'The idea of the divine everlastingness is one of the primary notes of the prophecy.' It occurs only 2 Es 8^{20} 'O Lord, thou that dwellest in everlastingness' (qui inhabitas sæculum, RV 'abidest for ever,' RVm 'inhabitest eternity'). Wyc. (1388) translates Is 57^{15} 'For the Lord high, and enhaunsid, seith these things, that dwellith in euerlastyngnesse.'

J. HASTINGS.

EVERY is occasionally found in AV where mod. usage demands 'each,' as 2 S 21^{20} 'a man of great stature, that had on every hand six fingers, and on every foot six toes'; 2 Es 3^{10} 'it came to pass in every of them' (RV omits);[†] Rev 21^{21} 'every several gate was of one pearl' (RV 'each one of the several gates'). Cf. Cranmer, *Works*, i. 111, 'In my right hearty wise I commend me unto you, and likewise to everich * of you.' Cf. also Ex 35^{10} 'every wise hearted among you.'

---

[*] LXX Gn 3^{20} *Ζωή*, $4^{1.25}$ Εὔα (the Εὔαν of v.^{25} has no equivalent in the Heb.), so also in NT 2 Co 11^{3}, 1 Ti 2^{13}. In Gn 3^{20} Aq. has *Αὔα* or *Αὖα*, and Symm. *Ζωογόνος*. *Tisch.* writes Εὔα both in OT and NT, but WH (ii. 313) point out that in the absence of MS evidence as to breathings, the only safe guide is the initial ח of the Heb. Cf. also the Vulg. *Heva*, both in OT and NT.

[*] The line of an Assyr. Bab. magical text is often read as,

> 'The woman from the loins of the man they bring forth,'

and quoted as a parallel to the formation of Eve from the ribs of Adam. But when this line is correctly tr. and read in its context, the parallel entirely disappears; 'they' are demons, and the passage narrates their ubiquity and mischief; they enter houses through locked doors, like a snake or the wind, and

> 'A woman [who is] at the loins (?) of a man they lead away.
> A child [who is] at the knee of a man they draw forth.
> A noble [who is] at the house of his kindred they drive out.'

J. D. Davis, *Genesis and Sem. Trad.* 49.

See throughout, *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* חַוָּה, Dillm. on Gn 3^{20} 4^{1}.

[†] Cf. T. Elyot, *The Governour*, ii. 4, 'he made as wel the great as the smal, and careth for euery of them equally.'

Trench (*On the Auth. Ver. of NT*, p. 63) points out that both 'each' and 'every' take occasionally plu. concords, as Ph 2^{3} 'Let each esteem other better than themselves'; Rev 20^{13} 'They were judged every man according to their works.' He adds, '"each" and "every," though alike implying many, alike resolve that many into its units, and refer to it in these its constituent parts, with only the difference that "each" segregates, and "every" aggregates, the units which comprise it.'

J. HASTINGS.

EVI (אֱוִי 'desire' (?)).—One of the five kings of Midian slain, Nu 31^{8}, Jos 13^{21} (Εὐί) P.

EVIDENCE, EVIDENTLY.—Following Coverdale, AV has translated סֵפֶר, *ṣêpher* (lit. 'book') by 'evidence' in Jer $32^{10.\ 11.\ 12.\ 14\ ter.\ 16.\ 44}$. The meaning is 'title-deeds.' Coke (1628) says, 'Writings under seale, as Charters and Deeds, and other writings without seale, as Court Rolles, Accounts, and the like . . . are called Evidences.' RV gives 'deed' throughout. Cf. T. Adams, *II Peter*, p. 23 (on 1^{2}), 'Therefore a man should be often perusing and looking over his own evidence, as we review our assurances of worldly possessions, that he may be sure of the whole and every part of it: for it is dangerous to have any flaw or defect in our conveyance of salvation.'

'Evidence' is also the tr. of ἔλεγχος in its single occurrence in NT, He 11^{1} (RV 'proving,' RVm 'test') 'Now faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen.' This is the Bishops' trⁿ, Wyclif having 'an argument of thingis not aperynge,' Tind. 'a certayntie of thinges which are not sene,' Gen. 'sheweth evidently the things which are not sene.'

'Evidently' is the trⁿ of φανερῶς, Ac 10^{3} 'He saw in a vision evidently about the ninth hour of the day an angel of God coming in to him' (RV 'openly'); and of the prep. προ- in προεγράφη, Gal 3^{1} 'before whose eyes Jesus Christ hath been evidently set forth crucified' (RV 'openly'). In both places 'evidently' has the obsol. meaning of 'clearly,' 'distinctly,' as in Knox, *Hist.* 261, 'And lest that your Honors should doubt in any of these premises, we offer ourselves evidently to prove, That,' etc.

J. HASTINGS.

EVIL.—This word is likely to become obsolete except in the theological sense of the doctrine of evil (for which see SIN).† In AV it is freely used as subst., adj., and adverb. **1.** As subst., often in immed. antithesis to 'good,' as Gn 2^{9} 'the tree of knowledge (RV 'the knowledge') of good and evil' (טוֹב וָרָע); 2 Es 2^{14} 'I have broken the evil in pieces, and created the good' (malum et . . . bonum): sometimes in the plu., as Pr 14^{19} 'The evil bow before the good' (שַׁחוּ רָעִים לִפְנֵי טוֹבִים). **2.** As adj. 'evil' is applied, not only to things, but even to persons, a usage now quite obsolete; thus Jer 12^{14} 'all mine evil neighbours.' Cf. Knox, *Hist.* 283, 'He had a very evil woman to his wife.' For 'evil spirit' (Lk 7^{21} 8^{2}, Ac $19^{12.\ 13.\ 15.\ 16}$) see DEMON. In Mt 5^{37} 6^{13} RV prefers 'the evil one' to AV 'the evil,' and in 1 Jn 5^{19} for AV 'wickedness': see DEMON, and consult Lightfoot, *On a Fresh Revision*², pp. 269–323; Chase, *Lord's Prayer in Early Church* ('Texts and Studies,' I. iii.), pp. 71–167. The 'evil eye' is a Heb. expression for ENVY (which see). **3.** As adv. chiefly in the phrase 'evil entreat' (Ex 5^{22}, Dt 26^{6}, Job 24^{21}, To 10^{12}, Sir 7^{20} 33^{31}, Ac 7^{6}): the other phrases are 'went evil with' (1 Ch 7^{23}); 'evil affected' (Ad. Est 13^{5}, Ac 14^{2}); 'evil spoken of' (Sir 38^{17}, Ro 14^{6}, 1 Co 10^{30}); 'fare evil' (Sir 3^{26}). Cf. Grindal, *Letter to Q. Eliz.* (Parker Soc. ed. p. 381) 'Much like to the Popish Bishops in your father's time, who would have had the English translation of the Bible called in, as evil translated; and the new translating thereof to have been committed to themselves; which they never intended to perform.'

Evilfavouredness.—See FAVOUR.

J. HASTINGS.

EVIL-MERODACH (אֱוִיל מְרֹדַךְ) was the son and successor of the great Nebuchadrezzar on the throne of Babylon. According to 2 K 25^{27-30}, he promoted the captive king of Jerus., Jehoiachin, in the 37th year of his captivity, set his throne above the thrones of the kings who were with him in prison, changed his prison garments, and made him a guest at the royal table to the end of his life. The Sept. reads Εὐιαλμαρωδέκ, and Berosus Ἀμιλμαρούδοκος. The cuneiform equivalent of his name is *Amêl(Avêl)-Maruduk* (cf. Haupt in *Zeitsch. f. Assyr.* ii. 266 and 284 f.), 'man (servant) of Merodach.' According to Berosus, he administered the kingdom during his two years' reign (562–560) with indiscretion and wanton unrestraint. Tiele (*Bab.-Assyr. Ges.* pp. 457, 464) concludes, on the basis of this character of E.-M., that the benevolent act towards Jehoiachin should be attributed to his successor on the throne of Babylon. We possess as yet none of his annals, though several contract tablets date from his reign. In the year 560 his brother-in-law, Neriglissar (*Nergal-šar-uṣur*, 'Nergal preserve the king'), in a conspiracy, slew him and seized the throne.

LITERATURE.—Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alterthums*, vol. i. p. 597; Delitzsch, *Heb. Lang.* p. 12; Boscawen, *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.* vol. vi. p. 1 ff.; and authorities above cited.

IRA M. PRICE.

EVIL SPEAKING.—See SLANDER. **EVIL SPIRIT.**—See DEMON.

EXACT.—**1.** The adj., only Sir 51^{19} 'In my doings I was exact' (ἐν ποιήσει μου διηκριβησάμην A, but B has ἐν ποιήσει λιμοῦ διηκριβασάμην, 'in the doing of hunger (?) I was exact'; Fritzsche suggests, and most edd. adopt, νόμου, 'in the doing of the law'). Here 'exact' means 'strict,' 'particular,' as Shaks. *Troil. and Cres.* IV. v. 232—

'Now, Hector, I have fed mine eyes on thee;
I have with exact view perused thee, Hector,'

and Herbert, *The Temple*: 'Faith,' l. 43—

'What though my bodie runne to dust?
Faith cleaves unto it, counting every grain
With an exact and most particular trust,
Reserving all for flesh again.'

2. As verb frequently. Notice Ps 89^{22} 'The enemy shall not exact upon him' (לֹא־יַשִּׁא בוֹ, RVm 'do him violence'): the mod. phrase is 'impose exactions upon.' Cf. Burnet (1687), *Trav.* ii. 86, 'Innkeepers think they have a right to exact upon Strangers.'

In Lk 3^{13} RV has changed 'Exact no more than that which is appointed you,' into 'Extort no more,' etc. But 'exact' was surely strong enough; were they permitted to extort anything? Tind. has 'require.' Following the Vulg. *faciatis*, Wyclif has 'do ye no more,' and Rheims 'Doe nothing more,' which seems a natural reply to 'What shall we do?' But the Greek verbs are not the same, Τί οὖν ποιήσωμεν (TR ποιήσομεν) and Μηδὲν . . .

---

* 'Every' is 'ever each'; the above example shows it in process of formation; and the two words are often practically interchangeable, as Milton, *Comus*, 311—

'I know each lane and every alley green.'

† The loss of 'evil' seems to be the result of a discrimination in words with cognate meaning. The AV used 'evil,' 'bad,' 'naughty,' quite indiscriminately. Thus in Jer $24^{2.\ 3}$ 'the other basket had very naughty figs, which could not be eaten, they were so bad . . . the good figs, very good; and the evil, very evil, that cannot be eaten, they are so evil.' This goes farther in the way of variety than the earlier versions by introducing 'bad.' The Heb. is the same throughout, and RV gives 'bad' throughout.

In Mt 21^{41} the AV has followed the Bishops', 'he will miserably destroy those wicked men,' and has thus lost the force of the Greek (κακοὺς κακῶς ἀπολέσει αὐτούς). Tindale is no better, 'He will cruellye destroye those evyll persons.' But Wyclif, 'He schal lese (=destroy) yuel the yuele men'; Rheims, 'The naughtie men he will bring to naught'; and RV 'He will miserably destroy those miserable men,' all give the repetition its advantage.

πράσσετε; and πράσσειν has the sense of *exacting* both in class. Greek and in Lk 19^{23} (EV 'require'). *Agere* is similarly used in Lat., and might have been chosen by Jerome here.

Exactly is found 2 Es 16^{64} 'the Lord will exactly search out' (scrutinando scrutinabit), and Sir 16^{25} 'declare his knowledge exactly' (ἐν ἀκριβείᾳ). The sense is the same as 'exact' above, *i.e.* 'precisely'; cf. Shaks. *Temp.* I. ii. 499—

'But then exactly do
All points of my command.'

J. HASTINGS.

EXCEED.—The transitive use is now rare and almost confined to the sense of 'preponderate,' as Jowett, *Plato*^{2}, v. 76, 'Men always choose the life which exceeds in pleasure.' But in AV we find the sense of 'go too far,' without introducing a comparison, 1 S 20^{41} 'They . . . wept one with another, until David exceeded' (הִגְדִּיל); Job 36^9 'Then he showeth them their work, and their transgressions that they have exceeded' (יִתְגַּבָּרוּ, RV 'have behaved themselves proudly'); 2 Es 4^{34} 'Do not thou hasten above the most Highest: for thy haste is in vain to be above him, for thou hast much exceeded' (*excessus tuus multus*, RV 'for he that is above [hasteneth] on behalf of many,' reading *Excelsus autem propter multos*, after Syr.): so Coverdale's tr. of Is 31^6 'Therfore (O ye children of Israel) turne agayne, like as ye have exceaded in your goinge back' (AV and RV 'have deeply revolted'), and Bacon, *Advancement of Learning*, II. ix. 3 (Selby's ed. p. 53) 'the scruples and superstitions of diet . . . in the law of Mahomet, do exceed.'

Exceeding is rare as an adj., only eight times,* while as adv. it is used 60 times at least, when it always qualifies an *adj.* Thus Mt 8^{28} 'There met him two possessed with devils, coming out of the tombs, exceeding fierce' (χαλεποὶ λίαν; so Rheims; but Tind. Cov. Cran. and Gen. 1557, 'out of measure fearce'; Gen. 1560 and Bishops', 'very fierce'; Wyc. 'ful wood').

Two cases of 'exceeding' as adv. demand attention: Jon 3^3 'Nineveh was an exceeding great city,' and Ac 7^{20} 'Moses . . . was exceeding fair.' The Heb. of Jon 3^3 is עִיר־גְּדוֹלָה לֵאלֹהִים, lit. 'a city great unto God,' as RVm; and the Gr. of Ac 7^{20} is ἀστεῖος τῷ Θεῷ, lit. 'fair unto God,' as RVm again. AV and RV agree in taking both passages as a form of the superlative; and this is supported by 1 Ch 12^{22} 'a great host, like the host of God.' But in the only other place where the identical expression occurs, Gn 10^9 (גִּבֹּר־צַיִד לִפְנֵי יהוה), AV and RV give 'a mighty hunter before the LORD'; and it is probable that in the three passages the intention is to express, not merely the superlative, but the *ideal* of might, greatness, beauty, such as could be admitted into the presence of the All-perfect. There are similar expressions in the Psalter, Ps 36^6 AV 'the great mountains,' RV as Heb. 'the mountains of God'; 65^9 'the river of God,' AV and RV; 80^{10} AV 'the goodly cedars,' RV as Heb. 'cedars of God'; 104^{16} AV and RV 'the trees of the LORD'; but Perowne (*Jonah*, *l.c.*) is right in pointing out that in these passages the thought is different, being that of God's proprietorship, as indeed the last passage indicates, 'which he hath planted.'

Exceedingly also occurs some 50 times, being the form used with *verbs* (except Ac 26^{11}, Gal 1^{14}, passages in which AV first of Eng. versions uses this word). 'More exceedingly' is found Mk 15^{14} (TR περισσοτέρως, edd. περισσῶς, RV 'exceedingly'), Gal 1^{14} (περισσοτέρως); and 'exceedingly the more,' 2 Co 7^{13} 'e. the more joyed we' (περισσοτέρως μᾶλλον ἐχάρημεν). Notice also 'very exceedingly,' Gn 27^{33} 'And Isaac trembled very e.' (וַיֶּחֱרַד יִצְחָק חֲרָדָה גְּדֹלָה עַד־מְאֹד, lit., as AVm, 'trembled with a great trembling greatly'; LXX, ἐξέστη δὲ Ἰσαὰκ ἔκστασιν μεγάλην σφόδρα; Geneva, 'Then Izhák was stricken with a meruelous great feare'; Bishops', 'And Isahac was greatly astonied out of measure'; Dillmann, 'Da erschrak Isaak grossen Erschreckens über die Massen'; other translations are less forcible).

J. HASTINGS.

EXCELLENCY.—The verb to 'excel' occurs 13 times in AV, translating just as many different Heb. and Gr. words, but always distinctly with the sense of 'be pre-eminent over others,' 'surpass.' The idea of pre-eminence is seen even in Ps 103^{20} 'ye his angels that excel in strength,' though the Heb. is גִּבֹּרֵי כֹחַ *gibbôrê kôaḥ*, lit. 'heroes of strength'; for, as Delitzsch says, it is because to the angel hosts belong strength unequalled that they are summoned now to praise God in company with the Church on earth, whose dignity surpasses every other created thing.

Pre-eminence is also the leading thought in the word 'excellency.' 1. Sometimes the quality in which the pre-eminence appears is stated; thus Gn 49^3 'the excellency of dignity, and the excellency of power' (יֶתֶר שְׂאֵת וְיֶתֶר עָז), *i.e.* says Delitzsch, precedence, both in respect and in power, is due to Reuben above his brethren, because he is the first-born; Ezk 24^{21} 'I will profane my sanctuary, the excellency of your strength,' *i.e.* the place of pre-eminent strength (Heb. גְּאוֹן עֻזְּכֶם, RV 'the pride of your power'); 1 Co 2^1 'I . . . came not with excellency of speech or of wisdom' (καθ' ὑπεροχὴν λόγου ἢ σοφίας. 'The word ὑπεροχή denotes strictly the act of overhanging, or the thing which overhangs; hence superiority, pre-eminence: by Byzantine writers it is used in the sense "your Excellency"'—Godet); Ph 3^8 'the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus' (τὸ ὑπερέχον); 2 Co 4^7 'that the excellency of the power may be of God' (ἡ ὑπερβολή, RV 'exceeding greatness,' but 'superiority,' 'pre-eminence,' is always the meaning of the word). 2. More often the 'excellency' is of no special quality; but even then the Eng. word, *as understood in* 1611, though less precise is not less forcible than its Heb. or Gr. equivalents, for it has always in it the sense of superiority, uniqueness. Cf. *Pref. to AV* 1611, 'for the worth and excellency thereof above the rest'; *Pr. Bk.* 1552 (Keeling, p. 382), 'Forasmuch then as your Office is of so great excellency, and of so great difficulty'; Bacon, *Adv. of Learn.* II. xxiii. 27 (Selby, p. 149), 'Julius Cæsar . . . at first was an orator or pleader; but when he saw the excellency of Cicero, Hortensius, Catullus, and others . . . he . . . transferred his designs to a martial greatness.' The two words chiefly translated 'excellency' in AV are: (1) גָּאוֹן *gâ'ôn* (Ex 15^7, Job 37^4, of J″; Ps 47^4, Am 6^8 8^7, Nah 2^2, of 'Jacob'; Is 60^{15} of Zion; Ezk 24^{21} of the temple; Is 13^{19} of the Chaldæans), a word which primarily means 'exaltation,' hence majesty which is pre-eminent; (2) גַּאֲוָה *ga'ăwâh* (Dt 33$^{26. 29}$, Ps 68^{34}, all of J″), a word of less honour than the preceding, being used indeed most frequently of 'pride' in a bad sense; still it is not inaptly translated 'excellency' in those passages, the reference being always to the unique 'dignity' of J″. (See also Driver, *Joel and Amos.* 1897, p. 238 f.).

In old writers 'excellence' and 'excellency' are both in use without difference of meaning. Shaks. uses 'excellence' 19 times, 'excellency' only thrice; AV has 'excellency' 29 times, 'excellence' not once. 'Excellency' has now given place to 'excellence,' and the word has greatly deteriorated: the only use of 'excellency' is as a term of courtesy, 'your Excellency,' which may be applied to any petty governor; and 'excellence' itself has accepted the vague sense of general worth. The deterioration may be partly due to the still greater loss that has befallen the adj. **excellent.** In AV 'excellent' is probably never used without a distinct expression of comparison, 'superior,' 'pre-eminent.' Cf. T. Adams, *II Peter* (1633), p. 83, 'Jacob gave Reuben a blessing, but added, Thou shalt not be excellent'; and p. 83, 'Cain's outlawed stock were yet excellent in worldly things.' But comparisons are odious; Shaks. has a fondness for using it ironically, and in course of time it has dropped down to merely 'very good.' J. HASTINGS.

---

* The eight occurrences of 'exceeding' as an adj. are 2 Mac 8^{27} 'yielding e. praise and thanks to the Lord' (περισσῶς εὐλογοῦντες καὶ ἐξομολογούμενοι τῷ Κυρίῳ, RV 'blessing and thanking the Lord exceedingly'); 15^6 'in e. pride and haughtiness' (μετὰ πάσης ἀλαζονείας ὑψαυχενῶν, RV 'bearing himself haughtily in all vaingloriousness,' RVm 'carrying his neck high'); 2 Co 4^{17} 'a far more e. and eternal weight of glory' (καθ' ὑπερβολὴν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν αἰώνιον βάρος δόξης, RV 'more and more exceedingly an eternal weight'); 9^{14} 'for the e. grace of God' (διὰ τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν χάριν); Eph 1^{19} 'the e. greatness of his power' (τὸ ὑπερβάλλον μέγεθος); 2^7 'the e. riches of his grace' (τὸ ὑπερβάλλον πλοῦτος); 1 P 4^{13} 'that ye may be glad also with e. joy' (ἵνα καὶ . . . χαρῆτε ἀγαλλιώμενοι); Jude ^{24} 'with e. joy' (ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει, RV 'in e. joy'). Thus in every instance the meaning is 'surpassingly great'; the word never has the sense of excessive or immoderate, which we find, *e.g.*, in Sandys, (1585) *Sermons*, 315, 'Why was Anna so exceeding in craving children at the hands of God?

EXCELLENT, or rather **MOST EXCELLENT,** is the regular tr. in RV for the word *κράτιστος*, used as a title of respect four times, and always by St. Luke (Lk 1^{3}, Ac 23^{26} 24^{3} 26^{25}). In AV 'most noble' is substituted in the last two instances. In three of those passages we clearly have the formal address of a person of high rank: 'Claudius Lysias unto the most e. governor Felix'; 'most e. Felix'; 'But Paul saith, I am not mad, most e. Festus'; in the fourth (Lk 1^{3}) it is used in the address to Theophilus, to whom St. Luke dedicated both his works, and a question of some interest arises as to whether we can assert from the use of the term elsewhere that Theophilus must have been also of high rank and position. So Theophylact, *Arg. in Ev. sec. Luc*: 'He writes to Theophilus, a man of senatorial rank, and also a magistrate (*συγκλητικὸν ὄντα καὶ ἄρχοντα ἴσως*), for the word *κράτιστος* was used of magistrates and governors (*ἀρχόντων καὶ ἡγεμόνων*), as also Paul says, addressing the governor Festus: "Most e. Festus."' The authority of a Byzantine commentator would, however, be delusive on such a question, as the meaning of language changes, and the question must be settled by contemporary usage.

1. There can be no doubt that from the 1st cent. onwards the word was an official title, but there is no proof that it was always so used. For instance in Jos., although in *Ant.* XVIII. viii. 4, XX. i. 2 we find the technical sense, in *Ant.* IV. vi. 8 (*ὦ κράτιστοι νεανιῶν*) it is certainly not so used, while in the dedication of the treatise against Apion to Epaphroditus, who was a freedman and procurator, the variation *κράτιστε ἀνδρῶν* seems to suggest a different tone (*c. Ap.* i. 1; *Vita*, 76). Cf. 2 Mac 4^{12}.

2. On the other hand, the usage of St. Luke seems more fixed. In those cases where the word occurs, it is certainly used as an official address, and is probably (we cannot say certainly) so used in the fourth instance. In any case there is certainly a difference in usage between St. Luke and Josephus, which makes it improbable that there is in this case any literary connexion between the two.

LITERATURE.—Otto, *De Epistola ad Diognetum*, 1845, p. 79, ed. ii. p. 51; Krenkel, *Josephus und Lucas*, p. 53; Ramsay, *St. Paul the Trav.* p. 388. A. C. HEADLAM.

EXCEPT.—The verb occurs only 1 Co 15^{27} 'But when he saith all things are put under *him, it is* manifest that he is excepted, which did put all things under him,' that is, an exception is made in his favour, he is left out of account. This is Coverdale's tr^{n}, and illustrates the oldest meaning of the verb. Cf. Shaks. *Jul. Cæs.* II. i. 281—

> 'Within the bond of marriage, tell me, Brutus,
> Is it excepted, I should know no secrets
> That appertain to you?'

In their Preface the translators of AV use 'except against' for take exception to; 'men not to be excepted against by them of *Rome*'; 'none of them feare to dissent from him, nor yet to except against him'; 'Truly (good Christian Reader) wee neuer thought from the beginning, that we should neede to make a new Translation, nor yet to make of a bad one a good one, (for then the imputation of *Sixtus* had been true in some sort, that our people had bene fed with gall of Dragons in stead of wine, with whey in stead of milke); but to make a good one better, or out of many good ones, one principall good one, not iustly to be excepted against; that hath been our indeauour, that our marke.' Cf. Knox, *Hist.* 447, 'the sincerer sort of the Ministrie in England had not yet assaulted the jurisdiction and Church gouernement (which they did not till the year 1572, at which time they published their first and second admonition to the Parliament), but onely had excepted against superstitious apparell, and some other faults in the service Booke.'

As past ptcp. of the verb to except, we find *excepted*, as Kingesmyll, *Man's Est.* v. (1580) 21, 'They eate of the excepted tree'; and Milton, *PL* xi. 426—

> 'Some to spring from thee, who never touch'd
> Th' excepted tree.'

But more frequently *except* (as Tindale, *Works*, i. 213, 'Here is no man except, but all souls must obey'), and then very often *following* its subst., as Ac 26^{29} Cov. 'these bondes excepte'; Bacon, *Adv. Learn.* i. (Selby's ed. p. 62, l. 8), 'the divineness of souls except.' When this ptcp. *preceded* its subst. it came to be regarded as a prep., though it is obviously hard to say when the change took place. The earliest examples in *Oxf. Eng. Dict.* quoted as a prep. are Langland, *Piers Plowman* (B), ix. 140, 'Alle shal deye . . . Except oneliche of eche kynde a couple'; Henry, *Wallace*, v. 1026, 'Thai entryt in, befor thaim fand no man, Excep wemen.' A little later began its use as a conj., introducing not a subst. but a clause, and being equivalent to 'unless.' In AV and RV it is used both as prep. and as conj., most frequently as conj. Once the conj. is strengthened by 'that,' Mk 13^{20} 'except that the Lord had shortened those days' (RV omits 'that'). Cf. Jn 3^{5}, Tind. 'except that a man be boren of water and of the sprete.'

The only use of 'except' that is now commended is as a preposition. Hodgson (*Errors in the Use of English*^{2}, 117 f.) quotes two examples from good modern writers of its use as a conj., but says that '*unless* would be generally held preferable'; Keble, *Memoir*^{2}, i. 81, 'Do not trouble yourself about writing to me, except you are quite in the humour for it'; Miss Mitford, *Letters and Life*, i. 150, 'It has no literary pretensions, except the total absence of all pretension may pass for one in these days of abundant conceit.' The Revisers have been somewhat sharply taken to task for using 'except' as a conj. [see esp. Moon, *The Revisers' English* (1882), 94–97, and *Ecclesiastical English* (1886), 205-207]. In this, however, they are at one with previous versions and with the history of the word. In the Canonical Scriptures of AV except occurs 73 times, and 67 times it is a conjunction. The Revisers have made few changes. In Gn 47^{26} they prefer 'only,' and in Nu 16^{13} 'but'; twice (2 S 3^{9}, 1 Co 14^{7}) they turn 'except' into 'if . . . not,' twice (1 Co $14^{6.\,9}$) into 'unless,' and once (2 Co 13^{5}) into 'unless indeed.' It is only in connexion with Jn 8^{24} where they change 'if . . . not,' and 1 Co 15^{2} where they change 'unless,' into 'except,' that they are open to criticism; but no doubt both came under the rule of 'uniformity in rendering.' J. HASTINGS.

EXCHANGER.—See MONEY.

EXCOMMUNICATION is the name applied to the temporary or permanent exclusion, for errors of doctrine or morals, of a member of a Church from the privileges of its communion. The word is not used either in AV or RV, but the practice which it describes meets us in NT, both in the case of the Jewish synagogue and in that of the Christian Church.

The practice in the Jewish synagogue is referred to in Lk 6^{22} (Blessed are ye when men 'shall separate you from their company,' *ἀφορίζω*), Jn 9^{22} (the case of the blind man cast out of the synagogue, *ἀποσυνάγωγος*), Jn 12^{42} (the rulers who feared to confess Christ), Jn 16^{2} (Christ's prophecy concerning the disciples). It rests on the older practice, described in Ezr 10^{8} (the case of those Isr. who at the Restoration refused to give up their idolatrous wives), which in turn is a modification of the still older *ḥērem* (חֵרֶם) or 'ban,' referred to in Lv 27^{29} and elsewhere. The word *ḥērem* means literally devoted, and is used in OT in the twofold sense of devoted to destruction (hence accursed) and devoted to God's service (hence consecrated). See CURSE.

The practice of excommunication as we find it among the Jews in the time of Christ is the outgrowth of the *ḥērem* in the first of these senses. In the early history of Israel the punishment of idolatry or other gross sins was physical death. Thus we find the prophets referring to the future triumph of Israel over their enemies as the wholesale devotion of them to destruction by J″ (so Is 34$^{2.5}$, Mic 4^{13}, Jer 50^{21}), and Zech. looks forward to the happy time in the future when there shall be no more 'ban' (14^{11}). Temporary exclusion from the services of the sanctuary meets us only, in the case of ceremonial offences, as part of the general requirement of the ceremonial law. At the time of the Restoration we find a modification of the older practice in the interest of greater humanity. Those Isr. who had married foreign wives, and who refused at the command of Ezra to give them up, instead of being put to death had their substance confiscated, and were separated from the congregation of Israel (Ezr 10^{8}). In the time of Christ, exclusion from the synagogue was the regular punishment for serious moral and religious offences, and is distinguished by the Rabbis as *ḥērem* proper, the formal 'ban,' which could be inflicted by not fewer than ten persons, and which deprived him on whom it fell of all religious privileges, from the milder *niddûi* (נִדּוּי), which could be inflicted by a single person, and which merely cut off him who suffered it from conversation and contact for a period of thirty days. For a supposed third grade, the so-called *shammāthā* (שַׁמְתָּא), there seems to be no good authority.

The origin of Christian excommunication is often found in Christ's words to Peter (Mt 16^{19}), 'I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.' (Cf. Mt 18^{18}, Jn 20^{23}.) But, whatever the particular view taken of this much disputed passage, the reference seems to be rather to the spiritual power which the Church is to exercise through her preaching and witness-bearing than to any formal ecclesiastical procedure. The passage Mt 18$^{15-17}$ comes nearer to the mark, and with its threefold admonition, first privately, then in the presence of two or three witnesses (cf. Tit 3^{10}), and finally before the Church, reminds us somewhat of the graded procedure of the Jewish synagogue. Hence many critics believe that it represents less a direct utterance of Jesus Himself than the practice in the Jewish-Christian circles for which the Gospel of Matthew was written.

In the letters of St. Paul, besides general directions to 'admonish the disorderly' (1 Th 5^{14}; cf. 1 Ti 5^{20}), and to hold aloof from brothers who are fornicators, or covetous, or idolaters, or revilers, or drunkards, or extortioners (1 Co 5^{11}), or who refuse to obey the word of St. Paul by his letters (2 Th 3^{14}; cf. Ro 16^{17}), we have in the Church of Corinth at least one case, and possibly two cases, of ecclesiastical discipline. The first is that of the incestuous person, referred to in 1 Co 5, whom St. Paul delivers unto Satan 'for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus' (1 Co 5^{5}). The reference in v.^{4} to the Corinthians as being gathered together, shows that whatever the exact nature of the punishment described as committing unto Satan, it had ecclesiastical significance. In v.^{13} the Corinthians are expressly charged to put away the wicked man from among themselves. If 2 Co 2$^{6-11}$ refer, as is most commonly supposed, to this same matter, it would follow that the exclusion from church fellowship was not permanent. 'Sufficient to such a one is this punishment, which was inflicted by the many; so that contrariwise ye should rather forgive him and comfort him, lest by any means such a one should be swallowed up by his overmuch sorrow' (vv.$^{6.7}$). If, however, as seems not unlikely, this passage refers to an entirely distinct case from that mentioned in 1 Co, we have a case of discipline administered by the Corinthians themselves without special instigation by St. Paul. Interesting and perplexing is the mention of Satan in 1 Co 5^{5} (cf. 2 Co 2^{11} 'that no advantage may be gained over us by Satan'; 1 Ti 1^{20} 'Hymenæus and Alexander, whom I delivered unto Satan that they might be taught not to blaspheme'). That St. Paul does not mean by the expression 'delivery unto Satan' a final cutting off from salvation, such as seems to be implied in the anathema of 1 Co 16^{22}, Gal 1$^{8.9}$, Ro 9^{3}, is clear from the reference in v.^{5} to the salvation of the spirit. On the other hand, that some suffering besides the formal exclusion from church fellowship is intended, seems equally clear from the reference to the destruction of the flesh. Hence the conjecture of some physical punishment miraculously inflicted upon the offender, possibly, as in the case of Ananias and Sapphira, death itself. But the matter is too obscure to warrant a definite conclusion.

The Corinthian letters picture a loose organization, without formal officers, in which discipline is administered, now by the Corinthians, now by St. Paul himself. There is no definite rule of procedure. The general principle is laid down in 1 Co 5$^{9-12}$, and special application is made acc. to the circumstances of each case. In the Pastorals we have already a definite mode of procedure, with its public reproof, and its accusation before witnesses (1 Ti 5$^{19.20}$). Not moral offences only, but a schismatic spirit may be the occasion for exclusion from church fellowship (Tit 3^{10} 'A man that is heretical [factious] after a first and second admonition, refuse.' Cf. 1 Ti 6^{3}, and esp. 2 Jn v.^{10}, where false doctrine is made the ground for absolute breach of intercourse). That excommunication might be inflicted by a faction, as well as by the Church at large, is clear from the case of Diotrephes (3 Jn $^{9.10}$). These later instances show that excommunication was not merely disciplinary, having as its end the penitence and subsequent restoration of the offender, but also protective, being designed to guard the infant Church from corruption. In no case, however, is it regarded as consigning the person cut off to eternal punishment, as later theories have sometimes held. That was the work of God alone, with which man had nothing to do. In general, this brief survey of the NT passages shows that we have to do only with the first beginnings, from which the later ecclesiastical procedure, with its elaborate process, was developed. In this matter, as in so many others of interest, the development was a gradual one, a part of that slow process by which the flexibility of early Christian institutions was gradually transformed into the fixed rules of a powerful ecclesiastical organization.

LITERATURE.—The art. in Smith, *DB*^{2}, by F. Meyrick, unchanged; and Herzog, *PRE*^{2} 'Bann bei den Hebräern,' by Rüetschi, where the older literature is given. For the practice among the Jews, see Nowack, *Heb. Archäol.*; and Benzinger, *Heb. Archäol.* On the case of the Corinthian offender, cf. Weiszäcker, *Das Apostolische Zeitalter*^{2}. A full discussion of NT passages in their connexion is still a desideratum.

W. ADAMS BROWN.

EXECUTIONER.—Mk 6^{27} AV, of the officer sent by Herod to behead John the Baptist, RV 'a soldier of his guard.' The Gr. word σπεκουλάτωρ is a transliteration of Lat. *speculator*, and the *speculatores* were originally scouts or spies (*speculor*, to watch), and then the police or bodyguard of the Roman emperors and military governors. (The word is fully discussed in Benson, *Cyprian*, 505 f.)

Beheading was a Roman, not a Jewish punishment. See Crimes and Punishments. J. Hastings.

EXERCISE.—As a *verb*: **1.** The primary meaning is to occupy oneself with, engage in, Ps 131[1] 'Neither do I exercise myself in great matters' (וְלֹא־הִלַּכְתִּי, lit. 'neither do I walk,' as RVm); Sir 50[28] 'Blessed is he that shall be exercised in these things' (ἀναστραφήσεται); 2 Es 15[8] 'those things in which they wickedly exercised themselves' (quæ inique exercent, RV 'which they wickedly practise'). Cf. Pref. to AV 1611, 'in Latine we haue been exercised almost from our verie cradle.' **2.** To put into practice, bring into use, as Knox (*Works*, ed. Laing, iv. 135), 'Even such, deare brethren, is the blessed Evangelie of our Lord Jesus; for the more that it be entreted, the more comfortable and puissant is it to such as do heare, reade, or exercise the same'; or as Dunbar (*The Thrissill and the Rois*, 16) uses *exerce*, the obsolete form of the verb, direct from *exercere*—

> 'Exerce justice with mercy and conscience.'

So Rev 13[12] 'he exerciseth all the power of the first beast' (ποιεῖ); Jer 9[24] 'I am the Lord, which exercise lovingkindness' (עֹשֶׂה 'doing'); To 12[9] 'Those that exercise alms and righteousness shall be filled with life' (ποιοῦντες); Ezk 22[29] 'The people of the land have used oppression, and exercised robbery' (וְגָזְלוּ גָּזֵל); Wis 16[4] 'It was requisite that upon them exercising tyranny should come penury' (ἐκείνοις τυραννοῦσι, RV 'in their tyrannous dealing'); and the passages in the Synoptics, Mt 20[25], Mk 10[42], Lk 22[25], where κατακυριεύω (Lk κυριεύω) and κατεξουσιάζω (Lk ἐξουσιάζω) are translated in AV 'exercise dominion' and 'exercise authority' in Mt, 'e. lordship' and 'e. authority' in Mk and Lk; RV gives 'lord it' for κατακ., and 'e. authority' for κατεξ. in Mt and Mk, 'have lordship' and 'have authority' in Lk. **3.** To practise for training or discipline, Ac 24[16] 'And herein do I exercise myself, to have always a conscience void of offence toward God and toward man' (ἀσκῶ); 1 Ti 4[7] 'exercise thyself unto godliness' (γυμνάζω; so He 5[14] 12[11], 2 P 2[14]); 1 Mac 6[30] 'elephants exercised in battle' (εἰδότες πόλεμον, RV 'trained for war'); 2 Mac 15[12] 'exercised from a child in all points of virtue' (ἐκμεμελετηκότα). **4.** All those meanings belong to the Lat. *exercere*, and the influence of the Vulg. is conspicuous throughout. There are even two examples of 'exercise' in the sense of 'afflict,' 'torment,' which also belongs to *exercere*; Ec 1[13] 'this sore travail hath God given to the sons of man to be exercised therewith,' and 3[10]. The Heb. is עָנָה, 'to be bowed down.' Cf. Fuller, *Holy Warre* (ed. 1640, p. 155), 'they had to do with Meladine King of Egypt, who lay besides them, . . . exercising the Christians with continual skirmishes.' Milton has the same sense in *Par. Lost*, ii. 89—

> 'Where pain of unextinguishable fire
> Must exercise us without hope of end';

and *Par. Reg.* i. 156—

> 'But first I mean
> To exercise him in the wilderness.'

As a *subst.*: **1.** Wis 8[18] 'in the exercise of conference with her, prudence' (ἐν συγγυμνασίᾳ ὁμιλίας, RV 'assiduous communing,' RVm 'practice of communion'); 1 Ti 4[8] 'bodily exercise profiteth little' (σωματικὴ γυμνασία). **2.** In 1 Mac 1[14] and 2 Mac 4[9] the complaint is made that a Greek 'place of exercise' had been erected in Jerusalem. The Gr. is γυμνάσιον. See Games. In 2 Mac 4[14] ἐν παλαίστρᾳ is similarly translated 'in the place of exercise,' RV 'in the palæstra.' See Palæstra.

J. Hastings.

EXILE.—See Israel.

EXODUS AND JOURNEY TO CANAAN.—

i. Route of the Exodus.
ii. From Egypt to Sinai.
iii. From Sinai to Kadesh.
iv. From Kadesh to the Jordan.

i. Route of the Exodus.—The question of the route of the Exodus has had a good deal of light thrown upon it in recent times, from the standpoint both of archæology and of literature. On the one hand, the work of excavation of lost cities and monuments has gone far to negative certain hypotheses as to the Exodus, if not to render them impossible; and, on the other hand, the decipherment of inscriptions and papyri belonging to the time of the Exodus has furnished us with geographical and historical annotations of the highest value. It must not be supposed that the result is an unmixed confirmation of the biblical account. A recently-deciphered Egyptian inscription, for example, shows that the Bĕnê-Israel were already in Palestine at the time of the Exodus, so that the migration must have been partial and not national. But with this point we are not concerned in the present article, whose business is to indicate what was the route of the Exodus on the hypothesis that it actually took place.

Even though we are not yet in a position to completely vindicate the historical character of the Exodus, we may do much to extract a correct geography from the accounts, and so to prepare the way for accurate history. The researches, for instance, of Naville have practically settled the first stages in the line of march; and in the same way a closer knowledge of the Sinaitic peninsula encourages the belief that there is more to be urged in favour of the traditional Sinai than can be brought forward against it. [See Sinai.] We acquire in this way what are almost fixed points in the route, without being troubled by *à priori* considerations as to whether the whole of the story is historical or whether any of it is miraculous. Indeed this last consideration might altogether be omitted; for as regards such a question as the actual passage of the sea, the configuration of the land at the head of the Gulf of Suez and across the Isthmus is such that the shallow waters of the sea and detached lakes furnish exactly the situation for such a transit as is poetically called a passage 'in the heart of the Red Sea.' Moreover, the action of wind upon shallow water has been constantly the cause of phenomenal effects which are not far removed from the miraculous statements in Exodus. For example, the Russians in 1738 entered the Crimea, which was strongly fortified against them by the Turks, at the Isthmus of Perekop, by a passage made for them by the wind through the shallow waters of the Putrid Sea at the N.W. corner of the Sea of Azov. And Major-General Tulloch has recorded an instance even more to the point, when, as he himself observed, *under a strong east wind* the waters of Lake Menzaleh at the entrance to the Suez Canal receded for a distance of 7 miles (see *Journal of Victoria Institute*, vol. xxviii. p. 267). Other instances of the same effect, which would be counted miraculous if they had been biblical, may be found in a paper by Naville (*Jour. Vict. Instit.* xxvi. p. 12). We may therefore lay on one side any question of direct miraculous agency: where the phenomena are so nearly natural to the country, we may be content to say that they are not necessarily unhistorical, and that the question of miracle is merely one of interpretation. Nor need we be delayed in our inquiry by considerations as to whether the story has suffered from over-colouring; both the numbers of the persons involved and the length of their supposed stay in the desert may be deferred,

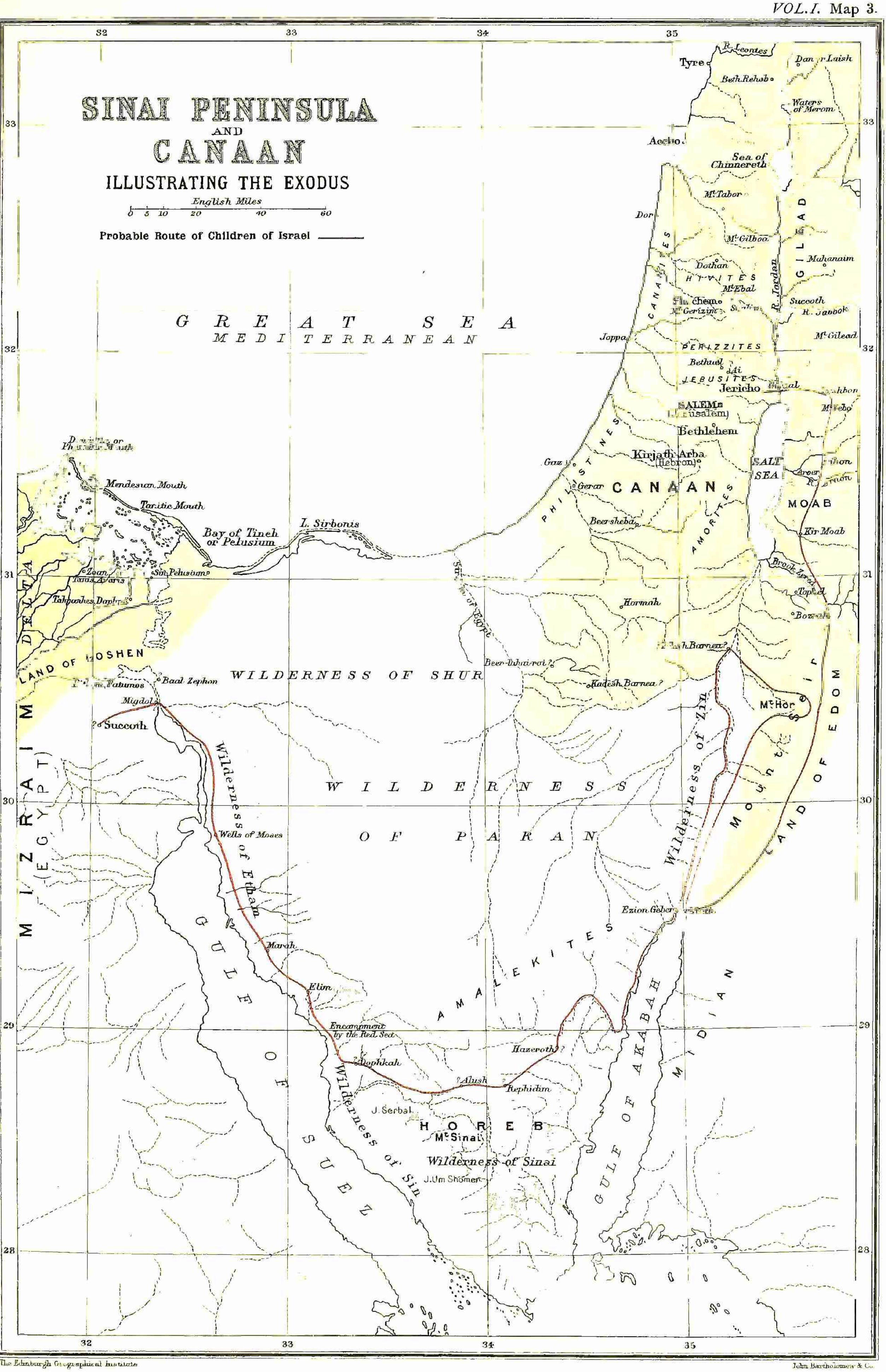

SINAI PENINSULA AND CANAAN ILLUSTRATING THE EXODUS

English Miles 0 5 10 20 40 60

Probable Route of Children of Israel

32
33
34
35
31
30
29
28
GREAT SEA
MEDITERRANEAN
Tyre
R. Leontes
Dan or Laish
Beth Rehob
Waters of Merom
Accho
Sea of Chinnereth
Mt. Tabor
Dor
Mt. Gilboa
GILEAD
Mahanaim
Dothan
HIVITES
Mt. Ebal
R. Jordan
Succoth
R. Jabbok
Mt. Gerizim
Joppa
Mt. Gilead
PERIZZITES
Bethuel
Ai
JEBUSITES
Jericho
CANAANITES
SALEM
Jerusalem
Bethlehem
Kirjath Arba (Hebron)
SALT SEA
Gaza
Gerar
CANAAN
PHILISTINES
AMORITES
Aroer
R. Arnon
MOAB
Beersheba
Kir Moab
L. Sirbonis
Bay of Tineh or Pelusium
Mendesian Mouth
Tanitic Mouth
Zoan
Tanis Avaris
Sin Pelusium
Tahpanhes Daphnae
DELTA
LAND OF GOSHEN
Baal Zephon
Pithom Patumos
Migdol
Succoth
Stream of Egypt
Brook Zered
Tophel
Hormah
Bozrah
Kadesh Barnea?
Beer-lahai-roi?
Kadesh Barnea?
WILDERNESS OF SHUR
Mt. Hor
Mount Seir
LAND OF EDOM
MIZRAIM (EGYPT)
Wilderness of Etham
WILDERNESS OF PARAN
Wilderness of Zin
Wells of Moses
Ezion Geber
AMALEKITES
Marah
GULF OF SUEZ
Elim
GULF OF AKABAH
MIDIAN
Encampment by the Red Sea
Dophkah
Hazeroth?
Alush
Rephidim
J. Serbal
HOREB
Mt. Sinai
Wilderness of Sin
Wilderness of Sinai
J. Um Shomer

The Edinburgh Geographical Institute

John Bartholomew & Co.

if thought fit, for future examination. The account is not to be judged from its weakest points.

The best way to form an idea as to what such a migration would be like, is to compare it with an annual phenomenon of a similar character, viz. the Mecca pilgrimage from Cairo. The analogy is a good one, inasmuch as the account in the Bk of Exodus expressly suggests that the Israelites wished to go into the wilderness for the purpose of a *haj* (the Heb. word in Exodus 10[9] *hag* is, in fact, the same that is applied to the modern festival, and to the route taken by the pilgrims). What point was aimed at in the proposed three days' journey into the wilderness must remain uncertain; it has been suggested that it was Sarbut el-Khadeem, on the northern road to Mt. Sinai, where the remains of famous Egyptian temples are still to be seen. But, wherever it was, the Israelites could do what the Mecca pilgrims are in the habit of doing; nor is there any *à priori* reason why we should regard the account of the migration as antecedently improbable.

We may go further, and say that whatever may be objected against the general facts of the Exodus, the list of stations (or *mansiones*) in the wilderness which is given in Nu has every appearance of being part of a conventional itinerary or pilgrim book, and is therefore susceptible of identification and verification, altogether apart from the history in which it is embedded. All that we have to do with such data is to make such literary and topographical investigations as will determine whether the routes indicated are possible, and the stages of the journey feasible.

One of the first things that will strike the careful reader of the account of the first stages of the Exodus is that there is a certain verisimilitude about the nomenclature. It is a mixture of Egyptian and Hebrew. Pithom and Pihahiroth are certainly Egyptian; Migdol and Baal-zephon as certainly Hebrew; Succoth will be shown to be a mere Heb. perversion of an Egyp. name; and there is even a suspicion that alternative names in the two languages are found in the narrative, as when the desert into which the Israelites go out is called in one place the desert of Etham, and in another the desert of Shur. This is as it should be, if we bear in mind that we are on the frontier of Egypt, that the country next the frontier on both sides is in the hands of a Semitic people, and that the fortifications and great cities are in the care of the Egyptian Government.

The locality from which the Israelites emigrated is defined by the two store-cities, **Rameses** and **Pithom**, which they built for Pharaoh. From Rameses they started, and their first encampment is **Succoth**, which Naville has shown to be the equivalent of Pithom. The identification of the two cities is of the first importance. According to Brugsch (*L'Exode et les monuments Égyptiens*, Leipzig, 1875), we are to identify Rameses with Zoan (Tanis), and to place Pithom and the district of Succoth in the N.E. corner of the Delta, between Tanis and Pelusium. He then adopts a surprising suggestion (previously ventured by Schleiden), that the Israelites passed along the shore of the Mediterranean on a neck of land between that sea and the ancient Serbonian lake; that the Egyptians followed them along the same course, but were overtaken by a rush of water from the Mediterranean and destroyed. On this hypothesis he identifies **Etham** with the fortification on the frontier of Egypt, **Migdol** with a Magdolon mentioned in the Antonine Itinerary as being 12 miles from Pelusium, and **Baal-zephon** with Mt. Casius; the supposed Red Sea (*yam ṣuph*) turns out to be the Serbonian lake, as is suggested by the name (*yam ṣuph*=sea of weeds). Unfortunately, this theory, which is stated with great confidence and simplicity by Brugsch, appears to be almost fatally vitiated by the fact that Pithom has been found somewhere else than on the Mediterranean seaboard, where Brugsch had located it. It is to Naville that we owe this important discovery. His excavation of the mounds known as Tell el-Mashkuta, in the Wady Tumilat, on the line of railway from Zagazig to Suez, and in close proximity to the modern Sweet-water Canal and to the line of the ancient Sweet-water Canal, has proved conclusively that this place is Pithom ['abode of Tum'], and that its secular name, or at all events the name of the adjacent district, is Thuket, which may be equated with the Heb. Succoth. It is curious that the French engineers had suspected this mound to be the site of Rameses, and had named the adjacent railway station accordingly. It seems probable that Rameses will be found in the excavation of the mound Tell el-Kebir; Tanis is clearly excluded by Naville's discoveries. We are thus led to conclude in favour of an exodus along the line of the ancient canal, and the fugitives following this course would soon reach the frontier of Egypt and be stopped by the fortifications which ran along the Isthmus from north to south. This is the station Etham, which appears to coincide with the Egyptian *χetem* or *fortification*, and to be the same thing as is meant by the Heb. *shur* or *wall*. [The only difficulty in this identification lies in the fact that we should have expected a stronger guttural in the beginning of the Heb. word]. The route is evidently one of the main roads out of Egypt; and we may compare it with a papyrus translated by Goodwin, which describes the pursuit of runaway slaves who follow this very road, and whose journey is described in very similar terms.

Several difficulties now present themselves. One of them relates to the question as to whether the head of the Gulf of Suez was not at the time of the Exodus much farther north than at present, and whether the sea was not actually connected with the Bitter Lakes. In that case the transit may very well have been made at the head of the Bitter Lakes. There is much to be said in favour of this hypothesis.

Unfortunately, none of the places mentioned in connexion with this part of the Exodus have been identified. Pihahiroth, Migdol, and Baal-zephon have all to be located. It has been suggested that Baal-zephon [Typhon] is the mountain Ataka to the S. of Suez, and that it is dedicated to the god of the north wind because Phœnician sailors used to pray for fair wind on their voyages down the Red Sea. Our own impression is that the case has not yet been made out for moving the head of the Red Sea so far north as the Bitter Lakes, and that it is more likely that the crossing took place not far north of the present Suez. [Its ancient Greek name *Clysma* appears to carry a tradition of the disaster]. The test for a true solution would appear to lie in a search for Baal-zephon, especially by examination of Mt. Casius on the shore of the Mediterranean, and of Jebel Ataka at the head of the Red Sea.

ii. FROM EGYPT TO SINAI.—After crossing the frontier of Egypt the Israelites go three days in the wilderness and find no water. It has been suggested that they went by the *haj* route right across the plateau of the Tih to Akabah, and that this Akabah (or Elath, as it is called in OT) is the Elim of the itinerary, where they found wells of water and palm trees, and from which they proceeded to a Mt. Sinai in Midian. We are not able to accept the theory of a Midianite Sinai. It seems more probable that the route described is that taken by travellers to the traditional Sinai, which is the same as was taken by St. Silvia of Aquitaine in the 4th century. The route goes along the wilderness between the plateau of the Tih and the E. shore of the Red Sea. **Marah** (see sep. art.) is not identified with any reasonable probability; but **Elim**, which follows it, may very well be the Wady Ghurundel, where there are even at the present time wells and palms (see Elim). From this point the road to Sinai bifurcates; the northern road goes by the Egyptian mines and temples of Sarbut el-Khadeem, the southern winds by the Wady Tayibeh until it strikes the seashore: this is, then, the **encampment by the sea** (see sep. art.) of Nu 33^{10}; following the shore, the ancient Egyptian port and road are reached, and the route turns inland, passing the entrance to the Wady Maghara, where are the oldest Egyptian mines. This is probably the station **Dophkah** (see sep. art.) of Numbers, Dophkah being a misreading of Mafkah, the Egyp. name for the blue stone which they obtained from the mines in this region. The next station, **Alush**, is not known; it was probably not far beyond the Wady Mukattab or 'written valley' through which the road now passes. The next stage is **Rephidim**, which is commonly identified with *Feiran*, the oasis of the peninsula, the ancient Faran and Paran, and from this point the road winds through the long Wady es-Sheykh, until by a long detour (or, if preferred, by a short cut through a pass called Nukb el-Hawa, or 'Pass of the Wind') the plain is reached at the foot of **Mt. Sinai**, where the Israelites are supposed to have assembled for the giving of the Law. The most striking identification on this route is the encampment on the seashore five days after having left it. But it is clear that, striking as this is, the same thing is true of the route of the Mecca pilgrims: so it can hardly be called a conclusive identification. It is a very weighty consideration that the name Sinai implies a place of sanctity [Sin = the Babylonian moon-god] from very early times; but no Babylonian signs or inscriptions have been found which would settle conclusively that the traditional Sinai is the same as the biblical one. The route described is an ancient trade route of Nabatæan traders before the Christian era and in the early years of the Christian era. It is *not* a road worked out by biblical explorers, as has sometimes been suggested. See further art. Sinai.

Literature.—The student should consult, *inter alia*, Robinson, *Biblical Researches* (1841, 3rd ed. 1867); Ebers, *Durch Gosen zum Sinai* (2nd ed. Leipzig, 1881); Lepsius, *Tour from Thebes to the Peninsula of Sinai in* 1845 (Eng. by Cottrell, London, 1846); Naville, *Store City of Pithom* (Publications of Egypt. Exploration Fund); Brugsch, *L'Exode et les Monuments Égyptiens* (Leipzig, 1875, Eng. tr. 1879); Gamurrini, *Peregrinatio Sylviæ* (Rome, 1887).

iii. From Sinai to Kadesh.—About this portion of the route little need be said. The account in Nu 10^{11} states that the first march from Sinai was into the wilderness of Paran. This is described in v.^{33} as a three days' journey; and the places mentioned as on the route are Taberah (Nu 11^{3}), Kibroth-hattaavah, and Hazeroth (11$^{34. 35}$), whence they removed into the wilderness of Paran (12^{16}), and from this place (13^{3}) the spies were sent out. Taberah is not mentioned in the itinerary of Nu 33. In Dt 1^{2} the whole route from Horeb to Kadesh-barnea is described as eleven days' journey by the way of Mt. Seir. This indicates a route from Sinai by way of 'Aḳabah to Kadesh, and accordingly travellers have sought to identify Kibroth-hattaavah and Hazeroth with points in the route between Sinai and 'Aḳabah. Further particulars are given in the articles on those names; and for the names which follow Hazeroth in Nu 33, see iv. and the article on Kadesh.

iv. From Kadesh to the Jordan.—The accounts of this part of the route are found in Nu 20. 21, Dt 1. 2, and in the itinerary of Nu 33. Nu 20. 21 are composite in character, as will be seen from the following analysis (taken from Driver's *LOT*^{6} p. 66):—

P	20^{1a}		^{2}		$^{3b-4}$		$^{6-13}$		$^{22-29}$		^{4a}		$^{10.\ 11}$
JE		^{1b}		^{3a}		^{5}		$^{14-21}$		21^{1-3}		$^{4b-9}$	

P		22^{1}
JE	21^{12-35}	

The first verse of Nu 20 deserves special notice. Its first clause (as far as the word 'month') is due to P. According to that authority, the spies were sent out from the wilderness of Paran, and in *that* wilderness (Nu 14^{29}) the children of Israel remained until the rebellious generation had been consumed. They then moved in the first month (apparently of the fortieth year, and for the first time) into the wilderness of Zin. The next clause, 'and the people abode in Kadesh,' etc., is due to another source, which represents the stay in Kadesh as a prolonged one, and associates with that stay many events, but without assigning dates. Two of these events are recorded in Nu 20$^{2-21}$: the first, the judgment passed on Moses and Aaron at Meribah (vv.$^{2-13}$), presents difficulties which cannot here be fully discussed, but the following considerations make it probable that this incident occurred at an early period of the sojourn at Kadesh: (*a*) the account is in many points similar to that in Ex 17$^{1-7}$; (*b*) lack of water would have been felt soon after the arrival at Kadesh, rather than at the close of their sojourn there; and the complaint, Nu 20$^{4. 5}$, seems more appropriate in the mouths of those who remembered the fleshpots of Egypt, than of those who, having left Egypt in youth, had since passed forty years in the desert; (*c*) according to Dt 1^{37} the exclusion of Moses from the promised land was decreed about the same time as the general sentence was pronounced against the generation which came up out of Egypt. Hence two alternatives: either the account Nu 20$^{2-13}$ which gives the reason for the exclusion must describe the same event as that referred to Dt 1^{37} (*i.e.* an event which happened soon after the return of the spies, and therefore at an early period of the journeyings), or there are two varying traditions as to when and why Moses was not permitted to cross the Jordan.

The second passage (Nu 20$^{14-21}$) records Edom's refusal to allow a passage through his territory to the children of Israel, in consequence of which they journeyed 'by the way to the Red Sea to compass the land of Edom' (Nu 21^{4}). Comparing this with Dt 2^{1}, very similar language is there used to describe a compassing of Edom, which is assigned to an earlier stage of the journeyings. It is reasonable to suppose that this circuitous route was adopted because a more direct course towards the E. side of the Dead Sea was not open; Edom's conduct, as described in Nu 20, though not recorded in Dt, was the cause of, and therefore prior to, the compassing mentioned in Dt. Hence both the events in Nu 20$^{2-21}$, though in their present connexion they appear as incidents of the fortieth year, may belong to an earlier period of the journeyings. Two distinct geographical pictures of the period are presented,—the one, that of JE, figures Kadesh as the scene of the middle portion of the journey, and is to be traced in Dt 1. 2 (with which the brief summary in Jg 11$^{16-18}$ should be compared); the other, that of P, locates these events partly in Paran and partly in Zin. The combination of the two, with the introduction of exact dates, has produced difficulties which are to be explained, not by the assumption of two places bearing the name of Kadesh, nor by the assumption of a second visit to Kadesh (which is nowhere indicated, and seems excluded by Dt 2^{14}), but by the resolution of the narrative into its original components.

In the list of stations (Nu 33) **Kadesh** does not occur until v.^{36}, where it is identified with **Zin**, immediately precedes Mt. Hor, and is only eight stations removed from the final settlement in the plains of Jordan. This itinerary makes the identification of Zin with Kadesh, which is implied in Nu 20, and refers to Kadesh for the first and only time towards the close of the journeyings. It might be expected that Paran would be found in an earlier part of the chapter, but it is not; the stations from Egypt, as far as Hazeroth, correspond closely with those mentioned in the narrative portions of Ex and Nu, but after Hazeroth [instead of either Paran or Kadesh] twelve stations are given (Rithmah . . . Hashmonah, vv.$^{18-29}$), the names of which occur only in these verses, and no event happening in connexion with these places is anywhere recorded. It has been suggested that Rithmah, or some other of these names, is a designation of Kadesh, but nothing in the nature of an argument has been advanced in favour of such a hypothesis.

The wilderness of Paran (Nu 13^{3}) is a vague indication of locality for the events described in Nu 13. 14, and it may be that more than one of these twelve stations were within that area, but there is no indication that such is the case. The list of Nu 33 has been incorporated with the narrative without specifying the place where the important events recorded in Nu 13. 14 and Dt 1 happened. In this respect the list is independent of the narrative, and any attempt to establish a connexion between the two must be conjectural.

The eight stations following Hashmonah (Moseroth–Mt. Hor) must next be considered. With the first four may be compared the fragment of an itinerary preserved in Dt $10^{6.7}$. They are as follows:—

Nu 33^{30-33}.	Dt $10^{6.7}$.
Moseroth.	Beeroth Bene-jaakan
Bene-jaakan.	Moserah.
Hor-haggidgad.	Gudgodah.
Jotbathah.	Jotbathah.

There can be little doubt that the same four places are referred to in both passages, and it seems also reasonable to suppose that the same part of the journeyings is described in both. The inversion of order, Moseroth preceding Bene-jaakan in the one, and following in the other, may be attributed to an error of transcription, or explained by supposing that some of the wells of the Bene-jaakan were visited both before and after the encampment at Moseroth. **Moserah** is noted (Dt 10) as the place where Aaron died and was buried, and must therefore be close to Mt. Hor, probably the place of encampment at its base. Further, as Abronah and Ezion-geber follow these four places in Nu, and the position of Ezion-geber at the head of the Gulf of 'Akabah is known, it follows that these stations describe the journey from Mt. Hor down the Arabah to the Red Sea. Pursuing the journey from this point, as described Dt 2^{8}, the children of Israel passed 'from the way of the Arabah from Elath and from Ezion-geber.' This is generally explained by supposing that they completed the circuit of Edom by compassing it on its E. side. From the S. end of the Arabah a valley called Wady Ithem leads upwards in a N.E. direction to the high table-land which lies to the E. of Edom and Moab, across which runs the *Haj* route from Damascus to Mecca. Along or near this route the children of Israel, after leaving the Arabah by Wady Ithem, passed in a N. direction until they reached **Iye-abarim** in the wilderness which is before Moab towards the sunrising (Nu 21), the next definite geographical indication afforded in the narrative.

But against accepting this view of the journey, it may be argued as follows: The two stations in Nu 33^{36-41} which follow Ezion-geber are the wilderness of Zin (Kadesh) and Mt. Hor. These verses imply that, after reaching the Gulf of 'Akabah, instead of bearing eastward as above described the children of Israel retraced their steps along the Arabah to visit Mt. Hor, on the occasion of Aaron's death and burial. Moseroth is separated by six stations from Mt. Hor, and, if the identity of Dt $10^{6.7}$ with Nu 33^{30-34} be maintained, there are two statements concerning the time and place of Aaron's death which cannot be reconciled. In order to harmonize the accounts, many commentators consider that the stations in Dt $10^{6.7}$ have nothing to do with the same names in Nu 33^{30-34}, but must be supplied as part of the journey from Mt. Hor to Zalmonah (Nu 33^{41}). The omission of these stations in Nu 33 is explained by supposing that names which have been previously mentioned are not repeated in this list. Besides the double visit to Kadesh, two visits to Mt. Hor (for Moserah or Moseroth must be considered as equivalent to Mt. Hor) and two journeys down the Arabah to Ezion-geber must be assumed, before the narrative of Dt $2^{8\text{ff.}}$ can be combined with Nu 33 from Zalmonah onwards, as representing the final departure from the Arabah on the way to the E. of Moab. This reiterated duplication of events, inferred from combining the accounts, but nowhere indicated in the narrative, raises more than a suspicion that this harmonistic interpretation, though possible, does not represent the actual progress of the journey. The main difficulty arises from the position of Zin and Mt. Hor following Ezion-geber in Nu 33^{36-41}. Ewald proposes (*Hist. of Isr.* ii. 201, Eng. tr.) to remove vv.$^{36b-41a}$ from where they now stand, and insert them after Hashmonah in ver.^{30}. The order of the stations would then be Hashmonah, Zin, Mt. Hor, Moseroth, Bene-jaakan, Hor-haggidgad, Jotbathah, Ebronah, Ezion-geber, Zalmonah, etc. The necessity for assuming the unproved duplication of events is removed, and the direction of the journey would be as traced above. The obvious criticism of Ewald's hypothesis is, that if the arrangement he proposes were the original one, it is difficult to understand why a change which introduces such difficulties should have been made. May a slight variation of his hypothesis be suggested? The verses which he would transpose differ in character from the rest of the chapter; instead of giving only names, they relate events and furnish details. May they be regarded as a later addition? If so, they may be either omitted or transferred, and the same result attained. One other alternative remains: the insertion of Zin and Mt. Hor after Ezion-geber indicates a movement up the Arabah northwards. This northern direction may have been continued to the Dead Sea, where a turn eastwards would bring the children of Israel to the E. side of Moab. The compassing of Edom would then be on its W. and N. border. In favour of this it may be suggested that an Israelite might understand the border of Edom to mean the border towards his own land. So long as the sites of Zalmonah and the stations following remain uncertain, this interpretation of the existing text of Nu $33^{41\text{ff.}}$ cannot be rejected as impossible, though it would represent a tradition different from that followed in Nu 21^{4} and (probably) Dt 2^{8}.

The concluding section from the **E. of Moab** onwards is comparatively free from ambiguity, though definite identification of places is wanting here as in the preceding stages. The children of Israel cross the brooks Zered and **Arnon** (Nu 21$^{12.13}$). The latter is by general consent identified with the Wady Mojib, a stream which is fed by many tributaries, and falls into the Dead Sea about the middle of its E. side. The deep valley, about three miles broad, through which it passes, is a marked feature of the district, and forms a natural boundary line. It was the southern limit of the territory assigned to Israel on the E. of Jordan. The position of the brook **Zered** is uncertain. The Wady el-Ahsa, which runs into the Dead Sea at its S. extremity, is too far south to be identified with it, for Iye-abarim to the E. of Moab is reached before crossing it (Nu 21^{11}). The Wady Feranjy, the upper portion of the stream passing by Kerak and reaching the Dead Sea at the promontory called El-Lisan, or the main affluent of Wady Mojib (that coming from the S.E.), may with greater probability be considered as the ancient Zered. The nomenclature of the tributaries of Wady Mojib is somewhat unsettled, but Bliss, when exploring the country of Moab in March 1895 (see his memoir in *PEFSt*, 1895) took special pains to ascertain the names assigned to them. He follows Tristram in giving the name of Wady Sa'ideh to the E. affluent of the Wady Mojib and not to the S.E. branch, which is generally so called in maps and commentaries. The description in Buhl (*Geog. d. Alten Palästina*, p. 51) is again different. Until arriving at the Arnon, the Israelites probably crossed the upper courses of the rivers and kept away from Moab towards the E. They would thus obey the injunction not to meddle with Moab, and find the rivers shallower, and more easy of passage. The deep and rugged sides of these streams for some distance from their outlets into the Dead Sea cause considerable difficulty to the modern traveller, and would have been impracticable for the hosts of Israel. But after crossing the Arnon it was necessary to turn W. and afterwards in a N.W. direction in order to reach **Dibon-Gad** and the mountains of **Abarim**—the high ridge to the E. of the N. extremity of the Dead Sea from which they descended into the plains of Jordan, opposite Jericho. The names given in Nu 21$^{18-20}$ are different from those in the itinerary of Nu 33, but the last-named place, 'the top of Pisgah that looketh toward Jeshimon' ('the desert' RV), indicates a spot on the Abarim range whence W. Palestine and the Jordan valley were visible. The last stage, Nu 22^{1}, is given with additional detail in Nu 33$^{48.49}$.

LITERATURE.—Commentaries on the Books of Nu and Dt, especially those of Dillmann in the *Kurzgef. Exeg. Handb. z. Alten Testament* and Driver on Dt in the *Internat. Crit. Comm.*, may be consulted for further information. Trumbull's *Kadesh-Barnea* discusses the whole route from Egypt to Canaan, and contains a full list of ancient and modern works dealing with the subject. See also Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, and Köhler, *Biblische Geschichte A.T.s.*

J. RENDEL HARRIS AND A. T. CHAPMAN.

EXODUS (וְאֵלֶּה שְׁמוֹת, or simply שְׁמוֹת; Ἔξοδος: see HEXATEUCH) is the 2nd Book in the Heb. Canon. It is also the 2nd division of the great composite work which contains in one complex whole all that has been preserved of old Heb. writings about the origins of the Isr. people. So much is here assumed, and, further, that it is generally possible, if not to distribute the material among four distinct documents, at least to assign it to one or other of four differing schools of writing, Jahwistic, Elohistic, Deuteronomic, and Priestly (referred to as J, E, D, P),* whose relative age is shown by the order of the names, the periods of the first two overlapping. For the proof of this, and for general matters of introduction, see HEXATEUCH.

Our aim here is to exhibit the results of such an analysis in detail, with a condensed account of the chief grounds on which it rests. For information about persons, places, things, events, institutions, laws, the student is referred to the separate articles.

The book covers the period from the death of Joseph to the erection of the Tabernacle, and is mainly historical, but contains important legislative sections. It falls readily into three parts—I. Israel in Egypt; II. From Egypt to Sinai; III. At Sinai. The method of treatment here adopted needs little explanation. In the Summary small reference letters show what documents contain the material next following: the sign ‖ preceding means that the parallel is to be found in another chapter or section. The numbers refer to the chapters.

Thus, by following J, E, and P through in turn, the main contents of the documents can be severally traced, and the amount of coincidence noted.

I. ISRAEL IN EGYPT: 1–13^{16}.

A. Summary.

1 ^{JEP}Increase, and $^{JE\|P}$oppression of Israel. 2 ^{E}Birth and adoption of Moses; ^{J}his violence, flight, and $^{J\|E}$marriage. 3–4 ^{JE}Theophany and $^{JE\|P}$Commission of Mos. and Aar. ^{JE}Mos. returns, and ^{J}convinces the people by signs. 5 ^{JE}Freedom claimed, bondage increased. 6–7^{7} $^{P\|JE}$Commission of Mos. and Aar. 7^{8}–12 Eleven ^{JEP} wonders —7$^{8-13}$ ^{P}Rod becomes serpent, magicians copy; 7$^{14-25}$ ^{JEP}Nile smitten, ^{P}magicians copy; 8$^{1-15}$ ^{JP}frogs, ^{P}magicians copy; 8$^{16-19}$ ^{P}lice, magicians fail; 8$^{20-32}$ ^{J}flies; 9$^{1-7}$ ^{J}murrain; 9$^{8-12}$ ^{P}blains, magicians suffer; 9$^{13-35}$ ^{JE}hail; 10$^{1-20}$ ^{JE}locusts; 10$^{21-29}$ ^{E}darkness; ^{J}banishment of Moses, who 11 ^{JE}prophesies death of firstborn and release of Isr. 12–13^{16} ^{JP}Rules for Passover and Feast of Unleav. Bread; ^{J}death of firstborn, and ^{JEP}exodus of Isr.; ^{JP}law of firstlings.

B. Analysis.

^{r} marks editorial revision; ° shows supplements from documents of the same school; ′ editorial insertions and expansions; ″ harmonizing and other relatively later additions by R^{je}, R^{d}, and R^{p}; [ ] enclose *vv.* forming a displaced passage; ... show that something has dropped out; and if with [...] that the material is found elsewhere; a, b, etc., mark *vv.* subdivided.

	1	2	3
J	6 8–12 20b	...11–23a	[2–4a 5 7–9a
E	...15–20a 21f.	1–10...	1^{r} 4b 6...
P	1–5 7 13f.	23b–25	

	3	4
J	16–18 19f.″	1–12 13–16°]^{a} 19–20a 24·26 ^{a}[...]29·31^{r}
E	9b–15 ...21f.	?14b 17f. 20b 21·23″ 27f.
P		

	5	6	7
J	...3 5–23		14 ...16·17a to *smite*...
E	1ab″ 2 4	?1	15^{r} ...17b
P		2–5 6–8′ 9–12 13–30′	1–13

	7	8	9
J	18 ...21a 24f.	1–4 ...8–15 20–32	1–7 13
E	...20b 23		
P	19–20a 21b–22	5–7 16–19	8–12

	9	10
J	14–16′ 17f. 19–21″ 23b 24b 25b–34	1a 1b–3a′
E	22–23a 24a 25a 35ab″	
P		

	10	11
J	3b–11 13b 14b–15a... 15c–19 24–26 28f.	4–8 9f.
E	12–13a 14a 15b 20–23 27	1–3
P		

---

* J^{s} (=J-supplements), E^{s} etc., denote later elements, while P^{g} is often used for the original groundwork of the Priestly Document before enlarged by the numerous additions marked P^{s}; P^{h} stands for the Holiness legislation of Lv 17–26 with kindred passages. R stands for one of the redactors, who (1) edited J and E into a single whole JE, in this case cited as R^{je}; or (2) combined JE with D, cited as R^{d}; or (3) supplemented P^{g} and combined P with JED, and so are called R^{p}. In Exodus, of course, D is not found, and only here and there traces of R^{d}.

	12	13
J	21a 21b–23° 24–27″ 27b 29–34 37–39	3f.° 5″ 6f.° 8-10″ 11-13° 14–16″
E	…35f.″	
P	1–13 14–20′ 28 40–42″ 43–50 51″	1f.

Note that no passage has been analyzed unless there is reasonable probability, usually indeed practical certainty, that it is composite; but obviously some of the *details* of divisions of verses must be rather possible than always definitely probable. The analysis has, however, been carried as far as possible, as being more helpful thus to the student. If any one will take the trouble to mark, (say) with blue, black, and red inks, the analysis on a copy of the RV or the Heb. text, and to underline the phrases, etc., referred to under iii. and iv., and then read through all the passages assigned to each document consecutively, he will gain the best possible notion of the reality of the analysis, and the distinct character of the documents.

Displaced passage.—The J portions of 3 and 4^{1-12} prob. stood originally before 4^{29}. Yahweh has already told Moses *in Midian* (4^{19}) to go back to Egypt, and the theophany accordingly seems to belong to Goshen, or (better) to the journey thither.

C. Parallels and Contrasts.

Each set is marked with the same letter under J, E, and P, respectively to facilitate comparison. † after refs. means that all the instances in the OT are given; * that all in the Hexateuch are mentioned; italics denote biblical quotations; and capitals are used sometimes for emphatic words.

J—(a) The people live in *Goshen* 8^{22} 9^{26} Gn 45^{10} etc. (only in J); (b) a separate district, so that they and their cattle could be differentiated from the Egyptians $8^{4.9.11}$ 8^{22} $9^{4.6}$ 9^{28}; only brought in gangs into Egypt for forced labour $5^{5ff.}$; away from the Nile, so that its pollution seems to cause no inconvenience $7^{21.24}$; (c) so numerous as to alarm the king 1^{9-12}, 600,000 12^{37} Nu 11^{21} cf. Nu 10^{36}; (d) cattle owners Gn $46^{32.34}$ $47^{3.8}$ having *flocks and herds* $10^{9.24}$ $12^{32.38}$ 34^{3} Nu 11^{22} Gn 12^{16} 13^{5} 24^{35} 32^{7} 33^{13} 45^{10} 46^{32} 47^{1} 50^{8}; (e) Mos. demands 3 *days' journey* 3^{18} 5^{3} 8^{27} cf. Gn 30^{36} Nu 10^{33ab}, Nu 33^{8} R^{p}†) that they might *sacrifice to Yahweh* or (*our*) *God* 3^{18} $5^{3.8.17}$ $8^{8.25.27ff.}$, or *serve* Him 7^{16} $8^{1.20}$ $9^{1.13}$ $10^{3.\,etc.}$ 12^{31}; (f) the *wonders* or plagues before Pharaoh are 7, and are natural calamities, as disease of fish in Nile $7^{14ff.}$, when *Yahweh smites the river* $7^{17a.25}$; natural causes being sometimes specified, as the wind in the case of the locusts $10^{13.19}$ cf. 14^{21b}; Moses speaks freely on each occasion to Pharaoh, and the wonders follow the mere announcement; the hail is on every herb of the field 9^{25b} cf. 9^{22} and 10^{15c}, and locusts eat the remaining crops and the fruit; (g) the flight is hurried, at instigation of the Egypt. $12^{31ff.\,39}$; (h) Moses' *father-in-law* is *the priest of Midian* 2^{18} 4^{19} (3^{1} 18^{1} R^{je}) cf. Gn 41^{45}, unnamed here (for Reuel 2^{18} is prob. R^{je}), called *Hobab* Nu 10^{29} Jg 4^{11} 1^{18}; and Moses has one son 2^{22} 4^{24}; (i) sprinkling of blood is the main thing in the Passover, eating not mentioned 12^{21-23} J^{s}; (j) the name of God is *Yahweh* (*=Jehovah*), or *the God of* . . .; (k) (l) (see below).

E—(a) The people live in *the land of Egypt*, with no hint of separate district being assigned them; (b) rather they seem to be herded in the royal city among the houses $1^{15ff.}$; no immunity from plagues mentioned (*e.g.* hail 9^{25a}) except for the darkness; can beg of *neighbours* jewels, etc. 3^{22} 11^{2}; near the Nile 1^{22} 2^{1-10}; (c) only numerous enough to annoy the king, their women needing only 2 midwives $1^{15ff.}$, requiring only 600 chariots for pursuit 14^{7}; (d) royal pensioners Gn $46^{18.23}$, never mentioned as owning cattle; (e) Mos. demands merely that Isr. be let go $3^{10f.\,21f.}$ 5^{1a} (5^{1b} R^{je} to harmonize with J) 9^{35} 10^{20}, ulterior end being to get to Can. 13^{17-19} cf. Gn 48^{21}, and incidentally *to serve God on this mountain*, *i.e.* Horeb, more than 3 days' journey 3^{12}; (f) the wonders or plagues are 5, and have the miraculous element heightened, *e.g. Moses smites all the waters in the river*, and they *turn to blood* $7^{17b.20b}$; Moses only once speaks to Pharaoh 5^{1a}, and the wonders follow his mere gesture; the hail is *on man and beast* $9^{22.25a}$, while locusts devour *every herb of the land* $10^{12.15b}$; (g) departure deliberate, the people gathering supplies beforehand $11^{1f.}$; time to take up Joseph's bones 13^{19}; (h) Moses' *father-in-law* is *Jethro* 3^{1} 4^{18} 18, and he has *two sons* $18^{5f.}$, his wife being a *Cushite* Nu 12^{1}; (j) the name of God is *God* (Elohim) always up to 3^{15} and often afterwards, especially in phrases, *e.g. mount of God* 3^{1} 4^{27} 18^{5} 24^{13}*, *rod of God* 4^{20} 17^{9}†; *angel of God* 14^{19} Gn 21^{17} 28^{12} 31^{11} 32^{1}* cf. Ex 23^{20} 32^{34} Nu 20^{16}; *statutes of God* 18^{16}.

P—(a) The people live in Egypt $1^{1.5}$; (b) not in separate district, for *the land was filled with them* 1^{7}; no immunity mentioned; (f) the direct Divine agency in the wonders is emphasized; Aaron is always with Moses, and speaks, etc. 7^{1-7} etc. (while in J the insertion of Aaron 4^{13-16} seems due to J^{s}, for where Aaron or a plur. is found, as $8^{8.12a.25.28}$ 9^{27} $10^{16f.}$, the sing. is found close by $8^{9.12b.29}$ 9^{33} $10^{17a.18}$, Moses being sole speaker $7^{14.26}$ 8^{20} 9^{1-13} 10^{1}); (i) in the Passover the eating is the main thing, the sprinkling is not ordered to be repeated $12^{1-13.43-50}$; (j) the name of the Deity is always *God* up to 6^{2}, and always *Yahweh* (*=Jehovah*) afterwards.

(k) Moses' *rod* is the object of Divine power in J, being turned into a serpent (*nahash*) before the people 4^{2-4}; Moses' rod, given him by God 4^{17} and called *the rod of God* 4^{20} 17^{9}, is regularly the instrument of Divine power in E $7^{15.17b.20b}$ 9^{23} 10^{13} 14^{16} $17^{5.9}$; Aaron's rod is in P the object of Divine power, being turned into a serpent (*tannin*) before Pharaoh $7^{9f.}$, and also its instrument 7^{19} $8^{5.16f.}$ cf. Nu 17. For describing Pharaoh's obstinacy, we have (1) some form of *heavy* in 7^{14} $8^{15.32}$ $9^{7.34}$ J; (2) some form of *strong* 7^{23} 9^{35} $10^{20.27}$ E, and $7^{13.22}$ 8^{19} 9^{12} P, who moulds his almost unvarying phrase on 8^{15} J, but borrows *strong* from E.

D. Other Clues to the Analysis.

J—*That generation* 1^{6} (in P always plur.); *mighty* $1^{7.9.20b}$ Gn 26^{16} Nu 22^{6} etc.; *come*, or *go to* 1^{10} Gn $11^{3f.7}$ 38^{16}*; *falleth out* 1^{10} Gn $42^{4.38}$ 49^{1}; *enemies* (haters) 1^{10} Gn 24^{60}; *taskmasters* 1^{11}† cf. 3^{7} $5^{6.10.13f.}$*; *afflict* 1^{11} cf. 3^{7} 4^{31}; *who made thee a prince?* 2^{14} cf. Nu 16^{13}; *sought to slay* 2^{15} 4^{24} $2^{18b.}$ cf. Gn 27^{20}; *Angel of Jehovah* 3^{2} Nu 22^{22} etc. ct. Ex 14^{19} etc. E (see *C* j. above); *cry* $3^{7.9}$ Gn 4^{10}; *I am come down* 3^{8} $19^{11.18-20}$ Gn $11^{3.7}$ 18^{21} ct. Ex 33^{9} E, cf. Nu $11^{17.25}$ 12^{5} E^{s}*; *land flowing with milk and honey* $3^{8.17}$ 13^{5} 33^{3} Nu 13^{27} 14^{8} $16^{13f.}$ Jos 5^{6}, never in E; *Jehovah the God of the Hebrews* 3^{18} 5^{3} 7^{18} $9^{1.13}$ 10^{3}†; 3 *signs* to convince *the people* $4^{1-12.30}$; *lodging* 4^{24} Gn 42^{27} 43^{27} Jos $4^{3.8}$*; *intreat* $8^{8f.\,28-30}$ 9^{28} $10^{17f.}$ Gn 25^{21}*; *to-morrow*, $8^{10.23.29}$ $9^{5f.18}$ 10^{4}; *such as hath not been*, $9^{18.24}$ 10^{14} 11^{6}* cf. 10^{6}; *there remained not* . . . 8^{27} $10^{19.26}$ 14^{28} Gn 47^{18} Jos 8^{17}*; *mixed multitude* 12^{38} Nu 11^{4}; *the passover* 12^{21-27} 34^{25}; *unleavened bread* and *firstlings* 13^{3-16}, apparently quoted in $33^{18b-20a}$ J^{s} before deuteronomic expansion took place.

E—*fear* (towards God) $1^{17.21}$ 18^{21} 20^{20} Gn 20^{11} 22^{12} 42^{18} Dt $25^{18\,E}$ Jos 24^{14} (never in J); by the river's brink 2^{3} 7^{15}; *handmaid* 2^{5} (*=bondwoman* RVm 21^{7} etc.), never in J; 2^{10} cf. Gn 21^{8}; *Horeb* 3^{2} 17^{6} 33^{6}, never in J; . . . *here am I* 3^{4} Gn $22^{1.7.11.}$ $27^{1.18}$ 31^{11} 37^{13} $46^{2f.}$; *herb of the land* $10^{12.15}$*; *the man Moses* 11^{3} Nu 12^{3}; *by a strong hand*, of Pharaoh 6^{1ab}, of Edom Nu 20^{20}, ct. 3^{19} 13^{9} R^{d}, and Dt, of God; *one (to) another*, lit. *a man* (*to*) *his brother* 10^{23} 16^{15} Gn 37^{19} $42^{21.28}$ Nu 14^{14} cf. Gn 26^{31} ct. Gn 11^{3} Heb. J, Ex 25^{20} 37^{9} Lev 25^{14} P*.

P—See list of peculiar expressions in Driver's *Introd.*, Holzinger's *Einl. in d. Hex.*, or more fully still in the forthcoming Oxford Analytical ed. of the Hexateuch.

II. FROM EGYPT TO SINAI: 13^{17}–18.

A. Summary.

13^{17-22} ^{JEP}choice of route, ^{J}guided by the Pillar. 14 ^{JEP}crossing of Red Sea and fate of pursuers. 15 ^{JE}Song of Moses; ^{J}Marah, ^{E}(? Massah =proving), and ^{J}Elim. 16 $^{EP\|J}$Gift of manna and $^{P\|J}$quails, ^{P}provision for Sabbath and memorial pot of manna. 17 ^{JE}water given in drought, ^{J}at Massah, ^{E}at Meribah; ^{E}victory over Amalek. 18 $^{E\|J}$visit of Moses' father-in-law, ^{E}appointment of judges.

B. Analysis.

	13	14
J	21f.	5-6 10a *afraid* 11-14
E	17-19	...7*r* 9a 10b [...][a] ...15b
P	20	1-4 8 9b′c 15a

	14
J	19b 20b 21b 24 25b
E	...16a [a][19a 20a to *darkness*] 25a
P	16b-18 21ac 22 23*r*

	14	15
J	27b 28b 30 31′	1 22-25a 27
E	29″	?2-18 20f. 25b 26″
P	26-27a *sea* 28a	19′

	16
J	
E	4 15a 19a 16a 19b-21
P	1-3 5′ 8′ 9-12 6f. ...13f. 15b 16b 17f.′

	16	17
J		3 ...2b
E	35a	1b-2a to *me* 4-6
P	22-30′ 31 32-34′ 35b 36′	1a to *Rephidim*

	17	18
J	7a to *Massah* 7c	[2-4*r* 7 9-11*r*][d]
E	7b to *Israel* [8-16][b]	[1*r* 5f. 8 12-27][c]
P		

Displaced passages.—*b* is out of place here, and fits a later place in the narrative, as is shown by position assigned to Joshua at 33^{7-11}. *c* is also subsequent to the legislation at Horeb, and preparatory to departure for Can., cf. ^{23}. *d* perhaps led up to Nu 10^{29}.

C. Parallels and Contrasts.

J—(a) *Moses leads Isr.* 15^{22}, a vast host (see I *C* c), but unarmed and helpless 14^{11-14}, with *the Pillar of fire and cloud* for guide 13^{21} $14^{19b.24}$ Nu 14^{14}; (b) straight for the Red Sea, perhaps because the Isthmus was fortified: Pharaoh pursues for reasons given 14^{5}; (c) Moses uses no gesture, but brave words 14^{13} cf. I *C* f; *Jehovah causes the sea to go back by a strong east wind* ^{21a}, and then to *return to its wonted flow* ^{27b}, and the crossing is by night $^{20b.24.27b}$, the Pillar moving to the rear and giving light to Isr. $^{19b.20b}$ (read, *and it gave light by night*), while obscuring the Egyptians' path ^{24}; Jehovah fights for Isr. $^{14.25b}$; (d) Moses and Israel sing 15^{1}; (e) Isr. *tempts* or *proves J″* $17^{2.7ac}$ Nu 14^{22} cf. Dt 6^{16} 9^{22}; (f) see under **P** below; (g) the people *prove J″*, hence *the name Massah* or *proving* (see **e** above), and *murmur against Mos.* 15^{24} 17^{3} Nu 14^{2} cf. Nu 20^{5}, for water $17^{3.2b.7ac}$, which elsewhere in J is provided by natural causes, as $15^{22ff.27}$.

E—(a) *God leads* the people 13^{17} (cf. Jos 24^{6} E) few but armed ^{18}; (b) not by the Isthmus for fear of the Philistines ^{17}, but presumably by the next nearest route to Can. (cf. Jos 24^{6}, and see I *C* e); the Egypt. pursue Isr. (Jos 24^{6}), who cry out 14^{10b} (Jos 24^{7}); (c) the *rod* (I *C* k) is *lifted up* 14^{16a} cf. Is 10^{26}; the sea is crossed by day, for *the angel of God* (I *C* j) goes behind and interposes a barrier of darkness $^{19a.20a}$ (Jos 24^{7}), and then obstructs advance ^{25a} and overwhelms them (Jos 24^{7}); (d) *Miriam* and *the women* sing responsively $15^{20f.}$ cf. 1 S $18^{6f.}$, which suggests that we have here an independent account not following on 15^{1}, which is thus left for J; (e) *God proves* Isr. 15^{25b} 16^{4} 20^{2} Gn 22^{1} cf. Jg 2^{22} (Budde E) Dt $8^{2.16}$ 13^{4} Jg $3^{1.4}$ (? R^{d}) *; (f) the *proving* is by the test of their reception of each *day's portion* (dabar) of *bread from heaven* 16^{4}, *the thing* (dabar) *which Jehovah commanded* being to gather only for daily use *every man according to his eating*, *i.e.* a variable amount ($^{16a.19-21}$) cf. Dt $8^{2.16}$; *they knew not what it was*, and hence the name ^{15a} cf. Dt $8^{3.16}$, and it lasted *till they came to a land inhabited* ^{35a}; (g) *the people strive with Mos.* about lack of water, hence the name *Meribah* or *strife* $17^{2a.7b}$; water comes by *smiting the rock* with Moses' *rod* $^{5f.}$ cf. 7^{20b} and see I *C* k.

P—(a) *Moses and Aaron* lead *the whole congregation* 16^{1-3} *with a high hand* 14^{8}; (b) not by Isthmus because deliberately turned back 14^{2-4} to give occasion for a wonder, and Pharaoh pursues because hardened $^{4.8.17}$ cf. I *C* l; (c) Moses' *hand* was *stretched* forth $^{16a.21a.26f}$, and *the waters were divided* miraculously, not by a wind, for they were *as a wall on their right hand and on their left* $^{21b.22}$, and so the catastrophe followed $^{26.27a.28a}$; (f) *the whole congregation murmurs* for *the fleshpots* of Egypt $16^{2f.}$ (cf. Nu 11^{4-6a} J); manna, a miraculous gift, is described $^{14.23.31}$ (cf. and ct. manna, a natural product, described Nu 11^{6b-9} J); *the quails* are mentioned almost casually ^{13}, manna being the main point (ct. Nu $11^{13.18-23.31-34}$ J); a fixed amount of manna was to be gathered ^{16b}; manna is eaten *till they came unto the borders of the land of Can.* ^{35b}; the two commands about Sabbath observance $^{22ff.}$ and the memorial pot of manna $^{32f.}$ are not needed by the context of P, and may have been added after the union of J E P in order to supply clearer explanations of the *proving* of ^{4}.

D. Other Clues.

J—Divine help by natural means 14^{21} 15^{22-25a} cf. I *C* e; *three days* 15^{22} cf. I *C* e; *and they came to . . .* $15^{23.27}$ Heb.; *springs* (lit. *eyes*) *of water* 15^{27} Gn 16^{7ab} 24 (7 times) 49^{32} Dt 8^{7} 33^{28} Nu 33^{9} R^{p}*.

E—*Joseph's bones* 13^{19} Gn 50^{25} Jos 24^{32}; *statute and ordinance* 15^{25b} Jos 24^{25}; *they cried out unto Jehovah* 14^{10b} Jos 24^{7}; *one to another* 16^{15} see I *D*; *pass on before the people* 17^{5} Jos 3^{6}; *Aaron and Hur* $17^{10.12}$ 24^{14}; Moses' father-in-law Jethro, wife, and two sons 18, see I *C* h.

P—*I will get me honour* $14^{4.17f.}$ Lv 10^{3}; *and the Egyptians pursued* $14^{9.23}$; 15^{19} R^{p} cf. $14^{22f.28a}$; date *after . . . departing out of the land of Egypt* 19^{1} Nu 1^{1} 9^{1} 33^{38} 1 K 6^{1}†.

III. AT SINAI: 19–40.

A. Summary.

19 ^{JEP}The encampment at ^{JP}Sinai ^{E}the mount of God; ^{JE}awful sights and sounds introduce a theophany; 20–23 God gives, i. $^{E\|D}$the Decalogue, ii. $^{E\|J}$the Book of the Covenant, iii. $^{E\|D}$the Book of Judgments; 24 ^{E}covenant sacrifice and ^{J}feast before God, ^{EP}Moses ascends the mount, and ^{E}remains 40 days; 25–31 ^{P}J″ gives full directions for the tabernacle, its ornaments and furniture, its priests, their dress and consecration; $^{EP\|J}$Moses receives the two tables; 32–34 ^{E}idolatrous and ^{J}mutinous conduct of the people; ^{E}Moses breaks the tables and destroys the golden calf; ^{J}massacre by Levites; ^{JE}intercession of Moses; $^{E\|P}$usage of tent of meeting; $^{J\|E}$the ten Words of the Covenant ^{J}written by Moses $^{J\|EP}$on two tables; 35–40 ^{P}erection and furnishing of the tabernacle.

B. Analysis.

	19
J	2b
E	3a to *God* [3b 3c-6a″ 6b-8][a] 9*r*-11a
P	2a 1

	19
J	[11b-13][b] 18 20-22 23′ 24 [b][...] 25
E	14-17 19
P	

	20	23	24
J			1f. 9-11
E	1-21*r* [a][...] 22—	33 (see below)	3-8
P			

	24	25	31	32
J				7 8″ 9-12
E	12-15a 18b		18b	1-6...
P	15b-18a	1—	18a	

	32	33
J	14... 25*r*-29	1 3 5″ ...12-23°
E	13′ 16-24... 30-35	2″ 4 6 7-11
P	15	

	34	35	40
J	1-5*r* 6-9°*r* 10-28*r*		
E			
P	29-35′	1—	38″

This section is the most complicated and difficult in the Hex. It is generally agreed that the sources are much dislocated, and that the material has been repeatedly revised by successive editors and compilers. Most critics abandon the attempt to carry through a systematic analysis or reconstruction. The scheme adopted here for the JE portions is that of Bacon, and its resort to the hypothesis of wholesale transpositions can only be justified by the hopelessness of less drastic methods and the comparative harmony and order which it introduces. There is, however, a growing consensus of opinion in favour of the main conclusions on which the scheme rests. The sources are for clearness given again separately, in the order conjecturally suggested here. The presence of J^s and E^s is often felt, especially in 32–34, but cannot be clearly delimitated.

J = $19^{2b. 20-22. 24. 11b-13. 25}$ . . . $24^{1f. 9-11}$ $34^{1-5r. 10-28r.}$ $32^{7-14r. 25r-29}$ $33^{1. 3}$ (Nu $11^{10c. 11f. 14f.}$) Ex 33^{12-23} 34^{6-9} . . .

E = $19^{3a. 9r-11a. 14-17. 19}$ 20^{1-21} 19^{6b-8} $24^{12-14. 18b}$ 32^{1-6} 31^{18b} $32^{16-24. 30-34}$ $33^{4. 6}$ . . . 20^{22-26} 23^{10-33r} (with 22^{29-31}) 24^{3-8} 18^{1-27r} 33^{7-11} and (after the E passages in Nu) 17^{8-16} the war with Amalek, and 21^1–23^9 the Book of *Judgments*, whose original position is supposed to be now occupied by Dt.

P^h = 29^{42-46r} 31^{12-17r}.

P^g = 19^{1-2a} 20^{11} $24^{15b-18a}$ 25–27^{19} $28^{1-40. 42f.}$ $29^{1-20. 22-37}$ 31^{18a}.

P^s = $27^{20f.}$ 28^{41} 29^{38-46} 30–31^{11} 32^{15b-16} 35–40.

R^d (or R^{je}) = $19^{3c-6a. 23}$ $20^{2b. 4b-6. 7b. 9f. 12b. 17b}$ $22^{21b-22. 24. 25b. 31}$ $23^{9. 11b. 12b-13. 15b. 17. 19a. 23-25a. 27. 31b-33}$ $32^{8. 13. 25b}$ $33^{2. 5}$ $34^{1b. 4a. 7b. 10b-13. 15. 23f.}$.

C. Parallels and Contrasts.

J—(a) *J″* $19^{11b. 18. 20ab. 21ab. 22ab. 24}$ etc., (b) *came down* (see I *D*) (c) *in fire* 19^{18} (cf. Gn 19^{24} Ex 3^2, and the *pillar of fire* II *C* a, c) (d) *upon Mount Sinai* $19^{11b. 18. 20. 23'}$ $34^{2. 4}$ (e) *in the* SIGHT *of all the people*, 19^{11b}, (f) *the* PRIESTS only being bidden to *sanctify themselves* 19^{22}, (g) *the people* being kept at a distance throughout, $19^{21. 24. 12f.}$ $24^{2b.}$ 34^3, (h) while *these* (so Heb.) 19^{13b}, *i.e.* Mos. and *the priests which come near*, were to *come up*, $^{22. 24}$ (read in ^{24} *and the priests: but let not the people* cf. j) 24^1, (i) *at the* BLAST *of the* RAMS-HORN 19^{13b} Heb. (j) *Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu* with 70 *elders* accordingly are called and go up, and (k) celebrate a covenant feast before *the God of Isr.* $24^{1f. 9f.}$ (this incident may have been incorporated by the author from another source, as it presents several peculiar features); (l) *Moses* is then summoned ALONE *to the top of the mount* $34^{2f.}$ (m) with *two tables of* STONES (so Heb.) which he is to *hew* $34^{1. 4ab}$; (n) *upon the tables* he is to *write* $34^{27f.}$ (cf. ^{1} where the change of one Heb. letter turns *I will* into *thou shalt write*) (o) *the Ten Words of the Covenant* as soon as he receives them $34^{27f.}$, (p) remaining with J″ 40 *days and* 40 *nights* apparently for the purpose of engraving them. (q) The rebellion of the people (32^{25}) being announced to him by J″ ($^{7. 9}$), Moses procures by intercession the repentance of Jehovah ($^{11-14}$), (r) and on descending quells revolt by means of *the sons of Levi* (32^{26-29}). (s) On learning he is to lead alone, Moses intercedes afresh, and procures a theophany, a revelation of mercy, and a promise of J″'s *presence* $33^{1. 3}$ (Nu $11^{10c. 11f. 14f.}$ which interrupt their present context, fit well here, and, after the great block of P is removed, are seen to lie near at hand) $^{12-23}$ 34^{6-9}. (t) Moses HAD ALREADY *made an ark of acacia wood, and puts the tables in the ark* (J's account, which Nu 10^{33-36} and the many references to the ark in Jos prove to have existed, but which is now displaced in favour of P's, is recovered from Dt 10^{1-5}), (u) but no trace remains of his allusions to *the tent of meeting*.

E—(a) *God* $19^{3a. 17. 19}$ $20^{1. 19. 20. 21}$ $21^{6. 13}$ $22^{8. 9ab. 11 \text{ in LXX } 28}$ 24^{13} 31^{18b} (cf. *D*) (b) *comes* 19^9 20^{20} (c) *in a thick cloud* $19^{9. 16}$ $20^{18. 21}$ cf. 14^{20a} 33^9 Nu 11^{25} 12^5 Dt 31^{15} E (d) to *the mount of God* 24^{13} (cf. I *C* j), (e) *that the people may* HEAR $19^{9. 19}$ $20^{1. 19}$. (f) So Moses has to *sanctify the* PEOPLE $19^{10f. 14f.}$, (g) and they only *stand afar off* through fear 20^{21} (h) after Moses has brought them all near 19^{17}, (i) *when there is the* VOICE *of a* TRUMPET *going on and increasing much* $19^{16. 19}$ 20^{18}. (j) (see below v, x). Without any individuals drawing nearer, God speaks the Decalogue to the people $20^{1. 19}$, (k) (see below w, y), and the covenant is assented to by the people 19^{3b-8r} cf. 24^{3-8} Dt $27^{11ff.}$ E Jos 24^{16-27} 1 S 11^{14}–12^{25} E. (l) Moses is then summoned, and *goes up into the mount with Joshua his minister* $24^{13f.}$ cf. 33^{11} Nu 11^{28}, (m) that God may *give* him *the tables of* STONE *which* He has *written, and the law and the commandment that* he *may teach them* 24^{12} (with a slight transposition rendered necessary by an alteration presumably made when the Book of *Judgments* was thrust into the centre of the *Book of the Covenant* to make way for the Deuteronomic law given in the plains of Moab). (n) On the tables God has already written 24^{12} 31^{18b} (o) apparently the Decalogue, see Dt 5^{22}. (p) *Moses* remains *in the mount* 40 *days and* 40 *nights* for the purpose, it would seem, of receiving *the law and the commandment*, here supposed to refer to the material of the Book of Judgments 21–23^9. (q) On descending he discovers with surprise the idolatry of the people, (r) and breaks the tables, and destroys the golden calf $32^{15a. 17-20}$. (s) Moses then intercedes for the people, is bidden to *lead* them himself, but has promise of God's *angel* to go before him: there is a marked tone of severity in the words of J″ 32^{30-35}. (t) That E spoke of the ark here may be implied from his allusions in Jos *passim*, (u) and that he described the making of a simpler form of the *tent of meeting*, placed *without the camp*, and possibly adorned by aid of the abandoned ornaments, seems to follow from 33^{7-11} Nu $11^{16f. 24b-30}$ $12^{4f.}$ Dt $31^{14f.}$ with Ex 33^6 3^{22} $11^{2f.}$ (v) J″ gives the *Book of the Covenant* 20^{22-26} $22^{29f.}$ 23^{10-33r}; (w) the covenant is assented to by the people, see k above; (x) certain *young men* 24^5 cf. 32^6 and *Joshua* 33^{11}, ct. J under k, (y) offer a covenant sacrifice 24^5 cf. 20^{24} 32^6 Dt $27^{6f.}$.

P—(a) *J″* (so throughout) (b) makes His *glory* ($16^{7. 10}$ 29^{43} $40^{34f.}$ Nu 14^{10} $16^{19. 42}$ 20^6 ct. the less local and physical use of the term $33^{18. 22}$ Nu 14^{21f} J, Dt 5^{24*}) to *appear* (c) *like devouring* FIRE (40^{38} Lv 9^{24} 10^2 Nu $9^{15f.}$ 16^{35}) . . . *out of the midst of the* CLOUD (16^{10} $24^{15. 16ab. 17. 18}$ $40^{34. 35. 36. 37. 38}$ Lv 16^2 Nu $9^{15ff.}$ 11 times $10^{11f. 34}$ 16^{42}) (d) *upon Mount Sinai* (e) *in the eyes of the children of Israel* $24^{15b-18a}$, (f) no priests having yet been consecrated 29 Lv 8–10, (g) all except Moses being kept at a distance; (l) Moses is *called*, and *goes up into the mount* 24^{16-18a}, (m) that he may receive *the two tables of the* TESTIMONY 31^{18a} $32^{15a'}$, (n) which had, *written on both their sides* 32^{15b}, (o) no doubt the Decalogue, a brief account of the giving of which may have been displaced by R^p in favour of the impressive narrative of JE, 20^{11} being perhaps the only fragment preserved. (p) Moses remains in the mount (prob. for 40 days and nights) to receive the pattern of the sanctuary (25–30), (s) with a promise of J″ to *meet with the children of Israel* (hence *tent of meeting*) and to *dwell among the children of Israel* (hence *Tabernacle* or *Dwelling*) 29^{42-46}. (t) Moses SUBSEQUENTLY ORDERS to be made an *ark of acacia wood, overlaid* and ornamented *with gold* 25^{10-22} 37^{1-9}, and *puts the testimony into the ark* 25^{16} 40^{20}; (u) he also prepares, erects, and furnishes a gorgeous *Dwelling* for J″, large and costly and needing a numerous body of priests and Levites to attend to it (35–40).

D. Other Clues.

J—*God*, when stress is on His nature, deity 24^{11} Gn 32^{28} 33^{10}; *stiff-necked* 32^9 $33^{3. 5}$ 34^9, quoted Dt $9^{6. 13}$; *consume* $32^{10. 12}$ $33^{3. 5}$ Gn 41^{30} cf. Nu $16^{21. 45}$ P etc.; *and I will make of thee a great nation* 32^{10} Gn 12^2 Nu 14^{12} ct. Heb. Gn 21^{18} 46^3 E and Gn 17^{20} P; *face of the ground* 32^{12} 33^{16} Gn 2^6 $4^{3. 14}$ $6^{1. 7}$ $7^{4. 23}$ $8^{8. 13}$ cf. Nu 12^3 E^s and Dt 6^{15} 7^6 14^{2*}; *it repented J″* $32^{12. 14}$ Gn $6^{6f.}$ ct. Ex 13^{17} Nu 23^{19}; *land flowing*, etc. I *D*; *find grace (in the eyes of)* $33^{13ab. 16f.}$ 34^9 Gn $6^{8.}$ $18^{3.}$ $19^{19.}$ $30^{27.}$ $32^{6.}$ $33^{8. 10. 15}$ 34^{11} 39^4 $47^{25. 29}$ 50^4 Nu $11^{11. 15}$ 32^5 Dt 24^{1*}; *pass by* (of J″ or His glory) $33^{19. 22ab}$ 34^6; *proclaim* . . . 33^{19} 34^6 *(thy) glory* $33^{18. 22}$ cf. *C* b under P; stress on *mercy* 33^{19} $34^{6f.}$ Nu 14^{19}; *I make a covenant* $34^{10. 27}$

E—*Prove*, 20^{20}, see II *C* e; *lord of* (*wife*, etc.), Heb. *ba'al*, RV *married*, *owner*, etc. $21^{3.22.28.29ab}$ $34^{ab.36}$ $22^{8.11f.14f.}$ 24^{14} Gn 20^{3} 37^{19} Nu 21^{28} Jos 24^{11}, in J only once, in the poem Gn 49^{13}; *bondwoman* 2^{5} $21^{7.20.26f.32}$ (Heb. word never used by J); stress on severity of God 23^{21} 32^{33} Nu 23^{19} Jos 24^{19}; *Aaron and Hur* 24^{14} $17^{10.12}$; *rings* (*i.e.* for ears) $32^{2f.}$ Gn 35^{4} Jg $8^{24ff.}$ (perh. E); *sin* $32^{21.30f.}$ Gn 20^{9}*; *Horeb* 33^{6}, see I *D*; *pillar of cloud* $33^{7.11}$, see *C* c.

IV. The Laws in Exodus.

The four earliest Heb. codes occur in this section, all in an expanded form. The principal additions have been shown above (end of III *B*); they either interrupt the context, or contrast with it in phraseology or material, or seem to be quotations inserted from elsewhere. Limits of space forbid any further attempt to justify their excision from the orig. sources.

It is now generally agreed that E contained three out of the four codes. This confirms the view that this document, like others, represents the *end* of a long process, during which various elements were successively assimilated. Moreover, those who combined E with J (referred to as R^{je}), who added D (R^{d}), who finally incorporated the whole in P (R^{p}), naturally in the case of such important material showed at its strongest the desire to preserve all they could. Is it unreasonable to conjecture that each fresh combination required some dislocation of the existing material to suit the new adjustment? In the text as we now have it, E's three codes form together the basis of the Covenant. It has been suggested above that in E, in its final form as a separate document, the Decalogue was the basis of the Covenant, the *Book of the Covenant* led up to the Renewal of the Covenant, while the Book of *Judgments* belonged to Moses' parting words in the plains of Moab. If R^{je} used J's version of the Covenant to serve for the account of the Renewal of the Cov. (34^{1-28}), and, to preserve E's *Book of the Cov.*, put it back to form with the Decalogue the basis of the first Cov.; and if R^{d}, inserting D in the section about the plains of Moab, kept the Book of *Judgments* by incorporating it with the *Book of the Cov.*, then the very order which we now have would have been produced. That this actually took place is only conjecture; but it was worth while showing how the present state of the text might have arisen; and this solution has at least the merit that it only presupposes the action of causes which have been clearly traced at work elsewhere.

The Codes compared.

J—*The Ten Words of the Covenant* (III *C* l-p above).—(The list given is only the one thought best of several possible ones. Parallels in E are marked by the corresponding number. Laws in 3 codes are in LARGE CAPITALS: laws given by both J and E in SMALL CAPITALS): (1) MONOLATRY COMMANDED; (2) IMAGES FORBIDDEN; (3) THE FEAST OF UNLEAVENED BREAD, (4) THE SABBATH, (5) THE FEAST OF *weeks* OR FIRSTFRUITS, and (6) THE FEAST OF INGATHERING, COMMANDED; (7) BREAD WITH SACRIFICES TO BE UNLEAVENED; (8) THE *passover sacrifice* TO BE ALL CONSUMED; (9) FIRSTFRUITS REQUIRED; (10) SEETHING OF A KID IN ITS DAM'S MILK FORBIDDEN.

E—The Decalogue. (1) MONOLATRY COMMANDED; (2) IMAGES FORBIDDEN; false swearing forbidden; (4) THE SABBATH enjoined; reverence to parents commanded; murder, adultery, theft, false witness, and covetousness forbidden.

E—*The Book of the Covenant* (III *C* v above). (1) MONOLATRY (?) COMMANDED; (2) IMAGES FORBIDDEN; altars to be built as ordered, (9) FIRSTFRUITS DEMANDED; also FIRSTLINGS (cf. $13^{11ff.}$ J); the Sabbatical year, and (4) THE SABBATH COMMANDED; also (3) THE FEAST OF UNLEAVENED BREAD, (5) THE FEAST OF *harvest* OR FIRSTFRUITS, and (6) THE FEAST OF INGATHERING; (7) BREAD WITH SACRIFICES TO BE LEAVENED; (8) THE *fat of* God's *feast* TO BE ALL CONSUMED: (10) SEETHING A KID IN ITS DAM'S MILK FORBIDDEN.

[It will be observed that, while the Decalogue (which see) contains both religious and moral laws, the other two concern only religion and the cultus, and are very closely parallel to one another].

E—The Book of *Judgments* (21-23^{9}). This code contains a comprehensive series of laws, civil and criminal, all penetrated by a high ethical and religious spirit. They seem drawn up, perhaps originally in sets of 5 or 10, for use by judges and magistrates, but display no very definite order of arrangement. The appeal lies *before God*, *i.e.* (presumably) at the sanctuary, cf. 18^{13-26}. With this code should be carefully compared Dt 12-26, which is based on it, and Lv 17-26, the Holiness Legislation, which presents many parallels.

The chapters in P relating to the **Tabernacle** (which see) remain to be considered. They are not without difficulty, for a close inspection discovers reasons for believing that they are not all from the same hand. The full proof of the analysis given above (end of III *B*) cannot be reproduced here, but the nature of the principal line of argument can be seen from the accompanying table, which gives the sections in the order of 35-40 (Heb. text)=H^{2}, while on either side are given references to 25-31 (Heb. text)=H^{1}, and 35-40 (Gr. text)=G. The letters indicate by their alphabetical order the order of sections in the text referred to; and those sections in H^{1} which are judged later than P^{g} are marked by an *italic* capital. A moment's comparison of H^{1} and H^{2} shows large variations of order. But while the changes of order in A to K and M to U can be readily accounted for by the mere fact that H^{2} records the fulfilment and H^{1} the ordering, the passages *L*, *W*, *X*, *Z*, *A′*, *B′* seem so out of place where they are that it is necessary to suppose them to be later than the context that would otherwise have contained them. The golden altar of incense (*W*=m) is the most important case. (1) It is out of its natural place in H^{1}; (2) the term *the altar* in 27^{1-8}, and 100 times elsewhere in P^{g} and (early) P^{s}, would be ambiguous if the altar were one of two, and is replaced in 38^{1} etc. by a distinctive term, *the altar of burnt-offering*, and so constantly in the later strata of P^{s}; (3) the incense altar is not mentioned in G; (4) in Lv 10 and Nu 16 we only read of censers for incense, and *the*

H^{1}	The Dwelling.	H^{2}	G
A. 25^{1-9}	gifts asked . . .	a. 35^{4-9}	*a*. 35^{4-8}§
...	workmen invited .	b. $^{10-19}$	*b*. $^{9-19}$‡
...	gifts presented .	c. $^{20-29}$	*c*. $^{20-29}$
C. 31^{1-11}	Bezalel, etc. .	d. ^{30}-36^{1}	*d*. ^{30}-36^{1}
...	gifts finished .	e. 36^{2-7}	*e*. 36^{2-7}
E. 26^{1-14}	curtains . . .	f. $^{8-19}$	*k*. $37^{1f.}$‡
F. $^{15-30}$	boards . . .	g. $^{20-34}$	*s*. 38^{18-21}‡
G. $^{31f.}$	veil	h. $^{35f.}$	*l*. $37^{3f.}$
I. $^{36f.}$	screen . . .	i. $^{37f.}$	*m*. $^{5f.}$
B. 25^{10-22}	ark	j. 37^{1-9}	*p*. 38^{1-8}§
C. $^{23-30}$	table	k. $^{10-16}$	*q*. $^{9-12}$‡
D. $^{31-40}$	candlestick . .	l. $^{17-24}$	*r*. $^{13-17}$‡
W. 30^{1-5}	incense altar . .	m. $^{25-28}$	...
X. $^{6-10}$	its use . . .	...	...
A′. $^{22-33}$	anointing oil . .	n. ^{29a}	*u*. ^{25a}
B′. $^{34-38}$	incense . . .	o. ^{29b}	*v*. ^{25b}
J. 27^{1-8}	brazen altar . .	p. 38^{1-7}	*t*. $^{22-24}$‡
Z. 30^{17-21}	laver	q. ^{8}	*w*. ^{26}
K. 27^{9-19}	court	r. $^{9-20}$	*n*. 37^{7-18}
L. $^{20f.}$	oil for light . .	...	...
...	summary of gifts .	s. $^{21-31}$	*o*. 37^{19-21} *y*. 39^{1-10}
M. 28^{1-5} N. $^{6-12}$	priests' dress, ephod .	t. 39^{1-7}	*a′*. 39^{13}‡ *f*. 36^{8-14}§
O. 28^{13-29}	breastplate . .	u. 39^{8-21}	*g*. 36^{15-29}
P. ^{30}	Urim and Thummim .	...	...
Q. $^{31-35}$	robe	v. $^{22-26}$	*h*. $^{30-34}$
S. $^{39-43}$	coats, etc. . . .	w. $^{27-29}$	*i*. $^{35-37}$
R. $^{36-38}$	plate on mitre . .	x. $^{30f.}$	*j*. $^{38-40}$
...	summary . . .	y. $^{32-43}$	*z*. 39^{11f}‡ *b′*. $^{14-23}$‡
...	order to erect, etc. .	z. 40^{1-15}	*c′*. 40^{1-13}‡
...	brief execution . .	a′. ^{16}	*d′*. ^{14}
...	erection of dwelling .	b′. $^{17-19}$	*e′*. $^{15-17}$
H. 26^{33-35}	furniture placed .	c′. $^{20-30}$	*f′*. $^{18-26}$§
...	use of laver . .	d′. $^{31f.}$	*x*. 38^{27}
...	erection of court .	e′. ^{33}	*g′*. 40^{27}§
T. 29^{1-35}	consecration of Aaron and sons	Lv 8	...
U. $^{36f.}$	do. of altar . .	...	...
V. $^{38-42}$	daily sacrifice . .	..	...
Y. 30^{11-16}	atonement money .	...	...

§ Part omitted. ‡ With omissions and variations.

altar is still the only one Nu 16^{38}. It may be noted that 28^{41} 29^{21} are late P^s because Aaron's sons receive anointing, contrary to the clear intention of P^g in $29^{7.\ 29f.}$, and so Lv 8^{12} etc. A further comparison of H^2 with G shows a second set of variations. It is held by many that the facts require us to suppose that the Greek tr. of 35–40 was made before the Heb. text had reached its present symmetrical and complete form. By means of the above table the student can readily test for himself the value of this suggestion.

V. CONCLUDING SURVEY.

i. *The History.*—If we accept the results of this article as in the main correct, we have passed far beyond the boundary of a merely negative criticism. It might be called destructive work to show by detailed proof that we have no contemporary account of the Exodus and subsequent events. But when it is shown that the present narrative is made up of three, so far contrasting with one another as to prove themselves much later in date than the period of which they treat, and the work, not merely of different individuals, but of different schools of historical writing; and when the further step is taken of disentangling, with infinite pains of many labourers in many lands, the several threads of narrative, and recombining them in something like their original connexions, the work of constructive criticism must be held to have been well begun. The summaries will have shown on how many important points the three witnesses are at one. For fuller particulars see MOSES, ISRAEL.

But, while it is well to remember that contrasts are not always, or even usually, contradictions, it would be idle to try to belittle the extent of the change of view brought about. We may rather think of it as the drawing back of a veil of illusion which God wisely allowed to hang over the past, until the growth of truer ideas about history both took away the veil, and made men ready to make use of the facts, whose real relations were at last adequately discovered.

If, therefore, it has to be admitted that the Priestly history (P) has no independent value as a witness to the Mosaic period, and that the materials in E, and to a less extent in J, require careful sifting before being regarded as correctly representing an age which to them was already a distant age, we may set against that two things. First, an exact view of that epoch might have disappointed us, even as a field sown with corn has little beauty till the seeds have shot up into blade and stem. Secondly, we have instead three views of it, so influenced by the ideas of the writers' own times and circumstances as to reveal to us various stages in the after-growth, which was itself entirely dependent on that germinal time. On the face of it, the book tells of the Exodus of Isr. from the bondage of Egypt; in the soul of it, it speaks, to those who have ears to hear, of successive stages in the great outgoing, at once more glorious and more perilous, of the family of man from the bondage of superstition, ignorance, and sin. The events are not merely typical of spiritual realities; but the very fact that they were thus and then recorded, shows the faith of the men of other days in the God whose hand they loved to trace at work in the world.

ii. *The Leading Ideas.*—The Heb. writers are not mere annalists, but interpreters of history. Hence their permanent value. They may be criticised as chroniclers of outward events, but they sought and found God everywhere, and they abide to hand on their secret. In all three documents we find the same fundamental verities emphasized, which give to Ex its real unity. J″ is the supreme God, ruling in Egypt, and master over nature. He is the faithful God who made His choice of the fathers of the Heb. race, and will not draw back. He is the God of grace, and so loves to give guidance, counsel, help, food, drink, every needed supply. He is the Holy One, and requires obedience to His will, and takes steps to make known that will. He is the Jealous God, and demands that due worship shall be paid to Him, and to none else. He is the Covenant God, and the two sides of the Covenant are: J″ Israel's God, Israel J″'s people.

But each document has its individual standpoint, even as each of the synoptic Gospels presents its own picture of the life of Christ. The oldest, J, perhaps coming from the priestly circle connected with Solomon's temple, is written from the point of view of a highminded patriot, keenly interested in every detail of national history, so quick to see God's hand in providence as to be able to make his story religious with but little use of the miraculous, alive to all the shades of character in men, as well as to the richness of the Divine nature, in which *mercy rejoiceth against judgment*, valuing highly the common ordinances of religion, and recognizing the great opportunities of the priestly office. The document E, probably rather later, and originally coming from Ephraimite circles, reflects the views of the prophets. This work (extending from Gn to Kings) is a series of biographical studies of great prophetic heroes, with Moses as the central figure. Much stress is laid on morality. The people sin, and need to be called to repentance. God is righteous, and His requirements must not be despised. The miraculous element is heightened, of course unconsciously. The moral of each incident must be made clear, the reality of the Divine government set unmistakably forth. Sad experience of the faults of the priesthood leads to the priests being either passed over, or introduced for blame. Worship is strictly secondary to morality.

The priestly writer (P) has lost all hold upon the simplicities and roughnesses of the childhood of the nation. So possessed is he with reverence for the religious institutions of the now ruined temple, that he not only has already in the vision-chamber of his imagination elaborated them to an ideal perfection which they never had, but this ideal picture must be, he has become persuaded, the reflection of what actually existed in the primitive, the perfect days. Each new improvement is unhesitatingly added with the same formula of Divine inspiration, the argument being: 'We see this to be best now, therefore it must have been ordered and done then.' Granted, then, that this stately centralized worship was the Divine purpose for the Second Temple, we may surely accept the unhistorical form of the priestly legislation as being probably the only means by which it could have been successfully introduced. After all, the full corn in the ear *is* present in the seed, if not in miniature, at least in promise and potency.

The Bk. of Ex is like a grand symphony, which was once thought to give harmony without discord, but is now being found, in virtue of elements which by themselves are sharply discordant, to sound forth a yet richer harmony.

LITERATURE.—See **Hexateuch**. B. W. Bacon's *The Triple Tradition of the Exodus*, and his arts. in the *Journal of Bibl. Lit.* (1890–93) have been of great service to the writer; and Bruston's essay, *Les quatre sources des lois d'Exode*, is plausible and suggestive. We still wait for a good Eng. com. on Exodus.

G. HARFORD-BATTERSBY.

EXORCISM, EXORCIST.—The word *ἐξορκίζω* is a later form of the classical *ἐξορκόω*. The latter is employed in Demosthenes in the sense of 'administer an oath to a person.' The verb *ἐξορκίζω* is used by the high priest to Jesus 'I *adjure* thee by the living God . . .' (Mt 26^{63}), and corresponds to the Heb. הִשְׁבִּיעַ. Cf. Gn 24^{3} LXX. The subst. *exorcist* is only once employed in the NT, viz. in Ac 19^{13}. The passage is instructive, since it shows that exorcism in those days was practised as a profession by strolling Jews. The method which they pursued we might infer from the example of Eleazar, to which Josephus specially refers in the passage cited from *Ant.* VIII. ii. 5, in the article DEMON, p. 593^{a}. The constant and essential element in all these exorcisms was the power wielded by the *recitation of special names.* In the instance recorded in Ac 19 the Jewish exorcists had observed the expulsions which Paul had effectuated through the pronunciation of the name of Jesus, and endeavoured, with ludicrously disastrous results, to work the same cures by saying, 'We adjure you (the evil spirit) by Jesus whom Paul preacheth.'

An example of the ancient Babylonian incantations has already been given above, p. 591. Illustrations of Jewish spells may be found in the Talmud. (Respecting these, see Brecher, *Das Transcendentale, Magie u. magische Heilarten im Talmud,* Vienna, 1850, pp. 195-203.) That these were ultimately derived from Babylonian magic can admit of no doubt. Some Aramaic inscriptions, published in the *Zeitsch. für Assyriologie* (Dec. 1893 and April 1894) by Wohlstein, contain instructive examples of these exorcising formulæ. They are inscribed on the interior surfaces of some ancient bowls that were brought from Baghdad in 1886 and placed in the Royal Museum in Berlin. The mode of expression in all of them possesses broad features of resemblance, but special details vary in each case. For the names of the angels which are recited in each bowl differ widely owing to the prevailing belief, which finds expression in the Jewish *Kabbala,* that the ruling angels are constantly changing, and those must be addressed who hold the reins of power at that time and place.

The first of the series (No. 2422), from which we shall quote, was evidently employed to exorcise the demon of a man who was suffering from leprosy.

> 'In thy name I form a heavenly cure for Achdebuj the son of Achathabu of Daithos, by the compassion of Heaven. Amen, Amen, Selah. Bound, bound, bound shall be all the male spirits and female Astartes[*] evil spirits, powers of opposition . . . all Satans from West and East, North and South. Bound, bound shall be all evil sorcerers and all who practise violence; bound and sealed shall be all . . . and curses and conjurations. Bound be the angels of wrath, the angels of the house of assembly . . . the mighty princes, the hard princes, the diseases without number, the sufferings, the abscess, the scab, the mange, the skin-eruption, malignant discharge, suppurating wounds, the spirit of the burial-place, the spirit of the dead, the spirit of diseases; bound and sealed up shall ye all be from Achdebuj, son of Achathabu. Go and withdraw yourselves to the mountains and the heights and the unclean cattle [Mt 8^{32}, Mk 5^{12}, Lk 8^{32}]. If ye come on the first of Nisan [regarded as specially favourable for overcoming demons], go away from Achdebuj, son of Achathabu, in the name of Gabriel, who is called Elpassas, and in the name of Michael, who is called (Demu)thja, and in the name of Elbenmez, and in the name of Elba'baz . . .' [The inscription concludes with the formula Amen, Amen, Selah, which occurs in other incantations, sometimes with the addition of Hallelujah].

The exorcism No. 2416, transcribed by Wohlstein, is much longer, and other names of angels compounded with the name of deity El (as Nuriel, Chathiel, Sesagbiel, etc.) are quoted, with Myatron at their head, making seven in all. The formula אהיה אשר אהיה (from Ex 3^{14}), ישראל and all variations on the names of deity, as יה and יהו, and the Athbash equivalent מץ פץ, are pressed into the service.

These spells are ascribed to the 7th cent. A.D., though written in unpointed Hebrew. The characters are of the more recent square type, and a much earlier date than the above is hardly probable. Why they were inscribed in bowls cannot be explained. The bowls were not intended to hold water, otherwise the distinctness of the lettering would have been obscured.

Demonology and exorcism played a conspicuous part in the literature and practice of the Christian Church throughout the earlier period and during the Middle Ages. In the time of our Lord exorcism was regarded as one of the signs of the Messiahship (Mt 12^{23}). It was the universal belief of the early church Fathers that a disciple of Jesus was able to exercise power over demons by uttering His name (Tertullian, *Apologet.* 23; Origen, *cont. Cels.* vii. 334). Naturally, bishops and other ordained clergy were considered to possess this charisma. But there was a special class of individuals who were so endowed without any ecclesiastical conferment (*Apost. Constit.* viii. 26, *ἐξορκιστὴς οὐ χειροτονεῖται*). They received formal episcopal recognition, but not ordination, as *exorcistæ per gratiam.* Nevertheless, we also find another class who did receive episcopal ordination, and were called *exorcistæ per ordinem.* In the ceremony of baptism the catechumen of adult age was obliged solemnly and publicly to renounce the devil and his works, but in the case of children the assistance of the exorcist was necessary. By the priest and attendant exorcist the ceremony of *exsufflatio* and *insufflatio* was performed on the child, who was regarded as a child of the devil, as being subject to inherited guilt. *Sacerdos exsufflat ter in faciem catechumeni semel dicens: Exi ab eo (ea) spiritus immunde et da locum spiritui sancto Paracleto. Hic in modum crucis habet in faciem ipsius et dicat: Accipe spiritum bonum per istam insufflationem et Dei benedictionem. Pax tibi.* According to the practice of the Romish Church at the present day, the separate existence of the exorcist is not recognized, but every priest, on ordination, receives previous consecration to the lower orders, including that of exorcist. In Can. 9 of the Fourth Council of Carthage we read: Exorcista quum ordinatur accipiat de manu episcopi libellum in quo scripti sunt exorcismi. At the present time the ordaining bishop places a missal in the priest's hands with the words: Accipe et commenda memoriæ et habeto potestatem imponendi manus super energumenum [*i.e. ἐνεργούμενον, sc. ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων*].[*]

Among the Reformers opinion and practice were divided respecting exorcism. Luther and Melanchthon favoured it, but it was decisively rejected by Zwingli and Calvin (*Instit.* iv. c. 15. 19). For further details respecting ecclesiastical practice the reader is referred to the article '*Exorcismus*' in the 2nd ed. of Herzog-Plitt's *Realencyklopädie*, from which the facts in Christian ecclesiastical tradition have been derived. The article '*Kabbalah*,' in the same dictionary, may also be consulted with advantage. OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

---

[*] פתיכרי דיכרי ואיסתרתא נוקבתא. Note that in פתיכרי 'spirits' we have practically the same word as the Syriac ܦܬܟܪܐ 'idol.' The word איסתרתא is the *Ištarâti* 'goddesses' of the Assyrian. Similarly, the Talmudic flame-*demon* Rešpâ is the Phœnician flame-*deity Rešeph* or *Rešpu* (see Baethgen, *Beiträge zur Semit. Relig.-gesch.* p. 50; Wiedemann, *Relig. der alten Ægypter,* p. 83). Cf. Beelzebub of the NT. These are instructive examples of the wholesale conversion of heathen deities into demons.

[*] The Ritual for exorcism may here be appended. The priest, having arrayed himself in the official robes, first sprinkles the demoniac with holy water and then recites the prayer of the litany of all saints, the paternoster, and Ps 53; after this the two *orationes*, in which he makes the sign of the cross over the demoniac, and commands the evil spirit to depart by the power of the mysteries of the incarnation, passion, death, resurrection, and ascension of Christ, the gift of the Holy Ghost, and Christ's return to judge the world. After this follows the reading of Jn 1, Mk 16^{15-18}, Lk 10^{17-19}. Then the priest lays both hands on the head of the demoniac and says, *Ecce crucem Domini. Fugite, partes adversæ: vicit leo de tribu Juda.* After this comes the Oratio, with the special formula of exorcism, *Exorcizo te, immunde spiritus*, while the priest crosses the brow and breast of the demoniac three times in the name of the Trinity. If the evil spirit does not then depart, the service is begun anew.

EXPECT, EXPECTATION.—Following Lat. *expectare*, 'expect' meant in older Eng. not only 'look forward to,' but also simply 'wait,' or 'await.' Thus in Douay Bible the comment on Sir 11[8] is 'Expect the end of another mans speach, before you begin to answer. Expect also if anie that is elder, or better able wil answer first.' Expect is used in this way in Job 32[4]m., 2 Mac 9[25], and He 10[13] 'From henceforth expecting till his enemies be made his footstool.' The Gr. of last passage is *ἐκδέχομαι*, elsewhere in NT tr^{d} 'wait for' (Jn 5[3], RV omits, Ac 17[16], Ja 5[7]), 'tarry for' (1 Co 11[33], RV 'wait for'), 'look for' (1 Co 16[11] RV 'expect,' He 11[10]). Cf. Bacon, *Adv. of Learning*, i. (Selby's ed. p. 14, l. 35), 'The most active or busy man that hath been or can be, hath, no question, many vacant times of leisure, while he expecteth the tides and returns of business.'

Expectation is used throughout in the sense of looking forward to with hope. Thus even in Ps 62[5] 'My soul, wait * thou only upon God; for my expectation is from him,' the Heb. is *tiḳwah* (תִּקְוָה), similarly tr^{d} in Ps 9[18] and in Pr, but most often tr^{d} 'hope,' and the meaning is 'that which I hope for, my deliverance.' In Ro 8[19], Ph 1[20] 'earnest expectation' is an effort to bring out the full force of the Gr. word *ἀποκαραδοκία*, which is found nowhere else. It is formed from *δοκέω* in the sense of 'watch,' *κάρα*, the 'head,' and *ἀπό*, 'from,' so that it means (Sanday-Headlam) 'awaiting with outstretched head,' the prep. denoting 'diversion from other things and concentration on a single object.' The Vulg. has simply *expectatio*, whence Rhemish 'expectation.' Wyc. has 'abiding.' But in Ro 8[19] Tind. gives 'fervent desire,' and is generally followed (Cov. 'fervent longing'). 'Earnest expectation' is the Bishops' translation in both places.

J. HASTINGS.

EXPEDIENT is never found in AV in the sense of 'expeditious,' as so often in Shakespeare. On the other hand, it never means merely 'convenient' (opposed to what is rigidly right), as in modern English. The Greek is always *συμφέρει*, or (2 Co 12[1]) *συμφέρον* (='it is profitable,' as AV and RV elsewhere tr. the word, except in Mt 18[6] AV 'it were better,' and 19[10] AV 'it is not good,' RV 'it is not expedient'). So even Caiaphas (Jn 11[50] 'it is expedient for you that one man should die for the people') does not openly prefer, as a modern politician, the convenient to the just. His words are like those of Jeremiah (26[14] Cov.), 'Now as for me: I am in your handes, do with me as ye thinke expedient and good,' though his spirit is the opposite. J. HASTINGS.

EXPERIENCE, which is the result of 'experiment,' was sometimes used for the experiment itself, as Baker, *Jewell of Health*, 112[a] 'The Aucthour . . . hath both seen and done many experiences worthy memorie.' This is no doubt the meaning in Gn 30[27], where Laban says to Jacob, 'I have learned by experience that the Lord hath blessed me for thy sake.' It is the Douay translation. The Geneva has 'perceived,' but in marg. 'tried by experience.'

The Heb. (נִחֵשׁ) means to observe omens, whence RV 'I have divined.' It is used of Joseph's divining by means of a cup (Gn 44[5. 15], with notes by Del. Dillm. Wade) and elsewhere. The ptcp. is found Dt 18[10] 'a diviner,' where see Driver's note.

J. HASTINGS.

EXPERIMENT is narrower and more concrete now than formerly. Occurring in AV in 2 Co 9[13] only, 'Whiles by the experiment of this ministration they glorify God,' its meaning is 'test,' 'proof,' as Wither (1618), *Motto, Nec Careo*, 533—

> 'I want not much experiment to show
> That all is good God pleaseth to bestow.'

The Gr. is *δοκιμή* (tr^{d} 'experience' in Ro 5[4] AV, but RV 'probation'). 'Experiment' is the Geneva word; RV 'seeing that through the proving of you by this ministration they glorify God,' which is a return to Wyclif, 'bi the preuynge of this mynysterie.' J. HASTINGS.

EXPIATION.—See ATONEMENT, PROPITIATION.

EXPOSURE.—See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.

EXPRESS.—Only He 1[3] 'the express image of his person' (*χαρακτήρ*, RV 'the very image,' RVm 'the impress'); and Wis 14[17] 'they . . . made an express image of a king' (*ἐμφανῆ εἰκόνα*, RV 'a visible image'). On *χαρακτήρ* see Westcott, *in loc.* The tr. of RV is after Tind.; the Geneva ('ingraved forme') tries to bring out the sense of the Gr. word, which is properly what stands engraven on any object, as a seal (Davidson), and this is the meaning of AV 'express image'; cf. Shaks. *Hamlet*, II. ii. 299, 'What a piece of work is a man! . . . in form and moving, how express and admirable,' which Aldis Wright explains thus: 'Exact, fitted to its purpose, as the seal fits the stamp.' *Exprimere* (ptcp. *expressus*) has the meaning among others of 'copy,' 'pourtray,' and from this the Eng. word was used before 1611 in the sense of 'exactly pourtrayed.' Thus Sir T. More, (1513) *Rich. III.* 'This is ye fathers own figure . . . ye playne expresse lykenes of ye noble Duke.'

J. HASTINGS.

EXQUISITE.—From Lat. *exquisitus*, ptcp. of *exquirere*, to search out, 'exquisite' is properly, and was originally, that which is elaborately devised, 'ingenious,' and its application might be good or bad. In the *Areopagitica* (Hales' ed. p. 16) Milton says Mr. Selden's volume 'proves . . . by exquisite reasons and theorems almost mathematically demonstrative, that all opinions, yea, errors, known, read, and collated, are of main service and assistance toward the speedy attainment of what is truest.' Milton even uses the word *actively* of persons in *Comus*, 359,

> 'Peace, brother, be not over-exquisite
> To cast the fashion of uncertain evils,'

as other writers had done before him. Exquisite occurs Sir 18[29] 'They . . . poured forth e. parables' (*παροιμίας ἀκριβεῖς*, RV 'apt proverbs'), and 19[25] 'There is an e. subtilty, and the same is unjust' (so RV, Gr. *πανουργία ἀκριβής*). J. HASTINGS.

EXTINCT.—Extinct (Lat. *extinctus*, ptcp. of *extinguere*, to extinguish) now only expresses a state, 'active and extinct volcanoes'; 'the volcano is extinct.' But formerly it expressed the action which produces the state, and so Job 17[1] 'my days are extinct' (יָמַי נִזְעָכוּ), and Is 43[17] 'they are extinct, they are quenched as tow' (דֹּעֲכוּ). Cf. Shaks. *Rich. II.* I. iii. 222—

> 'My oil-dried lamp and time-bewasted light
> Shall be extinct with age and endless night.'

'Extinguished' occurs, however, in Wis 2[3].

In the 16th cent. a verb 'to extinct' was coined, of which the past ptcp. was sometimes 'extincted' and sometimes 'extinct.' It is thus uncertain whether 'extinct' as ptcp. belongs to 'extinguish' or to this verb. Shaks. uses 'extinct' twice, 'extincted' once (*Oth.* II. i. 81, 'Give renew'd fire to our extincted spirits!'), but never 'extinguished.' He uses the verb 'extinguish' only once. J. HASTINGS.

EXTREME is used as an adv. in Sir 42[8] 'the extreme aged' (ἐσχατόγηρος). So Bacon, *Essays* (Gold. Treas. ed. p. 156), 'Acting in Song, especially in Dialogues, hath an extreme Good Grace'; and p. 178, 'all Deformed Persons are extreme bold'; and again in *Advance. of Learning*, II. xxiii. 38, 'it [is] extreme hard to play an after game of reputation.' J. HASTINGS.

---

* There is no suggested connexion between 'wait' and 'expectation,' as the Heb. for 'wait' is 'be silent unto God,' as RVm (Cheyne, 'be simply resigned to God').

EYE.—The verb occurs twice: **1.** Gn 29¹⁷ 'Leah was tender eyed' (עֵינֵי לֵאָה רַכּוֹת, RV 'L.'s eyes were tender'). Whether 'tender' is appreciatory or depreciatory is disputed. Modern commentators usually say depreciatory, after LXX (ἀσθενεῖς) and Peshiṭta. But others, the tender brightness of a child, after Onk. and Sa'adya, and quoting Gn 33¹³ 'My lord knoweth that the children are tender' (same Heb.). See Spurrell, *in loc.*; also Otts, *The Fifth Gospel*, p. 41 f.; and *Expos. Times*, v. 97. The Vulg. *lippis oculis*, 'blear-eyed,' is certainly wrong. **2.** 1 S 18⁹ 'And Saul eyed David from that day and forward' (וַיְהִי עָוֹן, *Ḳĕrê* עוֹיֵן, a denom. from עַיִן to eye). For the construction and Heb. parallels, see Driver, *in loc.* The meaning is to look on with envy (cf. *invidia*; and see the 'Evil Eye' under art. ENVY, and Trench, *NT Synonyms*, p. 106 f.), but there is no other example in English of the verb 'eye' in the sense of 'envy.'

J. HASTINGS.

EYE (עַיִן).—The eyes of Orientals are usually well formed, large, and lustrous, but deficient in that play of expression which accompanies thought, humour, and fancy.

As the chief of the organs of sense, the eye had a leading place in the *lex talionis*, 'eye for eye' (Ex 21²⁴). To put out the eyes of an enemy or prisoner was like breaking the teeth of a captured wild animal, the removal of the chief power to injure. It was also a great degradation (Jg 16²¹, 1 S 11², 2 K 25⁷). Among the begging classes of Palestine, blindness, next to the revolting spectacle of leprosy, makes the strongest claim upon the charity of the benevolent. Blind men are sometimes known to decline the offer of the medical missionary, as restored sight would mean a loss of privilege (see **Blindness** under MEDICINE).

The fig. references to the eye are many and varied. As the chief means of contact with the outer world, the eye is the source of pleasurable sensations and the principal avenue of temptation (Gn 3⁶, Pr 27²⁰, Ezk 24²¹, 1 Jn 2¹⁶). Knowledge is the opening of the eyes (Gn 3⁷, Ps 119¹⁸, Eph 1¹⁸).

The prophet was first called the 'seer' (רֹאֶה) 1 S 9⁹, and his message a 'vision' (חָזוֹן) Is 1¹, Ezk 7²⁶ etc. In connexion with the feelings, sorrow is associated with a consumed or wasted eye (Ps 6⁷), and satisfaction in worldly prosperity with an eye standing out with fatness (Ps 73⁷).

Tear-bottles are often found in the ancient tombs, as affecting tokens of regret and grief. This memorial act may be referred to in Ps 56⁸ 'Put thou my tears into thy bottle.' (See BOTTLE.) To have the eyes delivered from tears takes rank with the deliverance of the soul from death and the feet from falling (Ps 116⁸); to have all tears wiped from the eyes (Rev 21⁴), is part of the riches in glory.

As a judge of what is pleasant or offensive, the eye indicates an intention of favour or hostility. Thus in an Arabic salutation, in answer to the opening inquiry as to health, the usual reply is, 'Well, by your looking upon me' (favour of your eye), and the conventional parry of politeness is to say, 'By God's looking upon you.' A similar thought of the eye's protective favour lies in the words *providence, episcopos, overseer.* On the other hand, there is the widespread and deeply-rooted superstition about the power of the evil-eye, and one of the chief uses of the amulet (wh. see) is to obtain protection against it.

The **Eyelids** (עַפְעַפַּיִם) are mentioned as a means of seduction employed by the 'evil woman' (Pr 6²⁵), and not infrequently appear in poetical language as a synonym for, or parallel with, the eyes (Job 16¹⁶, Jer 9¹⁸, Ps 11⁴ 132⁴, Pr 6⁴ 30¹³). By a beautiful metaphor in Job 3⁹ 41¹⁸ the first rays of dawn are called the 'eyelids of the morning.'

Eye-paint (פּוּךְ, Arab. *kuḥl*; cf. כָּחַל Ezk 23⁴⁰) was a paste made of antimony powder, giving a brown-black burnished stain to the eyelashes. The practice which is depicted on the monuments still continues in Egypt (see Lane, *Mod. Egypt.*⁵ i. 45 f.). The paint is kept in a small horn or ornamental metal vase with a thin rod for applying it. It makes the eyes look larger and more lustrous (2 K 9³⁰, Jer 4³⁰, Ezk 23⁴⁰). One of Job's daughters was called *Keren-happûkh*, 'horn of eye-paint' (Job 42¹⁴).

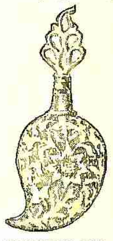

HORN FOR EYE-PAINT.

The **Eye-salve** (κολλούριον, *collyrium*) of Rev 3¹⁸ was a preparation used for healing or strengthening the eye (cf. Hor. *Sat.* i. 5. 30; Epict. *Diss.* ii. 21. 20, iii. 21. 21; Cels. vi. 6. 7). (See MEDICINE.)

G. M. MACKIE.

EYESERVICE.—This is a literal tr. in Eph 6⁶, Col 3²² of the Greek ὀφθαλμοδουλεία, and seems to have been coined by Tindale, although he uses it only in Col, in Eph giving 'service in the eye sight.' The word was at once adopted into the language, Crowley (1550), *Last Trump*, 163, having 'Se thou serue him . . . not wyth eye-seruice fainedly.' The AV of 1611 is, however, the first Version that has eye service in Eph (it writes two separate words as all the Versions do in Col). The Greek word is found nowhere else: 'This happy expression,' says Lightfoot, 'would seem to be the apostle's own coinage.' J. HASTINGS.

EZBAI (אֶזְבָּי).—The father of Naarai, one of David's mighty men (1 Ch 11³⁷). The parallel passage 2 S 23³⁵ reads 'Paarai the Arbite' (פַּעֲרַי הָאַרְבִּי) for 'Naarai the son of Ezbai' (נַעֲרַי בֶּן־אֶזְבָּי). It is impossible to decide with any confidence between the rival readings. (See Kittel's note on 1 Ch 11³⁷ in Haupt's *Sacred Bks. of OT*).

J. A. SELBIE.

EZBON (אֶצְבֹּן, אֶצְבּוֹן).—**1.** Eponym of a Gadite family (Gn 46¹⁶), called in Nu 26¹⁶ **Ozni** (which see). **2.** A grandson of Benjamin (1 Ch 7⁷). See GENEALOGY.

EZEKIAS.—**1.** (A Ἐζεκίας, B Ἐζείας, AV **Ezechias**) 1 Es 9¹⁴ = JAHZEIAH, Ezr 10¹⁵. **2.** (Ἐζεκίας, AV **Ezecias**) 1 Es 9⁴³.—Called HILKIAH, Neh 8⁴.

EZEKIEL (Vulg. *Ezechiel*, LXX Ἰεζεκιήλ, Heb. יְחֶזְקֵאל 'God is strong,' or 'God strengthens'), the son of Buzi, was one of the temple priests who shared the exile of Jehoiachin in B.C. 597 (Ezk 1²·³, cf. 2 K 24¹⁴⁻¹⁶). His work as a prophet commenced in the fifth year of his banishment (1²), and extended over a period of not less than 22 years (592–570); the latest date in the book being the 'seven and twentieth year' of his sojourn in Babylonia (29¹⁷). This part of his life was spent (so far as appears) in a Jewish settlement at Tel-Abib (1¹ 3¹⁵), an unknown place near the 'river Chebar' (כְּבָר), which was probably a canal or a tributary of the Euphrates in the vicinity of Babylon,—certainly not the Ḥaboras (חָבוֹר 2 K 17⁶) in N. Mesopotamia. The life of this colony of expatriated Jews is but dimly reflected in the pages of

Ezk; the picture is partly supplemented by the 29th ch. of Jer. Those carried captive were the *élite* of the nation; and they seem to have lived in tolerably easy circumstances, enjoying a large measure of freedom and self-government, forming a little world of their own, and cherishing a passionate interest in the concerns of their native land. They kept up by some means an active intercourse with Jerus.; and, in spite of intense mutual antipathy between them and the ruling classes at home, they never ceased to regard themselves as part and parcel of the Heb. nation, confidently expecting that some great political upheaval would speedily restore them to their old place at the head of the state. This delusion was fostered by the rise of prophets of the same type as Jeremiah's opponents in Jerus.,—an event which was hailed with immense satisfaction, not unmixed with surprise, by the exiled community (Jer 29^{15}). The false patriotism thus engendered threatened to bring down the heavy arm of Nebuchadnezzar on the captives, and Jer., though his sympathies were with the patrician exiles rather than with the people left in the land (Jer 24^{1-3}), endeavoured to allay the dangerous political excitement which blinded them to their true position. Altogether, it would seem that the main currents of feeling and opinion prevalent in Pal. were reproduced with remarkable fidelity in the community where E. was destined to labour.

Although little is known of E.'s previous life, it cannot be doubted that he found himself from the first in an uncongenial social atmosphere. In spite of the statement of Jos. (*Ant.* x. vi. 3, παῖς ὤν), he was probably no longer a young man when deported to Babylon. The meaning of 'the 30th year' in ch. 1^{1} is too obscure to throw light on the matter, but his familiarity with the technical details of the temple and its ritual seems to show that he had officiated for a considerable time in the national sanctuary. The numerous points of contact between him and Jer. would indicate that he had come early under the influence of that great prophet, and from the whole trend of his thinking it seems probable that he had belonged to the reforming party in the state, which sought to purify the national religion in accordance with the requirements of the Deuteronomic legislation. That party had been powerless since the death of Josiah, and it is reasonable to suppose that E.'s stern and even embittered attitude towards the people was in part the fruit of the years of reaction and disappointment spent under the reign of Jehoiakim. As we have seen, there was nothing in the state of mind of his fellow-exiles to draw him into sympathy with them, although he certainly agreed with Jer. in regarding them as superior to those left behind (11^{14-21}). Accordingly, at the time of his consecration as a prophet, he appears with his convictions matured as to the character of his countrymen and the reception he may expect at their hands (2. 3 *pass.*). They are, to use one of his stereotyped phrases, a 'rebellious house,' brazen-faced and stiff-hearted children, a people that refuse to hear J", separated from Him by a moral and spiritual barrier more formidable than that caused by a strange language ($2^{3.4}$ 3^{5-7}). Although these facts are expressed in the form of divine communications to the prophet, they are not to be regarded as a new revelation of the disposition of his compatriots; they are rather the settled convictions of his life assuming definite shape in the light of his commission to speak the word of the Lord. They show, at all events, how fully he recognized the depth of the antagonism that prevailed between the prophetic conception of religion and the impulses that swayed the national mind both in Judæa and in Babylonia.

The actual circumstances of E.'s prophetic career are greatly obscured for us by the difficulty we have in separating what is real from what is merely imagined, in the representation given by the book. That everything did not happen literally as it is recorded, is evident enough from several indications. The symbolic actions described as performed by the prophet are in some instances incapable of a literal acceptation (see, *e.g.* $4^{5ff.}$ $5^{1ff.}$ 12^{18} etc.); yet there is no external criterion by which these can be distinguished from others which are possible. A similar uncertainty hangs over the events that are mentioned. These are never introduced for their own sake, but only as the setting of some idea which the writer wishes to enforce, and it is frequently impossible to determine how far the allusions correspond with actual experiences. In such incidents as the death of the prophet's wife ($24^{15ff.}$) or the opening of his mouth in the presence of 'the fugitive' (24^{27} 33^{22}), fact and symbolism seem to be so intimately blended that we cannot tell where the one ends and the other begins. The book, in short, is not an autobiography, but a systematic exposition of prophetic ideas, and any attempt to extract historical information from it has to be made with a certain measure of caution. At the same time, it is quite incredible that the whole representation should be nothing but an elaborate fiction, without any basis in fact. There can be no reasonable doubt that E. really exercised an oral public ministry amongst his fellow-captives, or that its main outlines may be gathered from the thin thread of narrative that runs through the book. His work was divided into two sharply contrasted periods by the overthrow of the Jewish state in the year 586; or, to speak more accurately, the first period ends with the commencement of the siege of Jerus. (Jan. 587, cf. 24^{1}), and the second opens with the reception in Babylon of the tidings of its fall (Jan. 585, cf. 33^{21}).* During the interval of two years, his public activity appears to have been suspended. Throughout the first period the almost exclusive theme of his preaching was the approaching destruction of Jerus., and the lessons of that event for the nation. His reiterated predictions of that inconceivable calamity made no impression on the mind of the exiles, and the prophet felt his energies cramped and paralyzed by the stolid incredulity which his message encountered. It is probable, however, that from the outset his character commanded respect; we read of visits paid to him in his own house by the 'elders' to inquire the word of the Lord (8^{1} 14^{1} 20^{1}), and there is no reason to dismiss these as dramatic inventions. Still less can we doubt the popularity of his public orations; for the picture of the people beguiling the tedium of their exile by listening to his fervid eloquence (33^{30-32}) is one of the notices which convey an irresistible impression of historical reality. In the second part of his career the tension between him and his hearers is greatly relaxed. The people were crushed by the terrible disaster that had befallen their nation, and the immediate effect was a feeling of despair expressed in such woeful utterances as those of 33^{10} 37^{11}. The prophet on his part adopts a more conciliatory attitude towards them, as he addresses himself to the task of setting forth the hopes and ideals on which the formation of a new Israel depended. The circle of his immediate auditors was probably widened at this time by the arrival of the new bands of captives from Judæa, amongst whom there must have been at least a few adherents of Jer., who would naturally rally round E. as the representative of their master's teaching. It has even been surmised that it was through this channel that E. first became acquainted with the writings of Jer., which have left so deep a mark on his thinking. This is unlikely, because it is hardly credible that he should have recast the substance of his oral prophecies under the literary influence of another prophet; and, moreover, he must have had abundant opportunity of knowing Jeremiah's teaching before his own captivity. But it must be admitted that with regard to all that took place after the fall of the city we are left almost entirely in the dark. There is but one allusion in the book to the relations between the earlier exiles and the later ($14^{22f.}$); and if it is at all coloured by the prophet's actual impressions after the event, it certainly does not encourage the notion that he found the new-comers hopeful material to work upon. It was probably not very long after the commencement of the second phase of his work that E. prepared the first written edition of his prophecies (see below). There is an interval of about 13 years (584–572) from which no prophecy is dated. What his occupations were during this period is of course unknown, but there are some signs that chs. 1–39 had been edited practically in their present form before the composition of 40–48. This last section may reveal the direction in which the prophet's thoughts had been moving in those years; and a still later oracle ($29^{17ff.}$) shows that he did not cease to be a close observer of public events.

---

* The MT gives as the date 'the 12th year' of Jehoiachin's captivity, *i.e.* 584. But it is hardly credible that the transmission of the news should have been delayed so long as 18 months, and hence the reading '11th year' found in the Syr. and some Heb. MSS is generally regarded as correct.

While the character of E.'s ministry does not differ essentially from that of his predecessors, it presents some exceptional features of a very instructive kind. The mere fact of his being an exile accounts for much that is peculiar in his method of working and his conception of his office. To say that he was no prophet at all, but merely a pastor exercising the cure of souls amongst those who came under his personal influence, is an exaggeration, but it is the exaggeration of a truth. His insistence on the independence of the individual soul before God (18. $33^{12ff.}$), and his comparison of himself to a watchman responsible for each person who perishes through not being warned of his danger ($3^{17ff.}$ $33^{1ff.}$), suggest that the care of the individual must have occupied a larger place in his work than was the case with the pre-exilic prophets. At a time when the unity of the nation was broken up, and the new kingdom of God had to be born in the hearts of those who embraced the hope set before them by the prophets, it was inevitable that a religious teacher should devote much of his attention to the conversion and spiritual direction of individuals. This, however, is a side of E.'s activity which does not directly come to light in the book; there are more subtle indications of the effect which his position as an exile had on his prophetic mission. It was by no means a matter of course, according to the ideas of the age, that prophecy could be transplanted to a foreign soil, and in reality it could not flourish there without losing some of its most characteristic functions. The older prophets had all more or less been religious politicians, in touch with the pulsations of a vigorous popular life, and bringing the word of God to bear directly on those national problems which arose out of the relation between J″ and the community of Israel. E.'s audience, on the other hand, was but a dismembered limb of the body politic; his political interests were remote and secondary, and the whole cast of his thinking betrays a sense of isolation from the main current of national life. This appears most clearly in his habit of treating the exiles as representatives of the larger Israel, with whose destinies he never ceased to concern himself. From the first he recognized that his mission had a double aspect: on the one hand he was sent to 'them of the Captivity'; and on the other hand he was a prophet to the whole house of Israel (cf. 3^{11} with 2^{3} 3^{4}). Thus he had two audiences, one real and present and the other ideal; and for the most part they are identified to such a degree that in addressing the exiles or their elders he fancies himself speaking to the idealized nation, whose members were then scattered far and wide over the world. It is an extension of the same tendency when he delivers imaginary discourses to those left in the land, or apostrophizes the mountains of Israel (6. 36), or exhibits the whole religious history of the people in elaborate allegories (16. 23), or even calls up from the past the vanished cities of Samaria and Sodom, and treats them as if they had a present existence, and a real interest in the unfolding of the divine purpose ($16^{46ff.}$ $23^{36ff.}$). It is obvious that oratory of this description comes very near being independent of an audience altogether; and some perception of this fact is perhaps revealed by the too facile appreciation which it received from the immediate hearers. And although E. never abandoned the practice of public speaking, it is undoubtedly the case that in his hands prophecy became far more of a literary occupation than it had hitherto been. A perusal of the book shows that it has been carefully planned with an eye to literary effect; and if the prophet had simply worked out his conceptions in the solitude of his chamber, the result would hardly have differed much from what we actually find. More than any of his predecessors he lives in a world of abstract ideas, which are more vividly real to his imagination than the circumstances of his everyday life; though now and then an echo from the outer world breaks in to remind us that after all he was no mere recluse, but a man of large experience, keenly observant of the life of his time. Several things, indeed, go to show that his intellectual interests reached far beyond the Jewish world in which he lived. His long and accurate enumeration of the natural and industrial products of different countries (27), exhibits a knowledge of contemporary commerce which is surprising in a Heb. prophet. It is probable also that he had gained some new impressions from his sojourn amidst the monuments of a strange civilization in the Euphrates valley. The conception of the cherubim in chs. 1. 10 appears to borrow some of its features from the composite animal figures of Babylonian art; and in other parts of the book some striking phraseological coincidences have been thought to suggest a direct influence of the cuneiform inscriptions (Müller, p. 56 ff.).

There is, however, another feature of E.'s work which cannot be wholly explained by the novelty of his position, and has sometimes been regarded as the result of abnormal physical states to which the prophet was subject. Amongst the most perplexing references in the book are those to a spell of 'dumbness,' which lay upon him from near the commencement of his ministry till the announcement of the fall of Jerus. (cf. $3^{26f.}$ 24^{27} 33^{22}). Closely akin to this is the representation of his being bound with ropes (3^{25}), and lying immovable for months together on one side or the other for a sign to the house of Israel, although at the same time performing actions which formed a necessary part of the sign ($4^{4ff.}$) There seems no strong reason why all these descriptions should not be treated as of a piece with the general symbolism which runs through the book. But to some recent interpreters they have suggested the theory that throughout the earlier part of his ministry E. laboured under nervous diseases of the most distressing kind, and utilized his symptoms as a means of impressing certain truths on the minds of his fellow-exiles. This view was first expounded, with great learning and ingenuity, by Klostermann, who found in E.'s condition all the marks of catalepsy, hemiplegia, alalia, hallucination, and so forth. It is difficult to believe that he has advanced the cause of sober and scientific interpretation of Scripture. The truth would seem to lie rather with those writers who regard these representations as imaginative symbols, interesting as illustrations of the prophet's mode of thought, but not answering to anything external in his life. The 'dumbness' is but a strong figure for the sense of restraint and defeat caused by the incredulity of the people, lasting till the prophet's authority was established by the fulfilment of his main prediction (cf. 29^{21}). So the actions of ch. 4 symbolize partly the siege of Jerus., and partly the captivity of the two branches of the house of Israel; and their meaning as signs is inconsistent with the supposition that they were exhibitions of a bodily malady, unless we are to assume a miracle, to which the history of OT prophecy furnishes no parallel. It is, of course, equally inconceivable that the signs should have been enacted in pantomime, either in presence of the people or in solitude; and the same remark applies to many others of the symbolic actions which are described. Except in so far as the suggestions may have originated in an ecstatic state of mind, they do not appear to differ from the ordinary operations of the fancy in bodying forth mental processes by means of sensible imagery.

The Book of Ezekiel (save for a somewhat corrupt text) exists in the form in which it left the hands of its author, differing in this respect from the two other great prophetical collections, which took shape through the labours of successive editors. Neither the unity nor the authenticity of Ezekiel has been questioned by more than a very small minority of scholars.* Not only does it bear the stamp of a single mind in its phraseology, its imagery, and its mode of thought, but it is arranged on a plan so perspicuous and so comprehensive that the evidence of literary design in the composition becomes altogether irresistible. Critics are divided as to the best principle of classification, some preferring a twofold, others a threefold or even a fourfold division; but all are agreed that the work falls into certain large sections intended to represent successive phases of Ezekiel's ministry. Within the general scheme the order is on the whole chronological, although it may be doubted how far the chronology is to be taken literally, or how far it is meant to separate different groups of oracles.

CONTENTS.—i. The first division (chs. 1-24) embraces about a half of the book, and corresponds to the first period of E.'s work, consisting almost exclusively of prophecies of judgment, such as he uttered before the destruction of Jerusalem. These have no doubt been considerably altered and amplified in the course of writing, and it is possible that here and there traces of a later point of view may be apparent. Minor sections are partly suggested by the dates prefixed to certain chapters (see 8^{1} 20^{1}); in other cases they can be recognized by internal indications. **1.** Chs. 1–3 describe the ecstatic experiences by which the prophet was prepared for his work, including, *first*, an elaborate description of the divine chariot which occupies so prominent a place in the book (cf. 3^{23} 8^{4} 43^{3}), and the glory of Him who sat on it (ch. 1); *second*, his commission to declare the word of God to Israel, his inspiration being set forth under the symbol of eating the roll of a book (chs. 2^{1}–3^{15}); *third* (after an interval of 7 days), a more precise definition of his office as that of a watchman to warn every individual of his danger (3^{16-21}); *lastly*, a second ecstasy, in which he receives the command to shut himself up within his house, and to appear in public only when charged with a special message to the people (3^{22-27}). It has been supposed that this last passage refers to a time considerably later than the inaugural vision, and marks the close of a tentative phase of the prophet's work, in which he sought to exercise the function of a public censor, until compelled to desist by the obstinate resistance of the community. It is more probable, however, that the verses merely express on its negative side the same conception of his office as is given in vv.$^{16-21}$; the prophet is a watchman, because the function of a 'reprover' is denied to him from the outset by his peculiar situation. **2.** In chs. 4–7 the fate of the city and nation is set forth, first, dramatically in a complicated series of symbols (4^{1}–5^{4}), then in three impassioned orations addressed to the city ($5^{5\text{ff.}}$), the land (6), and the people (7). In the signs of ch. 4 the prophet appears to represent simultaneously two facts—the siege of Jerus. and the captivity of the two branches of the Heb. nation. The time of Judah's exile is fixed as 40 years,—a round number for the period of Chaldæan supremacy,—that of N. Israel at 390 years in the MT, but 190 according to the LXX. Since the destruction of Samaria preceded that of Jerus. roughly speaking by a cent. and a half, and since both captivities terminate simultaneously, the latter figure must be accepted as the orig. reading. **3.** The next group of prophecies (chs. 8–11) is an account of a vision of the destruction of Jerus., which is important for the glimpses it gives into the state of things in the city at that time. After reciting the abominations practised in the temple (8), it describes, under symbols, the slaughter of the people (9), and the burning of the city (10), and ends with the departure of the Lord from the sanctuary, in token that city and temple were abandoned to their fate (11). The visionary form in which these truths are clothed is remarkable; the prophet falls into a trance in presence of the elders of Judah, the scenes mentioned pass before his inward eye, and he awakes with a special message of consolation to the exiles, who felt keenly the reproach of being cast out from J″'s heritage. **4.** A new section begins with ch. 12, and extends apparently to the end of ch. 19. The fundamental theme is still the same, but the treatment of it is more discursive and theological. The author appears to have in view various false ideals to which the people clung, and which he seeks to demolish as obstacles to the reception of his message. Thus in 12^{1-20} 17. 19 he announces the fate of the king (Zedekiah), on whom the people naturally looked as the anointed of J″ (cf. La 4^{20}), but who, by his perfidy to the king of Babylon (17), had brought ruin on himself and his kingdom. A certain sympathy with the misfortunes of the royal house is manifested by the beautiful dirge of ch. 19. Another section (12^{21}–14^{11}) deals with the wrong use of prophecy, and the existence of false prophets, as causes of the popular unbelief. Ch. 15 (Israel a charred and worthless vine branch) strikes a blow at the false patriotism which sustained the people's pride under their accumulated national calamities, and ch. 16 exhibits in an allegory the true character of Jerus. as the ungrateful and unfaithful spouse of J″. Ch. 18 asserts the absolute righteousness of God in His dealings with individual men, and thus indirectly assails the prevalent doctrine of the solidarity of the nation, which had begotten a cynical temper of mind expressed by the proverb: 'the fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are blunted' (v.^{2}). But it must be admitted that this group of discourses hardly differs in general character from that which follows. **5.** The last division (chs. 20-24) contains three oracles (20. 22. 23) of the nature of formal arraignments of the people of Israel, in which the moral necessity of its destruction is shown from its past history and its present condition. The keynote of ch. 20 is found in the remarkable purpose attributed to the people, that they would assimilate themselves to the heathen, worshipping wood and stone (v.^{32}). It is impossible to say whether this refers to a particular current of opinion beginning to prevail among the exiles, or whether it is an expression of the spirit manifested by the nation at all times of its history. In either case the argument of the chapter is directed to show that the destinies of Israel had been determined by a power higher than its own natural proclivities,—namely, J″'s regard for the glory of His name,—and that that power would yet break the idolatrous tendencies of the nation, and make Israel to be in fact, as it was in name, the people of J″. Ch. 22 is an enumeration of the religious and social corruptions prevalent in Jerus., now on the eve of its destruction; ch. 23 is an allegory, in the manner of ch. 16, exhibiting the immoralities of the two profligate sisters, **Ohola** (Samaria) and **Oholibah** (Jerus.). The two remaining discourses were composed under the immediate influence of contemporary events. Ch. 21 (containing the wild 'song of the sword,' vv.$^{14-21}$ [EV $^{9-17}$]) refers to the march of Nebuchadnezzar's army against Jerus. Ch. 24 records the dramatic close of the first period of E.'s activity. On the very day when the Chaldæans invested Jerus. he uttered a final oracle announcing its fate. The death of the prophet's wife on the evening of the same day becomes the occasion of a symbol of the despair and bewilderment that will seize on the exiles when they receive tidings of the fall of the city.

ii. The next eight chapters (25–32) consist of prophecies against the foreign nations (seven in number) lying immediately round the land of Canaan; viz. Ammon, Moab, Edom, and the Philistines (25), Tyre (26–28^{19}), Sidon (28^{20-26}), and Egypt (29–32).

---

* The chief exceptions are Zunz, who first (*Gottesdienstliche Vorträge der Juden*, 1832) assigned the book to the early Pers. period, and afterwards (*ZDMG* xxvii. 676 ff.) brought it down to the years 440-400 (the earlier view, however, is allowed to stand in the posthumous ed. of the *Vorträge*, 1892); Geiger (*Urschrift*, p. 23), who held a similar view; and Seinecke (*Gesch. d. V. Israel*, i. p. 138, 1876), who placed the author as late as B.C. 164-163.

The insertion of these oracles in this place is an instance of the constructive skill which planned the order of the book. They fill up the interval of silence which separates the two periods of E.'s public ministry; and although most of them no doubt belong chronologically to the two years of retirement, there are some which bear a later date (see 29^{17} $32^{1.\ 17}$), showing that the principle of arrangement is literary and not historical. The section, moreover, embodies a distinct idea in the prophet's eschatological scheme. The motive of the judgments announced is to prepare the way for the restoration of Israel, by removing the evil influences which had sprung from the people's contact with its heathen neighbours in the past (28^{24-26} 29^{16}). Historically, these judgments are conceived as taking place within the 40 years of the Chaldæan dominion (29^{13}), and of Israel's banishment. In the case of Tyre and Egypt, Nebuchadnezzar is expressly named as the instrument of J″'s purpose; the extinction of the smaller nationalities is ascribed to other agencies, which, however, are probably indirect consequences of a Bab. invasion. The supplementary oracle on Tyre (29^{17-21}) was written after the 13 years' siege of that city by Nebuchadnezzar, and was evidently intended to counteract the impression produced by the non-fulfilment of the original prediction.

iii. Chs. 33–39 contain the discourses delivered in the period immediately succeeding the arrival of the 'fugitive' with the intelligence of Jerusalem's fall, when the prophet's mouth was again opened to declare the word of J″ ($33^{21f.}$). The collection is prefaced (33^{1-20}) by a re-statement of the function of the prophet under the figure of a watchman, as in $3^{17\,ff.}$; then comes the account of his meeting with the bearer of the evil tidings, and the oracles uttered (apparently) on that occasion (33^{21-33}). These are followed by three distinct and complete pictures of the redemption and restitution of Israel: (*a*) the ideal monarchy as contrasted with the corrupt administration of the pre-exilic kings (34); (*b*) the land, reclaimed from the Edomites, endowed with supernatural fertility, purified from its ceremonial defilement, shall be given as an eternal possession to Israel (35 f.); (*c*) the people, now scattered and dead like dry bones, shall arise to a new life, Ephraim and Judah being united under one sceptre for ever (37). Ch. 38 f. describe the final assault on the kingdom of God by the distant nations of the world under Gog from the land of Magog, and their annihilation on the mountains of Israel, resulting in a demonstration of the might of J″ to all the ends of the earth. This remarkable prophecy, representing the utmost limit of E.'s prophetic horizon, has the appearance of being intended as a conclusion to the book. This fact, taken in connexion with the long period of silence which follows, and a certain change of view manifested in 40 ff., strongly suggests that the first edition of the prophecies really ended here, the remaining section having been added afterwards as an appendix.

iv. Chs. 40-48, a vision of the ideal theocracy, with the institutions by which the holiness of the redeemed people is to be expressed and maintained. There is, first, a description of the sanctuary where J″ is to dwell in visible splendour (40–43); then, regulations as to the ministers of the temple, the duties and revenues of the priests and the 'prince,' and the system of ritual to be observed (44–46); lastly, a delimitation of the holy land,—which is transformed by a miraculous river issuing from the sanctuary,—and a new disposition of the tribes within it (47 f.). Although these chapters may have been a later addition to the volume, they rest throughout on the teaching of the earlier part of the book, and are the development of principles there enunciated. The chief point of difference relates to the position of the prince, whose office is hedged about with constitutional safeguards and restrictions, hardly applicable to the perfect Ruler spoken of in ch. 34.

LITERARY STYLE.—The style of the book exhibits a falling off from the idiomatic purity of earlier writers, like Amos or Isaiah. The influence of Aramaic is more perceptible than in any previous prophet; the construction is loose, and, as a rule, prosaic; the constant recurrence of mannerisms and set phrases is at times monotonous, although the lack of variety is often compensated by a large rhythmic movement of the thought, running like a ground-swell through some of the longer orations. It is, on the whole, the careful and elaborate style of a literary man rather than that of a public speaker in living touch with his audience. With obscurity it cannot fairly be charged, for the serious difficulties which the book presents are mostly due to the imperfect condition of the text.

Of the higher qualities of E.'s genius the most striking is a powerful and grandiose imagination, which reveals itself in a variety of directions, now revelling in weird mythological conceptions (28. 32), and at other times clothing itself in the peculiar artificial realism which has been already remarked as a feature of the book. That there was a vein of true poetry in his nature is proved by his effective use of the *ḳînāh* or dirge (especially in the beautiful lament over the banished princes of the royal house, ch. 19), as well as by the many fine images which occur throughout the book. His first conceptions, indeed, are almost invariably beautiful and true, although to our minds their æsthetic effect is frequently lost through over-elaboration. E. is perhaps not more deficient in plastic power than Heb. writers generally; but in his case the defect is more apparent from his love of detail, and his anxiety to exhaust the didactic significance of every conception before he can persuade himself to let it go. Thus the comparison of Tyre to a stately vessel, moored by the shore (27), which Isaiah might have presented in a verse or two, is spread out over a long chapter by the help of an inventory of the ship's cargo, which is really a valuable statistical survey of Phœn. imports. Again, the image of Jerus. as a foundling child (16) is intrinsically as beautiful as any to be found in prophecy; but when drawn out into an allegory of the whole history of the nation, its unity is dissipated by the multitude of details that have to be crowded into it. A similar criticism has often been passed on his description of his opening vision, as contrasted with the sixth chapter of Isaiah. On the other hand, the prophet's talent for lucid and methodical exposition appears to advantage when he comes to deal with practical and technical matters, as in the description of the sanctuary (40 ff.) A certain architectonic faculty is, in truth, a marked characteristic of his intellect, being visible alike in his plan of the temple buildings, in his sketch of the theocratic institutions, and in the orderly arrangement and division of the book.

RELIGIOUS TEACHING.—E.'s rank as a religious teacher may be summed up under two general aspects. In the first place, he gave definite and almost dogmatic expression to the great religious truths which were the presuppositions of all previous prophecy, combining these into a comprehensive theory of the divine providence; and, in the second place, by giving a peculiar direction to the Messianic hope, he made it a practical ideal in the life of the nation, and the starting-point of a new religious development.

The first of these aspects is abundantly illustrated by the contents of chs. 1–39. While the substance of these chapters presents no single element which may not be traced in the writings of earlier prophets, there is none which does not receive a more distinct intellectual expression in the hands of Ezekiel. He is concerned to exhibit the immanent logic of the abstract principles involved in the relations between God and the world; and, as we read, the outlines of a grand theological system are gradually disclosed to the mind. Only a few outstanding features of this system can here be mentioned. 1. The prophet's idea of God, which is expressed by the visions in chs. 1. 8. 10. 43, has more of a transcendental character than that of his predecessors. Those divine attributes which we call metaphysical, expressing the relation of the Godhead to created existence as a whole, are emphasized more than by previous writers, and are those chiefly symbolized by the heavenly chariot of the visions. And this view of God enters deeply into the fibre of E.'s teaching. While he does not lose hold of the truth that J″ is a moral person having the attributes of anger, jealousy, pity, etc., he is never weary of insisting that the activity of the divine being must be self-centred, the supreme motive of all His dealings with men, whether in mercy or in judgment, being the manifestation of His own Godhead ('They shall know that I am J″'). It is easy to exaggerate this doctrine in a way that would misrepresent the prophet's meaning; but the reiterated assertion of it shows that it is a truth to which he himself attaches the utmost importance. 2. Another instance of the same tendency to rigorous and even extreme statement of a prophetic principle is found in his conception of Israel. In opposition to Hosea, Isaiah, and Jeremiah, he denies that there was any good time in the nation's past, tracing the idolatrous proclivities of the people back to the sojourn in the wilderness and the oppression in Egypt ($20^{8.\ 24}$ 23^{2}). Thus, while all the prophets teach or assume that the relation between J″ and Israel rests on a free elective act of God, E. takes the further step of assigning as the positive ground of this relationship J‴'s regard for the glory of His name in the eyes of the nations (20 *pass.*). 3. From this position an important consequence follows. Since the honour of J″ is historically identified with the destinies of Israel, the final disclosure of His divinity can be accomplished only by the restoration of this people to its own land, under conditions which reflect the holy nature of J″. E. is alive to the false impression of the God of Israel naturally produced on the heathen mind by the great national calamity of the Exile (36^{20}). This effect must be wiped out when the lesson of the history is complete (39^{23}). The same principle of the divine action which caused the temporary rejection of Israel becomes the guarantee of its ultimate redemption. The prophet is thus led to a conception of salvation in which everything depends on the sovereign irresistible grace of God, which breaks the stubborn heart of the people, and produces in them an abiding sense of shame and self-contempt, and bestows on them a new spirit, causing them to walk in His statutes and keep His judgments to do them (6^{9} 11^{19} 16^{63} 20^{43} $36^{26\text{ff.}}$ 37^{14} $39^{28\text{f.}}$). 4. The doctrine which is usually considered E.'s most distinctive contribution to theology is the doctrine of the freedom and responsibility of the individual soul before God. But even here he builds on the foundation laid by his predecessors. The conception of religion as personal fellowship between the individual and God is implicitly contained in the consciousness which all the prophets have of their own relation to J″; and in Jer the truth is enunciated that what had hitherto been the possession of the prophets is the form which the perfect religion must assume universally. It was reserved for E., however, to formulate the principle logically, showing that neither the burden of hereditary guilt nor the sins of a man's past can hinder the action of God's forgiving mercy towards the penitent sinner (18).

But the part of Ezekiel's work that was destined to have the most direct and powerful historical influence was the ideal embodied in the vision of chs. 40–48. The unique significance of that remarkable creation lies in the fact that under the form of a Messianic prophecy it presents the scheme of a politico-religious constitution in which the fundamental idea of holiness is applied to the regulation of every part of the national life. It is a picture of the kingdom of God in its final and perfect state as this prophet was led to conceive it. The ruling conception is that of J″ dwelling in visible glory in His sanctuary in the midst of His people, and the practical purpose of the vision is to set forth the conditions on Israel's part which such a relation involves. That the institutions prescribed are mainly of a priestly character is partly due to the fact that E. was himself a priest, deeply imbued with the traditions of his office; but still more to his perception of the inherent fitness of the priestly idea of holiness to be the formal principle of a theocratic polity giving expression to the essential character of Israel as the people of J″. How fully the ideal met the needs of the time is shown by its operation in all the best tendencies of the Restoration period. This is not the place to discuss the bearing of E.'s ideal legislation on the development of the pentateuchal laws (see HEXATEUCH). The view of most recent critics is that he occupies a position intermediate between the Book of Deut. and the composition of the so-called Priestly Code; and it can hardly be denied that the peculiar features of E.'s system are more fully explained on this theory than on any other (see esp. the regulations as to the status of the Levites, ch. 44). But, setting aside the purely critical question, the fact is clear that the whole movement by which the new Israel was consolidated proceeded on the lines foreshadowed in E.'s vision. His position in this respect may be compared with that of Augustine in the history of the Latin Church. What the *civitas Dei* was to mediæval Christendom, that the vision of E. was to post-exilic Judaism: each furnished the ideal that moulded the polity of the age that followed. To what extent this section of the Book of E. was adopted as a legislative programme by the leaders of the Return cannot be precisely determined from the somewhat meagre records at our disposal (see Smith, *OTJC*^{2} p. 442 f.) But it is important to observe that the Messianic hope as set forth by E. formed one of the most powerful impulses that made for the reconstruction of the Jewish state. We learn from Hag and Zec that the erection of the second temple was carried through under the conviction that that unpretentious edifice was to be the centre of a renovated world, and the earnest of the latter-day glory just about to dawn; while the expectation that the Lord would suddenly come to His temple meets us nearly a cent. later in the book of Malachi. These are conceptions which it would be difficult to understand otherwise than as consequences of the work of Ezekiel.

As compared with his master Jeremiah, or Is 40 ff., Ezekiel's teaching as a whole appears lacking in breadth of sympathy and evangelical freedom, and to be a preparation for an age of legalism rather than for the fulness of the Christian dispensation. He is not quoted expressly by any NT writer, and it is doubtful if he has directly influenced any except the author of the Apoc., who was familiar with the book and has drawn largely on its imagery. But while all this is true, there are many things in E. which give him a high place amongst the heralds of Christ in OT. His clear assertion of the value of the individual soul and of the efficacy of repentance, his profound sense of sin as ingratitude, and of the need of a new heart in order to fulfil the law of God, his impassioned vindication of the character of God as merciful and eager to forgive, are amongst the brightest gems of spiritual truth to be found in the pages of prophecy.

LITERARY HISTORY.—Of the literary history of the book little needs to be said. It is mentioned by the son of Sirach (49^{8}) in a connexion which shows that it formed part of the prophetical Canon in his time (*c.* B.C. 200). In the order given by the Talmudic treatise *Baba bathra* (14^{b}) it stands second amongst the greater prophets, being preceded by Jer and followed by Isaiah. A further statement in the same source that the book was written (like Dn, Est, and the Twelve Prophets) by 'the men of the Great Synagogue,' has no significance, unless it be an inference from the theory that no prophetic book could be written outside of the Holy Land (so Rashi, quoted by Ryle, *Canon of OT*, p. 263 f.). According to Jerome (*præfatio ad Ezech.*), certain parts of it were, on account of their obscurity, forbidden to be read by any Jew under the age of 30 years; and its deviations from the Mosaic Law caused doubts to be expressed as to its canonical authority as late as the 1st cent. A.D. According to one tradition, it narrowly escaped being ‘hidden’ (*i.e.* reduced to the rank of an apocryphal work) for this reason, but was saved from that fate by one Hananiah ben-Hezekiah, who reconciled the discrepancies. Unfortunately, the works of this self-sacrificing scholar have perished as completely as the 300 measures of oil which he is reported to have consumed in their preparation.

LITERATURE.—Ewald, *Proph. d. A.B.* vol. ii. (1841, 1868); Hävernick, *Comm. über den Pr. E.* (1843); Hitzig, *der Pr. E. erklärt* (1847); Fairbairn, *Exposition of the Book of E.* (1851); Henderson, *The Book of the Pr. E. transl.* etc. (1855); Hengstenberg, *Der Pr. E.* (1867); Keil, *Der Pr. E.* (1868); Currey, *Speaker's Comm.* vol. vi. (1876); Klostermann in *SK* (1877); Smend, *Der Pr. E.* (1880); Cornill, *Der Pr. E.* (1882), and *Das Buch des Pr. E.* (1886); v. Orelli, *Kurzgef. Commentar* (1888); Gautier, *La mission du Pr. E.* (1891); Davidson, *Camb. Bible for Schools* (1892); Skinner, *Expositor's Bible* (1895); Müller, *Ezechiel-Studien* (1895); Bertholet, *Der Verfassungsentwurf des Hes.* (1896); and *Das Buch Hes.* (*Kurzer Handkom.* 1897). See also Kuenen, *Onderzoek*, *Godsdienst van Israël*, and *Profeten en Profetie*; Duhm, *Theologie der Propheten*; Horst, *Levit.* 17–26 *und Hezekiel*; articles by Schrader, Diestel, and Orelli in the Encyclopædias of Schenkel, Riehm, and Herzog: and by Black in *Encyc. Brit.*^{9} J. SKINNER.

EZEL (הָאֶזֶל [הָאֶבֶן] ‘[stone of] departure’).—The spot where Jonathan arranged to meet David before the latter's final departure from the court of Saul (1 S 20^{19}). The place is not mentioned elsewhere, and it is now generally admitted that the Heb. text of this passage is corrupt. The true reading seems to have been preserved by the LXX, which renders v.^{19} *καὶ καθήσῃ παρὰ τὸ* Ἐργὰβ (A, *ἔργον*) *ἐκεῖνο*, and again, at v.^{41} *end* (where the same place is mentioned), renders *καὶ Δαυεὶδ ἀνέστη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀργὰβ* (A, *τοῦ ὕπνου*). The translators evidently had the same word before them in both verses, and did not understand it; they therefore simply transliterated the Hebrew. If, then, we restore from the LXX in v.^{19} הָאַרְגָּב הַלָּז (הַלָּאז)= ‘yonder cairn,’ for האבן האזל; and in v.^{41} מֵאֵצֶל הָאַרְגָּב =‘from beside the cairn,’ for מאצל הנגב, the unknown ‘Ezel’ of v.^{19} disappears, and the indefinite terms of v.^{41} are replaced by a suitable reference to v.^{19} (so Thenius, Wellh., Driver, Budde; cf. W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} 80 f.).

J. F. STENNING.

EZEM (עֶצֶם), 1 Ch 4^{29}.—See AZMON.

EZER.—**1.** (אֵצֶר) A Horite ‘duke’ (Gn 36^{21}, 1 Ch 1^{38}). In the latter passage AV has Ezar. **2.** (עֵזֶר) A son of Ephraim who, acc. to 1 Ch 7^{21}, was slain by the men of Gath. **3.** A Judahite (1 Ch 4^{4}). **4.** A Gadite chief who joined David (1 Ch 12^{9}). **5.** A son of Jeshua who helped to repair the wall (Neh 3^{19}). **6.** A priest who officiated at the dedication of the walls (Neh 12^{42}). J. A. SELBIE.

EZION-GEBER, עֶצְיוֹן גֶּבֶר, is mentioned amongst the stations of the Israelites (Nu 33^{35} and Dt 2^{8}). In the latter passage and elsewhere in the OT it is coupled with Elath in such a way as to imply that the one was in the immediate neighbourhood of the other. This circumstance enables us to fix the situation of Ezion-geber with tolerable confidence. It lay in the extreme south of the territory of Edom, at the head of the *Ælanitis Sinus* or Gulf of Akabah. Edom having been subjugated by David (2 S 8^{14}), Solomon naturally utilized E. for ship-building purposes, and made it the port for his navy, which was engaged in the gold trade with Ophir (1 K 9^{26}). His success encouraged Jehoshaphat to undertake a similar enterprise, but with disastrous results. ‘Jehoshaphat made ships of Tarshish to go to Ophir for gold; but they went not, for the ships were broken at Ezion-geber’ (1 K 22^{48} and 2 Ch 20$^{36.37}$). Ezion-geber is mentioned also by Josephus (*Ant.* VIII. vi. 4), who tells us that it was afterwards known by the name of Berenice. E. is prob. the modern *‘Ain el-Ghuḍyan* (Robinson, i. 169 f.). See further, Driver on Dt 2^{8}.

J. A. SELBIE.

EZNITE.—See ADINO.

EZORA (Ἐζωρά, AV Ozora).—The sons of Ezora, in 1 Es 9^{34}, take the place of the strange name Machnadebai (or Mabnadebai, AVm) in Ezr 10^{40}, where there is no indication of a fresh family. The first part of the phrase in Es (*ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν*), representing an original מִבְּנֵי, seems to show that the name in the canonical book is due to the running together of two or more words; it is, in any case, a proof that 1 Es is independent of the Greek Ezra, which has Μαχαδναβού.

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

EZRA (עֶזְרָא).—**1.** The famous leader connected with Israel's Return. Our sources of information concerning him are Ezr 7–10, Neh 8–10, and the apocryphal books.* Some writers have preferred the apocr. 1 Esdras to the canonical Ezra, but on quite insufficient grounds.† The apocr. books are useful in showing the views held about Ezra at a later time, but we must in the main rely upon the canonical books.

E. is called the priest, the priest-scribe, and in 2 Es the prophet. He was of a priestly family, but, as his work was chiefly that of the scribe, that designation gradually supersedes the others. E. represents in a way the transition from the prophet to the scribe, but his prophetic functions are not conspicuous except in the apocr. literature.‡

The Exile had been a period of considerable literary activity. One of the greatest prophets heralded the deliverance of Cyrus (Deutero-Isaiah); Ezekiel had produced his book in Babylonia, drawing up an elaborate scheme for the new state, which he declared would arise upon the ruins of the old; and many noble psalms come from this time. But the period was characterized not so much by the creation of a new literature as by the study of what already existed. E. the ‘ready scribe in the law of Moses’ was not a mere copyist, nor the author of the law, but a diligent student of the law.

E. longed to go to Jerus. and put the law into effect there, to establish a real hagiocracy, ‘the law’ being the supreme authority in civil and religious affairs alike. Artaxerxes was not so tolerant of foreign religions as Cyrus had been, nevertheless E. won his goodwill, and secured a royal edict, clothing him with ample authority to carry out his purpose. This edict has been preserved in Aramaic (Ezr 7$^{12-26}$); and while many regard this as a Jewish version, it is in the main trustworthy.§ All Jews who felt so inclined were free to depart from Babylon; E. was authorized to carry the offerings for the temple made by the king and by the Jews; to purchase sacrificial animals, and to use the rest of the money as he and his brethren saw fit; to draw upon the royal treasury in the province of Syria for further necessary supplies; to exempt the temple officers and servants from the Persian tax; to appoint officers to execute the law of God, teaching such as were unacquainted with it; and to enforce the law of God and of the Persian king by penalty even to fines, imprisonment, banishment, or death.

In the year B.C. 458 E. gathered a caravan of some 1800 males, including 38 Levites who had been persuaded to join the company. E. had said so much to the king about God's ample protection to His servants that he was ashamed to ask for the usual escort. After fasting and praying for a safe journey, the company set out, and in four months reached the holy city.

---

* On the Apocr. see Bensly, *Fourth Book of Ezra*, p. 86.

† Kuenen, *Relig. of Israel*, ii.; see discussion in *Academy*, 1895–96.

‡ On Ezra the scribe see *OTJC*^{2} p. 42 f.; *PRE*^{2} iv. 335.

§ See under art. EZRA-NEHEMIAH, BOOKS OF.

E. did not find a community ready and eager for the new government which he was authorized to establish. Many of the people were prosperous (Hag 1^4), but there was not that spirit of simple devotion to the God of Israel which the zealous E. regarded as essential. E. was informed that many Jews, including even priests and princes, had taken foreign wives. He knew the story of Solomon's decline (1 K 11); he perceived the danger now of a relapse into idolatry; above all, he feared the consequences of further disobedience of the law of God (Dt 7^3). Shecaniah, as the representative of the people who had been much moved by the prayer which E. poured forth in their presence (9$^{6-15}$), proposed that the people should put away the foreign wives and their children. E. accepted the proposition, and exacted an oath on the spot that the offenders would comply with this agreement. A decree was issued by the princes and elders that all the people should assemble at Jerus. within three days, under penalty of confiscation of goods and excommunication. But the assembly found the task too great to be accomplished in an open-air meeting during a severe winter storm, and the matter was referred to a divorce court, with E. at its head.[*] After three months' labour, and not without opposition apparently (Ezr 10^{15} RV),[†] the work of the court was finished, and many innocent women and children were cast out, as Hagar and Ishmael had been.

The account of E.'s formal institution of the law is found in Neh 8–10. Neh. had come to Jerus. in B.C. 444. His first work was the rebuilding of the walls. According to the compiler of Ezr-Neh (see further on the BOOKS OF EZR AND NEH), it was after this event that E. read the law to the people assembled at Jerus., and obtained their pledge to observe it. It is singular that E., who had brought the law to Jerus. for the purpose of making it the code of the community, should not have promulgated it sooner. It may be that Stade is right in supposing that E. had aroused the hostility of the people by the compulsory divorce, and that the times were not ripe before (*Gesch.* ii. 173 f.); or it may be that the chronology is not exact, as the compilation was made long after the events described, and the description of the reading of the law interrupts Nehemiah's narrative (cf. 7$^{4.5}$, 11$^{1.2}$).[‡]

On the second day's reading the people heard the directions for observing the feast of booths. Steps were taken at once to celebrate this feast, and the reading of the law was continued on each day of its observance. Two days later a great fast was held, the people separating themselves from strangers, and confessing their sin. E. gave utterance to a remarkable prayer,[§] praising God for His great goodness to Israel, deploring the apostasy and disobedience of the people, and tracing the past misfortunes of the nation, as well as their present condition of vassalage, to their great sins.[‖]

The relation of E. and Neh. is one of the perplexing problems of this period. Neh. in his memoirs mentions E. but once (12^{36}).[¶] In the E. portions of Neh, Nehemiah is mentioned but once (8^9).[**] There is scant justification for Ewald's statement that 'the chronicler unites these two men very closely in his representations' (*Hist.* v. 161). E. and Nehemiah were granted high authority in the Judæan colony, and that in the same sphere. Yet Nehemiah entirely ignores E.[*] Their purposes were different, it is true, one desiring to promote especially the religious welfare of the colony, the other the political; but among the Jews these spheres overlapped or rather interlaced at all points. It is probable that E.'s chief work in Jerus. was accomplished before Nehemiah's arrival.[†]

E. made a lasting impression upon the Jewish people. The development of the later Jewish life followed the lines laid down by him. This is due, not so much to his keen foresight in forecasting the future, as to the fact that his influence shaped Jewish life and thought in a way from which it never wholly departed. He gave the law an authority which it had never had before in Jewish history. This zeal was contagious, and accounts for that enthusiasm for the letter of the law which characterizes later ages.

LITERATURE.—Besides works referred to above, see *PRE*^{2} art. 'Esra und Nehemia'; *OTJC*^{2} p. 168; Wellhausen, *Hist. of Isr. and Jud.* 130 ff.; see also literature at end of foll. art.

2. The eponym of a priestly family which returned with Zerubbabel, Neh 12$^{1.12.33}$ = AZARIAH of Neh 10^2.　　L. W. BATTEN.

EZRA AND NEHEMIAH, THE BOOKS OF.—There is much gain in treating these two books together. They present similar problems; they deal with the same period; they were originally one in the Jewish canon; and they were put into their present form by the same hand.

That Ezr-Neh constituted but one book in the early Jewish canon is indisputable. The Massoretes have appended notes to the end of each book of OT, stating the number of verses, etc. There are no such notes at the end of Ezr, but those at the end of Neh include both books: 'the book of Ezr contains 685 verses, and the middle verse is ובין עלית הפנה' (Neh 3^{32}). The Massoretic sections show that our two books were regarded as one, one section being Ezr 8^{35}–Neh 2^1.[‡] The twenty-two sacred books do not allow Neh to be reckoned as a separate book. The Talm., in giving the origin of the various books, says that 'Ezra wrote his book,' and does not mention Neh, manifestly including it with Ezr. In LXX the two are included under Esdras B in Swete's ed.; under Esdras A in the ed. of Lagarde.[§]

Ezr-Neh precedes Ch in the Heb. Bible, but follows it in the LXX. The illogical order of the Heb. has been attributed to the earlier acceptance of Ezr-Neh into the canon. It is by no means certain that the present Heb. order is original. The OT was divided into three portions. At the end of each portion the Massoretes placed notes similar to those found after the separate books. The notes on the Kethubim or Hagiographa are found at the end of Ezr-Neh, not at the end of Ch. Moreover, as Ezr-Neh is a continuation of Ch, and in its present form has come from the same hand, it is altogether unlikely that the original arrangement was so unmindful of chron. order.

A. CONTENTS.—A review of the following outline reveals the striking fact that Ezr-Neh is far from a complete history of the restoration. We find rather a short sketch of a few important events in that history. There are long periods,—one of more than a half-century (515 to 458),—about which our book is absolutely silent. The whole time covered by this book, from the return of the first exiles in 537 to the second visit of Neh. in 432 is more than a cent., but as a matter of fact the actual time covered by the narrative is scarcely more than one-tenth of this time.

---

[*] Reading, after Ewald (*Hist.* v. 142 n. 4), וַיִּבָּדֵל לוֹ, Ezr 10^{16}.

[†] See Bertheau-Ryssel, *Ezr.*, *Neh.*, *Est.*, in 'Kurzg. Ex. Handbuch,' *in loc.*

[‡] On this reading of the law see Trumbull's *Yale Lectures on the Sunday School*, 1888, p. 7.

[§] Following LXX, which prefixes the words 'and Ezra said' to 9^6. On this passage see EZRA-NEHEMIAH, BOOKS OF.

[‖] E. established the canonicity of the Pent. by those readings; see *OTJC*^{2} p. 171.

[¶] The Ezra of Neh 12$^{1.13.33}$ is another person.

[**] The best Gr. versions lack the title Tirshatha (8^9); 1 Es has the title, but lacks the name (9^{49}); Lagarde's ed. agrees with Heb. The Neh. of 10 is the same as that of Ezr 2^2.

[*] See Wellhausen, *Isr. u. Jüd. Gesch.* p. 168 n.; Kuenen, *Critique de L'Ancien Test.* p. 510.

[†] There is an article in *TSBA* ii. pt. 1, in which the writer argues from the chronology that E. and Neh. came to Jerus. together. The argument is more ingenious than convincing.

[‡] See Baer, *Libri Danielis Ezræ et Neh*, pp. 130, 133; Jos. *c. Ap.* i. 8.

[§] See further Oettli, 'Die Gesch. Hagiogr. und d. Buch Daniel,' 1889, in Strack and Zöckler's *Kurzgef. Kom.*; Cornill, *Einleit*^{2} 45; *PRE*^{2} iv. 332 ff.; Ryle, *Canon of OT*, 134 f.

I.—(1) Ezr 1–4^{5}.—The return of the first company of exiles; the register of the heads of houses; the setting up of the altar; the establishment of the sacrifices; the efforts to rebuild the temple, and the opposition of the Samaritans, B.C. 537. (2) Ezr 5, 6.—Stimulated by the prophets Hag. and Zec., the people begin the rebuilding of the temple under the lead of Zerubbabel and Joshua; their enemies try to stop the Jews, but Darius respects the decree of Cyrus, and the temple is completed in his sixth year, B.C. 515. (3) Ezr 7–10.—The return of Ezra and his company with a firman from Artaxerxes; the divorcing of the foreign wives, B.C. 458. (4) 4$^{6\text{-}23}$.—Successful efforts of the enemies of Judah to prevent the rebuilding of the city walls, mainly in the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, B.C. 465–425.

II.—(1) Neh 1–7^{73a}.—Neh., learning of the bad condition of affairs in Jerus., obtains permission from Artaxerxes to go to Judah as its governor, and to rebuild its walls. He reaches Jerus., inspects the walls by night, organizes the people for the work, and, in spite of the vigorous opposition of the enemies of Judah, succeeds in fortifying the city by the complete reconstruction of its walls, B.C. 444. (2) 7^{73b}–10.—Ezra promulgates the law, and the people 'seal unto it,' B.C. 444. (3) 11^{1}–12^{26}.—Lists of those who dwelt in Jerus., and of the Levites who had come to Jerus. with Zerubbabel. (4) 12^{27}–13^{3}.—The dedication of the walls; regulation of the temple services, B.C. 443. (5) 13$^{4\text{-}31}$. Nehemiah's second visit to Jerus., and the reforms accomplished at that time, B.C. 432.

B. SOURCES.—Modern criticism has shown that Heb. literature, like other Sem. literature,[*] is usually the result of compilation. No trained critical eye is required to see that the book under discussion has reached its present form by compilation from several different sources, and it is not difficult to analyze the book into its constituent elements, though it is not always possible to trace these elements back to their origin. In some cases we must be content with probabilities, and in others must confess ignorance. In the analysis of the book the results will be clearer if we follow an order which disregards the present arrangement of chapters.

The casual reader will not fail to notice that considerable portions, especially of Neh, are written in the first person. The 'I' refers to Ezra everywhere in Ezr, and to Nehemiah everywhere in Neh. The first person is used in Ezr 7^{27}–9^{15}, Neh 1^{1}–7^{73a} 12$^{27\text{-}43}$ 13$^{4\text{-}31}$. These are portions of memoirs written by Ezra and Neh. respectively. They are for the most part preserved in their original form. It is evident that considerable parts of the memoirs have been lost. Ezra's narrative has no proper beginning; he came to Jerus. to establish the law, but his own narrative tells us nothing about the accomplishment of this design. Neh.'s narrative breaks off abruptly; the sequel to 7^{5} is not found in his account; 13^{4} begins *in medias res*; 13^{6} must originally have had another connexion. But, imperfect as they are, these personal records of the two great leaders in the restoration of the Jewish state are of the greatest value. For convenience these memoirs will hereafter be designated by the symbols E and N respectively.[†]

The other portions dealing with the work of Ezra and Neh. are not original parts of their memoirs, though in part based on them. Ezr 7$^{1\text{-}10}$ is an introduction to the story of Ezra written by the compiler. For Ezra is spoken of in the third person: the genealogy of Ezra omits his immediate ancestors, Seraiah, who is named as his father, having been put to death by Nebuchadnezzar in 586; Ezra would hardly have spoken of himself as 'an expert scribe'; this introduction anticipates matter found in E. (See further in Driver, *LOT*^{6} p. 549).

Ezr 7$^{12\text{-}26}$ is the firman which Artaxerxes gave Ezra as his authority for governing the Jewish colony. V.^{11} is an introduction due to the compiler. The letter itself is in Aramaic, and held by many to be in its original form. Such a document would naturally be written in Aram., and the Jewish colouring, which is so apparent in the edict of Cyrus (Ezr 1$^{2\text{-}5}$), is not conspicuous in this passage. Cornill's statement that 'in details it is of such specific Jewish colouring that it at least must have been strongly retouched,'[*] is not justified by facts; and Driver's, that 'it may have been cast into its present form by one familiar with the terminology of the Jewish sacred books,'[†] is quite consistent with the view that we have the orig. edict signed by the king, in the preparation of which it is not inconceivable that Ezra himself may have had a hand. At all events, its preservation was probably due to its incorporation by Ezra in his memoirs, for the thanksgiving with which E. begins is naturally connected with the royal edict.

Ezr 10 is the proper continuation of the preceding section of E, but Ezra is spoken of in the third person. All efforts to explain this change of person as due to Ezra have been hopeless failures.[‡] The force of the fact lies in the change taking place right in the middle of the narrative without any explicable cause. Moreover, we find one conspicuous anachronism: a room in the temple is called after Jehohanan, the son of Eliashib (10^{6}); but Eliashib was a prominent priest in 432 (Neh 12^{22} 13^{4}), and a room could not have been called his son's in 458.[§] Yet there are points of resemblance with E. The passage is probably a revision and abbreviation of E, the work of the compiler.

Neh 7^{73b}–10. Of this portion 9^{6}–10^{39} is regarded by Stade[‖] as an original portion of E. The prayer 9$^{6\text{-}38}$ is suited to Ezra, and the words prefixed in the LXX 'and Ezra said' may be an original note of the compiler's to explain his extract from E. The remainder of the section, 7^{73b}–9^{5}, is usually accounted for in the same way as Ezr 10, to which it bears striking resemblance. There is room for grave doubt about the chronology.[¶] There is practically no guide except the position of the passage. A comparison of 7^{73} and Ezr 3^{1} shows that the compiler has made a false connexion of this passage with N, and he does not appear to have been an expert in chronology. The section took its present form long after the events described, so that confusion of order was easily possible. Sayce has pointed out that the names in Neh 10 are for the most part found also in Ezr 2.[**] He regards this section as the work of 'a layman,' and not a priest like Ezra, since he classes himself with 'the people' (19$^{32.\,37.\,38}$).[††]

Neh 11^{1}–12^{26} is made up of lists extracted from the temple registers, with explanatory notes by the compiler. Ch. 11 is closely connected with 7^{5}, and may be based on N. König says that ch. 11 'might indeed have been incorporated by Neh. into his writings,' but that 12$^{1\text{-}26}$ 'on account of Jaddua (12^{22}) falls into the time of Alexander the Great.'[‡‡]

Neh 12^{44}–13^{3} cannot be from N, for it uses the expression 'in the days of Neh.' (12^{47}), as of a time long past. König admits that 12$^{44\text{-}47}$ comes from a later hand, but holds that N begins with 13^{1} instead of 13^{4}, as most critics maintain. W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} p. 427 n., suggests that 13$^{1.\,2}$ originally stood between Ezr 10$^{9.\,10}$.

There remains for consideration Ezr 1–6. Ch. 1 is very likely due to the compiler, though he may have used written sources. . . Vv.$^{1\text{-}3a}$ are found also in 2 Ch 36$^{22f.}$ The differences are very slight, and are due to accident in copying. Vv.$^{2-4}$ contain the edict of Cyrus. From a comparison with the inscriptions of Cyrus,[*] it appears to be strongly coloured by Jewish ideas. Cyrus attributes his success to Merodach, not to J″.

---

[*] Sayce, *HCM* c. 2.

[†] So Kautzsch, *Die Heilige Schrift des AT.*

[*] *Einl.* p. 264. See also Kuenen, *Critique de L'A. T.* p. 507, for details of the alleged colouring.

[†] *LOT*^{6} p. 550.

[‡] See, *e.g.*, Keil, *Ezra, Neh., Esth.* 1873, p. 12 f.

[§] See Cornill, *Einl.* p. 266.

[‖] *Gesch. d. V. Isr.* ii. 153 ff.

[¶] See art. EZRA.

[**] *Introd. to Ezra, Neh., and Est.* 1885, p. 69.

[††] *Ib.* p. 30.

[‡‡] *Einl. in das AT*, 1893, p. 278. On the relation of Neh 11 to 1 Ch 9$^{3\text{-}22}$, see Sayce, *Introd.* p. 32; Oettli, *op. cit.* p. 150; Bertheau-Ryssel, 'Kgf. Exeg. Handb. z. AT,' 1887, *Ezr., Neh., u. Est.* p. 12.

2^{1}–3^{1a} is found also in Neh 7^{6-73}. In the latter place it is appended to Nehemiah's memoirs with this preface: 'And I found the book of the genealogy of those who first came up: and I found written in it' (7^{5}). There are more than a hundred variations in the two versions. The numbers esp. differ oftener than they agree.[†] Such variation is always found in duplicates. Cf. Pss 14 and 53, Ps 18 and 2 S 22. This does not destroy identity of origin. It appears from the large number of such lists that the Jews were in the habit of keeping registers of important names. From such a register the Chronicler has incorporated the list into its present place. These lists have been but poorly preserved in the transmission of the original documents, as we find many errors wherever we have data to test them. This list was already a part of a narrative when copied by Neh., since both versions end with narrative. This ending in Ezr introduces the assembling at Jerus. for the setting up of the altar, in Neh the assembling for the promulgation of the law.

3^{1}–4^{5} is very generally assigned to the Chronicler (so Cornill, Schrader, Ryssel, Driver, etc. For the grounds of this see *LOT*^{6} 547 f.).

$4^{6f.}$ These are two fragments from unknown sources. They cannot be from the Chronicler, for they are out of joint with the context. V.^{6} contains a statement about an accusation made against the Jews in the beg. of the reign of Xerxes. There is no hint of this elsewhere. 4^{7} may have been placed here on the supposition that it was introductory to the passage following, but we shall see that this is not so. There is no reason, however, to doubt the genuineness or authenticity of these verses.

4^{8}–6^{18}. This passage is written in the Aram. language, and is a portion of a more or less complete history of these times written originally in Aramaic.[‡] The compiler, finding his best sources for this period in Aramaic, incorporated considerable portions without translation. In its present arrangement, however, the course of the history is very much obscured, as will be more fully pointed out below. The section falls into two parts, both of which present critical problems of considerable intricacy. For convenience these problems will be discussed in this connexion.

4^{8-24}. According to the present arrangement of our book, this part describes the securing of a decree from Artaxerxes to stop the rebuilding of the temple. But, as a matter of fact, the passage has nothing to do with the temple, and is evidently misplaced. According to 4^{7} Bishlam, Mithredath, Tabeel, and the rest of his companions 'wrote a letter to king Artaxerxes in Aramaic.' This letter is not the one found in the verses following, for that was written by Rehum the chancellor and Shimshai the scribe; moreover, the letter which begins with v.^{11} is overloaded with introductions in the Aram. passage vv.$^{8-10}$. Since Artaxerxes reigned from 465 to 425, this passage can have nothing to do with the times of Zerubbabel. The correction of Xerxes v.^{6} to Cambyses (reigning 529–522), and Artaxerxes to Gomates (pseudo-Smerdis),[§] is out of the question, since the contents agree with the date assigned in the text. The letter says that the Jews are rebuilding the rebellious and bad city, and have finished the walls, and repaired the foundations. It further declares that if this city is rebuilt and the walls finished, the Jews will rebel and refuse to pay tribute, 'and in the end it will endamage the king.' The building of the temple cannot be the point of attack, for that would not signify rebellion. If the temple were the matter at issue, the Jews would have appealed to the decree of Cyrus as they did later. The king's answer agrees with this view. He orders that this city be not built, until a decree shall be made by him, but makes no allusion to the temple. If a royal decree had been issued forbidding the rebuilding of the temple, the people would have had ample excuse for their neglect when Haggai reproaches them so sharply. . . Zerubbabel and Joshua would scarcely have ventured to renew the work on the temple with such a decree in force. Finally, Tattenai would not have failed to make use of such a good weapon if it had been at hand.

The passage refers to an attempt to rebuild the walls of the city, which must have occurred in the first part of the reign of Artaxerxes before the coming of Nehemiah. 'The Jews which have come up from thee' (^{12}) refers either to Ezra and his company, or to some other band concerning which the history is silent. V.^{24} does refer to the building of the temple, and is the effort of the compiler to harmonize the passage with the history with which he has erroneously connected it.[*]

5, 6. This section gives a consistent account of the rebuilding of the temple, but difficulties arise in its relation to ch. 3, and to Hag and Zec. In 3^{1-7} we are told that Joshua and Zerub. set up the altar soon after the arrival of the first pilgrims. The required sacrifices were at once started. Then the actual work of rebuilding the temple was begun ($3^{8ff.}$). The text is somewhat confused, but it is clear that the writer says that the foundations of the temple were laid at this time; see esp. v^{10} 'and the builders laid the foundation of the temple of J″.' The work thus begun was stopped by the adversaries, who 'weakened the hands of the people of Judah, and troubled them in building, and hired counsellors against them, to frustrate their purpose, all the days of Cyrus king of Persia, even until the reign of Darius king of Persia' ($4^{4.5}$).

Hag. and Zech., contemporary prophets under whose inspiration the work of rebuilding was taken up and carried to completion, give no hint anywhere that the temple building was but the resumption of a task already begun and laid aside with good reason. Hag. speaks of 'the house that lieth waste' ($1^{4.9}$); he attributes the unprosperous condition to the neglect of the temple; he denies the validity of the excuse that the time was not suitable. The unsuitableness of the time pleaded by the people does not refer to the hostility of their neighbours, but to their poverty. But some of this prophet's utterances go further. He says: 'Lay to heart from this day back to the time before one laid stone upon a stone in the temple of J″' (2^{15})—a time evidently within his recent experience. He gives the date upon which the foundation was laid in a prophecy delivered that very day; 'from this day forward, from the twenty-fourth day of the ninth month, from the day that the foundation of J″'s temple is laid' (2^{18}).

Zech. says: 'The hands of Zerub. have laid the foundation of this house: his hands shall also finish it' (4^{9}), referring to the laying of the foundation just accomplished. Two years later he said: 'Let your hands be strong, ye that hear in these days these words from the mouths of the prophets, which were in the day that the foundation of the temple of J″ of hosts was laid' (8^{9}). The prophets must have been Hag. and himself.

A large part of the letter sent to Darius is taken up with the defence of the Jews. They urge that they were only doing what Cyrus had authorized. Sheshbazzar had been appointed governor, and he came to Jerus., 'and laid the foundations of the house of God which is in Jerus.; and since that time even until now hath it been in building, and yet it is not completed' (Ezr 5^{16}). Hag 2^{3} shows the contempt for the new temple felt by those old men, who still remembered the glory of the temple of Solomon. We find the same feelings expressed in Ezr $3^{12.13}$. It seems impossible that these two passages do not refer to the same event.

In Ezr 5^{1} we read that 'Zerub. and Josh. stood up and began to build the house of God.' Nothing is said about completing a work begun before; the inference is plainly that a new task was taken up. The question of Tattenai in v.^{3}, 'Who gave you a decree to build this house?'[†] and his subsequent action imply not a resumption of a work which had been forcibly stopped, but the coming up of a new issue. The passage in 5^{16} already quoted, which may appear to harmonize with the resumption theory, does not do so, for it proves too much; its statement that the temple had been in process of building ever since the decree of Cyrus had been issued, is contrary to all that we know from other sources. It may be a sufficient explanation of this inaccuracy to note that it is contained in the letter, and Tattenai may have misunderstood the Jews, who might have said that from the time of Cyrus they had purposed to build the temple, but had not been able to do so. König holds that Ezr 3^{1}–4^{5} contains fragments which, by tradition, have been received into the original picture of the temple-building story. It is quite possible that we have here, in fact, poorly preserved fragments of an orig. Heb. account of the rebuilding of the temple. The passage would then be parallel with the Aram. section cc. 5, 6; and in that case the troublesome passage $4^{6.23}$ would not be seriously out of place; that is, it originally would have stood just before the beginning of the history of Ezra. Its present position would simply be further evidence of the limited critical insight of the compiler. For further discussion of this question, see König, *Einl.* p. 281 ff.; Driver, *LOT*^{6} p. 547 (where other references will be found); Benzinger, *Heb. Archäol.* p. 400.

---

[*] See *RP*, new ser. v. 144 ff.

[†] The sum-total in each case is the same, but varies by 12,000 from the sum of the detailed numbers. (See further Kuenen, *Rel. Isr.* ii. 178).

[‡] On Renan's view that the Aram. section is from the Targums, see *Expos. Times*, iv. 546.

[§] Ewald advocated this position, *Hist.*, Eng. tr. iv. 106.

[*] Sayce's view that v.^{24} properly follows v.^{5}, 'as indicated by the grammatical construction of the original Chaldee,' and that the whole passage is introduced here episodically, is quite untenable. See his *Introd.* p. 22.

[†] The words following 'and to finish this wall' do not support the view of an earlier work on the temple. אשׁרנא rendered 'wall' is a word of doubtful meaning. Kautzsch, *Gram. des Bib. Ar.* § 62, suggests the emendation אשׁיא 'foundations' as v^{16}. Bleek held that the word refers to the walls of the city, *Einl.*^{5} p. 207. Bertheau-Ryssel interprets after LXX the wooden framework for the building.

To this Aramaic portion a fragment is added in Hebrew, 6^{19-22}. It is peculiar in that it applies the term 'king of Assyria' to Darius. It may be due to the Chronicler, who felt the importance of the celebration of the Passover festival after the dedication of the new temple.

We have seen above that the books under consideration were originally one in the Jewish canon. The editor who put the material into its present shape undoubtedly left the book as a unit. This editor, however, found the process of compilation already begun. He did not find all the various sources scattered and independent, but they were already gathered in two main documents, the material having clustered about the stories of the two chief figures in the community. The last editor may have rearranged his sources acc. to his own ideas; he probably made additions from other sources, and we fear omitted portions which we should appreciate more than he did; certainly, he made additions from his own pen. The convincing evidence of the existence of two separate books before the last revision, is found in the presence of the duplicate lists Ezr 2 and Neh 7. The lists were already a fixed part of the narrative in which they are imbedded, so that the Chronicler could not omit either one without disjointing his narrative. The list may have been attached to N by Neh. himself, though it is more likely that a later hand, who felt the propriety of the connexion, is responsible for the addition. When the material was collected for the life of Ezra and the time preceding, the list was naturally placed where it properly belongs.

The first part of these books was undoubtedly the genuine memoirs E and N. To these, other material was added from time to time, to complete as far as possible the history of the restoration. It is highly probable that Neh 8–10, which we have seen reason to believe a revised edition of portions of E, was originally a part of the Bk. of Ezra, and was later transferred from chron. considerations. In the apocr. Esdras, which is preferred by some writers to the canonical Ezr,[*] a brief account of the promulgation of the law follows immediately the story of the great divorce (see 1 Es 9^{37}).

There can be little doubt that the final editor of Ezr-Neh was the author of the Bk. of Chronicles.[†] He gathered material, and prepared a history, written acc. to his own point of view from Adam to Nehemiah. His work was one long piece, Ezr-Neh being a part of Chronicles. But the latter had a considerable struggle to get into the canon. The Chronicler's novel treatment of the history, already covered by other books, did not win favour at once. But Ezr-Neh was the only source of information for the important period of the restoration. Moreover, the Chronicler's peculiar methods were not conspicuous in the later history. In fact, his Bk. of Chronicles is an attempt to read the conditions of the later times into the earlier. The later portion was therefore separated from the earlier, and found its place in the canon. In the separation, a few verses were retained in each part (Ezr 1^{1-3a}, 2 Ch $36^{22f.}$).

The hist. value of these books is very great; for they stand alone for an important epoch, and they contain documents of great importance. But all parts are not equally reliable. The Chronicler was not a discriminating critic. He uses his sources as if all were alike trustworthy. Naturally, E and N are the most reliable. The personal narrative of eye-witnesses and principal participants is of the highest value. Next in importance as hist. sources are the memoirs which have been worked over by the compiler, designated by Kautzsch *e* and *n*: *e* Ezr 10, Neh 8–10; *n* Neh 11^{3-35} (acc. to Kautzsch). Of great value also are the Aram. documents in Ezr 4^8–6^{18} 7^{12-23}. The other sources are too far corrupted from their original form to be of primary value.

Notwithstanding the inferior trustworthiness of some portions, and the incompleteness of the whole, it is possible with the aid of the prophetic and poetic literature of the period to form a tolerably clear and connected idea of the times.[*] If much is lacking which we should like to know, that is but common to all periods of history, and there is compensation in the preservation of precious original documents. The case would be different if the Chronicler had worked over the whole of E and N, so that we could only infer their existence, and if he had translated and revised the Aram. documents.

[Since the above was in type, the question of the credence due to the Chronicler's narrative and of the historicity of the Jews' Return under Cyrus has been discussed afresh by Kosters in the *ThT* (1897), 518 ff. See also the *Expos. Times*, viii. (1897), 71, 200, 268, 320, 351 (the last by Van Hoonacker), ix. 66.—EDITOR.]

LITERATURE.—(*A*) INTRODUCTION.—Driver, *LOT*^{6} 540 ff.; Sayce, *Introd. to Ezr. Neh. and Est.*; Kuenen, *Hist.-Krit. Einleit.*^{2} §§ 29, 33–35; Cornill, *Einleit.*^{2} 262 ff.; Wildeboer, *Alttest. Litteratur*, 404 ff.; König, *Einleit.*; Wellhausen-Bleek, *Einleit.*^{4}; Ewald, *Hist.* i. (*B*) HISTORY.—Stade, *Ges. d. Volk. Isr.* ii.; Renan, *Hist. of People of Israel*, Bk. vii.; Wellhausen, *Isr. u. Jüd. Ges.*; Ewald, *Hist.* v.; Meyer, *Ges. d. Alterth.* i. (*C*) COMMENTARIES.—Ryle, 'Ezr. and Neh.,' in *Camb. Bible*; Rawlinson, in *Pulpit Com.*, *Speaker's Com.*, and in *Ezra and Nehemiah* (Men of the Bible series); Keil, *Ezr. Neh. and Est.*; F. W. Schultz in *Lange's Commentary*; Bertheau-Ryssel in *Kgf. exeg. Hdbch.*; Oettli in Strack and Zöckler's *Kgf. Kom.*; Kamphausen, *Hagiog. d. Alt. Bund.* (*D*) MISCELLANEOUS.—Smend, *List. d. BB. Ezr. u. Neh.*; Hunter, *After the Exile*; Schrader, *COT*^{2}; Sayce, *HCM*^{5}; Baer, *Dan. Ezr. et Neh.* (valuable for the text and Aram. paradigms; cf. Marti, *Gramm.* Preface, and Kautzsch, p. 54 n.); Kosters, *Het Herstel v. Isr.*; Van Hoonacker, *Nouv. Étud. s. l. Restaur. Juive* (mainly a reply to Kosters); Meyer, *Entstehung des Judenthums*; cf. Wellhausen's review of this book in *GGA* (1897), ii. 89 ff., and the reply of Meyer, *Julius Wellhausen u. meine Schrift*, etc. For the Aramaic language see Grammars of Winer (1882), Kautzsch (1884), Strack (1895), and Marti (1896). For critical translations see *Scriptures Heb. and Christian*, by J. P. Peters; Kautzsch, *Heil. Schr. d. AT* (in which the sources are indicated by letters in the margin); Reuss, *Alt. Test.* iv.

L. W. BATTEN.

EZRAH (עֶזְרָה, AV Ezra).—A Judahite (1 Ch 4^{17}). See GENEALOGY.

EZRAHITE (אֶזְרָחִי, LXX Ἰσραηλείτης).—A name given to Heman in the title of Ps 88, and to Ethan in Ps 89. It is used also of Ethan in 1 K 4^{31}, where LXX (B) reads Ζαρείτης. It is best understood as = Zerachite, cf. 1 Ch 2^6, in which Ethan and Heman are termed sons of Zerah. A double tradition concerning Ps 88 appears to be embodied in the title; it is called a 'Psalm-song of the Korahites,' and 'a meditation by Heman the Ezrahite.' There were also a Heman and an Ethan, Merarites, of the tribe of Levi, according to 1 Ch 15^{17}; the Ezrahites belonged to the tribe of Judah.

W. T. DAVISON.

EZRI (עֶזְרִי).—David's superintendent of agriculture (1 Ch 27^{26}).

EZRIL (B Ἐζρειλ, A -ι-, AV Esril), 1 Es 9^{34}; AZAREL in Ezr 10^{41}.

---

[*] See Sayce, *HCM* p. 537.

[†] See the able discussion by Reuss, *Das Alte Test.* p. 8 ff.

[*] On the value of these books, see Ryle, *Ezra and Neh.* Introd. § 11.

F

FABLE is usually defined (with Dr. Johnson in his life of Gay) to be 'a narrative in which beings, irrational and sometimes inanimate, are, for the purposes of moral instruction, feigned to act and speak with human interests and passions'; and hence, as such beings do not present analogies to man in the spiritual region, it differs from other tropes (see ALLEGORY) in that its lessons are confined to the sphere of practical worldly prudence. Accepting this prevailing usage, we find (and the rarity is not surprising) but two instances of fable in sacred literature: (1) Jotham's fable of the trees choosing their king (Jg 9^{8-15}); and (2) the fable of the thistle and the cedar of Lebanon, in the answer of Jehoash to Amaziah (2 K 14^{9}). In neither of these cases, however, is the story described by any appellation. Indeed the word *fable* does not occur in the canonical OT, nor is μῦθος (its Apocr. and NT equivalent) certainly found in the LXX, except in Sir 20^{19} ('a man without grace is as a *tale* out of season'), where in the next verse παραβολή appears as the parallel, 'a wise saw.' The compound μυθόλογος, *author of fables*, is used in Bar 3^{23}; and here the parallel, *searcher out of understanding*, suggests a similar interpretation. Accordingly, we may conclude that the nearest approach in the OT to the idea of μῦθος is found in *māshāl*, the *dark saying*, *parable*, *proverb*, *adage*, in which Orientals clothed their deeper thoughts (Ps 49^{4} 78^{2}, Ezk 17^{2}), and which sometimes appears to stand for a *warning example* (Jer 24^{9} [Judah] 'a reproach and a *proverb*' παραβολή, LXX). This does not differ materially from the Homeric and almost purely poetical use of μῦθος,—found once or twice also in Plato,—from which the connotation of truth had not yet been entirely banished.

But in Greek prose, as a rule, and even occasionally in poetry as early as that of Pindar (*O.* 1. 47, *N.* 7. 34), μῦθος was the Latin *fabula*, connoting *fiction*, sometimes (in opposition to πλάσμα) spontaneously growing, as, in religious tradition, the *myth* of god or hero (Plato, *Legg.* 9. 865 D); sometimes deliberately composed, like Æsop's Fables (Plato, *Phæd.* 60 C), and then opposed to λόγος, the historic story, or to ἀλήθεια, actual fact (Plato, *Phæd.* 61 B; Aristot. *Hist. An.* 9. 12). It is to this usage that the NT μῦθος allies itself (1 Ti 1^{4} 4^{7}, 2 Ti 4^{4}, Tit 1^{14}, 2 P 1^{16}).

In 2 P 1^{16} the word apparently bears the general sense of *fiction*, 'what we tell you as to the power and coming of the Lord is not cunningly devised fiction, but sober truth.' But the *fables* referred to in the Pastoral Epp. as already endangering the soundness of the faith and the health of the churches in Ephesus and Crete, are of a special kind. They are 'Jewish' (Tit 1^{14}); they are 'profane and anile' 1 Ti 4^{7} (cf. Plat. *Rep.* 1. 350); they are connected with *genealogies*, 1 Ti 1^{4} (cf. Plato, *Tim.* 22 A, as to the offspring of Deucalion and Pyrrha), with *fightings about the law* (Tit 3^{9}) and with *commandments of men* (Tit 1^{14}). The two last expressions and the epithet *Jewish* find some explanation in the rigid asceticism of abstaining from meats and forbidding to marry (1 Ti 4^{3}), which was doubtless founded upon Jewish law, and was a characteristic of that side of Gnosticism which was afraid of matter, even as licence (Tit $1^{15.\ 16}$) was the characteristic of that other side which affected to despise its power; the 'genealogies' remind us of the worship of angels at Colossæ (Col 2^{18}), and the Gnosticism which bridged the gulf between God and the world by means of angelic intermediaries generated from the *pleroma* and from one another; and when we read also elsewhere in these epistles of the 'gnosis falsely so-called' (1 Ti 6^{20}), of the 'resurrection past already' (2 Ti 2^{18}), of the 'enchanters' (2 Ti 3^{13}), and of the 'doctrines of demons' (1 Ti 4^{1}), we are irresistibly drawn towards the belief that the *fables* of these epistles are closely akin to the teachings of Ophite Gnosticism—that earliest Gnosticism of Asia Minor, which was a strikingly similar mixture of Jewish and heathen speculation, ritual, and practice. See GNOSTICISM.

LITERATURE.—Cremer, *Bib.-Theol. Lex.* s. μῦθος and γενεαλογία; Trench, *Parables*, p. 2; Goebel, *Parables of Jesus*, 6 ff.; Moore, *Judges*, 244 ff.; *Encyc. Brit.*^{9} and Smith, *DB*^{2} *s.v.*; and see ALLEGORY; on the 'fables' of Past. Epp. see Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, p. 411 ff.; (on the other side—that the heresy is simply Judaistic—Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, Lect. 7).

J. MASSIE.

FACE is AV tr. of **1.** אַף, for which RV in several instances substitutes more exact renderings, such as 'nose' (Gn 24^{47}), 'nostrils' (Ezk 38^{18}). **2.** עַיִן, lit. 'eye' (*e.g.* Ex $10^{5.\ 15}$, Nu 22^{5} 'the face of the earth'). RV rightly gives 'eyes' instead of 'face' in 1 K $20^{38.\ 41}$, 2 K 9^{30}, Jer 4^{30}. **3.** פָּנִים very frequent both in a lit. and a metaphorical sense (*e.g.* עַל פְּנֵי 'upon the face of'). The shewbread (see BREAD, p. 318^{b}) was called לֶחֶם פָּנִים, lit. 'bread of the face, *i.e.* presence' (see next paragraph). With a personal pronoun 'my (thy, his, etc.) face' may be simply a circumlocution for 'me (thee, him,' etc.). Hence the substitution by RV of 'them' for 'their face' in Ex 14^{19}, and of 'thee' for 'thy face' in Gn 30^{33}, Dt 9^{3} 28^{7}. Conversely, in Jer 17^{16} AV has 'thee' and RV 'thy face.'

The face or countenance as the noblest part of the person was used to mean *presence*, and is often so translated. From the implied invitation or permission to approach (Est 4^{16}), it came to mean *favour*, *acceptance*. On the other hand, the withheld or averted face was equivalent to disapproval or rejection (Ps 13^{1} 27^{9} 88^{14} 143^{7} etc.). Such favour was called the light of the countenance, giving life and refreshment like that of the sun (Ps 89^{15} etc.). Among the Arabs, a fit of anger or the sudden effect of hearing bad news is called the darkening of the sky on the face. To 'respect persons' is generally נָשָׂא פָנִים, but in Dt 1^{17} 16^{19}, Pr 24^{23} 28^{21} it is הִכִּיר פָּנִים, lit. to recognize the presence of one (*sc.* unjustly).

To spit in the face was the strongest possible expression of scorn and aversion (Nu 12^{14}, Dt 25^{9}, Job 30^{10}, Is 50^{6}, Mt 26^{67} 27^{30}, Mk 10^{34} 14^{65}, 15^{19}, Lk 18^{32}). In heated altercation, an Oriental often uses an ejaculation which means 'I spit in your face,' at the same time spitting on the ground at the feet of the person he is quarrelling with. Modesty, humility, worship, self-abasement, are expressed by the veils of women (Gn 24^{65}), the reverential shrouding of the face with the mantle (1 K 19^{13}), the wings with which the seraphim covered the face (Is 6^{2}), and the face bowed to the ground (Gn 42^{6} etc.). To have the face covered by another, as in the case of Haman (Est 7^{8}), was a sign of doom; the napkin drawn over the face and wound round the head was part of the covering of the dead (Jn 11^{44} 20^{7}). G. M. MACKIE.

FACT.—A 'fact' (Lat. *factum*) is any act or deed, good or bad; and this was the commonest meaning of the word till about the beginning of the present century. Thus Spenser, *FQ* I. iv. 34—

> 'But, when the furious fit was overpast,
> His cruel facts he often would repent.'

Similarly Bunyan, *PP* (Clar. Pr. ed. p. 42), 'falling down upon his knees, he [Christian] asked God forgiveness for that his foolish fact.' So T. Adams, *II Peter* (Pur. Divines), p. 3, 'Theodosius excused a foul fact, because David had done the like.' This is the meaning in 2 K 10 (heading) 'Jehu by his letters causeth seventy of Ahab's children to be beheaded: he excuseth the fact by the prophecy of Elijah'; and 2 Mac 4^{36} 'Certain of the Greeks that abhorred the fact also' (Gr. *συμμισοπονηρούντων καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων*, RV 'the Greeks also joining with them in hatred of the wickedness.' This is the only example of *συμμ.*, though *μισοπονηρέω* is found 2 Mac 4^{49} [A *-εύω*] 8^4). The present use of 'fact' for something that has actually occurred, an undeniable truth, though quite classical for *factum*, and belonging to all the Romanic equivalents (Fr. *fait*, It. *fatto*, Sp. *hecho*), is not found in English before 1632.

J. HASTINGS.

FAIN is properly 'glad,' as Dyke, *Worthy Commun.* 56, 'Then full faine wilt thou be to have Christ Jesus receive thy soule'; or 'gladly,' as Jn 12^{21} Tind. 'Syr, we wolde fayne se Jesus.' But the commonest meaning has always been 'glad under the circumstances,' and that is its meaning in AV: Job 27^{22} 'he would fain flee out of his hand' (בָּרוֹחַ יִבְרָח, AVm 'in fleeing he would flee'): 1 Mac 6^{54} 'they were fain to disperse themselves' (*ἐσκορπίσθησαν*, RV 'they were scattered'); Lk 15^{16} 'he would fain have filled his belly with the husks that the swine did eat' (*ἐπεθύμει*). Cf. Shaks. *Lear*, IV. vii. 38—

> 'and wast thou fain, poor father,
> To hovel thee with swine, and rogues forlorn,
> In short and musty straw?'

From this the word easily slipped into the sense of 'obliged,' 'compelled,' as in *Pref.* to AV 'he was fain to make this answer, I cannot [read the book] for it is sealed'; Is 1^7 Cov. 'Youre londe lieth waist . . . and ye must be fayne to stonde and loke upon it'; and Defoe, *Crusoe*: 'When the tide was out, I got most of the pieces of cable ashore, and some of the iron, though with infinite labour; for I was fain to go for it into the water, a work which fatigued me very much.'

To the three examples in AV, RV adds two: Lk 13^{31} 'Herod would fain kill thee' (*θέλει σε ἀποκτεῖναι*; AV 'will kill thee,' the trⁿ of all previous Eng. VSS [Wyc. 'will slay thee']); and Ac 26^{28} 'With but little persuasion thou wouldest fain make me a Christian' (*Ἐν ὀλίγῳ με πείθεις Χριστιανὸν ποιῆσαι*; AV 'Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian,' following TR *γενέσθαι* for *ποιῆσαι*).

The reading, *ποιῆσαι* or *γενέσθαι*, is discussed in WH 'Select Readings,' *ad loc.* The best argument for *ποιῆσαι* is its difficulty: to simplify the construction, *γενέσθαι* may have been taken in from the next verse.

The translation is, on either reading, nearly impossible. The AV is a combination of the Geneva NT (1557), 'Almost thou persuadest me to become a Christian,' and the Bishops', 'Somwhat thou perswadest me to be a Christian.' But it gives an unknown sense to *ἐν ὀλίγῳ*, besides following the less probable *γενέσθαι*. The RV is new, and is got (1) by mentally supplying *πόνῳ* (?) 'labour' after *ἐν ὀλίγῳ*; (2) by translating *πείθεις* 'wouldest fain,' so as to bring out the sense, which it certainly has, of '*attempt* to persuade'; and (3) by supplying *ὥστε* before *ποιῆσαι*. It is adversely criticised by Field, *Otium Norv.* iii. *ad loc.* But Rendall, *Acts of Apos. in Greek and English* (1897), accepts it, rendering, 'At little cost thou wouldest fain persuade me to make me a Christian!' (The exclamation mark is intended to suggest the irony in Agrippa's voice).

J. HASTINGS.

FAINT.—From *feint* the ptcp. of Old Fr. *feindre* to feign, faint signified first 'feigned,' 'pretended,' as Earl Rivers, *Dictes*, 144, 'He that loueth the with feynt loue.' But it passed early into the sense of weak: whether (1) as a purely *physical* state, as Gn 25^{29} 'Esau came from the field, and he was faint' (עָיֵף, so 25^{30}, Dt 25^{18}, Jg $8^{4.5}$, Is 29^8; עיף 1 S $14^{28.31}$, 2 S 21^{15}; פִּגֵּר 1 S $30^{10.21}$; יָעֵף 2 S 16^2, Is 40^{29}; *ἐκλύομαι* 1 Mac 3^{17}); or (2) as chiefly *moral*, almost = 'cowardly,'* which occurs only in the phrase **faint-hearted**, Dt 20^8 (רַךְ הַלֵּבָב, lit. 'soft-hearted'); Is 7^4 (וּלְבָבְךָ אַל־יֵרַךְ, RV 'neither let thine heart be faint'), Jer 49^{23} (נָמֹגוּ, RV 'they are melted away'), Sir 4^9 (*μὴ ὀλιγοψυχήσῃς*, so 7^{10}); or (3) as *spiritual*, through sorrow, Jer 8^{18}, La 1^{22} (both דַּוָּי) 1^{13} 5^{17} (both דָּוֶה), or calamity, Is 1^5 (דַּוָּי).

The verb is derived from the adj. It is used in the foregoing senses, and also in the modern physical sense of 'swoon' (Dn 8^{27}, Ad. Est 15^7). **Faintness** is used physically in Ad. Est 15^{15} and spiritually in Lv 26^{36}.

J. HASTINGS.

FAIR.—1. *Beautiful*, as Sus v.^{2} 'a very fair woman' (*καλὴ σφόδρα*); Sir 24^{18} 'I am the mother of fair love' (*τῆς ἀγαπήσεως τῆς καλῆς*). So frequently in OT; but in NT only Ac 7^{20} [Moses] 'was exceeding fair' (*ἀστεῖος τῷ θεῷ*, lit. 'fair to God,' see under EXCEEDING. The adj. occurs also He 11^{23} and again of Moses; AV 'proper'; RV 'goodly,' the word in Ex 2^2 where the Heb. is טוֹב 'good'). 2. *Unspotted*, Zec $3^{5\,bis}$ 'a fair mitre' (טָהוֹר). Cf. Pr. Bk. (1552) 'a fayre white lynnen clothe'; Ezk 1^7 Cov. 'fayre scoured metall'; Wesley (1737), *Works*, i. 46, 'a paper book; all the leaves thereof were fair, except one.' Wyclif's tr. of Zec 3^5 is (1382) 'a cleene cappe' (1388, 'a cleene mytre'); Douay, 'a cleane mitre.' Coverdale gives 'fair,' and the other VSS follow him. Amer. RV restores 'clean.' 3. *Plausible*, Gal 6^{12} 'to make a fair show' (*εὐπροσωπῆσαι*); elsewhere only of speech. In Sir 6^5 'fair speaking' is used in a good sense, 'a fair-speaking tongue will increase kind greetings' (*εὔλαλος*). The modern form 'fair-spoken' had also a good meaning once, as Capgrave (1460), *Chron.* 81, 'He was . . . fayre-spokyn, but he spak but seldam.'

In Ezk $27^{12-14.16.19.22-27}$ '**fairs**,' *i.e.* markets, is used in AV (after Wyc. in v.^{12} and Geneva throughout) as tr. of Heb. עִזְבוֹנִים, which is evidently 'wares' as AV has it in v.^{33}, the only other occurrence of the word. RV gives 'wares' (wh. see) throughout.

J. HASTINGS.

FAIR HAVENS (*Καλοὶ Λιμένες*), one of the places mentioned in connexion with St. Paul's voyage to Rome (Ac 27^{8-12}), is a small bay, two leagues E. of Cape Matala, on the S. coast of Crete. There does not seem to have been a town at the place, but there was one near it, called Lasea. Neither Fair Havens nor Lasea is mentioned in classical writings, but the former name survives in the modern Gr. dialect as *Λιμεῶνας Καλούς*, and archæological research has confirmed the identity of both places. It has been suggested that the name is euphemistic, and the fact that an attempt was made to reach Phœnix, the modern Lutro, a considerable distance W. along the coast, in the circumstances mentioned in Ac, adds emphasis to the statement that the haven was not commodious to winter in. On the other hand, it proved a welcome shelter to St. Paul and those who were with him, for a considerable time, at a most critical part of their voyage. The difference between Fair Havens and Phœnix was, that while the former was sheltered only from the N. and N.W. winds, the latter was 'the only secure harbour in all winds on the S. coast of Crete.'

W. MUIR.

FAIRS.—See FAIR, WARES.

---

* Cf. H. Smith, *Works*, ii. 219, 'The faint spies that went to the land of Canaan.'

FAITH.—I. THE PHILOLOGICAL EXPRESSION OF FAITH.—The verb ‘to believe’ in AV of OT uniformly represents the Heb. הֶאֱמִין, Hiph. of אָמַן, except, of course, in Dn 6^{23} where it represents the corresponding Aramaic form. The root, which is widely spread among the Semitic tongues, and which in the word ‘Amen’ has been adopted into every language spoken by Christian, Jew, or Mohammedan, seems everywhere to convey the fundamental ideas of ‘fixedness, stability, steadfastness, reliability.’ What the ultimate conception is which underlies these ideas remains somewhat doubtful, but it would appear to be rather that of ‘holding’ than that of ‘supporting’ (although this last is the sense adopted in *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*). In the simple species the verb receives both transitive and intransitive vocalization. With intransitive vocalization it means ‘to be firm,’ ‘to be secure,’ ‘to be faithful,’ and occurs in biblical Hebrew only in the past participle, designating those who are ‘faithful’ (2 S 20^{19}, Ps 12^1 31^{23}). With transitive vocalization it occurs in biblical Hebrew only in a very specialized application, conveying the idea, whether as participle or verbal noun, of ‘caretaking’ or ‘nursing’ (2 K $10^{1.5}$, Est 2^7, Ru 4^{16}, 2 S 4^4, Nu 11^{12}, Is 49^{23}, La 4^5; cf. 2 K 18^{16} ‘pillars’ and [the Niphal] Is 60^4), the implication in which seems to be that of ‘holding,’ ‘bearing,’ ‘carrying.’ The Niph. occurs once as the passive of transitive Qal (Is 60^4): elsewhere it is formed from intransitive Qal, and is used very much in the same sense. Whatever holds, is steady, or can be depended upon, whether a wall which securely holds a nail (Is $22^{23.25}$), or a brook which does not fail (Jer 15^{18}), or a kingdom which is firmly established (2 S 7^{16}), or an assertion which has been verified (Gn 42^{20}), or a covenant which endures for ever (Ps 89^{28}), or a heart found faithful (Neh 9^8), or a man who can be trusted (Neh 13^{13}), or God Himself who keeps covenant (Dt 7^9), is נֶאֱמָן. The Hiphil occurs in one passage in the primary physical sense of the root (Job 39^{24}). Elsewhere it bears constantly the sense of ‘to trust,’ weakening down to the simple ‘to believe’ (Ex 4^{31}, Ps 116^{10}, Is 7^9 28^{16}, Hab 1^5). Obviously it is a subjective causative, and expresses the acquisition or exhibition of the firmness, security, reliability, faithfulness which lies in the root-meaning of the verb, in or with respect to its object. The מַאֲמִין is therefore one whose state of mind is free from faintheartedness (Is 7^9) and anxious haste (Is 28^{16}), and who stays himself upon the object of his contemplation with confidence and trust. The implication seems to be, not so much that of a passive dependence as of a vigorous active commitment. He who, in the Hebrew sense, exercises faith, is secure, assured, confident (Dt 28^{66}, Job 24^{22}, Ps 27^{13}), and lays hold of the object of his confidence with firm trust.

The most common construction of הֶאֱמִין is with the preposition בְּ, and in this construction its fundamental meaning seems to be most fully expressed. It is probably never safe to represent this phrase by the simple ‘believe’; the preposition rather introduces the person or thing in which one believes, or on which one believingly rests as on firm ground. This is true even when the object of the affection is a thing, whether divine words, commandments, or works (Ps 106^{12} 119^{66} 78^{32}), or some earthly force or good (Job 39^{12} 15^{31} 24^{22}, Dt 28^{66}). It is no less true when the object is a person, human (1 S 27^{12}, Pr 26^{25}, Jer 12^6, Mic 7^5) or superhuman (Job 4^{18} 15^{15}), or the representative of God, in whom therefore men should place their confidence (Ex 19^9, 2 Ch 20^{20}). It is above all true, however, when the object of the affection is God Himself, and that indifferently whether or not the special exercise of faith adverted to is rooted in a specific occasion (Gn 15^6, Ex 14^{31}, Nu 14^{11} 20^{12}, Dt 1^{32}, 2 K 17^{14}, 2 Ch 20^{20}, Ps 78^{22}, Jon 3^5). The weaker conception of ‘believing’ seems, on the other hand, to lie in the construction with the preposition לְ, which appears to introduce the person or thing, not on which one confidingly rests, but to the testimony of which one assentingly turns. This credence may be given by the simple to every untested word (Pr 14^{15}); it may be withheld until seeing takes the place of believing (1 K 10^7, 2 Ch 9^6); it is due to words of the Lord and of His messengers, as well as to the signs wrought by them (Ps 106^{24}, Is 53^1, Ex $4^{8.9}$). It may also be withheld from any human speaker (Gn 45^{26}, Ex $4^{1.8}$, Jer 40^{14}, 2 Ch 32^{15}), but is the right of God when He bears witness to His majesty or makes promises to His people (Is 43^{10}, Dt 9^{23}). In this weakened sense of the word the proposition believed is sometimes attached to it by the conjunction כִּי (Ex 4^5, Job 9^{16}, La 4^{12}). In its construction with the infinitive, however, its deeper meaning comes out more strongly (Jg 11^{20}, Job 15^{22}, Ps 27^{13}), and the same is true when the verb is used absolutely (Ex 4^{31}, Is 7^9 28^{16}, Ps 116^{10}, Job 29^{24}, Hab 1^5). In these constructions faith is evidently the assurance of things hoped for, the conviction of things not seen.

No hiphilate noun from this root occurs in OT. This circumstance need not in itself possess significance; the notions of ‘faith’ and ‘faithfulness’ lie close to one another, and are not uncommonly expressed by a single term (so πίστις, *fides*, faith). As a matter of fact, however, ‘faith,’ in its active sense, can barely be accounted an OT term. It occurs in AV of OT only twice: Dt 32^{20} where it represents the Heb. אֵמֻן, and Hab 2^4 where it stands for the Heb. אֱמוּנָה; and it would seem to be really demanded in no passage but Hab 2^4. The very point of this passage, however, is the sharp contrast which is drawn between arrogant self-sufficiency and faithful dependence on God. The purpose of the verse is to give a reply to the prophet’s inquiry as to God’s righteous dealings with the Chaldæans. Since it is by faith that the righteous man lives, the arrogant Chaldæan, whose soul is puffed up and not straight within him, cannot but be destined to destruction. The whole drift of the broader context bears out this meaning; for throughout this prophecy the Chaldæan is ever exhibited as the type of insolent self-assertion ($1^{7.11.16}$), in contrast with which the righteous appear, certainly not as men of integrity and steadfast faithfulness, but as men who look in faith to God and trustingly depend upon His arm. The obvious reminiscence of Gn 15^6 throws its weight into the same scale, to which may be added the consent of the Jewish expositors of the passage. Here we have, therefore, thrown into a clear light the contrasting characteristics of the wicked, typified by the Chaldæan, and of the righteous: of the one the fundamental trait is self-sufficiency; of the other, faith. This faith, which forms the distinctive feature of the righteous man, and by which he obtains life, is obviously no mere assent. It is a profound and abiding disposition, an ingrained attitude of mind and heart towards God which affects and gives character to all the activities. Here only the term occurs in OT; but on this its sole occurrence it rises to the full height of its most pregnant meaning.

The extreme rarity of the noun ‘faith’ in OT may prepare us to note that even the verb ‘to believe’ is far from common in it. In a religious application it occurs in only some thirteen OT books, and less than a score and a half times. The thing believed is sometimes a specific word or work of God (La 4^{12}, Hab 1^5), the fact of a divine revelation (Ex 4^5, Job 9^{16}), or the words or commandments of God in general (with בְּ Ps 106^{12} 119^{66}). In Ex 19^9 and 2 Ch 20^{20} God’s prophets are the object of His people's confidence. God Himself is the object to which they believingly turn, or on whom they rest in assured trust, in some eleven cases. In two of these it is to Him as a faithful witness that faith believingly turns (Dt 9^{23}, Is 43^{10}). In the remainder of them it is upon His very person that faith rests in assured confidence (Gn 15^{6}, Ex 14^{31}, Nu 14^{11} 20^{12}, Dt 1^{32}, 2 K 17^{14}, 2 Ch 20^{20}, Ps 78^{22}, Jon 3^{5}). It is in these instances, in which the construction is with ב, together with those in which the word is used absolutely (Ex 4^{31}, Is 7^{9} 28^{16}, Ps 116^{10}), to which may be added Ps 27^{13} where it is construed with the infinitive, that the conception of religious believing comes to its rights. The typical instance is, of course, the great word of Gn 15^{6}, 'And Abram believed in the Lord, and he counted it to him for righteousness'; in which all subsequent believers, Jewish and Christian alike, have found the primary example of faith. The object of Abram's faith, as here set forth, was not the promise which appears as the occasion of its exercise; what it rested on was God Himself, and that not merely as the giver of the promise here recorded, but as His servant's shield and exceeding great reward (16^{1}). It is therefore not the assensive but the fiducial element of faith which is here emphasized; in a word, the faith which Abram gave J″ when he 'put his trust in God' (*ἐπίστευσεν τῷ θεῷ*, LXX), was the same faith which later He sought in vain at the hands of His people (Nu 14^{11}, cf. Dt 1^{32}, 2 K 17^{14}), and the notion of which the Psalmist explains in the parallel, 'They believed not in God, and trusted not in his salvation' (Ps 78^{22}). To believe in God, in the OT sense, is thus not merely to assent to His word, but with firm and unwavering confidence to rest in security and trustfulness upon Him.

In the Greek of the LXX *πιστεύειν* takes its place as the regular rendering of הֶאֱמִין, and is very rarely set aside in favour of another word expressing trust (Pr 26^{25} *πείθεσθαι*). In a few cases, however, it is strengthened by composition with a preposition (Dt 1^{32}, Jg 11^{20}, 2 Ch 20^{20}, cf. Sir 1^{15} 2^{10} etc., 1 Mac 1^{30} 7^{16} etc., *ἐμπιστεύειν*; Mic 7^{5}, *καταπιστεύειν*); and in a few others it is construed with prepositions (*ἔν τινι*, Jer 12^{6}, Ps 78^{22}, Dn 6^{23}, 1 S 27^{12}, 2 Ch 20^{20}, Mic 7^{5}, Sir 35^{21}; *ἐπί τινα*, Is 28^{16} (?), 3 Mac 2^{7}; *ἐπί τινι*, Wis 12^{2}; *εἴς τινα*, Sir 38^{31}; *κατά τινα*, Job 4^{18} 15^{15} 24^{22}).

It was by being thus made the vehicle for expressing the high religious faith of OT that the word was prepared for its NT use. For it had the slightest possible connexion with religious faith in classical speech. Resting ultimately on a root with the fundamental sense of 'binding,' and standing in classical Greek as the common term for 'trusting,' 'putting faith in,' 'relying upon,' shading down into 'believing,' it was rather too strong a term for ordinary use of that ungenial relation to the gods which was characteristic of Greek thought, and which was substantively expressed by *πίστις*—the proper acknowledgment in thought and act of their existence and rights. For this *νομίζειν* was the usual term, and the relative strength of the two terms may be observed in their use in the opening sections of Xenophon's *Memorabilia* (I. i. 1 and 5), where Socrates is charged with not believing in the gods whom the city owned (*νομίζειν τοὺς θεούς*), but is affirmed to have stood in a much more intimate relation to them, to have trusted in them (*πιστεύειν τοῖς θεοῖς*). Something of the same depth of meaning may lurk in the exhortation of the Epinomis (980 C), *Πιστεύσας τοῖς θεοῖς εὔχου*. But ordinarily *πιστεύειν τοῖς θεοῖς* appears as the synonym of *νομίζειν τοὺς θεούς*, and imports merely the denial of atheism (Plut. *de Superst.* ii.; Arist. *Rhet.* ii. 17). It was only by its adoption by the writers of the LXX to express the faith of OT that it was fitted to take its place in NT as the standing designation of the attitude of the man of faith towards God.

This service the LXX could not perform for *πίστις* also, owing to the almost complete absence of the noun 'faith' in the active sense from OT; but it was due to a Hellenistic development on the basis of OT religion, and certainly not without influence from Gn 15^{6} and Hab 2^{4} that this term, too, was prepared for NT use. In classical Greek *πίστις* is applied to belief in the gods chiefly as implying that such belief rests rather on trust than on sight (Plut. *Mor.* 756 B). Though there is no suggestion in this of weakness of conviction (for *πίστις* expresses a strong conviction, and is therefore used in contrast with 'impressions'), yet the word, when referring to the gods, very rarely rises above intellectual conviction into its naturally more congenial region of moral trust (Soph. *Oed. Rex*, 146, 147). That this, its fuller and more characteristic meaning, should come to its rights in the religious sphere, it was necessary that it should be transferred into a new religious atmosphere. The usage of Philo bears witness that it thus came to its rights on the lips of the Greek-speaking Jews. It is going too far, to be sure, to say that Philo's usage of 'faith' is scarcely distinguishable from that of NT writers. The gulf that separates the two is very wide, and has not been inaptly described by saying that with Philo, faith, as the queen of the virtues, is the righteousness of the righteous man, while with St. Paul, as the abnegation of all claim to virtue, it is the righteousness of the unrighteous. But it is of the utmost significance that, in the pages of Philo, the conception is filled with a content which far transcends any usage of the word in heathen Greek, and which is a refraction of the religious conceptions of OT. Fundamental to his idea of it as the crowning virtue of the godly man, to be attained only with the supremest difficulty, especially by creatures akin to mortal things, is his conception of it as essentially a changeless, unwavering 'standing by God' (Dt 5^{31}),—binding us to God, to the exclusion of every other object of desire, and making us one with Him. It has lost that soteriological content which is the very heart of faith in OT; though there does not absolutely fail an occasional reference to God as Saviour, it is, with Philo, rather the Divinity, *τὸ ὄν*, upon which faith rests, than the God of grace and salvation; and it therefore stands with him, not at the beginning but at the end of the religious life. But we can perceive in the usage of Philo a development on Jewish ground of a use of the word *πίστις* to describe that complete detachment from earthly things, and that firm conviction of the reality and supreme significance of the things not seen, which underlies its whole NT use.

The disparity in the use of the terms 'faith' and 'believe' in the two Testaments is certainly in a formal aspect very great. In contrast with their extreme rarity in OT, they are both, though somewhat unevenly distributed and varying in relative frequency, distinctly characteristic of the whole NT language, and oddly enough occur about equally often (about 240 times each). The verb is lacking only in Col, Philem, 2 P, 2 and 3 Jn, and the Apocalypse; the noun only in the Gospel of John and 2 and 3 Jn: both fail only in 2 and 3 Jn. The noun predominates not only in the epistles of St. Paul, where the proportion is about three to one, and in St. James (about five to one), but very markedly in the Epistle to the Hebrews (about sixteen to one). In St. John, on the other hand, the verb is very frequent, while the noun occurs only once in 1 Jn and four times in the Apocalypse. In the other books the proportion between the two is less noteworthy, and may fairly be accounted accidental. In OT, again, 'faith' occurs in the active sense in but a single passage; in NT it is the passive sense which is rare. In OT in only about half the instances of its occurrence is the verb 'to believe' used in a religious sense; in NT it has become so clearly a technical religious term, that it occurs very rarely in any other sense. The transitive usage, in which it expresses entrusting something to someone, occurs a few times both in the active (Lk 16^{11}, Jn 2^{24}) and the passive (Rev 3^{2}, 1 Co 9^{17}, Gal 2^{7}, 1 Th 2^{4}, 1 Ti 1^{11}, Tit 1^{3}); but besides this special case there are very few instances in which the word does not express religious believing, possibly only the following: Jn 9^{18}, Ac 9^{26}, 1 Co 11^{18}, Mt $24^{23.26}$, Mk 13^{21}, 2 Th 2^{11}, cf. Ac 13^{41} 15^{11}, Jn 4^{21}, 1 Jn 4^{1}. The classical construction with the simple dative which prevails in the LXX retires in NT in favour of constructions with prepositions and the absolute use of the verb; the construction with the dative occurs about forty-five times, while that with prepositions occurs some sixty-three times, and the verb is used absolutely some ninety-three times.

When construed with the dative, *πιστεύειν* in NT prevailingly expresses believing assent, though ordinarily in a somewhat pregnant sense. When its object is a thing, it is usually the spoken (Lk 1^{20}, Jn 4^{50} 5^{47} 12^{38}, Ro 10^{16}, cf. 2 Th 2^{11}) or written (Jn 2^{22} 5^{47}, Ac 24^{14} 26^{27}) word of God; once it is divine works which should convince the onlooker of the divine mission of the worker (Jn 10^{38}). When its object is a person it is rarely another than God or Jesus (Mt $21^{25.32}$, Mk 11^{31}, Lk 20^{5}, Jn 5^{46}, Ac 8^{12}, 1 Jn 4^{1}), and more rarely God (Jn 5^{24}, Ac 16^{34} 27^{25}, Ro $4^{2\,(17)}$, Gal 3^{6}, Tit 3^{8}, Ja 2^{23}, 1 Jn 5^{10}) than Jesus (Jn 4^{21} $5^{38.46}$ 6^{30} $8^{31.45.46}$ $10^{37.38}$ 14^{11}, Ac 17^{8}, 2 Ti 1^{12}). Among these passages there are not lacking some, both when the object is a person and when it is a thing, in which the higher sense of devoted, believing trust is conveyed. In 1 Jn 3^{23}, for example, we are obviously to translate, not 'believe the name,' but 'believe in the name of his Son, Jesus Christ,' for in this is summed up the whole Godward side of Christian duty. So there is no reason to question that the words of Gn 15^{6} are adduced in Ro 4^{2}, Gal 3^{6}, Ja 2^{23} in the deep sense which they bear in OT text; and this deeper religious faith can scarcely be excluded from the belief in God adverted to in Ac 16^{34}, Tit 3^{8} (cf. Jn 5^{24}), or from the belief in Jesus adverted to in 2 Ti 1^{12} (cf. Jn 5^{38} 6^{30}), and is obviously the prominent conception in the faith of Crispus declared in Ac 18^{8}. The passive form of this construction occurs only twice—once of believing assent (2 Th 1^{10}), and once with the highest implications of confiding trust (1 Ti 3^{16}). The few passages in which the construction is with the accusative (Jn 11^{26}, Ac 13^{41}, 1 Co 11^{18} 13^{7}, 1 Jn 4^{16}) take their natural place along with the commoner usage with the dative, and need not express more than crediting, although over one or two of them there floats a shadow of a deeper implication. The same may be said of the cases of attraction in Ro 4^{17} and 10^{14}. And with these weaker constructions must be ranged also the passages, twenty in all (fourteen of which occur in the writings of St. John), in which what is believed is joined to the verb by the conjunction ὅτι. In a couple of these the matter believed scarcely rises into the religious sphere (Jn 9^{18}, Ac 9^{26}); in a couple more there is specific reference to prayer (Mk $11^{23.24}$); in yet a couple more it is general faith in God which is in mind (He 11^{6}, Ja 2^{19}). In the rest, what is believed is of immediately soteriological import—now the possession by Jesus of a special power (Mt 9^{28}), now the central fact of His saving work (Ro 10^{9}, 1 Th 4^{14}), now the very hinge of the Christian hope (Ro 6^{8}), but prevailingly the divine mission and personality of Jesus Himself (Jn 6^{69} 8^{24} $11^{27.42}$ 13^{19} 14^{10} $16^{27.30}$ $17^{8.21}$ 20^{31}, 1 Jn $5^{1.5}$). By their side we may recall also the rare construction with the infinitive (Ac 15^{11}, Ro 14^{2}).

When we advance to the constructions with prepositions, we enter a region in which the deeper sense of the word—that of firm, trustful reliance—comes to its full rights. The construction with *ἐν*, which is the most frequent of the constructions with prepositions in the LXX, retires almost out of use in NT; it occurs with certainty only in Mk 1^{15}, where the object of faith is 'the gospel,' though Jn 3^{15}, Eph 1^{13} may also be instances of it, where the object would be Christ. The implication of this construction would seem to be firm fixedness of confidence in its object. Scarcely more common is the parallel construction of *ἐπί* with the dative, expressive of steady, resting repose, reliance upon the object. Besides the quotation from Is 28^{16}, which appears alike in Ro 9^{33} 10^{11}, 1 P 2^{6}, this construction occurs only twice: Lk 24^{25}, where Jesus rebukes His followers for not 'believing on,' relying implicitly upon, all that the prophets have spoken; and 1 Ti 1^{16}, where we are declared to 'believe on' Jesus Christ unto salvation, *i.e.* to obtain salvation by relying upon Him for it. The constructions with prepositions governing the accusative, which involve an implication of 'moral motion, mental direction towards,' are more frequently used. That with *ἐπί*, indeed, occurs only seven times (four of which are in Ac). In two instances in Ro 4, where the reminiscence of the faith of Abraham gives colour to the language, the object on which faith is thus said relyingly to lay hold is God, described, however, as savingly working through Christ—as He that justifies the ungodly, He that raised Jesus our Lord from the dead. Elsewhere its object is Christ Himself. In Mt 27^{42} the Jewish leaders declare the terms on which they will become 'believers on' Jesus; in Ac 16^{31} this is the form that is given to the proclamation of salvation by faith in Christ—'turn with confident trust to Jesus Christ'; and appropriately, therefore, it is in this form of expression that those are designated who have savingly believed on Christ (Ac 9^{42} 11^{17} 22^{19}). The special NT construction, however, is that with *εἰς*, which occurs some forty-nine times, about four-fifths of which are Johannine and the remainder more or less Pauline. The object towards which faith is thus said to be reliantly directed is in one unique instance 'the witness which God hath witnessed concerning his Son' (1 Jn 5^{10}), where we may well believe that 'belief in the truth of the witness is carried on to personal belief in the object of the witness, that is, the Incarnate Son Himself.' Elsewhere the object believed on, in this construction, is always a person, and that very rarely God (Jn 14^{1}, cf. 1 Jn 5^{10}, and also 1 P 1^{21}, where, however, the true reading is probably *πιστοὺς εἰς θεόν*), and most commonly Christ (Mt 18^{6}, Jn 2^{11} $3^{16.18.36}$ 4^{39} $6^{29.35.40}$ $7^{5.31.38.39.48}$ 8^{30} $9^{35.36}$ 10^{42} $11^{25.25.45.48}$ $12^{11.37.42.44.44.46}$ $14^{1.12}$ 16^{9} 17^{20}, Ac 10^{43} 14^{23} 19^{4}, Ro $10^{14.14}$, Gal 2^{16}, Ph 1^{29}, 1 P 1^{8}, 1 Jn 5^{10}, cf. Jn 12^{36} 1^{12} 2^{23} 3^{18}, 1 Jn 5^{13}). A glance over these passages will bring clearly out the pregnancy of the meaning conveyed. It may be more of a question wherein the pregnancy resides. It is probably sufficient to find it in the sense conveyed by the verb itself, while the preposition adjoins only the person towards whom the strong feeling expressed by the verb is directed. In any event, what these passages express is 'an absolute transference of trust from ourselves to another,' a complete self-surrender to Christ.

Some confirmation of this explanation of the strong meaning of the phrase *πιστεύειν εἰς* may be derived from the very rich use of the verb absolutely, in a sense in no way inferior. Its absolute use is pretty evenly distributed through the NT, occurring 29 times in John, 23 times in Paul, 22 times in Acts, 15 times in the Synoptics, and once each in Hebrews, James, 1 Peter, and Jude; it is placed on the lips of Jesus some 18 times. In surprisingly few of these instances is it used of a non-religious act of crediting,—apparently only in our Lord's warning to His followers not to believe when men say '"Lo, here is the Christ," or "here"' (Mt $24^{23.26}$, Mk 13^{21}). In equally surprisingly few instances is it used of specific acts of faith in the religious sphere. Once it is used of assent given to a specific doctrine—that of the unity of God (Ja 2^{19}). Once it is used of believing prayer (Mt 21^{22}). Four times in a single chapter of John it is used of belief in a specific fact—the great fact central to Christianity of the resurrection of Christ (Jn $20^{8.25.29.29}$). It is used occasionally of belief in God's announced word (Lk 1^{45}, Ac 26^{27}), and occasionally also of the credit given to specific testimouies of Jesus, whether with reference to earthly or heavenly things (Jn $3^{12.12}$ 1^{50}, Lk 22^{67}), passing thence to general faith in the word of salvation (Lk $8^{12.12}$). Twice it is used of general soteriological faith in God (Jude ^{5}, Ro 4^{18}), and a few times, with the same pregnancy of implication, where the reference, whether to God or Christ, is more or less uncertain (Jn 1^{7}, Ro 4^{11}, 2 Co $4^{13.13}$). Ordinarily, however, it expresses soteriological faith directed to the person of Christ. In a few instances, to be sure, the immediate trust expressed is in the extraordinary power of Jesus for the performance of earthly effects (the so-called 'miracle faith'), as in Mt 8^{13}, Mk 5^{36} $9^{23.24}$, Lk 8^{50}, Jn 4^{48} 11^{40}; but the essential relation in which this faith stands to 'saving faith' is clearly exhibited in Jn 4^{48} compared with v.^{53} and 9^{38}, and Jn 11^{40} compared with v.^{15} and 12^{39}; and, in any case, these passages are insignificant in number when compared with the great array in which the reference is distinctly to saving faith in Christ (Mk 9^{42} 15^{32} [Jn 3^{15}], Jn 3^{18} $4^{41.42.53}$ 5^{44} $6^{36.47.64.64}$ 9^{38} $10^{25.26}$ 11^{15} 12^{39} 14^{29} 16^{31} 19^{35} 20^{31}, Ac 2^{44} $4^{4.32}$ 5^{14} 8^{13} 11^{21} $13^{12.39.48}$ 14^{1} $15^{5.7}$ $17^{12.34}$ $18^{8.27}$ $19^{2.18}$ $21^{20.25}$, Ro 1^{16} 3^{22} $10^{4.10}$ 13^{11} 15^{13}, 1 Co 1^{21} 3^{5} 14^{22} $15^{2.11}$, Gal 3^{22}, Eph $1^{13.19}$, 1 Th 1^{7} $2^{10.13}$, 2 Th 1^{10}, He 4^{3}, 1 P 2^{7}). A survey of these passages will show very clearly that in the NT 'to believe' is a technical term to express reliance on Christ for salvation. In a number of them, to be sure, the object of the believing spoken of is sufficiently defined by the context, but, without contextual indication of the object, enough remain to bear out this suggestion. Accordingly, a tendency is betrayed to use the simple participle very much as a verbal noun, with the meaning of 'Christian': in Mk 9^{42}, Ac 11^{21}, 1 Co 1^{21}, Eph $1^{13.19}$, 1 Th 1^{7} $2^{10.13}$ the participial construction is evident; it may be doubted, however, whether *οἱ πιστεύσαντες* is not used as a noun in such passages as Ac 2^{44} 4^{32}, 2 Th 1^{10}, He 4^{3}; and in Ac 5^{14} *πιστεύοντες* is perhaps generally recognized as used substantively. Before the disciples were called 'Christians' (Ac 11^{26}, cf. 26^{28}, 1 P 4^{16}) it would seem, then, that they were called 'believers,'—those who had turned to Christ in trusting reliance (*οἱ πιστεύσαντες*), or those who were resting on Christ in trusting reliance (*οἱ πιστεύοντες*); and that the undefined 'to believe' had come to mean to become or to be a Christian, that is, to turn to or rest on Christ in reliant trust. The occasional use of *οἱ πιστοί* in an equivalent sense (Ac 10^{45}, Eph 1^{1}, 1 Ti $4^{3.12}$, 1 P 1^{21}, Rev 17^{14}), for which the way was prepared by the comparatively frequent use of this adjective in the classically rare active sense (Jn 1^{27}, Ac 16^{1}, 1 Co 7^{14}, 2 Co 6^{15}, Gal 3^{9}, 1 Ti 4^{10} 5^{16} 6^{2}, Tit 1^{6}), adds weight to this conclusion; as do also the use of *ἄπιστοι* of 'unbelievers,' whether in the simple (1 Co 6^{6} $7^{12\text{-}15}$ 10^{27} $14^{22\text{-}24}$, 1 Ti 5^{8}) or deepened sense (2 Co 4^{4} $6^{14\mathrm{f.}}$, Tit 1^{15}, cf. Jn 20^{27}, Mt 17^{17}, Mk 9^{19}, Lk 9^{41}), and the related usage of the words *ἀπιστία* (Mk 9^{24} (16^{14}), Mt 13^{58}, Mk 6^{6}, Ro 4^{20} $11^{20.23}$, 1 Ti 1^{13}, He $3^{12.19}$), *ἀπιστέω* (Mk $16^{11\,(16)}$, Lk $24^{11.41}$, Ac 28^{24}, 1 P 2^{7}), and *ὀλιγόπιστος* (Mt 6^{30} 8^{26} 14^{31} 16^{8}, Lk 12^{28}), *ὀλιγοπιστία* (Mt 17^{20}).

The impression which is thus derived from the usage of *πιστεύειν* is only deepened by attending to that of *πίστις*. As already intimated, *πίστις* occurs in NT very rarely in its passive sense of 'faithfulness,' 'integrity' (Ro 3^{3} of God; Mt 23^{23}, Gal 5^{22}, Tit 2^{10}, of men; cf. 1 Ti 5^{12} 'a pledge'; Ac 17^{31} 'assurance'; others add 1 Ti 6^{11}, 2 Ti 2^{22} 3^{10}, Philem ^{5}). And nowhere in the multitude of its occurrences in its active sense is it applied to man's faith in man, but always to the religious trust that reposes on God, or Christ, or divine things. The specific object on which the trust rests is but seldom explicitly expressed. In some six of these instances it is a thing, but always something of the fullest soteriological significance—the gospel of Christ (Ph 1^{27}), the saving truth of God (2 Th 2^{13}), the working of God who raised Jesus from the dead (Col 2^{12}, cf. Ac 14^{9} 3^{16}), the name of Jesus (Ac 3^{16}), the blood of Jesus (Ro 3^{25}), the righteousness of Jesus (2 P 1^{1}). In as many more the object is God, and the conception is prevailingly that of general trust in God (Mk 11^{22}, Ro 14^{22}, 1 Th 1^{8}, He 6^{1}, 1 P 1^{21}, cf. Col 2^{12}). In most instances, however, the object is specified as Christ, and the faith is very pointedly soteriological (Ac 20^{21} 24^{24} 26^{18}, Gal $2^{16.16.20}$, Ro $3^{22.26}$, Gal $3^{22.26}$, Eph 1^{15} 3^{12} 4^{13}, Ph 3^{9}, Col 1^{4} 2^{5}, 1 Ti 1^{14} $3^{13.15}$, 2 Ti 1^{13} 3^{15}, Philem ^{5}, Ja 2^{1}, Rev 2^{13} 14^{12}). Its object is most frequently joined to *πίστις* as an objective genitive, a construction occurring some seventeen times, twelve of which fall in the writings of Paul. In four of them the genitive is that of the thing, viz. in Ph 1^{27} the gospel, in 2 Th 2^{13} the saving truth, in Col 2^{12} the almighty working of God, and in Ac 3^{16} the name of Jesus. In one of them it is God (Mk 11^{22}). The certainty that the genitive is that of object in these cases is decisive with reference to its nature in the remaining cases, in which Jesus Christ is set forth as the object on which faith rests (Ro $3^{22.26}$, Gal $2^{16.16.20}$ 3^{22}, Eph 3^{12} 4^{13}, Ph 3^{9}, Ja 2^{1}, Rev 2^{13} 14^{12}). Next most frequently its object is joined to faith by means of the preposition *ἐν* (9 times), by which it is set forth as the basis on which faith rests, or the sphere of its operation. In two of these instances the object is a thing—the blood or righteousness of Jesus (Ro 3^{25}, 2 P 1^{1}); in the rest it is Christ Himself who is presented as the ground of faith (Gal 3^{26}, Eph 1^{15}, Col 1^{4}, 1 Ti 1^{14} 3^{13}, 2 Ti 1^{13} 3^{15}). Somewhat less frequently (5 times) its object is joined to *πίστις* by means of the preposition *εἰς*, designating, apparently, merely the object with reference to which faith is exercised (cf. especially Ac 20^{21}); the object thus specified for faith is in one instance God (1 P 1^{21}), and in the others Christ (Ac 20^{21} 24^{24} 26^{18}, Col 2^{5}). By the side of this construction should doubtless be placed the two instances in which the preposition *πρός* is used, by which faith is said to look and adhere to God (1 Th 1^{8}) or to Christ (Philem ^{5}). And it is practically in the same sense that in a single instance God is joined to *πίστις* by means of the preposition *ἐπί* as the object to which it restingly turns. It would seem that the pregnant sense of *πίστις* as self-abandoning trust was so fixed in Christian speech that little was left to be expressed by the mode of its adjunction to its object.

Accordingly, the use of the word without specified object is vastly preponderant. In a few of such instances we may see a specific reference to the general confidence which informs believing prayer (Lk 18^8, Ja 1^6 5^{15}). In a somewhat greater number there is special reference to faith in Jesus as a worker of wonders—the so-called 'miracle faith' (Mt 8^{10} $9^{2.22.29}$ 15^{28} [17^{20}] [21^{21}], Mk 2^5 4^{40} 5^{34} 10^{52}, Lk 5^{20} 7^9 $8^{25.48}$ 17^{19} 18^{42}, Ac 3^{16} 14^9)—although how little this faith can be regarded as non-soteriological the language of Mt 9^2, Mk 2^5, Lk 5^{20} shows, as well as the parallelism between Lk 7^{50} (cf. 8^{48} 17^{19}) and Mt 9^{22}, Mk 5^{34}. The immense mass of the passages in which the undefined πίστις occurs, however, are distinctly soteriological, and that indifferently whether its implied object be God or Christ. Its implied reference is indeed often extremely difficult to fix; though the passages in which it may, with some confidence, be referred to Christ are in number about double those in which it may, with like confidence, be referred to God. The degree of clearness with which an implied object is pointed to in the context varies, naturally, very greatly; but in a number of cases there is no direct hint of object in the context, but this is left to be supplied by the general knowledge of the reader. And this is as much as to say that πίστις is so used as to imply that it had already become a Christian technical term, which needed no further definition that it might convey its full sense of saving faith in Jesus Christ to the mind of every reader. This tendency to use it as practically a synonym for 'Christianity' comes out sharply in such a phrase as οἱ ἐκ πίστεως (Gal $3^{7.9}$), which is obviously a paraphrase for 'believers.' A transitional form of the phrase meets us in Ro 3^{26}, τὸν ἐκ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ; that the Ἰησοῦ could fall away and leave the simple οἱ ἐκ πίστεως standing for the whole idea, is full of implications as to the sense which the simple undefined πίστις had acquired in the circles which looked to Jesus for salvation. The same implications underlie the so-called objective use of πίστις in the NT. That in such passages as Ac 6^7, Gal 1^{23} 3^{23} 6^{10}, Ph 1^{25}, Jude $^{3.20}$ it conveys the idea of 'the Christian religion' appears plain on the face of the passages; and by their side can be placed such others as the following, which seem transitional to them, viz.: Ac 16^5, 1 Co 16^{13}, Col 1^{23}, 1 Ti 1^{19} $4^{1.6}$ 5^8, Tit 1^{13}, and, at a slightly further remove, such others as Ac 13^8, Ro 1^5 16^{26}, Ph 1^{25}, 1 Ti 3^9 $6^{10.12}$, 2 Ti 3^8 4^7, Tit 1^4 3^{15}, 1 P 5^9. It is not necessary to suppose that πίστις is used in any of these passages as *doctrina fidei*; it seems possible to carry through them all the conception of '*subjective* faith conceived of *objectively* as a power,'—even through those in Jude and 1 Timothy, which are more commonly than any others interpreted as meaning *doctrina fidei*. But this generally admitted objectivizing of subjective faith makes πίστις, as truly as if it were understood as *doctrina fidei*, on the verge of which it in any case trembles, a synonym for 'the Christian religion.' It is only a question whether 'the Christian religion' is designated in it from the side of doctrine or life; though it be from the point of view of life, still 'the faith' has become a synonym for 'Christianity,' 'believers' for 'Christians,' 'to believe' for 'to become a Christian,' and we may trace a development by means of which πίστις has come to mean the religion which is marked by and consists essentially in 'believing.' That this development so rapidly took place is significant of much, and supplies a ready explanation of such passages as Gal $3^{23.25}$, in which the phrases 'before the faith came' and 'now that faith is come' probably mean little more than before and after the advent of 'Christianity' into the world. On the ground of such a usage, we may at least re-affirm with increased confidence that the idea of 'faith' is conceived of in the NT as the characteristic idea of Christianity, and that it does not import mere 'belief' in an intellectual sense, but all that enters into an entire self-commitment of the soul to Jesus as the Son of God, the Saviour of the world.

II. THE HISTORICAL PRESENTATION OF FAITH.—It lies on the very surface of the NT that its writers were not conscious of a chasm between the fundamental principle of the religious life of the saints of the old covenant and the faith by which they themselves lived. To them, too, Abraham is the typical example of a true believer (Ro 4, Gal 3, He 11, Ja 2); and in their apprehension 'those who are of faith,' that is, 'Christians,' are by that very fact constituted Abraham's sons (Gal 3^7, Ro 4^{16}), and receive their blessing only along with that 'believer' (Gal 3^9) in the steps of whose faith it is that they are walking (Ro 4^{12}) when they believe on Him who raised Jesus our Lord from the dead (Ro 4^{24}). And not only Abraham, but the whole series of OT heroes are conceived by them to be examples of the same faith which was required of them 'unto the gaining of the soul' (He 11). Wrought in them by the same Spirit (2 Co 4^{13}), it produced in them the same fruits, and constituted them a 'cloud of witnesses' by whose testimony we should be stimulated to run our own race with like patience in dependence on Jesus, 'the author and finisher of our faith' (He 12^2). Nowhere is the demand of faith treated as a novelty of the new covenant, or is there a distinction drawn between the faith of the two covenants; everywhere the sense of continuity is prominent (Jn $5^{24.46}$ $12^{38.39.44}$, 1 P 2^6), and the 'proclamation of faith' (Gal $3^{2.5}$, Ro 10^{16}) is conceived as essentially one in both dispensations, under both of which the law reigns that 'the just shall live by his faith' (Hab 2^4, Ro 1^{17}, Gal 3^{11}, He 10^{38}). Nor do we need to penetrate beneath the surface of the OT to perceive the justice of this NT view. Despite the infrequency of the occurrence on its pages of the terms 'faith,' 'to believe,' the religion of the OT is obviously as fundamentally a religion of faith as is that of the NT. There is a sense, to be sure, in which all religion presupposes faith (He 11^6), and in this broad sense the religion of Israel, too, necessarily rested on faith. But the religion of Israel was a religion of faith in a far more specific sense than this; and that not merely because faith was more consciously its foundation, but because its very essence consisted in faith, and this faith was the same radical self-commitment to God, not merely as the highest good of the holy soul, but as the gracious Saviour of the sinner, which meets us as the characteristic feature of the religion of the NT. Between the faith of the two Testaments there exists, indeed, no further difference than that which the progress of the historical working out of redemption brought with it.

The hinge of OT religion from the very beginning turns on the facts of man's sin (Gn 3) and consequent unworthiness (Gn $3^{2\text{-}10}$), and of God's grace (Gn 3^{15}) and consequent saving activity (Gn 3^4 4^5 $6^{8.13\text{f.}}$). This saving activity presents itself from the very beginning also under the form of promise or covenant, the radical idea of which is naturally faithfulness on the part of the promising God with the answering attitude of faith on the part of the receptive people. Face to face with a holy God, the sinner has no hope except in the free mercy of God, and can be authorized to trust in that mercy only by express assurance. Accordingly, the only cause of salvation is from the first the pitying love of God (Gn 3^{15} 8^{21}), which freely grants benefits to man; while on man's part there is never question of merit or of a strength by which he may prevail (1 S 2^9), but rather a constant sense of unworthiness (Gn 32^{10}), by virtue of which humility appears from the first as the keynote of OT piety. In the earlier portions of the OT, to be sure, there is little abstract statement of the ideas which ruled the hearts and lives of the servants of God. The essence of patriarchal religion is rather exhibited to us in action. But from the very beginning the distinctive feature of the life of the pious is that it is a life of faith, that its regulative principle is drawn, not from the earth but from above. Thus the first recorded human acts after the Fall—the naming of Eve, and the birth and naming of Cain—are expressive of trust in God's promise that, though men should die for their sins, yet man should not perish from the earth, but should triumph over the tempter; in a word, in the great promise of the Seed (Gn 3^{15}). Similarly, the whole story of the Flood is so ordered as to throw into relief, on the one hand, the free grace of God in His dealings with Noah (Gn 6$^{8.\ 18}$ 8$^{1.\ 21}$ 9^{8}), and, on the other, the determination of Noah's whole life by trust in God and His promises (Gn 6^{22} 7^{5} 9^{20}). The open declaration of the faith-principle of Abraham's life (Gn 15^{6}) only puts into words, in the case of him who stands at the root of Israel's whole national and religious existence, what not only might also be said of all the patriarchs, but what actually is most distinctly said both of Abraham and of them through the medium of their recorded history. The entire patriarchal narrative is set forth with the design and effect of exhibiting the life of the servants of God as a life of faith, and it is just by the fact of their implicit self-commitment to God that throughout the narrative the servants of God are differentiated from others. This does not mean, of course, that with them faith took the place of obedience: an entire self-commitment to God which did not show itself in obedience to Him would be self-contradictory, and the testing of faith by obedience is therefore a marked feature of the patriarchal narrative. But it does mean that faith was with them the precondition of all obedience. The patriarchal religion is essentially a religion, not of law but of promise, and therefore not primarily of obedience but of trust; the holy walk is characteristic of God's servants (Gn 5$^{22.\ 24}$ 6^{9} 17^{1} 24^{40} 48^{15}), but it is characteristically described as a walk 'with God'; its peculiarity consisted precisely in the ordering of life by entire trust in God, and it expressed itself in conduct growing out of this trust (Gn 3^{20} 4^{1} 6^{22} 7^{5} 8^{18} 12^{4} 17^{23} 21$^{12.\ 16}$ 22). The righteousness of the patriarchal age was thus but the manifestation in life of an entire self-commitment to God, in unwavering trust in His promises.

The piety of the OT thus began with faith. And though, when the stage of the law was reached, the emphasis might seem to be thrown rather on the obedience of faith, what has been called 'faith in action,' yet the giving of the law does not mark a fundamental change in the religion of Israel, but only a new stage in its orderly development. The law-giving was not a setting aside of the religion of promise, but an incident in its history; and the law given was not a code of jurisprudence for the world's government, but a body of household ordinances for the regulation of God's family. It is therefore itself grounded upon the promise, and it grounds the whole religious life of Israel in the grace of the covenant God (Ex 20^{2}). It is only because Israel are the children of God, and God has sanctified them unto Himself and chosen them to be a peculiar people unto Him (Dt 14^{1}), that He proceeds to frame them by His law for His especial treasure (Ex 19^{5}; cf. Tit 2^{14}). Faith, therefore, does not appear as one of the precepts of the law, nor as a virtue superior to its precepts, nor yet as a substitute for keeping them; it rather lies behind the law as its presupposition. Accordingly, in the history of the giving of the law, faith is expressly emphasized as the presupposition of the whole relation existing between Israel and J″. The signs by which Moses was accredited, and all J″'s deeds of power, had as their design (Ex 3^{12} 4$^{1.\ 5.\ 8.\ 9}$ 19$^{4.\ 9}$) and their effect (Ex 4^{31} 12$^{28.\ 34}$ 14^{31} 24$^{3.\ 7}$, Ps 106^{12}) the working of faith in the people; and their subsequent unbelief is treated as the deepest crime they could commit (Nu 14^{11}, Dt 1^{32} 9^{23}, Ps 78$^{22.\ 32}$ 106^{24}), as is even momentary failure of faith on the part of their leaders (Nu 20^{12}). It is only as a consequent of the relation of the people to Him, instituted by grace on His part and by faith on theirs, that J″ proceeds to carry out His gracious purposes for them, delivering them from bondage, giving them a law for the regulation of their lives, and framing them in the promised land into a kingdom of priests and a holy nation. In other words, it is a precondition of the law that Israel's life is not of the earth, but is hid with God, and is therefore to be ordered by His precepts. Its design was, therefore, not to provide a means by which man might come into relation with J″, but to publish the mode of life incumbent on those who stand in the relation of children to J″; and it is therefore that the book of the law was commanded to be put by the side of the ark of the covenant of the LORD, that it might be a witness against the transgressions of Israel (Dt 31^{26}).

The effect of the law was consonant with its design. Many, no doubt, looked upon it in a purely legalistic spirit, and sought, by scrupulous fulfilment of it as a body of external precepts, to lay the foundation of a claim on God in behalf of the nation or the individual, or to realize through it, as a present possession, that salvation which was ever represented as something future. But, just in proportion as its spirituality and inwardness were felt, it operated to deepen in Israel the sense of shortcoming and sin, and to sharpen the conviction that from the grace of God alone could salvation be expected. This humble frame of conscious dependence on God was met by a twofold proclamation. On the one hand, the eyes of God's people were directed more longingly towards the future, and, in contrast with the present failure of Israel to realize the ordinances of life which had been given it, a new dispensation of grace was promised in which the law of God's kingdom should be written upon the heart, and should become therefore the instinctive law of life of His people (Jer 24^{7} 31$^{31\text{f.}}$, Ezk 36$^{25\text{f.}}$; cf. Ezk 16^{60}, Jl 3, Hos 2$^{9\text{f.}}$). It lay in the very nature of the OT dispensation, in which the revelation of God was always incomplete, the still unsolved enigmas of life numerous, the work of redemption unfinished, and the consummation of the kingdom ever yet to come, that the eyes of the saints should be set upon the future; and these deficiencies were felt very early. But it also lay, in the nature of the case, that the sense of them should increase as time passed and the perfecting of Israel was delayed, and especially as the whole national and religious existence of Israel was more and more put in jeopardy by assaults from without and corruption from within. The essence of piety came thus to be ever more plainly proclaimed as consisting in such a confident trust in the God of salvation as could not be confounded either by the unrighteousness which reigned in Israel or by J″'s judgments on Israel's sins,—such a confidence as, even in the face of the destruction of the theocracy itself, could preserve, in enduring hope, the assurance of the ultimate realization of God's purposes of good to Israel and the establishment of the everlasting kingdom. Thus hopeful waiting upon J″ became more and more the centre of Israelitish piety, and J″ became before all 'the Hope of Israel' (Jer 14^{8} 17^{13} 50^{7}, cf. Ps 71^{5}). On the other hand, while thus waiting for the salvation of Israel, the saint must needs stay himself on God (Is 26^{3} 50^{10}), fixing his heart on J″ as the Rock of the heart (Ps 73^{26}), His people's strength (Ps 46^{1}) and trust (Ps 40^{4} 65^{5} 71^{5}, Jer 17^{7}). Freed from all illusion of earthly help, and most of all from all self-confidence, he is meanwhile to live by faith (Hab 2^{4}). Thus, along with an ever more richly expressed corporate hope, there is found also an ever more richly expressed individual trust, which finds natural utterance through an ample body of synonyms bringing out severally the various sides of that perfect commitment to God that constitutes the essence of faith. Thus we read much of trusting in, on, to God, or in His word, His name, His mercy, His salvation (בָּטַח), of seeking and finding refuge in God or in the shadow of His wings (חָסָה), of committing ourselves to God (גָּלַל), setting confidence (כָּסַל) in Him, looking to Him (הִבִּיט), relying upon Him (נִשְׁעַן), staying upon Him (נִסְמַךְ), setting or fixing the heart upon Him (הֵכִין לֵב), binding our love on Him (חָשַׁק), cleaving to Him (דָּבַק). So, on the hopeful side of faith, we read much of hoping in God (קִוָּה), waiting on God (יִחֵל), of longing for Him (חִכָּה), patiently waiting for Him (הִתְחוֹלֵל), and the like.

By the aid of such expressions, it becomes possible to form a somewhat clear notion of the attitude towards Him which was required by J″ of His believing people, and which is summed up in the term faith. It is a reverential (Ex 14^{31}, Nu 14^{11} 20^{12}) and loving faith, which rests on the strong basis of firm and unshaken conviction of the might and grace of the covenant God and of the trustworthiness of all His words, and exhibits itself in confident trust in J″ and unwavering expectation of the fulfilment of, no doubt, all His promises, but more especially of His promise of salvation, and in consequent faithful and exclusive adherence to Him. In one word, it consists in an utter commitment of oneself to J″, with confident trust in Him as guide and saviour, and assured expectation of His promised salvation. It therefore stands in contrast, on the one hand, with trust in self or other human help, and on the other with doubt and unbelief, despondency and unfaithfulness. From J″ alone is salvation to be looked for, and it comes from His free grace alone (Dt 7^{7} 8^{18} 9^{5}, Am 3^{2}, Hos 13^{5}, Ezk 20^{6}, Jer 39^{18}, Mal 1^{2}), and to those only who look solely to Him for it (Is 31^{1} 57^{13} 28^{16} 30^{15}, Jer 17^{5} 39^{18}, Ps 118^{8} 146^{3} 20^{7}, 1 S 17^{45}, Ps 28^{25} 11^{28}, Job 22$^{23.24}$ 31^{24}, Ps 52^{9}). The reference of faith is accordingly in the OT always distinctly soteriological; its end the Messianic salvation; and its essence a trusting, or rather an entrusting of oneself to the God of salvation, with full assurance of the fulfilment of His gracious purposes and the ultimate realization of His promise of salvation for the people and the individual. Such an attitude towards the God of salvation is identical with the faith of the NT, and is not essentially changed by the fuller revelation of God the Redeemer in the person of the promised Messiah. That it is comparatively seldom designated in the OT by the names of 'faith,' 'believing,' seems to be due, as has been often pointed out, to the special place of the OT in the history of revelation, and the adaptation of its whole contents and language to the particular task in the establishment of the kingdom of God which fell to its writers. This task turned on the special temptations and difficulties of the OT stage of development, and required emphasis to be laid on the majesty and jealousy of J″ and on the duties of reverence, sincerity, and patience. Meanwhile, the faith in Him which underlies these duties is continually implied in their enforcement, and comes to open expression in frequent paraphrase and synonym, and as often in its own proper terms as is natural in the circumstances. Especially in the great crises of the history of redemption (Gn 15, Ex 4^{5} 19^{9}, Is 7) is the fundamental requirement of faith rendered explicit and prominent.

On the coming of God to His people in the person of His Son, the promised Messianic King, bringing the salvation, the hope of which had for so many ages been their support and stay, it naturally became the primary task of the vehicles of revelation to attract and attach God's people to the person of their Redeemer. And this task was the more pressing in proportion as the form of the fulfilment did not obviously correspond with the promise, and especially with the expectations which had grown up on the faith of the promise. This fundamental function dominates the whole NT, and accounts at once for the great prominence in its pages of the demand for faith, by which a gulf seems to be opened between it and the OT. The demand for faith in Jesus as the Redeemer so long hoped for, did indeed create so wide a cleft in the consciousness of the times that the term faith came rapidly to be appropriated to Christianity and 'to believe' to mean to become a Christian; so that the old covenant and the new were discriminated from each other as the ages before and after the 'coming of faith' (Gal 3$^{23.25}$). But all this does not imply that faith now for the first time became the foundation of the religion of J″, but only suggests how fully, in the new circumstances induced by the coming of the promised Redeemer, the demand for faith absorbed the whole proclamation of the gospel. In this primary concern for faith the NT books all necessarily share; but, for the rest, they differ among themselves in the prominence given to it and in the aspects in which it is presented, in accordance with the place of each in the historical development of the new life; and that is as much as to say in accordance with the historical occasion out of which each arose and the special object to subserve which each was written.

Indeed, the word 'to believe' first appears on the pages of the NT in quite OT conditions. We are conscious of no distinction even in atmosphere between the commendation of faith and rebuke of unbelief in Exodus or the Psalms and the same commendation and rebuke in the days just before the 'coming of faith' (Lk 1$^{20.45}$); these are but specific applications of the thesis of prophetism, expressed positively in 2 Ch 20^{20} and negatively in Is 7^{9}. Already, however, the dawn of the new day has coloured the proclamation of the Baptist, the essence of which Paul sums up for us as a demand for faith in the Coming One (Ac 19^{4}), and which John reports to us (Jn 3^{36}). In the synoptic report of the teaching of Jesus, the same purpose is the dominant note. All that Jesus did and taught was directed to drawing faith to Himself. Up to the end, indeed, He repelled the unbelieving demand that He should 'declare plainly' the authority by which He acted and who He really was (Mt 21^{23}, Lk 22^{67}); but this was only that He might, in His own way, the more decidedly confound unbelief and assert His divine majesty. Even when He spoke of general faith in God (Mk 11^{22}), and that confident trust which becomes men approaching the Almighty in prayer (Mt 21^{22} ‖ Mk 9^{24}, Lk 18^{8}), He did it in a way which inevitably directed attention to His own person as the representative of God on earth. And this accounts for the prevalence, in the synoptic report of His allusions to faith, of a reference to that exercise of faith which has sometimes been somewhat sharply divided from saving faith under the name of 'miracle faith' (Mt 8$^{10.13}$ ‖ Lk 7^{9}; Mt 9^{2}; Mt

9^{22} ‖ Mk 5^{34}, Lk 8^{48}; Mt $9^{28.\,29}$; Mt 15^{21}; Mt 17^{20} ‖ Mk 9^{20}; Mt $21^{21.\,22}$, cf. Lk 17^{6}; Mk 4^{40}; Mk 5^{36} ‖ Lk 8^{50}; Mk 10^{52} ‖ Lk 18^{42}; Lk 7^{19}). That in these instances we have not a generically distinct order of faith, directed to its own peculiar end, but only a specific movement of that entire trust in Himself which Jesus would arouse in all, seems clear from the manner in which He dealt with it,—now praising its exercise as a specially great exhibition of faith quite generally spoken of (Lk 7^{9}), now pointing to it as a manifestation of that believing to which 'all things are possible' (Mk 9^{23}), now connecting with it not merely the healing of the body but the forgiveness of sins (Mt 9^{2}), and everywhere using it as a means of attaching the confidence of men to His person as the source of all good. Having come to His own, in other words, Jesus took men upon the plane on which He found them, and sought to lead them through the needs which they felt, and the relief of which they sought in Him, up to a recognition of their greater needs and of His ability to give relief to them also. That word of power, 'Thy faith hath saved thee,' spoken indifferently of bodily wants and of the deeper needs of the soul (Lk 7^{50}), not only resulted, but was intended to result, in focusing all eyes on Himself as the one physician of both body and soul (Mt 8^{17}). Explicit references to these higher results of faith are, to be sure, not very frequent in the synoptic discourses, but there are quite enough of them to exhibit Jesus' specific claim to be the proper object of faith for these effects also (Lk $8^{12.\,13}$ 22^{32}, Mt 18^{6} ‖ Mk 9^{42}, Lk 7^{50}), and to prepare the way for His rebuke, after His resurrection, of the lagging minds of His followers, that they did not understand all these things (Lk $24^{25.\,45}$), and for His great commission to Paul to go and open men's eyes that they might receive 'remission of sins and an inheritance among the sanctified by faith in Him' (Ac 26^{18}).

It is very natural that a much fuller account of Jesus' teaching as to faith should be given in the more intimate discourses which are preserved by John. But in these discourses, too, His primary task is to bind men to Him by faith. The chief difference is that here, consonantly with the nature of the discourses recorded, much more prevailing stress is laid upon the higher aspects of faith, and we see Jesus striving specially to attract to Himself a faith consciously set upon eternal good. In a number of instances we find ourselves in much the same atmosphere as in the Synoptics ($4^{21\,\mathrm{sq.}\;48\,\mathrm{sq.}}$ 9^{35}); and the method of Jesus is the same throughout. Everywhere He offers Himself as the object of faith, and claims faith in Himself for the highest concerns of the soul. But everywhere He begins at the level at which He finds His hearers, and leads them upward to these higher things. It is so that He deals with Nathanael (1^{51}) and Nicodemus (3^{12}); and it is so that He deals constantly with the Jews, everywhere requiring faith in Himself for eternal life ($5^{24.\,25.\,38}$ $6^{35.\,40.\,47}$ 7^{38} 8^{24} $10^{25.\,36}$ $12^{44.\,46}$), declaring that faith in Him is the certain outcome of faith in their own Scriptures ($5^{46.\,47}$), is demanded by the witness borne Him by God in His mighty works ($10^{25.\,36.\,37}$), is involved in and is indeed identical with faith in God ($5^{25.\,38}$ $6^{40.\,45}$ 8^{47} 12^{44}), and is the one thing which God requires of them (6^{29}), and the failure of which will bring them eternal ruin (3^{18} 5^{38} 6^{64} 8^{24}). When dealing with His followers, His primary care was to build up their faith in Him. Witness especially His solicitude for their faith in the last hours of His intercourse with them. For the faith they had reposed in Him He returns thanks to God (17^{8}), but He is still nursing their faith (16^{31}), preparing for its increase through the events to come (13^{19} 16^{29}), and with almost passionate eagerness claiming it at their hands ($14^{1.\,10.\,11.\,12}$). Even after His resurrection we find Him restoring the faith of the waverer (20^{29}) with words which pronounce a special blessing on those who should hereafter believe on less compelling evidence—words whose point is not fully caught until we realize that they contain an intimation of the work of the apostles as, like His own, summed up in bringing men to faith in Him ($17^{20.\,21}$).

The record in Ac of the apostolic proclamation testifies to the faithfulness with which this office was prosecuted by Jesus' delegates (Ac $3^{22.\,23}$). The task undertaken by them was, by persuading men (Ac 17^{4} 28^{24}), to bring them unto obedience to the faith that is in Jesus (Ac 6^{7}, Ro 1^{5} 16^{26}, cf. 2 Th 1^{8}, 2 Co 10^{5}). And by such 'testifying faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ' (Ac 20^{21}, cf. 10^{43}) there was quickly gathered together a community of 'believers' (Ac 2^{44} $4^{4.\,32}$), that is, of believers in the Lord Jesus Christ (Ac 5^{14} 9^{42} 11^{17} 14^{23}), and that not only in Jerus. but beyond (8^{12} 9^{42} 10^{45} 11^{21} 13^{48} 14^{1}), and not only of Jews (10^{45} 15^{1} 21^{20}) but of Gentiles (11^{21} 13^{48} 14^{1} 15^{7} $17^{12.\,34}$ 18^{27} 19^{18} 21^{25}). The enucleation of this community of believers brought to the apostolic teachers the new task of preserving the idea of faith, which was the formative principle of the new community, and to propagate which in the world, pure and living and sound, was its chief office. It was inevitable that those who were called into the faith of Christ should bring into the infant Church with them many old tendencies of thinking, and that within the new community the fermentation of ideas should be very great. The task of instructing and disciplining the new community soon became unavoidably one of the heaviest of apostolic duties; and its progress is naturally reflected in their letters. Thus certain differences in their modes of dealing with faith emerge among NT writers, according as one lays stress on the deadness and profitlessness of a faith which produces no fruit in the life, and another on the valuelessness of a faith which does not emancipate from the bondage of the law; or as one lays stress on the perfection of the object of faith and the necessity of keeping the heart set upon it, and another on the necessity of preserving in its purity that subjective attitude towards the unseen and future which constitutes the very essence of faith; or as one lays stress on the reaching out of faith to the future in confident hope, and another on the present enjoyment by faith of all the blessings of salvation.

It was to James that it fell to rebuke the Jewish tendency to conceive of the faith which was pleasing to J″ as a mere intellectual acquiescence in His being and claims, when imported into the Church and made to do duty as 'the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Glory' (2^{1}). He has sometimes been misread as if he were depreciating faith, or at least the place of faith in salvation. But it is perfectly clear that with James, as truly as with any other NT writer, a sound faith in the Lord Jesus Christ as the manifested God (2^{1}) lies at the very basis of the Christian life (1^{3}), and is the condition of all acceptable approach to God (1^{6} 5^{15}). It is not faith as he conceives it which he depreciates, but that professed faith (λέγῃ, 2^{14}) which cannot be shown to be real by appropriate works (2^{18}), and so differs by a whole diameter alike from the faith of Abraham that was reckoned unto him for righteousness (2^{23}), and from the faith of Christians as James understood it (2^{1} 1^{3}, cf. 1^{22}). The impression which is easily taken from the last half of the second chapter of James, that his teaching and that of Paul stand in some polemic relation, is nevertheless a delusion, and arises from an insufficient realization of the place occupied by faith in the discussions of the Jewish schools, reflections of which have naturally found their way into the language of both Paul and James. And so far are we from needing to suppose some reference, direct or indirect, to Pauline teaching to account for James' entrance upon the question which he discusses, that this was a matter upon which an earnest teacher could not fail to touch in the presence of a tendency common among the Jews at the advent of Christianity (cf. Mt 3^{9} 7^{21} 23^{3}, Ro 2^{17}), and certain to pass over into Jewish-Christian circles: and James' treatment of it finds, indeed, its entire presupposition in the state of things underlying the exhortation of 1^{22}. When read from his own historical standpoint, James' teachings are free from any discord with those of Paul, who as strongly as James denies all value to a faith which does not work by love (Gal 5^{6}, 1 Co 13^{2}, 1 Th 1^{3}). In short, James is not depreciating faith: with him, too, it is faith that is reckoned unto righteousness (2^{23}), though only such a faith as shows itself in works can be so reckoned, because a faith which does not come to fruitage in works is dead, non-existent. He is rather deepening the idea of faith, and insisting that it includes in its very conception something more than an otiose intellectual assent.

It was a far more serious task which was laid upon Paul. As apostle to the Gentiles he was called upon to make good in all its depth of meaning the fundamental principle of the religion of grace, that the righteous shall live by faith, as over-against what had come to be the ingrained legalism of Jewish thought now intruded into the Christian Church. It was not, indeed, doubted that faith was requisite for obtaining salvation. But he that had been born a Jew and was conscious of the privileges of the children of the promise, found it hard to think that faith was all that was requisite. What, then, was the advantage of the Jew? In defence of the rights of the Gentiles, Paul was forced in the most uncompromising way to validate the great proposition that, in the matter of salvation, there is no distinction between Jew and Gentile,—that the Jew has no other righteousness than that which comes through faith in Jesus Christ (Gal $2^{15\,\text{sq.}}$), and that the Gentile fully possesses this righteousness from faith alone (Gal $3^{7\,\text{sq.}}$); in a word, that the one God, who is God of the Gentiles also, 'shall justify the circumcision by faith, and the uncircumcision through faith' (Ro 3^{30}). Thus was it made clear not only that 'no man is justified by the law' (Gal 2^{16} 3^{11}, Ro 3^{20}), but also that a man is justified by faith apart from law-works (Ro 3^{28}). The splendid vigour and thoroughness of Paul's dialectic development of the absolute contrast between the ideas of faith and works, by virtue of which one peremptorily excludes the other, left no hiding-place for a work-righteousness of any kind or degree, but cast all men solely upon the righteousness of God, which is apart from the law and comes through faith unto all that believe (Ro $3^{21.\,22}$). Thus, in vindicating the place of faith as the only instrument of salvation, Paul necessarily dwelt much upon the object of faith, not as if he were formally teaching what the object is on which faith savingly lays hold, but as a natural result of his effort to show from its object the all-sufficiency of faith. It is because faith lays hold of Jesus Christ, who was delivered up for our trespasses and was raised for our justification (Ro 4^{25}), and makes us possessors of the righteousness provided by God through Him, that there is no room for any righteousness of our own in the ground of our salvation (Ro 10^{3}, Eph 2^{8}). This is the reason of that full development of the object of faith in Paul's writings, and especially of the specific connexion between faith and the righteousness of God proclaimed in Christ, by which the doctrine of Paul is sometimes said to be distinguished from the more general conception of faith which is characteristic of the Epistle to the Hebrews. This more general conception of faith is not, however, the peculiar property of that epistle, but is the fundamental conception of the whole body of biblical writers in OT and in NT (cf. Mt 6^{25} 16^{23}, Jn $20^{29.\,31}$, 1 P 1^{8}), including Paul himself (2 Co 4^{18} 5^{7}, Ro $4^{16\text{-}22}$ 8^{24}); while, on the other hand, the Epistle to the Hebrews, no less than Paul, teaches that there is no righteousness except through faith (10^{38} 11^{7}, cf. 11^{4}).

That in the Epistle to the Hebrews it is the general idea of faith, or, to be more exact, the subjective nature of faith, that is dwelt upon, rather than its specific object, is not due to a peculiar conception of what faith lays hold upon, but to the particular task which fell to its writer in the work of planting Christianity in the world. With him, too, the person and work of Christ are the specific object of faith ($13^{7.\,8}$ 3^{14} 10^{22}). But the danger against which, in the providence of God, he was called upon to guard the infant flock, was not that it should fall away from faith to works, but that it should fall away from faith into despair. His readers were threatened not with legalism but with 'shrinking back' (10^{39}), and he needed, therefore, to emphasize not so much the object of faith as the duty of faith. Accordingly, it is not so much on the righteousness of faith as on its perfecting that he insists; it is not so much its contrast with works as its contrast with impatience that he impresses on his readers' consciences; it is not so much to faith specifically in Christ and in Him alone that he exhorts them as to an attitude of faith—an attitude which could rise above the seen to the unseen, the present to the future, the temporal to the eternal, and which in the midst of sufferings could retain patience, in the midst of disappointments could preserve hope. This is the key to the whole treatment of faith in the Epistle to the Hebrews—its definition as the assurance of things hoped for, the conviction of things not seen (11^{1}); its illustration and enforcement by the example of the heroes of faith in the past, a list chosen and treated with the utmost skill for the end in view (11); its constant attachment to the promises ($4^{1.\,2}$ 6^{12} $10^{36.\,38}$ 11^{9} 13^{39}); its connexion with the faithfulness (11^{11}, cf. 10^{23}), almightiness (11^{19}), and the rewards of God ($11^{6.\,26}$); and its association with such virtues as boldness (3^{6} 4^{16} $10^{19.\,35}$), confidence (3^{14} 11^{1}), patience (10^{36} 12^{1}), hope (3^{6} $6^{11.\,18}$ 10^{23}).

With much that is similar to the situation implied in Hebrews, that which underlies the Epistles of Peter differs from it in the essential particular that their prevailingly Gentile readers were not in imminent danger of falling back into Judaism. There is, accordingly, much in the aspect in which faith is presented in these epistles which reminds us of what we find in Hebrews, as, for example, the close connexion into which it is brought with obedience (1 P $1^{2.\,22}$ 2^{7} 3^{1} 4^{17}), its prevailing reference to what is unseen and future (1 P $1^{5.\,7\text{-}10.\,21}$), and its consequent demand for steadfastness (5^{9}, cf. 1^{7}), and especially for hope (1^{21}, cf. $1^{3.\,13}$ $3^{5.\,15}$). Yet there is a noteworthy difference in the whole tone of the commendation of faith, which was rooted, no doubt, in the character of Peter, as the tone of his speeches recorded in Acts shows, but which also grew out of the nature of the task set before him in these letters. There is no hint of despair lying in the near background, but the buoyancy of assured hope rings throughout these epistles. Having hearkened to the prophet like unto Moses (Dt $18^{15.19}$, Ac $3^{22.23}$), Christians are the children of obedience (1 P 1^{14}), and through their precious faith (1 P 1^{7}, 2 P 1^{1}) possessors of the preciousness of the promises (1 P 2^{7}). As they have obeyed the voice of God and kept His covenant, they have become His peculiar treasure, a kingdom of priests and a holy nation (Ex 19^{5}, 1 P 2^{9}). Naturally, the duty rests upon them of living, while here below, in accordance with their high hopes (1 P 1^{13}, 2 P 1^{5}). But in any event they are but sojourners and pilgrims here (1 P 2^{11} $1^{1.17}$), and have a sure inheritance reserved for them in heaven (1^{4}), unto which they are guarded through faith by the power of God (1^{5}). The reference of faith in Peter is therefore characteristically to the completion rather than to the inception of salvation ($1^{5.9}$ 2^{6}, cf. Ac 15^{11}). Of course this does not imply that he does not share the common biblical conception of faith: he is conscious of no difference of view from that of OT (1 P 2^{6}); and, no less than with James, with him faith is the fountain of all good works (1 P $1^{7.21}$ 5^{9}, 2 P 1^{5}); and, no less than with Paul, with him faith lays hold of the righteousness of Christ (2 P 1^{1}). It only means that in the circumstances of his writing he is led to lay special emphasis on the reference of faith to the consummated salvation, in order to quicken in his readers that hope which would sustain them in their persecutions, and to keep their eyes set, not on their present trials, but, in accordance with faith's very nature, on the unseen and eternal glory.

In the entirely different circumstances in which he wrote, John wished to lay stress on the very opposite aspect of faith. For what is characteristic of John's treatment of faith is insistence not so much on the certainty and glory of the future inheritance which it secures, as on the fulness of the present enjoyment of salvation which it brings. There was pressing into the Church a false emphasis on knowledge, which affected to despisesimple faith. This John met, on the one hand, by deepening the idea of knowledge to the knowledge of experience, and, on the other, by insisting upon the immediate entrance of every believer into the possession of salvation. It is not to be supposed, of course, that he was ready to neglect or deny that out-reaching of faith to the future on which Peter lays such stress: he is zealous that Christians shall know that they are children of God from the moment of believing, and from that instant possessors of the new life of the Spirit; but he does not forget the greater glory of the future, and he knows how to use this Christian hope also as an incitement to holy living (1 Jn 3^{2}). Nor are we to suppose that, in his anti-Gnostic insistence on the element of conviction in faith, he would lose sight of that central element of surrendering trust which is the heart of faith in other portions of the Scriptures: he would indeed have believers know what they believe, and who He is in whom they put their trust, and what He has done for them, and is doing, and will do, in and through them; but this is not that they may know these things simply as intellectual propositions, but that they may rest on them in faith and know them in personal experience. Least of all the NT writers could John confine faith to a merely intellectual act: his whole doctrine of faith is rather a protest against the intellectualism of Gnosticism. His fundamental conception of faith differs in nothing from that of the other NT writers; with him, too, it is a trustful appropriation of Christ and surrender of self to His salvation. Eternal life has been manifested by Christ (Jn 1^{4}, 1 Jn $1^{1.2}$ 5^{11}), and he, and he only, who has the Son has the life (1 Jn 5^{12}). But in the conflict in which he was engaged he required to throw the strongest emphasis possible upon the immediate entrance of believers into this life. This insistence had manifold applications to the circumstances of his readers. It had, for example, a negative application to the antinomian tendency of Gnostic teaching, which John does not fail to press (1 Jn 1^{5} $2^{4.15}$ 3^{6}): 'whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ is begotten of God' (1 Jn 5^{1}), and 'whosoever is begotten of God doeth no sin' (1 Jn 3^{9}). It had also a positive application to their own encouragement: the simple believer was placed on a plane of life to which no knowledge could attain; the new life received by faith gave the victory over the world; and John boldly challenges experience to point to any who have overcome the world but he that believes that Jesus is the Son of God (1 Jn $5^{4.5}$). Accordingly, it is characteristic of John to announce that 'he that believeth hath eternal life' (Jn 3^{36} 5^{24} $6^{47.54}$, 1 Jn $3^{14.15}$ $5^{11.12.13}$). He even declares the purpose of his writing to be, in the Gospel, that his readers 'may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that, believing, they may have life in his name' (20^{31}); and in the First Epistle, that they that believe in the name of the Son of God 'may know that they *have* eternal life' (1 Jn 5^{13}).

III. THE BIBLICAL CONCEPTION OF FAITH.—By means of the providentially mediated diversity of emphasis of the NT writers on the several aspects of faith, the outlines of the biblical conception of faith are thrown into very high relief.

Of its *subjective nature* we have what is almost a formal definition in the description of it as an 'assurance of things hoped for, a conviction of things not seen' (He 11^{1}). It obviously contains in it, therefore, an element of knowledge (He 11^{6}), and it as obviously issues in conduct (He 11^{8}, cf. 5^{9}, 1 P 1^{22}). But it consists neither in assent nor in obedience, but in a reliant trust in the invisible Author of all good (He 11^{27}), in which the mind is set upon the things that are above and not on the things that are upon the earth (Col 3^{2}, cf. 2 Co 4^{16-18}, Mt 6^{25} 16^{33}). The examples cited in He 11 are themselves enough to show that the faith there commended is not a mere belief in God's existence and justice and goodness, or crediting of His word and promises, but a practical counting of Him faithful (11^{11}), with a trust so profound that no trial can shake it (11^{35}), and so absolute that it survives the loss of even its own pledge (11^{17}). So little is faith in its biblical conception merely a conviction of the understanding, that, when that is called faith, the true idea of faith needs to be built up above this word (Ja $2^{14ff.}$). It is a movement of the whole inner man (Ro $10^{9.10}$), and is set in contrast with an unbelief that is akin, not to ignorance but to disobedience (He $3^{18.19}$, Jn 3^{36}, Ro $11^{20.30}$ 15^{31}, 1 Th 1^{8}, He $4^{6.2}$, 1 P $1^{7.8}$ $3^{1.20}$ 4^{18}, Ac $14^{2.1}$ 19^{9}), and that grows out of, not lack of information, but that aversion of the heart from God (He 3^{12}) which takes pleasure in unrighteousness (2 Th 2^{12}), and is so unsparingly exposed by our Lord (Jn 3^{19} 5^{44} 8^{47} 10^{26}). In the breadth of its idea, it is thus the going out of the heart from itself and its resting on God in confident trust for all good. But the scriptural revelation has to do with, and is directed to the needs of, not man in the abstract, but sinful man; and for sinful man this hearty reliance on God necessarily becomes humble trust in Him for the fundamental need of the sinner—forgiveness of sins and reception into favour. In response to the revelations of His grace and the provisions of His mercy, it commits itself without reserve and with abnegation of all self-dependence, to Him as its sole and sufficient Saviour, and thus, in one act, empties itself of all claim on God and casts itself upon His grace alone for salvation.

It is, accordingly, solely from its *object* that faith derives its value. This object is uniformly the God of grace, whether conceived of broadly as the source of all life, light, and blessing, on whom man in his creaturely weakness is entirely dependent, or, whenever sin and the eternal welfare of the soul are in view, as the Author of salvation in whom alone the hope of unworthy man can be placed. This one object of saving faith never varies from the beginning to the end of the scriptural revelation; though, naturally, there is an immense difference between its earlier and later stages in fulness of knowledge as to the nature of the redemptive work by which the salvation intrusted to God shall be accomplished; and as naturally there occurs a very great variety of forms of statement in which trust in the God of salvation receives expression. Already, however, at the gate of Eden, the God in whom the trust of our first parents is reposed is the God of the gracious promise of the retrieval of the injury inflicted by the serpent; and from that beginning of knowledge the progress is steady, until, what is implied in the primal promise having become express in the accomplished work of redemption, the trust of sinners is explicitly placed in the God who was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself (2 Co 5^{19}). Such a faith, again, could not fail to embrace with humble confidence all the gracious promises of the God of salvation, from which indeed it draws its life and strength; nor could it fail to lay hold with strong conviction on all those revealed truths concerning Him which constitute, indeed, in the varied circumstances in which it has been called upon to persist throughout the ages, the very grounds in view of which it has been able to rest upon Him with steadfast trust. These truths, in which the 'Gospel' or glad-tidings to God's people has been from time to time embodied, run all the way from such simple facts as that it was the very God of their fathers that had appeared unto Moses for their deliverance (Ex 4^{5}), to such stupendous facts, lying at the root of the very work of salvation itself, as that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God sent of God to save the world (Jn 6^{69} 8^{24} $11^{21.\,42}$ 13^{19} $16^{27.\,30}$ $17^{8.\,21}$ 20^{31}, 1 Jn 5^{15}), that God has raised Him from the dead (Ro 10^{9}, 1 Th 4^{14}), and that as His children we shall live with Him (Ro 6^{8}). But in believing this variously presented Gospel, faith has ever terminated with trustful reliance, not on the promise but on the Promiser,—not on the propositions which declare God's grace and willingness to save, or Christ's divine nature and power, or the reality and perfection of His saving work, but on the Saviour upon whom, because of these great facts, it could securely rest as on One able to save to the uttermost. Jesus Christ, God the Redeemer, is accordingly the one object of saving faith, presented to its embrace at first implicitly and in promise, and ever more and more openly until at last it is entirely explicit and we read that 'a man is not justified save through faith in Jesus Christ' (Gal 2^{16}). If, with even greater explicitness still, faith is sometimes said to rest upon some element in the saving work of Christ, as, for example, upon His blood or His righteousness (Ro 3^{25}, 2 P 1^{1}), obviously such a singling out of the very thing in His work on which faith takes hold, in no way derogates from its repose upon Him, and Him only, as the sole and sufficient Saviour.

The *saving power* of faith resides thus not in itself, but in the Almighty Saviour on whom it rests. It is never on account of its formal nature as a psychic act that faith is conceived in Scripture to be saving,—as if this frame of mind or attitude of heart were itself a virtue with claims on God for reward, or at least especially pleasing to Him (either in its nature or as an act of obedience) and thus predisposing Him to favour, or as if it brought the soul into an attitude of receptivity or of sympathy with God, or opened a channel of communication from Him. It is not faith that saves, but faith in Jesus Christ: faith in any other saviour, or in this or that philosophy or human conceit (Col $2^{16.\,18}$, 1 Ti 4^{1}), or in any other gospel than that of Jesus Christ and Him as crucified (Gal $1^{8.\,9}$), brings not salvation but a curse. It is not, strictly speaking, even faith in Christ that saves, but Christ that saves through faith. The saving power resides exclusively, not in the act of faith or the attitude of faith or the nature of faith, but in the object of faith; and in this the whole biblical representation centres, so that we could not more radically misconceive it than by transferring to faith even the smallest fraction of that saving energy which is attributed in the Scriptures solely to Christ Himself. This purely mediatory function of faith is very clearly indicated in the regimens in which it stands, which ordinarily express simple instrumentality. It is most frequently joined to its verb as the dative of means or instrument (Ac 15^{9} 26^{18}, Ro 3^{28} 4^{20} 5^{2} 11^{20}, 2 Co 1^{24}, He $11^{3.\,4.\,5.\,7.\,8.\,9.\,11.\,17.\,20.\,21.\,23.\,24\,\|\,27.\,28.\,29.\,30.\,31}$); and the relationship intended is further explained by the use to express it of the prepositions ἐκ (Ro $1^{17.\,17}$ $3^{26.\,30}$ $4^{16.\,16}$ 5^{1} $9^{30.\,32}$ 10^{6} $14^{23.\,23}$, Gal 2^{16} $3^{7.\,8.\,9.\,11.\,12.\,27.\,28}$ 5^{5}, 1 Ti 1^{5}, He 10^{38}, Ja 2^{24}) and διὰ (with the genitive, never with the accusative, Ro $3^{22.\,25.\,30}$, 2 Co 5^{7}, Gal 2^{16} $3^{12.\,26}$ 3^{7}, 2 Ti 3^{15}, He 6^{12} $11^{23.\,39}$, 1 P 1^{5}),—the fundamental idea of the former construction being that of source or origin, and of the latter that of mediation or instrumentality, though they are used together in the same context, apparently with no distinction of meaning (Ro $3^{25.\,26.\,30}$, Gal 2^{16}). It is not necessary to discover an essentially different implication in the exceptional usage of the prepositions *ἐπί* (Ac 3^{16}, Ph 3^{9}) and *κατά* (He $11^{7.\,13}$, cf. Mt 9^{29}) in this connexion: *ἐπί* is apparently to be taken in a quasi-temporal sense, 'on faith,' giving the occasion of the divine act, and *κατά* very similarly in the sense of conformability, 'in conformity with faith.' Not infrequently we meet also with a construction with the preposition ἐν which properly designates the sphere, but which in passages like Gal 2^{20}, Col 2^{7}, 2 Th 2^{13} appears to pass over into the conception of instrumentality.

So little indeed is faith conceived as containing in itself the energy or ground of salvation, that it is consistently represented as, in its *origin*, itself a gratuity from God in the prosecution of His saving work. It comes, not of one's own strength or virtue, but only to those who are chosen of God for its reception (2 Th 2^{13}), and hence is His gift (Eph 6^{23}, cf. $2^{8.\,9}$, Ph 1^{29}), through Christ (Ac 3^{16}, Ph 1^{29}, 1 P 1^{21}, cf. He 12^{2}), by the Spirit (2 Co 4^{13}, Gal 5^{5}), by means of the preached word (Ro 10^{17}, Gal $3^{2.\,5}$); and as it is thus obtained from God (2 P 1^{1}, Jude ^{3}, 1 P 1^{21}), thanks are to be returned to God for it (Col 1^{4}, 2 Th 1^{3}). Thus, even here all boasting is excluded, and salvation is conceived in all its elements as the pure product of unalloyed grace, issuing not from, but in, good works (Eph $2^{8\text{-}12}$). The place of faith in the process of salvation, as biblically conceived, could scarcely, therefore, be better described than by the use of the scholastic term 'instrumental cause.' Not in one portion of the Scriptures alone, but throughout their whole extent, it is conceived as a boon from above which comes to men, no doubt through the channels of their own activities, but not as if it were an effect of their energies, but rather, as it has been finely phrased, as a gift which God lays in the lap of the soul. 'With the heart,' indeed, 'man believeth unto righteousness'; but this believing does not arise of itself out of any heart indifferently (Mt 13^{1}), nor is it grounded in the heart's own potencies; it is grounded rather in the freely-giving goodness of God, and comes to man as a benefaction out of heaven.

The *effects* of faith, not being the immediate product of faith itself but of that energy of God which was exhibited in raising Jesus from the dead and on which dependence is now placed for raising us with Him into newness of life (Col 2^{12}), would seem to depend directly only on the fact of faith, leaving questions of its strength, quality, and the like more or less to one side. We find a proportion, indeed, suggested between faith and its effects (Mt 9^{29} 8^{13}, cf. 8^{10} 15^{28} 17^{20}, Lk 7^{9} 17^{6}). Certainly there is a fatal doubt, which vitiates with its double-mindedness every approach to God (Ja 1$^{6\text{-}8}$, cf. 4^{8}, Mt 21^{21}, Mk 11^{23}, Ro 4^{20} 14^{23}, Jude ^{22}). But Jesus deals with notable tenderness with those of 'little faith,' and His apostles imitated Him in this (Mt 6$^{30\text{f.}\ 20}$ 14^{31} 16^{8} 17^{20}, Lk 12^{28}, Mk 9^{24}, Lk 17^{5}, cf. Ro 14$^{1.\ 2}$, 1 Co 8^{7}, and see DOUBT). The effects of faith may possibly vary also with the end for which the trust is exercised (cf. Mk 10^{51} *ἵνα ἀναβλέψω* with Gal 2^{16} *ἐπιστεύσαμεν ἵνα δικαιωθῶμεν*). But he who humbly but confidently casts himself on the God of salvation has the assurance that he shall not be put to shame (Ro 11^{11} 9^{33}), but shall receive the end of his faith, even the salvation of his soul (1 P 1^{9}). This salvation is no doubt, in its idea, received all at once (Jn 3^{36}, 1 Jn 5^{12}); but it is in its very nature a process, and its stages come, each in its order. First of all, the believer, renouncing by the very act of faith his own righteousness which is out of the law, receives that 'righteousness which is through faith in Christ, the righteousness which is from God on faith' (Ph 3^{9}, cf. Ro 3^{22} 4^{11} 9^{30} 10$^{3.\ 10}$, 2 Co 5^{21}, Gal 5^{5}, He 11^{7}, 2 P 1^{1}). On the ground of this righteousness, which in its origin is the 'righteous act' of Christ, constituted by His 'obedience' (Ro 5$^{18.\ 19}$), and comes to the believer as a 'gift' (Ro 5^{17}), being reckoned to him apart from works (Ro 4^{6}), he that believes in Christ is justified in God's sight, received into His favour, and made the recipient of the Holy Spirit (Jn 7^{39}, cf. Ac 5^{32}), by whose indwelling men are constituted the sons of God (Ro 8^{13}). And if children, then are they heirs (Ro 8^{17}), assured of an incorruptible, undefiled, and unfading inheritance, reserved in heaven for them; and meanwhile they are guarded by the power of God through faith unto this gloriously complete salvation (1 P 1$^{4.\ 5}$). Thus, though the immediate effect of faith is only to make the believer possessor before the judgment-seat of God of the alien righteousness wrought out by Christ, through this one effect it draws in its train the whole series of saving acts of God, and of saving effects on the soul. Being justified by faith, the enmity which has existed between the sinner and God has been abolished, and he has been introduced into the very family of God, and made sharer in all the blessings of His house (Eph 2$^{13\text{f.}}$). Being justified by faith, he has peace with God, and rejoices in the hope of the glory of God, and is enabled to meet the trials of life, not merely with patience but with joy (Ro 5$^{1\text{f.}}$). Being justified by faith, he has already working within him the life which the Son has brought into the world, and by which, through the operations of the Spirit which those who believe in Him receive (Jn 7^{39}), he is enabled to overcome the world lying in the evil one, and, kept by God from the evil one, to sin not (1 Jn 5^{19}). In a word, because we are justified by faith, we are, through faith, endowed with all the privileges and supplied with all the graces of the children of God. (See further the articles on the several stages of the saving process.)

LITERATURE.—Schlatter, *Der Glaube im NT* (includes a section on 'Der Glaube vor Jesus') is the most comprehensive work on the biblical idea of faith. The general subject is also treated by Lutz, *Biblische Dogmatik*, 312; H. Schultz, 'Gerechtigkeit aus dem Glauben im A. u. NT' (in *JDTh*, 1862, p. 510); Hofmann, *Schriftbeweis*, i. 381; Riehm, *Lehrbr. d. Hebräerbr.* 700; Cremer, *Bib. Theol. Lex.* s. *πίστις*, *πιστεύω*; Hatch, *Essays in Biblical Greek*, 83. For OT, cf. the relevant sections in the treatises on *OT Theology*, especially those of Oehler, H. Schultz, Riehm, Dillmann; and the commentaries on the passages, especially Delitzsch on Genesis and Habakkuk. For NT, cf. Huther, '*ζωή* und *πιστεύειν* im NT' (in *JBDTh*, 1872, p. 182), and the relevant sections in the general treatises on *NT Theology*, especially those of Neander (*Pflanzung*, etc.), Schmid, Reuss, Weiss, Beyschlag, Holtzmann, and in the treatises on the theology of the several NT writers, such as Wendt, *The Teaching of Jesus*; Usteri, *Paulinischer Lehrbegr.*; Pfleiderer, *Paulinism*; Stevens, *The Pauline Theology*; Lipsius, *Paulinische Rechtfertigungslehre*; Schnedermann, *De fidei ratione ethica Paulina*; Hausleiter, 'Was versteht Paulus unter christlichem Glauben?' (in *Greifswalder Studien*, p. 159); Riehm, *Lehrbegr. d. Hebräerbr.*; Reuss, 'Die Johan. Theologie' (in *Beiträge zur d. Theol. Wissenschaft*, i. 56); Köstlin, *Lehrbegr. Johann.*; Weiss, *Der Johann. Lehrbegr.*; Stevens, *The Johannine Theology*; Weiss, *Der Petrin. Lehrbegr.*: also such commentaries as Rückert on *Romans*; Sanday - Headlam on *Romans*; Lightfoot on *Galatians*; Haupt on *1 John*; Mayor on *James*; Spitta on *James*. The whole body of doctrinal discussion may be reviewed in De Moor, *Commentarius in J. Marckii Compendium*, iv. 287 f.; cf. also John Ball, *A Treatise of Faith* (3rd ed. London, 1637), Julius Köstlin, *Der Glaube, sein Wesen, Grund und Gegenstand* (1889), and *Der Glaube und seine Bedeutung für Erkentniss, Leben und Kirche* (1891). For some interesting historical notes, see Harnack, 'Die Lehre von der Seligkeit allein durch den Glauben in der alten Kirche' (in *Zeitschrift. f. Theol. u. Kirche*, 1895, p. 88); E. König, *Der Glaubensact des Christen* (1891); and for a general survey, Cunningham, *Historical Theology*, ii. pp. 56 ff.

B. B. WARFIELD.

FAITHLESS occurs only Mt 17^{17}, Mk 9^{19}, Lk 9^{41}, Jn 20^{27}, and always in the sense of 'unbelieving' (ἄπιστος). So Shaks. describes Shylock (*Mer. of Ven.* II. iv. 37) as 'a faithless Jew,' *i.e.* not 'untrustworthy,' but 'infidel,' an unbeliever in Christianity. J. HASTINGS.

FALCON.—RV tr. of אַיָּה *'ayyâh*, Lv 11^{14}, Dt 14^{13} (AV 'kite'), Job 28^{7} (AV 'vulture'). See GLEDE, HAWK, KITE, VULTURE. G. E. POST.

FALL.—In the sense of *happen*, 'fall' is both a Heb. and an Eng. idiom. It occurs Ru 3^{18} 'Sit still, my daughter, until thou know how the matter will fall'; and 2 Es 13^{58} 'such things as fall in their seasons.' Cf. Mt 18^{13}, Wyc. 'if it fall that he find it,' and Shaks. *Jul. Cæs.* III. i. 243—

'I know not what may fall; I like it not.'

Fall away is used in two senses. 1. To lose a position of goodness or of grace. The Greek is either *ἀφίστημι*, Sir 16^{7} 'the old giants who fell away in the strength of their foolishness' (RV 'revolted'), Lk 8^{13} 'in time of temptation fall away'; or *παραπίπτω* which occurs in the LXX of Est 6^{10}, Wis 6^{9} 12^{2}, Ezk 14^{13} 15^{8} 18^{24} 20^{27} 22^{4}, and 2 Mac 10^{4} [A], and once in NT, He 6^{6} 'it is impossible for those who were once enlightened . . . if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance,' where the meaning is more than is found in the LXX, not merely falling into grievous sin, but renouncing the faith of Christ wholly (see Davidson, *in loc.*). 'A falling away' (RV 'the falling away') is the Eng. tr. of *ἡ ἀποστασία*, 2 Th 2^{3}, on which see MAN OF SIN. 2. To 'fall away to,' varied with 'fall to,' or 'fall unto' (2 K 7^{4} 'let us fall unto the host of the Syrians'), is to desert to an enemy. It is again both a Heb. and an Eng. idiom. See 2 K 25^{11} = Jer 52^{15}, 1 Ch 12$^{19\ \textit{bis}}$, Jer 21^{9} 37$^{13.\ 14}$ 38^{19} 39^{9}, as well as 1 S 29^{3}, where the Heb. (if אֵלַי or עָלַי is added after LXX *πρός με*) is the same, always some part of נָפַל to fall. For the Eng. cf. Shaks. *Henry VIII.* II. i. 129—

'Where you are liberal of your loves and counsels,
Be sure you be not loose; for those you make friends,
And give your hearts to, when they once perceive
The least rub in your fortunes, fall away
Like water from ye.'

Again, *Henry VIII.* III. iii. 209—

> 'And as for Clarence, as my letters tell me,
> He's very likely now to fall from him.'

J. HASTINGS.

FALL (παράπτωμα, a word used of Adam's transgression in Wis 10^1, though not restricted to this anywhere in OT or NT).—Few chapters of the Bible have affected religious speculation more continuously and more deeply than the chapter which records the temptation and the weakness of primeval man. It would be out of place here to discuss all the topics which arise out of Gn 3, as to do so would be to write a treatise on Christian Theology. We can only consider—(i.) the character of the record, and its relation to other accounts of man's primitive state, which have come down to us from early times; (ii.) the influence of the story of Paradise and the Fall upon Hebrew belief as to man's destiny and his condition in the sight of God; (iii.) the inferences drawn by the NT writers, and notably by St. Paul, from the story of Adam's sin, read in the light of Christ's redemption. It will be impossible to give more than the briefest summary (iv.) of the interpretations of St Paul's doctrine of the Fall which have most widely affected Christian thought; but something must be said, in conclusion, (v.) of the bearing of modern theories of the origin and development of man upon the general doctrine of the Fall explained in Scripture and received by the Church.

i. We briefly recapitulate the leading points of the narrative in Gn 2^4–3, which forms the first section in Gn incorporated from the source described by critics as the Prophetical Code (J). Adam and Eve, the parents of the human family, are represented as living in innocence and peace in a fair garden where sin had not entered, and where death had no power, for in its midst stood the Tree of Life, of which they were permitted freely to eat. The fruit of one tree alone, the Tree of the knowledge of good and evil, was forbidden to them; and death was declared to be the penalty of disobedience. But their happy condition of purity and of fellowship with God did not remain undisturbed. The serpent seduced the woman to disobey the divine command; she, in turn, tempted her husband to his fall. And then came upon the guilty pair the consciousness of sin and the fear of the divine wrath, which they vainly tried to evade by excuses for their fault. The voice of God is heard, pronouncing a curse upon the serpent, and declaring a perpetual strife between it and mankind; the man and the woman, for their sin, are for ever subjected to pain in the fulfilment of their destiny, the woman in her childbearing, the man in his daily labour for daily bread. They are both expelled from Eden, and the Cherubim guard its gates against them, lest, eating of the tree of life, they should live for ever. The picture, however, is lightened by one ray of hope; for the seed of the serpent shall not finally prevail over the seed of the woman. 'It shall bruise thy head,' though 'thou shalt bruise his heel.'

Traditions of a state of primeval innocence, of man's fall from his pristine purity, and of the consequent entrance of death into the world, have, it is said, been gathered by travellers from races far removed from Hebrew literature or its sources.* Striking parallels to Gn 3 are to be found in the Zoroastrian legends as to the beginning of man's career. Yima, the first man, is said to have passed his days in a primeval paradise. But after a time he committed sin, was cast out of Paradise, and delivered up to the serpent (identified with an evil spirit), who finally brought about his death. A later version of the story is told in connexion with the first pair Masha and Mashyâna. The lying spirit grew bold, and, presenting himself a second time, brought them fruits, which they ate. As a punishment, of the hundred privileges they formerly enjoyed only one was left to them.* Few of the parallel stories that are adduced are, however, so exactly recorded as these; and we are inclined to believe that the similarities to the Bible narrative are often overstated. The fact that many people in many lands have sought to explain the existing disorders in the world as the consequence of man's lapse from a higher condition is deeply significant, and we shall return to it again. But the details of the legends in which such belief is embodied are not, as a rule, interesting save to the curious student of folk-lore, and they throw little light upon Scripture. It is to Assyria and the East that we naturally look for illumination. And it has been pointed out that the mythology of Babylonia and Assyria presents some curious parallels to the story of the serpent in the garden of which we read in Gn 3. On Assyrian inscriptions are found the names *Diglat*=Hiddekel, and *Bura*=Euphrates, in connexion with the word *Idinu* or 'field,' which is identified with Eden. Coniferous sacred trees appear frequently on Assyr. bas-reliefs and Bab. representations of a mythological character. On a Bab. stone cylinder, now in the British Museum, two human figures are depicted with a serpent behind them, having their hands stretched out towards the fruit that hangs from a neighbouring tree.† And the serpent figure is conspicuous in the legend of the Chaldæan tablets in which the evil serpent, Tiamat, is overthrown by Merodach. (See COSMOGONY, p. 505.) If the third Creation Tablet were not so extremely difficult to decipher as it is reported to be (partly in consequence of its fragmentary condition), it is probable that we should be able to trace in the story which it records even more striking similarities to the Scripture narrative. But Oriental scholars are not as yet entirely in agreement as to the translation of some of the more interesting portions of it; and the inferences that may be derived from the passage now to be cited must therefore be regarded as somewhat uncertain. The following is the rendering of Boscawen ‡:—

> 'In sin one with the other in compact joins,
> The command was established in the garden of the God,
> The Asnan (fruit) they ate, they broke in two;
> Its stalk they destroyed;
> The sweet juice which injures the body.
> Great is their sin. Themselves they exalted;
> To Merodach their Redeemer he appointed their fate.'

If this translation be trustworthy, we have here something very like the biblical story of the forbidden fruit; but the rendering given by Pinches differs in some significant particulars. We recall, for our warning, that an inscription interpreted by Geo. Smith as a Bab. version of the story of the Fall turned out, when closely examined by Oppert, to be a hymn to the Creator.§ Making all due allowances, however, for uncertainty of translation, it seems probable, when we bear in mind the affinity of the earlier Creation Tablets to Gn 1, as well as the other points of contact with the story of Eden to which we have adverted, that a legend of the fall of man, resembling in external features the account of Gn 3, was widely spread in Mesopotamia. Indeed, in another passage cited by Boscawen we are inevitably reminded of the victory over the serpent of Gn 3^{15}—

---

* See Baring Gould's *Legends of OT Characters*, i. 26–39, and the references there given.

* Compare Lenormant, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient*, i. 30 ff.

† There is a photograph of this in Boscawen's *Bible and the Monuments*, p. 89. It is to be borne in mind that there is nothing to suggest that the figures are not both males. And, as Schrader (KAT^2 p. 37) points out, a specific feature of the Bible narrative, viz. that the woman gave the fruit to the man, is not indicated.

‡ *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, iv. 251. Another translation by Pinches is given at p. 32. See also Sayce, *Ancient Monuments*, 65, 104; and Davis, *Genesis and Semitic Tradition*, p. 65, who questions the accuracy of Boscawen's rendering, and urges that we have here no true parallel to the Genesis narrative.

§ See, for original, Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*^{2}, p. 91.

> 'Tiamat, whom he had bound, then turned backward:
> So Bel trampled on the belly of Tiamat;
> With his club unslung he smote her brain,
> He broke it, and caused her blood to flow;
> The north wind bore it away to secret places.' *

There is nothing to surprise reason or to embarrass faith in the fact—if it be a fact—that traditional beliefs about the origins of human history should have been utilized in a purified form by the compiler of the Pent. or taken up into the Prophetical Code. It must be remembered that the period with which we are dealing is strictly prehistoric, and also that legendary history is not necessarily false or misleading. The truly remarkable circumstance is, that the early narratives in Gn are free from the extravagant and grotesque mythological accretions which generally gather round ancient beliefs among primitive peoples; and that every touch in these narratives as we have them conveys a deep religious truth. The 'inspiration of selection' is a phenomenon which every candid student of Scripture must recognize; and nowhere is its presence more instructive than in the first pages of OT, which present the early history of man in a form that can be understood by the simplest, and yet may be studied with spiritual benefit by the wisest of mankind.

We believe, then, that we have in the biblical record of the Fall a purified form of legendary narrative concerning man's early history which had wide currency among Semitic peoples. In an uncritical age it was interpreted literally, and it has been counted historical for many generations by the majority of those, whether Jews or Christians, who accept the authority of the OT. But another method of interpretation, viz. the allegorical, has had many adherents. Thus, of the account of the Fall, Philo asserts: *ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα οὐ πλάσματα μύθων, οἷς τὸ ποιητικὸν καὶ σοφιστικὸν χαίρει γένος, ἀλλὰ δείγματα τύπων ἐπ' ἀλληγορίαν παρακαλούντων κατὰ τὰς δι' ὑπονοιῶν ἀποδόσεις* (*De mundi opificio*, § 56), *i.e.* 'These things are not mere fabulous myths, but rather types shadowing forth some allegorical truth.' And, accordingly, he explains that Adam represents the rational and Eve the sensuous part of man, the serpent being the symbol of pleasure. The Christian teachers of Alexandria, Clement and Origen, favoured this allegorical mode of interpretation; but Tertullian and Irenæus defended the literal truth of the narrative, as also did Augustine, who did not, however, reject the typical significance of OT history; and through the scholastic philosophy it passed into the dogmatic theology of the Reformation. But the opinion that, however the story was intended to be taken by the compiler of the Bk. of Genesis, it might be interpreted as a parable of spiritual truth, has been defended by great names in every age of the Church.†

There are, then, these several methods of interpretation—(1) that the narrative of the Fall is literal history; (2) that it is a legend, which conveys truth under mythological disguise; (3) that it is, and was only intended to be, an allegory. The first and third can hardly be adopted in the present condition of exegesis, and it is probable that the second view of the narrative is that which is now most generally accepted by those who have studied the subject. That the biblical form of the legend should represent the facts as they actually took place more closely than the parallel stories which have been collected from the literature of the ancient world, is not surprising to any believer in the unique character of Scripture; but it is not to be forgotten that it is the great religious truths which underlie the narrative that are of real importance, and these are brought out in the Bk. of Genesis in a quite unique fashion.

ii. The allusions in OT to the story of Gn 3 are few and uncertain. If the rendering of the RV may be pressed, there are indeed two undoubted references to the Fall, viz., 'If *like Adam* I covered my transgressions' (Job 31^{33}), and, 'But they *like Adam* have transgressed the covenant' (Hos 6^{7}). But it seems that, at least in the former passage, כָּאָדָם should be rendered 'after the manner of men,' and this rendering would also be admissible in Hos 6^{7}; so that we have to look elsewhere for allusions to the Paradise narrative on which stress may be laid. The 'garden of Eden' is mentioned several times by the prophets of the Captivity (Ezk 28^{13} 31^{9}, Is 51^{3}, cf. Jl 2^{3}); and the Bk. of Proverbs occasionally mentions a 'tree of life' (see esp. Pr 3^{18} 11^{30}). Ps 90^{3} and Ec 12^{7} have been supposed to take up the language of Gn 3^{19}. It is possible also that we have a reminiscence of the curse upon the serpent (Gn 3^{14}) in Mic 7^{17} 'They shall lick the dust like a serpent,' and in Is 65^{25} 'Dust shall be the serpent's meat,' though the latter passage may be derived from Micah. The conception of a personal tempter of mankind appears in the story of Job and also in 1 Ch 21^{1} (see also Zec 3^{1}); but it is not until a later period that we come upon any explicit identification of 'Satan' or the 'Adversary' with the 'serpent,' the first trace of such being Wis 2^{24}. Cf. also Rev 12^{9} and Ro 16^{20} 'The God of peace shall bruise Satan under your feet shortly,' which manifestly has reference to Gn 3^{15}.*

So far, then, as the language of OT is concerned, we have not convincing evidence that the story of the Fall as given in Gn 3 was much in the thoughts of the sacred writers. But were we to conclude, therefore, that the doctrine of a Fall formed no part of their religious beliefs, we should be seriously mistaken. If there is one idea which is throughout conspicuous in OT, it is the idea of *sin*. No other nation of antiquity was possessed with so intense a consciousness of the wickedness of mankind, and of the sin of man as an offence against God. 'Behold, I was shapen in iniquity; and in sin did my mother conceive me' (Ps 51^{5}). 'There is none that doeth good, no, not one' (Ps 14^{3}). These and many similar passages express the abiding sense of the Hebrew race, that man, as he is, is not in the condition which his Creator purposed for him. The contrast between such a conception of man and that, *e.g.*, present to the mind of a Greek, who viewed man as in his normal, healthy state, is only to be accounted for by a belief such as that which is presupposed and taught in the story of the Fall.

That this belief was, as a matter of fact, definitely, if not consistently, connected with the Paradise narrative in the later ages of Hebrew national life, is proved by the testimony of the books called *Apocrypha* and the literature of the Roman period. This testimony is so important that it will be well to present it in some detail.

(*a*) It is unnecessary to multiply passages which speak of the *depravity of human nature*; but 2 Es 4^{11} 'How can he that is already worn out with the corrupted world understand incorruption?' is significant. Cf. also 2 Es 7^{68}.

(*b*) This depravity was traced to Adam's fall. The classical passage is 2 Es $3^{21.22}$. The seer has been speaking of the creation of Adam, his dwelling in Paradise, the one commandment which he transgressed, and the consequent entrance of death into the world. He goes on: 'For the first Adam, bearing a wicked heart, transgressed, and was overcome; *and not he only*, but all they also that are born of him. Thus disease was made permanent; and the law was in the heart of the people along with the wickedness of the root; so the good departed away, and that which was wicked abode still.' Again: 'A grain of evil seed was sown in the heart of Adam from the beginning, and how much wickedness hath it brought forth unto this time!' (2 Es 4^{30}). And once more: 'O thou Adam, what hast thou done? for though it was thou that sinned, the evil is not fallen on thee alone, but upon all of us that come of thee' (2 Es 7^{118}). In this late book are recognized the moral consequences of Adam's sin; in the much earlier work of Ben-Sira there is an allusion to the curse of Gn 3^{19} 'Great travail is created for every man, and a heavy yoke is upon the sons of Adam' (Sir 40^{1}).

---

* *Bible and the Monuments*, p. 90.

† See an interesting note in Coleridge's *Aids to Reflection*, p. 171 (ed. Bohn).

* It may be observed that the temptation of the Second Adam by the devil (Mt 4, Lk 4) explains beyond doubt who was understood by the serpent which tempted the first Adam.

(*c*) That sin came through the *woman* is explicitly stated in Sir 25^{24} 'From a woman was the beginning of sin, and because of her we all die.'

(*d*) That man's seduction was due to the serpent, now for the first time in Jewish literature identified with Satan, is alluded to in Wis 2^{24} 'By the envy of the devil death entered into the world.'

(*e*) The connexion between *death* and *sin* is not so clearly conceived, and there was, apparently, no consistent doctrine on the subject;* but the generally prevailing view seems to have been that of 2 Es 3^{7} 'Unto him thou gavest thy one commandment: which he transgressed, and immediately thou appointedst death for him and in his generations.' Cf. also Wis 2^{24}, Sir 25^{24}. The same view is found in the *Apocalypse of Baruch* (xvii. 3, xxiii. 4) and in the *Book of Enoch* (xcviii. 4).

(*f*) Side by side with passages such as these we have others not less significant, which assert the *personal responsibility* of the sinner. *E.g.* 'They that inhabited the city did evil, in all things doing as Adam and all his generations had done: for they also bare a wicked heart' (2 Es 3^{25}). Cf. also 2 Es 8^{59} and 9^{11}, and, above all, *Apoc. Baruch* liv. 19: 'Non est ergo Adam causa, nisi animæ suæ tantum; nos uero unusquisque fuit animæ suæ Adam.'

It might be urged that 2 Es is a very late book, perhaps belonging to Christian times; but, at all events, that the author of the chapters from which our quotations are drawn was a non-Christian Jew is tolerably certain. And thus we may use the book in support of our conclusion that the Jews, at least from the Captivity onward, conceived of the sin of Adam as having left a permanent trace from the effects of which all mankind were suffering and to suffer.

iii. When we come to the NT, and especially to the Pauline Epistles, we find that this doctrine of the effects of Adam's fall receives at once explanation and relief in the facts of the Incarnation and the Atonement. If we take the points in the order followed in the last section, we see (*a*) that the universal depravity of mankind is everywhere presupposed, and is the basis of the argument of the Ep. to the Romans. To (*b*) we shall return again, and only cite here 1 Co 15^{22} 'As in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive.' (*c*) finds illustration in two passages: 'the serpent beguiled Eve in his craftiness' (2 Co 11^{3}), and 'Adam was first formed, then Eve; and Adam was not beguiled, but the woman being beguiled hath fallen into transgression' (1 Ti 2^{14}). (*d*) St. Paul refers to the 'bruising of Satan' in Ro 16^{20}; and the devil is spoken of as 'a murderer from the beginning' in Jn 8^{44}. Cf. also 1 Jn $3^{8.12}$. We then come to (*e*), as to which the classical passage in NT is Ro 5^{12-21}. A commentary on these difficult verses cannot be written here; but certain broad principles laid down by St. Paul, who is undoubtedly following and interpreting the narrative in Gn 3, can hardly be mistaken.* That through one man sin entered into the world is his starting-point. Death came through sin (cf. Ro 6^{23} and Ja 1^{15}); and hence death is the common lot of man, first, because of his own personal sin; and, secondly, because it is part of the inheritance which Adam has transmitted to his descendants. At the same time, St. Paul is careful to insist (*f*) that man's personal responsibility for his own acts, and for his own acts alone, remains unimpaired. He does not supply any theory by which the two complementary truths of man's inherited tendency to evil and man's free will may be reconciled; but he leaves them side by side as equally parts of the doctrine which it has been given him to teach. And he goes on to show that the distinctive feature of the gospel is that 'if by the trespass of the one the many died, much more did the grace of God, and the gift by the grace of the one man, Jesus Christ, abound unto the many.' Thus the theology of St. Paul is inextricably bound up with the doctrine of the Fall. The whole point of the comparison and contrast of the first and second Adam is lost, if the destinies of the human race were not deeply affected by a backward step at the beginnings of human history, if it be not true that man's growth in holiness may be described as a recovery effected through grace.

iv. The interpretations of St. Paul's language which have from time to time been accepted by Christians are various; and they depend in part on the view that is taken as to the state of unfallen man, and the divine intention for him. It would be agreed by most theologians that, to use the language of the Church, the 'original righteousness' of which Adam was deprived, was, although in part natural, yet in part *supernatural*. That is to say, he is represented as divinely endowed with a virtuous character, without any such bias towards evil as we experience in ourselves. This is what constituted the unique perversity and heinousness of the first sin, and it is because of this that his sin is counted a 'fall' from a higher spiritual condition. His sin had a disturbing influence on the whole future development of the race, but the character of the disturbance has been differently estimated in different schools of thought. Speaking broadly, the Greek view was simply that the 'original righteousness' of the race was lost; the effect of Adam's sin was a *privatio*, an impoverishment of human nature which yet left the power of the will unimpaired. But the Latin writers who followed Augustine took a darker view of the consequences of the Fall. It is, for them, a *depravatio naturæ*; the human will is disabled; there is left a bias towards evil which can be conquered only by grace. And this is, undoubtedly, nearer to the language of Scripture than the former mode of representing the facts; but it was not always remembered, *e contra*, in Augustinian theology that the 'image of God' remained in man even after the Fall (Gn 9^{6}). It is therefore contrary to Scripture to represent man as *wholly* corrupt. And a deep and serious question arises here as to the relation between the Fall and the Incarnation. It may well be, as the Scotists taught, that it is unjustifiable to represent the high destiny which man may find in Christ as an after-thought in the divine counsels. The Incarnation may have been, for anything we can tell, the predestined climax of humanity, independently of human sin. Bearing these considerations in mind we return to Ro 5$^{12-21}$, and the various theories which have been proposed in explanation. They may be classified thus—*

---

* See Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, i. 165 ff.

* For St. Paul's argument, as also for the witness of the *Apocrypha* to the doctrine of man's corruption, see Sanday-Headlam, *Romans* (ch. v.).

(*a*) It is urged that St. Paul's language requires us to conceive of the human race as *in Adam* potentially, in the same sense as the oak is in the acorn. Hence, for what he did, we may be counted responsible. The race, not the individual, is the true unit; it is with this unit that God deals. Thus, *e.g.*, David sinned in numbering Israel, but his people were the sufferers from the divine punishment. The words of our Lord in Lk 13$^{2-4}$ suggest to us that there is such a thing as *national* responsibility, apart from the guilt of individuals. Most apposite of all, Levi is said to have paid tithes 'through Abraham' (He 7$^{9.10}$). And in this conception of the solidarity of mankind there is, beyond question, a profound truth which is becoming more intelligently and sincerely accepted as the social teaching of the Incarnation is being opened out. 'As in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive' (1 Co 15^{22}), are words which point to the unity of the human race as the root of the universality both of sin and of redemption. But we must be careful not to state this so as to do violence to our God-given sense of justice. This is the fault, *e.g.*, of teaching like that of Jonathan Edwards, who spoke of a psychological no less than a physical unity between Adam and his posterity. Ultimately based, as in Augustine, on a mistranslation of Ro 5^{12} (*in quo* as the rendering of ἐφ' ᾧ) and on the adoption in the Vulg. of the word *imputare*, familiar from its use in the courts of Roman law, this teaching may readily become either ultra-mystical or ultra-rationalistic. It becomes ultra-mystical, if the unity of the human race be so spoken of as to conceal the all-important fact that it is only for a person that morality has any intelligible meaning. It becomes ultra-rationalistic, when the phrases 'imputation of sin' and the correlative 'imputation of righteousness' are used as if sin and righteousness were transferable from one person to another. Sin is predicable only of a *person*, not of human *nature*; and the warning of Ezekiel, 'The soul that sinneth, it shall die,' needs to be ever kept in view. St. Paul does not teach that we are accomplices in Adam's sin or partakers of his guilt without a co-operation of our own will, although it be at the same time awfully true that we inherit from him a degraded nature. The abiding truth in the interpretation given by Augustine of St. Paul's teaching as to the Fall, is the truth of the unity of mankind. In this Adam is τύπος τοῦ μέλλοντος.

(*b*) Again, the effect of Adam's fall upon his posterity has been explained by speaking of Adam as *representative* of the race. 'The covenant was made with Adam as a public person, not with himself only, but for his posterity.' But the question arises, How could Adam, in justice, bind his posterity to a covenant of which they were not cognizant? A federal compact of this sort could only bind us, if we had empowered Adam to act on our behalf. And if it be urged that in Adam's case we should have done the same as he, and therefore may justly be punished for what he did, it may be replied that this is a gratuitous assumption, which goes perilously near to depriving the original transgression of moral blame by representing it as inevitable. Here is an important consideration which must not be overlooked. All profitable speculation on the subject of the Fall must recognize frankly its voluntary character. Adam was not necessitated to act as he did; otherwise his action would not involve moral responsibility.

(*c*) We come, then, to the view which is at once most widely accepted and most consonant to all the facts. It is, substantially, the view expounded by John of Damascus. We inherit from our first parents a degraded nature, so degraded that it is for us much harder to overcome sin than it was for Adam. For this inherited depravity of nature we are not responsible; we have inherited it in spite of ourselves. Hence the world is in a 'state of ruin,' and can be remedied only through grace. But we are not, therefore, *guilty*; guilt is incurred only when the evil is voluntarily embraced, when we take up Adam's sin by repeating it, as it were, in our own persons. The rule of Augustine, *Peccatum pœna peccati*, continually receives verification. Coleridge has pressed this view somewhat further. 'It belongs,' he says, 'to the very essence of the doctrine that in respect of original sin *every* man is the adequate representative of *all* men' (*Aids to Reflection*, p. 194). And he holds that Adam's fall is a typical experience repeated afresh in every son of Adam. *Mutato nomine, de te fabula narratur.* The corruption, he urges, 'must be self-originated.' There is an important sense in which this is true; but it is not the whole truth. It is deficient in recognition of the far-reaching character of the first sin. We are not at all in the same spiritual condition as that of the first man; we do not enter on the conflict with evil on the same terms. Our whole attitude to God is different from that of Adam, although we be still 'sons of God.' As the schoolmen put it, in the case of Adam the *person* corrupted the *nature*; with us it is the *nature* which corrupts the *person*. Man is still free, but man is *sick* with a sickness which is displeasing to the All-pure; and for healing of this sickness only a supernatural remedy will suffice. As our Lord taught in the Sermon on the Mount (cf. also Mt 15^{19}), the real seat of sin is within, the heart is the seat of the moral life (cf. Ps 78^{37}, Pr 4^{23}), although the translation of thought into act involves a fresh and distinct step in responsibility.* The advocates of the more rigorous Augustinian doctrine have been accustomed to designate this view as semi-Pelagianism; but it is free from the essential fault of the teaching of Pelagius, on which we say a final word.

(*d*) Pelagius is represented as having held that the infant enters on life crippled in no appreciable degree by any inherited infirmity or waywardness of the will. He begins the world with powers sufficient to cope with the machinations of the evil one. And thus, in so far as he does wrong, it is his own fault; in so far as he does right, he is deserving of approbation. It would seem that Pelagius and his disciples seriously underestimated the influence of Adam's fall on human nature at large. That this nature as corrupt and the seat of sin must be of itself and when unregenerate displeasing to the All-holy, they did not perceive with clearness. And though men, happily, do not always push their opinions to their logical conclusions, the result of such teaching as this would be the denial of any need of grace or of redemption.†

v. We pass on to the question, How far is the doctrine of the Fall affected by modern theories as to the evolution of the human species from lower and less developed types? It has been too often hastily assumed that the belief in the continuity of animal forms is inconsistent with belief in any special prerogative of man, and is still more incompatible with a doctrine which represents his history as having been retrogressive at one point. But neither of these positions can be established.

---

* See for a fuller classification, Schaff in Lange's *Romans* (Eng. tr. p. 191).

* See Hort's *Life and Letters*, ii. 330 f.; see also i. 78.

† See Neander's *Church History*, iv. 331 ff.

The doctrine of the evolution of species is not yet to be counted as more than an extremely probable hypothesis, by which the phenomena of life and growth become intelligible. Many details are, as yet, very obscure, and the laws of inheritance have not by any means been clearly and fully expounded. See HEREDITY. And the application of this doctrine to the descent of man is beset with peculiar difficulties, which cannot be said, as yet, to have been solved. But we are, nevertheless, content in this article to treat of the subject of man's early history in the light of this wonderful law. Evolution may not be the final word of science as to the laws of growth; but it expresses well the results to which investigation has so far attained. We conceive, then, of primeval man as a creature descended from brute ancestors, some of whom he closely resembled in instinct and habit as well as in structure. But there was one marked difference. In him there was present the faculty of self-consciousness; he was conscious of a reason which can make provision for a foreseen future, and of a will which is not necessarily determined by the strongest physical desire. Man is made *in the image of God*, although his bodily lineage be that of the ape-like creatures whom he sees round him. If we may illustrate the facts of his growth by a mathematical illustration, we shall say that the curve of his progress is a continuous curve, upon which he has come to a critical point. At this critical point the curvature seems to change its character; in other words, the man finds himself possessed of faculties which are not, so far as he can judge, the direct product of his former history. They are, to use at once the simplest and the truest words, the gift of God. There may be, perhaps, absolute and visible continuity between the bodily form of the man and of the higher apes; but continuity cannot be so exactly traced in his mental development. There has been a *μετάβασις εἰς ἄλλο γένος*, however it has come about. Henceforth he is not only an animal, but a man. If it be said that it is not scientific to postulate a *saltus* of this kind, it may be asked, Why not? The law of continuity is not a fetish before which we are called to prostrate ourselves; it is nothing more than a convenient working hypothesis, which we find it necessary to desert in this instance, as in others where it will not serve our purpose. And, indeed, it is by no means certain that to the Supreme Mind there is here apparent any breach of continuity whatever. The law may be obeyed, in fact, though the sequence may not be within our observation.

A creature thus emerging from a lower animal condition, even though endowed with the divine gifts of self-conscious reason and free will, would not, indeed, be perfect. He would be, at the earliest stage of a new period of growth, already raised above the ape, but still far removed from the civilized European of modern life. But then we remark that the narrative of Genesis nowhere describes the first man as perfect. When South said that 'Aristotle was but the rubbish of an Adam, and Athens but the rudiments of Paradise,'* he was not drawing his picture from Scripture. Neither OT nor NT speak of Adam as perfect, though they speak of him as innocent and pure (cf. Ec 7[29]). And this was perceived by early Christian commentators. Theophilus of Antioch says that God placed Adam in Paradise *διδοὺς αὐτῷ ἀφορμὴν προκοπῆς ὅπως αὐξάνων καὶ τέλειος γενόμενος, κ.τ.λ.* (*Ad Autol.* ii. 24); and Clement of Alexandria states (*Strom.* vi. 12. 96) that Adam 'was not made perfect in respect of his constitution, but in a fit condition to receive virtue.'* This relation to God has been well described as not a state of perfection or a mere disposition, but 'a living commencement which contained within itself the possibility of a progressive development and a fulfilment of the vocation of man.'†

Such a state of things is so far removed from anything of which we have experience that we find ourselves continually at fault in the effort to imagine or to describe it. But we must, at least, suppose it to have been a condition in which man obeyed freely the law of that nature to which he had attained; the ideas 'right' and 'wrong' hardly presented themselves to his mind with full meaning, for 'the knowledge of good and evil' was not yet his. It may well have been that the image of God was a gift only germinally bestowed and gradually realized. Man did not come all at once into his splendid inheritance. In the Paradise narrative he is depicted as still at an early stage in his history. He is represented as living a life of communion with God, conscious, as it would seem, that he 'ought' to obey the laws of God, which, as yet, were presented in the simplest and most elementary form; but the consciousness of moral obligation could only be half realized where the knowledge of evil was not present. So far there is nothing in the story which would conflict with the teaching of science, whether physical or mental. In his primitive condition, man would have been able to recognize only the simplest moral commands. He was forbidden to taste of the fruit of 'the tree of the knowledge of good and evil': for so perilous an experience he was not prepared. And, in the absence of temptation from without, it was perhaps possible that this state of purity should have continued. The man's nature, though not developed to perfection, though not strong with the discipline which time and experience bring, was perfectly balanced; and in obeying its dictates he would obey the dictates of his Creator.

How into such a world could evil enter? That is the question which has vexed philosophy from generation to generation. It is a question to which no final or complete answer has been given. But the record of revelation at least puts the difficulty one step further back; it points to the region where the solution is to be sought. In the Bible the fall of the angels precedes the fall of man (Jude[6]). Temptation came into human life through the machination of a spirit of evil distinct from man. The invitation to sin came from the serpent in the garden, and it took the form of a suggested violation of the command known to be divine. Sin is not an indigenous product, but is brought in *ab extra*, somewhat as it has been suggested that life was first brought to the earth in a meteoric stone. According to the Bible, the origin of evil is to be sought outside human nature.

We are not now in a region where science has anything to tell us. We have only the brief phrases of Scripture as our guide. And it will be observed that we cannot say positively that the temptation would not have been self-suggested, as the man grew in faculty and in strength, had there been no malign influence external to himself.

---

* Sermon on Gn 1[27].

* See Gibson, *Thirty-Nine Articles*, p. 366.

† Martensen, *Christian Dogmatics*, § 78.

We do not know, and cannot know. What is told is this. The man was in a state of innocence and purity, and the suggestion to sin came, as a matter of fact, in the first instance from a personal agency of evil outside the domain of his own will.

Here, then, is ignorance of evil dispelled, whichever course the man adopted. For the conscious refusal of evil, no less than its acceptance, would in a measure involve a knowledge of evil. An apostolic writer speaks of the τέλειος, or perfect man, as one 'who by reason of use has his senses exercised to discern good and evil' (He 5^{14}). True, there would be no personal realization of evil were it not consciously embraced. But its existence must henceforward be definitely conceived. And we may notice that whether man yielded to the temptation or overcame it, in any case he would have advanced a step in knowledge. To yield was a spiritual fall; to resist would have been a spiritual rise. But in any case the new experience would be an intellectual rise. This is a principle which has formed the starting-point of some remarkable speculations as to the Fall both in mediæval and modern times. The philosopher Erigena seems to have had a confused perception of this truth when he taught that sin was relatively necessary for the development of human nature. Schiller, again, interpreted the Fall as the necessary transition of reason from the state of nature to that of culture. The necessity of evil is a prominent feature in the Hegelian philosophy, according to which the life of the world is conceived as inevitably developing itself through antagonism and conflict. This is the *Divina Commedia* of human history, the perpetual tragedy of life. And theologians have pointed out that in Scripture itself the origin of the arts of civilization and of peace is traced to fallen and not to unfallen man. Tubal-cain, 'the forger of every cutting instrument in brass and iron,' and Jubal the father of musicians, are the descendants of Cain (Gn $4^{21.22}$). The truth which seems to underlie speculations such as these is that man would not begin to progress rapidly, in an intellectual point of view, until he became conscious of the resistance to his energies which evil presents. But this consciousness would not have been less intense had he overcome the temptation which assailed him instead of yielding to it. It is only the man who has successfully battled with evil that is conscious of its full strength, for upon him alone has it spent all its powers. And thus to assert that *sin* was relatively necessary for the development of human nature, is to confuse the yielding to temptation with the experience of it. Had primeval man been strong when evil presented itself, we know not to what heights of intellectual, as of spiritual excellence, the race might not have now attained. In this view only is it true that the first temptation marks the 'beginning and the foundation of the development of *mind*, the birth of man's intellectual nature.' *

We find, then, that the doctrine of the Fall, when subjected to examination, is in no way inconsistent with the theory of the evolution of man from lower types, and his growth 'from strength to strength' as the centuries have gone by. There has been a continuous intellectual development. When the pre-Adamite ancestor of the human family was fitted to receive the divine gift of reason, it was granted to him. Like Christ, Adam came *in the fulness of time*, when all things were ready. Up to this point the evolution had been unconscious; henceforward it was to be conscious, and partly assisted by voluntary effort. And the first experience of evil, explicitly recognized as evil, would afford a fresh starting-point for his growth. For such experience of evil, as has been said, would in any event—whether it was conquered or the conqueror—involve a rise in the intellectual scale. Had it been overcome, as it might have been overcome (for the act of Adam is represented as one of free choice), there would have been a rise in the spiritual scale as well. But in the event there was intellectual growth, accompanied by a descent to a lower spiritual level, from which it would be impossible for man to rise without the aid of divine grace. And so the Incarnation and the Atonement mark in the history of mankind a crisis as real, and introduce a force as potent, as when God *created man in His own image*.

Such a view of man's progress is in the strictest harmony alike with the Bible and with the teaching of modern science. For it is to be remembered that what science teaches us is that the history of man has been a history of development, but it does not and could not teach that this development has proceeded along the best conceivable lines.* It is no postulate of modern philosophy that this is the best of all possible worlds. And the Christian doctrine, that man as he presents himself to us in history and in life, though his education through the centuries has been divinely ordered, is not in the condition which was the divine intention for him, is a doctrine which receives verification from daily observation. The divine will has been thwarted, so to speak, by the perversity of the human will. And this has been recognized as the key to the problem of evil by men of all races and creeds. For what is the spectacle which the world of men presents? Newman has described it well in a splendid passage of his *Apologia* (ch. v.): 'To consider the world in its length and its breadth, its various history, the many races of man, their starts, their fortunes, their mutual alienation, their conflicts; and then their ways, habits, governments, forms of worship; their enterprises, their aimless courses, their random achievements and acquirements, the impotent conclusion of long-standing facts, the tokens so faint and broken of a superintending design, the blind evolution of what turn out to be great powers or truths, the progress of things, as if from unreasoning elements, not towards final causes, the greatness and littleness of man, his far-reaching aims, his short duration, the curtain hung over his futurity, the disappointments of life, the defeat of good, the success of evil, physical pain, mental anguish, the prevalence and intensity of sin, the pervading idolatries, the corruptions, the dreary, hopeless irreligion, that condition of the whole race, so fearfully yet exactly described in the apostle's words, "having no hope and without God in the world,"—all this is a vision to dizzy and appal; and inflicts upon the mind the sense of a profound mystery, which is absolutely beyond human solution. What shall be said to this heart-piercing, reason-bewildering fact? I can only answer, that either there is no Creator, or this living society of men is in a true sense discarded from His presence.' The 'outcast man' is, in short, the Great Exception. While every other living thing is striving for its good, man alone is found choosing what he knows to be for his hurt. And so to the believer in God his own experience confirms the eternal truth of the doctrine of the Fall. As Pascal says, 'De sorte que l'homme est plus inconcevable sans ce mystère, que ce mystère n'est inconcevable à l'homme.' That doctrine is indeed a *datum* of revelation; but it harmonizes well with what we know of ourselves and of others. There has been somewhere a backward step in the history of man, who was at the first created 'very good.' And the teaching of St. Paul about sin, stated in terms of the story of Gn 3, but based on the broad ground of observation and experience, gives, as we have seen, the *rationale* of this fact, and brings it into line with the revelation of the gospel. There are two points on which it is necessary to add a few concluding remarks.

---

* See Matheson, *Can the Old Faith live with the New*, p. 219 ff., where the argument of this paragraph is developed at length.

* See Gore, *Lux Mundi*^{10}, pp. 535, 536, and the passage there cited from Aubrey Moore's *Evolution and Christianity*: 'the change which took place at the Fall was a change in the moral region; but it could not be without its effect elsewhere. Even the knowledge of nature becomes confused without the governing truth of the relation of man to God.'

(1) St. Paul, following Gn 2^{17} and 3^{19}, states that death came through sin (Ro $5^{12.14}$). It is tolerably plain that by 'death' he means physical death, although it has been interpreted of the death of the soul (see Sanday, *in loc.*). And he here seems to come into collision with natural science, which teaches that death must have been known upon the earth long before the human species appeared. For ages before the creation or evolution of man, death in the case of the lower animals must have been a necessary concomitant and condition of life. It is not apparent, however, that this touches St. Paul's argument; for he is speaking of the death of *man*. And in the case of man it may well be that had he remained faithful to the law of his being, as communicated to him by his Creator, death would have had no dominion over him. As has been said already, of the condition of primeval man we have little information; it was so utterly unlike anything of which we have experience that confident statements would be out of place. But, at all events, the death of a being made *in the image of God* is a phenomenon of an order entirely different from the death of a beast. Death is the portion of the latter; it is part of the divine intention for him. Not so, for man. For him there is a further destiny in store. And his sin, as it involves alienation from God, involves the withdrawal of that higher life which has been the assurance of immortality. We do not assert of Adam the *non posse mori*, but the *posse non mori*, as long as his fellowship with God, the source of life, was unbroken. But sin reduced him to the state of a lower animal, and thus man became the prey of death. It may well be that, as has been surmised by many of the profoundest of Christian philosophers, there is some intimate connexion between moral evil and physical decay for a composite being such as Scripture represents man to be. And in the Fall of Adam his whole race were thus involved; death passed upon them, not indeed as a *punishment* for something which a remote ancestor had done, but as the inevitable *consequence* of the sin of the head of the race. They inherit a degraded nature, which is subject to the laws of physical dissolution as is the nature of a beast. But 'man's normal condition, according to the OT, is not mortality, with the possibility of attaining immortality by a later gift; but life in God's fellowship, with the possibility of losing it and falling into a condition of an existence which is not life.' [*] It is not by any means clear that it is within the power of natural science to negative this view.

(2) What may prove a more serious difficulty arises in connexion with the origin of the human race from a single pair, which seems to be presupposed in St. Paul's exposition of the parallelism between Adam and Christ. True, the unity of the race is not disproved by science; and it is believed by many on purely scientific grounds to be more probable than the hypothesis that mankind are descended from several pairs. But if the latter doctrine should command at any time the assent of the scientific world, it would be necessary to modify in some degree what has been said. This article has been written on the assumption that there is nothing contradictory to science in the doctrine of the unity of the human race as descended from common parents. This is certainly the doctrine expounded by St. Paul. But it is a matter which comes within the province of science; and should it ever be disproved, it would be necessary to admit that the apostle was using an illustration not scientifically apt in all respects. It must be observed, however, that in essentials nothing would have to be changed. The great truths, that sin began with the beginning of our race, that its baneful influence has been transmitted from generation to generation, that it is as widespread as mankind itself, that it cannot be eradicated without a gift of grace, are unaffected whether 'Adam' be taken as the name of a single individual, or as a term descriptive of the forefathers of the human species. The universality of sin is a sufficient indication that human nature has been corrupted at its base, whether by the fall of one or of several; and it would still remain true that 'as in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive.' So much it has been deemed necessary to say, although at present the balance of evidence seems distinctly to favour the doctrine that mankind are descended from one common stock, and so to confirm the analogy drawn out by St. Paul. See also ADAM, ATONEMENT, JUSTIFICATION, HEREDITY, PARADISE, SACRIFICE, SIN.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the books already mentioned, the following may be consulted with profit: Ryle, *Early Narratives of Genesis*; Orr, *Christian View of God and the World*; Laidlaw, *The Bible Doctrine of Man*; Müller, *Christian Doctrine of Sin*. The subject is discussed in all treatises on Systematic Theology.

J. H. BERNARD.

FALLOW-DEER.—This word occurs in the AV among the clean animals (Dt 14^{5}), and in the list of game furnished for Solomon's daily table (1 K 4^{23}). In each list *'ayyâl*, *ẓĕbî*, and *yaḥmûr* occur in the same order. The first is correctly translated, both in AV and RV, *hart* (see HART). The second is incorrectly tr. in AV *roebuck*, and correctly in RV *gazelle* (see GAZELLE). The third is incorrectly tr. in AV *fallow-deer*, and, we think, correctly in RV *roebuck* (see ROEBUCK).

G. E. POST.

FALSE WITNESS.—See LYING, OATH.

FAME.—The Gr. word φήμη (from φημί, to declare, say) was used for a divine voice, oracle, and then for a report or common saying. The Lat. word *fama*, beginning, where φήμη left off, with rumour or report, added to that the meaning of reputation or renown. The Eng. word 'fame,' though it once had all the meaning of Lat. *fama*, now retains only the sense of renown or celebrity. Thus in modern Eng. 'fame' is never a fair equivalent for φήμη.

That in 1611 'fame' had the meaning (1) of report, and (2) also of renown, is certain. Thus: (1) Sir T. Elyot, *The Governour*, 1531 (Croft's ed. ii. 291), says, 'all Greece was in great fear for the fame that was sprad of the commynge of the Persians with an infinite armye.' So Tindale's tr. of Mt 24^{6} (ed. of 1534) is, 'Ye shall heare of warres, and of the fame of warres' (Gr. ἀκοάς; Wyc. 'openyouns'; Tind. 1526 'noyse'; Cran. 'tidinges'; Rhem. 'bruites'; Gen., Bish., AV, RV 'rumours'). And Bacon (*Adv. of Learning*, II. xxiii. 19) says, 'General fame is light, and the opinions conceived by superiors or equals are deceitful; for to such men are more masked; *verior fama e domesticis emanat*.' Again (2) in Shaks. (*Troilus and Cressida*, III. iii. 228), Achilles says—

> 'I see my reputation is at stake;
> My fame is shrewdly gored';

---

[*] Salmond, *Christian Doctrine of Immortality*, p. 220.

and in *Henry V.* III. ii. 13, Pistol sings, 'And sword and shield, In bloody field, Doth win immortal fame'; to which the Boy replies, 'Would I were in an ale-house in London! I would give all my fame for a pot of ale and safety.'

In AV both meanings appear, but the former most frequently. The only manifest examples of the meaning 'renown' are 1 K 4^{31}, 1 Ch 14^{17} 22^{5}, Zeph 3^{19}, where the Heb. is *shêm* 'a name.' When the Heb. is *shêma'* (Nu 14^{15}, 1 K 10^{1}, 2 Ch 9^{1}, Job 28^{22}, Is 66^{19}), *shôma'* (Jos 6^{27} 9^{9}, Est 9^{4}, Jer 6^{24}), or *shĕmû'ah* (1 K 10^{7}, 2 Ch 9^{6}), the meaning is not very distinctly marked, but the Heb. words are properly report, tidings (lit. 'hearing'); and in Job 28^{22} (RV 'rumour') as well as in Jer 6^{24} that is manifestly the sense. It is evident also that in the only remaining OT passage, Gn 45^{16} (where the Heb. is *ḳôl*, lit. 'voice'), the sense is report. In NT that sense is probably the only one that occurs. The Gr. words are (1) *φήμη*, Mt 9^{26}, Lk 4^{14}, the only examples of the word, which is nearly as rare in LXX (Pr 16^{2} [for *shĕmû'ah*], 2 Mac 4^{39}, 3 Mac 3^{2}, 4 Mac 4^{22}), with the verb *διαφημίζω*, Mt 9^{31} (*διεφήμισαν αὐτόν*, 'they . . . spread abroad his fame'; Wyc. 1380 'thei . . . defameden hym,' 1388 'thei . . . diffameden hym,' from Vulg. *diffamaverunt eum*). (2) *ἀκοή*, lit. 'hearing,' Mt 4^{24} 14^{1}, Mk 1^{28} (RV always 'report'). (3) *ἦχος*, 'echo,' Lk 4^{37} the only occurrence of this meaning (RV 'rumour'). (4) *λόγος*, 'word,' Lk 5^{15} (RV 'report'), which has this meaning also in Mt 28^{15}, Jn 21^{23} (EV 'saying'). In Apocr., on the other hand, we find only 1 Mac $3^{26.\,41}$, both with the mod. sense of renown (Gr. *ὄνομα*, 'name').

RV adds Jer 50^{43} (Heb. *shêma'*) for AV 'report.' 'Fame' is the Wyclifite tr^{n} of 1388 here, 'report' having come from the Geneva Bible of 1560.

J. HASTINGS.

FAMILIAR.—'Familiar spirit' is the tr. in EV of Heb. *'ôbh* wherever it occurs (except Job 32^{19} where in plu. it means 'skin-bottles,' EV 'bottles,' RVm 'wine skins'), on which see Driver on Dt 18^{11} and art. DEMON; also Van Hoonacker, 'Divination by *'Ob*,' in *Expos. Times*, Jan. 1898. 'Familiar' has in this phrase the sense of the Lat. *familiaris*, belonging to one's family, and so to oneself, ready to serve one as a *famulus* or servant. The oldest example in *Oxf. Eng. Dict.* is Stow, *Chron.* (1565) 107, 'A familiar spirit which hee had . . . in likenesse of a Catte.' But it is found in Geneva Bible of 1560, 1 S $28^{7\ bis.\ 8}$ etc., whence it passed into AV. Similar phrases seem to be older, as *Prose Legends* in *Anglia*, viii. 146 (14—), 'Hir famylier aungel thet hadde hir in kepynge'; and Capgrave, *Chron.* 25 (1460), 'That same familiar devel.'

In Jer 20^{10} we find the subst. 'familiars' (Lat. *familiares*), 'All my familiars watched for my halting,' for which RV gives 'familiar friends' as the same Heb. is tr. in Ps 41^{9} AV and RV.

The Heb. is lit. 'man (or men) of my peace.' It occurs also Jer 38^{22}, Ob 7. The most instructive occurrence is no doubt Ps 41^{9}, and the meaning is there at least not simply 'acquaintances, those to whom I should give the ordinary salutation, Peace be with you' (Streane); but rather, as Cheyne, those who are specially attached to me by a covenant.

Illustrations of the subst. 'familiars' are Knox, *Hist.* 38, 'they would chop their familiars on the cheeke with it [the New Testament]'; and Hos 10^{14} Cov. 'All thy stronge cities shalbe layed waist, euen as Salmana was destroyed with his familiers.'

J. HASTINGS.

FAMILY.—i. SCOPE, TERMS, AND DATA.—The term *family* is used in many different senses: (*a*) For larger or smaller groups of persons connected by blood or marriage, from the family in the narrowest sense—a man with his wives and children, and sometimes his mother—to the widest aggregate of kinsfolk between whom relationship is traced—the clan, tribe, nation, or even the human race. (*b*) In a looser sense for communities living in close and permanent intercourse, from the household—including dependants as well as kinsfolk—to the clan, etc., including persons not of the main stock. (*c*) In various fig. senses with which we are not concerned here. OT recognizes and connects the groups denoted by *family* in (*a*) and (*b*), but has no single term for them; still less has it any term corresponding to the Eng. *family*. בַּיִת *house*, approaches most closely to the range of meaning of *family* in (*a*) and (*b*); in Gn 7^{1} Noah with his wife and sons and daughters-in-law are called his *house*; we have also the *house* of David 2 S 3^{1}, of Levi (*i.e.* tribe) Nu 17^{8}, of Israel (*i.e.* the nation) Ex 16^{31}. In P and Ch בֵּית אָב, RV *fathers' house*, is a technical term for a subdivision of a tribe. The origin of these terms in the concrete dwelling connects them with (*b*), cf. similar use of אֹהֶל *tent*, in Ps 78^{67} 83^{6}. So also מִשְׁפָּחָה, EV *family*, is explained (Ges., Fuerst) as etymologically a *union*, obsolete √ שׁפח *to join*, but Buhl connects with Arab. *sapaha*, *to pour out*, and with שִׁפְחָה. 'מ is strictly a *clan*, and is used in P and late writings (Nu 2, etc.) for the largest division of a tribe; but its meanings also range from the clan to the tribe (Jg 13^{2}) and the nation (Jer 33^{24}). Other terms are derived from the physical tie between kinsfolk, and connect with (*a*), זֶרַע seed (Gn 12^{7}), עֶצֶם bone (Gn 29^{14}), בָּשָׂר flesh (Gn 29^{14}), שְׁאֵר flesh (Lv 18^{12}), with its derivative שַׁאֲרָה (Lv 18^{17}), in the sense of blood-relation; the compounds of ילד bear, beget, מוֹלֶדֶת offspring (Gn 48^{6}), kinsfolk (Gn 31^{3}), תּוֹלְדוֹת clans (Nu 1^{20}). Also, young children collectively are טַף, √ טפף *take quick short steps*. גְּאֻלָּה (Ezk 11^{15}) is a misreading (Cornill, etc. *i.l.*).

This brief statement as to terms shows how the family was bound up with all the social and political arrangements of Israel. Hence it is difficult to draw any natural line of division between the family and other social and political groups, whose institutions are expressed in terms of the family, and derived in fact or theory from it. Moreover, it is often maintained that the idea of the family originated in a social group larger than and different from that consisting of a single man with his dependent women and children. If this is in any measure true, the relations between the family (in the narrower modern sense) and the larger social groups will be still more complicated. This article will be confined, as far as possible, to the family proper, and the larger social groups will be dealt with in the art. TRIBE; but it will be necessary to make some allusion to the relations of the family to the clan, etc.

The data for our subject are the narratives of the family life, esp. of the patriarchs, of Ruth, of David, and of Tobit; the laws dealing with the family; and the various allusions to the subject. OT narratives are, of course, valid authorities for the manners of the times in which they originated, whatever view may be held as to their historicity. Unfortunately, however, both narratives and—in a less degree—laws mostly treat of royal, noble, or wealthy families and their slaves, and we have little direct information as to the poorer free Israelites. Doubtless, the same general principles governed family life amongst all classes, and the wealthy families and their dependants constituted a large proportion of the population; but we have always to bear in mind that the familiar OT pictures are concerned chiefly with certain classes, and that for other cases we must allow for the effect of inferior rank and smaller means.

ii. MEMBERS.—The members of a Heb. family or household included some or all of the following:

the man, as supreme head of the household; his mother, if residing with him after the death of his father; his wives; his concubines; the wives' children; the concubines' children; children of other women, *e.g.* Jephthah (Jg 11[1]); daughters-in-law; sons-in-law, for example, Jacob with Laban; other free Isr. relatives, friends, or dependants; *gerim* or resident foreigners, EV 'the stranger that is within thy gates' (see GER); male and female slaves, Isr. and foreign, home-born and purchased. Thus the ancient Heb. was larger than the modern family; polygamy increased the number of women and children dependent on a single man; married sons and their families often remained in their father's household; the insecurity of primitive life led individual resident aliens, etc., to attach themselves to households.

(*a*) *Husband's Mother.*—חָמוֹת *ḥāmôth*, AV and RV *mother-in-law.* In Mic 7[6] (quoted Mt 10[35], Lk 12[53]) the *ḥāmôth* is perhaps the wife of the living head of the household; in Ru, Naomi, herself a widow, is the *ḥāmôth* of widows. But the *ḥāmôth* attained special importance and dignity when, after the death of her husband, her son became the head of the family. She was then the most important and influential woman in the household; a man had many wives, only one mother; he had been trained in deference and obedience to his mother; his wives were his property, and absolutely subject to his authority. They had often been selected by his mother, *e.g.* Ishmael's wife by Hagar (Gn 21[21], cf. 2 Es 9[47]). In the history of the families best known to us—the royal houses of Isr. and Judah—there are numerous indications of the exalted position of the mother of the reigning king. She bears the title גְּבִירָה *mistress.* Her name is regularly given in the paragraph describing an accession, while nothing is said about the wives. Maacah, Jezebel, Athaliah, and Nehushta (2 K 24[8. 12. 14], cf. Jer 22[26]) appear as exercising great influence in the reigns of their sons. The analogy of modern Eastern life fully warrants us in taking the position of the queen-mother as representing that of the mother of the head of any ordinary family. Sometimes a widow herself appears as head of a household, *e.g.* Micah's mother (Jg 17[1ff.]), Naomi in Ru, the Shunammite (2 K 8[1-6]), Tobit's grandmother (To 1[8]); cf. also the position of the mother of our Lord during His ministry.

(*b*) *Husband, Wives and Concubines.* — The generic terms אִישׁ, אֱנוֹשׁ *man*, אִשָּׁה *woman*, are commonly used for husband and wife, as in most languages. This usage recognizes the fundamental nature of sexual characteristics. In spite of the similarity of the two words, *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* speaks of 'the impossibility of deriving אִישׁ and אִשָּׁה from the same root'; consequently, all deductions based on the reference of the two words to the same root are without any true foundation. The husband is בַּעַל *master*, as supreme over his wives, who are slaves acquired by capture in war (Dt 21[10-14]), or by purchase (Gn 34[16], Ex 22[16], Dt 22[29], Ru 4[10]). It would be misleading to apply the term 'freewoman' to any Israelitess, except perhaps to a widow. Even in the Mishna, 'women, slaves, and children' are constantly grouped together, *e.g. Berachoth*, iii. 3, and 'a woman is always under the authority of her father until she is placed under the authority of her husband,' *Kctuboth*, iv. 3. The wife as in subjection to the *ba'al* is *be'ûlâh* (Is 54[1]). The rights of a husband over his wives were limited by affection and custom, by the terms of the marriage covenant or contract (Gn 31[49. 50], To 7[14]), by the influence of the wife's family, also by certain specific laws. The marital supremacy involved the right of divorce at the husband's discretion. This is laid down in Dt 24[1], which, however, imposes certain vague and obscure conditions, probably intended to discourage capricious divorce (Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 346). Is 50[1], Jer 3[8] show that it was usual to give the divorced woman סֵפֶר כְּרִיתוּת 'a bill of divorce,' doubtless that she might be able to resist any attempt on his part to reclaim his rights over her, a divorced woman being in a sense an emancipated slave. Dt forbids a man to divorce his wife, if he has falsely charged her with unchastity before marriage (22[13. 19]), or if he himself seduced her and had been compelled to marry her in consequence (22[28. 29]). These enactments and the protest in Mal 2[16] point to a frequency of divorce. A wife could not divorce her husband (Benzinger, 341). Other limitations of the husband's rights were that he might not marry a sister of one of his living wives (Lv 18[18]); if a man hears his wife make a vow and does not disallow it at once, he may not do so afterwards (Nu 30[11]). Even if a woman has been purchased from her parents as a concubine (לְאָמָה) and he does not wish to retain her, he may not sell her to strangers; he must either let her kinsfolk buy her back, or betroth her to one of his sons. If he takes another wife or concubine, he must either maintain the first in her full rights, or let her go free without payment (Ex 21[7-11]). Even a captive who has been taken to wife may not be sold as a slave, but if sent away must be dismissed free of payment (Dt 21[10ff.]). Similarly, in modern Arabia it is held disgraceful to sell a concubine. The rights of a wife would necessarily include those of a concubine.

No very clear information is given as to the relative status of wives and concubines. אִשָּׁה *woman*, is sometimes used as a general term for a wife or concubine (Gn 30[4]); sometimes for wife as distinguished from concubine (1 K 11[3]). The words אָמָה (in Hex., chiefly ED), שִׁפְחָה (in Hex., chiefly JP), and פִּילֶגֶשׁ, seem to be practically synonymous when used of concubines. In households where the person of every female slave was—with few exceptions—at the disposal of the master (Benzinger, 162), and where the relative status of the women depended chiefly on his favour, definite and nicely graduated distinctions were impossible. Amongst modern Mohammedans, a man may cohabit with any of his female slaves who is a Mohammedan, a Christian, or a Jewess; and, conversely, he cannot have as a slave a woman whom he acknowledges to be within the prohibited degrees of marriage (Lane, *Arabian Nights*, i. 55, 56). The only definite advantage claimed by wives over concubines is that their children should inherit a larger share, or even the whole, of their father's property, *e.g.* Sarah's claim for Isaac (Gn 21[10]). Nevertheless the wife, because her position was the result of her husband's favour, and was often guaranteed by powerful relatives, would often enjoy superior consideration, and exercise a greater influence. Sarah, Rachel, and Leah had slave-girls, שְׁפָחוֹת (*shĕphāḥôth*), who were their own property; and when these became concubines, they were still under the authority of their mistresses. Polygamy is both recognized by the law and described in the history; nearly all the kings and judges of whom we have particulars have a large harem. Acc. to Justin (*Trypho*, 134), even in his time Jewish teachers permitted each man to have four or five wives (cf. Jos. *Ant.* XVII. i. 2; Mishna, *Kedushin*, ii. 7, etc.). But considerations of expense and the approximately equal numbers of the two sexes place narrow limits on polygamy. Nowack (*Heb. Arch.* i. 159) points out that Abraham and Elkanah have two wives, that צָרָה 'adversary' is a technical term for one of two wives, and that Dt 21[15ff.] speaks of two wives, one beloved, the other hated. He thinks that such bigamy would be very common. In the nature of the case, a large proportion of the population must have been monogamous; cf. the cases of Adam (Gn 2^{22-24}), Noah and his sons (6^{18} 7^{13} 8^{18}), Lot (19^{15}), Isaac, and Joseph. Probably, the monogamy of these patriarchs is narrated as an example. The family quarrels arising out of polygamy are sufficiently illustrated from the familiar examples of Sarah and Hagar, Rachel and Leah, Hannah and Peninnah, and the family history of David (cf. Sir 37^{11} 26^{7} where ἀντιζήλον = צָרָה). On the other hand, Heb. family life must be judged from the point of view of the ancient East, and not from that of the modern West. From the former, there was nothing immoral in polygamy, and the status of wives and concubines was neither regarded by others nor felt by themselves to be humiliating. The acrostic on the Capable Woman, *'ēsheth ḥayil* (Pr 31^{10-31}), testifies to the honourable position of the faithful wife.

We have little information as to the marriages of slaves; apparently, the tie between them was not very binding. A couple who had come into a master's possession as a married couple were to be released together at the end of six years; but if, after a man became a slave, his master married him to another slave, and children were born, the man either went away alone, or remained a slave for the sake of his family (cf. MARRIAGE, WOMAN).

(*c*) *Parents and Children.*—The etymologies of אָב *father*, אֵם *mother*, are quite uncertain; they are common to most Sem. languages, are apparently connected with the terms for *father* and *mother* in the Aryan and other families of languages, and are probably older than the triliteral roots. בֵּן *son* and its *fem.* בַּת have been somewhat improbably connected with בָּנָה *to build*; they too, also, are probably older than the triliteral roots. The father was supreme over the children; he could dispose of the daughter in marriage (Gn 29), [but (Lv 19^{29}) he might not make her a prostitute], and arrange his son's marriage (Gn 24), or sell his children as slaves (Ex 21^{7})—where, however, the father is forbidden to sell his daughter to a stranger (Neh 5^{5}). The power of life and death is attested by the proposed sacrifice of Isaac, the case of Jephthah's daughter, and the practice of sacrificing children to Molech (Lv 18^{21} 20^{2-5}, 2 K 23^{10}, Jer 32^{35}). The utmost respect and obedience to both father and mother are insisted on in Ex 20^{12}, Lv 19^{3}, Dt 5^{16}, Pr 1^{8} 6^{20} 19^{26} 20^{20} 23^{22} 28^{24} $30^{11.17}$, cf. Ezk 22^{7}, Mic 7^{6}. Similarly, Ex $21^{15.17}$, Lv 20^{9} direct that any one smiting or cursing father or mother shall be put to death; Dt 27^{16} invokes a curse upon any one who is disrespectful to father or mother. Pr 13^{24} etc. insist on the duty of strict domestic discipline, though doubtless the 'rod' may be understood as including other chastisement besides corporal punishment (cf. Pr 17^{10}). Dt 21^{18-21} directs that a stubborn and rebellious son, a glutton and a drunkard, is to be stoned to death by his fellow-citizens, on the testimony of his father and mother given before the elders. Such laws really imposed limits on the authority of the father; he must not himself put his son to death, but must procure his punishment by a public legal process. The constant co-ordination of father and mother in such passages practically places the mother on the same level with the father with regard to the children. Indeed, polygamy makes each mother much more important to her own children than their father is. In a polygamous family, each mother and her children form a sub-family,—Jacob's wives and concubines have separate tents (Gn 31^{33}),—the management of which is in the hands of the mother. Hence the early education and training of children was mostly given by the mother. Children were named by the mother, *e.g.* Jacob's sons (Gn 29, 30); sometimes also by the father, *e.g.* Ishmael (Gn 16^{15}), Isaac (Gn 21^{3}). The long period of suckling—infants were not weaned till the second or third year—must have constituted an added bond between mother and children. The religious instruction appointed in Ex 12^{21-27} 13^{5-9}, Dt 4^{9} $6^{7.20-25}$ 11^{19} would probably be given by the mother. The sayings of king Lemuel (Pr 31^{1-9}) were taught him by his mother. On the other hand, Pr constantly refers to the *mûsār* (RV 'instruction') of the father, as well as to the *tôrâh* (RVm 'teaching') of the mother (1^{8}). Acc. to the rank and wealth of the family, the care of the children would devolve in whole or in part on female slaves. Rebekah (Gn 24^{59}) and Joash ben-Ahaziah (2 K 11^{2}) had each a foster-mother *mêneḳeth* (RV 'nurse'), though Rebekah, at any rate, had a mother living. Mephibosheth ben-Jonathan had an *'ômeneth* (RV 'nurse,' 2 S 4^{4}). The grandmother, on either side, would, by all analogy, have much to say about the training of the children; Naomi became the *'ômeneth* of Ruth's baby (Ru 4^{16}). We also have the masculine *'ômēn* (RV 'nursing father, Nu 11^{12}, Is 49^{23}). From the analogy of the guardians of the sons of Ahab (2 K $10^{1.5}$), and of Nathan (2 S 12^{25}), this would appear to have been a kind of tutor or παιδαγωγός. Schools for children are first mentioned in Josephus (*Ant.* XV. x. 5) and Mishna (*Shab.* i. 3). Acc. to Talm. Jerus. (*Kethub.* viii. 11) the first school for children was established by Simeon ben-Shetach, a century before Christ (Stapfer, 141); acc. to Talm. Bab. *Baba Bathra* (Nowack, i. 172), a system of schools in every town was established by Jesus ben-Gamla, who became high priest in A.D. 64. In such schools reading and writing would be taught; any other instruction would mainly consist of committing Scripture, etc., to memory, by repeating passages after the teacher.

(*d*) *Brothers and Sisters.*—The circumstances of Israelite life—the need of labour to till the soil, and of warriors to defend the homestead from the raids of neighbouring tribes, rendered a large family a great blessing (Ps $127^{4.5}$). The natural checks—war, famine, and pestilence—prevented all danger of over-population. The labour of girls in the household, the price that might be obtained for them as wives or concubines, and the alliances with powerful neighbours that might result from their marriages, gave a certain value to daughters; but the Isr. father's chief desire was for sons; it was the first-born sons who were sacred to J″ (Ex 22^{29}). The physical token—circumcision—of the national covenant with J″ is such as can be borne only by males; a mother is unclean for 14 days after bearing a daughter, but only for 7 after the birth of a son. Daughters are very rarely mentioned by name.

Each sub-family of full brothers and sisters, the children of one mother, had interests of its own, which clashed with those of the other sub-families. Domestic friction was specially strong in the numerous smaller households where there were two wives, *e.g.* Hannah and Peninnah [cf. the term צָרָה (Dt 21^{15-17}), and for two wives in a large household, Sarah and Hagar]. The relative status of the sub-families depended on the family relationships of the mother, the favour shown her by her husband, and in some measure on her being wife or concubine. We have already seen that claims were sometimes made that the children of a wife should oust those of a concubine from all or part of their share of the family inheritance. But these claims are not sustained by any legal ordinance or even by any general custom. The sons of Jacob's concubines rank as ancestors of tribes. It is true that they are reckoned in a sense as children of their mothers' mistresses, but the same was true of Ishmael, who was excluded from the seed of the promise. There was no difference of legitimacy in our sense between the sons of wives and concubines; even Jephthah, the son of a *zônâh* or prostitute, is brought up in his father's house, and his expulsion is evidently regarded as an act of unjust violence (Jg 11$^{1.\,7}$) (Benzinger, 148, 135). Apparently, all a man's acknowledged children were legitimate, without regard to the status of their mother. The bastard, *mamzēr* (Dt 23^{3} [EV ^{2}], Zec 9^{6}), is generally regarded as the offspring of incest or adultery (Dillm. and Driver on Dt 23^{2}). Possibly, however, *mamzēr* may include children of prostitutes, whose fathers were unknown or did not acknowledge them.

In earlier times polygamous sub-families were so distinct that brothers married half-sisters, *e.g.* Abraham and Sarah (Gn 20^{12}). In 2 S 13^{13} Tamar thinks that David would certainly sanction her marriage with her half-brother. Such unions are, however, forbidden by Lv 18^{9}.

The same causes which rendered the mother more important to her children than the father, often rendered the brothers the special guardians of their full sisters, *e.g.* Laban of Rebekah, Simeon and Levi of Dinah (Gn 34), Absalom of Tamar. So, children often maintained a close connexion with their mother's family, Jacob (Gn 27^{43}), Abimelech ben-Gideon (Jg 9^{1}), Absalom (2 S 3^{3}, 13^{37}).

The sons were the heirs, but in the absence of sons the daughters might inherit, and after the daughters other male relatives in order of kinship (Nu 27$^{1\text{-}11}$). A special birthright and a larger share of the inheritance were given to the first-born, both in the history (Gn 49^{3}) and the law (Ex 22^{29}); but the *bĕkhôrâh*, or right of the first-born, was not purely a matter of priority of birth, it might be sold, *e.g.* by Esau to Jacob, or bestowed on a younger son by a partial father, Dt 21^{17}—which forbids such a practice. Side by side, however, with the first-born, the youngest son constantly appears as the object of special favour, both from God and his parents, *e.g.* Abraham, Isaac, Bethuel, Jacob, Joseph, Ephraim, Moses, David, Solomon (cf. Heir).

(*e*) *Married Children, Daughters-in-law, Sons-in-law.*—A married son would remain part of the father's family, though not necessarily of his household, while the father lived. He would still be in some measure subject to his authority. The patriarchs were married men with families when Isr. went down into Egypt, but Jacob was still the head of the family (cf. Job 1). So the daughter-in-law joined her husband's family and came under the authority of her father-in-law (To 10^{12}), to whom she was subject even after her husband's death, *e.g.* Judah and Tamar (Gn 38). If her father-in-law was dead, she belonged to her brother-in-law or husband's next-of-kin (Dt 25^{5}, Ru 3^{13}), or might remain with her mother-in-law (Ru 1^{6}). Sometimes, however, a man joined his wife's family, at any rate for a time, and fell under the authority of his father-in-law, *e.g.* Jacob (Gn 29–31), Moses (Ex 2$^{20\text{-}22}$ 4^{18}, cf. Gn 24^{5}; see § v.).

(*f*) *Other free Dependants.* — Doubtless, more distant relatives, cousins, etc., friends and free servants, would sometimes form part of the family in the narrower sense; but we have hardly any information on the subject. Little is said as to hired servants; probably they were hired only for short periods, and did not form part of the employer's family. Micah's Levite, indeed, was hired to be a priest permanently at a regular stipend, 'and the young man was unto him as one of his sons' (Jg 17^{11}). The resident alien, *gēr* (RV 'stranger'), *tôshābh* (RV 'stranger' or 'sojourner'), is constantly referred to, and is commended to the good offices of the Israelites. The *gēr* is mentioned in close connexion with the other dependent members of the household (Ex 20^{10}, Lv 25^{6}). He seems to have placed himself under the protection of the family rather than the clan; he probably rendered some services in return for protection and sustenance, and may often have been a hired servant; he was evidently a familiar figure in Isr. society. The *gēr* was united to his hosts by close ties. His legal status and personal safety depended upon their protection, and they were bound by the sacred obligations of Eastern hospitality to care for him as for one of their own kin. He was entitled to the Sabbath rest (Ex 20^{10}), and to eat the passover if he became circumcised (Ex 12^{48}). See Ger, Hired Servant, Stranger.

(*g*) *Slaves.*—The slave was substantially one of the family. The master's authority over him did not differ essentially from that over wives and children, and the wife was purchased like the slave. Conversely, a female slave might become a concubine, and a male might marry his master's daughter (1 Ch 2$^{34.\,35}$), or become his heir (Gn 15^{3}). Slaves were circumcised and ate the passover. The *yĕlîdh bayith*, or home-born slave, would have the closest, and the purchased Isr. slave, who had to be released at the end of six years, the loosest ties to his master's family. We gather, however, from Jer 34^{14} that the custom of releasing Isr. slaves was not strictly observed. See Slave.

iii. Mutual Responsibility. — In primitive times the family, in a narrower or wider sense, was the efficient social organization; and such functions of modern government as were discharged at all were represented by the mutual claims and duties of kinsfolk. Many laws and customs of Isr. are a legacy from this primitive system. In ancient times the only protection for life or property lay in men's willingness to defend and avenge their kinsmen. This right and duty is still recognized in OT; the next-of-kin, *gō'ēl*, must punish his kinsman's murderer, marry his widow if the deceased was childless, and may inherit his property. See Goel, and section on Levirate Marriage under Marriage. One would suppose that this strong sense of family duty would have led kinsfolk to provide for destitute relatives. But men were often obliged to sell themselves or their children for slaves, and widows and orphans are constantly spoken of as poor, helpless, and oppressed. Doubtless, the ordinary calamities —drought, dearth, famine, pestilence, invasion— would often ruin whole clans at the same time; but it is also clear that family feeling was no adequate substitute for legal provision for the poor.

iv. Family Religion.—As the nation had its religious symbol of circumcision, its sanctuaries, sacrifices, priests, and festivals, so the family had its special *sacra*. According to Benzinger, 137, and Nowack, 154, following Stade, etc., the Israelite family was essentially a society bound together by common religious observances, *Cultgenossenschaft*. Thus, in the patriarchal narratives, the patriarchs, as head of the family, erect altars and offer sacrifices; similarly, the passover was a family rite, observed in the home, often, of course, temporary. In 1 S 20^{29} we read of clan-sacrifice, *zebaḥ mishpāḥâh*, at Bethlehem. The family burying-place is sacred (Gn 23). Benzinger and Nowack see in the cutting off of the hair and the self-mutilation forbidden in Dt 14$^{1\text{ff.}}$, Lv 19$^{27.\,28}$, remains of ancient ancestor worship; cf. the practice of necromancy (1 S 28). Teraphim are usually understood to have been images or symbols of ancestors. In later times the instruction directed to be given in Dt 6 would be matter for the family; and the regulations as to ceremonial cleanness tended to make the whole personal and family life a continuous series of religious observances. The later system, however, differed from the former in that in primitive times each family had rites peculiar to itself, in later times all families practised the same rites.

v. Early History of the Family.—Under the monarchy, the family was constituted under the headship of the father, who was supreme over wives and children, and primogeniture was recognized in the transmission of authority (royal, priestly, etc.) and property. The Hex. traces these institutions back to the origin of the human race in Adam and Eve; at the same time it preserves many incidents which have been held to point to an altogether different state of affairs in early times. It is maintained by W. R. Smith and others that the head of the family was originally the mother (mother-right, matriarchate), and that descent was traced only through the mother. Marriage was then polyandrous (of which the levirate marriage is supposed to be a relic), and *be'ena* marriage, in which the man becomes one of the wife's family, and goes into her tent (cf. § 7 and Gn 2^{24}), as opposed to *ba'al* marriage, where the wife enters her husband's family. This view is based partly on parallels amongst other primitive peoples, and esp. amongst the Arabs; and partly on various traces in OT, some of which have been already mentioned. In connexion with this theory, it has also been maintained that exogamous totem-clans existed in ancient Israel. Such clans are united by the use of a common badge, connected with some animal or plant after which the clan was named; intermarriage between members of the clan is regarded as incest, and the totem may not be eaten. One example cited is the clan Caleb (dog), the dog being unclean (Dt $14^{4.5}$), and its flesh forbidden food. Even if it should ultimately be proved that such theories are partly true, it is clear that *be'ena* marriages and totemism were obsolete and forgotten in historic Israel, and that they can be traced only in customs whose original significance was no longer understood.

vi. The Family in Apocr. and NT.—Throughout the Bible, but esp. in the later books of OT, in Apocr., and in NT, the sacred history refers incidentally to the family institutions of numerous Gentile nations; but any general treatment of these would be beyond the scope of biblical archæology. Various subjects raise special questions of this nature, and these are dealt with in the articles on those subjects.

Our data do not point to any regular development in the later history of the Jewish family. Its character and principles were as permanent as social institutions mostly are in the East. Features of OT family life reappear in Apocr., NT, and Talm., and still persist amongst modern Arabs and Syrians. The family history of the Herods is very similar to that of David.

The Pent.—some of whose laws embody the most primitive customs of Israel—remained to the last the authoritative code of Judaism. Probably, however, much of the Pent. legislation was always a mere counsel of perfection, and other portions were obsolete in NT times. Often discussions in the Talm. are purely academic arguments on regulations which had no bearing on actual life. But if there was no continuous development of Jewish life, it would still vary with varying circumstances. For instance, under a strong, well-organized government, like that of some of the Jewish kings, of the Herods and the Romans, the jurisdiction of the head of the family and private blood-revenge would be controlled and limited. The settlement of a large Gentile population in Pal., and the dispersion of the Jews throughout the ancient world, would sometimes modify, sometimes also accentuate, the observance of Jewish customs. Probably, Western influences reinforced the tendency to monogamy, which we have already noticed in OT. It is doubtful whether 1 Ti $3^{2.12}$, Tit 1^{6} inculcate monogamy, cf. 1 Ti 5^{9}. Our Lord's limitation of divorce (Mt $5^{31.32}$) followed the teaching of Shammaï.

Literature.—For the early history of the family, W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, and 'Animal Worship and Animal Tribes among the Arabs and in OT' in *Journ. of Philology*, vol. ix.; J. F. M'Lennan, *Primitive Marriage*, and the essay on 'Totem-Clans in OT' in Joseph Jacobs' *Studies in Bibl. Archæology*; Bertholet, *Die Stellung d. Isr. u. Jud. z. d. Fremden*, esp. pp. 1–80. For the Bible history, the sections on the Family, and the laws of Marriage, Divorce, Parents and Children, etc., in Ewald, *Alterthümer*^{3} (Eng. tr. *The Ant. of Isr.* from 1st ed. 1844); Keil, *Handb. der Bibl. Arch.*^{2} 1875; Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 1894; Nowack, *Lehrb. der Heb. Arch.* 1894; J. F. McCurdy, *Hist. Proph. and the Monuments*, ii. 36–77; Dillmann and Driver on the passages from Pent., for OT; Schürer, *HJP*, for NT; also art. in Herzog's *RE*; Schenkel's *Bibellex.*; Riehm's *HWB*.

W. H. Bennett.

FAMINE (רָעָב, λιμός) in Syria and Egypt in past times may be attributed to four causes—

i. Want of water, *i.e.* rainfall or inundations, in due season.
ii. Destruction of corn and fruit by hail and rain out of season.
iii. " of all growing crops by locusts and caterpillars.
iv. " of food supplies by the hand of man.

i. Owing to the want of water in due season the famine might be widespread in extent, but in other cases it would be only partial and local. In the train of famine always comes sickness, which develops into pestilence and other scourges according to the intensity of the want and privation to which the people and flocks and herds are subjected. In prehistoric times famines may have been due to a failure of rain at any time of the year, as the people were dependent upon the spontaneous vegetation for the sustenance of themselves, their herds, and their flocks; but, after agriculture was introduced, the severity of famines could be much mitigated by storing up reserves of corn, thus enabling the bulk of the people to live independently of their herds and flocks; and famines would result more from the failure of rain in due season, that is to say, at the time when it was required for the early growth of the corn. For the plenteous years cf. Lv $26^{4f.}$ 'Then I will give your rains in their season, and the land shall yield her increase, and the trees of the field shall yield their fruit. And your threshing shall reach unto the vintage, and the vintage shall reach unto the sowing time; and ye shall eat your bread to the full, and dwell in your land safely.' The opposite condition of things is described in Lv $26^{19f.}$ 'And I will make your heaven as iron and your earth as brass; and your strength shall be spent in vain: for your land shall not yield her increase, neither shall the trees of the land yield their fruit.' In countries which depend upon the natural rainfall for the growth of cereals, and not upon irrigation and inundations, recurrence of rain in due season is a matter of the utmost importance; and scarcity of wheat and barley may be due, not to any want of rain, but to its fall at a wrong season—for example, in summer time, instead of during the winter and spring.

The Wilderness of the Wanderings or Desert of Arabia Petræa, in common with those east of Pal., differs greatly from Syria and Egypt in its food supplies; but it is only in comparison with the extraordinary fertility of Syria and Egypt that it can be considered as a desert. It has, from the earliest time, consisted of arid tablelands, mountainous districts, and sandy dunes, intersected by fertile valleys and plains and cultivable tablelands, and its present parched and barren condition is due in a great measure to the action of the Turkish Government in drawing a revenue from the destruction of trees. There are in all directions ruins of vineyards and terraces on the slopes of hills, indicating former cultivation; and there are yet tablelands where corn is cultivated, and plains where there are thousands of date trees. The nomadic tribes do not exist solely on the produce of their herds and flocks, but from the earliest historic times have used corn for food, and have cultivated corn for themselves, either in conjunction with neighbouring villages or by means of slave labour. There is a scanty herbage at all times over a great portion of this wilderness, and in January and February water and grasses are found everywhere, and the flocks can roam about at will. During November, December, and March there are dense mists and fogs and heavy dews, which saturate the shrubs and even deposit moisture on the rocks, so that flocks do not require to go to water. These mists depend upon the direction of the wind, and alternate with intense droughts. As the summer advances the pasture is confined principally to the broad water-courses, which give good herbage for many weeks: as the drought increases the inhabitants are reduced to great straits, having to live with their flocks on pastures many miles (sometimes twenty miles) from water. The flocks are driven over to the water once or twice a week, and a small quantity is brought back for the use of the encampment. These nomads and their flocks are of the most hardy nature, and can go without water for many hours or even for days; but they live for a portion of each year on the borderland of famine, and a very little extra scarcity brings on such want and privations that they, with their flocks, either move on to more favoured localities or die.

Egypt has always been remarkable for its extreme fertility, and is well watered everywhere (Gn 13[10]). It is not directly dependent on rainfall, the annual flooding of the river Nile inundating nearly the whole land and making the cultivation of the soil, as a general rule, a yearly certainty: a land where 'thou sowedst thy seed, and wateredst it with thy foot, as a garden of herbs' (Dt 11[10]). These inundations are caused by the rainfall over the districts where the Nile rises, and they fail at rare intervals. This exposes the land to drought, and famine ensues from want of corn, and in a minor degree the pasturage also fails.

The extraordinary fertility of the Promised Land is constantly alluded to in the Bible: 'a land of hills and valleys, and drinketh water of the rain of heaven' (Dt 11[11]). 'I will give the rain of your land in its season, the former rain, and the latter rain, that thou mayest gather in thy corn, and thy wine, and thine oil' (v.[14]). Its soil is of a very rich description, and formerly clothed the hillsides in terraces, though now, for the most part, it lies at the bottom of the valleys. Although Pal. has been dependent mainly on its rainfall, its streams have been utilized largely for irrigation purposes in the plains and in the Jordan Valley, and on the banks of the Jordan itself the rich soil is subject to inundations in the spring (Jos 3[15]).

The first famines mentioned in the Bible are those which occurred in the times of Abraham and Isaac (Gn 12[10] 26[1]). In the first case, Abraham went down into Egypt to sojourn there; in the second case, Isaac was about to do the same, but, being warned by God, went to Gerar to reside with Abimelech, king of the Philistines. It may be assumed that these famines were only partial in their extent.

The famine which took place in the time of Jacob was one of great extent, as it included Syria, Egypt, and the sources of the Nile, and was one of great severity and long duration; it is recorded that 'there was famine in all lands' (Gn 41[54]). It lasted seven years, and was remarkable as having been preceded by seven years of plenty, which being foretold by Joseph, the Egyp. Government was enabled to gather up sufficient corn, not only to buy up all the lands and cattle of the Egyptians and to supply the people, but also to sell corn to foreigners. 'And all countries came into Egypt to Joseph for to buy corn; because the famine was sore in all the earth' (Gn 41[57]). It is to be noted, however, that this is a famine restricted to want of corn, and that there is no indication that there was great want of pasturage. The sons of Jacob were able to take their asses to and from Egypt without difficulty. Waggons were sent to bring up Jacob and his households. 'And their father Israel said unto them, If it be so now, do this; take of the choice fruits of the land in your vessels, and carry down the man a present, a little balm, and a little honey, spicery, and myrrh, nuts and almonds' (Gn 43[11]). 'And they took their cattle, and their goods, which they had gotten in the land of Canaan, and came into Egypt' (Gn 46[6]).

Famines are mentioned in the time of the judges (Ru 1[1]), and in the time of king David (2 S 21[1]), but it is not until the time of Elijah that any account is given of the failure of the pasturage and springs. 'There shall not be dew nor rain these years, but according to my word' (1 K 17[1]). 'And Ahab said unto Obadiah, Go through the land, unto all the fountains of water, and unto all the brooks: peradventure we may find grass and save the horses and mules alive, that we lose not all the beasts' (18[5]). Amongst the signs of the end in Jesus' eschatological discourse are 'famines in divers places' (Mt 24[7], Mk 13[8], Lk 21[11]). For the famine referred to in Ac 11[28], see CLAUDIUS.

ii. A graphic description of destruction of crops by hail is given Ex 9[23. 31. 32.] 'The LORD sent thunder and hail, and fire ran down unto the earth; and the LORD rained hail upon the land of Egypt.' 'And the flax and the barley were smitten, for the barley was in the ear, and the flax was bolled. But the wheat and the spelt were not smitten; for they were not grown up.' The unusual occurrence of thunder and rain in the time of wheat harvest is accentuated in 1 S 12[16].

iii. The effect of the destruction of crops by plagues of locusts is depicted Ex 10[15] 'For they covered the face of the whole earth, so that the land was darkened; and they did eat every herb of the land, and all the fruit of the trees which the hail had left; and there remained not any green thing, either tree or herb of the field, through all the land of Egypt.' Again, Jl 1[4] 'That which the palmer-worm hath left hath the locust eaten; and that which the locust hath left hath the canker-worm eaten; and that which the canker-worm hath left hath the caterpillar eaten.' (See Driver, *ad loc.*)

iv. The most terrible results of famine related in the Bible are due to the hand of man; and this was well recognized by king David. 'And David said unto Gad, I am in a great strait; let us fall now into the hand of the LORD; for his mercies are great: and let me not fall into the hand of man' (2 S 24[14]). 'And he shall eat the fruit of thy cattle, and the fruit of thy ground, until thou be destroyed: which also shall not leave thee corn, wine, or oil, the increase of thy kine, or the young of thy flock, until he have caused thee to perish' (Dt 28[51]). 'And thou shalt eat the fruit of thine own body, the flesh of thy sons, and of thy daughters, which the LORD thy God hath given thee, in the siege, and in the straitness, wherewith thine enemies shall straiten thee' (v.[53]). 'And there was a great famine in Samaria: and, behold, they besieged it, until an ass's head was sold for fourscore pieces of silver, and the fourth part of a cab of dove's dung for five pieces of silver' (2 K 6[25]). 'And she answered, This woman said unto me, Give thy son, that we may eat him to-day, and we will eat my son to-morrow' (v.[28]).

Josephus, in his *Antiquities* and *Wars of the Jews*, gives several accounts of the horrible atrocities which took place during the famines in besieged cities, but in no account does he give such distressing details as in the story of the last siege of Jerus. by Titus, in which he sums up that 'neither did any other city ever suffer such miseries' (*Wars*, V. x. 5). This account of Josephus is considered to be a description of the fulfilment of the prophecy by our Lord (Mt 24[21]), 'For then shall be great tribulation, such as hath not been since the beginning of the world until now, no, nor ever shall be,' and is the history of the last famine connected with the Bible.

In the Bible there is no allusion to horrors and privations due to famine such as occur periodically in the world at the present time in the overcrowded portions of China and India.

C. WARREN.

FAMISH. — Occurring but four times in all, 'famish' is thrice used transitively. Zeph 2^{11} 'he will famish all the gods of the earth' (רָזָה, lit. as AVm 'will make lean'); Gn 41^{55} 'And when all the land of Egypt was famished, the people cried to Pharaoh for bread' (וַתִּרְעַב); Is 5^{13} 'their honourable men are famished' (כְּבוֹדוֹ מְתֵי רָעָב, lit., as AVm and RVm, 'their glory are men of famine,' but the reading is doubtful, see esp. Driver on Dt 32^{24}). This transitive use of 'famish' may be illustrated by Coverdale's tr. of Jl 1^{20} 'the shepe are fameszshed awaye,' and Shaks. *Tam. of Shrew*, IV. iii. 3—

> 'What, did he marry me to famish me?'

Tit. Andron. V. iii. 179—

> 'Set him breast-deep in earth, and famish him';

and Milton, *PL* xii. 78—

> 'Thin air
> Above the clouds will pine his entrails gross,
> And famish him of breath, if not of bread.'

The intrans. occurrence is Pr 10^{3} 'The Lord will not suffer the soul of the righteous to famish.' The Heb., translated 'suffer to famish,' is the same (though in Hiphil) as in Gn 41^{55}, and scarcely means more than 'cause to hunger'; so that the statement loses some of its comfort under the Eng. translation, if it does not even lose all its point.

J. HASTINGS.

FAN, FANNER.—Fan is used both as verb and as substantive. 1. As verb (Heb. זָרָה in *Qal*) Is 41^{16} 'Thou shalt fan them [the mountains and hills], and the wind shall carry them away'; Jer 4^{11} for purifying; 15^{7} for chastisement; and (same Heb. in *Piel*) Jer 51^{2}. Amer. RV has 'winnow' throughout. 2. As subst. 'a winnowing-machine,' Is 30^{24}, Jer 15^{7} (מִזְרֶה); Mt 3^{12}, Lk 3^{17} (πτύον). *Fanner* occurs only in Jer 51^{2} 'I will send unto Babylon fanners, that shall fan her, and shall empty her land.' The Heb. of the Massoretic pointing (זָרִים) means 'strangers,' and so RV after Ewald and others. But the VSS (LXX. Pesh. Targ. Vulg.) point the Heb. differently (זֹרִים), and gain the word-play. Cheyne thinks the prophet possibly intended to suggest both meanings. The Eng. tr. may be traced from the Vulg. *ventilatores*, through Cov. 'fanners,' whom Geneva, Bishops', Douay, and AV all follow. So also Luther (*Worfler*), and Rothstein in Kautzsch; and the French translators Ostervald and Segond (*vanneurs*). See AGRICULTURE.

J. HASTINGS.

FANCY is used as a verb absolutely in Sir 34^{5} 'And the heart fancieth, as a woman's heart in travail' (φαντάζεται; a verb which occurs elsewhere in LXX only Wis 6^{16}, 'showeth herself,' and in NT only He 12^{21} τὸ φανταζόμενον, AV 'the sight,' RV 'the appearance'). The previous Eng. Versions from Wyc. have 'fantasie' as a subst. (Douay 'phantasie'), AV is the first to use the verb, and to spell 'fancy.'* The *Oxf. Eng. Dict.* gives only one example of 'fancy' used absolutely, Locke (1698) 'we rather fancie than know.'

J. HASTINGS.

FAR.—1. 'Far' is often used in AV as an adj. qualifying 'country,' as Is 8^{9} 'all ye of far countries' (כָּל מֶרְחַקֵּי־אָרֶץ); Zec 10^{9} 'they shall remember me in far countries' (בַּמֶּרְחַקִּים). Twice it qualifies other substantives, Dt 29^{22} 'a far land' (אֶרֶץ רְחוֹקָה); Mk 13^{34} 'a man taking a far journey' (ἄνθρωπος ἀπόδημος, RV 'sojourning in another country'). Modern usage would probably require 'distant,' as Aldis Wright suggests. Certainly as an adj. 'far' was once used more freely than it is now: thus, Bp. Barlowe, *Dialoge* (1531), ed. of 1897, p. 35, 'Now to compare these fruites unto the actes of these Lutheran factyons, ye shall fynde a farre difference.' In Mt 21^{33} 25^{14}, Mk 12^{1}, Lk 20^{9}, where the Greek is ἀποδημέω and AV has 'go into a far country,' RV more accurately translates 'go into another country.' But the same Greek is rendered by AV 'took his journey' in Mt 25^{15}, by RV 'went on his journey'; and in Lk 15^{13}, where the Greek is more fully ἀπεδήμησεν εἰς χώραν μακράν, AV renders 'took his journey unto a far country,' and RV retains.

2. Notice the phrases: (*a*) *thus far*, Jer 48^{47} 'Thus far is the judgment of Moab,' 51^{64} 'Thus far are the words of Jeremiah' (both עַד־הֵנָּה), and Lk 22^{51} 'Suffer ye thus far' (ἕως τούτου). (*b*) *So far forth*='to such an extent,' 1 Es 1^{52} (ἕως οὗ). (*c*) *Be it far from* or *far be it from*. This phrase, which comes from Wyclif (esp. ed. 1388) after Vulg. *absit hoc*, occurs eight times in AV of OT as the translation of *ḥâlîlâh*, a substantive formed from *ḥâlal*, to profane, with locative suffix, therefore lit. *ad profanum*! to the unholy! The passages are Gn $18^{25\,bis}$, 1 S 2^{30} 20^{9} 22^{15}, 2 S $20^{20\,bis}$ 23^{17}, Job 34^{10}. [Elsewhere the same Heb. expression occurs Gn $44^{7.\,17}$, Jos 22^{29} 24^{16}, 1 S 12^{23} 14^{45} 20^{2}, Job 27^{5}, where it is tr. 'God forbid' (AV and RV); also (combined with יהוה) 1 S 24^{6} 26^{11}, 1 K 21^{3} 'the LORD forbid'; and (combined with אֱלֹהִים) 1 Ch 11^{19} 'My God forbid.'] In Apocr. the same Eng. phrase is found, 1 Mac 13^{5} 'be it far from me' (μή μοι γένοιτο); and in NT Mt 16^{22} 'Be it far from thee, Lord' (Ἵλεώς σοι, where θεὸς γένοιτο is understood, as RVm 'God have mercy on thee').

The Lord is 'far from the wicked' (Pr 15^{29}), but He is 'nigh unto all them that call upon him' (Ps 145^{18}); so the Psalmists frequently cry, 'Be not far from me' ($22^{1.\,11.\,19}$ 27^{9} 35^{22} 38^{21} 71^{12}), for in His presence is fulness of joy (Ps 16^{11}). St. Paul taught the Athenians that He is 'not far from every one of us' (Ac 17^{27}), yet it is by the blood of Christ that we are 'made nigh' (Eph 2^{13}), so that we are encouraged and enabled to 'draw near with a true heart in fulness of faith' (He 10^{22}).

J. HASTINGS.

FARE, FAREWELL. — To 'fare,' from Anglo-Saxon *faran* (Ger. *fahren*, Gr. πορ-εύομαι), is to 'travel,' to 'go,' as Spenser, *FQ* I. x. 63—

> 'But let me here for aye in peace remaine,
> Or streight way on that last long voyage fare.'

Then comes the meaning 'get on' well or ill, as 1 S 17^{18} 'look how thy brethren fare' (תִּפְקֹד לְשָׁלוֹם, lit. 'visit thy brethren [and inquire] as to their wellbeing' [cf. Gn 37^{14}, 2 S 11^{7}]; Cov. 'loke how thy brethren do,' Wyc. 'thi britheren thou shalt visite, if thei right doon'); Sir 3^{26} 'A stubborn heart shall fare evil at the last' (κακωθήσεται, RV 'fare ill'); 32^{24} 'he that trusteth in him shall fare never the worse' (οὐκ ἐλαττωθήσεται, RV 'shall suffer no loss'); 2 Mac 9^{20} 'If ye and your children fare well'; 11^{28} 'If ye fare well' (both ἔρρωσθε). The perf. pass. of the Greek verb found in the two last-quoted passages (ῥώννυμι) was used in the imperative sing. (ἔρρωσο) or plu. (ἔρρωσθε) as a formula for closing a letter, lit. 'be strong, prosper.' This formula is accordingly expressed by the word **farewell** in English. In Ac 15^{29}, where the verb is plu., the older form is retained in AV and RV 'fare ye well'; but in 23^{30}, where the verb is sing., AV has 'Farewell' (RV with most edd. omits). Once 'farewell' is the tr. of χαίρειν, 2 Co 13^{11} 'Finally, brethren, farewell' (RVm 'rejoice' or 'be perfected'). 'Fare ye well' is the tr. of most previous VSS from Tind., but Wyc. 'ioie ye,' Cov. 'reioyse,' Rheims 'reioyce' (after Vulg. *gaudete*), and it is probable that the Gr. χαίρειν is inadequately represented by the Eng. 'farewell,' since it never lost the sense of 'rejoice,' by slipping into a mere formality of speech, as the Eng. word has done. See Lightfoot on Ph 4^{4}.

---

* On the spelling Trench (*Study of Words*, 301) may be quoted: 'When "fancy" was spelt "phant'sy," as by Sylvester, in his translation of Du Bartas, and other scholarly writers of the 17th cent., no one could doubt of its identity with "phantasy," as no Greek scholar could miss its relation with φαντασία.'

In Lk 16^{19} ('fared sumptuously every day') the Eng. word 'fared' is probably to be taken in a sense that is still common, 'feed,' 'be entertained with food.' Wyclif's tr. is 'eete euery dai schynyngli' (after Vulg. *epulabatur quotidie splendide*), Coverdale's 'fared deliciously euery daye.' Cov. was repeated by Cranmer and the Geneva of 1557; but the Gen. of 1560 gives 'fared wel and delicately,' the Bishops' 'fared very delitiously,' the Rhemish 'fared magnifically.' Now it is true that neither 'fared' nor 'sumptuously' is restricted to taking food. In More's *Utopia* (ii. 8, Lupton's ed. p. 264) we read, 'Thither they sende furth some of their citezeins as Lieuetenauntes, to lyue theire sumptuously lyke men of honoure and renowne'; and Sir T. Elyot (*The Governour*, 1531, ii. 192, Croft's ed.) says, 'Many mo princes and noble men of the Romanes . . . made solempne and sumptuouse playes in honour of their goddes.' But it is possible that it was a passage in the last-named work that suggested the tr. of AV, and in that passage the sense of feed or feast is unmistakable: (ii. 336) 'The noble emperour Augustus . . . fared sumptuously and delicately, the citie of Rome at that tyme beinge vexed with skarcitie of grayne.' If that is the meaning of AV, it is inadequate to express the original (εὐφραινόμενος καθ' ἡμέραν λαμπρῶς), where the verb means to 'make merry' (Lk 12^{19} 15$^{23.\ 24.\ 29.\ 32}$ and elsewhere), and the adverb (of which this is the only occurrence in biblical Greek) means 'brilliantly' (the adj. is often applied to dress, Lk 23^{11}, Ac 10^{30}, Ja 2$^{2.\ 3}$, Rev 19^{18}), so that the tr. is literally 'making merry every day brilliantly.' Luther's tr. is *lebte alle Tage herrlich und in Freuden*; Weizsäcker, *genoss sein Leben alle Tage im Glanze*; Ostervald, *se traitoit bien et magnifiquement*; Oltramare, *faisait brillante chère*; Segond, *menait joyeuse et brillante vie*; RVm 'living in mirth and splendour every day.' RV has given 'sumptuous fare' for AV 'delicate fare' in Sir 29^{22} (Gr. ἐδέσματα λαμπρά).

J. HASTINGS.

FARTHING.—See MONEY.

FASHION (*facĕre*, to make, *faction-em*, a making, It. *fazione*, Old Fr. *façon*, Old Eng. *facioun*). There are some old uses in AV, and they are all retained in RV.

1. The *make* or *shape* of a thing: Ex 26^{30} 'thou shalt rear up the tabernacle according to the fashion thereof which was showed thee in the mount.' The Heb. (מִשְׁפָּט *mishpâṭ*) is the ordinary word for the decision of a judge, hence due or right measure, even in cases not decided by judging, right proportion (1 K 4^{28} [Heb. 5^{8}] 'charge'; Jer 30^{18b} of a city, 'manner,' rather weak; Is 40^{14}, in creation—giving each part its due place and function). In Ex 26^{30} it seems to be used as synonymous with תַּבְנִית (from בָּנָה to build, so 'building,' 'make'), which is employed in the parallel passages Ex 25$^{9.\ 40}$, and is there tr^{d} 'pattern.' This Heb. word *mishpâṭ* developed much as the Eng. word 'fashion' has done. In Gn 40^{13} and elsewhere it signifies manner or custom, and in 2 K 1^{7} outward appearance. It is tr^{d} 'fashion' also in 1 K 6^{38}, Ezk 42^{11} (in both of parts of a building). Wyclif's word in Ex 26^{30} is 'saumpler.'

In 2 K 16^{10} 'king Ahaz sent to Urijah the priest the fashion of the altar,' the Heb. is דְּמוּת *dĕmûth* (from דָּמָה to be like), a common word in Ezk for the external appearance. Here it is probably a drawing or model. Cf. 2 Ch 4^{3} 'the similitude (*i.e.* images) of oxen.'

The remaining Heb. word is תְּכוּנָה *tĕkhûnâh* (from כּוּן, הֵכִין to set up), Ezk 43^{11} 'show them the form of the house and the fashion thereof.' The Heb. is probably here the arrangement or fittings. Wyclif has 'the figure of the hous, and makyng (1388 'bildyng') thereof.' 'Forme and fashion' come from Coverdale.

In Wis 16^{25} 'even then was it altered into all fashions,' the meaning seems to be (as Deane), that the manna changed its taste according to the palate of the eater, and fire modified its nature according to its Maker's will (Gr. εἰς πάντα, RV 'into all forms').

In NT we find 'fashion' with this meaning only Ac 7^{44} 'Our fathers had the tabernacle of witness in the wilderness, as he had appointed, speaking unto Moses, that he should make it according to the fashion that he had seen' (τύπος, as LXX in Ex 25^{40}, RV 'figure').*

2. The *appearance* of a thing, as Ja 1^{24} Tind. 'For assone as he hath loked on him silfe, he goeth his waye, and forgetteth immediatlie what his fassion was.' So in AV, Lk 9^{29} 'as he prayed, the fashion of his countenance was altered' (Gr. τὸ εἶδος τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ). Especially outward visible appearance in contrast with inner reality, as Shaks. *Merch. of Venice*, IV. i. 18—

> 'Shylock, the world thinks, and I think so too,
> That thou but leadst this fashion of thy malice
> To the last hour of act; and then 'tis thought
> Thou'lt show thy mercy and remorse more strange
> Than is thy strange apparent cruelty.'

1 Co 7^{31} 'the fashion of this world passeth away,' and Ph 2^{8} 'being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself.' The Gr. is σχῆμα, whose meaning is fully discussed in the Commentaries. See also Trench, *NT Syn.* pp. 252–258; Gifford, *Incarnation*, p. 22 ff.; *Expos. Times*, viii. 391 f. The English is perhaps more emphatic (in expressing *mere* outward appearance) than the Greek. In 1 Co 7^{31} Wyc. and the Rhemish have 'figure' after Vulg. *figura*; Tind. introduced 'fashion' ('fassion'), and the other VSS followed him. In Ph 2^{8} 'fashion' is not found before AV. Wyc. translates Vulg. (*habitus*) literally, 'habyt' (1386 'abite'); Tind. Cov. and Cran. give 'apparel'; Gen. 1557 'appearance,' 1560 'shape,' as Tomson and Rhem. NT; Bish. 'figure.'

3. In Ja 1^{11} AV has retained from Tind. 'the flower thereof falleth, and the grace of the fashion of it perisheth,' where the Gr. is πρόσωπον, 'face.' So in Old Eng. 'fashion' was used literally for the face, as *Pilgr. Lyf Manhode* (1430), III. xxxviii. 155, 'She shadwde hire visage and hire facioun vnder hire hood.' Cf. Lk 12^{56} Tind. 'Ypocrites ye can skyll of the fassion of the erth, and of the skye' (πρόσωπον; Wyc., Rhem., AV, RV, 'face').

4. *Manner*: 2 Es 4^{35} 'How long shall I hope on this fashion?' (*sic*, RV after the Syriac, 'How long are we here?'); 5^{53} 'They that be born in the strength of youth are of one fashion' (*alii sunt*); Wis 2^{15} 'his ways are of another fashion' (ἐξηλλαγμέναι, RV 'of strange fashion'); 14^{19} 'he . . . forced all his skill to make the resemblance of the best fashion' (ἐπὶ τὸ κάλλιον, RV 'toward a greater beauty'); Mk 2^{12} 'We never saw it on this fashion' (οὕτως). So in Pref. to AV 'they did not cast the streets, nor proportion the houses in such comely fashion, as had been most sightly and convenient'; and Shaks. *Hamlet*, I. iii. 111—

> 'My lord, he hath importuned me with love,
> In honourable fashion.
> Ay, fashion you may call it; go to, go to.'

5. *Manners and customs*: 2 Mac 4^{9} 'a place for exercise, and for the training up of youth in the fashions of the heathen' (the Gr. is simply ἐφηβίαν, *i.e.* youth, hence RV 'and *form* a body of youths *to be trained therein*'); 4^{13} 'the height of Greek fashions' (ἀκμὴ τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ, RV 'an extreme of Greek fashions'); 6^{8} 'that they should observe the same fashions' (ἀγωγήν, RV 'conduct').

The verb to fashion is of frequent occurrence. In OT and Apocr. it has always the sense of give shape to, form. But the word was formerly used in the sense of 'transform,' *i.e.* change the form or fashion into something else. Thus Tindale, *Obedience of a Christian Man*, 97*b*, 'When a man fealeth . . . him selfe . . . altered and fascioned lyke vnto

---

* In He 8^{5} the same quotation is made, and adheres still more closely to the LXX of Ex 25^{40}, but the Eng. (AV and RV) is 'pattern,' as it has been since Tindale.

Christe'; H. Smith, *Sermons* (1592), 'Fashion thyself to Paul.' In NT there are two examples of this meaning: Ph 3^{21} 'Who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body' (*σύμμορφος*; RV 'that it may be conformed to the body of his glory'); 1 P 1^{14} 'not fashioning yourselves according to the former lusts' (*συσχηματιζόμενοι*). J. HASTINGS.

FAST.—**1.** Fast is frequently used in AV both as adj. and adv. in the sense of *firm, securc*, as Ps 38^{2} 'thine arrows stick fast in me'; Ps 65^{6} 'Which by his strength setteth fast the mountains'; Pr 4^{13} 'Take fast hold of instruction'; 2 Es 2^{15} 'Mother, embrace thy children, and bring them up with gladness, make their feet as fast as a pillar' (*confirma pedes eorum*, RV 'stablish their feet'); Ae 16^{24} 'Who . . . thrust them down into the inner prison, and made their feet fast in the stocks' (*ἠσφαλίσατο*). Cf. Chaucer, *Anelida and Arcite* (Skeat's Student's ed. p. 117)—

'Almighty God, of trouthe sovereyn,
Wher is the trouthe of man? who hath hit sleyn?
Who that hem loveth shal hem fynde as fast
As in a tempest is a roten mast.'

2. In reference to sleep, *sound*, as Jg 4^{21} 'he was fast asleep and weary' (RV 'in a deep sleep'; see RVm and Moore, *in loc.*). **3.** *Closc, near*, only Ru $2^{8.\,21.\,23}$, as 2^{8} 'abide here fast by my maidens.' Cf. Milton, *PL* ii. 725—

'the snaky sorceress that sat
Fast by Hell-gate, and kept the fatal key.'

In every case 'fast' is used to bring out the force of the verb or adj. used in the original; there is never a separate word for it in the Hebrew or the Greek.

J. HASTINGS.

FASTING.—Often described in OT (esp. in P, where it is practically a technical term) by phrase 'to afflict the soul,' עִנָּה נֶפֶשׁ (Lv $16^{29.\,31}$ $23^{27.\,32}$, Nu 29^{7} 30^{13}, Ps 35^{13}, Is $58^{3.\,5.\,10}$), tr. by LXX in the passages in Nu by *κακοῦν τὴν ψυχήν*, in the others by *ταπεινοῦν τὴν ψυχήν*, for which see also Jth 4^{9}, and which may be assumed to have this precise reference, and not a more general one at Sir 2^{17} 7^{17}. The phrase does not denote primarily spiritual humiliation, even as the proper accompaniment of fasting. It has a physical meaning. This will be perceived if the material sense in which 'soul' was in early times used be remembered (cf. for a similar expression Ps 69^{11}). The more literal terms צוּם 'to fast,' צוֹם 'fasting,' are also common in OT. In NT the words are *νηστεύειν* and *νηστεία*.

(*A*) IN THE OT.—1. *The practice of fasting* (*a*) *in the times before the Captivity.*—The one *regular* fast, the institution of which is ascribed to this period, is that of the Day of Atonement (Lv $16^{29.\,31}$ $23^{27\text{-}32}$, Nu 29^{7}, Jer 36^{6}).* But there are many examples of fasts on special occasions, dictated by the sense of having transgressed, or of calamity, present or impending. Such a fast is inspired by Samuel (1 S 7^{6}); enjoined by Jehoiakim and the princes (Jer 36^{9}); hypocritically by Jezebel (1 K $21^{9.\,12}$). In like manner individuals are moved to fast—David when his child is smitten with sickness (2 S $12^{16.\,21\text{-}23}$), Ahab on hearing his doom (1 K 21^{27}).

The abstinence from food or drink for forty days by Moses on the Mount (Ex 34^{28}), and by Elijah (1 K 19^{8}), seem to be recorded rather as extraordinary or miraculous occurrences than as fasts purposely undertaken.

(*b*) *After the Captivity.*—Additional regular fasts now appear, the memorials of the times of bitter shame and calamity through which the nation had passed. Four are enumerated in Zec 8^{19}, cf. $7^{3.\,5}$. (*α*) 'The fast of the fourth month' (Tammuz). On the 9th of this month, the Chaldæans broke into the city (Jer 39^{2} and $52^{6.\,7}$). According, however, to Talm. tradition the fast in this month was observed on the 17th, on which day the breaking of the tables of the law by Moses is said to have occurred, and also the cessation of the daily offering in consequence of the famine during the siege by the Chaldæans. It was held also that later the day was further desecrated through the burning of the law by Antiochus Epiphanes (in Talm. called Apostemus), and his introduction of an idol into the Holy Place. (*β*) 'The fast of the fifth month' (Ab). The destruction of the temple took place according to 2 K 25^{8} on the 7th, according to Jer 52^{12} on the 10th of this month. The 9th was, however, the day which was observed, at all events according to the Talmud. The destruction of the second temple is said to have taken place on the same day; and the announcement was believed to have been made on this day also to the generation of Isr. who came out of Egypt that they should not enter Canaan. (*γ*) 'The fast of the seventh month' (Tisri), possibly held in commemoration of Atonement; the extinction of the government left in Jerusalem under Gedaliah took place in this month through his assassination (2 K 25^{25}). This, acc. to tradition, happened on the 3rd of Tisri. (*δ*) 'The fast of the tenth month' (Tebet). On the 10th of this month the siege by Nebuch. began (2 K 25^{1}, Jer 52^{4}). The reference in Ezk $24^{1.\,2}$ shows how the habit of marking it by a fast might arise.

From the Talm. we learn that, in the times for which it can be taken as evidence of the practice to which the prophet refers, the 9th of Ab was regarded as by far the most important, and that its observance was then universally binding. We should infer from Zec 7 and 8 that it always held this position of pre-eminence. The people ask only (7^{3}) whether they need continue to observe this fast. In the answer of God through the prophet, first one other fast is coupled with it (7^{5}), then all four of the fasts that had been instituted in consequence of their calamities are mentioned (8^{19}). It is probable that the three not referred to in the people's question were not regarded as of such strict obligation, and therefore not felt to be onerous. The prophet, on the other hand, names them all, because the principles on which he insisted applied to all equally. According to the Talmud those three were, after they had ceased to be kept, reintroduced subsequently to the destruction of the second temple; and it was taught that they need be observed only at times when the Jews were oppressed or were suffering calamities (cf. Brück, *Pharisäische Volkssitten und Ritualien*, p. 45 ff.). Jewish interpreters seem to have understood Zec.'s words (8^{19}) as giving a dispensation from the observance of the fasts in the interval between the restoration and the destruction of the second temple (Brück, *ib.*).

We may perhaps find a trace of the institution of one other regular fast in OT—in the Bk. of Esther. That book explains the origin of the Feast of Purim, and in Rabbinic times the celebration of that feast was accompanied by a fast in commemoration of the fasting of Esther, Mordecai, and the people ($4^{1\text{-}3.\,15\text{-}17}$). There may be an allusion to this part of the commemoration in 9^{31} end.

Naturally, there is no lack in the period from the Captivity onwards of instances of fasts on special occasions. Of such as the whole people joined in we have, in addition to the one in Est just referred to, Ezr $8^{21\text{-}23}$, Neh 9^{1}; and as examples of fasts by individuals, Neh 1^{4}, Dn 9^{3}. The references to fasting in the Apocr. are not so numerous as might have been expected, and do not throw much additional light upon the history of the practice (To 12^{8}, 1 Mac 3^{47}, 2 Mac 13^{12}).

2. *The manner of observing fasts.*—There can be little doubt that, in accordance with usual Oriental practice, fasting involved complete abstinence from food. The period for the Day of Atonement was 'from even till even' (Lv 23^{32}). No work was to be done (Lv $16^{29.\,31}$ 23^{32}, Nu 29^{7}). There are allusions also to the use of sackcloth and ashes (Dn 9^{3}, Jon 3^{6} etc.). Abstinence of another kind was also required, referred to in 1 Co 7^{5} (TR): various

---

* For the question whether the observance of the Day of Atonement was known in pre-exilic times, see p. 199^{b} of this vol.

passages of OT might be quoted in confirmation, though none very distinctly connected with fasts. It is spoken of plainly in the Talmud.

3. *The purpose of fasting.*—W. R. Smith observes (*RS*^{2}, p. 434), 'The usage of religious fasting is commonly taken as a sign of sorrow, the worshippers being so distressed at the alienation of their god that they cannot eat; but there are very strong reasons for believing that in the strict Oriental form, in which total abstinence from meat and drink is prescribed, fasting is primarily nothing more than a preparation for the sacramental eating of holy flesh.' It is difficult, however, to discover traces of this view in OT. There we find fasting employed simply as a sign of mourning (1 S 31^{13}), or with the evident object of deprecating divine wrath, or winning divine compassion. Its suitability cannot well be explained in either of these connexions, except on the ground that it is often a natural effect of grief, and may therefore be purposely employed as a sign of it. In its religious use such a mute expression of sorrow would be an act of contrition for sin, or appeal for heavenly aid in distress. A superstitious idea of its efficacy was, no doubt, often entertained; but the particular form of error which the prophets found it necessary to condemn was the ordinary one of the formalist, who fails to perceive that his external observances can have no value when dissevered from purity and righteousness of life (Is 58^{3-7}, Jer 14^{10-12}, Zec 7, 8).

(*B*) IN THE NT.—1. *The Jewish practice.*—There is an allusion in Ac 27^{9} to 'the Fast,' which was so *par excellence*, *i.e.* the Day of Atonement. But the chief point which we learn from NT is that by this time frequent additional fasts had become customary with those in Judaism who desired to lead a specially religious life, *e.g.* Anna (Lk 2^{37}). Again, the Pharisee in the parable says, 'I fast twice in the week' (Lk 18^{12}). The allusion is to the two weekly fast-days, Thursday and Monday, on the former of which days Moses was said to have gone up into the Mount, and on the latter to have come down from it. Mention is made of them frequently in the Talmud. There is also an interesting reference to them in the *Didache* 8^{1}, where Christians are bidden not to fast with the hypocrites on the second and fifth days of the week, but on the fourth and on Friday. Further, the question asked of Jesus by the disciples of John and of the Pharisees (Mt 9^{14}, Mk 2^{18}, Lk 5^{33}), reveals the interesting fact that teachers who had gathered about them bands of scholars, used to give to their disciples special rules on the subject.

2. *The teaching of Jesus.*—There are two passages only, but those significant ones. (*a*) That in the Sermon on the Mount (Mt 6^{16-18}). Our Lord's whole aim here appears to be to secure perfect purity and simplicity of intention, a 'fasting unto God' (cf. Zec 7^{5}) in the fullest and deepest sense. This would be the most effectual cure for every error, practical or even intellectual (comp. His teaching on almsgiving and prayer, Mt 6^{1-15}, and see art. on former).

(*b*) His answer to the question of the disciples of John and of the Pharisees (Mt 9^{14-17}, Mk 2^{18-22}, Lk 5^{33-39}). This answer throws light on His whole method and aim. To understand it we must bear in mind the question which called it forth. There is no reason to believe that either our Lord or His disciples failed to keep any day of fasting which was generally observed by religious members of the class of artisans and small tradesmen in Galilee, such as the Day of Atonement. But He had imposed upon them no frequent additional fasts. He defends them from the stricture passed on them, and in so doing replies to the criticism of His own teaching, which was implied, by setting forth the principles on which He acted. He refrained from prescribing forms, not that He condemned them as mischievous or useless, but because it would have been the wrong end at which to begin. The course which He adopted was alone fitting, in view of the far-reaching change of character and thought which He designed to effect.

The precise force of the distinction which Jesus drew between the days while the bridegroom was present and those when he should be removed, deserves to be marked. The time of His presence on earth was a Messianic time, a foretaste of the restitution of all things. The thought that fasting would be discontinued in Messiah's days was already familiar to the Jewish mind. The language of Zec suggested it (8^{19}), and thus, as it is interesting to note, Jesus added emphasis to the claim to be the Messiah, which He virtually made in referring to Himself as the bridegroom, by what He said as to the unsuitability of requiring fasts from His disciples then. We may believe also that He wished them afterwards to look back to the time that they companied with Him as one of joy. But His clear prevision that the perfect fulfilment of the promise was not yet at hand, and that a period of sadness and trial would intervene before it, is not less remarkable, and His words unquestionably imply that there would be a place for fasting in the coming dispensation. Further, the inference which has frequently been drawn from them by Protestant commentators, that in the Christian Church fasting was to be practised only when dictated by special feelings of sorrow, and hence that it was to be a matter of individual choice, confined to occasions of widespread and exceptional calamity, hardly seems to be justified; for He characterizes broadly the difference between two whole periods.

On the other hand, in the parables which follow, and in His line of conduct, to which attention had been directed, He plainly shows that He intended questions of outward observance to be judged with reference to new principles which he inculcated, and that He left them to be decided by His Church under the guidance of the Spirit Who should come in His name (but see Hort, *Jud. Chr.* p. 24).

This intention was shown alike by what He did and did not conform to in the religious usages around Him. We have noticed that the keeping of the law of Moses was not in question on the occasion under consideration. But in point of fact His attitude to that law, the respect for it which He encouraged by word and example, His silence as to its approaching abrogation, were based on the same principle as the non-imposition of new forms. He intended the rites of the Mosaic law to be set aside or changed only as the result of a new spiritual growth.

3. *The practice of the early Church.*—The chief instances are before solemn appointments (Ac $13^{2.3}$ 14^{23}). St Paul alludes to his fasts (2 Co 6^{5} 11^{27}). It is somewhat difficult, however, to decide whether he is speaking of voluntary or involuntary ones. Perhaps both are included. The connexion of words seems rather to suggest voluntary fasts in the former passage, and involuntary ones in the latter. In places TR has an allusion to fasting where it is wanting according to the best evidence (Mt 17^{21}, Mk 9^{29}, Ac 10^{30}, 1 Co 7^{5}). This corruption of the text may have been due to the increasing value which was set on fasting in the Christian Church with the lapse of time. See further, FEASTS AND FASTS.

In the Oxyrhyuchus fragment discovered by Grenfell and Hunt, the 2nd Logion contains the words *ἐὰν μὴ νηστεύσητε τὸν κόσμον, οὐ μὴ εὕρητε τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ.* The construction and the meaning of the saying are both difficult: Harnack (*Die jüngst entdeckten Sprüche Jesu*, 8 ff.) contends for a metaphorical sense of the word 'fast.' Amongst other discussions of the sense of this Logion we may refer to Grenfell and Hunt's *editio princeps* of the ΛΟΓΙΑ ΙΗΣΟΥ (10 ff.), Redpath (*Expositor*, Sept. 1897, p. 225), Heinrici in *ThL* (21st Aug. 1897), Swete (*Expos. Times*, Sept. 1897, p. 546 f.).

V. H. STANTON.

FAT.—See FOOD and SACRIFICE.

FAT.—As a verb 'fat' is now nearly displaced by 'fatten.' It occurs in Sir 26^{13} 'The grace of a wife delighteth her husband, and her discretion will fat his bones' (*πιανεῖ*, RV 'fatten'); and the ptcp. 'fatted' in 1 K 4^{23} ('fatted fowl,' Heb. בַּרְבֻּרִים, see FOWLS), Jer 46^{21} ('fatted bullocks,' RV 'calves of the stall'), Lk $15^{23.27.30}$; to which RV adds 1 S 28^{24} 'a fatted calf' (AV 'a fat calf').

J. HASTINGS.

FAT.—Fat, meaning a large vessel for holding liquids, has been displaced by 'vat' in literary

English. The difference between the spellings, says Skeat (*Etymol. Dict. s.v.*) is one of dialect only, ‘fat’ being northern and ‘vat’ southern. Fat occurs in AV, Jl 2^{24} ‘the fats shall overflow with wine and oil,’ and 3^{13} (both יֶקֶב); in the compound ‘winefat’ in Is 63^2 (גַּת), Mk 12^1 (ὑπολήνιον, AV 1611 ‘wine fat’ as two words); and ‘pressfat’ (1611 ‘presse-fat’) Hag 2^{16} (יֶקֶב).

RV gives ‘vats’ in Jl (see Driver’s note, *ad loc.*), though in Pr 3^{10} it changes ‘presses’ of AV into ‘fats’ (יֶקֶב). ‘Winefat’ of Mk 12^1 is made ‘winepress,’ and ‘pressfat’ of Hag 2^{16} ‘winefat’ (not by Amer. RV). Amer. RV prefers ‘winevat’ to winefat in Is 63^2. See WINE. J. HASTINGS.

FATE.—See WILL.

FATHER.—See FAMILY and GOD.

FATHOM.—See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

FATLING.—A fatling is an animal, especially a young animal, fattened for slaughter. It is the tr^n of three Heb. and one Greek word. (1) *Mĕrî’*, plu. *mĕrî’im*, 2 S 6^{13}, Is 11^6, Ezk 39^{18}: which is elsewhere tr^d ‘fat cattle’ (RV ‘fatlings’), 1 K $1^{9.19.25}$; ‘fed beasts’ (so RV), Is 1^{11}; ‘fat beasts’ (so RV), Am 5^{22}. (2) *Mêḥîm*, Ps 66^{15}: which elsewhere occurs only Is 5^{17} tr^d ‘fat ones,’ AV and RV. (3) *Mishnîm*, 1 S 15^9, which means ‘seconds,’ of a second, inferior sort (as AVm). But that is plainly not the meaning here. Hence the text is generally amended into *mashmannim* (מַשְׁמַנִּים), which is found in Neh 8^{10}, and means ‘fat things,’ ‘delicacies’ (EV ‘the fat’). This is the reading followed by EV, and it has the support of Targ. Syr. and Arab. VSS. But Driver (*Notes on Sam.* p. 94) prefers to read *hasshĕmênîm*, which occurs (in the sing.) in Ezk 34^{16} (and elsewhere), and is tr^d ‘the fat.’ He then renders ‘the best of the flocks and the herds, *even* the fat ones and the lambs’ (הַשְּׁמֵנִים וְהַכָּרִים). (4) σιτιστά (lit. ‘fed with grain’), Mt 22^4 ‘my oxen and my fatlings are killed’ (Tindale’s tr^n; Wyc. ‘my bolis [bulls] and my volatilis [fowls],’ after Vulg. *tauri mei et altilia*). To those RV adds (5) *bĕrî’âh*, Ezk 34^3 ‘the fatlings’ for AV ‘them that are fed’: the word is an adj., and is tr^d ‘fat’ in v.^{20} (‘fat cattle’ AV and RV), it is the ‘fat’ kine of Pharaoh’s dream (Gn 41). J. HASTINGS.

FAUCHION.—Jth 13^6 ‘she . . . took down his fauchion from thence,’ and 16^9 ‘the fauchion passed through his neck’ (AV 1611 ‘fauchin,’ RV ‘scimitar’). The Greek is ἀκινάκης (in 16^9 A has ἀκινάκις, to which Hatch and Redpath give a sep. entry in their *Concord to the Sept.*, but with a query), found only here. The ἀκ., a word of Persian origin, is often used in Herodotus to describe a short sword. See SWORD. The Eng. word was originally the name of ‘a broad sword more or less curved on the convex side’; but in later use and in poetry signified a sword of any kind. J. HASTINGS.

FAULT.—A fault is properly a defect or shortcoming (*fallitus*, late Lat. ptcp. of *fallĕre*, to fail, come short, Old Fr. *faute* *) either of material things, as Ld. Berners, *Froissart*, I. clix. 193, ‘They had gret faut in their hoost of vitayle’; or from a recognized standard of physical beauty, workmanship, or moral rectitude. The defect expressed by ‘fault’ is in AV almost always moral, but the larger meaning, shortcoming in any sense, is seen in Rev 14^5 ‘they are without fault before the throne of God’ (ἄμωμοι, RV ‘without blemish’); cf. Jude^{24} ‘faultless’ (ἀμώμους, RV ‘without blemish’). In 1 Co 6^7 the least degree of moral blame is expressed (Gr. ἥττημα, RV ‘defect,’ RVm ‘loss’).

Craik (*Eng. of Shaks.* p. 124) says, ‘The word *fault* formerly, though often signifying no more than it now does, carried sometimes a much greater weight of meaning than we now attach to it.’ And he gives as an example *Jul. Cæs.* I. iii. 5—

> ‘Who ever knew the heavens menace so?
> Those that have known the earth so full of faults.’

To which may be added *Tit. Andron.* V. ii. 173—

> ‘You killed her husband, and for that vile fault
> Two of her brothers were condemned to death.’

See also *Rom. and Jul.* III. iii. 25—

> ‘O deadly sin! O rude unthankfulness!
> Thy fault our law calls death.’

And Milton, *PL* xii. 337—

> ‘Whose foul idolatries, and other faults
> Heapt to the popular sum, will so incense
> God, as to leave them.’

This greater freedom in the use of ‘fault’ enabled AV to retain Coverdale’s tr^n of Gn 41^9 ‘This daye do I remembre my fawte,’ though Wyc. had ‘I knowleche my synne,’ and the Heb. (חֵטְא) is some thirty times translated ‘sin.’ Other words usually tr^d ‘sin’ are occasionally rendered fault,’ as חָטָאת (vb.) Ex 5^{16};* עָוֹן 2 S 3^8, Ps 59^4. Again, in Dt 25^2 רִשְׁעָה, which is everywhere else tr^d ‘wickedness,’ is tr^d ‘fault,’ although all previous VSS had either ‘sin’ (Wyc. Douay) or ‘trespass’ (Cov. Gen. Bish.): RV gives ‘wickedness.’ And παράπτωμα tr^d ‘trespass’ Mt $6^{14.15}$, Mk $11^{25.26}$, 2 Co 5^{19}, Eph 2^1, Col 2^{13}; ‘offence’ Ro 4^{25} $5^{15.16.17.18.20}$; ‘fall’ Ro $11^{11.12}$; and ‘sin’ Eph 1^7 2^5, Col 2^{13}, is tr^d ‘fault’ 2 Co 5^{19}, Ja 5^{16}: RV gives ‘trespass’ always, except Ro 11^{11} ‘fall,’ marg. ‘trespass.’

‘Make no fault,’ a very rare expression, is found Sir 9^{13} (μὴ πλημμελήσῃς, RV ‘commit no fault’).

In the trial before Pilate, St. John thrice uses αἰτία (18^{38} $19^{4.6}$), and St. Luke thrice αἴτιον ($23^{4.14.22}$). Except in Lk 23^{22} (‘cause’) AV renders in each case by ‘fault’; but the meaning of both words is ‘ground for committal,’ ‘legal cause for prosecution.’ RV gives ‘crime’ in Jn, leaving Lk as in AV.

Faulty is now nearly confined to the expression of physical defects. In 2 S 14^{13} (אָשֵׁם adj.), Hos 10^2 (אָשֵׁם vb. = be held guilty) it is used as the expression of moral wrong, RV ‘guilty.’ J. HASTINGS.

FAVOUR.—Favour is of frequent occurrence in Shakespeare and elsewhere in the sense of *personal appearance*, and then as simply meaning the *face* (cf. COUNTENANCE and CHEER). Thus Spenser, *FQ* V. vii. 39—

> ‘She knew not his favour’s likelynesse,
> For many scarres and many hoary heares,
> But stood long staring on him mongst uncertain fears.’

More, *Utopia* (Robinson’s tr^n, Lumby’s ed. p. 19), ‘whom by his favoure and apparell furthwith I judged to be a mariner.’ Shaks. *As You Like It*, IV. iii. 87—

> ‘The boy is fair,
> Of female favour.’

Bacon, *Essays*, ‘Of Beauty’ (Gold. Treas. ed. p. 176, l. 17), ‘In *Beauty*, that of Favour, is more then that of Colour.’

It is sometimes said that Ps 45^{12} 119^{58}, Pr 19^6 29^{26} are examples of this meaning. But, though the Heb. (פָּנִים) there tr^d ‘favour’ is literally ‘face,’ favour or goodwill is clearly the meaning. In the adjectives ‘well-favoured’ and ‘ill-favoured,’ however, we find this meaning, as Gn 29^{17} ‘Rachel was beautiful and well favoured' (יְפַת מַרְאֶה, lit. 'fair to be seen.' So **evilfavouredness**, Dt 17^{1} (דָּבָר רָע, lit. 'evil thing').

---

* *Faute* is the more accurate spelling, the *l* being inserted from the influence of It. *falta* and Lat. *fallere*, although the *u* stands, of course, for the *l*. In the Psalter of 1539 the spelling is always *faute*, though modern editions of the Pr. Bk. spell *fault*. In AV of 1611 it is *fault* always.

* The correct tr. of חָטָאת עַמֶּךָ is doubtful. If the vb. be taken as 3rd sing. fem. (*Oxf. Heb. Lex.*) the meaning will be ‘thy people is at fault’ (but עַם is nowhere else fem., not even in Jg 18^7, see Moore, *ad loc.*); if as 2nd sing. masc., ‘thou wilt wrong thy people’ (so Pesh. LXX, ἀδικήσεις τὸν λαόν σου). This is accepted by Siegfried-Stade, who punctuate חָטָאתָ. Socin (in Kautzsch’s *AT*) pronounces the MT unintelligible.

In Jos 11^{20} *favour* means scarcely more than *mercy*, 'for it was of the LORD to harden their hearts, that they should come against Israel in battle, and that he might destroy them utterly, and they might have no favour' (תְּחִנָּה: in Ezr 9^{8} the meaning is the same, but EV give 'grace'; everywhere else the Heb. word means 'intreaty'). Cf. Elyot, *The Governour*, ii. 298, 'And they, which by that lawe were condemned, were put to dethe without any fauour.' J. HASTINGS.

FAVOUR.—The interest of the biblical use of this word resides chiefly in its relation to the term *grace*. It has not, like that term, obtained any doctrinal significance. While χάρις in the LXX (Vulg. *gratia*) is its prevailing equivalent, it is used only six times in NT to tr. that word (see also Lk 1^{28} κεχαριτωμένη, 'highly favoured'; marg. 'graciously accepted' or 'much graced'). Grace, in fact, while including favour, implies much more. And it comes as a free gift ('Gratia, nisi gratis sit, non est gratia'), while favour may be won or deserved. To obtain favour is to please, to show favour is to be pleased.

In OT the distinction is, however, hardly perceptible. The instinct of the translators led them, it is true, to avoid the adjective 'favourable' as a rendering of חַנּוּן ('gracious') used only of God (with the one possible exception of Ps 112^{4}. See Cheyne, *The Book of Psalms, in loc.*), but the verb חָנַן and its other derivatives are often represented by 'favour.' Thus חֵן, 38 times rendered 'grace,' is 26 times tr^{d} 'favour.' Nor is the sense of *strengthening help*, so prominent in the former word, altogether absent from the latter. (See Ps 5^{12} 'with *favour* wilt thou compass him as with a shield.')

Eight other Heb. roots, implying *kindness, goodwill, pity*, are represented in the AV by 'favour.' The most frequent of these is רָצוֹן=acceptance, rendered 15 times 'favour.' For חֶסֶד *loving-kindness*, 'favour' is employed only 3 times.

The LXX vary much more than the Eng. tr., the idea of *pity* pronouncing itself in ἔλεος, while that of *goodwill* comes out in εὐδοκία, θέλημα, πρόσωπον (פָּנִים). So in the Vulg. we find *misericordia, voluntas, vultus*. A. S. AGLEN.

FEAR.—For the theology of Fear see next article. Some obsolete or archaic uses deserve notice.

1. Following the Heb. idiom, 'my fear,' 'thy fear,' etc., stands for the 'fear of me,' 'of thee,' etc.: Ex 23^{27} 'I will send my fear before thee' (אֵימָתִי, RV 'my terror'); Job 9^{34} 'let not his fear terrify me' (אֵמָתוֹ, RV 'his terror'); Jer 2^{19} 'my fear is not in thee' (פַּחְדָּתִי). Similarly Ps 90^{11} 'even according to thy fear, so is thy wrath' (כְּיִרְאָתְךָ, RV 'according to the fear that is due unto thee,' so Perowne; Del.[*] Cheyne, 'the fear of thee,' with the same meaning; De Witt, 'But who has yet learned the power of Thine anger, And Thy wrath as measured by the reverence due Thee?'); Is 63^{17} 'O LORD, why hast thou made us to err from thy ways, *and* hardened our heart from thy fear?' (מִיִּרְאָתֶךָ, so RV; Del. 'so that we fear thee not,' evidently the genitive of the object; Orelli, 'that it fears not thee'); Mal 1^{6} 'if I be a master, where is my fear?' (מוֹרָאִי). Earlier VSS contained this idiom yet oftener, as Gn 9^{2} Wyc. (1382) 'youre feer and youre tremblyng be upon alle the beestis of erthe' (1388 'youre drede and tremblyng,' AV 'the fear of you and the dread of you'). **2.** After another Heb. idiom 'fear' is used for the object of fear, that which is feared: Gn 31^{42} 'the God of Abraham, and the fear of Isaac' (פַּחַד, RV 'Fear,' as a proper name: but to personify is to miss the idiom, of which Spurrell (*Notes on the Text of Gen.*) gives examples from Pesh. Targ. etc.), so v.^{53}, Ps 31^{11} 'I was a reproach among all mine enemies, but especially among my neighbours, and a fear to mine acquaintance' (פַּחַד); Is 24^{18} 'he who fleeth from the noise of the fear shall fall into the pit' (פַּחַד); Ps 53^{5} 'There were they in great fear, *where* no fear[*] was' (שָׁם פָּחֲדוּ־פַחַד לֹא־הָיָה פָחַד); Pr 1^{26} 'I will mock when your fear cometh' (פַּחְדְּכֶם); Is 8$^{12, 13}$ 'neither fear ye their fear, nor be afraid. Sanctify the Lord of Hosts himself; and *let* him *be* your fear, and *let* him be your dread' (מוֹרָאוֹ . . . מוֹרַאֲכֶם); Ps 34^{4} 'I sought the Lord, and he heard me, and delivered me from all my fears' (מְגוּרוֹתַי); Pr 10^{24} 'The fear of the wicked, it shall come upon him' (מְגוֹרַת רָשָׁע); Is 66^{4} 'I also will choose their delusions, and bring their fears upon them' (מְגוּרֹתָם). Cf. Pr 10^{29} Cov. 'The waye of the LORDE geueth a corage vnto ye godly, but it is a feare for wicked doers'; Herbert, *The Temple*, 120, l. 29—

> 'Call in thy death's-head there, tie up thy fears.'

3. There are two kinds of fear, a 'slavish feare, and a sonlike feare' (Hieron, *Works*, i. 130). The latter is now used only of our relation to God. But it was formerly applied to the reverence due to any superior, as Ro 13^{7} 'Render to all their dues: tribute to whom tribute is due; custom to whom custom; fear to whom fear.' Cf. Knox, *Hist.* 194, 'we deny neither Toll, Tribute, nor fear, to her [the Queen Regent] nor her officers.' Ascham (*Toxophilus*, B. fol. 35, ed. 1545) says that a priest should have 'a bodye ful of manlye authoritie to fear ill men.' **4.** The article being formerly used freely with abstract nouns, we find 'a fear,' Ezk 30^{13} 'I will put a fear in the land of Egypt' (יִרְאָה, RV retains); Ad. Est 15^{8} 'in a fear' (ἀγωνιάσας, RV 'in an agony').

In the quotation from Ascham above, the verb to fear is used in the active sense of put fear into, terrify. This meaning, though it occurs but once in AV, is common in the earlier VSS and in Eng. writers of the time.

Thus Lv 26^{36} Wyc. 'the sown of a fleynge leef shal fere hem'; Dn 4^{11} Cov. 'O Balthasar, let nether the dreame ner the interpretacion thereoff feare the'; 2 Co 10^{9} Gen. 1560, '*This I say* that I may not seme as *it were* to feare you with letters' (so Wyc.). Cf. Elyot, *The Governour*, i. 247, 'the good husbande, whan he hath sowen his grounde, settethe up cloughtes or thredes, which some call shailes, some blenchars, or other like showes, to feare away birdes, which he foreseeth redy to deuoure and hurte his corne.' So Foxe, *Actes and Mon.* i. 436 (ed. 1583), 'A wonderfull and terrible earthquake fell through out al England: wherupon diuers of the suffraganes being feared by the strange and wonderfull demonstration, doubting what it should meane, thought it good to leaue of from their determinate purpose'; Spenser, *FQ* II. xii. 25—

> 'For all that here on earth we dreadfull hold,
> Be but as bugs to fearen babes withall,
> Compared to the creatures in the seas enthrall.'

More, *Utopia* (Rob. tr^{n}, Lumby's ed. p. 145, l. 25), expresses his ideal of toleration in the words, 'They also which do not agree to Christes religion, feare no man from it, nor speake against any man that hath received it.' Tindale, *Works*, i. 7, says Scripture is 'a comfort in adversity that we despair not, and feareth us in prosperity, that we sin not'; and *Expositions*, 148, 'fearing you with the bug of excommunication.' From Shaks. take *Tam. of Shrew*, I. ii. 205—

> 'Have I not in a pitched battle heard
> Loud 'larums, neighing steeds, and trumpet's clang?
> And do you tell me of a woman's tongue,
> That gives not half so great a blow to hear
> As will a chestnut in a farmer's fire?
> Tush! tush! fear boys with bugs.'

---

[*] The suffix, says Delitzsch, is either the genitive of the subject, *i.e.* according to Thy fearfulness (יִרְאָה, as in Ezk 1^{18}); or of the object, 'acc. to the fear that is due unto thee.' The latter way of taking it is more natural in itself (cf. v.^{8}, Ex 20^{20}, Dt 2^{25}), and here characterizes the knowledge that is so rarely found as a knowledge that is determined by the fear of God and truly religious.

[*] Earle (*Psalter of* 1539, p. 291) says that in this example 'fear' is used in the ancient sense of *FÆR*, sudden alarm, shock of danger. But that sense seems to have been dropped very early, long before the days of Coverdale, who first uses 'fear' here (Wyclif as usual having 'dread'), and the Heb. is the same as in the other passages quoted above.

Davies quotes from Bp. Andrewes (v. 8), 'Knowing that we fear honour and power, though it last but for a small time, He feareth us with One whose honour and power lasteth for ever,' where the neuter and active senses of the word are found together.

The example in AV is Wis 17[9] 'For though no terrible thing did fear them; yet being scared with beasts that passed by, and hissing of serpents, they died for fear' (ἐφόβει, RV 'affrighted'). A Heb. idiom is expressed in the phrase 'fear before,' which occurs 1 Ch 16[30], Ps 96[9], Ec 8[12. 13], Hag 1[12]. Thus Ps 96[9] 'O worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness: fear before him, all the earth' (חִילוּ מִפָּנָיו, RV 'tremble before him'). The verb is used in a grammatical misconstruction in Is 57[11] 'And of whom hast thou been afraid or feared,' which is rectified in RV 'And of whom hast thou been afraid and in fear?'

Fearful in older Eng. meant 'greatly fearing' as well as 'greatly to be feared.' Both senses are used in AV and retained in RV. **1.** Dt 20[8] 'What man *is there that is* fearful and fainthearted?' (הַיָּרֵא); Jg 7[3] 'fearful and afraid' (יָרֵא); Is 35[4] 'Say to them that are of a fearful heart, Be strong, fear not' (לְנִמְהֲרֵי־לֵב, lit. 'hasty of heart,' as RVm); Mt 8[26] 'Why are ye fearful, O ye of little faith?' (δειλός; so Mk 4[40], Rev 21[8] [all]); Sir 2[12] 22[18], 1 Mac 3[56], 2 Mac 8[13]. Cf. Adams, *II Peter*, 55, 'If thou lovest God, thou wilt be fearful to offend him, careful to please him'; and Chapman, *Homer's Iliads*, xxiii. 740—

> 'On the shore, far-off, he caus'd to raise
> A ship-mast; to whose top they tied a fearful dove by th' foot,
> At which all shot.'

2. Ex 15[11] 'Who is like thee, glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders?' (נוֹרָא תְהִלֹּת, lit. 'feared [in] praises'; usually understood 'to be feared even when praised'; Kalisch, 'awful *in* praises,—the qualities which are mentioned in praising Him fill the mind with awe and reverence'; in Kautzsch, *Du furchtbarer in Ruhmesthaten*, 'fearful in deeds of praise'; the last, or *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* 'terrible in attributes that call for praise,' being best); Dt 28[58] 'that thou mayest fear this glorious and fearful name, THE LORD THY GOD' (נוֹרָא); Lk 21[11] 'fearful sights' (TR φόβητρα, edd. φόβηθρα, RV 'terrors'); He 10[27] 'a certain fearful looking for of judgment' (φοβερός; so v.[31], but in 12[21] 'terrible,' RV 'fearful': φ. is always used of that which *inspires* fear); 2 Es 8[22] 12[8] 15[13], 2 Mac 1[24]. Cf. Melvill, *Diary* (Wod. p. 271), 'The ministerie of Mr. Robert Bruce was verie steadable and mightie that yeir, and divers yeirs following, maist comfortable to the guid and godly, and maist feirfull to the enemies.' 'Awful' and 'dreadful' have both meanings also.

Fearfully is found only in Ps 139[14] 'I am fearfully and wonderfully made' (נוֹרָאוֹת נִפְלֵיתִי,* Del. '"I am wonderfully come into being under fearful circumstances," *i.e.* circumstances that excite a shudder, *sc.* of astonishment'; Cheyne, 'graced so fearfully and gloriously').†

Fearfulness has in the earlier VSS both the meanings of fearful, as Ezk 30[13] Cov. 'a fearfulness will I sende into the Egipcians londe'; 2 Mac 15[23] Cov. 'sende now also thy good angell before us (o LORDE of heavens) in the fearfulnesse and drede of thy mightie arme.' But in AV 'fearfulness' means always the feeling of fear, apprehension, timidity: Ps 55[5], Is 33[14] 21[4], 2 Es 5[14] 11[40] 15[37]. RV adds Wis 17[8] 'These were *themselves* sick with a ludicrous fearfulness' (καταγέλαστον εὐλάβειαν, AV 'fear worthy to be laughed at').

J. HASTINGS.

FEAR.—As in Eng., so in Heb. and in Gr. the same words are used to express emotions of fear which differ widely in their ethical character. At one end of the scale we have the fear of the LORD, which is the beginning of wisdom (Ps 111[10]) and the whole duty of man (Ec 12[13]); at the other end that fear of pain, shame, or death, which is craven, servile, and selfish, and which is often rebuked in Scripture. But it is impossible to draw any sharp line between the two kinds of fear, for in the imperfection of human character one motive shades off into another. Once even, by a bold anthropomorphism, God Himself is said to fear in the lower sense of the word (Dt 32[27], see Driver's note).

The fear which is merely self-regarding ought not to exist in a rational being who knows that God is his Father and understands enough to trust Him. Perfect love casteth out fear (1 Jn 4[18]). But man, as he is, fears the forces of nature, which he does not understand or cannot control, because he does not trust God's providence. And he fears his fellow-man, because he is aware that brotherly instincts have grown weak with the sense of the loss of God's Fatherhood. 'Thus conscience doth make cowards of us all.' When Adam fell, he was afraid because he was naked (Gn 3[10]), and he felt he could no longer face God: thus fear of God took its rise in the violation of peaceful fellowship with Him. Similarly, Cain violates human fellowship, and fears man because he is an outlaw and God's curse is upon him (Gn 4[12-14]). Fear is thus the natural consequence of misdoing (Pr 28[1]), and, accordingly, is sometimes expressly said to be inflicted as a punishment (Lv 26[17], Dt 28[25. 66]). The effect of selfish fear is to unman the coward, he loses spirit (Jos 2[11]; for the same phrase used in a higher sense, see 1 K 10[5]): such men are to be rejected from active service in the army, lest the infection of their timidity spread (Dt 20[8], Jg 7[3]). Courage is especially needed in a prophet (Jer 1[8], Ezk 3[9]). Fear is to be overcome by faith in God (Ps 112[7. 8]). In Rev 21[8] the fearful are numbered with the unbelieving among the most grievous sinners.

The nobler fear has no thought of danger to self, so that the fear of God is the very opposite to the fear of man (Is 8[12. 13], Mt 10[28]); but it arises from the sense of the nearness of some higher and holier being. Thus the beasts fear man (Gn 9[2]), and man fears angels and spirits, and, above all, God. To fear the LORD (the phrase occurs far more often with J" than with Elohim) means rather to feel awe of what He is, than fear of what He might do. It is fear of a Person (J" is God's personal name), of His character, dignity, and holiness, rather than of His power or works. The fear of the LORD is to hate evil (Pr 8[13]). Fear in the better sense of the word is the mainspring of religion, and 'to fear' is constantly used as signifying 'to worship,' whether the object be the true God or the gods of the heathen (*e.g.* 2 K 17[35. 36]). Thus, too, Jacob, when dealing with Laban, calls J" the Fear of his father Isaac (Gn 31[42. 53]), that is, the object of his worship and religious awe. This kind of fear is so far removed from the lower sort, that it is one of the distinguishing qualities given by God's Spirit to the Messianic King (Is 11[2. 3], the spirit of the fear of the LORD), and the prayers of the Incarnate Son were heard because of His godly fear (He 5[7]).

But men are only gradually trained to the level of this holy and disinterested fear. They often have to be taught to fear God at all, even in the lower sense; and this lesson is enforced by divine

---

[*] See Davidson, *Syntax*, § 71, Rem. 2.

[†] See Cheyne's whole note (*Book of Psalms*, p. 352); it is particularly good. He says, 'Hitzig considers such a burst of admiration inappropriate to the case of human birth. But why? Take the production of a human hand. Why should not a sensitive poet thrill, like Browning's heroine (*James Lee's Wife*, viii.), at—

> "The beauty in this—how free, how fine
> To fear almost"?'

punishments (1 S 12^{18}), just as civil punishments teach men the authority of the law through fear (Dt 13^{11}). It is possible to trace progress in the conception of fear taught in the Bible. Thus at Sinai the people fear the fire (Ex 20^{18-20}); but at Horeb the prophet is taught to look for God in the still small voice rather than in the fire and tempest (1 K 19^{12}); and Ezekiel is told not to crouch before God, but to stand upon his feet when God speaks to him (Ezk 2^{1}). So in the NT boldness towards God is inculcated as much as fear, Christ having opened up the way of access for all who are united to Him: see Eph 3^{12}, He 4^{16} 10^{19}, 1 Jn 2^{28} 3^{21} 4^{17} (cf. Ro 8^{15} contrast bet. spirit of bondage and of adoption). But Christ does not encourage the idea that it is as yet possible to supersede the motive even of selfish fear; He gives grave warnings of the consequences that will follow sin hereafter, and, while He tells His 'friends' not to fear men, He bids them emphatically to fear Him who hath power to cast into hell (Lk $12^{4.5}$).

In Ac 'one that feareth God' is often used technically to mean a proselyte, even though uncircumcised (Ac 10^{2}). This is also the meaning of the word *σεβόμενος*, one that worshippeth God, also translated 'devout.' See COURAGE, REVERENCE.

W. O. BURROWS.

FEASTS AND FASTS.—It will be convenient to divide this article[*] into four parts—

I. Feasts connected with the institution of the Sabbath.
II. The great Historical Festivals, Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles.
III. The Minor Festivals.
IV. The Fast of the Day of Atonement and the Minor Fasts.

I. FEASTS CONNECTED WITH THE INSTITUTION OF THE SABBATH.

(1) The Sabbath. (2) The New Moon. (3) The Feast of Trumpets on the 1st day of the Sabbatical month. (4) The Sabbatical year. (5) The Jubilee year.

The sacred number 7 dominates the cycle of religious observances. Every 7th day was a Sabbath. Every 7th month was a sacred month. Every 7th year was a Sabbatical year. After 7 times 7 was the year of Jubilee. The Feast of the Passover, with the Feast of Unleavened Bread, began 14 days (2×7) after the beginning of the month, and lasted 7 days. The Feast of Pentecost was 7 times 7 days after the Feast of the Passover. The Feast of Tabernacles began 14 days (2×7) after the beginning of the month and lasted 7 days. The 7th month was marked by (1) Feast of Trumpets on the 1st day. (2) Fast of Atonement on the 10th day. (3) Feast of Tabernacles from the 15th day to the 21st. The days of 'Holy Convocation' were 7 in number—2 at the Passover, 1 at Pentecost, 1 at the Feast of Trumpets, 1 at the Day of Atonement, 1 at the Feast of Tabernacles, and 1 on the day following, the 8th day. (Willis, *Worship of the Old Covenant*, pp. 190, 191).

(1) *The Sabbath*, שַׁבָּת, שַׁבָּתוֹן, *σάββατον*.—In Am 8^{5}, 2 K $4^{22.23}$, Is 1^{13}, Hos 2^{11} it is connected with the *New moon*. Probably, the Sabbath was originally regulated by the phases of the moon, and thus occurred on the 7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th days of the month, the new moon being reckoned as the first Sabbath. 'Among the Assyrians the first twenty-eight days of every month were divided into four weeks of seven days each, the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first, and twenty-eighth days respectively being Sabbaths, and there was a general prohibition of work on these days' (George Smith, *Assyrian Eponym Canon*, 19 f., quoted by Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 112, and Schultz, *OT Theol.* i. 204, who also mentions the primitive Delphic custom of giving oracles on the 7th day as the day dedicated to Apollo). Schultz also points out that it is a mistake to derive the name Sabbath from the planet Saturn, which the Rabbis call 'Shabbti,' and thus to bring the Sabbath holiday into connexion with the Chaldee worship of the planets. 'The naming of the days after certain planet-gods can hardly be so old as the Sabbath holiday.'

For the Sabbath law see Ex 16^{23-30} (P and J), 20^{8} (E), 23^{12} (J), 31^{13-16} (P), 34^{21} (JE), 35^{2} (P), Lv 19^{3} (H), 23^{3} (P), 26^{2} (H), Nu 15^{32-36} (P), $28^{9.10}$ (P), Dt 5^{12-15}. In Ex 20^{8} (E) it is to commemorate God's seventh day of rest at the creation. In Dt 5^{12-15} it commemorates the redemption of Israel from Egypt. On the Sabbath the daily morning and evening sacrifice—the 'continual sacrifice'—of a lamb as a burnt-offering was doubled. There is no evidence of Sabbath observance in the days of the Patriarchs. There is little evidence of Sabbath observance before the time of the Exile (Jer 17^{20-27}, Ezk $20^{12.13.16.20}$, Is 56^{2-6} 58^{13}). Greater strictness marks the post-exilic period (Neh 8^{9-12} 10^{31} 13^{15-22}). For the 39 kinds of work prohibited by the Rabbis on the Sabbath, and for many other actions and employments which cannot be summed up under any of them which were also forbidden, see Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 96–105, cf. 1 Mac $2^{34-38.39-42}$, 2 Mac 5^{25} 8^{26-28} 12^{38} $15^{3f.}$, Mt 12^{9-13}, Mk 3^{1-5}, Lk 6^{6-10} 13^{10-17} 14^{1-6}, Jn 5^{1-18} 9^{14-16}. Sabbath-breaking was punishable with death (Nu $15^{32ff.}$ (P), Ex $31^{14ff.}$ (J)), cf. Ex 16^{5} (J), where the Manna ceases on the Sabbath, and Ex 35^{3} (P), where no fire is to be lighted. According to the testimony of Josephus, the high priest, although legally bound to officiate only on the Day of Atonement, yet actually officiated, as a rule, every Sabbath day, and on the occasion of the New Moons or other festivals in the course of the year (Jos. *BJ* V. v. 7),

(2) *The New Moon* (1) חֹדֶשׁ, (2) אֶחָד לַחֹדֶשׁ, (3) רֹאשׁ חֹדֶשׁ, (4) רָאשֵׁי חֳדָשִׁים, *νουμηνία*, *νεομηνία*.—Closely associated with the Sabbath (see above). 'When under the influence of the Chaldee method of dividing time, the course of the moon with its four phases was adopted as the unit of time measurement, the new moon and the 7th day were naturally regarded as the chief divisions of time, and therefore as holy days' (Schultz, *OT Theol.* i. 204). From 2 K 4^{23} it would appear that the prophets were in the habit of gathering the people around them, and perhaps of granting inquirers and suppliants an audience at new moons and on Sabbaths. At every new moon the number of burnt-offerings was largely increased; and in addition a kid of the goats was to be offered for a sin-offering (Ex $40^{2.17}$ (P), Nu 10^{10} (P) 28^{11-15} (P) 29^{6} (P), 1 S $20^{5.6.29}$, 1 Ch 23^{31}, 2 Ch 2^{4}, 2 Ch 29^{17}, Ps $81^{3.4}$, Is $1^{13.14}$, Hos 2^{11}, 1 Es $5^{52.53.57}$ 8^{6} $9^{16.17.37}$, 1 Mac 10^{34}, Col 2^{16}).

(3) *The Feast of Trumpets* on the 1st day of the Sabbatical month, זִכְרוֹן תְּרוּעָה, *μνημόσυνον σαλπίγγων*.—The 7th month—Tisri—was the sacred month. On the new moon of the 7th month—the Feast of Trumpets—additional burnt-offerings were sacrificed (Nu 29^{1-6} (P), Lv $23^{24.25}$ (P)).

(4) *The Sabbatical Year*, שַׁבַּת שַׁבָּתוֹן לָאָרֶץ, *σάββατα ἀνάπαυσις τῇ γῇ* (Ex $23^{10.11}$ (J), Lv $25^{1-7.20.22}$ (H), Lv 26^{32-35} (H), Dt 15^{1-11} 31^{9-13}).—The Sabbatical year represented a still further consecration of time to God. The land was to keep a Sabbath. The fields were neither to be tilled nor reaped. 'Nature is to be set free, as it were, from the service which mankind exacts from her, and to be left entirely to herself. Only what she voluntarily offers is to be taken, and that not for any selfish purpose' (Schultz, *OT Theol.* i. 363). Hebrew slaves were to be set free unless they wished to remain in service (Ex 21^{2-6} (J)). A harvest was to

---

[*] The article is general. Fuller details will be found under the articles on the separate Feasts and Fasts. See also the article FASTING.

be given *gratis* to the poor of the people (Ex 23$^{10.11}$ (J)). Release from debt is prescribed (Dt 15$^{1-6}$). In Ex 23 (J) the arrangement is made for man; it is a limitation for the common good of private rights of property in land,—in fact, for the benefit of the landless, who in the 7th year are to have the usufruct of the soil; in Lv 25 (H) the arrangement is for the sake of the land,—that it may rest, if not on the 7th day, at least on the 7th year; and for the sake of the Sabbath,—that it may extend its supremacy over nature also (Wellhausen, *Prolegomena,* 118). At the F. of Tabernacles at the commencement of the Sabbatical year, the whole law was read in the hearing of the people (Neh 8$^{13-18}$). The 70 years' captivity and the land's desolation were regarded as making up for the unobserved Sabbaths of the land (*Camb. Comp. to the Bible,* p. 412) (2 Ch 36^{21}, Jer 34$^{14-22}$). After the return from exile Nehemiah bound the Jews by a covenant to keep them (Neh 10^{31}).

(5) *The Year of Jubilee* * דְּרוֹר, ἄφεσις, יוֹבֵל, *ἐνιαυτὸς ἀφέσεως σημασία* (Lv 25$^{8-55}$ 27$^{17-24}$).—Peculiar to P. As the Sabbatical year corresponded with the 7th day, so the year of Jubilee corresponded with the 50th, *i.e.* Pentecost. 'As the fiftieth day after the seven Sabbath days is celebrated as a closing festival of the forty-nine days' period, so is the fiftieth year after the seven Sabbatic years, as rounding off the larger interval; the seven Sabbaths falling on harvest time, which are usually reckoned specially (Lk 6^{1}), have, in the circumstance of their interrupting harvest work, a particular resemblance to the Sabbatic years which interrupt agriculture altogether. Jubilee is thus an artificial institution superimposed upon the years of fallow, regarded as harvest Sabbaths after the analogy of Pentecost' (Wellhausen, *Prolegomena,* 119). There were two main elements in the Jubilee—the emancipation of the Hebrew slave, and the return of mortgaged property to its hereditary owner. Cf. 2 Ch 36^{21}, Jer 34$^{8.14.15.17}$, Ezk 46^{17}, Is 61$^{1.2}$ 63^{4}, Lk 4$^{18-21}$. But in Jer the term דְּרוֹר used in Lv 25^{10} is applied only to the 7th year. The year of Jubilee was proclaimed by the sound of a trumpet on the Day of Atonement (Lv 25^{9}).

II. THE GREAT HISTORICAL FESTIVALS.†—As the new moon and the Sabbath were lunar feasts, the Passover (with the Feast of Unleavened Bread), Pentecost, and Tabernacles were solar festivals, *i.e.* festivals which followed the seasons of the year. 'Three times in the year shalt thou hold pilgrimage unto me, three times in the year shall all thy men appear before J", the God of Israel' (Ex 23$^{14.17}$ (J), 34^{23} (JE), Dt 16^{16}).

(1) *The Passover* פֶּסַח, *πάσχα*. *The Feast of Unleavened Bread* חַג הַמַּצּוֹת, *ἑορτὴ τῶν ἀζύμων*.—The Passover, though followed by the Feast of Unleavened Bread (*Mazzôth*), was distinct from it both in its origin and in its observance. In Ex 12 and 13 two narratives are combined. Ex 12$^{1-13}$ (P) refer to the Passover, 12$^{14-20}$ (P) refer to the seven days' F. of *Mazzôth,* 12$^{21-27}$ (JE) refer to the Passover, 12$^{43-50}$ (P) refer to the Passover, 13$^{3-10}$ (JE) refer to *Mazzôth* (Driver, *LOT,* 25). Josephus distinguishes the Passover from the F. of *Mazzôth* (*Ant.* III. x. 5), 'The F. of Unleavened Bread succeeds that of the Passover, and falls on the fifteenth day of the month, and continues seven days' (cf. Lv 23$^{5.6}$ (P), Nu 28$^{16.17}$ (P)). But in Mk 14$^{1.12}$, Lk 22^{1} they are practically identified. 'The Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Bread form a double festival, just as the Day of Atonement and the Feast of Tabernacles do. It is undoubtedly as a direct preparation for the F. of Unleavened Bread that the Passover is celebrated on the evening before the latter feast begins' (Schultz, *OT Theol.* vol. i. p. 364) [Lv 23$^{5-8}$ (P) $^{10-14}$ (H), Nu 9$^{2-14}$ (P) 28$^{16-25}$ (P) 33^{3} (P), Dt 16$^{1-8.16}$]. The parallelism between the feast of the first month and the feast of the seventh month should be noticed. The tenth day of the first month, for choosing the Lamb, is parallel to the tenth day of the seventh month, the Day of Atonement. The Passover on the fourteenth day of the first month and the seven days' F. of *Mazzôth* are parallel to the eight days of the F. of Tabernacles. The Passover, which was a sacrificial feast (Ex 12^{27}), was observed on the fourteenth day of the first month, Abib (the month of ears, because in it the ears of wheat first appear), later Nisan (Est 3^{7}, Neh 2^{1}). The Feast of Unleavened Bread was the opening as Pentecost was the closing festivity of the seven weeks' 'joy of harvest' (Dt 16^{9}, Lv 23^{10} (H)). Passover and *Mazzôth* must be distinguished. Wellhausen (*Prolegomena,* 87 ff.) has shown how the Passover פֶּסַח points back to the *sacrifice of the firstlings* (Ex 34$^{18ff.}$ (JE) 13$^{12ff.}$ (JE), Dt 15$^{19ff.}$ 16$^{1ff.}$). It is because J" smote the firstborn of Egypt and spared those of Israel that the latter thenceforward are held sacred to Him. Because Pharaoh refuses to allow the Hebrews to offer to their God the firstlings of cattle that are His due, J" seizes from him the firstborn of men. On the origin of the Paschal ritual and its connexion with Arabian and other customs, see W. R. Smith, *RS,* 227, 280, 344, 345, 406, 431, 464, 465; Schultz, *OT Theol.* i. p. 364; Cobb, *Origines Judaicæ,* 138. 'In the three great festivals we can plainly discern relics of the customs which preceded their legal institution. In the first (the Passover) we can distinguish the earlier belief, out of which the offering of the firstlings of the flock sprang, from the enactments which are proper to the institution of the Passover.' Cf. also for the feasts generally W. R. Smith, *The Prophets of Israel,* new ed. pp. 56, 384 ff., where he clearly, after Wellhausen,* proves that the chief occasions of worship in Israel (*Mazzôth,* Pentecost, and Tabernacles) were the agricultural feasts, just as among the Canaanites and other ancient nations. The real starting-point for a study of Jewish sacred feasts is Gn 4$^{2ff.}$ (J), 'Abel was a shepherd, and Cain was a husbandman. And in process of time it came to pass that Cain brought of *the fruit of the ground* an offering unto the LORD; and Abel also brought an offering of the *firstlings of his sheep.*' 'It is,' says Wellhausen (*Proleg.* p. 89), 'out of the simplest, most natural, and most widespread offerings, those of the firstfruits of the flock, herd, and field, the occasions for which recur regularly with the seasons of the year, that the annual festivals took their rise. The Passover corresponds with the firstlings of Abel the shepherd, the other three (*Mazzôth,* Pentecost, and Tabernacles) with the fruits presented by Cain the husbandman; apart from this difference, in essence and foundation they are all precisely alike.' Thus the Passover in its origin must be distinguished from the three agricultural feasts. It was a sacrificial feast, and had nothing to do with agriculture or harvest. The name 'sacrifice' (זֶבַח) is distinctly applied to it (Ex 12^{27} (JE) 34^{25} (JE), cf. 1 Co 5^{7}). In Nu 9$^{7-13}$ (P) it is a *korban* or offering (קָרְבָּן). Like the peace-offerings, the chief part of it was eaten by the worshippers;

---

* דְּרוֹר in Lv 25^{10} refers to the 'liberty' of Sabbatical year, in Jer 34$^{8.15.17}$ to the liberty of slaves in 7th year of service, in Ezk 46^{17} prob. to Jubilee. In Is 61^{11} its use is figurative.

† The distinctive feature of these חַגִּים is that they are not merely religious festivals like those of the 'sacred seasons' (מוֹעֲדִים), but imply, like the Arab. *ḥaj* (same word), *a pilgrimage to a sanctuary* (see Driver, *Deut.* 188 ff.).

* 'Not only in the Jahwistic but also in the Deuteronomic legislation the festivals rest upon agriculture, the basis at once of life and of religion' (*Proleg.* p. 91).

like the sin-offerings, there was an element of atonement in it (2 Ch 30^{16} 35^{11} refer to the sprinkling of the blood of the Passover); like the burnt-offerings, it was whole—no bone of it was broken; it was roast with fire—anything left was burnt with fire. In the two accounts of the Passover in Ex 12, several points of importance are omitted in the first, *e.g.* the character of the lamb, and the manner in which it was to be eaten; fresh points are added in the second, *e.g.* the hyssop, the basin, and that none were to leave their houses till the morning.

On each of the seven days of the F. of *Maẓẓôth*, which followed the Passover, 2 young bullocks and 1 ram and 7 lambs of the first year were offered as burnt-offerings, with their meal and drink-offerings, together with a goat for a sin-offering and the continual, *i.e.* daily burnt-offering (Nu 28^{19-25} (P)). On the second day of *Maẓẓôth*—Abib (Nisan) 16th—a sheaf of the new corn was offered as a wave-offering, together with a lamb of the first year for a burnt-offering (Lv 23^{10-14} (H)). The first and last days of the feast—the 15th and 21st days of the month—were days of 'holy convocation,' in which no servile work might be done (Lv 23^{7} (P)).

There are few references to the Passover in OT (Nu 9 (P), Jos 5^{10-12} (P), 2 Ch 30. 35, Ezr 6^{19}, 1 Es $1^{1.6.8.9.12.17.19.20.21.22}$ $7^{10.12}$). In NT see Mt $26^{2.17.18.19}$, Mk $14^{1.12.14.16}$, Lk 2^{41} $22^{1.7.8.11.13.15}$, Jn $2^{13.23}$ 6^{4} 11^{55} 12^{1} 13^{1} $18^{28.39}$ 19^{14}, Ac 12^{4}, 1 Co 5^{7}, He 11^{28}. Later Jewish ordinances distinguish between the so-called 'Egyptian Passover,' that is, as it was enjoined for the first night of its celebration, and the 'permanent Passover,' as it was to be observed by Israel after their possession of the land of promise (Edersheim, *Bible History*, vol. ii.). On the later additions to the Paschal ceremonial, *e.g.* the recitation of the history of redemption, the four cups, the Hallel (Ps 113-118), the *Chagîgâh*, etc., see Edersheim, *The Temple: its Ministry and Services at the Time of Jesus Christ*, chs. xi. xii.; and for the Feast of Unleavened Bread, see ch. xiii. of the same.

(2) *The Feast of Pentecost.*—(i.) חַג שָׁבֻעוֹת, ἑορτὴ ἑβδομάδων, the Feast of Weeks (Ex 34^{22} (JE), Dt 16^{10}); (ii.) חַג הַקָּצִיר, ἑορτὴ θερισμοῦ, the Feast of Harvest (Ex 23^{16} (J)); (iii.) יוֹם הַבִּכּוּרִים, ἡ ἡμέρα τῶν νέων, the Day of Firstfruits (Nu 28^{26} (P); cf. Ex 22^{29} (J) 23^{19} (J) 34^{26} (JE)). Fifty days after the offering of the Paschal wave-sheaf, the Feast of Pentecost, or Weeks, or Harvest, was kept on or about the 8th of Sivan, the third month. It lasted a single day (Dt 16^{9-12}). The day was a day of 'holy convocation' (Lv 23^{21} (P)). The feast marked the completion of the corn harvest, and according to the later Jews it commemorated the giving of the law (Edersheim, *The Temple*, etc., ch. xiii. p. 225). It closed the New Year holiday season. The sacrifices were similar to those offered on the seven days of the F. of *Maẓẓôth* (Nu 28^{26-31} (P)). The characteristic ritual of this feast was the offering and waving of two leavened loaves of wheaten flour, together with a sin-offering, burnt-offerings, and peace-offerings (Lv 23^{15-20} (H)). As a wave-sheaf was offered at *Maẓẓôth*, which marked the commencement of harvest, as the consecration of the first-fruits, so two wave-loaves were offered at Pentecost, which marked the completion of the corn harvest. The feast is not referred to in OT, but see 2 Mac 12^{32}, Ac 2^{1} 20^{16}, 1 Co 16^{8} (cf. Edersheim, *The Temple*, pp. 225-231).

(3) *The Feast of Tabernacles.*—חַג הַסֻּכּוֹת, ἑορτὴ σκηνῶν, F. of Tabernacles or Booths (Lv 23^{34}, Dt 16^{13}); חַג הָאָסִיף, ἑορτὴ συντελείας (Ex 23^{16}), ἑορτὴ συναγωγῆς (Ex 34^{22}), the F. of Ingathering. This feast was observed from the 15th to the 22nd of Tisri (the seventh month), following closely upon the Fast on the 10th day of the month—the Day of Atonement. It marked the completion of the harvest of fruit, oil, and wine, and historically it commemorated the wanderings in the wilderness. It was the harvest-home at the close of the year, when people came 'from the villages and towns to the fruit gardens to live in booths, and enjoy a happy autumn holiday' (Ex 23^{16} (J) 34^{22} (JE), Lv $23^{34-36.39-44}$ (PH), Nu 29^{12-40} (P), Dt 16^{13-15} 31^{10-13}). The sacrifices at this feast were far more numerous than at any other. On each of the seven days 1 kid of the goats was offered as a sin-offering, and 2 rams and 14 lambs as a burnt-offering. Also 70 bullocks were offered on the seven days, beginning with 13 on the first day and diminishing by one each day until on the 7th day 7 were offered (Nu 29^{12-34}). After the seven days a solemn day of 'holy convocation' was observed ('the last day, that great day of the feast,' Jn 7^{37}), which marked the conclusion, not only of the Feast of Tabernacles, but of the whole cycle of the festal year. On this day 1 bullock, 1 ram, and 7 lambs were offered as a burnt-offering, and 1 goat for a sin-offering (Nu 29^{35-38}). The feast is alluded to in 1 K 8^{2} 12^{32}, 2 Ch 5^{3} $7^{8ff.}$, Ezr 3^{4}, Neh 8^{14-18}, Zec 14^{16-19}, Jn 7^{1}–10^{21}. On the later ceremonies connected with the feast, *e.g.* the procession to Siloam to fetch water and its solemn libation at the altar (Jn 7^{37}), the singing of the Hallel (Pss 113-118), the daily processions round the altar, and the sevenfold repetition on the seventh day (Ps 118^{25}), the lighting of the four great golden candelabra in the court of the women (Jn 8^{12}), the singing of Pss 105. 29. 50. 94. 81. 82, and the public reading of the law on the first day of the week in the Sabbatical year, see Edersheim, *The Temple*, etc., ch. xiv. pp. 232-249; Westcott on *St. John*, notes on ch. 7^{37} 8^{12}. [On the *daily service*, which formed the *substratum of the entire worship of the Temple*, the morning and evening sacrifices which were offered on every Sabbath and every festival day, see Schürer, *HJP* ii. 273-299.]

III. THE MINOR FESTIVALS.—(1) *The Feast of Purim* (פּוּרִים, φρουραί).—In 2 Mac 15^{36} it is called ἡ Μαρδοχαϊκὴ ἡμέρα, 'Mordecai's Day.' It is said to have been instituted by Mordecai to commemorate the overthrow of Haman and the failure of his plots against the Jews (Est 3^{7} 9^{15-32}). It was held on the 14th and 15th of the month Adar (the twelfth month). The 13th of Adar—'the day of Nicanor'—originally a feast to commemorate his death (1 Mac 7^{49}, 2 Mac 15^{36}), at a later time became a fast—'the Fast of Esther'—in preparation for the Feast of Purim, which was of a very joyous character. De Lagarde (followed by Schultz, *OT Theol.* p. 431, and *Encyl. Brit.* 9th ed. vol. xx. p. 115) thinks that the feast which dates from the Persian period is itself of Persian origin, Purim being derived from the Persian Furdigan (Pōrdigān, Pārdiyān) the φουρμαία and φουρδία of one of the Greek recensions of Esther pointing to a form φουρδαία instead of Purim.

Edersheim identifies the F. of Purim with the unnamed feast in Jn 5^{1}, 'for no other feast could have intervened between December (Jn 4^{35}) and the Passover (Jn 6^{4}), except that of the "Dedication of the Temple," and that is specially designated as such (Jn 10^{22}) and not simply as a Feast of the Jews' (*The Temple*, etc., p. 291). On the evening of the 13th of Adar the whole Book (*Megillah* or Roll) of Esther was read at the synagogue service, to keep the memory of the great deliverance by Esther alive, 'the children raising their loudest and angriest cries at every mention of the name of Haman, the congregation stamping on the floor, with Eastern demonstrativeness, and imprecating from every voice the curse, "Let his name be blotted out, the name of the wicked shall rot.” Year by year in the Nazareth synagogue Jesus must have seen and heard all this, and how the reader tried to read in one breath the verses in which Haman and his sons are jointly mentioned, to show that they were hanged together’ (Geikie, *The Life and Words of Christ*, i. 226). Edersheim (*The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, i. 229) speaks of the ‘good cheer and boisterous enjoyments’ of the Feast of Purim, some of its customs ‘almost reminding us of our fifth of November.’

(2) *The Feast of the Dedication of the Temple* (חֲנֻכָּה, חֲנֻכַּת הַבַּיִת, ἐγκαίνια, 1 Mac $4^{56.\,59}$, 2 Mac $10^{6\text{ff.}}$; φῶτα, Jos. *Ant.* XII. vii. 7).—It was instituted by Judas Maccabæus in B.C. 164, when the temple which had been desecrated by Antiochus Epiphanes was once more purified and re-dedicated to the service of J″. It commenced on the 25th of Chislev (the ninth month), and lasted for eight days. ‘All through the land the people assembled in their synagogues, carrying branches of palm and other trees in their hands, and held jubilant services. No fast or mourning could commence during the feast, and a blaze of lamps, lanterns, and torches illuminated every house, within and without, each evening. In Jerusalem the temple itself was thus lighted up. The young of every household heard the stirring deeds of the Maccabees, to rouse them to noble emulation, and with these were linked the story of the heroic Judith and the Assyrian Holofernes’ (Geikie, *The Life and Words of Christ*, vol. i. p. 225). It will be noticed that in four particulars the Feast of the Dedication resembled the Feast of Tabernacles, (1) in its duration of eight days; (2) in the chanting of the Hallel (Pss 113–118); (3) in the practice of carrying palm branches; (4) in the illumination of the temple. Edersheim, in *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, ii. 227 f., thinks that the first three particulars were derived from the Feast of the Tabernacles, and that the last (the temple illumination) passed from the Feast of the Dedication into the observances of the Feast of Tabernacles. The date of the Feast of the Dedication, the 25th of Chislev, some hold to have been adopted by the ancient Church as that of the birth of our blessed Lord—Christmas—the dedication of the true temple, which was the body of Jesus (Jn 2^{19}) (Edersheim, *The Temple*, etc., p. 293, and ‘Christmas a Festival of Jewish Origin’ in *The Leisure Hour* for Dec. 1873). The F. of the Dedication is mentioned in Jn 10^{22}.

(3) *The Feast of Wood Offering* or of the *Wood-carriers*, ξυλοφορίων (Jos. *BJ*, II. xvii. 6), on the 15th of Abib—being the last of the nine occasions on which offerings of wood were brought for the use of the temple (cf. Neh 10^{34} 13^{31}).

The Feast of the Reading of the Law (1 Es 9^{50}, Neh 8^{9}); *The Feast of Nicanor* on the 13th of Adar (1 Mac 7^{49}); *The Feast of the Captured Fortress* on the 23rd of Iyyar (the second month) (1 Mac 13^{50-52}); and *The Feast of Baskets*, evidently ‘never attained to any real religious significance’ (see Schultz, *OT Theol.* i. 431, and Edersheim, *The Temple*, etc., 295 f., on the Feast of Wood Offering).

IV. FASTS.—(1) *The Day of Atonement.*—יוֹם הַכִּפֻּרִים, ἡμέρα ἐξιλασμοῦ, lit. Day of the Coverings or Atonements (Lv 16 (P) and 23^{27-32} (H), Ex 30^{10} (P), Nu 29^{7-11} (P)). It was the only fast day prescribed by the law (Lv 23^{27} (H)). In the Talmud it is called ‘The Day’ (יוֹמָא); in the NT it is called ‘the fast,’ ἡ νηστεία (Ac 27^{9}). The sacrifices were threefold: (1) the ordinary daily sacrifices; (2) the special expiatory sacrifices of the day; (3) the festive sacrifices (Nu 29^{7-11}). The characteristic feature of the day was the offering of the sin-offering of atonement by the high priest alone (Lv 16^{33})—not in his gorgeous official dress, but in the simple white linen robes of purity and consecration (Lv $16^{4.\,29.\,31}$ $23^{27.\,32}$, Nu 29^{7}).

The order of proceedings is given in Lv 16. In vv.$^{3-10}$ we have the general outline, in vv.$^{11-28}$ the details, which were as follows: (1) The killing of the bullock by the high priest as a sin-offering for himself and his house; (2) the burning of incense in the Holy of Holies by the high priest; (3) the sprinkling of the mercy-seat (ἱλαστήριον ἐπίθεμα) with the blood of the priest’s sin-offering; (4) the casting lots upon the goats of the people’s sin-offering, one goat for J″, one for Azazel (עֲזָאזֵל, *Philo*, ‘The one goat is given to “the fugitive creature,” and the lot which it received is named in the prophecy “sent away” [referring to ἀποπομπαῖον by which the LXX tr. עֲזָאזֵל], because it is persecuted, expelled, and driven far away by wisdom.’ *Willis*, ‘Azazel, the name of a personal being, in opposition to J″, the personal name of God.’ *Schultz*, ‘Some powerful being to whom the animal is assigned, and to whom it is sent with the now forgiven guilt of the reconciled people. . . . This being must be conceived of as strange and unholy. . . . An Aramaic name for an unclean and ungodlike power, which has its abode in the wilderness, in the accursed land outside the sacred bounds of the camp.’ *Watson* in *Camb. Comp. to the Bible*, ‘Azazel, the completely separate one, the evil spirit regarded as dwelling in the desert’). See AZAZEL. (5) The killing of the goat of the people’s sin-offering by the high priest; (6) the sprinkling of the mercy-seat with the blood of the people’s sin-offering; (7) the sprinkling of the blood of each sin-offering on the golden altar of incense and before it seven times; (8) atonement for the court and altar of burnt-offering; (9) confession of sin over the live goat, and his dismissal into the wilderness to Azazel; (10) resumption by the high priest of the gorgeous robes of his office; (11) the offering of burnt-offerings and burning the fat of the sin-offerings; (12) the burning of the sin-offerings without the camp (He 13^{10-12}). The chief purpose of the Day of Atonement was to preserve the holiness of the sanctuary as a fit place of meeting between God and man. There were five subjects of atonement: (1) The Holy Sanctuary (*i.e.* the Holy of Holies); (2) the Tent of Meeting (*i.e.* the Holy Place); (3) the altar (*i.e.* of burnt-offering); (4) the priest; (5) all the congregation.

It is significant that there is no mention of the Day of Atonement until Sir $50^{5\text{ff.}}$. Zec 3^{9} is doubtful. In Neh 8 it might have been expected. Neh 7^{73b}–9^{38} records (1) the observance of the Feast of Trumpets on the first day of the seventh month of the year B.C. 444; (2) the celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles, including the reading of the books of the law day by day, from the 15th to the 22nd of the same month; (3) the observance of a day of general fasting and prayer on the 24th day of the same month. Either the 24th day was observed in place of the Day of Atonement on the 10th day, or the latter had not yet been appointed. It is difficult to avoid the latter alternative. ‘This *testimonium e silentio* is enough; down to that date (B.C. 444) the great day of the Priestly code (now introduced for the first time) had not existed’ (Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, p. 111). For the references in the NT see Ro 3^{25} (ἱλαστήριον, כַּפֹּרֶת), He 2^{18} 4^{14-16} 5^{1-10} $6^{19.\,20}$ 7^{22-28} 8^{1-6} 9^{11-15} 13^{10-12}, 1 Jn 2^{2} 4^{10} (ἱλασμός) (Willis, *Worship of the Old Covenant*, pp. 201–214; Edersheim, *The Temple*, etc., ch. xvi. pp. 263–288). See further, ATONEMENT (DAY OF).

(2) *Other Fasts.*—The Day of Atonement was the only fast day prescribed by the law. But we read of individual and national fasts in Jg 20^{26}, 1 S 7^{6} 31^{13}, 2 S 12^{16}, 1 K $21^{9.\,12.\,27}$, Jon $3^{5.\,7.\,8}$, Jer 14^{12} $36^{6.\,9}$, La 2^{10}, Jl 1^{14} $2^{12.\,15}$, Is 58^{3-7}, Neh $9^{1\text{ff.}}$, Est 4^{16}, Dn 10^{3}, 1 Mac 3^{47}. Two passages in Zec call for comment,

SYNOPSIS OF FEASTS AND FASTS.

Group.	Feast or Fast.	Exodus.	Leviticus.	Numbers.	Deuteronomy.	References outside Pentateuch.	References in New Test.
I. *Connected with the Institution of the Sabbath.*	1. Sabbath . . .	16^{23-30} 20^{8} 23^{12} 31^{13-16} 34^{21} 35^{2}	19^{3} 23^{3} 26^{2}	15^{32-36} $28^{9.10}$	5^{12-15}	1 S $20^{5.6}$, 2 K 4^{23} 11^{5-7}, Neh 8^{9-13} 10^{31} 13^{15-22}, Is 56^{2-6} 58^{12}, Jer 17^{20-27}, Ezk 20^{12-16}, Hos 2^{13}, Am 8^{5}	Mt 12^{9-13}, Mk 3^{1-5}, Lk 6^{6-10} 13^{10-17}, Jn 5^{1-16}, 9^{14-16}
	2. New Moon . .	$40^{2.17}$	..	10^{10} $28^{11-14.31}$ 29^{6}	..	1 S 20^{5}, Ps $81^{3.4}$, Is $1^{13.14}$, Am 8^{5}, 1 Mac 10^{34}	Col 2^{16}.
	3. Sabbatical Month, Feast of Trumpets	..	$23^{24.25}$	29^{1-6}	..	Neh $8^{9.10}$	..
	4. Sabbatical Year .	$23^{10.11}$	$25^{1-7.20-22}$ 26^{32-35}	..	15^{1-11} 31^{9-13}	2 Ch 36^{21}, Neh 10^{31}, Jer 34^{14}, 1 Mac 6^{53}	..
	5. Jubilee Year . .	..	25^{8-55} 27^{17-24}	..	..	Is $61^{1.2}$ 63^{4}, Jer $34^{8.14.15.17}$ (?), Ezk 46^{17}	Lk 4^{18-21}, Rev 21^{1-5}.
II. *Three Historical Feasts.*	1. Passover and *Mazzôth*	12. 13^{1-10} 23^{14-17} $34^{18.25}$	23^{5-14}	9^{2-14} 28^{16-25} 33^{3}	$16^{1-8.16}$	Jos $5^{9.10}$, 2 K $23^{21.23}$, 2 Ch 30. 35, Ezr 6^{19}, Ezk 45^{21}	Mt $26^{1.2}$, Mk $14^{1.12.14.16}$, Lk 2^{41} $22^{1.7.8.11.13.15}$, Jn 2^{13} 6^{4} 11^{55} 12^{1} 13^{1} $18^{28.39}$ 19^{14}, Acts 12^{4}, 1 Co 5^{6-8}.
	2. Pentecost . .	22^{29} $23^{16.19}$ $34^{22.26}$	23^{10-21}	28^{26-31}	16^{9-12}	2 Mac 12^{32}	Ac 2^{1} 20^{16}, 1 Co 16^{8}.
	3. Tabernacles .	23^{16} 34^{22}	$23^{34-36.39-44}$	29^{12-40}	16^{13-15} 31^{10-13}	1 K 8^{2} 12^{32}, 2 Ch 5^{3} 7^{8}, Ezr 3^{4} 8^{14-17}, Zec 14^{16-19}	Jn 7^{1}-10^{21}.
III. *Minor Feasts.*	1. Purim . . .	..	..	..	..	Est 9^{15-32}, 1 Mac 7^{49}, 2 Mac 15^{36}	Jn 5^{1} (?).
	2. Dedication or Lights	..	..	..	..	1 Mac $4^{52.59}$, 2 Mac $10^{6.7}$	Jn 10^{22}.
IV. *Fast.*	Day of Atonement .	30^{10}	16. 23^{27-32}	29^{7-11}	..	Zec 3^{9} (?), Sir $50^{5ff.}$	Ac 27^{9}, He 2^{18} 4^{14-16} 5^{1-10} $6^{19.20}$ 7^{22-28} 8^{1-5} 9^{11-15}.

7^{3-5} and 8^{19}. In 7^{3-5} Zechariah, in answer to an inquiry put to him by the men of Bethel about fasting, declares that J″ demands no fasts, but only observance of His moral commands. Two fasts had been in observance in the 5th and 7th months for seventy years,—the fast of the 5th month (9th Abib), in memory of the destruction of the city and temple by fire (2 K 25^{8}); and the fast of the 7th month (2nd Tisri), in memory of the murder of Gedaliah and the annihilation of all that remained of the Jewish state (Jer 41). In ch. 8 he pictures the Messianic future, when the fast days will become seasons of gladness and cheerful feasts. He adds to 7^{3-5} two other fasts: the fast of the 4th month (17th Tammuz), in memory of the capture of Jerusalem (Jer 39^{2}), and the fast of the 10th month (10th Tebeth), in memory of the commencement of the siege of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar (2 K 25^{1}). Zechariah knows nothing of '*the* Fast'—the Day of Atonement. Later fasts 'came into a position co-ordinate with the feasts, and became a stated and very important element of the ordinary worship' (Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 112). Fasting degenerated into formalism and self-righteousness. In the NT cf. Mt $6^{16ff.}$ 9^{14}, Mk $2^{18ff.}$, Lk $5^{33ff.}$ 18^{12}, Ac 27^{9}, 2 Co 6^{5} 11^{27}. After the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, the system of fasts received such an impulse that it was necessary to draw up a list of the days on which fasting was forbidden. The present Jewish calendar contains twenty-two fast-days, besides the Day of Atonement, the Fast of Esther, and the four fasts of Zec 8^{19} (Edersheim, *The Temple*, etc., pp. 297-301).

LITERATURE.—Edersheim, *The Temple: its Ministry and Services*, 144-300, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*; Geikie, *The Life and Words of Christ*; Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 83-120; Schultz, *OT Theology*, i. 189, 196, 202, 359-369, 372, 402. On p. 359 will be found an exhaustive list of German literature on the 'Sacred Seasons.' Vol. ii. 87-100; Willis, *The Worship of the Old Covenant*, 190-214; W. R. Smith, *The Prophets of Israel*, new ed. with introd. and notes by Prof. Cheyne, 38, 56, 384, *OTJC*^{2}, 240, 269, *RS*^{2}, 221, 227, 245, 280, 344 f., 396, 403 f., 416, 434, 452, 464; Cobb, *Origines Judaicæ*, 137-139; Robertson, *Early Religion of Israel*, 363, 372, 378, 385, 397, 401, criticism of Wellhausen; Schürer, *HJP* (*passim*); Watson, *Cambridge Companion to the Bible*, 411-417; Driver, *Deuteronomy* (*passim*), *Joel and Amos*, 16, 43 f., 55; Trumbull, *Threshold Covenant*, 209 f., 266.

E. ELMER HARDING.

THE END OF VOL I.

The following important articles, among others, may be expected in the Second Volume:—

First-fruits	Professor A. S. Peake.
Flood	Mr. F. H. Woods.
Food	Professor A. Macalister.
Fool	Professor Geerhardus Vos.
Foreigner	Mr. John A. Selbie.
Forgiveness	Mr. J. F. Bethune-Baker.
Fringes	Professor A. R. S. Kennedy.
Gabbatha	Professor Eb. Nestle.
Gad	Professor W. H. Bennett.
Gadara	Sir Charles Warren.
Galatia	Professor W. M. Ramsay.
Galatians (Ep.)	Professor Marcus Dods.
Galilee	Dr. Selah Merrill.
Games	Dr. Thomas Nicol.
Gate	Sir Charles Warren.
Genealogy	Professor Ed. L. Curtis and Professor B. W. Bacon.
Genesis	Professor H. E. Ryle.
Geology	Professor Edward Hull.
Gethsemane	Lieut.-Col. Conder.
Giant	Professor Willis J. Beecher.
Gilead	Professor Driver, Dr. Merrill, and Professor Bennett.
Gilgal	Dr. F. J. Bliss.
Glory	Mr. G. Buchanan Gray and Professor Massie.
God	Professor A. B. Davidson and Professor W. Sanday.
Golgotha	Sir Charles Warren.
Gospels	Professor V. H. Stanton.
Grace	Principal A. Stewart.
Habakkuk	Professor S. R. Driver.
Hades	Professor S. D. F. Salmond.
Haggai	Mr. G. A. Cooke.
Hamath	Professor W. Max Müller.
Hebrews (Ep.)	Professor A. B. Bruce.
Herod	Mr. A. C. Headlam.
Hexateuch	Mr. F. H. Woods.
Hinnom	Sir Charles Warren.
Hittites	Professor A. H. Sayce.
Holiness	Professor John Skinner and Professor G. B. Stevens.

Holy Spirit	Professor H. B. Swete.
Hosea	Professor A. B. Davidson.
House	Sir Charles Warren.
Hymn	Professor Walter Lock.
Idolatry	Professor W. P. Paterson.
Incarnation	Principal R. L. Ottley.
Isaiah	Professor G. A. Smith.
Israel	Professor H. E. Ryle.
Ituræa	Professor G. A. Smith.
Jacob	Professor H. E. Ryle.
James	Professor J. B. Mayor.
Jehu	Principal Owen C. Whitehouse
Jeremiah	Professor A. B. Davidson.
Jericho	Dr. F. J. Bliss.
Jerusalem	Lieut.-Col. Conder.
Jesus Christ	Professor W. Sanday.
Jew	Mr. A. Lukyn Williams.
Job	Professor W. T. Davison.
Joel	Professor G. G. Cameron.
John (Baptist)	Mr. Bebb.
John	The late Principal Reynolds.
John (Epp.)	Professor Salmond.
Jonah	Professor Ed. König.
Jordan	Sir Charles Warren.
Joshua	Professor G. A. Smith.
Jubilee	Mr G. Harford-Battersby.
Jubilees (Bk.)	Mr. A. C. Headlam.
Judæa	Sir Charles Wilson.
Judas Iscariot	Dr. A. Plummer.
Judges	Mr. G. A. Cooke.
Justification	Principal D. W. Simon.
Kingdom of God	Professor J. Orr.
Kings	Mr. C. F. Burney.
Lamentations	Mr. J. A. Selbie.
Language of the Old Test.	Professor D. S. Margoliouth.
Language of the New Test.	Professor J. H. Thayer.
Latin Versions	Dr. H. A. A. Kennedy.
Law	Professor Driver and Professor Denney.
Leprosy	Professor Macalister.

PRINTED BY MORRISON AND GIBB LIMITED, EDINBURGH

A

Dictionary of the Bible

VOLUME II

PREFACE

'GIVE heed to . . . teaching.' Perhaps the Church of Christ has never given sufficient heed to teaching since the earliest and happiest days. In our own day the importance of teaching, or, as we sometimes call it, expository preaching, has been pressed home through causes that are various yet never accidental; and it is probable that in the near future more heed will be given by the Church to teaching than has ever been given before.

As a contribution towards the furnishing of the Church for that great work, this DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE is published. It is a Dictionary of the Old and New Testaments, together with the Old Testament Apocrypha, according to the Authorized and Revised English Versions, and with constant reference to the original tongues. Every effort has been used to make the information it contains reasonably full, reliable, and accessible.

As to fulness. In a Dictionary of the Bible one expects that the words occurring in the Bible, which do not explain themselves, will receive some explanation. The present Dictionary more nearly meets that expectation than any Dictionary that has hitherto been published. Articles have been written on the names of all Persons and Places, on the Antiquities and Archæology of the Bible, on its Ethnology, Geology, and Natural History, on Biblical Theology and Ethic, and even on the obsolete or archaic words occurring in the English Versions. The greater number of the articles are of small compass, for care has been exercised to exclude vague generalities as well as unaccepted idiosyncrasies; but there are many articles which deal with important and difficult subjects, and extend to considerable length. Such, for example, is the article in the first volume on the Chronology of the New Testament, and the article in the present volume on Jesus Christ.

As to reliability. The names of the authors are appended to their articles, except where the article is very brief or of minor importance; and these names are the best guarantee that the work may be relied on. So far as could be ascertained, those authors were chosen for each particular subject who had made a special study of that subject, and might be able to speak with authority upon it. Then, in addition to the work of the Editor and his Assistant, every sheet has passed through the hands of the three distinguished scholars whose names are found on the title-page. Those scholars are not responsible for errors of any kind, if such should be discovered in the Dictionary, but the time and care they have spent upon it may be taken as a good assurance that the work as a whole is reliable and authoritative.

As to accessibility. While all the articles have been written expressly for this work, so they have been arranged under the headings one would most naturally turn to. In a very few cases it has been found necessary to group allied subjects together. But even then, the careful system of black-lettering and cross-reference adopted should enable the reader to find the subject wanted without delay. And so important has it seemed to the Editor that each subject should be found under its own natural title, that he has allowed a little repetition here and there (though not in identical terms) rather than distress the reader by sending him from one article to another in search of the information he desires. The Proper Names will be found under the spelling adopted in the Revised Version, and in a few very familiar instances the spelling of the Authorized Version is also given, with a cross-reference to the other. On the Proper Names generally, and particularly on the very difficult and unsettled questions of their derivation, reference may be made to the article NAMES (PROPER), which will be found in the third volume. The Hebrew, and (where it seemed to be of consequence for the identification of the name) the Greek of the Septuagint, have been given for all proper and many common names. It was found impracticable to record all the variety of spelling discovered in different manuscripts of the Septuagint; and it was considered unnecessary, in view of the great Edition now in preparation in Cambridge, and the Concordance of Proper Names about to be published at the Clarendon Press. The Abbreviations, considering the size and scope of the work, will be seen to be few and easily mastered. A list of them, together with a simple and uniform scheme of transliterating Hebrew and Arabic words, will be found on the following pages.

The Editor has pleasure in recording his thanks to many friends and willing fellow-workers, including the authors of the various articles. In especial, after those whose names are given on the title-page, he desires to thank the Rev. W. SANDAY, D.D., LL.D., Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford, who has again read many of the articles and given valuable assistance in other ways; next, the Rev. G. M. MACKIE, M.A., of Beyrout, whose knowledge of modern Syrian life is both intimate and sympathetic; also Professor MAHAFFY of Dublin, who kindly read some articles in proof; Professor RYLE of Cambridge; Principal SALMOND of Aberdeen; Principal STEWART of St. Andrews; and Principal FAIRBAIRN and Mr. J. VERNON BARTLET, M.A., of Mansfield College, Oxford. The Editor regrets to have to record the death, since the issue of the first volume, of Dr. D. Shearer and the Rev. H. A. White, M.A., New College, Oxford.

⁂ Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, have the sole right of publication of this DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE in the United States and Canada.

SCHEME OF TRANSLITERATION

ARABIC.		HEBREW.	
'	أ	'	א
b	ب	b	ב
t	ت	g	ג
th	ث	d	ד
j	ج	h	ה
ḥ	ح	u, w	ו
kh	خ	z	ז
d	د	ḥ	ח
dh	ذ	ṭ	ט
r	ر	i, y	י
z	ز	k	כ
s	س	l	ל
sh	ش	m	מ
ṣ	ص	n	נ
ḍ	ض	ṣ	ס
ṭ	ط	ʿ	ע
ẓ	ظ	p	פ
ʿ	ع	ẓ	צ
gh	غ	ḳ	ק
f	ف	r	ר
ḳ	ق	s, sh	שׂ שׁ
k	ك	t	ת
l	ل		
m	م		
n	ن		
h	ه		
u, w	و		
i, y	ي		

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

I. General

Alex. = Alexandrian.
Apoc. = Apocalypse.
Apocr. = Apocrypha.
Aq. = Aquila.
Arab. = Arabic.
Aram. = Aramaic.
Assyr. = Assyrian.
Bab. = Babylonian.
c. = *circa*, about.
Can. = Canaanite.
cf. = compare.
ct. = contrast.
D = Deuteronomist.
E = Elohist.
edd. = editions or editors.
Egyp. = Egyptian.
Eng. = English.
Eth. = Ethiopic.
f. = and following verse or page; as Ac $10^{34f.}$
ff. = and following verses or pages; as Mt $11^{28ff.}$
Gr. = Greek.
H = Law of Holiness.
Heb. = Hebrew.
Hel. = Hellenistic.
Hex. = Hexateuch.
Isr. = Israelite.
J = Jahwist.
J" = Jehovah.
Jerus. = Jerusalem.
Jos. = Josephus.
LXX = Septuagint.
MSS = Manuscripts.
MT = Massoretic Text.
n. = note.
NT = New Testament.
Onk. = Onkelos.
OT = Old Testament.
P = Priestly Narrative.
Pal. = Palestine, Palestinian.
Pent. = Pentateuch.
Pers. = Persian.
Phil. = Philistine.
Phœn. = Phœnician.
Pr. Bk. = Prayer Book.
R = Redactor.
Rom. = Roman.
Sam. = Samaritan.
Sem. = Semitic.
Sept. = Septuagint.
Sin. = Sinaitic.
Symm. = Symmachus.
Syr. = Syriac.
Talm. = Talmud.
Targ. = Targum.
Theod. = Theodotion.
TR = Textus Receptus.
tr. = translate or translation
VSS = Versions.
Vulg. = Vulgate.
WH = Westcott and Hort's text.

II. Books of the Bible

Old Testament.

Gn = Genesis.
Ex = Exodus.
Lv = Leviticus.
Nu = Numbers.
Dt = Deuteronomy.
Jos = Joshua.
Jg = Judges.
Ru = Ruth.
1 S, 2 S = 1 and 2 Samuel.
1 K, 2 K = 1 and 2 Kings.
1 Ch, 2 Ch = 1 and 2 Chronicles.
Ezr = Ezra.
Neh = Nehemiah.
Est = Esther.
Job.
Ps = Psalms.
Pr = Proverbs.
Ec = Ecclesiastes.
Ca = Canticles.
Is = Isaiah.
Jer = Jeremiah.
La = Lamentations.
Ezk = Ezekiel.
Dn = Daniel.
Hos = Hosea.
Jl = Joel.
Am = Amos.
Ob = Obadiah.
Jon = Jonah.
Mic = Micah.
Nah = Nahum.
Hab = Habakkuk.
Zeph = Zephaniah.
Hag = Haggai.
Zec = Zechariah.
Mal = Malachi.

Apocrypha.

1 Es, 2 Es = 1 and 2 Esdras.
To = Tobit.
Jth = Judith.
Ad. Est = Additions to Esther.
Wis = Wisdom.
Sir = Sirach or Ecclesiasticus.
Bar = Baruch.
Three = Song of the Three Children.
Sus = Susanna.
Bel = Bel and the Dragon.
Pr. Man = Prayer of Manasses.
1 Mac, 2 Mac = 1 and 2 Maccabees.

New Testament.

Mt = Matthew.
Mk = Mark.
Lk = Luke.
Jn = John.
Ac = Acts.
Ro = Romans.
1 Co, 2 Co = 1 and 2 Corinthians.
Gal = Galatians.
Eph = Ephesians.
Ph = Philippians.
Col = Colossians.
1 Th, 2 Th = 1 and 2 Thessalonians.
1 Ti, 2 Ti = 1 and 2 Timothy.
Tit = Titus.
Philem = Philemon.
He = Hebrews.
Ja = James.
1 P, 2 P = 1 and 2 Peter.
1 Jn, 2 Jn, 3 Jn = 1, 2, and 3 John.
Jude.
Rev = Revelation.

III. English Versions

Wyc. = Wyclif's Bible (NT *c.* 1380, OT *c.* 1382, Purvey's Revision *c.* 1388).
Tind. = Tindale's NT 1526 and 1534, Pent. 1530.
Cov. = Coverdale's Bible 1535.
Matt. or Rog. = Matthew's (*i.e.* prob. Rogers') Bible 1537.
Cran. or Great = Cranmer's 'Great' Bible 1539.
Tav. = Taverner's Bible 1539.
Gen. = Geneva NT 1557, Bible 1560.
Bish. = Bishops' Bible 1568.
Tom. = Tomson's NT 1576.
Rhem. = Rhemish NT 1582.
Dou. = Douay OT 1609.
AV = Authorized Version 1611.
AVm = Authorized Version margin.
RV = Revised Version NT 1881, OT 1885.
RVm = Revised Version margin.
EV = Auth. and Rev. Versions.

IV. For the Literature

AHT = Ancient Hebrew Tradition.
AT = Altes Testament.
BL = Bampton Lecture.
BM = British Museum.
BRP = Biblical Researches in Palestine.
CIG = Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum.
CIL = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
CIS = Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum.
COT = Cuneiform Inscriptions and the OT.
DB = Dictionary of the Bible.
EHH = Early History of the Hebrews.
GAP = Geographie des alten Palästina.
GGA = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
GGN = Nachrichten der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.
GVI = Geschichte des Volkes Israel.
HCM = Higher Criticism and the Monuments.
HE = Historia Ecclesiastica.
HGHL = Historical Geog. of Holy Land.
HI = History of Israel.
HJP = History of the Jewish People.
HPM = History, Prophecy, and the Monuments.
IJG = Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte.
JBL = Journal of Biblical Literature.
JDTh = Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie.
JQR = Jewish Quarterly Review.
JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JRL = Jewish Religious Life after the Exile.
KAT = Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Test.
KIB = Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek.
LCBl = Literarisches Centralblatt.
LOT = Introd. to the Literature of the Old Test.
NHWB = Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch.
NTZG = Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte.
ON = Otium Norvicense.
OTJC = The Old Test. in the Jewish Church.
PB = Polychrome Bible.
PEF = Palestine Exploration Fund.
PEFSt = Quarterly Statement of the same.
PSBA = Proceedings of Soc. of Bibl. Archæology.
PRE = Real-Encyclopädie für protest. Theologie und Kirche.
QPB = Queen's Printers' Bible.
REJ = Revue des Études Juives.
RP = Records of the Past.
RS = Religion of the Semites.
SBOT = Sacred Books of Old Test.
SK = Studien und Kritiken.
SP = Sinai and Palestine.
SWP = Memoirs of the Survey of W. Palestine.
ThL or *ThLZ* = Theol. Literaturzeitung.
ThT = Theol. Tijdschrift.
TSBA = Transactions of Soc. of Bibl. Archæology.
TU = Texte und Untersuchungen.
WAI = Western Asiatic Inscriptions.
WZKM = Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes.
ZA = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.
ZAW or *ZATW* = Zeitschrift für die Alttest. Wissenschaft.
ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
ZDPV = Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
ZKSF = Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung.
ZKW = Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft.

A small superior number designates the particular edition of the work referred to, as *KAT*^{2}, *LOT*^{6}.

MAPS IN VOLUME II

THE KINGDOMS OF JUDAH AND ISRAEL . . . . *facing page* 1
JERUSALEM . . . . „ „ 600

AUTHORS OF ARTICLES IN VOL. II

Rev. Walter F. Adeney, M.A., D.D., Principal of the Lancashire Independent College, Manchester.

Ven. A. S. Aglen, M.A., D.D., Archdeacon of St. Andrews.

Rev. Willoughby C. Allen, M.A., Chaplain, Fellow, and Lecturer in Theology and Hebrew, Exeter College, Oxford.

Rev. Benjamin Wisner Bacon, M.A., D.D., Professor of New Testament Criticism and Interpretation in Yale University, New Haven.

Rev. John S. Banks, D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in the Headingley College, Leeds.

Rev. W. Emery Barnes, M.A., D.D., Hulsean Professor of Divinity and Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge.

James Vernon Bartlet, M.A., Professor of Church History, Mansfield College, Oxford.

Rev. Llewellyn J. M. Bebb, M.A., Principal of St. David's College, Lampeter; formerly Fellow and Tutor of Brasenose College, Oxford.

Rev. Willis Judson Beecher, D.D., Professor of Hebrew Language and Literature in Auburn Theological Seminary, New York.

Rev. William Henry Bennett, D.D., Litt.D., Professor of Old Testament Exegesis in Hackney and New Colleges, London; sometime Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.

Very Rev. John Henry Bernard, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, and Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin.

Rev. J. F. Bethune-Baker, M.A., Fellow and Dean of Pembroke College, Cambridge.

Frederick J. Bliss, B.A., Ph.D., late Director of the Palestine Exploration Fund in Jerusalem.

The late Rev. Alexander Balmain Bruce, M.A., D.D., Professor of Apologetics and New Testament Exegesis in the Free Church College, Glasgow.

Rev. Charles Fox Burney, M.A., Lecturer in Hebrew, and Fellow of St. John Baptist's College, Oxford.

Rev. Winfrid O. Burrows, M.A., Vicar of Holy Trinity, Leeds.

Rev. George G. Cameron, M.A., D.D., Professor of Hebrew in the United Free Church College, Aberdeen.

The late Rev. James S. Candlish, M.A., D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in the Free Church College, Glasgow.

Rev. William Carslaw, M.A., M.D., of the Lebanon Schools, Beyrout, Syria.

Rev. Arthur Thomas Chapman, M.A., Fellow, Tutor, and Hebrew Lecturer, Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

Rev. Robert Henry Charles, D.D., Professor of Biblical Greek in the University of Dublin.

Rev. Frederic Henry Chase, M.A., D.D., Norrisian Professor of Divinity, President of Queens' College, and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge.

Col. Claude Reignier Conder, R.E., LL.D., M.R.A.S.

Fred. C. Conybeare, M.A., formerly Fellow of University College, Oxford.

Rev. G. A. Cooke, M.A., The Parsonage, Dalkeith.

Rev. Henry Cowan, M.A., D.D., Professor of Church History in the University of Aberdeen.

W. E. Crum, M.A., of the Egypt Exploration Fund.

Rev. Edward Lewis Curtis, Ph.D., D.D., Professor of Hebrew Language and Literature in the Divinity School of Yale University, New Haven.

The late Rev. Andrew Bruce Davidson, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Hebrew in the New College, Edinburgh.

Rev. T. Witton Davies, B.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Literature in the Baptist College, Bangor, and Lecturer in Semitic Languages in University College, Bangor.

Rev. W. T. Davison, M.A., D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in the Handsworth Theological College, Birmingham.

Rev. James Denney, M.A., D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in the United Free Church College, Glasgow.

Rev. Marcus Dods, M.A., D.D., Professor of Exegetical Theology in the New College, Edinburgh.

Rev. Samuel Rolles Driver, D.D., Litt.D., Canon of Christ Church, and Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford.

Rev. David Eaton, M.A., D.D., Glasgow.

Rev. William K. Eddy, of the American Mission, Sidon, Syria.

Rev. William Ewing, M.A., Glasgow, formerly of Tiberias, Palestine.

Rev. George Ferries, M.A., D.D., Cluny, Aberdeenshire.

Rev. Alfred Ernest Garvie, M.A., D.D., Professor of Philosophy and Ethics in Hackney College, London.

Rev. G. Buchanan Gray, M.A., D.D., Professor of Hebrew in Mansfield College, Oxford.

Rev. Alexander Grieve, M.A., Ph.D., Forfar.

Francis Llewellyn Griffith, M.A., F.S.A., of the British Museum; Superintendent of the Archæological Survey of the Egypt Exploration Fund.

Rev. George Harford, M.A., Balliol College, Oxford; Vicar of Mossley Hill, Liverpool.

J. Rendel Harris, M.A., Litt.D., Fellow and Librarian of Clare College, and Lecturer in Palæography in the University of Cambridge.

Rev. Arthur Cayley Headlam, M.A., B.D., Principal of King's College, London; formerly Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford.

Fritz Hommel, Ph.D., LL.D., Ord. Professor of Semitic Languages in the University of Munich.

Edward Hull, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S., F.R.G.S., late Director of the Geological Survey of Ireland, and Professor of Geology in the Royal College of Science, Dublin.

Frank Byron Jevons, M.A., Litt.D., Principal of Bishop Hatfield's Hall, Durham.

Rev. Archibald R. S. Kennedy, M.A., D.D., Professor of Hebrew and Semitic Languages in the University of Edinburgh.

Rev. James Houghton Kennedy, M.A., D.D., Assistant Lecturer in the Divinity School of Dublin University.

Eduard König, Ph.D., D.D., Professor of Old Testament Exegesis in the University of Bonn.

Rev. John Laidlaw, M.A., D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in the New College, Edinburgh.

Rev. Walter Lock, M.A., D.D., Warden of Keble College, and Dean Ireland's Professor of New Testament Exegesis in the University of Oxford.

Alexander Macalister, LL.D., M.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., Fellow of St. John's College, and Professor of Anatomy in the University of Cambridge.

Rev. J. A. M'Clymont, M.A., D.D., Aberdeen.

Rev. George M. Mackie, M.A., D.D., Chaplain to the Church of Scotland at Beyrout, Syria.

The late Rev. John Macpherson, M.A., Edinburgh.

Rev. D. S. Margoliouth, M.A., Fellow of New College, and Laudian Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford.

Rev. John Turner Marshall, M.A., Principal of the Baptist College, Manchester.

Rev. Alexander Martin, M.A., D.D., Professor of Apologetic Theology in the New College, Edinburgh.

John Massie, M.A., D.D., late Yates Professor of New Testament Exegesis in Mansfield College, Oxford; formerly Scholar of St. John's College, Cambridge.

Joseph Bickersteth Mayor, M.A., Litt.D., Emeritus Professor of King's College, London, and Hon. Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.

Rev. Selah Merrill, D.D., LL.D., U.S. Consul at Jerusalem.

Rev. James Millar, M.A., B.D., New Cumnock.

Rev. George Milligan, M.A., B.D., Caputh, Perthshire.

Rev. R. Waddy Moss, Professor of Classics in the Didsbury College, Manchester.

Rev. William Muir, M.A., B.D., B.L., Blairgowrie.

W. Max Müller, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of Old Testament Literature in the Reformed Episcopal Church Seminary, Philadelphia.

Rev. J. O. F. Murray, M.A., Vice-Principal of St. Augustine's College, Canterbury; late Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

Eberhard Nestle, Ph.D., D.D., Professor at Maulbronn.

Rev. Thomas Nicol, M.A., D.D., Professor of Divinity and Biblical Criticism in the University of Aberdeen.

Rev. James Orr, M.A., D.D., Professor of Apologetics and Theology in the United Free Church College, Glasgow.

Rev. Robert Lawrence Ottley, M.A., successively Student of Christ Church and Fellow of Magdalen College; sometime Principal of the Pusey House, Oxford.

Rev. William P. Paterson, M.A., D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in the University of Aberdeen.

Rev. James Patrick, M.A., B.D., B.Sc., Examiner for Degrees in Divinity in the University of St. Andrews.

Arthur S. Peake, M.A., Professor in the Primitive Methodist College, Manchester, and Lecturer in Lancashire Independent College; sometime Fellow of Merton and Lecturer in Mansfield College, Oxford.

William Flinders Petrie, D.C.L., Litt.D., LL.D., Ph.D., F.R.S., Professor of Egyptology in University College, London.

I. A. Pinches, Sippar House, London.

Theophilus Goldridge Pinches, LL.D., M.R.A.S., of the Egyptian and Assyrian Department in the British Museum.

Rev. Alfred Plummer, M.A., D.D., late Master of University College, Durham.

Rev. Frank Chamberlin Porter, M.A., Ph.D., D.D., Professor of Biblical Theology in the Divinity School of Yale University, New Haven.

Rev. George Post, M.D., F.L.S., Professor in the American College, Beyrout, Syria.

Ira Maurice Price, M.A., B.D., Ph.D., Professor of Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Chicago.

Rev. Cyril Henry Prichard, M.A., late Classical Scholar of Magdalene College, Cambridge, and Lecturer at St. Olave's, Southwark.

The late Rev. George T. Purves, D.D., LL.D., Professor of New Testament Literature and Exegesis in Princeton Theological Seminary, New Jersey.

William M. Ramsay, D.C.L., LL.D., Litt.D., Professor of Humanity in the University of Aberdeen, Honorary Fellow of Exeter and Lincoln Colleges, Oxford.

The late Rev. Henry Robert Reynolds, D.D., Principal of Cheshunt College, Herts.

Right Rev. Archibald Robertson, M.A., D.D., LL.D., Bishop of Exeter.

Very Rev. J. Armitage Robinson, M.A., Ph.D., D.D., D.Th., Dean of Westminster.

Right Rev. Herbert Edward Ryle, M.A., D.D., Bishop of Winchester.

Rev. Stewart Dingwall Fordyce Salmond, M.A., D.D., F.E.I.S., Principal and Professor of Systematic Theology in the United Free Church College, Aberdeen.

Rev. William Sanday, D.D., LL.D., D.Sc., Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford.

Rev. Archibald Henry Sayce, M.A., D.D., Fellow of Queen's College, and Professor of Assyriology in the University of Oxford.

Rev. John A. Selbie, M.A., D.D., Maryculter, Kincardineshire.

Rev. David W. Simon, M.A., D.D., Principal of the United College, Bradford.

Rev. John Skinner, M.A., D.D., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis in Westminster College, Cambridge.

Rev. George Adam Smith, M.A., D.D., LL.D., Professor of Hebrew in the United Free Church College, Glasgow.

Rev. Vincent Henry Stanton, M.A., D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, and Ely Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge.

John F. Stenning, M.A., Fellow and Lecturer in Hebrew and Theology, Wadham College, Oxford.

Rev. George B. Stevens, Ph.D., D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in Yale University.

Rev. Alexander Stewart, M.A., D.D., Principal of St. Mary's College, and Professor of Systematic Theology in the University of St. Andrews.

Rev. James Strachan, M.A., St. Fergus.

Very Rev. Thomas B. Strong, D.D., Dean of Christ Church, Oxford.

Rev. Henry Barclay Swete, M.A., D.D., Litt.D., Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge.

Rev. John Taylor, M.A., D.Lit., Vicar of Winchcombe.

Henry St. John Thackeray, M.A., Examiner in the Board of Education, formerly Divinity Lecturer in Selwyn College, Cambridge.

Rev. G. W. Thatcher, M.A., B.D., Hebrew Tutor and Lecturer on Old Testament History and Literature in Mansfield College, Oxford.

The late Rev. Joseph Henry Thayer, M.A., D.D., Litt.D., Bussey Professor of New Testament Criticism and Interpretation in the Divinity School of Harvard University.

Rev. Geerhardus Vos, D.D., Professor of Biblical Theology in Princeton Theological Seminary, New Jersey.

Rev. George Walker, M.A., B.D., Aberdeen.

Lieut.-General Sir Charles Warren, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., F.R.S., Royal Engineers.

Rev. Adam C. Welch, M.A., B.D., Glasgow.

The late Rev. Henry Alcock White, M.A., Tutor in the University of Durham, and formerly Fellow of New College, Oxford.

Rev. Newport J. D. White, M.A., B.D., Librarian of Archbishop Marsh's Library, and Assistant Lecturer in Divinity and Hebrew in the University of Dublin.

Rev. Owen C. Whitehouse, M.A., D.D., Principal and Professor of Biblical Exegesis and Theology, Cheshunt College, Herts.

Rev. A. Lukyn Williams, M.A., Vicar of Guilden Morden, late Tyrwhitt and Crosse Scholar of the University of Cambridge.

Major-General Sir Charles William Wilson, R.E., K.C.B., K.C.M.G., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S.

Rev. Francis Henry Woods, M.A., B.D., Vicar of Chalfont St. Peter, and late Fellow and Theological Lecturer of St. John's College, Oxford.

Rev. John Wortabet, M.A., M.D., Beyrout, Syria.

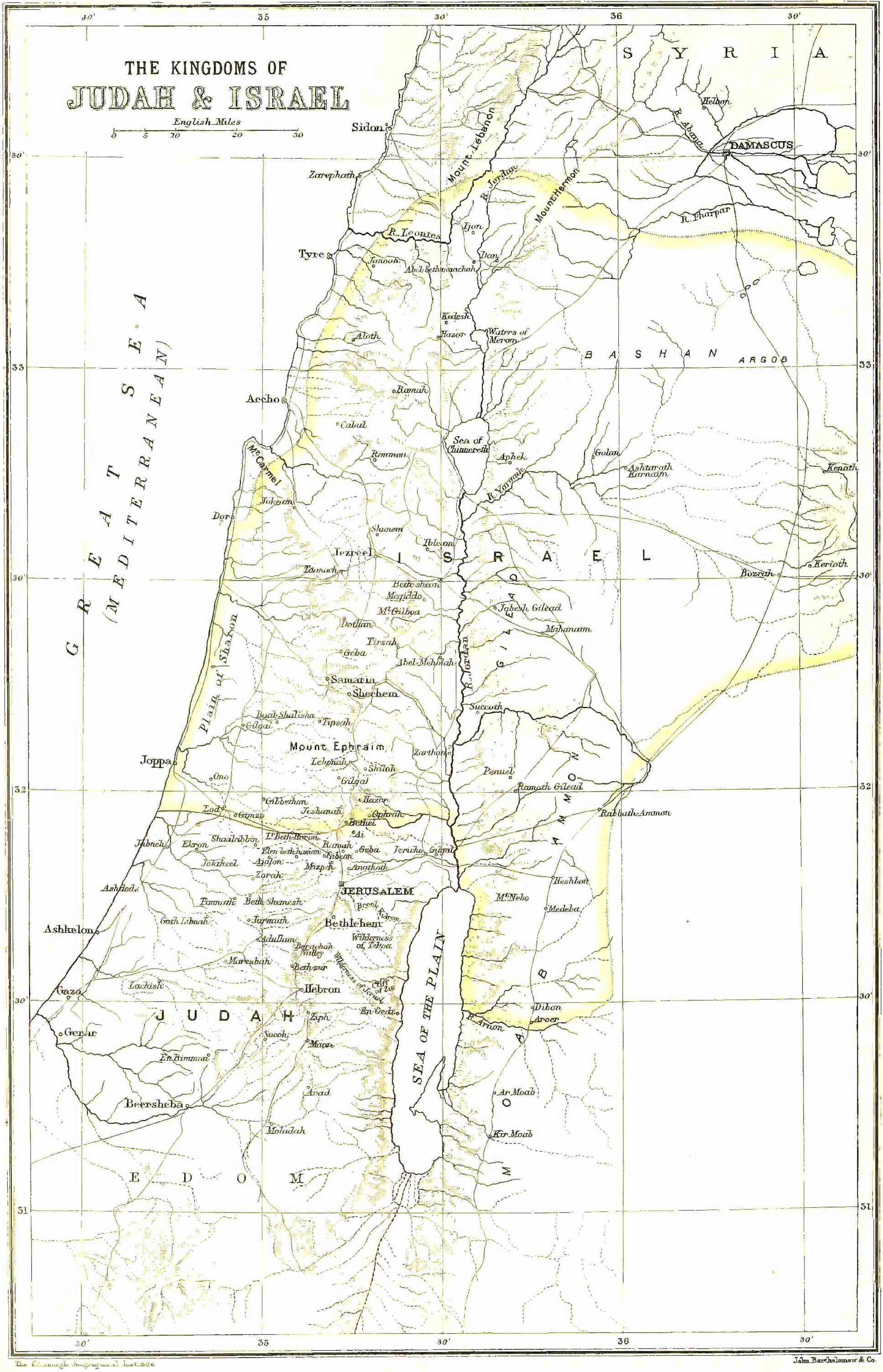

THE KINGDOMS OF

JUDAH & ISRAEL

English Miles

0 5 10 20 30
30'
35
36
33
32
31
SYRIA
Helbon
R. Abana
DAMASCUS
R. Pharpar
Sidon
Mount Lebanon
R. Jordan
Mount Hermon
Zarephath
Ijon
R. Leontes
Dan
Tyre
Janoah
Abel-beth-maachah
Kedesh
Hazor
Waters of Merom
Aloth
BASHAN ARGOB
GREAT SEA (MEDITERRANEAN)
Accho
Ramah
Cabul
Sea of Chinnereth
Rimmon
Aphek
Golan
Ashtaroth Karnaim
Kenath
Mt. Carmel
R. Yarmuk
Jokneam
Dor
Shunem
Tabor
Jezreel
ISRAEL
Taanach
Beth-shean
Megiddo
Mt. Gilboa
Bozrah
Kerioth
Jabesh Gilead
Mahanaim
Dothan
Tirzah
Geba
Abel-Meholah
GILEAD
Plain of Sharon
Samaria
Shechem
R. Jordan
Succoth
Baal-Shalisha
Gilgal
Tipsah
Mount Ephraim
Zarthan
Joppa
Lebonah
Shiloh
Ono
Penuel
Gilgal
Ramoth Gilead
AMMON
Gibbethon
Hazor
Lod
Gimzo
Jeshanah
Ophrah
Bethel
Rabbath Ammon
Ai
Jabneh
Ekron
Shaalabbin
Ur. Beth-Horon
Nether Beth-horon
Ramah
Gibeon
Geba
Jericho
Gilgal
Joktheel
Ajalon
Mizpeh
Anathoth
Zorah
Ashdod
JERUSALEM
Heshbon
Timnath
Beth Shemesh
Brook Kidron
Mt. Nebo
Medeba
Gath Libnah
Jarmuth
Bethlehem
Ashkelon
Adullam
Berachah Valley
Wilderness of Tekoa
Mareshah
Bethzur
Wilderness of Jeruel
Cliff of Ziz
SEA OF THE PLAIN
MOAB
Lachish
Hebron
Gaza
En Gedi
Dibon
JUDAH
Ziph
R. Arnon
Aroer
Gerar
Socoh
Maon
En Rimmon
Arad
Ar Moab
Beersheba
Moladah
Kir Moab
EDOM

The Edinburgh Geographical Institute

John Bartholomew & Co.

DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE

FEIGN (Lat. *fingĕre*, to mould, invent; Old Fr. *feindre*, ptcp. *feignant*).—**1.** To devise, invent: Neh 6^{8} 'There are no such things done as thou sayest, but thou feignest them out of thine own heart' (בָּרָא, only here and 1 K 12^{33} EV 'devise'); 2 P 2^{3} 'And through covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandise of you' (πλαστοῖς λόγοις, only here in NT; Salmond 'made up or craftly constructed speeches'). Cf. Lk 24^{11} Tind. 'their wordes seemed vnto them fayned thinges'; and Knox, *Hist.* p. 177, 'Which reports are all (God knoweth) most vain, fained, and untrue.' **2.** To put on an appearance, pretend: 1 K 14^{5} 'she shall feign herself *to be* another *woman*' (מִתְנַכֵּרָה); so 14^{6}; 1 S 21^{13} 'he changed his behaviour before them, and feigned himself mad in their hands' (וַיִּתְהֹלֵל); 2 S 14^{2} 'feign thyself to be a mourner' (הִתְאַבְּלִי־נָא); Ps 17^{1} 'give ear unto my prayer, *that goeth* not out of feigned lips' (שִׂפְתֵי מִרְמָה, lit. 'lips of guile'). Cf. Knox, *Hist.* 101, 'yet was every head so fully answered, and especially one. . . . To wit, That Paul at the commandment of James, and of the Elders of Jerusalem, passed to the Temple, and fained himself to pay his vow with others'; and Elyot, *The Governour*, ii. 432, 'Unto euery man disclose nat thy harte, leest perauenture he wyl gyue to the a fained thanke, and after reporte rebukefully of the'; Barlowe, *Dialogue*, ed. 1897, p. 48, 'Then beganne he [Luther] stoutly to fortefy his fayned fayth voyde of good workes'; Tindale, *Works*, i. 94, 'For where right faith is, there bringeth she forth good works; if there follow not good works, it is (no doubt) but a dream and an opinion or feigned faith'; also Tind. *Expositions*, 163, 'And for them that would not receive such pardons feigned they purgatory, and for them that received them feigned they pardon, turning binding and loosing, with preaching God's word, unto buying and selling sin for money.'

Feignedly=with pretence, deceitfully: Jer 3^{10} 'Judah hath not turned unto me with her whole heart, but feignedly' (בְּשֶׁקֶר 'in falsehood,' as AVm); 2 Es 8^{28} 'Think not upon those that have walked feignedly before thee' (*false conversati sunt*). So Tindale, *Works*, i. 177, 'the children of the devil, in time of adversity, fly from Christ, whom they followed feignedly.'

J. HASTINGS.

FELIX, Antonius, procurator of Judæa (Ac $23^{25f.}$–24^{27}) at the time of St. Paul's last visit to Jerusalem and arrest there. The military tribune **Claudius Lysias** sends Paul under escort to Cæsarea, with a letter to Felix reciting, in a light favourable to his own conduct, the circumstances of the arrest. Arrived at Cæsarea, the apostle, after a purely formal interview, is remanded by Felix for trial, and detained in the government house (prætorium), originally a palace of Herod the Great, until the arrival of his accusers. On the fifth day the proceedings begin. The case against the prisoner is opened by an advocate (see TERTULLUS). Evidence is given by the Jews, and, upon a sign from the procurator, Paul makes a speech in defence. Felix, perhaps interested in the matter by his Jewish wife (Ac 24^{22}), then adjourns the trial till the arrival of Lysias, and Paul is again remanded as a prisoner, but under lenient conditions. We hear nothing of any resumption of the trial. But after some days Felix, accompanied by **Drusilla** (and, according to some authorities for the Western text, at her special request), sends for Paul and gives him audience concerning the belief 'in Christ' (or 'Jesus as Christ'). The apostle (taking, as usual, common ground with his hearer) addresses him upon broad moral truths, and the judgment (looked for by heathens as well as Jews) after death. Felix becomes alarmed, and sends him away till a future occasion. He sends for him ('secretly,' Gig.) 'somewhat often' for further conversation, excited mainly by the hope of a bribe (cf. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Trav.* p. 310 ff.). Two years after St. Paul's arrest Felix is recalled, and, to ingratiate himself with the Jews (or, according to some Western sources, for the sake of Drusilla), leaves Paul a prisoner.

The dubious light in which the character of Felix appears in the NT narrative is bright compared with that shed upon it by the other histories of the time. Felix was the (apparently) younger brother of Pallas, the well-known and all-powerful favourite of Claudius. That Antonius, not Claudius, was the *nomen* borne by Felix (Tac. *Hist.* v. 9; the nomen Claudius for Felix is based on a probably corrupt reading in Suidas, *s.v.*) suggests that Felix was a freedman of Antonia, mother of Claudius (so also probably Pallas; see Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. vi. 6; cf. Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 175). The brothers claimed descent, as Tacitus ironically mentions, from ancient kings of Arcadia (*Ann.* xii. 53).

We first hear of Felix in connexion with the disorders in Samaria under his predecessor Ventidius Cumanus. The latter refusing to punish the Samaritans for the murder of some Galilæan pilgrims, the Zealots massacred many Samaritans, and were in turn massacred by Cumanus. Both sides appealed to Ummidius Quadratus, legate of

Syria, who intervened with great severity and sent Cumanus to Rome (Jos. *BJ* II. xii. 3 ff.; *Ant.* XX. vi. 1–3). According to Josephus, Felix was now, at the request of the high priest Jonathan, who had been sent to Rome with Cumanus, sent as successor to the latter; and Jos. proceeds to relate how, upon completing his twelfth year (Jan. 24, A.D. 53), Claudius gave certain territories to Agrippa. Coupled with the fact that Tacitus places the deposition of Cumanus in the year 52, this fairly fixes Felix' appointment to the latter year. A difficulty arises, however, from the fact that Tacitus, in his account (*Ann.* xii. 54) of what led to the deposition of Cumanus, speaks of Felix as '*iam pridem* Iudaeae impositus . . . ut [Cumano] Galilaeorum natio, Felici Samaritae parerent.' It has been attempted to combine the latter statement with the 'many years' of Ac 24^{10} by the hypothesis that before his appointment as procurator Felix had held some subordinate appointment in Samaria. But Josephus clearly intimates that Felix was first appointed to the province on this occasion; and on the whole, in spite of the authority of Mommsen and the arguments of Blass (*Act. Apost.* p. 21), we join Schürer in following Josephus here, as likely to be the better informed.

Felix received from his patron the (for a freedman) unprecedented honour of military command as well as civil jurisdiction ('cohortibus et alis prouinciaeque' . . . Suet. *Claud.* 28). His character as governor was that of a man raised from a low origin to unfitting eminence—'per omnem saeuitiam et libidinem ius regium seruili ingenio exercuit' (Tac. *Hist.* v. 9). The general results of his rule are aptly summed up by the same writer, 'intempestiuis remediis delicta accendebat' (*Ann.* xii. 54, and see TERTULLUS). His ferocity against the 'Zealots' and their supposed partisans gave birth, or new strength, to the Sicarii,—a more numerous and extreme class of fanatics,—who were in turn used by fanatical rebels (cf. Ac 21^{38}) until half the nation was in the wildest disaffection. St. Paul probably came into contact with Felix as stated above from two to four years after the accession of Nero (54), by whom Felix must have been confirmed in office. The πολλὰ ἔτη of Ac 24^{10} are hardly, therefore (as Harnack, *Chron.* 253, contends), compatible with a date earlier than the last named. During the last two years of Felix' tenure of office, and therefore during Paul's imprisonment at Cæsarea, fall the serious riots between the Jewish and Syrian inhabitants of the latter town about ἰσοπολιτεία. Felix, whose customary methods had failed to quell the disturbances, sent the heads of both parties to Rome for the emperor to decide the case. But before any final decision Felix was recalled. The violence with which he had interfered in this matter partly explains his anxiety to do the Jews a parting favour (Ac 24^{27}; see Jos *BJ* II. xiii. 7; *Ant.* XX. viii. 7). The Jews, however (Jos. *Ant.* XX. viii. 9), lodged an indictment against him, which failed only through the influence of Pallas. Of Felix' later history nothing is known (see Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 174 ff., and the authorities cited by him. For the chronological questions involved, see FESTUS, and art. CHRONOLOGY OF NT, p. 417 f.). A. ROBERTSON.

FELLOW (from *fé*=property, money, and *lag* to lay; hence 'one who lays down money in a joint undertaking with others'). In AV two easily separated meanings are found.

1. *Partner, companion.* The Heb words are (*a*) רֵעַ *rêa'*, Ex 2^{13}, Jg $7^{13.14.22}$, 1 S 14^{20}, 2 S $2^{16\,bis}$, Is 34^{14}, Jon 1^{7}, Zec 3^{8}; RV adds 1 K 20^{35} for AV 'neighbour,' as the word is generally tr$^{\text{d}}$ elsewhere in AV and RV. Once the fem. of this word (רֵעָה* *rê'âh*) is tr$^{\text{d}}$ 'fellow,' Jg 11^{37}, though in the next verse it is 'companion' as in Ps 45^{14}, its only remaining occurrence. RV has 'companion' in all three places. (*b*) חָבֵר *ḥâbhêr*, Ps 45^{7}, Ec 4^{10}, Is 44^{11}, Ezk 37^{19}; RV in Ezk 'companion,' as the word is elsewhere tr$^{\text{d}}$ in AV and RV, except Jg 20^{11} (כְּאִישׁ אֶחָד חֲבֵרִים, EV 'knit together as one man'); and Aram. forms חֲבַר *ḥăbhar*, Dn $2^{13.18}$ (in v.^{17} 'companion' as RV in all), and חַבְרָה *ḥabhrâh*, Dn 7^{20}. (*c*) עָמִית *'âmîth*, Zec 13^{7} (גֶּבֶר עֲמִיתִי, EV 'the man that is my fellow'). The word is in form abstract, hence lit. 'the man of my fellowship'; but elsewhere it occurs only in Lv and in the concrete sense of 'neighbour.'

The Gr. words are (*a*) ἡ πλησίον, only once and fem., Bar 6^{43} 'she reproacheth her fellow' (cf. Jg 11^{37} above, where, however, the LXX is συνεταιρίς). The commonest word for 'neighbour' in NT is ὁ πλησίον. (*b*) ἑταῖρος, Mt 11^{16}. (*c*) μέτοχος, He 1^{9}, a quotation from Ps 45^{7}, where LXX has μ. (*d*) οἱ περί, Three ^{26}.

This meaning of 'fellow' may be illustrated by the foll. paragraph from T. Adams, *II Peter* (Sherman's ed. p. 42):—'As fellows, in due measure, with God himself: "Truly our fellowship is with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ," 1 Jn 1^{3}. We may have a society with man, this is requisite, for we are all of one mould; but to God, what, all fellows? Yes, we have a fellowship with God; such is his mercy, not our merits. The proud gallant scorns the poor mechanic: What, are you my fellow? Yet, *mors sceptra ligonibus æquat*, Death takes away difference between king and beggar, tumbles both the knight and the pawn into one bag. Well, let the world despise us, it is enough the Lord doth not disdain our fellowship.' Again (on p. 43) Adams says, 'Thus we partake of the Divine nature (with all reverence be it spoken) as fellows. But, not to deny the King his supremacy, we are fellows with Christ in his joy, reserving the throne to himself.' Cf. also Ac 4^{23} Wyc. (1388), 'thei camen to her *felowis*, and telden to hem, hou grete thingis the princis of preestis and the eldre men hadden seid to hem'; He 10^{33} Wyc. (1388), 'ye weren maad felowis of men lyuynge so.' Shaks. *Tempest*, III. i. 84—

'To be your fellow
You may deny me; but I'll be your servant.'

2. *Person*, first without and then with contempt; for the word has a history. Melvill (*Diary*, Wod. p. 78), can say of John Dury, 'He was a verie guid fallow, and tuk delyt, as his speciall comfort, to haiff his table and houss filled with the best men,' and thereby express reverence for him. But Adams (*II Peter*, p. 43) says, 'There is a generation of men that lavish their estates,—as we say, fling the house out at the windows,—that call themselves good fellows,' where the meaning is still 'companion,' but the glory is departing. The word was used to express easy familiarity, then by a superior in condescension to an inferior, and finally as the utterance of contempt. In Gn 39^{2} Tindale has, 'And the LORDE was with Ioseph, and he was a luckie fellowe,' where 'fellow' is simply 'man'; nor is contempt expressed in Mk 4^{41} 'what felowe is this? For booth winde and see obey him' (=Lk 8^{25}); and even in Mk 2^{7} 'how doeth this felowe so blaspheme?' (οὗτος), or Jn 6^{52} 'How can this felowe geve us his flesshe to eate?' (οὗτος) the sense is probably no more than 'this man,' or at least than we should express by 'this person.'

The Heb. words so translated in AV are (*a*) אִישׁ *'îsh*, 1 S 29^{4} 'Make this fellow return' (RV 'the man'); in plu. 'fellows,' Jg 18^{25} (אֲנָשִׁים מָרֵי נֶפֶשׁ, lit. 'men, bitter of soul,' as RVm; Moore, 'men of acrid temper'). RV adds Jg 9^{4} (AV 'persons') 11^{3} (AV 'men'). In these places neither the Heb. nor probably the Eng. means more than 'person.' And even when 'this fellow' is the tr$^{\text{n}}$ of (*b*) זֶה *zeh*, 'this' (1 S $21^{15\,bis}$ 25^{21}, 1 K 22^{27}=2 Ch 18^{26}, 2 K 9^{11}; to which RV adds 1 S 29^{4}), there is at least less contempt expressed than the words now carry. The Greek words correspond to the Hebrew. (*a*) ἀνήρ, 1 Mac 10^{61} 'certain pestilent fellows' (ἄνδρες λοιμοί); Ac 17^{5} 'took unto them certain lewd fellows' (τινὰς ἄνδρας πονηρούς). (*b*) οὗτος, Sir 13^{23},

---

* For the reading see Moore, *in loc.*

1 Mac 4^{5}, Mt 12^{24} 26$^{61.71}$, Lk 22^{59} 23^{2}, Jn 9^{29}, Ac 18^{13}. RV prefers 'man' except in Sir, where 'fellow' is simply omitted. (*c*) ὁ τοιοῦτος, Ac 22^{22}.

Perhaps the strongest expression of contempt is given when 'fellow' is added to an adj. The examples are (*a*) רֵקִים *rêḳîm*, 2 S 6^{20} 'vain fellows'; (*b*) τολμηρός, Sir 8^{15} 'bold fellow'; and (*c*) λοιμός, Ac 24^{5} 'pestilent fellow' (cf. ἄνδρες λοιμοί, 'pestilent fellows,' 1 Mac 10^{61} above).

The Amer. RV prefers '*base* fellow' to AV 'son (man) of Belial,' and '*base* fellows' to sons (men, children) of Belial.' See BELIAL.

In composition 'fellow' always means partner or companion. The foll. compounds occur in AV: (1) **Fellowcitizen** (συνπολίτης), Eph 2^{19}, RV adds He 8^{11}, reading ὁ πολίτης with edd. for ὁ πλησίον of TR which gave AV 'neighbour.' (2) **Fellowdisciple** (συνμαθητής), Jn 11^{16}. (3) **Fellowheir** (συνκληρονομός), Eph 3^{6}. (4) **Fellowhelper** (συνεργός, see 'fellow-worker'), 2 Co 8^{23}, 3 Jn ^{8}. (5) **Fellowlabourer** (συνεργός, see 'fellow-worker), Ph 4^{3}, 1 Th 3^{2}, Philem $^{1.24}$. (6) **Fellowprisoner** (συναιχμάλωτος), Ro 16^{7}, Col 4^{10}, Philem ^{23}. (7) **Fellowservant** (σύνδουλος), Mt 18$^{28.29.31.33}$ 24^{49}, Col 1^{7} 4^{7} (= 'fellow-worker' in Col), Rev 6^{11} 19^{10} 22^{9}. (8) **Fellowsoldier** (TR συστρατιώτης, edd. συνστ.), Ph 2^{25}, Philem ^{2}. (9) **Fellow worker** (so 1611, συνεργός), Col 4^{11}. RV adds 'fellow-worker,' Ro 16$^{3.9}$ (AV 'helper'), 1 Co 3^{9} 'we are God's fellow-workers' (AV 'labourers together with God'), 2 Co 8^{23} (AV 'fellowhelper'), Ph 2^{25} (AV 'companion in labour') 4^{3}, Philem $^{1.24}$ (AV 'fellowlabourer'), 3 Jn ^{8} (AV 'fellowhelper'). (10) **Workfellow** (συνεργός), Ro 16^{21}. (11) **Yokefellow** (TR σύζυγος, edd. σύνζυγος), Ph 4^{3}. To those RV adds (12) **Fellow-elder** (συμπρεσβύτερος, T. WH, συνπρ.), 1 P 5^{1} (AV 'also an elder'). (13) **Fellow-member of the body** (TR, σύσσωμος, edd. σύνσωμος), Eph 3^{6} (AV 'of the same body'). (14) **Fellow-partaker** (συμμέτοχος, T. WH, συνμ.), Eph 3^{6} (AV 'partaker').

For **Fellowship**, see COMMUNION.

J. HASTINGS.

FENCE.—This Eng. word is not used in NT. In AV of OT it translates various Hebrew words. In the case of three of these, the tr. is a mistake, and is changed in RV (Is 5^{2}, 2 S 23^{7}, Job 10^{11}). The words from the stems *ẓûr* and *bâẓar*, צור and בָּצַר, denote fortifications or fortified places (*e.g.* 2 Ch 8^{5} 11^{23}, Dt 3^{5} etc.) Those from the stem *gâdar*, גָּדַר, denote a stone wall (Ps 62^{3}, Job 19^{8}). RV tr. the words of this stem by 'fence' in many places where we find 'wall' or 'hedge' in AV. A fence is properly that which fends or defends. The fence described in the Heb. words of this group is ordinarily the enclosure defending a field or vineyard or sheepfold. See HEDGE.

W. J. BEECHER.

FENCED CITIES (עָרֵי מִבְצָר, properly 'cut off' from outside, and hence inaccessible; RV generally substitutes 'fortified' for 'fenced').—Collections of houses in ancient times may be classed under three heads: (1) Cities, walled or fenced. (2) Unwalled towns and villages, with towers for resort of villagers in times of danger. (3) Unwalled towns and villages.

The number or size of the houses did not affect the question. A city might be of very small extent. Gn 19^{20} 'Behold now, this city is near to flee unto, and it is a little one: Oh! let me escape thither (is it not a little one?) and my soul shall live.' On the other hand, the suburbs of a city might become so extensive that it became equivalent to a town without walls. Zec 2^{4} 'Jerusalem shall be inhabited as villages without walls, for the multitude of men and cattle therein.'

Towns and villages that were without walls were a prey to any hostile foraging party, and were considered of no account. Lv 25$^{29.31}$ 'If a man sell a dwelling-house in a walled city, then he may redeem it. . . . But the houses of the villages, which have no wall round about them, shall be reckoned with the fields of the country.' As a village or town prospered and more solid houses were built, they would for purposes of defence be joined together, and the town would thus become a walled city. Towns and villages appear to have been dependent upon fenced cities both for administrative purposes and for protection of the inhabitants. Jos 15^{47} 'Ashdod with her towns and her villages; Gaza with her towns and her villages.' As an indication of absolute security, a land of safety is pictured as 'a land of unwalled villages . . . dwelling without walls, and having neither bars nor gates' (Ezk 38^{11}). The suburbs of the cities were occupied by cattle (Jos 14^{4} 21^{2}). The villages, however, were not wholly without protection. The Israelites could not drive out the inhabitants of the valley or low country because they had chariots of iron (Jg 1^{19}, Jos 17^{16}). Both at Jericho and Damascus houses were built on the city walls (Jos 2^{15}, 2 Co 11^{33}).

Sufficient still exists of the remains of the ancient cities of Palestine, together with the historical accounts, to give us a clear idea of the positions and the general configuration of their walls. They were built in commanding positions both in the hill-country and the plains, and on the seashore they were generally on promontories. In many cases most inaccessible positions were taken advantage of, so that the battering-ram might be of no avail. Dt 1^{28} 'The cities are great, and fenced up to heaven.' Cisterns were cut in the rock for the supply of rain-water, so as to be independent of water from without (2 Ch 26^{10}, Neh 9^{25}, Jos. *BJ* V. iv. 3, VII. viii. 3).

There are many remains of ancient cities still exposed to view in various parts of Palestine, inhabited by nomadic tribes, where the system of defence can yet be observed: as an example, Masada, built by Jonathan Maccabæus, and strengthened by Herod the Great, may be mentioned. None of the remains, however, can be accurately ascribed to the time of Joshua, though the sites may not have changed, and it is doubtful whether at that early date the walls of fenced cities were of the same solid type as that which necessarily obtained when the battering-ram came into use. Some of the fenced cities mentioned in the Book of Joshua were taken by stratagem, but others were taken by assault by a nation which did not possess the mechanical contrivances required for the capture of cities with strong walls. From what remains of the ruins of Jericho (assumed to be near 'Ain es-Sultân), it may be inferred that these walls were built from the earliest date of sun-burnt bricks; and from the knowledge we now possess of the walls about Jerusalem, it may be considered that at the time of the capture of the city by Joab the walls were built of small stones.

The stones of the ancient towers and walls of Jerusalem still existing are of considerable size, some of those in the wall of the temple enclosure weighing nearly 90 tons. At Baalbek the great temple stands on a massive wall, with courses of stone averaging 3 ft. 9 in. in height. Thirty feet in advance of this, N., S., and W., is a protecting wall, 10 ft. thick, of monoliths weighing 600 to 800 tons each, three of them being estimated to weigh over 1000 tons each.

The bulwarks of the fenced cities of Palestine, so far back as the time of the Jewish kings, appear to have consisted of a solid masonry wall of cut stone, with parapets and battlements, and with towers at intervals from which the foot of the wall could be seen (2 Ch 32^{5}, Jer 31^{38}). In the walls were watchmen (2 K 9^{17}, 2 S 18^{26}, Is 62^{6}). Within the city was usually a citadel or acropolis (Jg 9^{51}), and without were walls, outworks, and towers (2 Ch 14^{7} 'Let us build these cities, and make about them walls and towers, gates and bars'; 2 S 20^{15}, Is 26^{1}, Nah 3^{8}, 2 Ch 26^{6}).

The protracted resistance offered by many of the fenced cities of Palestine may have been due as much to the strength of their position as to their walls; Samaria resisted the king of Assyria for three years, and Jerusalem successfully resisted the power of Rome, and only fell before Titus owing to the internal dissensions of the Jewish leaders.

The whole subject connected with the attack and defence of cities and fortified places is treated of under WAR, and special cases for reference will be found under JERUSALEM, SAMARIA, JERICHO, GATH, GAZA, and other strongholds of Philistia. See also GATE. C. WARREN.

FERRET (אֲנָקָה *'ănâḳah*, Lv 11^{30} AV).—The ferret is not found in Palestine or Syria, and cannot be the animal intended. It is probably, as in RV, the gecko. See GECKO. G. E. POST.

FERVENCY, FERVENT.—Fervency is found only in Jth 4^{9} 'every man of Israel cried to God with great fervency' (*ἐκτένεια* [B -*ία*], which in the same verse is tr^{d} 'vehemency,' as it is tr^{d} in 2 Mac 14^{38}; RV always 'earnestness.' The Gr. word occurs also 3 Mac 6^{41}, and in NT Ac 26^{7} *ἐν ἐκτενείᾳ*, AV 'instantly,' RV 'earnestly'). Knox (*Hist.* 132) says that after the martyrdom of Walter Mill 'began a new fervency among the whole people'; and *Works* (ed. Laing, iii. 289), 'Peter, in a fervencie, firste left his bote, and yet after feared.' The adj. *fervent* is twice applied literally in the sense of 'intense,' 2 P 3^{10} 'the elements shall melt with fervent heat' (*καυσούμενα λυθήσεται*), and 3^{12} (*καυσούμενα τήκεται*). 'With fervent heat' (lit. 'being burned up') is the Bishops' tr^{n}, and is retained in RV; most of the other VSS have simply 'shall melt with heat.' Cf. Elyot, *The Governour*, ii. 322, 'beynge sore chaufed with fervent heate and the lengthe of his iournay'; and Dt 28^{22} Gen. 'The Lord shall smite thee with a consumption, and with the feauer, and with a burning ague, and with feruent heat.' The word is also applied to cold, as R. Fox, *Chron.* 116, 'Hit was a fervent coolde weder'; Stewart, *Cron. Scot.* ii. 337, 'The fervent frost so bitter wes.' J. HASTINGS.

FESTIVAL.—See FEASTS AND FASTS.

FESTUS, Porcius, succeeded Felix as procurator of Judæa. On his arrival he visited Jerusalem, whither the priests endeavoured unsuccessfully to induce him to send for Paul. His reply (Ac 25^{16}), that to hand over a man unheard was 'not customary with Romans' (whatever it might be for Jews), has a touch of disdainful dignity. Endeavouring to induce Paul to consent to a trial at Jerusalem, he provokes and allows the appeal to Cæsar. Then follows the hearing before Festus and Agrippa, the latter of whom is there as an expert assessor. The attitude of Festus is throughout (25^{19} $26^{24.31}$) one of official impartiality, touched with good-natured indifference to the technicalities of Jewish controversies.

The gens Porcia is not otherwise known to have comprised a family of Festi, nor is this Festus known to us apart from the NT and Josephus. According to the latter, the first important event of Festus' governorship was the decision of the emperor in favour of the Syrians at Cæsarea (FELIX, *sub fin.*). This was effected by Beryllus (so all MSS in Jos. *Ant.* XX. viii. 9; *vulgo* 'Burrus'), Greek secretary to the emperor, whom the Syrians had won by corruption. This decision provoked the Jews to riots, in which Josephus sees the first simmerings of the war of 66. This point must not be forgotten when we come to the question of dates. The other principal occurrences of Festus' tenure of office mentioned by Josephus were, *firstly*, the putting down of the Sicarii, and especially of one dangerous rebel, similar to the one of Ac 21^{38} (*Ant.* XX. viii. 10; cf. *BJ* II. xiv. 1); *secondly*, the disturbances at Jerusalem in consequence of the wall erected at the temple to intercept the view from the new wing of Agrippa's palace. Festus took the side of Agrippa, but allowed the priests to appeal to Rome. Before the result of this appeal was known Festus died.

The important question connected with the name of Festus is that of chronology (see art. CHRONOLOGY of NT, p. 417 ff.). According to Eusebius and Jerome (Eus. *Chron.*, Schöne ii. 148 f.; Hier. *de vir. illustr.*), Felix became procurator in the eleventh year of Claudius (51), Festus in the second year of Nero (56), Albinus succeeded Festus in the sixth or seventh year of Nero (60 or 61), and the Acts bring us (so Euthal. *Praef. in epp. Pauli*) to the fourth year of Nero (58). There has been a tendency lately, *e.g.* on the part of Blass and Harnack, to revert to this chronology. But apart from the fact that had Festus governed Judæa for four or five years, Josephus would surely have had more to tell us in connexion with his procuratorship, the authority of Eusebius in this matter is more than precarious. Eusebius, doubtless, made use of Julius Africanus, who in turn used Justus of Tiberias, who stated the death-year of Agrippa II. But that Justus stated the years of the procuratorships there is not a word of evidence to prove. Eusebius may be as far from the truth here as when he places the outbreak of the Neronian persecution in 67–68. At the same time the question is worth reconsidering, and the recent discussion of Harnack (*Chronol. d. altchr. Lit.* p. 233 ff.) deserves more minute discussion than the limits of this article allow. The chronology of Eusebius has the merit, be it what it may, of fitting in with Clemen's date for St. Paul's arrest, namely, A.D. 54 (1 CORINTHIANS, § 6). But that the rule of Festus was a short one, everything goes to prove; and, as we saw above, the disturbances which then began were viewed by Josephus as the first mutterings of the great storm of the year 66. But it would help us much if we could fix the date of the arrival of Albinus, which was separated by only a few stormy months from the death of Festus. Unfortunately, we have only the *terminus ad quem* firmly fixed, namely, the summer of 62 (Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 183, note 47). That his successor Gessius Florus was procurator only from 64–66 may be taken as proved (*ib.* note 58). But we have only inferential evidence, though it amounts to high probability, that the rule of Albinus was short. Perhaps the date furnished by ARETAS, with which Harnack fails to deal satisfactorily, coupled with the general data of St. Paul's life (1 CORINTHIANS, § 6, small print), may suffice to make us pause before putting the arrival of Festus anything like as early as 56. On the other hand, as Albinus cannot have arrived later than 62, and the events of Festus' procuratorship, together with those which follow his death and precede the arrival of Albinus, though insufficient to fill five years, are yet too many for one year, it is hardly possible to place the arrival of Festus later than 60. The system adopted *s.v.* CHRONOLOGY may be right in going back two years further (60 to 58). On the whole this variation may be taken, upon a full review of all our materials, as the most probable limit of doubt as regards this important date. It may be remarked that if Festus arrived in 60, the διετία ὅλη of Ac 28^{30} ends about February 63; between this and the Neronian persecution of midsummer 64, to which Harnack would again bring back St. Paul's death, there is sufficient though hardly ample time for the events presupposed in the Epp. to Timothy and Titus (see Schürer, as quoted above, esp. note 38; Harnack, as quoted above; Blass, *Acta Apost. Ed. Philol.* p. 23, and the authorities for CHRONOLOGY OF NT).

A. ROBERTSON.

FETCH.—To fetch is to *cause to come*, as Fuller, *Holy Warre*, 230, 'If they should say the Templars were burned wrongfully, they may be fetched over the coals themselves for charging his Holinesse so deeply'; and this meaning is easily seen in most of its phrases.

1. *Fetch up*, 1 S 6^{21} 7^{1}. So Shaks. *Ant. and Cleop.* IV. xv. 35—

> 'Had I great Juno's power,
> The strong-wing'd Mercury should fetch thee up,
> And set thee by Jove's side.'

2. *Fetch again*, *i.e.* cause to come back (see AGAIN): 1 Es 4^{34} 'Swift is the sun in his course, for he compasseth the heavens round about, and fetcheth his course again to his own place in one day' (πάλιν ἀποτρέχει). Cf. Bunyan, *Holy Citie*, 252, 'Revivings that (like Aquavitæ) do fetch again, and chear up the soul'; and Tindale, *Expositions*, 165, 'He will return again unto his mercy, and fetch his power home again, which he lent to vex thee.' **3.** *Fetch about*: 2 S 14^{20} 'To fetch about this form of speech hath thy servant Joab done this thing' (לְבַעֲבוּר סַבֵּב אֶת־פְּנֵי הַדָּבָר, lit. 'for the purpose of bringing round the face of the business,' or as RV 'to change the face of the matter'). See ABOUT, and cf. Shaks. *K. John*, IV. ii. 24—

> 'Like a shifted wind unto a sail,
> It makes the course of thoughts to fetch about.'

Bacon, *Essays*, 'Of Cunning' (Gold. Treas. ed. p. 95, l. 5), 'It is strange, how long some men will lie in wait, to speake somewhat they desire to say: and how farre about they will fetch; and how many other Matters they will beat over to come near it.' **4.** *Fetch a compass*, *i.e.* 'make a circuit,' instead of going in a straight line. Thus Fuller, *Pisgah Sight*, IV. ii. 43, 'Wicked men may for a time retard, not finally obstruct our access to happiness. It is but fetching a compass, making two steps for one; a little more pains and patience will do the deed.' The Heb. is simply the verb סָבַב *sâbhabh*, which means to make a turning or a circuit. RV gives 'turn about' in Nu 34^{5}, Jos 15^{3}, and 'make a circuit' in 2 S 5^{23}, 2 K 3^{9}. The Gr. is περιέρχομαι, go round about, Ac 28^{13} (RV 'make a circuit').* In 'fetch a compass' as in 'fetch about' the idea of the circuitous route is not in the verb, but in its complement.† See COMPASS. Similar phrases are found, as T. Adams, *II Peter*, 54, 'Merchants would give much to know a short cut to those remote places of traffic, without passing straits or fetching bouts'; Fuller, *Holy Warre*, p. 29, 'As if sensible of his sad fate, and desirous to deferre what he cannot avoid, he [the Jordan] fetcheth many turnings and windings, but all will not excuse him from falling into the Dead sea.' **5.** *Fetch a stroke*, Dt 19^{5} 'his hand fetcheth a stroke with the axe.' So Fuller, *Holy Warre*, 219, 'Being about to fetch another stroke, the Prince with his foot gaue him such a blow that he felled him to the ground'; and Bunyan, *Holy War* (Clar. Press ed. p. 47, l. 20), 'If I fetch my blow, *Mansoul*, down you go.' **6.** *Fetch one's breath*, Sir 31^{19} 'he fetcheth not his wind short upon his bed' (οὐκ ἀσθμαίνει, RV 'he doth not breathe hard'). Cf. Shaks. 1 *Henry IV.* II. iv. 579, 'Hark, how hard he fetches breath. Search his pockets'; and *Troilus*, III. ii. 23, 'She does so blush, and fetches her wind so short, as if she were frayed with a sprite: I'll fetch her. It is the prettiest villain: she fetches her breath so short as a new-ta'en sparrow.'

In Old English there were two distinct verbs, *fet* and *fetch*. Fet seems to have been the older of the two. Indeed, Bradley (*Oxf. Eng. Dict. s.v.* 'Fetch') believes that Platt and Sievers are right in deriving fetch from fet by a singular series of changes. The *i* of the oldest form *feti-an* became a consonantal *y*, then this *ty* being sounded as *cc* became written so, and *cc* easily passed into the spelling *ch*. Cf. *ort-yeard*, in Old Eng. *orceard*, now *orchard*.

Fet and Fetch were synonymous in meaning, as we may see from Tindale, whose trn (1534) of Mt $24^{17.18}$ is, 'And let him which is on the housse toppe not come downe to fet (ἆραι) eny thinge out of his housse. Nether let him which is in the felde returne backe to fetche (ἆραι) his clothes.' Fet gradually gave way to fetch. In the Geneva version of 1560 it is found in the imperat., 1 S 20^{31} 'wherefore now send and fet him vnto me, for he shal surely dye,' and in the indic., Dt 19^{12} 'Then the Elders of his citie shal send and fet him thence.' And even in AV of 1611 the infin. is once employed, Jer 36^{21} 'So the king sent Iehudi to fet the roule.' But after the Old Eng. period the word was used chiefly in the past tense and past ptcp., as an alternative with 'fetcht' or 'fetched,' and that is its use elsewhere in AV.

In the 1611 ed. of AV 'fet' occurs 9 times (2 S 9^{5} 11^{27}, 1 K 7^{13} 9^{28}, 2 K 11^{4}, 2 Ch 12^{11}, Jer 26^{23} 36^{21}, Ac 28^{13}); 'fetcht' 5 times (Gn 18^{7}, 1 S 7^{1}, 2 S 14^{2}, 2 K 3^{9}, 2 Ch 1^{17}); and 'fetched' 6 times (Gn 18^{4} 27^{14}, Jos 15^{3}, Jg 18^{18}, 1 S 10^{22}, 2 S 4^{6}). In course of time, chiefly through the influence of Dr. Paris (1762) and Dr. Blayney (1769), 'fet' was banished from AV. In his *Camb. Paragraph Bible* of 1873, Scrivener restored it to all its original places, and Scrivener's text is used in the *Camb. Bible for Schools and Colleges*. But the Camb. and Oxf. Parallel Bibles do not use it once. They use even 'fetcht' only once, Gn 18^{7}; elsewhere always 'fetched.'

J. HASTINGS.

FETTER.—Three Heb. words are translated fetter. **1.** נְחֹשֶׁת, Arab. *naḥâs*, copper. In La 3^{7} this word is rendered chain, in Jer 39^{7} 52^{11} (RV) fetters, also in Jg 16^{21}, 2 S 3^{34}, 2 K 25^{7}, 2 Ch 33^{11} 36^{6}. In the Arab. tr. by Van Dyck, נְחֻשְׁתַּיִם is rendered *silâsil naḥâs*, copper chains, or *silsilatain min naḥâs*, two chains of copper. It is still the custom in Syria to attach a chain to each of the rings put round a prisoner's ankles, the middle of the chain being fastened to his girdle. A prisoner is thus, according to the Arabic way of speaking, bound with two chains. **2.** כֶּבֶל, Syr. *kĕbēl* (a late word borrowed from Aramaic. The Arab. *kabal* is probably a loan-word from the Aramaic). There are two passages in which this word is used, both referring to fetters of iron, Ps 105^{18} and Ps 149^{8}. **3.** זֵק, זִקִּים (Is 45^{14}, Nah 3^{10} fetters of captives, Job 36^{8} fig.). Horses and other animals are usually tethered by ropes fastened to the fore foot and the hind foot on one side.

W. CARSLAW.

FEVER.—See MEDICINE.

FIELD.—See AGRICULTURE.

FIERY SERPENT.—See SERAPHIM and SERPENT.

FIGS (תְּאֵנִים *tĕ'ênîm*, the fruit of the *fig tree*, which is תְּאֵנָה *tĕ'ênâh*; in NT συκῆ is the *fig tree*, and σῦκον the *fig*).—The fig tree, *Ficus Carica*, L., is cultivated everywhere in the Holy Land, and also grows spontaneously in many places. It is a tree of moderate size, seldom attaining a height of 15 ft., but its spreading branches often cover a circle with a diameter of 25 to 30 ft. Fig trees are habitually planted near houses, and the people sit in their shade, and that of the vines which grow over the trellises. This familiar sight did not fail to be noted in OT and Apocr. as an emblem of peace and prosperity (1 K 4^{25}, Mic 4^{4}, Zec 3^{10},

---

* Lightfoot (*Fresh Revision*² 193) says, 'We have heard how the inquiring schoolboy has been perplexed at reading that St. Paul and his companions "fetched a compass" when they set sail from Syracuse (Ac 28^{13}), not being able to reconcile this statement with the date given for the invention of this instrument.'

† Fuller, *Holy Warre*, p. 119, says, 'His navie he sent about by Spain'; then on p. 120, 'behold his navie there safely arriving, which with much difficultie and danger had fetched a compass about Spain.'

1 Mac 14^{12}). There are numerous varieties of figs cultivated, some of which bear a tart, blackish fruit, others a sweet, greenish or whitish one. The branches are straggling and naked in winter, but when the rains are nearly or quite over, small green knobs appear at the ends of the twigs. They are the young fruits, פַּג *pag*, 'green figs' (Ca 2^{13}). The leaf-bud now expands, and the new pale green leaves soon more or less overshadow the little figs. This is a familiar sign of early summer (Mt 24^{32}). Hence a fig tree with leaves must already have young fruits, or it will be barren for the season. The first figs ripen late in May or early in June. They are called in Heb. בִּכּוּרָה *bikkûrâh*, in Arab. *bâkûrah*, that is, *first ripe*, Is 28^{4} (AV *hasty fruit*), Jer 24^{2}, Hos 9^{10}, Mic 7^{1}.

When our Lord came to the fig tree near Bethany (Mk 11^{13}), just before the passover, *i.e.* from late in March to the middle of April, 'the time of figs was not yet,' that is, the season for ripe figs had not come. Among the various explanations of Christ's action which may be given, the only ones which seem to us worthy of consideration are the following: (1) That being hungry, and seeing from a distance that the tree had leaves, and therefore was not dead, he came, not to find *new figs*, but to find and eat any figs of the last season which might have remained over on the tree. The expression 'if haply he might find anything thereon' implies that he did not expect to find much. One or two figs will often stay an empty stomach marvellously. According to this opinion, the offence of the fig tree was the fact of not having what must have been a very exceptional relic of a former harvest. (2) That, finding leaves, he knew that there should be young fruit, and hoped that there might, even at that early period, be 'the first ripe figs,' *bikkûrâh*. According to this interpretation, the fault of the fig tree was in not having a precocious fig or two before the time, 'for the time of figs was not yet.' We will not dispute the possibility of finding a winter fig or two on a tree (although during a residence of thirty-three years in Syria we have searched and inquired in vain for them), or of the exceptionally early maturing of some variety of figs, perhaps not now cultivated. Neither of these theories, however, accords with our conception of Christ's justice. In neither case would the fig tree be blameworthy. We are not held accountable for *extraordinary* attainments in religion. (3) Christ was at the moment hungry. Orientals do not eat early in the morning. Labourers and artificers come fasting to their work, and often toil an hour or two before eating. So it is presumable that our Saviour, in his morning walk of two miles from Bethany to Jerus., had not broken his fast. The physical sensation of hunger as a basis gave direction to his thoughts, as he happened to see a most familiar spectacle, a fig tree, at a distance, with fresh, young foliage. The fact that it is mentioned that 'the time of figs was not yet' (AV), or 'it was not the season of figs' (RV), would seem to prove that Christ would not have thought it strange had he not found *winter figs* or *precocious first fruits*. It is hardly conceivable that he could have condemned the tree for that. But, when he arrived, he found *no fruit at all*. Immediately the disappointment of unsatisfied hunger was lost in the moral lesson which flashed across his mind. A fig tree with leaves should have at least green fruit. This one had none. There was *pretension*, which, in the moral sphere, is *hypocrisy*. Having leaves and no fruit, it was a *deceiver*. The *ripeness* of the fruit is not the point. If it had had *unripe* fruit, it would not have been condemned. It was condemned because it had *nothing but leaves*.

The failure of the fig and vine was a sign of great distress (Jer 5^{17} 8^{13}, Jl $1^{7.12}$, Hab $3^{17.18}$). Figs were dried and pressed into cakes for food (1 S 25^{18}). These were used as poultices (2 K 20^{7}, Is 38^{21}). Fig leaves are thick, palmately lobed, and often a span or more across. There is no good reason to doubt the identity of the leaves which Adam and Eve used to make aprons (Gn 3^{7}).

G. E. POST.

FIGURE.—1. Dt 4^{16} 'Lest ye corrupt yourselves, and make you a graven image, the similitude of any figure' (סֶמֶל *sêmel*, Driver 'statue.' The word is found also 2 Ch $33^{7.15}$ EV 'idol,' and Ezk $8^{3.5}$ EV 'image.' The meaning 'statue' is confirmed by the Phœn. inscriptions. See Driver on Dt 4^{16} and Davidson on Ezk 8^{3}). The Eng. word seems to be used in the obsolete sense of the distinctive shape or appearance of a person or thing. The Gen. version has 'a graven image or representacion of anie figure'; the Bishops', 'a graven image and picture of any maner of figure.' Cf. Chaucer, *Monk's Tale*, 232—

> 'And thanne had god of him [Nebuchadnezzar] compassioun,
> And him restored his regne and his figure'—

i.e. his proper shape as a man. So Shaks. *Hamlet*, I. i. 41—

> 'In the same figure, like the king that's dead.'

2. 1 K 6^{29} 'he carved all the walls of the house round about with carved figures of cherubims' (מִקְלַעוֹת *miḳlāʿôth* occurs only in this ch. and the next: 6^{18} EV 'was carved,' *i.e.* 'was carving of'; 6^{32} EV 'carvings'; 7^{31} EV 'gravings'). These 'carved figures' (as the single Heb. word is here tr^{d}) were representations of cherubim cut in relief on the wood of the doors. See CARVING. For this use of the Eng. word, cf. Caxton, *Cato*, A iii. b, 'to adoure the ymages and other fygures humayn'; and Milton, *Lycidas*, 105—

> 'Next Camus, reverend sire, went footing slow,
> His mantle hairy, and his bonnet sedge,
> Inwrought with figures dim.'

3. Is 44^{13} 'The carpenter . . . maketh it [the image] after the figure of a man' (תַּבְנִית *tabhnîth*). The Heb. is frequent for the outward appearance of a person or thing. It occurs long with *ṣêmel* (above) in Dt 4^{16} and is tr^{d} 'likeness.' The Eng. word is used in the same sense as 1 above. Cf. He 1^{3} Wyc. 'he is the schynynge of glorie, and figure of his substaunce'; and Mk 16^{12} Tind. 'After that, he appered unto two of them in a straunge figure.' 4. Ac 7^{43} 'figures which ye made to worship them'; and Ro 5^{14} 'who is the figure of him that was to come' (τύπος). Sanday-Headlam's note on the Greek word is as follows—

> τύπος (τύπτω): (1) the 'impression' left by a sharp blow (τὸν τύπον τῶν ἥλων, 'the print of the nails,' Jn 20^{25}), in particular the 'stamp' struck by a die; (2) inasmuch as such a stamp bears the figure on the face of the die, 'copy,' 'figure,' or 'representation'; (3) by a common transition from effect to cause, 'mould,' 'pattern, 'exemplar'; (4) hence in the special sense of the word type which we have adopted from the Greek of NT, 'an event or person in history corresponding in certain characteristic features to another event or person.'

In Ac 7^{43} the meaning is 'representations' or 'images of gods' (the second meaning above); in Ro 5^{14} it is 'type' (the fourth meaning above). 5. He 9^{24} 'Christ is not entered into the holy places made with hands, *which are* the figures of the true; but into heaven itself' (ἀντίτυπα τῶν ἀληθινῶν, RV 'like in pattern to the true'); and 1 P 3^{21} 'The like figure whereunto *even* baptism doth also now save us' (ὃ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀντίτυπον νῦν σώζει βάπισμα, RV 'which also after a true likeness doth now save you [reading ὑμᾶς with edd.], *even* baptism,' RVm 'in the antitype'). The antitype (τὸ ἀντίτυπον) is the event or person in history that corresponds with the type (ὁ τύπος)—see Sanday-Headlam above. The one that occurs first in history is the type, the second the antitype. Hence in He 9^{24} heaven is the type, the holy place in the tabernacle the antitype; but in 1 P 3^{21} the water of the deluge is the type, of which baptism is the antitype. See TYPE, and cf. Cartwright, *Cert. Relig.* (1651) i. 222, 'The Rock . . . was a Type and a Figure of Christ.' **6.** He 9^{9} 'a figure for the time then present,' and 11^{19} 'Accounting that God *was* able to raise *him* up, even from the dead; from whence also he received him in a figure' (παραβολή, RV 'parable,' in both). The meaning of 9^{9} is clear, but 11^{19} is much disputed.

There are two favourite interpretations: (1) 'As a parable,' *sc.* of the resurrection. Wyclif ('in to a parable') and the Rhemish ('for a parable') decline to commit themselves.* Tind. in ed. of 1534 translates 'for an ensample,' and is followed by Coverdale; but in 1526 ed. he had boldly 'as an ensample of the resurrection,' and this was adopted by Cranmer, and very nearly by the Bishops ('in a *certaine* similitude *of the resurrection*'). This tr^{n} gives a well-recognized sense to παραβολή. The objection felt against it is that Isaac was actually *not* raised from the dead. Hence the favourite interpretation at present is that of AV 'in a figure,' *i.e.* figuratively; Isaac was not really dead, but he was as good as dead, and so figuratively was raised from the dead (see Westcott, *ad loc.*). Cf. Geneva 'in a sort.' The objection is that παραβολή has not elsewhere this meaning.

7. 1 Co 4^{6} 'And these things, brethren, I have in a figure transferred to myself and to Apollos' (μετεσχημάτισα). The Gr. verb tr^{d} 'in a figure transferred' elsewhere means to change one's form or appearance (σχῆμα) into some other form, 2 Co $11^{13.\,14.\,15}$ (AV 'transform,' RV 'fashion into' or 'fashion as') and Ph 3^{21} (AV 'change,' RV 'fashion anew'). Here it is the truth stated that is to change its application: applied by the apostle to himself and Apollos, it really applies to the Corinthians.† **8.** Sir 49^{9} 'he made mention of the enemies under *the figure of* the rain' (ἐν ὄμβρῳ, RV 'he remembered the enemies in storm,' RVm 'in rain').

RV gives 'figure' for AV 'interpretation' in Pr 1^{6}, but with 'interpretation' in marg. (מְלִיצָה), elsewhere only Hab 2^{6} (EV 'proverb,' RVm 'riddle'); and for AV 'fashion,' Ac 7^{44} τύπος (see FASHION). RV also introduces the verb 'to figure,' not in AV text, Lv 26^{1} ('figured stone' as AVm, Heb. אֶבֶן מַשְׂכִּית, AV 'image of stone'); and Nu 33^{52} ('figured *stones*,' Heb. מַשְׂכִּיֹּת, AV 'pictures'). See IDOLATRY and STONE. This meaning of the verb (evidently 'adorned with figures or designs') may be illustrated from Shaks. *Rich. II.* III. iii. 150—

> 'I'll give my jewels for a set of beads, . . .
> My figured goblets for a dish of wood.'

J. HASTINGS.

FILL.—As a subst., meaning a full supply, fill is used of *food*, Lv 25^{19}, Dt 23^{24}; of *drink*, 2 Es 1^{20}, Jth 7^{21}; and metaphorically of *love*, Pr 7^{18} 'Come, let us take our fill of love until the morning.' Cf. S. Rutherford, *Letters*, xxxv., 'those who live long, and get a heavy fill of this life'; and Shaks. *Troil. and Cress.* V. viii. 4—

> 'Rest, sword; thou hast thy fill of blood and death.'

The verb to fill is frequently used by Wyclif (and other early writers) in the sense of execute, accomplish, modern *fulfil*. Thus Gn 27^{5} (1388) 'he hadde go in to the feeld to fille the comaundment of the fadir' (1382 'that he fulfille the heest of the fader'); Lk 9^{31} (1380) 'forsothe Moyses and Elye weren seyn in mageste; and thei seyden his goynge out, which he was to fillinge in Jerusalem' (1388 'which he should fulfille'). So once in AV, 2 Es 4^{38} 'when the number of seeds is filled in you' (*impletus fuerit*; RV 'fulfilled').

To 'fill up' is to fill to the full, the prep. *up*, like Gr. κατά, intensifying the verb: as Mt 23^{32} 'Fill ye up then the measure of your fathers' (πληρώσατε);* 1 Th 2^{16} 'to fill up their sins alway' (εἰς τὸ ἀναπληρῶσαι); Col 1^{24} 'Who now rejoice in my sufferings for you, and fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh for his body's sake, which is the church' (ἀνταναπληρῶ, RV 'fill up on my part,' which is Lightfoot's tr.) †; Mt 9^{16} 'No man putteth a piece of new cloth unto an old garment, for that which is put in to fill it up taketh from the garment, and the rent is made worse' (τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτοῦ, lit. 'its filling'; RV 'that which should fill it up'); so Mk 2^{21}; Rev 15^{1} 'in them is filled up the wrath of God' (ἐτελέσθη, RV 'is finished'). Cf. Shaks. 1 *Henry IV.* III. ii. 116—

> 'To fill the mouth of deep defiance up
> And shake the peace and safety of our throne.'

J. HASTINGS.

FILLET.—Two words are tr^{d} so: (1) חוּט *ḥûṭ*, Jer 52^{21} of that which would 'compass' the pillars which king Solomon had made in the house of the LORD, and which the Chaldæans brake to carry the brass away; AVm 'thread'; RV 'line,' which is the translation in 1 K 7^{15} of both AV and RV. See PILLAR and TEMPLE. The same word is used for the scarlet 'thread' which Rahab placed in her window (Jos 2^{18}), and for the threefold 'cord' which cannot be broken of Ec 4^{12}. (2) [חָשׁוּק] *ḥâshûk*, only found in plu. and with suffixes, Ex $27^{10.\,11}$ 36^{38} $38^{10.\,11.\,12.\,17.\,19}$, of that which clasped the pillars in the tabernacle, those of the pillars of the court being overlaid with silver, those of the pillars at the door with gold. See PILLAR and TABERNACLE. The verb חִשֵּׁק *ḥishshaḳ*, to furnish with fillets, is tr^{d} 'fillet' where it occurs, Ex 27^{17} 'the pillars . . . shall be filleted with silver,' 38^{18} 'the pillars . . . were filleted with silver,' 38^{28} '[Bezalel] filleted them' (RV 'made fillets for them').

A fillet is a little thread (Lat. *fīlum*, a thread, Fr. *fil*, dim. *filet*). Its oldest and commonest application is to a ribbon for binding the hair. Thus Spenser, *FQ* I. iii. 4—

> 'From her faire head her fillet she undight';

and Fuller, *Holy Warre*, 125, 'They pleaded that the Crown was tied on Guy's head with a woman's fillet.' But it came to be used early, and is still in use, for any narrow strip of binding material.

J. HASTINGS.

FINE.—For the subst. *Fine* see CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS. The adj. 'fine' is of frequent occurrence, but only in a few cases does it represent a Heb. or Gr. word. These are: (1) טוֹב *ṭôbh*, 2 Ch $3^{5.\,8}$ 'fine gold,' Ezr 8^{27} 'fine copper,' La 4^{1} 'most fine gold' (in Gn 2^{12} it is tr^{d} 'good,' its usual tr^{n}, 'the gold of that land is good'). Aram. טָב *ṭâbh*, Dn 2^{32} 'fine gold.' (2) שָׂרִיק *sârîḳ*, Is 19^{9} 'fine flax,' lit. 'combed flax,' as RV. (3) פָּז *pâz*, Ca 5^{11} 'most fine gold,' Ges. 'refined gold.' (4) חֵלֶב

---

* But the Rhem. NT has a marginal note, 'That is, in figure and mysterie of Christ dead, and aliue againe.' This margin probably gave AV the word 'figure.'

† Field (*ON*, *ad loc.*) suggests 'by a fiction' for EV 'in a figure.' In illustration of the Gr. verb he quotes 1 S 28^{8} 'Saul disguised himself' (Sym. μετεσχημάτισεν ἑαυτόν); and 1 K 14^{2} 'Arise, I pray thee, and disguise thyself' (Theod. μετασχημάτισον σεαυτόν).

* Cf. Shaks. *K. John*, II. i. 556—

> 'I trust we shall,
> If not fill up the measure of her will,
> Yet in some measure satisfy her.'

† This is the only occurrence of the particular compound ἀντ-ανα-πληρόω in biblical Greek. Lightfoot gives classical quotations, in order to bring out that the special force of ἀντί is 'from another quarter.' That is what is sought to be expressed by 'on my part.' But T. K. Abbott ('Intern. Crit. Com.' *in loc.*) points out that ἀναπληρόω itself, in the two instances where in NT it is used with ὑστέρημα (1 Co 16^{17}, Ph 2^{30}), expresses a supply coming from a different quarter from the deficiency. He finds the idea of *balance* in the ἀντί, and hopes it is not an over-refinement to suggest that ἀνταναπληρόω is more unassuming than ἀναπληρόω, 'since part of the force of the word is thrown on the idea of correspondence.' Christ's afflictions are incomplete till Paul brings his quota of affliction to add to them. And every Christian must bring his quota of affliction to add to them before they are complete. For the afflictions are not the afflictions of the Redeemer, but of His Body the Church. They are His afflictions just because the Church is His Body.

ḥêlebh, Ps 81^{16} 147^{14} 'the finest of the wheat,' lit. as AVm and RVm 'fat of wheat': the fuller phrase 'kidney-fat of wheat' is found in Dt 32^{14}. (5) *καθαρός*, Jth 10^{5} 'fine bread' (RVm 'pure').

In all other cases 'fine' goes with its subst. in order to bring out the full meaning of the subst. in the Heb. or Greek. It is used (1) along with *linen* for שֵׁשׁ *shêsh*, Gn 41^{42}, Ex 25^{4} etc., Ezk $16^{10.13}$ 27^{7}; for בּוּץ *bûẓ*, 1 Ch 4^{21} 15^{27}, 2 Ch 2^{14} 3^{14}, Est 1^{6} 8^{15}, Ezk 27^{16}; for סָדִין *ṣâdhîn*, Pr 31^{24} (RV 'linen garments'), Is 3^{23}; for אֵטוּן *'êṭûn*, Pr 7^{16} (RV 'linen of the yarn'); for *βύσσος*, Lk 16^{19}, Rev 18^{12}; for (adj.) *βύσσινος*, 1 Es 3^{6}, Rev 18^{16} $19^{8\,bis.\,14}$; and for *σινδών*, Mk 15^{46} (RV 'a linen cloth'). (2) With *flour* for סֹלֶת *ṣôleth*, Lv 2^{1} etc., Nu 6^{15} etc., 1 K 4^{22}, 2 K $7^{1.16.18}$, 1 Ch 9^{29} 23^{29}, Ezk $16^{13.19}$ 46^{14}; and for *σεμίδαλις*, Sir 35^{2} 38^{11}, Bel ^{3}, 2 Mac 1^{8} 15^{39}, Rev 18^{13}. (3) With *gold* for פָּז *pâz*, Job 28^{17}, Ps 19^{10} 119^{127}, Pr 8^{19}, Ca 5^{15}, Is 13^{12}, La 4^{2}; for כֶּתֶם *kethem*, Job 31^{24}, Pr 25^{12}, Dn 10^{5} (RV 'pure gold'); and for חָרוּץ *ḥârûẓ* Pr 3^{14}, Zec 9^{3}. (4) With *brass* for *χαλκολίβανον* [*-os*], Rev 1^{15} 2^{18} (RV 'burnished'). Thus the adj., which was introduced to mark a distinction in the Heb. and Greek words, has been used so freely as to obliterate any distinction, and RV has done little to restore it. 'Fine' means '*finished*' (Lat. *finitus*, Old Fr. *fin*), and hence of superior quality, and that is its meaning in all those places. RV, however, has introduced the word in the sense of 'broken small,' 'of minute particles,' Dt 9^{21} 'as fine as dust' (דַּק לְעָפָר, AV 'small as dust').

The verb to *fine* (mod. 'refine') is derived from the adj., and signifies to make pure. It occurs only Job 28^{1} 'Surely there is a vein for silver, and a place for gold where they fine it' (יָזֹקּוּ, RV 'which they refine'). 'Fining' is used twice, Pr 17^{3} 'the fining pot is for silver' (מַצְרֵף, Amer. RV 'refining pot'), so 27^{21}. 'Finer' occurs only Pr 25^{4} 'a vessel for the finer' (צֹרֵף, Amer. RV 'refiner').

J. HASTINGS.

FIR (בְּרוֹשׁ *bĕrôsh*; once בְּרוֹתִים *bĕrôthîm*, Ca 1^{17}; *ἄρκευθος, κέδρος, πίτυς, κυπάρισσος, πεύκη*; *abies, cupressus*). From the numerous words by which the LXX has trd the Heb. original, it is clear that the learned men of that day were not agreed as to the identity of the tree intended. In a considerable number of passages the trn is not the name of a tree at all. The conditions required in the tree are—(1) That it could supply boards and planks and timber for doors (LXX *πεύκιναι*, 1 K $6^{15.34}$). (2) That it could supply beams (LXX *κέδρινοι*, 2 Ch 3^{5}) for the roofing of the temple. These must have been large, and very strong. (3) That it was useful in shipbuilding (Ezk 27^{5}). The LXX in this passage has transposed the words for *cedar* and *fir*, giving as follows: 'The cedar from Senir was built for thee, the planks of the decks were taken off the cypress of Lebanon, of which to make for thee pine masts.' It uses here *κυπάρισσος* for the transposed word. It is not clear why the word *pine* in the last clause was added. Perhaps it refers to the resinous quality of the wood. (4) It was suitable for musical instruments (2 S 6^{5}). The LXX, however, in this passage renders the word *bĕrôshîm* by *ἐν ἰσχύι*, *in strength*, and not by the name of any tree. This corresponds with the parallel passage 1 Ch 13^{8} 'with all their might,' where the Heb. text is בְּכָל־עֹז וּבְשִׁירִים instead of בְּכֹל עֲצֵי בְרוֹשִׁים. If we adopt the reading of 1 Ch in 1 S, the abruptness and apparent unseasonableness of the mention of the wood of which the musical instruments were made is avoided, and the two passages satisfactorily reconciled. The slight clerical error which would thus be corrected is obvious on a comparison of the two texts side by side. Budde has adopted this amended reading in his new edition of the text of Samuel. Should we also adopt it, there would no longer be any necessity to consider the adaptation of the *bĕrôsh* to the manufacture of musical instruments (see Wellh. and Driver, *ad loc.*).

Pinus Halepensis, Mill., has been proposed as the equivalent of *bĕrôsh*. But its wood is not durable, and would hardly have been chosen for the beams of the temple. Two other trees have been proposed as the equivalent of *bĕrôsh*, either of which would meet all the requirements: *Juniperus excelsa*, M.B., and *Cupressus sempervirens*, L. The former is called in Arab. *lizzâb* and *sherbîn*. It grows in the alpine and sub-alpine regions of Lebanon and Antilebanon, up to an altitude of 9000 ft. Its comus, when not hacked by the woodman, is ovate-lanceolate. Its trunk is straight, and its wood very solid and durable. It has dense ascending branches, small appressed leaves, and black berries as large as a marrowfat pea. The wood is well stored with resin—a fact which threatens the tree with extinction, as the remaining forests are fast being cut down by the tar smelters. Its trunks make solid and indestructible beams, and its wood, which is reddish and fragrant, is suitable for boards, planks, ship timber, and other purposes. But, notwithstanding the suitableness of the juniper as a tree to the requirements of the case, the weight of evidence is in favour of the *cypress*, *Cupressus sempervirens*, L. This tree has qualities resembling those of the last named. It has a straight trunk, horizontal, somewhat straggling branches, forming an ovate-oblong comus, small appressed leaves, and globular galbules, about an inch in diameter, composed of woody, shield-shaped scales. Its wood is useful for all the purposes indicated for the fir. Its name, *κυπάρισσος*, is one of the most frequent

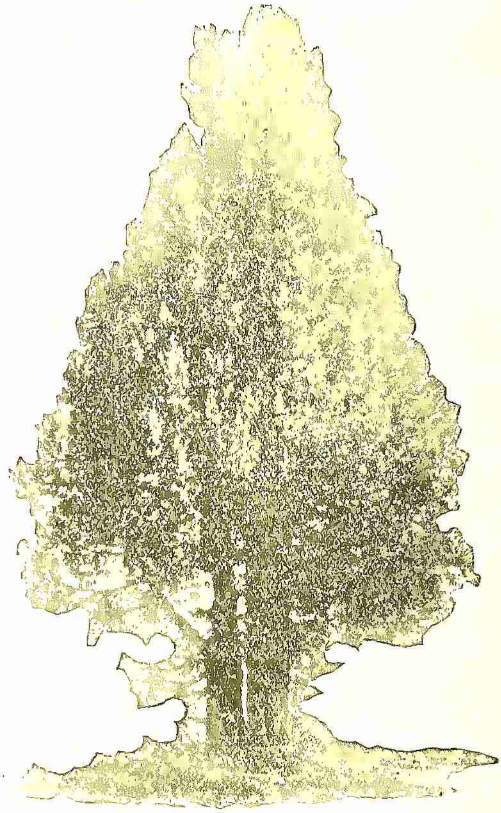

'JUNIPERUS EXCELSA.' TALL JUNIPER.

translations of it in the LXX. It is called in Arab. *saru* and *sherbîn*, both of which are the equivalent of *cypress* in that language. Contrary to an opinion cited in *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*, under the head בְּרוֹשׁ, it is found in abundance in Lebanon and Antilebanon. A variety of it, with ascending branches, forming a lanceolate comus, is the familiar *cemetery cypress*, so common in the neighbourhood of Oriental cities. Many of these have tall straight trunks, which would make massive beams and ship timbers. G. E. Post.

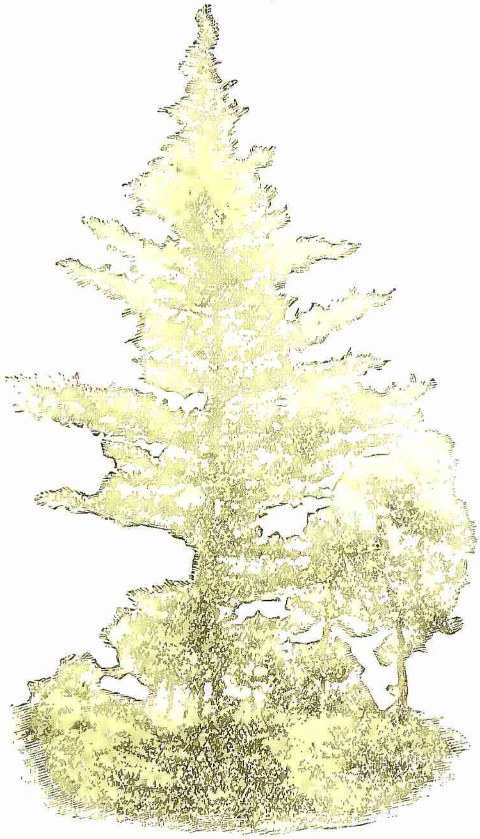
'CUPRESSUS SEMPERVIRENS.' WILD CYPRESS.

FIRE (in OT most commonly אֵשׁ, *πῦρ*, *πυρισμός*, also אוּר, אִשָּׁה, בְּעֵרָה; in Dn occurs Aram. נוּר; in NT *πῦρ*, also *πυρά*, *φῶς*) denotes primarily the ordinary process of combustion, with its accompaniments of light and heat. The Scripture references to it are too numerous to classify exhaustively. Those which deserve special attention fall into two groups, according as the word is used in a literal or in a figurative sense.

I. Literal Usage.—Here we may distinguish —**1.** Fire accompanying God's presence. Besides numerous metaphorical allusions in connexion with theophanies, there are several references to fire as a physical phenomenon appearing on such occasions. See Gn 15^{17}, Ex 3^{2} (the burning bush), Ex 19^{18}, Dt 4^{36} (Mt. Sinai), Ex 40^{38}, Nu 9^{15}, Dt 1^{33}, Ps 78^{14} 105^{39} (the guiding pillar). **2.** Sacrificial fire. (*a*) Sacrifice by fire was a primitive mode of worship (Gn 8^{20} 22^{6}). (*b*) Under the Mosaic law fire was a most important means of offering the various prescribed sacrifices, which are described as 'offerings made by fire unto J″.' For this purpose a fire was kept continually burning on the altar of burnt-offering (Lv 6^{13}, 1 Es 6^{24}). According to Lv 9^{24} it had a miraculous origin, and it was similarly rekindled in Solomon's temple (2 Ch 7^{1-3}). Some find a reference to this perpetual fire in Is 31^{9} (but see Cheyne, Delitzsch, *in loc.*), and in the name Ariel (the hearth of God?) applied to Jerus. in Is $29^{1.2.7}$. In 2 Mac 1^{19-22} there is a legend about the hiding of the sacred fire at the fall of Jerus., and its discovery by Nehemiah after the Exile. For the story of a later rekindling see 2 Mac 10^{3}. (*c*) Mention is made of special answers by fire when sacrifices were offered elsewhere than at the regular sanctuary, as in the cases of Gideon (Jg 6^{21}), Elijah (1 K 18^{38}), and David (1 Ch 21^{26}). (*d*) Fire was used for offering incense. It was carried in censers (Lv $16^{12.13}$), or placed on the altar of incense (Ex $30^{7.8}$), and the incense sprinkled upon it. To use any other than the sacred fire for this purpose was to offer 'strange fire,' the offence for which Nadab and Abihu perished (Lv 10^{1}, Nu 3^{4} 26^{61}). (*e*) Human sacrifice, especially child sacrifice, by fire was practised by certain of Israel's neighbours (Dt 12^{31}, 2 K 17^{31}). It was strictly forbidden in the law (Lv 18^{21}, Dt 18^{10}), but is repeatedly mentioned as a sin of Israel (2 K 17^{17}, Jer 7^{31} 19^{5} 32^{35}, Ezk 16^{21} $20^{26.31}$), being carried on in particular by Ahaz (2 K 16^{3}, 2 Ch 28^{3}) and Manasseh (2 K 21^{6}, 2 Ch 33^{6}). The scene of these rites was Topheth in the valley of Hinnom (Jer 7^{31}). See W. R. Smith, *RS*, pp. 352, 353, and Driver, *Deut.* p. 222. **3.** Lightning. In such expressions as 'fire from heaven,' 'the fire of God,' etc., which describe at times a destructive agency (Lv 10^{2}, 2 K $1^{10.12}$, Job 1^{16}), and at times the token by which sacrifice was approved (2 *c*, above), some such phenomenon as lightning is evidently to be understood, as also when 'fire and hail' are mentioned together (Ex $9^{23.24}$, Ps 105^{32} 148^{8}). **4.** Fire for domestic purposes. Its use in this respect was twofold. (*a*) For the preparation of food, as for roasting flesh (Ex 12^{8}, 2 Ch 35^{13}, Is 44^{16}, 1 Es 1^{12}), for broiling fish (Jn 21^{9}), for baking (1 K 17^{12}, Jer 7^{18}). (*b*) For warmth, as in Is 44^{16}, Jer 36^{22}, Mk 14^{54}, Lk 22^{55}, Jn 18^{18}, Ac 28^{2}. In Pal. fire is only occasionally used for heating, and there are no regular fireplaces except in kitchens, but portable braziers or 'fire-pans' are employed. The larger houses have special 'winter rooms' (Jer 36^{22}, Am 3^{15}). In these a cavity is made in the middle of the floor, in which the 'stove' (אָח) is placed. When the fire has burnt out a wooden frame is placed over it, and this is covered with a carpet so as to retain the heat (Keil, *Bib. Arch.* ii. 107; Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* 141; Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 124). The Arabs in the desert use as a hearth a hole lined with stones (Niebuhr, *Travels in Arabia*, i. 209). The use of fire on the Sabbath for domestic purposes was forbidden in the law (Ex 35^{3}; Jos. *Wars*, II. viii. 9). **5.** Fire in metallurgy. Fire has been employed from the earliest times for refining, casting, and forging metals. Among the Scripture allusions to this use are Ex 32^{24} (the golden calf), the various references to 'molten images,' and also Is 44^{12} 54^{16}, 2 Es 16^{73}, Sir 2^{5}, 1 P 1^{7}. **6.** Fire as a destroying agent. Among the effects of fire destruction is naturally prominent. Death by fire (or possibly burning *after* execution by another method) was the penalty for certain offences (Lv 20^{14} 21^{9}, Jos $7^{15.25}$), and was also a mode of inflicting vengeance (2 S 12^{31} [?], Jer 29^{22}, Dn $3^{11.15}$, 2 Mac 7^{5}). Conquerors burned the idols of vanquished nations (2 K 19^{18}, Is 37^{19}), and the Israelites were specially enjoined so to destroy those of the Canaanites (Dt 7^{5}, 1 Mac 5^{68}). Fire was a common means of destroying cities and property taken in war; and hence 'a fire shall go forth,' 'I will send (or kindle) a fire,' are formulæ which occur frequently in the prophetical books. Setting a crop on fire was one way of provoking a quarrel (Jg $15^{4.5}$, 2 S 14^{30}), and provision was made in the law (Ex 22^{6}) for making good the damage done by fire accidentally raised. Fire was a convenient method of destroying obnoxious writings (Jer 36^{23}, 1 Mac 1^{56}). The disposal of human bodies by burning was quite exceptional among the Hebrews (1 S 31^{12}, Am 6^{10}), but the refuse of the bodies of animals used in sacrifice was destroyed by fire (Lv 4^{12} 6^{30} 16^{27}, He 13^{11}). Garments infected by 'leprosy' were to be burnt (Lv $13^{52.57}$), and it was also common to burn rubbish of various kinds, as stubble (Is 5^{24}), chaff (Mt 3^{12}, Lk 3^{17}), and tares (Mt 13^{30}). Topheth (2 *e*, above) is said to have become in later times a receptacle and burning-place of rubbish. (This is doubted by Robinson; see *BRP*² i. 274.) Fire is contemplated as the means by which the visible universe is to be destroyed (2 P 3^{7-12}). **7.** Fire as a purifying agent. This use arises from the previous one in cases where impurities are of a combustible nature while the material to be purified is not so (Nu 31^{23}).

II. METAPHORICAL USAGE.—Many of the foregoing properties and uses of fire have suggested fig. applications of the word. Thus we find it employed as a symbol—**1.** Of God Himself. (*a*) Of His glory, in such visions as those described in Ezk $1^{4.13}$ $10^{6.7}$, Dn 7^{9} 10^{6}. (*b*) Of His protecting presence (2 K 6^{17}, Zec 2^{5}). (*c*) Of His holiness (Dt 4^{24}, He 12^{29}). **2.** Of God's righteous judgment, which tests the deeds of men (Zec 13^{9}, Mal 3^{2}, 1 Co 3^{13}). **3.** Of God's wrath against sin (Is $66^{15.16}$, Jer 4^{4} 21^{12}, La $2^{3.4}$, Ezk 21^{31} 22^{21}, Am 5^{6} 7^{4} etc.). **4.** Of the punishment of the wicked (Ps 68^{2} 97^{3}, Is 47^{14}, Ezk 28^{18}, Mt $13^{42.50}$, 2 Th 1^{8}). Topheth or Gehenna (I. 6 above) suggests the language in Is 66^{24}, Jth 16^{17}, Sir 7^{17}, Mt 18^{9}, Mk 9^{43-48}. Fire is the emblem of the danger which the saved escape (Zec 3^{2}, Jude ^{23}). 'Eternal fire' and 'the lake of fire' are images of the punishment of the lost (Mt 25^{41}, Jude ^{7}, Rev 19^{20} $20^{10.14.15}$ 21^{8}). **5.** Of sin (Is 9^{18} 65^{5}), and particularly of lust (Hos 7^{6}, Sir 23^{16}), and of the mischief of the tongue (Pr 16^{27}, Ja 3^{6}). **6.** Of trouble and affliction (Ps 66^{12}, Is 43^{2}, Jer 51^{58}, Hab 2^{13}). **7.** Of religious emotion (Ps 39^{3}), and especially of prophetic inspiration, as 'the word of the Lord' (Jer 5^{14} 20^{9} 23^{29}). **8.** Of the law (2 Es 13^{38}). **9.** Of the Holy Spirit (Mt 3^{11}, Lk 3^{16}, Ac 2^{3}).

Reference is apparently made in 2 Mac 10^{3} to the method of procuring fire by striking steel against flint. With regard to *fuel*, the material used for the sacrificial fire, both in primitive and in later times, was wood (Gn $22^{3.6}$, Lv 6^{12}). Special arrangements were made for supplying the altar fire. The Gibeonites were made 'hewers of wood' for the house of the Lord (Jos 9^{23}), and after the Exile a special wood-offering was appointed for the temple (Neh 10^{34} 13^{31}). It is called by Josephus the festival of Xylophoria (*Wars*, II. xvii. 6). For ordinary purposes the staple fuel was charcoal (see COAL), but other materials were also used, such as thorns (Ps 58^{9} 118^{12}, Ec 7^{6}, Is 33^{12}) and grass (Mt 6^{30}, Lk 12^{28}). The asphaltum found near the Dead Sea is combustible, as is also the 'stink-stone' found in the same neighbourhood, which is burnt along with camel's dung (Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria*, p. 394). The last mentioned, as well as other kinds of dung (Ezk 4^{15}), is also used alone as fuel (Niebuhr, *Travels in Arabia*, ii. 232; Wright, *Palmyra and Zenobia*, p. 369).

JAMES PATRICK.

FIREBRAND.—See BRAND. **FIREPAN.**—See CENSER.

FIRKIN.—See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

FIRMAMENT.—See COSMOGONY.

FIRSTBORN.—See FAMILY.

FIRST-FRUITS (בִּכּוּרִים, in Lv 23^{20} בִּכֻּרִים, LXX *πρωτογεννήματα*; רֵאשִׁית *ἀπαρχή*).—The custom of offering first-fruits was shared by the Isr. with many other ancient nations, and it is also found in many savage religions. Frazer (*Golden Bough*, ii. 68–90) cites many examples to show that the new corn was eaten sacramentally in order that the worshippers might share in the divine life of the corn-spirit, with which it was assumed that the grain was instinct. The eating of the first-fruits is, then, similar to the earliest form of animal sacrifice, in which the victim was regarded as divine, and the essence of the sacrifice lies in the communal feast and the participation of all the worshippers in the divine life. The two still remain separated by an important difference. The divine animal probably belonged to the kin of the worshippers, and the sacrificial meal strengthened the bond of kinship by a distribution of the common life. There is no reason for assuming this in the case of the corn-spirit. He gives, further, several instances of the offering of the first-fruits to the deity, in which the sacramental idea is absent (*Golden Bough*, ii. 373–384). The offering is in these cases of the nature of tribute or thank-offering. It is considered unsafe to eat of the new crops till the god has received his share, and the rite thus falls into the same category as numerous others familiar to the student of ritual and custom. The offering of the first-fruits does not sanctify the rest of the crop, but it makes it lawful food (W. R. Smith, *RS*,² 241).

The Heb. first-fruits belong to the latter class; they are tribute, not the staple of a sacramental meal. The history is not in all points clear, partly owing to the shifting sense of the terminology. It is essential, if confusion is to be avoided, to keep the regulations of the codes distinct, and take them in their chronological order.

(*a*) In the oldest legislation (JE) the first-fruits of the harvest are required (Ex 23^{16} 34^{22}). Twice the curious phrase occurs, 'the first of the first-fruits' (רֵאשִׁית בִּכּוּרִים Ex 23^{19} 34^{26}, so in Ezk 44^{30}). This is taken by some to mean the first-ripe, by others the choicest, of the first-fruits. But probably 'of the first-fruits' is added to explain 'the first,' the first, that is, the first-fruits. It seems probable that in Ex 22^{29} first-fruits are referred to in the words מְלֵאָתְךָ וְדִמְעֲךָ (lit. 'thy fulness and thy tear,' paraphrased in RV as 'the abundance of thy fruits and of thy liquors'), on account of the mention of the firstborn in the parallel clause. If so, the first-fruits can hardly be confined to cereals, but will include wine and oil ('thy liquors'). The LXX gives *ἀπαρχὰς ἅλωνος καὶ ληνοῦ* ('first-fruits of thy threshing-floor and wine-press'). A feast was connected with the offering, 'the feast of harvest, the first-fruits of thy labour' (Ex 23^{16}), 'the feast of weeks, *even* of the first-fruits of wheat harvest' (Ex 34^{22}). The amount to be offered is not stated; it seems to have been left to the discretion of the offerer. It is interesting to observe that a man brought Elisha as a gift 'bread of the first-fruits, twenty loaves of barley, and fresh ears of corn' (2 K 4^{42}).

(*b*) In Deuteronomy (D) the Isr. is ordered to bring of his first-fruits in a basket to the central sanctuary and present it to the priest, with a profession of gratitude to God for deliverance from Egyp. bondage and the possession of the fruitful land of Palestine. A feast then follows, in which the Levite and the stranger are to share the offerer's hospitality (Dt 26^{1-11}). According to 18^{4} the priest is to receive the first-fruits of corn, wine, and oil, and the first of the fleece. The two regulations seem to be in conflict, and it has been supposed that 18^{4} is a later addition. Possibly there is no discrepancy. The basket of first-fruits may be only a portion, and this may be the first-fruits meant in 18^4, the rest being kept for the feast, or it may be the whole and the feast not made of the first-fruits at all. (See Driver, *Deut.* p. 290. He decides for the latter alternative.) It is not clear what was the relation of the first-fruits to the Tithe. Several scholars regard them as really identical, but this is not certain. See TITHE.

(*c*) As Dt 18^4 claims the first-fruits for the Levitical priests, so *Ezekiel*, whose legislation forms the transition to the Priestly Code, claims for the priests (*i.e.* the sons of Zadok) 'the first of all the first-fruits of everything,' and, in addition, the first of the dough (44^{30}).

(*d*) In the small code known as the Law of Holiness (H) it is enjoined that on the day after the Sabbath a sheaf of the first-fruits of the harvest should be brought to the priest, who should wave it before the Lord. A burnt-offering and a meal-offering are to accompany this ceremony, and, till it is accomplished, no bread, parched corn, or fresh ears must be eaten (Lv 23^{10-14}). Seven weeks later two wave loaves of two-tenths of an ephah of fine flour and leavened are to be offered as first-fruits (Lv 23^{17}. The additional regulations in 23^{18-20} are for the most part a later insertion interpolated from Nu 28^{27-29}).

(*e*) In the Priestly Code (P) the *rêshîth* and the *bikkûrîm* seem to be distinguished. In Nu 18^{12} the best of the corn, wine, and oil, that is, the *rêshîth*, belongs to the priest. In the next verse the *bikkûrîm* of all that is in their land also belong to the priest. Probably, the *bikkûrîm* should be interpreted as the first ripe raw fruits, while the *rêshîth* will be the prepared oil and wine and corn. (So Wellhausen, Nowack, and RV.) Accordingly, we find in Neh 10^{35} that the *bikkûrîm* of the ground and of the fruit trees were brought into the house of the Lord, while the *rêshîth* of dough, heave-offerings, fruit, wine, and oil were brought into the store-rooms of the temple (10^{37} 12^{44}). The distinction is observed in LXX and by Philo and Josephus. In Nu $15^{20.21}$ it is enacted that the first of the dough also shall be given as a heave-offering. According to Lv 2^{12} leaven and honey might be included in the first-fruits, though they could not be part of any offering made by fire. The meal-offering of first-fruits consisted of parched corn in the ear with oil and frankincense. Part of the corn and oil with all the frankincense was to be burnt (Lv 2^{14-16}). An interesting law, which rests on the same principle as the law of first-fruits, is that of Lv 19^{23-25}, which ordains that the fruit of a tree shall not be used for the first three years after it is planted ('three years shall they be as uncircumcised unto you'), and shall be consecrated to God in the fourth year. In the fifth year it may be eaten.

(*f*) In the later period a distinction was made between the *bikkûrîm* and the *tĕrûmôth* (תְּרוּמוֹת oblations); the fullest treatment of the subject is in the two tracts of the Mishna which bear these names. The *bikkûrîm* were taken from wheat, barley, grapes, figs, pomegranates, olives, and honey. The fruits were offered fresh by those who dwelt near Jerus., and dried by those who came from a distance. The companies came in a procession headed by the ox for the sacrifice, and marched to the music of pipes. They were met in Jerus. by the chief priests. The offerers then carried their wreathed baskets on their shoulders to the temple courts, and were welcomed by the Levites with the singing of Ps 30. Then the baskets were given to the priests, and the formula (Dt 26^{5-10}) was repeated. The *tĕrûmôth* were a tax for the support of the priests, and used only by them, and were levied on every kind of fruit of the ground and of trees. The choicest of the fruits were to be given; not more than $\frac{1}{40}$ or less than $\frac{1}{60}$ of the crop was expected. There was also the *Ḥallah* (חַלָּה), which was the first of the dough, $\frac{1}{24}$ of the whole piece in the case of private individuals, and $\frac{1}{48}$ in that of public bakers.

LITERATURE.—Nowack, *Heb. Archäol.* ii. pp. 255-257; Wellhausen, *Prolegom.* pp. 157, 158; Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 237-242. See also Philo, *De festo cophini* and *De præmiis sacerdotum.*

A. S. PEAKE.

FIRSTLING.—A firstling * is the first (in time) of its kind, Pr 3^9 Cov. 'Honoure the LORDE with thy substaunce, and with the firstlinges of all thine encrease.' In *Macbeth*, IV. i. 147, Shaks. uses the word of the first thoughts of the heart and the first acts of the hand—

> 'From this moment
> The very firstlings of my heart shall be
> The firstlings of my hand.'

In EV it is used only of the firstborn of beasts, though the Heb. words so tr^d (בְּכוֹר or בְּכוֹרָה, and פֶּטֶר) are used also of the firstborn of women.

FISH.—Fishes are very abundant in the inland waters of Pal. and Syria, except the Dead Sea, as well as in the adjacent Mediter. and the Nile. Even the intensely salt springs by the Dead Sea swarm with certain kinds of fish, while the water of that sea, which contains a large percentage of chloride of magnesium, is fatal to all animal life. Thousands of fish are borne by the rapid current of the Jordan into that sea, and, as soon as they reach its waters, are stupefied, and fall a prey to cormorants and kingfishers, or their bodies are washed up on the shore and feed the ravens and vultures. Tristram mentions forty-three species of fish found in inland waters. Of these the large number of twenty-two are peculiar to Pal. and Syria, and of this number fourteen are peculiar to the Jordan Valley and one to the mountain lake of Yamûni, S.E. of the cedars, and three inhabit only the Damascus lakes. Many of the species swarm in immense shoals in the Sea of Galilee and in the warm fountains by its shores, as well as in the Jordan and its affluents, the Leontes, the Orontes, and the lakes of Antioch, Ḥems, etc. Fresh-water fishes are also very abundant in all the perennial streams which flow into the Mediter., often ascending long distances, and not infrequently leaping up the rapids and cascades to reach their spawning places. The adjacent Mediter. is also well stocked with a large number of species of fish.

The large number and great fecundity of fish is expressed in the Heb. name דָּג *dâg*, from דָּגָה to *multiply abundantly.* They were taken from the earliest times, and many of them used as food (Gn $9^{2.3}$). Not a few of them are highly specialized in form and aspect; yet, while a considerable number of land animals and birds and even insects had names in Heb., not a single species of fish is named in the Scriptures. The only attempt at classification was into *clean* and *unclean* (Lv $11^{9.10}$). The former comprised those which had fins and scales; the latter, all others. This distinction was recognized in ancient Egypt (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyp.* iii. 58, 59), and under el-Ḥâkim, who prohibited the sale of unclean fish (Lane, *Mod. Egyp.* i. 132). The good and bad fish (Mt 13^{48}) may have referred to this distinction, or to some other standard of excellence. The writer has seen a fisherman on the Mediter. coast in his anger beat to a jelly the head of a fish to which he objected.

---

* From *first* and *ling* a suffix with varying force but generally dimin., seen also in changeling, darling, fatling, fondling, foundling, gosling, hireling, inkling, nestling, nurseling, seedling stripling, starveling, underling, worldling.

At other times they cast them away on the shore, or back into the water.

The Hebrews seem to have classified together all creatures living in the waters, whether 'whales' AV, or 'sea-monsters' RV (Gn 1^{21}; Heb. *tannînîm*), or 'great fish' (Jon 1^{17} דָּג גָּדוֹל *dâg gâdhôl*), or the 'living creature that moveth' (Gn 1^{21}), or 'fish' (v.^{28}).

The fish was an object of idolatry in all the ancient world. The Philistines worshipped Dagon, the Fish-god (1 S 5^{4}), who was represented with the body of a man and the tail of a fish (but see DAGON, p. 544^{a}). Hence it was forbidden to make an image of a fish (Dt 4^{18}), which to the Heb. included, as before said, all living creatures in the water (Ex 20^{4}). G. E. POST.

FISHER.—Fisher, says Bradley (*Oxf. Eng. Dict.*), is now archaic, being superseded in ordinary use by 'fisherman.' AV has followed previous versions in giving 'fisher' in Is 19^{8}, Jer 16^{16}, Ezk 47^{10} (דַּיָּג, only plu.), Mt $4^{18.19}$, Mk $1^{16.17}$ (ἁλιεύς), though it has 'fisherman' after Tind. and the others (except Wyc. and Rhem.) in Lk 5^{2} (ἁλιεύς). For the 'fisher's coat' of Jn 21^{7} see COAT.

FISHING.—The natural history of Palestine fish has been little studied. Along the coast there are the usual Mediterranean varieties, with an undue proportion of mullet. Some 33 varieties of fresh-water fish have been counted in the Jordan Valley, where fish swarm in Galilee as remarked by Tristram, and in the waters of Merom one may see tons taken in one day by a drag-net. The fact that the fish of this basin resemble African species was first observed by Josephus. 'There are several kinds of fish in it (Galilee), different both to the taste and sight from those elsewhere.' Also he says of the Capharnaum fountain, 'it produces the Coracin fish' (*BJ* III. x. 8). Several Nilotic species abound. The Chromides, carp-like, are called by the Arabs 'combs,' from their flat shape and projecting spines. Of the Siluridæ, sheat fish (*Clarias Macracanthus*, Arab. *Berboot*) grows to the size of 3 or 4 ft.; its flesh is much prized. Most abundant are the barbel and bream, while dace, bleak, and loaches are found. Eels are in many streams, and swarm in the Orontes. Near Tripoli is a pool full of sacred fish. Fossil fish, beautifully preserved in the Lebanon limestone, are of existing genera. While not strictly fish, we may mention that along the coast are dolphins, seals, and whales—the two latter very rare. The 'badger skins' (AV Ex 26^{14}) were probably of the Red Sea dugong, a marine mammal, whose skin is used now; and the Hebrew term תַּחַשׁ corresponds to Arab. *tuḥas*, which includes this animal.

Fishes technically are not mentioned in the *creative* acts of the fifth period except as included in the terms שֶׁרֶץ, lit. 'swarmer' (AV 'moving creature'), and הַתַּנִּינִם הַגְּדֹלִים (AV 'great whales,' RV 'great sea-monsters'). The first of these terms occurs more specifically Lv 11^{10} שֶׁרֶץ הַמַּיִם. The dominion of man, however, it is interesting to note, is given over fish, דְּגֵי הַיָּם (Gn 1^{28}, renewed Gn 9^{2}, cf. Ps 8^{8}).

Fish were a staple article of diet in Egypt, and their loss part of the plague (Ex $7^{18.21}$). The Israelites murmured, 'we remember the fish we did eat freely' (Nu 11^{5}). The ceremonial law declared all that had not 'fins and scales' an 'abomination' (Lv 11^{9-12}). The repeated prohibition of worship of anything 'that is in the water under the earth' (Ex 20^{4}), 'the likeness of any fish that is in the waters beneath the earth' (Dt 4^{18}), was needed, for the Philistines worshipped Dagon='little fish' (1 S 5^{2}; but see art. DAGON). It has also been alleged (but see Baethgen, *Rel.-ges.* 60) that 'Sîdon was the fish goddess of Phœnicia' (Tristram). This cult existed both in Assyria and India. Solomon, in his wisdom, 'spake of the fishes' (1 K 4^{33}). In the time of Nehemiah, fish, probably cured, were brought by the Tyrians to Jerusalem (Neh 13^{16}), where we know there was a 'Fish-gate.' See JERUSALEM.

The 'great fish (דָּג גָּדוֹל Jon 1^{17}) prepared' for Jonah has been supposed to be a shark or whale. Both AV and RV tr. κῆτος in Mt 12^{40} 'whale' (RVm 'sea-monster'). The fact that a killer-whale, 21 ft. long, can swallow porpoises and seals would imply that a much larger whale *might* swallow a man. Part of the skeleton of a whale, 43 ft. long, is in the museum of the Syr. Prot. College, Beirût. The carcass of this whale was cast by a storm on the coast near Tyre.

As a type of restoration, Ezk $47^{9.10}$ tells us that in the Dead Sea 'shall be a very great multitude of fish.' 'These fish shall be according to their kinds, as the fish of the great sea, exceeding many.'

Fish in NT brought a livelihood to the apostles; they are one of the 'good gifts' (Mt 7^{10}) twice miraculously multiplied to the multitudes (Mt $17^{17ff.}$ $15^{34ff.}$). Broiled fish was eaten by our Saviour (Lk 24^{42}) and given by Him to the disciples (Jn $21^{9.13}$). The discrimination between good and bad fish is used as a type of final separation of classes of men (Mt 13^{48}). To the early Christians the fish became a sacred symbol, the Greek word ἰχθύς being formed by the initial letters of the four Gr. words used in the confession, 'Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour' (Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, Θεοῦ υἱος, Σωτήρ). See *D.C.A. s.v.* Ἰχθύς.

As formerly, so now, in the East fishing is the occupation of the simple and poor, and wholly unknown as a pastime. The methods and means have likewise changed but little. These were principally—

(1) The small net cast by hand, חֵרֶם (Ezk $26^{5.14}$ 32^{3} 47^{10}, Hab $1^{15.17}$, Mic 7^{2}, Ec 7^{26}), δίκτυον (Mt 4^{20} etc.), ἀμφίβληστρον (Mt 4^{18}, Mk 1^{16}). This is very commonly employed still. The present writer has watched its use at Tabigha (probably Bethsaida), where fish gather at the outlet of streams into the lake.

(2) The seine, מִכְמֹרֶת (Is 19^{8}) or מִכְמֶרֶת (Hab 1^{15}), σαγήνη. This was used in two ways—either let down into the deep and drawn together in a narrowing circle and then drawn into the boat or boats (Lk 5^{4-9}), or as a semicircle drawn to the shore (Mt 13^{48}). Both these methods are seen daily.

(3) The hook, חַכָּה (Is 19^{8}, Job 41^{1}), צִנָּה, סִיר (Am 4^{2}), ἄγκιστρον (Mt 17^{27}). This was used with a line, חֶבֶל, but no mention is made of a rod, as fly-fishing is unknown. Hab 1^{15} mentions all the three methods we have described.

(4) The harpoon or spear (Job 41^{7}), EV 'barbed irons' (שֻׂכּוֹת), 'fish spears' (צִלְצַל דָּגִים). This is a method depicted on Egyptian and Assyrian monuments. At present it is practised only at night by torchlight.

In spite of the mistranslations 'fish pools' (Ca 7^{4} AV), 'ponds for fish' (Is 19^{10} AV), there is no evidence that the pools of the Bible were used for fish culture.

The Turkish Government now taxes fishing as an occupation, and also takes 20 per cent. of the price of the fish sold in the seaports, and collects this again if the fish are taken to another port. The fisheries of Merom and Galilee are farmed out to contractors, who forbid all others to engage in the trade.

As an occupation fishing has been honoured by the selection of its followers as apostles; by being the object of Jesus' special favour on two occasions

(Lk $5^{1ff.}$, Jn 21); and chosen as the type of earnest, skilful soul-saving (Mk 1^{17}, Lk 5^{10}).

W. K. EDDY.

FISH-GATE.—See JERUSALEM.

FISH-POOL occurs in AV of Ca 7^4 'Thine eyes are [like] the fish-pools of Heshbon,' but the exact translation is simply 'pools' (so RV; Heb. בְּרֵכוֹת, LXX λίμναι). See Hitzig, *ad loc.*, and art. HESHBON. Equally unwarrantable is the introduction of 'fish' in Is 19^{10}, where AV, following Ibn Ezra, tr. כָּל־עֹשֵׂי שֶׂכֶר אַגְמֵי־נָפֶשׁ 'all that make sluices [and] ponds for fish.' The passage is obscure (see Skinner, *ad loc.*), but probably the correct trⁿ is that of RV, 'all they that work for hire shall be grieved in soul.'* It is possible that the elsewhere unexampled אַגְמֵי (for עַגְמֵי) was a play suggested by the employment of the 'workers for hire' in the construction of water-tanks (אֲגַמִּים; so Del. quoting Ehrentreu, *ad loc.*). The LXX, while agreeing with this trⁿ of אַגְמֵי־נָפֶשׁ (λυπηθήσονται καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς πονέσουσιν), gives 'manufacturers of strong drink' (ποιοῦντες τὸν ζῦθον),† instead of 'workers for hire.' They must have read שֵׁכָר for שֶׂכֶר.

J. A. SELBIE.

FITCHES.—AV gives fitches in the text in two places. **1.** Ezk 4^9. Here the Heb. is כֻּסֶּמֶת *kuṣṣemeth*, trᵈ in AVm and RV *spelt*. We believe the plant intended is the *kirseneh* or *kirsennch* of the Arabs, *Vicia Ervilia*, L. The same Heb. word is used in two other places (Ex 9^{32}, Is 28^{25}), where AV has *rye* and RV *spelt* (see RYE). **2.** Is $28^{25.27}$. Here the Heb. is קֶצַח *keẓah*. This is the *nutmeg flower*, *Nigella sativa*, L., a Ranunculaceous plant, cultivated everywhere in the East for its black seeds, which are used as a condiment and a medicine. It is called in Arab. *shûnîz*, or *shihnîz*, and *ḥabbat el-barakah*, *i.e.* the *seed of blessing*, or *el-ḥabbat es-sauda*, *i.e.* the *black seed*. An Arab. proverb says, 'in the black seed is the medicine for every disease.' Avicenna recommends it in dyspepsia, and for bronchial and other affections. Orientals often put a pinch of the seeds on the middle of the upper surface of the flat loaves of bread before baking. In baking they adhere. Pliny alludes to their use by bakers (*Nat. Hist.* xix. 52). They are believed to assist digestion. They have a warm aromatic flavour and carminative properties. Like other seeds produced in small quantities, as *cummin*, they are often beaten out with a stick, as mentioned in Is 28^{27}, instead of being threshed out with the *môrag*.

G. E. POST.

FLAG.—Two Heb. words are trᵈ by *flag*. **1.** אָחוּ (*'âḥu*; ἄχει [in LXX of Sir 40^{16} this was supposed till 1896 to represent the Heb. *'âḥû*] βούτομον) occurs in three connexions. (*a*) Where the kine feed in an *'âḥu* (Gn $41^{2.18}$). (*b*) Where Bildad asks, 'Can the *rush* (גֹּמֶא, πάπυρος) grow up without mire? can the *flag* (אָחוּ, βούτομον) grow without water?' (Job 8^{11}). (*c*) In a passage (Hos 13^{15}) where both AV and RV, following the LXX, give *brethren* for אַחִים *'âḥîm*, which the *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* regards as a plural of אָחוּ, abbreviated from אֲחָוִים *'ăḥâwîm*, the context seeming to point to a water plant, withering before the E. wind, which dries up its spring. In the passage in Job the *gôme* and the *'âḥu* occur in the two members of a parallelism. RVm gives for *gôme* 'papyrus,' and for *'âḥu* 'reed-grass' (cf. Ebers, *Egypten u. die Bücher Moses*, 338 f.). The latter is no more definite than *flag*, and therefore only confuses the question of identity by another term. We have the authority of the LXX that the *gôme* was the πάπυρος, *papyrus*, and the *'âḥu*, βούτομον, which some believe to be *Cyperus esculentus*, L., the edible galingale, and others *Butomus umbellatus*, L., the flowering rush, both swamp plants. אָחוּ (Gn $41^{2.18}$) should be rendered 'in the flowering rushes,' or 'in the sedges,' or 'in the fens.' Similarly, the doubtful אָחִים *'âḥîm* (Hos 13^{15}). The same indefiniteness is found in the Arab. term *rabî'*, which means literally 'spring,' and refers to 'spring herbage,' and *ḥalf*, which refers to *Gramineæ* and *Cyperaceæ* in general. It is also found in the English 'grass.'

2. סוּף (*ṣûph*, ἕλος, *carectum*) is used (*a*) of the *sedgy* or *reedy* plants on a river's bank (Ex $2^{3.5}$, Is 19^6); (*b*) of *weeds* (Jn 2^5), meaning *sea-weeds*. From the presence of these, and perhaps of other marine growths, as of coral, the Red Sea was named יַם־סוּף (*yam-ṣûph*).

G. E. POST.

FLAGON occurs five times in AV, but in only one of these instances is the trⁿ retained by RV, namely Is 22^{24}, where both VSS tr. כְּלֵי הַנְּבָלִים by 'vessels of flagons.' נֵבֶל or נֶבֶל (when not used for a musical instrument) generally means a leather pitcher. Here it is perhaps an earthenware bottle. On the other hand, RV introduces 'flagons' in two instances where it is not found in AV, namely Ex 25^{39} 37^{16} (in both קְשָׂוֹת). This trⁿ is probably correct (see CUP), although RV gives 'cups' for the same Heb. word in Nu 4^7. In all these three passages AV has 'covers.' In the remaining four instances where AV gives 'flagons,' the Heb. is אֲשִׁישָׁה (2 S 6^{19}, 1 Ch 16^3, Hos 3^1 [אֲשִׁישֵׁי עֲנָבִים], Ca 2^5 [אֲשִׁישׁוֹת]; cf. אֲשִׁישֵׁי קִיר חֲרֶשֶׂת 'the raisin-cakes [AV 'foundations'] of Kir-hareseth,' Is 16^7). The meaning of this word is a 'pressed cake . . . composed of meal, oil, and *dibs*' (W. R. Smith, *OTJC*¹ 434, n. 7). Hence in 2 S 6^{19}, 1 Ch 16^3, RV gives 'cake of raisins' for AV 'flagon [of wine],' in Hos 3^1 'cakes of raisins' for 'flagons of wine,' and in Ca 2^5 'raisins' (RVm 'cakes of raisins') for 'flagons.' The LXX has in 2 S 6^{19} λάγανον ἀπὸ τηγάνου, in 1 Ch 16^3 ἀμορείτη, in Hos 3^1 πέμματα μετὰ σταφίδος, and in Ca 2^5 μύροι. Luther, who like AV adopted a false Rabbinical derivation and interpretation of אֲשִׁישָׁה, tr. in 2 S 6^{19} and 1 Ch 16^3 *ein Nössel Wein*, and in Hos 3^1 *eine Kanne Weins*. In Ca 2^5 he has *Blumen*. In Kautzsch's *AT* we find for 2 S 6^{19} and 1 Ch 16^3 *Rosinenkuchen*, and for Hos 3^1 and Ca 2^5 *Traubenkuchen*. See further under FOOD, p. 32ᵇ.

J. A. SELBIE.

FLAX (פִּשְׁתָּה *pishtâh*, λίνον, *linum*).—The Heb. and its equivalents in Gr., Lat., and Eng. are used (1) for the *growing plant* (Ex 9^{31}); (2) for the *stalks* when cut (Jos 2^6 פִּשְׁתֵּי הָעֵץ, λινοκάλαμη, *stipulæ lini*); (3) for a *wick* made of the fibres (Is 42^3 43^{17}, AV 'tow,' RV 'flax,' marg. 'a wick'). The root form פֵּשֶׁת *pēsheth*, with suffix פִּשְׁתִּי *pishti*, LXX ὀθόνιά μου, is also used for the flax fibres (Hos $2^{5.9}$). The plural of the same, פִּשְׁתִּים *pishtîm*, is used for the *hackled fibres* (Pr 31^{13}, Is 19^9); these are twisted into *cords* (Jg 15^{14}) or woven into stuff (Dt 22^{11}). The shorter fibres are called נְעֹרֶת *nĕ'ôreth* = *tow* (Jg 16^9, Is 1^{31}). The plural *pishtîm* is also used for *linen* (Lv $13^{48.52}$), as well as for *linen garments* (vv.$^{47.59}$, LXX ἱματίῳ στιππυίνῳ, Ezk 44^{17} στολὰς λινᾶς).

Flax, *Linum sativum*, L., is a plant of the order *Linaceæ*, which has been cultivated from the earliest periods of the world's history. It is a perennial, with slender stalks, 2 to 3 ft. high, linear-lanceolate leaves, and showy blue flowers. Its stalks produce the strong fibres out of which linen is manufactured. These stalks were dried on the flat roofs of the houses (Jos 2^6), then steeped in water to cause the decay of the pulp, then hackled (Is 19^{9}) to straighten the fibres and comb out the shorter ones, which are *tow* (Jg 16^{9}, Is 1^{31}). It was regarded as a crop of importance (Ex 9^{31}, Hos 2^{9}). Linen garments were used by the priests, etc. (Lv 13$^{47.59}$); the material is usually spoken of as שֵׁשׁ *shêsh* (a name still retained in the Arab. *shâsh*, which is used for the grade of cotton cloth known in English as *cheese-cloth*). The mummies of Egypt were swathed in linen bandages.

---

* Rashi has 'ponds of *rest*,' where the waters rest and are retained! Ibn Ezra gives 'where are the souls of the fish'; this is also adopted by Kimchi in his *Lexicon* ('pools in which they hunt fish'); in his *Comm.* he mentions it, but he himself offers the same explanation as the RV.

† Properly 'beer,' which was a favourite Egyptian beverage.

G. E. POST.

FLAYING.—See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.

FLEA (פַּרְעֹשׁ *par'ôsh*, ψύλλος, *pulex*).—An insect, *Pulex irritans*, L., universal in warm climates, and a great pest to man and the animals which it infests. Insignificant as it is, its bite is very irritating, often causing considerable swelling and intolerable itching, which robs its victim of many an hour of sleep, and makes him ridiculous in his frequently vain efforts to catch his tormentor. The habit of the natives of the East of sleeping in the same clothes which they wear by day, and spreading their beds on the mats on which they sit, contributes much to the multiplication of the insect in their houses and camps. Fleas swarm esp. in the filthy tents of the Bedawîn, and in stables and dog kennels. The flea is mentioned by David (1 S 24^{14}),* who compares himself to this contemptible insect, in order to ridicule the insensate character of Saul's persecution by likening it to the vain hunt above alluded to. In Ex 8^{16} RVm has 'fleas' for 'lice' (wh. see).

G. E. POST.

FLESH, represented by בָּשָׂר, שְׁאֵר in OT, and by σάρξ and κρέας in NT. שְׁאֵר occurs very seldom in comp. with the constant word בָּשָׂר, but seems to cover some of the same meanings, particularly flesh for food, and flesh of consanguinity. Cf. Ps 73^{26} 78$^{20.27}$, Pr 11^{17}, Jer 51^{35}, Lv 25^{49}. κρέας is only used twice in NT, and each time in the phrase κρέα φαγεῖν, Ro 14^{21}, 1 Co 8^{13}. It is impossible to do justice to the biblical uses of this term *Flesh* without clearly distinguishing at least the following five meanings:—

1. *Substance of an animal body*, whether of beast or of man (*e.g.* Gn 41^{2}, Lv 4^{11}, Job 31^{31}, 1 Co 15^{39}). For this use of the term in its application to FOOD and to SACRIFICES, see under these words. It denotes the living human body in such places as Ex 4^{7}, Lv 13^{10} 17^{14}. Indeed, through a great part of OT flesh is equivalent to the whole human BODY, on the principle mentioned *s.v.*, in which application, it is to be noted, that the LXX often renders בָּשָׂר (sing.), in accordance with Gr. idiom, by the plural σάρκες (*e.g.* Gn 40^{19}, Nu 12^{12}, Job 32^{25}), and even by σῶμα (*e.g.* Lv 15^{2}, 1 K 21^{27}).

2. *Relation, of consanguinity or by marriage* (*e.g.* Gn 2^{24} 37^{27}, Neh 5^{5}, Is 58^{7}, Mt 19^{5}, 1 Co 10^{18}). The literal word is used in the orig. in places where the versions, our own included, employ a periphrasis 'near of kin' (*e.g.* Lv 18^{6} 25^{49}). In the same significance, the fuller phrase 'flesh and bones' is peculiarly biblical (*e.g.* Gn 2^{23} 29^{14}, Jg 9^{2}, 2 S 5^{1} 19$^{12.13}$, Eph 5^{30}, cf. Lk 24^{39}).

3. *Creature nature* generally, *human nature* particularly. In this use it can denote all terrestrial beings possessing life (Gn 7^{21}); especially the finite earthly creature in contrast with God and with the spirit which immediately comes from God. 'The Egyptians are men, and not God; and their horses flesh, and not spirit' (Is 31^{3}). The frailness and dependence of man is the thing marked by this contrast (*e.g.* Gn 6^{3}, Job 34^{15}, Ps 56^{4} 78^{39}, Is 40$^{6-8}$ quoted 1 P 1^{24}). There is a persistent tendency in translators and commentators to ignore this peculiarly biblical antithesis, and confound it with the Greek antithesis between material and immaterial. Further, though finite and creaturely weakness is implied in it, there is not necessarily any moral disparagement, *e.g.* 'all flesh' is used for the 'whole human race' in connexions that are most honourable, *e.g.* Ps 65^{2} 145^{21}, Is 40^{5}, Jl 2^{28}. Conclusive as to this is the use of 'flesh' for the human nature of our Lord (Jn 1^{14}, Ro 1^{3} 9^{5}, 1 Ti 3^{16}). In the same line with this stands the more expanded phrase 'flesh and blood' for human nature on its earthly side in contrast with something greater than itself (Mt 16^{17}, 1 Co 15^{50}, Gal 1^{16}, Eph 6^{12}, He 2^{14}, to which should perhaps be added Jn 1^{13}). This phrase is peculiar to the NT, though germane to the OT idea 'the life of the flesh is in the blood,' and the beginning of the usage can be traced to the OT Apocr. writers (cf. Sir 14^{18} 17^{31}). It is common in Rabbinical literature. This whole biblical use of the term 'flesh' in application to man means that he is so called from his creaturely nature, or from his nature on its creaturely side.

4. As *one constituent of human nature* (the corporeal) combined or contrasted with the others. OT usage presents a variety of such combinations. The whole of man is expressed as 'flesh' and 'soul' in Ps 63^{1}, Job 13^{14} 14^{22}; as 'flesh' and 'heart' in Ps 73^{26}, Ezk 44$^{7.9}$, Ec 11^{10}, Pr 14^{30}; as 'flesh,' 'heart,' and 'soul,' Ps 84^{2}, in all which a duality of outer and inner, or lower and higher in man, is plainly intended. But so far is 'flesh' from being despised in these contrasts that it is joined with the higher elements in the relation of the whole man to God and to his future (?) hopes, as in Ps 63^{1} 16^{9} 84^{2}, Job 19^{26}. In the NT its use in this sense for the lower element in man, without any ethical disparagement, though not very frequent, is still clear. In a sufficient number of passages it occurs coupled with 'spirit,' in the Pauline writings as well as others, to show that these two are the natural elements of which man is made up, exactly as 'flesh' and 'soul,' 'flesh' and 'heart' are in the OT (*e.g.* Mt 26^{41}, Ro 2$^{28.29}$, 1 Co 5^{5}). 'Flesh' is used by St. Paul of corporeal presence, cognizable by the senses, in contrast to fellowship in 'spirit' (2 Co 5^{16}, Col 2$^{1.5}$), indeed of man's earthly or bodily life without moral qualification (Gal 2^{20}, Ph 1^{22}). Even when man's sinful state is the topic, the dual nature is sometimes expressed in the usual terms; 'desires of the flesh and of the mind' (Eph 2^{3}), 'defilement of the flesh and spirit' (2 Co 7^{1}), seem to mean that man's nature, in both its constituent parts, is affected by sin. There is a use of this antithesis, between flesh and spirit, in application to Christ, which points to lower and higher elements in His personality quite peculiar to Himself (*e.g.* Ro 1$^{3.4}$, 1 Ti 3^{16}, 1 P 3^{18}).

5. Its *ethical* or *doctrinal sense*. Besides the morally indifferent applications of flesh already discussed, there is in the NT, and esp. in the Pauline writings, a use of it which is charged with ethical or doctrinal content. It is thus used once in contrast with 'mind' (Ro 7^{25}), more frequently with 'spirit' (Ro 8$^{4.5.6.7\ \mathrm{RV}\ 8.9.12.13}$, Gal 5$^{16-25}$ 6^{8}). In the same manner the adjectives 'fleshly,' 'carnal' are contrasted with 'spiritual' in Ro 7^{14}, 1 Co 3$^{1.3.4}$, 2 Co 1^{12}, Col 2^{18} 'fleshly mind,' orig. 'mind of the flesh.'* That in the connexions cited above flesh with its adjective has reference to the principle of sin and its seat in man's fallen nature, while 'spirit' and 'spiritual' refer to the principle of the regenerate or divine life in man, will hardly be questioned. But various have been the accounts given of the *rationale* of this metaphorical or indirect use of flesh and 'fleshly' in a theological or doctrinal sense. Writers like Holsten, Pfleiderer, Schenkel make strenuous efforts, without much success, to derive this peculiarly Pauline application of the term from the older sense of it as denoting the weakness and frailty of man's nature. The only account which seems to satisfy all the ideas involved is that the 'carnal' denotes the sinful element in man's nature, because that element entering his nature now in the ordinary course of human production is an inheritance of the flesh; whereas the 'spiritual' is that which comes into it from above, or is given in the New Birth. This explanation is confirmed by our Lord's words, reported in Jn 3^{6}. For some further remarks on this question and on the possible connexion of all the meanings of flesh here noted, see PSYCHOLOGY. J. LAIDLAW.

---

* Its mention in 1 S 26^{20} is due to corruption in MT (see Driver, Wellh., Budde, *ad loc.*).

* There occurs in the same writings a quite unethical use of 'carnal' as equivalent to 'corporeal' or 'earthly,' *e.g.* Ro 15^{27}, 1 Co 9^{11}, 2 Co 3^{3} 10^{4}, He 7^{16}; for the complications both of reading and rendering in these passages, created by the use of σαρκικός or σάρκινος, see Trench, *N.T. Synonyms*, *s.v.*

FLESH-HOOK.—See FOOD.

FLESHLY, FLESHY.—Modern editions of AV have retained the distinction between 'fleshly' and 'fleshy' of 1611. Fleshly is that which belongs to the flesh and not the spirit, *carnal*. It occurs in NT 2 Co 1^{12}, 1 P 2^{11} (*σαρκικός*), Col 2^{18} 'fleshly mind' (*νοῦς τῆς σαρκός*, 'mind of the flesh'). In Ad. Est 14^{10} the meaning is apparently simply *mortal* (*σάρκινος*). Fleshy is that which is made of flesh (and not of stone), soft, *tender*, Sir 17^{16}, 2 Co 3^{3} (*σάρκινος*). The distinction did not appear in the earlier versions: Wyc. Tind. Gen. Bish. have 'fleshly' in 2 Co 3^{3}, Cov. has 'fleshy.' Nor was it observed by Eng. writers of the day: T. Wright (1604), *Passions*, V. iv. 212, says, 'Fleshy concupiscence deserveth rather the name of Mercenarie Lust then Love,' and Culpepper and Cole, *Anat.* I. xvii. 45, 'Such as are given to fleshy desires have larger Kidneys than ordinary.' But once made it is well worth maintaining.

J. HASTINGS.

FLESH-POT.—See FOOD.

FLIES.—See FLY and PLAGUE.

FLINT (in OT חַלָּמִישׁ, *ἀκρότομος*, *στερεὰ πέτρα*; צוּר, *ἀκρότομος*, *πέτρα*, *ψῆφος*; צֹר, *στερεὰ πέτρα*; in Apocr. *ἀκρότομος*, *κόχλαξ*) is the term by which the foregoing Heb. words are rendered, in AV generally, and in RV uniformly. The reference in every case is to a rock or stone whose characteristic quality is hardness or sharpness. The Gr. equivalents have a general rather than a definite meaning, *ἀκρότομος* being elsewhere (Sir 40^{15} 48^{17}) tr^{d} 'hard (RV sheer) rock,' while in Is 2^{21} 51^{1} *στερεὰ πέτρα* stands in LXX for צוּר (rock); though, on the other hand, in Job 22^{24} צוּר is represented in Vulg. by *silex*. On the whole, flint is the substance which best fulfils the conditions stated, and in the passages where small stones rather than masses of rock are referred to it is probably the true rendering.

חַלָּמִישׁ corresponds to Assyr. *elmêšu* (*ZDMG* xl. 728), which seems to mean any hard stone used for striking fire, even rock crystal or diamond. According to Hommel (*PSBA*, xv. 291), *elmêšu* is abbreviated from *algamišu* (Heb. אֶלְגָּבִישׁ Ezk $13^{11.13}$ 38^{22}), both being variants of *gilgamish* or *gibilgamish*, which is a synonym of *Gišdubar*, an ancient Bab. fire deity.

Flint is the name given to the rock from which Moses brought water in the wilderness (Dt 8^{15}, Ps 114^{8}, Wis 11^{4}). Flints were the primitive instruments of circumcision (Ex 4^{25} RV, Jos $5^{2.3}$ RV). In the latter passage LXX expands חַרְבוֹת צֻרִים into *μαχαίρας πετρίνας ἐκ πέτρας ἀκροτόμου*. The LXX additions to Joshua relate how these knives of flint were preserved as a memorial in Timnath-serah, and were buried with Joshua there (21^{42d} 24^{30a}). In 1 Mac 10^{73} the absence of flints in a plain is given as a reason why cavalry should not be encountered there, as slingers would thus be at a disadvantage. The word used is *κόχλαξ*, and it is found in a similar connexion in the LXX of 1 S 14^{14}, which, however, does not correspond with the MT (Wellhausen, *Text der BB. Sam.* 87, 88; Driver, *Heb. Text of Sam.* 82, 83). In the Song of Moses 'oil from the rocky flint' (Dt 32^{13}) is a poetical way of describing olives growing on rocky soil (see Job 29^{6}). In Job 28^{9}, to illustrate man's power and skill, it is said that the miner puts forth his hand upon the flinty rock, and overturns the mountains. The hoofs of the Assyrian horses are compared to flint (Is 5^{28}), which is also an emblem of prophetic resoluteness (Is 50^{7}, Ezk 3^{9}).

Flint is a form of silica, a mineral which occurs in its purest condition as quartz. Flint is found in bands and nodules in certain calcareous rocks, notably in chalk, in various parts of the world. It is exceedingly hard, and breaks with a glassy fracture and sharp edges. When pieces of it are struck together, or against steel, sparks are emitted, and this method of obtaining fire has been used from the earliest times. It is probably alluded to in 2 Mac 10^{3}. Flints are often dark coloured owing to impurities. Their origin is one of the problems of geology not yet completely solved, but it is supposed that the siliceous framework of certain marine organisms was dissolved, and afterwards deposited in cavities, or actually substituted for the material of other organic remains.

A great part of Palestine and the Sinaitic peninsula is composed of Cretaceous strata, which pass on the W. into Nummulitic (Eocene) limestone. In both of these formations flints are found; and in some of the strata, especially those which line the Jordan Valley, they are particularly abundant (Green, *Physical Geology*, 231–33; Hull, *SWP* 61).

JAMES PATRICK.

FLOCK.—Four Heb. words are tr^{d} flock:—1. עֵדֶר *'êder*, *ποίμνιον*, *ἀγέλη*. This word, when used alone (Gn $29^{3.8}$, Jg 5^{16}, 1 S 17^{34}, Ps 78^{52}, Ca 1^{7} etc.), usually signifies a *flock* of sheep or goats, or both mingled. It corresponds to the Arab. *ḳaṭî'*. The exception to this is in Gn $32^{16.19}$, where it is tr^{d} *drove*. עֶדְרֵי צֹאן (Gn 29^{2}, Jl 1^{18}, Mic 5^{8}) signifies *flocks of sheep*, and עֶדְרֵי בָקָר, in the same sentence in Jl, is *herds of cattle*, and עֵדֶר הָעִזִּים (Ca 4^{1} 6^{5}) *flock of goats*. עֵדֶר יהוה (Jer 13^{17}) is the *flock of J"*, that is, *God's people* (cf. Zec 10^{3}), and עֵדֶר הָרְחֵלִים (Ca 6^{6}) a *flock of ewes*. מִגְדַּל עֵדֶר the *tower of 'êder* (the *flock*) (Gn 35^{21}) is a place near Bethlehem, mentioned again (Mic 4^{8}) as the 'hill' (marg. 'Heb. Ophel') of the daughter of Zion. Some suppose it to have been a tower on the hill Ophel at Jerusalem. If Ophel be Zion, the allusion would be perfect in its details. See HERD.

2. צֹאן *ẓô'n*. This word, which means *sheep*, is the original of most of the passages in OT tr^{d} *flock*. It corresponds to the Arab. *ḍân*, but *ḍân* refers to *sheep* as distinguished by having wool, from *goats*, which are known by the name of *ma'z*. *Ẓô'n* may include both, Gn 38^{17} RV (cf. AV) 'I will send thee a kid of the goats from the flock' (*ẓô'n*). In some cases the context makes it clear that it does not include both, as in 1 S 25^{2} 'he had three thousand sheep (*ẓô'n*), and a thousand goats (*'izzîm*), and he was shearing his sheep (*ẓô'n*) in Carmel.' Where *ẓô'n* and *bâḳâr* are mentioned together, they are always tr^{d} *flocks* and *herds*. It would be better, in every case where the context does not clearly demand the rendering *flock*, to translate *ẓô'n* *sheep*.

3. מִקְנֵה הַצֹּאן *mikneh hazẓô'n* (Gn 47^{17}), is tr^{d} AV, RV 'flocks,' RVm 'cattle of flocks.' It would

have been better rendered *possession of sheep*, and *miḳneh habbâḳâr*, in the same verse, *possession of oxen* (cf. Ec 2^{7}).

4. מִקְנֶה *miḳneh* (Ps 78^{48}), is tr^{d} AV, RV 'flocks.' It is elsewhere generally rendered 'cattle'; once 'possessions' (Ec 2^{7}).

The NT words for flock are *ποίμνη* and *ποίμνιον*, the latter of which is used exclusively in a fig. sense of the Church (Lk 12^{32}, Ac 20^{28}, 1 P 5^{2} etc.).

G. E. Post.

FLOOD (Gn 6–9^{17}).—A story connected with the early history of man, which tells how, in consequence of their sins, especially those of violence, God destroyed by a flood the whole race, excepting only Noah and his family and two (or seven) pairs of every animal. These were saved in a huge ark or chest, which Noah had been directed to make when first warned of the coming flood. As the waters were abating, Noah sent forth a raven which did not return, and afterwards a dove twice at a week's interval, in order to ascertain whether the ground was dry. This was shown to be so by the dove returning the second time with an olive leaf in her mouth. The ark finally settled on Mt. Ararat. On leaving the ark, Noah offered up a sacrifice which appeased God, who promised never again to destroy the earth with a flood.

Simple and uniform as this story appears, it is a fact admitting of no reasonable doubt that the account of Genesis is really composed of two Flood stories, which, while agreeing in general purport, differ considerably both in character and detail. One belongs to the early source of the Hexateuch known as J, the other to the post-exilic P. They may be clearly distinguished here by the names of God and other well-known characteristics of these documents. The sections ascribed to J in Kautzsch's *AT* are 6^{1-8} $7^{1-5.\ 7-10.\ 12.\ 16b-17.\ 22-23}$ $8^{2b-3a.\ 6-12.\ 13b.\ 20-22}$, to P 6^{9-22} $7^{6.\ 11.\ 13-16a.\ 18-21}$ 7^{24a}–8^{2a} $8^{3b-5.\ 13a.\ 14-19}$ 9^{1-17} (on $7^{8.\ 9}$ see below). It will be sufficient to notice that in P we find the minute directions regarding the construction and size of the ark, the blessing of Noah, the laws against murder and eating blood, the covenant of the rainbow; in J only we have the picturesque narrative of sending out the raven and the dove, and the sacrifice of Noah, which so pleased J″ that He determined never again to curse the ground. In some respects the accounts of J and P contradict each other. (*a*) According to P one pair of *every* kind of animals is to be selected (6^{18-20}), according to J seven pairs of clean and two of unclean ($7^{2.\ 3}$). But in $7^{8.\ 9}$, where the actual entry is made, a reviser has, it would seem, combined the statements of J and P so as to agree with P. As it stands, the distinction between clean and unclean animals in that verse is purposeless, and indeed has the effect of emphasizing what appears like an act of disobedience on Noah's part, who took only one instead of seven pairs of clean animals as directed in 7^{2}. In J this verse must have run much as follows: 'Of clean beasts, seven and seven, of unclean beasts, two and two, went unto Noah into the ark.' In P the statement was probably, 'Of the fowl after its kind, and of the cattle after its kind, and of everything that creepeth upon the ground after its kind, two of every (sort) did he bring into the ark, as God commanded Noah.' (*b*) According to P it was 150 days before the waters began to subside (8^{3}), and it was 8 months and 13 days before the tops of the mountains were visible (cf. 7^{11} and 8^{5}), and a whole year and 10 days before the earth was perfectly dry (8^{14}). According to J the duration of the Flood was only 40 days (7^{12} 8^{6}), and even before this the water had considerably abated ($8^{2b.\ 3a.\ 6-10.\ 12.\ 13b}$). (*c*). What is in P a covenant with Noah that the waters should 'no more become a flood to destroy all flesh' (9^{15}), is in J the self-deliberation of J″ in consequence of Noah's sweet-smelling sacrifice ($8^{21.\ 22}$). See HEXATEUCH.

I. HISTORICITY OF THE FLOOD.—Until comparatively recent times the belief in a deluge covering the whole world and destroying all men and animals except those providentially preserved in the ark was practically universal among Christians. The fossil remains of marine animals, and the Flood traditions common to people in so many different parts of the world, were confidently appealed to as establishing the truth of the Bible story. Our increased knowledge of geology on the one hand and of comparative mythology on the other have now shown the little value of such evidence, and on these and other grounds this belief has been now surrendered by most biblical scholars as untenable. (*a*) It has been frequently pointed out that the whole quantity of moisture contained in the world, whether in an aqueous or vaporous form, if all reduced to water, would not be nearly enough to cover the highest mountains, supposing that the earth's surface was in anything like its present condition. But there is no evidence or scientific probability that the whole surface was ever so contracted or so levelled as to admit such a possibility. (*b*) Again, a thorough examination and a comparison of the numerous Flood myths make it impossible to refer them all to one single event. (*c*). Anthropological science points in the same direction. The diversity of the human race and of language alike makes it extremely improbable that men were derived from a single pair, and this, together with what we know of the early civilization of man, makes it impossible that a universal Flood should have occurred within at least many centuries of the time assigned by biblical chronology. The early relics of primitive man found in caves, ancient graves, etc., all over the world, point to an unbroken succession of human beings, their advance in civilization developing by gradual stages, and the whole extending over many thousands of years.

(*d*) But, after all, the most obvious difficulties are those which lie on the surface in the narrative itself, supposing that it describes a flood extending over the whole world *as we now know it*. Noah is said to have collected together animals of every kind, one pair at least of each. Let us try to imagine the long journeys necessary to different parts of the world, including the Tropics and the Arctic Regions, and that in an age when the difficulties and dangers of travelling must have made it almost impossible, and the difficulty of capturing and bringing home the animals when captured. How many years will it still take the Royal Zoological Society, with all the resources of modern civilization, to collect even *single* specimens of all the known larger animals of the world, to say nothing of the hundreds of species still unknown, nothing of the myriads of insects, *crustaceæ*, etc., included in the 'creeping things' of the Bible! Again, the dimensions of the ark could not possibly have allowed room for the housing of all the creatures; for, supposing that they were shut up in separate cells ('nests,' Gn 6^{14} RVm), almost as much space would have been required for passages to get at them as for the cells themselves. We have also to take into account the immense amount of room required for the storage of food, especially that needed for the larger animals, such as hay for the elephants, and animals of different sorts for the *carnivoræ*, besides all the food necessary for some time after the Flood, before revived vegetation should make fresh food procurable. Even if we could suppose that the dimensions of the ark permitted all this, how would it have been possible to keep all these animals alive? The polar bear would have required very different conditions from the tiger or the boa-constrictor. How, again, is it conceivable that eight persons should have been sufficient to attend to the wants of all these animals, as well as to their own? But besides all this, there is no provision for making the ark seaworthy. It is merely a huge wooden box liable to capsize, and quite incapable of weathering a storm. The difficulties here pointed out readily suggest the true answer. The Flood was not in the writer's view universal, as we should understand a universal Flood, simply because the world he is writing of is a totally different world from ours. It is a very little world. Men and animals are all living within easy reach of each other. Man is still the lord of creation. He can gather together the animals to be saved, whether beast of the field or fowl of the air, at his will. No difficulties, even such as would have occurred in the writer's own day, have any place in that ideal world of the distant past, where holy men walked with God, and there was no need of miracles, because everything was of course so different. That the writers and compilers of Genesis sincerely believed the story we need have no doubt, but in the light of scientific and historical criticism it must be frankly recognized as one of those many stories or legends which are found in the folk-lore and early literature of all peoples.

II. The Relation of the Bible Flood Stories to similar Stories of other Peoples.—It was formerly supposed that the many Flood stories found in different parts of the world were all traditions of the Bible Deluge brought by various peoples from the ancient cradle of the human race. A comparison, however, of the stories with one another and with the Bible narrative makes it quite clear that they stand severally in a very different relation to the latter, and are due to many different causes. We may roughly divide these stories, according to their resemblance to the Flood story of Genesis, into the following classes:—

i. First and foremost stands the *Babylonian or Accadian* account of the Deluge. This is so like the Bible story, both in its general drift and many of its details, that it cannot be other than a different version of the same. The Babylonian legend itself exists in two forms. One is contained in the fragments of Berosus, an Egyptian priest of the 3rd cent. B.C., who wrote a history of Babylon. The second is contained in a cuneiform inscription on tablets preserved in the British Museum, and first deciphered by George Smith in 1872.

(*a*) Of these the first is very short and of comparatively little importance, except that some differences of detail in comparison with the other prove that the Babylonian story had a wide currency. The main differences are the clay which Xisuthros, the hero of the Flood, finds on the legs of the birds when they return for the second time, and the translation of Xisuthros' daughter and the pilot of the ship, as well as that of Xisuthros himself and his wife.

(*b*) The story of Berosus is altogether thrown into the shade by the far fuller and more circumstantial account found on the Accadian tablets. These contain an epic poem in 12 parts. Each part is connected with a sign of the Zodiac, and the 11th, containing the Flood story, has the sign corresponding to Aquarius, 'the water-bearer.' In this part the deified Ṣît-napišti, or, as the name is sometimes written, Khasisadra (Xisuthros), communicates the history of the Flood at the mouth of the Euphrates to his grandson Gisdubar (the Nimrod of Genesis). Ea, the god of wisdom, reveals to Ṣît-napišti the intention of the gods of Surippak—Anu, Bel, etc.—to bring a Flood, and commands him to build a ship, and save what he can of the germ of life. Ṣît-napišti expostulates on the absurdity of building a ship on dry land, but finally consents. The making of the ship is then given in some detail, among other things its dimensions (according to G. Smith, 600 cubits long, 60 broad, 60 high; omitted by Sayce), *and the pouring of bitumen over its sides, inside and out.* Food was brought into the ship, including beer and wine, and also all that he had of gold and silver. 'Slaves and concubines, the cattle of the field, the beasts of the field, the sons of the people: all of these did I bring up.' The ship was built by the help of the sun-god Samas, who fixed the season for the Flood on the evening before Ṣît-napišti *shut the door.* A highly poetical description is then given of the storm, brought about by the direct agency of the gods of wind, water, etc., so terrible that even the gods trembled and sought refuge in the heaven of Anu, where they crowded in a heap 'like a dog in his kennel,' and gods and goddesses wept for pity. For six days and nights the storm continues, and subsides on the seventh. The sea begins to dry. Ṣît-napišti opens the windows and sees the corpses floating on the water. On the horizon he sees land, and the ship is steered for the mountain of Nizir, which it reaches the second day. *On the seventh day after this he sends forth a dove, which finds no resting-place and returns*; then a swallow, which does the same; and lastly *a raven, which feeds on the carrion and does not return.* The animals are sent forth to the four winds, and *a sacrifice is offered on an altar which he builds* on the peak of the mountain. The gods *smelt the savour,* and 'gathered like flies over the sacrifice.' Thereupon the great goddess *lighted up the rainbow* which Anu had created. Bel, angry with the gods that his will had not been fully carried out, alone refused to come to the altar. He stayed by the ship and would have stopped the exit of the survivors; but Adar explained that Ea had revealed the counsel of the gods to Ṣît-napišti. Then Ea himself expostulates with Bel for wishing to destroy the faithful with the sinners. Better at any rate to send wild beasts, or famine, or plague. After all, it was only by a dream that he had revealed the determination of the gods. Then Bel enters the ship and very graciously *makes a covenant with Ṣît-napišti,* saying that henceforth he and his wife are to be as gods, and Ṣît-napišti is to dwell at the mouth of the river. (Sayce, *Fresh Light,* ch. ii.)

This story is said by experts to be as old at least as 3000 years B.C. That the early Hebrews derived the story from Babylonia, and not *vice versâ,* may be considered a practical certainty. While Babylonia from the days of the Patriarchs was highly advanced in civilization, the Jews, even far down into their history, were comparatively simple and far less civilized even than the Canaanitish tribes, who themselves derived their culture from Babylon. The Babylonian language and script had already before the Exodus become naturalized in Palestine, and been made, as the Tel el-Amarna tablets show, the official means of communication between the Babylonian court and the various Canaanitish tribes. Thus there was more than one channel by which a popular story of Babylonia might become part of Jewish folk-lore. At the same time the variations in the story suggest that it is likely to have passed through many mouths before it reached its Bible form. Even the differences in its religious character are more probably due to gradual changes of thought and feeling than to a single literary process. It is, however, quite possible that if several variations of the story were, as is probable, current, some few particulars in the Bible story may be actually more original than in the Accadian version. The sending out of the birds in the latter is rather pointless, as the non-return of the raven, which fed upon the corpses, proved nothing. Both the J and P stories are derived from the Babylonian, each document selecting for the most part, and sometimes enlarging upon, those details which best accorded with its own character and aim.

ii. A very large number of Flood stories bear only a very general and probably accidental resemblance to the biblical or Accadian Deluge. The mere fact that a legend has to do with a flood, even though it be a universal one, is not enough to constitute any real relationship to the Bible Deluge-story. For such legends can be proved to have arisen from several different causes. These causes may be roughly divided into three classes: **1.** Some theory of Creation which connects it with water as perhaps a creative element. Flood stories dealing with Creation bear comparison with 'the deep' of Gn 1^2 rather than with Noah's Flood. Thus the Binnas in the Malay Peninsula held that the earth was originally completely covered with a hard crust. God in early ages broke through the crust, so that the water covered the whole world. Out of the water He afterwards let rise Mt. Lulumet and other hills, as well as the plain on which the Binnas now live. This conception of the centre of the world as a vast body of water we find again in a Flood story of the Acawoio (British Guiana), and is probably to be understood in the biblical phrase 'the water under the earth' (Ex 20^4), the idea being that the land floated on the water.

2. Most frequently, however, the Flood story is the highly coloured tradition of some historical event or extraordinary natural phenomenon.

A. *Among island and coastland peoples* (*a*) the early settlement of their ancestors, who came in boats across the ocean. In such stories the particular land in which they live was the land of refuge from the great Deluge. In the story of the Binnas this tradition is combined with the notion of Creation. The primeval man and woman were created in a boat, which moved over the waters until at last it stranded on dry land. (*b*) The appearance or disappearance of an island by a volcanic eruption. Thus the inhabitants of the Minahassa (the northern volcanic peninsula of Celebes) relate that the land originally rose out of a flood; and the stories of the Fiji and Pelew islanders appear to have originated from the disappearance of islands by volcanic action. (*c*) A tidal wave resulting from an earthquake. The Flood story current among the Eskimo in the Prince of Wales Peninsula is expressly connected with an earthquake. In a story of the Makah Indians (Washington Territory) it is related how the water flowed into the land from the Pacific, until Cape Flattery became an island. Similar features are found in the stories of some other Indian tribes—among them the Araucanians (in Chili), with whom the Flood is the result of an earthquake accompanied by volcanic eruptions.

B. *Among inland peoples* the causes of Flood stories are (*a*) very frequently the overflow of some river, especially where, by the bursting of its banks, a large plain is inundated. This is the case in China, where, however, the Flood stories have hardly passed out of the region of sober history into that of myth, and deal with floods similar to those which have been known to have taken place,—the last two during the 19th cent. in 1852 and 1881. In the second of these no fewer than two millions are said to have perished. The Chinese Flood stories, then, are evidently not derived from Babylonia, and we should avoid yielding to the temptation of appealing to the early connexion in language and script between China and Babylonia.* (*b*) The formation of a lake or inland sea, or its disappearance by the water eating out a channel for itself through soft rock, such as limestone. Livingstone tells a legend describing how the Dilolo Lake in Central Africa (on the southern border of the Congo State) came into existence as the consequence of a woman's curse pronounced upon a native chieftain who refused hospitality. The inhabitants of Thibet relate how once a flood covered the whole country and destroyed the ape-like inhabitants. By the compassion of a god the waters were drained off, and the new people taught civilization. In Santa Fé de Bogotá in Colombia there is a story that there was once a huge flood brought about by the witchery of a wicked woman, who caused the Rio de Bogotá to overflow and fill the basin-like plain of Cundinamarca. Her good husband changed her into the moon, and opened the present outlet through the limestone rock by which the water now flows down over the Falls of Tequendama (cf. Schwarz, *Sintfluth*, noticed in *Expos. Times*, viii., 1897, 271 f.). (*c*) The melting of the winter snows. In the district of the Indian tribe of the Chippewas there is a story telling how a mouse once gnawed through the bag which held the heat, and this escaping, the melting snow became a flood, which covered the whole world.

3. Not infrequently, and sometimes in connexion with one or more of the causes already mentioned, the Flood story appears to have originated in an attempt to account for some otherwise unexplained fact, as—(*a*) The dispersion of peoples and difference of language. This is especially frequent among, if not indeed peculiar to, the Indian tribes of N. America. Among the Thlinkeets in the North West the difference of speech between them and the rest of mankind is naïvely accounted for by the breaking of the ark in two, their ancestors having been in one half, those of all other races in the other! More frequently, the dispersion is the result of the boats drifting away in the waters of the Deluge, as, *e.g.*, with the Bella Coola Indians (between 52° and 53° N. lat. on the coast of the Pacific). The ancient rock-carvings found among the aborigines of Mexico, in which, as it is said, a dove is depicted distributing gifts of speech in the form of tongues to the survivors of the Flood, would be a striking illustration of this kind of Flood story, could we be certain that this interpretation of it is correct; but it is at least doubtful. (*b*) The red colour of some of the N. American tribes. This colour is, according to the Crees, the direct consequence of the Flood, the Red Indians of to-day being the descendants of the single woman who was rescued, when the waters had all but covered her (see below, III. 9). On the other hand, the Herero, a native tribe of South Africa, relate that it was the Flood that brought to their ancient home the white man and woman from whom they are descended; hence their pale colour. (*c*) The existence of fossil remains on dry land, and even on hills. It is curious that the same evidence which, from the days of Tertullian at any rate, has been frequently adduced as evidence of the Bible Flood has been appealed to by several different peoples as evidence of their own Flood stories; and if the remains did not in every, or perhaps in any, case actually give rise to the story, they certainly helped to give it credence and permanence. With the Leeward islanders the mussels and corals on their hills are a standing proof of an ancient flood, in which all but one small coral island were immersed. The Samoan islanders call attention to the fish which have been turned into stone; and the central Eskimos of N. America can still see the outer shells of many mussels, fish, sea-dogs, and whales which were left upon the dry land by the Flood. (*d*) The same Eskimo tribes give a similar explanation of glaciers. They are the icebergs left on the tops of the mountains by the receding waters.

---

* See, *e.g.*, 'The Origin of Chinese Culture and Civilization,' Lippincott's *Monthly Magazine*, June 1890; De Lacouperie, 'The Old Babylonian Characters and their Chinese Derivatives,' in *Bab. and Oriental Record*, March 1888; and 'New Accadian' Papers by Ball in *PSBA*, Nov., Dec., 1889; Feb., June, 1890.

It is also important to observe that the cause of the Flood story has very often a special connexion with the locality to which it belongs. Thus we notice that the melting of the ice is a frequent cause with the extreme northernly tribes of N. American Indians. Earthquakes are a common feature in the Flood legends of tribes on those coastlands of America where they frequently occur. The submergence or emergence of islands accounts for those of tribes inhabiting volcanic districts. In China the Flood stories are associated with the bursting of the banks of the great rivers where such events occur, and are accompanied with great loss of life and property. Still more remarkable is it, on the other hand, that in Africa, where the overflow of the great rivers is a regular and expected phenomenon, and, in fact, has become necessary to cultivation, and therefore cannot be considered as the result of *special* divine agency, Flood stories are singularly rare, and never of this kind.

iii. Very frequently an old myth has become mixed up with, or at any rate coloured by, the Babylonian or Bible story. Thus the account of the Grecian Flood (Deucalion's) as given in the *de Deâ Syrâ* of the pseudo-Lucian, a writer of the 2nd cent. A.D., differs from the earlier form of the story as contained in Ovid (*Met.* i. 163–437), for instance, by the addition of several details belonging to the Babylonian and biblical stories, such as the name Sisythes (=Xisuthros), the building of a chest, the saving in it of Deucalion's family and pairs of every animal. Plutarch similarly introduces Deucalion's sending out the dove to ascertain the *weather* (!), according as it returned or remained behind. This colouring is probably, however, in most cases due to the teaching of Christian missionaries, who would naturally emphasize and unconsciously, or perhaps even intentionally, exaggerate points of resemblance between native folk-lore and Bible stories. Andree (see *Literature* below) quotes a story to show how easily the Bible Flood could find its way into the folk-lore of an imaginative people. A missionary heard a Flood story from a native Hottentot which bore a suspicious resemblance to that of the Bible, and yet he was assured that it had been handed down from early ages. Shortly after he met another missionary, who told him that he had himself taught the native the Bible story. It is not always easy to say positively that a legend has been influenced by the Bible Flood, but in the following cases it may be considered highly probable:—(*a*) When the legend resembles the Bible story in one or more definite particulars, but in general drift or in its more important features differs widely from it. In that of the Mandari (a branch of the Kohls, East India), the flood out of which a brother and sister only had been rescued under a tree, is put an end to by the serpent Lurbing, *in connexion with whom appears the rainbow*. In the Lithuanian story the rainbow is sent to comfort a pair of wretched survivors, and counsels them to obtain offspring by jumping over the bones of the earth. The Lummi Indians (north of Washington Territory) have a story that an old man escaped on a raft to a mountain, and *thence* twice sent forth a crow, which returned the second time with a leaf. (*b*) When the parts corresponding with the Bible story break the context, and do not fit in well with the rest. This is obviously the case with a story of the Algonquins (an Indian tribe of N. America), preserved in a very curious pictographic document, where, in the middle of a passage describing how some of the people were rescued on Turtle Island, the mention of a boat, as though an independent means of rescue, is very awkwardly introduced. (*c*) Where two forms of the story exist, in one of which the biblical features occur and in the other are absent. When, as with Deucalion's Flood, the former is known to be later, the probability of interpolation may be considered a certainty. Among the Mandans, an Indian tribe on the Missouri River, according to a current Flood legend the ark is a tower-like building, and the supposed model of the building, which is preserved as a relic in a public place, is in shape like a wooden cylinder. But not only is this model called 'the great canoe,' but, in the festival which commemorates the Flood, the representative of 'the First Man,' who was saved therein, tells how 'the great canoe' stranded on a high mountain. Moreover, the festival is always arranged to take place when the willows are in leaf, because, so they say, it was a branch of that tree, with all its leaves on, which the bird brought back to the ark. It is clear that we have here a confusion between two stories—an ancient legend according to which the survivors were saved in a tower, and the Bible Flood. (*d*) Where the Flood legend is mixed up with other stories from the Bible. Thus in that of the Papagos (an Indian tribe, east of California), Montezuma, the hero of the Flood, is so ungrateful to his deliverer, that he presumes to build a house whose top is to reach to heaven, whereupon the great Spirit sends his thunder and destroys the building. This evident borrowing from the Tower of Babel story makes us suspect that his sending out the jackal after the Flood to see how far the land extended, originated in the sending forth of birds from Noah's ark. In one of the Mexican legends, current in the neighbourhood of Cholulu, an artificial mountain, raised as a memento of the mountain in the caves of which the seven giants were saved from the Flood, threatened to reach to heaven, whereupon the gods sent down fire and destroyed several of the builders. This legend, connected with a half-finished pyramid, shows how readily Bible stories found their way among the aborigines of Mexico, and explains why features of the Bible Flood so often occur in the Flood myths of various Mexican tribes. In the story of the Mandari, above referred to as giving special prominence to the Bible feature of the rainbow, the creation of man *out of earth* stands in close connexion with the Flood. Similarly, the Flood story of the Macoushi (near British Guiana) relates how the first man found, on waking out of a deep sleep, a woman standing by his side. After this we can feel very little confidence in the originality of the statement that after the Flood the rat sent out by a survivor returned with an ear of maize in its mouth. This is evidently nothing else but a local adaptation of the dove and the olive branch. (*e*) The stories of the Papagos and Macoushi give another ground for suspecting biblical influence, namely, where some well-known features of a class of Flood legends appear so changed as to agree with the Noachian Deluge. The object of the sending forth of animals in the Indian stories is, as a rule, to obtain earth to create dry ground for the survivors. A rat is sent forth as well as other animals for this purpose in the legend of the Ojibways and the Chippewas, a fish in those of the Sac and Fox Indians. But in the stories of the Papagos and Macoushi the object is, as in the Bible, to discover the extent of dry land.

In some cases, however, the appearance of biblical details may be after all a mere coincidence. The likelihood of such coincidence becomes far greater than we might have thought when we take into account the very large number of Flood stories and the singular variety of detail. The following is an attempt to give as shortly as is practicable some idea of the extraordinary extent of this variety.

III. Variety of Details in different Flood Legends.—(1) *The Beings destroyed by the Flood* are often described as strange or unnatural beings, such as baneful monsters (Persian *Bundehesh*); ape-like men (Thibet); descendants of a primeval man and woman, who were drowned in the sea and became a whale and a crab; the descendants appear, however, to have been human in form, at any rate capable of religious and moral delinquency (Andamanese); giants (later Scandinavian *Edda*); men, one tribe of whom consisted only of women, another of men with dog-like tails (Fiji islanders); gods of the earth upon whom the Flood was sent at the request of the nether gods (the Sac and Fox Indians); a demigod (Ojibways, see above); imperfect men (Quiché Indians of Guatemala); the descendants of gods and men (Miztecs of Mexico, cf. Gn 6^{1-4}).

(2) *The reasons for the Flood* are differently given. Very frequently to get rid of these monstrous forms of life (in the *Bundehesh* a second Flood is necessary to purify the world of the poison which the monsters still left behind them); as in the Bible, to punish men for their wickedness (Andamanese); or, more frequently, for some definite crime or offence, as the refusal to wash and work (Mandari); killing and eating a huge serpent (Dyaks of Borneo); cooking a fish in violation of a sacred promise (Gipsies of the Sieben Gebirge); the crime of the demigod Menaboshu against the water-serpents in killing their king and three sons in revenge for the destruction of his little pet wolf (Ojibways); the inhospitality of a local S. African chieftain towards a woman who, in consequence, brought about a local flood through her incantation (Dilolo Lake); the insult perpetrated on a sea-god by a fisherman who fished in sacred waters and caught the god by his hair (Leeward Islands); the injury done to the raven by 'the wise man,' who had punished it by throwing it into the fire (Hare Indians, North America). In one case, as already noticed, the Flood is the result of a quarrel between the gods of the nether and upper world (the Sac and Fox Indians).

(3) The *direct cause of the Flood* is usually the rise and overflow of the sea, or of some river or lake; rather less frequently a prodigious storm and rainfall. An exceptional case is the melting of the winter snow (Chippewas, see above, II. 2 B *c*). Once it is occasioned by the blood flowing from a slaughtered giant (later *Edda*). Occasionally, the Flood consists of hot water (Finns). In the legend of the Quiché there is a second Flood of resin after one of water, and occasionally fire takes the place of water (so with the Yuracarés in Bolivia, among whom a legend of this sort has many parallels with the Flood stories of other peoples). In an Eskimo story the people are destroyed by heat as well as by the water. In one case the Flood is caused by the accidental breaking of a jar (examined through curiosity) containing the waters of the ocean (Haiti Island). Similarly, a flood is caused by an inquisitive ape taking away the mat placed in a hollow tree to stop up the water which communicated with the water beneath the earth (Acawoio, British Guiana).

(4) The Flood generally seems to have come *unexpectedly*; but sometimes *the survivors were forewarned*, as a rule by a god, but occasionally through the medium of animals. In the sacred books of India it is the fish, which is no other than the incarnate Vishnu, or, in one form of the legend, even the great Brahma himself. In the legend of the Cherokee Indians (N. America) it is a dog which tells his master, having first attracted his attention by standing up to his neck in the water and refusing to stir. In one of the Peruvian stories it is the llamas which warn their shepherd. He had noticed that they looked sad and gazed at the stars, upon which he inquired the cause, and was told of the coming Flood.

(5) The Flood is generally represented as *universal*, though originating in some definite place; but sometimes it is purely *local*.

(6) Men are usually *drowned*, but in one legend some of them are devoured by sea-monsters (Algonquins). In several of the Peruvian Flood stories they are changed into fish, and in one instance the dead bodies become salmon and frogs (Maidu, near Sacramento).

(7) The *number of survivors* varies very greatly in the different stories. Where the inhabitants of the world are monsters, they are, of course, all destroyed. Sometimes even men are all destroyed, and a new set of men created. Sometimes, on the other hand, they appear to have all escaped (Kabadi, a south-east district of New Guinea). As a rule, the survivors are very few, most frequently a single family, or even less; in several cases only one man or woman. Once it is only the coyote (prairie-wolf) of all living beings (Wappo, California); in another story it is the coyote and the demigod Montezuma (Papagos); in another the raven and his mother (Thlinkeets, Indian tribe of N. America, see below, III. 9).

(8) *The reason why the particular survivors were permitted to escape* is generally left unexplained. But when it is explained, it is usually, of course, because they had no part in the cause for which the Flood was sent. Thus in the Gipsy legend (see above, III. 2), while the wife who cooked the fish is struck by the first lightning flash of the storm which preceded the Flood, the husband, who was faithful to his promise, was saved. In the legend of the Leeward Islands (see above, III. 2), however, by a strange want of poetic justice, the penitent fisherman succeeds in appeasing the wrath of the god, and he and his family alone escape.

(9) The *methods of escape* exhibit also great variety. In many cases it is by fleeing to a mountain or an island, the latter generally being left unimmersed by the rising water, not so much from its elevation as from its sacred character (Algonquins, Victoria, Leeward Islands, Greece, etc.). Sometimes the place of refuge is the top of a tree (Karens in Burmah, Tupi in Brazil, Acawoio in British Guiana), or underneath (!) a tree (Mandari), or in caves (Mexicans of Cholula); once in the hole of a huge crawfish in a rice field (Uraus, a branch of Kohls); in a tower expressly built for the purpose (Mandans, see above, II. iii. *c*). The most usual method of escape, however, is by a boat or raft of some kind. In one of the Fiji stories, two gods themselves come in a boat, and fish the drowning bodies out of the water. The raft or ship is usually allowed to drift, but sometimes, as in the Accadian story, it is regularly steered. In the legends of India it is towed by the god-fish with a rope tied to his horn. Sometimes, to prevent its drifting away, it is secured by a rope, fastened either to a stone acting as an anchor (Kamtschatka), or, more frequently, to a tree (Pelew islanders, Twanas of Puget Sound, Washington Territory). Occasionally, as in the Bible story, the means of escape is a floating chest (Banar in Cambodia); in one legend

a nut-shell, which conveniently fell from a god, who was eating nuts in heaven during the Flood, on to the topmost peak of a mountain, whither men had fled for refuge (Lithuanians). Usually, as in the Accadian and Bible stories, the ark lands on a mountain; but, curiously enough, in some of the Persian legends the mountain of refuge itself floats like a boat. Other means of escape are still more quaint. In one legend the raven and his mother, presumably in a pre-raven state of existence, put on birds' skins and fly up to heaven, which the former, in his impetuosity, hits so violently that his beak gets stuck. In this predicament he is obliged to wait till the waters reach him (Thlinkeets). In another the single surviving maiden succeeds in catching hold of a bird, which flies up with her to a rock of safety (Crees).

(10) The Flood usually *disappears* by subsidence or evaporation; but, in isolated instances, it flows away down a hole (Deucalion's Flood, Tinney Indians), or into a rift in a mountain, and so finds its way into the sea (Maidu).

(11) The survivors in several legends *send out animals* from their various retreats, usually to dive down into the waters, that they may get earth, out of which new land is created. Of this we have a characteristic example in the story of the Ojibways, in which the surviving Menaboshu, after having stood on the topmost peak of a mountain for five days, with the water up to his mouth, in despair prays a passing sea-gull to dive down and discover whether the land has been entirely washed away. After the gull has dived several times to no purpose, Menaboshu sees the stiffened body of a musk-rat floating by. Having restored it to life, he sends it down on a similar quest. After a long while the dead body of the musk-rat appears on the surface with a few grains of sand in its claws. These Menaboshu throws on the water, and they become little islands, which grow and join together until they form habitable earth. In the stories of the Sac and Fox Indians, it is a fish which returns with its huge mouth full of earth; in that of the Chippewas, the beaver, otter, musk-rat, and northern diver, all dive down, and the last returns with mud in its webbed feet. Sometimes, as in the Bible, and presumably the Accadian stories, the animals are sent forth to discover whether or where the land is dry (Papagos, etc., see above, II. iii. *e*).

(12) The survivors, *hard put to it for food*, sometimes feed on fish, which they either cook by putting them under their armpits (!) (Tolowa in California), or with fire procured by rubbing sticks together, at which the god is angry, and turns the fish into dogs (an old Mexican story in the Codex Chimalpopoca). Fire is obtained in a similar way in the legend of the Dyaks of Borneo. In the Andamanesian story an arctic bird sends down a firebrand from heaven. In one of the Peruvian legends, meals are provided for the two surviving brothers by two parrots.

(13) There is a very curious variety with regard to the *methods by which the world was re-peopled after the Deluge*. When all the inhabitants were destroyed, there was, of necessity, a new creation. Most frequently, as in the Bible, the new men were simply the offspring of the few survivors, but in several legends they appear as propagated in some strange and miraculous manner, as by stones thrown over the survivors' heads (Deucalion's Flood, Acawoio and other Indian tribes on the Upper Orinoco). In one story cocoa-nuts are thrown with a similar result (Maypuri and neighbouring tribes of S. America). In the Lithuanian story men come into being by the survivors leaping over the bones of the earth. According to the Pelew islanders, it was by intercourse of the gods with a woman whose dead body was brought to life, and indwelt for a time by a goddess. Another legend ascribes it to the union between the single surviving maiden and a great eagle (Crees). Still more curious is the legend of the Wappo, who ascribe the re-peopling of the world to the coyote, which planted the tail feathers of various birds in the places where wigwams formerly stood. According to the Tinney Indians, it was brought about by the gods changing animals into men.

(14) The deification of Xisuthros after the Flood in the Accadian story has hardly a parallel in the myths of other peoples. Sometimes the survivor is already a sort of god (Papagos). In the story of the Pelew islanders the gods wish to deify the last woman, whom they had already restored to life, but are prevented by the malice of the bird Tariit (*Rallus pectoralis*).

If we now examine these legends in connexion with their locality, we shall find that features which repeat themselves (leaving out of consideration what has been borrowed from the Bible story) in several legends are of two kinds: (*a*) those which characterize the legends of neighbouring or related tribes; and (*b*) those which appear sporadically, so to speak, in far separated peoples. As examples of the first we may notice, generally, the tendency to combine Flood stories with animal fables common to almost all tribes of American Indians, and more especially the fables of the coyote, the jackal, and the raven, each of which marks off a definite group of tribes. We may instance also the floating mountain, which is confined to the neighbourhood of Peru. In many cases the second class belongs to the form which the legend would be most likely to take. It is more likely that men would escape a flood by going up into a mountain, or by means of a boat or raft, than in any other way, and therefore we find this to be most frequently the case. But when we consider the great multiplicity of stories, it is not at all surprising that, in a few isolated cases, the imagination of different peoples should independently hit upon the same idea. Where so many methods of escape suggested themselves, it might easily have occurred to more than one people that the boat of safety was like a chest, or, again, that the boat was tied by a rope. In the same way we may account for the really far stranger incident, the subsequent creation of men out of stones.

It is of the greatest importance to notice that this second class of similarities is by no means confined to features contained in the Bible story. Those who argue for the truth of the latter on the ground that several of its details are confirmed by other legends, are in danger of proving too much. The same argument makes equally for the truth of other details not found in the Bible. If all these stories are really the traditions of one single event, does not the evidence point to a boat rather than an ark, if indeed the survivors did not merely ascend a mountain; and is not the statement of the boat being moored by a rope, which appears in legends so widely scattered, at least as probable as that of the sending out of animals, on the presence of which, in different legends, so much stress is often laid? For, as a matter of fact, the stories which contain this feature are often liable to the suspicion of a Christian colouring on the grounds above given, and indeed it is just this picturesque touch which would inevitably most strike the imagination, and most easily find its way into the popular stories of a people. It must also be borne in mind that there is a vast difference between *sending out* animals to ascertain how far the waters were dry, and *begging them to dive down* under the water to obtain earth for making dry land. The clay on the feet of the birds in the

Babylonian story is connected with the first, that on the feet of the diver in the story of the Chippewas with the second. In a word, all that the multifarious Flood stories really can be said to prove is, that there was among a very large number of ancient peoples the belief in a Flood, and often, though by no means so frequently, in a universal Deluge; but this alone does not prove that they all describe one real event, still less that the one true account of that event is the Bible Flood. It is rather the case that a thorough study and comparison of these stories make both these hypotheses extremely improbable.

IV. The Cause of the Accadian Flood Story.—Four theories as to the origin of the Flood story are possible. That it was originally (1) a mere product of the fancy, (2) a nature myth, (3) a cosmogonic fable, (4) the poetical presentation of some natural occurrence. The first is contrary to the analogy of similar legends among all peoples, and hardly needs serious discussion. The second has in its favour the connexion of the Flood story with Aquarius, and possibly, perhaps, the location of Ṣît-napišti at the mouth of the Euphrates; but, on the other hand, this watery subject, supposing the story to be already in existence, was specially suited for this particular zodiacal sign; and the mouth of the Euphrates might be deemed a fitting place for the deified hero of the Flood. The third finds some analogy among the Flood legends of other nations, but the analogy of the great majority of Flood stories is strongly in favour of the fourth, and there can be no doubt that it is correct.

The question then arises, 'What event is likely to have given rise to the Accadian story?' (*a*) That it was a universal Deluge is, for reasons already given, quite out of the question. (*b*) Writers have, however, still maintained (and founded their arguments on scientific grounds) that this Flood was much more than a local flood, and really covered a very considerable area. Among these is the late Professor Prestwich, a man who, on account of his geological researches, is entitled to the highest respect (see *Literature*). He maintains the view, that long after the appearance of palæolithic man there was a submergence of the crust of the earth, chiefly in Western Europe, but extending to the N.W. of Africa, though probably not as far as Egypt, causing a great inundation of the sea, which rose (relatively speaking) at its highest to about 1500 ft. on the Continent, and 1000 ft. in England. It seems to have risen suddenly and to have subsided soon; that is to say, the inundation did not probably last more than a year or two at most. It destroyed a vast amount of animal and some human life, so that some species of animals became extinct in regions which they formerly inhabited: for example, the lion, panther, spotted hyæna, caffir cat, hippopotamus, African elephant in Europe and N. Africa, and all the then existing mammalia in Malta. The proofs of this inundation are: (1) the various forms of what the Professor calls distinctively *Rubble Drift* (distinct in character from the *Glacial Drift* in its various forms of *breccia*, etc.), and (2) a sedimentary deposit (*loess*) found on mountains (distinct from all valley deposits left by rivers). It seems probable to him that, when the Flood rose, animals of all sorts were driven to the mountains, where some escaped, from which the submerged districts were again re-stocked after the Flood. In one instance (at Palermo) it would appear that the light-footed animals, which would have had little difficulty in making their escape, survived, whereas the hippopotamus became extinct. Without attempting to call in question the geological arguments on which this view is maintained, it will be readily seen that it is extremely difficult to make it square with the evidence of the Flood traditions of different peoples, to which Professor Prestwich himself appeals to fortify his case. Had this view been correct, we should certainly have expected to find wide recollections of the Flood throughout the region where it occurred, and more faint traditions in other parts. But this is by no means the case, and the district of Babylonia, from which the most important and graphic Flood story originates, is, according to our present knowledge, wanting in those geological phenomena on which the Professor depends (indeed they have not yet been discovered even in the east of Europe), and therefore is apparently beyond the region of the supposed Deluge. On the other hand, in Europe Flood legends are comparatively scarce, and usually of a very mythical type (*Edda*, Lithuanians, etc.); in N.W. Africa they are altogether absent. Again, they are most frequent by far in Northern and Central America, regions far removed from the supposed locality of the Flood. The same objection, though not to the same extent, lies to the view that the Accadian Flood story is to be referred to geological changes in Thibet, by which what was once a great inland sea became a plain (see above, II. 2 B *b*).

Judging from the genesis of similar legends, this Accadian story is far more likely to have originated in Babylonia itself, and to be due to some local cause. The same analogy, if we take also into account the character of the country, suggests that our choice lies between a great overflow of the Tigris and Euphrates caused by an extraordinary rainfall, and the incursion of a tidal wave through an earthquake somewhere in the south. Edward Süss, whose views are mentioned by Andree, is inclined to think that both these causes were at work. He argues from the description of the Accadian story, which speaks not only of the earth trembling, and the breaking out of the floods below the earth, and the waves of the storm-god reaching up to heaven—expressions which point to an earthquake accompanied by a tidal wave—but also of the whirlwind, and the thunder, and the overflow of the canals. Del. (*Gen.* 1887, p. 164), Haupt (*Amer. Journ. Philol.* ix. 423 f.), and esp. Huxley (*Essays on Controverted Questions*, 586 ff., 619), agree with Süss, and Dillm. (*Gen.*^{6} p. 175) inclines to the same view. Andree gives several instances, recorded in history, showing to what an enormous distance an earthquake affects the movement of the sea. For example, an earthquake which took place in Peru on the 13th of August 1868, caused a great wave which struck the Sandwich Islands on the following day, and on the day after washed the coastlands of Australia and New Zealand. How terrible the destruction wrought by a local inundation may be, is shown by the cyclone which struck the coast of India on Nov. 1st, 1864, and involved the loss of 60,000 lives. It is not so very surprising that in Babylonia, as in many other countries, such a flood should by long oral tradition have been magnified into a universal Deluge, from which only a few survived.

It has been necessary in this article to lay considerable stress on points of resemblance between the Flood story of the Bible and the numerous Flood legends of other peoples. We have shown that, looked at from a merely historical point of view, they stand on a similar footing, and, in fact, that the Bible story is merely a later variant of one of them. Here, however, the resemblance ends. In tone and religious character the Bible story is immeasurably above all others. It is true, indeed, that the God of the Flood, Who took pleasure in the sweet smell of Noah's sacrifice, stands far below the God of the psalmist, Who delighted not in burnt-offerings and sacrifice, but in a broken and troubled spirit. But for all that, it is a God who hated iniquity, transgression, and sin as utterly unworthy of His own creation, not a deity avenging a merely personal insult, far less, as in the original story, a troop of gods wrangling with each other in jealous rivalry. Even though it be true that the Israelites found this Flood story handed down from the religious mists of a far distant past, a religious student of Scripture will have no difficulty in recognizing that divinely guided religious feeling and insight by which an ancient legend became the vehicle of religious and spiritual truth.

LITERATURE.—George Smith, *The Chaldean Account of Genesis*, new ed. by Sayce; *KAT*^{2}, 55–79; Sayce, *HCM*, 107 ff.; J. Prestwich, *On Certain Phenomena belonging to the close of the last Geological Period, and on their bearing upon the Tradition of the Flood*, Macmillan, 1895; Andree, *Die Flutsagen, ethnographisch betrachtet*, Brunswick, 1891,—an excellent work giving a summary of the Flood legends of a large number of races, and made much use of in this article; Charles Hardwick, *Christ and other Masters*, Cambridge, contains some Flood legends, see esp. pt. II. iii. 3, pt. III. ii. pp. 162–164; F. Lenormant, *Origines de l'histoire d'après la Bible*, Paris; see also in this *DB* the art. BABYLONIA, p. 221.

F. H. WOODS.

FLOOD.—A flood is a *flow* of water. In early Eng. (as in late) it is used of the flow of the tide, as *Trin. Coll. Hom.* (1200) 177, 'For swiche flode, and for swich ebbinge the prophete nemmeth this woreld se.' But in the earliest quotation in *Oxf. Eng. Dict.* it is applied to a stream,—an application which has long since dropped out of prose, though it is still in use poetically. In this sense 'flood' is of frequent occurrence in AV. The following is a complete list of the passages in which the word is found.

1. A stream: Job 14[11] (*nâhâr*, usual word for 'river,' RV 'river'); 20[17] 'the floods, the brooks of honey and butter' (*nâhâr*, RV 'the flowing streams'); 28[11] 'he bindeth the floods from overflowing' (*nâhâr*, RV 'the streams that they trickle not,' RVm '*Heb.* from weeping,' the allusion is to the use of lime or clay to prevent water percolating into the mine—Davidson); Ps 98[8] (*nâhâr*); Job 28[4] 'the flood breaketh out from the inhabitant' (*naḥal*, usual word for 'brook,' here understood of the miner's 'shaft,' RV 'he breaketh open a shaft away from where men sojourn'); Ps 74[15] 'Thou didst cleave the fountain and the flood' (*naḥal*, in ref. to the stream from the rock in the wilderness); Is 44[3] 'I will pour water upon him that is thirsty, and floods upon the dry ground' (*nôzĕlîm*, ptcp. of *nâzal*, to flow, RV 'streams'). In Apocr., 2 Es 16[60] (*flumen*, RV 'river'), Ad. Est 11[10] 'a great flood' (*ποταμὸς μέγας*, distinguished from *μικρὰ πηγή*, 'a little fountain'; RV 'river'); Sir 21[13] 39[22] (*κατακλυσμός*). This meaning is found in Shaks., but more rarely: *Much Ado*, I. i. 318—

> 'What need the bridge much broader than the flood?'

2. A special river: (*a*) The *Euphrates*, Jos 24[2] 'Your fathers dwelt on the other side of the flood in old time' (בְּעֵבֶר הַנָּהָר, RV 'beyond the River'); so 24[3] (מֵעֵבֶר 'from,' etc.), 24[14. 15]. In Apocr., 2 Es 13[44] 'the most High . . . held still the flood, till they were passed over' (*statuit venas fluminis*, RV 'stayed the springs of the River'); 1 Mac 7[8] 'Bacchides . . . who ruled beyond the flood' (*ἐν τῷ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ*, RV 'in the country beyond the river'). Cf. Rev 9[14] Wyc. 'Vnbynde foure aungels, that ben bounde in the great flood Eufrates'; Milton, *PL* i. 419—

> 'With these came they who from the bordering flood
> Of old Euphrates to the brook that parts
> Egypt from Syrian ground, had general names
> Of Baälim and Ashtaroth.'

(*b*) The *Nile*: Ps 78[44] (נוֹזְלֵיהֶם, RV 'their streams'); Am 8[8 bis] 9[5 bis]; the Heb. is *yĕ'ôr*, the word for the Nile, *the* River, as RV; in 8[8b] and 9[5b] *Mizraim* 'of Egypt' is added, but that is quite exceptional. Sometimes RV translates boldly by 'Nile,' Is 19[7 ter. 8] (AV 'brook'), 23[3. 10] (AV 'river'), Jer 46[7. 8] (AV 'flood'), Zec 10[11] (AV 'river'). Cf. Ac 7[21] Wyc. 'whanne he was put out *in the flood*, the daughter of Farao took hym up.' (*c*) The *Jordan*: Ps 66[6] 'they went through the flood on foot' (*nâhâr*, RV 'river'). Cf. Pr. Bk. 1549, 'by the Baptism of thy well-beloved Son Jesus Christ, thou didst sanctify the flood Jordan, and all other waters, to this mystical washing away of sin' (so 1552, 1559, and Scot. Liturgy, 1604; but in 1662 changed to 'the river Jordan').

3. An overflow of water, a torrent: Job 22[16] 'whose foundation was overthrown with a flood' (lit., as Dav., 'was poured away *and became* a flood,' RV 'was poured out as a stream,' Heb. *nâhâr*); Ps 32[6] 'in the floods of great waters' (לְשֵׁטֶף מַיִם רַבִּים, RV 'when the great waters overflow'); 69[2] (שִׁבֹּלֶת *shibbôleth*, the word which baffled the Ephraimites to pronounce, see SHIBBOLETH); 69[15] 'waterflood' (*shibbôleth mayîm*, 1611 'water flood'); 90[5] 'Thou carriest them away as with a flood' (זְרַמְתָּם, lit., as Cheyne, 'thou stormest upon them'); Is 28[2] 'a flood of mighty waters overflowing' (*zerem*, properly a flood of *rain*, a downpour; RV 'tempest'); Jer 47[2] 'an overflowing flood' (*naḥal*, RV 'stream,' Cheyne 'torrent,' who says, 'It is in autumn-time that the torrents of Palestine become dangerous, and water-courses, dry or almost dry in summer, become filled with a furiously rushing stream'); Dn 9[26] 11[22], Nah 1[8] (*shêṭeph*). In Apocr., Wis 5[22] 'the floods shall cruelly drown them' (*ποταμός*, RV 'the rivers shall sternly overwhelm them'). In NT, Mt 7[25. 27] (*ποταμοί*), Lk 6[48] (*πλήμμυρα*, fr. root of *πίμπλημι*, to fill); Rev 12[15. 16] (*ποταμός*, RV 'river'); and 12[15] 'that he might cause her to be carried away of the flood' (*ποταμοφόρητον*, RV 'carried away by the stream').

4. Noah's flood is always designated in Heb. *mabbûl*, in LXX *κατακλυσμός*, and in Vulg. *diluvium* (whence Eng. 'deluge'). The reff. in OT are Gn 6[17] 7[6. 7. 10. 17] 9[11 *bis*. 15. 28] 10[1. 32] 11[10], Ps 29[10]; in Apocr., 2 Es 3[9. 10], Wis 10[4], Sir 40[10]* 44[17. 18]; and in NT, Mt 24[38. 39], Lk 17[27], 2 P 2[5]. See preceding article.

The only doubtful ref. is Ps 29[10] 'The LORD sitteth upon the flood' (לַמַּבּוּל יָשָׁב), RV 'sat *as king* at the Flood'). The majority of recent commentators take it with RV to be a ref. to Noah's Flood. 'The storm,' says Kirkpatrick, 'reminds the poet of the great typical example of judgment and mercy, in which Jehovah's judicial severity was exhibited.' The chief argument in favour is the use of the word (observe that it has the article '*the* Flood'). Against is the unexpectedness of the reference to the Flood, and the prep. (לְ) 'at,' 'to,' or 'on.' Kirkpatrick says of the prep.: 'we may render, *Sat for the Flood*; with His seat on His throne in order to execute that memorable judgment (Ps 97).' The tr^n of AV (which is that of Geneva Bible) makes the ref. to be to a flood of water in the storm itself. This is clear from the note in the Gen. Bible. Johnson (*Speaker's Com.*) agrees. But the storm is a storm of wind, not of water; of rain there is no mention in the psalm, although it may be argued that it is presupposed. Cheyne carries the psalmist's mind beyond the Noachic Flood to the original meaning of the word. That is 'destruction'; 'a wasting flood' being only secondary. He therefore boldly ignores the Flood and any ref. to water, and tr. 'At the storm Jehovah sat enthroned' (*Book of Psalms*, p. 81, and Crit. Note on p. 380).†

5. It is only in poetic parallelism that 'flood' is used of the *sea*: Ps 24[2]—

> 'He hath founded it [the earth] upon the seas,
> And established it upon the floods';

Ps 93[3 *ter*], Jon 2[3] (all *nâhâr*); and Ex 15[8] (*nôzĕlîm*, of the waters of the Red Sea). In Apocr., 2 Es 4[15. 17. 19. 21] (*fluctus*, RV 'waves').

---

* So plainly in AV, since the marg. ref. is to Gn 7[11]; and the Gr. is *κατακλυσμός*: but RV omits the ref., and prints 'flood,' not 'Flood'; and the recently discovered Heb. text gives 'river' (Cowley and Neubauer).

† This cancels the 'Parchment' tr^n 'Jehovah has seated himself above the flood,' and its note, 'either the deluge or the heavenly ocean already referred to in v.[3].'

6. Finally, the word is thrice used metaphorically: 2 S 22^{5}=Ps 18^{4} 'the floods of ungodly men made me afraid' (נַחֲלֵי בְלִיַּעַל, lit. 'streams of Belial'; RV 'floods of ungodliness'; see Selbie, Cheyne, and Hommel in *Expos. Times*, viii. [1897] 360, 423, 472; and Baudissin, Cheyne, Jensen, *ib.* ix. 40, 91, 283, 332). Cf. Shaks. *Timon of Athens*, I. i. 42—

> 'You see this conference, this great flood of visitors.'

Also 1 Mac 6^{11} 'a flood of *misery*' (ποταμός, RV simply 'a flood'). Cf. Milton, *On Time*, 13—

> 'And joy shall overtake us as a flood.'

J. HASTINGS.

FLOOR.—The word 'floor' is now most familiar as the part we tread on in a room; but it once as readily suggested the platform on which corn was threshed. Hence in AV (after earlier VSS) 'floor' stands as the tr^{n} of גֹּרֶן *gôren*, fourteen times, which elsewhere is mostly tr^{d} 'threshing-floor.'

The Heb. word occurs altogether 36 times: it is tr^{d} 'threshing-floor' (1611 two sep. words) 19 times (Gn 50^{10}, Nu 15^{20} $18^{27.30}$, Ru 3^{2}, 1 S 23^{1}, 2 S 6^{6} $24^{18.21.24}$, 1 Ch 13^{9} $21^{15.18.21.22.28}$, 2 Ch 3^{1}, Jer 51^{33}), and 'floor' 11 times (Gn 50^{11}, Dt 15^{14}, Jg 6^{37}, Ru $3^{3.6.14}$, Is 21^{10}, Hos 9^{2} 13^{3}, Jl 2^{24}, Mic 4^{12}). RV gives 'threshing-floor' everywhere except Gn 50^{11}, Is 21^{10}, and Jl 2^{24}, retaining 'floor' in these places. Elsewhere *gôren* is tr^{d} 'barnfloor' 2 K 6^{27} (1611 'barn floor'; RV 'threshing-floor'), 'threshingplace' 2 S 24^{16} (1611 'threshing place,' RV 'threshing-floor'); 'a void place' 1 K 22^{10}=2 Ch 18^{9} (RV 'an open place'), 'barn' Job 39^{12} (RV 'threshing-floor'), 'corn' Dt 16^{13} ('after that thou hast gathered in thy corn and thy wine,' RV 'after that thou hast gathered in from thy threshing-floor and from thy wine-press'), and in Hos 9^{1} [all] the fuller phrase *kol-gornôth dâgân* is tr^{d} 'cornfloor' (1611 'corn floor').

The only other OT word is אִדַּר *'iddar*, which occurs only Dn 2^{35} and is tr^{d} 'threshing-floor' (אִדְּרֵי־קַיִט, EV 'summer threshing-floors'). In NT ἅλων occurs only Mt 3^{12}, Lk 3^{17} and is tr^{d} 'floor,' RV 'threshing-floor.' In Apocr. *area* is tr^{d} 'floor' 2 Es 4^{32} (so RV), $4^{35.39}$ (RV 'threshing-floor'). See AGRICULTURE.

For the floor of a room see HOUSE.

J. HASTINGS.

FLOTE.—The timber for the temple, being cut in Lebanon, was conveyed by sea to Joppa in flotes: 1 K 5^{9} (דֹּבְרוֹת, RV 'rafts'), 2 Ch 2^{16} (רַפְסֹדוֹת). The logs themselves would form the raft; hence in 1 Es 5^{55} it is said that for the building of the second temple the timber was brought to the haven of Joppa, not '*by* rafts' (AV, as if σχεδίαις), but '*in* rafts' (RV, cf. LXX σχεδίας). In 1 K 5^{9} LXX reads σχεδίας, in 2 Ch 2^{16} σχεδίαις.

AV 1611 spells 'flotes' at each occurrence. Modern editions give 'flotes' in 2 Ch 2^{16}* and 1 Es 5^{55}, but 'floats' 1 K 5^{9}. Scrivener restores 'flotes,' and is followed in *Camb. Bible for Schools and Colleges.*

FLOUR.—See FOOD.

FLOURISH.—Two stages may be marked in the use of the verb to flourish: **1.** To flower, blossom, said (*a*) literally or (*b*) metaphorically, as (*a*) Lyte (1578), *Dodoens*, II. xx. 117, 'It beginneth to floure at the toppe of the stalke, and so goeth florishing downewarde.' So in AV Ec 12^{5} 'the almond tree shall flourish' (יָנֵאץ, RV 'shall blossom'); Ca 6^{11} 7^{12} of the vine (פָּרְחָה, RV 'bud'; cf. Chaucer, *Parsonnes Tale*, § 43, Student's ed. 697, 'To smelle the sote savour of the vyne whanne it florissheth'); Is 17^{11} 'in the morning shalt thou make thy seed to flourish' (תַּפְרִיחִי, RV 'thou makest thy seed to blossom'); Ps 90^{6} of the grass (יָצִיץ, Del., Cheyne 'blossoms'). (*b*) Metaphorically of persons or things: Ps 103^{15} 'As for man, his days are as grass: as a flower of the field so he flourisheth' (כְּצִיץ הַשָּׂדֶה כֵּן יָצִיץ, lit. 'as the flower of the field so he flowereth': so Ps 72^{16} 92^{7} 132^{18}, all *ẓûẓ* [in Hiph.], which means to bring forth flowers, and is tr^{d} 'blossom' in Is 27^{6} as well as [in Qal] Ezk 7^{10}); Sir 39^{14} 'flourish as a lily' (ἀνθήσατε ἄνθος; RV 'put forth flowers'). **2.** To shoot up quickly, or grow vigorously, again said literally of plants and metaphorically of persons and things. Thus Ezk 17^{24} in the Wyclifite version of 1388 is 'Y made the drie tree to brynge forth boowis,' but the earlier version has 'Y made the drye tree for to florisshe,' which is retained in AV. In this sense are all the remaining instances of the word, the Heb. being some part of פָּרַח, or (in Ps 92^{14}) the adj. רַעֲנָן (Aram. רַעֲנַן Dn 4^{4}); the Greek ἀναθάλλειν, Sir 1^{18} 11^{22} 46^{12} 49^{10}, Ph 4^{10}; and the Lat. *florēre*, 2 Es 6^{28}.

J. HASTINGS.

FLOWERS.—Visitors to Palestine unite in their enthusiasm over the flowers. Everywhere they brighten the landscape with their brilliant colours, white, yellow, blue, violet, purple, maroon, crimson, scarlet, brown, and even black. Fields, many acres in extent, are aglow with anemones, ranunculi, poppies, chorisporas, silenes, clovers, milk vetches, chamomiles, groundsels, crocuses, colchicums, irises, ixiolirions, gladioli, and tulips. The hedges are gay with their wealth of broom, roses, and brambles. The sandstone is clothed with pink and white rock-roses, and dainty little heaths. The hillsides are adorned with the lavish blossoms of the styrax, the redbud, the arbutus, and the myrtle. Even the bleak shingle of alpine Lebanon, 10,000 ft. above the sea, is covered with large patches of *Vicia canescens*, Lab., and *V. gregaria*, Boiss. et Held., with their beautiful racemes of blue and white flowers. The tableland of Moab is gorgeous with deep purple irises. Finally, the deserts have a rich and varied flora, numbering over 400 species, not found in other localities. Flowers are an emblem of beauty (Mt $6^{28f.}$), but at the same time of frailty and instability (Job 14^{2}, Ps 103^{15}, Is 28^{1} 40^{6}, Ja 1^{10} etc.). The coming of flowers is a sign of spring (Ca 2^{12}). 'The flower of her age' is the bloom of a maiden's youth (1 Co 7^{36}).

G. E. POST.

FLOWERS in Lv $15^{24.33}$ signifies the menstrual discharge (נִדָּה, RV 'impurity'). So Andrew, *Brunswyke's Distyll-Waters*, A iii. 'the same water . . . causeth women to have her flowers, named menstruum.' In the same sense Fr. *fleurs*; but both are now obsolete.

FLUE-NET.—In Hab 1^{15}m 'flue-net' is given as an alternative for 'drag' of the text (Heb. מִכְמֶרֶת). The form *flu* is found in French, and *fluwe* for a fishing-net in Dutch. The flue (together with the 'trammel or hooped net whatsoever') is forbidden to river fishermen in early laws. The word is still in occasional use, as *Three in Norway* (1882), vi. 44, 'Seven boats . . . were out with a huge flue net.' Coverdale has 'yarne' in this and the foll. verse, and is followed by the Geneva and Bishops' Bibles.

FLUTE.—See MUSIC.

FLUX.—Ac 28^{8} 'the father of Publius lay sick of a fever and of a bloody flux,' *i.e.* lit. a flow of blood (from *fluxus*, ptcp. of *fluĕre*, to flow, through Fr. *flux*; the spelling in 1611 is 'flixe' ['bloody-flixe'], a spelling derived from the Fr. pronunciation with ü—Bradley); Gr. δυσεντερία in TR, but edd. prefer the later form δυσεντέριον; RV 'dysentery.' The AV tr^{n} comes from Wyclif, who in ed. 1380 has 'Sothli it befel, the fadir of Puplius for to ligge trauelid with feueres and dissenterie, or flix,' thus using ‘flix’ without the adj., for it often stood alone in early Eng. as a synonym for dysentery. But the ed. of 1388 has ‘blodi flux.’ So in Mt 9^{20} Wyclif (1380) gives ‘And loo! a womman that suffride the flix, or rennynge of blood (Gr. αἱμορροοῦσα) twelve yeer, cam to byhynde and touchide the hemme of his clothe,’ but ed. 1388 ‘the blodi flux.’ And so T. Fuller, *Holy Warre* (ed. 1640), p. 216, ‘The siege was no sooner begun but the plague seised on the Christian armie: whereof thousands died; amongst others, Tristram, King Lewis his sonne: And he himself of a flux followed after.’ But p. 94, ‘King Almerick himself, wearied with whole volleys of miseries, ended his life of a bloudy flux.’ See MEDICINE. J. HASTINGS.

---

* Why was *flotes* left in 2 Ch? Because less read, and reckoned of less consequence? So in the Heb. Bible some explain the presence of *Esh-baal*, 1 Ch 8^{33} 9^{33}, when the name was changed in 2 S into *Ish-bosheth*.

FLY.—In 1 S 14^{32} (reading וַיַּעַט with Ḳerê, for Kethîbh וַיַּעַשׂ) and 15^{19} (וַתַּעַט) AV gives (and RV retains) ‘fly upon the spoil,’ a more forcible rendering than that of the previous versions ‘turn to’ (the Bishops’ have ‘gate them to’ in 14^{32}). In 1 S 25^{14} ‘flew upon’ (AV ‘railed on’) is used figuratively: עַיִט ‘bird of prey’ comes from the same root.

In Lv $11^{21.\ 23}$ occurs the curious combination ‘flying creeping thing’ (שֶׁרֶץ הָעוֹף). As Driver points out (art. CREEPING THINGS, see also *Com.* on Dt 14^{19} where the phrase is ‘every creeping thing that flieth’), the Heb. word here used does not describe *creeping* but *swarming* creatures; so that the tr^{n} should be ‘winged swarming things,’ not as in RV ‘winged creeping things,’ the reference being to insects like the locust.

FLY, FLIES.—Two Hebrew words are translated *fly*:—**1.** זְבוּב *zĕbhûbh*, μυῖα, *musca*. This word is found only in two places (Ec 10^{1}, Is 7^{18}). It corresponds to the Arab. *dhubâb*, which is specially applied to *house flies*, but is also understood in the general sense of insects resembling them. It is used in Arab. as an emblem of *weakness*, ‘he is more frail than the fly’; and of *contemptibleness*, ‘he is more contemptible to me than the buzzing of the fly.’ ‘The refuge of the fly’ is a proverb, applied to him who is protected by his ignobleness. ‘The father of the fly’ signifies a person with a stinking breath (cf. Ec 10^{1}). It is also said of such a person that he is ‘more stinking in breath than the father of the fly.’ From these qualities *dhubâb* has come to signify *evil* or *mischief*. An unlucky man is ‘a fly man.’ The same expression is also used to denote *demoniacal possession*, or *insanity*, or *ignorance*. More or fewer of these various significations in the Arab. may have obtained also in the Heb. word, which would account for the god of Ekron being called Baal-zebub (2 K 1^{2}), ‘the *god of flies*.’ See BAAL-ZEBUB.

2. עָרֹב *'ârôbh*, κυνόμυια, *omne genus muscarum*, EV Ex 8^{21-31} *swarms of flies*, AV Ps 78^{45} 105^{31} *divers sorts of flies*, RV *swarms of flies*. In all three passages LXX gives κυνόμυια, *dog-fly*, a word the significance of which in Greek is not clear. The Rabbins interpret *'ârôbh* as referring to a mixture of noxious insects, as if from עָרַב *'ârab*, to mix. Some have argued from Ex 8^{31} ‘there remained not one,’ that the fly referred to must be a definite species, which was sent as a plague, and totally destroyed at its close. But even if the expression ‘not one’ is to be pressed to its literal interpretation, it would not necessarily imply that the swarms were all of one kind. They might have been ‘divers sorts.’ The fact that the swarms of flies ‘devoured’ the Egyptians, has been supposed to imply that they were flies that bit them. But, apart from the fact that a biting fly could hardly be said to devour its victim, the true interpretation is to be sought in the comparison of the two members of the parallelism, ‘flies which devoured them, and frogs which destroyed them.’ Both are strong expressions of the ruinous nature of the plague, and in both the reference is probably more to the corruption of their food and drink than to the destruction of their bodies. As it is impossible to determine whether a particular insect, or a mixture of insects, is intended, we may accept *swarms of flies* as conveying the essential meaning in the passages in question. See PLAGUE.

A resident in the cooler parts of Europe and America can hardly realize the number and persistence of the flies which swarm in Egypt and Syria. They not only defile food, but convey contagion, particularly that of *ophthalmia*, *diphtheria*, and, one kind of fly, that of *malignant pustule*. They also deposit their eggs in wounds and sores, and sometimes in the nose and ears of filthy people, and their larvæ hatch out, and fill these cavities, to the great distress and injury of the unfortunate patient.

G. E. POST.

FODDER occurs only once in AV (Job 6^{5} as tr^{n} of בְּלִיל, strictly *mixed food, farrago* [see *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*]). RV not only retains the term here, but introduces it in Jg 19^{21}, where the denom. vb. בָּלַל (‘give fodder,’ AV ‘give provender’) occurs. The same Heb. word בְּלִיל occurs in Job 24^{6}, but here RV has ‘provender’ (AV ‘corn’), and in Is 30^{24} (AV and RV ‘provender’). This last term (see PROVENDER) is more frequently the tr^{n} of מִסְפּוֹא Gn $24^{25.\ 32}$ 42^{27} 43^{24}, Jg 19^{19}. See further under AGRICULTURE.

FOLD.—(*A*) IN OT.—**1.** גְּדֵרָה (only in plur.), properly the walls or fences erected to shelter and defend the flock, Nu $32^{16.\ 34.\ 36}$, Zeph 2^{6}. **2.** דֹּבֶר Is 5^{17} Mic 2^{12} prob. means ‘pasture’ (so RV), but both the text and the meaning of this passage are doubtful (see Nowack, *ad loc.*). **3.** מִכְלָה, a transcriptional error for מִכְלָא (from כָּלָא ‘shut up’) in Hab 3^{17}. The correct form appears in Ps 50^{9} 78^{70}. **4.** נָוֶה ‘farm’ or ‘homestead’ (2 S 7^{8}), including both farm-house and lands; often used in connexion with sheep and shepherds (Is 65^{10}, Jer 33^{12}), and also poetical for ‘habitation,’ whether of men or flocks (Is 23^{20}, Jer 31^{23} of Jerus.; Pr 3^{33} of the righteous; Ex 15^{13}, 2 S 15^{25} of J″). **5.** [נָאָה] only in pl. const. נְאוֹת ‘pastures’ (Jl 2^{22}, Ps 65^{12}, Jer 23^{10}, Am 1^{2}, where see Driver’s note). **6.** שְׁפַתַּיִם, which in AV of Ps 68^{13} is tr^{d} ‘pots,’ prob. means ‘sheepfolds’ (so RV), like **7.** מִשְׁפְּתַיִם Gn 49^{14} (of Issachar ‘couching between the sheepfolds’ [RV], ‘between two burdens’ [AV]), Jg 5^{16} (of Reuben; see Moore’s note). **8.** In Is 13^{20} where AV has ‘neither shall the shepherds make their fold there,’ it is a verb that is used, הִרְבִּיץ, which RV accurately tr. ‘make their flocks to lie down.’ **9.** In 2 Ch 32^{28} עֲדָרִים לַאֲוֵרוֹת cannot mean as in RV ‘flocks in folds’; the AV ‘cotes for flocks’ is prob. correct, although this involves a transposition and the reading אֻוֵרוֹת לַעֲדָרִים (see Kittel in *SBOT*, *ad loc.*).

(*B*) IN NT.—**1.** αὐλή, the enclosed space or court within which the sheep were penned, Jn $10^{1.\ 16}$. **2.** ποιμνή. In Jn 10^{16} AV has ‘there shall be one *fold*,’ a mistranslation which suggests an erroneous doctrine of the Church. The meaning is correctly given by RV ‘they shall become one *flock*’ (cf. Mt 26^{31}, Lk 2^{8}, 1 Co 9^{7}).

Folds were used mainly as a protection at night from wild beasts (cf. Gn 31^{39}, 1 S 17^{34}). They consisted of an enclosure surrounded by a stone wall (Nu 32^{16}), by preference near a well (Ex $2^{16f.}$, Ps 23^{2}), and had often the extra protection of a tower (Gn 35^{21} (?), 2 Ch 26^{10}, Mic 4^{8}). The flocks were carefully counted as they passed in and out (Jer 33^{13}). Sometimes a number of flocks might be kept in one fold under the charge of a ‘porter’ (θυρωρός), who opened to each shepherd as he came to reclaim his flock (Jn 10^{3}). See further under SHEEP, SHEPHERD. J. A. SELBIE.

FOLDEN.—This earlier ptcp. of the verb to fold is found in Nah 1^{10} 'while they be folden together as thorns' (RV 'like tangled [Amer. RV entangled] thorns'). The meaning is that the thorns are intertwined so as to form an impenetrable hedge. The tr^{n} comes from the Geneva Bible, 'For *he shall come as* unto thornes folden one in another,' with the marginal gloss, 'Thogh the Assyrians thinke them selves like thornes that pricke on all sides, yet the Lord wil set fyre on them.' For this sense of the verb to fold cf. Mt 27^{29} Wyc. 'thei foldynge a crowne of thornis,' and Ca 7^{5} Cov. 'The hayre of thy heade is like the kynges purple folden up in plates.' The Heb. (סְבֻכִים) is used in Job 8^{17} of roots entwined round a heap of stones, EV 'His roots are wrapped about the heap.'

J. HASTINGS.

FOLK was at one time used as equivalent to 'nation' (Ger. *Volk*). Thus Ac 10^{35} Wyc. 'in eche folk he that dredith God and worchith rightwisnesse is accepte to hym'; Ps 33^{12} Cov. 'Blessed are the people that holde the LORDE for their God, and blessed are the folke whom he hath chosen to be his heritage' (a tr^{n} preferred by 'Four Friends': see *Psalms Chron. Arranged*, 1891, p. 387); 2 Es 5^{26} Cov. 'Amonge all ye multitudes of folkes thou hast gotten the one people.' So in AV Jer 51^{58} 'the people shall labour in vain, and the folk in the fire' (לְאֻמִּים; RV 'the nations for the fire'). So in Pr 30^{26} the meaning is 'nation,' though the application is to the 'conies,' after Cov. 'the conyes are but a feeble folk' (Heb. עַם). But in Gn 33^{15} (עָם) the word is used of a chieftain's followers or retainers, a special sense which is now only Scottish.* Cf. G. Pettie (1581), Tr^{n} of Guazzo's *Civ. Conv.* iii. 170, 'The maister of the house . . . ought . . . to shewe himselfe more seuere towards his owne folke, then towards others.' In NT the word is thrice used for people or persons indefinitely (Mk 6^{5}, Jn 5^{3}, Ac 5^{16}), and there is no corresponding Greek word. In the last passage a plural form is employed ('sicke folkes' in 1611), which is now used only of relatives, esp. in the phrase 'young folks,' the word 'folk' being itself collective. See KINSFOLK.

J. HASTINGS.

FOLLOW, FOLLOWER.—In the OT 'follow' is sometimes the tr^{n} of the adv. אַחַר *aḥar* (often in plur. constr. אַחֲרֵי), *after*, with some verb meaning to go or walk, thrice with הָיָה to be (Ex 23^{2}, 2 S 2^{10}, 1 K 16^{21}). This verb is often omitted, however, a pregnant Heb. idiom being the result, as 1 S 13^{7} 'all the people followed him trembling' (חָרְדוּ אַחֲרָיו, literally, as AVm 'trembled after him'); Am 7^{15} 'the Lord took me as I followed the flock' (מֵאַחֲרֵי הַצֹּאן, lit. as AVm 'from behind the flock,' RV 'from following'). Still more idiomatically, the verb 'to fill' is used with this adv., and then the Eng. is 'follow fully' or 'wholly,' as Dt 1^{36} 'he hath wholly followed the LORD' (מִלֵּא אַחֲרֵי יהוה, lit. 'he hath filled up after the LORD,' or as AVm 'fulfilled [to go] after').

Occasionally, the meaning is to follow so as to overtake, to pursue, when the Heb. is רָדַף, as Ps 38^{20} 'I follow the thing that good is.' Then the Eng. is most often 'follow after,' as Gn 44^{4} 'Up, follow after the men; and when thou dost overtake them, say unto them.' The force of these passages is probably lost to the modern Eng. reader. Thus in Is 5^{11} 'Woe unto them that rise up early in the morning, that they may follow strong drink,' though RV retains 'follow,' the word conveys the sense of determined pursuit (LXX διώκειν, Vulg. *sectari*, Luther *sich befleissigen*). Cf. Shaks. *Coriol.* IV. v. 104—

'Since I have ever followed thee with hate.'

In Ps 23^{6} 'Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life,' the Heb. is the same (יִרְדְּפוּנִי), but the Eng. is probably rather 'accompany me,' as 1 Co 10^{13} Tind. 'There hath none other temptacion taken you, but soche as foloweth the nature of men.'

To the Heb. text רִדְפוּ, *i.e.* 'pursue' of Jg 3^{28} (EV 'Follow after me'), Moore prefers רְדוּ, *i.e.* 'follow down,' after LXX Καταβῆτε ὀπίσω μου, and the Heb. of the next clause.

Another Heb. phrase tr^{d} 'follow' is lit. 'at the feet of,' as Jg 8^{5} 'the people that follow me' (בְּרַגְלָי, lit. 'at my feet'); so Ex 11^{8}, 1 S 25^{27}, 1 K 20^{10}, 2 K 3^{9}. Finally, the Heb. verb דָּבַק *to cleave to* is occasionally translated 'follow close after,' Jer 42^{16}, or 'f. hard after,' Ps 63^{8} (and in Hiph. 1 S 14^{22}, 2 S 1^{6}, 1 Ch 10^{2}); or 'f. hard upon,' 1 S 31^{2} (Hiph.) 'And the Philistines followed hard upon Saul and upon his sons.' Cf. Job 13^{25} Cov. 'Wilt thou be so cruell and extreme unto a flyenge leaf, and folowe upon drye stubble?' and Bingham (1623), *Xenophon*, 115, 'They dare and will be readie to follow upon us if we retire.' RV adds Jg 20^{42} 'the battle followed hard after them' (AV 'overtook them').

In 2 Mac 4^{48} προαγορεύω in its solitary occurrence in bibl. Greek is tr^{d} in AV 'followed the matter' (οἱ προηγορήσαντες, RV 'they that were spokesmen'). The word is common enough in class. Greek in the sense here intended, viz. to speak for, or claim a right, in public. The Eng. of AV means to pursue the matter to its accomplishment, to prosecute the affair; for which cf. *Hum. Town* (1693), i. 30, 'giving his lawyer double Fees, that his Cause may be well followed'; and Shaks. 2 *Henry IV.* I. i. 21—

'O! such a day,
So fought, so followed, and so fairly won,
Came not till now to dignify the times,
Since Cæsar's fortunes.'

No other obsolete or unusual expression seems to be used in the Apocr. which is not represented in OT or NT. But the variety of words tr^{d} in AV 'follow' is instructive. The foll. are found: ἀκολουθέω, Jth 15^{13}, Sir 23^{28} (RV omits), 2 Mac 4^{17} 8^{36}; ἐξακολουθέω, Sir 5^{2}, Three ^{18}; ἐπακολουθέω, Ad. Est 15^{4}, Sir 46^{6}; κατακολουθέω, Jth 11^{6}; παρακολουθέω, 2 Mac 8^{11}; διώκω, Sir 11^{10} (RV 'pursue') 27^{8} 29^{19} (Gr. διώκων ἐργολαβείας, AV 'he that undertaketh and followeth other men's business for gain,' RV 'undertaketh contracts for work') 31^{5} 34^{2}; καταδιώκω, Sir 27^{17} (RV 'pursue'); πορεύομαι, To 4^{5}; πορεύομαι ὀπίσω, Sir 46^{10}, RV 'walk after'; ἐπιπορεύομαι, 2 Mac 2^{28} (Gr. τὸ δὲ ἐπιπορεύεσθαι τοῖς ὑπογραμμοῖς τῆς ἐπιτομῆς ἀτονοῦντες, AV 'labouring to follow the rules of an abridgement,' RV 'and again having no strength [marg. 'making no effort'] to fill in [marg. 'enlarge on'] the outlines of our abridgement'); ἐξέρχομαι ὀπίσω, 1 Mac 2^{27} (RV 'come forth after'); γίνομαι πρός, 2 Mac 11^{29}; ζηλόω, Sir 51^{18} (AV 'earnestly I followed,' RV 'I was zealous for'), 2 Mac 4^{16} (AV 'followed so earnestly,' RV 'earnestly followed'); σύνειμι, 2 Mac 9^{4} (RV 'accompany'). Besides those verbs there are the expressions τὴν ὑπογεγραμμένην ἐπιστολήν, 1 Es 2^{16}, AV 'these letters following,' RV 'the letter following'; τὰ ὑπογεγραμμένα, 'as followeth'; τῇ ἐχομένῃ, 'on the day following'; and in 2 Es *sequor* 6$^{7.9}$ 11^{13}, *subsequor* 7^{35}.

In NT the most frequent word is the simple verb ἀκολουθέω, which is used 77 times in the Gospels of following Jesus, and only once otherwise (Mk 14^{13}) of following the man with the pitcher of water. We find also 5 of its compounds tr^{d} either 'follow' or 'follow after': (1) ἐξακολουθέω, to follow out or to the end, 2 P 1^{16} 2$^{2.15}$; (2) ἐπακολουθέω, to follow close upon, Mk 16^{20}, 1 Ti 5^{10} (EV 'diligently followed'), 5^{24} ('Some men's sins are open beforehand, going before to judgment; and some men they follow after,' *i.e.* may be undetected by man, but follow them hard to God's judgment-seat), 1 P 2^{21}; (3) κατακολουθέω, to follow behind, used only of women in NT, Lk 23^{55}, Ac 16^{17}; (4) παρακολουθέω, to follow close, to follow up, tr^{d} 'follow' in AV only in 'Mk' 16^{17} 'these signs shall follow them that believe,' but the same vb. is used in Lk 1^{3} of following up the details of a narrative (AV 'having had understanding,' RV 'having traced the course'), also in 1 Ti 4^{6} of closely following Paul's teaching, so as to teach alike (AV 'good doctrine whereunto thou hast attained,' RV 'which thou hast followed *until now*), and in 2 Ti 3^{10} so as to practise it (AV 'hast fully known my doctrine,' RV 'didst follow my teaching'); (5) *συνακολουθέω*, to follow by one's side, to accompany a leader, Mk 5^{37} 14^{51}, Lk 23^{49}.

---

* Cf. Kethe's version of Ps 100^{3} (as it first appeared in Daye's Psalter, 1560–61)—

'The Lord ye know is God in dede
with out our aide, he did us make:
We are his folck, he doth us fede,
and for his shepe, he doth us take.'

Modern editors have altered 'folck,' which represents 'people' in the prose versions, into 'flock,' which represents nothing.

As *rādhaph* in OT is almost invariably tr^{d} by *διώκω* in LXX, so *διώκω* itself is sometimes tr^{d} in NT by 'follow,' He 12^{14} 'Follow peace with all men,' 1 Th 5^{15} 'f. that which is good,' 2 Ti 2^{22} 'f. righteousness,' and Lk 17^{23}; or 'follow after,' Ro 9$^{30. 31}$ 14^{19}, 1 Co 14^{1}, Ph 3^{12}, 1 Ti 6^{11}. RV has 'follow after' throughout, except Ph 3^{12} 'press on.' The compound *καταδιώκω* is used in Mk 1^{36}, its only occurrence, and tr^{d} in EV 'followed after'; but, as Gould says, that tr^{n} is inadequate, since the *κατά* gives the idea of hard, persistent search, as in our phrase 'to hunt down,' hence rather 'pursued him closely.' In all those passages, however, the Eng. 'follow,' even with the addition of 'after,' is now inadequate.

In the tr^{n} of some of the compounds of *ἀκολουθέω* the sense of 'follow' is very nearly 'imitate.' This is unmistakably the meaning where the Gr. is *μιμεῖσθαι*, 2 Th 3$^{7. 9}$, He 13^{7}, 3 Jn ^{11}. Thus in He 13^{7} 'whose faith follow.' RV has always 'imitate.' Cf. T. Adams (1615), *Spirit. Navig.* 41, 'Glasse among stones is as a foole amongst men; for it followes precious stones in colour, not in virtue.' So *μιμητής* in all its occurrences (1 Co 4^{16} 11^{1}, Eph 5^{1}, 1 Th 1^{6} 2^{14}, He 6^{12}) is rendered by 'follower' in AV, by 'imitator' in RV; and *συνμιμητής*, Ph 3^{17}, is in AV 'followers together,' in RV 'imitators together.' Cf. Burke (1781), *Corresp.* ii. 437, 'We, who ought to have taken the lead in so noble a work, are but ill followers even of the examples which are set to us.'

In 1 P 3^{13} the edd. prefer *ζηλωταί* after the best MSS to *μιμηταί* of TR, hence 'zealous' in RV for AV 'followers.'

J. HASTINGS.

FOLLY.—See FOOL.

FOOD.—I. The material eaten for the sustenance of the body is often mentioned in the Bible, in AV most commonly as *bread*, but often as *meat*, occasionally as *food* or *victuals*. מַאֲכָל *ma'ăkhāl*, or victual in general, is used about 29 times, always in its literal sense; לֶחֶם *leḥem*, literally bread, is used for food in general about 230 times, and is often used figuratively (see BREAD). אֹכֶל *'ōkhel* is used 42 times for food or victuals in the literal sense, and the cognate *'okhlah* is used by Ezekiel for fuel, in the sense of food for the fire. In the NT *βρῶμα* is the word used 17 times, and *τροφή* 16 times. *βρῶσις* is used 4 times by St. John and 5 times in the Epistles, often in a metaphorical sense. The commonest metaphorical uses are (1) that which refreshes the soul, doing the will of God, Jn 4^{32}; and in a cognate sense Christ our Saviour is the food of the soul, Jn 6^{55}; (2) advanced doctrinal teaching, 1 Co 3^{2}, He 5^{14}; (3) mere ceremonial observances, He 9^{10} 13^{9} (for other uses see BREAD).

II. FOOD-STUFFS.—According to Gn 1^{29} the original food of mankind consisted of fruits and seeds which the earth produced naturally. In this respect man resembled those of the higher mammals which are most nearly allied to him in structure, which are for the most part herbivorous and frugivorous. After the primary dispersion the spoils of the chase were added to the primitive dietary even from the earliest times, for the broken bones of wild animals and the shells of molluscs which had served as food are among the earliest traces of primeval man as yet discovered. There were mighty hunters even before Nimrod (Gn 6^{11} 10^{9}), and implements of the chase were among the first of man's inventions.

In process of time, as agricultural and pastoral industries developed, the produce of the tilled field and of the herd and flock supplied men with additional food-stuffs (Gn 4$^{2. 3. 4. 20}$). The expression of the divine sanction for these additions, recorded in Gn 9^{3}, seems to have for its special object the injunction of the taboo concerning the eating of blood.

A. The inhabitants of the Bible lands lived chiefly on *vegetable food*. At the present day, bread, olives and oil, butter, milk, and cheese, fruit and vegetables, with meat on special occasions, or in particularly wealthy households, make up the dietary of most of their descendants in the East (Thomson, i. 98). The staff of life was, and is, bread made of cereal grains, especially wheat, millet, dhûrah, and barley, to which is now added rice, unknown in Bible times (see BREAD).

(*a*) **Parched corn** is 5 times mentioned as an article of diet, and is coupled with bread in Lv 23^{14}. One form of this, called קָלִי (*ḳālî*), was made of the common, nearly ripe wheat by heating the grain on an iron 'girdle' (Lane, i. 251; Robinson, ii. 50), or by binding the ears into wisps and roasting them over the fire (*ib.* iii. 393). In Arabic *ḳali* means anything done in the frying-pan, and the material of the parched corn may be meal, or polenta, or flour, or else the unground grain. It is a common food of labourers (Ru 2^{14}), and is sold ready prepared in Eastern towns as a convenient food for travellers. David brought 3 pecks of it to his brethren at Elah (1 S 17^{17}); and Abigail brought 5 pecks to David's men (1 S 25^{18}). In Lv 2^{14} 'green ears of corn dried by the fire' are mentioned, and in Lv 23^{14} these are coupled with parched corn. This form is made, according to Abu'l Walid, of finer garden wheat, which is called כַּרְמֶל *karmel* (2 K 4^{42}). In RV this is called 'bruised corn of the fresh ear,' alluding to its being beaten in a mortar (Pr 27^{22}). When this bruised corn was dried in the sun it was called רִיפוֹת *rîphôth* (Pr 27^{22}, 2 S 17^{19}), Grain of this kind was used to cover the well in which Ahimaaz and Jonathan were hidden at Bahurim (LXX *ἀραφώθ*, Vulg. *siccans ptisana*). The flour and parched corn of 2 S 17^{28} is called *ἄλευρον καὶ ἄλφιτον*, flour and polenta or meal in LXX (see Herod. vii. 119). *Ἄλφιτον* is used in Homer for barley-meal only, but Hippocrates uses this word for meal in general. For classic and Hebrew usage of polenta see Gruner, *de oblatione Primitiarum*, in Ugolini, vol. xvii. Royle has contended that *ḳali* is not corn, but some leguminous plant, as *ḳalee* is the Hindi for pulse; but R. Salomon in his Commentary on *Aboda Zara* says that there are two kinds—one of corn and one of cicer or lentiles. For mention of parched peas see Plautus, *Bacch.* iv. 5. 7, and Horace, *de art. poet.* 249. Robinson speaks of a variety of this parched corn which is first boiled, then bruised in a mill to take off the husk, then dried; this is named *burgoul* (ii. 394). According to Burckhardt, *burgoul* is wheat boiled with leaven and dried in the sun, cooked by being boiled with butter and oil. It is the common dish with all classes in Syria (*Notes*, i. 59).

(*b*) The leguminous plants, beans and lentiles, form an important part of the diet of the Western Asiatics. These were probably included in the זֵרֹעִים *zērôʽîm*, or pulse of Dn 1^{12}, which was despised but sufficient nourishment (v.$^{10. 15}$); in Theod. the word is *σπέρματα* (LXX *ὄσπρια*, RVm herbs), which meant any vegetable food; see the name of the herbseller in Aristoph. *Lysist.* 457. In 2 S 17^{28} the word pulse is not in the Hebrew.

Lentiles (עֲדָשִׁים *'ădāshîm*, LXX *φακός*), the seeds of *Ervum lens*, which is still, as formerly (2 S 23^{11}), cultivated in Palestine, and used as food (Thomson, i. 253; Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i. 65). There are two varieties, one pale red the other dark brown, and the pottage made by boiling either of these is savoury (Gn 25^{34}), pleasant to the taste, and red, hence Esau called it 'the red, this red' (see incident in Diog. Laert. vii. 3). In Egypt lentiles were called *ăršāna* (*Pap. Anastasi*, iv. 15), and in Assyria *a'ssu*. In Greece they were used as food by the poor (Aristoph. *Plutus*, 1004–5; and Pherecrates, *ap. Athen.* iv. p. 159). The Romans regarded lentiles as an Egyptian plant (Virg. *Georg.* i. 228; and Martial, *Epig.* xiii. 9), and they were sometimes used as a bread-stuff (Athenæus, *Deipnos*, iv. 158; see also Ezk 4^{9}). An allied species of vicia is used as a camel-food by the Arabs, and called *kersenna* (Robinson, ii. 83). Lentile flour is sold in this country under the name 'revalenta.' Lentiles were brought by Barzillai to David in exile (2 S 17^{28}). Pottage is sometimes made by boiling the lentiles with meat, more commonly a little suet is added to the water when boiling (Kitto).

Beans (פּוֹל *pol*, LXX *κύαμος*), the seeds of the common bean, *Faba vulgaris*, are also used in Palestine for food, especially by the poor. The bean is originally a native of Persia, and was sometimes used as a bread-stuff, as it is still in Savoy and other parts of Europe (Ezk 4^{9}; Pliny, xviii. 12); it is sometimes eaten parched or roasted (Theocritus, *Id.* 7. 65; Robinson, iii. 87). Food of this kind was brought to David in exile (2 S 17^{28}, but LXX omits the parched pulse). More commonly, beans are boiled in oil with garlic (Shaw, *Travels*, i. 257) or in water, and made into pottage, with or without meat; sometimes they are eaten with butter and pepper. Robinson describes raw beans, soaked in water until they sprout, as part of the Lenten fare of the monks at Mount Sinai (i. 259). In Egypt beans were used, and have been found sometimes in mummy cases; they were called *kat'a*, *ari*, and sometimes *pir*, but the last was probably the bean of the *Nelumbium lotus*, and *kat'a* is tr. by Lieblein the Opuntia fruit. Birch and Eisenlohr tr. *khcp* in the Harris papyrus as 'bean'; if so, they formed a part of the offering to Ptah; although Herodotus says that they were not eaten in Egypt, and were accounted impure (ii. 37). For similar prejudices against beans, see Porphyry, *de Abstinentia*, i. 26; Diog. Laert. viii. 19; Clement Alex. *Strom.* iii., and other authors. The high priest was forbidden to eat beans and lentiles on the day before the great Day of Atonement (Gemara, *Joma*, i. § 4), and the Flamen Dialis was forbidden to eat them also, as they were thought to dull the senses and cause disturbing dreams. For other superstitions concerning beans see Pliny, xviii. 12.

Husks (*κεράτια*) in the parable of the Prodigal Son (Lk 15^{16}) are the dark purple horn-like pods of *Ceratonia siliqua*, the charrub tree of the Arabs and of the Talmud. This is a large handsome spreading tree common in Mediterranean countries, whose sweet, fleshy pods, the caroba beans of the Italians, are used as food by the poor (Robinson, ii. 250). In Greece and Italy they were used by the Stoics as a disciplinary food for youths (Persius, iii. 55; Juv. xi. 58), and Horace's reference, *Ep.* II. i. 123, is well known. In Palestine, where the tree is fairly common, the beans are used as cattle food (*Shabbath*, xxiv. § 2), and are occasionally mentioned in the Talmud (see Maimon. in *Demai*, ii. § 1, and Buxtorf, *s.v.*). Pliny refers to their use in feeding swine (xv. 24; see Columella, vii. 9), and in Italy they are thought to give a sweet taste to the animal's flesh. They are imported into this country, and are sometimes called 'locust-beans' or St. John's bread, from a mistaken notion that they were the *ἀκρίδες* of Mt 3^{4}. Steeped in water they are used to make a pleasant, sweetish drink (see Pliny, xiii. 16 and xxiii. 8).

Fitches in Ezk 4^{9} (*kuṣṣemoth*) were cereal grains, probably spelt (see BREAD). The same word in AV of Is 28$^{25\text{-}27}$ is in Heb. קֶצַח *ḳeẓaḥ*, LXX *μελάνθιον*, and signifies the black cummin, which is the seed of a ranunculaceous plant, *Nigella sativa*, a native of the Eastern Mediterranean countries. These seeds are beaten out of the pod-like follicles with a *maṭṭeh* or staff, and sprinkled on bread as a carminative, as we use caraway seeds (Pliny, xix. 7). They have a hot but not unpleasant taste. The plant is called *ḳizaḥ* by the Arabs and *kuzatu* in the Assyr. plant list, and in Vulg. is named *git*. For references to the use of these seeds, see Plautus, *Rudens*. v. 2, 39; Ausonius, 344, 8; Dioscorides, iii. 83; Pliny, xix. 8, xx. 17, etc.

(*c*) Of cucurbitaceous plants, melons, cucumbers, and gourds are mentioned in the Bible. The two former are fruits much relished in Egypt (Nu 11^{5}).

Cucumbers (קִשֻּׁאִים *kishshu'îm*, LXX *σίκυοι*) are the fruit of *Cucumis chate* (the *khata* of the Arabs) and *C. sativus*, the common cucumber. Both species grow freely in Egypt (Nu 11^{5}) and in Palestine, and, according to Kitto, are eaten by all classes to an extent that would scarcely be credible in this country; and Forskål says this is the commonest fruit in Egypt (*Fl. Ægypt.* 168). Finn speaks of Arabs eating cucumbers by the wayside for refreshment (*Byeways in Palestine*, 2). Robinson saw fields of them (iii. 344), and Thomson describes a garden of cucumbers with a booth for a watchman (Is 1^{8}). As birds do not eat them, a scarecrow is useless in such a place (Bar 6^{70}). In Assyr. they are called *kissu* and in Egyptian *skheptu*. Hippocrates speaks of them as eaten when green (*de Vict. Ratione*, ii.). The fruit of the *chaté* is longer and greener than the common cucumber. They are often eaten with vinegar or bread, or filled with mince-meat and spices. Tristram notes Arab children bringing to school as their dinner barley-bread and cucumber, which they ate rind and all. Forskål describes the method whereby a delicious drink is made from its juice.

Melons (אֲבַטִּחִים *'ăbaṭṭiḥîm*, LXX *πέπονες*, Nu 11^{5}), called by the Arabs *baṭṭîkh*, are grown and used abundantly both in Egypt and Palestine. Both the water-melon (*Citrullus vulgaris*) and the flesh-melon (*Cucumis melo*) are cultivated, and both were probably included under this name. The Talmudists distinguish these, calling the former *melapepon* and the latter *'ăbaṭṭiḥîm* (*Maaseroth*, i. § 4; *Terumoth*, viii. § 6; *Chilaim*, i. § 2), but in *Aruch* they are both known by their Heb. name. It is singular that in Coptic they are called by their Greek name.

Wild Gourd (פַּקֻּעָה), in plural *pĕḳāîm*, 1 K 6^{18} 7^{24}, or *paḳḳuôth*, 2 K 4^{39}, tr. in former passage 'knops,' in the latter 'wild gourd,' is the fruit of the vine-like *Citrullus colocynthis*, which is common in the Jordan Valley. 'To human nature it is of so mortal bitterness that little indeed, and even the leaf, is a most vehement purgative. They say that it will leave a man half dead, and he may only recover his strength by eating flesh meat' (Doughty, i. 132). It is very rare in the hill-country of Ephraim, hence the son of the prophet who gathered it did not know the plant, but mistook it for the non-poisonous *Cucumis prophetarum* or globe cucumber common in Samaria. In an Arabic version of La 3^{15} the text is rendered 'he hath sated me with colocynth,' so proverbial is its bitterness. Its elegant shape suggested its imitation in the ornamenting of the carved panelling of the temple and of the edge of the molten sea. In Assyr. it is *pikkuti*.

Jonah's Gourd (קִיקָיוֹן *ḳîḳāyôn*, LXX *κολοκύνθη*) was supposed from the likeness of the name to the Egyptian *kiki* (Herod. ii. 94) to be the *Ricinus communis*, the *Palma Christi* or castor-oil plant, a rapidly-growing herb which Pliny describes as becoming almost tree-like and capable of affording shade; even in our gardens its growth under favourable conditions is extraordinarily rapid. It is not quite clear what the *kiki* of the hieroglyphic texts was, as *ricinus* is in Coptic called *jismis*, which represents the ancient form *kesmes* or *kesbet*. Maimonides in *Shabbath*, ii. 1, says, however, the oil of kik is from a plant called by the Arabs *kherua*, which is *ricinus*. Tristram objects to this identification, as the *ricinus* is not a climbing plant, but the passage in Jon 4^6 does not describe it as such; he supposes the plant to have been the roof-gourd or *Lagenaria vulgaris* of which Pliny states that 'shooting upwards with the greatest rapidity it soon covers the arched roofs of houses and trellises' (xix. 24). The Vulg. renders it *hedera* or ivy, and this occasioned a controversy between Jerome and Augustine (see Hieron. in Jon 4^6 and *Epist.* 89). In early Christian art the plant is fancifully represented as a trailing melon-like plant covering a trellis-work, as on the sarcophagus in the Lateran from St. Peter's crypt (Parker's *Photog.* No. 2905; see also Bellorius, *de Antiq. Lucernis*, pl. iii. fig. 30, for a representation on a lamp). An undetermined species of climbing plant in Assyrian was called *ḳaḳulla*.

(*d*) Of alliaceous vegetables there are three mentioned as favourite foods of the Israelites in Egypt—onions, leeks, and garlic (Nu 11^5). All these are still much cultivated in Bible lands, and are in constant use among Orientals either raw or cooked.

Onions (בְּצָלִים *bĕẓālîm*, LXX κρόμμυον), the bulbs of *Allium cepa*. These are commonly eaten raw as a relish with bread, or boiled with meal (Robinson, ii. 211), or with lentiles (*Terumoth*, x. 1; Martial, *Epig.* iii. 376), or with beef (Apicius, 224). By the Assyrians the onion was called *sursu*, and by the Egyptians *het* (Copt. *mcjol*). Herodotus tells that on the casing of the great pyramid was inscribed the value of the onions, garlic, and radishes eaten by the builders (ii. 25). The later Latin writers say that the onion was deified by the Egyptians (Juv. xv. 9; Plut. *de Iside*, 353). Pliny (xix. 6) says that garlic and onions are invoked by them when taking an oath; and Lucian (*Jup. Trag.* 42) says that the inhabitants of Pelusium were especially devoted to this cultus. There is, however, no native evidence for this. Among the Greeks onions were highly esteemed, and Homer speaks of Hecamede giving Patroclus an onion as a relish (*Il.* xi. 630); but Lucian describes them as food for the poor (*Dial.* Mer. 14. 2; *Ep. Sat.* 28).

Leeks (חָצִיר *ḥāẓîr*, LXX πράσα). The Heb. name used in Nu 11^5 literally means 'green herb,' and is rendered grass, hay, or green herb in 15 other passages; but as these are not human food, the translators have here followed the LXX, leeks being supposed to resemble grass in habit and colour. Leeks are eaten raw with bread, or sliced and put into vinegar, or boiled in pottage (Artemidorus, i. 67). Nero is said to have on stated days fed only on leeks and oil to improve his voice (Pliny, xix. 6). The Egyptian leek was particularly esteemed by the Romans. It was known as *āga* (Copt. *ēgi*), while the Assyrians called it *ezallu usuratti*. Ludolf translates *ḥāẓîr* 'lettuce,' and Scheuchzer says that it probably means the *Nelumbium lotus*; but the balance of evidence is in favour of the common leek (*Allium porrum*).

Garlic (שׁוּם *shûm*, LXX σκόρδον). The cloves or bulbs of *Allium sativum* were so commonly used as flavouring that the Jews were reproached for their liking for these strongly-scented herbs. In *Shabbat Jehuda* they are said to smell foully of garlic; and Salomon Levi defends their taste in *Theriac. Jud.* i. § 20. In Egypt this plant was, and is still, much used (Herod. ii. 125; Wilkinson, i. 169; Lane, i. 257). Garlic was supposed to have the power of neutralizing the poison of the asp, and its use by penitent criminals was believed to purify them and absolve them of guilt. In *Maaser sheni*, v. § 8, garlic is called the 'Lord of tears.' At the present day it is much prized in the East as a remedy for many ailments and as an antidote for many poisons; Pliny enumerates 61 ways in which it was recommended medicinally, and Prudentius speaks of an altar to the garlic as being erected at Pelusium. The Egyptians called it *ṣeṣen* (Copt. *ṣeṣen*).

Bitter Herbs (מְרֹרִים *mĕrōrîm*, LXX πικρίδες, Vulg. *lactucæ agrestes*) are mentioned in Ex 12^8, Nu 9^{11}, and referred to in La 3^{15} (EV 'bitterness'). Bitter salads are often eaten with meat in Egypt, Syria, and elsewhere, the commonest plant used for this purpose being the lettuce (*Lactuca sativa*), the *āfa* of the Egyptians, called by the Hebrews *ḥazereth* (probably the Assyrian *haserottu*). According to the rabbinical writers (*Pesachim*, ii. § 6), there were five bitter herbs which might be eaten with the paschal lamb: the endive (*Lactuca endivia*) was the second of these, called by them *ulshin* (probably the Assyr. *harussu*); it also is common in Egypt. The third is called *tḥamkah*, described by Maimonides as a garden endive, the *cichorium* of Pliny (xix. 6), but said in *Aruch* to be a *carduus*, in the Gemara to be a *gingidium*, probably the *Artedia squamata* of botanists, a bitter aromatic umbelliferous plant. In *Zemattḥ David* it is said to be a kind of helminthia which grows near date palms. The fourth, *ḥarḥabina*, was probably *marrubium*, or the horehound, but according to Lightfoot the beet; and the fifth, *maror*, is called in *Aruch* a pot-herb, possibly *Inula Helenium* or *Elecampane*, which was a plant highly esteemed as a stomachic in the *Regimen sanitatis* of Salernum. Maimonides says it was a bitter coriander, which, according to Varro, was often pounded, mixed with vinegar, and sprinkled over meat; but Lightfoot thinks that *maror* is horehound (*Ministerium Templi*, XIII. v. 2).

It is probable that the words of the ordinance of the passover were not meant to specify any particular bitter herb. According to *Pesachim*, ii. § 6, the herbs might be eaten fresh or dried, but must not be soaked, stewed, or boiled. Delitzsch gives *marru* and *muraru* as the names of bitter garden plants (*Assyr. Handwörterbuch*, 427).

For **Mandrakes** see MEDICINE.

(*e*) The fruits mentioned in the Bible are not very numerous.

Almonds (שָׁקֵד *shâḳēd*, LXX κάρυον) are mentioned in Gn 43^{11} as part of the present sent by Jacob to the Egyptian viceroy. They are said not to be common in Egypt, and the Egyptian name of the fruit is doubtful. Brugsch believes it to be the tree called *net'*; but the Coptic uses the Greek name, which means any nut. According to Heracleon, Epicharmos, and Philyllius, κάρυον is specially used for the almond, the bitter almond being distinguished in Greek as κάρυα πικρά or ἀμυγδάλα (see Athenæus, *Deipnos*, ii. 38). The almond was supposed to prevent the intoxicating effect of wine, and was consequently taken at wine banquets (Pliny, xxiii. 8; Plutarch, *Quæst. Conviv.* vi. 4). This tree grows wild on Carmel and in Moab, and is cultivated extensively in Palestine. The Heb. name means 'hastener' in reference to its early blossoming, hence the paronomasia in Jer 1^{12}. The blossoms, which look white at a distance, are compared to grey hair in Ec 12^5, and their shape was the pattern from which the cups of the seven-branched candlestick were made (Ex 25^{33}). Aaron's rod was probably an almond branch

(Nu 17^{8}); but there was an old tradition that it was of *storax* wood, and that its bearing almonds was miraculous (see the verses falsely attributed to Tertullian, *contra Marcion.* iv. 117). In Gn 30^{37} the almond tree is named לוּז *lûz*, the word from which the old name of Bethel was derived. Robinson notes a sweetmeat made of a mixture of almonds and dates as a present given to distinguished guests (i. 115). The ancient Medes mixed almonds with their bread.

Apples (תַּפּוּחַ *tappûaḥ*, LXX μῆλον), mentioned in Ca 2$^{3-5}$ 7^{8} 8^{5}, Pr 25^{11}, Jl 1^{12}, cannot be the fruit to which we give this name, as it does not grow freely in Palestine, of which country it is not a native (see H. C. Hart, *PEFSt*, 1885, 282). Thomson says that he has seen it growing luxuriantly (i. 172), but Tristram believes that he has mistaken the tree (*N.H. of Bible*, 334). Robertson Smith, on philological grounds, has defended the claims of the common apple (*Pyrus malus*) to be identified with the *tappûaḥ*, but its scarcity renders this very improbable (*Journal of Philology*, xiii. 1885, p. 65). Kitto believed it to be the citron, which now grows freely in Palestine, and is described in Jos. (*Ant.* XIII. xiii. § 5) as one of the trees whose boughs were used at the feast of Tabernacles; but the citron is a native of N. India and China, and was probably of late introduction. Tristram has claimed the apricot as the apple of Canticles. It is a very widely cultivated tree, but is a native of Armenia (hence called by Dioscorides μῆλον Ἀρμενιακόν, *HP* i. 160), and is probably also a late import. The characteristics suggested by the texts are—(1) a shady tree, (2) with golden coloured fruit, (3) which is fragrant, (4) and pleasant to taste, (5) and which is the symbol of love. All these conditions are fulfilled by the quince. The tree is not very large, but it is one under whose shade one could sit or lie, as in the texts, and it is as suitable for this purpose as the vine or fig tree. Its fruit is extremely fragrant, and some varieties might be called golden by contrast if gathered in a silver filigree basket (Pr 25^{11}). It is pre-eminently the fruit of love (see the mass of evidence on this gathered in Celsius' *Hierobotanicon*, i. 255 ff.). The quince is called μῆλον without any adjective by some of the Greek authors (see, however, *Il.* ix. 542, where the μῆλον tree is called tall), and is the first of the apples described by Pliny (xxiii. 6). In the light of the description in the passage in Ca 8^{5} the weight of evidence is in favour of regarding this tree as the quince, which, though unpleasing to the taste of most Europeans, is yet eaten with relish by many in the East, and esteemed most wholesome. Athenæus says that full ripe quinces are better food than any other kind of apple (*Deipnos*, iii. 20). For a discussion on the nature of the *tappûaḥ*, see Houghton, *PSBA*, 1889, 42. The quince has a special name in the Talmud, *parish* (see *Kelaim*, i. 4), and in Arabic, which forms the basis of Robertson Smith's argument; but in Jerus. Talmud, according to Abu'l Walid, *parishim* means asparagus; see Guisius, *in loco*, *Chilaim* (I. iii.). A common tradition identifies the quince with the tree of the knowledge of good and evil.

Dates, the fruit of the date-palm, *Phœnix dactylifera*, though given in the AVm 2 Ch 31^{5} as a possible translation of דְּבַשׁ *dĕbash* (elsewhere rendered 'honey'), are not otherwise mentioned in the Bible. This is remarkable considering how frequently palms are referred to, and it has been supposed that the word honey in the phrase so often used in the Pentateuch descriptive of Palestine may refer to *dibs* or date-honey made by boiling down the fruit. This sweetmeat was made in Babylonia where palms abounded (Herodotus, i. 193), and was also made at Jericho (Jos. *BJ* IV. viii. § 3). LXX translates קַיִץ in 2 S 16^{1} φοίνικες, 'dates,' and the palm is put among the fruit trees in Jl 1^{12}. As a cultivated tree the palm is little grown now in Palestine west of the Jordan. In Egypt the date-palm was called *ám* and *bà*, and dates *benrà*. In Assyria the date-palm was *gisimmaru*, and date-honey *dispu*. According to Doughty (i. 148), there is no worse food than the date, and he reports the Arabs as saying that when the date is eaten alone human nature decays. For references to the palm in classical and Oriental literature, see Celsius, *Hierobot.* ii. 445 ff.

Figs (תְּאֵנָה *tĕ'ēnâh*, LXX συκή), the fruit of *Ficus cariea*, next to the grape the most highly prized of all the fruits of Bible lands, and 53 times mentioned in the Bible. Mohammed says of it that if any fruit has really come from Paradise it must have been the fig. Botanically speaking, what is called the fruit is the soft fleshy receptacle within which are the flowers and later the grain-like, hard, dry achenes. Hence the ancient authors speak of the fig tree as bearing fruit without flowers (Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, ii. 16); but as the fig itself is the inflorescence, the language of Hab 3^{17} is strictly correct. The buds or young figs appear before the leaves, hence a fig tree in full leaf should have its fruit developed. The precocious tree of Mt 21^{19} and Mk 11^{13} was therefore unnaturally barren. The fig tree bears every year (Thomson, ii. 101), but the Rabbinists speak of a variety called *benoth shuaḥ*, which only brings forth fruit each third year (Maimon. *Demai*, i. 1, and Bartenora in *Shebiith*, v. v. 1), and it has been supposed that this is referred to in Mk 11^{13}. The manuring of such an unpromising tree is alluded to by Cato, as in the parable, Lk 13^{6}.

The first crop, called בִּכּוּרָה *bikkûrâh*, πρόδρομοι, begins to redden in March and is ripe by June; unripe figs are called פַּגִּים *paggim* (hence the place-name Bethphage, 'house of green figs'). LXX calls the unripe figs in Ca 2^{13} ὄλυνθοι; but according to Theophrastus (vi. 8) and Hippocrates (574. 23) these are winter figs, which grow under the leaves and do not ripen. The early figs are the most delicious and refreshing (Is 28^{4}, Jer 24^{2}, Mic 7^{1}, Hos 9^{10}), and are easily shaken off (Nah 3^{12}). See Macrobius, ii. 16. The untimely figs of Rev 6^{13} are *olynthi*.

The summer figs, קַיִץ (2 S 16^{1}), ripen in August and September (see also Mic 7^{1}, Am 8^{1}). These are either eaten fresh or dried in the sun (*Shabbath*, viii. § 6), or made into cakes called דְּבֵלִים *dĕbēlîm* (1 S 25^{18} 30^{12}, 2 K 20^{7}, 1 Ch 12^{40}, Is 38^{21}). In making these the figs are sometimes first beaten in a mortar, then pressed into a cake (*Taanith*, xxviii. 1). These cakes, called by LXX παλάθη, were either round or square (see *Terumoth*, iv. § 8; *Baba mesia*, ii.). Herodotus uses the name παλάθη of other fruit cakes (iv. 23), but Athenæus distinguishes fig cakes as π. Συρίακη. Such cakes are still used by the Arabs (Burckhardt, i. 51), and with barley-bread are the common food of poor travellers in the East. The town Beth-diblathaim means the house of the two cakes of figs. On the two crops of figs see the διφόρου συκῆς of Arist. *Eccles.* 708.

A third crop of winter figs appears in August, and ripens at the end of November. These sometimes hang on the tree when the leaves are shed, unless the tree be exposed to frost.

Figs are liable to disease, both from parasitic fungi and from insects. There are several species of both, which attack the fruit and cause it to be shed prematurely, or to shrivel and become uneatable (Jer 24^{8} 29^{17}). For reflections on this vision see Hieron. *Comment. in Jer.*, on 5^{24}.

Sycomore Figs (שִׁקְמָה, pl. *shiḳmîm* or *shiḳmôth* in Ps 78^{47}) are the small fig of the *Ficus sycomorus*, a bluish-purple fruit eaten by the poorer classes, but considered unwholesome and indigestible (Dioscor. i. 182). The tree grows to a large size, and is found in Palestine in the lower lands from Joppa to Egypt (1 K 10[27], 2 Ch 1[15]; see Bartenora in *Shebûth*, ix. 2). Jerome notes that they are easily killed by frost, and so they were destroyed by the storm-plague in Egypt (Ps 78[47]). As in the hollow receptacle the flowers which bear stamens are at the upper and those bearing pistils at the lower part, it ensures fertilization to pinch or incise them, thereby facilitating the entrance of the insects whose movements in the plant promote fertilization; this is known as caprification (Pliny, xiii. 14; Theophrastus, iv. 2). Amos calls himself a בּוֹלֵס *bōleṣ*, or scratcher of sycomore fruit, in allusion to this (LXX *κνίζων συκάμινα*, RV 'dresser of sycomore trees'). The superintendence of this was probably the function of Baal-hanan (1 Ch 27[28]). This tree is abundant in Egypt, and of its wood most mummy coffins are made; as its branches generally arise from the trunk low down, it is easily climbed (Lk 19[4]). The fruit was free from tithing among the Jews (*Demai*, i. 1).

Mulberries (בָּכָא *baca*, LXX *συκάμινος*) are not mentioned as fruit; but as the tree is common in Palestine, and as the berries are now eaten freely, they were probably used in Bible times. The trees are named in 2 S 5[23f.] and 1 Ch 14[15], and the place named from them 'Baca's vale' in Ps 84[6]. Our Lord refers to the tree under the name sycamine in His lesson on faith (Lk 17[6]). For a description of the marvels of this tree see Pliny, xvi. 41, where it is described as being as remarkable as a creature possessed of animation (see also xxiii. 7).

Nuts (בָּטְנִים *boṭnîm*, LXX *τερέβινθος*) are the fruit of the *Pistacia vera*. This tree is a native of Syria, although not very abundant, and was brought into Europe by the Romans. The nut is the stone in the centre of the greenish drupe, and its kernel is oily, soft, and not unpleasant to taste. It is mentioned only in Gn 43[11]. The tree is often mentioned, but its name אֵלָה *'ēlâh* or *'ēlôn* is translated oak or teil tree, as Is 6[13] (RV terebinth tree).

Olives (זַיִת *zayith*, LXX *ἐλαία*), the same name for both tree and fruit. These are often mentioned in Scripture (37 times in OT and 18 in NT), and the *Olea Europæa* is a native of Palestine, and much cultivated for the sake of the oil extracted from its drupes. In Egypt the tree was called *degam*, and was esteemed in early days as a specific for all ailments (see *Papyrus Ebers*, p. 47; in the *Harris Pap.* it is called *degetu*). The tree is small, slow of growth, and irregularly branched. Its wood is hard and fine-grained, and its leaves like those of a large privet, but whitish beneath. It has a small white flower growing in racemes, and its fruit is well known. The wild plants of the olive are sometimes used as stocks on which to graft cultivated varieties with larger fruit (Ro 11[17]). The low size of the tree made the olive leaf brought by the dove to Noah significant (Gn 8[11]). These trees are cultivated in orchards or olive yards (Ex 23[11]); when ripe they are beaten (Dt 24[20]) in order to strike off the fruit (in Is 17[6] and 24[13] badly tr. 'shaken'), and the fruit is brought to the oil mills, which consist of circular stone basins in which the drupes are crushed by a heavy stone wheel that is rolled over them. The mass is then put into small wicker baskets, which are piled over each other in a *m'azerah* or handpress, in which they are squeezed either by means of a long lever or a screw. The ancient presses were all lever presses. After the first pressing the pulp is put into copper pans, sprinkled with water and heated, and then pressed again. Where there is water-power the press is larger, and the mill is called a *mutrûf*; in this the olives are pressed in a stone cylinder, within which an iron-shod shaft rotates. In old presses the pressure of the lever was supplemented by heavy stones (Thomson, i. 286). The oil is allowed to stand until the sediment subsides, and it is then poured off; sometimes salt is used to clarify it. Among those who have no oil presses the pulp is put in hot water and the oil skimmed off. The fruit is sometimes kept until soft and black before crushing. It is possible that in this state it may sometimes have been trodden by the feet, but that is never done now (Mic 6[15]). The oil is kept in cisterns of stone or cement (1 Ch 27[28]), or in jars (*khawabies*) kept in cellars. For a description of the oil presses see Robinson, *BRP* iii. 365; and Thomson, *Land and Book*, ii. 286 ff. Gethsemane means an oil press.

The oil of the olive was one of the most important products of the Holy Land: corn, wine, and oil were its three staple crops. 'Certe oleo et vino gaudebat Palæstina præ Ægypto' (Reland, *Palæstina*, ccclvii.). The oil is used in cookery (Lv 2[4]), and is spread on bread (Ex 29[23]), or burnt in lamps for lighting (Ex 25[6]), or used externally for anointing. This use is referred to in Jotham's parable (Jg 9[9]). The excessive use of oil was a luxury which brought men to poverty (Pr 21[17]). Olive oil is called שֶׁמֶן זַיִת *shemen zayith*; the finer oil which runs out of pounded olives without compression is distinguished as כָּתִית *kāthîth* (Ex 27[20], Lv 24[2] etc.). Olive oil was one of the exports from Judah to Tyre (Ezk 27[17]). Oil was occasionally carried as a part of their provisions by travellers (Lk 10[34]).

The olive tree is liable to a parasitic mould disease, a mildew which causes it to cast its fruit or makes its flower to shrivel (Dt 28[40], Job 15[33]). It is also liable to be attacked by insects (Am 4[9]). The olive tree is used as a type of heavenly favour (Ps 52[8], Hos 14[6], Jer 11[16]), and of family prosperity (Ps 128[3]). Oil is used metaphorically as expressive of divine grace (see ANOINTING); or the salutary reproof of the righteous (Ps 141[5]). The oil of joy is spoken of in Is 61[3], see Erman, p. 231. The oil tree, *'ēẓ shemen* of Neh 8[15], 1 K 6[23], Is 41[19], is generally believed to be the *zackum* or *Balanites Ægyptiaca*, a native of the Jordan Valley, and one whose oil is esteemed as a useful medicine.

Pomegranates (רִמּוֹן *rimmôn*, LXX *ῥόα*), used both for the tree and the fruit. This is also an abundant fruit in Palestine, of which it is a native, and is mentioned 32 times in the Bible. Pomegranates were among the fruits brought back by the spies from Eshcol (Nu 13[23]). The tree (*Punica granatum*) grows to about 20 ft. in height, and has myrtle-like leaves and scarlet flowers, which come out early in the spring (Ca 6[11]). The fruit is well known, and was a favourite with the Jews; its bright colour is referred to in Ca 4[3]. Its sour juice was, and is, used in cookery (Russell, i. 85; Thomson, i. 286) and in making cooling sherbet, as we use lemons. The juice is sometimes fermented (Dioscorides, v. 34), but the wine is rather tasteless unless spiced (Ca 8[2]). 'In this fruit Nature has shown to us a grape, and indeed not must, but wine ready made' (Pliny, xxiii. 6). The pomegranate supplied a pattern for ornament (1 K 7[20], Ex 28[33]. In RV 'pomegranates' in 1 K 7[18] is tr. 'pillars').

Vines (גֶּפֶן *gephen*; in Nu 6[4], Jg 13[14] גֶּפֶן הַיַּיִן *gephen hayyayin*, the wine-vine). The *Vitis vinifera* was the fruit tree most abundantly cultivated in Palestine and Egypt in ancient times. It is a native of the hilly countries north of Syria, but early spread along the shores of the Mediterranean. Grape kernels have been found in mummy cases of the 11th dynasty in Egypt, dating from about B.C. 2000. A special variety with dark red grapes is called שֹׂרֵק *sôrēḳ* (Is 5[2], Jer 2[21], Gn 49[11]); these grapes have very small kernels. Figuratively, the unpruned vine in the sabbatic year and jubilee is called נָזִיר *nāzîr*, being compared to the untrimmed hair of the Nazirite. The colocynth plant in 2 K 4^{39} is called *gephen sādeh*, a vine of the fields. A wild grape-vine bearing worthless grapes is called *gephen nokri* in Jer 2^{21}, 'the degenerate plant of a strange vine.' Palestine, especially in its hilly parts, is well suited for vine-growing—'Apertos Bacchus amat colles' (Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 113). The valley of Eshcol, named from its bunches of grapes, produced the great cluster which the two spies carried home between them on a staff, Nu 13^{24} (see Wagenseil, *Sota*, 709^{a}). Modern travellers have seen bunches of 10 to 12 lb. in weight; still larger bunches up to 19 lb. have been grown in this country under glass. The hills about Jezreel, where Naboth's vineyard was situated, were famous for their vines, as were the grapes of Ephraim (Jg 8^{2}). The Moabite hills of Sibmah (Is 16$^{8.9}$, Jer 48^{32}), and those of Heshbon and Elealeh, were also renowned, and those of Engedi (Ca 1^{14}) in Judah. It was in the hill-country of Judah that the *sôrēk* grew (Gn 49^{11}), and the valleys of Sorek and Eshcol were named from these, as was Beth-haccherem, 'the house of vines,' near Tekoa (Jer 6^{1}). A bottle of Bethlehem wine was a present fit for a king (1 S 16^{20}). The wines of Lebanon (Hos 14^{7}) and of Helbon (Aleppo *) (one of the exports from Syria to Tyre, Ezk 27^{18}) are also named (Robinson, *BRP* iii. 472).

In preparing the vineyard, the stones had to be gathered out of the soil (Is 5^{2}). This is noticed by Cato (*De Re Rustica*, 46), who says that the vineyard should be 'bipalio delapidato.' It needed also to be fenced with a hedge (Mt 21^{33}), a stone wall (Nu 22^{24}), or a ditch, to protect it from the wild beasts, such as jackals (Ca 2^{15}, Ezk 13^{4}), boars (Ps 80^{13}), and from robbers (Jer 49^{9}). The favourite site was a hillside (Is 5^{1}, Jer 31^{5}, Am 9^{13}), and the plants are set about three paces from each other in rows (Robinson, ii. 80 f.). When the vines grew up they were sustained on stout stakes, over which the branches were trained (Ezk 19$^{11.12}$). This was also the practice in Egypt; see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii. 53, 61. All these conditions may be observed to this day, although the Mohammedan rule has discouraged viticulture in Palestine. There is usually a tower (πύργος) in a large vineyard, as described in Mt 21^{33}, in which the watchers of the vineyard stay. Vineyards were called in Heb. כֶּרֶם *kerem*. In Am 5^{11} this is coupled with חֶמֶד *hemed*, 'pleasant,' in Is 27^{2} with חֶמֶר *ḥemer*, 'of wine,' but Targ. reads *ḥemed* here also, and LXX καλός. The towers in the vineyards for the keepers or vine-dressers (כֹּרְמִים) (Ca 1^{6}) are mentioned in *Chilaim*, v. § 3, but in smaller vineyards they lived in booths (Is 1^{8}). The vineyard must not be sown with two kinds of seed, else the whole produce was forfeited as a קֹדֶשׁ *ḳōdesh*, or sanctified thing (Dt 22^{9}); but trees of other sorts, as fig trees, might be planted in a vineyard (Lk 13^{6}, Mic 4^{4}). Ramses III. had olive trees in his large vineyard, which was called the 'spirit of Egypt,' *Pap. Harris*, i. 8. 7.

The vine-buds appear in March, and send out new branches, which are called שָׂרִיגִים *sarîgîm*. These are not tendrils, for in Gn 40^{10} they are described as bearing fruit; when living, these new branches are green, but when the surface is eaten by locusts the skeleton branch looks white (Jl 1^{7}). The tendrils are called זַלְזַלִּים *zalzallîm* in Is 18^{5}, or *ṣalṣillôth* in Jer 6^{9} (see BASKET). The flowers appear in early April, and have a slight fragrance (Ca 2$^{11.13}$). This was the time when the vines were pruned, hence it is said in the passage that in the spring-time the period of the זָמִיר or pruning of vines (RVm) has come (so LXX, Aq. Symm. Targ. Vulg.). AV follows Parchon and Kimchi in rendering it 'the time of the singing of birds is come.' The reference to the pruning of vines in Jn 15^{9} is familiar.

The grape (עֵנָב *'ēnāb*) grows in clusters, which are named אֶשְׁכֹּל *'eshkôl*, LXX σταφυλή. The fruit-bearing branch is in Nu 13^{23} called זְמוֹרָה *zĕmôrâh*, which is the word used in the phrase descriptive of the worship of the sun in Ezk 8^{17} 'they put the branch to the nose,' usually taken as referring to an old Persian custom of holding a bundle of vine-rods, called *barsom*, before the face of the priest when praying to the unextinguished fire of the Pyrætheia (Strabo, ed. Casaubon, xv. 733). For a different meaning see Tract *Joma*, 77^{a}.

The ripening grapes are called בֹּסֶר *bōṣer* in Is 18^{5}, and nearly the same word is used in Job 15^{33}. These are sour and set the teeth on edge (Ezk 18^{2}). Sickly vines sometimes drop their grapes in this stage (as in Job 15^{33}), the result of a blight. In June or July the early grapes are ripe (Is 18^{5}), and in September the vintage (בָּצִיר *bāẓîr*) begins. This is a season of rejoicing, and during the grape-harvest the people live in booths in the midst of the vineyards. It has been conjectured that the ordinance of the Feast of Tabernacles was a mode of turning this custom to the service of religion. This vintage season was celebrated at Shechem (Jg 9^{27}). The grapes are cut with a מַזְמֵרָה *mazmērâh*, or pruning hook (Is 2^{4}, Jl 3^{10}), which is called מַגָּל *maggâl*, or sickle in Jl 3^{13}, and are collected in baskets. There was no vine-harvest in the sabbatic or jubilee year. For particulars on viticulture see Thomson, *The Grape Vine*; and Barron, *Vine Culture*.

The best grapes were dried in the sun into raisins, which were compressed into צִמּוּק *ẓimmûḳ*, or cakes (Kimchi). Abigail brought 100 such cakes to David (1 S 25^{18}), and David refreshed the fainting Egyptian with two such cakes (1 S 30^{12}). Similar cakes were brought by Ziba to David (2 S 16^{1}; see also 1 Ch 12^{40}). These raisins, as well as fresh grapes, were forbidden to the Nazirite while under his vow. To him all that comes of the grape, from the חַרְצַנִּים *ḥarẓannîm*, or kernels, to the זָג *zāg*, or husks, was taboo (see Jg 13^{14}). The אֲשִׁישׁוֹת *'ăshîshôth*, given by David to those who accompanied him in bringing the ark to Jerusalem (2 S 6^{19}, 1 Ch 16^{3}), and tr. in AV 'flagons of wine,' were probably cakes of raisins, as in RV, which has made a similar change in Ca 2^{5}. The reading in the AV is supported on Talmudic authority, but this rests on a very doubtful etymology. For the use of these fruit-cakes by travellers see Russell, i. 82. Cakes of this kind were used as offerings to Baal (Hos 3^{1}).

The grape gatherers were forbidden to glean, the עֹלֵלוֹת *'ôlēlôth* or gleanings being left for the stranger, the widow, and the fatherless. In the prophetic picture of rebellious Jerusalem as a vine, the fruit is described as being completely gleaned, the gatherer turning his hand back into the tendrils of the vine (Jer 6^{9}; see also Jer 49^{9}).

A portion of the grape-harvest is used in making artificial honey or *dibs*, the juice expressed from the grape being boiled into a syrup, 'dulcis musti Vulcano decoquit humorem, et foliis undam trepidi despumat aheni' (Virg. *Georg.* i. 295). The Heb. name is דְּבַשׁ *dĕbash*, or honey, and it was an article of commerce exported from Palestine to Tyre (Ezk 27^{17}), and sent by Jacob to Egypt (Gn 43^{11}). (See Dates, above.) *Dibs* forms 'a part of the food of the present inhabitants of Palestine' (Thomson, i. 279; Russell, i. 82). It was, and is, the ordinary sweetener of cakes and pastry (Lv 2^{11}, Robinson, iii. 381).

Most of the crop was carried in baskets by girls and children to the wine-presses (see description of the shield of Achilles, *Il.* xviii. 562 ff.). These were cavities either hollowed out of the rock or built on the ground, and lined with masonry and cement (Mt 21^{33}). Each press, called

---

* But Schrader (*COT*^{2} ii. 121) disputes the identification.

גַּת *gath*, LXX ληνός, was made of two parts. The upper was the פּוּרָה *pûrâh* (LXX προλήνιον), or wine-press proper (Is 63^3 5^2). From the bottom of this a pipe, צִנּוֹר *ẓinnôr*, leads into the lower receptacle or יֶקֶב *yeḳeb* (LXX ὑπολήνιον, the 'fat' or vat of Jl 2^{24} and 3^{13} as in Mk 12^1 AV, wine-press RV). The names *yeḳeb* or *gath* are used, however, for the whole wine-press. In Hag 2^{16} the *pûrâh* is called the press-fat (AV) or wine-fat (RV, see *Aboda Zara*, iv. 8). In these presses the grapes were trodden. The whole process is shown in several Egyptian pictures (Lepsius, ii. 13, 53, 96, iii. 11^a; Wilkinson, i. 385), in one of which the treaders are represented holding by cords from the roof over the *pûrâh*. Sometimes flat stones are put over the grapes to assist the treading. The garments and feet of those treading are dyed with the 'blood of the grape' (Dt 32^{14}, Is 63^3). As they trod they shouted (Jer 48^{33}) and sang their vintage songs (Is 16^{10}). It has been supposed that there is a line of one of these preserved in Is 65^8 (see Smith, *OTJC*^{2} 209). The same customs are still observed wherever wine is made in the East (Robinson, i. 431 and ii. 81). The wine-press is a favourite figure with the prophets, typifying God's judgments on sin (Is 63^3, La 1^{15}, Rev 14^{20}).

The first part of the juice which entered the *yeḳeb* was the first-fruits (Ex 22^{29}), and was offered to God. In Egypt the residuum from the press is put into a sack and squeezed by wringing; see Lepsius, ii. 53.

There is no mention in the Bible of the subsequent processes of wine-making, but probably the expressed juice was left in the 'fats' until fermentation had set in (Hag 2^6), or put, as represented in the Egyptian picture (Wilkinson, i. 385), into jars, or, when fermented, it was transferred for storage to large ox-skins. These at the present day are kept ranged around the storehouse or cellar, which is called in 1 Ch 27^{27} אוֹצַר הַיַּיִן *'ōẓar hayyayin*. Bruce speaks of ox-skins capable of holding 60 gallons, and greased on the outside to prevent evaporation (*Travels*, iv. 334; see Athenæus, ii. 28. Herodotus speaks of camel-skin vessels, iii. 9). When the deposit of the tartarous matter or lees (שְׁמָרִים *shĕmārîm*, LXX τρυγέας, δόξα, or φύλαγμα) had taken place, the clear supernatant wine was poured off into a new vessel (Jer 48^{11}), and this is the well-refined wine of Is 25^6. In this passage *shĕmārîm* is used in alliteration with *shĕmānîm*, 'fat things,' in the earlier clause. Drinking the lees is used allegorically in the sense of the bitter penal consequences of sin (Ps 75^8; see also Zeph 1^{12}, Jer 48^{11}).

Wine is known by nine names in the OT, but these do not necessarily mean different kinds. The varieties of wines are named from the locality of their production. Thus we read of the wines of Kerotim, Tolim, Bethrima, Bethlaba, and Signa as those suited for the service of the sanctuary (*Menachoth*, viii. 6). Other well-known wines were those of En-gedi, Acco, and Gaza. In Egypt the wines of Bubastis (Herod. ii. 126), of Sebennytus, and of Mareotis (Strabo, xvii. 779; Athenæus, i. 33) were highly esteemed. Saronitie wine was so strong that it needed two parts of water to dilute it (*Shabbath*, lxxvii. 1), and Babylonian wine needed also to be diluted (*Berachoth*, i.). See Kimchi (*Comm.* on Hos 14^8).

The commonest word used for wine is יַיִן *yayin*, a loan word from a non-Semitic root. This occurs 143 times, being first mentioned in connexion with Noah's drunkenness. It is the word used for wine in the blessing of Jacob (Gn $49^{11.12}$); it is said to cheer God and man (Jg 9^{13}), and to make glad the heart of man (Ps 104^{15}). Repentant and returning Israel is to be rewarded by again drinking the wine of her vineyards (Am 9^{14}), as she had done before (Ee 9^7). It was to be given to them of heavy heart (Pr 31^6), but its use had to be limited, for it was intoxicating, as in the cases of Nabal (1 S 25^{37}), Lot (Gn 19^{32}), Amnon (2 S 13^{28}), the drunkards of Ephraim (Is 28^1). It was the wine used by Job's family (Job 1^{13}); but king Lemuel was dissuaded from its use, because it is said to prevent judgment (Pr 31^5), and to cause vomiting (Is 28^7 5^{11}, Hos 7^5). It is called a mocker (Pr 20^1; see also Jer 23^9). It was this form of wine with which Melchizedek welcomed Abraham's return (Gn 14^{18}). It is usually rendered οἶνος by LXX. In general, this word is used when wine is spoken of as a beverage.

תִּירוֹשׁ *tîrôsh* occurs 38 times, and is rendered by LXX by οἶνος, ῥώξ (Is 65^8), or μέθυσμα (1 S 1^{15}, Jer 13^{13}, Hos 4^{11}). It is so called because it takes possession of the brain and inebriates (Gesenius; but most moderns reject this etymology). In enumerating the products of the land, corn and wine (*tîrôsh*) are mentioned 21 times, and oil is coupled with *tîrôsh* 15 times. The Targumists, Onkelos, and Jonathan render it by *ḥamer*. It is said to take away the understanding in Hos 4^{11}, and its intoxicating qualities are referred to by the Talmudists, 'Tirosh easily takes possession of (יוֹרֵשׁ, a play upon the word) the mind,' *Sanhedrin*, lxxvi. § 1. In *Joma*, lxxvi. 2, it is said, 'If thou abuse it thou shalt be poor (רָשׁ), if thou rightly use it thou shalt be head (רֹאשׁ)'; and in the Gemara on this, 'Wherefore is it called tirosh? Because all taken by it shall be poor.' In Jer $40^{10.12}$ the words *yayin* and *tîrôsh* are used as synonyms, and in general *tîrôsh* is translated 'new wine' in AV. It has been argued that *tîrôsh* meant grapes, because the phrase is used 'to gather *tîrôsh*'; but the same is used of *yayin*, and both are spoken of as trodden out, *yayin* in Is 16^{10}, *tîrôsh* in Mic 6^{15}. Collating all the references, it seems as if *tîrôsh* was especially used for wine as the produce of the vineyard. See further, Driver, *Joel and Amos*, 79 f.

שֵׁכָר *shēkār*, LXX σίκερα, is the word tr. in general 'strong drink,' which occurs 23 times in OT. It was used for the drink-offering (Nu 28^7), and was permitted to be bought with the tithe money and consumed at the temple (Dt 14^{26}). In excess it caused merriment (Is 24^9, Ps 69^{12}) and intoxication (Is 56^{12}); it is often coupled with wine, as if another intoxicating fluid; Ibn Ezra says it was made from palm-juice or wheat, Kimchi says from fruit juice, Jerome from grain, grapes, or honey (*Epist. ad Nepotianum*, ii. 11), so it may have been like the barley wine of the Egyptians (Herod. ii. 77), or like arrack, which is at present often used in Palestine (Robinson, iii. 195). It is mentioned, among other places, in Lv 10^9, Nu 6^3, Dt 29^6, Jg $13^{4.7.14}$, 1 S 1^{15}, Mic 2^{11}. Strong drink was to be given to those ready to perish (Pr 31^6), which has been supposed to refer to the practice of giving intoxicants to deaden the pain of execution. Lightfoot says that it was the practice of wealthy women in Jerusalem to provide the strong drink for this purpose (*Hor. Heb.* xi. 366). The vinegar given to our Lord may have been intended for this purpose. *Shēkār* seems to be named from its effects (שָׁכַר 'to be drunk').

חֶמֶר *ḥemer*, used twice in Heb. (Dt 32^{14}, Is 27^2, but last probably mistake for חֶמֶד) and six times in Aram. (Ezr 6^9 7^{22}, Dn $5^{1.2.4.23}$), seems to be derived from the sparkling, foaming appearance of fermenting wine. In Is 27^2 the clause in which it occurs appears to be another line from a vintage song. It was wine of this kind that Cyrus gave for the temple use (Ezr 6^9). In Dt 32^{14} it is called the pure blood of the grape, *i.e.* not mixed with water; but RV has tr. it the blood of the grape, wine. It is red wine in Is 27^2, and it was the wine which Belshazzar drank out of the temple vessels (Dn 5^1).

עָסִיס *'āsîs*, a poetical synonym meaning that which is trodden out. It is the new wine of Ca 8^2: the sweet intoxicating wine of Is 49^{26}, the sweet wine lamented by the drunkards in Jl 1^{5}, and that which is supplied to the restored remnant of Israel as a blessing (Jl 3^{18}). It is rendered in LXX *νᾶμα*, *γλυκασμός*, but the sweet wine of Am 9^{13} is *μέθη*. It is probably the same as 'the sweet' of Neh 8^{10}, where it is called מַמְתַּקִּים *mamtakkîm*, or sweetnesses.

סֹבֶא *sōbe'*, intoxicating drink in general, the wine of Is 1^{22}, which was spoiled by mixture with water, or that in Hos 4^{18}, which had become sour, or that which drenched the drunkard to helplessness (Nah 1^{10}).

מֶסֶךְ *meṣek*, in Ca 8^{2} מֶזֶג *mezeg*, LXX *κέρασμα*, is mixed wine, to which spices have been added to make it hotter and improve its flavour. In Pr 23^{30}, Ps 75^{8}, Is 65^{11} it is called *mimṣāk*. In Pr $9^{2.5}$ it is used metaphorically for the inspiring drink supplied by wisdom, and in Is 5^{22} for the strong drink which warps the judgment. In Pr 23^{30} it is a parallel synonym for *yayin*.

חֹמֶץ *ḥōmeẓ*, or vinegar, is sour wine, the common refreshing drink for labourers, forbidden to the Nazirite while under his vow (Nu 6^{3}), used in the harvest field (Ru 2^{14}), and prophetically mentioned in Ps 69^{21}. In Pr 10^{26} LXX renders it *ὄμφαξ*, an unripe grape.

In NT the word commonly used is *οἶνος*, as at the marriage feast at Cana. This wine in excess produced *μεθύσις* (Jn 2^{10}). New wine was regarded as inferior to old (Lk 5^{39}). Γλεῦκος, 'new sweet wine,' is mentioned in Ac 2^{13} as that by which the Jews thought the apostles were intoxicated at Pentecost. It cannot have been unfermented, as that would not have produced the effect, and Pentecost was eight months after the vintage.

The collecting of juice from the grapes, which the chief butler in his dream squeezed into the cup, was plainly only a symbol, as in the dream he saw the whole process of budding, blossoming, and fruiting taking place. There is no evidence of any such custom as squeezing grapes into a cup for royal or guest refreshment. There are several figurative names for wine: 'the fruit of the vine' (Lk 22^{18}), 'the blood of the grape' (Dt 32^{14}); the former reminds us of Pindar's *δρόσος ἀμπέλου* (vii. 3), or of the name of the vine *οἴνου μήτηρ* in Æschylus (*Persæ*, 614).

The study of the names applied to wine shows that they are, for the most part, evidently synonyms, and that the substance indicated by them all was one which, if used to excess, was liable to cause intoxication. An attempt has been made to obtain a textual support for total abstinence by differentiating intoxicating from unfermented wine in the biblical terminology; but it is only special pleading without adequate foundation. The teaching of Scripture as to the pernicious effects of intemperance in any form is clear and explicit, and the Apostle Paul has stated the case for total abstinence in Ro 14 in a way which does not require the treacherous aid of doubtful exegesis for its support.

The wine stored in the large skins in the cellar was drawn for use into smaller skins, the bottles of Scripture, called חֵמֶת *ḥēmeth* in Gn $21^{14ff.}$, נֵבֶל *nēbel*, 1 S 1^{24} 10^{3}, 2 S 16^{1} (this word is used figuratively for the clouds in Job 38^{37}), or נאֹד *nōd*, Jos 9^{4-13}, Jg 4^{19}, 1 S 16^{20}. This word is also used figuratively in Ps 56^{8} in alliteration with *nōd*, 'wandering,' for there is no evidence of the use of lacrymatories among the Jews. The *nōd* was liable to shrivel if hung up in the heat (Ps 119^{83}). In LXX and NT bottle is *ἀσκός*. These were made of goat-skins, prepared by cutting off the head, tail, and feet, and then drawing off the skin from the body without other cutting, and stuffing it with straw, into which wooden wedges were then driven, to stretch it to its fullest capacity. The hair was left on the outer surface, the tail and limb holes were closely sewn up, and the neck hole left open. The skin was thereafter tanned with oak or acacia bark. These skins are prepared in this manner at the present day, and are called *zumzammim* or *mattaru*. When filled, the neck hole is tied round with a thong. Robinson saw about 500 of these bottles in one tanyard (ii. 75). The larger bottles are of he-goat skins, the smallest of the skins of kids. This variety of size is alluded to in Is 22^{24}. When active fermentation is in progress these skins become much distended, and are liable to burst. This is especially liable to occur with new skins of young animals, which are called אוֹב, as in Job 32^{19}. These are called in Vulg. *lagunculæ*. Skins which are old are liable to crack, and cannot bear the tension of the carbonic acid produced during fermentation. This is referred to in Mt 9^{17}, Mk 2^{22}, Lk 5^{37}. The preservation of the wine did not mean keeping it from fermentation,—for, with the total absence of antiseptic precautions characteristic of Orientals, it would have been impossible to do so,—but the storing of it in a bottle which could resist the strain. One of these bottles was a load for a man (1 S 10^{3}).

Wine was largely used in Egypt, and the figures of drinking feasts, and the painting of an inebriated female from a tomb of the New Empire, are well known (see Wilkinson, i. 392, 424, etc.). There is an interesting letter written by the scribe Amen-em-apt to Penta-ur, in which the evils of intemperance are graphically described (*Pap. Sallier*, I. ix. 9, etc.). The commonest beverage in Egypt was beer, made from barley, and called *hek*. The wine made from the grape, also commonly used, was called *arp*, and date wine was called *bak*. Among the presents to Ptah enumerated in the *Harris Papyrus* were 2366 wine vessels of one form and 820 of another; and in the inventory of presents on pl. 72 of that papyrus are 486,303 vessels of beer. The Persians were also much addicted to wine (Herod. i. 133), and the royal wine of Est 1^{7} is referred to by Athenæus (*Deipnos*. i. 51); it was called Chalybonian, and Posidonius says that it is made in Damascus. Figuratively, the washing of garments in wine means plenty and prosperity (Gn 49^{11}). Wine of astonishment, Ps 60^{3} (RV staggering), is a figure of God's judgment on sin, making its objects helpless, as if intoxicated. This is called the cup of staggering in Is 51^{17}.

The **Vine of Sodom** (Dt 32^{32}) is probably, as Seetzen and Robinson have supposed, the *'ōsher* or *Calotropis procera*, an asclepiadaceous plant, whose fruit looks attractive, but is full of dry cottony hairs. These are the 'grapes of gall.' Pococke supposed that it referred to diseased pomegranates, and Hooker conjectures that the colocynth may have been meant; but its fruit has no resemblance to grapes (see **Wild Gourd**, above). Elliot suggests oak galls as referred to, and Hasselquist the egg plant, either *Solanum melongena* or *S. Sodomæum*; but the first identification is most probably correct, more especially as the *Calotropis*, while not very common, grows abundantly in one locality by the Dead Sea.

Walnut (אֱגוֹז *'ĕgōz*, *καρύα*) is not mentioned as a fruit; but a garden of nuts, which is mentioned in Ca 6^{11}, is taken by the rabbinical authorities as meaning a garden of walnuts. The Arabs call the tree *gyaus*, and it is very common in Palestine. The common walnut, *Juglans regia*, is too well known to need description.

Fruit is referred to metaphorically in the sense of (1) the result of a course of conduct (Ro 6^{21}); (2) the work of the Holy Spirit in the conduct (Gal 5^{22}, Eph 5^{9}); (3) children (Ps 127^{3}); (4) praise (Is 57^{19}); (5) the results of industry (Pr $31^{16.31}$), etc.

Mallows (מַלּוּחַ *mallûaḥ*, LXX *ἅλιμον*, Vulg. *Ar-*

borum cortices) are spoken of in Job 30^{4} as plants eaten by starving outcasts. They have been variously identified as nettles by R. Levi, as possibly a mesembryanthemum by Kitto, as mallows (*malva*) by Thomson (*L. and B.* i. 291), as *Corchorus olitorius* by Sprengel; but are most probably the saltwort, as in the RV, the *Atriplex halimus* or sea-purslain, which is called by the Arabs *mulluaḥ*, and grows on the shores of the Dead Sea and of the Gulf of Akabah. It is a plant with sour leaves, and has been known to form a part of the diet of the people in periods of scarcity. Thomson saw poor people cutting coarse green food of this kind as a relish for bread (ii. 345). The mallow in Arabic is called *khŭbbarzeh.* In a parallel passage in Job 24^{5} the poor are said to cut בְּלִיל for their children, which may be cattle food (Is 30^{24}) or coarse vegetables in general, and probably the אֹרֹת or greens which the prophet went to gather were of the same nature (2 K 4^{39}). The Syriac uses this name *mallûaḥ* for the חָרוּל or 'nettle' of Zeph 2^{9}.

Juniper roots (רֹתֶם *rōthem*). This occurs along with the last as part of the food of the outcast in Job 30^{4}, but the word occurs also as the name of the tree under which Elijah sheltered (1 K 19$^{4f.}$), and in the phrase 'coals of juniper' in Ps 120^{4}. LXX renders it Ῥαθμέν or Ῥαμάθ, and in Job ῥίζας ξύλων. Symm. tr. it ῥίζαν σίτων ἀγρίων, and Josephus does not name the tree, but calls it 'a certain tree' (*Ant.* VIII. xiii. 7). The Syriac VS calls it a terebinth, and Clement a *Paliurus* (*Pædagog.* iii. 236). The later Jewish authorities, however, recognized it as the desert broom, *Retama retem*, which the Arabs call *retama.* It is a shrub with pale pink flowers and very bitter roots. It grows about 10 ft. high, and in many places in the desert is the only shrub under which one could shelter. Robinson describes it in such places; and one of the wilderness stations of Israel was called Rithmah = broomy (Nu 33^{18}). The roots were used as fuel (Ps 120^{4}), and the Revisers have put 'to warm them' in marg. of Job 30^{4}, which, considering the uneatable nature of the roots, is a more intelligible rendering. The word לַחְמָם may be regarded as a derivative of the verb חָמַם 'to heat,' in which sense the same word occurs in Is 47^{14}. This sense is taken by some Heb. commentators, as R. Levi ben-Gerson (*in loc.*), but the rendering of the text is that in the Gemara, *Aboda Zara*, i. Juniper roots are often used for fuel in the wilderness (Thomson, i. 345).

B. Animal food consisted either of flesh or of animal products, such as milk, eggs, and honey. Flesh was habitually used only in royal or great houses, and among ordinary people was chiefly used at feasts. Its sources were restricted by law among the Jews, by custom among the neighbouring nations. The word שְׁאֵר, which literally means flesh meat (Ps 78$^{20.27}$), was sometimes used for food in general (Ex 21^{10}).

The division of beasts into clean and unclean, mentioned in the story of the Deluge (Gn 7^{2}), was written in the light of later legislation, but embodies a distinction which can be traced back to a very early period of human history. The two lists of clean and unclean animals (Lv 11$^{3ff.}$ and Dt 14$^{4ff.}$) are practically identical. The mammals permitted to be eaten were the ruminants proper, except the camel, which, with the *hyrax*, hare, and swine, are prohibited by name. There is reason to believe that this selection is of more than arbitrary value, and that the danger of the transmission of parasitic diseases by the flesh of these is less than in the case of the excluded forms (see Guéneau de Mussy, *Étude sur l'hygiène de Moïse*). For fanciful representations of the forbidden animals as types of vices, see Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.* viii. 9; Clement, *Pædag.* ii. 10; Novatianus, *de cibis Judæorum*, iii.

The permitted mammals named in Dt are ten. (*a*) The three domestic groups, **oxen, sheep,** and **goats.** The first group was called in general בְּהֵמָה *bĕhēmâh*, or cattle (Dt 14^{4}), neat cattle being distinguished as בָּקָר *bāḳār*, LXX βόες, tr. the herd, as distinguished from the flock. The calf is in Heb. עֵגֶל *'ēgel* (Is 27^{10}); an *'ēgel marbēḳ* or fatted calf was killed for Saul by the witch (1 S 28^{24}); see also Gn 18^{7} (where the calf is *ben bāḳār*, 'the son of the herd') and ὁ σιτευτὸς μόσχος of Lk 15^{30}. שׁוֹר *shôr* (LXX μόσχος) is used for a bullock, as in Lv 22^{27}, Neh 5^{18}, or else פַּר *par*, as in Nu 8^{8}, Ps 22^{12}; and a heifer is called *'eglath bāḳār* (Gn 15^{9}, Dt 21^{3}) or *pārāh* (Gn 41^{2}, Nu 19^{2}). Bulls are named (poet.) אַבִּירִים *'abbîrîm* (Is 34^{7}, Ps 22^{12}), and cows or cattle in general אֲלָפִים *'ălāphîm.* The commonest breed were black or brown, short limbed and small, and they were principally kept in the valleys and in the low country. Fat oxen were part of Solomon's daily provision (1 K 4^{23}); these were fed in a אֵבוּס or stall, and hence are called stalled oxen (Pr 15^{17}); Solomon had also pasture-fed oxen (1 K 4^{23}, see also Elisha, 1 K 19^{21}). The aurochs or wild bull (the Hebrew *rĕ'ēm*) was probably seldom captured, even in nets (Is 51^{20}). The buffalo was not originally a native, but has been imported into Palestine since Bible times.

From the flock צֹאן *ẓôn* (Gn 4^{2}) the food animals were טָלֶה *ṭāleh*, or sucking lambs (LXX ἀρνὸς γαλαθηνός), as in 1 S 7^{9}. A hogget or lamb from one to three years old was named כֶּבֶשׂ *kcbes* (Nu 7^{15}) or כֶּשֶׂב *keseb* (Lv 3^{7}), LXX ἄμνος or ἀρνός. In Aramaic a young sheep is called אִמַּר *'immar*, as in Ezr 6^{9}; a ewe is רָחֵל *rāḥēl* (Gn 31^{38}); and a fatted sheep כַּר *kar* (2 K 3^{4}); while sheep in general are called שֶׂה *seh* (Jg 6^{4}). The commonest breed of sheep in Palestine is the fat-tailed variety, whose tail is wide and flat, and may weigh 10 lb., most of which is pure fat. This fat tail (RV) is the אַלְיָה *'alyâh* or rump (AV) of Ex 29^{22} (see Herod. iii. 113). In Northern Palestine and Syria there is also a short-woolled small sheep, resembling the merino; both are varieties of the one species *Ovis Aries.* The lamb was the commonest of all meats for feasts, and is still the animal often killed for a guest (Doughty, i. 16). The ram, אַיִל *'ayil*, possibly the *bedcn* or wild-goat (Gn 15^{9}), was also used as food (Gn 31^{38}). For the use of lambs see 2 S 12^{4}, Is 53^{7}, and the paschal lamb (Ex 12^{3}).

The goat (שָׂעִיר *sā'îr*) was commonly kept in flocks in the more mountainous districts, while the sheep was fed in the lower pastures; the two species of goat, *Capra hircus* and *C. mambrica*, were not apparently differentiated by name; the former is the common goat, the latter has a sheep-like head and long pendulous, flapping ears. The male or he-goat of the former breed is the תַּיִשׁ *tayish*, Gn 30^{35}, Pr 30^{31}, and of the latter עַתּוּד *'attûd* (Gn 31^{10}), or in Aramaic צְפִיר *ẓĕphîr*, as Ezr 6^{17}. The עֵז *'ēz* may have been the *Capra Ægagrus* or *Sinaitica*, both of which are natives of Bible lands, and probably the source of Esau's savoury meat. The kid, גְּדִי *gĕdî* (Dt 14^{21}), is mentioned as the material for a small feast (Jg 6^{19} 13^{15}). Compare the ἔριφος of the parable (Lk 15^{29}), and the elder brother's implied comparison between the kid and the calf. As the lamb is useful for his fleece as well as his flesh (Pr 27^{26}), the kid is commonly used by the poorer or more economical classes (see 1 Es 1^{7}). Rebekah used it for making Isaac's savoury meat (Gn 27^{9}).

The thrice-repeated taboo concerning seething a kid in its mother's milk (Ex 23^{19} 34^{26}, Dt 14^{21}) has been interpreted: (1) As a prohibition of the slaughter of the mother and offspring at the same time (as in Lv 22^{28}). (2) As forbidding the killing of the young animal before it was eight days old; we learn from the passage just quoted that an animal was not allowed to be sacrificed until it had reached that age, and it has been thought that it was also unclean as food. (3) The most probable explanation is that it had reference to some custom among the surrounding nations, such as that described by Cudworth and Spencer (*de legibus Hebr. ritual.* ii. 335), in which a kid was boiled in its mother's milk, and the broth sprinkled on the ground as a sacrifice to propitiate the harvest gods and ensure fruitfulness. (4) Michaelis has supposed that mother's milk is a euphemism for butter, and that the food forbidden was meat drenched with butter. For other views on this תּוֹעֵבָה *to'ēbâh*, or abomination, see Tract *Chullin*, viii. § 4, and Maimonides, *More nebochim*, iii. 48.

Milk and its derivatives formed an important element of the food of the Bible peoples, Palestine is described as a land flowing with milk and honey (Ex 3^{8} and eighteen other places). חָלָב *ḥālāb*, LXX γάλα, is used for fresh milk (Ca 5^{12}, Is 28^{9}), or of cream from which butter is made (Pr 30^{33}). Milk of goats was esteemed the best (Pr 27^{27}), then that of sheep (Dt 32^{14}). Cow's milk is rarely as good as either of the others, on account of the unsuitability of the pasture, and is not often specified in the Bible. Camel's milk was probably used by the patriarchs, as we infer from Gn 32^{15}; but it sours more quickly than other milk, and often pains strangers when they first take it (Doughty, i. 216).

Milk is used as a drink with meals (Gn 18^{8}, Ezk 25^{4}), and so is coupled with wine (Ca 5^{1}, Is 55^{1}). When the pasturage is good, sweet milk is still handed round after an Arab meal. It is also offered as refreshment to travellers. Jael opened for Sisera a *nōd*, or leathern bottle of milk (Jg 4^{19}), which Deborah (Jg 5^{25}) calls a *ṣēphel 'addîrîm*, 'a cup of the nobles' (EV a lordly dish). Goat's milk is spoken of as the staple drink of servants (Pr 27^{27}); and, as the Hebrew children were mother-nursed, milk was their sole sustenance until they were weaned, hence the metaphorical sense of milk-feeding in 1 Co 3^{2}, He 5^{12}. The comparison of the law to milk was used by the Jews; thus Kimchi on Is 55^{1} says, 'As milk feeds and nourishes a child, so the law feeds and nourishes the soul.' Milk mixed with flour or rice, and eaten with salad, or occasionally with meat, forms a large part of the food of the poor in Aleppo (Russell, i. 118) and elsewhere. Among some Jews milk is not eaten with meat, on account of their interpretation of Ex 23^{19} (see above).

Butter (חֶמְאָה *ḥem'âh*, LXX βούτυρον) is used for cream and thick preparations of it, as well as for butter proper. In Is 7^{22} it probably means cream, and in Jg 5^{25} the milk which was called *ḥālāb* in Jg 4^{19} is named *ḥem'âh*; but it was liquid enough to be kept in a skin bottle, and was used to quench thirst. The 'butter' of Gn 18^{8} was probably soured milk, which is now much used in the East, and called *leben* (Burckhardt, *Bedouins*, i. 240). The process of churning is called מִיץ *mîẓ*, or 'pressure,' in Pr 30^{33}. It is now performed by rocking a skin of milk upon the knees (Doughty, i. 221), or by beating with a stick a skin of milk hung up in a frame, or jerking a skin thus suspended to and fro (Robinson, i. 485). The milk used is that of goats (Robinson, iii. 69) or cows (Dt 32^{14}); some forms of butter are semi-fluid, and hence the figurative language of Job 20^{17} 29^{6}. The amount of butter eaten by Arabs is large, when it can be procured. Kitto says that all well-prepared Arab food swims in it; and Burckhardt describes the Arabs as taking a cupful of butter as breakfast in the morning (see Robinson, i. 449). Melted butter is used, poured over bread in a bowl, as a breakfast dish, and is called *samen* (cf. Doughty, ii. 67 f., 208 f., 655 f.). Metaphorically, the smoothness of hypocritical words is compared to butter (Ps 55^{21}).

Cheese (חָרִיץ *ḥārîẓ*) is mentioned as a delicacy sent by Jesse to the captain of the troop in which his sons were (1 S 17^{18}), the expression used there meaning ten slices of curd. The [שָׁפָה] *shāphāh* (pl. *shāphôth*) of 2 S 17^{29} was probably the *leben*, which here was made of cow's milk. Cheese is often made of the milk of the ewe or of the goat.

A third word, גְּבִינָה *gĕbînâh*, means a clot, and is compared (Job 10^{10}) with the material out of which the body develops (cf. גֹּלֶם *gôlem* of Ps 139^{16}).

The Arabs use dried milk, which they rub up with water when wanted (Doughty, i. 262); this they call *mereesy*. It is also mentioned by Burckhardt (i. 60).

(*b*) Besides the three domestic groups, seven forms of large game were allowed to be eaten; these were the **fallow deer**, *Dama vulgaris* (אַיָּל, LXX ἔλαφος, the hart of RV and AV, as in Ps 42^{1}, La 1^{6}); the **gazelle**, *Gazella dorcas* (צְבִי *ẓĕbî*, LXX δορκάς, AV roebuck, 2 S 2^{18}), called by the Egyptians *gahs*, and often used as a sacrifice; the **wild cow antelope**, *Bubalus boselaphus* (יַחְמוּר *yaḥmûr*, LXX πύγαργος, Vulg. *bubalus*, AV fallow deer, RV roebuck), called *shes* by the Egyptians.

These three were hunted (Dt $12^{15.22}$, Pr 6^{5}), and formed elements in Solomon's daily provision (1 K 4^{23}). The other large game were: the **ibex or wild goat**, *Capra beden*, the *n'eafu* of Egypt; the Sinaitic ibex is also called יָעֵל (Job 39^{1}, Ps 104^{18}), hence the name of Heber's wife Jg $4^{17.18}$ (אַקּוֹ *'aḳḳô*, AV and RV wild goat); the **addax**, *Antilope addax* (דִּישֹׁן *dîshôn*, AV and RV 'pygarg,' the ancient Egyptian *nudu*), an antelope with lyrate horns and white hinder part, not uncommon in some parts of Western Asia, and found in Palestine; the **oryx**, *Oryx beatrix* (תְּאוֹ *tĕ'ô*, LXX ὄρυξ, AV wild ox, RV antelope), a straight-horned antelope, extending in distribution from N. Africa to Persia; the African form, called in Egyptian *maud*, differs from the Asiatic in some respects, and is called *O. leucoryx*; it is very commonly represented as being sacrificed in Egyptian pictures; and lastly, the kibisch or **mouflon**, *Ovis tragelaphus* (זֶמֶר *zemer*, LXX καμηλοπάρδαλις, AV and RV chamois). This is a mountain sheep which is found in Lebanon, Moab, and the Taurus, as well as in Corsica. Neither the chamois nor the giraffe is a native of Palestine.

(*c*) The law of clean *birds* is one of exclusion. All carnivorous or predaceous birds and seabirds, together with the ostrich, raven, heron, and stork, are declared unclean. On the positive side, the birds named as articles of diet were six: (1) the **pigeon** (*Columba livia*, יוֹנָה *yônâh*, LXX περιστερά); (2) the **turtle dove** (*Turtur communis*, תּוֹר *tôr*, LXX τρυγών). These two were the commonest birds used for food in Palestine, and the only ones admitted as sacrifices. (3) The **partridge**, of which two species are found in Palestine, *Caccabis chukar*, the large Indian partridge, and *Ammoperdix Heyi*, the small partridge of Judæa (1 S 26^{20}). This bird is *hunted*, as it runs when pursued, and is slow to rise in flight (Robinson, iii. 403). Its nest is sought after on account of the eggs, which are favourite articles of food (Jer 17^{11}, Sir 11^{30}). LXX renders it νυκτικόραξ, which is a kind of heron. The place-name Beth-hoglah means the house of the partridge. Partridges as food are represented on an Assyrian sculpture in the British Museum. (4) The **quail** (*Coturnix communis*, שְׂלָו *sĕlâv*, LXX ὀρτυγομήτρα), which furnished meat to the Israelites in their wilderness journey (Ex 16^{13}). These are common in Egypt, where they are salted and eaten raw (Herodotus, ii. 77). The quail annually migrates in immense bevies across the desert nearly along the line of the Israelites' march (Robinson, i. 260). (5) Fatted fowl, which were prepared for Solomon's table (1 K 4^{23}), are called בַּרְבֻּרִים. They were probably **ducks or geese**, so largely used in Egypt, where they are called *aptiu* and *terpu*. They were apparently not domesticated, but caught in nets, fattened and eaten (Lepsius, ii. 46 and 132). (6) Fowl in Neh 5^{18} צִפֳּרִים *ẓippŏrîm*, were probably **domestic fowl** introduced from Babylonia, to which they had been brought from India, their native country. In NT times they had become domesticated in Palestine. It is said in the Mishna that fowl were not allowed in Jerusalem (*Baba Kama*, vii. 7); but this is a mistake (see Mt 26^{75} and parallel passages). Our Lord was familiar with them and their habits, see Mt 23^{37}, where He quotes from 2 Es 1^{30}.

Eggs as articles of food in early times were those of wild birds (Dt 22^{6}, Is 10^{14} 59^{5}); but with the introduction of geese from Egypt and domestic fowl from India they became much more important as a part of the diet, and now are very largely used (Lk 11^{12}). There is no reference to the ancient modes of cooking them, but at the present day they are boiled, or eaten swimming in hot butter and with honey (Finn. 141), or eaten with olives (*ib.* 272), or boiled with rice (Robinson, i. 91), or fried in fat.

The *white of an egg* (רִיר חַלָּמוּת *rîr ḥallāmûth*) of Job 6^{6} may be either the material literally expressed, see Tract *Chull.* 64*a*, or curdled milk; but is understood by some as a succulent, tasteless plant like purslain, *Portulaca oleracea*, as in the RVm. This plant is common in most places in Palestine, and is in Arabic associated with imbecility. Golius quotes the proverb '*more* foolish than purslain,' *Sentent. Arab.* 81. For other meanings see Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, *sub voce.*

Dove's dung, mentioned in connexion with the famine during the siege of Samaria, has been variously understood by commentators. It is said (2 K 6^{25}) that one imperial pint of it was sold for about 12s. 6d. חֲרֵייוֹנִים *ḥărîyōnîm*, or as it is in Ḳerê דִּבְיוֹנִים *dibyōnîm*, is understood by Josephus literally, and he supposes it to have been used as a condiment in place of salt (*Ant.* IX. iv. 4). The threat in Rabshakeh's appeal to the Jews (2 K 18^{27}) is in favour of this view. Others have supposed that this material was used for fuel, as the cow dung in Ezk 4^{12}; and Harmer thinks it was used to manure melons and other vegetables grown within the city (*Obs.* iii. 185; see Morier's *Second Journey*, p. 141). Fuller surmised that it might be the contents of the pigeon's crop. Linnæus and Smith identify it as the root of a liliaceous plant, the *Ornithogalum umbellatum* or star of Bethlehem; but this as well as Bochart's conjecture, that it was a chick-pea or small species of *cicer*, and the view that it was a small species of *sorghum*, are without foundation, as there is no reason why the price of these rare foods should be specified. On the whole, there is as much evidence for the literal interpretation as for any of these guesses.

(*d*) No *reptile* was permitted to be eaten; of *fishes* all that have fins and scales were clean; but it is a remarkable fact that no species of fish is mentioned in the Bible, nor is there any discrimination except good or bad (Mt 13^{48}), and big and little (Jon 1^{17}, Jn 21^{11}, Mk 8^{7}). The Sea of Galilee abounds in fishes, which are delicate and well flavoured (Robinson, ii. 386). Altogether 43 species have been found by Lortet, Tristram, and others, of which 14 are peculiar to the lake and to the Jordan. One of the largest of these, *Clarias macracanthus*, being scaleless, was unclean (κορακῖνος, Jos. *BJ* III. x. 8). The largest of the clean fishes are species of *Chromis*, which resemble the carp, and have large scales. One of these, *Chromis Niloticus*, called *Moncht* by the fishermen of Tiberias, has been found up to 5 lb. in weight; another, *C. Tiberiadis*, is peculiar to the lake, and very plentiful; *C. Andreæ* and *C. Simonis* are also peculiar, as is the *C. Flavii Josephi*. There are also four species of barbel of the genera *Barbus*, *Scaphiodon* and *Capoeta*, as well as one species each of dace, loach, and bleak, and two blennies, *B. Lupulus* and *B. varius*. Sea fishery was carried on at Tyre (Ezk 26^{5}), and from thence preserved fish were imported into Jerusalem (Neh 13^{16}), probably dried and cured. It was likely some dried fishes which formed part of the food with which the 5000 were fed. The fish-market at Jerusalem was probably at the fish-gate (2 Ch 33^{14}). The fishpools of Heshbon (Ca 7^{4}) have been regarded as indicating that the Jews kept fish in them for use; but the word 'fish' is here an interpolation. Abundance of fish was one of the elements in the prosperity of Joseph, according to his blessing, Gn 49^{25}. Fish was one of the staple foods in Egypt (Nu 11^{5}). See picture of fishing in Baedeker's *Egypt*, p. 411, and Wilkinson, ii. 102.

(*e*) Four *insects* were allowed to be eaten according to the list in Lv; these were: (1) the אַרְבֶּה *'arbeh*, LXX βροῦχος, the swarming locust, *Ædipoda migratoria*; (2) סָלְעָם *ṣol'âm*, LXX ἀττάκης, probably *Acrydium peregrinum*, the bald locust of AV; (3) חַרְגֹּל *ḥargôl*, LXX ὀφιομάχος (AV beetle), a leaping animal, and therefore not a beetle, probably the *khardjala* of the Arabs, which the Rabbins supposed to be a grasshopper, more probably the largest of the locusts, *Ædipoda cristata*; and (4) חָגָב *ḥāgāb*, LXX ἀκρίς, probably the little black locust found in the Sinaitic desert which the Arabs call *Faras el-jundi* or soldiers' horses, recalling the description of the locusts in Rev 9^{7}. It is, however, not possible precisely to identify these two latter forms. Locusts formed part of the food of the Baptist (Mt 3^{4}, Mk 1^{6}). Doughty describes them as being prepared by salting, and then being stived into a leathern sack in which they kept good a long while. They mingle them, brayed small, with butter-milk. The best is the fat spring locust; the later brood is dry and unwholesome (i. 203). Burckhardt says they are put alive into boiling brine, then dried in the sun, the head, legs, and wings being plucked off and then stored in bags. They are sometimes mixed with butter and spread on bread. They taste not unlike shrimps. On one of the Assyrian sculptures in the British Museum two slaves are represented with long *sticks* of locusts.

Honey took the place of sugar in cookery, either the natural product (1 S 14^{25}, Mt 3^{4}, Lk 24^{42}, AV, not RV) or the artificial *dibs* made of grapes or dates, described above. True honey is collected by the bee, *Apis fasciata* (see BEE). It is found in hollows in rocks (Dt 32^{13}, Ps 81^{16}) or in hollow trees (1 S 14^{26}), from which it drops on the ground. A shrub or tree on which was a honeycomb was called יַעַר, a word used for honeycomb in Ca 5^{1}. Birds, jackals, and ants would soon reduce a lion to a dry skeleton, so that in a few days a swarm of bees might take possession of it (Jg 14^{8}). Herodotus tells us that the head of Onesilus, suspended over the gate of Amathus, became filled with honeycomb (v. 114). See also the account of the Egyptian practice of killing a calf and placing it in a favourable place, when in nine days bees swarm within the carcase (Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 300 ff.). Compare with this Pythagoras' theory of the origin of bees, Ovid, *Metamorph.* xv. 27.

As honey is liable to ferment, it was forbidden to be used in any offering to God (Lv 2^{11}), the preservative material salt being used instead. Honey was one of the exports of Palestine to Tyre. Along with it is named the substance PANNAG, supposed by some to be a sweetmeat. LXX translates it 'cassia,' and the Vulgate 'balsam.' In the Syriac it is said to be millet.

At the present day honey is used by the Arabs to sweeten cakes (Ex 16^{31}) as we use sugar. It is sometimes, but not often, eaten by itself from the comb (Jg 14^{9}), or as it drops from the comb (1 S 14^{27}). The liquid honey as it has dropped, called צוּף *ẓûph* (Pr 16^{24}, Ps 19^{10}), is the best, and a cruse of this was part of the present brought by Jeroboam's wife to Ahijah (1 K 14^{3}). Honey was brought with the other provisions to David in exile (2 S 17^{29}), and wild honey (*μέλι ἄγριον*) was part of the Baptist's diet (Mt 3^{4}). Butter and honey is expressive of a rich diet, see Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i. 54, but not Is $7^{15.\,22}$. Milk and honey are the products of a fertile land (*Odyss.* xx. 68). The effects of a surfeit of honey are graphically described in Pr 25^{16}. Honey is still stored in jars or skins as of old (Jer 41^{8}).

Salt (מֶלַח), eaten with food as a condiment to flavour it (Job 6^{6}, Sir 39^{26}), used to preserve food, and given to cattle (Is 30^{24}), was extracted from the salt beds by the Dead Sea, or made by evaporation from sea water. There are masses of rock salt several miles in extent on the S.E. of the Dead Sea (Robinson, ii. 108), and the salt of Sodom is named in a Gemara; see also Josephus, *Ant.* XII. iii. 3, XIII. iv. 9. Much of this salt was very impure, hence it sometimes lost its savour as well as its preserving power, and was cast out on the land as waste (Mt 5^{13}, Lk 14^{35}). This was due to the rain washing out the salt and leaving only the earthy dross. Too much salt rendered the land barren, and to sow with salt meant to doom to perpetual desolation (Dt 29^{23}, Jg 9^{45}, Zeph 2^{9}, Jer 17^{6}, Job 39^{6}). Salt was to be used with all the sacrifices (Lv 2^{13}, Ezk 43^{24}, Mk 9^{49} TR). See *Il.* i. 449, and *Æneid*, ii. 133. For this purpose salt was sold in the temple market; see Maii, *de usu Salis Symbol. in rebus sacris Dissert.*, Giessen, 1692; *Middoth*, v. 3. The addition of salt to the animal sacrifice was probably a later arrangement. See Philo, ii. 255; Hottinger, *Jur. Heb. Leg.* p. 168, and *de Usu Salis in Cultu sacro,* Marburg, 1706; Wokenius, *de Salitura Oblationum,* 1747. Salted incense is referred to in Ex 30^{35}. Salt is much prized, both in Syria and Egypt. A Bedawi prefers salt to sugar when both are offered to him. It is an emblem of hospitality; to eat bread and salt with one is to be bound to him by ties of hospitality, a covenant of salt (Lv 2^{13}, Nu 18^{19}, 2 Ch 13^{5}). A similar alliance is expressed in Ezr 4^{14}. See Niebuhr, *Beschreibung*, 48; Bæhrdt, *de Fœdere Salis.* For the washing of infants in salt see MEDICINE. It is possible that the Sidonian Misrephoth-maim of Jos 11^{8} 13^{6} may have been a place of salt-pans where sea water was evaporated.

Hyssop (אֵזוֹב), which may be mentioned as an accessory to the feast of Passover, though in itself not a food-stuff, is a labiate herb of inconspicuous size, which was used by the Egyptian priests for food (Porphyry, *de Abstinentia*, iv. 7), but is mentioned in the Bible only as a means of aspersion, considered by Celsius to be the *Hyssopus officinalis*, a thyme-like plant. In *Negaim*, xiv. 6, there are five kinds recognized—the Greek (*Origanum Smyrnæum*), the Egyptian (*Origanum Ægyptiacum*), the wild (*O. Syriacum*), the Cochali (*Origanum maru*), and the Roman (*Satureja Juliana*). As the hyssop had a firm stem and could be tied in a bundle, it was probably the *O. maru.* Kitto conjectures that it is the poke (*Phytolocca decandra*); but this is not a native of Palestine. Royle, Tristram, and Stanley believe it to be the caper (*Capparis spinosa*); but this does not fulfil the conditions; it is soft, smooth, and irregularly branched, besides it is mentioned under another name as אֲבִיּוֹנָה *'ăbîyōnâh* (Ec 12^{5}, 'desire' AV, 'caperberry' RV). The flower-buds of the caper are supposed to stimulate passion and appetite, and were eaten with vinegar along with meat as they are still; hence the metaphorical use in the passage, whose real meaning is better conveyed by the AV than by the RV literal reading.

The following fruits or herbs are used with meats as condiments:—

Anise or **dill** (Mt 23^{23}), an umbelliferous plant, *Anethum graveolens,* whose fruits were used as a carminative. It is a native of Palestine. The allied *Pimpinella anisum* is the anise of Pliny; but the dill is called by Hippocrates *ἄνηθον*, and by Dioscorides *ἀνίκητον*, the word used in the text. Its properties are much the same as those of the caraway seed. For an account of references in classical literature see Pliny, xx. 17; and for a figure see Woodville's *Med. Botany.* In *Maaseroth*, iv. § 5, Rabbi Eliezer says the seeds, leaves, and stem of the *shabath* or anise are liable to tithe. Dill is called in Arabic *shibt*. At the present day the fruit of *Anethum* is called dill, and that of *Pimpinella* is anise-seed.

Coriander, the small round fruit of *Coriandrum sativum* to which the manna was compared, used in the same way as anise, especially in Egypt (Ex 16^{31}, Nu 11^{7}). It is an umbelliferous plant, and grows in Syria and Egypt (see Pliny, xx. 20; and for figures of this and the following plants see Woodville).

Cummin, also an umbelliferous plant (*Cuminum sativum*), whose fruit was cultivated as a carminative, and was beaten with a rod off the plant when it was ripe (Is 28^{25}, Mt 23^{23}). In Heb. it is called כַּמֹּן, *kammôn*, and in Gr. *κύμινον*. For its use see Pliny, xix. 8. As to the doubt of its being tithed see *Demai*, ii. § 1.

Mint (*ἡδύοσμον*, Heb. אנדרנ), the well-known aromatic labiate plant *Mentha sylvestris*, mentioned with the last in Mt 23^{23}. For its use among the Jews see Celsius, *Hicrobot.* i. 546, and Pliny, xix. 47. See *Ukctzin*, i. § 2; also *Nedarim*, 51*b*; *Shebiith*, vii. §§ 1, 2.

Mustard (*σίναπι*), the small seed of the common *Sinapis nigra*, which grows to a very large size in Palestine as the 'greatest of herbs' (Mt 13^{32} 17^{20}, Lk 13^{19} 17^{6}), and is used as a condiment. See Thomson, *Land and Book*, i. 453. The pungent seeds of a small tree, *Salvadora persica*, have been supposed by Dr. Royle to be the mustard of the parable; but this is rarely, if at all, found in Palestine, and is not an herb, but a tree. The only claim is, that it is called in India *kharjal,* while *khardal* is the Arabic for mustard (see Royle, *Journ. Asiatic Soc.* 1844, No. xv., and Lambert, *Trans. Linn. Soc.* xvii. 449).

To the miraculous food by which the Israelites were fed, the name **Manna** is given. This has been supposed to be the gummy exudation of the *Tamarix mannifera*, a shrub which grows in the wilderness; but the whole description indicates that it was a miraculous food.

III. TABOOS.—There are certain prohibitions specially mentioned in the Pentateuch. One of these, the kid in mother's milk, has been already discussed. **Blood** is one of the most ancient of these taboos, and in connexion with it all animals which died of themselves or were killed otherwise than by being bled, were forbidden. Any such נְבֵלָה, *nĕbēlâh*, or carcase, might be given to strangers, or sold to foreigners, but was an abomination to the Jews (Dt 14^{21}). The eater of it was rendered unclean (Lv 17^{15} 22^{8}). Likewise that which was torn of beasts (Ex 22^{31}), while it might be eaten by the stranger, was not allowed to the Israelite (Lv 17^{15}). Hunting by dogs was therefore not practised. The observance of this taboo of פִּגּוּל *piggûl*, or abominable flesh, is referred to in Ezk 4^{14} and Ac 10^{14} (*πᾶν κοινὸν καὶ ἀκάθαρτον*), and it was one of the four 'necessary things' prohibited to the Gentile converts by the Jerusalem Council, Ac 15^{28} ('things strangled'). The eating of blood, which is one of the most ancient prohibitions (Gn 9^4) re-enacted in the Mosaic law in which it is frequently repeated, had not only a hygienic basis, but had reference probably to the drink-offerings of blood which were parts of the heathen rituals (Ps 16^4). It was thus a law of demarcation, and in Lv 19^{26} eating with the blood and auguries are bracketed together. The poisonous effects of bull's blood are referred to by several authors; Midas (Strabo, I. xi. § 21) and Psammenitus (Herodotus, iii. 15) are said to have been killed by it.

The **Fat** of animals was also forbidden (Lv 7^{30}) as food, and in the sacrificed victims this is called 'the food of the burnt-offering' Lv 3^{11}. 'All the fat is the Lord's' (v.^{16}), see 1 S 2^{16}, 2 Ch 7^7, Gn 4^4. What is specially referred to is the thick subcutaneous layer, and that around the kidneys and other viscera, as well as the fatty tails of the sheep. The 'fat things' of the promised spiritual feast in Is 25^6 as well as in Neh 8^{10} are מַשְׁמַנִּים *mashmannim*, delicate things, not חֵלֶב *ḥēleb*, suet.

The **Sinew that shrank** (Gn 32^{32}), which it was the custom of the Jews to avoid, was a tribal taboo although not specially interdicted by statute. It is not known what part is particularized by the name גִּיד *gîd*, as the word is a general one, used of the sinews of the whole body in the vision of dry bones, Ezk 37^6. Some have supposed it to be the great sciatic nerve at the back of the hip (Josephus, *Ant.* I. xx. 2), but that is not situated in the hollow of the thigh. This region, *kaph hayyerek*, evidently means the groin, which was facing his antagonist when Jacob was wrestling. There are two sinews there which if cramped cause lameness—one the tendon of the *psoas*, which exactly fits the description, but is very seldom cramped; the other, that of the *adductor longus*, is exceedingly liable to cramp when the thigh is twisted, and this causes agonizing pain and lameness, and would effectually disable a wrestler. I have known it to be severely strained in athletic exercises, causing lameness for several weeks. Some Jews have recommended that the hind legs of animals should not be eaten, lest by accident this sinew should be partaken of by mistake. This was not the practice in early times, for Samuel's cook set the thigh of the animal before Saul as the piece of honour (1 S 9^{24}. AV and RVm tr. שׁוֹק here 'shoulder'). See Tract *Chullin*, 7.

Swine, forbidden as food to the Jews, were eaten by the surrounding peoples in general. The Egyptians also considered the pig unclean (Herod. ii. 47), for a reason the Greek author forbears to mention, but which we learn from the Book of the Dead, as the demon Set once appeared in the form of a pig. Hence they are never represented in the older monuments, but appear in those of the New Empire (Wilkinson, ii. 100). The foul habits and coarse feeding of swine, their supposed liability to glandular disease [which has given us the Latin name of such swellings 'scrofula' (Celsus, v. xxviii. 7), and its Greek equivalent χοιράς (Hippoc. *Aph.* 1248)], and the notion that leprosy followed the eating of swine's flesh, contributed to this dislike. After the Captivity, however, especially under Syrian and Roman domination, the keeping of swine was practised for commercial purposes if not for food, hence our Lord's references Mt 7^6, Lk 15^{15}, Mt 8^{30} (see Thomson, i. 355 ff.). Swine's flesh is taboo to the Mohammedan as well as to the Jew. For a detailed consideration of this prohibition see Spencer, *de legibus Hebræorum ritualibus*, Cambridge, 1727, i. p. 131.

The **Camel,** which is eaten by the Bedawin, was forbidden by the Levitical code. It is coarse and rather dry meat. The milk, however, was used in patriarchal times (see above). It was probably camel's milk which Jael gave to Sisera.

The **Hare** (אַרְנֶבֶת), only mentioned as being unclean because it is not cloven-footed, was common in the hilly regions. In the North the commonest species is *Lepus Syriacus*, in the South *L. Ægyptiacus*, and in the Arabah and Dead Sea district *L. Sinaiticus*. It is said to chew the cud from its habit of sitting in its form, but it is not a true ruminant. The same is the case with the *shaphan* or coney, which is the *Hyrax Syriacus*.

The oldest taboo is that of the fruit of the tree הַדַּעַת טוֹב וָרָע 'of the knowledge of good and evil.' Conjecture as to the actual tree meant is useless, but it is worth noting that the banana was identified with it by many mediæval writers; see Brocard's *Descript. Terra Sancta*, xi. See also Celsius, *Hierobot.*, in which it is supposed to be the quince.

In the NT there is added the taboo of things offered to idols (Ac 21^{26}, 1 Co 8^1). The early ecclesiastics increased the stringency of the apostle's ordinance, and by the Council of Ancyra (c. 7) it was forbidden to a Christian to eat in any place which was connected with idolatrous worship, even if he brought his own food. On the other hand, Gregory, in writing to Augustine (*Ep.* xi. 76), recommends that the heathen sacrifices of oxen should be allowed to be continued in the English temples to accustom the people gradually to the change of ritual, but that they should be made on saints' days. For the tabooed vineyard on account of mixed seeds see above; and for rabbinical comments on taboos see *Aboda Zara*, especially v. § 9.

The **Ass,** though an unclean animal, was eaten during periods of famine. In 2 K 6^{25} it is said that during the siege of Samaria a רֹאשׁ־חֲמוֹר *rōsh-ḥămôr*, or ass's head, was sold for about £10. It has been supposed that this meant a measure of corn, but this is unlikely. In periods of dearth, distinctions of food are impracticable (Ezk 4^{13}); for parallels see Plutarch (*vit. Artax. Mnemon*, i. 1023, and Xenophon, *Anab.* i. § 5). Even human flesh was eaten in such straits, see 2 K 6^{29}, La 4^{10}, Ezk 5^{10}.

IV. FOOD PREPARATION.—In primitive times the field, the flock, and the herd supplied all that was needful to the family, who procured it directly when wanted as in Gn 18^5; but with the growth of towns and the consequent division of labour, food became a matter of merchandise. It was so in time of famine (Gn 42^4), or to those on journeys (Dt $2^{6.28}$). Markets or bazaars became established in the towns (Jer 37^{21}), and merchants and shopmen (1 K 10^{15}) supplied the wants of the town-dwellers. We read of such sellers of victual in Jerusalem (Neh 13^{15}) and Samaria (Jn 4^8). In this way, bread, water, fruit, milk, and flesh are purveyed to the people of the cities of the East.

Cookery was practised or supervised by the wife (Gn 18^6), or by a slave (Gn 18^7). At set feasts there was a cook employed (1 S 9^{23}) who killed the animals, and hence was called טַבָּח *ṭabbâḥ*, a word also applied to soldiers or executioners (Jer 39^9). Some of these were female cooks (1 S 8^{13}) who dressed the meats, and differed from the אֹפוֹת or bakers, and the רַקָּחוֹת who were perfumers or spice mixers (1 S 8^{13} AV and RV 'confectionaries').

The animals were killed immediately before being cooked (Gn 18^7, Lk 15^{23}); the throat was cut and the blood poured out in accordance with Lv 7^{26} (see 1 S $14^{32\text{ff.}}$); they were then flayed (Mic 3^3) and cut up into joints, except in the case of small animals such as lambs, which were cooked whole (Ex 12^{46}). With larger animals the flesh was separated from the bones, and these broken when the flesh was to be boiled (Mic 3^3). The doubtful ἅπ. λεγ. פִּימָה is tr. in Job 15^{27} *collops*.

Boiling was the ordinary method of cooking, hence בָּשַׁל *bāshal*, to boil, is used of cooking in general (2 S 13^8). The vessels used for this purpose were pots or caldrons of different kinds, which are called by six different names (see below). Some of the sacrifices were boiled, having first been flayed, the fat alone being burned (2 Ch 35^{13}). This was especially the case with the sacrificial feasts, peace-offering, or *hostia honorifica.* In boiling, the caldron was first partly filled with water, and the flesh put in (Ezk 24^{3}); sometimes milk was used, as Burckhardt describes being done at the present day (i. 63), and occasionally the bones were used to make the fire burn briskly, as Ezekiel describes. When the scum rises it is taken off (Ezk 24^{6}, but RV tr. חֶלְאָה *ḥel'âh*, as 'the rust of the pot,' not scum, LXX *ἰός*). In Ezk 24^{10} AV tr. הַרְקִיחַ *harḳîaḥ*, 'spice it well," as if derived from רָקַח to mix spices, but LXX has it *ἐλαττώθη ὁ ζωμός*, and RV renders it 'make thick the broth.' Spicing, that is, mixing with savoury or carminative herbs, was used to render meat savoury (Gn 27^{4}), and such food was called 'dainty meat' (Pr 23^{3-6} מַטְעָם *maṭ'am*, but called *man'am* in Ps 141^{4}). Salt was also added, and when boiled the broth, מָרָק *mâraḳ* (Is 65^{4} *Ḳerê*, but the *Kethib* has *paraḳ*, which means a stew or a mess of mincemeat in broth), was served separately (Jg $6^{19.\,20}$). In modern Hebrew, soup is רַקְרֶקֶת *raḳreḳeth.* The broth may be used as a sauce for meat (Burckhardt, i. 63), or eaten with bread and butter (Gn 18^{6}). Vegetables or rice or meal may be boiled in it or eaten mixed with it. Vegetable food was also boiled in water, with butter or with milk, to make pottage (Gn 25^{29}, 2 K 4^{38}), which was of the consistence of thick Scotch broth or thin porridge.

Roasting was practised with small animals, such as the paschal lamb, which was cooked whole (Ex 12^{46}) over an open fire (Ex 12^{8}, 2 Ch 35^{13}), which was of wood (Is 44^{16}). Animals taken in the chase were also roasted (חָרַךְ *ḥārak*, Pr 12^{27}). Or the meat was baked in an oven, which may have been sunk in the ground (see BREAD). The paschal lamb was flayed before being roasted (2 Ch 35^{11}). Eli's sons (1 S $2^{12\text{ff.}}$) sinned in that they took part of the flesh, which should have been boiled, and roasted it. They also seem not to have been content with the priestly share, which was ultimately fixed as the breast of the peace-offering and the right shoulder (Lv 7^{31-32}). The only method of cooking fish mentioned in the Bible is broiling (*ὀπτός*, Lk 24^{42}, see Jn 21^{9}) on the coals. In the Gizeh Museum there is a representation of shepherds broiling fish over the fire, and wiping the ashes from them with little bundles of straw (see Perrot-Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'antiquité*, i.).

V. VESSELS used in the conveyance and cooking of food. There were several kinds of **basket** (see BASKET). The **pots** were of six kinds: **1.** סִיר *ṣîr*, LXX λέβης, called in Jer 1^{13} a *ṣir nāphûaḥ* or boiling caldron. Of this kind were the flesh-pots of Egypt (Ex 16^{3}) and the great pot used by the sons of the prophets (2 K 4^{38}), as well as the caldron of Ezekiel's visions ($11^{3.\,7}$ 24^{6}), and of Zechariah ($14^{20.\,21}$). In the list of temple furniture this word is tr. 'pot' in 1 K 7^{45} and 'pan' in Ex 27^{3}, in which cases it was a brazen vessel for ashes, not for boiling. It is tr$^{\text{d}}$ 'washpot' in Ps 60^{8} and 'caldrons' in Jer 52^{18} (RV pots). **2.** דּוּד *dûd*, usually tr. basket (which see), is the kettle of 1 S 2^{14} and the caldron of 2 Ch 35^{13}, tr. λέβης by LXX in the latter case. **3.** The pan of 1 S 2^{14}, 1 K 7^{38}, and 2 Ch 4^{6} is כִּיּוֹר *kiyyor*, LXX λέβης. This word is variously tr. 'torch' (Zec 12^{6}, RV 'pan'), 'laver,' or washing vessel (Ex 30^{18} etc.), and seems to have been a shallow, wide-mouthed utensil. The כִּירַיִם of Lv 11^{35}, which like the *tannûr* or oven could be broken down, was probably, as AV and RV render it in the text, a firehearth or range for pots (RVm has 'stewpan'), perhaps of two sides as the dual indicates, LXX χυτρόποδες. **4.** The caldron of Mic 3^{3} is קַלַּחַת *ḳallaḥath*, similarly tr. in 1 S 2^{14}, LXX χύτρα, an earthenware vessel for boiling. These were slightly glazed by means of salt and litharge. This may be referred to in the סִיגִים or silver dross of Pr 26^{23}. **5.** The pot of 1 S 2^{14} is פָּרוּר *pārûr*, tr. 'pan' in Nu 11^{8} (RV pots); in Jg 6^{19} it was a pot for holding broth, LXX χυτρά. **6.** The pan of 2 Ch 35^{13} is צֵלָחָה *ẓĕlāḥâh.* This is the word tr. 'cruse' in 2 K 2^{20}, and 'dish' in 2 K 21^{13} and Pr 19^{24} (AV tr. it here 'bosom' as LXX κόλπος).

The caldron of AV Job 41^{20} is properly translated 'rushes' in RV. The figure being that leviathan's snortings make the pool in which he swims to boil like a caldron and the reeds to seem as if on fire.

The מַזְלֵג or **flesh hook** was a brazen fork (Ex 27^{3}), which had three teeth (1 S 2^{13}). The hooks of Ezk 40^{43} for hanging up the slaughtered carcases of the offered animals are called שְׁפַתַּיִם *shĕphattaim.*

The **firepan** or chafing dish of 2 K 25^{15} מַחְתָּה *maḥtâh* was used for carrying burning coals. These vessels were of gold in the first temple.

The dishes or trays or other vessels in which food and drink were served are known by various names. Pottage was eaten out of the pot in which it was boiled (2 K 4^{40}). Thomson describes the Bedawin sitting around a large saucepan and doubling their bread spoon-fashion to eat their lentil pottage (i. 253). Many of the vessels named were employed only in the temple service.

אֲגַרְטָל *'ăgarṭâl*, LXX ψυκτήρ, Vulg. *phiala*, only used in Ezr 1^{9} and tr. 'charger,' was a gold bowl or basin, said by Ibn Ezra to be the same as that called *mizrâḳ.*

אַגָּן *'aggân*, LXX κρατήρ, used in Ex 24^{6} for a wash-vessel or basin for sacrificial blood, made of gold, silver, or brass. Its plural is tr. *cups* in Is 22^{24}; see also Ca 7^{2}.

אָסוּךְ *'āṣûk*, an oil vessel 2 K 4^{2} tr. 'pot,' after Kimchi, but more probably a flask or bottle.

אַרְגָּז *'argâz*, a coffer or box, which could be slung to the side of a cart, such as that in which the votive offerings of the Philistines were sent (1 S 6^{11}).

בַּקְבֻּק *baḳbuḳ*, a wide-mouthed bottle or cruse for carrying honey (1 K 14^{3}). It was of earthenware, and so was easily broken (Jer $19^{1.\,10}$); LXX renders it βικός, which is the name given by Herodotus to the Babylonian casks of palm wine (i. 194). Athenæus uses it for a drinking vessel (784 D). In Maltese a large vessel of this kind is called *bakbyka.*

גָּבִיעַ *gābîa'*, wine bowls (as Jer 35^{5}, LXX κεράμιον), of earthenware, from which wine was poured into goblets. A silver cup used for drinking and divination Gn 44^{2}; LXX κόνδυ, said to be a Persian word. It is used for the pots of wine out of which Jeremiah filled the *kôṣôth* for the Rechabites, Jer 35^{5}.

גֻּלָּה *gullâh*, LXX στρεπτὸν ἀνθέμιον, a round vessel for holding oil in a lamp Zec 4^{3}, the golden cruse of Ec 12^{6}, used also for the rounded bowls above the capitals of the temple-pillars in 1 K 7^{41} and 2 Ch $4^{12.\,13}$, possibly volutes such as those shown on the tablet of Samas in the Brit. Museum.

כַּד *kad*, a pail or barrel to hold meal 1 K 17^{14}, or water 1 K 18^{33}. This name is given to Rebekah's pitcher Gn $24^{14.\,15\text{ff.}}$, and to Gideon's men's pitchers Jg 7^{16}; see also Ec 12^{6}.

כְּלִי *kĕlî*, a vessel in general, of gold and silver Gn 24^{53}, or of clay Lv 11^{33}, apparently so called irrespective of shape, used for the vessels of the temple Is 52^{11}, Ezr 1^{7}, Nu 4^{15}.

כּוֹס *kôṣ*, a wine cup as in Gn $40^{11.\,13.\,21}$. Pharaoh's wine chalice, the cup which passed around the circle at a meal 2 S 12^{3}. See also Pr 23^{31}, used metaphorically Ps 11^{6} 116^{13}, Is 51^{17-22}, Hab 2^{16} etc.

כֹּר and קַב were vessels of measurement, the former about 8 bushels, the latter about 4 pints. סְאָה, also a measure, nearly equals the English peck, and is a little greater than the μόδιος or 'bushel' of Mt 5^{15}. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

כְּפוֹר *kĕphôr*, a deep cup or chalice as 1 Ch 28^{17}, Ezr 1^{10}, and 8^{27}, probably a cup with a cover.

מַחֲבַת *maḥăbath*, a flat plate (?) for frying or baking bread Lv 6^{14} 7^{9}, 1 Ch 23^{29}, Ezk 4^{3}. See BREAD.

מַחְתָּה *maḥtâh*, a firepan 2 K 25^{15}, or an incense bowl Lv 16^{12}, a coalpan Ex 27^{3} 25^{38}, LXX πυρεῖον.

מְנַקִּיָּה *mĕnakḳîyâh*, a sacrificial dish Ex 25^{29} 37^{16}, Nu 4^{7}, Jer 52^{19}, probably a libation vessel.

מְדֹכָה *mĕdōkâh*, a mortar in which *e.g.* the manna was beaten before being baked Nu 11^{8}.

מִזְרָק a bowl; of these Hiram made a hundred 2 Ch 4^{8}, 1 K 7$^{45.\,46}$. See Ex 25^{29}, 1 Ch 28$^{14.\,17}$, Nu 7^{13}, Zec 9^{15}. For the numbers of these φιάλαι and σπονδεῖα see Jos. *Ant*. VIII. iii. 7, 8. It is a sacrificial bowl for dashing (זָרַק) the blood in a volume against the altar (see Driver's note on Am 6^{6}).

נֹאד *nōd*, a skin bottle, see above under Wine.

נֶבֶל *nebel*, a skin of wine 1 S 1^{24} 10^{3}, 2 S 16^{1}; this word is also used for an earthen vessel as in Is 22^{24} 30^{14}. It is also the name of a musical instrument, a lute (RV) or psaltery or viol Is 5^{12}.

סַף *ṣaph*, a basin or bowl for blood Ex 12^{22}, Jer 52^{19}, for wine Is 51^{17}, Zec 12^{2}.

סֵפֶל *sēphel*, a bowl Jg 5^{25} 6^{38}; LXX λεκάνη; also in 1 K 7^{50} and 2 K 12^{13}.

פַּךְ *pak*, a vial or flask of oil 1 S 10^{1}, 2 K 9$^{1-3}$; LXX φακός, probably the same as the *baḳbuḳ*.

צַפַּחַת *ẓappaḥath*, a water bottle 1 S 26^{12}, 1 K 19^{6}, or an oil bottle 1 K 17^{12}; an oryballus or round vessel with a narrow neck, see Thomson, ii. 21. See 2 K 9$^{1-3}$ for box of ointment.

צַלָּחָה *ẓēlāḥâh*, a dish or bowl in which sacrifices were boiled as in 2 Ch 35^{13}, or a flat saucer for salt 2 K 2^{20} 21^{13}, Pr 19^{24} 26^{15}.

צִנְצֶנֶת *ẓinẓeneth*, in Ex 16^{33}, was the pot in which the manna was laid up, a vase or jar according to Abu'l Walid and Sa'adya.

'Αλάβαστρον of Mt 26^{7} was a vessel made of satin spar or Oriental alabaster, which is a variegated kind of marble of calcium carbonate, not the gypsum or calcium sulphate now called alabaster. Vessels of this kind are described by Theophrastus (*de Odoribus*, 41) and by Pliny (ix. 56) as elongated or pear-shaped with fairly narrow necks. Some alabastra were made of glass, gold (Plutarch, *Vit. Alex.*), or earthenware (Epiphanius, *de mensuris et ponderibus*, xxiv. 182).

Πίναξ, the charger in which the Baptist's head was sent (Mt 14$^{8.\,11}$), was a flat dish. Finn refers to a case in which some Bedawin sent the head of an enemy on a dish on the top of a pillau of rice (p. 35). The παροψίς of Mt 23^{25} was a smaller dish on which dainty food was served.

Of other NT vessels, ποτήριον is the drinking cup of Mk 7^{4}, and that used at the Last Supper Mk 14^{23} etc. ξέστης in Mk 7^{4} is a Latinism, a corruption of *sextarius*, a pint measure. The word is used by Sicilian writers. χάλκιον in the same passage is a copper or bronze vessel of any shape. ὑδρίαι λίθιναι at the feast at Cana (Jn 2^{6}) were stone pitchers of considerable capacity. Early figures of these from sarcophagi and from the well-known ivory plaque in Ravenna are published by Bottari and Bandini, and an ancient *hydria* is shown as one of these in the Ch. of St. Ursula in Cologne; for others see Didron, *Annales Archéol.* xiii. 2.

VI. The usual MEALS in ordinary life were two—a mid-day meal or dinner, and an evening meal or supper, which was the more important. Breakfast was, and still is, an informal repast. That in Jn 21^{13} was a meal after a night of toil, so 'dine' in AV is replaced in RV by 'break your fast' (ἀριστήσατε). The meal at the Pharisee's house in Lk 11^{37} is also, as in RVm, a breakfast or early meal. Peter, defending the apostles, points out that they could not be drunken, as it was only 9 o'clock in the morning (Ac 2^{15}). Early drinking of wine at such a time was a sign of degradation (Is 5^{11}), and eating in the morning is deprecated as culpable luxury (Ec 10^{16}) and out of due season.

It is still the custom in the East to make the morning repast a very slight one—a cup of milk, a piece of butter. Robinson describes melted butter (*semen*), or oil poured over bread, as a breakfast dish (ii. 70), or cakes baked on the ashes and broken up and mixed with butter in a dish (ii. 18). The morning meal of the Bedawi is about 9 or 10 o'clock (Burckhardt, *Notes*, i. 69). Drummond notices how his negro bearers in tropical Africa rose from sleep and began their day's work without food (*Tropical Africa*, p. 100).

The mid-day meal or dinner in Egypt was at noon (Gn 43^{16}), and probably was at the same time in Palestine (Ru 2^{14}). Abstinence from this is called fasting (Jg 20^{26}, 1 S 14^{24}, 2 S 1^{12} 3^{35}). From these passages it is evident that the people were accustomed to 'eat bread' at mid-day. God promised to Israel bread in the morning and flesh in the evening (Ex 16^{12}). This early meal is the ἄριστον of Lk 14^{12}. St. Peter's intended meal, interrupted by Cornelius' messengers, was at 12 o'clock. This meal took some time to prepare, so the good housewife began to make ready this חק while it was yet night (Pr 31^{15}). The meal is called אֲרֻחָה *'ăruḥâh*, as in Jer 40^{5} 52^{34}, 2 K 25^{30}, and Pr 15^{17}. The noon meal is described in Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, p. 156 ff. (Gardner's ed.). It sometimes was a period of excess (1 K 20^{16}).

The supper after the day's work is done (Ru 3^{7}) is, and was, the more important meal (see Burckhardt's *Notes*, i. 69), and the one at which flesh meat was more commonly used. At these meals the whole family was gathered together. According to Josephus, the law required dinner to be at the sixth hour on the Sabbath day (*Life*, 54), *i.e.* at 12 o'clock; but in § 44 he speaks of feasting with his friends at the second hour of the night = 8 p.m. See also *BJ* I. xvii. 4, and the great supper of Lk 14$^{15\mathrm{ff.}}$

In the patriarchal days they seem to have sat on the ground as they do at present. Abraham's guests probably thus sat while he stood and served (Gn 18^{8}). Jacob says to his father 'sit and eat of my venison,' but that was probably because the blind old man was recumbent (Gn 27^{19}). Jacob's sons also sat down to eat (Gn 37^{25}), as the Egyptian shepherds are represented in a painting from Sakkarah, now in the Gizeh Museum. The Levite and his concubine sat down to eat (Jg 19^{6}). Saul also sat at meat (1 S 20$^{5.\,24}$), as did Samuel when he brought Saul to feast with him (1 S 9^{22}), and Jesse and his family (1 S 16^{11}). The old prophet and his guest likewise took the forbidden meal sitting at a table (1 K 13^{20}). Sitting at meat is mentioned in Pr 23^{1}, Jer 16^{8}, Ezk 44^{3}. Sitting, however, might have in some of these cases meant reclining, for Oholibah is described as sitting on a stately bed with a table prepared before it (Ezk 23^{41}), and the guests at Esther's banquet reclined on couches (Est 7^{8}). The table is also mentioned in Ps 23^{5}. Sitting on the ground was, however, regarded as a sign of humiliation and abasement in prophetic times, as in Is 3^{26} 47^{1} 52^{2}, Jer 13^{18} RVm, La 2^{10}, Ezk 26^{16}.

In NT times the usual attitude was reclining and resting on the left elbow; as at the supper described in Jn 13^{23}, John reclined in front of our Lord, and so when he leant back to speak to Him John's head was on Jesus' breast. It has been supposed from these expressions that the patriarchal custom changed, and that the practice of sitting as the Egyptians did was adopted by early Israel, the fashion changing in later time into the Græco-Roman custom of reclining on a couch with a cushion for the left elbow, and the right arm free; but it is probable that these changes were slight, and that the phrase sitting at meat does not specify a posture such as that to which we give the name. Thus our Lord uses the phrase of the attitude in His own time (Lk 14^{8} 17^{7} 22^{27}), and the multitude whom He miraculously fed sat down on the ground (Jn 6^{10}). Of the tables, we have preserved a figure in the shewbread table on the Arch of Titus. They must have been high enough in the days of Adonibezek for the 70 captive kings to sit on a lower level (Jg 1^{7}); but the same phrase is used in NT times of the crumbs falling to the dogs under the table (Mt 15^{27}, Mk 7^{28}), and Lazarus is said to have sat at table at the feast (Jn 12^{2}). The couches or mattresses on which the eaters sat or reclined are never mentioned except in the cases given above, and the stool in the prophet's chamber is the only material seat specified in the OT, except royal thrones. At ordinary meals it is probable that the family squatted around the dish, out of which they all helped themselves, even as is done at the present day by the Bedawin. For an account of the ancient tables see Athenæus, *Deipnosophistæ*, especially ii. 32. The costly couches for reclining, with ivory corners, are mentioned in Am 3^{12} and 6^{4}. Homer refers to sitting at food, *Il.* x. 578; *Odyss.* i. 145.

The food at an ordinary meal at present consists of messes of lentile-pottage (נָזִיד *nāzîd*) eaten with bread or wooden spoons (Robinson, ii. 86; Gn 25^{34}). Sometimes this is thickened with vegetables, or pillaus of rice with or without meat, thin sheets of bread serving for plates, and used to sop up the gravy (Finn, 24). Sometimes bread, cheese, olives, and *leben* make up the repast (Finn, 272). Doughty describes an Arab meal in which the family surrounded a vast trencher heaped with boiled mutton 'and great store of girdle bread.' Pieces torn off with the hand from the meat were lapped in the thin cakes of bread and handed to those who could not reach the dish (i. 46). Robinson saw, likewise, the guests surrounding a circular tray on which was a mountain of pillau of rice boiled with butter, and small pieces of meat strewed through it. Other dishes used are sausages stuffed with rice and chopped meat. Burckhardt gives a graphic account of the discomforts of such a feast to one unaccustomed to Eastern habits, *Notes*, i. 63. The poorer classes of Bedawin live chiefly on bread, eaten with raw leeks or radishes for flavouring, which is the 'dinner of herbs' (Pr 15^{17}; see Ro 14^{2}, Dn 1^{12}). For such a meal the son of the prophets went out to collect the *'ôrôth* or herbs (2 K 4^{39}). The Bedawi meal described in Ezk 25^{5} consisted of bread, dates, and milk. For an ordinary meal there is generally one dish, so that the member of the family who cooks, when it is brought in, has no further work. Hence our Lord's remonstrance with Martha, that one dish alone was needful (Lk 10^{42}). It was the duty of the cook to bring in the dishes when prepared (1 S 9^{23}), and that of the head of the family to distribute the portions (1 S 1^{5}), whose size might be varied according to his affection for the members of the circle. So Joseph gave Benjamin a fivefold mess, and Elkanah gave Hannah a double portion (but LXX says that he gave her only μερίδα μίαν, 'a single portion,' *because* she had no child). Very often, however, the circle help themselves when they can reach the dish, and as the meat has been cut up before being cooked it does not need any carving. At the present day the Mussulmans drink water or milk or *leben* with their meals, but probably in earlier times wine was used as a drink. In ancient times barley or polenta was used as rice is now, and the pillau was the ἠλφιτωμένα κρέα of the classics (see Gruner, *de Primit. Oblatione*). The food carried on journeys consisted of bread, cakes of figs or raisins, parched corn, and water. The good Samaritan carried also wine and oil. Dough is sometimes carried tied in a wallet or cloth (see Doughty, i. 231).

VII. Feasts, or special meals, were provided on particular occasions, and are frequently mentioned. These were of various kinds—(1) Feasts of hospitality for the entertainment of strangers (Gn $18^{2ff.}$). These might be at any time—Abraham's was at the heat of the day, Lot's (Gn 19^{1-3}) was in the evening. For such feasts at the present day see Burckhardt, Robinson, Doughty, etc. (2) Entertainments of friends specially invited (Lk 14^{16} and many other passages). These were usually evening feasts. (3) Religious or sacrificial feasts, non-Jewish or Jewish, 'eating bread before God' (Ex 18^{12}), eating of sacrifices (Ex 34^{15} 29^{32}, Lv $19^{5.6}$, Nu $29^{12ff.}$, Dt 12^{7} $27^{6.7}$, 1 S 9^{13}, 2 S 6^{19}, 1 K 1^{9} 3^{15}, Zeph 1^{7}); also at the offering of tithes (Dt 14^{26}). Closely allied were (4) anniversary feasts, such as Passover (Ex 12^{14}), Purim (Est 9^{22}), and the Lord's Supper. (5) Celebrations of the completion of a great work, such as the building of the temple (2 Ch 7^{8}), the carrying home of the ark (2 S 6^{19}), a great deliverance (Jg 16^{23}), or the ratification of a treaty (Gn 26^{30} and 31^{54}). (6) At the beginning of a great work or laying a foundation. A reference to such a feast is in Pr 9^{1-5}. (7) Harvest-homes (Ex 23^{16}), sheepshearing (1 S 25^{36}, 2 S 13^{23}), vintage (Jg 9^{27}), and other agricultural events, were likewise the occasions of feasting. (8) Family events were celebrated by feasts of relatives and friends: circumcision (Lk 2^{58-59}), weaning (Gn 21^{8}), marriage (Jn 2^{1}, Gn 29^{22}, To 8^{19}, Jg 14^{10}, Mt 22^{2}), the return of a wandering member (Lk 15^{23}), funerals (2 S 3^{35}, Jer 16^{7}, Hos 9^{4}, To 4^{17}). Birthday feasts were not common among Jews, some of whom thought them profane (Lightfoot, Iselius), probably because other nations, such as the Persians, honoured them so conspicuously (see Herod. i. 133). Birthday feasts are mentioned in Gn 40^{20}, Job 1^{4}, Mt 14^{6-9}). Among modern Jews the circumcision feast is an important occasion (see Circumcision).

Any such feast was called מִשְׁתֶּה *mishteh*, the primary meaning of which is a banquet of wine, such as that given by queen Esther (Est 5^{6} 7^{7}). Abraham's feast at Isaac's weaning is called a *mishteh gādôl*, or great drinking. Job feared lest his sons should be led into excess at their periodic feasts (1^{5}) Such drinking feasts are specially mentioned in 1 S 25^{36}, 2 S 13^{28}, Dn 5^{1}, and reprobated by the prophets Amos (6^{6}) and Isaiah (5^{11}). In the NT κῶμοι are spoken of in Ro 13^{13}, Gal 5^{21}, and 1 P 4^{3}. The feast in 2 K 6^{23} is named כֵּרָה *kērâh*, perhaps because the prisoner guests sat in a ring (cf. נָסֹב in 1 S 16^{11}).

For these banquets the food animals were slain early in the day (Is 22^{13}, Pr 9^{2}, Mt 22^{4}), and a second invitation sent to remind just before the feast (Est 6^{14}, Pr 9^{3}, Mt 22^{3}). The guests on arrival were sometimes welcomed with a kiss (To 7^{6}, Lk 7^{45}; see Goezius, *de Osculo*, in Ugolini, xxx.), and provided with water to wash their hands, as they put their hands in the common dish (Mk 7^{3}; see *Odyss.* i. 136). These washings were made burdensome by traditional rituals (Mk 7^{2-13}). When the visitors came from a distance they were supplied with water to wash their feet. So Abraham did for the angels at their noontide feast (Gn 18^{4}), and Lot for their evening feast (Gn 19^{2}). So the old man at Gibeah did for the Levite and his concubine (Jg 19^{21}). See our Lord's rebuke to Simon (Lk 7^{44}), His own practice (Jn 13^{4}), and apostolic reference (1 Ti 5^{10}). The anointing of guests is referred to in Ps 23^{5}, Am 6^{6}, Lk 7^{38}, Jn 12^{3} (see Anointing; and in addition to the literature quoted there, see Weymar, *de Unctione Sacra Heb.*, in Ugolini, xii.; Reinerus and Verwey, *de*

Unctionibus, and Graberg, *de unctione Christi in Bethania*, in Ugolini, xxx.). The crowning of guests with garlands is mentioned in Is 28^{1}, Wis 2^{8}, Jos. *Ant.* XIX. ix. 1. See Plutarch, *Symp.* III. i. 3, and Martial, x. 19. After these preliminaries they sat down, males and females together (Ru 2^{14}, 1 S 1^{4}, Job 1^{4}, Lk 10^{40}); and grace was said in Jewish feasts (Mt 14^{19}, Lk 9^{16}, Jn 6^{11}). The guests were arranged in order of rank (Gn 43^{33}, 1 S 9^{22} 20^{25}, Lk 14^{8}, Mk 12^{39}, Jos. *Ant.* XV. ii. 4), the highest occupying the 'chief room,' the seat on the *protoklisia*. In Assyr. feasts they are represented as sitting (Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 411). For Jewish practice see above. According to the Tosaphoth to *Berachoth*, vi., each guest had a separate table, but Pr 23^{1} speaks of sitting at meat with the host; and David says that he sat at table with Saul (1 S 20^{5}). The food was distributed either by the cook or by the head of the house (2 S 6^{19}, Gn 43^{24}), and the most honoured guest received the largest portion (Gn 43^{34}; see Herod. vi. 57), or else the tit-bit (1 S 9^{24}). To guests who could not come, presents of food were sometimes sent (2 S 11^{8}, Neh 8^{10}, Est 9^{19-22}).

At a feast in NT times the guests reclined on a *triclinium*, the couches being arranged on three sides of a square, the fourth side being open for serving, and strangers might stand around on the outer side (see Rashi, *ad Berachoth*, 46*b*. 16; *Pesachim*, vii. 13). A wine cup was passed round containing wine mixed with three parts of water (*Shabbath*, viii. 1); to this there are many metaphorical allusions in which the cup in the hand of the Lord is spoken of (Ps 75^{8}, Jer 25^{15}; see Buxtorf, *Synagog. Jud.* xii. 242, and Werner, *de Poculo Benedictionis*). The guests were entertained with music (2 S 19^{35}, Is 5^{12}, Am $6^{4.5}$, Lk 15^{25}; see Maimonides, *de Jejuniis*, 5), dancing (Mt 14^{6}), and riddles (Jg 14^{12}). After the feast the hands were washed, as they were soiled by eating. Finn saw a guest taking handfuls of buttered rice from the dish, out of which he squeezed the butter between his fingers and licked it as it flowed down (*Byeways*, 171; Burckhardt, *Notes*, i. 63). Grace was said at the close of the meal (Dt 8^{10}, Ro 14^{6}; see *Berachoth*, vi. § 8). Wedding feasts were given by the bridegroom (Jg 14^{10}), but the arrangements were carried out under the direction of a *symposiarch* or ruler of the feast, and they sometimes lasted seven days (Jn 2^{9}, To 7^{8}; see Selden, *de Uxor. Heb.* ii. 11). Wedding garments given to guests are mentioned in Mt 22^{11}.

The giver of the feast sometimes marked distinguished guests by giving them a sop of bread held between the thumb and finger. A ψωμίον of this kind dipped in the *ḥarôseth* was given by our Lord to Judas. Sops are used to catch and convey pieces of meat (Lane, i. 193; Burckhardt, i. 63). In Proverbs the laziness of the sluggard is said to be such that he will not even lift up a sop (19^{24} 26^{15}).

For metaphorical allusions to feasts see Is 25^{6}; the feast of angels at the finishing of creation is referred to in Job 38^{7}. For Jewish feasts in general see Buxtorf, *de conviviis vet. Hebræorum*.

LITERATURE. — For food-stuffs see Bochart, *Hierozoicon*, Frankf. 1675; Tristram, *Nat. Hist. of Palestine*; Post, *Flora of Palestine*; Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 1894; Celsius, *Hierobotanicon*, Amst. 1748; Hiller, *Hierophyton*, Tübingen, 1723; Rosenmüller, *Botany of the Bible*, Edinburgh, 1840. For customs, Burckhardt, *Reisen in Syrien, Palästina*, etc. (ed. Gesenius), Weimar, 1823, the same writer's *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys*, Lond. 1830, and his *Travels in Arabia*, Lond. 1829; Robinson, *BRP* (3 vols. 1867); Thomson, *Land and Book* (3 vols. 1881–86); Doughty, *Arabia Deserta* (2 vols. 1888); Finn, *Byeways in Palestine*. Talmudic quotations in the above article are from Surenhusius (Amsterdam edition). A. MACALISTER.

FOOL.—*A.* IN OT. The words tr^{d} by 'fool,' 'folly,' 'foolishness,' are the following: 1. נָבָל, נְבָלָה (opp. חָכָם in Dt 32^{6}, see Driver, *ad loc.*, and on 22^{21} $32^{15.21}$). 2. כְּסִיל, כֶּסֶל, כִּסְלָה, כְּסִילוּת, סָכָל, סֶכֶל, סִכְלוּת (the root כסל means possibly 'to be thick, plump, sluggish'). 3. אֱוִיל, אֱוִילִי, אִוֶּלֶת (root-conception possibly the same as in the preceding). 4. מְהוֹלָל, הוֹלֵלוֹת, הוֹלֵלוּת (from a root suggesting the idea of wild frantic folly). 5. תָּפֵל, תִּפְלָה (from a root 'to be insipid'), only in Job 1^{22} 24^{12}, Jer 23^{13}. 6. תָּהֳלָה (supposed by Dillm. to be connected with Eth. *taḥala*, 'to err'), Job 4^{18}.

All these terms denote something distinct from imbecility on the one hand and insanity on the other hand. It is in the forms under 4 only that the notions of 'folly' and 'madness' come together (cf. Job 12^{17}, Is 44^{25} with 1 S 21^{13}, Jer 25^{16}). As a rule, different words (derivatives from שָׁגַע) are used for 'madman' and 'madness.' The OT idea of 'folly' can be best understood from the antithesis it forms to 'wisdom.' Wisdom is not a theoretical or abstractly scientific apprehension of things, but such a practical immediate insight into their reality and manner of action as enables one to use them to advantage. Correspondingly, a fool is not one who is deficient in the power of logical thought, but one who lacks the natural discernment and tact required for success in life. Both wisdom and folly are teleological conceptions, and rest on the principle of adjustment to a higher law for some practical purpose. This general idea is, however, applied with considerable variety as to particular shades of meaning.

(*a*) In the widest sense folly is lack of common-sense in ordinary affairs (Gn 31^{28}, 1 S 25^{25} [נָבָל, נְבָלָה], 26^{21} [הִסְכַּלְתִּי], 2 S 15^{31} [סַכֵּל]). Here the element of unreasonableness and inexpediency is most prominent.

(*b*) A moral and religious element enters into the conception where it expresses flagrantly sinful conduct such as offends against the fundamental principles of natural law and usage. In this sense fools are great sinners—impious, reprobate people. But the original idea is retained in so far as the thought of sudden divine retribution lies in the background, it being considered the height of folly, by violating the elementary rules of religion and morality, to expose one's self to the untimely end which frequently befalls the fool (Jos 7^{15}, 2 S 3^{33} (cf. Driver, *in loco*), Job 2^{10} 30^{8} $5^{2.3}$ [all נָבָל, נְבָלָה], Ps 107^{17} [אֱוִיל]). A profounder and more spiritualized turn is given to this idea in some of the psalms, where it is applied to sin as such (Ps 38^{5} 69^{5} [אִוֶּלֶת], cf. 2 S 24^{10} [נִסְכַּל]). This whole usage, with its identification of what is sensible and right, bespeaks a high development of the popular moral sense in Israel.

(*c*) A special usage connected with the foregoing characterizes as folly sexual sins of various kinds (Gn 34^{7}, Dt 22^{21}, Jg $19^{22.23.24}$ $20^{6.10}$, Jer 29^{23}). The standing phrase is 'folly in Israel,' 'which ought not to be done,' the implication being that such offences go against all reason in undermining the foundations of society as well as destroying the holiness of Israel. נָבָל and נְבָלָה are regularly used in this meaning; a synonym is זִמָּה 'lewdness'; cf. further the sense of נַבְלוּת in Hos 2^{12}, and of the verb in passages like Jer 14^{21}, Mic 7^{6}, Nah 3^{6}; further, נְבָלָה in Job 42^{8}.

(*d*) Inasmuch as in the Mosaic law a special norm has been given for the wise guidance of Israel's life, disregard of this law is equivalent to foolishness. Apostate Israel is 'a foolish (נָבָל) people and unwise' (Dt 32^{6}); the Gentiles, not possessed of such a revelation, are 'a foolish nation,' 'a no-people' (Dt 32^{21}; cf. Dt 4^{6}, Jer 4^{22} [סָכָל]). The heathen diviners stand revealed as fools when the divinely-guided course of history foretold to Israel mocks their prognostications (Is $19^{11.13}$ 44^{25}, Ezk 13^{3}). Especially the higher classes among Israel might be expected to have profited by this wisdom (Jer 5^{4}).

(*e*) A more specialized meaning is assumed by the term 'fool' in the so-called Ḥokhma-literature of the OT (Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and some psalms and prophetic passages). Here also foolishness is the opposite of wisdom. But wisdom has developed, out of the unreflecting instinctive gift of seeing right and doing right, into the conscious art of successfully ordering the whole of individual life and conduct in harmony with the teleological principles of the divine government of the world, especially as embodied in the revealed law. Hence wisdom and folly are here introduced as personifications; and the divine wisdom, as the archetypal source of every teleological arrangement, is distinguished from human wisdom. Wisdom in this sense is 'practical virtuosity in the entire domain of ethics' (Riehm); it is equivalent to methodically applied religion and morality, as appears from the frequent interchange between it and the terms denoting piety and righteousness. Folly, as its contrast, is presented under two aspects, being either confined to a simple disregard of the rules of wisdom, or proceeding to open denial of the principle of divine government on which these rules are based. In the former character the fool is elaborately depicted in Proverbs. While wisdom consists primarily in circumspect behaviour, self-control, self-restraint, and teachableness, the fool is he who lets his undisciplined nature have free play—the self-reliant, self-pleased, arrogant, indocile, hasty with words, contentious, envious, quick to anger, intemperate, credulous, sluggish, given to pursuit of vain things, unable to conceal his own folly and shame. As easily seduced, he is called פְּתִי 'simple,' as unreceptive of instruction either by counsel or experience כְּסִיל, as by nature stupid בַּעַר, as insensible to the claims of God or man נָבָל; cf. the definition of נָבָל in Is 32^{6} (in Pr נָבָל occurs only $17^{7.21}$ 30^{22}, אֱוִיל 19 t., כְּסִיל 49 t.).

Folly, in the most advanced sense of a systematically conceived and applied theory of life opposed to that of wisdom, is equivalent to practical atheism. The fool (נָבָל) is he who has said in his heart, 'There is no God'; by which, not a theoretical denial of the divine existence, but a practical negation of God's moral government is meant (Ps 14^{1} 53^{1} 39^{8}, Is 9^{17}). Synonymous with נָבָל in this meaning is לֵץ 'mocker.'

B. IN NT. Analogies for most of the above meanings may be found in NT, usually with a somewhat larger admixture of the intellectual element.

(*a*) Foolishness appears as the lack of common-sense perception of the reality of things natural and spiritual, or as the imprudent ordering of one's life in regard to salvation; *ἄφρων*, *μωρός*, *ἀνόητος* (Mt 7^{26} 23^{17} $25^{2ff.}$, Lk 11^{40} 12^{20} 24^{25}, Gal $3^{1.3}$).

(*b*) The OT נָבָל as a moral reprobate reappears in the *μωρέ* of Mt 5^{22}, a term of opprobrium distinguished by its ethical import from the Aramaic Ῥακά, occurring in the same verse and expressing merely intellectual imbecility.

(*c*) Of the natural foolishness belonging to the heathen mind, the only remedy for which lies in the wisdom supplied by revelation, we read in Ro 2^{20}, Tit 3^{3}. The counterpart of the OT idea of the law as an institution for the wise guidance of Israel is furnished by St. Paul, who represents the gospel as a teleological arrangement in which the highest wisdom is manifested and recognized by the believer (Ro 11^{33}). Inasmuch, however, as the Gentile mind sustains a radically wrong relation to the moral world, it fails to see this marvellous adaptation and decries the gospel as foolishness. Even the converted Greek is under temptation to justify its reasonableness from the worldly point of view by such a presentation as will materially alter its character. Hence the sharp antithesis, 1 Co 1^{21-25} 2^{14} 3^{18-23} 4^{10}, the wisdom of the world is foolishness to God, the foolishness of Christ crucified is the wisdom of God.

(*d*) In Ro 16^{19}, Eph $5^{15.17}$ we are reminded of the Ḥokhma usage. The fool under whose mask St. Paul speaks 2 Co $11^{16ff.}$ corresponds in a formal sense to the boasting fool of Proverbs.

LITERATURE.—Bruch, *Weisheitslehre der Hebräer*; Cheyne, *Job and Solomon*; Cremer, *Wörterb. der NT Gr.*, s.vv. *σοφός*, *σοφία*; Delitzsch, *Proverbs* (Introduction); Kuyper, *Encycl.* ii. 65–71; Oehler, *Theol. of OT*, part iii.; Riehm, *Alttest. Theologie*, 350–359; Siegfried, *Philo von Alexandrien*; Smend, *Lehrb. der alttest. Religionsgeschichte*, 508–525.

GEERHARDUS VOS.

FOOLERY.—Sir 22^{13} 'Talk not much with a fool . . . and thou shalt never be defiled with his fooleries' (*οὐ μὴ μολυνθῇς ἐν τῷ ἐντιναγμῷ αὐτοῦ* BS, *-γματι* A; RV 'thou shalt not be defiled in his onslaught'). The form in A, *ἐντίναγμα*, is found in Aq. at Is 28^{2} 32^{2}, and in Symm. Theod. at Is 28^{2}; neither form elsewhere in Greek. The verb from which the subst. is derived, *ἐντινάσσω*, is used in LXX, 1 Mac 2^{36} and 2 Mac 4^{41} of casting stones, and in 2 Mac 11^{11} of charging an enemy. It is probably with the last passage in mind that RV renders 'onslaught.' Edersheim (*Speaker's Com.*) prefers the more etymological trn 'that which he throws out,' but understands that either *saliva* is meant literally, or that it is used figuratively for foolish words; Bissell follows Fritzsche and Bunsen, and renders *slaver*, 'which, of course, is used for low and foolish words.' For the Eng. word, cf. Shaks. *Winter's Tale*, III. ii. 185—

> 'Thy tyranny
> Together working with thy jealousies,—
> Fancies too weak for boys, too green and idle
> For girls of nine,—O, think, what they have done,
> And then run mad, indeed; stark mad! for all
> Thy bygone fooleries were but spices of it.'

J. HASTINGS.

FOOT (רֶגֶל, *πούς*).—There are various ideas connected with the foot due to its position as the lowest part of the human body.

1. *Subjection*, Jos 10^{24}, 2 S 22^{39}, Is 49^{23}, 1 Co $15^{25.27}$. The foot on the neck is seen on the Egyptian monuments. The promise made to Joshua of possessing every place that the sole of his foot should tread upon, is literally claimed and acted upon by Islam. The Sultan is *the Shadow of God*, the token of the Almighty's presence and power; military conquest is therefore a triumph of the faith and an inalienable possession. After the war with Greece in 1897, this article of belief created a religious dilemma with regard to withdrawing from conquered Thessaly.

2. *Humility*, as in the relationship of disciple sitting at the feet of master (Dt 33^{3}, Lk 10^{39}, Ac 22^{3}), and generally of inferior to superior in the act of obeisance and worship (Nu 16^{4}, Ru 2^{10}, Ezk 11^{13}, Mt 18^{29}, Rv 5^{14} etc.). Such prostration forms part of the ordinary Moslem devotions.

3. *Defilement*, Ex 3^{5}. Contact with the common earth was considered defiling, and gave rise to the Oriental rule about removing the shoe, and on certain occasions washing the feet before entering sacred places, such as buildings devoted to worship, shrines, and in houses the carpeted rooms where prayer is offered. Shaking the dust from the feet is an easy and often-repeated act on the dusty roads of the East. The shoe or slipper is not usually removed, but the foot is held out and shaken with the shoe hanging down from the toes, until the dust falls out. It was a symbol of scornful and complete rejection (Mt 10^{14}, Ac 13^{51}). The same thought is now more commonly expressed by shaking the collar of the coat (cf. Ac 18^{6}).

The feet were put in stocks (Job 13^{27}), fastened with fetters (Ps 105^{18}; see CHAIN). They were also adorned with anklets (Is 3^{18}).

When the word of God is called *a lamp to the feet* (Ps 119^{105}), the reference is to village or town life, with ditches, refuse, and dogs in the pathway. A lantern was carried in the hand, or by a servant walking in front. Until recently, before the streets began to be lit by lamps at distant intervals, any one found walking at night without a lantern was liable to be arrested as a thief. In the journeys of the desert the direction is by the stars; or where there is a path the horse or baggage animal is trusted to keep it.

Washing the feet was rendered necessary by the heat and dust of the road, and by the open sandals or loose shoes that were worn. As an attention rendered to a guest, both on account of the humility of the service and the comfort to the traveller, it belonged to the inner graces of hospitality (Lk 7^{38}, Jn 13^{5}, 1 Ti 5^{10}).

For 'foot-breadth,' Dt 2^{5}, RV gives 'for the sole of the f. to tread upon.' For 'foot' of laver Ex 38^{8} RV gives 'base' (כֵּן). By the *lex talionis* (Ex 21^{24}, Dt 19^{21}) 'foot for foot' was exacted. In Dt 11^{10} a contrast is drawn between the climate and the methods of cultivation characteristic of Palestine and of Egypt. When Israel was in the last-named country they 'sowed their seed and *watered it with the foot*.' The reference here appears to be to the use of some machine by which water was raised and distributed for irrigation purposes (see Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, ed. 1871, ii. 25 ff.), but the precise method is doubtful (cf. the full and interesting note in Driver's *Deut.* p. 129, and in 2nd ed. p. xxi).*

G. M. MACKIE.

FOOTMAN.—This word is used in two different senses: **1.** A foot-soldier, always in plu. 'footmen,' foot-soldiers, infantry. The Heb. is either רַגְלִי *raglî* (always sing. except Jer 12^{5}, where the meaning is, however, not foot-soldiers but foot-runners; see below), or more fully אִישׁ רַגְלִי *'ish raglî* (Jg 20^{2}, 2 S 8^{4}, 1 Ch 18^{4} 19^{18}). The Greek is mostly πεζοί (1 Es 8^{51}, Jth 1^{4} $2^{5.19.22}$ 7^{20} 9^{7}, 2 Mac 11^{4} 13^{2}), but we also find ἀνδρές 1 Mac 9^{4}, φάλαγξ 1 Mac 10^{82}, δυνάμεις 1 Mac 12^{49}, and πεζικοί (ℵ^{1} -ή) 1 Mac 16^{5}. Footmen probably composed the whole of the Isr. forces (1 S 4^{10} 15^{4}) before the time of David. From Solomon's day onwards Israel certainly possessed also chariots and cavalry (1 K 4^{26} EV). See ARMY. The Eng. word is used freely in old writers in this sense, as Malory, *Morte Darthur*, I. ix. 'And when he came to the sea he sent home the footmen again, and took no more with him but ten thousand men on horseback'; I. xiv. 'ever in saving of one of the footmen we lose ten horsemen for him.'

2. A runner on foot: 1 S 22^{17} 'And the king said unto the footmen that stood about him, Turn, and slay the priests of the LORD' (רָצִים *razîm*; AVm 'or *guard*, Heb. *runners*'; RV 'guard,' RVm 'Heb. *runners*'). 'Runners' would be the literal, and at the same time the most appropriate trn. The king had a body of runners about him, not so much to guard his person as to run his errands and do his bidding. They formed a recognized part of the royal state (1 S 8^{11}, 2 S 15^{1}); they served as executioners (1 S 22^{17}, 2 K 10^{25}); and, accompanying the king or his general into battle, they brought back official tidings of its progress or event (2 S 18^{19}, and see AHIMAAZ). Out of this running messenger the Persian kings developed a regular postal system (Est 3^{13}, and see POST).

Runners were at one time in England an essential part of a nobleman's train. Thus Prior (1718), *Alma*, i. 58—

> 'Like Footmen running before Coaches
> To tell the Inn what Lord approaches.'

But the *Bee* (1791) says 'their assistance was often wanted to support the coach on each side, to prevent it from being overturned.' The modern footman has a different function, but he is the lineal descendant of the 'running footman,' as he came to be called, of an earlier day.

In Jer 12^{5} both the Heb. (רַגְלִים) and the Eng. (footmen) seem to be used in the more general sense of racers *on foot*: 'If thou hast run with the footmen, and they have wearied thee, then how canst thou contend with horses?' Cf. Webster (1654), *Appius and Virg.* I. i.—

> 'I have heard of cunning footmen that have worn
> Shoes made of lead, some ten days 'fore a race,
> To give them nimble and more active feet.'

J. HASTINGS.

FOOTSTOOL.—Although this word occurs repeatedly in the Bible, it is remarkable that only twice at most is it used in its literal sense. In OT it appears in 2 Ch 9^{18} as trn of כֶּבֶשׁ (fr. כָּבַשׁ 'tread under foot'), the golden footstool of Solomon's throne, but here Kittel (see his note in Haupt's *OT*) would read כֶּבֶשׂ 'lamb.' The one clear reference to a literal footstool is in Ja 2^{3} 'sit under my footstool' (ὑποπόδιόν μου). Everywhere else, both in OT (1 Ch 28^{2}, Is 66^{1}, La 2^{1}, Ps 99^{5} 110^{1} 132^{7}, in all of which it is trn of הֲדֹם רַגְלַיִם, the word הֲדֹם being poet. or late) and NT (Mt 5^{35}, Mk 12^{36}, Lk 20^{43}, Ac 2^{35} 7^{49}, He 1^{13} 10^{13}, all ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν, trd by RV with strict accuracy 'footstool of my [thy, his] feet' instead of AV 'my [thy, his] footstool'),* it is used metaphorically. Originally הֲדֹם רַ׳, spoken of God, seems to have designated the *ark*, 1 Ch 28^{2}, but was naturally extended to include the whole of the *temple*, La 2^{1} (see notes of Thenius and Löhr), Ps 99^{5} 132^{7} (cf. Is 60^{13}, Ezk 43^{7}). In Ps 110^{1} the vanquished foes of the Messianic King are put as a footstool under His feet. In Is 66^{1} earth is the footstool of Him whose throne is heaven.

J. A. SELBIE.

FOR.—Both as prep. and as conj. 'for' has some archaic or obscure uses that deserve attention.

1. When the meaning is *on account of*, as Gn 20^{3} 'Behold thou art but a dead man, for the woman which thou hast taken' (עַל, RV 'because of'). The RV has changed 'for' into 'because of' in Ezk 6^{11} (Heb. אֶל); Gn 20^{3}, Est 9^{26}, Hos 9^{15} (Heb. עַל); Lv 16^{34}, La 4^{13}, Dn 5^{19} (Heb מִן); 2 S 13^{2} (Heb. בַּעֲבוּר); 2 K 16^{18}, Jer 9^{7} 38^{9} (Heb. מִפְּנֵי); Jer 11^{17} (Heb. בִּגְלַל): and into 'by reason of' in Lv 17^{11}† (Heb. בְּ); Dt 28^{47}, Is 31^{9}, Ezk 27^{18}, Hos 8^{10}, Zec 2^{4} (Heb. מִן). In NT ἀπό, ἐν, ἕνεκα, ἐπί with dat. and διά with acc. are all used in this sense, and trd 'for.' When the Gr. is διά, with acc., RV changes 'for' into 'because of' in Jn 4^{39}, Ro 3^{25} 13^{5}, 1 Co 7^{5}, Col 1^{5}, He 2^{9}, Rev 4^{11}; and into 'by reason of' in 1 Co 7^{26}, 2 Co 9^{14}, He 5^{12}. For this meaning cf. Chaucer, *Romaunt*, A 1564—

> 'Abouten it is gras springing,
> For moiste so thikke and wel lyking,
> That it ne may in winter dye,
> No more than may the see be drye.'

Sometimes the meaning approaches that of *against*, as 2 K 16^{18} 'the king's entry without, turned he from the house of the LORD for the king of Assyria' (מִפְּנֵי, RV 'because of'); so Ps 27^{11} Wyc. 'dresse thou me in thi path for myn enemyes'; and Is 32^{2} Cov. 'He shalbe unto men, as a defence for the wynde, and as a refuge for the tempeste.'

2. For means *instead of*, or *in exchange for*, as in Dn 8^{8} 'the great horn was broken; and for it came up four notable ones' (תַּחַת, RV 'instead of it'); Is 61^{7} 'For your shame ye shall have double; and for confusion they shall rejoice in their portion' (תַּחַת); so Nu 8^{18} (תַּחַת, RV 'instead of');

---

* In modern Syria, where level irrigated ground like that of Egypt is planted with vegetables or mulberry trees in rows, the field or patch is laid out in shallow drills, and, as each receives its sufficiency of water, a little earth is taken from the end of the next drill and patted by the naked foot into a dam, so that the water may pass to the drill next in order.

* In Mt 22^{44} for AV 'till I make thine enemies thy footstool' RV gives 'till I put thine enemies under thy feet' (ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποκάτω [TR ὑποπόδιον] τῶν ποδῶν σου).

† On the translation and meaning of this important passage see especially Kalisch, *in loc.*

Gn 47^{17} (בְּ, RV 'in exchange for'); Pr 21^{18} (לְ, RV 'in the stead of'); Nu 18^{31} (חֵלֶף, RV 'in return for'). Cf. Philem ^{16} Wyc. 'now not as a servaunt, but for a servaunt a most dere brother.'

3. For is occasionally equivalent to *as*: Is 43^{3} 'I gave Egypt for thy ransom' (כָּפְרְךָ, RV 'as thy ransom'); Mt 21^{46} 'they took him for a prophet' (ὡς); 1 P 2^{16} 'not using your liberty for a cloke of maliciousness' (ὡς). Cf. *Merlin* (E.E.T.S.), iii. 642, 'Thei clayme Bretaigne for thiers, and I clayme Rome for myne'; Defoe, *Rob. Crusoe* (Gold Treas. ed. p. 522), 'I was never pursued for a Thief before.'

4. For, as a conj., is used to introduce the cause or reason. Sometimes modern usage would prefer 'because' or 'seeing that,' as in Wyclif, *Select Works*, iii. 105, 'And for God made alle thinges to help of mankynde, therfore we sholde axe thes thynges of God'; and p. 110, 'And ones they reprovede Crist, for his disciples wesche nought here hondes whanne they sholde eete, as here custome was'; and Tindale's tr^{n} of 1 Jn 3^{12} in *Expositions*, 191, 'And wherefore slew he him? For his deeds were evil, and his brother's righteous' (in edd. of NT 1526 and 1534 'because'). So in some places of AV, as Jn 11^{47} 'What do we? for this man doeth many miracles.' In the foll. passages RV changes 'for' into 'because': Nu 21^{7} 27^{14} 32^{12}, Dt 14^{7}, 1 S 9^{24}, Job 15^{25} 32^{16}, Jer 20^{11} 51^{11}, Ezk 36^{18}, Dn 9^{19}, Mt 23^{13}, Lk 1^{13} 4^{41} 6^{48} 21^{28}, Ac 22^{18}, Eph 5^{30}, Ph 1^{29}, 1 P 4^{14}, 1 Jn 3^{9}, Rev 12^{12}: to which Amer. RV adds Jer 3^{21}, 1 Jn 3^{20}. Some of those changes, however, are due to a change in the construction of the sentence, especially Ezk 36^{18}. There is, indeed, no glaringly obsolete example of 'for' in this sense in AV, such as we find so often in Shaks. Cf. *Tempest*, I. ii. 272—

> 'And, for thou wast a spirit too delicate
> To act her earthy and abhorred commands,
> Refusing her grand hests, she did confine thee,
>
> . . . .
>
> Into a cloven pine.'

5. The foll. phrases are archaic or obsolete: (1) *For all*, Ps 78^{32} 'For all this they sinned still' (בְּכָל־זֹאת); Jn 21^{11} 'for all there were so many, yet was not the net broken' (τοσούτων ὄντων). Cf. Chaucer, *Knightes Tale*, 1162—

> 'The sowe freten the child right in the cradel;
> The cook y-scalded, for al his longe ladel.'

(2) *For because*, Gn 22^{16} 'By myself have I sworn, saith the LORD, for because thou hast done this thing . . . that in blessing I will bless thee' (כִּי יַעַן אֲשֶׁר, RV 'because'); Jg 6^{22} 'Alas, O Lord God! for because I have seen an angel of the LORD face to face' (כִּי־עַל־כֵּן, RV 'forasmuch as'). So Knox, *Hist.* 110, 'Let him be judged of you both foolish, and your mortall enemie: Foolish, for because he understood nothing of Gods approued wisdome; and enemie unto you, because he laboured to separate you from Gods favour'; and p. 159, 'One of the Bishops sons thrust thorow with a Rapier one of Dundie, for because hee was looking in at the Girnel door'; Barlowe, *Dialoge*, 76, '*W.* Why do ye then despise the vniuersall churche, because some of them be noughte. *N.* Mary for because the more somme of the euyll, surmountethe the lesse number of the good.' (3) *For that* = 'because,' Ex $16^{7.\,8}$ (בְּ), ^{29} 'See, for that the LORD hath given you the Sabbath, therefore he giveth you on the sixth day the bread of two days' (כִּי); 1 Es 7^{15} (ὅτι), 1 Mac 4^{58} (καί, RV 'and'); Jn 12^{18}, 2 Co 1^{24} (RV 'that'), 1 Ti 1^{12} (all ὅτι); He 7^{15} (εἰ, RV 'if') 5^{2} (ἐπεί), 2 Co 5^{4} (TR ἐπειδή, edd. ἐφ' ᾧ), Ro 5^{12} (ἐφ' ᾧ), Ja 4^{15} 'For that ye ought to say' (ἀντὶ τοῦ λέγειν, RVm 'Instead of your saying'). RV shows a fondness for this phrase, omitting it from AV only where marked above, and adding Jg $5^{2\,bis}$, Ezk 16^{5} 23^{30} (Heb. בְּ); Nu $12^{11\,bis}$, Neh 2^{10}, Is 19^{25} (Heb. אֲשֶׁר); Jn 2^{24} (διὰ τό with inf.); 2 Th 2^{13} (ὅτι). Cf. Shaks. *Mer. of Venice*, I. iii. 43—

> 'I hate him for he is a Christian,
> But more for that in low simplicity,
> He lends out money gratis.'

(4) *For to*: The infinitive of purpose used often to be strengthened by *for*, an idiom that is still in use locally. Thus Gn 43^{30} Tind. (1530), 'Joseph made hast (for his hert dyd melt upon his brother) and soughte for to wepe' (changed in Matthew's Bible of 1537 into 'where'); Pr. Bk. 1549 (Keeling, p. 33), 'To be a light for to lighten the Gentiles' (the 'for' is omitted in the 1552 ed. and afterwards); Fuller, *Holy Warre*, 215, 'As for his good father, he was content to let go the staff of his age for to be a prop to the Church.' Although in AV this 'for' seems always to express purpose, it was formerly added to the infin. even when no purpose was expressed, as Berners, *Froissart*, I. cxxvi., 'The king of England being at Airaines wist not where for to pass the river of Somme.' The 'for' is retained or omitted in AV at the mere good pleasure of the translators. Moon (*Eccles. English*, 117) gives a curious list: Gn 31^{18} 'for to go,' Ru 1^{18} 'to go'; Is 41^{22} 'for to come,' Jer 40^{4} 'to come'; Gn 41^{57} 'for to buy,' 42^{7} 'to buy'; and so on through a list of fifteen couples. The RV for the most part leaves these inconsistencies alone; but it adds some of its own. Thus in AV ἵνα is tr^{d} 'for to' in Mk 3^{10}, Jn 10^{10} 11^{53}, Ac 17^{15} 22^{5}, Eph 2^{15}, Rev 9^{15} 12^{4}; RV changes all into 'that' with subj. except Ac 22^{5}, which it leaves untouched. Again, in Mt 11^{8} RV retains 'for to see,' but in the parallel passage, Lk 7^{21}, omits the 'for,' though the Greek is the same.

6. 'For' as the tr^{n} of ἀντί, περί, or ὑπέρ (and it is the frequent rendering of each of these prepositions) assumes considerable theological importance. The RV has been particularly careful and discriminating in this case. Beyond that, the English reader must consult the exegetical commentaries, and such articles as ATONEMENT, PROPITIATION.

J. HASTINGS.

FORAY occurs once in RV (2 S 3^{22} 'from a foray,' AV 'from [pursuing] a troop'). The Heb. word גְּדוּד, which frequently means *a marauding band* (*e.g.* 1 S $30^{8.\,15.\,23}$, 1 K 11^{24}), seems in this instance to bear the transferred but natural sense of an expedition of such a band.

FORBEAR, FORBEARANCE.—In the still common meanings of *abstain from*, *refrain*, or *desist*, forbear is used in AV both absolutely and with an infin. following. Thus absolutely, 1 K 22^{6} 'Shall I go against Ramoth-gilead to battle, or shall I forbear?'; Zec 11^{12} 'If ye think good, give me my price; and if not, forbear' (both חָדַל, the usual word so tr^{d}); 2 Co 12^{6} (φείδομαι). Or with foll. infin., Pr 24^{11} 'If thou forbear to deliver them that are drawn unto death, and those that are ready to be slain' (אִם־תַּחְשׂוֹךְ; RV 'Deliver them that are carried away unto death, and those that are ready to be slain see that thou hold back,' taking אִם as a particle expressing a wish, not as a conj. 'if'; so *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* and most edd.; RVm 'forbear thou not to deliver'); Ezk 24^{17} 'Forbear to cry' (הֵאָנֵק דֹּם, lit. 'sigh, be silent'; RV 'Sigh, but not aloud'; Skinner, 'Sigh in silence': the Geneva Bible gives 'Cease from sighing'; Bishops', 'Mourne in silence'; Douay, 'Sigh holding thy peace'; Segond, 'Soupire en silence'; Siegfried, 'Seufze still'); 1 Co 9^{6} 'Have not we power to forbear working?' ([τοῦ] μὴ ἐργάζεσθαι); Eph 6^{9} 'forbearing threatening' (ἀνιέντες τὴν ἀπειλήν; T. K. Abbott, 'giving up your threatening,' which they had been accustomed to use before they were Christians).

Forbear is used once in AV (and retained in RV) reflexively, a construction which is very rare: 2 Ch 35^{21} 'forbear thee from meddling with God, who is with me, that he destroy thee not' (חֲדַל־לְךָ מֵאֱלֹהִים, *Oxf. Lex.* 'leave off provoking God'). Here forbear means restrain thyself, refrain: cf. Ad. Est 16^{11} Cov., 'he coude not forbeare him self from his pryde.'

But the most noticeable use of 'forbear' is as a *transitive* verb, in the sense of *bear with, be patient with.* The examples are, Neh 9^{30} 'Yet many years didst thou forbear them' (וַתִּמְשֹׁךְ עֲלֵיהֶם, lit. as AVm, 'didst protract over them'; LXX εἵλκυσας [A ἥλ-] ἐπ' αὐτούς; Vulg. 'protraxisti super eos'); 2 Es 1^{9} 'How long shall I forbear them, unto whom I have done so much good?' (*usquequo eos sustinebo*); Eph 4^{2} = Col 3^{13} 'forbearing one another' (ἀνεχόμενοι ἀλλήλων). So Tindale's tr. of Rev 2^{2} 'thou cannest not forbeare them which are evyll'; T. Adams, *II Peter*, on 1^{1}, 'Rotten kernels under fair shells, full of Herod's and Naaman's exceptives: in this forbear us'; Livingstone, *Memorable Characteristics* (Wodrow, *Select Biog.* i. 324), 'somewhat forborn for their non-conformity'; and Shaks. *Othello*, I. ii. 10—

> 'with the little godliness I have,
> I did full hard forbear him.'

RV introduces 'forbearing' in this sense into the text of 2 Ti 2^{24} from AVm, the text of AV being 'patient' (Gr. ἀνεξίκακος, lit. 'patient of wrong,' from fut. of ἀνέχομαι to bear, and κακόν wrong); and it is in this sense only that **Forbearance** occurs, Ro 2^{4} 3^{25} (ἀνοχή), both of God's forbearance with men; and in RV, Ph 4^{5} 'Let your forbearance be known unto all men' (τὸ ἐπιεικές; AV 'moderation,' RVm 'gentleness': Vincent, 'From εἰκός, reasonable, hence *not unduly rigorous*'; Wyc. 'pacience,' Tind. 'softenes,' so Cov. Cran.; Gen. 'patient mind,' so Bish.; Rhem. 'modestie,' after Vulg. *modestia*, Luther 'Gelindigkeit,' Weizsäcker 'Lindigkeit,' the French VSS 'douceur.' The idea, says Vincent, is 'Do not make a rigorous and obstinate stand for what is your just due'). See next article. J. HASTINGS.

FORBEARANCE, LONG-SUFFERING.—Forbearance is the tr. in AV of NT of ἀνοχή, and long-suffering of μακροθυμία. Their close connexion in meaning is shown by their combination in various passages. Thus in Ro 2^{4} the wealth of God's 'forbearance and long-suffering' is mentioned as designed to lead men to repentance. In Ro 3^{25} the f. of God is the ground, not of the forgiveness of sins, but of their pretermission; not of the annulling, but of the suspension of His punishment. The same combination is required of Christians in Eph 4^{2}; they are to walk worthy of their calling, 'with long-suffering, forbearing one another in love,' where the last words interpret the first. In OT ἀνοχή seems to occur only in 1 Mac 12^{25} in the technical sense of 'truce'; the corresponding verb is used in a wide range of meanings, which, however, are easily connected with each other. Μακρόθυμος, again, in the LXX is the regular rendering of the Heb. אֶרֶךְ אַפַּיִם. It is most frequently used of God, and in combination with such words as πολυέλεος, οἰκτίρμων, ἐλεήμων. It designates that attribute of God in virtue of which He bears long with that which provokes His anger, and does not proceed at once to execute judgment upon it.

Where μακροθυμία is used of men, the meaning is sometimes rather different. It becomes akin to patience as well as to forbearance. Thus it is combined with ὑπομονή in Col 1^{11} and with κακοπάθεια (-ία WH) in Ja 5^{10}; cf. also 2 Ti 3^{10}. These examples, as well as those in He 6^{15}, Ja 5$^{7f.}$, Sir 2^{4}, prove that Trench's distinction is hardly accurate, viz. that μακροθυμία will be found to express patience in respect of persons, ὑπομονή patience in respect of things. In the passages just quoted μακροθυμία is shown in bravely enduring the pressure of what seem adverse circumstances, the trials of the good life, and is better reproduced by 'patience' or 'endurance' than by 'long-suffering.' A real parallel to this use is found in 1 Mac 8^{4}, where we are told how the Romans subdued all Spain by their counsel and their μακροθυμία; where the word evidently means their stubborn persistence, that quality in virtue of which, though sometimes defeated in battle, they were always victorious in war. But though this sense of μακροθυμία is represented in NT, the prevailing one is that which is akin, not to endurance but to forbearance; it is a slowness, like that of God, in avenging wrongs, a restraint of anger, a gentleness and meekness in dealing with those who treat us unjustly. The synonymous word in this direction is rather πραότης than ὑπομονή. There is a difficult passage about God's long-suffering in Lk 18^{7}. If we compare Sir 32^{22} ὁ κύριος οὐ μὴ βραδύνῃ οὐδὲ μὴ μακροθυμήσει ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, ἕως ἂν συντρίψῃ ὀσφὺν ἀνελεημόνων, it can hardly seem doubtful that the evangelist meant by his last words, 'though he shows long indulgence to them,' *i.e.* to the enemies of the elect; if, however, ἐπ' αὐτοῖς must refer to the elect, then there seems no clear meaning to be got but by confining the force of the οὐ to the first clause, and saying that God surely does not exercise long-suffering (this would be the effect of the interrogative μή) where the interests of His elect are at stake, but avenges them speedily. But whatever we make of this case, there is no doubt that long-suffering and forbearance are characteristically and conspicuously qualities both of the divine and of the Christian character. As distinguished from each other, ἀνοχή suggests that it is merely a temporary restraint that is being practised; this may be the case with μακροθυμία also, indeed it is the case, and hence such warnings as we have in Ro 2$^{4f.}$, but it is not suggested by the word itself. J. DENNEY.

FORBID.—To forbid is to order one not to do a thing, and the proper construction is a personal object and an infin., as 1 Th 2^{16} 'Forbidding us to speak to the Gentiles that they might be saved.' But custom allows the omission of the person, as Lk 23^{2} 'We found this fellow perverting the nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar'; or of the infin., as Nu 11^{28} 'My lord Moses, forbid them,' Mt 3^{14} 'But John forbad him.' But when 'forbid' is found with an impers. object and that alone, the construction is quite irregular. There are two instances, 2 P 2^{16} 'a dumb ass speaking with man's voice forbad the madness of the prophet' (RV 'stayed'),* and Ac 10^{47} 'Can any man forbid water that these should not be baptized?' In both cases the Greek verb (κωλύειν) is that usually translated 'forbid,' and in Greek writers it has the meanings of 'restrain' (as 2 P 2^{16}) and 'refuse' (as Ac 10^{47}), but the Eng. verb 'forbid' has not properly these meanings, and should not have been used. In both places 'forbid' is as old as Wyclif, who, following the Vulg. *prohibere*, used the word very freely: compare its use in Ac 11^{17} 'Who was Y, that myghte forbeede the Lord, that he gyue not the Hooli Goost to hem that bileueden in the name of Jhesu Crist?'

From Wyclif also comes **God forbid**, the strong and striking translation of חָלִילָה *ḥâlîlâh* and of μὴ γένοιτο.

Ḥalîlâh is a subst. formed from the verb *ḥâlal* to pollute or (ceremonially) profane, the suffix being locative. It is used only as an exclamation, *Ad profanum* ! Away with it ! Far be it ! Twice it stands alone in the sentence, 1 S 14^{45} 20^{2} (חָלִילָה לֹא תָמוּת, EV 'God forbid ; thou shalt not die'). Sometimes a pronoun accompanies it, 1 S 2^{30} (חָלִילָה לִּי, EV 'Be it far from me'), so Gn 18^{25b}, 1 S 20^{9} 22^{15}. But most frequently it is connected with the sentence by a conjunction, מִן with infin. Gn 18^{25} 44$^{7.17}$, Jos 24^{16}, 1 S 12^{23}, 2 S 23^{17}, 1 Ch 11^{19}, and (attached to the 'profane' thing) Job 34^{10} (חָלִלָה לָאֵל מֵרֶשַׁע, EV 'Far be it from God that he should do wickedness'); or אִם 1 S 14^{45} 24^{7}, 2 S 20^{20}, Job 27^{5}. The exclamation tended to assume the form of an oath, and in four places the name of J″ is added, 1 S 24^{7} 26^{11}, 2 S 23^{17}, 1 Ch 11^{19}. The shorter form חָלִלָה is used Gn 18^{25} *bis*, Job 34^{10}.

---

* Cf. Paraphrase 62^{10} (1775)—

> 'The contrite race he counts his friends,
> Forbids the suppliant's fall.'

The LXX translates the word variously : by μὴ γένοιτο Gn 44$^{7.17}$, Jos 22^{29} 24^{16}, 1 K 21^{3} ; by μηδαμῶς (with or without μοι, σοι) Gn 18^{25} *bis*, 1 S 2^{30} 12^{23} 20$^{2.9}$ 22^{15} 24^{6} 26^{11} ; by ἵλεώς μοι [ὁ θεός] 2 S 20^{20} *bis* 23^{17}, 1 Ch 11^{19} ; by ζῇ Κύριος 1 S 14^{45} ; and by μή μοι εἴη Job 27^{5}.

The Vulg. is more uniform, rendering by *Absit* (hoc) *a me* (*te*, etc.) in all places except Gn 18^{25b} *nequaquam*, 44^{7} where *absit* of Old Lat. may have dropped out, 1 S 14^{45} *Hoc nefas est*, and *Propitius sit mihi Dominus* in 1 S 24^{6} 26^{11}, 2 S 23^{17}, 1 K 21^{3}.

Wyclif followed the Vulgate, the later version having 'Fer be it fro me, thee,' etc., wherever Vulg. has *Absit* (*hoc*) *a me, te*, etc., and 'The Lord be merciful to me' in 1 S 24^{6} 26^{11}, 2 S 23^{17}, 1 K 21^{3} ; while Gn 44^{7} is 'Whi speketh oure Lord so,' and 1 S 14^{45} 'This is unleueful.' The earlier version is less uniform, thus Jos 22^{29} 'God shilde fro us this hidows gilt,' 1 Ch 11^{19} 'God sheelde,' 1 S 14^{45} 'that is felony.' So, wherever μὴ γένοιτο occurs in NT the earlier Wyc. vers. has 'Fer be it,' but the later has always 'God forbede.' And this phrase was accepted by Tindale, and after him by nearly all the Versions both in OT for *ḥâlîlâh* and in NT for μὴ γένοιτο.

AV and RV translate *ḥâlîlâh* by 'God forbid' ('The Lord forbid' 1 S 24^{6} 26^{11}, 1 K 21^{3}, and 'My God forbid it me' 1 Ch 11^{19}) everywhere except Gn 18^{25} *bis*, 1 S 2^{30} 20^{9} 22^{15}, 2 S 20^{20} *bis* 23^{17}, where the Wyclifite phrase 'Far be it from' or 'Be it far from' has been retained. This phrase Amer. RV prefers throughout OT.

As we have seen, μὴ γένοιτο is only one of the renderings of *ḥâlîlâh* in LXX. Of the others μηδαμῶς occurs twice in NT, Ac 10^{14} 11^{8} (EV 'Not so, Lord'), and ἵλεώς σοι once, Mt 16^{22} (EV 'Be it far from thee, Lord'). But μὴ γένοιτο is found fifteen times, all but Lk 20^{16} being in St. Paul's Epistles, and in twelve of St. Paul's fourteen instances it is used to express the apostle's abhorrence of an inference which he fears may be falsely drawn from his argument. See Burton, *NT Moods and Tenses*^{2}, p. 79. EV translates everywhere by 'God forbid,' a phrase which is undoubtedly more forcible than the original, and for which Lightfoot suggests 'Nay, verily,' or 'Away with the thought.'

'God forbid' occurs also in Apocr., 1 Mac 2^{21} 'God forbid that we should forsake the law and the ordinances' (Ἵλεως ἡμῖν καταλείπειν, RV 'Heaven forbid,' RVm 'Gr. *May* he be propitious. Cf. 2 S 23^{17} Sept.'); 9^{10} 'Then Judas said, God forbid that I should do this thing' (Μή μοι γένοιτο ποιῆσαι, RV 'Let it not be so that I should do this thing'). J. HASTINGS.

FORCE.—The subst. 'force' has become restricted in meaning since 1611. It then signified a man's personal *might*, as Jer 23^{10} 'their course is evil, and their force is not right' (גְּבוּרָה, Cheyne 'their might or heroism'); even *physical strength*, as Dt 34^{7} 'his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated' (לֵחַ, only here, but adj. לַח is *moist, fresh*, of fruit, Nu 6^{3}, or of growing or freshly-cut wood, Ezk 17^{24}, Gn 30^{37}, hence 'neither had his freshness fled'—Driver) ; Job 40^{16} 'his force is in the navel (RV muscles) of his belly' (אוֹן, here of behemoth, in 18$^{7.12}$ of man's strength) ; Am 2^{14} 'the strong shall not strengthen his force' (כֹּחַ). Cf. Ps 102^{23} (Sternhold and Hopkins)—

> 'My wonted strength and force he hath abated in the way.'

Force as a personal attribute is now restricted to strength in action or application, as it is in Ezk 34^{4} 'with force and with cruelty have ye ruled them' (חָזְקָה) ; and in the phrase 'take by force,' which in Mt 11^{12}, Jn 6^{15}, Ac 23^{10} is the tr^{n} of the single verb ἁρπάζειν, to seize.

The phrase 'of force' is now replaced by 'in force.' It occurs He 9^{17} 'a testament is of force after men are dead' (βέβαιος) ; and in a slightly different sense, 2 Es 7^{35} 'the good deeds shall be of force, and wicked deeds shall bear no rule' (*iustitiæ vigilabunt*, RV 'shall awake') : cf. 9^{37} 'the law perisheth not, but remaineth in his force' (*permansit in suo honore*, RV 'in its honour'). The phrase was also used in the sense of 'by compulsion,' as we still use 'perforce' ; so often in Shaks. as *I Henry IV*. II. iii. 120—

> 'Will this content you, Kate?
> It must, of force' ;

Jul. Cæs. IV. iii. 203—

> 'Good reasons must, of force, give place to better' ;

Milton, *PL* iv. 813—

> 'No falsehood can endure
> Touch of celestial temper, but returns
> Of force to its own likeness' ;

and i. 144—

> 'Our conqueror (whom I now
> Of force believe almighty)'—

though Craik thinks 'of force' in the last passage may mean 'in power.'

For Force, Forces = military strength, see ARMY.
J. HASTINGS.

FORD (מַעֲבָר, מַעְבָּרָה. In Jg 12$^{5.6}$ AV needlessly substitutes 'passages' for 'fords' ; in 2 S 15^{28} 17^{16} RV has 'fords' (עברות) where AV has 'plains' (ערבות). See Driver's note, *ad loc.*).—Fords were important landmarks in early OT times, when there were no bridges across rivers. There seem to have been two principal fords across the Jordan—(1) that opposite Jericho (Jos 2^{7}, Jg 3^{28}, 2 S 19^{15}), used to this day for crossing from Pal. into Moab, except in early summer when the river is in flood (Jos 3^{15}) ; (2) Bethabara (the reading of TR and AV, but WH and RV have Bethany) where John baptized (Jn 1^{28}). The site has been identified by the officers of the Ordnance Survey, and described by Conder as the spot called *'Abârah*, where the Jalûd river, flowing down the Valley of Jezreel, debouches into the Jordan (*Tent Work in Pal*. p. 229). Some of the fords of the Jordan, of which about forty were identified by the *Pal. Survey*, are impassable in spring or early summer, as the waters, swollen by the melting of the snows of the Lebanon and adjoining regions, rise and overflow their banks, covering the alluvial plains on either side. Such was the case when the Isr. under Joshua crossed on dry ground by command of J″ to besiege Jericho (Jos 3^{15}). Amongst the other fords mentioned in Scripture are those of the Jabbok (Gn 32^{22}) and the Arnon, a river descending from the tableland on the east of the Jordan Valley, and at the time of the Isr. invasion forming the boundary between the Moabites and the Amorites (Nu 21^{13}), also referred to in Is 16^{2}. The Romans were probably the first great bridge-builders over the streams of Palestine. (See, further, G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog*. 266, 337 n. ; Moore, *Judges*, 102 f. 214 ; Driver, *Text of Sam*. 245, 257.) E. HULL.

FORECAST.—In the phrase 'forecast devices,' Dn 11$^{24.25}$ (חָשַׁב מַחֲשָׁבֹת, RV 'devise devices'), the meaning is 'contrive beforehand,' as Golding (1587), *De Mornay*, xiii. 203, 'At the first sight the thing which was forecast by good order, seemeth to happen by adventure.' In Wis 17^{11} the word occurs in the sense of 'think beforehand,' 'forbode' : 'Wickedness . . . always forecasteth grievous things' (ℵ$^{c.a}$ προείληφεν, but B προσείληφεν, whence RVm 'hath added').

FOREFRONT.—In earlier use the 'forefront' was opposed to the 'backfront,' as Evelyn (1659), *To R. Boyle*, 3 Sept. 'To the entry fore front of this a court, and at the other back front a plot walled in of a competent square,' and Leoni (1726), *Alberti's Archit*. I. xxxix. 2, 'From the . . . Forefront of the Work I draw a Line quite thro' to the Back-front.' But the 'back' being no longer called a 'front,' 'forefront' is mostly replaced by 'front.' It is used in AV as tr^{n} of (1) פָּנִים *face*, 2 K 16^{14}, Ezk 40^{19} *bis* 47^{1} ; (2) מוּל פָּנִים *overagainst the face*, Ex 26^{9} 28^{37}, Lv 8^{9}, 2 S 11^{15} ; (3) שֵׁן *tooth*, 1 S 14^{5}; (4) רֹאשׁ *head*, 2 Ch 20^{27}; and *πρόσωπον face*, 1 Mac 4^{57}. RV changes Lv 8^{9} 'upon the mitre, even upon his forefront,' into 'upon the mitre, in front'; and 1 S 14^{5} 'The forefront of the one was situate northward' into 'The one crag rose up on the north.' RV also adds Jos 22^{11} 'in the forefront of the land of Canaan' (אֶל־מוּל, AV 'over against'); and Ezk 40$^{15\,bis}$ 'And from the forefront of the gate at the entrance unto the forefront of the inner porch' (עַל־פְּנֵי הַשַּׁעַר הַיְאִתוֹן עַל־לִפְנֵי אֻלָם, AV 'from the face . . . unto the face').

FOREGO.—Sir 7^{19} 'Forego not a wise and good woman: for her grace is above gold' (*μὴ ἀστόχει γυναικὸς σοφῆς καὶ ἀγαθῆς*, RV 'Forgo not a wise and good wife'). The Gr. verb occurs elsewhere in LXX only in 8^{9} 'Miss not the discourse of the elders' (RV 'aged'). In NT it is found only in the Pastoral Epistles, 1 Ti 1^{6} (EV 'swerve'), 6^{21} (EV 'err'), 2 Ti 2^{18} (EV 'err'), and at each occurrence RVm gives 'miss the mark,' which is its lit. meaning (*ἀ* and *στόχος*, *a mark*). The meaning here is almost certainly that suggested by Wahl *noli separari ab uxore sapiente*, 'do not separate yourself from, *i.e.* do not divorce a wise wife.' And that is probably the meaning of AV, which seems to be a new tr^{n}, the earlier Versions having uniformly 'Depart not from a discreet and good woman,'* with the addition, 'that is fallen unto thee for thy portion in the fear of the LORD,' after Vulg. *quam sortitus es in timore Domini.* For in earlier Eng. 'forgo' had the meaning of *forsake*, as *Cursor Mundi* (1340), 13,280, 'Petur and andrew . . . with o word haue thei ship forgone'; and Shaks. *Henry VIII.* III. ii. 422—

> '*Crom.* O my lord,
> Must I then leave you? Must I needs forgo
> So good, so noble, and so true a master?'

And this sense is still in use poetically, as in Mrs. Browning, *Catarina to Camoens*, iv.—

> 'And if they looked up to you,
> All the light which has forgone them
> Would be gathered back anew.'

The spelling of modern editions of AV is *forego*, but *forgo*, which is the spelling of 1611 ('forgoe'), is the correct form. Forego is a different word, and means 'to go before,' as Fotherby (1619), *Atheom.* II. iii. 2. 214, 'The cause doth alwayes his effect fore-goe.' The prep. in 'forgo' is *for* (Ger. *ver*), not *fore*, and reverses the meaning of the verb, as in forbid, fordo, forget, forswear, forspent, forspoke. In forbear and forgive it adds force to the simple verb.

J. HASTINGS.

FOREHEAD (מֵצַח, *μέτωπον*).—This word occurs repeatedly in the Bible, both in a literal and in a metaphorical sense. It was upon his forehead that the high priest wore the plate of gold inscribed 'Holy to the LORD' (Ex 28^{38}); the stone slung by David entered the forehead of Goliath (1 S 17^{49}); leprosy broke out in the forehead of Uzziah when he sought to burn incense (2 Ch 26$^{19ff.}$). In Jer 3^{3} 'a harlot's forehead' is the type of shamelessness; in Ezk 3$^{7.\,8.\,9}$ the people in their obstinacy are described as 'of an hard forehead,' but the prophet's forehead is to be made hard against them, his determination is to be equal to their own. In Ezk 9$^{4ff.}$ a mark is directed to be put on the forehead of the faithful in Jerusalem. The name for this mark is תָּו *tav*, a letter (ת) which may have been used in much the same way as a × amongst ourselves (cf. Job 31^{35}, where, however, the sense appears to be somewhat different; see Davidson's and Dillmann's notes, *ad loc.*). It is even possible that the reference in Ezk is to practices such as that described in Is 44^{5} 'Another shall mark on his hand, Unto the LORD.' See CUTTINGS IN THE FLESH, vol. i. p. 538^{b}. These OT passages suggested the NT usage (Rev 7^{3} 9^{4} 13^{16} 14$^{1.\,9}$ 17^{5} 20^{4} 22^{4}).

In Ezk 16^{12}, where AV has 'I put a jewel on thy forehead,' RV gives more correctly 'I put a ring upon thy nose' (וָאֶתֵּן נֶזֶם עַל־אַפֵּךְ).

For Lv 13$^{41ff.}$ ('forehead bald') see BALDNESS.

J. A. SELBIE.

FOREIGNER occurs four times in AV. It is the tr^{n} in Ex 12^{45} of תּוֹשָׁב (RV more accurately 'sojourner'), in Dt 15^{3} and Ob ^{11} of נָכְרִי, and in Eph 2^{19} of *πάροικος* (RV 'sojourner'). RV substitutes 'foreigner' for AV 'stranger' as tr^{n} of בֶּן־נֵכָר in Lv 23^{25}, and of נָכְרִי in Dt 17^{15} 23^{20} 29^{22}. Amer. RV makes the same change in Ru 2^{10}, 2 S 15^{19}, where the Heb. word is the same.

A cognate term is alien(s), which occurs in AV of Ex 18^{3} as tr^{n} of גֵּר (RV correctly 'sojourner'), of בְּנֵי נֵכָר in Is 61^{5}, and of נָכְרִי in Dt 14^{21} (RV 'foreigner'), Job 19^{15}, Ps 69^{8}, La 5^{2}. RV adds Ex 12^{43}, Ezk 44$^{7.\,9}$, Pr 5^{10}, where AV has 'stranger,' and Ps 144$^{7.\,11}$, where AV has 'strange children' (Heb. in all these בְּנֵי נֵכָר).

Strangers is the favourite rendering in AV, not only of נָכְרִי or בֶּן־נֵכָר and זָר (see below), but also of גֵּר and תּוֹשָׁב. The latter circumstance is specially unfortunate, because it obscures to the Eng. reader the distinction between the *foreigner* and the *gêr*, which in Heb. is marked clearly enough, and on which not a little depends for the understanding of many passages. The *gêr* is indeed a foreigner by birth, but he resides in Israel and is protected by the community; whereas the foreigner proper (נָכְרִי) is not only an alien by birth, but has neither home nor rights in Israel. It would have been well if RV had uniformly, instead of occasionally, substituted 'sojourner' for 'stranger' as the tr^{n} of גֵּר, and left 'stranger,' 'foreigner,' 'alien' to represent such words as נָכְרִי and זָר.

We shall now examine the linguistic usage of the last two Heb. words and their equivalents in LXX and NT.

(*a*) זָר (*zâr*) in its root meaning appears scarcely to differ from *gêr*, although ultimately the two words have very different connotations. The orig. sense of both is *one who turns aside from the way* (*sc.* to lodge somewhere). It is easy to connect this with the idea of a *stranger* or *alien*. Amongst other applications זָר is used to designate one who is not of a priestly family, Ex 29^{33} 30^{33}, Nu 3$^{10.\,38}$ 18^{7} (all P), Lv 22$^{10.\,12.\,13}$ (H), or who does not belong to the tribe of Levi, Nu 1^{51} 18^{4} (P). The plur. זָרִים is a frequent designation of foreign (generally hostile) peoples in contrast to Israel, Hos 7^{9} 8^{7}, Is 1^{7}, Ezk 7^{21}, Jl 3^{17}, Ob ^{11} etc. The LXX equivalents are *ἀλλότριος* and *ἀλλογενής*, the former of which occurs not infrequently in NT, the latter only once (Lk 17^{18} of the Samaritan leper).

(*b*) נָכְרִי (*nokhri*) or בֶּן־נֵכָר (*ben-nēkhâr*). If the root idea here is *strangeness*, perhaps 'stranger' might with advantage be reserved as the special tr^{n} of these two equivalent terms. נָכְרִי is ‖ גֹּלֶה 'exile' in 2 S 15^{19} (of Ittai the Gittite); it is opposed to a 'brother' (אָח), *i.e.* a fellow-Israelite, in Dt 15^{3} 17^{15}; it is used of the stranger who directs his prayer towards the temple of Israel's God, 1 K 8^{41}=2 Ch 6^{32}; of the foreign wives (נָכְרִיּוֹת), Ezr 10^{2}; of foreign garb (מַלְבּוּשׁ נָכְרִי perhaps referring to the uniform of the foreign body-guard), Zeph 1^{8} (cf. כָּל־נֵכָר 'everything foreign,' Neh 13^{30}). The commonest LXX equivalent is *ἀλλότριος* (cf. Ac 7^{6}, He 11$^{9.\,34}$). *ἀλλογενής* also occurs (*e.g.* Gn 17^{27}, Ex 12^{43}, Lv 22^{25}, Is 56$^{3.\,6}$) and *ἀλλόφυλος* (Is 2^{6} 61^{5}). This last, which is the favourite LXX tr^{n} of פְּלִשְׁתִּים (Philistines), occurs only once in NT (Ac 10^{28} of Cornelius). Another favourite LXX rendering of נָכְרִי is *ξένος* (*e.g.* 2 S 15^{19} of Ittai). It is the exact opposite of *ἐπιχώριος*. The only instances of its occurrence in NT are Mt 25$^{35.\,38.\,43}$ 27^{7}, Ac 17^{21}, Eph 2$^{12.\,19}$, He 11^{13}, 3 Jn ^{5}.

As in olden times *foreigner* and *enemy* were almost convertible terms, we find both זָר and נָכְרִי used so as to include the idea of hostility or barbarism (cf. Is 1^{7}, Ps 54^{3}, Ezk 11^{9}, Hos 7^{9} [all זָרִים], Ps 18$^{44.\,45}$ [בְּנֵי נֵכָר]. The same meaning of *hostile* is contained in the *ἀλλότριοι* of He 11^{34}, 1 Mac 1^{38} 2^{7}, Sir 45^{18} etc.).

PRESENCE AND POSITION OF FOREIGNERS IN ISRAEL.—In the early stages of their history, the relations of Israel to foreigners did not differ essentially from those of other nations. As the law, however, was gradually introduced, the attitude of Israelites to non-Israelites underwent a material change, until ultimately the 'nations' outside

---

* Except Wyclif (1382), 'Wile thou not gon awei fro a wel felende womman, and a good.'

Israel became the 'heathen,' while the stranger domiciled in Israel, the '*gêr*,' became the 'proselyte' (Bertholet).

(*a*) *The pre-Deuteronomic Period.*—Our earliest sources contain abundant references to foreigners, whether passing strangers or residents in Israel. Trade was frequently the motive of their visits. The two words for 'merchant,' סֹחֵר and רֹכֵל, both mean originally 'traveller'; in Pr 31^{24} and Job 41^{6} 'Canaanite' is synonymous with 'trader,' showing that in early times the travelling merchantmen in Palestine had been, not Israelites, but Canaanites. The danger of travelling alone (Jg 5^{6}) was avoided by caravans, some of the most important of whose trade-routes traversed Palestine (Gn 37^{25}, 1 K 10^{2}, Is 8^{23} [Eng. 9^{1}] $60^{6.\,7}$, Ezk 26^{2}). It must never be forgotten that from the occupation of Canaan downwards Israel was in constant contact with foreigners in the shape of the large remnants of the original inhabitants of the land. Our different sources offer different explanations of the survival of the Canaanites, but they all agree as to the fact (Ex 23^{29}, Dt 7^{22}, Jg 2^{23} $3^{1ff.}$). We have the well-known story of the Gibeonites (Jos 9), as well as a whole list of Can. towns enumerated amongst the various Isr. tribes (Jg $1^{27ff.}$); in $1^{32f.}$ it is the Isr. that dwell among the Can., while Issachar is actually tributary to the latter (Gn $49^{14f.}$). In Jg 5^{14} (cf. 12^{15}) we hear of Amalekite remnants, in Jg 5^{24} (cf. Ex $18^{13ff.}$), Nu 10^{31}, 1 S 15^{6} of Kenites, Midianites, etc. The Jerahmeelites, the clans of Caleb, Othniel, Kenaz, etc. (1 S $30^{14.\,29}$), appear to have been of Arabian or Edomite origin. Even at the era of the Exodus the early narrative JE speaks of a 'mixed multitude' which attached itself to Israel (Ex 12^{38}, Nu 11^{4}). Shechem was still a Can. city in the time of Abimelech (Jg 9); Jerus. continued in the possession of the Jebusites down to the time of David (2 S $5^{6ff.}$), and even after its conquest by the latter we find Araunah the Jebusite still in possession of property there (2 S 24; cf. Jos 15^{63}, Jg 1^{21}); Rahab's descendants dwell in Israel 'to this day' (Jos 6^{25}, JE); Gezer is first taken from the Can. by the Pharaoh who was Solomon's father-in-law (1 K 9^{16}).

The general attitude to foreigners was one of hostility, where some special agreement or safeguard was not present. Driven out from his old settlement, Cain protests, 'Whosoever findeth me shall slay me' (Gn 4^{14}). The Song of Deborah (Jg 5), the story of Samuel and Agag (1 S $15^{32f.}$), the cruelties of David to his prisoners (2 S 8^{2} 12^{31}), illustrate the prevailing temper towards a foreign foe. Conduct passes uncensured when non-Israelites are concerned, which would have been considered improper towards a fellow-countryman (Gn 12 Abraham and Pharaoh, Gn 26 Isaac and Abimelech, Gn $30^{37ff.}$ Jacob and Laban, Ex 3^{22} the 'spoiling' of the Egyptians).

The position of the foreigner being so precarious, people were slow to leave their own country, esp. as this implied also abandoning the service and losing the protection of their ancestral gods (1 S 26^{19}). Amongst the most frequent causes that led to such self-expatriation were famine (Gn 12^{10} Abraham, 26^{1} Isaac, 47^{4} Jacob and his sons, Ru $1^{1ff.}$ Elimelech and his family, 2 K $8^{1ff.}$ the Shunammite), blood-feud (Gn 4^{16} Cain, Ex 2^{15} Moses, 2 S 13^{34} Absalom) or political reasons (1 S 27^{2} David, 1 K 11^{40} Jeroboam, 11^{17} Hadad).

There were, however, three circumstances that helped to mitigate the lot of the stranger in a strange land—(1) The hospitality to strangers, which is one of the noblest virtues of ancient peoples: 'the stranger did not lodge in the street, but I opened my doors to the traveller' (Job 31^{32}; cf. Gn 18. 19. 24. 43, Jg 13. 19, 2 S 12^{4}, 1 K 17). Public inns in the modern sense (the Eastern *khan* is something quite different) were unknown and unneeded. In Lk 10^{34} we first hear of an inn (πανδοχεῖον) where the host (πανδοχεύς) takes payment for accommodating travellers. While spies naturally received no consideration (Gn 42^{9}, Jos $2^{3ff.}$), the narratives of Gn 19 and Jg 19 show how scrupulously the old Israelites guarded their guests. In an age when the altar was universally an asylum (see ALTAR, p. 76^{b}), the helpless stranger was frequently considered to be under the special protection of the god of the land, hence the 'fear of God' (Gn 20^{11} 42^{18}) was an extra safeguard to him. (2) The alliances with other nations of which we read must have exercised a considerable influence upon Israel's attitude towards foreigners (1 K $15^{18ff.}$ Asa with Benhadad, 2 K 16^{5} Is 7^{1} Pekah with Rezin, 2 K 16^{8} Ahaz with Tiglath-pileser, 2 K 17^{4} Hosea with So, 2 K $20^{12ff.}$ Is 39 Hezekiah with Merodach-baladan, Ezk 17^{15} Zedekiah with Egypt). Those who had fought shoulder to shoulder against a common foe would not be strangers in each other's country. One of the most familiar results of this intercourse is seen in the syncretism in religious matters, against which the prophets protest (Is 17^{10}, Ezk $8^{7ff.}$ etc.). (3) Israel's own trading enterprises, which carried her citizens beyond the confines of Palestine (Ezk 27^{11} to Tyre, 1 K 9^{28} 10^{11} 22^{48} to Ophir, 20^{34} to Damascus), taught the Israelites to sympathize with the feelings of a stranger who came to sojourn in their land (Ex 23^{9}).

In Israel, as in most Oriental nations, the king encouraged the presence of foreigners at his court, and depended upon their fidelity more than upon that of his own subjects (1 S 21^{7} 22^{9} Doeg the Edomite, 2 S 15^{18} 20^{7} 1 K $1^{38.\,44}$ Cherethites and Pelethites, 2 S 15^{19} Ittai the Gittite, 2 K $11^{4.\,19}$ Carites). By foreign marriages the Isr. king also sought to strengthen his position. Amongst David's wives were Abigail a Kalibbite, Maacah a Geshurite (1 S 25^{42}, 2 S 3^{3}), while his sister was married to Ithra an Ishmaelite (1 Ch 2^{17}, not *Israelite* 2 S 17^{25}). Solomon's harem included, besides Pharaoh's daughter, Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, Zidonians, and Hittites (1 K 11^{1}). The wife of Ahab was Jezebel, daughter of Ethbaal king of the Zidonians (1 K 16^{31}). Intermarriages with the Can. are forbidden in Ex $34^{15f.}$ (JE), and there were doubtless many in Israel who disliked mixed marriages (Gn 29^{19} $24^{3.\,37}$, Nu 12^{1}, Jg 14^{3}); yet these must have been quite common. Unfortunately, the story of Dinah and Shechem (Gn 34), which is of composite origin (Wellh. *Comp.* 47 f., 312 f.; Kuenen, *Abhandl.* 255 ff.; see also artt. SHECHEM, SIMEON), has been so often worked over that it is impossible to draw inferences from it with certainty, but Jg $3^{5ff.}$ doubtless gives a true picture of the condition of things (cf. Gn 38^{2}, Jg 8^{31}, 1 K 7^{14}). It was really more through amalgamation than by war that the Can. were subdued. The tribe of Judah confessedly contained a large admixture of Can. elements (see CALEB), and Ed. Meyer goes the length of maintaining (*ZAW*, 1886, pp. 1 ff.) that Joseph was originally a Can. tribe. It is this process of amalgamation that helps to account for the rapid increase in the number of Israel's warriors between the time of the judges and the early days of the monarchy (cf. Jg 5^{8} with 2 S 24^{9}).

Besides foreign traders and resident *gêrim*, there must always have been in Israel a number of foreign *slaves*, either taken captive in war, or bought from Phœn. or other traders (Gn 17^{12}, Lv $25^{44f.}$, Nu $31^{26ff.}$). See SLAVES.

(*b*) *The Period of the Deuteronomic Legislation.*—To protest against religious syncretism had always been a chief part of the prophet's work. The worship of the Tyrian Baal, and the corrupting influences of foreign civilization, were specially distasteful to Elijah, whose feelings were shared by Elisha and the usurper Jehu (2 K 9. 10). It is significant that Jehonadab the son of Rechab is associated with Jehu (2 K $10^{15ff.}$), for the whole *raison d'être* of the Rechabite movement lay in opposition to Can. civilization and in attachment to the primitive simplicity, alike in religious and secular matters (Jer 35, cf. W. R. Smith, *Proph. of Isr.* 84 f.). The attitude of the prophets who have left us their *writings* is equally clear (Am 2^{11} 3^{15} $5^{11.25}$ 6^{8} 8^{5}, Hos 2^{19} 8^{14} 9^{10} 10^{13} $12^{7ff.}$ 14^{4}). Specially noteworthy is Hos 9^{1} 'Rejoice not, O Israel, like the peoples,' where already 'peoples' is almost ='heathen.' The same disinclination to foreigners appears in Is 2^{6} 10^{4} 17^{10} 28^{15} 30^{1-5} (protest against foreign alliances), Zeph $1^{8.11}$, Jer $2^{36f.}$ 10^{25} (although this last may be a late interpolation) $35^{1ff.}$ $37^{6f.}$. These feelings find expression in the highest degree in the Deuteronomic 'law-book' of Josiah's reign (2 K 22). Israel is a 'holy people' (Dt 7^{6}), and the land must not be 'defiled' (21^{23}) or 'caused to sin' (24^{4}). The relation of Israelites to non-Israelites is henceforth *determined by law.* The watchword is *separation.* The old injunction of Ex $23^{31f.}$ (JE) is repeated in much stronger terms in Dt 7^{1-5} 20^{16-18} (where the *present* aversion takes the form of a *past* command to exterminate the Can.), and special stress is laid upon the prohibition of intermarriages with Can. (Dt 7^{3}, Jos 23^{12}). Further, in Dt 15^{3} and 23^{20}, the foreigner (*nokhri*) is expressly excluded from participation in two of the Israelite's privileges—that of having a creditor's claims waived every seventh year, and that of borrowing without having to pay interest. In Dt 14^{21} he is allowed to use for food the flesh of an animal that has died of itself, a concession which, although made in the same passage to the *gêr*, is ultimately withdrawn from the latter, and pronounced to be improper for any *dweller* in the land of Israel (Lv 17^{15}). See Ger.

It is well to remember that universalism as well as particularism may be traced in the conduct and the teaching of the early prophets (cf. 1 K $17^{8ff.}$ Elijah and the widow of Zarephath, 2 K 5 Elisha and Naaman, Is 2^{2-4}=Mic 4^{1-3} the oracle of the mountain of the Lord's house). This element found expression, however, in the direction of proselytizing the *gêr*, not in that of cultivating friendly relations with foreigners proper. For the development of this subject see Ger.

(*c*) *The Exilic and Post-Exilic Periods.*—If an approximation of *gêr* to Israelite was fostered by the Deut. legislation, and grew as time went on, upon the other hand the gulf between Israelite and *foreigner* became always wider. Even in the 'unclean' land of their exile (Ezk $4^{13f.}$), where sacrifice could not be offered, Israel could cling to her Sabbaths and to circumcision, and probably meetings akin to those of the later synagogue contributed to the maintaining of her separate existence and manner of life. The legislative programme of Ezekiel is specially instructive for our subject. The uncircumcised foreigners who kept guard in the temple (2 K $11^{4ff.}$), and probably performed other services (see Cherethites), are henceforward to be strictly excluded (Ezk 44^{6-10}), and such functions are to be discharged by the Levites (cf. 44^{22} priests to marry only virgins of the seed of the house of Israel or the widow of a priest).

The exiles who returned from Babylon had to solve the problem of their relations with the other inhabitants of Judæa and with their neighbours. A large number of the original inhabitants had never been carried captive at all, Edomites and others had taken possession of unoccupied settlements, and the colonists planted by the Assyr. king in Samaria (2 K $17^{24ff.}$) had probably also encroached on Judæa. The majority of the old inhabitants, and a section of the returned exiles, were quite willing to coalesce with their neighbours (Neh 13^{24}, Mal 2^{11}), but, thanks to the fiery zeal of Ezra and Nehemiah, such an incorporating union was prevented. The unsparing rigour with which the two reformers carried out their work is matter of history. See Ezra, Nehemiah. It was a veritable crisis. Weapons of various kinds were used on both sides. It may be that literature was pressed into the service. If Dt 23^{4-6} be, as Wellhausen and Cornill think, a later interpolation, it may date from this period, while the Book of Ruth may have been a manifesto issued by the party of toleration. The triumph of the puritan party was completed when the covenant was sealed (Neh 10^{30}), 'that we would not give our daughters unto the peoples of the land, nor take their daughters for our sons,' and when the Torah (P) was accepted as the norm of Israel's conduct (Neh 8). The ideal of P, even more than of D, is a holy people dwelling in a holy land, and serving God according to the prescriptions of His law (Nu 35^{34}, cf. Lv 19^{26-31}). The narrative portions of P carefully omit or modify what does not tally with this conception (*e.g.* no mention of Moses' sojourn in Midian, or his relations with the priest of that people; Balaam, again, could not be a prophet of J", but becomes a Midianite counsellor, by whose instrumentality Israel was led into immorality). In accordance with the above conceptions, Ezra deliberately sought to erect a hedge, not only around the law, but around Israel, and thus to prevent all contact, except what was absolutely unavoidable, with those outside the pale of Judaism. If the *gêr* had become the *proselyte* to be welcomed, the *nokhri* had become the *heathen* to be shunned. For the further development of the subject see Gentiles, Heathen.

Literature.—Bertholet's monograph, *Die Stellung d. Isr. u. d. Jud. zu d. Fremden* (to which the above article has special obligations); Driver, *Deut.* xxxif., 98, 239; W. R. Smith, *OTJC*² 279, 364 f.; Cheyne, *Jeremiah*, 67; Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 51-56; Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 339 f., 350, 479; Thayer, *NT Lex.*, and Cremer, *Bib.-Theol. Lex.* s. ἀλλογενής, ἀλλότριος.

J. A. Selbie.

FOREKNOW, FOREORDAIN.—Both these words translate the same Greek verb προγινώσκειν, the former in Ro 8^{29}, the latter in 1 P 1^{20}. 'Foreordain' does not appear before 1611, but Tindale introduced 'ordain before' in 1 P 1^{20}, which was the more surprising that in Ro 8^{29} he translated both verbs correctly, οὓς προέγνω καὶ προώρισεν, 'those which he knewe before, he also ordeyned before.' Both verbs are rare in English, the earliest certain example of 'foreordain' found by *Oxf. Eng. Dict.* being Norton's trⁿ of Calvin's *Institutes* (1561), iii. 202, 'Some to be foreordeined to saluation, other some to destruction,' though the ptcp. is found in the Prol. to Wyclif's Mark (1420), 'The for-ordencde John.' RV tr. 1 P 1^{20} correctly 'was foreknown,' and retains 'foreordain' for προορίζειν wherever it occurs, Ac 4^{28} (AV 'determine before'), Ro $8^{29.30}$ (AV 'predestinate'), 1 Co 2^{7} (AV 'ordain'), Eph $1^{5.11}$ (AV 'predestinate').

FOREKNOWLEDGE.—As an attribute of God, foreknowledge is simply a special case or aspect of omniscience. God knows all things, therefore not only the present and the past, but the future also, must lie open to His sight. This is implied in all His *promises*, whether they refer to the individual only, as where offspring is promised to Abraham (Gn 18^{14}), or are on a national scale, as when the glory of Abraham's descendants is foretold (Gn 18^{18}). It is implied also in the *warnings* which God gives, or causes to be given, as in the story of Lot and Sodom (Gn 19), or in that of Moses before Pharaoh (Ex 8-11). To an earlier Pharaoh God shows in a dream 'what he is about to do' (Gn 41^{25}), and similarly, at a later period, to Nebuchadnezzar 'what shall be in the latter days' (Dn $2^{28.\,29}$). In all such cases, however, it may be objected that they are less examples of foreknowledge than declarations regarding His own future action on the part of One who has full power of doing what He wills; that they illustrate therefore omnipotence rather than omniscience. This close association of the two attributes must always be allowed for in the usage of Scripture. Where all events are referred to the direct action of the Deity, it is not strange that He should know and foretell what He is about to do. It may be the sense that thus to foreknow and bring about events demonstrates the existence and activity of the divine, or it may be that the course of the world was already regarded as possessing a relative independence, which forms the ground of the appeal to the foreknowledge of God as proving His superiority to the idols of the nations. Such an appeal occurs more than once in Deutero-Isaiah, *e.g.* Is 42^{9} 'Behold, the former things are come to pass, and new things do I declare; before they spring forth I tell you of them'; 46^{10} 'Declaring the end from the beginning, and from ancient times things that are not yet done; saying, My counsel shall stand'; cf. also 44^{6-8} $48^{3.\,5.\,6}$. In the NT Jesus asserts foreknowledge on the part of God of what is yet hidden even from the Son (Mk 13^{32}); and St. James (Ac 15^{18}), quoting the words of Amos ($9^{11.\,12}$), substitutes for 'the LORD that doeth this,' 'the LORD who maketh these things known from the beginning of the world.' All the references, indeed, to the fulfilment of prophecy, which are so frequently found in the NT, are intelligible only on the assumption that they are taken as evidencing the foreknowledge of God.

It is, however, in its application, not to events generally, but to *salvation*, and that both of the individual and of the community, that the question of the divine foreknowledge has arrested the attention, engaged the thoughts, and sometimes tried the hearts of men. True piety refers all things to God, and rejoices to see in the individual life of faith and love the manifestation of divine activity. It seems to it that, were the case otherwise, there could be no assurance of salvation, and the peace which is the most priceless possession of God's children would be impossible to them. It is argued that, as God is both able and willing to bring about the salvation of the individual, He must know beforehand, not only His purpose to do so, but its fulfilment. We refer salvation, along with all other events, to the Divine Will; but, as God is not only Supreme Will but Supreme Intelligence, before, or accompanying the forthputting of that will there must be an act of knowledge. Thus foreknowledge comes to be associated with ELECTION and PREDESTINATION (which see) as a constitutive element in the ultimate ground of the salvation made known in Christ. But in proportion as this conclusion removes difficulties on the one side, it raises them on the other. While theoretically admitting the determinative influence of the divine action upon the course of events in general, we recognize that to us they are contingent, and we are not perplexed by a difficulty which we scarcely feel. But with the question of personal salvation it is different. Foreknowledge here implies a determinative action which seems to leave no room for choice, or moral freedom. Further, experience shows that there are gradations in the extent of spiritual privileges accorded, and infinite variations in the degree to which men avail themselves of these. Are we then to argue a limitation of the divine power, or of the divine will, to save? The interests of piety and morality, the facts of religion and experience, seem incompatible here, the one demanding an absoluteness of determination which the other cannot admit. It is the difficulty which has divided schools of earnest men and powerful thinkers, like the Augustinian and the Pelagian, the Calvinist and the Arminian, which in various forms and degrees enters into and moulds men's whole conception of the religious life. Into its later phases we cannot here enter; we must confine ourselves to stating the data of the problem as they are presented in Scripture.

In the OT the question in this special form scarcely occurs. The prophets regard Israel as having been chosen from among the peoples of the earth to be God's special heritage (Dt 7^{6-8}, Neh $9^{7.\,8}$, Is $41^{8.\,9}$ $44^{1.\,2}$); but the thought of a decree affecting the eternal destiny of individuals could not present itself to those who had only a dim conception of the future life, and who regarded religious blessings as coming to the individual only through his membership of the elect nation. In the NT the difficulty is for the most part not acutely felt, the two sides of the problem being in turn referred to without any apparent sense of antagonism or incompatibility. Thus Jesus recognizes the Father's action in revealing to babes what is hidden from the wise and prudent (Mt $11^{25.\,26}$), declares that to some it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, while from others it is withheld (Mt 13^{11-16}), says that many are called, but few chosen (Mt 22^{14}; cf. Jn 6^{44} 12^{40}). On the other hand, He preaches the gospel of repentance (Mt 4^{17}), and laments over Jerusalem for neglecting or abusing her opportunities (Mt 23^{37}). Nowhere is it made an excuse for the rejection of salvation that any one has not been included in the saving purpose of God.

It is in connexion with certain passages in the writings of St. Paul that the questions in regard to foreknowledge definitely arise. These are two. How far does foreknowledge imply predestination, decision of the fate of an individual anterior to his personal existence and therefore to his own moral choice? and, What is the relation of foreknowledge to the ground of salvation; is there anything foreknown which accounts for the saving choice falling upon one and passing by another? In Ro $8^{29.\,30}$ we read: 'For whom he foreknew (οὓς προέγνω), he also foreordained (AV did predestinate) to be conformed to the image of his Son, . . . and whom he foreordained, them he also called; and whom he called, them he also justified; and whom he justified, them he also glorified.' Here the process of salvation is represented as a chain, as a succession of stages, of which the origin was a divine purpose based upon a divine foreknowledge. The word προγινώσκω in its ordinary classical use means simply 'to know previously,' 'to have knowledge of beforehand,' and hence, since 'all demonstration depends on previously existing knowledge' (ἐκ προγινωσκομένων πᾶσα διδασκαλία, Arist. *Eth. Nic.* vi. 3), present knowledge leads to forecasting the future by tracing out the probable course of events; cf. 2 P 3^{17} 'Ye therefore, beloved, knowing these things beforehand, beware.' But, with men, the course of events can at best be foreknown only with a high degree of probability, it is never more than an inference founded on experience; but God's foreknowledge must, we argue, be absolute, and involves the actual occurrence of that which is the object of it,—if it refers to time πρόγνωσις seems inevitably to involve πρόθεσις. There is, however, a certain vagueness in the way in which προέγνω is used in Ro 8^{29}, which is still more apparent in Ro 11^{2} 'God did not cast off his people which he foreknew.' There is something wanting to fill up the conception. Cremer (*Bibl.-Theol. Lex.*) therefore suggests taking these passages in connexion with another class of passages, where the simple verb is used, of which 1 Co 8^{3} may be taken as an example:

'If any man loveth God, the same is known of him' (ἔγνωσται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ). The union between God and man thus expressed is represented in προέγνω as anticipated and determined upon 'in the divine counsels before their manifestation in history.' Another shade of meaning which προγινώσκειν in these texts appears to bear is that in the chain of events leading to salvation it denotes the *self-determination* of God to that work. With the προορίζειν the first active step to its fulfilment has been taken, but the foreknowledge of God implies His own adoption of the plan. It thus, as Cremer remarks, ideally precedes even the ἐκλέγεσθαι of Eph $1^{4.5}$ 'Even as he chose (ἐξελέξατο) us in him before the foundation of the world . . . having foreordained (προορίσας) us unto adoption as sons,' ἐκλέγεσθαι expressing 'a determination directed to the objects of the fellowship' into which God has resolved to enter with His people. Πρόγνωσις thus 'denotes the foreordained fellowship between God and the objects of His saving counsels, God's self-determination to enter into such fellowship preceding the realization thereof.' This definition establishes the place of foreknowledge in the order of the saving acts, but does not free it of the difficulty which its connexion with that order involves. In the self-determination of God to save, if this has an individual application, the whole problem is raised. It is evident that the apostle, anxious to establish the Christian's faith upon a sure foundation, overlooks for the moment the bearing of his explanation upon the question of moral choice. There is no reason to think that he would ignore the latter. His Epistles are full of appeals which recognize the moral nature and responsibilities of man. But the key to his attitude is probably to be found in that personal experience which he describes in Gal 1^{15}, where, as Lightfoot remarks, he heaps up words to emphasize the point he is maintaining ('the sole agency of God as distinct from his own efforts'), 'the *good pleasure* of God, who *separated me* (set me apart, devoted me to a special purpose), even from my mother's womb, and *called* me through his *grace.*' As he felt that he had been destined and was being prepared for his high office, even when he had been unconscious of it, and had been making in the opposite direction, so it was with humanity in general; man was moving towards the goal prepared for him, and God's purpose in spite of human recalcitrancy was being realized. But neither in the one case nor in the other did the leadings of Providence mean that the human will was being set aside.

But now, turning to the other question, has the προέγνω of Ro 8^{29} 11^{2} any special qualitative import? God knows, foreknows, His people—what constitutes them His people, is there anything in them or about them which accounts for foreknowledge becoming foreordination, which explains the ground of election? Here opinions differ, and it is probable that each exegete will read into the word what agrees with his general doctrinal standpoint. Thus, to take one or two examples, Cremer appears to think there is no such import, the conception being complete in itself, and the word not indicating 'a decision come to concerning any one'; Grimm (*NT Lex.*, Thayer's ed.) holds the meaning to be that 'God foreknew that they would love him, or (with reference to what follows) he foreknew them to be fit to be conformed to the likeness of his Son.' This explanation (that of foreseen love) is adopted also by Weiss (*NT Theology*, § 88), while Godet (*Romans*, Eng. tr. ii. 109) takes 'faith' to be the other object of foreknowledge, the condition of salvation which God foreknew that His people would fulfil. It is doubtful, however, whether St. Paul had followed out his thought on this side into a definite form. He was concerned with the purpose of God, not with the ground of that purpose. Both in Gal 1^{15}, as we have seen, in reference to himself, and in Eph $1^{5.\,11}$ in reference to the Church, he lays stress upon the fact that God's action is 'according to the good pleasure of his will, to the praise of the glory of his grace'—'according to the purpose of him who worketh all things after the counsel of his own will.'

To these indications from the Pauline writings, the occurrences of προγινώσκειν and πρόγνωσις in other parts of NT (Ac 2^{23} 26^{5}, 1 P $1^{2.\,20}$, 2 P 3^{17}) add nothing in regard to the questions we have been considering. St. Paul founds upon election, as the method appointed by Providence for the education of humanity, his religious philosophy of history. Some are set apart for special privilege, but have also laid upon them special duty. The Jews are set aside until the Gentiles be come in; salvation is extended to the Gentiles in order that the Jews might come to share its blessings; but 'God does not cast off his people which he foreknew'; His purpose is not abandoned, but worked out according to the dictates of infinite wisdom and perfect love. It has been suggested (Plumptre, *Epp. of St. Peter*, in 'Cambridge Bible for Schools') that in the words 'the foreknowledge of God *the Father*' (1 P 1^{2}) 'we find, perhaps, the secret of their (the apostles') acceptance of this aspect of the divine government. The choice and the knowledge were not those of an arbitrary sovereign will, capricious as are the sovereigns of earth, in its favours and antipathies, seeking only to manifest its power, but of a Father whose tender mercies were over all His works, and who sought to manifest His love to all His children.' 'In what way,' says the same writer, 'the thought of man's freedom to will was reconcilable with that of God's electing purpose, the writers of NT did not care to discuss. They felt, we may believe, instinctively, half-unconsciously, that the problem was insoluble, and were content to accept the two beliefs, which cannot logically be reconciled.' In this condition of unsolved antinomy the Bible leaves all such doctrines as those of grace and election, a heritage of discussion and speculation to age after age of the Church; yet, however difficult to the intellect, constantly receiving its practical solution and reconciliation in the Christian experience of the soul, which is at once conscious of its own moral responsibility and of its dependence upon God.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the authorities cited above, see Sanday-Headlam, *Romans, ll.cc.*; the *Biblical Theologies* of Beyschlag, Bovon, and Schmid; Cunningham, *Historical Theology*, ii. 441 ff.; K. Müller, *Die göttliche Zuvorersehung und Erwählung*; Bruce, *Providential Order of the World* (1897), Lect. x.; and the Literature at end of articles ELECTION, PREDESTINATION.

A. STEWART.

FOREPART.—The forepart (always one word in 1611) is either the front portion of a thing (Heb. פָּנִים *face*), Ex 28^{27} 39^{20} (of the 'ephod'), 1 K 6^{20} (of the 'oracle'), Ezk 42^{7} (of the 'chambers' of Ezekiel's temple, RV 'before'); or specifically the prow or bow of a vessel (πρώρα), Ac 27^{41}, where it is opposed to the 'hinder part' (so 1611) or stern (πρύμνα). RV gives 'foreship' in the last passage, so as to correspond with v.^{30} (the only other occurrence of the Gr. word), where AV and RV have 'foreship.' The *Oxf. Eng. Dict.* queries if 'forepart' is obsolete in this sense; it has found no later instance than Dampier (1699), *Voyages*, II. i. 74, 'The head or fore-part is not altogether so high as the Stern.' For illustration of 'forepart,' meaning generally the front, take T. Adams, *II Peter*, on 1^{2} 'There is a helmet for the head, a corselet for the breast, a shield for the foreparts; but no guard, no regard for the back'; and Bunyan, *Holy War* (Clar. Pr. ed. p. 224, l. 35), 'Every door also was filled with persons who had adorned every one their fore-part against their house with something of variety and singular excellency, to entertain him withal as he passed in the streets,' where the 'fore-part' is explained by the editor as 'the space lying between a house and the public street or highway, the plot of ground forming a garden or fore-court.'

J. HASTINGS.

FORERUNNER (πρόδρομος) occurs once in Apocr. and once in NT. Wis 12^{8} 'Thou sentest hornets as forerunners of thy host'; He 6^{20} 'whither as a forerunner Jesus entered for us.' The meaning of both these passages is illustrated by the classical usage of πρόδρομος as a military term (Herod. i. 60, iv. 121, 122; Æsch. *Theb.* 80; Thuc. ii. 22, etc.). It was applied especially to the light-armed soldiers who were sent in advance of an army as scouts. A special corps of πρόδρομοι was attached to the Macedonian army (Arrian, *Anab.* i. 12; Diod. xvii. 17). When a king was to travel, a forerunner was sent to see that the way was in good order (Is 40$^{3ff.}$; cf. Mal 3^{1}). Both these OT passages are applied in NT to John the Baptist as the forerunner of Jesus (Mt 11^{10}, Mk 1^{2}, Lk 7^{27}). In Lk 9^{52} Jesus sends 'messengers before his face to make ready for him.' Cf. Jn 14^{2} 'I go to prepare a place for you.' The kings of Israel had runners before their chariots (1 S 8^{11}); Doeg the Edomite was the mightiest of Saul's runners (1 S 21^{7}, reading רָצִים for רֹעִים); Absalom and Adonijah prepared fifty men to run before them (2 S 15^{1}, 1 K 1^{5}); Elijah ran before the chariot of Ahab (1 K 18^{46}). See further under GUARD, RUNNERS.

J. A. SELBIE.

FORESHIP.—In AV, Ac 27^{30} only, 'under colour as though they would have cast anchors out of the foreship' (1611 'fore-ship,' Gr. πρῴρα, the bow of a ship). RV adds v.^{41}. See FOREPART. It was Tindale that gave 'forshippe' as the tr^{n} of πρῴρα in v.^{30} and 'foore parte' in v.^{41}. The translators of AV retained the variety according to their precept, 'that nicenesse in wordes was alwayes counted the next step to trifling' (*The Translators to the Reader*). 'Foreship' is still in use. For the anchorage of ships see Smith, *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, 132, and art. SHIP.

FORESKIN.—See CIRCUMCISION.

FOREST.—There are five Heb. words for collections of trees and shrubs:—**1.** יַעַר *ya'ar*, δρυμός. This word, which is by far the most common, is tr. sometimes *forest* (Jer 46^{23}, Mic 3^{12}), more frequently *wood* (Dt 19^{5} RV 'forest,' 2 K 2^{24}, Ps 96^{12} etc.). Its Arab. equivalent, *wa'r*, signifies *difficult*, and is used for rugged and stony regions, whether wooded or not. The expression 'thickets of the forest' (Is 9^{18}) refers to a forest with tangled undergrowth.

2. חֹרֶשׁ *ḥoresh* is used twice for collections of trees:—(*a*) *Wood* (1 S 23^{15} etc.), where (reading חרשׁ) LXX has the proper name Καινη. RV text has *wood*, marg. the proper name *Ḥoresh* (wh. see, and cf. Driver, *Text of Samuel, ad loc.*). Many believe that the reference here is to a town and not to a forest. (*b*) *Forest* (2 Ch 27^{4}), where it is tr^{d} in LXX by δρυμός. The same word is used for *dense foliage* (Ezk 31^{3} 'shadowing shroud'). It is also used for a 'bough' (RV 'wood') Is 17^{9}. The LXX here tr. 'of the Amorites and the Hivites,' and this is probably correct. In every instance of the genuine occurrence of this word, the proper meaning appears to be 'wooded height.'

3. סְבָךְ *sĕbhak*, *thicket* (Is 9^{18} 10^{34}, Jer 4^{7}). This word is given as a proper name in LXX (Gn 22^{13} Σαβέκ). It is also tr^{d} by δρυμός, Ps 74^{5} (AV 'thick trees,' RV 'a thicket of trees').

4. עָבִים *'âbhîm*, ἄλση, 'thickets' (Jer 4^{29}), called so on account of the *darkness* of such places.

5. פַּרְדֵּס *pardêṣ*, παράδεισος. This is a word of Persian origin, found in Sanskrit, *paradeça*; Armenian, *pardes*; Syriac, *pardaysâ*; Arab. *firdaus*. It is used once (Neh 2^{8}) of a royal (AV) 'forest' or (RVm) 'park,' under the care of an officer, whose permission had to be obtained in order to fell wood within its limits. It is twice used for *orchards* (Ca 4^{13}, Ec 2^{5} pl. RV 'parks').

Pal. and Syria were doubtless much more heavily wooded in ancient times than now. Numerous forests are mentioned in Scripture. (1) The wood lands of the Canaanites and Rephaim clothed the mountains of Samaria and Galilee, and extended apparently to Beth-shean (Jos 17$^{15-18}$). Tabor is a representative of this *wood of Ephraim*. For another 'wood of Ephraim' see (9) below. (2) There was a forest near Bethel, clothing the sides of the ravines coming up from the Jordan Valley (2 K 2$^{23, 24}$). (3) The 'forest of Hareth' was on the W. slopes of the Judæan hills (1 S 22^{5}). (4) A forest in the hill-country, probably near Aijalon (1 S 14$^{25, 26}$, cf. v.^{31}), where Jonathan ate the honey. (5) The 'fields of the wood' (Ps 132^{6}) refer to the region of Kiriath-jearim, the 'village of the woods' (1 S 7^{2}). (6) The forests where Jotham 'built castles and towers' (2 Ch 27^{4}) were in the mountains of Judah. (7) If *ḥoresh* (1 S 23^{15} etc.) refers to a *wood*, then there was a forest at the edge of the Judæan desert, near Ziph. The LXX seems to regard it as a place, Καινη. Conder located it at *Khurbet-Khureisa*. Tristram, however, thinks that a forest was intended. (8) The latter opinion is strengthened by the allusion (Ezk 20$^{46, 47}$) to the 'forest of the south field' and 'forest of the south' (AV), and 'forest of the field in the south' (Negeb), 'forest of the south' (RV). These must have been forests of S. Judæa, overlooking the Judæan wilderness and et-Tîh. (9) There were extensive forests in Bashan (Is 2^{13}) and Gilead (2 S 18^{6} 'the wood [RV 'forest'] of Ephraim'). (10) Lebanon was noted for its forests (1 K 7^{2}), as also Carmel (2 K 19^{23}). RV tr^{s} כַּרְמִלּוֹ in this passage 'fruitful field' (*sc.* of Lebanon, which seems demanded by the context). Forests are mentioned in Apocr. (1 Mac 4^{38}).

Forests were an emblem of *pride* (Zec 11^{2}). They were contrasted with cultivated ground, as an emblem of *neglect* (Is 29^{17}).

Notwithstanding the ravages of conquerors, and the improvidence of the people, there are still considerable wooded regions, even in W. Palestine. The slopes of the hills, and not a few of the sides of the ravines, are clothed with thickets, and in a few places there are groves of trees, as on the flanks of Carmel and Tabor. Gilead and Bashan have quite extensive open woods of oak, terebinth, arbutus, and pine. There are still traces of the old cedar groves of Lebanon, and large open groves of pine, oak, cypress, juniper, and spruce. There are also many scrubs of dwarf oaks and carobs. Willows and poplars and plane trees are abundant along the watercourses, and tamarisks along the seashore and in the deserts. Acacias are fairly numerous in the valleys around the Dead Sea, and southward to Sinai. Terebinths, carobs, evergreen oaks, ash, hackberry, and Pride of India are scattered freely over the whole country. Large forests of full-grown trees are found in N. Lebanon, and in the heart of Amanus in N. Syria. In the latter chain are large districts, wholly occupied by forests of cedar of Lebanon, beech, pine, oak, hornbeam, cypress, spruce, and yew.

G. E. POST.

FORETELL.—Thrice 'foretell' occurs in AV, each time for a different Gr. verb, and twice in the sense of 'tell beforehand,' not specially prophesy or prognosticate: Mk 13^{23} 'Behold, I have foretold you all things' (προείρηκα, RV 'I have told you all things beforehand'); 2 Co 13^{2} 'I told you before, and foretell you, as if I were present, the second time' (προείρηκα καὶ προλέγω, RV 'I have said beforehand, and I do say beforehand,' RVm 'plainly' for *beforehand*). For this meaning see Shaks. *Tempest*, IV. i. 149—

> 'These our actors,
> As I foretold you, were all spirits';

and *III Henry VI.* IV. vii. 12—

> 'For many men that stumble at the threshold
> Are well foretold that danger lurks within.'

In the third instance the meaning is prophesy, predict, Ac 3^{24} 'all the prophets . . . have likewise foretold of these days' (TR προκατήγγειλαν, but edd. κατήγγειλαν, whence RV 'they also told of these days'). [προκαταγγέλλω is accepted by edd. in Ac 3^{18} (AV 'God before had shewed,' RV 'God foreshewed'), and 7^{52} (EV 'shewed before')]. J. HASTINGS.

FOREWARD.—In 1 Mac 9^{11} it is said of the army of Bacchides, 'they that marched in the foreward were all mighty men.' The Gr. for 'they that marched in the foreward' is οἱ πρωταγωνισταί, whence comes our 'protagonist.' The same word occurs in 2 Mac 15^{30}, where Judas is called ὁ πρωταγωνιστὴς ὑπὲρ τῶν πολιτῶν, AV 'the chief defender of the citizens,' RV 'the foremost champion of his fellow-citizens.' It signified first the principal actor in a play, and then the person taking a leading part in any enterprise, the one who 'plays first fiddle,' in fact, as Liddell and Scott suggest. The Eng. phrase 'in the foreward' comes from Geneva, 'they that foght in the forewarde were all valiant men.' The *foreward* (='front-guard') was the foremost line of an army, its vanguard; thus Caxton (1489), *Sonnes of Aymon*, i. 41, 'Fyrste of alle came the forewarde wyth the Oryflame'; and Shaks. *Rich. III.* V. iii. 293—

> 'My foreward shall be drawn out all in length,
> Consisting equally of horse and foot.'

RV translates, 'the mighty men that fought in the front of the battle'; which is almost a return to Wyclif (1382), 'the first of the bateil al the mighty.' J. HASTINGS.

FORFEIT.—From Old French *forfait* or *forfet* after late Latin *forisfactum*, a trespass, or fine (Lat. *foris* without, and *facere* to do), a 'forfeit' was originally an act outside of righteousness, and 'to forfeit' was to act unrighteously, to sin. Thus Berners, *Froissart*, I. ccccxxxi. 'Sir, ye know well the Flemings that be yonder have done us no forfeit'; and Chaucer, *Parsones Tale*, 275 (Student's ed. p. 682^{a}), 'And al this suffred Jesu Crist, that neuere forfeited.' From this the meaning passed early into the expression of a penalty due for transgression, a fine; and the verb came to signify to lose, or lose the right to, something, a meaning in which both subst. and vb. are still used. But in its only occurrence in AV the vb. 'forfeit' (the subst. is not found) is used with direct reference to the authority or executive power to confiscate; and in that sense it is marked by *Oxf. Eng. Dict.* as obsolete: Ezr 10^{8} 'And that whosoever would not come within three days, according to the counsel of the princes and the elders, all his substance should be forfeited' (יָחֳרַם, AVm and RVm 'devoted'). Cf. Dn 2^{5} Wyc. (1382), 'your housis shuln be maad commoun *or forfetid.*'

RV introduces 'forfeit' into Dt 22^{9} 'Thou shalt not sow thy vineyard with two kinds of seed; lest the whole fruit be forfeited' (תִּקְדַּשׁ, AV 'defiled,' RVm 'consecrated'; Driver, 'lit. *become holy* or *sacred*, *i.e.* be forfeited to the sanctuary'); Mt 16^{26}, Mk 8^{36} 'forfeit his life' (ζημιωθῇ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ, AV 'lose his own soul'); and Lk 9^{25} 'and lose or forfeit his own self' (ἑαυτὸν δὲ ἀπολέσας ἢ ζημιωθείς, AV 'be cast away'). In the remaining occurrences of ζημιοῦν (1 Co 3^{15}, 2 Co 7^{9}, Ph 3^{8}), RV renders 'suffer loss.'

J. HASTINGS.

FORGE, FORGER.—Forge and fabricate come both from Lat. *fabricare*, the former through the Old French *forgier*, the latter directly. To 'forge' is therefore to make or shape, as Ex 4^{11}, Wyc. (1382), 'Who made the mouth of man, or who forgide (1388 'made') the dowmbe and the deef, the seer and the blynde?'; Tindale, *Works* (ed. Russell, 1831), i. 93, 'The power of God . . . altereth him, changeth him clean, fashioneth and forgeth him anew.' It is especially used of shaping metals by fire and hammer; and in this sense RV uses the subst. *forger*, Gn 4^{22} 'Tubal-cain, the forger of every cutting instrument of brass and iron' (לֹטֵשׁ כָּל־חֹרֵשׁ, AV 'an instructer [m. 'whetter'] of every artificer in brass and iron'; so RVm). The passage is difficult, perhaps corrupt; it is fully discussed in Dillmann and in Spurrell. But in AV 'forge' and 'forger' are used only in the metaphorical sense of framing or inventing lies: Job 13^{4} 'ye are forgers of lies' (טֹפְלֵי־שָׁקֶר); Ps 119^{69} 'The proud have forged a lie against me' (טָפְלוּ עָלַי שֶׁקֶר); and Sir 51^{2} 'lips that forge lies' (ἐργαζομένων ψεῦδος). The Geneva tr. of Lk 19^{8} is, 'If I have taken from any men by forged cauillation, I restore hym foure folde.' And Shaks. *Rich. II.* IV. i. 40, gives—

> 'If thou deny'st it twenty times, thou liest;
> And I will turn thy falsehood to thy heart,
> Where it was forged, with my rapier's point.'

J. HASTINGS.

FORGETFULNESS.—Forgetful in the sense of *heedless, neglectful*, is perhaps still in use colloquially, but in literary English we should not now say as AV after Tindale in He 13^{2} 'Be not forgetful to entertain strangers' (τῆς φιλοξενίας μὴ ἐπιλανθάνεσθε, RV 'Forget not to show love unto strangers'). 'A forgetful hearer' (Ja 1^{25}) is more modern, but RV prefers 'a hearer that forgetteth' (ἀκροατὴς ἐπιλησμονῆς, lit. 'a hearer of forgetfulness,' as in 2^{4} 'judges of evil thoughts' = evil-thoughted judges').

In Sir 23^{14} the meaning is again, probably, *heedless* and so unmannerly, 'Remember thy father and thy mother, when thou sittest among great men. Be not forgetful before them, and so thou by thy custom become a fool' (μή ποτε ἐπιλάθῃ). But the passage is obscure. Wyclif has it, 'Lest perauenture God forgete thee in the sighte of hem,' after Vulg. *Ne forte obliviscatur te Deus in conspectu illorum*; and he (or the Vulg.) is followed by Rogers', Coverdale's, the Bishops', and the Douay versions; the Geneva has 'lest thou be forgotten in their sight.' RV slightly alters the construction of the sentence, and so gets a new meaning—

> 'Remember thy father and thy mother,
> For thou sittest in the midst of great men;
> That thou be not forgetful before them,
> And become a fool by thy custom.'

The great men are presumably the father and mother; if so, 'great ones' would have been better; the Gr. is simply ἀνὰ μέσον μεγιστάνων. Ball, in *QPB*, follows Fritzsche and AV, and explains, 'Low language reflects upon one's upbringing.'

Forgetfulness occurs in Ps 88^{12} 'Shall thy wonders be known in the dark? and thy righteousness in the land of forgetfulness?' (אֶרֶץ נְשִׁיָּה), where 'forgetfulness' is not the condition of losing all recollection, but of being forgotten, *oblivion*,—a meaning which Bradley (*Oxf. Eng. Dict.*) marks as probably obsolete. The condition of losing recollection might be represented as a blessed one, as in Shaks. *II Henry IV.* III. i. 8—

> 'O sleep! O gentle sleep!
> Nature's soft nurse, how have I frighted thee,
> That thou no more wilt weigh my eyelids down,
> And steep my senses in forgetfulness?'

But the Psalmist's thought is rather as in Norton (1561), *Calvin's Inst.* IV. xviii. 704, 'This Masse

. . . shamefully . . . putteth his death in forgetfulnesse'; and Gray, *Elegy*, l. 85—

> 'For who, to dumb Forgetfulness a prey,
> This pleasing anxious being e'er resigned,
> Left the warm precincts of the cheerful day,
> Nor cast one longing ling'ring look behind?'

This is the meaning also of Wis 17^{3} 'they were scattered under a dark vail of forgetfulness' (ἀφεγγεῖ λήθης παρακαλύμματι, Vulg. *tenebroso oblivionis velamento*'); but in 14^{26} 16^{11}, Sir 11^{25}, the word is used in its usual sense of a tendency to forget. J. Hastings.

FORGIVENESS.—In OT three words especially are used to express the idea of forgiveness—כִּפֶּר* 'cover' or 'pacify'; סָלַח (root meaning unknown); נָשָׂא 'lift up' or 'away.' AV and RV render all three usually 'forgive,' sometimes 'pardon.' The first and second are always used of divine forgiveness—the first, rarely (Ps 78^{38}, Jer 18^{23}, Dt 21^{8}, 2 Ch 30^{18}), the second, frequently (*e.g.* 1 K $8^{30f.}$, Lv $4^{20f.}$); the third is in common use of ordinary human forgiveness as well (*e.g.* Gn 50^{17}, Ex 10^{17}, 1 S 15^{25} 25^{28}). In nearly all instances the context implies repentance for the offence, and an intention to avoid a repetition of it, as a condition of the forgiveness; and as a result of it, that the offender is placed again in the position which he occupied before the offence, in the old covenant relation to God, or in the same friendly relation as before to the person affected. Under the sacrificial system the repentance and the amends are represented by the sacrifice which is offered by the offender through the priest (see Oehler, *Theology of the OT*, § 139); but in other cases in the Psalms and the Prophets there is no suggestion of more than acknowledgment of sin, repentance, and that intention of amendment which is expressed by the phrase 'turning to the Lord.' Forgiveness is a free act on the part of God or of man; it restores the offender to the state in which there is no obstacle to his communion with him from whom he has been alienated; it gives peace of mind (Ps 32), a consciousness of the divine mercy (Ps 103); it removes the fear of punishment and quickens love (2 S 12^{13}, Job 33^{28}, Ps 103^{2}). Nor is it only an individual matter; the whole nation may be alienated from God through neglect of his will, and may by forgiveness be restored,—such is the burden of many a prophetic exhortation.

It has been said that 'no permanent state of reconciliation' was established under the old covenant; that there was only such forgiveness for the past as might enable men to begin again to seek justification through the works of the law. It has also been maintained that the old covenant furnished only a 'passing over' of sin, a 'closing the eyes' to it on the part of God—by which, though satisfaction was not made, though there was no real remission of sin, punishment was forgone. The consideration of these questions involves the whole subject of Atonement (wh. see); but it may be stated here that neither the national and individual experiences recorded in the OT, nor the words and general language used, seem to suggest any fundamental difference in the idea of forgiveness from that which we find in the NT. When St. Paul in a particular passage (Ro 3^{25}) uses, with reference to sins committed by men living under the old covenant, a word (πάρεσις) different from that (ἄφεσις) which is in common use in the NT to express 'forgiveness,' he has in mind a different thought. He is arguing that because in former ages God had not exacted from men the punishment which was due for their sins (cf. Ac 14^{16}, 17^{30}), his forbearance had been misunderstood; he had 'passed by' sins till the world was in danger of forgetting that he was a God of righteousness; and the time had come for a signal exhibition of his hatred of sin in the propitiation made in Christ Jesus (see Ro $3^{25.\,26}$ RV, the sense of the argument is lost in AV). With men such 'passing by' might involve forgetting, it could not be the same as 'forgiving'; with God it would be neither (see Trench, *Synonyms*, § xxxiii.). No argument with regard to the nature of forgiveness under the old covenant can be drawn from the passage. Indeed, so far as the relation between the individual and God is concerned, there is nothing to indicate that the forgiveness granted by God in the experience of his people before the coming of Christ was different in kind from that which Christ proclaimed. A difference in the requirement of it from men in their relations with one another, no doubt, may readily be detected between the teaching of the OT and the NT. It is here that the real development in the ethical teaching of the NT on the subject is to be found. The duty of forgiving injuries and wrongs committed against oneself or others cannot be said to occupy the prominent place in the OT that it has in the teaching of Jesus. It must be recognized that in this respect there is a real distinction to be drawn. But true as it is that the revelation of the divine will and of the ideal of human life and character, the power of the whole revelation made in Christ, has immeasurably facilitated the individual's opportunity of conscious enjoyment of the divine forgiveness, and stimulated his readiness to bestow forgiveness in his measure upon others; yet it is none the less true that the same forgiveness of sin was offered to previous generations of men—'they are not to be heard, which feign that the old fathers did look only for transitory promises.' The materials for determining the idea of forgiveness are, however, so much richer in the NT than in the OT, that we turn to it rather than to the OT for the elaboration of the idea.

So closely, indeed, is the principle associated with the teaching and work of Christ, that forgiveness has been called 'Christ's most striking innovation in morality,' and the phrase a 'Christian' spirit is commonly regarded as synonymous with a disposition of readiness to forgive an injury. The pagan ideal of manly life was to succeed in doing as much good to your friends and as much injury to your enemies as possible; and if it be not true that forgiveness was a virtue unknown in the ancient world, it was at all events not one that was demanded or proclaimed as a duty by any ethical system. Indeed it is clear that without a sense of the need of personal holiness and the consciousness of guilt, without—in the widest meaning of the phrase—a conviction of sin, there could be no true repentance, no sense of the need of forgiveness. And such a conviction of sin neither Greek nor Roman religion produced.

The words which are used in the NT are the Gr. representatives of the Heb. words in the OT. We have, though rarely, the word (καλύπτω) meaning 'cover' or 'hide' (Ro 4^{7}, 1 P 4^{8}, Ja 5^{20}, all quoted from LXX); and once, with reference to former times, the word for 'passing by' (Ro 3^{25}); but by far the commonest word is that which expresses the idea of 'sending away,' or 'letting go' or 'releasing' (ἄφεσις), which is rendered in this connexion either 'forgive,' 'forgiveness,' or 'remit,' 'remission.' The noun occurs in this sense eleven times in the synoptic Gospels (not at all in Jn) and Ac (Mt 26^{28}, Mk 1^{4} 3^{29}, Lk 1^{77} 3^{3} 24^{47}, Ac 2^{38} 5^{31} 10^{43} 13^{38} 26^{18}; eight times in Lk and Ac, a favourite word of St. Luke), and four times elsewhere (Eph 1^{7}, Col 1^{14}, He 9^{22} 10^{18}). In eleven of these instances there is added 'of sins,' in one 'of trespasses,' in one the same words are in the immediate context, and in the two remaining instances the word stands absolutely. (AV renders nine times 'remission,' six times 'forgiveness.') The verb with the same meaning occurs about forty times in the synoptic Gospels, once in Ac (8^{22}), three times in Jn [Gospel once (20^{23}), 1 Ep. twice (1^{9} 2^{12})], and twice elsewhere (Ro 4^{7}, Ja 5^{15}). It is found predominantly with the usual word for 'sin' (ἁμαρτία) or 'sins' expressed or implied in the context, but other words—'debt,' 'trespasses,' 'iniquities'—are also used. The verb implies the complete removal of the cause of offence. The sin is taken out of the way, out of sight. The debt is cancelled: the debtor released from his obligation (cf. Mt 18^{23-35}). As far as the offender is concerned, the trespass is done away. He no longer has the sense of sin, of guilt and liability to punishment; he is restored to the harmonious relations which existed before. (It is noticeable that though this is the favourite word of the Gospels and Acts, it is scarcely found in the NT outside them: the idea of forgiveness is merged in the wider ones of justification and salvation). Instead of this word St. Paul uses one (χαρίζεσθαι ten times) which has the special sense 'confer a favour on,' 'be gracious to'—of men towards one another and of Christ in relation to them (2 Co $2^{7.\ 10}$ 12^{13}, Eph 4^{32}, Col 2^{13} 3^{13}). St. Luke has this word twice (Lk $7^{42.\ 43}$), each time of a debt (AV 'frankly forgave'), and twice he has also a word (ἀπολύω, $6^{37\ \textit{bis}}$), meaning to 'loose from,' 'release,' 'set at liberty.' In the Apocalypse the nearest equivalent is found probably in the idea of the blood 'loosing' from sin and 'cleansing' (*e.g.* Rev 1^{5} 7^{14}; cf. 1 Jn $1^{7.\ 9}$).

---

* On this important term see *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*, also Driver, *Deut.* 243, 425 f., and art. Propitiation.

The teaching of the NT as to forgiveness is sufficiently represented by (1) the sayings of Christ which led up to St. Peter's question and the answer to it (Lk $17^{3.\ 4}$, Mt 18^{15-17} and $18^{21.\ 22}$), and the Parables of the Prodigal and of the great Debtor (Lk 15^{11-32}, Mt 18^{23-35}); (2) the clause in the Lord's Prayer (with the comment which is added Mt $6^{14.\ 15}$, cf. Mk $11^{25.\ 26}$); and (3) the allusion to blasphemy against the Holy Spirit (Mt 12^{31} and parallels), and St. John's mention of sin 'unto death' (1 Jn 5^{17}).

(1) The teaching is given much more fully in Mt than in Lk, but the full essence of it is in the words of Lk, 'If thy brother trespass against thee, rebuke him; and if he repent, forgive him. And if he trespass against thee seven times in a day, and seven times in a day turn again to thee, saying, I repent; thou shalt forgive him.' It is clear at once that, if certain conditions are satisfied, the teaching of Christ admits of no limitations to the law of forgiveness. The account in Mt more vividly enforces this point. It represents Christ as at first only enunciating the general principle. St. Peter seeks for further guidance, wishing to reduce the principle to the compass of a definite rule, and asking, 'Lord, *how oft* shall my brother sin against me, and I forgive him? till seven times?' and it is in answer to his question that the words are elicited which raise the duty out of the sphere of mere numerical calculation—'I say not unto thee, Until seven times: but, Until seventy times seven.' There is to be no limit whatever to the readiness of a follower of Christ to forgive. On the other hand, it is equally clear that something is required on the part of the offender before he can be the recipient of forgiveness. 'If thy brother . . . turn again to thee, saying, I repent'—this is the condition: there must be the consciousness of sin, the free avowal of error (cf. Lk 15^{21}), the recognition of wrong-doing and the turning away from it, and, it seems, the willingness to make amends (cf. Lk 19^{8}). That there must be such repentance * (change of mind, acceptance of a new ideal of life) is still more plainly shown in the account of Mt: the Christian is not to remain passive till the offender of his own accord comes to him penitent and begging reconciliation—he is, on the contrary, to adopt all rational means he can to bring home to him the error and evil of his conduct; and should he still remain inpenitent and obdurate, there is no forgiveness for him—he places himself outside the pale of Christian life—'Let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican.'

The Parable of the Prodigal Son shows the same relation between forgiveness and repentance. The wish to leave the father—the revolt against his will, his plan of life—was the sin: the return is in itself sufficient proof of repentance, even though it was prompted by the sense of failure and physical hunger; the father recognizes it as such, and hastens to meet and welcome the offender, and forgives him before he has had time to put into words his confession of sin; the son is in that moment restored to the position in his father's household which he had forfeited. (The teaching of the apostles as described in Ac lays similar emphasis on repentance as a first condition of salvation [*e.g.* Ac 2^{38}], baptism being from one point of view the outward mark of repentance). So, too, the publican goes down to his house 'justified' because penitent (Lk 18^{14}).

Nature of Forgiveness.

Similarly, a readiness to forgive others is laid down as a condition for a man's own forgiveness (cf. Mt 6^{12}, Mk $11^{25.\ 26}$, Mt 5^{7}). The Parable of the great Debtor shows that the absence of a forgiving spirit in men prevents their being themselves forgiven.

(2) The instances of Christ's teaching which have been cited might be interpreted as having reference only to relations between men, though it is scarcely conceivable that the parables are not intended to be significant of the relations of mankind as sons to God the Father, the ideal of character. The clause in the Lord's Prayer (Mt 6^{12}, Lk 11^{4}) makes it evident that human forgiveness and divine forgiveness are represented as strictly analogous. There is indeed no indication of any fundamental difference between the forgiveness which the Christian wins from God and that which he in turn bestows upon his 'brother.' It is the same phrase which is used throughout—a phrase denoting actual 'remission' of sin; and it is used by Christ of his own action, and alike of God's and of man's part in the mysterious process. If it were not so, it would be mockery to offer up the petition, 'Forgive us our trespass, as we forgive them that trespass against us.' The comment on the clause, which Mt appends to the Prayer, and the similar saying, which Mk introduces in connexion with the exhortation to faith in praying, forbid any differentiation (cf. Col 3^{13}). The statements are quite general. Forgiveness is to be won by repentance and confession, whatever the nature of the offence, whoever the persons concerned may be. (In view of the indisputably general application of the Parable of the Prodigal Son and the other references to forgiveness, it seems impossible to accept the interpretation of Mt 18^{15-17} which would limit its teaching to relations between Christians).

(3) There are, however, two references which seem to set a limit to the possibility of divine forgiveness. One is the case of the blasphemy against the Holy Spirit; the other is St. John's

---

* Two words are used which imply change of mind (involving regret for the course pursued and change of conduct for the future) Mt 4^{17}, Mk 1^{15}, Lk $15^{7.\ 10}$, and change of will Mt 21^{29} (on the question whether the distinction holds or not, see Trench, *Synonyms*, § lxix.); and there are also words which mean 'turning' or 'conversion,' Lk 22^{32}, Mt 18^{3}.

allusion to 'sin unto death.' The first of these references declares that there is a supreme sin for which no man can ever hope to be forgiven—'All their sins shall be forgiven unto the sons of men, and their blasphemies wherewith soever they shall blaspheme' (Mk 3^{28}); but with these sins and blasphemies there is pointedly contrasted one—'Whosoever shall blaspheme against the Holy Spirit hath never forgiveness, but is guilty of an eternal sin,' and it 'shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, nor in that which is to come' (Mt 12^{32}). All that can be said with certainty as to the nature of this sin is that the opposition of the scribes and Pharisees to Christ was a sign and indication of it, and that the Pharisaic charge that it was by the powers of evil that he was enabled to perform his works of healing, was the immediate occasion of his denunciation of it. Augustine regarded the sin as deliberate persistence in evil (for other interpretations see Westcott, note on 1 Jn 5^{17}). It would appear from the rest of Christ's teaching on forgiveness that it was in any case of such a character as to deaden and destroy the spiritual sense in him who yielded himself up to its influence, so that repentance would become impossible to him. The idea of unpardonable sin is further suggested by St. John's exception of 'sin unto death' from the subjects of intercessory prayer (1 Jn 5^{16}). To one who thus sins the way of forgiveness is closed; at least it is not to be opened through the intercession of his brethren, which in other cases would avail.

There remains to be considered the problem of the significance of Christ's cry from the Cross, 'Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do' (Lk 23^{34}). It is evident that it is a prayer for the forgiveness of those who have not repented, who have not even come to knowledge of their guilt. It cannot, however, be regarded as limited in its scope to the Roman soldiers, and excluding any reference to the share in the final tragedy taken by the party of the scribes and Pharisees. The soldiers could not be thought of as in any real sense needing forgiveness for carrying out their orders in what they could only consider an ordinary execution: even Pilate was treated as comparatively guiltless. The cry must therefore be the supreme expression of the human sympathy and love of Christ, of the great principle which he had always inculcated. The sin embodied in the conduct of the Pharisaic party he had condemned in burning words; towards it there could not be any change of feeling; but they might be brought to repentance late though it was, and the words which are under consideration are a prayer for that result, a loving hope for the enlightenment of those blind leaders of the blind. It may be a hope against hope, but the cry does not constitute an exception to the principles and conditions of forgiveness which are to be drawn from other parts of the NT. It is a crowning example of 'forgivingness,' if so be that the divine mercy may transcend the usual conditions of the bestowal of the boon. Such a spirit of 'forgivingness' may be present (it has been noticed that it is required in all cases from the individual who has been injured), whether 'forgiven-ness' (the remission of the offence as regards the person who has offended) ensues or not. The word 'forgiveness' is capable of the active and of the passive sense. In the active sense it is clear that it is an ordinary Christian duty; in the passive sense, before it can be realized the conditions which have been elicited must be fulfilled.

LITERATURE.—Oehler, *Theol. of OT*; Schmid, *Bib. Theol. of NT*; Martensen, *Christian Ethics*; Seeley, *Ecce Homo*; Dorner, *System of Christian Doctrine*. See also Literature under arts. ATONEMENT, PROPITIATION. J. F. BETHUNE-BAKER.

FORM.—Numerous as are the Heb. and Gr. words tr^{d} 'form,' the meanings of the word in AV and RV may be reduced to the following: **1.** Shape, as an orderly arrangement of parts, Gn 1^2 'The earth was without form' (תֹּהוּ, RV 'waste'; so in Jer 4^{23}); Wis 11^{17} 'thy Almighty hand, that made the world of matter without form' (ἐξ ἀμόρφου ὕλης, RV 'out of formless matter'). Cf. Shaks. *K. John*, III. i. 253—

> 'All form is formless, order orderless.'

2. Such orderly arrangement as produces *beauty, comeliness*, Is 52^{14} 53^2 'he hath no form nor comeliness' (תֹּאַר); Wis 15^5 'they desire the form of a dead image, that hath no breath' (εἶδος; Farrar, 'he yearns for the unbreathing beauty of a dead image'). For this meaning see Shaks. *Mids. Night's Dream*, I. ii. 233—

> 'Things base and vile, holding no quantity,
> Love can transpose to form and dignity.'

3. The special or characteristic shape of a person or thing, Ezk 8^3 'And he put forth the form of an hand, and took me by a lock of mine head' (תַּבְנִית; so 10^8); Dn 3^{19} 'Then was Nebuchadnezzar full of fury, and the form of his visage was changed' (צְלֵם); Mk 16^{12}, Ph $2^{6.7}$ (μορφή, the characteristic form of the Son of God and His characteristic form as the Son of Man; see Gifford, *The Incarnation*, p. 22 ff.; and art. FASHION). Cf. Shaks. *Com. of Errors*, II. ii. 200—

> 'Thou hast thine own form.
> No, I am an ape.
> If thou art changed to aught, 'tis to an ass.'

Milton, *Comus*, l. 70—

> 'Their human countenance,
> Th' express resemblance of the gods, is chang'd
> Into some brutish form of wolf or bear.'

And *Par. Reg.* iv. 599—

> 'True image of the Father, whether thron'd
> In the bosom of bliss, and light of light
> Conceiving, or remote from Heav'n, enshrin'd
> In fleshly tabernacle, and human form,
> Wand'ring the wilderness.'

4. The representation or pattern of anything, Ezk 8^{10} 'And behold, every form of creeping things . . . pourtrayed upon the wall round about' (תַּבְנִית); 2 Ch 4^7 'he made ten candlesticks of gold according to their form' (מִשְׁפָּט, RV 'according to the ordinance concerning them'); Ezk $43^{11\ quater}$ (צוּרָה); Ro 6^{17} 'that form of doctrine which was delivered you' (τύπος, RVm 'pattern'); 2 Ti 1^{13} 'Hold fast the form of sound words which thou hast heard of me' (ὑποτύπωσις, RV 'pattern'). So Wyclif's tr. of 1 Th 1^7 'so that ye ben maad fourme, *or ensaumple*, to alle men bileuynge'; and Locke, *Human Underst.* III. iii. 230, 'To make abstract general Ideas, and set them up in the Mind, with Names annexed to them, as Patterns, or Forms (for in that sense the word Form has a very proper signification).' **5.** Outward aspect (*a*); often the mere outward appearance as opposed to the inner reality (*b*): Thus (*a*) Job 4^{16} 'It stood still, but I could not discern the form thereof' (מַרְאֶה, RV 'appearance'); 1 S 28^{14} 'And the woman said unto Saul, I saw gods ascending out of the earth. And he said unto her, What form is he of?' (תֹּאַר); Dn 2^{31} 3^{25} (רֵו, RV 'aspect'). So Shaks. *Coriol.* III. iii. 109—

> 'Art thou a man? thy form cries out thou art';

and *Henry V.* III. vi. 72, 'Why, 'tis a gull, a fool, a rogue: that now and then goes to the wars, to grace himself at his return unto London under the form of a soldier.' (*b*) 2 S 14^{20} 'To fetch about this form of speech hath thy servant Joab done this thing' (פְּנֵי הַדָּבָר, RV 'to change the face of the matter'); Ro 2^{20}, 2 Ti 3^5 'Having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof' (both *μόρφωσις*, which is not so purely as *σχῆμα* the mere outward form, but seems to be so used in both these passages, esp. 2 Ti 3^5, and that is clearly the meaning of AV. See Sanday-Headlam on Ro 2^{20}). In illustration, take again Shaks., *Henry V.* II. ii. 116—

> 'And other devils that suggest by treasons,
> Do botch and bungle up damnation
> With patches, colours, and with forms, being fetch'd
> From glistering semblances of piety';

and *Othello*, II. i. 243, 'a knave very voluble, no further conscionable than in putting on the mere form of civil and humane seeming, for the better compassing of his salt and most hidden-loose affection.'

The word 'form' has been occasionally introduced into RV when it is not in AV. It is used to tr. (1) Heb. תְּמוּנָה in all its occurrences except one, either for AV 'likeness' (Ex 20^4, Dt $4^{23.\,25}$ 5^8), or 'similitude' (Nu 12^8, Dt $4^{12.\,15.\,16}$), or 'image' (Job 4^{16}). The exception is Ps 17^{15} 'I shall be satisfied when I awake with thy likeness,' where RV gives 'form' in marg., Amer. RV in text. (2) קֶצֶב in 1 K 6^{25} 7^{37} for AV 'size'; but not in the only other occurrence of that word Jon 2^6 (EV 'bottom'—'I went down to the bottoms of the mountains,' AVm 'Heb. cuttings off'). (3) *εἶδος* Lk 3^{22}, Jn 5^{37} (AV 'shape'), 1 Th 5^{22} (AV 'appearance'). (4) *τύπος* Ac 23^{25} (AV 'manner').

J. HASTINGS.

FORMER.—This comparative adj. was at one time freely used to express the more advanced of two positions. Thus Wyclif (1388), after saying that Jacob 'departide (1382 'dyuydide') the puple that was with hym . . . in to twei cumpenyes,' adds (Gn 32^{17}), 'And he comaundide to the formere (1382 'forther'), and seide, If thou schalt mete my brothir Esau,' etc.; and Knox, *Hist.* 88, 'Fiftie horse and men of the first rank lay dead at once, without any hurt done to the Scottish Armie, except that the Speares of the former two rankes were broken.' In this way 'former' is used in Zec 14^8 'Living waters shall go out from Jerusalem; half of them toward the former sea, and half of them toward the hinder sea' (הַיָּם הַקַּדְמוֹנִי, AVm and RV 'the eastern sea'); the 'eastern' sea being the Dead Sea, and the 'hinder' or 'western' sea (הַיָּם הָאַחֲרוֹן) the Mediterranean.

FORNICATION.—See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.

FORSOMUCH.—Wis 12^{15} 'Forsomuch then as thou art righteous thyself' (*δίκαιος δὲ ὤν*, RV 'But being righteous'); and Lk 19^9 'forsomuch as he also is a son of Abraham' (*καθότι*, RV 'forasmuch as'). The form is rare. Far more common is 'forasmuch,' which occurs forty-three times in AV, and was introduced generally by Tindale (it does not seem to occur in the Wyclifite versions). Tindale always keeps the parts of the word distinct, 'for as moche'; AV always presents an undivided word. It is Rogers (*Matthew's Bible*) that gives 'for so much' in Wis 12^{15}; but in Lk 19^9 AV is the first to use that form (perhaps by a slip of the pen or the printer), Tindale and others having 'for as moche.'

FORSWEAR.—To 'forswear' is to undo one's swearing, in accordance with the meaning of *for* (see under FOREGO). In AV it is always used reflexively, 'to forswear oneself,' with the meaning to swear falsely, to perjure oneself: 1 Es 1^{48} 'And after that king Nabuchodonosor had made him to swear by the name of the Lord, he forswore himself, and rebelled' (*ἐφιορκήσας ἀπέστη*); Wis 14^{28} 'they . . . lightly forswear themselves' (*ἐπιορκοῦσιν ταχέως*); and Mt 5^{33} 'Thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths' (*οὐκ ἐπιορκήσεις*; AV is Tindale's trⁿ, Wyclif has the intrans. form, 'Thou shalt not forswere': with which we may compare T. Adams, *II Peter*, on 1^4 'Peter swore like a ruffian, and forswore like a renegade, till Christ looked on him, and then he wept'). For the AV trⁿ cf. Shaks. *III Henry VI.* v. v. 75—

> '*Clarence.* Did'st thou not hear me swear I would not do it?
> *Q. Margaret.* Ay, but thou usest to forswear thyself:
> 'Twas sin before, but now 'tis charity.'

FORT.—See WAR.

FORTH.—As Germ. *fort* from *vor*, so 'forth' is an adverb formed from 'fore'; and its general meaning is 'to the front.' When used with such verbs as 'bring' or 'come' it means *forward into view*, as Pr 25^6 'Put not forth thyself in the presence of the king' (RV 'put not thyself forward,' RVm '*Heb.* glorify not thyself'); Jn 8^{42} 'I proceeded forth, and came from God' (*ἐξῆλθον*, RV 'I came forth'). In this, its most characteristic meaning, it is used both literally and figuratively, and accompanies a great many different verbs, as *bring*, Gn 1^{11} 'Let the earth bring forth grass,' Is 41^{21} 'bring forth your strong reasons'; *come*, Job 14^2 'He cometh forth like a flower, and is cut down'; *put*, Mt 13^{24} 'Another parable put he forth unto them' (*παρέθηκεν αὐτοῖς*, RV 'set he before them'); *stretch*, Ex 25^{20} 'the cherubims shall stretch forth their wings on nigh' (RV 'spread out'); *shoot*, Gn 40^{10} 'her blossoms shot forth'; *send*, Ex 15^7 'Thou sentest forth thy wrath'; *show*, Mt 14^2 'mighty works do show forth themselves in him' (*αἱ δυνάμεις ἐνεργοῦσιν*, RV 'these powers work'); and in like manner: *set*, Lk 1^1; *stand*, Jer 46^4, Mk 3^3; *call*, Is 31^4; *bud*, Ca 7^{12}; *spring*, Job 38^{27}; *creep*, Ps 104^{20}; *reach*, Pr 31^{20}; *shed*, Ac 2^{33}.

Sometimes the idea expressed is motion from a confined place to a more open, as 2 S 22^{20} = Ps 18^{19} 'He brought me forth also into a large place'; Nu 24^6 'As the valleys are they spread forth'; 2 S 11^1 'at the time when kings go forth to war.' This meaning is also expressed by 'abroad.' When 'forth' is used, it is always with a verb of motion; never as in Shaks. *Comedy of Errors*, II. ii. 212—

> 'Sirrah, if any ask for your master,
> Say, he dines forth, and let no creature enter.'

Then 'forth' expresses generally *movement away from a place*, as Gn 3^{23} 'God sent him forth from the garden'; and more particularly movement *onwards from a given point*, as Jos 18^{11} 'the coast of their lot came forth between the children of Judah and the children of Joseph' (RV 'the border of their lot went out'); Mt 9^9 'Jesus passed forth from thence' (RV 'by'); Ph 3^{13} 'forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before' (RV 'stretching forward'). Cf. Ezk 6^{14} Cov. 'from the wildernesse off Deblat forth'; and Ps 72^8 (Stern. and Hopk.) 'His large and great dominion shall from sea to sea extend: it from the river shall reach forth unto earth's utmost end.'

It is in this last sense only—'forward from a given point'—that 'forth' is used with expressions of time. These are: (1) 'from this time forth' (מֵעַתָּה Ps 113^2 115^{18} 121^8); (2) 'from that time forth' (מִן־הַיּוֹם הַהוּא Neh 4^{16}; מִן־הָעֵת הַהִיא 13^{21}; *ἀπὸ τότε*, Mt 16^{21} [RV omits 'forth']); and (3) 'from that day forth' (*ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας*, Mt 22^{46}, Jn 11^{53}).

In many of the foregoing expressions modern usage would prefer 'forward' or 'out.' In the following examples 'out' is distinctly the modern word: with *put*, Ac 9^{40} 'Peter put them all forth' (so Gn 8^9, Jg 6^{21}, Mt 9^{25}); with *break*, 2 S 5^{20} 'The LORD hath broken forth upon mine enemies'; with *give*, Ezk $18^{8.\,13}$ 'He that hath not given forth upon usury';* with *set*, Ezk 27^{10} 'they set forth thy comeliness'; with *spread*, Ezk 47^{10} 'a place to spread forth nets' (RV 'for the spreading of nets'); with *cast*, Jon $1^{5.\,12.\,15}$; *let*, Lk 20^{9} 'A certain man planted a vineyard, and let it forth to husbandmen' (RV 'out'); *look*, Ca 2^{9} 'he looketh forth at the windows' (RV 'in,' Heb. מִן); or omitted altogether, as in Jn 2^{11} 'Jesus . . . manifested forth his glory.'

---

* Cf. Pref. to AV 1611, 'He gaue foorth, that hee had not seene any profit.'

The phrase 'forth of,' which occurs in AV Gn 8^{16} 9^{18}, Jg 11^{31}, 2 Ch 23^{14}, Job 5^{6}, Am 7^{17}, Jth 2^{21}, has sometimes been taken to be a prep., as by Abbott (*Shaks. Grammar*, § 156). It seems, however, to be a contracted form of 'forth out of,' which is found Gn 8^{19} 'Every beast . . . went forth out of the ark.' Thus Gn 8^{16} 'Go forth of the ark'; Jg 11^{31} 'whatsoever cometh forth of the doors of my house to meet me'; Am 7^{17} 'Israel shall surely go into captivity forth of his land' (RV 'out of'); and even 2 Ch 23^{14} 'Have her forth of the ranges' (RV 'forth between the ranks'). In illustration of the phrase, cf. Knox, *Hist.* 365, 'Herewith was the Queen more offended; and commanded the said *John* to passe forth of the Cabinet, and to abide further of her pleasure in the Chamber'; and his tr$^{\text{n}}$ of Ps 18^{16} (*Works*, iii. 320), 'he hath drawen me forth of many waters'; and so Bacon, *Essays* ('Of Prophecies,' Gold. Treas. ed. p. 150, l. 13), 'In *Vespasians* Time, there went a *Prophecie* in the East: That those that should come forth of Iudea, should reigne over the World.' A further ellipsis sometimes takes place, the 'of' being omitted (not in AV), as Shaks. *Mids. Night's Dream*, I. i. 164—

> 'If thou lov'st me then,
> Steal forth thy father's house to-morrow night.'

J. HASTINGS.

FORTIFICATION, FORTRESS.—See WAR.

FORTUNATUS (Φορτούνατος), a member of the Church at Corinth, is mentioned in the first Epistle to that Church (16^{17}) as having visited St. Paul at Ephesus, along with Stephanas and Achaicus. They had gone as deputies to seek the apostle's help and advice regarding certain ethical questions, and especially regarding marriage, meats offered to idols, and spiritual gifts, and to strengthen the tie between him and the Corinthians. The state of affairs which their statements disclosed is dealt with at length in the Epistle in which they are mentioned, and which most likely they carried back with them, perhaps in company with Titus. Weiss suggests that the way in which the names are mentioned, seems to show that F. and Achaicus in some way belonged to the house of Stephanas. The name F., which is Roman, was a very common one, and hence it is precarious to identify St. Paul's visitor, as some have proposed to do, with the F. mentioned by Clement of Rome (*Ep.* 59). W. MUIR.

FORTY.—See NUMBER.

FORUM.—Only in *Appii forum* (so 1611, not *Forum* as in mod. ed.) Ac 28^{15}, one of the stages in St. Paul's journey to Rome. The Gr. Ἀππίου φόρον is a transliteration of the Lat., which has been taken directly into English. Wyclif translated the word: 'the cheping of Appius'; so did the Geneva translators, 'the Market of Appius,' whom RV follows. But the other versions present various forms of the Lat.: Tind. 'Apiphorum' (though he translates the other name 'the thre taverns'), so the Great Bible; Cov. 'Apiforum'; the Rhemish 'Apij-forum'; Matthew's Bible, the Bishops' Bible, and AV 'Appii forum.' See APPIUS (MARKET OF).

FORWARD, FORWARDNESS.—Forward is used both as adj. and as adv. in AV, but the adj., though independent in early Eng., seems to have been lost, and afterwards re-formed from the adverb. So the adv. properly comes first.

As an adv. 'forward' means 'towards the front,' as opposed to 'backward,' as Job 23^{8} 'Behold I go forward, but he is not there; and backward, but I cannot perceive him,' and Nu 32^{19} 'For we will not inherit with them on yonder side Jordan, or forward, because our inheritance has fallen to us on this side Jordan eastward' (הָלְאָה, 'further on,' as 1 S 20^{22} 'the arrows are beyond thee,' מִמְּךָ וָהָלְאָה, lit. 'from thee and onwards'). So Berners, *Froissart*, I. xvii. 18, 'All his barones went out of the cite, and the first nyght they lodged vi. myle forwarde.' In the same sense it is applied to time, as Ezk 39^{22} 'from that day and forward'; 43^{27} 'upon the eighth day, and *so* forward.' Cf. Stubbes, *Anat. Abus.* ii. 34, 'If sixtie would serue, they must have an hundred, and so forward.' A bold expression is found in 2 Es 3^{6} 'before ever the earth came forward,' that is, into existence (*antequam terra adventaret*), a tr$^{\text{n}}$ retained in RV, though it is perhaps unique in Eng. literature.

When used figuratively with certain verbs 'forward' has the meaning of 'advance the interests of, help the progress of an undertaking.' The verbs in AV are (1) *set*, 1 Ch 23^{4} 'to set forward the work of the house of the LORD' (לְנַצֵּחַ, RV as AVm 'to oversee': so in Ezr $3^{8.\,9}$ RV changes AV 'set forward' into 'have the oversight,' though in 2 Ch 34^{12} 'to set it forward' is accepted for the same* Heb. with RVm 'to preside over it'; and in 34^{13} 'overseers' of AV is changed into 'set forward,' for Heb. מְנַצְּחִים). The phrase is applied to evil works as well as to good, Job 30^{13} 'they set forward my calamity' (יֹעִילוּ); Wis 14^{18} 'the singular diligence of the artificer did help to set forward the ignorant to more superstition' (προετρέψατο, RV 'urged forward by the ambition of the artificer'). To those examples RV adds 1 Co 16^{6} 'that ye may set me forward on my journey,' and 2 Co 1^{16}, 3 Jn ^{6} (all προπέμπω), where the meaning is somewhat different, to start one upon a journey. Shakespeare often uses the phrase intransitively (never trans. as here), as *I Henry IV.* II. iii. 38, 'We are prepared. I will set forward to-night.' The expression 'set forward' in this literal sense is also found in AV, but only in Nu, where it occurs 15 times of the marching of the Israelites in the Wilderness. (2) *Help*, only Zec 1^{15} 'they helped forward the affliction' (עָזְרוּ לְרָעָה, RVm 'helped the evil'), that is, the heathen not only acted as God's instruments in chastising Israel, but went further. (3) *Haste*, only 1 Es 1^{27} 'the Lord is with me hasting me forward' (ἐπισπεύδων). (4) *Bring*, only 3 Jn ^{6} 'whom if thou bring forward on their journey after a godly sort, thou shalt do well' (RV 'set forward,' as above). The same meaning is found *intransitively* with *go* in Gn 26^{13} 'waxed great, and went forward' (וַיֵּלֶךְ הָלוֹךְ וְגָדֵל, lit. as AVm, 'went going'; RV 'grew more and more'); and Ad. Est 13^{4}. The literal sense occurs in Nu 2^{24} 10^{5} and ('go on forward') 1 S 10^{3}. Cf. Goldsmith, *Vicar*, xi. (Globe ed. p. 21^{a} l. 3), 'Mr. Burchell, who was of the party, was always fond of seeing some innocent amusement going forward'; and Shaks. *Mids. Night's Dream*, IV. ii. 17, 'If our sport had gone forward, we had all been made men.'

In modern English 'forward' as an adj. means presumptuous, impertinent. This meaning is found as early as the beg. of the 17th cent.; thus, Warner, *Alb. Eng.* IX. xlvii. 221, 'They tould how forward Maidens weare, how proude if in request.' But it does not occur in AV. There the adj. means either *ready*, 2 Co 8[10] 'to be forward a year ago' (τὸ θέλειν, RV 'to will'), or *zealous*, 2 Co 8[17] 'being more forward, of his own accord he went unto you' (σπουδαιότερος, RV 'very earnest'); Gal 2[10] 'which I also was forward to do' (ἐσπούδασα, RV 'was zealous'); and 1 Mac 1[13], where the zeal is in a bad cause (προεθυμήθησάν τινες). Cf. Hall, *Contemplations* (*Works*, ed. 1634, ii. 52), 'What marvell is it if God bee not forward to give, where we care not to aske, or aske as if we cared not to receive?' and (for the meaning 'ready') Livingstone (*Select Biographies*, Wod. i. 229), 'Mr. James went back with him, and finding him forward to go in with him . . . believed him.'

---

* The only remaining occurrence of the infin. is 1 Ch 15^{21}, where AV has 'to excel,' AVm 'to oversee,' and RV 'to lead.' The meaning is undoubtedly always 'to preside over,' whether workmen or more especially a choir of singers. The ptcp. seen in 2 Ch 34^{13} is found in the title of many psalms and translated 'the chief (RV Chief) Musician.'

Forwardness occurs once in Shakespeare, and then in later writers frequently in the mod. sense of over-confidence, presumption. *As You Like It*, I. ii. 159—

> 'Since the youth will not be intreated,
> His own peril on his forwardness.'

But in AV the only meaning is readiness or zeal. Once it is in a bad cause, Wis 14[17] (σπουδή; RV 'zeal'); elsewhere only 2 Co 8[8] (σπουδή, RV 'earnestness'), and 9[2] 'I know the forwardness of your mind' (τὴν προθυμίαν ὑμῶν, RV 'your readiness'). So Hall (*Works*, ii. 16), referring to the Wise Men from the East, says, 'God encourages their holy forwardnesse from heaven.'

J. HASTINGS.

FOUL (Old Eng. *fúl*) is of the same root (Sanskrit *pū*, to stink) as Gr. πύον and Lat. *pūs*, purulent matter, as from a sore, and its earliest meaning is *loathsome*, whether to sight or smell. It is applied, for example, to blood, Wis 11[16] 'a perpetual running river troubled with foul blood,' in reference to the Egyptian plague (αἵματι λυθρώδει, the only occurrence of this adj. in bibl. Greek, lit. 'with blood like gore,' RV 'with clotted blood'). In this sense 'foul' is applied to disease, as Shaks. *Hamlet*, IV. i. 21—

> 'But, like the owner of a foul disease,
> To keep it from divulging, let it feed
> Even on the pith of life';

and *Lear*, I. i. 167—

> 'Kill thy physician, and the fee bestow
> Upon thy foul disease.'

2. From this to *moral uncleanness* the step was easily and early made. In AV it is so applied only to unclean spirits, and only twice, Mk 9[25], Rev 18[2] (both ἀκάθαρτος).

The adj. ἀκάθαρτος is used 22 times in NT with πνεῦμα (Mt 2, Mk 11, Lk 5, Ac 2, Rev 2) and once with πνεῦμα δαιμονίου (Lk 4[33]). Tindale translates by 'unclean spirit' generally, but he gives 'foul spirit' in Mk 1[27] 5[8] 7[25], Lk 4[36] 6[18] 8[29], and is always followed by Cov., Cran., Gen., and (except in Mk 7[25]) Bish. Wyclif., and the Rhem. NT, after Vulg. *spiritus immundus*, have 'unclean spirit' everywhere. AV seems quite accidentally to retain 'foul' in Mk 9[25]; but in Rev 18[2] it is probably retained for variety, the same Gr. word as applied to birds being tr[d] 'unclean' in the same verse. RV gives 'unclean' everywhere.

Since ἀκάθαρτος is properly ceremonially unclean, the moral element is less prominent than when πονηρός is applied to πνεῦμα (Mt 12[45], Lk 7[21] 8[2] 11[26], Ac 19[12. 13. 15. 16], AV 'evil' or 'wicked,' RV always 'evil'), and consequently 'foul' with its suggestion of separation through loathsomeness is a very appropriate tr[n], and is frequently used of evil spirits, or their abode, in English literature. Thus Shaks. *Tam. of Shrew*, Induc. ii. 17—

> 'O, that a mighty man of such descent,
> Of such possessions and so high esteem,
> Should be infused with so foul a spirit.'

Cf. Watts, *Ps* cxxi. (L. M.) 25—

> 'On thee foul spirits have no power.'

Shaks. has 'foul devil' (*Rich. III.* I. ii. 50), and often 'foul fiend' (14 times, of which 11 are in *K. Lear* and always in the mouth of 'Edgar'), as *Rich. III.* I. iv. 58—

> 'With that, methoughts, a legion of foul fiends
> Environed me.'

3. 'Foul' is often set in opposition to fair, and that (1) in the sense of *ugly*. Thus Chaucer, *Clerk-Merchant* (E. 1209)—

> 'If thou be fair, ther folk ben in presence
> Shew thou thy visage and thyn apparaille;
> If thou be foul, be fre of thy dispence,
> To gete thee frendes ay do thy travaille.'

This is the meaning of Job 16[16] 'My face is foul with weeping,' though RVm gives 'defiled,' as if a closer rendering of the Heb. (חֳמַרְמַר); but the Heb. root is to be red, and the most probable tr[n] 'my face is red with weeping.' So Livingstone, *Select Biog.* 306, 'When he came out all his face was foull with weeping.' (2) As applied to weather: 1 Es 9[6] (χειμών), 9[11] (ὥρα χειμερινή), and Mt 16[3] (χειμών).

4. Foul is twice found in AV with the meaning of *disgraceful*: Sir 5[14] 'a foul shame is upon the thief' (αἰσχύνη; RV 'upon the thief there is shame'); 20[24] 'A lie is a foul blot in a man' (μῶμος πονηρός). Examples of both phrases are found in Shaks. Thus *Rich. III.* I. iii. 249—

> '*Hast.* False-boding woman, end thy frantic curse,
> Lest to thy harm thou move our patience.'
> *Q. Marg.* Foul shame upon you! you have all moved mine';

and *Much Ado*, III. i. 64—

> 'Nature, drawing an antick,
> Made a foul blot.'

5. The Amer. RV introduces 'foul' in the mod. sense of *dirty*: Is 19[6] 'And the rivers shall become foul' (AV 'And they shall turn the rivers far away'; RV 'And the rivers shall stink'). So Job 30[6] Cov. 'Their dwellinge was beside foule brokes.' This is the meaning of the verb 'to foul' in Ezk 32[2] 34[18. 19], its only occurrences, where it refers to the polluting of running water.

J. HASTINGS.

FOUNDATION.—In the OT the words 'found' and 'foundation' are for the most part tr[n] of יָסַד and its derivatives, which are freely used in a metaphorical as well as a literal sense. The foundation stones of some of Solomon's buildings are described as huge and costly (1 K 7[10]). In connexion with the laying of the foundation stone various superstitious rites were widely practised, the offering of a human victim being a not infrequent accompaniment of the ceremony (see Trumbull, *Threshold Covenant*, 22, 51, 55; Strack, *Der Blutaberglaube*, 68). It is possible that the record of such an incident was embodied in the original form of the tradition preserved about Hiel the Bethelite, 'He laid the foundation [of Jericho] on (? בְּ) Abiram his firstborn, and set up the gates thereof on his youngest son Segub' (1 K 16[34]).

In NT 'foundation' is used in two distinct senses, an active and a passive. In the former sense it represents καταβολή (properly 'founding'), which (except in He 11[11] καταβολὴ σπέρματος, used of Sarah) is confined to the collocation καταβολὴ κόσμου, 'the foundation of the world,' Mt 13[35] 25[34], Lk 11[50], Jn 17[24], Eph 1[4], He 4[3] 9[26], 1 P 1[20], Rev 13[8] 17[8]. In the passive sense 'the foundations of the earth' (מוֹסְדֵי אֶרֶץ, once Job 38[6] אֲדָנִים 'pedestals,' once Ps 104[5] מְכוֹנוֹת 'bases') frequently appears in OT, Mic 6[2], Is 24[18] 40[21], Jer 31[37], Ps 82[5], Pr 8[29]. The passive sense of the word is in NT represented by θεμέλιος (both literal and metaphorical). This word is used, *e.g.*, in our Lord's simile of the two buildings (Lk 6[48f.]), as well as in St. Paul's simile of the building tested by fire (1 Co 3[10ff.]). In 1 Co 3[11] the Church's foundation is Christ, in Eph 2[20] she is built upon the foundation of (the gospel of) the apostles and (NT) prophets, Jesus Christ being the chief corner-stone.

In Jer 50[15], where AV has 'foundations,' the meaning of אֲשִׁיּוֹת is prob. 'bulwarks' (RV) or 'buttresses' (see *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*). In Is 16^7 'raisin-cakes' seems to be the meaning, not 'foundations' (see FLAGON). The 'gate of the foundation' (שַׁעַר הַיְסוֹד) in 2 Ch 23^5 is obscure. Perhaps we should read שׁ׳ סוּר 'the gate Sur,' as in 2 K 11^6, or שׁ׳ הַסּוּסִים 'the horse gate' (see *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.* יְסוֹד). In 2 Ch 3^3 for AV 'these are the things wherein Solomon was instructed,' RV substitutes 'these are the foundations which Sol. laid' (taking הוּסַד as Hoph. infin. of יָסַד). RV further gives 'foundations' for 'posts' in Is 6^4 as tr. of אַמּוֹת, a derivative from אַם in metaph. sense. Finally, in two instances (Ps 89^{14} 97^2) where AV tr. מָכוֹן 'habitation,' RV gives the correct sense 'foundation.'

J. A. SELBIE.

FOUNTAIN.—1. A fountain is a natural outflow, or spring, of water, and is in this way distinguished from a well of artificial construction (see WELL). Palestine, owing to its physical structure, is especially rich in fine springs of water. Remarkably appropriate is the statement (Dt 8^7), 'For the Lord thy God bringeth thee into a good land, a land of brooks of water, of fountains (עֲיָנֹת) and depths springing forth in valleys and hills.'

2. The Cretaceous limestone of which W. Palestine is mainly composed being open and porous, the rain (or snow) which falls during the winter months percolates downwards and forms underground reservoirs in the strata, which burst forth along the sides of the Jordan depression, as also on the western flanks of the central table-land.[*] Equally favourable is the geological structure of the eastern sides of the Jordanic depression for the production of springs; for the heavy falls of snow which cover the Lebanon and Hermon ranges in winter give rise to copious fountains which supply the head waters of the Litany, the Jordan, and the rivers of Damascus. Not less remarkable are some of the fountains of the region of Trachonitis and the Peræa, which have their sources in the volcanic mountains of the Hauran, and their outlets into the Jordan by the Hieromax and the Jabbok. Fine springs are also numerous along the western shore of the L. of Tiberias, scattering verdure and fertility along their course. Amongst the Edomite mountains and those of the Sinaitic peninsula the most important fountains are those of the Wady Musâ, which flows down through the city of Petra; the 'Ain Abu Werideh (or el-Weibeh), and 'Ain Ghurundel in the Arabah; the Wady el-'Ain at the entrance to the grand gorge of es-Sûḳ, between Jebel Musâ and 'Aḳabah;[†] and those which descend from the flanks of Jebel Mûsa (Mount Sinai) itself. The spring of 'Ain Ḳadis, which issues forth at the base of a limestone cliff in the Badiet et-Tîh (Wilderness of Paran), has been identified, with much probability, as the site of Kadesh-Barnea.[‡]

3. *Thermal Springs.*—Many of the springs which flow directly into the Dead Sea and the lower waters of the Jordan have a high temperature, due partly to the existence of volcanic rocks (basalt), still highly heated, with which the waters come in contact; and partly to the depth below the surface to which the underground waters descend before issuing forth into day.

The following are the most important thermal springs[§]:—

1. *Ḥammam* (or *Ḥammath*), situated on the W. side of the Sea of Tiberias, near to which Herod the tetrarch built the city of that name.[*] Temp. 143·3° Fahr., water sulphurous.[†] 2. *Yarmuk*, N. of Umm Ḳeis (Gadara). Temp. 109° Fahr., water sulphurous.[‡] 3. *Zerḳa Ma'in* (Callirrhoë), ten principal warm and sulphurous springs, of which the lowest reaches a temperature of 143° Fahr.[§] Here Herod the Great bathed during his last illness.[‖] 4. *'Ain Zara* enters the Dead Sea on the E. side. Temp. 109° Fahr.[¶] 5. *'Ain es-Sulṭân*, in the Plain of Jericho (el-Ghôr), W. of the Jordan. Temp. 71° Fahr. (See ARABAH, JERICHO.) 6. *'Ain el-Beida* enters the Wady el-Jeib S. of Jebel Usdum. Temp 91° Fahr. 7. *'Ain el-Khubarah*, W. of the Dead Sea, water sulphurous. Temp. 88–93° Fahr.[**] 8. *'Ain Feshkhah*, W. of the Dead Sea. Temp. 82° Fahr.[††] 9. The springs of *Ænon* (*'Ainun*) near to Salim in Samaria, where John baptized (Jn 3^{23}). According to Conder the head springs issue from an open valley, surrounded by desolate hills; but the water gushes forth over a stony bed and rapidly produces a fine perennial stream surrounded by oleanders.[‡‡] 10. *Kishon.* The springs forming the head waters of the Kishon are remarkable for their copiousness. Stanley describes them as 'full-grown from their birth.' They rise at the foot of Mt. Tabor and form a chain of pools and springs, together with quagmires and swamps, which were fatal to many of Sisera's army[§§] (Jg 5^{21}). The river enters the Mediterranean at the northern base of Mt. Carmel. 11. *Baniâs.* The springs at the head of the Jordan at Baniâs (Cæsarea Philippi) issue from a cavern above the town, constituting the 'upper sources,' and are augmented by a still larger fountain below, which is known as 'the lower springs'; so that the Jordan is full-grown from its birth.[‖‖] 12. *The Jerusalem fountains.* Jerus. in former times was supplied from several sources; but we are here concerned only with the natural fountains. Of these the most remarkable are the *Upper Springs of Gihon*,[¶¶] which are intermittent, and break out underground in the Kidron Valley (Wady en-Nar), forming the chief source of this stream, from whence the water is carried by an underground conduit to a pool, now known as the 'Fountain of the Virgin' (*'Ain Umm ed-Deraj*), to the west side of the City of David. This conduit, 1760 feet (or 1200 cubits) in length, was constructed by Hezekiah on the approach of the Assyrian army (2 K 20^{20}, 2 Ch 32^{30}). In 1880 a pupil of Schick observed an inscription which was afterwards deciphered by Sayce and Guthe. It contains in old Heb. characters a record of the construction.[***] This fount is the only natural spring of water at Jerusalem, and is the chief source of supply of pure water at the present day. The *pools of Solomon*, near Bethlehem, were formerly the chief sources of supply for Jerus., and were conducted into the city by an upper and lower conduit hewn in stone, now fallen into disuse. The pools are supplied by a fine spring which issues

---

[*] The average rainfall at Jerus. is about 30 inches, nearly the whole of which falls between Nov. and Feb.; in the Lebanon it is probably considerably greater. See Glaisher, 'Meteorological Observations at Jerus.' in *PEFSt*, 1887–98.

[†] Described by Rüppell, Miss Martineau, Dean Stanley, and Major Kitchener (*Mount Seir*, App. 208).

[‡] This fountain was discovered by Rowlands, and his identification of it with Kadesh-Barnea has been supported by Holland and Trumbull after personal inspection of the spot (*Kadesh-Barnea*, 1884).

[§] Some of the Jordan Valley springs appear to burst forth along the line of the great 'fault,' by which the valley is traversed. (See ARABAH.)

[*] Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. ii. 3.

[†] Lynch, *Off. Rep.* p. 202.

[‡] Robinson, *Phys. Geog. Holy Land*, 24.

[§] Tristram, *Land of Moab*, xiii. 247; Conder, *Heth and Moab*, 145, 149.

[‖] Jos. *Ant.* XVII. vi. 5. This spring is also supposed to be that called 'En-eglaim' (spring of the calves), Ezk 47^{10}.

[¶] Lartet, *Voy. d'Explor.* 291.

[**] Tristram, *Land of Israel*, 305.

[††] *Ib.* pp. 252–255.

[‡‡] *Tent-Work in Palestine*, p. 50.

[§§] *Ib.* pp. 69, 97.

[‖‖] The springs rise at a level of about 1000 feet above the Mediterranean, and are joined by the waters of the Hasbany coming down from the western slopes of Hermon (Conder, *Tent-Work*, 215; Tristram, *Land of Israel*, 584).

[¶¶] Explored by Robinson in 1838, and by Warren and Conder, *SWP* pt. II. 346 (1886), also *Recovery of Jerusalem*, 257.

[***] Generally known as the Siloam Tablet; *SWP* ii. 346 (1886); *Recovery of Jerusalem*, 257; *ZDMG* (1882), pp. 725–750; Sayce, *HCM* 377 ff.; Driver, *Heb. Text of Sam.* xv.; Pilcher, *PSBA*, xix. 165 ff.

forth from the limestone rock above the upper pool. The water is still carried by a conduit to Bethlehem, and also fertilizes 'the gardens of Solomon' in the valley below. E. HULL.

FOUNTAIN GATE.—See GATE and JERUSALEM.

FOUR.—See NUMBER.

FOURSQUARE.—Now that 'square' is confined to that which has *four* equal sides, 'foursquare' is looked upon as redundant, though writers like Ruskin, steeped in biblical phraseology, use it still. Formerly 'square' meant simply equal-sided, and the number of sides had to be expressed. Thus 'fivesquare,' 1 K 6^{31m}, taken from the text of the Geneva Bible, 'the upper poste and side postes were fiue square.' 'Foursquare' is used of the altar of burnt-offering (Ex 27^1 38^1), of the incense-altar (Ex 30^2 37^{25}), and of the high-priest's breastplate (28^{16} 39^9), the meaning being clearly expressed in 30^2 'A cubit shall be the length thereof, and a cubit the breadth thereof; foursquare shall it be' (רָבוּעַ). It is also used of the borders of the brazen bases in Solomon's temple (1 K 7^{31} מְרֻבָּע); of the inner court of Ezekiel's temple (Ezk 40^{47}) and of the 'holy oblation' (48^{20}); and, finally, of the holy city, new Jerusalem (Rev 21^{16}, *τετράγωνος*).

FOWL.—The word 'fowl,' now restricted to the domestic cock and hen, 'the barn-door fowl,' was formerly applied to all feathered animals, and occasionally even to all winged creatures. Thus Sir 11^3 in Wyclif's tr^n of 1382 is 'Short in foules (Vulg. *in volatilibus*) is a bee,' though Purvey's Revision of 1388 gives, 'A bee is litil among briddis.' Indeed, when Wyclif has to make a distinction between feathered and unfeathered creatures that fly, he uses 'fowl' of the latter: Ezk 39^{17} 'Saye thou to eche bryd, and to alle foulis' (אֱמֹר לְצִפּוֹר כָּל־כָּנָף, Vulg. *dic omni volucri et universis avibus*), though Rogers and Coverdale reverse the order, 'Speake unto alle the foules and euery byrde.'* And AV uses 'fowls' of unfeathered winged creatures in Lv 11^{20} 'All fowls that creep, going upon all four, shall be an abomination unto you' (כֹּל שֶׁרֶץ הָעוֹף). This is Wyclif's tr^n 'Alle of foules (1388, 'Al thing of foulis') that goth on foure feete'; after Vulg. *Omne de volueribus quod graditur super quatuor pedes*; and Tindale's, 'all foules that crepe and goo upon all iiii. shalbe an abhominacion unto you.' The LXX has *πάντα τὰ ἑρπετὰ τῶν πετεινῶν*; RV 'All winged creeping things' (see art. CREEPING THINGS).† T. Adams (*Works*, i. 13) distinguishes 'fowls' from 'flies': 'the eagles hunt no flies so long as there be fowls in the air.' He thus uses 'fowls' exactly as we now use 'birds,' and that was its commonest use by far. Thus Bacon, *Essays* (Gold. Treas. ed. p. 181, l. 22), 'Why, doe you not think me as wise, as some Fowle are, that ever change their Aboad towards the Winter?'

RV accepts the AV rendering 'fowl' or 'fowls' throughout OT, except Lv 11^{20}, Ezk 39^{17}, already noted, and in the three passages in which the Heb. is עַיִט *'ayiṭ*, a bird of prey: Gn 15^{11} (RV 'birds of prey'), Job 28^7 (RV 'bird of prey'), Is 18^6 (RV 'ravenous birds'). Cf. Bacon, *Essays* (p. 240, l. 2), 'But now, if a Man can tame this *Monster*, and bring her to feed at the hand, and govern her, and with her fly other ravening Fowle, and kill them, it is somewhat worth'; and Milton, *PL* x. 274—

> 'A flock of ravenous fowl.'

In Wis 19^{11} 'a new generation of fowls' (*νέαν γένεσιν ὀρνέων*) is changed into 'a new race of birds.' In NT the Gr. (always plu.) is either *ὄρνεον* (Rev $19^{17.21}$) or *πετεινόν* (Mt 6^{26} 13^4, Mk $4^{4.32}$, Lk 8^5 12^{24} 13^{19}, Ac 10^{12} 11^6), and, except in the two places in Ac, RV changes into 'birds.'

J. HASTINGS.

FOWL.—Neither in AV nor in RV has any system been followed in the rendering of the various words for birds in the Heb. original. These words are—**1.** עוֹף *'ôph*. This word signifies collectively birds or winged creatures, It is often in the construct state with הַשָּׁמַיִם *the skies*. It corresponds with the Arab. *ṭair*, the root of which seems to signify to *fly*. It ought to be tr^d everywhere *birds*. It is, however, more generally tr^d *fowl*, but also often *birds* (Jer 4^{25}). It is usually collective (Ezk $31^{6.13}$), but sometimes singular (?) (Gn $1^{21.30}$, Lv 17^{13}). It is sometimes used for *carrion birds* (2 S 21^{10}).

2. עַיִט *'ayiṭ*, usually collective (in Is 46^{11} singular, applied to Cyrus) for *birds of prey*, is, however, tr^d in AV *fowls* (Gn 15^{11}), RV *birds of prey*; also AV *fowls* (Job 28^7, Is 18^6), RV *birds of prey* and *ravenous birds*, AV and RV עַיִט צִפּוֹר *ravenous birds* (Ezk 39^4).

3. צִפּוֹר *ẓippôr* is in many places a collective term for birds, from the root צָפַר *ẓâphar*, to 'twitter,' or 'chirp,' or 'whistle' (cf. Arab. *ṣafar*, to 'whistle'). It is used collectively, Gn 15^{11}, Lv $14^{4\text{-}53}$, Dt 14^{11}, etc., where it is tr^d AV and RV 'birds'; Dt 4^{17}, Neh 5^{18}, Ps 8^8, where it is tr^d EV 'fowl.' It is sometimes in construct state with כָּל־כָּנָף (Ezk 17^{23} etc.), at others with כָּנָף (Ps 148^{10}). *Ẓippôr*, like its Arab. equivalent *'uṣfûr*, is also used for the smaller twittering birds, particularly the sparrow (Ps 84^3 etc.).

The *ẓippor* is said to nest in the cedar (Ps 104^{17}), to flee to the mountains (Ps 11^1), to be taken in nets and snares (Ps 124^7, Pr 6^5, Am 3^5). Four different ways of taking animals and birds are alluded to in a single passage (Job $18^{8\text{-}10}$). In all there are seven different Heb. words for the various sorts of traps. The 'cage full of birds' (Jer 5^{27}) may refer to the custom of hanging cages of birds on the trees, on which birdlime or snares are placed, or near which the sportsman lies concealed, to entice the birds by the singing of the captives (but see CAGE). The voice of the *ẓippôr* (Ec 12^4) is the morning song, announcing the dawn.

4. בַּעַל כָּנָף *ba'al-kânâph* (Pr 1^{17}), the 'possessor of a wing,' is a figurative expression for a bird.

5. In NT (and Sir 43^{14}) *πετεινά* (or *τὰ π.*) is general for *birds*, by which it is tr^d in RV, while AV gives *fowls* (Mt 13^4, Lk 13^{19}). When birds of prey are intended *ὄρνεα* is used (Rev 19^{17}).

Birds are divided into *clean* and *unclean* (Dt $14^{11\text{-}20}$). Lv gives the list only of the unclean birds ($11^{13\text{-}20}$). The 'fowls that creep' or 'creeping thing that flieth,' RV 'winged creeping things' (Lv $11^{20.23}$, Dt 14^{19}), may refer to such as the bats, and the insects that do not leap as well as fly (see full discussion in art. CREEPING THINGS). The birds allowed in sacrifice were *turtle-doves* and *pigeons* (Lv $1^{14\text{-}17}$), and *ẓippôrîm* (Lv $14^{4\text{-}53}$). The last were prob. any twitterers or clean birds except the two above mentioned. Among the birds mentioned as having been used as food are *quails*, *partridges*, *fatted fowls* (*barburîm*, 1 K 4^{23}, see COCK), and *fowl* (*ẓippôr*, Neh 5^{18}). The last may refer to small birds. It is prob. that the *sparrows*, sold two for a farthing and five for two farthings (Mt 10^{29}, Lk 12^6), were for food. They and other small birds are caught and sold in immense numbers at this day, and at prices similar to those of our Saviour's day. **Cocks** and **hens** are mentioned in NT, and were doubtless used for food.

---

* The Geneva Bible of 1560 translated more accurately (as LXX Εἰπὸν παντὶ ὀρνέῳ πετεινῷ), 'Speake unto euerie feathered foule.' This was accepted by AV, with marg. 'to the fowl of every wing.' RV has 'Speak unto the birds of every sort'; Siegfried, *Sprich zu den mannigfach beschwingten Vögeln*.

† This use was either unknown to or ignored by Shakespeare when he wrote, *Comedy of Errors*, III. i. 79—

'I pray thee, let me in.
Ay, when fowls have no feathers, and fish have no fin.

The *migrations of birds* are especially noteworthy in the Holy Land, as a country midway between the tropics and cooler regions of the north. They are noted in Scripture (Ca 2$^{11.\,12}$, Jer 8^{7}).

Their *singing* is also alluded to (Ec 12^{4}, Ps 104^{12}), and their *flight* (Ex 19^{4}, Dt 32$^{11.\,12}$).

Eggs were eaten (Lk 11^{12}). The eggs of wild birds, on which the hen was sitting, could be taken, but not the hen at the same time (Dt 22^{6}). Ostrich eggs are mentioned (Job 39^{14}, see OSTRICH). 'Eggs that are left' (Is 10^{14}) may refer to the supplementary eggs of the ostrich, or to the nests that have been deserted owing to fright of the parent birds. Eggs of serpents are alluded to (Is 59^{5}). For the expression 'sitteth on eggs' (Jer 17^{11} RV, AVm 'gathereth young'), see PARTRIDGE. Birds' nests are often found in places of worship (Ps 84^{3}). For general subject of birds, their habits, etc., see NATURAL HISTORY. G. E. POST.

FOWLER is marked by the *Oxf. Eng. Dict.* as 'now rare,' the more commonplace 'bird-catcher' being its substitute. It is found in AV, Ps 124^{7} (יוֹקֵשׁ, ptcp. of [יָקֹשׁ] to lay snares); Hos 9^{8} (יָקוֹשׁ [all]); Ps 91^{3}, Pr 6^{5} (יָקוּשׁ, found also in Jer 5^{26}, AV 'he that setteth snares'; RV 'fowlers,' which is Wyclif's word). Shaks. has the word but once—*Mids. Night's Dream*, III. ii. 20—

> 'As wild geese that the creeping fowler eye.'

For **Fowling** see under HUNTING.

FOX (שׁוּעָל *shû'âl*, ἀλώπηξ, *vulpes*).—There can be no doubt that *shû'âl* meant both *jackal* and *fox.* It is used in the sing. only once in OT (Neh 4^{3}), where the intention is doubtless to refer to a small animal, and *fox* is more likely to be meant than *jackal.* The plural *shû'âlîm* is used in a number of places in OT. AV has trd it in all of them *foxes.* In two of these (Jg 15^{4}, Ps 63^{10}) the context makes it pretty certain that the *jackal* is intended. In the first passage Samson is said to have caught 300 *shû'âlîm.* This would be well-nigh impossible in the case of foxes, which are shy, solitary animals, but not difficult in that of jackals, which are gregarious. In the second the expression 'they shall be a portion for foxes' implies a carrion-eater. Foxes may sometimes join other animals in feasting on the slain, but it is jackals that share with vultures the carrion of a battlefield. In the other passages of OT *shû'âlîm* may mean either animal, though the context points rather to the habits of the fox than to those of the jackal. Thus La 5^{18} represents *shû'âlîm* as walking on the ruins of Zion, and Ezk 13^{4} '*shû'âlîm* in the deserts' (RV 'waste places'), and Ca 2^{15} speaks of 'the foxes, the little foxes that spoil the vines' (RV 'vineyards'). A special word for *jackals* occurs in OT אִיִּים (see DRAGON under תַּנִּים, and JACKAL).

The Gr. ἀλώπηξ means the fox only. In NT the sing. occurs once (Lk 13^{32}), where Herod is spoken of as a fox. Here the reference is to the well-known cunning of this animal. It occurs twice in the plu. (Mt 8^{20}, Lk 9^{58}) 'foxes have holes.'

The fox of Syria does not differ essentially from the common fox of Europe, *Vulpes vulgaris,* L. Its body is about 14 in. long, and its bushy tail almost as long. It is of a grey colour, has a long pointed snout, and small cunning eyes. It is a nocturnal animal, prowling about houses and encampments. It captures poultry, and small birds and animals. It is also very fond of grapes, and both it and the jackal do much mischief in vineyards. G. E. POST.

FRAGMENT.—The word κλάσμα (from κλάειν, to break) is used in the plu. (κλάσματα) of the remains of the loaves and fishes in the account of the Feeding of the Five Thousand (Mt 14^{20}, Mk 6^{43}, Lk 9^{17}, Jn 6$^{12.\,13}$), the Four Thousand (Mt 15^{37}, Mk 8^{8}), and in the reference to these miracles (Mk 8$^{19.\,20}$), and it is used nowhere else in NT.*

The Versions have offered a great variety of trn. Wyclif varies between 'broken gobbets' (Mt 14^{20}), 'relefis' (Mt 15^{37}, Mk 8^{8}, Jn 6$^{12.\,13}$), and 'broken meat' or 'metis.' Tind. has 'gobbets' in Mt 14^{20} and Mk 6^{43}, elsewhere 'broken meate' (1526 ed. in Mk 8^{20} 'levinges'). Rogers (Matthew's Bible) introduces 'scrappes' (Mt 14^{20}), has 'gobbettes' in Mk 6^{43}, and 'broken meate' in the rest. Coverdale gives 'broken meate' everywhere except Mk 6^{43} 'broken peces.' The Great Bible offers 'fragments' as a new trn (Mt 14^{20}), and 'leauinges' (Mk 8^{20}), says simply 'baskettes full ther of' in Mk 6^{43}, and for the rest has 'broken meate.' The Geneva and Bishops' Bibles follow the Great Bible in all places except Mk 6^{43} 'fragments,' and (Gen. 1560 only) Mt 15^{37} 'fragments' again. The Rhemish NT prefers 'fragments' everywhere except Mt 14^{20} 'leauings.' AV accepts 'fragments' in all but the two passages which refer to the miracle of the Four Thousand, where it falls back on the rendering 'broken meat.' RV chooses 'broken pieces' (which has appeared only once before, Mk 6^{43} Cov.), and uses it consistently throughout.

Why were the Revisers not content with AV 'fragments'? 'For some mysterious reason,' says Sir Edmund Beckett (*Should the Revised New Test. be Authorised?* 1882, p. 91), 'they prefer "broken pieces" to "fragments that remained over" of the two sets of loaves and fishes. We have all heard of "broken victuals"; but the victuals were once whole, and had been broken. Each piece of bread or fish is a piece, and not broken, though broken off, if they will be so precise. But a fragment is a piece broken off. So here is another miserable bit of pedantry of some kind, and for some unknown reason, which only turns right into wrong for nothing; for the AV is certainly quite as accurate a translation: indeed the Durham Greek professor said more so.'

But there are two good reasons. In the first place the word 'fragment' carries, and has always carried, a sense of contempt. Shaks. uses the word seven times, and this is always present, mostly prominent. The aptest instance is perhaps *Troil. and Cress.* V. ii. 159—

> 'The fragments, scraps, the bits, and greasy reliques
> Of her o'er-eaten faith, are bound to Diomed.'

Cf. T. Fuller, *Holy Warre*, iv. 16 (p. 195), 'Yea, now full willingly would the Christians have accepted the terms formerly offered them; and now their hungrie stomachs would make dainties of those conditions which before, when full of pride, they threw away as fragments.' In the second place the 'broken pieces' were not fragments of larger pieces; all that the disciples gave to the multitude were 'broken pieces,' and these which were gathered up were the broken pieces that were in excess of the requirements.

J. HASTINGS.

FRAME.—To 'frame' (from Old Eng. *framian*, to profit, succeed) is primarily to make good progress, to prosper, as Melville, *Diary*, p. 272, 'The Bischope haid lurked a yeir or twa lyk a tod in his holl, as his custom was when things framed nocht with him.' Then it is used in a neutral sense, to get on well or ill as the case may be, as Rutherford, *Letters*, No. xxxii., 'But let us, however matters frame, cast over the affairs of the bride upon the Bridegroom.' And then come the various transitive meanings of preparing, fitting for use. In AV the verb is used with a direct object, except once with a foll. infinitive.

1. To contrive, to manage, Jg 12^{6} 'he could not frame to pronounce it right' (יָכִין לְדַבֵּר כֵּן, lit. 'fix to speak so,' perhaps 'fix the mind,' *i.e.* catch the slight difference in the pronunciation).

---

* Its occurrences in LXX are Lv 2^{6} 6^{21}, Jg 9^{53} 19^{5}, 1 S 30^{12}, 2 S 11$^{21.\,22}$, Ezk 13^{19}; where EV give 'piece,' except Jg 19^{5} 'morsel' (of bread), and Ezk 13^{19} 'handful' (of barley).

Cf. *Return from Parnass.* IV. v. 62 (2nd pt.), ‘Schollers must frame to liue at a low sayle.’

2. To direct, Hos 5^{4} ‘They will not frame their doings to turn unto their God’ (לֹא יִתְּנוּ, lit. as AVm ‘they will not give’; RV as AVm. ‘Their doings will not suffer them to turn unto their God,’ with AV text in marg.). Cf. Rutherford, *Letters*, No. clxxxvii., ‘Frame yourself for Christ, and gloom not upon his Cross’: Ps 145^{21} (L. M.), Stern. and Hopk.—

> ‘Therefore my mouth and lips I'll frame
> To speak the praises of the Lord.’

3. To form, Is 29^{16} ‘Shall the thing framed say of him that framed it, He had no understanding?’ (יֵצֶר אָמַר לְיֹצְרוֹ; Amer. RV ‘formed’); and in RV, Job 10^{8} ‘Thine hands have framed me and fashioned me’ (עִצְּבוּנִי; AV ‘made me’). So Ps 106^{19}, Stern. and Hopk.—

> ‘Upon the hill of Horeb they an idol-calf did frame’;

and Shaks. *Merch. of Venice*, I. i. 51—

> ‘Nature hath framed strange fellows in her time.’

4. To fit together, make, Eph 2^{21} ‘all the building fitly framed together’ (*συναρμολογουμένη*); He 11^{3} ‘the worlds were framed by the word of God’ (*κατηρτίσθαι*); and in RV, Eph 4^{16} ‘all the body fitly framed and knit together’ (*συναρμολογούμενον*). Cf. Spenser, *FQ* II. ii. 30—

> ‘And, thinking of those hranches green to frame
> A girlond for her dainty forehead fit,
> He pluckt a bough; out of whose rift there came
> Smal drops of gory bloud, that trickled down the same.’

5. To devise, Ps 50^{19} ‘thy tongue frameth deceit’ (תַּצְמִיד); 94^{20} ‘which frameth mischief’ (יֹצֵר); Jer 18^{11} ‘Behold, I frame evil against you’ (יוֹצֵר); and in Amer. RV, Dt 31^{21} ‘I know their imagination which they frame’ (עֹשֶׂה, lit. ‘do,’ EV ‘go about’). So Barclay (1514), *Cyt.* (Percy Soc.) 23—

> ‘Than frame they fraudes men slyly to begyle’;

and Ps 10^{2}, Stern. and Hopk.—

> ‘In these devices they have framed
> Let them he taken sure.’

6. To express, embody, 2 Mac 15^{39} ‘speech finely framed delighteth the ears of them that read the story’ (*τὸ τῆς κατασκευῆς τοῦ λόγου*; RV ‘the fashioning of the language’). AV is a modification of the Geneva tr^{n}, ‘the setting out of the matter,’ and may be illustrated from Milton, *PL* v. 460—

> ‘His wary speech
> Thus to th' empyreal minister he framed.’

As a subst. ‘frame’ occurs twice in AV, and means something constructed. 1. The structure of the body, Ps 103^{14} ‘he knoweth our frame; he remembereth that we are dust’ (יִצְרֵנוּ). To this RV adds Ps 139^{15} ‘My frame was not hidden from thee, when I was made in secret’ (עָצְמִי, AV ‘my substance,’ AVm ‘or, strength; or, body’); and Amer. RV, Job 41^{12} ‘his [leviathan's] goodly frame’ (חִין עֶרְכּוֹ, EV ‘his comely proportion’). So frequently in *Paraphrases in Verse* (1775), as 57^{4}—

> ‘With sympathetic feelings touch'd
> He knows our feeble frame’;

and 51^{4}—

> ‘We know, that when the soul uncloath'd
> Shall from this hody flie,
> 'Twill animate a purer frame
> With life that cannot die.’

2. The structure of a city, Ezk 40^{2} ‘a very high mountain, by which was as the frame of a city’ (כְּמִבְנֵה־עִיר, Davidson, ‘a building of a city, that is, a city-like or citadel-like building’).

3. RV adds Nu $4^{10.12}$, a frame *fitted together* for carrying things upon (מוֹט, AV ‘bar’).

J. HASTINGS.

FRANKINCENSE (לְבֹנָה *lĕbhônâh*, *λίβανος*, *λιβανωτός*).—*Lebhônâh* is erroneously tr^{d} in some places in AV ‘incense’ (Is 43^{23} 60^{6}, Jer 6^{20} etc. In RV it is correctly rendered *frankincense*). Incense, however, is the proper rendering of another word קְטֹרָה *ķĕṭôrâh*. This substance was compounded of f. and other aromatic gums, and *seasoned with salt* (Ex $30^{34.35}$), or *sweet, i.e.* not so seasoned (Ex 25^{6}, Lv 16^{12}). All incense not so made was a strange incense, and could not be offered (Ex 30^{9}, cf. ‘strange fire’ Lv 10^{1}).

F. is the fragrant resin of an Indian tree, *Boswellia serrata*, Stackh., procured by slitting the bark. It is imported through Arabia (Is 60^{6}, Jer 6^{20}). It is known in Arabia by a name kindred to the Heb., *i.e. lubân*. It was one of the gifts offered by the Magi (Mt 2^{11}). The ‘incense’ of both AV and RV (Rev 8^{3}) should be ‘frankincense.’

G. E. POST.

FRANKISH VERSION.—See VERSIONS.

FRANKLY.—In Lk 7^{42} the verb *ἐχαρίσατο* is tr^{d} ‘he frankly forgave.’ The older VSS have simply ‘he forgave’ (except Wyclif, 1380, ‘he gaf frely’), and RV returns to that. The purpose of the AV translators was, no doubt, to bring out on a special occasion the special force of this word, which, as Bruce says (*Expos. Gr. Test. ad loc.*), is a warmer word than *ἀφιέναι*, and was welcome to St. Luke as containing the idea of grace (*χάρις*). It occurs only in the writings of St. Luke (Lk $7^{21.42.43}$, Ac 3^{14} $25^{11.16}$ 27^{24}) and St. Paul (Ro 8^{32}, 1 Co 2^{12}, 2 Co $2^{7.10}$ 12^{13}, Gal 3^{18}, Eph 4^{32}, Ph 1^{29} 2^{9}, Col 2^{13} $3^{13\,bis}$, Philem ^{22}).

The Eng. word ‘frankly’ is used, not in the mod. sense of *candidly, openly*, but in the old and literal sense of *freely, unrestrainedly*, as in Elyot, *The Governour*, ii. 234, ‘puttynge out of their citie their women and all that were of yeres unhabill for the warres, that they mought more frankely sustayne famyne’; and in Shaks. *Meas. for Meas.* III. i. 106—

> ‘O, were it hut my life,
> I'ld throw it down for your deliverance
> As frankly as a pin.’

J. HASTINGS.

FRANTICK.—Sir 4^{30} ‘Be not as a lion in thy house, nor frantick among thy servants’ (*φαντασιοκοπῶν*, lit. ‘conceiving fancies,’ RV ‘fanciful’: Fritzsche understands ‘suspicious,’ ‘mistrustful,’ *argwöhnisch*, and is followed by Ball [*QPB*]; but Bissell thinks the AV tr. suits the context best, and translates ‘as a crazy man’). Tindale has ‘frantick’ for AV ‘lunatick’ in Mt 17^{15} ‘Master have mercy on my soune for he is franticke’; and Sir T. More (*Workes*, p. 270) uses the word in nearly the same sense of Luther, ‘And therfore among many folishe wordes of Luther, as foolishe as euer heretyke spake, he neuer spake a more frantike, than in that he saith that God hath nede of our faith.’

FRAY occurs in Zec 1^{21} of the terrifying of the ‘horns’ of the Gentiles, and ‘fray away’ in Dt 28^{26}, Jer 7^{33} of the driving away of wild beasts from a dead body (all as tr^{n} of הֶחֱרִיד). Amer. RV prefers ‘frighten.’ ‘Fray’ is also found in 1 Mac 14^{12} ‘every man sat under his vine and his fig tree, and there was none to fray them’ (*οὐκ ἦν ὁ ἐκφοβῶν αὐτούς*, RV ‘to make them afraid’); and ‘fray away’ in Sir 22^{20} ‘whoso casteth a stone at the birds frayeth them away’ (*ἀποσοβεῖ αὐτά*).

Fray is what philologists call an aphetic form of ‘affray.’ That is to say, the old vb. ‘affray’ lost its unaccented initial vowel by aphesis [*ἀφιέναι*], as ‘esquire’ became ‘squire,’ and the like; and this happened to ‘affray’ while still spelt ‘afray,’ a spelling preserved in its past ptcp. ‘afraid’ (=‘afrayed’). To ‘fray’ is therefore originally to ‘disturh’ (Anglo-Fr. *afrayer*, late Lat. *ex-fridare*, from *ex* and *fridus* [Old High Ger. *fridu*], ‘peace’), a meaning well illustrated by the examples in AV.

In Hos 10^{11} Cov. uses both forms, 'Yee as a lyon roareth he, that they maye be afrayed, like the children of the see: that they may be scarred awaye from Egipte, as men scarre byrdes: and frayed awaye (as doues use to be) from the Assirians londe.' The only occurrence of the vb. in Shaks. is *Troil. and Cress.* III. ii. 24: 'She does so blush, and fetches her wind so short, as if she were frayed with a sprite.' J. HASTINGS.

FRECKLE.—In Lv 13^{39} Tindale uses this word as tr^{n} of Heb. *bôhaḳ*, which occurs only in this place: 'Yf there appeare in their flesh a glisterynge white somewhat blackesh, then it is but frekels growen upp in the skynne: and he is cleane.' Wyclif's tr^{n} (1382) was 'a wemme of whijt colour,' (1388) 'a spotte of whijt colour' (after Vulg. *macula coloris candidi*, whence also Douay, 'a spotte of white colour'). Cov. preferred 'a whyte scabbe,' Gen. 'a white spot.' But the Bishops' restored 'freckle' (in sing. 'a freckle'), and that was accepted by AV, 'a freckled spot.' RV prefers 'a tetter,' for the Heb. means more than we now understand by 'freckle,' though that word formerly described an eruption on the skin, as in Whitehead, *Goat's Beard*—

'The freckles, blotches, and parch'd skins,
The worms, which, like black-headed pins,
Peep through the damask cheek, or rise
On noses bloated out of size,
Are things which females ought to dread.'

The word occurs also in Preface to AV 1611, 'A man may be counted a vertuous man, though hee haue made many slips in his life (els, there were none vertuous, for *in many things we offend all*), also a comely man and louely, though hee haue some warts vpon his hand, yea, not onely freakles vpon his face, but also skarres'—where also the word probably means more than it does now. See TETTER. J. HASTINGS.

FREE, FREEDOM, FREELY.—The adj. *free* 'has been a chief heirloom from Saxon times, and has made a figure in all stages of the national story. Perhaps no other Saxon adj. is comparable for length and variety of career. Originally meaning lordly, noble, gentle, it has with each change of the national aim so changed its usage as still to take a prominent place. In the growth of the municipal bodies the privileged members were designated *free-men*; in the constitutional struggles it managed to represent the idea of liberty; and in these latter days, when social equality is the universal pretension, it signifies the manners thereon attendant in the modern coupling *free and easy*.'—Earle, *Philology of the Eng. Tongue*^{5}, 413.

The most modern meaning to be found in AV is also the most common, and it may be best to begin with that and work backwards.

1. *At liberty, not fettered*, whether physically, as Milton, *Samson Agonistes*, 1235—

'My heels are fetter'd, but my fist is free';

or morally, as Locke, *Human Underst.* II. xxi. 8, 'So far as a man has a power to think or not to think, to move or not to move, according to the preference or direction of his own mind, so far is a man free.' So Job 3^{19} 'The small and great are there; and the servant is free from his master' (חָפְשִׁי, the common Heb. word), and 1 P 2^{16} 'As free, and not using your liberty for a cloke of maliciousness, but as the servants of God' (ἐλεύθερος, the common Gr. word).

Passages deserving attention are: (1) Ps 88^{5} 'Free among the dead' (בַּמֵּתִים חָפְשִׁי, RV 'cast off among the dead,' RVm 'cast away'). Hitzig, Ewald, and others tr. 'among the dead is my couch' (taking חָפְשִׁי from חֹפֶשׁ, something spread, a couch, after the doubtful occurrence in Ezk 27^{20}); but most edd. now, as AV or RV (taking the word as the adj. usually tr^{d} 'free'). Cheyne in 'Parchment' *Psalms* (1884) gives, 'I am one turned adrift among the dead'; but in *Book of Psalms* (1888), 'I am a freedman among the dead,' remarking there, 'The psalmist alludes to the grim eulogy of death in his favourite poem Job 3^{19} [see above]. But he gives a new turn to the phrase. Unlike Job, he regards such freedom as the reverse of a benefit'—which Kirkpatrick describes as 'a far-fetched interpretation.' There is no question, however, that the phrase recalls Job 3^{19} to our minds, and yet that the word is used here, and here only, in a bad sense. It means either separated from human friendship, or more probably from divine protection. Delitzsch's interpretation, *set free, discharged*, from the responsibilities of life, like Lat. *defunctus*, is less appropriate to the context. The cognate subst. חָפְשִׁית [חפשות] is used in 2 K 15^{5}=2 Ch 26^{21} of the *separate* house or lazaretto to which Uzziah was confined. (2) Ac 22^{28} 'And Paul said, But I was *free* born.' The Gr. is simply Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ γεγέννημαι, 'But I was even born'; the word to be supplied is, however, Ῥωμαῖος, 'Roman,' from the previous verse: so RV 'But I am a Roman born.'

RV adds Is 45^{13} 'he shall let my exiles go free' for AV 'let go my captives' (יְשַׁלֵּחַ).

2. *Unhindered, unimpeded*, as Shaks. *Love's Labour's Lost*, V. ii. 732, 'For mine own part, I breathe free breath.' So 1 Es 4^{53} 'And that all they that went from Babylon to build the city should have free liberty' (ὑπάρχειν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, RV 'should have their freedom'); 2 Th 3^{1} 'Pray for us, that the word of the Lord may have free course' (τρέχῃ, lit. 'may run,' as AVm and RV). The AV tr^{n} is a combination of Tind. 'maye have fre passage' and Rhem. 'may have course'; RV is a return to Wyclif's 'that the word of God renne.' RV adds with this sense 1 Co 7^{39} 'If the husband be dead, she is free to be married to whom she will' (ἐλευθέρα, AV 'at liberty').

3. *Exempt*, Dt 24^{5} 'When a man hath taken a new wife he shall not go out to war, neither shall he be charged with any business; but he shall be free at home one year' (נָקִי), *i.e.* exempt from public duties. 1 Ch 9^{33} 'the Levites, who remaining in the chambers were free' (פְּטוּרִים, RV 'free from service'); 1 Mac 15^{7} 'And as concerning Jerusalem and the sanctuary, let them be free' (ἐλεύθερα, *sc.* from tribute); Mt 15^{6}=Mk 7^{11} 'he shall be free'—words added *in italics* to complete the sense without equivalent in Greek; they are omitted by RV; Mt 17^{26} 'Then are the children free.' RV adds He 13^{5} 'Be ye free from the love of money' (ἀφιλάργυρος ὁ τρόπος, AV 'Let your conversation be without covetousness'; RVm 'Let your turn of mind be free': Vaughan is more modern and literal, 'Let your disposition be unavaricious').

4. *Acquitted* after trial, often equivalent to *innocent*, as Shaks. *Hamlet*, II. ii. 590—

'He would drown the stage with tears,
And cleave the general ear with horrid speech;
Make mad the guilty, and appal the free,
Confound the ignorant; and amaze, indeed,
The very faculty of eyes and ears.'

In AV, Nu 5$^{19.\,28.\,31\,\mathrm{RV}}$; and the verb Ro 6^{7} 'For he that is dead is freed from sin' (δεδικαίωται, RV 'is justified'), *i.e.* is acquitted from the guilt of sin.

5. *Voluntary, gratuitous*, Ex 21^{11} 'then shall she go out free without money' (חִנָּם, RV 'for nothing'). So the phrase 'free gift,' 1 Es 2^{9} (εὐχαῖς, *i.e.* votive offerings, RV 'gifts that were vowed'); Jth 4^{14} (ἑκούσια δόματα), 1 Mac 10^{39} (δόμα, RV 'a gift'); Ro 5$^{15.\,16.\,18}$ (χάρισμα [not in v.^{18}, but understood there also], a word which is almost peculiar to St. Paul, occurring elsewhere only in 1 P 4^{10}, and 'is used of those special endowments which come to every Christian as the result of God's free favour (χάρις) to men, and of the consequent gift of faith'—Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*, p. 358 ff. It is tr^{d} 'free gift' only in Ro 5$^{15.\,16}$, to which RV adds 6^{23}; elsewhere simply 'gift'). So again we find 'free offering' for the usual 'freewill offering' in Ex 36^{3}, Am 4^{5}, Jth 16^{18}.

6. *Generous* or even *noble*, the earliest meaning of the word according to Earle (as above), who quotes Shaks. *Troil. and Cress.* IV. v. 139—

'I thank thee, Hector:
Thou art too gentle and too free a man.'

This is Chaucer's meaning also in *Nonne Preestes Tale*, 94—

> 'For certes, what so any womman seith,
> We alle desyren, if it mighte be,
> To han housbondes hardy, wyse, and free.'

This sense occurs twice in AV, 2 Ch 29^{31} 'And the congregation brought in sacrifices and thank offerings; and as many as were of a free heart burnt offerings' (RV 'willing'), and Ps 51^{12} 'uphold me with thy free spirit' (RV 'with a free spirit,' Amer. RV and RVm 'willing'; both נָדִיב, which as a subst. means 'prince,' 'noble,' in Pr 25^{7} and elsewhere).

On Ps 51^{12} Earle (*The Psalter of* 1539, p. 290) says, 'So 1535 [Coverdale's Bible] after the Vulg. *et spiritu principali confirma me*'—which, again, is after Sept. πνεύματι ἡγεμονικῷ στήρισόν με. Here there can be no doubt that 'free' was used, not in any of its lower senses, as when it is the equivalent of *liber* as opposed to *servus*; or even in the sense of liberal, bounteous in gifts; but (inclusive perhaps of this latter) with special eye to that higher sense of lordly, noble, generous, princely, royal; which is conspicuous in the best mediæval usage of the word, and which qualified it to represent *principalis* and ἡγεμονικόν. Keble brought this out well—

> 'With that free Spirit blest,
> Who to the contrite can dispense
> The princely heart of innocence.'

Keble, it should be added, has also suggested the correct translation. What the psalmist prays for is not, as AV, that he may be upheld by God's free Spirit, but, as RV, that under the influence of the Spirit of God his own spirit may become willing or spontaneous in the right.

Freedom in Ac 22^{28} 'With a great sum obtained I this freedom,' is Roman citizenship (πολιτεία, RV 'citizenship'). See CITIZENSHIP. RV has changed 'liberty' of AV into 'freedom' for Gr. ἐλευθερία in Gal $5^{1.\,13\,bis}$, 1 P 2^{16}, though retaining 'liberty' for the same Gr. word in Ro 8^{21}, 1 Co 10^{29}, 2 Co 3^{17}, Gal 2^{4}, Ja 1^{25} 2^{12}, 2 P 2^{19}. In every case but the last it is the freedom of those who are not under law but under grace; 'freedom' is therefore the best word, and might have been used throughout. See LIBERTY.

Freely is found in the sense of (1) *unrestrainedly*, as in Lv 14^{53} Wyc. 'And whanne he had left the sparewe to fle in to the feeld frely'; and in AV Gn 2^{16} 'Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat' (אָכֹל תֹּאכֵל, lit. 'eating thou shalt eat,' as AVm; so 1 S 14^{30}); Ad. Est 16^{19} 'that the Jews may freely live after their own laws' (χρῆσθαι, RV 'live'); Ac 2^{29} 'let me freely speak unto you' (ἐξὸν εἰπεῖν μετὰ παρρησίας, RV 'I may say unto you freely'); 26^{26} 'I speak freely' (παρρησιαζόμενος λαλῶ); to which RV adds Jn 2^{10} 'when men have drunk freely' (ὅταν μεθυσθῶσιν), lit. 'when they are drunken,' as Lk 12^{45}, and as Vulg. here 'cum inebriati fuerint.' Wyclif has 'whanne men ben fulfillid' (1382 'filled'); Tind. 'when men be dronke,' so Matthew's and the Great Bibles; Cov. 'whan they are dronken'; but the Geneva preferred 'when men have wel droncke,' and it was followed by Bish., Rhem., and AV. RV is a compromise between the two older translations.

(2) *For nothing, gratuitously:* the most common meaning. It occurs in Nu 11^{5} 'We remember the fish, which we did eat in Egypt freely' (חִנָּם 'gratis,' or as RV 'for nought'). 'Freely' was Wyclif's trⁿ [1388, but 1382 'gladly'], and he no doubt used the word in the sense of 'for nothing' after LXX δωρεάν and especially Vulg. *gratis*, which gave the Douay 'gratis'; 'freely' is the Bishops' word also; but all others 'for nought' (Tind., Rog.), or 'for naught' (Cov., Gen.). Also in 1 Mac 10^{33} 'I freely set at liberty every one of the Jews' (ἀφίημι ἐλευθέραν δωρεάν, RV 'I set at liberty without price'); cf. Lk 4^{18} Tind. 'frely to set at liberty them that are bruised' (an attempt to express the pregnant phrase ἀποστεῖλαι τεθραυσμένους ἐν ἀφέσει, lit. 'to send away the shattered [so as to be] in release'). And in NT δωρεάν 'as a gift,' from δωρεά, a gift, is so rendered in Mt $10^{8\,bis}$, Ro 3^{24}, 2 Co 11^{7}, Rev 21^{6} 22^{17}, where the prominent thought is the *grace* (gratis) of the giver, as Mt 10^{8} 'freely ye received, freely give.' And this is no doubt the meaning in Ro 8^{32} and 1 Co 2^{12} where χαρίζομαι is trᵈ 'freely give.' Illustrations are Ex 21^{11} Wyc. 'sche schal go out freli without money' (AV 'free,' RV 'for nothing'); Is 52^{5} Cov. 'my people is frely caried awaye' (EV 'for nought'); and Shaks. *Winter's Tale*, I. i. 19, 'You pay a great deal too dear for what's given freely.'

(3) *Voluntarily, spontaneously*, approaching the meaning of 'generous,' 'noble' given last for 'free': Ps 54^{6} 'I will freely sacrifice unto thee' (בִּנְדָבָה, RV 'with a freewill offering,' after most commentators, but Cheyne prefers 'with a free will' both here and at Nu 15^{3}); Hos 14^{4} 'I will heal their backsliding, I will love them freely' (נְדָבָה, LXX ὁμολόγως, Vulg. *spontanee*, Wyc. [1382] 'of my free will,' [1388] 'wilfuli'; Rog. 'wyth al my heart,' Gen. 'frely,' Dou. 'voluntarily,' Cheyne 'spontaneously'). And this is the meaning of 'freely' in Ezr 2^{68} (RV 'willingly') 7^{15}, where it is used to bring out the force of the Heb. verb. This is Milton's meaning (*PL* viii. 443) where God addresses Adam—

> 'My image, not imparted to the brute;
> Whose fellowship therefore, unmeet for thee,
> Good reason was thou freely shouldst dislike.'

Freeman: 1 Es 3^{19} (ἐλεύθερος); 1 Co 7^{22} 'the Lord's freeman' (ἀπελεύθερος, RV 'freedman'), so as to bring out the spiritual emancipation and to distinguish from the natural 'freeman' (ἐλεύθερος) following. RV adds Col 3^{11} (ἐλεύθερος, AV 'free').

Freewoman: 1 Mac 2^{11}, Gal $4^{22.\,23.\,30}$, all ἐλευθέρα, of the natural condition, and directly opposed to 'bond-slave' (1 Mac) or 'bondmaid' (Gal). RV adds Gal 4^{31}.

J. HASTINGS.

FREEWILL OFFERING.—See SACRIFICE.

FREQUENT.—In the sense of crowded, well-attended, 'frequent' is common in writers of the 17th cent. and earlier, as a 'frequent assembly'—Sanderson, *Works*, ii. 242, 258, a 'frequent college'; 'the College was sa frequent as the roumes war nocht able to receaue them'—Melvill, *Diary*, 50. The sense in which the word occurs in AV is akin to this, but more exactly *well-acquainted, conversant*: 2 Co 11^{23} 'in prisons more frequent,' exactly as Knox, *Works*, iv. 139, 'Be frequent in the prophetis and in the epistillis of St. Paul.' The Gr. is περισσοτέρως, and RV follows Bish. and Rhem. 'more abundantly,' the other VSS having 'more plenteously.' Amer. RV and RVm give 'frequent' in 1 S 3^{1} for 'open' of AV, 'the word of the Lord was precious in those days; there was no open vision' (אֵין חָזוֹן נִפְרָץ).

FRET.—To 'fret' is primarily to eat up, consume (*for*, intensive prefix, and *etan* to eat, like Ger. *ver-essen*), as in Alisaunder of Macedoine (E.E.T.S.) i. 1159—

> 'Fayre handes and feete freaten too the bonne.'

But a very early meaning and very common is to *eat into, gnaw, corrode*, as of a disease, and the word being used in this sense by Tind. in Lv $13^{51.\,52.\,55}$ 14^{44}, it was retained in AV. The uses in AV, then, are—

1. Transitively: 1. Literally to *eat away, corrode*, Lv $13^{51.\,52}$ 14^{44} 'a fretting leprosy' (צָרַעַת מַמְאֶרֶת), and 13^{55} 'it is fret* inward' (פְּחֶתֶת). So

---

* It will be observed that in Lv 13^{55} 'it is fret inward,' *fret* is the past ptcp. Cf. More, *Utopia*, i. (Lumby, p. 46, l. 14), 'For he (and that no marveile) beynge so touched on the quicke, and hit on the gaule, so fret, so fumed, and chafed at it, and was in such a rage that he could not refraine himselfe from chidinge, skolding, railing, and reviling.' Similar forms are 'lift' Gn 7^{17}, Lk 16^{23}; 'whet' Ps 64^{3} Pr. Bk.

Fuller says of the death of Godfrey (*Holy Warre*, Bk ii. ch. 6, p. 51), 'It may be the plague took him out of the hands of that lingring disease, and quickly cut off what that had been long in fretting'; and Shaks. makes Lear in the bitterness of his soul say of his daughter Goneril (*Lear*, I. iv. 276)—

> 'If she must teem,
> Create her child of spleen; that it may live
> And be a thwart disnatured torment to her!
> Let it stamp wrinkles in her brow of youth;
> With cadent tears fret channels in her cheeks.'

The tr^{n} of Ps 39^{12} in the Great Bible of 1539 was 'When thou with rebukes dost chasten man for sinne, thou makest his bewtye to consume awaye, like as it were a mothe.' In 1540 the explanatory phrase 'fretting a garment' was added, which being thereafter adopted into the text appears in the Pr. Bk. version. Cf. Bacon, *Advancement of Learning*, II. ii. 5, 'As for the corruptions and moths of history, which are epitomes, the use of them deserveth to be banished, as all men of sound judgment have confessed, as those that have fretted and corroded the sound bodies of many excellent histories, and wrought them into base and unprofitable dregs.'

2. Figuratively, in two senses. (1) To *vex*. Tindale says (*Expos.*, Parker Soc. p. 31), 'And the nature of salt is to bite, fret, and make smart'; whence Adams passes to the fig. sense (*II Peter*, p. 47 on 1^{4}) 'Do we cut, and fret, and trouble you: remember we are salt, the sharper the better.' So in AV, Ezk 16^{43} 'Because thou hast not remembered the days of thy youth, but hast fretted me in all these things' (וַתִּרְגְּזִי־לִי; Amer. RV 'raged against'). (2) To *disquiet oneself*, Ps 37^{1} 'Fret not thyself because of evildoers' (אַל־תִּתְחַר, so $37^{7.8}$, Pr 24^{19}); Is 8^{21} 'when they shall be hungry they shall fret themselves' (הִתְקַצַּף, Del. 'it is roused to anger'; Cheyne, 'he shall be deeply angered'; Skinner, 'he shall break out in anger').

The AV tr^{n} is partly from the Gen. 'he shal euen freat him self,' and partly from the Bish. 'they will bee out of patience.' 'He is out of pacience' is Coverdale's; Wyc. [1382] 'it shal wrathen,' [1388] 'it schal be wrooth,' and the Douay 'he will be angrie,' are both nearer the meaning of the verb, being both after the Vulg. 'irascetur'; but both miss the force of the special form [Hithpael], which is found only here. The LXX gives λυπηθήσεσθε; Luther, 'werden sie zürnen.' A very close parallel occurs in Sir Thomas Wiat (Skeat's *Specimens*, p. 225)—

> 'And whilst they claspe their lustes in armes a-crosse,
> Graunt them, good Lord, as thou maist of thy might,
> To freate inward, for losyng such a losse.'

2. Intransitively, *be irritable, chafe, grieve*, the modern meaning: 1 S 1^{6} 'And her adversary also provoked her sore, for to make her fret' (בַּעֲבוּר הַרְּעִמָהּ), and Pr 19^{3} 'his heart fretteth against the LORD' (יִזְעַף). So Shaks. *Jul. Cæs.* IV. iii. 42—

> 'Fret till your proud heart break.'

J. HASTINGS.

FRIEND.—Heb. history has supplied the world with an example of true friendship, as romantic and beautiful as any in Grecian story; and Heb. literature, though it contains no treatise *de Amicitiâ*, abounds in proverbs, setting forth, as eloquently as Laelius himself, the nature of this fine human relation, the claims which it makes, and the blessings which it brings. If Jonathan and David are the Pylades and Orestes of the Bible, the pithy sayings of the *Ḥokhma* Lit. contain the philosophy of friendship. A genuine attachment is possible only between the virtuous—this is implied in all the directions given in the Book of Pr to the young man for his guidance in life, and expressly indicated in the warnings of 13^{20} 28^{7}, where the word (רֵעֶה) rendered *companion* is that elsewhere often translated *friend*. That even natural ties cannot compare with the bond of friendship for strength and endurance, is said, not without a touch of satire, in 18^{24} 'He that maketh many friends doeth it to his own destruction; but there is a friend that sticketh closer than a brother.' David, in his lament, describes the affection of Jonathan for him as 'passing the love of women.' That, as Lord Bacon puts it in his Essay, the principal fruits of friendship are healthful and sovereign, both for the affections and the understanding, comes out in the striking proverb (27^{17}), 'Iron sharpeneth iron; so a man sharpeneth the countenance of his friend'; while the anguish inflicted on a true heart when one trusted and loved proves false or unkind, is exhibited in a concrete form in the behaviour of Job's three friends, and in many a passionate cry wrung from that patriarch (Job $6^{14.27}$ 19^{21}), or from a psalmist under similar provocation (Ps 41^{9}).

Among the duties of friendship Cicero places high that of frankness in reproof and counsel; and this could not fail of characteristic recognition in the proverbs of Israel, 'Faithful are the wounds of a friend; but the kisses of an enemy are deceitful' (Pr 27^{6}), while in 17^{9} are indicated the tact and delicacy necessary in the discharge of this duty.

Pr 27^{10} is the Heb. equivalent for the saying that 'old friends are best'; and that poverty and trouble are, like length of time, tests of the genuineness of friendly profession, in contrast with the pretended attachment of flatterers and parasites, is the theme of proverbs like 14^{20} $19^{4.7}$. True friends are rare with the great and powerful, yet, as Bacon says, they set a higher rate than others on the rare possession, and the Bible gives many instances of the confidence of intimacy between kings and subjects, *e.g.* David and Hushai; prophets and apostles and their disciples, *e.g.* Elijah and Elisha, Paul and Timothy.

But, while the Bible presents an ideal of friendship equal to that demanded by other literature, it does not leave it there. It elevates it in a manner all its own to a transcendent height. It presents it, not only as a human relationship, but one possible between God and man. Abraham was the friend of God (2 Ch 20^{7}, Is 41^{8}, Ja 2^{23}). With Moses, too, J″ spake 'face to face as a man speaketh unto his friend' (Ex 33^{11}), and the Son of God used the name *friend* in preference to *servant*, not only of the apostles, but also of all for whom He laid down His life (Jn $15^{13.14.15}$).

There are nine Heb. words or phrases rendered *friend* in the AV. Those of most frequent occurrence are connected with the roots אָהַב, expressing *affection*, and רָעָה *sociability*, the most common being רֵעַ, rendered 41 times *friend*, 104 times *neighbour*, and sometimes *companion* and *fellow*. The most usual equivalents in LXX and Vulg. are φίλος and *amicus*. As a term of salutation the vocative ἑταῖρε is three times in NT rendered *friend* (Mt 20^{13} 22^{12} 26^{50}).

Of course the term *friends* sometimes implies no more than political associates or allies, *e.g.* 1 S 30^{26}, Jer $20^{4.6}$.

A. S. AGLEN.

FRINGES (Heb. צִיצִת *ẓiẓîth*).—In the time of our Lord, the Jews, especially those of the Pharisaic party (cf. esp. Mt 23^{5}), attached the greatest importance to three material reminders or 'sensible signs' of their obligations under the Law. These were the *ẓiẓîth* (EV 'fringes'), the *tĕphillîn* or phylacteries (wh. see), and the *mĕzûzah* (Dt 6^{9} 11^{20}) on the doorpost. Of these the first-named was the sign to which the greatest virtue was ascribed. Its observance is first required by the law of Dt (22^{12}), where we read 'Twisted cords (גְּדִלִים, LXX στρεπτά: AV, RV incorrectly 'fringes,' but RVm 'twisted threads') shalt thou make thee upon the four corners (*'arba' kanphôth*, AV 'four quarters,' RV 'four borders') of thy mantle (lit. 'covering' as Ex 22^{27} [Heb. ^{26}], see below) wherewith thou coverest thyself.' The object here termed *gĕdîlîm* acquired later the special designation *ẓiẓîth* צִיצִת,—it is so rendered by the Targum *Jerus.* i. (pseudo-

Jonathan) in Dt 22^{12},—for there can be no doubt that we meet the same enactment in an expanded form in the priestly legislation: 'And the LORD spake unto Moses saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, and bid them that they make them fringes [*] in the borders (so AV, RV; more correctly 'tassels upon the corners'; cf. RVm) of their garments throughout their generations, and that they put upon the fringe of each border (*i.e.* the tassel of each corner) a cord of blue' (Nu $15^{37.38}$). There can be no question that the interpretation suggested by the EV, that a fringe attached to the hem of the garment is intended, is quite erroneous. We have only to turn to Hag 2^{12}, where a still common Eastern practice is referred to, to see that *kānāph* applied to an article of dress can only mean 'corner' or loose flowing end of a garment.[†] Now, the Hebrews seem to have worn as an outer garment a large piece of cloth of the shape of a Scotch plaid (generally called *simlah*, see DRESS), which also served as a covering (כְּסוּת) by night (Ex 22^{26}).[‡] To the four corners of this garment, then, the 'twisted cords' of Dt were clearly intended to be fastened. The more extended enactment of the Priestly Code, however, evidently contemplates a more elaborate arrangement of a tassel attached to each corner by a cord of blue. To these tassels the Greek translators give the name κράσπεδα, the term exclusively used by the NT writers. It has even found its way into Targ. Onk. (כרוספדין) (cf. Dalm. *Gram. Aram.* 149) in both passages from the Pentateuch. The *simlah* was worn like the Greek *himation*, which is its NT equivalent, the loose end being thrown over the left shoulder. It was the *ẓiẓîth* attached to this corner (τ. κρασπέδου τ. ἱματίου) that was reached with comparative ease by the woman with the issue of blood approaching our Lord in the crowd from behind (Mt 9^{20}, Lk 8^{44}).

When we attempt to go behind the prescription of the Torah, there is reason to believe that we have here an ancient custom,[§] perhaps with originally magical or superstitious associations (see W. R. Smith, *RS* 416, note; Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* ii. 123) taken up and impressed with a new significance by the Hebrew legislation. Even so late as NT times a special virtue was supposed to be attached to the 'tassels on the four corners' (Mt 14^{36}, Mk 6^{56}; cf. the special sanctity of the four horns of the altar, Lv $4^{7ff.}$, 1 K $1^{50f.}$). To the more spiritually minded, however, they were, as they were intended to be, continual reminders of the obligation resting on J''s people to walk in His Law, and to keep all His commandments (see esp. Nu $15^{39.40}$).

With the change in the fashion of the outer garments of the Jews, and with the increasing frequency and cruelty of heathen and Christian persecution, the Jews gradually ceased to wear the tassels in the way prescribed by the original legislation. A special article of clothing was devised of the shape of a modern chest-protector—one part covering the breast, the other the back—with the necessary aperture in the centre for the head to pass through. This garment, to which the names of *ṭallith* (טַלִּית) and *'arba' kanphôth* (Dt 22^{12}) were given, had the tassels attached to its four corners, and was worn as an undergarment, a practice still observed by all orthodox Jews. The more zealous, however, wear it so that one or more of the tassels may be visible. The *ṭallith* now described came, later, to be known as *ṭallith ḳaṭôn* or 'small ṭallith,' to distinguish it from the *ṭallith gadôl*, 'large ṭallith' or prayer-shawl. The latter more nearly corresponds in shape to the ancient *simlah*, being a quadrangular piece of white woollen (or silken) cloth to which the tassels are attached in the manner about to be described. It is worn universally by the Jews during the daily service in the synagogue, either thrown over the head or round the shoulders, but always so that the tassels shall be visible in front. Special prayers are said before and during the act of adjusting the *ṭallith*.

The rabbinical prescriptions with regard to the צִיצִית or tassels have been elaborated with characteristic detail, and fill many pages of the Jewish codes (see literature at end of art.). Only a very few of these need be cited here. From a reference in the Mishna (*Menakh.* iv. 1) it would appear that the former practice of making the *ẓiẓîth* by twisting three white threads with one of blue (or blue-purple) was falling into desuetude, perhaps owing to the increasing difficulty of procuring the expensive dye required; and that it was henceforth permissible to use white threads alone so long as the numbers were complete (see Levy, *Wörterb. s. voc.* עכב). Somewhat later we learn from the curious, and in part obscure, paraphrase of Nu 15^{38} in the Targum *Jerus.* i. (pseudo-Jonathan) apparently based on Talmudic decision, that the threads must be spun expressly for the purpose, not made of the refuse of the loom, and that they must be tied with five knots (קיטרין). According to the prescription still in force, it is required that four (white) threads (חוטין) shall be taken, of which one—technically called the *shammesh* or 'servant'—shall be considerably longer than the rest. A small hole or eyelet (נקב) is made in each corner of the *ṭallith* three thumb-breadths (גודלים) from each margin; through this the four threads are drawn and the ends brought together. A double knot is tied close to the margin of the *ṭallith*, the *shammesh* is then twisted tightly 9 times round the remaining 7 threads and another double knot is tied; then round 9 times and a knot; then round 11 times and a knot; and finally round 13 times and a knot, and the *ẓiẓîth* is complete. Various mystic significations are attached to the number of knots and twistings. The most interesting, perhaps, is that which deduces from the whole a symbol of the complete Torah: thus the numerical value of the letters of the word צִיצִית is 90+10+90+10+400=600, which with the 8 threads and the 5 knots makes a total of 613, the exact number, according to rabbinic calculation, of the positive (248) and negative (365) precepts of the Torah. This has led to the exaggerated statement that the wearing of the *ẓiẓîth* is of equal merit with the observance of the whole Law.

Males only are to wear the *ṭallith* (so already Targum pseudo-Jonathan on Dt 22^{5}). This is compulsory after the 13th year, when the Jewish boy becomes a *bar-mizvah*, but the small *ṭallith* may be worn earlier. The size of the latter is said by Maimonides to be such that a boy, just able to walk alone, shall be completely covered by it. It is not necessary to wear the *ṭallith* at night; this is inferred from the words of the Law, 'that ye may *look* upon it and remember' (Nu 15^{39}), an injunction impossible of fulfilment in the darkness of the night.[*] As an illustration of the importance attached to the wearing of the *ẓiẓîth*, the following anecdote is frequently quoted. The son of a famous Rabbi was asked which of the commandments above all others his father had especially charged him to keep. His reply was: 'The law concerning the *ẓiẓîth*. On descending a ladder my father stepped on one of the threads and tore it off. He refused to move from the spot till it was replaced' (*Shabb.* 118*b*). See also DRESS.

---

[*] The MT has here צִיצִת in the singular, but probably we ought to read with the Samaritan צִיצִיּוֹת; cf. LXX κράσπεδα.

[†] Cf. 1 S 15^{27} $24^{4.5.11}$ where the LXX renders כָּנָף by the exact terms τὸ πτερύγιον τῆς διπλοΐδος, for which see Jevons and Gardner, *Manual of Gr. Antiq.* 52.

[‡] That one and the same garment is intended in Dt and Nu is confirmed by the Targum of Onkelos, which in both passages has כְּסוּתָא.

[§] The practice of wearing tassels was known to the ancient Persians, as appears from the monuments of Persepolis.

[*] This question was one of the differences between the schools of Hillel and Shammai (*Ediyyoth*, iv. 10).

LITERATURE.—The rabbinical prescriptions are found in the authoritative codes of Maimonides (*Yad Ha-ḥazakah, Hilkoth Ẓiẓith*) and Joseph Caro (*Shulḥan 'Aruk Yoré De'a*, ch. viii.-xxiv.). A convenient compendium of the latter work is the ספר חיי אדם על־שלחן ערוך אורח חיים, Wilna, 1888 (rules concerning the *ẓiẓîth*, pp. 33-38). Also in the tractate *Ẓiẓîth* in Raph. Kircheim, *Septem libri Talmudici parvi Hierosolymitani*, Frankfort, 1851; Hiller, *De vestibus fimbriatis Hebræorum*, in Ugolini *Thesaurus*, vol. xxi. More easily accessible is Bodenschatz, *Kirchliche Verfassung d. heutigen Juden*, 1748, pt. iv. pp. 9-15; Buxtorf, *Synagoga Judaica*, pp. 160-170. Art. 'Fringes' in Kitto's *Biblical Cyclopædia*^{3}. See also Driver on Dt 22^{12}.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

FROCK.—'A linen frock' is named in Sir 40^{4} as the dress of the poor in contrast to the 'purple' of the rich (ὠμόλινον, lit. 'raw linen'; RV 'a hempen frock'; the word occurs only here in bibl. Greek). The 'frock' was once the cover-all of the English labourer, and still remains as 'smock-frock.' See DRESS.

FROG (צְפַרְדֵּעַ *ẓĕphardēa'*, *βάτραχος*, *rana*).—An amphibious animal, noted in two connexions in the Bible. 1. As one of the plagues of Egypt (Ex 8^{2-14}, Ps 78^{45} etc.). 2. As a form assumed by unclean spirits (Rev $16^{13.14}$). It is also mentioned in Wis 19^{10}. The frog referred to in the story of the plagues is the *Ranula esculenta*, L., the *edible frog*. It is found in all stagnant waters in the Holy Land. The Arab. name for the frog, *dufda'*, bears a strong resemblance to the Hebrew.

G. E. POST.

FROM.—Following the Gen. Bible, 'from' is used in 1 Es 3^{23} as equivalent to 'away from': 'But when they are from the wine, they remember not what they have done.' This is the only occurrence of a meaning that is common in Shaks. Thus *Macbeth*, III. i. 132—

> 'For 't must be done to-night,
> And something from the palace';

and *Jul. Cæs.* I. iii. 35—

> 'But men may construe things after their fashion,
> Clean from the purpose of the things themselves.'

FRONTLETS.—See PHYLACTERIES.

FROWARD.—Froward is the Northern form of 'fromward,' as we have 'to and fro' for 'to and from.' Cf. Sidney, *Arcadia*, ii., 'As cheerfully going towards, as Pyrocles went frowardly fromward his death.' Froward is thus the opposite of 'toward,' and is used by Spenser (*FQ* VI. x. 24) in the literal sense of *turned from*—

> 'And eeke them selves so in their daunce they bore,
> That two of them still froward seem'd to bee,
> But one still towards shew'd her selfe afore.'

In AV 'froward' is always figurative, *turned from* in sympathy, *opposed*, *hostile*, as in Ps 18^{26} 'with the froward thou wilt show thyself froward' (עִם־עִקֵּשׁ תִּתַּפָּל, RV 'with the perverse thou wilt show thyself froward'). Then, by an easy transition, that which goes the wrong way to accomplish its ends, twisted, tortuous, not straightforward. Thus Dt 32^{5} Tind., 'The frowarde and overthwarte generation hath marred them selues to himward' (עִקֵּשׁ), EV 'perverse,' which does not adequately express the sense, says Driver. Tindale's 'froward' is better than 'perverse,' for its meaning is just what Driver gives as the meaning of the Heb. here, 'the opposite of what is sincere, straightforward, and frank,' denoting 'a character which pursues devious and questionable courses for the purpose of compassing its ends.' Thus Latimer (*Sermons before Edw. VI.*, Arber's ed. p. 115), 'The herte of man is naughti, a croked, and a froward pece of worke.' Still, 'froward' was frequently used in the sense of obstinate, as T. Lever, *Sermons* (1550, Arber's ed. p. 103), 'The father draweth not by force violentlye them that be stubborne and frowarde, but by loue them that be gentyll, and come wyllyngly.' And the union of the crooked with the obstinate gives perversity. RV prefers 'perverse' in 2 S 22^{27} = Ps 18^{26} (as above), Pr 2^{15} (not Amer. RV) 3^{32} 11^{20}; and Amer. RV further in Dt 32^{20}, Pr 2^{12} 6^{12} 8^{13} 10^{31} $16^{28.30}$ 22^{5}. RV gives 'crooked' in Pr 8^{8} 21^{8}, and Amer. RV 'wayward' in Pr 2^{15} 4^{24} 17^{20}, and 'cunning' in Job 5^{13}. But 'froward' is introduced into 2 S 22^{27} (AV 'unsavoury'), Pr 23^{33} (AV 'perverse'). It will be observed that the ideas represented by this word refer to conduct, especially in public life; it is therefore of most frequent occurrence in Pr, where 'froward' is found 14 times, elsewhere only 7 times.

Wyclif rarely uses the word; not in any of the places where it occurs in AV, his words being 'shrewd,' 'perverted,' or 'wayward.' But it is found in Dt 21^{18} (1382), 'If a man gete a rebel sone, and a fraward (1388 'overthewert'), that herith not the fadres and modres heest'; and as a various reading in 2 Ti 3^{4}. The introduction of the word so freely into Pr was made by Rogers and Coverdale. Its single occurrence in NT is from Tindale, 1 P 2^{18} 'Servauntes obey youre masters with all feare, not only yf they be good and courteous; but also though they be frowarde' (1526 and 1534). The Gr. is σκολιός, which means *tortuous* as of a river, and then ethically *not straightforward*. Here, says Salmond, it means not exactly 'capricious' (as Luther), or 'wayward' (as Rhem.), or even 'froward' (as Tind. Cov. Rog. Cran. Gen. Bish. AV, RV), but 'harsh' or 'perverse,' the disposition that lacks the reasonable and considerate, and makes a tortuous use of the lawful.

The adv. **frowardly** occurs only Is 57^{17} 'and he went on frowardly in the way of his heart' (וַיֵּלֶךְ שׁוֹבָב, lit. 'he walked turning away,' as AVm and RVm; Amer. RV 'backsliding'). For the Eng. word cf. Knox, *Hist.* 137, 'Then began she to frowne, and to look frowardly to all such as she knew did favour the Gospel of Jesus Christ.'

Frowardness is used only in Pr 2^{14} 6^{14} 10^{32}, תַּהְפֻּכוֹת, a word which is found only in the plu. and means lit. 'turnings about,' *i.e.* 'lines of action, or modes of speech, adopted for the sake of escaping unpleasant realities, or evading the truth, *perversions* of truth or right'—Driver on Dt 32^{20}; see his note. The word is tr^{d} by the adj. 'froward' in Pr 8^{13} ('the froward mouth,' lit. 'the mouth of evasions') 10^{31} 16^{28}; by 'very froward' in Dt 32^{20}; and by 'froward things' in Pr 2^{12} 16^{30}. Cf. Barlowe, *Dialoge* (Lunn's ed. p. 106), 'And no meruell, thoughe Saull fared the worse for hys people, wher as Moyses the most faythfull seruaunte of god was partely by their frowardnes debarred fro the pleasaunt lande of behest.'

J. HASTINGS.

FRUIT.—Palestine is always described as a fruitful land (Ps 107^{34}, Is 5^{1}). The number of 'kindly fruits of the earth' produced here is very large. The great diversity of climate makes possible the cultivation of plants from almost every quarter of the globe. The following list of the products of the soil may be taken as an index, not exhaustive but illustrative of the capabilities of this 'land of promise':—Fitches (Is $28^{25.27}$), opium poppy, mustard, cabbage, cauliflower, turnip, cress, radish, flax, sorrel, rue, vine, Indian fig, jujube, lemon, orange, citron, lupine, beans, horsebeans, peas, lentils, chick peas, mâsh (*Vigna Nilotica*, L.), carob, strawberry, blackberry, peach, plum, almond, apricot, nectarine, apple, quince, medlar, Photinia Japonica, hawthorn, pomegranate, myrtle, watermelon, cantelope, squash, pumpkin, cucumber, coriander, dill, fennel, caraway, anise, celery, parsley, parsnip, carrot, carthamus (bastard saffron), chicory, lettuce, artichokes, potato, tobacco, tomato, eggplant, henbane, nightshade, castor oil, sesame, olive, fig, sycomore, mulberry, hemp, walnut, edible pine, saffron, banana, date, colocasia, maize, wheat, barley, sorghum, sugar cane. G. E. POST.

FRUIT.—The figurative, and indeed all the literal uses of the word 'fruit,' except the primary one of the fruit of fruit-bearing trees, are suggested by the Hebrew idioms, and belong to what may be called biblical English. Thus it is used of the general products of the earth, Ex 23^{10} 'And six years thou shalt sow thy land, and shalt gather in the fruits thereof' (תְּבוּאָה, RV 'increase'). It is also used of the offspring of animals, including man, as Ps 127^{3} 'Lo, children are an heritage of the LORD: and the fruit of the womb is his reward' (פְּרִי, the common word for 'fruit'). In this sense notice La 2^{20} 'Shall the women eat their fruit, and children of a span long?' (פְּרִי).

It has been maintained (*Psalms Chron. Arranged*, pp. 150, 446) that 'fruit' in Ps 72^{16} has this meaning in AV, 'There shall be an handful of corn in the earth upon the top of the mountains; the fruit thereof shall shake like Lebanon' (פְּרִי). This might be true of Wyclif's tr^{n} (1388), 'Stidefastnesse schal be in the erthe, in the higheste places of mounteyns; the fruyt therof schal be enhaunsid aboue the Liban'; and more confidently of Coverdale's, 'There shalbe an heape of corne in the earth hye vpon the hilles, his frute shal shake like Libanus,' though the 'his' probably refers to 'corn.' But the Geneva tr^{n} is 'An handful of corne shalbe sowen in the earth, euen in the top of the mountaines, and the frute thereof shal shake like the trees of Lebanon: and the children shal florish out of the citie like the grasse of the earth,' with the marg. note, 'Vnder suche a King shalbe moste great plentie, bothe of frute and also of the increase of mankinde.' And there is little doubt that AV followed the Gen. Bible here.

Whether in the *Heb.* 'fruit' refers to the fruit of the earth or of the King's body is another matter. Ewald takes it to be the King's offspring, his posterity, as in Ps 21^{10}; so also Burgess, 'Let His fruit be abundant, on the top of the hills, like (the cedars of) Lebanon,' who compares Ps 92^{12} and Hos 14^{5}. Cheyne refers the 'fruit' to the people, 'May abundance of corn be in the land, upon the top of the mountains may it wave; [and the people]—like Lebanon be its fruit.'

Figuratively four meanings are found: 1. The product of effort, as Pr 31^{31} 'Give her of the fruit of her hands' (פְּרִי); Ro 1^{13} 'I purposed to come unto you, (but was let hitherto,) that I might have some fruit among you also, even as among other Gentiles' (καρπός). 2. Benefit, profit, Jn 4^{36} 'And he that reapeth receiveth wages, and gathereth fruit unto life eternal' (καρπός, cf. Eng. 'harvest,' the same word philologically). Ro 6^{21} 'What fruit had ye then in those things whereof ye are now ashamed?' (καρπός). 3. By a strongly idiomatic Heb. phrase, 'The fruit of the lip,' that is, *praise*, Is 57^{19} 'I create the fruit of the lips' (נִיב, cf. vb. in Pr 10^{31}), an idiom that was accepted into bibl. Gr., He 13^{15} 'By him, therefore, let us offer the sacrifice of praise to God continually, that is, the fruit of our lips giving thanks to his name' (καρπός from LXX of Hos $14^{2\,[3]}$, פְּרִי for פָּרִים). 4. Of *moral* consequences of action, Is 3^{10} 'the fruit of their doings,' cf. Jer 17^{10} 21^{14} etc. This differs from (1), for it is often undesigned, and from (2), for it is often used of punishment.

J. HASTINGS.

FRUSTRATE.—2 Es 10^{34} 'Forsake me not, lest I die frustrate of my hope' (*ut non frustra moriar*), and Jth 11^{11} 'That my lord be not defeated and frustrate of his purpose' (ἄπρακτος). So Hooker, *Eccl. Polity*, I. xi. 4, 'It is an axiom of nature that natural desire cannot utterly be frustrate'; and Knox, *Hist.* 29, 'King Henry frustrate returned to London, and after his indignation declared, began to fortify with men his frontiers toward Scotland.' Such past participles, formed in imitation of the Latin, are common in Elizabethan English. Shaks. uses this form still more boldly as an adj., *Tempest*, III. iii. 10—

'The sea mocks
Our frustrate search on land.'

The meaning is 'defeated,' 'baulked.' The same sense is found with the infin. in Ezr 4^{5} 'Hired counsellors against them to frustrate their purpose' (לְהָפֵר); and with the finite verb in Is 44^{25} '[the LORD] that frustrateth the tokens of the liars' (מֵפֵר, Wyc. [1382], 'voide makende tocnes of deuynoures'; Cov. 'I destroy the tokens of witches'; Del. 'who brings to nought the signs of the lying prophets'). And in the same sense RV adds, Job 5^{12} 'He frustrateth the devices of the crafty' (מֵפֵר, AV 'He disappointeth'). But in Gal 2^{21} the meaning is different, 'I do not frustrate the grace of God' (ἀθετῶ, RV 'make void'), *i.e.* not 'baulk,' 'thwart,' or 'disappoint,' but 'nullify,' 'render inoperative,' 'make of no avail or value.' So Elyot, *The Governour*, ii. 385, 'To suche persones as do contemne auncient histories . . . it may be sayd, that in contemnynge histories they frustrate Experience.'

Goodwin, therefore (*Works*, i. pt. 2, p. 205), misses the point when he says, 'It was God's great design to advance grace, and therefore he calls their stepping aside from the doctrine thereof, a frustrating of the grace of God, Gal. ii. ult., which men do by mingling anything with it; it is a frustrating of the grace of God, because it frustrateth the great design of God, for to frustrate is to make void a design.' Dr. Gwynne (*in loc.*) brings out the meaning thus: 'I do not make void the *atoning* grace of God *by seeking to justify myself*; for if righteousness *come* by law, then, *indeed*, Christ died needlessly, *and the grace of God is made of none effect.*' The older versions are inaccurate or inadequate, Wyc. 'cast not awei' (after Vulg. *non abiicio*), so Cov. Rhem.; Tind. 'despyse,' so Rog. Cran.; Gen. better 'abrogate'; Bish. 'reject.' Augustine is right—*non irritam facio.*

J. HASTINGS.

FRYING-PAN.—See FOOD.

FUEL.—The Hebrews indicated fuel by a figure as the '*food* of fire' (Is $9^{5.\,19}$ [Heb. $^{4.\,18}$] כְּמַאֲכֹלֶת אֵשׁ, EV 'fuel of fire'; Ezk $15^{4.\,6}$ 21^{32} אָכְלָה). In ancient as in modern times, wood was no doubt the principal fuel, either in its natural state or prepared as charcoal. There is no sufficient evidence of the use of mineral coal as fuel. With regard to the use of wood as fuel, we may assume that the variety of woods employed for this purpose was as great as it is in Syria to-day (see the list prepared by Post in *PEF St*, 1891, p. 118 ff.). The term עֵצִים (lit. *woods*) is applied equally to the 'sticks' or twigs gathered by individuals (Nu $15^{32.\,33}$, 1 K $17^{10.\,12}$), and to the faggots or logs prepared by felling and cutting up the trees of the forest (Lv $1^{7\text{ff.}}$ 4^{12}). A few of such trees are named in Is $44^{14\text{-}16}$. Shrubs of every variety were used for the same purpose, such as the *rōthem* (רֹתֶם Ps 120^{4} 'coals of *juniper*,' more correctly as RVm 'coals of *broom*'), a shrub very largely used as fuel by the Arabs of the present day (Palmer, Doughty). Reduced to charcoal (see below), the *rōthem* (Arab. *ritm*) is said to throw out an intense heat. References to thorns (סִירִים, קוֹצִים) as fuel are numerous in Scripture; the *'āṭād* (אָטָד Ps 58^{10} [Eng. ^{9}]), probably the buck-thorn (see THORNS AND THISTLES), is mentioned in particular. The use of chaff, which includes the chopped straw (*tibn*) from the threshing-floor, is likewise referred to (Mt 3^{12}), as also of withered herbage (χόρτος, EV 'grass') in general (Mt 6^{30}, Lk 12^{28}).

The Hebrews, as we have remarked above, were familiar with the advantage, as fuel, of wood in the form of charcoal, for such, without doubt, was the 'coal' of Scripture (see COAL). The ancient Egyptians, acc. to Wilkinson (ed. 1878, ii. 35, 36), used faggots of wood for heating water and boiling meat, but preferred charcoal for roasting. However this may have been among the Hebrews, the fuel used for the brasier (אָח Jer $36^{22\text{ff.}}$ AV 'hearth,' RV 'brasier') or chafing-dish (כִּיּוֹר אֵשׁ Zec 12^{6}, RV 'pan of fire'), by which the houses of the upper classes were warmed in winter, was undoubtedly charcoal (cf. Jn 18^{18} 21^{9}). No such luxury would be found in the houses of the poor, who had to content themselves with a fire of logs or twigs placed in a depression in the floor of the living-room. The smoke from such a hearth (perhaps מוֹקְדָה—although this word is in our extant literature used only of the altar-hearth, Lv 6^{2} [Eng. 6^{9}]—mod. Arab. the same) escaped as best it could through the door or the latticed window (Hos 13^{3}, EV 'chimney'). Chimneys in our sense were not known, although, by a corruption of the text, 2 Es 6^{4} is made to speak of 'the chimneys of Zion.'

It is uncertain to what extent the Hebrews were familiar with the use of animal dung as fuel. This form of fuel, as is well known, is very extensively used in the East, both by the nomads and the fellahin. The dung of the camel is the favourite fuel of the Bedawin, while the Syrian peasant carefully collects the droppings of his cattle, which he uses either in the natural state when sufficiently dry, or mixed with straw. From the incident recorded in Ezk $4^{12\text{-}15}$ we may at least infer that this form of fuel was not unknown (see esp. v.^{15}), although, as the country was more extensively wooded then than now, there would not be the same necessity as now exists for having recourse to it. A. R. S. KENNEDY.

FUGITIVE.—1. Simply one who flees, as from danger or punishment (the modern, as it is also the earliest, meaning of the word, after Lat. *fugitivus*). So Is 15^{5} 'His fugitives shall flee unto Zoar' (RV 'Her nobles flee unto Zoar,' with 'fugitives' in marg. The reading is doubtful and difficult, see the Comm.); Ezk 17^{21} 'And all his fugitives with all his bands shall fall by the sword' (so RV and *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*, but reading again doubtful). 2. A *deserter* from duty. This sense belongs to *fugitivus* also. So Jg 12^{4} 'Ye Gileadites are fugitives of Ephraim'; Cov. 'runnagates.' That this is the meaning of EV is certain, but Moore holds that it is a misinterpretation, the Heb. word (פְּלִיטִים) meaning not 'runagate,' but 'survivor' (see his note); 2 K 25^{11} 'the fugitives that fell away to the king of Babylon' (הַנֹּפְלִים אֲשֶׁר נָפְלוּ עַל, RV 'those that fell away, that fell to the king'); Jth 16^{12} 'as fugitives' children' (ὡς παῖδας αὐτομολούντων, RV 'as runagates' children'); 2 Mac 8^{35} (the only example of the adj. in AV) 'He came like a fugitive servant through the midland unto Antioch' (δραπέτου τρόπον, RV 'like a fugitive slave'). So Shaks. *Ant. and Cleop.* IV. ix. 22—

> 'But let the world rank me in register
> A master-leaver, and a fugitive.'

3. A *Wanderer*, as Foxe, *Act. and Mon.*, iii. 747, 'If thou wert an honest Woman, thou wouldest not . . . run about the Country like a Fugitive.' This is the meaning of Gn $4^{12.\,14}$ 'a fugitive and a vagabond' (נָע וָנָד, ptcp. of נוּעַ to wander; LXX στένων καὶ τρέμων [preserving the paronomasia], Vulg. *vagus et profugus*; Luther, 'unstät und flüchtig'; Wyc. [1382] 'vagaunt and fer fugitif,' [1338] 'unstable of dwellyng and fleynge aboute'; Cov. 'a vagabunde and a rennagate'; Bish. 'a fugitive and a vagabond'). Shaks. presents a close parallel in *I Henry VI.* III. iii. 67—

> 'When Talbot hath set footing once in France,
> And fashion'd thee that instrument of ill,
> Who then but English Henry will be lord,
> And thou be thrust out like a fugitive?'

J. HASTINGS.

FULLER.—The fuller's art is mentioned in both OT and NT only in connexion with himself. In the former the fuller's field (2 K 18^{17}, Is 7^{3} 36^{2}) is the only word used, and indicated an open field on the west of Jerus. where cloths were fulled and spread out in the sun to dry. The process of fulling in those times is unknown to us except indirectly, partly from the etymology of the word (כּוֹבֵס, γναφεύς), and partly from an Egyp. picture. It seems to have consisted in washing the material with some preparation of lye, beating or rubbing it, and exposing it to the rays of the sun. This ensured a considerable amount of cleaning and bleaching; and the remains of ancient Egyp. linen show that the result of the art, rude as it may have been, was highly satisfactory. In NT the only reference to it (Mk 9^{3}) is where the garments of Jesus at His transfiguration are said to have become 'glistering, exceeding white; so as no fuller on earth can whiten them' (RV); and this description shows that the reader was familiar with the fuller's art and its beautifying effects. The dress of Egyp. and Jewish priests was made of white linen, and among their higher classes of very fine material, whose lustre was enhanced by art. Fulling is still carried on in the E., probably very much as it was practised in ancient times, and is often employed before dyeing cloth and yarn, to remove impurities and improve the process of colouring; but it is rapidly being superseded by the modern mode of bleaching.

J. WORTABET.

FULLER'S FIELD, THE (שְׂדֵה כוֹבֵס, ὁ ἀγρὸς γναφέως, *ager fullonis*), was the scene of Rabshakeh's interview with Eliakim and others (2 K 18^{17}, Is 36^{2}), and of that between Ahaz, Isaiah, and his son (Is 7^{3}). In each case it is named in connexion with the phrase 'conduit of the Upper Pool,' which is 'in' or 'on' 'the highway of the Fuller's Field.' The conduit apparently crossed the highway at a point close to the city, as conversation carried on there could be heard by the people on the walls (2 K 18^{26}). The place cannot now be identified with certainty. En-rogel we know was a resort of the fullers; whence probably its name was derived. The same is true of Birket Mamilla, in the vale west of the city. The former, lying in the bottom of the valley S.E., would have been difficult of approach, and hearing from the walls impossible. The higher aqueduct from Solomon's Pools crosses the valley a little above Birket Mamilla, and seems to have entered the city close by the tower Psaphinus, at the N.W. angle. This, however, could hardly be called 'the conduit of the Upper Pool.' From Birket Mamilla a conduit takes water to the Pool of Hezekiah, passing under the wall northward of the Jaffa gate. Birket Mamilla being the 'upper' of the two pools in the valley, there is at least a possibility that the Fuller's Field was located here. On the N., however, an ancient conduit entered the city E. of the Damascus gate. Its course without the wall has not been traced. It may have come from the large pool some distance out, to the left of the Nâblûs road. On this side the city was easiest of approach; the land here would perhaps best suit the description implied in שָׂדֶה 'arable land'; Josephus (*BJ* v. iv. 2) speaks of 'The Fuller's Monument,' at the E. corner of the N. wall; and Arculf mentions a gate west of the Damascus gate, which at the time of his visit (towards the end of the 7th cent.) was called *Porta Villæ Fullonis*, 'Gate of the Fuller's Farm' (cf. Euseb. *HE* ii. 23). These considerations point to the location of the Fuller's Field on the N. of the city. But there is no evidence to warrant any certain conclusion.

W. EWING.

FULNESS.—See PLEROMA.

FUNERAL.—See BURIAL.

FURLONG.—See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

FURNACE.—In OT five words are tr^{d} furnace in EV. 1. כִּבְשָׁן, a kiln for burning limestone into lime, or for smelting ore, chiefly iron. The former was constructed of lime-stones arranged in concentric layers in the form of a dome, with an opening at the top for the escape of air and smoke, and another at the bottom for supplying the hollow of the dome with fuel. In this case, as well as in furnaces for smelting, great and long-continued heat was required, and the combustion caused a thick and dark column of smoke to ascend. It is this appearance that is referred to in the account of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah: 'and, lo, the smoke of the land went up as the smoke of a furnace' (Gn 19^{28}). 2. אַתּוּן, an Aram. word still in use in Syria (Arab. *attun*) for the lime-kiln described above. It occurs only in Dn 3, but there repeatedly as the 'furnace' into which Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego were cast. 3. עֲלִיל, Ps 12^{6}, but the text here is quite uncertain. (See Cheyne, *ad loc.* and *Expos. Times*, viii. 170, 287, 336, 379.) 4. כּוּר (Arab. *kûr*, a blacksmith's fireplace), a smelting furnace, for iron (Dt 4^{20}, 1 K 8^{51}, Jer 11^{4}), but especially for gold (Pr 17^{3} 27^{21}), used metaphorically (Is 48^{10}, furnace of affliction). 5. תַּנּוּר, sometimes tr. 'furnace' (Gn 15^{17}), and sometimes 'oven' (Lv 26^{26})—the latter being probably the correct tr^{n}. The Arab. word *tannur* is still in use on the Lebanon for a special kind of oven in which women bake bread. A pit is dug in the earth, and a hollow cylinder of pottery, about two feet in diameter, is let down into it. Fire is kindled at the bottom, and, when the smoke subsides and the cylinder is sufficiently heated, a thin circular layer of dough, spread out on a pad, is deftly stuck to the inner side of the cylinder. The cakes, which are about a foot in diameter, are considered a very good kind of bread.

The same word in Gr. of NT (Mt 13^{42}) and in Arab. (*κάμινος*, *kamîn*) means a furnace. In Syria the word is still in use for furnaces employed in heating public baths, and the heat generated in them is very great. J. WORTABET.

FURNITURE.—In Gn 31^{34} it is said that Rachel had taken the images (RV 'teraphim') belonging to her father, and put them 'in the camel's furniture.' The Heb. [כַּר] occurs only here (כְּבַר־הַגָּמָל), and designates a basket-shaped palanquin which was placed on the camel's saddle, chiefly for carrying the women. See Dillmann, *in loc.*, who quotes Knobel and refers to Burckhardt, *Bedouins*, ii. 85; W. G. Brown, *Travels*, 453; Ker Porter, *Travels*, ii. 232; Jahn, *Bibl. Arch.* 54; see also art. CAMEL. The Eng. word is apparently original to AV. The older Eng. VSS were misled by the Vulg. *stramenta cameli*, and Luther's *die streu der Kamel* (mod. edd. *die Streu der Kameele*), and render 'straw' or 'litter,' though Gen. Bible has 'saddle' in marg. (Wyc. 1382 'the literyng of a camele,' 1388 'the strewyngis of the camel'). The AV and RV word 'furniture' is used in the general sense of equipment, accoutrement, as in Bunyan, *Holy War* (Clar. Press ed. p. 112), 'Wherefore, let it please thee to accept of our Palace for thy place of residence, and of the Houses of the best men in our Town for the reception of thy Soldiers and their Furniture.'

The same word is given in AV 7 times (Ex $31^{7.\,8\,bis.\,9}$ 35^{14} 39^{33}, Nah 2^{9}) as the tr. of כְּלִי *kĕlî*, which is usually tr^{d} 'vessel.' RV prefers 'vessel' in Ex $31^{8b.\,9}$ and 35^{14}, but gives 'furniture' as the tr. of the same Heb. in Ex 25^{9}, Nu 3^{8} 7^{1}, 2 S 24^{22} (AV all 'instrument'); Ex 40^{9}, Nu 1^{50b} $4^{15.\,16}$, 1 Ch 9^{29} (AV all 'vessel').

For an account of the furniture of an Eastern house, see HOUSE. J. HASTINGS.

FURROW.—This is the tr^{n} in AV of the following Heb. words. 1. גְּדוּד Ps 65^{10} (RV 'ridges'). This word, which is most familiar to us in the sense of a 'troop' (*e.g.* 1 S $30^{8.\,15.\,23}$ and oft.), means literally a 'cutting,' and (in plur. fem. גְּדֻדֹת) appears in Jer 48^{37} in connexion with cuttings in the flesh as a sign of mourning. 2. מַעֲנָה or מַעֲנִית Ps 129^{3}, where the word is used metaphorically, 'The plowers plowed upon my back, they made long their furrows' (מַעֲנוֹתָם *Kethibh*, מַעֲנִיתָם *Ḳerê*). The only other occurrence of this word is in the obscure expression in 1 S 14^{14} כְּבַחֲצִי מַעֲנָה צֶמֶד שָׂדֶה, which is tr^{d} in AV 'within as it were an half acre of land [which] a yoke [of oxen might plow]'; AVm 'half a furrow of an acre of land,' RV 'within as it were half a furrow's length in an acre of land,' RVm 'half an acre of land.' There is the strongest reason to suspect the originality of MT. LXX has *ἐν βολίσι καὶ κόχλαξιν τοῦ πεδίου*, and it is not improbable that the Heb. expression originally specified the *weapons* used by Jonathan and his armour-bearer, although in that case we have probably here a gloss transferred from v.^{19} (see Wellhausen and Driver's notes, *ad loc.*, also Budde in *SBOT*). 3. עֲרוּגָה Ezk $17^{7.\,10}$, where RV rightly substitutes 'beds,' as in Ca 5^{13} 6^{2} [all]. 4. תֶּלֶם Job 31^{38} 39^{10}, Hos 10^{4} 12^{11}. The same word (in plur.) is tr^{d} by RV 'furrows' in Ps 65^{11}, where AV has 'ridges.' 5. In Hos 10^{10} the *Kethibh* has עינתם, *Ḳerê* עוֹנֹתָם 'furrows.' Many modern scholars (following LXX, Vulg. and Pesh.) would read עֲוֹנֹתָם 'transgressions.' The passage appears to be hopelessly corrupt. AV (text) 'when they shall bind themselves in their two furrows,' is of course meaningless. RV proposes 'when they are bound to their two transgressions'; but even this fails to yield a satisfactory sense. Probably Nowack is not far wrong in his conjectural tr^{n} *um sie zu züchtigen wegen ihrer beiden Vergehungen*, 'to punish them for both their transgressions.' Similarly Guthe (in Kautzsch's *AT*), *wenn sie für ihre zwei Verschuldungen Züchtigung empfangen*, 'when they receive punishment for their two transgressions.' The latter will be their wrong choice of a king and their idolatry, or perhaps the reference may be to the two calves at Bethel and Dan (see Nowack and Wellh. *ad loc.*, and cf. Siegfried-Stade, *s.* עָוֹן). See further under AGRICULTURE.

J. A. SELBIE.

FURTHER.—To 'further' in the sense of 'help forward' is used of *persons* in Ezr 8^{36} 'they furthered the people, and the house of God' (נִשְּׂאוּ). So Chaucer, *Hous of Fame*, 2023—

> 'And gaf expres commaundement,
> To whiche I am obedient,
> To furthre thee with al my might.'

Furtherance occurs in Ph $1^{12.\,25}$ as tr. of *προκοπή*, which in 1 Ti 4^{15}, its only other occurrence, is tr^{d} 'profiting.' RV gives 'progress' in all. On the other hand RV introduces 'furtherance' into Ph 1^{5} 2^{22} to express the force of *εἰς* with the acc. (*εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον*, 'in furtherance of the gospel,' AV 'in the gospel'). Cf. Healey (1610), *St. Aug. Citie of God*, I. xi. 19, 'The pompes of the funeralls are rather solaces to the living then furtherances to the dead.'

FURY.—The Heb. word חֵמָה *ḥêmâh*, which is once (Est 1^{12}) tr^{d} 'anger,' and often 'wrath,' is 66 (חֵמָא of Dn 11^{44} and Aram. חֱמָא, חֲמָא of $3^{13.\,19}$ make 69) times tr^{d} 'fury.' Of these occurrences 61 refer to God, and then Amer. RV prefers 'wrath,' except in Is 42^{25} 66^{15} 'fierceness.' Fury is also the tr. in AV of חָרוֹן *ḥârôn* in Job 20^{23}; RV 'fierceness,' as the word is a few times tr^{d} in AV. In the Apocr. 'fury' occurs as the tr. of *θυμός* Sir 1^{22} 45^{18} 48^{10}, Bar 1^{13} (RV always 'wrath'); of *θυμοί* Wis 7^{20} (AV 'furies,' RV 'ragings') 10^{3}, 2 Mac 4^{25} (both AV 'fury,' RV 'rage'); and of ἀλάστωρ 2 Mac 7^{9} ‘And when he was at the last gasp, he said, Thou like a fury takest us out of this present life’ (Σὺ μέν, ἀλάστωρ; the only occurrence of the word in biblical Greek, though it is found also in 4 Mac 9^{24} 11^{23} 18^{22}; RV ‘Thou, miscreant’). See ANGER. J. HASTINGS.

FUTURE.—See ESCHATOLOGY.

G

GAAL (גַּעַל, acc. to Wellh. *Isr. u. jüd. Geschichte*, p. 26=‘beetle,’ cf. Arab. *ja‘ul*; see Gray, *Hebr. Prop. Names*, p. 110), Jg 9^{26-41} son of Ebed (עֶבֶד, LXX, A Ἄβεδ, B Ἰώβηλ, prob. error for Ἰωβήδ, *Obed* עוֹבֵד; cf. LXX 1 Ch 2^{37} 11^{47} 26^{7}, 2 Ch 23^{1}. Less prob. Ἰώβηλ, *i.e.* יובל=יובעל ‘J" is Baal,’ altered to Ebed to avoid offence).—Gaal, apparently a Canaanite and a new-comer to Shechem, was the ringleader of a revolt against Abimelech, son of Gideon. He first ingratiated himself with the Shechemites, and then adroitly seized the occasion of the popular vintage-festival to incite them to revolt and make himself their leader. Zebul, Abimelech's officer in Shechem, heard of the plot, and sent a warning to his chief. Following Zebul's advice, Abimelech marched against the town and surrounded it with ambuscades under cover of night. Gaal, from the entrance of the gate, noticed the approach of Abimelech's men, and pointed them out to Zebul, who replied first with an ironical answer and then with an open taunt, bidding him go forth and fight with them. In the battle which followed, Abimelech completely defeated the rebels, and Zebul drove out Gaal and his brethren from the city. The context suggests that the revolt was one of ‘native Shechemites against the half-Israelite Abimelech’ (Moore). Gaal poses as their champion. It is by no means clear that Gaal was an Israelite, and that his object was to rouse the Israelite population against the Shechemite ruler. W. R. Smith, *Th. T.* xx. 1886, p. 195 ff., would place v.^{28} after v.^{22}; and Budde, *Richt. u. Sam.* p. 118, after v.^{25}. But no transposition is needed. In v.^{28} read with LXX עֲבָדוּ for עִבְדוּ ‘Do not the son of Jerubbaal and Zebul . . . make slaves of the men of Hamor?’ Another simple alteration is עָבְדוּ (perf.) proposed by Moore, ‘Were not . . . subject to Hamor?’ V.^{29} for וַיֹּאמֶר read וְאֹמַר ‘and I would say.’ V.^{31} for בְּתָרְמָה ‘deceitfully’(?) read בָּארֻמָה ‘in Arumah,’ cf. v.^{41}. צָרִים can hardly be right: Stade suggests הִנָּם מְצֵרִים; but the text is doubtful. See further under ABIMELECH. G. A. COOKE.

GAASH (גַּעַשׁ).—A mountain in Ephraim, S. of Timnath-seraḥ or Timnath-ḥeres (wh. see), Jos 24^{30}, Jg 2^{9}. The torrent-valleys (נְחָלִים) of G. are mentioned in 2 S 23^{30}=1 Ch 11^{32}.

GABAEL (B Γαβαήλ, A Γαμαήλ).—**1.** A distant ancestor of Tobit (To 1^{1}). **2.** A friend and kinsman of Tobit, residing at Rages in Media. To him Tobit, when purveyor to the king of Assyria, once entrusted, as a deposit, 10 talents of silver (Vulg. only: ‘*lent* it under a bond, because G. was needy’), To 1^{14}. For years the money was not claimed. The reason for this is given with great variety in the VSS (1^{15}). When, however, blindness and poverty came on Tobit in Nineveh, he recollected, after prayer, the long-forgotten treasure (To 4^{1}), and wished his son Tobias to fetch it (4^{21}). Tobias found a guide, Raphael in disguise, who said he had lodged with G. (To 5^{6}). When Tobias married Sarah in Ecbatana he sent Raphael for the deposit (9^{2}). G. welcomed him, and brought forth the bags with seals unbroken, returning with Raphael to the wedding feast. All the VSS, except B and Heb. of Fagius, tell of a hearty blessing which G. gave the bridegroom when he met him (9^{6}). Instead of this, B (so EV) says, ‘Tobias blessed his wife,’ and Heb. Fag. ‘Tobias was blessed still more, with Sarah his wife.’

Heb. Fag. uses the form עֲבִיאֵל, except in ch. 10, where we have גַּבְאֵל, as always in Munster's Heb. Itala preserves the form most accurately, ‘Gabahel,’ גָּבְהָאֵל=‘God is high.’ J. T. MARSHALL.

GABATHA (Γαβάθα).—One of two eunuchs whose plot against Artaxerxes (the Ahasuerus, *i.e.* Xerxes of canonical Est) was discovered and frustrated by Mardocheus (Mordecai), Ad. Est 12^{1}. In Est 2^{21} he is called BIGTHAN and in 6^{2} BIGTHANA.

GABBAI (גַּבַּי, cf. Talm. גַּבָּי ‘tax-gatherer’).—A Benjamite (Neh 11^{8}), but text doubtful (see Smend, *Listen*, p. 7).

GABBATHA occurs only in Jn 19^{13} ‘And he [Pilate] brought Jesus out and sat down (ἐκάθισεν, not—according to Justin, *Apol.* i. 35, and the *Gospel of Peter*, ἐκάθισαν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ καθέδραν κρίσεως—‘set him’) on the judgment-seat at a place called the Pavement (Λιθόστρωτον), but in Hebrew Gabbatha’ (Ἑβραϊστὶ δὲ Γαββαθά).

The passage offers serious philological and topographical difficulties.

(*a*) Λιθόστρωτον is clearly ‘pavement,’ especially of mosaic work (*tessellatum*); cf. in the OT, Est 1^{6}, Ca 3^{10}, 2 Ch 1^{3}, but especially Aristeas (ed. Schmidt, p. 30, 3), where on the temple of Jerusalem it is said: Τὸ δὲ πᾶν ἔδαφος λιθόστρωτον καθέστηκε.

(*b*) This particular Pavement was called in Hebrew ‘Gabbatha.’ It is not necessary or possible, though it is generally attempted, to seek in Gabbatha the exact equivalent of the *appellativum* λιθόστρωτον (*Onomastica sacra*, ed. Lag. 189, 87. 202, 62, Γαββαθὰ λιθόστρωτον).

(*c*) The Greek MSS offer scarcely any variety; some uncials have Γαβαθα; so also the Harclensian VS in the edition of White; but according to Barhebræus it had נאבבאתא; a few minuscules have Καπφαθα. Interesting in this connexion is the spelling of the Peshiṭta, גַּפִּיפְתָא, with the remark of Barhebræus, that the ג is to be pronounced hard like כ and the פ both times soft (cf. Duval, *Gr. Syr.* p. 30); the Cureton and Lewis MSS are unhappily defective, but the Arabic Tatian has كفيفتا *Kafîftâ* (thus cod. A, the text of Ciasca كبيتا; in the translation Ciasca and Hogg retained *Gabbatha*). The Evangeliarium Hierosolymitanum shows גיבתא, but codex C (in the forthcoming edition of Mrs. Lewis) גבתא. On the deformations of the word in the MSS of the Latin Bible, see Wordsworth-White. The confusion with *Golgotha* (first hand of cod. Sinaiticus) is found elsewhere (Oliverus, *Descriptio terræ sanctæ*, p. 20, 9, codd. DX *Golgatha*, U *Grabata*).

In this state of the evidence it is safest to presuppose an Aramaic גַּבְּתָא, as st. emph. of a feminine noun גַּבָּא from the root גבב. But the origin and meaning of גבתא is disputed.

1. In Mt 26^{23} we find גבתא in the Evang. Hier.

for τρύβλιον ; cf. Ethiopic *gab(b)atâ=patella*, Dillm. *Lex.* 1168, and Latin *gabata*, Martial, 7. 47, 11. 3. Schwally (*Idioticon*) identified this with our Gabbatha. But this גבתא seems to be a dialectic form of כַּפְּתָא (fem. of כף), *Thesaur. Syr.* 1791 ; cf. כַּפַּפְתָא and גַּפַּפְתָא, *ib.* 766, 1792.

2. Neither can it be=כִּפְּתָא (כיפתא) 'vault,' καμάρα, ἐξέδρα, ψαλίς (Vogüé, *Inscr. Sémit.* i. p. 50, n. 70, *ib.* n. 50 ; Targ. Jer. xx. 2, 3, Naz. 56ª), because of the vowel *i* in the first syllable, though the meaning would be very appropriate : an arch, niche, or cupola, under which the tribunal was placed on a mosaic pavement.

3. Generally it is derived from גַּב 'back'; but neither for the form nor for the meaning (*Anhöhe*, 'height'; Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.* p. 10) can examples be given. In the OT we have גַּבְנֹן ; in the Mishna the plural גַּבּוֹת ; for גיבבא Targ. Ps 68¹⁶, Lagarde printed גיבנא ; Levy, p. 123, has גיבנא ; Gesen. r. 98, 96ª we have גיבבתא ראשי הרים ; more frequent is גובבתא, Dalman, *Gr. des Aram.* § 25. i. β, where also an example of spelling with פ is given.

4. Others thought of the root גבע, *i.e.* of an Aramaized *גבעתא 'hill' (comp. שְׁפָה=שמעה, שַׁבָּת if =*שבעת). (The roots גב, גף, and כף are closely allied ; cf. further גִּבֵּן Lv 21²⁰=ܟܦܝܦܐ ; ܟܦܝܦܐ is explained *caverna* by Barsalibi ; ܡܥܪܬܐ ܟܦܝܦܬܐ, *spelunca fornicata*, Julian, ed. Hoffm. 139. 21). The exact form and meaning must therefore be left in suspense.

(*d*) No place called Λιθόστρωτον or Gabbatha is mentioned by Josephus, or in any other known source besides the NT. But frequently we hear of a place called גָּזִית (=Ξυστός), especially of the לִשְׁכַּת הַגָּזִית 'the hall of hewn quaders,' where the Sanhedrin assembled (Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 190). It has been attempted to identify these two places. Tradition seeks Gabbatha near the so-called 'Ecce homo Arch.' Compare the articles JERUSALEM, PILATE, PRÆTORIUM, TEMPLE. For the sitting of the judge on the *sella*, see Schürer, I. ii. 15 n. 8, and the literature there quoted, especially Josephus, *Ant.* XVIII. iv. 6, where Philippus is praised : τοῦ θρόνου εἰς ὃν κρίνειε καθεζόμενος ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἑπομένου . . . ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος ἱδρύσεως τοῦ θρόνου ᾗ καὶ τύχοι γενομένης καθεζόμενος ἠκροᾶτο.

EB. NESTLE.

GABBE (A Γάββη, B Κάββη ; AV Gabdes), 1 Es 5²⁰.—In Ezr 2²⁶ Geba.

GABRIAS (B Γαβρίας, ℵ Γαβρεί, indecl. Greek forms of גַּבְרִי [Aram. קַבְרִי], shortened form of גַּבְרִיאֵל 'man of God'; omitting, as was customary, the name of the deity. Syr. and Heb. Fagii preserve the complete form).—Acc. to To 1¹⁴ Gabrias was the *brother* of the Gabael to whom Tobit entrusted 10 talents of silver. In To 4²⁰ the Gr. reads Γαβαήλῳ τῷ τοῦ Γαβρία, ℵ Γαβρεί, which AV and RV render 'the *son* of Gabrias,' thereby introducing an apparent contradiction, probably gratuitously. Compare Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου, Ac 1¹³, with Jude ¹.

J. T. MARSHALL.

GABRIEL (גַּבְרִיאֵל, in LXX and NT Γαβριήλ, *vir Dei*, 'man of God') appears in both OT and NT. In Dn 8¹⁵ᶠ· G. is the 'man' who interprets Daniel's vision of the ram and the he-goat ; in 9²¹ᶠ· he explains to Daniel Jeremiah's prophecy about the 70 years (Jer 25¹¹ 29¹⁰) as 70 weeks of years, and amplifies details. In NT G. is named by Lk alone ; he foretells the birth of John to Zacharias (1¹¹ᶠ·), and acts as the angel of Annunciation to Mary (1²⁶). Different in some ways as the later is from the earlier presentation, yet both can be easily united as parts, not only of one character, but even of one aspect of it, viz. that of bearing divine sympathy and comforting promise to those in need. These appearances are quite in accordance with the notion of G.'s character afforded by the later and more developed Jewish angelology. The developed angelology of Dn is indeed used as an argument for the later date of that book (Driver, *LOT*⁶ p. 508). If the 'one like the appearance of a man' (Dn 10¹⁸) be G., as would appear from the fact that his message resembles, even in its words, that of G. in 8 and 9, then G. is a companion of Michael, and both are members of a class, the 'princes' or guardian-angels of the nations. In Enoch 9, G. is one of four great archangels ; but, comparing this with Lk 1¹⁹ and other references, he is one of seven (Rev 8²) who present the prayers of the saints and go in and out before God (To 12¹⁵). The Targums add G. as a gloss to other parts of Scripture ; according to pseudo-Jonathan, the 'man' who showed Joseph the way towards his brethren (Gn 37¹⁵) was G. ; again, with Michael and others G. takes part in the burial of Moses (Dt 34⁶) ; G. is also the angel whom the Lord sent to destroy the host of Sennacherib (2 Ch 32²¹). About the name Gabriel there is nothing distinctive, but it was probably a proper name from its first use : the personality, however, is very definite. Assuming that the supra-natural beings of the earlier books of the Bible are either the shrivelled-up descendants of the nature-spirits of primitive Semitic superstition (אֱלֹהִים) or subordinate personal beings fully representing God at a definite time and place (מַלְאָכִים) (Schultz, *OT Theol.* ii. 215 f. ; W. R. Smith, *Ency. Brit.*⁹ art. 'Angel'), it is clear that G. belongs to the latter rather than the former. Nor has his connexion with, far less his derivation from, any of the seven Amshaspends of Zoroastrianism, the seven Babylonian planets, or the seven councillors at the Persian court (Ezr 7¹⁴), been made out. He is the messenger of J″: a characteristic Jewish idea, though the number of the archangels—seven—may have been derived from foreign sources. We possess but little description of the special form under which he presented himself ; to Daniel he is simply 'the man G.,' though an elaborate and striking picture is drawn of the 'man' (G. ?) in Dn 10⁵·⁶. St. Luke is equally reticent, but calmness and sublimity are added : 'I am G. that stand in the presence of God.' In Dn 9²¹ G. is 'caused to fly swiftly,' but the passage is not clear ; RVm 'sore wearied' seems somewhat inept ; 'gleaming in splendour' (Schultz, *OT Theol.* ii. 226 n. 2) is more likely, though it proposes an emendation of the original.

G. appropriates to himself the function of revealing God. He brings the divine into the phenomenal world. In this he is contrasted with Michael, who fights for God and the chosen people. Yet in G.'s character there is also a stern element. Mohammed asserts him to have been the revealer of the Koran, —probably in opposition to the later Jews, whose prince was Michael,—but Mohammed also represents G. as fighting for him, *e.g.* at the head of 3000 angels against the idolatrous Meccans. But, comparing Lk 1²⁰ (also perhaps Dn 10¹³·²⁰·²¹) with this, we see that these sterner aspects were not wanting even in the Jewish conception of Gabriel.

A. GRIEVE.

GAD.—Gad is another form of goad, and the gadfly (so correctly RVm for קֶרֶץ in Jer 46²⁰ ; AV, RV 'destruction') is the goad-fly, the fly that stings. Hence the favourite derivation for the verb to 'gad' (though it is not very certain) is to rush about like animals stung by the gadfly. Perhaps better and more simply (after Skeat), to drive about (which was the orig. sense), *goad* ; then rush about as goaded. Cf. Dryden, *Virgil's Georgics*, iii.—

---

* Luther, who had at first translated *Pflaster* (Pavement), seems to have thought of the root גבה 'to be high,' since he coined the word *Hochpflaster* (High-pavement).

> 'their stings draw blood
> And drive the cattle gadding through the wood.'

Bacon expresses the usual meaning of the word clearly in *Essays* 'Of Envy' (Gold. Treas. ed. p. 30, l. 21)—'For Envy is a Gadding Passion, and walketh the Streets, and doth not keepe home.' With which cf. T. Adams, *II Peter* (on 1^4), 'Man's knowledge should not be a gadding harlot, whose feet cannot keep within doors; but a good housewife to stay at home.' In AV we find, Jer 2^{36} 'Why gaddest thou about so much to change thy way?' (מַה־תֵּזְלִי, lit. 'why goest thou?' mostly poetic in Heb., but in Aram. the usual word for 'to go away'); Sir 25^{25} 'Give the water no passage; neither a wicked woman liberty to gad abroad' (after Vulg. *veniam prodeundi*, which again follows the reading παῤῥησίαν ἐξόδου; B has simply ἐξουσίαν; ℵA παρρησίαν, whence RV 'freedom of speech').

Gadder occurs Sir 26^8 'A drunken woman and a gadder abroad causeth great anger' (after the reading καὶ ῥεμβάς, but not Vulg., which has no corresp. words, but to the Gr. [ὀργὴ μεγάλη γυνὴ μέθυσος] adds *et contumelia*; RV follows Gr. 'A drunken woman *causeth* great wrath'). Cf. Grafton, *King John*, An. 13, 'In the mean while the priestes within England had prouided them a false and counterfeated prophet called Peter Wakefielde, a Yorkshireman, who was a hermite, an idle gadder about, and a pratlyng marchant.'

J. HASTINGS.

GAD (גַּד, δαιμόνιον, δαίμων; *Fortuna*; also, probably, גָּד, τύχη).—Properly, the word should be used with the article הַגָּד 'the gad,' *i.e.* 'the (god of) good luck'; that being the meaning of the word, which is apparently the same as גָּד *gād*, 'fortune,' Arab. *jadd*, Aram. גַּדָּא *gaddâ*, Syr. *gadā*. Gad was, therefore, originally an appellative, and its use as a divine name is due to its meaning. Examples of its appellative use are ביש גדא 'the unlucky' (Buxtorf, 387); גדעתא 'the fortune of Athe' (de Vogüé, *Palm.* 143); גדנעמת and נעמגד, etc., in Carthag. inscriptions. The god Gad as Τύχη, 'Fortune,' seems to illustrate the origin of the Old Pers. word for 'God,' *baga*,[*] which may be traced back to the Sanskrit *bhaga*, 'fortune,' and Baethgen quotes in this connexion the Syr. phrase 'I swear by the Fortune (גדא) of the king' (P. Smith, *s.v.*), 'fortune' becoming thus a protective divinity, to whom temples were built and statues erected. The worship of this divinity became greatly extended in ancient times, and numerous Gr. inscriptions in the Hauran give the Gr. equivalent word (Τύχη), the identity of which with Gad, notwithstanding the difference of gender (Gad being masc., Tyche fem.), does not admit of doubt. A trace of the Syr. worship of Gad is regarded as being indicated by the exclamation of Leah when Zilpah, her maid, bore Jacob a son (Gn 30^{11}). The expression used is בגד, which is translated in AV (following the *Ḳerê*, בָּא גָד *bā gād*) 'a troop cometh,' or 'fortune is come.' If, however, the *Kethîbh* be followed (with pointing בְּגָד *bĕgād*), the word may be translated 'with Gad'[†] (in RV 'fortunate,' m. 'with fortune'), a rendering favoured by many scholars. As the name of Gad is not met with in Bab. literature, it would seem to have been a native Can. word, retained by the Israelites in consequence of the tendency to polytheism which existed among them as late as the time of the Bab. captivity, when they 'prepared a table for Fortune [לַגַּד],' and filled up 'mingled wine unto Destiny [לַמְנִי]' (Is 65^{11} RV), as did also the Babylonians and Assyrians for their gods (cf. Bel ^{3}, also Jer 51^{44}).[*] By the astrologers Gad was identified with the planet Jupiter, called by the Arabs 'Great Fortuna,' and the question naturally arises whether the Assyrian *Manu rabû*,[†] 'great Manu,' identified by Lenormant with Meni or 'Destiny,' may not in reality be identical with Gad, Meni being, with the Arabs, 'Lesser Fortuna.' The Assyrians also worshipped a god named Ḳibî-dunḳi,[‡] a name meaning 'Bespeak thou my good fortune,' with whom Gad may also have been identified. The identification of Gad with the star of good fortune (כּוֹכַב צֶדֶק *kôkab ẓedeḳ*), the planet Jupiter, is regarded as being of late date.

Further testimony to the worship of Gad in Canaan is to be found in the place-names Baal-gad (Jos 11^{17} 12^7 13^5), where Baal was worshipped as god of fortune, and Migdal-gad (Jos 15^{37}), 'the tower of Gad.' The Hebrews also were so accustomed to regard the worship of Gad as a natural thing, that the words addressed by Esau to Isaac his father, 'let my father arise' (Gn 27^{31}), are explained in *Bereshith Rabba*, p. 65, as an invocation to Gada or Fortune.

LITERATURE.—Dillm., Del., and G. A. Smith on Is 65^{11}, Del. on Gn 30^{11}; Lenormant, *Chaldæan Magic*, p. 120; Baethgen, *Beitr. z. Semit. Rel.* 76 ff.; Nöldeke in *ZDMG* (1888), p. 479 ff.; Siegfried in *Jahrb. f. prot. Theol.* (1875), pp. 356–367.

T. G. PINCHES.

GAD (גָּד, Γάδ).—Son of Jacob by his concubine Zilpah, Leah's slave-girl. Gn 30^{11} RV, 'Leah said, Fortunate! and she called his name Gad,' follows the LXX, εἶπεν Λεία, Ἐν τύχῃ, and Vulg. *Dixit feliciter*. Field mentions the Greek rendering, εὐτύχηκα, 'I have had good fortune,' reading בְּגָד or בָּגָד. Perhaps we should tr. 'With the help of Gad' (Ball, *Sacred Books of OT*). Dillm. has 'Glückskind.' So *Kethîbh*; the *Ḳerê*, punctuating differently, has בָּא גָד 'Gad *or* Fortune comes.' So Symm. (ἦλθεν Γάδ) Onk. and Syr. Aq. has ἦλθεν εὐζωΐα ('well-living'), which Field, on the authority of Jerome, etc., corrects to εὐζωνία ('the being well-girded'). The view taken by these authorities suggests that Gad here is either the divine name found in Is 65^{11} (see preceding art.), or is connected with that name. The AV 'a troop cometh' treats גָּד as equivalent to גְּדוּד, probably on account of Gn 49^{19}, which, however, is rather a play upon words than a serious etymology. Similar translations are given by the Sam. Version (Dillm.) and the Gr.-Ven. ἥκει στράτευμα.

W. H. BENNETT.

GAD (Tribe); for *Name*, see preceding article.

i. EARLY HISTORY.—The relation of Gad to the other tribes is indicated genealogically by the statement, Gn 30^{11} (J), 35^{26} (P), that Gad and Asher were the sons of Zilpah, Rachel's slave, ***i.e.*** probably, that Gad and Asher were closely connected, and either occupied a secondary position in, or were late accessions to, Israel. The separation of the Palestinian territories of the two tribes shows that this statement refers to a period before the completion of the conquest of Canaan. It is noteworthy that the names Gad and possibly also Asher are connected with the names of Semitic deities. P (Gn 46^{16}, Nu 26^{15-17}) enumerates the sons or families of Gad, and states (Nu 1^{14} 2^{14} 7^{42} 10^{20} 13^{15}) that, at the Exodus, the prince of Gad was Eliasaph ben-Deuel (or Reuel), and that the Gadite amongst the twelve spies was Geuel ben-Machi. Buchanan Gray (*Heb. Proper Names*, 205) considers Eliasaph pre-exilic; but places Deuel and Geuel in a list of which he says, 'The probability appears to me great that the following seventeen are of late origin, and, probably, also of artificial character' (p. 210). P also tells us that Gad numbered 45,650 at the first census (Nu 1^{25} 2^{15}), and at the second 40,500 (MT Nu 26^{18}), or 44,500 (LXX Nu 26^{27}); and that Gad marched in the wilderness in the 'Camp of Reuben' with Reuben and Simeon on the south side of Israel (Nu 2$^{10-16}$). In Nu 1$^{5-16}$ Gad occupies the eleventh place, beween Asher and Naphtali; in 1^{24} MT and 26^{15} MT, the third place after Reuben and Simeon, but in the corresponding 1^{36} LXX, the ninth place, between Benjamin and Dan, and in 26^{27} LXX, the sixth place, between Zebulun and Asher. In Nu 2^{14} 7^{42} Gad occupies the sixth place, also after Reuben and Simeon.

---

[*] Also the Phrygian name of Zeus, Βαγαῖος.

[†] The Targ. of the pseudo-Jonathan and that of Jerus. both read 'a lucky planet cometh.' (Cf. also Ball's note, *ad loc.*, in Haupt's *OT*).

[*] These *lectisternia* or tables for the gods are also referred to in connexion with 'the queen of heaven' in Jer 7^{18}.

[†] *WAI* III. pl. 66. *obv.* l. 2 *c.*

[‡] *Ib. obv.* 30*c*, *rev.* 29f., the latter passage reading 'Kibî-dunki of Assur (and) Istar (or, of the god and goddess) of Suti' (probably the people Sutî transported by Kadišman-Muruš 'from east to west,' *i.e.* to Amurri or Phœnicia). Kibî-dunki is probably the same as the deity Iḳbi-dunḳi, who is described as *mušērib damāti*, 'the dispenser of favours.'

ii. THE CONQUEST.—In Nu 32 Reuben and Gad receive E. Palestine from Moses on condition of aiding in the conquest of W. Palestine. Although this chapter owes its present form to P, the main facts were probably contained in J or E or both; but the referenees to 'half Manasseh' are editorial additions to the original narrative. Similar statements are made in Dt 3$^{12-17}$ 29^{8}, Jos 12^{6} (D^{2}) 13$^{8-28}$ (D^{2} P). Further, Jos 1$^{12-18}$ 4^{12} (D^{2}) tell us that Reuben and Gad fulfilled their promise, and Jos 22$^{1-8}$ (D^{2}) that they afterwards returned home.

Jos 22$^{9-34}$ tells how Reuben and Gad on their return erected a great altar by the Jordan—it is not clear on which side; how the other tribes supposed it to be a schismatic altar and prepared for war, but were appeased on learning that it had been erected as a token of the unity of Reuben and Gad with the other tribes (see ED). The narrative as it stands is one of the latest additions to P; but it seems to be based on JE, though it has been so entirely reconstructed by a late editor that we cannot recover the original story. Here again the references to 'half Manasseh' are editorial additions.

iii. THE TERRITORY OF GAD.—Besides minor references, we have two main accounts of the territory: (*a*) Nu 32$^{34-36}$ (JE) assigns to Gad Beth-haran, Beth-nimrah, Dibon, Jogbehah, Jazer, Ataroth, Atroth-shophan, and Aroer, cities scattered over the district between the Jabbok and the Arnon, and possibly farther north. Nu 32$^{37.38}$ (JE) assigns to Reuben, Heshbon, Elealeh, Kiriathaim, Nebo, and Baal-meon—cities lying in a district about midway between the Jabbok and the Arnon. This suggests that Reuben held an *enclave* in the territory of Gad. See Map, in which the names of the above Reubenite cities are printed in italics. (*b*) Jos 13. Though this chapter comes to us from P, it is probably based on earlier sources. P knows less about the E. than about the W. tribes, and this ch. is obscure and self-contradictory; but it clearly locates Gad north of a line drawn from the north end of the Dead Sea, a little to the N. of Heshbon, and places Reuben south of the same line. This chapter is followed in the ordinary maps of Palestine.

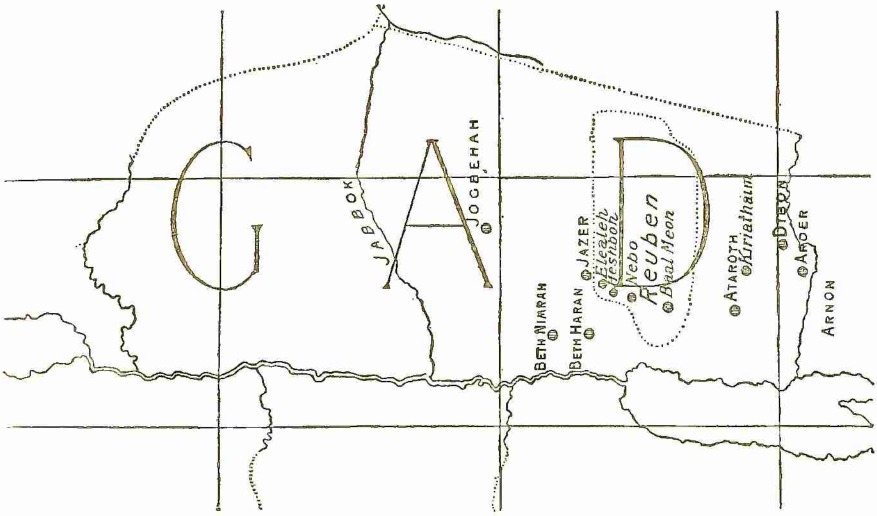

As to the northern boundary of Gad, the statements as to the division of Gilead between Gad and E. Manasseh are contradictory; and the term Gilead was probably very elastic. The data are too obscure to determine any clear boundary between Gad and E. Manasseh, even as representing any single account. In Nu 32^{29} (P?) Moses gives the land of Gilead to Gad and Reuben; in Nu 32^{39} (JE), Dt 3^{15}, Gilead belongs to Machir ben-Manasseh; in Dt 3^{12} Moses gives half Mt. Gilead to Reuben and Gad; while in Dt 3^{16} Reuben and Gad receive 'from Gilead.' Apparently in Jg 5^{17} Gilead = Gad. In Jos 13$^{25.31}$ (P) G. has all the cities of Gilead, and Machir ben-Manasseh has half Gilead. In the list of Levitical cities in Jos 21$^{38.39}$ (P), 1 Ch 6$^{80.81}$, Heshbon, which is given to Reuben in Jos 13^{17}, is reckoned as belonging to Gad. Ramoth-gilead is given to Gad in Jos 20^{8} (P) 21$^{38.39}$ (P), Dt 4^{43}, 1 Ch 6$^{80.81}$. See Table, p. 78.

iv. HISTORY AFTER THE CONQUEST.—First we may notice the general relation of Gad to the other eastern tribes. Apparently, the strength of Reuben was broken at some early date (see REUBEN), and this tribe became dependent on Gad, much as Simeon on Judah. Hence the situation in JE, in which Reuben occupies a group of cities in the territory of Gad. P's arrangement in Jos 13 is probably a conjectural restoration, after Reuben and Gad had disappeared, embodying the general idea that Reuben lay to the south of Gad. Further, P's idea in Jos of the close early confederation of Reuben and Gad with E. Manasseh is also late. It is doubtful whether the eastern settlement of Manasseh was made before Israel crossed the Jordan, or later by Manassite clans, who recrossed the river from the West (cf. MANASSEH). But, in any case, the interests of Gad and E. Manasseh were separate and often conflicting; and the contradictory statements, some of which assign Gilead to Gad, while others make Gilead a clan of Manasseh, probably indicate that at an early date Gad (with its dependent Reuben) was practically Israel east of the Jordan, and that clans of Manasseh afterwards encroached upon Gad's territory and occupied part of Gilead. According to Jg 5^{17} neither Gad nor Reuben had any share in the victory over Sisera. Gad must have been involved in the Ammonite invasion, the deliverance by Jephthah, and the quarrel with Ephraim in Jg 11. 12. 'Gileadite,' used of Jephthah and his followers, may equal 'Gadite,' or be a general term for 'E. Israelite.' The genealogies, if pressed, make Jephthah a member of E. Manasseh; Jg 12^4 may perhaps suggest that his followers belonged to clans of Ephraim and Manasseh, which had migrated to the east of Jordan; but the verse is corrupt and obscure, cf. 11^{29}. In any case, this Ammonite war illustrates the border raids and more serious invasions to which Gad, in common with Reuben and E. Manasseh, was exposed throughout the history. Such a situation, Gad raided and raiding, but more than holding its own, is well described in Gn 49^{19}, the blessing of Jacob (J from older source)—

> 'Gad, the raiders shall raid him,
> But he shall raid upon their heel.'

In Jg 20. 21 (late post-ex. Midrash on earlier basis, possibly J, or J and E, see Moore and Budde, *in loc.*) the eastern tribes took part in the war against Benjamin; Jabesh-gilead, the only city which furnished no contingent, was sacked, and its inhabitants massacred, only the virgins being saved as wives for the Benjamites.

During the wars with the Philistines, Gad was a stronghold and refuge of the Isr. (1 S 13^7). After Saul's death it became the main part of Eshbaal's kingdom (2 S 2^8). Later on it afforded a rallying point for David's adherents during the revolt of Absalom (2 S 17^{27}). Amongst David's mighty men was Bani the Gadite (2 S 23^{36}). Apparently, Gad was still strong and intact. It would profit by the strength of Israel under David and Solomon. In 1 Ch 12^{8-15} Gadites come to David when a fugitive from Saul; and in 12^{37} Reuben, Gad, and E. Manasseh come to David at Hebron to make him king. 1 K 4^{7-19} tells us that Solomon divided the country into twelve districts, 'which provided victuals for the king and his household.' The description of the districts is vague and obscure, but it is clear that they do not coincide with tribal territories; and it is sometimes held that this new arrangement marks the close of the old tribal system. But Gad at any rate, having by this time absorbed Reuben, stood for S.E. Palestine, and continued to do so; see below on Moabite Stone.

At the disruption Gad fell to the N. kingdom; and Penuel, apparently Jeroboam's capital (1 K 12^{25}), probably lay within its territory. Jeroboam's interest in the district would add to its prosperity, but tend to abolish distinct tribal organization, and to merge E. Palestine in the N. kingdom. Probably, as the Moabite Stone speaks of cities taken from Moab by Omri, Moab recovered its independence at or soon after the disruption. Such recovery of Moab may have been chiefly at the expense of Reuben; but Gad also must have suffered through the gains of Moab, and profited by the conquests of Omri. Elijah, and probably (G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* p. 580) the brook Cherith, are of Gilead, *i.e.* probably Gad.

In the long wars between Israel and Aram, E. Palestine was the battle-ground, and the brunt fell upon E. Manasseh. Even under Ahab the point of contact was at Ramoth-gilead. Probably E. Manasseh had practically disappeared in these wars, and Gilead again became synonymous with Gad. Gad itself also suffered (Am $1^{3.13}$). About the same time Moab revolted and captured Gadite cities in the South (*Moabite Stone*). Gad or Gilead shared in the renewed prosperity of Israel under Jeroboam II., but shortly after, in B.C. 734, E. Palestine was carried captive by Tiglath-pileser (2 K 15^{29}), and thus Gad disappears from history.

Apparently, the territory was occupied by Ammon (Jer 49^1). Ezk $48^{27.34}$ makes provision for Gad in the restored Israel. On the other hand, in Ob ^{19} the E. tribes are so completely forgotten that Gilead is promised to Benjamin. In Rev 7^5 Gad is enumerated among the tribes of Israel.

TABLE OF CITIES ASSIGNED TO GAD.

	ASSIGNED TO										REMARKS.
	GAD.						REUBEN.	MOAB.			
	Nu 32 34-36.	Jos 13 24-28.	Jos 20^8.	Jos 21 38. 39.	1 Ch 6 80. 81.	Nu 33 45-46.		Is	Jer	Stone.	
Dibon	*	..	..	..	..	*	Jos 13^{17}	15^2	48^{18}	*	cf. Nu 21^{30}.
Ataroth	*	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	e *	e Taken from Gad.
Aroer	*	*	..	..	..	..	1 Ch 5^8	..	48^{19}	*	..
Atroth-shophan	*	? a	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	a Zaphon.
Jazer	*	*	..	*	*	..	..	16^8	48^{32}	..	..
Jogbehah	*	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Beth-nimrah	*	*	..	..	..	..	..	15^{6} d	48^{34} d	..	d Waters of Nimrim.
Beth-haran	*	* b	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	b hara*m*.
Succoth	..	*	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ramoth-gilead	..	..	*	*	*	..	..	..	..	..	..
Heshbon	..	? c	..	*	*	..	Nu 32^{37} Jos 13^{17}	15^4	48^{34}	..	cf. Nu 21^{30} and Jer 48^2.
Mahanaim	..	? c	..	*	*	..	..	..	..	..	c '*from*' H. & M.

LITERATURE.—Buhl, *Geog. d. alt. Palästina*, 79; G. A. Smith, *HGHL*, 566–568, 575–590; Budde, *Richter*, 45 f.; Stade, *GVI*, i. 145 ff.; Driver, *Deut.* 54 f., 410 f.; Moore, *Judges*, 150 f., 154 f.

W. H. BENNETT.

GAD (גָּד) is entitled the seer (הַחֹזֶה 1 Ch 29^{29}), David's or the king's seer (1 Ch 21^9, 2 Ch 29^{25}, 2 S 24^{11}), or the prophet (הַנָּבִיא, 1 S 22^5, 2 S 24^{11}). His activity seems to have lain chiefly in the early period of the king's life, at least it is not he but Nathan who appears prominently in that palace intrigue which resulted in the accession of Solomon (1 K $1^{11ff.}$). The name might suggest that he belonged to the tribe of Gad; but the only additional support for this view is found in the fact that several of David's chiefs came from that tribe (1 Ch 12^{8}). As for Ewald's suggestion, that Gad drew his inspiration from the school of Samuel, while this would agree well with his appearing immediately after David's rupture with Saul (1 S 22^{5}), it cannot be considered certain, so long as the existence of 'a school' of Samuel is merely a conjecture.

Gad is represented as having announced the divine condemnation on the royal census, and as having advised the erection of an altar on Araunah's threshing-floor (2 S $24^{11ff.}$ = 1 Ch $21^{9ff.}$). The Chronicler again (1 Ch 29^{29}) names him as having written an account of some part of his master's reign. A late conception associated him with the prophet Nathan (2 Ch 29^{25}) in the task of planning some of the king's regulations with reference to the musical part of the service, while (1 S 22^{5}) he is also stated to have acted as David's counsellor in peril during the period when the two dwelt together in 'the hold.'

A. C. WELCH.

GAD, VALLEY OF (נַחַל הַגָּד ['torrent-valley'], AV 'river of Gad').—2 S 24^{5}. Taken in connexion with Jos 13^{25} this passage would indicate that the river or valley of Gad was close to Rabbath-Ammon in the land of Gad; but, on the other hand, 'the city that lieth in the valley' is mentioned in connexion with Aroer on the river Arnon (now el-Mojib), Jos $13^{9.\,16}$, Dt 2^{36}. It appears to be certain that in 2 S 24^{5}, instead of 'and they pitched in Aroer, on the right side of the city that is in the middle of the valley of Gad' (וַיַּחֲנוּ בַעֲרוֹעֵר יְמִין הָעִיר אֲשֶׁר בְּתוֹךְ־הַנַּחַל הַגָּד), we ought to read, 'and they began from Aroer, and from the city that is in the middle of the torrent-valley, towards Gad' (וַיָּחֵלּוּ מֵעֲרוֹעֵר וּמִן הָעִיר וג׳). This emendation, originally due to Wellhausen (*Text d. B. Sam.* 217), was afterwards confirmed by Luc. *καὶ ἤρξαντο ἀπὸ* 'Αροὴρ *καὶ ἀπό*, *κ.τ.λ.*, and is accepted by Driver, Budde, etc. 'The city in the torrent-valley' was possibly *'Ar*. See for a full discussion, both of the text and the topography, Driver, *Text of Sam.* 285 f., *Deuteronomy*, 45.

C. WARREN.

GADARA, GADARENES.—The country of the Gadarenes is mentioned in the Bible only in connexion with one incident, viz. the miracle concerning the legion of demons who were allowed to enter the herd of swine (Mt 8^{28}, Mk 5^{1}, Lk 8^{26}), and it is improbable that the city on the seashore mentioned in the account of that incident can be identified with the city of Gadara, which was situated at least 6 miles from the Lake of Gennesaret, and separated from it by a broad plain and the gorge of the river Hieromax. It is possible, however, that the eastern side of the lake at the spot where the miracle actually occurred, which can be located with some certainty (see GERASENES), was situated in the sub-district under the jurisdiction of Gadara. Against this view is the statement of Josephus (*BJ* IV. vii. 3), that Gadara was the capital of Peræa, which is not supposed to have extended farther north than the Hieromax, the territory beyond that being Gaulanitis.

It has been suggested (Wordsworth's *Commentary*) that the incident took place on the boundary-line of the jurisdiction of the cities of Gadara and Gergesa, and that the swine owners of these Greek cities belonged to both places. Thomson (*The Land and the Book*, ii. p. 36) points out that St. Matthew was from this region and personally knew the localities, and that his rendering of Gergesa is most likely to be correct; while St. Mark and St. Luke, being strangers to this part of the country, may possibly have intended by mentioning the country of the Gadarenes to point out to their distant Greek and Roman readers the general position of the place where the miracle occurred; Gergesa, or Gerasa, or Chersa, however pronounced, being small and unknown, while Gadara was a Greek city of importance, celebrated for its temples, theatres, and warm baths. See further under GERASENES.

The city of Gadara has thus no known connexion with biblical history; it was, however, a fortress of great strength, and took a leading part in the struggles between the Seleucidæ and the Ptolemies, and, from the strength of its position and its Hebrew name, it probably existed in early times, and according to the Mishna (*Erubhin* ix.) was fortified by Joshua. The name does not appear in history until Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, overcame Scopas, the general of the Egyptian king Ptolemy Epiphanes, at Paneas, near the fountain of the Jordan (B.C. 198), and recovered territory previously lost, including Gadara (*Ant.* XII. iii. 3; Polyb. v. 71). It was again taken from the Syrians by Alexander Jannæus the Hasmonæan king of the Jews, who, acting on a league of mutual defence with Cleopatra queen of Egypt, invaded Cœle-Syria and the territory adjoining and took Gadara after a siege of ten months (*c.* B.C. 100; *Ant.* XIII. xiii. 3; *BJ* I. iv. 2), and enslaved the inhabitants, and compelled them to receive the law of Moses as proselytes of justice (*Ant.* XIV. xv. 4). The defeat of Alexander Jannæus by Obidas king of the Arabians, is related to have occurred at Gadara, a village of Gilead or Golan (*Ant.* XIII. xiii. 5; *BJ* I. iv. 4), probably not the same as the fortress of Gadara.

Gadara was demolished by the Jews and rebuilt by Pompey the Great (B.C. 63) to gratify Demetrius of Gadara, who was one of his own freedmen, when he established the Roman supremacy in Phœnicia, Cœle-Syria, and Palestine; he left the inhabitants in a state of freedom and joined the city to the province of Syria (*Ant.* XIV. iv. 4; *BJ* I. vii. 7). It counted from the era of Pompey, and became the seat of one of the five councils which Gabinius, proconsul of Syria (B.C. 57–55), instituted for the government of the Jews (*Ant.* XIV. v. 4; *BJ* I. viii. 5). Augustus Cæsar added Gadara to the kingdom of Herod the Great (*Ant.* XV. vii. 3). The inhabitants subsequently accused Herod to Cæsar of maladministration and plunderings, but Cæsar would not hear them (*Ant.* XV. x. 2 and 3). On the death of Herod (B.C. 4), Gadara was transferred to the province of Syria (*Ant.* XVII. xi. 4; *BJ* II. vi. 3). On the revolt of the Jews against the Roman dominion, they ravaged the country about Gadara, and the Greek inhabitants rose up against the Jews and put the boldest of them to death and imprisoned others (*BJ* II. xviii. 5). Gadara was taken by Vespasian, on which occasion the inhabitants pulled down its walls to show that they wished for peace. It appears, however, to have still existed for many centuries as an important city, for bishops of Gadara are mentioned as having been present at the general councils of the Church. The style of the existing ruins indicates its having flourished during the time of the Antonines, and the coins extant extend over the period from the rebuilding by Pompey to A.D. 239. Gadara was a fortress of considerable strength (*Ant.* XIII. iii. 3; *BJ* IV. vii. 3), situated near the Hieromax (Pliny, *HN* 16), east of the Sea of Galilee and over-against Scythopolis and Tiberias (Euseb. *Onom. s.v.*). It was situated on the top of a hill, at the foot of which, at 3 miles' distance, on the bank of the Hieromax, were warm springs and baths called Amatha (*Onom. s.v.* 'Gadara'; *Itin. Ant. Martyr.*). It had a district attached called Gadaris (*BJ* III. iii. 1; Strabo, XVI. ii. 45). It was one of the cities of Decapolis, and is called by Josephus the capital of Peræa (*BJ* IV. vii. 3), though in another passage (*BJ* III. iii. 3) he gives the bounds of Peræa from north to south as from Pella to Machærus. It is frequently mentioned by Josephus in connexion with Cœle-Syria (*Ant.* XIII. xiii. 3). The main roads from Scythopolis and Tiberias to Damascus and Gerasa passed through it. Josephus calls it a Greek town (*Ant.* XVII. xi. 4; *BJ* II. vi. 3), but it is evident from the historical accounts that many Jews were living in and around the city (*BJ* II. xviii. 5), and it is probable that the number of Jews living around may have fluctuated from time to time and have depended on the friendly nature of the government.

The site of Gadara has been recognized at the ruins of *Umm Ḳeis*, which extend over the summit of a high hill, 1200 ft. above the Mediterranean, east of the Jordan on the southern side of the gorge of the *Sheri'at el-Mandhûr* (Jarmûk or Hieromax), about 6 miles south-east of the southern side of the Lake of Gennesaret. At the foot of the hill, about 3 miles north of *Umm Ḳeis* on the right or north bank of the *Sheri'at*, in a flat space below the cliffs, are the remains of the celebrated hot springs, baths, and buildings of Amatha, described by Eusebius, Antoninus Martyr, and Strabo. There are several hot springs along the bank of the river, but those clustered together at this spot are the most copious. The largest spring gives off more water than that of Tiberias; the temperature is 110° Fahrenheit. The water is strongly impregnated with sulphur. These springs are much resorted to by the Bedawîn for various diseases. The ruins about the baths are very extensive, giving the impression that this spot was also used as a favourite watering-place by the inhabitants of Gadara during inclement weather (Wilson, *Recovery of Jerusalem*).

Umm Ḳeis is situated at the extreme north-western border of the high land of Northern *'Ajlûn*, and commands a magnificent view of the Sea of Tiberias, Southern *Jaulân*, the Jordan Valley, Galilee, and Mount Tabor. There could hardly be a second point in this part of *'Ajlûn*, which combines so perfectly the advantages due to a magnificent soil and a commanding position (*Northern 'Ajlûn*).

The ruins of *Umm Ḳeis* contain the remains of a very handsome and extensive city, with buildings of great magnificence, which appear to have been overthrown by an earthquake, many of the buildings remaining as perfect in their ruin as though the shock had taken place yesterday. Josephus records an earthquake having occurred which devastated the country, B.C. 31 (*Ant.* XV. v. 2), and the ruins of Umm Ḳeis may be due to an earthquake equally severe at a later period. There are to be seen among the ruins two large theatres, a basilica, a temple, the main street running east and west, with colonnades, the columns lying just as they fell, and many large private buildings, the whole surrounded by a city wall with gates. There is a large reservoir, and an aqueduct brought water into the city. The columns are surmounted by Corinthian capitals. The basalt paving is in places quite perfect, and retains traces of the marks of chariot wheels. The eastern theatre is in an almost perfect state of preservation; the approach to it would have been extremely grand, passing from the main street over a great platform surrounded by columns. A very interesting feature is the large Necropolis on the east and north-east side of the town, in which there are both rock-hewn tombs and sarcophagi; the former are cut in the limestone rock without any attempt at concealment. A flight of steps leads down to a small court, from which two or three doors give access to the chambers: the doors are of stone, many of them still perfect, with stone hinges similar to those found in the Hauran. These tombs are inhabited by the present dwellers at *Umm Ḳeis*. Outside the town, to the east, the ancient name Gadara is still preserved in the name of the ruins, *Jedûr Umm Ḳeis* (Wilson, *Recovery of Jerusalem*; Schumacher, *Northern 'Ajlûn*; Macgregor, *Rob Roy on the Jordan*). The Christians of Nazareth were in the habit of holding a fair at *Umm Ḳeis*, until in recent years, the Bedawîn having overrun the country, they were obliged to desist.

C. WARREN.

GADDI (גַּדִּי 'my fortune').—The Manassite sent as one of the twelve spies, Nu 13[11] P.

GADDIEL (גַּדִּיאֵל 'God is my fortune'*).—The Zebulunite sent as one of the twelve spies, Nu 13[10] P.

GADDIS (Καδδὶς, otherwise Γαδδὶς, A; Γαδδεί, א; *Gaddis*, Vulg.; ܓܕܝ = *Gadi*, Syr.; 1 Mac 2[2]), the surname of Johanan or John, the eldest brother of Judas Maccabæus. The name perhaps represents the Heb. גַּדִּי, *Gaddi* (Nu 13[11]), meaning 'my fortune.'

H. A. WHITE.

GADI (גָּדִי; cf. Nabatæan גדי (?גדו), Euting, No. 25; Palmyrene גדיא, de Vogüé, No. 32; Γαδδεὶ B, Γεδδεί, Γαλλεί A, Γαδδί Luc.).—Father of Menahem king of Israel (2 K 15[14. 17]).

C. F. BURNEY.

GADITES.—See GAD (Tribe).

GAHAM (גַּחַם).—The eponym of a Nahorite clan whose identity has not been established, Gn 22[24]. Gaham is described as a son of Nahor by his concubine Reumah.

GAHAR (גַּחַר).—A family of Nethinim who returned with Zerub. (Ezr 2[47], Neh 7[49]), called in 1 Es 5[30] Geddur. See GENEALOGY.

GAI (גַּיְא) is given as a proper name in RV of 1 S 17[52] 'until thou comest to Gai,' where AV has 'until thou comest to the valley.' This last, however, would demand הַגַּיְא as in v.[3]. In any case, the valley (ravine) referred to in v.[52] must be different from that which separated the opposing forces. See ELAH (VALLEY OF). The LXX, as is noted in RVm, has Γέθ (Gath), and this would suit the context (cf. Wellhausen, Budde, and Driver, *ad loc.*). Wellh. further proposes to treat Shaaraim not as a proper name, but, inserting the article (הַשְּׁעָרִים), as = 'in the gateway.' That is to say, the Israelites pursued the Philistines to the gates of Ekron, and the wounded fell down in the gateway of both Gath and Ekron. An alternative, he suggests, is to view the two expressions, 'until thou comest to Gath and to the gates of Ekron,' and 'even unto Gath and unto Ekron,' as doublets due perhaps to the names of these two cities being in the former clause written indistinctly or incorrectly, in consequence of which an explanatory gloss was added on the margin and afterwards introduced into the text.

J. A. SELBIE.

GAINSAY.—To gainsay is to speak against, as Udal, *Erasmus' Paraphrase* on 1 Jn 1, 'And yf we wyll say, that wee have no sinne in us, we make God a lyar, and say agaynst hym: and he that gayne sayeth hym, must needs lye'; *Rhem. NT* on Jn 6[49], 'The discontented and incredulous murmured and gainsaid it [the manna].' Wyclif has the older form *agenseyen* frequently, as Lk 21^{15} (1380) 'I schal gyue to you mouth and wysdom, to whiche alle youre aduersaries schulen not mowe agenstonde, and agenseye.' Sometimes the meaning is rather wider and almost the same as oppose or resist generally. Thus Job 11^{10} Wyc. (1382) 'If he turne vpso doun alle thingus, or in to oon drawe togidere, who shal agensein to hym?' (EV 'hinder'); and Pref. to AV 1611, 'For, was there euer any thing proiected, that sauoured any way of newnesse or renewing, but the same endured many a storme of gaine-saying, or opposition?' So in AV we have Jth 8^{28} 'there is none that may gainsay thy words,' where the Gr. is *ὃς ἀντιστήσεται τοῖς λόγοις σου*, lit. 'withstand,' Geneva 'resist'; and Ad. Est 13^{9} 'The whole world is in thy power, and if thou hast appointed to save Israel, there is no man that can gainsay thee' (*ὃς ἀντιτάξεταί σοι*; lit. 'range in battle against thee'; Cov. 'withstonde ner lett the'). And even when the orig. word expresses *speaking* against, the general sense of resist is often evident.

---

* According to Hommel (*Ancient Heb. Tradition*, 1897, p. 300), from the Arabic, 'my grandfather is God.'

The verb occurs in Lk 21^{15} 'I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries shall not be able to gainsay nor resist' (after Wyc., as above, who has the order 'agenstonde and agensaye,' as Vulg. *resistere et contradicere*, and as L, T, WH *ἀντιστῆναι οὐδὲ* [T, WH *ἢ*] *ἀντειπεῖν*, while AV follows TR *ἀντειπεῖν οὐδὲ ἀντιστῆναι*); 2 Es 5^{29} 'they which did gainsay thy promises' (*qui contradicebant sponsionibus tuis*); Jth 12^{14} 'Who am I now, that I should gainsay my lord?' (*ἀντεροῦσα τῷ κυρίῳ μου*); and 1 Mac 14^{44} 'to gainsay his words' (*ἀντειπεῖν τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ῥηθησομένοις*); RV 'to gainsay the words that he should speak,' *i.e.* resist his commands. To these instances RV adds Ac 19^{36} 'Seeing then that these things cannot be gainsaid' (*ἀναντιρρήτων* [WH *ἀναντιρήτων*] *οὖν ὄντων τούτων*, the only occurrence of this adj., though the adv. occurs Ac 10^{29}, as below; AV 'spoken against'); Tit 2^{9} 'not gainsaying' (*μὴ ἀντιλέγοντας*, AV 'not answering again,' AVm 'gainsaying').

The adj. is found in Ro 10^{21} 'a disobedient and gainsaying people' (*ἀντιλέγοντα*). The subst. occurs in Ac 10^{29} 'Therefore came I unto you without gainsaying' (*ἀναντιρρήτως* [WH *ἀναντιρήτως*]); Jude ^{11} 'and perished in the gainsaying of Core' (*καὶ τῇ ἀντιλογίᾳ τοῦ Κορὲ ἀπώλοντο*; cf. LXX *ὕδωρ ἀντιλογίας* = Heb. מֵי מְרִיבָה = Eng. 'water of Meribah' of Nu 20^{13}); to which RV adds He 12^{3} 'For consider him that hath endured such gainsaying (AV 'contradiction') of sinners against himself' (*ἀντιλογίαν*, which in the other two occurrences, He 6^{16} 7^{7}, RV tr. 'dispute'). The personal subst. 'gainsayer' is found Tit 1^{9} 'to convince (RV 'convict') the gainsayers' (*τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας ἐλέγχειν*; Wyc. [1380] 'to reproue hem that agen seyn' [1388 'agenseien'], but in *Prefatory Epistles of St. Jerome*, ch. iii. [1388] Wyc. has 'He comaundide also to Tite, among othere vertues of a bishop . . . to withstonde agenseyeris').

J. HASTINGS.

GAIUS (Γάϊος).—The person to whom the Third Ep. of St. John is addressed. He is spoken of in terms of affection and respect as 'beloved' (vv.$^{1.\,2.\,5.\,11}$), walking 'in the truth' (v.^{3}), acting well to brethren and to strangers (v.^{5}). But beyond this we know nothing of him. Some have thought to identify him with a Caius who is mentioned in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (vii. 46) as having been appointed bishop of Pergamum by John. Others have attempted to identify him with one or other of the men who bear the same name in the NT—the G. of Macedonia (Ac 19^{29}), the G. of Derbe (Ac 20^{4}), the G. of Corinth (1 Co 1^{14}, Ro 16^{23}). But these are all associated with the Apostle Paul, and there is nothing in the Epistle itself or elsewhere to help us to an identification.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

GALAL (גָּלָל).—The name of two Levites, 1 Ch $9^{15.\,16}$, Neh 11^{17}. See GENEALOGY.

GALATIA (Γαλατία) is understood by different scholars as the name of two distinct countries; and, as the important associated questions are still under discussion, it is necessary to treat the term under two headings, and describe the history and geography of the two different countries which the term is said to denote. The fundamental question is this: Are the Churches of G., to which St. Paul addressed an Epistle, certain congregations in the northern part of the great inner plateau of Asia Minor variously enumerated by different advocates of 'the North-Galatian Theory,' or are they the congregations of Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Derbe, and Lystra, in the southern part of the plateau, according to 'the South-Galatian Theory'? Each of the related terms *Galatians* and *Region of Galatia* in like manner demands double treatment. St. Paul mentions the Churches of G. in Gal 1^{2}, 1 Co 16^{1}; and they are addressed with others in 1 P 1^{1}. Finally, there is a doubt whether in 2 Ti 4^{10} Galatia or Gallia should be read, and, if Galatia is read, whether it does not denote Gaul (the modern France).

While the opinions fall into two classes on the crucial question, there are varieties in each class. The South-Galatian theory is held both by those who can see no good reason to think that St. Paul ever was in North Galatia, and by those who consider that he travelled in North Galatia but made no important foundation there. The latter view is held by Zahn (*Einleitung in das Neue Testament*). The North-Galatian theory in its common form maintains that the Epistle was addressed to the Churches of Ancyra, Tavium, Pessinus, and possibly other cities; but the most vigorous argument that St. Paul never was in Ancyra or Tavium is urged by Zöckler (*SK*, 1895, p. 79 f.),* who, approximating to Zahn's view, holds that St. Paul travelled little in Galatia, only in the extreme western and south-western parts, *ib.* p. 59 ff., but maintains, unlike Zahn, that he founded several Churches in that obscure district and addressed his Epistle to them. Salmon (*Introduction to NT*, and arts. in Smith, *DB*) seems to come very close to Zöckler's view,† though he translates the critical passage in Ac 16^{6} in quite a different way (GALATIA, REGION OF). But these minor differences are comparatively unimportant, relating to points of translation and antiquarian research;‡ it is only the crucial question that is of fundamental consequence: To what group of Churches did St. Paul write his Epistle?

I. GALATIA PROPER, as used in the popular and ordinary Greek way (Roman *Gallogræcia*), was the name applied to a large tract of country in the interior of Asia Minor, after it was taken possession of in the 3rd cent. B.C. by certain warrior tribes who had migrated from Gaul towards the east. Irruptions of Gallic tribes into the eastern parts of Europe are first recorded in B.C. 281, when a small army under Cambaules attacked Thrace. In the following year (280) three large Gallic armies advanced—one under Cerethrius against Thrace, a second under Brennus[*] and Acichorius against Paeonia, the third under Belgius against Macedonia and Illyria. The young king of Macedonia, Ptolemy Ceraunus, was defeated and slain when he rashly gave battle with a small army. In 279 Brennus and other chiefs marched south into Greece; but a quarrel arose on the way, and two chiefs, Leonnorius and Lutarius, led away 20,000 Gauls into Thrace. Brennus' attempt was unsuccessful, and his army seems to have scattered in its retreat; and part of it probably joined the Gauls who had invaded Thrace. Many of the invaders of Thrace went on into Asia, Lutarius crossing the Hellespont in some Macedonian ships which he seized; Leonnorius crossing the Bosphorus at the invitation of Nikomedes, king of Bithynia, who wanted aid in his wars: the date of these events, so calamitous for Asia, was 278–277.

---

* So Findlay in *Expository Times*, vii. (1896) p. 236. Zöckler takes Chase for the originator of this view; but the latter informs me that this is a misunderstanding of his words, and that he does not hold the view.

† 'St. Luke's narrative does not warrant us to conclude with any certainty that St. Paul made any prolonged stay in Galatia Proper, or did much work in founding Churches there' (Smith, *DB*^{2} i. 1105).

‡ Sometimes agreement in construction and translation results in total disagreement as to interpretation (GALATIA. REGION OF).

No certainty is attainable as to the exact events and dates that followed. The Gauls ranged through most of western and central Asia Minor, a terror to all the inhabitants, plundering, slaying, burning. Antiochus I., king of Syria A.D. 281–261, was the first to offer any serious resistance; from his victories he is said to have gained his title Soter (saviour); but his success was far from complete. During the uncertain wars of the following years, the Gauls were often hired as mercenaries by the contending kings and generals, usually by the weaker against the stronger. 'Alternately the scourge and the allies of each Asiatic prince in succession, as passion or interest dictated, they for a time indulged their predatory instincts unchecked' (Lightfoot).

But Attalus I., king of Pergamos B.C. 241–197, checked their power in a series of campaigns about B.C. 232, and confined them to a certain fixed country (previously part of Phrygia and of Cappadocia or even of Paphlagonia), which was called henceforth Galatia. They had, however, probably occupied parts of that country long before,[†] finding it more open to actual settlement than the districts where many strong cities existed; and the result of Attalus' operations was to circumscribe their territory, and to fix definite limits.

In the sketch which Strabo (p. 567) gives of the Galatian constitution, he records the interesting fact that each tribe was divided into four cantons or tetrarchies, an old Gaulish custom mentioned among the Helvetii by Julius Cæsar.[‡] Originally each tetrarchy had a chief or tetrarch;[§] and there was a common council of 300 meeting in a grove called Drynemeton (Perrot thinks that it was situated near Assarli-Kaya, about 7 hours S.W. from Ancyra),[‖] and judging all cases of murder. This old system had wholly disappeared before the time of Strabo; the monarchy of Deiotarus and of Amyntas (44–25 B.C.) had destroyed the last traces of the original Gallic constitution, and the Roman provincial organization was hostile to it. Even in early time, when war broke out, a single chief seems to have been chosen in each tribe (Livy, xxxviii. 19).

The defeat of the Gauls by a Roman army in B.C. 189 (Livy, xxxviii. 18 ff., who uses Polybius as his authority) broke their strength. They were placed between three powers, Pontus, Cappadocia, and Pergamos, and were pressed on by all. They were worsted by Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, about 164; and they seem to have fallen under the influence of the Pontic kings in the latter part of the 2nd century, for Phrygia was given by Rome to Mithridates IV. in 129, and he could not well rule over Phrygia if divided from it by the great independent country of Galatia (Van Gelder, p. 277).[*] The Mithridatic wars set free the Gauls from this yoke; and their eagerness to aid the Roman arms against Pontus exposed them to a massacre ordered by Mithridates in 86. In 64, after the war was ended, Pompey appointed or recognized three tetrarchs,[†] Castor probably among the Tektosages, Brogitarus of the Trokmi, and Deiotarus of the Tolistobogii: Deiotarus also received Armenia Minor with part of Pontus, and, being much the most powerful, gradually made himself master of the Tektosages and Trokmi, and, finally, as the climax of a career of successful treachery and murder, he was recognized as king of Galatia by the Romans. He died at an advanced age in 40 B.C. His kingdom was given by Antony to the younger Castor, along with inner Paphlagonia, which Pompey in 64 had assigned to Attalus (Dion, xlviii. 33). Castor soon died; and in 36 Antony gave Galatia to Amyntas, and Paphlagonia to Deiotarus Philadelphus, son of Castor (probably the elder), who reigned till B.C. 5, when his kingdom was incorporated in the province Galatia (see II.).[‡]

According to our authorities, the Gauls entered Asia as an army, not separately in distinct tribes; but afterwards they appear as divided into three tribes, who arrogated to themselves three distinct districts, the Trokmi claiming the Hellespontine coast, the Tolistobogii Aeolis and Ionia, *i.e.* the Ægean coastlands, and the Tektosages the lands of the interior (Livy, xxxviii. 16, where note the word *postremo*). This tribal classification persisted throughout later history, proving that either the original army was formed mainly from these three tribes, or that three successive swarms, each mainly recruited from one tribe, entered Asia Minor. It seems, however, to be certain that contingents from a number of different tribes swelled the armies that invaded Greece, Thrace, and Asia: similarly, in Gaul certain great tribes, *e.g.* the Aedui, had smaller tribes as dependants or clients (Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.* vii. 75, iv. 6). From the ancient arrangement it would appear that the Tektosages were the first to seize Galatia, and that when the bounds were drawn by Attalus I. the Tektosages were forced into the centre and north of Galatia, with Ancyra as capital, the Trokmi were concentrated round Tavium on the east, and the Tolistobogii round Pessinus on the west. In this position we find the tribes in all later time.

The boundaries of the country called Galatia varied greatly at different periods. Thus the chief centre of a people Troknades, at the modern village Kaimaz (between Eski-Sheher and Sivri-Hissar, on the ancient road from Dorylaion to Pessinus), was part of the Roman province Asia (*CIL* iii. No. 6997); and yet the name Troknades is undoubtedly Gallic, so that the place must have been at an earlier time included in the territory of the Galatæ. That is perhaps the most westerly point to which the territory owned by the settled Gauls ever extended; and both it and even Orkistos, which lies farther east, were probably taken from the Galatian state by Attalus I.,[§]

---

[*] Brennus is perhaps a title, not a personal name.

[†] Perhaps by permission of the Pontic kings (Meyer).

[‡] *Bell. Gall.* i. 12; see Mommsen in *Hermes*, 1884, p. 316.

[§] Hence the title *tetrarch* was wrongly given to the three chiefs nominated by Pompey in B.C. 64.

[‖] *Dry-*, intensive prefix (Holder), not (with Perrot) 'oak.'

[*] Phrygia Magna was given to Mithridates II. (Justin, 38. 6) about B.C. 240; but it then included the country which soon after became Galatia. Moreover, the gift was perhaps a mere Pontic claim, never realized in fact.

[†] See note § above.

[‡] See Niese, *Rhein. Museum*, 1883, p. 584 ff.; T. Reinach, *Revue Numism.* 1891, p. 383 ff.; Ramsay, *Revue des Ét. Gr.* 1894, p. 251.

[§] It was perhaps at this time that Orkistos was placed under the control of Nakoleia (*CIL* iii. No. 7000); the Pergamenian system was favourable to the growth of powerful cities exerting authority over a large territory.

and passed along with the rest of the Pergamenian kingdom into the hands of the Romans (see Asia). In late Roman time, probably when the province G. Secunda was created about 390, the name was extended so far to the west as to include the old Phrygian city Amorium, which was after this called a metropolis of Galatia (so Hierocles and most *Notitiæ Episc.*).[*]

On the north the dividing line between Galatia to the south and Bithynia and Paphlagonia to the north is indeterminable. Close to the north-western corner lay the city Juliopolis, which was in the 1st and 2nd centuries a Bithynian city[†] (Pliny, *Epist. ad Traj.* 77; Ptolemy, v. 1), but about A.D. 297 was made a city of Galatia. Near the north-eastern corner lay Gangra (Tchangri) and Andrapa (probably Iskelib), which were Paphlagonian cities, and Eukhaita (probably Tchorum), a Pontic city, famous for the worship of St. Theodorus Stratiotes.

On the east and south-east the dividing line between Galatia on the one hand, and Pontus and Cappadocia on the other hand, was also a varying one, running east of Tavium (Nefez-Keui), capital of the Galatian tribe Trokmi, and west of the Pontic city Sebastopolis-Heracleopolis (Sulu-Serai). It is mentioned by Polybius that a certain territory, long disputed between the Gauls and the Cappadocian kings, passed definitely into the possession of Ariarathes about B.C. 164. Basilika Therma (Terzili-Hammam) was well within Cappadocian territory in later time, and the disputed territory perhaps extended from it to the Halys or even as far as Lake Tatta. In the 4th century after Christ, the frontier between Galatia and Cappadocia lay between the Galatian Galea (a village subject to Aspona) and the Cappadocian Andrapa (subject to Parnassos).

The southern limit was, doubtless, always quite vague, running across the level, treeless, sparsely populated plain of the Axylon, south of Amorium, north of Laodiceia-Katakekaumene, and touching or intersecting the large, shallow salt lake Tatta. The limit between Lycaonia on the south and Galatia on the north was probably never fixed very narrowly in this valueless plain; and, moreover, we know that certain large districts were sometimes held by the Gauls, and sometimes separated from their country. A considerable tract of country lying along the west side of Lake Tatta, and stretching west towards Amorium and Laodiceia, is assigned by Ptolemy to Galatia under the name Proseilemmene, *i.e.* προσειλημμένη (χώρα), the 'Added Territory.' The date when this territory was added to G. is uncertain. The opinion has been expressed doubtfully that it was separated from Lycaonia by Antoninus Pius (or possibly Hadrian) when the triple eparchy, Cilicia-Lycaonia-Isauria, was constituted a Roman province (Ramsay, *Histor. Geogr. of As. Min.* pp. 251, 377); but that event seems not sufficiently important to have given a new name to the country, and the analogy of the similar name Epiktetos, *i.e.* ἐπίκτητος Φρυγία, the 'Acquired Phrygia,' suggests that the transference of territory took place as a permanent and real change of rule at a much earlier period. Now, according to Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* v. 95), the part of Lycaonia that adjoined Galatia was given to it as a tetrarchy. This Lycaonian tetrarchy was certainly close to Ptolemy's Proseilemmene, and probably another name for it. Pliny says that the tetrarchy contained 14 cities, with Iconium as capital, and distinguishes it from Lycaonia Proper (*ipsa Lycaonia*), which extended along the front of Mt. Taurus. Ptolemy, indeed, does not make Proseilemmene extend so far west as Iconium; but he is incorrect about the extent of all the divisions of this whole region. Lycaonia as a whole had been added to the Pergamenian kingdom by Rome in B.C. 190; but the kings were not strong enough to hold this distant territory, and part of it was probably taken by the Gauls about 160; and this part afterwards passed under the power of the Pontic kings along with Galatia. Hence Eumachus, Mithridates' general, who conquered Pisidia, Isauria, and parts of Cilicia, evidently used Lycaonia as his basis of operations. Another possibility is that the part of Lycaonia held by Amyntas (see II.) was styled by him the Tetrarchy; but that is, for several reasons, less probable. Amyntas' part of Lycaonia, however, must have been nearly the same in extent as the Tetrarchy. In any case, the name Tetrarchy must have originated before the Roman provincial organization was instituted; and thus Iconium had an old connexion with Galatia (*Studia Biblica*, iv. p. 46 ff.).

As to the relation between the immigrant Gauls and the older Phrygian inhabitants in Galatia, evidence fails; but the analogy of similar conquests and the general facts of this case warrant some probable conclusions. It is not to be supposed that the older population was exterminated or expelled. The Gaulish invaders were few. The total number that first entered Asia under Leonnorius and Lutarius is stated as 20,000, of whom only half were fighting men; the rest were women and children (Livy, xxxviii. 16, borrowing from Polybius). Doubtless, other swarms followed, encouraged by the success of the first; but that was the main army. In the continual wars and marches and raids of the following 46 years, the number of deaths was probably larger than the number of births; and the total Gallic population that was settled in Galatia, when its bounds were fixed by Attalus about 232, cannot have been numerous. In a country nearly 200 miles long, such a population must have been merely a small dominant caste amidst a much larger subject population; and Van Gelder expresses the general opinion of historical investigators, that the Gallic invaders did not live in cities, or become agriculturists, but employed the natives as cultivators of the land, on condition of paying to the Gauls as lords of the soil a proportion of the produce, while the conquerors occupied themselves in war and in pasturage, taking according to the usual practice one-third of the land, and leaving two-thirds to the older population (Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.* i. 31). As Lightfoot, in his edition of the Epistle, p. 9, rightly declares, the population consisted of Phrygians, Gauls, and Greeks, to whom were afterwards added a considerable sprinkling of Romans and a smaller number of Jews; and Van Gelder rightly points out that the cities were mainly populated by the Phrygians, who practised the arts of peace and conducted all trade, while the Gallic chiefs dwelt in their fortified villages (φρούρια, *castella*), keeping up a rude barbaric magnificence, and the mass of the Gauls led a pastoral and half-nomadic life when they were not engaged in war. As late as B.C. 189 the priests of the temple of Pessinus were opposed to the Gauls, and welcomed the Roman army of Manlius as deliverers; but that would hardly have been possible, unless the city had been really Phrygian and not Gaulish.[*] Van Gelder,

---

[*] Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsalt.* i. p. 359, errs in counting Amorium, Aizanoi, and Orkistos as cities of Galatia in the Roman period.

[†] Wrongly mentioned as perhaps the seat of one of the Churches of Galatia by many scholars.

[*] Körte (*Athenische Mittheilungen des Inst.* 1897, pp. 16 and 39) shows that Pessinus was not conquered by the Gauls till some year between 189 and 164; and he publishes an inscription of about A.D. 80–90, which shows that of the ten leading priests at Pessinus five were Gauls and five belonged to the original

p. 183, says of such cities as Tavium, Pessinus, Ancyra, 'those cities were in Galatia, but were not Galatian cities; they preserved Phrygian character and Phrygian customs, now affected with a Grecian tinge.' All Jews, Greeks, and resident Romans would certainly be dwellers in the cities. In the governing cities, Ancyra, Tavium, Pessinus, a number of Gaulish families doubtless settled, and formed an aristocracy. Ancyra and Tavium, especially, were Gaulish strongholds from 250 onwards (Manlius occupied Ancyra in 189); but Pessinus was more purely Phrygian. But, even in Ancyra, indubitably, the mass of the lower and trading classes was Phrygian or Greek.

In B.C. 189 the Galatian tribes are pictured by Polybius and Livy as barbarians, devoid of any trace of Greek culture, fighting naked, without order or tactics, armed with swords and large wooden or wicker shields; and their pastoral life, remote from cities and intercourse, long preserved their native customs. As the military power and the vigour of the Gaulish conquerors declined in the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C., they perhaps began to mix more freely with the older population; and the opinion has been expressed that they even adopted the native religion, on the ground that certain Gallic names occur at the great native sanctuaries, implying that Gallic families began to hold priesthoods: in the 2nd century the high priest of Pessinus, bearing the holy official Phrygian title Atis, had a brother Aiorix, and in the 1st century Brogitarus was priest at Pessinus, while Dyteutus, son of Adiatorix, was priest at Comana Pontica under Augustus. But although some Gaulish nobles assumed the place and swayed the enormous power that lay in the hands of the priest-kings of the great native temples,[*] it does not follow that the mass of the Gaulish people adopted the Phrygian religion.

Further, it has even been asserted by some recent scholars that the Gauls adopted to a large extent the manners and customs of the Græco-Phrygian population, retaining not very much of their Gallic ways and habits in the 1st century after Christ; but this opinion seems contrary to the evidence, and against natural probability.[†] The Gauls, though readily civilizable, have not been quick to throw off national character and put on foreign characteristics. Moreover, they seem to have long retained the Gallic language, for Strabo mentions that all three tribes spoke the same language and had the same manners; and so late as the 4th century after Christ, Jerome declares that they were bilingual, speaking Greek and a dialect like that used by the Treveri in Gaul (though changes had occurred).[‡] Now, it is difficult to believe that a small caste amid a larger population could have adopted entirely the religion and customs of the surrounding population and yet retained their separate language. The first step in Hellenization was always the adoption of the Greek language. Moreover, Strabo, in speaking of their uniformity of character, evidently does not mean that they had all adopted the Græco-Phrygian manners and ways, but distinctly implies that there was a common Gallic character among the various tribes. The ambition of their chiefs, who found that the shortest way to power lay in adopting the civilized methods of Greece and Rome, probably caused the first steps in change to be made. The chiefs connected themselves with the powerful priesthood, became priests themselves, and gradually the freer old Gaulish system was replaced by the tyranny of kings. The general opinion among those scholars who hold the North-Galatian theory seems to be right, that these Gauls, even in A.D. 50, retained much of the Gallic character; and they vainly seek to support that theory by finding Gallic characteristics in the congregations to which St. Paul wrote his Epistle. When Livy (xxxvii. 8) speaks of *exoleta stirpe gentis*, as the fact of his own time, he refers to the decay of their warlike character rather than to any change of manners and customs.[*] Lightfoot (p. 12) rightly says, 'the tough vitality of the Celtic character maintained itself comparatively unimpaired.'

No trace remains in local inscriptions (chiefly A.D. 100–250) of Gallic manners or language, and little of Gallic names; but that does not prove that the Gallic manners and language had been lost. A Gaul who received any education learned Greek; and all who wrote, wrote in Greek. The Gaulish language was a proof of barbarism, and a reason for shame (whence the contempt for Galatians which appears in the Cappadocian Fathers, see Ramsay, *Historical Geography*, p. 288); no one would blazon his want of education to the world, and it may be doubted whether any one could write who spoke only Gaulish. Moreover, the inscriptions almost all belong to the great cities, which were civilized seats of Græco-Roman culture, inhabited by Greeks, Romans, Phrygians, Jews, and Romanized Gauls (the latter forming a small aristocracy). Ancyra was quite a Romanized city, civilized and rich; and Pessinus was so in a less degree. The native languages of Asia Minor, Phrygian, Lycaonian, etc., persisted through the Roman period, until destroyed by the language of the NT, but no traces of them remain in inscriptions (except a few execrations on tombs in the Phrygian language).

In the time of St. Paul, therefore, there was probably a great and marked difference between the rustic Gaulish population of Galatia, who retained much of the old ruder barbarian character, and were probably little affected by Greek manners or language,[†] and the population of the cities, who spoke Greek, and the majority of whom were not of Gaulish origin.[‡] But, while continuing Gauls in feeling, the Galatian tribes in A.D. 50 must have been to some extent affected in habits and standard of life during three centuries spent as a conquering caste amid more civilized peoples. The chief point to notice is that they were an aristocracy among inferiors; and the effect produced by that long experience on a race always proud, free, and bold, must be estimated.

It is not justifiable in any case to select one or two of the long list of vices in Gal $5^{19.21}$, and quote some passage in which a similar fault is charged against Gauls; the list in these verses is chargeable against human nature, not specially against Gaulish nature. In $6^{6.7}$ niggardliness is a characteristic of the Galatians, and in 1^{6} they change their religion quickly. It may be doubted whether either fact was characteristic of the Gauls; though fickle in some respects, they never were quick to change their religion, but rather the con-

---

priestly families (*Woch. f. klass. Phil.* 1898, p. 3); the arrangement was probably made B.C. 189–164. Gordium, a great emporium in 189, must have been Phrygian; later, it was conquered by Gauls, and disappeared from history.

[*] On the priestly power see Hennig, *As. Min. Reges Sacerdotes*; Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics*, i. pp. 10 f., 101 f., 130 ff., 292 ff.

[†] The name Gallogræcia is appealed to as evidence of the Hellenization of the Gauls; but this name is Roman in origin, and had no such implication among its originators.

[‡] Mommsen (*Röm. Gesch.* v. p. 92) accepts the testimony of Jerome, which Perrot and Van Gelder try to discredit.

[*] The speech of Manlius, xxxviii. 17, is apparently Livy's free invention, and contains a similar sentiment.

[†] Similarly, Mommsen (*Röm. Gesch.* v. 92) shows that in Gaul the Gallic language continued in common use at least as late as the 4th century.

[‡] Salmon fully recognizes that the Christians of the North-Galatian Churches were not as a rule the Gauls, but the Phrygians; and that the attempt to find Celtic characteristics in those whom St. Paul addresses is a failure (Smith, *DB*^{2} i. p. 1106).

trary;[*] greedy to seek money they were said to be, but at the same time the fault to which they tend is to be too apt to spend even to ostentation. The further quality, that the Galatians are 'a superstitious people given to ritual observances,' was peculiarly characteristic of the type of religion widely spread over Asia Minor, with its great seats at places like Pessinus, Pisidian Antioch, Comana, Ephesus, etc. We may say that the characteristics of the Galatian congregations are those of the general native population of Asia Minor, and not those of the Gauls.

After the Roman imperial centre was transferred first to Nikomedia, and afterwards to Constantinople, the Hellenization of Galatia proceeded much more rapidly, for the north side of the plateau then rapidly advanced in civilization and importance (Ramsay, *Histor. Geogr.* pp. 74, 197 ff.), while the south side, which had previously lain on the line of the greatest routes, declined. Christianity spread the knowledge of Greek in the 4th cent.; and hence we find expressions like that of Themistius (p. 360), that Galatia is almost wholly Greek. That, however, is a rhetorician's phrase; Jerome and the contempt expressed by Basil and Gregory show that it is probably exaggerated; but, even if it be near the truth, it must not be applied to the 1st cent.

Galatia Proper, as it was in the 1st or 2nd cent., was a rough oval in shape, extending about 200 miles in length (east to west), and 100 miles in breadth at the most. It is probably the most monotonous and least picturesque country of Asia Minor, so far as it is known; but its north-eastern and eastern and southern parts are hardly explored. The climate is severe in the long winter; and the want of trees over great part of the district (especially near the lines of road, except part of that leading to Constantinople) makes the heat of summer great. There is a considerable extent of fertile soil (with much more pasture land, and barren undulating hilly ground) producing grain, fruits, cotton, tobacco, opium, etc.; but, owing to difficulties in transport, the only important products for commerce are wool and mohair (the fleece of the beautiful Angora goat). In the Byzantine period, after being ravaged by Persians and Arabs, Ancyra with Galatia in general (west of the Halys) passed into the hands of the Seljuk Turks, was held by the Latins for a short time, taken by Tartars, and finally captured in 1354 by the Turks under Suleiman.

The earliest reference to Christianity in North Galatia is at Ancyra, where the local church (ἡ κατὰ τόπον ἐκκλησία, cf. Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phr.* i. p. 272 f. No. 192) is mentioned about A.D. 192 in an anti-Montanist treatise as having been affected by Montanism and saved by the writer (Euseb. *HE* v. 16). Many martyrs suffered there under Diocletian, some of whom may have been brought from other parts of Galatia for trial at the capital; the dates are not recorded, and only the names of most are known, but probably all may be placed in the great persecution (Clemens, Donatus, Papias, etc., 23rd Jan.; Theodotus, etc., 18th May; Plato, etc., 22nd July; Gaianus, Julianus, Rufinus, etc., 31st Aug.; Marcellus, Silvanus, Gaianus, etc., 4th Sept.; Seleucus, Valerius, etc., 15th Sept.; Eusebius episcopus, 16th Sept.; children, 23rd Sept.; Theodorus episc., 3rd Nov. or 6th Apr.; Eutychus, Domitianus, 28th Dec.). Any other early Churches in North Galatia have been overwhelmed in oblivion, and hardly a trace of them survives. At Juliopolis, the martyrs Plato (22nd July, see above), Heuretos, and Gemellus were venerated in the 6th cent., but their connexion is uncertain.[*] At the Ancyran Council (A.D. 314) a full muster of Galatian bishops might be expected, but only Ancyra and Juliopolis were represented. The following bishoprics also can be traced in the 4th cent.: Kinna, 325; Tavium, 325; Aspona, 344; Pessinus, 403.[†] But in the 5th cent. there come into our knowledge Mnizos, 451; Orkistos, 431[‡]; Petenissos, 451; Eudoxias, 451; Amorion, 431; Myrikion, 451; and in the 6th or later, Verinopolis, 680; Kaloumne, 879; Klaneos, 680; Germa, 553. We cannot conclude with certainty that a bishopric did not exist in the 4th cent., though it was not represented at the early Councils; but, remembering that Galatia was situated so conveniently for the early Councils of Ancyra, Nicæa, and Constantinople, we must see in this list, when compared with those of the more distant Byzantine provinces Lycaonia and Pisidia, a proof that Galatia was late in taking its proper rank in the Christian world. Ancyra and the road to Constantinople are the early home of Galatian Christianity; and from thence it spreads. Above all, it is clear that western and south-western Galatia (where Zöckler and Salmon place the Pauline Churches, and where Zahn, etc., believe that St. Paul preached) are latest of all in being thoroughly christianized, Germa, Klaneos, Myrikion, Eudoxias, Petenissos (only Pessinus, Orkistos, and Troknades [the latter two in Roman Asia] can be traced to the 4th cent.). The inference drawn from the bishops' lists is confirmed by epigraphic evidence, which points to the conclusion that (except in Pessinus, where 4th cent. Christian inscriptions occur) Christianity was late in taking root in south-western Galatia (*Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachf.* 1887, p. 383). There are a considerable number of Christian inscriptions in Tavium and other parts of East Galatia; but all are of late date.

The Galatian Jews have left few memorials. A rather bold speculation (Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phr.* i. pp. 648 ff., 673) assigns Jewish origin to some noble families of Ancyra; and a report is spread that a highly important Jewish inscription has been found there, but it is not yet published. Jewish names occur in several late inscriptions, probably of Jewish Christians, *e.g.* at Pessinus, Matatas (according to Lightfoot, p. 11, but the text is untrustworthy, *CIG* 4088); at Eudoxias (Yürme), Jacob the deacon [δ]ειάκωνος and Esther; at Tavium, Daniel, etc. *CIG* 4129, which is Jewish, is wrongly assigned to Galatia by Schürer (*Jüd. Volk*, i. p. 690), Franz, etc.; it belongs to Asia, being found near Dorylaion. The decree of Augustus, quoted as giving special privileges to Jews at Ancyra by Lightfoot, Schürer, and many others, depends on an error; it was addressed to the Koinon of Asia (*Studia Biblica*, iv. p. 41 f.). The Jews settled in the Seleucid colonies of Phrygia (GALATIA II.) spread gradually to the great cities of Galatia Proper.

II. GALATIA PROVINCIA is a complicated subject, and the mass of details is unintelligible, unless we observe the force which guided all the changes, viz. the Roman frontier policy, which sought to educate barbarous tribes up to the Roman standard by a gradual process, first placing them under a dependent and allied king, who could control them by his presence and armies (Strab. p. 671), and then receiving them into the Empire as they became civilized and orderly. During the 1st cent. A.D. the province G. embodied the Roman spirit in central Asia Minor, as opposed to the native kingdoms bordering on it; and the history of *G. Provincia* is the history of Roman policy in its advance towards the Euphrates frontier—a long slow process, in which the Roman genius undoubtedly was exerted to the utmost to influence and impress, to educate and discipline, the population of the various countries taken into the province Galatia (see also GALATIANS).

---

[*] They were proverbially credulous of reports or of anything that flattered their vanity; see Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.* iv. 5; Martial, v. 1, 10.

[*] On 15th April, martyrs *in Taudia Galaciæ* probably belong to Gallæcia. A martyr, Dikasios of Tavium, of unknown date, is mentioned; a Dikasios was bishop there in 325.

[†] Lagania is added by Le Quien; but Erechtius, the bishop in question, was more probably of Egdaumana or Glavama, a Lycaonian see on the Galatian frontier, as appears from the forms Damanitanus, Gadanitanus, Gatmaneas, Planathon, etc.

[‡] Orkistos in A.D. 331 claimed to be wholly Christian in a petition to Constantine, *CIL* iii. 7000: it was at that time subject to Nakoleia in Asia, and could not therefore be a bishopric. Amorion, Orkistos, and Troknades were joined to Galatia about 386–395, *Hist. Geogr. As. Min.* p. 221.

The South-Galatian theory, then, takes the foundation of the Galatian Churches as an episode in the political and social history of the province; and inasmuch as several questions in Acts turn on the exact boundaries of the province, it is necessary to be minute and accurate as regards its growth (which is nowhere described fully).

Amyntas, formerly a secretary of Deiotarus, was made king of Pisidia by Antony in 39, at the same time as Darius, grandson of Mithridates, was granted the kingdom of Pontus, and Polemon (son of Zenon, the rhetor of Laodiceia) that of a part of Cilicia (*i.e.* either Ketis, or more probably the whole of Cilicia Tracheiotis). All were dependent on Rome, and paid tribute (Appian, *Bell. Civ.* v. 75). Amyntas' kingdom included Apollonia and Antioch (a district which had been set free by Rome in B.C. 190, Strab. pp. 569, 577).

In the interval between 39 and 36 Darius died or was disgraced. Polemon was his successor, and in 36, as king of Pontus, accompanied Antony to the Parthian war; and as a reward for his services therein Armenia Minor was added to his kingdom in 35 (Dion Cass. xlix. 33; cf. Plutarch, *Ant.* 38). Polemon lost his Cilician kingdom early in 36, and probably Pontus was given him in compensation.[*] Antony, returning from Tarentum, gave all Tracheiotis except Seleukeia to Cleopatra (Strab. pp. 671, 669) as part of a great Asiatic kingdom;[†] and a Cleopatran era was instituted, of which the year 1 ended 31st Aug. B.C. 36 (Porphyrius, *ap.* Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* iii. 724).

In 36 Amyntas received from Antony a large accession of territory, viz. Galatia Proper with parts of Lycaonia and Pamphylia (Dion Cass. xlix. 32). His kingdom included most of the great plains between Lake Tatta and Taurus (Strab. p. 568). The gift of part of Lycaonia was evidently intended to make his territory continuous, so that the Galatian portion should not be divided from the Pisidian portion by alien territory. Iconium, therefore, was necessarily included in it, as otherwise continuity could hardly be attained.[‡]

Amyntas and Polemon supported Antony at Actium, B.C. 31, but were confirmed in their kingdoms by Augustus in 30. Amyntas received Tracheiotis in addition, including Isaura (Strab. p. 569), and he was permitted freely to enlarge his kingdom out of non-Roman territory. Part of Lycaonia, including Derbe and Laranda, had been seized by Antipater, once a friend of Cicero (*ad Fam.* xiii. 73); this was conquered by Amyntas (Strab. p. 569), but he soon afterwards perished, in B.C. 25, in attempting to reduce the Homonades, a people on the borders of Lycaonia, Pisidia, and Isauria (in the country south and east of Bey-Sheher lake).

The kingdom of Amyntas passed with his whole property to the Romans, and a new Roman province was constituted, called Galatia, doubtless because Amyntas had been since 36 currently known to the Romans as king of Galatia (compare ASIA). The sudden death of Amyntas caused great confusion; months must have elapsed before news reached Rome, and instructions came back after deliberation. Lollius was named as first governor of Galatia Provincia. He needed an army to carry out the change. Thus time elapsed, and only in B.C. 20 was the question of frontier and bounds settled. Pamphylia was apparently not included in the new province, though sometimes the old attachment remained (Tacitus, *Hist.* ii. 9). Tracheiotis was given to Archelaos, king of Cappadocia, being tacked on to Eastern Lycaonia (*i.e.* Kybistra, etc.)[*] as an eleventh or 'added' *Strategia* of Cappadocia (ἐνδεκάτη or ἐπίκτητος, Strab. pp. 535, 537; cf. Appian, *Bell. Mithr.* 105, 114). Strabo (p. 671) says emphatically that the same extent of Cilicia Tracheiotis was ruled by Archelaos as had been held previously by Cleopatra (36–31) and Amyntas (30–25);[†] cf. also the inscription *CIA* iii. 545. Archelaos in A.D. 17 was summoned to Rome and degraded. He had been a weak prince, and when he, a few years previously, became temporarily insane, Augustus had appointed a *tutor*, and had also taken from him part of Tracheiotis, permitting Ajax about A.D. 11–12[‡] to become high priest of Kennatis and Lalassis with right of coinage. Cappadocia became a province in A.D. 17, but apparently Archelaos, son of the old king, was allowed to retain Eastern Lycaonia and part of Cilicia, while M. Antonius Polemon became dynast of Olba, Kennatis, and Lalassis,[§] and reigned at least 11 years. In 36 Archelaos II. was king in Tracheiotis, and his attempt to take a *census* after the Roman style caused a revolt in Ketis, which seems to imply that Antonius Polemon's rule had passed to Archelaos (Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 41; *Expositor*, April 1897, p. 281). In 37 Tracheiotis and Eastern Lycaonia were given to Antiochus, king of Commagene; and though he was disgraced soon, yet Claudius in 41 restored his kingdom.[‖] He struck coins with the legend ΛΥΚΑΟΝΩΝ, implying probably that Laranda was added to his kingdom (it had been in the province since

---

[*] It is beyond doubt (Raillard, *Numismat. Zeitschrift*, 1895, p. 23 ff.) that Strabo, pp. 493, 495, 499, 556, 560, 568, 578, is always alluding to the same Polemon, the famous king of his own country Pontus, and the trusted ally of Rome; it is inadmissible to separate one of these allusions from the rest as denoting some otherwise unknown Polemon. Strabo everywhere assumes that his readers recognize the one famous Polemon. But, as Mommsen clearly shows (*Ephem. Epigraph*, ii. p. 259 ff.), it is impossible to suppose that this Greek king was the Roman M. Antonius Polemon; the coins with that name on them belong probably to the period about A.D. 17–28. See below, note §.

[†] On the date, see Kromayer in *Hermes*, 1894, p. 574 f.; Gardthausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit*, i. pt. 1, p. 293. Plutarch, *Ant.* 36 (cf. 54), and Dion Cass. xlix. 32. 3–5 (who omits Tracheiotis), are decisive as to the year, and Josephus (who gives 34, *Ant. Jud.* xv. iii. 5–iv. 1) has made a mere error.

[‡] Moreover, Amyntas proceeded to conquer Derbe, implying that he already had Iconium to start from. Previously Polemon's Cilician kingdom had included Iconium (Strab. p. 568); and hence in the *Acta Pauli et Theclæ* his descendant Tryphaina had estates in the region of which Antioch was the governing centre (Ramsay, *Church in Rom. Emp.* p. 396), and which included Iconium.

[*] This Lycaonian *strategia*, originally extending up to Derbe, was given by Pompey to Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, in B.C. 64; but Antipater seized Derbe and Laranda, defying the Roman policy (apparently in the troubles following 50, Strab. p. 535). The Roman governors of Phrygia and Cilicia, B.C. 60–50, retained the right of passage across by Kybistra from Iconium to Tarsus (Cicero, *Fam.* xv. ii. 2, iv. 4; *Att.* v. xviii. 1, xx. 2).

[†] Ketis must be included in this kingdom, and cannot therefore have been under separate dynasts with right of coinage, as some scholars have thought, at any period between B.C. 36 and the disgrace of Archelaos; but Aba ruled Olba under Cleopatra as overlord till 31 (Strab. p. 672).

[‡] Coins of his second year name Augustus, of his fifth year Tiberius (Waddington, *Mélanges de Numism.* ii. p. 126).

[§] He is mentioned by Strabo (p. 556), who makes him grandson of Polemon, king of Pontus; but probably the text is falsely arranged, and Strabo refers to the son of Polemon (who first held rule without title under his mother, queen Pythodoris, after Polemon died, and then about A.D. 17 or 18 was made dynast of Olba; see Ramsay, *Church in Rom. Emp.* p. 427 f.).

[‖] But he gave Olba, Kennatis, and Lalassis to Polemon II. king of Pontus (see below, Waddington, *l.c.* p. 129).

B.C. 25, but it was the key to Tracheiotis, and necessary for successful administration of the kingdom). Thus Derbe came to be the frontier city of the Roman Province; and it was probably this important position that led to its receiving the honorary title Claudio-Derbe.

G. Provincia had meanwhile been enlarged also on the north-east, and contained, when St. Paul visited it, the following districts in addition to G. Proper (all are mentioned in inscriptions of the 1st century under these names): (1) *Paphlagonia*, incorporated B.C. 5 (probably on death of Deiotarus Philadelphus).[*] (2) Parts of *Pontus*, incorporated at various dates (Sebastopolis, Amaseia, and probably Gazelonitis in B.C. 2–1, Comana in A.D. 34–35), and called as a whole *Pontus Galaticus*, *i.e.* Pontus belonging to G. as distinguished from *Pontus Polemoniacus*, which was governed by Polemon II. (that kingdom was ruled by Polemon II. A.D. 37–63, his mother Tryphæna being associated with him until 54:[†] in 63 it also was incorporated in Galatia, but retained the distinguishing name Polemoniacus). (3) *Phrygia*, including Apollonia, Antioch, and Iconium (wh. see): as contrasted with *Phrygia Asiana* (Galen, *π. τρ. δυν.* iv. p. 312, vi. p. 515 Kuhn), it would naturally be termed *Phrygia Galatica* (a title preserved only in a note of martyrdom, *Acta Sanctorum*, 28th Sept., p. 563, where *Galaciæ* is printed): see PHRYGIA. (4) *Pisidia*, Ac 14^{24}. (5) Part of *Lycaonia*, including the cities Lystra and Derbe, and some other places not yet organized as cities (such as Hyde, Barata, Perta, etc., summed up in Ac 14^{6} as ἡ περίχωρος). In contrast to *Lycaonia ipsa* (Pliny, *NH* v. 95), *i.e.* the non-Roman country governed by Antiochus and styled *Lycaonia Antiochiana* (*CIL* x. 8660), it was doubtless called *Lycaonia Galatica*, like *Pontus Galaticus*, *Phrygia Galatica*. (6) *Isauria*, the territory attached to the city Isaura, and called Ἰσαυρικὴ (χώρα) by Strabo, pp. 568, 569. It has been maintained that the name G. was never employed in correct official usage to denote this large composite province, and that the proper and technical usage was to designate the province by enumerating its component parts. This position is untenable, and has been frankly abandoned by one of its champions, Prof. E. Schürer (*Theolog. Litteraturztg.* 30th Sept. 1893). The following arguments are decisive against it.

(*a*) Ptolemy devotes the successive chapters of his Book V. to the Roman provinces of Asia Minor: ch. 1. Πόντου καὶ Βιθυνίας (the official name was strictly double, and so was the constitution in some respects); 2. τῆς ἰδίας Ἀσίας (as distinguished from Asia the continent); 3. Λυκίας; 4. Γαλατίας (containing Paphlagonia, and parts of Pisidia, Lycaonia, and Isauria, with the cities Antioch, Lystra, Isaura); 5. Παμφυλίας (which he says is bounded by Galatia on the north).

(*b*) Pliny (who often uses G. in the narrower sense of G. Proper) defines in v. 146, 147, Galatia (*i.e.* the province) as reaching to Cabalia of Pamphylia and to the Milyæ, and as containing Lystra and various cities in the Phrygian, Pisidian, and Paphlagonian territories, altogether 195 peoples.[‡]

(*c*) Tacitus (*Hist.* ii. 9) mentions Galatia and Pamphylia as being governed by Calpurnius Asprenas, implying that the two formed one great continuous district. Eutropius (vii. 10) and Syncellus (i. p. 592) apply the name G. to the whole province formed in B.C. 25; and they simply reproduce an old authority, using G. in a sense which it no longer bore in their time.

(*d*) A practical people like the Romans would never use as the strictly technical and official title of a province 'Galatia, Paphlagonia, Pisidia Phrygia, Lycaonia, Pontus Galaticus.' That accumulation of names was used for the sake of clearness on milestones, enumerating the *Viæ* of the various districts of the province (*CIL* iii. 312, 318), and on honorary inscriptions to give additional dignity to the governor of so many vast regions. These inscriptions belong to the later years of the century, when the constructive effort was exhausted, and the national spirit was reviving (Hadrian, at last, frankly recognized it).

It is, however, clear that it was not the current and popular Greek usage to designate G. Provincia by the name Galatia. The Greek-speaking natives, so far as evidence survives, called it the Galatic Province (*CIG* 3991), or enumerated the parts. It was only those who adopted fully the Roman point of view that employed the simple name Galatia; and the use of that name must be taken as a sign that the person who uses it speaks as a Roman, and deliberately follows the Roman provincial divisions, and would destroy those national distinctions which were opposed to the organized Roman unity. It is implied in the South-Galatian theory that St. Paul took that view (see GALATIANS II.). The author of Acts, however, did not take that view; and he never speaks of the province as Galatia, but mentions its parts (see GALATIA, REGION OF, IV.).

No information has been preserved to enable us to sketch the constitution of this vast province, except that it was governed by a prætorian *legatus Augusti pro prætore*, and had no legions stationed in it. The name Γαλατικὴ Ἐπαρχία, which the people of Iconium employed to designate the province about A.D. 54 (*CIG* 3991), clearly implies that the intention was to work the province into a unity, like *Asia Provincia*, and to override the national distinctions of Lycaonian, Phrygian, etc. Undoubtedly, this attempt ultimately proved a failure: the national characteristics were too strong, and revived after a time. But in the period of growth (B.C. 25 to A.D. 63) a vigorous effort was made to impose a Roman unity, expressed by the Roman title *G. Provincia*, on the various races. If we could trust a rather bold interpretation of an inscription, which seems to make Apollonia a part of the Trokmi (*Studia Biblica*, iv. p. 53 f.), it would even appear that the attempt was made to enrol the various parts in one or other of the three Gaulish tribes of G. Proper (τὰ τρία ἔθνη), just as Asia with its equally great variety of peoples was 'the nation Asia' (ἡ Ἀσία τὸ ἔθνος, Dion Cass. liv. 30); so the term ἔθνος is frequently applied in inscriptions to designate any entire province, however varied its population was. Unfortunately, inscriptions other than epitaphs are very rare in the province Galatia.

Ancyra was the capital of the province G.; and it is probable that Colonia Cæsareia Antiochia (see ANTIOCH) was a sort of secondary metropolis, being the centre of a system of Roman garrison towns (*coloniæ*) and military or imperial roads (ὁδοὶ βασιλικαί, Ramsay, *Church in Rom. Emp.* p. 32), and a place where ceremonies of the provincial cultus were held (*op. cit.* p. 396). Probably, the various parts of the province retained some separate individuality, though its nature is uncertain. Even after Pontus Galaticus and Pontus Polemoniacus had been merged in G. Provincia, they retained their separate names (in inscriptions and in Ptolemy), which implies that these artificial divisions of purely Roman origin had some real political distinction to preserve their separate existence. So also St. Luke seems to indicate some distinction between the districts of the province (see GALATIA, REGION OF). Metropoleis of various districts are known from coins or inscriptions (Pompeiopolis of Paphlagonia, Laranda of Lycaonia, Sagalassos of Pisidia, Isaura of Isaurica, Amaseia and Neocæsareia of the Pontic divisions); but the titles appear only in the 2nd or 3rd century, and are no argument for the Pauline period. Whether the Koinon of G. was a provincial institution or confined to Galatia Proper, cannot be determined; but the Koinon of Lycaonia (which has been quoted as a similar institution) was not founded till Lycaonia was incorporated (probably by Pius) in the new province of the Three Eparchiai (Ramsay, *Histor. Geogr.* p. 377).

---

[*] On the date, see *Revue des Ét. Grecques*, 1894, p. 251.

[†] Imhoof Blumer, *Zft. f. Numism.* 1897, p. 269.

[‡] Paphlagonia Galatica and Pontus Galaticus are called Γαλατία, Dion, 48, 33, 5 (see Holder, *Altk. Sprachschatz*, p. 1591), and Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Κάρανα (Strab. p. 560).

The number of Roman foundations made in G. Provincia between B.C. 20 and A.D. 50 is an index of the vigour with which the imperial policy was urged on in that region. Augustus founded seven colonies—Germa in North Galatia, and Antioch, Lystra, Parlais, Cremna, Comama, Olbasa in South Galatia, besides a system of roads and milestones measured from Antioch. Nothing comparable in scale to this was done by him in any other part of the East. Under the succeeding emperors, we find several cities remodelled and Romanized in character and name: Pappa-Tiberiopolis, Claudio-Seleuceia, Claudio-Derbe, Claudio-Iconium, all in South Galatia.

Owing to the enormous extent of the Province G., the greatest variety of soil and scenery and products are found in it, from the dead-level plains on the Lycaonian and Cappadocian frontier, with their vast herds of sheep (alike now and in ancient times, Strab. p. 570), to the picturesque mountains and deep glens of Pisidia. On the northern half, see I.; the southern half was a highly cultivated and rich country in the 1st century, containing many great cities, traversed by the two important roads from east to west—one from Cilicia through Iconium and Antioch to Apameia and the Ægean coast, one from Commagene through Cæsareia Capp. and Laodiceia Katakekaumene to Apameia.* All intercourse by land between inner Asia and the west passed through the great Roman cities of South Galatia. Hence the great stream of intercourse backwards and forwards between Rome and the East, which played such an important part in moulding Christian history, affected these cities very strongly and developed them rapidly. Questions of doctrine and ritual were debated there at an early time, and called for decision. Jewish emissaries from Jerusalem (Gal 1^7 4^{17} etc.) would naturally pass through them and affect them first. On the other hand, as Rome was the magnet that attracted all intercourse, it is not so easy to see how Jewish emissaries should affect Ancyra very early; and utterly improbable that they should affect the towns in the western parts of Galatia Proper.

That Jews in large numbers dwelt in the cities of Phrygia Galatica is well known. They were greatly favoured as colonists by the Seleucid kings; and their presence may be confidently looked for in all Seleucid foundations. Seleucus I. and his successors found them loyal and trusty settlers in their garrison cities, such as Antioch, Apameia, etc., cities which served to maintain the Seleucid power in a foreign land. The Jewish colonists had the right of citizenship, along with various special privileges of a kind which their religious ideas required, as regards burial, money grants in place of oil-distribution, etc.; and their privileges and rights seemed to have been summed up in a body of city law, called in an Apamean inscription νόμος τῶν Ἰουδαίων (Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, pp. 538 f., 668 f.). Seleucus I. granted them citizenship in all his colonies, implying that there were Jews in all, and his successors carried out the same policy (Jos. *Ant. Jud.* XII. iii. 1, § 119, 125); and Antiochus the Great about 200 B.C. brought 2000 Jewish families from Babylonia to the cities of Phrygia and Lydia (*id. ib.* § 148 ff.). These Seleucid colonies were almost all planted on the southern side of the plateau, and chiefly on the great lines of communication leading east and west; and the mass of Jewish colonists are to be expected in the cities along these routes. They penetrated farther north in the course of trade; but their settlement in North Galatia belongs to a period later than their establishment in the south.

The Jewish colonists undoubtedly exercised great influence on the development of Asia Minor in the Roman period; but they have left few conspicuous traces of their presence. They adopted Greek and Roman names (at least in public life), and it is doubtful how far they retained any knowledge of Hebrew; hence they are hardly to be distinguished from the ordinary citizens, and the attempt to do so in ch. xv. (also xiv.) of *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* is very speculative. But they seem to have taken part in public life, and to have exercised great influence through their wealth and ability, as well as through the power of their peculiar and impressively pure religion. Even the marked analogy which existed in point of ceremonial between the Asianic and the Judaic religion increased the influence of the latter (see GALATIANS II.).

Few Jewish or Jewish-Christian inscriptions can be detected in South-Galatian cities, because the names are usually unrecognizable and few emblems or Jewish formulæ are employed: in Antioch, Sterrett, *Epigr. Journ.* No. 138 (cf. *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, p. 525 n. 1); and at Apollonia, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1893; in Iconium, *CIG* 4001*b*, 3998, 3995*b*, 9270; and in Laodiceia Combusta, *CIG* 3989*d*, and *Athen. Mitth.* xiii. pp. 241, 254, 255, 258, 260. Among the few known inscriptions of Lystra and Derbe none have any Jewish appearance, except one with the name Mouisas at a village a little west of Derbe (Sterrett, *Wolfe Exped.* No. 46).

Christian inscriptions are comparatively numerous in Galatic Phrygia and Lycaonia, especially in the country that lies north and north-west of Iconium; and, though none are dated, yet style indicates that some must be as early as the 3rd century. Besides the Jewish-Christian ones just mentioned, others certainly or probably Christian (some perhaps Jewish-Christian) and early (omitting all that are later), are *A. E. Mitth. Oesterr.* 1896, p. 36 f., Nos. 20, perhaps 19, 24; Sterrett, *Epigr. Journ.* 142, *Wolfe Exped.* 555 (see *Expositor*, Oct. 1888, p. 263), *Journ. of Hell. Stud.* 1890, p. 165, No. 23 (cross above omitted by editor), *Athen. Mitth.* xiii. p. 249 ff. Nos. 44, 49, 53, 54, etc., with others unpublished. As is pointed out in *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i. pp. 511, 715 f., epigraphic evidence would suggest that this district is one of those where Christianity took the earliest and strongest hold. Little is known about the later history of the Churches of Galatic Phrygia and Lycaonia. It is suggested that St. Mark carried on evangelization in the eastern districts after about 60 A.D.;* and his name is commoner than any other except Paul and John in the Christian inscriptions of the district (*Athen. Mitth.* xiii. p. 252 ff. Nos. 55, 56, 61, 92, 99; *St. Paul the Trav.* p. 351). Round Iconium, Antioch, and to a less degree Lystra, clings a great body of early tradition; but Derbe is as little prominent in tradition as in the narrative of Ac, and the earliest known bishop seems to be Daphnus, 381.

---

* On the roads, see *Histor. Geogr.* pp. 43 f., 49 f. etc.

* Bartholomew, the apostle of the Lycaonians, is probably to be connected with the Inner Lycaones of the province Asia (*Cities and Bishoprics*, i. 709).

III. In 2 Ti 4^{10} Tischendorf with ℵ reads *εἰς Γαλλίαν*, WH *εἰς Γαλατίαν*. The former reading would necessitate a new article containing an account of Gaul (Γαλλία): even the latter reading, as many contend, refers to that country (cf. Theod. Mops. *ad loc.*). Gaul is called Γαλατία by many Greek * writers; and, beyond doubt, that was the current Greek name in the 1st and 2nd cents.; but it may be doubted whether St. Paul, whose usage in names geographical is thoroughly Roman,† would not here also employ the Roman term, if he meant Gaul. Moreover, it could not escape him that Γαλατία would be ambiguous, and would naturally be understood as Galatia by Timothy, who was resident in Asia; and it is highly probable that he would not use that term to signify Gaul without employing some of the various ways of distinguishing. We must conclude that either St. Paul meant the same country which he elsewhere calls Galatia, or the true reading is ΓΑΛΛΙΑΝ, which would readily be corrupted into ΓΑΛΑΤΙΑΝ. Manuscript authority, however, is generally considered decisive in favour of Γαλατίαν, though Tischendorf thinks otherwise. Against Tischendorf's reading it has been stated that Γαλλία or Γάλλοι is first used in Greek by Epictetus (or rather Arrian), *Dissert.* ii. 20. 17 (Lightfoot, *Gal.* p. 3 note); but Strabo (p. 195) has Γαλλικόν, used in a way suggesting that he recognized it to be the Roman equivalent to the Greek Γαλατικόν.

Fourth century tradition says that Crescens was sent to Gaul; and the Churches of Vienne and Mayence claimed him as their founder; but the latter claim is certainly improbable, and the whole tradition may be founded on a false interpretation of 2 Ti 4^{10}. There was a natural desire to connect the Gaulish Church with apostolic times; this would lead to the interpretation of G. in that passage as Gaul; the name Γαλλίαν would be written as a gloss on the margin, and this false reading finally crept into a few manuscripts. Tillemont's argument (*Mémoires pour servir* etc., i. art. 52, note 81, pp. 133, 263), that the evangelization of Gaul did not take place so early as this supposed mission of Crescens, has never been seriously shaken, and remains the most probable view.

Even more improbable is the view that in 1 Mac 8^2 the reference is to Roman victories in Gaul. At the period in question, about B.C. 160, the Romans had recently conquered Cisalpine Gaul; but there is no reason to think that this not specially important event would produce any effect on the mind of the Jews. On the other hand, the Galatians were a terror in Asia for nearly a century; and even the victories of Attalus had only restrained the range of their power, but not broken it. But Manlius marched at will through their land, and defeated them in the heart of their country; and this event would be noised through the Seleucid dominions, and would naturally suggest to the Jews the desirability of entering into friendly relations with a government that could exercise such power on the Seleucid frontier.

LITERATURE.—Van Gelder, *de Gallis in Græcia et Asia* (1888); Droysen, *Gesch. des Hellenismus*; Zwintcher, *de Galatarum Tetrarchis*; Perrot, *de Galatia Prov. Romana*, also *Exploration Archéologique de la Galatie*, etc., and *Mém. d'Archéol.* p. 229 ff.; Robiou, *Hist. des Gaulois d'Orient*, Paris, 1866; Contzen, *Die Wanderungen der Kelten*, Leipzig 1861; Thierry, *Hist. des Gaulois* (very poor); the elaborate and useful Wernsdorff, *de Republica Galatarum*, 1743; Clemen, *Chronologie d. Paulin. Briefe*, 201 ff.; Zahn, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*; the Introductions to the editions of the Epistle; Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, Ch. H. K., *Church in the Roman Empire*, chs. ii.–vi., *St. Paul the Traveller*, chs. v. vi. viii.; Th. Reinach, *Revue Numismatique*, 1891, p. 377 ff.; Niese, *Rhein. Mus.* 1883, p. 583 ff. On the Galatian controversy the most recent articles are: North-Galatian side, Schürer, *Jahrb. f. protest. Theol.* 1892, p. 471, *Theol. Litterztg.* Sept. 30, 1893; Chase, *Expositor*, Dec. 1893, May 1894; Zöckler, *SK*, 1895, p. 51 ff.; Findlay, *Expository Times*, vii. pp. 54, 235. South-Galatian side, Gifford, *Expositor*, July 1894; Rendall, *Expositor*, Nov. 1893, Apr. 1894; Holtzmann, *Zft. f. Kirchl. Gesch.* 1893, p. 336 ff.; Ramsay, *Expositor*, Jan. Feb. Apr. Aug. 1894, July, Aug. 1895, *Expository Times*, vii. pp. 142, 285, *Studia Biblica*, iv. p. 17 ff.; Clemen, *Zft. f. wiss. Theol.* xxxvii. p. 396 ff. On the *Quellenkritik*, see Schmidt, *de fontibus veterum auctorum in enarr. expedit. a Gallis susceptis* (Berlin, 1834); Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* iv. p. 640; Nissen, *Kritische Untersuchungen* (Berl. 1863), as well as Van Gelder, etc. (Stähelin, *d. Gal. in Kleinasien*, subsequently published, is in agreement).

W. M. RAMSAY.

GALATIA, REGION OF, more strictly rendered Galatic Region (*ἡ Γαλατικὴ χώρα*, Ac 18^{23}; *ἡ Φρυγία καὶ Γαλατικὴ χώρα*, Ac 16^6), is a phrase difficult to explain, because it takes us into the popular topographical terminology of a district and a period that are utterly obscure.

I. According to the North-Galatian theory, and also according to Zahn, who holds the South-Galatian view in all essentials, this term is merely a synonym for Γαλατία in the common sense of G. Proper. The difficulty in accepting this apparently simple interpretation is that the use of the term *Γαλατικὴ χώρα*, where Γαλατία should be expected, is not supported by analogy. The only analogy quoted is *ἐπὶ Ἀγκύρας τῆς Γαλατικῆς*, Arrian, *Anab.* ii. 4. 1; but this denotes, not 'Ancyra of the Galatic country,' as is assumed, but 'Ancyra the Galatic' as distinguished from Ancyra the Phrygian (*τῇ Φρυγιακῇ*, Strab. p. 567); Arrian, in describing the period of Alexander the Great, uses the word by anticipation. If the reference in Ac 16^6 18^{23} is to G. Proper, all Greek usage, earlier and later alike, demands that the noun Γαλατία should be used; and this is all the more necessary if (as is maintained on this view) it is coupled with the noun Φρυγία. The defenders of this interpretation can hardly plead that the obscurity of the subject should be accepted as an excuse for their failure to explain the reason of this perplexing and unnecessary deviation from common nomenclature; because the adj. Γαλατικός is used with comparative frequency in the topographical terminology of that period, and always in a well-marked and characteristic way. This point needs careful study. There is a regular tendency to distinguish the scope of the derived adjective in *-ικός* from the simple word: thus, for example, *οἱ Ἀτταλικοὶ βασιλεῖς* are the whole dynasty of which the Attali were the most prominent members (Strab. p. 288): *ἔργα Γαλατικά* are deeds perpetrated by anybody similar to *ἔργα τῶν Γαλατῶν*: *Γαλατικὸς κόλπος*, *Σικελικὸν πέλαγος*, etc., are the bodies of water adjoining or pertaining to Galatia, Sicily, etc.: *ἡ Ἰσαυρικὴ χώρα* was the whole region of which Isaura was the leading city, but it did not all belong to Isaura. Many examples might be quoted; but the closest parallel to the pair of terms *Γαλατικὴ χώρα* and Γαλατία is *Λακωνικὴ γῆ* and *Λακωνία*. *Λακωνία* is the old historic land of Lacedæmonia; but *Λακωνικὴ γῆ* comprises the entire region which had passed under Spartan rule and been added to Laconia, including Messenia and the land near Pylos (Thuc. ii. 25, iv. 41, v. 34; Xen. *Hell.* vi. 2. 9 and 31). As Spartan power dwindled, *γῆ Λακωνικὴ* shrank in extent till it practically coincided with Laconia. The distinction is analogous to that between 'British territory' and 'Britain'; the former being enormously wider than the latter. There are cases in which, for some special purpose, the wider term

---

[*] *Γαλατία* and *Γαλάται* are so used in Diodorus, Strabo, Josephus, Plutarch, Appian, Pausanias, Dio. Cass., Athenæus, etc.

[†] Zahn, *Einleitung*, § 11, A 4, and GALATIANS II.

may be used about the smaller country; but in ordinary expression the wider term is used only about the enlarged country. It is not safe to say more than that a tendency exists to observe this distinction; as time goes on, its delicacy often leads to its being blurred.* In the adj. Γαλατικός the distinction is well observed. In an Iconian inscription of A.D. 54, the enlarged Galatia Provincia is Γαλατικὴ ἐπαρχεία (*CIG* 3991); the part of Pontus included in the province is called Γαλατικός in many inscriptions and in Ptolemy: similarly, the corresponding term Phrygia Galatica once occurs. If St. Luke used Γαλατικὴ χώρα where Γαλατία would have been the simple and clear term, he contradicts all that we know of contemporary usage, and yet attains no conceivable purpose thereby. The Greek-speaking population of Asia Minor ordinarily called Galatia Proper Γαλατία, and Enlarged Galatia Γαλατική (usually with some noun): only when they adopted the Roman point of view, Greek-speaking persons occasionally and for some special purpose used Γαλατία in the Roman sense of the Province. Analogy points to the conclusion that the Greek Luke would use Γαλατικὴ χώρα to indicate the Province, which the Roman Paul calls Γαλατία.

II. Lightfoot argued that in Ac 16^{6} *τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν* must denote a single territory to which two epithets are applied, 'the region which in ancient time was Phrygian and afterwards Galatian.' This explains why an unusual term was adopted; but such antiquarian lore is quite out of keeping with the style of Acts. We require here a current term in popular speech, for that is the character of Lukan expression. Zahn, who, like many other scholars, holds that *Φρυγίαν* here must be a noun, demands some case analogous to the double topographical epithet. Lightfoot gave only Lk 3^{1}: we add some from Strabo, p. 195, *τὸ φῦλον ὃ νῦν Γαλλικόν τε καὶ Γαλατικὸν καλοῦσι*; p. 788 (of the Nile mouths) *τὸ μὲν Πηλουσιακὸν καλεῖται, τὸ δὲ Κανωβικὸν καὶ Ἡρακλειωτικόν*;† p. 802 (Xois is defined as) *ὑπὲρ τοῦ Σεβεννυτικοῦ καὶ Φατνιτικοῦ στόματος*, *i.e.* above the Sebennytic-Phatnitic branch in the upper part, where these two branches are still joined, and which may bear either name; p. 97, *τὴν Σκυθικὴν καὶ Κελτικήν*, the (northern) zone that may be called either Scythian or Celtic (after the two chief races that inhabit its eastern and western parts); p. 670, *τοῦ Κιλικίου καὶ Παμφυλίου τρόπου*. The Greek *καί* is used to connect alternative names (Latin *sive, seu*, English *or, alias*);‡ and the grammatical character of Lightfoot's construction seems clearly established by these examples. In Ac 18^{23} Γαλατικὴ χώρα on his interpretation must be used needlessly for Galatia Proper.

III. Gifford (*Expositor*, July 1894, p. 12) accepts Lightfoot's construction, but interprets 'the borderlands of Phrygia and Galatia.' Then Ac 18^{23} mentions 'the Galatic Province (Region) and Phrygia.' This view has much to recommend it. It gives in 16^{6} a route leading direct from Iconium by Dorylaion to Bithynia, making St. Paul turn direct towards that country when forbidden to preach in Asia; then, when he came to Dorylaion over-against Mysia,* he was forbidden to cross the Bithynian frontier, and turned west. It then becomes, however, almost necessary to suppose that the prohibition 16^{6} was given in Iconium or Lystra, and that St. Paul, abandoning his previous intention (15^{36}) of going over all the Churches, omitted Antioch. Salmon interprets much in this way, but is clear that Paul went to Antioch, and translates Ac 16^{6} as in next section, IV. (Smith's *Bib. Dict.*^{2} i. p. 1105).

IV. Another explanation takes us into the obscure minutiæ of the Galatic Province. The various parts of the province retained a certain distinction (see GALATIA II.), and were probably termed *Regiones* or χῶραι. The term *Regio* occurs in one inscription, mentioning a centurion charged with duty in the *Regio* of which Antioch was centre, *i.e.* Phrygia Galatica,† while χώρα is understood in Strabo, pp. 568, 569, ἡ Ἰσαυρικὴ (χώρα), and in Ptolemy, v. 6, 17, ἡ Ἀντιοχειανὴ (χώρα).‡

The route taken by St. Paul in Ac 16^{1-6} and 18^{23} led across two of the regions (χῶραι) of the Galatic Province, viz. the Galatic part of Lycaonia and the Galatic part of Phrygia; the former contained Derbe and Lystra, the latter Iconium and Antioch. In 18^{23} two regions are mentioned, *τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν*: here it is grammatically equally possible to take *Φρυγίαν* as noun and as adj.; for when two different names, expressed by two adjs. agreeing with the same noun, are coupled by *καί*, the regular usage is to express the noun only with the first (so in Strabo,§ *τὴν Ἀκυιτανὴν μερίδα καὶ τὴν Ναρβωνῖτιν*, p. 191; *τὸ Μενδήσιον στόμα καὶ τὸ Τανιτικόν*, p. 802; *τοῦ Αἰγαίου πελάγους καὶ τοῦ Παμφυλικοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἰσσικοῦ*, p. 121; in Epiphanius (*Hæres.* 19), *τῆς Ναβατικῆς χώρας καὶ Ἰτουραίας καὶ Μωαβίτιδος καὶ Ἀρηλίτιδος*; and others innumerable ‖). The two regions intended ought to be the χώρα Λυκαονία and the χώρα Φρυγία. Now, Roman Lycaonia was naturally always designated with reference to the other half, non-Roman Lycaonia. One pair of terms would be Lycaonia Antiochiana (found *CIL* x. 8660) and Lycaonia Galatica (not actually found, but it may be assumed confidently on the analogy of Pontus Galaticus, Phrygia Galatica); another pair of terms would be Ἀντιοχιανὴ (χώρα) as in Ptolemy, and Γαλατικὴ χώρα as in Ac 18^{23}. The latter pair would be naturally used by a person speaking inside the country and not requiring to name it,¶ the former by a person outside the country. The Phrygian region of the Galatic Province was called Φρυγία χώρα by St. Luke, who seems to have always used this form of designating the various regions of the province (but those who prefer to treat Φρυγία as a noun in 18^{23} may take the same sense from the noun as from

---

* So sometimes with *γῆ Λακωνική* or *χώρα Λ.* But in such cases a purpose can often be detected. Aristophanes stands alone in using *Λακωνικαί* as 'Laconian women'; but that was undoubtedly an Athenian slang term, perhaps in the sense of 'women of Laconian type' (cf. *Λακωνικά*, shoes of Laconian style). Such usages as *πόλις Γαλατική*, city belonging to the *Γαλάται*, *i.e.* Galatian city, *πόλεμος Θεσσαλικός*, war in which the Thessali take one side, are of a different class.

† An exactly equivalent form is used by Ptolemy, iv. 5, *Ἡρακλεωτικὸν στόμα τὸ καὶ Κανωβικόν* (on the sense of *τὸ καί* in names, see Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics*, i. p. 637 f.).

‡ In Greek, esp. of later period, *καί* often means 'or,' Thuc. vi. 60, 1; II. 35. 2; 42, 3; Ar. *Eq.* 256 (Neil); Aesch. *Sept.* 414 f., 1058; Eur. *Supp.* 895; *Iph. Aul.* 643; Plut. *Q. Conv.* iv. 2, 655c; Postgate on Propert. v. 6, 51. The Roman *sive* is often used to connect alternative names, where the Greek form is either *ὁ καί* or *ἐπικαλούμενος*; see Marquardt, *Röm. Privatalterth.*^{2} p. 27; Cagnat, *Manuel d'Epigraphie Lat.*^{2} p. 67.

* *κατά* as in Ac 27^{7}; Thuc. vi. 65 and 104; Herod. i. 76.

† *ἑκατοντάρχην ῥεγεωνάριον*, Sterrett, *Epigraphic Journey*, No. 92, who wrongly alters to [λ]εγ.; Prof. O. Hirschfeld accepts the reading given above (and in the copy), see *Berlin Akad. Sitzungsber.* 1893, p. 421.

‡ In that passage the two parts of Lycaonia (Galatica and Antiochiana) are opposed to each other under the names Lycaonia and Antiochiana; they retained distinct names in the 2nd century, but evidently great variety existed in the way of designating them, and Ptolemy selects an ill-fitting pair of names.

§ Strabo, who very rarely uses the common article to hold two nouns together (an example, however, in p. 388), repeats the article with the second member.

‖ Strabo has two other forms, much rarer, *κόλπους τόν τε Ἀδριατικὸν καὶ τὸν Τυρρηνικόν*, p. 92; *τὸ Κρητικὸν καὶ Σικελικὸν καὶ Σαρδῷον πέλαγος βαθέα ἐστί*, p. 59. In the latter class we can usually see the intention to treat the whole as a unity made up of several parts; and the example quoted is so harsh as to be suspicious in text (if correct, the grammar is much worse than Strabo's average).

¶ The author of Ac 18^{23} speaks from the point of view of a person in the country, placing himself alongside of St. Paul.

Φρυγία with χώρα understood, for in the inscriptions of Antioch the noun is often used to designate Galatic Phrygia [*CIL* iii. Suppl. 6818, 6819], and St. Luke may be allowed to speak as the people of Antioch wrote). Ac 18^{23}, then, implies 'he made a mission tour [*] through the Galatic region (Derbe and Lystra) and the Phrygian (Iconium and Antioch), stablishing all the disciples (in all the Galatian Churches).' [†]

Ac 16^{6} is more complicated. It describes the journey from Lystra onwards, *i.e.* through Galatic Phrygia. Had the expression been τὴν Φρυγίαν χώραν, there would have been less doubt; but the author, wishing to bring out with minute accuracy that his meaning was restricted to the Galatic part of the large country of Phrygia, added a second adjective to express 'the Region that is Phrygian and Galatic,' *i.e.* 'which was geographically Phrygia, but politically Galatia.' [‡] The verse, then, implies 'they made a mission tour [*] through the Phrygo-Galatic Region (Iconium and Antioch), [but no farther], because they were forbidden to speak the word in Asia (which they entered immediately on going onward from Antioch).'

It is objected that this view is too complicated and artificial; but the complicacy arises from our being forced to write a lost page of history concerning an obscure corner of the empire, before we can interpret the language of an author who assumes that we are as familiar as he was with the terminology of his own time. Asterius, bishop of Amasia in Pontus Galaticus 400 A.D., understood 18^{23} exactly in this way, for in paraphrasing it he uses the words, τὴν Λυκαονίαν καὶ τὰς τῆς Φρυγίας πόλεις (*Hom.* viii., Migne, *Patrolog. Græc.* vol. xl.). This testimony of a man familiar with the topography of Asia Minor should have great weight; and Zahn is not justified in setting it aside as a false inference, into which Asterius was betrayed by taking Antioch in Ac 18^{22} as Pisidian Antioch. Asterius places the journey through Lycaonia and Phrygia immediately before the visit to Asia (Ac 19^{1}), and therefore evidently understood τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν in that sense. No mere error about Antioch explains such a rendering of 18^{23}. We have here a distinct testimony by an ancient authority in favour of the view stated in this section. W. M. RAMSAY.

GALATIANS (Γαλάται), used only in Gal 3^{1}.

I. According to the majority of scholars, it denotes the people of Galatia Proper, a mixed population, consisting of a minority descended from the three Gaulish tribes, and a large majority of the ancient population, Phrygians west of the Halys, Cappadocians east of that river, with an intermixture of Greeks, Romans, and Jews. In the great cities, such as Ancyra, the Phrygians, etc., probably constituted the overwhelming majority, while Gauls were found there only as a small aristocratic caste; but in country parts the Gauls were more numerous. That is the usual sense of the term G., and needs no proof. On the character of these Gauls, their position as a small conquering caste of barbarians among a more numerous and more educated population, and their relation to that older population, see GALATIA I.

The general population of North Galatia was summed up as *Galatai* in ordinary ancient usage. But this term had no ethnological implication; it did not mean that the people so designated were all of Gallic descent, for it is doubtful whether so much as five per cent. of the total population was of Gallic origin, and it is practically certain that, in the great cities, an even smaller proportion of the population was of Gallic descent. [*] The name Galatai meant really no more than 'people of Galatia,' though the usual ethnological fiction crept in, and Phrygians and Greeks were feigned to be of the three tribes, just as the composite province Asia was called an ἔθνος (see p. 87^{b}). It is quite unjustifiable to suppose that the Churches addressed by St. Paul, even if they were situated in North-Galatian cities, consisted of persons of Gallic blood to any important extent: the probability is that such Galatian Christians would be to a very large extent free from any mixture of Gallic blood. Only in that form of the North-Galatian theory which is advocated by Dr. Zöckler is it admissible to suppose that the Christian Galatians were to some extent Gauls (see p. 81, 84 f.). The historical review given under GALATIA, and the authorities quoted there, furnish the proof of the statements here made.

The origin of the peculiar Greek word Γαλάτης is doubtful; it probably arose among the Greek settlers on the Gallic coast at Massalia or Massilia, and means, according to Holder (*Sprachschatz*), 'noble,' while Galli means 'warlike.' Three terms occur in Greek writers, and it was only at a later period and in a half-hearted way that a distinction was drawn between Γαλάται as the people of Galatia in Asia, Γάλλοι as the people of Gaul or France, and Κέλται as the generic name of all cognate tribes whether found in these two countries or elsewhere; the last of these distinctions, which is universal among modern writers, can hardly be traced, even in embryo, among the ancients (though the use of Κελτικός in Strab. vii. 5. 2, p. 314, approximates to it); but the Romans began sooner to appreciate the convenience of the distinction between *Galli* and *Galatæ* in political usage, and the geographers adopted it from them by degrees (traces of it appear in Strabo).

II. It is maintained by other scholars, that, corresponding to the term *Galatia Provincia*, there was a Roman term *Galatæ*, indicating the body of provincials. It was necessary in official and legal usage to have a term designating the entire population of a province; and the term was always the ethnic derived from the official name of the province. Thus all the inhabitants of Africa were *Afri* (*e.g.* Juvenal, viii. 120; Pliny, *Epist.* ii. 11. 2), of Hispania Bætica *Bætici* (Pliny, *Epist.* iii. 9. 3, etc.), and so on, even though several nations inhabited each province, some of which, *e.g.* Carthaginians or Greeks, regarded themselves as far superior to barbarian Afri, etc. The Romans used these generic terms when it was necessary to describe as a class the whole population; but 'the same writer who at one time and from one point of view summed up the population of *Sicilia Provincia* as *Siculi*, would at another time and for another purpose pointedly emphasize the Greek character and origin of the people of Syracuse or Messana,' and would distinguish them from the Siculi as a different race. [†] Similarly, the term *Galatæ* was for purposes of generalization employed by the Romans to sum up the entire population of the province Galatia; [‡] but its use in this way is determined by the purpose and views of the speaker. Three points are involved in this use of the term: (1) the speaker or writer is generalizing about a set of inhabitants of the province; (2) he has not in mind any thought of the racial character—as Phrygians, Pisidians, Galatians, etc.—of the persons addressed; (3) he is speaking from the Roman point of view. All these three points are united in Gal 3^1. (1) St. Paul is addressing in a generalizing style people of two cities in Phrygia and two in Lycaonia, viz. the members of the four 'Churches of Galatia.' If it is possible to speak of the 'Churches of Galatia,' it must from the same point of view be possible to classify the members as 'Galatians.' (2) There is here no thought of racial character, only of classifying a group of towns by their common character, and no common characteristic lies so near as their common Roman relation. The policy of Rome was to prevent the subject cities from uniting with one another, and to unite them all closely to herself; and their Roman relationship exists only in virtue of their forming part of a Roman province. Hence analogies from modern divisions, such as English counties, which opponents of this interpretation of the term G. bring forward, are inapposite: a native of an English county does not rank as a Briton in virtue of his belonging to the county, but a native of the province Galatia ranked as a member of the Roman Empire in virtue of his belonging to the province. Similarly, a modern governor might sum up members of a Society with branches in New Brunswick and Ontario as 'Canadians,' though even here the parallel is not complete, for New Brunswick was a part of the British Empire before it was federated with Canada, but Lycaonia was governed by a native prince before it was incorporated in the province Galatia. (3) Paul, the *civis Romanus*, naturally spoke from the Roman point of view. His whole career shows how thoroughly he accepted the existing political facts and inculcated loyal submission to the reigning power. He classified his Churches according to the provinces, Achaia, Macedonia, Asia, Galatia. Especially after the decision in favour of religious freedom pronounced by Gallio, he recognized, also, that the liberal Roman administration was his ally against the Jews.[*] But, from the outset, the Pauline teaching was, as a practical force in society, tending to produce certain results, which the Roman policy also aimed at, viz. (1) spread of the Greek language as being used in the Christian books; (2) revolt against the power of the great religious centres with their colleges of priests; (3) education of the people; (4) development of a feeling of unity among members of different nations, *i.e.* destruction of national separation.[†]

---

[*] On this sense of διῆλθεν, see *Expositor*, May 1895, p. 385 ff.

[†] Such is the reading of RV, Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort, etc. But probably Lightfoot was right (*Biblical Essays*, p. 235), that the TR and AV represent the correct reading here.

[‡] This cannot justly be interpreted as describing any other country than the region of Antioch, Apollonia, and Iconium; but Salmon, while translating by these words, interprets them as describing part of Galatia Proper (Smith, *DB* p. 1105).

[*] Slaves Sosias, Maiphateis, etc., called Γαλάται in Delphic inscriptions, are by race Phrygian (*Expositor*, August 1898).

[†] See *Studia Biblica*, iv. p. 26 ff., for a fuller discussion (which, according to Zahn [*Einleitung*, p. 130], '*ausführlich und überzeugend handelt hievon*').

[‡] For example, Tacitus speaks of levies from the provinces of Galatia and Cappadocia, sometimes as *habiti per Galatiam Cappadociamque dilectus* (*Ann.* xiii. 35), sometimes, with his usual love of variation in language, as *Galatarum Cappa-*

But would the people of Pisidia and Lycaonia be willing to accept the title Galatæ? It has been maintained that this is incredible, and that the burden of proof lies with those who assert that the names Lycaonian or Pisidian or Phrygian would ever be disowned by natives of that country. But two of the four Churches were in Roman cities, *Coloniæ Romanæ*; to judge from the analogy of *colonia* Corinth with its numerous Roman names (see CORINTH, p. 480^b), there were almost certainly some Romans in the Churches: could these be addressed as Lycaonians? And the non-Roman population of a *colonia* shared in the honour of their city. The provincials, with Oriental facility, adopted the Roman ideas and titles, and learned to contemn the uneducated barbarians outside the pale of the empire, to pride themselves on being civilized and Romanized, and to adopt as marks of honour Roman names: thus the four Pauline Churches were at Claudio-Derbe, Colonia Julia Felix Gemina Lystra (sometimes with exaggerated Roman feeling, Lustra), Claudio-Iconium,[*] and Colonia Cæsareia Antiochia. To cities which were proud of titles like these, it is surely beyond dispute that the national names, Phrygian or Lycaonian or Pisidian, were far less honourable than the provincial title. Among the Romans a national designation, Phryx, Afer, Syrus, etc., was a slave's name; and among both Greeks and Romans the Phrygians were known as a race of slaves.[†] The Roman Empire, moreover, which brought peace and fair government after centuries of war and oppression, was immensely popular in the Asiatic provinces.

Accordingly, the possibility that St. Paul should address a group of Christians in two Roman colonies and two half-Romanized cities of the province Galatia as 'Galatians,' must be admitted. Whether he actually did so, is a matter of interpretation of Gal and Acts.

The general type of religion and manners among the population of the Phrygian and Lycaonian cities seems to have been much the same: it was found also in the great North-Galatian cities like Ancyra and Pessinus (see GALATIA I.); and the Gentiles addressed in Gal, Eph, Col are of that type. A highly elaborate religious system reigned over the country. Superstitious devotion to an artificial system of rules, and implicit obedience to the directions of the priests (cf. Gal 4^{3-11}), were universal among the uneducated native population. The priestly hierarchy at the great religious centres, *hiera*, expounded the will of the god to his worshippers.[‡] Thus the government was a theocracy; and the whole system, with its prophets, priests, religious law, punishments inflicted by the god for infractions of the ceremonial law, warnings and threats, and the set of superstitious minutiæ, presented a remarkable and real resemblance in external type to the old Jewish ceremonial and religious rule. It is not until this is properly apprehended that Gal 4^{3-11} becomes clear and natural. Paul in that passage implies that the Judaizing movement of the Christian Galatians is a recurrence to their old heathen type. After being set free from the bonds of a hard ceremonial law, they were putting themselves once more into the bonds of another ceremonial law, equally hard. In their action they were showing themselves senseless (ἀνόητοι, Gal 3^1), devoid of the educated mind that could perceive the real nature of things. There is an intentional emphasis in the juxtaposition of ἀνόητοι with Γαλάται, for it was the more educated party, opposed to the native superstition, that would most warmly welcome the provincial title; hence the address, 'senseless G.,' already anticipates the longer expostulation (4^{3-11}), 'G. who are sinking from the educated standard to the ignorance and superstition of the native religion.'

Further, the great strength of the Jews in the cities of South Galatia and South Phrygia had produced a peculiar mixed type of religion. The Phrygian religion of Sabazios formed the foundation on which this mixed type was built up.

---

documque auxilia (*Ann.* xv. 6); and Syncellus, depending on an older authority, after mentioning the province Galatia, says that Augustus imposed taxes on the G., obviously meaning the whole people of the province.

[*] From this point of view, the composition of Gal should be placed after the trial before Gallio, rather than (as Zahn, *Einleitung*, § 12, puts it) before that event: perhaps at Antioch (Ac 18^{22}).

[†] See Zahn, *Einleitung*, § 11, A 4 (*St. Paul the Trav.* p. 130 ff.).

[*] Created a *colonia* by Hadrian; older authorities say it was made a *colonia* by Claudius, and Zahn (*Einleitung*, p. 136) wrongly follows them.

[†] As Mommsen points out, the national designation as Lycaonian or Phrygian was the servile designation applied to slaves, horses, and marines (*classiarii*), who were originally servile (*Hermes*, 1884, p. 33 ff.).

[‡] *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i. 134 ff., 147 ff., 94 ff., etc.

Sabazios was identified with the Jewish Sabaoth; and the Most High God (θεὸς ὕψιστος) was adored in a form strongly influenced by Jewish elements, but yet in many cases indubitably pagan. Purely Jewish references to the θεὸς ὕψιστος also occur, and are to be distinguished from the mixed worship. Considerable sections of the Phrygian people, especially in the centre and south, were affected by the semi-Jewish, semi-pagan cult; and, as M. Cumont observes in his admirable paper, *Hypsistos* (*Supplément à la Revue de l'instruction publ. en Belg.* 1897): 'ces milieux, tout pénétrés d'idées bibliques sans être étroitement attachés à la loi judaique, constituaient un terrain fécond pour la prédication chrétienne, et l'on s'explique mieux, en tenant compte de cette situation, que la foi nouvelle, ait opéré plus de conversions en Asie Mineure, que dans toute autre région.' The remark which M. Cumont makes about Asia Minor in general applies with most force to those districts where the Jews were specially strong. See also *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i. pp. 667–676, also pp. 388, 533, 538, 566, etc.; Schürer in *Theol. Littztg.* 1897, p. 506.

W. M. RAMSAY.

GALATIANS, EPISTLE TO THE.—i. AUTHORSHIP.—The Pauline origin of this Epistle has never been called in question by a critic of first-rate importance, and until recently has never been questioned at all. In the early part of the 2nd cent. it formed a part of Marcion's *Apostolicon*. A little later it was included in the Syr. and Old Lat. VSS, and was recognized by the Muratorian Canon. It is cited as the work of St. Paul by Irenæus (III. vi. 5, III. xvi. 3, V. xxi. 1), by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iii. 16); and it is quoted by Justin Martyr (*Dial.* c. 95; *Oratio*, 5) and by Athenagoras (*Legatio*, c. 16). And while the echoes of its language which have been detected in Clement, Barnabas, Ignatius, and Hermas, are somewhat dull and doubtful, a clear reference to the Ep. occurs in Polycarp (*Phil.* 5), εἰδότες οὖν ὅτι ὁ θεὸς οὐ μυκτηρίζεται (Gal 6^7), and almost certainly in the words (c. 3), ἥτις ἐστὶν μήτηρ πάντων ἡμῶν (cf. Gal 4^{26}).

The internal evidence is irresistible. It has been felt that it is a real person who speaks in the Ep., a person engaged with earnestness and vehemence in a critical conflict. A Paulinist of the 2nd cent. would not be likely to dwell upon the fact that his master's apostleship had been called in question, or to represent some of his earliest and most highly prized conquests from heathenism as slipping through his fingers. Esp. does the subject discussed in the Ep. speak for its early date. It is a polemical tract, a contribution to a controversy which was raging at the time of its appearance. As Gloël says, it is not a sermon, it is not a treatise, it is a sword-cut, delivered in the hour of greatest danger by a combatant who is assaulted by determined foes. The question, then, is, When was there any risk of Gentile Christians being compelled to submit to circumcision? It is idle to look for such a danger in any generation subsequent to the year A.D. 70. Before that time there already existed throughout the empire strong Gentile churches of uncircumcised members. And if this letter is part of a conflict against real and not imaginary dangers, a place must be found for it in the earliest years of Gentile admission to the Christian Church. It can surprise no one that this admission should have been won only by conflict. To discard Mosaism might well seem to the Jews to be equivalent to discarding religion. The surprising thing is that the Gentiles were led to liberty by a Hebrew of the Hebrews. But what brought St. Paul to the front was not merely that he had been appointed Apostle and Defender of the Faith to the Gentiles, but much more that he perceived that this was a conflict involving the very existence of Christianity. Was Christ sufficient for salvation, or must other things be added? This was the question which St. Paul saw to be involved in the question of circumcision. To his eye it was an alternative, Circumcision *or* the Cross. And this Ep. bears upon it the marks of having been written in the very heat of this conflict. But if so, then it can have proceeded from no other hand than that of the man whose life was spent in the service and defence of the Gentiles.

The first assault upon its authenticity was made by Bruno Bauer in 1850 (*Kritik der Paul. Briefe*). This critic maintained that it was a compilation from Ro and Co, intended to correct the false impression of St. Paul conveyed by the Acts. In 1886 Pierson and Naber published their *Verisimilia. Laceram conditionem NT exemplis illustrarunt et ab origine repetierunt* (Amstelodami), which has been well rendered 'The NT in Tatters.' They allege that the Epistles known as Pauline were really compiled by Paulus Episcopus (Paul the Bishop), who made use of letters or parts of letters which had already been addressed to Gentile churches by a missionary of reformed and spiritualized Judaism. This theory discredited its authors rather than the Epp. of Paul. (See Steck, *Der Galaterbrief*; Kuenen, *ThT*, xx. (1886) 491 ff., included in the *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, tr^d by Budde, 1894, pp. 330–369; Van Manen in the *Jahrbücher für Protest. Theol.* 1887; Zahn in *Zeitschrift f. Kirchliche Wissenschaft*, 1889). Loman (*Quæstiones Paulinæ*, Amsterdam, 1882–86) supposed that the four great Epistles of St. Paul were written in his name to recommend universalistic Christianity in opp. to the original Christianity, which had been a Jewish Messianic movement centring in a mythical Jesus. Paul was not wholly mythical, but the canonical Paul was.

Scarcely more serious or plausible than those assaults was that of Rudolf Steck of Bern, who, in 1888, published at Berlin his small volume, entitled *Der Galaterbrief nach seiner Echtheit untersucht nebst kritischen Bemerkungen zu den paulinischen Hauptbriefen*. In this publication Steck aimed at proving that the sketch of primitive church history offered by the Tübingen school was as little in correspondence with fact as the outline given in the Bk of Ac, and that the four principal Epp. of St. Paul are as little entitled to be considered genuine as the smaller Epp. Baur had contented himself with saying, 'There has never been the slightest suspicion cast upon these four Epp. They bear on themselves so incontestably the character of Pauline originality that it is not possible for critical doubt to be exercised upon them with any show of reason.' Very good, says Steck, but where does Baur learn the marks of 'Pauline originality'? Is he not perilously near a *petitio principii*? He rejects Ac as a true picture of Paul's character: whence, then, does he receive the true impression? Accordingly, Steck applies to Gal the Tübingen method, and finds that it is not genuine. Much has been derived from Ro, but it betrays a more fully developed Paulinism; and the borrowed expressions appear in Gal as stones from an old house built into a new wall. The date must be subsequent to A.D. 70, because Jerus. is said to be in bondage (!). The inviting of attention to the large letters in which Paul writes is a manifest attempt to palm off the Ep. as Pauline. This criticism was answered from the Tübingen side by Holsten and Holtzmann; but by far the most effective reply is to be found in Gloël's *Die jüngste Kritik des Galaterbriefes auf ihre Berechtigung geprüft* (Erlangen, 1890). See also Lindemann's *Die Echtheit der Paulinischen Hauptbriefe gegen Steck's Umsturzversuch vertheidigt*. Steck was followed by Völter, who attempted to show (*Die Komposition d. Paul. Hauptbriefe*, Tübingen, 1890) that Gal is spurious and dependent on Ro and 1 and 2 Co. [A full account of these assaults upon the genuineness and integrity of Gal is given by Knowling in his *Witness of the Epistles*, pp. 133–243. See also Clemen, *Die Einheitlichkeit der Paul. Briefe* (Göttingen, 1894), pp. 100–125; and, on the other side, van Manen in *Expos. Times*, Feb., March, April, 1898].

ii. THE PERSONS ADDRESSED.—These are designated (1^2) 'the churches of Galatia.' Alone among the Epp. of St. Paul this is addressed, not to an individual or to any single church, but to a group of churches. Where are we to look for these churches? For the name 'Galatia' has a wider and a narrower application (see GALATIA). Are 'the churches of G.' to be sought for in the geographically limited district inhabited by the Celtic Galatians, or in the wider region comprehended in the Rom. province, G.? The majority of critics hold that as in the Bk of Ac the term G. is used in the narrower sense to denote the district of G. proper, or original, so this Ep. is addressed to the churches of that remote country, which probably existed in the towns of Ancyra, Pessinus, Germa, and Tavium in the N., and not to the churches of Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe in the S. Such is the opinion, *e.g.*, of Weiss, Lipsius, Sieffert, Lightfoot, Davidson, and Godet. On the other hand, the claims of provincial G. have been advocated by such critics as Renan and Perrot in France; Mynster, Weizsäcker, Hausrath, Zahn, and Pfleiderer in Germany. And this opinion has recently been reinforced by the adhesion of Prof. W. M. Ramsay, whose personal knowledge of Asia Minor and acquaintance with its history lend great weight to his judgment.

There are three sources from which light upon this question may be sought: the Bk of Ac, the other Pauline Epp., and this Epistle itself. In the Bk of Ac (13^{14}–14^{24}) we possess a pretty full account of the foundation of churches in S. G., although it is to be noted that the writer uses the ethnographical names, Lycaonia and Pisidia, and not the political designation of the district, G. On the other hand, no account is given nor any notice taken of the founding of churches in N. G. And this silence is not sufficiently accounted for by the fact that at the time of the presumed founding of these churches St. Luke was not St. Paul's companion, for other events of which St. Luke was not an eye-witness are fully described. But if St. Luke joined St. Paul immediately after the apostle had been so warmly received and so successfully engaged in N. G., as by the hypothesis he had been, then certainly it is strange that no notice should be taken of so remarkable a mission. No sure conclusion can be based on this silence, but it is more likely that a letter should have been addressed to churches regarding which we have some information than to those of which St. Luke tells us nothing. For it is to be considered that St. Luke must have known the intense interest which St. Paul took in the churches thus addressed, and would naturally have informed himself and others about them.

The passage in the Bk of Ac ($16^{4\text{-}8}$) in which St. Paul's route from Derbe and Lystra to Troas is described, has been claimed both by the advocates of the N. G. and by the upholders of the S. G. theory. According to Ramsay (*Church in Rom. Emp.* pp. 74–111), this journey was described by one who wrote under the immediate influence of St. Paul himself. It must therefore be accepted as exact and intelligible. Antioch in Pisidia may be taken as the starting-point, for probably it was while in that city, and while he was making arrangements for passing westwards through Asia to Ephesus, that it was made plain to him that he must not at this time proclaim Christ in Asia. Instead of going W., therefore, he turned to the N. 'And they passed through Phrygia and the region of G.,' and so reached Mysia. Now, it is not to be denied that if any one was so minded it was possible to go from Antioch to Pessinus in G., and from Pessinus to Germa, and at that point to form the design of entering Bithynia. But in this case the force of the topographical notice, that it was when they had come over against Mysia that they proposed to enter Bithynia, is entirely lost.

Accordingly, Prof. Ramsay proposes another route, following the road which runs N.W., and not the road which runs N.E. This road would have led St. Paul and his party into Bithynia, but when they came so far N. as to be opposite Mysia, that is to say, as to have it lying to their left, 'the Spirit of Jesus suffered them not' to enter Bithynia, and therefore, turning to the W., they skirted the southern border of Mysia, and so came to Troas. Certainly, this gives a route that has great probability in its favour. For (1) any one proposing to go from Lystra and Derbe to Bithynia would naturally go by the road passing through Dorylaion, and from this road, or any part of it, it would be out of the way to enter G. proper. And (2) to use Prof. Ramsay's words, 'From N. G. no possible route to Bithynia could be said to bring a traveller to a point "over against Mysia," still less "to the frontier of Mysia."' Another strong point in favour of this route and undelayed journey is this, that in vv.$^{6.\ 7}$ (Ac 16) a single definite journey is described. The statement, 'They passed through Phrygia . . . and when they came opposite Mysia,' seems to leave no room for any such mission in G. as is required by the N. Gal. theory. It is not easily credible that had St. Paul intercalated into this journey a digression eastwards of about 300 miles into N. G., so important a mission would have been passed over in silence.

This theory, however, implies a rendering and a construction of Ac 16^{6} to which exception has been taken. This verse, as it stands in modern editions, reads thus: διῆλθον δὲ τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν, κωλυθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος λαλῆσαι τὸν λόγον ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ. Prof. Ramsay contends that Φρυγίαν is here an adj., not a substantive, and that the designation τὴν . . . χώραν means 'the country to which the epithets Phrygian and Galatic apply,' 'the Phrygo-Galatic territory.' This country, Phrygia-Galatica, lies in the southern part of the Rom. province G., and includes Iconium, Lystra, and Antioch of Pisidia. But in the only other passages in which St. Luke mentions Phrygia (Ac 2^{10} and 18^{23}) he uses Φρυγία as a substantive. In the latter of these passages the expression τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν throws light on 16^{6}. It may be inferred that in both passages he had the same tract of country in view, and that as in 18^{23} Φρυγία is a substantive, so it is in 16^{6}. And as it is grammatically possible to render the disputed phrase 'Phrygia and the Gal. country,' it becomes very doubtful whether Prof. Ramsay's rendering is tenable.

It has also been supposed that the use of the phrase 'the Gal. country,' and the avoidance of the simple 'Galatia,' implies or suggests that St. Luke may have wished thus to indicate that he was speaking of the whole land that could be called 'Galatian,' rather than of the smaller country which originally was known as G. This is plausible. But it may be that the writer wished to indicate that rural districts as well as cities were evangelized by St. Paul (see 14^{6}).

Again, Prof. Ramsay's construction requires a somewhat unusual and difficult relation of the participle κωλυθέντες to the main verb διῆλθον. The natural construction undoubtedly is that which RV has adopted, involving that St. Paul and the rest passed through Phrygia and G. in consequence of having been prevented from preaching in Asia. But Prof. Ramsay maintains that the sequence of the verbs *as they stand in the sentence* is the sequence of time: '(1) they went through the Phrygo-Galatic land; (2) they were forbidden to speak in Asia; (3) they came over against Mysia; (4) they essayed to go into Bithynia; (5) the Spirit suffered them not; (6) they passed through Mysia; (7) they came to Troas.'

In this uncertainty the suggestion of Dr. Gifford (*Expositor*, July 1894) is worthy of consideration. He supposes that the Phrygian and Gal. country is the borderland between the two countries, the E. edge of Phrygia and the W. strip of G. Leaving Antioch, St. Paul, instead of going W. to Ephesus in Asia as apparently he had intended, went northwards through the Phrygian-Gal. borderland with the purpose of entering Bithynia; but when he came opposite Mysia he was compelled to turn W. to the coast.

In the other Epp. of St. Paul we find one significant allusion to 'the churches of G.,' 1 Co 16^{1} 'Concerning the collection for the saints as I gave order unto the churches of G., so do ye.' Now, if by this designation we are to understand the churches of N. G. exclusively, then how is it that the churches of the S., which he so repeatedly visited and cherished, were not included in this great scheme of beneficence? On this allusion to 'the churches of G.' Dr. Plummer has the following just observation: 'We are not entitled to conclude that because St. Luke, when historically relating the course of St. Paul's journeys, describes the places visited by their precise geographical designations, St. Paul may not have used the word G. in a wide sense when in want of a word to include all the churches which he had founded in the Rom. province of G. In fact, if he had wished to include under one designation the churches of Antioch, Iconium, Derbe, and Lystra, together possibly with others in the adjacent district, it is hard to say what other term he could have used. There is . . . no certain evidence that St. Paul founded churches in G. proper; if he did, these, of course, would be included among the churches of G. But the question is whether we are bound to understand St. Paul's use of the word as excluding all churches save those of G. proper? Now, it is not likely either that when he was organizing a collection for the poor Christians of Jerus., he would omit to appeal to the churches in the Gal. province with which his relations were so intimate, or that he would leave those churches unmentioned when writing to Corinth.'

In the Ep. itself ($4^{13\text{-}15}$) there occurs an allusion to the circumstances in which he first preached the gospel to the churches now addressed, οἴδατε ὅτι δι' ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκὸς εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν τὸ πρότερον, which can only mean, 'you know that it was on account of an infirmity of my flesh I formerly preached to you.' This statement implies that he was weak and ill when in the district referred to, and that but for this weakness he would not have preached in it. Prof. Ramsay ingeniously construes the situation thus: While on his first journey St. Paul caught a fever at Perga, and as its natural cure a change to the higher and purer air of Antioch was prescribed. He reached Antioch with traces of illness upon him, and with liability to its recurrence. This is possible; but may not the 'weakness' have been connected with the stoning he suffered at Lystra? It was after this stoning, which must have left very obvious marks upon him, that he preached in Derbe, Lystra itself, Iconium, and Antioch (Ac $14^{19\text{-}23}$). In this case, as in the course of events suggested by Prof. Ramsay, τὸ πρότερον receives its proper sense, 'on the former of my two visits.'*

But whatever the weakness was, and however incurred, the fact remains that it afforded him an opportunity of preaching in a district where he had no intention of preaching: a district, therefore, which lay on the road to some more attractive field of operation. Now, it will scarcely do to say that G. proper lay on the road to nowhere, for, as we have seen, St. Paul had a desire to enter Bithynia, and might, because debarred from Asia, have chosen to pass through the western edge of G. on his way to the more northern province. It seems, therefore, as easy to construe this expression in keeping with the N. Galatian theory as with the S. Galatian.

We find from the Ep. itself that emissaries from Jerus. had appeared among the Gal. churches, and it has been argued that such persons would scarcely have penetrated so far into the interior of Asia Minor as the N. Gal. theory supposes. But this is both to misconceive the accessibility of the region and to underrate the eager propagandism of the Jew and the antipathy to St. Paul. It is more to the purpose to point to 5^{11} and to find in it an allusion to the circumcision of Timothy, which was well known among the S. Gal. churches, and might naturally be used as a handle against St. Paul, and a ground of charging him with inconsistency.

---

* The Greek interpreters understood the ἀσθένεια of persecution. Theodoret, *e.g.*, says: καίτοι πολλὴν ἔφερον ἐπὶ του σώματος ἀτιμίαν, αἰκιζόμενος καὶ στρεβλούμενος καὶ μυρία ὑπομένων δεινά.

The internal evidence which the Ep. bears, that it was addressed to Celts, cannot be regarded as trustworthy. Lightfoot and others have collected very interesting notices of the Celtic character, their sensuousness and impulsiveness, and so forth, and have adduced from the Ep. illustrations of these qualities which are certainly striking. But although these might serve as corroborative evidence to an otherwise strong argument, the insecurity of founding upon them is at once apparent when it is considered how difficult it is to grasp national character, and when we reflect that the Celtic character produces types so diverse as the Irish, the Welsh, and the Highlanders of Scotland.

iii. OCCASION OF THE EPISTLE.—The Galatians had received St. Paul with extraordinary demonstrations of friendliness (4^{15}). They had felicitated themselves on their good fortune in having him for their guest, and they had received his gospel as a message from heaven, or as if Christ Jesus Himself had come among them (4^{14}). Churches had been formed, and they 'ran bravely' (5^{7}). That a second visit had been paid to these churches before this letter was written, is the natural inference from some expressions which occur in it. The *τὸ πρότερον* of 4^{13} might merely mean 'formerly,' and not definitely 'on the former of two occasions'; neither is the expression of the 16th verse decisive (*ὥστε ἔχθρος ὑμῶν γέγονα ἀληθεύων ὑμῖν*), for it is possible that in these words he might be merely alluding to the change of feeling towards him produced by the representations of his enemies, or anticipating the resentment this letter itself might occasion. But when he uses such expressions as those which occur in 1^{9} and 5^{3}, and which point to emphatic warnings uttered when he was among them, it would appear that such warnings are incongruous with the circumstances of his first visit, and must be referred to a second, when he perceived symptoms of defection from the gospel he had proclaimed.

The symptoms he had observed rapidly developed. They were moving away from the free standing of faith to the bondage of the law; they were being circumcised, observing days and new moons and other seasons, and returning to the weak and beggarly elements from which St. Paul believed they had escaped (1^{6} $4^{9.10}$ 5^{3}). In this retrograde movement St. Paul sees a renunciation of grace, a virtual renunciation of Christ (5^{4}). He still tried to persuade himself that irreparable damage had not yet been done (5^{10}); but assuredly the evil leaven was working among them, and 'a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump' (5^{9}).

This sad change had been wrought by the Judaizing party, and apparently in great part by one individual. This individual seems to have been a personage of some distinction. He exerted a fascinating power over the Galatians (3^{1}), and apparently claimed to speak with authority (1^{8}). Whether St. Paul actually knew him is doubtful (see 5^{9} *ὅστις ἐὰν ᾖ*, and 5^{7} and 3^{1}): that he knew him by name may be taken for granted.

No special reason need be sought to account for the Judaizing party having emissaries in G. The question of the relation of Gentile Christians to the Jewish law was sure, sooner or later, to emerge in every church in which there were any Jewish Christians. Must a Gentile enter Christianity through Judaism? and to what extent is the Mosaic law binding on Gentiles?—these questions must be answered, and the battle between legalism and liberty fought through to the end. Superficially, the Judaizers, who maintained that to become a Christian a man must also become a Jew, had a great deal to say for themselves. The law was a divine institution. The promises had been given to Abraham and his seed. The Messiah was the Messiah of the Jews. Jesus Himself had been circumcised, and had kept the whole law. The original apostles did the same. Was not this an obvious and infallible example? Besides, if the Gentile converts were not to keep the law, how were they to escape from the immoralities in which they had been brought up? And who was this Paul who taught them to neglect the law? What claim had he to be considered an apostle? He did not keep company with Christ while on earth, as the others had done; he was not called, as they had been, to the apostolate by the Lord in His lifetime; he had no external authentication of himself, like their letters of commendation from the mother-church at Jerusalem. The Judaizers did not scruple even to speak slightingly of his appearance, and to insinuate that his motives were impure and his conduct inconsistent with his teaching. When it suited him he practised circumcision, as in the case of Timothy. If, therefore, he had not enjoined it on the Galatians, it was through a desire to please men (5^{11} 1^{10}).

All personal abuse and calumny St. Paul could no doubt have overlooked; what he could not overlook was the Judaizing adulteration or subversion of the gospel of Christ. And the very speciousness of the arguments used, and the characteristic zeal for the law displayed by the Judaizers, all the more emphatically inspired St. Paul with the feeling that the crisis was of tremendous moment, and that his life-work among the Gentiles hung in the balance. For not only was he aware that to demand circumcision and impose the whole Mosaic law on the Gentile world, was to undertake a hopeless task, but also he perceived that it would obscure the gospel of Christ. He saw, as apparently no other man of influence saw, that to represent anything else than the cross of Christ as *essential* to salvation, was really to affirm that the cross alone was not sufficient. St. Paul recognized that it was *either* the law or Christ; that a man could not be justified by both. 'Behold, I Paul say unto you, that if ye receive circumcision, Christ will profit you nothing' (5^{2}); 'ye are severed from Christ, ye who would be justified by the law: ye are fallen away from grace' (5^{4} *κατηργήθητε ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ οἵτινες ἐν νόμῳ δικαιοῦσθε, τῆς χάριτος ἐξεπέσατε*). The importance of the crisis cannot be over-estimated. 'It really seemed as if the mighty enthusiasm of Pentecost might sink into respectable legalism, as if Christianity might be strangled in its cradle by the iron hand of the law, as if it might sink into an obscure Jewish sect, and disappear in the national ruin, instead of breaking its fetters, spreading its mighty spiritual pinions, and claiming the universal heaven as its home' (Bishop Moorhouse, *Dangers of the Apostolic Age*, p. 21).

DATE OF THE EPISTLE.—The date of the Ep. has been, and still is, contested. It has been assigned by different critics to the beginning, to the close, and to every intermediate stage of its author's epistolary activity. It stands first in the canon of Marcion; but there is reason to believe that this canon was not arranged in chronological order (Tertul. *adv. Marcion.* v. 2). One or two modern scholars, as Michaelis, Koppe, Zahn, have placed it earliest among the Epp. of St. Paul; while Koehler and Schrader consider it the latest (Davidson, *Introd.* i. 73). Calvin held that it was written before the Council at Jerus., and that the visit to Jerus., which St. Paul relates in Gal 2, is the same as that which is mentioned in Ac 11^{30}, and is not that of Ac 15. This view has received the powerful advocacy of Prof. Ramsay (*Expositor*, Aug. 1895), who argues that the account of the journey in Ac 11. 12 is 'in the most singular agreement' with the narrative of Gal 2. Hausrath dogmatically pronounces that the Ep. was written in the autumn of 53, and on the following ingeniously discovered ground: 'As the Gal. are on the point of joining with the synagogue in celebrating the beginning of the sabbatical year (Gal 4^{10}), lasting from Sept. 53 to Sept. 54, the Ep. must date from the autumn of 53, in which St. Paul crossed into Macedonia' (*Time of the Apostles*, iii. 188. Hausrath, of course, holds the S. Gal. theory). Renan, again, places the Ep. between the second and third missionary journeys, and dates it from Antioch.

The majority of continental critics, however, such as Weiss, Holtzmann, Sieffert, Lipsius, and Godet, place it very early in the Ephesian residence, and consequently first of the four great Epp. In this finding they are considerably influenced by the οὕτως ταχέως of 1^6. This expression, it is supposed, involves that no long time can have elapsed between St. Paul's second visit to the Gal. churches and this letter. Lightfoot, however, has shown (*Gal.* pp. 41, 42) that this conclusion rests on two erroneous assumptions: (1) that 'so soon' means 'so soon after I left you'; whereas it rather refers to the time of their conversion; and (2) that a period so indicated cannot embrace more than a few months; whereas 'quickness and slowness are relative terms,' and the expression might have been used 'though a whole decade of years had passed since they were first brought to the knowledge of Christianity.' Warfield, irrespective of the οὕτως ταχέως, finds reasons for placing the Ep. before the other three which belong to this period, 'only a few weeks at most before 1 Co,' *i.e.* 'about or somewhat earlier than the passover time of the year A.D. 57.' His strongest argument is drawn from 1 Co 9^2 'If to others I am not an apostle, yet to you at least I am,' in which he finds an allusion to the recent disparagement of St. Paul's apostleship among the Galatians. (*Journ. of Exegetical Soc.* Paper read in Dec. 1884).

Lightfoot and Salmon bring the Ep. down a few months later, and date it from Corinth early in the year A.D. 58. The resemblances between Gal and 2 Co and Ro are obvious. The ideas suggested in Gal 3 and 4 regarding the Spirit as the promise of the Father, and as the true emancipator and sign of sonship, are elaborated in Ro 8. The impossibility of salvation by works, or of finding anything but a curse in the law, is taken up again in Ro and expounded at large. But neither can there be any doubt regarding the priority of the Ep. to the Galatians. The similarity and dissimilarity between the two Epp. are of that kind which tends to show that the Ep. to the Gal. could not have been written either after or contemporary with the Ep. to the Rom., and that it was not, therefore, a compendium of it; nor is it probable that it was written very long before it. See Jowett, *St. Paul's Epp.*^{1} i. 240 (2nd ed. om.).

The similarity to 2 Co is also apparent. There is the same self-defensive tone and the same invective against those teachers who interfered with his work. In Corinth as well as in G. emissaries from Jerus. were at work; but in the Cor. Ep. no elaborate exposure of their doctrinal error is given. The conflict between himself and the Judaizers has not reached the doctrinal stage. And hence it is argued that the Ep. to the Gal., in which this stage is reached, and in which, together with a defence of his apostolic authority, there is also an elaborate exposure of the error of the Judaizers, must be later than the 2nd to the Corinthians. This conclusion, though not certain, is highly probable.

Recently, however, fresh indications of date have been pointed out by Ramsay and McGiffert. The former in his illuminating papers on the Ep. (*Expositor*, 1898) argues with much force that it was written from Antioch at the close of the second missionary journey (Ac 18^{22}). It was on that journey St. Paul had circumcised Timothy (Ac 16^{1-3}), and this gave plausibility to the insinuation of the Judaizers that when it suited him he preached circumcision (Gal 5^{11}). It was on that journey also he delivered to the Galatians the decrees ordained at Jerus. (Ac 16^4), and this might seem to give colour to the allegation that he was the mere messenger of the higher officials and not himself an apostle (Gal 1. 2). McGiffert, on the other hand, thinks it is unquestionable that in Gal 2 St. Paul is relating events about which the Galatians had no previous knowledge, at least from him; while it is incredible that he should have visited G. subsequent to these events without speaking of them. On these and other grounds, therefore, McGiffert (*Apostol. Age*, pp. 227–8) thinks it probable that the Ep. was written from Antioch previous to his departure on the second missionary journey. Subsequently, the Judaizers, while they might, as at Antioch, refuse to eat with the Gentiles, could scarcely urge their circumcision without seeming to break with the mother-church.

CONTENTS OF THE EPISTLE.—The Epistle divides itself into three almost equal portions—a personal, a doctrinal, and a practical. In the first two chapters St. Paul disposes of the insinuations which the Judaizers had made against his authority and standing as an apostle. In the two following chapters he explains the relation of the law to Christ, or of Mosaism to Christianity. And in the closing chapters he refutes the allegation that liberty and licence are the same.

To the disparagement of his apostolic standing, and consequently of the gospel he preached, he makes a threefold reply: (1) He declares himself to be an apostle, not sent merely from a Christian community, or commissioned by a human authority, but by Jesus Christ; and this he proves by a brief narrative of his movements subsequent to his conversion, by which it is made apparent that his gospel could not have been learned from men (ch. 1). (2) It was only after he had been preaching for many years that he went at length to confer with the apostles at Jerus.; and even then, so far from receiving additional light or being reprimanded, he received from them acknowledgment and encouragement (2^{1-10}). (3) Instead of being instructed by the older apostles, or being obliged to occupy a subordinate place, he himself had occasion to rebuke St. Peter and assume the position of instructor (2^{11-21}).

Next, St. Paul examines the dogmatic significance of the demand that the Gentiles should keep the whole law. And first he appeals to their own experience. As Christian men they had received the Spirit. Had this all-comprehending gift become theirs by the observance of the law? They knew it was not so; they had received the Spirit as a gift. Believing God's offer of the Spirit, they had accepted what God gave (3^{1-5}). Nor was this an exceptional or novel experience. It was the same with the typical justified man, Abraham. Whatever he enjoyed of God's favour he had by faith (3^{6-9}). Indeed, so far from the law having power to bless, it has only power to curse, and on this account and from this curse Christ came to redeem us (3^{10-14}). Moreover, hundreds of years before the law was heard of, the promise had been given to Abraham, and could not be made of none effect by any subsequently introduced institution. The promise held the field. It was given irrespective of the law, and could not be annulled by it. And yet the law was not superfluous. It had its use. It was added to instruct the conscience, that men might know their sin to be transgression, and might learn to crave righteousness. It was meant to stimulate men to crave the coming of the Spirit.

And thus it served the purpose of a schoolmaster, or of the guardian who took charge of boys under age. But when the fulness of time is come the guardian is no more needed, the full-grown son having received the spirit of his father (3^{15}–4^{7}). Lastly, out of the law itself St. Paul brings proof that there is a better thing than law, even liberty. This he does by allegorizing the story of Ishmael and Isaac.

In the third division of the Ep. (5. 6) St. Paul proceeds to vindicate Christian liberty against all aspersions. First of all (5^{1-12}), he exhorts the Gal. to stand fast in their liberty, and to beware of coming under bondage to minute observances. On the other hand, he warns them against using this liberty as an occasion to the flesh (5^{13}–6^{10}). In a brief conclusion, written with his own hand in the large characters which distinguished it from the more clerkly writing of his amanuensis, he contrasts his own devotedness and affectionate attitude towards them with the selfish aims of the Judaizers.

Hence, as Godet says, 'This Ep. marks an epoch in the history of man; it is the ever-precious document of his spiritual emancipation.'

DIFFICULTIES RAISED BY THE EPISTLE.—1. *Its discrepancy with the Acts of the Apostles.*—Baur (*Paul*, c. v.) maintains that the autobiographical statements made by St. Paul in Gal 2 shed an unfavourable light on the Ac, 'the statements in which can only be looked at as intentional deviations from hist. truth in the interest of the special tendency which they possess.' Weizsäcker (*Das Apostol. Zeitalter*, p. 87 ff., Eng. tr. i. 102) follows in Baur's steps with pedantic rigour.

(1) The first discrepancy which is discovered by a comparison of the two narratives is that whereas St. Paul says that three years elapsed after his conversion before he returned to Jerus., St. Luke says (Ac 9^{23}), ὡς δὲ ἐπληροῦντο ἡμέραι ἱκαναί (which Weizsäcker inaccurately renders 'nur einige Tage,' 'only a few days'), he was compelled to leave Damascus. To find here a discrepancy damaging to the trustworthiness of Ac, is to neglect the consideration that St. Paul had a reason for giving the exact time, while St. Luke had no occasion to be definite and rigidly exact. (2) A second discrepancy urged by Baur has more weight. St. Luke says (9^{26}) that when St. Paul came to Jerus. he sought to attach himself to the disciples, but they feared him. How was it possible that the Christians of Jerus. should not have heard of his conversion? There was constant communication between the two places, and St. Paul was so outstanding a figure that it is difficult to believe that his adhesion to the Christian Church should not have been known to all Jerusalem. It has been urged that his absence in Arabia may have withdrawn him from attention; that he may not have occupied the outstanding position at that time which subsequent events suggest, and, indeed, although commissioned to Damascus, it seems to have been at his own request, and not because he was selected by the Sanhedrin. Besides, even in St. Paul's own account (Gal 1^{23}), it appears that he was still known rather as the persecutor than as a convert. And, on the other hand, even in Luke's account, it is apparent that some, *e.g.* Barnabas, knew of his conversion. The introduction by Barnabas has certainly the air of truth. No doubt difficulties remain; but not such as discredit the account in Ac, considering the very different points of view of the two writers. (3) A third discrepancy is found in the statement of St. Paul, that he saw none of the apostles but Peter; whereas St. Luke says that Barnabas 'brought him to *the apostles* . . . and he was with them going in and going out at Jerus., preaching boldly in the name of the Lord' (Ac $9^{27.28}$). Weizsäcker is here again inaccurate in alleging that St. Paul himself assures us that he got to know no one in the Church, and that he continued for years to be personally unknown to the members. This is not what St. Paul says. He states that he saw no other apostle besides Peter, and that he remained unknown to the Churches of *Judæa*. Whether he became acquainted with Christians who were not apostles, and whether he preached in Jerus. or not, he does not say. The discrepancy really amounts to this, that in the one account he is represented as being introduced to the apostles as a body, in the other to St. Peter alone. (4) The difficulties which Baur raises, and which Weizsäcker inherits, regarding the visit to Jerus. which Luke interpolates between the two mentioned by St. Paul, are trifling and fictitious. Weizsäcker's ground for rejecting this visit is that 'Paul assures us he was seen by no one in Jerus.' during the fourteen years which elapsed between the first and second visits mentioned in Gal. Where St. Paul makes this statement we do not know. (5) The discrepancies which the Tübingen school at one time found between Gal 2 and Ac 15 have been rather thrown into the background by the living members of that school. Pfleiderer, *e.g.*, says (*Hibbert Lect.* p. 103, cf. p. 111), 'the agreement as to the chief points is in any case greater than the discrepancies in the details, and these discrepancies can be for the most part explained simply by the difference of the standpoint of the relaters.'

It is further objected that the conduct ascribed to St. Paul in the Ac is inconsistent with the attitude he assumes and the principles he maintains in Gal. In Ac he is represented as circumcising Timothy (16^{3}), as shaving his head in fulfilment of a vow (18^{18}), as attending the Jewish feasts (20^{16}), and as being at charges for four men who had a vow on them ($21^{23.24}$). Such acts of conformity to the law are, it is thought, incompatible with the principle St. Paul lays down in the Ep., 'If ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing.' The solution is obvious. When St. Paul makes this strong statement, what he means is, If you observe the ordinances of Moses because you believe them to be necessary to salvation, Christ shall profit you nothing. Together with this fundamental principle he held also as an ethical maxim, that it is right to become all things to all men, a Jew to the Jew if need be. And when he observes the Mosaic ordinances in the temple, it is not because he believes they have any virtue for salvation, but because he wishes to give no offence to his Jewish brethren. These Jewish observances have become to him matters of indifference, and only when they are lifted out of their proper position and considered essentials do they become dangerous. 'Neither is circumcision anything, *nor uncircumcision*' (Gal 6^{15}, cf. 1 Co 7^{18}). That he did not yield when it was demanded of him as a matter of principle that he should circumcise Titus, is perfectly consistent with his circumcising Timothy as a concession to expediency. No doubt St. Paul's principle carried with it the inference that as circumcision and the keeping of the whole ceremonial law were unnecessary for the Gentiles they were unnecessary for Jews also. But if the Jew clung to the temple service, the stated hours of prayer, and other observances, while at the same time he recognized that Christ alone was sufficient for salvation, St. Paul rather defended than denounced his position. So long as the observances of the law were treated as matters of indifference, St. Paul was content to leave the Jewish conscience to the education which time must bring. His attitude towards things indifferent is fully explained in 1 Co 8, 10^{23-33}.

2. *Collision with St. Peter at Antioch.*—In Gal 2^{11-14} we find a description of a scene which is certainly derogatory to the dignity of St. Peter, and which casts suspicion even on his authority. Naturally, this has quickened in the interpreting mind a desire in some way to shield the great apostle. Clement of Alex. held that the Cephas of Gal 2 was not the apostle, but 'one of the seventy disciples, a man who bore the same name' (Euseb. *HE* I. xii. 2). Although many persons adopted this view, it was so manifestly untenable that the idea was started that the two apostles arranged the scene for the edification of the people, who might thus more clearly see the folly of Judaizing. The champion of this idea was Jerome, who, however, says that it was first broached by Origen. A somewhat angry correspondence followed between Augustine and Jerome, in which the former found it easy to expose the lameness of the proposed interpretation. He maintained that 'to speak well of a falsehood uttered in God's behalf was a crime not less, perhaps even greater, than to speak ill of His truth' (see Augustine's *Letters*, esp. 28 and 40). Strangely enough, the idea seemed to attract many minds. Chrysostom advocated it, and Theodore speaks of it as at any rate a

possible view [‘sive consensu ipsam controversiam inter se simulaverunt pro aliorum utilitate, sunt vere quidem miraudi, eo quod omnia ad aliorum utilitatem facere adquieverunt’]. The point is treated with fulness in Lightfoot, *Gal.*, 127–131.

Literature.—The four great Greek commentators, Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret, and Theophylact, are always lucid and sensible, although the two last named are for the most part reproductions of the two first mentioned. The late Bishop Lightfoot in his Commentary on the Epistle devoted several pages (pp. 223–232) to an account and estimate of the patristic and mediæval writers who have dealt with it. To this nothing need be added except that the com. of Theodore can now be consulted in the convenient ed. of Dr. Swete published by the Camb. Univ. Press in 1880–1882. Among the Latin Fathers, Jerome and Augustine have both left expositions of this Epistle, the former esp. being of value. Among the Reformers, Luther, Calvin, and Beza may be consulted with advantage. Estius, Bengel, and Wetstein contribute much from their special points of view. Among more recent expositions the following are worthy of mention: Usteri, *Komm. über d. Gal.* (1833); Schott, *Epistolæ P. ad Thess. et Gal.* (1834); Windischmann (Roman Cath.), *Erklärung d. Gal.* (1843); Hilgenfeld, *Der Galaterbrief* (1852); Ellicott, *Crit. and Gram. Comment. on Gal.* (1854); Jowett, *The Epistles of Paul* (1859, 2nd ed. 1894); Bisping (Rom. Cath.), *Gal.* (2nd ed. 1863); Hofmann, *Die heil. Schrift NT*, ii. 1 (1863); Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Ep. to Gal.* (1865); Meyer, *Crit. and Exegetical Handbook* (1870); Sanday in Ellicott's *NT* (1879); Holsten, *Das Evangelium d. Paulus* (1880); Philippi, *Gal. erklärt* (1884); Sieffert in the re-edited Meyer (1886); Palmieri (Rom. Cath.), *Gal.* (1886); Schaff in *Illustr. Popular Com.* (1881); Beet, *Com. on St. Paul's Ep. to Gal.* (1885); Findlay in *Expositor's Bible* (1888); Goebel, *Neutest. Schriften* (1889); Cornely (Rom. Cath.), *Gal.* (1890); Lipsius in *Hand-comm.* (2nd ed. 1892); Zöckler in Strack and Zöckler's *Kgf. Comm.* (2nd ed. 1894); B. Weiss, *Die Paulin. Briefe* (1896); Zahn, *Einleit. in d. NT* (1897). [Useful bibliographical lists will be found in Meyer, Sieffert, and Lipsius.]

Marcus Dods.

GALBANUM (חֶלְבְּנָה *ḥelbĕnâh*, χαλβάνη, *galbanum*).—A gum resin, *Ferula galbaniflua*, Boiss. et Buhse; and *F. rubricaulis*, Boiss. It is known in Arab. by the name *ḳinnah*, and in Persian as *birzed*. It occurs in the form of *tears* and *lumps*. The *tears* are round, yellow to brownish-yellow, translucent, and not larger than a pea. The *lump galbanum* is more common, and consists of irregular masses of a brownish or brownish-yellow colour, composed of agglutinated tears. Fruits with bits of stem and other impurities are mixed with the resin. The odour is balsamic. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xii. 56) declares it to be a product of a kind of giant fennel, growing in Amanus. There are many species of *Ferula*, *Ferulago*, *Colladonia*, and other large Umbelliferæ in Amanus, but no such gum is now extracted from any of them, and none of the plants reputed to yield galbanum grow there. Pliny (*l.c.*) and Virgil (*Georg.* iii. 415) say that its smoke drives away serpents. G. is imported from India and the Levant. It is mentioned only once in the OT (Ex 30[34]) as an ingredient of the sacred incense, and once in Apocr. (Sir 24[15]). G. E. Post.

GALEED (גַּלְעֵד ‘cairn of witness,’ LXX Βουνὸς μαρτυρεῖ, E -ίου).—The name which, according to Gn 31[47], was given by Jacob to the cairn erected on the occasion of the compact between him and Laban. There is evidently a characteristic attempt also to account in this way for the name *Gilead*. The respective proceedings of Jacob and of Laban are uncertain, for the narrative is not only of composite origin, but has suffered through the introduction of glosses into the text. Kautzsch-Socin remark that even if v.[47] belonged originally to E (which Wellh. strongly denies, setting it down as a gloss due to pure pedantry), it is certainly introduced by R in the wrong place. A similar remark applies to v.[48] ‘Therefore was the name of it called Galeed,’ which probably was derived from J. There is a confusion in the present text due to the attempt to harmonize E's account of the erection of a *maẓẓēbāh* with the statement of J that it was a ‘cairn’ (גַּל) that was erected. It is pretty certain that we should read ‘Laban’ instead of ‘Jacob’ in v.[45] (so Wellh., Dillm.). The LXX seeks unsuccessfully to reduce the narrative to order by means of transpositions.

Literature.—Commentaries of Del. and Dillm. *ad loc.*; Ball in Haupt's *SBOT*; Kautzsch-Socin, *Genesis*[2] 73; Wellhausen, *Comp. d. Hex.* 42 f.; Kittel, *Hist. of Heb.* i. 143, 156; Driver, *LOT*[6] 17. J. A. Selbie.

GALILÆAN (Γαλιλαῖος).—An inhabitant of Galilee. The apostles, who spoke with divers tongues on the day of Pentecost, were said by the crowd to be Galilæans, which made the matter all the more surprising (Ac 2[7]); a massacre of Galilæans by Pilate was reported to Jesus (Lk 13[1]); Pilate spoke of Jesus as a Galilæan (Lk 23[6]); Peter was told, when trying to conceal the fact that he was a Galilæan, that it was useless for him to do so, as his speech * betrayed him (Mk 14[70]); the attitude of the Galilæans towards Jesus is contrasted with that of the Jerusalemites (Jn 4[45]). In the article Galilee some traits of the inhabitants are mentioned, to which very much might be added. They were healthy, brave, and industrious; they developed the resources of their province in a wonderful manner; they were skilful merchants, and added to their wealth by shipping their commodities to other parts of the world; from a religious point of view, they were the most liberal-minded people of Palestine; they were enterprising, intelligent, and possessed a poetical talent of very high order; and in the great struggle with Rome, A.D. 66–70, they were the strongest defenders of liberty of whom the Jewish nation could boast.

S. Merrill.

GALILEE (הַגָּלִיל, הַגָּלִילָה, גְּלִיל הַגּוֹיִם, Γαλειλαία).—It is singular that a province so well known as Galilee was in NT times, and occupying the place it did in the history of the Jewish nation, is mentioned but six times in OT (Dillm. also in Jos 12[23]). Three of these being identical (Jos 20[7] 21[32], 1 Ch 6[76])—a mere statement of the fact that Kedesh, the city of refuge, was in Galilee—the number is reduced to four. When Kedesh is mentioned (in these three passages), also the invasion of Tiglath-pileser (2 K 15[29]), and Solomon's present of twenty cities to Hiram (1 K 9[11]), Galilee is spoken of in the same familiar manner that it is in NT or in Josephus. There remains one instance only which attracts our attention, namely, Is 9[1] ‘Galilee of the nations.’† This has always been admitted to be a difficult passage. The only biblical commentary is the historical notice of Tiglath-pileser's invasion (2 K 15[29]), ‘he took Ijon, and Abel-beth-maacah, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali.’ Here Galilee appears to be as well known as Gilead; and no hint is furnished as to its extent or character. The same can be said of the transaction between Hiram and Solomon (1 K 9[11ff.]); for whatever meaning the word ‘Cabul’ may have, it is evident that Solomon considered the twenty cities a proper and ample compensation for the favours he had received from Hiram.

Thus far we have gained little except to learn that the Bible gives us no account of the origin of the word Galilee, of how large an area it embraced at first, or of how it came to be applied to all the northern part of Palestine.

Palestine west of the Jordan was, in the time of our Lord, divided into three provinces, Judæa, Samaria, and Galilee. The latter was the most northern, and occupied in general the territory that had been assigned by Joshua to the four tribes, Asher, Naphtali, Zebulun, and Issachar.

---

* Alluding probably to a Galilæan habit of confounding the gutturals (Smith, *HGHL* 423 n.; Dalm., *Gram. d. Aram.* 5, 42 f.).

† The word, which has regularly the art., ‘*the gâlîl*,’ appears to mean ‘circle’ or ‘district.’ Apparently, Is 9[1] gives the full title.

It extended to the Jordan on the E., the Leontes, *Litany*, on the N., the territory of Tyre, which was then a narrow strip of seacoast, on the W., and below the territory of Tyre it touched the Mediterranean and included Ptolemais (*Accho*) and Mount Carmel, and on the S. the line, which was irregular, passed near Ginea (*Jenin*), included Scythopolis or Bethshean to the E., Taanach and Megiddo to the W., and followed the Carmel ridge to the Mediterranean. Its extent in miles was about sixty from north to south, and about thirty from east to west.

Josephus divides the province into Upper and Lower Galilee. Lower Galilee extended east and west from Carmel to the Jordan; the S. line would be that already indicated as passing near Jenin, and the N. boundary included Arbela on the west of the Sea of Galilee, and also Jotapata (*Jefat*). Tarichea, Tiberias, Sepphoris (the capital of Galilee during a large portion of Christ's life), Cana, and Nazareth were all in Lower Galilee. The boundaries of Upper Galilee are given by Josephus (*Wars*, III. iii. 1; *Life*, 37), and were no doubt well understood by his readers; but it is difficult for us to indicate its limits, since the places noted still remain unidentified. The district extended from Bersabe on the S. to Baca on the N., and from Thella, a place bordering on the Jordan, to Meroth on the west.

In the year B.C. 47 Galilee had as military governor a young man then but twenty-five years of age, who subsequently became known to the world as Herod the Great. He had been appointed to this position by his father, Antipater, and proved a successful ruler. After his death, in B.C. 4, his son Antipas was made tetrarch of Galilee, and, since he was not banished by Caligula till A.D. 39, he governed the province during the entire life of our Lord. During the reign of Antipas, Galilee was bounded on the E. by the dominions of his half-brother Herod Philip II. After the removal of Antipas, Galilee came under the rule of Herod Agrippa I., who died in A.D. 44 as described in Ac 12. Although these men ruled by the favour of Rome, they were still native rulers, and in that fact the inhabitants felt a degree of pride, because their dependent state was thereby made less apparent and no doubt far less galling.

In comparing Galilee with other portions of the Holy Land, there are certain respects in which it can claim to be unique. In fact it would be difficult to find anywhere else on the globe another district of equal size whose natural characteristics are so wonderfully diversified as are those of Galilee.

The white dome of Hermon was ever present to the inhabitants as much as if that mountain had risen from their own soil, and the same was true of the wide expanse of the Mediterranean to the west. The long line of seacoast with its cities of wealth and its composite life must be taken into the account, and on the other side the depression of the Jordan Valley, in which, 700 ft. below the level of the Mediterranean, lay the Sea of Galilee. In Lower Galilee the group of Nazareth hills was picturesque; isolated Tabor had a grandeur and a beauty of its own, while in Upper Galilee but a single peak, Jebel Jermuk, reached a height of 4000 ft.; 2000 to 2500 ft. being the general elevation. Nowhere were the mountains rugged, their gradual slopes and the intervening valleys were always attractive. The Esdraelon plain was of inexhaustible fertility, and so was the region about Lakes Merom and Tiberias. The climate was all that could be desired; the temperature was mild on the seacoast, hot in the Jordan Valley, and always cool in the highlands. The air was invigorating, and no doubt it was owing partly to this fact that the Galilæans were always noted for being healthy, hardy, and brave. The forests, meadows, and pastures, the tilled fields and gardens, the vineyards and olive orchards, the broad acres covered with wheat and barley, the fountains, streams, lakes, and rivers, the prosperous cities and towns which dotted the land, made the aspect of the country singularly varied and attractive.

In the Blessing of Moses (Dt 33) upon the tribes occupying this territory there are suggestive hints as to its natural features and the peculiar productions of its fertile soil. Special characteristics of these highlanders are brought out in other portions of OT which are fully confirmed and illustrated by what we learn from other sources, regarding both country and people. The NT, Josephus, the Talmud, and modern research present attractive, not to say fascinating, pictures of this highly favoured land.

How frequently in the Gospels are the 'cities and villages' of Galilee mentioned, leading us to suppose that its surface was thickly covered with flourishing centres of life. While Josephus praises the fertility and populousness of the entire province, he rises to enthusiasm when he describes the Plain of Gennesaret, 'that unparalleled garden of God' (*Wars*, III. iii. 2, 3; x. 8). 'For sixteen miles about Sepphoris,' says the Talmud, 'the region is fertile, flowing with milk and honey.' 'The land of Naphtali is everywhere covered with fruitful fields and vines, and its fruits are renowned for their wonderful sweetness' (Talm. Bab. *Megilla* 6^a). Five of Solomon's commissariat officers were assigned to this region, who furnished for the royal table fine flour, meal and barley, great numbers of fat oxen, also pasture-fed oxen, sheep, harts, gazelles, roebucks, and fatted fowl (1 K $4^{22.23}$).

In early times the forests of Galilee were extensive, and even in the country's present degradation they are deserving of notice, for there, besides many flowering trees, shrubs, and aromatic plants, we find the vine, the olive, and the fig, the oak, the hardy walnut, the terebinth, and the hot-blooded palm, the cedar, cypress, and balsam, the fir tree, the pine, the sycomore, the bay tree, the mulberry, the almond, the pomegranate, the citron, and the beautiful oleander. And, among other productions of the soil, Galilee can still boast of wheat, barley, millet, pulse, indigo, rice, sugar cane, oranges, pears, apricots, and some other fruits, besides vegetables in great variety (Merrill, *Galilee in the Time of Christ*, pp. 14–21).

But a fine climate, a rich forest growth, great fertility of soil, and a wealth of vegetation presuppose an abundant supply of water, and in this respect Galilee was notably favoured. One might almost say that the lawgiver had this province specially in mind when he promised the Hebrews that they were to enter a 'land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths, springing forth in valleys and hills' (Dt 8^7). Lake Merom and Lake Tiberias both belonged to Galilee, and the latter was justly the pride of the nation. The Jordan flowed through them both, and the water of both was sweet and clear.

All of the Jordan north of the Sea of Galilee and one-third of its length to the south of that was reckoned to Galilee. The sources of this river at Banias and Dan are remarkable for their natural features and for the volume of water which in each bursts forth from the ground. From the eastern side of the watershed of Galilee numerous small streams flow into the Jordan, while those on the west side make their way into the Mediterranean. Of the latter one of the most celebrated was the Kishon (*Nahr Muḳaṭṭa*), which took its rise near the foot of Tabor, and after a winding course across the plain of Esdraelon entered the sea near the base of Carmel. This stream had a number of feeders from the north, from Mount Gilboa and the region of En-gannim, and also from the south. This is 'that ancient river' famed in the triumph song of Deborah and Barak (Jg 5).

Near Acre another stream entered the Mediterranean, the Belus (*Nahr Naman*), regarded as the Shihor-libnath of Jos 19^{26}, with which is connected the interesting tradition that from its fine sand the Phœnicians first made glass. It is a fact that this sand was so highly prized that numerous ships came here to convey it to the glass shops of Tyre and Sidon, then the most famous in the world. The supply was thought to be inexhaustible (Pliny, *HN* xxxvi. 65).

All vegetation in Galilee would be affected by the 'dew of Hermon' which is praised in Ps 133^{3}, and snow from this mountain was carried as a luxury to Tyre and Sidon, and to Sepphoris and Tiberias the capitals of Herod Antipas. Springs and fountains were so abundant in Galilee that it would be next to impossible to count them. In addition to these, notice must be taken of the Hot Springs of this province, which had a worldwide fame as resorts for health and pleasure. Those at Tiberias were probably the most celebrated, and their medicinal advantages were known even in Rome (Pliny, *HN* v. 15). The benefit to be derived from bathing in this hot sulphur water was so great that not only the common people but people of learning and rank came hither, seeking by this means to restore their health (Jos. *Life*, 16; Jer. Talmud, *Shab.* 3^{a}). These springs had a rival in those of Gadara, about two hours S.E. of the Sea of Galilee, where still existing ruins of a small theatre, bath houses, paved courts, beautifully carved stone seats or chairs, dressing rooms, etc., indicate the luxurious provision that was made for the guests (Merrill, *East of the Jordan*, pp. 150–153).

One would hardly expect to find that Galilee, directly under the perpetual snows of Hermon, would be subject to earthquakes; still such is the fact, and several very severe calamities are on record as having visited that country. In 1759 Safed was destroyed by an earthquake, and another in 1837 killed five thousand people out of a total population of about nine thousand. Chasms opened in the earth, and the houses being built on a steep hillside fell one upon another, and the ruin was terrible. Tiberias at the same time was visited in like manner, and half its inhabitants killed. The ravages then caused are still evident in ruined houses and in the cracked and twisted walls of the city, which have never been repaired.

Although there had been a large deportation of its inhabitants by Tiglath-pileser, and no doubt much destruction of life in other wars, Galilee seems to have entirely recovered from these calamities, for there is abundant evidence that in our Lord's time the country was densely populated. The conditions of life there—climate, soil, enterprise, and industry, and a ready market for all products—favoured such a result. The exact number of its inhabitants at any given time may be a matter of speculation; it has been reckoned from two millions to three millions at the beginning of our era; but since it was then customary for people to congregate in cities and towns, we shall be aided in our judgment if we turn our attention briefly to them. When the division of the land took place among the four tribes, sixty-nine cities at least are mentioned by name. Josephus in his account of Galilee mentions by name about forty cities and villages. It is interesting to note that of the nineteen cities assigned to Naphtali sixteen were 'fenced' (עָרֵי מִבְצָר), Jos 19^{35}. About the Sea of Galilee there were ten or twelve flourishing towns. Were not this fact corroborated by historical evidence, it might be disputed were one to judge solely by the present ruined condition of that region.

Beginning at Tiberias and going round by the S. we come first to *Bethmaus*, where was a synagogue, and which consequently ranked as a city. Beyond that was *Tarichea*, famous for its ship-building and its fisheries, of whose inhabitants six thousand young men were sent by Vespasian to Corinth to work on the Isthmus canal, and thirty thousand more were sold as slaves (*Wars*, III. x. 10). A fine bridge crossed the Jordan where it leaves the Lake, and beyond that on the E. side was *Gergesa*, the scene of the demoniacs and the herd of swine (Mt 8^{28-34}). On the brow of the mountain E. of Gergesa was *Gamala*, 'the strongest city in that part' (*Wars*, II. xx. 4), which withstood a siege of seven months, and was subdued only when Vespasian led against it three of his legions. Near Gamala was *Hippos*, one of the cities of the Decapolis. At the N.E. corner of the Lake was *Julias*, which previous to our era bore the name of Bethsaida, and which Herod Philip II. transformed into a beautiful and flourishing city, where he himself in A.D. 34 was buried in a costly tomb. On the W. side we have *Chorazin*, not far from the Lake, and *Capernaum*, *Bethsaida*, and *Magdala* directly on the shore. Capernaum was called Christ's 'own city' (Mt 9^{1}); Bethsaida was the home of Philip, Andrew, and Peter, possibly also of Zebedee and his sons James and John; and Magdala is memorable for the touching story of Mary and her connexion with our Lord. Close to Magdala, just above the famous robber-caves of Wady Haman, was *Beth-arbel*, a stronghold from the earliest times (Hos 10^{14}). We have now reached our starting-point, *Tiberias*, which was a city of great political importance, having been rebuilt in magnificent style by Herod Antipas not long before Christ began His public ministry, when it became the capital of the province.

No more than a glance at the country itself is needed to convince one that this province possessed an unusual number of large towns, to some of which was attached special historic interest. There may be mentioned *Safed*, visible from the shore of the Sea of Galilee, 'a city set upon a hill,' one of the sacred cities of the Jews; *Hazor*, the royal city of king Jabin (Jg 4^{2}); *Cana*, where our Lord's first miracle was performed (Jn 2); *Sepphoris*, the capital of the province till it was removed to Tiberias,—it was a strong place, where was a royal magazine of arms, and where the public archives were kept; *Kedesh*, one of the cities of refuge, and, under Tyrian rule, a centre of pagan worship; *Jotapata*, where one of the longest and most desperate sieges during the war with Rome took place; *Tabor*, conspicuous and beautiful in its position, and strongly fortified from the earliest times; *Japha*, which 'had very strong walls and a large number of inhabitants' (Jos. *Life*, 45); *Zabulon*, whose houses were built after the model of those of Tyre, Sidon, and Beirût, that is, with great elegance and of unusual height; *Gabara*, mentioned with Tiberias and Sepphoris as one of the largest cities of Galilee (Jos. *Life*, 25); *Gadara*, where Vespasian's first blow was struck in his campaign in Galilee (*Wars*, III. vii. 1); *Bethshean*, interesting in its ancient history, and still more famous under its new name Scythopolis; *Ptolemais*, where the Roman fleet and army gathered that had come to destroy the Jews as a nation; and, finally, *Cæsarea Philippi*, which under the name Banias was a seat of idol-worship ten centuries before it was known to the Greeks, and by these people in turn transformed into a shrine of Pan under the name Paneas, adorned by Herod the Great, and still more by his son Herod Philip II., a place visited by Vespasian as the guest of Herod Agrippa II., and later by Titus, wonderfully attractive in its situation, but chiefly interesting to the Christian from its connexion with our Lord. This rapid review, which embraces only a few of the better-known places of Galilee, indicates that wherever we turn our eyes, on hillside or plain, we look upon town, city, or village of prosperous Galilee, and the conclusion is forced upon us that its population was dense.

Among the productions of Galilee, the olive was perhaps the most prominent. In the Blessing of Moses it is said of Asher, 'let him dip his foot in oil' (Dt 33^{24}). The Rabbis said, 'In Asher oil flows like a river,' and 'It is easier to raise a legion of olive trees in Galilee than to raise one child in Judæa.' Both Syrians and Phœnicians, and frequently people from a greater distance, obtained their main supply of oil from this province. Great stores of it existed in Jotapata, so that in the siege of that place by the Romans oil was heated and poured over the soldiers who were crowding up to the walls, and, as it was at the same time set on fire, the effect was terribly disastrous. Of the vast quantity of oil which Solomon gave yearly to king Hiram, 150,000 or 200,000 gallons, a large proportion was supplied from Galilee (2 Ch 2^{10}). It is needless to add that the amount of revenue derived from this source was great.

Next to the oil, the amount of wheat raised in Galilee was equally surprising. For this article the demand of Phœnicia, whose ships went over the world, was enormous. In Ac 12^{20}, when war was on the point of breaking out between Herod Agrippa I. and the people of Tyre and Sidon, the latter succeeded in appeasing Herod's anger, which for them was most fortunate, since without the supplies of various kinds which they derived from his country they could not live.

Not only oil, wheat, and barley, but large quantities of dried figs, grapes, wine, pomegranates, honey, were raised and sent abroad, as well as numberless fatted fowl, sheep, and cattle. Flax also was produced in large quantities, which the weaving establishments and dye-houses of the seacoast towns transformed into useful or costly and beautiful fabrics.

Moreover, the fisheries of the Sea of Galilee must be mentioned as one of the chief industries of this province. Choice kinds of fish were abundant, and when properly prepared were sent over the world. Both Tarichea and Bethsaida seem to have derived their names from the fish factories for which they were famous.

The Phœnician coast lying so near Galilee, all its industries, manufactures, commerce, and luxurious living would only increase the market facilities of Galilee, of which her industrious inhabitants were ever ready to avail themselves. The prosperity of Galilee was enhanced by the network of roads which covered it (see Smith, *HGHL* 425 f.). These roads help to explain also the facility with which the ὄχλος assembled, which so often thronged our Lord.

Besides its natural attractions, its varied productions and commercial facilities, its populousness and wealth, Galilee appeals to us more strongly than in any other way by its unique place in the religious history of the world. It was the cradle of the Christian faith. Joseph and Mary belonged to Nazareth, and there Jesus lived the larger part of His life. The peculiar influences of this mountain city, and its wonderful outlook over land and sea, no doubt had their effect upon the mind of Christ during His boyhood and youth. When He desired larger opportunities for reaching His fellow-men, He did not go out of His province to Jerusalem, Rome, or elsewhere, but removed to Capernaum on the shore of the Lake (Mt 9^{1}). A large proportion of the apostles, the men who helped to shape early Christianity, were from Galilee—namely, Peter, Philip, Andrew, James, John, all of whom were from Bethsaida; Matthew from Capernaum; besides Bartholomew or Nathanael, and James the Less, son of Alphæus and Mary, and possibly others, for even those who were not born there could by virtue of residence and labours be classed as Galilæans (Ac 1^{11}). There is a tradition that the parents of the Apostle Paul came from Gischala in Galilee, which is not at all improbable when we remember how large a number of Jews in the days of Herod went forth from Palestine to seek their fortunes in the distant commercial centres of the Roman world. Salome the wife of Zebedee, Anna the prophetess who joined in the welcome to the infant Jesus, furnish hints as to the piety and intelligence of the women of this province.

It is scarcely necessary to look back to the pre-Israelitish period. Still even then the Baal worshippers from the seacoast, who sought out the most attractive spots for their degrading rites, had crowded in and set up their altars in the most beautiful groves and on many of the hills of Galilee—Kedesh, Dan, and Cæsarea Philippi being some of the best-known of these idolatrous centres.

It is a significant fact that the Jews, after the destruction of Jerusalem, should have chosen Galilee as their religious centre. This becomes indeed a matter of great surprise when we consider the relations of the orthodox Jews to the Founder of Christianity and His followers as these are portrayed to us in the Gospels. They must have considered it a congenial atmosphere for their libraries, schools, and learned men, for here these flourished in a remarkable manner. During the long period of three or more centuries many synagogues were erected, and remains of some of these are still found at different places, those at Biram, Chorazin, and Tell Hum being familiar to everybody. Here, before A.D. 200, the Mishna had been compiled, *i.e.* the oral or traditional law to which Christ so often referred was given a fixed form by being written down, and also the commentary on this, known as the Palestinian Talmud, was made, having been completed about two centuries later. Tiberias, like Safed, became one of the sacred cities of the Jews, and here the great Maimonides and some other of their famous Rabbis were buried.

Among the famous personages of Galilee may be mentioned Barak, one of Israel's heroes; Deborah, the author of a triumph song; the judges Ibzan, Elon, and Tola, who judged Israel forty years; the prophets Hosea (?), Jonah the son of Amittai, and Elisha the successor of Elijah. This was not Elijah's birthplace, still he can be said to belong to Galilee, because this was the scene of a large part of his labours.

The fascinating and inspiring natural objects so abundant in Galilee — vine-clad slopes, plains brilliant with flowers, and the beautiful lake deep within the bosom of the hills—could hardly fail to awaken the spirit of poetry; and besides the well-known examples in proof of this, some eminent scholars, as Gesenius and others, would locate here the Song of Songs.

Not only did our Lord, and also His disciples by birth or residence, belong to Galilee, but it is surprising to find so large a proportion of the Gospels picturing Galilæan scenes and life: places, people, parables, miracles, healing; rulers, soldiers, merchants, beggars; everything so vivid that we seem to be walking with the Master along the shore and from village to village of His native land.

The Sermon on the Mount (Mt 5), the raising of the widow's son (Lk 7^{11-15}), stilling the tempest (Mt 8^{26}), feeding the five thousand (Mk 6^{44}), the transfiguration (Mk 9^{2}), the marriage feast (Jn 2^{1}), the custom house (Lk 5^{27}), the draught of fishes (Lk 5^{6}), the mountain refuge for secret prayer (Mt 14^{23}), the little child in the Saviour's arms Mk 9^{36}), and the marvellous explanation of the bread of life (Jn 6),—these and a multitude of other sayings and incidents which make up the Gospels take us at once to Galilee. The number and variety of natural objects which Christ introduces so frequently in His utterances, illustrate the extent and correctness of His habit of observation. Nothing escapes His notice,—sky, earth, sea, fields, flowers, grass, grain, fruits, trees, fish, birds, and animals,—the salient facts of the world immediately about Him were grasped and made the basis of beautiful lessons. A very exhaustive article on this subject, entitled 'Christ as a Practical Observer of Nature, Persons, and Events,' may be found in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, July 1872, pp. 510-531, by the present writer.

The part played by Galilee in the war with Rome will always command the admiration of the world. It was a life-and-death struggle, and her people rallied with the utmost enthusiasm to the defence of their fatherland. The fact that during the first year of the war Galilee stood alone has not received the attention it deserves. The forces that were, or might have been, gathered in Judæa were not sent to her aid. From their camp at Ptolemais four veteran legions with their engines of war marched towards the hills of Galilee; but it proved to be no holiday expedition on which they had started. The campaign was long and bloody; the highland patriots resisted with almost superhuman energy; the Romans were successful at last, but their victory was a costly one. The hardest fighting of the war was done on the soil of Galilee, and in that terrible year one hundred and fifty thousand of her people perished. From the days of Joshua to those of Bar-Cochba no Jewish army had shown greater valour than did the compatriots of Jesus of Nazareth—the men from the home-land of Christ.

LITERATURE.—For a full account of this province in all its historical phases of interest, see the present writer's *Galilee in the Time of Christ*, Boston (U.S.) 1881, London 1885; cf. also his *East of the Jordan*; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 413 ff.; Neubauer, *Géog. du Talmud*, 180 ff.; Reland, *Palest.*; Robinson, *BRP*² ii.; Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, 361 ff.; Conder, *Handbk. to Bible*, 301 ff.; Guérin, *Galilée*; Buhl, *Geog. Alt. Paläst.*; Baedeker-Socin, *Paläst.*; Schürer, *HJP* (Index).

S. MERRILL.

GALILEE, MOUNTAIN IN.—After our Lord's resurrection, the eleven disciples went away from Jerusalem 'into Galilee, unto the mountain where Jesus had appointed them (*εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν εἰς τὸ ὄρος οὗ ἐτάξατο αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς*).' There the disciples saw and worshipped Him, and received His final commission (Mt 28^{16-20}). No record or hint indicates to us what mountain is meant. For harmonistic reasons the theory that the Galilæan hill was the Mt. of Olives, whose north point is said to have borne the name 'Galilee,' has found favour in some quarters. This opinion scarcely needs refutation (see Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, vi. 380 n.).

S. MERRILL.

GALILEE, SEA OF.—This appears in the Bible under several different names, which must first be noticed. Modern writers not infrequently speak of the 'Lake of Tiberias,' but this term is never used in NT. Moreover, Lk 5^{1} is the only place where the name '**Lake of Gennesaret**' (*λίμνη Γεννησαρέτ*) occurs. In four instances it is referred to as 'the Lake' (*λίμνη*), Lk 5^{2} $8^{22.\ 23.\ 33}$, and in several others as 'the sea' (*θάλασσα*), Jn 6^{11-25}. Twice John employs '**Sea of Tiberias**' (*θάλασσα τῆς Τιβεριάδος*), 6^{1} 21^{1}, but in the first case he had already mentioned in a natural way the Sea of Galilee, and immediately added as an explanation for his Gentile readers that it was the same as the Sea of Tiberias. This reduces the use of the latter name to a single instance. 'Sea of Galilee' (*θάλασσα τῆς Γαλιλαίας*) would seem to be the best known and most appropriate name, and this is used five times (Mt 4^{18} 15^{29}, Mk 1^{16} 7^{31}, Jn 6^{1}). Glancing at the OT we find for this body of water two names, or properly one name spelled in different ways. The 'Sea of Chinnereth' (יָם כִּנֶּרֶת) appears in defining the boundary of the land (Nu 34^{11}), and again in defining the border of the territory of Gad (Jos 13^{27}). 'Sea of Chinneroth' is given in describing the territory of Sihon that was conquered by Moses (Jos 12^{3}). Chinnereth (כִּנֶּרֶת) is used once alone (Dt 3^{17}) and Chinneroth (כִּנְּרוֹת) also (Jos 11^{2}), both referring to the Sea of Galilee. Once Chinneroth is used for a district conquered by Benhadad (1 K 15^{20}), and Chinnereth appears in Jos 19^{35} as a 'fenced city.' It is perfectly consistent with Oriental usage for a city, a district, and a body of water adjoining it to be called by the same name, although it is quite possible that Dt 3^{17} (see Driver, *ad loc.*), Jos 11^{2} 19^{35} all refer to the *city* Chinnereth or Chinneroth.

To this brief survey of biblical names for this lake we may add that Gennesar (*τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ Γεννησάρ*, RV 'the water of **Gennesareth**') is given in 1 Mac 11^{67}. Josephus had occasion to refer to this lake many times, and he always uses the name Gennesar (*e.g. Ant.* XIII. v. 7). The change from the Heb. Kinnereth to Gennesar was a natural one (but see G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 443 n.). Josephus adhered to the OT name in its changed form, while the NT writers, as we have seen, used the title 'Sea of Galilee.'

As to the meaning of these names, Galilee is obviously derived from the province of that name, and Tiberias from the city on the west shore of the lake. *Chinnereth* may be from כִּנּוֹר, 'harp.' Benzinger (*Heb. Arch.* 23) thinks this improbable; and Fuerst suggests 'basin.' *Gennesaret* may have the same meaning as *Chinnereth* if we allow that it was simply transferred from the Hebrew; or it may be from *gan* and *sâr*, 'prince's garden,' applied, of course, to the Land of Gennesaret, from which the Sea of Galilee is once called the 'Lake of Gennesaret' (Lk 5^{1}).

The Sea of Galilee is 13 miles long and a little less than 7 miles wide in its widest part. Its greatest depth is less than 200 ft. It is not quite oval in form, although it appears to be so when looked at from the surrounding heights. It is more properly pear-shaped, having the small end at the south. Its level below the Mediterranean is about 700 ft. On the east side the mountain rises from its shore to an elevation of 2000 ft., the same as that of the great plateau of Bashan beyond. On the west side there is also a mountain wall, but towards the north the slopes are very gradual, and on the south the lake touches the plain of the Jordan Valley. To the eye it is a most attractive object, a beautiful body of water set deep in a vast basin among the hills. Not only the Jews, but people of many other races who were not natives of the soil, have praised the beauty of the Sea of Galilee. 'Although God has created seven seas,' said the Rabbis, 'yet He has chosen this one as His special delight.' They speak of its 'gracefully flowing' or 'gliding waters.' The mountains, the peaceful shore at their base, the blue water overarched by the blue sky, form a landscape picture that has kindled the enthusiasm of many hearts. It is seen at present at its worst estate; but in the time of our Lord this shore was a continuous garden, and even the matter-of-fact Pliny declared that this lake was 'surrounded by pleasant towns' (*HN* v. 15).

These towns have been described briefly in the article GALILEE, but the list at least may be repeated:—Tiberias, and south of it Bethmaus, Tarichea, Sinnabris, Gergesa, Gamala, Hippos, Julias, Bethsaida, Chorazin, Capernaum, Magdala, and Beth-arbel. On the mountain to the S.E. was Gadara, Safed on its lofty summit to the N.W., and a castle was perched directly above Tiberias almost overhanging the lake. Through Wady Hamam the Horns of Hattin appeared, and to the north rose the magnificent dome of Hermon. This famous mountain is not one of a cluster, it is not hemmed in and dwarfed by surrounding peaks, but it stands alone, revealing its full grandeur. From the shore of the Sea of Galilee, if we add its depression of 700 ft. to the elevation of Mount Hermon, we look up to its summit a sheer height of over 10,000 ft. Among all the mountains of the world, such a view is seldom surpassed.

The hills, which appear to surround the lake, recede from the shore a distance varying from a few hundred yards to half a mile or more, and this belt is generally level, so that, without cutting or filling, a carriage road could readily be constructed entirely round the lake; with a horse and carriage the circuit could be made in four or five hours. At two points, where the recession of the mountain is greatest, two charming plains are formed, namely, *el-Batiha* on the N.E. of the lake, and Gennesaret on the N.W. They resemble each other, are equally fertile, but it is Gennesaret that has always received the most praise. See GENNESARET (LAND OF).

The river Jordan enters the lake at the northern end, and passes out at the southern end. It brings down so much sediment at times that it appears like a very dirty stream: still the water of the lake itself is always clear; it is also sweet and cool.

The steep mountain wall on the E. side, already referred to, is volcanic, a part of the great lava formation which includes the Bashan plain and the Hauran mountains, where exist a score or more of extinct craters. The hot springs of Gadara, within 5 miles of the S.E. corner of the lake, those at Tiberias on the W. shore, and likewise the earthquakes which visit that region from time to time, are indications that internal fires still exist. The latest recorded earthquake from which Tiberias suffered severely was in 1837, vividly described by the American missionary Rev. Wm. M. Thomson, well known as the author of *The Land and the Book*. The region to the N. of the lake through which the Jordan passes, extending to Chorazin and Tell Hum, is simply a mass of large basalt boulders, packed so closely that it is next to impossible to get through them.

The hot springs near Tiberias have been famous from the earliest history of the country, and the inhabitants still prize them for their medicinal uses. The volume of water is large, and, could they be properly cared for and managed by other than their present degraded owners, there is no reason why these springs should not become one of the most famous health resorts in the world. Except in midsummer the climate is delightful—in fact, tropical; and when a person is chilled by the strong winds of mountain or tableland, the sensation of going down to the warm, even balmy, atmosphere of the lake shore is one of extreme pleasure.

Equally with the hot baths, the fish of this lake have always been held in highest estimation. Laws traditionally dating from the time of Joshua (Bab. Talm. *Baba Kama*, 806) regulated this industry, and, with certain limitations, made this fishing ground free to all. There were several choice varieties, and the inhabitants of the region boasted that some of them were the same as those found in the Nile. There seems, moreover, to have been an inexhaustible supply of fish. Bethsaida on the north was a 'house of fish'; Tarichea on the south was 'a fish factory,' and the trade in this commodity had enriched its citizens. On the part of the Jews there was not only a choice in kind but in quality as well, for they distinguished sharply between 'clean' and 'unclean,' a fact no doubt alluded to in our Lord's parable of the net, where the 'good were gathered into baskets, and the bad were cast away' (Mt 13[47. 48]).

The lake is subject to violent storms, owing partly to the difference of temperature about it from that of the mountains or tableland so far above it, so that the event recorded in Mt 8[24], when Christ stilled the waves, was of no infrequent occurrence. From an eminence the writer has several times seen the clouds gather above the lake, a dense black mass, not covering a great area, and sink lower and lower towards the water as if about to smite the surface; and even should they not actually do so, they disturb it so that the waves are strong and boats are placed in great peril.

From the way in which the NT speaks of boats and ships on the Sea of Galilee, we infer that it was covered with them. There seem to have been numbers of them ready at any given point. Given ten or twelve flourishing cities on or near the shore of the lake between which there was constant communication, it could not be otherwise than that the number should be great. These boats were engaged in fishing or traffic, or in carrying travellers or parties of pleasure from shore to shore. Some writers are slow to admit that there were ships of any size on the lake, although the Greek word for ship (πλοῖον) is used in the NT, whether the Sea of Galilee or the Mediterranean is the body of water referred to. So far as this evidence goes, the boats might be as large in one case as in the other. On one occasion during the Jewish war, when a movement was planned against Tiberias, Josephus in a short time got ready two hundred and forty ships from Tarichea and its vicinity alone (*Wars*, II. xxi. 8; *Life*, 32). In this city shipbuilding was a lucrative industry. At a later period during that war many of the soldiers and citizens of Tarichea took refuge from the Romans in ships, and four thousand to six thousand of them were slain—showing that the boats, to have held such a multitude, must have been of considerable size. Josephus speaks of 'climbing up into the ships' (*Wars*, III. x. 5), which implies quite a different craft than would be meant had he said 'they stepped from the shore into their boats.' In Jn 21[8] is found a reference to the small boat (πλοιάριον) which always accompanies, being frequently towed after, a large ship the same as now. From all that we can learn of the facts, we certainly have a right to picture the Sea of Galilee in Christ's time as dotted with white sails, just as we know that the shore was lined with cities and the whole basin full of life. Between its present state and its former prosperity the contrast is extremely painful.

The Sea of Galilee was praised by the Romans and was the pride of the Jews, but it appeals to the Christian far more strongly than it could possibly have done to them, because of its connexion with Jesus of Nazareth. It is He that has made it immortal. Everywhere about this lake we trace His footsteps, and at every point locate some act of His blessed ministry. The memories of His life linger here as nowhere else in Palestine. He made one of its beautiful cities (Capernaum) His home

(Mt 4^{13}). Here He called the fishermen Peter, Andrew, James, and John to be fishers of men (Mt 4^{18-22}), also for the same purpose Matthew was called from the receipt of custom (Mk 2^{13-17}). Here 'multitudes' came to Him 'to be healed of their diseases,' and 'he healed them all' (Lk 6^{17-19}). Out of the large number of such cases we readily recall that of the nobleman's son (Jn 4^{46-54}), the centurion's servant (Mt 8^{5-13}), the raising of Jairus' daughter (Mt 9^{18-26}), the paralytic who was let down through the uncovered roof (Mk 2^{1-12}), the demoniac in the synagogue at Capernaum (Mk 1^{21-28}), the demoniac of Gadara on the eastern shore (Lk 8^{26-40}), the blind man at Bethsaida (Mk 8^{22-26}), and the curing of Peter's wife's mother of the fever (Mt 8^{14-17}). Of another class of incidents which illustrate our Lord's character and His life in Galilee, a few may be mentioned, as His walking on the water and stilling the tempest (Mt 14^{22-36}), and His feeding of the five thousand (Mt 14^{13-21}). Still another illustrative class comes under the head of conversations, lessons, and warnings. In the leaven of the Pharisees hypocrisy was rebuked (Lk 12^{1}); in the innocence of childhood humility was inculcated (Lk 9^{46-48}); the feast with Levi showed that social courtesies are to be observed (Mk 2^{15}); that both patriotism and religion have their claims upon the individual is made clear in the paying of the tribute money (Mt 17^{24-27}); the signs in the sky as well as the sower in the field teach valuable truths (Mt 13^{1-15} and ch. 16); and it was here in Galilee that the foundation principles of the New Religion were first promulgated and the nature of the Bread of Life unfolded (Mt 5^{1-24}, Jn 6). It is to some or all of these facts that Christ Himself alludes as 'mighty works' (Mt 11^{20-24}), which would have moved the people of Tyre, or even those of Sodom, could they have witnessed them.

Of the cities about the Sea of Galilee attention should be directed to Capernaum. There was some special reason why our Lord chose this as His residence. Its importance was not wholly commercial; more than any other city of the north, one might say with truth of Palestine, with the single exception of Jerusalem, it was a centre of news. Roads led thence to Damascus and the Euphrates; to the cities of the Mediterranean coast which were in touch with Europe; to the S.W. by Gaza and thence to Egypt; to the S. along the great mountain range to Shechem, Jerusalem, and Hebron; to the Jordan Valley and the rich and populous country of Peræa. Sailors, soldiers, merchants, travellers, messengers, officers, princes, men of many classes and from many parts of the world, passed through this place on business or pleasure. The fame of some startling event, some great healer, some teacher of unusual wisdom, would be carried thence with rapidity and in every direction. While this fact serves to illustrate further the busy life of this lake shore at a single point, we cannot help feeling at the same time that it makes more significant the other fact that Christ took up here His residence. The record is very simple, 'leaving Nazareth . . . he dwelt in Capernaum' (Mt 4^{13}). Could it have been said, 'Jesus shut himself up in a cloister,' how widely different would have been the history of Christianity!

Additional Note.—It seems necessary to add the following note on the depth of the Sea of Galilee. In 1875 Lortet made soundings which corresponded in general with those already known and accepted by Palestinian scholars. He also found, as he supposed, near the north end of the lake where the Jordan enters, a hole '250 metres in depth,' which would be over 800 ft. Having crossed the lake at or near this point many times, and made soundings of his own, the present writer was certain that Lortet was wrong. The bottom of the hole would be 100 ft. lower than the surface of the Dead Sea. Moreover, had such a hole ever existed, it would very soon have been filled by mud brought down by the Upper Jordan. These facts were laid before the public. In 1890 another Frenchman, Th. Barrois, made soundings, but found nothing to corroborate Lortet's impossible figures. Soon after, Lortet admitted that he was in error. The mischief having been done, the mistake is perpetuated because people quote Lortet without being aware of the corrections. Lortet's book, *La Syrie d'Aujourd'hui*, was published in 1884 (see pp. 505, 506), and Barrois' notes may be found in the *PEFSt* for July 1894, pp. 211–220.

LITERATURE.—In addition to what has been cited in the article, the reader may consult the following: Merrill, *Galilee in the Time of Christ*, also his *East of the Jordan*; Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* 25, 45, 214 f.; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 439 ff.; Robinson, *BRP*² ii.; De Saulcy, *Journey round the Dead Sea*, etc. ii. 392 ff.; Buhl, *Geog.* 113, 229; Tristram, *Nat. Hist. of Bible*, 285; Reland, *Pal.* i. 239, 240; Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.*; Guérin, *Galilée*.

S. MERRILL.

GALL.—The Eng. rendering for two Heb. words. 1. מְרֵרָה *mĕrêrâh*, or מְרֹרָה *mĕrôrâh*, denotes 'bitterness,' corresponding to the Arab. *mĕrârah*. It is used in this sense (Job 13^{26}), 'thou writest bitter things against me,' *mĕrôrôth*. The expression אַשְׁכְּלֹת מְרֹרֹת 'clusters of bitternesses' (AV and RV 'clusters are bitter'), Dt 32^{32}, is a parallelism with *grapes of gall*, עִנְּבֵי־רוֹשׁ *'innĕbhê-rôsh*, *i.e.* poppy-heads (see below). This meaning led to its application to the *bile* (Job 16^{13}), and the *gall bladder*, as its receptacle (Job 20^{25}, To 6^{6} etc.). The ancients supposed that the poison of serpents lay in the gall (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xi. 62; Job 20^{14}).

2. רֹאשׁ or רוֹשׁ *rôsh*.—A plant characterized by its bitterness, 'a root that beareth (*rôsh*) gall and wormwood' (Dt 29^{18}), 'the wormwood and the (*rôsh*) gall' (La 3^{19}). Jer (8^{14} 9^{15}) speaks of 'water of (*rôsh*) gall.' Figuratively, one in affliction is described as 'compassed with (*rôsh*) gall and travail' (La 3^{5}). Judgment is said to spring up as *hemlock* (*rôsh*) 'in the furrows of the field' (Hos 10^{4}), and is said to be 'turned into (*rôsh*) gall' (Am 6^{12}). It is impossible to tell with certainty what plant is intended. Some have supposed the poison hemlock, *Conium maculatum*, L., but this is not a field plant. Others have supposed the colocynth, *Citrullus Colocynthis*, L. This, although it has a bitter fruit, is not a plant of ploughed ground. Others, again, have supposed the darnel, *Lolium temulentum*, L. This, however, is not bitter. The more probable view is that the poppy, *Papaver*, is intended, perhaps *P. rheas*, L., or *P. somniferum*, L., the *opium* plant. A head of this plant is called in Arab. *râs el-khishkhash*, 'head of khishkhâsh,' the word *ras* being the same as the Hebrew *rôsh*, a *head*. They are called in Eng. poppy-heads.

What was the (χολή) *gall* that was mingled with *vinegar* (Mt 27^{34}, cf. *Ev. Petr.* 5, χολὴν μετὰ ὄξους; RV 'wine,' cf. Ps 69^{21}), and the *myrrh* mingled with *wine* (Mk 15^{23} ἐσμυρνισμένον οἶνον)? Both of these evangelists add that, at a later period in the crucifixion day, a man soaked a sponge in vinegar, and put it on a reed, and gave it to Jesus to drink (Mt 27^{48}, Mk 15^{36}). Jesus evidently partook of it. John doubtless alludes to the same ($19^{29.30}$), showing how our Saviour called for it by saying 'I thirst' (v.^{28}). John adds that the sponge dipped in vinegar was 'put upon hyssop.' It is probable that the soldiers who mocked Christ by offering Him vinegar (Lk 23^{36}), did so only to aggravate His thirst, and did not give it to Him, and that this refinement of cruelty led to the *bonâ fide* offer which our Saviour accepted. How was it that He called for this draught after He had refused the one at first offered before His crucifixion? It is well known that a cup of wine with frankincense in it was given to criminals, just before their execution, to alleviate their pain. Myrrh would have properties similar to those of frankincense. It is possible that the *gall* of Mt was the same as the *myrrh* of Mk, the word *myrrh* being of the same root as the Heb. original of *gall* (Ps 69^{21}), and, like it, signifying primarily *bitter*. Mt, according to Hengstenberg, gives the word χολή, which agrees textually with the LXX of the psalm, that he may point out the prophetic character of the latter, and its fulfilment in Christ, while Mk gives the name of the substance used. This substance is said by Mt to have been given in ὄξος, which means both *sour wine* and *vinegar*, and by Mk in οἶνος, which is the ordinary word for wine. Here again, acc. to Hengstenberg, Mt aims at textual conformity with the psalmist, while Mk gives the more familiar name. Jn also notes the prophecy of thirst (19^{28}, cf. Ps 69^{21}), and its fulfilment in Christ. The motive of our Saviour, in refusing the potent anæsthetic offered before His sacrifice was complete, would seem to have been His desire to endure all that was appointed for Him, in full consciousness of the purpose in view. He only consented to moisten His parched lips and tongue at the last, not to soothe His anguish, but to gain strength enough to enable Him to cry, 'with a loud voice,' 'It is finished,' that is, 'my work is done, and the world is saved,' and then He bowed His head and gave up the ghost. G. E. POST.

GALLANT.—In Is 33^{21} as adj., and in Nah 2^{5m}, Zec 11^{2m} as subst., 'gallant' is employed to tr. the Heb. word אַדִּיר *'addîr*, which is also both an adj. and a subst. As an adj. *'addîr* signifies magnificent or majestic; and as a subst. a great one, a noble. In Is 33^{21} the adj. is applied to a ship, and it is to be observed that in the same verse the word is used of J″ (AV 'glorious,' RV 'in majesty'). In this sense of magnificent the Eng. word 'gallant' is nearly obsolete. Bunyan (*Holy War*, Clar. Press ed. p. 8) uses it of a country (as *'addîr* is applied to a nation in Ezk 32^{18}, EV 'famous'), 'Now, there is in this gallant country of Universe, a fair and delicate town, a Corporation, called Mansoul.' J. HASTINGS.

GALLERY.—1. AV in Ca 7^{5} reads 'The king is held in the galleries.' The Heb. is בָּרְהָטִים, which, there is no reasonable doubt, means 'in the tresses' (so RV). The king is captivated, that is to say, by the tresses of this 'prince's daughter.' רְהָטִים, prob. of Aramaic origin (Dillm., Siegfried-Stade), is found elsewhere only in Gn 30^{38} and Ex 2^{16}, in the sense of 'watering troughs.' In Ca 1^{17} the *Ḳerê* has רָהִיטֵנוּ (AVm 'galleries'), but the *Kethibh* רַחִיטֵנוּ appears preferable (AV and RV 'rafters'; Siegfried-Stade, and Baethgen in Kautzsch's *AT*, 'Getäfel,' *i.e.* 'panelling'). 2. אַתִּיק, a word whose etymology and meaning are both obscure. It is found only in the description of Ezekiel's temple, Ezk $41^{15.16}$ $42^{3.5}$. In the first of these passages the *Kethibh* has אַתּוּק; Cornill substitutes קִירוֹתֶיהָ 'its walls,' and this meaning, if not reading, appears to be demanded by the context (cf. notes of Davidson and Bertholet, *ad ll.citt.*). The trⁿ 'colonnade' (Siegfried-Stade, *Säulengänge* (?), AVm 'walks with pillars') would suit some of the other passages. See further, under TEMPLE. J. A. SELBIE.

GALLEY occurs once in OT (Is 33^{21} AV and RV), where it is said of the (metaphorical) waters defending Jerusalem 'that no galley with oars' shall enter them. The Heb. is אֳנִי שַׁיִט, which would be more correctly trᵈ 'no fleet [אֳנִי being a collective noun, אֳנִיָּה denoting a single ship] with oars.'

The galley of mediæval times was the successor or representative of the war-galleys (*naves longæ*) of the Romans, Greeks, and Carthaginians. (See SHIPS). It consisted of a long narrow open boat worked by oars, but carrying one or two masts with lateen sails to be used when the wind was favourable. There was a short deck at the prow for carrying the fighting men, and another at the stern for the captain, knights, and gentlemen. The largest of these vessels were called *galleasses*, and were formerly employed by the Venetians, Spaniards, and Portuguese. These last in the Spanish Armada carried each 110 soldiers and 222 galley slaves. The Venetian galleasses were about 162 ft. long above, and 133 ft. by the keel; 32 ft. wide, with 23 ft. length of sternpost. They were furnished with three masts and thirty-two banks of oars; each bank having two oars worked by six or seven slaves, generally chained to the oar. In the prow were three small batteries of cannon, together with guns on each quarter, and the complement reached 1000 or 1200 men. Along with these war-vessels of the largest size were the *half-galleys*, from 120 to 130 ft. in length, furnished with two masts and sails, to be used as required, and carrying five pieces of cannon. Of a size still smaller were the *quarter-galleys*, provided with twelve to sixteen banks of oars. Galleys were in use on the Thames down to the beginning of the century; and a common punishment for criminals in England and France was to be 'sent to the galleys' for life or for shorter periods.

The life of galley slaves in mediæval times was miserable in the extreme. They were generally chained to their benches or oars, and compelled to work by boatswains, who occupied a bridge running along the centre of the boat, and were armed with long whips, which they applied mercilessly to the bare backs of the oarsmen. Their food consisted of biscuit, with sometimes a little rice or vegetables; their drink was water often foul, but containing a little vinegar or oil. A galley slave when condemned in perpetuity was, in a civil sense, dead; he could not dispose of his effects, nor inherit; if married, his marriage was null; and his widow could not have any of her dower out of his goods, which were confiscated. Amongst the Mediterranean nations, galley slaves were generally prisoners of war. E. HULL.

GALLIM (גַּלִּים 'heaps').—A place near Jerusalem, 1 S 25^{44}. It is personified, along with Anathoth and other towns, in Is 10^{30}. It is generally placed to the N. of Jerus., but may have been to the S., at the modern *Beit Jala*, near which are remarkable stone cairns. See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvii.

GALLIO (Γαλλίων, Ac 18).—Son of M. Annæus Seneca, a Roman eques and rhetorician, brother of Seneca the philosopher, and uncle of Lucan the poet. He was born at Cordova, but came with his father to Rome in the reign of Tiberius. Originally called M. Annæus Novatus, he was adopted by, and took the name of, L. Junius Gallio (Dio C. lx. 35). Under Claudius he became proconsul * of Achaia, probably through the influence of Seneca, who was Nero's tutor, and also perhaps, as Renan suggests, on account of his 'haute culture hellénique.' He entered on office at Corinth during St. Paul's first visit to the city, *c.* A.D. 52–53. An attack of fever, which he attributed to the climate, led to his departure, and to a sea-voyage for his health (Sen. *Ep.* 104); eventually he returned to Rome (Dio C. lxi. *s.f.*). Seneca's high position after Nero's accession in 54 would secure for G. a continuance of court favour, and he may be the L. Junius to whom a wax tablet found at Pompeii refers as consul under that emperor. Pliny (*HN* xxxi. 33) remembered a voyage of G. 'post consulatum,' on account of blood-expectoration. When Nero constrained Seneca to kill himself (A.D. 65), G. begged for his own life (Tac. *Ann.* xv. 73), and was spared at the time; but afterwards he and his brother Mela (Lucan's father) became victims.[*] With apparent timidity G. united singular amiability. Seneca (who dedicates to G. his *De ira* and *De vita beata*) writes: 'Nemo mortalium uni tam dulcis est quam hic omnibus'; he eulogizes him, also, as free from vice, impervious to flattery, and one whom to love to the utmost was to love too little (*Q.N.* iv. Pr.). His reputation for wit is attested by Dio, who refers (lx. 35), about 160 years after G.'s death, to a 'jocus urbanissimus' of his[†] as still current.

---

* The title indicates that Achaia was a senatorial province, and illustrates the writer's accuracy; for under Tiberius and Caligula it had been imperially governed (Tac. *Ann.* 76), and under Nero it received temporary 'liberty' in 66 or 67 A.D. (Suet. *Nero*, 24). Claudius transferred the province to the Senate in 44 A.D.

Soon after G.'s arrival at Corinth, a band of Jews, provoked by the conversion of Crispus, the ruler of their synagogue, and relying, probably, on the new proconsul's complaisance, dragged St. Paul before his tribunal, clamouring for judgment against a man who 'persuaded men to worship God contrary to the (Mosaic) law.' Judaism was a 'religio licita,' and entitled to protection; but G. saw in St. Paul's alleged offence only the outcome of some internal religious disputation among the Jews, and neither a civil wrong done to the complainers (*ἀδίκημα*) nor an outrage against public morality (*ῥᾳδιούργημα πονηρόν*). He declined to hear St. Paul's defence in a case which called for no judicial intervention, and contemptuously drove the accusers from his judgment-seat. When the Greek by-standers,[‡] without special interest, probably, in the apostle, but readily showing their animus against the unpopular Jews, seized and beat Sosthenes, the successor of Crispus and the ringleader presumably of the disturbance, G. refrained from interposing; the Jews, he doubtless considered, would not be the worse for being thus taught to keep their religious disputes to themselves. To this assault on Sosthenes, not to the Christian faith, the statement 'G. cared for none of these things' directly refers; but it is not likely that he interested himself further in St. Paul or his doctrine; and it is no more than possible that a report about the apostle by G. to Seneca helped afterwards to lead to a personal connexion, itself doubtful, between Seneca and St. Paul (Lightf. *Phil.* Exc. ii.). G.'s Roman justice protected, but his Roman pride would ignore, the man to whose incidental association with him his own notability is mainly due.

LITERATURE.—Add to reff. above, Hausrath, art. 'Gallio,' in Schenkel's *Bib.-Lex.* v. ii.; Farrar, *Seekers after God*, pp. 16-21; Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, pp. 257-261. On Gallio as a possible link of connexion between St. Paul and Seneca, Gelpke, *De Familiaritate P. et S.*; Aubertin, *Sénèque et St. Paul.*

H. COWAN.

GALLOWS.—See HANGING, and CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS, vol. i. p. 525^{a}.

GAMAEL (A Γαμαήλ, B Γάμηλος), 1 Es 8^{29}.—In Ezr 8^{2} DANIEL (which see, No. 2).

GAMALIEL (גַּמְלִיאֵל, Γαμαλιήλ = *Reward of God*).—**1.** The son of Pedahzur, and 'prince of the children of Manasseh' (Nu 1^{10} 2^{20} $7^{54.59}$ 10^{23}). **2.** 'A Pharisee . . . a doctor of the law, had in honour of all the people,' who intervened in the Sanhedrin on behalf of Peter and the other apostles (Ac 5^{34-39}), and the instructor of Saul of Tarsus (Ac 22^{3}). This Gamaliel is generally identified with the famous Rabbi Gamaliel, the grandson of Hillel the founder of the more liberal of the two schools into which the Pharisees were divided. He is known in Jewish writings as Gamaliel *ha-zāḳēn*, i.e. *the older*, to distinguish him from his grandson Gamaliel II., and from his high character and learning was the first of the seven Jewish doctors who were honoured with the title of *Rabban* (our Rabbi or Master). All that we can learn of Gamaliel proves him to have been an open-minded, liberal man, though some of the anecdotes usually cited in support of this, such as the story of the Statue and the Bath quoted by Conybeare and Howson, are now known to refer to his grandson Gamaliel II. How far, however, he was in advance of his times is shown by his studies in Greek literature, which by the narrower Rabbis was put on the same level as Egyptian thaumaturgy, and by various humane enactments. Thus he laid it down that the poor heathen should have the same rights as the poor Jews in gathering the gleanings after harvest, and that the Jews on meeting the heathen should extend to them the customary greeting, 'Peace be with you,' even on their feast days, when they were mostly engaged in worshipping their idols; while to him are also ascribed certain laws to protect wives against unprincipled husbands, and widows against unscrupulous children (see Ginsburg in *Kitto's Bibl. Cycl.*, art. 'Gamaliel'). In view of all this, it is easy to understand the attitude which Gamaliel adopted in the Sanhedrin on the occasion of the apostles' trial; although even there his conduct must be traced rather to a prudential dread of violent measures than to a spirit of systematic tolerance. There is nothing certainly to prove that he had at any time a decided leaning towards Christianity, and the traditions that he was a secret disciple (Clement, *Recogn.* i. 65), and was baptized by Peter and Paul (Phot. *Cod.* 171, p. 199), are now universally rejected. He died, as he had lived, a strict Jew; and so great was his reputation that, according to the Mishna (*Sota*, ix. 15), 'with the death of Gamaliel the reverence for the law ceased, and purity and abstinence died away.' It is right to add that Baur and the Tübingen school find it so difficult to reconcile Gamaliel's attitude in Ac 5 with the persecuting spirit afterwards shown by Saul, then his pupil, that they pronounce the whole passage unhistorical. But do pupils never in later years diverge from their teachers' doctrines? And may not special circumstances have arisen in connexion with the appearance of Stephen which called forth a fanatic zeal in Saul little in accord with his early training?

LITERATURE.—Lechler, *Apost. and Post-Apost. Times*, i. 76, n. 1; Farrar, *Life and Work of St. Paul*, i., Excursus v. 'Gamaliel and the School of Tübingen'; Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 183, 323, 363 f. For the Jewish references to G., Ginsburg, in the art. above cited, refers specially to Frankel, *Hodegetica in Mischnam*, Lipsiæ, 1859, p. 57 ff.

G. MILLIGAN.

GAMES do not appear in the Scriptures of the Jewish people with anything like the same frequency as on the monuments and in the ancient literature of Egypt and Greece and Rome. Of public games like those of ancient Greece there is no mention in the OT, although in the Maccabæan period we read that Jason the high priest (2 Mac 4^{7-17}), in his zeal for the introduction of Greek customs, obtained the authority of Antiochus Epiphanes to set up a Greek place of exercise, and form a body of youths to be trained therein. His conduct in this is severely condemned, for it is said of him and of the priests under his influence that 'they had no more any zeal for the services of the altar, but, despising the sanctuary and neglecting the sacrifices, they hasten to enjoy that which was unlawfully provided in the palæstra, after the summons of the discus; thinking of no account the honours of their fathers, and thinking the glories of the Greeks best of all' (2 Mac $4^{14.15}$).

---

[*] So Dio C. lxii. 25. Jerome places G.'s death (by compulsory suicide) prior to Seneca's (*Add. to Chron. Euseb.* p. 161, ed. Scal.).

[†] When Claudius was poisoned by his wife Agrippina, G., alluding to the deification of emperors, and to the custom of dragging criminals by a hook to the Tiber, spoke of Claudius as 'unco in cœlum raptum.'

[‡] The word 'Greeks' is not in the oldest MSS, but is probably a correct gloss. Ewald, however (*Hist. Isr.* vii. 380), refers to the Jews the assault on Sosthenes, whom he identifies with the Sosthenes of 1 Co 1, and regards as already in sympathy with St. Paul.

Of children's games there are but few traces. It is given by the prophet Zechariah as a token of the peace and prosperity that should one day bless Jerusalem, that the 'streets of the city shall be full of boys and girls playing in the streets thereof' (Zec 8^{5}). What their games might be the prophet does not say. One of the diversions of Jewish children, we know from the Talmud, was imitating the doings of their elders; and Jesus has made us familiar with children playing at marriages and funerals, 'calling one to another, and saying, We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced; we have mourned to you, and ye have not wept' (Mt 11^{17}, Lk 7^{32}). The children seem also to have amused themselves with living creatures. 'Wilt thou play with him as with a bird; or wilt thou bind him for thy maidens?' is God's remonstrance addressed to Job (Job 41^{5}), where He asks the patriarch if he could make a plaything of the crocodile, as the child does of a bird. *Dancing* was a diversion of children as well as of grown-up people (Job 21^{11}). The Talmud speaks of games in which the children played with nuts, and, taking this in connexion with the proverbial Latin expression *relinquere nuces*, we may have a reference to it in St. Paul's words, 'When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child; but when I became a man, I put away childish things' (1 Co 13^{11}).

Of manly sports among the Jews the traces are likewise few. *Archery* seems to have been practised as a sport as well as cultivated for the requirements of war. The uncertainty of the rendering in 2 S 1^{18} does not allow us to use it as evidence, but Job seems to have it in mind when he complains (Job $16^{12.13}$), 'God hath set me up for his mark; his arrows compass me round about'; and we find the same image in La 3^{12} 'He hath bent his bow, and set me as a mark for the arrow.' The use of the *sling*, which played an important part in the military training of the Israelite (Jg 20^{16}, 1 S 17^{19}, 1 Ch 12^{2}, 2 Ch 26^{14}), must have demanded considerable practice, especially in the case of the left-handed Benjamites, who 'could sling stones at an hairbreadth and not miss.' A sport which was common among the youths of Palestine in the time of Jerome is described by him as consisting of raising stones of great weight to the knees, to the shoulders and the head, and above the head, according to their strength, wrestlers being matched against each other according to this test. It has been supposed by Ewald and others that 'the burdensome stone' of Zec 12^{3} is to be explained by the practice thus described by Jerome, being something like the 'putting stone' of Highland games in Scotland; but the allusion may be simply to a weight that is too heavy to be borne, and dangerous to those who meddle with it (compare Dn 2^{34}, Mt 21^{44}). The discus, as we have seen, was introduced with other Grecian exercises by Jason the high priest in the Maccabæan times (2 Mac $4^{14.15}$). It was a flat, circular slab of stone, or of wood, or of bronze, of considerable weight. A specimen in the British Museum is said to weigh about 12 pounds. The throwing of the *discus* was one of the essential exercises of the pentathlic contests. It was thrown from a low platform known as the *βαλβίς*, and the man who threw it the greatest distance was the winner. A skilful athlete, by putting all his weight into the throw, would sometimes hurl it more than a hundred feet. The attitude of the player and the manner of holding the discus is seen in Myron's celebrated statue of the *δισκοβόλος*, shown in books of Greek antiquities. Their devotion to this sport and the other exercises of the Grecian pentathlon, even to the neglect of the services of the altar, brought great unpopularity to Jason the high priest and his brethren of the priesthood, and Jason has been handed down to us as 'that ungodly man, and no high priest.'

Hunting, as a diversion, was not pursued till the days of Herod, who greatly favoured the introduction of Greek and Roman customs; and the Talmud gives strong warning against it. The *theatre*, too, was condemned as sternly by the Talmud as by Tertullian; and it was a hope of the days of Messiah that the buildings devoted by the Romans to theatrical representations would be turned into seminaries for the study of the law. Josephus (*Ant.* XV. viii. 1), speaking of the theatre and the amphitheatre built by Herod at Jerusalem, declares both of them to be in direct antagonism to the sentiment of the Jewish people.

Music and *song* fall to be treated rather in connexion with worship, but they were largely cultivated, as was also the *dance*, as a source of enjoyment. At the vintage merrymakings (Jg 9^{27} 21^{21}), at the gatherings of the young men in the city gate (La 5^{14}), at triumphal processions (Jg 11^{34}, 1 S 18^{6}), at celebrations of victory (Ex $15^{20f.}$), at the accession of kings (1 K 1^{40}), and at domestic rejoicings (Jer 31^{4}, Lk 15^{25}), music and singing, and oftentimes dancing, were called in to give expression to the gladness of such occasions.

Story-telling and *riddles* were a common diversion of the ancient Hebrews, as they are of the Arabs to this day (Jg 14^{12}, Ezk 17^{2}, 1 K 10^{1}). Feasts and wedding-parties were enlivened by such amusements. Samson's riddle (Jg 14^{12}), with his wager that the guests will not be able to answer it within a week, is a specimen of the kind of thing that was common. As to *games of chance and of skill*, the Jews seem not to have known them till they learned them from the Greeks. The soldiers who, perhaps by means of the dice, cast lots for the seamless robe of Jesus, were Roman soldiers. There was a game among the ancient Greeks (see Liddell and Scott under *κολλαβίζω*), in which one person covered his eyes and guessed which of his companions struck him; and a similar game among the ancient Egyptians (Wilkinson, ii. 59), in which a man knelt with his face to the ground and had to guess who struck him on the back. Was this the idea of the insult offered, when the men that held Jesus blindfolded Him, and struck Him on the face and blasphemously asked Him, 'Prophesy, who is it that smote thee?' (Lk 22^{64}).

In NT, especially in the Acts and in the Epistles of St. Paul, the allusions are almost exclusively to the games and athletic contests of ancient Greece. We do read in the Epistle of St. James of 'the crown of life which the Lord hath promised to them that love him' (Ja 1^{12}), but the allusion can be explained from Jewish ideas without reference to Greek games. In the Epistle to the Hebrews ($12^{1.2}$) we have the imagery of the assembly (*νέφος μαρτύρων*), of the contest (*ἀγών*), of the race (*τρέχωμεν*), of the training (*ὄγκον ἀποθέμενοι πάντα*), of the absorbed and eager racers (*ἀφορῶντες*), all most vividly set before us. It is in connexion with St. Paul, however, that these allusions are most frequent and distinct. Wherever the great apostle travelled among the cities of the Greeks, at Corinth, at Ephesus, at Athens, the athletic contests in which all the kindreds of the Grecian people took such pride met his eye, and furnished him with his aptest and most effective illustrations of the Christian life. The gymnasium or place of training, and the stadium or racecourse, were conspicuous and familiar in every considerable city.

The *foot-race* occupies the largest place in the imagery of the apostle, as it was the contest which of all the Grecian games aroused the deepest interest and the keenest excitement. In his addresses reported in the Acts of the Apostles, St. Paul alludes to the foot-race,—describing John the Baptist as 'fulfilling his course' (*δρόμος*, Ac 13^{25}), and speaking of himself as counting not even life dear unto him that he may finish his course (*δρόμος*) with joy (Ac 20^{24}). In his Epistles the image occurs again and again. In his very first Epistles he asks the prayers of the Thessalonians that the word of 'the Lord may run (*τρέχῃ*) and be glorified' (2 Th 3^{1} RV). In his last, when the crown is full in view, he writes to Timothy, saying, 'I have fought the good fight (*τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα*); I have finished the course' (*τὸν δρόμον*) (2 Ti $4^{7.8}$). His whole career as an apostle and as a follower of Christ, and that of his converts, is a race; he is anxious 'lest by any means he should run, or had run, in vain' (Gal 2^{2}); he hopes to rejoice 'in the day of Christ that he had not run in vain' (Ph 2^{16}); 'ye did run well,' is his remonstrance to the Galatians; 'who hath hindered you, that ye should not obey the truth?' (Gal 5^{7}).

In the Epistles to the Philippians and the Corinthians his employment of the imagery of the games reaches its highest point: 'Not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect; but this one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth (*ἐπεκτεινόμενος*) unto those things which are before, I press (*διωκῶ*) toward the mark (*σκοπὸν*), for the prize (*βραβεῖον*) of the high calling (*τῆς ἄνω κλήσεως*) of God in Christ Jesus' (Ph 3^{12-14}); 'Know ye not that they which run in a race (*οἱ ἐν σταδίῳ τρέχοντες*) run all, but one obtaineth the prize? So run, that ye may obtain. And every man that striveth in the games (*πᾶς ὁ ἀγωνιζόμενος*) is temperate in all things (*ἐγκρατεύεται πάντα*). Now they do it that they may obtain a corruptible crown, but we an incorruptible (*φθαρτὸν στέφανον . . . ἄφθαρτον*). I therefore so run, as not uncertainly; so fight I (*πυκτεύω*, passing from the racer to the boxer), as not beating the air: but I buffet (*ὑπωπιάζω*) my body, and bring it into bondage (*δουλαγωγῶ*); lest by any means, after that I have preached to others (*κηρύξας*, having summoned others to the contest), I myself should be rejected (*ἀδόκιμος*, driven in disgrace from the games as not having contended in accordance with the rules)' (1 Co 9^{24-27} RV). The imagery in these passages is unusually full and rich. The strenuous, exciting, and definite purpose of the racer, the self-control imposed during the period of training, with the punishment of the body to make it more fit, the prize, the crown, the reward of the victor, the call to the contest, and the proclamation of the conditions, the chance of final disgrace if these are not properly observed (compare 2 Ti 2^{15}), are all set forth with a vividness that must have brought home powerfully and impressively, to those who were familiar with the Isthmian and Olympian games, the lessons of Christian instruction which the apostle wished to convey.

In other passages there are allusions to the onlookers (1 Co 4^{9}), to the umpire or judge (Col 3^{15} *βραβευέτω*; cf. *καταβραβευέτω* of Col 2^{18} and notes of Lightfoot and Abbott; 2 Ti 4^{8} *ὁ δίκαιος κριτής*), to the joy of victory (Ac 20^{24}). To the gladiatorial spectacles of the amphitheatre, St. Paul makes what we may take to be a figurative reference (1 Co 15^{32} *ἐθηριομάχησα ἐν Ἐφέσῳ*). At Ephesus St. Paul came in contact with the directors of the games held in the city of Diana. The Asiarchs (Ac 19^{31} *τινὲς καὶ τῶν Ἀσιαρχῶν ὄντες αὐτῷ φίλοι*) mentioned as friendly to the apostle have long been one of the puzzles of commentators, but it is now certain (see Hicks in his *Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the BM*, iii. 2, p. 81; and Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, ch. vii., and art. ASIARCH) that those officials were the high priests of the worship offered to the Roman emperors within the province of Asia. The cities of the province joined together in an association for the worship of the emperors, and the head of the association was styled high priest and Asiarch. In this capacity he had to furnish every year funds for the celebration of the provincial games in honour of the reigning Cæsar, and it appears that as the cult of the Cæsars and the worship of Diana were in close alliance, the games in honour of both would coincide, and be held in the month Artemision—the month of May, sacred to Diana.

LITERATURE.—Löw, *Die Lebensalter in der Jüdischen Literatur*, 1875; Howson, *Metaphors of St. Paul*, ch. iv.; Percy Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek History*, ch. ix.; Kitto, Smith, Herzog, art. 'Games.'

THOMAS NICOL.

GAMMADIM (גַּמָּדִים).—A term of very doubtful meaning, occurring in Ezk 27^{11} 'The Gammadim (AV -ims) were in thy towers.' No place of the name of Gammad is known, but a proper name is what the context seems to demand. Probably, Cornill's conjecture צְמָרִים (Zemarites, Gn 10^{18}) is as good as any. Lagarde (*Onom. Sacr.* ii. 95) proposes גֹּמְרִים (they of Gomer, *Cappadocians* [?]). RVm 'valorous men,' although supported by Gesenius (*Thes.* 292), has not commended itself to the majority of scholars. LXX has *φύλακες*; Symm. appears to have read וְגַם מָדִים, 'and also Medes.'

GAMUL (גָּמוּל 'weaned').—A chief of the Levites, and head of the 24th course of priests, 1 Ch 24^{17}. See GENEALOGY.

GARDEN (גַּן, properly 'enclosure'; גַּנָּה, const. גִּנַּת in Ca 6^{11}, Est 1^{5} $7^{7.8}$; *κῆπος*).—These terms appear to have been practically equivalent to the Armenian *pardes* (פַּרְדֵּס Neh 2^{8}, Ca 4^{13}, Ec 2^{5} [all]), which in Asia Minor to-day is applied equally to flower and vegetable gardens, orchards, parks, and pleasure grounds. The garden planted eastward in Eden (Gn 2^{8}) combined the features of all; and these were present in the Jewish idea of paradise, *παράδεισος* (Lk 23^{43}), which in rabbinical language was גַּן־עֵדֶן. They figure again in Mohammed's descriptions of *el-Janneh*, 'the garden,' the Moslem paradise, wherein flowing fountains, full rivers, shady trees, and abundant fruits are constantly named as attractions to 'the faithful.'

Gardens are usually enclosed by hedges, drystone dykes with a layer of thorns built in near the top, or by walls of compressed mud, dried in the sun, as are the celebrated gardens that encircle Damascus. The cactus, or prickly pear, is a common hedge in the warmer districts. Its multitudinous sharp spines offer a splendid defence against intruders; but it is apt soon to become a harbour for venomous things. If one break through such a fence, he need not be surprised if a serpent bite him (Ec 10^{8}). A mud-built hut, or booth of wattled twigs, is erected for the watchman within the enclosure. The *nâṭûr*, or 'watchman,' is the modern representative of the נֹצֵר (Job 27^{18}). He is not the gardener, but one who guards the fruits and vegetables from pillage. The gardener is named only once directly in Scripture, *κηπουρός* (Jn 20^{15}). But gardening as a means of livelihood has always been a popular calling in the East.

Patches of land thus enclosed were cultivated by most families in ancient times. Now, in Palestine, they are found only in the environs of larger towns. In some parts of Asia Minor every house has its own garden.

Kings and men of wealth had extensive and beautiful gardens adjoining or near to their residences. 'The king's gardens' at Jerusalem (2 K 25^{4}, Neh 3^{15}) lay in the fat valley S.E., close by the Pool of Siloam. Recent excavation shows that the western wall of the pool may have been the parapet of 'the stairs that go down from the city of David,' Neh 3^{15} (*PEFSt*, Jan. 1897, p. 13; Oct. 1897, p. 264). The gate Gennath (Jos. *BJ* v. iv. 2) possibly took its name from the fact that it led to the gardens outside the city. It seems to have stood some distance E. of the Jaffa gate, where Uzziah once erected a tower of defence (2 Ch 26^{9}). With the exception of the rose gardens, which had existed from the days of the prophets (Is 35^{1}), no gardens were found in later Jerusalem, on account of the evil odour arising from decaying weeds and the manure employed. They crept up, however, close to the walls. Titus, incautiously venturing near to view the city, was surprised by the Jews, and escaped with difficulty, being entangled among the garden trenches and hedges which ran out from the walls (Jos. *BJ* v. ii. 2). *Ḳoheleth* speaks of planting great gardens and making pools for watering them (Ec 2^{5}). Tradition locates these in *Wady Artâs*, S. of Bethlehem. Three gigantic reservoirs, lying in the head of the vale, are supplied by a series of springs. From these the gardens below were watered; a supply also being carried to Jerusalem in conduits. These seem to be indicated by Josephus (*Ant.* VIII. vii. 3) when he speaks of a place Etham, about 50 furlongs from the city, with fine gardens, abounding in rivulets of water, whither Solomon used to drive in state in the early morning. The floor of the valley is still cultivated by the villagers of *Artâs*, and yields richly, but the surrounding slopes are rocky and bare. Possibly, there is a trace of the ancient delights of this neighbourhood in the name of a contiguous height, called by the Arabs *Jebel el-Fureidis*, 'Mount of the little Paradise.' From the Targum on Ec 2^{5} we learn that Solomon indulged his splendid tastes by cultivating in these gardens foreign trees and plants, 'which the goblins and demons brought out of India.' But the Targumist seems to identify these with 'the king's gardens' mentioned above. 'The boundary,' he says, 'was from the wall that is in Jerusalem, by the bank of the waters of Siloam.' The growing of exotics is paralleled by the monks of Sinai, but for a different reason. They are Greeks, not Arabs. And so, as Dean Stanley says (*Sinai and Palestine*, p. 52), one 'sees in the gardens the produce, not of the desert or of Egypt, but of the isles of Greece; not the tamarisk, or the palm, or the acacia, but the olive, the almond tree, the apple tree, the poplar, and the cypress of Attica and Corcyra.'

Ahasuerus is said to have entertained all the notables of his empire with many and varied splendours, for seven days, in the garden attached to his palace (Est 1^{1-8}). For the pleasure of his queen, the king of Babylon constructed the renowned 'hanging gardens,' the κρεμαστὸς παράδεισος of Berosus (quoted by Jos. *c. Ap.* i. 19). Joakim, a rich Jew of the Captivity, 'had a fair garden joining unto his house' (Sus ^{4}), in the seclusion of which were all conveniences for bathing (v.^{15}). Of gardens on this princely scale there is an excellent illustration in *el-Bahjeh*, the palace built for himself by Abdullah Pasha near Acre. It is surrounded by a great extent of ground, beautifully laid out, wherein are reservoirs of water, and multitudinous conduits to all parts of the enclosure. Flowers of every hue brighten the soil; fruit trees vie with each other in season, offering their tempting burdens; the homelier vegetables also have their place. The pleasant pathways, and retired and shady nooks, under embowering greenery, make a very paradise amid the exposed plain.

Egypt was compared to 'a garden of herbs,' watered 'with the foot'; Palestine was a land 'which drinketh water of the rain of heaven' (Dt 11^{11}). Gardens could be made in Egypt wherever water could be led from the river. The ground was divided into compartments by little banks of earth, along which ran the water channels. One side of the bank was broken down with the foot, allowing the water to flow into the division: the breach repaired with the foot, the stream was led into the next division, and so on until all were refreshed. This process may be seen to-day. In Palestine, for the most part, the presence of a spring, or a capacious cistern, was essential to the existence of a garden. In the Jordan Valley the river afforded abundant streams, which, carrying beauty and fertility with them, made the plain as 'the garden of the LORD' (Gn 13^{10}). But such gardens as those of Hebron, Nablûs, and Jenîn—wherein we have a reminiscence of old *En-gannim* (Ca 4^{15})—are created by the springs that gurgle up from under the mountains. The luxuriant groves around Jaffa depend upon deep wells, whence the water is raised by a chain of buckets revolving on a wheel, turned usually by a span of mules. The wheels are of rude construction, the pinions often being formed of broken branches, and the creaking they make is not charming. The water is stored in a large tank, connected with the gardens by a network of cemented channels. Towards evening the outflow is opened, and throughout the orchards is heard the musical ripple of running water, and light figures dart among the trees, guiding the streams whither they will. This familiar scene is reflected in the proverb, 'the king's heart is in the hand of the LORD as the watercourses. He turneth it whithersoever he will' (Pr 21^{1}). Wisdom in her beneficent power is compared to a 'stream from a river,' and 'a conduit into a garden' (Sir 24^{30}). Gardens, with plentiful supplies of water, were to the Oriental suggestive symbols of prosperity. Balaam likens the spreading tents of Israel to 'gardens by the river side' (Nu 24^{6}). The house of Jacob restored to favour shall be 'like a watered garden' (Is 58^{11}, Jer 31^{12}). By foul idolatries the sap of manhood is dried up, and men become 'as a garden that hath no water' (Is 1^{30}).

Cucumbers, melons, leeks, onions, and garlic, so common in Egypt (Nu 11^{5}), and probably also lettuce and endive, were grown in Palestine, together with such plants as coriander (Ex 16^{31}, Nu 11^{7}), caper (Ec 12^{5} RV), camphire or henna (Ca 1^{14}), cummin (Is $28^{25.27}$, Mt 23^{23}), mustard (Mt $13^{31.32}$), anise (Mt 23^{23}), and rue (Lk 11^{42}). Vines clung to almost every hillside. In olden times the mulberry, olive, fig, pomegranate, almond, and walnut (Ca 6^{11}) were well known. The *tappûaḥ* (Ca $2^{3.5}$ 7^{8}) was probably the apricot. To these the Mishna adds the quince, the citron, the medlar, and the service (*Chilaim*, i. 4). To-day the orange, lemon, and peach grow luxuriantly in the groves, *e.g.* at Jaffa, Sidon, and Damascus. The banana flourishes at Sidon; while apples and pears are cultivated with moderate success. The egg plant, the tomato, and the potato, together with the homely cabbage, are found in almost every garden. See further under FOOD.

The gardens, with their shady foliage, have always been a favourite retreat for the people during the hotter seasons. It was reckoned a token of public peace and security, when a man could sit without fear under his vine and fig tree, the two often growing together (Mic 4^{4}, Zec 3^{10}). Many family meals are eaten under the shelter of spreading fig and mulberry. In the cool of the day companies assemble in the gardens; as darkness falls, the light of a lamp swung on a bough twinkles through the greenery; and sounds of laughter and song, accompanied by the twanging of the *'oud*, or the shrill voice of the pipe, are borne far upon the quiet air. When the fruits are ripening, and until they are safely gathered, many make their beds under the fruit trees.

The secluded recesses among clustering trees and bushes made the gardens a popular resort for purposes of devotion. They were often the haunts of idolatrous worship (Is 1^{29} 65^{3} 66^{17}). Baruch (6^{70}) compares the idols, 'gods of wood,' set up in the gardens, with the 'scarecrow,' *προβασκάνιον*, 'in a garden,' which 'keepeth nothing.' An abiding charm clings to the slopes of Olivet, because Jesus 'ofttimes resorted . . . with his disciples' to a garden there (Jn 18^{2}, Lk 22^{39}), where linger the deathless memories of GETHSEMANE. The Moslem who spreads his little carpet, and solemnly prays to Allah under the shade of the trees he tends, is true heir to the ancient tradition of the Orient.

The garden sometimes contained the family tomb or burial-cave. In the garden of Uzza both Manasseh and his son Amon found sepulture (2 K 21^{18} 21^{26}). Nor can we forget that in the place where Jesus 'was crucified there was a garden, and in the garden a new tomb, wherein was never man yet laid. There . . . they laid Jesus' (Jn $19^{41.42}$) W. EWING.

GAREB (גָּרֵב).—One of David's 'Thirty' (2 S 23^{38}, 1 Ch 11^{40}). Like Ira, in the same verse, he is described as an Ithrite (הַיִּתְרִי), *i.e.* a member of one of the families of Kiriath-jearim (1 Ch 2^{53}). In notices of this kind, however, it is more usual to give the name of the locality to which the warrior belonged, and we should probably read with Wellh., in both cases, 'of Yattir' (הַיַּתִּרִי), a town in the hill-country of Judah (Jos 15^{48} 21^{14}, cf. 1 S 30^{27}). See IRA. J. F. STENNING.

GAREB (גָּרֵב).—A hill near Jerusalem, Jer 31^{39}. Its situation is uncertain, being located by some, *e.g.* Riehm and Graf, to the S.W., while others place it to the N. of the capital. At the present day there is a *Wady Gourab* to the W. of Jerusalem. (See Neubauer, *Géog. du Talmud*, p. 150).

GARLAND.—See CROWN.

GARLIC (שׁוּם *shûm*, *τὰ σκόρδα*, *allia*).—The bulblets of *Allium sativum*, L., still known in Arabic by the cognate *thûm*. It is now, as in the days of the ancient Egyptians (Nu 11^{5}), a favourite addition to the complex stews and the roasts of the Orientals. It is cultivated everywhere in the East. Too often the natives reek with its stale, penetrating odour. G. E. POST.

GARMENT.—See DRESS.

GARMITE (הַגַּרְמִי).—A gentilic name applied in a totally obscure sense to Keilah in 1 Ch 4^{19}. The text in the LXX is hopelessly confused (cf. Swete's ed., and see Kittel's note in Haupt's *Sacred Bks. of OT*).

GARNER.—Garner, which is now archaic if not obsolete, and granary, the form now in use, both come from Lat. *granaria*, a storehouse for grain (itself from *granum*, a grain, corn), the former through the Fr. *gernier*, a variant of *grenier*, the latter directly. Garner occurs in plu. Ps 144^{13} (מְזָוִים, the only occurrence); Jl 1^{17} (אוֹצָרוֹת, a common word, used both of stores of any kind and of storehouses for any purpose; the Eng. word 'garner' is narrower in meaning); and Sir 1^{17} (*τὰ ἀποδοχεῖα* [B^{ab}א, *-ια* B^{*c}]; a word peculiar to Sir, where it occurs also 39^{17} EV 'receptacles,' Cowley and Neubauer 'treasure'; and 50^{3} EV 'cistern': it is also of wider use than 'garner,' being applied in the last two cases to receptacles for water). In NT 'garner' is used in the sing., Mt 3^{12}=Lk 3^{17} (*ἀποθήκη*, elsewhere in NT tr^{d} 'barn,' Mt 6^{26} 13^{30}, Lk $12^{18.24}$). Chaucer (*Prol. to Cant. Tales*, 592) says of the Reve, 'Wel coude he kepe a gerner and a binne'; and T. Adams, *Works*, i. 87, says, 'The Lord sends grain, and the devil sends garners.'

RV retains the subst. in all those occurrences, and introduces the verb, Is 62^{9} 'They that have garnered it shall eat it' (מְאַסְפָיו; AV 'gathered,' which RV uses for the verb מְקַבְּצָיו, which occurs in the same verse). J. HASTINGS.

GARRISON.—See WAR.

GAS (*Γάς*, AV Gar), 1 Es 5^{34}.—His sons were among the 'temple servants.' The last nine names in this list, of whom Gas is one, have no corresponding names in the lists of Ezra and Nehemiah. The AV form is derived from the Aldine text.

GASHMU (גַּשְׁמוּ, *Γόσεμ*, Neh 6^{6}).—A form of the name GESHEM (which see), probably representing the pronunciation of N. Arabian dialect. Proper names with the termination *u* (ו) are found in Nabatæan inscriptions. The words 'and Gashmu saith' do not occur in the older MSS of LXX (ABא*). H. A. WHITE.

GATAM (גַּעְתָּם).—The son of Eliphaz (Gn 36^{11}= 1 Ch 1^{36}), and 'duke' of an Edomite clan (Gn 36^{16}) which has not been identified.

GATE.—**1.** שַׁעַר, root שׁער 'cleave,' 'divide' (?); *a gate or entrance of a camp* (Ex 32^{26}), *city* (Jos 20^{4}), *palace* (Est 2^{19}), *or temple* (2 Ch 23^{20}); *πύλη*, *porta*. **2.** תְּרַע Aram., only in Daniel. *A gate or mouth as of a furnace* (3^{26}). Gate of the King or Royal Court (2^{49}). Corresponding terms in Arabic and Turkish are used of the califs and Turkish emperors, and of the Persian court (Gesen.); cf. *θύρα*, *fores*. תָּרָע 'porter,' 'doorkeeper' (of the Temple), occurs in Ezr 7^{24}. The usual Heb. term is שׁוֹעֵר. **3.** פֶּתַח, root פתח 'open.' *The entrance of the gate of a city* (Jos 20^{4}, Jg 9^{35}). **4.** דֶּלֶת, root דָּלָה 'hang down'; *the leaf of a door*, dual, *folding doors* such as the gates of a city; *κλισίας*, *valva*. For **Doorway** and **Door**, and distinction between דֶּלֶת and שַׁעַר, see HOUSE.

City gateways among the Greeks and Romans in later days appear to have been principally used for making secure the city, but in early times among the Greeks and at all times in Syria they have been used for many public purposes, and were important positions in the economy of the state. Jerome says that as the Hebrews were for the most part employed in labouring in the field, it was wisely provided that assemblies should be held at the city gates, and justice administered there in a summary manner, that those labouring men who were busy at their work might lose no time, and that the country people might not be obliged to enter and spend their time there (Cruden, *Conc. s.* 'Gate').

The gate of the city in the early dawn of civilization was the ordinary place of public resort for the transaction of business and administration of justice, and for discussing the news, just as the doorway of the house was the place where private business was despatched and friendly greetings exchanged. It was also the place of the markets, where goods were exposed for sale.

Gesenius gives the foll. explanation (*s.v.* שַׁעַר). 'At the gates of cities there was the *forum* (רְחֹב), where trials were held, and the citizens assembled, some of them for business and some to sit at leisure to look on and converse (Gn 19^{1}, Ru 4^{11}, Pr 31^{23}, La 1^{4}); whence "in the gate," often for "in the forum," "in judgment," Dt 25^{7}, Job 5^{4} 31^{21}, Ps 127^{5}, Pr 22^{22}, Is 29^{21}, Am 5$^{10.\ 12.\ 18}$.' Cf. further Driver on Am 5^{10}. The word רְחֹב is rendered by Gesenius —(1) *a street*, (2) *open place, forum, i.e.* an ample space at the gate of Oriental cities where trials were held, and wares set forth for sale, 2 Ch 32^{6}; cf. Neh 8$^{1.\ 3.\ 16}$, Ezr 10^{9}. In RV '*broad place*' has been substituted in several instances for 'street'; the tr^{n} proposed in *QPB* is '*public place.*'

In the earliest days the city gate is mentioned as the place of public resort, where people met for business and to discuss news. Gn 19^{1} 'And Lot sat in the gate of Sodom'; Gn 23^{10} 'Ephron the Hittite answered Abraham in the audience of the children of Heth at the gate of his city'; Gn 34^{20} 'And Hamor and Shechem his son came unto the gate of their city, and communed with the men of their city'; 1 S 4^{13} 'Eli sat upon his seat by the side of the gate watching the way'; 2 S 15$^{2.\ 6}$ 'Absalom stole the hearts of the men of Israel at the gate of the city'; Neh 8^{1} 'Ezra the scribe read the law to the people gathered together into the broad place (*forum*) before the water gate.'

The gate was also used for administration of justice, deliberation, and audience for kings, etc. Dt 21^{19} the stubborn and rebellious son is to be brought before the elders of the city at the gate; Dt 25^{7} if the man does not like to take his brother's wife, she shall go up to the gate unto the elders; Jos 20^{4} the manslayer shall declare his cause before the elders of the city of refuge at the entering in of the gate; Ru 4^{1} Boaz consulted the elders at the gate concerning Ruth's property; 2 S 19^{8} king David sat in the gate, and the people came before him; 1 K 22^{10} the kings of Israel and Judah sat in an open place at the entrance of the gate of Samaria, and all the prophets prophesied before them; Jer 38^{7} king Zedekiah sat in the gate of Benjamin; La 5^{14} 'The elders have ceased from the gate'; Am 5^{12} 'Ye that afflict the just, that take a bribe, and that turn aside the needy in the gate from their right'; Zec 8^{16} 'Judge truth and the judgment of peace in your gates'; Ps 69^{12} 'They that sit in the gate speak against me.'

Until the battering-ram was perfected with its machinery, so as to be serviceable against heavy stone walls, the gate was the only point in a well-built city wall where a successful assault could be made, and there is constant reference in the Bible to 'war in the gates' (Jg 5^{8}), and to them that turn the battle to the gate (Is 28^{6}), and shall speak with the enemies in the gate (Ps 127^{5}, where, however, the enemies are perhaps only forensic).

In the account of the assault on Abel-beth-maacah in the time of David, EV says that the people that were with Joab 'battered the wall to throw it down' (2 S 20^{15}); but the meaning of the Hebrew מַשְׁחִיתִים לְהַפִּיל הַחוֹמָה is doubtful. See Driver, *Text of Sam.* 265. Mention is made in Deuteronomy (20$^{19f.}$) of building bulwarks (מָצוֹר, lit. 'siege,' *i.e.* siegeworks) against a city in war; yet, even as late as the final taking of Jerusalem by the Assyrians (B.C. 588), the battering-ram was used against the gates (Ezk 21^{22}), though Ezekiel (4^{2}) also appears to speak of the ram being used round about, against the walls. Among the Macedonians the ram first became an important military engine in the time of Philip and Alexander the Great (cf. Thuc. ii. 76).

At the siege of Rabbah (*c.* B.C. 1000) the garrison made a sortie, and the army of Israel was 'upon them even unto the entering of the gate' (2 S 11^{23}). In the attack on the strong tower within the city of Thebez (*c.* B.C. 1170), Abimelech went hard unto the door of the tower to burn it with fire (Jg 9^{52}). Nehemiah (B.C. 444) also speaks of the city gates being burnt with fire (Neh 1^{3} 2$^{3.\ 13.\ 17}$); and Jeremiah prophesies that the high gates of Babylon shall be burned with fire (Jer 51^{58}). The breaking of gates of brass and cutting in sunder the bars of iron is spoken of (Ps 107^{16}, Is 45^{2}).

City gateways, in order to be secure against these various forms of attack, required flanking towers (2 Ch 14^{7} 26^{9} 32^{5}, Ps 48^{12}, Ca 8^{10}, Ezk 26^{4}) to protect the entrance, and galleries above (2 S 18$^{24.\ 33}$), from which the defenders could throw boiling pitch and oil upon the assailants: there were probably two sets of gates, one to each entrance, with a courtyard or barbican between. 'And David sat between the two gates, and the watchman went up to the roof of the gate unto the wall' (2 S 18^{24}). There was a chamber over the gate (2 S 18^{33}). Possibly, at the outer entrance there was a portcullis or *cataracta*, which is described by Vegetius as an *ancient* contrivance; and it has been suggested ('Cataracta,' in Smith's *Dic. Gr. and Rom. Antiquities*) that it is alluded to in the passage, 'Lift up your heads, O ye gates; and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors' (Ps 24$^{7.\ 9}$; cf. Jer 20^{2} 51^{58}).

Rooms would be required for the guard of the gate, for the porters, and for the watchmen, and the entrance gateway would require to be of considerable dimensions, where the people of the city could readily congregate. Being of so great importance from a defensive point of view, the chief officer of the city would naturally take great interest in its secure condition; and being on the high road from the country the traders would bring their wares there, and would be detained there before entry for examination and toll. Thus the vicinity of the gate would naturally become the public place of resort for business and pleasure, where also justice could be administered and punishment meted out.

As civilization and luxury increased, the gateways seem to have been less used among the Greeks and Romans, the Agora or Basilica, or forum and portico, being placed near the royal palace, or, in a seaport town, near the harbour; and the markets were divided up according to the articles sold there (Polyb. ix. 47, x. 19). Some articles, such as salt fish, seem to have been sold outside the gates (Aristoph. *Equit.* 1246). But even in late days among the Greeks and Romans the gates were surmounted by towers (Virg. *Aen.* vi. 552), and Polybius (xv. 29) calls a building at Alexandria 'the gatehouse at the palace used for the transaction of public business.' The entrances to military camps (*castra*) were, when necessity arose, defended by towers (Cæsar, *B. G.* viii. 9). The gateway at Treves, so late as the time of the emperor Constantine, was built in such a style as shows that it was intended to be used during peace for the object of civil government.

In Syria the vicinity of the gate has always been the focus of business transactions, but as Greek and Roman influences prevailed, no doubt the gate did not occupy, for a time, so important a position in the social life of the people; and markets were constructed in various parts of the city apart from the gates. In the latter days of Jerusalem the upper city is called by Josephus (*Wars*, v. iv. 1) the Agora or market place; the sheep market was on the north side of the temple, near the pool of Bethesda (Jn 5^2); and a place is mentioned outside the second wall where were the merchants of wool, the braziers, and the market of cloth (Jos. *Wars*, v. viii. 1). In early days, however, the markets were probably close to the gates, 'To-morrow about this time shall a measure of fine flour be sold for a shekel, and two measures of barley for a shekel, in the gate of Samaria (2 K 7^1; cf. Neh $13^{16.19}$).

In the Assyrian cities the gateways were either arched or had flat stone lintels, with flanking towers and overhead galleries, as at Khorsabad (Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 388, 395, and bas-relief in British Museum, 'Assyria,' 25, 26, 49). Herodotus (i. 179) and Ctesias state that the walls of Babylon were furnished with 100 brazen gates, with lintels and sideposts of the same material, and with 250 towers to protect the weaker parts. Jeremiah ($51^{53.58}$) speaks of burning these gates. In Nebuchadrezzar's account of Babylon, stamped on the bricks, the great gates are described as made of cedarwood covered with copper, with thresholds of bronze.

In the later Egyptian temples the gates appear to have been fortified (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyp.* i. 409). At Pompeii may be seen a gateway protected by a portcullis, with a barbican, within which again were gates of wood and iron.

Besides the open space or forum at the entrance of the city gate, there was evidently an open place of assembly near the entrance to the temple and before the gate of the royal palace. At Jerusalem there was the broad place before the water gate, which appears to have been on the south side of the outer court of the temple (Neh $8^{1ff.}$). At Shushan, Mordecai went to the broad place of the city before the king's gate; and queen Esther made her petition to king Ahasuerus at the king's gate (Est 4^6 5^2; cf. Herod. iii. 120, 140). Daniel sat in the gate of the king (Dn 2^{49}). It is not improbable that in Est and Dn 'gate' is used by metonymy for 'palace' or 'king's court.' Cf. the modern 'Sublime Porte.'

The gates were closed and guarded by night. Jos $2^{5.7}$ 'About the time of the shutting of the gate, when it was dark'; Neh 7^3 'Let not the gates of Jerusalem be opened till the sun be hot: and while they stand on guard let them shut the doors, and bar ye them'; Is 60^{11} 'Thy gates also shall be open continually, they shall not be shut day nor night'; Rev 21^{25} 'And the gates thereof shall in no wise be shut by day (for there is no night there)'; Neh 13^{19} 'When the gates of Jerusalem began to be dark before the sabbath, I commanded that the doors should be shut.' The gateways of palaces and temples were highly ornamented—those of Nimroud (B.C. 884), Persepolis, and Khorsabad (Fergusson, *Archit.* pp. 154, 160, 174) were flanked by colossal figures of animals, winged bulls at Nimroud and Khorsabad. The doors of city gates were usually plated with iron or copper, to prevent their being easily burnt or broken (Ps 107^{16}, Is 45^2). In the temple of Solomon (1 K 6^{31}) the doors leading to the Holy of Holies were of olive wood, with carvings of cherubim and palm trees, and overlaid with gold. The doors to the temple were of cypress wood, carved in like manner, and overlaid with gold, with doorposts of olive wood (1 K $6^{34f.}$, 2 K 18^{16}, Ezk $41^{23f.}$). Josephus (*Wars*, v. v. 3) speaks of nine of the gates of the temple courts being covered with gold and silver, while the east gate of the inner court (the Beautiful Gate of Ac 3^2) was of Corinthian brass, and greatly excelled the others. These gates were 30 cubits high and 15 broad, while the doors of the east gate were 40 cubits high and required 20 men to close them, and had bolts fastened deeply into the solid stone threshold (Jos. *Wars*, v. v. 3, vi. v. 3).

The bars, bolts, locks, etc., of doors of gateways were the same as those used for doors of houses, but larger in proportion (see House).

In some cities of Syria the doors were made of massive pieces of stone. Buckingham (*Arab Tribes*, p. 221) describes ponderous doors of stone in the *Hauran*, 15 in. thick, closed on the inside with bars. Burckhardt (*Syria*, p. 90) mentions doors of the city gate at *Kuffir*, 10 ft. high, of single pieces of stone; he also mentions doors at *Ezra*, of one piece, 4 in. thick, some upwards of 9 ft. in height, turning upon hinges worked out of the stone.

Maundrell (*Early Travels*, p. 447, A.D. 1697) mentions large stone doors to tombs at Jerusalem, 6 in. thick, turning on hinges of the same piece with the door. Schumacher (*Northern Ajlûn*, p. 71) gives a sketch of a basalt door to a tomb at *Umm Ḳeis* (Gadara), 4 ft. high, 7 in. thick, with stone hinges, and a lock and bolt which can be pushed home and withdrawn from the outside. Gates of single precious stones are mentioned poetically (Is 54^{12}, Rev 21^{21}).

At the present day the people of the East have reverted to their primitive customs regarding the uses of the gate, and many business and social duties are carried out there. Thomson (*Land and the Book*, i. p. 31) mentions having seen at Jaffa the *Ḳâḍi* and his court sitting at the entrance of the gate, hearing and adjudicating all sorts of cases in the audience of all that went in and out thereat. At Suakin in 1886 the present writer found it necessary to sit at the gate to transact official business in order that the public might freely approach and relate their grievances. Bertrandon de la Broquère (*Early Travels*, p. 349, A.D. 1433) gives an interesting account of his reception at the court of the Turks, the 'Sublime Porte,' at Constantinople. The ambassadors were received at the gate of the palace, and all business was transacted there. Chardin relates (vii. 368) that the principal gate of the royal palace of Ispahan was held sacred, and used by criminals as a place of refuge. The present writer conducted all his business transactions with the governors of Al-Arish, Nukl, and Akabah in 1882 at the gate, where there were arched roofs giving protection from the sun and rain, and seats for the administration of justice. At Nukl the council chamber was immediately over the gate. The city gateways of the present day have usually flanking towers and overhead galleries, with an arched passage within, so that a second set of gates may be erected inside the barbican or courtyard. 'Frequently in the gates of cities, as at Mosul, these recesses are used as shops for the sale of wheat and barley, bread and grocery' (Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 57 note). Morier (*Second Journey through Persia*, p. 189) speaks of the market for mules, asses, and camels held every morning outside the gate of Teheran, and also states that temporary shops and tents of sellers of all sorts of goods were erected there. Denham and Clapperton (*Discoveries in Africa*, i. 216, 217) speak of the markets for slaves, sheep and cattle, wheat, rice, etc., outside one of the principal gates of a town. At Jerusalem there is an extensive temporary market outside the Jaffa gate on a Sunday morning, and here also is the principal place of public execution.

The gate of a city is necessarily the place for the collector of local customs to sit to receive the moneys due for commodities entering the city (Mt 9^9).

These gateways are often very highly ornamented, sentences from the Korân being inscribed on the doorways and on the doors (cf. Dt 6^{9}, Is 54^{12}, Rev 21^{21}). Maundrell (*Early Travels*, p. 488, A.D. 1697), speaking of Damascus, says, 'In these walls you find the gates and doors adorned with marble portals, carved and inlaid with great beauty and variety.' The city gates of the present day are usually two-leaved, of wood studded with iron nails, and often covered with iron or copper plates. As in olden times, the gates of walled cities, such as Jerusalem, Damascus, Cairo, etc., are closed at night (Robinson, *BRP* iii. 455; Lane, *Mod. Egyp.* i. 25).

Burying places were outside the gate (Lk 7^{12}); so was the προσευχή at Philippi (Ac 16^{13}); Jesus suffered 'without the gate,' He 13^{12} (cf. Lv 24^{14}, Nu 15^{36}, 1 K 21$^{10.\ 13}$ etc.).

The word 'gate' is used, in a figurative sense, in a variety of ways. It is used, esp. in Dt, to denote the city itself, 'And thy seed shall possess the gate of his enemy' (Gn 22^{17} 24^{60}, Dt 12^{12}). We read also of the gate of heaven (Gn 28^{17}); the gate of the Lord (Ps 118^{20}); the gates of death (Ps 9^{13}); the gates of the grave (Is 38^{10}); the gates of Hades (Mt 16^{18}). The gate from its importance and defensive strength becomes the synonym for strength, power, and dominion. 'Thou shalt call thy walls Salvation, and thy gates Praise' (Is 60^{18}); 'The Lord loveth the gates of Zion' (Ps 87^{2}); 'Lift up your heads, O ye gates' (Ps 24^{7}); in time of calamity the gates howl and languish, lament and mourn (Is 14^{31} 3^{26}, Jer 14^{2}). By metonymy 'the gates' meant those who administered justice at the gates and held government (Hom. *Il.* ix. 312; cf. Mt 16^{18}).

To keep and watch over the temple, city, and palace gates were porters (doorkeepers) and watchmen (שֹׁעֵר, θυρωρός, πυλωρός, *portarius*, *janitor*). In the temple of Jerusalem the duties of keeping the gates ultimately devolved upon the Levites (1 Ch 9$^{18f.}$ 15$^{23f.}$, 2 Ch 31^{14}, Jer 35^{4}). In the time of the Chronicler 4000 of the Levites were porters (doorkeepers) about the temple (1 Ch 23^{5}), and the porters waited at every gate (2 Ch 35^{15}). The location of the porters at the gates is given in 1 Ch 26.

In the palace of Shushan (Est 2^{21} 6^{2}) the king's chamberlains kept the door. In the time of our Lord it is mentioned that a maid kept the door of the court of the high priest at Jerus. (Jn 18^{16}, cf. Ac 12^{13}). There were also porters and watchmen to the city gates. David sat between the two gates at Mahanaim, and the watchman went up over the gate and called unto the porter (2 S 18^{26}). The lepers called to the porters of the city of Samaria (2 K 7^{10}). Nehemiah on rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem speaks of appointing the porters, and appointing watches of the inhabitants (Neh 7$^{2f.}$); he also set his servants over the gates when they were shut on the Sabbath (Neh 13^{19}). There were also guards to the gates (2 K 11^{6}) and guard chambers (1 K 14^{28}). Keepers of prison doors are spoken of (Ac 5^{23} 12^{6}).

The porter or doorkeeper (θυρωρός) of a fold is spoken of as opening to the shepherd (Jn 10^{3}). In private houses there were doorkeepers to watch the entrance (Mk 13^{34}). In Greek and Roman houses there was a small room (θυρών, *cella*) for the porter and also for his dog, which was usually kept in the hall to guard the house (Aristot. *Oecon.* i. 6; Plato, *Protag.* p. 314; Aristoph. *Equit.* 1025; Tibull. i. 1. 56).

C. WARREN.

GATH (גַּת 'wine-press'; LXX Γέθ; Jos. Γίττα; Vulg. *Geth*), one of the five royal cities of the Philistines (Jos 13^{3}, 1 S 6^{17}), the site of which is still uncertain, though its position can be located, within a radius of a few miles, from the various references to it in Scripture. The preponderance of opinion is in favour of its identity with the village of *Tell es-Sâfi*, the Blanchegarde of the Crusaders; while some authorities give reasons for identifying it with the village of *Beit Jibrîn*, which is also identified as Eleutheropolis. These two sites are about 8 miles apart, within that portion of the Shephelah or undulating country which was allotted to the tribe of Judah, and is recognized as being within the border of the Philistines. According to Josephus, however (*Ant.* v. i. 22), Gath was in the territory of Dan, and is coupled with Jamnia as though in its vicinity on the southern border of the territory.

Gath is not mentioned in Jos as having been allotted to either the tribe of Judah or Dan, but all the references to it indicate that it was close to the border separating these two tribes: in common with Ashdod and Gaza, it remained in possession of the Anakim after Joshua had destroyed them out of all the other cities of Palestine (Jos 11^{22}).

Gath was a fenced city of considerable importance, and was constantly the scene of struggles between the Philistines and Israelites, and was taken and retaken by either side (1 S 7^{14} 17$^{4.\ 52}$, 2 S 21^{20}, 2 K 12^{17}, 1 Ch 7^{21} 8^{13} 18^{1} 20^{6}, 2 Ch 11^{8} 26^{6}).

The journey of the ark of God from Ashdod to Gath (1 S 5), and thence by Ekron to Beth-shemesh and Kiriath-jearim, indicates the site of Gath to have been near the boundary-line between Dan and Judah. The account of the flight of the Philistines on the death of Goliath, 'by the way to Shaaraim, even unto Gath and unto Ekron' (1 S 17^{52}), gives the same indication.

Gath remained a stronghold of the Philistines during the reigns of Saul and David, and the latter twice (but see DAVID, i. 564^{a}) took refuge there: first, when he fled from Saul at Gibeah (1 S 21^{10}) he went to Achish the king of Gath, and being discovered, feigned himself mad in their hands; secondly, when he again fled from Saul at the head of 600 men, he dwelt with Achish at Gath, and formed a friendship with him (1 S 27^{5}) and with the Gittites, 600 of whom came after him from Gath when he reigned in Jerusalem, and accompanied him under Ittai the Gittite on his flight from Jerusalem over Jordan (2 S 15$^{18ff.}$), when his son Absalom conspired and stole the hearts of the men of Israel.

Rehoboam fortified Gath (2 Ch 11^{8}), but it seems to have fallen again into the hands of the Philistines, as Uzziah 'brake down the wall of Gath' (2 Ch 26^{6}) when he went forth and warred against the Philistines. Amos about this time speaks of 'Gath of the Philistines' (Am 6^{2}; see Driver's note). The last reference to Gath as an existing (?) city is in the Bk. of Micah (1^{10}), in the days of Hezekiah king of Judah, 'Declare ye it not at Gath.' Both Ashdod and Ekron are referred to in the times of Josiah (Zeph 2^{4}) and after the Exile (Zec 9^{5}), but Gath has disappeared from history. It may have been destroyed when Hezekiah smote the Philistines even unto Gaza (2 K 18^{8}), or when Sennacherib 'came up against all the fenced cities of Judah and took them' (2 K 18^{13}), as it plays no further part in history.

Little is learned concerning the site of Gath by reference to Eusebius and Jerome. Gath is stated to have been 5 Roman miles north of Eleutheropolis towards Diospolis (Lydda), while Gath-rimmon, a Levitical city in the tribe of Dan, is stated as about 12 miles from Diospolis towards Eleutheropolis: this would in each case indicate a site close to *Tell es-Sâfi*, which is situated within the boundary of the tribe of Judah, and is nowhere near the site which Gath-rimmon is supposed to have occupied in Dan, not far from Joppa and Lydda. It may, then, be assumed that both these references are to the royal Gath of the Philistines and not to Gath-rimmon (*Onomast. s.* 'Gath'). Jerome in another work (*Comm. in Mic* 1^{11}) states that Gath, one of the five cities of the Philistines, was situated near the borders of Judah on the way from Eleutheropolis to Gaza, and was then a very large village. There is obviously a mistake in the word 'Gaza,' as the way indicated does not go near the borders of Judah. Eusebius further mentions the Gath to which the ark was taken from Ashdod on the way to Ekron as lying between Antipatris (*Ras el-'Ain*) and Jamnia (*Yebna*); this line lies within the tribe of Dan, and the Gath thus located appears to be Gath-rimmon and not the royal Gath.

The Crusaders considered Gath to be identical with Jamnia (*Yebna*), and erected there the castle of Ibelin, which Benjamin of Tudela (*Early Travels*, p. 37) identifies with Jabneh, now *Yebna* (Will. Tyr. 15. 24. 25).

The view that Gath, Bethgabra, Eleutheropolis, and *Beit Jibrîn* are all one and the same city is based by Thomson (*Land and Book*) and Canon Tristram (*Bible Places*) on the ground that Bethgabra and *Beit Jibrîn* may be rendered 'house of the giants' (Anakim), and on the finding of the name *Kherbet Gat* among the ruined heaps at *Beit Jibrîn*, and also on the assumption that Mareshah was a suburb of Gath (2 Ch 11^8, Mic 1^{14}), from the connexion of the words in those two passages. As, however, the word Gath in Hebrew signifies 'wine-press,' and as the Anakim at one time occupied all the territory round about, this proposal cannot be pressed home.

The view generally accepted is that proposed by Porter in 1857, viz. that Gath is represented by the site of the modern village of *Tell es-Sâfi*. The position generally satisfies all the geographical references so far as they go, and for a fenced city it is naturally a very strong site, having precipitous sides towards the west. The only difficulty is that the sites of Ekron, Ashdod, Ashkelon, Gaza, and other Philistine fenced cities do not present any natural features capable of defence; they are simply mounds on the undulating plain, and it may be that Gath may yet be discovered as a mound somewhere near *Tell es-Sâfi*. If it had such pronounced natural features for defence as the hill in question has, it is difficult to understand how its existence can have so completely disappeared from history after the time of king Hezekiah.

Tell es-Sâfi (*BRP*^{2} ii. pp. 29-32) is an isolated oblong hill or ridge stretching from north to south between the Shephelah to the east and the plains of Philistia to the west, Wady es-Sunt (the valley of Elah) passing by on the north. It stands out conspicuously towards the north, south, and west, about 300 ft. above the plain and 700 above the Mediterranean; and, presenting on three sides many hundred feet of white precipices, would as a fenced city have been remarkably strong. There are many caves and excavations on the northern scarps; water is obtained to the west at the foot of the hill. The name signifies 'the white hill,' and it can be seen at several hours' distance to north and west.

On the top is a modern village of mud huts with a sacred *wely*. There are still remains of drafted stones visible, remnants of the old castle of Blanchegarde (*Alba Specula*), erected in A.D. 1144 by Fulke of Anjou as a check against the incursions of the Saracens from Ashkelon. It was taken by Saladin in A.D. 1191 and dismantled, but was again fortified by Richard of England in the following year. It continued for some centuries as a place of importance in the hands of the Moslems. (See, in addition to the authorities cited above, G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 194 ff.; Gautier, *Souvenirs de Terre-Sainte*, 93).
C. WARREN.

GATH-HEPHER (גַּת הַחֵפֶר 'wine-press of digging'; in Jos 19^{13} with ה *locale* גִּתָּה חֵפֶר which AV mistakenly tr. Gittah-hepher).—The home of the prophet Jonah (2 K 14^{25}), and on the border of Zebulun and Naphtali near Japhia and Rimmon (Jos $19^{12.13}$), which have been identified in the villages of *Yâfa* and *Rummâneh*.

There is a general concurrence in the identification of Gath-hepher with the present village of *el-Meshhed* (*SWP* i. pp. 363-367), the site of one of the many Moslem tombs of Neby Yûnas, the prophet Jonah. This village is regarded by both Christians and Moslems as being the home of the prophet Jonah, and there appears to be a chain of tradition supporting this view. About 2½ miles to the west of *el-Meshhed* is the village of *Seffûrieh*, where there are still the remains of a castle and church identified by Robinson (*BRP* ii. 345) as the site of the Sepphoris of Josephus, the Tsippori of the Rabbins, a place not mentioned in Scripture, but afterwards called by the Romans Diocæsarea. Jerome says (*Proœm. in Jonam*) that the home and tomb of the prophet Jonah were shown at a small village 2 miles from Sepphoris or Diocæsarea on the road to Tiberias. Benjamin of Tudela in the 12th cent. states that the tomb of the prophet Jonah was shown in his time near Sepphoris (*Early Travels in Palestine*, p. 89). Isaac Chelo in the 14th cent. states that the name of Gath-hepher was *Meshad* (Carmoly, *Itin.* p. 256). The rabbinical writers state that the tomb of Jonah the prophet was shown at Gath-hepher on a hill near Sepphoris. The *wely* or *makân* has two domes, and is very conspicuous, dominating the plain on the north at a height of 1250 ft. above the Mediterranean.

LITERATURE.—Besides the authorities cited above, see Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.* 252; Reland, *Pal.* ii. 786; Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* 200 f.
C. WARREN.

GATH-RIMMON (גַּת־רִמּוֹן).—There are perhaps two places mentioned of this name.

1. A Levitical city in the territory of Dan (Jos 21^{24}, 1 Ch 6^{69}), situated near Jehud, Bene-berak, and Me-jarkon, not far from Joppa (Jos 19^{45}). The site has not been ascertained. This is probably the Gath mentioned by Eusebius as lying between Antipatris and Jamnia (*Onom. s.* 'Gath'). A Gath-rimmon is mentioned as lying between Diospolis and Eutheropolis, but this reference is probably to the royal city of Gath. See GATH.

2. A town of Manasseh, west of Jordan (Jos 21^{25}), assigned to the Levites. It is only once mentioned, with no indication whatever of its situation within the tribe of Manasseh. It follows immediately after Gath-rimmon of Dan in the previous verse; and as the LXX has Ἰεβαθά (B) or Βαιθσά (A), and the parallel passage in 1 Ch 6^{70} has Bileam (בִּלְעָם), it is possibly an error of the transcribers. *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* would read in Jos 21^{25} יִבְלְעָם, and identify this with the place referred to in 1 Ch 6^{70} (so also Bennett in *SBOT* on Jos *ad loc.*). See further IBLEAM.
C. WARREN.

GAULANITIS (Γαυλανῖτις).—The name of a district east of the Sea of Galilee, and frequently mentioned by Josephus, together with Trachonitis, Auranitis, and Batanæa. It is from Gaulōn, Γαυλών, which is the Gr. form of the Heb. word Golan, גּוֹלָן, of which the modern Arab. representative is *Jaulân*. Could we locate with certainty Golan, which was the northernmost of the three cities of refuge east of the Jordan, we should have the central or chief city of the district in question, and thus be able, no doubt, to determine its geographical limits more definitely.

After the death of Herod the Great, Gaulanitis fell to his son Philip, and during his long reign was a portion of his dominions (*Ant.* XVIII. iv. 6). It was divided into two parts, Upper and Lower, and belonged to Agrippa II., from whom it revolted to the Romans in A.D. 66-70 (Josephus, *Life*, 37;

Wars, III. iii. 5, IV. i. 1). The province could not have been of great extent; it was free from hills, having some portions rocky and others exceedingly fertile. It is a part of the great east-Jordan plateau, and rises some 2000 ft. above the sea-level. Judging from existing ruins, this region was once densely populated. See on the whole subject Schumacher, *The Jaulân*. S. MERRILL.

GAULS (Γαλάται) are mentioned in 1 Mac 8^{2} as conquered by the Romans, and in 2 Mac 8^{20} as defeated in Babylonia by the Jews (RVm in the second passage and AV in both read 'Galatians'). The historical allusions are doubtful, although probably the former passage refers to the victories of Manlius in Asia Minor (B.C. 189). See further under GALATIA, p. 89^{a}.

GAZA (עַזָּה Gn 10^{19}, Dt 2^{23}, Arab. *Ghŭzzeh*).—One of the five chief cities of Philistia, situated on a slight eminence amidst trees and gardens at a distance of 2 miles from the shore of the Mediterranean, and on the high road from Egypt to Jaffa and the East (lat. 31–30° N.; long. 34–33° E.). Between the present town and the coast rises a high range of sandhills,[*] which protects the town from the westerly winds of winter, but is a constant source of danger and loss, as the sands, impelled by the winds from the sea, are ever advancing inland; and it is supposed, with much probability, that the city of the time of the judges (*c.* B.C. 1100) is buried beneath these immense mounds. To the east of the town rises a ridge, 270 feet high, called el-Munṭâr, or 'the watchtower,' supposed to be the mount, 'in the direction of Hebron,' to which Samson carried the gates of the city (Jg 16^{3}); and on the coast are some traces of ruins, Tell et-Tîneh and el-Mineh, which are considered to mark the position of the former harbour. There is, however, no natural harbour, or safe anchorage, at any part of this coast for many miles from Gaza, and the place could never have been a seaport town. One of the most interesting objects about Gaza is the forest of ancient olive trees extending for 3 miles along the Jaffa road, somewhat resembling a forest of ancient oaks in the gnarled and wrinkled character of their bark, and the girth of their corrugated trunks.[†] The country around is rich and well cultivated, or else laid out in pasturage for sheep, goats, and herds of cattle; and the Arabs from the neighbouring desert assemble here in the market-place to buy and sell commodities. They belong to the Azazimeh and Terabîn tribes inhabiting the districts to the N. and S. of the Wady es-Seba (here called the Wady Ghŭzzeh), and stretching southwards into the sterile region of the Badiet et-Tih.

History.—Gaza is one of the most ancient cities named in the Bible. We find it mentioned, along with the cities of the plain, as lying along the border of the Canaanites (Gn 10^{19}),[‡] and it was captured, but not retained, by the tribe of Judah on the invasion of Pal. by the Israelites (Jg $1^{18.19}$). The special interest of its early history is connected with the exploits of Samson during the wars between Israel and the Philistines (Jg 13–16), at which time G. seems to have risen to a position of great importance, and to have become the capital of the Philistine confederacy; a position which it retained down to the time of Alexander the Great. In the year B.C. 710, when joined in alliance with Sabako king of Egypt, and ruled by Hanno, it was attacked by Sargon and the army of Assyria. A great battle was fought at Raphia (the modern Rafeh), about half-way between Gaza and the Wady el-'Arîsh ('River of Egypt'), in which the allies were defeated by Sargon. Hanno was deprived of his crown, and carried captive to Assyria by the conqueror. This was the first trial of strength between the two great powers of Egypt and Assyria.[*] Still later (B.C. 332) G. was strong enough to resist for a period of two months a siege by Alexander the Great, after the battle of Issus, but was ultimately taken by storm. The city at this time is described as 20 stadia distant from the sea, and very difficult of access owing to the height of the sandhills. The city itself was wide, and placed on a lofty hill and strongly fortified by a wall.[†]

But the ultimate decay of G. foretold by the prophets (Jer 47, Am 1^{6}, Zeph 2^{4}, Zec 9^{5}) was hastening towards fulfilment. G. suffered greatly (1 Mac $11^{61.62}$ 13^{43}) in the wars between Ptolemy IX. and Alexander Jannæus, a prince of the Maccabæan line (B.C. 105–78). By Augustus it was assigned to the kingdom of Herod along with the neighbouring maritime cities. This brings us to the first event recorded in NT history in which the name of G. comes prominently into view, namely, the conversion and baptism of the Ethiopian eunuch, which took place near the city (Ac 8^{26}). The precise spot where he was baptized by Philip cannot be determined with certainty; but it may be inferred to have been at the crossing of either the brook Wady el-Hessy or Wady el-Ḥalib by the road from Jaffa to Gaza.[‡]

Henceforth G. almost disappears from the page of history, till in A.D. 634 it was captured by the generals of the first calif, Abu Bekr. During the crusades it was garrisoned by the Knights Templars, but finally fell into the hands of Saladin after the disastrous battle of Hattin (A.D. 1170). Since then it has remained a Mohammedan city. (For a full account of Gaza and its history see G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 181 ff., and cf. Gautier, *Souvenirs de Terre-Sainte*, 116 ff.; Clermont-Ganneau, *Arch. Researches in Pal.* (1896), p. 279 ff.). E. HULL.

GAZARA (Γαζάρα, Γάζαρα, Γαζηρά, Γάσηρα).—An important stronghold often mentioned during the Maccabæan struggle, 1 Mac 4^{15} 7^{45} 9^{52} 13^{53} (in this last all MSS have Γάζαν, *Gaza*, but the context and the parallel passage in Jos. *Ant.* XIII. vi. 7 show that the correct reading is Γαζάραν, see RVm) 13^{53} $14^{7.34}$ 15^{28} 16^{1}, 2 Mac 10^{32}. In *Ant.* XII. vii. 4, XIV. v. 4, *Wars*, I. viii. 5, it is called *Gadara*. There seems to be no doubt that it is the OT GEZER (which see). See further, Schürer, *HJP* I. i. 261 f., 372, and G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 215 ff.

J. A. SELBIE.

GAZELLE (צְבִי *ẓĕbhî*, δορκάς).—AV renders *ẓĕbhî* in the poetical books, and in 2 S 2^{18} 1 Ch 12^{8} by *roe*. RV gives the same rendering, but adds in the marg. in all but three places (2 S 2^{18}, Ca 3^{5} 7^{3}) *gazelle*. In the lists of animals used as food AV renders *ẓĕbhî* by *roebuck*, while RV renders it inconsistently with itself in the other passages, *gazelle*. The latter is undoubtedly the correct rendering for all, instead of *roe* and *roebuck*. The Arabic word *ẓabi*, the exact counterpart of *ẓĕbhî*, is one of the names of the gazelle in that tongue;

---

[*] Survey Map of Palestine.

[†] One of these trees was found to be 19 feet in circumference at 4 feet from the ground when measured by the present writer in 1884; and many of them may be a thousand years of age and upwards.

[‡] It does not necessarily follow that Gaza was in existence at that time, but only in the time of the writer of the Book of Genesis.

[*] Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.* vol. ii. 144.

[†] Arrian, ii. 26, where an account of the siege is given. During its progress Alexander received a wound in the shoulder.

[‡] The Hessy is crossed by the road at a distance of 12 miles from Gaza, the Halib at 5 miles. Either of these spots fits in with the narrative. The ruins of el-Mineh on the seacoast mark the site of a town and episcopal see of the 5th cent called 'Constantia' or 'Limena Gazæ.'

the other is *ghazâl*, from which our word *gazelle* is derived. It was expressly permitted as food (Dt 12^{15} 14^{6} 15^{22}). It was daily served on Solomon's table (1 K 4^{23}). Asahel and the Gadites were as fleet as *ẓĕbhîs* (2 S 2^{18}, 1 Ch 12^{8}). The *ẓĕbhî* was much hunted (Pr 6^{5}, Is 13^{14}). It is frequently alluded to in Ca ($2^{7.9.17}$ 3^{5} 4^{5} 7^{3} 8^{14}). The fem. form צְבִיָּה *ẓĕbhîyyâh* became (by law of interchange) Aram. *ṭabitha*, which was translated δορκάς = *gazelle* (cf. Ac 9^{36}).

The gazelle, *Gazella Dorcas*, L., is one of the most beautiful of the antelopes. It is abundant throughout the country, but especially in the remoter mountain districts and in the deserts. It is often met with in herds, which sometimes number as many as a hundred. The general colour is fawn, with white and dark stripes down the face, and a white mark on the hind quarters. A local variety, called the *ariel gazelle, Gazella Arabica*, Ehr., is found in Gilead. It is of a darker fawn colour than the type.

Gazelles are hunted by lying in wait for them at the springs, or by chasing them with greyhounds and falcons. They are very fleet, however, and often 'deliver themselves from the hand of the hunter' (Pr 6^{5}). They are often taken in large numbers by driving them into an enclosure, with a pitfall at either side. As many as fifty may thus be taken at one time. When taken young the gazelle is easily tamed, and becomes very affectionate. G. E. POST.

GAZERA (A Γαζηρά, B Καζηρά), 1 Es 5^{31}.—His sons were among the 'temple servants.' In Ezr 2^{48} GAZZAM.

GAZEZ (גָּזֵז, Wellh., *de gent. et fam. Jud.* 26, would write גֹּזֵז).—1. A son of Ephah, Caleb's concubine, 1 Ch 2^{46}. 2. In same verse a second G. is mentioned as a son of Haram, who was another of Ephah's sons. Smith's *DB* ² incorrectly states that this second G. is omitted in B. The latter MS reads both times Γεζοῦε; Luc. has in second instance Γαζάς.

GAZINGSTOCK.—Men are no longer punished by being exposed to public gaze, whether in the stocks or otherwise, and 'gazing-stock' has gone out of use. It is one of several compounds of 'stock' which have become obsolete. We find 'mocking stock' in 2 Mac 7^{7}; and Tindale uses 'gestyngestocke' in Dt 28^{37} for EV 'byword.' The only compound still in use is 'laughing-stock.'

Gazingstock (1611 'gazing stocke') occurs Nah 3^{6} 'I . . . will set thee as a gazingstock'; Heb. כְּרֹאִי [in pause], lit. 'as a sight' (from רָאָה 'to look upon'); the word is found also in Gn 16^{13} (אֵל רֳאִי, AV 'Thou God seest me,' RV 'Thou art a God that seeth,' RVm 'God of seeing'—which is probably nearest the mark, *rŏî* being a subst. here); in 1 S 16^{12} of David (EV 'goodly to look to'); and in Job 33^{21} (מֵרֹאִי, of the wasting away of Job's flesh, EV 'that it cannot be seen'). For the *thought* of Nah 3^{6} Davidson refers to Ezk $28^{17.18}$, Mt 1^{19}, 1 Co 4^{9}; to which may be added the other example of 'gazingstock,' He 10^{33} (cf. also Moab. Stone, l. 12, 'a g. to Chemosh and to Moab'). Here the ptcp. θεατριζόμενοι is tr^{d} in AV 'whilst ye were made a gazingstock,' in RV 'being made a g.,' a tr. which comes from the Bishops' Bible; Wyc. and Rhem. having 'spectacle,' after Vulg. *spectaculum facti*. This is the only occurrence of the Gr. verb, but θέατρον γίνομαι is found in 1 Co 4^{9}, already referred to, in a precisely similar meaning, EV 'We are made a spectacle unto the world,' which is Wyclif's and the Rhem. tr., again after Vulg. *spectaculum facti*. Tindale's word here is 'gasyngestocke,' and he is followed by the other versions. Shaks. uses 'gaze' for 'gazing-stock' in *Macbeth*, v. viii. 24—

> 'Then yield thee, coward,
> And live to be the show and gaze o' the time;
> We'll have thee, as our rarer monsters are,
> Painted upon a pole, and underwrit,
> "Here may you see the tyrant."'

J. HASTINGS.

GAZITES (הָעַזָּתִי[ם]).—The inhabitants of GAZA (wh. see), Jos 13^{3} (AV Gazathites), Jg 16^{2}.

GAZZAM (גַּזָּם).—A family of Nethinim who returned with Zerub. (Ezr 2^{48}, Neh 7^{51}), called in 1 Es 5^{31} Gazera. See GENEALOGY.

GEBA.—1. (גֶּבַע, in pause גָּבַע = *Gaba*, a 'hill') A city of Benjamin—one of those assigned under Joshua to the Levites (Jos 21^{17}, 1 Ch 6^{60}). It was situated on the N.E. border of Benjamin (Jos 18^{24}). It is abundantly clear from the history of the two kingdoms that Geba is to be identified with the modern *Jeba*. The latter lies some 7 miles to the N. of Jerusalem, the road to which joins the main road between Bethel and Jerusalem, just N. of *Tell el-Fûl* (Gibeah). It is situated on the S. side of the steep defile of the *Wady Suweinît*, facing Michmash (*Mŭkhmās*) on the other side (1 S 14^{5} 'The one crag rose up on the north in front of Michmash, and the other on the south in front of Geba'). It was from this spot that Jonathan (1 S $14^{1ff.}$), accompanied only by his armour-bearer, started to descend the precipitous cliffs of the pass, and, in so doing, purposely revealed himself to the garrison of the Philistines on the opposite height. The words of the latter merely served to confirm the two warriors in their resolve, while the very audacity of their undertaking ensured its success. Climbing up on their hands and feet (v.^{13}), they fell upon the astonished Philistines with undiminished vigour, and, by their daring, initiated a panic, which quickly spread throughout the Philistine forces, and caused the complete discomfiture of the latter at the hands of Saul. Saul, with but a scanty remnant of his forces, would seem to have been encamped at Gibeah (13^{16} Geba must be a mistake for Gibeah; cf v.^{16}), some 3 miles to the S., so that Jonathan could start on his daring errand without awakening the suspicions of his countrymen as to the object of his expedition. In the reign of Asa king of Judah, this important position on the frontier was fortified with 'the stones of Ramah (*er-Rām*) and the timber thereof, wherewith Baasha (king of Israel) had builded' (1 K 15^{22} = 2 Ch 16^{6}). From this period onwards G. appears to have marked the N. limit of the kingdom of Judah. Hence we find the old formula, 'from Dan to Beersheba,' which denoted the extent of the united kingdom, altered into 'from Geba to Beersheba' (2 K 23^{8}, cf. Zec 14^{10}). The position of Geba, its strategic importance, and its distinction from the similar-sounding Gibeah (for the latter point cf. Jos $18^{24.28}$), are once more clearly shown in Isaiah's dramatic picture of the march of Sennacherib's army against Jerusalem from the N. (Is 10^{28-32}, see GIBEAH, 2 (4)); while in the times of Ezra and Nehemiah it was still a well-known spot (Neh 11^{31} 12^{29}; cf. 7^{30}, Ezr 2^{26}, 1 Ch 8^{6}).

In the following passages the Hebrew text wrongly gives Geba for Gibeah: Jg $20^{10.33}$, 1 S $13^{3.16}$; for further details see GIBEAH, 2. In Jg 20^{31} (see above) Geba is to be restored in place of Gibeah, while in 2 S 5^{25} it seems probable that we should restore Gibeon for Geba, in accordance with the parallel passage 1 Ch 14^{16}.

2. (Γαιβαl) About 3 miles N. of Samaria. It was the southernmost of the three fortresses which commanded the road leading up from Esdraelon, through the pass of En-gannim (*Jenîn*),

into Samaria. It was between this fort and Scythopolis that Holofernes pitched his camp preparatory to attacking Judæa (Jth 3^{10}).

J. F. STENNING.

GEBAL.—**1.** גְּבָל, Γαιβάλ or Γεβάλ, Ps 83^{8} [Eng. ^{7}]. A mountainous district south of the Dead Sea, which still bears the name of *Jebâl* (Robinson, *BR* ii. 154). Josephus regards Γοβολῖτις as a part of Idumæa (*Ant.* II. i. 2, cf. IX. ix. 1), and Jerome explains Seir by *Gebalena* (Euseb. *Onomast.* 'Seir'). In Ps 83^{8} Gebal is named, together with Ammon, Amalek, and other nations, as forming a confederacy against Israel. The date and occasion of the psalm are unknown, but many commentators connect it with the events described in 1 Mac 5.

2. גְּבַל, (οἱ πρεσβύτεροι) Βυβλίων, Ezk 27^{9}. GEBALITES הַגִּבְלִים, **AV Giblites**, but in 1 K 'the stonesquarers,' Jos 13^{5}, 1 K 5^{18}. A Phœnician city, situated on rising ground near the sea, at the foot of Lebanon, and about 20 miles N. of Beirût. The name is found frequently in Phœnician (*CIS* 1) and Assyrian inscriptions in the forms *Gubal* or *Gubli* (cf. Schrader, *COT* i. 174 and Gloss.), and also on the Tel el-Amarna tablets; while to the Greeks the town was well known as Byblus (Βύβλος or Βίβλος, cf. Strabo, xvi. p. 755). The modern name is *Jebeil*. The city was celebrated for the worship of Adonis and Astarte, while its maritime importance is attested by Ezekiel, who speaks of the 'elders and wise men of Gebal' as being the carpenters or 'calkers' of the ships of Tyre (27^{9}). According to Jos 13^{5} the land of the GEBALITES (AV Giblites) was included within the ideal boundaries of Israel; but it was never occupied by the Israelites, and it seems doubtful whether it could in any sense have been regarded as belonging to the Promised Land. Moreover, the passage is syntactically incorrect (וְהָאָרֶץ הַגִּבְלִי), and the widely different reading of LXX points to an early corruption of the text. It is better to read 'as far as the border of the Gebalites,' עַד גְּבוּל הַגִּבְלִי, omitting the preceding words הָאֱמֹרִי וְהָאָרֶץ, and to suppose that the territory of Gebal extended inland in a south-easterly direction (see Dillm. *ad loc.*). The Gebalites are mentioned again in 1 K 5^{18} [Heb.^{32}], where they are said to have fashioned the stones for the building of the temple along with the builders of Solomon and the builders of Hiram. But here, too, the text is probably faulty. Thenius reads, 'and Solomon's builders . . . fashioned them (the stones), and *made a border for them*' (וַיַּגְבִּילוּם for וְהַגִּבְלִים, LXX ἔβαλον). H. A. WHITE.

GEBER (גֶּבֶר 'man' *or* 'mighty man,' Γαβέρ A, om. B Luc. 1 K 4^{19}).—One of Solomon's twelve commissariat officers, whose district lay to the E. of Jordan, and perhaps S. of that of the officer mentioned v.^{13}. At the end of v.^{19} comes a sentence referred by AV and RV to this Geber, and rendered 'and *he was* the only officer which was in the land.' This is usually thought to mean that in this large district more than one officer might have been expected, but that this was not the case, probably because the country was rugged and thinly populated. Such a rendering, however, together with the interpretation put upon it, can by no means be extracted from the Hebrew, which is certainly corrupt. Klostermann by a clever emendation obtains the statement 'and one officer was over all the officers who were in the land,' the reference being, not to Geber, but to Azariah son of Nathan, mentioned v.^{5} as 'over the officers.' Cf. the interpretation of Jos. (*Ant.* VIII. ii. 3) ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων εἷς πάλιν ἄρχων ἀποδέδεικτο.

C. F. BURNEY.

GEBIM (הַגֵּבִים 'the trenches').—A place N. of Jerusalem, the inhabitants of which are graphically pictured by the prophet as saving their goods by flight upon the approach of the Assyrian army, Is 10^{31} only. In Eusebius (*Onomast. s.* 'Gebin') a Geba 5 Roman miles from Gophna, on the way to Neapolis (Shechem), is noticed. This is the modern *Jebîa*, which, being near the great northern road, is a possible site for Gebim. See *SWP* vol. ii. sh. xiv. C. R. CONDER.

GECKO (אֲנָקָה *'ănâḳâh*, μυγαλή, *mygale*).—The AV (Lv 11^{30}) renders *'ănâḳâh*, *ferret*. This animal, however, is not found in the Holy Land, and is not at all likely to be the one intended here. The LXX *μυγαλή* signifies the *shrew mouse*, of which several kinds are met with in the Holy Land: (1) *Sorex araneus*, De Selys, Arab. *fâr el-khalâ*, in the hilly districts of N. Galilee; (2) *S. tetragonurus*, Desm., in Lebanon; (3) *S. pygmæus*, De Selys, about one-third as large as the first; (4) *S. crassicaudus*, Licht., a silver-grey species, in the S. deserts; (5) *S. fodiens*, Schreb., the *water shrew*, by streams in Cœlesyria and Antilebanon. Notwithstanding the above tr^{n} of the LXX and the notion of the Rabbins that the *hedgehog* was the animal intended, the position of *'ănâḳâh* among the *lizards* has inclined scholars to regard it as one of them. The RV has adopted *gecko* (so Pesh.). This rendering, however, must be regarded as purely conjectural. There are several of the *Geckonidæ* in the Holy Land. The commonest of all is the common gecko, *Ptyodactylus Hasselquistii*, Schneid., which is found everywhere among rocks and in ruins and about houses. It has a fan-shaped foot (whence its generic name), with suckers by the sides of the toes, so that it can walk on smooth walls, and even run inverted like a fly. It moves noiselessly. But it can emit a rapid clucking sound, by vibrating the tongue against the palate. The name *gecko* is an attempted imitation of this sound. There is a popular superstition in the country, that a *gecko*, crawling over the body, will produce leprous sores; hence its name *abu bureis*, 'father of leprosy.' This opinion, which is probably ancient, would add to the lacertine form of the animal a reason for considering it unclean. It has a flattish-triangular head, covered with scales, a wide mouth, large eyes and small teeth, and a broad tail, nearly as long as the body. The general colour is black, but the whole body is spotted with rows of rounded warts or prominences. It is the most repulsive-looking of the lizards in Palestine. G. E. POST.

GEDALIAH (גְּדַלְיָהוּ, גְּדַלְיָה 'J″ is great').—**1.** Son of Ahikam, who had protected Jeremiah from the anti-Chaldæan party (Jer 26^{24}), and probably grandson of Shaphan, the pious scribe (2 K 22). G. naturally shared the views of Jeremiah. This commended him to Nebuchadnezzar, who made him governor over 'the poor of the people that were left in the land.' His two months' rule and treacherous murder are detailed in Jer 40, 41 (2 K 25^{22-25}). At Mizpah in Benjamin the scattered elements of the national life gathered round G. First came Jeremiah, then the remnant of the army, and finally the Jews that had been dispersed in the adjacent countries. At G.'s bidding they began to settle in the deserted towns, and to gather in the now ownerless crops. Meanwhile Baalis, king of the Ammonites, resolved, by the assassination of G., to destroy 'the remnant of Judah' (Jer 40^{15}). He found a tool in Ishmael 'of the seed royal,' formerly a high officer under Zedekiah, but now a bandit in the service of Ammon (41^{10}). Disbelieving the warnings which he received, G. entertained Ishmael and ten followers at Mizpah. G. and the small garrison of Jews and Chaldæans were slain, probably while at table (Jos. *Ant.* X. ix. 4), and their bodies cast promiscuously (41^{9}) into the ancient cistern of Asa. The plot of Baalis succeeded but too well; for the Jewish captains, fearing lest they might be held responsible for the audacious murder of the great king's representative (41$^{2.18}$), fled into Egypt, carrying with them Jeremiah and 'all the remnant of Judah.' 'It seemed to be the revocation of the advantages of the Exodus' (Stanley). The anniversary of G.'s murder—the third day of the seventh month, Tisri (Zec 7^{5} 8^{19})—has been ever since observed as one of the four Jewish fasts. Grätz (see Cheyne on Jer 41^{1}) argues that G.'s government lasted five years, but his reasons do not seem conclusive.

2. 1 Ch 25$^{3.9}$ eldest 'son' of Jeduthun, leader of the second course of temple musicians. **3.** Ezr 10^{18} (1 Es 9^{19} Joadanus), a priest 'of the sons of Jeshua,' who 'had married a strange woman.' **4.** Jer 38^{1} son of Pashhur (Jer 20$^{1-6}$), a prince in the reign of Zedekiah. **5.** Zeph 1^{1} grandfather of the prophet Zephaniah. N. J. D. WHITE.

GEDDUR (A Γεδδούρ, B Κεδδούρ), 1 Es 5^{30}.—In Ezr 2^{47} Neh 7^{49} GAHAR. גחר was perhaps read גדור.

GEDER (גֶּדֶר).—An unidentified Canaanitish town, whose king was amongst those conquered by Joshua, Jos 12^{13} (only). While LXX A has Γαδέρ, B has Ἀσεί. It is very probably identical with **Beth-gader** of 1 Ch 2^{51}. In 1 Ch 27^{28} Baal-hanan, who had charge of David's olives and sycomores, is called the **Gederite** (הַגְּדֵרִי), which may be a gentilic name derived from Geder, although some prefer to derive it from GEDERAH (wh. see).

GEDERAH.—AV of 1 Ch 4^{23b} reads, 'Those that dwelt among plants (RVm plantations) and hedges,' but RV gives 'the inhabitants of Netaim and Gederah,' and this is probably the correct tr^{n} of יֹשְׁבֵי נְטָעִים וּגְדֵרָה. In that case the Gederah referred to would probably be the city of that name located by Jos 15^{36} in the Shephelah, the modern *Jedîreh* (*SWP* vol. iii. sh. xx.) and the Gedour of Eusebius (*Onomast.* p. 254, Lagarde, 2nd ed.). The gentilic name **Gederathite** (הַגְּדֵרָתִי) occurs in 1 Ch 12^{4}. J. A. SELBIE.

GEDEROTH (גְּדֵרוֹת, in 2 Ch 28^{17} 'הַגּ).—A town of Judah in the Shephelah, Jos 15^{41}, 2 Ch 28^{18}, noticed with Beth-dagon, Makkedah, and Naamah. It appears to be the modern *Katrah* near Yebna, where a Jewish colony is now established. Possibly it is also the **Kidron** of 1 Mac 15$^{39.41}$ 16^{9}. See *SWP* vol. iii. sh. xvi. C. R. CONDER.

GEDEROTHAIM (גְּדֵרֹתַיִם) occurs in Jos 15^{36} as one of the fourteen cities of Judah that lay in the Shephelah. There are, however, fourteen cities without it, and it is probable that the name has arisen by dittography from the preceding Gederah (Nöldeke, *Krit. d. AT*, 101). The names of the cities in the LXX show several divergences from the MT; in v.^{36} Adithaim is omitted, and after Γαδηρά we read καὶ αἱ ἐπαύλεις αὐτῆς, which is evidently intended to be the tr^{n} of גְּדֵרֹתַיִם ('sheep-folds'). Both the *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* and Siegfried-Stade are surely in error in stating that the name is *omitted* in the LXX. The subterfuge of the AVm 'Gederah *or* Gederothaim' is, of course, not permissible. J. A. SELBIE.

GEDOR (גְּדוֹר, גְּדֹר).—**1.** A town of Judah, named along with Halhul and Beth-zur, Jos 15^{58}; cf. 1 Ch 4$^{4.18}$ 12^{7} (in this last הַגְּדוֹר, Baer and Kittel הַגְּדוֹר). It is generally identified with the modern *Jedûr* (Robinson, *BRP*^{2} ii. 13) north of Beit Sur. **2.** The district from which the Simeonites are said to have expelled the Hamite settlers, 1 Ch 4$^{39ff.}$. The LXX, however, reads Γέραρα (Gerar), and Gerar 'suits admirably as to direction' (Kittel in *SBOT*). This reading is adopted also by Ewald (*Gesch. Isr.* i. 344), Bertheau (*Chron.* 51), Hitzig (on Mic 1^{15}), Graf (*Der Stamm Simeon*, 25), *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*, Siegfried-Stade, etc.

GEDOR (גְּדוֹר, גְּדֹר 'wall').—**1.** A Benjamite, an ancestor of king Saul, 1 Ch 8^{31} 9^{37}. **2. 3.** The eponym of two Judahite families, 1 Ch 4$^{4.18}$. See GENEALOGY.

GE-HARASHIM (גֵּיא חֲרָשִׁים), 'valley of craftsmen,' 1 Ch 4^{14}, Neh 11^{35}. In the latter passage it occurs with Lod and Ono. The name may survive at the ruin *Hirsha*, E. of Lydda. See *SWP* vol. ii. sh. xiv.

GEHAZI (גֵּיחֲזִי, except in 2 K 5^{25} 8$^{4.5}$, where it is גֵּחֲזִי, 'valley of vision'; LXX Γιεζεί, Vulg. *Giezi*) is four times called the *servant* (נַעַר, lit. 'boy') of Elisha, a term which indicates a lower kind of service than Elisha's 'ministry' to Elijah. He may, however, be the person called in 2 K 4^{43} Elisha's *minister* (מְשָׁרֵת), the word which is applied to Elisha himself in 1 K 19^{21}. Gehazi is one of those Bible characters—Achan, Judas, Ananias, Demas, etc.—whose crimes and apostasy point the moral that the love of money is a root of all kinds of evil. What is known of him is told in three narratives.

1. In the story of the lady of Shunem (2 K 4$^{8-37}$) he appears as a man of shrewd practical sense, but incapable of understanding the impulses of deep feeling. His moral quality is scarcely defined. Elisha having failed to persuade his benefactress to ask any favour, turns in perplexity to consult his servant (4^{14}). G. has penetrated the good lady's thoughts, and tells the prophet of her secret longing for a son. Elisha perceives that his servant's insight has surpassed his own, and, recalling the Shunammite, promises that the desire of her heart will be granted. In the sequel to the story, when the lady, bereft of this child of promise, comes in haste to the retreat at Carmel and casts herself at the prophet's feet in a passion of grief, G.'s commonplace mind is shocked at this liberty taken by a woman. He would rudely thrust her away; but the prophet, pitying her unknown sorrow, reproves his servant for adding to the bitterness of her soul. When she has told the cause of her grief, G. is directed to hasten to Shunem, saluting no man by the way (cf. Lk 10^{4}), and lay the prophet's staff on the face of the child.

2. In the story of Naaman G. appears as a finished example of covetousness (2 K 5$^{20-27}$). His baseness is in startling contrast to the high-mindedness of his master. In vain does Naaman press his treasure on the acceptance of Elisha; he has to depart with it intact (5^{16}). To the sordid mind of G. this situation of affairs presents a temptation which he cannot resist. His passion for gain, probably long nourished in secret, suddenly overmasters him. The voice of reason and religion is stifled, and blasphemy, lying, sacrilege, and fraud come to serve his master passion. Elisha's refusal to take the stranger's gold seems to him madness. 'As J" liveth,' he will secure a portion of it for himself—thus lightly does he use the same oath with which Elisha solemnly refused the filthy lucre (5$^{16-20}$). Running to overtake the Syrian cavalcade, G. invents a clever story of two poor young sons of the prophets having just come to Samaria, whose wants Elisha has bethought himself of supplying out of the treasure which he had refused for himself. G. begs for them a talent of silver (£400!) and two changes of raiment.

Plausible though the story was, it could hardly fail to lower the prophet in the estimation of the Syrians. They would reflect that he was like other men, after all. But G.'s request is at once granted, and two of Naaman's servants return to Samaria laden with the changes of raiment and twice as much silver as had been asked. When they come to the hill (עֹפֶל, LXX *εἰς τὸ σκοτεινόν, to the secret place*, from a reading אֹפֶל; Vulg. *jam vesperi*) G. dismisses the men and conceals his prize. He then boldly presents himself before his master, and in answer to a question assures him with an air of innocence that he has been nowhere. But the prophet has at last discovered his servant's true character, and with searching interrogations lays bare his guilt, and reads the very thoughts and intents of his heart. G. is utterly confounded. Pale and speechless he hears the curse of Naaman's leprosy entailed, with awful appropriateness, on himself and his family for ever, and goes from Elisha's presence a leper, white as snow.

3. In the third narrative (2 K 8^{1-6}) G. appears engaged in conversation with king Jehoram, who has called him to recite the story of Elisha's wonderful deeds. G. is telling of the restoration of the Shunammite's son to life, when the lady herself comes on the scene to petition the king to reinstate her in the house and land which she had lost in a recent famine. The difficulty of imagining the king talking to a leper and G. glorifying Elisha has led some critics to suppose that this narrative is misplaced, and should appear before 2 K 5. But it reads quite naturally as it stands. Conversation with lepers was not forbidden. The story certainly shows G. in a more favourable light than the previous narrative. The notice taken of him by the king, and the truthfulness and respect with which he recounts the deeds of his former master, may be charitably taken to indicate that affliction had at last made him a wiser and better man.

Elisha's choice of this covetous man to be his follower presents a difficulty of the same kind, though not so great, as Christ's choice of a covetous disciple. It appears that the prophet's insight, though often marvellous, was sometimes quite ordinary (2 K 4^{14}). He confesses his inability to read the mind of the Shunammite: 'J" hath hid it from me, and hath not told me' (4^{27}). In the same way he was evidently mistaken with regard to the character of his servant. He probably chose him for his ready wit and practical sense; and if he detected in him a love of money, he may have hoped that the force of example would wean him from it. But to minds steeped in avarice the means of grace are often a savour of death rather than of life, and a holy example may not change the heart. 'Happy was it for Gehazi,' says Bishop Hall, 'if, while his skin was snow-white with leprosy, his humbled soul was washed white as snow with the water of true repentance.'

J. STRACHAN.

GEHENNA.—The word Gehenna, *Γέεννα* in Tischendorf and WH (or *Γεέννα* according to other scholars, on the ground of its derivation from the Aram. גֵּהִנָּם), is derived ultimately from the Hebrew expression גֵּי הִנֹּם = 'valley of Hinnom,' Jos 15^{8} 18^{16}, Neh 11^{30}, which is an abbreviated form of גֵּי־בֶן הִנֹּם = 'valley of the son of Hinnom,' Jos 15^{8} 18^{16}, 2 Ch 28^{3} 33^{6}, Jer $7^{31.32}$ $19^{2.6}$, or in the *Kethib* of 2 K 23^{10} גֵּי בְנֵי־הִנֹּם. But this place became so notorious through its evil associations that it was simply called 'the valley' *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, Jer 2^{23} 31^{40}, and the gate of Jerusalem leading to it 'the valley-gate,' 2 Ch 26^{9}, Neh $2^{13.15}$ 3^{13}. This valley lay to the S. and S.W. of Jerusalem (Robinson, *BRP* ii. 273, 274). The derivation of הִנֹּם is quite uncertain. In the LXX this name appears variously as *φάραγξ Ὀνόμ* (B: *Ἑννόμ* A), Jos 15^{8}; (B) *νάπη Σοννάμ* (B: *υἱοῦ Ἐννόμ* A), Jos 18^{16}; *Γαίεννα* (B: *Γαὶ Ὀννόμ* A), Jos 18^{16}; *Γαιβενθόμ* (B: *Γηβεεννόμ* A), 2 Ch 28^{3}; *γὲ βανὲ Ἑννόμ* (B: *γη Βεεννομ* A), 2 Ch 33^{6}. Elsewhere we find generally *φάραγξ* (*υἱοῦ*) *Ἑννόμ*.

This term is used in a variety of meanings in the course of Israelitish and Jewish history. These we shall consider separately according as they appear in OT, Apocalyptic literature, the NT, or in later Judaism.

I. ITS USE IN THE OT falls under three heads. (*a*) It is used in a merely *topographical sense*. Thus it formed the boundary between Judah and Benjamin, Jos 15^{8} 18^{16}, and the northern limit of the district occupied by the tribe of Judah after the Captivity, Neh 11^{30}, and lay in front of the gate Harsith of Jerusalem, Jer 19^{2}. See further under HINNOM (VALLEY OF).

(*b*) It is used in a *religious significance as implying a place of idolatrous and inhuman sacrifices*. These were first offered by Ahaz and Manasseh, who made their children to 'pass through the fire' to Molech in this valley, 2 K 16^{3}, 2 Ch 28^{3}, and 2 K 21^{6}, 2 Ch 33^{6}. These sacrifices were probably made on the 'high places of Topheth, which is in the valley of the son of Hinnom,' Jer 7^{31}; cf. Jer 32^{15}. In order to put an end to these abominations, Josiah polluted it with human bones and other corruptions, 2 K $23^{10.13.14}$. But this worship of Molech was revived under Jehoiakim, Jer 11^{10-13}, Ezk 20^{30}. In consequence of these idolatrous practices in the Valley of Hinnom, Jeremiah prophesied that one day it would be called the 'Valley of Slaughter,' and that they should 'bury in Topheth till there be no place to bury,' Jer 7^{32} 19^{11}. Many scholars have accepted the statement of Kimchi (*c.* 1200 A.D.) on Ps 27: 'Gehennam fuit locus spretus, in quem abjecerunt sordes et cadavera, et fuit ibi perpetuo ignis ad comburendum sordes illas et ossa; propterea parabolice vocatur judicium impiorum Gehennam.' But this is denied by Robinson, i. 274, who writes that 'there is no evidence of any other fires than those of Molech having been kept up in this valley' (Rosenmüller, *Biblisch. Geogr.* II. i. 156, 164).

(*c*) It signifies the *place of punishment for rebellious or apostate Jews in the presence of the righteous*. Gehinnom or Gehenna is not actually mentioned with this signification in the OT, but it is it and no other place that is implied in Is 50^{11} 'in a place of pain shall ye lie down,' and 66^{24} with this new connotation. Both these passages are very late, and probably from the same hand—not earlier than the 3rd cent. B.C. (see Cheyne, *Introd. to the Bk. of Isaiah*, p. 380; Smend, *Alttestamentliche Religionsgeschichte*, p. 506). Further, the punishment of the apostate Jews in Is 66^{24} is conceived as eternal: 'They shall look upon the carcases of the men that have transgressed against me; for their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched, and they shall be an abhorring to all flesh.' The punishment of Gehenna is implied also in Dn 12^{2} 'some to shame and everlasting abhorrence.' We should observe that the same word דֵּרָאוֹן 'abhorrence' occurs in these two passages, and in these only, and the reference in both is to Gehenna.

II. ITS MEANING AND FURTHER DEVELOPMENT IN APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE.* In this literature this conception underwent further development. (*a*) Thus Gehenna was conceived as *a place of corporal and spiritual punishment for apostate Jews in the presence of the righteous for ever.* (See Eth. En. $27^{2.3}$ $90^{26.27}$). In the Similitudes of that book, *i.e.* chs. 37–70, there is a slight modification of the above idea. Thus, though the punishment is everlasting, only its initial stages will be executed in the presence of the righteous. On the expiration of these, the wicked will be swept for ever from the presence of the righteous, 48^{9} $62^{12.13}$.

---

* There is no actual mention of the word Gehenna in biblical Apocryphal literature; but in Jth 16^{17}—

οὐαὶ ἔθνεσιν ἐπανισταμένοις τῷ γένει μου.
Κύριος Παντοκράτωρ ἐκδικήσει αὐτοὺς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως,
δοῦναι πῦρ καὶ σκώληκας εἰς σάρκας αὐτῶν,
καὶ κλαύσονται ἐν αἰσθήσει ἕως αἰῶνος—

the reference to Gehenna is undeniable. In Sir 7^{17}, however, the text *ἐκδίκησις ἀσεβοῦς πῦρ καὶ σκώληξ* is probably corrupt, being without the support of the Syriac Version and the best MSS of the Ethiopic. Sheol, moreover, has become synonymous with Gehenna in the Similitudes. Thus: 'Sheol will devour the sinners in the presence of the elect,' 56^{8}, cf. 63^{10}.

(*b*) *A place of spiritual punishment for apostate Jews in the presence of the righteous.* Heretofore Gehenna was always conceived as a place of both corporal and spiritual punishment. This new development is attested in the Eth. En. 91–104 (*c.* 134–95 B.C.). Thus in 98^{3} 'their spirits will be cast into the furnace of fire.' Cf. also 103^{8}. From 99^{11} $103^{7.8}$ it is clear that Sheol and Gehenna have become equivalent terms in this writer also. See also 100^{9}. The same conception is found in an Essene writing, *i.e.* Eth. En. 108^{6} and in the Assumpt. Mos. 10^{10}. In the latter passage Gehenna or rather 'the valley' is mentioned by name (see Charles, *Assumption of Moses*, pp. 43, 44). It is noteworthy that in all these books only a blessed immortality of the souls of the righteous is taught.

(*c*) *A place of corporal and spiritual punishment for all the wicked in the presence of the righteous.* We arrive at this stage of development in 2 Es 7^{36-38} 'Et apparebit locus tormenti, et contra illum erit locus requietionis: clibanus gehennæ ostendetur, et contra eum jocunditatis paradisus. Et dicet tunc Altissimus ad excitatas gentes—— "Videte contra et in contra; hic jocunditas et requies, et ibi ignis et tormenta."'

III. ITS MEANING IN THE NT.—In the NT Gehenna is always the final place of punishment into which the wicked are cast after the last judgment. It is a place of torment both for body and soul. Thus Mt 5^{29} 'It is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not thy whole body go into Gehenna.' So also in 5^{30}. Some have argued that Christ has here only the living in view; but this limitation appears unwarranted. It is not till after the final judgment that the wicked are cast into Gehenna. At the resurrection, soul and body are united. Both are punished in Gehenna. Gehenna as the last punishment was conceived also as the worst. It slew both soul and body—not, indeed, in an absolute sense, but relatively. Thus Mt 10^{28} 'Fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in Gehenna.' Cf. Lk 12^{5}. This final stage of retribution is carefully distinguished in Eth. En. 22^{11-13}. There the souls in the third division of Sheol are raised in order to be delivered over to their worst penalty, but of the sinners in the fourth division it is said: 'Their souls will not be slain on the day of judgment, nor will they be raised from thence.' For the phrase 'slaying of the soul' in this connexion, compare also Eth. En. 108^{3-6}. Gehenna is conceived as a fire, Mt 5^{22} 18^{9}; an unquenchable fire, Mk 9^{45}; as a place where 'their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched,' Mk 9^{48}; a 'furnace of fire,' Mt $13^{42.50}$; 'the outer darkness,' Mt 8^{12} 22^{13} 25^{30}. It is the 'lake of fire' in Rev 19^{20} $20^{10.14.15}$ 21^{8}. Hades is finally cast into it, Rev 20^{14}. In the NT Hades and Gehenna seem never to be confused together.

IV. IN LATER JUDAISM.—Here Gehenna is conceived as a *Purgatory for faithless Jews*, who were afterwards to be admitted into paradise, but still remained the place of eternal perdition for the Gentiles (cf. Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*^{2}, pp. 341, 342; Driver, *Sermons on OT*, 79 f., 87, 89 f., 97).

R. H. CHARLES.

GELILOTH (גְּלִילוֹת, Γαλιαώθ, A Ἀγαλλιλώθ).—One of the places mentioned in Jos 18^{17} as defining the S. boundary of Benjamin. The border, it is said, after leaving the valley of the son of Hinnom, 'went out' first to En-shemesh (probably *'Ain Ḥaud*, about 2 miles E. of Jerusalem), and afterwards to G. 'in front of the ascent of Adummim,' and so passed on into the Jordan Valley. The 'ascent of Adummim' is in all probability the ascent, some 5 miles long, leading up from the plain of Jericho to *Tala'at ed-Dumm*, about 6 miles E.N.E. of Jerusalem, on the regular route between Jerusalem and Jericho. The place G. has not, however, been identified; and all that can be said about it is that it was some spot on the boundary between Benjamin and Judah, conspicuous as a landmark to a traveller climbing up this steep ascent. In Jos 15^{7}, where the N. boundary of Judah (in the opposite direction) is described, the place, similarly described, is called *Gilgal* (הַגִּלְגָּל, LXX B Ταανάδ, A Γαλγάλ). We have no means of determining which is the true reading; the idea that the Gilgal between Jericho and the Jordan can be intended is, of course, quite out of the question; the border, at the point in question, must, as is evident from the terms employed ('went up,' $15^{6b.7a}$; 'went down,' $18^{17b.18b}$), have been *above* the plain.

Geliloth, in the sense, as it seems, of *circuits* or *districts*, appears also (in the Heb.) as the technical name of the administrative districts of the Philistines (Jos 13^{2}, Joel 3 $(4)^{4}$; cf 1 Mac 5^{15})—perhaps, of those ruled by their five 'lords' (Jos 13^{3}). It occurs likewise in the obscure and uncertain expression (Jos $22^{10.11}$), 'districts of Jordan' (גְּלִילוֹת הַיַּרְדֵּן), which describes the locality in which the altar 'Ed' was built by the 2½ tribes.

S. R. DRIVER.

GEM.—See STONES (PRECIOUS).

GEMALLI (גְּמַלִּי 'camel-owner,' or 'my rewarder').—Father of the Danite spy, Nu 13^{12} P.

GEMARA.—See TALMUD.

GEMARIAH (גְּמַרְיָה, גְּמַרְיָהוּ 'J" hath accomplished').—**1.** A son of Shaphan the scribe, from whose chamber Baruch read the prophecies of Jeremiah in the ears of all the people. He vainly sought to deter king Jehoiakim from burning the roll (Jer $36^{10.11.12.25}$). **2.** A son of Hilkiah who carried a letter from Jeremiah to the captives at Babylon (Jer 29^{3}).

GENDER (a clipt form of 'engender,' which comes from Lat. *ingenerare*, through Old Fr. *engendrer*, the *d* being excrescent after *n* as in 'tender' from *tener*) is used in AV both transitively and intransitively, both literally and figuratively. The trans. and lit. sense 'to beget' is common in Wyclif, as Mt 1^{2} (1380) 'Abraham gendride, *or bigate*, Ysaac'; and Ec 6^{3} (1388) 'If a man gendrith an hundrid fre sones, and lyveth many yeris, and hath many daies of age, and his soule usith not the goodis of his catel, and wantith biriyng; Y pronounce of this man that a deed borun child is betere than he.' It is from Wyc. (1388) that the AV tr. of Job 38^{29} comes, 'The hoary frost of heaven, who hath gendered it?' (יְלָדוֹ, Gen. 'ingendred'; RVm 'given it birth'). In Zec 13^{3} Wyc. uses the word of mother as well as father, 'his fader and moder that gendriden hym,' and in the same verse he speaks of 'his fadir and modir, gendrers of hym'; and then in Gal 4^{24} he employs the word of the mother alone = bear, bring forth children, 'gendringe in to seruage.' This has passed into AV (in Tindale's form 'which gendreth unto bondage') through all the intermediate versions (Gr. εἰς δουλείαν γεννῶσα, RV 'bearing children unto bondage').

The Gr. verb *γεννάω*, like the Eng. verb 'gender,' properly refers to the father, but is used of the mother in Lk $1^{13. 57}$ 23^{29}, Jn 16^{21}, and in this passage. The meaning of the passage is well brought out by Lightfoot, 'for these *women* are (represent) two covenants; one of them, *which was given* from Mount Sinai, bearing children unto bondage; inasmuch as she (ἥτις) is Hagar.' Add Gwynne's explanation, 'As Hagar, the bondwoman, brought forth children unto bondage,—for the children follow the condition of their mother,—so likewise did the Sinaitic covenant bring forth children unto bondage; the one is a fit representative of the other.'

This trans. verb is used metaph. in 2 Ti 2^{23} 'But foolish and unlearned questions avoid, knowing that they do gender strifes' (*γεννῶσι μάχας*; Wyc. 'gendren chidingis,' Tind. 'gendre stryfe,' Rhem. 'ingender braules').

The intrans. examples (= 'copulate,' 'breed') are Lv 19^{19} and Job 21^{10}, with which cf. Shaks. *Othello*, IV. ii. 62—

> 'Or keep it as a cistern, for foul toads
> To knot and gender in.'

J. HASTINGS.

GENEALOGY.—Under this title will be considered—*A*. Biblical Genealogy in general; *B*. The Genealogical Lists of the Tribes of Israel and a few other lists of names; *C*. Lists of persons and families associated with the labours of Ezra and Nehemiah.

A. 1. *Definition.*—The word genealogy (sing. and plur.) occurs in OT as a tr. of the Heb. noun יַחַשׂ (ἅπ. λεγ. Neh 7^5) and of the denom. verb יָחַשׂ (only Hithp. in 1 and 2 Ch, Ezr, and Neh), with the meaning of a family register or a registration by families (1 Ch 4^{33} $5^{1. 7. 17}$ etc.). In connexion with these registrations are often given lines of descent (cf. 1 Ch 1–9), and occasionally the pedigrees of individuals (1 Ch $2^{10-13. 36-41}$ *et al.*). Tables of genealogical descent also appear in OT as an expansion of the word תּוֹלְדוֹת, 'generations' (cf. Gn 5^1 10^1 11^{10} etc., also Mt 1^1 *βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, LXX for סֵפֶר תּוֹלְדוֹת, 'The genealogy of Jesus Christ,' RVm). Genealogies appear in two forms—one giving the generations in a descending scale (Gn 5, Ru 4^{18-23} etc.), the other in an ascending scale (1 Ch 6^{33-43}, Ezr 7^{1-5} etc.).

2. *The registration of families and individuals.*—Just when the Hebrews began to preserve family registers it is impossible to determine. Lists of families and of citizens for official purposes must have been made very early, in connexion, for example, with the census of David (2 S 24). Familiarity with such enrolments is implied in the reference to 'the book of J″' (Ex 32^{32}, Ps 139^{16}), 'the book of life' (Ps 69^{28}, cf. Is 4^3, Dn 12^1), and they seem to be directly mentioned in Jer 22^{30}, Ezk 13^9. At the time of the giving of the Deuteronomic law there must have been some way of determining whether one was of pure Isr. descent (Dt 23^{2-8}). But in the earlier centuries of the pre-exilic period, when marriages probably were freely made with the old Can. inhabitants, and when these inhabitants were being gradually incorporated and amalgamated into Israel, a motive for carefully preserving lines of individual descent is not apparent, and we have no reason to believe that such records were generally made. An exception, which is only probable, may have occurred in the case of royalty, nobility, and perhaps the priesthood. (The laws of inheritance seem not sufficiently complicated to have required the preservation of family genealogies). After the restoration, however, when Israel had become a church, and a sharp line of separation was drawn between the Jews and the other peoples of Palestine, and union with them by marriage had become a grievous trespass (Ezr 9^{1-4}), the case was far different. Hence, from the time of reforms introduced by Ezra and Nehemiah (*c*. B.C. 444), the preservation of family genealogies, or records of the descent of individuals, became a matter of special importance. Already, at that time, certain families were debarred from the office of priests because they could not produce genealogical registers (Ezr 2^{61-63}, Neh 7^{63-65}). From then onwards care was doubtless exercised for their preservation. Their value is shown by the repeated allusion to them in 1 and 2 Ch, Ezr, and Neh. To become a priest, a prime requisite was an evidence of proper pedigree. From the statement of Josephus that his pedigree was given in the public records (*Vita*, 1; cf. *c. Ap.* i. 7), it is probable that family genealogies were thus kept from their importance in reference to inheritance, marriage, redemption of lands, and service in the temple. Many families at the time of Christ evidently had genealogical registers (Mt 1^1, Lk 2^{36} $3^{23ff.}$, Ac 4^{36}, Ro 11^1, Ph 3^5).

'Davididæ, or descendants of the house of David, were found among the Jews in the Persian, Grecian, and even as late as the Roman period (comp. Zunz, *Analekten*, No. 5, p. 46, note 18). But, in consequence of the exterminating wars and the Dispersion, the records of old families were lost as early as the first centuries, and even the families of the priests did not remain unpolluted (*Jerus. Kiddushin*, iv. 1)' (Zunz in Asher's *Itinerary of Benj. Tudela*, ii. p. 6). Julius Africanus (*Ep. Aristides*, v.) gives a tradition that Herod I. destroyed the genealogical lists which were kept at Jerus., to deprive Jewish families of the knowledge of their descent. This story is doubtful, though received by some. (See Sachs, *Beiträge*, Heft ii. pp. 155 ff.).

3. *Figurative and artificial genealogies.*—These appear frequently in OT. In Gn 5 an unbroken line of descent of ten generations—from Adam to Noah inclusive—furnishes a chronology for the antediluvian period; in Gn 11^{10-26} a similar line from Shem to Terah inclusive furnishes the chronology of the period from the Deluge to the birth of Abraham. In Gn 10 is a table of nations, presenting the geographical and political relationships in the form of a genealogy or family tree from the three sons of Noah. From Terah, Abraham, and Isaac is traced the descent of the peoples with whom Israel recognized a close racial union, *i.e.* the Aramæans of N. Mesopotamia (Gn 22^{20-24}), the tribes of Arabia (Gn 25^{1-18}), the Ammonites and Moabites (Gn 19^{37f}), and Edomites (Gn 36). These peoples, both as wholes and in their various subdivisions, are mentioned as descendants from individual ancestors bearing generally tribal or geographical names, as though peoples and tribes grew out of single households. The same principle is applied to Israel, who is represented as the father of twelve sons, bearing the names of the twelve tribes, from whom in like manner sprang the various clans and families of these tribes (cf. Gn 46^{8-27}, Nu 26).

This form of representation is not peculiar to OT writers. It is the usual way in which primitive peoples explain their origin and tribal relationships. The Greeks traced their descent from Hellen, who had three sons, Dorus and Aeolus, who gave their names to the Dorians and Aeolians, and Xuthus, who through his two sons, Ion and Achæus, became the forefather of the Ionians and Achæans. But especially is this the method of Sem. people, as is illustrated among Israel's kinsmen, the Arabs. According to their writers, the inhabitants of Arabia are 'patriarchal tribes formed by the subdivision of an original stock on the system of kinship through male descendants. A tribe was but a larger family; the tribal name was the name or nickname of a common ancestor. In process of time it broke up into two or more tribes, each embracing the descendants of one of the great ancestor's sons, and taking its name from him. These tribes were again divided and subdivided on the same principle.' 'Between a nation, a tribe, a sept or sub-tribe and a family, there is no difference on this theory, except in size and distance, from a common ancestor' (W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, pp. 3 f.). This likewise seems to have been the view in Israel, and is especially worked out in P. (Most of the genealogical tables and tribal and family lists in the Hex. belong to this document).

While in some instances tribes, clans, or families take their name from historic persons,—some Arabic clans are thus named (*Kinship*, p. 15; Sprenger, *Mohammed*, iii. p. cxxxvi, *Jour. Bibl. Lit.* vol. xi. 1892, p. 120),—in genealogical lists the founders of tribes, clans, and families are usually to be regarded as eponymous heroes, for countries and cities are frequently mentioned as parents (Mizraim Gn 10^{13}, Canaan 10^{15}, Gilead Jg 11^{1}, Hebron 1 Ch 2^{43}, *et al.*). Under the form of family experience are given events of tribal life (Gn 38. See G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* p. 289; Stade, *Gesch.* i. pp. 157 f.; Moore on Jg 1$^{14-15}$). Elder sons prob. represent earlier or more powerful tribes and families; marriages their coalitions, the weaker being perhaps the wife, and an inferior a concubine; untimely deaths their disappearances; different relationships of the same person political or geographical changes or different traditions (cf. Stade, *Gesch.* i. p. 30). But many genealogical stories and relationships originated evidently in folk-tales, and hence they present a mingling of fact and fancy, and the relationships of father, mother, wife, son, daughter, etc., cannot be interpreted upon any uniform theory in respect to the precise meaning of each.

Where pedigrees for generations of remote antiquity are given (Gn 5. 11$^{10-26}$, 1 Ch 2$^{9-12}$ 6$^{1-48}$ *et al.*), they probably do not rest upon authentic records, but are artificial.

> 'Life in the Orient is much too unsafe, and the changes much too great, for one to expect to find family records of several centuries. Moreover, in the desert [and so generally under nomadic conditions which Israel for centuries experienced] family archives are unimaginable, and it is sheer nonsense to believe that all the branches of a family tree could be preserved by memory' (Sprenger, *Mohammed*, iii. p. cxli).

This statement, made in view of Arabian genealogies, is equally applicable to those of early mankind and Israel. These, too, when they present a continuous line of descent from father to son, are the conjectures of later ages (see Chronology of OT). They are, however, not the fruit of a spirit of deception, but of good faith with poetic imagination in vindicating family rights and privileges, and religious institutions, or in glorifying the family and national and religious heroes. The impulse for the formation of such pedigrees is synchronous with the stress laid upon purity of descent and the actual keeping of family genealogies. The names introduced were not usually inventions, but taken from legend and story, representing often historical persons, families, and conditions.

These artificial pedigrees abound in Arabic genealogies (see Sprenger), and also occur in Jewish writings—for example, the *Seder Olam sutta.* (Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge*, Berlin, 1892, pp. 142 ff.; Asher, *Itiner. of Benj. of Tudela*, vol. ii. pp. 6 ff.).

B. The Genealogical Lists of the Twelve Tribes.—These lists are found almost exclusively in Gn 46$^{8-24}$, Ex 6$^{14-26}$, Nu 26$^{5-62}$, 1 Ch 1-9. They exhibit different sources, and have suffered much in transcription, especially those in Chronicles, so that we often have little more than a confused mass of names, which defy any proper genealogical treatment. The genealogies are partially figurative and artificial, and partially genuine family records; but where the exact line is to be drawn between those due to fancy or theory and those due to records cannot always be determined. In some instances there may be a commingling of both elements. The whole history behind these genealogies is very obscure; hence the explanatory notes, when they depart from a recital of mere facts, must be received as tentative. The lists are prepared also primarily for the purpose of locating OT proper names in this Dictionary, and many names are given which probably represent no real persons or families, but have arisen from textual errors.

N.B. The tribes are indicated by Rom. numerals. The various lists under each tribe, grouped by generations, pedigrees, or other classifications given in OT, are numbered with Arabic numerals, providing a means of cross-reference. Heavy (Clarendon) type indicates the father of the person or persons whose name or names immediately follow. Italics indicate a son of the preceding and the father of the succeeding (a continuous line of descent from father to son is indicated by a succession of names in italics). The child or children of the person named in heavy type or italics immediately preceding are given in ordinary type. Mothers' names are placed in brackets before their children. The following abbreviations are used: d. daughter, f. father or father of, m. mother, s. son of, ss. sons of.

Since these lists are found mainly in 1 Ch, the following abbreviations are used referring to its literature:

Be. = E. Bertheau in *Kgf. Handb.* 1873; Ke. = C. F. Keil in *Bible Comm.* [1872]; Ki. = R. Kittel in the *Sacred Books of the OT*, a critical edition of the Heb. Text, 1895; Kau. = E. Kautzsch in *Die Heilige Schrift d. a. T. übersetzt und herausgegeben*, 1894; Oe. = S. Oettli in *Kgf. Komm.* 1889; Sm. = R. Smend, *Die Listen der Bücher Ezra und Nehemiah*, 1881; We. = J. Wellhausen, *De Gentibus et Familiis Judæis quæ 1 Chr. 2. 4. enumerantur*, 1870; We. *Prol.* = J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, 1885; Zoe. = O. Zoeckler in *Lange's Commentary*, 1876. [Unfortunately, Gray's *Studies in Heb. Proper Names* and Hommel's *Anc. Heb. Tradition* both appeared too late for use in the present article].

Jacob: (m. Leah) Reuben (I.), Simeon (II.), Levi (III.), Judah (IV.), Issachar (V.), Zebulun (VI.), d. Dinah; (m. Rachel) Joseph (Manasseh and Ephraim) (VII.^{ab}), Benjamin (VIII.); (m. Bilhah) Dan (IX.), Naphtali (X.); (m. Zilpah) Gad (XI.), Asher (XII.), Gn 35^{22b-26}, cf. 29^{31}–30^{24} 35^{18} 46$^{8-25}$ 49$^{2-27}$, Ex 1$^{1-5}$ etc.

This genealogy is a reflection of a more or less artificial division of Israel into twelve tribes (cf. the twelve sons of Ishmael, Gn 25$^{13-16}$). The history and the sentiment which occasioned such a motherhood, as well as the order of birth of these tribes, and the placing of a daughter among them, is only partially clear (see Israel, and Stade, *Gesch.* i. 145 ff.).

I. 1. **Reuben**: Hanoch, Pallu (2), Hezron, Carmi, Gn 46^{9}, Ex 6^{14}, Nu 26$^{5f.}$, 1 Ch 5^{3}.

2. **Pallu** (1): *Eliab*, Nemuel, Dathan, Abiram, Nu 26$^{8f.}$.

3. —— *Joel* (4)?, *Shemaiah*, *Gog*, *Shimei*, *Micah*, *Reaiah*, *Baal*, Beerah, 1 Ch 5$^{4ff.}$.

4. —— *Joel* (3)?, *Shema*, *Azaz*, Bela, 1 Ch 5^{8}.

5. —— Jeiel, Zechariah, 1 Ch 5^{7}.

Hanoch, Pallu, Hezron, and Carmi are names of clans (Nu 26^{5}), of which we know nothing further. Hanoch appears also as a clan of Midian (Gn 25^{4}), and Hezron as one of Judah (Nu 26^{21}); Nemuel is mentioned only in this connexion. For Dathan and Abiram see Korah. The relation of Joel to any of the four sons of Reuben is not given. Ki., after Sam. and Arab. VSS, removes Joel and inserts Carmi, but the Joel of vv.^{4} and ^{8} may be the same (Be.); Shema (v.^{8}) = Shemaiah or Shimei. Beerah (1 Ch 5^{6}) was a prince of the Reubenites, carried away by Tiglath-pileser. Bela, with whom Jeiel and Zechariah are associated, represented a powerful clan, occupying a wide extent of territory (1 Ch 5$^{8f.}$).

II. 1. **Simeon**: Jemuel,* Jamin, Ohad,† Jachin,‡ Zohar,§ (m. Canaanitess) Shaul (2), Gn 46^{10}, Ex 6^{15}, Nu 26$^{12-14}$, 1 Ch 4^{24}.

2. **Shaul** (1): *Shallum*, *Mibsam*, *Mishma*, *Hammuel*, *Zaccur*, *Shimei*, sixteen sons and six daughters, 1 Ch 4$^{25-27}$.

3. [A list of princes], Meshobab, Jamlech, Joshah, (s. Amaziah) Joel, Jehu, (s. Joshibiah, s. Seraiah, s. Asiel) Elioenai, Jaakobah, Jeshohaiah, Asaiah, Adiel, Jesimiel, Benaiah, Ziza, (s. Shiphi, s. Allon, s. Jedaiah, s. Shimri, s. Shemaiah) 1 Ch 4$^{34-38}$.

4. —— *Ishi*, Pelatiah, Neariah, Rephaiah, Uzziel, 1 Ch 4^{42}.

The descent of Shaul from a Canaanitess mother (Gn 46^{10}, Ex 6^{15}) implies a clan of mixed Isr. and Can. elements. Nothing further than their mention is known of the other clans. (On the early disappearance of Simeon see Simeon). Mibsam and Mishma (2) are names also of Ishmael's descendants (Gn 25^{14}, 1 Ch 1^{29}), and suggest a mingling of Simeonites with the Arabians. The princes (3) represent families of shepherds which, in the reign of Hezekiah, had conquered for themselves a dwelling-place near Gerar (1 Ch 4$^{39-41}$, Gedor MT, Gerar LXX, Ki.). The sons of Ishi are captains who went to Mt. Seir, and, smiting the Amalekites, abode there (1 Ch 4$^{42.\,43}$).

We. (*Prol.* pp. 212 f.) doubts the historicity of the Chronicler's notices of the continued existence of the tribes of Reuben and Simeon during the Heb. monarchy; Stade also, that of Simeon (*Gesch.* i. p. 155). On the other hand, Graf thought that the tribes had not entirely died out, and saw historical movements of their remnants in the Chronicler's statements (*Der Stamm Simeon*, pp. 22 ff.). This is more probable.

---

* Nemuel, Nu 26^{12}, 1 Ch 4^{24}.

† Wanting 1 Ch 4^{24}, Nu 26$^{12-14}$.

‡ Jarib, 1 Ch 4^{24}.

§ Zerah, 1 Ch 4^{24}.

III. 1. **LEVI**: Gershon (2) (3),[*] Kohath (9), Merari (31), Gn 46^{11}, Ex 6^{16}, Nu 3^{17} 26^{57}, 1 Ch $6^{1.\,16}$ 23^{6}.

2. **Gershon** (1) (3): Libni (6), (Ladan (7)), Shimei (8), Ex 6^{17}, Nu 3^{18}, 1 Ch 6^{17} 23^{8}.

Libni and Ladan (1 Ch $23^{7\text{-}9}$ 26^{21}) evidently represent the same clan. Libni is derived from the priestly city Libnah. Why Ladan (לַעְדָּן) should be its equivalent is not clear. Possibly Laadah (לַעְדָּה) (1 Ch 4^{21})—if a town—and Libnah were identical, and Ladan (לַעְדָּן) is to be connected with the former. Or Ladan may have been a pure clan or family name, and Libni one taken from place of residence.

3. **Gershon** (1) (2): *Jahath*, *Shimei*, *Zimmah*, *Ethan*, *Adaiah*, *Zerah*, *Ethni*, *Malchijah*, *Baaseiah*, *Michael*, *Shimea*, *Berechiah*, *Asaph*, Zaccur (4), Joseph, Nethaniah, Asharelah,[†] 1 Ch $6^{39\text{-}43}$ 25^{2}.

The pedigree of Asaph the singer (see ASAPH). His four sons, acc. to the Chronicler, were appointed by David for the service of song in the house of the Lord (1 Ch $25^{1\text{f.}}$). See also (6), and see notes under (22^{ab}).

4. **Zaccur** (3):[‡] *Micaiah*,[§] *Mattaniah* (5), *Shemaiah*, *Jonathan*, Zechariah, Neh 12^{35}.

The pedigree of Zechariah, a musician who, with his brethren, *i.e.* fellow musicians, Shemaiah, Azarel, Milalai, Gilalai, Maai, Nethanel, Judah, Hanani, took part in the dedication of the wall of Jerus. (Neh $12^{27\text{-}36}$); Mattaniah in this pedigree evidently corresponds to the M. who was 'chief to begin the thanksgiving in prayer' (Neh 11^{17}); mentioned also as a resident of Jerus. (1 Ch 9^{15}).

5. **Mattaniah** (4): *Hashabiah*, *Bani*, Uzzi, Neh 11^{22}.

The pedigree of Uzzi, an overseer of the Levites at Jerus. (Neh 11^{22}), whose descent is given thus from Mica (Micaiah) (4), of the sons of Asaph. Another line of descent from a Mattaniah of the ss. Asaph is given in 2 Ch 20^{14}, viz. Mattaniah: *Jeiel*, *Benaiah*, *Zechariah*, Jahaziel. Jahaziel was the Levite who encouraged, by divine inspiration, Jehoshaphat and his people, prior to the battle with the children of Ammon, Moab, and Mt. Seir (2 Ch $20^{14\text{ff.}}$).

6. **Libni** (2): *Jahath*, *Zimmah*, *Joah*, *Iddo*, *Zerah*, Jeatherai, 1 Ch $6^{20\text{f.}}$.

Jeatherai (יְאָתְרַי), otherwise unknown, is evidently Ethni (אֶתְנִי) (v.^{26}), and (6) is a fragment of a pedigree of Asaph (3). (Cf. the similar names; so Be.; Zoe. rejects this assumption). Iddo (עִדּוֹ) prob. = Adaiah (עֲדָיָה); Joah (יוֹאָח), perhaps through textual corruption = Ethan (אֵיתָן).

7. **Ladan** (2): Jehiel, Zetham, Joel, (ss. Shimei) Shelomoth, Haziel, Haran, 1 Ch $23^{8\text{f.}}$, cf. 26^{22}.

8. **Shimei** (2): Jahath, Zina,[‖] Jeush, Beriah, 1 Ch 23^{10}.

These 'sons' (7) and (8) of Ladan and Shimei, acc. to the Chronicler, represented Levitical houses of the time of David. Zetham and Joel (7), as the sons of Jehieli, were placed over the treasuries of the house of the Lord (1 Ch 26^{22}). The introduction of ss. Shimei (7) as subordinate to Ladan (1 Ch 23^{9}) is difficult of explanation. Probably genealogies varied; cf. Jahath s. Libni in (6), and Shimei s. Jahath in (3).

9. **Kohath** (1): Amram (10), Izhar (21), Hebron (27), Uzziel (28), Ex 6^{18}, Nu 3^{19}, 1 Ch $6^{2.\,18}$ 23^{12}.

10. **Amram** (9): (m. Jochebed) Aaron (11), Moses (18), Miriam, Ex 6^{20}, Nu 26^{59}, 1 Ch 6^{3} 23^{12}.

11. **Aaron** (10): Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar (12), Ithamar, Ex 6^{23}, Nu 26^{60}, 1 Ch 6^{3} 24^{1}.

12. **Eleazar** (11): *Phinehas*, *Abishua*, *Bukki*, *Uzzi*, *Zerahiah*, *Meraioth*, *Amariah*, *Ahitub*, *Zadok*, *Ahimaaz*, *Azariah*, *Johanan*, *Azariah*, *Amariah*, *Ahitub*, *Zadok*, *Shallum*, *Hilkiah*, *Azariah*, *Seraiah*, Jehozadak,[¶] 1 Ch $6^{4\text{-}14}$, cf. Ezr $7^{1\text{-}5}$ *i.c.* (14).

Eleazar, with whom this pedigree starts, was, according to P, Aaron's successor (Nu 20^{28}), and priest at the time of the conquest of Canaan (Jos 14^{1}). Phinehas is mentioned as his son and successor (Jos 24^{33}, Jg 20^{28}). Seraiah the f. Jehozadak, with whom this pedigree closes, was chief priest at the fall of Jerus. (B.C. 586), and was taken captive and put to death at Riblah (2 K $25^{18\text{-}21}$), while Jehozadak went into captivity (1 Ch 6^{15}).

Hence this pedigree, according to the Chronicler's view (that of P) of the origin of Israel's religious institutions, was designed to furnish a list of high priests from the entrance into Canaan until the Captivity.[*] As such a list, this line of descent presents certain striking features. (1) There is no mention of the line of priesthood, Eli: *Phinehas*, *Ahitub*, *Ahimelech*, Abiathar (1 S 14^{3} 22^{20}), unless Ahitub f. Zadok (v.^{8}) is identical with Ahitub f. Ahimelech. This, however, is improbable, since the removal of Abiathar, in whose place Zadok was established, is regarded as a fulfilment of the prophecy of the disestablishment of the house of Eli (1 K $2^{27.\,35}$).[†]

(2) Jehoiada (2 K 11^{9}, 2 Ch 22^{11}, etc.), and Urijah (2 K $16^{11\text{ff.}}$), are not mentioned, and the order of the priests appears incorrect. Amariah was chief priest in the reign of Jehoshaphat (2 Ch 19^{11}). The next priests mentioned in the historical books are Azariah in the reign of Uzziah (2 Ch 26^{20}), and Hilkiah in the reign of Josiah (2 K 22^{4}, 2 Ch 34^{9}). In this list, however, there is no Azariah between Amariah and Hilkiah.

(3) The number of priests, including Aaron, from the Exodus to the Captivity, is exactly 23. Allowing forty years, or a generation, for each, this gives $40 \times 12 + 40 \times 11$ years. Now, according to the artificial chronology of P, Jg, 1 and 2 K, 1 and 2 Ch (see CHRONOLOGY OF OT), 480 years elapsed from the Exodus to the founding of Solomon's temple (1 K 6^{1}), and 480 years from thence to the founding of the second temple, and the Captivity occurred in the eleventh generation of this second period. Hence these 22 names seem chosen to fit exactly into this chronological scheme. This is still further seen in the statement—transferring 10^{b} to 9^{b} (Be. Oe. Zoe.)—that Azariah the 13th priest (including Aaron) ministered in Solomon's temple.

(4) There is a surprising number of names occurring more than once. Such repetition, while possible in a genuine pedigree, has decidedly a suspicious look, as though the names were used simply to represent so much time.

Hence, in view of these facts, it is evident that this list of names, covering many centuries, does not rest entirely upon historical records, but, as a whole, is artificial. This accords with the modern critical view of the late origin of the Levitical law and institutions (*OTJC*, Lect. ix.-xiii.; *LOT*^{6} pp. 126–159). The explanation of Josephus mentioned is not based upon facts, but is a mere surmise. That this list should not be in harmony with statements elsewhere in 1 and 2 Ch shows that it probably did not originate with the author of Chronicles, but represented a notion about the line of priests, varying from that which he elsewhere followed. Ki. assigns it to the subsequent additions of 1 and 2 Ch. (On this list see We. *Prol.* pp. 222 ff.).

13. **Jehozadak** (12): *Jeshua*, *Joiakim*, *Eliashib*, *Joiada*, *Jonathan*, Jaddua, Ezr 3^{2}, Neh $12^{10\text{f.}}$.

This genealogy brings the list of high priests down to the time of Alexander the Great (Josephus, *Ant.* XI. viii. 4).

14. **Aaron** (10): *Eleazar* (11), *Phinehas* (12), *Abishua*, *Bukki*, *Uzzi*, *Zerahiah*, *Meraioth*, *Azariah*, *Amariah*, *Ahitub*, *Zadok*, *Shallum*, *Hilkiah*, *Azariah*, *Seraiah*, *Ezra*, Ezr $7^{1\text{-}5}$.

This ancestry of Ezra, the priest and scribe (see EZRA), is evidently the same as that of Jehozadak (12) given in a shorter form. Ezra appears to have been a descendant, probably a great-grandson, of Seraiah f. Jehozadak, through a younger brother. Of similar descent is Azariah (Seraiah, Neh 11^{11}) s. Hilkiah, s. Meshullam (=Shallum), s. Zadok, s. Meraioth, s. Ahitub, mentioned among the priests residing in Jerus. (1 Ch 9^{11}, Neh 11^{11}). Seraiah is probably the correct reading, since the substitution of Azariah might be suggested by 1 Ch 6^{13}, but not the converse. The two names appear, however, elsewhere interchanged (cf. Ezr 2^{2} with Neh 7^{7}). This Seraiah represented a division of the post-exilic priests in Jerus. (Neh $11^{11\text{f.}}$). That he should belong to the high priest's family has been thought striking (Sm. p. 8).

15. Jehoiarib, Jedaiah, Harim, Seorim, Malchijah (16), Mijamin, Hakkoz, Abijah, Jeshua, Shecaniah, Eliashib, Jakim, Huppah, Jeshebeab, Bilgah, Immer (17), Hezir, Happizzez, Pethahiah, Jehezkel, Jachin, Gamul, Delaiah, Maaziah, 1 Ch $24^{7\text{-}18}$.

---

[*] Gershom, 1 Ch $6^{16\text{f.}}$.

[†] Jesharelah, 1 Ch 25^{14}.

[‡] Zabdi, Neh 11^{17}; Zichri, 1 Ch 9^{15}.

[§] Mica, Neh 11^{22}.

[‖] Zizah, 1 Ch 23^{11}.

[¶] Jozadak, Ezr 3^{4} *et al.*

---

[*] The observation on Azariah in v.^{10} also shows this.

[†] The Jewish explanation of these facts, given by Josephus, is that the family of Phinehas s. of Aaron, represented in (12), at first held the high priesthood, and afterwards it was transferred in Eli to the family of Ithamar s. Aaron, who held the priesthood until Zadok's establishment, which restored it again to the family of Phinehas, which had in the meantime been in private life (Jos. *Ant.* V. xi. 5, VIII. i. 3). This explanation has usually been received. (Ke. thinks that after the slaughter of the priests at Nob the tabernacle was moved to Gibeon, and the high priesthood intrusted to Zadok's father, and thus, during the reign of David, Zadok was priest at Gibeon [1 Ch 16^{39}], and Abiathar at Jerusalem). The Chronicler evidently held to this double line of priests, for he says that both Eleazar and Ithamar executed the priest's office, and places Zadok as the representative of the former and Ahimelech (evidently Abiathar s. Ahimelech) as representing the latter at the time of David (1 Ch $24^{1\text{ff.}}$).

These are the names of the heads of the twenty-four courses of priests, sixteen taken from the ss. Eleazar and eight from the ss. Ithamar, who, acc. to the Chronicler, were assigned by David for service in the house of the Lord. Jehoiarib, Jedaiah, and Jachin appear also among the priests or priestly families of the post-exilic inhabitants of Jerus. (1 Ch 9^{10}, Neh 11^{10}).

16. **Malchijah** (15): *Pashhur*, *Jeroham*, Adaiah, 1 Ch 9^{12}.

17. **Immer** (15): *Meshillemith*, *Meshullam*, *Jahzerah*, *Adiel*, Maasai, 1 Ch 9^{12}, cf. Neh 11$^{12f.}$.

Adaiah (16) and Maasai (מַעֲשַׂי=עֲמַשְׁסַי Amashsai, Neh 11^{13}) (17) are among the post-ex. priests or priestly families of Jerusalem. In Neh 11$^{12f.}$ the pedigrees are slightly different, *i.e.* **Malchijah**, *Pashhur*, *Zechariah*, *Amzi*, *Pelaliah*, *Jeroham*, Adaiah; **Immer**, *Meshillemoth*, *Ahzai*, *Azarel*, Amashsai.

18. **Moses** (10): Gershom (19), Eliezer (20), Ex 18$^{3f.}$, 1 Ch 23^{15}.

19. **Gershom** (18): *Shebuel*,* Jehdeiah, 1 Ch 23^{16}, 24^{20}.

20. **Eliezer** (18): *Rehabiah*, *Isshiah*,† *Joram*, *Zichri*, Shelomoth, 1 Ch 23^{17} 24^{21} 26^{25}.

Of these descendants of Moses, who, acc. to the Chronicler, represented Levites of the time of David, Shebuel (19) and Shelomoth (20) were rulers of the treasuries. A certain confusion appears in the different lengths of descent assigned to each, and in the fact that Jehdeiah (19) and Isshiah (20) appear as their contemporaries (see ref.). The LXX obviates this by reading Eliezer, Rehabiah, Isshiah, Joram, Zichri, Shelomoth (1 Ch 26^{25}).

21. **Izhar** (9): Korah (22^{ab}), Nepheg, Zichri, Ex 6^{21}.

22^{a}. **Korah** (21): *Assir*, *Elkanah*, *Ebiasaph* (24), *Assir*, *Tahath*, *Uriel*, *Uzziah*, *Shaul* [*Elkanah*], *Amasai*, *Ahimoth* (ss. *Elkanah*), *Zophai*, *Nahath*, *Eliab*, *Jeroham*, *Elkanah*, *Samuel* (LXX), Joel (Syr. RV), Abiah, 1 Ch 6$^{22-28}$.

Korah in this list appears as the son of Amminadab (see below).

22^{b}. **Korah** (21): *Ebiasaph* (24), *Assir*, *Tahath*, *Zephaniah*, *Azariah*, *Joel*, *Elkanah*, *Amasai*, *Mahath*, *Elkanah*, *Zuph*, *Toah*, *Eliel*, *Jeroham*, *Elkanah*, *Samuel*, *Joel*, Heman (23), 1 Ch 6$^{33-38}$.

These two lines of descent (22^{a}) and (22^{b}) are evidently the same (Be. Zoe. Oe.), as may be clearly shown by placing the names in parallel columns side by side.

(22^{a}).	(22^{b}).
Amminadab.	Izhar.
Korah.	Korah.
Assir Elkanah Ebiasaph.	Ebiasaph.
Assir.	Assir.
Tahath.	Tahath.
Uriel.	Zephaniah.
Uzziah.	Azariah.
Shaul.	Joel.
Elkanah.	Elkanah.
Amasai.	Amasai.
Ahimoth.	Mahath.
Elkanah.	Elkanah.
Zophai.	Zuph.
Nahath.	Toah.
Eliab.	Eliel.
Jeroham.	Jeroham.
Elkanah.	Elkanah.
Samuel.	Samuel.
{Joel.	Joel.
Abiah.	Heman.

In respect to the variations: Amminadab appears in Ex 6^{23} as the father-in-law of Aaron, and may have been placed for Izhar in (22^{a}) through an oversight. Assir and Elkanah are either redundant in (22^{a}) through a similar cause or have fallen out from (22^{b}). Uriel and Zephaniah are difficult to explain as equivalents. The names Uzziah and Azariah are interchangeable (as in the case of the well-known king of Judah). The differences between the other corresponding names have probably arisen through transcription. The context clearly demands the addition of 'Samuel his son' in v.^{27} and 'Joel' in v.^{28}.

This pedigree is clearly artificial. A portion of its construction comes from 1 S 1^{1}, where Elkanah is mentioned as s. Jeroham, s. Elihu, s. Tohu, s. Zuph. Zuph is probably a district, and Tohu (Toah Nahath) a family (cf. Tahath 1 Ch 7^{20}; We. *Prol.* p. 220). The story of Samuel shows distinctly that he was not a Levite, for then he would have belonged to the Lord without the gift of his mother (1 S 1$^{27f.}$). He is made a Levite by the Chronicler according to the notions of his own times respecting Samuel's service at the sanctuary.

The motive for this pedigree of Heman, and also those of Asaph (3) and Jeduthun (Ethan) (35), is very apparent. At the time of the Chronicler there were three guilds of singers, named after Asaph, Heman, and Ethan (1 Ch 6$^{31ff.}$) or Jeduthun (1 Ch 25^{1}), reckoned as belonging to the three great Levitical houses of Gershon, Kohath, and Merari. The Chronicler assumes that this organization of singers dated from David, but in reality it was quite modern, for, according to Ezr 2^{41} Neh 7^{44}, ss. Asaph and singers were equivalent, and the singers were distinct from the Levites. (This distinction is held by Sm. p. 26; *OTJC*^{2} p. 204; Baudissin, *Gesch. des A. T. Priestcrthums*, p. 142 ff.; Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* ii. p. 111; on the other hand, Torrey claims that no such distinction can be found in Ezr and Neh., *Comp. and Hist. Value of Ezr and Neh*, p. 22 f.). Gradually, however, singers were evolved into Levites and the three guilds. Remains of steps of this evolution and fluctuating traditions appear in the Levitical genealogies. In Ex 6^{21} the three ss. Korah are Assir, Elkanah, and Abiasaph (=Ebiasaph), *i.e.* f. Asaph, and hence we should expect to find Asaph a descendant of Korah, but, according to (3), he is not. Also we find Assir and Elkanah placed not co-ordinate but following each other (21^{ab}). Different genealogists certainly worked over these names. (22^{a}) (22^{b}) are assigned by Ki. to different sources; (22^{a}) to the older. The ss. Korah appearing in the titles of the Ps (42. 44–49. 84. 85. 87. 88) probably mark a step in this evolution earlier than the formation of the three guilds. Korah in 1 Ch 2^{43} is associated with Tappuah as a son of Hebron. This indicates either a place or Judæan family of that name from whose Levites originated the Levitical Korahites (We. *Is. und Jüd. Gesch.* p. 151 f.).

23. **Heman** (22^{b}): Bukkiah, Mattaniah, Uzziel,* Shebuel,† Jerimoth, Hananiah, Hanani, Eliathah, Giddalti, Romamti-ezer, Joshbekashah, Mallothi, Hothir, Mahazioth, 1 Ch 25^{4}.

These fourteen sons of Heman were appointed by David, acc. to the Chronicler, for the service of song in the house of the Lord (1 Ch 25$^{6. 9-31}$). This list of names is most interesting, since prob. from Hananiah (חֲנַנְיָה חֲנָנִי אֱלִיאָתָה), certainly from Giddalti (גִּדַּלְתִּי וְרֹמַמְתִּי עֶזֶר יָשְׁבְּקָשָׁה מַלּוֹתִי הוֹתִיר מַחֲזִיאוֹת), they are a fragment of a hymn or psalm which perhaps originally read: 'Be gracious to me, J"; be gracious to me! thou art my God. I have magnified and exalted the help of him sitting in distress, I have declared abundantly visions' (חָנֵּנִי יָהּ חָנֵּנִי אֵלִי אַתָּה גִּדַּלְתִּי וְרֹמַמְתִּי עֵזֶר יֹשֵׁב קָשָׁה מַלּוֹתִי הוֹתִיר מַחֲזִיאוֹת). There is some doubt about the exact rendering and construction of these lines (cf. Ewald, *Ausführ. Lehrbuch d. Heb. Sprache*, p. 680; *ZAW*, 1886, p. 260; We. *Prol.* p. 219; Oe. Kau. Ki. *in loco*), but none about the names, at least the last six, being fashioned out of such a prayer or meditation.

24. **Ebiasaph** (22^{ab}): *Kore*, Shallum, Meshelemiah ‡ (25), 1 Ch 9^{19} 26^{1}.

25. **Meshelemiah** ‡ (24): Zechariah, Jediael, Zebadiah, Jathniel, Elam, Jehohanan, Eliehoenai, 1 Ch 26$^{2f.}$.

In (24) (25) we have families of porters or door-keepers assigned by the Chronicler to the time of David. It is possible that Shallum and Meshelemiah or Shelemiah represent the same person or family (Be. Oe.). M.'s descent is given through Kore from Asaph (1 Ch 26^{1}), evidently to be read Ebiasaph (LXX B, Ki. RVm). With Shallum are associated Akkub, Talmon, and Ahiman (1 Ch 9^{17}). Akkub and Talmon appear as porters in post-exilic Jerus. (Neh 11^{19}). Zechariah (25) is mentioned 1 Ch 9^{21}.

The Chronicler doubtless designed also that Obed-edom the door-keeper, with his sons Shemaiah, Jehozabad, Joah, Sacar, Nethanel, Ammiel, Issachar, and Peullethai, and the ss. Shemaiah, Othni, Rephael, Obed, Elzabad, Elihu, and Semachiah, should be enrolled among the Korahites (1 Ch 26$^{4-7. 19}$) (Ke. Zoe.), although Obed-edom's descent from Jeduthun (1 Ch 16^{38}) would suggest that he belonged to the Merarites. That this Obed-edom is intended to represent Obed-edom the Gittite (2 S 6$^{10f.}$, 1 Ch 13^{13}), transformed, like Samuel (22^{ab}), into a Levite, is most probable, although the contrary has been maintained. (Ke. also distinguishes between the singer Obed-edom and the door-keeper Obed-edom (1 Ch 15$^{21. 24}$)).

26. —— : *Shelomoth*,§ Jahath, 1 Ch 24^{22}.

These are mentioned as Izharites of the time of David. Their descent is not given more specifically.

27. **Hebron** (9): Jeriah,‖ Amariah, Jahaziel, Jekameam, 1 Ch 23^{19} 24^{23}.

These Hebronites are mentioned as serving in the house of the Lord at the time of David (1 Ch 23^{32}). In the family of Hebron we may have a perpetuation of the old line of priests, subordinated into Levites, who originally ministered at the sanctuary of Hebron; at any rate the name must be associated with Levites residing in Hebron. Jeriah (Jerijah) is mentioned in 1 Ch 26$^{31ff.}$ as the chief whose brethren were appointed by David overseers of the Reubenites, Gadites, and the half-tribe of the Manassites 'for every matter pertaining to God and for the affairs of the king.' A Hashabiah of the Hebronites, with his brethren, is given a similar position of 'oversight of Israel beyond Jordan westward' (v.^{30}). Eliel is mentioned as the chief of the Hebronites at the removal of the ark (1 Ch 15^{9}).

---

* Shubael, 1 Ch 24^{20}.

† Jeshaiah, 1 Ch 26

* Azarel, 1 Ch 25^{18}.

† Shubael, 1 Ch 25^{20}.

‡ Shelemiah, 1 Ch 26^{14}.

§ Shelomith, 1 Ch 23^{18}.

‖ Jerijah, 1 Ch 26^{31}.

28. **Uzziel** (9): Mishael, Elzaphan, Sithri, Ex 6^{22}; Micah (29), Isshiah (30), 1 Ch 23^{20} $24^{24f.}$.

Sithri is mentioned only in Ex 6^{22}. Mishael and Elzaphan in Lv 10^{4} are commanded to carry out of the camp the bodies of Nadab and Abihu. Elizaphan (=Elzaphan) in Nu 3^{30} is appointed prince of the families of the Kohathites. As a family name it appears in 1 Ch 15^{8}, 2 Ch 29^{13}. To Micah and Isshiah is assigned general Levitical service along with the Hebronites (27) (see above).

29. **Micah** (28): Shamir, 1 Ch 24^{24}.
30. **Isshiah** (28): Zechariah, 1 Ch 24^{25}.

Nothing special is assigned to these Uzzielites (29) (30), who are given among ss. Levi of the time of David (see ref.). An Amminadab was the chief of the Uzzielites at the time of the removal of the ark (1 Ch 15^{10}).

31. **Merari** (1): Mahli (3^{2}) (35^{ab}), Mushi (34), Jaaziah? (38), Ex 6^{19}, Nu 3^{20}, 1 Ch 6^{19} 23^{21} 24^{26}.

It is possible that the family Mushi (מוּשִׁי) derived their name from Moses (מֹשֶׁה) (We. *Is. und Jüd. Gesch.* p. 151 f.). On the appearance of Jaaziah, among ss. Merari, mentioned in 1 Ch 24^{26}, see below (38).

32. **Mahli** (31): Eleazar, Kish (33), 1 Ch 23^{21}.
33. **Kish** (32): Jerahmeel, 1 Ch 24^{29}.
34. **Mushi** (31): Mahli (35), Eder, Jerimoth, 1 Ch 24^{30}.

These Merarites (31)-(34) are recorded as in general Levitical service at the time of David (see ref. and 1 Ch 23^{24} 24^{31}).

35^{a}. **Mahli** (34): *Shemer, Bani, Amzi, Hilkiah, Amaziah, Hashabiah, Malluch, Abdi, Kishi,*[*] Jeduthun (Ethan) (36) (37), 1 Ch 6^{44-47}.

Instead of Jeduthun we have the name Ethan in 1 Ch 6^{47}, but both names are undoubtedly designed to indicate one and the same person (Be. Ke. Oe. Zoe.). Cf. on this pedigree the remarks on 22^{ab}.

35^{b}. **Mahli** (31) or (34): *Libni, Shimei, Uzzah, Shimea, Haggiah,* Asaiah, 1 Ch $6^{29f.}$.

The pedigree of an otherwise unknown Asaiah. Be. regards it as a fragment, in spite of the great difference of names, representing originally the same line of descent as that seen in the first members of 35^{a}. Ke. Zoe. and Oe. reject this hypothesis.

36. **Jeduthun** (35^{a}): Gedaliah, Zeri,[†] Jeshaiah, Hashabiah, Mattithiah, Shimei, 1 Ch 25^{3}.

These six sons (Shimei is derived from 1 Ch 25^{17}), with their father, were assigned by David, acc. to the Chronicler, to the service of song in the house of the Lord (ref.).

37. **Jeduthun** (35^{a}): *Galal, Shemaiah,*[‡] Obadiah,[§] 1 Ch 9^{16}, Neh 11^{17}.

Obadiah is mentioned among the Levites residing in Jerus. after the Exile (ref.).

38. **Jaaziah** (31), Beno? Shoham, Zaccur, Ibri, 1 Ch 24^{27}.

Beno (בְּנוֹ 'his son,' LXX, Vulg. RV) arises from a clear misunderstanding of the Heb. text, and should be struck out of the list of sons. It is the common noun (בֵּן) with the pronominal ending, and should be rendered 'his son,' *i.e.* Jaaziah is the son of Merari. The MT is difficult and probably corrupt (see Be. Oe. Ki.). Ke. and Zoe. regard the references to Jaaziah and his sons as a gloss. The name Ibri (עִבְרִי) 'Hebrew,' is noticeable, and shows at once that we are in a post-exilic or relatively late period of Israel's history.

39. **Hosah**: Shimri, Hilkiah, Tebaliah, Zechariah, 1 Ch $26^{10f.}$.

Hosah of the ss. Merari (closer descent is not given), with his sons and brethren, all of whom numbered 13, is recorded among the door-keepers of the house of the Lord of the time of David. To him and Shuppim (שֻׁפִּים) was given the charge of the gate 'Shallecheth' westward. The name Shuppim, however, is a dittography from the preceding הָאֲסֻפִּים 'the storehouse,' and is to be struck out (Ki.) (1 Ch 26^{10-16}).

ADDITIONAL LISTS OF LEVITES.

40. **Of the reign of David**: *a*. Uriel (ss. Kohath), Asaiah (ss. Merari), Joel (ss. Gershom), Shemaiah (ss. Elizaphan), Eliel (ss. Hebron), Amminadab (ss. Uzziel), 1 Ch 15^{5-11}.

b. Zechariah, Ben, Jaaziel,[*] Shemiramoth, Jehiel, Unni, Eliab, Benaiah, Maaseiah, Mattithiah, Eliphelehu, Mikneiah, Obed-edom, Jeiel, Azaziah, 1 Ch 15^{18-21}.

c. Shebaniah, Joshaphat, Nethanel, Amasai, Zechariah, Benaiah, Eliezer, 1 Ch 15^{24}.

d. Chenaniah, Berechiah, Elkanah, 1 Ch $15^{22f.}$.

The Levites (*a b c d*) are mentioned in connexion with David's removal of the ark to Jerusalem. List *a* were chiefs of the Levitical families; list *b*, the singers or musicians with psalteries and harps under the direction of Heman, Asaph, and Ethan; list *c*, priestly trumpeters. Chenaniah (*d*) was the leader of the song or the carrying up of the ark, and Berechiah and Elkanah were door-keepers, also an Obed-edom and Jehiah (1 Ch 15^{24}).

41. **Of the reign of Jehoshaphat.** Teachers of the law. (*a*) Priests: Elishama, Jehoram. (*b*) Levites: Shemaiah, Nethaniah, Zebadiah, Asahel, Shemiramoth, Jehonathan, Adonijah, Tobijah, Tob-adonijah, 2 Ch 17^{8}.

42. **Of the reign of Hezekiah**: *a*. Mahath s. Amasai, Joel s. Azariah (ss. Kohath), Kish s. Abdi, Azariah s. Jehallelel (ss. Merari), Joah s. Zimmah, Eden s. Joah (Gershonites), Shimri, Jeuel (ss. Elizaphan), Zechariah, Mattaniah (ss. Asaph), Jehuel, Shimei (ss. Heman), Shemaiah, Uzziel (ss. Jeduthun), 2 Ch 29^{12-14}.

These Levites are mentioned as employed by Hezekiah in cleansing the temple after its defilement in the reign of Ahaz.

b. Rulers: Conaniah, Shimei (his brother). Overseers: Jehiel, Azaziah, Nahath, Asahel, Jerimoth, Jozabad, Eliel, Ismachiah, Mahath, Benaiah, 2 Ch $31^{12f.}$.

During the reign of Hezekiah, acc. to the Chronicler, the people contributed abundantly of tithes and firstfruits, and these men had charge of the tithes and oblations brought into the chambers of the temple (2 Ch 31^{5-13}).

c. Kore s. Imnah, Eden, Miniamin, Jeshua, Shemaiah, Amariah, Shecaniah, 2 Ch $31^{14f.}$.

Kore was the porter at the E. gate of the temple, and had charge of the free-will offerings and the distribution of the portions of the priests. Under him were the others named above, stationed in the cities of the priests to distribute the portions of the priests (2 Ch 31^{15-17}).

43. **Of the reign of Josiah**: *a*. Shaphan s. Azaliah, Maaseiah, Joah s. Joahaz, Jahath, Obadiah (ss. Merari), Zechariah, Meshullam (ss. Kohathites), 2 Ch $34^{8.\,12}$.

These persons are all mentioned in connexion with the repair of the temple. The first three, of whom Shaphan was the scribe, Maaseiah was governor of the city, and Joah (or his f. Joahaz) the recorder, seem to have had general superintendence of the work, while the other four oversaw the workmen. The first three were not necessarily Levites, and are grouped here merely for convenience of reference (2 Ch 34^{8-13}).

b. Rulers of the Temple: Hilkiah, Zechariah, Jehiel, 2 Ch 35^{8}.

c. Chiefs of the Levites: Conaniah, Shemaiah, Nethanel, Hashabiah, Jeiel, Jozabad, 2 Ch 35^{9}.

These had charge of the distribution of the offerings at the celebration of the passover kept by Josiah (2 Ch 35^{1-19}).

IV. 1. **JUDAH**: (m. Shua, Gn 38^{2-5}) Er, Onan, Shelah (2) (3); (m. Tamar, Gn 38^{6-30}), Perez (4), Zerah (59), Gn 46^{12}, Nu $26^{19f.}$, 1 Ch $2^{3f.}$.

Er and Onan are represented as dying in Canaan (Gn 38^{7-10} 46^{12}, Nu 26^{19}), implying that two of the ancient and original clans of Judah early disappeared. The Canaanite mothers, Shua and Tamar (Gn $38^{2.\,6ff.}$), indicate a union with Canaanites (see art. JUDAH).

2. **Shelah** (1): Er f. Lecah, Laadah f. Mareshah. Families of Ashbea, Jokim, men of Cozeba, Joash, Saraph, Jashubi-lehem?, 1 Ch $4^{21f.}$.

---

[*] Kushaiah, 1 Ch 15^{17}.
[†] Izri, 1 Ch 25^{17}.
[‡] Shammua, Neh 11^{17}.
[§] Abda, Neh 11^{17}.

[*] Jahaziel, 1 Ch 16^{6}.

Er here appears as the son and not the brother of Shelah. A remnant of the clan Er may have united with, and become subordinate to, that of Shelah. Mareshah is the name of a city (see MARESHAH), probably also Lecah. Whether Ashbea is the name of a place or family cannot be determined. Cozeba (כֹּזֵבָא) may be Chezib (כְּזִיב Gn 38^{5}). Jashubi-lehem has arisen from a misunderstanding of the text, וַיָּשֻׁבוּ בֵּית לֶחֶם=וְיָשֻׁבִי לֶחֶם 'and they returned to Bethlehem.' The Vulg., following evidently an old Jewish Midrash, renders v.^{22} *et qui stare fecit solem, virique mendacii, et Securus et Incendens, qui principes fuerunt in Moab, et qui reversi sunt in Lahem.* The whole passage (vv.$^{21-23}$) is very obscure, and probably preserves the family traditions and relationships of certain weavers and potters of the post-exilic times. The ref. to Moab and a return suggests some story similar to that of Ruth. Ki. assigns the verses to the later additions to Chronicles.

3. Shelah fam.: *Zechariah, Joiarib, Adaiah, Hazaiah, Col-hozeh, Baruch,* Maaseiah, Neh 11^{5}.

This is the genealogy of Maaseiah (מַעֲשֵׂיָה), representing a family of the inhabitants of Jerus. after the Return (Neh 11^{4}). In 1 Ch 9^{5} the name is Asaiah (עֲשָׂיָה).

4. Perez (1): Hezron (5), Hamul, Gn 46^{12}, Nu 26^{21}, 1 Ch 2^{5}.

5. Hezron (4): Jerahmeel (6), Ram (16), Chelubai (Caleb) (29) (35), 1 Ch 2^{9}.

Ram as a second son of Hezron is suspicious: (1) Because OT knows of no Judæan clan Ram co-ordinate with Caleb and Jerahmeel. (2) The descendants are given, not in families and cities, but simply in a pedigree of David. This pedigree in 1 Ch 2^{10-15} appears taken from Ru 4^{18-22}, where Ram may have stood for Ram the son of Jerahmeel (6), the father's name being omitted (We. p. 17 f.). Yet, while the pedigree of David may be conjectural, the Chronicler is clearly nearer the truth in deriving his descent from Ram s. Hezron than from Ram s. Jerahmeel, since, according to the narrative of 1 and 2 S, David cannot have been a Jerahmeelite. That the Chronicler's Judæan genealogies should principally consist of Calebite and Jerahmeelite families, as we shall see, is probably due to the fact that family names and traditions, along with family or clan life, are held more tenaciously among rural and pastoral peoples than the inhabitants of cities or more highly organized communities.

6. Jerahmeel (5): Ram (7), Bunah, Oren, Ozem, Ahijah? (m. Atarah), Onam (8), 1 Ch $2^{25f.}$.

Ahijah (אֲחִיָּה) is either to be struck out, having arisen from a misinterpretation of an original אֲחִיהוּ or אָחִיו 'his brother' (LXX, Ki. אֶחָיו 'his brothers,' We. p. 15), or held to be the mother of the preceding sons (Be. Ke. Zoe. Oe.), the original text having been 'Ozem (and his brothers) from Ahijah' (אֹצֶם מֵאֲחִיָּה). The former is preferable.

7. Ram (6): Maaz, Jamin, Eker, 1 Ch 2^{27}.

8. Onam (6): Shammai (9), Jada (14), 1 Ch 2^{28}.

9. Shammai (8): Nadab (10), Abishur (13), 1 Ch 2^{28}.

10. Nadab (9): Seled, Appaim (11), 1 Ch 2^{30}.

11. Appaim (10): *Ishi, Sheshan* (12), Ahlai, 1 Ch 2^{31}.

12. Sheshan (11): *Jarha* (son-in-law), *Attai, Nathan, Zabad, Ephlal, Obed, Jehu, Azariah, Helez, Eleasah, Sismai, Shallum, Jekamiah,* Elishama, 1 Ch 2^{35-41}.

This pedigree of the otherwise unknown Elishama—for he is not to be identified with others of the same name mentioned elsewhere in OT—was derived evidently from another source than that of the preceding, and (in our lists) following descendants of Jerahmeel (Ki. We. p. 18). To remove the discrepancy between the mention of Ahlai (11) and the statement (v.^{34}) that Sheshan had no sons, ignoring the fact of different sources, it has been assumed that Ahlai was a daughter (Ke. Zoe. *et al.*). Jarha is said to have been an Egyptian servant (v.^{34}). Some family represented by Elishama, probably near the time of the Chronicler, evidently traced their descent from the family or clan of Sheshan and an Egyp. individual or family who united with it. The free intercourse between Canaan and Egypt serves to confirm this statement.

13. Abishur (9): (m. Abihail) Ahban, Molid, 1 Ch 2^{29}.

14. Jada (8): Jether, Jonathan (15), 1 Ch 2^{32}.

15. Jonathan (14): Peleth, Zaza, 1 Ch 2^{33}.

This (15) completes the list of the descendants of Jerahmeel (1 Ch 2^{25-33}). It is evidently a record of the families of the Jerahmeelites, who are mentioned in 1 S 27^{10} as inhabiting a Negeb or south country distinct from that of Judah (see JERAHMEEL). The binary form of descent suggests an artistic construction. The names Bunah, Oren, Maaz, Eker, Abishur, Ahban, Molid, Seled, Appaim, Sheshan, and Zaza, occur only in this connexion, also Ozem, except as that of a brother of David mentioned only in 1 Ch 2^{15}. Onam is the name of a family of Edom (Gn 36^{23}); Jamin of Simeon (Gn 46^{10}); Jether an Ishmaelite name (1 Ch 2^{17}), or Midianite (Ex 4^{18} RVm). (It is equivalent to Jethro). These names suggest a close relationship with these neighbours. The m. Atarah of Onam (6), the most widely extended family, probably arose from their inhabiting Ataroth or protected places (We. p. 15). The Jerahmeelites do not appear in connexion with the restoration, and the 13 generations between Sheshan and Elishama show that their families were thought of as living at least some 500 years before the time of the Chronicler. The list is probably of pre-exilic origin, and historical.

16. Ram (5): *Amminadab, Nahshon, Salma,* Boaz, Obed, Jesse*; Eliab,† Abinadab, Shimea,‡ Nethanel, Raddai, Ozem, David (17), d. Zeruiah (27), d. Abigail (28), 1 Ch 2^{10-16}, cf. Ru 4^{18-22}.

Acc. to 1 S 17^{12} Jesse had eight sons (cf. 1 S $16^{2ff.}$); Syr. has in our passage eight sons, Elihu (cf. 1 Ch 27^{18}) being the seventh.

In addition to the descendants of Jesse recorded in (17)–(28) we have **Jesse**, ***Eliab**, **d. Abihail*** (f. Jerimoth), ***d. Mahalath*** (f. Rehoboam), Jeush, Shemariah, Zaham, 2 Ch $11^{18f.}$; or **Jesse**, ***Eliab**, **d. Abihail*** (f. Rehoboam), Jeush, Shemariah, Zaham, 2 Ch 11^{18} RVm. Cf. (18) note.

17. David (16): (m. Ahinoam) Amnon, (m. Abigail) Chileab, (m. Maacah) Absalom (see below), (m. Haggith) Adonijah, (m. Abital) Shephatiah, (m. Eglah) Ithream, (m. Bathsheba) Shammua, Shobab, Nathan (see below), Solomon (18), (m. unknown) Ibhar, Elishua, Nepheg, Japhia, Elishama, Eliada, Eliphelet, 2 S 3^{2-5} 5^{14-16}, cf. 1 Ch 3^{1-9} 14^{4-7}.

The names of the ss. David in 1 Ch 3^{1-9} 14^{4-7}, owing in the main to erroneous transcription, are somewhat diff. from those in the earlier and more authentic source (2 S) given in (17): Daniel (3^{1}) for Chileab (see DANIEL), Shimea (3^{5}) for Shammua (perhaps mere variation of spelling שִׁמְעָא, שַׁמּוּעַ), Elishama (3^{6}) for Elishua; Eliphelet (3^{6}), or Elpelet (14^{5}), Nogah (3^{7} 14^{6}), two additional names developed, one from the preceding, and the other from the following names (Ki.); Beeliada (14^{7}) for Eliada. The former probably is correct (see BEELIADA). Bath-sheba, written Bathshua, is mentioned as the m. in 1 Ch 3^{5}.

Jerimoth, f. Mahalath wife of king Rehoboam is mentioned as a s. David (2 Ch 11^{18}) (16 note) (18 note). Since he does not appear elsewhere, he is thought to have been s. a concubine, unless Jerimoth (יְרִימוֹת) is a corruption of Ithream (יִתְרְעָם).

Besides the line of Solomon (18), descendants of David are given in the line of the ancestry of Joseph f. Christ traced back to Nathan (Lk 3^{23-31}), see GENEALOGY OF CHRIST; and in Maacah d. (evidently grand d.) of Absalom (1 K 15^{2}, 2 Ch 11^{22}). Since Absalom's ss. must have died without posterity (2 S 14^{27}, 18^{18}), her mother probably was Tamar d. Absalom and father Uriel of Gibeah (2 Ch 13^{2}). She was a wife of king Rehoboam and m. of king Abijam (see (18) note).

18. Solomon (17): *Rehoboam, Abijah, Asa, Jehoshaphat, Joram, Ahaziah, Joash, Amaziah, Azariah, Jotham, Ahaz, Hezekiah, Manasseh, Amon, Josiah,* Johanan, Jehoiakim (19), Zedekiah, Shallum,§ 1 Ch 3^{10-15}.

Of these ss. Josiah (1 Ch 3^{15}) Johanan is mentioned nowhere else. It looks as though he were designed to stand for Jehoahaz, Josiah's immediate successor (2 K 23^{30}), who was followed by Jehoiakim (2 K 23^{34}), and the latter, after the 3 months' reign of his son Jeconiah, by his brother Zedekiah (2 K 24^{17}). Jehoiakim, however, was older than Jehoahaz (2 K $23^{31.36}$), while Zedekiah was much younger than either of them, and Shallum was another name for Jehoahaz (Jer 22^{11}). Hence their order of birth is incorrectly given (1 Ch 3^{15}), and probably the writer made the further mistake, after identifying Johanan with Jehoahaz, of taking Shallum for another son; although it is possible that the eldest s. Josiah was a Johanan who may have died before his father, or with him at the battle of Megiddo.

To (18), which represents the kings of Judah in order of succession from Solomon to Josiah inclusive, the following genealogical particulars may be added:—

(*a*) **Mothers of Kings.**—Of Rehoboam, Naamah the Ammonitess (1 K $14^{21.31}$, 2 Ch 12^{13}); of Abijah,‖ Maacah d. Absalom (1 K 15^{2}, 2 Ch 11^{20}). In 2 Ch 13^{2} she is called Micaiah d. Uriel of Gibeah, hence, as the intervening time requires, she was a grand d., at least, of Absalom (see (17) note); of Asa—no mother is given, only grandmother Maacah (1 K 15^{10}, 2 Ch 15^{16}); of Jehoshaphat, Azubah d. Shilhi (1 K 22^{42}, 2 Ch 20^{31}); of Joram, Athaliah d. (grand d.) Omri, king of Israel (2 K 8^{26}, 2 Ch 22^{2}); of Joash, Zibiah of Beersheba (2 K 12^{1}, 2 Ch 24^{1}); of Amaziah,

---

* Salmon, Ru $4^{20f.}$.

† Elihu is mentioned as a brother of David, 1 Ch 27^{18}. Ki. reads Eliab.

‡ Shammah, 1 S 16^{9}; Shimeah, 2 S 13^{3}.

§ 2 K 23^{30} Jehoahaz, cf. Jer 22^{11}; but see note above.

‖ Abijam, 1 K 15^{2}.

Jehoaddin,* of Jerusalem (2 K 14^2, 2 Ch 25^1); of Azariah,† Jecoliah † (2 K 15^2, 2 Ch 26^3); of Jotham, Jerusha d. Zadok (2 K 15^{33}, 2 Ch 27^1); of Ahaz, the name is not given; of Hezekiah, Abi‡ d. Zechariah (2 K 18^2, 2 Ch 29^1); of Manasseh, Hephzibah (2 K 21^1); of Amon, Meshullemeth d. Haruz of Jotbah (2 K 21^{19}); of Josiah, Jedidah d. Adaiah of Bozkath (2 K 22^1); of Jehoahaz and Zedekiah, Hamutal d. Jeremiah of Libnah (2 K 23^{31}); of Jehoiakim, Zebidah d. Pedaiah of Rumah (2 K 23^{36}); of Jeconiah (19), Nehushta d. Elnathan of Jerusalem (2 K 24^8).

(*b*) **Additional Sons of Kings.**—Of Rehoboam, (m. Mahalath or Abihail, see (16) note *c*) Jeush, Shemariah, Zaham, (m. Maacah) Attai, Ziza, Shelomith (2 Ch 11^{18-20}); of Jehoshaphat,—Azariah, Jehiel, Zechariah, Azariah(?), Michael, Shephatiah (2 Ch 21^2). Nothing further is known of these princes. For a d. Joram, see JEHOSHEBA.

19. Jehoiakim (18): *Jeconiah* § (20), Zedekiah, 1 Ch 3^{16}.

Some hold this Zedekiah to be identical with s. Josiah (19), the Chronicler's error or form of statement having arisen because Z. was Jeconiah's successor on the throne (We. *Prol.* p. 216).

20. Jeconiah (19): Assir (RVm)? Shealtiel, Malchiram, Pedaiah (21), Shenazzar, Jekamiah, Hoshama, Nedabiah, 1 Ch $3^{17.18}$.

Assir as a proper name arose from a misunderstanding of the adj. *'assir* (אַסִּר), meaning captive (see RVm and art. ASSIR).

21. Pedaiah (20): Zerubbabel (22), Shimei, 1 Ch 3^{19a}.

In Ezr $3^{2.8}$ 5^2, Neh 12^1, Hag $1^{1.12.14}$ $2^{2.23}$, cf. Mt 1^{12}, Lk 3^{27}, Zerubbabel (wh. see) is called the son of Shealtiel. Pedaiah probably was his real father; but Zerubbabel succeeding Shealtiel, of whom no sons are mentioned, as the head of the family of David or house of Judah, is called his son.

22. Zerubbabel (21): Meshullam, Hananiah, d. Shelomith, Hashubah, Ohel, Berechiah, Hasadiah, Jushab-hesed, 1 Ch $3^{19b.20}$.

23. Hananiah (22): Pelatiah, Jeshaiah, ss. Rephaiah, ss. Arnan, ss. Obadiah, ss. Shecaniah (24), 1 Ch 3^{21}.

This list has been interpreted in two ways: (*a*) Hananiah was the father of six sons, whose names follow, before four of whom 'sons' was written because they were founders of distinguished families of the time of the writer (Be.); (*b*) From 'sons of Rephaiah' (21^3) to the end of the chapter is a genealogical fragment representing branches of the family of David, whose connexion with Zerubbabel was unascertainable (Ke.); LXX, Vulg. and Syr. read instead of בְּנֵי 'sons' בְּנוֹ 'his son,' and the genealogy (23) (24), then, is as follows: **Hananiah**, *Pelatiah, Jeshaiah, Obadiah, Shecaniah, Shemaiah*, Hattush, Igal, Bariah, Neariah, Shaphat. This is preferred by Ki. *et al.* and brings the descendants of David down to nine generations after Zerubbabel.

24. Shecaniah (23): *Shemaiah*, Hattush, Igal, Bariah, Neariah (25), Shaphat, 1 Ch 3^{22}.

25. Neariah (24): Elioenai (26), Hizkiah, Azrikam.

26. Elioenai (25): Hodaviah, Eliashib, Pelaiah, Akkub, Johanan, Delaiah, Anani, 1 Ch 3^{24}.

This completes the list of the descendants of David.

27. Zeruiah (16): Abishai, Joab, Asahel, 1 Ch 2^{16}.

28. Abigail (16): (f. Jether) Amasa, 1 Ch 2^{17}.

29. Caleb (5): Mesha f. Ziph, ss. Mareshah f. Hebron (30), d. Achsah, 1 Ch $2^{42.49b}$.

Caleb represents the powerful clan of the Calebites of S. Judah (see CALEB), The record in (29) is obscure; LXX has Maresbah for Mesha (also Ki. who thinks an enumeration of ss. Mareshah must have stood at the end of v.^{42}). Better We. that ss. M. is written to distinguish the gentilic name Mareshah from that of the city. On Achsah see art. (cf. Jg $1^{14.15}$).

30. Hebron (29): Korah, Tappuah, Rekem (31), Shema (32), 1 Ch 2^{43}.

31. Rekem (30): *Shammai*, Maon f. Bethzur, 1 Ch $2^{44b\,f.}$.

32. Shema (30): Raham f. Jorkeam, 1 Ch 2^{44}.

33. Jahdai (?): Regem, Jotham, Geshan, Pelet, Ephah, Shaaph (34), 1 Ch 2^{47}.

The connexion of Jahdai with the foregoing is not given. His name evidently has fallen out of the text.

34. Shaaph (33) **f. Madmannah**: Sheva f. Machbena, and f. Gibea, 1 Ch 2^{49a}.

Vv.^{46} and ^{48} are from another source, and to be separated from vv.$^{45.47.49}$ (We. Ki.), since Ephah, in v.^{46} the name of a concubine of Caleb, in v.^{47} is the name of a s. Shaaph. Their contents appears in (35). V.^{49} is an evident continuation of v.^{47}. Instead of 'and she bare' (וַתֵּלֶד) we should read (וַיֹּלֶד) 'and Shaaph begat.'

In the foregoing lists (29)-(34) Hebron, Tappuah, Maon, Ziph, Bethzur, Madmannah, and Gibea are well-known cities of Judah within the probable early domain of the Calebites. To these probably should be added Shema (שֶׁמַע) = Shema (שְׁמָע) (Jos 15^{26}), Jorkeam (יָרְקְעָם) = Jokdeam (יָקְדְעָם) (Jos 15^{56}), Pelet (פֶּלֶט) = Beth-pelet (בֵּית פֶּלֶט) (Jos 15^{27}), Machbena (מַכְבֵּנָא) = Cabbon (כַּבּוֹן) (Jos 15^{40}). These towns suggest the transfer of gentilic names to localities or the converse. While some of the other names occur elsewhere (Mesha, a king of Moab, 2 K 3^4; Shammai, 1 Ch 4^{17}; Jotham, Jg 9^5 *et al.*; Sheva? 2 S 20^{25}), they throw no light on the history behind these genealogies or the families or places recorded; unless Korah a s. Esau and district of Edom (Gn $36^{5.14.16}$); Rekem, a king of Midian (Nu 31^8); Ephah, a Midianite tribe;—all serve to confirm the indications found elsewhere of a close affinity between Caleb and the Edomites and adjoining peoples. Raham (רַחַם), a noun kindred with Jerahmeel (יְרַחְמְאֵל),—Jahdai, Regem, Geshan, and Shaaph are found only in this connexion.

35. Caleb (5): *a.* (m. Azubah) *d. Jerioth*, Jesher, Shobab, Ardon, 1 Ch 2^{18}.

b. (m.c. Ephah) Haran, Moza, Gazez, 1 Ch 2^{46}.

c. (m.c. Maacah) Sheber, Tirhanah, 1 Ch 2^{48}.

d. (m. Ephrathah) Hur (36) (42), (Ashhur f. Tekoa), 1 Ch $2^{19.24}$.

Caleb in (35) as in (29) represents the clan, and the descendants given in (35)-(39) unquestionably embody traditions or convey historical information respecting the families and localities of the clan during different periods of its history. They are taken from late material in 1 Ch (Ki.). During the pre-exilic period the Calebites dwelt in S. Judah (see CALEB). During the post-exilic period, owing to the aggression of the Edomites, they seem to have moved farther north (or if taken into captivity were thus located on their return), and thus dwelt in the districts of Bethlehem and Kiriath-jearim. This, the supposition of We., seems clearly proved from the geographical localities mentioned and indicated in 1 Ch 2^{50-55}, viz. Bethlehem, Kiriath-jearim, Netopha, Bethgader, Zorah, Eshtaol, Atroth-beth-Joab (We. p. 28 ff.) (see also (39)). The children of Azubah (their names may be enigmatical) represent the families that belonged to the older place of residence, hence perhaps the mother's name Azubah (עֲזוּבָה), 'abandoned.' Ephah and Maacah as concubines represent alien or inferior elements which coalesced with the clan. Ephrathah represents the district of Bethlehem (see EPHRATHAH). The meaning and text of 1 Ch 2^{18} is uncertain. Jerioth is regarded as another name for Azubah (Be.) or another wife with Azubah (Oe.), or a daughter of Azubah (Vulg. Ki. Ke. Zoe.), or the mother of Azubah, *i.e.* Azubah was her daughter (בַּת יְרִיעוֹת) (We. p. 33).

The MT of 1 Ch 2^{24}, which yields an Abiah, wife of Hezron and m. of Ashhur, is plainly corrupt. A few slight changes give the appropriate rendering, 'And after the death of Hezron, Caleb came unto Ephrathah, the wife of Hezron his father, and she bare unto him Ashhur.' The meaning seems to be: The pre-exilic inhabitants of Ephratbah were Hezronites, represented under E. the wife of Hezron. The later settlement of the Calebites is represented under the union of C. with Ephrathah. Ashhur (אַשְׁחוּר = אִישׁ חוּר, We. p. 15) is evidently identical with Hur, the firstborn of Ephrathah (1 Cb 2^{24}). On Gazez (35^6) see art.

36. Hur (35^d) (*Uri*, Bezalel, 1 Ch 2^{20}): Shobal (37) f. Kiriath-jearim (38), Salma (39) f. Bethlehem, Hareph f. Bethgader, 1 Ch $2^{50f.}$.

The genealogy **Hur**, *Uri*, Bezalel is an evident insertion from Ex 31^2, and is out of place in a series of gentilic and geographical names or relationships.

37. Shobal (36): Haroeh (Reaiah, 2 Ch 4^2), half Menuhoth, 1 Ch 2^{52}.

Haroeh (הָרֹאֶה) is prob. textual error for Reaiah (רְאָיָה) s. Shobal in 1 Ch 4^2. On half Menuhoth see note on (39). Of these families nothing further is known.

38. Kiriath-jearim families (36): Ithrites, Puthites, Shumathites, Mishraites, Zorathites, Eshtaolites, 1 Ch 2^{53}.

The Puthites, Shumathites, and Mishraites are not mentioned elsewhere. To the Ithrites belonged two of David's heroes, Ira and Gareb (2 S 23^{38}, 1 Ch 11^{40}). The Zorathites and Eshtaolites are properly the gentilic names of the inhabitants of Zorah and Eshtaol. These are placed subordinate to the Mishraites or the other families (1 Ch 2^{53}). Zorah is mentioned in Neh 11^{29}, and its people as Zorites again apparently in 1 Ch 2^{54} (39).

---

* Jehoaddan, 2 Ch 25^1.

† Uzziah and Jeehiliah, 2 Ch 26^3.

‡ Abijah, 2 Ch 29^1.

§ Usually called Jehoiachin, 2 K $24^{6ff.}$.

39. Salma (36): Bethlehem, Netophathites, Atroth-beth-Joab, half Manahathites, Zorites, Tirathites, Shimeathites, Sucathites, 1 Ch $2^{54f.}$.

Salma is evidently identical with the reputed f. Boaz (16). The Netophathites (Neh 12^{28}) were inhabitants of Netophah (Ezr 2^{22}, Neh 7^{26}), probably a village near Bethlehem. Atroth-beth-Joab is probably the same as the valley of the craftsmen (Neh 11^{35}). Of the Manahathites nothing is known. They (מְנַחְתִּי) are probably the same as the Menuhoth (37) (מְנֻחוֹת) (Ki. has מנחתי in v.^{52}). The statement that the Tirathites (תִּרְעָתִים), Shimeathites (שִׁמְעָתִים), and Sucathites (שׂוּכָתִים) were families of scribes which dwelt at Jabez (v.^{55}), clearly proves that we have post-ex. material in our lists, for scribes are unknown before this period. The Vulg. saw in the families three different classes of religious functionaries: *canentes, resonantes, et in tabernaculis commorantes.* Be. allows a similar derivation, except that he regards the first class as door-keepers (Aram. תְּרַע = Heb. שַׁעַר door or gate). We. (p. 30 f.) finds underlying the three names תְּרָעָה a technical term for sacred music, שְׁמָעָה the Halacha or sacred tradition, and שׂוּכָה, which he connects with Vulg., and Be. with סוּכָּה 'booth,' cf. Lv 23^{34}. Ges. *Lex.*^{12} derives the last two names from unknown places. Ke. interprets as descendants from Tira, Shimei and Suchah. For their connexion with Kenites see KENITES.

40. Reaiah (37): Jahath, Ahumai, Lahad, 1 Ch 4^2.

The lists (40)–(55) from 1 Ch $4^{1\text{-}20}$ 'look almost like a gathering of genealogical pebbles rolled together from various quarters, consisting of older and younger parts that are kept together only by the common connexion with the tribe of Judah' (Zoe.). Several of the leading 'fathers' are Calebites, *i.e.* Shobal, Hur, Ashhur, Chelub, Kenaz, Othniel, and Caleb. Hence the lists represent members of that clan, and Caleb should be substituted for Carmi in v.^{1} (We. Ki. Zoe.). Whether the names and relationships reflect pre-exilic conditions or post-exilic is difficult to determine. Ki. regards the passage, with the exception of v.^{1} and a few phrases noted below, as from the older sources of Ch. along with $2^{26\text{-}33.\ 42\text{-}45.\ 47.\ 49}$. We.'s view is similar, that in the main pre-ex. conditions are reflected. Be. held, on the other hand, from the mention of a number of the names in the history given in Ezr and Neh, that we have a classification of the tribe of Judah actually made in the time between Zerubbabel and Ezra, so that these apparently broken and incoherent genealogies were plain to the readers of the time of the Chronicler. The view of We. and Ki. is more probable. We have, then, an old list of Calebites edited to bring it into greater harmony with the later times. Reaiah, cf. (37), occurs in a Reubenite pedigree 1 Ch 5^5, and as a family name among the returned with Zerubbabel Ezr 2^{47}, Neh 7^{50}. Jahath is a frequent Levite name (1 Ch $6^{20.\ 43}$ $23^{10f.}$ 24^{22}, 2 Ch 34^{12}). Ahumai and Lahad are mentioned only here. These are all called families of the Zorathites (v.^{2b} acc. to Ki. is from a later hand), cf. (38), 1 Ch 1^{53}.

41. Hur? f. Etam: Jezreel, Ishma, Idbash, d. Hazzelelponi, Penuel f. Gedor, Ezer f. Hushah, 1 Ch $4^{3f.}$.

The MT of v.^{3a} is defective (אֵלֶּה אֲבִי עֵיטָם 'these are f. of Etam'). RV supplies 'sons,' *i.e.* Jezreel, etc., are ss. of father of Etam. Ki. inserts 'sons of Hur' (בְּנֵי חוּר), but the 'sons of Hur' (v.^{4b}) must include (40) as well as (41). LXX (also Kau.) has, 'These are the sons of Etam' (*οὗτοι υἱοὶ Αἰταμ*). Etam is a village near Bethlehem; possibly another place of the same name may be found near Hebron (see art. ETAM). Jezreel and Gedor are towns of S. Judah (Jos $15^{56.\ 58}$). Two heroes of David's guard are mentioned as Hushites (2 S 21^{18} 23^{27}, 1 Ch 11^{29} 20^4 27^{11}), but the location of Hushah is unknown. Penuel, a personal or gentilic name, is otherwise unknown. It cannot be associated with the Penuel E. of the Jordan. Ezer may be the same as Ezrah (53). Of Ishma and Idbash and Hazzelelponi, mentioned only here, nothing is known. The last should be rendered 'the Zelelponites' (צְלֶלְפּוֹנִי = הַצְּלֶלְפּוֹנִי with art.). The words in v.^{46} 'firstborn . . . Bethlehem' are according to Ki. from a later hand.

42. Ashhur (Hur) f. Tekoa (35^d): (m. Naarah) Ahuzzam, Hepher, Temeni, Haahashtari, (m. Helah) Zereth, Izhar (Zohar, RVm), Ethnan, 1 Ch $4^{5\text{-}7}$.

On Ashhur (=Hur) see under (35^d). F. of Tekoa, acc. Ki. is an annotation, cf. 1 Ch 2^{24} (35^d). Tekoa is near Bethlehem (see TEKOA). Naarah, evidently not this one, was a town on the borders of Ephraim and Benjamin (Jos 16^7), but no such locality has yet been identified with Judah. Hepher, mentioned in connexion with Tappuah (Jos 12^{17}) and Socoh (1 K 4^{10}), evidently belonged to S. Judah. Temeni (תֵּימְנִי) properly means Southerner, *i.e.* of S. Judah. Cf. Teman (תֵּימָן patronymic תֵּימָנִי) of Edom (Gn 36^{11} *et al.*). Ethnan (אֶתְנָן) is prob. identical with Ithnan (יִתְנָן, Jos 15^{23}), a city of S. Judah. For Izhar (יִצְהָר Kt.) must be read Zohar (וְצֹחַר 'and Zoḥar'). This was the family name of Ephron of Hebron (Gn 23^8 25^9), and also of a s. Simeon (Gn 46^{10}). The other names in (42) occur only in this connexion. For Haahashtari (אֲחַשְׁתָּרִי = הָאֲחַשְׁתָּרִי with art.) should be 'the Ahashtarites.' If this word is of Pers. derivation (Be. *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*), it must be an explanatory gloss referring to the preceding families.

43. Hakkoz (Koz): Anub, Zobebah, families of Aharhel s. Harum, 1 Ch 4^8.

Koz (wrongly Hakkoz AV and RV, Heb. קוֹץ without art.) is a post-ex. family name (1 Ch 24^{10}, Ezr 2^{61}, Neh $3^{4.\ 21}$ 7^{63}; in all these passages the name has the art. הַקּוֹץ Hakkoz). The names of his children occur only here. Anub (עָנוּב) is prob. identical with Anab (עֲנָב), a town near Debir (Jos 15^{50}). Jabez, described in vv.$^{9f.}$, prob. was connected in some way with Koz.

44. Chelub (b. Shuhah): Mehir f. Eshton (45), 1 Ch 4^{11}.

Chelub (כְּלוּב) is clearly another form of the clan name Caleb (כָּלֵב); cf. Chelubai (1 Ch 2^9) (5). It is possible that for Shuhah (שׁוּחָה) we should read Hushah (חוּשָׁה v.^{4}) (41). Of Mehir and Eshton, names occurring only here, nothing is known.

45. Eshton (44): Beth-rapha, Paseah, Tehinnah f. Ir-nahash (city of Nahash, RVm), 1 Ch 4^{12}.

Beth-rapha is otherwise unknown; a Benjaminite Rapha is mentioned 1 Ch 8^2, and Rapha 'giant' or the pl. Rephaim 'giants' 1 Ch 20^4. But these throw no light on Beth-rapha. Paseah is a post-ex. family name of the Nethinim, Ezr 2^{49}, Neh 7^{51}, and is mentioned also in Neh 3^6. The other names do not occur elsewhere. These ss. of Eshton are called 'the men of Recah' (v.^{12b}), a place also otherwise unknown. The LXX has Recbab.

46. Kenaz: Othniel (47), Seraiah (49), 1 Ch 4^{13a}.

Kenaz was an Edomite tribe (Gn $36^{11.\ 15.\ 42}$, 1 Ch $1^{36.\ 53}$). Caleb, acc. to Nu 32^{12}, Jos $14^{6.\ 14}$, was a Kenizzite. Othniel was the son of Kenaz acc. to Jg 1^{13}, where Kenaz is also designated either as the f. or b. of Caleb. These statements clearly prove a close relationship between the Calebites and the Edomites. This is further reflected in Shobal f. Manahath, occurring in the list of Edomites, Gn 36^{23}, cf. (37). Othniel, like Caleb, prob. is a clan name. Whether the clan derived its name from a distinguished hero Othniel, or whether Othniel is a purely eponymous character, cannot perhaps be determined (see OTHNIEL). The close relationship between the clans of Caleb and Othniel is brought out in the story of Jg $1^{12\text{-}15}$ (see Moore *in loco*). Seraiah, a not infrequent name from the time of David onwards, as the brother of Othniel, is mentioned only here. It smacks so strongly of an individual, and the later period of Israel's history, that it is prob. an artificial link inserted among these names. It is among the names of the companions of Zerubbabel, Ezr 2^2.

47. Othniel (46): Hathath, 1 Ch 4^{13b}.

48. Meonothai: Ophrah, 1 Ch 4^{14a}.

Hathath occurs nowhere else. Perhaps Meonothai should be joined as another s. of Othniel. It also is not found elsewhere, but probably represents the inhabitants of Maon of S. Judah. Of Ophrah, the name also of a city of Benjamin (Jos 18^{23}, 1 S 13^{17}) and of one of Manasseh (Jg 6^{11}), nothing is known.

49. Seraiah (46): Joab f. Ge-harashim, 1 Ch 4^{14b}.

See (39). Acc. to Ki. 'f. Geharashim, craftsmen' v.^{14} is from a later hand.

50. Caleb s. Jephunneh: Iru, Elah (51), Naam, 1 Ch 4^{15a}.

On Caleb s. of Jephunneh see CALEB. This additional list of descendants of Caleb shows that the Chronicler's lists contain different groups of Calebites not reduced to a perfect genealogical system, but arranged somewhat independently of each other, reflecting, as already intimated, enumerations of different times, localities, and sources. Many writers (the older commentators generally) wishing to harmonize all of the OT notices of Caleb, and regarding each Caleb as representing an individual, have seen several Calebs in 1 Ch 2 and 4. Neteler (*Die Bücher der biblischen Chronik*, p. 34) gives the following line of descent: **Judah**, *Perez*, *Hezron*, *Caleb Ben-hezron*, *Hur*, *Caleb Ben-hur*, *Salma*, *Kenaz*, *Jephunneh*, Caleb Ben-jephunneh. A somewhat similar explanation is given in Zoe. (Eng. ed., p. 46) by the editor and translator, J. G. Murphy. For Iru Elah (עִירוּ אֵלָה), Ir and Elah (עִיר וְאֵלָה) may be read (Ki.). We. (p. 39) finds the name Iru equivalent to Iram, a duke of Edom (1 Ch 1^{54} עִירָם = עִירוּ). One is tempted to join Ir (עִיר) 'city' with Elah (אֵילַת = אֵלָה Dillmann, Gn 36^{41}), and find reference to the city Elath (see art.). At all events Elah is an Edomitic name (Gn 36^{41}), and may be seen also in El-paran (אֵיל פָּארָן), the wilderness south of Judab. Naam is otherwise unknown.

51. Elah (50): Kenaz, 1 Ch 4^{15b}.

Kenaz as s. Elah is surprising (assuming that the genealogy is not of persons), unless Elah is the name of the district of Elath or El-paran, which might have been the early home of the Kenizzites, or the name of a tribe to which Kenaz became subordiuate. Perhaps a transposition should be made in the Heb. text, and instead of וּבְנֵי אֵלָה קְנַז we should read אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי קְנַז 'And these are the sons of Kenaz,' referring to (46)–(50) (vv.$^{13\text{-}15}$).

52. Jehallelel: Ziph, Ziphah, Tiria, Asarel, 1 Ch 4^{16}.

Jehallelel only here, and as a personal or family name of ss. Merari, 2 Ch 29^{12}. Ziph, the name of a city of S. Judah; Ziphah, fem. form of the same occurs only here. Tiria and Asarel are not mentioned elsewhere.

53. Ezrah: Jether, Mered (54), Epher, Jalon, 1 Ch 4^{17a}.

Ezrah possibly is the same as Ezer (41). Jether is not an uncommon name, cf. (14). Mered occurs only in this connexion. Epher is the name of a son of Midian (Gn 25^4, 1 Ch 1^{33}), and also of an individual or family of the half-tribe of Manasseh (1 Ch 5^{24}). Jalon is found only here.

54. Mered (53): (m. Bithiah) Miriam, Shammai, Ishbah f. Eshtemoa, (m. the Jewess) Jered f. Gedor, Heber f. Soco, Jekuthiel f. Zanoah, 1 Ch $4^{17f.}$.

The present text of v.$^{17f.}$ gives no complete sense. Usually the clauses are rearranged. The statement, 'And these are the ss. Bithiah d. Pharaoh which Mered took' (^{18b}), is placed immediately after Jalon (17^a) (Be. Ke. Zoe. Oe. Kau.); this gives (54). LXX (in 17^b) had a different text (Καὶ ἐγέννησεν Ἰεθέρ), which Ki. follows, emending וַתַּהַר אֶת־מִרְיָם to וְיֶתֶר הוֹלִיד אֶת־מִרְיָם, 'And Jether begat Miriam,' etc. This places Jether as the progenitor of the ss. given in (54), and assumes that the ss. Mered and Bithiah, originally enumerated, have fallen out of the text. Miriam, elsewhere in OT only of Moses' sister, is here evidently a man's name. Shammai, also the name of a Jerahmeelite, cf. (8). Ishbah and Jekuthiel occur only here, and also Jered, except as the name of the antediluvian patriarch (Gn $5^{15ff.}$). Heber is not uncommon. In (41) Penuel is given as f. Gedor. Possibly, the posterity of two families or individuals were the reputed founders of the city. Eshtemoa, Gedor, Soco, and Zanoah are all towns in S. Judah or near Hebron (see arts.). Of the connexion here mentioned of Mered or Jether with Bithiah d. Pharaoh nothing is known. Instead of 'the Jewess,' RVm transliterates, Hajehudijah, and AV Jehudijah.

55. Hodiah: (m. sister of Naham) f. Keilah the Garmite, Eshtemoa the Maacathite, 1 Ch 4^{19}.

Hodiah is a common name of the time of Ezra and Neh. (AV here wrongly a woman's name, 'his wife Hodiah'). Before Eshtemoa probably f. has fallen out. Keilah and Eshtemoa are the names of Judæan towns (see art.). Maacathite (הַמַּעֲכָתִי) shows probably a connexion with Maacah (מַעֲכָה) (35*c*). Garmite and Naham occur only here.

56. Shimon: Amnon, Rinnah, Ben-hanan, Tilon, 1 Ch 4^{20a}.

57. Ishi: Zoheth, Ben-zoheth, 1 Ch 4^{20b}.

There is nothing to throw light on these names, most of which are mentioned only in this connexion. Ishi is in (11). Probably a name has fallen out before Ben-zoheth, *i.e.* s. Zoheth.

58. Perez fam.: a. *Bani*, *Imri*, *Omri*, *Ammihud*, Uthai, 1 Ch 9^4.

b. *Mahalalel*, *Shephatiah*, *Amariah*, *Zechariah*, *Uzziah*, Athaiah, Neh 11^4.

The pedigrees of the post-exilic Perezites Uthai (cf. Ezr 8^{14}) and Athaiah of the inhabitants of Jerusalem.

59. Zerah (1): Zimri (Zabdi (60), Jos 7^1), Ethan (61), Heman, Calcol, Dara, 1 Ch 2^6.

Ethan, Heman, Calcol, and Dara (Darda) are probably the names of famous men of the family of Zerah (cf. 1 K 4^{31}) (see arts.). Whether Ethan and Heman are to be connected with the Levitical singers of those names is uncertain.

60. Zabdi (59): *Carmi*, Achan, Jos 7^1; cf. 1 Ch 2^7.

Pedigree of Achan the trespasser (Achar, 1 Ch 2^7), see ACHAN.

61. Ethan (59): Azariah, 1 Ch 2^8.

Azariah the Ethanite is otherwise unknown. For another Zerahite see note at end of XXI.

V. 1. ISSACHAR: Tola (2), Puah,* Jashub,† Shimron, Gn 46^{13}, Nu $26^{23f.}$, 1 Ch 7^1.

2. Tola (1): Uzzi (3), Rephaiah, Jeriel, Jahmai, Ibsam, Shemuel, 1 Ch 7^2.

3. Uzzi (2): *Izrahiah*, Michael, Obadiah, Joel, Isshiah, 1 Ch 7^3.

Of the names in the genealogy of Issachar's descendants, Tola appears as that of one of the minor judges, 's. Puah, s. Dodo, a man of Issachar' (Jg $10^{1f.}$). This implies that traditions varied in respect to the relationship of the clans of Tola and Puah. Puah may have been the more ancient, but Tola was undoubtedly the principal clan of Issachar, whose seat seems to have been centred at the unknown Shamir (Jg $10^{1f.}$). Of the other persons and families recorded nothing further is known, beyond that those of (2) and (3) are called 'mighty men of valour' and 'chief men,' and assigned apparently to the time of David, 1 Ch $7^{2\text{-}5}$.

VI. 1. ZEBULUN: Sered, Elon, Jahleel, Gn 46^{14}, Nu 26^{26}.

Nothing further than their mention is known of these clans. Elon, probably an eponym from the clan, is one of the minor judges of Israel, who was buried in a place of the same name whose locality is unknown (Jg $12^{11f.}$, cf. Moore, *in loc.*). No genealogy of Zebulun is given by the Chronicler.

VII.^{a} 1. MANASSEH: *a.* Machir, Abiezer (7), Helek, Asriel, Shechem (5), Hepher (6), Shemida (5), Jos $17^{1f.}$.

b. Machir, *Gilead*, Iezer, Helek, Asriel, Shechem, Shemida, Hepher, Nu $26^{29\text{-}32}$.

c. (m. Aramæan concubine) Machir (f. Gilead); Zelophehad (6), d. Hammolecheth (7), 1 Ch $7^{14f.\ 18}$.

2. Machir (1^{abc}): (m. Maacah) Peresh, Sheresh (3), 1 Ch 7^{16}.

3. Sheresh (2): Ulam (1), Rakem, 1 Ch 7^{16}.

4. Ulam (3): Bedan, 1 Ch 7^{17}.

5. Shemida (1^{ab}): Ahian, Shechem (1^{ab}), Likhi, Aniam, 1 Ch 7^{19}.

6. Hepher (1^b): *Zelophehad* (1^c), dd. Mahlah, Noah, Hoglah, Milcah, Tirzah, Nu 26^{33} 27^1.

7. Hammolecheth (1^c): Ishhod, Abiezer (1^a), and Mahlah, 1 Ch 7^{18}.

The genealogy of the tribe of Manasseh appears in different forms. Of the clans enumerated (1^{abc}), Machir is by far the most important. In the Song of Deborah he stands for the tribe of Manasseh (Jg 5^{14}), and his home at that time seems to have been W. of the Jordan (cf. v.^{17}). But he was especially known and remembered as the f. or conqueror of Gilead (Nu 26^{29} 32^{39}, Jos 17^1, Dt 3^{14}). Acc. to many authorities this conquest was made from W. Palestine (Smend, *HWB*, ed. Riehm; Stade, *Gesch.* i. p. 149; Budde, *Richt. u. Sam.* p. 34 ff.; Moore on Jg 5^{15}; but G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* p. 577 n., regards the argument as inconclusive). From his pre-eminence and earlier development Machir, then, was regarded as the firstborn of Manasseh, or as the only son. In this latter scheme (1^a) the other clans of Manasseh are recorded, not as descendants of Machir simply, but also of Gilead, as though their home was E. of the Jordan. But the clan Iezer, *i.e.* Abi-ezer (Gideon's clan), belonged to the district W. of the Jordan (Jg $6^{11.\ 34}$ 8^2). Tirzah, the city, a d. Zelophehad s. Hepher (7), was likewise situated W. of the Jordan (see TIRZAH), and Jos $17^{1ff.}$ plainly implies that all of the ss. Manasseh (1^a) except Machir dwelt W. of the Jordan. To the author of (1^b) the name Gilead then either had lost its geographical meaning, or, what is more probable, holding that Gilead was first conquered, as represented in the Hex., he regarded the W. Manassites as offshoots of the E. Manassites. The genealogical scheme of (1^c) (2) (3) (4) (5) (7), given in 1 Ch $7^{14\text{-}19}$, is clearly different from (1^a) or (1^b), although not without points of connexion. The passage from which (1^c) is derived is corrupt, and in its present state unintelligible, forbidding any satisfactory reconstruction (Ki.; see attempts in Be. Oe). Asriel (אַשְׂרִיאֵל), 1 Ch 7^{14}, is plainly a dittography out of the following words (אֲשֶׁר יָלְדָה). The statement that the m. of Machir was an Aramæan appears likewise in the LXX of Gn 50^{23}. The reference to Huppim and Shuppim and the sister (v.^{15}) is entirely obscure. In Maacah, the wife of Machir, we may possibly see some connexion between Machirites and their neighbours, the Maacathites (see MAACAH). In 1 Ch 2^{21} Hezron s. Perez s. Judah is represented as begetting through a d. of Machir, Segub, who begat Jair, 'who had twenty-three cities in the land of Gilead.' Segub (שְׂגוּב), who is not mentioned elsewhere, probably has arisen in transcription from Argob (אַרְגֹּב), the district given as inhabited by Jair the s. Manasseh (Dt 3^{14}). Why Hezron, a clan of Judah (IV. 3), should be connected at all with Machir is entirely obscure. The statement probably has arisen through some misunderstanding.

Hepher (1^a) (6) may be connected with Hepher, the city and district mentioned in Jos 12^{17} and 1 K 4^{10}. According to Kuenen, Zelophehad was originally the name of a city (Dillm. on Nu 26^{29}). The Jewish law of female inheritance is represented as traced to the petition of his daughters (Nu $27^{1\text{-}11}$, $36^{1\text{-}12}$). The d. Tirzah, as assumed above, is the well-known city, and perhaps the names of the others should be sought in towns or villages. Of the other names introduced in these lists beyond what has been mentioned we know nothing. Perhaps Likhi (לִקְחִי) (5)=Helek (חֵלֶק) (1^b) and Aniam (אֲנִיעָם) (5)=Noah (נֹעָה) (6) (Be.).

---

* Puvah (פֻּוָּה) (Gn 46^{13}).

† Iob (יוֹב) (Gn 46^{13}), a txt. err. (Ball, *SBOT*, *in loc.*).

8. Epher, Ishi, Eliel, Azriel, Jeremiah, Hodaviah, Jahdiel, 1 Ch 5^{24}.

These are mentioned as 'mighty men of valour, famous men, heads of their fathers' houses,' of the half-tribe of Manasseh dwelling E. of the Jordan (ref.). Nothing further of them, indicating when they lived or for what they were famous, is given.

VII.^{b} **1. Ephraim:** *a.* Shuthelah (12), Becher, Tahan, Nu 26^{35}.

b. Shuthelah, Ezer, Elead, Beriah, d. Sheerah, Rephah, Resheph (4), 1 Ch 7^{21-25}.

2. Shuthelah (1): Eran, Nu 26^{36}.

3. Shuthelah (1^b): *Bered, Tahath, Eleadah, Tahath, Zabad,* Shuthelah, 1 Ch $7^{20f.}$.

4. Resheph (1^b): *Telah, Tahan, Ladan, Ammihud, Elishama, Nun,* Joshua, 1 Ch 7^{25-27}.

The genealogy of Ephraim (1^b) (3) (4), preserved in 1 Ch 7^{20-27}, is of uncertain construction. From the Heb. text it is not clear whether Ezer and Elead are the ss. of Shuthelah (No. 2) (3) or of Ephraim; or Sheerah and Rephah, the children of Beriah or Ephraim. The latter rendering in each case, as in (1^b), is the better. In the first instance the context clearly demands it. Of special interest is the notice of the slaughter of Ezer and Elead on a cattle raid by the men of Gath (v.^{21}). To the older commentators, who regarded Ephraim and his children as historical individuals, this episode was difficult of explanation, because it belonged evidently to the period of the sojourn in Egypt. It was usually interpreted as a foray out of Goshen (Zoe. Oe.)—against the use of the word יָרַד 'go down,' Ew. placed the event in the pre-Egyptian period (*Hist.* i. p. 380). Sayce refers to it as historical, and of the Egyptian period (*Patriarchal Palestine*, p. 202). There is little doubt, however, if an historical collision between Ephraimitic clans and Gittites underlies this notice, that the foray was from Mt. Ephraim (Be.). In the original story, Ephraim mourning (v.^{22}) probably was no more thought of as an individual than Rachel in Jer 31^{15}. The ss. of Ephraim slain then were two Ephraimitic clans, destroyed in some Phil. war. The connexion of Beriah, another clan, with the event arose either from a play upon the word, Beriah being regarded as the equivalent of 'in evil' (בְּרָעָה=בְּרִיעָה) (v. 23), or, in addition to the play upon the name, since Beriah is mentioned as a Benjam. family of Aijalon, who routed the inhabitants of Gath (1 Ch 8^{13}), it is possible that this Benjam. Beriah, having driven back Gittite invaders, received the former home of Ezer and Elead, and thus became incorporated into the tribe of Ephraim (Be.). We. regards the entire episode as of late fabrication (*Prol.* p. 214).

The list of names given in this genealogy has a suspicious look. They appear like a repetition of the same elements. Not only is Shuthelah repeated (4), but there is a striking similarity between the other names.

לערן	of Eran.
לערן	Laadan.
אלעדה	Eleadah.
אלעד	Elead.
שותלח	Shuthelah.
ותלח	and Telah.
תחת	Tahath.
תחן	Tahan.
בכר	Becher.
וברד	and Bered.
זבד	Zabad.

Tahan (1^a) (4) and Tahath (3) are without doubt the Tohu (1 S 1^1) and the Tahath, Nahath, and Toah (III. 22^{ab}). Sheerah was the reputed builder of Bethhoron, whose name appears in Uzzen-sheerah (wh. see) (v.^{24}). Elishama s. Ammihud (4) appears as the prince of the tribe of Ephraim in Nu 1^{10}, whence it is easy to see how the pedigree of Joshua was constructed.

VIII. **1. Benjamin:** *a.* Bela (2), Becher (4), Ashbel, Gera, Naaman, Ehi, Rosh, Muppim, Huppim, Ard, Gn 46^{21}.

b. Bela (2), Ashbel, Ahiram, Shephupham, Hupham, Nu $26^{38f.}$.

c. Bela (2), Becher (4), Jediael (5), 1 Ch 7^6.

d. Bela (2), Ashbel, Aharah, Nohah, Rapha, 1 Ch 8^1.

We have thus four different lists of ss. Benjamin. Bela is common to all; Ehi, Rosh, Muppim, and Huppim (1^a) are clearly equivalent to Ahiram, Shephupham, and Hupham (1^b); cf. the Heb. text, אחי ראש מפים חפים, with אחירם שפופם חפם. Hence Rosh (1^a) should be struck out and Ahiram substituted for Ehi (1^a), and also probably for Aharah (אַחְרַח) (1^d). Gn 46^{21} LXX reads **Benjamin,** Bela, Becher, Ashbel; **Bela, Gera,** Naaman, Ehi, Rosh, Muppim, and Huppim. This corresponds with (2^a) (3) (see below), where Gera, Naaman, and Ard are ss., Bela and Shuppim and Huppim grandsons. Hence the original text of Gn 46^{21} may have read **Benjamin,** Bela, Becher, Ashbel; **Bela,** Gera, Naaman, Ahiram, Shephupham, Huppim, Ard (Ball, *in loco*, *SBOT*).

In (1^c) Jediael (יְדִיעֲאֵל) appears as the equivalent of Ashbel (אִישׁ־בַּעַל=אַשְׁבֵּל) either by corruption or substitution. Whether a textual corruption or an independent tradition underlies Nohah and Rapha (1^d) it is impossible to determine. The names as Benjaminites occur only here.

2. Bela (1^{abcd}): *a.* Ard, Naaman, Nu 26^{40}.

b. Ezbon, Uzzi, Uzziel, Jerimoth, Iri (3), 1 Ch 7^7.

c. Addar, Gera, Abihud, Abishua, Naaman, Ahoah, Gera, Shephuham, Huram, 1 Ch $8^{1f.}$

The list (2^b) appears to be entirely independent of the others. The list (2^c) corresponds closely with the restored text of Gn 46^{21} (see above), since Addar (אַדָּר)=Ard (אַרְדְּ); Gera and Abihud probably were originally one and the same person, *i.e.* Gera f. Ehud (cf. Jg 3^{15}); the second Gera is plainly a dittography; Huram (חוּרָם) probably = Huppim (חֻפִּים); and hence the only additional names are Abishua and Ahoah (אֲחוֹחַ); and the latter may be a variation or corruption of Ahiram (אֲחִירָם) or Aharah (אַחְרַח), repeated in transcription from the previous generation (1^d).

3. Iri (2^b): Shuppim, Huppim, 1 Ch 7^{12}.

In the text the name is **Ir** (v.^{12}). Shuppim and Huppim seem identical with Shephupham and Hupham, given elsewhere as ss. Benjamin (1^b) and ss. Bela (2^c). Nothing further than their appearance in the genealogical lists is known of these individuals or families. In the text v.^{12} appears like an appendix (see also (6) below).

4. Becher (1^{ac}): Zemirah, Joash, Eliezer, Elioenai, Omri, Jeremoth, Abijah, Anathoth, Alemeth, 1 Ch 7^8.

The names of these ss. Becher (4), Joash, Eliezer, Elioenai, Omri, Jeremoth, and Abijah occur frequently in the OT; Jeremoth again as a Benjaminite in 1 Ch 7^7 8^{14}. Anathoth and Alemeth are names of Benjaminite towns (see arts.). Zemirah occurs only in this connexion.

5. Jediael (1^c): *Bilhan,* Jeush, Benjamin, Ehud, Chenaanah, Zethan, Tarshish, Ahishahar, 1 Ch 7^{10}.

This list (5) is striking in having Benjamin as a subordinate family or personal name, and likewise, in this connexion, Ehud, elsewhere s. Gera (cf. Jg 3^{15}). Bilhan and Jeush are also Edomite names (Gn $36^{5.14.18.27}$), and Jeush, moreover, that of a Levite or Levitical family (1 Ch $23^{10f.}$), and of a son of Rehoboam (2 Ch 11^{19}), and again of a Benjaminite (1 Ch 8^{39}). (For refs. on Jeush as an Arab. name of a deity, see Gesenius-Buhl). Chenaanah (כְּנַעֲנָה) suggests the incorporation of a Can. family with the Benjaminites (Be.). In 1 K 22^{24} it is the name of the f. Zedekiah the false prophet. Zethan and Ahishahar are found only here. The latter, however, perhaps appears in the cuneiform inscriptions as the name of a king of Minnai (see Gesen.-Buhl). Tarshish, besides being the name of the well known city, stands elsewhere for a precious stone, derived from Tarshish (Ex 28^{20} 39^{13} *et al.*, RV 'beryl'), and is the name of a Persian prince (Est 1^{14}).

These Belaites, Becherites, and Jediaelites (2^b) (4) (5) are all called heads of fathers' houses and mighty men of valour, but there is no indication of the period of Israel's pre-ex. history to which they were intended to be assigned (1 Ch 7^{7-11}).

6. Aher: Hushim, 1 Ch 7^{12b}.

This genealogical fragment is enigmatical. Hushim (חֻשִׁים) in Gn 46^{23} is a s. Dan. There Dan also stands between Benjamin and Naphtali. The Chronicler has given no genealogy of Dan unless it is found here, between the genealogy of Benjamin, vv.$^{6-11}$, and that of Naphtali, v.^{13}. Hence Dan has been found hidden in Aher (אַחֵר, 'another'), which occurs nowhere else as a proper name. The tribe of Dan was believed thus to have been indicated, owing to its opprobrium on account of its idolatry (Jg 18). Its name does not appear with the other tribes in 1 Ch 6^{54-81}. Cf. also its omission in Rev 7^{5-8}. (The name Dan, however, does appear in 1 Ch 2^2 12^{35} 27^{22}, and the genealogy of Zebulun is missing in 1 Ch as well as that of Dan). If the above hypothesis is accepted, the remainder of v.^{12} may be a gloss, Shuppim and Huppim suggested by their similarity to Hushim as the ss. of Benjamin intended (Dan not being recognized in Aher, and these ss. being missed in the preceding vv.). **Ir** (עִיר), then, from the influence of v.^{7}, may have been later developed out of Ard (אַרְדְּ), which follows Muppim and Huppim in Gn 46^{21} (see 1^a) (Be.).

If, however, as we have assumed, Hushim is a Benjam. family or individual, Aher may be identical with Ahiram (1^b) (RVm) or with the Benjaminite Shaharaim (8) (שַׁחֲרַיִם), who had a wife Hushim (1 Ch $8^{8.11}$).

7. Ehud: Uzza, Ahihud, 1 Ch $8^{6f.}$.

The verses from which (7) is taken are difficult of interpretation. Probably the text is corrupt (see Comm. *in loco*). The connexion of Ehud (אֵחוּד) with the sons of Benjamin is not given. It is likely, however, that ח = ה, and that reference here also is to clan Ehud (אֵהוּד), s. Gera or s. Jediael, cf. (5). The ss. Ehud (possibly not those given above, but those whose names have fallen out of the text) were heads of families of the inhabitants of Geba (v.^{6}) (see note on 23).

8. Shaharaim: (m. Hodesh) Jobab, Zibia, Mesha, Malcam, Jeuz, Shachia, Mirmah, (m. Hushim) Abitub, Elpaal (9) (13 ?), 1 Ch $8^{8\text{-}10}$.

The connexion of Shaharaim with any of the ss. Benjamin is also not given. He is said to have begotten children in the field of Moab after he had sent away two wives, Hushim and Baara (v.^{8}). These allusions are entirely obscure. The sons whose m. was Hodesh are said to have been heads of families. Their residence is not given, unless by implication it is the country of Moab.

9. Elpaal (8): Eber, Misham, Shemed,* 1 Ch 8^{12}.

To Shemed is attributed the building, evidently the rebuilding, of Lod and Ono, for these cities were very ancient, appearing prob. in the list of the places conquered by Tahutmes III. (*RP* (New Series), vol. v. pp. 25–53).

10. —— Beriah (11), Shema (12), Ahio ? Elpaal ? (13), Shashak (14), Jeremoth (15), 1 Ch $8^{13f.}$.

The connexion of these Benjaminites, as in the cases of (7) and (8), with ss. Benjamin is not given. Their brotherhood is obtained by reading in v.^{14}, after the analogy of the LXX, אָחִיו 'his brother' (Kau.), or אֲחֵיהֶם 'their brothers' (Ki.), instead of אַחְיוֹ Ahio, a proper name (a reading certainly to be rejected), and by adding the name Elpaal required by v.^{19} (Kau. Ki.). Whether for Jeremoth (יְרֵמוֹת) we should read Jeroham (יְרֹחָם), after v.^{27}, or there substitute Jeremoth, it is impossible to determine. Both names clearly refer to one person; also Sbema (שֶׁמַע) (v.^{13}) and (שִׁמְעִי) (v.^{21}).

Beriah and Shema are called 'heads of fathers' houses of Aijalon who put to flight the inhabitants of Gath,' v.^{13}. This flight is otherwise unknown, although it has been connected with the slaughter of the ss. Ephraim (1 Ch 7^{21}), and Beriah has been identified with Beriah s. Ephraim (1 Ch 7^{23}, cf. note on VII^{b}. 4). Nothing further is stated concerning these five reputed founders of the families mentioned below.

11. Beriah (10): Zebadiah, Arad, Eder, Michael, Ishpah, Joha, 1 Ch $8^{15f.}$.

12. Shimei (Shema) (10): Jakim, Zichri, Zabdi, Elienai, Zillethai, Eliel, Adaiah, Beraiah, Shimrath, 1 Ch $8^{19\text{-}21}$.

13. Elpaal (10): Zebadiah, Meshullam, Hizki, Heber, Ishmerai, Izliah, Jobab, 1 Ch $8^{17f.}$.

14. Shashak (10): Ishpan, Eber, Eliel, Abdon, Zichri, Hanan, Hananiah, Elam, Anthothijah, Iphdeiah, Penuel, 1 Ch $8^{22\text{-}25}$.

15. Jeroham (Jeremoth) (10): Shamsherai, Shehariah, Athaliah, Jaareshiah, Elijah, Zichri, 1 Ch $8^{26f.}$.

These lists (11)–(15) represent five clans or families of post-exilic Jerus. (see note below on 23), each member mentioned 'the head of a father's house, a chief man' (1 Ch 8^{28}). Nothing further is known of them, although some of their names, representing other persons, occur elsewhere in the OT. Be. identifies Elpaal (13) with the Elpaal (9), and Eber (עֵבֶר), Misham (מִשְׁעָם), and Shemed (שֶׁמֶר) (9), with Heber (חֶבֶר), Meshullam (מְשֻׁלָּם), and Ishmerai (יִשְׁמְרַי) (13).

16. Jeiel: (m. Maacah) Abdon, Zur, Kish (17), Baal, Ner (23), Nadab, Gedor, Ahio, Zechariah,† Mikloth (24), 1 Ch $8^{29\text{-}31}$ $9^{35\text{-}37}$.

17. Kish (16): *Saul*, Jonathan (18), Malchi-shua, Abinadab, Eshbaal, 1 Ch 8^{33} 9^{39}.

18. Jonathan (17): *Merib-baal*, *Micah*, Pithon, Melech, Tahrea,‡ Ahaz (19), 1 Ch 8^{34} 9^{40}.

19. Ahaz (18): *Jarah*,§ Alemeth, Azmaveth, Zimri (20).

20. Zimri (19): *Moza*, *Binea*, *Rephaiah*, *Eleasah*, Azel (21), Eshek (22), 1 Ch $8^{36bf.\ 39a}$ $9^{42bf.}$.

21. Azel (20): Azrikam, Bocheru ?, Ishmael, Sheariah, Obadiah, Hanan, 1 Ch 8^{38} 9^{44}.

22. Eshek (20): Ulam, Jeush, Eliphelet, 1 Ch 8^{39}.

23. Ner (16): Abner ?, 1 Ch 8^{33} 9^{39}.

24. Mikloth (16): Shimeam,* 8^{32} 9^{28}.

This genealogy of the house of Saul (16)–(23) is given twice, the original texts being in each case the same (1 Ch $8^{29\text{-}38}$ and $9^{35\text{-}44}$). While the latter passage is perhaps in the better state of preservation, and has been mainly followed above, both have suffered some corruption. In v.^{39} Abner has clearly fallen out of the text and should be restored, cf. (23) (Kau. Ki.). In v.^{41} Ahaz should be added to the ss. Micah, as in 8^{35}. In v.^{44} instead of Bocheru (בֹּכְרוּ) we should read 'his firstborn' (בְּכֹרוֹ); another name must be supplied to complete the six sons of Azel (21). In (16) the f. Kish and Ner is Jeiel f. Gibeon. This differs from 1 S 9^{1} 14^{51}, where Abiel is f. Kish and Ner. The motive for the introduction of this genealogy clearly arose from the fact that at the time of the Chronicler certain Jewish families claimed descent from Saul. The genealogy furnishes a line of 15 generations. Allowing 12 from the founding of Solomon's temple to that of Zerubbabel (see note on III. 12), these descendants belonged to near the time of Ezra and Nehemiah.

Looking at these lists (7)–(24) as a whole, they evidently were based upon post-ex. conditions, for the following reasons:—(*a*) The places of residence (not mentioning Jerus.) are towns recurring in the post-ex. history,—Geba (v.^{6}), cf. Ezr 2^{26}; Lod and Ono (v.^{12}), cf. Ezr 2^{33}; Gibeon (v.^{29}), cf. Neh 7^{25}. (*b*) Many of the names belong also to that period, viz.: Meshullam (13), Hanan, Elam, Hananiah, Anthothijah (Anathoth) (14), cf. Neh $10^{10.\ 14.\ 19.\ 20.\ 23.\ 26}$. (*c*) The coincidence between the residence in or connexion with Moab (v.^{8}) and the name Pabath-moab representing an important family among the post-ex. Jews (Ezr 2^{6} 8^{4} etc.). (Be. conjectures that the birth of this Pahath-moab, 'prince of Moab,' is referred to in v.^{8}). (*d*) The Benjaminites had a considerable part in the post-ex. community along with the children of Judah and the Levites. (*e*) The close union between 1 Ch 8 and 9, which latter from its identity with Neh 11 is recognized at once as describing post-ex. conditions.

25. —— *Jeshaiah*, *Ithiel*, *Maaseiah*, *Kolaiah*, *Pedaiah*, *Joed*, *Meshullam*, Sallu, Neh 11^{7}, cf. 1 Ch 9^{7}.

Sallu represents a post-ex. family of Jerus. (see ref.). In 1 Ch 9^{7} the descent is, Sallu s. Meshullam, s. Hodaviah, s. Hassenuah.

IX. **1. DAN**: Hushim,† Gn 46^{23}, Nu 26^{42}.

Only one clan is recorded as having belonged to Dan. The difference of name in Gn and Nu has arisen from the transposition of letters, Hushim (חֻשִׁים), Shuham (שׁוּחָם). Dan is passed over by the Chronicler, unless a reference to the tribe is concealed in 1 Ch 7^{12}; cf. VIII. 6, above. Nothing more than the genealogical record is known of Hushim. On a single son or clan representing the tribe, see DAN.

X. **1. NAPHTALI**: Jahzeel,‡ Guni, Jezer, Shillem,¶ Gn 46^{24}, Nu $26^{48f.}$, 1 Ch 7^{13}.

These ss. or clans of Naphtali are not mentioned in any other connexion in OT, neither do their names occur elsewhere, except that of Guni, which is also the name of a Gadite (XI. 4). No further descendants of Naphtali are given.

XI. **1. GAD**: Ziphion,§ Haggi, Shuni, Ezbon,§ Eri, Arodi,§ Areli, Gn 46^{16}, Nu $26^{15\text{-}17}$.

2. —— Joel, Shapham, Janai, Shaphat, 1 Ch 5^{12}.

3. —— *Buz*, *Jahdo*, *Jeshishai*, *Michael*, *Gilead*, *Jaroah*, *Huri*, *Abihail*, Michael, Meshullam, Sheba, Jorai, Jacan, Zia, Eber, 1 Ch $5^{13f.}$.

4. —— *Guni*, *Abdiel*, Ahi, 1 Ch 5^{15}.

Joel, Shapham, Janai, Shaphat (2), Michael, Meshullam, Sheba, Jorai, Jacan, Zia, Eber (3), all represent families of the tribe of Gad, registered according to the Chronicler in the days of Jotham king of Judah, and Jeroboam king of Israel (1 Ch 5^{17}). Their connexion with any of the ss. Gad (1) is not given. Indeed, those clans are not mentioned in 1 Ch. Ahi (4) is given as 'chief of their fathers' houses.' We know of nothing further of value that can be said respecting this genealogy.

XII. **1. ASHER**: Imnah, Ishvah,‖ Ishvi,‖ Beriah (2), d. Serah, Gn 46^{17}, Nu 26^{44}, 1 Ch 7^{30}.

2. Beriah (1): Heber (3), Malchiel f. Birzaith,¶ Gn 46^{17}, Nu 26^{45}, 1 Ch 7^{31}.

3. Heber (2): Japhlet (4), Shomer ** (5), Hotham (6), d. Shua, 1 Ch 7^{32}.

4. Japhlet (3): Pasach, Bimhal, Ashvath, 1 Ch 7^{33}.

---

* Shemer (ר instead of ד) acc. to Hahn's and Theile's Heb. Text, but Shemed acc. to Baer and Del.

† Zecher, 1 Ch 8^{31}.

‡ Tarea, 1 Ch 8^{34}.

§ Jehoaddah, 1 Ch 8^{36}.

* Shimeah, 1 Ch 8^{32}.

† Shuham, Nu 26^{42}.

‡ Jahziel, Shallum, 1 Ch 7^{13}.

§ Zephon, Ozni, Arod, Nu $26^{15ff.}$.

‖ The two names Ishvah (יִשְׁוָה) and Ishvi (יִשְׁוִי) prob. represent a dittography. Nu 26^{44} omits the former.

¶ F. Birzaith only in 1 Ch 7^{31}.

** Shemer (v.^{34}), preferred by Ki. The two names represent the same person.

5. Shomer (3): Ahi, Rohgah, Jehubbah,* Aram, 1 Ch 7^{34}.

6. Helem (Hotham)† (3): Zophah, Imna, Shelesh, Amal, 1 Ch 7^{35}.

7. Zophah (6): Suah, Harnepher, Shual, Beri, Imrah, Bezer, Hod, Shamma, Shilshah, Ithran (8), Beera, 1 Ch $7^{36f.}$.

8. Jether (Ithran) † (7): Jephunneh, Pispah, Ara, 1 Ch 7^{38}.

9. Ulla (——?) †: Ara, Hanniel, Rizia, 1 Ch 7^{39}.

Nothing further than their registration is known of these clans and families of Asher. Ishvah, Serah (1), Malchiel, Birzaith (2), Japhlet, Shua (3), Pasach, Bimhal, Ashvath (4), Rohgah, Hubbah (5), Zophah, Imnah, Shelesh, Amal (6), Suah, Harnepher, Beri, Imrah, Hod, Shilshah, Beera (7), Pispah, Ara (8), Ulla, and Rizia occur as prop. names only in this connexion. The occurrence of the others elsewhere throws no light upon their appearance here. It is an interesting fact that the names of the two clans Heber (Habiri) and Malchiel (2) appear also together in the Amarna tablets, representing, it may be, clans of the ancient seat of Asher (see *Journ. of Bib. Lit.* vol. xi. 1892, p. 120). Birzaith (2) is probably the name of a place (בִּרְזַיִת = בְּאֵר זַיִת, *i.e.* 'Olive-well'). Local names may be seen also in Harnepher, Bezer, Beera (7), and perhaps some other names (Be.).

XIII. ‡ 1. David's Recruits at Ziklag.

(*a*) *Of Benjamin*: Ahiezer and Joash ss. Shemaah the Gibeathite; Jeziel and Pelet ss. Azmaveth, Beracah, Jehu the Anathothite; Ishmaiah the Gibeonite, Jeremiah, Jahaziel, Johanan, Jozabad the Gederathite, Eluzai, Jerimoth, Bealiah, Shemariah, Shephatiah the Haruphite; Elkanah, Isshiah, Azarel, Joezer, Jashobeam Korahites; Joelah and Zebadiah ss. Jeroham of Gedor, 1 Ch 12^{3-7}.

In the text these are given as Benjaminites. It seems not improbable, however, that the Chronicler may have fused some Judæans among them, since the Korahites can hardly be others than warriors from the Judæan city or family Korah (1 Ch 2^{43}). Gedor and Gederah are likewise found among Judæan towns (Jos $15^{36.58}$, 1 Ch 4^{39}). In v.^{16}, evidently misplaced, it says, 'and there came of the children of Benjamin and Judah to the hold unto David.'

(*b*) *Of Gad*: Ezer, Obadiah, Eliab, Mishmannah, Jeremiah, Attai, Eliel, Johanan, Elzabad, Jeremiah, Machbannai, 1 Ch 12^{9-13}.

(*c*) *Of Manasseh*: Adnah, Jozabad, Jediael, Michael, Jozabad, Elihu, Zillethai, 1 Ch 12^{20}.

All of these recruits are mentioned as mighty men of valour. Those of Gad are said to have had faces like the faces of lions, and to have been as swift as the roes upon the mountains (I Ch 12^{8}).

2. David's Mighty Men.

	2 S 23^{8-39}.		I Ch 11^{11-47}.
8.	Josheb-basshebeth a Tahchemonite.	11.	Jashobeam s. a Hachmonite.
9.	Eleazar s. Dodai s. an Ahohite.	12.	Eleazar s. Dodo the Ahohite.
11.	Shammah s. Agee a Hararite.		[Names wanting, or portions of names omitted, are identical with those in 2 S].
18.	Abishai brother of Joab.	20.	
20.	Benaiah s. Jehoiada.	22.	
24.	Asahel brother of Joab.	26.	
	Elhanan s. Dodo of Bethlehem.		
25.	Shammah the Harodite.	27.	Shammoth the Harorite.
	Elika the Harodite.		Wanting.
26.	Helez the Paltite.		Pelonite.
	Ira s. Ikkesh the Tekoite.	28.	
27.	Abiezer the Anathothite.		
	Mebunnai the Hushathite.	29.	Sibbecai.
28.	Zalmon the Ahohite.		Ilai.
	Maharai the Netophahite.	30.	
29.	Heleb s. Baanah the Netophahite.		Heled.
	Ittai s. Ribai of Gibeah.	31.	Ithai.
30.	Benaiah a Pirathonite.		
	Hiddai of the brooks of Gaash.	32.	Hurai.
31.	Abi-albon the Arbathite.		Abiel.
	Azmaveth the Barhumite.	33.	
32.	Eliahba the Shaalbonite.		
	Ss. Jashen, Jonathan.	34.	Ss. Hashem the Gizonite.
33.	Shammah the Hararite.		Jonathan s. Shage the Hararite.
	Ahiam s. Sharar the Ararite.		s. Sacar.
		35.	
34.	Eliphelet s. Ahasbai s. the Maacathite.		Eliphal s. Ur.
		36.	Hepher the Mecherathite
	Eliam s. Ahithophel the Gilonite.		Ahijah the Pelonite.
35.	Hezro the Carmelite.	37.	
	Paarai the Arbite.		Naarai s. Ezbai.
36.	Igal s. Nathan of Zobah.	38.	Joel the brother of Nathan.
	Bani the Gadite.		Mibhar s. Hagri.
37.	Zelek the Ammonite.	39.	
	Naharai the Beerothite.		
38.	Ira the Ithrite.	40.	
	Gareb the Ithrite.		
39.	Uriah the Hittite	41.	
			Zabad s. Ahlai.
			Adina s. Shiza the Reubenite.
		43.	Hanan s. Maacah.
			Jehoshaphat the Mithnite
		44.	Uzzia the Ashterathite.
			Shama and Jeiel } ss. Hotham the Aroerite.
		45.	Jediael s. Shimri.
			Joha his brother, the Tizite.
		46.	Eliel the Mahavite, Jeribai and Joshaviah ss. Elnaam.
			Ithmah the Moabite.
		47.	Eliel, Obed, and Jaasiel the Mezobaite.

The first twelve mighty men, as recorded in 1 Ch 11, appear again also in I Ch 27^{1-15} as captains, each in course, month by month, commanding a monthly levy of 24,000 soldiers, beginning in the first month with Jashobeam, who is called s. Zabdiel, and reckoned as belonging to ss. Perez (IV. I). The captain of the second month is Dodai, 'Eleazar s.' evidently having fallen from the text. With him is mentioned Mikloth as ruler. With Benaiah was associated Ammizabad his son; with Asahel, Zebadiah his son. Shammoth appears as Shamhuth and an Izrahite. Helez is called of Ephraim; Sibbecai, of the Zerahites (IV. I); also Maharai; Benaiah, the eleventh captain, a Pirathonite of Ephraim; Heled appears as Heldai (I Ch 27^{15}), and of Othniel (IV. 46).

The names Zabad to Asiel (I Ch 11^{41b-47}) do not appear in 2 S, and were evidently derived from another source. A comparison of the two lists shows that the names vary in several instances, but it is frequently impossible to determine which form is original, or whether both may not be corrupt. The following observations are confined mainly to the variations which appear in 1 Ch, since the names of the list of 2 S are treated elsewhere (see arts.).

Notes on vv.$^{11-47}$: **11.** Jashobeam (s. Zabdiel, 1 Ch 27^{2}) (יָשָׁבְעָם) was originally Jishbaal (יִשְׁבַּעַל) or Ishbaal (אִישְׁבַּעַל) (Ki. *et al.*). The reference in Hachmonite is not known. **12.** Dodai (דּוֹדַי) of 2 S is to be preferred to Dodo (דּוֹדוֹ), cf. 1 Ch 27^{4}. Ahohite may be a patronymic of the family or clan Ahoah of Benjamin (VIII. 2^{c}). **27.** For Shammoth (שַׁמּוֹת) Ki. reads Shamhuth (שַׁמְהוּת), after LXX and I Ch 27^{8}. Harodite (חֲרֹדִי) is preferable to Harorite (חֲרוֹרִי), and the reference may be to Harod (Jg 7^{1}), (see Harod). In 1 Ch 27^{8} he is called an Izrahite (יִזְרָחִי), but the true reading prob. is Zarhite (זַרְחִי), *i.e.* of ss. Zerah (IV. I). Instead of Pelonite (פְּלוֹנִי) read Paltite (פַּלְטִי) (2 S) (Ges. *Lex.*^{12} Buhl, Ki.), and the reference then, acc. to Driver (*Text of Sam.* p. 283), is to Beth-pelet in S. Judah (Jos 15^{27}); but acc. to 1 Ch 27^{10} Helez belonged to Ephraim. **28.** Sibbecai is generally acknowledged to be the true reading. **29.** Ki. combines, on the support of LXX, the readings of 2 S and 1 Ch, and obtains Aliman (עֲלִימָן). **30. 31.** Heled or Heldai (1 Ch 27^{15}) is probably correct, and Ithai is equally as defensible as Ittai of 2 S. **32.** Ki. emends Hurai to Hiddai, but Budde (*Crit. Text*, 1 and 2 S) in 2 S emends Hiddai to Hurai. Abiel is probably correct. **33.** For Baharumite (בַּחֲרוּמִי) read Bahurimite (בַּחוּרִמִי), *i.e.* of Bahurim (wh. see). **34.** The corresponding text of 2 S is clearly defective. Probably we should read Jashen the Gunite, Jonathan s. Shammah the Hararite (Ki. Driver, Budde). On Gunite see XI. 1. The reference in Hararite is not known. **35 f.** Sharar and Eliphelet (2 S) are probably correct (Ki.). Ur and Hepher probably have arisen from the name of the f. Eliphelet. Ahasbai (2 S) is suspicious (Driv.). For Mecherathite (מְכֵרָתִי) read Maacathite (מַעֲכָתִי), and follow 2 S (v.^{34b}) for ^{36b}. **37.** Which of the two readings is to be preferred cannot be determined. **38.** The choice here seems to be in favour of 2 S. Joel, however, might stand. Mibhar (מִבְחָר) has arisen apparently from 'of Zobah' (מִצֹּבָה). **44.** Ashterathite = from Ashteroth, a city of Bashan, cf. 1 Ch 6^{71}. **46.** Mahavite (מַחֲוִים) is suspicious. Be. reads Mahanaimite, *i.e.* of Mahanaim (מַחֲנַיְמִי) (Ges. *Lex.*^{12} Buhl) **47.** A corruption also underlies Mezobaite (מְצֹבָיָה).

---

* Jehubbah (יְחֻבָּה)=and Hubbah (וְחֻבָּה).

† Helem (הֶלֶם) clearly=Hotham (הוֹתָם); Jether (יֶתֶר)=Ithran (יִתְרָן); and Ulla (עֻלָּא) probably is a corruption of one of the previous names, perhaps Shual (שׁוּעָל) (7) or Beera (בְּאֵרָא) (7).

‡ Under XIII. have been grouped, for the sake of reference, certain lists of names found chiefly in 1 and 2 Ch.

3. David's Officers over the Twelve Tribes of Israel—

Of Reuben, Eliezer s. Zichri.
,, Simeon, Shephatiah s. Maacah.
,, Levi, Hashabiah s. Kemuel.
,, Aaron, Zadok.
,, Judah, Elihu * brother of David.
,, Issachar, Omri s. Michael.
,, Zebulun, Ishmaiah s. Obadiah.
,, Naphtali, Jeremoth s. Azriel.
,, Ephraim, Hoshea s. Azaziah.
,, W. Manasseh, Joel s. Pedaiah.
,, E. Manasseh, Iddo s. Zechariah.
,, Benjamin, Jaasiel s. Abner.
,, Dan, Azarel s. Jeroham, 1 Ch 27^{16-22}.

4. Rulers of David's substance—

Azmaveth s. Adiel, over the king's treasuries.
Jonathan s. Uzziah, over treasuries in cities, castles, villages, and fields.
Ezri s. Chelub, over tillers of the ground.
Shimei the Ramathite, over the vineyards.
Zabdi the Shiphmite, over wine cellars.
Baal-hanan the Gederite, over olive and sycomore trees.
Joash, over cellars of oil.
Shitrai the Sharonite, over herds in Sharon.
Shaphat s. Adlai, over herds in the valleys.
Obil the Ishmaelite, over camels.
Jehdeiah the Meronothite, over asses.
Jaziz the Hagrite, over the flocks, 1 Ch 27^{25-31}.

On Chelub, v.[26], see IV. 44 note. Shiphmite occurs only here, and cannot be more closely defined. Meronothite refers to Meronoth, a place which seems to have been in the neighbourhood of Gibeon and Mizpah, cf. Neh 3^{7}. By a Hagrite we understand a descendant of Hagar or an Arabian tribe (cf. 1 Ch $5^{10.\,19f.}$). On the other appellatives see arts.

5. Princes under Jehoshaphat appointed to teach the Law.—Ben-hail, Obadiah, Zechariah, Nethanel, Micaiah, 2 Ch 17^{7}.

6. Captains under Jehoshaphat.—Adnah, Jehohanan, Amasiah s. Zichri, Eliada, Jehozabad, 2 Ch 17^{14-18}.

The first three of these captains were of Judah, the other two of Benjamin. Each is said to have commanded from 180,000 men (Eliada) to 300,000 (Adnah).

7. Captains under the priest Jehoiada.—Azariah s. Jeroham, Ishmael s. Jehohanan, Azariah s. Obed, Maaseiah s. Adaiah, Elishaphat s. Zichri, 2 Ch 23^{1}.

These were associated with Jehoiada in the overthrow of Athaliah and enthronement of Joash. See ATHALIAH, JEHOIADA, JOASH.

8. Heads of ss. Ephraim.—Azariah s. Johanan, Berechiah s. Meshillemoth, Jehizkiah s. Shallum, Amasa s. Hadlai, 2 Ch 28^{12}.

These are mentioned as opposing, in the reign of Pekah, the bringing of Judæan captives to Samaria, and are said to have clothed and fed the captives, and then sent them home (2 Ch 28^{12-15}).

(*C*) LISTS OF FAMILIES AND PERSONS RECORDED IN CONNEXION WITH THE RETURN AND THE LABOURS OF EZRA AND NEHEMIAH †: — XIV.‡ Those who returned with Zerubbabel. XV. Those who returned with Ezra. XVI. The repairers of the wall of Jerusalem. XVII. Those who had foreign wives. XVIII. The signers of the Covenant. XIX. Priests and Levites of the days of Zerubbabel and Joiakim. XX. Participants in the promulgation of the Law and Dedication of the Wall. XXI. Residents of Jerusalem.

XIV. THOSE WHO RETURNED WITH ZERUBBABEL.

1. The Leaders.

Neh 7^{7}.	Ezr 2^{2}	1 Es 5^{8}.
Zerubbabel.	[Names omitted are identical with those given in Neh]	Zorobabel.
Jeshua.		Jesus.
Nehemiah.		Nehemias.
Azariah.	Seraiah.	Zaraias.
Raamiah.	Reelaiah.	Resaias.
Nahamani.	om.	Eneneus.
Mordecai.		Mardocheus.
Bilshan.		Beelsarus.
Mispereth.	Mispar.	Aspharasus.
Bigvai.		Reelias.
Nehum.	Rehum.	Roimus.
Baanah.		Baana.

2. Men of the People of Israel.

Neh 7^{8-38}.	Ezr 2^{3-35}.	1 Es 5^{9-23}.
Sons of Parosh.		Sons of Phoros.
,, Shephatiah.		,, Saphat.
,, Arah.		,, Ares.
,, Pahath-moab.		,, Phaath Moab.
,, Jeshua and Joab.		,, Jesus and Joab.
,, Elam.		,, Elam.
,, Zattu.		,, Zathui.
,, Zaccai.		,, Chorbe.
,, Binnui.		,, Bani.
,, Bebai.		,, Bebai.
,, Azgad.		,, Astad.
,, Adonikam.		,, Adonikam.
,, Bigvai.		,, Bagoi.
,, Adin.		,, Adinu.
,, Ater of Hezekiah.		,, Ater of Ezekias.
,, Hashum.		
		,, Kilan and Azetas.
		,, Azaru.
		,, Annis.
		,, Arom.
,, Bezai.		,, Bassai.
,, Hariph.	Jorah.	,, Arsiphurith.
		,, Baiterus.
,, Gibeon.	Gibbar.	
Men of Bethlehem.		Men of Bethlomon.
,, Netophah.		,, Netophas.
,, Anathoth.		,, Anathoth.
,, Beth-azmaveth.	Azmaveth.	,, Bethasmoth.
,, Kiriath-jearim, Chephirah, and Beeroth.	Kiriath-arim.	,, Kariathiarius.
		,, Caphira.
		,, Beroth.
		,, Chadiasai and Ammidioi.
,, Ramah.		,, Kirama.
,, Geba.		,, Gabbe.
,, Michmas.		,, Macalon.
,, Bethel and Ai.		,, Betolion.
Sons of Nebo.		Sons of Niphis.
	Magbish.	
,, Elam.		
,, Harim.		
,, Jericho.		,, Jerechu (v.[22]).
,, Lod, Hadid, and Ono.		,, Calamolalus and Onus.
,, Senaah.		,, Sanaas.

3. Priests.

Neh 7^{39-42}.	Ezr 2^{36-39}.	1 Es 5^{24-38}.
Sons of Jedaiah of House of Jeshua.		Sons of Jeddu s. Jesus.
		,, Sanasib.
,, Immer.		,, Emmeruth.
,, Pashhur.		,, Phassurus.
,, Harim.		,, Charme.

4. Levites.

Neh 7^{43}.	Ezr 2^{40}.	1 Es 5^{26}.
Sons of Jeshua.		Sons of Jesus.
,, Kadmiel.		,, Kadmiel.
		,, Bannas.
,, Hodevah.	Hodaviah.	,, Sudias.

5. Singers.

Neh 7^{44}.	Ezr 2^{41}.	1 Es 5^{27}.
Sons of Asaph.		Sons of Asaph.

6. Porters.

Neh 7^{45}.	Ezr 2^{42}.	1 Es 5^{28}.
Sons of Shallum.		Sons of Salum.
,, Ater.		,, Atar.
,, Talmon.		,, Tolman.
,, Akkub.		,, Dacubi.
,, Hatita.		,, Ateta.
,, Shobai.		,, Sabi.

---

* Probably Eliab (Ki.). See IV. 16.

† These lists are for reference only, and without textual and historical notes.

‡ This nomenclature XIV. XV. etc. is used to bring these tables, for convenience of reference, into line with the previous ones. Where the names and classifications are identical they frequently represent the same person or family.

7. The Nethinim.

Neh 7^{46-56}.	Ezr 2^{43-54}.	1 Es 5^{29-32}.
Sons of Ziha.		Sons of Esau.
,, Hasupha.		,, Asipha.
,, Tabbaoth.		,, Tabbaoth.
,, Keros.		,, Keras.
,, Sia.	Siaha.	,, Sua.
,, Padon.		,, Phaleas.
,, Lebana.		,, Labana.
,, Hagaba.		,, Aggaba.
	Akkub.	,, Acud.
		,, Uta.
		,, Ketab.
		,, Accaba.
,, Salmai.	Shamlai.	,, Subai.
,, Hanan.		,, Anan.
,, Giddel.		,, Cathua.
,, Gahar.		,, Geddur.
,, Reaiah.		,, Jairus.
,, Rezin.		,, Daisan.
,, Nekoda.		,, Noeba.
		,, Chaseba.
,, Gazzam.		,, Gazera.
,, Uzza.		,, Ozias.
,, Paseah.		,, Phinoe.
		,, Asara.
,, Besai.		,, Basthai.
		,, Asana.
,, Meunim.		,, Maani.
,, Nephushesim.	Nephisim.	,, Naphisi.
,, Babbuk.		,, Acub.
,, Hakupha.		,, Achipha.
,, Harhur.		,, Asur.
		,, Pharakim.
,, Bazlith.	Bazluth.	,, Basaloth.
,, Mehida.		,, Meedda.
		,, Cutha.
,, Harsha.		,, Charea.
,, Barkos.		,, Barchus.
,, Sisera.		,, Serar.
,, Temah.		,, Thomei.
,, Neziah.		,, Nasi.
,, Hatiphah.		,, Atipha.

8. Sons of Solomon's Servants.

Neh 7^{57-59}.	Ezr 2^{55-57}.	1 Es $5^{33\text{f.}}$.
Sons of Sotai.		
,, Sophereth.	Hassophereth	Sons of Assaphioth.
,, Perida.	Peruda.	,, Pharida.
,, Jaala.		,, Jeeli.
,, Darkon.		,, Lozon.
,, Giddel.		,, Isdael.
,, Shephatiah.		,, Saphuthi.
,, Hattil.		,, Agia.
,, Pochereth-hazzebaim.		,, Phacareth.
		,, Sabie.
		,, Sarothie.
		,, Masias.
		,, Gas.
		,, Addus.
		,, Subas.
		,, Apherra.
		,, Barodis.
		,, Saphat.
,, Amon.	Ami.	,, Allon.

9. Those without Genealogy from

Neh 7^{61-63}.	Ezr 2^{59-61}.	1 Es 5^{36-38}.
Tel-melah.		Thermeleth.
Tel-harsha.		Thelersas.
Cherub.		Charaathalan.
Addon.	Addan.	
Immer.		Allar.

(*a*) *Men of Israel.*

Sons of Delaiah.		Sons of Dalan.
,, Tobiah.		,, Ban.
,, Nekoda.		,, Nekodan.

(*b*) *Priests.*

Sons of Hobaiah.	Habaiah.	Sons of Obdia.
,, Hakkoz.		,, Akkos.
,, Barzillai.		,, Jaddus.

XV. THOSE WHO RETURNED WITH EZRA.

1.

Ezr 8^{2-14}.	1 Es 8^{29-40}.
Family. *Person.*	*Family.* *Person.*
Sons of	Sons of
Phinehas, Gershom.	Phinees, Gerson.
Ithamar, Daniel.	Ithamar, Gamael.
David, Hattush s. Shecaniah.	David, Attus s. Sechenias.
Parosh, Zechariah.	Phoros, Zacharias.
Pahath-moab, Eliehoenai s. Zerahiah.	Phaath Moab, Eliaonias s. Zaraias.
Zattu ?, Shecaniah s. Jahaziel.	Zathoes, Sechenias s. Jezelus.
Adin, Ebed s. Jonathan.	Adin, Obeth s. Jonathan.
Elam, Jeshaiah s. Athaliah.	Elam, Jesias s. Gotholias.
Shephatiah, Zebadiah s. Michael.	Saphatias, Zaraias s. Michael.
Joab, Obadiah s. Jehiel.	Joab, Abadias s. Jezelus.
Bani ?, Shelomith s. Josiphiah.	Banias, Salimoth s. Josaphias
Bebai, Zechariah s. Bebai.	Babi, Zecharias s. Bebai.
Azgad, Johanan s. Hakkatan.	Astath, Joannes s. Akatan.
Adonikam, Eliphelet, Jeuel, and Shemaiah	Adonikam, Eliphalat, Jeuel, and Samaias.
Bigvai, Uthai and Zabbud.	Bago, Uthi s. Istalcurus.

For the textual emendations see Kau.

2. Eliezer, Ariel, Shemaiah, Elnathan, Jarib, Elnathan, Nathan, Zechariah, Meshullam (chief men); Joiarib, Elnathan (teachers), Ezr 8^{16}.

These chief men and teachers (2), apparently of the company were sent by Ezra from the encampment near Babylon (see AHAVA) unto Iddo, the chief of a colony of Levites at Casiphia (wh. see), to secure Levites and Nethinim to accompany them to Jerus. for service in the temple. They secured Ishsechel (RVm) and Sherebiah of ss. Mahli, with 18 sons and brethren, and Hashabiah and Jeshaiah ss. Merari, with 20 sons and brethren, and 220 Nethinim. Unto Sherebiah and Hashabiah and ten brethren along with 12 chiefs of the priests, was given the care of the offerings of silver, gold, and brass which were being taken to Jerusalem. On the arrival these gifts of bullion and vessels were delivered unto Meremoth s. Uriah the priest, and Eleazar s. Phineas, Jozabad s. Jeshua, and Noadiah s. Binnui, Levites, Ezr 8^{15-35}.

XVI. BUILDERS OF THE WALL OF JERUSALEM.

Neh 3^{1-32}.

Eliashib the high priest, v.^{1}.
Men of Jericho, v.^{2a}.
Zaccur s. Imri, v.^{2b}.
ss. Hassenaah, v.^{3}.
Meremoth s. Uriah, s. Hakkoz, v.^{4a}.
Meshullam s. Berechiah, s. Meshezabel, v.^{4b}.
Zadok s. Baana, v.^{4c}.
Tekoites, *i.e.* men of Tekoa, vv.$^{5.27}$.
Joiada s. Paseah, and Meshullam s. Besodeiah, v.^{6}.
Melatiah the Gibeonite, and Jadon the Meronothite, and under them men of Gibeon and of Mizpah, v.^{7}.
Uzziel s. Harhaiah, having oversight of the goldsmiths (Kau), v.^{8a}.
Hananiah, an apothecary, v.^{8b}.
Rephaiah s. Hur, ruler of half the district of Jerusalem, v.^{9}.
Jedaiah s. Harumaph, v.^{10a}.
Hattush s. Hashabneiah, v.^{10b}.
Malchijah s. Harim, and Hasshub s. Pahath-moab, v.^{11}.
Shallum s. Hallohesh, ruler of half the district of Jerusalem, with his daughter, v.^{12}.
Hanun and the inhabitants of Zanoah, v.^{13}.
Malchijah s. Rechab, ruler of the district of Beth-haccherem, v.^{14}.
Shallum s. Col-hozeh, ruler of the district of Mizpah, v.^{15}.
Nehemiah s. Azbuk, ruler of half the district of Beth-zur, v.^{16}
Rehum s. Bani, a Levite, v.^{17a}.
Hashabiah, ruler of half the district of Keilah, v.^{17b}.
Bavvai s. Henadad, ruler of half the district of Keilah, v.^{18}.
Ezer s. Jeshua, ruler of Mizpah, v.^{19}.
Baruch s. Zabbai, v.^{20}.
Meremoth s. Uriah, s. Hakkoz, v.^{21}.
The Priests, the men of the Plain, v.^{22}.
Benjamin and Hasshub, v.^{23a}.
Azariah s. Maaseiah, s. Ananiah, v.^{23b}.
Binnui s. Henadad, v.^{24}.
Palal s. Uzzai, v.^{25a}.
Pedaiah s. Parosh, v.^{25b}.
The Priests, v.^{28}.
Zadok s. Immer, v.^{29a}.
Shemaiah s. Shecaniah, keeper of east gate, v.^{29b}.
Hananiah s. Shelemiah, and Hanun, sixth s. Zalaph, v.^{30a}.
Meshullam s. Berechiah, v.^{30b}.
Malchijah, a goldsmith, v.^{31}.
Goldsmiths and Merchants, v.^{32}.

XVII. THOSE WHO HAD FOREIGN WIVES.

1. PRIESTS—

Ezr 10^{18-22}.	1 Es 9^{19-22}.
a. ss. Jeshua and his brethren.	ss. Jesus and his brethren.
Maaseiah.	Mathelas.
Eliezer.	Eleazar.
Jarib.	Joribus.
Gedaliah.	Joadanus.
b. ss. Immer.	ss. Emmer.
Hanani.	Ananias.
Zebadiah.	Zabdeus.
c. ss. Harim.	Manes.
Maaseiah.	Sameus.
Elijah.	
Shemaiah.	
Jehiel.	Hiereel.
Uzziah.	Azarias.

PRIESTS—

	Ezr 10^{18-22}.	1 Es 9^{19-22}.
d. ss.	**Pashhur.**	ss. **Phaisur.**
	Elioenai.	Elionas.
	Maaseiah.	Massias.
	Ishmael.	Ismael.
	Nethanel.	Nathanael.
	Jozabad.	Ocidelus.
	Elasah.	Saloas.

2. LEVITES—

	Ezr 10^{23}.	1 Es 9^{23}.
	Jozabad.	Jozabdus.
	Shimei.	Semeis.
	Kelaiah (Kelita).	Colius (Calitas).
	Pethahiah.	Patheus.
	Judah.	Judas.
	Eliezer.	Jonas.

3. SINGERS—

	Ezr 10^{24a}.	1 Es 9^{25a}.
	Eliashib.	Eliasibus.
		Bacchurus.

4. PORTERS—

	Ezr 10^{24b}.	1 Es 9^{25b}.
	Shallum.	Sallumus.
	Telem.	Tolbanes.
	Uri.	

5. MEN OF ISRAEL—

	Ezr 10^{25-43}.	1 Es 9^{26-35}.
a. ss.	**Parosh.**	ss. **Phoros.**
	Ramiah.	Hiermas.
	Izziah.	Ieddias.
	Malchijah.	Melchias.
	Mijamin.	Maelus.
	Eleazar.	Eleazar.
	Malchijah.	Asibias.
	Benaiah.	Baneas.
b. ss.	**Elam.**	ss. Ela.
	Mattaniah.	Matthanias.
	Zechariah.	Zacharias.
	Jehiel.	Jezrielus.
	Abdi.	Oabdius.
	Jeremoth.	Hieremoth.
	Elijah.	Aedias.
c. ss.	**Zattu.**	ss. **Zamoth.**
	Elioenai.	Eliadas.
	Eliashib.	Eliasimus.
	Mattaniah.	Othonias.
	Jeremoth.	Jarimoth.
	Zabad.	Sabathus.
	Aziza.	Zardeus.
d. ss.	**Behai.**	ss. **Behai.**
	Jehohanan.	Joannes.
	Hananiah.	Ananias.
	Zabai.	Jozabdus.
	Athlai.	Ematheis.
e. ss.	**Bani.**	ss. **Mani.**
	Meshullam.	Olamus.
	Malluch.	Mamuchus.
	Adaiah.	Jedeus.
	Jashub.	Jasubus.
	Sheal.	Jasaelus.
	Jeremoth.	Hieremoth.
f. ss	**Pahath-moab.**	ss. **Addi.**
	Adna.	Naathus.
	Chelal.	Moossias.
	Benaiah.	Laccunus.
	Maaseiah.	Naidus.
	Mattaniah.	Mattanias.
	Bezalel.	Sesthel.
	Binnui.	Balnuus.
	Manasseh.	Manasseas.
g. ss.	**Harim.**	ss. **Annas.**
	Eliezer.	Elionas.
	Isshijah.	Aseas.
	Malchijah.	Melchias.
	Shemaiah.	Sabbeus.
	Shimeon.	Simon Chosameus.
	Benjamin.	[From ss. Addi to Simon Chosameus only few names appear to correspond with those in Ezr].
	Malluch.	
	Shemariah.	
h. ss.	**Hashum.**	ss. **Asom.**
	Mattenai.	Maltanneus.
	Mattattah.	Mattathias.
	Zabad.	Sabanneus.
	Eliphelet.	Eliphalat.
	Jeremai.	
	Manasseh.	Manasses.
	Shimei.	Semei.
i. ss.	**Bani.**	ss. **Baani.**
	Maadai.	Jeremias.
	Amram.	Momdis.
	Uel.	Ismaerus.
	Benaiah.	Juel.
	Bedeiah.	Mamdai.
	Cheluhi.	Pedias.
	Vaniah.	Anos.
	Meremoth.	Carabasion.
	Eliashib.	Enasibus.
	Mattaniah.	Mamnitanemus.

MEN OF ISRAEL—

	Ezr 10^{25-43}.	1 Es 9^{26-35}.
	Mattenai.	Eliasis.
	Jaasu.	
	Bani.	Bannus.
	Binnui.	Eliali.
	Shimei.	Someis.
	Shelemiah.	Selemias.
	Nathan.	Nathanias.
		ss. **Ezora.**
		Sesis.
	Adaiah.	Ezril.
	Machnadebai.	Azaelus.
	Shashai.	Samatus.
	Sharai.	Zambri.
	Azarel.	[From Jeremias to Zambri many names do not appear to correspond with those in Ezr].
	Shelemiah.	
	Shemeriah.	
	Shallum.	
	Amariah.	
	Joseph.	Josephus.
j. ss.	**Nebo.**	ss. **Nooma.**
	Jeiel.	
	Mattithiah.	Mazitias.
	Zabad.	Zabadeas.
	Zebina.	
	Iddo.	Edos.
	Joel.	Juel.
	Benaiah.	Banaias.

XVIII. THE SIGNERS OF THE COVENANT.

Neh 10^{1-27}.

1. *The Governor*:—Nehemiah s. Hacaliah.

2. *Priests* (vv.$^{2-7}$):—Zedekiah, Seraiah, Azariah, Jeremiah, Pashhur, Amariah, Malchijah, Hattush, Shebaniah, Malluch, Harim, Meremoth, Obadiah, Daniel, Ginnethon, Baruch, Meshullam, Abijah, Mijamin, Maaziah, Bilgai, Shemaiah.

3. *Levites* (vv.$^{9-13}$):—Jeshua s. Azaniah, Binnui of the ss. Henadad, Kadmiel; Shebaniah, Hodiah, Kelita, Pelaiah, Hanan, Mica, Rehob, Hashabiah, Zaccur, Sherebiah, Shebaniah, Hodiah, Bani, Beninu.

4. *Chiefs of the People* (vv.$^{14-28}$):—Parosh, Pahath-moab, Elam, Zattu, Bani, Bunni, Azgad, Bebai, Adonijah, Bigvai, Adin, Ater, Hezekiah, Azzur, Hodiah, Hashum, Bezai, Hariph, Anathoth, Nobai, Magpiash, Meshullam, Hezir, Meshezabel, Zadok, Jaddua, Pelatiah, Hanan, Anaiah, Hoshea, Hananiah, Hasshub, Hallohesh, Pilha, Shobek, Rehum, Hashabnah, Maaseiah, and Ahiah, Hanan, Anan, Malluch, Harim, Baanah.

XIX. PRIESTS, LEVITES, AND PORTERS.

1. *Priests who returned with Zerubbabel and Jeshua*:—Seraiah, Jeremiah, Ezra, Amariah, Malluch, Hattush, Shecaniah, Rehum, Meremoth, Iddo, Ginnethoi, Abijah, Mijamin, Maadiah, Bilgah, Shemaiah, Joiarib, Jedaiah, Sallu, Amok, Hilkiah, Jedaiah, Neh 12^{1-7}.

2. *Levites*:—Jeshua, Binnui, Kadmiel, Sherebiah, Judah, Mattaniah, Bakbukiah, Unno, Neh $12^{8.9}$.

3. *Priests and Priestly Houses in the days of Joiakim s. Jeshua*:—Of Seraiah, Meraiah; of Jeremiah, Hananiah; of Ezra, Meshullam; of Amariah, Jehohanan; of Malluchi, Jonathan; of Shebaniah, Joseph; of Harim, Adna; of Meraioth, Helkai; of Iddo, Zechariah; of Ginnethon, Meshullam; of Abijah, Zichri; of Miniamin, ——; of Moadiah, Piltai; of Bilgah, Shammua; of Shemaiah, Jehonathan; of Joiarib, Mattenai; of Jedaiah, Uzzi; of Sallai, Kallai; of Amok, Eber; of Hilkiah, Hashabiah; of Jedaiah, Nethanel, Neh 12^{12-21}.

4. *Chief Levites*:—Hashabiah, Sherebiah, Jeshua s. Kadmiel, Neh 12^{24}.

5. *Porters*:—Mattaniah, Bakbukiah, Obadiah, Meshullam, Talmon, Akkub, Neh 12^{25}.

These 'chief Levites' (4) who were over the service of song (ref.) and the 'porters' (5) belonged also to the time of Joiakim (Neh 12^{26}).

XX. 1. Priests and Levites, Participants in the Promulgation of the Law.

a. Mattithiah, Shema, Anaiah, Uriah, Hilkiah, Maaseiah, Pedaiah, Mishael, Malchijah, Hashum, Hashbaddanah, Zechariah, Meshullam, Neh 8^{4}.

b. Jeshua, Bani, Sherebiah, Jamin, Akkub, Shabbethai, Hodiah, Maaseiah, Kelita, Azariah, Jozabad, Hanan, Pelaiah, Neh 8^{7}.

c. Jeshua, Bani, Kadmiel, Shebaniah, Bunni, Sherebiah, Bani, Chenani, Jeshua, Kadmiel, Bani, Hashabneiah, Sherebiah, Hodiah, Shebaniah, Pethahiah, Neh $9^{4f.}$.

List *a* stood at the right and left of Ezra upon the platform; list *b* read and explained the law; list *c* gave responses on the fast-day in connexion with the reading of the law (see ref.).

2. Princes, Priests, and Levites, Participants in the Dedication of the Wall.

a. Hoshaiah, Azariah, Ezra, Meshullam, Judah, Benjamin, Shemaiah, Jeremiah, Neh 12^{32-34}.

b. Zechariah (see III. 4), Shemaiah, Azarel, Milalai, Gilalai, Maai, Nethanel, Judah, Hanani, Neh $12^{35f.}$.

c. Eliakim, Maaseiah, Miniamin, Micaiah, Elioenai, Zechariah, Hananiah, Neh 12^{41}.

d. Maaseiah, Shemaiah, Eleazar, Uzzi, Jehohanan, Malchijah, Elam, Ezer, Jezrahiah, Neh $12^{42f.}$.

All the names under *a* have been taken as those of princes of Judah (Crosby, Lange, *Comm.*, Eng. ed. *in loco*). Probably, however, only Hoshaiah was a prince of J., and Judah and Benjamin represent members of those tribes, and the other names different classes of priests (Oe. *in loco*). The names under *b* are those of Levitical musicians, and under *c* and *d* of priestly musicians (see ref.).

XXI. Residents of Jerusalem, Neh 11^{4-19}, 1 Ch 9^{3-17}. (The names are those of Neh ; for variations, see ref.).

1. *Of Judah*—
   - Athaiah * (see IV. 58^{b}).
   - Uthai † (see IV. 58^{a}).
   - Maaseiah (see IV. 3).
   - Jeuel † of Zerah.
2. *Benjaminites*—
   - Sallu (see VIII. 24).
   - Ibneiah † s. Jeroham.
   - Elah † s. Uzzi, s. Michri.
   - Meshullam † s. Shephatiah, s. Reuel, s. Ibnijah.
   - Gabbai.*
   - Sallai.*
   - Joel * s. Zichri (the overseer).
   - Judah * s. Hassenuah (second over the city).
3. *Priests*—
   - Jedaiah.‡
   - Joiarib.
   - Jachin.
   - Seraiah (see III. 14).
   - Adaiah (see III. 16).
   - Amashsai (see III. 17).
   - Zahdiel * s. Haggedolim (the overseer).
4. *Levites*—
   - Shemaiah s. Hasshub, s. Azrikam, s. Hashabiah, s. Bunni * of ss. Merari.†
   - Shabbethai.
   - Jozabad.
   - Bakhakkar.†
   - Heresh.†
   - Galal.†
   - Mattaniah (see III. 5).
   - Bakhukiah.
   - Abda § s. Shammua,§ s. Galal, s. Jeduthun.
   - Berechiah † s. Asa, s. Elkanah.
   - Uzzi, Neh 11^{22} (see III. 5).
5. *The Porters*—
   - Shallum (see III. 24).
   - Akkuh.
   - Talmon.
   - Ahiman.

In connexion with these residents of Jerus., Pethahiah s. Meshezabel of ss. Zerah is mentioned as being 'at the king's hand,' *i.e.* agent of the Persian king, in all matters concerning the people, Neh 11^{24}.

Index to Genealogical Tables.‖

Ahdiel, XI. 4.
Ahiah, IV. 35 note.
Abihud, VIII. 2^{c}.
Ahijah (2), III. 15, VIII. 4.
Ahishur, IV. 9.
Abitub, VIII. 8.
Achar, IV. 60 note.
Addar, VIII. 2^{c}.
Adiel, II. 3.
Adina, XIII. 2.
Adlai, XIII. 4.
Adnah (2), XIII. 1^{c}, XIII. 6.
Aharah, VIII. 1^{d}.
Aharhel, IV. 43.
Ahham, IV. 13.
Aher, VIII. 6.
Ahlai, IV. 11.
Ahoah, VIII. 2^{c}.
Ahohite, XIII. 2.
Ahumai, IV. 40.
Ahzai, III. 17 note.
Akkuh (5), III. 25 note, IV. 26, XIV. 6, XIV. 7, XIX. 5.
Alemeth (2), VIII. 4, VIII. 19.
Allon (person), II. 3.
Amal, XII. 6.
Amasai (3), III. 22^{ab}, III. 40^{c}, III. 42^{a}.
Amashsai, III. 17 note, XXI. 3.
Amasiah, XIII. 6.
Amzi (2), III. 17 note, III. 35^{a}.
Anani, IV. 26.
Aniam, VII.^{a} 5.
Anthothijah, VIII. 14.
Anuh, IV. 43.
Appaim, IV. 10.
Ara, XII. 8.
Ardon, IV. 35^{a}.
Arnan, IV. 23.
Asaiah (4), II. 3, III. 35^{b}, III. 40^{a}, IV. 3 note.
Asharelah, III. 3.
Ashbea, IV. 2.
Ashbel, VIII. 1^{bd}.
Ashterathite, XIII. 2.
Ashvath, XII. 4.
Asriel, Asrielites, VII.^{a} 1^{bc} note.
Assir (2), III. 22^{ab}, IV. 20.
Atarah, IV. 6.
Attai (3), IV. 12, IV. 18 note *b*, XIII. 1^{b}.
Azarel (5), III. 17 note, III. 23 (see Uzziel), XIII. 1^{a}, XIII. 3, XVII. 5^{i}.
Azaz, I. 4.
Azaziah (3), III. 40^{b}, III. 42^{b}, XIII. 3.
Azel, VIII. 20.
Azriel (2), VII.^{a} 8, XIII. 3.
Azrikam (3), IV. 25, VIII. 21, XXI. 4.
Azubah (2), IV. 18 note^{a}, IV. 35^{a}.
Baal (2), I. 3, VIII. 16.
Baal-hanan, XIII. 4.
Baara, VIII. 8 note.
Baaseiah, III. 3.
Bakhakkar, XXI. 4.
Bariah, IV. 24.
Bathshua, IV. 17 note.
Bealiah, XIII. 1.
Becher (2), VII.^{b} 1, VIII. 1^{ac}.
Beeliada, IV. 17 note.
Beera, XII. 7.
Beerah, I. 3.
Ben, III. 40^{b}.
Benhail, XIII. 5.
Benhanan, IV. 56.
Beno, III. 38.
Benzoheth, IV. 57.
Beracah, XIII. 1^{a}.
Beraiah, VIII. 12.
Bered, VII.^{b} 3.
Beri, XII. 7.
Bezer, XII. 7.
Bimhal, XII. 4.
Binea, VIII. 20.
Binnui (5), XIV. 2, XV. 2 note, XVI. v.^{24}, XVII. 5^{f}, XVII. 5^{i}.
Birzaith, XII. 2.
Bocheru, VIII. 21.
Bukkiah, III. 23.
Bunah, IV. 6.
Calcol, IV. 59.
Cheluh (2), IV. 44, XIII. 4.
Chelubai, IV. 5.
Chenaanah (2), VIII. 5 note.
Chenaniah, III. 40^{d}.
Conaniah (2), III. 42^{b}, III. 43^{c}.
Dalaiah, IV. 26.
Dodai, XIII. 2.
Ebiasaph, III. 22^{ab}.
Eden (2), III. 42^{a}, III. 42^{c}.
Eder (2), III. 34, VIII. 11.
Eker, IV. 7.
Elead, VII.^{b} 1^{b}.
Eleadah, VII.^{b} 3.
Eleasah (2), IV. 12, VIII. 20.
Eliathah, III. 23.
Eliel (8), III. 22^{b}, III. 40^{a}, III. 42^{b}, VII.^{a} 8, VIII. 12, VIII. 14, XIII. 2, XIII. 2.
Eliehoenai (2), III. 25, XV.
Elienai, VIII. 12.
Elioenai (5), II. 3, IV. 25, VIII. 4, XVII. 1^{d}, XVII. 5^{c}.
Eliphal, XIII. 2.
Elipheleh, Eliphelehu, III. 40^{b}.
Elishaphat, XIII. 8.
Elnaam, XIII. 2.
Elpaal (2), VIII. 8, VIII. 10?.
Elpalet, Elpelet, IV. 17 note.
Eluzai, XIII. 1^{a}.
Elzahad (2), III. 25 note, XIII. 1^{b}.
Epher (2), IV. 53, VII.^{a} 8.
Ephlal, IV. 12.
Ephratah, Ephrathah, IV. 35.
Eshbaal, VIII. 17.
Eshek, VIII. 20.
Eshtemoa, IV. 54.
Eshton, IV. 44.
Ethnan, IV. 42.
Ethni, III. 3.
Ezbai, XIII. 2.
Ezbon (2), VIII. 2^{b}, XI. 1.
Ezer (2), IV. 41, VII.^{b} 1^{b}.
Ezri, XIII. 4.
Galal (2), XXI. 4.
Gamul, III. 15.
Garmite, IV. 55.
Gazez, IV. 35^{b}.
Gera, VIII. 1^{a} 2^{c}.
Geshan, IV. 33.
Giddalti, III. 23.
Gizonite, XIII. 2.
Haahashtari, IV. 42.
Hachmoni, Hachmonite, XIII. 2.
Hadlai, XIII. 8.
Haggiah, III. 35^{b}.
Hagri, Hagrite, XIII. 4 note.
Hakkoz (4), III. 15, IV. 43, XIV. 9^{b}, XVI. v.^{21}.
Hammolecheth, VII.^{a} 1^{c}.
Hammuel, II. 2.
Hanan (7), VIII. 14, VIII. 21, XIII. 2, XIV. 7, XVIII. 3, XVIII. 4, XX. 1^{b}.
Hanniel, XII. 9.
Hanun (2), XVI. v.^{13}, XVI. v.^{30}.
Happizez, III. 15.
Hareph, IV. 36.
Harim (6), III. 15, XIV. 2, XIV. 3, XVII. 5^{g}, XVIII. 4, XIX. 3.
Harnepher, XII. 7.
Haroeh, IV. 37.
Harum, IV. 43.
Haruphite, XIII. 1^{a}.
Hasadiah, IV. 22.
Hassenuah, XXI. 2.
Hashabiah (11), III. 5, III. 27 note, III. 35^{a}, III. 36, III. 43^{c}, XIII. 3, XVI. v.^{17}, XV. 2 note, XVIII. 3, XIX. 3, XIX. 4.
Hashem, XIII. 2.
Hashubah, IV. 22.
Hasshub, XXI. 4.
Hathath, IV. 47.
Hattush, IV. 24.
Haziel, III. 7.
Hazzelelponi, IV. 41.
Helah, IV. 42.
Heldai, XIII. 2.
Heled, XIII. 2.
Helem, XII. 6.
Heresh, XXI. 4.
Hezir, III. 15.
Hezro, XIII. 2.
Hizki, VIII. 13.
Hod, XII. 7.
Hodaiah, IV. 26.
Hodaviah (3), VII.^{a} 8, XIV. 4, XXI. 2.
Hodesh, VIII. 8.
Hodiah (4), IV. 55, XVIII. 3, XVIII. 4, XX. 1^{b}.
Hosah, III. 39.
Hoshama, IV. 20.
Hotham (2), XII. 6, XIII. 2.
Hothir, III. 23.
Huppah, III. 15.
Huppim, VIII. 1^{a}, 3
Hurai, XIII. 2.
Huram, VIII. 2^{c}.
Huri, XI. 3.
Hushah, IV. 41.
Ibneiah, XXI. 2.
Ibnijah, XXI. 2.
Ibri, III. 38.
Ibsam, V. 2.
Idbash, IV. 41.
Ikkesh, XIII. 2
Immer (2), III. 17, XVII. 1^{b}.
Imna, XII. 6.
Imnah (2), III. 42^{c}, XII. 1.
Imrah, XII. 7.
Imri (2), IV. 58, XVI. v.^{2b}.
Iphdeiah, VIII. 14.
Ir, VIII. 3 note.
Iru, IV. 50.
Ishbah, IV. 54.
Ishi (4), II. 4, IV. 11, IV. 57, VII.^{a} 8.
Ishhod, VII.^{a} 7.
Ishma, IV. 41.
Ishmaiah, XIII. 3.
Ishmerai, VIII. 13.
Ishpah, VIII. 11.
Ishpan, VIII. 14.
Ismachiah, III. 42^{b}.
Isshiah, Isshijah (3), III. 20, III. 28.
Ithai, XIII. 2, XVII. 4^{g}.
Ithmah, XIII. 2.
Ithran, XII. 8.
Izliah, VIII. 13.
Izrahiah, V. 3.
Izrahite, XIII. 2 note.
Izri, III. 36 f.-note.
Jaakobah, II. 3.
Jaareshiah, VIII. 15.
Jaasiel (2), XIII. 2, XIII. 3.
Jaaziah, III. 31.
Jaaziel, III. 40^{f}.
Jahez, IV. 43 note.
Jacan, XI. 3.
Jachin (2), II. 1, III. 15.
Jada, IV. 8.
Jahath (5), III. 3, III. 6, III. 26, III. 43^{a}, IV. 40.
Jahaziel (5), III. 5 note, III. 27, III. 40^{b} f.-note, XIII. 1, XVI.
Jahdai, IV. 33.
Jahdiel, VII.^{a} 8.
Jahdo, XI. 3.
Jahmai, V. 2.
Jahzerah, III. 17.
Jahziel, X. 1 ; see Jahzeel.
Jakim (2), III. 15, VIII. 12.

---

* Not mentioned in 1 Ch 9.

† Not mentioned in Neh 11.

‡ Jedaiah s. Joiarib, Neh 11^{10}. Reading of 1 Ch 9^{10} to be preferred.

§ Obadiah, Shemaiah in 1 Ch 9^{16}.

‖ This index omits many names, containing only those (furnished by the Editor of the Dictionary) which, for description, are referred to 'Genealogy.'

Jalon, IV. 53.
Jamin (3), II. 1, IV. 7, XX. 1^{b}.
Jamlech, II. 3.
Janai, XI. 2.
Japhlet, XII. 3.
Jarah, VIII. 19.
Jarha, IV. 12.
Jarib (3), II. 1 f.-note, XV 2, XVII. 1^{a}.
Jaroah, XI. 3.
Jashobeam, XIII. 2.
Jathniel, III. 25.
Jaziz, XIII. 4.
Jeatherai, III. 6.
Jedaiah (3) (יְדָיָה), II. 3, XVI. v.^{10a} (יְדַעְיָה), III. 15.
Jediael (4), III. 25, VIII. 1^{c}, XIII. 1^{c}, XIII. 2.
Jehallelel (2), IV. 52, III. 42^{a}.
Jehdeiah (2), III. 19, XIII. 4.
Jehezkel, III. 15.
Jehiah, III. 40^{d} note.
Jehiel (8), III. 7, III. 40^{b}, III. 42^{b}, III. 43^{b}, IV. 18 note *b*, XV. 1, XVII. 1^{c}, XVII. 5^{b}.
Jehieli, III. 8 note.
Jehizkiah, XIII. 8.
Jehoaddah, VIII. 19 f.-note.
Jehohanan (6), III. 25, XIII. 6, XIII. 7, XVII. 5^{d}, XIX. 3, XX. 2^{d}.
Jehoram, III. 41^{b}.
Jehozabad (3), III. 25 note, XIII. 6.
Jehozadak, III. 12.
Jehubbah, XII. 5.
Jehudijah, IV. 54 note.
Jehuel, III. 42^{a}.
Jeiel (7), I. 5, III. 5 note, III. 40^{b}, III. 43^{c}, VIII. 16, XIII. 2, XVII. 5^{j}.
Jekameam, III. 27.
Jerahmeel (2), III. 33, IV. 5.
Jeremoth (4), VIII. 4, VIII. 10, XIII. 1^{a}, XIII. 3.
Jeriah, III. 27.
Jeribai, XIII. 2.
Jeriel, V. 2.
Jerijah, III. 27 f.-note.
Jerimoth (4), III. 23, III. 34, III. 42^{b}, IV. 17 note.
Jerioth, IV. 35^{a}.
Jeroham (7), III. 22^{ab}, III. 17 note, VIII. 15, XIII. 1^{a}, XIII. 3, XIII. 7, XXI. 2.
Jeshaiah (6), III. 20 f.-note, III. 36, IV. 23, VIII. 24, XV. 1, XV. 2 note.
Jeshebeab, III. 15.
Jesher, IV. 35^{a}.
Jeshishai, XI. 3.
Jeshohaiah, II. 3.
Jesimiel, II. 3.
Jeuel (3), III. 42^{a}, XV. 1, XXI. 1.
Jeush (3), III. 8, IV. 16 note, VIII. 4.
Jeuz, VIII. 8.
Jezer, X. 1.
Jeziel, XIII. 1^{a}.
Jezreel, IV. 41.
Joah (4), III. 6, III. 25 note, III. 42^{a}, III. 43^{a}.
Joahaz, III. 43^{a}.
Joel (13), I. 3, II. 3, III. 7, III. 22^{ab}, III. 40^{a}, III. 42^{a}, V. 3, XI. 2, XI. 4 note, XIII. 2, XIII. 3, XVII. 5^{j}, XXI. 2.
Joelah, XIII. 1^{a}.
Joezer, XIII. 1^{a}.
Joha (2), VIII. 11^{a}, XIII. 2.
Jokim, IV. 2.
Jorai, XI. 4 note.
Joram, III. 20.
Jorkeam, IV. 32.
Joshah, II. 3.
Joshaphat, XIII. 2.
Joshaviah, XIII. 2.
Joshbekashah, III. 23.
Joshibiah, II. 3.
Jozabad (7), III. 42^{b}, III. 43^{c}, XIII. 1^{c} (2 persons), XV. 2 note, XVII. 1^{d}, XVII. 2.
Jushab-hesed, IV. 22.
Keilah, IV. 55.
Kishi, III. 35^{a}.
Kore (2), III. 24, III. 42^{c}.
Kushaiah, III. 35^{a} f.-note.
Laadah, IV. 2
Lahad, IV. 40
Lecah, IV. 2.
Likhi, VII.^{a} 5.
Maasai, III. 17.
Maaz, IV. 7.
Machbannai, XIII. 1^{b}.
Machbena, IV. 34.
Mahath (2), III. 22^{b}, III. 42^{ab}.
Mahavite, XIII. 2.
Mahazioth, III. 23.
Malcam, VIII. 8.
Malchijah (6), III. 3, III. 15, XVI. v.^{11}, XVI. v.^{31}, XVII. 5^{a}, XVIII. 2, XX. 2^{d}.
Malchiram, IV. 20.
Mallothi, III. 23.
Maresha (2), IV. 2, IV. 29.
Mattaniah (8), III. 4, 5 note, III. 23, III. 42^{a}, XVII. 5^{bcfj}, XIX. 5.
Mehir, IV. 44.
Melech, VIII. 18.
Meonothai, IV. 48.
Meribbaal, VIII. 18.
Meronothite (8), XIII. 4.
Meshelemiah, III. 24.
Meshillemith, III. 17.
Meshullam (19), III. 14 note, III. 17, III. 43^{a}, IV. 22, VIII. 13, VIII. 25, XI. 3, XV. 2, XVI. v.^{4b}, XVI. v.^{6}, XVII. 5^{e}, XVIII. 2, XVIII. 4, XIX. 3 (2 persons), XIX. 5, XX. 1^{a}, XX. 2^{a}, XXI. 2.
Mezobaite, XIII. 2.
Mibhar, XIII. 2.
Michri, XXI. 2.
Mirmah, VIII. 8.
Mijamin (2), III. 15, XVIII. 2.
Mikloth (2), VIII. 16, XIII. 2 note.
Mikneiah, III. 40^{b}.
Misham, VIII. 9.
Mishma, II. 2.
Mishmannah, XIII. 1^{b}.
Mishraites, IV. 38.
Mithnite, XIII. 2.
Molid, IV. 13.
Moza (2), IV. 35, VIII. 20.
Mushi, III. 31.
Naam, IV. 50.
Naarah, IV. 42.
Naarai, XIII. 2.
Naham, IV. 55.
Neariah (2), II. 4, IV. 24.
Nedabiah, IV. 20.
Nepheg (2), III. 21, IV 17.
Nethanel (8), III. 4 note, III. 25 note, III. 40^{c}, III. 43^{c}, IV. 16, XIII. 5, XVII. 1^{d}, XIX. 3.
Nethaniah (2), III. 3, III. 41^{b}.
Nogah, IV. 17 note.
Nohah, VIII. 1^{d}.
Obil, XIII. 4.
Ohel, IV. 22.
Ophrah, IV. 48.
Oren, IV. 6.
Othni, III. 25 note.
Ozem (2), IV. 6, IV. 16.
Pasach, XII. 4.
Paseah (2), IV. 45, XIV. 7.
Pelaiah (3), IV. 26, XVIII. 3, XX. 1^{b}. (2=3.)
Pelatiah (3), II. 4, IV. 23, XVIII. 4.
Pelet (2), IV. 33, XIII. 1^{a}.
Pelonite, XIII. 2.
Peresh, VII.^{a} 2.
Pethahiah (3), III. 15, XVII. 2, XXI. note.
Peullethai, III. 25 note.
Pispah, XII. 8.
Pithon, VIII. 18.
Puthites, IV. 38.
Raddai, IV. 16.
Raham, IV. 32.
Ramathite, resident of Rama, XIII. 4.
Reaiah (3), I. 3, IV. 40, XIV. 7.
Recah, IV. 45 note.
Regem, IV. 33.
Rehabiah, III. 20.
Rekem, IV. 30.
Rephael, III. 25 note.
Rephah, VII.^{b} 1^{b}.
Rephaiah (5), II. 4, IV. 23, V. 2, VIII. 20, XVI. v.^{9}.
Resheph, VII.^{b} 4.
Rinnah, IV. 56.
Rizia, XII. 9.
Rohgah, XII. 5.
Romamti-ezer, III. 23.
Sacar (2), III. 25 note, XIII. 2.
Sallu (2), VIII. 25, XXI. 2.
Saraph, IV. 2.
Seled, IV. 10.
Semachiah, III. 25 note.
Seorim, III. 15.
Shaaph, IV. 33.
Shachia, VIII. 8.
Shage, XIII. 2.
Shaharaim, VIII. 8.
Shama, XIII. 2.
Shamhuth, XIII. 2.
Shamir, III. 29.
Shamma, XII. 7.
Shammai (3), IV. 8, IV. 31, IV. 54.
Shammoth, XIII. 2.
Shammua (3), IV. 17, XIX. 3, XXI. 4.
Shamsherai, VIII. 15.
Shapham, XI. 2.
Shaphat (5), Nu 13^{11}, 1 K 19^{6}, IV. 24, XI. 2, XIII. 4.
Sharonite = inhabitant of Sharon, XIII. 4.
Shashak, VIII. 10.
Sheariah, VIII. 21.
Sheber, IV. 35^{c}.
Shebuel (2), III. 19, III. 23.
Shecaniah (7), III. 15, III. 42^{c}, IV. 23, XV. (2 persons), XVI. v.^{29}, XIX. 1.
Sheerah, VII.^{b} 1^{b}.
Shehariah, VIII. 15.
Shelesh, XII. 6.
Shelomith (3), III. 26 f.-note, IV. 22, XV. 1.
Shelomoth (3), III. 7, III. 20, III. 26.
Shema (4), I. 4, IV. 30, VIII. 10, XX. 1^{a}.
Shemaah, XIII. 1^{a}.
Shemariah (4), IV. 18 note *b*, XIII. 1^{a}, XVII. 5^{g}, XVII. 5^{i}.
Shemed, VIII. 9.
Shemer (2), III. 35^{a}, XII. 3 f.-note.
Shemida, VII.^{a} 1^{ab}.
Shemiramoth (2), III. 40^{b}, III. 41^{b}.
Shenazzar, IV. 20.
Shephatiah (9), IV. 17, IV. 18 note, IV. 58^{b}, XIII. 1^{a}, XIII. 3, XIV. 2, XIV. 8, XXI. 2, Jer 38^{1}.
Shephupham, VIII. 2^{c}.
Shephuphan, VIII. 1^{b}.
Sheresh, VII.^{a} 3.
Sheshan, IV. 12.
Sheva, IV. 34.
Shilshah, XII. 7.
Shimea, Shimeah (5), III. 3, III. 35^{b}, IV. 16, IV. 17 note, VIII. 24 f.-note.
Shimeam, VIII. 24.
Shimeathite, IV. 39.
Shimon, IV. 56.
Shimrath, VIII. 12.
Shimri (3), II. 3, III. 42^{a}, XIII. 2.
Shimrom = Shimron, V. 1.
Shiphi, II. 3.
Shiphmite, XIII. 4 note.
Shitrai, XIII. 4.
Shiza, XIII. 2.
Shobab (2), IV. 17, IV. 35.
Shobal, IV. 36.
Shoham, III. 38.
Shomer, XII. 3.
Shua, XII. 3.
Shual, XII. 7.
Shubael (2). See SHEBUEL.
Shumathite, IV. 38.
Shuppim (2), III. 39 note, VIII. 3.
Sismai, IV. 12.
Suah, XII. 7.
Sucathite, IV. 39.
Tahath (2), III. 22^{b}, VII.^{b} 3.
Tahrea, VIII. 18.
Tappuah, IV. 30.
Tarea, VIII. 18 f.-note.
Tebaliah, III. 39.
Tehinnah, IV. 45.
Tekoa, IV. 35^{d}.
Telah, VII.^{b} 4.
Temeni, IV. 42.
Tilon, IV. 56.
Tirathite, IV. 39.
Tirhanah, IV. 35^{c}.
Tiria, IV. 52.
Tirzite, XIII. 2.
Toah, III. 22^{a}.
Tobijah, III. 41^{b}.
Ulam (2), VII.^{a} 3, VIII. 22.
Ulla, XII. 9.
Unni, III. 40^{b}.
Unno, XIX. 2.
Uriel (2), III. 22^{a}, III. 40^{a}.
Uthai (2), XV. 1, XXI. 1.
Uzza (2), VIII. 7, XIV. 7.
Uzzah, III. 35^{b}.
Uzzi (6), III. 5, III. 12, V. 2, VIII. 2^{b}, XIX. 3, XXI. 2.
Uzzia, XIII. 2.
Uzziel (6), II. 4, III. 9, III. 23, III. 42^{a}, VIII. 2^{b}, XVI. v.^{8}.
Zabdi (4), III. 4 f.-note, IV. 59^{f}, VIII. 12, XIII. 4.
Zabdiel (2), XIII. 2 note, XXI. 3.
Zaccur (7), II. 2, III. 4, III. 38, XVI. v.^{2b}, XVIII. 3.
Zaham, IV. 18 note *b*.
Zanoah, IV. 54.
Zaza, IV. 15.
Zebadiah (8), III. 25, III. 41^{a}, VIII. 11, VIII. 13, XIII. 1^{a}, XIII. 2 note, XV. 1, XVII. 1^{b}.
Zecher, VIII. 16 f.-note.
Zemirah, VIII. 4.
Zereth, IV. 42.
Zeri, III. 36.
Zetham, III. 7.
Zethan, VIII. 5.
Zia, XI. 3.
Zibia, VIII. 8.
Zichri (11), III. 4 f.-note, III. 20, III. 21, VIII. 12, VIII. 14, VIII. 15, XIII. 3, XIII. 6, XIII. 7, XIX. 3, XXI. 2.
Zillethai (2), VIII. 12, XIII. 1^{c}.
Zimmah (2), III. 3, III. 42^{a}.
Zina, III. 8.
Ziph, IV. 52.
Ziphah, IV. 52.
Ziza, II. 3.
Zizah, III. 8 f.-note.
Zobebah, IV. 43.
Zoheth, IV. 57.
Zophai, III. 22^{a}.
Zorite, IV. 39.
Zuph, III. 22^{b}.

E. L. CURTIS.

GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST.—The only genealogies of the NT are those of Mt 1$^{1-17}$ and Lk 3$^{23-38}$, two independent pedigrees, each purporting to give the descent of Joseph, reputed father of Jesus. The occasion of their insertion is the desire of the evangelists to set forth Jesus as actual heir-apparent to the throne of David. The attempt to vindicate their simultaneous accuracy by harmonistic devices has been abandoned by nearly all writers of authority as a violation of the text, or of historical credibility. Hence the light which modern research seeks from them falls rather on the century after than the centuries before the birth of Christ—on the history of the doctrine of his Davidic sonship rather than His actual descent.

i. Treatment of the Question by Jesus and the Apostles.—If the progress of critical and exegetical science has shown, on the one side, the futility of all harmonistic theories for rescuing the authority of the pedigrees, it has more than compensated for the loss by establishing with equal certainty the acceptance of the fact of the Davidic descent of Jesus by Himself, His contemporaries, and His immediate followers. That Davidic descent was then considered a prerequisite to the establishment of Messianic claims is apparent from a number of NT passages. The use of the title 'Son of David' in Mt 15^{22} $20^{30.31}$ ($=9^{27}$) 21^{9} and parallels is official, implying no knowledge of Jesus' birth or descent, but only the conviction that He is the Messiah. It indicates, however, that Davidic descent was popularly assumed as an attribute of the Christ. This is much more distinctly implied in Mt 12^{23}, and by the question put by Jesus to His Pharisaic opponents in the temple, Mt 22^{41-46} 'What think ye of Christ? whose son is he?' Such a question by one whose claims to Davidic descent were open to suspicion would have put a weapon in the hands of His foes. Jesus, on the contrary, is not merely confident that they will answer 'David's son,' but is at least equally confident of their inability to disprove His Davidic descent, though He refuses to base His claims upon it. The same tacit assumption of this as an undisputed fact characterizes the rare allusions of St. Paul, Ro 1^{3}, 2 Ti 2^{8} (cf. He 7^{14}), the ascriptions of Rev 3^{7} 5^{5} 22^{16}, and, finally, the distinct appeal to prophecy of Ac 2^{30} 13^{23}. The last two passages, as emanating from the same source as one of the pedigrees, and the passages Mt 2^{5}, Lk 2^{4}, where Bethlehem as the birthplace of David is regarded as the necessary birthplace of the Messiah, should perhaps not be cited as independent witness to the existence of the popular assumption; but the great number of OT passages pointing to this, especially Ps 132^{11}, which cannot date more than a few centuries before NT times, and the Messianic petition of Ps.-Sol 17^{23}, written not more than 50 years B.C., 'Raise up unto them, O Lord, their king the Son of David,' should suffice to show that Messianic pretensions absolutely devoid of evidence of Davidic descent could not have passed unchallenged, as those of Jesus seem to have done.*

The continued existence in the family of Jesus of claims to Davidic descent, such as could hardly have originated in His own time, is evidenced by Hegesippus (*ap.* Eus. *HE* III. 20 and 32), who tells of repeated attempts to involve His collateral descendants in trouble with the Roman authorities on this account. But the suspicions of even a Domitian were disarmed when two grandsons of Jude, the Lord's brother, were brought before him, confessed their Davidic descent (explaining, however, that the kingdom of Christ was 'not temporal or earthly, but heavenly and angelic, to appear at the end of the world'), gave account of their property,—an undivided 39 acres of land, valued at 9000 denarii,—and showed their hands calloused by labour.

It is a fair inference from these facts that the Davidic descent of Jesus was in His own day practically undisputed, at least among His personal followers. What the evidence was on which this assumption rested, whether mere oral family tradition, or public records, and to what extent the basis was trustworthy, is a wholly different question, which can be settled only by the careful scrutiny of the sources.

ii. Treatment in the Ecclesiastical Period.—There can be no doubt that from near the beginning of the 2nd cent., when our first and third Gospels began to come into general circulation, the Church believed itself in possession of conclusive documentary evidence. Even the collateral descendants of the Lord, the so-called δεσπόσυνοι, to whom Julius Africanus, the contemporary of Origen, applied on this subject, had no other authority to appeal to than the genealogies of Mt and Lk, though they added an ancestress or two of doubtful historicity, and omitted the names Matthat and Levi, Lk 3^{24}. Had the two Gospels been in agreement, the record would perhaps never have been disputed, but the discrepancy was too glaring to be ignored. Even before the time of Africanus and Origen the incompatibility of the pedigrees (ἡ διαφωνία τῶν γενεαλογιῶν) had been an occasion of derision to many an earlier opponent of Christianity, whom Celsus, according to Origen (*Opera*, ed. Delarue, i. p. 413), might have named had he been better informed. It is no wonder, then, that from the earliest period to which it can be traced, down to recent times, the Church has treated this subject only defensively, and from the harmonistic standpoint.

The first known harmonist of the Gospels is Tatian, a pupil of Justin Martyr. His *Diatessaron*, however, avoided the difficulty by omitting the genealogies altogether. Half a century later the problem was courageously confronted by Africanus, a careful scholar, for many years bishop of Nicopolis (previously Emmaus) in Palestine. His *Letter to Aristides* (see Spitta, *Der Brief des Jul. Africanus*, Halle, 1877; Routh, *Rel. Sac.* ii. pp. 228–237; *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vi. p. 125; and Eus. *HE* i. 7) proposed a solution of the difficulty which quickly gained general acceptance in the Church, and for 12 centuries retained undisputed supremacy. The theory was not derived, as Eusebius wrongly inferred, from the *desposyni*, but is expressly stated by Africanus himself (§ 5) to be 'unsupported by testimony.' It assumes a levirate marriage (Dt $25^{5.6}$) in the case of either Jacob or Heli, Joseph's father according to Mt and Lk respectively, the son of the widow by his surviving brother being reckoned a son of the deceased in one or the other genealogy. This explanation requires the further assumption that the brothers Heli and Jacob had different fathers. The objections are overwhelming.

1. The theory does not exonerate the evangelists, since one pedigree or the other uses terms of filial relationship in a fictitious and illegal sense. 2. Granting, against all probability, the possible continuance of the levirate law, in the case here presupposed—that of uterine brothers—it would not apply (Maimonides, *Jabom Ve Chalitza*, c. 1). 3. Granting even the applicability of the assumption in the case of Joseph, it cannot reasonably be introduced a second time to account for the fact that Shealtiel, f. of Zerubbabel, is at the same time s. of Jechonias (Mt) and of Neri (Lk). Yet this expedient (so W. H. Mill, *Pantheistic Principles*, p. 165) is less absurd than to assume, with Augustine (followed by Hottinger and Voss), that at the same period of Jewish history there were two (Hottinger three) different fathers of Davidic lineage, each bearing the rare name Shealtiel, and having each a son bearing the rare name Zerubbabel. 4. If our own certainly more accurate text* be followed, instead of that of Africanus, and Matthan and Matthat, paternal grandfather of Joseph according to Mt and Lk respectively, be identified, as is probable, the expedient of a levirate marriage by uterine brothers must be introduced, not twice only, but three times over.

Under the weight of such inherent and extreme improbabilities the Africanian theory of harmonization, after suffering various modifications at the hands of later harmonists, has long since broken down, and is to-day universally abandoned.

The alternative harmonistic theory owes its currency to Annius of Viterbo, *c.* A.D. 1490, and was widely accepted in the time of the Reformation. It has still an adherent of high repute in the person of the veteran NT scholar B. Weiss, who in his *Leben Jesu* (i. 205, 2nd ed.) puts it in its most favourable light. It assumes that the pedigree of Lk is that, not of Joseph, but of Mary, overcoming the sense of Lk 3^{23} *ὢν υἱός, ὡς ἐνομίζετο*, Ἰωσὴφ τοῦ Ἡλεί, *κ.τ.λ.*, by various expedients. Thus the clause was rendered 'being the son (as was supposed of Joseph) of Heli,' *i.e.* being supposed to be the son of Joseph, but being in reality the *grandson* of Heli; or the *τοῦ* was translated 'son-in-law' (so Holmes, 'Geneal. of Jesus Christ' in Kitto's *Encycl.*^{3}; Robinson, *Harmony of Gospels*, pp. 183–185, *et al.*), or 'adopted son' (so Wetstein, Delitzsch, *et al.*, following Augustine). Weiss (following F. Gomar, *de Geneal. Christi*; J. Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.* vol. iii. p. 54 [ed. Gandell]; G. J. Voss, *de J. Chr. Geneal.*; and Yardley, *The Genealogies of Christ*) proposes to regard the names as parallel, not consecutive. The list then would be, not a pedigree at all, but a huge parenthesis between *ὢν υἱός* (v.^{23}) and *τοῦ θεοῦ* (v.^{38}).

---

* Even the passage Jn 7^{42} is no exception to the rule that the objection that He is not of Davidic descent is never raised in NT times to Jesus' Messianic claims. The speakers (at Jerus. according to 7^{37}) are strangers to Jesus (8^{48}), and merely infer, from His speech or otherwise, that He is a Galilæan. This is, indeed, contrary to their notion of Davidic origin, but the *author* presupposes the birth in Bethlehem.

* See WH, *Gr. Test.* App. p. 57.

The chief objection to this theory in all its forms can hardly be more convincingly expressed than by citing the naïve admission of its advocate, Holmes (in the art. above mentioned, p. 96), of the fatal weakness of 'all theories,' meaning *harmonistic* theories: 'If it be objected that this table [Lk] is made out as literally as the other, *in Joseph's name*,* and that we violate the literal statement of the evangelist if we transfer the line *to Mary*, we answer, that as Joseph cannot have had two fathers, which yet the genealogies *seem* literally to assign to him (Mt 1^{16}, Lk 3^{23}), *some* explanatory accommodation is necessary to all theories.'

The confession of violence to the text is not without reason. It is incredible that *υἱός* can mean both 'son' and 'grandson' in the same breath, as in the first of the proposed renderings;† equally incredible that in the same connexion *τοῦ* should stand once for 'son-in-law' and the other 75 times for 'son'; while the suggestion that the genealogy is not intended for a genealogy, but merely a list of names of persons of whom Jesus might have been considered the son, though in reality the Son of God, will convince no candid thinker.

But the proposed theory labours under further difficulties. As Plummer well says (*op. cit.* p. 103): 'It would have been quite out of harmony with either Jewish or Gentile ideas to derive the birthright of Jesus from his mother. In the eye of the law Jesus was the heir of Joseph: and therefore it is Joseph's descent which is of importance.' This doubtless accounts for its general rejection by ancient writers. As early as Justin Martyr and *Protevang. Jacobi*, Mary, for obvious reasons, is represented as also descended from David; but with two exceptions no attempt is made to claim for her either of the pedigrees. *Protev. Jac.*, in fact, makes her the daughter of Joachim and Anna. Irenæus (III. xxi. 5, 9) regards the pedigree of Mt as a line expressly excluded from the Messianic succession (Jer $22^{24\text{-}30}$ $36^{30.31}$); but this is Joseph's. Jesus is the Son of David only through Mary, whose pedigree is given by Luke. Victorinus (*c.* 300) curiously inverts this theory by adopting as Mary's the genealogy of Mt.‡ Cod. D boldly cuts the knot by substituting in Lk $3^{24\text{-}31}$ the line of Mt, following, however, a text seemingly older than our Mt (see Resch, *T. u. U.* x. 5, pp. 182–201; and Graefe in *SK*, 1898, 1).

Confessed violence to the text which he assumes to vindicate is the suicide of the harmonist. Hence the only treatment which to-day can come into consideration is the critical.

iii. TREATMENT BY MODERN CRITICISM.—Reconciliation of discrepant sources by suppositions within the limits of loyalty to the text and to historical probability is, *per contra*, the first duty of rational criticism. It being admitted, therefore, that both genealogies are given as Joseph's, and that explanation by resort to the levirate law is impracticable, the theory presented by Lord A. C. Hervey (*Genealogies of our Lord*, and art. 'Geneal. of Jesus Christ' in Smith's *DB*^{2}) has much in its favour, and is, in fact, the prevailing view among English divines. It is also widely accepted in modified form among German commentators. According to this view it was not the intention of both evangelists to give an actual pedigree, but only of Lk (Meyer, Holtzmann, *et al.*, would say 'the *source* followed by Lk in his opening chs.'). Mt (better, 'the source from which our evangelist derived his genealogy') does not trace the order of actual descent, but only of *throne-succession* (so already Grotius). Thus Solomon, although not the true ancestor of Joseph, is mentioned first as heir of the throne of David; then Shealtiel for the same reason, though he was not actually son of Jechoniah, but of Neri (Lk 3^{27}); then Eliakim, and finally Jacob, though neither was a real ancestor of Joseph. By thus throwing all the burden of inaccuracy upon Mt we may rescue at least the possibility of accuracy for Lk.

In favour of this view it must be allowed that Mt's genealogy is extremely defective, since it omits the names Ahaziah, Joash, Amaziah between Joram and Uzziah, and gives but six generations as against thirteen in Lk between Ἀβιούδ (=Ἰούδα [Lk] =הוֹדַוְיָהוּ [1 Ch 9^7]) and Matthan (=Matthat [Lk]). Barely are the names thus made to cover a period of more than 500 years. It is also manifest that its author simply follows in an uncritical manner the royal succession of the OT from David down to the last poor shadow of a Davidic king, 'Zerubbabel son of Shealtiel' (1 Ch 3^{19}, Ezr 2^2 etc., Neh 7^7 etc., Hag $1^{1.12.14}$ etc., Zec $4^{6.7.9.10}$). But it cannot be allowed that our evangelist by his *ἐγέννησεν* means anything else than actual physical descent. Of what significance his edifying comment on Bathsheba as the mother of Solomon, if the reader is not to infer that she is thus an ancestress of the Messiah? That he has embodied in his Gospel a current throne-succession not of his own manufacture is not only *à priori* probable, but is evident from the apparent blunder in vv.$^{11.12}$, by which the 'tesseradecad' from the carrying away into Babylon unto Christ contains not, as stated, 'fourteen generations,' but thirteen. It is, indeed, easy to cite examples from contemporary literature for the counting of a name twice to make out the hebdomad or decad into which genealogies were usually divided (see Mill, *op. cit.*, quoted by Hervey, *op. cit.* p. 886); but in this case more than enough of names were available in 1 Ch $3^{17\text{-}19}$ to make the count correspond to that of the first two sections of the table. It is probable, therefore, as was already pointed out by Jerome, that we have here an instance, on the part of the evangelist, of the confusion common in both Gr. and Lat. writers (Clem. Al., Ambrose, Africanus, Epiphanius, also 1 Es $1^{37.43}$) between Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin; for Jehoiachin had no 'brethren' (Mt 1^{11}), but Jehoiakim had three, two of whom did succeed to the throne (Jer 22^{11}). The few texts, however, which insert the clause Ἰεχονίας δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰεχονίαν, are certainly corrupt, since the reading is later than Porphyry, who had derided this flaw in the genealogy. We must therefore distinguish between the evangelist, who finds edifying significance in the common genealogical device of double heptads (cf. the genealogies of Gn 4–11 and Budde, *Bibl. Urgeschichte*, p. 90), or in the names of Rahab and Bathsheba (so Rabbinic authorities cited by Wetstein, *in loc.*; cf. He 11^{31}, Ja 2^{25}), and his unknown authority. The former certainly supposed himself to be giving an actual and complete pedigree of Joseph (see v.^{17} *πᾶσαι*), not a mere throne-succession; whether the latter so believed, or not, must be left in doubt. The list of ten names which he inserts between Joseph and Zerub., beginning with the last generation mentioned by Ch in much altered form, may represent a current throne-succession, carrying down the line from Zerub. towards the Maccab. period,* taken up without more ado as *ipso facto* belonging to

---

* Italics in the citation are Dr. Holmes'.

† So Plummer, *Com. on Lk.*, Intern. Series, 1896, *ad loc.*

‡ See his Commentary on Rev $4^{7\text{-}10}$.

* Cf. the decad of Davididæ from Hananiah s. of Zerub. to Hodaviah in 1 Ch $3^{19\text{-}25}$ (Haupt's text).

Jesus. Our judgment as to the probable historical value of such current lists must be formed in the light of ancient testimony (see below).

The genealogy of Lk has every appearance of resting on more carefully prepared data, as we should expect from the evangelist's painstaking method (Lk 1$^{1-4}$); but it is even more certain in this case that our author is adapting earlier material to his own uses. The pedigree, like the story of the infancy to which it probably belonged, must have been derived from Pal. sources. To the occidental mind, it is true, there would seem to be a certain incongruity between the account of the miraculous generation and the introduction of a pedigree of *Joseph*. This feeling is apparent in the evangelist's qualifying insertion in 3^{23} ὡς ἐνομίζετο. It has been argued that even the sources used in these preliminary chapters are themselves in conflict on this point, the references to Joseph as the 'father' of Jesus (2$^{33.43}$), and the genealogy, indicating a point of view different from that of the main course of the story. But recent research has suggested that, to the contemporary Jewish mind, there was no incompatibility. Joseph might be not merely the putative or adoptive, but the real father of Jesus, at the same time that the birth was due solely to 'the power of the Highest' (1^{35}). Isaac, in like manner, was spoken of as 'God-begotten' (cf. Ro 4$^{17-20.24}$, He 11^{12}), without any idea of denying the reality of his relation to Abraham. The ὡς ἐνομίζετο is therefore to be attributed to the evangelist as against the source.

It is also a fair inference, from the very object of the pedigree, that the source did not carry it back beyond Abraham. Hence the extension back to Adam is due to the humanitarian bent of the evangelist, which is even more apparent in the curious addition τοῦ θεοῦ, by which the divine sonship of the race is indirectly taught. Moreover, the text followed for these earliest 20 generations (10 from Creation to Noah, 10 from the Flood to Abraham) is manifestly the LXX, which alone gives the second Cainan (3^{36}), whereas the source in 1^{17} cites from an Aramaic version.

Finally, there is a curious indication in 3^{27} that the evangelist has not only (as is probable) changed the place of the genealogy, but inverted its order. On 3^{27} we have the following comment from Plummer (*Comm.* p. 104): 'Rhesa, who appears in Lk, but neither in Mt nor in 1 Ch, is probably not a name at all, but a title, which some Jewish copyist (?) mistook for a name. "Zerubbabel Rhesa," or "Zerubbabel the prince," has been made into "Zerubbabel (begat) Rhesa."' This correction brings Lk into harmony with both Mt and 1 Ch. For (1) the Gr. Ἰωανάν represents the Heb. Hananiah (1 Ch 3^{19}), a generation omitted by Mt; and (2) Lk's Ἰούδα is the same as Mt's Ἀβιούδ (Jud-a = Ab-jud). Again, Ἰούδα or Ἀβιούδ may be identified with Hodaviah (1 Ch 3^{24}); for this name is interchanged with Judah, as is seen by a comparison of Ezr 3^{9} and Neh 11^{9} with Ezr 2^{40} and 1 Ch 9$^{7.11}$. To have caused the mistake, the original form of the genealogy must of course have been a simple list of names in the order Zerubbabel, Rhesa, Joanan, etc., and not, as now, Ἰωανὰν τοῦ Ῥησὰ τοῦ Ζοροβάβελ, κ.τ.λ.

Taking this list of names in the most original form to which we can restore it, we observe at once that its form is of the same mnemonic type as Mt's, only, as in the series from Zerub. to Jesus in Mt, the commoner system of (double) decads is followed. There are precisely 40 names in all between David and Christ, of which 20 are pre-exilic and 20 post-exilic. The former series begins with Nathan s. of David, the latter with Salathiel (=Shealtiel) f. of Zerub., ending with Joseph f. of Jesus. The list from Adam to Abraham likewise consists of 20, that from Abraham to David being, of course, a tesseradecad.

Twenty generations is not, indeed, an improbable number for the period from David to the Exile (*c.* 400 years); but a comparison of Lk 3^{27} with 1 Ch 3$^{17-24}$ will show that at least four * generations have been omitted between Joanan and Joda; hence the number of generations at least is artificial.

Do the names themselves give any indication of being drawn from trustworthy sources? Allowance must be made for a probable disposition on the part of 1st cent. scribes to assimilate the older names to those in current use (*e.g.* Ἰουδά = הוֹדַוְיָהוּ, Ἰωανάν = חֲנַנְיָהוּ), and possibly (so Hervey, *Genealogies*, pp. 36, 90 ff.) for a disposition in certain families to form names by variations of a common root, though this might, with equal plausibility, be attributed to the pedigree-makers. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that this list of names presents phenomena unparalleled in any authenticated OT pedigree. There is no indication in the names of the OT of the practice referred to in Lk 1^{61} (cf. Gray, *Heb. Prop. Names*, 2 ff.). Nor can the practice of giving 'Scripture' names, so manifestly common in Maccab. times and later, have existed to any extent in the earlier period. Hence, while there may be nothing strange in the names Levi and Joseph, as third and sixth ancestor of Joseph f. of Jesus, the series Joseph, Juda, Simeon, Levi, as contemporaries of Ahaziah, Joash, Amaziah, and Uzziah, is surprising. Add to these the names Matthat (*bis*), Mattathias (*bis*), and Mattatha, variants upon the root of 'Nathan,' the names Na[h]um, Amos, and the fact that out of the total of 42 names in Mt and Lk not directly taken from the OT there are but 16 which have not more or less demonstrable affinity with the later 'scriptural' type, and the result cannot be considered favourable to the historical trustworthiness of the sources.

iv. EXTERNAL EVIDENCE.—In the absence of other evidence, the seemingly late character of the names of the supposed Davididæ of Mt and Lk might perhaps be insufficient to justify doubt. But the careful investigations of Africanus (*op. cit.*), when compared with the earliest NT treatment of the subject, and the further knowledge obtainable from Eus. (*Qu. ad Steph.* iii. 2), and the later Jewish theology (see Delitzsch in *Ztschr. f. Luth. Theol.* 1860, iii. p. 460) as to current attempts to determine the Davidic descent of the Messiah, shed a light upon the question of the origin of our pedigrees which should not be less welcome because somewhat unfavourable to their historical trustworthiness.

Africanus' informants were in possession of the pedigrees of Mt and Lk, but could give him neither the means of reconciling their discrepancies nor of establishing the fact requiring to be proved, because of the non-existence of public records. That such had been kept down to the time of Herod the Great they firmly believed, accounting for their disappearance by a demonstrably apocryphal tale of Herod's burning them in order to conceal his own base lineage.† They frankly confessed that the pedigrees in their possession were made up ἔκ τε τῆς βίβλου τῶν ἡμερῶν [καὶ ἐκ μνήμης].‡ The βίβλος τῶν ἡμερῶν is doubtless the Heb. דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים, *i.e.* Book of Days (=Chronicles); but 'memory' in the time of Herod, and later, would hardly be of great service to determine the descendants of Nathan *ben* David. The industry of pedigree-making appears as flourishing then as to-day, and basing itself upon the same foibles. 'A few of the more careful,' says Africanus, immediately after the story of Herod's escapade, 'having procured private records of their own, either by remembering the names, or by getting them in some other way from the registers, pride themselves on preserving the memory of their noble extraction. Among these are those already mentioned, called Desposyni, on account of their connexion with the family of the Saviour.'

If the current pedigrees were indeed of this character, we can readily understand the attitude of Jesus and the older NT writers toward the question of His Davidic descent. He Himself, in Mt 22^{41-46} and parallels, expressly declines to base His Messianic claims on any such trivial and external, if not indeed unsafe, foundation. To be considered one of the Davididæ was an honour which He shared with his elder and younger contemporaries, Hillel and Gamaliel; but Jesus and His first followers (including St. Paul) on the one side, His opponents on the other, are equally content to let the question of descent fall into the background, which would not have been possible had documentary proof either for or against His heirship been accessible to either side. The earliest of our Gospels, and that which though latest is most loftily apostolic in tone, pass by the question of Jesus' descent. One is tempted to find a trace of the same disposition in the ἀρχιερεὺς ἀγενεαλόγητος of He 7^3. It is the Palestinian sources of the latter part of the century, on which the infancy chapters of Mt and Lk are based, which first show traces of the assumption that a formal Davidic pedigree is needful to the demonstration of His Messianic claims. But we have already observed that in these *sources* there is no consciousness of incongruity between tracing the pedigree of Jesus through Joseph and the story of His miraculous birth. Not until the times of Justin Martyr do we find on the side of the orthodox a disposition to claim on this account Davidic descent for Mary, and on the part of the Ebionites to reject the narrative of Jesus' miraculous birth, not from incredulity, but to rescue the doctrine of His Davidic descent.

---

* According to LXX, adopted by Kittel in Haupt's critical text, *nine*, *i.e.* one entire decad, including Hodaviah.

† Herod's lineage was not base, as represented (Afric. *ad Arist.* § 4), but noble (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. vii. 3). Moreover, the public records (which, however, related only to Aaronic families) were still in existence in Josephus' time (*Vita*, § 1; cf. *c. Ap.* i. 7).

‡ The bracketed words are supplied from the tr. of Rufinus, '*partim memoriter*, partim etiam ex dierum libris,' in accordance with the context (τε and the statement that the *desposyni* were among those who made up their pedigree in this way. See text).

It is among the Jewish Christians of Palestine in the sub-apostolic age, perhaps among the two branches of the *desposyni* themselves, one of whose seats was at Cochaba, near the centre of Ebionism (Epiphan. xxx. 2, 16), the other at Nazara, perhaps the centre of the other Jewish Christian sect of 'Nazarenes,' that we must look for the origins of our two genealogies. Nor have we far to seek for the explanation of their discrepancy. Among the current Rabbinic disputes of the 1st cent. was the question whether Messiah's descent would be of the royal line, through Solomon and his successors on the throne (Jer 23^5 30^9 $33^{15.17}$); or, on account of the denunciation and rejection of Jechoniah and his seed (Jer $22^{28.30}$ 36^{30}), through Nathan (Euseb. *Qu. ad Steph.* iii. 2). The first of our pedigrees represents the older and simpler idea. The second, the later reflection that Messiah's line could not include the series of ungodly kings. Of the component elements of each we can know no more until we have more intimate acquaintance with the methods of the pedigree-makers of the time. We may, however, infer something as to the date of our evangelists' work from the manifest interval between their construction and their final adoption into the story, and from the further fact of their construction in decads framed with either Joseph or Jesus in view, implying their origin in Christian circles. That origin is certainly later than when Jesus and His immediate followers were doing all in their power to detach current expectation from these externalities and fix it upon His spiritual Messianic claim,—to subordinate the title 'Son of David according to the flesh' to that of 'Son of God with power according to the Spirit of Holiness' (Ro $1^{3.4}$). B. W. BACON.

GENEALOGY.—Timothy is warned (1 Ti 1^4) not to give heed to fables and endless genealogies (*μηδὲ προσέχειν μύθοις καὶ γενεαλογίαις ἀπεράντοις*), and Titus (3^9) to avoid foolish questions and genealogies (*μωρὰς δὲ ζητήσεις καὶ γενεαλογίας*). What were these 'genealogies'? Some Fathers towards the end of the second century understood the word to refer to the emanations of æons and of angels which formed part of the *gnosis*, or secret knowledge claimed by the Gnostics of their own day (see GNOSTICISM). But a parallel phrase in Polybius (IX. ii. 1, περὶ τὰς γενεαλογίας καὶ μύθους) refers to the mythological stories which earlier historians gathered round the birth and descent of their heroes. Similar legends are found in Philo, Josephus, and the Book of Jubilees, regarding the Jewish patriarchs and their families. And if, with Hort (*Judaistic Christianity*, 135 ff.), we may suppose that such genealogical tales had begun to creep from the Jewish into the Christian communities of Asia Minor, the necessity for such a warning to Timothy and Titus will be sufficiently understood.

GENERAL.—1. Once AV uses 'general' to translate שַׂר, 1 Ch 27^{34} 'The general of the king's army was Joab.' The most usual tr^{n} is 'captain,' which RV prefers, after Gen. and Bishops'. Cov. has 'chefe captayne.' See CAPTAIN.

2. As an adj. 'general' means 'common to all,' 'universal,' as Ad. Est 15^{10} (κοινός); 2 Mac 3^{18} 'Others ran flocking out of their houses to the general supplication' (ἐπὶ πάνδημον ἱκετίαν, AVm 'to make general supplication'; RV 'to make a universal supplication'). Latimer (*Sermons*, ed. 1584, p. 182) says, 'The promises of God our Saviour are general; they pertain to all mankind. He made a general proclamation, saying, Whosoever believeth in me hath everlasting life. . . . Also consider what Christ saith with his own mouth: Come to me, *all* ye that labour and are laden, and I will ease you. Mark here he saith, Come *all* ye; wherefore then should any man despair to shut himself from these promises of Christ, which be general, and pertain to the whole world?' In He 12^{23} the Gr. word πανήγυρις is tr^{d} in AV 'general assembly,' and RV retains the rendering. The sense is again 'universal assembly,' the adj. 'general' being intended to represent the πᾶς, 'all,' in the word.

The word πανήγυρις (from which comes 'panegyric,' a speech at a festival) is found only here in NT. In LXX it stands for מוֹעֵד Ezk 46^{11} (EV 'solemnities,' RVm 'appointed feasts'), Hos 2^{11} (EV 'season') 9^5 (AV 'solemn,' RV 'solemn assembly'); and for עֲצָרָה Am 5^{21} (EV 'solemn assemblies'). In classical literature it is in frequent use to denote a national or general gathering for festive (and especially festive and religious) purposes, as at the Olympic, Isthmian, and Nemean games. The ἐκκλησία was also an assembly of the people, but not so distinctively national, and rather for political than festive purposes; while ἑορτή signified a feast or festal gathering, but had no national character attached to it. It is surprising, therefore, that מוֹעֵד, which is a general religious assembly, and even עֲצָרָה, which is a religious though not a national gathering, are not more frequently rendered by πανήγυρις in LXX. Cremer suggests that heathen customs were too closely associated with this Greek word, and he thinks it would not have been used where it has been but for the accumulation of Heb. synonyms in those four passages (see Cremer, *Bibl. Theol. Lex. s.v.*, and Trench, *NT Synonyms*^{8}, p. 5, § 1).

The choice of this word by the writer of the Ep. to the Hebrews is an element in the determination of the meaning of the passage in which it occurs, one of the most difficult problems in the Epistle.

There is practically no difference of reading, μυρίων ἁγίων D_2* and μυριάδων vg., for μυριάσιν, being probably suggestions to simplify the construction. The difficulty lies in the punctuation. There are five possible arrangements—

1. καὶ μυριάσιν, ἀγγέλων πανηγύρει; καὶ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρωτοτόκων ἀπογεγραμμένων ἐν οὐρανοῖς.

'And to myriads, a general assembly of angels; and to the Church of the firstborn whose names are written in heaven.'

2. καὶ μυριάσιν ἀγγέλων, πανηγύρει; καὶ, κ.τ.λ.

'And to myriads of angels, a general assembly; and to the Church,' etc.

Moses Stuart, Eager, Edwards, and Farrar distinctly prefer the first arrangement; Chrysostom, Oecumenius, Theophylact, Erasmus, Luther, Calvin, Grotius, Hooker, Weiss, Vaughan, Thayer, Kay, Westcott, Briggs prefer the second. But the meaning is the same, though the punctuation differs; and taking the two together without the comma, καὶ μυριάσιν ἀγγέλων πανηγύρει; καὶ, κ.τ.λ., we get the sense which is adopted by Tisch. after all the Gr. MSS which exhibit the connexion of words (including AC), the Syr. and Lat. VSS, Origen, Eusebius, Basil (*multitudinem angelorum frequentem*), Vulg. (*multorum millium angelorum frequentiam et ecclesiam primitivorum, qui conscripti sunt in cœlis*), Wyc. ('and [1388 adds *to*] the multitude of many thousynd aungels, and to the chirche of the firste men'), Tind. ('and to an innumerable sight of angels, and unto the congregation of the fyrst borne sonnes'), Cov., Matt., Cran., Gen., Bish., Rhem., Oltramare (*du chœur joyeux des myriades d'anges, de l'assemblée des premiers-nés*), Segond.

3. καὶ μυριάσιν, ἀγγέλων πανηγύρει καὶ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρωτοτόκων.

'And to myriads, a general assembly of angels and a congregation of firstborn.' That is, myriads both of angels and of firstborn. This is the view of Wolf, Rambach, Griesbach, Bengel, Knapp, Böhme, Kuinoel, Tholuck, De Wette, Lachmann, Theile, Bleek, Olshausen, Delitzsch, Trench, Ebrard, Alford, Dale, Maclaren, RVm.

4. καὶ μυριάσιν ἀγγέλων; πανηγύρει καὶ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρωτοτόκων.

'And to myriads of angels; to the general assembly and Church of the firstborn.' This is the order of the Elzevirs, Beza, Calov, Carpzov, Storr, Joannes Gregorius, Matthaei, Alberti, AV, RV, Kurz, Liddon, Saphir ('to the general assembly of the Church of the firstborn ones'), Lünemann, Hofmann, Cremer (who argues that only because πανήγυρις and ἐκκλησία both refer to the same company can the presence of πανήγυρις be accounted for; it is an assembly, yea a festive one—an argument which would have more force if π. followed ἐκ.), Ostervald, Angus, Rendall, WH.

5. καὶ μυριάσιν ἀγγέλων, πανηγύρει καὶ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρωτοτόκων.

'And to myriads of angels, a general assembly and congregation of firstborn.' That is, the angels are both the general assembly and the congregation of firstborn. So Davidson (who argues forcibly), Moulton, Weizsäcker (*und Myriaden von Engeln, einer Festversammlung und Gemeinde von Erstgeborenen*).

The adv. 'generally' means (1) *universally* in every place, Jer 48^{38} 'There shall be lamentation generally upon all the housetops of Moab' (כֻּלֹּה, lit. 'all of it' [see Driver on 2 S 2^{9}]; RV 'every where'). Cf. Art. XVII. (*XXXIX. Articles*), 'Furthermore, we must receive God's promises in such-wise, as they be generally set forth to us in Holy Scripture' (*ut nobis in sacris literis generaliter propositæ sunt* *); Hooker, *Eccl. Polity*, V. lv. 1, 'God in Christ is generally the medicine, which doth cure the world'; Pr. Bk., *Catechism*, 'How many Sacraments hath Christ ordained in his Church? Two only, as generally necessary to salvation'; and Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde*, i. 86—

> 'The noyse up roos, whan it was first aspyed,
> Thorugh al the toun, and generally was spoken,
> That Calkas traytor fled was, and allyed
> With hem of Grece.'

(2) *Together, as a whole*, 2 S 17^{11} 'Therefore I counsel that all Israel be generally gathered unto thee' (הָאָסֹף יֵאָסֵף, LXX συναγόμενος συναχθήσεται; Vulg. *Congregatur ad te universus populus Israel*; RV 'together'). In this sense Tindale uses 'in general' (*Expositions*, on Mt 6^{1-4}), 'For we must have a place to come together, to pray in general.' And from this arose the modern meaning 'on the whole.' Shaks. makes Bottom say 'generally,' 'as a whole,' when he means just the opposite, 'individually,' *Mids. Night's Dream*, I. ii. 2—

> 'You were best to call them generally, man by man.'

J. HASTINGS.

GENERATION.—i. 'Generation' is used in AV to tr. **1.** דּוֹר *dôr*; Aram. דָּר *dâr*, Dn 4^{3}; LXX γενεά, etc.; Vulg. *generatio*, etc. *Dôr* is used (*a*) generally for a *period*, especially in the phrases *dôr wādhôr*, etc., of limitless duration; past, Is 51^{8}; future, Ps 10^{6}; past and future, Ps 102^{24}; (*b*) of all men living at any given time, Gn 6^{9}; (*c*) of a class of men with some special characteristic, Pr 30^{11-14} of four *generations* of bad men; (*d*) in Is 38^{12} and Ps 49^{19} *dôr* is sometimes taken as 'dwelling-place.' **2.** תּוֹלְדוֹת, *tôledhôth*, from *yāladh*, 'beget' or 'bear children,' LXX γένεσις, γενέσεις; Vulg. *generationes*. *Tôlĕdhôth* is used in the sense of (*a*) *genealogies*, Gn 5^{1}, figuratively of the account of creation, Gn 2^{4}; also (*b*) *divisions of a tribe*, as based on genealogy, *tôlĕdhôth* occurs only in the Priestly Code, in Ru 4^{18}, and in 1 Ch. **3.** γενεά in same sense as **1.** (*a*), Col 1^{26}; as **1.** (*b*), Mt 24^{34}. **4.** γένεσις = **2.** (*a*), Mt 1^{1}, an imitation of LXX use of γένεσις for תּוֹלְדוֹת. **5.** γέννημα, 'offspring' = **1.** (*c*). **6.** γένος, race = **1.** (*c*).

ii. Γενεά was also loosely used in Greek as 'generation' in English, of a period of about 30 to 33 years, *e.g.* 'Three generations of men make a hundred years' (Herod. ii. 142). But there is no probable instance of such usage in the Bible. OT texts, such as Gn $15^{13.16}$, Job 42^{16}, are cited in favour of it only under a misapprehension.

LITERATURE.—*Oxf. Heb. Lex.* s. דּוֹר and תּוֹלְדוֹת, and Thayer-Grimm, *NT Lex.* s. γενεά, etc.

W. H. BENNETT.

GENERATION.—In the phrase 'generation of vipers,' which occurs in Mt 3^{7} 12^{34} 23^{33} Lk 3^{7}, the Greek tr^d 'generation' is γεννήματα (plu. of γέννημα, which in the best texts occurs only in those places, elsewhere γένημα), a totally different word from γενεά, which is so often tr^d 'generation' in EV. In fact, γεννήματα means 'offspring'; and as this meaning belonged once to 'generation' also, it could stand as its representative. Thus Bp. Hall, *Works* (1634), i. 781, 'Of the Deluge'—'These mariages did not beget men, so much as wickednesse, from hence religions (*sic*) husbands both lost their piety, and gained a rebellious and godlesse generation'; and Shaks. *Lear*, I. i. 119—

> 'He that makes his generation messes
> To gorge his appetite.'

'Generation of vipers' comes from Tindale, whom the versions mostly follow. Gen. NT has 'offspringes of vipers' in Lk 3^{7}, and Rhem. NT 'vipers broodes' throughout.

In Mt 1^{1} 'The book of the generation of Jesus Christ,' the Gr. is γένεσις, which is used also in 1^{18} (EV 'birth,' RVm 'generation'), Lk 1^{14} (EV 'birth'), as well as Ja 1^{23} 3^{6}, and the meaning is probably 'birth' here also, though all the versions have 'generation.' Cf. Bp. Hall, *Works*, ii. 104, 'I cannot blame that philosopher who, undertaking to write of the hidden miracles of nature, spends most of his discourse upon the generation and formation of man; Surely we are fearefully and wonderfully made; but, how much greater is the miracle of our spirituall regeneration'; and White, *Selborne*, xl., 'The threads sometimes discovered in eels are perhaps their young: the generation of eels is very dark and mysterious.'

Still another word is tr^d 'generation' in 1 P 2^{9} 'But ye are a chosen generation' (γένος ἐκλεκτόν, RV 'an elect race'). In this sense Mandeville, *Travels*, 140, 'This Machomete regned in Arabye, the Zeer of oure Lord Jhesu Crist 610; and was one of the Generacioun of Ysmael.' Wyc. (1388) has 'a chosen kyn.'

J. HASTINGS.

---

* On this passage Gibson remarks (*The XXXIX. Articles*, ii. [1897] 486): 'The English sounds somewhat ambiguous, but there can be no doubt that "generally" here means "universally," *i.e.* of God's promises *as applying to all men*, and not, as the Calvinistic party asserted, only to a particular class, consisting of a few favourites of Heaven. This interpretation is rendered certain by the corresponding passage in the *Reformatio Legum*, where God's promises to the good, and threats to the evil, are spoken of as *generaliter propositæ* in Holy Scripture. The same interpretation was pointed out by Baro in his *Concio ad Clerum* in 1595, in the controversy when the Lambeth articles were first projected; and was also asserted against the Puritans by Bishop Bancroft at the Hampton Court Conference. Thus the clause directly condemns the theory of particular redemption.'

GENESIS.—

Introduction.
i. Contents.
ii. Plan and Unity.
iii. Composite Structure.
iv. Component Sources of the Narrative.
v. Historical Value.
vi. Religious Teaching.
Literature.

The Jews divided their sacred books into three groups—the Law (or *Torah*), the Prophets (or *Nebiim*), and the Writings (or *Kethubim*). Of these the Law (or *Torah*), which corresponded to our Pentateuch, was divided into *five* portions or books, probably for greater convenience in use and reference; and hence the Rabbis sometimes spoke of these books as 'the five fifths of the Torah.' Their first book was the same as our book 'Genesis,' and was called by a title consisting of its opening word *Berêshith* (='In the beginning'). In the Septuagint version it was called 'Genesis,' *γένεσις* ('begetting,' 'origin,' 'generation'), a word which occurs in the rendering of 2^{4} *αὔτη ἡ βίβλος γενέσεως οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς*. This title was adopted and transliterated in the Lat. translation, and so passed into general use in Western and Eastern Churches alike.

i. CONTENTS.—Genesis begins with an account of the creation of the world. A survey of the whole book shows us a division into two unequal portions, one (chs. 1-11) dealing with *primeval*, the other and longer portion (chs. 12–50) dealing with *patriarchal* history. In both these portions we have mention of *five* distinct 'generations' (*tôlĕdhôth* תּוֹלְדוֹת), which represent, as it were, successive stages in the progress of the narrative. In the primeval history are the 'generations' of (1) the heaven and the earth, chs. 1–4; (2) Adam, $5–6^{8}$; (3) Noah, $6^{9}–9$; (4) the sons of Noah, $10^{1}–11^{9}$; (5) Shem, 11^{10-26}. In the patriarchal history are the 'generations' of (1) Terah, chs. $11^{27}–25^{11}$; (2) Ishmael, 25^{12-18}; (3) Isaac, $25^{19}–35$; (4) Esau, 36; (5) Jacob, 37–50. It must not be supposed that the number of these 'generations' is accidentally *ten*. The number ten was regarded as symbolical of completeness; and there can be little doubt that the enumeration of the ten tables of 'generations' was intended to denote the completion of the primitive period. The twelve sons of Jacob, who in Genesis are removed into Egypt, have become in Exodus twelve tribes, and the family of Jacob has grown into the nation of Israel. The Bk. of Genesis gives the traditions respecting the beginnings of the world, of man, of the nations, and of the people of Israel. It brings the people of Israel to the close of the patriarchal age, to the threshold of their history as a nation.

ii. PLAN AND UNITY.—The plan upon which the book is constructed is quite easy to recognize. The history of the Israelite people is traced from the three epochs, (*a*) the Creation, (*b*) the Flood, (*c*) the call of Abraham. An account is given of the three patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The story of Abraham is given at some length; that of Isaac is dismissed very briefly; that of Jacob is merged in the life of Joseph, through whose instrumentality the sons of Jacob are brought into Egypt. The end of the book leaves the Israelites sojourning in Egypt, after the death of Joseph.

The narrative is continued in the Bk. of Exodus. The Bk. of Genesis contains the first portion of the historical narrative which runs continuously from Genesis to the end of the Bks. of Kings.

The book, therefore, presents an obvious unity of design; and the manner in which parenthetical and subsidiary material is introduced but never permitted seriously to impair the general thread of the work, shows artistic skill and a considerable degree of literary self-control.

iii. COMPOSITE STRUCTURE.—But it would be a mistake to let the unity of plan which distinguishes the book conduce to the supposition that its literary structure is homogeneous. The Hebrew chronicles and histories are all of them composite works. Like many of the mediæval chronicles and histories they are compiled from different sources, from materials of different age. The extracts are woven together so as to produce a consecutive narrative. But it is generally not difficult to distinguish the points at which the different sections are pieced together. The similarity of style, in certain sections of the narrative, combined with marked dissimilarity from the style in other sections, has enabled scholars to class together the portions which may be assigned to one or other literary source. In doing this it is easy to let conjecture run too far, and to exaggerate the importance of *minutiæ* in discriminating between different layers in the strata. But within certain limits the analysis of the distribution of the Bk. of Genesis has now been carried out with a great degree of agreement between the principal scholars of all schools. For while scholars may not be agreed as to the date to which these sources should be assigned, there is no disputing the fact of the family resemblance of certain portions of the book, and the necessity of explaining the resemblances by the supposition of compilatory origin.

From the time (1753) when Astruc, the French physician, first inferred, from the intermittent interchange of the sacred names Elohim and Jahweh, that different documents had been employed in the composition of Genesis, critics have carried on this branch of investigation with the utmost patience and minuteness. It is now generally admitted that the distinctive use of the divine name is only one criterion amongst many by which the vocabulary of certain portions in the book can be shown to differ from that of others; and, further, that a difference of literary treatment and of religious tone can be recognized side by side with that of phraseology and diction.

The idea that such a view is based upon mere theorizing or hair-splitting fancifulness is finally abandoned. So far as the composite character of the literary structure of Genesis is concerned, the main conclusions of criticism may be said to be established. Among the causes which necessitate the hypothesis that different documents were used, may be classed (*a*) *varying accounts of the same thing*, *e.g.* of the Creation, chs. 1 and 2; the number of animals that went into the ark, and the duration of the Flood, chs. 6 and 7; explanations of the names Beersheba 21^{31} 26^{33}, Bethel $28^{18.\,19}$ $35^{14.\,15}$, Israel 32^{29} 35^{10}; of the sale of Joseph by his brethren to Ishmaelites and Midianites, ch. 37: (*b*) *apparent discrepancies*, *e.g.* Abraham's family after Sarah's death, in extreme old age $25^{1\text{ff.}}$, cf. 17^{17} 18^{11}; the age of Sarah 17^{17} and 12^{11} 20^{2}; of Isaac as described in $27^{1.\,2.\,7.\,10.\,41}$ and 26^{34} 35^{28}; the names of Esau's wives 26^{34} 28^{9} and $36^{2.\,3}$; Joseph's Egyptian master in 37^{36} and $39^{1}–40^{4}$: (*c*) *the repetition of the same event, or of different traditions of similar events*, *e.g.* the origin of Isaac's name 17^{17} 18^{12} 21^{6}, of Edom's 25^{25} and ^{30}, of Issachar's, Zebulun's, and Joseph's ch. 30; and the similar occurrences in $12^{10\text{ff.}}$ $20^{1\text{ff.}}$ $26^{7\text{ff.}}$.

There is no need here (see HEXATEUCH) to recapitulate the arguments by which it has been demonstrated that the structure of the first six books of the Old Testament is a compilation from different literary sources. 'There was a time,' says Delitzsch, 'when the horizon of Pentateuch criticism was bounded by Genesis and the beginning of Exodus. We now know that the mode of composition found in Genesis continues to the 34th chapter of Deuteronomy. It extends, moreover, beyond Dt 34, and continues in the Bk. of

Joshua. . . . And this Hexateuch also is only a component part of the great historical work in five parts (viz. Moses, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings), extending from Gn 1 to 2 K 25, of which the Pentateuch forms one' (Delitzsch, *New Comm. on Gen.* vol. i. pp. 46, 47).

The biblical student finds in the composite structure a sufficient and satisfactory means of accounting for the numerous minor discrepancies and difficulties in the Bk. of Genesis which have often given occasion for perplexity and doubt, and have too often led to forced and disingenuous methods of exegesis.

iv. THE COMPONENT SOURCES OF THE NARRATIVE.—The following describes roughly the general conclusions of modern criticism. Genesis consists of a consecutive narrative welded together by a compiler designated R, out of three main documentary sources designated by critics P (the Priestly Code), J (the Jahwist), and E (the Elohist).

(*a*) Of these three principal sources the one most easily distinguished is P. For, though the framework of the narrative preserved from the P source is somewhat meagre, its style and characteristics are very marked. Certain leading events are given by it in great detail, *e.g.* the Creation, the Deluge, the Covenant with Noah, and the Covenant with Abraham. The chronology is carefully observed; periods of most remote times are reckoned in years with precision; and brief summaries of other events are given (*e.g.* 10. 25^{12}); or their recollection is preserved by means of genealogies (5. 11^{10} $35^{22ff.}$). 'The history [in P] advances along a well-defined line, marked by a gradually diminishing length of human life; by the revelation of God under three distinct names, *Elohim*, *El Shaddai*, and *Jahweh*; by the blessing of Adam and its characteristic conditions; and by the subsequent covenants with Noah, Abraham, and Israel, each with its special "sign," the rainbow, the rite of circumcision, and the Sabbath, Gn $9^{12.13}$ 17^{11}, Ex 31^{13}' (Driver, *LOT*^{6} p. 127).

P is also characterized by an avoidance of anthropomorphisms. There is no mention of angels or of visions in sleep. God is described as 'appearing' (Gn $17^{1.22.23}$ $35^{9.13}$ 48^3), and as 'speaking' (Gn 1^{29} 6^{13} 7^1 8^{15}–9^1); but, as compared with the other writers whose materials are incorporated in the Pentateuch, P is conspicuously guarded and scrupulous in his references to the Deity against any approach to familiar or irreverent description.

The narrative of P is somewhat formal and precise. It abounds in phrases and expressions which are not elsewhere found.

The following are some of the interesting traits of the P narrative which may be noted here:—

(1) *Divine Name.*—Except in 17^1 21^1, Elohim, not Jahweh, is used as the name of God; and these two exceptions are probably due to the compiler or to later copyists. God is revealed to the patriarchs as El Shaddai (Gn 17^1 28^3 35^{11} 48^3, cf. Ex 6^3).

(2) *Proper Names.*—In P 'the sons of Heth' (בְּנֵי חֵת) is always used (Gn $23^{3.5.7.10.16}$ 25^{10} 27^{46} 49^{32}), never 'Hittites' (הַחִתִּים), as in J and E. P has 'Kiriath-arba' for 'Hebron' (Gn 23^2 35^{27}), and Paddan-aram (Gn 25^{20} $28^{2.5.6.7}$ 31^{18} 33^{18} $35^{9.26}$ 46^{15}) for the region called in J (Gn 24^{10}) Aram-naharaim. The mention of Machpelah occurs only in the P narrative (Gn $23^{9.17.19}$ 25^9 49^{30} 50^{13}).

(3) Among *the words and phrases* characteristic of P may be mentioned the following, which are found in Genesis:—

אֲחֻזָּה 'possession,' Gn 17^8 23^4 36^{43} 47^{11} 49^{30}.

אֲנִי 30 times (אָנֹכִי once, Gn 23^4).

בָּשָׂר (כָּל־בָּשָׂר) 'flesh' ('all flesh'), Gn $6^{12.13}$ $7^{15.16}$ 8^{17} $9^{11.15-17}$.

גָּוַע 'expire,' Gn 6^{17} 7^{21} 25^8 35^{29}.

זֶרַע 'seed,' Gn 9^9 17^7 35^{12} 46^6 48^4.

מְאֹד מְאֹד 'very exceedingly,' Gn 7^{19} 17^2.

מִקְנָה Gn $17^{12.13}$ 23^{18}.

מִשְׁפָּחָה (*e.g.* לְמִשְׁפְּחֹתֵיהֶם 'according to their families'), Gn 8^{19} $10^{5.20.31}$.

עֶצֶם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה 'the self-same day,' Gn 7^{13} $17^{23.26}$.

פָּרָה וְרָבָה 'be fruitful and multiply,' Gn $1^{22.28}$ 8^{17} $9^{1.7.17}$.

רְכוּשׁ 'possessions,' Gn 12^5 13^6 31^8 36^7.

שָׁרַץ 'swarm,' Gn $1^{20.21}$ 7^{21} 8^{17} 9^7.

תּוֹלְדוֹת 'generations.'

There is general agreement among critics as to the passages in Genesis that were taken by the compiler from the P document. These are—
1^1–2^{4a} $5^{1-28.30-32}$ 6^{9-22} 7 (portions) $8^{1.2a.3b-5.13a.14-19}$ $9^{1-17.28.29}$ $10^{1-7.20.22.23.31.32}$ $11^{10-27.31.32}$ $12^{4b.5}$ $13^{6.11b.12a}$ $16^{1a.3.15.16}$ 17. 19^{29} $21^{1b.2b-5}$ 23. $25^{7-11a.12-17.19.20.26b}$ $26^{34.35}$ 27^{46}–28^9 $29^{24.29}$ 31^{18b} 33^{18a} 34 (portions) $35^{9-13.15.22b-29}$ 36 (very largely) $37^{1.2a}$ 41^{46} 46^{6-27} $47^{5.6a.7-11.27b.28}$ $48^{3-6.7}$ $49^{1a.28b-33}$ $50^{12.13}$.

(*b*) When the P portions of the narrative have been removed, there remains a large portion of Genesis which critics have called 'prophetic,' as distinguished from 'priestly,' being clearly separable from P in language and in treatment of narrative.

But this large portion of prophetic writing has also been conclusively shown to be, not homogeneous, but to consist of two main threads of narrative which to a great extent must have covered the same ground, and which a compiler combined in the form of a consecutive narrative. There were therefore two original documents (J and E) independent of one another, which, being welded together, formed a distinct work, JE, which was afterwards combined with P by the final redactor. As to the relative priority of these two documents, scholars are hardly yet in absolute agreement. But, at the present day, opinion inclines to the view that the document, which has as one of its characteristics the use of Jahweh (Jehovah) for the divine name, and has therefore been entitled the 'Jahwist' (=J, for short), is the earlier in date; and that the other, which on account of its use of Elohim for the sacred name (until Ex 3^{14}, when the name was revealed to Moses) is called the Elohist (=E, for short), can be only very slightly later. In determining what that date must have been, we are enabled, by the evidence of the language, to discern that both J and E belong to the best period of Hebrew literature, free from the obscurity of the early and from the insipidity of the later age.

The resemblance of these two documents to one another in their contents, and their difference in style and language, may best be illustrated by a comparison of the parallel narratives in Gn 20 and 26, and in the accounts of the patriarchs Jacob and Joseph.

J contains some of the most striking descriptions in all Genesis; and there is probably no Hebrew writing which in beauty of narrative, vigour, simplicity, and artistic skill can be considered to surpass this document. To it we owe the preservation of the famous stories of the Garden of Eden; of Cain and Abel; of Abraham and the three angelic visitors; of Sodom and Gomorrah; of the mission of Eliezer, the servant of Abraham; of Judah and Tamar; of Judah's intercession with Joseph.

Throughout his narrative, the writer of J keeps prominently in view the spiritual and moral purpose with which he indites his records of old time. It is in this respect that he occupies the position of a 'prophet'; he interprets the truths that underlay the history of the past, and explains God's dealings in the world and with His chosen people.

'He is penetrated by the thought of Jehovah's mercifulness, long-suffering, and covenant faithfulness. He delights to trace the successive stages in the development of faith. It is he who tells how Abraham "believed in the Lord, and He counted it to him for righteousness." . . . The Jahwist appears, in fact, to survey the field of history with the eye of mature spiritual experience; in the lowly beginnings of Hebrew history he discerns the divinely intended consummation—the ultimate purpose which from the first filled the incidents of ordinary life with solemn significance (Gn $19^{22ff.}$ 16^{12} $19^{31ff.}$ $25^{25ff.}$ $49^{9ff.}$).' (Ottley's *Bampton Lectures*, 1897, pp. 119, 120).

Among the characteristic features of J's writing the following deserve special mention :—

(1) *The use of Jahweh* (יהוה) *as the name of God.*—Not, of course, that the word Elohim was not known or used by him; he does use it for the purpose of introducing a comparison between the human and the divine (Gn $32^{29. 31}$ 33^{10}), or when he represents a non-Israelite speaking of the Deity to an Israelite, or an Israelite to a non-Israelite (Gn 20^{13} 40^{8} $41^{18. 25. 28. 32}$ 43^{29}). He puts it into the mouth of the serpent (Gn 3^{2}). The name Jahweh, on the other hand, in his narrative, is known to the patriarchs and used by them; and the writer is not apparently aware of the tradition that the name was first revealed to Moses, as recorded in Ex 3. To an English reader, his use of the sacred name appears an anachronism, or a not unnatural anticipation of later general usage.

(2) *J's use of words and phrases* may be illustrated by—

בֹּאֲכָה, lit. 'as thou comest to,' Gn $10^{19\,bis}$ etc.

בִּי אֲדֹנִי Gn 43^{20} 44^{18} (cf. Ex $4^{10. 13}$).

מָצָא חֵן 'find favour,' Gn 6^{8} 18^{3} 32^{6} $33^{8. 15}$ etc.

עָשָׂה חֶסֶד Gn $24^{12. 14. 49}$ (used also by E, Gn 20^{13} 21^{23} 40^{14}).

יָדַע (euphemistic use), Gn $4^{1. 17. 45}$ 19^{8} 24^{16} 38^{26}.

[נָצַב] (Hiph.) Gn 30^{38} 33^{15} 43^{9} 47^{2}.

כִּלָּה ל Gn 18^{33} $24^{15. 19. 19. 22}$.

לִין Gn 19^{2} 24^{23}.

עָתַר Gn 25^{21} (cf. Ex $8^{9. 28}$ 9^{23} 10^{17}).

הַפַּעַם Gn 2^{23} 18^{32} $29^{34f.}$ 30^{20} 46^{30}; צָעִיר for 'the younger,' Gn 25^{23} 43^{33} 48^{14}.

שִׁפְחָה 'maid-servant' (not אָמָה), Gn 16^{5} 30^{7} etc.

הִשְׁקִיף Gn 18^{16} 19^{28}.

(3) *Grammar.*—A preference for verbal suffixes, instead of אֵת with suffixes.

Phrases such as 'and it came to pass,' וַיְהִי כִּי, וַיְהִי כַּאֲשֶׁר.

Emphatic use of זֶה and זֹאת.

Fondness for particles.

Use of precative נָא.

The portions of Genesis which are generally assigned by critics to J are as follows :—

2^{4b}–4^{26} 5^{29} 6^{1-8} $7^{1-5. 12. 16b. 17. 22. 23}$ $8^{2b. 3a. 6-12. 13b. 20-22}$ 9^{18-27} $10^{8-19. 21. 24-30}$ $11^{1-9. 28-30}$ $12^{1-4a. 6-20}$ $13^{1-5. 7-11a. 12b-18}$ $16^{1b. 2. 4-14}$ 18^{1}–$19^{28. 30-38}$ $21^{1a. 2a. 33}$ 22^{20-24} 24^{1}–$25^{6. 11b. 18. 21-26a. 27-34}$ $26^{1-33\text{ (exc. 16. 18)}}$ $27^{1-45\text{ (mainly)}}$ $28^{10. 13-16. 19}$ $29^{2-14. 19-35\text{ (exc. 28b. 29)}}$ $30^{1-23\text{ (mainly)}. 24-42}$ $31^{1. 3\text{ (25-27. 38-40)}. 46. 48-50}$ $32^{4-14. 23-32}$ 33^{1-17} 34 (largely) $35^{21. 22a}$ [36^{31-38}] $37^{12-35\text{ (partly)}}$ 38. 39. 42^{38}–44^{34} 46^{28}–$47^{5. 13-26. 27a. 29-31}$ 49^{1b-28a} $50^{1-11. 14}$.

The majority of critics incline to the view that J was composed by a dweller in the Southern kingdom; and it is pointed out in support of this view that the dwelling-place of Abraham, and possibly also of Jacob, is, according to J, Hebron, and that the leader of Joseph's brethren is Judah and not Reuben. Such arguments are obviously precarious; but the alternative opinion, that the writer belonged to the Northern kingdom, as Kuenen maintains, does not rest on any more convincing proofs.

(*c*) The E document in Genesis, like the J document, has preserved many of the most interesting features of the patriarchal narrative. To use Driver's phrase, its narrative 'is more "objective," less consciously tinged by ethical and theological reflexion than that of J.' We owe to it, however, the mention of many of the most striking details to be found in the book. For instance, the traditions preserved in connexion with particular localities in Palestine are in E chronicled with minuteness, *e.g.* the sacrifice on Mt. Moriah (22), the pillar at Bethel (28^{18}), and that at Gilead (31^{45}), the altar at Bethel ($35^{1. 3. 7}$), and Rachel's burying-place (35^{20}). The story of Joseph is largely narrated from the sources which E preserved; and it is to E that we are indebted for the record of the Philistine names Ahuzzath and Phicol (21^{32}), and the Egyptian names Potiphar (37^{36}), Zaphenath-paneah and Asenath (41^{45}).

The most important sections from E embrace Abraham's relations with Abimelech in 20 and 21, the expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael 20^{8-21}, the sacrifice of Isaac 22^{1-19}, Jacob's flight from Haran and his league with Laban 31, and the story of Joseph as related in 40. 41. 42 and 45.

It may be noticed that E makes frequent mention of the *means* of divine revelation, whether by dream (*e.g.* 20^{6} 21^{12} 22^{1} 28^{11} 31^{24} 37^{6} 40) or by the ministration of angels (*e.g.* 21^{17} 22^{11} 28^{12}). 'He interprets in a religious spirit what he records, and aims at bringing out the didactic significance of events, *e.g.* Gn 50^{29}' (Ottley, *BL* p. 119).

Among the characteristics of E's style, the following deserve notice :—

(1) *The name for God* is 'Elohim' (אֱלֹהִים). The sacred name יהוה, according to E, was first revealed to Moses. Accordingly it is not employed by E until after Ex 3^{14}. Other names are also employed by him, as 'El' אֵל (Gn 33^{20} 35^{7} 46^{3}) and 'Adonai' אֲדֹנָי (Gn 20^{4}).

The name 'Jacob' is preferred by E, even after the narrative in Gn 32 with its account of the origin of the name Israel.

(2) *Use of words and phrases*—

עַל־אוֹדוֹת Gn $21^{11. 25}$.

אָסוֹן Gn $42^{4. 38}$ 44^{29}.

אָמָה, not שִׁפְחָה, Gn 20^{17} $21^{10. 12. 13}$ 30^{3} 31^{33}.

בעל (vb. and noun) Gn 20^{3}.

כִּלְכֵּל Gn 45^{11} 47^{12} 50^{21}.

לֵבָב Gn $20^{5. 6}$ 31^{26}.

Archaic words preserved in E—

אָמְנָה Gn 20^{12}.

כֵּן, subst. = 'position,' Gn 40^{13} 41^{13}.
adj. = 'honest,' Gn $42^{11. 19. 31-34}$.

מוֹנִים Gn $31^{7. 41}$.

פָּתַר Gn $40^{8. 9}$ $41^{8. 9}$.

(3) *Grammatical usages*—

(*a*) A marked preference for the use of אֵת with the pronom. suffix instead of attaching the suffix to the verb.

(*b*) Rare uses of the Infinitive—

רְדָה for רֶדֶת, Gn 46^{3}.

עֲשֹׂה, עֲשׂוֹ Gn 31^{28} 50^{20}.

רְאֹה Gn 48^{11}.

(*c*) The connexion of loosely attached passages by such phrases as וַיְהִי אַחַר הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה Gn 22^{1} 40^{1} 48^{1}.

And the colloquial and somewhat redundant phrases prefixed to the interchange of speech, *e.g.* 'And . . . said (*or*, called), and he answered, Here am I,' etc., Gn $22^{1. 7. 11}$ etc.

The chief portions of the narrative assigned to E are the following (and it will be observed that they are first to be identified in the story of Abraham); 15 (portions, according to some scholars), *e.g.* parts of vv.$^{1. 2. 3. 5}$ 20^{1-17} 21^{8-32} $22^{1-14. 19}$ $28^{11. 12. 17. 18. 20-22}$ $29^{1. 15-18}$ 30 (portions), $31^{2. 4-47. \text{(exc. 18b)}}$ $32^{3. 13b-22}$ $33^{5b. 18b-20}$ $35^{1-8. 16-20}$ $37^{2b-11. 14a. 18. 19. 22-24. 28a. 28c-30. 36}$ 40 (showing some influence of J) $41^{1-45. 50-57}$ 42^{1-37} 45^{1}–46^{5} $48^{1. 2. 8-22}$ 50^{15-26}.

That E represents an Ephraimitic tradition is the generally accepted opinion. This is based upon the prominence given in its narrative to places and persons with which tradition in the Northern kingdom would presumably be closer in sympathy than tradition in the Southern. Joseph, the father of Ephraim, is the most conspicuous personage in the narrative; and Reuben, not Judah, is the foremost of his brethren. Bethel and Shechem, both sacred places in the Northern kingdom, are particularly mentioned in E. The sojourn of Abraham is not at Hebron, but at Beersheba and Gerar; that of Jacob, at Beersheba and Shechem.

(*d*) The work of combining JE and P is attributed to the redactor or redactors (R), who 'chose from his sources what was most suited to the plan of his work.' His method is thus admirably and succinctly described by Spurrell: 'Sometimes he merely takes small extracts from one document (*e.g.* 4^{17-24} 6^{1-4} 30^{32-42}, merely small portions of fuller accounts), or notices individual points (*e.g.* 11^{29} Jiska mentioned; 20^{12} the relationship between

Abram and Sarai, cf. 28^{22} [see 35^{7}] 48^{22}). At other times the portions taken from the documents are quoted in full, and for the most part are verbally transferred from the original (*e.g.* the narratives in P up to 11^{26}), and sometimes, again, whole passages from one document are omitted, possibly because they were at variance with the accounts given by the others (see in P the brief accounts in 11^{27-32}; the omission of the introduction to the history of Abram, previous to ch. 12; of the divine manifestation to Isaac, see 35^{12}; of the sojourn of Jacob in Paddan-aram; of all the history of Joseph prior to Jacob's arrival in Egypt). Frequently extracts from J are given in an abridged form, in order that P may be reported more fully (cf. $2^{5f.}$ $4^{25f.}$, the Story of Creation, and the Table of Nations, J), and $16^{15f.}$ $21^{2ff.}$ $25^{7ff.}$, 32^{4} $35^{28f.}$ P. Elsewhere, however, in the story of the patriarchs the extracts from J are abridged in favour of E. With the exception of the history of Joseph, E contains (from ch. 20 onwards) fewer passages which are verbally reported. Usually the portions in E are expanded by notices from J, or anything worth recording in E is incorporated into the narrative of J. When combining his sources, the compiler, as far as possible, or as far as he deemed necessary, appears to have taken the narrative verbally from each and inserted both in his book (cf. ch. 2 f. side by side with 1, ch. 27 side by side with $26^{34f.}$ and 28^{1-9}; 48^{3-7} side by side with 48^{9-22}). Elsewhere, as, for example, where the event need only be quoted from one document (*e.g.* the birth or death of any person), he selects his account from one source, even though the same event be recorded in more than one document. In other cases the compiler found two accounts in the documents before him, agreeing in the main but differing in details; he would then weave one account into the other, omitting from each what could not be reconciled, and choosing from both what best suited the plan of his work (cf. chs. 7f. 10. 16. 25. 27–37. 39–50). It was not always possible, without further revision, to place side by side or to weld together the individual extracts from two or three sources. So it was necessary to eliminate what was contradictory from one or other of the documents (*e.g.* $21^{17ff.}$ explanation of Ishmael's name, 32^{8} of Maḥanaim, 33^{10} of Peniel, cf. 31^{25}), or to insert here and there small additions or remarks in order to fill up gaps and remove contradictions. So 4^{25} 10^{24} 21^{14} $26^{1a.\,15.\,18}$ 35^{9} $37^{5b.\,8b.}$ $39^{1.\,20}$ 43^{14} 46^{1}. To the desire to produce a readable whole, may be attributed the accommodation necessary to preserve consistency in the use of the names Abram and Sarai in all passages previous to ch. 17, of the double name Yahweh-Elohim in chs. 2–3; also the change of Elohim into Yahweh in 17^{1} 21^{1}. Another expedient was frequently employed with the same object in view, viz. transposing entire portions of the narrative (so 11^{1-9} 12^{10-20} $25^{5f.\,11b}$ $25^{21ff.}$ $47^{12ff.}$), or of brief notices (so $2^{4a.}$ 31^{45-50} 37^{26} etc.), consequently R was obliged to insert all kinds of small additions; cf. 1^{1} 9^{18} $13^{1.\,3f.}$ 24^{62}. In other passages the sources are loosely combined (*e.g.* $7^{7-9.\,22}$ $15^{7f.}$ $31^{45ff.}$, ch. 36. 46^{8-27}), the compiler now and then making additions of his own to bring the documents into harmony (*e.g.* 21^{34} 27^{46} 35^{5} 46^{12-20}). Explanatory glosses are also found (*e.g.* 20^{18} 31^{47} 35^{6}, and ch. 14, where they are numerous), some of which may be due to a later corrector. All kinds of little additions occur, which are probably not derived from the sources themselves, but were inserted, either when the sources were welded together into one work, or some time after this. These insertions were added partly to explain the object of the narrative (15^{12-16} 22^{15-18} 26^{3b-5}), partly to make it harmonize with statements occurring elsewhere (25^{18b} 35^{22a}, perhaps 4^{15a}), and partly to introduce new notices, or new phases of tradition which were not mentioned in the three chief documents (10^{9} 32^{33}; perhaps 2^{10-14}, and in 10^{14}; 11^{28b} 31^{b} 15^{7} 22^{2}, etc.). Sometimes possibly use was also made of materials taken from other sources than J, E, and P (*e.g.* perhaps in ch. 14).'—Spurrell, *Genesis*², pp. lxi–lxiii. Whether the work of combining the narratives of J and E was effected by one writer, or was the result of a gradual process directed and influenced by a group or succession of 'prophetic' men, must be left to conjecture. Some scholars, however, are prepared to give an unhesitating reply. 'That the compiler of JE was a Judæan is clear,' says Fripp, 'from 22^{2}, where he has substituted "Moriah" for some Ephraimite name; and that he was not far removed from the Deuteronomist we may see in $18^{19.\,23-33a}$, in the kindred passages 13^{16} 15. 16^{10} 18^{18} $22^{17.\,18}$ 26^{4} 32^{12} (cf. Dt 1^{10} 10^{22} 28^{62}), and still more plainly in 26^{5}' (*The Composition of the Book of Genesis*, p. 18).

v. THE HISTORICAL VALUE OF THE BOOK.—Doubtless, the views that are held upon the historical character of Genesis depend in great measure upon the conception which is entertained of 'inspiration.' The book itself makes no claim to being in any way supernaturally furnished with means of information. The writers and compilers appear to have made use of their materials in the same fashion as other writers of their day. There is no indication in this, or in other books of Scripture, that Revelation communicated to man a knowledge of facts that were ascertainable by human means.

The early narratives of Genesis respecting the Creation, the Fall, and the Flood are based upon myths and traditions which the Israelites inherited in common with other branches of the Semitic family. The labours of Rawlinson, Lenormant, George Smith, Schrader, Sayce, and others have shown indisputably the affinity of the Israelite with the Chaldæan cosmogony. And it has often been pointed out that the Israelite version of the myth is free from the puerilities and superstitions inalienable from the polytheism of the Babylonian version. 'Where the Assyrian or Babylonian poet,' says Sayce, 'saw the action of deified forces of nature, the Hebrew writer sees only the will of the one supreme God' (*HCM* p. 71). This assists us to form a judgment upon the true character of these early chapters. The story of the beginnings of the world and of mankind is told, not with a scientific but with a religious purpose. The old-world myths, or tales of Semitic folk-lore, were employed for the purpose of setting forth in their true light — as discerned through the revealing spirit of J″—the unchanging verities respecting the nature of God, of man, and of the created universe (cf. Ryle, *Early Narratives of Genesis*).

The story of the Flood is doubtless drawn from the reminiscence of a fearful devastation by water at some very remote period. The striking resemblance between it and the so-called 'poem of Izdubar,' contained in the cuneiform texts translated by Geo. Smith (1872), illustrates the similar treatment of semi-mythical, semi-historical material by the Israelite writers. The Genesis account presents many insuperable objections, if it were necessary to accept it as a literally accurate record. But the purpose of the narration is not scientific, but religious; it is obviously intended to depict the divine displeasure against sin, and the divine favour towards the upright and God-fearing. On the other hand, there seems no reason to call in question the occurrence of some terrible overthrow by water that laid waste the Euphrates Valley, or the wonderful deliverance of a few individuals. The reminiscence of these events was variously enshrined in versions of a common Semitic legend.

The narrative of the patriarchs stands midway between the Flood tradition and the Mosaic history. As compared with the former, it marks a great advance in the direction of the historic; relatively to the latter, it still belongs to a prehistoric age. The narrative has come down to us through the medium of documents, whose composition, in the form familiar to us, must have been separated by many centuries from the incidents which they relate. On the other hand, there is no reason to doubt that the stories respecting the Israelite ancestors rest upon a foundation of historic fact. The attempts to resolve the patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, into abstract personifications of tribes, or into primitive tribal gods, have admittedly failed. Without the patriarchs 'the religious position of Moses,' says Kittel (*Hist. of the Hebrews*, p. 174), 'stands before us unsupported and incomprehensible.' It is very possible, indeed most probable, that the picture which has been preserved of the patriarchs derives much of its colouring from the thought and circumstances of a later period, and in particular from the prophetic treatment of the people's history.

Nor can it be questioned that the relationship of tribes and clans is represented in the patriarchal narrative under the symbol of a family genealogy. The primitive connexion of Israel with the peoples round about—Ammon, Moab, Amalek, Ishmael, Edom—is presented to us under the imagery of incidents occurring in the history of a single family during one or two generations. The stories of common folk-lore, deriving proper names from various incidents, are incorporated along with narratives of didactic purpose and deep spiritual import, *e.g.* the call of Abraham and the visions of Jacob. The memory of the great forefathers of the nation was idealized by the prophetic and priestly writers. But they preserved a living tradition of real men and actual experience.

The difficulty which besets the modern student is how to distinguish the substratum of actual history from the accretion of later legend and from the symbolism of Eastern description. The task is one which will probably defy all the attempts of existing scholarship. Future discoveries may bring fresh light to bear upon the patriarchal narrative. For the present, important as recent discoveries have been in illustrating the Genesis narrative, they have not supplied us with any certain data for its chronology. Thus, while the credibility of an Elamite invasion, as mentioned in Gn 14, has been confirmed, in the opinion of competent scholars, by the evidence of cuneiform inscriptions, we have not yet arrived at any settled conclusion as to the century to which the events should be assigned. While the Babylonian equivalent to the name Abraham has been found in the inscriptions, neither he nor Isaac nor Jacob nor Joseph have yet been identified in the monuments. The identification of Y'ḳb'ar and Y'sp'r, by which some scholars transliterated Nos. 102 and 78 in the list of towns and places conquered by Tahutmes III. in his campaign against Palestine and Syria, with Yaḳobel and Yosephel, Jacob and Joseph, would not, supposing it to be accurate, throw any light upon the historical problem. It would, at the most, afford evidence that the names Jacob and Joseph had been current in Palestine as the names of localities and districts 'centuries before the time of Moses' (cf. Dillmann, *Gen.* ii. 4, Eng. tr.).

Again, while we gather from the Tel el-Amarna tablets that the officials in the towns of Palestine and Phœnicia, as well as of Egypt, were wont, in the 15th cent. B.C., to employ the cuneiform character in their diplomatic and state correspondence, we are brought no nearer to the determination of the question, when the Palestinian (Phœnician-Hebrew) writing was first adopted, or whether the nomad Hebrews employed writing.

To maintain that because cuneiform writing was practised in Palestine in the 15th cent. by official scribes for state correspondence, the existing patriarchal narratives are therefore based upon Hebrew transcriptions of cuneiform chronicles which were *contemporary* with the events, is to leap over several stages of the argument. A comparison of the Tel el-Amarna tablets with the patriarchal narrative confronts us with the fact that no one from reading the Genesis account could form any conception of the political condition of Palestine, as it really was, during the patriarchal period. With the isolated exception of the reference to historical details in Gn $14^{1ff.}$, the lives of the Hebrew patriarchs furnish no clue to the history of the centuries that correspond to the period of patriarchal sojourn in Palestine.

The story of Joseph shows abundant signs of acquaintance with Egyptian life and customs. But there is no appearance of its having been committed to writing in Egypt or by any contemporary. The dynastic name of the king of Egypt is alone given, *i.e.* Pharaoh; but we are nowhere told either his own name or that of the capital in which he resided. Accordingly, while some have contended that the mention of the Egyptian hatred for strangers indicates a period subsequent to the domination of the Hyksos, others have held that the elevation of Joseph, a shepherd by birth, to the highest office in the kingdom could have occurred only under a Hyksos dynasty. The Egyptian monuments have hitherto failed to give the name of Joseph; and the mention of a prolonged famine in the el-Kab inscription illustrates, but cannot with any certainty be identified with, the Genesis narrative. The measures taken by Joseph (Gn 47) in consequence of the famine doubtless correspond to Egyptian institutions known to the writer; but hitherto no account of them has been found in other quarters.

The evidence of the monuments, which has in recent years so copiously illustrated the biblical narrative, has not yet contributed with any certainty to the establishment of the literal historical accuracy of the patriarchal story.

The result may be disappointing; but the evidence at our disposal does not at present justify us in claiming more than that the general outline of the narrative is historical, and that the Mosaic epoch presupposes the patriarchal age. 'The historian may complain with Kuenen (see *The Religion of Israel*, vol. i. p. 113) that the strictly historical kernel which can be safely extracted from such a book as Genesis is vague and more or less indefinite. The fact is that the great figures of the patriarchal period are presented to us in narratives "of which," says Prof. G. A. Smith, "it is simply impossible for us at this time of day to establish the accuracy." We have simply to accept the fact that in the present state of our knowledge there are no clear *criteria* by which to distinguish precisely the historical nucleus contained in the patriarchal narratives from the idealized picture. If there is uncertainty on this point, we can only conclude that knowledge of the precise details of the history is not of vital importance' (Ottley, *BL* p. 130 f.).

vi. THE RELIGIOUS TEACHING OF THE BOOK.—A consideration of the religious value of Genesis reveals to us its true character and purpose. The Scriptures were written for religious instruction; and in no book of the OT are the treasures of theology to be found so close, as it were, beneath the surface *as in the Book of Genesis.*

1. The foundations of a true and spiritual religion are contained in the teaching of the early chapters of Genesis. Through the medium of the prehistoric legend, the Israelite writers communicated to their countrymen that which was revealed to them by the Divine Spirit concerning the Being and Nature of God, the origin and first perfection of the God-created universe, the origin of man, the nature and growth of sin, God's love toward man and His purpose of redemption. The narratives of the Creation and of the Fall present pictorially spiritual truths respecting man's nature, his need of restoration, and his capacity for a progressive development.

2. In the narrative of the patriarchs the redemptive purpose is unfolded by the gradual process of election (Ro 9^{11}), the principle of which had already been indicated in the contrast of Cain and Abel, of the Cainites and the Sethites. The well-known stories of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were selected and arranged to minister to the purpose of religious teaching; and foremost stood the thought that God's love had alone determined the choice of the man and of the family from which should come the nation destined to be the channel of blessing to the world (Gn 12^{3} 13^{14} 15^{5} 17^{5} 18^{17-19} 22^{16} $26^{3.4}$ 35^{11} 48^{16}). This principle of election is pointedly emphasized in the providence which shields Sarai and Rebekah (Gn 12. 20. 26) from harm, and grants to them the gift of children in a quasi-miraculous manner (Gn 17^{15-20} 18^{11-15} 21^{6-8} $25^{20.21.26}$). The narrative, too, lays stress upon the divine choice by disposing of the collateral lines in the chosen family before passing on to the detailed account of the particular person on whom God's favour has rested (*e.g.* the family of Japheth, Ham, and Shem, Gn $10^{2.6.21}$; the generations of Shem and Terah, $11^{10.27}$; the story of Lot, 18. 19; the collateral branches of Abraham's family, preceding the story of Isaac, $25^{1.19}$; the generations of Esau, preceding the story of Joseph, 36).

3. Akin to this treatment of election is the prominence given to the conception of God as One who was in communion with the children of men, though in an especial manner He revealed Himself to those whom He had chosen. That God showed favour to Abel's sacrifice is thus scarcely more significant than that He held converse with Cain the murderer. That He appeared to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob was not more suggestive of His relation towards mankind than His appearance to Abimelech (20^{3}) and to Laban (31^{24}). The honour paid by Abraham to Melchizedek typified the recognition of divine power and love transcending the limits of a national covenant (Gn 14). At the same time, the story of 'the priest of God Most High' (14^{18}) illustrated the possession of that basis of instructive national religion, the abiding witness of God within man, upon which alone the structure of revelation could stand. With the people of His choice, God is represented as holding communion under the most anthropomorphic conditions (*e.g.* Gn 16. 18. 28). But the constitution of the covenant with Noah is ratified by the sacrament of the 'bow' (9^{8-17}), and the covenant with Abraham by that of 'circumcision' (17). And the lesson was thus conveyed to Israel that the phenomena of the physical world are pledges and emblems of a moral purpose overruling all, and that a common—if not almost universal—rite among Semitic races could be set apart and consecrated for the spiritual purposes of the service of the God of revelation.

4. The principle of progressiveness in the religious teaching of Israel is illustrated in Genesis by the three great stages of divine self-manifestation in the history of mankind, represented by the judgment in the Garden of Eden, by the visitation of the Flood, and by the calling of Abraham. Similarly, the record of God's dealings with the chosen man, the chosen family, and the chosen clan, lead up to the formation of the chosen nation, the history of which commences in the Book of Exodus.

The first anticipations of the Messianic hope are expressed in the promise of victory over the power of evil proclaimed in the so-called Protevangelium of Gn 3^{15}. These receive a narrower definition in the promise made to Abraham that all the families of the earth should bless themselves in him (Gn $12^{3.4}$). In Gn 49^{11} the allusion to a *personal* Messiah has been much disputed; but, whatever explanation be given of the words rendered 'until Shiloh come,' the significance of this passage in the ancient 'blessing of Jacob' consists in its identification of the ultimate glory of Israel with the sovereignty impersonated by Judah.

Space forbids us to go further into detail respecting the religious teaching of Genesis. It has been well summed up in the following words: 'The Book of Genesis is the true and original birthplace of all theology. It contains those ideas of God and man, of righteousness and judgment, of responsibility and moral government, of failure and hope, which are presupposed through the rest of the Old Testament, and which prepare the way for the mission of Christ' (Girdlestone, *The Foundations of the Bible*, p. 155).

LITERATURE.—For the structure of Genesis, the English student is now well equipped with the recent literature on the subject: Driver, *LOT*; Addis, *Documents of the Hexateuch*; Fripp, *Composition of the Book of Genesis*; C. J. Ball, 'Book of Genesis,' *SBOT*; and Spurrell, *Notes on the Text of Genesis.* The fullest complete commentaries are those by Dillmann and Delitzsch (both now translated into English; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark). The foreign books which should be consulted are those on the structure by Holzinger (*Einleitung*), Kautzsch-Socin, Wellhausen (*Die Composition des Hexateuchs*, 1889). On Genesis and the Monuments: Sayce, *HCM*; Schrader, *COT*; and the writings of George Smith, Maspero, Pinches, Haupt, and others. On the Theology of Genesis: the *OT Theology* of Schultz, Oehler, Riehm.

The reader may also consult Miss Wedgwood, *Message of Israel*; Watson, *The Book Genesis*; Ottley, *Aspects of the Old Test.*; Westcott, *Faith of the Gospel*; Ryle, *Early Narratives of Genesis.*

H. E. RYLE.

GENNÆUS, AV GENNEUS (Γενναῖος, Γέννεος A, 2 Mac 12^{2}).—The father of Apollonius, who was the Syrian commander (*στρατηγός*) of a district in Pal. under Antiochus V. Eupator.

GENNESARET, LAKE OF (Lk 5^{1}; in 1 Mac 11^{67} GENNESARETH).—See GALILEE, SEA OF.

GENNESARET, LAND OF (*ἡ γῆ Γεννησαρέτ*, Mt 13^{34}, cf. Mk 6^{53}) deserves special attention, (1) because of its connexion with our Lord, (2) because of the estimation in which it was held by the inhabitants of the country, and (3) because of the account which Josephus has given of its wonderful fertility and loveliness. The place referred to was on the W. side of the Sea of Galilee and towards its N. end. Directly opposite to it on the E. side of the lake there is a corresponding plain which, however, lacks the characteristics that have made the one on the W. side widely famous. The miraculous feeding of the five thousand took place on the E. plain (Mt 14^{15-21}, cf. the other Gospels), immediately after which Christ sent His disciples by ship 'to the other side.' According to Mk they were directed to go towards Bethsaida (6^{45}); according to Jn they went, without instructions, 'towards Capernaum' (6^{17}); but the storm—at that season the strong current of the Jordan would have carried them in spite of themselves out of their course to the S.—compelled them to anchor 'in the land of G.' Bethsaida, Capernaum, and the land of G. are, in our judgment, mentioned in their natural order. The very next act of our Lord mentioned was at Capernaum, leading us to suppose that that place was nearer 'the land of G.' than Bethsaida.

This plain, which is one of the most charming spots in Pal., is about one mile broad and two and a half miles long, having Khan Minyeh on the N. and Mejdel, the ancient Magdala, on the S. The famous pass of Wady Ḥamam leads up through the mountains on the W. towards the Mediterranean. Josephus says, 'Such is the fertility of the soil that it rejects no plant, and accordingly all are here cultivated by the husbandman, for so genial is the air that it suits every variety. The walnut, which delights beyond other trees in a wintry climate, grows here luxuriantly, together with the palm, which is nourished by the heat, and near to these are figs and olives to which a milder atmosphere has been assigned.' Not only does Nature in her ambition here 'nourish fruits of opposite climes, but she maintains a continual supply of them. Thus she produces those most royal of all, the grape and the fig, during ten months without intermission, while the other varieties ripen the year round.' The 'fertilising spring which irrigates the plain,' according to this author, was prob. the fountain at et-Tabigha, which was led in a rock-cut channel round the ledge at Khan Minyeh. 'Ain Mudawareh, which has been suggested as the fountain referred to, is quite out of the question (*Wars*, III. x. 8).

The Rabbis were as enthusiastic in their praise of this 'garden of princes' as was Josephus. It was to them a veritable 'paradise.' Its fruits were prized for their wonderful sweetness, but they were not found at Jerus. at the feasts, and the reason given was that no one should be tempted to come to the feasts merely for the sake of enjoying those fruits (Bab. Talmud, *Pesachim*, 8*b*; Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* 45 f.).

S. MERRILL.

GENTILES is one equivalent of the Heb. *goiim* (גּוֹיִם), which is represented in EV also by such renderings as 'nations' and 'heathen.' RV very frequently replaces AV 'Gentiles' by 'nations.'

גּוֹי (*goi*) has the same root meaning as עַם ('*am*, 'people'), which occurs more than 1500 times in OT. In their primary sense of a *connected body* (cf. Dt 32^{21} and Driver's note), *goi* and '*am* are both applied even to troops or herds of animals (Jl 1^{6}, Pr $30^{25.26}$). So the plur. forms *goiim* and '*ammim*, like the later *lĕummim*, have the general sense of *nations* or *peoples*. Ultimately, however, linguistic usage confined the application of the sing. '*am*, with rare exceptions (*e.g.* Gn 26^{11} of the Philistines, Ex 9^{16} of the Egyptians), to the *people of Isr.*, while the sing. *goi* was prevailingly, though not exclusively, applied to *other nations* (in Is 1^{4} Zeph 2^{9} *goi* and '*am* are both used to designate Isr.). A similar distinction rules the use in LXX of ἔθνος and λαός, which correspond to גּוֹי and עַם respectively. In NT we find (Lk 2^{32}) τὰ ἔθνη opposed to τῷ λαῷ θεοῦ Ἰσραήλ, although ἔθνος is pretty frequently used of Isr., and that without any disparaging intention (*e.g.* Lk 7^{5} 23^{2}, Jn $11^{48.51.52}$ 18^{35}, Ac 10^{22} $24^{3.10.17}$ 26^{4} 28^{19}).

Goiim (גּוֹיִם 'nations,' or כָּל־הַגּוֹיִם 'all the nations') occurs very freq. in OT as a designation of *non-Jewish* peoples (1 S $8^{5.20}$, 2 K 18^{33} 19^{17}, 1 Ch 14^{17} 16^{24}, 2 Ch 32^{23} 36^{14}, Neh 5^{17}, Ps 79^{10} 106^{47} etc.). The phrase *gĕlîl haggoiim* (גְּלִיל הַגּוֹיִם 'circle of the nations') was applied to a district in the N. of Pal., whose population contained a large Gentile element. It is most familiar to us under its NT form 'Galilee of the Gentiles' (Mt 4^{15}). The LXX equivalent of גּוֹיִם is ἔθνη, which is the regular term for *Gentiles* in NT as well as in Apocr. (*e.g.* 1 Es 5^{69} 8^{89}, Wis 14^{11} 15^{15}). The form ἐθνικός occurs in NT three times (Mt 6^{7} 18^{17}, and in the correct text of 3 Jn ^{8}), the adverbial form ἐθνικῶς ('after the manner of Gentiles') once (Gal 2^{14}).

Another designation, practically identical with *goiim*, is *hâ'ărâẓôth*, 'the lands' (הָאֲרָצוֹת, more fully עַמֵּי הָאֲרָצוֹת or מַמְלְכוֹת הָאֲרָצוֹת 'peoples *or* kingdoms of the lands'). This term is characteristic of late Heb. (occurring 23 times in Ezk and 22 times in Ch, cf. Jer 16^{15}, Dn 9^{7} $11^{40.42}$, Ps 105^{44} 106^{27} 107^{3} 116^{9}).

In NT Ἕλληνες ('Greeks') is sometimes used, especially by St. Paul, as syn. with *Gentiles* (Ro 2^{9}, 1 Co 12^{13} etc.). The same writer employs ἔθνη in a twofold sense, either as = *pagan* Gentiles in opposition to the Jews (Ro 2^{14} 3^{29}, Gal 2^{8}) or as = Gentile in opposition to Jewish *Christians* (Ro 11^{13}, Gal $2^{12.14}$). This double usage is well illustrated by comparing Eph 3^{1} with 4^{17}, in both of which passages ἔθνη is used; but in the first it is simply a mark of nationality, while in the second it has a moral touch, as is often the case with *goiim* in OT and ἔθνη in the Apocr., where *Gentiles* is sometimes practically equivalent to *heathen* (2 K 16^{3} 21^{2}, Ezr 6^{21}, Ps $2^{1.8}$, Jer 10^{2} etc.). From this point of view τὰ ἔθνη, the nations outside Isr., have no part in the covenants of promise (Eph 2^{12}), hence the emphasis which NT lays upon the new order of things when the mystery of the gospel (Eph 6^{19}) is made known (Ac 10^{45} 11^{18} 15^{9} etc.), until, finally, the difference between Jew and Gentile having disappeared, the word ἔθνη (heathen) may be simply opposed to the (united) Christian Church (1 Co 5^{1} 10^{20} 12^{2}, 1 Th 4^{5}, 1 P 2^{12}).

Israel's attitude towards other nations, never marked by much cordiality, underwent most important modifications in the post-exilic period. The reformation of Ezra deliberately aimed at fostering that spirit of exclusiveness which gave so much offence to the Gentile world, and which lent not a little colour to the charge of Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 5, cf. 1 Th 2^{15}) and others, that the Jews were enemies of the human race. Even to enter the house of a Gentile, and much more to eat with him, involved ceremonial uncleanness (Jn 18^{28}, Ac 10^{28} 11^{3}). In the Talm. (*Aboda Zara*, i. 1, 2) we find it enacted that for three days before and after a heathen festival it was unlawful to transact business with G., to lend to or borrow from them, to pay money to or receive it from them. Side by side, indeed, with this exclusiveness, a proselytizing tendency was developed, to which we find allusions both in Jos. and NT (*Ant.* XX. ii.–iv., Mt 23^{15}). By what seems at first a strange inconsistency, but which is easily susceptible of explanation, even G. who were not proselytes might have sacrifices offered in the temple. This, which is implied in Lv 22^{25}, is expressly asserted by Jos. (*c. Ap.* ii. 5; *Wars*, II. xvii. 2–4; *Ant.* XI. viii. 5, XIII. viii. 2, XVI. ii. 1, XVIII. v. 3; cf. 1 Mac 7^{33}). But that the G. could enter into full participation in the blessings of salvation except through the portal of Judaism, was an idea that dawned very slowly upon the minds even of some of the apostles of our Lord. The OT prophets suffered from the same limitations of vision. Even Deutero-Isaiah, who delights to describe the mission of Isr. to be a light to the G. (Is 42^{6} 49^{6}), doubtless regarded conformity to Israel's law as necessary on the part of the latter. It is true that Isaiah himself reaches the sublime conception of Egypt and Assyria being, equally with Israel, the object of God's complacency (Is 19^{23-25}), and that something approaching the conception of a universal religion set free from every trammel of national individuality is reached in Is 56^{6-7} and Zeph $3^{9.10}$. But these exceptions simply prove the rule. Even the Hel. Jews did not necessarily through contact with the G. rise superior to the ancestral contempt for everything outside the pale of Judaism. On the contrary, their pride and exclusiveness were sometimes intensified, as we see from the bitter opposition with which they met the work of St. Paul. And in the Christian Church itself there was considerable friction between Jewish and G. Christians—a fact which, in spite of the exaggerated importance attached to it by the Tübingen school, must never be left out of account in our construction of the early history of the Church. See further FOREIGNER, HEATHEN, PAUL, PROPHECY, PROSELYTE.

LITERATURE.—Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 51–56, 299–305, ii. 291–327, iii. 253, 268 f.; Briggs, *Mess. Proph.* 207, 391; W. R. Smith, *Proph. of Isr.* 336; Oehler, *OT Theol.* i. 261, ii. 363, 373, 398; Weiss, *NT Theol.* i. 129, ii. 17, 180, 289 f.; Weizsäcker, *Apost. Age*, i. 92 f.; Reuss, *Théol. Chrét. au siècle apost.* i. 353 f.; Baur, *Paulus*, i. 119 f.; Pfleiderer, *Paulinismus*, 275 f.; Farrar, *St. Paul*, i. 258, 285 f.; Trench, *NT Syn.* 352 f.; Thayer and Cremer s. ἔθνος, Ἕλλην, λαός; also Literature of art. FOREIGNER.

J. A. SELBIE.

GENTILES, COURT OF.—See TEMPLE.

GENTLENESS.—The word 'gentle' does not occur in OT except in RV of Jer 11^{19}, which tr^{s} כֶּבֶשׂ אַלּוּף 'a gentle lamb,' where AV has 'a lamb or an ox.' It occurs five times in NT (AV). In 1 Th 2^{7} and 2 Ti 2^{24} it corresponds to *ἤπιος*; it is the character proper to a nurse among trying children, or a teacher with refractory pupils. The RV keeps 'gentle' in both these passages, and it would be hard to find a better word. In Tit 3^{2}, Ja 3^{17}, 1 P 2^{18} 'gentle' is the AV tr. of *ἐπιεικής*. The difficulty of this word is shown by the fact that in 1 Ti 3^{3} it is rendered 'patient,' while in Ph 4^{5} *τὸ ἐπιεικὲς ὑμῶν* is tr. 'your moderation.' Yet RV uniformly renders *ἐπιεικής* 'gentle,' and in Ph 4^{5}, though it displaces 'moderation' by 'forbearance,' it puts 'gentleness' in the margin.

The general idea of the word '*ἐπιεικής*' is that which is suggested by equity as opposed to strict legal justice; it expresses the quality of considerateness, of readiness to look humanely and reasonably at the facts of a case. There is a good discussion of it in Trench, *Syn.* § xliii.: he thinks there are no words in English which answer exactly to it, the ideas of equity and fairness, which are essential to its import, usually getting less than justice in the proposed equivalents. As opposed to *πραΰτης*, 'meekness,' it is not easy to draw any other distinction than that *πραΰτης* is more inward and passive, a disposition or habit of the mind itself; *ἐπιείκεια*, 'gentleness,' is shown actively in relation to others. These words are found together, as characteristic of Christ, in 2 Co 10^{1}; *ἐπιείκεια* occurs once again in Ac 24^{4}, but here both AV and RV render it 'clemency.' 'Gentleness' in Gal 5^{22} is *χρηστότης*, a word which rather means 'goodness' or 'kindness.' The corresponding adjective is rendered in various places 'good,' 'kind,' 'gracious,' 'easy.'

The only occurrence of 'gentleness' in OT is 2 S 22^{36}=Ps 18^{35} 'Thy gentleness hath made me great.' The RV keeps 'gentleness' in the text, but gives 'condescension' in the margin, which is much better. It is properly 'thy lowliness' (עַנְוָתְךָ), *i.e.*, as Cheyne explains it, 'thy fellow-feeling with the lowly.' The key to the meaning is found in comparing such passages as Ps 113$^{5f.}$, Is 57^{15}, Zec 9^{9}, Mt 11^{29}. The rendering of 2 S 22^{36} in LXX, *ἡ ὑπακοή σου ἐπλήθυνέν με*, agrees with the MT עֲנֹתְךָ (עָנָה=*respondere*=*ὑπακούειν*). J. DENNEY.

GENUBATH (גְּנֻבַת, cf. Palmyrene גנבא, de Vogüé, No. 137, Γανηβάθ AB Luc.).—Son of Hadad, the fugitive Edomite prince, by the sister of Tahpenes queen of the Pharaoh who ruled Egypt at the close of the reign of David and the commencement of that of Solomon. Genubath was weaned by queen Tahpenes, and brought up in the palace among the sons of Pharaoh (1 K 11$^{19, 20}$).

C. F. BURNEY.

GEOGRAPHY.—See PALESTINE, WORLD.

GEOLOGY OF PALESTINE.—In dealing with this subject the name 'Palestine' will be taken in its widest sense to include both the western and eastern sections of country lying on either side of the Jordan-Arabah depression, as well as the mountainous region of Sinai on the south.

There are few countries in which the physical features more clearly indicate the internal geological structure than that we have now to consider; hence, in dealing with these features under distinct heads, we shall have to explain how they are dependent on the nature and position of the formations of which they are constructed.

I. PHYSICAL DIVISIONS.—The whole region is physically divisible into five sections or tracts of country, which the student of Scripture will find to be curiously interwoven with the historical events and incidents therein recorded. Indeed it may be said that without some knowledge of the features of Palestine it is impossible to understand accurately, or to grasp in their full meaning, many of the most important events of Bible history. Many of the articles in this work will serve to illustrate this statement.

1. *The Maritime Plain.*—The first of these physical tracts is the Maritime Plain, stretching along the Mediterranean coast from the Delta of the Nile to the base of Carmel, and including the land of Philistia and part of Phœnicia. Historically, 'the River of Egypt' (*Wady el-'Arîsh*), a waterless dell emptying into Lake Serbonis, should be regarded as the western border of Palestine, but physically it is not of importance. The Maritime Plain consists of a series of low, undulating hills and wide valleys rising into levels of 300 to 400 ft. above the sea inwards to the base of the central tableland; or, west of Gaza, gradually merging into the elevated plain of the Badiet et-Tîh. It is composed of sand, gravel, and soft calcareous sandstone; but considerable areas are covered by a rich brownish loam with exceedingly fertile properties, capable of producing wheat and other plants in abundance. Throughout almost its whole length the coast is bordered by a range of sandhills—sometimes rising to a height of 150 ft.—which are ever moving inland, impelled by the westerly winds, except where hindered by natural or artificial barriers; the natural barriers being streams. North of Carmel, the plain of Esdraelon (*Sanjak Akka*) is the representative of the Maritime Plain of Philistia, and it extends northwards with a gradually narrowing breadth to the mouth of the Nahr el-Kelb at Beirût. This line of coast was originally decorated with palm trees, and gave rise to the name of Phœnicia, by which it is known in ancient history.

2. *The Tableland of Western Palestine and the Desert of the Tîh.*—This forms the central and largest physical district of Palestine, stretching from the base of the Lebanon to the northern margin of the mountainous region of Sinai. On the west it is bounded by the low-lying Maritime tract just described, except where the bold headland of Mount Carmel thrusts itself out into the very waters of the Mediterranean; and on the east by the deep depression of the Jordan-Arabah Valley. Along its centre it consists of an elevated plateau of limestone; or, more frequently, of a narrow ridge invaded by deep ravines coming up from the Maritime Plain on the one hand, and from the Jordanic Valley on the other. Along this ridge runs the main high road from Syria to Hebron and the Sinaitic peninsula; and most of the important towns, including Safed, Bethel, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Hebron, are planted on this saddle. Some of the higher points rise to considerable elevations ranging up to over 3000 ft.; thus, Jerusalem at the temple area reaches 2593 ft., and Hebron 3040 ft. above the level of the Mediterranean. Towards the south (lat. 31° N.) the tableland of southern Judæa broadens out into the arid expanse of the Badiet et-Tîh ('Desert of the wanderings'), which stretches southwards as far as lat. 29°, and is perhaps the least known of any part of N. Palestine. It consists of a vast expanse of Cretaceous and Nummulite limestone breaking off along a high escarpment overlooking the plain of Lower Egypt and the Gulf of Suez towards the west, and in the opposite direction forming the western margin of the Wady el-Arabah along a somewhat indented line of limestone cliffs. Towards the south the Badiet et-Tîh terminates in the lofty escarpment of *Jebel Ejmeh*, which reaches a level of over 5000 ft. above the Red Sea, and is formed of strata of nearly horizontal lime-

stone superimposed on others of Nubian sandstone. To the south of this grand rampart of terraced strata rise the lofty ridges and peaks of the Sinaitic mountains.

The Badiet et-Tîh forms a nearly barren, repulsive, but broken tableland of an average level of 4000 ft., with little pasturage except in the neighbourhood of a few springs, and along the course of the valleys. That it was at a former period well watered we have clear evidence in the existence of these valleys themselves, some of which yield an intermittent supply of water, especially those which connect with the rivers Jeib and Fikreh, which enter the Dead Sea from the south. Kadesh-barnea was doubtless situated near the eastern margin of the Badiet et-Tîh.

The streams which descend on either hand from the tableland of Western Palestine generally have their sources in copious springs rising through the limestone strata — which, being highly porous, readily absorb the rain or snow which falls during the winter months. The rain thus imbibed sinks down and forms underground reservoirs which feed the springs. The valleys are generally bounded by steep, sometimes precipitous, banks of limestone; and, owing to the extraordinary depth of the Jordan Valley and its close proximity to the sources, the streams descending from the central watershed on the east side to enter the Jordan or Dead Sea have a very rapid fall. Thus the Wady el-Aujeh, which has its source at Mezráh esh-Sherkiyeh at a level of about 3000 ft. above the Mediterranean, reaches the Jordan at a depth of 1200 ft. below the same plane, having a fall of 4200 ft. within a distance of 15 miles, that is, at the rate of 280 ft. per mile. The Kelt (brook Cherith?), which rises at Bireh (Beeroth) at a height of 2800 ft. and flows for the most part between lofty walls of rock for a distance of 21 miles, reaches the Jordan at a depth of 1170 ft. below the Mediterranean level, the fall being at the rate of about 190 ft. per mile; and lastly, the Wady en-Nar (brook Kidron) rising to the east of Jerusalem after flowing through the deep gorge of Mar Saba, enters the Dead Sea at a level of 1290 ft. below that of the sea, and has a total fall of about 3692 ft. in 14 miles, being at the rate of 264 ft. per mile. The streams entering the Mediterranean have necessarily a less precipitous course, and flow with a gentle current on reaching the Maritime Plain. Throughout the greater part of their extent the hills of Western Palestine are very bare of soil, the limestone strata of which they are formed being clearly traceable by the eye along their flanks, or cropping out under the feet at the summit. But in the valleys where soil has accumulated, and especially where there is artificial irrigation, the fertility is extraordinary and amply rewards cultivation.

(3) *The Jordan-Arabah Valley.* — The third physical feature is that of the Jordan-Arabah Valley intervening between the tableland of Western Palestine and the high plateau of Edom, Moab, and the Jaulán. Commencing in Cœle-Syria at the base of the Lebanon, it ranges southwards to the Dead Sea, when it descends to its lowest level of 1292 ft. below the surface of the Mediterranean, as determined by the officers of the Ordnance Survey (see DEAD SEA); then continuing southwards, the floor of the valley gradually rises to a level of about 640 ft. above the same plane at er-Rishy, from which it descends with a very gentle slope to the head of the Gulf of 'Aḳabah, of which it forms the physical prolongation. As already stated (see ARABAH), this great depression coincides with a line of 'fault' (or fracture of the earth's crust), along which the strata have been vertically elevated on the east side, or depressed on the west—a view which can be demonstrated at many points by a comparison of the strata along the opposite sides of the valley. Thus at the saddle of er-Rishy, above referred to, we find the Cretaceous limestone forming the cliffs on the west side of the valley, while on the opposite side the Edomite cliffs are composed of masses of granite, porphyry, and schist surmounted by the Nubian sandstone, which is in turn overlain above Petra, at a level of about 4000 ft., by the same Cretaceous limestone of er-Rishy; being very nearly the amount of the vertical displacement of the strata which occurs along the line of fault at this spot. Somewhat similar are the relations of the rocks at the southern end of the Dead Sea; but along the line of the Jordanic Valley towards the Sea of Tiberias the displacement diminishes considerably, so that Cretaceous limestones are found forming both sides of the valley. The Jordan-Arabah 'fault' generally keeps very close to the base of the cliffs forming the eastern margin of the valley, and numerous branching, or parallel, 'faults' accompany the main line of displacement, at least in the region south of the Dead Sea.

The floor of the Jordan-Arabah Valley is formed of alluvial terraces, gravel, blown sand, and mud flats. The terraces are of various ages, the more ancient occupying higher levels; the more recent being only a little elevated above the waters of the Jordan and Dead Sea. The highest and most ancient of the terraces are those seen at Ayûn Buweirdeh, occupying a position in the centre of the valley about 30 miles S. of the southern end of the Dead Sea, and at a level nearly corresponding to that of the Mediterranean. They are formed of calcareous marls with fresh- or brackish-water shells of the genera *Neritina*, *Melania*, *Melanopsis*, etc., and point to a time when the waters of a great lake occupied a position about 1300 ft. above the present surface of the Dead Sea. This lake must have extended northwards, so as to include the whole of the Jordan Valley as far as the Lake of Hûleh, a distance of about 200 miles. Next in importance to the terrace above described is that which may be recognized all round the margin of the Dead Sea hollow, known as the 'Ghor,' rising about 600 ft. above its surface —and formed of saliferous marls with gypsum on the west side, and of gravel and sand on the east. The salt terrace (Khasm Usdum) is referable to this horizon; and besides this, there are two or three distinct terraces at lower levels. The surface of the Sea of Tiberias which lies in the upper part of the Jordan Valley is 682 ft. *below* that of the Mediterranean, while the Lake of Hûleh rises to 7 ft. *above* this level. Still proceeding northwards the Jordan itself has its source in the copious fountains of Banias (Cæsarea Philippi) which burst forth, 'full grown at birth,' from the base of Mount Hermon, fed by the well-nigh perennial snows which crown the dome-shaped summit, which, at a height of 10,000 ft. above the level of the sea, dominates all objects terrestrial as far as the eye can reach.*

(4) *The Tableland of Edom, Moab, and the Jaulân.*— This section of country has to some extent been described under the head of the ARABAH (wh. see). Bounded on the west by the deep depression above described, it forms the western margin of the great Arabian Desert, the home of the wandering Bedawîn. Commencing on the north at the base of Mount Hermon, it stretches as a gradually ascending tableland southwards, through the Jaulân and Haurân (Trachonitis), into the ancient kingdoms of Ammon, Moab, and

---

* For an account of these springs, see Tristram, *Land of Israel*^{2}, 585.

Edom. Breaking off along a steep escarpment or series of scarps on the western side, on overlooking the Dead Sea it reaches a level of 3000 ft. above the Mediterranean, and farther south at Petra rises to still higher levels. In this latter part of its range the escarpment is much broken by ravines which penetrate its sides, and cause repetitions of the features along lines of 'faulting'; but, on approaching the head of the Gulf of 'Aḳabah, the escarpment becomes more consolidated, and the granite walls, penetrated by numerous igneous dykes of porphyry, basalt, and diorite, rise with an abrupt ascent from the Valley of the Arabah to levels of 5000 or 6000 ft. above the surface of the gulf. Here the intensely red colour assumed by the rocks has given rise to the name *Jebel en-Nur* ('mountain of fire') which is applied to the heights above 'Aḳabah. At this point the gorge of the Wady el-Ithem offers the only accessible road by which the Arabian Desert can be reached from the Arabah Valley until we arrive opposite Mount Hor (*Jebel Haroun*) at a distance of 45 miles to the northward, and this must consequently have been the route by which the Israelites circumvented the land of Edom when marching towards the plains of Moab on their way to the Promised Land;—the more direct way having been denied them by the king of Edom (Nu 20^{14-21}). The flanks of the tableland are intersected by numerous channels of mountain torrents—those to the southward near 'Aḳabah being generally dry, except after thunderstorms, when they bring down quantities of stones and shingle which they throw out in fan-shaped ramps at the mouth of each wady. A perennial stream, however, flows through the Wady Mûsa at Petra and along the Wady Haroun. But when we reach the borders of Moab and a region of greater rainfall to the northward, streams become more frequent and copious, and the Hessi, Kerat, the Arnon (*Mojib*), and Zerḳa Ma'in (*Callirhoë*), together with numerous smaller brooks, descend the slopes into the Dead Sea from perennial springs.

The southern portion of this tableland within the limits here imposed is made of very ancient formations, consisting of granite, schist, porphyry, and other igneous rocks which pass, in a northerly direction towards Petra, below great masses of red and variegated sandstone of, perhaps, two geological ages, the Carboniferous and Cretaceous. These sandstones often rise in courses of cyclopian masonry above the granitic base; sometimes forming terraces, sometimes truncated pyramids, or rampart-like breastworks, of which Mount Hor offers a striking example. These sandstone strata line the flanks of the escarpment to some, not well-determined, point in the Jordan Valley north of the Dead Sea; but they are everywhere superimposed by the white calcareous strata of Cretaceous age which gradually descend northwards from the Edomite plateau to the bed of the Jordan itself, and constitute the sides of the Jordanic Valley to the margin of the Sea of Galilee.

The region of the Jaulân and Haurân, which in some sense forms a continuation of the Moabite plateau, is an elevated plain formed altogether of sheets of basaltic lava, from the surface of which rise the truncated cones of extinct volcanoes, generally clothed with forests of oak. It is altogether uncertain at what period the volcanic fires became extinct, but it seems probable that it was not later than the close of the Pleistocene, or Glacial period, and was therefore synchronous with the gradual recession of the waters of the great Jordan Valley lake; the proximity of water being necessary to volcanic activity. On the other hand, the relations of the lava streams, both in this region and in the vicinity of the Dead Sea, to the Cretaceous strata, make it clear that the period of greatest volcanic action was long posterior to the age of these rocks themselves, and may be referred to that of the Pliocene. There is, moreover, no evidence that these volcanoes were in active eruption during the period of the early occupation of the country by man.

(5) *The Sinaitic Peninsula.*—In marked contrast, both as regards form and colour, to the plateaux and terraces of Western Palestine and the Badiet et-Tîh, characterized by greyish and yellowish tints, is the mountainous region of Sinai lying between the two arms of the Red Sea, and bounded along the northern margin by the escarpment of the Cretaceous and Nummulite limestones of Jebel Ejmeh above described. Here we find ourselves in presence of a group of noble mountains, crowned by peaks and serrated ridges, traversed by broad sinuous valleys which form the highways by which the traveller must find his way, and which are now generally dry, though once the channels of rivers and streams. The Sinaitic mountains are formed of rocks amongst the most ancient in the world, and referable to the Archæan age; and, as they are bare and destitute of verdure, they rise above the valleys in naked walls rich in their natural colouring of red, purple, and blue. It is only along the valleys that the green of verdure is seen, owing to the growth of small scrub and desert flowers, with groups of palms and tamarisks around the springs of water. These rescue the region from the reproach of utter barrenness, and allow the Arab to pitch his camp, and even to pasture his flocks of sheep and goats. The mountain summits rise to high elevations. At the head of the group stands the twin-peaked Jebel Katharina, reaching a height of 8551 ft. above the sea; next, Jebel Umm Shomer, 8449 ft.; then Jebel Mûsa (the traditional Mount Sinai), 7373 ft.; and Jebel Serbâl, which though not the highest is certainly the most striking of the series, because of its isolated position and serried outline; its summit reaches an elevation of 6734 ft. above the Gulf of Suez.* Standing on the summit of Sinai, the scene is most striking and impressive. The tumultuous assemblage of peaks and serrated ridges formed of rocks of granite and porphyry, whose natural reddish tints have been deepened and intensified by the powerful rays of the sun; the profound gorges and valleys walled in by lofty cliffs of naked rock; the absence of trees and verdure, except along the floors of the valleys, —all tend to impress the beholder with the conviction that he is here gazing on the face of nature under one of her most savage forms, in which the ideas of solitude, waste, and desolation contend with those of awe and admiration. This assemblage of peaks and ridges is bounded towards the east and west by the deep depressions of the Gulfs of Suez and 'Aḳabah; towards the north, distant glimpses of the tableland of the Tîh are obtained; while the mountains of Edom, rising beyond the Gulf of 'Aḳabah and the valley of the Arabah, bound the view in the direction of the great Desert of Arabia.

II. GEOLOGICAL FORMATIONS.—The formations of which the above tracts of country are composed range from the most ancient to the most recent;—but with wide gaps in the general succession as determined in other regions. For example, we have no representatives of the Cambrian, Silurian, Devonian, Permian, Triassic, or Jurassic formations, all of which are well developed in the British Islands; and we are therefore driven to the conclusion that Palestine presented conditions unsuited to the deposition of strata during these periods; or else that beds belonging to one or more of these periods having been deposited, had afterwards been removed by denuding agencies; but this is the less probable supposition.

---

* The elevations were determined by the officers of the Ordnance Survey of Sinai. The height of Jebel Mûsa, calculated by Mr. R. Laurence from Suez by aneroid, was 7585 ft., and from 'Aḳabah was 7595 ft., both over those of the Ordnance Survey, but probably less reliable. (See Hull, *Mount Seir*, 48).

The general succession of the formations present in Palestine is as follows in descending order:—

Geological Formations.

Recent	1. Sandhills and Desert sands. 2. Alluvial deposits of the Jordan and other streams.
From Pluvial to Pliocene.	1. Raised sea-beaches; sand and gravel with shells. 2. Calcareous marls, saliferous beds, sand and gravel forming terraces in the Jordan-Arabah Valley; old Lake beds in Arabia-Petræa.
More Recent Volcanic rocks.	Basalt, dolerite, tuff, etc.
Eocene	1. Calcareous Sandstone of Philistia (?). 2. Nummulite limestone series.
Cretaceous	1. Cretaceous limestone with marls, etc. 2. 'Nubian sandstone.'
Lower Carboniferous	1. Wady Nasb limestone. 2. Desert sandstone and conglomerate.
Volcanic Series	Agglomerates, beds of lava, ashes, and tuff of indeterminate age.
Archæan	Granitic gneiss, granite, hornblendic and other schists; dykes of diorite, porphyry, etc.

(*a*) *Archæan.* — These rocks are found only amongst the Sinaitic and Edomite mountains, and are considered to be the representatives of the crystalline masses which come to the surface from beneath the Nubian sandstone at the First Cataract of the Nile. They lie at the base of all the formations in this part of the world, and have been referred by Fraas to the Archæan period.* They consist of hornblendic, chloritic, and talcose schists of the Wadis Nasb, Sarabit, and Feirân, underlain by reddish and greyish granite and gneiss. These rocks are penetrated by innumerable dykes and ridges of red felstone-porphyry, diorite, and basalt, of later, but indeterminate, age; except that they are more ancient than the Nubian sandstone of the Cretaceous period, or the Desert sandstone of the Carboniferous.

(*b*) *Volcanic Series.*—To the period of these dykes may be referable the stratified lavas, tuffs, and agglomerates of the Wady Haroun and Jebel esh-Shomrah (or Shomar) which form the basement beds east of the Dead Sea,† and are overlain by the Desert sandstone. Magnificent sections of agglomerate and igneous intrusions are laid open in the Wady el-Hessi, near es-Safieh, but their age is indeterminate beyond the fact that they are later than the Archæan and earlier than the Cretaceous or Carboniferous periods.

(*c*) *Carboniferous Beds.* — One of the most remarkable discoveries amongst the geological series of Palestine was that of Carboniferous rocks in the Wady Nasb by H. Bauerman in 1868,‡ afterwards extended to the eastern bank of the Dead Sea at Lebruj, near es-Safieh, by the Expedition of the *PEF* in 1883–84.§ The formation consists of red, purple, and variegated sandstone, which the writer has named 'the Desert sandstone' below, surmounted by blue limestone containing shells and corals of Carboniferous limestone species, such as *Spirifer striatus, S. attenuatus, Productus scabriculus, Orthis michelini, Syringopora ramulosa, Fenestella plebia* (?), and others. The occurrence of these strata in two widely-separated localities suggests the idea that they once occupied an extended and connected area, and have subsequently been dissevered by denudation. That the limestone is a marine deposit formed over the floor of the sea during a period of submergence, is shown by the names of the fossils above quoted, which are all of marine species and genera. These fragmental tracts may only be relics of a formation which included the upper division of the Carboniferous system, but which has been subsequently removed by denuding agencies.

(*d*) *Cretaceous Beds; Nubian Sandstone* (Russegger).—In the absence of several formations which in Europe and the British Isles succeed the Carboniferous, the Cretaceous strata are found in Arabia Petræa resting on an eroded surface of the older formations above described, whether of Carboniferous or of Archæan age. The formation is, however, only found represented by its upper members; the lower, belonging to the stages Neocomian, Urgonian, Aptian, and Albian not being here represented. Notwithstanding this *hiatus*, the Cretaceous is the most important of all the formations of Palestine, stretching from the southern margin of the Badiet et-Tîh to the Lebanon, and forming large tracts of the great Arabian desert east of the Jordan-Arabah depression. It is represented by two divisions; the lower or Nubian sandstone (Cenomanian of D'Orbigny) the equivalent of our 'Upper Greensand,' and by the Cretaceous limestone and marl, the equivalents of our Chalk and Chalkmarl (Senonian and Turonian). The Nubian sandstone consists of red and variegated, rather soft sandstone with a conglomerate of small pebbles of quartzite, granite, porphyry, and jasper at its base. Its thickness is exceedingly variable, owing to the irregularities of the floor of older rocks over which it was deposited, and its only fossils are fragments of plants at rare intervals. All along the escarpment of the Tîh from the Wady Hamr to the Gulf of 'Aḳabah it underlies the white limestones and marls of the upper Cretaceous beds, and along the flanks of the great western escarpment from 'Aḳabah to the northern end of the Dead Sea and beyond it is interposed between the crystalline rocks and the same calcareous strata.* On approaching the Sinaitic mountains, the Nubian and Desert sandstones may be observed in isolated masses capping the Archæan rocks; sometimes rising from their bases in truncated pyramids; and in the Wady el-'Ain, which is a continuation of the Wady Zelagah, one of the most remarkable old river courses in the peninsula, the walls of Nubian sandstone rise on either hand to a height of several hundred feet above the floor.† But it is in the Wady Mûsa at Petra that this formation is displayed to best advantage. Rising in nearly vertical walls from the floor of the valley and its branches, the sandstone has formed the material out of which the tombs and temples have been sculptured in various forms of architecture, displaying marvellous varieties of colour in yellow, orange, red, and purple shades, which have called forth the admiration of all travellers (see Petra). These colours are due to the presence of various mineral pigments, of which oxides of iron, manganese, and possibly copper, are the most abundant.

The Nubian sandstone is probably a lacustrine deposit laid down over the floor of a vast inland lake, the boundaries of which, owing to extensive geological changes, it is now impossible to define except at distant intervals. One portion of this boundary was undoubtedly formed of the rocks of the Sinaitic group of mountains; other portions may be discovered in Central Africa; and the lake itself may have been connected with the Cretaceous ocean in the direction of the Mediterranean.* The formation was accumulated from the waste of granitic and plutonic rocks forming the surrounding lands now partly submerged beneath the waters of the ocean.

---

* *Aus dem Orient*, p. 7.

† 'Phys. Geol. Arabia Petræa,' *Mem. PEF*, p. 37.

‡ *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.* vol. xxv. p. 17.

§ *Mem. Geol. Arab. Petr. and Palest.* p. 47.

* Except where carboniferous or volcanic beds are present.

† A view of this gorge is given in the frontispiece of Hull's *Mount Seir*.

(*e*) *Cretaceous Limestone.*—This great series of calcareous strata immediately succeeds the Nubian sandstone; and as it is altogether a marine deposit, it must have been formed over the bed of the ocean after a general subsidence and submergence of the region occupied by the lacustrine waters of the previous period. The lower beds are chiefly formed of white calcareous marls succeeded by harder limestone strata with bands of siliceous chert or flint. The following section taken in the Wady el-Hessi, at the S.E. border of the Badiet et-Tîh, will serve to give a general idea of the character of the lower portion of the formation. (1) Lowest beds;—light-blue calcareous marl, passing downwards into dark-blue clay with selenite, 250 ft. thick; (2) soft white limestone, with rare bands of chert, 200 ft.; (3) hard siliceous limestone with numerous bands of chert, forming the top of the cliff, about 200 ft. thick. Fine sections are also laid open on ascending the flanks of the escarpment overlooking the basin of the Dead Sea (the 'Ghor') on the eastern side, of which Lartet gives the details.† The total thickness of the Cretaceous limestone series may reach 800 to 1000 ft., and amongst the fossil forms the following may be cited: *Ammonites Luynesi*, *A. rhotamargensis*, *Pholadomya Luynesi*, *Ostrea Mermeti*, *O. flabellata*, *Hippurites*, etc. *Foraminifera*, visible only under the microscope, doubtless are abundantly present.

Building Stone.—The uppermost beds of the Cretaceous limestone yield an excellent building stone which has been used in the construction of the buildings in and about Jerusalem, including the walls of the temple. The stone has been extracted from the large quarries and caverns near the Damascus gate. The rock is hard, compact, and delicately coloured, capable not only of furnishing large blocks such as may be seen at the 'Wailing Place of the Jews,' but of being worked into ornaments and smaller objects of use, and of receiving a polish. Fraas gives the following section of the beds in descending order at this spot‡:—

1. Craie blanche (*Senonien*).
2. Étage supérieure des *Hippurites* ('Misseh').
3. Étage inférieure des *Hippurites* ('Melekeh').
4. Zone of *Ammonites rhotomargensis* (Turonian).

No. 2 ('Misseh') of the above section affords the principal building stone, and is 16 ft. in thickness; and Sir C. W. Wilson has shown that the reservoirs, sepulchres, and cellars under and around the city are excavated in the soft beds of No. 3 ('Melekeh') underlying the firmer beds of the 'Misseh,' which form the platforms for the buildings.§

(*f*) *Lower Eocene Beds; Nummulite Limestone.*—This formation, though belonging to the Tertiary division of the geological series, immediately succeeds the Cretaceous limestone just described, and bears so general a resemblance to it that together they appear to constitute one great calcareous formation, incapable of separation. This apparent continuity is, however, illusory, as has been shown by Zittel in the case of Egypt and the Nubian Desert; and a detailed survey would doubtless have the result of showing that the two formations are disconnected by an unconformity, however slight. The latest explorer of the geological features of Palestine, Dr. Blanckenkorn, is clearly of opinion that the two formations are capable of separation;* and Lartet had previously expressed the same view.

The Nummulite limestone is but sparingly represented in Palestine. It forms the southern slopes of part of the Lebanon,† is found capping Mount Carmel, and occurs in isolated masses at Sebastieh (Samaria), Nablûs (Shechem), and the vicinity of Jerusalem. It also overspreads a large tract of the western Tîh plateau, as it has been identified by its characteristic fossils in the limestone cliffs which overlook the Isthmus of Suez, but its inland limits remain to be determined with any degree of accuracy.

The lower beds of the formation consist of white marls and chalky limestone with *Nummulites*, surmounting the harder beds of Cretaceous age: these are succeeded by white limestones with bands of flint, resembling those of the latter period; and, as Lartet has pointed out, this general resemblance causes much uncertainty in the discrimination of the two formations on the spot. The Nummulite limestone is an oceanic deposit laid down under similar conditions of deposition to those of the Cretaceous beds, but with an interval of slight disturbance and movement in the floor of the sea. The fossils are distinctly of Tertiary genera and species.

(*g*) *Upper Eocene? Calcareous Sandstone of Philistia.*—This formation is frequently laid open in small sections between Beersheba and Jaffa, and in the Plain of Philistia. It consists of soft yellowish calcareous sandstone; but its relations to the Cretaceous and Nummulite beds are unknown, as the junction has not been observed. The writer has provisionally assigned these strata to the Upper Eocene stage, for reasons which are too much involved to be stated at length here.‡ No fossils were noticed in the sandstone; and it is only right to observe that Blanckenkorn considers it to be of post-Tertiary or Diluvial origin. Its real age is one of those points remaining to be determined by future exploration.

(*h*) *Miocene Period.*—This epoch in the geological history of Palestine is unrepresented by any known strata; yet it was one of the greatest importance as regards the development of the physical features of this region, and, it may be added, of that of the whole basin of the Mediterranean and surrounding districts. The Miocene was the great land-forming epoch, during which the general outlines of the existing land surfaces were finally determined, and the relative areas of land and sea were constituted as they exist to this day. Down to the close of the preceding Eocene epoch the whole of Palestine, including the Lebanon and the Great Desert east of the Arabah, formed the bed of the ocean, the only emergent portions being the Sinaitic mountain-tops; all to the northward, eastward, and westward as far as the borders of the Atlas mountains, was overspread by the waters of the ocean. But with the close of the Eocene period a great physical change set in. Owing to contraction and movements in the crust, the sea-bed was elevated into land in the tracts bordering the Great Sea. Mountains, such as the Lebanon, were upraised; the strata were bent, folded, and fissured; and amongst the greatest of these fissures was that of the Jordan-Arabah Valley, along which the tableland of Edom and Moab was elevated into land. In a word, all the main physical features of the region here being passed under review had their first inception; and although they have been somewhat modified during succeeding periods, these modifications have not materially altered the main outlines of the land. River channels have been originated and deepened, and the land-surfaces have been somewhat eroded and worn down, but the main features remain as they were at the close of the Miocene period. These terrestrial changes occupied, without doubt, a vast length of geological time.

---

* In North Africa the boundary lay along the northern base of the Ahaggar Mountains in lat. 25° N. and the Morocco Atlas on the north, as the present writer has shown elsewhere; 'Geological History of Egypt and the Nile Valley,' *Trans. Vict. Inst.* vol. xxiv. p. 307 (with Map).

† *Voyage d'exploration*, p. 70, fig. 6.

‡ *Aus dem Orient*, p. 54.

§ *Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem.*

* 'Entstehung u. Geschichte d. Todten Meeres,' *ZDPV* (1896).

† Carl Diener, *Der Libanon.*

‡ These reasons are stated in the *Mem.* 'Phys. Geol. Arabia Petræa,' p. 64.

(*i*) *Pliocene to Pluvial.*—The deposits referable to this period consist of raised beaches on the areas bordering the Mediterranean and Red Seas, and the terraces of the Jordan-Arabah Valley; these latter having been already described, our observations here will be confined to the old sea-terraces.

After the great emergence and elevation of land areas which had taken place during the preceding Miocene period, there appears to have been a subsidence to the extent of at least 220 or 230 ft. around the shores of the Mediterranean and Red Seas. The escarpments bordering the Delta of the Nile, and those of the Tîh and Western Palestine, again became sea-cliffs, with beaches at their base, while the waters of the Mediterranean and Red Seas commingled along the Isthmus of Suez. The amount of the submergence, as above stated, is demonstrated in the clearest manner by the occurrence of old sea-beaches both in Egypt and Palestine, at or about this level; of which the most remarkable is that known as 'Fraas' beach,' at Jebel Mokattam, above Cairo, and again at the Great Pyramid platform near Ghizeh. This occurs at a level of 220 ft. above the sea, and is characterized by beds of sand and gravel with marine shells, some of which are extinct species, while others are still living in the Red Sea; the cliffs of limestone are also penetrated by numerous borings of *Teredo*. Similar beds of gravel with shells may be observed on the eastern margin of the Gulf of Suez, as well as in the Arabah Valley up to a level of nearly 200 ft. above the Gulf of 'Aḳabah. But the most important case is that occurring in the valley of the Sherîah at Tell Abu Hareireh, east of Gaza, at a level of 200 to 220 ft. above the Mediterranean on both sides of the stream — a level corresponding to that of the raised beach above Cairo. Here the terrace lies in a hollow formed in the 'calcareous sandstone of Philistia,' which is clearly of older date than the shelly gravels of the raised beach: the following is the section in descending order;—

	ft.	in.	
1. Loam	5	0	thick.
2. Soft calcareous sandstone in thin layers	10	0	,,
3. Beds of shells (chiefly casts)	0	6	,,
4. Soft calcareous sandstone, with small pebbles of flint and oyster shells .	5	0	,,
5. River-bed; hard calcareous sandstone (thickness unknown) . . . (over)	2	0	,,

The shells in bed No. 3 consist of the genera *Turritella*, *Dentalium*, *Artemis*, *Pecten*, *Cardium*, *Ostrea*, and spines of *Echinus*.*

All along the lower parts of the Maritime Plain extending for several miles inland from Jaffa, and rising from 200 to 300 ft., shelly sands and beds of gravel may be observed; and again inland from Beirût this ancient sea-bed may be observed at intervals, varying in character and composition, as at Ramleh, Lydda (Ludd) and Lokandel el-Motram in the valley between Beirût and the western spurs of the Lebanon, where it consists of conglomerate of water-worn pebbles of limestone, and may be referable to the later Pliocene age. The more recent sea-beaches, formed during the rising of the beds in the Pleistocene age, occupy lower levels, and are characterized by Mediterranean forms, such as *Pectunculus violascens*, *Purpura hemastoma*, and *Murex brandaris*, etc.

The submergence of the Palestine and adjoining areas, after the present land-surface had been determined, and subsequent re-elevation to existing levels, is therefore clearly determined by the above instances of old sea-margins. Meanwhile, in the region of the Jordan-Arabah depression, corresponding changes had been going on, resulting in the formation of terraces at various levels from that of the outer sea to the present margins of the inland lakes, but in time extending into the Pleistocene (or Pluvial) period; with some account of which, as far as it concerns the Palestine area, our review of the geological history of this region properly ends.

(*j*) *Pluvial to Recent.*—The general refrigeration of the climate in the northern hemisphere referable to the Glacial epoch, which was accompanied in the temperate zone by accumulations of snow and the advance of glacial ice, did not leave Palestine altogether unaffected; on the contrary, it has left indelible traces on its physical features. We know through the observations of several travellers, commencing with Sir J. D. Hooker, that there are old glacier moraines in the Lebanon at a level of 4000 ft. above the sea, and that one of the principal groups of old cedars is planted on a large moraine.* The presence of glaciers in the Lebanon being thus established, we necessarily infer the existence of a climate resembling rather that of the Caucasus and the Alps than that of the present day; perhaps we may say that the mean annual temperature, which is now about 70° Fahr., was at this epoch of extreme cold about 55° or 60°, and a correspondingly lower temperature extended over all the countries to the south of the Lebanon.† A further inference may be drawn, namely, that the rainfall all over Palestine, and extending into the Sinaitic peninsula, was considerably larger than at present, and the evaporation less rapid; and the general result would be that the present rivers and streams would have been larger, and valleys which, like those of the Badiet el-Tîh, are now destitute of streams, were channels for running water. It may be readily conceived that, when the perennial snows of the Lebanon were melting during the spring and summer, the waters of the Jordan were swollen far beyond their present limits, and that the surface of the Dead Sea, now retained at its present low level by the equalization of river supply and evaporation, must have risen to a limit far above that of the present day. We cannot, therefore, feel surprise at the evidences of former greater levels of the 'Jordan-Valley lake' afforded by the terraces rising hundreds of feet above the present surface of the Dead Sea, which have been described; they were the necessary result of greater influx of waters from streams, and of smaller evaporation, due to the humidity of the atmosphere and decreased temperature in the climate as compared with that of the present day. As the glacial conditions of the Pleistocene epoch passed away, and those of the present day gradually came into operation by a corresponding process in an opposite direction, the lakes and streams would naturally assume their present limits, or in some instances actually disappear. E. HULL.

---

* 'Geol. Arab. Petræa, etc.,' p. 74. A figure showing the relations of this raised beach to the calcareous sandstone is shown, *ib.* p. 64.

* 'On the Cedars of Lebanon,' *Nat. Hist. Rev.* 1862; Hooker's original observations have been confirmed by Tristram and Lartet.

† Fraas supposes there were glaciers amongst the mountains of Sinai, but the present writer was unable to recognize any clear evidence in support of this view in 1883-84.

GEORGIAN VERSION.—See VERSION.

GEPHYRUN (Γεφυρούν).—A city captured by Judas Maccabæus, 2 Mac 12^{13}. AV, perhaps rightly accentuating γεφυροῦν (infin. of γεφυρόω), tr. 'he went also about to make a bridge to a certain city.' RV has 'he also fell upon a certain city Gephyrun,' and appends marginal note, 'The relation between the names *Gephyrun* and *Caspin* is unknown, and perhaps the Greek text is corrupt. Compare *Gephrun*, the name of a city of Gilead mentioned by Polybius, V. lxx. 12, and *Caspor*, 1 Mac $5^{26.36}$.' Jos. (*Ant*. XII. viii. 5) gives the name as Ephron. The site is unknown.

GER (גֵּר) is a Heb. term which in AV is generally rendered 'stranger.' The fact that the same tr^{n} is adopted also for other words whose proper equivalent is 'foreigner,' creates needless confusion, which might be avoided either by leaving *gêr*, which is a technical term, untranslated, or by translating it 'protected stranger.' Driver (*Deut.* p. 126) suggests that the rendering might uniformly be '**sojourner**' (so frequently in RV), which would preserve the connexion in EV with the verb 'sojourn' (גּוּר) in such passages as Gn 12^{10} 19^{9} 47^{4}, Is 52^{4}.

In opposition to the *nokhri*, who is often a mere *passing* stranger ('thou camest but yesterday,' 2 S 15^{20}), the *gêr*, while not homeborn, is a temporary *dweller* in the land (Gn 23^{4} [P | תּוֹשָׁב]) of Abraham at Hebron; Ex 2^{22} [J] of Moses in the desert, 18^{3} [E] to explain the name Gershom; fig. of J″, Jer 14^{8}; of Israel in Egypt, Gn 15^{13}, Ex 22^{21} 23^{9} [all JE], Lv 19^{34} [H], Dt 10^{19} 23^{8}; more frequently of *gêrim* in Israel (*e.g.* 2 S 1^{13} an Amalekite, cf. Jos $8^{33.35}$ [E] 20^{9} [P], Is 14^{1}). The LXX, which twice transliterates גֵּר (Aram. גִּיּוֹר) by γ(ε)ιώρας, Ex 12^{19}, Is 14^{1}, uses πάροικος 11 times to tr. גֵּר and 10 times for תּוֹשָׁב. πάροικος answers to the classical μέτοικος (which is not used by LXX except in Jer 20^{3} and not at all in NT). μέτοικος designated a resident in a community who had not the same rights as a native citizen. As גֵּר occupies a position intermediate between אֶזְרָח (native) and נָכְרִי (foreigner), so does μέτοικος between ἀστός or πολίτης and ξένος. Of course the μέτοικος was from one point of view a foreigner, and might be called ξένος; hence οἱ ἐπιδημοῦντες ξένοι is in Ac 17^{21} rightly applied to the μέτοικοι at Athens. πάροικος appears in NT in same sense as in LXX (Ac $7^{6.29}$, Eph 2^{19}, 1 P 2^{11}). The ξένοι καὶ πάροικοι of Eph 2^{19} is specially instructive; it answers exactly to the *peregrini atque incolæ* of Cic. *de Offic.* i. 34.

The *gêr* in the oldest time is a stranger who dwells under the protection of a family or a tribe to which he does not belong. He is not necessarily a non-Israelite. In Dt 18^{6} Jg 17^{7-9} 19^{1} the term is applied to Levites (see Driver and Moore, *ad loc.*). The position of the *gêr* in Israel is illustrated by W. R. Smith from the precisely analogous institution of the *jâr* among the Arabs. He lives in the midst of the community personally free, but possessed of no political rights. He has left his own kin, it may be on account of a feud, or simply in order to benefit himself, and has cast himself upon the protection of a powerful chief or clan in his new dwelling-place. The institution is still known in Arabia (*$OTJC^{2}$* 342 n.).

In return for the protection accorded him the *gêr* had services to render. He was not indeed a slave (Micah's Levite not only enjoyed personal freedom but received wages, Jg 17^{10}, Gn 29^{15}, Dt 24^{14}), but his lot was at times hard enough (cf. Gn 31^{7-40} Jacob's complaint of his treatment by Laban). Nothing evidences the precarious position of the *gêr* better than the frequent OT exhortations to act justly by him Dt 1^{16} 24^{17} 27^{19}, to show him kindness Dt 10^{19} 26^{12}, to refrain from oppressing him Ex 22^{21} 23^{9} (both JE), Lv 19^{33} (H), Dt 24^{14}, Jer 7^{6}, Zec 7^{10}. Hence probably also the repeated injunction that he was to enjoy the Sabbath rest Ex 20^{10} 23^{12} (both JE), Dt 5^{14}.

A man might be the *gêr* of a king or of the chief of a clan rather than of the whole community. A typical instance of this is found in David's relation to Achish of Gath. The Phil. lords will have nothing to do with 'these Hebrews' (1 S 29^{3}). David as the *gêr* of Achish was expected to make the interests of his patron his own (1 S 27^{12}), and in particular to go to war along with him even against his native country ($28^{1ff.}$).

A whole clan or tribe might be *gêrim* (Jos 9 the Gibeonites, 2 S 4^{2} the Beerothites; and even Israel in Egypt is described as a *gêr* Gn 15^{13}, Ex 22^{21} 23^{9} [all JE], Lv 19^{34} (H), Dt 10^{19} 23^{8}). In such cases, also, services had to be rendered in return for protection (*e.g.* by Jacob's family according to their occupation Gn 47^{6}, by the Gibeonites in hewing wood and drawing water Jos 9^{27}, by the Israelites in the building of cities Ex $1^{13f.}$). It frequently happened that these *gêrim* were ultimately absorbed into the tribe whose protection they had invoked. See FOREIGNER, and cf. Kuenen, *Rel. Isr.* i. 182 f.

There were also *gêrim* of a god or a temple, who acted as ἱερόδουλοι in return for the protection accorded by the deity or the sanctuary. Evidence of this is furnished by such Phœn. proper names as Ger'ashtart (see ASHTORETH, p. 168^{a}), Germelḳart, etc. (cf. the גּוּר of Ps 5^{4} 15^{1} 61^{4}, and see Cheyne, *ad loc.*, and W. R. Smith, *RS* p. 77 ff.). The Gibeonites may have belonged to this class, and the list of 'Nethinim' (Ezr $2^{43ff.}$ = Neh $7^{46ff.}$) contains many names of unquestionably foreign origin (Wellh. *Proleg.* 225 n.).

The close connexion which subsisted in the popular imagination between each land and its god, demanded that whoever settled there must serve the tutelary deity (2 K $17^{24ff.}$ the story of the Assyr. colonists of Samaria). Hence the Sabbath rest (Ex 20^{10} 23^{12}, Dt 5^{14}) is not only a privilege enjoyed by the *gêr*, but an obligation imposed upon him. On the other hand, we read of Solomon (and it corresponds with the cosmopolitan character of his policy) that he built sanctuaries at Jerus. for a number of foreign deities (1 K $11^{7f.}$). These were doubtless intended to serve, not only for his wives, but for others belonging to foreign nationalities who had been attracted to his capital, and who may have had, as in later times (Neh 13^{16}), their own quarter of the city. In like manner, the Israelites who had bazaars at Damascus (1 K 20^{34}) prob. erected altars built of earth from the land of Israel (cf. 2 K 5^{17}), and maintained the worship of J″ side by side with that of the Syrian gods. Solomon's example was copied by Ahab for the benefit of his wife and of the Tyrians and Zidonians who would frequent his court (1 K $16^{32f.}$).

This syncretism in worship and tolerance of dissent from the national religion, which were greatly favoured by the existence of a multitude of local sanctuaries, received a check through the introduction of the Deuteronomic legislation with its central sanctuary, but far more through the enactments of the Priests' Code (P). The ideas introduced in Dt of Israel as a holy people, and of the land as not to be 'defiled' (21^{23}), led logically to the conclusion that the *gêr* who sojourned in Israel must conform as far as possible to the same regulations as the covenant people. Accordingly, we meet with an extension both of the privileges and the duties of the *gêr*. In D, indeed, matters are not carried so far as in P. In Dt 14^{21} the *gêr* is allowed to eat the flesh of an animal that has died of itself, acc. to Lv 17^{15} he is defiled no less than the Isr. by such an act. On the other hand, no difference is recognized between Isr. and *gêr* in the following particulars:—The *gêr* is to participate in the Feast of Weeks (Dt $16^{10f.}$), of Tabernacles ($16^{13f.}$), in the offering of first-fruits (26^{11}), the Sabbath rest (5^{14}, cf. Ex 20^{10} 23^{12}, JE), the tithes ($14^{28f.}$), the gleanings of the field, etc.

($24^{19ff.}$), and he is to have equal justice done to him (24^{14}).

The exile helped to draw the bonds of union closer between Israelite and *gêr*, both alike being now strangers in a strange land. Hence in Ezk $47^{22f.}$ we find the same provision made for both in the ideal division of the land. On the other hand, in addition to the keeping of the Sabbath, we are probably safe to infer that circumcision was considered by Ezekiel to be obligatory for the *gêr* (cf. Ezk 44^{6-10} where *uncircumcised* 'in heart' and 'in flesh' are parallel terms). Deutero-Isaiah anticipates the conversion to Israel's God, not only of individuals (44^{5}), but of kings and princes (49^{7}) as well as their subjects ($51^{4f.}$), nay, he foresees a time when to that God 'every knee shall bow and every tongue shall swear' (45^{23}). In bringing about this consummation Israel has its function as a missionary nation ($42^{6.19}$ $43^{8.11}$ 49^{6}). The creed of Deutero-Isaiah is, 'There is no God but J″, and Israel is His prophet' (Wellh. *Gesch.* p. 117).

This universalism, indeed, could, according to the notions of most, realize itself only through the forms of Judaism. Non-Israelites must submit to the yoke of Israel's law. In post-exilic times the exclusion from the community of all who would not adopt the drastic reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah, enabled one and the same standard to be applied to the purified remnant. Hence, 'in P the *gêr* is placed practically on the same footing as the native Israelite; he enjoys the same rights (Nu 35^{15}, cf. Ezk 47^{22}), and is bound by the same laws, whether civil (Lv 24^{22}), moral and religious (18^{26} 20^{2} 24^{16}, cf. Ezk 14^{7}), or ceremonial (Ex 12^{19}, Lv 16^{29} $17^{8.10.12.13.15}$ 22^{18}, Nu $15^{14.26.30}$ 19^{10}); the principle, "One law shall there be for the home-born and for the stranger," is repeatedly affirmed (Ex 12^{49}, Lv 24^{22}, Nu $^{9.14}$ $15^{15.16.29}$), the only specified distinctions being that the *gêr*, if he would keep the passover' (which under no circumstances is the foreigner [בֶּן־נֵכָר] permitted to do), 'must be circumcised (Ex 12^{48}), and that an Israelite in servitude with him may be redeemed before the jubilee (Lv $25^{48f.}$), a privilege not granted in the case of the master's being an Israelite (v.$^{40f.}$)' (Driver, *Deut.* p. 165).

After the definite breach with the Samaritans (Neh $13^{28ff.}$), and the establishment of the temple on Mt. Gerizim (Jos. *Ant.* XI. viii.), the propagandist activity of Jerus. would be stimulated, and it would be felt that the way was more clear to work. There may be a reminiscence of this policy and its results in what the Chronicler reports to have taken place in the reign of Hezekiah (2 Ch $30^{1ff.}$, cf. 1 Ch 13^{2}, 2 Ch 15^{9}). As Schürer points out, the word *gêr* has already in P advanced far on to its later use as = *proselyte* (*προσήλυτος*, which frequently in LXX represents גֵּר of MT). This meaning appears completely established in the Mishna, where *gêr* denotes one who by circumcision and complete adoption of Israel's laws has become incorporated with the covenant people. If this last sense was intended to be brought out with special distinctness, the phrase גֵּר צֶדֶק ('righteous stranger') was used. For *gêr* in the original sense of a stranger dwelling in Israel, the Mishnic formula was גֵּר תּוֹשָׁב (in OT these terms are parallel in Gn 23^{4}, Lv $25^{23.35.47}$, 1 Ch 29^{15}, Ps 39^{12}), which in mediæval Judaism became גֵּר הַשַּׁעַר = a stranger dwelling within the gates of Israel (cf. Ex 20^{10}, Dt 5^{14} 14^{21} 24^{14}). The use of גֵּר to designate a *converted* Gentile became finally so well established that a verb (occurring in the Mishna) was formed from it, נִתְגַּיֵּר 'to become a convert' (Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 315).

The battle which had been fought and gained by Ezra and Nehemiah had indeed to be fought over again more than once in Jewish history, notably in the Gr. period by the MACCABEES (which see); but for the further elucidation of the subject we must refer the reader to such articles as HASIDÆANS, PHARISEE, PROSELYTE.

LITERATURE.—Bertholet's monograph, *Die Stellung d. Isr. u. d. Jud. zu d. Fremden* (to which the same obligations are due as in art. FOREIGNER); W. R. Smith, *RS* 75 ff., *Kinship*, etc. 42f., 259, *OTJC*² 342 n.; Driver, *Deut.* 126, 165, 175; Kuenen, *Rel. Isr.* i. 182 f., ii. 259 f.; Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 315; Reuss, *A.T.* ii. 28 f.; Ellicott on Eph 2^{19}; Cremer, *Bib.-Theol. Lex.* s. πάροικος; Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 339 f.

J. A. SELBIE.

GERA (גֵּרָא).—Mentioned as one of Benjamin's sons in Gn 46^{21}, omitted in Nu 26^{38-40}. Acc. to 1 Ch $8^{3.5.7}$ G. is a son of Bela and a grandson of Benjamin. Gera was evidently a well-known Benjamite clan, to which belonged Ehud (Jg 3^{15} where see Moore's note) and Shimei (2 S 16^{5} $19^{16.18}$, 1 K 2^{8}). See GENEALOGY.

GERAH.—See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

GERAR (גְּרָר, Γέραρα).—This place, as identified on existing maps, is about 6 miles from Gaza, a little W. of S., and perhaps 25 miles from Beersheba in a direction N. of W. Gerar is mentioned in OT in the history of the time of king Asa and in that of the patriarchs. In Asa's time it was one of several cities in that region (2 Ch $14^{13.14}$). (In 1 Ch 4^{39} Gerar should possibly be substituted for Gedor of MT. The LXX reads Γέραρα. See GEDOR). In the earlier time, G. is the region where Abraham and Isaac came into contact with a king or kings named Abimelech. The site as now identified is well within the territory properly known as the land of the Philistines. The region as mentioned in Ch and Gn must have extended far to the S., and far enough to the E. to cover part of what is elsewhere known as the Negeb, or S. country.

Were the people whom Abraham and Isaac met in this region true Philistines? That is, did they belong to the same race that afterwards so often oppressed Israel? Their essentially pastoral character is no argument in the negative, for Israel was then also a pastoral people. The region is called the land of the Philistines (Gn $21^{32.34}$), but that is not in itself decisive, for the writer uses the geog. terms belonging to his own time, and not necessarily to the time of Abraham. The people are called Philistines (Gn $26^{1.8.14.15.18}$), but even that is not so conclusive as at first it seems, for the term may be merely geographical, describing the people who, in the time of Abraham, lived in the country which the writer knew as Philistine. But Abimelech seems to have been a Phil. name (Ps 34, title). Phichol, the 'captain of his host' (Gn $21^{22.32}$ 26^{26}), is witness to the existence of military organization, such as corresponds with the genius of the later Philistines. Ahuzzath (26^{26}) is naturally explained as one of the Phil. names in *ăth*, like Goliath. Add these confirmatory particulars to those above given, and we have proof of considerable strength identifying the Philistines of Isaac with those of later times.

G. was a well-known place in the earlier centuries after Christ. A monastery was located there. The abbot Sylvanus, of the 4th cent., was celebrated; and Marcion, bishop of G., was one of the signatories of the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. The Talm. writings know the district as *Gerarki* (Euseb.; Jerome, *Onomast.*; Sozomen, *Hist. Eccles.* vi. 32, ix. 7; Schwarz, *Pal.* p. 109). Travellers of the present cent. have given a good deal of attention to this region, *e.g.* Thomson, *Land and Book*, ii. 350; Stanley, *Sin. and Pal.* p. 159; Robinson, *Researches*, i. 189, ii. 43, 44. See also *PEFSt*, 1871, p. 84; 1875, pp. 162, 164; 1881, p. 38; and Sayce, *Pat. Pal.* 181, 189.

W. J. BEECHER.

GERASA (Γέρασα, Γερασηνοί).—In the RV 'Gerasenes' takes the place of 'Gadarenes' in Mk 5^{1}, Lk 8^{26}; with these exceptions the expression 'the country of the Gerasenes' does not occur in the Bible. See GADARA, GERASENES.

Jerome (*ad Obad.* 1) states that Gilead was called in his day Gerasa, and it is possible that the term 'country of the Gerasenes' (or Gilead) may have extended as far as the Lake of Gennesaret; but as Gilead is usually supposed to have been terminated on its northern boundary by the Hieromax, it seems more probable that the 'country of the Gerasenes' (Mk 5^{1}) refers to a town of the name of Gerasa on the eastern shore of Gennesaret (see GERASENES, and cf. Origen, *Opp.* 4, p. 140). According to Ptolemy (v. 15), Gerasa was a city of Cœle-Syria (which included Gilead), 35 miles from Pella; and Pliny describes it (v. 18), Gerasa being read for Galasa, as one of the cities of the Decapolis which was built or rebuilt, colonized and endowed with privileges on the conquest of Syria by the Romans, B.C. 65 (Stephanus, *Ethnic.*). Eusebius (*Onomast. s.v.*) describes the Decapolis as that part of Peræa 'that lies about Hippos, Pella, and Gadara.' Josephus (*BJ* III. iii. 3) places Gerasa in the district of Peræa, east of Jordan, on the borders of the Arabian desert, and mentions it in connexion with Pella and Philadelphia (*BJ* I. iv. 8). Epiphanius (*Adv. Hær.* i. and ii.) describes Decapolis as around Pella and Basanets, and speaks of the fountain of Gerasa of Arabia. Jamblicus states that it was colonized by veterans of Alexander the Great, which is not improbable from its proximity to Pella, which was probably colonized in this manner.

The early history of Gerasa is unknown; it first appears in history as an important fortified city in the account of its capture (*c.* 83 B.C.; *BJ* I. iv. 8) by Alexander Jannæus, the Hasmonæan king of the Jews. Having subdued Pella, he directed his march on the city of Gerasa, lured by the treasures of Theodorus, son of Zeno, and, having hemmed in the garrison by a triple wall of circumvallation, carried the place by assault. In *Ant.* XIII. xv. 3 Pella is called Dios, or placed close to it, and Gerasa is called Essa. In A.D. 65 Gerasa, as one of the cities of Decapolis, was probably rebuilt by the Romans. On the revolt of the Jews against the Roman dominion they laid waste the villages of the Syrians and their neighbouring cities, among which were Gerasa and Pella; and 'every city was divided into two armies, encamped one against another'; but the Gerasenes did no harm to those Jews who abode amongst them, and even conducted those who wished it as far as their border (*BJ* II. xv. 1, 5). Shortly after this, Vespasian sent Lucius Annius to Gerasa with an army, who took the city and slew a thousand young men, and plundered and burned the city (*BJ* IV. ix. 1). Nothing further is heard of Gerasa in history; but during the peaceful age of the Antonines (A.D. 138 to 180) it attained a position of the greatest prosperity, and was adorned by monuments, which, still existing, show that it became one of the most important cities of Syria. It subsequently became the seat of a bishopric, and the name of one of its prelates is found amongst those who were present at the Council of Chalcedon. There is no evidence that the city was ever inhabited by the Arabs after the Roman and Byzantine period. In the Talmudic writings and in Jerome, Gerash and Gilead are synonymous. Reland states that coins of Gerasa exist, showing the worship of Artemis in the temple there in 2nd cent. (cf. Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 118). During the Crusades Baldwin (A.D. 1121) besieged a castle constructed of large stones called Jarras, supposed to be Gerasa; but William of Tyre, in speaking of the siege, makes the distance not far from the Jordan; and as Gerasa has no appearance of having been occupied by any settled population since its destruction during the Byzantine period, it was probably some other castle that Baldwin attacked.

It is probable that the fountains and waters of Palestine, where conveniently situated, mark the sites of towns and villages from the earliest times, and that the splendid perennial stream and fountains of *Jerâsh* must have been chosen as a position for a town at a very early date. No identification, however, appears to have been attempted with any success except that by Sir George Grove with reference to Ramoth-gilead. He points out that if Ramoth-gilead and Ramath-mizpah are identical, a more northern position than *es-Salt* would seem inevitable, and that the Arabic version of the Bk. of Joshua gives *Ramat el-Jerash*, thus identifying the Gerasa of the classical geographers with Ramah of Gilead. The Jewish traveller Parchi says that 'Gilead is at present Djerash' (Zunz in Asher's *Benjamin*, 405). See RAMOTH-GILEAD.

Jerâsh is situated in the *Belḳa* of the modern Arabs, near their best pasture ground, which is referred to in the Bible (Dt 3^{10} 4^{43}; see Driver's note) as plains (*mîshôr*), in RV 'tablelands,' thus having the same signification, to a limited extent, as the Arabic name *Jerâsh*.

There can be no doubt that the very remarkable ruins still existing in good preservation in the highlands of Gilead, called *Jerâsh*, represent the remains of the Roman city of Gerasa of the time of the Antonines; and although these ruins, so far as they have yet been observed, are distinctly attributable to the 2nd to 5th cents., there is no reasonable doubt that they are built on the site of the earlier Greek city of Gerasa. This locality is mentioned by Yakûbi in the 7th cent. as being in his time one of the towns of the Jordan Provinces, and the poet Al Mutanabbi praises the fertility of *Jerâsh*. Yakût in the 13th cent., who had not himself seen the spot, describes it as a 'great city now in ruins' through which runs a stream which turned many mills, and relates that the *Jerâsh* mountains contained many villages.

Jerâsh is beautifully situated in the highlands of Gilead, 20 miles east of the Jordan, the same distance north of *'Ammân* (Philadelphia), 22 miles from *Fâhel* (Pella), and 6 miles north of *Wady Zerḳa* (Jabbok). It is 1900 ft. above the level of the Mediterranean, in the midst of hills rising from 500 to 600 ft. higher, until the tablelands (*mîshôr*), called by the Arabs *Belḳa*, are reached, which during part of the year are rich pasture, and for a short period in the autumn appear to be desert. The city occupies a considerable portion of a shallow valley, the ruins stretching some way up the limestone hills; and through the midst runs a delightful perennial stream fringed with oleanders, and falling about 1000 ft. before reaching the *Zerḳa*, 6 miles to south. The city is surrounded by walls, built in the outline of an irregular nine-sided polygon, about 3000 yards in circumference, the stream dividing it into two nearly equal parts: the greater portion to the west, on which side are all the public buildings; the private buildings occupying the east side of the stream and the higher ground to the west. The site of the city is undulating and full of knolls, affording most excellent positions for public buildings. The walls of the city are much decayed, and in some parts have been quite removed—they have been 8 ft. thick, and are built of small squared stones of limestone. There have been at least six gates in the wall—three to west, one to east, and the two principal north and south gates. Between these two gates runs a paved road with a double row of columns on the west side of the stream, close to it on the north and about 100 yards from it on the south;

the public buildings are constructed in connexion with this main thoroughfare. They were all of about the same date, and, taking it all together, this city is the most complete example of the Roman work of the time of the Antonines in Syria. They are constructed on one general plan, and cannot be considered in architectural remains to be inferior to Palmyra, though the ruins of the latter cover a far larger area. Reference to the works of Wood and Dawkins and the photographs taken by *Pal. Explor. Fund* in 1867 will show that each city has a distinct architectural character.

On approaching *Jerâsh* from the south, attention is attracted by a fine arch of triumph of decorated stone in the Corinthian order, with three arched passages and a front of 80 ft., leading to a paved Roman road running for about 300 yards northerly to the southern gate of the city. On the left-hand side is a *naumachia* or theatre for naval contests, about 700 ft. by 300 ft., with its arena below the level of the surrounding ground, in order that it might be filled from an aqueduct which supplied water from the stream. On the left, among the hills, is the Necropolis, and sarcophagi of black basalt with Roman devices are to be seen lying about. The southern gate is in ruins, but it is similar in appearance to the triumphal arch. The main street on entering the city bears to the left, leading to an oval colonnade or hippodrome, 310 ft. by 230 ft., lined with columns 2 ft. 5 in. in diameter, with capitals of the Ionic order, supporting a plain entablature. Immediately to the left on entering the city are a large theatre and a temple. The theatre facing north is open, and is constructed to seat over 2000 people, with a closed stage 110 ft. across; it is lavishly decorated in the Corinthian order. The temple facing nearly east is peripteral, measuring 110 ft. by 85 ft. along the walls outside the cell; the columns are 4 ft. in diameter and spaced at 12 ft. intervals from centre to centre. Near the northern end of the hippodrome the main street, 22 ft. wide, leads in a straight line direct to the north gate, and is adorned with a row of columns on each side with Corinthian capitals supporting an entablature. The columns are about 3 ft. or more in diameter. The road, 22 ft. wide, is paved with hard stone, which has still the marks of chariot wheels, and at the sides are raised pavements for foot passengers. At a distance of about 100 yards is a cross street at right angles, also with a double row of columns, leading up the hill on the left to the west gate, and to the right over the stream by a Roman bridge; four large pedestals, 12 ft. square, at the cross streets still remain, where statues once adorned the city. About 50 yards from the cross streets are some ruined palaces, with columns 4 ft. in diameter, with fragments of Egyptian rose granite and remains of frieze, cornice, and pediment, on which decorations have been lavished with great exuberance, with an inscription apparently containing the name of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (A.D. 161–180); and at about 100 yards from the cross street, both right and left, are the remains of a series of handsome buildings, one a basilica, grouped in relation to the great temple of the Sun, which stands on a natural eminence nearly in the centre of the city in the western quarter. The temple facing the east measures round the walls of cell 89½ ft. by 44½ ft., the platform is 14 ft. wide on each side. It has at the entrance 12 columns, 5 ft. in diameter, spaced at intervals of 12½ ft. from centre to centre; 11 of these magnificent columns still remain *in situ*, 10 of them surmounted by their Corinthian capitals. All the buildings about the temple have been highly ornamented. From an inscription copied by Burckhardt it would appear that these buildings were erected in the time of Antoninus Pius, A.D. 138–161. Proceeding farther north we come to a second street of intersections, with a handsome rotunda over the intersection; the cross street leads on the left to another theatre, and on the right to an extensive building supposed to have been a bathing establishment. The theatre is not so large as that to the south, and has an open stage or scene. On the east bank of the river to the north is another Corinthian temple facing west, a very unusual aspect for temples of the 2nd and 3rd cents. in Palestine.

There are many other ruins of public buildings not enumerated whose identity has not been established, and a number of inscriptions (more than ten), two of which, near the ruins of a building supposed to have been a church, south of the temple of the Sun, refer to the establishment of Christianity and the discontinuance of pagan worship of about 5th cent., an important piece of evidence in connexion with the subject in Syria (Conder, *Palestine*, p. 180). The stream which runs through *Jerâsh* is principally fed from springs within the city on east side. There are very full accounts of *Jerâsh* in the travels of Buckingham, Burckhardt, Irby, and Mangles, but no recent surveys have been made. *Jerâsh* was visited by the present writer in 1867, and a sketch plan of the city was made and several plans of temples, which have not yet been published. Fifteen photographs of ruins also were taken, which have been published by the *Palestine Exploration Fund*. C. WARREN.

GERASENES.—The country of the Gerasenes (AV of Mt 8^{28} **Gergesenes**; Mt 5^{1} Lk 8^{26} **Gadarenes**; RV in Mt Gadarenes, in Mk and Lk Gerasenes) is referred to in NT only in connexion with the casting out of the legion of demons and their entry into the herd of swine. There are three distinct readings of the name of the people in the MSS—Gergesenes, Gadarenes, Gerasenes—as the following table will show:—

	Mt	Mk	Lk
B	Γαδαρηνῶν	Γερασηνῶν	Γερασηνῶν
ℵ	Γαζαρηνῶν (ℵ^c Γεργεσ.)	Γερασηνῶν	Γεργεσηνῶν
A	(wanting)	Γαδαρηνῶν	Γαδαρηνῶν
C	Γαδαρηνῶν (C³ Γεργεσ.)	Γαδαρηνῶν	Γερασηνῶν (C² Γεργεσ.)
D	(wanting)	Γερασηνῶν	Γερασηνῶν

Thus, as WH (App. p. 11) point out, documentary evidence shows that Γαδαρηνῶν is the true reading in Mt, Γερασηνῶν in Mk and Lk.

The miracle took place 'on the other side' of the Lake of Gennesaret, which is 'over against Galilee' (*i.e.* on the eastern side of the lake) (Lk $8^{22.26}$). And when Jesus 'was come out of the boat, straightway there met him out of the tombs a man with an unclean spirit, who had his dwelling in the tombs' (Mk 5^{2}). This clearly indicates that the tombs were close to the shore of the lake, and from the following passages it appears that the tombs and city were in the proximity: Lk 8^{27} 'There met him a certain man out of the city who had devils . . . and abode not in any house but in the tombs.' From the following it appears that the hills ran up directly from the coast of the lake: Lk 8^{32} 'Now there was there a herd of many swine feeding on the mountains . . . and the herd rushed down the steep into the lake, and were choked.'

From this it is certain that 'the country of the Gerasenes' cannot refer to the city of Gerasa in Gilead (*Jerâsh*), as Gerasa is an inland town east of Jordan, near Philadelphia, towards Arabia (*BJ* III. iii. 3, 4), which has certainly been identified with the ruins of *Jerâsh*. It also appears that Gadara cannot be the city spoken of in the incident, as it (now *Umm Keis*) is situated about six or more miles south of the Lake of Gennesaret on the summit of a high hill with the deep gorge of the river Hieromax (*Jarmûk*) at its foot, cutting it off from the broad plain shelving down to the lake. There was, however, a district attached to the city of Gadara, and it is possible that a place on the lake called Gerasa (not the Gerasa of the preceding art.) lay within Gadarene territory. Gadara was but 6 miles S.E. of the southern extremity of the lake, and Jos. (*Vita*, 9, 10) mentions Gadarene villages close to the lake side. According to Josephus, however (*BJ* IV. vii. 3), Gadara was the capital of Peræa, which did not extend north of the Hieromax. It is not improbable, however, that during the many vicissitudes of the administration accorded to Gadara its jurisdiction may have extended up the eastern side of the Lake of Gennesaret at the time the miracle occurred.

The problem, then, is to find a site on the east side of the lake which satisfies the biblical description and shows traces of the city and tombs. This has been successfully accomplished by Thomson (*The Land and the Book*, ii. 35), through the identification of the ruins of Kersa or Gersa on the eastern side of the Lake of Gennesaret, nearly half-way down from the northern end, south of the *Wady Samakh* (see further and especially Schumacher, *The Jaulân*, 179). Wilson states (*Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 368) that about a mile south of this the hills, which everywhere else on the eastern side are recessed from half to three-quarters of a mile from the water's edge, approach within 40 ft. of it. They do not terminate abruptly, but there is a steep even slope, which we would identify with the 'steep place' down which the herd of swine ran violently into the sea. Macgregor (*Rob Roy on the Jordan*, p. 423) states, 'Between *Wady Samakh* and *Wady Fîk* there are at least four distinct localities where every feature in the Scripture account of this incident may be found in combination; above them are rocks with caves in them, very suitable for tombs.' Thomson states that there are ancient tombs in the high grounds about the ruins of Kersa. Gergesa and Gerasa may thus be variations of the same name which is now found under the form of *Kersa*, *Chersa*, or *Gersa*, which now exist close to *Wady Samakh*, subject to the various pronunciations according to whether the people are from the hill country, or the plain, or from the desert. The name Gergesenes appears to be similar to that of a Canaanitish tribe (GIRGASHITES) which, according to Jos 24^{11}, would appear to have been located west of Jordan, but which Jerome (*Comm. ad Gen.* xv.) locates on the shore of the Sea of Tiberias. Origen also (*Opp.* iv. 140) alludes to the city Gergesa, which stood formerly on the eastern side of the lake, and to the precipitous descent to the water down which the swine rushed. A village, Gergesa, on a hill above the lake, is also mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome (*OS*^{2} p. 256, 14; p. 162, 18).

C. WARREN.

GERGESENES.—See GERASENES.

GERIZIM (הַר גְּרִזִּים *har Gĕrizzîm*, the modern *Jebel eṭ-Ṭûr*).—This important mountain faces its northern companion Ebal, having in the narrow pass between them the town of Nâblus (Neapolis), the ancient Shechem. Its height, 2849 ft., makes it lower than the other by 228 ft., but it has far surpassed it in historical and religious associations. The cleft between them (to which possibly the mountain owes its name) presents the only pass from east to west in the mountain range of Ephraim, and, being also on the main road from north to south, its facility of access and central position in the land marked it out as an important place in the kingdom of Israel.

To-day, as the sacred place of the little Samaritan community, it is interesting chiefly as a monument to the vitality of religious prejudice. The Samaritan Pentateuch contains a verse giving express commandment that an altar should be built on Mt. Gerizim, making it rather than Ebal or the temple-rock of Jerusalem the first and central shrine of the chosen people and the revealed law. This knowledge of the will of the Almighty is thus confined to a small and dwindling company in a Syrian village, the rest of the world, both Jews and Gentiles, being in darkness and error; and the assumption is to them one of comfort and complacency. The Samaritans and their Mt. Gerizim thus form the world's memorial of sectarianism, after the manner of Natural History showing at once the grub and the leaf it lives upon.

The top of the mountain is broad, bare, and rocky, and among the sacred places scattered over it some refer to the Bible narrative, others to Samaritan events, and others to Christian history. 1. *Patriarchal.*—Abraham entered the Promised Land by the pass of Gerizim, encamping at Shechem by the oak of Moreh, Gn 12^{6} (J). Gerizim is also claimed, as against Mt. Moriah in Jerusalem, to have been the mountain to which Abraham was directed when commanded to offer up Isaac, Gn 22^{2} (R). Much discussion has taken place over this locality, the evidence bearing chiefly on points of distance, conspicuousness, and the meaning of the words *Moreh* and *Moriah*. The Scripture account scarcely encourages such attempted precision, as its reference is merely to 'one of the mountains,' the words 'of Moriah' being an undoubted gloss. On the whole, Gerizim or some neighbouring height accords best with the Bible description.

The Samaritans point to a trench on the S.E. end of the Gerizim summit as the spot where Isaac was laid on the altar. The Jews and Moslems agree with the Samaritans in attaching great importance to this trial by sacrifice in the life of Abraham, Jewish tradition stating that Isaac said to his father, 'Bind me fast,' and the Moslems making Ishmael, whom they substitute for Isaac, surpass this zeal by saying, 'Do not bind me.'

Samaritan tradition, arguing from the neighbourhood of the village of Salem, makes Gerizim the place where Abraham was met by Melchizedek and the king of distant Sodom (Gn 14$^{17ff.}$). It is also connected with Jacob, who, on his return from Paddan-aram, bought 'the parcel of ground' for his encampment at Shechem, Gn 33$^{18-20}$ (E). In addition to this, the Samaritans point to a spot on the summit called *Khurbet Lauzeh*, as the place where Jacob slept, and had the vision of divine protection and promise, Gn 28$^{11f.}$ (E).

2. *Israelite.* — Ebal and Gerizim were the mountains on whose sides the tribes assembled under Joshua, according to the command of Moses, to hear the curses and the blessings connected with the observance of the law (Dt 11$^{29.32}$ 27$^{11.12}$, Jos 8$^{33.34}$). Gerizim was probably selected in preference to Ebal as the mount of blessing, because to one looking eastwards it was *on the right hand*, the side of good fortune (see Driver on Dt 11^{29}). The Samaritans point out a piece of flat rocky ground as the site of Joshua's altar and their own temple.

The distance from Ai, taken along with the position of Ebal and Gerizim in the centre of a hostile country, has offered a difficulty to the acceptance of the above narrative in Deuteronomy. A solution was attempted by Eusebius (*Onom. sac.*^{2} 253), Epiphanius, and others, by referring Ebal and Gerizim to localities nearer the Jordan Valley. But their connexion with Shechem, to which Josephus (*Ant.* XI. viii. 6), Eusebius, and Jerome themselves refer, has always discountenanced such a theory.

Gerizim comes again into prominence when Jotham delivered his highly figurative parable to the treacherous elders of Shechem (Jg 9^{7-21}).

Tradition has represented these two mountains as brought under the spell of the blessings and curses once pronounced upon them, declaring Gerizim to be beautiful and fertile, while Ebal is bare and barren; but at the present day they show the similarity that might be expected from their proximity, elevation, and composition.

3. *Samaritan.* — It is well known that the Samaritans erected a temple on Gerizim which henceforth became the rival of the temple at Jerusalem in historical claims and sanctity as a religious centre. The occasion that led to its erection, acc. to Josephus (*Ant.* XI. viii. 2, 4), was the marriage between Manasseh of the high-priestly family in Jerusalem and the daughter of Sanballat. This union, and many similar intermarriages, created the desire for an independent sanctuary, that would be free from the dictation of the Jerusalem authorities. It is practically certain that Josephus' chronology here is incorrect. He places the erection of the schismatic temple in the time of Alexander the Great, who, according to him, authorized its erection; but there can be little doubt that the temple on Gerizim was built a century earlier (*c.* 432 B.C.) by the son-in-law of Sanballat the Horonite referred to in Neh 13^{28} (cf. *inter alios*, Ryle, *Canon of OT*, 91 f.). This Samaritan temple lasted at least till the time of the Maccabees, when it was probably destroyed (*c.* 110 B.C) by John Hyrcanus (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. ix. 1; *Wars*, I. ii. 6). To what extent this rivalry as to the proper site of worship survived in the time of Christ, is seen in the proverbial hatred between Jews and Samaritans, and in the arguments urged by the Samaritan woman at Jacob's well (Jn $4^{20.21}$).

4. *Christian.*—The most conspicuous ruins in Gerizim at the present day are those called in Arabic *el-Ḳulaʿah*, 'the fortress.' We have here the remains of the church built by the Christians in the reign of Zeno in A.D. 475, which, having been destroyed by the Samaritans, was afterwards enlarged and fortified by Justinian in 530. See SAMARITANS.

The most interesting link with the past is the yearly celebration of the Samaritan Passover on its summit. As the sun sets on the Passover Eve, the seven lambs are slain, ceremonially examined, and roasted in the oven pit. At midnight the covering is removed, and the flesh is eaten by the standing elders with their families in the improvized tents. Anything left over is scrupulously collected and consumed, so that the letter of the commandment may be kept.

LITERATURE.—Robinson, *BRP* ii. 274 ff.; *SWP* ii. 148 ff.; Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine* (Index); Guérin, *Samarie*, i. 424 ff.; Thomson, *Land and the Book* (Index); Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.* 220, 222; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 119 f., 384 n. 2; Conder, *Tent-Work*, ch. ii.: Murray, *Guide-book to Syria* (Index); Driver on Dt 11^{29}; Baudissin, *Stud. z. Sem. Rel.-ges.* ii. 252.

G. M. MACKIE.

GERON should possibly appear as a proper name in 2 Mac 6^{1}, according to which Antiochus Epiphanes sent *γέροντα Ἀθηναῖον* (AV and RV 'an old man of Athens,' RVm 'Geron an Athenian') 'to compel the Jews to depart from the laws of their fathers.'

GERRENIANS (*ἕως τῶν Γερρηνῶν*, A *Γεννηρῶν*, AV **Gerrhenians**, 2 Mac 13^{24}).—When Lysias, recalled from Pal. by troubles in Syria, made peace with Judas Maccabæus in B.C. 162, he left Hegemonides as commandant 'from Ptolemais to the G.' (AV wrongly, 'made him—*i.e.* Judas—principal governor,' etc.). The true reading and the people intended are both uncertain. The analogy of 1 Mac 11^{59} suggests some place near the border of Egypt; but Gerrha, between Pelusium and Rhinocolura, was in Egyptian territory. Ewald (*Hist.*, Eng. tr. v. 319) suggested that the word should be understood of the inhabitants of Gerar, an ancient Phil. city S.E. of Gaza; and this view is supported by cod. 55, which reads *Γεραρηνῶν* (see RVm). On the other hand, Syr. reads Gazar (ܓܙܪ), *i.e.* Gezer or Gazara, not far from Lydda (cf. 1 Mac $15^{28.35}$).

H. A. WHITE.

GERSHOM (גֵּרְשׁוֹם or גֵּרְשֹׁם).—**1.** The firstborn son of Moses and Zipporah (Ex 2^{22}=18^{3}, both JE, 1 Ch 23^{15}). In the two former passages the writer explains the name as though it were connected with גֵּר 'a sojourner' and שָׁם 'there,' cf. the LXX form *Γηρσάμ* (Ex 2^{22}=18^{3}). Unless Ex 4^{25} (J) gives us an account of his circumcision we know nothing further of G.'s life, but there are a few scattered notices of his descendants. In the pre-Massoretic text of Jg 18^{30}, supported by some cursive MSS of the LXX, Jonathan, the son of Gershom, the son of Moses, is said to have officiated as priest of the sanctuary of J" at Dan, and it is added that the office was held by members of the family until the Captivity. The MT here reads Manasseh for Moses; so LXX, A, B, L. See Moore, *in loc.* In 1 Ch 23^{14} it is stated that the sons of Moses were reckoned amongst the tribe of Levi, *i.e.* in contradistinction to the Aaronite branch of the family, who were consecrated for special purposes. Lastly, from 1 Ch 26^{24} we learn that in the time of David a son of G. named Shebuel was 'ruler over the treasuries,' cf. 23^{16} 24^{20} (Shubael). **2.** Gershon, the eldest son of Levi (1 Ch $6^{16.17.20.43.62.71}$ 15^{7}). See next article. **3.** A descendant of Phinehas who journeyed with Ezra from Babylon to Jerus. (Ezr 8^{2}).

W. C. ALLEN.

GERSHON (גֵּרְשׁוֹן, called also **Gershom**, גֵּרְשׁוֹם or גֵּרְשֹׁם, 1 Ch $6^{16.17.20.43.62.71}$ 15^{7}).—All our data about G. and his family come from P and the Chronicler, the latter, however, adding nothing to P's account with regard to G. himself. According to these writers he was the firstborn of the three sons of Levi (Ex 6^{16}, Nu 3^{17}, 1 Ch $6^{1.16}$ 23^{6}), born before the migration of Jacob and his family into Egypt (Gn 46^{11}). He had two sons, Libni (for whom we find Ladan in 1 Ch 23^{7} 26^{21}) and Shimei (Ex 6^{17}, Nu 3^{18}, 1 Ch $6^{17.20}$). This is all that we know of G. personally, but of the fortunes of his descendants we have fuller particulars. Their history falls into three periods—(1) the wilderness wanderings; (2) the monarchy; (3) after the Exile.

1. At the time of the census taken by Moses in the wilderness of Sinai, the **Gershonites** were divided into two families, the Libnites and the Shimeites (Nu 3^{21}). The whole number of males from a month old was 7500 (3^{22}), and between 30 and 50 years of age 2630 ($4^{22-3.38-41}$). Their position in the camp was behind the tabernacle westward (3^{23}), and their chief at this time was Eliasaph the son of Lael (3^{24}). The office assigned to them by P during the wilderness wandering was the carrying of the curtains, the coverings, the screens, and the hangings of the tabernacle, and of the Tent of Meeting, together with the accompanying cords and instruments (3^{25-27} 4^{24-26} 10^{17}). In this they were to be at the command of Aaron, and were superintended by Ithamar his son (4^{27-28}). Two waggons and four oxen were assigned to them for this service (7^{7}). In this respect of office the Gershonites were preceded by the younger family, the Kohathites. The G. are also mentioned at the time of the census taken by Moses and Eleazar in the plains of Moab by the Jordan, when the whole number of the Levites was 23,000 (26^{57}). At the allotment of Levitical cities by

Joshua and Eleazar after the entry into Pal., thirteen cities in the territories of eastern Manasseh, Issachar, Asher, and Naphtali were assigned to the Gershonites (Jos $21^{6.27-33}$ [P]=1 Ch $6^{62.71-76}$).

2. In the reign of David, as narrated by the Chronicler, we have several references to the Gershonites.* The G. family of Asaph, together with the Kohathite family of Heman and the Merarite family of Ethan or Jeduthun, were, acc. to this writer, specially set apart to administer the temple music (cf. 1 Ch 6^{31-47} 25^{1-7}; and see ASAPH). Consequently, at the bringing of the ark into Jerus., of the 130 Gershonites under the leadership of Joel who are said to have been present (1 Ch 15^{7}), Asaph and certain others took part in the music ($15^{17.19}$ $16^{5.7}$). Descendants of the two families of Ladan (for Libni) and Shimei are mentioned as 'heads of the fathers' houses' when David divided the Levites into courses (1 Ch 23^{7-11}), and the sons and grandsons of Ladan are spoken of as superintendents of the treasuries at this time (1 Ch 26^{21-2} 29^{8}). In 1 Ch 26^{1} the marginal reading Ebiasaph should be followed. Further, in the reign of Hezekiah G. are mentioned as taking part with the other Levites in the cleansing of the temple (2 Ch $29^{12.13}$), and in 2 Ch 35^{15} the Asaphite singers are recorded as present when the passover was kept in the eighteenth year of Josiah.

3. In the period after the Exile we hear a good deal of the Asaphite branch of the singers. When Zerubbabel returned to Jerusalem, 128 Asaphites (or 148 acc. to Neh 7^{44}) were included amongst his followers (Ezr 2^{41}). At the laying of the foundation of the temple, Asaphites are found leading the music (Ezr 3^{10}), and special provision appears to have been made for them (Neh 11^{22}; cf. also 1 Ch 9^{15}, Neh 11^{17} 12^{35}).

The name **Gershonites** (הַגֵּרְשֻׁנִּי) occurs Nu $3^{21.23.24}$ $4^{24.27.28}$ 26^{57}, Jos 21^{33}, 1 Ch 23^{7}, 2 Ch 29^{12}. They are elsewhere called 'the sons of Gershon' (Ex 6^{17}, Nu $3^{18.25}$ $4^{22.38.41}$ 7^{7} 10^{17}), or 'the children of Gershon' (Jos $21^{6.27}$), or 'the sons of Gershom' (1 Ch $6^{17.62.71}$ 15^{7}). For their history see above. In 1 Ch 26^{21} the word is applied in sing. to Ladan, in 29^{8} to Jehiel.

W. C. ALLEN.

GERSON (A Γηρσών, B Ταροσότομος), 1 Es 8^{29}.—In Ezr 8^{2} GERSHOM.

GERUTH-CHIMHAM (גֵּרוּת כִּמְהָם *Kerê*, גּ׳ כְּמוֹהָם *Kethibh*) Jer 41^{17}.—A *khan* (?) which possibly derived its name from Chimham, the son of Barzillai the Gileadite, 2 S $19^{37f.}$. See CHIMHAM. Instead of גֵּרוּת we should almost certainly read גִּדְרוֹת 'hurdles,' after Josephus and Aquila (see Graf).

GESHAN (גֵּישָׁן).—A descendant of Caleb, 1 Ch 2^{47}. Mod. editions of AV have **Gesham**, although the correct form of the name appears in ed. of 1611.

GESHEM (גֶּשֶׁם, Γῆσαμ, Neh 2^{19} $6^{1.2}$; in 6^{6} the form *Gashmu* occurs).—An Arabian, who is named along with Sanballat the Horonite and Tobiah the Ammonite, as an opponent of Neh. during the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem. He may have belonged to an Arab community, which, as we learn from the monuments, was settled by Sargon in Samaria *c.* B.C. 715—this would explain his close connexion with the Samaritans; or he may have been the chief of an Arab tribe dwelling in the S. of Judah, in which case his presence would point to a coalition of all the neighbouring peoples against Jerusalem. Since the internal administration of the Persian satraps was not sufficiently firm to prevent petty feuds among subject races in distant parts of the empire, there is nothing unnatural in the mention of an alliance of Samaritans, Arabians, Ashdodites, and Ammonites against the Jews (Neh $4^{7f.}$). Geshem with his confederates mocked Neh.'s intention of repairing the walls (2^{19}); and when the walls were completed, he joined with Sanballat in inviting Neh. to a conference in the plain of Ono ($6^{1ff.}$). His authority was cited in support of the rumour that Neh. intended to rebel against the Persian king (6^{6}). H. A. WHITE.

GESHUR, GESHURITE (גְּשׁוּר, הַגְּשׁוּרִי).—A small Aramæan tribe whose territory, together with that of Maacah (wh. see), formed the W. border of Bashan (Dt 3^{14}, Jos 12^{5} 13^{11}). The Geshurites were not expelled by the half-tribe of Manasseh, to whom their land had been allotted (Jos 13^{13}), and were still ruled by an independent king in the reign of David, who married the daughter of Talmai king of Geshur (2 S 3^{3}). After the murder of his half-brother Amnon, Absalom took refuge with his maternal grandfather in 'Geshur of Aram' (2 S 13^{37} 15^{8}). Geshur and Maacah were probably situated in the modern *Jaulân* (Smith, *HGHL* p. 548, n. 9), if they are not to be identified with it (Driver, *Deut.* p. 56 f.). In 1 Ch 2^{23} Geshur and Aram are said to have taken the 'tent-villages' of Jair from the Israelites. On the strength of Jos 13^{2} and 1 S 27^{8}, it has been maintained that there was another tribe of this name in the neighbourhood of the Philistines. This view has been recently revived by Hommel (*AHT* p. 237 ff.), who regards Geshur as a contraction for Gê-Ashûr or Gê-Shûr, 'the lowland of Ashûr or Shûr,' and identifies it with the extreme southern portion of Palestine between *el-'Arîsh* ('the brook of Egypt') and Gaza (or Beersheba). According to Hommel, this tract of country was originally inhabited by the tribe of Asher (*Ashûr* being treated as the 'broken' or internal plural form of *Asher*). But even if we could follow him in his view that *Shûr* (Gn 16^{7} 20^{1} 25^{18}, 1 S 15^{7}) was merely a popular abbreviation of *Ashûr* (see SHUR), and that the latter was so called after the tribe of Asher, his derivation of Geshur must be rejected. Such a contraction as *Geshur* for *Gê-Ashûr* or *Gê-Shûr* (גְּשׁוּר for גֵּיא אָשׁוּר or גֵּיא שׁוּר), is entirely foreign to the Hebrew language; and, further, the meaning of *gê'* (גֵּיא, constr. st. of גַּיְא) is not 'lowland,' but 'ravine' or 'glen.' It is noteworthy that the B text of the LXX at 1 S 27^{8} gives only one name, omitting Geshur, which is probably an incorrect gloss (see GIRZITE). In the remaining passage (Jos 13^{2}) the context (cf. vv.$^{11.13}$) renders the present reading very suspicious: possibly we should substitute וְכָל־הַגִּזְרִי ('and all the inhabitants of Gezer') for וְכָל־הַגְּשׁוּרִי ('and all the Geshurites'). In the absence of further proof, therefore, we may conclude that the name Geshur was applied only to the country E. of the Jordan.

In 2 S 2^{9} 'Geshurites' (הַגְּשׁוּרִי) should perhaps be substituted for 'Ashurites' (הָאֲשׁוּרִי). So Vulg., Syr., and Thenius, Ewald, Wellhausen. Others prefer to read הָאָשֵׁרִי ('Asherites,' cf. Jg 1^{32}). This is adopted by Köhler, Kamphausen, Klostermann, Budde, and others. J. F. STENNING.

GESTURES.—1. *An emotional necessity of Oriental life.* Gesture is much resorted to by Orientals in the communication of their thoughts and expression of their feelings. This does not prove them more emotional than Anglo-Saxons, if we use this term of sincerity of feeling and its practical and permanent influence upon conduct, but they have much greater facility and variety in its expression. Where we control our feelings, they are controlled by them, not because the feelings are always stronger, but because the controlling power is less. They are more governed by the impression of the moment, and the mood changes with the occasion that produced it. Thus the passage of a funeral procession through an Oriental town makes a reverent hush among the trades and traffic of the street, and the people stand mute and motionless like a guard of honour; among the aged and infirm, lips move in prayer, and eyes are filled with tears; but when the spectacle has passed, the return to other things is rapid, easy, and complete.

---

* It must never be overlooked that it is the habit of the Chronicler to carry back many of the arrangements of his own age to the time of David.

In congenial company a jest may cause such merriment that one of the number will call out, 'The Lord cover (forgive) us for this laughter!' In the same way grief is vented to the point of physical reaction and dismissal. In lands that have given freedom to the press, there is an outspoken frankness about the statement of private intention and public affairs, but the feelings of the heart are kept in hallowed reserve; in the East, on the contrary, plans, motives, and expectations are seldom stated simply and sincerely, but the expression of feeling is always profuse and exuberant. The strongest possible terms of devotion to God and attachment to friends are in constant use, but only one of themselves can tell when language is the symbol of feeling and when its substitute. In modern Syria, a mere child detected in theft or falsehood at school boldly calls heaven and earth to witness that he is innocent. In the Arabic grammar, emotional apostrophe is treated as a commonplace of daily speech, and rules are provided for adjuration and imprecation. Conversation is usually conducted in a loud tone of voice; truth, in the interest of truth, is sympathetically exaggerated; the simple 'yes' and 'no' of the European are regarded as cold and deficient in humanity.

The Bible abounds in vivid narrative, and the dramatic form is approached in Job and Canticles, but neither among the Hebrews nor the Arabs has there been any dramatic literature in the European sense of the term. This may be largely due to the fact that their speech is generally so figurative and animated.

Such temperament and surroundings help to explain the fact that the language of Orientals is so rich in figure, and their spoken words to such an unusual degree helped and harmonized by appropriate gesture.

2. *Expressiveness and variety of Oriental gesture.*—To the European, Oriental gesture is lacking in self-command and husbanded energy, and approaches grimace and contortion. The whole body is pressed into the service. Two men engaged in warm dispute appear to be using the deaf and dumb alphabet. The body is one moment bent forward, the next is standing erect; the hands are stretched out in supplication, and then slapped and held on each side of the head in the anguish of distraction and the shock of assumed amazement. The eyes flash, and the voices rise higher, until one yields to the vehemence of the other (2 S 19^{43}), or both are separated by the bystanders (Ex 2^{13}). The head is shaken, nodded, jerked, and inclined sideways, forwards, and backwards in a variety of ways reaching in suggested meaning from indifference, impatience, acquiescence, and denial to amazement, sarcasm, denunciation, and disgust. The shrugging of the shoulders is similarly varied to express embarrassment, surprise, ignorance, and irresponsibility. An Oriental reading the Bible naturally supplies this shrug when reading Gn 25^{32} 37^{26} 44^{16}, Ex 3^{13} 15^{24} 17^{4}, 1 S 17^{29}, Ph 1^{22}, the first sentence of Rev 7^{14}, etc. In salutation the form varies with the relationship. A man greeting his senior or superior brings the hand with a round sweep towards the ground, as if he should be kneeling there, and lifts it to his breast and head, implying readiness to receive, understand, and obey commands. Relatives or intimate acquaintances meeting each other after an interval kiss each other on both cheeks. A son or daughter kisses the hand of a parent or aged relative, and the same respectful courtesy is shown towards priests as spiritual fathers. Frequently, a man meeting his friend puts out both hands as if to clasp and kiss his hand with the respect of inferior to superior, but the other is expected to defeat this intention, allowing his fingers to be touched, and by withdrawing his hand to claim the equality of a friend. When one enters a room where others are seated, those assembled rise in token of respect and welcome, this being especially observed in the case of the aged.

Many particular gestures and special actions might be noted. The beggar at the door brings his forefinger across his teeth to prove that he has eaten nothing that day (Am 4^{6}).

In friendly explanation, as an act of affectionate persuasion, and as a liberty of familiar friendship, the hand is put under the chin, and the face lifted up, or the beard stroked as Joab did to Amasa (2 S 20^{9}). The outstretched arm indicates authority and decision, if the hand is also open and extended (Ex 6^{6}); but when the fingers and thumb are drawn together to a cone, it implies a respectful request for permission to speak or interfere (Ac 21^{40}).

Naturally, the most characteristic gestures are those where the strongest emotions are called forth or appealed to, as in the dance, in bereavement, and the symbolical gestures and attitudes of Oriental prayer. See further such articles as FOOT, HAND, HEAD. G. M. MACKIE.

GET, GETTING.—1. The verb to 'get' (of which the parts are *get, gat** or *got, gotten* or *got*) is frequently used in the sense of 'go,' generally followed immediately by a personal pronoun. Thus 2 S 4^{7} 'they smote him . . . and gat them away through the plain all night' (וַיֵּלְכוּ דֶּרֶךְ הָעֲרָבָה, RV 'went by the way of the Arabah'). Four times in NT *ὕπαγε*, the imperat. of *ὑπάγω*, to 'depart,' is so tr^{d}, viz. *ὕπαγε Σατανᾶ*, 'Get thee hence,† Satan,' Mt 4^{10} (Rhem. 'Avant Satan'); and *ὕπαγε ὀπίσω μου Σατανᾶ*, 'Get thee behind me, Satan,' Mt 16^{23}, Mk 8^{33}, Lk 4^{8} (the last omitted by RV after edd.). This idiom is still bolder in earlier versions, as in Tind., Mt 27^{62} 'the hye prestes and pharises got them selves to Pilate'; Lk 22^{41} 'And he gate him selfe from them, about a stones cast'; Jn 5^{13} 'For Jesus had gotten him selfe awaye, because that ther was preace of people in the place.'

2. The same form of expression (though the idiom is different, the pron. being now the remote object) is often used when the meaning is 'find' or 'gain.' Sometimes the pers. pron. is expressed in the Heb., sometimes not. Thus Gn 34^{4} 'Get me this damsel to wife' (קַח־לִי); Ex 14^{18} 'When I have gotten me honour upon Pharaoh' (בְּהִכָּבְדִי); 2 S 20^{6} 'lest he get him fenced cities' (פֶּן־מָצָא לוֹ); Ec 2^{7} 'I got me servants' (קָנִיתִי עֲבָדִים, RV 'I bought menservants'); 2^{8} 'I gathered me also silver' (כָּנַסְתִּי לִי); Jer 13^{1} 'Go and get thee a linen girdle' (קָנִיתָ לְךָ, RV 'buy thee'). This remote object is expressed otherwise than by a pers. pron. in 1 Mac 3^{3} 'So he gat his people great honour' (*καὶ ἐπλάτυνεν δόξαν τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ*).

3. Other passages deserving attention are: Gn 4^{1} 'I have gotten a man from the LORD' (קָנִיתִי אִישׁ אֶת־

---

* The 1611 edition of AV spells this form 'gate' everywhere except Sir 46^{2}, 1 Mac 9^{32}.

† This passage has given the phrase 'get thee hence' a meaning in mod. Eng. which it did not always carry. Thus Mk 1^{44} Tind. 'Get the hence and shewe thy silfe to the preste'; Jn 5^{11} Tind. 'Take up thy beed, and get thee hence'; and Zec 6^{9} AV 'Get you hence, walk to and fro through the earth.'

יהוה, RV 'I have gotten a man with the help of the Lord' *); Wis 10^{8} 'they gat not only this hurt, that they knew not the things which were good' (ἐβλάβησαν, RV 'were disabled'); Sir 13^{11} 'Smiling upon thee [he] will get out thy secrets' (ἐξετάσει, RV 'will search thee out'); 21^{11} 'getteth the understanding thereof' (κατακρατεῖ τοῦ ἐννοήματος αὐτοῦ, RV 'becometh master of the intent thereof'); 27^{19} 'so hast thou let thy neighbour go, and shalt not get him again' (οὐ θηρεύσεις αὐτόν, RV 'thou wilt not catch him again'); 1 Mac 9^{32} 'when Bacchides gat knowledge thereof' (ἔγνω, RV 'knew it'); 2 Mac 5^{6} 'But Jason slew his own citizens without mercy, not considering that to get the day of them of his own nation would be a most unhappy day for him' (οὐ συννοῶν τὴν εἰς τοὺς συγγενεῖς εὐημερίαν δυσημερίαν εἶναι τὴν μεγίστην, RV 'that good success against kinsmen is the greatest ill success' †).

Getting is used as a verbal subst. in Gn 31^{18} 'the cattle of his getting' (מִקְנֵה קִנְיָנוֹ, Dillm. *das Vieh seines Erwerbes*, 'the cattle of his possession'; Kalisch, 'the cattle of his acquisition'); and in Pr 4^{7} 'with all thy getting, get understanding' (בְּכָל־קִנְיָנְךָ, RV 'with all thou hast gotten': the meaning is not 'whatever thou gettest, get understanding,' but 'by means of all thy gains, get understanding'; cf. Mt 13^{46} 'went and sold all that he had, and bought it'). T. Lever (*Sermons*, 1550, Arber's ed. p. 117) translates Is 56^{11} 'Unshamefaste dogges, knowynge no measure of gredye gettynge.' J. HASTINGS.

GETHER (גֶּתֶר).—Named in Gn 10^{23}, along with Uz, Hul, and Mash, as one of the 'sons of Aram' (in 1 Ch 1^{17} simply 'sons of Shem'). The clan of which he is the eponymous founder has not been identified. Dillmann considers that Knobel's explanations (*Völkertafel*, 235 f.) from Arabian genealogies, as well as the attempts of Glaser (*Skizze d. Gesch. u. Geog. Arab.* 421 f.), have failed to yield any acceptable results.

GETHSEMANE (Γεθσημανεί).—A 'plot of ground' (χωρίον, Mt 26^{36}, Mk 14^{32}), which appears to have been on the Mt. of Olives (Lk 22^{39}) and beyond the ravine of the Kidron (Jn 18^{1}). The 'garden' or enclosure (κῆπος) belonging to it was the scene of our Lord's Agony. The name (from גַּת 'press' and שֶׁמֶן 'oil') means 'oil-press' (on the form of the name see Dalman, *Gram.* 152, 289 n. 3). Leaving Jerusalem by St. Stephen's gate one comes to the traditional site of Gethsemane, at a distance of almost 50 yards beyond the bridge that spans the Kidron. A stone wall encloses a nearly square plot of ground, which contains eight very ancient olive trees. Some cling fondly to the idea that these were actual witnesses of the Agony; others hold that this is precluded by the express statement of Josephus (*BJ* VI. i. 1), that during the siege by Titus all the trees in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem were cut down. Robinson, Thomson, and many other recent explorers doubt the accuracy of the tradition which locates Gethsemane, although it is universally admitted that the real site cannot be far from the traditional one. The tradition in question dates only from the 4th cent., and Robinson may be right in his suggestion that the site of Gethsemane, like that of Calvary, was fixed upon during the visit of Helena to Jerusalem, A.D. 326. Eusebius (*OS*² 248, 18) says that Gethsemane was *at*, Jerome (*ib.* 130, 22) that it was *at the foot of*, the Mt. of Olives. The latter adds that a church had been built over it (see the *Peregrinatio Silviæ*, cf. the testimony of Antoninus Martyr at the end of 6th cent.). The traditional site is objected to on the ground that it is too near the city.

LITERATURE.—Robinson, *BRP*² i. 234 f., 270; Porter, *Handbook*, 177; Thomson, *Land and Book*, ii. 483; Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, 415; Andrews, *Life of Our Lord*, 413; Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, vi. 9 ff.; Conder, *Bible Places* (ed. 1897), p. 204; Lees, *Jerusalem Illustrated*, 136; *SWP* vol. iii. sh. xiii. and Jerusalem volume; *PEFSt* (1887), pp. 151, 159; (1889), p. 176. C. R. CONDER.

GEUEL (גְּאוּאֵל 'majesty of God').—The Gadite sent as one of the twelve spies, Nu 13^{15} P.

GEZER (גֶּזֶר, Γάζερ, Γέζερ, Γάζαρα, Γάζης, Vulg. *Gazer*).—Now Tell Jezer, near the village of Abû Shûsheh and 4 miles W.N.W. of 'Amwâs, the ancient Nicopolis (see Euseb. *Onom. Sac.* p. 254, 14), to the right of the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem. The site, which is marked by blocks of unhewn stone and early pottery, would well repay excavation. Here have been found two inscriptions on a rock, one containing the name ΑΛΚΙΟΥ in Gr. letters, the other תחם גזר 'the boundary of Gezer' in Heb. characters of the Maccabæan age. M. Clermont-Ganneau, to whom the discovery was due, suggests that Alkios should be identified with a certain Alkios son of Simon, whose sarcophagus has been found at Lydda, and points out that Tell Jezer is the Mount Gisart of the Crusaders. The inscription may define the Sabbatic limit of the city. Josephus (*Ant.* VIII. vi. 1) places the town on the frontier of the territory of the Philistines; and Strabo (XVI. ii. 29), who calls it Gadaris, states that it had been appropriated by the Jews. In 1 Ch 20^{4} Gezer is given in place of the otherwise unknown Gob of 2 S 21^{18} (where, however, the Sept. and Syr. read Gath).

When the Egyptians under the Pharaohs of the 18th dynasty conquered Canaan, Gezer was placed under an Egyptian governor. In the time of the Tel el-Amarna tablets (B.C. 1400) the governor was Yapakhi, and we hear of Gezer (*Gazru*) along with Ashkelon and Lachish sending provisions to Jerusalem. Subsequently, however, Gezer was occupied by the Bedâwi sheikh Labai (who had once been governor of Shunem) and his confederate Malchiel, and it joined in an attack on Ebed-tob, the king of Jerusalem. This was the subject of a charge brought against Labai before the Egyptian Pharaoh. When the Israelites entered Canaan, Horam (Ailam in the Sept.) was king of Gezer; he came to the help of Lachish, but was defeated and slain by Joshua (Jos 10^{33} 12^{12}). The town was included in the southern border of Ephraim, and was assigned to the Kohathite Levites (Jos 16^{3} 21^{21}); the Israelites, however, failed to capture it, and its Canaanite inhabitants paid tribute to the Ephraimites (Jos 16^{10}, Jg 1^{29}). A recently discovered inscription of Merenptah, the son and successor of Ramses II. (B.C. 1280), in which mention is made of the Israelites, speaks of Gezer having been taken by the Egyptians (or, according to another possible translation, by the people of Ashkelon). In the reign of Solomon it was again taken by an Egyp. Pharaoh, who handed it over to his daughter, Solomon's wife (1 K 9^{16}). Solomon thereupon restored it, as well as the neighbouring Beth-horon, and it henceforth remained in Israelitish possession. Under the name of GAZARA (wh. see), Gezer appears repeatedly during the Maccabæan struggles (1 Mac 4^{15} 7^{45} 9^{52} $13^{43.53}$ $14^{7.34}$ 15^{28} 16^{1}, 2 Mac 10^{32}). It was then an important stronghold, for whose possession both parties contended strenuously. See, further, Clermont-Ganneau, *Arch. Researches in Pal.* (1896), pp. 224 ff.

---

* There are two difficulties: (1) קָנִיתִי 'I have gotten' is evidently meant to explain the name קַיִן Cain. See under CAIN. (2) אֶת־יהוה is either simply 'the Lord' (אֵת being the sign of the object), or 'with the Lord' (אֵת being the prep.). The prep. is not elsewhere used with יהוה (yet cf. אֶת־מִי ‖ נִשְׁמַת־מִי Job 26^{4}). But the direct object gives so difficult a sense that most versions and commentators prefer the prep., as AV and RV. The LXX has Ἐκτησάμην ἄνθρωπον διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ; O.L., Vulg. *possedi (acquisivi, procreavi) hominem per deum*; Luther, *Ich habe den Mann, den Herrn*'; Wyc. 1382, 'I haue had a man bi God,' 1388, 'Y haue gete a man bi God'; Tind. 'I haue gotten a man of the LORDE'; Cov. 'I haue opteyned the man of the LORDE'; Rog. 'I haue obteyned a man of the LORD'; Gen. 'I haue obteined a man by the Lord' [Gen. marg. That is, according to the Lord's promise, as ch. 3^{15}; some read, To the Lord, as reioycing for the sonne, whom she wolde offer to the Lord as the first frutes of her birth']; Bish. 'I haue gotten a man of the Lord'; Dou. 'I haue gotten a man through God'; Kautzsch, 'Einen Menschen habe ich erhalten mit Hilfe Jahwes.' See Spurrell, *in loc.*, supplemented by König in *Expos.* 5th Ser. vii. 205 f.

† This passage is referred to by Scrivener (*Camb. Bible*, p. 65 n. 1) as one of the colloquial forms which disfigure the AV Apocrypha, though he admits that it keeps up the verbal play of the Greek. It is, however, no colloquial or other English idiom, it is simply a literal tr. of the Greek. The Gen. Bible is more idiomatic, 'not considering that to have the advantage against his kinsmen is greatest disadvantage,' and it preserves the word-play also.

A. H. SAYCE.

GHOST.—Like 'ghastly' and 'aghast,' 'ghost' has had an *h* inserted in the course of its history—an Italian affectation, says Earle, and for the most part a toy of the Elizabethan period. The Anglo-Saxon form is *gâst*, the connexion of which with Ger. *geist* is obvious. The Middle-Eng. form is 'goost' and sometimes 'gost.' Wyclif's form is 'goost,' Tindale's 'goost' and rarely 'gost,' the Geneva 'gost,' the Rhemish NT and the AV always spell 'ghost.'

The root of the word, according to Skeat, is the Teut. GIS = Aryan GHIS = to terrify, so that the modern use of the word is as close to the primitive meaning as any other. The sense of 'apparition' or 'spectre,' appears, however, to be later in English usage than that of 'breath' or 'spirit,' so that the derivation is a little uncertain. The range of meaning in older English is considerable.

The principal meanings are: (1) *Breath*, as Bp. Andrewes, *Sermons*, ii. 340, 'Ye see then that it is worth the while to confess this as it should be confessed. In this wise none can do it but by the Holy Ghost. Otherwise, for an *ore tenus* only, our own ghost will serve well enough.'

(2) The soul or spirit of a living person. Thus Chaucer, *Clerke's Tale*, 972—

'"Nat only, lord, that I am glad," quod she,
"To doon your lust, but I desyre also
Yow for to serue and plese in my degree
With-outen feynting, and shal euermo.
Ne neuer, for no wele ne no wo,
Ne shal the gost with-in myn herte stente
To loue yow best with al my trewe entente"'

So Spenser, *FQ* II. i. 42—

'Whom when the good Sir Guyon did behold,
His hert gan wexe as starke as marble stone,
And his fresh bloud did frieze with fearefull cold,
That all his sences seemd bereft attone:
At last his mightie ghost gan deepe to grone,
As lion, grudging in his great disdaine.'

(3) It is applied especially to the soul or spirit departing from the body. Thus in 'The Forty-two Articles' of 1553 (Gibson, *The XXXIX Articles*, i. 71), Art. III—'For the bodie laie in the Sepulchre, until the resurrection: but his Ghoste departing from him was with the Ghostes that were in prison, or in helle, and didde preache to the same, as the place of S. Peter doeth testify.' Thence arise the phrases 'breathe out, yield up, give up the ghost,' as Chaucer, *Legend of Good Women*, 886—

'When that he herde the name of Tisbe cryen,
On her he caste his hevy deedly yën,
And doun again, and yeldeth up the gost.'

So *Prioresses Tale*, 1862—

'This holy monk, this abbot, him mene I,
His tonge out-caughte, and took a-wey the greyn,
And he gaf up the goost ful softely.'

And Spenser, *FQ* II. viii. 45—

'He tombling downe on ground,
Breathd out his ghost, which to th' infernall shade
Fast flying, there eternall torment found
For all the sinnes wherewith his lewd life did abound.'

(4) The most frequent application of the word is, however, to the spirit of a dead person, a disembodied spirit. Bp. Hall says (*Works*, ii. 114), 'Herod's conscience told him he had offered an unjust and cruell violence to an innocent, and now hee thinkes that John's ghost haunts him.' Cf. also Mk 6^{49} Rhem. 'But they seeing him walking upon the sea, thought it was a ghost, and cried out.' The word is found as early as Chaucer quite in the modern sense, as *Prologue*, 8—

'He was nat pale as a for-pyned (= tormented) goost.'

The application to the Holy Spirit is also very early. Thus Malory, *Morte d'Arthur* (Globe ed.), XIII. viii. 7—'In the midst of this blast entered a sun-beam more clearer by seven times than ever they saw day, and all they were alighted of the grace of the Holy Ghost.' Nor is it always accompanied by the adj. Holy: Chaucer (*Seconde Nonnes Tale*, 328) has—

'But ther is better lyf in other place,
That never shal be lost, ne drede thee nought,
Which Goddes sone us tolde thurgh his grace;
That fadres sone hath alle thinges wrought;
And al that wrought is with a skilful thought,
The gost, that fro the fader gan procede,
Hath sowled hem, withouten any drede.'

(5) Finally, it should be noticed that the word is sometimes applied to a dead body. Spenser, *FQ* II. viii. 26—

'Palmer, (said he) no knight so rude, I weene,
As to doen outrage to a sleeping ghost.'

Shaks. *II Henry VI.* III. ii. 161—

'See how the blood is settled in his face!
Oft have I seen a timely-parted ghost,
Of ashy semblance, meagre, pale, and bloodless.'

This is held to be the meaning of *Hamlet*, I. iv. 85—

'Still am I call'd, unhand me, gentlemen.
By heaven, I'll make a ghost of him that let's me!'

And Dyce quotes from Hooker's *Amanda* (1653), p. 207—

'What stranger who had seen thy shriv'led skin,
Thy thin, pale, ghastly face, would not have been
Conceited he had seen a ghost i' th' bed,
New risen from the grave, not lately dead?'

In AV 'ghost' is used only in the phrase 'give up' or 'yield up the ghost,' and in the name 'the Holy Ghost.'

1. The poetic and 'Priestly' word גָּוַע *gâwa'*, which means 'to expire,' 'to perish,' is tr^{d} 'give up the ghost' in Gn $25^{8.17}$ 35^{29}, Job 3^{11} 10^{18} 13^{19} 14^{10}, La 1^{19}; and 'yield up the ghost' in Gn 49^{33}. This tr^{n} is partly due to the Geneva Bible (Gn 35^{29} 49^{33}), but seems in most places original to AV. There is no reason for so special a tr^{n} in those passages; elsewhere *gâwa'* is tr^{d} simply 'die,' except Jos 22^{20}, Job 34^{15}, 'perish.' The Heb. רוּחַ *rûah*, 'breath,' 'spirit,' is never tr^{d} 'ghost.' But נֶפֶשׁ *nephesh*, 'soul,' is twice so tr^{d}, Job 11^{20} 'their hope shall be as the giving up of the ghost' (מַפַּח־נָפֶשׁ; AVm 'a puff of breath'); and Jer 15^{9} 'she hath given up the ghost' (נָפְחָה נַפְשָׁהּ). In To 14^{11} we find ψυχή tr^{d} in the same way, 'he gave up the ghost in the bed' (ἐξέλιπεν [B ἐξέλειπεν] αὐτοῦ ἡ ψυχὴ ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης). In NT we do not find ψυχή so tr^{d}, but πνεῦμα twice, Mt 27^{50} 'Jesus, when he had cried again with a loud voice, yielded up the ghost' (ἀφῆκε τὸ πνεῦμα; RV 'yielded up his spirit'); and Jn 19^{30} 'he bowed his head and gave up the ghost' (παρέδωκε τὸ πνεῦμα; RV 'gave up his spirit'). Though ψυχή is not tr^{d} 'ghost,' the verb ἐκψύχω, which occurs three times, is twice (Ac 5^{5} 12^{23}) tr^{d} 'give up the ghost,' and once (Ac 5^{10}) 'yield up the ghost.' Similarly ἐκπνέω, which also occurs three times (Mk $15^{37.39}$, Lk 23^{46}), is each time tr^{d} 'give up the ghost.' Finally, the phrase ἐν ἐσχάτῃ πνοῇ (lit. as RV 'at the last gasp') is rendered in 2 Mac 3^{31} 'give up the ghost.'

2. Wherever πνεῦμα is accompanied with ἅγιον it is tr^{d} in AV after all the previous versions 'Holy Ghost' (in 1611 always spelt 'holy Ghost,' which is the more surprising that Rhem. NT has almost always 'Holy Ghost'). When πνεῦμα occurs without ἅγιον, and the reference is to the Holy Ghost, it is tr^{d} 'spirit' or 'Spirit.' The RV has a few times, Amer. RV always, replaced 'Holy Ghost' by 'Holy Spirit'; both have generally accepted 'give up' or 'yield up the ghost.' See articles HOLY SPIRIT and SPIRIT.

J. HASTINGS.

GIAH (גִּיחַ).—Named in the account of Joab's pursuit of Abner, 2 S 2^{24}, 'the hill of Ammah that lieth before Giah by the way of the wilderness of Gibeon.' Ammah is prob. taken correctly as a proper name, although it cannot be identified. Theod., indeed, tr. it by ὑδραγωγός, 'aqueduct' (so Vulg. *aquæductus*), but this would necessitate the article, הָאַמָּה (cf. Wellh. and Driver, *ad loc.*). Wellh. proposes to eliminate Giah from the text, and for עַל־פְּנֵי גִיחַ דֶּרֶךְ מִדְבַּר גּ׳ of MT to substitute עַל־פְּנֵי גֵּי הַ׳ הַדֶּרֶךְ בְּמִדְבַּר גּ׳, holding that גִּיחַ has arisen out of גֵּי הַ (cf. the LXX Γαί, *i.e.* גַּיְא 'ravine'). It was natural to interpolate a *gai* answering to the preceding 'hill,' and the ח of גִּיחַ might readily arise from the ה of הַדֶּרֶךְ. This emendation is accepted by Budde (in *SBOT*) and Kittel (in Kautzsch's *AT*).

J. A. Selbie.

GIANT.—Most peoples have traditions in regard to gigantic men existing in earlier times. Not many decades ago these traditions were supposed to be confirmed by discoveries of remains of prehistoric men of enormous size. But a close scrutiny of the evidence indicates that prehistoric men were not larger than the men now living, and that the difference between the largest men that ever lived and men of normal size is less than used to be thought. Moreover, the giants of the traditions, when we come to study the subject closely, are found to be more or less confused with mythological beings or with ghosts, thus becoming, in a measure, unreal.

There was a time when the biblical accounts of giants were interpreted and coloured by the traditions and supposed historic remains. More lately there is a tendency to interpret them in the light of the unreality that is now assigned to the extra-biblical traditions. These facts are a reason for scanning carefully the biblical evidence and confining ourselves very closely to it.

In our EV three different words are translated giant. In Gn 6^{4} and Nu 13^{33} is used the word נְפִלִים (in LXX and Gr. *Enoch* οἱ γίγαντες). See Nephilim. This word denotes beings analogous to the demigods of the Greek and Latin mythology. When applied to the giant inhabitants of Pal. (Nu 13^{33}), it should perhaps be regarded as a figure of speech. The word used in Job 16^{14} is *gibbor* (גִּבּוֹר), a mighty man (RVm), a hero, an armed assailant, not a giant. The same word is used in the plur. in Gn 6^{4}, apparently as an equivalent for Nephilim, and is tr. in the Sept. γίγαντες; but it is evidently the equivalent of the word 'heroes' as used in mythological legends.

The true Heb. word for giant is different from these. In 2 S 21$^{16.18.20.22}$ is the word *raphah* (רָפָה), tr^{d} giant, and in 1 Ch 20$^{4.6.8}$ is the variant *rapha'* (רָפָא). From the same stem, in this variant form, comes the plur. *rĕphaim* (רְפָאִים, also used for the 'shades,' see Rephaim), and this is the proper equivalent of our Eng. word 'giants.'

Raphah means *to become limp*, to be slack, to be loosened. It often describes the physical and moral condition of one who goes to pieces through fear or discouragement, one who is physically and spiritually relaxed through terror or panic (in *Qal*, Jer 6^{24} 49^{24} 50^{43}; *Hithp.*, Jos 18^{3}, Pr 18^{3} 24^{10}). Many regard the word *rĕphaim* as the plur. of the gentilic adject. *rĕphai*, Rephaite; but its use indicates that it is rather a common noun in the plur., and it will be so treated in this article.

1. Geographical Distribution.—In David's time, the accounts say, there were *rephaim*, that is to say, giant people, living in Gath, and they mention none elsewhere. The Goliath whom David slew was one of these (1 S 17 *et al.*). So were Ishbi-benob, Saph (in 1 Ch 20^{4} Sippai), Goliath the Gittite (in 1 Ch 20^{5} Lahmi, the brother of Goliath the Gittite), and a man of stature with twenty-four fingers and toes (2 S 21$^{16-22}$, 1 Ch 20$^{4-8}$). See each of these names, in its place. Some of these men individually, and all four of them collectively, are said to have been born 'to the *raphah* (in 1 Ch 20$^{6.8}$ *rapha'*) in Gath.' Certainly *raphah* is here not a proper name. It is to be tr^{d} 'the giant.' It is to be understood either individually or collectively. If individually, then probably 'the giant' is the Goliath whom David slew, and the four men here mentioned are his sons. If collectively, then the assertion is that the four were of the breed of the giants that lived at Gath.

Some centuries earlier, just before the conquests by Moses and Joshua, the *rephaim* were more widely distributed. At that time, Og, the king of Bashan, was the only remaining representative 'of those that were left of the *rephaim*' E. of the Jordan (Dt 3^{11}). W. of the Jordan the Anakim (wh. see) had their principal seat, perhaps, at Hebron and its vicinity (Nu 13^{22}, Jos 14$^{12-15}$ 15$^{13.14}$ 11^{21}, Jg 1^{20}); but there were Anakim also in the mountain country of Israel as well as in the mountain country of Judah, and among the Phil. cities near the Mediterranean (Jos 11$^{21.22}$). Further, there seem to have been *rephaim* in the forest region near Mount Carmel (Jos 17^{15}). There are traces, too, of giant occupation, either then or earlier, in such geographical names as the valley of Rephaim (Jos 15^{8} 18^{16} etc.), near Jerus., and 'the Avvim,' one of the cities of Benjamin (Jos 18^{23}). And it is presumable that they occupied yet other localities at this date.

Going back to earlier times, two passages are especially important. In Dt 2$^{10\text{f.}}$ Moses is represented as mentioning, for the encouragement of Israel against the Anakim, several giant peoples that had been dispossessed by other peoples. In Gn 14 we have an account of the several peoples that were attacked by the four kings in their march southward, in the days of Abraham. The peoples mentioned in these two passages are mainly the same, and they are so mentioned as to enable us to locate them geographically. The four kings 'smote Rephaim' (Gn 14^{5}), and this region must have been so called because there were *rephaim* then living there, E. of the Jordan, well to the N., the region where Og afterwards reigned. Proceeding S. they smote the Zuzim, apparently the same with the Zamzummim, who occupied territory afterwards held by the Ammonites, and who are said to be *rephaim* (Gn 14^{5}, Dt 2^{20}). Still marching S., they reached the Emim, who are also said to be *rephaim*, in the territory afterwards held by Moab (Gn 14^{5}, Dt 2$^{10.11}$). Yet farther S., in the country of Seir, they attacked the Horim, who were probably *rephaim*, though this is not expressly stated (Gn 14^{6}, Dt 2$^{12.22}$).

W. of the Jordan, the Avvim were near Gaza at a very early period (Dt 2^{23}). The *rephaim* are mentioned along with the Kenite, the Hittite, the Perizzite, the Amorite, etc. (Gn 15^{20}), as in the land, apparently, in Abraham's time. The Anakim are not mentioned by name in connexion with this early period, but we are told that 'Sarah died in the city of Arba, which is Hebron, in the land of Canaan' (Gn 23^{2}); and that 'Jacob came to Isaac, his father, to Mamre, the city of the Arba, which is Hebron' (Gn 35^{27}). Evidently, the writer of these statements held that the city was called by the name of Arba in the time of Jacob and of Abraham. It follows that he held that the Anakim were already there, for Arba 'was the great man among the Anakim' (Jos 14^{15}). And from Nu 13^{22} it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that it was the Anakim who built Hebron 'seven years before Zoan of Egypt.'

2. History of the Giant Peoples.—If what has been said is true, we are to think of them as widely spread in Pal., on both sides of the Jordan, as early as the time of Abraham. They are expressly said to have preceded the Caphtorite Philistines, the Ammonites, the Moabites, the Edomites, the Israelites; it is not said whether they preceded the Can. peoples. Some affirm them

to have been the aborigines of Palestine. This is not in itself improbable, and it is perhaps confirmed by what we know of their characteristics. In particular, the name Horite is supposed to denote a cave-dweller, and if we regard the Horites as *rephaim*, this is an argument of some weight.

Not all scholars accept the opinion stated above, that the Anakim and other *rephaim* were W. of the Jordan in Abraham's time. There is a theory that these were immigrants from the *rephaim* E. of the Jordan, after the invasion by the four kings; but this lacks confirmation. It is said, further, that the Anakim cannot early have had their seats W. of the Jordan, because the country was then in the possession of other peoples. But, as we shall presently see, the *rephaim* lived among other peoples during most of their known history.

As another objection, one might plausibly say that Arba was the father of Anak, and the three chiefs whom Caleb conquered were sons of Anak, and therefore the Anakite possession dated back only to the generation before the Exodus. But this inference is based entirely on the inexactnesses of translations. Arba is not said to have been the father of Anak, but 'the father of the Anak' (Jos 15^{13}), 'the father of the Anok' (Jos 21^{11}). The article here makes a difference. Arba is not said to be the father of some person named Anak or Anok, but the father of the Anak stock. This is another way of saying that he was 'the great man among the Anakim' (Jos 14^{15}). Again, Sheshai and Ahiman and Talmai are not said to have been the children of a person called Anak, but 'the children of the Anak' (Nu 13^{22}, Jos 15^{14}), and 'the three sons of the Anak' (Jg 1^{20}). In other words, Arba was thought of as the greatest man commemorated in the traditions of the Anakim, and in that sense the father of the Anakim; and the three chiefs were the greatest living leaders of the Anakim. There is nothing here to disprove the antiquity of the Anakim. See further Moore, *Judges*, p. 24.

The *rephaim* seem to have had strong local attachments. Once in a locality, they remained there, unless they were wholly extirpated. After many centuries Moses, and Joshua, and Jair, and Caleb found Og in the old seats of the Rephaim, and the tribesmen of Arba at the city of Arba, and the Horite still living in Seir, though incorporated among the Edomites. Yet more marked seems to have been the persistence of the Avvim in the Phil. country (Dt 2^{23}). The Caphtorim had destroyed them, but they were still there in the time of Joshua (Jos 13^{3}), and survived his conquests. Presumably, they are to be identified with the Anakim who were left in Gaza, in Gath, and in Ashdod, the name Anakim being here used generically (Jos 11^{22}). Presumably, Goliath and the other giants of David's time came of this stock.

3. THE GIANTS IN THEIR RELATIONS TO OTHER PEOPLES.—The diction of OT, when it speaks of the giant peoples, has a marked peculiarity which is not preserved in the EV; the gentilic name is always used in the plur., not in the sing. as in the case of other peoples. For example, we have 'the Gazite and the Ashdodite, the Ashkelonite, the Gittite, and the Ekronite, and the Avvites' (Jos 13^{3}); 'the Hittite, and the Perizzite, and the Rephaites (better, *rephaim*), and the Amorite' (Gn 15^{20}). Curiously, the names Caphtorim and Pelishtim follow the same usage with those of the giant peoples, 'the Philistine' never occurring in the singular to denote the people, but only to denote some individual. If the Horites were giants, their name is exceptional, 'the Horite' being the designation commonly used.

This use of language is certainly significant. Apparently, it shows that the writers of OT regard the giants, not as a group of nationalities or peoples, but simply as a breed of men, existing in several varieties. With this agree statements made concerning the giants at all periods. The Davidic giants, though children of the *raphah*, were politically Philistine and Gittite. Og, though of the breed of the *rephaim*, was politically Amorite (Jos 2^{10} etc.). In the time of the conquest, the Anakim around Hebron were politically Amorite; in the time of Abraham, it is probably fair to infer that they were politically Hittite. Giants as they were, and formidable, they maintained their existence only where they became associated with some other race, the other race being always dominant. The case of the Horites, maintaining their position as a people among peoples, is probably to be accounted for by some peculiar turn taken in their relations with Esau and his Hivite connexions by marriage.

4. PECULIARITIES OF THE GIANT RACE.—They were of great stature. Probably, no authentic measurements of men exceed those of the Goliath whom David slew. The Israelites of the Exodus seemed as grasshoppers by the side of the Anakim.

There is no ground in the biblical accounts for inferring that they were monstrous in shape. The six-toed man of David's time must be regarded as exceptional and not typical. The name Avvim may be from a stem that denotes crookedness, physical or moral, but it is insufficient as evidence that the Avvim had distorted bodies. The Anakim are verbally 'men of neck,' and this is commonly interpreted to mean that they were long-necked. But it is quite as likely to mean that they were thick-necked. The name Emim, 'formidable ones,' may indicate that fearsomeness was the principal characteristic of the giants, but their terribleness apparently was due to their size and prowess, and not to anything uncanny about them.

The name Horite is supposed to denote cave-dweller; but even if the *rephaim* were originally cave-dwellers, most of them were certainly not so within the time during which we have information concerning them.

They were a numerous stock. 'A people great and many, and tall as the Anakim,' is a phrase used more than once.

Yet the *rephaim*, as a whole, were inferior to the peoples of normal stature who surrounded them. Individuals among them were leaders—for example, Og, or the three chiefs at Hebron; but these were exceptional. We might infer this from the general history of mankind, but it is better to infer it from the fact given in the Bible, that the *rephaim*, coming in contact with other men, became either extinct or subordinate. Doubtless they were more formidable, however, as fighters in the Amorite or Philistine armies than they would have been by themselves.

5. MENTION IN LATER TIMES.—We have no clear facts concerning the giants later than the time of David. In the LXX of Jer 47^{5} we read: 'Ashkelon is cast away, the remnant of the Enakim.' Those who prefer this to the Heb. text find in it proof of a survival of men of the giant breed even to that date, but this is precarious.

Later writers confuse the *rephaim* with the *Nephilim*, speak of their foolishness, and of their bones or other relics as on exhibition at Hebron, or Damascus, or elsewhere (Jth 16^{7}, Wis 14^{6}, Sir 16^{7} 47^{4}, Bar 3^{26}; Jos. *Ant*. v. ii. 3; Benjamin of Tudela, *Itin.* p. 56). Yet others enlarge upon the biblical statements with the most extraordinary assertions, measurements, and legends.

For **Valley of the Giants** (RV, Vale of Rephaim), Jos 15^{8} 18^{16}, see REPHAIM (VALLEY OF).

LITERATURE.—The older literature of this subject is voluminous. See, for example, Grotius, *De Veritate*, i. 16; Pritchard, *Natural History of Man*, v. 489 ff.; Kurtz, *Die Ehen der Söhne Gottes*, Berlin, 1857; Sennert, *Dissert. Hist. Phil. de Gigantibus*, 1663. See also the article 'Riesen' in Herzog's *RE*; Porter, *Giant Cities of Bashan*, 1860; Lenormant, *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, 1880–1882; Schwally, *ZAW*, 1898, p. 127 ff.

W. J. BEECHER.

GIBBAR (גִּבָּר 'hero').—A family which returned with Zerub. (Ezr 2^{20}). The name is probably an error for Gibeon (גִּבְעוֹן) of Neh 7^{25}. See GENEALOGY.

GIBBETHON (גִּבְּתוֹן 'mound,' 'height').—A town which is mentioned, along with Eltekeh and Baalath, as belonging to the tribe of Dan, and as a Levitical city (Jos 19^{44} 21^{23}). In the time of the early kings of northern Israel G. was in the hands of the Phil., and was a place of importance. Nadab, king of Israel, was besieging it when he was slain by his successor Baasha; and a quarter of a century later Omri was similarly engaged when he was made king by the army, to succeed Zimri (1 K 15^{27} 16$^{15-17}$). In *Onom. Sac.*^{2} (246, 255) a Gabathon is mentioned 17 miles from Cæsarea. But this is nearly W. of Samaria, and much too far to the north to agree with the biblical notices of G. The Pal. Survey maps identify it with *Kibbiah*, well down the western slope of the mountain country, 840 ft. above the sea, in lat. 31°·58 and long. 35°·1, nearly equidistant from Jerusalem, Shechem, and Joppa. W. J. BEECHER.

GIBEA (גִּבְעָא).—A grandson of Caleb (1 Ch 2^{49}). It is now generally admitted that the list of the descendants of Judah through Caleb given in 1 Ch 2$^{42ff.}$ is geographical rather than genealogical, and comprises all the towns lying in the *Negeb* of Judah, to the S. of Hebron (Wellh. *Proleg.* p. 217). G. is probably only a variation in spelling of the more common Gibeah (גִּבְעָה). See GIBEAH 1.

J. F. STENNING.

GIBEAH (גִּבְעָה a 'hill,' as distinct from a 'mountain,' or 'mountainous district' [הַר]).—A careful examination of all the passages in which Gibeah occurs as the name of a place, seems to show that the uncertainty and confusion which have hitherto existed with regard to the actual situation of G. are largely due to two causes. In the first place, the older translators failed in many cases to distinguish between the use of the word as an appellative and its use as a proper name, the result being to multiply the number of the places bearing this name. Secondly, the name itself is so closely allied, both in form and meaning, to that of another well-known spot, viz. Geba (גֶּבַע), that the two have frequently been interchanged, and the difficulties of identification considerably increased. A consideration of these two facts makes it probable that the actual number of places mentioned in the OT under this name (excluding those which are further defined by some additional word) is to be reduced to two.

1. A city of Judah (Jos 15^{57}), possibly one of two villages called *Gabaa*, *Gabatha* (Lagarde, *Onomast.* 255. 160). The exact site is unknown, but the context clearly shows that it was situated in the neighbourhood of Maon, Carmel, and Ziph, on the fertile plateau which lies to the S.E. of Hebron (*Hist. Geog.* pp. 306 n., 317).

2. A city of Benjamin (Jg 19$^{12f.}$), described elsewhere as 'of Benjamin' (1 S 13$^{2.15}$ 14^{16}, cf. Jg 19^{14} 'which belongeth to Benjamin'), and 'of the children of Benjamin' (2 S 23^{29}); most probably it is to be identified also with 'G. of Saul' (1 S 11^{4}, Is 10^{29}, cf. 1 S 10^{26}), and with 'the hill (RVm Gibeah) of God' (1 S 10^{5}).

From the somewhat scanty notices supplied by the historical books of the OT, we gather (*a*) that Gibeah was quite distinct from Geba (1 S 14$^{1-5}$, Is 10^{29}); (*b*) that it lay to the N. of Jerusalem, close to the main N. road, and S. of Ramah (Jg 19$^{12-14}$); (*c*) that just N. of the town, the main road divided into two branches, one of which led to Bethel, and the other diverged to Geba (Jg 20^{31}). The situation of *Tell* (or *Tuleil*) *el-Fûl*, with which Gibeah has been identified by Robinson (*BR*^{2} i. 577–579) exactly fulfils all these requirements. It is the name given to a hill situated about four miles to the N. of Jerusalem, and lying a quarter of a mile to the E. of the main road. *Er-Râm* (Ramah) lies farther to the N., while the main road from Jerusalem divides in two just beyond *Tell el-Fûl*, one branch diverging to the right to *Jeba* (Geba), and the other going northwards to *Beitîn* (Bethel). The writings of Josephus furnish additional proof, not only of the correctness of this identification, but also of the identity of Gibeah and G. of Saul. He relates (*BJ* v. ii. 1) that Titus, while advancing to the siege of Jerusalem, halted for a night at Gophna (*Jufna*), and the following night encamped 'at a place called the Vale of Thorns, near a certain village called Gabath-Saul, which signifies "Hill of Saul," distant from Jerusalem about 30 stadia.' [*] During the night a legion coming from Emmaus (*'Amwâs*, Nicopolis) joined the main army; the reinforcement had doubtless come up by the road which in the present day joins the northern road just above *Tell el-Fûl*. Cf. also Jerome, *Ep.* 108. 8 (*Opp.* ed. Vallarsi, i. 690), and Robinson, *l.c.*

The town of Gibeah is associated with several striking events in the early history of Israel. (1) It occupies an important position in the second of the two supplementary narratives which conclude the Book of Judges (ch. 19–21). A certain Levite from the hill country of Ephraim is forsaken by his concubine, who flees to her father's house in Beth-lehem-judah. Here she is followed by the Levite, who remains several days in Bethlehem, enjoying the hospitality of his father-in-law. Despite the entreaties of the latter, they start on the return journey late in the afternoon of the fifth day (19$^{8.9}$), and towards nightfall reach Jebus or Jerusalem. Being unwilling to 'turn aside into the city of a stranger,' the Levite presses on in the hope of reaching either Gibeah or Ramah (v.^{13}), and finally spends the night at the former place. Here they are hospitably received by an old man, a sojourner in the place; but during the night the Benjamite inhabitants beset the house, and demand that the Levite be given up to them. The latter, in self-defence, surrenders his concubine to them, and in the morning finds her on the threshold dead from their ill-usage. He then returns to his home, cuts up her body into twelve pieces, and sends them throughout the borders of Israel (19$^{15-30}$). Ch 20 describes how the Benjamites refuse to surrender the men of Gibeah to the assembled tribes, who in consequence attack Gibeah, and destroy the tribe of Benjamin, with the exception of 600 men. The kernel of the story is undoubtedly historical, but it has been worked over and expanded by 'an author of the age and school of the Chronicler' (Moore, *Judges*, p. 402 ff.). Throughout the narrative the name of the place is given as Gibeah simply, except in 19^{14} 20^{4} ('that belongeth to Benjamin'), and in 20^{10}, where the text wrongly gives 'Geba of B.' (לגבע) for 'Gibeah of B.'; the similarity of the two names has caused the same error elsewhere.

In 20^{31}, however, another Gibeah seems to be referred to by the narrator. After twice suffering defeat at the hands of the Benjamites, the men of Israel lay an ambush against Gibeah, and then entice the Benjamites into 'the highways, of which one goeth up to Bethel, and the other to Gibeah, in the field.' From this passage it has been concluded that there was another place called Gibeah in the immediate neighbourhood, which was distinguished by the addition of 'in the field.' But this view is opposed by the accentuation, according to which 'in the field' is parallel to 'in the highways' (so RV). It is evident that Gibeah is a mistake for Geba (*Jeba*), the road to which branches off just N. of *Tell el-Fûl*; Moore thinks it probable that the author had 'no clear conception of the topography' (*Judges*, p. 436).

---

[*] πρός τινι κώμῃ Γαβὰθ Σαοὺλ καλουμένῃ· σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο λόφον Σαούλου, διέχων ἀπὸ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ὅσον ἀπὸ τριάκοντα σταδίων.

Again in v.^{33} it is stated that the Israelite liers-in-wait 'brake out of their place, even out of Maareh-geba.' AV and RVm give 'even out of the meadow of Gibeah,' their translation being based on that of the Targum. The rendering 'meadow' (for מַעֲרֵה), however, is very questionable, and it has been proposed to follow the Pesh., and render, with a change of the vowel points, 'cave.' The correct reading is doubtless that preserved by one large group of Greek MSS and Jerome, viz. 'from the W. of G.' (מִמַּעֲרָב לַגִּבְעָה, cf. Jos $8^{9.12}$). See Moore, *Judges*, pp. 437, 438.

(2) From 1 S 10^{26} * we learn that Gibeah was the native village of Saul, to which he returned after his election as king; from this time onwards it is frequently called 'G. of Saul.' (The identity of the two places is sufficiently clear from the narrative of 1 S 13 and 14). It was here that Saul, while pursuing his ordinary occupations, heard of the grievous plight of Jabesh-gilead in consequence of the attack of Nahash the Ammonite (11^4). The occasion foreshadowed by Samuel (10^7) had now arrived, and Saul, following the promptings of the divine spirit, at once took action. He slew a yoke of oxen, and sent portions of them throughout the borders of Israel, bidding the people follow after him. The summons was promptly obeyed, and by means of a forced march Saul effected the release of Jabesh-gilead. From the account of the war with the Philistines (1 S 13. 14), which occupied the greater part of Saul's reign, Gibeah would seem to have been of considerable strategic importance. The exact sequence of events, however, is not quite clear, chiefly owing to the corruptness of the text, and the confusion which clearly prevails with regard to the two places Geba and Gibeah. According to the more probable view, Saul, with 2000 men, took up his position at Michmash (*Mŭkhmâs*), on the N. side of the *Wâdy Suweinît*, from which he commanded the heights of Bethel, while Jonathan, with 1000 men, remained at Gibeah, some three miles farther south (13^2). The signal for revolt was given by Jonathan, who destroyed the pillar † of the Philistines at Gibeah (emending v.^{3} 'and the Philistines heard saying, The Hebrews have revolted. And Saul blew the trumpet,' etc.; cf. Driver, *Sam. ad loc.*); the Phil. at once mustered in great force, and marched against the Israelites. Unable to withstand the advance of the enemy, Saul retreated down the eastern passes to Gilgal in the Jordan Valley, while the Philistines seized the deserted camp at Michmash (vv.$^{4.5}$). For a time the cause of Israel seemed hopeless, but Saul, having collected some 600 men, the remnant of his forces, effected a junction with Jonathan at Gibeah (v.^{15} following the LXX; in v.^{16} Geba must be a mistake for Gibeah). In the meantime the Philistines overran the country in three directions (for 'the border' [הגבול], v.^{18}, the LXX has הגבע; we should probably read הגבעה Gibeah, since it would be meaningless to talk of a company of spoilers starting from Michmash in the direction of Geba, situated on the opposite side of the *Wâdy Suweinît*). Hostilities between the opposing forces were again initiated by Jonathan. On this second occasion, accompanied only by his armour-bearer, he apparently proceeded from Gibeah to Geba, and thence (cf. 14^1 'that is on yonder side') made his desperate effort against the Philistine garrison at Michmash. The latter, believing, no doubt, that the two warriors were supported by a large force, offered but little resistance, and no fewer than twenty were slain at the first onset (14^{14}). The panic caused by this sudden attack rapidly spread throughout the Philistine camp, which soon became the scene of the wildest confusion. The news was conveyed to Saul at Gibeah by his scouts or outposts (v.^{16}), and a general onslaught on the terrified Philistines, in which the whole country joined, was successfully carried out. It does not seem, however, that the Israelitish victory on this occasion had more than a temporary effect, for we are told later on that 'there was sore war against the Philistines all the days of Saul' (14^{52}).

(3) In the appendix to 2 S (21–24) Gibeah is mentioned as the scene of the tragic incident of the hanging of the seven sons of Saul (2 S 21^{1-14}). The famine, which had troubled the land for three years, is declared by J″ to be due to the slaughter of the Gibeonites by Saul, though no such act is recorded in the history of Saul's reign. To appease the wrath of J″, seven descendants of Saul were handed over to the Gibeonites, and hanged by them. See RIZPAH.

(4) Lastly, in the imaginative description of the march of Sennacherib against Jerusalem given by Isaiah (10^{28-32}), the Assyrians are represented as advancing in a straight line from the North, undeterred by any obstacle. The prophet depicts the last stages of their victorious advance; the passage of the steep defile of the *Wâdy Suweinît* is secured by despatching a troop in advance to Migron, S. of the pass; the main army is thus enabled to cross in safety, and encamps at Geba; while the villagers of Ramah and Gibeah take refuge in flight (cf. Driver, *Isaiah*, pp. 71, 72). The passage is important as establishing the fact that Geba and Gibeah were two distinct places.

3. There are several place-names compounded with Gibeah (or Gibeath, גִּבְעַת the *st. constr.*), which are translated in the RV text by 'hill,' but given as 'Gibeah' in the margin. These are—

(1) *Gibeath hā'ărālōth* (גִּבְעַת הָעֲרָלוֹת), 'the hill of the foreskins' (Jos 5^3), between the Jordan and Jericho, so called as the scene of the circumcision, after the passage of the Jordan. See GILGAL.

(2) *Gibeath-Phinehas* (גִּבְעַת פִּינְחָס), 'the hill of P.' in Mt. Ephraim (Jos 24^{33}). The exact site is unknown. Conder (*PEF Mem.* ii. 218) follows Schwarz (*HL* p. 118) in identifying it with *'Awertah* near *Nablûs* (Shechem); so apparently G. A. Smith. Guérin (*Judée*, iii. pp. 37, 38; *Samarie*, pp. 106–109), chiefly on the authority of Jerome (*Ep.* i. 888), identifies it with *Jîbîa*, three miles N. of *Kuryet el-Enab* (so Dillmann).

(3) *Gibeath hammōreh* (ג״ הַמּוֹרֶה), 'the hill of Moreh,' usually identified with the modern *Jebel Duhy*, a slight eminence on the N. side of the valley above Shunem (*Solam*). On this view, which identifies 'the spring of Harod' (which see) with *'Ain Jâlûd*, at the foot of Mt. Gilboa, about half an hour to the E. of Jezreel (*Zer'in*), the camps of Gideon and the Midianites (Jg 7^1) would occupy much the same position as those taken up at a later period by Saul and the Philistines (1 S 28^4, cf. 29^1). So G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* p. 397 f.; Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, 1856, p. 341 f. Moore, however

---

* 1 S $10^{25.27}$ has been clearly shown by Budde (*Richter und Samuel*, p. 174 f.) to be a harmonistic insertion of the editor; but this fact does not affect the point at issue.

† So Driver, Wellh., Th.; RV gives 'garrison.' The נְצִיב was probably a pillar erected in token of Philistine domination. See Driver, *Sam.* p. 61.

(*Judges*, p. 200 f.), objects that this view is based on the notice in 6^{33}, which is not from the same source as 7^{1} (J), and prefers therefore to place *G. hammōreh* near Shechem (Gn 12^{6}, Dt 11^{30}). See MOREH.

(4) *Gibeath ha-Elohim* (גִּ׳ הָאֱלֹהִים), 'the hill of God,' probably the same as Gibeah 2. It was the spot at which Saul, on his return from the city of Samuel, was to meet a band of the prophets (1 S 10^{5}). In v.^{10} it is called Gibeah, or 'the hill' simply; and as it is stated that there was a garrison (or rather 'pillar') of the Philistines there, it may safely be inferred that it is identical with 'G. of Benjamin' (cf. 13$^{2.3}$; in v.^{3} we must read Gibeah for Geba).

(5) *Gibeath ha-Hachilah* (1 S 23^{19} 26^{1}). See HACHILAH.

(6) *Gibeath Ammah* (1 S 2^{24}). See AMMAH.

(7) *Gibeath Gareb* (Jer 31^{39}). See GAREB.

J. F. STENNING.

GIBEATH (גִּבְעַת), Jos 18^{28}=GIBEAH No. 2 (which see). **Gibeathite** (גִּבְעָתִי), 1 Ch 12^{3}, gentilic name from Gibeah (of Benjamin ?).

GIBEON (גִּבְעוֹן, Γαβαών).—An ancient city of Canaan belonging to the Hivites* (Jos 9$^{3f.}$), and apparently the capital of a small independent state (9^{17}); it was 'a great city, as one of the royal cities . . . greater than Ai' (10^{2}). It was later assigned to the tribe of Benjamin (18^{25}), and was eventually made over with its suburbs to the descendants of Aaron (21^{17}).

The identity of G. with the village of *el-Jîb*, which lies some 5 or 6 miles to the N.W. of Jerusalem, is practically beyond dispute. The modern village still preserves the first part of the older name, while its situation agrees in every respect with the requirements of the history of the OT. Just beyond *Tell el-Fûl* (Gibeah), the main N. road from Jerusalem to *Beitîn* (Bethel) is joined by a branch road leading up from the coast. The latter forms the continuation of the most southerly of the three routes which connect the Jordan Valley with the Maritime Plain (Smith, *HGHL* p. 248 f.) After the Israelites had crossed the Jordan at Gilgal and destroyed Jericho, their most direct means of access to the central plateau lay by the *Wâdy Suweinît*. From Michmash at the head of the valley the way ran almost straight across the tableland to the vale of Aijalon. Now, just before this road leaves the higher ground and descends into the Shephelah, it divides into two, the one branch leading down by the *Wâdy Selman*, the other running in a more northerly direction by way of the two Bethhorons (Smith, *HGHL* p. 210 n. 2). Here, on this open fertile plateau, slightly to the S. of the main road, rises the hill on which the modern village of *el-Jîb* is built, right on the frontier line which traverses the central range to the S. of Bethel. It was this natural pass across Palestine which in early times served as the political border between N. and S. Israel, and it was owing to its position on this frontier that G. acquired so much prominence in the reigns of David and Solomon. A short distance to the E. of the village, at the foot of the hill, there is further a stone tank or reservoir of considerable size, supplied by a spring, which rises in a cave higher up. Thus we find that the physical features of the modern *el-Jîb* correspond in every respect with those of the ancient Gibeon as set forth in the historical books of the OT.

1. We learn from the Bk. of Joshua, that after the destruction of Jericho and Ai by the Israelites the inhabitants of G. devised a scheme by which they hoped to avoid the fate that had befallen their neighbours. They accordingly despatched an embassy to the Israelite camp at Gilgal for the purpose of misleading the enemy by representing that they were not inhabitants of Canaan, but came from a far distant country. In support of this statement the embassy drew attention to the condition of their provisions and garments, which bore apparent traces of having been brought from a long distance. Their request for an alliance was at once granted by Joshua and the princes, and a covenant ratified between the two peoples. Within three days, however, the trick played by the men of G. was fully exposed, but, on account of the covenant oath, Joshua and the princes of the congregation determined to abide by the alliance, while they condemned the Gibeonites to perpetual service as 'hewers of wood and drawers of water to all the congregation' (Jos 9$^{3-27}$). Meantime the neighbouring Amorite kings under Adoni-zedek of Jerusalem had combined to resist the forces of Joshua, and as a first step to lay siege to G. An urgent summons for help was sent to the Israelites, to which Joshua promptly responded by making a forced night-march from Gilgal with all his troops. The confederate kings were utterly routed by the Israelites, who pursued the flying foe down the valley of Aijalon as far as Makkedah in the Shephelah. It was on this occasion that, at the prayer of Joshua, 'the sun stayed in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go down about a whole day' (10$^{1-14}$; see BETH-HORON). We learn from 2 S 21$^{1f.}$ that the Gibeonites were nearly exterminated by Saul, but no details are supplied in the narrative of his reign. Reparation was made by David through the sacrifice of seven of Saul's descendants.

2. We next hear of Gibeon at the beginning of David's reign, when he was as yet king of Judah only, and was still opposed by Ishbosheth the son of Saul. During the struggle for supremacy two bodies of troops, under their respective generals,—Joab the son of Zeruiah and Abner the son of Ner,—met, as if by agreement, on the frontier at Gibeon. The battle went in favour of David's men, and in the subsequent flight of Abner the latter slew Asahel, the younger brother of Joab (2 S 2$^{12-32}$). The story clearly belongs to the older narrative (J^{1}) of the books of Samuel, and is undoubtedly genuine, though vv.$^{14-16}$ seem to interrupt the main narrative. These verses describe the mortal combat that took place between the 12 champions of each party. The name given to the spot, *Ḥelḳath-haẓẓûrîm* (חֶלְקַת הַצֻּרִים 'the field of sword-edges'), has probably been more correctly preserved in the LXX (*Μερὶς τῶν ἐπιβούλων, i.e.* ח׳ הַצֹּדִים 'the field of the liers in wait'; cf. Driver, *in loc.*), and should be transliterated *Ḥelḳath-haẓẓôdîm*. The 'pool of Gibeon' here mentioned (v.^{13}) is doubtless the reservoir referred to above. Similarly, in Jer 41$^{11f.}$ Johanan the son of Kareah is stated to have delivered the captives of Mizpah from the hands of Ishmael the son of Nethaniah, 'by the great waters that are in Gibeon.' It was at this spring also, according to Josephus (*Ant.* V. i. 17), that Joshua surprised the five kings of the Amorites when they were besieging Gibeon.

3. Owing to the great similarity between the two names (see GEBA, GIBEAH), *Geba* seems to have been substituted for *Gibeon* in 2 S 5^{25}. The parallel passage (1 Ch 14^{16}) gives *Gibeon*, and this reading is also supported by the LXX and by Is 28^{21}, which connects Gibeon with Perazim as in 2 S 5$^{17-25}$. Further, the Philistines were encamped in the valley of Rephaim to the W. of Jerusalem (Smith, *HGHL* p. 218, by a *lapsus calami* or a printer's error, places the valley S.E. of Jerusalem; it is correctly placed in the map, Plate IV.), while David was advancing from the S., when com-

---

* According to 2 S 21^{2} the Gibeonites were 'of the remnant of the Amorites.'

manded to 'make a circuit behind them' (v.^{23}). His attack therefore *from Gibeon* to the N.W. of Jerusalem suits the requirements of the context; Geba was too far to the E.

4. The rebellion of Absalom, which culminated in his death, was quickly followed by an outbreak on the part of the men of Israel under one Sheba the son of Bichri (2 S 20$^{1f.}$). The task of suppressing the revolt was at first assigned to Amasa, but owing to his dilatoriness Abishai * was also sent in pursuit. The latter was accompanied by Joab, and the two parties of David's troops met 'at the great stone which is in G.' (20^{8}). Not suspecting any evil, Amasa advanced to salute Joab, and was treacherously slain by him. The 'great stone of G.' is not mentioned elsewhere; it was probably a pillar or cairn of stones such as we frequently find in connexion with the OT sanctuaries, *e.g.* at Mizpah, Bethel, Gilgal (cf. W. R. Smith, *RS* 186 f.).

5. It was, however, as the site of a *bāmāh*, or 'high place,' that G. was especially famous. At this sanctuary, because it was 'the great high place' (הַבָּמָה הַגְּדוֹלָה), Solomon inaugurated his reign by offering a thousand burnt-offerings, and received the divine blessing in a dream by night (1 K 3$^{4f.}$). It is true that, according to 2 Ch 1^{3}, G. is represented as containing the 'Tent of Meeting of God' as well as the brazen altar; but this statement would seem to have no other foundation than the desire of the Chronicler to reconcile the action of the young king and its approval by J″ with the enactments of the later priestly legislation (cf. Wellhausen, *Proleg.*^{4} p. 182 f.). The earlier history knows nothing of the presence of the Tent of Meeting at G. (according to 1 S 1^{9} 3^{3} it was already replaced by a temple at Shiloh; 1 S 2^{22b} is omitted in LXX, and is clearly a later addition; so Driver, Budde, Wellhausen, Klost.), while 1 K 8$^{1f.}$ clearly places it, together with the ark of the covenant, 'in the city of David, which is Zion.'

'Men of G.' are mentioned as among those 'which came up at the first,' *i.e.* who returned from Babylon under Zerubbabel (Neh 7^{25}; in the corresponding list of Ezra 2^{20} Gibbar is probably a mistake), and also as taking part in the repairing of the wall of Jerusalem under Nehemiah (Neh 3^{7}).

Lastly, Gibeon is mentioned by Josephus (*BJ* II. xix. 1) as the place where Cestius Gallus encamped on his march from Antipatris to Jerusalem, after he had fired the town of Lydda (Διὰ *Βαιθωρῶν ἀναβὰς στρατοπεδεύεται κατά τινα χῶρον Γαβαὼ καλούμενον, ἀπέχοντα τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων πεντήκοντα σταδίους*; elsewhere he puts the distance at 40 stadia). See Robinson, *BRP*^{2} pp. 454–57; Guérin, *Judée*, i. pp. 385–91. J. F. STENNING.

GIDDALTI (גִּדַּלְתִּי 'I magnify [God]').—A son of Heman, 1 Ch 25$^{4. 29}$.†

GIDDEL (גִּדֵּל 'very great').—**1.** The eponym of a family of Nethinim, Ezr 2^{47}=Neh 7^{49}, called in 1 Es 5^{30} **Cathua.** **2.** The eponym of a family of 'Solomon's servants,' Ezr 2^{56}=Neh 7^{58}, called in 1 Es 5^{33} **Isdael.**

GIDEON (גִּדְעוֹן ?=*feller, hewer*), also called Jerubbaal (יְרֻבַּעַל Jg 6^{32} etc.) and Jerubbesheth (יְרֻבֶּשֶׁת 2 S 11^{21}), son of Joash, of the clan of Abiezer in the tribe of Manasseh, a native of Ophrah;‡ deliverer of Israel from the Midianites (Jg 6–8). The nomad Arabs of the Syrian and Arabian desert had invaded the central district of Palestine. They must have entered it by the only natural approaches from the Jordan Valley, the Wady Fâr'a, which leads into the neighbourhood of Shechem, and the Nahr Jalûd, which opens on to the plain of Jezreel. The scene of the invasion and conflict lay in this region. Manasseh and Ephraim were the principal sufferers; accordingly a Manassite is the hero of the deliverance, and Ephraimites take part in completing it (7^{24}–8^{3}).

On one of their marauding expeditions the Midianites had murdered Gideon's brothers at Tabor (8^{18});* personal revenge, therefore, was one of the motives which instigated his action (8$^{4-21}$). National interests, however, were superadded. According to one ancient account, Gideon was called by an angel of the Lord to save Israel from the hand of Midian (6$^{11-24}$). The angel of J″, *i.e.* J″ Himself in the form of an angel (vv.$^{16. 23}$), appears under the holy tree of Ophrah. He summons Gideon to the task of deliverance. The meal which is offered to the pilgrim stranger is miraculously consumed, and the angel disappears. Gideon, convinced by the miracle, builds an altar to J″-shalom.†

There follows what seems to be a second version of the call of Gideon (6$^{25-32}$). He is bidden destroy the village altar of Baal, and the sacred post beside it (*ashērah*), erect an altar to J″, and offer a bullock.‡ The people of Ophrah are incensed at the destruction of their holy place, and threaten Gideon with death. His father rescues him by a witty taunt, which secures for Gideon the name Jerubbaal.§

After this Gideon collects the men of his clan Abiezer (v.^{34}), and encamps with them by the spring of Harod, on the S.E. edge of the plain of Jezreel, near the Midianite army (7^{1}).‖ He pays a night visit to the enemy's camp, and overhears the telling of a dream, which encourages him to act at once (7$^{9-15}$). He skilfully posts his men under cover of night; the alarm is given; the camp is thrown into a panic, and the Midianites break up in flight towards the Jordan (vv.$^{18-22}$).¶ There are clearly two accounts of the subsequent course of events. According to one (7^{24}–8^{3}), Gideon summons Ephraim to cut off the flight of the

---

* In v.^{6} *Joab* is read instead of *Abishai* by Then., Wellh., and Driver, but Budde defends the MT. See JOAB.

† On the extraordinary conglomeration of names in this verse and the inferences that have been drawn therefrom, see Ewald, *Lehrbuch*, § 274*b*; W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} 143 n., and notes, *ad loc.*, in Haupt's *Sacred Bks. of OT* (by Kittel), and in Kautzsch's *AT*.

‡ Site not identified. Gideon's home must have been near Shechem (ch. 9), and exposed to the Midianite inroads (6^{11}).

* Mt. Tabor is rather remote from the topography of the narrative. Tabor by Bethel (1 S 10^{3}) is nearer Shechem. Moore suggests טבור (cf. 9^{37}), altered to תבור to suit 6^{33}: Budde תבץ (9^{50}).

† In v.^{16a} omit יהוה, so Budde. V.^{17b} prob. editorial addition, anticipating v.$^{21f.}$. V.^{20} is perhaps secondary; the narrative does not imply that G. intended to offer a sacrifice. V.^{22a} editorial, anticipates G.'s recognition of the angel. With this § cf. Gn 18$^{1ff.}$ J, and Jg 13$^{2-23}$. This § is ascribed by some critics to J.

‡ In v.^{25} the words 'bullock, even the second bullock of seven years old,' are corrupt and ungrammatical. פר השני and פר השור are doublets.

§ The name cannot='one who strives with Baal,' as the text would ingeniously suggest; but 'Baal strives,' Baal being a name for J″, used without offence in early times; cf. Eshbaal, Meribaal, etc. But Jerubbaal should prob. be written Jerubaal ='Baal (*i.e.* J″) founds,' ירה, cf. Jeruel, Jeremiah (Wellh. *Text d. B. Sam.* p. 31. So Bu., Moore). In v.^{31} 'he that will plead . . . morning' interrupts the condition. cl.; 'because one hath broken down his altar' is repeated from v.^{32}; both should be struck out as insertions. This § is attributed to E.

‖ The account (7$^{2-8}$) of the test by which Gideon's large army was reduced to 300 belongs to some later tradition. It is obviously connected with 6^{35}; but this verse is inconsistent with 7^{23}, and neither can be original. At end of 7^{5} note LXX A+ *μεταστήσεις αὐτὸν καθ' αὐτόν*. In v.^{6} 'putting their hand to their mouth' is a gloss; it should come at the end of the verse.

¶ This paragraph has been a good deal altered by editors. Two versions of Gideon's stratagem seem to have been combined. In the one version the 300 are armed with pitchers and torches; in the other, with trumpets only. The text has been greatly confused by harmonizing additions; see the commentaries. In v.^{20} the word 'a sword,' RVm, is prob. a gloss. In v.^{22b} the two narratives are combined again in describing the direction of the flight.

Midianites at the Jordan ford. The movement is successful, and the Ephraimites capture and slay the two princes Oreb and Zeeb.[*] In the pride of their success, the Ephraimites quarrel with Gideon for not having called in their assistance earlier. But Gideon appeases their jealousy by a shrewd speech: 'Is not the gleaning of Ephraim better than the vintage of Abiezer?' This certainly looks as if the victory were won, and the 'vintage' over: the Ephraimites had completed the work of Gideon on the W. side of the Jordan crossing. In the other narrative, however (8^{4-21}), we find Gideon in hard pursuit, with his 300, on the E. of Jordan. So far from having won a victory, the chances of success seem so unlikely that the people of Succoth and Penuel treat the pursuers with mockery, and refuse provisions for the wearied troops. At length, however, Gideon reaches the place where the Midianites are encamped, takes them by surprise, captures the two kings, Zebah and Zalmunna,[†] and returns in triumph, punishing Succoth and Penuel on the way. He then kills the two kings with his own hand, in revenge for their murder of his brothers. The divergence of the two accounts is apparent. An attempt to combine them can be made, as is done, *e.g.*, by Kittel.[‡] He regards the exploit of Ephraim at the ford as merely an episode in the pursuit, which is continued by Gideon and his men on the E. side of the river, and overcomes the difficulty of 8^{1-3} by supposing these verses to be merely an imitation of 12^{1-3}. It seems, however, much more likely that we have in 8^{4-21} clearly a very ancient and homogeneous fragment, a narrative of the pursuit and final defeat parallel to 7^{24}–8^{3}.[§] Whether 8^{4-21} is a direct continuation of 7^{9-22} or not, is difficult to say. It implies some account of a successful rout of the Midianites, but not necessarily that given in 7^{9-22}. Perhaps we have here an ancient fragment, of which the beginning has been lost.[‖]

The Midianites triumphantly overthrown, Gideon's grateful countrymen offer to make him king. He declines; but asks for the golden earrings taken in the spoil. With these he makes an *ephod, i.e.* apparently an image of J″, *overlaid* with metal,[¶] and sets it up in his house at Ophrah ($8^{24-27a\alpha}$ in the main). The judgment of a later age condemned the action, and saw in it the cause of subsequent disaster (v.$^{27a\beta b}$). The usual formula of the editor brings the story to a close (v.^{28}). The account of Gideon's family, the birth of Abimelech, and Gideon's death and burial (vv.$^{30-32}$), seems to come from the hand of the final editor, who was familiar with P in Genesis,[**] and intended these verses to form a connecting link with the story of Abimelech in ch. 9. The remaining vv.$^{33-35}$ belong to the Deuteronomic framework of the Book of Judges. The story of Gideon is told in an extremely complicated narrative. Two main documents can be traced, but these have been so interwoven both before and after the Deuteron. redaction of Judges, that the analysis in detail must be regarded more as a critical experiment than as possessing any degree of certainty. In this article the two main narratives have been followed, and secondary elements noticed chiefly in footnotes. G. A. COOKE.

GIDEONI (גִּדְעֹנִי 'my cutter down').—Father of Abidan, prince of Benj., Nu 1^{11} 2^{22} $7^{60.65}$ 10^{24} P.

GIDOM (גִּדְעֹם).—The limit of the pursuit of Benjamin by the other tribes, Jg 20^{45}. Possibly the word is not a proper name, but may be read as an infinitive, 'till they cut them off' (Moore, *ad loc.*). No place of the name of Gidom is mentioned elsewhere. LXX B has Γεδάν, A Γαλαάδ (Gilead). Another variant is Gibeah or Geba.

GIER EAGLE ('gier' is the same as the German *Geier*, 'vulture,' 'hawk') is tr^{n} in AV of רָחָם (*rāḥām*) in Lv 11^{18} and Dt 14^{17}, in both of which passages RV has 'vulture' (Driver more specifically 'carrion vulture'). RV gives 'gier eagle' also as tr^{n} of פֶּרֶס (*pereṣ*) in Dt 14^{12}, where AV has 'ossifrage' (lit. 'bone breaker'). The *pereṣ* is the bearded vulture or *Lämmergeier*, 'the largest and most magnificent of the vulture tribe' (quoted by Driver, *Deut.* p. 162, from Tristram, *Nat. Hist. of Bible*, p. 171). The name of the *rāḥām* is literally preserved in the Arab. *rakham*, the *Pharaoh's Hen, Neophron percnopterus.*

The adult *rakham* has the front of the head and the upper part of the throat and cere naked, and of a bright lemon-yellow. The plumage is of a dirty white, except the quill feathers, which are of a greyish black. Its appearance when soaring is very striking and beautiful. It is the universal scavenger of Egyptian cities. It is found in great abundance also in Palestine and Syria. See EAGLE. G. E. POST.

GIFT.—This, or the similar term **present**, is used to tr. a variety of Heb. and Gr. words, the principal of which are the following:—

1. מִנְחָה Gn 32^{13} 33^{10} (parallel to בְּרָכָה, lit. 'blessing' in 33^{11}; cf. 1 S 30^{26}, 2 K 18^{31}, Is 36^{16}), esp. of a gift offered by way of homage, *e.g.* 1 S 10^{27}, Ps 45^{12} (cf. the 'gifts' presented by the Magi, Mt 2^{11}), or tribute, Jg $3^{15.17f.}$, 2 S $8^{2.6}$, 1 K 4^{21} [Heb. 5^{1}], 1 Ch 18^{2}, 2 Ch 26^{8} 32^{23} (cf. אֶשְׁכָּר of Ps 72^{10}, Ezk 27^{15}). *Minḥâh* is used also of a gift (offering) to God, Gn 4^{4}, 1 S 26^{19}, Mal 3^{4} etc., and in Ezk and P is a technical term for the 'meal-offering,' Lv $2^{1ff.}$ and oft., Ezk 46^{20} etc. The NT equivalent is *δῶρον*, *e.g.* Mt 2^{11} 5^{23} 8^{4} 23^{18}, He 5^{1} 8^{3} 9^{9}. *δῶρον* also answers in the LXX to קָרְבָּן (*ḳorbān*), which in Ezk 20^{28} 40^{43} and frequently in Lv and Nu (but only by P) is used for an 'oblation.' See art. CORBAN for a full account of the meaning of 'gift' in such passages as Mt 15^{5}, Mk 7^{11}.

2. מַשְׂאֵת (pl. מַשְׂאֹת) is the word used of the 'mess' which Joseph gave to his brethren Gn 43^{34}, which David sent to Uriah 2 S 11^{8}, of the 'gifts' which Ahasuerus sent upon the occasion of his feast Est 2^{18}, and of the ritual offerings referred to in 2 Ch $24^{6.9}$ and Ezk 20^{40}. It is used in Jer 40^{5}, along with the similar term אֲרֻחָה of the 'victuals' (RVm 'allowance') and 'present' which Jeremiah received from Nebuzar-adan. An allowance (אֲרֻחַת תָּמִיד) of the same kind was given to the captive king Jehoiachin, 2 K 25^{30} = Jer 52^{34}. The 'exactions of wheat' (מַשְׂאַת־בַּר) of Am 5^{11} are 'the presents which the poor *fellahin* had to offer to the grasping aristocrats out of the hard-won produce of their toil' (Driver, *ad loc.*).

3. מַתָּן (from נָתַן 'give'), מַתָּנָה (in Dn $2^{6.48}$ 5^{17} Aram. מַתְּנָא), מַתַּת (a by-form found only in 1 K 13^{7}, Pr 25^{14}, Ec 3^{13} 5^{18}, Ezk $46^{5.11}$). This is the most general term for 'gift.' It is used in Gn 24^{53} and 34^{12} of the present given to a bride in addition to the 'dowry' (*i.e.* purchase price, מֹהַר) paid to her relatives; in Gn 25^{6} of the portions settled by Abraham on the children of his concubines (cf. the action of Jehoshaphat, 2 Ch 21^{3}); of gifts to the sanctuary or to a deity, Ex 28^{38}, Nu 18^{11}, Dt 16^{17}, Ezk 20^{26} (in this last of the sacrifice of children);

---

[*] It is interesting to note that the powerful tribe of Bedawîn, the Beni 'Adwân, who range over the S.E. side of Jordan, still call their chief by the hereditary title of Dhiab = Zeeb = wolf.

[†] Apparently intended to mean *Victim* and *Protection withheld*. But the latter name is prob. compounded with צלם, *Ṣalm*, name of a deity, cf. צלמשזב on Aram. inscr., *CIS* cxiii, cxiv.

[‡] *Gesch. d. Hebr.* ii. p. 72. The attempt is also made in the text by insertion of the words 'beyond Jordan' at end of 7^{25}.

[§] The number 300 is common to both accounts.

[‖] So Kautzsch, *Heil. Schr.* p. 263.

[¶] Cf. 17^{5}, 1 S 21^{9}, Hos 3^{4}; W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} p. 241. See full discussion in art. EPHOD, No. 2, vol. i. p. 725 f.

[**] V.^{30} cf. Gn 46^{26}, Ex 1^{5} cf. Gn 35^{11} P; v.^{32} cf. Gn 25^{8} 15^{15} P.

in Ps 68^{18}* of 'gifts' in token of homage; in Pr 15^{27} Ec 7^{7} of 'gifts' intended by way of bribe; in Dn 2$^{6.48}$ 5^{17} of the 'gifts' of Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar.

4. שֹׁחַד. This always (even in 1 K 15^{19}, 2 K 16^{8} practically) means a 'bribe.' The taking of bribes by those appointed to dispense justice is forbidden in Ex 23^{8} (repeated in Dt 16^{19}), and is frequently alluded to in OT, *e.g.* Dt 10^{17} 27^{25}, Is 1^{23} 5^{23} 33^{15}, Mic 3^{11}, Ezk 22^{12}, Ps 15^{5}, Pr 17^{33}. 'It blindeth them that have sight' (פִּקְחִים, Ex 23^{8}; or 'the eyes of the wise,' עֵינֵי חֲכָמִים Dt 16^{19}), and 'perverteth the words of the righteous.'

5. נֵדֶה (Baer נֵדֶה) and נֵדֶן each occur only in Ezk 16^{33} of a 'gift' in the sense of the hire of a harlot. The ordinary term for this is אֶתְנַן, which occurs in the same context, Ezk 16$^{31.34}$ (cf. Dt 23^{19}, Is 23$^{17f.}$, Hos 9^{1}, Mic 1^{7}).

In NT, while *δῶρον* and *δόμα* have generally a material sense, *δωρεά* (once in Jn, 4 times in Ac, 5 times in Paul, once in He) appears always to be used of a 'gift' belonging to the spiritual or supernatural order. The 'gifts' (AV 'offerings,' RV *ἀναθήματα*) to which the attention of Jesus was called (Lk 21^{5}) would be such as Josephus (*BJ* v. v. 4) describes, most of which had been presented to the temple by Herod. The Greek word in the same sense occurs (only) in 2 Mac 9^{16} (cf. for the *idea* 3^{3} and 3 Mac 3^{17}). For the gifts (*χαρίσματα*) of the early Church, see CHURCH, pp. 427 f., 434 f.

The above analysis will show the variety of occasions upon which a 'gift' might be offered and the variety of forms it might take amongst Orientals. It had its place in their dealings both with their fellow-men and with their God or gods. One did not come before prophet (1 S 9^{7}) or king (1 K 10^{10}) or God (Ex 23^{15}) with empty hands. The English words 'gift' and 'present' are apt, indeed, to convey an idea of spontaneity about the transaction which was generally absent. The 'present' of Ehud to Eglon (Jg 3$^{17ff.}$) was really tribute, belonging to the same category as that offered by Jehu to Shalmaneser (see Moore on Jg 3^{17}). It is very important also to remember that while a man might offer a 'present' to his bride-elect, the 'dowry' (מֹהַר) was not a 'gift' but a *price* paid to the family of the bride as compensation for the loss of her services (W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, 78 f.). The *mōhar* might consist of money (Gn 34^{12}, Ex 22^{15}, Dt 22^{29}), of personal service (Gn 29$^{20.27}$), or of military services (Jos 15^{18}, Jg 1^{13}, 1 S 17^{25} 18^{24}, 2 S 3^{14}). From Dt 22^{29} we may probably infer that an average *mōhar* was 50 shekels of silver (see Driver, *ad loc.*)

So firmly established is the custom in the East of giving a present upon certain occasions that the latter is demanded as a right. Lane (*Modern Egyptians*, Gardner's ed. p. 168) mentions that while male servants at Cairo are paid very small wages (from four to eight shillings a month), they receive many presents from their master as well as from his visitors and from the tradespeople with whom he deals. An Oriental servant, on quitting his master's service, always expects not only his wages but a present as well, in token of friendship and satisfaction. This rule holds good from the lowest menials up to the highest officials. (For interesting examples see Trumbull, *Oriental Social Life*, 327 ff.). This practice may throw light upon the asking (not 'borrowing') by the Israelites of jewels of gold and silver, etc., from the Egyptians (Ex 11^{2} 12^{35}), although it is more than doubtful whether it accounts for the possession by the people of such stores of gold as are said to have been used in the construction of the Tabernacle of the Priestly Code.

Many of the usages connected with 'gifts' cluster round marriage. Abraham's servant gave a present to Rebekah when he went to woo her on behalf of Isaac (Gn 24^{22}). After the conclusion of a marriage contract, Lane tells us, presents are expected by various functionaries connected with the different families. Presents are sent to the bridegroom's house by his friends and by all who are invited to the wedding. The bride's presents, including her trousseau, are sometimes borne in procession to her home in advance of her going to the house of her husband, or they are borne before her upon that occasion (Trumbull, *op. cit.* 44). At his first interview with his bride after the marriage ceremony, the bridegroom makes her a present of money, which is called 'the price of the uncovering of the face.' A marriage-portion (שִׁלּוּחִים) might be given to the bridegroom by the father of the bride (1 K 9^{16} Pharaoh and Solomon, cf. Jg 1$^{14f.}$ Caleb and Othniel).

In the East friends frequently send presents to one another, but no pretence is ever made that a *quid pro quo* is not expected. David was as little disinterested when he sent a 'present' to the elders of Judah (1 S 30^{26}) as Ephron the Hittite was sincere in his offer to give the cave of Machpelah *gratis* to Abraham (Gn 23^{11}). The 'gift' expected from Nabal (1 S 25^{8}) was really a species of blackmail.

The power of a gift to propitiate one has always been recognized. Jacob made sure of appeasing Esau by the present he sent before him (Gn 32^{20}). The same notion was transferred to one's dealings with God, *δῶρα θεοὺς πείθει, δῶρ' αἰδοίους βασιλῆας* (Hes. *ap.* Plat. *Rep.* 390 E). Gifts were offered in homage to God (Mal 1^{3}), or to procure His favour or support. A prayer would often take the form of a conditional vow, 'If J" will be with me, I will offer so and so to Him' (*e.g.* Jg 11^{30} Jephthah, Gn 28$^{20ff.}$ Jacob). The notion of propitiating the Deity by a gift comes out in David's words to Saul, 'If J" hath stirred thee up against me, let him be gratified by an oblation,' 1 S 26^{19}. It is true at the same time that the 'gift theory' of sacrifice does not furnish an adequate explanation of all the facts connected with even the ordinary oblations, much less with the holocaust, and least of all with human sacrifice (cf. W. R. Smith, *RS* 375).

The blinding effect of a 'gift' upon the administrators of justice is described in the above citations, Ex 23^{8}, Dt 16^{19}. Bribery of judges has always been common in the East. Lane (*Modern Egyptians*, p. 103 ff.) gives a remarkable instance of its occurrence in the court of the *Ḳâḍi* at Cairo. Felix expected a bribe from St. Paul, Ac 24^{26}.

A 'gift' in OT times sometimes took the form of sending 'portions' (מָנוֹת) from a feast to friends or to the poor, Est 9$^{19.22}$, Neh 8$^{10.12}$ (cf. Rev 11^{10}). The most honoured of the guests present received the largest and finest portion (Gn 43^{34}, 1 S 1^{4} 9^{23}; cf. *Iliad*, vii. 321, viii. 162, xii. 310; *Odyssey*, iv. 65 f., xiv. 437; Diod. v. 28).

In the NT we find the Philippians singled out for commendation for the 'gift' (*δόμα*) which they sent once and again to St. Paul's need (Ph 4$^{16f.}$).

LITERATURE.—Lane, *Modern Egyptians* (Index, *s.* 'Presents'); W. R. Smith, *RS* 162, 328 ff., 365, 373 ff., 440 f.; Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 139, 436 f., 433 f.; Trumbull, *Studies in Oriental Social Life*, 22, 35, 44, 319 ff.; Schürer, *HJP* (Index, *s.* 'Gifts'); cf. also art. on 'Giving' by G. M. Mackie in *Expos. Times*, 1898, ix. 367 ff.

J. A. SELBIE.

---

* In Eph 4^{8}, as is well known, St. Paul gives a peculiar turn to this passage, his *ἔδωκεν δόματα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις* corresponding as little to the LXX *ἔλαβες δόματα ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ* as to the MT לָקַחְתָּ מַתָּנוֹת בָּאָדָם. This is not the place to examine the legitimacy or the motives of the apostle's procedure. A full discussion of the whole question will be found in Meyer, *ad. loc.* (cf. Driver, *Expositor*, Jan. 1889, p. 20 ff.). See also art. QUOTATIONS.

GIHON (גִּיחוֹן, Γηών, *Gehon*).—One of the four rivers of Paradise (Gn 2^{13}). If Eden is Edin, the 'Plain' of Babylonia, we must look for the Gihon in one of the rivers which in early days flowed into what the Babylonians called 'the salt river,' or Persian Gulf, close to the garden of Eridu, where grew the sacred tree of Bab. tradition. As two of the rivers were the Tigris and the Euphrates, our choice of the other two is limited. The G. compassed 'the whole land of Cush,' the Kassi or Kassites of the cuneiform inscriptions, whose original seat was in W. Elam, from whence they descended into Chaldæa, and there founded a dynasty of kings. The G. would seem, therefore, to have been the Kerkhah of modern maps (see EDEN). In Jer 2^{18} the Sept. substitutes Gihon (Γηών) for Sihor, the Nile, in consequence of a belief that had arisen among the Jews that the Cush of Gn 2^{13} was the African Ethiopia (see note *ad loc.* in Streane, *Double Text of Jeremiah*). In Sir 24^{27} the Gihon is introduced metaphorically into a description of wisdom.

A. H. SAYCE.

GIHON (גִּיחוֹן).—A spring near Jerusalem (1 K $1^{33. 38. 45}$). Hezekiah 'stopped the upper spring of the waters of Gihon and brought them straight down on the west side of the city of David' (2 Ch 32^{30}). Manasseh 'built an outer wall to the city of David, on the west side of Gihon in the [torrent] valley' (2 Ch 33^{14}). These indications suffice to show that Gihon was in the Kidron ravine. The name ('bursting forth') and the notice of the aqueduct (see SILOAM) show that the spring now called the 'Virgin's Fountain' is intended. See BETHESDA, ENROGEL.

LITERATURE.—Robinson, *BRP*^{2} i. 239, 345 (locates Gihon to the *west* not *east* of Jerusalem); Baedeker-Socin, *Palest.* 101; Guthe, *ZDPV*, 1882, p. 359 ff.; Sayce, *HCM* 381 ff.

C. R. CONDER.

GILALAI (גִּלֲלַי).—A Levitical musician (Neh 12^{36}).

GILBOA (גִּלְבֹּעַ always with article except in 1 Ch $10^{1. 8}$; LXX Γελβουε; meaning uncertain. For early explanations see Lagarde's *Onom. Sacra*, pp. 35, 180, 189).—A range of hills, now known locally as *Jebel Fuḳûʿa*, forming an arc of a circle to the E. of the plain of Esdraelon, and extending from Zerʿin first S.E. and then S. The range consists of limestone, mixed in the northern and western parts with chalk, the wearing away of which has caused rugged channels. The highest and steepest part is on the N. side, just where it begins to bend south. Here it rises to a height of more than 2000 ft. above the valley of the Jordan (*i.e.* about 1700 ft. above sea-level). Towards the S. the sides slope more gradually, and sink to a height of a few hundred feet. As the plain on the W. is 300 ft. *above*, and the Jordan Valley is the same number of feet *below* sea-level, Gilboa is much more imposing on the east than on the west. The W. side is drained by the Kishon, one of the sources of which is on its slopes; the N. side by the Nahr Jalud, which rises near Zerʿin and flows to the Jordan; the E. side by small streams running down to the Jordan Valley. Except on the lowest parts of the W. side the range is devoid of vegetation. At the present time there are two or three small villages on the slopes. One of them, *Jelbun*, still preserves a reminiscence of the ancient name of the hill. *Zerʿin* is the old Jezreel, while Conder thinks that *Fuḳûʿa* is possibly Aphek, and *Mujeddʿa* at the eastern foot of the range the probable site of Megiddo.

Gilboa is mentioned in OT only in connexion with the camp of the Philistines and the death of Saul (1 S 28^4 $31^{1. 8}$, 2 S $1^{6. 21}$ 21^{12}, 1 Ch $10^{1. 8}$). Saul and the Israelites went from Gilboa to the fountain which is in Jezreel. Near it they were defeated by the Philistines, and on its slopes they fell down wounded, and Saul and Jonathan were slain. But though mentioned so seldom, Gilboa, being the eastern boundary of the great battle-field of Palestine (cf. ESDRAELON), has at all times played an important part in the history of the country from the days of Saul to those of Saladin and Napoleon.

LITERATURE.—Robinson, *Physical Geog. of Palestine*, 23–25; Trelawney Saunders, *Introd. to Survey of Western Palestine*, 129, 155 ff., 212 ff.; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 400 ff.; Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.* 244.

G. W. THATCHER.

GILEAD (גִּלְעָד).—1. The 'son' of Machir (son of Manasseh) in Nu 27^1 36^1, Jos 17^3 (all P), 1 Ch 7^{17}, as conversely Machir is said to have 'begotten' Gilead in Nu 26^{29}, and is called the 'father' of Gilead in 1 Ch $2^{21. 23}$ 7^{14}. The eponymous ancestor of the district called Gilead (which see). An analogous personification no doubt underlies the statement (Jg 11^1) that 'Gilead begat Jephthah' (viz. by an illegitimate wife). 'Gilead is the name of a region or of its population (Jg 5^{17}), not of a man' (Moore, *ad loc.*), and a piece of tribal history is related (as sometimes happens in the OT) as though it were the domestic history of an individual; Jephthah's relations with the other inhabitants of Gilead being represented (v.^{2}) as his relations with the legitimate sons of his father Gilead. See further MANASSEH. 2. A Gadite, the son of Michael, 1 Ch 5^{14}.

S. R. DRIVER.

GILEAD (גִּלְעָד, Γαλαάδ).—This name is applied to persons, to a tribe or family (Nu 36^1), to a particular city (Hos 6^8),* to a mountain, and to a district east of the Jordan, whose dimensions varied somewhat when spoken of by different writers. It appears first in the account of Jacob (Gn 31^{25}), and thereafter is of frequent occurrence during the entire period of biblical history. As a geographical term it was still in use in the time of Josephus.

The present article is to deal with Gilead as a division of the Holy Land, its physical features, its geographical limits, and its historical associations.

From the mountains of Western Pal. the entire length of G. can be seen, and a large portion of its territory brought under the eye at once. It appears thence like a vast mountain range, varying from 3000 to 4000 ft. in height. To make up this height the depression of the Jordan Valley is reckoned, which is from 700 to 1300 ft. below the level of the Mediterranean. The summit of this range does not rise into peaks, but is pretty uniformly level. Valleys, wooded sections, and bold headlands are noticed, which give the impression that the country is wild and rugged. On the other hand, if from any point in the plain of Bashan, which bounds G. on the east, one looks westward to this range, he sees only a long line of low picturesque hills. The reason is that Bashan is a plateau rising 2000 or more feet above the sea-level. From this point no one would think of describing G. as 'rough and rugged.' Again, when one comes to travel through G. in different directions, he finds himself in the midst of charming natural scenery, where streams, springs, and forests, rich fields, gentle slopes, and quiet valleys attract the eye. Thus, according to the point of view of the observer, three very different descriptions of this region can be given, each having the merit of apparent accuracy.

The etymology of the word as given by Gesenius and Fuerst, viz. 'hard, stony region, rocky mountain,' does not indicate the character of the country; certain limited sections might be thus described, but outside of these G. is in the main a fertile and beautiful country. Josephus (*Wars*, III.

---

* Possibly also in Jg 10^{17}. For Gilead of Hos 6^8 some MSS of the LXX, which belong to the Luc. recension, read Gilgal (Γάλγαλα), which Nowack considers (comparing 4^{15} 9^{15} 12^{12}) worthy of consideration. See further Dillmann on Gn 31^{54}.

iii. 3) says that 'it is not favourable for the growth of delicate fruits,' but that does not invalidate the statement just made as to its general character.

In the conquest of the east Jordan country by Moses and Joshua (Nu 21), G. is not mentioned, although the sections as conquered one after another can be pretty clearly defined. Attention to these details will help us in fixing its geographical limits. Occasionally G. was used so as to include the entire country between Hermon on the north and the river Arnon on the south (Jos 22^{9}), but generally the region south of Heshbon and the north end of the Dead Sea, *i.e.* the territory of Reuben, was not included, and in the opposite direction the south end of the Sea of Galilee was its northern limit. The Jordan was its western boundary, and the eastern was the point where the hills meet the Bashan plain.

The entire country was called Amorite, with the exception of the district about Rabbath of the children of Ammon (*Amman*), the Upper Jabbok, which was not then conquered. Sihon was crushed at Jahaz, south of Heshbon (Nu 21^{23}), but the Jazer region, north of Heshbon, held out, and required a special expedition to subdue it (Nu 21^{32}). The third step was the successful battle with Og at Edrei, far to the N.E. of Jazer (Nu 21^{33}). The three final steps in the conquest of the northern portion of the country are mentioned in connexion with Machir, Jair, and Nobah (Nu 32$^{40-42}$).

In the division of the territory between the two and a half tribes the phrase 'half Gilead' occurs several times. Half belonged to Gad and half to Manasseh (Dt 3^{13}, Jos 13^{31}). G. had previously been divided in the same way between the two kings Sihon and Og (Jos 12$^{2.5}$). The Hebrews simply retained, it appears, the old distinction. The suggestion has been made that the valley of the Jabbok should be the line dividing the two sections; but the objections to this view are serious, first, because this valley would not divide G. into halves; secondly, it would give to the tribe of Gad a small territory, and to Manasseh a very large one, whereas the number of warriors in these two tribes was about equal, requiring a more equal distribution of land.

The two and a half tribes may have differed in their tastes from their brethren, for they seem to have been exceptionally rich in cattle, and these wide pasture lands appealed to them as desirable for their future home (Nu 32^{1}). The present writer having lived in that region for months, and travelled through it in many directions, has often been impressed with its attractiveness, in contrast, for instance, with the rocky hills of Judæa. Its natural beauties, of many varieties, form landscape pictures which it is delightful to recall.

It is no wonder that these tribes were eager to call these lands their own. The portion of the Jordan Valley which belonged to G. was of such fertility that it might easily be made one of the gardens of the world. Streams descended from the hills; there were numerous fountains of sweet cool water, and copious sulphur springs existed in the valley at several different points (Merrill, *East of the Jordan*, pp. 143, 178, 183, 430). The great valleys of G. were likewise celebrated. Not to mention that of Heshbon on the south, there was that of the Jabbok, *Zerka*, famous in connexion with the history of Jacob; the *Menadireh*, near the south end of the Sea of Galilee, having a stream nearly equal to the Jordan in size; also *Yabis* and *'Ajlun*, along the latter of which ran the great road between Shechem and Ramoth-gilead.

Among the principal cities of G. were Mahanaim, Succoth, Penuel, Mizpeh, Jazer (which was one of the census stations when David numbered the people—an evidence of its central position and importance), Jabesh-gilead, Ramoth-gilead (which was a city of refuge, Jos 20^{8}), and, in later times, Pella, Gerasa, and several others of the cities of the Decapolis. Of the three commissariat officers of Solomon who were assigned to the country east of the Jordan, two were stationed in Gilead proper —one at Ramoth, and the other at Mahanaim (1 K 4$^{13.14}$). It is noticeable that four of its chief cities had the name Gilead affixed to them, viz. Ramoth, Jabesh, Mizpeh, and Jazer (1 Ch 26^{31}).

G. was to Pal. a sort of bulwark on its eastern border against invading armies from the south, east, and north, and it was a wise providence that planted there the most warlike tribes, ever ready to defend the national life (Jos 17^{1}, 1 Ch 5^{18}). As if in keeping with this idea, much of the history of G. which has a conspicuous place in the biblical records has to do with wars, partly of conquest and partly of defence against powerful enemies. At one time the Hebrews had conquered all the desert tribes lying to the east of them, and had occupied their lands (1 Ch 5). The Ammonites, who for a long time had resisted the invaders, were at last, under Jephthah, thoroughly subdued, and twenty of their strongest cities taken from them (Jg 11$^{32.33}$). The same hero, partly by bravery and partly by a curious stratagem, gained a great victory over the Ephraimites (Jg 12). It was on the soil of G. that Gideon swept back to their desert home the routed hosts of Midian (Jg 8). Here occurred the fierce battle between the army of David and that of Absalom, in which the latter lost his life (2 S 18). Furthermore, at the national stronghold, Ramoth-gilead, battle after battle was fought for its ownership. The Syrians of Damascus had captured it, and an attempt to regain it cost Ahab his life. A little later Joram succeeded in wresting it from the enemy, and held it against the powerful assaults of Hazael the Syrian king (2 K 9^{14}). Once, indeed, and probably on several other occasions during their history, the strength of the brave inhabitants was broken by invading armies from Assyria, and, according to custom, Tiglath-pileser carried them away captive (1 Ch 5^{26}). See George Smith, *Assyrian Eponym Canon*, ch. vi. on 'Assyrian Notices of Palestine,' pp. 106–150.

Another phase of interest attaching to G. was that it was a refuge for royalty. It was here that Saul's son Ish-bosheth was made king by Abner (2 S 2$^{8.9}$). Thither Absalom fled when he feared the anger of his father, and there he remained three years (2 S 13^{38}). David, in turn, found an asylum among its friendly inhabitants when the rebellion of Absalom was at its height (2 S 17$^{27-29}$).

G., however, was not always a scene of conflict, for some of the pleasantest incidents of sacred history are connected with it. It was the place of reconciliation between Jacob and Laban, when the memorable words were uttered, 'The Lord watch between me and thee when we are absent one from another' (Gn 31^{49}). No less characteristic and beautiful, taking all its incidents, was Jacob's reconciliation with Esau (Gn 33). When the brave men of Jabesh-gilead risked their lives to recover the bodies of Saul and his sons from the enemy, and from terrible disgrace, there was displayed in that act the highest type of both loyalty and humanity (1 S 31$^{11-13}$). The kindnesses shown by the people of G. to David in the hour of his sore extremity were the expression of true-hearted pity for their humiliated king; and a little later Barzillai's leave-taking of him on the banks of the Jordan was surpassingly tender (2 S 17$^{27-29}$ 19$^{31\text{ff.}}$). Again, we see Elijah, the greatest prophet of OT, coming forth from his home in the Gilead hills (1 K 17^{1}), and taking a foremost place among the spiritual leaders of the world. Still later and brighter we find our Lord making to this region at least two interesting visits; and not long after His death, when the armies of Rome were at the gates of Jerus., we find the Christians of the Holy City, now doomed to destruction, taking refuge in Pella, at that time one of Gilead's most attractive cities (Euseb. *HE* iii. 5).

In the history and struggles of the Maccabæan period G. played an important part; and later, during the Roman occupation, its natural resources were highly developed. These, even in the present degraded condition of the country, are seen to be great, and, under more favourable conditions of government than now exist, a wonderful degree of prosperity might easily be restored to ancient Gilead. S. MERRILL.

GILEAD, BALM OF.—See BALM.

GILEAD, MOUNT (הַר הַגִּלְעָד).—In Jg 7^{3}, when Gideon, before his conflict with the Midianites, is about to reduce the number of the people with him, there occur the words, 'Whosoever is fearful and trembling, let him return and make a circuit (?)* from *Mount Gilead.*' Gideon's men are encamped (see v.^{1}) on the N. or N.W. spur of Gilboa; and as Gilead, in the ordinary acceptation of the term, was on the *East* of Jordan, it becomes a question what is here meant. (1) Studer (*Comm. ad loc.*) supposed that as the Midianites lay in the Vale of Jezreel, N. of Gilboa, between the men of Asher, etc. (6^{35}), and their homes, they were bidden to cross the Jordan, and so, by a circuit through Mt. Gilead, evade the enemy. If such were the author's meaning, it would be very obscurely and indirectly expressed. (2) Le Clerc (1708) proposed to read 'from Mount Gilboa' for 'from Mount Gilead'; and this reading is adopted by Hitz., Berth., Keil (alternatively), Grätz, Reuss, and others. The mention of the spot on which the host was encamped has been deemed 'superfluous' (Stud.). Yet the narrator (who, it is to be remembered, really penned the sentence) may have thus specified it for the sake of emphasis. (3) The Vale N. of Gilboa is now called the *Nahr Jalûd*, and there is a spring, *'Ain Jalûd*, issuing forth from the foot of Mt. Gilboa, about 1¾ miles E.S.E. of *Zerin* (Jezreel), and probably the 'Spring of Ḥarod' of Jg 7^{1}; and it is possible that the part of the Gilboa range on which Gideon's men were, may have been called 'Mount Gilead'; there are cases in which the original ע is not preserved in a modern name (cf. Keil [altern.], G. A. Smith, *Geogr.* p. 398 n.). (4) Moore emends וַיִּצְרְפֵם גִּדְעוֹן: 'Let him return. And Gideon tried them; and there returned,' etc. But 'let him return' is rather abrupt (contrast Dt 20^{8}); and *try* (test), in spite of v.^{4}, is not altogether suitable in v.^{3}. On the whole, (2) seems the most probable. S. R. DRIVER.

GILEADITES.—By this term a branch of the tribe of Manasseh is first meant, and the order of descent appears to have been: Manasseh the father of Machir, the father of Gilead, 'of whom came the family of Gileadites' (גִּלְעָדִי Nu 26^{29}). Secondly, the inhabitants of the district are likewise thus called, and for this purpose the phrase 'men of Gilead' is also employed (אַנְשֵׁי ג' Jg 12^{4}). Jair (Jg 10^{3}), Jephthah (Jg 11^{1}), and Barzillai, who befriended David (2 S 17^{27}), are specially mentioned as 'Gileadites.' Sometimes the name of the district, גִּלְעָד, is rendered 'Gileadite,' as in Jg 12^{5}. In mentioning the cause of the war between Gilead and Ephraim, a peculiar charge is made against the Gileadites which it is difficult to explain (Jg 12^{4}). Evidently, bitter reproach or supreme contempt was meant, and the charge or insinuation was resented with great violence and bloodshed.

S. MERRILL.

GILGAL (גִּלְגָּל 'a circle' of stones, 'a cromlech,' always with the article, except Jos 5^{9}, where a theory of the origin of the name is given. LXX has generally Γάλγαλα in the plur. (Jos $4^{19.20}$ 5^{9} 10^{7}, 1 S 13^{15} etc. etc.), but also in the sing., τὴν Γάλγαλα (1 S 7^{16}), τῆς Γάλγαλα (1 S 10^{8} A, B has Γαλαάδ); for the sing. indeclinable form Γαλγάλ see Jos 14^{6} (B) 15^{7} (A, B has Ταογάδ), Hos 9^{15} etc. These forms are used indifferently in reference to the same Gilgal. Vulg. *Galgala*, always in the plural).

Three distinct Gilgals are indicated by the references. **1.** A place between Jericho and the Jordan (Jos 4^{19}), בִּקְצֵה מִזְרַח יְרִחוֹ 'in the extreme east of Jericho, *i.e.* on the eastern border of its territory' (Gesenius). It was the first camp of the Isr. after crossing the Jordan (Jos 4^{19}). Twelve memorial stones taken from the bed of the river were here erected (v.^{20}). Circumcision of those born in the wilderness (5^{2-9}), consequently the place called Gilgal in memory of the rolling away (גלל) of the reproach of Egypt (v.^{9}). The passover celebrated (v.^{10}). The manna ceases (v.^{12}). Joshua returns every night to this camp during the siege of Jericho (6^{11}). The Gibeonites make their treaty with Joshua here (9^{3-15}). They ask aid from Joshua at Gilgal against the league of the five kings of the Amorites (10^{6}). Joshua ascends with the men of war (v.^{7}), and after a successful battle returns to the camp (v.^{15}). After taking Makkedah (v.^{28}), Libnah (v.^{29}), Lachish (v.^{32}), Eglon (v.^{35}), Hebron (v.^{37}), and Debir (v.^{38}), and after smiting his enemies from Kadesh-barnea to Gaza, he returns again to Gilgal (v.^{43}). After completing the northern campaign, culminating in the great battle against the allied kings at the waters of Merom, Joshua is again found at Gilgal (14^{6}), where he assigns by lot the inheritance of Manasseh, Judah, and Ephraim. The inference is that Gilgal was the central camp for the people, not only during the nearer campaigns, but 'until the land rested from war' (11^{23}). In 18^{3} we find the whole congregation assembling at Shiloh, where the other lots were granted.

A Gilgal appears prominently in the history of Saul and Samuel. It was one of the places where Samuel judged the people in his yearly circuit, which included Mizpah and Bethel. These three places are called sacred in the LXX (1 S 7^{16} τοῖς ἡγιασμένοις τούτοις). It was clearly one of the central places for sacrifice (10^{8} 13^{9-10} 15^{21}); and here Samuel hewed Agag in pieces before the Lord (15^{33}). Here Saul was crowned (11^{14-15}), and rejected as king (15^{26}). Though it is not certain that this is the Gilgal of the camp, it is placed here, as the following points favour the identification:—(1) References are made to going *down* to Gilgal from the hill-country (10^{8} and 15^{12}), and *up* to Gibeah (13^{15}). (2) The sacredness of the spot may have been due to the setting up of the twelve stones. We may also notice that while Saul was in Gilgal in fear of the Philistines, many Hebrews crossed the Jordan to Gad and Gilead.

---

* The word is a ἅπ. λεγ., and the meaning is far from certain. No root צפר, *to go round*, is known in either Heb. or the cognate languages. צפר in the Mishna, and ضفر in Arab., are *to braid, plait*; hence צְפִירָה, Is 28^{5}, *a plaited garland* or *chaplet* (Aq. Theod. πλέγμα), and in the Mishna the *plaited rim* of a basket. The only support for a verb צפר *to go round* would be either (1) the assumption that it was the root of צְפִירָה in the obscure passage Ezk 7^{7} (in v.^{10} the sense *chaplet* suffices), supposing—what is anything but certain—that it there means *the round* (of fate), or *the turn* (of fortune—καταστροφή); or (2) the supposition that it was a denominative from צְפִירָה *garland*, regarded simply as something *forming a circle*. It is evident how hypothetical either of these etymologies is. Arab. ضفر means also *to leap in running, to bound* or *run quickly*; hence Siegfried-Stade, *to spring away*. It is, no doubt, possible that the root may have been in use in Heb. in this sense. AV *depart early* (denom. from the Aram. צַפְרָא *morning*) is quite out of the question.

The Gilgal of the camp is plainly mentioned in 2 S 19^{15}, where the people assemble at Gilgal to conduct David back over Jordan on his return from exile.

The Gilgal of Hos 4^{15} 9^{15} 12^{11} and Am 4^{4} 5^{5} (in connexion with Bethel), evidently a place whose sanctity had been violated, seems to be the Gilgal mentioned above as a central place of worship, and is placed under this head for the reasons given. It may be identical with the **Beth-gilgal** of Neh 12^{29}.

The Gilgal of Jos 15^{7} also should be here, as it is placed in Benjamin near the north border of Judah, over-against the going up of Adummim, which has been identified with the peak Ṭala'at ed-Dumm, south of the Wady el-Kelt, about half-way from Jericho to Jerusalem. [Driver thinks this impossible. See GELILOTH]. In the parallel passage, 18^{17}, it is called **Gelîlôth** (גְּלִילוֹת). There has been much dispute as to the identity of the Gilgal of Dt 11^{30}, but upon the whole it should most probably be placed here (see the very careful note by Driver, *ad loc.*, also 2nd ed. p. xxi; and G. A. Smith, *HGHL*, App. 675; Buhl, *GAP* 202).

This Gilgal is to be looked for between Jericho and the Jordan. In 1865 Zschokke heard the name *Jiljûlieh* applied to a mound or *tell* near the tamarisk, *Sejeret el-Ithleh*, 4½ miles from the Jordan and 1⅓ miles from modern Jericho. In 1874 Conder recovered the same name, as applied to a *birket* or pool near the tree. According to Jos. (*Ant.* V. i. 4), Galgala is 10 stadia from Jericho and 50 from the Jordan. The former distance corresponds very well with the position of the *birket*. The distance of 50 stadia is impossible, as the plain is only from 50 to 52 stadia wide at this part, but reading 30 (λ′) for 50 (ν′) we get the distance from the Jordan at once, 3½ miles, which corresponds better to the position of *Birket Jiljûlieh*. In the 4th cent. Jerome (see 'Galgala' in the *Onomasticon*) describes it as a deserted spot, 2 miles from Jericho, held in great veneration by the inhabitants of the region. Whether the twelve stones were still pointed out is not clear, as the expression in the *Epitomæ Paulæ* (§ 12), 'Intuita est castra Galgalæ et secundæ circumcisionis mysterium et duodecim lapides,' may mean *considered*, and not *beheld*. Arculf (A.D. 700) saw a *Galgalis*, 5 miles from Jericho, with a large church covering the twelve stones of commemoration. Willibald (*c.* 730) mentions a moderately-sized church of wood, and places Galgala 5 miles from the Jordan, which he says is 7 miles from Jericho. In the 13th and 14th cent. the stones are mentioned by Thietmar and Ludolf de Suchem respectively. Thus the site of the *Birket Jiljûlieh* corresponds very well to the description of Josephus, Jerome, and Willibald. Hence the early Christian tradition may have been based on an older Jewish identification.

The *birket* measures 100 ft. by 84, outside measurement, with walls 32 in. thick, constructed of roughly-hewn small stones, apparently without cement. North of the pool may be traced lines of similar masonry, covering, according to the present writer's observations, a space 300 yards long, and apparently representing the foundations of three constructions. Conder sees here the ruins of a monastery. South and east of the pool there are 25 mounds, scattered irregularly over an area ⅓ of a mile square.* These are all small, the largest measuring about 50 ft. in diameter and 10 ft. in height. Two of these mounds show superficial traces of ruins, the rest being mere heaps of earth. Ganneau excavated two: the first revealed pottery, tesseræ, and glass, the second merely sand.

Conder recovered from the natives a tradition which connected this site with a City of Brass, taken from the infidels by a great Imâm, who rode around the city and blew at the walls, which fell. Conder thus sums up (*Mem. PEF*, vol. iii. p. 173): Birket Jiljûlieh appears to be the early Christian site; there is nothing against its being the original one.

2. Another Gilgal is mentioned in 2 K 2^{1} and 4^{38} in the history of Elijah and Elisha. From 4^{38} we cannot assume that it was a seat of a school of prophets, as these may have come from Bethel (cf. 2^{3}). There is a large modern village called *Jiljilîe*, on the top of a high hill, about 8 miles N.W. of Bethel, from which it is separated by the great Wady el-Jîb (*Mem. PEF*, vol. ii. p. 290). It is 450 ft. lower than Bethel, but the descent into this valley may account for the statement that Elijah and Elisha went *down* to Bethel. This expression rules out the Gilgal of the Jordan valley.

3. In Jos 12^{23} the king of the Nations of (RV Goiim in) Gilgal (מֶלֶךְ־גּוֹיִם לְגִלְגָּל, LXX Γεεὶ τῆς Γαλειλαίας, adopted by Dillm.) is named among the conquered kings, in the part of the enumeration following the maritime plain from north to south. The name occurs immediately after Dor, the modern Tantura. About 30 miles S.S.E. of Tantura there is the modern village of *Jiljûlieh*, which may be on the site of this Gilgal. F. J. BLISS.

GILOH (גִּלֹה). Driver [*Text of Sam.* p. 241] points out that the gentilic גִּילֹנִי implies that the original form was גִּלֹן, from the root גִּיל or גּוּל, not from גָּלָה).—A city in the southern hills of Judah (Jos 15^{51}), the birthplace of Ahithophel the **Gilonite**, the famous counsellor of David (2 S 15^{12} 23^{34}). Its site is uncertain. There is a ruin called *Jâla* on the hills N.W. of Hebron. See *SWP*, vol. iii. sh. xxi. C. R. CONDER.

GIMEL (ג).—The third letter of the Heb. alphabet, and as such used in the 119th Psalm to designate the 3rd part, each verse of which begins with this letter. It is transliterated in this Dictionary by *g*.

GIMZO (גִּמְזוֹ; cf. Assyr. proper name *Gamuzanu* [Pinches, *Hebraica*, July 1886, p. 222]).—A town noticed with Aijalon and other places on the border of Philistia (2 Ch 28^{18}). It is the modern *Jimzu* near Aijalon. See *SWP*, vol. iii. sh. xvii.; Robinson, *BRP*^{2} ii. 249; Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.* 21. C. R. CONDER.

GIN.—Two Heb. words are so tr^{d} in AV: (1) פַּח *paḥ* in Job 18^{9}, Is 8^{14}, and מוֹקֵשׁ *môḳêsh* in Ps 140^{5} 141^{9}, Am 3^{5}, Job 40^{24} AVm. The usual tr^{n} of both words is 'snare.' As Driver shows, however (*Joel and Amos*, on Am 3^{5}), the *paḥ* is the *snare*, the *môḳêsh* something without which the snare is useless, perhaps the *bait*. See SNARE.

In the 1611 ed. of AV the word is spelt 'ginne' in Is 8^{14}, Am 3^{5}, Job 40^{24m}; but in Job 18^{9}, Ps 140^{5} 141^{9} the spelling is 'grinne.' 'Grinne' was changed in 1613 to 'grin'; Dr. Paris in his ed. of 1762 cast out the *r*, and the word has been 'gin' ever since. But 'gin' and 'grin' are not the same. 'Grin,' from Anglo-Sax. *grin* or *gryn*, has many forms in Middle-Eng. (Wyclif's Bible, 1382, shows *grene*, *grane*, *gryn*, *grynne*), and does mean a 'trap.' 'Gin' is probably a contraction of 'engine' (Fr. *engin*), which comes from Lat. *ingenium* and is used of any ingenious contrivance. A trap, however, is a contrivance, and so the words got mixed in spelling and in meaning.

In early writers 'gin' is used both abstractly of a contrivance, device, and concretely of an instrument contrived for war, torture, or the like. Thus Piers Plowman, (B) xviii. 250—

---

* For plan see p. 182, *PEFSt*, 1894.

> 'For gygas the geaunt with a gynne engyned,'

that is, 'For Gigas the giant with a contrivance contrived'; Spenser, *FQ* II. iii. 13—

> 'Which two, through treason and deceiptfull gin,
> Had slaine Sir Mordant and his lady bright.'

As an instrument of torture, *FQ* I. v. 35—

> 'Typhoeus joynts were stretched on a gin.'

The word 'grin' by and by went out of use, and 'gin' became restricted to the meaning of trap or snare. T. Fuller, *Holy Warre*, v. 1 (p. 247), says, 'Now Satan, the master-juggler, needeth no wires or ginnes to work with, being all ginnes himself; so transcendent is the activity of a spirit.' It was specially applied to snares for birds, as T. Adams, *Works*, i. 7, 'For hunting, they have nets; for fowling, gins; for fishing, baits'; and iii. 17, 'In the air, the birds fly high above our reach, yet we have gins to fetch them down.' J. HASTINGS.

GINATH (גִּינַת, Γάωνθ AB, Γωνώθ Luc.).—Father of Tibni, who unsuccessfully laid claim against Omri to the throne of Israel (1 K $16^{21.\ 22}$).

GINNETHOI, AV **Ginnetho** (גִּנְּתוֹי).—A priest among the returned exiles (Neh 12^{4}). The name appears in Neh 12^{16} 10^{6} as **Ginnethon** (גִּנְּתוֹן). See GENEALOGY.

GINNETHON.—See GINNETHOI.

GIRDLE.—See DRESS, vol. i. p. 626^{a}.

GIRGASHITE (in Heb. always sing. הַגִּרְגָּשִׁי 'the Girgashite,' and rightly so rendered in RV; in LXX and Josephus ὁ Γεργεσαῖος; in AV only twice in sing. Gn 10^{16}, 1 Ch 1^{14}; elsewhere plural, 'Girgashites').—Very little is known of this people, whose name, though occurring several times in OT in the list of Can. tribes* (Gn 10^{16} 15^{21}, Dt 7^{1} [and 20^{17} in Sam. and LXX], Jos 3^{10} 24^{11}, 1 Ch 1^{14}, Neh 9^{8}) affords no indication of their position, or to what branch of the Can. they belonged, except in two instances, namely, Gn 10^{16}, where the G. is given as the name of the fifth son of Canaan, and Jos 24^{11}, where the G. would seem to have inhabited the tract on the west of Jordan, the Isr. having been obliged to cross over that river in order to fight the men of Jericho, among whom were the Girgashites. It has been suggested that a town (now in ruins), near the mouth of the Wady Samakh, called Kersa, might be identified with Gergesa; the former being pronounced, it is said, nearly the same as the latter by the Bedawin. Gergesa contains, moreover, the same consonants as the Heb. גִּרְגָּשִׁי (*Girgashi*, LXX οἱ Γεργεσαῖοι; see GERASENES, p. 160^{a}), found in Gn 15^{21}, Dt 7^{1} etc., and, if the same word, would be the district or chief town of the G., which, according to Jerome and Eusebius (*OS.*^{2} p. 256, 14, p. 162, 18), was situated on a hill sloping steeply to the shore of the Sea of Galilee. There is, then, a probability that Girgashi, Kersa, and Gergesa (where our Lord healed the demoniac and allowed the demons to enter into a herd of swine which ran down the steep into the sea) are one and the same.

A fragment of an Assyr. tablet (K. 261, Brit. Mus.) possibly throws a ray of light on this people. In that text the Kirkišâti, possibly the Girgashites,† are mentioned more than once, in one case accompanied by the adjective *rabbâti*—'numerous.' These Kirkišâti seem to have been one of the nations attacked by an early ruler named Gazzâni (? father of Tidal). According to Origen (*in Jo* vi. 41), the Girgashites (οἱ Γεργεσαῖοι) were so called from an old town, on the shore of the lake, called Gergesa. This is hardly far enough east to make the Assyr.-Bab. Kirkišâti identical with the Girgashites, unless (as is possible) we suppose them (being a 'numerous' people) to have founded colonies in or near Mesopotamia; or that the Bab. ruler led an army all the way to the 'land of the Amorites,' as, in fact, many of the kings of Babylonia and Assyria are recorded to have done,—indeed, the 14th ch. of Gn not only states that the Bab. kings there mentioned went so far, but that one of their allies was Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, a country situated at a still greater distance. It is noteworthy that the Talmud contains a tradition of the G. appealing to Alexander the Great, during his sojourn in Palestine, complaining of having been banished from Canaan by the Jews, and asking justice. The existence of the G. at such a late period implies that they were, in early times, an important tribe or nationality, thus agreeing with what is stated in OT, and with the Assyr. reference to the Kirkišâti.

I. A. PINCHES.

GIRZITE (Kethibh הַגִּרְזִי, Ḳerê הַגִּזְרִי, the **Gizrite**; B τὸν Γεσειρί, A τὸν Γεσερεὶ καὶ τὸν Γεζραῖον).—Acc. to 1 S 27^{8}, David and his men, while living at the court of Achish king of Gath, 'made a raid upon the Geshurites (which see), and the Girzites (RVm Gizrites), and the Amalekites: for those nations were the inhabitants of the land, which were of old, as thou goest to Shur, even unto the land of Egypt.' The LXX (B) is probably correct in reading only one name 'Gizrites' for 'Geshurites and Girzites,' viz. the Canaanite inhabitants of Gezer, a town on the S.W. border of Ephraim (Jos 10^{33} $16^{3.\ 10}$, Jg 1^{29}), the modern *Tell Jezer*, between Emmaus (*'Amwâs*, Nicopolis) and Ekron (*'Aḳir*). The original population, which had not been driven out by the Ephraimites, retained its independence till the days of Solomon, when Pharaoh king of Egypt conquered the city, and gave it with his daughter to Solomon; the latter rebuilt it (1 K 9^{15-17}). See GEZER; and cf. Moore, *Judges*, p. 47 f.; G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* p. 215 f.

J. F. STENNING.

GISHPA, AV **Gispa** (גִּשְׁפָּא).—An overseer of the Nethinim (Neh 11^{21}), but text probably corrupt (cf. Berth.-Ryssel *ad loc.*). See GENEALOGY.

GITTAIM (גִּתַּיִם).—A town of Benjamin (?), 2 S 4^{3}, noticed with Hazor and Ramah, Neh 11^{33}. The site is unknown.

GITTITES.—See GATH.

GITTITH.—See PSALMS.

GIVE.—**1.** The verb [אָזַן] *âzan*, which is formed from אֹזֶן the *ear*, is used in the Hiphil, meaning 'to listen,' 41 times, and 32 times it is tr^{d} in AV 'give ear,' the other renderings being 'hearken' Gn 4^{23}, Nu 23^{18}, Job 9^{16} 33^{1} 34^{16} 37^{14}, 'hear' Ps 135^{17} 140^{6} (RV 'give ear'); 'give good heed' Ec 12^{9} (RV 'ponder,' RVm 'give ear'). Sometimes it is God that gives ear or is entreated to give ear, sometimes it is man. In Apocr. the phrase also occurs, 2 Es 8^{24} (*auribus percipere*); Wis 6^{2} (ἐνωτίζομαι); Sir 4^{15} (ὑπακούω), 6^{23} (ἀκούω). It is not found in NT. For the phrase cf. Marlowe, *Faustus*, v. iii. 'The devil threatened to tear me in pieces if I once gave ear to divinity; and now 'tis too late'; and Milton, *PL* ix. 1067—

> 'O Eve, in evil hour thou didst give ear
> To that false worm, of whomsoever taught
> To counterfet man's voice.'

2. The verb to 'give' is used with various substantives to form phrases, some of which are archaic and biblical, others obsolete. 1. *Give attendance*, 1 Ti 4[13] 'give attendance to reading' (*πρόσεχε*, RV 'give heed'); He 7[13] 'no man gave attendance at the altar' (*προσέσχηκε*). 2. *Give heed*, Wis 6[18] 'the giving heed unto her laws' (*προσοχή*); 1 Ti 1[4], He 2[1] (*προσέχειν*); cf. Ps 39[2] Wyc. 1388, 'Y abidynge abood the Lord; and he gaf tent to me' (LXX *προσέσχεν μοι*). 3. *Give diligence*, 2 P 1[5] 'giving all diligence' (*σπουδὴν πᾶσαν παρεισενέγκαντες*, RV 'adding all diligence'); 1[10] 'give diligence' (*σπουδάσατε*); Jude [3] 'when I gave all diligence' (*πᾶσαν σπουδὴν ποιούμενος*). 4. *Give audience*, Ac 15[12] (*ἀκούω*, RV 'hearken'); 22[22] (*ἀκούω*, RV as AV). 5. *Give reverence*, He 12[9] (*ἐντρέπομαι*). 6. *Give occasion*, Dt 22[14] 'if a man take a wife . . . and give occasions of speech against her' (וְשָׂם לָהּ עֲלִילֹת דְּבָרִים; RV 'lay shameful things to her charge'; Driver, 'frame against her wanton charges'; the phrase, which is uncertain in meaning, is fully discussed by Driver, *Deut.* p. 254 f.), so 22[17], 2 Co 5[12] (*ἀφορμὴν διδόντες*). 7. *Give testimony*, Sir 36[15] 'Give testimony unto those that thou hast possessed from the beginning, and raise up prophets that have been in thy name' (*δὸς μαρτύριον*); Ac 13[22] 'he raised up David to be their king; to whom also he gave testimony, and said' (*ᾧ καὶ εἶπεν μαρτυρήσας*, RV 'bare witness'); so 14[3]. For 2 K 11[12] 'And he brought forth the king's son, and put the crown upon him, and gave him the testimony' (אֶת־הָעֵדוּת, AV 1611 'the Testimonie'), see TESTIMONY. 8. *Give witness*, Job 29[11] 'when the eye saw me, it gave witness to me' (וַתְּעִידֵנִי); Ac 10[43] 'To him give all the prophets witness' (*μαρτυροῦσιν*, RV 'bear . . . witness'). 9. *Give record*, 1 Jn 5[10] 'the record that God gave of his Son' (*ἣν μεμαρτύρηκεν ὁ θεός*, RV 'the witness that God hath borne concerning his Son'). 10. *Give word*, Ps 68[11] 'The Lord gave the word' (אֲדֹנָי יִתֶּן־אֹמֶר, RV 'the Lord giveth the word'). 11. *Give voice*, Ps 18[13] 'The Lord also thundered in the heavens, and the Highest gave his voice' (עֶלְיוֹן יִתֵּן קֹלוֹ, RV 'the Most High uttered his voice.' Cf. Gn 45[2] AVm and RVm 'And he gave forth his voice in weeping' for text 'And he wept aloud,' Heb. וַיִּתֵּן אֶת־קֹלוֹ בִּבְכִי; and Jer 25[30] Cov. 'He shal geve a greate voyce (like the grape gatherers)'; Ac 26[10] 'when they were put to death, I gave my voice against them' (*κατήνεγκα ψῆφον*, RV 'gave my vote'). 12. *Give commandment*, Ex 25[22] 'I will commune with thee . . . of all things which I will give thee in commandment unto the children of Israel' (אֲצַוֶּה אוֹתְךָ); 1 Ch 14[12] 'And when they had left their gods there, David gave a commandment, and they were burned with fire' (וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִיד, RV 'gave commandment'); Ezr 4[21] 'Give ye now commandment to cause these men to cease' (שִׂימוּ טְעֵם, RV 'Make ye now a decree'); Ps 71[3] 'thou hast given commandment to save me' (צִוִּיתָ); Jn 14[31] 'as the Father gave me commandment, so I do' (TR *ἐνετείλατό μοι*, L Tr WH *ἐντολὴν ἔδωκέν μοι*); Ac 1[2] (*ἐντειλάμενος*); 23[30] (*παραγγείλας*, RV 'charging'); He 11[22] (*ἐνετείλατο*). 13. *Give charge*, 2 S 18[5] 'when the king gave all the captains charge' (בְּצַוֹּת); Job 34[13] 'Who hath given him a charge over the earth?' (פָּקַד עָלָיו, RV 'Who gave him a charge?'); Jer 47[7] (צִוָּה־לָהּ); Mt 4[6] 'He shall give his angels charge concerning thee' (*ἐντελεῖται*), so Lk 4[10]; 1 Ti 5[7] 'And these things give in charge' * (*καὶ ταῦτα παράγγελλε*, RV 'These things also command'); 6[13] 'I give thee charge' (*Παραγγέλλω σοι*, RV 'I charge thee'). 14. *Give judgment*, 2 K 25[6] 'and they gave judgment upon him' (וַיְדַבְּרוּ אִתּוֹ מִשְׁפָּט, AVm 'spake judgment with him,' RVm 'spake with him of judgment'); so Jer 39[5. 9]. Cf. Sir T. More, *Utopia* (Lumby's ed. p. 15), 'An other sorte sytteth upon their allebencheis, and there amonge their cuppes they geve judgment of the wittes of writers.' 15. *Give sentence*, Jer 4[12] 'now also will I give sentence against them' (אֲדַבֵּר מִשְׁפָּטִים, RV as AVm 'utter judgments'); Lk 23[24] 'Pilate gave sentence that it should be as they required' (*ἐπέκρινε*). 16. *Give counsel*, 2 S 17[7] 'the counsel that Ahithophel hath given is not good at this time' (הָעֵצָה אֲשֶׁר־יָעַץ), so 1 K 12[8. 13], 2 Ch 10[8]. 17. *Give assurance*, Ac 17[31] (*πίστιν παρασχών*). 18. *Give place*, (*a*) literally, Is 49[20] 'give place to me that I may dwell' (גְּשָׁה־לִּי); Sir 29[27] 'Give place, thou stranger, to an honourable man' (*ἔξελθε*, RV 'go forth'); Mt 9[24] 'Give place: for the maid is not dead' (*Ἀναχωρεῖτε*); and (*b*) figuratively, Gal 2[5] 'To whom we gave place by subjection, no, not for an hour' (*εἴξαμεν*). Cf. Ro 12[19], Eph 4[27], and *Babees Book* (Early Eng. Text Soc.), p. 103—

---

* In the Hex. Girgashite is mentioned only by JE and D.

† See the remark upon the resemblance of the pronunciation of Kersa and Gergesa, above.

> 'Sit thou not in the highest place,
> Where the good man is present,
> But gyue him place: his maners marke
> Thou with graue aduysement.'

Knox in his 'Godly Letter to the Faithful in London' (*Works*, iii. 167), says, 'But, Deir Brethrene, be subject unto God, and gif place to his wraith, that ye may eschape his everlasting vengeance.' Cassius says to Brutus (Shaks. *Jul. Cæs.* IV. iii. 146)—

> 'Of your philosophy you make no use,
> If you give place to accidental evils.'

Tindale uses 'give room' in the same way, *Prologe* to the Pentateuch, 'Isaac, when his welles which he had digged were taken from him, geveth rowme and resisteth not.'

3. To 'give oneself to' is a phrase of occasional occurrence, representing various expressions in the original, but always implying energy or absorption in the pursuit spoken of. It occurs Ec 2[3] 'I sought in mine heart to give myself unto wine' (לִמְשׁוֹךְ בַּיַּיִן אֶת־בְּשָׂרִי, lit., as AV, 'to draw my flesh with wine,' RV 'to cheer my flesh with wine'); Ac 6[4] 'we will give ourselves continually to prayer' (*προσκαρτερήσομεν*, RV 'we will continue stedfastly in prayer'); 1 Co 7[5] 'that ye may give yourselves to fasting and prayer' (TR *ἵνα σχολάζητε τῇ νηστείᾳ καὶ τῇ προσευχῇ*, edd. *ἵνα σχολάσητε τῇ προσευχῇ*, RV 'that ye may give yourselves unto prayer'); 1 Ti 4[15] 'give thyself wholly to them (*ἐν τούτοις ἴσθι*). Sometimes the phrase is restricted to some part of the person, as the *heart*, Ec 1[13. 17] 'I gave my heart to know wisdom,' Sir 39[5]; or the *mouth*, Ps 50[19] 'Thou givest thy mouth to evil' (פִּיךָ שָׁלַחְתָּ בְרָעָה). And then we have the frequent phrase *given to*, with the same meaning and used both of good and bad pursuits. The expressions in the original are as a rule much more forcible than the Eng. phrase. They are, Pr 23[2] 'if thou be a man given to appetite' (אִם־בַּעַל נֶפֶשׁ אָתָּה, lit. 'if the owner of soul [=desire] thou'; so Ec 8[8] 'given to it [wickedness]'); Pr 24[21] 'meddle not with them that are given to change' (עִם־שׁוֹנִים 'changelings,' or perhaps, as Del., 'revolutionaries'); Jer 6[13] 8[10] 'given to covetousness' (בּוֹצֵעַ בָּצַע, lit. '[greedy] gainer of [greedy] gain'); 1 Es 2[27] 'given to rebellion and war' (*συντελοῦντες*, lit. 'accomplishing'); Sir 17[16] 'given to evil' (*ἐπὶ τὰ πονηρά*, RV omits); 19[1] 'given to drunkenness' (*μέθυσος*, RV 'that is a drunkard'); Ac 17[16] 'wholly given to idolatry' (*κατείδωλον οὖσαν*, RV 'full of idols'); Ro 12[13] 'given to hospitality' (*τὴν φιλοξενίαν διώκοντες*, lit. 'pursuing hospitality,' as RVm); 1 Ti 3[2] 'given to hospitality'

---

* Twice the phrase 'give in charge' occurs in Shaks. in the same sense of 'command,' but in a context which suggests the mod. meaning 'give charge of,' *I Henry VI.* II. iii. 1—

> 'Porter, remember what I gave in charge;
> And when you have done so, bring the keys to me';

Tempest, v. i. 8—

> 'How fares the king and 's followers?
> Confin'd together
> In the same fashion as you gave in charge,
> Just as you left them; all prisoners, sir.'

(φιλόξενος, lit. 'guest-loving'); 3^3 'given to wine' (πάροινος, RV 'brawler'; so Tit 1^7); 3^8 'given to much wine' (οἴνῳ πολλῷ προσέχων); Tit 1^7 'given to filthy lucre' (αἰσχροκερδής, lit. 'basely greedy,' RV 'greedy of filthy lucre'); 2^3 'given to much wine' (οἴνῳ πολλῷ δεδουλωμένας, RV 'enslaved to much wine').

4. In the sense of *grant, admit,* 'give' is often found in writers of the date of AV. Thus Shaks. *Winter's Tale,* III. ii. 96—

> 'The crown and comfort of my life, your favour,
> I do give lost; for I do feel it gone';

and Milton, *PL* ii. 14—

> 'Though oppressed and fallen
> I give not heaven for lost.'

This idiom does not occur in AV, but closely associated with it is the sense of *give leave to,* seen in Mt 13^{11} 'Unto you it is given to know' (ὑμῖν δέδοται γνῶναι); and 1 Co 12^3 'I give you to understand' (γνωρίζω ὑμῖν, lit. 'I make known to you'), phrases which are as old as Wyclif, and in common use still. Cf. Milton, *PL* ix. 818—

> 'Shall I to him make known
> As yet my change, and give him to partake
> Full happiness with me, or rather not,
> But keep the odds of knowledge in my power
> Without copartner?'

There is a further extension of this sense in Job 24^{23} 'Though it be given him to be in safety,' *i.e.* though he be not merely permitted but enabled.

5. When followed by certain adverbs, 'give' is used in ways that are at least archaic now. (1) *Give again*=give back, restore, Lv $25^{51.52}$ (יָשִׁיב, RV 'give back'); Ezk 33^{15} 'If the wicked restore (יָשִׁיב) the pledge; give again (יְשַׁלֵּם, lit. 'make complete') that he had robbed . . . he shall surely live'; Lk 4^{20} 'And he closed the book, and he gave it again to the minister' (ἀποδούς, RV 'gave it back'). See AGAIN. (2) *Give forth,* Nu 20^8 'Speak ye unto the rock before their eyes; and it shall give forth his water' (נָתַן); Ac 1^{26} 'And they gave forth their lots' (ἔδωκαν). (3) *Give out,* Jos 18^4 'Give out from among you three men for each tribe' (='choose out,' which is Coverdale's tr^n, 'give out' is the Bishops' tr^n, Heb. הָבוּ לָכֶם, RV 'appoint for you'; in Dt 1^{13} the same phrase is tr^d 'take you' in both AV and RV; it occurs also in Jg 20^7, 2 S 16^{20}); Jer 4^{16} 'watchers come from a far country, and give out their voice against the cities of Judah' (יִתְּנוּ; cf. Mk 15^{37} Wyc. [1388], 'And Jhesus gaf out a greet cry, and diede'); Ac 8^9 'Giving out that himself was some great one' (λέγων, lit. 'saying,' as all previous Eng. versions, Vulg. *dicens,* but Luther *gab vor*). (4) *Give over,* always with the meaning 'surrender,' modern 'give up,' Ps 118^{18} $78^{50.62}$, Is 19^4, Sir 23^6 30^{21} 33^{20}, Ro 1^{28}, Eph 4^{19}. Cf. Pr. Bk., Collect for St. Andrew's Day (1559-1604), 'Grant unto us all, that we being called by thy holy word may forthwith give over ourselves obediently to follow thy holy commandments' (changed in 1662 into 'give up ourselves'). (5) *Give up,* 2 S 24^9 'And Joab gave up the sum of the number of the people unto the king' (וַיִּתֵּן)='delivered,' as most earlier versions (LXX ἔδωκεν, Vulg. *dedit*). J. HASTINGS.

GIZONITE (הַגִּזוֹנִי).—A gentilic name which occurs in 1 Ch 11^{34} in the colloc. הַשֵּׁם הַגִּזוֹנִי 'Hashem the Gizonite.' In all probability this should be corrected to יָשֵׁן הַגּוּנִי 'Jashen (cf. the parallel passage 2 S 23^{32}) the Gunite' (so Klosterm., Budde, Driver, Kittel). The 'Gunite' (Nu 26^{48}) is confirmed by the reading of A and Luc. Γωυνὶ or Γουνί, and even by the meaningless Σομολογεννουνεὶν of B. See JASHEN.

GIZRITE.—See GIRZITE.

GLASS (זְכוּכִית, ὕαλος) is an artificial substance, fusible, usually more or less transparent or translucent, and composed of a mixture of metallic silicates. One of the metals present is always either potassium or sodium, the other being generally calcium or lead. Thus modern window glass contains the silicates of sodium and calcium, crown glass those of potassium and calcium, and flint glass those of potassium and lead. Other metals such as iron may be present, either accidentally as impurities, or designedly as colouring matters. Although the references to glass in Scripture are few, its manufacture is of high antiquity, and in the progress of civilization it has served many purposes both of use and ornament.

The origin of the art of glass-making is obscure. The account given by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 25), of its accidental production through the melting of blocks of '*nitrum*' employed by some sailors to support their caldron over a fire which they had made on the sands at the mouth of the river Belus in Syria, is well known but fabulous. The assertion, however, that no fire burning in the open air could possibly give rise to sufficient heat for the formation of glass, is incorrect, as crude glass is known to have been produced during the burning of a stack of wheat. But, even if Pliny's narrative were credible, the glass he describes, consisting of a single alkaline silicate, would have been soluble in water, and of no practical use. It is probable that the process of vitrification was first observed in the course of metallurgical operations. The art was widely known in the ancient world, and, while its origin may be difficult to localize, it is in Egypt that the earliest traces of it have hitherto been found. Glass-blowers are represented on the walls of the Tomb of Ti at Sakkhara, which dates from the 5th dynasty, and on many other tombs of later date, such as those at Beni-Hasan (Usertesen I., 12th dynasty, B.C. 3500). There is similar pictorial evidence that glass vases were used for wine in Egypt at least as early as the Exodus. Glass was also known in very ancient times in Assyria and Babylonia (see vol. i. p. 220^a), and even in China.

The earliest glass was opaque or semi-opaque. The art of making it transparent was a later development; and even the first transparent glass was not colourless, but tinted. The oldest *dated* specimen of glass as yet known is a small ornament found at Thebes, in the shape of a lion's head. It is of opaque blue glass, and bears the name of Nu-Antef IV. (11th dynasty). Next to it comes an opaque glass jug of turquoise blue colour with yellow ornaments, having round the neck the name and titles of Tahutmes III. (18th dynasty). The oldest dated *transparent* glass known is a vase found by Layard at Nimroud, and bearing the name of Sargon (B.C. 722-705). (These objects are all in the British Museum. The first is figured in the Introduction to the *Catalogue* of glass objects in the South Kensington Museum, p. ix, the second in Wilkinson's *Anc. Egyp.* ii. 140, and the third in Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* p. 197).

The sands at the mouth of the Belus, the scene of Pliny's legend, were famous for their glass-making excellence, and were largely exported for this purpose to Sidon and elsewhere (Strabo, *Geog.* XVI. ii. 25; Jos. *Wars,* II. x. 12). Pliny refers to Sidon as a famous seat of glass manufacture, and Strabo also mentions the glass-works of Alexandria. Glass has been made in Hebron since very early times, and the glass-works there are said to supply in modern times a large part of the glassware used in Southern Syria, Egypt, and Arabia.

The references to glass in OT are few, and only one is direct, viz. that in Job 28^{17}, where RV so renders זְכוּכִית (AV crystal), following LXX ὕαλος and Vulg. *vitrum,* the allusion being to a rare and valuable substance, than which wisdom is still more precious. From Pr 23^{31} it may be inferred that drinking-cups of transparent glass were used by the Hebrews. The phrase 'treasures hid in the sand,' in the blessing of Zebulun (Dt 33^{19}), is interpreted in the Targum of Ps-Jonathan as referring to the sands of the Belus with their glass-making properties. (See Driver, *Deut.* p. 410). It has been supposed that the name מִשְׂרְפוֹת מַיִם 'burnings of waters' (Jos 11^8 13^6) may refer to glass-works, but the allusion may only be to the hot springs in the neighbourhood (for the various opinions and authorities see Keil, *in loc.*). There is a legend in the Koran (ch. 27) about a glass pavement in Solomon's palace at Jerus. which the queen of Sheba mistook for water. Recent excavations attest that glass was in use in Palestine at a very early date, and was most common during the Roman period (Warren, *Underground Jerusalem,* p. 518).

The Gr. word ὕαλος or ὕελος was applied by classical writers, not only to glass, but to mineral substances with similar properties (Herod. iii. 24; Achilles Tatius, ii. 3). Glass, indeed, was early used for making imitation gems (Pliny, xxxvi. 26), which Herodotus calls *λίθινα χυτά* (ii. 69). In NT *ὕαλος* and *ὑάλινος* are found only in Rev. The adj. is used in 4^{6} 15^{2} of a sea; the noun occurs in 21$^{18, 21}$, gold being compared to it. In the former instances there may be an allusion to limpid transparency (in 4^{6} the sea is *ὁμοία κρυστάλλῳ*, cf. 22^{1}), but in the latter, notwithstanding the adj. *διαυγής* in 21^{21}, the reference is obviously to brilliant lustre. Probably in all instances the point of the comparison is *smoothness* and *sheen* (in 15^{2} the sea is *μεμιγμένη πυρί*, and in 22^{1} the 'crystal' river is *λαμπρός*).

All other passages where glass occurs in AV refer to mirrors, and these were almost universally of polished metal. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 26) speaks of mirrors in connexion with the glass manufacture of Sidon, but his words seem to describe an unsuccessful experiment (see MIRROR). Windows in Pal. do not appear to have been glazed in ancient times, though glazed windows have been found in the ruins of Pompeii (Smith's *Dict. Antiq. s.v. vitrum*).

LITERATURE.—Dunlop, *Glass in the Old World*, where many authorities are mentioned; Nesbitt, Introd. to *Catalogues* of Slade collection in Brit. Mus. and of glass articles in S. Kens. Mus.; Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyp.* ii. 140 ff.; Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. of Art in Ancient Egypt*, 375, and *in Chaldæa and Assyria*, 306; Erman, *Ancient Egypt*, 458; Maspero, *Egyptian Archæology*, 253 ff. JAMES PATRICK.

GLASS.—The word 'glass,' which is now colloquial Eng. for 'mirror,' occurs with this meaning in AV, both in OT and NT. In Is 3^{23} 'the glasses' are part of the 'bravery' of the daughters of Zion (הַגִּלְיֹנִים, RV 'hand mirrors'). The translation is disputed by Ewald, who prefers 'gauzes,' 'transparent garments,' but it is generally accepted. 'Glass' is, however, an unfortunate rendering, as the material of which the *gillâyôn* was made was polished metal. The same word is used in 8^{1} of a writing-tablet. In Ex 38^{8} we read of 'the looking-glasses (1611 'looking glasses') of the women assembling' (מַרְאֹת הַצֹּבְאֹת, AVm 'brasen glasses,' RV 'mirrors of the serving women'), which were given to make the laver of brass and its brazen foot in the tabernacle.* And in Job 37^{18} the sky is 'as a molten looking-glass' (1611 'looking glasse,' Heb. כִּרְאִי מוּצָק, RV 'as a molten mirror').

In Sir 12^{11} the metaphor is used of a person wiping the rust off a looking-glass, but never being able to wipe it altogether away. The Gr. word is *ἔσοπτρον* (RV 'mirror'), which is found once elsewhere in LXX, Wis 7^{26}, where it is tr^{d} in AV 'mirror' (the only occurrence of that Eng. word). This is the Gr. word which is tr^{d} 'glass' = 'mirror' in NT. It is found only in 1 Co 13^{12}, Ja 1^{23} (RV 'mirror'). In 2 Co 3^{18} the verb *κατοπτρίζω* (which occurs only here and in the middle voice) is tr^{d} 'beholding as in a glass' (RV 'reflecting as a mirror,' RVm 'beholding as in a mirror'). Cf. Spenser, *Hymne of Heavenly Beautie*—

> 'Those unto all he daily doth display
> And show himselfe in th' image of his grace,
> As in a looking-glasse, through which he may
> Be seene of all his creatures vile and base,
> That are unable else to see his face,
> His glorious face! which glistereth else so bright,
> That th' Angels' selves can not endure his sight.'

T. Adams in like manner speaks of seeing *through* a glass (*Practical Works*, ii. 27), 'He that hath seen heaven with the eye of faith, through the glass of the Scripture, slips off his coat with Joseph, and springs away.' But he also uses '*in* a glass' (ii. 2), 'The world is a glass, wherein we may contemplate the eternal power and majesty of God.' So Tindale (*Expositions*, Parker Soc., p. 89) speaks of the law as a glass in which a man sees his own damnation. Bp. Hall, in his 'Contemplations' (*Works*, 1634, ii. 107), uses the word literally: 'How witty wee are to supply all the deficiencies of nature: if wee be low, wee can adde cubits to our stature; if ill colored, wee can borrow complexion; if hayreless, periwiggs; if dim-sighted, glasses; if lame, croutches.' And again, metaphorically (*Works*, ii. 119), 'There cannot be a better glasse wherein to discerne the face of our hearts then our pleasures.' Knox employs 'mirror' and 'glass' together, 'Epistle to Mrs. Elizabeth Bowes' (*Works*, iii. 338): 'The expositioun of your trubillis, and acknowledging of your infirmitie, war first unto me a verie mirrour and glass whairin I beheld my self sa rychtlie payntit furth, that nathing culd be mair evident to my awn eis.' See preceding article and MIRROR.

J. HASTINGS.

GLEANING.—The Hebrew law on this subject is contained in Lv 19$^{9f.}$ 23^{22} (both H) and Dt 24$^{19-21}$. The first of these passages reads, 'When ye reap the harvest of your land, thou shalt not wholly reap the corners (פֵּאָה)* of thy field, neither shalt thou gather (תְּלַקֵּט) the gleaning (לֶקֶט) of thy harvest. And thou shalt not glean (תְּעוֹלֵל)† thy vineyard, neither shalt thou gather (תְּלַקֵּט) the fallen fruit (פֶּרֶט) of thy vineyard; thou shalt leave them for the poor and for the stranger (גֵּר).' In Dt 24$^{19-21}$ the law regarding gleanings in the cornfield and the vineyard is stated in substantially the same terms, and a similar provision is extended to the olive garden, 'When thou beatest (תַּחְבֹּט, a technical term; cf. Is 27^{12}) thine olive tree, thou shalt not go over the boughs again, it shall be for the stranger, for the fatherless, and for the widow.' The story of Ruth illustrates the working of the above provisions, which give point also to the question of Gideon, 'Is not the gleaning (עֹלֲלוֹת) of Ephraim better than the vintage of Abiezer?' (Jg 8^{2}). J. A. SELBIE.

GLEDE (רָאָה *râ'âh*, *γύψ*, *vultur*, Dt 14^{13}).—In the passage (Lv 11^{14}) the word דָּאָה *dâ'âh*, also tr^{d} in the LXX *γύψ*, occurs in a corresp. position in the verse, and there can be little doubt that the רָאָה of Dt is a textual error for דָּאָה. In that passage AV tr. it 'kite' and RV 'vulture.' *Dâ'âh*, from a root signifying *to dart* or *fly swiftly*, is undoubtedly one of the raptatores, but which it is impossible to say with certainty. Glede is an old name for the kite, and has been adopted by RV as well as AV for *râ'âh*. Tristram (*Nat. Hist. of Bible*, p. 186) thinks that רָאָה may refer to the *buzzard*, *Buteo vulgaris*, Leach, which is one of the birds known in Arabic as *'aḳâb*, and one of those known as *shâhîn*. See FALCON, KITE, VULTURE.

G. E. POST.

GLISTER.—The three verbs 'glisten,' 'glister,' and 'glitter' come from the same Teutonic base, *gli*, to shine, 'glitter' being traced to the Scandinavian, 'glisten' and 'glister' being apparently English in their earliest form. 'Glister' is simply a frequentative form of 'glisten.'

---

* For the religious significance of this passage, see Cobb, *Origines Judaicæ* (1895), p. 233 ff.; also Schechter, *Studies in Judaism* (1896), p. 381 f., and *Expos. Times* (1896–97), viii. 1.

* This is the technical term which gave its name to the Talmudic tract *Peah*, in which the interpretation of the 'corners' and the whole subject of the rights of the poor to the produce of the land are discussed.

† עֹלֲלוֹת is used of the gleanings of a vineyard (Jg 8^{2}, Is 24^{13}, Jer 49^{9}, Mic 7^{1}) or of an olive tree (Is 17^{6}), not of grain (לֶקֶט). The verb is used figuratively in Jg 20^{45} of the fate of the flying Benjamites, 'And they gleaned of them (וַיְעֹלְלֻהוּ) in the highways five thousand men,' and in Jer 6^{9} 'They shall thoroughly glean (עוֹלֵל יְעוֹלְלוּ) the remnant of Israel as a vine.' The other verb is used in Jg 1^{7} of the seventy kings that gathered (מְלַקְּטִים) their meat under the table of Adoni-bezek; so frequently of picking up such articles as arrows, wood, etc.

The form 'glisten' is not used in AV :* 'glister' is found five times in AV of 1611; 'glitter,' nine times. Both words are used freely by writers of the period, and apparently without difference of meaning, so that the MSS and texts are sometimes uncertain. The tendency of later editions is to change 'glister' into 'glitter,' as has been done (since 1762) in AV with Job 20^{25}, which was 'glister' in 1611; and as is constantly done now in quoting the proverb, 'All that glisters is not gold,' a proverb found in Shaks. (*Merchant of Venice*, II. vii. 65), as well as in earlier writers, as T. Lever (*Sermons*, 1550, Arber's ed. p. 22), 'Alas, good brethren, as trulye as al is not golde that glystereth, so is it not vertue and honesty, but very vice and hipocrisie, wherof England at this day dothe most glorye.' As long as this proverb was quoted correctly (*i.e.* as long as 'glister' remained in good English use), it had a tendency to give 'glister' a depreciatory sense. This has been noticed in Milton (see Verity's notes on *Lycidas* in 'Pitt Press Milton,' p. 126). But there is no such distinction in AV. In course of time 'glister' went out of use, and now 'glitter' (perhaps under the influence of the same proverb) is often used with the depreciation of 'glister,' while 'glisten' has taken up the more honourable sense which once belonged to 'glitter.'

The occurrences of 'glister' in AV 1611 are: (1) Job 20^{25} 'the glistering sword cometh out of his gall' (בָּרָק *bâṛâḳ*, a word used either lit. of 'lightning,' and then mostly in the plur. 'lightning flashes,' or fig. of the lightning-flash of a weapon. This fig. use is always applied to a weapon. AV then tr. by 'glitter' in Dt 32^{41}, Ezk $21^{10.28}$, Nah 3^{3}, Hab 3^{11}; but in Ezk 21^{15} the feeble tr^{n} is found 'it is made bright,' RV 'it is made as lightning,' as in vv.$^{10.28}$. In Dt 32^{41} the Heb. is particularly bold: 'If I whet the lightning of my sword,' as RVm, EV 'If I whet my glittering sword'). We find 'glister' applied to armour by Spenser, *FQ* I. i. 14—

> 'His glistring armor made
> A little glooming light, much like a shade.'

And by North, *Plutarch*, p. 395, 'For the glistering of their harness, so richly trimmed and set forth with gold and silver, the colours of their arming coats upon their curaces, after the fashion of the Medes and Scythians, mingled with the bright glistering steel and shining copper, gave such a show as they went and removed to and fro, that made a light as clear as if all had been on a very fire, a fearful thing to look upon.' The early Eng. versions apply the word frequently to fire, as Cov. Is 50^{11} 'Ye walke in the glistringe of youre owne fyre'; Ezk 1^{4} 'And I loked, and beholde, a stormy wynde came out off the north with a greate cloude full of fyre, which with his glistre lightened all rounde aboute'; and v.^{13} 'and the fyre gaue a glistre,† and out off the fyre there wente lightenínge.'

(2) 1 Ch 29^{2} 'glistering stones' (אַבְנֵי־פוּךְ; RV 'stones for inlaid work'). RV is rather an interpretation than a translation. The *puk* was an eye-paint made of antimony, much used by Eastern ladies, and not confined to ladies (see Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, Gardner's ed. p. 53; and Shaw, *Travels in Barbary*^{2}, 229). The word occurs also in 2 K 9^{30}, where in AVm the Heb. is tr^{d} literally, 'Jezebel . . . put her eyes in painting'; Is 54^{11}, where 'I will lay thy stones in fair colours' is lit. as RVm 'in antimony' (it is the mortar, says Orelli, with which the new stones of Jerusalem will be set, that they may shine forth like dazzling eyes); and Jer 4^{30} where the eye-paint is directly spoken of. The nearest parallel to our passage is Is 54^{11}, and the 'glistering' of AV is better than the 'inlaid' of RV; for some kind of coloured, brilliant stone seems meant. The LXX rendering is λίθους πολυτελεῖς ('very costly stones'); Vulg. *quasi stibinos* (*stibium*, antimony); Wyc. 1388 'stonys as of the colour of wymmens oynement'; Luth. *eingefasste Rubinen* (taking the previous word along with this); so Cov. 'set Rubyes'; Rog. 'set stones,' with marg. 'some read Carbuncle, or ani other precious stone called Stibion'; Gen. 'carbuncle stones'; Bish. 'glystering stones'; Dou. 'as it were stibians,' with marg. 'a kind of finne white stone'; Ostervald, *pierres d'escarboncle*; Segond, *pierres brillantes*; Kautzsch, *Puchsteine*, with marg. '*pukh* bedeutet anderwärts die Augenschminke, bezeichnet also wohl einen schwarzglänzenden Stein'; Cheyne, 'stones of (*i.e.* edged with) antimony.' For the Eng. word cf. Spenser, *FQ* I. iv. 8—

> 'A mayden Queene that shone, as Titans ray,
> In glistring gold and peerelesse pretious stone.'

(3) 2 Es 10^{25} 'And it came to pass, while I was talking with her, behold, her face upon a sudden shined exceedingly, and her countenance glistered, so that I was afraid of her and mused what it might be' (*species* [Fritzsche *specie*] *coruscus fiebat visus ejus*, RV 'her countenance glistered like lightning'). The countenance has the epithet 'glister' applied to it in Spenser's *Hymne of Heavenly Beautie*, quoted under GLASS—

> 'His glorious face l which glistereth else so bright,
> That th' Angels selues can not endure his sight.'

(4) 1 Mac 6^{39} 'Now when the sun shone upon the shields of gold and brass, the mountains glistered therewith, and shined like lamps of fire' (ὡς δὲ ἔστιλβεν ὁ ἥλιος ἐπὶ τὰς χρυσᾶς καὶ χαλκᾶς [A omits καὶ χαλκᾶς] ἀσπίδας, ἔστιλβεν τὰ ὄρη ἀπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ κατηύγαζεν ὡς λαμπάδες πυρός; RV 'Now when the sun shone upon the shields of gold and brass, the mountains shone therewith, and blazed like torches of fire'). The verb στίλβειν occurs once in NT, Mk 9^{3} in the narrative of Christ's transfiguration, τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο στίλβοντα, where RV renders 'his garments became glistering,' after Rhem. version.

(5) Lk 9^{29} 'And as he prayed, the fashion of his countenance was altered, and his raiment was white and glistering' (ὁ ἱματισμὸς αὐτοῦ λευκὸς ἐξαστράπτων; RV '*became* white *and* dazzling'). This is the only occurrence in NT of the Gr. compound ἐξαστράπτειν. It is found in LXX, Ezk 1^{4} of the flashing of flames of fire, 1^{7} and Dn 10^{6} of the glittering of burnished brass, and Nah 3^{3} of flashing spears. The simple verb is used twice by St Luke (and by no other NT writer), 17^{24} of the flashing of lightning, and 24^{4} of the 'shining garments' (RV 'dazzling apparel') of the angels at the tomb.* The meaning of the simple verb, then, is to flash as lightning, and the compound means to flash forth, and may be consciously chosen (as Farrar holds) to suggest that the flashing was from some *inward* radiance. The versions as a rule are feeble and inadequate: Vulg. 'vestitus ejus albus et refulgens'; Wyc.

---

* Nor in Shaks. or Milton, though it is at least as old as Udall, on Ac 10: 'And sodainly beholde a certain man, whose countenaunce was full of maiestie, stood visible before me, in a glistening garmente.'

† In the New Ed. of Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary* (vol. ii. 1886) we find the entry; 'GLISTER, subst. Lustre, glitter, "The glister of the profeit, that was jugeit heirof to have insewit to Scottis men, at the first sicht blindit mony menis eyis"—Knox, *Hist.* p. 110. Su.—G. *glistra*, scintilla, Teut. *glinster*, id. *glinsteren*, *glisteren*, scintillare, fulgere. Although *glister* be used in Eng. as a verb, I have not observed that it occurs as a subst.' But here are two examples from Coverdale, and at v.^{13} the Gen. and Bishops' Bibles have the subst. also.

* Cf. Milton, *Comus*, 219—

> 'I see ye visibly, and now believe
> That he, the Supreme good, t' whom all things ill
> Are but as slavish officers of vengeance,
> Would send a glistering guardian, if need were,
> To keep my life and honour unassail'd.'

'his clothing whit shining'; Luther 'sein Kleid war weiss, und glänzte'; Tind. 'his garment was whyte and shoon'; so Cov. (shyned), Rog., Cran., Gen. 1557; Gen. 1560 'his garment *was* white and glistered'; Bish. 'his garment shining very white'; Rhem. 'his raiment white and glistering'; Ost. 'ses habits *devinrent* blancs *et* resplendissants *comme un éclair*'; Olt. 'ses vêtements devinrent éblouissants de blancheur'; Seg. 'Son vêtement devint d'une éclatante blancheur'; Weizsäcker 'sein Gewand ward strahlend weiss.' The RV word 'dazzling' (introduced also at Lk 24^{4}) is new, and involves a new idea which the Gr. word does not suggest, and which transfers the mind from the sight to the spectators.*

By a strange contrast Tindale uses 'glistringe whyte' (Lv $13^{2.23}$) of the 'bright spot' in the skin which had to be examined for leprosy. Bunyan more appropriately (*Holy War*, p. 146) makes Emmanuel command 'that those that waited upon him should go and bring forth out of his Treasury those white and glistering robes *that I*, said he, *have provided and laid up in store for my* Mansoul.' And Rutherford (*Letters*, No. 51) writes to Marion M'Naught, 'I dare in faith say and write (I am not dreaming), Christ is but seeking (what He will have and make) a clean glistering bride out of the fire.' J. HASTINGS.

GLORIOUS.—The adj. 'glorious' had a wider application formerly than it has now. Thus Sylvester, *Du Bartas's Weeks*, ii.—

> 'Yet will I not this Work of mine give o're.
> The Labour's great: my Courage yet is more;
>
> . . . .
>
> Ther's nothing Glorious but is hard to get.'

It is applied in AV not only to the king (2 S 6^{20}), and the king's daughter (Ps 45^{13}), but also to the beauty of Ephraim standing above its fertile valley (Is $28^{1.4}$), and the security of Tyre 'in the heart of the seas' (Ezk 27^{25}); Wisdom is glorious (Wis 6^{12}), and the 'fruit of good labours' (3^{15}), and the 'long robe of righteousness' (Sir 27^{8}); and (not only figuratively but literally) dress is described as glorious, Esther's (Ad. Est 14^{2} 15^{1}), the apparel of the young men of Judah in the peaceful days of Simon (1 Mac 14^{9}), and even Nicanor's apparel (2 Mac 8^{35}).

But the most evidently obsolete use of the word is when it means *boastful*, or as we still say *vain-glorious*, Ad. Est 11^{11} 16^{4} ('lifted up with the glorious words of lewd persons that were never good,' *τοῖς τῶν ἀπειραγάθων κόμποις ἐπαρθέντες*, RV 'boastful'). This meaning of 'glorious,' which follows Lat. *gloriosus*, was once common, and is still retained by the French *glorieux*. Thus Bacon (*Essays*, 'Of Followers and Friends,' Gold. Treas. ed. p. 198), 'Likewise Glorious Followers, who make themselves as Trumpets, of the Commendation of those they Follow, are full of Inconvenience'; and 'Of Vaine-glory' (p. 216), 'They that are Glorious must needs be Factions; for all Bravery stands upon Comparisons.' So Chapman, *Homer's Iliads*, xiii. 738—

> 'Vain-spoken man and glorious.'

J. HASTINGS.

GLORY (IN OT).—In EV 'glory' most frequently corresponds to the Hebrew כָּבוֹד, which is also, owing to the difference between Hebrew and English idiom, in some cases tr^{d} by 'glorious' (*e.g.* Is 4^{2} 11^{10}, Neh 9^{5}). But several other Heb. words are also sometimes tr^{d} by 'glory' or 'glorious,' viz. אַדֶּרֶת, אַדִּיר, and the Niph. and Hiph. of the vb. [אדר] in Zec 11^{3} and v.^{2} (RVm), Ex $15^{6.21}$, Is 42^{21}; נָאוֹר Ps 76^{4}; הוֹד *e.g.* Ps 45^{3} 148^{13}; הָדָר *e.g.* Is 5^{14} (cf. הָדוּר 63^{1}), Ps 90^{16}; תִּפְאֶרֶת *e.g.* Ps 16^{31} 20^{29}; צְבִי *e.g.* Is 13^{19} 24^{16}. In Dn 'glory' occurs several times as tr^{n} of the Aram. יְקָרָא. The verb 'to glory' in EV generally corresponds to הִתְהַלֵּל 'to make one's boast of,' *e.g.* Jer $9^{23f.}$; and 'to glorify' or 'be glorified' to various verbal forms of the roots כבד and פאר.

Full details as to the various Heb. words must be sought in the Heb. lexicon or in commentaries on the various passages. Generally speaking, the English term is sufficiently clear from the context in spite of the number of the Heb. words which it renders. But we have to consider here some characteristic or peculiar uses of the term, especially the important ideas expressed by the phrase 'the glory of J″.'

i. 1. The 'glory' of men or of material objects calls for little explanation. A man's 'glory' is sometimes the outward tokens of his prosperity, such as silver and gold, or the splendour of his appearance; sometimes his reputation, the esteem in which he is held. For the first sense we may refer to Is 61^{6}, where the term stands in parallelism with 'wealth.' Again in Hag 2^{7} 'glory' is parallel to the 'desirable things of all nations'; we must consider these to be more explicitly described by the next verse as consisting of silver and gold, and these in their turn (v.^{9}) as constituting 'the latter glory' of the temple; cf. also Is $66^{11f.}$, Ps $49^{16.17}$, Nah 2^{9}. In the last passage we are near to what was perhaps the original meaning of the Heb. *kābôd*, viz. 'weight'; cf. the use of the vb. *kābēd* in *e.g.* Job 6^{3}, and the noun *kōbed* in Pr 27^{3}. We may notice also the association of the word (*kābôd*) with *'ōsher* 'riches' in Est 5^{11}, where it also stands in parallelism with *rōb*, 'multitude.' So the glory of a king (or a nation) consists in the warriors that betoken his might, Is 8^{7} $17^{3f.}$ 21^{16}; of Lebanon (Is 60^{13}), in the trees with which it is covered. The 'king's daughter' of Ps 45^{13} is 'all glorious' in virtue of her richly adorned clothing; cf. Ex 28^{2}, and metaphorically Job 19^{9}.

2. For instances of 'glory' in the sense of 'reputation' see Ps 4^{2}, Job 29^{20}, 2 S 6^{20} ('How glorious was the king of Israel,' *i.e.* 'how much reputation did he gain for himself'—ironically). But in most cases where the Heb. word (*kābôd*) has this sense, it is tr^{d} in EV by 'honour,' *e.g.* Ec 10^{1}, Pr 21^{21}.

The usage in Ps 73^{24}, if the text be correct, is isolated; 'glory' here appears to mean the splendour into which men pass, who like Enoch and Elijah are translated by God; so RV text; RVm is hardly so probable a translation. Against the text, see, however, *e.g.* Wellh. in *SBOT*.

3. The 'glory' of a nation may be, as we have seen, its warriors as betokening its might. But it is a favourite prophetic doctrine that Israel's might does not consist in its armies and weapons of war, but in J″ (cf. Is 31^{1-3}, Zec 4^{6}, Ps 20^{7}). Hence, perhaps, we may derive a noticeable usage whereby J″ is described as Israel's glory. Thus Jeremiah (2^{11}) says, 'Hath a nation changed their gods which yet are no gods? but my people have changed their glory (*i.e.* J″) for that which doth not profit' (*i.e.* for other gods); and probably Hos 4^{7b} originally ran 'they have exchanged their glory for infamy' with a like meaning. Cf. also Ps 3^{3} (cf. 62^{7}) 106^{20}.

4. Another noticeable use of the term is to describe the self; thus it forms the parallel to 'my soul,' a frequent Hebrew term for self, in Gn 49^{6} 'O my soul, come not thou into their council; unto their assembly, my glory, be not thou united'; and to 'heart' in Ps 16^{9} 108^{1}. Cf. also Ps 7^{6} 57^{8} and 30^{12} (where read כְּבוֹדִי for כָּבוֹד). This usage is generally explained as a poetical expression for 'self'; and, unlike 'soul,' 'glory' in this sense certainly is confined to poetical passages. For a somewhat parallel usage we might then compare

---

* 'White and dazzling' is Mrs. Lewis's tr^{n} of the Sinaitic Palimpsest, but with marg. 'like lightning.' ܐܝܟ ܒܪܩܐ; cf. Delitzsch's Hebrew translation of the Gospels, הַלָּבָן וְהַבָּרִיק.

'my darling' (יְחִידָתִי) in Ps 22^{20}. But another explanation deserving of attention has been offered (see *e.g.* Dillm. on Gn 49^{6}). In Assyrian *kabidtu* (כָּבֵד 'liver') is frequently used as a synonym for *napištu* (= נֶפֶשׁ 'soul'); it has therefore been suggested that in the Hebrew passages above cited we ought to point *kĕbēdî* instead of *kĕbôdî* and tr. literally 'my liver,' *i.e.* 'myself'; the liver, which was thought to be a seat of life, affording as suitable a periphrasis for the self as 'the soul'; cf. La 2^{11} and (for Assyrian usage) Fried. Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 317*a* (*s.v. kabidtu*). Some support is given to this view by the fact that the LXX translates the word in Gn 49^{6} by τὰ ἥπατά μου (*i.e.* 'my liver'); on the other hand, in the Psalms (which were translated later) the regular rendering is δόξα (otherwise 15[16]^{9}).

ii. **The Glory of J″.**—The glory of J″ (כְּבוֹד יהוה) or of God (כְּבוֹד אֵל, אֱלֹהִים) is, like 'the name of J″' (8^{2}), with which it stands in parallelism in Is 59^{19}, Ps 102^{15},* a summary term for the self-revealed character and being of God. It is also frequently used, especially in certain writings, to denote a particular physical appearance indicating the divine presence. It has been generally assumed that the latter is the original usage; but this, as will be seen, is far from certain, and, in any case, the sharply defined significance of the term in P cannot be traced back to early times. In several cases the meaning of the term is ambiguous, and it has been interpreted by some commentators in the one, by others in the other, of the two senses just indicated. But the cases in which the meaning is quite unambiguous render it possible and convenient to divide our examination of the usage and more detailed significance of the term into two sections, according as the reference is to the self-revealed character or to the physical manifestation of God. In conclusion, we shall have to consider certain ambiguous passages, and the relation between the two meanings.

1. *The glory of J″ as a term for the self-revealed character and being of God.*—Since Ex 33^{17-23} belongs, in all probability, to a secondary (7th cent.) stratum of J (see below, § 3), the earliest occurrence of the phrase is in Isaiah, who uses it (6^{3}) quite unambiguously to denote the divine nature as revealed in the world; J‴s glory is the outward manifestation of His holiness. The sense is probably similar in 3^{8}, where Judah's sin is represented as culminating in this: that she wilfully opposed herself to a God who had manifested Himself to her in His majesty and might (cf. Am 3^{2}). Although these are the only two passages in Isaiah's writings in which the phrase actually occurs, the underlying idea of J‴s power and might as manifested in nature and history is fundamental with the prophet; cf. especially $2^{10.\,21}$, where the recurring term is similar, but not as in EV identical, with the one we are discussing—the glory of His majesty (הֲדַר גְּאוֹנוֹ) in vv.$^{10.\,19.\,21}$. We may therefore reasonably attribute to Isaiah a commanding influence over both the phrase and the idea as they appear in subsequent literature. The direct influence of Is 6^{3} is seen in Hab 2^{14}, and also, in all probability, in Nu 14^{21} (cf. *e.g.* Kuenen, *Hexateuch*, p. 247). In Nu 14^{22} the glory of J″ is specifically the manifestation of His nature in history, in the life of the nation; and this is the case also in Dt 5^{24} [Heb. 5^{21}], although at first sight the context generally might suggest that the phrase signifies here a physical appearance; but the accompanying synonym 'his greatness,' the meaning of which is unambiguous (cf. 3^{24} 9^{26} 11^{2}), is decisive against this. The same predominant reference to history marks Ezekiel's use of the phrase in 39^{21}, and underlies his use of the verb (נִכְבַּד=to show oneself glorious, to manifest one's glory) in 28^{22} 39^{13}. The phrase is quite clearly to be taken in the same sense in Is 66^{19}, where J‴s glory is the counterpart of His 'fame,' and is to be declared among the nations (yet on this and the preceding verse see Dillm.); according to Cheyne (in his *Commentary*) also in Is 40^{5}. In the Psalms the particular nuance of the phrase differs in different passages. Judging from the general tenor of the Psalms, it is God's manifestation through His control of the lives of nations or individuals that the respective writers intend mainly to imply by their use of the phrase in $57^{5.\,11}$ 63^{2} (cf. Ps 73^{17}—in the sanctuary the Psalmist realizes the meaning of J‴s moral government, and so perceives 'his glory'), 72^{19} (=Is 6^{3}, Nu 14^{21}), 96^{3} ('his glory' ‖ 'his marvellous works'), 97^{6} (‖ 'his righteousness'), $102^{11f.}$ (cf. Is 59^{19}), 138^{5} (‖ 'the ways of J″'); cf. also 'the glory of thy kingdom' ‖ 'thy power,' 'the glory of the majesty of his kingdom' ‖ 'his mighty acts,' $45^{11f.}$. On the other hand, in 19^{1}, where it is parallel to 'handy work' (מַעֲשֵׂה יָדָיו), and in 104^{31}, the chief emphasis lies on the fact that the natural world is a revelation of God; this is perhaps also the case with 8^{2},* although in this psalm it is, in particular, man's place in nature that reveals God's nature and purpose. Pr 25^{2} in connexion with the foregoing usages, and in the light of such passages as Job 28, may be interpreted to mean that the very mysteries of nature, the sense that there is much hidden which is not revealed, contributes to man's perception of God's nature. The term 'glory,' especially in a phrase that recurs more than once and deserves particular attention, is also used in the modified sense of the praise which God's character, as revealed in His works and deeds, should call forth; thus 'the glory of his [J‴s] name' or 'the glory due unto his name,' where both renderings of the RV represent the same Hebrew phrase (כְּבוֹד שְׁמוֹ), means the praise due to His self-revealed character from those to whom it has been revealed (29^{2} 66^{2} 96^{8}), and similarly the glory of J″ (Is 42^{8} 43^{7} 48^{11}; cf. also Ps 79^{9} in connexion with v.^{13}). In 113^{4}, as the parallel indicates, the phrase is barely more than a periphrasis for J″.

2. *The 'glory of J″' denoting a physical phenomenon indicative of the divine presence.*—With the exception of a single Jahwistic passage (Ex 33^{17-23}), and, according to a possible interpretation, a single passage in Jeremiah (17^{12}) which must be left for discussion in the next section, this usage first appears in Ezekiel, who in any case appears to have exercised as great an influence on this modification of the idea as Isaiah on that discussed in the foregoing section. Ezekiel, as we have seen, does indeed employ the phrase and the cognate verb in the manner already discussed in the preceding section; but generally with him the glory of J″ is a bright or fiery appearance that resembles the rainbow (1^{28} 10^{4}), causing the ground, where it appears, to shine (43^{2}); moves from one place to another (9^{3} $10^{4.\,18}$ 43^{2}), or is borne from one place to another on cherubim (10^{19} $11^{22f.}$), each movement being accompanied by a rushing sound (2^{12}, where read ברום for ברוך, and translate 'a great rushing when the glory of J″ was lifted up from its place'). Again, as in the vision of the coming judgment the 'glory of J″' is seen by Ezekiel to leave Jerusalem (11^{23}), so in the vision of coming restoration it is seen returning to the city ($43^{2ff.}$).†

---

* Cf. the combination שֵׁם כְּבֹדֶךָ in Neh 9^{5} (cf. Ps 72^{19}).

* In the theophany of Hab 3^{3} the word used for 'his glory' in v.^{3} is different in the Hebrew (הוֹדוֹ). So also in Ps 148^{13}.

† Contrast the early narrative in Samuel of the loss of the ark to the Philistines (1 S $4^{21.\,22}$). The ark symbolized J‴s presence; with it J″ is felt to be leaving Israel; but the 'glory' which departs is the glory of Israel. The possession of the ark was

In brief, with Ezekiel, 'the glory of J″' has become a term for a theophany; and accordingly when Ezekiel sees it, he worships (44^{4}). But it is important to observe that throughout it is a theophany seen *in vision*; Ezekiel no more regards the appearance which he terms the glory of J″ as visible to the natural eye, than he regards the whole complex appearance of the chariot in ch. 1 as being so visible. It is further to be observed that in 39^{21} the only passage where he refers to the 'glory of J″,' except in his visions, he uses the phrase in the sense discussed in § II. 1. Zechariah associates fire and glory when he says, 'For I, saith the LORD, will be unto her a wall of fire round about, and I will be the glory in the midst of her' (2^{5}); but he is evidently speaking in metaphor. In P the usage is different; the idea that the glory of J″ is the divine nature manifested through the divine activity only finds expression—and that, perhaps, not quite consciously—in the use of the verb (נִכְבַּד), discussed above, in Ex 14$^{4.17.18}$, Lv 10^{3}. The actual phrase 'the glory of J″' is *invariably* used by P of a physical phenomenon manifest to ordinary natural vision. The 'glory of the LORD' first appeared at the time of the giving of the Law on Sinai; it then 'abode upon Mount Sinai,' and its appearance was 'like devouring fire on the top of the mount in the eyes of all the children of Israel' (Ex 24$^{16-18}$). As a consequence of coming into close proximity with 'the glory of J″' (Ex 24^{18}), Moses' face shone with a brightness so fierce that he had to veil his face when he came before the people (Ex 34$^{29-35}$). With the exception of this unique occasion, 'the glory of J″' invariably appears at the tabernacle; see Ex 29^{43} 40$^{34.35}$ 16$^{7.10}$ [a misplaced narrative which should follow the narrative of the erection of the tabernacle: in v.^{10} restore המקדש (towards) the sanctuary, for the senseless redactorial המדבר=(towards) the wilderness; cf. *e.g.* Dillm. *ad loc.*], Lv 9$^{6.23}$, Nu 14^{10} 16^{19} 16^{42} (He 17^{7}) 20^{6}. The appearance of 'the glory of J″' to the people was either a sign of the divine favour (Lv 9$^{6.23}$), or, more frequently, a warning of divine anger, *e.g.* Ex 16$^{7.10}$, Nu 14^{10}. It is never directly stated of 'the glory of J″' in connexion with the tabernacle that it was a fiery appearance; but this is clearly implied, for there, as on Mt. Sinai, it appears in connexion with cloud (Ex 16^{10}, Nu 16^{42}, and in Nu 14^{10} [LXX], cf. also Lv 9$^{23.24}$). The cloud, it must be remembered, according to P, always abode upon or covered the tabernacle, and became fiery in appearance at night (Ex 40^{38} 9^{16}). We must therefore seek the peculiarity of 'the glory of J″' (as conceived by P) in the fact that it was a sudden fiery appearance in the cloud by *day* (cf. Ex 16$^{7.10}$—note 'in the morning'), Nu 16$^{16.19}$, cf. Lv 10$^{2.3}$. Closely related to P's conception is that found in 1 K 8^{11}=2 Ch 5^{14} 7$^{1.3}$, all of which passages have been influenced by P (on 1 K 8$^{1-11}$ see Cornill, *Einleitung*, p. 109).

3. Before attempting to discuss *the relation between the two conceptions* already considered, we must examine certain passages where the phrase either possesses a different meaning or is ambiguous. Most important is the passage in Ex 33$^{17-23}$. This scarcely belongs to the earliest stratum of J. If it is correctly assigned by Kuenen (*Hexateuch*, p. 246 f.) and others (cf. Wellhausen, *Composition*, p. 96; see Driver, *LOT*^{6} p. 38) to the 7th cent., the earliest usage of the phrase in the extant literature is by Isaiah. Now, the conception of the author of Ex 33$^{17-23}$ is clearly not identical with Isaiah's; but neither is it reasonable to identify his conception with that of Ezekiel or P. In Ex 33$^{17-23}$ 'the glory of J″' is used with reference to a theophany in human shape; in reply to Moses' request that he may see J″'s glory, J″ promises that though he cannot see His face, and therefore, while His glory is passing by, Moses' face must be covered, yet, when His glory has passed by, he may look after J″ and see His back. The idea is clearly not the same as in 16^{10} or 24^{17}. In the Jahwistic passage we have a glorious *appearance in human form to Moses only*; in P, *a fiery appearance*, which can hardly have been, and is certainly not implied to have been, in human form *to all the people*. Jer 14^{21} (cf. also 17^{12}, which, however, is perhaps post-Jeremianic—cf. Cornill, *Einleitung*, p. 167; Driver, *LOT*^{6} p. 237) might at first appear to presuppose Ezekiel's or P's conception; but we really do more justice to the context, which is entirely concerned with J″'s activity in history and nature, by following the suggestion of the parallel term 'thy name,' and interpreting the phrase 'the throne of thy glory' in accordance with the usage discussed in § II. 1; cf. also Giesebrecht on 17^{12}. In certain late[*] passages of the Bk. of Isaiah it is most natural to interpret the phrase of a physical appearance; but all these passages are of a poetical character; see 35^{2} 58^{8} 60$^{1.2}$, and perhaps also 40^{5} (cf. Dillm. *ad loc.*). The same interpretation should possibly be given to Ps 26^{8b}—'the place of the tabernacle of thy glory' (מְקוֹם מִשְׁכַּן כְּבוֹדֶךָ)—where the phraseology at any rate has probably been suggested by P. Perhaps we ought also to compare in the present connexion the (probably non-Isaianic) reference in Is 11^{10}; cf. also 60^{13}.

In the light of the preceding survey of the exegetical and critical data, the most probable conclusion appears to be that 'the glory of J″' was originally used to express the manifestations of J″'s power and might, or more generally of His nature; through Isaiah the phrase became enriched and deepened in meaning, and subsequently continued to express this idea, and became reflected also in the Niphal of the verb. Comparatively early, however, viz. in Ex 33$^{17-23}$, we find the phrase also used in connexion with, and perhaps itself expressing, a theophany in human form: possibly, however, 'glory' is here merely a periphrasis for self, just as it is in connexion with a human subject in an early poem (Gn 49^{6}), and several psalms (*e.g.* 7^{5} 16^{9} 57^{8}—yet on this usage cf. § I. 4); note the equivalence in Ex 33^{22} 'while *my glory* passeth by . . . until *I* have passed by.' The phrase first unmistakably expresses a physical phenomenon in Ezekiel, who uses it to express the form under which *in his visions* he realizes the movements of J″, more especially the coming removal of His presence from Jerusalem and His subsequent return after the Exile is ended. But it is not till we come to P in the 5th cent. that the phrase is used of a physical phenomenon actually supposed to have been visible to the natural eye. This writer uses it of a particular fiery appearance, by which the Deity indicated His presence in the tabernacle. The *idea* of such a theophany in fire and cloud is unquestionably ancient, as we may see in the case of the burning bush, or in J's account of the Pillar of Fire and Cloud; the use of the particular phrase 'glory of J″,' which originally possessed an entirely different significance, to express that idea, is first suggested by Ezekiel, and first really appropriated by P and his school (1 K 8^{11}, 2 Ch 7). As understood by P, 'the glory of J″' is closely related to the Shechinah of later Jewish theology (on which cf. Weber, *Die altsynagog. Paläst. Theol.* pp. 179–184). How thoroughly the priestly writer has

---

Israel's glory; the loss of it the departure of their glory (cf. § I. 3 above). The passage has not therefore a direct bearing on the conception of 'the glory of J″.'

[*] Cf. Cheyne, *Introd. to Book of Isaiah*, pp. 208 ff., 298, 381 (all post-exilic passages).

materialized the earlier conception may be seen by a comparison with Dt. The recurring promise of that book is that God will cause *His name* to dwell at the one sanctuary. P has materialized this into a physical phenomenon. If we have rightly interpreted the phrase in certain post-exilic passages in the Bk. of Isaiah of a physical phenomenon, we may probably account for the use by the combined influence of Ezekiel, and such stories connected with the Exodus as those of the pillar of cloud (cf. Is 4[5]).

LITERATURE.—In addition to *OT Theologies* and *Commentaries*, consult especially Duhm, *Theologie der Propheten*, p. 169 ff.; Baudissin, *Studien zur sem. Religionsgeschichte*, pp. 104-108; Cheyne, *Origin of the Psalter*, p. 331 f. (notes w and x).

G. B. GRAY.

GLORY (NT).—The tr. in NT (AV and RV) once of *κλέος* 'renown' (1 P 2[20] only), and, in its verbal signification, occasionally representing *καυχᾶσθαι* 'to boast' and its cognates *καύχησις* 'boasting' (Ro 15[17]) and *καύχημα* 'something to boast of' (1 Co 9[16]); but almost entirely confined to the rendering of *δόξα* and its correlatives. *Δόξα* runs parallel in its significations with its parent *δοκέω*, though finally going beyond it. The history of this verb, from the oldest Greek downwards, shows that the chronological order of its meanings is (1) intrans. 'I seem,' (2) trans. 'I think'; the extension from *δοκεῖ μοι* 'it seems to me,' to *δοκῶ* 'I think,' being due to the same personalization as is the Eng. extension of 'If it please you' to 'If you please.' Its fundamental idea appears to be *subjective judgment*, which may be right or wrong, as opposed to *φαίνεσθαι*, which is objective and external to the thinker,—the *look* of a thing; which also, of course, may be either veracious or misleading. But *δόξα* stands for the classical sense of *opinion* once only in sacred literature, viz. 4 Mac 5[18]; and as mere *outward appearance* in opposition to *reality* (Plato, Xenophon) it does not occur in NT; for whereas the LXX version of Is 11[3] allowed itself *δόξα* there for the 'sight of the eyes' as the false guide to judgment, the NT at Jn 7[24] has 'judge not according to *ὄψις*.' But while it ignored the precise senses of *appearance* and *opinion*, the NT usage, following that of the LXX, accepted the classical and LXX development of *outward appearance* (rather than *opinion*) into *reputation*, and affords abundant instances of the LXX non-classical expansion of the same idea into *outward splendour* or *manifested excellence*. Both *reputation* and *splendour* (or *manifested excellence*) find their common expression in *glory*. Thus Jn 12[43] 'They loved the glory (honour) from men rather than the glory from God'; Lk 2[9] 'The glory (brightness) of the Lord shone round about them'; and 2 Co 3[9] 'Much rather doth the ministration of righteousness exceed in glory (manifested excellence).' [Cf. OT כָּבוֹד *kābôd*, in its varied senses: *honour* (to God) Jos 7[19], or men Gn 31[1] (Jacob); *brightness* (in the cloud), the rabbinical *Shechinah* Ex 16[10]; or *beauty of appearance* Is 60[13] (Lebanon, cf. 1 Co 15[40. 41]); *manifested excellence* Ex 33[22] 'my glory,' cf. v.[19] 'my goodness'].

These senses in NT are common and undisputed, as is also the closely related sense of *majesty or magnificence of king or ruler*, *e.g.* of God, in doxologies, 1 P 4[11]; of Christ, Ja 2[1], 2 Th 1[9] ('the glory of his might'), cf. He 1[3]; and of man as ruling for God, 1 Co 11[7] (the woman making conspicuous the authority of the man). But there are still differences of opinion as to the sense of *brightness* and the extensions of it. When used of God, of Christ, of regenerated and glorified humanity, how far is it literal, symbolical, ethical? That it is *ethically* used of God is obvious from such passages as Ro 3[23] 'All have sinned and fall short of the glory of God,' *i.e.* the manifested perfection of His character, or, according to the context (vv.[21. 22]), His *righteousness*. That it is ethically used of Christ is obvious from Jn 1[14] 'We beheld his glory . . . full (as He was) of grace and truth.' That it is ethically used of human nature in the process of glorification, *i.e.* of ethical and spiritual transfiguration, is obvious from 2 Co 3[18] 'We all, with unveiled face, mirroring in ourselves the glory of the Lord, are being transformed into the same image from glory to glory, even as from the Lord *the Spirit*.'

A *literal* element also presents itself. The conception and description in NT of the divine manifestation in heaven and on earth, of the form of heavenly beings, and of the future appearance (according to St. Paul) of the glorified children of God in the heavenly body, are in the line of the OT theophanies and angelophanies with their light and brightness. This fact is clear from the 'glory of the Lord' round the shepherds (Lk 2[9]), from the transfiguration of Christ (Lk 9[32]), from the appearance of Moses and Elias 'in glory' (Lk 9[31]), from St. Paul's vision of the Lord in the way (Ac 9[3] and parallel passages in Ac 22 and 26), and from the 'body of glory' (Ph 3[21]), perhaps suggested by this vision. By this apparent literalism in the conceptions of the divine and the coming 'glory,' Pfleiderer is induced to define the specially Pauline *δόξα* as 'the brilliant light which is everywhere the manifestation of the *πνεῦμα*, and forms a special attribute of the majesty of God' (*Paulinism*, Eng. tr. i. 135), the *πνεῦμα* being 'heavenly, supersensuous matter,' 'originally belonging to God and then to Christ the Son of God, in such wise that it constitutes their divine essence, and is presented in a concrete form in them' (i. 200). And Weiss, while denying that the 'essence of the Spirit is (in St. Paul) conceived as a luminous substance' (*Bib. Theol. of NT*, Eng. tr. i. 397), affirms that 'it is characteristic of the Pauline theology that the apostle has transformed the (earlier and vaguer) idea of the divine *δόξα* into an altogether concrete notion,—that of a heavenly radiant light proceeding from a supermundane substance of light' (i. 396), 'a luminous light-substance in which God reveals Himself' (ii. 187, n. 7). 'Out of it are formed the bodies of the heavenly beings, and . . . this same *δόξα* will believers yet bear when they are conformed to His image, to whom, as the Lord of the Spirit, this *δόξα* belongs.' Weiss, indeed, disclaims materialism in this interpretation; but it is hard, with this disclaimer, to see what is meant by 'supermundane substance.' Dr. Sanday also (*Romans*, p. 85), quoting from Weber (*Altsyn. Theol.* p. 214) the rabbinical view that 'the glory' (the first among the six things lost by Adam at the fall) was a reflection from the divine glory which, before the fall, brightened Adam's face, goes on to say: 'Clearly, St. Paul conceives of this glory as in process of being recovered: the physical sense is also enriched by its extension to attributes that are moral and spiritual.'

It is proverbially difficult, of course, to distinguish sometimes, in St. Paul's expressions, the literal from the freely symbolical: the discriminating critic will find this difficulty not only with *δόξα* but also with *σάρξ*, *σῶμα*, and *πνεῦμα*; and it is a difficulty that must be expected to arise when, in an old vocabulary, verbal expression has to be found for new thought. In this exigency words are often selected which, being in themselves subjective as well as objective, admit of being wholly subjectivized. One of these plastic words appears to be *δόξα* in the moulding hands of St. Paul: a word elastic and not rigid, a word 'thrown out at an idea' (like the words just mentioned), and not intended mechanically to define it. It seems unjustifiable, therefore, to chain St. Paul to the rigid, concrete conception of a literal light substance (even though it be elevated into the cloudland of the supersensuous or supermundane), whether for the πνεῦμα (in God and Christ), or for the heavenly body of Christ and of the believer to be glorified through Him. In 2 Co 3^{18}, above quoted, the ethical sense of the glory is so preeminent as to suggest not merely an 'extension of the physical' but even a supplantation of it; and this ethical conception comes out again plainly enough in Ro 5^{2} and 3^{7}, where righteousness is the burden of the thought. A non-Pauline, but not an anti-Pauline, illustration is furnished by Jn 1^{14}, also above quoted: there the bright cloud (δόξα, Ro 9^{4}) in the tabernacle (cf. ἐσκήνωσεν) serves St. John for the historical and allegorical foundation of the idea of the Logos in the tabernacle of the flesh, and the incarnate God in the world of men or among the Jewish people.

Prudence may well, therefore, lead us to pause before we go further than this,—that the 'brightness' accompanying Theophany, Christophany, Angelophany, in OT or NT times, and the double meaning *brightness* and *manifested perfection*, contained in δόξα, led St. Paul to avail himself of it as the most significant symbol for the manifestation of perfected human nature; being also for him the most significant inherited symbol of the divine perfection as manifested to the human eye. His root-idea is spiritual: in the new life the Spirit is the vitalizing principle, and the new body 'raised in glory' (1 Co 15^{43}) (σῶμα not necessarily, with St. Paul, connoting the material) will be spiritual (πνευματικόν), the expression and the organ of the spiritual life. J. MASSIE.

GNAT (κώνωψ).—A term for any insect of the *Culicidæ*, a family of dipterous insects, with bristly stings, included in a flexible proboscis. They penetrate the skin, suck the blood, and at the same time inject a poisonous fluid, which causes swelling, and sometimes ulcerations. The humming noise produced by their wings in flight disturbs the rest of their victims, as they are for the most part nocturnal in their habits. The commonest species of gnat in Bible lands is the *mosquito*. The gnat is mentioned only once (Mt 23^{24}), where 'strain at' of AV is plainly wrong, and 'strain out' of RV right. G. E. POST.

GNOSTICISM is the comprehensive name used to embrace a large number of widely ramified sects, on the borderland between Christianity and heathen thought, which flourished in the 2nd cent. The name in this sense is modern. There were, indeed, sects who called themselves Gnostic (γνωστικοί), as claiming a deeper knowledge of spiritual things, and Church writers (especially Irenæus) were fond of bringing different false teachers under the condemnation of 1 Ti 6^{20}; but there was no common name for these varying systems, and the limit assigned to the present use of the word must be to a certain extent arbitrary. The following are among the tendencies characteristic of the so-called Gnostic sects:—(1) An attempt to grapple with the problems of creation, and especially the origin of evil; (2) an attempt at its solution by theories which postulate a string of emanations extending between the first God and the visible universe, thus concealing the difficulties of the problem rather than solving it; (3) a tendency towards dualism, resulting either in asceticism or licentiousness; (4) a syncretistic tendency, combining in an artificial manner with some more or less misunderstood Christian doctrines, elements from classical, Oriental, and Jewish sources, or even from common magic; (5) a tendency towards a Docetic Christology, *i.e.* one which looked upon the earthly life of Christ, or at any rate the sufferings, as unreal; (6) a tendency to represent γνῶσις (knowledge) as something superior to mere faith, and the special possession of the more enlightened. Some of these characteristics are more common in one, some in another of the heresies called Gnostic, nor probably is it possible to find any one idea common to them all.

i. The following is an account of the various places in the NT where reff. to Gnosticism have been found or imagined. These reff. have played a very large part in the critical discussions of the last sixty years, and in some cases touch on problems not yet solved. For a fuller discussion reference is given to the various separate articles.

1. In Ac 8^{9-24} we have our earliest account of SIMON MAGUS (wh. see), who has played a large part in the history of Gnosticism, and is regarded by ecclesiastical writers as the father of all false teaching. Many doctrines characteristic of Gnosticism are attributed to him in later writers, and works of his are quoted—how far genuine is very doubtful. From Acts we learn that he practised 'magical arts,' and was called the Great Power of God (οὗτός ἐστιν ἡ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ καλουμένη μεγάλη). Both these were consistent with the tendencies we call Gnostic.

2. In 1 Co we find St. Paul using the word γνῶσις, which generally in NT implies a deep knowledge of spiritual things in a bad sense, and contrasting it with ἀγάπη (1 Co 8^{1} 'knowledge puffeth up, but love edifieth'). There was a tendency to lay undue stress on intellectual gifts.

3. In the Ep. to the COLOSSIANS (wh. see) false teachers are attacked who combined asceticism, scrupulousness concerning food, new moons, and sabbaths with angel worship (θρησκεία τῶν ἀγγέλων), and apparently a tendency to depreciate the person of Christ. Their teaching is called 'the philosophy and vain conceit' (διὰ τῆς φιλοσοφίας καὶ κενῆς ἀπάτης), is said to be according to the traditions of men, after the elements of (see ELEMENT) the world (κατὰ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου), and a voluntary humility (ταπεινοφροσύνη, Col 2^{8-23}). According to Baur (*Ch. Hist.* Eng.tr. i. 127), 'the numerous echoes of Gnosticism and its peculiar doctrines, which are to be found in the three Epp. to the Ephesians, Colossians, and Philippians, are sufficient, had we no other ground to go upon, to fix the position of these works in the post-apostolic age.' But this extreme statement has long ceased to be accepted. It has been pointed out by many that the Colossian heresy was clearly Judaistic, and that 2nd cent. Gnosticism was strongly anti-Jewish. Lightfoot accounted for the 'Gnostic' tendencies by supposing a Judaism modified under influences similar to that of the Essenes. Hort (*Judaistic Christianity*, p. 128) denies that there is any 'tangible evidence for Essenism out of Palestine,' and considers that we are on 'common Jewish ground,' but the Judaism of the Dispersion and not of Palestine.

4. 'Still more directly and indubitably do the Pastoral Epistles carry us to the period of the Gnostic heresy,' writes Baur, while here again his position is almost universally modified or set aside. The false teachers of these Epistles (see PASTORAL EPP., TIMOTHY, TITUS), to dwell only on leading features, taught a different doctrine (ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν), consisting of fables and endless genealogies (1 Ti 1^{4}), foolish questionings, strifes, and fighting about the law (μάχας νομικάς), Tit 3^{9}; they forbade to marry, and commanded to abstain from meats (1 Ti 4^{3}). Their teaching is described as profane babblings and oppositions of the knowledge which is falsely so called (ἀντιθέσεις τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως). This last phrase seemed to suggest a reference to Marcion, and is so taken

still by Harnack, who regards the verse as a later interpolation; and the Fathers were accustomed to hold that the expressions concerning 'genealogies' referred to Valentinian and other theories of emanations, while the prohibition of marriage suggested Encratite doctrine. But none of these allusions were really necessary, and the expression 'Jewish fables' (Tit 1^{1}) shows that we cannot be dealing with the anti-Jewish Gnosticism of the 2nd cent. Lightfoot sees a development of the Colossian heresy; and Hort, although his explanations are in some cases thoroughly convincing, perhaps goes too far in banishing all of what we should call Gnostic tendencies.

5. The First Epistle of St. John directly, the Gospel indirectly, combat a form of teaching which denied that Jesus Christ had come in the flesh (1 Jn 4$^{1-3}$). The most common explanation is to see in this a refutation of the peculiar form of Docetism associated with Cerinthus, with whom St. John is connected historically by tradition.

6. In the Apoc. we have reference to certain NICOLAITANS (wh. see), who are classed by Fathers (*e.g.* Iren. I. xxvi. 3) among heretics, to the teaching of one JEZEBEL (wh. see), and to some who knew the deep things of Satan (*τὰ βαθέα τοῦ Σατανά*), a phrase which has a Gnostic ring about it (Rev 2$^{6. 15. 20. 24}$).

7. In the Ep. of JUDE and in 2 PETER (wh. see) there is a violent polemic against certain Antinomian tendencies. It has been the custom to see here a definite allusion to some of the Antinomian sects of the 2nd cent. Harnack (*Chronologie der altchristlichen Litteratur*, i. 466), for example, sees a reference to the Antinomian Gnostic sects described by Irenæus. But a careful analysis of the language of both the Epistles shows that it was at any rate primarily practical immorality that was in both cases attacked. They are 'ungodly men,' 'turning the grace of our God into lasciviousness,' they have 'given themselves over to fornication', 'they are blasphemous in their language,' they 'are sensual' (Jude v.$^{4. 7. 10. 19}$), 'they walk after the flesh in the lust of defilement,' and 'despise dominion' (2 P 2^{10}); to this corresponds the statement that they have fallen back into their old evil ways (2 P 2$^{21-22}$), and a theoretical basis seems to be given in the disbelief in the Parousia which is growing up. Even the expression 'denying their Master,' which occurs in both Epp. (Jude v.^{4}, 2 P 2^{2}), may mean only denying Him by lives unworthy of Him. In any case, even if the existence of a theoretical Antinomianism as well as practical immorality cannot be entirely denied, there are certainly no clearly defined traces of later Gnosticism implying the existence of any special 2nd cent. sect, and compelling us to place the two Epp. in the 2nd century.

The above are the references, real or supposed, to Gnosticism in the NT. A theory which flourished for some time referred them all to heresies of the 2nd cent., and signs therefore of the late date of the NT writings. This theory seems now to be given up or much modified, as may be seen by consulting the various modern commentators, and it is really more correct to say that the developed Gnostic heresies of the 2nd cent. presuppose the NT. Many of the names of the Valentinian æons seem derived from the prologue to St. John's Gospel. The Gnostics often used NT doctrines which they only half understood, and misapplied biblical texts. But if we cannot find what is now called Gnosticism in the NT, there are signs of the tendencies out of which it grew. Even Hort, who shows how much which was formerly explained as Gnostic is perfectly explicable as Jewish, admits that there are elements for which we cannot account, and that the Judaism of the Dispersion is different from the Judaism of Palestine. If we put together our data in the NT, we notice that to a very large extent it comes from Asia Minor. The Colossian Epp., those to Timothy, the Apocalypse, Cerinthus, the Ignatian letters, are all alike indications of a clearly defined tendency. To say that the origin of this is Essene influence certainly goes beyond our data, but the illustrations given by Lightfoot derived from the teaching of the Essenes and Therapeutæ are perfectly legitimate as showing that the Judaism of the 1st cent. was capable of being affected by very various and extraneous elements. The Jews in Phrygia (Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics*, ii. p. 674) were, we know, peculiarly lax, and influenced by the surrounding heathen life and thought. The great movements of the 2nd cent., heathen, Jewish, and Christian, which arose from the intense spiritual earnestness with which Christianity had inspired the world, brought into life elements that had been working silently ever since the unification of the Roman Empire had broken down the old national religions, had brought into contact with one another very different faiths, and had turned men's minds from the political interests, which are always impossible under a personal government, to the problems and questions of religion. From this point of view, the embryo Gnosticism of the NT takes its proper place in the history of religious development.

There are other points of view from which the developed Gnosticism of the 2nd cent. affected the Bible, mainly the history of the Canon, of Interpretation, and of the Text. The idea of a CANON (wh. see) as a collection of several books was not created by Gnosticism, but opposition to that movement made the definition of its limit necessary. There were collections of sacred writings before Marcion, but the work of Marcion and the existence of many apocryphal writings showed the necessity of strict definition. Our first recorded commentary on any book of Scripture is that of Heracleon the Valentinian on St. John. And the belief at any rate that heretics mutilated Scripture caused careful attention to be paid to the transmission of the sacred text. How far any of the various readings still existing may be due to Gnostic influence is at present an open question.

LITERATURE.—On Gnosticism generally, by far the best work for English readers is Mansel's *Gnostic Heresies*, where there is a very full discussion of the biblical passages. In as far as it is behind modern criticism, it may be supplemented by the articles in Smith's *Dict. of Christian Biography*, where references are given to the special literature. On Biblical Gnosticism see esp. Lightfoot 'On the Colossian Heresy' in his *Epistle to the Colossians*, and Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*. For special literature on the Bible passages see the articles referred to.

ii. On account of his relation, real or supposed, alike to 1 Jn and to developed Gnosticism, it will be worth while to examine in detail the opinions of Cerinthus, so far as these can now be recovered. He taught in the province of Asia at the end of the 1st century.

I. HIS TEACHING.—The only method of acquiring critical information concerning his teaching is to distinguish the different sources from which it comes. (1) Polycarp († 154), acc. to Irenæus (*Hær.* III. iii. 4; Eus. *HE* III. xxviii. 6, IV. xiv. 6), related a story of the Apostle John. On going into a bath he saw C. there, and immediately rushed out saying, 'Let us flee lest the bath fall on us, for C., the enemy of the truth, is within.' Even if the incident be, as is possible, either exaggerated or a myth, it would not have arisen so early unless there were grounds for bringing the two together; the story may therefore be taken as sufficient and conclusive evidence for placing C. at the end of the 1st cent. The later date implied in less trustworthy authorities (Pseudo-Tertullian, 3, etc.) seems simply to have arisen from taking the order of Irenæus as chronological.

(2) Irenæus himself (*c.* 200) tells us that St. John wrote his Gospel to correct the errors of C. (*Hær.* III. xi. 1). He describes these as follows (*Hær.* I. xxvi. 1). C. taught in Asia; he said that the world was not made by the first God, but by a power separate from Him and independent of Him. Jesus was not born from a virgin, but was the son of Joseph and Mary like other men, but distinguished by his superiority in justice and prudence and wisdom. After his baptism the Christ descended on him in the form of a dove, and announced the unknown Father. At the end of his life the Christ left Jesus, Jesus suffered and rose again, the Christ being spiritual remained without suffering.

(3) The common source of the three writers, Pseudo-Tertullian (§ 3), Philaster (§ 36), Epiphanius (*Hær.* xxviii.), is generally supposed to have been an early treatise by Hippolytus (190). The account it contains seems to be much less accurate than that of Irenæus. The God of the Jews was one of the angels who created the world, and who gave the law. Christ was a man, the son of Joseph and Mary, on whom apparently a power came down. C. had Judaistic tendencies. He supported circumcision and the Sabbath, and rejected the Apostle Paul. He was identified with the opponents of the apostles in the Ac, an identification which Epiphanius developed at great length. It may be noticed that there is an element of inconsistency in this account. Cerinthus is a Judaizer, although he puts the God of the Jews in such an inferior position.

(4) In his later treatise (*Ref. Omn. Hær.* vii. 33, x. 21) Hippolytus (220–230) derives his information from Irenæus, adding the statement that C. was educated in Egypt.

(5) The only other information of importance is that of Caius (*c.* 200), the Rom. presbyter (*ap.* Eus. *HE* III. xxviii.), who ascribes to him a gross Chiliasm. There was to be a kingdom of Christ upon earth; it was to last 1000 years, and to be a time of fleshly indulgence—a perpetual marriage feast. This statement is repeated or corroborated by Dionysius of Alexandria (*ap.* Eus. *HE* III. xxviii. 4, 5, VII. xxv. 2–5).

It is unnecessary to examine later writers, who all seem merely to combine, or exaggerate, or corrupt the above accounts. If we examine these in detail, we shall notice that there are three quite independent traditions. Irenæus has no reference to Judaistic views, and Caius alone describes the Chiliastic opinions. The account in Irenæus is far the clearest and most trustworthy; to that we may add the information of Caius, remembering that the repulsive side may very likely be exaggerated. How far we can accept Hippolytus I., which clearly gives an inaccurate and confused account, may be doubtful.

II. THE CANON.—A special interest attaches to C. in relation to certain books of NT. Caius (*loc. cit.*) makes the following statement concerning him: *Κήρινθος ὁ δι' ἀποκαλύψεων ὡς ὑπὸ ἀποστόλου μεγάλου γεγραμμένων, τερατολογίας ἡμῖν, ὡς δι' ἀγγέλων αὐτῷ δεδειγμένας, ψευδόμενος ἐπεισάγει.* 'C., the man who makes use of revelations purporting to have been written by a great apostle, lyingly imposes upon us marvellous prodigies which he professes to have been shown him by angels.' Dionysius seems to have had this passage in his mind when he states that some ascribed the Apoc. to Cerinthus. It is doubtful, however, whether the words of Caius will bear this meaning. They may mean that Cerinthus used forged Apocalypses, or interpreted the Apocalypse in his own way, or possibly that he was the author of it; and we have other grounds for believing that Caius did not accept the book. The opinion that C. was the author of the Apoc. was also held by some heretics mentioned by Philaster (§ 60), and by those whom Epiphanius (*Hær.* li. 3, 4) calls Alogi. This opinion seems to have been one invented by those who disliked the Apoc. for the support it was supposed to give to Chiliastic opinions. Acc. to Epiphanius, these same Alogi ascribed to Cerinthus the Gospel of St. John—a statement which is certainly absurd, and looks as if it were an exaggeration of the statement in Philaster, who says that they reject the Gospel but does not say that they ascribe it to C. We are also told, if we are to believe Hippolytus I., that C. rejected the writings of St. Paul, the Acts of the Apostles, and all the Gospels except that according to St. Matthew, and that he accepted this only in a mutilated form.

III. RELATION TO ST. JOHN.—As we have seen, the most authentic accounts of C. make it quite clear that his teaching was Docetic, and that he was a contemporary of St. John. If we examine the writings traditionally ascribed to the latter, it becomes perfectly clear that he had a false teaching before him of a Docetic character. These two traditions then corroborate one another. The one demands an environment which the other supplies; nor does it seem in the least probable that either was invented to account for the other.

It may be further suggested that the developed Docetism taught by Cerinthus implies a developed theory concerning Christ's divinity from which it was a deviation, and that his heretical teaching concerning the birth of Christ has all the appearance of being developed in opposition to a belief in the Virgin birth.

LITERATURE.—References to ancient authors are given throughout the art.; the most useful modern book is prob. that of Hilgenfeld, *Ketzergeschichte*, pp. 411–421; see also Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, pp. 188–191; Renan, *Les Évangiles*, p. 417 ff.; Westcott, *On the Canon*, ch. iv. § 1, and most early Church histories. The art. in Smith's *Dict. Chr. Biog.* is uncritical.

A. C. HEADLAM.

GO.—The verb to 'go' is found in the English versions of the Bible in many senses and constructions that have now gone out of use. A careful study of its occurrences will repay the labour it costs.

1. With all its freedom of usage there is a precision in the movement expressed by 'go' which we have now lost. If a person 'runs' or 'rides' we now can say that he 'goes'; but running and riding were formerly contrasted with going, which was therefore used as we now should use 'walk.' Thus Chaucer, *Knightes Tale*, 1351—

> 'That other wher him list may ryde or go,
> But seen his lady shal be never-mo.'

Shaks. *Lear*, I. iv. 134—

> 'Ride more than thou goest';

and *Tempest*, III. ii. 63, 'As proper a man as ever went on four legs.' So Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, 151, 'I purpose to teach a yong scholer to go, not to daunce.' The use is found as late as Watts, *Come, Holy Spirit*—

> 'Our souls can neither fly nor go
> To reach immortal joys.'

In the earlier versions this meaning is often found. Thus Is 40^{31} Wyc. (1388), 'But thei that hopen in the Lord, schulen chaunge strengthe, thei schulen take fetheris as eglis: thei schulen renne, and schulen not trauele; thei schulen go, and schulen not faile' (Cov. 'When they go, they shal not be weery,' Gen. 'they shal walke and not faint,' so AV); Mk 5^{42} Tind., 'And streyght the mayden arose, and went on her fete' (so Gen. 1557, but 1560 'walked' as AV, Gr. *περιεπάτει*); Hos 11^{3} Cov. 'I lerned Ephraim to go.' The last example has been retained by AV and RV, ‘I taught Ephraim to go’ (תִּרְגַּלְתִּי, lit., as Pusey, ‘I set on his feet’). Other examples in AV are Pr 6^{28} ‘Can one go upon hot coals, and his feet not be burned?’ (after Wyc. ‘go on colis,’ אִם־יְהַלֵּךְ אִישׁ, RV ‘walk’); Is 59^{8} ‘they have made them crooked paths; whosoever goeth therein shall not know peace’ (after Cov. ‘their wayes are so croked, that who so euer goeth therein, knoweth nothinge of peace,’ כֹּל דֹּרֵךְ בָּהּ); Jer 10^{5} ‘they must needs be borne, because they cannot go’ (Wyc. ‘for thei moun not go,’ כִּי־לֹא יִצְעָדוּ). See also Jos 18^{4}, Pr 4^{14} 6^{22} 9^{6}, Mic 2^{3}, Mk 12^{38}, where RV has ‘walk’ for AV ‘go.’

2. ‘Go’ is sometimes superfluous or nearly so, as in Jos 9^{4} ‘They did work wilily, and went and made as if they had been ambassadors’ (וַיֵּלְכוּ וַיִּצְטַיָּרוּ); Is 37^{37} ‘So Sennacherib king of Assyria departed, and went and returned, and dwelt at Nineveh’ (וַיֵּלֶךְ וַיֵּשֶׁב). Somewhat similar is the very frequent use of ‘go’ immediately before some other verb, as 2 K 1^{6} ‘There came a man up to meet us, and said unto us, Go, turn again unto the king that sent you.’ Occasionally a pronoun intervenes between the verbs, as 1 K 20^{33} ‘Then he said, Go ye, bring him.’ In AV the usage is almost confined to the imperat., though some other moods occur, as 1 S 29^{8} ‘What hast thou found in thy servant . . . that I may not go fight against the enemies of my lord, the king?’ (RV ‘go and fight’). Cf. Shaks. *Hamlet*, I. v. 132—

> ‘And for my own poor part,
> Look you, I'll go pray.’

In these phrases the verb to ‘go’ has no such independent meaning as we associate with it, implying removal from a place; it expresses no more than the setting about the act contained in the following verb. And this is often all that it contains when ‘and’ comes between the two verbs, as Dt 31^{1} ‘And Moses went and spoke these words to all Israel’; Ex 2^{1} ‘And there went a man of the house of Levi, and took to wife a daughter of Levi’; 2 K 3^{7} ‘And he went and sent to Jehoshaphat the king of Judah, saying, The king of Moab hath rebelled against me’ (see ‘Go to’ below). This auxiliary use of ‘go’ is seen also in expressions like ‘go childless’ Gn 15^{2} (וְאָנֹכִי הוֹלֵךְ עֲרִירִי, which may mean, however, ‘and I am going hence [*i.e.* to die] childless [lit. ‘naked’],’ as Del., Dillm., Spurrell, and RVm); ‘go mourning,’ Job 30^{28} (קֹדֵר הִלַּכְתִּי בְּלֹא חַמָּה, Dav. ‘I go blackened, not by the sun,’ so RVm); ‘go crouching,’ Sir 12^{11} (*πορεύηται συγκεκυφώς*); ‘go gay,’ Bar 6^{9} (*παρθένῳ φιλοκόσμῳ*, EV ‘for a virgin that loveth to go gay,’ Gifford ‘fond of ornament,’ the only occurrence of the Gr. word in LXX or NT). Cf. Shaks. *Othello*, II. i. 151—

> ‘She that was ever fair, and never proud;
> Had tongue at will, and yet was never loud;
> Never lack'd gold, and yet went never gay.’

And Milton, *University Carrier*, ii. 22—

> ‘Ease was his chief disease, and to judge right,
> He di'd for heaviness that his cart went light.’

3. To go is often to proceed, advance, make progress, whether literally or figuratively, as Shaks. *I Henry IV*. I. iii. 292—

> ‘No further go in this
> Than I by letters shall direct your course.’

In 2 Mac 4^{40} we find the unusual expression (it does not occur in Shaks.) ‘a man far gone in years,’ which RV retains. The Gr. (*προβεβηκὼς τὴν ἡλικίαν*) is common enough, the identical phrase occurring again in 6^{18}, where it is trd ‘an aged man,’ RV ‘well stricken in years.’ Cf. Gn 24^{1} ‘And Abraham was old, and well stricken in age,’ AVm ‘gone into days.’ But the most important use of ‘go’ in this fig. sense is to express the progress of an undertaking, as in 2 S 1^{4} ‘And David said unto him, How went the matter?’ (מֶה־הָיָה הַדָּבָר, lit., as AVm, ‘What was the thing?’); and To 10^{8} ‘I will send to thy father, and they shall declare unto him how things go with thee’ (*τὰ κατὰ σέ*). Cf. Tind. *Prologe* to the Pent. of 1534, ‘Then go to and reade the storyes of the byble for thy lerninge and comforte, and se every thinge practysed before thyne eyes: for accordinge to those ensamples shall it goo with the and all men untill the worldes ende.’ Cf. also Job 8^{13} Cov. ‘Even so goeth it with all them, that forget God,’ and Hos 10^{15} Cov. ‘Even so shal it go with you (o Bethel) because of youre malicious wickednes.’ So Shaks. *Winter's Tale*, III. ii. 218—

> ‘Howe'er the business goes, you have made fault
> I' the boldness of your speech.’

The idiom is not obsolete; on the contrary, it has lately received a further and bolder extension, which may be illustrated by the following quotation from *Harper's Magazine*, lxxvi. 808, ‘Society has invented no infliction equal to a large dinner that does not go, as the phrase is. Why it does not go when the viands are good and the company is bright, is one of the acknowledged mysteries.’ More frequently, however, some adverb accompanies ‘go,’ to express the manner of progress. In AV we find: (1) *Go well*, Dt 4^{40} ‘that it may go well with thee’; Heb. יִיטַב לָךְ, which occurs also 5^{16} $12^{25.\,28}$ (EV ‘go well with’), 5^{29} $6^{3.\,18}$ 22^{7} (EV ‘be well with’); and the similar phrase וְטוֹב לְ in 5^{33} (EV ‘that it may be well with’), 19^{13} (EV ‘go well with’). The Eng. phrase occurs also in 2 Ch 12^{12} ‘in Judah things went well’ (הָיָה דְּבָרִים טוֹבִים); Pr 11^{10} ‘When it goeth well with the righteous, the city rejoiceth’ (בְּטוּב צַדִּיקִים); To 12^{17} ‘it shall go well with you’ (*εἰρήνη ὑμῖν ἔσται*, RV ‘ye shall have peace’); 14^{9} ‘that it may go well with thee’ (*ἵνα σοι καλῶς ᾖ*, RV ‘that it may be well with thee’); Sir 1^{13} ‘Whoso feareth the Lord, it shall go well with him at the last’ (*τῷ φοβουμένῳ τὸν Κύριον εὖ ἔσται ἐπ' ἐσχάτων*).* Cf. Shaks. *K. John*, III. iv. 4—

> ‘Courage and comfort! all shall yet go well.
> What can go well, when we have run so ill?’

(2) *Go ill*, Job 20^{26} ‘it shall go ill with him that is left in his tabernacle,’ so RVm, but RV ‘it shall consume that which is left in his tent,’ Dav. ‘it shall devour him that is left in his tent’ (Heb. יֵרַע שָׂרִיד בְּאָהֳלוֹ); Ps 106^{32} ‘they angered him also at the waters of strife, so that it went ill with Moses for their sakes’ (וַיֵּרַע לְ). So Shaks. *Cymb*. I. vii. 95—

> ‘Doubting things go ill often hurts more
> Than to be sure they do.’

(3) *Go evil*, 1 Ch 7^{23} ‘it went evil with his house (בְּרָעָה הָיְתָה). (4) *Go sore*, 1 S 31^{3} ‘And the battle went sore against Saul’ (וַתִּכְבַּד אֶל); 1 Ch 10^{3} (וַתִּכְבַּד עַל). This is Coverdale's trn; Wyc. 1382, ‘And al the charge (1388 ‘weighte’) of the batayl is turned unto Saul,’ and Dou. ‘And the whole weight of the battel was turned upon Saul,’ are after the Vulg. ‘Totumque pondus proelii versum est in Saul’; LXX is more literal, *καὶ βαρύνεται ὁ πόλεμος ἐπὶ Σαούλ*. Cf. Tindale, *Works*, i. 90, ‘What shall we then say to those Scriptures which go so sore upon good works?’ (5) *Go right*, Sir 49^{9} ‘and directed them that went right’ (RV ‘and to do good to them that directed their ways aright,’ reading *καὶ ἀγαθῶσαι* [for AV *καὶ κατώρθωσε*] *τοὺς εὐθύνοντας ὁδούς*).

4. One of the ways by which the verb to ‘go’ extended its meaning was by accepting ‘went’ as its past tense. ‘Went’ was the past tense of the verb to ‘wend,’ and had originally but little connexion with ‘go’ in meaning, as it had none in etymology. For ‘go’ is now the opposite of ‘come’; but as a river may ‘come winding’ as well as ‘go winding,’ it was possible formerly to say that it ‘came and went,’ and yet express move-

---

* ‘Go well’ occurs in another sense in Pr 30^{29} ‘There be three things which go well’ (RV ‘are stately in their march’).

ment in only one direction. Hence we find 'went' and even 'go' used of a river, where the meaning is 'took its (winding) course.' Thus Gn 2^{10} 'And a river went out of Eden to water the garden' (יֹצֵא; LXX ἐκπορεύεται, Vulg. 'egrediebatur,' Wyc. 1832, 'And a flood gede out of the place of delice to watre paradis'). Cf. Milton, *Lycidas*, 103—

> 'Next Camus, reverend sire, went footing slow.'

'Wend' has practically gone out of use, and 'yode' the original past tense of 'go' is obsolete long since, so that 'go' and 'went' serve as present and past with the same meaning throughout. Before passing from this matter of form, it may be well to notice the old-fashioned 'let us be going' (Jg 19^{28} 'Up and let us be going' קוּמִי וְנֵלֵכָה; Mt 26^{46} ἄγωμεν), which would now be called a 'Scotticism,' though RV retains it. The identical phrase (ἐγείρεσθε ἄγωμεν) tr^{d} in Mt 'Rise, let us be going,' is found in Mk 14^{42}, where AV gives 'Rise up, let us go,' but RV 'Arise, let us be going,' as in Mt 26^{46}. Again, in Jn 14^{31} we find ἐγείρεσθε ἄγωμεν ἐντεῦθεν, but 'let us be going hence' proved too much for RV; both versions give 'Arise, let us go hence.' Another grammatical peculiarity is found in Is 15^{5} 'for by the mounting up of Luhith with weeping they shall go it up,' for 'go up it,' the object preceding its preposition. Cf. North's Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, p. 324, 'Notwithstanding, when they came to the hilles, they sought forcibly to clime them up.'

5. The verb to 'go' forms with other words, chiefly adverbs, some noteworthy expressions.

1. *Go about:* This phrase has three clearly distinguishable meanings (see ABOUT). (1) 'Go round,' Jos 6^{11} 'So the ark of God compassed the city, going about it once' (הַקֵּף); (2) Go from place to place,' as Ac 10^{38} 'who went about doing good'; and (3) 'set oneself to do,' 'attempt,' as Ac 26^{21} 'For these causes the Jews caught me in the temple, and went about to kill me.' The verbs tr^{d} 'go about' with the second meaning are סָבַב *ṣâbhabh*, lit. 'turn' (Jos 16^{6}, 1 S 15^{12}, 2 K 3^{25}, 2 Ch 17^{9} 23^{2}, Ps 55^{10} [Piel], Ec 2^{20}, Ca 3^{2} [Piel], 3^{3} 5^{7}), הָלַךְ *hâlak*, 'go' (Pr 20^{19}), שׁוּט *shûṭ*, 'wander' (Nu 11^{8}), סָחַר *ṣâḥar*, usually 'traffic' (Jer 14^{18}), חָמַק *ḥâmaḳ*, 'turn away' (Jer 31^{22} Hithp.='turn hither and thither'), περίαγω 'lead or go round' (Mt 4^{23} 9^{35}, Ac 13^{11}), and διέρχομαι 'go through' or 'throughout' (Ac 10^{38}). Cov. uses the same phrase in Job 27^{12} 'Wherfore then do ye go aboutc with soch vayne wordes'; Hos 11^{12} 'Ephraim goeth aboute me with lies' (EV 'compasseth me'); and Tind. in Jn 7^{1} 'After that, Jesus went about in Galile and wolde not go about in Jewry.' Cf. Shaks. *Macbeth*, I. iii. 34—

> 'The weird sisters, hand in hand,
> Posters of the sea and land,
> Thus do go about, about.'

But the third meaning is the most archaic now. It occurs only once in OT, Dt 31^{21} 'I know their imagination which they go about' (עֹשֶׂה, AVm 'do,' Driver, 'worketh' [the 'people' being singular], lit. 'maketh'). In Apocr. once also, 1 Mac 11^{1} 'the king of Egypt . . . went about through deceit to get Alexander's kingdom' (ἐζήτησε, RV 'sought'). In NT seven times, Jn $7^{19.\,20}$, Ac 21^{31}, Ro 10^{3} (ζητέω), Ac 26^{21} (πειράομαι), 24^{6} (πειράζω), 9^{29} (ἐπιχειρέω). These verbs all mean to 'try,' 'attempt,' and are so tr^{d} elsewhere. Thus in Jn $7^{19.\,20}$ ζητέω is tr^{d} 'go about,' but in 7^{25} 'seek.' The earlier VSS have the phrase 'go about' still oftener. Thus in Tind. we find it Mt 13^{29} 'whill ye go abonte to wede out the tares'; Mk 12^{12} 'they went about to take him, but they feared the people'; Lk 17^{33} 'Whosoever will goo about to save his lyfe shall loose it'; Jn 10^{30} 'Agayne they wcnt aboute to take him: but he escaped out of their hondes.' So Cov. in Job 32^{22} 'For yf I wolde go aboute to please men, I knowe not how soone my maker wolde take me awaye'; and Rhem. in Lk 1^{1} 'Because many have gone about to compile a narration of the things that have been accomplished among us.' Hooker begins his *Eccles. Polity* with the phrase, 'He that goeth about to persuade a multitude, that they are not so well governed as they ought to be, shall never want attentive and favourable hearers.' And it is common in Shaks., as *Henry V.* IV. i. 212, 'You may as well go about to turn the sun to ice with fanning in his face with a peacock's feather.'

2. *Go abroad:* There are two meanings: (1) 'Go from home,' 'go out of doors'; Dt 23^{10} 'then shall he go abroad out of the camp' (וְיָצָא אֶל־מִחוּץ לַמַּחֲנֶה). So Shaks. *II Henry IV.* I. ii. 107, 'I am glad to see your lordship abroad; I heard say, your lordship was sick; I hope, your lordship goes abroad by advice.' (2) 'Go hither and thither'; Ps 77^{17} 'Thine arrows also went abroad' (יִתְהַלָּכוּ 'went hither and thither'—Del., Cheyne; God's arrows being the flashes of lightning); Mt 9^{26}, Jn 21^{23} (ἐξέρχομαι); Lk 5^{15} 'But so much the more went there a fame abroad of him' (διήρχετο). T. Lever (*Sermons*, Arber's ed. p. 29) uses the phrase more boldly, suppressing the verb 'go': 'loke at the merchauntes of London, and ye shall se . . . their riches muste abrode in the countrey to bie fermes out of the handes of worshypfull gentlemen, honeste yeomen, and pore laborynge husbandes.'

3. *Go after:* (1) 'Walk behind'; Jos 3^{3} 'When ye see the ark of the covenant of the LORD your God, and the priests the Levites bearing it, then ye shall remove from your place, and go after it' (וַהֲלַכְתֶּם אַחֲרָיו). (2) 'Follow'; 2 S 20^{11} 'He that favoureth Joab, and he that is for David, let him go after Joab' (אַחֲרֵי, no verb in Heb., RV 'let him follow'). In NT with Gr. ἀπέρχομαι ὀπίσω Mk 1^{20}, Jn 12^{19}, Jude ^{7}; without ὀπίσω Lk 17^{23}, and with πορεύομαι ὀπίσω Lk 21^{8}. But especially to follow so as to become a votary of, sometimes of J" in OT (Jer 2^{2}), but most frequently of 'other gods,' the Heb. phrase being הָלַךְ אַחֲרֵי (Dt 6^{14} 11^{28} 13^{2} 28^{14}—the Heb. phrase occurs also 4^{3} EV 'follow,' 8^{19} EV 'walk after'—Jer 2^{23} 11^{10} 25^{6} 35^{15}). The same Heb. is used of following 'strangers' (Jer 2^{25}), 'lovers' (Hos 2^{13}), and the 'strange woman' (Pr 7^{22}); and it has a fig. use in Ezk 33^{31} 'their heart goeth after their covetousness' (RV 'their gain'). In 1 K 11^{6} the same idea is otherwise expressed, 'Solomon . . . went not fully after the LORD' (לֹא מִלֵּא אַחֲרֵי). (3) 'Pursue'; Jos 8^{17} 'And there was not a man left in Ai or Bethel, that went not out after Israel' (יָצָא אַחֲרֵי), Ezk 9^{5} 'Go ye after him through the city, and smite' (עִבְרוּ אַחֲרָיו). (4) 'Seek'; Lk 15^{4} 'go after that which is lost' (πορεύεται ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπολωλός).

4. *Go again:* always='go back' (see AGAIN), as 1 S 25^{12} 'So David's young men turned their way, and went again, and came and told him all those sayings' (וַיָּשֻׁבוּ, RV 'and went back'); 2 K 4^{31} 'Wherefore he went again to meet him' (וַיָּשָׁב, RV 'he returned'). The Heb. is always שׁוּב 'turn,' the Gr. ἐπιστρέφω (Ac 15^{36}).

5. *Go along:* The expression occurs Nu 21^{22}, Dt 2^{27}, Jos 17^{7}, Jg 11^{18}, 1 S 6^{12}, 2 S 3^{16} 16^{13}, Jer 41^{6}, and always stands for the simple verb הָלַךְ to 'go.' In Jos 17^{7} it is the 'border' that is said to 'go along,' a Heb. idiom taken bodily into the Eng.; it is more frequent as 'go out,' see below.

6. *Go aside:* 'to go to one side.' (1) Literally, Heb. סוּר (Jer 15^{5} 'Who shall go aside to ask how thou doest?' RV 'turn aside'); Gr. ἀναχωρέω (Ac 23^{19} 26^{31}), ὑποχωρέω (Lk 9^{10}), ἀπέρχομαι (Ac 4^{15}). (2) Metaphorically, 'to go wrong,' Heb. שָׂטָה *sâṭâh* (Nu $5^{12.\,19.\,20.\,29}$), סוּר (Dt 28^{14}, Ps 14^{3} 'They are all gone aside, they are altogether become filthy'). The same idea is expressed by the verb alone in

Article IX (*XXXIX Articles*, 1571), 'man is very farre gone from originall righteousnes.'

7. *Go astray:* both literally and figuratively, but always the tr^{n} of a simple verb, mostly תָּעָה 'to err' (Ex 23^{4}, Ps 58^{3} 119^{176}, Pr 7^{25}, Is 53^{6}, Jer 50^{6} [Hiph. 'cause to go astray'], Ezk 14^{11} $44^{10\,bis.\,15}$ $48^{11\,ter}$); also נִדַּח (Dt 22^{1} 'Thou shalt not see thy brother's ox or his sheep go astray, and hide thyself from them,' נִדָּחִים 'driven away,' *i.e.* parted forcibly from the herd through some mishap—Driver); שָׁגַג (Ps 119^{67} 'Before I was afflicted I went astray'); שָׁגָה (Pr 5^{23} and [Hiph.] 28^{10} 'cause to go astray'). In NT always πλανάομαι (Mt $18^{12.\,13}$, 1 P 2^{25}, 2 P 2^{15}).

In Gn 6^{3} RVm gives 'in their going astray they are flesh,' the text being 'for that he also is flesh.' The difficulty is with the word בְּשַׁגָּם [Baer בְּשַׁגַּם]. It has been taken as composed of בְּשֶׁ [=בַּאֲשֶׁר] and גַּם 'also.' So all the Versions, the Jewish interpreters, and most modern expositors. Thus LXX διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτοὺς σάρκας, Vulg. 'quia caro est,' Wyc. 'for flehs he is,' Luth. 'denn sie sind Fleisch,' Tind. 'for they are flesh,' Cov. 'for he is but flesh also' (the first version to recognize the גַּם), Gen. 'because he is but flesh,' Bish., Dou. 'because he is flesh,' Olt. 'car aussi ne sont-ils *que* chair,' Segond 'car l'homme n'est que chair.' But שֶׁ is nowhere else found for אֲשֶׁר in Gn, or even in the Pent., and the גַּם 'also' seems superfluous. Hence some modern scholars make the word an inf. of שָׁגַג, and translate somewhat as RVm. Dillmann and Kautzsch consider the word to be corrupt, and refuse to translate; Ball suggests בַּעֲוֺנָם (Lv 26^{39}), and translates 'owing to their guilt they are flesh.'

8. *Go a warfare:* 1 Co 9^{7} 'Who goeth a warfare any time at his own charges?' (τίς στρατεύεται, RV 'What soldier ever serveth at his own charges?'). Elsewhere the Gr. verb is tr^{d} 'war' (2 Co 10^{3}, 1 Ti 1^{18}, 2 Ti 2^{4}, Ja 4^{1}, 1 P 2^{11}), as 1 P 2^{11} 'abstain from fleshly lusts, which war against the soul'; except Lk 3^{14}, where the ptcp. (στρατευόμενοι) is tr^{d} 'soldiers.' For the Eng. phrase (which comes from Tind. 'Who goeth a warfare eny tyme at his awne cost?') cf. Tindale's *Prologe* to Leviticus, 'For the holy gost is no dome god nor no god that goeth a mumminge'; and Defoe, *Crusoe* (Gold. Treas. ed. p. 555), 'We then went to consulting together what was to be done.'

9. *Go away:* (1) 'Pass away,' 'perish,' Job 4^{21} 'Doth not their excellency which is in them go away?' (נִסַּע, RV 'Is not their tent-cord plucked up within them?' for the word tr^{d} 'excellency' means also a 'cord,' and the verb means first of all 'to pull up' a tent-peg or cord, though it thence is extended to the meaning 'break up an encampment,' 'go away.' Davidson translates the whole verse—'If their tent-cord is torn away in them, do they not die, and not in wisdom?' and remarks (*Expos.* III. iv. 279 f.), 'The striking of the tent is a graphic and not uncommon image for the removal which comes in death'); Jer 6^{4} 'Woe unto us! for the day goeth away, for the shadows of the evening are stretched out' (פָּנָה, RV 'declineth'). (2) 'Turn aside from,' 'desert,' Ezk 44^{10} 'And the Levites that are gone away far from me, when Israel went astray . . . they shall even bear their iniquity' (אֲשֶׁר רָחֲקוּ, RV 'that went far from me'); Mal 3^{7} 'Even from the days of your fathers ye are gone away from mine ordinances' (סַרְתֶּם, RV 'ye have turned aside'); Jn 6^{67} 'Then Jesus said unto the twelve, Will ye also go away?' (μὴ καὶ ὑμεῖς θέλετε ὑπάγειν), 12^{11} 'many of the Jews went away, and believed on Jesus' (ὑπῆγον). (3) 'Escape,' 1 S 24^{19} 'For if a man find his enemy, will he let him go well away' (וְשִׁלְּחוֹ בְּדֶרֶךְ טוֹבָה, lit. 'will he send him along a prosperous way?').

10. *Go a whoring:* This strong expression, which comes from Tindale (Wyc. has 'do fornicacioun'), is used to tr. the Heb. verb זָנָה *zânâh*, 'to commit fornication,' when followed by אַחֲרֵי 'after' (Ex $34^{15.\,16}$, Lv 17^{7} $20^{5.\,6}$, Nu 15^{39}, Dt 31^{16}, Jg 2^{17} $8^{27.\,33}$, 1 Ch 5^{25}, Ezk 6^{9} 23^{30}, and once in Ex 34^{16}, where the vb. is Hiphil, 'make thy sons go a whoring after their gods'); also when *zânâh* is followed by מִן 'from' (Ps 73^{27} 'Thou hast destroyed all them that go a whoring from thee'), בְּ 'with' (Ps 106^{39} 'went a whoring with their own inventions'), מִתַּחַת 'from under' (Hos 4^{12}), and מֵעַל 'from' (Hos 9^{1}). It is used once without a prep. following, 2 Ch 21^{13} 'And hast made Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem to go a whoring' (וַתַּזְנֶה). The Heb. phrase is always a figure of speech, and expresses 'the disloyal abandonment of J″ for other gods'—Driver. It suggests, adds Moore, both the sin of unfaithfulness and the sin of prostitution, the giving up of oneself, body and soul, to other gods. But whether it was a figure always, it is hard to say. In view of the fact that actual prostitution was not an uncommon feature in ancient Semitic cults, Driver thinks the original sense not improbably literal. It depends upon the date of the origin of the expression. Moore believes that it originated with Hosea, 'whose own bitter experience with his adulterous wife became for him the type of the relations of J″ and Israel.' Modern translators try to soften the expression: thus Cheyne in Ps 73^{27} 'every one that wantonly deserts thee.' RV retains, but Amer. RV prefers 'play the harlot.'

11. *Go back:* Besides the literal sense, notice (1) to 'depart from an engagement or course of action,' Jg 11^{35} 'I have opened my mouth unto the LORD, and I cannot go back' (וְלֹא אוּכַל לָשׁוּב); Ezk 24^{14} 'I will not go back, neither will I spare, neither will I repent' (לֹא־אֶפְרַע). (2) To 'decline to a worse way,' Jos 23^{12}, Job 23^{12}, Ps 53^{3} 80^{18}, Jn 6^{66}. Cf. Jer 44^{3} Cov. 'they wente backe to do sacrifice and worshipe unto straunge goddes.'

12. *Go beyond* is used in two senses: (1) to 'go outside of,' 'pass'; Nu 22^{18} 'I cannot go beyond the word of the LORD my God, to do less or more'; 24^{13} 'I cannot go beyond the commandment (RV 'word') of the LORD, to do either good or bad of mine own mind' (both לַעֲבֹר). Cf. Heywood, *Works*, i. 210, 'Shoomaker, you goe a little beyond your last.' (2) To 'overreach,' 1 Th 4^{6} 'That no man go beyond and defraud his brother' (τὸ μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν, RV 'transgress,' RVm 'overreach'). So *Life of T. Cromwell*, IV. v. 120, 'We must be wary, else he'll go beyond us'; and Shaks. *Henry VIII.* III. ii. 409—

> 'There was the weight that pull'd me down. O Cromwell,
> The king has gone beyond me.'

13. *Go for, i.e.* 'be accounted,' 1 S 17^{12} 'the man went among men for an old man in the days of Saul' (וְזָקֵן בָּא בַאֲנָשִׁים, RV 'was an old man in the days of Saul, stricken *in years* among men').

The AV tr^{n} is a bold and apparently an original attempt to render the Heb. literally. The nearest form in the previous versions is that of the Gen. Bible, 'this man was taken for an olde man in the days of Saul.' But the Heb. will not render so. The only literal rendering that the Heb. will stand is, 'and the man in the days of Saul was aged, entered in among men,'—which, as Driver says, affords no intelligible sense. Two suggestions have been made, the one to omit בא, when we get simply 'and the man in the days of Saul was aged among men'; the other, to change באנשים into בשנים, and translate 'and the man in the days of Saul entered into years.' The objection to the second is that the phrase elsewhere is always זקן בא בימים, and Driver, on the whole, prefers the first. (See *Heb. Text of Samuel*, p. 108 f.; and a severe criticism by Jennings and Lowe of the RV tr^{n}, which they consider to be impossible as a rendering of the Massoretic text, in *Expos.* III. ii. 63).

The AV tr^{n}, though impossible as a rendering of the Heb., is good idiomatic English. Thus Sidney, *Arcadia*, p. 10, 'But because a pleasant fellow of my acquaintance set forth her praises in verse, I will only repeat them, and spare mine owne tongue, since she goes for a woman'; and Shaks. *Macbeth*, III. i. 92—

> 'We are men, my liege.
> Ay, in the catalogue ye go for men.'

14. *Go forth:* Among other expressions (see FORTH) notice especially 'motion away from a given spot,' in Lk 8^{14} 'And that which fell among thorns are they, which, when they have heard, go forth' (*πορευόμενοι*, RV 'as they go on their way'). Cf. Lk 5^{8} Rhem. 'Which when Simon Peter did see, he fel downe at Jesus knees, saying, Goe forth from me, because I am a sinful man, O Lord.'

15. *Go forward*—see under FORWARD.

16. *Go hard*='go close,' Jg 9^{52}, see HARD.

17. *Go in and out:* This phrase is found in Ac 1^{21} 'all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us' (*εἰσῆλθεν καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς*), and the meaning may be no more than 'passed his time,' though the *ἐφ'* seems to imply leadership, whence RVm 'over us.' In 9^{28} occurs the fuller phrase 'coming in and going out,' 'And he [Saul] was with them coming in and going out at Jerusalem' (*εἰσπορευόμενος καὶ ἐκπορευόμενος*, RV 'going in and going out'), where, again, some more definite activity is meant than merely 'spending his time,' probably something like what is now called 'aggressive work.' In OT this fuller phrase occurs repeatedly (Nu 27$^{17.\,21}$, Dt 28$^{6.\,19}$ 31^{2} 33^{18}, Jos 14^{11}, 1 S 18$^{13.\,16}$ 29^{6}, 2 S 3^{25}, 1 K 3^{7}, 2 K 11^{8} 19^{27}, 1 Ch 27^{1}, 2 Ch 1^{10} 15^{5} 16^{1} 23$^{7.\,8}$, Ps 121^{8}, Is 37^{28}, Jer 37^{4}, Zec 8^{10}). While always recognized as an idiomatic expression for a man's *active* life, it is sometimes clearly used in a more technical sense than that. When Moses says (Dt 31^{2}), 'I am an hundred and twenty years old this day; I can no more go out and come in,' he intimates his failing fitness to be Israel's leader. More distinctly Joshua states (Jos 14^{11}) that in his 85th year he is still fit to be their leader in war: 'As yet I am as strong this day as I was in the day that Moses sent me: as my strength was then, even so is my strength now, for war, both to go out and to come in.' Of David it is said (1 S 18^{13}), 'Saul removed him from him, and made him his captain over a thousand; and he went out and came in before the people,' where the reference must be to military expeditions. Solomon says (1 K 3^{7}), 'I am but a little child; I know not how to go out or come in,' and declares his unfitness to be *king*. See *go out* below. The phrase 'go in and out' occurs in Ex 32^{27} in the sense of 'go to and fro' (as RV); and in Jn 10^{9} 'by me, if any man enter in, he shall be saved, and shall go in and out, and find pasture' (*εἰσελεύσεται καὶ ἐξελεύσεται*, RV 'shall go in and go out') as in Ac 1^{21}, but figuratively to express the liberty of the sons of God.

18. *Go on:* (1) Continue a course begun, proceed, as in Shaks. *Othello*, III. iii. 413—

> 'I do not like the office;
> But, sith I am entered in this cause so far,
> Prick'd to 't by foolish honesty and love,
> I will go on.'

Generally of a journey, Gn 29^{1} 'Then Jacob went on his journey' (וַיִּשָּׂא רַגְלָיו, lit. 'lifted up his feet,' as AVm, RVm); so Ac 10^{9} 'as they went on their journey' (*ὁδοπορούντων ἐκείνων*, RV 'as they were on their journey'); Mt 4^{21} 'And going on from thence, he saw other two brethren' (*προβὰς ἐκεῖθεν*, lit. 'going forward thence'). In 1 S 10^{3} the simple verb הָלַךְ 'to pass on,' is tr^{d} 'go on forward.' In Gn 19^{2} 32^{1}, 1 S 26^{25} 28^{22} we find the fuller expression 'go on one's way.' See *Go one's way* below. Sometimes the meaning is simply 'continue,' 'persist,' as 1 S 14^{19} 'the noise that was in the host of the Philistines went on and increased' (וַיֵּלֶךְ הָלוֹךְ וָרָב, LXX *ἐπορεύετο πορευόμενος καὶ ἐπλήθυνεν*); Ps 68^{21} 'such an one as goeth on still in his trespasses' (מִתְהַלֵּךְ בְּ). In Ezr 5^{8} it is to 'advance,' 'make progress,' 'this work goeth fast on and prospereth'; and in He 6^{1} the phrase is fig. 'let us go on unto perfection' (*φερώμεθα*, RV 'press on'). (2) To go to meet an enemy, generally 'go out,' Job 39^{21} 'he goeth on to meet the armed men' (RV 'he goeth out'). (3) To go forward, towards the front, said of the 'border' of a territory, Nu 34$^{4.\,9}$. See *Go out*, below.

19. *Go out:* Besides its uses in modern English, this phrase has some peculiarly biblical senses, which are for the most part due to the freedom with which the verb יָצָא is employed in Hebrew. (1) To go from home: Ru 1^{21} 'I went out full, and the Lord hath brought me home again empty'; so Adonijah is threatened by Solomon, 'on the day thou goest out, and passest over the brook Kidron, thou shalt know for certain that thou shalt surely die'; and of Abraham it is said in He 11^{8} 'when he was called to go out . . . he went out' (*ἐξελθεῖν . . . ἐξῆλθεν*); while it is one of the rewards of the Christian victor that he will be at home in the Church of which he is made a pillar, and 'shall go no more out' (Rev 3^{12} *ἔξω οὐ μὴ ἐξέλθῃ ἔτι*, RV 'he shall go out thence no more'). In 2 Ch 18^{21} 'I will go out and be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. And the Lord said . . . go out, and do even so' (in 1 K 22^{22} 'go forth,' as RV here), the reference is the same as in Job 1^{12} 2^{7} 'So Satan went forth from the presence of the LORD.' Less definitely, Gn 41^{45} 'And Joseph went out over all the land of Egypt'; 2 Ch 19^{4} 'Jehoshaphat . . . went out again through the people from Beersheba to Mount Ephraim' (a formula during the separation of the kingdoms for the old 'from Dan to Beersheba'); and Ps 81^{5} 'This he ordained in Joseph for a testimony when he went through the land of Egypt' (בְּצֵאתוֹ עַל־אֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם, RV 'when he went out over the land of Egypt,' the ref. being apparently, as in AV, to Joseph's administration (Gn 41^{45}), which is surprising, seeing that modern English commentators almost unanimously find the ref. to be to God).

The passage is difficult; there are three ways of taking it: (*a*) The ancient VSS tr. 'when he (Israel) went out from the land of Egypt,' as LXX *ἐν τῷ ἐξελθεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου*; Vulg. 'cum exiret de Terra-Ægypti,' after which Wyc. 1388, 'whanne he gede out of the lond of Egipt,' and Dou. 'when he came out of the Land of Aegypt' (with the marg. 'The people of Israel signified by Joseph, as Ps 80^{1}'); and so all the Eng. VSS before AV. But the tr^{n} is quite impossible, the עַל never meaning *ἐκ* 'out of,' or anything approaching that. (*b*) 'When he (Joseph, in person) went out over the land of Egypt,' a direct ref. to Gn 41^{45}, which gives no appropriate sense. (*c*) 'When He (J″) went forth against the land of Egypt,' a reference to the death of the firstborn, and especially to Ex 11^{4} 'I will go forth through the midst of Egypt.' So Del., Perowne, Burgess, de Witt, Kirkpatrick, and nearly all recent commentators. Kay thinks that, while the ref. is to God, the special language recalls Gn 41^{45}: as Joseph once went out over the land of Egypt to benefit them, so now, since they have forgotten their benefactor, Joseph's God will go out over the land in righteous judgment. Cheyne believes the present Heb. text to be corrupt, and that the VSS exhibit the true text; he therefore would render, as (*a*), 'when he (Israel and Joseph) went forth from the land of Egypt.' So Wellh. (in Haupt) who reads מֵעַל for עַל (but is מֵעַל ever used simply of *leaving*?).

(2) To spread abroad: 1 Ch 14^{17} 'And the fame of David went out into all lands'; Est 9^{4} 'For Mordecai was great in the king's house, and his fame went out throughout all the provinces' (הוֹלֵךְ, RV 'went forth'). (3) In reference to war, the phrase assumes a highly technical sense, so much so that 'to go out' standing alone may be understood to mean 'to go out to make war.' Take the foll. passages in order: Nu 22^{32} (the Angel of the LORD to Balaam) 'behold, I went out to withstand thee'; Dt 28^{25} 'thou shalt go out one way against them, and flee seven ways before them'; Jg 2^{15} 'Whithersoever they went out, the hand of the LORD was against them for evil'; Jg 5^{4} 'LORD, when thou wentest out of Seir, when thou marchedst out of the field of Edom, the earth trembled' (see Moore, who holds the ref. to be to the battle just fought); 20^{1} 'Then all the children of Israel went out'; 1 S 8^{20} 'Nay, but we will have a king over us . . . that our king may judge us,

and go out before us, and fight our battles'; 18^{5} 'And David went out whithersoever Saul sent him'; (RVm 'went out; whithersoever Saul sent him, he behaved himself wisely'); 1 K 2^{46} 'So the king commanded Benaiah the son of Jehoiada; which went out and fell upon him [Shimei], that he died'; 1 Ch 20^{1} 'at the time that kings go out' (both VSS add 'to battle' in italics); Is 52^{12} 'For ye shall not go out with haste, nor go by flight'; and Am 5^{3} 'The city that went out by a thousand shall leave an hundred.' (4) Another half-technical sense, which is in danger of being confused with the last, is found when 'go out' means 'go out of bondage,' mostly in reference to the exodus from Egypt or to the jubilee release. The chief references to the exodus are Ex 12^{41} 14^{8}, Nu 33^{3}, Ps 114^{1}; to the jubilee release, Ex $21^{3\,bis.\,7}$, Lv $25^{28.\,30.\,31.\,33.\,54}$ 27^{21}, the fuller expression 'go out free' occurring Ex $21^{2.\,5.\,11}$; 2 K 13^{5} refers to the deliverance from the Syrian oppression; and Is 55^{12} to the return from the Babylonian Captivity, with no doubt a fuller entrance into Messianic blessing. (5) By a peculiar Heb. idiom the 'border' or 'coast' of a territory is said to 'go out,' that is, 'proceed onward' to such a place. So frequently in Jos 15. 16 and elsewhere, the verb יָצָא being generally rendered 'go out' and עָלָה 'go up.' But notice especially the subst. תּוֹצָאָה denoting the end or extremity of a boundary line, generally used in the plu. and tr^d 'goings out,' but 'outgoings' in Jos $17^{9.\,18}$ 18^{19} $19^{14.\,22.\,29.\,33}$, which RV turns into 'goings out.' (6) *Go out* means 'proceed from' in Lv 10^{2} 'And there went out a fire from the LORD'; Jer 21^{12} 'lest my fury go out like fire' (פֶּן־תֵּצֵא); Mk 5^{30}=Lk 8^{46} 'And Jesus, immediately knowing in himself that virtue had gone out of him' (*τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ δύναμιν ἐξελθοῦσαν*); Lk 6^{19} 'there went virtue out of him and healed them all' (*παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐξήρχετο*, RV 'came forth from him'); 2^{1} 'And it came to pass in those days, that there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus' (*ἐξῆλθεν*). Cf. Jer 44^{17} Cov. 'what so ever goeth out of oure owne mouth, that will we do.' (7) 'Go out' implies religious separation in Is 52^{11}, Jer 51^{45}, 1 Jn 2^{19}. (8) 'Go out of the way' in Ro 3^{12} means to 'go astray' (*πάντες ἐξέκλιναν*, RV 'They have all turned aside'). See *go the way*, below.

20. *Go to:* This obsolete expression, which is found 11 times in AV, seems to have been introduced by Tindale, who uses it in other places, as Dt 2^{24} 'Goo to and conquere and provoke him to batayle'; 2^{31} 'goo to and conquere, that thou mayest possesse his londe.' Abbott (*Shakespearian Grammar*, p. 122) says that the 'to' has an adverbial force, as in 'to and fro'; and as 'go' in Elizabethan English meant motion generally, not necessarily motion *from*, 'go to' meant little more than our stimulative 'come.' This is practically how Johnson explains the phrase—'Come, come, take the right course,' spoken sometimes sarcastically, sometimes encouragingly. In Shakespeare it is always an exclamation, expressing either scorn, as *Winter's Tale*, I. ii. 182—

> 'Go to, go to! How she holds up the neb, the bill to him!';

or disapproval, as *Macbeth*, V. i. 51—'Go to, go to: you have known what you should not'; or merely dismissal, as *Merry Wives*, I. iv. 165—'But, indeed, she is given too much to allicholly and musing. But for you—well, go to'; or even encouragement, *Merry Wives*, II. i. 7—'You are not young, no more am I: go to then, there's sympathy'; always, however, mixed with impatience. But if 'go to' is a mere exclamation in Shaks. and Elizabethan English generally, it is often more than that in AV, for it must not be forgotten that AV represents a much earlier stage of English than its date of 1611. There it is (except perhaps in Ja) a verb in the imperative, and expresses lively encouragement. This is clearly seen in 2 K 5^{5} 'And the king of Syria said, Go to, go, and I will send a letter unto the king of Israel.' Its occurrences are Gn $11^{3.\,4.\,7}$ (הָבָה voluntative, fr. יָהַב to grant), 38^{16} 'go to, I pray thee' (הָבָה־נָּא; the only remaining example of הָבָה, Ex 1^{10}, was tr^d by Tindale 'Come on,' and this was retained in subsequent versions); Jg 7^{3} 'go to, proclaim' (קְרָא נָא 'cry now!'); 2 K 5^{5} 'go to, go' (לֵךְ בֹּא, lit. 'go, go in,' perhaps as Ball, 'depart thou [thither], enter [the land of Israel]'; LXX *Δεῦρο εἴσελθε*); Ec 2^{1} 'go to now' (לְכָה־נָּא); Is 5^{5} 'And now, go to; I will tell you' (וְעַתָּה אוֹדִיעָה־נָּא אֶתְכֶם); Jer 18^{11} 'go to, speak' (אֱמָר־נָא); Ja 4^{13} 5^{1} 'Go to now' (*Ἄγε νῦν*). Tindale in his exposition of Mt $5^{15\text{-}20}$ (*Expos.* p. 124) has 'go to and prove it'; and (p. 128) 'Go to, and judge their works'; and in the *Prologe* to the Pent. he says, 'Then go to and reade the storyes of the byble for thy lerning and comforte,' where the verbal force of the expression is always manifest. But he even uses 'went to' in Nu 11^{4} 'And the children of Ysrael also went to and wepte and sayde: who shall geve us flesh to eate?'

21. *Go one's way:* This full phrase sometimes represents an equally full expression in the original: thus, Gn 32^{1} 'And Jacob went on his way,' Heb. הָלַךְ לְדַרְכּוֹ, so 19^{2}, Nu 24^{25}, Jos 2^{16}, Jg 18^{26}, 1 S 1^{18} 26^{25} 28^{22}, Jer 28^{11}. But generally (always in NT) it is the rendering of a common verb with no adjunct. The verbs are אָזַל (Pr 20^{14}); נָסַע (Zec 10^{2}); הָלַךְ (Gn 12^{19} 14^{11} 18^{33} 24^{61} 25^{34}, Ex 18^{27}, Jg $19^{5.\,14}$, Neh 8^{10}, Ec 9^{7}, Dn $12^{9.\,13}$); *βαδίζω* (Bar 4^{19}); *πορεύομαι* (Lk 4^{30} 7^{22} 17^{19}, Jn 4^{50}, Ac 9^{15} 21^{5} 24^{25}); *ὑπάγω* (Mt 5^{24} $8^{4.\,13}$ 20^{14} 27^{65}, Mk 1^{44} 2^{11} 7^{29} $10^{21.\,52}$ 11^{2} 16^{7}, Lk 10^{3}, Jn 8^{21} 16^{5} 18^{8}, Rev 16^{1}); and *ἀπέρχομαι* (Mt 8^{33} 13^{25} 20^{4} $22^{5.\,22}$, Mk 11^{4} 12^{12}, Lk 8^{39} 19^{32} 22^{4}, Jn 4^{28} $11^{28.\,46}$, Ac 9^{17}, Ja 1^{24}). Sometimes what appears to be the plu., but may be an old genitive, is used, 'go your ways.' The phrase is good idiomatic Eng., and is still used in Scotland and the north of England, but often it is too cumbrous, sometimes singularly so, as in Ja 1^{24} *κατενόησεν καὶ ἀπελήλυθεν*, which Mayor translates 'just a glance and he is off' (RV 'goeth away'). AV has a few times rejected it when found in earlier versions, as Mk 1^{20} Tind. 'And they leeft their father Zebede in the shippe with his hyred servauntes, and went their waye after him'; Lk 8^{14} Rhem. 'And that which fel into thornes, are they that have heard, and going their waies, are choked with cares.' Shaks. has it often, as *Hamlet*, III. i. 132—'We are arrant knaves all; believe none of us. Go thy ways to a nunnery.'

22. *Go the way:* This phrase, which has no connexion with the preceding, is used both literally and figuratively. (1) Ru 1^{7} 'and they went on the way to return unto the land of Judah (וַתֵּלַכְנָה בַדֶּרֶךְ); 2 K 25^{4} 'and the king went the way toward the plain' (וַיֵּלֶךְ דֶּרֶךְ הָעֲרָבָה, RV 'went by the way of the Arabah'), so Jer 39^{4}; Jer 31^{21} 'set thine heart toward the highway, even the way which thou wentest' (דֶּרֶךְ הָלָכְתִּי). (2) Jos 23^{14} 'And behold, this day I am going the way of all the earth' (אָנֹכִי הוֹלֵךְ הַיּוֹם בְּדֶרֶךְ כָּל־הָאָרֶץ); so 1 K 2^{2}; Job 16^{22} 'when a few years are come, then I shall go the way whence I shall not return' (וְאֹרַח לֹא־אָשׁוּב אֶהֱלֹךְ).

J. HASTINGS.

GOAD.—1. דָּרְבָן (ב without *daghesh*, cf. קָרְבָּן (once) and אָכְרַן; see Driver, *Text of Sam.* p. 80, and references there) occurs in a corrupt passage, 1 S 13^{21} 'to set the goads.' A fem. form in plur. absolute is found in Ec 12^{11}, where we read that the words of the wise are as goads (כַּדָּרְבֹנוֹת). **2.** מַלְמָד (Siegfried-Stade; Moore thinks מַלְמֵד probably the absolute form) only in Jg 3^{31}, where Shamgar is said to have killed 600 Philistines with an ox-goad (בְּמַלְמַד הַבָּקָר). The goad was a pole of some 8 ft. in length, 'armed at one end with a spike, at the other with a chisel-shaped blade for cleaning the plough, and on occasion would make a very good substitute for a spear' (Moore, *Judges*, 105). See further AGRICULTURE in vol. i. p. 49a, where the ox-goad is figured, and Schumacher, 'Der arab. Pflug,' in *ZDPV* xii. 160 f.

In Apocr. 'goad' occurs in Sir 38[25] 'How shall he become wise that holdeth the plough, that glorieth in the shaft of the goad (κέντρον)?' In NT 'goad' (RVm 'goads') is substituted by RV for 'pricks' of AV in Ac 26[14] 'It is hard for thee to kick against the goad' (πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν; in Ac 9[5] these words do not belong to the true text). The same figure is employed by Greek and Latin writers (*e.g.* Pindar, *Pyth.* ii. 173; Aesch. *Agam.* 1633, *Prometh.* 323; Eurip. *Bacch.* 791; Terence, *Phorm.* I. ii. 28). J. A. SELBIE.

GOAH (גֹּעָה).—An unknown locality near Jerusalem (Jer 31[39]). LXX gives, instead of a proper name, ἐξ ἐκλεκτῶν λίθων.

GOAT.—Of the six Heb. words used for the tame goat, one signifies the *g. generically*, and, where the context indicates it, the *she goat*. One is used in the masc. and fem. forms to indicate the *he g.* and *she g.* respectively. Three are used for the *he g.* only. One is used in AV for the *scapegoat*, which was prob. no goat at all, and is therefore transliterated in RV *'azâzêl*. Beside these there is one word which undoubtedly signifies the *wild g.*, and another which prob. refers to the same.

1. עֵז *'êz*, αἴξ, ἔριφος, *capra*, *hœdus*, Arab. *ma'z*, fem. *'unz*. The plu. עִזִּים *'izzîm* signifies the g. generically (Ex 12[5] etc.). In this sense שֵׂה עִזִּים (Dt 14[4]) signifies a *head* or *individual* of the goats, גְּדִי עִזִּים (Jg 6[19]) a *kid* of the goats. It is also used for *she goats*, the context showing the meaning (Gn 30[35] 31[38] 32[14] etc.). It is also used elliptically for *goat's hair* (Ex 26[7] etc.). In the sing. (Lv 17[3]) it sometimes signifies an *individual g.*, without reference to sex; at others, where the context points out the meaning, a *she g.* (Gn 15[9]). The Aram. plu. עִזִּין (Ezr 6[17]) also refers to *goats generically*, and the construct state צְפִירֵי עִזִּין signifies 'he goats of the goats' (cf. Dn 8[5. 8]).

2. שָׂעִיר *sâ'îr*, χίμαρος, *hircus*. This word occurs freq. in Lv and Nu as the designation of the g. of the sin-offering. In its masc. form in construct state with עִזִּים it signifies the *he g.* (Lv 4[23]), and in its fem. שְׂעִירָה *sĕ'îrâh*, χίμαιρα, in construction with עִזִּים, the *she g.* (Lv 4[28]). The compound expression is in AV rendered 'a kid of the goats,' in RV better, simply 'goat.' *Sâ'îr* comes from the root שָׂעַר *sa'ar=shag* or *rough hair* (cf. Arab. *sha'r*). In this sense it is used with צָפִיר, one of the words for *he g.*, to indicate his *shagginess*, Dn 8[21] (AV 'rough g.,' RV 'rough he g.,' lit. 'the *he g.* the *shaggy*').

3. עַתּוּד *'attûd*, used only in plu. עַתּוּדִים *'attûdîm* (the same as the Arab. *'atûd*, plu. *a'tidah*), τράγοι, κριοί, χίμαροι, *hirci*. It is tr[d] in LXX of Ps 50[9] χιμάρους (AV and RV 'he goats,'), and v.[13] τράγων (AV and RV 'goats'). It is rendered (Gn 31[10. 12]) AV 'rams,' AVm and RV 'he goats,' LXX οἱ τράγοι καὶ οἱ κριοί, as if the translator were uncertain which was intended, or meant to indicate that both were included, or else read from a different text. '*He goats* (*'attûdîm*, LXX δράκοντες) before the flocks' (Jer 50[8]) signifies *leaders*. 'Chief ones (*'attûdîm*, LXX ἄρξαντες) of the earth' (Is 14[9]) is a metaphorical rendering of *he goats*, AVm 'leaders' or 'great goats,' RVm *he goats*. 'Punished the goats' (RV 'he goats'), LXX ἀμνούς (Zec 10[3]) refers to *chiefs*.

4. צָפִיר *ẓâphîr*, τράγος, *hircus*; צְפִיר הָעִזִּים *ẓĕphîr ha'izzim*, τράγος αἰγῶν (Dn 8[5. 8]); צְפִירִים *ẓĕphîrîm*, χιμάρους (2 Ch 29[21], Ezr 8[35]). Aram. צְפִירֵי עִזִּין, χιμάρους αἰγῶν (Ezr 6[17]). This word (Aram. and late Heb.), from the root צָפַר *ẓâphar*, signifying *to leap*, refers to the *he goat* alone. It is combined with *sâ'îr*. See (2).

5. תַּיִשׁ *tayish*, τράγος, *aries*, *hircus*. The same as the Arab. *tais*, and means a *he goat* only (Pr 30[31]). Plu. תְּיָשִׁים *tĕyâshîm*, τράγοι (Gn 30[35] 32[14], 2 Ch 17[11], not in LXX).

6. עֲזָאזֵל *'azâzêl*, ἀποπομπαῖος, *caper emissarius*, AV *scapegoat*, RV *Azazel* (Lv 16[8. 10. 26]). See AZAZEL.

Goats have always been a large item in the wealth of the people of Bible lands. Laban had large flocks of goats (Gn 30[33. 35]). Jacob gave two hundred she goats and twenty he goats to Esau (Gn 32[14]). Nabal had a thousand goats (1 S 25[2]). Sheep and goats were kept together in flocks (Mt 25[32. 33]). Kids especially were used as food (Gn 27[9], Jg 6[19] 13[15], Lk 15[29]). The prohibition against 'seething a kid in his mother's milk' (Ex 23[19] 34[26], Dt 14[21]) may refer to the dish known to the Arabs as *leben immu*, *i.e.* 'his mother's milk.' It consists of meat, stewed in clabber, with onions, mint, and other condiments. It was probably not intended to prohibit this savoury dish altogether, but to prevent the unnaturalness of stewing a kid in its own mother's milk. (For other possible explanations see W. R. Smith, *RS* p. 204 n., and Driver on Dt 14[21]). A provision of a similar kind forbade the taking of a hen bird with her brood, or her eggs (Dt 22[6]). The Jews, however, interpret the passage as interdicting them from this mode of cooking flesh altogether. Goat's milk was nevertheless much used then as now (Pr 27[27]). Goats were readily convertible into money (Pr 27[26]). The 'bottles' in which wine was kept (Jos 9[4], Ps 119[83], Mk 2[22]) were made of g. skins. They were made by cutting off the head and legs, and drawing the carcase out by the neck, and then tying the neck, legs, and vent, and tanning the skin, with the hairy side out. Goat's hair was used in the construction of the Tabernacle (Ex 26[7] 35[26] 36[14]) and for other purposes (1 S 19[13]). Its usually black colour is alluded to (Ca 4[1] 6[5]). The intractable and mischievous nature of the goat is contrasted with the gentle and innocent disposition of the sheep (Mt 25[32. 33]). The goat is mentioned in Apocr. (Jth 2[17]).

The goats of Bible lands, *Capra mambrica*, L., have long pendent ears. These are alluded to by Am 3[12] 'as the shepherd taketh out of the mouth of the lion two legs, or a piece of an ear.' Some Syrian goats are white or mottled, but most of them are black. They are destructive to young trees, and are the principal impediment to the propagation of forests on the bare mountain tops, where they find their favourite pasture.

The he goat was used as a symbol of the Macedonian empire (Dn 8[5]). The stately gait of the he goat is alluded to (Pr 30[29-31]).

Two words are used for wild goats:—1. יְעֵלִים *ye'êlîm*. This word occurs in three passages, viz. 1 S 24[2], where LXX has for 'upon the rocks of the wild goats,' ἐπὶ πρόσωπον 'Εδδαιέμ, Ps 104[18], where it has ἐλάφοις, and Job 39[1], where for 'wild goats of the rocks' it has τραγελάφων πέτρας. This animal is without doubt the *ibex*. The root יָעַל *yâ'al*, *to climb*, corresponds well with its habits. Its Arab. name *wa'l* is evidently the same as the Hebrew. The animal is also called *beden* by the Arabs. Its scientific name is *Capra beden*, Wagn., or *C. Sinaitica*, Ehrh. It is found in the wilderness on both sides of the Dead Sea, and in Sinai and the Syrian Desert. There is an *'Ain el-wu'ul*, *fountain of the wild goats*, about six hours E. of Khareitun. The word *wa'l* is used in Pal. for the *roebuck*. The name *En-gedi* (Arab. *'Ain-Jidy*), *fountain of the kid*, was doubtless given with reference to this animal. It is about the size of the domestic goat. The horns are from 2½ to 3 ft. in length, curved almost to a semicircle, and reinforced by large rough rings on the front face. Its flesh is said to be excellent. It may have been the *venison* which Isaac asked Esau to bring him (Gn 27^{3}).

יַעֲלַת־חֵן the 'pleasant roe,' RV 'pleasant doe' (Pr 5^{19}), is the female ibex, but tr^{d} by LXX πῶλος, *a foal*, Vulg. *hinnulus*.

2. אַקּוֹ *'akḳô*. This animal is only once mentioned (Dt 14^{5}). Possibly ὄρυξ, in the LXX rendering of the passage, is the equivalent of *'akḳô*; but this is uncertain, as the LXX gives only five out of the seven animals mentioned in the Hebrew. Some suppose it to be the *roebuck*; but this animal is mentioned in the same list under the name *yaḥmûr*. Others suppose it to be the *paseng*, *Capra ægagrus*, Cuv., the wild original of the domestic goat. It is, however, most probably another name for the *yâ'êl*, or a kindred species.

For **Goat's Hair** see HAIR; and for **Scapegoat** see AZAZEL. G. E. POST.

GOB (גֹּב, גּוֹב).—A locality mentioned only in 2 S $21^{18.19}$, where David fought the second and third of the four battles with the Phil. that are there mentioned. Most copies of the LXX have Γέθ in the first instance (with which agree the Syr. and a few Heb. copies), and Ῥόμ in the second; while some Hebrew copies have Nob. The parallel passage (1 Ch 20^{4-8}) locates the first of these two battles at Gezer (cf. Jos 10^{33}), and omits to mention the place of the second. Certainly they were not at Nob, but in the land of the Philistines. Wellhausen, followed by Driver and Budde, finds Gob also in 2 S 21^{16}, where he would read וַיֵּשְׁבוּ בְּגֹב, 'and they dwelt in Gob,' instead of וְיִשְׁבּוֹ בְּנֹב, 'and Ishbi-benob.' (See Wellhausen's or Driver's *Sam.*, *ad loc.*, and Budde's note in Haupt's *OT*). W. J. BEECHER.

GOBLET is found only in Ca 7^{2} 'Thy navel is [like] a round goblet.' The Heb. term is אַגָּן (prob. from a root signifying 'circular,' 'round'). It is used in plur. (אַגָּנוֹת) in Ex 24^{6} of the 'basins' (Socin, *Opferbecken*) in which Moses collected half of the sacrificial blood. In Is 22^{24} (the only other occurrence of the Heb. word) כְּלֵי הָאַגָּנוֹת is tr^{d} both in AV and RV 'vessels of cups,' where 'basin-vessels' (Guthe, *Beckengeschirr*) or 'bowl-shaped vessels' (Cheyne) would be a more accurate rendering. For the Eng. word cf. 'Annotations to Lk 22' in Rhem. NT, 'The new Testament is begonne and dedicated in his bloud in the Chalice, no lesse than the old was dedicated, begonne, and ratified in that bloud of calves contained in the goblet of Moyses.' J. A. SELBIE.

GOD (IN OT).—

- i. Existence of God.
- ii. Anthropomorphisms.
- iii. Names of God.
  - (1) Names expressing the general notion of Deity, *e.g.* El, Elohim.
  - (2) Descriptive Titles, *e.g.* El Shaddai, El Elyon.
  - (3) Personal name of the God of Israel, Jehovah (*Yahweh*).
- iv. Idea of God in various periods.
  - (1) Pre-Mosaic period.
  - (2) From the Exodus to the revolution of Jehu.
  - (3) Prophetic period.
  - (4) From the destruction of the State onwards.

i. EXISTENCE OF GOD.—The OT belonging to the historical period, many questions now discussed in the history of religion lie behind it. It never occurred to any writer of the OT to prove or argue the existence of God. To do so might well have seemed a superfluity, for all prophets and writers move among ideas that presuppose God's existence. Prophecy itself is the direct product of His influence. The people of Israel in their relations and character are His creation. It is not according to the spirit of the ancient world in general to deny the existence of God, or to use arguments to prove it. The belief was one natural to the human mind and common to all men. Scripture does indeed speak of those who say in their heart there is no God (Ps 14^{1} 53^{1}); but these are the fools, that is, the practically ungodly, and their denial is not a theoretical or speculative one, but merely what may be held to be the expression of their manner of life. Even the phrase 'there is no God' hardly means that God is not, but that He is not present, does not interfere in life; and, counting on this absence of God from the world and on impunity, men become corrupt and do abominable deeds (Ps 14, Job $22^{12ff.}$), and for their wickedness they shall be turned into Sheol, the region of separation from God, together with all the nations that forget God (Ps 9^{17}). Yet even this forgetfulness of God by the nations is something temporary. It is a *forgetting* only, no obliteration of the knowledge of God from the human mind, and these nations shall yet remember and turn unto the Lord (Ps 22^{27}).

Again, as Scripture nowhere contemplates men as ignorant of the existence of God, it nowhere depicts the rise or dawn of the idea of His existence in men's minds. In the historical period the idea of God's existence is one of the primary thoughts of man; he comes possessed of this thought to face and observe the world, and his conception of God already possessed explains the world to him; the world does not suggest to him an idea hitherto strange, that of God's existence. And, of course, the bare idea of God's existence is not the primary thought which Scripture supposes all men to possess; this abstract conception has gathered body about it, namely, a certain circle of ideas as to what God is. And with these ideas the Hebrew took up his position over-against the world. To him God and the world were always distinct. God was not involved in the processes of nature. These processes were caused by God, but He was distinct from them. The Hebrew, however, came down from his thought of God upon the world, he did not rise from the world up to his thought of God. His thought of God explained to him the world, both its existence and the course of events upon it; these did not suggest to him either the existence or the nature of God, these being unknown to him. His contemplation of nature and providence and the life of man was never of the nature of a search after God whom he did not know, but always of the nature of a recognition of God whom he knew. When the singer in Ps 19 says 'the heavens declare the glory of God,' his meaning is that the glory of God, who is and is known and is Creator, may be seen reflected on the heavens. But the psalmist only saw repeated on the heavens what he already carried in his heart. And when in Is $40^{25ff.}$ J″ asks, 'To whom then will ye liken me? Lift up your eyes on high and behold: Who hath created these things? bringing out their hosts by number'—it is assumed as known that J″ is Creator, and that His omnipotence is revealed in the nightly parade of His hosts on the sky, not one failing to answer the roll call, and the inference is that, with this God for their God, Israel cannot despond or be faint-hearted—'Why sayest thou, O Jacob, My way is hid from the Lord? An everlasting God is J″, creator of the ends of the earth; He fainteth not, neither is weary. He giveth power to the faint.' The passage teaches nothing new or unknown; it recalls what is known, reburnishing the consciousness of it, in order to sustain the faith and the hopes of the people. There is, however, in one or two passages an approximation to some of the arguments of Natural Theology. In Ps $94^{5ff.}$ it is said, probably of the excesses of the heathen rulers of Israel, 'They break in pieces thy people, O LORD. Yet they say, The LORD doth not see. Understand, ye brutish among the people: He that planted the ear, shall He not hear? He that formed the eye, shall He not see?'

The OT as little thinks of arguing or proving that God may be known as it thinks of arguing that He exists. Its position is here again, so to speak, far in front of such an argument. How should men think of arguing that God could be known when they were persuaded they knew Him, when they felt they were in fellowship with Him, when their whole mind was filled and aglow with the thought of Him, and when His Spirit was within them? The peculiarity, however, of the OT comes out when the question is raised, *How* is God known? And here the characteristic conception of the OT is that of Revelation—if men know God, it is because He has made Himself known to them. The idea of man reaching to knowledge or fellowship of God through his own efforts is foreign to the OT. God speaks, He appears: man listens and beholds. God brings Himself near to men, He enters into a covenant with them, He lays commands on them: they receive Him when He approaches, accept His will and obey His behests. Moses and the prophets are nowhere represented as thoughtful minds, reflecting on the Unseen and ascending to elevated conceptions of Godhead: the Unseen manifests itself to them, and they know it. God reveals Himself to the patriarchs in angelic forms, to Moses in the bush and on the mount, to the prophets in the spiritual intuitions of their own minds. The form of manifestation may change, but the reality remains the same. The conviction in the mind of the prophet, that God revealed Himself and His word to him when the truth broke upon his mind, was not less vivid than that of the patriarch who was visited by angelic messengers when sitting at the door of his tent, or that of Moses who saw the God of Israel in the mount. This view of God's self-manifestation, and that He takes the initiative, is the characteristic conception of the OT. The view may not be peculiar to Israel, for increasing knowledge of the Semitic peoples tends to show that on general questions about Deity, such as His relation to the world and to men's actions, they all thought very much alike; the supremacy of Israel lay, not in these points, but in the ethical nature which they ascribed to their God, and in the redemptive hopes for mankind and the world which flowed from this conception of His nature. Interesting psychological questions are raised by such visions as that of Moses at the bush (Ex 3), that of Jacob at Jabbok (Gn $32^{24ff.}$), and that of Isaiah in the temple (Is 6). Such questions may never be answered, but there are two points not to be lost sight of in estimating the OT conception of Revelation. *First*, though it is the OT manner throughout to signalize the divine operation alone, and to pass over in silence any preparation or co-operation in the mind of man, we are entitled and compelled to throw back into these ancient histories something of our knowledge of how men's minds operate now when God is moving them. Isaiah's vision was no doubt preceded by reflection on the nature of J" and on the state of the nation, and the inevitable issue forecast. And similar reflections must have occupied the mind of Moses, along with aspirations in regard to himself and his people. These revelations of God to men were never mere objective calls to take a certain place or do a certain duty, there was always a personal element in them, they were a crisis in the individual religious life. It was this new personal relation to God, which was as real in the case of Moses as in that of Isaiah, that was the source of the power which such men wielded over the masses of their fellow-men. More than one commentator has said that Isaiah, in offering a sign to Ahaz in the heavens above or the depth beneath (Is 7^{11}), was playing a dangerous game, and might have been left in the lurch. It is sufficient preliminary answer to say that Isaiah did not think so.[1] But it may be added that there was in Isaiah something of that same consciousness which expressed itself in Christ when He said, 'I know that thou hearest me always.' Therefore, *secondly*, the reality of the divine influence must be upheld also. The idea of Revelation cannot be regarded as a mere Hebrew conception which, translated into modern thought, means nothing but the natural operations of the mind in the sphere of religion. Such a view leaves unexplained the consciousness of the prophets, the contents of their prophecies, and the religious life which they manifested. But, of course, however much the OT reposes on the ground that all knowledge of God comes from His revealing Himself, and that there is such a revelation, it is far from implying that this revelation of God is a full display of Him as He really is. An exhaustive communication of God cannot be made, because the creature cannot take it in (Job $11^{7ff.}$). At the same time there is no trace in the OT of the idea that God as revealed to men is not God as He really is in Himself, or that His revelation of Himself is meant merely to be regulative of human life, while what He is in truth remains far away in a transcendental background out of which it is impossible for it to advance, or into which it is impossible for men to penetrate. The revelation God gives of Himself is a revelation of Himself as He is in truth, though it may be impossible to reveal Himself fully to men. The OT conception of God is that of a Person with ethical attributes; it nowhere speculates on His physical essence. God is nowhere called spirit in the OT; like men, He has a spirit; but spirit never denotes substance, but always connotes energy and power, especially life-giving power.

ii. ANTHROPOMORPHISMS. — From the earliest period when God is spoken of, He is regarded as a Person. The word J" is a personal name. From the Exodus downward He is so spoken of in contemporary literature: 'Sing unto the LORD, for he hath triumphed gloriously' (Ex 15^{21}); He is one whom men may 'love' (Jg 5^{31}); He is self-conscious, and swears 'by his holiness' (Am 4^{2}), that is, by His Godhead (Gn 22^{16}). The idea expressed by M. Arnold, that the conception of God in Israel was first that of some power external to themselves which they perceived in the world, a power making for a moral order or identical with it, and which they afterwards endowed with personality, inverts the OT representation, in which God is fully personal from the first, while His moral being becomes clearer and more elevated, or, at least, receives fuller expression. The question rather rises whether the very vividness with which God's personality was realized in Israel did not infringe upon other conceptions necessary to a true idea of God, such as His transcendence? Was He not conceived as a magnified human person subject to the limitations of personality among men? Now, of course, all OT statements about God are given in the region of practical religious life. A theology of the schools where the laws of exact thought prevail was unknown in the OT period. There may be observed, indeed, the beginnings of such a theology in the Alexandrian translation, and more clearly in the Aramaic versions and in Jewish writings of this age. These express themselves, in regard to God, in a form that seeks to be more severe and exact, using circumlocutions for the anthropomorphisms of the OT—a fact which indicates that these caused some offence. But in the OT such anthropomorphisms are freely used, as we use them still. And their use is usually justified by the statement that man was made in the image of God. It is possible that by some in Israel, just as by some among ourselves, His personality was so vividly realized as to obscure or repress some other conceptions of Him which also have their rights. But this can hardly be charged against the OT. When it speaks of the hand, arm, mouth, lips, and eyes of God; when He makes bare His holy arm (Is 52^{10}), lifts up a signal to the nations (49^{22}), is seen at the head of the Medes mustering His hosts, and His military shout is heard (13^{4}), all this is but vivid conception of His being, His intelligence, His activity and universal power over the nations whom He directs. The human is transferred to His personality, as it could not but be; it is transferred graphically, as could not but happen when done by the poetical, vivacious, and powerful phantasy of the people of Israel. The language only testifies to the warmth and intensity of the religious feelings of the writers.

Another class of passages deserves attention. God is said to have walked in the garden in the cool of the day (Gn 3^{8}); to have come down to see the tower which men did build (11^{5}); to have been one of three men who appeared to Abraham, and to have eaten that which was set before Him (18$^{1.8}$); to have wrestled with Jacob (32$^{24ff.}$), and the like. Such passages, in addition to being a testimony to the vividness with which God's personality was conceived, are evidence also of the religious feeling that God did reveal Himself to men, and enter into the closest fellowship with them. Different minds may estimate these early narratives in different ways. So far as we consider the experiences, say of Jacob at Jabbok, real, we may suppose that with these early men a spiritual impression always reflected itself in an accompanying extraordinary physical condition, just as among the early prophets the ecstasy was usual, while, among the later prophets, though still occasional (Is 8^{11}), it became rare. And so far as we may consider the details of the description due to the narrator, it may be evidence that he could not conceive a spiritual experience apart from a corresponding physical accompaniment. And if early men so felt, it would not be judicious to deny that God might use an objective phenomenon, such as the burning bush, as a means of awakening the religious mind, just as our Lord used His miracles as a means of reaching the mind of those for whom He performed them. But these local manifestations of God never suggest that He was locally confined. It has been argued that Sinai was the local seat of J″ before the Exodus, and that it was only later that He was believed to have removed to Canaan. In David's day it was certainly believed that Canaan was His 'inheritance' (1 S 26^{19}); and the oldest Pent. narrator speaks of Him 'coming down' upon Mount Sinai (Ex 19$^{11.20}$). When the Ark, to which His presence was in some way specially attached, was captured by the Philistines, and Shiloh destroyed, the priests continued His worship with all the old ceremonial of shewbread and the like at Nob (1 S 21^{6}). The multitude of altars scattered over the country, if they did not suggest the positive idea of His ubiquity, suggested, at least, that there was no place where He might not let Himself be found, and the idea was confirmed by new self-manifestations in fresh places, as to Gideon (Jg 6^{20}), to Saul (who seems to have built many altars, 1 S 14^{35}), and to David (2 S 24^{18}). The idea men had of all these places was that expressed by Solomon in regard to the temple: 'The heaven of heavens cannot contain thee, how much less this house that I have builded' (1 K 8^{27}). But while God was thus present on earth, the tempest or the thunderstorm was at the same time a theophany in the heavens. Two beliefs characterize the Hebrew mind from the beginning: first, the strong belief in causation—every change on the face of nature, or in the life of men or nations, must be due to a cause; and, secondly, the only conceivable causality is a personal agent. The unseen power under all things, which threw up all changes on the face of the world, which gave animation to the creature or withdrew it, which moved the generations of men upon the earth from the beginning (Is 41^{4}), bringing Israel out of Egypt, the Philistines from Caphtor and the Syrians from Kir (Am 9^{7}), was the living God. Some phenomena or events, such as the thunderstorm or the dividing of the sea, might be more striking instances of His operation than others. They were miracles, that is, wonders, but they did not differ in kind from the ordinary phenomena of nature, from His making the sun to rise and sealing up the stars (Job 9^{7}), from His clothing the heavens with blackness (Is 50^{3}) and making them clear again with His breath (Job 26^{13}). Everything is supernatural, that is, direct divine operation. The regular alternation of day and night is due to J″'s covenant with them (Jer 33$^{20.25}$).

Another class of passages may be referred to. The first class cited vividly suggested the personality of God. The second class added the idea that He manifested Himself to men in place and circumstance, though with no implication that He was locally confined. This third class brings in the idea of the moral in His personality. Thus He repents that He made man (Gn 6^{6}), and also of the evil He intended to do (Ex 32^{14}); He is grieved (Gn 6^{6}), angry (1 K 11^{9}), jealous (Dt 6^{15}), gracious (Ps 111^{4}); He loves (1 K 10^{9}), hates (Pr 6^{16}), and much more. All the emotions of which men are conscious, and all the human conduct corresponding to these emotions, are thrown back upon God. Now, it may be true that from another point of view God must be held free of all passion, and not subject to such change as is implied in one emotion succeeding another. Still, this latter conception if carried to its just conclusions would reduce God to a being not only absolutely unmoral, but even impersonal. The religious mind could express its relations to God in no other way but by attributing to Him a nature similar to its own. Scripture is not unaware that this mode of conception may be pushed too far: 'The Lord is not a man that he should repent' (1 S 15^{29}). What is of importance, however, in these representations of God is the general conception which they combine to suggest, viz. the moral Being of God.

iii. NAMES OF GOD.—(1) Some names express the general notion of Deity, as *'El*, *'Elohim*, 'God'; (2) others are descriptive titles applied to Deity, as *'El Shaddai* (AV 'God Almighty'), *'El 'Elyôn*, 'God Most High'; while (3) from the Exodus, *J″* is the personal name of the God of Israel. The names *El*, *Elohim*, *Shaddai*, and *J″* are probably all prehistoric, and their meaning is very obscure.

(1) The name El (אֵל) is the most widely distributed of all names for Deity, being used in Babylonian, Aramæan, Phœnician, Hebrew, and Arabic, particularly southern Arabic. It thus belongs to the primitive Shemitic speech before it became modified into dialects, though conceivably one or more of the dialects may have retained in use the root with which it is connected. (*a*) It has been referred to the Heb. root אול 'to be strong,' of which it would be the ptcp., meaning 'the strong.'* (*b*) Others have referred it to an

* Gesenius.

Arab. root *'ûl*, meaning 'to be in front' (hence *awwal*, 'first'), 'to govern,' and assigned to it the sense of 'leader.'* This meaning would be more in harmony with other Semitic names for God, such as *baal*, *'adôn* 'lord,' *melek* 'king,' etc. It is, however, against such derivations, which should give an unchangeably long *ê* in *el*, that the first vowel is short in Bab. *'ilu* and in Arab., and changeable in Heb., as אֱלִימֶלֶךְ. (*c*) Some others have suggested a root אלה, either a cognate form to *'ûl*, 'to be strong,' considering the word an abstract ='power,' 'might';† or a word connected with prep. אֶל־ 'unto,' God being the goal towards which men strive.‡ This last meaning is too abstract for a primitive name of Deity, and altogether improbable. No plausible derivation of the term has been suggested. In Heb. prose the word is usually connected with an epithet, as 'the living God' (אֵל חַי), 'the eternal God,' 'God Most High'; but in the prophets and poetry it is used alone for 'god' or 'God,' and in a few cases is found in the plur. 'gods.' It has maintained its place all through the language as well as in other dialects in the formation of proper names.

Elohim is a plur. of which the sing. is אֱלוֹהַּ, Aram. *'ĕlâh*, Arab. *'ilâh* (with art. *'al'ilâh='allâh*, 'God'). The sing. is used in poetry (Ps 18, Dt 32), and occasionally in very late prose. It has been contended (*a*) that the sing. is an artificial form coined from the plur. *Elohim*; and (*b*) that *Elohim* is really the plur. of *el*, formed by inserting *h*, as occasionally happens. But decidedly against (*a*) is the existence of the similar sing. form in Aram. and Arab., which there is no reason to suppose late; and against (*b*) is the fact that it is only in plurals of *fem.* form that there is an insertion of *h* (Syr. plur. *shemohîn*, 'names,' cannot be held primary, as the word 'name' has *fem.* plur. in Heb. and western Aram.). *El*, too, has its own proper plur. *'elîm*. The attempt to connect the word with *'elah*, *'elon*, names of trees,§ may be safely neglected. Whether the term *'ĕlôah* be connected with *'el*, and what its meaning is, remains uncertain. The use of the plur. *Elohim* is also difficult to explain. The plur. had so obtained the upper hand in usage that the more archaic sing. was confined to poetry. The plur. can scarcely be a remnant of polytheism; the Shemites did not use the general expression 'the gods' for Deity, like Lat. *Dii* (the Assyr. 'the Ishtars'='goddesses,' is like Heb. 'the Orions'='constellations,' Is 13^{10}); and the suggestion that the plur. was first used of the deities of some particular locality‖ is not without its difficulties, as usually each locality had only one deity. The idea that *Elohim* expressed the fulness of mights or powers contained in God¶ is too abstract, apart from the uncertainty whether the sing. meant 'might.' After all, perhaps, the plur. may be easiest explained as a plur. of eminence, like *'ădônîm*, *bĕ'ālîm*, 'lord,' *tĕrāphîm* (1 S $19^{13.16}$), and possibly *nôgĕsîm*, 'ruler' (Is 3^{12}). The plur. appears also in Ethiopic *'amlâk*, 'God' (unused sing. *malek*), and in the Amarna letters the plur. *ilâni*, 'God,' is used in addressing the Egyptian king.

(2) As is the case with *El* and *Elohim*, the meaning of **El Shaddai** is altogether uncertain. *Shaddai* is probably an epithet, as it qualifies *El*, just as ,Elyon, 'Most High,' does. The name is old (Gn 49^{25}), and is said by P to have been the patriarchal name of God (Gn 17^{1}, Ex 6^{3}). The fanciful derivation שַׁדַּי (= אֲשֶׁר דַּי) 'the sufficient' was perhaps known to LXX (ἱκανός, in this sense twice in Ru, thrice in Job, once in Ezk), and also the sense 'mighty,' 'almighty' (ἰσχυρός, παντοκράτωρ in Job). If derived from שׁדד, the name would not mean 'the Almighty,' but 'the destroyer,' signifying presumably the storm-god, or possibly the scorching sun-god; if from Aram. שׁרא 'to pour,' it would have the similar sense of the rain-giver.* Such derivations have little to recommend them. Equally far from probability is the conjecture that the word should be read שֵׁדִי 'my lord' (Arab. *sayyidi*).† In Heb. *shēdîm* means 'demons' (Ps 106^{37}), and Dt 32^{17} when naming them adds 'no god.' Such a topsy-turvy of meaning is a triumph of etymology. More recently reference has been made to the Assyr. *shadu*, 'mountain,' from root 'to be high,'‡ with the suggestion that *Shaddai* either means 'mountain' (cf. *ẓûr*, 'rock,' as title of God) or has the adjectival sense of 'most high.' The most that can be said is that the meaning 'almighty' has a certain tradition in its favour.

(3) The name **Jehovah** is also probably an ancient name (Gn 4^{26}), though at the Exodus it received a special meaning by being connected with the Heb. verb 'to be.' (*a*) The pronunciation 'Jehovah' has no pretence to be right. The word יהוה acquired such a sacredness that, in reading, the name *'ădônāi*, 'lord,' was substituted for it;§ hence in MSS and prints the vowels of *'ădônāi* were attached to the letters יהוה, and 'Jehovah' (יְהֹוָה) is a conflate form with the consonants of one word and the vowels of another. It is not older in date than the time of the Reformation (1520). (*b*) The contracted forms in which the name appears suggest that the original form of the word was יַהְוֶה *yahweh* or *yahve* (a Greek transliteration is Ἰαβέ). (*c*) The occurrence of this name or a similar one in Assyr. cannot be regarded as certain. Hommel believes he has discovered in western Shemitic a divine name *i*, *ai*, or *ya* (*e.g.* I-zebel, Jezebel), which he considers the original form of the name, the Heb. יהוה being a more modern expansion. The last part of his conjecture at any rate cannot be considered probable. (*d*) The word being prehistoric, its derivation must remain uncertain. It has been connected with Arab. *hawa*, 'to blow' or 'breathe,' J″ being the god who is heard in the tempest—the storm-god; or with the verb *hawa*, 'to fall' (Job 37^{6}), in the causative meaning 'the prostrator'—again the lightning-god; or with Heb. *hayah* (old form *hawah*), 'to be' in causative ('make to be'), *i.e.* 'the creator,' or fulfiller of his promises; and so on. (*e*) In Heb. writing of the historical period the name is connected with Heb. *hayah*, 'to be,' in the imperf. Now with regard to this verb, *first*, it does not mean 'to be' essentially or ontologically, but phenomenally; and *secondly*, the impf. has not the sense of a present ('am') but of a fut. ('will be'). In Ex $3^{10\mathrm{ff.}}$, when Moses demurred to go to Egypt, God assured him, saying, כִּי אֶהְיֶה עִמָּךְ ('EHYEH *'immāk*) 'I will be with thee.' When he asked how he should name the God of their fathers to the people, he was told אֶהְיֶה אֲשֶׁר אֶהְיֶה ('EHYEH *'ăsher* 'EHYEH). Again he was bidden say, 'אֶהְיֶה 'EHYEH hath sent me unto you'; and finally, 'יהוה YAHWEH, the God of your fathers, has sent me unto you.' From all this it seems evident that in the view of the writer *'ehyeh* and *yahweh* are the same: that God is *'ehyeh*, 'I will be,' when speaking of Himself, and *yahweh*, 'he will be,' when spoken of by others. What He will be is left unexpressed—He will be with them, helper, strengthener, deliverer.‖

The name J″ can hardly have been altogether new to Israel before their deliverance. A new name would have been in those days a new God. The name of the mother of Moses, *Yôkebed* (Ex 6^{20}), contains the word, and, if not among the tribes generally, the name was probably in use in the tribe of Levi, to which Moses belonged. The view (Tiele, Stade) that Moses became acquainted with the name among the Midianites, into a priestly family of which he had married, has no direct support in Heb. tradition. But the people in Egypt had, no doubt, connexions with the desert tribes on the east of them, as the flight of Moses to Midian suggests. The Kenites, the Midianite relatives of Moses, attached themselves to Israel (Jg 1^{16} 4^{11}). And the Rechabites, who originally may also have been Kenites (1 Ch 2^{55}), were fervent worshippers of J″ (2 K $10^{15ff.}$), and strenuous upholders of the severer nomadic ideal of religious life as against the corruptions which Israel's acceptance of the Canaanite civilization had introduced. Moses, too, demanded liberty to go 'a three days' journey into the wilderness' to sacrifice to the God of the Hebrews (Ex 3^{18} 5^{3}). These things at least suggest the question whether the name J″ was not known also in the Sinaitic peninsula (cf. Ex 18^{11}, Dt $33^{2ff.}$, Jg $5^{4ff.}$).

---

* Nöldeke. † Dillmann. ‡ De Lagarde.

§ Kayser-Marti, *AT Theologie*, p. 22.

‖ W. R. Smith. ¶ Dillmann.

* So W. R. Smith. † Nöldeke.

‡ Frd. Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, 95; Hommel, *AHT* 110.

§ Lv 24^{11} 'blasphemed the name' is already in LXX 'named the name.' But as to Jewish interpretation, cf. Dalman, *Der Gottesname Adonai*, 44 ff.

‖ On the word see Driver, 'The Tetragrammaton' in *Studia Biblica*, Oxf. 1885.

iv. IDEA OF GOD IN VARIOUS PERIODS.—(1) *The pre-Mosaic period.*—It has been made a question how much of the narratives regarding the patriarchal ancestors of Israel is history and how much legend. The stories were written down probably between the middle of the 10th and the middle of the 8th centuries, and it has been argued that they reflect in the main the religious ideas of this period. But the historians (J, E) from whom we have them did not invent them, but transcribed them from the national consciousness, and they must in any case reflect the ideas of an age considerably anterior to their own date as literature. The theory that names like Abraham and Sarah are those of extinct deities is perhaps overcome. But how far the wanderings of Abraham, Jacob, and Joseph, and their relations with other peoples, reflect tribal rather than individual movements, is liable to dispute. It is strange that while Edom, Moab, and the like have all one eponymous ancestor, Israel has three, all most unlike one another. Shall we hold them three distinct ideals? Or is Abraham the ideal of what Israel should be, and Jacob the type of that which it was? The story of Jacob and his brother Esau has been read as reflecting the historical relations of the peoples Israel and Edom, and their respective characters. If so, the historian who depicted his own people as crafty, unscrupulous, and godly, and their bitterest enemy as the careless, noble, natural man, was a humorous satirist of the highest rank. Historically, however, his satire must be judged less than just to his own people and more than partial to Edom. Abraham appears a purely personal figure. He may be transfigured by religious idealism, but the name must be traditional.

Apart from the patriarchal histories, sources of information for the condition of prehistoric Israel might be (1) the religious condition of the related peoples, Edom, Moab and Ammon, and Ishmael or the Arabs; and (2) any survivals appearing in post-Mosaic Israel from a lower stage of religion, *e.g.* stone, tree, and fountain worship, or rites connected with the dead, the possible remains of ancestor worship. Unfortunately, our knowledge of the peoples related to Israel belongs to a period long after the Exodus, being derived from the Bible or inscriptions. The assumption that the tribes which united to form Israel stood at the Exodus on the same religious plane as these peoples has its difficulties. When we consider the elevation at which eventually Israel stood above these nations we hesitate to fix any historical period, particularly so comparatively modern a period as the Exodus, at which they must have stood on a level. However powerful and creative the genius of Moses may have been, he did not create a religion, any more than he did a nation, out of nothing. It is usually assumed that these small peoples, such as Edom and Moab, to which Israel was related, were henotheistic, *i.e.* worshippers of one god to the exclusion of all others. The assumption seems without foundation. Moab had a chief god Chemosh, but a nation so polytheistic as Assyria had also a chief god, Asshur, and so other nations. A composite god, Ashtar-Chemosh, is named on the Moabite Stone; and as it is only in S. Arabia that Ashtar (Athtar) is *masc.*, the deity here allied with Chemosh is probably Astarte. Neither is it certain that the Baal of Peor or of Meon was Chemosh. Mount Nebo may also be named from the god. Various deities also appear among the Edomites, as Ḳaush or Ḳos and Ḳuzaḥ. The personal names Hadad, Baal-ḥanan, Malikram* are all theophorous. And Dusares (Dhu-shShara, 'lord of Shara') was worshipped at Petra, though this may have been later.† And, of course, the Arabs in addition to a number of gods had the three great goddesses (the daughters of 'Allâh), *al Lât* (*al-ilâhat*, 'the goddess' of the sun), *al 'Uzza* ('the powerful,' possibly the Venus star), and *Manât* ('fate,' 'fortune,' τύχη, cf. Meni, Is 65^{11}). A monolatrous Shemitic people is not discoverable in the historic period. The territorial position of peoples like Moab and Edom exposed them greatly to influence from neighbouring nations. The name *Hadad* in Edom may suggest Aramæan influence, and *Ashtar* in Moab the influence of the Canaanites; but the occurrence of the latter name in a royal document like the inscription of Mesha implies that the worship of Ashtar was national. If these small peoples be supposed to have been originally monolatrous, their history exhibits a degeneration and movement towards polytheism. While the fundamental ideas of Deity may be presumed to have been similar among all the Shemitic peoples, if they could be ascertained, the complete difference in the divine names current among these small nations and in Israel suggests a prolonged period of separate religious development, and renders any comparison of their religion with that of Israel at the Exodus barren of results.

Certain usages are supposed to point to ancestor worship among the Hebrews. The **teraphim**, a term completely obscure, have usually been considered household gods; though household gods need not necessarily be images of ancestors. In one passage the *teraphim* appear in a house (1 S $19^{13.16}$); in others they are represented as placed in temples (Jg 17^{5} 18^{14}, Hos 3^{4}). Laban calls them his 'gods' (Gn 31^{30}); that they were of human form or size can hardly be inferred from 1 S 19. *Teraphim* are usually coupled with EPHOD (wh. see), and in Israel were certainly used in consulting J″ and gaining oracles from Him (Hos 3^{4}), though their use is condemned (1 S 15^{23}). Nebuchadnezzar also used them to obtain an oracle from his gods (Ezk 21^{21}). That the 'Elohim' to which the servant was to be brought who desired to remain for ever with his master (Ex 21^{6}) was a family idol,‡ is wholly improbable from the context. The practice of cutting off the hair in mourning for the dead was probably a softening of the former more extravagant custom of tearing out the hair.§ The practice seemed perfectly harmless to the prophets (Is 3[24] 15[2], Mic 1[16]), though forbidden later (Dt 14[1], Lv 21[5]); but the prohibition may repose on the feeling that the rite was characteristic of a religion alien to that of J″. If Dt 26[14] mean that food was offered to the dead, such an offering was not of the nature of a sacrifice, but merely an expression of the feeling which the mourner strove to cherish that the departed were not dead, as appears from a multitude of passages in Arab. poetry. The mourner cried to the dead, 'Be not far'! though he had to answer himself, 'Nay, every one that is beneath the ground is far'! (Ḥamasa, 373). When two friends visited the grave of their comrade, and drinking each his cup of wine poured the third upon the grave, they only gave their friend his share as if he were alive (Ḥam. 398). There is no evidence that the dead were thought dangerous, and requiring to be placated by offerings. The name 'Elohim' bestowed on the spectre of Samuel (1 S 28[13]) is strange, but the single instance can hardly suffice to prove that the dead in general were regarded as 'Elohim'; all other statements regarding the dead, the name *rephāim* given to them, and the fact that the *'obs* twittered and muttered and spoke low out of the ground (Is 8[19] 29[4]), indicate that they were regarded as anything but powerful 'gods.'*

---

* Baethgen, *Beiträge*, 11 ff.; Buhl, *Gesch. der Edomiter*, 47 ff.

† Wellh., *Reste*^{2}, 49.

‡ Schwally, *Leben nach dem Tode*, 37.

§ Wellh., *Reste*^{2}, 182. The passage Jer 41^{5} shows that 'cutting' one's flesh (Lv 19^{28}, Jer 16^{6} 47^{5}), whatever it originally meant, was then merely a token of excessive grief. Cf. Hos 7^{14}.

Certain things, such as Jacob's vision at Bethel (Gn 28), and names like the 'Oak of Moreh' ('the oracle,' Gn 12[6]), the 'Oak of the soothsayers' (Jg 9[37]), have been thought remains of the animistic stage of religion still surviving in the historical period. Certainly, the names *Baal* 'lord,' *Melek Milk, Milcom* 'king,' *al Lat* 'the goddess,' all show that the stage of promiscuous or general animism, if it ever existed, had long been overpast by all the Shemitic peoples. But to primitive minds the difficulty of realizing a deity apart from a local abode or some form would be great, and it was natural to localize the god in some fertile spot, grove or evergreen tree, or fountain of living water, where his beneficent operation was most perceptible. Why great or prominent blocks of stone should have been regarded as his dwelling-place is more obscure. At a later period men perhaps invited the presence of the deity by erecting pillars, *mazzēboth*, or artificial trees, *'ashēra*, when the natural objects were not at hand. This difficulty of realizing a deity without abode and apart from some form explains the use of images, particularly when consulting him for an oracle, and it explains also the erection of a 'house' for the god. The difficulty was felt all through the history of Israel: at the Exodus (Ex 32), in the time of the Judges (Jg 8[24ff.] 17[3]), and much later (Is 2[8]), as it has been felt in large sections of the Christian Church. The Ark, to which the presence of J″ was attached, relieved the difficulty without representing J″ under any form. When a house was built in which J″ was present, the Ark lost its significance and disappeared. The Ephod, whatever it was [EPHOD], was used when an oracle was sought. In David's days its use was held legitimate (1 S 21[9] 23[6]), afterwards it disappears from the legitimate cultus.

From the Exodus J″'s revelation of Himself was given, and men's thoughts of Him suggested through the national history. He showed what He was in great deeds rather than declared it in words. He was less the God of nature than of human history. Even when He performed wonders in nature it was usually in connexion with the life of the people and for moral ends, but in history His higher ethical attributes and purposes received direct illustration. Further, His operations being on the stage of Israel's national history, were much more conspicuous and easily read than they would have been if performed in the life of individuals. His deliverance of the nation from Egypt revealed His power and redemptive goodness on a scale that left an impression never effaced from the heart of the people. His destruction of the nation, predicted by the prophets and fulfilled, taught once for all that He was the righteous God and moral Ruler of the nations.

The religious development of Israel is virtually a development in the idea of God. As God was the only force in the world, particularly in human history, when a crisis occurred in history some conception of God had to be called in to explain it; and when mysterious problems arose in the national or individual life, the problem was immediately reflected back upon God, and became one in regard to His nature or action. In Israel the religious progress appears in the form of a conflict. And if a conflict implies lower elements and conceptions, it also implies a higher element which was conscious of the lower, and strove either to eject it or transform it. Such a transmuting force existed in Israel from the beginning, producing the results which mankind now inherit. This force may be identified with the moral in the conception of J″. Mere progress in itself does not decide that the progress was natural or supernatural. Our convictions in regard to this point will be formed rather from our contemplation of the results eventually achieved, from contrasting these results with those attained anywhere else, and from the trust we place in the consciousness of the prophets and leaders of Israel who felt that they were inspired. In a general way the religious history of Israel may be divided into three periods, in each of which the conflict resulted in a clearer conception of God, or of J″ the God of Israel:—

(*a*) The period from the Exodus to the revolution of Jehu.—The revolution of Jehu put its seal on the life-work of Elijah; it gave national expression to his demand: 'If J″ be God, follow him' (1 K 18[21]). To the mass the struggle probably appeared an external one between two names, two deities; and it issued in the acceptance of the one. The numerical oneness of God was recognized. To Elijah and others the question was not one of numerical unity only, but also of moral nature.

(*b*) The prophetic period.—The conflict resulting in the recognition of J″ as God alone, at least in Israel, was followed by one more inward. Though Baal as another than J″ was set aside, Baal had incorporated himself in J″. Now, the conflict was not between J″ and another, it was an internal one between J″ and Jehovah-Baal, between two conceptions of Him—the popular and the prophetic. In the popular conception J″ was still mainly their national god, the god of the land, giver of its corn and wine, and whose most pleasing service was sacrifice and offering; while to the prophets He was a purely ethical Being, elevated far above the people, the righteous Ruler, to whom material offerings were inappreciable, and whose service could be nothing but a righteous life. What proportion existed between the prophetic party and the more backward popular mass cannot be known. The prophets now broke with the people as a whole, as they believed J″ had broken with it and determined to destroy it. In earlier times prophets had broken only with particular dynasties and threatened them with destruction. But there was no difference in principle between the earlier and the canonical prophets; the grounds on which J″ rejected a dynasty and the people were alike moral (1 K 22). A hundred years before the time of the canonical prophets, Elijah by his words, 'the children of Israel have forsaken thy covenant,' and by his flight to Horeb, expressed his feeling that the breach was now one between J″ and the people. Yet the breach was not absolute or final. Isaiah's conception of the Remnant appears already in Elijah's days: 'I will leave me 7000 men in Israel' (1 K 19[18]). The destruction of the state, foretold by the prophets, verified the prophetic conception of J″: He was the righteous Ruler of the nations. It verified also their judgment upon the past religious life of the people.

---

* Against the construction put by Schwally on Jer 16[7], see Giesebrecht, *Jerem.*, and Driver, *Deut.* 292.

(*c*) From the destruction of the State onward.—The prophetic principles regarding J″ had been conspicuously illustrated in the national history: J″ was God alone; He was righteous; His nature was inscribed in letters of fire across the people's life and experience. But being written on the national history, these principles were as yet, to the individual mind, rather abstract. They were schematic, diagrammatic, seen to be true on the great scale and intellectually, hardly yet felt to be true in the experience of the individual. They had to be assimilated into the personal experience, equated by reflection with the condition of the world, the state of the people, the life of the individual. The process raised great problems, all of which became problems about God. (*α*) J″ was God alone and righteous, yet He took no pains to assert Himself against the world. He slept; the throne of the universe seemed vacant; the nations knew Him not, and wrought unchecked their cruelties on the earth. (*β*) So, too, Israel was His people; they possessed the truth; His cause and theirs was one; because the eternal truth was in their hearts they were righteous as against the world, but all appeals to His tribunal were vain; their passionate cries that He would arise and plead their cause, and their passionate hopes, 'he is near that will justify me,' only expired on the air. (*γ*) And in like manner the individual pined away solitary and deserted: 'Mine eyes fail while I wait for my God' (Ps 69[3]). More daring spirits like Job rose in rebellion: the throne of the world was not vacant, it was filled by an Immorality; the human conscience rose, and, proclaiming itself greater than He, deposed Him from His seat. The OT closed leaving these conflicts still undecided, though not without efforts towards a reconciliation. The people found a peace in hope and the future, and endured as seeing Him who is invisible. The individual spirit, too, caught glimpses of a future beyond the borders of this life, and in the ecstasy of faith could say, 'I know that I shall see God.' A few in their loftiest moments were able to bring the reconciliation into the present and feel it if not think it. Though J″ was seen in the world and in events, He was not exhausted by them, He stood above them and apart. The mind, too, was its own place, it could detach itself from its external conditions. And thus J″ and the soul had fellowship, through no medium, spirit with spirit—'Nevertheless I am continually with thee' (Ps 73[23]).

(2) *The Exodus to the revolution of Jehu.*—From the Exodus onward J″ was the God of Israel. People and prophets were at one in this. Israel never had any other native God but J″; if portions of the people declined to the service of the local Baals, J″ was always the national God, and a conscience within the people constantly recalled them to His service. From Hosea downwards writers are in the habit of stigmatizing the corrupt worship of J″ at the high places as Baal worship,—as no doubt in principle it was,—but probably strict idolatry, in the sense of worship of other gods than J″, was never very widespread either in the north or south, though towards the decline of the Judæan state various Eastern idolatries were practised by some classes of the people. That J″ was God of Israel was the faith of all, though the faith might mean different things to different minds, or among different classes. To some it might mean merely that J″ was Israel's national God as other peoples had also their gods (Mic 4[5]); to others it might mean something higher. A Shemitic mind might rise to general conceptions very slowly; and while practically J″ was the only God to him, the theoretical notion that He was God alone might not have occurred to him. It perhaps needed that internal conflict which arose through the slowness of the popular mind, and that outward collision with idolatrous nations which occurred in the days of the great prophets to bring the unity of God to speculative clearness. Heb. tradition places the Decalogue at the beginning of Israel's national development, and the prophets by their references to the moral *Torah* as known to the people from the first, but 'forgotten' by them, appear to follow the tradition. Moses is everywhere regarded as a prophet, and probably his teaching, like that of the prophets, consisted (apart from his lofty conceptions of God) in the main of social and civil ethics. Though the first commandment does not say that J″ is God alone, the negative element, 'Thou shalt have no gods before me,' is without a parallel in the history of religions. J″ was a jealous God. Why was He jealous? Jealousy is the reaction of one's self-consciousness against a wrong done him. What was the idea held of J″ when it was thought His consciousness of Himself would feel other gods beside Him intolerable? If the Decalogue be Mosaic, there was virtual monotheism in Israel since the Exodus, though it might be only among the higher minds, and more latent than conscious. And that which made J″ unique at least, if not alone, was His moral being. Writers of all schools are agreed that ethical elements entered into the conception of J″ from the beginning. There was at least on His nature a crescent of light, which waxed till it overspread His face, and He was light with no darkness at all. When Moses sat judging the people, dispensing right and justice in the name of their God, it could not but appear to the people that He was a God of righteousness. It has been contended that in subsequent history J″ sometimes displayed 'unaccountable humours,' that is, moods of mind and a kind of action not reducible under the moral idea. The arguments for this are not quite cogent. At all events, Israel entered upon national existence with two articles of faith: that J″ was their God alone, and that in His Being He was moral, the impersonation of Right and Righteousness. And emotional energy was given to these two articles by the consciousness of having been redeemed by their God. Behind the people's national life lay the consciousness of redemption as much as it lies behind the life of the Christian.

Israel's self-consciousness as a nation was virtually identical with its consciousness of J″, its God. J″, indeed, was all in all, the people little else than the medium through which He displayed Himself. The old anthology recording Israel's conflicts with the nations is called 'The Book of the Wars of J″' (Nu 21[14]). Meroz is cursed, because it came not 'to the help of J″' (Jg 5[23]). The people's victories are 'the righteous acts of J″, the righteous acts of His rule in Israel' (Jg 5[11]). The furore of enthusiasm for J″ in the song of Deborah reflects back light on the Exodus and the work of Moses. The conceptions regarding J″ found in the oldest literature differ little from those of the prophetic age and subsequent times, except that they are less broadly expressed. (*a*) The dwelling-place of J″ was often at least conceived as superterrestrial. He 'came down' to see the tower which men did build (Gn 11[5]), and to discover if the wickedness of Sodom corresponded to the cry against it (18^{21}), and He rained fire on the cities of the plain from J" 'out of heaven' (19^{24}). To Moses He said He had come down to save His people (Ex 3^{8}). But, though heaven was His throne, He manifested Himself over all the earth,—to Abraham in Ur and Canaan; to Jacob in Mesopotamia, to whom He also said, 'Fear not to go down to Egypt; I will go down with thee' (Gn 46^{3}); to Moses at Sinai and in Egypt; to His people, going before them into Canaan (Ex 33^{15}). There, though His presence was specially attached to the Ark, He also revealed Himself to Joshua as the captain of the Lord's hosts (Jos 5^{14}), and by His spirit He ruled the people, raising up judges, inspiring Saul and David. (*b*) As to His relation to nature, it is said in the oldest Creation narrative that He made heaven and earth, and all the creatures, as well as man (Gn 2). On the highest scale He commands nature, sending a universal flood upon the earth, opening the windows of heaven and breaking up the fountains of the great deep (Gn 7). By some convulsion of nature He 'overthrows' the cities of the plain (Gn 19). Before Joshua He made the sun and moon stand still in the sky (Jos 10^{12}); and at His command the stars fight in their courses against Sisera (Jg 5^{20}). All earthly and heavenly forces obey Him. He caused an east wind to blow, and rolled back the sea (Ex 14^{21}); He brought locusts on Egypt (10^{13}), and turned the river into blood (7^{19}); He sent hail and fire (9^{23}) and darkness (10^{22}). In the days of Ahab He scourged the land three and a half years with a drought (1 K 17^{1}), and in the time of David devastated the people with a pestilence (2 S 24^{15}). (*c*) In the early literature Israel had not yet entered greatly into relation with the nations; the teaching of Scripture regarding J"'s rule of the nations first appears in the prophets when the great Assyrian and Babylonian empires came upon the stage of the world's history. But the same conceptions appear in the earlier literature as in the later. J" showed His power over Egypt when He brought out the people with a high hand, slew the firstborn, and overwhelmed the army in the sea. He drove out the nations before Israel, and gave David his victories over Aram and the peoples around. In Israel itself He is the Living God and Ruler. His angel leads the hosts of Joshua and Barak. The government of the people is in His hand. When in early times a crisis arises, He raises up a judge to save the people; when the old order changes, He elects Saul to the throne; and when the age of conflict is over and an era of peaceful development is inaugurated, He 'builds an house' for David, making his dynasty perpetual. Human leaders are but the form in which J" clothes His own efficiency, for it is His spirit animating them that makes them heroes and saviours, such as were the judges and Saul. The spirit of J" is J" exercising efficiency. And though this efficiency is most visible in the external rule of the people it operates also in the sphere of thought, raising up prophets and Nazirites. The external and the inward often go hand in hand, as when David made Jerusalem the spiritual as well as political capital of the kingdom, and when prophets of the Lord like Nathan and Gad became his advisers. (*d*) J"'s rule of the world and of His people is moral. For his sin Adam forfeited Eden; for their wickedness mankind were drowned by a flood, and the cities of the plain overthrown. Ahab's sin was chastised by a drought, and David's by a pestilence. The histories being so greatly public annals, little is said of the relation of J" to the individual. But such histories as those of Sarah, Rachel, and Hannah indicate how closely connected J" was thought to be with family life; and such narratives as the covenants between Jacob and Laban (Gn $31^{44ff.}$), Abraham and Abimelech ($21^{22ff.}$), Joshua and the Gibeonites (Jos 9^{15}), show how He entered into the common life of men. That J"'s treatment of the individual was considered moral everywhere appears, *e.g.* the brethren of Joseph (Gn $42^{21ff.}$), Korah (Nu $16^{30ff.}$), Achan (Jos 7^{15}), Hophni and Phinehas (1 S 3^{13}), Ahab (1 K $21^{20ff.}$). In Ex 32^{33} J" says, 'Whosoever hath sinned against me, him will I blot out of my book.' And in narrating the death of Abimelech, the very ancient historian says, 'Thus God requited the wickedness of Abimelech which he did unto his father' (Jg $9^{56.\,57}$). And on reward of righteousness, comp. David's words, 1 S 26^{23} 'The LORD render to every man his righteousness.' Cf. 2 S 2^{5}, 1 K $18^{12ff.}$. And, finally, (*e*) the idea of J"'s foresight and predetermination is illustrated in the protevangelium (Gn $3^{14.\,15}$), in the covenant promises to Abraham (Gn 15), in the destinies appointed for Jacob and Esau (25^{23} $27^{37ff.\,39ff.}$), and in the place and character predicted for the children of Jacob (Gn 49).

The earlier part of the period from the Exodus to the fall of the house of Omri was a time of warfare with external enemies till J" gave His people rest under David; and it has been thought that the name '*J" of Hosts*,' or fully, '*J", God of Hosts*' (י' אֱלֹהֵי צְבָאוֹת), may have arisen during this time of conflict—the 'hosts' being those of Israel. It is strange that the name is not found in the Hex., appearing in Samuel, and particularly in the prophets. It is possible that the title had some concrete origin such as is suggested, and that it did not originally refer to the hosts of heaven, whether stars or angels, nor to the general cosmic forces of the universe. In the prophets, however, there is certainly no reference to the hosts of Israel. Between the time of the battle-cry, 'the sword of the Lord and of Gideon' (Jg 7^{20}), and the words of Isaiah, 'In returning and rest shall ye be saved' (Is 30^{15}), a world had passed away and a new one arisen. The ancient name 'J" of Hosts' was used as the loftiest name for J", suggesting His royal majesty and infinite power; but in all likelihood the prophets used the name as a single title without analyzing it, and never asking themselves what the 'hosts' were. J" of Hosts means God of the universe.*

(3) *The Prophetic period.*—J" was pre-eminently the God of human history, and it was in their history that the people learned to know Him. The stages through which the history ran led the people's thoughts ever more from the external to the inward in J". First, the victories He gave them at the Exodus, at the entrance into Canaan, and in David's days, revealed the might of J". Then, their defeats in after days, and the dissolution of the state, gave them a sight into His inward being. No prophet or writer ever attributed Israel's disasters to the might of the nations or their gods; they were due to J" their God Himself. They were chastisements, revealing His moral being. And finally, in the depression that lay on them from the Exile, never uplifted, they learned to transcend both history and external conditions, and to know J" as a spiritual fellowship. They were ever with Him (Ps 73^{23}). They were satisfied with His likeness (Ps 17^{15}); J" was God of the spirits of all flesh (Nu 16^{22} 27^{16}). His afflictions had already enabled Jeremiah to reach this stage, in whom we see prophecy transfigured into piety.

Under Solomon, Israel entered into the circle of civilized nations. His father David was a fervent Jehovist; fervour was scarcely characteristic of himself in any direction. As he built houses for the gods of the neighbouring peoples among whom he found his wives, he cannot have been a logical monotheist. Neither was Ahab this even a hundred years later, though there is no evidence, but the reverse, that he abandoned the worship of J″. The century after Solomon witnessed the complete absorption of the native population; but if Israel subdued the Canaanites, it was in turn conquered by them. It inherited their civilization, but the heritage included a legacy of debased moral conceptions and practices. J″ took possession of the native shrines, and so became God of the land; but as He was worshipped where the Baals had been before, to many He might seem not unlike them. The confusion was increased by the fact that the name *baal, i.e.* 'lord,' was applied to J″.[*] Processes had been going on for long of which we have no clear account. It was in a way a fortunate thing that Ahab introduced the worship of the Tyrian Baal. It brought matters to a pass, and awoke men to see what was at stake. The persecution of the J″ party was no doubt caused by their opposition, for Ahab was no propagandist. Though Elijah was the spokesman of the party, he had a wide movement behind him. Obadiah, the chamberlain, hid 100 prophets of J″ in caves (1 K 18^{4}). The disaffection had invaded the army. When the people 'limped between two opinions' (18^{21}), it was a struggle between their own convictions and the influence of the court. Some indeed, like the Rechabites, were more radical, seeing in the Baal worship only a feature of the Canaanite civilization accepted by Israel, which they would have swept away, returning to the ancient ideal of a nomadic life. And Hosea appears to express a similar sentiment when he says that J″ shall allure Israel into the wilderness and give her her vineyards from there (2$^{14.15}$). At last the spirit of revolt embodied itself in Jehu, and swept away the house of Omri and Baal together. J″ stood with no rival. It was a great though only an external victory. The scene of conflict now changes to the nature of J″ Himself, and the conflict is waged by the canonical prophets.

---

* See Kautzsch, *ZAW*, 1886; *PRE*^{2} *s.* 'Zebaoth'; Borchert, *SK*. 1896.

The prophets taught nothing new about J″,[†] though, with history as their lesson-book, they taught many things more clearly. And to many who had been blind to J″'s operations in the past, what they taught may have seemed strange and even incredible. Each prophet has some special truth about J″ to declare, and the truth is perhaps a reflection of his own kind of mind. But as the separate colours combine to form the pure light, all their separate truths unite to reveal the full nature of J″, for it takes many human minds to make up the divine mind. The prophets, like their predecessors, are, first of all, *seers*; their function is to foresee and predict; their teaching about the nature of J″ only sustains their predictions. The simultaneous rise of four men such as Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah, each independent of all the others, is a mystery. Amos says, 'The Lord God doeth nothing without revealing his counsel to his servants the prophets' (3^{7}). But the revelation was probably in some way mediated. Did the prophet's ear catch distant sounds of movements among the nations, unheard by other ears? or was it their thought of J″, ever becoming more powerful and engrossing, that led them to project the calamitous future? Probably it was both combined. It is usually argued that the prophets reached their monotheism along the line of the ethical conception of J″; from being the Unique One J″ became the Only One. Possibly their minds moved along several lines. The prophets of the 8th cent. do not formally declare J″ to be God alone, though they silently ignore all other gods; it is only in the age of Dt and in that of Deutero-Isaiah that J″'s sole Godhead is directly expressed.

It is now a common-place to say that Amos taught that J″ is absolute Righteousness, the impersonation of the moral idea; that moral evil alone is sin; and that the only service J″ desires is a righteous life (though Amos also teaches that J″ is good and compassionate, 2$^{9\text{ff.}}$ 7$^{1\text{ff.}}$); and that Hosea represents J″ as unchanging Love, which no ingratitude of His people can weary or alienate (though Hosea does not forget the righteousness of J″, 2^{19}); and that to Isaiah J″ is the transcendent Sovereign and universal Lord (though he, too, recognizes the fatherly goodness and nurture of J″, 1^{2} 5$^{1\text{ff.}}$). Isaiah expresses his conception in the term *ḳādôsh*, of which 'holy' is a very imperfect rendering. 'Holiness' is not primarily a moral quality, it is the expression of Godhead in the absolute sense. **'The Holy One of Israel'** is a paradox, meaning that the transcendent God has become God of Israel. Isaiah in one thought goes beyond his predecessors (but see HOSEA): he insists on religiousness—that the *consciousness* of J″ should be ever present in the mind. The want of this consciousness, insensibility to the Lord the King, failure to recognize Him in the events of history and human life,—this is sin (1$^{3\text{ff.}}$). And it is the cause of all sin, of the levity of human life (5^{12}), and the self-exaltation both of men and nations (2$^{10\text{ff.}}$ 9^{9} 10^{12}). The prophetic ideas form but half their teaching, the greater half lies in their own life and personal relation to God. Taken as a whole, the prophetic teaching amounts to the full ethicizing of the conception of J″. And the moral is of no nationality; it transcends nationality, and is human. The righteous God is God universal, over all. The principles of the human economy have at last clearly reflected themselves in the consciousness of the prophets, and human history is seen to be a moral process. And the idea naturally suggested the other idea of the issue of the process, the eschatology, which is the realizing of perfect righteousness in the world of mankind (Is 1^{26} 9^{7}). The movement of the prophetic thought towards universalism was aided by the entrance of the great empires of Assyria and Babylon on the stage of history. This gave them a new idea, that of the world; it created a new antithesis, J″ and the world; and it opened a new realm for the rule of the King, all the nations of the earth. Universalism is most broadly taught in Deutero-Isaiah; but there it is a theological deduction from the unity of God. J″ is God alone, the first and the last, initiating all movements and leading them to their issue; and His salvation shall be to the ends of the earth (49^{6}). The loftiest thoughts of God expressed in Scripture are found in Job and Deut.-Isaiah. In the latter writer all the operations and attributes of J″ are combined to sustain the faith that he is Redeemer of Israel and Saviour of all mankind,—His creation of the earth (45$^{18\text{ff.}}$) and man (42$^{5\text{ff.}}$), His call of Israel to be His servant and revelation of Himself within it (42$^{1\text{-}6}$ 45$^{19\text{-}25}$ 49$^{1\text{-}6}$), and its Restoration (49$^{7\text{ff.}}$ 50$^{4\text{ff.}}$),—all these are in order that all the ends of the earth may look unto Him and be saved (45^{22} 49^{6} 51$^{4\text{ff.}}$).

(4) *From the Exile onwards.—Attributes.*—In the last period of Israel's history new conceptions of God hardly emerge. The period was rather one of assimilation of the prophetic teaching into the individual mind and experience. What the prophets had taught of the nature of J″, of His

---

[*] This may be inferred from the fact that names compounded with Baal occur not only in Saul's but in David's family. Cf. also Hos 2^{16}.

[†] See, now, Wellh. *Isr. u. Jüd. Geschichte*, 110.

purpose, and particularly of the eschatological issues of His purpose, formed the subject of reflection, and efforts were made to verify it in experience. The efforts, as has been said, raised problems which, if they baffled solution, led to a more inward knowledge of God (Ps 73$^{16ff.}$). The problems were mainly three: God and the world; God and Israel His people; and God and the life and destiny of the individual (see above).

Perhaps in this period fuller and more formal expression is given to the attributes of God. But a detailed account of the divine attributes is of little moment or worth. When the idea is reached that God is a transcendent moral Person, it is but a matter of deduction or analysis to tabulate His attributes, for 'moral' embraces not only righteousness, but goodness, love, and compassion. In earlier times J″ revealed His nature in actions which illustrated some one of His attributes. The very surprising ancient passage Ex 34$^{5ff.}$, in which J″ proclaimed His name, that is, His whole being, left little to be added later: 'Jehovah, Jehovah God, merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth, forgiving iniquity, and transgression, and sin, and that will by no means clear the guilty.' In later times two causes contributed to a more frequent reference to the attributes of God: *first*, the tendency to reflection on His nature and on His historical operations, and their religious meaning. This tendency appears in Ezk, and Deutero-Isaiah, and downwards. The latter prophet is fond of turning God's creative and historical acts (43^{16}) into attributes; and thus His relation to the world as Creator becomes the basis and guarantee of His relation to it as Saviour (45$^{18ff.}$; cf. the cosmic christology of St. Paul's later Epp.). And, *secondly*, when the people wrestled with their God over their adverse destiny and hopes deferred, calling to mind His wonders of old (Ps 77^{11}, and the historical Pss), and the 'sure mercies' promised to David (Pss 89. 132), and appealing to Him not to be far (Ps 22), to make no tarrying, but shine forth for their salvation and stir up His might, they naturally often dwell on His attributes, for prayer is mostly calling to God's mind that which He is. Yet, however varied the emotions be in these psalms, in contents they hardly go beyond the prayers of Moses (Ex 32$^{11ff.}$, Nu 14$^{13ff.}$, Dt 9$^{25ff.}$). The ethical being of J″ in combination with His attributes of omniscience and omnipresence is very profoundly realized by the author of Ps 139. (On special points in the various attributes see the separate articles).

The OT can scarcely be used as authority for the existence of distinctions within the Godhead. The use of 'us' by the divine speaker (Gn 1^{26} 3^{22} 11^{7}) is strange, but is perhaps due to His consciousness of being surrounded by other beings of a loftier order than men (Is 6^{8}). Some other things are suggestive, if nothing more. The angel of J″ is at once identical with J″ and yet different from Him. In Ezk and later prophets there is a movement towards hypostatizing the Spirit of God (see ANGEL). The 'word' of God is sometimes spoken of as if it had an objective existence, and possessed a native power of realizing itself. The 'wisdom' of God in some passages is no more an attribute of God, but a personification of His thought. In Pr 8 'wisdom' is God's world-plan or conception, the articulated framework of the universe as a moral organism. Its creation is the first movement of the divine mind outward. Being projected outside of the mind of God, it becomes the subject of His own contemplation; it is 'with' God. It is also His architect in creation, for creation is only the divine wisdom realizing itself. And as one work of creation arises after another embodying it, its self-realization is as if it 'played' before J″, and this play of self-expression was most joyous in the moral economy of man (cf. Jn 1$^{1-3}$, Eph 3^{9}, Col 1$^{16.17}$). Whether the 'servant of the LORD' be a true being, or only a conception personified into a being, he may be defined as the word of God incarnated in the seed of Abraham. And if even the loftiest Messianic conceptions of the OT remain short of the idea that God 'became' man, yet in Is 9$^{1-7}$ J″ is manifested in the fulness of His being in the Messianic King (cf. chs. 7. 11).

LITERATURE.—The *OT Theologies*; Vatke, *Religion des Alt. Tests.* 1835; Kuenen, *Religion of Israel* (trans.), 1874, *National and World Religions* (Hibbert Lect.), 1882; Duhm, *Theologie der Propheten*, 1875; Nestle, *Die Isr. Eigennamen* (also divine names), 1876; Baudissin, *Studien zur Semit. Religionsgeschichte*, 1876–78; König, *Hauptprobleme der altisr. Religionsgesch.* 1884; Stade, *GVI*, 1887; Kittel, *Hist. of the Hebrews* (trans.); Baethgen, *Beiträge zur Semit. Religionsgesch.* 1888; Montefiore, *Lectures on Relig. of the Hebrews* (Hibbert Lect.), 1892; Smend, *Lehrbuch der AT Religionsgesch.* 1893; W. R. Smith, *RS*^{2}, 1894; J. Robertson, *The Early Relig. of Israel*^{5}, 1896; Tiele, *Gesch. der Religion* (Germ. trans.), 1895–96; Jevons, *An Introduction to the History of Religion*, 1896; Sellin, *Beiträge zur Isr. und Jüd. Religionsgesch.* 1896–97; Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgesch.*^{2} (p. 242 ff. 'Relig. of Israel,' by Valeton), 1897; Wellhausen, *Israel. u. Jüdische Geschichte*^{3}, 1897, *Reste Arabischen Heidentumes* (Skizzen iii.), 1887, ed. 2, 1897; Ottley, *Aspects of the OT* (Bampton Lect.), 1897; Hommel, *AHT*, 1897.

A. B. DAVIDSON.

GOD (IN NT).*—The main object of this art. must be to draw in broad outline the doctrine of God in the NT, so as to show more particularly what new elements are added, and what old elements are specially developed or emphasized. The details of the subject may be left to the special arts., but it is important to mark distinctly those points in which NT presents an advance upon OT.

With this object in view, our inquiry will naturally follow some such lines as these—

- I. TENDENCIES OF CONTEMPORARY JUDAISM.
  - 1. Monism.
  - 2. Transcendence.
  - 3. Particularist Limitations.
- II. TEACHING OF NT.
  - 1. Attributes of God.
    - (i.) Fatherhood.
    - (ii.) Love.
    - (iii.) Righteousness.
  - 2. Revelation of God.
    - (i.) Through the Son.
    - (ii.) Through the Holy Ghost.
  - 3. Distinctions in the Godhead.
    - (i.) The Father and the Son.
    - (ii.) The Holy Ghost.

I. TENDENCIES OF CONTEMPORARY JUDAISM.—It is impossible not to be impressed by the intense and passionate loyalty of Jews to the idea of God as they conceived that it had been handed down to them. The repudiation of idolatry could not have been more complete. It was this uncompromising monotheism which formed at once the largest and the purest element in the antipathy which the Jews felt for the heathen world, and in their impatience of its domination. The well-known instance of Caligula's attempt to set up his statue in the temple shows how the whole nation was stirred to its depths by the threat of such a sacrilege (Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium*, §§ 32–43; Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. viii. 2–9, *BJ* II. x. 1–3). And smaller incidents, like the hewing down of the golden eagle from the gate of the temple under Herod (*Ant.* XVII. vi. 2, *BJ* I. xxxiii. 2–4), and that of Pilate and the shields (*Ant.* XVIII. iii. 1, *BJ* II. ix. 2, 3; Philo, *ad G.* § 38), illustrate the jealousy with which the slightest approach of heathen profanation was resisted.

Christian apologists have often done scant justice to the intensity of this faith, which was utterly disinterested and capable of magnificent self-sacrifice. Those who believe most firmly that the Christian creed is an advance upon it are yet bound to recognize that it formed the base, broad and deep, on which that creed has been built. Judaism with all its faults and with all its corruptions was yet the religion of the Chosen People. However imperfectly it embodies the leading principles of Psalmists and Prophets, it yet had those principles behind it. It made great mistakes in the estimate and in the interpretation of its own past, but these very mistakes would seem to have been honest, and in the first instance at least mistakes of the head rather than of the heart.

---

* The writer of this portion of the art. very much regrets that he has not had the advantage of seeing the previous portion before writing.

A Christian cannot afford to misjudge or undervalue the better elements in Judaism, even in that branch of Judaism which rejected Christianity. At the same time he cannot help seeing certain weak points in it—points in which it demanded improvement, and which it has been one of the great results of the coming of Christ to improve. This holds good even of one of its best features, its doctrine of God. And that in three respects.

1. *MONISM.*—It was of the essence of the Jews' belief that God is One. The Jew repeated solemnly every day the words of Dt 6^4 'Hear, O Israel, J″ our God is one J″.' A stress was laid on 'one' to mark the contrast to the gods of the heathen. And it is said that Rabbi Akiba died his martyr's death with this word 'one' on his lips (Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*^{2} § 31, p. 151). Our Lord, as we know, took the same text as a starting-point of His own teaching (Mk $12^{29f.}$). And yet, after all, it expresses, or was apt to express, in the mouth of a Jew a rigid abstract idea of Oneness. The Jews appealed to it at a later date against the Christian doctrine of the Trinity. And it did for them exclude the deeper truth contained in that doctrine—the truth that God is not a mere Monad, self-centred and self-absorbed, without scope for the exercise of the highest affections within itself, but a Monad so distributed as it were within itself as to admit of a perfect interchange and reciprocity of those affections which can exist only as between persons. On this side the Jewish monotheism could not help being bare and dry and inadequate to the true richness and fulness of Deity.

The passages of OT in which the plural is used in reference to the divine action led the Jews to make some small approach towards the Christian conception by the idea of an 'upper or celestial *familia* or tribunal' (Taylor on *Pirke Aboth*, ii. 2). Taylor quotes *Sanhed.* 38*b*: 'The Holy One, blessed is He, does nothing without consulting the *familia superna*, for it is said (Dn 4^{17}), "This matter is by the decree of the watchers, and the demand by the word of the holy ones."'

2. *TRANSCENDENCE.*—At the time of which we are speaking there was a marked and widespread tendency in the higher minds to widen the chasm between God and the world. Philosophy was straining after a conception of the Supreme Good or the Supreme Being as transcending the conditions of finite existence (*οὐκ οὐσίας ὄντος τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, ἀλλ' ἔτι ἐπέκεινα τῆς οὐσίας πρεσβείᾳ καὶ δυνάμει ὑπερέχοντος*, Plato, *Rep.* 509 B). This was especially characteristic of Platonism, which contributed so much to the thought of Philo. And a like effort might be seen in the Oriental religions which were in contact with Judaism on another side. It may not be easy to say how far the movement in Judaism itself was sympathetic to these influences and how far it was internal and spontaneous; but that there was such a movement is evident.

(*a*) *Names of God.*—One marked indication of it is the treatment of the divine names. The great covenant name Jehovah (Jahweh) was considered too sacred to be pronounced aloud except in the temple (Schürer, *GJV* ii. 241, 381; Eng. tr. II. i. 296, ii. 82). Besides the common substitution of *Adonai* or *Elohim* in reading, a number of paraphrases were in use, all prompted by the instinct of reverence: 'Heaven,' 'Place,' or 'Space' (ὁ τόπος in Philo), 'the Name,' 'the Holy One, blessed is He' (Taylor on *Pirke Aboth*, iv. 7). In Greek the usual substitute was Κύριος. This conveyed, of course, indirectly the full connotation of J″; directly, it gave prominence to the idea of sovereignty. This idea meets us in a great variety of forms: 'God, King, Lord of the world'; 'Lord of all,' 'God, Lord of heaven,' 'Lord of the whole creation of the heaven,' 'Lord of lords, of the mighty, of the rulers,' *dominator dominus* (8 or 9 times in 2 Es); 'Great King,' 'King of kings,' 'King on the lofty throne'; 'Lord of judgment, of righteousness,' *deus, dominus omnipotens.* In close connexion with the sovereignty of God is His majesty: 'the Great One,' 'the Great Glory,' 'the Holy and Great One,' 'the Honoured and Glorious One,' 'the Mighty One,' *fortis, fortissimus* (esp. in 2 Es and Apoc. Bar). Less frequent is the idea of creation as an attribute of God (Enoch 81^5 94^{10}, Assump. Mos. 10^{10}), and that of eternity (Enoch 25^3 75^3, Assump. Mos. 10^7; cf. Cheyne on Is 40^{28}). After the simple titles Θεός and Κύριος, probably the commonest in the literature of this period is 'Most High' (ὕψιστος, *altissimus, excelsus*, ἐν ὑψίστοις κατοικῶν: on this title cf. Cheyne, *Bamp. Lect.* p. 83 f.). We may take this as the most direct expression of the idea which we call 'transcendence.'

On the names of God the reader may consult the excellent indexes in Charles, *Book of Enoch* and *Assump. of Moses*, and Bensly-James, *Fourth Bk. of Ezra*. There is less material in Pss of Sol and Test. of XII. Patriarchs. A list of the divine names in the earlier part of the Talmud is given in an essay by Löw, *Gesamm. Schr.* i. 177–186 (Schürer, *LThZ*, 1891, col. 275).

(*b*) *Removal of Anthropomorphisms.*—The older forms of Judaism are well represented in the Targums. In these the growing conception of the transcendence of God is clearly marked. The simple anthropomorphisms which are so common in OT are paraphrased away. The ground is cut from under them at the outset, as the creation of man in the likeness of God (Gn 1^{26}) is changed into his creation in the likeness of the ministering angels. God is represented as taking counsel with the angels, and creating man in their image. In pursuance of this tendency, where God is represented as 'coming down,' as seeing and hearing, etc., we find substituted the vaguer expressions, 'God revealed Himself,' 'it was revealed before God.' When we are told in Gn 18^8 that Abraham's heavenly visitants 'ate' what was set before them, the later (though in this case not the oldest) Targum paraphrases 'it seemed to him as though they ate'; and in like manner in the case of Lot (Gn 19^3). Even the ascription to God of mental acts, such as 'knowledge' (Gn 3^5, Ex 3^{19}) or 'intending' (Gn 50^{20}), is avoided, and that in the older Targum of Onkelos. Other expressions which attribute to God the conditions and even the passions of man are removed (*e.g.* the 'man of war' in Ex 15^3), anger (Ex 15^8, Ps 10^5), repentance (Ex 32^{12}). Along with these changes go a number of others, the object of which is to spiritualize the realistic descriptions of the intercourse between God and man. In this way even Jacob's wrestling and Moses' speaking with God 'face to face' disappear; and in places where God and man are, as it were, bracketed together a distinction is introduced, *e.g.* Ex 14^{31} '[the people] believed in the LORD and in his servant Moses' becomes 'believed in the LORD and *in the prophecy of Moses*'; Nu $21^{5.7}$ '[the people] spake against God and against Moses' becomes 'murmured before J″ and disputed with Moses' (Weber, *Jud. Theol.*^{2} pp. 154–157).

The Greek version of OT (Sept.) is several centuries older than the written Targums as they have come down to us. And there, too, a very similar set of changes may be noted. There, too, we find paraphrases for God's 'repenting,' for the descriptions of God as seen, for 'the LORD is a man of war' (Drummond, *Philo Judæus*, i. 158 f.). The fragments quoted by Clem. Alex. and Euseb. show that one of the earliest Judæo-Alexandrian writers, Aristobulus, whose date is placed at about B.C. 170–150, had already discussed and explained at length the anthropomorphisms in OT (Schürer, *GJV* ii. 763; Eng. tr. II. iii. 240). And Philo deliberately rejects all real anthropomorphism or anthropopathism, though he regards the use of anthropomorphic expressions as a necessity, especially for the unlearned (Drummond, *op. cit.* ii. 12–15).

We have thus abundant evidence as to the general set of the current of thought in the century immediately before and immediately after the Christian era. And yet at a later date, and it may be to a certain extent even at this date, other causes were operating to bring back anthropomorphisms of a particular kind. We shall see this when we come to speak presently of the limitations imposed upon Judaism by its excessive self-consciousness of national privilege. However much it might avoid the conceiving of God as made in the likeness of man generally, it had not the same hesitation to conceive of Him as made in the likeness of the ideal Jew (see below, p. 208^{a}).

(*c*) *Intermediate Beings.*—In proportion as God was removed from direct contact with the world of matter, it became necessary to fill up the gap with intermediate agencies. So Philo: 'God generated all things (out of matter), not touching it Himself, for it was not right for the Wise and Blessed to come in contact with indeterminate and mixed matter; but He used the incorporeal powers whose real name is ideas, that each genus might receive its fitting form' (*De Sacrificant.* 13; *ap.* Drummond, *Philo Judæus*, ii. 113, with a slight difference of translation). Philo thus explains the action of God upon matter by the intervention of certain 'powers,' to which he also gives the Platonic name of 'ideas.' These, again, he sometimes calls 'Logoi,' which, in their turn, are summed up under the comprehensive name of 'Logos,' a quasi-personification of the divine reason. This is familiar ground (see art. LOGOS).

Palestinian theology did not go so far as Alexandrian in the use which it makes of intermediate agencies; but it, too, has and uses them. The most important of these for our purpose are the '*Memra*' or Word of J″, the *Shechinah*, and the *Holy Spirit.*

The *Memra* is a personification, almost a hypostatizing, not of the Divine Reason, but of the executive Divine Word, on the model of such passages as Is $55^{10.11}$ 'As the rain cometh down, and the snow from heaven, and returneth not thither . . . so shall my word be that goeth forth out of my mouth; it shall not return to me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it.' This executive Word of God is constantly substituted in the Targum, in places where the OT refers the action directly to God Himself. The introduction of the *Memra* is the chief expedient for the removal of anthropomorphisms of which mention has just been made. All bodily appearance or bodily action is ascribed, not to God, but to His *Memra.* It is the medium through which the presence of God among His people is realized. The intervention of God in history is conducted through the *Memra.* The *Memra* covers the whole ground over which God is represented as acting, as manifested, as revealed. It is remarkable that this conception, though extremely frequent in the Targums, is not found in the Talmud. But we cannot doubt that it existed, though perhaps on a more limited scale, in the period of the NT.

The place of the *Memra* is taken in the later Talmudic literature by the *Shechinah.* In the Targums the two conceptions stand side by side, the *Shechinah* representing the manifested glory of the divine presence. The *Shechinah* differs from the *Memra* as being, at least at this earlier date, impersonal. Prayer and trust are predicated of the one, but not of the other. The *Memra* does, and the *Shechinah* does not, take an active part in the redemption of Israel. The Greek equivalent δόξα is of frequent occurrence in the NT (Weber, §§ 38, 39).

In the OT there are a few allusions to the *Holy Spirit* (see sep. art.). One of the principal is Ps 51^{11} 'Take not thy Holy Spirit from me,' where its function is clearly indicated as keeping alive religion in the soul, and as the special medium of communication between God and the spirit of man. The 'Spirit of God' is repeatedly spoken of as the source of inspiration and revelation. It is, in particular, the moving cause of the utterances, and, so far as they are divinely prompted, of the actions of the prophets and other organs of the Deity. In one OT writing there is a tendency to go further than this, and to make of the Holy Spirit a distinct hypostasis. This is Deutero-Isaiah, where we have such expressions as, 'The LORD God hath sent me, and his Spirit' (48^{16}), and 'They rebelled and grieved his Holy Spirit' (63^{10}; cf. Cheyne, *ad loc.*). There is hardly any clear advance upon this until we come to NT. The conception is not one that is largely used: *ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ* occurs once in Ps.-Sol (17^{42}) and 'immitte in me Spiritum Sanctum' in 2 Es 14^{22}. But in neither case is there any attribution of personality. In Targ. and Talm. there is a fluctuating use, the tendency to personify being sometimes greater than it is at others (רוּחַ is both masc. and fem., but more often the latter, the sense of which is more impersonal, Weber, p. 191). The conception cannot be said to have assumed a fixed form at the time when NT literature begins.

Besides these intermediate agencies there is the *Messiah* ('Son of Man' in Similitudes of Bk. of Enoch), whose function is esp. that of judgment and of the restoration of the chosen people. And there is also the whole celestial hierarchy of *angels*, which, from the Persian domination onwards, had become more and more defined and elaborated.

The Jew had a valuable corrective against the injurious effects of an exaggerated doctrine of the transcendence of God in the OT doctrine of His omnipresence, though this was not one of the doctrines which took the strongest hold on the Jewish mind. 'In the development of the Jewish religion, this conception of God's omnipresence was only reached at a comparatively late period, and it was for long crossed and obscured by other simpler and more childish notions. To the moral attributes of Deity, to His supreme pity and justice, there are endless references in the Psalter and the Prophets; to the divine omnipresence there are but few. And, indeed, there is an element of philosophy and of mysticism in this conception, to neither of which the native Hebrew mind was pre-eminently prone.' Still, the doctrine finds magnificent and classical expression in Ps 139; and it is natural that the modern writer, who seeks for the germs of a belief in the immanence of God as well as in His transcendence, should fall back upon this (see Montefiore in *Aspects of Judaism*, London, 1895, pp. 107–124). On the relation of immanence and transcendence in the theology of Philo, see Herriot, *Philon le Juif*, p. 211 ff.

3. *PARTICULARIST LIMITATIONS.* — Although there was in Judaism this tendency to emphasize the transcendence of God, and although the attitude of mind corresponding to this tendency was one of reverential awe, which is often finely expressed, there was at the same time another set of tendencies which were apt to run counter to this, and to bring back in an unattractive form the

very faults from which Judaism was trying to free itself. These counter-tendencies had their root in the overweening estimate of the Law and the rabbinical study of the Law, and of the privileged position of the Jewish people.

The fundamental mistake of Judaism, fraught with disastrous consequences along the whole line of religious belief and practice, was its neglect of the Prophets in comparison with the Law, and its failure to grasp the principle that the Law was to be interpreted in the spirit of the Prophets and not by the rules of a minute literalism. The Jew believed that his Law came from God, and we must do justice to the strength and tenacity of this belief. It is easy to see how many of his errors of interpretation flowed directly from it. But it must be confessed that his zeal was not according to knowledge (Ro 10^{2}). However well meant in the first instance, it was often strangely devoid of insight (though from time to time flashes of insight may be discerned in it for which we are hardly prepared by the general tenor of the surroundings). But this lack of insight caused the Jew to fall a too ready victim to the warping effect of interested motive. His love of the Law as the gift of God became pride in himself as the exponent of the Law, pride in his race as the recipients of the Law, security in the consciousness of formal obedience as though it dispensed from the prolonged and more difficult task of true spiritual conformity. Not that the rabbinical teachers by any means always lost sight of this, but that through this process of self-deception a standard which, on the face of it, seemed to be extremely high became in practice miserably perverted and low. [We are compelled to use such language, by an impartial study of Judaism in the 1st cent. of the Christian era as it appears not only in Christian writings but in the pages of the Jewish historian. The Christian, however, should remember that, though true, this is not the whole truth; there are exceptions and qualifications].

The Jew's horizon was almost limited by the Law. It absorbed the energies of the strongest minds, and the possession of it created a national self-consciousness which was anything but well adapted 'for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness.' This state of things reacted strongly upon the conception of God. Judaism sought to get rid of anthropomorphisms drawn from common human nature only to substitute for them another set of anthropomorphisms, in some ways less innocent, drawn from rabbinical human nature. It expelled *idola tribus*, only to fall a prey to *idola specus et theatri.*

Thus God Himself was regarded as devoted to the study of His own Law, and not only of the Law, but even of the rabbinical developments of the Law. By day He 'is engaged upon the 24 Books of the Torah, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa, and by night He is engaged upon the 6 divisions of the Mishnah. God is even represented as having companions in the study of the Torah. At least we have, according to *Baba Mezia*, 85^{b}, even in heaven an assembly, like the high schools on earth, devoted to the investigation of the Torah. Here the great Rabbis sit in the order of their merit and of their knowledge of the Law, studying *Halacha*, and God studies with them. They dispute with one another and lay down Halacha' (Weber, p. 158).

We may make allowance for such extravagances as this, and see in them only a play of fancy growing naturally out of the view that the Law embodied the Wisdom of God. But we see how the idolatry of the Law tended to contract the range of spiritual vision. And still more mischievous results followed when the Law and all the rest of the divine ordinances were regarded as having for their final cause the profit and glory of Israel.

LITERATURE. — Much material may be found in the larger works on the Life of Christ and the history and condition of the Jewish People (Edersheim, Schürer, etc.), or the works of Siegfried and Drummond on Philo (to which may be now added Herriot, *Philon le Juif*, Paris, 1898); in the editions of *Pseudepigrapha*, to which reference has been made above; and in Taylor's *Pirke Aboth.* But the most convenient and complete of all the collections bearing directly on Jewish thought and theology is the posthumous work of Ferdinand Weber, formerly called *System d. altsynagogalen palästinischen Theologie* (Leipzig, 1880), and in the new and improved edition brought out under the superintendence of Schnedermann, *Jüdische Theologie auf Grund d. Talmud u. verwandter Schriften* (1897). Weber, though of Jewish origin, wrote from the Christian standpoint; and the reader who desires to see what is to be said from the Jewish side will find it attractively presented in Montefiore's *Hibbert Lectures* (London, 1892), and in artt. in *JQR*.

II. THE TEACHING OF THE NT.—We thus have as the starting-point for the teaching of NT an idea of God very tenaciously held, up to a certain point high and pure, and still bearing at times, though fitfully and uncertainly, the marks of its inspired origin; but as a rule contracted and petrified, with far too much of the life and warmth of the old belief of Psalmists and Prophets dried out of it, and in many minds seriously infected with a cancerous growth of self-love and self-righteousness. How did Christianity vivify, restore, enlarge, and enrich this idea? It did so (1) by asserting with greatly increased breadth and emphasis certain of the attributes of Godhead; (2) by presenting in the person of Jesus Christ a special revelation, brought home in the most palpable of forms, of the nature of God as expressed in these attributes; and (3) by opening the eyes of men to the truth that God is not, as was supposed, a simple Monad, but that within the Oneness of His Being there were included certain distinctions which made possible a constant flow and return of the highest and purest affections, dimly shadowed in the like affections of men, and putting a crown to the divine perfections.

1. *THE ATTRIBUTES OF GOD.* — In respect to the attributes of God the teaching of NT grows directly out of that of OT, but in each case greatly strengthens, deepens, and extends that teaching. The leading particulars in which it does this are as follows:—

(i.) *Fatherhood.*—Perhaps there has been a tendency to minimize too much the part which the conception of God as Father plays in OT (Holtzmann, *Neutestl. Theol.* i. 48 ff.). Not only is the relation of God both to Israel as a whole and to the individual Israelite compared to that of a father (Dt 1^{31} 8^{5}, Ps 103^{13}), but God is frequently represented as the Father of Israel (Dt 32^{6}, Jer 3$^{4.\,19}$ 31^{9}) and of Israelites (Is 63^{16} 64^{8}, Wis 2^{16} 14^{3}, Sir 23$^{1.\,4}$, To 13^{4}). We have also the correlative expressions: Israel is 'God's son,' Ex 4$^{22f.}$ (cf. Wis 18^{13}, Sir 37^{12}), Hos 11^{1}, Jer 3^{19} 31^{20}, Ps 89^{27}, and individuals in Israel His 'children' (Dt 14^{1}). Some of these passages are enunciated with full prophetic πληροφορία (Ex 4$^{22f.}$, Hos 11^{1}, Is 63^{16}), and must be numbered among the axiomatic utterances of OT religion. We note also, that while the relation of son to father is predicated both of Israel as a whole, and mediately through the nation of individual Israelites, it is also predicated with especial force of the theocratic king whom, with the sequel of the history before us, we regard as a type of the Messiah (Pss 2 and 89).

There was therefore no lack of points of contact and connexion between the teaching of OT and of NT. And yet the doctrine of NT assumes such different proportions as almost to amount to a new revelation. So far as the idea of the Divine Fatherhood really entered into the popular consciousness, it was chiefly as an item in the general sense of privilege. Even that had its good side, and this good side was the saving virtue of Judaism. But the virtue and its corruption lay too near together. Over wide tracts of Judaism the former was very largely swallowed up by the latter. A new impulse was needed if the idea of the Fatherhood of God was to retain its highest qualities of warmth and intimacy, and was at the same time not to be the privilege of a chosen few, but was to be brought home to the common consciousness of mankind.

No one doubts that Christianity has succeeded in doing this. From the beginning of NT to the end the lesson of God's Fatherhood is presented in such mass and volume as to identify it with the very essence of Christianity in a sense which does not apply to any other religion. And this is a clear case in which all subsequent teaching does but reflect the teaching of the Founder. One of the leading features in that teaching is the (inherited) conception of God as King (the kingdom of God as representing His penetrating and pervasive sovereignty); but side by side with this, and in full equality with it, is the conception of God as Father. No name of God was more constantly on the lips of Christ; and no other name so dominated the whole thought of God, as He not only cherished it for Himself, but bequeathed it to His disciples. Fatherhood is no longer one attribute among many, but it is a central attribute which gives a colour to all the rest. It is characteristic of Jesus that He repeatedly argues downwards from this attribute as furnishing a safe basis for deduction (Mt $6^{26.32}$ 7^{9-11} 10^{29-31} etc.).

The idea of the Fatherhood of God is presented in the teaching of our Lord upon three planes. (*a*) God is Father of all mankind. His fatherly attributes are displayed even to 'the unthankful and the evil' (Lk 6^{35}, cf. Mt 5^{45}). (*b*) He is in a special sense the Father of believers, disciples of Christ. In the uncertainty which attends the exact circumstances of many of His discourses, it may be often doubtful as to how far the phrase ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν extends beyond these. Probably, as a rule its application starts from the inner circle. But it is also probably not confined to this. It is certainly impossible in view of such sayings as Mk 9^{40} ('he that is not against us is for us') to regard it as bounded by any hard-and-fast line. All those to whom Jesus speaks are potential disciples. The two classes run into each other. To both God stands in the relation of Father; but the fulness of His love is naturally felt by those who have learnt to come to Him as His children. (*c*) There is, however, yet a third sense in which the Fatherhood of God is unique. Jesus does not speak of '*our* Father' as embracing both Himself and His disciples, but of '*My* Father' and '*your* Father.' In this He takes up the special sense in which (as we have seen) the terms 'Father' and 'Son' were applied to the theocratic King. The ministry of Jesus begins with an announcement from heaven: 'Thou art My beloved Son, in Thee I am well pleased' (Mk 1^{11}). And this announcement is repeated on another culminating occasion (Mk 9^{7}). It is by virtue of this unique relationship that the revelation of God which Jesus gives is also unique (Mt 11^{27}). It contains further implications as to the nature of the Godhead. To both these points we shall return.

All the three planes of Fatherhood and Sonship reappear in the teaching of the apostles. The first is, as with our Lord Himself, the least prominent. Still it is not absent (Ac 17^{28}), and it must always be remembered that if the Fatherhood of God is in the first instance and in the fullest sense for Christians (Ro 8^{15-17}, Gal 4^{6}, 1 P 1^{17}), they hold their privileges in trust for the rest of the world. The fulness of the Gentiles, and after it the fulness of Israel, is some day to be brought in (Ro $11^{25ff.}$). The peculiar Sonship of Christ is very prominent in the apostolic writings. It is clear that the apostles too, and we may say the whole Church, regarded the relation indicated by it as unique. It is the full recognition of this by virtue of which Christians are Christians (see below, p. 214^{b}, and art. CHRISTOLOGY).

(ii.) *Love.*—One of the points included under the Fatherhood of God is the extension of a Father's love to all who stand to Him in the relation of children. There had been a school of Prophets and Psalmists, of which Jeremiah seems to have been a leader, who laid especial stress on the 'loving-kindness' of J", *i.e.* the feeling of kindness and compassion which grows out of the covenant relation, the love of God for Israel as the covenant people. In the NT the horizon widens: God is a Father, not to Israel alone, but to all who claim their sonship. Towards them He turns, not paternal severity, but paternal love. The writers of NT generalize this love, so that one of them says in set terms 'God is love' (1 Jn 4^{8}). Here is another salient characteristic of Christianity. As it insists far more than every other known religion that God is Father, so also is it the one religion which lays down in this emphatic way that 'God is love.'

There are two distinguishing features in this proposition that 'God is love.' (*a*) The argument on which it is mainly based is that supplied by the death of Christ. St. John lays down this in his Gospel: 'God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him should not perish, but have eternal life' (Jn 3^{16}, an enlargement by the evangelist of the discourse with Nicodemus). In the First Ep. when he returns to the idea he draws the same inference from the same premises a little more widely stated: 'Herein was the love of God manifested in us, that God hath sent his Only-begotten into the world, that we might live through him' (1 Jn 4^{9}). And it is a noticeable fact that St. Paul, to whom this attribute of the Godhead is no less prominent, grounds it also upon the stupendous sacrifice of the death of Christ: 'God commendeth his own love towards us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us' (Ro 5^{8}, cf. vv.$^{6-7}$ and 8^{31-39}).

(*b*) The unwavering confidence of the biblical writers in the love of God may indeed be set down to revelation. The philosopher who sought to infer the character of the Author of Nature inductively from His works would not be able to adopt this tone. The waste which attends the processes of nature is accompanied by too much suffering. He might on the whole, and upon a balance of 'for' and 'against,' decide that the evidence for a benevolent purpose preponderates, and he might also see reason to think that that purpose became clearer in the progressive evolution of things; but further than this he could not go. He could not speak of benevolence as absolute; he could not say 'God is love.' The belief expressed in these words is not the product of an induction. None the less, when once it is entertained, and entertained on such grounds as those which the NT writers assign for it, the phenomena of the world may then be found compatible with it. The Christian may still cling to his belief, and trust that what is at present dark to him will be made clear in God's good time.

(iii.) *Righteousness.*—There can be no mistake as to the meaning and implications of the Fatherhood and Love of God. The case is different as to His Righteousness. Righteousness is a word of such varied signification that the exact sense in which it is used in any particular passage may really be doubtful; and there are certain places in NT where its meaning, as applied to God (δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ), has been a subject of much discussion.

We may say that there are really four leading senses which the phrase δικ. θεοῦ will bear. It may mean (*a*) 'rightness' or 'goodness' in general, including all moral excellence; or (*b*) in a narrower sense 'judicial righteousness,' the strict application of the standard of right by the judge; or (*c*) an application of that standard which is not strict but leans to the side of mercy towards the offender, and takes especial care of the weak and defenceless. Lastly, (*d*) there are a number of passages in the writings of St. Paul where it has been thought that δικ. θεοῦ ceases to be strictly an attribute of God at all, and comes to mean rather a state of man in the sight of God. This use we must consider. But it will be best to make our way upwards from the easier senses to the more difficult.

(*a*) It may be doubted whether there are any passages in NT where δικ. θ. is used precisely in this wide sense (unless we regard the case discussed below as in effect an application of it). But δικ. is frequently used of men in the sense of general uprightness or virtue; and this is brought into relation to God almost as if it were δικ. ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ, 'righteousness in his sight,' or 'of which he approves.'

In Lk 1^{75} we have λατρεύειν αὐτῷ ἐν ὁσιότητι, κ. δικαιοσύνῃ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ, where ἐνώπ. αὐτ. strictly defines λατρεύειν, but in effect gives the wider meaning to δικ. In Mt 6^{33} it is a question whether the reading of most critical texts (incl. WH) τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ θεοῦ) can stand, and whether we ought not, with Lachmann, Weiss, and Holtzmann, to prefer the reading of cod. B, τὴν δικ. κ. τ. βασ. αὐτοῦ. In that case τ. δικ. would be absolute; to 'seek God's righteousness' would be an expression without parallel in the Gospels; we should have to connect it with Is 54^{17} quoted below. Ja 1^{20} comes under the next head, and in 2 P 1^{1}, where righteousness is referred to Christ, the sense is akin to (*d*).

(*b*) The simple judicial sense, though deeply rooted in language and always present in the background of thought, is not prominent in NT except in Rev. It naturally has a place in St. Paul's speech at Athens (Ac 17^{31}). It occurs also in 2 Ti 4^{8} and in Rev 16$^{5.\,7}$ 19$^{2.\,11}$. And the same idea is conveyed by δικαιοκρισία in Ro 2^{5}.

(*c*) The more distinctive senses in which righteousness is predicated of God come under the last two heads, and one of these, as has been said, is still somewhat of a problem. Both these remaining senses are certainly based upon the use of OT, and to understand them we need to recall the conditions of society in OT times. The OT covers a period of transition from comparative barbarism to comparative civilization. In all the earlier and less settled portions of such a period the rallying-point of society was the judge. It was a matter of the greatest moment that he should be strong enough to deal out even-handed justice without fear or favour. He would be beset by turbulent and powerful chieftains, who would make his task an extremely difficult one. By degrees it would be increasingly felt that the judge (or the king as judge) was the one refuge for all the weak and defenceless classes—the poor, the fatherless, the widow, the stranger; and his more characteristic functions would seem to be, not so much the safeguarding of equal rights, as the special protection of those who most needed protection. For king or judge to discharge this function in the face of all the dangers and uncertainties of his own position must often have required no little force and elevation of character. Hence we are not surprised to find either the great importance attached to righteousness as a name for this quality, or that it came often to mean vindicating the rights of the oppressed or dealing gently and leniently with the weak. We are apt to put righteousness in contrast to mercy, as Marcion opposed the 'just or righteous God' (δίκαιος) to the 'good God' (ἀγαθός); but to the Heb. 'just' or 'righteous' often meant 'merciful.'

These senses can be abundantly illustrated from OT. One conspicuous passage may be given out of many: Job 29$^{14-17}$ 'I put on righteousness, and it clothed me: my justice was a robe and a diadem. I was eyes to the blind, and feet was I to the lame. I was a father to the needy; and the cause of him that I knew not I searched out. And I brake the jaws of the unrighteous, and plucked the prey out of his teeth' (cf. vv.$^{9-13}$).

It was an inevitable process that this use of the word 'righteousness' as applied to men reacted upon its application to God. More and more as time went on, esp. in Deutero-Isaiah and certain psalms, the righteousness of God comes to be, not His strict justice, but His healing, rescuing justice. He is not 'a just God and yet a Saviour,' but 'a just God and a Saviour' (Is 45^{21}; cf. δίκαιος καὶ δικαιῶν, Ro 3^{26}). The two conceptions of 'righteousness' and 'salvation' are very frequently placed in juxtaposition: Ps 24^{5} 'He shall receive a blessing from the LORD, and righteousness from the God of his salvation'; 31$^{1.\,2}$ (cf. 71^{2}) 'Deliver me in thy righteousness. . . . Be thou to me . . . an house of defence to save me'; 71^{15} 'My mouth shall tell of thy righteousness and of thy salvation all the day'; 98^{2} 'The Lord hath made known his salvation: his righteousness hath he openly showed in the sight of the nations'; 143^{11} 'In thy righteousness bring my soul out of trouble'; Is 46^{13} 'I bring near my righteousness, it shall not be far off, and my salvation shall not tarry'; 51^{6} (cf. ^{8}) 'My salvation shall be for ever, and my righteousness shall not be abolished'; 56^{1} 'My salvation is near to come, and my righteousness to be revealed'; 59^{17} (cf. 61^{10}) 'He put on righteousness as a breastplate, and an helmet of salvation upon his head'; 63^{1} 'I that speak in righteousness, mighty to save.'

In the *Pseudepigrapha*, speaking generally, the 'righteousness of God' is, as a rule, His judicial righteousness, as seen in the rewarding of the righteous and the punishment of the wicked. But we do also occasionally find its merciful side put forward, as in 4 Ezra (ed. Bensly-James) 8^{36}: *In hoc enim adnuntiabitur iusticia tua et bonitas tua, domine, cum misertus fueris eis qui non habent substantiam operum bonorum.*

It is to be noticed also that in connexion with the righteousness of God there arises the idea of a righteousness in man *derived* from God. Thus in Is 54^{17} 'This is the heritage of the servants of the Lord, and their righteousness which is of me, saith the LORD.' And a like use is found in Bar 5$^{2.\,9}$ 'Cast about thee the robe of the righteousness which cometh from God (τῆς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ δικαιοσύνης); set a diadem on thy head of the glory of the Everlasting. . . . For God shall lead Israel with joy in the light of his glory with the mercy and righteousness that cometh from him' (δικ. τῇ παρ' αὐτοῦ).

There do not seem to be any instances in NT of a use of the 'righteousness of God' quite on the same footing with that in Deutero-Isaiah and the Psalms. But when we consider the collection of passages just quoted from these and from other books, we seem to be upon the line of antecedents of a very marked and characteristic doctrine, which is associated specially with St. Paul.

(*d*) The Pauline doctrine. We have spoken of this doctrine as still constituting a problem in the exegesis and theology of NT. It is a problem which has been sharply accentuated in recent years, but, if not yet wholly solved, it would appear to have been at least placed on the road to solution.

In Ro 1^{17} St. Paul formulates the thesis of the Epistle. It is an announcement to the world of the righteousness of God revealed in the gospel from faith to faith (*δικαιοσύνη γὰρ θεοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ* [*sc.* *τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ*] *ἀποκαλύπτεται ἐκ πίστεως εἰς πίστιν*). Here the key-phrase is evidently *δικ. θεοῦ*; but what exactly does it mean?

A few years ago there seemed to be a strong consensus of the best exegetes (Meyer, Weiss, Lipsius, Godet, Oltramare, and in England, Vaughan, Liddon, Beet, Moule, unequivocally, and Gifford with rather more qualification) in favour of taking *δικ. θεοῦ* as a righteousness, which though in some sense or other God's ('a righteousness of which God is the author,' most Comms.), yet denotes more directly a state of man ('of which man is the recipient'). And whatever may be urged against this view, the arguments for it are so strong that it seems impossible to regard it as devoid of a substantial basis of truth. St. Paul appears to make his own meaning more explicit in Ph 3^{9}, where he substitutes the phrase *τὴν ἐκ θεοῦ δικαιοσύνην ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει*. And if it is said that this is the view of a later Epistle, and that it is differentiated from Ro by the insertion of *ἐκ*, the same antithesis of *ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ δικ.* and *ἡ ἰδία δικ.* occurs in Ro 10^{3}, where in spite of the absence of *ἐκ* the former phrase can hardly be ambiguous. And other arguments derived from the transition from *δικ. θ.* to *ὁ δίκαιος* in the quotation from Habakkuk in Ro 1^{17}, and from the evident parallel in $3^{21.22}$ (where *δικ. θ.* is defined by *δικ. θ. διὰ πίστεως, κ.τ.λ.*), are hardly less cogent.

We must therefore include in the conception a righteousness which, whatever its origin, at least *ends* by denoting a state of man. But, on the other hand, it is no less impossible to explain *δικ. θ.* as *in the first instance* anything else than *the personal righteousness of God.* This is the sense of the phrase in the immense majority of the cases in which the word is used in OT and in other writings outside the Epp. of St. Paul. A phrase so familiar and so deeply rooted in the common language of men could not be violently wrenched from its usual associations and transferred to others without more explicit warning than any that is given.

At the same time those appear to be equally wrong who (like Häring in the treatise mentioned below) insist that the phrase can only have one meaning in such a way as to compel a choice between the two alternatives. When they speak of 'one meaning,' what they have in view is a definite logical tying-down of that meaning which is not necessitated by language. The array of logical possibilities set out by Häring (pp. 14–17) certainly was not present to the mind of St. Paul, nor was he compelled to discriminate everything that may be capable of discrimination. Language has in its earlier stages an elasticity of use which it may by degrees lose.

To understand the real drift of St. Paul, we ought to bear in mind, not so much the distinctions which we can draw, as those which had been actually drawn when he wrote. He really sums up a long previous development. He sums it up, and the language which he uses bears traces throughout of its several phases; but at the same time he puts upon it a new stamp; he focuses, concentrates, and defines it in a new sense of his own.

It may be worth while to note how the previous phases of which we have been speaking enter into his conception. They would do so in some such order as this—

(*α*) The broad fundamental meaning of *δικαιοσύνη* is *conformity to right.* As applied to God it is the sum of all moral excellence, of which He is the standard to Himself. Even when the word is used in narrower senses, this still remains in the background of the apostle's mind, and from time to time comes more to the front.

(*β*) In a primitive state of society, the decisions of the chieftain or king acting as judge are the standard of right. And the virtue most highly valued in the judge is that of equal dealing between man and man. There was therefore a tendency for the broad idea of righteousness in the ruler to contract into the narrower idea of justice.

(*γ*) In such a state of society, however, something more than simple justice was needed. The king or chief was the one efficient champion of the weak against the strong, of the poor against the rich, of the friendless against the powerful. Thus in the opinion of the common people, or of the masses, the form of righteousness for which they looked was even more than justice, *care for the weaker side.*

(*δ*) In direct dealings with the poor and weak, where the question was rather of what we should call criminal than of civil law, the virtue of the judge would be *mildness* and lenience, not exacting the full penalties for misdoing; in other words, treating an offender as innocent, or not so guilty as he really was.

(*ε*) Such acquittal or remission of punishment would be the act of the judge, of his own free grace pardoning the guilty. When the judge, for whatever reason, dismisses the culprit, pronouncing him 'righteous,' or free from guilt in the eye of the law, it is really the judge himself who, by his verdict, is the author of that righteousness or guiltlessness, and not the person acquitted. And the motive which impels the judge to this is his own personal righteousness of character, manifested under the particular aspect of lenience in judging.

(*ζ*) This is the process that really takes place when the sinner is indicted before the judgment-seat of God; and that not merely at the final judgment, but whenever his state in God's sight is considered. The motive which prompts the absolution is no righteousness of the sinner's own, but the righteousness of God.

(*η*) When we attempt to analyze the nature of that righteousness, we might, on a superficial view, identify it with the narrower sort of judicial righteousness which is seen in the mild treatment or forgiveness of the guilty. But the righteousness of God, as St. Paul regards it, is something much more than this. The mildness of a judge may have in it no higher ingredient than a certain easy good nature because it is indifferent to guilt. The forgiving righteousness of God is not of this kind. It embraces nothing less than the whole scheme of salvation, in which the central feature is the atoning death of Christ. The absolution of the sinner is no act of momentary indulgence, but a deliberately contemplated incident in a vast and far-reaching plan which has for its object the restoration of the human race.

(*θ*) The leading factor in it, then, is the supreme energizing righteousness of God, which in the course of its operation includes several minor kinds of righteousness, and which ends by attributing to the sinner a condition of righteousness which he has very imperfectly realized for himself. So that from his point of view it may well be called a righteousness not his own, but 'of' or 'from God.' We have seen that as far back as Deutero-Isaiah and Baruch there were traces of this conception (*ἡ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ δικαιοσύνη*). St. Paul therefore was not the first to introduce it. But it is a mistake to regard it as forming the whole or even the main part of his conception.

LITERATURE.—On this part of the subject the reader may consult the commentators on Romans, and in particular those mentioned above; also Pfleiderer, *Paulinismus*; Holsten, *Evang. d. Paulus*; Ritschl, *Rechtfertigung u. Versöhnung*. The stand which has recently been made for explaining δικ. θεοῦ of the personal righteousness of God is associated in this country esp. with the late Dr. James Barmby, *Pulpit Comm. on Ro.*, and *Expositor*, 1896, ii. 124 ff., and Dr. A. Robertson in *The Thinker*, Nov. 1893; cf. *Exp. Times*, Feb. 1898, p. 217. In Germany an art. by Kölbing to somewhat similar effect appeared in *SK*, 1895, p. 139 ff., followed by a monograph on the subject by Prof. Häring of Tübingen (ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗ ΘΕΟΥ *bei Paulus*, Tübingen, 1896). Further literature is given on p. 5 of this treatise. The German writers were quite independent of the English, who preceded them in time. On the history of the OT conception there is a valuable tract by Dalman, *Die richterliche Gerechtigkeit im AT*, Berlin, 1897, which suggested much of the line of treatment followed above.

2. *THE REVELATION OF GOD.*—The more theological writers of NT clearly lay it down that in Christianity a new revelation is given of the nature and character of God. They connect this new revelation, (i.) with the coming of Christ, and (ii.) with the special outpouring of the Holy Ghost.

(i.) *The Revelation through Christ.*—The new disclosure of truths about God differed from all previous disclosures, inasmuch as it was no longer confined to a divine prompting of the minds of men, but was made through the incarnate presence of the Son of God Himself. After having in time past spoken to the fathers 'in' the prophets, God had at last spoken 'in' One who was not only prophet but Son (He $1^{1.\,2}$). This distinction of the New Covenant is emphasized most by St. John, but it is also expressed unequivocally by St. Paul, and Ep. to Hebrews, and the Synoptic Gospels refer to it sufficiently to confirm the evidence of the Fourth Gospel that the principle underlying it was brought out by our Lord Himself.

We may take two passages of St. John as typical of a great number of others: Jn 1^{18} 'No man hath seen God at any time: God only-begotten [reading μονογενὴς θεός with ℵBCL, etc., Tregelles, Weiss, WH, RVm] who is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him'; and 14^{7-11} 'If ye had known me, ye would have known my Father also: from henceforth ye know him, and have seen him. Philip saith unto him, Lord, show us the Father, and it sufficeth us. Jesus saith unto him, Have I been so long time with you, and dost thou not know me, Philip? he that hath seen me hath seen the Father: how sayest thou, Show us the Father? Believest thou not that I am in the Father, and the Father in me? the words that I say unto you, I speak not from myself: but the Father, abiding in me, doeth his works. Believe me that I am in the Father, and the Father in me: or else believe me for the very works' sake.'

These passages might be said to be a compendium of a great part of the Gospel, and we may add the Epp. of Jn. This will appear from observing the number of parallels which exist for almost every clause. 'No man hath seen . . . he hath declared,' 'he that hath seen me hath seen'; cf. 3^{32} 5^{37} 6^{46} 13^{20} 15^{24} 17^{26}, 1 Jn 1^{1-3} 2^{23}. 'Who is in the bosom of the Father,' 'I in the Father, and the Father in me'; cf. 8^{16} 10^{38} 14^{20} 16^{32} 17^{21-23}. 'Not from myself'; cf. 5^{19} 7^{16} 8^{28} 12^{49}. 'Doeth his works'; cf. 4^{34} $5^{19-21.\,36}$ 9^{4} 17^{4}.

St. Paul does not enlarge upon this aspect of the Incarnation of the Son to the same extent as St. John. Still, he expresses it quite unambiguously when he describes Him as εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου (Col 1^{15}), a term which he had used in an earlier Epistle (2 Co 4^{4}) in such a way as to show that the conception was even at that date fully established. It is also implied in the ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων of Ph 2^{6}. The fulness of the revelation made through Christ is the subject of 1 Co 1^{30} ὃς ἐγενήθη σοφία ἡμῖν ἀπὸ θεοῦ (cf. 1^{24} Χριστὸν θεοῦ δύναμιν καὶ θεοῦ σοφίαν; also $2^{6.\,7}$), Eph 1^{8-10}, Col 2^{3} ἐν ᾧ εἰσὶν πάντες οἱ θησαυροὶ τῆς σοφίας καὶ γνώσεως ἀπόκρυφοι.

In close agreement with the language of St. Paul is He 1^{3} ὢν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης καὶ χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ. On the exact force of these expressions (which are parallel to if not suggested by Wis $7^{25f.}$) see Westcott, etc., *ad loc.* The purport of them is that Christ, visible and active, brought home to the sight and minds of men the essential nature of God. This is an expansion in a more 'ontological' or 'metaphysical' sense of the opening words of the Epistle. This sense is too deeply ingrained in the language of NT to be eliminated.

Although, as has been said, it is the more theological writers who lay the greatest stress upon this aspect of the Son as revealing the Father, there is one conspicuous passage of the Synoptics in which it is clearly implied. The verse Mt 11^{27}, with its very close parallel in Lk 10^{22} (both passages should be taken with their full context), is in form so like the characteristic sayings of Christ; it fits into and interprets such a number of other passages (Mt 16^{16}, Mk 2^{10} 4^{41} 9^{7} etc.), and, while in remarkable agreement with the general verdict of the primitive Church, stands so apart from the particular tendencies of the Synoptic Gospels that it would be wanton to doubt its genuineness. To make the picture of Christ on earth consistent, we need to see in it not merely the beneficent Teacher, but the Son of God, as this name is understood by the writers of deepest insight.

(ii.) *The Revelation through the Holy Ghost.*—If we look at the Fourth Gospel from another point of view, we shall find it dominated by the consciousness of a double revelation. That through the Incarnate Son of which we have just been speaking is one; that through the Holy Ghost is the other. Looking back over the space of time that had elapsed since the Ascension, the writer sees that a great force has been at work in the Church, the effect of which he regards as a direct fulfilment of prophecies by our Lord Himself before His departure. A second 'Advocate' ('Comforter' AV, RV) was to come after He was gone. It was to be a dispensation like His own, and was to be characterized by a like dissemination of truth, not so much wholly new truth as a revival and reinvigorating in the minds of the apostles and others who came within its range of truth already taught by Himself: 'These things have I spoken unto you, while yet abiding with you. But the Comforter, even the Holy Spirit, whom the Father hath sent in my name, he shall teach you all things, and bring to your remembrance all that I said unto you.' . . . 'Howbeit when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he shall guide you unto all the truth: for he shall not speak from himself; but what things soever he shall hear, these shall he speak: and he shall declare unto you the things that are to come. He shall glorify me: for he shall take of mine, and shall declare it unto you. All things that the Father hath are mine: therefore said I, that he taketh of mine, and shall declare it unto you' (Jn $14^{25.\,26}$ 16^{13-15}). There is an accent about all the passages in which the writer refers to this subject which is far more like the accent of real experience than a product of pure reflection without concrete experience behind it. The writings of the Fourth Evangelist contain no express reference to the Day of Pentecost and the history recorded in the Acts, but they contain a number of allusions which are well explained by that history. St. Luke in like manner has no express mention of the Paraclete, but both his Gospel and the Acts bear frequent testimony to the work of the Paraclete under His other name, the Holy Spirit. Here as in the Fourth Gospel we have a historical retrospect of facts and impressions recalled after a considerable lapse of time, but in the Epp. of St. Paul we are in the midst of the events, and we are allowed to see into the inner mind of one of the leading actors in them. From the language of St. Paul we may learn what is meant by being 'taught all things and having all things brought to remembrance,' or rather as he had not been an immediate disciple of Christ we are enabled to understand the πληροφορία with which he spoke. He certainly felt that the Gospel which he preached had its source outside himself. Nowhere, perhaps, does this come out more clearly than in the first of all his Epistles. Writing to the Thessalonians he says, 'For this cause we also thank God without ceasing, that when ye received from us the word of the message, even the word of God, ye accepted it *not as the word of men, but, as it is in truth, the word of God,* which also worketh in you that believe' (1 Th 2[13]). This is the central principle of the apostolic preaching. It is the 'demonstration of the Spirit and of power' of which he speaks elsewhere (1 Co 2[4]). And the substance of the preaching is just the new revelation about God and Christ and the Holy Spirit, and their united work for the salvation of men. 'Things which eye saw not and ear heard not . . . unto us God revealed them through the Spirit: for the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God' (1 Co 2[9. 10]).

Thus the method of divine revelation in the NT is very similar to that in OT. It is brought about through the action of the Holy Spirit upon certain selected instruments, with just the difference on which stress is laid in Ep. to Hebrews, that whereas, under the Old Covenant, God had spoken in and through the prophets, under the New He spoke 'in' and through the Son, and those expressly chosen and trained by the Son.

LITERATURE.—On the training of the apostles to be the vehicles of the new revelation, see Latham, *Pastor Pastorum* (Cambridge, 1890). Reference may also be made to the *Bampton Lectures* for 1893 on 'Inspiration,' and other works on the same subject.

3. *DISTINCTIONS IN THE GODHEAD.*—In the previous sections of this article we have had gradually to discriminate between the operation and functions of what we now call the different 'Persons' in the Godhead. At the time of which we are speaking (the period covered by NT) there was no such conception in the general mind as that of 'personality.' The term 'person' was just coming into use through the defining influence of Roman Law acting upon popular language (the distinction of *persona* and *res* appears to have come in during the 1st cent. B.C., shortly before the time of Cicero). But a long process had to be gone through before the idea of personality acquired an exact connotation; and that process was to a large extent involved in the theological controversies on the subject of the Trinity, the result of which was the formulated doctrine of Three Persons in One God, as we have it in what is commonly known as the Athanasian Creed.

It would be an anachronism to expect a definition of the doctrine in NT. And yet the doctrine is really a working out of *data* contained in NT. It is a rendering of these data intelligible to the consciousness as part of a reasoned and formulated whole. The Christian theologian is well aware that the only expression possible to him is approximate: he applies to the whole construction the *dictum* of St. Augustine; he says what he says, *non ut illud diceretur sed ne taceretur* (*De Trin.* v. 9). But he is almost compelled to say something, and the deliberate judgment of the Church has been that he is warranted in saying so much as he does.

In any critical study of that which we call by anticipation the doctrine of the Trinity in the NT, the starting-point must undoubtedly be the benediction in 2 Co 13[14] 'The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all.' In this verse we have an utterance of the mind of the apostle, which he knows will find an echo in the minds of his readers at a fixed point in time and place, probably about twenty-six and in any case not more than twenty-eight years after the Ascension. We are left to draw our conclusions as to the belief of the Church at this time. It is, of course, true that the object of the passage is not dogmatic. If it had been, its significance would have been less. It is not the expounding of any new doctrine. It is not even the expounding of doctrine at all. It is only an invocation of blessing. But the peculiar form which this invocation takes, points to much previous preparation in thought and teaching; it points to a settled, and we are obliged to think, uncontested belief, common alike to the writer and his readers.

The peculiarity of the belief consists in the remarkable way in which a group of spiritual blessings, such as man is accustomed to look for directly from God, is not referred to the Godhead conceived singly as a Monad, but distributively as Three, and yet Three so bracketed together as to be at the same time One. No graduated interpretation of the Three Names is possible. If it were, we should have Beings who were not Man and yet not wholly God. In the Arian Controversy an attempt was made to establish this interpretation; but it utterly and hopelessly failed.

The other alternative remains, that St. Paul and the Church of his day thought of the Supreme Source of spiritual blessing as not single but threefold—threefold in essence, and not merely in a manner of speech. How did he come to think thus? How was it that a Church so far from the centre of things and at so early a date was prepared to receive without question an assumption which to us seems to make such large demands upon the intellect?

It was certainly not a matter of course. We have seen that there was a certain tendency to hypostatize the Word of God, the Wisdom of God, the Spirit of God, even the Glory of God. The Messiah was thought of as more than human if less than in the full sense divine. But all these conceptions were fluid and tentative. Jewish theology had no fixed and settled belief in regard to them. Even if we add to OT the other writings current at this period, *Apocrypha* and *Pseudepigrapha*, the Jewish Apocalypses and the Sayings traditionally handed down of the oldest Rabbis, still we should not find anything to suggest a combination of the three terms handled with the precision with which St. Paul handled them.

One passage there is which would abundantly account for St. Paul's language if we could accept it as historical. That is the command to the apostles at the end of the first Gospel to go and baptize all nations 'into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost' (Mt 28[19]). This belongs to a comparatively late and suspected part of the Gospel. But one tradition may be later than another and more limited in circulation, and yet not be any less authentic. Now, the *Didachê* shows us that we no sooner cross the frontier of the apostolic age than we find baptism into the Threefold Name in full possession of the field (*Did.* vii. 1, 3). The tradition is continuous. It is taken up by Justin (*Apol.* i. 61), and Tertullian expressly tells us that the person baptized was dipped three times in recognition of the Threefold Name (*Prax.* 26). The practice, then, is at least very old. And it is no slight confirmation of the statement in the first Gospel that if it were true it would supply just the explanation that we want at once of the established rite and of St. Paul's language. In any case we seem compelled to assume that there was some foundation for both in the teaching of our Lord Himself. If there was not, at what point in the six-and-twenty years can the usage (doctrinal or liturgical) have been introduced in a manner so authoritative as to impose it upon St. Paul and the Churches of his founding? We may greatly doubt if any satisfactory answer can be given to this question.

On the other hand, the moment we assume that our Lord did really give this alleged command, and that He really did prepare for it by some corresponding teaching, a number of other facts are accounted for. We find the very teaching of which we are in search in many places of the Last Discourse as recorded by St. John (Jn $14^{16.26}$ 15^{26} $16^{7.10.13.15}$). And with such teaching in the background a variety of phenomena in St. Paul's Epp. fall into their place which would otherwise be very intractable.

(i.) *The Father and the Son.*—The Epistle (2 Co) ends with a triple benediction, and it begins with a double benediction. 'Grace and peace' are invoked upon the Corinthian Christians 'from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ.' We observe here the same sort of bracketing of the two Divine Names as in the case of the Three. Although there is a distinction of names, and although there may be a certain distinction and special distribution of function, the source of spiritual blessing is in its essence One.

The fact that there is this alternation within the same Epistle of the Two names and the Three, shows that the one expression is in no way inconsistent with the other. A like alternation is found side by side in several other of St. Paul's Epistles. For instance, in 1 Co 12^{4-11} we have the Triad: Lord, God, Spirit; in 1 Co 1^{3} and 8^{6} we have (in the latter passage very expressly) the Duad: God [the (our) Father] and Lord [Jesus Christ]. In like manner, in Ro $8^{14-17.26-30}$ we have the Triad, though not formally drawn out, just as clearly presupposed as in vv.$^{31-39}$ (cf. 1^{7} etc.) we have the Duad; and a like relation appears in Eph 2^{18} $3^{2-5.14-17}$ 4^{4-6} 5^{18-20} compared with $1^{2.3.17}$ $2^{4\text{ff.}}$ 5^{5} $6^{6.23}$.

Nor is this alternation confined to the Pauline Epistles. It is seen again in 1 P $1^{2.3-12}$ 4^{13-19} by the side of 1^{17-21} 2^{5} $3^{15-18.20-22}$ etc.; and it is as conspicuous in 1 Jn 5^{4-8} compared with the general tenor of the Ep., which is constantly setting 'the Father' and 'the (His) Son' over-against each other. We may also compare Jude$^{20.21}$ with $^{1.4.24.25}$; Rev 1^{4-6} 2^{26-29} $3^{5.6.12.13.21.22}$ with 5^{6-13} 7^{9-17} etc. And we are further reminded that in the *Didaché* baptism in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit is spoken of almost in the same breath with baptism in the name of Christ (*Did.* vii. 1, 3 and ix. 5).

There is thus an easy transition from the one way of speaking to the other. There is really a threefold usage. The apostles and early Christians generally speak of God, of God the Father, and God the Son, of God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, according to the context and the particular purpose with which they are writing; but the three modes of expression, so far from being mutually exclusive, are, in fact, closely connected and correlated. And it is noticeable, that while there is this free and natural interchange of the three terms, no fourth term is ever added to the three as at all upon the same footing. The mental bracketing of which we have spoken appears to subsist throughout. The usage, although it is in some respects wide and varied, is yet in others strictly circumscribed, and is regulated by fixed laws. When we look into it more closely we seem to become aware of a gradual development and expansion, if not in the original presentation of the doctrine, yet in the order in which the different parts of it—so to speak—become consciously and definitely realized by the apostles and first disciples. If (as we have seen reason to think) they had received fuller teaching on the subject directly from the Lord Himself than is contained in our extant Gospels, this did not prevent them from grasping the truth only by degrees, and the very gradualness with which it was grasped would account for some of the first statements being lost to us. It is the later teaching of events calling the earlier teaching to remembrance (Jn 14^{26}) which has preserved for us so much of this as we have. It is a matter of common experience that there are lessons latent in the mind which only become vividly realized when something occurs to bring them home, or when the logic of thought naturally reaches them.

In the case of the apostles the logic of thought started from Christ, the Incarnate Christ, whom they had seen with their eyes, and their hands had handled in the days of His flesh. If Christ was God, then it was certain that there must be in the Godhead some such distinction as that which we call personal; the attributes of personality attached to Him as unmistakably as to the apostles themselves. And if beneath these there lay a substratum of unity with the Power which ruled the heavens, that unity must still be such as admitted of personal distinction.

The language which the apostles use is thoroughly accounted for by the evidence of their own senses, taken with the utterances of Jesus Himself. The keyword which is constantly upon His lips is the name 'Father' with its correlative 'Son.' These terms established themselves from the very first in the Christian consciousness as the true expression of the mutual relation. That they must have done so appears from the fundamental place which they had in the theology of St. Paul, in spite of all the independence which he claims for its origin. No better argument exists for the view that at the time when he wrote his extant Epistles he had already some form of evangelic document before him. In any case he must have been familiar with an extremely solid and unanimous tradition. To that tradition it is not too much to say that all Christian speculation on the wider relations of the Godhead goes back. The central point in all subsequent argument is the relation of 'Father' and 'Son.' And the difference which in all ages has marked off a loyal from a disloyal interpretation of the data of Christianity has been this, that the one insisted upon a real Fatherhood and a real Sonship, which the other has attempted to explain away. This was the principle at issue in the Arian Controversy. And there has probably never been a controversy argued out more thoroughly or with a more abundant expenditure of both intellectual and moral force. The outcome of it was the definite and triumphant affirmation of the position that the Father is essentially Father and the Son essentially Son. The most abstruse clauses in the Athanasian Creed are nothing but the emphatic assertion and the systematic safeguarding of this.

(ii.) *The Holy Spirit.*—In framing their doctrine of the Holy Spirit, as in framing their doctrine of the Son, the apostles had before their minds a definite series of facts. There was a certain group of phenomena which they consistently referred to the action of the Spirit. The phenomena of what we call 'inspiration,' the divine influence of which they were conscious in preaching and teaching; the special and remarkable 'gifts' (χαρίσματα) which distinguished in an eminent degree the first generations of Christians; and, generally speaking, the felt communion of the human spirit with the divine, were regarded by them as manifestations of the activity of the Holy Ghost. If we read the three chs. 1 Co 12–14 we see that St. Paul felt himself to be in the midst of such activity; and there are many other allusions to it. The Early Church appears to have dated the energies at work within it in a special sense from the first Pentecost after the Ascension. They called this an 'outpouring' of the Holy Ghost, seeing in it a fulfilment of prophecy (Ac $2^{17. 18. 33}$, Tit 3^{6}).

But how was it that they came to speak of the work of the Holy Spirit as the work of a *person*? That they did so appears not only from such incidental passages as Ro 8^{26}, 1 Co 12^{11}, Eph 4^{30}, but still more from the great Trinitarian texts 2 Co 13^{14} and Mt 28^{19}, in which the Holy Ghost is placed on precisely the same footing as the Son and the Father. We have seen that this can have been no momentary freak of language, but that it must have had a broad foundation in the consciousness of the apostolic Church. Between the fluid usage of contemporary Judaism and the fixed usage of the apostles and their successors there intervenes the teaching of Jesus. And it seems impossible not to refer to this the impulse which determined the direction of Christian thought upon the subject. The fragments of that teaching which have been preserved for us in the Fourth Gospel (Jn $14^{16ff. 26}$ 15^{26} 16^{7-14}) seem to imply a yet fuller context which has been lost; but of themselves they are sufficient to warrant the faith which the Church has evidently held from the first, though as the centuries went on it was compelled to define it with increasing distinctness.

There are two classes of passages in NT relating to the Holy Ghost. On the one hand, there are those of which we have been speaking, where the Third Person (of later theology) is clearly distinguished from the First and Second, and represented as confronting them. And, on the other hand, there are passages in which the Third Person is as closely associated with the First and Second.

The Spirit is repeatedly spoken of as the 'Spirit *of God*.' And the relationship indicated by this phrase is explained in 1 Co $2^{10f.}$ as analogous to that of the spirit in man. 'For the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God. For who among men knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of the man which is in him? even so the things of God none knoweth, save the Spirit of God.' But He who is thus described as the 'Spirit of God' is also described as the 'Spirit *of Christ*.' So notably in Ro $8^{9f.}$ 'But ye are not in the flesh but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you. But if any man hath not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his. And if Christ is in you,' etc. Here 'Christ' takes up the 'Spirit of Christ,' and that, again, takes up the 'Spirit of God' (defined a little later as the 'Spirit of Him that raised up Jesus from the dead') in such a way as to show that, at least for the purpose of the writer, the three terms are convertible. Nor is this the only place in which we read of the 'Spirit of Christ' (cf. 1 P 1^{11}), or 'of Jesus' (Ac 16^{7} RV), or 'of Jesus Christ' (Ph 1^{19}), or 'of [the] Son' (Gal 4^{6}), or 'of the Lord' (=Christ, 2 Co 3^{17}).

Again, we have to remember that the conception of the incarnate Christ is referred to the direct operation of the Holy Ghost (Lk 1^{35}), and that His endowment with the fulness of divine power for His ministry is also dated from the descent of the Holy Ghost at His baptism. This is the 'anointing with the Holy Ghost' of Ac 10^{38} as the sequel to which He is 'full of the Holy Spirit' (Lk 4^{1}), and acts through the Holy Spirit (Mt 12^{28}, Ac 1^{2}, He 9^{14}); He also communicated the Holy Spirit to the apostles (Jn 20^{22}).

There is thus another side to the mystery of the Triune God. Although in one sense Three, He is in another no less One. There is such a mutual interaction, such a fundamental unity, as prevents distinction from amounting to separation. The Three Persons are not three individuals. There are not three Gods, but One God.

This is the evident drift of the data which NT has handed down to us; and it is to these data that the later theology has sought to do justice. They find their most complete and ripest interpretation in the balanced clauses of the *Quicumque*. Those clauses are, no doubt, relative to the line of thought which leads up to them. Compared to some aspects of the biblical teaching, they will appear secondary where this is primary. It is more important for the great mass of Christians to have it brought home to them that God is love, that the proof of His love is the incarnation and death of His Son, and that He does impart of His own righteousness to men, than that (*e.g.*) the Son is 'not made nor created, but begotten.' But the significance of this latter proposition is that Christ is truly Son. And the question whether He is truly or only figuratively Son is a vital question, as vital now as it was in the days of Nicæa or Chalcedon. The question was quite sure to be raised, and, being raised, it has to be answered. The phrasing of the answer may vary with the philosophy of the time, but its substance cannot be any other than that which has been so deliberately adopted and ratified.

LITERATURE.—No considerable monograph on the doctrine of God as Triune has appeared since Baur's *Die christliche Lehre von der Dreieinigkeit u. Menschwerdung Gottes*, 3 vols., Tübingen, 1841–1843, and G. A. Meier, *Die Lehre von der Trinität in ihrer historischen Entwickelung*, 2 vols., Hamburg u. Gotha, 1844. A thorough discussion of the beginnings of the doctrine in English is still a *desideratum*. There is an instructive chapter on the Holy Spirit in Milligan, *The Ascension of Our Lord* (1892), pp. 166–226. [The literature on the previous sections of this art. has been given under each section].

W. SANDAY.

GOD, CHILDREN (SONS, DAUGHTERS) OF, are biblical phrases for near and blessed relations to God, but used with various applications and meanings. In NT the words 'children' (τέκνα) and 'sons' (υἱοί) are distinguishable in meaning: the former, in which the idea of origin is most prominent, is the favourite expression of St. John; while the latter, emphasizing rather the notion of relation and privilege, is the one used by St. Paul. But even in NT the distinction is not an absolute one; and in OT, though both ideas are found, the words are not definitely marked off.

It is therefore advisable to consider both phrases together, while marking their various shades of meaning: and their significance may best be understood by examining the places where they occur, as nearly as possible in their historical order.

A. IN THE OT.—In OT this cannot be done with certainty, because of the doubts and differences of opinion among scholars as to the dates of many of its books. But a pretty sure starting-point can be found in the Bk. of Hosea, the date of which, in the reign of Jeroboam II. of Israel, is universally admitted. In this prophecy the relation of Israel to God is depicted, first, as that of a wife to her husband (chs. 1-3). This describes the nation or land as a whole, and individual Israelites are represented as her children, who as born to God are children of God. The unfaithful wife is repudiated (2^{2}); but when led to repentance, as described in that parable (2^{6-23}), so wonderfully parallel to our Lord's of the Prodigal Son, she again obtains mercy, and is once more the people of God (2[1. 23]). In anticipation of that blessed restoration, it had been declared (1[10]) that the children of Israel would be called 'sons of the living God.' They are so named as born of her whose husband is J", *i.e.* who is in covenant with God.

So, when the same figure of the conjugal relation of God to Israel is used by Ezk, the actual children of the nation are called God's children for the same reason (Ezk 16[20. 21] 'thy sons and thy daughters whom thou hast borne unto me . . . my children,' 23[37] 'their sons whom they bare unto me'). In these and similar passages, the notion of birth or origin is evidently the prominent one; and in Ezk 16[21], though the Heb. word is 'sons' as in the preceding verse, the LXX like the EV have rendered it by *τέκνα*, 'children.' As thus conceived, to be children of God is the same thing as to be born members of the nation or community that is in covenant with God. This notion of being God's children may probably be traced in the words of the Pharisees to Jesus, 'We were not born of fornication; we have one Father, even God' (Jn 8[41]), *i.e.* we are members of a people in covenant with God and true to him.

But Hosea also gives another conception of Israel's relation to God in 11[1] 'When Israel was a child, then I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt.' With this must be taken Ex 4[22. 23], where God says to Pharaoh, 'Isr. is my son, my firstborn: and I have said unto thee, Let my son go that he may serve me; and thou hast refused to let him go: behold, I will slay thy son, thy firstborn.' Here 'my son'='my people' in God's previous words to Moses; and there is no emphasis on the idea of birth or origin; for 'firstborn' evidently conveys the notion simply of most precious or beloved, as in Zec 12[10]. It is the relation of Israel to God, and the value God puts on him, that is indicated: and so appropriately 'son,' not 'child,' is the word employed. The context that follows in Hos 11[3. 4] shows that fatherly training and teaching are included in the notion, and in [8. 9] fatherly pity and love. But throughout it is the people as a whole that is here called God's son. The relation that was before depicted as that of a wife to her husband, is now spoken of as that of a son to his father.

These two figures are still more closely connected in the first great discourse of Jer (chs. 2. 3), where the fundamental idea is that Israel has been J"'s unfaithful wife, while yet on her repentance she is invited to say, 'My father, thou art the guide (or companion) of my youth' (Jer 3[4]). The phrase, 'guide, companion, or friend of youth,' is used in Pr 2[17] for a husband, and prob. that is its significance also in Jer 3[4]; and the employment of the words 'my father,' as parallel, is not unnatural in a state of society when the head of the house stood almost in the same relation to his wife as to his children. In Jer 3[14] 'Return, O backsliding children, saith the Lord, for I am a husband unto you: and I will take you one of a city, and two of a family, and I will bring you to Zion,' we have the people as a whole viewed as J"'s wife, and its members as his children; and so also in vv.[19. 20. 22]. But here the Israelites are called children of God, not, as in Hos and Ezk, simply as born of the people which is J"'s wife, but as taken by him one by one, and returning to him with personal repentance. The idea of physical origin has passed away, and the notions connected with sonship seem to be mainly divine pardon, protection, and inheritance.

This whole passage also shows how the figure of God's marriage to Israel served an important purpose, in elevating the notion of the relationship from a merely physical to a moral and spiritual one. The heathen peoples, esp. in the Semitic race, conceived themselves as children of the deity in a grossly physical sense, as appears even here (Jer 2[27] 'which say to a stock, Thou art my father; and to a stone, Thou hast begotten me'). The conjugal relation, as founded, not on nature, but on a covenant of love, involving duties and responsibilities, gave a foundation for the moral appeals of the prophets, and made possible such a transition as we see in Jeremiah's teaching, to a higher view of sonship to God as an individual privilege.

A similar and perhaps more direct transition, from the collective to the individual relation, is made in Dt 14[1] 'Ye are the children of (lit. sons to) the LORD your God . . .,' v.[2] 'For thou art an holy people unto the LORD thy God, and the Lord hath chosen thee to be a peculiar people (*i.e.* a people of his own possession), above all peoples that are on the face of the earth.' Here sonship is ascribed to the Israelites individually on the ground that the people as a whole is holy, *i.e.* separated to God by his special choice of them to be his own possession (see Ex 19[5. 6]). The notion of birth or origin is here entirely absent, and that of privilege and corresponding duty is the one conveyed by the name 'sons of God.'

Dt also contains a passage remarkably rich in ref. to the sonship of Isr. in the song ascribed to Moses in ch. 32. Here God is called the people's Father because he bought, made, and established it (vv.[6. 15]), begat, gave birth to (v.[18]), led and nourished it (vv.[10-14]). These expressions refer to the divine action in forming Israel into a nation by delivering it from Egypt and training it in the wilderness. On the ground of this, the individual Israelites are called 'his sons and his daughters' (v.[19]), 'children' (v.[20]); and they are blamed for their provocation. But it is indicated that they who deal corruptly with God are not his children (v.[5]), and that God will take others to be his people so as to provoke them to jealousy (v.[21]), while the nations are called to rejoice with (or as being) his people (v.[43]). Here we see distinctly a moral significance attached to the title 'sons' or 'children of God.' Though it belongs properly to Israelites, it is forfeited by them if they are not faithful to God, and it may be given to men of other nations as well. Hence it is sometimes given specially to the godly, as in Ps 73[15] 'the generation of thy children'; Pr 14[26] 'In the fear of the Lord is strong confidence; and his children shall have a place of refuge.' See also the comparison in Ps 103[13]. On the other hand, the privilege is ascribed to Gentiles, especially in the prophecies of their calling in the later book of Isaiah. God still calls Israelites 'my sons' (Is 45[11]), because they are sons of Zion (49[17]), who has been married to J" though put away for a time (50[1] and 54). But she is to receive children of whom she shall say, 'Who hath borne me these?' (49[21]), *i.e.* God and his Church are to have people from among the Gentiles sharing the blessings of Israel and enhancing her glory. Or, if those unexpected children are merely the exiled and forgotten Israelites, their sonship is now entirely independent of physical descent. 'For,' they say, 'thou art our Father, though Abraham knoweth us not, and Israel doth not acknowledge us: thou, O Lord, art our Father; our Redeemer from everlasting is thy name' (Is 63[16], cf. 64[8] 65[1] 66[19-21]). Even if sonship is not here directly extended to the Gentiles, the principle is laid down which implies that. But it is not on the ground of nature or creation that this is done, but expressly on that of redemption and grace, only a redemption not merely external and national, like that of Israel from Egypt, but spiritual and therefore universal.

In Mal 1^{6}, J″, appealing specially to the priests, calls himself a father and a master, as looking for the honour and fear given to earthly fathers and masters. In ch. 2^{10} the prophet asks, ‘Have we not all one Father? hath not one God created us?’ as a basis for a rebuke to the Jews for marrying heathen wives, v.^{11} ‘Judah hath profaned the holiness of the Lord which he loveth, and hath married the daughter of a strange god.’ Here plainly the fatherhood is not conceived as extending to all men, and the creation spoken of is the formation of Israel as a nation, as in Is 43^{1} 44^{2} and elsewhere. In the time of Malachi it was necessary to insist on the separation of the restored Jewish community from the surrounding idolaters, and he makes no mention of the calling of the Gentiles. But he indicates (ch. $3^{16.17}$) that the true children of God are they that fear him, of whom the Lord says, ‘I will spare them as a man spareth his own son that serveth him.’

Thus the OT affords a rich variety of statements about sonship to God as ascribed to men, which seem to exhibit successive stages in a development and elevation of the idea. (1) From the first it appears to be raised above the gross physical notion by the conception of it as origin from the people that is married to J″. Then (2) it is conceived as being members of the people that J″ has created as his son; (3) as being taught and trained by J″ as a father; and (4) as not constituted by mere natural descent, but by the fear of the Lord, and so possible for those who are not by birth members of the people of Israel.

Before proceeding to consider how this line of teaching is completed by Christ and his apostles, it will be proper to refer to a few passages in OT where the name ‘sons of God’ is given apparently to superhuman beings. In Job 38^{7}, where J″ challenges Job for ignorance of his wonderful works, he describes the creation of the world as being, ‘When the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy.’ The parallel seems to be similar to the usage by which the hosts of God denote sometimes the stars and sometimes the angels: and since in Job 1^{6} and 2^{1} Satan, undoubtedly conceived as a superhuman spirit, is described as presenting himself among the sons of God, it is probable that in all these places the name is given to angels, and is used to indicate their nature, as the more common name ‘angels’ still retained its original reference to their office as messengers of God. It would indicate beings akin to God as being spiritual and superhuman, though derived from and inferior to the Creator. They are also called his ‘holy ones’ (Dt 33^{2}, Ps 89^{5}), and his ‘hosts’ (Ps 103^{21} etc.). In Ps 29^{1} and 89^{6} ‘sons of the mighty’ should prob. be rendered ‘sons of God’ or ‘of gods,’ but it is not a usual form of the name when used of the true God. The phrase is sometimes used in the way in which in Heb. ‘son of man’ is simply ‘man,’ ‘son of oil’ = fruitful, ‘sons of flame’ = sparks; and as in early times the Israelites did not doubt the existence of the deities of the nations around them, they called them gods (*e.g.* Ex 15^{11}), which was afterwards softened into ‘sons of God,’ or ‘of gods’ (Ps 89^{6}), and then into ‘angels of God’ (as in LXX Ps $97^{7.9}$).

The passage in Gn 6^{1-4} has been variously understood from very early times, and no interpretation is free from difficulty, but modern scholarship inclines to the view that by ‘sons of God’ are meant angels.

In Ps $82^{1.6}$ ‘sons of the Most High’ is synonymous with ‘gods,’ and is applied to rulers and judges in the congregation of God as invested by him with power, and called to rule in his name.

B. IN THE NT.—As the Bible contains no distinct doctrine about angels, it is impossible to form any definite conception of the relation implied in the name ‘sons of God’ given to them in OT, esp. as the usage is not followed out in NT, where in the Ep. to Hebrews it is denied that God ever gave the name ‘my son’ personally to any of the angels, that being the more excellent name obtained by him who is the effulgence of God’s glory and the very image of his substance (He 1^{3-5}).

1. The Teaching of Jesus.—While keeping silence as to the sonship of angels, Jesus and his apostles have much to say as to the truth and blessedness of men being sons or children of God. In the teaching of our Lord himself the fatherhood of God occupies a very large place, and is far more fully exhibited than in OT. Jesus came to reveal God, and the name in which he summed up his disclosure of his character was ‘the Father.’ He is the Father by way of eminence as being full of love, pity, and kindness, such as Jesus himself showed in his own person. And this love extended to the most unworthy and sinful, and to Gentiles who were outside the commonwealth of Israel. Thus it is assumed in Christ’s teaching that the blessing of being sons of God is not limited to the Jewish nation, though that is nowhere expressly said, and though Jesus declares that such prayers as the Gentiles offer are not to be made by those who know God as their Father in heaven (Mt $6^{7.8}$). To be called sons of God is one of the blessings of the kingdom of God which he proclaimed, promised to its members, esp. as peace-makers and as loving their enemies (Mt $5^{9.45-48}$). As that kingdom is to be open to all nations (Mt 8^{11}), and to men simply as sinners (Mt $9^{12.13}$), it is free to all or any to be sons of God, and in that aspect his Fatherhood may be called universal; he has a fatherly heart towards all men, loves and pities all, and freely forgives the most sinful when they return to him. This is the lesson of the Parable of the Prodigal Son (Lk 15), and it is a most gracious and blessed one. In order to be entitled to call God our Father we need no other warrant than that we are sinners, willing to confess our sin and ask his forgiveness.

The blessings of being sons of God acc. to Jesus’ teaching are forgiveness and gracious reception when we come to God as penitents; the assurance that God will hear our prayers, and give us good things when we ask him (Mt 7^{11}); that he cares for our welfare, and that we can trust him to provide for all our earthly needs, so that without anxiety about these we may make it our great aim to be like him (Mt 6^{31-34}); the Spirit of our Father to speak in and through us when we are called to speak for Christ (Mt $10^{19.20}$); and, finally, the full enjoyment of the kingdom (Lk 12^{32}, Mt 25^{31}).

Jesus always uses the term ‘sons,’ not ‘children,’ of God, thus directing our attention to the nature of the relation rather than to the origination of it. His main teaching is that we stand to God in a relationship in which we can trust him as loving us and caring for our soul’s welfare, and can speak to him with freedom and confidence. Plainly, too, this is a personal and individual relation. We have such privileges each for ourselves, and not merely as members of any nation or community.

At the same time, Jesus teaches that this relation of sonship to God is connected with his own person, and to be enjoyed through him. He claimed for himself a peculiar sonship, speaking of God as ‘my Father’ in a way that, according to Jn 5^{18}, exposed him to a charge of blasphemy for making himself equal with God; and he made our entering the kingdom of God depend on our not only calling him Lord, but doing the will of his Father in heaven (Mt 7^{21}), and that is the same as doing his words (*ib.* ^{24}). He declared that no one knew the Father but the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son wills to reveal him (Mt 11^{27}); and he revealed the Father, not only by his words, but by his whole character and life. Hence he invited the weary and heavy-laden to come to him and learn of him, and this was his call in general to all who would enter the kingdom of God. He desired men to see in his own person and life what real sonship to God was, what childlike trust, what loving obedience, what zeal for his Father’s honour and patient submission to his will it involved, and what rest and peace it brought with it. Into this blessedness he desires to bring men, and he recognizes those who will do the will of his Father in heaven as his brethren (Mt 12^{50}). They are sons of God through him and with him. Their following him implies a renouncing of earthly goods and even of life itself, such as is impossible to man and possible only to God (Mk 10^{27}). Hence to enter the kingdom of God requires a conversion and becoming as little children, which in Jn $3^{3.5}$ Jesus calls being begotten anew of the Spirit.

Thus our Lord's teaching about sonship to God, though it is entirely of a practical religious character rather than scientific and theological, yet involves as its basis two ideas that he could not in his earthly life fully develop. One is that true sonship to God is a participation of his own unique relation to the Father, which is the archetype of all filial relationship to God, and the other is that it becomes ours through the impartation of a new life from God, in the strength of which we are enabled to renounce our own self-centred life. The former of these ideas is suggested by the fact that while Jesus habitually calls God his own Father, he as expressly calls those his brethren, whom he teaches to address God as 'our Father.' This shows that though he (*e.g.* Jn 20^{17}) makes the distinction between his own relation to God expressed in 'my Father,' and ours expressed by 'your Father,' he does not mean that God is our Father in a quite different sense from that in which he is his, for in that case we would be only nominally and not really his brethren; but he would intimate that while his Sonship is indeed unique as being original and absolutely perfect, we partake of it through him. But this could not be fully explained as long as the truth about his own person could not be clearly revealed.

The other idea is implied in Jesus' teaching that God's sons are those who trust him and are like him, and that for us this implies a great change of mind and heart, a turning our back on our worldly selves, such as can be effected only under the influence of a power from God. But this, too, could not be made plain till the coming of the Spirit, whom Jesus promised to complete his teaching.

The outcome of that teaching is to be seen in the apostolic Epistles, and in these we find the former idea developed more especially by St. Paul and the latter by St. John.

2. THE TEACHING OF PAUL.—St. Paul views Christianity chiefly in its bearing on the personal relation between man and God. Apart from the salvation of Christ, that relation is that of a transgressor of the eternal moral law to the righteous Lawgiver and Judge, hence it is a state of condemnation and death. From that he is redeemed by the propitiation which consists in the obedience and sacrifice of Christ the Son of God. The truth that our Redeemer is God's own beloved Son is repeatedly emphasized in connexion with his sacrifice as enhancing the love of God and the self-emptying grace of our Lord; and St. Paul undoubtedly regarded Christ's Sonship as not merely an official or Messianic, but a pre-existent and eternal relation to God. But in his view Jesus' death is our redemption only in virtue of our being one with him in it by faith, so that by it we die to sin and to the law, and are freed from its curse. Since, then, we are redeemed from our natural state of condemnation as sinners by dying in and with the Son of God, who loved us and gave himself for us; since we live now only in him, our relation to God is henceforth the same as his, we are sons of God in Christ Jesus, because by faith, sealed in baptism, we have put on Christ (Gal $3^{26.27}$). It has been questioned whether here and in Ro 6^3, where St. Paul uses the limiting (?) pronoun 'as many as' and the phrase 'baptized into Christ,' instead of the usual one 'baptized into the name of Christ,' he refers to the outward rite of water baptism at all, and not rather to the inward washing from sins by real union to the Saviour. Most commentators, however, consider that there is no reasonable doubt that by baptism into Christ he means the sacrament. But if this be so, the apostle certainly assumes that it was received in faith and sealed a real union to Christ, which is the ground of our sonship.

The sonship of believers in Christ, St. Paul connects with the OT view of the Israelites being God's sons in virtue of the covenant and promise to Abraham (Gal 3^{29}), and he proceeds to explain the special privileges brought by Christ by comparing the position of Israel under the law to that of children under age, who, though really sons and heirs, have not practically more liberty than servants, but are under guardians and stewards by whom they are governed and their property is managed. So God's children, before Christ came, being immature, were in subjection to what St. Paul calls 'the rudiments of the world,' *i.e.* elementary teaching by precepts relating to outward things, such as meats, times, and seasons. But it is remarkable that the apostle speaks of the Gentiles also as in their heathen state having been under such rudiments (Gal $4^{3.9}$), so that we may infer that he recognized a certain divine training even of them, as elsewhere he speaks of them being a law to themselves (Ro 2^{14-16}). He views Christ's coming and work both as giving sonship to those who were only servants, and also as giving full filial rights to those who were children under age. But not as if it were the former only to Gentiles and the latter to Jews as such; but that it was a real gift of sonship to all, whether Jews or Gentiles, who were without God; and to all who were really seeking him, in whatever nation, though they might be very immature in their spiritual life, it was the bestowal of the full privileges of sons of full age having free and direct access to God as their Father. This view is in accordance with the highest conception attained in the OT, that in Deutero-Isaiah from which and other prophetic Scriptures St. Paul quotes in his discussion of the relations between Israel and the Gentiles in Ro 9–11.

In order to bring out the privilege of being made sons of God, St. Paul employs the notion of adoption as recognized in the Roman law. See ADOPTION.

Among the privileges flowing from sonship in Christ he mentions the bestowal of the Spirit, as the Spirit of God's Son, or of adoption, who cries in us, *i.e.* moves us to cry, 'Abba, Father' (Gal 4^6, Ro 8^{15}), and with this is connected the access we have with boldness to God as our Father (Eph 2^{18} 3^{12}). Another benefit flowing from sonship is the inheritance which we have in and with Christ (Gal $3^{26.29}$ 4^7, Ro 8^{17}). This means that the glory that is to be revealed is as sure to us as if we had a right to it in strict law, and at the same time is the free gift of the Father's love. In connexion with this St. Paul develops the idea that believers in Christ, though poor, afflicted, and persecuted in this world, yet really have the Messianic blessings promised in the OT as those of the kingdom of God, because they can rejoice in their tribulations, since these are means of their perfection, and are inconsiderable in view of the promised glory (Ro 5^{3-11} 8^{18-36}, 2 Co 4^{16}–5^9). The further notion that afflictions are chastisements sent by God in love, and for our real and truest good, is expressed in the Ep. to Hebrews (12^{5-11}) as a special blessing of God's children more distinctly than in the Pauline Epistles. For St. Paul does not conceive our relation to God as that of young children needing discipline, but rather as that of sons of full age in a relation of freedom and love to our heavenly Father. Hence he is not fond of the expression *children* (*τέκνα*) unless when the form of his argument from OT leads him to use it, as in Ro 9[7, 8]. So, too, he does not use the idea of our being begotten anew of the Spirit to describe the beginning of Christian life; he conceives it rather as a new creation or a raising from death. In Tit 3[5] the word 'regeneration' is not the common expression for what is generally so called, and it is not certain that it refers to the new birth of individuals.

3. THE TEACHING IN HEBREWS.—Here again the notion of children is more prominent than that of sons, and the idea in ch. 12 is the position of young children needing education and chastisement. This writer also has in view the beginning of the relation in a birth rather than in adoption, for he calls God the Father of spirits in contrast with the fathers of our flesh (12[9]). It is unnatural to suppose that he meant by these words to teach the philosophical doctrine that men derive from their earthly parents only their bodies, and their spirits directly from God. Whether this be true or not, the idea of the writer was manifestly the religious one, that while our relation to our earthly parents is physical, our relation as children to God is spiritual. But that he does not conceive this relation as a universal one, is plain from the fact that he speaks of the possibility of being without chastisement, and so being bastards and not sons (v.[8]), here using the Pauline term for the relation.

There is one utterance of St. Paul, in his speech at Athens (Ac 17[28, 29]), where he says of all men as such that they are the offspring (*γένος*) of God, because he has made us with the purpose that we shall know him; he is not far from any one of us, since in him we live and move and have our being. This relation is clearly not the same as that which the apostle in his Epistles ascribes to Christians when he says they are sons of God through faith in Jesus Christ. It does not include the blessings of freedom, of the spirit of adoption, or of being heirs of God. Hence, if this universal relation is to be called sonship, it must be clearly distinguished from that Christian sonship of which he speaks most frequently and most fully. But if it be considered that St. Paul does not use the word 'sons' (*υἱοί*), but the more indefinite one 'offspring' (*γένος*), that he borrows this from a Greek poet, and that the only use that he makes of the statement is to show that since we are so like God it is foolish to think that the Deity can be represented by material images, it cannot but appear very precarious to infer from this expression that St. Paul would say that all men are sons of God, or that the relation that is formed by our creation in God's image deserves to be called sonship. He does indeed teach that all things were created through and in the Son of God, who appeared on earth as Jesus Christ (Col 1[15-17]); and he declares in the warmest and most glowing language the love and kindness, goodness and patience of God towards all men, seeking to lead them to repentance. If we think that these truths are fairly expressed by saying that God is the Father of all men, and they his sons, we may, on our own responsibility, use these phrases; but we should remember that St. Paul does not use them in such a sense, but means by being sons of God something far more blessed.

The Palestinian apostles do not use the Pauline term 'adoption'; but they describe in different ways how men are made 'children' of God, employing that word rather than 'sons,' because they emphasize the spiritual birth by which we are renewed.

4. THE TEACHING OF JAMES.—In the Ep. of James (1[17]) God is called the Father of lights, from whom cometh down every good giving and every perfect boon, and to whom must not be attributed any temptation to sin, because he is unchangeable in goodness. Then it is added: 'Of his own will he brought us forth by the word of truth, that we should be a kind of first-fruits of his creatures' (1[18]). The 'we' here are clearly those who, as afterwards said, have 'the implanted word,' which is able to save their souls (1[21]). This reminds us of Jesus' Parable of the Sower and the Seed, where the word of the kingdom is compared to seed having a living power of germination and producing new life, and the fruit of the good seed is said to be the sons of the kingdom (Mt 13[38]), in opposition to the sons of the evil one. In Ja 1[27] God is called the Father absolutely, to show that he is truly and purely worshipped by visiting the widows and fatherless in their affliction; and in 3[9], where is exposed the inconsistency of blessing God while we curse men, God is called the Lord and Father; but, as if to leave no doubt that all men are included, they are described, not as children of God, but as made after the similitude of God. It is maintained by many that since all men are made in God's image, and cared for by him with infinite goodness and love, they are all his children; and if they think it best to use the phrase in that sense, no one can object to their doing so, and the thing meant is most certainly taught in Scripture; but it does not appear that the apostles called it by the name of sonship, and it does appear that they described believers as sons of God in a higher sense because born again by his word and Spirit.

5. THE TEACHING OF PETER.—In 1 P 1[3] it is said that 'the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, according to his great mercy, begat us again to a living hope by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead, into an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and unfading, reserved in the heavens for us.' This by itself might be merely a rhetorical way of saying that the historical fact of Jesus being raised to life after his death and burial awakened in the souls of his followers a hope of immortal blessedness that made them practically new men, animating them with new life. But when we read further on in the same chapter (1 P 1[23]), 'having been begotten again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, through the word of God which liveth and abideth for ever,' we can hardly doubt that the apostle means to describe a change that is wrought, not merely by the impression made by an event even as great and important as the resurrection of Christ, but by an influence working directly on our souls, and making us, as afterwards described (2[2]), as newborn babes in our religious life and relation to God. This corresponds to what Jesus taught of the need of being turned, so as to become as little children (Mt 18[3]), as well as of being begotten of the Spirit (Jn 3[3-8]). It seems, therefore, to be in ref. to this new birth that St. Peter speaks of Christians calling God, the impartial Judge, Father (1 P 1[17]), not as in the AV, 'if ye call on the Father,' but 'if ye call him Father who without respect of persons judgeth according to every man's work.' It is plainly not all men by whom God is to be addressed as Father, but believers in virtue of their having been begotten again. So, too, they are called to show themselves obedient children (1[14]), or children of obedience. Throughout, the idea of birth is the prominent one, rather than that of the relation and privileges of sons. These are not developed as they are by St. Paul and by the writer to the Heb., the only one specially mentioned being the inheritance (1 P 1[4]). It is in harmony with this conception of believers being children of God be-

cause born or begotten of him, that in 2 P 1^4 they are said to become partakers of the divine nature. Also we may observe that in 1 P God is distinctively called the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ (1^3), and the notion of our being in Christ and dying with him to sin is also in the writer's mind (2^{24} 4^1). The opening sentence is formed after the pattern of that of the Ep. to the Eph.; but while St. Paul blesses God because he has foreordained us to adoption (Eph 1^4), St. Peter seems to have expressed the same idea of sonship by divine gift, in the more concrete form of a begetting.

6. THE TEACHING OF JOHN.—The teaching of St. John on this subject combines the elements of the Pauline and Petrine, though it is more akin to the latter, and uses the term 'children' rather than sons of God. The keynote to it may be found in the Prologue to the Gospel ($1^{12.13}$), 'to as many as received him (the Logos) he gave the right to become children of God, even to them that believe on his name: which were begotten, not of blood nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God.' Here we have the right to become children of God bestowed by Christ, which answers to St. Paul's statement, 'God sent forth his Son . . . that we might receive the adoption of sons.' The word 'adoption' is not employed; but the right to become children expresses the same thing in less technical language. Further, this is said to be given to those who receive Christ by believing on his name. St. Paul had also written, 'Ye are all sons of God by faith in Jesus Christ; for as many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ' (Gal $3^{26f.}$). Thus for St. John, as well as for St. Paul, our sonship to God is through union to Christ the only-begotten Son, and that union is effected by faith.

But St. John adds to this the conception found in St. James and St. Peter of a birth or begetting of God, which he emphatically distinguishes from the natural birth in every aspect of it. Those who believe in Christ's name are they who were begotten of God; and that this is not done by the process of natural generation is shown by a threefold contrast: not of blood, *i.e.* they did not become sons of God through or in virtue of their being of the one blood of which God has made all mankind. Neither was it by any movement or impulse of their own nature, whether the spontaneous tendencies of its animal faculties ('the will of the flesh'), or even the voluntary acts of personality ('the will of man'). The contrast is more briefly and pointedly expressed in our Lord's discourse with Nicodemus as between being begotten of the flesh and of the Spirit (Jn 3^6). St. John seems to conceive the Divine Spirit as a principle or power of life and holiness proceeding from God, given to Jesus Christ in all its fulness and by him communicated to his disciples. It is not unworthy of notice that Iren. and Tertull. apply Jn 1^{13} to Christ, apparently reading the verb in the singular ('who was born'); and though that reading is only found in some Lat. MSS and cannot be received, yet in 1 Jn 5^{18} our Lord, according to the most natural interpretation, is called 'he that was begotten of God.'

St. John seems chiefly anxious to show that the believer's being a child of God necessarily involves likeness to God in character and life; and hence, while he ascribes this privilege to the wonderful love of the Father (1 Jn 3^1), and to our being united to Christ by faith (Jn 1^{12}), he dwells most fully on the truth that our sonship is due, not merely to the gracious act of adoption by the Father and our being made one with the Son through faith, but also to our receiving a new life from the Spirit of God, which communicates to us that very principle of love which is the essence of God. In 1 Jn 2^{29} he says, 'every one that doeth righteousness is begotten of him,' and the uniform usage of the apostle seems to show that he means of God, though it is of Christ that he has been speaking just before. Wherever there is real righteousness in any man it is derived from him who is the archetype and source of all righteousness. Then, after expressing his joyful sense of the greatness of the Father's love and the reality of the sonship that it bestows, he returns to the subject of the inconsistency of that sonship with sin and its inseparable connexion with righteousness, and at 3^9 he says, 'Whosoever is begotten of God doeth no sin, because his seed abideth in him, and he cannot sin because he is begotten of God.' The statement is evidently an ideal one, describing the Christian life in its ultimate perfection when we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is (v.^{2}). But it is put in the present, because that perfection is really given in principle and germ to all who are begotten of God even now. The impossibility of their sinning is not to be achieved by any further or additional gift or power, but by the life from God that is given at the first, when it comes to its full maturity. That principle of sinlessness is called the seed of God which abides in his children. This seems to denote a spiritual life derived from God, whereby, as it is put in 2 P 1^4, we become 'partakers of the divine nature'; it is what Jesus indicates when he says, 'That which is born of the Spirit is spirit' (Jn 3^6). The divine nature acc. to St. John is love (1 Jn $4^{8.16}$), and this love is implanted in us when God gives us of his Spirit. So in a spiritual sense our being begotten of God is not a mere metaphor, but a proper statement of what is a real communication of the most essential life of God. But, while giving this high transcendent view of the nature of believers' sonship to God, St. John is careful to insist that its reality must be proved by the practical test of conformity to the moral law in the common affairs of daily life. He does not allow the mystical union with Christ and God to obscure the distinct personal relations between us and God. There is to be a day of judgment, and one of the blessings of the children of God is to have confidence in that day, and not to be ashamed before Christ at his coming. In the present life the relation of the children of God to him as their Father, implies confession of sin and prayer for others as well as themselves, and requires perfect truth and frankness. The blessings of sonship to God are summed up by St. John in the one great idea of eternal life.

The world outside of Christ is described as lying in the evil one (1 Jn 5^{19}), of the evil one, children of the devil (3^{10}); but Christ is the propitiation for the whole world (2^2); and as the love of God is manifested in sending his Son to be a propitiation for our sins (4^{10}), it is implied that God's fatherly love has a universal aspect, though all men are not really, in St. John's view, God's children.

LITERATURE.—The subject of our sonship to God has not been much discussed until recent times, though it came incidentally into consideration in connexion with the Sonship of Christ, as in Athanasius' *Orat. agst. Arians* (esp. *Or.* ii.), and in the systems of theology, as in Calvin's *Inst.* (I. xiv. 18, II. xiii. 1, III. ii. 23), and practical treatises, as Thomas Goodwin's *On the Work of the Holy Ghost*. In modern times such writers as F. D. Maurice, F. W. Robertson, etc., have made great use of the idea that all men are children of God, to exclude the doctrine of God's judicial dealings. R. S. Candlish discussed the subject in his Cunningham Lectures on the *Fatherhood of God*, maintaining that sonship belongs to believers, and is founded on that of Christ. T. J. Crawford in his *Fatherhood of God* criticised these positions, and maintained a twofold sonship—one universal, founded on Creation, and another special, bestowed on believers in Christ. Another work that appeared at the same time is *The Divine Fatherhood*, by C. H. H. Wright, taking mainly Dr. Candlish's view. The other side is strongly maintained in A. M. Fairbairn's *Christ in Modern Theology*.

In these discussions the subject was connected more or less with far-reaching questions of systematic theology, and the notion of sonship to God plays an important part in the *Dogmatik* of R. A. Lipsius. Its exegetical discussion belongs properly to the Bib. Theol. of the NT, and reference may be made to the works, on that subject, of Schmid, Weiss, Beyschlag, also to Wendt's *Teaching of Jesus*, and to Bruce's *The Kingdom of God* and *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*. There is a very interesting special study of St. Paul's conception of adoption in relation to Rom. law by W. E. Ball in the *Contemp. Rev.* Aug. 1891. J. S. CANDLISH.

GOD FORBID.—See FORBID.

GODHEAD.—This word occurs three times in AV. Ac 17^{29} 'We ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto gold, or silver, or stone, graven by art and man's device' (Gr. τὸ θεῖον); Ro 1^{20} 'For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead' (Gr. θειότης); Col 2^{9} 'For in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily' (Gr. θεότης). In each case the Gr. word is appropriately employed, and the one could not have been used for the other, so that to give 'Godhead' as the tr^{n} of them all is most unhappy.

In Ac 17^{29} τὸ θεῖον, 'the Divine,' is chosen by St. Paul in his speech to the Athenians as a familiar philosophical expression which enables him to carry their thoughts easily with him. Even they, with scarcely a personal conception of God, ought not to debase their conception to the level of men's handiwork. Hence RVm 'that which is divine' is better than text 'the Godhead,' though 'the Divine' would have been better. Wyc. errs on the other side when he offers 'godly thing' (after Vulg. *Divinum*). Tindale gave 'godhed,' and was followed by all the Versions except the Rhemish, which has 'the Divinitie,' though 'Godhead' is given as an alternative in the Annotation to the verse. The Gr. expression occurs nowhere else in biblical Greek, though the adj. θεῖος is common in LXX and occurs in 2 P 1$^{3.4}$ (EV 'divine').

Lightfoot (on Col 2^{9}) expresses the difference between θειότης and θεότης thus: θειότης is the quality, θεότης the essence of God. The distinction is best seen by observing that θεότης comes from θεός 'God,' while θειότης comes from θεῖος 'Divine.' Therefore Sanday-Headlam (on Ro 1^{20}) more happily: θεότης = Divine Personality, θειότης = Divine nature and properties (cf. Bengel [on Col 2^{9}]: 'Non modo divinæ virtutes, sed ipsa divina natura,' and see Trench, *NT Synonyms*, p. 6 ff.). It is at once seen how appropriately St. Paul uses θειότης in Ro 1^{20} where he speaks of such attributes of God as can be read in the book of Nature; and how appropriately θεότης in Col 2^{9} where he asserts of the Son that in Him dwells the fulness of the entire (revealed and unrevealed) Personality of God. The Latin Versions were forced to use *divinitas* for both words. But its insufficiency to represent θεότης was early felt, and Augustine says (*De Civ. Dei*, vii. 1): 'Hanc divinitatem vel, ut sic dixerim, deitatem: nam et hoc verbo uti jam nostros non piget, ut de Græco expressius transferant id quod illi θεότητα appellant.' The same feeling is now finding expression in English, and theologians prefer to speak of the Deity rather than of the Divinity of Christ, since the former word alone gives Him the full Personality of God. The Eng. Versions from Wyclif to AV make no distinction, but use 'Godhead' at both places, except that the Rhem. NT has 'Divinitie' at Ro 1^{20}. Yet Beza (on Col 2^{9}) had shown the distinction: 'Non dicit, τὴν θειότητα, id est divinitatem, sed τὴν θεότητα, id est deitatem.' Luther also was content with 'Gottheit' for both words; but De Wette gives 'Göttlichkeit' for θειότης; while Weizsäcker gives 'Gottesgüte.' RV has 'divinity,' retaining 'Godhead' for θεότης.

Each word occurs once only in NT. Nor is θεότης found in LXX, and θειότης only once, Wis 18^{9} (καὶ τὸν τῆς θειότητος νόμον ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ διέθεντο, AV 'and with one consent made a holy law,' AVm 'or a *covenant of God* or *league*,' RV 'and with one consent they took upon themselves the covenant of the divine law,' RVm 'Gr. *law of divineness*'). On this Westcott (*Lessons of the RV of NT*, p. 111 f.) draws attention to 'the care taken by the Revisers to represent words of a single occurrence in the original by words of single occurrence in the Eng. version.' Besides 'divinity' in Ro 1^{20} for θειότης and 'Godhead' (for which he seems to prefer 'deity') in Col 2^{9} for θεότης, he mentions 'apparition' for φάντασμα Mt 14^{26}, Mk 6^{49}; 'awe' for δέος He 12^{28}; 'billows' for σάλος Lk 21^{25}; 'concealed' for παρακαλύπτεσθαι Lk 9^{45}; 'conduct' for ἀγωγή 2 Ti 3^{10}; 'confute' for διακατελέγχεσθαι Ac 18^{28}; 'demeanour' for κατάστημα Tit 2^{3}; 'discipline' for σωφρονισμός 2 Ti 1^{7}; 'disrepute' for ἀπελεγμός Ac 19^{27}; 'effulgence' for ἀπαύγασμα He 1^{3}; 'goal' for σκοπός Ph 3^{14}; 'impostor' for γόης 2 Ti 3^{13}; 'to interpose' for μεσιτεύειν He 6^{17}; 'justice' for ἡ Δίκη Ac 28^{4}; 'to moor' for προσορμίζεσθαι Mk 6^{53}; 'sacred' for ἱερός 1 Co 9^{13}, 2 Ti 3^{15}; 'to shudder' for φρίσσειν Ja 2^{19}; 'stupor' for κατάνυξις Ro 11^{8}; 'to train' for σωφρονίζειν Tit 2^{4}; 'tranquil' for ἤρεμος 1 Ti 2^{2}; 'undressed' for ἄγναφος Mt 9^{16}, Mk 2^{21}; and 'without self-control' for ἀκρατής 2 Ti 3^{3}.

In modern English the word 'Godhead' is mostly confined to a neuter sense, as if it were the proper tr^{n} of τὸ θεῖον, and of that alone. In older English it was a synonym for 'divinity,' which, as we have seen, was not distinguished, as it is scarcely distinguished yet, from 'deity.' The Rhem. NT has the marg. note to Jn 6^{66} 'Heretikes beleeve not the real presence because they see bread and wine, as the Jewes believed not his Godhead because of the shape of a poore man.' Tindale (*Works*, i. 200) speaks ironically of 'the Pope's godhead.' And Chaucer (*Knightes Tale*, 1523) uses the word as a syn. for 'deity'—

> 'If so be that my youthe may deserve,
> And that my might be worthy for to serve
> Thy godhede, that I may been oon of thyne,
> Than preye I thee to rewe upon my pyne.'

J. HASTINGS.

GODLESS.—This word is found but once in AV, 2 Mac 7^{34} 'O godless man'; Gr. ὦ ἀνόσιε; RV 'O unholy man,' as EV translate the same adj. in 1 Ti 1^{9}, 2 Ti 3^{2}, its only occurrences in NT.

But RV has given 'godless' as the tr^{n} of חָנֵף *hânêph*, in preference to AV 'hypocrite' in Job 8^{13} 13^{16} 15^{34} 17^{8} 20^{5} 27^{8} 34^{30} 36^{13}, Pr 11^{9}, Is 33^{14}; and the same translation might have been given in the three remaining passages: Is 9^{17} (AV 'hypocrite'); 10^{6}, Ps 35^{16} (AV 'hypocritical'), where, however, RV gives 'profane.' For there is no doubt that 'hypocrite,' though it is the tr^{n} of all the versions since Wyclif, misses the meaning. The verb is used in the Qal in the sense of 'be polluted,' whether of land (Is 24^{5}, Jer 3^{1}, Ps 106^{38} so tr^{d} in EV, except Is 24^{5} AV 'defile,' but Mic 4^{11} of Zion, EV 'defile') or of persons (Jer 23^{11}, EV 'be profane'); and in the Hiphil 'to pollute' of land (Nu 35^{33} *bis* AV 'pollute'—'defile,' Jer 3^{2} AV 'pollute,' 3^{9} AV 'defile,' RV always 'pollute'), and of persons (Dn 11^{32} AV 'corrupt,' RV 'pervert,' RVm 'make profane'). Hence the idea of the adj. is separated from God so as to be openly hostile; not 'hypocritical,' but 'profane,' 'godless.' There are two substantives, each of which occurs once, חֹנֶף Is 32^{6} (AV 'hypocrisy,' RV 'profaneness'), and חֲנֻפָּה Jer 23^{15} (AV 'profaneness,' AVm 'hypocrisy,' RV 'profaneness'). J. HASTINGS.

GODLINESS is in NT the equivalent of the Gr. term εὐσέβεια (1 Ti 2^{2} 3^{16} 4$^{7.8}$ 6$^{3.5.6.11}$, 2 Ti 3^{5}, Tit 1^{1}, also Ac 3^{12} [RV], 2 P 1$^{3.6.7}$ 3^{11}), except in one passage (1 Ti 2^{10}), where θεοσέβεια is used. 'It properly denotes,' says Ellicott, 'only "well-directed reverences" (Trench, *Synon.* § 48), but in the NT is practically the same as θεοσέβεια, and is well defined by Tittmann (*Synon.* i. p. 146) as "vis pietatis in ipsâ vitâ vel externâ vel internâ" (cf.

Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.* i. p. 3). Thus, then, εὐσέβεια conveys the idea, not of an "inward, inherent holiness," but, as Alford (on Ac 3^{12}) correctly observes, of an "operative cultive piety"' (*Pastoral Epistles*, p. 27). The substantive is used by St. Paul only in the Pastoral Epistles; and Pfleiderer (*Paulinism,* Eng. tr. ii. 210) maintains that in these writings, the Pauline authorship of which he denies, εὐσέβεια takes the place of the Pauline πίστις as 'the fundamental idea of the Christian holy life.' Weiss, however, denies this, and holds that 'as εὐσέβεια occurs along with πίστις (1 Ti 6^{11}), it is clear that it must rather be the basis of life from which true faith springs' (*Bib. Theol. of NT*, Eng. tr. ii. 129). St. Paul's use of the term 'ungodly' (ἀσεβής), in Ro 4^5 5^6, as descriptive of all mankind apart from Christ, would suggest that the more distinctively Christian sense of the term 'godly' is to be preferred in St. Paul's letters, as equivalent, not to reverence for God generally, but to the Christian feeling towards God as the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. On the other hand, in Ac $10^{2.7}$ the adjective εὐσεβής, translated 'devout,' is used to describe a man who, though a worshipper of God, was not even a Jewish proselyte. In the Sept. εὐσέβεια is used in some passages (Pr 1^7, Is 11^2) as the equivalent of the phrase 'the fear of the Lord,' but in others θεοσέβεια (Gn 20^{11}, Job 28^{28}). Thoughout the OT man's duty towards God is defined as *fearing God* (Schultz, *OT Theol.* Eng. tr. ii. p. 55); and in the 'Wisdom' literature the fear of the Lord (יִרְאַת יְהוָֹה) is assumed as the fundamental principle of piety and morality (Job 28^{28}, Ps 111^{10}, Pr 1^7 8^{13}, Ec 12^{13}. See Oehler's *OT Theol.* Eng. tr. ii. p. 446). For the use of the adjective or adverb 'godly' in 2 Ti 3^{12}, Tit 2^{12}, 2 P 2^9 see the following article. Elsewhere in St. Paul's letters the same word is used in AV to render either the genitive θεοῦ (2 Co 1^{12} 11^2, 1 Ti 1^4) or the phrase κατὰ θεὸν (2 Co $7^{9.10.11}$); while in 3 Jn ^{6} 'godly sort'=ἀξίως τοῦ θεοῦ, a use of the adjective which the meaning of the substantive does not warrant; and it is to be regretted that the RV retains this rendering in some passages. It must be added that in some OT passages (Ps 4^3 12^1 32^6) the adjective 'godly' is used to render the Heb. word חָסִיד, which not only describes God's relation to man, but also describes the mutual relations of men (see Cheyne, *Hosea*, 62 n.); and the use of this word shows that the OT phrase 'the fear of the Lord' does not mean any slavish dread of God, but a reverence which does not exclude love. The NT godliness also means a reverence that includes all the emotions which the revelation of God in Christ inspires. A. E. GARVIE.

GODLY is used both as an adj. and as an adverb. The adj. occurs only four times in OT: (1) thrice as tr^n of חָסִיד, which is properly 'kind,' but from the prominence of this quality in God, and in them that are like Him, comes to mean 'pious,' 'godly'; so Ps 4^3 32^6, and as subst. 'the godly man' Ps 12^1; and (2) once as tr^n of אֱלֹהִים 'God,' Mal 2^{15} 'a godly seed,' lit., as AVm 'a seed of God.' The proper equivalent of 'godly' in Gr. is εὐσεβής, which in Sirach is one of the characteristics of the 'wise man' (ὁ σοφός), as distinguished from the 'fool' (ὁ μωρός) who is ἀσεβής 'godless'; and in the plur. this practically becomes a subst. equivalent to 'the Wise.' Thus Sir $39^{26.27}$ 'The principal things for the whole use of man's life are water, fire, iron, and salt, flour of wheat, honey, milk, and the blood of the grape, and oil, and clothing. All these things are for good to the godly (τοῖς εὐσεβέσιν); so to the sinners (τοῖς ἁμαρτωλοῖς) they are turned into evil.' This word, which occurs thrice in NT, is only once tr^d 'godly,' 2 P 2^9 'The Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of temptation' (εὐσεβεῖς); in Ac $10^{2.7}$ it is tr^d 'devout' by both AV and RV, the word being applied to Cornelius and to one of his soldiers. The TR gives εὐσεβής in Ac 22^{12} in reference to Ananias, but edd. after the best MSS prefer εὐλαβής, which elsewhere (Lk 2^{25}, Ac 2^5 8^2) is tr^d by EV 'devout,' as here. In He 12^{28} the subst. εὐλάβεια is tr^d 'godly fear,' for which RV gives 'reverence,' RVm 'godly fear.' But in 5^7 (the only other occurrence of the Greek word) RV tr. ἀπὸ τῆς εὐλαβείας, 'for his godly fear,' AV 'in that he feared.' (See this passage discussed in *Expos. Times*, vi. 434, 522; vii. 4, 118, 502). In 2 Co 1^{12} 11^2, 1 Ti 1^4 'godly' is the tr^n of θεός 'God' (cf. Mal 2^{15} above); thus 2 Co 1^{12} 'in simplicity and godly sincerity' (ἐν ἁπλότητι [edd. ἁγιότητι] καὶ εἰλικρινείᾳ [T WH -ίᾳ] θεοῦ [edd. τοῦ θεοῦ], RV 'in holiness and sincerity of God'); 11^2 'I am jealous over you with godly jealousy' (θεοῦ ζήλῳ, RV 'with a godly jealousy,' RVm 'Gr. *a jealousy of God*'); 1 Ti 1^4 'Neither give heed to fables and endless genealogies, which minister questions rather than godly edifying (οἰκοδομίαν) which is in faith' (RV 'a dispensation of God,' οἰκονομίαν θεοῦ, RVm 'a stewardship of God'). The AV of 1611 omits 'godly' from the last passage (evidently by an oversight, for it is found in all the versions from Tindale to the Bishops), and it was not inserted till 1638. Wyc. has 'edificacioun of god,' and Rhem. 'the edifying of God,' after Vulg. 'ædificationem Dei.'* Elsewhere 'godly' as an adj. is the tr^n of some attributive phrase in the original. In 2 Co 7^9 'after a godly manner,' 7^{10} 'godly,' and 7^{11} 'after a godly sort,' all represent κατὰ θεόν 'according to God' as AVm (RV changes 7^9 into 'after a godly sort'); and in 3 Jn ^{6} 'after a godly sort' stands for ἀξίως τοῦ θεοῦ, lit. 'worthily of God,' as RV.

As an adverb 'godly' was once in common use, as Tindale, *Pent.* 'A prologe' (Mombert's ed. p. 12), 'Every man must worke godly and truly to the uttermoste of the power that god hath geven him: and yet not truste therein'; and *Preface to AV*, 1611, p. 5, 'The godly-learned were not content to have the Scriptures in the Language which themselves understood.' 'Ungodly' was used in the same way, as Mt 22^6 Tind. 'The remnaunt toke his servantes and intreated them ungodly and slewe them'; and T. Lever, *Sermons* (Arber's ed. p. 118), 'Do ye not se how that prebendes whiche were godly founded as moste convenient and necessarye lyvyngs for preachers to healp the byshoppes and the persons too enstructe the people, be now ungodly abused to corrupte the byshoppes?' But there was a feeling against using the same form as adj. and adverb. Hence 'godlily' was sometimes used, as Knox, *Hist.* 136, 'That by his grave counsell, and godly exhortation, he would animate her Majestie constantly to follow that which godlily she had begun'; and sometimes the word was avoided. In Pr. Bk., Collect for Good Friday, 'That every member . . . may truly and godly serve thee' is found in all edd. from 1549 to 1662, but in the Scotch Liturgy 'godly' was changed into 'worthily.' 'Godly' is used as an adv. thrice in AV, 2 Mac 12^{45} 'there was great favour laid up for those that died godly' (μετ' εὐσεβίας, RV 'in godliness,' RVm 'on the side of godliness'); 2 Ti 3^{12}, Tit 2^{12} (εὐσεβῶς). J. HASTINGS.

GOD, SON OF.—See SON OF GOD.

GOD, SONS OF.—See GOD, CHILDREN OF.

GOEL (AVENGER OF BLOOD).—'Goel' (Heb. גֹּאֵל *gô'ēl*) is an important technical term of Hebrew jurisprudence. The primary meaning of the root

---

* For examples of the way in which RV has endeavoured to express this idiom (originally Hebrew) in English, see Westcott, *Lessons of RV of NT*, p. 32 ff.

גָּאַל is 'to make a claim,' *vindicare*, in the sense of claiming something that has been lost or forfeited, 'to resume a claim or right which has lapsed' (Driver); hence the *goel* is etymologically 'the claimant,' *vindex*, in practice 'the next of kin.' We shall consider the rights and privileges of the *goel*, (i.) in civil and (ii.) in criminal law.

i. In civil law the following were the chief rights and responsibilities of the *goel*. (*a*) When, through stress of circumstances, a Hebrew was compelled to sell part of his patrimony, it was the duty of 'his kinsman that is next to him' (RV)—in ordinary language his next of kin—'to redeem (גאל) that which his brother had sold' (Lv 25^{25}). This duty is in accordance with one of the fundamental ideas at the basis of the Hebrew law of real estate, by which land was the inalienable property of the clan (מִשְׁפָּחָה). According to the priestly legislation, indeed, the clan or tribe was in its turn the feudatory of J", from whom, as the real owner of the soil, the land was held in fee (Lv 25^{23}). In the particular case under consideration, the various degrees of kinship are not stated, but they were no doubt identical with those laid down for the analogous case next to be considered (under *b*); that is, the right of redemption (מִשְׁפַּט גְּאֻלָּה Jer 32^{7}) appertained first to full brothers of the vendor; whom failing or who renouncing, it passed to his uncles on the father's side; whom failing, to their sons, *i.e.* the vendor's cousins on the father's side; whom failing, to 'any that is nigh of kin unto him of his family' (מִשְׁפָּחָה Lv 25^{49}). From the historical instance of the purchase by Jeremiah of his cousin Hanamel's property in Anathoth (Jer 32^{8-12}), it appears that the *goel*, or next of kin, had the right of pre-emption, or the right to the refusal of the property before it was exposed in the open market, as well as the right of redemption after it had been sold. In either case the prophet was his cousin's *goel*. Under this head, as it seems to us, must be placed the much-disputed case of Ruth the Moabitess (which many authorities regard as a case of levirate marriage), for the first and chief part of the transaction before the elders of the city (Ru $4^{1ff.}$) is clearly the redemption of 'the parcel of land which was our brother Elimelech's' (4^{3-6}). To this, the primary duty of the *goel*, the taking of Ruth in marriage is to be regarded as subordinate. Nothing is said of the precise relationship subsisting between Naomi—who here, contrary to the Pentateuchal laws, appears as her husband's heir—and the true *goel*, nor between him and Boaz, to whom, on the former renouncing, the right of redemption fell. Throughout the Bk. of Ruth our translators have rendered the Hebrew *gô'ēl* by 'kinsman.'

(*b*) A second duty of the *goel* in civil law was to redeem, not the property, but the person, of his kinsman, in the event of the latter being compelled by poverty to sell himself as a slave to a stranger or a sojourner (Lv 25^{47-49}). The order in which kinship was to be reckoned has already been given. For the details of the transactions under this and the foregoing head, see the art. JUBILEE. From this function of the *goel* as a 'redeemer' there has proceeded an extensive use of the verb *ga'al* in the sense of 'redeem,' with God Himself for the subject. Thus God is said to redeem Israel from the bondage of Egypt (Ex 6^{6} 15^{13}, Ps 74^{2} etc.) and from exile in Babylonia. The idea of J" as His people's *goel* is a special characteristic of Deutero-Isaiah (41^{14} 43^{14} $44^{6.24}$ and oft.), as is the correlated idea of His people as the redeemed (גְּאוּלִים) of J" (51^{10} 62^{12} 63^{4}, cf. 35^{9}).

(*c*) A third duty of the *goel* is mentioned incidentally in the course of an ordinance supplementing a previous law regarding certain cases of restitution (Lv 6^{1-7}, MT 5^{21-26}). The new law provides for a case where the injured person may have died before payment of the conscience-money; in which case the money, it is assumed, is to be paid to the *goel* of the deceased (Nu 5^{8}), whom failing, to the priest.

ii. In criminal law the next of kin had laid upon him the duty of enforcing the claim for satisfaction for the blood of a murdered kinsman; in this capacity he received the special name of the *gô'ēl had-dām*, 'the **avenger** (AV also 'revenger') **of blood.**' The custom of blood-revenge, as it is called, is almost world-wide in its range, and is especially characteristic of society in a certain stage of its development (see esp. the work of A. H. Post, *Entwickelungsgeschichte des Familienrechts*, §§ 15–18 'Die Blutrache,' with the modern literature on p. 113). It rests ultimately on the two fundamental principles of the sacredness of human life (cf. Gn $9^{5.6}$ 'whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed'), and the solidarity of the clan or tribe in primitive societies. When, with the advance of civilization and the gradual evolution of the state, the duty of safeguarding the rights of the community passes to the state, blood-revenge is obsolescent or obsolete. Hence blood-revenge as practised by imperfectly organized communities has often been compared to war waged by modern states for the vindication of their rights. The Semitic peoples have practised this custom from prehistoric times, and the earliest Hebrew legislation, that of the Book of the Covenant (see below), found it in full operation. Indeed it is not too much to say that the aim of the Hebrew legislators, from first to last, was so to regulate the practice that the shedder of blood should be, as far as possible, protected from the hasty and unconsidered vengeance of the next of kin, by providing for the judicial investigation of each particular case, and the safe-keeping of the accused until such investigation was completed.

Among the Hebrews, then, in primitive times, the murdered man's next of kin, *i.e.* his *goel*, was bound by tribal custom to avenge his blood by compassing the death, not merely of the murderer himself, but of all his family; for the family was in these early times the unit of society, and so the murderer's guilt was shared by all his family (cf. Jos 7^{24}, 2 K 9^{26}). Such, at least, is the Arab custom, and the law of Dt 24^{16} seems first to have limited the responsibility for a crime to the criminal alone (2 K 14^{6}). The Book of the Covenant deals with crimes of violence by formulating, first of all, the general principle of a life for a life (Ex 21^{12}; cf. Gn 9^{6}); it then proceeds to impose an all-important restriction on the exercise of indiscriminate blood-revenge, by emphasizing the distinction between accidental (v.^{13}) and deliberate manslaughter (v.^{14}). In both cases the manslayer is presumed to flee to the altar of the local sanctuary from the vengeance of the *goel* (cf. 1 K 1^{50} 2^{28}); but when deliberate murder has been done, the criminal must forthwith be handed to the *goel* (so we must infer), as the representative, not merely of the kin of the murdered man, but even of God Himself, the Supreme Avenger (Ps 9^{12}, MT ^{13}). This natural distinction between wilful murder and accidental homicide is elaborated in both the later codes (for the legal distinction see **Homicide** and **Murder** under CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS), which are chiefly distinguished from the older and simpler code above referred to by the provision of the cities of refuge (for which see REFUGE, CITIES OF), where the manslayer was to find protection from the hasty vengeance of the *goel* ('lest the avenger of blood pursue the manslayer *while his heart is hot*,' Dt 19^{6}), until it should be decided whether he was guilty of murder or of accidental homicide (Nu 35^{9-34}, Dt 19^{1-13}, Jos 20). Another important restriction consisted in the new proviso that two witnesses, at least, should be required to establish the crime of murder (cf. Nu 35^{30} with Dt 19^{15}). The right of pronouncing whether a particular case was one of accidental or intentional homicide seems to have been vested in the elders (Dt 19^{12}), as the official representatives of the community (עֵדָה Nu $35^{12.24.25}$) to which the accused belonged. The elders of the city of refuge to which he had fled must have formed, according to Jos 20^{4},* a court of first instance. On the accused being, after trial, found guilty of wilful murder, he is handed over to the *goel*, whose function, as restricted by successive legislation, has now become little more than that of a public executioner. If the verdict, on the other hand, is that of accidental homicide, the congregation (עֵדָה) was authorized 'to deliver the manslayer out of the hand of the avenger of blood,' and to 'restore him to his city of refuge,' where he was obliged to remain till the death of the then high priest (Nu 35^{25}). Until this event the accused was in so far still at the mercy of the *goel*, that, if he were found by the latter 'beyond the border of his city of refuge,' he might be put to death with impunity (Nu $35^{26.27}$).

A characteristic feature of blood-revenge, as thus regulated by Hebrew legislation, is the very limited extent to which compensation for blood (even when accidentally shed) by a money payment was admitted. Among many widely different peoples, money-compensation—the Greek ποινή, the Saxon *wergeld*—was legally admitted, but among the Hebrews such compensation or ransom (כֹּפֶר) was expressly forbidden for the case of wilful murder (Nu 35^{31}), and was admitted only in the case of a man or woman gored to death by an ox (Ex 21^{30}).

It is impossible to say how long the custom of blood-revenge by means of the *goel* remained in force among the Hebrews. The case stated by the woman of Tekoa in 2 S 14^{6-11} reveals its prevalence in the reign of David, and, at the same time, is instructive as showing how the growing power of the central authority had already begun to exercise a salutary control over this ancient practice. According to the Chronicler, Jehoshaphat required all cases of bloodshed to be brought before the new high court of justice in the capital (2 Ch 19^{10}); but, unfortunately, we cannot be sure how much of this narrative is historical and how much a reflection of the practice prevailing in the Chronicler's own time (cf. Kittel, *Hist.* ii. p. 284).

From the technical sense of one enforcing the claims of justice in the special case of bloodshed, as explained above, the term *goel* in later Hebrew acquired the more general signification of 'advocate,' one who enforces the claim of the oppressed (Ps 119^{154}) and the orphans (Pr 23^{11}). In this more general sense the word is perhaps to be understood in the difficult passage Job 19^{25} 'I know that my *goel* liveth' (see Budde, *in loc.*).

LITERATURE.—For a modern systematic presentation of the topic discussed under this art. see Nowack's *Heb. Archæol.* i. Kap. 2, 'Rechtsverhältnisse,' esp. §§ 61 and 64 on Criminal Procedure and Law of Inheritance. For the latter see also *Erbrecht* in Riehm, *HBA*², and HEIR in this Dictionary. For inheritance among the Arabs see W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, Index *s.* 'Inheritance, Laws of.' On the general subject of Blood-revenge see Kohler, *Zur Lehre von der Blutrache*, 1885; A. H. Post, *Studien zur Entwickelungsgeschichte des Familienrechts*, 1890, 6th section, 'Die Blutrache,' pp. 113–136; among the Arabs in particular, Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouin*, etc. i. p. 148 ff.; W. R. Smith, *RS* p. 33 f., cf. Index, *s.* 'Blood-revenge'; for the blood feuds of the modern Syrian *fellahin* see Baldensperger's notes in *PEFSt*, 1897, p. 128 ff. On blood-revenge among the Hebrews see the articles 'Blutrache' in Riehm, *HBA*², and in *PRE*² (in 3rd edition now being issued the subject is to be treated under 'Gericht'); Bissell, *The Law of Asylum in Israel*, 1884, and the articles on MURDER and REFUGE (CITIES OF) in this Dictionary, along with the modern commentaries on the relative passages.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

GOG (גּוֹג).—**1.** The eponymous head of a Reubenite family, 1 Ch 5^{4}. **2.** See following article.

GOG (גּוֹג, Γούγ).—The 'prince of Rosh, Meshech, and Tubal,' from 'the land of Magog,' and representative of the northern hordes who were to invade W. Asia in the day 'when Israel dwelleth securely' (Ezk 38. 39, cf. Rev 20^{8}). George Smith proposed to see in him Gagi, the ruler of the land of Sakhi, who is mentioned in the annals of the Assyr. king Assurbanipal. But the situation of Sakhi is unknown, and the Heb. name corresponds with that of the Lydian king who is called Gyges by the Greeks, and Gugu in the cuneiform inscriptions. Gyges was the first king of W. Asia Minor who became known to the Assyrians, and consequently his name may perhaps have become a title applied by them to the subsequent kings of that part of the world. The Cimmerians (Gomer) are included in the army of Gog; and as the invasion of Asia Minor by them brought about a great displacement of population, one result being the retreat of the Moschi and Tibareni (Meshech and Tubal) from Cappadocia to the shores of the Black Sea, it is possible that the irruption of the northern barbarians into Syria was connected with that event. (See MAGOG, and cf. Schrader, *KAT*², and the *Comm.* of Davidson and Bertholet, *ad loc.*).

A. H. SAYCE.

GOIIM (גּוֹיִם) is the Heb. word which in EV is variously rendered 'Gentiles,' 'nations,' 'heathen' (see Preface to RV of OT). In the obscure expression in Gn 14^{1}, where AV has 'king of nations,' RV retains *Goiim* (possibly a corruption from *Gutî*) as a proper name, although RVm offers the alternative rendering 'nations.' The same difference in rendering between AV and RV is found also in Jos 12^{23}. See, further, GENTILES, and next article.

GOIIM (גּוֹיִם), 'Nations,' the name of the kingdom of Tidal (Gn 14^{1}). The name of Tidal has been found by Pinches in a mutilated cuneiform tablet, where it is written Tudghula; and as in another broken tablet of the same series it is said that Kudur-Laghamar or Chedorlaomer, 'the king of Elam,' had 'collected the Umman Manda' or 'barbarian nations' in order to attack Babylon, it seems probable that it was of these Umman Manda that Tudghula was king. They represented the Kurdish tribes on the northern frontier of Elam. (See the paper of Mr. Pinches on *Certain Inscriptions and Records referring to Babylonia and Elam*, in the *Transactions* of the Victoria Institute, xxix. 45–81).

A. H. SAYCE.

GOLAN (גּוֹלָן).—This appears to have been always a prominent place, and many historical facts about it are known, still its site has never been recovered. It was in Bashan, and belonged to the territory of Manasseh (Dt 4^{43}, cf. Driver, *ad loc.*). It was a Levitical city and likewise a city of refuge (Jos 20^{8} 21^{27}). About the beginning of our era it is mentioned in connexion with certain battles or sieges, and at that time, if not earlier, it had given its name to a district of such size that the territory was divided into Upper and Lower Gaulanitis, which together formed the E. boundary of Galilee (Jos. *Wars*, I. iv. 4, 8; III. iii. 1, 5; IV. i. 1; Schürer, *HJP* I. i. 304 n). The terms 'Upper' and 'Lower' no doubt divided the region from N. to S.; still the upper region is not distinguished by highlands, as might be supposed; for the entire country, while rolling, maintains a pretty uniform level.

---

* On the composite character of this chapter see the Commentaries of Dillmann and Oettli; and for the difficulties in harmonizing the different provisions with regard to the CITIES OF REFUGE see that article.

One division of the region E. of the Sea of Galilee is known at present as Jaulân (see Schumacher, *Survey of the Jaulân*, 1888), and this name represents the Gaulanitis of NT times and the Golan of Heb. history. With these indications it might be supposed that the task of recovering the place itself would be an easy one; but this is a case where modern research does not afford us much help. Nor does any light come from the meaning of the word, something *surrounded*, hence *a district*. Possibly, the political disturbances which visited that country from time to time, and the introduction of other settlers in place of the Jewish inhabitants, have obliterated all traces of the exact locality.

We have an indication in the Talm. (*Makkôth*, 9*b*), to which prob. some weight should be given, that Golan was due E. of Kedesh-naphtali, or rather that the cities of refuge were situated in pairs over-against each other, E. and W. of the Jordan. As this indication is true in the case of Shechem and Ramoth-gilead, there is no reason why it should not be true also in the other two cases.

The present writer has searched the region pretty thoroughly for the site of this ancient city, but has been unable to decide the question beyond dispute. *Nawâ* has been suggested; and the objection raised to it, that 'it is much too far to the east,' has no weight, since it is about the same distance to the E. as Ramoth-gilead. It might be a valid objection to say that it is too far south.

It must be remembered that the country just E. of Ramoth-gilead was not thickly settled, and hence was not very wide at that point, while E. of the Sea of Galilee it broadened out to nearly three times that width; and this would be an imperative reason for appointing, as the N. city of refuge, a place much farther to the E. than either of the others on that side of the river. This fact, together with the indication from the Talmud, would point to *es-Sanamein* as a possible site for Golan. The question of the actual site of this city of refuge is one, however, that is yet to be determined. S. MERRILL.

GOLD.—The essential word for gold in Heb. is *zāhābh* (in Aram. parts of Ezr and Dn *dĕhabh*, Arab. *dhahab*). Four other words occurring in Job are tr^{d} 'gold' in AV, viz. *beẓer*, Job 22^{24}, RVm 'ore' (the same word occurs in v.^{25} ‖ *keseph* 'silver'); *ṣĕgôr*, 28^{15}; *pāz*, 28^{17}; and *kethem*, 28^{19} (the last two often used elsewhere; cf. כֶּתֶם אוֹפִיר Job 28^{16}, Ps 45^{10}, Is 13^{17}; זְהַב א׳ 1 Ch 29^{4}, and אוֹפִיר alone, Job 22^{24b}). Another word for gold is *ḥârûẓ*, the usual Phœn. word, but in Heb. confined to poetry, Ps 68^{13}, Pr 3^{14} $8^{10.19}$ 16^{16} (Driver, *Text of Samuel*, p. xxviii). It probably comes from a root meaning 'to be yellow.' By some the Phœnician word is thought to be the source of the Gr. χρυσός.

That Syrians early had command of sources of gold is evident from the wealth of gold vessels and ornaments taken by the Egyptians in their depletion of Syria under the 18th dynasty. The gold of Egypt came at first from Nubia, and later from the eastern desert; but that of Syria probably came from Midian. At the first Midianite war the Israelites are said to have given as an offering about half as many shekels of gold as the girls of the captives taken (Nu 31^{52}). This would imply an offering of about three shekels from each family destroyed, and therefore a much greater wealth as a total. Again, Gideon personally gets 1700 shekels of gold ear-rings from the slaughtered Midianites (Jg 8^{26}), besides the rich spoil of gold from the royal trappings. That great wealth and ability should have existed there, is very likely, considering the civilization of the Amu on the Egypt. monuments, who probably came thence; and the conquest of Egypt by foreigners (Khyan, Yakub-el, and others) most likely from the same land. The absence of gold in the looting of Palestine under Joshua (the only piece named being an ingot of fifty shekels at Jericho, Jos 7^{21}) is probably due to the thorough exhaustion of the country by repeated pillaging under Ramses III. The quantities of gold mentioned are not at all improbable, looking to the wealth otherwise recorded. Putting amounts roughly into monetary value, we see

Tahutmes III. First year, plunder of Syria .	£20,000
Later years, perhaps	30,000
One year from Nubia	28,000
Other years, perhaps	22,000 ?
In one reign received . . .	£100,000 ?
Ramses III. offered to Amen, mainly from Syria, £120,000; probably total plunder	1,000,000 ?
Total amount stated for Tabernacle . .	90,000
Spoil of Midian, offered £16,000; total at least	100,000 ?
Gideon (Jg 8^{26}) gets £2000; total at least .	10,000 ?
Hezekiah gives Sennacherib	90,000

These values will give a general idea of the amounts of gold dealt with in OT accounts, and their relation to the plunder which the Egyptians got in powerful reigns.

There does not appear to be any common word for alloys of gold in Heb.; and probably, therefore, the electrum or gold-silver alloy, so usual in Egypt, was not frequent in Palestine. See also MINING. W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

GOLDSMITH is the tr. of צֹרֵף in both AV and RV of Neh $3^{8.31.32}$, Is 40^{19} 41^{7} 46^{6}, and of RV in Jer $10^{9.14}$ 51^{17}, where AV has 'founder.' From early times elaborate gold work was made in Egypt; and the exquisite delicacy and finish of the jewellery found at Dahshur, of about B.C. 2500, shows that nothing has been gained in technical ability since that date. The special feature of this jewellery is the *cloisonnée* work of hundreds of minute pieces of coloured stones, each cut to a precise shape, and each inserted in a perfectly fitting socket, made by invisible delicate soldering of thin strips of gold. The preparation of the base, and the cutting of the inserted pieces, are alike beyond anything done in later ages. The same system was employed throughout Egyptian history in varying degrees of delicacy; and such work must have been the starting-point for Hebrew and Phœnician gold work.

In the account of the tabernacle both cast and beaten gold are mentioned. The hammering out of the lampstand, lamps, and trimmers from one talent of gold is specified particularly (Ex $25^{31ff.}$). The talent was probably 135 lb. troy, about 160 cubic in. of gold; allowing 20 cubic in. for the lamps and fittings, and as much for the foot, this would imply (if the whole were about 3 ft. high) that the stem and branches of the lampstand were about $\frac{3}{4}$ in. thick, including the ornaments. Such a weight, therefore, is quite consistent with this strength required, and the conditions of working such a mass. The form of the lampstand is so familiar from the Arch of Titus that we need not refer to it here. The hammer-work of the two cherubim (Ex 25^{18}) does not involve any special difficulties, as they were doubtless joined; and Egyptians were long before this adepts at soldering gold. But there is a question involved in the gold plating of the tabernacle boards (Ex 26^{29}). The total gold used was 29 talents, of which 1 was used for the lampstand, and we must allow at least 2 for the cherubim and mercy-seat. This leaves 26 talents for plating. The area of the boards and bars is about 1860 square cubits, that of the furniture only 54 cubits. This implies that the gold-plating was only $\frac{1}{300}$th of an in. thick. Such would be quite impossibly tender for a skin on heavy weights, such as the boards (which weighed at least 4 cwt. each), unless it were very firmly attached; otherwise, if a nailed sheathing, it would be soon torn by moving. The gilding, therefore, on such a scale as is stated, would need to be by the usual Egyptian method of sticking rather thick gold-foil firmly on to the wooden basis. The ark and altars may have been more thickly plated, as their area was but a small portion of the whole.

The very practical nature of these statements of quantities has an important bearing on the historical character of the account, which we do not enter on here.

The making of wire is expressly described as done by cutting sheet gold into narrow threads (Ex 39^{3}); and such wire for embroidery must have drawn somewhat more from the amount of the gold stated above.

One mention in Kings deserves notice. The shields of gold which were carried by the royal bodyguard (1 K $14^{26.27}$) weighed 3 manehs each (1 K 10^{17}). This is about 16 cubic in., and if the shields were about 2 ft. in diameter they would be but $\frac{1}{30}$th of an in. thick; they were therefore not entirely of gold, but had a back of bronze or wood. Such work is rather implied by the expression 'gold fitted upon the carved work' of the temple doors (1 K 6^{35}). It appears to have been *repoussée* work of gold, with a wooden backing to support it and maintain the shape, helped by an intermediate coat of stucco or plaster as in Egyptian work. W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

GOLGOTHA (Γολγοθά, from Heb. גֻּלְגֹּלֶת 'skull,' Aram. גֻּלְגָּלְתָּא).—The Hebrew name of the place where the crucifixion took place, *Κρανίον* and *Calvaria* being the Greek and Latin equivalents. Calvary is mentioned only in AV of Lk 23^{33}, being replaced by 'the skull' in the RV.

Mt 27^{33} AV 'A place called Golgotha, that is to say, a place of a skull.'
,, RV 'A place called Golgotha, that is to say, the place of a skull.'
Mk 15^{22} AV, RV 'The place Golgotha, which is, being interpreted, The place of a skull.'
Lk 23^{33} AV 'The place which is called Calvary.'
,, RV 'The place which is called The skull.'
Jn 19^{17} AV 'A place called the place of a skull, which is called in the Hebrew, Golgotha.'
,, RV 'The place called the place of a skull, which is called in the Hebrew, Golgotha.'

Three evangelists agree in calling the spot the place 'of a skull,' while St. Luke calls the place 'The skull.' This difference may appear to allow of two explanations as to the name of the locality.

(1) It may have been the place of public execution, where bodies were allowed to be devoured by birds and beasts, etc. (Gn 40^{19}, 2 K 9^{35}, Herod. iii. 12), and thus have acquired this name. It was probably distinct from the place of stoning, because at this time the Jewish Sanhedrin, though it could condemn, could not put to death (*Ant.* IX. i. 1), without the intervention of the Roman governor (Jn 18^{31} 'The Jews therefore said unto him, It is not lawful for us to put any man to death'). Our Lord was crucified under Pilate for sedition against Cæsar, owing to the clamour of the Jews, in order to avoid a tumult (Mt 27^{23}). This method of punishment for this offence among the Jews was common at this time (*Ant.* XVII. x. 10, *BJ* II. xiv. 9). On account of the Jewish law (Dt 21^{23}), the corpses of Jewish criminals executed by crucifixion were allowed burial (Mt 27^{58}, Jn 19^{38}); and this was omitted only under very exceptional circumstances, as when the Idumæans, called in by the Zealots during the civil war at Jerusalem previous to the destruction of the city by the Romans, 'cast away their dead bodies without burial, although the Jews used to take so much care of the burial of men, that they took down those that were condemned and crucified, and buried them before the going down of the sun' (*BJ* IV. v. 2).

(2) The name may have been derived from the appearance of the place itself, from its round and skull-like contour, the Hebrew word Golgotha being applied to the skull from its rounded form. There is no indication, however, in the Bible that Golgotha was a knoll or hillock, and the expression 'Mount Calvary' appears to have come into use after the 5th cent. The *Itiner. Hieros.* speaks of it as 'Monticulus Golgatha.' Rufinus has the expression 'Golgothana rupes' (*Hist. Ecc.* ix. 6), and Bernhard again has 'Mons Calvariæ.' At that time the usage appears to have become fixed, and is found in works of all later pilgrims and writers (Robinson, *BRP*² i. p. 376).

The place of execution, both with the Romans and the Jews, was without the city or camp (Plaut. *Mil. Glor.* ii. 4. 6; Dt 17^{5}, 1 K 21^{13}, Ac 7^{58}, He 13^{12}, Lv 24^{14}, Nu 15^{36}), and accordingly 'the place where Jesus was crucified was nigh to the city' (Jn 19^{20}). The use of the definite article '*the* place of a skull,' '*the* place which is called The skull,' indicates that it was a known spot, probably the ordinary place for crucifixion of malefactors. Golgotha was in a conspicuous position, as it is related that multitudes 'came together to this sight,' and it could be seen by those 'who stood afar off' (Mk 15^{40}, Lk 23^{49}); and it was near a highway leading from the country, where people were passing to and fro (Mt 27^{39}, Mk $15^{21.29}$, Lk 23^{26}). It was also near a garden and tombs (?): 'Now in the place where he was crucified there was a garden; and in the garden a new tomb, wherein was never man yet laid'; and the tomb was 'nigh at hand' (Jn 19^{41}); it was Joseph's 'own new tomb,' the tomb of a rich man of Arimathæa (Mt 27^{60}).

The traditions which relate to Golgotha are very numerous, but there are none recorded earlier than the 4th cent. There can be no doubt that the present traditional site of Golgotha is that which was recovered by Constantine, but beyond this there can be no certainty. Eusebius alone of the writers of the 4th cent. describes this circumstance (Euseb. *Life of Constantine*, iii. 25) connected with the finding of the Holy Sepulchre; he was living in Palestine at the time, and was present at the dedication of the Church of the Resurrection, A.D. 335. This is summarized by Besant and Palmer (*Jerusalem*, p. 58) in the following words: 'In the time of Constantine a report existed that the spot then occupied by a temple of Venus was the site of our Lord's burial-place. Constantine took down the temple, meaning to build the church upon it; but, in removing the earth, supposed to be defiled by the idol-worship that had taken place upon it, they found to their extreme astonishment the cave or tomb which is shown to this day. Then came the building of the Basilica.' Most of the historians in the 5th cent. relate the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre with that also of Calvary, and attribute it to the aged empress Helena, the mother of Constantine. 'There is a tradition that Adam was buried under Mount Calvary. This tradition is mentioned and condemned by Jerome (*Comm. in Matth.* lib. iv. c. 27) and other early ecclesiastical writers. But the pilgrims, Breydenbach, Zuallardo, and Cotovicus, not only say that the head of Adam was found here, but some (as Bernardino) would have us believe that it is still to be seen in the fissure of the Apse'

(*The Holy City*, pt. II. ch. iii.). The tradition further went, that at the crucifixion drops of Christ's blood fell on the *skull* of Adam and restored him to life (Mt $27^{52.53}$, Eph 5^{14}; Epiphanius, *Adv. Hær.* xlvi. 5; Sæwulf, *Early Travels in Palestine*, pp. 39, 66; *W. Tyr.* lib. 13, p. 851).

There are many arguments in favour of the traditional site of Golgotha in addition to the tradition already referred to, but, until it can be ascertained whether it is within or without the city wall of the time of Christ, the whole question must still remain in doubt. The road from the tower of Antonia leading into the old road from the city to Jaffa would probably have passed close to the site, and on this road, outside the Jaffa gate, public executions have taken place in quite recent years, up to 1868. There are rock-cut tombs in the immediate neighbourhood, including that of the Holy Sepulchre.

During recent years several sites to the north of the city have been suggested as the site of Golgotha, in order, apparently, to comply with the view that the place of execution should be situated on the north side of the city (Lv $1^{10.11}$); but, though this may have been necessary for the Jewish place of stoning, there is nothing to indicate that the place of crucifixion during the Roman occupation was located according to Jewish ritual, or that it was identical with the place of stoning.

A knoll above 'Jeremiah's grotto' has been suggested by Otto Thenius in 1849 (followed by General Gordon, Colonel Conder, and others) as the genuine Calvary, on the ground principally that it is the place of stoning according to modern Jewish tradition. C. WARREN.

GOLIATH.—The giant whom David slew at Ephes-dammim (1 S 17). In the account of the fight he is spoken of as a Phil. from Gath. He was so politically, but it does not follow that he was of the ordinary Phil. blood. Presumably, he was of the *rephaite* or giant breed, elsewhere spoken of as living at Gath (2 S 21^{15-22}, 1 Ch 20^{4-8}), and was descended from the ancient Avvim or Anakim (see ANAKIM, AVVIM, GIANT, RAPHA, REPHAIM). The Heb. text makes him 6 cubits and a span in height. Josephus and some MSS of the Sept. reduce this to 4 cubits and a span. On general principles the Heb. reading is the more authoritative, and it fits best the figures given for the tremendous weight of his armour and weapons. Counting the cubit at 21 in., this would make him over 11 ft. high, and over 9 ft. high if we count the cubit a handbreadth shorter. If he was measured in his armour, from the ground to the top of his helmet-crest, this is not incredible, though he is probably the largest man of whom we have any authentic record.

The details of the fight are familiar, and need not be repeated here. It is often said that the account is quite Homeric. It is especially so in the boastful speeches the two champions make before the combat begins. The proposed condition of the fight was that the side whose champion was overcome should submit to the other. This was not done, for some reason. Instead, Israel fell upon the Philistines and defeated them with great slaughter. The incident in 2 S 23^{9-12}, 1 Ch 11^{12-14}, belongs to this battle, for Pas-dammim (1 Ch 11^{13}) is Ephes-dammim; and it shows that the Israelites had hard fighting, and not merely an unresisted pursuit. It also shows that David in later years remembered his first comrades in battle.

The story of David and Goliath is a favourite theme in the Rabbinical and the Arabian literature, where it is illuminated with no end of grotesque and extravagant additions.

The Goliath of 2 S 21^{19} is a different person; but see DAVID, vol. i. p. 562^b, ELHANAN, LAHMI. W. J. BEECHER.

GOMER (גֹּמֶר, Γάμερ, Γόμερ).—**1.** Gomer, the son of Japheth and father of Ashkenaz, Riphath, and Togarmah (Gn $10^{2.3}$), is the Gimirrâ of the Assyr. inscriptions, the Cimmerians of the Greeks. The Cimmerians were an Aryan people who inhabited the Crimea and the adjoining districts of southern Russia, and in the 7th cent. B.C. poured through the Caucasus into W. Asia (Herod. iv. 12). They attacked the northern frontier of the Assyr. empire in concert with the Minni, the Medes, the people of Sepharad (Sapardâ), and other populations whose territories they had already overrun; but in B.C. 677 their leader, Teuspa (Teispes), was defeated by Esarhaddon, and they were driven partly eastward, where they overthrew the old kingdom of Ellipi and built Ecbatana, partly westwards into Asia Minor. Here they sacked Sinôpê and Antandros, which they held for 100 years, and finally invaded Lydia. Gyges or Gugu, the Lydian king, sent an embassy to Nineveh for help; in the end, however, he was slain in battle, and his capital, Sardis, captured by the invading hordes. His successor, Ardys, succeeded in exterminating or driving them out of the country. Meanwhile Phrygia had been occupied by them, and the temple of Artemis at Ephesus burned by their leader, Lygdamis (who seems to be the Tugdamme of the inscriptions of the Assyr. king Assurbanipal). Lygdamis was subsequently slain in Cilicia (Strabo, i. 3, 16), but Cappadocia had been so completely conquered by them as to bear henceforward among the Armenians the name of Gamir. In Ezk 38^6 Gomer is included in the army of Gog.

2. The daughter of Diblaim and wife of Hosea (1^3). See HOSEA. A. H. SAYCE.

GOMORRAH (עֲמֹרָה, LXX and NT Γομόρρα or Γόμορρα; see Winer-Schmiedel, § 6, 8*b*; Arab. *ghamara*, 'to overwhelm with water').—One of 'the cities of the Plain'; its position along with that of Sodom and the other three is now pretty generally admitted to have been in the Arabah, or plain, which lies to the north of the Dead Sea. Of the five original cities, all but Zoar (or Bela) were destroyed by fire from heaven (Gn 19^{23-29}). The situation has been verified by Tristram, who, on placing himself in the required positions, was able to recognize the view described as it was regarded by Lot on selecting his future residence (Gn 13^{10}), and by Abraham during the destruction of the doomed cities (19^{27}).* According to Josephus the vale became Lake Asphaltitis on the destruction of Sodom (*Ant.* I. ix.), but in another place he indicates that the country of Sodom borders upon it (*Wars*, IV. viii. 4). It has elsewhere been shown that the Dead Sea does not owe its existence to miraculous interposition (see DEAD SEA); and the view that the waters cover the sites of the cities of the Plain is now generally discarded. Certain ruins about a mile from the shore of the Dead Sea north of Râs el-Feshkhah, marked Khumrân (or Gumrân) on the Survey Map of Palestine, have been supposed by de Saulcy to mark the site of Gomorrah, and the position as well as the name lend probability to the view.

Throughout Scripture the cities of the Plain are used as examples of the judgments which fall on nations and cities in consequence of crime, and as warnings to mankind. In the time of Abraham and Lot the wickedness of these cities appears to have reached its climax (Gn 18^{20}), and in several passages is referred to as an example to be shunned (Jer 23[14], 2 P 2[6], Jude[7]), and a warning for the future (Dt 29[23], Is 1[9] 13[19], Jer 49[18] 50[40], Am 4[11], Ro 9[29]). But our Lord warns us that the rejection of the gospel message carries with it a greater degree of guilt than that of the cities of the Plain (Mt 10[15]). E. HULL.

---

* *Land of Israel*², pp. 363-366. The arguments of Tristram on this subject appear quite conclusive, and should be studied by those who have not had the opportunities of this writer of personal inspection of the localities.

GOOD, GOODS.—The word 'good' is chiefly the rendering in OT of טוֹב, which is a verb, an adj., and a subst.; and in Apocr. and NT chiefly of *ἀγαθός* and *καλός*; and its meanings are determined far more by the meanings of those terms than by the native genius of the Eng. language. In other words, we have to deal with *biblical* English, some of whose peculiarities have been adopted into the common speech, through the influence of AV (though not always in their proper sense), and some have not.

1. As an adj. 'good' is used to express the following ideas:—

1. *Agreeable, pleasant:* Gn 3[6] 'And when the woman saw that the tree was good for food'; 31[24. 29] 'Take heed that thou speak not to Jacob either good or bad'; 49[15] 'And he saw that rest was good'; 1 S 25[8] 'We come in a good day'; 29[9] 'And Achish answered and said to David, I know that thou art good in my sight, as an angel of God'; Job 13[9] 'Is it good that he should search you out?'; Ps 45[1] 'My heart is inditing a good matter'; 133[1] 'Behold, how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity'; Pr 15[23] 'A word spoken in due season, how good is it!'; 24[13] 'My son, eat thou honey, because it is good'; Ro 16[18] 'By good words and fair speeches [they] deceive the hearts of the simple' (*χρηστολογίας καὶ εὐλογίας*, RV 'smooth and fair speech,' Sanday-Headlam 'fair and flattering speech'; it is the only occurrence of *χρηστολογία* in bibl. Greek). In this sense we find 'good tidings' 2 S 18[27], Lk 2[10], 1 Th 3[6]; 'good news' Pr 15[25]; 'good report' Pr 15[30], Ph 4[8] (*εὔφημος*, Lightfoot, 'winning,' 'attractive').

2. *Of good quality* (as compared with others of its kind), *highly esteemed:* Gn 1[4] 'And God saw the light that it was good'; 2[12] 'And the gold of that land is good'; 43[11] 'Take of the best fruits in the land' (RV 'choice'); 1 K 2[32] 'Who fell upon two men more righteous and better than he, and slew them with the sword'; 10[18] 'Moreover the king made a great throne of ivory, and overlaid it with the best gold' (RV 'finest'); Ps 111[10] 'A good understanding have all they that do his commandments'; Ec 7[1] 'A good name is better than precious ointment' (Heb. 'a name'); Sir 26[21] 'Having the confidence of their good descent'; Mt 7[17] 'Every good tree bringeth forth good fruit'; 12[12] 'How much then is a man better than a sheep?' (RV 'of more value,' Gr. *πόσῳ διαφέρει*); Lk 5[39] 'No man also having drunk old wine straightway desireth new; for he saith, The old is better' (TR *χρηστότερος*, most edd. *χρηστός* whence RV 'good'); Ac 10[22] 'of good report' (Gr. *μαρτυρούμενος*, RV 'well reported of'); 23[1] 'I have lived in all good conscience' (*πάσῃ συνειδήσει ἀγαθῇ*); 1 Co 12[31] 'Covet earnestly the best gifts' (TR *κρείττονα*; edd. *μείζονα*, RV 'greater'); Ph 2[3] 'Let each esteem others better than themselves'; 1 Ti 3[7] 'To have a good report'; Ja 2[3] 'Sit thou here in a good place' (*κάθου ὧδε καλῶς*).

3. *Profitable, advantageous:* Pr 31[18] 'She perceiveth that her merchandise is good' (RV 'profitable'); Ec 9[4] 'A living dog is better than a dead lion'; 10[11] 'and a babbler is no better' (RV 'then is there no advantage in the charmer'); Mt 18[6] 'It were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck' (RV 'it is profitable'); Lk 14[34] 'Salt is good.' And the phrase 'good for nothing' Jer 13[10], Wis 13[10], Mt 5[13].

4. *Befitting, appropriate:* Gn 40[16] 'When the chief baker saw that the interpretation was good'; Ru 2[22] 'It is good, my daughter, that thou go out with his maidens'; 2 S 17[7] 'The counsel that Ahithophel hath given is not good at this time'; Pr 19[2] 'That the soul be without knowledge, it is not good'; Ec 7[11] 'Wisdom is good with an inheritance'; Mt 17[4] 'It is good for us to be here'; Mk 14[21] 'Good were it for that man if he had never been born'; 1 Co 5[6] 'Your glorying is not good.'

5. *Happy, prosperous:* Ps 112[5] 'A good man showeth favour' (טוֹב־אִישׁ חוֹנֵן, RV 'Well is it with the man that dealeth graciously'; Perowne, 'Happy is the man'; but AV may have understood the word in the moral sense). In OT טוֹב is an epithet of the heart, but EV tr. otherwise: 1 K 12[7] ‖ 2 Ch 10[7] 'glad'; Est 5[9] 'glad'; Pr 5[15] AV 'merry,' RV 'cheerful'; Ec 9[7] 'merry.' But we find in Apocr., Sir 30[25] 'A cheerful and good heart will have a care of his meat and diet'; and Bar 4[30] 'Take a good heart, O Jerusalem.' Cf. the phrase 'of good cheer' (= in old Eng. 'of happy countenance,' since the 'cheer' was the 'face'), generally as an imperative, 'Be of good cheer!' Est 15[9], Wis 18[6], Bar 4[5], Mt 9[2] 14[27], Mk 6[50], Jn 16[33], Ac 23[11] 27[25]; but also Ac 27[22] 'I exhort you to be of good cheer'; 27[36] 'Then were they all of good cheer'; and, in a somewhat different sense, Sir 18[32] 'Take not pleasure in much good cheer.' So Herbert, *Temple*, 'Employment,' 16—

> 'Life is a businesse, not good-cheer.'

6. *Kind, gracious:* 1 S 25[15] 'But the men were very good unto us, and we were not hurt'; 2 Ch 30[18] 'The good LORD pardon every one'; Ps 86[5] 'For thou, Lord, art good, and ready to forgive'; Nah 1[7] 'The LORD is good, a stronghold in the day of trouble'; Sir 35[8] 'Give the Lord his honour with a good eye' (*ἐν ἀγαθῷ ὀφθαλμῷ*); 2 Mac 11[6] 'They and all the people with lamentation and tears besought the Lord that he would send a good angel to deliver Israel'; Tit 2[5] 'Keepers at home, good, obedient to their own husbands' (RV 'kind'). Cf. Milton, *Lycidas*, 184—

> 'Henceforth thou art the genius of the shore,
> In thy large recompense, and shalt be good
> To all that wander in that perilous flood.'

And *PL* viii. 651—

> 'Thou to Mankind
> Be good and friendly still, and oft return!'

7. *Upright, righteous,* morally and religiously good: 1 S 12[23] 'I will teach you the good and the right way'; Mic 6[8] 'He hath showed thee, O man, what is good'; 7[2] 'The good man is perished out of the earth'; Mt 5[45] 'He maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good.'

8. Of quantity, *considerable:* 'A good way off,' Gn 21[16], Mt 8[30]; 'a good way from,' Jg 18[22]; 'for a good space,' 2 Mac 7[5]; 'a good while,' Gn 46[29], Ac 18[18]. But 'good measure' (Lk 6[38]) is 'abundant measure'; and to 'give good ear' (Wis 8[12]) is to be very attentive. In 2 Es 16[21] occurs the phrase 'good cheap,' 'Behold, victuals shall be so good cheap upon earth, that they shall think themselves to be in good case' (so RV; Lat. *erit annonæ vilitas*). 'Cheap' is from the Anglo-Saxon *céap*, a market, a price; and Abbott (*Shaks. Grammar*, 132) thinks the phrase may arise from the omission of the prep.: 'good cheap'='at a good price' (for the buyer), 'at a bargain,' as in Shaks. *III Henry VI.* v. iii. 14—

> 'The queen is valued thirty thousand strong';

Merch. of Venice, III. i. 57—'He hath disgraced me and hindered me half a million.' But the oldest explanation is to refer the phrase to the French *bon marché*. So Palsgrave (1530), Introd. 49, '*Marché*, a bargene or a marketstede or cheepe, as good cheepe, *bon marchic*.' And this is the explanation accepted by Murray (*Oxf. Eng. Dict. s.v.* 'cheap'). That the prep. may go with it, however, is shown by Caxton, *Chron. Eng.* ccxvii. 205, 'They toke the kynges prises for hir peny worthes at good chepe.' The meaning is simply 'cheap' (that word being now an adj., which was formerly a subst., a somewhat rare change in English). Thus Sir D. Lindsay, ii. 197—

> 'To sell richt deir, and by gude-chaip,
> And mix ry-meill amang the saip,
> And saiffrone with oyl-dolie.'

The phrase is not uncommon in early authors: Lever, *Sermons*, 1550 (Arber's ed. p. 130), 'For they that be true merchauntemen to by and sell in dede, shoulde and doo provide great plentye and good chepe by honest byenge and sellynge of theyr wares'; Rutherford, *Letters* (cxvi.), 'Law and justice are to be had by any, especially for money and moyen; but Christ can get no law, good cheap or dear'; and Herbert, *Temple*, 'Providence,' 97—

> 'Hard things are glorious, easie things good cheap.'

'Better cheap' was also used, as Lever in the same sermon as above (p. 130), 'Take awaye leasmongers, regrators and all suche as by byinge and sellynge make thyngs more dere, and when they be gone, all thyngs wylbe more plentye and better chepe.' So Rutherford, *Letters* (ccxv.), 'I trow that (if I were as I have been since I was his prisoner) I would beg lodging for God's sake in Hell's hottest furnace, that I might rub souls with Christ. But God be thanked, I shall find him in a better lodging. We get Christ better cheap than so.'

In He 11^{12} occurs 'as good as dead,' another phrase in which 'good' is used to express extent, quantity rather than quality. The Gr. is simply the perf. ptcp. of the verb (νενηκρωμένος), which in Ro 4^{19}, in a precisely parallel passage and construction, is tr^{d} in AV simply 'dead,' but RV gives 'as good as dead' there also. The phrase is from Tindale, whom most versions follow; but Wyc. has 'nygh deed,' Gen. 'dead,' Rhem. 'quite dead.' It is good idiomatic Eng., though Moon (*Revisers' English*, p. 126) speaks of 'the strange contradiction in the use of the word *good* for *bad*'; but it probably expresses less emphasis now than formerly. Cf. Tindale's use of 'a good' for 'in good earnest,' 'thoroughly,' Dt 9^{21} 'And I toke youre synne, the calfe which ye had made, and burnt him with fire and stampe him and grounde him a good, even unto smal dust.'

2. The uses of 'good' as a subst. may be given under three heads—

1. Material Possessions, *goods:* Gn 45^{20} 'The good of all the land of Egypt is yours'; 1 Ch 29^{3} 'I have of mine own proper good, of gold and silver' (RV 'I have a treasure of mine own of gold and silver'); 1 Jn 3^{17} 'Whoso hath this world's good' (τὸν βίον τοῦ κόσμου, RV 'this world's goods'). Cf. Chaucer, *Parlement of Foules*, 462—

> 'And but I bere me in hir servyse
> As wel as that my wit can me suffyse,
> Fro poynt to poynt, hir honour for to save,
> Tak she my lyf, and all the good I have.'

So Ex 22^{8} Tind. 'Yf the thefe be not founde, then the goodman of the housse shalbe brought unto the goddes and swere, whether he have put his hande unto his neighbours good'; Dn 11^{13} Cov. 'For the kinge of the north shal . . . come forth . . . with a mighty hoost and exceadinge greate good' (רְכוּשׁ, AV 'riches,' RV 'substance'); and Adams, *Practical Works*, i. 52, 'His heart is proportionably enlarged with his house: his good and his blood riseth together.' But in this sense the expression is more frequently 'goods' or 'good things,' as Ec 5^{11} 'When goods increase, they are increased that eat them'; Gn 45^{23} 'Ten asses laden with the good things of Egypt.'

2. Material and moral blessing, *benefit:* Ps 119^{122} 'Be surety for thy servant for good'; Ec 5^{11} 'What good is there to the owners thereof?' Ad. Est 15^{10} 'Who saved our life and continually procured our good'; Wis 5^{8} 'What good hath riches with our vaunting brought us?' Sir 2^{9} 'Ye that fear the Lord, hope for good'; 2 Mac 11^{15} 'Then Maccabeus consented to all that Lysias desired, being careful of the common good' (τοῦ συμφέροντος φροντίζων); Ro 15^{2} 'Let every one of us please his neighbour for his good to edification' (RV 'for that which is good'). Cf. Shaks. *As You Like It*, II. i. 17—

> 'And this our life, exempt from public haunt,
> Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
> Sermons in stones, and good in everything.'

In this sense we find 'good things' in Sir 39^{25} 'For the good are good things created.' And the phrase 'to come of good' occurs 2 Mac 14^{30} 'Perceiving that such sour behaviour came not of good, he gathered together not a few of his men, and withdrew himself from Nicanor' (ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου). Cf. Shaks. *Henry V.* IV. viii. 4—'Captain, I beseech you now, come apace to the king; there is more good toward you, peradventure, than is in your knowledge to dream of.'

3. Moral or spiritual good, *goodness:* Gn 2^{9} 'the tree of [RV adds 'the'] knowledge of good and evil'; Ps $14^{1.3}$ 'There is none that doeth good'; Is $7^{15.16}$ 'to refuse the evil, and choose the good'; 2 Es 2^{14} 'I have broken the evil in pieces, and created the good'; Sir 33^{14} 'Good is set against evil, and life against death'; Ro 3^{8} 'Let us do evil, that good may come'; He 5^{14} 'those who by reason of use have their senses exercised to discern good and evil.' In this sense 'the good' sometimes is plu., 'good persons,' as Pr 14^{19} 'The evil bow before the good' (טוֹבִים); sometimes, however, sing., as Sir 12^{7} 'Give unto the good (τῷ ἀγαθῷ), and help not the sinner.'

These different meanings of 'good' are all illustrated in the history of the interpretation of Ps 16^{2}. The Mass. Heb. is טוֹבָתִי בַּל־עָלֶיךָ; its translations may be ranged in three classes according as טוֹב 'good' is understood.

1. *Goods:* LXX ὅτι τῶν ἀγαθῶν μου οὐ χρείαν ἔχεις [B omits whole clause]; Arab. 'And indeed thou needest not my goods'; Vulg. 'Quoniam bonorum meorum non eges'; Wyc. [1380] 'For of my goodis thou nedist not'; [1388] 'For thou hast no need of my goodis'; Cov. 'My goodes are nothinge unto the,' followed by Rog., Cran., Bish.; Dou. 'Because thou needest not my goods,' with marg. note, 'Christ's passion was not needful nor profitable to God but to man'; Burgess, 'My goods are at thy disposal' (reading בעלתך 'lorded over [owned] by thee' for בל־עליך 'not over thee').

2. *Good:* Syr. 'My good is from thee'; Symm. ἀγαθόν μου οὐκ ἔστιν ἄνευ σοῦ; Jerome, 'Bene mihi non est sine te'; D. Kimchi, 'My good is not (obligatory) upon thee'; Ewald, 'Thou art my highest good!'; J. A. Alexander, 'My happiness is not independent of thee'; Del. 'Besides thee there is for me no weal'; Perowne, 'I have no good beyond thee,' who is followed by RV, Jennings, and Kirkpatrick; Kay, 'My prosperity has no claims on thee'; Thrupp, 'My happiness! there is naught in comparison of thee'; Cheyne, 'Without thee my welfare is naught'; or (Parchment ed.) 'Welfare have I none without thee'; De Witt, 'I have naught that is good beside thee'; Segond, 'Tu es mon souverain bien!' Kautzsch, 'Es giebt für mich kein Gut ausser dir!' Wildeboer (in *Feestbundel aan Prof. M. J. de Goeje*, Leiden, 1891: see Cheyne in *Expos. Times*, iii. 164, and in *Expos.* III. Ser. v. 78), 'Thou art the good of [the people which thy prophet called] thy wedded one' (reading בְּעֻלָתֶךָ); but later (in *Theol. Tijdschrift*, Nov. 1893: see Taylor in *Expos. Times*, v. 384), 'Thou art my Lord, the treasure of her whom thou hast married' (reading בְּעוּלָתֶךָ); King, 'My good, beyond which there is none.'

3. *Goodness:* Aq. ἀγαθωσύνη μου οὐ μὴ ἐπὶ σέ; Gen. (after Calvin), 'My welldoing extendeth not to thee' (with marg. note, 'Thogh we can not enriche God, yet we must bestowe God's gifts to the use of his children'); J. Kimchi, 'The good which I am doing does not extend so far as thee'; AV, 'My goodness *extendeth* not to thee'; Ost. 'Le bien que je fais ne *vient* point jusqu' à toi'; Sharpe (p. 8), 'My goodness! nothing beside thee' [is good], but (p. 151), 'Adonai art thou, O my goodness,

there is nothing beside thee to the holy who are in the land' (p. 387, 'to the saints who are in the earth').

The word **goods** had formerly a wider application than it has now. Thus Dt 28^{11} 'And the LORD shall make thee plenteous in goods'; 2 Ch 21^{14} 'Behold with a great plague will the LORD smite thy people, and thy children, and thy wives, and all thy goods.' RV changes 'goods' of AV into some other word in the foll. places: Gn 24^{10} 'all the goods of his master were in his hand' (כָּל־טוּב, RV 'all goodly things,' RVm as AV); 31^{18} 'And he carried away all his cattle, and all his goods which he had gotten' (כָּל־רְכֻשׁוֹ אֲשֶׁר רָכָשׁ, RV 'all his substance which he had gathered'); Nu 35^{3} 'the suburbs of them shall be for their cattle, and for their goods' (לִרְכֻשָׁם, RV 'for their substance'); Dt 28^{11} 'plenteous in goods' (לְטוֹבָה, RV 'for good'); 2 Ch 21^{14} 'all thy goods' (כָּל־רְכוּשֶׁךָ, RV 'all thy substance'); Neh 9^{25} 'houses full of all goods' (מְלֵאִים־כָּל־טוּב, RV 'full of all good things'); Job 20^{10} 'his hands shall restore their goods' (אוֹנוֹ, RV 'his wealth'); 20^{21} 'therefore shall no man look for his goods' (עַל־כֵּן לֹא־יָחִיל טוּבוֹ, RV 'Therefore his prosperity shall not endure'); Zeph 1^{13} 'their goods shall become a booty' (חֵילָם, RV 'their wealth'); Sir 14^{5} 'he shall not take pleasure in his goods' (*ἐν τοῖς χρήμασιν αὐτοῦ*, RV 'in his possessions'); Mt 24^{47} 'Verily I say unto you, That he shall make him ruler over all his goods' (*ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν αὐτοῦ*, RV 'over all that he hath'); Lk 15^{12} 'the portion of goods that falleth to me' (*τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος τῆς οὐσίας*, RV 'the portion of *thy* [RVm 'the'] substance'); He 10^{34} 'took joyfully the spoiling of your goods' (*τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὑμῶν*, RV 'your possessions'); Rev 3^{17} 'I am rich, and increased with goods' (*πεπλούτηκα*, RV 'have gotten riches'). J. HASTINGS.

GOOD, CHIEF.—According to Scripture, the chief good for man is of a moral and spiritual nature. The fact that man was made in the image of God (Gn 1^{27}) is determinative. God is the highest and best of beings; and man, His image, while recognizing the relative goodness which is conveyed through material blessings, *e.g.*, discerns the chief good, that which answers to our deepest needs, and leads us to the goal which our own nature establishes for us, in the region of the unseen, the spiritual and divine. God is revealed in the OT as holy, and Israel is chosen to be a holy people to Himself. The chief good is thus secured to the nation as a nation, by faithfulness in worshipping the God of Israel and in keeping His law. It consists in God's favour and friendship, and victorious aid against the nation's enemies; it appears in the acquisition of blessings which, in the absence of a clearly conceived doctrine of immortality, can only take the form of worldly prosperity (Dt $28^{1\text{ff.}}$). The enigmas with which faith is often confronted, if it remains at any such low stage of development, are exemplified in the Bk. of Job; but there too, as we see, the struggle for light and peace goes on, not without success.

At all times the individual must have had his personal religious needs, and God must have had a regard for him, simultaneously with the favour which He showed to Israel. Accordingly, in many parts of OT a supreme good is represented as brought near to the soul of the godly person. It is obtained by worshipping the true God, and turning from sin to the righteousness of the law; and so healthful and comforting is it in the experience of its possessor that it is described by a special term, *blessedness*, a mode of designation which is still preserved. Other good things procure for men a measure of happiness, but only the chief good of religion confers blessedness (Ps 1. 23. $32^{1.2}$, Pr 3, Is 55, etc.). The overthrow of the Jewish nation at the period of the Captivity taught the members that if a true blessing was thereafter to be looked for at all, it must be sought by pious individuals in the privacy of their own souls, and in the pursuit of righteous purposes such as God could approve (Jer $31^{31\text{ff.}}$, Ezk 18).

Christ came preaching the kingdom of God. Men were invited to seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness. In that case they might have nothing, but yet they would have all; they should trust their Father in heaven, and suppress anxiety (Mt $6^{31\text{ff.}}$). But, again, the Infinite Spirit is not sufficiently known even to the heart that turns to Him as Father. Christ has declared Him. Jesus was perfectly righteous in His human circumstances, and presented in Himself a copy of the divine nature which is level to our apprehension. In seeking the perfect blessing, men have thus to learn of Christ (Mt 11^{29}), to acknowledge Him as the Light of the world (Jn 8^{12}), to receive Him as the Bread that came down from heaven (Jn $6^{27\text{ff.}}$), etc. Further, the righteousness and love of Christ were proved to be invincible and infinite by His voluntary endurance of death. The fullest revelation of divine goodness is seen in the cross of Christ, and through it man obtains the chief good, viz. full forgiveness, and power to live a life which approaches the perfect standard (1 Co $1^{18\text{ff.}}$, Gal 6^{14}, Eph $2^{13\text{ff.}}$, Col $1^{19\text{ff.}}$, He $12^{1\text{ff.}}$, 1 P $2^{19\text{ff.}}$).

It is implied in Scripture that material possessions and intellectual advancement are good, and are legitimate objects of desire and pursuit. It is even an imperative duty to seek them, the obligation of the Christian being to do the most good he can, and therefore to call into requisition the best means attainable. People should use the world (1 Th 4^{11}), and if any will not work, neither ought he to eat (2 Th 3^{10}). Men require to be not slothful in business (Ro 12^{11}). It follows that the intellect, which enables us to subdue the world, ought to be cultivated. But then all powers and possessions have to be subordinate to the paramount aims of Christian love and righteousness. The chief end and privilege of man is to glorify God (Col 3^{17}, 1 P $4^{10.11}$).

The chief good which is attainable by man in this world is only relatively to be so described. A Christian spirit is indeed better than all riches; it knows a peace which the world cannot give or take away (Jn 14^{27}); its faith overcomes the world (1 Jn 5^{4}); and through Christ, its Light, it derives instruction and blessing from everything that affects it, and often, as it were, sees heaven opened (2 Co 3^{18}). Hence it finds all gloomy pessimistic views of life unwarrantable. But sin and pain survive till death, even in all believers. A good which is absolute and unqualified is not to be tasted therefore on earth. The Christian, however, has the comfort and stimulus of the highest hope. A good which is perfect is anticipated as the reward of the glorified saints. It consists in their everlasting service of God (Rev $7^{15\text{ff.}}$ $21^{3.4}$). G. FERRIES.

GOODLY, GOODLINESS.—Though 'goodly' was at one time used adverbially also, it is employed in AV as an adj. only. There it is found with two different meanings (and the mod. meaning, *considerable*, *pretty large*, 'a goodly number,' is not one of them).

1. Fair to look upon, fine, handsome. In this sense it is applied to *persons*, as Gn 39^{6} 'Joseph was *a* goodly *person*, and well favoured';* of

---

* Tindale's trn; Heb. יְפֵה תֹאַר, lit. 'fair of form'; LXX *καλὸς τῷ εἴδει*; Vulg. 'pulchra facie,' and Wyc. 'fayr in face,' which limit the meaning, the same epithet being used of fruit (Jer 11^{16}); RV 'comely.' The Heb. epithet is often used of women, as of Rachel (Gn 29^{17}, where the whole phrase is exactly the same as is used here of Joseph, EV 'Rachel was beautiful and well favoured'), of Abigail (1 S 25^{3}, where EV give 'of a beautiful

garments, as Ex 39^{28} 'goodly bonnets of fine linen'; of trees, as Ps 80^{10} 'the boughs thereof were like the goodly cedars' (אַרְזֵי־אֵל, lit. as AVm and RV 'cedars of God'); of cities (Dt 6^{10}), mountains (Dt 3^{25}), horses (Zec 10^{3}); and not only of majestic things, but of vessels (2 Ch 36$^{10.19}$), precious stones (Mt 13^{45}, Lk 21^{5}), and even 'heritages' (Ps 16^{6}, Jer 3^{19}). It is also used of a price (Zec 11^{13}) paid for a slave, 'a handsome price!' spoken ironically there. In illustration we have Cov. using the word of Jerusalem, Ezk 16^{13} 'marvelous goodly wast thou and beutifull, yee even a very Queene wast thou'; and of Tyre, 27^{4} 'thy builders have made the marvelous goodly.' The Douay describes a cup so, Ps 23^{5} 'Thou hast fatted my head with oyle: and my chalice inebriating how goodlie is it!' and Bacon horse-trappings (*Essays*, 'Of Masques,' p. 158), 'For Justs and Tourneys and Barriers, the glories of them are chiefly . . . in the Goodly Furniture of their Horses and Armour.' Fuller illustrates 2 S 23^{21} 'he slew an Egyptian, a goodly man' (lit., says Kirkpatrick, 'a man of appearance,' a notable man, which is explained in 1 Ch 11^{23} to mean 'a man of great stature,' with the addition 'five cubits high'), when he says (*Holy Warre*, II. vii. p. 51), 'And though the Goths had a law, alwayes to choose a short thick man for their King; yet surely a goodly stature is most majesticall.'

2. Fair in speech, agreeable: Gn 49^{21} 'Naphtali is a hind let loose: he giveth goodly words' (אִמְרֵי־שָׁפֶר, a difficult passage, see Spurrell: the EV comes from Tindale, and is a good tr^{n} of the MT).[*] Cf. T. Lever, *Sermons* (Arber's ed. p. 73), 'Iudas pretence was wondrous goodly, to sell the oyntment for a great summe of money, to relieve the poore with.'

The compar. and superl. of the adj. are also used in AV, 1 S 9^{2} 'And he had a son whose name was Saul, a choice young man and a goodly: and there was not among the children of Israel a goodlier person than he'; 1 S 8^{16} 'your goodliest young men'; 1 K 20^{3} 'thy wives also and thy children, even the goodliest, are mine'; 1 Mac 8^{8} 'the goodliest countries.' So Shaks. *Tempest*, I. ii. 483—

> 'I have no ambition
> To see a goodlier man.'

Chaucer, *Troilus*, ii. 880—

> 'Ma dame, y-wis, the goodlieste mayde
> Of greet estat in al the toun of Troye.'

The subst. **goodliness** occurs but once, in a beautiful passage where it is a most appropriate translation, Is 40^{6} 'All flesh is grass, and all the goodliness thereof is as the flower of the field.' The meaning of the Eng. word (which comes from the Bishops' Bible) is evidently 'that which makes it fair to look upon,' beauty, charm, as in Hooker, *Eccles. Polity*, v. 15, 'What travail and cost was bestowed that the goodliness of the temple might be a spectacle of admiration to all the world!' The RV retains the word. But the Heb. is חֶסֶד *ḥeṣed*, which everywhere else (and it is very common) means *kindness*. Nearly all mod. commentators (Ges., Hitzig, Del., Nägels., Cheyne, Dillm., Orelli, and *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*) accept this solitary instance as sufficient, supporting it by saying, as Cheyne, that its synonym *ḥên* has the double sense of favour and gracefulness. So Cov. 'bewtie'; Gen. 'grace'; and apparently Ja 1^{11} εὐπρέπεια. On the other hand, LXX gives δόξα; Vulg. 'gloria,' after which Wyc. and Dou. 'glorie,' and so the verse is quoted in 1 P 1^{24}: hence Lowth emends the Heb. to הוֹדוֹ, and Ewald to כְּבֹדוֹ (whom Briggs follows), getting 'the glory thereof,' which does not seriously alter the translation or the meaning. Salmond (on 1 P 1^{24}) happily illustrates the thought from Landor: 'There are no fields of amaranth on this side the grave; there are no voices, O Rhodopè, that are not soon mute, however tuneful; there is no name, with whatever emphasis of passionate love repeated, of which the echo is not faint at last.'

J. HASTINGS.

GOODMAN.—The ordinary word for a 'man' in Heb. (אִישׁ) is once tr^{d} 'goodman' in AV, Pr 7^{19} 'the goodman is not at home.' This has passed from Cov. through the Bishops' to AV, and it is accepted by RV. The Gen. and Dou. have 'my husband is not at home'; and so Wyc. 1388, 'myn hosebonde is not in his hows'; but 1382, 'Thir is not a man in hir house,' after Vulg. 'Non est enim vir in domo sua.' This is exactly how the word 'goodman' has been used in Scotland from the beginning of written speech at least, and how it is in constant use still. Jamieson quotes from Douglas, *Virgil*, 255, 14—

> 'To Vulcanis hir husband and gudeman,
> Within his goldin chalmer scho began
> Thus for to speik.'

Once Shaks. uses the word in the same sense, putting it into the mouth of the low-born Christopher Sly, *Taming of the Shrew*, Ind. ii. 107—

> '*Sly.* Where is my wife?
> *Page.* Here, noble lord: what is thy will with her?
> *Sly.* Are you my wife, and will not call me husband?
> My men should call me lord: I am your goodman.'

The word is found also in NT as tr^{n} of οἰκοδεσπότης, 'master of the house.' This Gr. word occurs 12 times in the Synoptics and nowhere else (Mt 10^{25} 13$^{27.52}$ 20$^{1.11}$ 21^{33} 24^{43}, Mk 14^{14}, Lk 12^{39} 13^{25} 14^{21} 22^{11}: in the last passage τῆς οἰκίας is added). The Vulg. rendered by 'paterfamilias' everywhere except Mk 14^{14} 'dominus domus,' and so Wyc. gave 'housbond man' everywhere except Mk 14^{14} 'lord of the hous.' Tindale introduced the phrase 'goodman of the house,' using it everywhere except Mt 10^{25} 'lorde of the housse,' 13$^{27.52}$ 20^{1} 21^{33} 'householder.' Cov. preferred 'good man of the house' in Mt 10^{25}, and 'householder' in 20^{11}; otherwise he followed Tind., whom the rest of the versions before the Rhemish copied exactly. The Rhem. gives 'householder' in Mt 13^{52} 20^{1} 21^{33}, Lk 12^{39}; 'master of the house' in Mk 14^{14}, Lk 14^{21}; elsewhere 'goodman of the house.' AV follows Tind. except in Mt 10^{25}, Lk 13^{25} 'master of the house.' The result is sometimes curious. Thus, as Trench points out, in the parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard, the 'householder' of Lk 20^{1} becomes the 'goodman of the house' in 20^{11}. RV has redressed this anomaly, but still presents three different translations of the word, 'master of the house' in Mt 10^{25} 24^{43}, Lk 12^{39} 13^{25} 14^{21}; 'householder' in Mt 13$^{27.52}$ 20$^{1.11}$ 21^{33}; and 'goodman of the house' in Mk 14^{14}, Lk 22^{11}.

The word is a combination of 'good' and 'man' (not, says Skeat, a corruption of Anglo-Sax. *gumman* as suggested by Aldis Wright); and it is probable that the meaning 'master' arose from the meaning 'husband,' in which, it must be remembered, it is one of many similar combinations, as good-father, good-sister, etc.; in fact, all relatives by marriage were once so designated in England, and are still so designated in Scotland. How completely the adj. portion was swallowed up in the complete word[*] is illustrated by Trench

---

countenance,' Gen. simply 'beautiful,' LXX again ἀγαθὴ τῷ εἴδει σφόδρα), and of Esther (Est 2^{7} יְפַת־תֹּאַר וְטוֹבַת מַרְאֶה, EV 'fair and beautiful,' AVm 'fair of form and good of countenance').

[*] The reading of most VSS and edd. is, 'Naphtali is a slender terebinth giving forth goodly boughs'; but G. A. Smith, in *Expos.* IV. Ser. vii. 166, prefers the MT, saying that it is 'beautifully expressive of a people in the position of Naphtali.'

[*] Being now one word, 'goodman' should be accented, as Earle remarks (*Philology*, p. 616), on the first syllable, like chapman, and so distinguished from the two separate words 'good man.' In AV of 1611, however, it is given as 'good man' everywhere except Pr 7^{19} and Lk 22^{11} where it is 'good·man.'

(*On the AV of the NT*, p. 96) in the line from Golding's *Ovid*, i.—

> 'The goodman seeks the goodwife's death.'

But it often furnished a word-play: Thus Cotgrave, *Dict. s.v.* 'Maistre'—'Also a title of honour (such as it is) belonging to all artificers, and tradesmen; whence Maistre Pierre, Maistre Jehan, etc.; which we give not so generally but qualify the meaner sort of them (especially in countrey townes) with the title of goodman (too good for many).' So Shaks. *Twelfth Night*, IV. ii. 141—

> 'Like a mad lad,
> Pare thy nails, dad;
> Adieu, goodman devil.'

And Fuller, *Holy State*, 'as he is called goodman, he desires to answer to the name, and to be so indeed.' Tindale uses the word once in the Pent., Ex 22^{8} 'the goodman of the housse shal be brought unto the goddes' (בַּעַל־הַבַּיִת, EV 'the master of the house'). Rutherford more than once describes Christ as 'the goodman of this house, His dear Kirk.' J. HASTINGS.

GOODNESS.—See GOOD and RIGHTEOUSNESS.

GOPHER WOOD (עֲצֵי־גֹפֶר *'ăzê-gôpher*, ξύλα τετράγωνα, *ligna lævigata*, Gn 6^{14}).—We have no clue from the etymology of the cognate dialects as to the kind of tree referred to. Celsius (*Hierob.* i. 328) argues that it is the *cypress*, from the similarity of sound between *gopher* and κυπάρισσος. Vossius argues that it was a *resinous tree*, from the similarity of sound between גֹּפֶר and כֹּפֶר 'resin.' Dillmann opposes Lagarde's view that גֹּפֶר is a contraction or clerical error for גָּפְרִית *gophrîth*='pitch.' In any case it was a wood suitable for shipbuilding, and the ark was constructed of it. In *ZATW*, 1898, Heft i. p. 163, Cheyne suggests that the cuneiform phrase which underlies Gn 6^{14} was misunderstood, but that some variety of cedar is intended. G. E. POST.

GORGET.—In 1 S 17^{6} Goliath is described as having 'a target of brass between his shoulders'; in the marg. it is a 'gorget.' The 'gorget' was a piece of armour for protecting the gorge or throat. Spenser has the word in *FQ* IV. iii. 12—

> 'His weasand-pipe is through his gorget cleft.'

And Jonson, *Catiline*, iv. 2 (Cæsar pointing to Cicero)—

> 'See how his gorget peers above his gown,
> To tell the people in what danger he was.'

Sir Walter Scott has it in *Woodstock* (Ch. I.), and in the *Lay*, v. 22—

> 'Undo the visor's barred band,
> Unfix the gorget's iron clasp,
> And give him room for life to gasp.'

J. HASTINGS.

GORGIAS (Γοργίας).—A general of Antiochus Epiphanes, who is described as 'a mighty man of the king's Friends' (1 Mac 3^{38}), and a captain who 'had experience in matters of war' (2 Mac 8^{9}). When Antiochus set out on his Parthian campaign (B.C. 166 or 165), his chancellor, Lysias, who was charged with the suppression of the revolt in Pal., despatched a large army to Judæa under the command of Ptolemy, Nicanor, and Gorgias. The Syrians met the Jews under Judas Maccabæus at the entrance to the hill-country of Judæa, and encamped at Emmaus. From this point G., with a body of 6000 men, attempted to make a night attack upon the Jews; but Judas, hearing of his advance, hastily quitted his camp, and, falling suddenly on the camp of the Syrians in the early morning, defeated them with great loss. When G. returned from a vain pursuit among the mountains, he found the Syrian camp on fire, and the Jews drawn up ready for battle; and, without risking an encounter, he fled to the Phil. country (1 Mac 3^{40}–4^{25}; Jos. *Ant.* XII. vii. 4; 2 Mac 8^{12-29}). From 2 Mac $10^{14ff.}$ it appears that G., who is described as commandant of the district (στρατηγὸς τῶν τόπων), remained in that country after his defeat, and continually harassed the Jews by means of his mercenary troops, assisted by the Idumæans. Two or three years later Judas led an expedition against Gilead, and, in the absence of his brothers, entrusted the command of the Jews to two officers, Joseph the son of Zacharias, and Azarias. Contrary to Judas' orders, they attacked the Syrians in Jamnia, but were repulsed by G. with heavy loss (1 Mac $5^{16ff.\ 55-64}$; Jos. *Ant.* XII. viii. 6). In 2 Mac 12^{32-37} this defeat is barely mentioned, but we are told how Judas defeated G., and how the accursed (τὸν κατάρατον) G. himself was nearly taken prisoner by a Jewish horseman named Dositheus. The description of G. in 2 Mac 12^{32} as 'governor of Idumæa' is perhaps an error for 'governor of Jamnia' (so Grotius, and cf. Jos. *Ant.* XII. vi. 8). H. A. WHITE.

GORTYNA (<εἰς> Γόρτυναν A, Γορτῦνα ℵV, 1 Mac 15^{23}).—The most important city in Crete, after Gnossus, situated about midway between the two ends of the island. After the successful embassy sent by Simon Maccabæus to Rome (B.C. 139), the Roman Senate drew up a decree in favour of the Jews, guaranteeing the independence of their territory. Among a number of small autonomous states and communes to which copies of the decree were sent, G. is mentioned. From this we may infer that Jewish residents were then to be found in Crete. For the evidence that G. was at that time an independent community, see Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsver.* i. 333 f. H. A. WHITE.

GOSHEN.—**1.** Named in connexion with the conquests of Joshua in the *south* of Judah (Jos 10^{41} 11^{16}, both D^{2}). Its exact situation has not been discovered. It was a district (אֶרֶץ), not a city. **2.** A *town* in the *hill-country* of Judah (Jos 15^{51}, P). Its site is unknown. **3.** See next article.

GOSHEN (גֹּשֶׁן city ?, Gn $46^{28.\ 29}$, the point at which Jacob aimed in going down into Egypt; and land of G., Gn 45^{10} 46^{28-34} $47^{1.\ 4.\ 6.\ 27}$ 50^{8}).—The country in Egypt in which Joseph proposed that his father and brethren should dwell during the famine, that they might profit by the wealth of Egypt, and be near to him (Gn 45^{10}), which Pharaoh accordingly granted to them (47^{6}), and in which the children of Israel remained, with their flocks and herds, through the oppression, until the Exodus (Ex 9^{26}, cf. 12^{32}). It was suitable for a pastoral tribe, which would be, as such, an abomination to the Egyptians (Gn 46^{34}). It evidently lay on the Syr. frontier (Gn 46^{28}), and was considered appropriate for the temporary settlement of foreigners. When it is described as 'the best of the land' (Gn 47^{6}), that was no doubt from a shepherd's point of view, and it is generally considered that the Pharaoh who welcomed Jacob to Egypt belonged to one of the foreign dynasties, known as the Hyksos or Shepherd dynasties, and who were themselves hated by the Egyptians. The LXX, made, it must be remembered, in Egypt, has important readings. 'In the land of G.' (Gn 45^{10}) is ἐν γῇ Γέσεμ Ἀραβίας, so also 46^{34}; in the later passages the defining word Ἀραβίας is dropped. In the Apocr. book of Judith ($1^{9.\ 10}$) γῇ Γέσεμ appears to be roughly all the borderland of Egypt E. of a line drawn from Tanis to Memphis, *i.e.* all the E. borderland of the Delta, with perhaps a good slice of the Delta itself, within the Pelusiac arm of the Nile. Acc. to the LXX the city of G. should be

Heroopolis; Gn 46^{28} ‘and he sent Judah before him unto Joseph, to show the way before him unto G.; and they came into the land of G.,’ is simply *συναντῆσαι αὐτῷ καθ’ Ἡρώων πόλιν, εἰς γῆν Ῥαμεσσή*, ‘to meet him (Joseph) at Heroopolis, into the land of Ramesse’; and in the next verse ‘(Joseph went up to meet his father) to G.’ *καθ’ Ἡρώων πόλιν*, at Heroopolis. Hence we see that the Jewish view and tradition in the last centuries before Christ made the city of Heroopolis, near what was then the head of the Red Sea, the point at which Joseph met Jacob. Heroopolis is now fixed by Rom. milestones at Tell el-Mashkûta in the Wady Tumîlât, and is probably identical with Pithom. It was the first important station in Egypt on the S. road from Syria, and therefore a very likely place for such a meeting. But the city of G. can hardly have been identical with Heroopolis, even to the Jews; this mention of Heroopolis must rather perhaps be considered as the translators’ improvement on the original.

The land of G. is to them the land of Gesem of Arabia. Now, from Ptolemy we know that Arabia was the name of a nome on the E. border of the Delta, with the capital Phacussa; and acc. to Strabo, Phacussa was the point at which the canal to the Red Sea branched from the Nile. At the spot which best answers to this description, viz. Saft el-Henneh, monuments have been found naming Per-Sopd and Ḳes, or Ḳesem. In the nome-lists of Ptolemaic times the xxth nome has the capital Per-Sopd, or Ḳesem, and is itself called Sopd. There can be no doubt that this is the nome of Arabia, and that Ḳesem is the equivalent of the LXX Gesem. In some cases the name of the city seems to be written Ḳes, which then can be at once identified with the principal element in the Gr. Phacussa. It would thus appear that Saft el-Henneh is the ancient Per-Sopd, Phacussa, Ḳes, and Ḳesem. There is, however, evidence of another kind that partly contradicts this. Farther N.E., beyond the entrance of the Wady Tumîlât, there is an important village called Fâḳûs, once capital of a large district corresponding to the Arab. nome, and identified by the later Copts with Phacussa. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Arab. nome had two capitals—one Per-Sopd = Saft (el-Henneh), the other Ḳes or Ḳesem = Faḳûs. Strabo would then have confused the two capitals in making Phacussa instead of Per-Sopd the point at which the canal branched off. If Jacob aimed at reaching Faḳûs, he would probably have followed the N. route, close to the sea, since the S. route, to Heroopolis, would have taken him considerably out of his way. Why, then, does the LXX introduce Heroopolis for G.? It will be seen that the subject is still surrounded with almost incredible difficulties. When we know what ancient site was occupied by the modern Faḳûs, where considerable mounds still exist, it will be possible to speak with greater certainty.

With regard to the extent of the land of G., if Judith is to be taken as authoritative, it included at least four Egyptian nomes outside the Delta, viz. the Sethroite on the N.E. frontier, the Arab. and the Heliopolitan, and that of Heroopolis in the Wady Tumîlât. Possibly, however, it should be restricted to the Arab. nome, perhaps from about Belbeis to Faḳûs, although the Wady Tumîlât ought also to be included. By comparing Gn $47^{4.6}$ with ^{11} we find that the land of Ramesse and the land of G. are almost or quite identical.

It is, of course, possible that G. is an entirely foreign name, unknown to the ancient Egyptians, and that the LXX translators were only making conjectures as to its identification. Of two things we may be certain, that it lay on the E. border of the Delta, and furnished excellent pasture; and if it did not produce luxuriant harvests of corn and vegetables, like the ancient Arab. nome, we find that the Israelites dwelling there were at least plentifully supplied with ‘leeks, onions, and garlic’ (Nu 11^5). F. Ll. Griffith.

GOSPEL.—Anglo-Sax. *Godspell* = ‘*God story*’ (not ‘*good* story’),—the tr., from Anglo-Sax. times, of *εὐαγγέλιον* in NT. In Homer, in the sing., and in Attic Gr., in the pl., it signified a *reward* or a *thank-offering for good tidings*. In later Gr. (Plutarch, in the pl., Lucian, in the sing.) it signified also the *good tidings* itself. In LXX, 2 S 4^{10}, the Attic meaning and the plural occur: in the two remaining instances (sometimes quoted for the sense *good news*), 2 K $18^{22.25}$, it is probable that the non-classical fem. sing. *εὐαγγελία* ought to be read (cf. vv. $^{20.27}$, where this form is certain). In NT the neut. sing. alone is found (in Lk never; in Ac twice; in Rev once; in Jn—Gosp. and Epp.—never, whether subst. or vb.), and in the sense of *good news* only; a sense, moreover, always specialized, in accordance apparently with the Deutero-Isaian *εὐαγγελίζομαι*, as may be gathered from the quotation and comment in Ro $10^{15.16}$, ‘How beautiful are the feet *τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων ἀγαθά*! But they did not all obey *τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ*.’

The content of this NT gospel had two stages. (1) In the mouth of Christ and of those whom, while He was on earth, He sent forth to proclaim it (Mt 10^7, Lk 9^2 10^9 [Mk 16^{15}]), it was the good tidings of the kingdom of God (Mk $1^{14.15}$, Mt 4^{23} 9^{35}) which He had come to establish; and this is called in Mk 1^{14} ‘the good tidings of God,’ *i.e.* coming from God (cf. 1 P 4^{17}); in Ac 20^{24} ‘the good tidings of the free favour of God’; in 1 Ti 1^{11} ‘the good tidings of (*i.e.* about) the glory (*i.e.* the manifested perfection) of the blessed God.’ This good tidings about the kingdom Christ had also associated inseparably with His own person: Mk 8^{35} 10^{29} ‘For my sake and the gospel’s’: hence it is likewise called in Mk 1^1 ‘the gospel of (*i.e.* about) Jesus Christ’; and thus it enters upon the second stage in its meaning.

(2) After Christ’s death and resurrection it became the *good tidings* (not so much brought by, and proclaimed by, as) *about Christ* (cf. Ro 1^1 ‘The good tidings from God about [*περί*] His Son’); see 1 Co 9^{12}; also ‘the good tidings of (about) the glory (the manifested perfection) of Christ,’ 2 Co 4^4; or, simply, ‘the good tidings,’ 1 Co 9^{18}. So the apostolic (chiefly Pauline) use may be defined as *the good tidings, coming from God, of salvation by His free favour through Christ*. See Eph 1^{13} (‘of our salvation’), Eph 6^{15} (‘of peace’). Probably, though not so certainly as Weiss seems to think, the word (like our word *preaching*) sometimes expresses not so much the content itself as the act of proclaiming it: in this way we may perhaps explain the genitives of those who preach and those who hear in such passages as 2 Co 10^{14} ‘We came as far as unto you in the gospel *of Christ*,’ 2 Co 4^3 ‘*our* gospel,’ Ro 2^{16} 16^{25} ‘*my* gospel,’ *i.e.* our, my, exposition of the gospel; and Gal 2^7 ‘I have been intrusted with the gospel (the preaching of the gospel) *to the uncircumcision*, even as Peter with the gospel *to the circumcision*’; not the content being different, but the sphere and the emphasis (cf. 1 Co 15^{11} ‘Whether it be I or they, so we preach, and so ye believed’). In each of the passages where ‘my gospel’ or ‘my preaching of the gospel’ occurs, the writer appears, according to the context, to be laying stress on some particular point which it has been his way to expound with special fulness as having been emphatically borne in upon him at the time of his preaching, or as closely affecting the case of the people to whom he is writing. Thus *Christ*

the Judge, the characteristic of the early missionary preaching (Ac 17^{31}), is the element on which he lays stress in the 'our gospel' of 1 Th 1^{5} (cf. vv.$^{7-10}$ and 2 Th 1^{6-10}). Again, in Ro 2^{16}, after his theme has been the equal responsibility of Jew and Gentile as doers of law, he recalls his proclamation of the fact that God will judge by Jesus Christ all men alike, not by their outward situations but by their inward attitudes (τὰ κρυπτά). Once more, in 2 Ti 2^{8}, in order to encourage Timothy in the midst of suffering, the writer shows how, in 'his Gospel,' he lays stress upon the glorified state of Jesus the man and Christ the king,—king by royal descent and fulfilling prophetic anticipation. (Cf. 2 Co 4^{3} τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἡμῶν, and v.^{5} Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν Κύριον, the *Lordship* of the raised Christ being, in fact, the sum of the Pauline preaching, Ph 2^{10}). In none of these passages is there a single sign that he is hinting at a specific difference in the content of the gospel preached by himself and by the Twelve.

The later sense of εὐαγγέλιον, a *gospel in writing*, and then *one of the Four Gospels*, does not appear in NT, though the way may be prepared for it by the usage in Mk 1^{1} (see above). A second stage may be noted in the *Didaché*, c. xv. : 'Reprove one another, not in anger, but in peace, as ye have it in the gospel.' Here it seems to stand for a written body of Christian truth. Immediately afterwards we read: 'Your prayers and your alms and all your deeds so do ye as ye have it in the gospel of our Lord.' This might be a written collection of the teachings of Christ. Harnack—taking into account the text of the Lord's prayer (viii. 2), also said to be 'as the Lord commanded in his gospel,' and xi. 3, 'Touching the apostles and prophets, according to the ordinance (δόγμα) of the gospel so do ye'—suggests the *Gospel of the Egyptians* as the source (*Texte* ii. Proleg. 69 ff. and 79). The plural εὐαγγέλια, of the Four Gospels, does not occur till Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 66).

J. MASSIE.

GOSPELS.—

Introduction.
I. TRADITION AS TO AUTHORSHIP.
II. INTERNAL PHENOMENA.
  i. **The Synoptic Problem.**
    (1) The Facts to be explained.
    (2) The Theories that have been propounded: (*a*) *direct dependence*; (*b*) *use of common documents*; (*c*) *oral tradition.*
    (3) The Source or Sources of the matter and order common to the three Synoptic Gospels.
    (4) The Source or Sources common to Mt and Lk.
    (5) Some subsidiary features of relationship.
    (6) Features peculiar to the Synoptic Gospels severally, and summary with regard to the composition of (*a*) *the Second Gospel*, (*b*) *the Third Gospel*, (*c*) *the First Gospel.*
  ii. **The Fourth Gospel, especially in its relation to the Synoptics.**
    (1) The march of events, manner in which Christ's Person and Office were manifested, and method and effects of His ministry.
    (2) Comparison in detail of some passages in which the first Three and the Fourth Gospels are parallel or approximate to one another, or are in conflict: (*a*) *the work of the Baptist*; (*b*) *the cleansing of the Temple*; (*c*) *the feeding of the Five Thousand and crossing of the Lake*; (*d*) *the closing scenes.*
    (3) The peculiar doctrinal character of Jn: (*a*) *Jesus' unique relation to the Father*; (*b*) *Jesus' attitude to the Mosaic Law*; (*c*) *eschatology*; (*d*) *maxims in regard to conduct.*
    (4) The style of Christ's teaching in Jn as compared with the Synoptics.
III. THE DATE OF OUR GOSPELS AND OF THE SOURCES EMBEDDED IN THEM.
    1. The Synoptic Gospels.
    2. The Fourth Gospel.
IV. THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS.
Literature.

This article will be taken up mainly with the subject of the Origin and Composition of the Four Canonical Gospels and their credibility as historical witnesses. These are points which can best be discussed for the four together, owing to the nature of the evidence, which is in part the same, or of similar character for all, in part arises directly from comparing them. Such an assignment of the space at command will, nevertheless, be felt to be disproportionate when the manifold interest of the Gospels, their exquisite beauty, the richness of the moral and spiritual instruction which they convey, and their preciousness to the Church, are considered. Yet it is rendered inevitable by the recent course and present position of critical inquiry, and the intrinsic importance of the questions as to the authorship of the Gospels, their relations to one another, or the sources used in them. The amount of controversy which there has been on these subjects during the last 100 years has been enormous, and the evidence bearing on them is exceedingly complex. The attempt to discuss them, even with that degree of fulness which seems to be required in an article such as this, will render it impossible here to treat the Gospels from other points of view. At the same time, it ought to be remembered that there is hardly any aspect under which the Gospels may be regarded, which may not contribute some element that ought to be taken into account in a full appreciation of their character even as historical documents. In particular, it is necessary for this purpose that there should be a sympathetic and discerning study of their doctrinal teaching and of its relation to the faith of the early Church generally, as it may be gathered from other sources.

I. TRADITION AS TO AUTHORSHIP.—The first three Gospels do not within their actual compass (*i.e.* apart from the titles) give any precise indication of their authorship. As to the fourth, in a concluding passage which appears to be an addition to the original work, it is alleged to have been written by the disciple 'whom Jesus loved, which also leaned back on his breast at the supper' (cf. Jn 21^{24} with v.^{20}), and to whom other allusions of the same kind in the course of the work doubtless also refer.

It cannot be asserted that the titles κατὰ Μαθθαῖον, etc., proceeded from the authors themselves. The names rest, indeed, on as good MS evidence as any part of the text. But, from the nature of the case, they might have been prefixed at some time subsequent to the issue of the first copies. They unquestionably represent, however, the belief of the most important Churches before the time when Irenæus wrote the first three books of his great work on *Heresies*, which he composed during the episcopate of Eleutherus (*circ.* A.D. 175–190). For a general consideration of the evidence up to this time we must refer to the art. NT CANON. It must suffice here to say, (1) that although our four Gospels did not at once attain that position of unique authority which they held not long after the middle of the 2nd cent., yet it is easiest to explain the history of their reception in the Church on the supposition that they were authentic records of the apostolic age concerning the life and work of Jesus Christ, and that they were this to a degree of fidelity and fulness, in which no other documents even then existing could compare with them; and (2) that the testimony of tradition raises a strong presumption in favour of the belief that they had severally some real connexion with the men whose names they bear. The formulas themselves, κατὰ Μαθθαῖον, etc., or εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μαθθαῖον, etc., need not as first used have implied more than this. They would be compatible with the belief that the work in question contained virtually the teaching of the man specified, though he had not himself written it down.

Further than this the external evidence by itself will not take us; nevertheless, it furnishes an important element for the solution of the problem.

There are two or three more circumstantial traditions in regard to the composition of the Gospels which need to be mentioned, because they have, as we shall presently see, served to suggest or been used to confirm some of the chief theories designed to explain the internal phenomena of the Gospels. The most important are contained in two fragments, preserved in Eusebius' *HE* (iii. 39), of a work of Papias which may probably have been written about A.D. 140. Often as they have been quoted, it may be well to give them here. The first relates to a writing by Mark—

> 'This also the presbyter used to say: Mark having become the interpreter (ἑρμηνευτὴς γενόμενος) of Peter, wrote down accurately—not, however, in order (τάξει)—as many as he remembered of the things either spoken or done by Christ. For he neither heard the Lord nor attended on Him, but afterwards, as I said, (attended on) Peter, who used to give his instructions according to what was required, but not as giving an orderly exposition (σύνταξιν) of the Lord's words. So that Mark made no mistake in writing down some things as he recalled them. For he paid heed to one point, namely, not to leave out any of the things he had heard, or to say anything false in regard to them.'

The second fragment is as follows—

> 'Matthew, however, wrote the Oracles in the Hebrew tongue, and every man interpreted them as he was able.'

The presbyter, on whose authority the former of these statements is made, was named John; and though he is to be distinguished from the apostle of that name, he was a companion of apostles and a personal follower of the Lord. Papias himself had conversed with this man, as we learn from another fragment (*ib.*). And from what we are told in that fragment as to the means by which Papias gathered information, it is reasonable to suppose that his statement as to Matthew's record was derived from the same or a similar source.

The more extreme critics of the earlier part of the present century used to argue that these accounts could not refer to our second and first Gospels. It is, however, coming to be admitted very widely among students of early Christian history that the statements in question would, at least at the time when Papias was writing, be connected with our Mt and Mk; for it is hard to imagine that these could in the interval between that time and the third quarter of the 2nd cent. have been substituted for other works bearing the same names, and could have completely expelled such predecessors. This, however, does not preclude the possibility that there may have been differences greater or less between the writings to which Papias referred the traditions preserved by him and the works concerning which the statements under consideration had been originally made. There was more particularly room for difference between the Greek Gospel according to Mt and the Hebrew work spoken of, which would not be readily detected owing to the general ignorance of Hebrew among Greek-speaking Christians. The description given of the work seems to point to a record in which discourses and sayings of Jesus decidedly predominated over mere narrative. The word λόγια, indeed, means 'oracles' and not 'discourses.' But while the term 'the oracles' might well from the first have been applied to our Lord's words, it is hardly likely that it should so early have been applied to a writing of the NT as such. Moreover, even when the inspiration of the NT had come to be as clearly recognized as that of the OT, the term '*the* oracles' would not have been a fitting one for a single work, simply on the ground that it formed part of the collection.

Passing by Lk, concerning the composition of which tradition has nothing very significant to tell us, we subjoin an interesting statement regarding Jn. Clement of Alexandria relates (*ap.* Euseb. *HE* vi. 14), as a tradition handed down from the elders of former times, 'that John last of all, perceiving that the outward facts had been set forth in the Gospels, being urged on by his friends and inspired by the Spirit, composed a spiritual gospel.'

II. INTERNAL PHENOMENA.—Thus far we have spoken of the evidence supplied by tradition. It remains to be seen to what extent this confirms or is confirmed by the characteristics of the Gospels themselves. We proceed, therefore, in the first place, to consider the signs of relationship between the first three Gospels and the manner in which these are to be accounted for, or in other words the Synoptic Problem.

i. The Synoptic Problem.—(1) *The facts to be explained.* On comparing the first three Gospels, we observe in them a remarkable amount of similarity, both in the substance, the general arrangement and the precise order of their narratives, and the actual words and phrases employed. The general view of the course of events given in these Gospels is almost exactly the same, from the ministry of the Baptist onwards, the subject with which Mk opens. Not only so, but to a great extent they omit the same and record the same deeds and discourses and incidents. This common character becomes specially noticeable when we compare them with Jn, the contents of which are widely different; and the suitability of the name Synoptic, which has been given to the first three, comes home to us with special force when that contrast with the Fourth is borne in mind. Nevertheless, even had we possessed the first three only, the amount of agreement between them would have called for explanation. For they are very brief accounts of a very full though comparatively short life. Moreover, they all make summary references to journeyings, periods of preaching and teaching, the working of many miracles of which they relate no details. The fact that out of all this possible material they preserve so largely the same selection, and that they deliver it so nearly in the same form, must be due to some cause or causes.

So far we have spoken in general terms of the resemblances between the first three Gospels. But, in the closer study of the fact, resemblances between pairs of them have also to be taken into account. The two most important groups of phenomena are in fact (*a*) the resemblances of Mk with Mt and Lk, either together *or* separately, and (*b*) the wholly additional matter common to Mt and Lk, but not contained in Mk.

(*a*) With regard to the former, it is to be observed that by far the larger number of the narratives and pieces of discourse contained in Mk are given also in both Mt and Lk, and nearly all in either one or the other. Also that for the most part the order of narrative is the same in all three; so that we may speak of a Synoptic outline. The exceptions are somewhat more considerable in Lk than in Mt; but it is noteworthy that they are almost entirely different in the two. Further, the same mode of relating incidents, conversations, and sayings is frequently to be observed in all three, to the extent even of the same sequence of clauses, the same words and phrases being adopted; but, even where this is not the case, there is very frequently similar close parallelism between Mk and one of the others; and, as before, this holds most often between Mt and Mk.

(*b*) The additional matter, referred to above, which is common to Mt and Lk, consists for the most part of discourses and sayings. In a considerable portion of it the resemblance even in language is very great; in other parts of larger total extent the similarity of form is noticeably less, though the substance is the same. In place, however, of that similarity of order which we remarked upon in the case of the relations of Mt and Lk with Mk, we find in that of the matter now under consideration a great diversity of arrangement. In Mt we seem to see a disposition to mass it in discourses of some length, while in Lk various portions of it are given as belonging to various occasions. Again, they combine it very differently with the Synoptic outline.

Besides the features which have been mentioned, there are some others that are less strongly marked, of which it will be most convenient to defer the notice till we have occasion to speak of the attempts which have been made to explain them, and which have served to fix attention on them. It is, indeed, true of those broader characteristics also, which have been described, that the clear and accurate observation of them has progressed hand in hand with the discussion of their causes. And it is one of the most certain gains to be expected from the study of the problem before us, that (whether we succeed in solving it or not) we cannot fail, through framing and testing our hypotheses, to become better acquainted with the actual contents of the Gospels, and to have both their common substance and their individual traits imprinted more deeply upon our minds.

We will proceed to take a rapid survey of the theories that have been devised to account for the phenomena.

(2) *The theories that have been propounded.*—Explanations of three kinds may be employed, while the principles involved in each may also be in various ways combined. The three chief kinds were all in one way or another tried within the first 30 years, from the time when, rather more than a century ago, active speculation on the subject began.

(*a*) Direct dependence of one or of two of our present Gospels on the third, or of one on both the other two, might be assumed. This was the simplest kind of explanation of resemblances between them that could be given, and that which therefore lay most ready to hand. It had been employed by Augustine long before in one of the earliest examples of an interest, which was but momentary, in the literary criticism of the Gospels (*De Consensu Evangelistarum*, i. 2). He speaks of Mark as the 'pedisequus et breviator' of Matthew. When, however, towards the latter part of the 18th cent. the critical study of the relations of the Gospels to one another began in earnest, the theory was also put forward that Mk's was the original Gospel, which the others had expanded, while some even claimed this position for Lk. But the most celebrated theory of this period was Griesbach's, according to which Mk was regarded as a compilation from both Mt and Lk (*Commentatio quâ Marci evangelium totum e Matthæi et Lucæ commentariis descriptum esse monstratur*, A.D. 1789-90).

(*b*) Resemblances might be traced to the use of common documents, and more room was left in this way than by the last kind of explanation for the differences between the Gospels to have arisen, which are remarkably intermingled with their resemblances. Eichhorn, whose twofold hypothesis was for a long time the most notable one of the type which we are now considering, made special efforts to account for the differences. He supposed that there was one chief document, an *Urevangelium*, or primitive Gospel, to which various additions, derived from oral teaching, were made as time went on. The sections common only to two Gospels were explained by two evangelists having used the same copy. These were the governing ideas of his theory, both in its earlier and later form. At first (A.D. 1794) he attributed the differences between the Synoptic Gospels to the translation of the primitive Gospel by different persons (the evangelists themselves and others), and the verbal similarities to the use in part of the same translations by the evangelists, along with different ones and with the original. But the process here imagined of translation and of the cross use of other translations was felt to be too complicated. It was difficult, also, in this way to account for the large amount of the same or closely similar language. This pointed to a common Greek basis. Accordingly Eichhorn, in a revised form of his theory, assumed a single translation of the primitive Aramaic Gospel into Greek, and supposed *this* Greek document to have received additions and modifications, extending in his imagination the operation of this cause of variations, to make up for that of a multiplicity of translations which he had abandoned.

(*c*) The common source was supposed to be an oral tradition to which a high degree of fixity had been given. Oral tradition could readily account for differences. But could it account for the strange resemblances? A theory based on it could claim to be scientific only in so far as it could suggest and render probable the existence of special historical conditions in the case in question, which would make it natural that the tradition should be characterized by a fixity of form approximating to that of a written document, though still possessing somewhat greater pliability. Such a theory seems to have been first conceived, and was certainly first clearly set forth, by J. C. L. Gieseler, the celebrated Church historian, in his *Historisch-kritischer Versuch über die Entstehung und die fruehesten Schicksale der schriftlichen Evangelien* (A.D. 1818). Most of those who have found in oral tradition the key to explain the characteristics of the Synoptic Gospels, have, if they have shown any just appreciation of the nature of the problem to be solved, reproduced in the main very closely the features of Gieseler's conception and his arguments. There was not room in this case for the same diversity as in the forms which could be given to the hypotheses of direct dependence and of common documents. At the same time, even the oral theory has been to some extent elaborated since Gieseler's time to meet a fuller analysis of the phenomena.

The name which must be mentioned next, in order that the course which investigation into the origin of the Gospels has actually followed may be rightly apprehended, is that of the great Schleiermacher. Instead of Eichhorn's single parent document, he assumed a number of more or less extensive compilations of narratives, the idea of which, and his name for them (διηγήσεις), he took from Lk 1[1]. This theory, which has been called *Diegesentheorie*, he put forth in his work on Lk (1817). The view, however, of his which has exercised a determining influence on subsequent criticism is not this, but his interpretation of the fragment of Papias concerning Mt, published in *SK* (1832). It was to the effect that Matthew put together only a collection of discourses and sayings which was afterwards embodied in our Mt. Next very naturally came the suggestion that this document was the source also of the matter in the third Gospel which it has in common with the first, and which is not in the second. And we find this view more or less clearly indicated by Credner (1836) in his *Einleitung* (§§ 87-89 and 91, pp. 201-206). He supposes also that the reminiscences of Peter's teaching alluded to in the other fragments of Papias were worked up by another writer into our Mk (*ib.* § 90).

The step most needed, however, in order that any decided progress should be made in solving the

Synoptic problem was, that a clearer and juster view than had so far prevailed of the relations between Mk and the other two Synoptics should be attained. And the way to this had already been opened by C. Lachmann in his article, 'De Ordine Narrationum in Evangeliis Synopticis,' in *SK* p. 570 ff., 1835. He contended for the 'priority' of Mk, though he left open the question whether it was prior in the sense of representing an earlier form of the oral Gospel than the two others, or as having more simply and fully embodied a document used by the other two. C. H. Weisse, in his *Die Evangelische Geschichte* (1838), adopted the latter alternative, and combined with it the view that, along with this document, Matthew's 'Logia' was also used both in our first and our third Gospel. Here for the first time was that 'two-document hypothesis' which has since, and especially during the last 40 years or so, found so much favour. In the same year as that in which the above-named epoch-making book of Weisse's appeared, C. G. Wilke published a work on the theme, *Matthäus oder Marcus*, in which he did good service on behalf of Mk's priority, and of the documentary as against the oral hypothesis.

Nevertheless, the Tübingen School, which was just then rising into importance, and which for a considerable period held the most prominent place in the world of criticism, so far as Christian *Origines* were concerned, had committed themselves to the position that Mt was the first and Mk the last of the Synoptics. Later members of the school gave up the priority of Lk, but not of Mt. In the method of this school, the examination of the simple literary phenomena of the Gospels played only a very subordinate part. So far as these critics discussed the Gospels themselves and compared them, their object was chiefly to show how the several Gospels, by virtue of their individual characteristics, fitted in with and illustrated their own more general theories as to parties among the early Christians, and their tendencies. They endeavoured to distinguish the bias of each writer which had led him to mould the narrative in a particular way; and on the ground thereof they assigned to each document its age and the measure of historical importance which they were willing to accord it. They insisted in an exaggerated way on the peculiarities of the several Gospels, and drew unwarranted inferences therefrom; nevertheless, their work may be of use in preventing us from overlooking the individuality of the several Gospels, which in some other speculations is too much ignored.

The disposition of this school was to proceed to broad generalizations which had neither been reached nor verified by a careful and impartial examination of all the facts. In spite of the great ability of the chief men among them, and the permanent mark which they have left upon the study of early Christian history, their theories have in the main been overthrown, and that largely by men almost as 'free' as themselves from orthodox prepossessions. And in no respect has this been more signally the case than in regard to their criticism of the Synoptic Gospels.

The chief critical work of the last 40 years or so has been the lineal continuation and development of that of Weisse and Wilke. That is, the general tendency of it has been to establish more firmly the position that either the three Synoptic Gospels all made large use of a document which is to be seen with fewest additions, omissions, or changes of any kind in Mk; or that Mk itself is virtually that document; and further, that there existed another very early 'source,' a collection mainly of discourses and sayings, to which the matter common to Mt and Lk is to be traced.

Among the large number of critics, however, who would agree in these propositions when stated thus in general terms, there are not unimportant differences. The most considerable, perhaps, is that while (*a*) many, agreeing with Weisse, suppose that both the first and third evangelist had and used this collection in the same, or substantially the same form, and that the diversity in the mode of the presentation of the common matter in the Gospels is due to the different treatment of the same document by the two evangelists, (*β*) there are others who suppose that the collection must have come into the hands of the third in a markedly different form from that in which the first had it. The former view is that which has been most before the world: it is held by H. J. Holtzmann (*Die Synoptischen Evangelien*, 1863; *Einleitung in NT*, 1886), B. Weiss (*Marcus-Evang.* 1872; *Matthäus-Evang.* 1876; *Leben Jesu*, 1882; *Einleitung*, 1886), H. Wendt (*Lehre Jesu*, 1886), and others. But some eminent names may be cited on the side of the second view,—Reuss (*Hist. of NT*, p. 190 ff.), Lipsius (his views on the Synoptic problem are described by his pupil Feine, *JB für Protest. Theol.* 1885, pp. 1, 2). Weizsäcker may be said to hold an intermediate position (*Untersuch.* pp. 129-220).

Differences there are, also, among critics of the former of these two groups. One of the chief of these relates to the question whether the 'Logia' is most faithfully reproduced, especially as to order and arrangement, in Mt or Lk. Holtzmann and Wendt are on the side of Lk, B. Weiss of Mt. There are differences, again, as to the character and contents of the 'Logia.' Thus Holtzmann traces to it some portions of Lk which are peculiar to that Gospel as well as those common to Lk and Mt; while Weiss insists that historical circumstances must have been narrated in it as well as discourses.

Another important subject of controversy relates to the part of Mark, the disciple of Peter, in the composition of our second Gospel. In B. Weiss' view, Mark's Gospel, derived chiefly from his reminiscences of Peter's teaching, was itself the document used (along with the 'Logia') by our first and third evangelists. On the other hand, the matter common to the three Synoptics may be supposed to be derived from a document older than any one of them. This only leaves room for Mark to have introduced touches here and there. Again, B. Weiss supposes that Mark himself (as well as the first and third evangelists) made use of the 'Logia,' though to a much more limited extent, and that thus the first and third used the 'Logia' both directly and also in a measure mediately through Mk. But for this complicated theory he has found few adherents. [Resch (*Agrapha*, p. 27 f.) and Titius (*Theol. Studien* in honour of Weiss, Göttingen, 1897) may be mentioned as adopting it.]

Other critics, again, hold that the third evangelist must have known and to some degree made use of our Mt as well as his principal and older sources. Such arguments as may be adduced for this view have been most fully set forth by E. Simons in his monograph, *Hat der dritte Evangelist den kanonischen Matthäus benützt?* 1880.

The endeavour has also been made in recent times to supplement the theories as to the relations of the Synoptic Gospels by tracing back varieties of form to different translations of the oldest Hebrew document. This attempt has especially been carried out by A. Resch in his laborious investigations, in the course of which he examines the citations of our Lord's teaching in the whole range of early Christian literature, and compares them with parallels in the Gospels. See his

'Agrapha' in *Texte u. Untersuch*, v. Heft 4, 1889; and *Aussercanon. Paralleltexte*, x. Heft 1 and 3, 1893–95.

In England the oral theory has been far more widely accepted than it seems ever to have been in Germany, though among ourselves also it has, to a considerable degree, lost its hold in recent years. English readers will, however, rightly require that it should be kept in view in any discussion of the problem. The most recent advocate of it is the Rev. A. Wright (see his *Composition of the Four Gospels*, 1890; *Synopsis of the Gospels*, 1896; and *Problems in NT*, 1898). He has given to the theory a new development by supposing that the catechetical instruction of Christians in the facts of the Gospel history was carried out in a very systematic manner, and that there existed different schools of catechists. To the present writer it seems that no form of the oral hypothesis can furnish an adequate explanation of the phenomena of the Gospels; yet he believes that the influence of the period of oral teaching needs to be taken into account, in dealing with the whole problem of the origin of the four Gospels, far more than it commonly is by the adherents of the various documentary hypotheses.

The decision of most of the questions included in the subject before us must depend on the patient examination of a mass of particulars which cannot be set forth here. But it may be well to indicate in general terms the nature and bearing of the evidence on some of the chief points at issue. We pass on, therefore, to consider—

(3) *The Source or Sources of the matter and order common to the three Synoptic Gospels.*—It will not be profitless, in the first place, briefly to give the reasons for which Griesbach's theory has been generally abandoned. That theory is at first sight tempting. It seems to account readily for the fact that not only do we find in Mk so much that is common also to Mt and Lk, but that traits and words and expressions which occur, some in Mt, some in Lk, in narratives that are parallel, are frequently found in combination in Mk; so that this Gospel, while it is on the whole shorter, is generally fuller in the narratives it does contain. It is not impossible that in some, and even a good many cases, words, etc., from Mt or Lk may have been introduced, *e.g.* by the hand of an editor, into the second Gospel as we have it. But the theory of compilation cannot explain the phenomena as a whole. For (*a*) to carry out the process of analysis and combination to the extent required by this hypothesis would be a very complicated and difficult task, such as no one, especially in that age, would be likely to undertake. The supposition that Mt and Lk reproduced Mk, or the document embodied therein, with some abbreviations and alterations which are largely different because they acted independently, is a far simpler one. Moreover, it accounts for a large part of the similarity between Mt and Lk themselves, which, on Griesbach's theory, is left wholly unexplained. (*b*) The reasons that can be alleged, on Griesbach's theory, for Mk's relinquishing the order of narratives in Mt to follow Lk, and *vice versâ*, and for his omission of so much which those Gospels contain, though he is supposed in other cases to have combined them, appear to be very arbitrary. (*c*) A mere compiler could hardly have been able to give to his work the force and freshness and vividness which peculiarly characterize Mk.

We turn to the question whether the chief source common to the three was a certain tradition of oral teaching or a document. In judging of the adequacy of the former to account for the facts, it seems important, first of all, to distinguish between the effect which oral teaching might have, on the one hand, in determining the general character of the selection and presentation of the matter recorded, and, on the other hand, in securing a fixed order of sequence in the relation of particular incidents and pieces of discourse. Now, the contents and general form of the Synoptic outline, as we see it most simply in Mk, is such as might naturally arise from the circumstances and needs of the preaching of the gospel, as soon as its message was delivered to those who had not themselves known Jesus. In the earliest days after Pentecost, among the people of Jerusalem and the crowds from Galilee to whom the great Prophet of Nazareth had been a familiar figure, it was enough for the apostles to testify that He had risen from the dead. Even to a man like Cornelius, whom the fame of His deeds could not but have reached in a more or less distinct and accurate form, it might be enough to say, 'The word which he sent unto the children of Israel, preaching good tidings of peace by Jesus Christ (he is Lord of all)—that saying, ye yourselves know, which was published throughout all Judæa, beginning from Galilee, after the baptism which John preached; even Jesus of Nazareth, how that God anointed him with the Holy Ghost and with power; who went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed with the devil; for God was with him. And we are witnesses of all things which he did, both in the country of the Jews and in Jerusalem; whom also they slew, hanging him on a tree' (Ac 10^{36-39}). But more and more, as years passed, and as the gospel was carried to fresh circles, men would wish to have particulars about the life and work of Jesus; and it would be necessary that a right impression of Him and His ministry should be imparted, in order that the meaning of His cross and resurrection should be in any measure understood. For this purpose an expansion would be needed of that brief summary which has just been quoted. The preachers would seek to set before their hearers in a comprehensive manner, and within such limits as oral teaching imposed, a view of the person of Jesus in its attractive grace and holiness and goodness, as He had been known to themselves and to the multitudes who followed Him, to enable them to realize His supernatural character, as it was evidenced by His wonder-working power, and the authority with which He spake. A detailed chronicle was not what was wanted; they wished simply to impart a clear conception of His mission and His credentials. The desired end could be best attained by a sketch which should give prominence to the salient features of His work, and which, while it contained some comprehensive descriptions of His occupations at different periods, and of the impression produced by His teaching and miracles, and marked a few chief epochs in His ministry, should be confined, for the rest, to an account of some important incidents and sayings, selected as examples out of a mass of others that might have been told. When they passed to the last days of His life, and His death, the mode of treatment would naturally be different. Here it would be no longer a question merely of illustrations. Besides all other reasons for giving a fuller narrative, such as the natural interest of the closing scenes, and the deep impression which all their details had made on the minds and hearts of the preachers themselves, it was necessary to press home and to justify the idea of a suffering Messiah. In addition to these aims, which tended to impart a particular form to the accounts orally delivered, the close intercourse maintained among the original group of Christian missionaries, even after they had begun to move about, and the similarity of the conditions under which this group at least was doing its work, and the influence which a few of the stronger characters would exert, together with the simplicity of mind and want of general education of the early disciples, would tend to establish and confirm a habit of telling the story in a particular way common to them all.

Now, the general mode of presenting the life and work of Jesus Christ in the Synoptic Gospels corresponds to that which has just been described. In other words, it is such as we might have expected, if the characteristics of the oral method of communicating the facts most needful to be known came to be imprinted on the written narrative. The form of the common record is not that which would have been naturally adopted by a writer who approached his subject and made use of his materials in the spirit and manner of a chronicler or biographer.

The range of the parallelism between the Synoptics must be considered in this connexion. The fact that it begins with the ministry of the Baptist may well be accounted for by all three having used a document which began thus. But even so, the cause of this being made the starting-point in such a document seems worthy of consideration, especially when we observe how that of the apostolic preaching as described in Acts was wont to be the same (cf. Ac 1^{22} $13^{24.25}$). We can understand that it was a natural one for those who had such an aim as has been above suggested. The mystery of Christ's birth could not be freely spoken of at first to the unconvinced. On the other hand, the testimony of His great predecessor, whose work had made such a wide impression, afforded a fitting point of departure for commending Jesus to the faith of men. In this respect also, then, the habits of the period of oral teaching seem to have left their mark.

Considerations which are in part analogous may help also to explain why the parallelism between the Synoptics terminates where it does in the midst of the evidences of the resurrection. All three describe in a very similar manner the visit of the women to the tomb, and the appearance of the angel (Lk two angels) to them. After this point they differ widely. The assumption that they used a common document, which ended abruptly here, will go far to account for this. Still it is remarkable that it should have terminated in this fashion, and also that the difference in the concluding narratives should be so wide as it is. The early history of the preaching of the gospel may possibly again furnish a clue to the right explanation. At first the apostles were mainly occupied with bearing testimony to the resurrection of Jesus. They were themselves profoundly convinced of this great fact, and they called upon men to believe it on their word. They did not care to enter upon an elaborate tabulation of all His appearances; such would not be demanded of them. They would speak now of one, now of another. Subsequently, as we have said, the need for some account of the life and teaching and death of Jesus arose. The two things were in a measure distinct, and might for a time be kept so. Moreover, a certain method of narration might, under the conditions which we have indicated, have been commonly observed in the latter case, such as may never have existed in regard to the testimony to His resurrection.

The correspondences between the Synoptics in words and phrases show that they are connected by derivation from common sources of information, which were in Greek. This, however, does not of itself put the oral theory out of court, though it has sometimes been supposed to do so. For when we remember that the Aramaic-speaking territory in Palestine was surrounded by a belt of Greek-speaking districts, and also that many Hellenists yearly visited Jerusalem, we can see that from very early days—from the moment, indeed, that the Church began to expand—an oral tradition in Greek must have arisen, corresponding to that in Aramaic.

The resemblance, however, between the three Synoptic Gospels extends far beyond those broad features of which above we have so far been speaking. If the additional matter in Mt and Lk be omitted, there will be found remaining in each of them, with, comparatively speaking, very few exceptions, the contents of Mk given in exactly the same order,—the same sequence being maintained not merely in respect to events which stood in close historical connexion, but also in respect to sections which do not appear to have been so united. This seems clearly to point to the use of a common document. It is specially difficult to understand how, after insertions, sometimes of considerable length, the common thread could again and again have been taken up in the first and third Gospels exactly where it had been dropped, solely under the operation of tradition. But it is exactly what would happen if the writers had a document before them.

A comparison of the language, the words, the succession of clauses, the structure of sentences and paragraphs in the Synoptic Gospels, leads to the same conclusion. The extent of the element common to all three is remarkable. But, in order that the evidence bearing on the question at issue may be appreciated, it is necessary that attention should be fixed, not so much on this, as on the resemblance of Mt and Lk separately to Mk. Between these pairs, and especially between Mt and Mk, there will be found to be close similarity, amounting frequently to identity, saving a few words here and there, in sentence after sentence and passage after passage. Moreover, the character of the resemblances should be noted. We can understand that even in oral tradition striking sayings should have been preserved in a fixed form; and there would be special reason for fidelity in repeating all the teaching of the Lord. But there is also in the Synoptic Gospels an amount of close agreement in ordinary narration which is very difficult to explain by oral transmission, because there could be no sufficient motive for the care necessary to secure it.

Advocates of the oral theory allege the retentiveness of Eastern memories, and the habit of preserving orally the Rabbinic traditions, or the instances, common among Mohammedans, of being able to repeat the whole or large portions of the Koran. But it should be remembered that what has to be explained in the present case is, not the preservation of a record after its very words had come to be regarded as sacred, but the process itself of forming the fixed tradition. Could it have been fixed down to so many mere turns of expression as the result of the work of the apostles' teaching and preaching freely? And would either they or their immediate fellow-workers in instructing others have had any reason to insist on the reproduction of what they taught with that sort of uniformity?

Again, it is said that the oral theory alone will account for the differences between the Gospels. But the force of this argument seems to depend on adopting a point of view which is too much that of our own time. The writers of our Gospels would feel themselves to be far more nearly on a level with those of the documents (assuming that they had such before them) which they used, than men of later generations could. And it is the natural tendency of historians who embody matter from other writings in their own works to abbreviate parts of it, to improve the style, or at least to alter it in accordance with their own habits of expression, and at times, after picturing to themselves the scenes described, to represent them in their own way. Many of the differences between Mk and the two other Synoptic Gospels are of this character. This is especially the case in regard to Lk, the differences between which and Mk are, as has been said, the greatest. Moreover, even in the case of intentional quotation, there was in ancient times less desire for scrupulous accuracy in regard to the exact words used than there is at the present day.

(4) *The Source or Sources of the matter common to Mt and Lk.*—The phenomena here are in various respects different from those examined under the last head, and other considerations have to be applied to them. The material in question forms such a distinct mass that even on the oral hypothesis it must be supposed to have been collected and shaped separately from that account of the life and work of Christ upon which our attention has so far been fixed, and to have been subsequently in the first and third Gospels combined therewith. And indeed we may, with at least as good reason as before, attribute an important share to the influences of the period of oral teaching in forming the body of tradition now in question, though the needs to be met were different from those which called forth a general presentation of our Lord's work. Disciples who were familiar with the main facts of His life would be impelled to recur again and again to His precepts, which were to be the guide and support of their lives. Those sayings especially would be called to mind and repeated which set forth the character that was to distinguish the true followers of Christ, or which gave an authoritative decision in matters of ordinary conduct, or which inculcated the spirit that was to govern the members of the infant Christian communities in their relations with one another, or prescribed the rules that were to guide the missionaries of the gospel, or which afforded a solace and stay under persecution and sorrow, or, lastly, which spoke of that great consummation, that coming of the Lord and judgment upon an evil world, for which their hearts yearned so eagerly. In view of these wants, it would be exceedingly probable that sayings, parables, and discourses upon these themes should soon come to be put together and handed on in the shape of larger or smaller collections even before they were written down (cf. Weizsäcker, *Apost. Zeitalter*, pp. 369–401). They would form, as it were, a body of divine law, treasured in the communities of Christians. The form and contents of the discourses in Mt specially suggest this origin. Other traits appear in Lk which would also be natural after such a history of the preservation of the material.

But can the resemblances between these two Gospels be explained solely on the oral theory? Those who think so have a stronger case here than in regard to the resemblances between the same Gospels and Mk. There the close parallelism between the sequence of sections furnished a strong argument against that theory; here the great dissimilarity of arrangement is a serious difficulty in the way of the hypothesis that the same document was used by both evangelists. There, again, the similarity is found in ordinary narrative; here the matter in question consists almost entirely of Christ's own teaching, which would be likely to be preserved with special accuracy even in oral repetition. Nevertheless, there is in a considerable portion of the passages under consideration an amount of verbal agreement which it is hard to account for without supposing some intervention of writing.

By those who suppose that the use of a single documentary source, which contained all this matter, will explain the phenomena, efforts are made to reconstruct that document through a critical comparison of Mt and Lk. In each it may certainly have been altered in different ways and at different points; and it will be fair to remember that the divergence between the two Gospels, as they now lie before us, would in all probability be greater than that between either of them and the common source. Further, many pieces of teaching in it may have been introduced by formulas such as 'Jesus said,' which specified no particular occasion. The recently discovered Oxyrhynchus fragment affords an illustration of sayings so compiled. The very different positions which the same sayings occupy in the first and third Gospels may thus be less inconsistent with their derivation from a common document than we at first fancy. Possibly, it would not have been necessary for either of the evangelists to do such violence to the source as we may be inclined at first to fancy, in pursuing different plans in the arrangement of their material. That the first was inclined to mass together similar material, seems to be rendered probable by the fact that there are one or two cases in which pieces of teaching from Mk and from another source seem to have been woven together in Mt, which in Lk remain separate. Thus Lk has an account of a charge to the Twelve (9^{3-6}) which is closely parallel to Mk 6^{8-13}. He has also an address to the Seventy in ch. 10. Now, the substance of vv.$^{3-12}$ of the latter is found woven with the substance of Mk 6^{8-13} in Mt 10^{7-16}. Something of the same kind may perhaps be observed on comparing Mt 24. 25, Mk 13^{1-37}, Lk 21^{5-36} 17^{22-37} 12^{39-46} 19^{12-28}. Yet, to show how cautious we must be in drawing inferences, it may be worth while to observe that in Lk 10^{12-15} compared with Mt 10^{15} and 11^{20-24}, the usual parts, so to speak, of the two evangelists are reversed.

In connexion with the question before us, the greater or less clearness and naturalness of the contexts in which the same sayings occur in Mt and Lk respectively must also be taken into account. But this is a subject on which there is wide diversity of view. To the present writer it seems that the connexions are far more often obscure and difficult in Lk than in Mt. But however this may be, and when every allowance has been made which our ignorance of the actual form of the common document may suggest, it remains very difficult to believe either, on the one hand, that any one in the circle in which the first Gospel must have been composed should have employed the amount of literary art and labour necessary to construct the discourses found in that Gospel out of fragments; or that, on the other hand, the third evangelist, if he had those wholes before him, should have felt it to be his duty to break them up.

Moreover, the hypothesis that the two evangelists derived all this matter from the same document, is as incapable as the oral theory of explaining the singular phenomenon referred to above as to the degree of agreement in different parts (see i. (1) (*b*)). For the character of the subject-matter in the two classes of parallel passages affords no reason for either evangelist having preserved it with so much less fidelity in the one case than in the other. It would seem to be more possible to account for the facts by supposing that two compilations which had in the main an independent history, though copies of some of the same written fragments have passed into each, have been embodied in the first and third Gospels respectively.

(5) *Some subsidiary features of relationship.*—There are no groups of facts indicative of connexion between the Synoptic Gospels, or between pairs of them, which are at all comparable in extent and prominence with those discussed under the two last headings. A few others, however, which need investigation must be briefly noticed.

(*a*) In spite of the signs of 'priority' in Mk on the whole, there are cases in which Mt or Lk or both of them have a stronger appearance of originality in particular words, or turns of expression, and even in the character of a whole section. Mk 1^{40-45} 2^{1-12} 3^{1-6}, compared with their parallels, may be taken as examples. Similarly, there are instances in which Mk has words or phrases not like his usual style, and which occur more frequently in one or both the others (*e.g.* ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς in Mk 11^{25}=Mt 6^{14}. It appears only here in Mk, but is common in Mt).

(*b*) Again, although the records of Christ's *teaching* are so much more limited in Mk than in Mt and Lk, that Gospel has, in certain cases, accounts of discourses which, so far as they extend, are closely parallel with Mt and Lk; at the same time, the accounts of these two are longer and, to a greater or less degree, parallel with one another. Here, plainly, Mk is not the source, and does not in all respects most fully represent it (*e.g.* cf. Mk $1^{7.8}$ with Mt 3^{7-12} and Lk 3^{7-17}; Mk 3^{22-30} with Mt 12^{24-37} and Lk 11^{15-26} and 12^{10}).

(*c*) In narratives in which Mt and Lk are on the whole closely parallel with Mk, they yet have little touches, phrases, etc., in common, which are not in Mk (*e.g.* cf. Mk 2^{3} with Mt 9^{2} and Lk 5^{18}; Mk 2^{9} with Mt 9^{5} and Lk 5^{23}; Mk 2^{22} with Mt 9^{17} and Lk 5^{37}).

Holtzmann's assumption, in his *Synopt. Evang.*, that although the source common to the three Synoptic Gospels is on the whole most nearly reproduced in Mk, yet there are cases in which it has been more exactly preserved in the other two, seems capable of explaining many at least of these phenomena in a simple manner. It should, further, be remembered that some discourses or incidents of which that document may have contained accounts, may also have been elsewhere recorded in a fuller or slightly different form, and that Mt and Lk may have known of these other records, and have adopted them, or at least been influenced by their recollection of them, in particular instances.

These considerations render it unnecessary to suppose, with B. Weiss, that Matthew's 'Logia' (if we may for convenience so speak) was used in the composition of Mk, as well as in Mt and Lk, though in Mk only to a very much smaller extent. They also go far to destroy the force of such evidence as is alleged in support of the view that our *first* Gospel was known and made use of by our third evangelist. The wide differences between the two render it very difficult to suppose this to have been the case. Ways of accounting for coincidences between them which do not assume knowledge of one Gospel by the writer of the other are therefore to be preferred. In addition to those already suggested, it may be observed that accidental agreement, revision by later hands, and unintentional assimilation of the texts of the two by copyists, may well in conjunction be responsible for a considerable number of the instances. Others explain the class of phenomena to which we are referring, by the supposition (alluded to above, p. 237) that the third evangelist knew the first. Holtzmann himself has adopted this view, thus rendering his earlier hypothesis, that the original common document differed in certain respects from Mk, and is at times more exactly reproduced in the first and third Gospels, to a great extent unnecessary, as he has explained in his *Einleitung*, pp. 363, 364. It is only suggested, however, that the third evangelist was influenced by 'reminiscences' of Mt, which is in itself a confession that the evidences of dependence are somewhat vague and scanty. We believe that we shall have the majority of critics on our side in asserting that they are altogether too slight to withstand the case that may be made out, on pure grounds of general probability and apart from any theory of inspiration, against any knowledge of the first Gospel by the writer of the third, from the wide divergences between them.

(6) *Features peculiar to the Synoptic Gospels severally, and summary with regard to the composition of each.*

As the question of the composition of Mt is the most complex and difficult, we will reserve it till the last, and begin—

(*a*) With *Mark.* It will, I believe, be very generally allowed by critics at the present day that the Mark who is referred to in NT had a part of some kind in the composition of our second Gospel; for the tradition to that effect is too strong to be altogether set aside. But what was that part? It is well known that this Gospel is distinguished by many touches which it is specially natural to attribute to recollection of St. Peter's teaching. But did these form part of the work which was used in the composition of Mt and Lk, and were they eliminated by the writers of these Gospels? In other words, was our Mk itself, as we have it, one of the original documents into which the Synoptic Gospels are to be analyzed? Or, on the other hand, did Mark himself take a document—the same which was used in Mt and Lk—and revise it, though much more slightly, only adding to it traits here and there which he had derived from his close intercourse with St. Peter? It cannot be said that criticism has as yet even approximated to a decision on this point. If a well-assured position in regard to it is ever reached, it must be mainly through a careful examination and weighing of all those individual points in which Mk differs from the other two Synoptic Gospels in parallel contexts, in order to ascertain whether they can best be explained as the result of alteration in Mk, or revision in the two others. But, in regard to point after point, several considerations have to be borne in mind; there is also a possibility sometimes of other explanations of the facts; and throughout, the bias of each critic is apt to tell in favour of one theory or another, so that it is an exceedingly difficult matter to form a sound general impression.

(*b*) The question of the authorship and composition of the *third Gospel* cannot be separated from that of the Acts of the Apostles. It is generally admitted, on the ground of remarkably plentiful indications of style and other characteristics, that the composition of these two books was the work of the same hand; and further, that the second of them includes accounts of some of St. Paul's missionary journeys by one who was himself a companion of his at the time. But the question of the authorship is at first sight rendered complex by evident signs that other sources have been used as well in certain parts of both works. It will, however, I believe, be found to be much simpler than is generally supposed. For those portions of the Acts, or certain of them, which are allowed to be by a companion of St. Paul are, if I mistake not, marked to an eminent degree by those special words and expressions which are found throughout the two works, though in many parts they are scattered sparsely. That is to say, the man who wrote those memorials of journeys in which he himself accompanied the apostle, was the same who put together accounts, written and oral, which he obtained from others, of the life and teaching of Christ and the early history of the Church, and in reproducing them left upon them some marks of his own literary habits. (See *Expositor*, 1893, pt. i. p. 336 f.) If, then, the author of the Gospel and the Acts was a companion of St. Paul, it will be readily allowed that he was none other than Luke, who is singled out by tradition.

St. Luke has placed a short introduction at the beginning of his Gospel (1$^{1-4}$) which is full of significance both as to the method in which the knowledge of the life and teaching of Christ was preserved generally, and as to the purpose of his own book. He distinguishes virtually two periods in the history of the transmission of the facts up to the time at which he was writing. First they were delivered orally by those who 'from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word'; then after a time attempts began to be made to write down what had been thus learned, or portions of it. Individual members of the Church were also more or less fully and carefully instructed in the facts.

Advocates of the oral theory have asserted that St. Luke treats the written accounts to which he refers as no longer possessing importance. They find this meaning in the aorist *ἐπεχείρησαν*. But the force of the aorist will be fully recognized if we regard it as emphasizing the difficulty of the task and the tentative character of the efforts to perform it. Unquestionably, his aim was to supply something more adequate. But there is nothing in his language inconsistent with the supposition that he was prepared to make use of any suitable written material that came to his hand, as well as of traditions orally delivered. And it is in every way most natural to suppose that he would do this.

If the arguments described above (i. (3)) be sound, the record which is most nearly represented in Mk, or that Gospel itself, was one of the chief documents that he used. He may besides this have had another document, whence mainly he derived that subject-matter which is common to him with Mt—a document where it was arranged to a great extent in a manner different from that in which we find it in the first Gospel. Or, again, he may have obtained it by an independent labour of collection, by himself transcribing short pieces which had been early committed to writing, or by making extracts from longer accounts, such as those to which he seems to refer in his preface, and also by writing down some things immediately from oral tradition. In one or other of these ways, also, he acquired those additional parables, pieces of teaching, and incidents, special to his Gospel which he introduces into the Synoptic outline, including them more particularly in the long insertion between Christ's departure from Galilee (9^{51}) and His final ascent to Jerusalem (19^{31}), the point at which Lk again begins to run parallel to the other two Synoptic Gospels. His account of the birth of John the Baptist, and the birth and early years of our Lord, may very probably have been taken from some special written narrative. It has a peculiarly Aramaic colouring and other features of its own. It would have been a very congenial occupation to a man such as from his two works we know the author of the third Gospel to have been, to make notes of information that he received concerning the life and work of Jesus, to copy out and keep precious pieces of His teaching. He may have begun to do this long before he set forth the material he had amassed in his Gospel, or even thought of doing so; and visits to Palestine, as on the occasion when St. Paul was seized at Jerusalem and imprisoned at Cæsarea, would give him very favourable opportunities for going on with this work.

(*c*) The question as to the composition and authorship of the *first Gospel* is rendered specially complicated by the fact that there is a strong and unwavering early tradition that the Apostle Matthew wrote in Hebrew, while the relations of our Mt with the other Synoptics, and especially with Mk, which are evidently through the Greek, are of a kind to preclude the idea that, as it stands, it is a mere translation. The manner in which these facts are recognized and dealt with by such an eminent advocate of the oral theory as Westcott is very instructive. 'The parts,' he writes, 'of the Aramaic oral Gospel which were adopted by St. Matthew already existed in the Greek counterpart. The change was not so much a version as a substitution; and frequent coincidence with common parts of St. Mark and St. Luke, which were derived from the same oral Greek Gospel, was a necessary consequence' (*Introd.* p. 228 n.). It is, however, very difficult to conceive how the process suggested could have been carried out in such a way as to produce the actual phenomena. It is much simpler to suppose that, with the view of supplementing a Greek document which existed already (viz. Mk or the document most nearly represented by it), he translated from a Hebrew (or Aramaic) Gospel, which may well have been composed by, or may at least in some way have been connected with the teaching of, the Apostle Matthew. But we seem to have no means of deciding whether such a work contained other portions corresponding to the matter in Mk. It may have done so, and the touches peculiar to Mt and that Hebraic tone and disposition to emphasize the connexion between the new dispensation and the old, which are more or less noticeable in it as a whole, may be thence derived. The manner also in which the subject-matter taken from the different sources has been combined in the Greek Mt may have been influenced by the order in the Hebrew work. For although Papias' description of St. Matthew's work as 'The Oracles,' as well as the nature of the matter which there is most reason to suppose taken from it, make it highly probable that it was specially characterized by the records it gave of Christ's *teaching*, its contents need not have been strictly confined to this. Some light might be thrown on these points if we knew more of the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*; for it is not unnatural to surmise that this heretical Gospel may have been based upon, or have borne some similarity to, the Hebrew Mt. Unfortunately, our knowledge of this work also is so scanty that no conclusions can be safely drawn from it. (All that is known respecting the Gospel according to the Hebrews has been recently put together and reviewed by Harnack, *Chron.* i. p. 625 ff.).

Once more, however, it is difficult to conceive in a simple manner how the Greek Mt could have been translated from a Hebrew original, even in those parts where it is not parallel with Mk; for its observed relations with Lk have also to be taken into account. How does there come to be in these two Gospels that singular combination of parallel passages whose verbal similarity is such that they could not have been obtained through independent translation, with others sufficiently different to be so accounted for? We may, perhaps, get a hint of the circumstances under which this resulted from Papias' reference to a time when there was no received representative of Matthew's Hebrew work, but each translated it as he could. Such a state of things may well have led to the translation of different portions having been written down at different times. Some of these translated fragments may have become current before others, and so have been embodied in both Mt and Lk.

Finally, it is to be observed that, in spite of the difficulties which we have discussed in regard to the connexion between our Greek Mt and a Hebrew source, it is marked by features which fully justify us in regarding it as that setting forth of the Gospel history in Greek which kept closest both in spirit and in form to the mode of presenting the Gospel in the Aramaic-speaking Church.

ii. **The Fourth Gospel, especially in its relation to the Synoptic Gospels.**—It is impossible to review here the whole subject of the authorship and historical character of the Fourth Gospel, and many points connected therewith may be more naturally treated in the article specially devoted to this Gospel. In a general article on the Gospels, however, it will be suitable, and even necessary, that we should compare the first three Gospels as a class with the fourth, and consider some of the questions raised by the contrast which they present. Some of the chief difficulties felt in regard to the genuineness and authenticity of Jn are in point of fact due to, while others have been mainly suggested and are emphasized by, its differences from the Synoptics. It is also not less true, though it has been less commonly noticed, that there are features in the Synoptic Gospels which are not easily understood when they are viewed in the light of Jn; for the superior credibility of the respective accounts is by no means always on one side.

We will therefore touch on the main respects in which the representations of the life and work and person of Christ in Jn and the Synoptic Gospels need to be examined in relation to one another, and then discuss briefly the problem how the subject as a whole should have come to be presented in these two ways, and whether it is consistent with the truth of each, and with the traditional authorship of the Fourth Gospel.

(1) *The march of events, manner in which Christ's person and office were manifested, and method and effects of His ministry.*—That Synoptic outline, to which allusion has already been made, is of a simple character. Immediately after the baptism of Jesus and His temptation in the wilderness have been recorded, it proceeds to the opening of His ministry in Galilee, and is entirely occupied with His works and teaching in that district and the neighbouring parts to the east and north, till His final departure therefrom. It seems then to conduct Him continuously to Jerusalem for that Passover at which He suffered, though it does so by more or less protracted and circuitous journeyings, in the course of which He is still seen engaged in His work of teaching and healing. For anything the Synoptic Gospels say, we might suppose that Jesus paid no visit to Jerusalem during His ministry till that time when He was crucified. Further, we note that between the two limits, the first proclamation of the gospel in Galilee and His crucifixion, not one of them gives chronological marks properly so called. They scarcely even note the passing of the seasons. (There is an indication of the occurrence of a spring-time, Mt 12^1 = Mk 2^{23} = Lk 6^1, and there are one or two allusions to observances which were connected with particular times of year). It is true that the more carefully we study the Synoptic Gospels, the more clearly do we perceive in our Lord's work as they represent it certain stages and turning-points which follow one another according to a very natural order of development. And we may conclude that their arrangement of His words and deeds corresponds in the main to successive periods in His life. But these periods can be ascertained only by a study of the internal character of the narrative.

In the Fourth Gospel, on the other hand, the flight of time during Christ's ministry is marked, not indeed by ordinary chronology or references to events of external history, but by the mention of several Jewish feasts. This Gospel is in fact chiefly taken up with records of what happened during the visits of Jesus to Jerusalem on the occasion of these feasts. In a word, the centre of interest in the Synoptic Gospels is Galilee, in the Fourth it is Jerusalem and Judæa.

When the two plans of narration are compared, it is found possible to fit them together, without forcing, to an extent which is remarkable, considering the difference between their plans, and the absence of any indication on the part of the fourth evangelist as to how the contents of his Gospel are to be combined with the Synoptic record. He represents Jesus as in the neighbourhood of John the Baptist subsequently to His baptism, and as then returning to Galilee. The first visit to Jerusalem which he describes is for a Passover that happened soon after this, and before (as it would seem) the commencement of His regular ministry in Galilee (Jn 1^{29}–2^{12}). In the holy city itself and in Judæa, at the time of this feast, Christ's public work began, according to Jn (2^{13}–4^3). He returns to Galilee by the most direct route, through Samaria, and preaches there during His brief stay (4^{4-42}). So we are brought to a point (4^{43-54}) corresponding with the beginning and early days of the ministry in Galilee described in the Synoptic Gospels. The fourth evangelist then proceeds to give an account of a visit to Jerusalem for a Jewish feast. It is the only one occurring during the period of the Galilæan ministry, and curiously in this single instance he does not specify what feast it was (ch. 5). In 6–7^9 we have narratives connected with Galilee, some of the main incidents of which are given also in the Synoptics, and which belong, according to all the evangelists, to the latter part of His ministry there. Jn gives notes of time; this section in his Gospel relates to the interval between the approach of a Passover (March), for which Jesus did not go up to Jerusalem, and the following Feast of Tabernacles (September), when He finally left Galilee. In contrast with the impression given us by the Synoptic Gospels, Jesus, according to Jn, went straight to Jerusalem for this feast, and His journey thither must have been swift (Jn 7^{2-14}). There followed at the beginning of winter the Feast of Dedication, for which Jesus was also there. It is not easy to decide how much of Jn 7^{14}–10^{39} is connected with the former, how much with the latter, of these feasts; how much, again, belongs to the intervening weeks, or whether Jesus spent the whole of this time in Jerusalem and its immediate neighbourhood, or retired for any part of it to a greater distance. The interval between the Feast of Dedication and His last Passover He spent in Peræa, where He still taught and won disciples (10^{40-42}), and in the north-east corner of Judæa (11^{54}), saving His visit to the neighbourhood of Jerusalem for the great miracle at Bethany (11^{1-44}). The Synoptic Gospels are so far in agreement with Jn that they indicate a ministry in this same region before the final going up to Jerusalem (Mt $19^{1.2}$ = Mk 10^1, Lk less definitely). The Synoptic and Johannine narratives begin to correspond more closely at the approach to the city on this last visit, though there are still many divergences in detail.

As regards the main and most characteristic difference thus far noticed between the first three Gospels and Jn, it is fair to say that all considerations of historical probability are in favour of Christ's having made frequent visits to Jerusalem, such as are related by the latter. As a religious Jew, and especially one who would not be detained by any of the occupations of a secular calling, He would naturally attend many of the feasts. It is, moreover, inconceivable that, having His great prophetic mission to discharge, He would confine His teaching till the last few days of His life to the north and east of Palestine, and never seek to declare His message in the great centre of the religious life of the chosen people, where the effects of doing so would be so much farther-reaching, and all the local associations would add to the significance of His words and deeds. Again, the catastrophe described by the Synoptic Gospels themselves, and the manner in which it was brought about,—the enmity of the ruling priests, lawyers, and Pharisees in Jerusalem,—must have been prepared for. The work of Jesus in the country districts could hardly of itself have threatened their authority in such a way as to inspire their determination to destroy Him. The two or three days of teaching in Jerusalem which preceded their formal conspiracy against Him would have been altogether insufficient to bring their hostility to a head, if there had not been already deep-seated hatred. Various slight indications in the Synoptic Gospels, such as instances of His having disciples and friends in Judæa, may be also more easily explained if He had actually taught there during the earlier part of His ministry.

We pass on to consider the representation of the history, viewed not so much as a series of events as in its moral and spiritual aspects. From the Synoptic Gospels it appears that Jesus made the formation of a little band of devoted disciples and their instruction and training a primary aim of His earthly ministry. (See esp. Mk $3^{13.\,14}$, Mt $13^{10-17.\,51.\,52}$, Mk 4^{34}, Mt 10). In Jn this work is more minutely and fully related. We see the first gathering of a few around Him (1^{35-51}), which would naturally precede any formal call to definite service, such as that which is referred to Mt 4^{18-22} =Mk 1^{16-20}. From the beginning almost of His public ministry He moves about surrounded by a few who have attached themselves to Him (Jn $2^{2.\,12}$ 3^{22} $4^{2.\,8.\,27}$). The impression made on them by His deeds and words is specially recorded (Jn $2^{11.\,17}$ 4^{27}). The conditions necessary for the slow growth and due probation of their faith were not interfered with by the singularly full and exalted declarations concerning His person and work made even by the Baptist ($1^{29.\,36}$), and throughout by Himself to disciples (1^{51} 3^{13-15}), and also in the hearing of a wider circle as early as the second recorded visit to Jerusalem (5^{17-47}). For, distinct though these claims might be, their nature and the language in which they were expressed were so new, and His course of conduct as a whole corresponded so little with common expectation, that to apprehend His meaning rightly was a matter of great difficulty, and the faith even of those most favourably disposed to receive Him, or who had already given Him their allegiance, was put to a severe test thereby. The reality of the trial appears alike in Jn and the other three (comp. Jn 6^{66-71} with Mt 16^{13-19}=Mk 8^{27-30}= Lk 9^{18-20}). In each account the faith of the Twelve is recognized as a great victory, and they are contrasted with others. A class of persons who had for a time taken up the position of disciples, but who afterwards fell away through the perplexity which He caused them,—through becoming disappointed in Him,—is clearly portrayed in Jn (6^{60-65}; and cf. 7^3 $8^{31\text{ff.}}$ $11^{45.\,46}$ 12^{11}), though in the Synoptic Gospels they hardly come before us. Jesus Himself saw that some of those who professed to be disciples were of this unreliable character, before either they themselves or others knew it (2^{23-25}). That there should have been this class is in every way probable, under the conditions of the case, and in view of facts like the wide popularity for a time of the Prophet of Nazareth, which the Synoptic Gospels, too, relate. But it is almost inconceivable that any one writing at the end of the 1st or beginning of the 2nd cent. should have described them in a manner so true to historical circumstances, except from actual recollection of instances. There was no motive or guidance for doing so in the trials of the Church at that time. Those who fell away then did so under the influence of the love of the world, or of philosophy, or the fear of persecution. A moral in regard to the last-named cause of defection might be pointed from examples of secret believers who were afraid to confess Christ, and such are spoken of in Jn (12^{42} 19^{38}; cf. also 7^{13}), but they are a distinct class from those mentioned above, whose conduct was such as would have occurred among those who were compelled to judge of the claims of Jesus during His lifetime, but not afterwards.

The chief points on which the conflicts of Jesus with the Jews turn in the Synoptic Gospels, appear also in Jn (cf. Mt 12^{38-45}; Mt 16^{1-4}=Mk 8^{11-13}; Lk $11^{16.\,29-32}$ with Jn 2^{18}). They make charges of demoniacal possession (cf. Mt 9^{34}, Mt $12^{24\text{ff.}}$=Mk $3^{22\text{ff.}}$=Lk $11^{15\text{ff.}}$ with Jn $8^{48.\,49.\,52}$ $10^{19.\,20.\,21}$). They charge Him with disregarding the Sabbath (cf. Mt $12^{1\text{ff.}}$=Mk $2^{23\text{ff.}}$=Lk $6^{1\text{ff.}}$, Mt $12^{9\text{ff.}}$=Mk $3^{1\text{ff.}}$=Lk $6^{6\text{ff.}}$, Lk $13^{10\text{ff.}}$ $14^{1\text{ff.}}$ with Jn $5^{10.\,16.\,18}$ $7^{22.\,23}$ $9^{14.\,16}$). At the same time the difference in the illustration which Christ uses as an *argumentum ad hominem* in Mt 12^{11} and in Jn 7^{22} should be noticed, and the exquisite suitability of each to the particular scene of controversy. The one would come home to the country-folk of Galilee, to whom such a case of conscience may even have been already familiar; the force of the other would be felt by the Jews of Jerusalem, with their high sense of the importance of such points of ceremonial law.

As regards the character of the miracles in Jn, it is curious that he does not relate any example of the cure of one possessed with a devil—which, according to the Synoptic Gospels, was one of the commonest kinds of our Lord's miracles. This is the more singular because teaching as to an important aspect of Christ's mission could be deduced from such miracles, and was so by Christ Himself, according to the Synoptic narrative (Mt 12^{25-30}=Mk 3^{23-27}=Lk 11^{17-26}). On the other hand, the first miracle recorded in Jn (2^{1-11}) is of a different type from any in the Synoptics. The other miracles in Jn are either the same as, or similar in kind to, those which they relate. The miracle of raising Lazarus, however, seems to surpass in wonder the raising of Jairus' daughter and of the widow's son, though on consideration it may well be questioned whether it does so to an appreciable extent. But it is in any case remarkable that so great a miracle, and one which, according to Jn, served to precipitate the action of the Jewish Sanhedrin, should be omitted in the Synoptic account. While recognizing this, it may be well to notice that the miracle of Christ which must seem the most stupendous of all from the point of view of naturalism,—'that of feeding the multitude,'—is related by all four evangelists.

Speaking generally, although Jn gives us a profounder view of the meaning of our Lord's work, and unfolds the great drama of the belief and unbelief which He provoked, with a more awful sense of its import than the Synoptic Gospels do, yet, in respect to the broad features of the history, they are either in essential agreement, or are not necessarily inconsistent with one another.

(2) *Comparison in detail of passages in which the first three and the fourth Gospels are parallel or approximate to one another, or are in conflict.*—We must be content with touching on a few points of special interest.

(*a*) The work of the Baptist (cf. Jn 1^{19-36} with Mt 3^{1-17}=Mk 1^{2-8}=Lk 3^{1-17}). Alike in the Synoptic outline and in Jn, the work of the Baptist is the starting-point of the history. But on comparing their accounts it is to be noticed, that while we have in the former a general description of the Baptist's preaching before the baptism of Jesus and of that event itself, the latter takes up the history at a time a little (probably a few weeks) later, when the Baptist had reflected on the signs which accompanied the baptism of Jesus, and when he could not only speak of 'the Coming One,' but point Him out. It does not appear from the Synoptic account who saw the signs and heard the voice. The words spoken from heaven have in Mk and Lk the form of an address to Jesus; nevertheless, it cannot be supposed that these evangelists, any more than Mt, imagined them to have been spoken simply for the assurance of Jesus. All three, we cannot doubt, record them as a proof of His Messiahship. From Jn it may be inferred that the knowledge of these signs rested on the evidence of the Baptist, who declared what he had seen and heard. To him the revelation was granted, as to one fitted by his exceptional spiritual enlightenment to receive it, not to all the bystanders, or, at all events, not to them with the same clearness. And this assuredly was in accord with the laws of God's spiritual kingdom. The views of the person and work of Christ taught or implied in the Baptist's language will be referred to below.

(*b*) The cleansing of the temple (Jn 2^{13-22} cf. with Mt $21^{12.\,13.\,23}$=Mk $11^{15-17.\,28}$=Lk 19^{45-48} 20^{2}). It is a well-known difference between the Synoptic Gospels and Jn, that while he records a cleansing of the temple at the very beginning of the public work of Jesus, they place their corresponding narrative among the events of the last week of His life. There is nothing inherently difficult in the supposition that such an act should have been performed by Jesus at each of these epochs in His ministry. If on an early visit to Jerusalem He saw the traffic desecrating the temple courts, as He must in all probability have done, it would be natural that He should be moved to righteous indignation against it. Nor need He have felt restrained by the fear of too soon proclaiming His Messiahship. By such an act He did not obviously do this; it was one which any prophet might have performed. The consciousness of a character higher even than that of a prophet is revealed only in words of mysterious import. It is likely enough also that the abuse would again in a short time appear, in spite of His rebuke. If, however, we assume that the difference between Jn and the other Gospels as to the time of the cleansing arose through reminiscences, which were fundamentally the same, having been combined and connected in diverse ways, the account of the fourth evangelist is certainly not the less reliable of the two. For he must have known that given by the first three, since, even if he were not acquainted with their Gospels, the fact of their all recording this tradition implies its being widely spread; and he would not have departed from it, whether in order to correct or to supplement their narrative, except on the ground of possessing good information. It is to be added that in respect of vividness, and of the appropriateness with which the scene and the several parts of the action are represented, the superiority is on the side of Jn. One or two differences in the two accounts appear to accord with the difference of time.

(*c*) The feeding of the five thousand and crossing of the lake (Jn $6^{1-14.\,15-21}$ cf. with Mt $14^{13-21.\,22-33}$= Mk $6^{30-44.\,45-52}$=Lk 9^{10-17}). This is the narrative in which Jn and the Synoptic Gospels are most closely parallel. As is commonly the case in Jn, the relation of the miracle is followed by teaching concerning spiritual mysteries, which appear to be suggested by the miracle, so that we are led almost to regard it as an acted parable. But the fact that the Synoptic Gospels record the miracle, without giving any corresponding discourse, shows that the fourth evangelist cannot be rightly accused of inventing the miracle as a basis for the discourse, and if he did not in this case, there is the less reason to suppose that he did so in others. Jn agrees in many points of detail and in some phrases with the Synoptic Gospels, esp. with Mk and Mt. It is possible that these may be due in part to acquaintance with these Gospels, or with the document embodied in them. But a common tradition would equally well account for such correspondences as may be observed. Indeed, this is the most probable explanation of the relation between Jn $6^{12.\,13}$, Mt 6^{20}, Lk 9^{17}. He would seem to give here in a fuller form the incident of which they have preserved a partial reminiscence.

Even in this narrative, where the resemblance between the four evangelists is greatest, Jn is still very independent. And many of the touches peculiar to him are such as would be imparted by an eye-witness. There is greater particularity in his account, *e.g.* words which, according to the Synoptic Gospels, were spoken to or by the disciples generally, were, according to Jn, addressed to or spoken by individuals amongst them. The more lifelike character of his account of the conclusion of the incident of the miracle should also be noticed. There was a scene of excitement and enthusiasm, and Jesus, after His wont, quietly withdrew (Jn vv.$^{14.\,15}$). This we can understand far better than that the multitudes should have been willing to disperse, simply on being bidden to go, after witnessing such a work (Mt v.^{23}=Mk vv.$^{45.\,46}$).

(*d*) The closing scenes. It will be impossible to do more than allude to a few of the divergences from and additions to the Synoptic Gospels which we find in Jn. As regards the much discussed subject of the Day of the Crucifixion, it must suffice to say that, whatever may be the difficulties arising from the Synoptic language concerning the Last Supper, the view that Jesus was crucified on the 14th of Nisan, which is the natural inference from Jn's language, must be accepted as the most probable. On this assumption, his statements throughout are clear and self-consistent, while they are supported also by some indications in the other Gospels. To pass on, there are many signs of accurate knowledge in Jn's whole account of the last evening with the disciples, the arrest, and condemnation of Jesus. For instance, the preliminary investigation before Annas, and the fact mentioned in Jn and nowhere else that he was the father-in-law of Caiaphas, fit well with all the statements contained in Josephus regarding the succession of members of the family of Annas to the office of high priest during Annas' own lifetime. Again, when Jesus is brought to Pilate, we obtain from Jn a clear and thoroughly probable view of the scene and of the successive acts of the drama. The prisoner, as was natural, is conducted at once within the governor's house, while the Jewish rulers remain outside for a ceremonial reason (18^{28}). Pilate passes to and fro. In vv.$^{29-32}$ he is outside parleying with the Jews; in vv.$^{33-37}$ he proceeds with the examination of the prisoner; vv.$^{38-40}$ Pilate again parleys with the Jews. 19^{1-5} Jesus is mocked and led out to them; vv.$^{6-16}$ they succeed by their clamour in securing His condemnation. In Mt 27^{11-26}=Mk 15^{1-15} the positions and the parts of the several actors are not nearly so distinctly indicated.

(3) *The peculiar doctrinal character of Jn.*—It is necessary to inquire whether the representation given us in the Fourth Gospel of the teaching of Christ, or the belief of others, has been affected by the special doctrinal point of view of the writer in a way to destroy its substantial truth.

We may first notice some signs that he was, to say the least, not wholly unconscious of the importance of preserving faithfully the language and thought of the time concerning which he was writing. The most striking is the fact that the term 'the Logos,' which, as he uses it in the Prologue, gives the very keynote of the Gospel, is nevertheless nowhere put by him into the mouth either of Jesus or any other speaker. But, again, he distinguishes more than once between the manner in which the disciples viewed acts and words of Christ at the time, and afterwards in looking back upon them (2^{22} 12^{16}, cf. also the Lord's words to Peter, 13^{7}). He does not read the full belief of a later time into the earliest days of discipleship. It should be noticed also that the evangelist need not be supposed to give 3^{16-21} and $^{31-36}$ as parts of the words spoken respectively by Christ and by the Baptist. On the contrary, they seem rather to be comments by the evangelist himself, which are not intended by him to be viewed in any other light.

At the same time, the way in which the record almost insensibly passes into exposition in these cases, suggests that the two may sometimes be even more closely conjoined. It is natural, and often almost necessary, under the limits of space to which all are subject, for any writer or speaker, in giving the substance of what has been spoken by others, so to report them as to bring out that which he conceives to have been the significance of their words. There might, no doubt, be a special tendency to do this on the part of one who, like the writer of the Fourth Gospel, had the definite object of impressing truth in which he profoundly believed. That which he had even quite soundly inferred as the conclusion from all that he had experienced and learned, might thus have unduly influenced him in his account of what was said on some particular occasions. Two instances in which it seems specially likely that his own perception of the meaning of Christ's work may be affecting his record, are the words which he assigns to the Baptist (1^{29}), and to the Samaritans (4^{42}). It is difficult to suppose that even the former, much less the latter, could already at that time have attained to a belief in Jesus as the Saviour '*of the world.*' We will go on to compare Jn 1^{30} with the somewhat similar saying in the Synoptic Gospels (Mt 3^{11}=Mk 1^{7}=Lk 3^{16}). In view of the stress laid in other passages in Jn on the pre-existence of Christ, it seems most probable that the evangelist himself would have held that this truth was conveyed in the words ὅτι πρῶτός μου ἦν. Yet this phrase is an enigmatical one; it does not strictly express any idea but that of essential priority, which might be in point of rank as well as of time. So regarded, it does not differ widely from the phrase in the Synoptic Gospels, ἰσχυρότερός μου, which also is enigmatical. Each brings out a somewhat different view of Christ's superiority. It would have been easy for the fourth evangelist to have made the assertion by the Baptist of the doctrine of Christ's pre-existence more distinct. Thus, although he may have been in a measure influenced in the form which he gives to the Baptist's words by the desire to teach through them an important article of faith, he has in doing so evidently been kept under control by his sense of historical truth.

We proceed to consider briefly the contents of Christ's own teaching as it is recorded in Jn.

(*a*) His unique relation to the Father—the unfolding of all that was comprised in the words '*My* Father.' In the matter common to Mt and Lk one passage is included (Mt 11^{25-30}=Lk $10^{21.22}$) which is characterized by the thoughts and many of the expressions on this subject that we are accustomed to regard as most distinctly 'Johannine.' Mt 24^{36}=Mk 13^{32} supplies another instance of the use of ὁ υἱός and ὁ πατήρ as absolute terms. The preservation of this teaching, even though to such a limited extent, in the Synoptic Gospels, goes far to establish the credibility of the fuller record in Jn. If Christ dwelt on this theme at all, there is every reason to think that He must have done so more often and largely than they indicate. That He did so is also rendered probable by a striking, even though indirect, piece of evidence in St. Paul's Epistles. St. Paul more than once uses the phrase 'the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ' (Ro 15^{6}, 2 Co 1^{3} 11^{31}, Eph 1^{3}, Col 1^{3}). This remarkable expression may most naturally have had its origin in the historical fact that Jesus was accustomed to dwell upon the theme that God was, in an altogether unique sense, His Father.

(*b*) Christ's attitude to the Mosaic Law. It is certain that we derive in part a different impression on this subject from the Synoptic Gospels and Jn. There is nothing in the former corresponding to the phrases '*your* law' (Jn 8^{17} 10^{34}) and '*their* law' (15^{25}). In their record of our Lord's condemnation of the legalism of the scribes and Pharisees, the distinction between the law of Moses itself and the additions made to it in tradition appears more clearly (Mt 15^{2-9}=Mk 7^{1-13}). In one saying recorded in Mt ($23^{2.3}$), Christ even maintains the authority of the scribes on the ground that they are the representatives of Moses. There seems, at first sight, to be nothing in the Fourth Gospel equivalent to the assertion in Mt 5^{17-19} (=Lk 16^{17}) concerning the permanent validity of every point of the law; while in it the spiritual meaning of the OT, and the superiority of Christ to Moses (*e.g.* 7^{19-23}), are far more fully brought out.

Nevertheless, on a close examination, there appears to be fundamental similarity between their respective representations. The saying concerning the permanent validity of the law in Mt is immediately followed by the great passage which shows what Christ meant by its true fulfilment; while the words in Jn 10^{35} 'the scripture cannot be broken'—where 'the scripture' referred to is one occurring in what has just before been described as 'your law'—appear to involve a principle equivalent to that laid down in the saying in Mt 5^{17-19}. Further, the remarkable correspondence in the thought of Mt 19^{8}=Mk 10^{5-9} and of Jn 7^{22} should be noted. In both a distinction is drawn between the law of Moses and a more primitive law.

(*c*) Eschatology. The Jewish form of eschatological expectation is more marked in Christ's teaching given in the Synoptic Gospels than in Jn. In the latter we are especially taught that spiritual and eternal laws and principles are great facts of the present, and that judgment is ever being executed through their continuous and mysterious operation. So far as our thoughts are turned to the future consummation, they are especially fixed on the blessedness of completed union with Christ, and the circumstances attendant upon His coming drop out of sight. The Synoptic Gospels may be taken as witnesses to the fact that Jesus did make use of the current imagery in speaking of the things to come. But the view can hardly seem improbable to any one, that, on this subject at all events, the mind of the Master is more fully reflected in Jn.

(*d*) The maxims in regard to conduct which the Synoptic Gospels—more especially Mt and Lk—contain, are among the most precious portions of these Gospels. In the earlier part of Jn this element is absent, but it receives a large amount of recognition in the discourses at the Last Supper. Here the law of Christian love, and the duty of humbly ministering to others ($13^{1-15.\,34.\,35}$, $15^{12.\,17}$), and generally of keeping Christ's commandments (14^{15} 15^{10}), are insisted on. Here, also, sayings on the conditions and privileges of discipleship occur, identical with, or closely parallel to, some of those which are found in other contexts in the first three Gospels. (Cf. Jn 12^{25} with Mt $16^{25.\,26}$ = Mk $8^{35.\,36}$ = Lk $9^{24.\,25}$, and cf. also Mt $10^{37.\,39}$ = Lk 17^{33} and Lk 14^{26}. Again, cf. Jn $13^{13.\,14}$ with Mt 10^{24a}, Lk 6^{40}; and Jn 13^{16} and 15^{20} with Mt 10^{24b}. Again, cf. Jn 13^{20} with Mt 10^{40} = Lk 10^{16}). The encouragements to pray in these chapters of Jn should also be compared with sayings on prayer in the Synoptic Gospels.

(4) *The style of Christ's teaching.*—The difference between Jn and the Synoptic Gospels in this respect seems not to be so great in reality as is often imagined. Justin Martyr's description of our Lord's teaching as consisting in 'short, pithy, and abrupt sayings,' applies, no doubt, with special truth to the Synoptic records of it. But in Jn, too, its style is essentially proverbial or 'gnomic.' The sentences are short and oracular. The discourses consist of a series of separate propositions, and the development of the thought is effected, not through a ratiocinative argument of an ordinary kind, but by slightly altering the form of a proposition, or by placing it in a different connexion.

Again, the use of parables appears from the first three evangelists to have been specially characteristic of Christ. He employed them, however, more particularly in addressing the multitudes; and this part of His teaching is hardly at all recorded in Jn. Moreover, we have in Jn one genuine parable (10^{1-6}), followed in vv.$^{7-10}$ by its interpretation. Jn 10^{11-18} appears to be the interpretation of another parable, the parable itself being omitted by the evangelist (see Weizsäcker, *Untersuch.* pp. 252, 253). Or perhaps it may be truer to say that parable and interpretation are here merged in one. Although He was wont to teach His disciples by expounding to them the parables which they heard Him address to the people (Mt $13^{10\text{ff.}}$ = Mk $4^{10\text{ff.}}$ = Lk $8^{9\text{ff.}}$, Mk 4^{34}), it would be natural that He should vary His method in some such way as we have suggested, when His instruction of the Twelve did not take the form of a supplement to what He had spoken to others.

It has further to be remarked that Christ's own office is the theme of the figures in Jn. The parables related in the Synoptists are concerned most frequently with other subjects, especially the kingdom of God and its laws. Yet this one also is not absent from His thoughts there (cf. the physician, Mt 9^{12} = Mk 2^{17} = Lk 5^{31} and Lk 4^{23}; the servant of J″, Lk $14^{16\text{ff.}}$; the king's son, Mt $21^{37\text{ff.}}$, Mk $12^{6\text{ff.}}$, Mt $22^{2\text{ff.}}$; the judge, Mt $25^{31\text{ff.}}$).

The different aspects under which the life and work and person of Christ are presented in the Synoptic Gospels and Jn may be reconcilable. We have given some reasons for thinking that they are so in great measure. But the question remains, how the existence of such differences in the records can be explained. And it may be observed that it is one for which even those need to seek an answer who admit only, as the majority of modern critics do, that the Fourth Gospel contains considerable historical elements.

Now, the Fourth Gospel has a clearly defined aim ($20^{30.\,31}$, and cf. 1^{1-14}), which goes far to explain the selective method on which the writer has proceeded in constructing his Gospel. When in addition to this we take into account the fact that he must almost certainly have been acquainted with the contents of the Synoptic Gospels, and that he would at least feel under no obligation to recount what was already recorded, and that he may even have avoided the repetition of it when it did not fall in conveniently with the plan of his own work, and that in point of fact he is in the habit of assuming in his readers the knowledge of things that he does not narrate, little difficulty can be created by his omissions.

The difficulty is rather to understand how the first three evangelists should omit so much that we find in Jn. The same reasons did not exist in their case for passing over facts as in that of Jn. To some small extent, indeed, they were influenced in what they relate by the bent of their own minds and the special needs of those whom they addressed. But the very fact that the matter and arrangement of all three are so largely the same, shows that their contents and form must have been in the main determined by some other cause than individual purpose or bias. Their fragmentariness must be due to the limited character of the material that had come to their hand. We have seen that the historical circumstances under which the documentary sources of the Synoptic narrative were shaped, were of a kind to circumscribe their range. But in order to explain the phenomenon now before us—the contrast between the Synoptic and Johannine accounts—it seems necessary to suppose further that the knowledge embodied in the latter had, at the time the first three Gospels were composed, been delivered only within a comparatively limited circle. It is difficult to imagine that even Mark and the editor of the Greek Mt would have remained unaffected by it if it had been widely spread through a considerable part of the Church. And it is impossible to believe that Luke would, seeing that he evidently had sought for information in different directions, and desired to give a certain completeness, so far as he could, to his narrative. There appears to be nothing unnatural in this supposition. The needs of simple Christians, and of the mass of the unconverted, which had led originally to the shaping of the oral instruction in a certain way, and which through it had influenced the character of the earliest documents, would continue to be most generally felt. The number of those able to appreciate the deeper teaching would be small.

III. THE DATE OF OUR GOSPELS AND OF THE SOURCES EMBODIED IN THEM.—In endeavouring to arrive approximately at the date of the Gospels, it is necessary to consider both the testimony of tradition and internal indications.

1. *The Synoptic Gospels.*—If, as is probable, the fragment of Papias about *Mt* is a report of what he had heard many years before from John the Presbyter, and preserves for us the recollections of the latter concerning a period already past when Papias met him, the composition of our Greek Mt would seem to fall within the 1st cent. General considerations respecting the history of the position of this Gospel in the Church point to its belonging at least to the 1st cent. It has often been argued, on the ground of Mt 24^{29}, that the Gospel was composed before the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70; but the words in question may be explained by the fidelity with which the original source has

been preserved. Nor do there seem to be other indications in the Gospel which enable us to assign it with confidence to a time either before or after that or any other date.

On the ground of the strongly supported tradition which connects the *Second Gospel* with Mark, we may somewhat more nearly determine the time of the composition of this Gospel. It would seem, according to the oldest form of the tradition, to have been after St. Peter's death that Mark wrote it, and consequently we cannot place its composition much before A.D. 70. The lower limit will be that of the period after this for which Mark, who must have been in middle life at the date just named, is likely to have lived. Internal indications do not help us in this case any more than in the last.

The lower limit for the composition of the *Third Gospel* is fixed by a consideration similar to that in the last case. Its author was a companion of St. Paul for some years, and there is in point of fact no reason to doubt the tradition which identifies him with Luke, named in St. Paul's Epistles. This Gospel consequently cannot have been written much later than A.D. 80. On the other hand, the greater precision with which the siege of Jerusalem is referred to than it is in Mt and Mk (see Lk 19^{43} 21^{20}), seems to show that in this Gospel the original form of the prophecy has been somewhat lost, owing to knowledge of the particular circumstances of the event.

But we have seen that sources, documentary and other, are embodied in the Synoptic Gospels. In order, then, to judge how near we are in reality brought to the events related, we have to inquire into the historical character of the matter which the evangelists used, and the faithfulness with which they have reproduced it. This is a fruitful field for study. It is only possible here to say that the subject-matter of the Synoptic Gospels is marked by traits which show that the information proceeds direct from those who have lived amid the surroundings described. The characteristics of Jewish life and thought in Palestine in the first half of the 1st cent. of our era are reflected in the narrative with a truth which could not have been otherwise imparted.

The fact that our Gospels were put forth far from Palestine, in the midst of the Græco-Roman world, and subsequently to, or at the earliest only a short while before, the destruction of Jerusalem, —that great catastrophe which profoundly affected the Jews everywhere, and above all in Palestine, and the Christian Church itself,—becomes (strange to say) a guarantee of their truth. Placed as the evangelists were when they wrote, they could not have accurately reproduced the features of an age which had passed away, as they are found to have done, except from immediate knowledge of their own, the reports of those who possessed it, or the use of documents based on it. Attention may be directed to the following points:—(α) The distribution in Pal. of the Jewish population on the one hand, and of the Grecized cities and regions on the other. It will be found that our Lord's work is confined, saving in a very few cases, which are of the kind that may be truly said to be exceptions that prove the rule, to the pre-eminently Jewish districts. In Galilee itself the incidents of His ministry are connected with Jewish villages and village-towns, not with the places known in the outside world. We may infer what Christ's own plan was for the work of His brief ministry on earth. Only the first evangelist lays stress on it; the records of the second and third, and we may add of the fourth, equally reveal it, but they do so, to all appearance, unconsciously. And although we can on reflection see clearly the reason for such a course of action, it is not one which would have naturally suggested itself to men who, like the third and fourth evangelists at least, were deeply impressed with the universality of the gospel. (β) The political and social circumstances, the strangely mingled Jewish and Roman institutions and remaining effects of the period of Grecian rule, the relations of the jurisdictions of Herod and the Roman governor and the Jewish priests and elders, and the influence of the Pharisees and scribes. (γ) The popular Messianic expectation, and the temper of different classes in respect to it, its various forms and the beliefs connected therewith. (δ) The subtle correspondences in form between the teaching of Jesus and that of Jewish Rabbis, combined with the vital differences in spirit.

The teaching, again, of our Lord is much of it such as could have been given only by Himself in His own lifetime, or is marked by the prominence of terms and ideas which speedily ceased to be much in vogue in the Church. This serves to show that the character of the record generally can have been comparatively little affected by the thought and language of the Church in a subsequent generation.

The following may be taken as illustrations:—(α) The use of the term and idea 'the kingdom of God' in the Gospels (see *The Jewish and the Christian Messiah*, by the present writer, pp. 226, 227). (β) The use in the Gospels of the title 'the Son of Man' (see *ib.* pp. 243, 244). (γ) The use of the term μαθηταί (see Weizsäcker, *Apost. Zeitalter*, p. 36).

In order that the Gospels may be tested in the respects indicated with the greater precision, those portions of them which appear to be derived from common sources, or from a source peculiar to one or other evangelist, or which are the setting or the remarks furnished by the several evangelists individually, should be separately examined.

2. *The Fourth Gospel.*—The history is contemplated in this Gospel from a point of view acquired through long reflection and experience, and through sharing in the ever-widening work and conflicts of the Church. And yet familiarity with Palestine and with the thought and feeling of its population at the time to which the record refers, is manifested in it not less markedly than in the others. If these two characteristics—the immediate knowledge of the facts, and a wide and large conception of their significance—belong, as appears to be the case, to one and the same person, we must suppose that he was one of the immediate disciples of Jesus whose mind underwent a remarkable growth during his subsequent life. There is next to nothing in the character of John the son of Zebedee, as we see it in the Gospels and the early chapters of the Acts, which marks him out as fitted to be the writer. And the allusion to him in Gal 2^9, as one of the apostles of the circumcision, may seem unfavourable to the belief that he was so. But tradition, which assigns to him the authorship, also represents him as having lived to a great age, and having passed his later years amid the influences of Ephesus. This leaves room for a change in his apprehension of the truth. And, strange as this change from the mode of thought of the Twelve in the early days of the Church at Jerusalem to that of the writer of the Fourth Gospel may seem to us, it is one well within the bounds of possibility, and hardly to be reckoned greater than some of those of which there have been instances among religious thinkers in our own century. It is to be added, that if the characteristics of this Gospel have been correctly described above, the difficulty as to the authorship would be in no way lightened by supposing that the writer was not the son of Zebedee. For there is no other of the earliest Palestinian disciples who, so far as we know,

could more easily have become prepared to write the Fourth Gospel.

[The trustworthiness of the traditions as to the old age of John the son of Zebedee has been called in question, more especially of late by Harnack in his *Chron. d. Altchrist. Lit.* i. pp. 320 ff. and 656 ff. For a discussion of this question see NT Canon.]

IV. The Harmony of the Gospels.—A comparison of the Gospels, very different for the most part in its method and object from that which we have been reviewing, has been associated with the name of the Harmonists. Starting from the assumption that the inspiration of Holy Scripture involves its complete immunity from error even in the most unimportant historical details, they endeavoured to reconcile all inconsistencies in parallel accounts in the Gospels, and, when this was found to be impossible, they inferred that different incidents or occasions were referred to. For many years past, however, even those thoughtful students of the Gospels who have believed in the absolute infallibility of every part of Scripture, as well as others who had no wish to deny this thesis, have felt dissatisfied with the expedients resorted to by the Harmonists; and have been more inclined to say that our knowledge is not full enough to admit of such a process being soundly applied, and to suggest that if we were acquainted with all the circumstances the apparent discrepancies would vanish.

Recent criticism is seldom ready to admit that variations in two narratives which have a general resemblance, or in the form and setting of sayings which in substance are the same, point to two similar but distinct events, or to the repetition at different times of the same teaching. It is in the habit of attributing such variations to the natural action of tradition, where they were not due to one or other of the evangelists themselves. It would even account thus for the recurrence of similar sayings (or incidents) in the same Gospel. A tradition, it says, came to be embodied with greater or less differences of form in each of two documents which have been used by the evangelist; he has given the two reports of the same fact as if they were reports of distinct facts. And its chief interest in these 'doublets,' as they are termed, is that they may be a means of discovering more about the original documents. There are cases in which such an explanation appears probable. On the other hand, modern critics overlook far too much the consideration that history does sometimes repeat itself, and in particular that all men who feel that they have a message for mankind necessarily insist often on the truths which they are most anxious to inculcate, and in doing so use again and again the same language. Thus Christ must in all probability have spoken some of His most striking sayings many times. And this may well have been the cause of some at least of the variations and repetitions in our records. We are not, however, entitled to reject any of the above explanations on the ground of an *à priori* theory as to the nature of inspiration. The truth, so far as it is possible for us to ascertain it, can be reached only through the careful weighing of probabilities.

[The following may be taken as instances in connexion with which the various methods of explanation described above may be considered:—Mt 8^{5-13} cf. with Lk 7^{1-10} and with Jn 4^{46-54}; Mk $4^{21.22}$ with Mt 5^{14-16} 10^{26} and with Lk $8^{16.17}$ 11^{33} 12^{2}; Mk 4^{25} with Mt 13^{12} 25^{29} and with Lk 8^{18} 19^{26}.]

A truer kind of harmony may be sought for in the Gospels than that which, in the supposed interests of the Faith, men have too often mistakenly attempted to establish. We may inquire whether there is, or is not, amid all differences an essential inner agreement, or at least compatibility; whether the several representations of our Lord's Person and Life in them do not give in combination an image marked by unity and completeness. If we can trace in the Gospels such a harmony, we shall have herein the best guarantee that we could desire of their historical truth, and shall derive therefrom the noblest conception that could be formed of the common inspiration of their fourfold testimony.

Literature.—In the following list an attempt is made to enumerate the works which are most important for the study of the problem of the Origin and Composition of the Gospels, in the form which it has now assumed. Works of which the interest is due mainly to their place in the history of past controversy are not here mentioned; some of them have been named in the preceding article. In addition to books which aim at thoroughness of treatment, a few of a more popular kind have been given. Foreign works which have been translated into English are referred to by English titles, but the dates are those of the originals. It must not be supposed that the books enumerated are in all cases devoted exclusively to the maintenance of the particular views under which they are classed; *e.g.* 'Introductions' contain reviews of the history of opinion. But it has not been thought worth while in most cases to mention the same work more than once.

For works which discuss the external evidence relating to the Gospels, see New Testament Canon.

Special Aids for studying the Facts.—Rushbrooke, *Synopticon*, 1880; A. Wright, *A Synopsis of the Gospels in Greek*, 1896.

Representatives of the Tübingen School.—It will suffice to refer to F. C. Baur, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien*, 1847, and for somewhat more moderate views of the same type to Hilgenfeld, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 1875; Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*: I. Survey of Sources, 1867; S. Davidson, *Introduction to the Study of the New Testament*, 2nd ed. 1882, 3rd ed. revised and improved, 1894.

Representatives of the Oral Theory.—Westcott, *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, 2nd ed. revised and enlarged, 1860, 8th ed. 1895; A. Wright, *Composition of the Four Gospels*, 1890; Preface to *Synopsis*, 1896; and *Some NT Problems*, 1898. (C. Weizsäcker, *Apost. Age*, bk. iv. ch. 2, may be studied with great advantage in regard to the influence of the period of Oral transmission in shaping the records, though he is not an adherent of the Oral Theory).

Representatives of the Two-document Theory under Various Forms.—Holtzmann, *Die Synoptischen Evangelien*, 1863, *Einleitung in d. Neue Testament* 2, 1886; B. Weiss, *The Life of Christ*, bk. i. The Sources, 1882, *A Manual of Introduction to the New Testament*, div. iv., 1886. [Those only who desire to study the subject very fully need examine B. Weiss' *Marcus-Evangelium*, 1872, and *Matthäus-Evangelium*, 1876]; C. Weizsäcker, *Untersuchungen über die evangelische Geschichte, ihre Quellen und den Gang ihrer Entwickelung*, 1864; Wendt, *Lehre Jesu*, 1886; P. Ewald, *Das Hauptproblem d. Evangelienfrage*, 1890. (The 'main problem' referred to is the question how the Synoptic account came to be limited in the way that it is seen to be when the Johannine is recognized as possessing at least a considerable element of historical truth); Sanday, 'A Survey of the Synoptic Question,' arts. in the *Expositor*, 1891, *Inspiration*, Lect. vi. 1893; 'Introductions to the Synoptic Gospels in *Book by Book*; A. J. Jolley, *The Synoptic Problem for English Readers*, 1893.

Additional Books and Arts. on the Fourth Gospel.—Westcott, Prolegomena in *Commentary on St. John*, 1881; Sanday, *The Authorship and Historical Character of the Fourth Gospel*, 1872; Watkins, *Modern Criticism considered in its relation to the Fourth Gospel*, 1890; Delff, *Das vierte Evangelium* and *Neue Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung d. vierten Evangeliums*, 1890; arts. in *Contemporary Review* for Sept. and Oct. 1891, by Schürer and Sanday; also Sanday, 'The Present Position of the Johannean Question,' arts. in *Expositor*, 1891, 1892; Harnack in *Zeitschr. f. Theol. u. Kirche*, 2 Jahrg. Heft 3.

Works useful in the Study of the local colouring in the Gospels.—Schürer, *HJP*, 1885, 1890; J. Langen, *Das Judenthum in Palästina zur zeit Christi*, 1866; Stapfer, *Palestine in the Time of Christ*, 1885; F. Weber, *System d. altsynagogalen Palästinischen Theologie*, 1880; Wünsche, *Neue Beiträge zur Erläuterung d. Evangelien aus Talmud und Midrasch*, 1878; G. A. Smith, *HGHL*, 1894.

V. H. Stanton.

GOTHIC VERSION.—See Version.

GOTHOLIAS (Γοθολίας), 1 Es 8^{33}.—Jesias son of Gotholias returned with Ezra. His name in Ezr 8^{7} is Athaliah, which was thus both a male and female name (2 K 11^{1}). The form is derived from the Heb., the Γ taking the place of the initial Ayin, and not through the Greek of Ezr (Ἀθελεί, Ἀθλιά).

H. St. J. Thackeray.

GOTHONIEL (Γοθονιήλ).—The father of Chabris, one of the rulers of Bethulia (Jth 6^{15}).

GOURD (קִיקָיוֹן *ḳîḳâyôn*, κολοκύνθη, *hedera*).—There are three opinions in regard to the plant intended in Jon 4^{6-10}.

(*a*) That of Jerome, expressed in the Vulg. rendering *hedera* (ivy),—an opinion with no support, etymological or botanical, and denounced by Augustine as heresy.

(*b*) That of Celsius (*Hierob.* ii. 273), that it was the *kharwa'*, *Ricinus communis*, L., the *castor-oil tree.* The grounds for this opinion are philological. Dioscorides (iv. 164) describes the κρότων, *i.e.* the *castor-oil tree*, under the name of κίκι, and the Talm. calls castor-oil שֶׁמֶן קִיק *shemen ḳîḳ*. The plant which God provided to overshadow Jonah, however, was a *vine*, which seems from the context to have trailed over his arbour, and not a small tree like the castor-oil plant, which could not, by any stretch of the imagination, be regarded as a vine.

(*c*) That of the LXX, κολόκυνθα (see **Wild Gourds** below), the *bottle-gourd*, *Cucurbita lagenaria*, L., the *ḳar'ah* of the Arabs. This has the advantage of answering the botanical conditions perfectly. Jonah had constructed a booth, such as the 'lodge in a garden of cucumbers' (see Cucumber), of poles and leaves. He sat in the shade of this booth. But the leaves soon withered, and he was exposed again to the blazing sun of Mesopotamia. It is quite customary to plant the bottle-gourd by such booths, or by the trellises near houses. It grows very rapidly, and its broad leaves form an excellent shade. Such a vine, growing over Jonah's booth, suits well the narrative. The rapidity with which the leaves of these gourd-vines die and wither and curl up is also eminently appropriate.

Wild Gourds (פַּקֻּעֹת *paḳḳu'ôth*, τολύπη, *colocynthides*). These are the fruits of a vine growing in the fields (2 K 4^{39}). The root of this word signifies to burst open. This etym. would suit the squirting cucumber, *Ecballium Elaterium*, L., in Arab. *kiththâ el-ḥimâr*. This plant is very common, and its juice is a drastic cathartic, and in large quantities an irritant poison. But it could not, with any propriety, be called a *vine*. It is a perennial erect herb, with a brittle stiff stem and branches, and is quite destitute of tendrils. This would make the term גֶּפֶן, *gephen*, wholly inappropriate to it.

Cucumis prophetarum, L., which grows in the deserts around the Dead Sea, and southward to Sinai, has been suggested. But the small size of its ovoid fruit, only an inch long, does not correspond to the *colocynthides* of the Vulgate.

The authority of the LXX and the Vulg. is in favour of the *colocynth*, *Citrullus Colocynthis*, L., the *ḥondol* of the Arabs. This plant is a cucurbitaceous *vine*, growing prostrate on the ground, or trailing by its spiral tendrils over shrubs and herbs. It has a lobed leaf, and a melon 3 to 3½ in. in diameter, which dries when ripe, and when opened discloses a fungous, intensely bitter pulp, containing smooth shining seeds. This pulp is also a drastic cathartic, and, in quantities, an irritant poison. The colocynth corresponds well to the requisites of the passage, that it should be a *vine*, bearing *gourds* (*colocynthides*) of a noxious quality. This plant, which is called in Greek κολοκυνθίς, must not be confounded with κολοκύνθη, which is the cultivated gourd. The *knops* (1 K 6^{18} marg. *gourds*, 7^{24} פְּקָעִים *pĕḳâ'îm*) may have been imitations of this fruit.

G. E. Post.

GOVERNANCE.—This old form of 'government' occurs occasionally in the versions before AV, as Jer 23^{10} Cov. 'Yee the waye that men take, is wicked, and their governaunce is nothinge like the holy worde of the Lorde'; and it has been retained in AV and RV (from Cov.) in 2 Es 11^{32} 'it had the governance of the world' (*potentatum habuit*); and 1 Mac 9^{31} 'Jonathan took the governance upon him at that time' (ἐπεδέξατο τὴν ἥγησιν). The word occurs also in the Pr. Bk., as in Morn. Prayer, Third Collect, for Grace, 'That all our doings may be ordered by thy governance,' retained from 1549 in all editions. Sir T. Elyot in *The Governour*, ii. 109, says, 'Finally the Atheniensis, . . . toke to them a desperate corage, and in conclusion expelled out of the citie all the said tyrantes, and reduced it unto his pristinate governance.' And Chaucer, *Hous of Fame*, 958—

> 'Lo, is it not a greet mischaunce,
> To lete a fole han governaunce
> Of thing that he can not demeine?'

J. Hastings.

GOVERNMENT. — The forms of government among the Hebrews, though they developed with the course of their history, never became as strict or constitutional as among Western nations. It should therefore be kept in mind that the technical terms used in this article must be allowed some elasticity of meaning to suit Semitic institutions. These forms may be treated in the following order:—1. Those of the nomad period, extending from the Exodus out of Egypt to the settlement in Palestine. 2. The new organization due to the change from a nomad to a settled and agricultural life. 3. The institution and nature of the monarchy. 4. The semi-political independence of the Jewish communities among foreign nations. 5. The religious community of Judæa in post-exilic times.

1. When first the Hebrews appear in historical records as an organized body, their government is simple and in accordance with that of other Semitic nomads. During their wanderings in the peninsula of Sinai and East of the Jordan, there are two units of organization—the family and the tribe. A third factor is due to the temporary needs of their circumstances; it is the leadership of Moses. This chieftainship, however, was only for a special purpose, its power was personal rather than constitutional, and was controlled and modified by the claims of kinship in family and tribe. The suspicion of any attempt to make it more aroused rebellion at once (cf. the JE account of the revolt of Dathan and Abiram in Nu 16, especially v.^{16}). The officials appointed by Moses at the suggestion of his father-in-law were doubtless selected with due regard to tribal feelings (Ex $18^{21ff.}$). A thorough study of these two units of society is necessary for the understanding both of this and the succeeding periods of Hebrew history (cf. Family, especially ii. *c*, Tribe, and the literature given at the end of this article). The father as head (ראֹשׁ) of the *family* had full power of life and death over all its members (cf. Gn 22, Jg $11^{34ff.}$). The ruler of the *tribe* was probably, as among the Bedawîn of to-day, one of the heads of families who was distinguished for his courage or his hospitality. His authority, both in legal and in military matters, was personal, and his judgments were observed just in so far as his influence was powerful. This position of authority might continue in the same family for generations, but might be lost at any time, and pass to others owing to loss of prestige. The laws observed were those of custom only, and did not exist in a written form. Matters of strife between different families were referred to the tribal chief; and if his decisions were in accordance with the customs of the tribe, or otherwise commended themselves to the people, the person condemned submitted, or became an outcast from his own people. If there were no custom to guide the judge, or the case were very difficult, an appeal might be made to the god by means of the sacred lot or oracle. The leadership in time of war naturally fell to the head of the tribe; and a special

duty of hospitality was laid upon him, but otherwise he lived like any other head of a family. There is no mention of any revenue being assigned to him as an official.

2. The second period extends from the entrance into Palestine to the institution of the monarchy, and includes the history related in the Books of Joshua, Judges, and the first part of the Book of Samuel. It was a time of unrest, change, and adjustment. It is marked by the decay of the tribal feeling as such, and the transference of its traditions to *local* organizations and forms of government. This was due to the fact that a man's neighbours became of much more interest to him than his fellow-tribesmen in his new settled life. The most important person at this time was the 'judge' (שֹׁפֵט). The Hebrew word denotes 'deliverer' or 'ruler' (on the different uses of the word שָׁפַט see *Journal of Biblical Literature*, viii. 130–136). The former meaning does not concern us here. With the latter compare the title *sufetes* used in Carthage (Livy, xxviii. 37, xxx. 7) and other cities of North Africa (*CIL* viii. Nos. 7, 765, 10,525). The 'judges' were thus men who by their prowess became influential, and so ruled over their tribes (cf. Moore, *Judges*, pp. xi–xiii). An attempt to continue this office in the same family failed (Gideon and Abimelech). With this attempt we are introduced to a new word for ruler, מֶלֶךְ 'king.' What the original sense of the word was (cf. McCurdy, *HPM* i. § 36) does not concern us, as it had probably lost its original force when it was adopted by the Hebrews. The chief difference between a local or tribal king (מֶלֶךְ) and a 'judge' (שֹׁפֵט) seems to have consisted in the idea of hereditary transmission of office involved in the former (Jg 8^{22}). This idea of continuity of office may have been derived from an application of the title 'king' to the god. This was a common practice among the Semitic peoples (cf. for Phœnicians and others, W. R. Smith, *RS*, 1st ed. p. 67 ff., 2nd ed. p. 66 ff.; for the Hebrews, G. B. Gray, *Studies in Hebrew Proper Names*, p. 115 ff.). Among the changes due to the new settled life, it may be noticed that the 'elders' (זְקֵנִים), who in the older tribal organization were the heads of the families, now became an upper class, corresponding to the 'elders' (זְקֵנִים) or 'princes' (שָׂרִים) of the Canaanitish communities (Jg 8^{14} 9, cf. Nowack, *Heb. Archæol.* i. 304). It was also probably in imitation of a Canaanitish custom that a city and its 'towns' (literally 'daughters' בָּנוֹת, *i.e.* suburbs) were sometimes united for purposes of common protection and government (Nu $21^{25.32}$, Jos 17^{11}, cf. 2 S 20^{19}). Another prominent figure in the almost formless government of this time was the 'seer' (רֹאֶה), whose intimate relation to the deity was supposed to bestow on him a kind of second sight (cf. Saul's first visit to Samuel in 1 S $9^{6ff.}$), and led men to appeal to him for decisions in matters of dispute. Samuel may be looked upon as both 'seer' and 'judge.'

3. The institution of the monarchy is generally regarded as marking a crisis in Hebrew history; and in the historical writings of OT it is looked at and judged from the standpoint of the later religious beliefs. But it did not mean a breaking from the earlier family and tribal customs—now transferred to local organization—which persisted to the end, and prevented the monarchy from ever corresponding exactly to the familiar Western type. As W. R. Smith says, 'With us the king or his government is armed with the fullest authority to enforce law and justice, and the limitations of his power lie in the independence of the legislature and the judicial courts. The old Semitic king, on the contrary, was supreme judge, and his decrees were laws; but neither his sentences nor his decrees could take effect unless they were supported by forces over which he had very imperfect control. He simply threw his weight into the scale,—a weight which was partly due to the moral effect of his sentence, and partly to the material resources which he commanded, not so much as king as in the character of a great noble, and the head of a powerful circle of kinsfolk and clients. An energetic sovereign, who had gained wealth and prestige by successful wars, or inherited the resources accumulated by a line of kingly ancestors, might wield almost despotic power; and in a stable dynasty the tendency was towards the gradual establishment of absolute monarchy, especially if the royal house was able to maintain a standing army devoted to its interests' (*RS*, 1st ed. p. 63, 2nd ed. p. 62). The chief object in the introduction of the monarchy among the Hebrews was 'to have a strong reliable chieftain perpetually guaranteed' (McCurdy, *HPM* i. p. 56).

(*a*) *Mode of succession.*—In the case of Saul the circumstances were extraordinary, therefore the form of his appointment was not regarded as creating a precedent for later times. The growing tendency towards unity had led to the desire among the people, and they turned naturally to the most influential man among them for advice. It was therefore on the nomination of Samuel, supported by the personal valour of his nominee, that Saul was chosen and confirmed in his office at some kind of popular gathering. In the ordinary course of events one of Saul's sons would have succeeded his father. But the fittest among them had perished on the battle-field. Ishbosheth did indeed succeed, thanks to the help of his friends, in securing for a short time the throne of the house of Joseph, but was soon eclipsed by the personal prowess of the king of Judah. The religious influence of the prophets was against him, and treason came to the help of his rival. David became king over all Israel. In the accession of Solomon the principle of hereditary succession takes its natural course, for the king had the right as the father and head of his family to appoint as his successor whichever son he pleased. The heads of the religious and military parties in the state assisted David in carrying his wishes into effect. After this time the succession was regularly observed in Judah, for the Southern kingdom consisted practically of one tribe only, and so was free from intertribal jealousies and feuds. In the Northern kingdom it was very different. Dynasty succeeded dynasty, and in the last twenty years of their existence no fewer than seven kings sat on the throne of Israel. In the rare times of internal quiet, however, the principle of hereditary succession seems to have been recognized as in Judah.

(*b*) *The power of the king and constitution of his household.*—The rule of Saul was characterized by its simplicity. 'The son of Kish ruled in peace at Gibea in the house of his father, leading the very simple life of the last of the judges. On leaving the harem in the morning he seated himself before the gate of the palace. There, surrounded by some attendants, under the protection of a small Benjaminite guard, he gave audience to every comer, inquired as to the news, questioned travellers, received the oral reports of his officers, appeased quarrels, administered justice (2 S 15^2, cf. 1 S 22^{17}). Then, when the sun went down, he withdrew into the apartments of the women. At the beginning of each month he gave a feast at which his officers had their assigned places, while he himself presided, his back prudently placed to the wall for fear of assassins (1 S 20^{25}). Finally, when he went out, he was preceded by runners

(1 S 22^{17}). Such alone were his privileges and his duties in time of peace' (Marcel Dieulafoy, *Le Roi David*, p. 72 f.). All this was changed with the ever-increasing prosperity of David. The king remained leader and father of his people only so long as they had no friendly intercourse with other nations. As soon as the Hebrew nation was recognized, and its friendship sought by other states, the Hebrew king began to imitate the luxury of his peers. A court was formed of the officials, whose common interests grouped them round the king and made access to him ever more and more difficult for the mass of the people. The officials of David's court were—(1) military; (2) household; (3) religious. The following are mentioned in his time—(1) The commander of 'the host' (2 S 8^{16}); the commander of the king's bodyguard of Cherethites and Pelethites (2 S 20^{23}, cf. 8^{18}). (2) The recorder or remembrancer (מַזְכִּיר 2 S 8^{16}); the scribe or secretary (סֹפֵר 8^{17}); the counsellor (יוֹעֵץ 2 S 15^{12}); the king's friend (רֵעֶה 2 S 15^{37} 16^{16}); the keeper of the king's audience (2 S 23^{23}, cf. 1 S 22^{14} LXX); the overseer of forced labour (2 S 20^{24}). (3) The priests (2 S 8^{17}). Prophets do not seem to have been attached to the court, but had free access to the king (cf. 2 S 7. 12).

Under Solomon the pomp and luxury of the court was greatly increased. New buildings and fortified cities (1 K 6. 7. 9) proclaimed the growing power of the monarch, and the separation of the court from the people is indicated by the tolerance of foreign religions and the personal nature of the treaties with foreign powers. Two new officials make their appearance—a chamberlain (עַל־הַבָּיִת 1 K 4^{6}) and a superintendent of taxes (1 K 4^{5}, and see below under 'Revenue'). After Solomon there was little change in the constitution of the court (but cf. EUNUCH).

(*c*) *Revenue.*—Even in Saul's reign there seems to have been a regular system of taxation of families (1 S 17^{25}, cf. 8^{17}, and Nowack, *Heb. Archæol.* p. 313). In addition to this the king received gifts (1 S 10^{27} 16^{20}), and doubtless his share of the booty in war. This last is specially mentioned in the time of David (2 S 8^{11} 12^{30}). Solomon's revenues were derived (in addition to the above mentioned) from the tribute of subject peoples (1 K 4^{21}); taxes on merchants (1 K 10^{15}); his sea-trade with Hiram (1 K 10^{11}); and a royal regulation of the horse-trade with Egypt (v.^{11}). But the king taxed his own subjects much more rigorously than his predecessors. He divided the kingdom into twelve parts, each being represented by an officer, who was compelled to provide for the king's household for one month in the year (1 K 4). Judah is not mentioned in this division of the land, and was probably exempted from this form of taxation by favour of the king. Nowack, however, thinks there were originally thirteen divisions, and that the number was reduced to twelve by a later writer to agree with the number of the tribes (*Heb. Archæol.* i. 313 note). Later, it seems that the goods of a condemned person might be forfeit to the king (1 K 21). But this may be merely an act of despotism. When reduced to great straits, the king took possession of the treasures, not only of his own treasury but also of the temple, in order to keep off an invading power (2 K 18^{15}).

(*d*) *Administration of justice.*—There seems to have been little development here during this period. The system mentioned above persisted, modified only by the personal authority of the king and the members of his court (see quotation from W. R. Smith, above). Until B.C. 621 there was no written law except the short religious code contained in the 'Book of the Covenant' (Ex 20–23); nor were there any special courts or officials for the administration of justice. The method for settling disputes was rather by arbitration than by law in the Western sense. At the same time, the king himself in his capital and its neighbourhood, and his officials in the chief towns, being the most important persons, were naturally appealed to for decisions, though there was no law necessitating appeal to them rather than to any other person. Even such acts in later times as the imprisonments of Jeremiah (Jer 37. 38) and the putting to death of Uriah (Jer 26), were acts of personal violence on the part of the king, and not due to the regular sentence of a court (cf. also the account of the charge against Naboth, and the way in which he was put to death (1 K 22$^{13ff.}$)). After the destruction of the Northern kingdom, an attempt was made in Judah (in 621) to regulate the legal as well as the religious procedure on the lines of the teaching of the prophets by the proclamation of the Book of Deuteronomy (cf. DEUTERONOMY). But the realization of this scheme was prevented by the untimely death of Josiah at the battle of Megiddo, nor was it fully adopted in Judæa until nearly two centuries later.

4. A remarkable feature in Jewish life is the persistence of the religious and semi-political self-government of their communities in the different empires in which they were dispersed. Everywhere we find them submitting their disputes to the judgment of their own officials rather than to those of the state in which they live; everywhere they claim and are granted special exemption from certain civil laws (as those regarding military conscription) on the ground of religious scruple. Many examples of their peculiar privileges in Palestine are found in the NT (cf. Ac 9^{2} 18$^{12-16}$ 22^{19} 26^{11}). But in Alexandria this is even more striking. Thanks to the favour of Alexander the Great, they early established themselves in the position of a favoured people in the new city. That favour was continued to them by the Ptolemies, and they had in addition equal rights with others as citizens (*ἰσοτιμία*). Their own governor (*ἐθνάρχης*) is mentioned by Strabo (cf. Jos. *Ant.* XIV. vii. 2). Some of the Roman decrees conferring privileges upon them are preserved by Josephus (*Ant.* XIV. x., XVI. vi.). Philo tells us that on the death of a *γενάρχης* Augustus appointed a *γερουσία* for the conduct of Jewish affairs (*in Flaccum*, sec. 10). In Rome there was not the same political organization as in Alexandria, but the different synagogues were organized separately, each with its own *gerousia* and officials. (See further Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 244 ff.).

5. After the fall of Jerusalem in B.C. 586, the Jews became subject to foreign governments, and have remained so since, except for the short interval when the Maccabæan princes ruled, or more exactly from B.C. 142 when Simon ceased to pay tribute, or 139 when the right of coining money proclaimed the independence of Judæa. The civil government of this time is, however, no longer distinctively Jewish, but a mere modification of Western forms to suit the religious laws of the people. These laws had come into force at the time when Ezra had brought back from Babylon many of the devoutest Jewish exiles. At a solemn assembly a new community had been formed, which was to realize the idea of the 'remnant' of Isaiah and his successors, a spiritual Judah, subject to the civil government of the suzerain power, but in all matters pertaining to religion following as far as possible the precepts of Deuteronomy and the new law book (P) compiled and edited about this time (cf. Neh 9. 10). Since then the Jews have ever remained subject to this double form of government. The conflict of the two led to their perpetual strife with their civil rulers, and to the

final fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. According to Jewish authorities, the chief representative of the religious governing power during this period was the 'Great Synagogue' (כְּנֶסֶת הַגְּדוֹלָה), which existed from Ezra to Simon the Just. Some such body *may* have existed, but much of the literature concerning it contains legendary material (cf. SYNAGOGUE, THE GREAT). At the time of Christ the Sanhedrin had taken its place (cf. SANHEDRIN). For the more strictly civil government of the time of Christ, see art. ROMAN EMPIRE. See also CHURCH GOVERNMENT and HELPS.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the articles in this Dictionary on the separate judges, kings, and other officials mentioned above, see McCurdy, *HPM* I. ch. iii.; Nowack, *Heb. Archæol.* i. 300-387; W. R. Smith, *RS* 70 ff., *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* (*passim*); Nallino, 'Sulla costituzióne delle tribú Arabe' in *Nuova Antologia*, terza serie, xlvii. 614 ff.; Marcel Dieulafoy, *Le Roi David*; Mommsen, *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, chs. viii.-xi.; the works on the times of Christ by Schürer, Hausrath, and Holtzmann.

G. W. THATCHER.

GOVERNOR.—This word occurs as the rendering of several Heb. and Gr. terms. In OT it is used most frequently for the *Peḥah* (פֶּחָה), a district ruler administering under a sovereign. The title is employed both for Persian satraps and for their subordinate magistrates. Thus it appears as a designation of Tattenai (Ezr 5$^{3.6}$ 6^{6}), who seems to have been the satrap of a large province which extended from Posideium on the frontiers of Cilicia and Syria to Egypt, and which included Phœnicia, Palestine, and Cyprus (Herod. vi. 91). It is also applied to Zerubbabel, who was appointed under this satrap to the district of Judah (Ezr 6^{7}). The subordinate *Peḥah*, as well as his superior, was directly commissioned by the king (Ezr 5^{14}). The other Heb. words rendered 'governor' are of a less technical character, signifying *leadership*, אַלּוּף, אַלֻּף Zec 9^{7} 12$^{5.6}$, and נָגִיד 2 Ch 1^{2}; *judicial* and *legislative functions*, חוֹקֵק Jg 5^{9}; *ruling authority*, מֹשֵׁל Gn 45^{26}, שַׁלִּיט Gn 42^{6}, שַׂר 1 K 22^{26}; *administrative oversight*, פָּקִיד Jer 20^{1}; and *social rank*, נָשִׂיא 2 Ch 1^{2}.

In NT the word 'governor' most frequently occurs as a rendering of the Gr. ἡγεμών (Vulg. *præses*, Luth. *Landpfleger*), a term which is used in the plur. for rulers generally (*e.g.* Mk 13^{9}, 1 P 2^{14}), but which more often has a definite application to the Roman *Procurators*, referring in the Gospels to Pontius Pilate (*e.g.* Mt 27^{2}, Lk 20^{20}), who is designated *Procurator* by Tacitus—'Christus Tiberio imperante per *procuratorem* Pontium Pilatum supplicio adfectus erat' (*Ann.* xv. 44), and in Ac to Felix (Ac 23^{26}) and Festus (Ac 26^{30}). Judæa was not entirely incorporated in the province of Syria, but the *Procurator* was to a certain extent dependent on the Legate of Syria, the latter having a right to interfere when difficulties arose (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. i. 1, iv. 2; *Bell. Jud.* II. viii. 1). Thus Judæa belonged to the third class of provinces in Strabo's classification (*Geog.* xvii. 3. 25), one containing only a few provinces regarded either as semi-barbarous or as exceptionally insubordinate, *e.g.* Egypt. Augustus preferred the title *Præfectus* (ἔπαρχος) for the governors of such provinces, but by the time of Claudius *Procurator* (ἐπίτροπος) was the recognized name. Josephus employs both ἐπίτροπος and ἔπαρχος, and also the word used in NT, ἡγεμών, for the governor of Judæa. That *Procurator* is the correct title of this official is suggested by the passage from Tacitus quoted above, and by the use of the word ἐπίτροπος in a decree of Claudius as rendered by Josephus (*Ant.* XX. i. 2). Technically, the *Procurator* was a financial officer attached either to a proconsul or to a proprætor for the purpose of collecting the Imperial revenues. But he was always entrusted with magisterial powers for the decision of questions touching the revenues. In the provinces of the third class he was the general administrator and the supreme judge, with sole power of life and death (Dion Cass. liii. 15), an appeal to Cæsar being allowed in the case of Roman citizens (see CÆSAR). Although it was not necessary that the *Procurator* should be a person of high station where he was only appointed to financial duties, he was required to be a knight where the charge of government was committed to him. Therefore the appointment of Felix, who was a freedman, must have struck the Jews as an insulting innovation. The headquarters of the *Procurator* of Judæa was Cæsarea, which was made a garrison town.

In 2 Co 11^{32} (AV and RV) the word governor appears as tr^{n} of ἐθνάρχης for the *ethnarch* (RVm) of Damascus. See ARETAS, ETHNARCH. The word rendered 'governor' in Gal 4^{2} AV (οἰκονόμος) is trd. 'steward' in RV, as it is elsewhere in NT, *e.g.* Lk 12^{42} 1 Co 4^{2}. It indicates a superior servant entrusted with the housekeeping of a family, the direction of the other domestics, and the care of children under age. The 'governor of the feast' (ἀρχιτρίκλινος, Jn 2^{8} AV, RV 'ruler of the feast') was a man appointed to see that the couches and tables were in order, to arrange the courses, to taste the food and wine, etc. (Heliodorus, *Aeth.* vii. 27). In early times, if not later, he was a different person from the 'toast maker' (συμποσιάρχης, Sir 32^{1}), who was one of the guests chosen by lot to direct the drinking (Grimm-Thayer). 'Governor' in Ja 3^{4} AV (a participle of εὐθύνω, straighten) means 'steersman' (RV).

LITERATURE.—Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 43-48; Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwalt.* i. 412; Liebenam, *Beiträge zur Verwaltungsgesch. d. Röm. Kaiserreiches*, i. 1-18, 23, 24, 30; Hausrath, *NT Times*, *Time of Jesus*, ii. 83-93. W. F. ADENEY.

GOZAN, גּוֹזָן, Γωζάν (B Γωζάρ 2 K 17^{6}, Χωζάρ 1 Ch 5^{26}).—The country on the river(s?) of which the Israelites, deported from Samaria by the king of Assyria, had to settle, was identified correctly by Bochart (*Phaleg*, iii. 14) as the Gauzanitis of Ptolemy, v. 18 (Γαυζανῖτις). This region is described as situated between the Chaboras (see HABOR) and Saocoras. The latter river, flowing into the Euphrates from the Masius mountains, cannot be identified; it must have changed its course or have been dried up. At any rate, we can identify Gauzanitis as the eastern part of Osroëne of the classic writers west of Nisibis and the (later) country of Mygdonia (this name hardly =Gozan, but it is probably connected with the Mitanni of the Amarna tablets), almost in the centre of Northern Mesopotamia. This agrees too closely with the description in the Bible (2 K 17^{6} 18^{11} 19^{12}=Is 37^{12}, 1 Ch 5^{26}) to admit of any doubt. The modern name Kaushan seems to correspond, but not Zauzân (which means the mountains near the source of the Chaboras). Assyrian lists of provinces mentioning *Guzana* seem to show that the name referred originally to a city, the capital of the province of Guzan. Nisibis, being mentioned parallel to G. as *Naṣibina*, did not belong to this province. See on the Assyrian passages Schrader, *KAT*^{2} 275; Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 184. On the question whether the biblical passages speak of several 'rivers of Gozan,' see HALAH. (The view of some scholars, which makes G. a river, was refuted even before the cuneiform texts were found). If the singular 'river' (Massoretic text) is to be kept, this 'river of G.' is the Habor. The plural (LXX) would point to the several brooks from the Masius which form the Habor, possibly also the Baliḥ. 2 K 2^{19}=Is 37^{12} seems to show that Gozan became an Assyrian province only in the 8th century. W. MAX MÜLLER.

GRACE.—The words most commonly rendered 'grace,' 'be gracious,' etc., in AV are חֵן (verb חָנַן) in OT, and χάρις with its cognate forms in NT. The former appears in such proper names as Hannah, Hanan, Hanun, Hanani, Hananeel ('El is gracious'), Hananiah ('J″ hath been gracious'). Its force is 'to be favourable or kindly,' or 'to act in a favourable or kindly way.' Probably, however, חֶסֶד, LXX ἔλεος, corresponds more nearly with the distinctive idea of grace in its NT and general Christian use.* חֵן, for example, has no special connexion with *redemptive* grace, and the LXX use of χάρις, by which חֵן is usually rendered, must be to this extent distinguished from the NT use of the same word. On the other hand, ἔλεος in NT is rather *pity* than *favour*, and denotes God's relation to human misery rather than to human sin.

It is in the various applications of χάρις that the roots of the idea of grace and its specially Christian significance may in the first place be most usefully studied. Χάρις is that which bestows or occasions pleasure. It is applied to *beauty, gracefulness*, whether of person, act, or speech, cf. in LXX Ec 10^{12}, Sir 21^{16} 37^{21}, in NT Lk 4^{22}, Eph 4^{29}, Col 4^{6}. It thus denotes the favourable, friendly disposition or nature out of which the gracious act proceeds, or that which it creates in the recipient; it is the favour manifested, or the gratitude felt or acknowledged. It is *loving-kindness, goodwill*, in a wide acceptation, and is thus used of the kindness of a master towards his servants, and, by analogy, of the goodness of God to men; cf. Lk 1^{30}, Ac 7^{46}, 1 P $2^{19.20}$. *To be in favour with one* is εὑρεῖν χάριν παρά τινι, ἔχειν χάριν πρός τινα, Lk 1^{30}, Ac 2^{47}, cf. Lk 2^{52}. An interesting instance of this general sense is at the beginning and end of the Apostolical Epistles, where the writers desire for their readers the grace of God or of Christ, to which grace or favour they recognize that all blessings are to be ascribed—Ro 1^{7} 16^{20}, 1 Co 1^{3} 16^{23}, 2 Co 1^{2} 13^{14}, Gal 1^{3} 6^{18}, Eph 1^{2} 6^{24}, Ph 1^{2} 4^{23}, Col 1^{2} 4^{18}, 1 Th 1^{1} 5^{28}, 2 Th 1^{2} 3^{18}, 1 Ti 1^{2} 6^{21}, 2 Ti 1^{2} 4^{22}, Tit 1^{4} 3^{15}, Philem $^{3.25}$, He 13^{25}, 1 P 1^{2}, 2 P 1^{2} 3^{18}, 2 Jn ^{3}, also Rev 1^{4} 22^{21}.

The special use, however, of χάρις in NT is in reference to the mind of God as manifested towards sinners, His redemptive mercy, whereby He grants pardon to offences, and bids those who have gone astray return and accept His gift of salvation and everlasting life. It is χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ, Ro 5^{15}, 1 Co 15^{10}, 2 Co 6^{1} 8^{1}, and other passages; in Tit 2^{11} the phrase is expanded into ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ σωτήριος; in 2 Ti 2^{1} into ἡ χάρις ἡ ἐν Χριστῷ as manifested in and through Christ, whence, by a natural transference, it becomes ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Χριστοῦ, as in the above-mentioned salutations, and finally establishes itself as a well-understood expression, able to stand alone without further explanation, as in the ἡ χάρις of Ro $5^{17.20}$. It is in this connexion that the full meaning of χάρις is brought out as involving *spontaneous* favour. Its fundamental thought is that the benefit conferred is recognized by giver and receiver alike as not *due*; it is that to which the receiver has no *right*, which has not been earned, or perhaps deserved, but which the giver freely, out of pure goodness, bestows. This spontaneous character, along with the more or less direct reference to the *pleasure* or *joy* either designed or experienced,—which is indeed suggested by the connexion of the word with χαίρειν, 'to rejoice,'—is always implied, and, singularly enough, comes out more clearly in the scriptural than in the classical use of the term. It has been justly remarked that 'it depended upon Christianity to realize its full import, and to elevate it to its rightful sphere' (Cremer). Thus κατὰ χάριν is contrasted with κατὰ ὀφείλημα, Ro 4^{4}, while χάρις is contrasted with ἔργα, Ro 11^{6}, and with νόμος Jn 1^{17}, Ro 4^{16} $6^{14.15}$, Gal $5^{3.4}$.

From signifying the disposition and design to bring about the salvation of men, χάρις comes to be used of the *power* or influence by which this purpose is executed, Ac 18^{27}, 2 Co 4^{15} 6^{1}, 2 Th 1^{12}, and then further of the *results*, general and specific, of that action. Thus it stands for the spiritual state of those who have come under the power of divine grace, Ro 5^{2}, 2 Ti 2^{1}, 1 P 5^{12}, 2 P 3^{18}; and for the evidences or tokens of such experience, as when the alms contributed by the Christian Churches are so designated, 1 Co 16^{3}, 2 Co $8^{6.19}$, or the sum of earthly blessings (πᾶσα χάρις, 2 Co 9^{8}), or the various powers and gifts manifested by Christians (in the striking phrase ποικίλη χάρις, 1 P 4^{10}), or the power and equipment for the exercise of the apostolic office, Ro 1^{5} $12^{3.6}$ 15^{15}, 1 Co 3^{10}, Gal 2^{9}, Eph $3^{2.7}$. At the same time χάρις does not appear to be employed in NT for the act or gift apart from that reference to the pleasure or benefit conveyed by it, which we have already noted. The word for gift in itself is δῶρον or δωρεά. Hence it has been pointed out that 'διδόναι χάριν in Scripture must not be confounded with the same expression in profane Greek, where it means *to perform an act of kindness*; in Scripture it signifies "to give grace," "to cause grace to be experienced"; see Eph 4^{7}, 1 P 5^{5}, Ja 4^{6}, Ro 12^{6}, 1 Co 1^{4}, 2 Co 6^{1} 8^{1} (cf. Ac 11^{23})'—Cremer. The gift which enables the recipient to be in his turn a source of pleasure or profit to others is more frequently χάρισμα; where χάρις and χάρισμα approximate in signification, it will usually be found that the former is more general,—as, *e.g.*, when χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ is used by St. Paul in reference to his office, it applies to the whole of his ministry, rather than to specific equipments for it. Finally, the use of χάρις for 'thanks,' the correlative of *favour*,—the 'return favour,' as it were,—illustrates the process of growth and transference in the use of the word which we have so far traced.

The teaching of the Bible as to grace cannot, however, be exhausted by the analysis, however minute, of any one word or expression. Its fundamental implication of a kind and merciful disposition, manifesting itself in acts of unmerited goodness, especially towards the sinful and erring, brings grace as one of the divine attributes into close relation with others, and the revelation of it may, it is obvious, be even more frequent in act than in word, conveyed therefore rather by description than direct expression. Not in declarations merely, but in the whole series of the divine dealings with mankind, grace is exhibited. The whole biblical history might be claimed as a record of its manifestation. It thus takes different forms, and includes a wide area of operation. It is allied to the *goodness* which God shows to all His creatures, and which the Psalms so frequently celebrate —33^{5} 119^{64} 145, etc.; to the *compassion* which has as its objects the needy and unfortunate, Ps 25^{6} 103^{8}, Lk 1^{72}, 2 Co 1^{3}; to the *long-suffering* which bears with the unthankful and the evil, Ex 34^{6}, Ro 9^{22}; to the *patience* which defers as long as possible the punishment of sin, Ps 145^{8}, Ro 2^{4}. It belongs therefore to the circle of divine attributes, the keynote of which is Love. In all the phases of what we have already seen to be its highly complex significance,—whether as mercy and favour in general, or as the manifestations of God's goodwill in the form of temporal or spiritual advantages, or as His disposition to pardon the sinner, or His redemptive scheme as a whole, or the influences by which souls are turned to Christ, kept, strengthened, and increased in faith and love, and impelled to the exercise of Christian virtues,—in all of these, grace implies that God overcomes,

---

On the distinctive meaning of חֶסֶד, cf. W. R. Smith, *Prophets*^{1}, 160 f., 460 f.

not by necessity or force, but by the freeness of His love, Ro $5^{20.21}$. This is the reason why grace is not only one of the perfections of God, but one of the distinctive features of the Christian revelation. Revelation is marked by progress. The God who is at first hidden from men, so that they seek Him, if haply they may feel after Him and find Him, is at length made known, but first as a *jealous* God (ὀργὴ θεοῦ), only afterwards as a *gracious* God. And the revelation is completed when 'the Lord, the Lord, a God full of compassion and gracious, slow to anger and plenteous in mercy and truth; keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin, and that will by no means clear the guilty' (Ex $34^{6.7}$ RV), which is the loftiest OT conception of God, becomes in the NT 'the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.' We proceed, therefore, to consider somewhat more minutely the elements which enter into the conception of grace and the forms which it assumes in OT and NT respectively.

i. Old Testament.—'The law was given by Moses,' says St. John (1^{17}); 'grace and truth came by Jesus Christ.' Yet the relation of OT to NT is misconceived when it is apprehended as one of antithesis rather than development. There is no doubt that the religion of OT is ordinarily represented as founded upon law, and that the very considerable element of grace which enters into it is ignored. But OT piety recognizes that what righteousness it has is founded in divine grace and imparted through divine revelation. It is grace which gives the law itself (cf. Gal $3^{19\text{-}24}$), and faith, which is that by which grace is received and made effective, is not overlooked—Gn 15^{6}, Ex 14^{31}, Nu 20^{12}, Dt 1^{32} 9^{23}, 2 Ch 20^{20}, Ps $106^{12.24}$, Is 7^{9} 28^{16}, Hab 2^{4}. It is true that as grace gives the law, so through the law it seems to give men a *right* or *claim* in virtue of their compliance with the law, which is inconsistent with the later revelation of faith as the principle of the new life. The favour (in the Psalmist and Prophets, the righteousness) of God gives to the obedient (or the repentant, cf. Ps 17 and 26, also Ps 7) a claim, as it were, against God, Ps 119^{132} etc. At the same time OT fully recognizes that it is the divine grace which forgives sin (Ps 32. 51. 130. 143). Grace, as an attribute of God, appears in OT in conjunction with *truth*, or *faithfulness* (Ps 85^{10} 89^{14} 98^{3} etc.), but also with *righteousness* and *judgment* (Hos 2^{19}). God is gracious as hearing prayer (Ex 22^{27}), as departing from His anger (Ex 32^{12}), and as exercising freely His choice of love (Ex 33^{19}); He lifts upon the pious the light of His countenance (Nu 6^{25}). It is by the divine *acts* that this attitude of forbearance and conciliation is more particularly manifested. Even in the midst of the ruin occasioned by the Fall, the purpose of mercy is represented as being declared and its work begun, words of promise mingle with words of condemnation, the divine solicitude shines amidst the clouds of divine anger (Gn $3^{15.21}$). Through the same tenderness Abel and Enoch find favour in the sight of God, Noah is warned and escapes the general doom (Gn 6^{8}), Abraham is selected to be the bearer of the new revelation (Gn 12. 15), and the promises made to him are repeated to his descendants (Gn 26. 28). Through it Moses is chosen and fitted for his work (Ex 33^{17}). In all that concerns Israel as a people the same free choice is exhibited and exercised. The promises freely made to the fathers are fulfilled when, through Moses, Israel is chosen from among all nations (Ex 19^{5}, cf. Dt 10^{14}) to be the people of God, and that from no merit of its own (Nu 11. 12. 14. 21, etc.; cf. Dt 9^{7} etc.). This choice is evidenced by the deliverance from Egypt (Ex $15^{13.16}$), and is a pure act of grace (Dt 7^{7} $8^{14\text{-}18}$ $9^{4\text{-}6}$). In the Prophets we have a further development of this point of view. Their whole religious attitude is determined by it. That God had chosen Israel to be His people is their most sincere conviction, and the problems which perplexed them, and gave birth to some of their most profound and spiritual suggestions, arose out of the relation of the sins of the people and the consequent divine chastisements, to this firmly held conviction (cf. Is 55^{6} 63^{9} 65^{1}, Jon 4^{11}, Mic $7^{18.19}$). It is true that as, on the one hand, the unworthiness of the mass of the people led them to distinguish from the nation at large the true Israel, the faithful remnant; so, on the other hand, they were led to conceive the possibility of God's gracious purpose as embracing those who were not of Israel, and of the heathen being brought through Israel into the enjoyment of some of Israel's privileges. At the same time, all their wealth of metaphor is employed to depict God's loving care and guidance, His deliverances and compassions as illustrated in the history of the people, and to emphasize His continued patience, His touching appeals and generous offers, and the glory of His declared purposes. Even in His anger God remembers mercy (La 3^{31}, Jl 2^{13}, Hab 3^{2}), and yet all that He does is on behalf of those who are too often ungrateful and rebellious (Is $43^{21\text{-}25}$ $44^{1\text{-}5}$ $48^{8\text{-}11}$, Jer $18^{8\text{-}11}$, Ezk $16^{1\text{ff.}}$, cf. Ps 78). In the relation of the individual to the nation we find an important modification of the idea of grace. Grace is mediated to the individual through the nation. His imperfections are forgiven because he is a member of a chosen people; as belonging to an elect nation he is himself elect. The Pss express this assurance of the believer, which finds utterance in his prayers when afflicted and his thanksgivings after deliverance (Ps $3^{4.7}$ 4^{8} 7^{10} 11^{7} 16. $17^{7\text{-}9}$ 18. 32. 51. 103, etc.). If thus in the view of the Psalmists and Prophets there is no limit to God's willingness to be reconciled, if even His judgment has a core of mercy, and His love always proves itself stronger than human sin, the other side of OT religion is, in turn, not to be minimized. If God has a special love to Israel, it is through a *covenant* that this love finds expression, and the covenant takes the form of law. The people are bound to obedience, and the blessings of the covenant can be enjoyed only on this condition. So far from grace being ignored in OT, it permeates it, as we have seen, throughout. But grace is not yet fully revealed; it is still dominated by the ideas of righteousness and retribution. It speaks the language of law, and the law is, as already noted, its own greatest gift. Israel has reason to boast itself of its law; the possession of it is an honour and a privilege distinguishing Israel from other nations (Ex $19^{4.5}$, Dt $33^{2\text{-}5}$). Thus, though by no means the sole element, law remains the distinctive element in OT. Obedience is pre-eminently the condition of blessing. God in giving the law is emphatically the God of Israel (Ex 20^{2}). In OT His anger against sin is declared, His mercy and long-suffering are proclaimed; but these rest side by side, an unsolved antinomy, waiting the fuller revelation.

ii. New Testament.—The new 'covenant' is the fulfilment of the old; the plan of grace which lay at the root of the former dispensation comes into full expression in the life and work of Christ (Ti 2^{11} 3^{4}), and in the declarations of the apostles—Ro $3^{24.25}$ RV, 'Being justified freely by his grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus, whom God set forth to be a propitiation (ἱλαστήριον, Heb. כַּפֹּרֶת, *the place of expiation*, "the central seat of the saving presence and gracious revelations of God," see Cremer, *s.v.*, and, for another view, Sanday-Headlam, *ad. loc.*), through faith, by his blood, to show his righteousness, because of the passing over of the sins done aforetime, in the forbearance of God.' Thus the great work of grace is redemption, which has its origin in God (1 Jn $4^{10.19}$), in His eternal good pleasure (εὐδοκία), Eph 1^{3-6}, and is carried out by His will and power. Therefore, as we have seen, the Christian revelation is called 'the grace of God,' 'the grace of God our Saviour,' 'the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ,' or simply 'grace.' The love which it manifests is expressed, not only by word, but by the most unchallengeable of deeds, when God sends forth His Son and gives Him up as a sacrifice for the sins of men (Jn 3^{16}, Eph 1^{7}, Ro 5^{6-8} etc.). This love is not called forth by any merit or worthiness on the part of man (2 Ti 1^{9}, Tit 3^{5}), but is the free spontaneous outflowing of divine compassion—'it is the gift of God' (Eph 2^{4-9}, Ro 3^{24} 11^{6}, cf. 4^{4} 5^{8}). We may compare the representations contained in the parables of Jesus generally, especially those of Lk 15, and note how He seeks the lost, would shelter Jerusalem as a hen gathereth her chickens together, and calls the weary and heavy laden to Himself. But it is not only this great central act of love, upon which the whole plan of redemption is built up and without which it would be impossible, which is ascribed to divine grace and is its outcome; every step in the subsequent process, all that is embraced in the work of the Holy Spirit, is regarded as due to grace. It is through it that the call comes to men (Gal 1^{15}, 1 Th 2^{13}), and that men are made willing to answer to it (Jn $6^{44.45}$). It is the grace of God which opens the heart (Ac 16^{14}), which gives repentance (Ac 5^{31} 11^{18}, 2 Ti 2^{25}, He 6^{6}), by which faith is imparted (Eph 1^{19}, Ph 1^{29}, cf. Lk 17^{5}), also assurance of God's love (Ro 5^{5} $8^{15.16}$), hope (2 Th 2^{16}, 1 P 1^{3-5}), love towards God (2 Th 3^{5}) and towards the brethren (1 Th 4^{9}). By means of it we become God's children, righteous and holy (Ac 15^{11}, Ro 3^{24} 4^{16}, Tit 3^{7}), and receive strength to do good and to avoid evil (2 Th 2^{17} 3^{3}). The position of the redeemed is one of grace (Ro 5^{2}, 1 P 2^{10}), and by it sanctification is completed (1 Th $5^{23.24}$). On the one hand, grace may be received in vain (2 Co 6^{1}); on the other, men may grow in grace (2 P 3^{18}). This grace of the Holy Spirit was promised by Christ Himself (Jn 7^{39} 14^{26} 15^{26} 16^{7}, Ac 1^{5}), is exercised in His service (Jn 14^{26} 16^{13-15}), and becomes the principle of the new life. The grace of God, in fact, bestows joy and peace and every good work (Ro 15^{13}, 2 Co 9^{8}). It has been remarked that as one cannot be the cause of one's own birth or resurrection, as in such events man must be purely passive, the employment of metaphors like the 'new birth' (Jn 3^{3-7}), or the 'new creature' (2 Co 5^{17}, Eph 2^{10}), or the new, the 'resurrection' life (Eph 2^{5}, Col 2^{13} 3^{1}), emphasizes the fact that renewal of heart and life is accomplished only by the power, the grace of God. Thus the Christian is what he is by divine grace (1 Co 4^{7} 15^{10}); and as he ought at all times to pray (1 Th 5^{17}, cf. 1 Ti 2^{8}, Mt 7^{7-11}, Lk 18^{1}) to the Source of all good for that of which he feels the need, so, for every benefit which he receives, he ought to give thanks and praise to God (Ro 6^{17}, 1 Co 1^{4}, 1 Th 1^{2} 2^{13} 3^{9}).

This positive and direct statement of the teaching of OT and NT with reference to the necessity and value of grace and its range of action might be supplemented and confirmed by a corresponding statement of the corruption and powerlessness of man due to sin as set forth in the same sacred pages. The more helpless man is seen to be, the greater is the need for the intervention of a Power above him and independent of him. This consideration brings us within sight of a problem which has much divided the Church in all ages, but which it does not fall within the province of this article to discuss in these its later developments. The problem is the relation of the divine to the human in the work of redemption, how far the initiative lies with God and man respectively, or how far they co-operate, and what, indeed, is meant by co-operation in such a case. It has driven Augustine and Pelagius, Calvin and Arminius, into opposite camps. All that can be done here is to inquire how far the roots of the doctrinal views identified with the names of these great teachers can be traced in the Bible. The passages which have been already cited tend on the whole to illustrate one side of this great controversy—that, namely, which grounds salvation on the free loving will and purpose of God. But, no doubt, many others may be, and have been, adduced which set forth no less distinctly the human side of salvation with its responsibilities and activities. This is especially the case with those which contain exhortations to repentance and faith. From the time of the Prophets μετάνοια was a condition of being saved. If men were commanded to repent, the implication was that it is in their power to do so. In some cases, it is true, we cannot argue from an injunction to the possibility of fulfilling it, but in this we cannot dispute that it is, in some sense, possible for man to repent, without taking away all meaning and reality from God's design of saving them. Such references to repentance are found in Ps $95^{7f.}$ (cf. He $4^{7ff.}$), Ac 2^{38} 8^{22}, Rev $2^{5.16.21}$ 3^{3} etc., cf. Mt 21^{32}. Similarly with faith: μετανοεῖτε and πιστεύετε are usually conjoined, and belief must be as personal as repentance. It is intended to be, not the result of momentary impression, but a spontaneous moral act. In Ro 1^{5} faith is spoken of as 'obedience,' a moral attitude which men are expected to assume. Exhortations to faith are found in Mk 1^{15} 5^{36}, Jn 6^{29} 10^{38} 12^{36} $14^{1.11}$ 20^{27}, Ac 16^{31}. Repentance and faith are the chief elements in conversion. In Jer 31^{18} Ephraim cries, 'Turn thou me, and I shall be turned,' where the latter clause ought to be 'I shall return,' or 'that I may turn,' implying the element of personal activity (see art. CONVERSION, vol. i. p. 478^{a}, footnote); and the image of the closed door in Rev 3^{20} indicates that it must be opened from within to Him that knocketh. Allusions to conversion are found in Ac 3^{19} 14^{15} 26^{20}, cf. 2 Co 3^{16}. While, on the one hand, the work of God begins with the calling, κλῆσις, Ro 8^{30}, whence Christians are known as κλητοί, Ro 1^{7}, the hearing must be a willing hearing, not like that of Jerusalem (Mt 23^{37}) or of the Jews (Jn 5^{40}), but like that of the disciples (Jn $17^{6.8}$). The same element of human activity is implied in exhortations to *perseverance* (Ac 14^{22}, 1 Co 16^{13}, 1 Th 3^{2}), to *watchfulness* (Mt 24^{42}, Mk 13^{35}, 1 Co 16^{13}, 1 P 5^{8}, Rev 3^{3} 16^{15}), to *struggle* and *endeavour* (1 Co 9^{24-27}, 2 Ti 2^{5} 4^{7}), to labours on behalf of the brethren (Ro 14^{19} $15^{2.14}$, Gal 6^{1}), and, in general, to the exercise of all the virtues, as well as to the performance of all the duties, of the Christian life. In every case language is used which, if it stood alone, would be taken as indicating that these things lie fully within the power of men to observe and do. Repentance, faith, etc., are regarded as works of men as well as gifts of God. Victory in that new life to which they are summoned can be achieved only by the zealous application of every energy of the soul. The promises which are held out to the faithful, and the threatenings which are denounced against the disobedient, all show the responsibility under which we act, the momentous results of choice.

But though later analysis, and the theories which figure in doctrinal history, have brought to light and emphasized this duality in the scriptural representations of human experience in salvation, though some thinkers and teachers have been willing to sacrifice the one side to the other, abolishing human liberty in order to exalt divine grace, or ignoring divine grace in order to safeguard human liberty,—it is noteworthy that the biblical writers betray little consciousness of the antagonism. St. Paul is clear and emphatic in his declarations as to grace—it is absolute, gratuitous—'by grace ye are saved'; but he is no less ready and willing to make his appeal to human liberty (Ro $2^{3\text{-}10}$, Ph $3^{15\text{-}17}$): 'Work out your own salvation,' he cries, 'with fear and trembling, for it is God which worketh in you both to will and to work for his good pleasure' (Ph $2^{12.\,13}$ RV), where both elements appear together as indefeasible portions of the same Christian experience. If OT closed with an antinomy of wrath and mercy, law and grace, side by side, equally real, but so far from being mutually destructive that in the experience of the devout they were equally necessary and illustrated one another, so NT closes with its own unsolved antinomy,—human individuality, free, responsible, but sinful and degraded, owing its salvation to the love of Him who is rich in mercy, who first loved us, who despite human weakness and wickedness makes that mercy effectual, and the evil that is overcome redound to the praise of the glory of His grace.

LITERATURE.—Among sources of suggestion and material for an exhibition of the biblical doctrine of grace, special mention should be made, in regard to the word χάρις, of Cremer's *Bib. Theol. Lex. of NT*^{2}, and Grimm's *Greek-English Lex. of NT*, J. H. Thayer's edition; and in regard to the classification of passages, of C. Bois's article 'Grace Divine' in Lichtenberger's *Encyclopédie des Sciences Religieuses*; see also the *Biblical Theologies* of Oehler, Schultz, Weiss, Schmid, and the *Historical Theology* (Index, *s.v.*) of Cunningham. A. STEWART.

GRACIOUS.—This adj. is found with three distinct meanings. 1. *Favourable, merciful*, the most frequent use of the word, as Ex 33^{19} 'And [I] will be gracious to whom I will be gracious, and will show mercy on whom I will show mercy' (וְחַנֹּתִי אֶת־אֲשֶׁר אָחֹן, LXX *καὶ ἐλεήσω ὃν ἂν ἐλεῶ*, quoted in Ro 9^{15}). 2. *Favoured, accepted* (for the word 'gracious' has the distinction of being used actively of the person bestowing, and passively of the person receiving favour). There are two examples in AV, 1 Es 8^{80} 'Yea, when we were in bondage, we were not forsaken of our Lord; but he made us gracious before (*ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς ἐν χάριτι ἐνώπιον*) the kings of Persia, so that they gave us food'; Sir 18^{17} 'Lo, is not a word better than a gift? But both are with a gracious man'; Gr. *παρὰ ἀνδρὶ κεχαριτωμένῳ*; Vulg. 'cum homine iustificato,' whence Wyc. and Dou. 'with a iustefied man'; Cov. 'but a gracious man geveth them both,' so Gen. and Bishops. The same form (perf. ptcp. pass. of *χαριτόω* 'to bestow favour on,' 'bless') is found in Lk 1^{28} *Χαῖρε, κεχαριτωμένη*; EV 'Hail, thou that art highly favoured,' AVm 'graciously accepted' or 'much graced'; the previous VSS follow the Vulg. ('Ave gratiæ plena') 'Hail full of grace,' except Gen. 'Hayle thou that art freely beloved,' and Bish. 'in high favour.' Shaks. has this meaning of 'gracious' in *As You Like It*, I. ii. 200—'If I be foiled, there is but one shamed that was never gracious'; and *III Henry VI.* III. iii. 117—

> 'But is he gracious in the people's eye?'

3. *Attractive, winning.*—There are four examples: (1) Pr 11^{16} 'a gracious woman retaineth honour' (אֵשֶׁת חֵן), lit. 'a woman of grace'; LXX *γυνὴ εὐχάριστος*; Vulg. 'mulier gratiosa': 'a gracious woman' is Wyclif's tr$^{\rm n}$, and all the versions agree with him. The meaning is 'a woman of grace of appearance.' (2) Ec 10^{12} 'The words of a wise man's mouth are gracious' (חֵן, lit. 'are grace,' as AVm; cf. Lk 4^{22} below). (3) Jer 22^{23} 'how gracious shalt thou be when pangs come upon thee.' The Mass. text gives מַה־נֵּחַנְתְּ (Kethîbh נחנתי), which can only be Niph. of חָנַן to be gracious. Luther understood it in the sense of 'be beautiful,' 'winning,' and tr$^{\rm d}$ 'wie schön wirst du sehen'; after whom the Gen. gave 'how beautiful shalt thou be,' and AV 'how gracious shalt thou be.' The passive meaning 'favoured' or 'pitied' gives a better sense, however, and hence RV 'How greatly to be pitied shalt thou be,' and the Bishops, 'O howe litle shalt thou be regarded.' But the versions imply another reading, נֶאֱנַחְתְּ from [אנח], found only in Niph. 'to groan.' Thus LXX *καταστενάξεις*; Vulg. 'quomodo congemuisti.' This meaning is clearly most suitable, and is adopted by nearly all mod. editors. Wyc. follows Vulg. 'Hou togidere weiledist thou,' and so Dou. 'how hast thou mourned together.' Similarly, Cov. 'O how greate shall thy mourning be.' Rothstein (in Kautzsch) 'wie wirst du ăchzen.' (4) Lk 4^{22} 'And all bare him witness and wondered at the gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth' (*ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις τῆς χάριτος*, RV 'words of grace'). The meaning here, says Plummer, is 'winning words.' He adds, 'The very first meaning of *χάρις* (*χαίρω*) is "comeliness," "winsomeness"'—Hom. *Od.* viii. 175; Ec 10^{12}, Ps 44^{3}, Sir 21^{16} 37^{21}, Col 4^{6}—'and in all these passages it is the winsomeness of *language* that is specially signified.' Vulg. translates 'mirabantur in verbis gratiæ,' whence Wyc. 'wondriden in the wordis of grace,' and Rhem. 'they marveled in the wordes of grace.' All the rest of the versions, beginning with Tindale, have 'wondered at the gracious words'; and it is doubtful if RV should have returned to 'words of grace'; to have changed the adj. to 'winning' would have prevented misunderstanding and been more in accordance with the Eng. idiom. In illustration of this use of the word we find Bacon, *Essays* ('Of Beauty,' p. 176), 'In Beauty, that of Favour is more then that of Colour, and that of Decent and Gratious Motion, more then that of Favour.' So Shaks. *Twelfth Night*, I. v. 281—

> 'And in dimension and the shape of nature
> A gracious person: but yet I cannot love him.'

And Chapman, *Homer's Iliads*, xviii. 23—

> 'Himself he threw upon the shore,
> Lay, as laid out for funeral, then tumbled round, and tore
> His gracious curls.'

J. HASTINGS.

GRAFF.—From *γράφειν*, to write, was formed *γραφεῖον*, a style or pencil for writing with: this was adopted into Lat. *graphium*; and passed into old Fr. *graffe*, which gave Eng. 'graff,' a slip of a cultivated tree inserted into a wild one, so named because it resembled a pencil in shape. From this substantive was formed the verb 'to graff,' which then yielded another substantive 'graft' (like 'weight' from 'weigh'); and by and by this subst. 'graft' attracted the verb to its own form. So that, whereas both subst. and vb. were once 'graff,' now both are 'graft.' The change from 'graff' to 'graft' was in process in Shakespeare's day. As subst. he uses only 'graff,' *Pericles*, V. i. 60—

> 'The most just gods
> For every graff would send a caterpillar.'

But as vb. he has both 'graff' (with past ptcp. 'graft') and 'graft' (with past ptcp. 'grafted'). Thus *II Henry IV.* V. iii. 3, 'Nay you shall see mine orchard, where, in an arbour, we will eat a last year's pippin of my own graffing'; *Rich. II.* III. iv. 101—

> 'Pray God the plants thou graft'st may never grow.'

In the Pr. Bk. of 1549 (Collect for 7th Sun. after Trinity, Keiling, p. 129) is the prayer 'Graff in our hearts the love of thy name': this runs through the edd. of 1552 and 1559, but in ed. 1604 is changed into 'graft.' Again in the Com. Service (Keiling, p. 228), 'Grant . . . that the words which we have heard this day with our outward ears, may through thy grace be so graffed inwardly in our hearts,' continues through all the edd. till that of 1662, when it becomes 'grafted.' The word is rare in the Eng. versions. It occurs as a var. reading in Wyclif's NT of 1380 at 1 Ti 6^{10}. Then in Ro 11^{17} Wyc. (1388) has 'art graffid among them' as tr^{n} of *ἐνεκεντρίσθης ἐν αὐτοῖς* (or rather of the Vulg. 'insertus es in illis'), and at v.^{19} 'the braunchis ben brokun, that y be graffid in.' Tindale, however, tr^{d} *ἐνκεντρίζω* by 'graff' in all its occurrences (Ro $11^{17.\,19.\,23\,bis.\,24\,bis.}$),* and he was followed by all the versions except Coverdale. Tind. used 'grafte' and 'graffed' as the past tense or past ptcp., and in this also he was strictly followed, except that Rhem. (which tr^{d} independently from the Vulg.) used 'graffed' always, and was followed by AV. Cov. has 'grafte' in v.^{17}, which must be the ptcp. of 'graff,' but in all the remaining occurrences he uses the form 'graft' for the pres. tense and 'grafted' for the past. RV uses 'graft' and 'grafted' throughout.

The subject of grafting will be spoken of under OLIVE. We may illustrate it and the word here by quoting Gosson, *Schoole of Abuse* (Arber's ed. p. 63), 'Though the Mariner have skill to governe his vessel, it lieth not in his cunning to calme the seas: though the countriman know how to graffe an ympe [*ἔμφυτος*, shoot, scion], his toile will not alter the taste of the Crab.' Holland, *Plinie*, xvii. 14, 'The first is to set the graffe or sion betweene the barke and the wood: for in old time truly, men were afraid at first to cleave the stocke, but soon after they ventured to bore a hole into the very heart of the wood: and then they set fast into the pith just in the mids thereof, but one sion or graffe, for by this kind of graffing, impossible it was that the said pith should receive or bear any more.' Evelyn, *Pomona*, iii.—'Make choice of your graffs from a constant and well-bearing branch. As to the success of graffing, the main skill is, to joyn the inward part of the cion to the sappy part of the stock, closely, but not too forceably; that being the best and most infallible way, by which most of the quick and juicy parts are mutually united, especially toward the bottom.' Bp. Hall (*Works*, ii. 1) uses the form 'griffe': 'Elizabeth was just, as well as Zachary, that the fore-runner of a Saviour might be holy on both sides: if the stock and the griffe be not both good, there is much danger of the fruit.' J. HASTINGS.

GRANARY.—See GARNER.

GRAPES. — See VINE. **Wild Grapes.** — See COCKLE.

GRASS.—Four words are tr^{d} grass in OT:—1. יֶרֶק *yereḳ*, *χλωρός*. This word signifies *green* or *greenness*. Once it is tr^{d} 'grass' (Nu 22^{4}); twice 'green thing' (Ex 10^{15}, Is 15^{6}); thrice it is followed by other words, דֶּשֶׁא (Ps 37^{2}, Is 37^{27}) and עֵשֶׂב (Gn 1^{30}), and in these cases it is used as an adj. signifying 'green.'

2. חָצִיר *ḥâẓîr*.—This word is from a root (unused in Heb.) signifying *to be green* (Arab. *khaḍira*), from which is derived the noun *khadrah*, signifying primarily *greenness*, secondarily *purslain*, *cucumbers*, *melons*, and the like. It is now used for *vegetables* or *herbage* in general. In OT *ḥâẓîr* is used once for *leeks*, LXX *πράσα* (Nu 11^{5}). Twice it is tr^{d} 'hay' (Pr 27^{25} RVm 'grass,' LXX *χλωρός*; Is 15^{6} RV 'grass,' LXX *χόρτος*). In all the remaining passages in which it is used in both AV and RV it is tr^{d} 'grass.' LXX, however, renders it once (Is 35^{7}) by *ἐπαύλεις*, AV and RVm 'a court'; twice (2 K 19^{26}, Ps 90^{5}) by *χλόη*; twice (1 K 18^{5}, Job 8^{12}) by *βοτάνη*; once (Is 37^{27}) by *χόρτος ξηρός*; and in the ten other places where it occurs (Job 40^{15}, Ps 37^{2} 103^{15} 104^{14} 129^{6} 147^{8}, Is $40^{6.\,7}$ 44^{4} 51^{12}) by *χόρτος*.

3. דֶּשֶׁא *deshe'* (root uncertain; the vb. דשא, Jl 2^{22}, Gn 1^{11}, is probably a denominative. Like *ḥâẓîr*, it is variously rendered in both EV and LXX. It is tr^{d} four times 'herb' (2 K 19^{26}, Is 66^{14} LXX *βοτάνη*; Ps 37^{2} LXX *χλόη*, Is 37^{27} where it is dropped out of the LXX); twice 'tender herb' (Dt 32^{2} LXX *ἄγρωστις*, Job 38^{27} RV 'tender grass,' marg. 'greensward,' LXX *χλόη*); once 'green' as an adj. to *pastures* (Ps 23^{2} LXX *τόπου χλόης*); twice 'tender grass' (2 S 23^{4} LXX *χλόη*, Pr 27^{25} LXX *πόα*); and four times 'grass' (Gn 1^{11}, Jer 14^{5} LXX *βοτάνη*, Job 6^{5} LXX *σῖτα*, Is 15^{6} RV 'tender grass,' LXX *χόρτος*).

4. עֵשֶׂב *'êsebh*. This word (of uncertain root) is tr^{d} in ten places 'herb' or 'herbs' (Gn $1^{11.\,30}$ 3^{18}, Pr 27^{25}, Is 42^{15} LXX *χόρτος*, Gn 2^{5} LXX *χλωρός*, Ex 9^{22} $10^{12.\,15}$ LXX *βοτάνη*, Ps 104^{14} LXX *χλόη*); and in eleven 'grass' (Dt 11^{15} LXX *χορτάσματα*, Dt 32^{2} RV *herb*, 2 K 19^{26}, Ps 72^{16} $102^{4.\,11}$ 106^{20}, Jer 14^{6} RV *herbage*, Am 7^{2} LXX *χόρτος*; Job 5^{25} LXX *παμβότανον*; Is 37^{27} left out by LXX altogether).

It will appear from the above analysis—

(*a*) That all the above terms are indefinite, applying to *herbage* in general.

(*b*) It is improbable that the Hebrews discriminated rigidly between the true grasses, *i.e.* the modern botanical order *Gramineæ* (or even the group of grass-like plants, including sedges and rushes), and other herbage. If they did, it does not appear from their nomenclature. The Arabic does not contain any such distinction. With all the general culture and knowledge of natural history of our age, grasses, in popular language, include some plants other than those of the order *Gramineæ*, as *pepper-grass*, *Lepidium sativum*, L.; *orange-grass*, *Hypericum Sarothra*, L., etc.

(*c*) It is quite plain that neither the LXX nor our own translators have been at any pains to render these words always by the same Gr. or Eng. equivalent. Thus in Is 15^{6} both חָצִיר and דֶּשֶׁא are rendered *χόρτος*, the first being tr^{d} AV *hay*, RV *grass*, and the second AV *grass*, RV *tender grass*. In Is 37^{27} חָצִיר is rendered *χόρτος ξηρός*, AV and RV *grass*, while עֵשֶׂב and דֶּשֶׁא are left out in the LXX, and rendered in AV and RV respectively *grass* and *herb*. In Gn 1^{11} דֶּשֶׁא עֵשֶׂב is rendered *βοτάνην χόρτου*. The reader will detect numerous other illustrations of this point. Much as it is to be regretted that the translators, ancient and modern, have not rendered these words uniformly, we must accept the fact. The nearest we can approach to a specialization of the term is to regard עֵשֶׂב as referring to *herbage* in general, including vegetables suitable for human food; חָצִיר to *grasses*; דֶּשֶׁא to *forage plants*; and יֶרֶק to *verdure*. They might be then rendered as follows: *'êsebh*=herbs, *ḥâẓîr* =grass, *deshe'*=pasture grass or tender grass, and *yereḳ*=green thing.

Grasses are very numerous in Bible lands. In Pal. and Syria they are represented by 90 genera and 243 species. Few of them grow in masses. Turf is almost unknown. With the exception of the cereals, none of the grasses are cultivated in this land. See HAY.

In NT grass is always the tr^{n} of *χόρτος*. But *χόρτος* is also tr^{d} by *blade* (Mt 13^{26}, Mk 4^{28}) and *hay* (1 Co 3^{12}). In Mk, *l.c.*, the *χλωρὸς χόρτος* is the first evidence of early spring (cf. Jn $6^{4.\,10}$).

G. E. POST.

GRASSHOPPER.—See LOCUST.

GRATE, GRATING (מִכְבָּר).—Half-way up the altar of burnt-offering was attached a projecting ledge—such, at least, is the now generally accepted interpretation of the obscure word כַּרְכֹּב (Ex 27^{5} 38^{4}), regarding which the author of the Priests' Code gives us no further information—which appears to have run right round the altar. Underneath this projection was attached 'a grating (AV grate) of network of brass' (Ex 27^{4} RV, 35^{16} $38^{4.\,30}$ 39^{39}), which completely covered the lower half of the altar. It was probably, as the etymology suggests (see *Oxf. Heb. Lex. sub* כבר), a strong netting made of bronze (נְחֹשֶׁת) wire, with meshes sufficiently open to allow the sacrificial blood to be dashed against the lower part of the altar. For other conjectures regarding the nature and purpose of the *mikbār*, see the art. TABERNACLE (section dealing with the Altar of Burnt-offering).

---

* Besides this passage in Ro, the verb occurs in biblical Gr. only Wis 16^{11} in the sense of 'prick' (so AVm and RVm, but RV 'bite'). It comes from *κέντρον*, a goad.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

GRATITUDE.—See THANKFULNESS.

GRAVE.—The usual OT word tr^{d} 'grave' is קֶבֶר *ḳeber* (also fem. form קְבוּרָה); and the usual NT word is μνημεῖον (with the occasional μνῆμα). See BURIAL, SEPULCHRE. But in AV שְׁאוֹל *shĕ'ôl* is often so tr^{d}, and ᾅδης once (1 Co 15^{55}). See HADES and SHEOL.

GRAVE.—In Sir 39^{3} (and in the 1st Prologue) occurs the expression 'grave sentences' as tr^{n} of παροιμίαι, RV 'proverbs.' The meaning of the adj. is 'weighty,' as in Knox, *Hist.* 406, 'Thus the Queen's Majesty being informed of the truth by her said Advocate, sent again and stayed the said meeting, and sent to the Town a grave Letter'; and Shaks. *Macbeth*, III. i. 21—

> 'We should have else desired your good advice,
> Which still hath been both grave and prosperous.'

In this use 'grave' is but one step removed from the lit. sense of 'heavy' (as Lat. *gravis*), which we find in Chapman, *Homer's Odysseys*, viii. 257—

> 'This said, with robe and all, he grasp'd a stone,
> A little graver than was ever thrown
> By these Phæacians in their wrastling rout.

One step farther removed is the use of the word in NT as tr^{n} of σεμνός, 1 Ti 3$^{8.\ 11}$, Tit 2^{2}, applied to deacons, their wives, and aged men, in the sense of 'serious.' Cf. T. Fuller, *Holy and Profane State*, iii. 19 (p. 202), 'He is a good Time-server that complyes his manners to the severall ages of this life: pleasant in youth, without wantonnesse; grave in old age, without frowardnesse. Frost is as proper for winter, as flowers for spring. Gravity becomes the ancient; and a green Christmas is neither handsome nor healthfull.' J. HASTINGS.

GRAVE.—The verb to 'grave' is used in earlier versions in the sense of 'dig,' as Is 37^{25} Cov. 'Yf there be no water, I wil grave and drynke' (EV 'I have digged, and drunk water'). But the only meaning in EV is 'carve,' modern 'engrave.' So Tindale has the word in Gn 4^{22} 'Tubalcain a worker in metall and a father of all that grave in brasse and yeron'; and in Ex 39^{6} 'And they wrought onix stones cloosed in ouches of golde and graved as sygnettes are graven with the names of the children of Israel.' He also has 'stonegraver' Ex 28^{11} (EV 'engraver in stone'), and 'graver' as the tool, 32^{4} (EV 'graving tool'). For **Graven Image** see IDOLATRY, IMAGE. J. HASTINGS.

GRAVEL.—Wyclif used 'gravel' as a synonym for 'sand.' Thus Gn 22^{17} 'I shal multiply thi seed as sterris of hevene, and as gravel that is in the brenk of the see'; Mt 7^{26} 'And every man that herith these my wordis, and doth hem nat, is liche to a man fool, that hath bildid his hous on gravel, *or soond*'; Ac 27^{41} 'And whanne we felden into a place of gravel gon al aboute with the see, thei hurtliden the schipp.'*

In the last passage Rhem. has 'And when we were fallen into a place betwene two seas, they graveled the ship.' This use of 'gravel' as a verb led to the fig. phrase 'to gravel one,' that is, 'bring one to a standstill in argument,' a phrase used by Thomas Fuller in *Holy and Profane State*, ii. 4 (p. 63), 'When Eunomius the Heretick vaunted that he knew God and his divinity, S. Basil gravells him in 21 questions about the body of an ant or pismire: so dark is man's understanding.'

In AV also there is practically no distinction between 'gravel' and 'sand,' unless it is made by the addition of 'stones.' The word occurs (1) Is 48^{19} 'Thy seed also had been as the sand, and the offspring of thy bowels like the gravel thereof' (כִּמְעוֹתָיו, RV 'like the grains thereof,' after LXX, Jerome, Targ., Ewald, Del., Orelli, and others; but RVm 'like that of the bowels thereof' [referring to the fish], after Ges., Hitzig, Knobel, Keil, Nägelsbach, and others [Cheyne, 'as the entrails thereof']. The word, which occurs only here, is of uncertain derivation and meaning); (2) Pr 20^{17} 'Bread of deceit is sweet to a man; but afterwards his mouth shall be filled with gravel,' and (3) La 3^{16} 'He hath also broken my teeth with gravel stones' (both חָצָץ, from [חָצַץ] to divide, therefore 'broken small'); (4) Sir 18^{10} 'As a drop of water unto the sea, and a gravelstone in comparison of the sand' (ψῆφος, RV 'a pebble'). J. HASTINGS.

GRAY.—The epithet 'gray' occurs only in reference to hair, and is the tr^{n} either of שִׂיב *sîbh*, to be gray-headed (1 S 12^{2}, Job 15^{10}), or of שֵׂיבָה *sêbhâh*, hoariness, old age (Gn 42^{38} 44$^{29.\ 31}$, Dt 32^{25}, Ps 71^{18}, Pr 20^{29}, Hos 7^{9}). RV prefers 'hoary' in Pr 20^{29}.

The word has been spelt both 'gray' and 'grey' from earliest times. Shaks. has in *Hamlet* (II. ii. 199), 'The satirical rogue says here that old men have grey beards,' but in *Lear* (II. ii. 72), 'Spare my gray beard, you wagtail?' In AV 1611 the spelling is uniformly 'gray,' but in Ps 71^{18}, Pr 20^{29} the word is usually spelt 'grey' in modern editions.

GREAT SEA (הַיָּם הַגָּדוֹל Nu 34$^{6.\ 7}$, Jos 15$^{12.\ 47}$, Ezk 47$^{19.\ 20}$ 48^{28}), called also הַיָּם הָאַחֲרוֹן the hinder, *i.e.* western sea, Dt 11^{24} 34^{2}, Zec 14^{8}, Jl 2^{20}; יָם פְּלִשְׁתִּים *Sea of the Philistines*, Ex 23^{31}; הַיָּם *The Sea*, Gn 49^{13}, Nu 13^{29} 34^{5}, Dt 1^{7} etc. Lat. *Mare Internum.**

The Mediterranean was essentially the 'Great Sea' and 'Hinder Sea' to the writers of the Bible; being the western boundary of the Holy Land, beyond which their geographical knowledge did not far extend. Maritime adventure and commerce was not the direction in which Israelitish ambition extended, except perhaps for a short period during the reign of Solomon; and although the lands allotted to the tribes of Judah, Dan, Ephraim, Manasseh, Zebulun, and Asher touched the coast of the Mediterranean at various points, the waters of the Great Sea were seldom traversed by their ships. This was due to several causes: first, the history of the Israelites previous to the Exodus was essentially of an inland character; secondly, during and after the invasion of Palestine their efforts were too much directed towards dispossessing the inhabitants and retaining their hold on the countries they had conquered, to give them time and opportunity for extending their sway beyond the coast; thirdly, the absence of natural commodious harbours on the Mediterranean seaboard; and lastly, the presence of the Phœnicians on the north, and of the Philistines on the south, along the coast-line. These nations, especially the former, had command of the sea, and rendered adventure in that direction either useless or impracticable to the children of Israel. From a period as far back as the Exodus the Phœnician settlers had established themselves at various points along the coast, and in course of time formed a confederation, essentially maritime, extending from beyond the Orontes on the north to Joppa (*Japho*) on the south, a length of 300 English miles.† To the south of Joppa the country of the Philistines commenced and extended to 'the River of Egypt,’[*] thus effectually excluding the Israelites from the command of the sea. The only port, in fact, to which in the time of the monarchy this nation had full access seems to have been Joppa, which, from its position as the nearest to Jerusalem, became the chief centre of the import and export trade. Thither in the time of Solomon the timber required for the construction of the temple and the royal palace, which had been cut in the Lebanon, was transported; and thither, doubtless, were conveyed the wheat, the barley, the oil, and the wine, which the Phœnicians received in exchange for their firs and cedars (2 Ch $2^{10.\,15}$). In the time of the Maccabees, however, this port became the property of the Jews (1 Mac 10^{76}). Another port, Acco,—now known as Acre,—situated on the northern shore of the bay of that name, was assigned to Zebulun (‘a haven of ships,’ Gn 49^{13}), but it is doubtful if it was ever occupied by that tribe for any considerable time. It is the best natural roadstead on the Syrian coast, and was conquered and retained by the Assyrians in their wars with Palestine and Egypt. In later times it played an important part in the wars of the Crusades, and has become celebrated in recent times for its successful resistance to Napoleon, when held by a Turkish garrison and supported by a British fleet under the command of Admiral Sir Sidney Smith (1799). The port under the name of Ptolemais is mentioned as having been visited by St. Paul on his third missionary journey (Ac 21^7).

---

* Wyc. even uses 'gravel' in the plu., Dt 33^{19} (1380) 'hid tresours of graveils' (after Vulg. 'thesauros absconditos arenarum'), Dou. 'sandes.'

* It is intended to treat this subject only in so far as it is connected with biblical history.

† Rawlinson, *History of Phœnicia*, 1889, p 84.

Mediterranean Coast.—From the Bay of Iskenderun on the north to el-'Arîsh on the south, a distance of 450 miles, the coast of the Levant (the eastern part of the Mediterranean) is remarkably straight, with few deep bays or prominent headlands. All along the Syrian coast as far as Beirût, the land rises with a rocky and bold front from the waters. At Acre the coast recedes and the land gently slopes upwards along the banks of the Kishon, forming the plain of Esdraelon. South of this valley, the long ridge of Mount Carmel protrudes into the waters and terminates in a bold headland; and from its southern slopes the Vale of Sharon gradually expands in breadth and ultimately merges into that of Philistia; and the coast-line follows an almost unbroken semicircular curve towards the Delta of the Nile.

Sandhills.—When the early settlers, coming from the head of the Persian Gulf to the shores of the Mediterranean (about B.C. 1500), first surveyed its blue waters they beheld groves of palms lining the coast, in consequence of which the Greeks called the land ‘Phœnicia.’[†] These palms have long since disappeared, and their place is generally occupied by enormous banks of sand gradually moving inwards from the coast as they are impelled by the westerly winds. Most of the ancient coast towns, both of Phœnicia and Philistia, are buried to a greater or less extent beneath these sandhills, which, when not prevented by artificial means, are still moving inland, and have become a source of danger and loss to the inhabitants. These sandhills, according to Sir H. Kitchener, cover a large tract of country between southern Philistia and Ismailia.

New Testament Notices.—Once in the history of our Lord did He with His disciples visit the coast of the Great Sea; this was on the memorable occasion when, endeavouring to obtain a brief period of repose, He visited the borders of Tyre and passed through (*ἦλθεν διὰ Σιδῶνος*) Sidon,[‡] and performed a miracle of healing on a Gentile, the daughter of a Syro-phœnician woman. But in the missionary journeys of St. Paul, and especially in the incidents connected with his final voyage to Rome (Ac 27. 28), we are brought into contact with numerous seaports, headlands, islands, and bays, commencing with Cæsarea on the coast of Phœnicia and terminating with the port of Puteoli (*Puzzuoli*) on the western coast of Italy. In following the narrative of this voyage we can trace its course from point to point on the map, and we gain some insight into the dangers of navigation at a time when the mariner's compass was unknown, when nautical charts were rude, or were perhaps unused by the commanders of ships, and when the heavenly bodies alone were guides to the ship's course when out of sight of land. [For the description of St. Paul's voyages in the Mediterranean, consult Smith, *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*^{2}, 1856; the works on St. Paul's Life, as Conybeare and Howson, Lewin, Farrar, Stalker, Iverach; the Commentaries on the Acts; Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*; and the various Bible Appendixes, ‘Aids’ (Queen's Printers), ‘Helps’ (Oxford), ‘Companion’ (Cambridge), ‘Manual’ (Collins)].

E. HULL.

GREAT SYNAGOGUE.—See SYNAGOGUE (THE GREAT).

GREAVES (1 S 17^6) in the phrase מִצְחַת נְחֹשֶׁת *miẓḥath nĕḥôsheth*, ‘greave of bronze.’ The singular rendering is perhaps to be preferred (not so Wellh. and Driver, *in loco*). The Roman legionary in later times wore *one* greave, and that on his *right* leg. Cf. passage quoted from Polybius (*e*) under ARMOUR.

W. E. BARNES.

GRECIANS, GREEKS.—Both these terms are used indifferently in AV of OT Apocr. to designate persons of Gr. extraction (1 Mac 1^{10} 6^2 8^9, 2 Mac 4^{36} etc.). In Jl 3^6 AV has ‘Grecians,’ RV and AVm ‘sons of the Grecians,’ as the tr. of בְּנֵי הַיְּוָנִים. This is the only passage in OT where either Grecians or Greeks are named, although Greece (under the name JAVAN, which see) is several times mentioned (Dn 8^{21} 10^{20} 11^2, Zec 9^{13}). In NT the linguistic usage of EV makes a distinction between the terms Greeks and Grecians. *Greeks* uniformly represents the word Ἕλληνες, which may denote persons of Gr. descent in the narrowest sense (Ac 16^1 18^4, Ro 1^{14}), or may be a general designation for all who are not of Jewish extraction (Jn 12^{20}, Ro 1^{16} 10^{12}, Gal 3^{28}. See GENTILES). It is remarkable that in Is 9^{12} even פְּלִשְׁתִּים (Philistines) is reproduced in LXX by Ἕλληνες. *Grecians*, on the other hand (Ac 6^1 9^{29}), is AV tr. of Ἑλληνισταί (see following art.), which means Gr.-speaking *Jews* (RV *Grecian Jews*). An interesting question is that of the correct reading of Ac 11^{20}. Were those to whom the men of Cyprus and Cyrene preached, Grecians or Greeks? in other words, were they Jews or Gentiles? The weight of MS authority is in favour of Ἑλληνιστάς (the reading in TR, and adopted in AV and RVm), which has the support of B and indirectly of ℵ* (εὐαγγελιστάς) D^2 L and almost all cursives. It is retained in the text of WH. Internal evidence, on the other hand (see, however, WH's *Introd. to Gr. NT*, App. 93 f.), is generally supposed to necessitate the reading Ελληνας which is found in ℵ^3 A D, and is accepted by Scrivener, Lachm. Tisch. Treg. and text of RV (see Scrivener's *Introd. to Crit. of NT*^{4}, ii. 370 f.).

J. A. SELBIE.

GREECE, HELLENISM.—The names *Greek* and *Greece* do not occur in the Gr. or Heb. Bible, being designations under which the *Italian* races came to know Hellas and its inhabitants. In Gn 10^2 *Javan* (Ἰωύαν) is correctly used to denote the Gr. stock in general. So in Æsch. *Pers.* 178, 563 the Persian interlocutors speak of Greeks as the Iâones.

---

[*] Wady el-'Arîsh; for an account of this valley, see Hull, *Mount Seir, Sinai, and W. Palestine.* Appendix by Kitchener, 220 (1889).

[†] *Phœnix dactylifera*, the date palm.

[‡] Mt 15^{21}, Mk 7^{24}. On this visit see Farrar, *Life of Christ*, i. 473.

The old Armenians used the same word; and at a very remote date the Yevana are mentioned in the ancient Egyptian epic of Ramses II. among the allies of the Hittites.

As early as the 7th cent. B.C. the names Hellas and Hellenes were used by the Greeks to distinguish themselves from the *Barbari.* And the same are used in the LXX (Jl 3^6, Is 66^{19}, Ezk 27^{13}, Zec 9^{13}) and in NT.

It has been lately conjectured on archæological grounds that the Philistines were the same race with the Pelasgians, who built the pre-historic city of Mycenæ, and used the primitive alphabet discovered recently by Mr. Arthur Evans in Crete and the Peloponnese. If this be so, the Jews from their first entry into Canaan were in conflict with the forerunners of the historical Greeks. 'That among the various elements,' says Mr. Evans, 'from the Ægean coastlands, who took part in the Philistine confederation, men of Greek stock may already have found a place as early as the 12th or 11th cent. B.C. can at least no longer be regarded as an improbable hypothesis. It is, perhaps, not without some actual warrant in fact that in the LXX of Is 9^{12} the Philistines themselves are translated by Ἕλληνες.'[*] Renan (*Hist. of People of Israel,* Eng. tr. ii. 15) adopts the same view.

However this may be, the hist. relations of Jews with Greeks begin mainly about the age of Alexander of Macedon, and as the result of his conquests. He, and the Diadochi kings who succeeded him, deliberately set about the Hellenization of Asia, Syria, and Egypt. If Alexander did not found all the 70 new cities in Asia ascribed to him by Plutarch, he was at least the founder of Alexandria.

But the bloom of Gr. civilization could not be transferred to Asia and Egypt, for it had passed away. The old independent city life was crushed, partly by the previous internecine conflicts of the Greeks, partly by the all-engulfing conquests of Philip and Alexander. Under the Diadochi, who became despots of an Oriental type, there was none of the old Gr. freedom. The new Gr. settlers themselves, brought into close contact with Asiatics, became half orientalized. Something of the old subtlety in speculation remained, something of the plastic skill of the older art. But the combined strength, simplicity, and lovely symmetry of Gr. genius was lost. Moral philosophy alone, in the hands of the Stoics, remained a vigorous activity; but now that the free state was a thing of the past, it was rather the life and duties of the individual than the collective life and needs of the organized community that formed the matter for criticism and theory.

Alexander and his successors invited the Jews to join in this work of colonization, and they responded freely. In Egypt, indeed, there were already Jews serving in the army of Psammitichus I. as early as B.C. 650; and under Jeremiah went many others. But of these was left a mere remnant, when, on the occasion of the foundation of Alexandria, a fresh mass of Jewish colonists was introduced. Here they had an ethnarch of their own, and privileges from the first; and they increased so much that Philo (*in Flac.* ii. 523) before A.D. 40 estimated their number at a million. From Egypt they spread westward, and already, in Sulla's time, were an important class in Cyrene. In the East the bulk of the Jewish race still remained, of course, in the old lands of the Captivity, beyond the Euphrates, there contracting Persian and Assyrian beliefs and culture rather than Greek. But in the Gr. cities of Syria they were, from the time of the Diadochi, very numerous. In Damascus Jos. (*BJ* VII. viii. 7) says there were 18,000 slain in the war of A.D. 66–70 alone. Antioch was full of them, as were all the coast cities, from Sidon southwards. In Asia Minor, as early as the middle of the 4th cent. B.C., Aristotle met an educated Jew who was Greek not only in speech, but in spirit (Jos. *c. Ap.* i. 22). In Phrygia and Lydia, Antiochus the Great planted 2000 families of Mesopotamian Jews (Jos. *Ant.* XII. iii. 4)—a proof that it was not from the small district of Judæa alone and from the remnant restored by Cyrus that the new Jewish colonists were drawn by the Seleucid kings. However, since Ptol. Lagos transferred 100,000 from Judæa to Egypt (Aristeæ *Epist.*), there must have been a great surplus of population in the Holy Land itself at the beginning of the 3rd cent. B.C. Philo (*de Legat.* ii. 587) has preserved a letter of Herod Agrippa to Caligula, testifying to the extent of the Greek diaspora in the year A.D. 38. 'Jerusalem,' wrote Agrippa, 'is the capital city, not of a single country, but of most, because of its colonies in Egypt, Phœnicia, Syria in general, and Hollow Syria, as also in Pamphylia, Cilicia, most districts of Asia (Minor), as far as Bithynia and the extreme parts of Pontus.' In the same way, he continues, Europe was full of Jews: Thessaly, Bœotia, Macedonia, Ætolia, Attica, Argos, Corinth, the best and larger part of Peloponnese. And not the mainland only. For Eubœa, Cyprus, Crete, and the islands generally, were full of Jews.

Many of these Jewish colonists adopted Gr. speech, habits, and culture. They wrote and thought in Greek. They read the Gr. poets and orators; admired and were spectators of Gr. plays; joined Gr. philosophic sects, Pythagoræan, Peripatetic, Stoic or Epicurean. On the other hand, distinctively Jewish sects, like that of the Alexandrian Therapeutæ, ramified, according to Philo (ii. 474), in many parts of the inhabited world, esp. in Greece. Of the interpenetration of the Jewish by the Hellenic genius which resulted, we have left in religious literature three great monuments, the LXX, the NT, and the works of Philo; not to mention numerous extra-canonical apocrypha, some originally written in Aram. or Heb., but mostly surviving in a Gr. form alone. Foremost among the latter in religious interest are the surviving fragments of *Enoch* and the Jewish Sibylline poems.

The copious works of Philo have probably survived by mere accident; but that they are a mere remnant of a larger Jewish-Gr. literature is evident from the anonymous references to other writers with which his pages abound. Christian writers, especially Eusebius, have preserved the names of, as well as extracts from, several Hellenistic writers of early date: *e.g.* of a Philo who wrote an epic on Jerus., of a poet Theodotus, and of Ezekiel who wrote a drama about Moses. Among the philosophic writers Aristobulus is remarkable as the first to use, so far as we know, the allegorical method of expounding the Mosaic law, about B.C. 170–150.

These writers were Alexandrine, but there are many more Gr. authors who were probably Pal. Jews or even Samaritans. Among these, Alex. Polyhistor (B.C. 80–40) has preserved to us in his works, as cited by Eusebius, fragments of the chronicler Demetrius (B.C. 222–205), of Eupolemus (B.C. 158–157), and Artapanus, Aristeas, and Cleodemus, all four Jewish historians. Jason of Cyrene (*c.* B.C. 160) wrote a history of the Maccabæan wars, of which 2 Mac is an abridgment made before Philo's age. The Wisdom of Sol. was probably written in Alexandria before Philo's day. Numenius and Longinus, in the 2nd and 3rd cents. A.D., wrote to some extent under Jewish influence, but were not Jews.

---

[*] See art. on 'Primitive Pictographs and Script from Crete and the Peloponnese' in *Journ. of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xiv. pt. 2, 1894, p. 369.

It is of peculiar interest to know how far **Hellenism** had, in the 300 years preceding Jesus of Nazareth, invaded Judæa itself. The circumstance that the strictly Jewish territory of Judæa, Galilee, and Peræa was wedged in between large and affluent Gr. cities on the E. and W., would in itself suggest considerable inroads of Hellenism. Nor must it be forgotten that at least at every passover thousands of Gr.-speaking Jews were present in Jerus., and that many of them were domiciled there, as is clear from their having synagogues.

In Ac 2[9] we read that on the day of Pentecost there were present in Jerus. Jews not merely from Parthia, Media, Elam, and Mesopotamia, but from Cappadocia, Pontus, Asia, Phrygia, Pamphylia, Egypt, Libya about Cyrene; also sojourners from Rome, Cretans, and Arabians. Not all of these would speak Gr., but many the vernaculars of their districts. But the enumeration shows how polyglot a multitude was to be met with in Jerus. on any feast day. There is no reason to doubt the tradition that the bilingual Jewish doctors who, perhaps, by order of Ptolemy Philadelphus, translated the Law and the Prophets some time early in the 3rd cent. B.C., were sent from Jerus. itself by the high priest Eleasar. For the Jews of Jerus. made, as early as B.C. 300, alliance with Sparta, which was renewed a century and a half later (1 Mac 12[7. 8. 19-22], cf. 14[18ff.]). They also made treaties with Gr. cities in Asia; and under the Seleucids, prior to the Maccab. revolt, rapid strides had been made towards their Hellenization. Nor was this revolt directed against the Gr. language, philosophy, and architecture; but was rather excited by the despotic attempt of Antiochus to enforce idolatry. Still it is probable that the success of the revolt was a check to Hellenizing influences, and stimulated the use, not, indeed, of Hebrew, which was already a dead language, and unintelligible to the masses, but of the local Aramaic. If the returned Jews of an earlier generation had not been so gratuitously intolerant of their old Samaritan coreligionists, there would have been a more compact mass of Sem.-speaking people to oppose the inroads of Gr. language and habits. As it was, the very metropolis of Galilee was a Gr. city.

Whatever reaction against Hellenism the Maccab. uprising may have called into being, it is yet certain that Judæa contained during the 1st cent. B.C. a powerful minority of Gr. Jews. The rulers, even of the patriotic Hasmonæan house, bore Gr. names, and the entire influence of the Idumæan usurpers, Herod and Archelaus, who succeeded, was cast on the side of Hellenism. The temple of Herod was a Gr. building; so were all the other monuments and tombs of that epoch. There was a Gr. circus and hippodrome in Jerus., and Herod was surrounded by Gr. philosophers and writers.

The NT itself bears witness to the strength of the Gr. element in the very cradle of the new religion. Of the apostolic writings there is not a single one—with the dubious exception of the Heb. Matthew—which was not from the first written in Gr.; and the Gr. style of Paul, of Peter, of Jude, of James, and of the authors of the two Gospels which claim apost. authorship, is not the style of writers who were tyros or late learners, but of men who had read and spoken Greek from childhood. They were certainly bilingual Jews; and if it is probable that Jesus habitually taught in Aram., it is not less probable that He, like most of His disciples, knew Greek. Philip, who certainly spoke Gr. (Jn 12[21], Ac 8[35]), besides having a Gr. name, came from Bethsaida Julias, a grecized town; whence also came another apostle with a Gr. name, Andrew, and Peter himself (Jn 1[44]). We hear of believing Greeks (not Gr. Jews) in the *entourage* of Jesus (Jn 12[21]); and the cry of anguish, *Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani*, could only have been misunderstood by a Gr.-speaking crowd. How strong was the Hellenistic party in the Church from the first, is clear from the fact that it was their grievances which led to the appointment of the seven, all of whom bore Gr. names, while one, at least, was a proselyte of Antioch (Ac 6[5]). The mention of the *widows* of the Hellenists proves that this party in the earliest Church was composed of settled residents in Jerus., and not of mere birds of passage, like the Libyan, Cyrenian, Alexandrine, Cilician, and Asiatic Jews mentioned in the same context. Stephen, who argued with all these, and was also one of the new deacons, must have talked Greek to them; and his speech, which is full of LXX citations, was no doubt delivered in Greek. Later on, in Ac 21[40], St. Paul, indeed, addresses the mob in Jerus. *in the Heb. dialect*, that is, in Aramaic. But that is far from warranting Schürer's inference (*HJP* II. i. 48), that this mob knew no Greek. For the context (Ac 22[2]) proves that St. Paul did so only to conciliate them, and therefore as an exception. It is clear that they did not expect it, and were surprised to hear him whom they had just accused of introducing a Gr. into the temple, address them freely in Aramaic. They expected him to speak to them in the same Gr. tongue in which he had been conversing with the chief captain. And it is noticeable that on this occasion, as at Stephen's martyrdom, it was Gr.-speaking Jews (of Asia, Ac 21[27]) who had stirred up ill-feeling against the followers of the new Messiah.

Many other facts point to the diffusion of a knowledge of Greek in Judæa. The coins of the Hasmonæan epoch bore Greek as well as Aram. legends; those of the Herodean dynasty and of the Romans, Greek alone. The Mishna, which represents the Judæa of that age, is full of Gr. loanwords, even for the commonest objects of life.* In the temple the notices warning Gentiles off from the inner precincts were in Gr. and Latin. It is probable even that the poor and despised in the cities of Judæa were more familiar with Gr. than were the rich Sadducees or the legalistic Pharisees. Thus Jos. at the end of his work (*Ant.* XX. xi. 2) writes as follows: 'With Gr. letters I was careful to acquire an adequate grammatical acquaintance; though my country's custom was an obstacle to my *talking* Gr. accurately. For with us they do not approve of those who learn *thoroughly* the language of many races, because they esteem this accomplishment as one common, not only to the inferior class of free men, but to such servants as care to learn. They allow real wisdom to belong only to those who clearly understand the law and can interpret the meaning of the Holy Scripture.' From the above it is clear that though the Jewish aristocracy disdained to *talk* Gr., they did not equally disdain to read and write it; and that a command of the spoken idiom looked at askance by Pharisees, scribes, and Sadducees, was yet diffused among the humbler classes. It was just of these humbler people, the *'am-hāārez*, who knew not the law (Jn 7[49]), but who could often talk Gr., that the teaching of Jesus took hold. They composed the earliest Church, and were the lost sheep of the House of Israel.

The crushing reverses which the Jews experienced at the hands of the Rom. power from 70 till 150 A.D., first in Judæa and later in Cyprus, Alexandria, Cyrene, and elsewhere, drove the race in upon itself and soon established a prejudice against any Jewish books not written in Hebrew. A little before A.D. 70, when the final agony was at hand, it was forbidden by the Rabbis to Jewish fathers to have their sons any more instructed in

---

* See Schürer, *HJP*, as above, § 22.

Greek,* which proves that till then it had been a common practice. The writing of divorcement might, according to the Mishna, be in Greek (*Gittin*, ix. 8); and the LXX was recognized by official Judaism (*Megilla*, i. 8). In spite of the prejudice aroused against Gr. by the events of A.D. 70, two or three new Gr. translations of OT were made for the use of Gr. Jews in the hundred years which ensued. But the prejudice continued to grow, and the cruelties perpetrated upon Jews by the Christians, so soon as they got the upper hand, must have intensified it. And the result is seen to-day in the circumstance that of all the voluminous Jewish-Greek literature which once existed, nothing survives except what the Christian Church has kept. No doubt the vigilant censorship of the Cath. Church is, in part, responsible for this deprivation, which we of to-day feel so keenly. For the fanaticism which destroyed all heretical works so-called was not likely to spare Jewish books. Still, the prejudices of the Jews themselves must be largely to blame.

The tendencies and characteristics of Greek Judaism will be further dealt with under the articles ISRAEL and RELIGION.

It is enough here to point out that the Gr. Jews were not alien, as is often supposed, from the Messianic hope. The Jewish Sibylline poems know of it; and Philo, in spite of all his Hel. training, held it with intense fervour, as is clear to any one who will read his two tracts *de Præmiis et Poenis* and *de Exsecrationibus*.

The relations of the Jews to their Gr. fellow-townsmen were invariably hostile on both sides. They were constantly ready to massacre each other. This hatred was due to the fact that in each city the Jews formed a community apart, often under archons or ethnarchs, or an assembly of their own. They could join in no heathen festivals, nor eat any meats, nor even use oil for anointing which they had not themselves prepared. How much the Gentiles resented this Jewish exclusiveness is clear from hints in Juvenal, Tacitus, and other ancient writers. The Jews, in fact, held the same position in a pagan community as do the Mohammedans of India among the Hindoos who surround them. Add to this that the Gr. Jews lost no opportunity of making converts among the pagans, and were especially successful in winning over the women. These converts were, of course, obliged to cut themselves adrift from their old friends and families—a circumstance which intensified the hatred of the Greeks for a religion and race at once exclusive and usurping. The propagandism of the Christians had from the first the same result. The new religion, like the old, spread among Gentiles at the expense of family ties and affections; and on their ruin ultimately consecrated the principles and edifice of monasticism. In the Jewish sects of Essenes and Therapeutæ, esp. of the latter, we may trace similar results arising out of similar conditions within Gr. Judaism itself. The Rom. Government, however, always recognized Judaism as the religion of a race, and therefore as something respectable and deserving of protection from Gentile assaults. For Christianity, which was not a national cult, and for that reason a more rapid solvent of family and citizen ties, the Government had less solicitude; and was less anxious, as a rule, to protect it from the storms of popular hatred which it everywhere excited. For further information on such points, see art. on PROSELYTE; and on the whole subject of Greek Judaism, see Schürer, *HJP* (esp. II. i. 11–51, and II. iii. 156–381), before each chapter of which is given an array of the chief authorities on every part of the subject. F. C. CONYBEARE.

GREEK LANGUAGE.—See LANGUAGE.

GREEK VERSIONS. — See SEPTUAGINT and VERSIONS.

GREEN.—See COLOURS (vol. i. p. 457^a).

GREET, GREETING.—In OT 'greet' occurs only once, 1 S 25^5 'Go to Nabal, and greet him in my name' (וּשְׁאֶלְתֶּם־לוֹ בִשְׁמִי לְשָׁלוֹם, lit., as AVm, 'and ask him in my name of peace'). The AV is from Wyc. 1388 (through Bish.); the 1382 ed. has 'salute,' which is the word in Cov. and Dou.; Gen. 'aske him in my name how he doeth.'

In Apocr. the usual Gr. formula of salutation, *χαίρειν*, is tr^d 'greeting' in 1 Es 6^7, Ad. Est 16^1, 1 Mac 12^{20} $15^{2.\,16}$; and 'sendeth' or 'send greeting' in 1 Es 8^9, 1 Mac $10^{18.\,25}$ 11^{32} 13^{36} 14^{20}, 2 Mac $11^{16.\,22.\,27.\,34}$. RV omits 'sendeth' or 'send.' In 2 Mac 1^{10} *χαίρειν καὶ ὑγιαίνειν* is tr^d 'sent (RV send) greeting, and health.' In Sir 6^5 we have 'a fair-speaking tongue will increase kind greetings' (*εὐπροσήγορα*, RV 'courtesies').

As a simple formula of salutation *χαίρειν* occurs but thrice in NT, Ac 15^{23} AV 'The apostles and elders and brethren *send* greeting unto the brethren which are of the Gentiles,' RV omits 'send'; 23^{26} AV 'Claudias Lysias unto the most excellent governor Felix *sendeth* greeting,' RV omits 'sendeth'; Ja 1^1 AV 'James . . . to the twelve tribes which are scattered abroad, greeting,' RVm 'wisheth joy.' And in 2 Jn $^{10.\,11}$ *λέγειν χαίρειν*, which in AV is tr^d 'bid one God speed,' is in RV rendered 'give one greeting.' But the most frequent use of 'greet' in AV is as a variation for 'salute' in the rendering of *ἀσπάζομαι* (Ro $16^{3.\,5.\,6.\,8.\,11}$, 1 Co 16^{20}, 2 Co 13^{12}, Ph 4^{21}, Col 4^{14}, 1 Th 5^{26}, 2 Ti 4^{21}, Tit 3^{15}, 1 P 5^{14}, 2 Jn ^{13}, 3 Jn ^{14}). Elsewhere, with two exceptions, this verb is tr^d 'salute'; and there is little doubt that the Revisers have done wisely in giving 'salute' also in the passages where AV has 'greet.' For the unwary reader is sure to imagine a difference of Greek and of meaning when he finds, *e.g.* in Ph 4^{21} 'Salute every saint in Christ Jesus. The brethren which are with me greet you'; or in 3 Jn ^{14} 'Our friends salute thee. Greet the friends by name.'

The two exceptions are (1) Ac 20^1 *ἀσπασάμενος ἐξῆλθε πορευθῆναι* [edd. *πορεύεσθαι*] *εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν*, AV 'embraced *them* and departed for to go into Macedonia,' RV 'took leave of them and departed,' Ramsay 'bade them farewell'; (2) He 11^{13} *ἀλλὰ πόρρωθεν αὐτὰς ἰδόντες, καὶ πεισθέντες* [edd. omit *κ. π.*], *καὶ ἀσπασάμενοι*; AV 'but having seen them [the promises] afar off, and were persuaded of *them*, and embraced *them*'; RV 'but having seen them and greeted them from afar,' which Schaff (*Companion to Gr. Test. and Eng. Version*, 1883, p. 454) quotes in his 'Select List of Improved Readings.'

In like manner the subst. *ἀσπασμός* is tr^d 'greeting' in Mt 23^7, Lk 11^{43} 20^{46}, and elsewhere (Mk 12^{38}, Lk $1^{29.\,41.\,44}$, 1 Co 16^{21}, Col 4^{18}, 2 Th 3^{17}) 'salutation.' RV gives 'salutation' everywhere.

J. HASTINGS.

GREYHOUND (זַרְזִיר מָתְנַיִם *zarzîr mothnayim*, Pr 30^{31}).—These Heb. words signify 'one girt in the loins' (AV and RV 'greyhound,' AVm 'horse,' RVm 'war-horse'). Some have supposed that the intention is to describe a wrestler, owing to his commanding figure. The LXX has 'a cock walking proudly among the hens' (see *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*). G. E. POST.

GRIEF.—Grief comes from Lat. *gravis*, heavy, sad, through Fr. *grief* or *gref*. And although it is now used to denote mental anguish only, it formerly covered bodily pain as well. In its use (as in some of the Heb. or Gr. words of which it is the tr^n in AV) the distinction between bodily and mental pain is not very sharp. Still, its application may be expressed as follows:—

---

* Talmud, *Sota*, ix. 14.

1. *Bodily pain or disease.* (1) Heb. כְּאֵב *kĕ'êb*, Job 2^{13} 'they saw that his grief was very great' (RVm 'his pain'); so $16^{5.6}$. (2) מַכְאוֹב *mak'ôb*, 2 Ch 6^{29} 'when every one shall know his own sore and his own grief' (RV 'sorrow,' *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* 'pain'—clearly the meaning here); Ps 69^{26} 'they talk to the grief of those whom thou hast wounded' (RV 'they tell of the sorrow'; RVm 'pain'—so Perowne, Del., Cheyne, de Witt, and others; LXX τὸ ἄλγος). (3) חָלָה *ḥâlâh*, to be sick, used in the Niph. ptcp. as an adj. (qualifying מַכָּה 'wound'), and tr^{d} in EV 'grievous,' Jer 10^{19} 14^{17} 30^{12}, Nah 3^{19}, but as a subst. in Is 17^{11} and tr^{d} 'grief.' The Hiphil of the same vb. is tr^{d} in Is 53^{10} 'Yet it pleased the Lord to bruise him; he hath put him to grief' (RVm 'made him sick,' *i.e.* by bruising him so sorely [see Dillm. *in loc.*], LXX καθαρίσαι αὐτὸν τῆς πληγῆς, Vulg. 'conterere eum in infirmitate,' Orelli 'to crush him by heavy sickness'). (4) חֳלִי *ḥŏlî*, Is $53^{3.4}$ (RVm 'sickness'); Jer 6^{7} (RV 'sickness'; the parallel is מַכָּה 'wound'), 10^{19} (RVm 'sickness'). (5) ὀδύνη, Sus ^{10} 'And albeit they were both wounded with her love, yet durst not one show another his grief.' This meaning of 'grief' is clearly seen in Shaks. *I Henry IV.* v. i. 134—'Can honour set to a leg? No. Or an arm? No. Or take away the grief of a wound? No. Honour hath no skill in surgery then?'; or in Parkinson, *Theatre of Plants* (1640), p. 1489—'The oyle which is made of the berries [of the bay] is very comfortable in all cold griefes of the joynts.'

2. *Mental affliction.* (1) יָגָה *yâgâh*, in Hiph. to cause sorrow, La 3^{32}, and the subst. יָגוֹן *yâgôn*, sorrow, Ps 31^{10}, Jer 45^{3} (RV 'sorrow' in both places). (2) כַּעַס *ka'aṣ*, vexation, 1 S 1^{16}, Ps 6^{7} 31^{9}, Pr 17^{25}, Ec 1^{18} 2^{23}; and its dialectic variety כַּעַשׂ *ka'as*, Job 6^{2}. (3) λυπέω, to cause grief, 2 Co 2^{5} 'If any have caused grief, he hath not grieved me' (RV 'have caused sorrow'); and the subst. λύπη, Wis 8^{9} 11^{12}, Sir 37^{2}, 1 Mac $6^{8.9.13}$. (4) ἀκηδία, Sir 29^{5} 'But when he should repay, he will prolong the time, and return words of grief' (λόγους ἀκηδίας, RV 'words of heaviness,' so the word is tr^{d} by EV in its two remaining occurrences in LXX, Ps 119^{28}, Is 61^{3}). (5) Once the vb. στενάζω, to groan, He 13^{17} 'they watch for your souls, as they that must give account, that they may do it with joy, and not with grief' (καὶ μὴ στενάζοντες, RVm 'and not with groaning,' Vaughan 'with lamentations *over lost souls*'). Shaks. uses the word in both the foregoing senses in one line, *II Henry IV.* I. i. 144—

> 'Even so my limbs,
> Weakened with grief, being now enrag'd with grief,
> Are thrice themselves. Hence, therefore, thou nice crutch!'

3. In one of the passages referred to above, Pr 17^{25}, the word has evidently an active meaning, though the Hebrew is כַּעַס *ka'aṣ*, which expresses usually the *feeling* of vexation: 'A foolish son is a grief to his father.' This meaning is seen also in Gn 26^{35} 'Which were a grief of mind unto Isaac and to Rebekah' (מֹרַת רוּחַ, RVm 'bitterness of spirit'); 1 S 25^{31} 'And it shall come to pass . . . that this shall be no grief unto thee, nor offence of heart unto my lord, . . . that thou hast shed blood causeless' (לְפוּקָה, RVm '*cause of* staggering'; LXX βδελυγμός [possibly, says Driver, a corruption of the unusual λυγμός, the word in Aq. and Symm.] καὶ σκάνδαλον; Vulg. 'in singultum et scrupulum cordis'; Dou. 'an occasion of sobbing to thee, and a scruple of heart to my lord'); Jon 4^{6} 'And the Lord God prepared a gourd, and made it to come up over Jonah, that it might be a shadow over his head, to deliver him from his grief' (מֵרָעָתוֹ, RV 'from his evil case'); Sir 26^{6} 'But a grief of heart and sorrow is a woman that is jealous over another woman' (ἄλγος); 1 P 2^{19} 'For this is thankworthy, if a man for conscience toward God endure grief, suffering wrongfully' (λύπας, RV 'griefs'; Vulg. 'tristitias,' hence Wyc. 'sorews *or hevynesses*,' and Rhem. 'sorowes.' But the meaning is clearly 'things that cause sorrow,' 'grievances,' and no doubt this was Tindale's meaning in introducing 'grief,' followed by all the rest of the versions). For 'grief' was frequently used in the sense of 'grievance,' as Shaks. *Pericles*, I. ii. 66—

> 'Bear with patience
> Such griefs as you yourself do lay upon yourself.'

Grievance occurs but once, Hab 1^{3} 'Why dost thou show me iniquity, and cause me to behold grievance?' (עָמָל, RV 'perverseness' as the word is tr^{d} by AV in Nu 23^{21}). The Heb. is a common word for 'toil,' but also has the double sense of misery and mischief—see Davidson, *in loc.* Wyclif's word is 'traveile' after Vulg. 'laborem,' Dou. 'labour'; other VSS 'sorrow.' 'Grievance' seems to be original to AV, and it is used in the sense of affliction, grief, as Shaks. *Two Gent. of Verona*, IV. iii. 37—

> 'Madam, I pity much your grievances.'

Grieve. The verb to grieve, now almost entirely intrans., is so in AV only once, Jer 5^{3} 'thou hast stricken them, but they have not grieved' (וְלֹא־חָלוּ, either from חִיל to writhe in pain, or [with most edd.] from חָלָה to be sick [wrongly accented]; RV 'they were not grieved'). The trans. vb. occurs often, and with the following meanings:—

1. To make sorry, Dt 15^{10} 'Thine heart shall not be grieved when thou givest unto him;' (יֵרַע, lit. 'be evil,' that is 'sad,' the opposite of the 'good' [טוֹב] or 'cheerful heart' of Jg $19^{6.9}$ etc. So 1 S 1^{8}, Neh 2^{10} 13^{8}); 1 S 2^{33} 'and to grieve thine heart' (וְלַאֲדִיב, prob. a corrupt reading for וּלְהָדִיב, from דּוּב to pine away—Driver); 15^{11} 'And it grieved Samuel' (וַיִּחַר לִשְׁמוּאֵל, which must mean 'was wroth,' as RV. But LXX [ἠθύμησε, 'was despondent'] must have read וַיִּמַּר. Weir suggests וַיֵּצֶר, which is accepted by Driver. Vulg. gives 'conturbatus est,' Wyc. 'was sory,' Dou. 'was strooken sadde,' Gen. 'was moved': but Cov. 'Therefore was Samuel angrye,' which Rog. changed to 'was evell apayd' [=was ill content], and he was followed by the Bishops); Job 30^{25} 'was not my soul grieved for the poor?' (עָגְמָה); Ps 73^{21} 'Thus my heart was grieved, and I was pricked in my reins' (יִתְחַמֵּץ; RVm 'was in a ferment,' a change for which, says Cheyne [*Expos.* 3rd ser. vi. 44], we may be thankful, adding, 'Fancy a sufferer, of the school of the author of *Job*, saying that "his heart was grieved"'; he also refers to Segond's bold and happy rendering, 'Lorsque mon cœur s'aigrissait, et que je me sentais percé dans les entrailles.' *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* tr. 'my heart was soured or embittered'); Is 54^{6} 'as a woman forsaken and grieved in spirit' (עֲזוּבָה וַעֲצוּבַת רוּחַ; Cheyne, 'as an outcast and downcast woman'; La 3^{33} 'For he doth not afflict willingly nor grieve the children of men' (וַיַּגֶּה); Dn 7^{15} 'I Daniel was grieved in my spirit in the midst of my body' (אֶתְכְּרִיַּת רוּחִי); 2 Es 10^{8} 'seeing we all mourn and are sad . . . art thou grieved for one son?' ('tu autem contristaris in uno filio'); Mk 3^{5} 'being grieved for the hardness of their hearts' (συνλυπούμενος, the prep., says Gould, probably denoting the sympathetic character of the grief; He was grieved because they hurt themselves).

2. To be heavy on, weary, harass: Gn 49^{23} 'The archers have sorely grieved him, and shot at him' (וַיְמָרֲרֻהוּ); Dillm. 'became bitter against him' [lit. 'treated him bitterly']; Spurrell, 'harassed him'; Job 4^{2} 'If we assay to commune with thee, wilt thou be grieved?' (תִּלְאֶה, lit. 'wilt thou be wearied?') So Pr 26^{15} 'The slothful man hideth his hand in his bosom; it grieveth him to bring it again to his mouth' (AVm 'he is weary'); Ps 78^{40} 'How oft did they . . . grieve him in the desert' (יַעֲצִיבוּהוּ); 112^{10}

'The wicked shall see it and be grieved' (וְכָעָס, *Oxf. Lex.* 'be vexed or indignant,' as in Neh 3^{33}, Ec 5^{16}); Ac 4^{2} 16^{18} (both *διαπονέω*). For this meaning of 'grieve' cf. 2 S 3^{34} Wyc. 'Thin hondis ben not boundun, and thi feet ben not greved with fettris'; Is 7^{13} Cov. 'Is it not ynough for you, that ye be grevous unto men, but ye must greve my God also?'; and Child, *Ballads*, iv. 150—

> 'Yet in suche fere yf that ye were,
> Amonge enemys day and nyght;
> I wolde withstonde, with bowe in hande,
> To greeve them as I myght.'

3. To cause loathing, to disgust: Ex 1^{12} 'They were grieved because of the children of Israel' (יָקֻצוּ, RVm 'abhorred'); Ps 95^{10} 'Forty years long was I grieved with this generation' (אָקוּט; LXX *προσώχθισα*; Vulg. 'offensus fui,' Wyc. 'offended I was'; Del. 'had I a loathing at'; Kay 'loathed' or 'rejected with abhorrence'). The same vb. (in Hithp.) is tr^{d} 'grieve' in Ps 119^{158} 139^{21}, where RVm gives 'loathe'; He $3^{10.\,17}$ (quot^{n} of Ps 95^{10}, and the only occurrences in NT of *προσοχθίζω*, which is the tr^{n} in LXX of גָּעַל to loathe, קיא to spue out, קוּץ to be disgusted with, etc.: see Thayer, *s.v.*). Cf. Ex 17^{18} Tind. 'And the fishe that is in the river shall dye, and the river shall stinke; so that it shall greve the Egyptians to drinke of the water of the ryver.'

4. To give pain, to hurt: Est 4^{4} 'Then was the queen exceedingly grieved' (וַתִּתְחַלְחַל, *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* 'and she writhed [in anxiety]'); Is 57^{10}, Am 6^{6} (both חָלָה to be sick, one in Piel 'to become sick,' other in Niph. 'to be made sick'); Ro 14^{15} 'If thy brother be grieved with thy meat' (*λυπεῖται*). This meaning, being always fig. in AV, is scarcely distinguishable from (2) above, but it was once quite distinct, and is used literally by Spenser, *FQ* I. viii. 17—

> 'Thereat he rored for exceeding paine,
> That to have heard great horror would have bred;
> And scourging th' emptie ayre with his long trayne,
> Through great impatience of his grieved head.'

Grievous follows grieve pretty closely in meaning. 1. *Burdensome*, as Gn 12^{10} 'the famine was grievous in the land'; 1 K 12^{4} 'Thy father made our yoke grievous'; Is 15^{4} 'His life shall be grievous unto him'; Ph 3^{1} 'To write the same things unto you, to me, indeed, is not grievous'; 1 Jn 5^{3} 'His commandments are not grievous.' Cf. Ex 18^{18} Tind. 'The thinge is too grevous for the, and thou art not able to do it thi selfe alone.' 2. *Distressing, irritating*, Ex 8^{24} 'a grievous swarm of flies'; Ps 10^{5} 'His ways are always grievous'; Pr 15^{1} 'grievous words stir up anger'; 15^{10} 'Correction is grievous unto him that forsaketh the way'; Ac 20^{29} 'after my departing shall grievous wolves enter in among you.' So Is 19^{4} Cov. 'I wil delyver Egipte also in to the hondes of grievous rulers, and a cruel king shal have the rule of them.' 3. *Threatening, alarming:* Ps 31^{18} 'Let the lying lips be put to silence which speak grievous things.' Cf. Elyot, *The Governour*, ii. 150, 'At these wordes all they that were present began to murmure, and to cast a disdaynous and grevous loke upon Gysippus'; and Bunyan, *PP* (Clar. Press ed. p. 105), 'So when he arose, he getteth him a grievous Crab-tree Cudgel, and goes down into the Dungeon to them.' 4. *Heinous, severe:* Gn 18^{20} 'their sin is very grievous'; Jer 16^{4} 'They shall die of grievous deaths.' So Shaks. *Jul. Cæs.* III. ii. 84—

> 'If it were so, it was a grievous fault,
> And grievously hath Cæsar answered it.'

5. *Sorrowful:* Gn 50^{11} 'This is a grievous mourning to the Egyptians.' Cf. Hakluyt, *Voyages*, i. 159, 'The grievous complaynts of our liege subjects concerning traffique.'

Grievously is either *severely*, Is 9^{1}, Jer 23^{19}, Wis 19^{16}, 2 Mac 9^{28}, Mt 8^{6} 15^{22}; *heinously*, La $1^{8.\,20}$, Ezk 14^{3}; or *painfully*, 2 Mac 7^{39} 14^{28}. Cf. Taverner's Bible, 3 Mac 4 $^{\text{Heading}}$ 'The people had pyty to se them so grevouslye handled'; Udal, *Erasmus' Paraphrase* on Mk 5 'The common sort are wont to take the deathe of yong folkes much grievouslyer then of old.'

Grievousness occurs but twice, Is 10^{1} 'Woe unto them that decree unrighteous decrees, and that write grievousness which they have prescribed' (עָמָל, *i.e.* burdensomeness, oppression; RV 'perverseness' as the same word is tr^{d} by EV in Nu 23^{21}. In Hab 1^{3} it is 'grievance' in AV [as above]); Is 21^{15} 'They fled . . . from the grievousness of war' (מִפְּנֵי כֹּבֶד מִלְחָמָה, lit. 'from the face of the weight of war,' Vulg. 'a facie gravis prœlii,' Wyc. 'fro the face of the grevous bataile'). Udal uses the word in the sense of heinousness (*Erasmus' Paraphrase* on Mk 5), 'Consider not the multitude and grievousnes of thyne offences; onelye regarde that Jesus is he that came to save all men, and is able to doe all thinges with a beck.'

J. Hastings.

GRINDER.—The 'grinders' of Ec 12^{3} are the grinding women at the mill (see Mill). But in the margin of Job 29^{17} the 'grinders' are the molar teeth. Cf. Holland, *Pliny*, xi. 37, 'The great grinders which stand beyond the eye-teeth, in no creature whatsoever do fall out of themselves,' and Fuller, *Worthies* (Ches-shire), 'How necessary these are for man's sustenance, is proved by the painfull experience of such aged persons, who wanting their molare teeth, must make use of their gums for grinders.'

GRISLED (modern 'grizzled') is the tr^{n} of [בָּרֹד] *bârôd*, 'spotted' (perhaps as with בָּרָד 'hail') in Gn $31^{10.\,12}$ of rams, and in Zec $6^{3.\,6}$ of horses. Shaks. uses both spellings, *Pericles*, iii., Gower—

> 'The grisled north
> Disgorges such a tempest forth.'

Hamlet, I. ii. 240—

> '*Ham.* His beard was grizzled? No?
> *Hor.* It was, as I have seen it in his life,
> A sable silvered.'

The word means 'grey,' and in middle Eng. a 'grisel' was a grey-haired man, as Gower, *Conf. Amantis*, iii. 356, 'That olde grisel is no fole.' It has no connexion with grisly = hideous. See Colours.

GROSS is used in AV of darkness (Is 60^{2}, Jer 13^{16}), and of man's heart (Mt 13^{15}, Ac 28^{27}). In the first case 'gross darkness' is tr^{n} of עֲרָפֶל, which is tr^{d} simply 'darkness' everywhere except in those two places and in Job 22^{13} (AV 'dark cloud,' RV 'thick darkness'), Dt 5^{22} (EV 'thick darkness'), Ezk 34^{12} (יוֹם ע״ EV 'dark day,' RVm 'day of thick darkness'). The meaning of 'gross' is thus simply 'thick,' 'impenetrable.' In the second case 'make gross' is tr^{n} of *παχύνω*, which means lit. 'make thick or fat,' and fig. 'make stupid,' and occurs in NT only in those two places, where it is an exact quotation from LXX of Is 6^{10} (EV 'Make the heart of this people fat'). Gross has thus the metaphorical sense of dull, stupid, crass.

Gross means properly 'large,' 'bulky,' as Shaks. *Lear*, IV. vi. 14—

> 'The crows and choughs that wing the midway air
> Show scarce so gross as beetles.'

Then it expresses that which is big and plain, as Tindale, *Works*, i. 97, 'Scripture speaketh after the most gross manner'; and Udal, *Erasmus' Paraphrase* on 1 Jn 1 (fol. 271), 'In dede the unbelief of mans heart required, that the trueth should be credited by grosse outward experimentes.' And, yet more figuratively, it was used to express density of mind, as Knox, *Hist.* 424, 'The Earle of Athole, who was thought to be a man of grosse judgement.' In NT it expresses more than mental dulness, which involves moral culpability only as it is the result of wilful rejection of light.

J. Hastings.

GROUND (אֲדָמָה, אֶרֶץ, γῆ) is used in AV indifferently with 'earth' as the tr. of the Heb. and Gr. words enumerated under Earth. In RV, on the contrary, there appears to be an attempt (although it has not been carried out with uniformity) to retain 'ground' as the tr. of אֲדָמָה, and 'earth' as that of אֶרֶץ. The following examples of the word deserve notice—

1. In older English 'ground' was used where we should now prefer either 'earth' or 'land,' as Jer 27^5 'I have made the earth, the man and the beast that are upon the ground' (עַל־פְּנֵי הָאָרֶץ, RV 'upon the face of the earth'); Ezk 19^{13} 'in a dry and thirsty ground' (אֶרֶץ, RV 'land'). Cf. Is 53^8 Cov. 'Whose generacion yet no man maye nombre, when he shalbe cut of from the grounde of the lyvinge.' **2.** In Sir 18^6 'ground' is used figuratively for the bottom of a thing, 'As for the wondrous works of the Lord, there may nothing be taken from them, neither may anything be put to them, neither can the ground of them be found out.' This is Coverdale's trⁿ, and it has been adopted by all the VSS after him, except the Douay, though the Gr. is merely *οὐκ ἔστιν ἐξιχνιάσαι*. The Vulg. has simply 'nec est invenire,' whence Wyc. 'nethir it is to fynde,' and Dou. 'neither is it possible to finde.' RV gives 'Neither is it possible to track them out.' Ground is used in the Preface to AV 1611, with the same meaning, 'Therefore let no mans eye be evill, because his Maiesties is good . . . but let us rather blesse God from the ground of our heart, for working this religious care in him, to have the translations of the Bible maturely considered of and examined.' **3.** In 1 Ti 3^{15} 'ground' means basis or 'foundation,' 'the church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth'; Gr. *ἑδραίωμα*, AVm and RVm 'stay.' This is the only occurrence of the word in classical or biblical Greek. The Vulg. renders by 'firmamentum,' whence Wyc. 'sadnesse' [=strength], all other VSS having 'ground.' So in Preface to AV, 1611, 'The Edition of the *Seventy* . . . was used by the *Greek* Fathers for the ground and Foundation of their Commentaries.' Cf. T. Fuller, *Holy Warre*, iii. 2, p. 112, 'But well did one in the Council of Trent give these titular Bishops the title of *figmenta humana*, mans devices; because they have as little ground in Gods word and the ancient Canons for their making, as ground in Palestine for their maintenance.' The same meaning is expressed by the verb 'to ground,' which is found in AV as a ptcp. only, Is 30^{32} 'And in every place where the grounded staff shall pass, which the Lord shall lay upon him, it shall be with tabrets and harps' (וְהָיָה כֹּל מַעֲבַר מַטֵּה מוּסָדָה, AVm 'every passing of the rod founded'; RV 'every stroke of the appointed staff,' RVm 'every passing of the staff of doom'[*]); Eph 3^{17} 'being rooted and grounded in love'; Col 1^{23} 'If ye continue in the faith grounded and settled' (both *τεθεμελιωμένοι*). Cf. Mt 7^{25} ‖ Lk 6^{48}, Tind. 'the wyndes blewe and bet upon that same housse, and it fell not, because it was grounded on the rocke.' In Ex 9^{18} Tind. uses the word in the slightly different sense of *established*, 'Tomorow this tyme I will send doune a mightie great hayle; even soch one as was not in Egipte sence it was grounded.'

J. Hastings.

GROVE.—**1.** אֲשֵׁרָה, אֲשֵׁירָה *'ăshêrâh*, *ἄλσος*, *lucus*. Wherever the word *grove* occurs as the trⁿ of *'ăshērâh* it should be transliterated as in RV. See Asherah.

2. אֵשֶׁל *'êshel*, *ἄρουρα*. Abraham is said to have planted a 'grove' (AV Gn 21^{33} marg. 'tree'). Saul abode 'under a tree' (AV 1 S 22^6 marg. 'grove in a high place'). The bodies of Saul and his sons were buried 'under a tree' (1 S 31^{13} AV). In all these passages RV correctly renders *'êshel*, which is the same as the Arab. *'athl*, by 'tamarisk tree.' See Tamarisk.

G. E. Post.

GRUDGE.—Skeat (*Etymol. Dict.*² *s.v.*) derives 'grudge' originally from the imitative sound *kru* or *gru*, seen in Gr. *γρῦ*, the grunt of a pig; 'grunt' and 'growl' coming from the same root. Hence its primary meaning is to express audible discontent, murmur, as *Paston Letters*, 138, 'I here a gruggyng.' In this sense 'grudge' is of frequent occurrence in the earlier versions. Thus Lk 15^2 Wyc. (1380), 'And Farisees and Scribis grucchiden, seyinge, For this man receyveth synful men, and etith with hem' (Tind. and all others 'murmured'); 19^7 Wyc. (1380), 'And whanne alle men sayen, thei grucchiden, seyinge, For he hadde turned to a synful man' (Tind. 'And when they sawe that, they all groudged'; Rhem. 'they murmured,' and so AV); Ac 6^1 Wyc. (1388), 'the Grekis grutchiden [1380, 'grucchinge'] agens the Ebrews' (Tind. 'ther arose a grudge amonge the Grekes agaynste the Ebrues,' Rhem. and AV 'a murmuring'); 1 Co 10^{10} Wyc. (1380), 'Neither grucche [1388, 'grutche'] ye, as summe of hem grucchiden [1388, 'grutchiden'], and thei perisheden of a wastour, *or destrier*' (Tind. 'Nether murmur ye as some of them murmured, and were destroyed of the destroyer'); Mk 14^5 Tind. 'And they grudged agaynste hir' (Wyc. [both VSS] 'thei groyneded in to hir'; Rhem. and AV 'they murmured against her'); Ps 2^1 Pr. Bk. 'Why do the heathen grudge together?' (changed in 1662 into 'so furiously rage together'). About 1611, says Trench (*On AV of NT*, p. 48), 'to grudge' was ceasing to have the sense of 'murmur openly,' and was already signifying 'to repine inwardly'; and a 'grudge' was no longer an open utterance of discontent and displeasure at the dealings of another, but a secret resentment thereupon entertained. Accordingly 'grudge' of the earlier VSS was sometimes displaced in AV by 'murmur' (a change, however, which had in every such case except Nu 17^5 been made already by Dou.-Rhem.); but it was retained in a few places, —'by an oversight,' says Trench. These places are: Ps 59^{15} 'Let them ['the pack of hounds with which Saul is hunting David'—Del.] wander up and down for meat, and grudge if they be not satisfied' (וַיָּלִינוּ; AVm 'If they be not satisfied then will they stay all night,' so RV 'and tarry all night if they be not satisfied');[*] Wis 12^{27} 'For look for what things they grudged, when they were punished' (*ἠγανάκτουν*, Vulg. 'indignabantur,' RV 'whereat they were indignant'); Sir 10^{25} 'And he that hath knowledge will not grudge when he is reformed' (*οὐ γογγύσει*; Vulg. 'non murmurabit,' RV 'will not murmur *thereat*'); Ja 5^9 'Grudge not one against another, brethren, lest ye be condemned' (*μὴ στενάζετε*, Vulg. 'Nolite ingemiscere,' RV 'murmur not').

---

[*] The passage is difficult. Most of the Eng. VSS, like the LXX, paraphrase rather than translate. The rendering of AV, which is nearly that of Vulg. ('Et erit transitus virgæ fundatus') is barely intelligible, even after it is improved by Kay, 'And every passing of the staff of sure foundation.' An easy emendation of the Heb. is שֵׁבֶט מוּסָר 'rod of correction,' of Pr 22^{15}, but Skinner thinks it too easy to be worth much, besides that it only replaces one singular expression by another. Modern edd. as a rule prefer something like RVm. Thus Del. 'every stroke of the rod of destiny'; Plumptre, 'wherever shall pass the destined rod'; Cheyne, 'whenever the destined staff passeth over,' referring to Hab 1^{12} 'O Jehovah, thou hast appointed them [same verb] for judgment.'

[*] AVm and RV give the only possible trⁿ of the Mass. text, and they are in agreement with most mod. edd. (Del., Per., de Witt, Kirkp. etc.), as well as with the Gen. version 'and surely they shal not be satisfied, thogh thei tarie all night.' The AV is the rendering of וַיִּלֹּינוּ or וַיִּלֹּנוּ, and is after LXX (*γογγύσουσιν*), Aq., Vulg. ('murmurabunt'), Jer., Wyc. 'thei shal grucche' (1388, 'grutche'), Luth., Cov. ('grudge,' so Rog., Cran., Bish.), Dou. ('murmur'); and it is preferred by Burgess and Cheyne. Wellh. (*PB*) gives 'They shall be sated, forsooth, and be quieted.'

This meaning of the word may be illustrated by Elyot, *The Governour*, ii. 183, 'Semblably there be some that by dissimulation can ostent or shewe a highe gravitie, mixte with a sturdy entretaynement and facion, exilinge them selves from all pleasure and recreation, frowninge and grutchinge at every thinge wherein is any myrthe or solace, all though it be honeste'; so Sir John Maundevile, *Voiage*, p. 69 (ed. 1727), 'Thanne passe men be the welle that Moyses made with his honde in the Desertes, whan the people grucched, for thei found no thinge to drynke.'

In the same sense the subst. 'grudging' has been retained in AV in 1 P 4^{9} 'Use hospitality one to another without grudging' (TR *ἄνευ γογγυσμῶν*, edd. *γογγυσμοῦ*, RV 'without murmuring'). Cf. Ex 16^{7} Wyc. 'I have herd forsothe youre grucchynge agens the Lord; what forsoth ben we, that ye grucchen agens us?' (Tind. 'because he hath herde youre grudgynges agaynst the Lorde: for what are we that ye should murmure against us?'); Nu 17^{5} Tind. 'So I wyll make cease from me the grudgynges of the children of Israel which they grudge agenst you.' So Sir T. Elyot, *The Governour*, ii. 150, 'Leave youre grudgynges and menasinge countenaunce towarde Gysippus'; and Chaucer, *Persones Tale*, 499, 'After bakbyting cometh grucching or murmuracion; and somtyme it springeth of impacience agayns God, and somtyme agayns man.'

The modern meaning of the word is found twice in AV, in the phrase 'bear a grudge against,' and in the adv. 'grudgingly': Lv 19^{18} 'Thou shalt not avenge, nor bear any grudge against the children of thy people'; 2 Co 9^{7} 'Every man according as he purposeth in his heart, *so let him give*; not grudgingly, or of necessity: for God loveth a cheerful giver' (*ἐκ λύπης*, lit. 'out of sorrow,' as RVm).

J. HASTINGS.

GUARD.—**1.** The guards of a foreign ruler (king of Egypt, Gn 37^{36} *al.*; king of Babylon, 2 K 25^{8} *al.*, Jer 39^{10} *al.*, Dn 2^{14}) are called הַטַּבָּחִים *haṭṭabbâḥîm* (Aram. טַבָּחַיָּא *ṭabbâḥayyâ*), 'the slayers.' The singular טַבָּח *ṭabbâḥ* (1 S $9^{23.\,24}$) is translated 'cook,' but the literal meaning is 'slayer [of animals],' for in the East the cook has a double duty ('slay and make ready,' Gn 43^{16}). In RVm (Gn 37^{36} *al.*) *ṭabbâḥîm* is translated 'executioners'; but though the guards carried out executions, it may be doubted if this work gave them their name. In the Apocrypha the guards of a Persian king (1 Es 3^{4}) and of Holofernes (Jth 12^{7}) are called *οἱ σωματοφύλακες*.

2. An Israelite king had רָצִים *râẓîm*, lit. 'runners' (1 S 22^{17} RV [also in 21^{7}, if we adopt, with Driver, Grätz's doubtful conjecture רָצִים 'runners,' instead of MT רֹעִים 'herdsmen'], 2 K 11^{6}) who ran before his chariot (1 K 1^{5}), and kept watch at his door (1 K $14^{27.\,28}$=2 Ch $12^{10.\,11}$). In 1 S 31^{6} they are called his 'men' (his 'house,' 1Ch 10^{6}). David had also foreign guards, CHERETHITES AND PELETHITES (which see). At a later time the *Carites*, הַכָּרִי *hakkârî* (2 K 11^{4} RV), were probably foreign guards. On the other hand, מִשְׁמַעַת *mishma'ath*, 'guard' (2 S 23^{23} =1 Ch 11^{25}) probably means 'council' (as 1 S 22^{14} RV), the body which heard (fr. שָׁמַע *shâma'*, 'to hear') the king's affairs (but see Driver, *ad loc.*). The guard had an armoury or guardroom, תָּא הָרָצִים *tâ' hârâẓîm* (1 K 14^{28}), perhaps in the house of the forest of Lebanon (1 K 10^{17}). In the fallen state of Judah after the Return, Nehemiah's guards (if regular guards they were) are called (not *râẓîm*, 'runners,' for the word suggests 'pomp,' but) אַנְשֵׁי הַמִּשְׁמָר *'anshê hammishmâr*, 'men of the watch' (Neh 4^{23}).

3. The well-known **Prætorian Guard** is mentioned in two places of the NT, in Ac 28^{16} (a passage absent from WH and from RV text) *τῷ στρατοπεδάρχῃ* (-*χῳ*), 'the captain of the guard' ('of the prætorian guard,' RVm), and in Ph 1^{13} *ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ πραιτωρίῳ*, 'throughout the whole prætorian guard,' RV.

4. There is mention in Mt $27^{65.\,66}$ (*ἔχετε κουστωδίαν*, 'ye have a guard,' RV) of the Temple Guard, which, under a Roman officer, was stationed in the Tower of Antonia, and had charge of the high-priestly vestments (Jos. *Ant.* XV. xi. 4).

5. In Mk 6^{27} *σπεκουλάτωρ* (Lat. *speculator*, 'a soldier of his guard,' RV) properly means 'a look-out officer.' Ten such officers were attached to each legion. They were used for bearing despatches (Suet. *Calig.* 44), and for executions (Senec. *De Ira*, i. 16). See Wordsworth on Mk 6^{27}, and Benson, *Cyprian*, p. 505 note.

W. E. BARNES.

GUDGODAH (הַגֻּדְגֹּדָה).—A station in the journeyings of the Israelites, mentioned only Dt 10^{7}, whence they proceeded to Jotbathah. There can be little doubt that **Hor-haggidgad** in the itinerary of Nu 33^{33} indicates the same place. The general considerations which suggest a site for it in or near the Arabah are given in § iv. of the art. EXODUS, and the position of Wady Ghudaghid (which runs into the Wady Jerafeh, see maps of Robinson and Palmer) is suitable, but the identity of name is exceedingly doubtful (see Driver on Dt 10^{7}). It should be noted that Gudgodah has the def. art. in Heb., and that the LXX translates *Γαδγάδ*, as it does in the case of Horhaggidgad (wh. see).

A. T. CHAPMAN.

GUESS is used intrans. (followed by 'at') in the sense of 'divine,' 'find out,' Wis 9^{16} 'Hardly do we guess aright at things that are upon earth' (*μόλις εἰκάζομεν*, Vulg. 'difficile æstimamus,' RV 'divine,' RVm 'conjecture'); Sir 9^{14} 'As near as thou canst, guess at thy neighbour, and consult with the wise' (*στόχασαι τοὺς πλησίον*; Vulg. 'cave te a proximo tuo'; RV 'guess at thy neighbours'; Edersheim, 'seek to make out,' or 'search out'). Shaks., who uses the word chiefly transitively, has it in this sense also, as *Ant. and Cleop.* III. iii. 29—

> 'Guess at her years, I pr'ythee';

and *Lucrece*, 1238—

> 'Their gentle sex to weep are often willing;
> Grieving themselves to guess at others' smarts.'

GUEST occurs three times in EV of OT, and in every instance it is the trⁿ of a Heb. term (קְרֻאִים) which means simply 'called.' A similar term is used in Arabic. Thus we have the 'guests' at Adonijah's feast, 1 K $1^{41.\,49}$; the 'guests' of the 'foolish woman,' Pr 9^{18}; the 'guests' whom J″ consecrates to partake of the sacrifice consisting of Israel, Zeph 1^{7} (see Davidson and Nowack, *ad loc.*). In NT we read of the 'guests' (*ἀνακείμενοι*, lit. 'those reclining') at the wedding feast. In Lk 19^{7} RV more exactly substitutes 'gone in to lodge' for AV 'gone to be guest.' The Gr. is *καταλῦσαι*, which occurs in the same sense in Gn 19^{2} $24^{23.\,25}$ (both לִין), Sir $14^{25.\,27}$ 36^{31} [Eng.^{26}].

Guest-chamber (*κατάλυμα*) occurs in Mk 14^{14}, Lk 22^{11}, and in RV is substituted for 'parlour' of AV in 1 S 9^{22}. The Heb. is לִשְׁכָּה, which here means 'sacrificial dining-room.' See INN.

The Heb. term (קָרוּא) may suggest a wayfarer who is hailed and urged to come in, and is suggestive at once of the infrequency of travel and the simplicity of the ancient life. It is still the universal custom for those who are sitting at meat in the open air to invite any passers-by to join them. Masons sitting at their mid-day meal by the roadside invite any passer-by who happens to look at them. In the house, the master or mistress passing through the kitchen where the servants are taking food, will be courteously invited to partake. Usually such invitations are a mere expression of courtesy, and it is not expected that they will be acted upon; but the custom, now largely artificial, explains what the reality must have been.

Job mentions, as an item in his self-defence, that he did not eat his morsel alone (Job 31^{17}).

In the East, no figure is more invested with chivalry than the guest. In his own right he cannot cross the threshold, but, when once he is invited within, all do him honour and unite in rendering service (Gn 18. 19, Jg 19; cf. Trumbull, *Oriental Social Life*, 73 ff.). For this relationship of host and guest, see further under Hospitality.

G. M. Mackie.

GUILT.—See Sin. **GUILT-OFFERING.**—See Sacrifice.

GUILTY.—The adj. ἔνοχος (=ἐνεχόμενος, 'held in,' 'in the grip of') is tr^{d} 'in danger of' in Mt $5^{21.\ 22\ ter}$, Mk 3^{29} (RV 'guilty of'); and in He 2^{15} 'subject to'; but in its remaining occurrences it is rendered in AV 'guilty of,' Mt 26^{66} 'He is guilty of death,' RV 'worthy of,' RVm 'liable to'; Mk 14^{64}; 1 Co 11^{27} 'guilty of the body and blood of the Lord,' so RV; Ja 2^{10} 'For whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one *point*, he is guilty of all,' RV 'is become guilty of all.' The phrase is quite un-English, and, although it is found elsewhere, as in the translation of the First Article of the *Judgement of the Synode of Dort* (1619), 'Forasmuchas all men have sinned in Adam, and are become guiltie of the curse, and eternall death,' it is used, no doubt, in imitation of the Eng. versions.* The expression is introduced by Wyclif after the Vulg. 'reus est mortis'; Tind. in Mt 26^{66}, Mk 14^{64} used 'worthy of,' and was followed by all the versions, except the Rhem., which again tr^{d} the Vulg. 'guilty of,' and the Rhem. tr^{n} was accepted by AV; in 1 Co 11^{27}, Ja 2^{10} all the VSS have 'guilty of.' J. Hastings.

GULF.—Aldis Wright (in Shaks. *Macbeth*, on IV. i. 23), following Wedgwood, says that 'gulf' in the sense of arm of the sea is derived from Fr. *golfe*, It. *golfo*, and connected with Gr. κόλπος; but in the sense of whirlpool or swallowing eddy it is connected with Dutch *gulpen*, our 'gulp,' to swallow, and with the old Dutch *golpe*, a whirlpool. There are certainly the two distinct meanings, at any rate. Thus Hakluyt, *Voyages*, iii. 206, 'among which high and low lands there is a gulfe or breach in some places about 55 fadome deepe, and 15 leagues in bredth'; and Shaks. *Henry V*. II. iv. 10—

> 'England his approaches makes as fierce
> As waters to the sucking of a gulf.'

In the latter sense the word is used figuratively, as T. Fuller, *Holy and Profane State*, ii. 16—'Nor do I honour the memory of Mulcaster for anything so much, as for his Scholar, that gulf of learning, Bishop Andrews.' But it is in the former sense that the word is used in AV. It is found only in Lk 16^{26} 'Between us and you there is a great gulf fixed.' The Gr. is χάσμα, which occurs only here in NT, and in LXX only 2 S 18^{17} where it translates פַּחַת the great 'pit' (EV) in the forest into which they cast the body of Absalom. The Gr. χάσμα gives our word 'chasm,' but that word was scarcely in use* before 1611, and is not found in any of the versions. Wyc. (after Vulg. 'chaos† magnum') has 'a greet derke place,' and Rhem. more literally 'a great chaos'; Tind. chose 'a great space,' and was followed by Cov., Rog., Cran.; the Gen. introduced 'a great gulfe' (with 'swallowing pit' in the margin), and the Bishops, AV, RV have accepted that rendering.

The Rabbinical conception of the separation between the two parts of Hades was a thin wall, a mere hand- or finger-breadth (Weber, *Lehre des Talmud*, 326 f.). J. Hastings.

GUNI (גּוּנִי).—1. The eponym of a Naphtalite family, Gn 46^{24}=1 Ch 7^{13} (cf. Nu 26^{48} where the gentilic **Gunites** occurs). 2. A Gadite chief, 1 Ch 5^{15}. See Genealogy. According to Klostermann, Driver, and Budde, we should also read 'the Gunite' (הַגּוּנִי) for 'Jonathan' in 2 S 23^{32}; and for 'the Gizonite' in 1 Ch 11^{34}. Luc. has in the first passage ὁ Γουνύ and in the second ὁ Γουνί.

GUR (גּוּר 'dwelling,' 'sojourning').—An 'ascent' by Ibleam and Beth-haggan, 2 K 9^{27}. Possibly, these two are the modern *Yebla* and *Beit Jenn*. But see Ibleam.

GUR-BAAL (גּוּר־בַּעַל, 'dwelling of Baal').—An unknown locality named in 2 Ch 26^{7}. The LXX has οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς Πέτρας, as though Petra were intended, which is possible, as the inhabitants were Arabs.

GUTTER (צִנּוֹר; RV 'watercourse').—The meaning of this word, and indeed of the whole passage (2 S 5^{8}), is very uncertain (cf. Driver, *in loc.*), but the rendering of the RV is supported by its use in later Hebrew. The same word occurs in the plural at Ps 42^{7}, where it is usually rendered 'cataracts.'

J. F. Stenning.

---

* Is this T. Fuller's meaning in *Profane State*, v. 5—'Putting her [Joan of Arc] to death would render all English men guilty which should hereafter be taken prisoners by the French'?

* The *Oxf. Eng. Dict.* has found only two occurrences before 1611, Fitz-geffray, *Sir F. Drake* (1596), 31, 'Earth-gaping Chasma's, that mishap aboades'; and Holland, *Pliny*, i. 17, 'The firmament also is seene to chinke and open, and this they name Chasma.'

† For the various readings of the Vulg see Plummer, *in loc.*

H

HA.—The Heb. interjection הֶאָח *he'âḥ* is once tr^{d} 'ha, ha,' Job 39^{25} 'He saith among the trumpets, Ha, ha,' of the neighing of the war-horse. The Revisers have changed this into 'Aha!' and have been taken to task for giving the horse a human cry. The older versions were still more 'human,' as Wyc. (1382) 'Fy!' or (1388) 'Joie!' Cov. 'tush,' Dou. 'Vah.' 'Ha, ha' comes from the Gen. Bible. See AH, AHA.

HAAHASHTARI (הָאֲחַשְׁתָּרִי, perhaps 'royal,' from Pers. *khshâtra*, 'lordship' or 'realm'; cf. the similar adjective in Est $8^{10.14}$).—A descendant of Judah, 1 Ch 4^{6}. See GENEALOGY.

HABAIAH (חֳבַיָּה 'J″ hath hidden').—The head of a priestly family which returned with Zerubbabel. On account of their being unable to trace their genealogy they were not allowed to serve (Ezr 2^{61}). In the parallel passage Neh 7^{63} the name is written **Hobaiah** (חֳבָיָּה, cf. Baer on Ezr 2^{61}). In 1 Es 5^{38} he is called Obdia. See GENEALOGY.

H. A. WHITE.

HABAKKUK (חֲבַקּוּק, Ἀμβακούμ, *Habacuc*).[*]—The eighth of the minor prophets. Of Habakkuk's personal life nothing is known with certainty, though it has been inferred, from the fact that he is termed specifically (1^{1} 3^{1}) 'the prophet,' that he held a recognized position as prophet, and, from the expression 'on *my* stringed instruments' in 3^{19}, that he was a member of the temple choir, and belonged, consequently, to the tribe of Levi. The first of these inferences is a possible one,[†] though it does not add much to our knowledge of Habakkuk. The second is doubtful, both on account of the uncertainty attaching to the pron. *my*, which is against the analogy of other similar notices (Ps 4, etc.), and also on account of the doubt (supposing the pron. to be correct) whether at this time the 'singers' were necessarily Levites.

CONTENTS OF H.'S BOOK.—The book opens with a dialogue between the prophet and his God. He contemplates with dismay the reign of lawlessness and violence in Judah,—'The wicked doth compass about the righteous; therefore judgment goeth forth perverted,'—and expostulates with God for permitting it to continue unchecked (1^{2-4}). 1^{5-11} J″ answers that the instrument of punishment is near at hand—the Chaldæans, that bitter and hasty nation, which march through the breadth of the earth to possess dwelling-places that are not theirs, whose advance is swift and terrible, whose sole law is their own imperious will (v.^{7b}), who mock at the strongest barriers set to oppose their march, and who, as their victorious arms subjugate one country after another, impiously deify their own might—'this his power becometh his god.' But the answer raises only a fresh difficulty in the prophet's mind; as he contemplates the Chaldæans, and thinks of their rapacity, their inhumanity, their savage and contemptuous treatment of the nations falling into their hands, the thought forces itself upon him, Can this be God's method of rectifying injustice? if He has 'ordained' the power of the Chaldæans 'for judgment,' can it be part of His pure and holy purpose that they should to such a degree exceed the terms of their commission, and trample recklessly and indiscriminately upon all the nations of the known world? Is not this the prevalence of wrong upon a larger scale? In 2^{1-4} Habakkuk places himself in imagination upon his prophetic watch-tower (cf. Is 21^{6}), and 'looks out' to see what answer the Almighty will vouchsafe to his 'complaint,' or impeachment of the justice of God's government of the world. J″'s answer, the significance of which is betokened by the terms in which it is introduced—it is to be written, namely, on tablets, that all may read it easily—is this: *The soul of the Chaldæan is elated with pride: but the righteous shall live by his faithfulness.*[*] The answer expresses a moral distinction; and the distinction carries with it the different destinies of the Chaldæan and of the righteous,—destruction (it is implied), sooner or later, for the one, and life for the other. After dwelling for a moment more particularly—in a verse (v.^{5}), of which the first words are desperately corrupt—upon the ambitious aims of the Chaldæans, the prophet develops at length the ruin destined in the end to overtake him, in the form of a taunting poem (מָשָׁל), which he imagines, with dramatic vividness and propriety, to be pronounced against him by the nations whom he has outraged. The מָשָׁל consists of five 'woes' (cf. Is $5^{8ff.}$), denouncing in succession the insatiable lust of conquest displayed by the Chaldæans, the suicidal policy pursued by them in establishing their dominion, the dishonesty and cruelty by which the magnificence of their cities was maintained, their wild and barbarous triumph over the nations which fell under their sway, their irrational idolatry (vv.$^{6-19}$). At the close of the last 'woe,' the prophet passes by contrast from the contemplation of the dumb and helpless idol to the thought of the living God, enthroned in His heavenly palace, before whom the earth must hold reverential silence (v.^{20}).

Ch. 3 is very different in character from chs. 1. 2. Though called in the title a 'prayer,' the prayer, strictly so called, is limited to v.^{2}, the main part of the chapter consisting of a lyric ode, of remarkable sublimity and poetic force, in which the prophet develops the thought of J″ coming to judgment, and executing vengeance on His people's foes. The prayer is that J″ would 'revive' His 'work in the midst of years,' *i.e.* renew or repeat, in the midst of the centuries that have passed since the exodus, the great 'work' (Ps 44^{1}) of deliverance wrought by Him of old. The ode which follows is the amplification of the thought thus expressed. The prophet pictures a theophany (vv.$^{3-15}$) in which J″ appears for the deliverance of His people and the discomfiture of His foes. The theophany is manifestly delineated in colours suggested by the thought of the exodus, and in part (as v.^{3}) even borrowed from old poetic descriptions of it. The tenses (as sometimes is the case in

---

[*] The form of the name is peculiar. It is, in appearance, an irregular reduplicated form for what would more normally be חֲבַקְבּוּק (cf. פְּתַלְתֹּל, אֲדַמְדָּם, אֲסַפְסֻף, חֲבַרְבֻּרוֹת), from חָבַק *to embrace* (Gn 29^{13} etc.; of a child, 2 K 4^{16}), whence Jerome, in the Pref. to his Commentary on the prophet, explains it as περίληψις, or *amplexatio*. Frd. Delitzsch (*Proleg.* 84; *Assyr. Handwörterb.* 281) derives it from the Assyr. *ḫambaḳûku*, the name of some garden plant. The LXX form Ἀμβακούμ presupposes the pronunciation חַבָּקוּק, or חֲבַקּוּק, with the double *b* resolved into *mb* (cf. König, *Lehrgeb.* ii. 473), and the final *k* of the last syllable assimilated to the final *m* of the first syllable (cf. ΒεελζεβουΛ).

[†] The title, 'the prophet,' is applied in the superscriptions of their books to none of the other canonical prophets except Haggai and Zechariah. It is, however, very common in the historical books when a prophet is mentioned (as 2 K 14^{25} 19^{2}); and it is also appended very often to Jeremiah's name in certain sections of his book (20^{2} $28^{5.15}$ etc.).

[*] Not *faith*: but moral steadfastness and integrity; see the use of אֱמוּנָה in 2 K $12^{16\,(15)}$ 22^{7}, Jer 5^{1} $9^{3\,(2)}$, Pr 12^{22} 28^{20}.

Hebrew poetry) are ambiguous; and it may be doubtful whether in vv.$^{3-15}$ the poet is describing, in ideal colours, the past which he desires to see renewed, or the renewed work itself, which his imagination pictures as resembling the past. In either case, he describes (vv.$^{5-7}$) J″ as approaching from His ancient seat in Edom (Paran, cf. Dt 33^2; Teman [in N.W. Edom], cf. Seir and Edom, Jg 5^4); the light of His appearing illumines the heavens; the earth quakes, and nations flee in consternation. In vv.$^{8-11}$ the poet asks, What is the purpose of J‴'s manifestation? Is He wroth with seas or rivers that He thus comes forth, causing the mountains to tremble, the sea to toss and roar, the sun and moon to hide themselves in terror? No; He comes forth for the salvation of His people, to annihilate those who sought to scatter it, and who delighted in the prospect of being able to ruin the people of God (vv.$^{12-15}$). The description of the theophany ended, the poet, speaking in the people's name, reverts to the thought of v.^{2a}. The prospect of J‴'s manifestation cannot be contemplated without alarm, even by Israel; the poet's heart palpitates with fear (v.$^{16d.\,e}$ is very obscure, and in parts evidently corrupt); on the other hand, even when scarcity and barrenness prevail in the land, he still cherishes a calm and joyous confidence in his God, who, he is persuaded, will yet ensure His people's salvation, and equip them (v.^{19}) with fresh life and strength.

DATE OF THE BOOK.—It is clear from internal evidence that H. prophesied towards the beginning of the Chaldæan supremacy; but the precise date of his prophecy is difficult to fix. It depends in fact, at least in part, upon the answer given to a difficult question connected with ch. 1, which must therefore be considered first. The explanation of this chapter adopted above is the usual one; but it must be admitted that there are difficulties connected with it, and that it has failed to satisfy many recent scholars. In the first place, whereas the establishment of the power of the Chaldæans appears, in 1^5 (where it is represented as incredible to those who hear of it) and in 1^6 (where the phrase used is 'Behold, *I am raising up*'), to lie in the future; elsewhere, and especially in 1^{13-16} $2^{8a.\,10.\,17}$, the prophet describes their treatment of conquered nations, and reflects upon the moral problems to which this gave rise, in a manner which seems to imply that he and his countrymen were perfectly familiar with it. Secondly, if 1^{2-4} be the prophet's complaint respecting the injustice prevalent in Israel itself, which (1^{5-11}) is to be avenged by the Chaldæans, how can he consistently complain of the Chaldæans' treatment of his people, and pronounce judgment upon them on account of it? Thirdly, the subject of the complaint in 2^1 is naturally, it is urged, the same as that of 1^{2-4}; whereas, in the explanation adopted above, it is different. Fourthly, the 'wicked' and the 'righteous' in 1^{13} are naturally the same, respectively, as the 'wicked' and the 'righteous' in 1^4; whereas, upon the same explanation, they are different (the wicked and the righteous in Israel itself in 1^4, the Chaldæans and Israel in 1^{13}). Upon these grounds it was argued by Giesebrecht (*Beiträge zur Jesaiakritik*, 1890, p. 197 f.) that the true sequel to 1^4 was 1^{12}; that 1^{5-11} (announcing the *advent* of the Chaldæans) was a complete, independent prophecy, written *before* the rest of chs. 1–2, and not now in its original place, and that 1^{2-4} describes the tyranny of the *Chaldæans* (v.^{3b}), and its consequences as shown in the relaxation of law and religion (vv.$^{3c.\,4a}$) in Judah. Wellhausen and Nowack (in their Commentaries) agree. It is true, 1^{5-11} does seem to presuppose a different historical situation from 1^{12-17}, and, with 1^{2-4} (as ordinarily understood), may well have been written down by H. at an earlier date: the book as a whole, as Kirkpatrick observes (*Doctrine of the Prophets*^{1}, 268), 'is the fruit of religious reflection; it exhibits the communing and questioning of the prophet's soul with God,' which doubtless was 'spread over some considerable time,' and presents conclusions which were no doubt reached only after 'a prolonged mental struggle.' Hence there is nothing unreasonable in the supposition that 1^{2-11} reflects the impression left upon the prophet's mind when he first thought of the Chaldæans as the instrument appointed for the punishment of Judah's sin, and that $1^{12\text{ff.}}$ expresses the perplexity which he became conscious of afterwards, when the character of the Chaldæans had become more fully known to him. For the other inferences mentioned above there does not seem to be a sufficient foundation. The explanation which refers 1^{2-4} to the tyranny of the Chaldæans, and its effects in Judah, is unnatural and forced. Nor is there any intrinsic reason why 'righteous' and 'wicked' should refer to the same persons, respectively, in 1^4 and 1^{13}; that would be necessary only if it were the case that the prophet had the same individuals in view in the two passages—which is just what here has to be shown, even if the terms of 1^{2-4} are not opposed to it.

A very original view of chs. 1–2 has been propounded by Budde (*Stud. u. Krit.* 1893, p. 383 ff.; *Expositor*, May 1895, p. 372 ff.). According to this scholar $1^{2-4.\,12-17}$ refers not to the Chaldæans but to the *Assyrians*; 1^{6-11} stood originally after 2^4 as a description of the power (the Chaldæans) which would shortly bring the rule of the Assyrians to an end, and 2^{6-20} gives expression to the joy with which the nations would greet their fall. In the original prophecy the Chaldæans thus appeared as the liberators of Israel from the yoke of Assyria; but events so cruelly belied the *rôle* thus given to them, that it was believed incredible that a prophet could ever have ascribed it to them; accordingly a later editor transferred 1^{6-11} to its present place, adding 1^5 as an introductory verse, and by the transposition so altering the original sense of the prophecy that 1^{12-17} $2^{4\text{ff.}}$ could now be read only as referring to the *Chaldæans*, who thus, from being the power destroying the Assyrians, became the power to be destroyed. The explanation is ingenious; but of a kind that could be deemed probable only if it rested upon exceptionally strong grounds, which, however, in the present instance, cannot be said to be the case; cf. more fully Davidson, pp. 50–55.

The most probable date for the prophecy of H. is shortly before B.C. 600—1^{2-11}, if the view adopted above be correct, being written somewhat earlier than the rest of the prophecy. Nabopolassar had made Babylon the seat of an independent monarchy in 625; in 607, with the help (as recently discovered inscriptions inform us *) of the Umman-manda, Nineveh had been destroyed; in 604, Nabopolassar's son, Nebuchadrezzar, had inflicted a defeat upon Pharaoh-necho at Carchemish (Jer 46^2), the natural result of which, as Jeremiah at once saw (ch. 25, etc.), could only be that the whole of Western Asia would fall into the hands of the Chaldæans. The Chaldæans invaded Judah for the first time in 601 or 600 (2 K 24^1). Our knowledge of the progress of the Chaldæan arms, and of the effects which the news of it produced in Judah, is not minute enough to enable us to fix dates with precision; but while 1^{2-11} may belong to the earlier or middle part of the period which has been here referred to, when (v.^{6}) the power of the Chaldæans was being consolidated, but (v.^{5}) the formidable character which it would ere long ('in your days') attain was still not realized in Judah, the familiarity shown in such passages as 1^{14-17} $2^{5b.\,8.\,17}$ etc. with their treatment of subject nations, and the reflections which their threatened interference in Judah arouses in the prophet's mind, point to the close of the same period as that to which the main part of the prophecy belongs.

CRITICAL QUESTIONS CONNECTED WITH THE BOOK.—Those connected with ch. 1 have been sufficiently discussed above; it remains to consider those arising in connexion with ch. 2 and ch. 3. As regards ch. 2, Stade (*ZATW*, 1884, p. 154 ff.) and Kuenen (*Einl.* § 76. 4–7 ; 77. 9) argue that the 'Woes' in vv.$^{9-20}$ are partly unsuitable if supposed to be addressed to the Chaldæan king, and partly, especially in vv.$^{12-14}$, that they consist largely of citations and reminiscences of other passages, including some late ones (*e.g.* v.^{12} from Mic 3^{10} ; v.^{13} from Jer 51^{58} ; v.^{14} from Is 11^{9} ; cf. also v.^{16b} with Jer $25^{15f.}$, and vv.$^{18-20}$ with Is $44^{9ff.}$ $46^{6f.}$, Jer 10^{1-16}), and hence they infer that the original close of H.'s prophecy, 2^{6b-8}, was expanded in the post-exilic age by the addition of a series of Woes, directed against 'some heathen or heathenly-disposed enemy of the congregation,' or (vv.$^{13f.\ 18-20}$ Kuenen) the heathen generally. It is difficult to think that the grounds for this conclusion are sufficient. Though some of the passages referred to may not suit the Chaldæan *king*, there is no adequate reason for holding them inapplicable to the personified Chaldæan nation ; while as regards vv.$^{12-14}$, H. may naturally himself have quoted Isaiah and Micah : v.^{13} may well be the original of Jer 51^{58} (especially when the very dependent character of the prophecy in Jer 50^{2}–51^{58} is borne in mind), and there is nothing to prevent 2^{18-20} being a satire on the vanities of idolatry, quite independent of II Is or Jer 10. Budde (*l.c.* p. 391 f.) sees no ground for questioning vv.$^{[12].\ 9-11.\ 15-17}$; Wellhausen (p. 164) considers it indubitable that the whole of vv.$^{9-20}$ is directed against the Chaldæan (though he thinks that vv.$^{8b.\ 17b}$, where they stand, are unsuitable, and that vv.$^{12-14.\ 15-17}$ contain indications of belonging to a later age than that of H.) ; Nowack questions only vv.$^{8b.\ 12-14.\ 17b-20}$. See, further, Davidson, pp. 56–58.

---

* See Davidson, p. 137 f., with the references.

Whether the ode in ch. 3 is really the work of H. may be more doubtful. The title and the musical notes (vv.$^{3.\ 9.\ 13.\ 19}$), both resembling closely those in the Psalter, suggest the inference that it was excerpted from a liturgical collection, and placed here by a compiler (Kuenen, § 76. 8 ; Cheyne, *Origin of the Psalter*, p. 157 ; Wellh. ; Nowack ; and others). The same scholars (following Stade, *l.c.* p. 157 f.) argue further that the ode was originally an independent poem, unconnected with the prophecy of H. : to the circumstances of H.'s age, so clearly reflected in chs. 1–2, there are here no allusions ; the community is the speaker (vv.$^{14.\ 18.\ 19}$, and no doubt also in vv.$^{2.\ 16}$) ; it trusts that J″ will interfere in its behalf ; but the description of the foe (vv.$^{13.\ 14}$) is quite general, there are no features pointing specifically to the Chaldæans ; and the comparison to a murderer delighting 'to devour the afflicted in a secret place' (cf. Ps $10^{8.\ 9}$) suggests attacks made insidiously against the theocracy, rather than the open warfare of the Chaldæans ; while, at least in v.^{17}, the calamities referred to (failure of crops and flocks) are altogether different from those which were the burden of Hab 1–2. Conversely, the promise in 2^{4}, which is the prophet's consolation, does not at all suggest a theophany as its complement ; and whereas in $2^{7ff.}$ the Chaldæans are overthrown by the natural retribution which overtakes a despot, when his power has become effete, the foe, in ch. 3, is overthrown by the direct interposition of J″. It is true the calamities mentioned in 3^{17} might, in the abstract, be regarded as results of the Chaldæan invasion of Judah ; but, as Davidson remarks, 'the verse does not suggest a condition of scarcity and barrenness arising from' such a cause, 'but rather one due to the incidence of severe natural calamities' ; and had the poet been writing under the pressure of a hostile invasion, the invasion itself would naturally have been expected to form the prominent feature in this picture, rather than the misfortunes following in its train. So, again, it is no doubt true that the downfall of the Chaldæan, though brought about (ch. 2) by natural causes, might in ch. 3 be represented as the result of J″'s interposition (cf. Is 13) ; but even after making every allowance for the fact that chs. 1–2 are only elevated prose, while ch. 3 is written in a lyric strain, it remains that the thoughts most characteristic of chs. 1–2 are not developed further in ch. 3, but replaced by different ones. Kirkpatrick (Smith's *DB*^{2} *s.v.*, *Doctrine of the Prophets*, p. 276–283) seeks to show that the ode in ch. 3 forms an integral element in the prophet's book ; but his arguments show, not so much that it is natural or necessary, as that it is *possible* so to explain it ; the destined fall of the Chaldæan tyrant is sufficiently declared in 2^{5-20}, and ch. 3 is not *needed* to render the announcement more explicit. Nor again, though 2^{20} would lead on naturally to the theophany in ch. 3, can it be said, in view of the contrast to vv.$^{18.\ 19}$ which the verse expresses, to require it, or to be incomplete without it. Wellh. (p. 166) insists strongly that vv.$^{17-19}$ is not the original close of the poem, and that it cannot be used for determining the real aim of vv.$^{2-16}$. If vv.$^{17-19}$ might be regarded as an appendix attached to vv.$^{2-16}$ by a later hand, one ground for doubting H.'s authorship of the latter would be certainly removed. There would remain the other differences between 3^{2-16} and chs. 1–2, alluded to above ; it is also felt by many to be doubtful whether the *nation* — which seems to be what is intended by the term—would, in the age of H., be described as J″'s 'anointed' (3^{13}), and whether this usage does not presuppose a period in which the attributes and position belonging originally to David and his descendants were transferred to the people (cf. Davidson's note). On the whole, while reluctant to conclude that the ode of ch. 3 is not the work of H., and while readily allowing that the reasons adduced do not *demonstrate* that it is not his, the present writer must own that it contains features which seem to him to make it difficult to affirm his authorship confidently.

TEACHING OF THE BOOK. — Theologically, the different point of view of H. as compared with Jeremiah is observable. Jeremiah is so deeply impressed by the spectacle of his people's sin, that he regards the Chaldæans almost exclusively as the instruments of judgment ; their destruction is seen by him only in the distant future, and is viewed rather as involved in God's purpose to restore His people, than as a retribution for their own tyranny and excesses. H., on the other hand, though not unmindful of Judah's faults (1^{2-4}), is engrossed chiefly by the thought of the cruelties and inhumanities of the oppressor ; it is these which, in his eyes, call for judgment, and the outraged nations of the earth execute it upon their tyrant. Further, H. is conscious of a problem, a moral difficulty, which is not the case with Jeremiah.[*] The wrong-doing of the Chaldæans is more unbearable than the evil it was meant to punish ; hence their continued successes seem to the prophet to be inconsistent with J″'s righteousness, and it is the existence of this inconsistency which forms the motive of his book. Thus while Jeremiah bewailed the sins and coming misfortunes of his people, for their own sake, H. brooded over the moral problems which the contemplation of them raised in his mind. The age, we may be sure, was to all the faithful servants of God one of trial and perplexity ; but, in virtue of their different temperaments and mental habits, the two contemporary prophets were impressed by different aspects of it.

The central and distinctive teaching of the book lies in the declaration of 2^4; and, as indicated above, the true sense of this is, that while the wild excesses of the tyrant carry in them the germ of certain ruin, the 'faithfulness' of the righteous (not his *faith*) will be to him a principle of life. It is evident that this declaration is no *solution* of the moral anomaly which the prophet discerns. The Chaldæan might indeed, in virtue of his very nature, be doomed ultimately to perish, but his empire survived for 70 years; and meanwhile H.'s compatriots, so far from abiding in peace and security, experienced the indescribable hardships of siege and exile. But 'live' is here used in the full and pregnant sense which it sometimes has in the OT (*e.g.* Ezk 18), of living in the light and consciousness of the divine favour; and what H. thus promises is not *mere* material prosperity, but the moral security—of course often not unaccompanied by material benefits—which righteousness brings with it even in the midst of external calamities (cf. Is 33^{14-16}), and the sense of divine approval which even then does not desert it. It is enough for the prophet if he can mitigate the difficulty which pressed upon him, as it pressed no doubt upon many of his contemporaries, by recalling to them these two truths of God's providence, the doom which, at least ultimately, overtakes the tyrant, and the moral security enjoyed by the righteous.

---

[*] Jeremiah, it is true, is vexed by the problem of the prosperity of the wicked (12^{1-6}), but only in so far as it is exemplified by his own personal opponents.

With regard to the use made of 2^4 in the NT, 'another man,' writes Wellhausen quaintly, 'has made the antithesis in this verse famous, by breathing into it another spirit.' Its second clause is quoted, namely, twice by St. Paul (Ro 1^{17}, Gal 3^{11}; cf. also He 10^{38}), in the sense, 'The just shall live by *faith*,' in support of his doctrine of justification by faith. This sense, whether it was intended or not by the LXX translators, whose version the apostle used, was at any rate one which the Greek word used by them permitted; and it was accordingly adopted by St. Paul in his argument. But it is not the sense belonging to the Heb. אֱמוּנָה.* The NT gives us here what is in reality a *development* of the prophet's thought. The apostle, familiar with the verse as it read in the LXX version, amplifies and spiritualizes the words of H., interpreting them in a sense which does not properly belong to them, but which, as it was suggested, or permitted, by the Greek, fitted them in that form for use in his argument.†

LITERARY AND TEXTUAL CHARACTERISTICS.—The *literary power* of H. is considerable. Though his book is a brief one, it is full of force; his descriptions are graphic and powerful; thought and expression are alike poetic; he is still a master of the old classical style, terse, parallelistic, and pregnant; there is no trace of the often prosaic diffuseness which manifests itself in the writings of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. And if ch. 3 be his, he is, moreover, a lyric poet of high order; the grand imagery and rhythmic flow of this ode will bear comparison with some of the finest productions of the Hebrew muse.

The *text* of H. is manifestly, in many places, more or less corrupt,—in some places, unfortunately, even beyond hope of restoration.

LEGENDS RELATING TO HABAKKUK.—Although, as said above, the prophet's personal life is in the OT a blank, Jewish *haggādāh* found much to tell of him,—often, indeed, in defiance of chronology and historical probability. Thus, according to one legend,—based, no doubt, upon a connexion fancifully established between the command, 'Go, set a watchman,' in Is 21^6 and the words of Hab 2^1 'I will stand upon my watch,'—H. was supposed to have been the sentinel set by Isaiah to watch for the fall of Babylon! Some of the later Rabbis, connecting his name with the words in 2 K 4^{16} 'Thou shalt *embrace* a son,' imagined him even to be the son of the Shunammite woman, whom Elisha restored to life. In the LXX text of Bel and the Dragon, as given in the Cod. Chisianus (Swete, vol. iii. pp. xii, 586), this story is prefaced by the words *ἐκ προφητείας Ἀμβακοὺμ υἱοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Λευί*, showing both that this story was taken from an apocryphal work attributed to Habakkuk, and also that the prophet was described in it as the son of Jesus (Joshua, or Jeshua), and of the tribe of Levi. What authority there may have been for the statement that his father was *Ἰησοῦς*, we do not know: the description of him as belonging to the tribe of Levi may be merely an inference from the expression in 3^{19}, quoted above.* According to the 'Lives' of the prophets, which, in two recensions, are attributed respectively to Dorotheus (in the *Chron. Pasch.*, under Ol. 70, ed. Dind. 1832, i. 282) and Epiphanius (*Opp.* 1622 or 1682, ii. 247 f.), he was of the tribe of Simeon, *ἐξ ἀγροῦ Βῆθι τοῦ Χάρ* (Epiph. *ἐξ ἀγροῦ Βηθζοχήρ*), which Delitzsch thinks may be the *Βαιθζαχαρία* where Antiochus Eupator defeated Judas Maccabæus (1 Mac $6^{32.33}$),—though this was not in Simeon, but in Judah, 70 stadia from Beth-zur (Jos. *Ant.* XII. ix. 4), and the modern Beit-Sakariyeh, about 10 miles S.W. of Jerusalem (Rob. *BRP* iii. 284). The same writers relate further, that when Nebuchadrezzar advanced against Jerusalem H. fled to Ostrakine (now Straki), a city on the Egyptian coast, 26 miles from the Rhinocorura, but that, after the Chaldæans had withdrawn, he returned to his own lands, where he died and was buried, two years before the return of the Jews from Babylon (B.C. 538). Eusebius states in one place (*Onom.* 246, 68) that his tomb was shown at Gabatha (Gibeah), elsewhere (256, 3; 270, 35), that it was shown at Echelah or Keeila (Keilah),—12 and 18 miles, respectively, S.W. of Jerusalem; and, according to Sozomen (*HE* vii. 29), the site of his grave, at or near Keilah, was revealed in a dream to Zebennus, bishop of Eleutheropolis. In the Middle Ages, however, it was said by Jewish writers that H. was buried at Ḥukkok (Jos 19^{34}), in the tribe of Naphtali, a little N.E. of Tabor. The most widely diffused tradition about H. is that found in Bel and the Dragon $^{33ff.}$, according to which H., while carrying pottage to his reapers, was suddenly directed by an angel to carry it to Daniel, who had been cast a second time, by *Cyrus*, into the lions' den in Babylon: upon protesting that he had never seen Babylon, and did not know where the den was, he was lifted up miraculously by a lock of his hair (cf. Ezk 8^3) and carried through the air to Babylon; having there provided Daniel with his repast, he was immediately taken back by the angel to his own place. Later Jewish writers, and many of the Fathers, allude to the same legend.†

---

* A word expressing the idea of *steadfastness* or *faithfulness*, might, no doubt, if limited to a relation towards a particular person, pass readily into that of *fidelity*, or *loyalty*, towards him; and this, again, might pass on into that of *belief*, or *faith*, in him; but there is no evidence that this Heb. word passed actually through these possible changes of meaning.

† Comp. similar instances of enlarged meanings in Ro $9^{25f.29}$ $10^{18.20}$, Eph 4^8 etc.

* Though, as Keil observes, it could, at least, not be derived from the LXX; for that does not express the pron. *my*.

† See further, on the legends referred to above, the references and discussion in Delitzsch, *De Hab. Proph. vita atque œtate* (Grimae, 1844), pp. 12–52. The story of Bel and the Dragon quoted (*ib.* p. 32 f.) by Raymundus Martini (*c.* 1250) in a form agreeing substantially with that of the Syriac version, from a Midrash called by him the *Bereshith Rabbah* (not the Midrash generally known by that name), the authenticity of which has been doubted (see *ib.* p. 34), has been found recently in nearly the same form in a MS published by Neubauer, in which it is stated to be excerpted from the Midrash *Rabbah de Rabbah* (*The Book of Tobit*, 1878, pp. viii, xiv, xci–ii, 39–43; cf. the *Speaker's Comm. to the Apocr.* ii. 344 f.).

LITERATURE. — Delitzsch, *Der Proph. Hab. ausgelegt*, 1843 (very full); Ewald, *Propheten* (iii. 27 ff. in the tr.); Hitzig, Keil, Pusey, Orelli, Wellhausen, Nowack, and G. A. Smith in their Comm. on the *Minor Prophets*; A. B. Davidson (in the *Camb. Bible for Schools*); F. W. Farrar in the *Minor Prophets* ('Men of the Bible'); A. F. Kirkpatrick, *Doctrine of the Prophets*; and the arts. quoted above. S. R. DRIVER.

HABAZZINIAH (חֲבַצִּנְיָה). — The grandfather of Jaazaniah, one of the Rechabites who were put to the proof by the prophet Jeremiah (Jer 35³).

HABERGEON (שִׁרְיָה *shiryah*), Job 41²⁶.—Obsolete expression (dim. of 'hauberk,' which is formed from Old Norse *hals* neck, and *bergan* to cover) for 'coat of mail' (*shiryan*). In Ex 28³² 39²³ the high priest's robe is compared to a habergeon (Heb. תַּחְרָא *taḥrâ'*) in that it was strengthened round the collar, 'that it should not rend.'

W. E. BARNES.

HABOR (חָבוֹר; A 'Αβώρ, B 'Αβώρ and 'Αβιώρ, *Habor*), still called *Khabour*. Strabo (xvii. § 27) and Procopius (*Bell. Pers.* ii. 5) call it *Aborrhas* ('Αβόῤῥας), Isidore of Charax (p. 248) *Aburas* ('Αβούρας), Zosimus (iii. 12) *Aboras* ('Αβώρας), Pliny *Chaboras*, Ptolemy (v. 18) *Chaboras* (Χαβώρας). According to the Bible (2 K 17⁶ 18¹¹, 1 Ch 5²⁶), it flows through Gozan. The Habor is an important tributary of the Euphrates, rising in Mons Masius (now called *Karej Dagh*), to the N. of the celebrated city *Râs el-'Ain* (Resaina), and flowing S.S.W., through a circuitous channel with fertile banks, into the Euphrates at Karkeseea = Abou-psera (Layard), after a course, to a great extent navigable, of nearly 200 miles. Sir H. Layard, standing on the conical hill of Koukab (about lat. 36° 20′ long. 41°), saw the main stream running from the N.W. and receiving (on the N.) the waters of the Mygdonius (Jerujer), which entered it after passing Nisibis and other cities. Both banks are covered with mounds, doubtless remains of Assyrian cities. The name of the Habor is found in the Assyrian inscriptions.

Tiglath-pileser I. (about B.C. 1120) boasts of having killed ten mighty elephants in the land of Haran and 'on the banks of the Habor.' Assur-naẓir-apli (B.C. 885–860) crossed the Tigris, conquered the district of the Ḫarmiš (or *Ḫar-rit* or *Ḫaršit*), then marched to the Euphrates after subjugating the district around the mouth of the Habor (*piâte ša nâr Ḫabur*, 'the mouths of the river Habor,' from which it would seem that the river flowed into the Euphrates through several outlets). According to 2 K 17⁶ 18¹¹ and 1 Ch 5²⁶ it was to the banks of this river that Shalmaneser and Sargon transported the exiled Israelites. It is now well known that this river has nothing to do with the 'Chebar' of Ezekiel (1³ etc.). The name *Habor* is perhaps of non-Semitic origin, and may mean 'fish-river' (*g'a* 'fish' + *bur* 'river,' Frd. Delitzsch). I. A. PINCHES.

HACALIAH (חֲכַלְיָה, Χελκ(ε)ιά, Χελκιάς (Luc.), 'Αχαλιά A א, 'Αχελιά (10¹), Neh 1¹ 10¹, AV Hachaliah).—The father of Nehemiah. The meaning of the name is doubtful; Wellhausen would read it as Hakkêlejah (חַכֵּלְיָה), *i.e.* 'wait for J″'; cf. Is 8¹⁷ 64³.

H. A. WHITE.

HACHILAH (חֲכִילָה 'dark'). — A hiding-place of David which was discovered to Saul by the Ziphites, 1 S 23¹⁹ 26¹⁻³. It was a hill (גִּבְעָה) in S. Judah, on the edge of the wilderness of Ziph; lying on the 'right' (*i.e.* to the south) of the desert (*yĕshîmôn*), according to the first of the above passages, or, according to the second, 'before' (עַל־פְּנֵי) the desert. It may be the hill *Dahr el-kôlâ*, N. of Wady el-W'ar (*PEF Mem.* ii. 313; Buhl, *GAP* 97). Glaser (*Skizze*, ii. 326) would read Hachilah also in 1 S 15⁷ instead of Havilah (חֲוִילָה).

C. R. CONDER.

HACHMONI, HACHMONITE. — Both represent one and the same Heb. word חַכְמוֹנִי, but in 1 Ch 27³² the latter is translated as a pr. name, 'Jehiel the son of Hachmoni,' whereas in 1 Ch 11¹¹ Jashobeam is called 'a Hachmonite.' We should probably render it in both cases as a gentilic name. In 2 S 23⁸, which is parallel to 1 Ch 11¹¹, we have 'the Tahchemonite' תַּחְכְּמֹנִי, which is probably a textual error for הַחַכְמֹנִי. (Cf. Klosterm., Driver, Wellhausen, Budde, Kittel, *ad ll. cit.*, and see ADINO, JASHOBEAM). J. A. SELBIE.

HADAD (הֲדַד, חֲדַד, 'Αδάδ, 'Αδάρ).—**1.** Hadad was the supreme Baal or god of Syria (Macrob. *Saturn.* i. 23. 18). The Assyr. inscriptions, however, identify him with the air-god Ramman or Rimmon, and accordingly in Zec 12¹¹ we find Hadad-Rimmon, 'Hadad is Rimmon.' But it is probable that Rimmon in certain parts of Syria represented the sun-god, and not, as in Assyria, the god of the atmosphere. Besides Adad or Hadad, the cuneiform texts give the abbreviated Dadu and Dadda as in use among the Syrians, and from certain Bab. contract-tablets it would appear that Ben-Hadad, 'the son of Hadad,' was another Syrian deity, who, with his father Hadad and mother Atargatis (Athtar-'Athi), made up the usual Semitic trinity. In the religions of Asia Minor the place of Ben-Hadad is taken by Attys, a name which may perhaps be the same as Hadad.

2. (חֲדַד) A son of Ishmael (Gn 25¹⁵ = 1 Ch 1³⁰, AV Hadar). The MT is supported by the LXX (Χοδδάν, Χαλδά, Χοδδάδ, Χονδάν). The Samar. Pent. has הדד, some MSS and the Pesh. have חדר, Targ. Onk. has הדר.

3. A king of Edom, son of Bedad (perhaps for Ben-Dadi; Bu-Dadi is the name of the Can. governor of Yurza [now Yerzeh], S.W. of Taanach in the Tel el-Amarna tablets). He came from the city of Avith, and 'smote Midian in the field of Moab' (Gn 36³⁵ = 1 Ch 1⁴⁶). See further, Hommel, *AHT*, 221 f.

4. Another king of Edom (1 Ch 1⁵⁰), whose name is miswritten **Hadar** in Gn 36³⁹. His capital city was Pau. See *AHT* 264.

5. A member of the royal house of Edom (1 K 11¹⁴ᶠᶠ·) who escaped while 'yet a little child' from the massacre of his family by Joab after David's conquest of Edom. He was carried first to Paran and then to Egypt, where the Pharaoh received him hospitably, and assigned him lands and food. He married the Pharaoh's sister-in-law, and his son Genubath was brought up as an Egyptian prince. After the death of David and Joab, Hadad returned to Edom, and there worked 'mischief' to Solomon. Edom, however, continued to be dependent on Judah, as we learn from 1 K 9²⁶, 2 K 3⁹ 8²⁰. A. H. SAYCE.

HADADEZER (הֲדַדְעֶזֶר), 'Hadad is a help' (2 S 8³·¹², 1 K 11²³), wrongly written **Hadarezer** in 2 S 10¹⁶·¹⁹, 1 Ch 18³·⁵·⁷·⁸ 19¹⁶·¹⁹. The name is the Heb. equivalent of the Aram. *Hadadidri*, which is given in the Assyr. inscriptions as the name of the king of Damascus, who is called Ben-Hadad II. in the OT. Bricks have been found in Babylonia stamped with the name of Hadad-nadinakh[ês] (Hadad-nadin-akhi) in Gr. and Aram. letters, which makes the reading of the divine name quite certain.

Hadadezer was son of Rehob and king of Zobah (Assyr. Zubitê), on the eastern frontier of Hamath. His dominions included Damascus in the south, and extended to the Euphrates in the north. He was defeated by David 'as he went to recover his border (or rather the pillar which marked the limits of conquest) at the river Euphrates.' The Syrians of Damascus who thereupon came to his assistance were also defeated, and Damascus itself was occupied by the Israelites. The gilded shields of H. were sent to Jerusalem, and large quantities of bronze were obtained by David in the cities of Berothai and Tibhath (the Tubikhi of the Tel el-Amarna tablets and the Egyp. geographical lists). Toi king of Hamath, who had been at war with H., now sent an embassy to congratulate the Isr. monarch on his victories. At a later date, when war had broken out between David and the Ammonites, H. despatched 20,000 footmen from Zobah and Beth-rehob to the help of the Ammonites, other troops being also furnished by the Syrian princes of Maacah and Tob. The combined host, however, was annihilated by Joab, who proceeded to overrun Ammon. H. now obtained the help of the Aramæans on the eastern side of the Euphrates; but the Syrian army, under the command of Shobach (called Shophach 1 Ch 19^{16}), was utterly defeated by David at Helam, which is probably the Khalman of the Assyr. inscriptions, usually identified with Aleppo. Josephus (*Ant.* VII. vi. 3) transforms Helam into a Syrian general, Khalaman, and tells us that Hadadezer, under the name of Hadad, was mentioned by Nicolaus Damascenus in his history of Damascus. The battle of Helam completely broke the power of Zobah.

A. H. SAYCE.

HADADRIMMON (הֲדַדְרִמּוֹן), mentioned in Zec 12^{11} along with the valley of Megiddon. It is commonly supposed to have been the place of national lamentation over the slaughter, by Necoh of Egypt (2 K 23^{29}, 2 Ch 35^{22-24}), of Josiah, the last promising king of Judah. Hitzig suggested (*Commentar über den Jesaja*, 1833, on 17^{8}) that the mourning was for Adonis, as in Phœnicia; and he was followed by Movers, Kneucker, Leyrer, W. R. Smith, and Merx. Baudissin (in *Studien zur Sem. Relig.-geschichte*), however, concludes to stand by the former position. LXX reads κοπετὸς ῥοῶνος, and the Vulg. *Adadremmon*. The usual identification is with *Rummaneh*, a small village S. of Megiddo, and N.W. of *Jenîn* (cf. G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* 389, n. 2).

LITERATURE.—Baudissin, *Studien*, etc. 295 ff.; Baethgen, *Beiträge z. sem. Relig.-geschichte*, 75, 84, 255 (both these authors discuss fully the component elements of the word); Wellhausen, *Klein. Proph.* 192; W. R. Smith, *RS* 392 n.; Schrader, *COT* on Zec 12^{11}; Bredenkamp, Steiner, Orelli, and Nowack in their *Comm.* on Zec, *ad loc.* See also the separate articles, HADAD and RIMMON.

IRA M. PRICE.

HADAR, Gn 36^{39}.—See HADAD 4.

HADAREZER.—See HADADEZER.

HADASHAH (חֲדָשָׁה).—A town in the Shephelah of Judah, Jos 15^{37}. Its site is unknown.

HADASSAH (הֲדַסָּה 'myrtle').—The Jewish name of Esther (*i.e.* Pers. *stâra*, 'star'). It occurs only in Est 2^{7}.

HADES (Ἅιδης, ᾅδης).—The term used in the LXX and NT for the abode of the departed, the unseen world into which men pass at death. It is a word of very frequent occurrence in the OT, of very rare occurrence in the NT. In the AV of the OT it is unhappily rendered by 'hell' (Dt 32^{22}, 2 S 22^{6}, Ps 16^{10} 18^{5} 116^{3} 139^{8}, and often), 'the pit' (Nu $16^{30.33}$), and 'the grave' (Gn 37^{35}, 1 S 2^{6}, Job 7^{9} 14^{13}, Ps 30^{3} $49^{14.15}$ etc.). The original sense of the English word 'hell' appears to have been simply that of the *hidden*, *unseen* place, and in the general sense of the 'realm of the dead' it occurs in the statements of the Creeds on the article of Christ's *Descent to Hell*, as well as in old English ('The Harrowing of Hell' in the Exeter Book; Chaucer, *The Milleres Tale*, v. 3572; Spenser, *Son.* 68). Its use in the AV, therefore, has been defended, *e.g.* by Bp. Horsley, on the ground that 'in its primary and natural sense it signifies nothing more than the unseen and covered place' (*Sermons*, ii. 20). But the English Revisers, recognizing the difficulty of disconnecting the word from its usual associations, have displaced 'hell' by 'Hades' in the NT. In the OT they have adopted a less uniform practice. In the historical books they have left the rendering 'the grave' or 'the pit' in the text, and have placed on the margin the note 'Heb. *Sheol*,' to 'indicate that it does not signify the place of burial,' as they explain in their Preface. In the poetical books they usually give *Sheol* in the text, and put 'the grave' in the margin. In Is 14 they retain 'hell' in the text and give '*Sheol*' in the margin, on the ground that in that paragraph the word 'hell' has 'more of its usual sense, and is less liable to be misunderstood,' while 'any change in so familiar a passage which was not distinctly an improvement would be a decided loss.' The American Revisers, however, have followed the more consistent course of giving 'Sheol' in the text of the OT, and dispensing with the variant renderings 'the grave,' 'the pit,' 'hell'; as 'Hades' is given by both English and American Revisers in the text of the NT. (See also the article on HELL.)

The word *Hades* is a familiar term in classical Greek. It is usually supposed to be derived from α privative and ἰδεῖν, *videre*, 'see,' and hence it is rendered *Nelucus* by Hermann. This etymology is thought to be rendered extremely doubtful by the presence of the aspiration, and so Voss (*Hymn Dem.* 348) would derive the word from ἅδω, χάδω, in the sense of πολυδέκτης, *der Umfasser*, the 'all-receiving,' 'all-devouring.' Though the Attic form, however, was Ἅιδης, ᾅδης, the more ancient form, as generally in Homer, was Ἀΐδης, -αο and -εω, which form, except in the Epic genitive Ἀΐδεω, occurs also in the Tragic poets. So in Milton (*PL* ii. 963, 964)—

> 'and by them stood
> Orcus and Ades, and the dreaded name
> Of Demogorgon.'

In Homer, the word (also in the form Ἀϊδωνεύς there, in Hesiod, and, though rarely, in the Tragedians) occurs only as a proper name, the name of the god of the nether world, Pluto; in Hesiod (*Th.* 455), the son of Kronos and Rheia, and older brother of Zeus. Hence, in Homer, the forms εἰς Ἀΐδαο, εἰν Ἀΐδαο with or without δόμους, δόμοις, in the sense of 'into' or 'in the lower world'; in Attic the forms ἐν and εἰς Ἅιδου; and in the NT the ἐν ᾅδου of the TR, and the later MSS in Ac $2^{27.31}$ displaced by the εἰς ᾅδην of the RV and the older MSS. Later the word became an appellative, denoting the underworld itself, the habitation of the dead, corresponding to the Latin *Orcus*, *Inferi*, *Infernum*, *Inferna*.

In the LXX and the OT Apocr. the word represents the Heb. שְׁאוֹל, and sometimes other Heb. terms, as בּוֹר (Is 14^{19} 38^{18}), דּוּמָה (Ps 93 $[94]^{17}$ 113^{15} $[115^{17}]$), מָוֶת (Pr 14^{12} 16^{25}, Is 28^{15}), מות (Job 33^{22}), צַלְמָוֶת (Job 38^{17}). These latter, however, are only occasional occurrences. In the vast majority of cases (some 59 in the canonical books alone, and often in the Apocr.) 'Hades' is the equivalent of שְׁאוֹל, and it carries with it the sense which that term has as a designation of the world beyond the grave.

The conceptions formed of that world by different peoples have been very various. They have been largely affected by racial, geographical, and climatic circumstances, and have not been altogether constant in the history of the beliefs of the progressive peoples. By far the more prevalent, however, has been the idea that would most naturally occur to men as they looked down into the grave which hid their departed kinsfolk from their gaze—that of an underworld, the opposite in all respects of the open, visible, sunlit world of activity. In various forms this general conception has held the mind of races as different as the lusty Teutonic tribes, the Zulus of Africa, the savages of North and South America, the Samoan islanders, the Asiatic Karens, the Italmen of Kamschatka, the Egyptians, the Babylonians and Assyrians, the Greeks and Romans. It was also the popular conception of the ancient Hebrews, and the Hebrew form of the idea had special affinity with that of the Babylonians and Greeks. In the OT, therefore, *Hades* expresses the general view of the world of the departed as a dark, deep underworld, in which the deceased continue to exist, but in a state of being devoid of the joy, the activity, the fulness, and the substantiality of real life. For the most part, too, in the OT it is an abode from which there is no return, and in which there are no moral distinctions; a condition involving separation at once from living men and from the living God; one in which rich and poor, king and slave, good and evil, subsist together in the same inane, shadowy, cheerless condition, without positive reward for the righteous or penalty for the wicked. Though not without occasional hints and suggestions of better things, the OT, reflecting the popular Hebrew modes of thought on the subject, presents *Hades* neither as a distinct stadium between death and a larger future, nor as a scene of moral issues, but as the common gathering-place for the departed, into which all alike go down, beyond which there is nothing to be clearly seen or certainly looked for, and from which there is no open way of restoration to the old strength of life, far less any elevation to a new and higher life, near or afar.

The idea of *Hades* and the existence after death, however, did not continue to stand at this level. In course of time, by the experience of faith, the teaching of the prophets, and the operation of other influences which we less clearly understand, it changed in more than one direction. The process is seen in the OT itself, especially in the poetical books and in the writings of the prophets, yet in different ways. In the former, faith is seen overleaping the dark domain of *Hades*, negativing the thought of a perpetual existence in its dreary and futile depths, having visions and forecasts of a more satisfying future (*e.g.* Ps 16. 17. 49. 73, Job 14^{13-17} 16^{18}–17^{9} 19^{23-27} etc.). In the latter we find not merely surmises and anticipations, but definite teaching, which grows from less to more till it declares the hope of a resurrection of Israel's dead, and an awakening from the sleep of death to everlasting life or to everlasting contempt (Is 26^{19}, Dn $12^{2.\,3}$). But that is the most that the OT books give.

The process of change, however, went farther. It is reflected in the apocryphal, the rabbinical, and especially the apocalyptic literature. New ideas became connected with *Hades* and the future, yet without settling into a uniform faith or obtaining general acceptance in any one mode. In some of the books the old conception of *Hades* is continued with little or no change (Sir $17^{27.\,28}$ 41^{4}, Bar 2^{17}, To $3^{6.\,10}$ 13^{2}, 1 Mac 2^{69} 14^{30}). In these there is little or nothing beyond a simple acquiescence in the fact of man's mortality (Sir 41^{1-4}). In others there is the hope of an immortality for the soul, but no certain hope of a resurrection of the body (Wis 2^{23} 3^{1-4} $4^{13.\,14}$ 15^{3}). In others there is the definite statement of the completer belief in a future life with moral issues, the doctrine of the bodily resurrection being in some cases less prominent and less distinct than that of a general continuance of life or return to life (Enoch $22^{12.\,13}$ 51^{1-5} 61^{5} 91^{10} 92^{3}, Ps-Sol 3^{16} 13^{9} etc.), in others more so (2 Mac $7^{9.\,14.\,23}$ $12^{43.\,44}$; cf. Sibyll. 1^{440} $2^{274.\,275}$ $4^{228.\,229}$, Apoc. Bar 30^{1-5} 50^{1} 51^{6}, 2 Es 7^{32}). In others the idea that *Hades* is a place of relative moral awards appears, though in no very definite or pronounced form (Wis 3^{1-10} 5^{1-14} 6^{18-20} $17^{14\ \text{etc.}}$ as compared with $3^{17.\,18}$ etc., 2 Mac $7^{9.\,11.\,14.\,29}$ 12^{43-45} 14^{46} etc.); while in the apocalyptic books the prevailing conception has come to be that of an intermediate state, with relative rewards for the good and penalties for the evil (Enoch 10^{12} 22. 100^{5} 103^{7} etc., Book of Jub. 5^{243} 7^{248} 22^{21} 24^{27} 36; cf. 2 Es $7^{31-35.\,36^*-38.^*\ 61.^*\ 75^*-101^*}$ etc. (James, *T. and S.* iii. 2); Apoc. Bar 52^{1-3} etc.). In the rabbinical literature further developments of opinion are seen, especially in the direction of regarding *Hades* as an intermediate state with purgatorial processes for those of Israel and (at a later stage) with two distinct compartments or divisions within it—one of preliminary blessedness, and another of preliminary woe. Our Lord and His apostles spoke to the ideas which the Jews of their time had on these subjects as on others. Regard must be had to this in interpreting the occurrences of the word *Hades* in NT. The question is, how far these modifications of the prevalent OT idea of *Hades* are reflected in the NT; what precise sense is to be attached to the term there; and to what extent it has a doctrinal significance or suggests doctrinal conclusions.

The small place which is given to the term itself, or to any equivalent for it, in the NT is the first thing that calls for attention. The word occurs only ten times in all, including parallels, according to the best text. It is found nowhere in John's Gospel, the Epistles of Paul, the Epistle to the Hebrews, or the Catholic Epistles. Three of its occurrences are on Christ's lips, viz. Mt 11^{23} (with its parallel Lk 10^{15}) 16^{18}, Lk 16^{23}. In two of these the word is obviously used in a figurative sense: in the one to express, in the case of Capernaum, an absolute overthrow, a humiliation as deep as the former loftiness and pride had been great; in the other, to express, in the case of the Church, a security which shall be proof against death and destruction. The third occurrence, in the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, is of a different kind, and has even been taken to put our Lord's *imprimatur* on the Jewish idea of two compartments in *Hades*, distinct from, yet near, one another. The point of the parable, however, is the broad moral lesson of the penalty of a selfish life. Everything else is secondary and ancillary to this. That being so, the use of the word here is ethical rather than doctrinal. It does not take us beyond the broad fact that there is a state of being into which men pass at death, and that the divine righteousness follows them thither with moral decisions affecting their conditions there and reversing antecedent estimates and circumstances. In the second chapter of Acts the word occurs in a quotation from the 16th Psalm, and with an application of that utterance of OT faith to the case of Christ, His death and His resurrection; in which, therefore, it has again the broad sense of the world of the departed into which Christ passed like other men, though only to be raised from it. Neither do the passages in the Apocalypse of St. John carry us beyond this. In the first (1^{18}), where Christ claims to have 'the keys of death and Hades,' we have simply the declaration of His power over death and the habitation that receives the dead, His ability to deliver or bring up from these. In the second (6^{8}) we have a personification of *Hades* as a demon following *Death*, the rider on the pale horse, to devour those slain by him. In the third and fourth ($20^{13.\,14}$) *Death* and *Hades* appear again as demon figures, striking down and swallowing men, but compelled at last to render up their victims, and doomed themselves to be destroyed by Christ. In the passage in 1 Co (15^{55}) the reading ᾅδη in the second clause must give place to *θάνατε*.

We gather, in the second place, that in all the NT passages (except Mt 11^{23}, Lk 10^{15}) *Hades* is associated with death; that it expresses the general conception of the invisible world or abode into which death ushers men; and that it presents this habitation of the future, not as a final state, but as an intermediate scene of existence with relative moral distinctions. It appears, further, that the prevalent ideas connected with it, in its association with death, are those of privation, detention, and righteous recompense, the thought of the relative reward of good being subordinate, if expressed at all, to that of the retribution of evil and to that of the penal character pertaining to *Hades* as the minister of death. Otherwise the NT *Hades* shows little or nothing of the change which had come upon the old conception of Sheol, or the world of the dead, in the course of the history of Jewish thought and belief. In none of the passages in which the word itself occurs have we any disclosures or even hints of purgatorial fires, purifying processes, or extended operations of grace. In none of them have we anything approaching the Virgilian picture of the underworld, with its schooling in punishment, its washing out or burning out of guilt, its boon of forgetfulness (*Æn.* vi. 723–731, Mackail's trans.; cf. Conington's *Virgil*, ii. 418, 419). They are silent as regards all such things as the *Limbus Patrum*, the *Limbus Infantum*, etc., of the Roman Catholic theology, the division of Hades into distinct sections for different classes of the dead, the topographical definitions of the underworld in which both poetry and theology have indulged. Nor is there anything in them like the precise and developed doctrine of later times on the condition of men in the space between death and resurrection, or like those theories of a sleep of the soul, a ministry of Christ in *Hades*, a continuance of disciplinary processes, an extension of converting and restoring agencies, and other similar ideas, which have been connected with the general idea of a *Status Medius* in the theologies of various Churches and in the systems of divines of different schools, Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, and Protestant. In its ideas and in its definite teaching the NT turns for the most part on the present life, with its moral choices and spiritual responsibilities, and on the state of being that follows the judgment, with its final decisions. It makes little of the mysterious space that comes between the two.

LITERATURE.—The books given under the article ESCHATOLOGY, especially Böttcher, *De Inferis*; Güder, *Die Lehre der Erscheinung Jesu Christi unter den Todten*; Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*; Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopädie für Bibel und Talmud*; also Greswell, *Exposition of the Parables*, vol. v. pt. ii.; Rinck, *Zustand nach dem Tode*; Oertel, *Hades*; Craven, Excursus in Lange's *Com. on Revelation*; Schenkel, *Bibellexicon*; Riehm, *Handwörterbuch des biblischen Altertums*; Cremer, *Biblisch-theologisches Wörterbuch*.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

HADID (חָדִיד).—Named along with Lod and Ono, Ezr 2^{33} = Neh 7^{37}, peopled by Benjamites after the Captivity, Neh 11^{34}, probably to be identified also with **Adida** of 1 Mac 12^{38} 13^{13}. It is the modern *Hadîtheh* in the low hills, about 3¼ miles N.E. of Lydda. See *SWP* vol. ii. sh. xiv.; Robinson, *BRP* iii. 143; Guérin, *Judée*, i. 320; Buhl, *GAP* 197.

C. R. CONDER.

HADLAI (חַדְלָי).—An Ephraimite, 2 Ch 28^{12}. See GENEALOGY.

HADORAM (הֲדוֹרָם).—1. The fifth son of Joktan (Gn 10^{27} B Ὀδορρά, 1 Ch 1^{21} A Κεδουράν), and so presumably the name of a Yemenite district or tribe not otherwise known. It has been conjectured that the Ἀδραμῖται (Ptol. vi. 7. 10) or the Atramitæ (Plin. vi. 32, xii. 30) are here referred to, but the latter are probably to be identified with the people of *Hadramaut* (see Dillm. *ad loc.*, and art. HAZAR-MAVETH).

2. The son of Tou king of Hamath, who was sent by his father on an embassy to David after the latter's victory over Hadadezer king of Zobah (1 Ch 18^{10}). In the parallel passage 2 S $8^{9f.}$ Tou is less correctly given as Toi (תֹּעִי for תֹּעוּ), while Hadoram wrongly appears as Joram (יוֹרָם): the LXX, however, gives Ἰεδδουράν, and in 1 Ch 18^{10} Ἰδουραάμ.

3. In 2 Ch 10^{18} Hadoram (הֲדֹרָם) is given as the name of the superintendent of the levies in the reign of Rehoboam. The parallel passage 1 K 12^{18} has preserved the more correct form Adoram (אֲדוֹרָם), while the LXX (to 1 Ch) has the fuller form Adoniram (Ἀδωνειράμ). See ADONIRAM, and cf. Driver, *Text of Sam.* 267.

J. F. STENNING.

HADRACH (חַדְרָךְ, Assyr. *Ḫatarikka*).—The capital of a region in Syria, and a place of importance in the times of Uzziah and his successors. The name occurs but once in the Bible, namely, in Zec 9^{1}; but in that one place it is made emphatic. The 'land of Hadrach' is there mentioned as having the same interest with Damascus, and as in relations with 'all the tribes of Israel,' and with Hamath, Tyre, Zidon, the several Philistine peoples, the sons of Javan, Egypt, and especially Assyria.

The Assyr. records for a certain period prominently mention Hadrach in connexion with Damascus, Arpad, Hamath, Samaria, Judah, though they give no details. Assur-dan III. made an expedition thither in his first year, B.C. 772, another in his eighth, and another in his eighteenth year. Hadrach is mentioned in inscriptions that bear the name of Tiglath-pileser (B.C. 745–727), and in others which Assyriologists attribute to Tiglath-pileser, though the fragments of them now known do not bear his name. The period is that in which the 'shepherds' of Israel were Zechariah, Shallum, Menahem, Pekahiah, Pekah, and Hoshea; when the realm of Jeroboam II., including the peoples from the Mediter. to the Euphrates, was falling to pieces before the Assyrian. The Assyr. kings speak of themselves as overthrowing a confederacy, headed by Uzziah of Judah, and extending as far as Hamath. At different times in this period they deported Israelites from the northern tribes, and from east of Jordan (1 Ch $5^{6.\ 26}$, 2 K 15^{29}).

Apparently, the identification of Hadrach with Ḫatarikka is beyond doubt, and the writer of this prophecy had this period in mind, whatever bearing these facts may have on the various critical and historical questions that arise (see Schrader, *KAT*^{2} 453, and Del. *Paradies*, 279).

W. J. BEECHER.

HAFT.—'The *haft* of a knife, that whereby you *have* or hold it,' says Trench (*Study of Words*, 303); and the two words are no doubt etymol. connected, but the connexion is not quite so immediate. Haft occurs once in AV, Jg 3^{22} 'And the haft also went in after the blade' (הַנִּצָּב, the hilt of a sword, or handle of a knife). Wyc. (who has 'pommel' here, [1388, *ether hilte*]) uses 'haft' in Dt 19^{5} 'the yren, slipt of fro the haft, smytith his freend, and sleeth' (1388, 'helve'). Cf. also Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, iv.—

> 'But yet ne fond I nought the haft,
> Which might unto the blade accorde.'

J. HASTINGS.

HAGAB (חָגָב, Ἀγάβ), Ezr 2^{46}.—His descendants were among the Nethinim who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel. The name, with that preceding it in Ezr, is absent from the parallel list in Neh 7, the loss being apparently due to the similarity between the names Hagabah and Hagab. It appears in 1 Es 5^{30} as Accaba.

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

HAGABA (חֲגָבָא, Ἀγαβά B, Ἀγγαβά A), Neh 7[48].—The head of another family of Nethinim who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel.

HAGABAH (חֲגָבָה, Ἀγαβά).—The slightly different form in which the last-mentioned name appears in the parallel list in Ezr 2[45]. In 1 Es 5[29] it becomes Aggaba (AV Graba, B* om., A Ἀγγαβά).

HAGAR (הָגָר 'flight,' 'emigration'). —i. THE NARRATIVES.—Hagar was the name of an Egyptian woman (Gn 16[1] 21[9]) in the service of Sarai. The fact that she is expressly called an Egyptian has given rise to the conjecture that she was one of the 'maidservants' who were presented by Pharaoh at the time when the Egyptian king 'entreated Abraham well' for Sarai's sake (12[16]). It would appear that Hagar stood in that intimate relation with Sarai which we find occupied by the maidservants of Rebekah (24[59]) and of Leah and Rachel (29[24-29]). She was the property of her mistress, not of her master; and Sarai finding that in the course of nature she could herself have no hope of having children, proposed that Abraham should take Hagar as his concubine. Hagar being Sarai's property, Sarai would claim Hagar's children as her own (cf. Rachel and Leah in 30[3.9]). Accordingly, Hagar became Abraham's concubine; and, finding herself with child, appears to have suffered herself to indulge in expressions of exultation, as if of triumph over a defeated rival. The true wife and the servant concubine, in their jealousy and hatred, present a picture of Bedawîn tent-life, true enough to facts, however repugnant to Western ideas. Sarai bitterly resented the insult, and complained to Abraham. The patriarch resigned all claim over his concubine; he refused to interfere himself, and handed Hagar over to the tender mercies of Sarai. Sarai's harshness enraged Hagar; and the latter, goaded to desperation, fled from her mistress into the wilderness. The wilderness of Shur 'before (*i.e.* E. of) Egypt' represents probably the desert region of *Jifar* between Philistia and the E. borders of Egypt proper (cf. Ex 15[22]). Presumably, Hagar bethought herself of fleeing to her native country; for through this desert passed the usual caravan route to Egypt. While she was resting by a spring in the desert the Angel of J″ appeared to her (v.[7]); bade her return to her mistress and be submissive to her; he also encouraged her by telling her of the son that should be born to her; his name was to be Ishmael; he would be as untameable as a wild ass; he would be at war with all men; 'in the sight of all his brethren' should he live (not merely, 'to the E. of them,' עַל־פְּנֵי) his wild, independent, defiant life. Hagar, according to the Hebrew tradition, gave the name *Beer-lahai-ro'i* to the spring, because as the angel departed she realized who he was; and she looked after him who had seen her in her affliction and had comforted her. 'The well of the living one who sees me'; this was the popular interpretation of the name of the well in after-times associated with the vision granted to Hagar [see BEER-LAHAI-ROI]. 'The Bedawîn even yet associate with Hagar's name a well a considerable distance south of Beersheba in Muweilih, one of the principal stations on the caravan road, and also a rock dwelling, Bait Hagar, in the neighbourhood' (Dillmann, *in loc.*). Hagar was obedient to the vision, and returned to her mistress. The birth of Ishmael is recorded in the brief extract from P (16[15]), which also mentions that Abram was then eighty-six years old. Eleven years had passed since the call of Abram.

Nothing more is related of Hagar until the 21st chapter, where we are told of the birth of Isaac (vv.[1-7]). On the occasion of the festival which was held perhaps two or three years later (see Delitzsch and Dillmann, *in loc.*), Sarah saw Hagar's son 'playing' (מְצַחֵק, not 'mocking' or 'persecuting,' as no object is expressed); and her maternal jealousy took fire. She was seized probably with a dread lest the inheritance should pass to the son of the concubine. She demanded from Abraham the expulsion of Hagar and her boy. The demand, to Abraham's credit, displeased him sorely. But God spake to him, apparently at night; bade him sacrifice his fatherly feelings, and obey Sarah's word. Abraham the next morning took bread and a skin of water, and gave them over, with the lad, to Hagar, who was thus sent forth a homeless wanderer into the wilderness of Beersheba, in the neighbourhood of which Abraham presumably was encamped (21[14.32] 22[19]). According to this tradition Ishmael was still a child, and was soon worn out. The water-skin was quickly emptied; Hagar laid the child down under a bush (v.[15]); she saw there was no hope for his life unless she could find water; in despair, and so that she might not witness his dying agonies, she retired a bowshot's distance. It was then that God heard the voice of the lad (not of his mother); and the angel of God called to Hagar, and encouraged her. The boy was not to die, but to live. 'Arise, lift up the boy, take fast hold of him by thy hand; for I will make of him a great nation.' Then God opened her eyes; she saw, what before she had not perceived, a well of water close at hand; she filled the empty skin with water, and gave her boy to drink. He revived, and grew to be a strong man, a famous archer. He dwelt in the desert of Paran; and his mother, herself an Egyptian, took for him an Egyptian wife (v.[21]).

The purpose which was served by the preservation of these two narratives was probably a different one in each case. In ch. 16 we have a tradition the preservation of which in the Book of Genesis seems to be due to the fact that (1) it illustrated the varied trials to which Abraham's faith and patience were subjected before the fulfilment of the divine promise was granted; (2) it proclaimed the futility of the human endeavours to compass by human means that which could only be accomplished in accordance with the divine purpose. To every Israelite it also emphasized the fact that the chosen family had been providentially watched over from its very beginnings; the humblest members of the household received the blessing of the divine Vision. In ch. 21 we have a similar thought; but here the separation of Hagar from the tent of Abraham is due, not to a voluntary flight, but to an express divine oracle. Undoubtedly, too, this story reflects the pride of the people in the purity of their descent. The nations around Palestine were, according to the popular Hebrew belief, all of them offshoots from the family of Abraham; but the stock of typical patriarchal Israel had no contamination from Canaan or from Egypt.

There was, however, another side to the narratives. It cannot but have struck the Israelite reader that the first mention of 'the Angel of J″' (16[7]) is in connexion with the manifestation to Hagar, this despised Egyptian concubine. The light '*ad revelationem gentium*' had begun to shine; and the story of Hagar is the first of a remarkable series in which appear Tamar, Rahab, Ruth, and Naaman. Thus the story of Hagar is a striking instance, on the very threshold of the history of the Covenant People, of that wider and more generous view of divine mercy which was ordinarily ignored by popular Hebrew particularism.

The name *Hagar* in Arabic denotes a 'fugitive.' The word is familiar to us in *Hegira*, the 'epoch-making' flight of Mohammed. Some have thought that the biblical narratives of Hagar ('flight') and Ishmael ('God heareth') have been expanded out of a mere play upon the words; others have thought that the original names may have been adapted so as to correspond with the distinctive incidents of well-known primitive narratives, and that thus the tradition of actual facts has been made to serve the additional purpose of accounting for the origin of neighbouring tribes. It cannot be doubted that the narratives represent an early Israelite belief that the mountain tribes and clans on the south and south-east frontier of Palestine were descended from the same Hebrew stock, from the same Semitic group, as Israel. The Ishmaelite Bedawîn were regarded as sons of Abraham, but as of inferior caste; and Hagar supplied the recollection of a tradition that they were also connected with Egypt. Renan (*Hist. of Isr.* i. 81 n., Eng. tr.) would derive the name *Hagar* from the Arabic *ḥagar* (=a rock), 'by the primitive equivalence of ה and ח'; he regards Hagar as the personification of the tribes of Arabia Petræa, and apparently derives the story of Hagar from the resemblance of the two words meaning 'rock' and 'fugitive.'

ii. SOURCES OF THE NARRATIVES.—The story of Hagar is to be found in two passages in Genesis, the one ch. 16, the other ch. 21^{8-21}. The former passage is almost entirely derived from J (the Jahwist narrative), the only exceptions being vv.$^{1a.\ 3.\ 15.\ 16}$, which are from P (the Priestly Narrative, so also 25^{12}), and vv.$^{9.\ 10}$, which are probably from the Redactor. The latter passage is entirely from E (the Elohist narrative). The two passages furnish material for instructive comparison. In both cases we have a tradition respecting Hagar, a concubine of Abraham. In the earlier chapter she flies from her mistress; in the later she is expelled by Abraham at Sarah's demand. In both traditions a divine manifestation is granted to her in the wilderness. In ch. 16 (J) it is 'the Angel of JHVH' who appears to her 'in the wilderness, by the fountain (עַיִן) in the way to Shur' (16^{6}). In ch. 21 (E) it is God (*Elohim*) who hears her child weeping, and 'the Angel of God' (*Elohim*) who speaks to her, and she sees 'a well of water' (בְּאֵר מַיִם). In ch. 16 (J) Hagar is the 'handmaid' (שִׁפְחָה) of Sarai; in ch. 21 (E) she is the 'bondwoman' (אָמָה). In ch. 16^{11} (J) Hagar's son is to be called Ishmael because J″ had heard *her* 'affliction'; in ch. 21^{17} (E) 'God heard the voice of the lad.'

It is possible, if $16^{9.\ 10}$ be an addition by R, that the J tradition regarded Ishmael 'as born and bred in the desert,' and did not record the return of Hagar to the tent of Abraham (Kittel). It was, however, necessary to introduce the mention of her return in order to account for the E tradition of ch. 21.

It will be observed that, according to P, Ishmael was fourteen years old when Isaac was born (Gn $16^{1.\ 3.\ 15.\ 16}$ $21^{1.\ 2-5}$); but in E the language used of Hagar (21^{9-21}) would imply that Ishmael was still a child.

iii. REFERENCES TO HAGAR BY ST. PAUL AND PHILO.—St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Galatians (4^{25}), makes an allegorical use of the story of Hagar. 'Hagar, the bondwoman,' is set overagainst 'Sarah, the freewoman'; 'Ishmael, the child after the flesh,' against 'Isaac, the child of the promise.' St. Paul is presenting the antithesis of 'the old covenant' and 'the new,' 'the earthly Jerusalem' and 'the heavenly.' Sinai, the mountain of the law, which was in Arabia, the dwelling-place of 'the son of Hagar' (Bar $3^{2.\ 3}$), is set overagainst Mount Sion, the mountain of gracious promise, the home of the true Israel (see Lightfoot on Gal 4^{25}).

This allegorical treatment of the story of Hagar corresponded to the rabbinic method of teaching in the apostle's time. St. Paul's expansion of the story (*ἐδίωκεν τὸν κατὰ πνεῦμα*) reproduced the traditional Jewish feeling (cf. *Bereshith Rabba*, 53. 15) of hostility towards the Arab tribes, whose constant inroads upon the southern frontier of Judæa seemed to repeat the conduct of Ishmael towards Isaac. The Hagarenes mentioned in Ps 83^{6}, 1 Ch $5^{10.\ 19.\ 20}$, were regarded as typical members of this group of hostile clans. (These tribes were possibly the same as the Ἀγραῖοι, who are mentioned by Eratosthenes in Strabo, XVI. iv. 2, p. 767, as dwelling in the northern part of Arabia). St. Paul, in his reference to the Hagar narrative, frankly uses it as an allegory (Gal 4^{24}); and, as in at least one other instance (1 Co 10^{4}), he does not shrink from employing for his purpose the 'Haggadic' expansion of the original version.

Philo allegorizes the narrative in various passages, notably in *De Cherubim*, I. i. 139; *De Congr. Erud. grat.* II. i. 500. Abraham represents the human soul searching after true wisdom and divine knowledge. He is united first to Sarai, the sovereign virtue (*ἡ ἄρχουσα ἀρετή*), but from her he has no offspring; he has not progressed sufficiently to win spiritual advantage. At her bidding he next unites himself to Hagar the Egyptian—who represents secular learning, the necessary training of the intellect (*τὰ ἐπώνυμα τῆς Ἄγαρ προπαιδεύματα*). This union is at once fruitful; and its issue is Ishmael, who represents sophistry—Hagar (*ἡ μέσος καὶ ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία*) and Ishmael (*ὁ σοφιστής*) must both be driven forth to make way for the reunion with the true virtue which abides forever in the home of the human soul. The name *Hagar* he interprets by *παροίκησις* (='sojourning'), as if it were connected with *gêr* (*De Congr. Erud. grat.* i. 520), 'a sojourner'; cf. *παροικεῖ σοφίᾳ οὐ κατοικεῖ* (*De sacrific. Abelis et Caini*, § 10. i. 170).

iv. LATER TRADITIONS.—Jewish tradition expanded and embellished the story in a variety of ways. In ch. 16 'the desert of Shur' appears as 'the desert of Ḥagra' in the Targum of Onkelos and Jerusalem. In ch. 21 the Targum of Jerusalem adds that Abraham dismissed Hagar 'with a letter of divorce.' The Targums of Jonathan and Jerus. in 25^{1} identify Keturah with Hagar, 'who had been bound (rt. *ktr*, קְטוּרָה) to him from the beginning'; so also Rashi. Rashi, in his commentary on 6^{1}, records the belief that Hagar was a daughter of Pharaoh, who, after seeing the wonders that had been done for Sarah, declared that it was better for his daughter to be a bondservant in the house of Abraham than a mistress in the palace of another. Commenting on 21^{9}, he records the Jewish interpretation mentioned by Jerome in his *Quæst. ad Genesim*, according to which Ishmael's 'playing' was a form of 'idolatry' (cf. Ex 32^{6}). Again, on v.^{14}, he says, 'Abraham put Ishmael on Hagar's shoulder; for Sarah had overlooked him with an evil eye, and he had been seized with fever so that he could not walk.'

One of the Jewish derivations of Hagar's name is based upon a play on the words הא אגרך 'here is thy wage.'

'The Moslems naturally modify the biblical account in favour of their own nation; they contend that Hagar was Abraham's lawful wife, and that Ishmael obtained, therefore, as his eldest son, the extensive tracts of Arabia, whilst the younger son, Isaac, received only the limited territory of Canaan; that Hagar was born at Farma, then the capital of Egypt and the residence of the Pharaohs, but that she died at Mecca, and was buried in the precincts of the temple of the Caaba' (Kalisch on Gn 16^{1-3}, quoting D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.* p. 420).

Buxtorf (in his *Lexicon Chald. Talmud. et*

Rabbin., Basle, 1639, *s.v.* הַגְרִי) says, 'Judæi hodie Ungaros sic vocant, quasi Hagrios vel Hagarios Turcas autem Ismælitas vocant. Hinc Psal. 83 pro הַגְרִים in Targum est הוּנְגְרָאֵי Ungari.'

H. E. RYLE.

HAGARENES.—See HAGRITES.

HAGGADA.—See TALMUD.

HAGGAI (חַגַּי 'festal,' LXX Ἀγγαῖος, cf. חַגִּית 2 S 3^4; Phœn. חגי, חגת, *CIS* lxvii. 1; Palmyr. חגגו, Vogüé, 61*a*).—The prophet whose prophecies are contained in the book which bears his name. His first prophecy is dated the 2nd year of Darius, *i.e.* B.C. 520; his main purpose was to rouse the community of the returned exiles to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem.

A. HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.—The high hopes with which the Jewish exiles started home from Babylon in 536 were not destined to be fulfilled in the early years of the Return. Instead of proceeding at once to restore the ruined temple to its former glory, the Benê hag-Golah ('sons of the Captivity') were obliged to content themselves with setting up the altar of burnt-offering (Ezr $3^{2f.}$, confirmed by Hag 2^{14}). It is possible that the foundations of the temple were formally laid;[*] but the great work of restoration remained unaccomplished for the next sixteen years. Various causes contributed to this state of inaction. During the fifty years of the Captivity the Judæan exiles had lived without temple and altar, and no doubt many felt that delay in restoring them need not involve serious damage to religion. The more enthusiastic party would probably have made some effort but for the series of disasters which fell upon the Jewish community. There was, first of all, the active hostility of the neighbouring Samaritans; the firm refusal of whose plausible offer to assist in the building turned them into the implacable foes of Jerusalem (Ezr 4^{1-5}). Then the invasion of Egypt by Cambyses in 527 must have brought with it great suffering for the Jewish colonists; no peace or security was possible while Palestine was being overrun by the vast hordes of the Persian army on their way to Egypt (see Zec 8^{10}, Hag 1^6). A succession of bad seasons followed; the land suffered from prolonged drought; harvest and vintage failed; the fortunes of the colony sank to their lowest ebb (Hag $1^{6. 9-11}$ $2^{16. 17}$). In Jerusalem itself some of the old social abuses made their appearance; luxury and self-seeking among the wealthier classes took the place of zeal for the cause of religion (Hag $1^{4. 9}$). The leaders of the community did nothing, the first enthusiasm had cooled down, and the great object of the Return remained unaccomplished. Meanwhile important events were taking place in the Persian empire. During the early years of his reign (521–515) Darius was engaged in a desperate struggle to secure the kingdom he had won. Province after province revolted; rebellions broke out everywhere, now in the very heart of the empire, now in its farthest extremities. While Darius was suppressing the Babylonian usurper Nidintubel, Elam and the neighbouring countries attempted to throw off the Persian yoke. At the beginning of 520 Darius subdued Babylon, and then marched against the Median pretender Phraortes; but before this campaign was over, Babylon revolted a second time.[*] It seemed like a vast upheaval of the heathen world, a shaking of the heavens and earth. There were still prophets in Jerusalem who could read the signs of the times, and they were not slow to grasp the bearing of these vast movements upon the interests which they had at heart. The central authority was weakened, the original permit of Cyrus had not been repealed: now was the opportunity for a religious and patriotic enterprise. Haggai came forward in 520—and Zechariah was soon by his side—with the divine command to start at once upon the rebuilding of the temple. The neglect of this first duty, so the prophet insists, has been the cause of all the recent misfortunes; but when once it has been discharged the divine blessing will descend, and the glorious promises of the great prophet of the Restoration (*e.g.* Is 60) will be fulfilled at last. There will be a shaking of heaven and earth; the powers of the heathen kingdoms will be overthrown; and Zerubbabel, the treasured and chosen of J″, will be preserved for the great hereafter. The prophet's appeal was addressed primarily to Zerubbabel and Joshua, the civil and religious leaders of the community, and it produced the desired effect. The work of rebuilding was taken vigorously in hand; and four years later (516) the temple was solemnly dedicated (Hag $1^{14f.}$ $2^{3. 18}$, Zec 4^{6-10} 6^{12-15} 8^9, Ezr $5^{1f.}$ 6^{14-18}, 1 Es 6^1 7^3).

B. THE PROPHECIES.—The prophecies of Haggai are arranged in four groups, each one headed by the date on which it was delivered. They cover a period of four months, from September to December of the year 520.[†]

i. *First prophecy:* September; 1^{1-15}, Haggai comes forward on the 1st of the month, perhaps because there would then be a gathering of the people to celebrate the festival of the new moon. He addresses Zerubbabel by his Babylonian title of *Peḥah* ('governor'), and Joshua by his new title of High Priest (lit. 'great priest'; before the Exile it was 'chief,' lit. 'head priest,' or 'the priest'), because as official leaders of the community they were principally to blame for the neglect of religious and patriotic duty. He denounces the popular excuse that the time had not yet come[‡] for the temple to be built. 'The fact is, you have thought more of your own comfort than of God's glory, and built your own houses in a fashion which recalls the luxury of your forefathers (1 K 6^9 7^3, Jer 22^{14}), while you have allowed the temple to lie in ruins. Consider your ways! look back at the experiences of the past sixteen years, and learn the lesson of the disappointment, misery, and insecurity you have suffered. Consider your ways! think of your present state of inaction. If you would regain the favour of God,[§] go up to the mountains and fetch timber, and begin at once to build the House. The drought, the bad harvests, the diseases of the past seasons, are nothing but a punishment[*] for the selfish neglect of your foremost duty.' The prophet's earnest and direct appeal stirred the slumbering energies of both leaders and people, and they proceeded to do work in the House of J''.[†] This was on the 24th day of the sixth month, *i.e.* little more than three weeks after Haggai first came forward.

---

[*] All contemporary authorities give the 2nd year of Darius, the 16th of the Return, 520, as the date of the foundation of the temple, Hag $2^{15. 18}$, Zec 8^9, Ezr $5^{2. 16}$. The account of the laying of the foundations in the 2nd year of the Return, 536, contained in Ezr 3^{8-13}, belongs to a later document, written about 200 years after the events narrated. It is possible that this later account may bave some historical basis; there may have been a purely *formal* foundation, such as Haggai and Zechariah could entirely disregard. See Driver, *LOT*^{6} 547.

[*] See the great Behistun inscription of Darius, *Records of the Past*, i. 107–130.

[†] In the pre-exilic period the year was reckoned from autumn to autumn; but during the Exile a change of reckoning occurred, prob. due to Babylonian influence, and the year ran from spring to spring (see Ex 12^2), *i.e.* April–April. The old Heb. names of the months were dropped, and at first the months were known by numbers, as in Hag, Zec; then the Bab. names of the months were gradually introduced as in Zec, Ezr, Neh. See Wellh. *Proleg.*^{3} 110; Benzinger, *Hebr. Arch.* 201; Nowack, *Lehrb. Hebr. Arch.* i. 218 f.; and art. TIME.

[‡] In 1^2 the text must be corrected to make sense; see VSS and RVm. The first עֵת 'time,' is not given by VSS; it must either be struck out, or pointed עַתָּ 'now,' or corrected to עֹד 'yet.'

[§] In commenting on the form of the word 'and I will be glorified,' v.^{8} (אכבר for אכבדה), the Talm. says, 'There are five points in which the first temple differed from the second; they are the ark and the mercy-seat and the cherubim, the fire, and the Shechinah, and the Holy Spirit, and the Urim and Tummim.' Talm. B. *Yoma* 21*b*.

ii. *Second prophecy:* October; 2^1-9^. In spite of the enthusiasm aroused by the prophet's first address, and before the work could have advanced much beyond the repairing of the foundations, a feeling of despair began to damp the ardour of the workers, both leaders and people. Those who were old enough to recollect the former temple circulated depressing comparisons: 'This new temple will never be like the old one.'[‡] To arrest the spread of this despondent spirit Haggai promptly brought a message, this time of strong encouragement. It was useless to spend vain regrets upon the past, when all their energies were needed for the present. J'' was still present with His people;[§] and the time was fast approaching for Israel to enter upon its glorious career. The completion of the temple was to be the signal for a convulsion of the universe and a revolution in the Gentile world. Then this very temple, which now appeared too great for their resources and too mean for their desire, would be filled with the treasures of the Gentiles.[‖] That day would see the long-delayed fulfilment of the great promises;[¶] and then there would be no comparison between the first temple and the second, for the glory of the latter House would far excel the glory of the former.

iii. *Third prophecy:* December; 2^10-19^. On this occasion Haggai came before the people with a parable, a warning, and a promise. There was much still to depress the spirit of the builders besides the discouraging comparisons of those who could not look beyond the glories of the past. Nothing as yet had taken place to correspond with the inspiring hopes of the prophet. The general state was one of misery, not far from famine. The drought lasted so long that it seemed hopeless to expect any produce from the land. The seed lay useless in the barns; it was impossible to sow it in the sun-parched earth; the vines and fig-trees had borne no fruit (v.^{19}). And yet, said the people, is not the land holy, the favoured soil of J''? Has He not pledged His promise to it? Is not His altar here?

To show the falseness of this reasoning, which argued that because the land was holy therefore it must be fruitful, Haggai asks the priests for instruction (*torah*) on a ceremonial point; their reply suggests the true principle. The contagion of holiness is transmitted only slightly, if at all (Lv 6^{27}), while uncleanness has a far-reaching effect (Lv 7^{21}, Nu 19^{22}). Altar[*] and sacrifices avail nothing while the people neglect their first duty. To allow the temple to lie in ruins is the guilt which taints everything; the blight which rests upon the land is a proof and punishment of their uncleanness.[†] But now that they have set to work in earnest, and laid the foundation of the temple (v.^{18}),[‡] better days will follow. The seed is in the barns—it shall yield a harvest; the vines and the fig-trees, as yet unfruitful, shall yield their wine and oil; and God's blessing shall descend upon His land (v.^{19}).

iv. *Fourth prophecy:* same date as iii. The prophet turns from the people to the prince, and addresses Zerubbabel alone. In the vast upheaval which is to accompany the approaching judgement,[§] Zerubbabel will remain unshaken. As the representative of the Davidic dynasty, and therefore the object of patriotic hopes,[‖] he receives an assurance of the divine protection and the perpetuity of his race.[¶] Under Persian domination the prophet dare not promise more.

There can be little doubt that the prophecies of Haggai have come down to us in a very abbreviated form. It is the main heads of his discourses, rather than the discourses themselves, that have been preserved. Compared with Amos and Hosea, the style of Haggai is monotonous and prosaic. He is fond of repetitions, *e.g.* the reiterated 'Consider your ways,' 'saith J″ of hosts' ($2^{7-9.\ 23}$), and the repeated address to Zerubbabel and Joshua by their full titles. At the same time he is capable of finer writing, *e.g.* $1^{6.\ 11}$ $2^{6.\ 7.\ 21.\ 22}$. Compared with his colleague Zechariah, Haggai shows less freedom and variety in his description of the Messianic age. Both prophets belong to the period of the decline of prophecy. They seem to be conscious that their prophetic gift does not possess the direct and copious inspiration of the earlier prophets; for they are careful to assert repeatedly that their word is the word of J″. In one respect they belong to the pre-exilic type, inasmuch as, like Jeremiah and Ezekiel, their names and personalities, and the historical circumstances of their ministry, are well known. Otherwise, they belong to the new school of religious thought which was the product of the Exile. Before the Exile, prophecy was mainly concerned with denunciation of national sins and threats of impending judgment, with summons to repentance and moral reformation; the prophets had to resist the semi-idolatrous worship of a corrupt society. But after the Exile the conditions were altered; tendencies towards apostasy and idolatry had disappeared; and we find that the main interest of Haggai is centred in the temple, and his prophetic gift is exercised in urging the restoration of a material fabric. This change in the subject-matter of prophecy 'is not to be attributed to the inferior religious capacity of the post-exilic period.'* Different circumstances called for a different form of religious expression. New problems had arisen; it was the work of Haggai, and of the religious teachers who followed him, to meet these problems, and to interpret the religion of Israel in accordance with the needs of a new age.

---

[*] In v.^{10} the second word עֲלֵיכֶם 'for your sake,' is prob. an erroneous repetition of the first עַל־כֵּן. In v.^{12} the second אֱלֹהֵיהֶם 'their God,' is rendered by LXX, Syr. Vulg. 'unto them,' אֲלֵיהֶם, which is to be preferred.

[†] V.^{13} is suspicious; it interrupts the connexion between v.^{12} and v.^{14}; and it is not in Haggai's style, *e.g.* for מַלְאַךְ י׳ H. writes הַנָּבִיא, for בְּמַלְאֲכוּת י׳ he writes כַּאֲשֶׁר שְׁלָחוֹ v.^{12}. See Böhme, *ZATW* vii. 215; Stade, *GVI* ii. 114 n.; Wellh. *Skiz. u. Vorarb.* v. 169; Nowack, *Kl. Proph.* 305. The last part of the verse may have been taken from 2^4. On this verse was based the curious tradition that Haggai, like John the Baptist and Malachi, was really an angel in human form. See Jerome, *Opera*, ed. Bened. 1704, tom. iii. p. 1691, and Cyril Alex. *Opera*, ed. 1638, tom. iii. p. 637, commenting on this verse.

[‡] The parallel account in Ezr 3^{12} refers to the *second* year of the Return. But as Ezr 3$^{8-13}$ was written long after the events recorded (see above), it is not impossible that the 'weeping of the old men' really belongs to *this* occasion (so the contemporary authorities, Hag 2^3, Zec 4^{10}), and has been transferred to the earlier date under a misapprehension.

[§] The first part of v.^{5} down to 'Egypt' scarcely makes grammar (RVm has to insert 'Remember'), and interrupts the context. LXX omits. Prob. a marginal gloss, which has crept into the text. 'My spirit abideth in the midst of you' (Zec 4^6) will thus follow 'I am with you.'

[‖] In v.^{7} translate 'and the desirable things of all the nations shall come.' The word חֶמְדַּת is sing., but collective in meaning, and so construed with a plur. vb.; cf. Is 60^5. The construction is rightly understood by LXX καὶ ἥξει τὰ ἐκλεκτά, Pesh. Targ. Ital. Old interpreters referred the verse directly to the Messiah, *e.g.* Vulg. *et veniet desideratus cunctis gentibus*, and Jerome, *Comment. in loc.* This tr^n is not correct, but the verse is Messianic, in the same sense as Is 60.

[¶] Such as Mic 4$^{1.2}$, Is 2$^{2.3}$ 60$^{5-7.11.13.17}$ 61^6, Jer 3^{17}; cf. Zec 2^{11} 8^{22}, To 14^5. Apparently, Haggai's idea is that the Messianic era will begin immediately after the great upheaval which is to follow the completion of the temple. In v.^{9} LXX begins a new sentence with 'And in this place . . .,' adding καὶ εἰρήνην ψυχῆς εἰς περιποίησιν παντὶ τῷ κτίζοντι τοῦ ἀναστῆσαι τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον, which Wellh. (*Sk. u. Vorarb.* v. 169) ingeniously reproduces by וְשַׁלְוַת נפש לְחַיּוֹת כל הַיְסוֹד לְקוֹמֵם ההיכל הזה (cf. 1 Ch 11^8, Ex 9^{18}, Ps 122^7), 'and rest of soul, to repair all the foundation, to raise up this temple.' The sentence is so peculiar that it is difficult to regard it as a mere addition of LXX; at the same time it is not easy to see why it should have dropped out of the MT. It is not required to complete the sense of the passage.

[*] In v.^{14} 'there' points to the altar erected immediately after the Return (Ezr 3^3). LXX adds at the end of the verse ἕνεκεν τῶν λημμάτων αὐτῶν τῶν ὀρθρινῶν, ὀδυνηθήσονται ἀπὸ προσώπου πόνων αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐμισεῖτε ἐν πύλαις ἐλέγχοντας. So Ital. But first clause is a corrupt reading of יען לְקַחְתֶּם שֹׁחַד as יען לְקֹחְתָם שַׁחַר, and does not belong to this place; the second clause is a gloss adapted to the context; the third is taken from Am 5^{10} (Wellh. *in loc.*).

[†] V.^{15} 'From this day and upwards'; the latter word points to the future (cf. 1 S 16^{13} etc.); but before giving a promise for the future (v.^{19}) the prophet recalls, in a parenthesis, the sufferings of the past 16 years (vv.$^{16.17}$) as a warning. In v.^{17} the words אֵין אֶתְכֶם אֵלַי are untranslatable and corrupt. Read וְלֹא שַׁבְתֶּם אֵלַי 'and ye did not turn unto me' (Am 4^9, from which other expressions in this verse are taken).

[‡] V.^{18} the meaning is, 'Consider, from this day and onwards, nay, start from the day when the foundations were laid four months ago; J'''s blessing will date from the time when the work began.' The date in v.^{18} is awkward and unnecessary; perhaps inserted by a reader from v.^{10}.

[§] Some verb seems to have fallen out at the end of v.^{22}; Wellh. suggests יִפֹּלוּ 'shall fall.'

[‖] What Haggai hints, Zechariah makes more explicit; Zerubbabel is to be the Messianic king of the future (Zec 3^8 6$^{9ff.}$).

[¶] 'For the signet,' cf. Jer 22^{29}, Ca 8^6, Sir 49^{11}. The authenticity of vv.$^{20-23}$ has been questioned by Böhme (*ZATW* vii. 215 ff.) on the ground of (α) certain differences of style, *e.g.* v.^{20} 'the word of J'' came unto H.' instead of the usual 'the word of J'' came by the hand of H. the prophet,' and (β) the repetition of the prophecy in 2^{6b} ^{7a}. With regard to (α) cf. v.^{10} and Jer 46^{13}, MT and LXX; no great weight can be laid upon the form in which such sentences have been handed down. With regard to (β), the prophecy does not go beyond prophetic thought in Haggai's time; and as it is addressed to Zerub. alone (hence שֵׁנִית v.^{20}) the repetition is natural, and forms a fitting conclusion to the book.

According to Jewish tradition, Haggai (with Zechariah, Malachi, etc.) was a member of the Great Synagogue: see Talm. *Baba Bathra*, fol. 15*a*, with Rashi's comment. In *Aboth R. Nathan*, fol. 23*b*, Haggai, Zech., and Mal. are said to have received the tradition from the prophets who were before them, and to have handed it on to the men of the Great Synagogue.

The versions mention Haggai (and Zechariah) in the headings of the following psalms:—LXX Ps 137. (Tischend.) 145. 146. 147. 148. Vulg. Ps 111 '*Alleluia, reversionis, Aggæi et Zachariæ,*' 145. Itala (Jerome) Ps 6 '*canticum Hieremiæ et Aggæi de verbo peregrinationis, quando incipiebant proficisci,*' 111 (Nestle). Pesh. Ps 125. 126. 145. 146. 147. 148 (Lee). With these cf. Epiphanius (*De vitis prophetarum*, ed. 1682, tom. ii. p. 248), who says of Haggai, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔψαλλε ἐκεῖ (ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ) πρῶτος ἀλληλουιά. Epiphan. also tells us that Haggai the prophet, while still young, went up from Babylon, and prophesied openly about the return (ἐπιστροφῆς) of the people, and saw the building of the temple of Jerusalem, where he died and was buried honourably near the priests. This tradition of Epiphan. is copied by Dorotheus (*Synopsis de vita et morte prophetarum*, Max. biblioth. vet. patr., Lugd., tom. iii. p. 422), and by Hesychius of Jerus. (ed. Migne, 1865, p. 1362), who says that Haggai was born in Babylon and was of the tribe of Levi, and was buried near the priests because he was of priestly race.

LITERATURE.—A. Köhler, *Die nachexilischen Propheten erklärt* i. *Haggai*, 1860; T. T. Perowne, *Haggai and Zechariah* in the *Camb. Bible*, 1886; J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten*, v. 1892; André, *Le Prophète Aggée*, 1895; Nowack, *Kl. Proph.* 1897; G. A. Smith, *Twelve Proph.* ii. 1898; Böhme, *ZATW*, 1887, p. 215 ff.; Stade, *GVI* ii. 2, 1888; Hunter, *After the Exile*, i. ch. vii. 1890; Ed. Meyer, *Entstehung des Judenthums*, 1896, etc. See also the literature at end of art. EZRA-NEHEMIAH.

G. A. COOKE.

HAGGI (חַגִּי 'born on a festival').—Son of Gad, Gn 46^{16}, Nu 26^{15} P. Patronymic, **Haggites**, Nu 26^{15}.

HAGGIAH (חַגִּיָּה 'feast of J″').—A Levite, descended from Merari, 1 Ch 6^{30}. See GENEALOGY.

HAGGITES.—See HAGGI.

HAGGITH (חַגִּית 'festal').—One of David's wives, known to us only as the mother of Adonijah, David's fourth son, whom she bare to him at Hebron, *i.e.* before he became king over all Israel (2 S 3^{4}, 1 Ch 3^{2}). Adonijah is usually introduced as 'the son of Haggith' (1 K $1^{5.\ 11}$ 2^{13}).

HAGIOGRAPHA.—See BIBLE, OLD TESTAMENT.

HAGRI (הַגְרִי, AV **Haggeri**).—Father of Mibhar, one of David's heroes, 1 Ch 11^{38}. Instead of מִבְחָר בֶּן־הַגְרִי, the parallel passage 2 S 23^{36} reads מִצֹּבָה בָּנִי הַגָּדִי 'of Zobah, Bani the Gadite,' which is probably the correct text. (Cf. Driver, *Heb. Text of Sam. ad loc.*, and Kittel on 1 Ch 11^{38}).

HAGRITE (הַגְרִי).—Jaziz the Hagrite (AV **Hagerite**) was 'over the flocks' of king David, 1 Ch 27^{31}. See next article.

HAGRITES (1 Ch $5^{10.\ 19.\ 20}$, AV Hagarites).—**Hagarenes** (AV and RV Ps 83^{6}, but RVm has Hagrites), הַהַגְרָאִים, הַהַגְרִיאִים, הַגְרִים (LXX Ἀγαρηνοί, Ἀγγαρηνοί, Ἀγαραῖοι, Ἀγεραῖοι). Whether the tribe was of Aramæan or Arabian origin is uncertain. The name first appears in history in 1 Ch 5^{10} in the story of the campaign of the Reubenites in the days of Saul, in which the H. are described as driven out of the district lying to the east of Gilead. They are also named along with the two Ishmaelitish tribes, Jetur and Naphish (1 Ch 1^{31}, Gn 25^{15}), and an otherwise unknown tribe, Nodab, as the chief object of attack on the part of the three Israelitish tribes east of the Jordan, on which occasion, according to our present text, the H. and their allies lost 100,000 men (1 Ch 5^{19-22}). That their wealth consisted in cattle is indicated in the same passage by the statement that no less than 50,000 camels, 250,000 sheep, and 2000 asses fell into the hands of the conquerors. The question has been often raised as to whether the name H. designates a particular tribe. Bertheau on 1 Ch 5^{10} assumes that the name is a late designation of the Bedawîn tribes of Arabia generally current in the times of the Chronicler. It does indeed so happen that the name occurs only in very late writings, only in Ch and in Ps 83. Yet even there, at least in the psalm just referred to, it occurs alongside of the names of other Arabian and even Ishmaelitish tribes, which would have been included under it had it been used in this general sense. Many of the Jewish writers assumed that the H. were simply the descendants of Hagar. Dillmann and others think it extremely doubtful whether the name has any connexion with that of Ishmael's mother. It is not even quite certain that they were Ishmaelites. It is, however, quite evidently the intention of the Chronicler to represent the H. as including several other Ishmaelite tribes, without perhaps regarding them as coextensive with the Ishmaelites. That he associated their name with that of Hagar is also highly probable. Their name occurs in the midst of a group of Aramæan tribes (Schrader, *COT*, ii. 32) in the list of Tiglath-pileser III. (*c.* B.C. 727). In all probability they are the same as the Ἀγραῖοι of the Greek geographers, described as neighbours of the Nabatæans in Northern Arabia (Strabo, XVI. iv. 2; Pliny, vi. 32; Ptolem. v. xix. 2). They are certainly not to be identified with the Gerrhæans, a rich commercial people on the Persian

---

* See Montefiore, *Hibb. Lectures*, 1892, p. 297 f.

Gulf, of peaceable habits, quite unlike the restless combative Hagrites. Whether or not the οἱ υἱοὶ Ἄγαρ of Bar 3^{23} are to be identified with the H. is a matter of little consequence. Perhaps this late writer, belonging to the later years of the apostolic age, intended only a vague reference to children of the East famous for their wisdom. The strange fancy that reads a reference to this people in St. Paul's allegory of Hagar and Sinai (Gal 4^{24}) need only be mentioned as a curiosity in exegesis. On the use and probable meaning of the word Hagar in that passage, see an admirable and extremely interesting note in Lightfoot's *Galatians*^{10} (1890), pp. 192–200. If, as some believe, we have a reminiscence of the H. in the name Hedjâz, applied to the northern part of the strip of land to the east of the Red Sea, we must suppose them to have been driven gradually southward from their earlier home. Individual Hagrites appear in the history of David—one, named Jaziz, as the king's chief shepherd (1 Ch 27^{31}), another, named Mibhar, as one of the heroes about the king (1 Ch 11^{38}). But see preceding two articles.

LITERATURE.—Ewald, *History of Israel*, i. p. 315; Steiner in Schenkel, *Bibellexikon*, ii. 572 f.; Kautzsch in Riehm, *Handwörterbuch*, 551 f. See also Cheyne, *Book of Psalms*, London, 1888, p. 233, and *Origin of the Psalter*, 1891, p. 97; Glaser, *Skizze*, ii. 407.

J. MACPHERSON.

HAHIROTH.—See PIHAHIROTH.

HAIL.—The interjection Hail! was originally an adj. meaning 'healthy,' 'in good health,' and came from the Scand. *heill*, 'hale,' 'whole.' It appears as a salutation in the oldest English, but always joined to the verb 'to be' in the imperat. and retaining its adj. force. Thus in Anglo-Sax. Gospels, Lk 1^{28} 'Hâl wes thu' = 'Hale be thou!' Mt 28^{9} 'Hâle wese ge' = 'Hale be ye.' So 'All hail' meant originally 'altogether whole,' hail being still an adj. But the verb being omitted, 'hail' and 'all hail' came to be used purely as an interjection. And so Shaks. is able to use 'all hail!' apart from the construction of the sentence, *Rich. II.* IV. i. 169—

> 'Did they not sometime cry "all hail" to me?
> So Judas did to Christ.'

And in *Macbeth*, I. v. 6, he turns 'all hail' into a verb, 'Whiles I stood rapt in the wonder of it, came missives from the king, who all-hailed me, "Thane of Cawdor."'

Hail! is found in the Gospels only, and always as tr. of Χαῖρε (the imperat. of χαίρειν, to rejoice), a common salutation in Greek writers, and represented in Lat. by Ave! or Salve! The Vulg. uses 'Ave!' in all the passages, Mt 26^{49} 27^{29}, Mk 15^{18}, Lk 1^{28}, Jn 19^{3}. The Eng. 'hail' is as old as Wyc.; it was introduced again by Tind. and accepted by all the VSS except Gen. in Mt 26^{49} 27^{29} 'God save thee.' In Mt 28^{9} the plu. χαίρετε occurs, where Wyc. gave 'Heil ye'; but Tind. 'All hayle,' whom the rest of the VSS followed, except Gen. 'God save you.'

J. HASTINGS.

HAIL (בָּרָד *bārād*, ἡ χάλαζα) is mentioned in Scripture 31 times, and always as an instrument of divine judgment. A grievous hail was the seventh plague in Egypt (Ex $9^{18ff.}$); and as in that country hail, like rain, falls rarely, and when it occurs is generally slight (the annual rainfall in Cairo being under an inch), the catastrophe was the more remarkable, and was the first of the plagues which were directly fatal to men (vv.$^{19.\,25}$). Hail is, however, not unknown in Egypt. On Aug. 13, 1832, a brief and local but severe hailshower fell, and some of the stones are said to have weighed several ounces.

The ancient Egyptian word for hail, *ār*, is also applied to a driving shower of sand and stones: in the contest between Horus and Set, Isis is described as sending upon the latter *ār n šā*, 'a hail of sand.' In Coptic hail is named ⲁⲗ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲫⲉ, 'stones from heaven.'

Lightning being also comparatively infrequent, this feature of the plague is emphasized in the narrative, 'flashing continually amidst the hail' (RVm v.^{24}; see also Wis $16^{16ff.}$, Sir 46^{6}, Ps $18^{12.\,13}$ 78^{48} 105^{32}).

Hail accompanies electrical disturbances, and is commonest at the earlier part of the day, before the ascending current from the heated land is established, and when there is the greatest variation of temperature and amount of vapour in successive strata of the atmosphere. The vapour, carried aloft by whirling currents, condenses as it ascends through colder strata into waterdrops which at higher levels become frozen, and, when carried laterally out of the ascending current, fall as hail. Often in their descent they are again caught by the ascending vortices and become nuclei of additional condensation, becoming coated with fresh lamellæ of ice. (For forms of hailstones see Buchan's *Meteorology*, 2nd ed. p. 106). In the act of falling, hailstones often cohere, forming by the process of regelation solid masses, which do immense damage to vegetation, and notably to vines (Ps 78^{48}). Prof. Joannis of Bordeaux records the fall of stones of 200 grammes weight.

The localization of the plague (Ex 9^{26}) is in accord with common experience. The great hailstorm of 13th July 1788, which destroyed property valued at £1,000,000, crossed Europe in two belts about 12 miles apart, each belt being from 7 to 10 miles wide and about 400 miles long. The hailshower of 18th April 1850, which destroyed £27,000 worth of property in Dublin, left a whole district of the city untouched.

The season of the plague was probably the end of Jan., when the flax was in bloom and the barley (which ripens 6 months after sowing, and is harvested about the end of Feb.) was in the ear (v.^{31}). Wheat, which does not come into ear until about a month later, escaped (v.^{32}), to become afterwards the prey of the locusts (10^{15}). At this season hailstorms are most frequent in Levantine lands. The storm in the Haurân, recorded by Mohammed el-Chateb el-Bosrawi, which destroyed many men and an immense number of cattle, occurred in Feb. 1860.

Hail falls most commonly by day, at the time when men are at their work (Ex $9^{19.\,20}$). Out of 440 consecutive hailstorms registered, only 18 occurred at night. This was noticed long ago by Venerable Bede, 'interdiu sæpius quam noctu decidunt' (*De Nat. Rer.* xxxiv.).

In Ps 78^{48} חֲנָמַל is used as a parallel with *bārād*. This is a *hapax legomenon*, and is tr. 'frost' (AV and RV), but Kimchi and Ibn Ezra regard it as meaning 'hail.' It is rendered in AVm and RVm 'great hailstones,' which is probably correct. Rashi and the Targumists suppose that the word refers to locusts (see also Lee's *Lexicon*, p. 211). LXX has πάχνη, hoar frost. Michaelis and Ges. conjecture 'ants,' but these guesses are groundless.

By hailstones the Amorites were smitten at Bethhoron, Jos 10^{11}, and the size of the stones is here emphasized, as in Sir 46^{6}. There are many authentic records of large stones formed by regelation. In a storm at Kazorla in Spain, 15th June 1829, stones fell which weighed 2 kilos., and in the great storm of 24th July 1818 in Orkney the stones were as large as goose eggs, and in 9 minutes 9 inches of ice had fallen. In a similar shower on 7th May 1865 at Câtalet the hailstorms are said in the official report to have made heaps 16 feet high. One great concreted mass of stones which fell in Hungary, 8th May 1832, was 3 feet in diameter, and another was measured in Ross-shire in Aug. 1849 which was 20 feet in circumference. Such stones do immense damage. In the Indian and Colonial Exhibition there was a corrugated iron roof exhibited which was pierced in several places by hailstones, and a similar occurrence is reported by an eye-witness in *Notes and Queries*, Nov. 19, 1887. (For other examples of destructive hailstorms see Thomson's *Meteorology*, 1849). Hailstorms of great severity are recorded from Bible lands by Kitto and Thomson (*Land and Book*, i. 86). The discomfiture of armies by hail is not confined to this instance. Sennacherib's advance in his 7th campaign, as recorded on the Taylor Cylinder, was stopped by hail, and Esarhaddon's army encountered such another storm in the land of Khani Rabbi (*WAI* iii. 15). In 1339 the army of Edward III. was stopped in its march to Chartres by hail (Holinshed); and, later, a violent hailshower completed the defeat of the Austrian army at Solferino (1859).

In Job 38^{22} God speaks of the treasuries of hail reserved against the day of battle and war, and in Rev 8^{7} 11^{19} 16^{21} hail is the type of God's judgment on sin. In the latter passage stones of the weight of a talent, *i.e.* about 2 cubic feet in bulk, are mentioned. In Is 28^{2-17} the Assyrian invasion is figuratively described as זֶרֶם בָּרָד *zerem bārād*, a flowing of hail, called in v.^{15} the overflowing scourge, which is to sweep away the Egyptian alliance, called in the passage 'the refuge of lies.' In Is 30^{30} it is the power which, in turn, is to overthrow the Assyrian. The 'hail in the downfall of the forest' of Is 32^{19} may be an interjected allusion to the Assyrian invasion, but the passage with its shifting figures and assonances is peculiarly obscure. Kimchi conjectures that it may mean that it will only hail in the forest, not on the cultivated land. In Hag 2^{17} hail also means divine chastisement.

In Ezk 13^{11-13} hail represents the judgment of God defeating the hypocrisy which would conceal corruption; 'comminatio Dei qua contumaces verberat' (Rabanus, *de Universo*, xxii. 18). The word used here and in Ezk 38^{22} אֶלְגָּבִישׁ *'elgâbish* is peculiar, and possibly connected with the *gâbish* of Job 28^{18}, rendered 'pearls' in AV, 'crystal' in RV. In the rabbinical comment on *Berachoth* (54*b*) the stones of *'elgâbish* are, by a false etymology, explained as hail which was sent at the prayer of a man (Jos 10^{11}), and stopped by the prayer of a man (Ex 9^{29}). St. Agobard, Bp. of Lyons, wrote a treatise, *de Grandine*, etc., to disprove the notion of human instrumentality in the procuring of hail (A.D. 835).

LITERATURE.—Besides the literature above referred to, see Hengstenberg, *die Bücher Mose's u. Ägypten*, 1841.

A. MACALISTER.

HAIR (שֵׂעָר, once שַׂעַר Is 7^{20}; שַׂעֲרָה; θρίξ, κόμη).—A luxuriant growth of hair on head and chin was regarded by the Hebrews and other Semitic peoples as an important constituent of manly grace. Absalom's long hair is noted as an element in his much prized beauty (2 S 14^{26}). Solomon's youthful horsemen, 'in the most delightful flower of their age . . . had long heads of hair' (Jos. *Ant*. VIII. vii. 3). It was an admired distinction to have bushy (RVm 'curled') locks, 'black as a raven' (Ca 5^{11}). The phrase גָּלָה אֹזֶן 'he uncovereth the ear' (1 S $20^{2.12}$ 22^{8}), may possibly refer to long locks, covering the ear, pushed aside to whisper a secret. Among women, long dark tresses were held most captivating (Ca 7^{5}), and they have always worn the hair long (Jn 11^{2}, 1 Co $11^{5.6}$); but in NT times long hair was a dishonour to a man (1 Co 11^{14}). Men dreaded baldness, as suggesting a suspicion of leprosy (Lv 13^{40}), and this possibly explains the youths' disrespectful conduct to Elisha (2 K 2^{23}).

Other Asiatics, and the Greeks, observed similar customs. The Babylonians wore their hair long, 'binding their heads with turbans' (Herod. i. 195). The Greeks loved rich waving hair; the youthful gods, Bacchus and Apollo, were figured with plenteous locks. The Egyptians, on the other hand, shaved both head and face. To be unshaven marked the sloven; if, however, this was due to hardships of war, it was honourable (Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, ii. 330). Enslaved foreigners were forced to shave (Gn 41^{14}). The long-haired Asiatics and Greeks excited among the Egyptians both ridicule and disgust (Herod. ii. 37, 49, 91). Boys' heads were shaven very early. Herodotus accounts for the strength of Egyptian skulls by their exposure, clean-shaven, to the full glare of the sun (Herod. iii. 12). The locks in front of the ears were preserved, as the sign of immaturity, and removed when manhood was reached. These locks are represented on the statues of Harpocrates and other younger deities (Wilk. iii. 130). Adult princes wore a badge at the side of the head, which perhaps contained the youthful lock in earlier days, and continued to indicate that while the father lived they had not attained the dignity of kinghood (*ib.* iii. 326). Large use was made of false hair, in wigs (*ib.* ii. 229) and in beards, to the forms of which special significance attached (see BEARD). Women wore their own hair, plentiful growth being highly esteemed. A woman's head was never shaved; but the locks, when long and beautiful, were sometimes cut off and preserved, to be laid in her tomb after death (*ib.* ii. 21 n.). The slave-woman's hair was differently dressed from that of her mistress (*ib.* ii. 338, 339). Moslem influence has modified Egyptian customs. In shaving the heads of men and boys a tuft is left on the crown; the cheek above the under jaw is shaven, and the part under the chin. The moustache is left unshaven. Female infants are never shaved; and women wear their hair long, usually in plaits and ringlets.

Of the terms used for dressing the hair, and the fashions of wearing it among the Hebrews, we may note the following:—מַחְלְפוֹת, LXX σειραί (Jg $16^{13.19}$), of Samson's 'seven locks,' which probably resembled the long 'plaits' affected now by the young Arab warriors. Jezebel 'tired her head,' וַתֵּיטֶב (2 K 9^{30}), which means simply that she set her hair in order. צַמָּה 'locks' (Ca $4^{1.3}$ 6^{7}, Is 47^{2} AV, following Kimchi; RV, following LXX [in Ca σιώπησις, in Is κατακάλυμμα], tr. 'veil'). עֲנָק (Ca 4^{9}), literally 'collar' or 'necklace,' *may* have been a lock falling round the neck—Vulg. *in uno crine colli tui*. תַּלְתַּלִּים (Ca 5^{11}), LXX ἐλάται, Vulg. *elathæ palmarum*, tresses hanging gracefully like the pendulous palm branches. דַּלָּה (Ca 7^{5}; compare Is 38^{12}), is a figure supplied by the thrum, or slender threads binding the web to the weaver's beam. רְהָטִים (Ca 7^{5}; compare Gn $30^{38.41}$), probably 'gutters,' or channels conveying water to the flocks, their orderly arrangement suggesting flowing tresses. מַעֲשֶׂה מִקְשָׁה (Is 3^{24}), literally 'turned work,' applied to curls, or artificially twisted hair. צִיצִת 'a lock,' probably the forelock, from the curve resembling that of a flower or wing. Judith 'braided,' διέταξε, 'the hairs of her head' (10^{3}). For other references to modes of wearing the hair, see 1 Ti 2^{9}, 1 P 3^{3}, Jos. *Ant*. XIV. ix. 4, and *BJ* IV. ix. 10.

That the barber's trade was practised we know from Ezk 5^{1}. The hairdresser and the instruments of his art figure in the Mishna (*Shabbath*, § 6). The Egyptians used wooden combs, with large teeth on one side and small on the other, ornamented as if for wearing in the hair (Wilk. ii. 349). Ointment was commonly used by the

Hebrews in dressing the hair (Ru 3^{3}, 2 S 14^{2}, Ps 92^{10} 133^{2}, Ec 9^{8}, Mt 6^{17}, Jos. *Ant.* XIX. iv. 1). Anointing the hair was a sign of festivity (Ps 45^{7}) and a mark of hospitality (Ps 23^{5}, Lk 7^{46}). Solomon's young horsemen produced striking effects by sprinkling their heads with gold dust every day (Jos. *Ant.* VIII. vii. 3). Herod the Great dyed his hair to conceal his great age (*Ant.* XVI. viii. 1); but the practice was unusual (Mt 5^{36}). Wigs were not unknown (Jos. *Vita*, 11). Orientals have from of old worn ornaments in the hair. It is doubtful if שְׂבִיסִים (Is 3^{18}), LXX ἐμπλόκια, were 'networks' (RVm) or sun-shaped ornaments, distinguished from the crescent or moon-shaped, mentioned in the same verse (Schrœder, *De Vest. Mul. Heb.* cap. 2). To-day coins are most used by women: the long plaits often worn have frequently one or more gold pieces dangling at the end. A blue bead knotted into the hair of children is a potent charm against the evil eye.

The Hebrews were forbidden to cut off the corners of their hair (Lv 19^{27}). They may have adopted the Egyptian practice of wearing the front locks in youth, removing them on the threshold of manhood. But neighbouring peoples attached a religious significance to this act. The Arabians cut their hair in imitation of Orotal—the Arabian Bacchus—'in a circular form, shaving it round the temples' (Herod. iii. 8). This usage is referred to in Jer 9^{26} 25^{23} 49^{32}. The young man wore his front locks untouched; their removal marked his entrance into man's estate, and his initiation into the worship of Orotal. Among the Bedawîn to-day the front locks are found only on growing lads. The Greek *ephebi* offered the long hair of their childhood at Delphi; the cut adopted was called θησηΐς, as the god was said to have cut only his front locks here. The Hebrews were thus distinguished from the idolatrous peoples around them. A curious evidence of this ancient prohibition is seen among the Palestinian Jews, who closely crop the whole head, leaving only the two locks in front of the ears, which hang down in long ringlets by either cheek.

The first hair has often been held sacred. In Arabia, in Mohammed's time, when a child was born its head was shaved, and the scalp daubed with the blood of a slaughtered sheep. Lane noted that at the first shaving of a boy's head the Egyptian peasants slew a goat, and all who cared partook of the feast provided. These were 'the more recent settlers, whose pagan Arabian ancestors . . . gave as alms to the poor the weight of the hair in silver or gold' (Lane, *Mod. Egyp.* 573). Burckhardt observes that 'among the Maazy Arabs . . . it is a festival in the family when the son's head is shaved for the first time.' Lucian says the Syrian boys and girls of his time, on growing up, cut off and dedicated their first hair at some sanctuary. Phœnician maidens, as a preliminary to marriage, had to sacrifice either their hair or their chastity at the feast of Byblus. Lv 19^{27} is rendered in the Syriac 'ye shall not let your hair grow long,' and it is explained that the custom of the heathen was 'to let the hair grow for a certain time, and on a fixed date to shave the head in a temple or beside a fountain.'

Herodotus mentions the Egyptian custom of dedicating the weight in silver of the hair taken from a child's head (ii. 65). A similar custom among the Arabs is traced to the example of Fâtima. Absalom's abundant tresses, cut, collected, and weighed 'at every year's end,' the sacred season of pilgrimage, may suggest some similar religious observance. The one clear biblical instance of hair in an offering is in connexion with the Nazirite vow. The hair must grow and be kept from all pollution during the period of consecration: the bushy locks were the visible sign of the Nazirite's condition. Contact with impurity necessitated the shaving and sanctifying of the head, and the period of consecration began afresh. When the vow was accomplished, the head was shaved at the door of the Tent of Meeting, and the hair burned in the fire under the sacrifice of peace-offerings (Nu $6^{1\text{-}21}$). In Mohammedan law, the resolve to visit a distant shrine is reckoned a vow; and the hair must be neither cut nor even washed, until the purpose is accomplished. Then by cutting the hair the pilgrim passes back from the consecrated to the common condition (Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, iii. 117). Examples are found in St. Paul's vow (Ac 18^{18}), and that of Bernice (Jos. *BJ* II. xv. 1). A parallel may be traced between this latter and the Greek custom of vowing to offer the hair to the gods in return for help or protection. Achilles dedicated his hair to the river-god Spercheus, on condition of his safe return from Troy. At the great feasts of Byblus and Bambyce offerings of hair were made (*Dea Syria*, VI. lv.). The painted inscription at Citium (*CIS* 86) mentions גלבים 'barbers' among the regular ministers of the sanctuary. The idea more or less consciously underlying these practices probably was, that by means of his hair, part of himself, instinct with his life, the devotee formed a stable link of connexion with the sanctuary and the deity there worshipped.

If an important part of life was conceived as residing in the hair, we can see why that of consecrated persons was so cared for. From Ezk 44^{20} we gather that certain priesthoods, like those of Egypt, shaved their heads; others, like Samuel, let the hair grow long. Profanation was avoided on the one hand by preventing its growth, on the other by keeping it untouched. Princes were also consecrated persons. נֵזֶר 'a crown' (Jer 7^{29} RVm) is in origin simply the fillet binding the prince's long hair.

Among the Hebrews, Arabs, and other peoples, cutting the flesh was often associated with shaving the head in mourning, or taking part of the hair to lay in the tomb, or on the funeral pyre. Both practices are prohibited in Lv $19^{27.\,28}$ (see also Dt 14^{1}, Lv $21^{5.\,10}$, Am 8^{10} etc.). See CUTTINGS IN THE FLESH, and W. R. Smith, *RS* 305 ff. Arab women, in accordance with immemorial customs, sometimes shave their heads and wrap the hair in cloths stained with their own blood. The habit of tearing the hair in mourning, which still persists among the Jews and other Oriental peoples, may probably be traced to this ancient custom. It was also a sign of mourning to let the hair fall untended and dishevelled (Ezk 24^{17}, Jth 10^{3}). The Egyptians in mourning let all their hair grow (Herod. ii. 36). The hair of an attached relative was sometimes buried with the mummy (Wilk. ii. 339). Cutting or tearing the hair was common as an expression of violent emotion, as of fear and distress (Est 14^{2}), of sorrow for national sin (Ezr 9^{3}, 1 Es 8^{71}, 2 Es 1^{8}), and of grief over national calamities (Is 3^{24} 15^{2}, Jer 7^{29} 48^{37}, Ezk 7^{18} etc.).

The hair and nails of the dead have often been regarded as charms, making it possible to maintain connexion with the departed. Possession of a man's hair in primitive magic was esteemed a potent means of getting and retaining a hold upon him. Mohammed's hair was preserved, and worn on their persons by his followers. The Arab was accustomed to cut off the hair of his prisoner before setting him free. Perhaps more than insult was intended by shaving David's messengers (2 S 10^{4}).

The almond blossom turning white before it falls is the symbol of the hoary hair (Ec 12^{5}). The sprinkling of grey hairs unknown to a man indicates the stealthy approach of life's winter (Hos 7^9). Grey hairs have always been revered in the East. Irreverence to grey hairs marks the ungodly (Wis 2^{10}). Evil was accentuated if it brought harm on grey hairs (Gn 42^{38}). Wisdom was reckoned as the grey hair to a man (Wis 4^{10}), and the hoary head as a crown of glory, the reward of a life of righteousness (Pr 16^{31} 20^{29}). For grey hairs to come down to the grave in peace was a token of God's favour (1 K $2^{6.9}$). Grey hairs laid on men obligations of honourable and chivalrous conduct (2 Mac 6^{23}). White hair was an element in a glorious appearance (2 Mac 15^{13}), especially that of divine majesty (Dt 7^8, Rev 1^{14}).

The hair of Samson was regarded as the seat of his strength (Jg 16^{22}). The hairs of the head are taken as representing the extremely numerous (Ps 40^{12} 69^4), and the exceedingly minute (1 S 14^{45}, 2 S 14^{11}, 1 K 1^{52}, Mt 10^{30}, Lk 21^{18}, Ac 27^{34}). Fineness of aim is described as slinging stones at an hairbreadth (Jg 20^{16}). The Jews swore by the hair (Mt 5^{36}). One of the most binding oaths in the East now is by the beard. The colour of the hair assisted the priest to discriminate leprosy from other ailments (Lv 13). Pollution clung strongly to hair (Lv $14^{8.9}$). On the meaning of the regulation in Dt 21^{12}, see Driver's note.

Goats' hair (עִזִּים) is named among acceptable offerings for the sanctuary (Ex 25^4 35^6); it was not used for the interior work, but only for the outer covering of the tabernacle (Ex 26^7 36^{14}). The preparation of the cloth required special skill and dexterity (Ex 35^{26}). Work of goats' hair is directed to be purified after ceremonial pollution (Nu 31^{20}). From the connexion here, it seems to have been employed then, as now, for articles of clothing. The large overall, or *'abâ'*, commonly worn, is almost invariably of goats' hair. It serves, among other purposes, as waterproof in rain, as great-coat in cold, and as blanket at night: it possibly corresponds to the 'garment' of Ex 22^{27} (RV). Pillows or cushions are sometimes stuffed with goats' hair (1 S 19^{13}). Goats' hair formed the material with which St. Paul was occupied as a tent-maker (Ac 18^3), the haircloth for which his native province of Cilicia was noted being known to commerce as *cilicium*. Of this dark-brown stuff the tents of the nomads have been made from of old (Ca 1^5), and employment is still found for great numbers in preparing materials for the 'hair houses' of the Bedawîn.

Camels' hair (θρὶξ καμήλου) is mentioned only as forming the raiment of John the Baptist (Mt 3^4, Mk 1^6). This was possibly the softer wool of the camel, the Arab. *wabr*, of which a more closely fitting garment is made, with sleeves, worn under the *'abâ'* described above (but cf. Jerome, 'non de lana cameli, sed de *asperioribus setis*').

W. EWING.

HAJEHUDIJAH occurs in RVm of 1 Ch 4^{18} in an obscure genealogical list. It is the transliteration of the Heb. הַיְהֻדִיָּה, which, however, probably is not a proper name, but means 'the Jewess' (so RV and RVm). AV reads **Jehudijah.** LXX has αὕτη Ἀδειά. See GENEALOGY.

HAKKATAN (הַקָּטָן 'the smallest').—The head of a family of returning exiles (Ezr 8^{12}), called in 1 Es 8^{38} Akatan. See GENEALOGY.

HAKKOZ (הַקּוֹץ).—**1.** A Judahite, 1 Ch 4^8; AV **Coz.** **2.** The eponym of a priestly family, 1 Ch 24^{10}, Ezr 2^{61} 7^{63}, Neh $3^{4.21}$. In Ezr and Neh the first part of the word is taken to be the definite art. by AV, which reads Koz. In 1 Es 5^{38} the name appears as Akkos. See GENEALOGY.

HAKUPHA (חֲקוּפָא).—Eponym of a family of Nethinim (Ezr 2^{51}, Neh 7^{53}), called in 1 Es 5^{31} Achipha. See GENEALOGY.

HALACHA.—See TALMUD.

HALAH (חֲלַח) is mentioned 2 K 17^6 18^{11}, 1 Ch 5^{26} as one of the places whither the king of Assyria deported the captives from Samaria. LXX Ἁλάε B (once Ἁλλάε A), in Ch Χαάχ (! for Χαλά), A Χαλά, Vulg. *Hala*, in Ch *Lahela* (!). The description indicates plainly that it is to be sought in Northern Mesopotamia, not far from Nineveh; but the location of the name has always been disputed. The various views are: 1. That Halah is a large city of Assyria, the Calah (כֶּלַח) of Gn 10^{11}, *Kalkhu* of the cuneiform texts, modern Nimrûd between the Tigris and the Upper Zâb, S. of Nineveh (see CALAH). This identification is quite inadmissible on phonetic grounds, as is likewise 2., Halévy's comparison with Cilicia, חלך *Khilakku*. The latter has also the context against it. 3. The region Chalkitis (Χαλκῖτις) in Mesopotamia (Ptol. v. 18. 4), bordering upon Gauzanitis (Gozan) and the country Anthemusia, near the rivers Chabōras (Habor) and Saokoras (or Mygdonius), would suit (so Schrader in Riehm, *Handwörterbuch*), if we were sure that the Greek form represents the same consonants as Halah. Of course, the modern village *Gla*, on the Upper Chaboras (Smith, *Bible Dict.*), cannot represent the name nor the modern Ḥolwan (see below). 4. Bochart (*Phaleg* iii. 4) compared the Calachene (Καλαχήνη) of Strabo (736, comp. Καλακινή, Ptol. vi. 1), a plain of Northern Assyria at the side of Adiabene and Armenia, E. of the Tigris. 5. This name is not to be confounded with the Chalonitis S.E. of Assyria on the Zagrus mountain (Strabo, 529, 736; Plin. vi. 30, i. 27, 31, etc.; Dion. Perieg. 1015; Polyb. v. 54). Isidorus of Charax describes the Parthian province of Χαλωνῖτις, called thus from 'the Greek city Χάλα.' This is evidently the same as Κελῶναι, Diod. xvii. 110, *Albania*, Tab. Pent., the modern Ḥolwan حُلْوَان. It is claimed that this city appears in Syriac literature as Ḥalaḥ (=חלח, *Assem. Bibl. Or.* iii. 418), and the Καλχάς, *Chron. Pasc.* i. 730, would confirm this. But there are various difficulties attached to this complicated identification, and the Assyrians seem to call Holwan *Ḫalwan*; see Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 205. 6. More probability is attached to the view of Winckler (*Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen*, 108). The LXX understood Halah as a river, ἐν Ἁλάε καὶ ἐν Ἁβώρ, ποταμοῖς (!) Γωζάν, so that the original text may have had the plural 'rivers of Gozan.' Consequently, Winckler proposed the easy emendation בלח for חלח, *i.e.* the modern Balîkh river (already called *Balikhi* in Assyrian times, Βάλιχα, Βήλιχος, Βίληχα, Belias of the classical writers), flowing into the Euphrates not far from Rakka. This view has been accepted by most modern scholars. 7. Lately, however, Winckler himself has retracted it (*Altorientalische Forschungen*, 292). Two cuneiform documents mention a country *Khalakhkha*, *Ḫalaḫḫa*, *i.e.* חלח near Haran, in the very same region where the biblical description would place Halah. The exact position cannot yet be determined, owing to the fragmentary state of those documents; but it seems that this last explanation is the best solution of the problem. Possibly, also, the 6th explanation still deserves some attention.

W. MAX MÜLLER.

HALAK (הָהָר הֶחָלָק, Ἀλάκ A, Ἀχέλ B), or 'the smooth mountain,' Jos 11^{17} 12^7 (only). — This eminence has not been identified, but its approximate locality is indicated by the words 'that goeth up to Seir': and it formed the southern limit of Joshua's conquests. We may infer, therefore, that it was the summit of a smooth ascent in the valley of the Arabah to the south of the Ghôr, or Dead Sea basin; and some have supposed that it was the line of cliffs which form the margin of the Ghôr itself, about 6 miles S. of the shore of that lake. This view is, however, probably erroneous, as the expression 'smooth mountain' would not apply to an abrupt range of cliffs formed of alluvial materials, which we have elsewhere (see DEAD SEA, vol. i. p. 575^a) identified as 'the ascent of Akrabbim' (Nu 34^4). But from the margin of the Ghôr the Arabah Valley gradually rises towards the summit level, which it reaches immediately in front of Mount Hor on the borders of Seir; and to this line of elevation the term 'smooth' would not be inapplicable, while at the same time it would be on the line of communication between southern Palestine and Petra, the capital of Seir.

E. HULL.

HALE.—The verbs 'hale' and 'haul,' meaning to drag, are, says Skeat, dialectical varieties of the same word. They are found in all the Teut. languages (as Dutch *halen*, Dan. *hale*), and are etymol. connected with Gr. *καλεῖν* and Lat. *calare*, to summon. Hale is the older form, and it alone occurs in AV and in Shaks.,[*] though 'haul' was already in use. The passages are Ac 8^3 'As for Saul, he made havoc of the church, entering into every house, and haling men and women committed them to prison' (*σύρων*, Amer. RV 'dragging'); Lk 12^{58} 'lest he hale thee to the judge' (*μήποτε κατασύρῃ*, Amer. RV 'drag'). In both places 'hale' is original to AV, the earlier VSS having 'draw.' For the word cf. T. Lever, *Sermons* (Arber's ed. p. 23), 'This Realme is devyded in it selfe . . . by covetouse ambicion, euerye manne pullynge and halynge towardes them selves, one from another'; T. Fuller, *Holy State*, ii. 7, 'It [the Greek language] is full and stately in sound: onely it pities our Artist to see the vowels therein rackt in pronouncing them, hanging oftentimes one way by their native force, and haled another by their accents which countermand them'; and Milton, *PL* ii. 596—

> 'Thither by harpy-footed furies hal'd,
> At certain revolutions all the damn'd
> Are brought.'

J. HASTINGS.

HALHUL (חַלְחוּל).—A city of Judah mentioned (Jos 15^{58}) in the list of the inheritance of the tribe of Judah along with five others, all of which have been identified except Eltekon. Jerome places it near to Hebron (*Onomast. s.* 'Elul'). It is the modern *Ḥalḥul*, a large village 4 miles north of Hebron, which lies in the mountains of Judah, on a hill about a mile to the east of the road to Jerusalem. On the opposite side of the road is *Beit-sur* (Beth-zūr), a rocky fastness built by Rehoboam for the defence of his kingdom (2 Ch 11^7), and used in the wars of the Maccabees as a defence against Idumæa (1 Mac 4^{61}). Between these two places, lower down, is the fountain *Dhirweh*, the traditional site of the baptism of the eunuch by Philip. Not far to the north is the head of Pilate's great aqueduct leading to Jerusalem, 41½ miles by the aqueduct (13 miles as the crow flies), the fall being 365 ft. in that distance (*Tent Work in Palestine*, 'Halhul'). A mile to the east of *Ḥalḥul* is *Beit 'Ainûn*, identified by Robinson as Beth-anoth, where are extensive ruins and large drafted stones. Farther to the north is *Jedûr* (Gedor), a small ruin. About the site of *Ḥalḥul* are ruins and rock-cut tombs, including a Byzantine ruin and an ancient church (ruined). The mosque *Neby Yunâs* (Jonah) is a modern building on a platform of rock, which appears to have been artificially levelled (*BRP* i. 216, iii. 282; *SWP* iii. 329). Ishak Chelo in 1334 (Carmoly, p. 242) speaks of *Ḥalḥul* as containing the sepulchre of Gad, David's seer (1 S 22^5, 2 S 24^{11}; *Benj. of Tud.* by Asher, ii. 437). See, further, Dillm. on Jos 15^{58}, and Guérin, *Judée*, iii. 284 ff.

C. WARREN.

HALI (חֲלִי).—A city belonging to the tribe of Asher, Jos 19^{25}. The site is doubtful. It may be the ruin *'Alia* on the hills N.E. of Achzib, about 13 miles N.E. of Acre. See *SWP* vol. i. sh. iii., and Guérin, *Galilée*, ii. 62. Buhl (*GAP* 231) doubts this identification.

C. R. CONDER.

HALICARNASSUS (Ἁλικαρνασσός) was one of the six Dorian colonies on the coast of Caria (see COS). Trœzen was its mother city. Though excluded from the Dorian confederacy (Hexapolis) on account of some ancient dispute (Herod. i. 144), it was a very important city in respect of politics, commerce, literature, and art. During the Persian domination it prospered greatly under a dynasty of *tyrannoi* established by Lygdamis. His widow, Artemisia, dynast in 480, possessed great influence with Xerxes. Maussollos (377–353) made the city supreme over most of Caria and part of Lycia, under the suzerainty of the Persian king. The monument built in his honour by Artemisia, his sister-wife, who survived him, was reckoned one of the seven wonders of the world: scanty remains of it are now in the British Museum. Halicarnassus, having faithfully adhered to the Persian cause, endured a long siege by Alexander the Great, B.C. 334, and was burned by the conqueror. A number of the inhabitants were safe in the acropolis (called Salmakis), which Alexander did not succeed in capturing. They rebuilt the city; but it never again became a great city, though always[*] an important one till it was ruined by the Turks. Its prosperity benefited much from the measures of Q. Cicero when he was governor of Asia in B.C. 61. Its silver coinage ceased after B.C. 168; but it continued to coin in bronze as late as the 3rd cent. after Christ, and appears in all the lists of bishoprics. In literature its greatness is shown by Herodotus, Dionysius the historian, Dionysius the writer on music, Pigres, Panyasis, etc.

Halicarnassus was one of the states to which the Roman Senate sent letters in favour of the Jews in B.C. 139, 1 Mac 15^{23} (see CARIA). It must therefore have been a free and self-governing city at that time. The decree of the city passed in the 1st cent. B.C., granting to the Jews religious liberty and the right to build their *Proseuchai* beside the sea (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. x. 23), attests the existence of an early Jewish colony in the city; and this was natural, as H. was a considerable centre of trade, owing to its favourable position on a bay opposite Cos, on the north-west side of the Ceramic Gulf. The city extended round the bay from promontory to promontory, and contained, among other buildings, a famous temple of Aphrodite.

The site of Halicarnassus is now called *Bodrum* (*i.e.* 'fortress'), from the Castle of St. Peter which was built by the Knights of St. John (whose headquarters were in Rhodes) under their Grand Master de Naillac, A.D. 1404. The castle stands on the point of a lofty rocky promontory, which projects southwards, and divides the bay of Halicarnassus into two harbours; in ancient times it was probably an island (Zephyria). A Turkish village occupies part of the site of the city. In the castle were found many remains of the Mausoleum, which were sent to London in 1846 by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe. A very full account of the city, with plans, etc., is to be found in the works of Sir C. Newton, who excavated there in 1857. (*History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidæ*, and *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*. See also Ross, *Reisen durch d. Inseln Griech.*; Hamilton's *Researches in Asia Minor*). W. M. RAMSAY.

---

[*] Pope gives 'hauld' in his Shaks. at *II Henry IV.* v. v. 37, and it is approved by some editors. In Ac 8^3 AV of 1611 spells the word 'hail.'

[*] The language of Cicero, *ad Quint.* Fr. I. i, 25 (*pœne desertam urbem*), must not be pressed; he is exaggerating his brother's services.

HALL.—In Mk 15^{16} AV renders ἔσω τῆς αὐλῆς ὅ ἐστιν πραιτώριον, 'into the hall called Prætorium'; and in Lk 22^{55} ἐν μέσῳ τῆς αὐλῆς, 'in the midst of the hall.' Elsewhere AV renders αὐλή either 'palace' (Mt $26^{3.58.69}$, Mk $14^{54.66}$, Lk 11^{21}, Jn 18^{15}), when the reference is to the place where a governor dispensed justice; or 'fold' (Jn $10^{1.16}$), referring to the place where the flocks were kept all night; or 'court' (Rev 11^{2}), in reference to the court of the temple. RV gives 'court' everywhere except in Jn $10^{1.16}$ (10^{1} ἡ αὐλὴ τῶν προβάτων, AV 'the sheepfold,' RV 'the fold of the sheep,' 10^{16} ἡ αὐλή, AV and RV 'the fold'). See PALACE.

The word πραιτώριον is once in AV tr^{d} 'Prætorium' (Mk 15^{16} as above), and once 'palace' (Ph 1^{13} ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ πραιτωρίῳ, AV 'in all the palace,' AVm 'Cæsar's court,' RV 'throughout the whole Prætorian guard,' RVm 'in the whole Prætorium'). Elsewhere it is rendered either 'common hall' (Mt 27^{27}, AVm 'governor's house'), or 'hall of judgment' (Jn 18^{28a}, AVm 'Pilate's house'), or 'judgment hall' (Jn $18^{28b.33}$ 19^{9}, Ac 23^{35}). RV gives 'palace' in the text of all those places, with 'Prætorium' in the marg., which Amer. RV prefers in the text. See PRÆTORIUM.

The RV word 'palace' for *prætorium* comes from the Rhem. NT, which has 'Palace' everywhere, except Ph 1^{13} 'court.' Wyclif's word is always 'moot (or mote) halle.' Tind. introduced 'judgement hall.' J. HASTINGS.

HALLEL (הַלֵּל).—A name given to the group of psalms 113–118 inclusive, which the Jews from an early date have been in the habit of reciting at the three great feasts, at the feast of Dedication and at the new moons. The name 'great Hallel' is sometimes given to this group as a whole, but it is usually applied to Ps 136 (or Pss 120–136) with its twenty-six times repeated refrain of praise. Pss 113–118, or 115–118, are called the 'Egyptian' or the 'common' Hallel. During the continuance of the temple the Hallel was recited on eighteen days in the year, but on one night alone, that of the passover. On that occasion it was taken in parts, Pss 113 and 114 being sung before the meal, just before the drinking of the second cup, and Pss 115–118 after the filling of the fourth cup. It is to this sacred song that reference is made in the phrase ὑμνήσαντες, 'when they had sung an hymn,' used of our Saviour and His disciples in Mt 26^{30} and Mk 14^{26}. See Delitzsch on Ps 113; Talmud, *Sopherim* 18, § 2; and compare Edersheim, *The Temple and its Services*. W. T. DAVISON.

HALLELUJAH (הַלְלוּ־יָהּ 'praise ye J",' Ἀλληλουιά).—The word occurs as a short doxology in the Psalms, usually at the beginning, as Ps 111. 112, or the end, as 104. 105, or both, as 135. 146–150; in 135^{3} use is different. Except 135, the H. psalms occur in three groups, 104–106; 111–113, 115, 117; 146–150; the 2nd being interrupted by Ps 114. 116. The consecutive occurrence of these psalms may be explained in two ways. (i.) H. was usually added to psalms only of a joyful character, and these might naturally be put together by the compiler, just as hymns of thanksgiving are often put together in our modern hymn-books. But we see very little evidence in the Psalter of arrangement according to subject. It seems, therefore, more probable that they were taken as they stand from some previous collection or collections in which all the psalms were so marked; just as in a modern hymnary all the hymns taken from *Hymns Ancient and Modern* might be distinguished by Amen at the end. We have an even more complete example of taking the psalms *en bloc* from some other source without rearrangement in 'Songs of Ascents' (Ps 120–134). The occurrence of H. in Ps 106, after the doxology which closes Book iv., may be the insertion of a reviser, to make it agree with Ps 104. 105, which have the H. at the end, when the doxology had come to be regarded as part of the psalm. The H. psalms vary considerably in character. We find such different themes as the praises of the God of Nature (104), the God of Israel (105. 106), God who hears the prayer of the poor (113) and of the sufferer (116), the superiority of God to idols (115). That these psalms are late may be proved from (1) the fact that *Jah* is a contracted and later* form of *Jahu*, which occurs in the early forms *Jesayahu*, *Jirmeyahu*, as contrasted with the later forms which we know as *Isaiah* and *Jeremiah*; (2) the use of (generally) late grammatical forms as י for constr. state, as in $113^{5.7.9}$, שׁ for אֲשֶׁר, as a prefix in 135^{2} $146^{3.5}$; (3) the didactic character of 111^{10} 112, in the spirit of Ps 1, the Book of Job, and later parts of Proverbs; (4) the subject-matter of such a psalm as 147, which points back to the Restoration (147^{2}); (5) the fact that the historical psalms, 105. 106, presuppose PJE, and were therefore composed after the first compilation of the Hex. (see HEXATEUCH). Notice in 105^{31} the lice of P, as well as, in 105^{34}, the locusts of JE; in 106^{17} Dathan and Abiram of JE, as well as, in $106^{30.31}$, Phinehas, God's avenger of P.

The word passed from OT to NT. In Rev 19^{1-7} it is the keynote of the song sung by the great multitude in heaven, and from the Jewish it found its way into the Christian Church. F. H. WOODS.

HALLOHESH (הַלּוֹחֵשׁ 'the speaker of charms').—An individual or a family mentioned in connexion with the repairing of the wall (Neh 3^{12}, AV Halohesh) and the sealing of the covenant (Neh 10^{24}). See GENEALOGY.

HALLOW.—'Who,' says Trench, 'would now affirm of the verb "to hallow" that it is even obsolescent? yet Wallis two hundred years ago observed—"it has almost gone out of use" (fere desuevit).' He is condemning (in *English Past and Present*, p. 139 f.) the American Bible Union for dismissing from their new version words that have a suspicion of age upon them. And it is still quite true that 'hallow' *as a biblical word* is in active use, so that the Revisers felt no necessity for excluding it from either the NT of 1881 or the OT of 1885. In AV and RV it is used as a synonym for 'sanctify,' translating in OT some part of קָדַשׁ *ḳâdash*, and in NT twice rendering the verb ἁγιάζω (Mt 6^{9}, Lk 11^{2}, both in the Lord's Prayer). In the Apocr. the same Gr. verb is rendered 'hallow' in 1 Es 1^{3}, Jth 9^{13}, Sir 33^{9}, 1 Mac 4^{48}; and the Lat. verb *sanctificare* in 2 Es 2^{41} 5^{25}.

In the older versions it is more common. It is Wyclif's only word; thus Jn 17^{19} 'And I halwe my silf for hem, that and [1388 also] thei be halwid in treuthe'; He 2^{11} 'Sothely he that halowith, and thei that ben halowid, of oon alle.' So Tind. in

---

* See Gray, *Heb. Prop. Names*, 149 ff., and Jastrow in *Journal of Soc. of Bib. Lit.* xiii. (1894), 101–127, and in *ZAW*, 1896, pp. 1–16. In these papers Jastrow further contends that the final יה in many Heb. proper names is not a form of the Divine name at all, but simply *an emphatic afformative*.

Lv 27^{16} ‘If a man halowe a pece of his enhereted londe unto the Lorde, it shalbe set accordynge to that it beareth’; and in a marg. note on Dt 20^{5} (where his text is, ‘Yf any man have bylt a new housse and have not dedicate it’), he says, ‘Dedicat: the levites, I suppose, halowed them as we doo oure shippes.’ In a note to Lv 8^{2} he spells the word ‘holow’—‘Hence the pope fett holowenge of chirches, alters, font, belles, and so forth.’ Cov. has ‘unhallow’ in Ezk 44^{19} ‘they shal put of the clothes, wherein they have ministred . . . lest they onhalowe the people with their clothes.’ In his *Expositions* (Parker Soc. p. 180) on 1 Jn 2^{18-21} Tind. uses ‘sanctify’ and ‘hallow’ together as quite synonymous: ‘Christ in the Scripture is called The Holy, because He only sanctifieth and halloweth us.’ This quotation shows the origin of the word also: from A.S. *hálig*, holy, came *hálgian*, to make holy, middle-Eng. *halyien*, later *halwe*.

The words of Mt 6^{9}, Lk 11^{2} are as old as Wyc. ‘halowid be thi name,’ and are found in all the versions except the Rhemish (1582), which has ‘sanctified be thy name’; but the mod. editions of Rhem. (as 1898) have changed to ‘hallowed be thy name.’ J. HASTINGS.

HALT.—1. *To be lame, to limp*: Gn 32^{31} ‘He halted upon his thigh’ (צֹלֵעַ עַל־יְרֵכוֹ, Amer. RV ‘went halting’). The same vb. is tr^{d} ‘halt’ in Mic $4^{6.7}$, Zeph 3^{19} (Amer. RV always ‘is lame’). T. Fuller (*Holy State*, iii. 15) says, ‘Wounds in warre are most honourable: Halting is the stateliest march of a Souldier; and ’tis a brave sight to see the flesh of an Ancient as torn as his Colours.’ And Rutherford, with a reference to Mic $4^{6.7}$, speaks of ‘God’s kirk’ (*Letters*, No. xli.): ‘He will have her going through a thousand deaths, and through hell, as a cripple woman, halting, and wanting the power of her one side, that God may be her staff.’ The adj. ‘halt’ is given as the tr. of χωλός in Mt 18^{8}, Mk 9^{45}, Lk 14^{21}, Jn 5^{3}, though everywhere else (except Ac 14^{8} ‘a cripple’ in AV and RV) the same adj. is rendered ‘lame’ (Mt 11^{5} $15^{30.31}$ 21^{14}, Lk 7^{22} 14^{13}, Ac 3^{2} 8^{7}, He 12^{13}). In Lk 14^{21} RV gives ‘lame,’ but keeps ‘halt’ in the other three places. Tind. has ‘halt’ in Mt 11^{5} ‘The blynd se, the halt goo, the lepers are clensed.’

2. *To stumble, to fail*, Ps 38^{17} ‘For I am ready to halt,* and my sorrow is continually before me’ (לְצֶלַע נָכוֹן, AVm ‘ready for halting,’ Del. [so Amer. RV] ‘ready to fall,’ with note, ‘if God does not graciously interpose, he will certainly fall headlong’; Wellh.-Furness [in *PB*] ‘on the verge of falling’); Jer 20^{10} ‘All my familiars watched for my halting’ (שֹׁמְרֵי צַלְעִי, Streane, ‘those who watch my side,’ implying a reading צֵלָע, ‘ribs,’ ‘side’; RV ‘they that watch for my halting’; Cheyne, ‘either laid traps for me, or waited for me to commit some error for them to take advantage of,’ who points out that the phrase ‘my halting’ is taken[?] from Ps 35^{15} 38^{17}). To those two passages in AV the Eng. (not Amer.) RV adds Job 18^{12} ‘Calamity shall be ready for his halting’ (לְצַלְעוֹ, AV and RVm ‘at his side’), and Ps 35^{15} ‘But when I halted they rejoiced’ (וּבְצַלְעִי, AV ‘But in mine adversity’). Tindal in his exposition of Mt 5^{17-19} (*Expositions*, Parker Soc. p. 38) shows us this meaning of ‘halt’ arising from the meaning already illustrated, ‘I come not to destroy the law, but to repair it only, and to make it go upright where it halteth.’ Then cf. Glanvill (*Ser.* 5), ‘We have many observers, whose malice makes them critical and curious; they lay in wait for our haltings, and are glad at heart when they have caught an opportunity to revile us.’ In Preface to AV 1611 the translators say of Roman Catholic scholars that they ‘doe either make new Translations themselves, or follow new ones of other mens making, or note the vulgar Interpretor for halting.’

3. *To waver*, 1 K 18^{21} ‘How long halt ye between two opinions?’ (אַתֶּם פֹּסְחִים; Amer. RV ‘go ye halting’). The figure is the uncertain gait of one who is divided in mind between J″ and Baal. The same verb is used in v.^{26} of the irregular dance round the altar of Baal. Cf. Purchas, *Pilgrimage*, 343, ‘Their religion halteth betwixt divers religions of the Turkes, Persians, and Christians of the Iacobite and Nestorian Sects.’

4. The mod. sense of *come to a standstill, stop*, does not occur in AV, but is introduced by RV into Is 10^{32} ‘This very day shall he halt at Nob’ (לַעֲמֹד, AV ‘remain’). J. HASTINGS.

HAM (חָם, Χάμ).—The name of one of Noah’s three sons (Gn 10^{1} etc.), and founder of one of the three great families into which the biblical ethnologists divide the world. There seems little doubt that this word is the Egyptian name of Egypt (Hier. *Kem*, sometimes *p t’ o-n-Kem*, ‘land of Egypt,’ Demot. *Kemi*, Theb. *Kēme*, Bashm. *Kēme*, Memph. *Khēme*), and indeed in the poetical language of the Psalms the ‘land of Ham’ is a synonym for Mizraim ($105^{23.27}$ 106^{22}, cf. 78^{51}; Brugsch, *Geogr. Inschr.* 73). The meaning of the word is ‘black,’ which appears in the Arab. *aḥamm*, fem. *ḥammā*, as well as in many Coptic derivatives (Peyron, *Lex. Copt.* 66). The origin of the appellation is to be found in the blackness of the soil of the Delta (Plutarch, *de Is. et Osir.* 33), since the Egyptians do not call themselves by this name, which corresponds with an epithet applied to rich soils generally (Ebers, *Ægypten u. die Bücher Mose’s*, 55).

2. The narrative of Gn 9^{21-24} has been analyzed with great ingenuity by Budde (*Urgeschichte*, 290 ff.), partly after the suggestions of Wellhausen, whose results are in the main as follows. The narrative is based on a document in which the place of Ham was occupied by Canaan; this is rendered practically certain by vv.$^{24.25}$, in which Noah, perceiving what his youngest son had done unto him, proceeds to curse Canaan, who is mentioned no less than three times in Noah’s speech (vv.$^{25-27}$). It is therefore probable that in v.^{22} ‘Ham, the father of Canaan,’ is a correction for ‘Canaan’ (cf. for the method 1 Ch 20^{5}), and indeed these words show very clear signs of alteration. The family of Noah, then, according to the earlier account, consisted of Shem, Japheth, Canaan; and the legend accounts for the subjugation of the third to the two others, implying a state of things in which the word ‘Canaanite’ was synonymous with ‘slave.’ The act imputed to Canaan is that of a little boy, and hence chronological difficulties arise if the Noah of the story be identified with the Noah of the Flood. The three sons, moreover, represent nations occupying the same country (probably Canaan), whose mutual relation is accounted for by the story, but who do not appear to have been intended to represent the progenitors of the nations of the earth. While the name ‘Shem’ lends itself readily to interpretation, if a caste be signified (‘men of name’ or ‘note,’ whence ‘name’ or ‘note’ became personified), only vague conjectures can be made about the original import of ‘Japheth’; but l. 16 of the Marseilles inscription shows us that we possess only an imperfect tradition of the caste-system in Semitic peoples.

3. The same ethnologist who made Noah the second founder of the human race had to divide the nations of the earth among his sons; the names Shem and Japheth being unknown except in this tradition, could be employed without difficulty; but the name ‘Canaan’ had very distinct

---

* In this passage in AV Bunyan found the name of Mr. Ready-to-halt.

import, and yet was too insignificant to count as one of the three world-races. For this name, therefore, in the ethnological table another known name was substituted, and the native name of Egypt lent itself well to this purpose. That Cush and Mizraim should be included under the name of Kemi need occasion no surprise, as these two nations were known conjointly; that Cush is made the eldest son (Gn 10[6]) is perhaps due to Ethiopia being farthest from Palestine, but it may have political significance. That Canaan should be reckoned as Hamite has been thought strange, some accounting for it on the ground of national antipathy on the part of the Israelites, while others (*e.g.* Dillmann, *ad loc.*) thought it due to a tradition current in antiquity which made the Canaanites immigrants from the South. The above account of the introduction of the name Ham really gets rid of the difficulty; for Canaan's place having been taken by Ham, a place had to be found for Canaan, and this could only be in Ham's family. Ham's name was not substituted for Canaan's in the speech of Noah, partly perhaps owing to its repeated recurrence, partly perhaps because the curse of slavery could not be made to fall on the powerful nations represented by Ham's elder children. The recension of Gn which we have, where the father is made to sin, and one of the sons to receive the curse, shows us the difficulty solved as far as it was capable of solution.

4. The classification of Canaan under Ham led to a serious result for the ethnological table: whereas Canaan in the older scheme represented a subject caste, the name now had to include all the non-Israelitic inhabitants of Palestine, among whom were many races decidedly 'Semitic' in character, such as the Phœnicians. Some further difficulty was introduced by confusion between the Cush and the Cossaei, but the ground for making all the tribes mentioned in v.[7] etc. Cushites will probably remain hidden long. The Put (which see) are probably included with the Egyptians and Nubians as being in any case a southern race. The Egyptian classification of mankind compared by M. Lefébure (*PSBA*, 1887, p. 167 ff.), while it offers some slight analogy to that with which we are dealing, does not seem to explain the name 'Ham,' or throw any real light on the problems.

5. The name 'Ham' occurs in 1 Ch 4[40], where certain settlers at Gerar found the land quiet and well cultivated, because the previous inhabitants were 'from Ham.' Some of the Rabbis compared the statement in Jg 18[7. 27], where very similar language is used about people who lived 'after the fashion of the Sidonians' (also, according to the tables, Hamites, through Canaan), and indeed the passage of Ch would seem to be modelled on that of Jg. It is not, however, easy to render the words in Ch satisfactorily, since 'from Ham' should mean from the country called Ham, which is not here very intelligible, and 'of the children of Ham,' or 'from the days of Ham,' would not naturally be thus abbreviated. There is therefore ground for supposing the text corrupt, and indeed the Pesh. substituted מֵהֶם 'of them' for the מִן חָם of the text. An easier alteration is מנחם, supposing that word to have the sense of the analogous Syriac form מנחין 'peaceful, easy-going,' of which examples are given in *Thes. Syr.* col. 2314.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

HAM.—According to Gn 14[5] Chedorlaomer and his allies smote the Zuzim (who may be the same as the Zamzummim of Dt 2[20]) בהם. This last is vocalized in MT בְּהָם, which is represented by AV, RV 'in Ham.' Jerome (*Quæst. in libr. Gen.*) reads בָּהֵם. Most of the VSS vocalize בָּהֶם, hence LXX ἅμα αὐτοῖς, 'with them.' Olshausen conjectures בַּחֲמָת 'in Hamath.' It is most probable that a proper name is intended. If 'Ham' be the correct reading, it is the name of a place that is otherwise unknown. Dillmann, following Tuch, suggests that it may have been the ancient name of the Ammonite capital Rabbath Ammon. The strange argument of Sayce (*HCM* 160 f.), that the form הָם points to a direct transcription of Gn 14 from a cuneiform document, is dealt with by Ball (*SBOT*, *ad loc.*).

J. A. SELBIE.

HAM (חָם), *Land of.*—A poetical designation of Egypt, used in the Psalms in reference to the sojourn there of the children of Isr. (Ps 105[23. 27] 106[22]); so also 'the tabernacles (RV 'tents') of H.' (Ps 78[51]) stands for 'the dwellings of the Egyptians.' Probably in Heb. thought H. was here used as the name of the son of Noah rather than as a name for Egypt. Two derivations have been proposed for it: (1) The native name for Egypt itself was *Kmt*, in Coptic times pronounced Kêmi (hardly Khêmi), and strictly signifying the 'black land' or alluvial soil of the cultivable part, as opposed to the *Deshert* or 'red land,' *i.e.* the sandy deserts which enclosed Kêmi on all sides except the N. (2) The chief Priapic god of the Egyptians was sometimes called Menu (in Greek Min), but at other times probably Khem. If the latter reading is correct, it is almost identical with the name of the progenitor of the Hamitic peoples, and it is very remarkable that the most primitive sculptures hitherto found in Egypt represent this god (see Petrie's *Koptos*). Menu was especially worshipped on the important route from the coast of the Red Sea to Koptos, and this would impress the fact of his worship on the E. neighbours of Egypt. The characteristics of Menu are in accord with the shamelessness recorded of H. in Gn 9[20ff.]. The derivation from *Kmt* is improbable, for phonetic reasons.

F. LL. GRIFFITH.

HAMAN (הָמָן, Ἀμάν), the son of Hammedatha, appears in the Bk of Est as the enemy of the Jews, and the chief minister of Ahasuerus. He is described as the Agagite (Est 3[1. 10] etc.), but in the LXX as a Bugean (Βουγαῖος, 3[1] 12[6]), or a Macedonian (9[24] 16[10]). The Heb. term we should probably understand of a descent from the Amalekite king Agag (so Jos. *Ant.* XI. vi. 5, and Targ.), in which case the author of the book perhaps meant to contrast the descendant of Israel's ancient enemy with Mordecai, the descendant of Kish, the Benjamite. Provoked by Mordecai's refusal to bow before him, H. procured from the king a decree authorizing the massacre of all the Jews in the Persian dominions on the 13th Adar. He also prepared a gallows 50 cubits high for Mordecai. But queen Esther, having heard of the plot, invited H. and the king to a banquet, and there denounced H., who was forthwith hanged on his own gallows. The queen also obtained permission for her countrymen to defend themselves, and among other victims of the Jews' vengeance the ten sons of H. were slain and their bodies gibbeted.

In later times, at the Feast of Purim, it seems to have been customary to hang an effigy of H.; but as the gibbet was sometimes made in the form of a cross, riots between Jews and Christians were the result, and a warning against insults to the Christian faith was issued by the emperor Theodosius II. (*Cod. Theod.* XVI. viii. 18; cf. 21). The origin of the name H. is uncertain; Jensen connects it with the name of an Elamite divinity, *Humman* or *Humban* (cf. *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*).

H. A. WHITE.

HAMATH (חֲמָת 'fortress,' 'citadel,' or perhaps 'sacred enclosure,' see W. R. Smith, *RS*[1] 140 [ed.[2]

p. 150]; Ἡμάθ, Ἑμάθ, Αἰμάθ, *Emath*).—At the time of Amos, this was the chief city of a kingdom of the same name which surrounded the capital, extending to the S. of Riblah and even including that place (2 K 23^{33} etc.). Situated on the banks of the Orontes (now called *el-ʿÂṣi*), in a narrow valley with *Jebel al-Aʿla* on its north and south-east, and the *Nusairîyeh* mountains (the *Mons Bargylus* of the ancients) to the west, it lay on a very frequented and convenient trade-route. The opening between the Nusairîyeh mountains above Tripoli and the north point of the Lebanon chains is called in the OT 'the entrance of Hamath' (Nu 34^{8}, Jos 13^{5}, Ezk 47^{13-21}). N. of Homs the Orontes pass leads to Hamath, S. toward Baal-gad in Cœle-Syria, E. to the great plain of the Syrian desert, and W. to the *Kalʿat al-Hosn* and the Mediterranean.

'The entrance' or 'the approach' to Hamath is often mentioned as a territorial limit (Nu 34^{8}, Jg 3^{3} etc.), and usually denotes the accepted northern boundary of Israelitish dominion (Jos 13^{5}). The province is called 'Great Hamath' (Am 6^{2}), and is mentioned with Damascus, Tyre, and Zidon (Zec 9^{2}), as well as with Arpad (Jer 49^{23}), in the prophecies against Hadrach.

Originally a Hamite colony (Gn 10^{18}), it flourished at the time of David (2 S 8^{10}) under a king named Toi (or Tou), who had friendly intercourse with the Israelitish ruler. Hamath (possibly identical with **Hamath-Zobah** [which see] of 2 Ch 8^{3}) came, however, afterwards under the dominion of Solomon (compare 1 K $9^{21.24}$ with 2 Ch 8^{4}), and its king was no doubt among the many princes who 'brought presents and served Solomon all the days of his life.' Hamath was regarded as the granary of N. Syria, and there Solomon built store-cities (2 Ch 8^{4}). But, on the death of that king, Hamath seems to have regained her independence, as is shown by the inscriptions of Shalmaneser II. (B.C. 860), where we see that her king, Irḫulēni, made an alliance with the Hittites, Damascus (under *Addu-idri*=Ben-Hadad=Ben-Hadad-hidri), Ahab of Israel, and several other states. Jeroboam II. of Israel, about the year B.C. 810, 'recovered Hamath' (2 K 14^{28}) from Judah, and partly destroyed it, as well as Gath, which, in the prophecies of Amos, is spoken of along with it (Am 6^{2}). In the Assyrian inscriptions *Eni-ilu* (Eniel), king of Hamath, brings tribute to Tiglath-pileser III. (730), who had parcelled out the land of Hamath among his generals, annexing 19 districts to Assyria, and transported 1223 people of Hamath to the sources of the Tigris. Sargon boasts of having rooted out the land of Hamath and dyed the skin of the foolish (?) *Ilu-biʾdi* (variant *Yau-biʾdi*) like wool, colonizing Hamath with 4300 Assyrians. One of those exiled thither by this king was the Mede Deioces. After what seems to have been the capture of the place by Sennacherib's Rabshakeh, or 'chief of the captains,' Hamath lost much of its importance. It is spoken of in Is 11^{11} as one of the places containing Israelitish exiles, and is mentioned in 1 Mac 12^{25} in connexion with the movements of Jonathan and Demetrius.

The Greeks and Romans knew it under the name of Epiphaneia, which had been given to it by Antiochus Epiphanes (Jos. *Ant.* I. vi. 2), though the inhabitants still called it Hamath, and its present name, *Ḥamāh*, is but slightly changed from its old form. In 1310 Abulfeda, the eminent Arabian scholar, a descendant of the family of Saladin, was appointed governor of the district, which had been under the Moslem power since A.D. 639, and with his death (1331) Hamath's prosperity declined.

In 1812 Burckhardt visited Hamath, saw the 'Hamath-stones' (so-called Hittite inscriptions in relief on black close-grained basalt); and the enormous water-wheels, used for bringing the waters of the Orontes to the houses and gardens situated on the hill above the river. He does not, however, mention the catacombs, said to have existed high up on the right bank. The town, which is divided into four quarters, *Hadher*, *el-Jisr*, *el-Aleyat*, and *el-Medine* (the quarter of the Christians), contained at Burckhardt's visit about 4446 houses and nearly 11,000 male inhabitants.

LITERATURE.—Pococke, *Description of the East*, II. i. 143 ff.; Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land* (1822), pp. 145 ff.; Robinson, *BRP*² iii. 551; Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.*³ 398 f.; Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 275 ff.; Sayce, *HCM* (Index); Hommel, *Semit. Völker*, i. 189; Driver on Am 6^{2}; E. Meyer, *Geschichte*, § 197.
I. A. PINCHES.

HAMATHITE (חֲמָתִי).—The gentilic name from HAMATH (which see), Gn 10^{18}=1 Ch 1^{16}.

HAMATH-ZOBAH (חֲמַת־צוֹבָה, B Βαισωβά, A *Αἰμάθ Σωβά*, Luc. *Ἑμαθσουβά*).—The identity of this city is still doubtful. By some scholars it is even regarded as the same as Hamath, but the Greek form Βαισωβά would seem to indicate that it was distinct from that place. It is mentioned only once in the Scriptures (2 Ch 8^{3}), when Solomon is said to have 'prevailed against it,' and, being spoken of in connexion with Tadmor and Hamath, we may conclude that it was in the same neighbourhood. That it was another Hamath to which Zobah was added to distinguish it from the better-known city of Hamath is possible, but at present unprovable. It has not yet been found in the cuneiform inscriptions, consequently no light is thrown on it from that source. I. A. PINCHES.

HAMMATH (חַמָּת 'hot spring').—'Father of the house of Rechab,' 1 Ch 2^{55}. See GENEALOGY.

HAMMATH (חַמַּת 'hot spring').—One of the 'fenced' cities of Naphtali, Jos 19^{35}, probably the same as **Hammon** of 1 Ch 6^{76} [Heb. ^{61}] and **Hammoth-dor** of Jos 21^{32}. It is doubtless the *Ḥamata* of the Talmud (*Erubin*, v. 5; *Megillah*, 2*b*), the *Emmaus* or *Ammathus* of Jos. (*Ant.* XVIII. ii. 3) and the modern *Hammâm*, 35 minutes' walk S. of Tiberias, so famous for its hot baths. There are four springs, the water of which reaches a temperature of 144° Fahr. The taste is described by Robinson as excessively salt and bitter, like that of heated sea-water; there is also a strong smell of sulphur, but no taste of it. The neighbourhood is crowded, especially in the month of July, with patients from all parts of Syria. The baths are considered to be very efficacious in rheumatic complaints.

LITERATURE.—Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* 207; Robinson, *BRP*² ii. 383 ff.; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 450 f.; Guérin, *Galilée*, i. 270 ff.; Buhl, *GAP* 115, 226; Guthe, *ZDPV* xiii. (1891) 284; Wilson, *Recovery of Jerus.* 362. J. A. SELBIE.

HAMMEAH, THE TOWER OF, AV The tower of Meah (מִגְדַּל הַמֵּאָה, *πύργος τῶν ἑκατόν*, *turris centum cubitorum*, *turris Emath*), Neh 3^{1} 12^{39}.—A tower on the walls of Jerus. which stood near the tower of **Hananel** (which see), between the Sheep gate on the east and the Fish gate on the west. These two towers, which apparently had not been pulled down when the walls were dismantled in the time of Ezra, were probably situated near the north-eastern corner of the city (cf. Jer 31^{38}, Zec 14^{10}). Perhaps they were both defences of the fortress (*bîrah*) which commanded the temple area. The origin of the name 'tower of Hammeah,' or 'tower of the hundred' (RVm), is obscure. It has been suggested in explanation that the tower was 100 cubits high, or that it was approached by 100 steps, or that it required a garrison of 100 men (see Ryssel, *ad loc.*, pp. 153, 201 f.). H. A. WHITE.

HAMMEDATHA (הַמְּדָתָא, Ἀμάδαθος [?,-ης]), Est $3^{1.10}$ 8^5 $9^{10.24}$).—The father of Haman. The name is probably Persian; for the termination compare Aridatha; possibly the etymology is *mâh*=moon+*data*=given (*Oxf. Heb. Lex.*).

HAMMELECH (הַמֶּלֶךְ) occurs as a proper name in AV and RVm of Jer 36^{26} 38^6, but there is little doubt that the rendering ought to be 'the king,' as in RV and AVm (LXX *τοῦ βασιλέως*).

HAMMER.—The Heb. word מַקָּבָה *maḳḳâbâh* (in Jg 4^{21} מַקֶּבֶת) is tr. in Arab. by two words, *mîtadat*, a wooden mallet, and *maṭraḳat*, the ordinary Arabic word for a hammer. It was a *mîtadat*, a mallet used by the Bedawîn and others for driving tent pegs into the ground, which Jael used to kill Sisera, Jg 4^{21}. By many, *maḳḳâbâh* is considered to be the source of the name *Maccabæus*, which would thus mean 'the hammerer.' פַּטִּישׁ *paṭṭîsh* (Is 41^7, used fig. in Jer 23^{29} of the word of the LORD, and in 50^{23} of Babylon, 'the hammer of the whole earth') is evidently the same as the Arab. *faṭîs*, a large heavy hammer.

The hammer is probably the most ancient of all tools. In its original form, a stone held in the hand, it is often used at the present day. The form soon changed; a stick fastened to the stone gave the blow more precision and greater force. Metals superseded stones, and great variety was given to the shape of the hammer head, so as to produce a more exact effect. The hammer is a most important and valuable tool; the permanent effect produced by a blow of the lightest hammer is greater than that obtained by the steady pressure of a mass of iron many hundred times its weight.

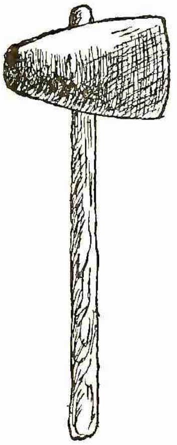
MAHADDI.

Different handicrafts require hammers of different shapes and weights, and, in Syria, each kind has a distinctive name. The hammers used in carpentry and smith work are much the same as those used in the same occupations in Europe. But in masonry the variety of hammers is great. In the quarry the rock is split by a large hammer, weighing from 18 to 22 lb., called the *mahaddi*. The head of this hammer is round at one end, being used for driving wedges into the rock. The other end is flattened from side to side, so as to confine the impact to a narrow line. This end of the hammer is used to strike the rock between the wedges, and the constant beating causes a vibration in the rock, which increases till it splits in the line of the wedges.

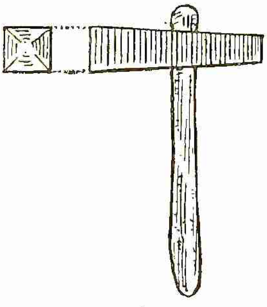
SHAḲÛF.

When the stone comes from the quarry, it is roughly shaped by the *mahaddi*, and the mason takes another kind of hammer to square it and give it a shape to fit it for building.

This hammer is called the *shaḳûf*. Both ends of the head of this hammer are square, but the one is 1 in. square and flat, the other is nearly 2 in. square, but sunk in the centre to the depth of half an inch, so that the edges are sharp. The flat end is used for striking off projections, while the end with sharpened edges is used for squaring and trimming the stone. The stone is often used for building after being trimmed by the *shaḳûf*, but sometimes a border is made round the face of the stone, leaving the middle rough.

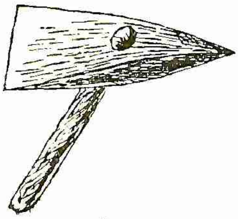
BÎK.

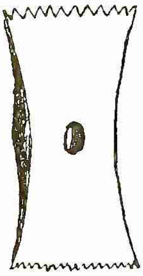
HEAD OF SHAḤÛTAH OR MINḤAT.

This is done by the *bîk*, which is a hammer with one end pointed, and the other flat and chisel-shaped.

When the stone is to be made smooth it is first made quite flat with the pointed end of the *bîk*, and is then worked over with a hammer called the *shaḥûtah* or *minḥat*.

The *shaḥûtah* has two very broad chisel-shaped ends, about 4 in. broad, cut into a number of teeth like a saw. The teeth at one end are coarse and about 12 in number, and at the other end smaller and about 24 in number.

When the stone has been carefully gone over with the *shaḥûtah* it is sometimes polished. This is done by rubbing it with another stone, sand and water being put between.

All these tools are of very ancient date. In the oldest part of the temple of Baalbek marks of all of these tools are found. Even the three immense stones in the west wall have their upper and under surfaces smoothed with the *shaḥûtah*, only the tool seems to have been much smaller than the one used in Lebanon at the present time, being only about 2 or 2½ in. broad.

The hammer and chisel are used for very fine work, such as carving, or when a very sharp fine edge is to be given to a stone, seldom for any other purpose. The chisel is made of file steel. The hammer, called a *maṭraḳat*, is so shaped that lines drawn along the faces of the hammer would meet nearly at the end of the handle. Wooden mallets are never used.

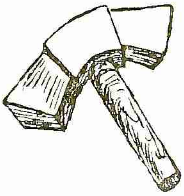
MASON'S MAṬRAḲAT.

The stone of Lebanon is very hard limestone, which explains why hammers are preferred to chisels in hewing it. W. CARSLAW.

HAMMOLECHETH (הַמֹּלֶכֶת 'the queen'?).—Acc. to the genealogy in 1 Ch $7^{17.18}$ H. was the daughter of Machir and sister of Gilead. The correctness of the text is not beyond suspicion. LXX reads Μαλέχεθ. See GENEALOGY.

HAMMON (חַמּוֹן 'hot spring').—**1.** A town in Naphtali, 1 Ch 6^{76} [Heb. ^{61}], prob. identical with HAMMATH (which see). **2.** A town in Asher, Jos 19^{28}. Its site is uncertain. Schultz suggested '*Ain Hamûl*, some 10 miles south of Tyre, but Robinson

(*BRP*^{2} iii. 66 note) lays no great stress upon this identification. Renan (*Mission de Phénicie*, 708 ff.) found at *Khurbet Umm el-'Amud*, near the coast immediately N. of the Ladder of Tyre, two Phœnician inscriptions (*CIS* vol. i. pt. i.) in honour of Baal Hammon. In the valley to the E. is *'Ain Hamûl. Umm el-'Amûd*, 'mother of the pillar,' includes the ruins of a building which is probably a temple of Baal. On the hill side lies a great sarcophagus with a rudely carved eagle. The texts belong to the Ptolemaic period (3rd cent. B.C.). The name may be that of the Egyptian God *Amanu* or *Amen*. See *SWP* vol. i. sh. iii., and vol. iii. Appendix. The identification of Hammon with *Umm el-'Amûd* is also considered by Guérin (*Galilée*, ii. 141) and Buhl (*GAP* 229) to be the most probable.

C. R. CONDER.

HAMMOTH-DOR (חַמֹּת דֹּאר).—A Levitical city in Naphtali, Jos 21^{32}, probably identical with HAMMATH (which see).

HAMMUEL (חַמּוּאֵל, AV Hamuel).—A Simeonite of the family of Shaul, 1 Ch 4^{26}. See GENEALOGY.

HAMONAH (הֲמוֹנָה 'multitude,' LXX Πολυάνδριον).—The name of a city to be built in commemoration of the defeat (?) of Gog (Ezk 39^{16}). The passage is obscure, and the originality as well as the precise reading of the MT doubtful. Instead of וְגַם שֶׁם־עִיר הֲמוֹנָה, Cornill would read וְנָמַר הֲמוֹנָה 'and it is all over with this multitude.' If the words are an interpolation, the allusion may be to the city of Bethshean, which may have derived its name Scythopolis from the Scythian invasion in the 7th cent. B.C. (See Bertholet, *Das Buch Hesekiel*, 193).

J. A. SELBIE.

HAMON-GOG (הֲמוֹן גּוֹג 'Gog's multitude,' LXX τὸ πολυάνδριον τοῦ Γώγ).—The name to be given to the valley (outside the Holy Land) where Gog and all his multitude are to be buried (Ezk $39^{11.15}$). This valley, according to the MT, was the 'Valley of the Travellers' (הָעֹבְרִים), a designation which is not found elsewhere. Hence J. D. Michaelis, followed by Bertholet and many others, reads עֲבָרִים (Abarim, Nu 27^{12} 33^{47}). From the mountain of this name a valley may well have been called Abarim, and the locality suits the context. See further the *Comm.* of Hitzig, Smend, Cornill, Davidson, and Bertholet.

J. A. SELBIE.

HAMOR (חֲמוֹר 'he-ass') appears in Gn 33^{19} 34, Jos 24^{32}, Jg 9^{28} as 'the father of Shechem,' a Hivite by race, and 'the prince (נָשִׂיא) of the land' (Gn 34^2). Jacob bought 'the parcel of ground, where he had spread his tent,' from the Hamorites, the Benê Hamor (Gn 33^{19} (J), cf. Jos 24^{32}). A different tradition is preserved in Gn 48^{22} (E), where Jacob gives Shechem to Joseph, and speaks of having won it by force of arms from the Amorite.

Dinah, Jacob's daughter, having been wronged by Shechem, Shechem makes an offer to take her as his wife; and is supported in his claim by his father, Hamor, who proposes also that there should be freedom of marriage between the families of Jacob and Hamor (34^{14-17}). To this the sons of Jacob give their consent on condition that the Shechemites accept the rite of circumcision. The Shechemites agree to the terms, and are circumcised (v.^{24}). On the third day, when the Shechemites were unable through illness to defend themselves, Simeon and Levi and their followers fell upon them, murdered Hamor and Shechem, and carried away Dinah to their own home.

In this narrative the narrator has combined two variant traditions. 'In the one, Hamor conducts the negotiations with Jacob regarding Dinah for his son (vv.$^{4.6.8-10}$); he receives a reply (vv.$^{13-17}$), and in due course lays it before the assembled citizens of the town for their approval (vv.$^{20-24}$). In the other, Shechem himself asks Dinah from her father and brothers, and after their reply (v.$^{11f.}$) immediately submits to the conditions they require (v.^{19}).' The former is probably the narrative of P, the latter that of J.

That, under the imagery of events occurring in the history of a single family, the story preserves the recollection of important episodes in an early phase of the Israelite community, is a view which has been maintained, in recent years, by many scholars, and most ably, perhaps, by Wellhausen in his *Composition des Hexateuchs* (see especially pp. 312–319, 353–355). According to this view, Hamor and Shechem personify Canaanite clans in central Palestine; and Dinah a branch of the Israelite race, which settling in that region became rapidly merged with the native population. The attack by Simeon and Levi would then represent the recollection of some treacherous violation by these tribes of the terms upon which the new settlers had been welcomed and acknowledged.

The fact that Hamor means 'an ass,' and Shechem 'a shoulder' or 'a mountain-ridge,' makes it probable that we have in these names the appellatives of clans and families rather than of individuals. Mr. G. Buchanan Gray (*Studies in Hebrew Proper Names*, pp. 90, 99–115) has shown, as the result of investigating animal names, that 'before the amalgamation of the Hebrew tribes into a nation, totem worship and totem organization existed among some of the peoples of Canaan' (p. 115); and it is not unreasonable to connect such names as 'ass' (*Hamor*), 'wild ass' (*Piram* Jos 10^3, *Anah* Gn 36^2, *Arad* Jg 1^{16}), 'mouse' (*Achbor* Gn 36^{38}), with the 'totem-clans' among the early inhabitants of Canaan (cf. Jacobs, *Biblical Archæology*, pp. 64–103, on 'Totem-Clans in the Bible').

H. E. RYLE.

HAMRAN (חַמְרָן), 1 Ch 1^{41} (AV Amram).—An Edomite. In Gn 36^{26} the name is more correctly given as **Hemdan** (cf. Kittel in Haupt's *SBOT* on 1 Ch 1^{41}).

HAMUL (חָמוּל 'spared'; on the form see Wellh. *Sam.* 19).—A son of Perez and grandson of Judah, Gn 46^{12}=1 Ch 2^5, Nu 26^1. The gentilic Hamulites (הֶחָמוּלִי) occurs in Nu 26^{11}.

HAMUTAL (חֲמוּטַל 2 K 23^{31} and 24^{18}, Jer 52^1 according to MT vocalization. In these last two occurrences the consonants give the form *Hamital* חמיטל, and this is supported by LXX in all three cases: Ἀμειταλ, Μιτάτ, Ἀμειταάλ B, Ἀμιτάλ, Ἀμιτάθ, Ἀμιταάλ A, Ἀμιτάλ Luc., meaning possibly 'kin to the dew' *or* 'my kinsman (lit. husband's father) is the dew').—Mother of the kings Jehoahaz and Zedekiah, sons of Josiah. (See on the meaning of the name, Gray, *Heb. Proper Names*, 63; Hommel, *Anc. Heb. Trad.* 322).

C. F. BURNEY.

HANAMEL (חֲנַמְאֵל, perhaps for חֲנַן־אֵל 'El is gracious'; but see Gray, *Heb. Prop. Names*, 307, n. 2).—Jeremiah's cousin, the son of his uncle Shallum. It was from H. that Jeremiah, having the right of redemption, bought a field at Anathoth. Although Jerus. was besieged at the time, the purchase was readily made by the prophet because of his assurance that the time would come when property would once more be secure (Jer $32^{7.8.9.12.44}$).

J. A. SELBIE.

HANAN (חָנָן, Ἀνάν).—**1.** One of the Levites who assisted Ezra in reading and explaining the Law to the people (Neh 8^7). He is probably the same as the Levite Hanan who signed the covenant (Neh

10^{10} [Heb. ^{11}]), as several of the Levit. names in this passage are found also in 8^{7}. The name is wanting in the LXX of 8^{7} and of 10^{10} (Bℵ*); but in 1 Es 9^{48} we find Ananias (Ἀνανίας A, Ἄννας B). **2.** The son of Zaccur the son of Mattaniah, one of the four treasurers appointed by Neh. over the storehouses in which the tithes were kept (Neh 13^{13}). He was probably a Levite, and perhaps represented the singers and porters; for in 11^{17} $12^{8.25.35}$ Mattaniah is named as a Levit. house representing the sons of Asaph. Others, however, regard H. as a layman. **3.** A Benjamite chief (1 Ch 8^{23}). **4.** The youngest son of Azel, a descendant of Saul (1 Ch $8^{38}=9^{44}$). **5.** One of David's mighty men (1 Ch 11^{43}). **6.** The son of Igdaliah. The sons of H. had a chamber in the temple (Jer 35^{4}). **7.** The head of a family of Nethinim who returned with Zerubbabel (Ezr 2^{46}, Neh 7^{49}). Called **Anan** in 1 Es 5^{30}. **8. 9.** Two of 'the chiefs of the people' who sealed the covenant bore this name (Neh $10^{22.26}$). See GENEALOGY. H. A. WHITE.

HANANEL (חֲנַנְאֵל 'El is gracious'). — The name of a tower on the wall of Jerusalem. It is four times mentioned in OT: in Neh 3^{1} in connexion with the repairing, and in 12^{39} in connexion with the dedication of the walls; in Jer 31^{38} and Zec 14^{10} as a boundary of the restored and glorified Jerusalem. In both the passages in Neh it is coupled with the tower of **Hammeah** (which see), and some have supposed it to be identical with the latter. From Neh 12^{39} we gather that these two (?) towers lay between the Sheep gate and the Fish gate, and from Jer and Zec that the tower of Hananel was at the N.E. corner of the city. Conder thinks that Hananel and Hammeah belonged to the 'castle' or 'fortress' (*bîrah* Neh 2^{8}, in Gr. βάρις, Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. iv. 3; *BJ* I. iii. 3, v. 4) of the temple. See JERUSALEM. Ryle (*Ezr. and Neh.* 173) also suggests that Hananel may have been 'an outwork of the great fortress at the point where the city wall ran into it.' A similar opinion is expressed by Buhl (*GAP* 141).

J. A. SELBIE.

HANANI (חֲנָנִי, Ἀνανί, Ἀνανίας Neh 7^{2}).—**1.** A brother, or more prob. near kinsman, of Neh., who brought tidings to Susa of the distressed condition of the Jews in Pal. (Neh 1^{2}). Under Neh. he was made one of the governors of Jerus. (7^{2}). The name is perhaps a shortened form of Hananiah. **2.** A son of Heman (1 Ch 25^{4}). **3.** The father of Jehu the seer (1 K 16^{1}). It was H. who, according to the Chronicler, reproved Asa for entering into alliance with Syria, and whom the angry king cast into prison (2 Ch 16^{7}). **4.** A priest of the sons of Immer who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{20}). Called **Ananias** in 1 Es 9^{21}. **5.** A chief musician mentioned in connexion with the dedication of the walls of Jerus. (Neh 12^{36}). H. A. WHITE.

HANANIAH (חֲנַנְיָה חֲנַנְיָהוּ 'J" hath been gracious'). —**1.** One of the prophets of the anti-Chaldæan party (LXX calls him ψευδοπροφήτης) in the reign of Zedekiah. His encounter with Jeremiah is related in Jer 28. A native of Gibeon, he was probably a priest (Jos 21^{17}), like Jeremiah himself, whose characteristic style he seems to imitate in his attack. He, too, stands in the temple (cf. 26^{2}), and, using Jeremiah's constant title for God, he prophesies the return from Babylon within two years (contrast Jeremiah's seventy, 25^{12}) of the temple vessels, Jeconiah, and the captives (contrast 22^{27} 27^{22}), and then, pointing to the yoke on Jeremiah's neck (27^{2}), he concludes as he had begun: 'I will break the yoke of the king of Babylon.' With sad irony Jeremiah replied: 'Amen; the Lord do so,' and then pointed out that, as the general tone of former true prophecy had been minatory, a prophecy of peace would need an accurate fulfilment to vindicate its divine origin. H. then repeated his oracle in symbolic form (cf. 19^{10}), breaking Jeremiah's yoke. Jeremiah retired in silence, but soon returned to tell H. that his breaking the wooden bar merely signified that Nebuchadnezzar's yoke would be of iron, and to announce H.'s death—the punishment of a lying prophet (Dt 18^{20}), who had spoken also rebellion against the Lord (Dt 13^{6}). Within two months H. died (Jer 28^{17}).

2. The first of Daniel's three companions (Dn 1^{6}). He received the name of Shadrach (whose meaning is much disputed; see Bevan, *Comm. on Dan.*, p. 61). They joined Daniel in his asectic resolve, and shared his triumph (1^{19}) and subsequent peril (2^{13}). Through their prayers ($2^{17\text{-}19}$) the king's dream was revealed to Daniel, and at his request (2^{49}) they were appointed 'over the affairs of the province of Babylon,' and still further promoted (3^{30}) after their miraculous deliverance from the fiery furnace. In the Gr. interpolation after Dn 3^{23} Azariah is most prominent (Song of the three Children vv. $^{2.26}$, contrast ^{66}). Their deliverance is alluded to 1 Mac 2^{59}, He $11^{33.34}$. **3.** See No. 2 in next article. **4.** 1 Ch $3^{19.21}$ a son of Zerub., identified by Lord A. Hervey with Joanan (Lk 3^{27}), Rhesa being a title of Zerub. which has crept into the text (Smith, *DB* s. GENEALOGY OF CHRIST). Bertheau conjectures that the six names in 1 Ch 3^{21} are all sons of H. **5.** 1 Ch 8^{24} a Benjamite. **6.** 1 Ch $25^{4.23}$ a 'son' of Heman, leader of the 16th course of temple musicians. **7.** 2 Ch 26^{11} one of Uzziah's captains who superintended the organization of the army. **8.** Ezr 10^{28}, 1 Es 9^{29} Ananias, one of those 'that had married strange women.' **9.** See No. **1** in next article. **10.** Neh 3^{30} son of Shelemiah; one of those who repaired the wall, possibly = No. 9, and descendant of No. 13. **11.** Neh 12^{12} a priest, chief of the course of Jeremiah, when Joiakim was high priest, possibly mentioned 12^{41} as present at the dedication of the walls. **12.** Jer 36^{12} father of Zedekiah, who was one of the princes of Judah in the reign of Jehoiakim. **13.** Jer 37^{13} grandfather of Irijah, 'a captain of the ward,' who apprehended Jeremiah on the charge of desertion to the Chaldæans. N. J. D. WHITE.

HANANIAH (חֲנַנְיָה, Ἀνανιά, Ἀνανίας, 'J" has been gracious').—**1.** One of the guild of perfumers (AV apothecaries) who in the days of Neh. repaired a portion of the wall of Jerus., near the 'broad wall' (Neh 3^{8}). He is perhaps the same as H. the son of Shelemiah, who is mentioned as repairing another portion of the wall, near the E. gate (3^{30}). **2.** The governor of the castle, *i.e.* of the *bîrah*, or fortress on the N. side of the temple. Neh., who describes him as 'a faithful man, and one that feared God above many,' appointed him one of the two officers in command of Jerus. (Neh 7^{2}).

H. A. WHITE.

HAND.—The word 'hand' is used in the Eng. versions of the Bible with a variety of meaning which can be but partially illustrated from other literature. This is due to the remarkable freedom with which the Heb. word יָד *yâd* is employed—a freedom which does not belong to χείρ to the same extent (though even in NT, chiefly through the influence of LXX, χείρ is found in some specially biblical meanings), so that the variety of usage is chiefly characteristic of OT.

It will conduce to clearness if, first of all, a résumé is given of the use of *yâd* in Heb., following *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*

1. *The hand* of man (Gn 3^{22} etc.), or anthropopathically of God (Ezk 8^{3}); including the wrist (Gn $24^{22.30.47}$ $38^{28\,bis.\,29.30}$, Jg 15^{14}); standing for the finger alone (Gn 41^{42}, Est 3^{10}).

2. *The hand as in use*, as Gn 49^{24} 'arms of his hands,' *i.e.* arms which make his hands serviceable; 2 K 9^{24} 'he filled his hand with the bow,' *i.e.* seized it; and 'fill the hand' of the priest

=consecrate, install (perhaps from the idea of giving him the selected portions of the sacrifice : see FILL) ; a **'hand weapon'** (lit. 'weapon of the hand') Nu 35^{18} ; and idols the work of man's hand (Is 2^{8}), as man is the work of God's hand (Job 14^{15}). Special ways in which the hand is used are (1) to kiss the mouth (Job 31^{27}) ; (2) to be laid on the mouth to express silence (Job 40^{4}, Mic 7^{16}) ; (3) the debt is 'the lending of the hand' (Neh 10^{31}), and the creditor 'the master of the lending of the hand' (Dt 15^{2}) ; (4) the lifting of the hand (to heaven) is the taking of an oath (Dt 32^{40}) or the sign of prayer (Ps 28^{2}) ; (5) to shake (lit. 'brandish') the hand is to defy (Is 10^{32}) ; (6) to give the hand is to pledge (Ezr 10^{19}) or to submit (1 Ch 29^{24}).

3. *The hand as strong, helpful*, (*a*) of man : Israel went out of Egypt 'with an high hand' (Ex 14^{8}), *i.e.* boldly, defiantly ; and to act 'with an high hand' against J″, is to act presumptuously (Nu 15^{30}) ; so, to be 'short of hand' (2 K 19^{26}) is to be of small power ; to strengthen one's hands is to help (Jg 9^{24}) ; and the dropping down of the hands is the failure of strength (2 S 4^{1}). (*b*) Of God : His hands are stretched forth to smite (Ex 9^{15}) ; or to deliver (Ex 13$^{3.4.16}$, Dt 4^{24}), the opposite being the 'shortened' hand (Is 50^{2} 59^{1}) ; it is a 'good' hand when it blesses (Ezr 7^{9} 8^{18}, Neh 2$^{8.18}$), as protection is in the shadow of the hand of J″ (Is 49^{2}) ; and under inspiration the prophet is in the grasp of God's hand (2 K 3^{15}, Is 8^{11}, Ezk 1^{3} 3$^{14.22}$ 37^{1} 40^{1}).

4. The hand is used figuratively to express *strength* or *power* (cf. Assyr. *idu* 'strength') : Jos 8^{20} 'there was not in them strength (lit. 'hands') to flee' ; Ps 76^{5} 'None of the men of might have found their hands,' *i.e.* their powers are paralyzed in death. Of him who cannot bring a lamb or two turtle doves for sacrifice it is said, 'his hand cannot reach to them' (Lv 5$^{7.11}$ 14^{21}). A display of power is 'a mighty hand' (Dt 34^{12} ; cf. Job 27^{11}, Ps 78^{42}) ; and a grand achievement 'a great hand' (Ex 14^{31}).

5. (1) The 'hand' is used for the *side*, 1 S 4^{13} 'the wayside,' lit. 'the hand of the way' (but see Driver, *ad loc.*) ; Dt 2^{37} 'all the side of the river Jabbok' (RV), lit. 'all the hand' ; Gn 34^{21} 'the land is wide of both hands,' *i.e.* in both directions ; Jer 6^{3} 'every one in his place,' lit. 'in his hand.' (2) Other technical senses are : a *sign* (1 S 15^{12}, 2 S 18^{18}) ; a *part* or *share* (Gn 47^{24}, 2 S 19^{43}, 2 K 11^{7}, Neh 11^{1}) ; *time, repetition* (Gn 43^{34}, Dn 1^{20}). And in the plu. *supports* (1 K 7$^{35.36}$ 10$^{19\,bis}$ ‖ 2 Ch 9$^{18\,bis}$), *tenons* (Ex 26$^{17.19\,bis}$ 36$^{22.24\,bis}$).

6. There are also many peculiar prepositional phrases, but these will be best understood in their Eng. equivalents.

1. The hand is a figure for the *action, influence*, or *power* of God or man ; Jg 1^{35} 'the hand of the house of Joseph prevailed' ; 1 S 22^{17} 'Turn, and slay the priests of the Lord ; because their hand also is with David' ; 2 K 3^{15} 'And it came to pass, as the minstrel played, that the hand of the LORD came upon him' ; Ezr 7^{6} 'according to the hand of the LORD his God upon him' (so 7^{9} 8^{18}, Neh 2$^{8.18}$, sometimes with 'good' as epithet of 'hand,' the meaning being always the favour of God actively bestowed and proved by its results) ; Job 6^{9} 'Even that it would please God to destroy me ; that he would let loose his hand, and cut me off !' Ps 78^{42} 'They remembered not his hand, nor the day when he delivered them from the enemy' ; 89^{48} 'Shall he deliver his soul from the hand of the grave ?' (RV 'power of Sheol') ; 109^{27} 'That they may know that this is thy hand, that thou, LORD, hast done it' ; Pr 21^{1} 'The king's heart is in the hand of the LORD, as the rivers of water ; he turneth it whithersoever he will' ; Ec 9^{10} 'Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might' ; Jer 15^{17} 'I sat alone because of thy hand' ('The Hand of J″ is a fig. expression for the self-revealing and irresistible power of J″ ; it is therefore equivalent to the Arm of J″ [Is 53^{1}], but is used in preference with regard to the divinely-ordained actions and words of the prophets'—Cheyne).

In this connexion the foll. passages deserve attention : 1. Dt 33^{8} 'Let his hands be sufficient for him' ; Heb. יָדָיו רָב לוֹ ; RV 'With his hands he contended for himself,' RVm 'Let his hands be sufficient for him,' or 'for them.' Driver mentions Stade's 'plausible conjecture' יָדֶיךָ רִיב לוֹ (addressed to God) 'with thy hands contend for it' ; but his own tr. is 'with his hands he hath contended for it.' The verse contains Moses' blessing on Judah ; and as Judah's desire for the reunion of the people is given in the previous clause, these words are understood by Driver as expressing Judah's services for the common weal ; LXX καὶ αἱ χεῖρες αὐτοῦ διακρινοῦσιν αὐτῷ ; Vulg. 'manus ejus pugnabunt pro eo' ; Wyc. 1382 'his hoondis shulen fight for it,' 1388 'hise hondis schulen fighte for hym' ; Tind. 'let his handes fyght for him' ; Cov. 'Let his handes multiplye him' (taking רַב from רָבַב 'to increase,' not from רִיב 'to strive') ; similarly Calvin (*Sermons upon Deut.*), Golding's trans. 'Let his handes suffise him, because thou wilt bee his helpe against his enemies' ; whence Gen. 'His hands shalbe sufficient for him, if thou help him against his enemies' ; Bish. 'His hands shalbe good ynough for him,' whence AV ; but Dou. (after Vulg.) 'his handes shal fight for him.'

2. Ps 17^{14} 'Deliver my soul from the wicked, which is thy sword : from men which are thy hand, O LORD' (מִמְתִים־יָדְךָ יהוה) ; RV 'From men, by thy hand,' RVm as AV. Nearly all mod. expositors* take the 'sword' and the 'hand' as the instruments by which J″ is to rescue the soul of His servant, as RV. But King still accepts the AV tr., which makes wicked men God's sword, and worldly men His 'hand' or instrument (cf. Is 10^{5} 'Ho Assyrian, the rod of mine anger !'). The passage is, however, suspected, and its opening words rejected as a gloss by Cheyne, Kautzsch, Wellhausen, *et al.* See *Expos. Times*, v. 431.

3. Ps 80^{17} 'Let thy hand be upon the man of thy right hand' (תְּהִי־יָדְךָ עַל־אִישׁ יְמִינֶךָ), *i.e.* 'put forth thy power to protect the people which thy right hand made into a nation and delivered from Egypt'—Kirkpatrick. Wellh.-Furness tr. יָדְךָ 'thine arm.'

4. Ps 89^{25} 'I will set his hand also in the sea, and his right hand in the rivers,' RV 'on the sea . . . on the rivers.' The ref. is to the extent of the King's dominion—from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates.

2. It follows that the hand is often a figure for the person, especially the person acting :† Lv 14^{32} 'This is the law of him in whom is the plague of leprosy, whose hand is not able to get that which pertaineth to his cleansing' (RV 'who is not able') ; so Nu 6^{21} ; 1 S 23^{16} 'And Jonathan, Saul's son, arose, and went to David into the wood, and strengthened his hand in God' (cf. Is 35^{3} 'strengthen ye the weak hands, and confirm the feeble knees'). Shaks. occasionally uses 'hand' in the same way, as *Meas. for Meas.* V. i. 491—

> 'Friar, advise him :
> I leave him to your hand.'

3. The above and other idioms are found in the foll. phrases :—

1. *At hand.* To be at hand is to be near, whether of time or of place. When the ref. is to an event, as 'the day of the LORD' (Is 13^{6}, Jl 1^{15}, Zeph 1^{7}), there is no ambiguity ; but when a person is referred to, it is sometimes a question whether place or time is spoken of. In OT 'at hand' is the tr. of קָרַב to be near (Gn 27^{41}, Dt 15^{9}, Ezk 12^{23}, and [in Piel] Ezk 36^{8} 'for they are at hand to come' (כִּי קָרְבוּ לָבוֹא), or the adj. קָרוֹב 'near' (Dt 32^{35}, Is 13^{6}, Jer 23^{23}, Jl 1^{15}, Zeph 1^{7}), of which the most luminous passage is Jer 23^{23} 'Am I a God at hand, saith the LORD, and not a God afar off ?' In NT 'at hand' is mostly the tr. of the vb. ἐγγίζω, to come near (Mt 3^{2} 4^{17} 10^{7} 26$^{45.46}$, Mk 1^{15} 14^{42}, Ro 13^{12} 1 P 4^{7}), or of the adj. ἐγγύς, 'near' (Mt 26^{18}, Jn 2^{13} 7^{2}, Ph 4^{5}, Rev 1^{3} 22^{10}), both of which are used of place and of time ; once also of ἐνίστημι (2 Th 2^{2} 'Be not . . . troubled . . . by letter as from us, as that the day of Christ is at hand,' ὡς ὅτι ἐνέστηκεν ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, edd. Κυρίου for Χριστοῦ, RV 'as that the day of the Lord is now present' ;‡ Ellicott, 'to the effect that the day of the Lord is now come') ; and once of ἐφίσταμαι (2 Ti 4^{6} 'the time of my departure is at hand,' ἐφέστηκε, RV 'is come').

The only doubtful passage is Ph 4^{5} 'The Lord is at hand,' ὁ Κύριος ἐγγύς. Most ancient and nearly all mod. expositors understand the reference to be to the Second Advent, the words being a translation of the Aram. Μαρὰν ἀθά of 1 Co 16^{22}, which some think may have been a set form of warning in the apostolic Church. But a few take the ἐγγύς to be local, 'The Lord is near us,' either referring to the perpetual presence of Christ (cf. Mt 28^{20}), or (taking Κύριος as God) to God's helpful providence in time of need. See Vincent, *ad loc.* (who accepts the ref. to the Second Coming) ; Manning, *Sermons*, iii. 241 ; Harden, *Ch. of Eng. Eccles. Rev.*, Aug. 30, 1890 ; Moule, *Thoughts on the Spiritual Life* (who refer to Christ's constant presence : Moule compares Ps 119^{151} 'Thou art near [ἐγγύς], O Lord') ; and *Expos. Times*, ii. 2 f. The chief argument for the Second Coming is the apostle's use of Κύριος, on which see Winer, *Gram.* p. 154.

2. *At no hand.* This phrase occurs only in Preface to AV 1611. Its meaning is 'by no means.'

---

* Including Davidson, *Syntax*, § 109. 3, p. 154.

† This does not spoil Trench's contrast between the mod. custom of describing working men as so many 'hands' and the biblical idiom 'souls' (Ac 2^{41}). See *Study of Words*, 95 f.

‡ The AV tr. of this passage brings it into conflict with Ro 13^{12} 'The night is far spent, the day is at hand,' making the apostle deny here what he there affirms. RV removes the discrepancy.

Cf. T. Fuller, *Holy Warre*, ii. 36 (p. 92), 'The Caliph demurred hereat, as counting such a gesture a diminution to his State; and at no hand would give him his hand bare, but gave it in his glove.' Cf. Sir John Harington's version of Ps 137^{3}—

> 'Come, sing us now a song, say they,
> As once you song at anie hand.'

3. *At the hand of*=from: Gn 9^{5} 'And surely your blood of your lives will I require; at the hand of every beast will I require it, and at the hand of man; at the hand of every man's brother will I require the life of man' (מִיַּד, lit. 'from the hand of'; LXX ἐκ χειρός,* Vulg. 'de manu,' Wyc. 'of the hoond'); 33^{10} 'Receive my present at my hand'; 2 S $13^{5.6.10}$, 2 K 9^{7} 'And thou shalt smite the house of Ahab thy master, that I may avenge the blood of my servants the prophets, and the blood of all the servants of the Lord, at the hand of Jezebel'; Is 1^{12} 'When ye come to appear before me, who hath required this at your hand, to tread my courts?'; Rev 19^{2} 'He hath judged the great whore . . . and hath avenged the blood of his servants at her hand' (ἐκ τῆς [edd. omit τῆς] χειρὸς αὐτῆς, Vulg. 'de manibus ejus': the meaning, which is 'from her' or 'upon her,' as 'upon Jezebel' in 2 K 9^{7}, is missed by Gen. NT, 'and hath advenged the blood of his servants shed by her hand.' The phrase is frequently used by Shaks., as *Merry Wives*, II. ii. 218, 'Have you received no promise of satisfaction at her hands?' In Neh 11^{24} occurs the phrase 'at the king's hand,' —'And Pethahiah . . . was at the king's hand in all matters concerning the people' (לְיַד הַמֶּלֶךְ). The meaning of the phrase is clear, but the scope of Pethahiah's office is not so clear. See Ryle (*Ezra and Neh.* in Camb. Bible), and art. PETHAHIAH.

4. *By the hand of*='by,' or 'by means of': Ex 4^{13} 'And he said, O my Lord, send, I pray thee, by the hand of him whom thou wilt send' (בְּיַד); Lv 8^{36} 'So Aaron and his sons did all things which the LORD commanded by the hand of Moses.'

5. *By strength of hand:* Ex $13^{4.14.16}$, as 13^{14} 'By strength of hand the LORD brought us out from Egypt.' See 'With a strong hand' below.

6. *To come to one's hand:* Gn 32^{13} 'And he lodged there that same night; and took of that which came to his hand a present for Esau his brother' (וַיִּקַּח מִן־הַבָּא בְיָדוֹ, LXX καὶ ἔλαβεν ὧν ἔφερεν δῶρα, Vulg. 'separavit de his quæ habebat,' RV 'took of that which he had with him'); Jg 20^{48} 'And the men of Israel turned again upon the children of Benjamin, and smote them with the edge of the sword, as well the men of every city, as the beast, and all that came to hand' (עַד כָּל־הַנִּמְצָא, AVm 'all that was found,' RV 'all that they found'); 1 S 25^{8} 'Give, I pray thee, whatsoever cometh to thine hand unto thy servants' (אֵת אֲשֶׁר תִּמְצָא יָדְךָ, LXX ὃ ἐὰν εὕρῃ ἡ χείρ σου).

7. *Fall in hand with:* Only in Preface to AV, 'For not long after *Christ*, *Aquila* fell in hand with a new Translation, and after him *Theodotion*, and after him *Symmachus*'; and 'Neither, to be short, were we the first that fell in hand with translating the Scripture into English.' The meaning is 'set about,' 'undertake,' mod. 'take in hand to.'

8. *From one's hand*=from oneself: Gn 4^{11} 'And now art thou cursed from the earth, which hath opened her mouth to receive thy brother's blood from thy hand'; 38^{20}, cf. Ps 71^{4} Wyc. 'My God, tac me awey fro the hond of the synnere; and fro the hond of the doere agen the lawe.'

9. *In hand.* This phrase has different meanings: (1) 'In progress,' 1 S 20^{19} 'when the business was in hand' (בְּיוֹם הַמַּעֲשֶׂה, AVm 'in the day of the business,' LXX ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐργασίμῃ, Vulg. 'in die quando operari licet'). Cf. Shaks. *Venus*, 912—

> 'Full of respects, yet nought at all respecting,
> In hand with all things, nought at all effecting.'

(2) *In one's hand*='with one,' or 'in one's possession,' Gn 35^{4} 'And they gave unto Jacob all the strange gods that were in their hand'; 39^{3} 'And his master saw . . . that the LORD made all that he did to prosper in his hand'; Dt 24^{1} 'let him write a bill of divorcement and give in her hand'; 1 S 17^{22} 'And David left his carriage [RV 'baggage'] in the hand (עַל־יַד) of the keeper of the carriage'; Is 44^{20} 'Is there not a lie in my right hand?'; 1 Ch 29^{12} 'In thine hand is power and might; and in thine hand it is to make great, and to give strength unto all.' Sometimes, as in the last passage, the meaning is rather 'in one's power,' or 'under one's control.' So Gn 24^{10} 'all the goods of his master were in his hand'; Job 12^{10} 'In whose hand is the soul of every living thing'; Jer 26^{14} 'As for me, behold I am in your hand: do with me as seemeth good and meet unto you'; Sir 15^{14} 'He himself made man from the beginning, and left him in the hand of his counsel' (ἐν χειρὶ διαβουλίου αὐτοῦ, RV 'in the hand of his own counsel').

(3) To 'put one's life in one's hand' is to expose it, risk it, in making a venture. The phrase occurs in Jg 12^{3}, 1 S 19^{5} 28^{21}, Job 13^{14}; and in a slightly different form in Ps 119^{109} 'My soul is continually in my hand'; cf. also Ad. Est 14^{4} 'For my danger is in mine hand' (ὅτι κίνδυνός μου ἐν χειρί μου).

(4) In Gal 3^{19} occurs the expression 'in the hand of,' meaning 'by means of': 'the law . . . was ordained by angels in the hand of a mediator,' Gr. ἐν χειρί, a frequent tr^{n} in LXX of Heb. בְּיַד. Both the Gr. and the Eng. have accepted the Heb. phrase, regardless of their own proper idiom, and that not only in the use of 'hand,' but also by using 'in'. RV prefers 'by the hand of.'

10. *Lay hand on.* See LAY.

11. *Of one's hand*='from one,' as Gn 21^{30} 'these seven ewe lambs shalt thou take of my hand'; 39^{1} 'And Joseph was brought down to Egypt; and Potiphar . . . bought him of the hands [ed. 1611 'hand,' so RV] of the Ishmaelites'; or=simply 'my,' as Gn 31^{29} 'It is in the power of my hand [=it is in my power] to do you hurt.'

12. *On this, that hand.* The phrase 'on this (that, etc.) hand' for 'on this side' is now biblical and archaic. Wright (*Bible Word-Book*^{2}, 303) quotes Holland, *Pliny*, xxxvi. 5 (ed. 1637), 'The fierie goddesse Vesta, sitting in a chaire, accompanied with two hand-maidens set upon the ground of each hand of her.' Shaks., however, uses the expression quite freely, as *Merry Wives*, II. ii. 24—'I, I, I myself sometimes, leaving the fear of Heaven on the left hand, and hiding mine honour in my necessity, am fain to shuffle, to hedge, and to lurch.' In AV we find Gn 14^{15} 'Hobah, which is on the left hand of Damascus'; Ex 38^{15} 'and for the other side (כָּתֵף) of the court gate, on this hand and that hand (מִזֶּה וּמִזֶּה) were hangings'; 2 K 23^{13} 'And the high places that were before Jerusalem, which were on the right hand of the mount of corruption' (מִימִין לְ).

13. *Out of hand.* The phrase 'out of the hand of' for 'out of the power of,' especially after the verb to deliver, occurs frequently. But twice we find 'out of hand,' meaning 'at once,' Nu 11^{15} 'Kill me, I pray thee, out of hand' (הָרְגֵנִי נָא הָרֹג, LXX ἀπόκτεινόν με ἀναιρέσει); To 4^{14} 'Give him it out of hand' (παραυτίκα). So North, *Plutarch* (Demosthenes, p. 853), 'Thereupon he went with a chearefull countenance into the assembly of the councell, and told them there, that he had a certaine dreame that promised great good hap,

---

* On the LXX text of this passage see Conybeare in *JQR*, v. 273.

and that out of hand, unto the Athenians'; Golding, *Calvin's Sermons upon Deuteronomie* (No. 192, on Dt 33^{3-7}), 'Wee see then that things shall not [alwayes] come to passe out of hande, immediatly after that God hath promised them'; Golding, *Calvin's Sermons upon Job* (No. 119, on Job 32^{1-3}), 'We knowe that the world did out of hand fall away from God'; and (in same sermon) 'Why doth he not kill me out of hande?'

14. *Put one's hand.* Ex 23^{1} 'Put not thine hand with the wicked to be an unrighteous witness'—a lit. tr. of the Heb., which means to 'go hand in hand with.'

15. *Under the hand of:* Gn 41^{35} 'And let them . . . lay up corn under the hand of Pharaoh' (תַּחַת יַד־פַּרְעֹה); Ex 21^{20} 'And if a man smite his servant . . . and he die under his hand'; Nu 4^{28} 'their charge shall be under the hand of Ithamar'; Jg 9^{29} 'And would to God this people were under my hand!'; 1 S 21^{3} 'Now therefore what is under thine hand? Give me five loaves of bread in mine hand.'

16. *With a strong* (*high*, etc.) *hand* is a phrase which is very often used of God's deliverances, Ex 6^{1} 13^{9} 14^{8} 32^{11}, Dt 5^{15} 7^{19} etc.

For the theological significance of the word see next article. J. Hastings.

HAND.—The appearance of this word in the Bible is in some cases due to Eng. idiom. Thus the expressions 'at hand' (though Heb. had a corresponding idiom, Job 15^{23}), and 'handful' are used where the original idea was simply that of 'nearness' or 'fulness.' So, too, in the term of measurement, 'a palm' or 'handbreadth' טֶפַח, the root idea seems to be that of *extension* only.

For the *hand* proper two words are employed—one of them יָד *yâdh*, denoting it *open* or *flat*, the other כַּף *kaph*, *closed* or *curved*. A third word, חָפְנַיִם *ḥophnaim*, was sometimes used of the *two hands clenched* or *grasping* an object. To these must be added יָמִין *yâmîn*, and שְׂמֹאל *sĕmô'l*, *right* and *left*, which, as in other languages, came to stand by themselves for right and left *hand*.

It is only idiomatic phrases derived from the various functions of the hand that call for notice here. These functions are to mark position, exert power, and express emotion, and the idioms may be conveniently arranged in three corresponding classes.

1. So usual was it to employ the hand to describe situation, that יָד from its sense of *side*, which is 11 times used to tr. it, came to carry that of *place*, and is so rendered 8 times. Cf. *coast* 6 times, *border* twice.

In three of these instances (1 S 15^{12}, 2 S 18^{18}, Is 56^{5}) *place* evidently stands for a *monument* of some kind, possibly a pillar with a hand sculptured on it as an emblem of power or success. Such monuments appear to have been common in Phœnicia, and the hand has in many countries served as an emblem of good fortune.

'On the right hand,' 'on the left hand,' are, of course, common phrases, while the custom of facing the E. when denoting geographical position made these phrases in Pal. equivalent to S. and N. respectively.

The right hand was the place of an accuser in a court of justice (Ps 109^{6}, Zec 3^{1}), but, from the sense of security given by the presence of a comrade in battle on the unshielded side, the right came to be the place of a protector (Ps 16^{8} 109^{31}, Ac 2^{25}).

Religion had also its use for these phrases. To turn from the law of God neither to the right hand nor the left is a frequent scriptural expression for loyalty to the divine King. To sit down at His right hand was the glory reserved for the exalted Son (Ps 110^{1}, Mk 14^{62}).

2. As used to work with or to fight with, the hand became a synonym for *strength* (Jos 8^{20}), and supplied innumerable metaphorical expressions, many of which, from their religious use, have become as universal as they are sacred. When he wished to denote God's power, the Israelite spoke of God's *hand*. See Arm. He saw it outstretched to perform wonders of mercy for himself, or wonders of judgment for his enemies. It was a *good* hand and a *mighty* hand, and it was watched 'as the eyes of servants look unto the hand of their masters, and as the eyes of a maiden unto the hand of her mistress' (Ps 123^{2}). It became, indeed, an emblem not only of might, exerted to defend or destroy, not only of help and guidance, but of Providence (Ps 77^{10}). Prophetic inspiration, too, was often indicated by the phrase 'the hand of the Lord was upon' (1 K 18^{46}), while God was said to speak 'by the hand of,' *i.e.* by means of, a prophet.

It is not always easy to determine whether the mention of the hand has passed out of the region of anthropomorphic representation into that of pure metaphor. At all events the imagery is fearlessly bold in expressions like those of Ps 74^{11}, Is 49^{16}.

3. The use of the hands to express emotion gave rise to many familiar biblical expressions. They were lifted in prayer (Ps 134^{2}), extended in expostulation (Is 65^{2}), clasped in a bargain (Pr 6^{1}), folded in sleep (Pr 6^{10}). By their movement a blessing was conveyed (Lv 9^{22}), an oath was registered (Dt 32^{40}), or a defiance offered (2 S 20^{21}). As a religious symbol, the *imposition of hands* in ordination to a sacred office grew out of the natural gesture that accompanied the patriarchal blessing. See Laying on of Hands.

The act of cleansing the hands was fruitful in phrases. To wash one's own hands was a protestation of innocence (Dt $21^{6.7}$, Mt 27^{24}); to pour water on the hands of another, of dependence or discipleship (2 K 3^{11}). The idea of ceremonial purity or impurity enters into the expressions 'clean hands' of the Psalms and 'unwashen hands' of the Gospels.

There is one phrase which, from the obscurity of its origin, causes a little difficulty. 'To fill the hand' (AVm where the text has 'consecrate,' Ex 28^{41} etc.) was a regular term for the investiture of a priest. Some explain by the supposition that part of the sacrifice was placed in the neophyte's hand as a symbol of his office. Others think of the presentation of the priestly tithe. Another, and perhaps better explanation, makes the expression entirely metaphorical for the bestowal of office, as we might say 'the priesthood was put into his hands' (cf. Moore's *Judges*, p. 380, and see art. Fill). A. S. Aglen.

HANDBREADTH.—See Weights and Measures.

HANDKERCHIEF.—See Napkin.

HANDLE.—The 'handles of the lock' (properly, as RV, 'the handles of the bolt') of the door are referred to in Ca 5^{5}, the word being כַּף, *kaph*, usually the palm of the hand or sole of the foot. See Key, and **Lock** under art. House.

The verb to 'handle' occurs frequently. Its primary meaning, to seize or use with the hand, is seen in Ps 115^{7} 'They have hands, but they handle not'; and Wis 15^{15} 'gods, which neither have the use of eyes to see . . . nor fingers of hands to handle' (εἰς ψηλάφησιν). So we handle the sword (Ezk 38^{4}), the oar (27^{29}), the pen (Jg 5^{14}), the harp (Gn 4^{21}), etc. In NT the meaning is *touch*, or *feel with the hand*. There are two Gr. verbs:

(1) θιγγάνω, Col 2^{21} 'Touch not; taste not; handle not' (Μὴ ἅψῃ μηδὲ γεύσῃ μηδὲ θίγῃς). RV, after Lightfoot, renders 'Handle not, nor taste, nor touch,' for ἅπτεσθαι is stronger than θιγεῖν, and is best tr^{d} by handle if that word is to be used at all, which is somewhat strong for both. (2) ψηλαφάω, Lk 24^{39} 'Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I myself: handle me, and see'; 1 Jn 1^{1} 'That which was from the beginning, which we have heard . . . and our hands have handled, of the Word of life.' If 'handle' was too strong for θιγγάνω, it is scarcely strong enough for ψηλαφάω, which expresses the movement of the hands over a surface, so as to feel it and fix it, or mentally the groping after something, as the Athenians 'felt after' God (Ac 17^{27}, same verb). In He 12^{18} (only remaining occurrence in NT) it is used of the 'mount that might be *touched*,' *i.e.* as Davidson 'palpable and materially sensible.'

But the verb to 'handle' is found in other senses that are less familiar, as: *Be conversant with, have to do with*, Jer 2^{8} 'The priests said not, Where is the Lord? and they that handle the law (תֹּפְשֵׂי הַתּוֹרָה) knew me not'. Almost in the sense intended by Jeremiah, but somewhat more narrowly, this word 'handle' was used about 1611 of the expounding of Scripture, as in James Melvill's *Diary* (Wodrow, p. 182) in reference to the order of worship at Newcastle under Melvill's ministry: 'Ther salbe daylie Comoun Prayers twyse everie day, befor noone at ten houres, and efter at foure, at quhilk tyme a Psalme salbe read and handlit, sa that the soum thairof be schortlie gathered, the partes sett doun in ordour, and some schort notes of doctrine, with exhortation; bot in sic schortnes that the haill tyme occupied exceid nocht the space of ane halff houre.' And so Wodrow, *Select Biog.* i. 312, 'I have heard him [Mr. John Dykes of Kilrinnie] goe through a long chapter in less than an hour, and pertinently handle every purpose thereof.' This is the very meaning, however, of 2 Mac 2^{28} 'Leaving to the author the exact handling of every particular' (τὸ μὲν διακριβοῦν). In 2 Co 4^{2} we find the expression, 'handling the word of God deceitfully,' where the meaning is different. The Gr., tr^{d} 'handle deceitfully,' is the simple verb δολόω, to ensnare, corrupt; Vulg. 'adulterantes,' which Wyc. translates 'avoutrynge the word of God,' (1388) 'doynge avoutrye bi'; Rhem. 'adulterating': Tind. has 'corrupte'; Cran. introduced 'handle deceitfully,' which was adopted by Gen., Bish., AV, RV. Tindale's 'corrupt' is probably as near the meaning as one can go. But in the AV tr^{n} 'handle' means to *deal with, treat*. So Pr 16^{20} 'He that handleth a matter wisely shall find good' (מַשְׂכִּיל עַל־דָּבָר, AVm 'he that understandeth a matter,' RV 'he that giveth heed unto the word,' RVm as AV). In this sense the word is used also in 2 Mac 7^{39} 'Then the king, being in a rage, handled him worse than all the rest' (ἀπήντησεν); 8^{17} 'the cruel handling of the city' (αἰκισμός, RV 'shameful handling'); and Mk 12^{4} 'sent him away shamefully handled' (ἀπέστειλαν ἠτιμωμένον, WH ἠτίμησαν, RV 'him they . . . handled shamefully,' Gould 'insulted'; the verb is lit. 'dishonoured'). Cf. Ezk 18^{8} Cov. 'he handleth faithfully betwixte man and man'; Golding, *Calvin's Job* (Ser. cxix. on 32^{1-3}), 'The opinion and imaginacion of Jobs three freends, was that Job was a castaway before God, bycause he was handled so roughly.' J. HASTINGS.

HANDSOMELY.—In Wis 13^{11} the adv. εὐπρεπῶς is translated in AV 'handsomely,' which seems a very appropriate translation. The Bishops' Bible has 'comely' (as adv.), and RV 'in comely form.' But it is very doubtful if that can be the meaning of 'handsomely' in AV. Coming from 'hand' it is equivalent in all early examples to 'handy,' *i.e.* dexterously, cleverly. Bishop Keith says of Hamilton's *Catechism*, 'It is a judicious commentary upon the Commands, the Belief, Lord's Prayer, Magnificat, Ave Maria; and the author shows both his wisdom and moderation in handsomely eviting to enter upon the controverted topics,' and the latest edition of the *Catechism* (Mitchell, ed. 1882) is right in saying that '*handsomely eviting* must mean *artfully eluding*.' Bp. Davenant in 1640 writes regarding his *Animadversions* to Dr. Ward, and says, 'For this uce I would have a doozen at the least sent bound: some fairly for the Bishops, all handsomely' (Fuller's *Life of Bp. Davenant*, 1897, p. 447), where 'fairly' means what we now express by 'handsomely,' while 'handsomely' refers to the workmanship, deftly. This is no doubt the meaning of 'handsomely' in AV. The Vulg. gives 'diligenter,' after which Wyc. and Dou. 'diligently,' and it is to be observed that the reading in ℵ is not εὐπρεπῶς, but εὐτρεπῶς. Rutherford (*Letters*, No. lxv.) says, 'Christ hath so handsomely [*i.e.* dexterously] fitted for my shoulders this rough tree of the cross, as that it hurteth me no ways.' The adj. 'handsome' is in constant use in the same sense, as Tind. *Pent.* (Prol. to Lv), 'Fynallye beware of allegoryes, for there is not a moare handsome or apte a thinge to be gile withall then an allegorye, nor a more sotle and pestilent thinge in the world to persuade a false matter then an allegorye.' J. HASTINGS.

HANDSTAVES (*makkel yād* מַקֵּל יָד Ezk 39^{9}).—A kind of club carried by shepherds chiefly for defence against wild beasts. Goliath (1 S 17^{43}) asks David, 'Am I a dog that thou comest to me with staves?' (מַקְלוֹת *maḳlōth*). Cf. *shebheṭ* under DART.

W. E. BARNES.

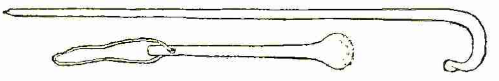

SHEPHERD'S CLUB AND CROOK.

HANDWEAPON.—See HAND.

HANDWRITING.—See WRITING.

HANES (חָנֵס).—Is 30^{4} in a difficult context: 'Woe to the rebellious children . . . that walk to go down into Egypt and have not asked at my mouth, to strengthen themselves in the strength of Pharaoh, and to trust in the shadow of Egypt! Therefore shall the strength of Pharaoh be your shame, and the trust in the shadow of Egypt your confusion. For his princes are at Zoan, and his ambassadors are come to Hanes.' There seems to be no antecedent to 'his' but Pharaoh, so some have thought that the last sentence refers to the movements of Pharaoh's advanced guard towards the frontier; but it is usually considered that the princes and ambassadors were those of the king of Judah. Zoan is well known to be Tanis. Hanes might well represent the ancient Hunenseten in its passage to the much abbreviated Coptic form Hnēs. This was the name of the great city of Heracleopolis Magna in Middle Egypt. About this time, corresponding to that of the 23rd to 25th dynasty in Egypt, that country was in a feeble state, there being seldom if ever a central authority of sufficient power to keep local princes in check. Two invaders, the Eth. Piankhi and the Assyr. Esarhaddon, have given us lists of numerous independent princelings in different cities of Egypt. In the inscription of Piankhi one of these petty rulers is named as of Heracleopolis Magna, but there is no mention of one at Tanis. In Esarhaddon's list of petty states Tanis appears to be one, and another is called Hininshi; but the latter is grouped with the cities of Lower Egypt, and was apparently situated in the central part of the Delta, so that it is difficult to identify it with Hunenseten-Hnês, although there are excellent etymol. and hist. reasons for so doing. There is indeed no sign of divisions in the country in the passage quoted from Is; Pharaoh is named in the sing. as at other times. But the two cities are evidently mentioned as leading ones, and it would be satisfactory to find them in the lists above referred to. If, as Esarhaddon's list would seem to indicate, Hininshi is not Hnês, it may still, perhaps, represent the biblical H., otherwise the latter is prob. Heracleopolis Magna in Middle Egypt. Naville has compared H. with Anysis, a city of Lower Egypt mentioned by Herodotus; again, *Khens* seems to be the Egyp. name of a district in the N.E. delta. The LXX had lost the clue to the meaning of v.^{4}, and substituted, 'For there are in Tanis princes, wicked messengers' (*ὅτι εἰσὶν ἐν Τάνει ἀρχηγοὶ ἄγγελοι πονηροί*). An Aram. version gives for Hanes, Tahpanhes, on the N.E. frontier of Egypt. There is at least some similarity in the names. F. LL. GRIFFITH.

HANGING is frequently mentioned in the OT, but it is very doubtful whether the word, in connexion with capital punishment, has ever the sense which it suggests to modern ears. As the analysis below will show, in most instances where the hanging (or hanging up) of a criminal is referred to, the meaning is that, *after* execution in some other form, his *dead* body was hung up. Again, even if 'hanging' sometimes designates a mode of *execution*, the probability is that it is impaling that is really meant. The scriptural terms and references are as follows:—

1. תָּלָה (in 2 S 21^{12} (*Ḳerê*), Dt 28^{66}, Hos 11^{7} (?) תָּלָא), 'to hang up' anything, *e.g.* the earth Job 26^{7}, the shields on the tower of David Ca 4^{4}, the harps of the exiles in Babylon Ps 137^{2}; especially of the hanging up of a *dead* body, in Gn 40$^{19.\,22}$ 41^{13} of the chief baker, who was probably first beheaded and then had his body impaled as an aggravation of the punishment, see Dillm. *ad loc.*; in 2 S 4^{12} of the murderers of Ishbosheth, whose bodies, after their hands and feet had been cut off, were hung up by David beside the pool in Hebron; in 2 S 21^{12} of the bodies of Saul and Jonathan, which were hung up by the Philistines at Beth-shan. The fuller expression '(hang) upon a tree' (עַל־עֵץ) occurs in Gn 40^{19}, Dt 21^{22}, Jos 8^{29} 10$^{26\,bis}$, Est 2^{23} (in which last passage it is possible that impaling of the *dead* bodies is meant; cf. Herod. iii. 125, ix. 78; Plutarch, *Artax.* 17, *Timol.* 22; Justin, xxi. 4). The Deuteronomic code regulated the Jewish practice (cf. Philo, *de Spec. Leg.* § 28) as follows:—'If a man have committed a sin worthy of death and he be put to death, and [after his death] thou hang him on a tree, his body shall not remain all night upon the tree, but thou shalt surely bury him the same day, for he that is hanged is accursed of God (קִלְלַת אֱלֹהִים, LXX *κεκατηραμένος ὑπὸ θεοῦ*, Aq. Theod. *κατάρα θεοῦ*, *not* 'a curse, *i.e.* reproach, insult *to* God,' as one school of Jewish interpreters understood it), that thou defile not thy land which the LORD thy God giveth thee for an inheritance' (Dt 21$^{22f.}$, where see Driver's note). This prescription is noted as having been carried out in the case even of the kings executed by Joshua (Jos 8^{29} 10^{27}). The requisite publicity has been attained by sunset and the land has been cleansed from the defilement affecting it. (On 'exposure' of this kind and its religious meaning see W. R. Smith, *RS*^{1} 351 n.). The exposure of the bodies of Saul's sons (2 S 21$^{9ff.}$) day after day was either exceptional, or reflects the practice of an age that was a stranger to the mildness of the Deuteronomic code (cf Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 333).

The LXX equivalent of תָּלָה is *κρεμάννυμι*, which appears also in the NT in Lk 23^{39}, Ac 5^{30} 10^{39}, Gal 3^{13}, the only difference from OT usage being that it is used in all these passages of the hanging of a *living* body upon a cross. The language of Dt 21^{23}, although it had of course no direct reference to crucifixion, could readily be transferred to it, and evidently was so transferred by the Jews, as we can gather from Gal 3^{13}. It was the hanging up, not the death, that brought disgrace upon the sufferer, and the epithet *Tālûi* (תָּלוּי 'the hung'), derived from Dt 21^{23}, is frequently applied in contempt to Jesus by the later Jews. See the very instructive note of Lightfoot, *Galatians*^{6}, 152$^{\text{ff.}}$.

The word תָּלָה is almost certainly used of 'hanging' as a mode of execution in Est 5^{14} 6^{4} 7$^{9f.}$ 8^{7} 9$^{13.\,14.\,25}$ (possibly also in 2^{23}). The EV evidently understands it in the modern sense, for both AV and RV give for עֵץ **gallows** (in the text, although they have 'tree' in the margin). The 'gallows' which was destined by Haman for Mordecai, but was used for his own execution and that of his sons, is said to have been fifty cubits high. It seems most probable that impaling was the form of execution adopted, and that the 'tree' was a stake for the purpose (cf. Haley, *Esther*, 122 ff.). It could be lowered to receive its victim, who would then be raised upon it to that lofty height, that his doom and sufferings might arrest the public gaze.

The same word (תָּלוּי) is used in 2 S 18^{10} of Absalom, who was 'hanged in an oak,' *i.e.* caught by the neck in the fork of a branch. In La 5^{12} we read of princes being 'hanged up by their hand' (בְּיָדָם נִתְלוּ). Löhr would refer *their* to the enemy, that is to say, the princes were hanged up by the hand of the Chaldæans. Others, taking *their* as =*their own*, suggest that there may be a reference to crucifixion.

2. In Ezr. 6^{11} the Aram. יִתְמְחֵא appears to refer to being fastened on the impaling stake, although the LXX understands it more mildly, *πληγήσεται*, 'he shall be beaten.'

3. The only clear instances in the Bible of death by hanging, *i.e.* strangulation, are those of Ahithophel and Judas (2 S 17^{23}, Mt 27^{5}), and both these were cases not of execution but of suicide. As a mode of execution it seems to have been only by the later Jews that strangling was adopted (see W. R. Smith, *RS*^{2} 419, and art. CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS, p. 527^{a}). In 2 S 17^{23} the Heb. term employed is יֵחָנַק (imperf. Niph. of [חנק], the only other occurrences of this root being the Piel ptcp. מְחַנֵּק used in Nah 2^{12} of the lion strangling prey for his lionesses, and the noun מַחֲנָק in Job 7^{15} 'My soul chooseth strangling'). The LXX has in 2 S *ἀπέπνιξεν*, in Nah *ἀπήγξατο*, which is the word used also in Mt 27^{5}.

4. הוֹקִיעַ, Hiph. of יָקַע which in Qal means 'to be dislocated' (Gn 32^{25} of Jacob's thigh) or fig. 'to be alienated' (joined with נֶפֶשׁ and followed by מִן or מֵעַל Jer 6^{8}, Ezk 23$^{17.\,18}$), is used in 2 S 21$^{6.\,9}$ of the 'hanging up' of Saul's sons by the Gibeonites (cf. v.^{13} Hoph. ptcp. הַמּוּקָעִים). Its only other occurrence is Nu 25^{4} 'Take all the chiefs of the people and hang (הוֹקַע) them up unto the LORD.' The *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* remarks, 'some solemn form of execution, but meaning uncertain.' Dillmann, Kautzsch, and Kittel tr. simply 'aussetzen'=*expose.* This follows the LXX, which has in 2 S *ἐξηλιάζειν* and in Nu *παραδειγματίζειν*. By others it is taken to mean *impale* (Ges., following Aq., *ἀναπηγνύναι*) or *crucify* (Targ. צלב, Vulg. *crucifigere, affigere*). Symm. has *κρεμάζειν*=*hang*, Vulg. in Nu *suspendere*, but it is probable that the word expressed something more than the ordinary תָּלָה (Driver, *Text of Sam.* p. 269). In all probability we should read the same word (הֹקִיעֻ for תָּקְעוּ of MT) in 1 S 31^{10}, of the fastening up of Saul's body by the Philistines (so Lagarde, followed by Wellhausen, Driver, Budde, Grätz, Klostermann).

W. R. Smith (*RS^2* 419) suggests that in the above passages in Nu and 2 S *precipitation from a rock* may be intended. 'They *fell* all seven together' (2 S 21^9), and for this form of execution reference may be made to 2 K 8^{12}, 2 Ch 25^{12}, Hos 10^{14}. This explanation, however, seems to lack probability, particularly if we adopt the above textual emendation of Lagarde in 1 S 31^{10}. J. A. SELBIE.

HANGING, HANGINGS.—**1.** The former is the AV rendering of the Heb. term מָסָךְ, the name given in the Priests' Code (1) to the curtain or *portière* closing the entrance to the Tabernacle from the surrounding court (Ex $26^{36.37}$ 35^{15} 'the h. for the door at the entering in of the tabernacle,' 39^{38} 40^5 etc.); (2) to a similar *portière* closing the entrance to the court itself (Ex 35^{17} 'the h. for the door of the court,' 38^{18} etc.); and (3) once, Nu 3^{31}, for the 'veil' screening off the Holy of Holies from the rest of the Tabernacle, the usual name for which is פָּרֹכֶת (Ex 26^{31} and oft.), or more fully פָּרֹכֶת הַמָּסָךְ (Ex 35^{12} 39^{34} 40^{21}, Nu 4^5). In all three cases, as we have said, the AV renders by 'hanging,' with the single exception of Nu 3^{26}, where we find 'curtain' (see CURTAIN, 2). The Revisers, however, have consistently rendered מָסָךְ by 'screen' throughout.

2. The plur. form 'hangings,' on the other hand, is the equivalent of another technical term of the Priests' Code, קְלָעִים (LXX *ἱστία*), the hangings which, suspended from pillars, fenced off the court of the Tabernacle from the outer world (Ex $27^{9.11}$ etc.), hence the fuller designation קַלְעֵי הֶחָצֵר 'the hangings of the court' (Ex 35^{17} 38^9 etc.).

For the material, workmanship, and other details of these screens and hangings, see the general article TABERNACLE in this Dictionary.

3. In 2 K 23^7 we read of 'hangings for the Asherah' (RV), which the women *wove* even 'in the house of the LORD' itself. The original, as the margin informs us, has 'houses (בָּתִּים),' by which Jewish tradition understands 'tents' (so RVm) to shelter the image of the goddess. It is extremely doubtful, however, if *bāttîm* (or *bottîm*) is correct in this connexion. The LXX has here a transliteration of some different reading (A χεττιείμ, B χεττιείν). Klostermann supposes that the Greek translators read כת״ים, a copyist's error for כתנים = כֻּתֳּנוֹת (cf. Luc. στολάς). See further *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* i. 109*a*, *s.v.* בַּיִת. A. R. S. KENNEDY.

HANNAH (חַנָּה, Ἄννα, that is, *grace*).—One of the wives of an Ephraimite named Elkanah, who lived at Ramathaim-zophim (1 S $1^{2ff.}$). To her great distress H. had no children, and on the occasion of one of the yearly visits which she made with her husband to sacrifice to J" at Shiloh, where the ark then was, she vowed that, if the Lord would give her a son, she would devote him to Him under the vow of a Nazirite. Her prayer was heard, and a child was born, whom she named Samuel. As soon as he was weaned, which according to Jewish custom might not be until he was about three years old, she took him up to Eli, the priest of the Lord, at Shiloh. On the same occasion she is reported to have given vent to her feelings in the beautiful song of 1 S 2^{1-10}. It is necessary to note, however, that this song is pronounced by modern criticism to be wholly unsuited to H.'s position and circumstances, and is thought to have been composed later in celebration of some national success. If so, v.^{5b} may have led to its association with H. (see Driver, *LOT^6* 174). Of H.'s subsequent history we are told only that she was in the habit of bringing Samuel a little robe (*mĕʻîl*) from year to year when she came up to the yearly sacrifice; and that she became the mother of other three sons and two daughters (1 S 2^{21}).

G. MILLIGAN.

HANNATHON (חַנָּתֹן).—A place on the N. border of Zebulun, Jos 19^{14}. The site is uncertain, but the name is probably to be identified with the Talmudic *Caphar Hananiah*, which according to the Mishnah (see Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* 179, 226) marked the limit of Upper Galilee. This is now *Kefr 'Anân*, at the foot of the mountains of Upper Galilee and N.E. of Rimmon. See *SWP* i. 205, 207. C. R. CONDER.

HANNIEL (חַנִּיאֵל 'grace of God').—**1.** Son of Ephod, and Manasseh's representative for dividing the land, Nu 34^{23} P. **2.** A hero of the tribe of Asher (AV Haniel), 1 Ch 7^{39}.

HANOCH (חֲנוֹךְ 'dedication'(?)).—**1.** A grandson of Abraham by Keturah, and third of the sons of Midian (Gn 25^4). In the parallel list of 1 Ch 1^{33} AV gives the form Henoch. **2.** The eldest son of Reuben, and head of the family of the **Hanochites** (Gn 46^9, Ex 6^{14}, Nu 26^5, 1 Ch 5^3).

HANUN (חָנוּן 'favoured,' cf. Assyr. *Ḫanunu*, king of Gaza).—**1.** The son of Nahash, king of the Ammonites. Upon the death of the latter, David sent a message of condolence to Hanun, who, however, resented this action, and grossly insulted the messengers. The consequence was a war, which proved most disastrous to the Ammonites, 2 S $10^{1ff.}$, 1 Ch $19^{1ff.}$. **2. 3.** H. occurs in the list of those who repaired the wall and the gates of Jerus., Neh $3^{13.30}$.

HAP, HAPLY.—Hap, a Saxon word meaning 'luck,' 'chance,' is used once in AV, Ru 2^3 'And her hap was to light on a part of the field belonging unto Boaz,' where the Heb. is וַיִּקֶר מִקְרֶהָ, LXX καὶ περιέπεσεν περιπτώματι; AVm 'her hap happened'; Cox, 'her lot met her.' T. Fuller (*Holy State*, iii. 12, p. 181) says, 'Many have been the wise speeches of fools, though not so many as the foolish speeches of wise men . . . because talking much, and shooting often, they must needs hit the mark sometimes, though not by aim, by hap'; and imitates the passage in Ru when he says (*Holy Warre*, p. 200), 'his hap was to fall in just among the three captains.'

Haply is 'by hap.' 'Happily' is the same word under a different spelling, and had formerly the same meaning, though it has now come to mean 'by *good* hap.' Happily meaning simply 'by hap,' 'perchance,' is common in Shaks., though mod. edd. usually spell 'haply.' Thus *Hamlet*, II. ii. 402—

> '*Ham.* That great baby you see there is not yet out of his swaddling-clouts.
> *Ros.* Happily he's the second time come to them.'

In AV 1611 the spelling is 'haply' in 1 S 14^{30}, Mk 11^{13}, Lk 14^{29}, Ac 5^{39} 17^{27}; but in 2 Co 9^4 'happily,' which mod. edd. have changed to 'haply' also. Sometimes the word is spelt 'happly,' as in Daye's ed. of Tindale's *Pent.* (1573), '*Enacke*, a kinde of Giauntes so called happly, because they ware chaynes about their neckes.' The word occurs in AV only in the phrases 'if haply' and 'lest haply.'

RV has tr^d μήποτε by 'lest haply' in all its occurrences, except Mt 25^9 'peradventure—not,' Jn 7^{26} 'Can it be that,' and 2 Ti 2^{25} 'if peradventure.' Also μή που (TR μήπως) is so tr^d in Ac 27^{29}. J. HASTINGS.

HAPHRAIM (חֲפָרַיִם).—A town of Issachar, noticed with Shunem and Anaharath, Jos 19^{19}. These were to the east of the tribal territory. In the *Onomasticon*, however (*s.* 'Aphraim'), it is stated to be 'now Affarea, six miles from Legio (*Lejjûn*) to the north.' The site in question is now called *el-Ferrîyeh,* on the low hills south of Carmel. It is the site of an ancient town with remarkable tombs. See *SWP* vol. i. sh. viii. In Baedeker-Socin's *Pal.*^{2} 238, Haphraim is identified with *el-'Afûleh,* 2 miles W. of *Solam* (Shunem).

C. R. CONDER.

HAPPEN.—**1.** Ro 11^{25} 'Blindness in part is happened to Israel,' *i.e.* is fallen upon, has come to (*γέγονεν*), without the idea of 'hap' or chance; RV 'hath befallen.' Cf. Jer 43^{8} Cov. 'And in Taphnis the worde off the LORDE happened unto Ieremy.' **2.** 2 S 1^{6} 'As I happened by chance upon Mount Gilboa' (נִקְרֹא נִקְרֵיתִי, LXX *Περιπτώματι περιεπέσαν*), *i.e.* 'I chanced to light upon.' Bunyan begins his *Holy War* thus: 'In my Travels, as I walked through many Regions and Countries, it was my chance to happen into that famous Continent of Universe.' Cf. Gn 44^{29} Tind. 'Yf ye shall take this also awaye from me and some mysfortune happen apon him, then shall ye brynge my gray heed with sorow unto the grave'; and esp. Rutherford, *Letters* (No. xli.), 'I happened upon a convenient trusty bearer by God's wonderful providence.' **3.** 2 Mac 13^{7} 'Such a death it happened that wicked man to die,' the usual prep. being omitted. So Pr. Bk., 'Ordering of Priests,' 'And if it shall happen the same Church, or any member thereof, to take any hurt or hindrance by reason of your negligence, ye know the greatness of the fault, and also the horrible punishment that will ensue': in 1549 and 1552 the word is 'chance.' **4.** The auxiliary *to be* (as well as *to have*) was formerly used with the verb to 'happen': so Jer 44^{23} 'this evil is happened unto you'; Ro 11^{25} (as above); and 2 P 2^{22} 'But it is happened unto them according to the true proverb' (RV 'It has happened'). Cf. Mt 28^{11} Tind. 'When they were gone, beholde, some of the kepers came in to the cyte, and shewed unto the hie prestes all the thinges that were happened.'

J. HASTINGS.

HAPPINESS.—This word, in its subst. shape, does not appear in the Eng. Bible, either in AV or in RV, and its synonym *blessedness* (occurring thrice in AV of NT) has now (see BLESSEDNESS) been changed by the Revisers (in accordance with the form *μακαρισμός*) into 'blessing' (Ro $4^{6.\,9}$) and 'gratulation' (Gal 4^{15}). The adj. *μακάριος* (almost invariably in OT representing Heb. אַשְׁרֵי *'ashrê*, lit. *happinesses of*) is common enough in both Testaments. But while, in NT, the Revisers have reduced (cf. Jn 13^{17}) the renderings by 'happy' to three (Ac 26^{2}, Ro 14^{22}, 1 Co 7^{40}), and might consistently have reduced them to one (Ac 26^{2}—the external happiness of St. Paul in pleading before Agrippa), the OT Revisers have left *happy* and *blessed* just where they were, except Jer 12^{1}, where the Heb. word (here alone in AV of OT rendered *happy*) is changed to *at rest*, its proper meaning. Even in Ps $128^{1.\,2}$ *happy* and *blessed* are left side by side to represent the same word; cf. also Pr 16^{20} with Ps 34^{8}. If Carlyle's dictum (*Sartor Resartus*) has any force, 'There is something higher than happiness, and that is blessedness,' *blessed* is the word for the spiritual region; and the retention of *happy* so often in RV of OT tends to merge this distinction in a way defensible only on the ground that outward prosperity entered largely into the OT conception of bliss.

The more usual word for *happy* in profane Greek, *εὐδαίμων*, does not occur in LXX or NT. Probably, the *δαίμων* component was a stumbling-block to Greek-speaking Jew and Christian; but the preference for *μακάριος* is altogether suitable to the atmosphere, since *μακάριος*, and not *εὐδαίμων*, represented to the Greeks the happiness of the divine life.

In the course of the gradual elevation of the word *μακάριος*, and the idea of happiness from the pagan to the Christian level, from Greek tragedy to the Sermon on the Mount, more than one point is worthy of note. While the ordinary pagan notion was purely external, and the tragedians, among the exponents of Gr. thought, will call no man happy till a happy death has set its seal upon a happy life (Soph. *Trach.* 1 ff., cf. Hdt. i. 32); yet, in their view, continued prosperity was conditioned by natural piety and reverence (Soph. *Œd. R. passim*, and Hdt. iii. 40); and hence their preference for *εὐδαίμων*, 'with a good genius attending.' The Gr. philosophical schools, on the other hand, looking for a happiness secure from 'the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune,' discerned its possibility, some mainly in the moral, as Socrates, who defined happiness as *εὐπραξία*, *well-doing*, rather than *εὐτυχία*, *good luck* (Xen. *Mem.* iii. 9. 14); others, more strictly in the intellectual, as Plato, whose notion of happiness reached its climax in the wisdom consisting in the cognition of the Ideal Good (*Rep.* 519), this cognition being the crowning point of the 'resemblance to God as far as possible' (*Theæt.* 176*b*); others, as Aristotle, in the intellectually practical, 'the life in obedience to the intellect,' 'the rational virtuous activity of the soul in a life fully provided,' 'the performance by man of the peculiar work which belongs to him as man' (*Eth. Nic.* i. 6, ii. 5, x. 4); while the Stoics looked for happiness in a life 'conformed to nature,' and combined with *ἀταραξία*, *absence of all emotion.*

The difference between such philosophical notions of happiness and the biblical, lies not so much in inwardness, as in the fundamental conditions of that inwardness, its relations, its developments, its possibilities. The *blessedness* even of some of the noblest conceptions of the OT is linked to the external (Ps $34^{8.\,12.\,13.\,14}$), though sometimes the external seems to be transcended (Ps $84^{5.\,7}$ 4^{7} $119^{1.\,111}$), and, even when the external is foremost, it always connotes righteousness and the consequent favour of God towards individual, family, or race, in the present or in the Messianic age (see BLESSEDNESS). But the element in biblical happiness which had been lacking to all previous thought was the *personal relation*, and that not only as faith in God, personal and ever-present (Ps $33^{12.\,20.\,21}$), but as love for Him, this being the highest requisite (Dt $6^{4.\,5}$, Jg 5^{3}, Ps $4^{6.\,7}$); and the most satisfying blessedness is to be in His presence and to behold His face (Pss 16. 17. 49). In NT we reach the 'roof and crown.' The happiness is now clearly inward, spiritual and present (Mt $5^{2\text{ff.}}$); and now the way to the personal relation is opened up through Jesus Christ, personal, loving (Jn 15^{9}), ever-living (Jn 14^{6}, He 10^{20}). Whatever the outward may be (Ro $8^{38\text{f.}}$), He is *God with us* (Mt 1^{23} 18^{20}); nay, veritable evils endured for Him and with Him actually make us blessed now (Mt $5^{10\text{f.}}$, 1 P 4^{14}). More than this, He is *Christ in us*, the hope of glory (Col 1^{27}); for the time shall come when, all hindrances being taken away, and the internal embodying itself in external realization,* 'we shall be like him' (1 Jn $3^{1.\,2}$, cf. Plato above cited) in the full enjoyment of the eternal life (1 Jn 5^{11}, Mt 25^{46}, Mk 10^{30}, Jn 17^{22-24}). (See articles by the present writer, *Expositor*, 1st series, vols. ix. x. 'A Word Study in the NT, *μακάριος*').

J. MASSIE.

HAPPIZZEZ (הַפִּצֵּץ, AV Aphses).—The head of the 18th course of priests, 1 Ch 24^{15}. See GENEALOGY.

---

* Compare the *μακαριστοτάτη εὐδαιμονία*, *the most blessed happiness*, offered by Virtue to Hercules, as the sure reward of following her (Xen. *Mem.* ii. 1. 21).

HARA (הָרָא, Vulg. *Ara*) occurs 1 Ch 5^{26} as one of the cities or regions to which the Israelitish captives from Samaria were deported by the Assyrians. Modern scholars have often tried the hazardous etymology from הַר 'mountain' (presupposing a bad orthography instead of הרה !). From this etymology and the corresponding words of Kings, they concluded that the Western part of Media was meant, called Media Magna by classic writers, *'Irāḳ al-ajamî* 'the Persian I.,' by the Arabs, or *al-Jibāl*, *i.e.* 'the mountainous region,' *Kohistan* by the Persians. But the name is wanting in the LXX (only Lucian's recension, ed. de Lagarde, has Ἀρραν, which looks like an emendation to the name חרן Haran). The corresponding passages 2 K 17^{6} 18^{11} have the expression עָרֵי מָדָי 'the Median cities,' but LXX ὄρη Μήδων 'the Median mountains.' This latter reading (which seems to be the more original text) furnishes the key to the name *Hara*. It is evidently due to a misreading of that original text הרי מדי, and represented originally *hārê* 'mountains of.' This misunderstanding is usually attributed to the Chronicler; but after the LXX, it would be rather an awkward addition by a later reader who missed the expression added in Kings. Of earlier comparisons hardly any deserve to be mentioned. Bochart (*Phaleg*) thought of Aria in Persia (Herod. iii. 93, vii. 62, 66). The name begins with an *h* according to the Persian inscriptions, but the country is too remote. No Assyrian king ever possessed Aria (Herod. vii. 62 is mistaken, and contradicts himself, identifying Arians and Medians). W. MAX MÜLLER.

HARADAH (חֲרָדָה, Χαραδάθ).—A station in the journeyings of the Israelites, mentioned only Nu $33^{24.25}$. It has not been identified.

HARAN (הָרָן, 'mountaineer' (?)).—**1.** Son of Terah, younger brother of Abram, and father of Lot, Gn 11^{26} (P), also father of Milcah and Iscah, v.^{29} (J). Dillmann rejects the view of Wellh. (*Prol.* 330) and Budde (*Urgesch.* 443) that הרן is a mere variation of חרן. **2.** A Gershonite Levite, 1 Ch 23^{9}.

HARAN (חָרָן, Χαῤῥά, Χαῤῥάν; *Haran*) is situated in the N.W. of Mesopotamia on the Belias, a tributary of the Euphrates, S.E. of Edessa (*Oorfa*), in a country rendered very fertile by watercourses from the Belias, which rises, at a distance of several miles, from the hills S. of the Euphrates. The origin of Haran is lost in antiquity, but it must have been early inhabited by Semites, perhaps Babylonians, the name of the city being expressed in cuneiform by an ideograph (*Ḫarranu*, 'road'), which was probably given it on account of its being a crossing point of the Syrian, Assyrian, and Babylonian trade-routes. The merchants of this city are mentioned in Ezk 27^{23}.

Nothing remains of the ancient city but a long range of mounds on both sides of the river and the ruins of a castle or fortress of a very ancient date, built of large blocks of basaltic rock; it has square columns 8 ft. thick supporting an arched roof 30 ft. high. The town is now represented only by a village on the slope of the hill. The small houses or huts are built (perhaps for want of timber) in the peculiar fashion depicted on the Assyrian bas-reliefs, *i.e.* with domed roofs. According to tradition, the well where Rebekah was met by Abraham's messenger (Gn 24^{15}) is near the city.

Haran is first mentioned when Abram and his family dwelt there after leaving Ur of the Chaldees on his way to Canaan (Gn 11^{31}), and there the descendants of his brother settled, hence the name of 'the city of Nahor,' which it also bears (cf. Gn 24^{10} with 27^{43}). Haran is frequently mentioned in the cuneiform writings. Tiglath-pileser I. (B.C. 1120) in his great cylinder-inscription says that he killed ten elephants in 'the land of Haran,' and four he captured alive and took to his capital Asshur. Sargon says that he 'spread out his shadow over the city Haran, and as a soldier of Anu and Dagon wrote its laws'; and Sennacherib speaks of Gozan, Haran, and Rezeph as having been destroyed by one or more of his predecessors (2 K 19^{12}). The name of the eponymy for the years B.C. 742 and 728, Bel-Ḫarrani-bêli-uṣur, 'Lord of Haran, protect (my) lord,' would seem to indicate that Haran was then a very important city.

The great tutelary deity of Haran was the moon-god, Sin in Assyrian, known among the Semitic nations as Baal-Kharran or Lord of Haran, though other deities must have been worshipped there. An inscribed seal in the British Museum represents a priest in adoration before an altar, a small figure in the distance, and above the altar a star with the words 'The God of Haran.' Assur-bani-apli speaks of the god Sin as dwelling in Haran. The tablet K. 2701*a*, which is a letter apparently sent to Assur-bani-apli, seems to refer to the crowning of his father Esarhaddon when on his way to Egypt. Reference is made therein to the '*bethel*' or temple at Haran, where the ceremony took place, and on this occasion the god Sin is said to have appeared to those present: 'When the father of the king my lord went to Egypt, he was crowned (?) in the *ḳanni* of Ḫarran, the temple * of cedar. The god Sin stood over the standard (?), two crowns upon his head, [and] the god Nusku stood before him. The father of the king my lord entered—[the crown] was placed upon his head,' etc. Later on, Nabonidus relates that Sin was angry with Haran and with his temple E-ḫul-ḫul (the house of joy) within it, and therefore allowed the Umman-manda (wandering hordes of Medes) to come and destroy it. Nabonidus then received from the gods Merodach and Sin, in a dream, instructions to rebuild the temple at Haran, and, when he pointed out that the Medes still surrounded the city, he was told by those gods that they would be destroyed, which destruction took place three years later under Cyrus. The city being relieved of the presence of the enemy, Nabonidus was able to finish the work of Shalmaneser and Assur-bani-apli, and, at the same time, to embellish the city. In the 5th cent. A.D. the Sabæans of Haran seem to have worshipped the sun as 'Bel-shamin,' the lord of heaven, later on using the Greek name of Ἥλιος. Gula (under the name of 'Gadlat') and Tar'ata (Atargatis or Derceto) are given by St. James of Seruj as the favourite goddesses of Haran. There was also a chapel dedicated to Abraham. The Roman general Crassus was defeated near Haran, but subsequently the province of Edessa fell into the power of the Romans, and Haran appears as a Roman city in the wars of Caracalla and Julian. It is worthy of notice that Haran retained until a late date the Chaldæan language and the worship of Chaldæan deities.

LITERATURE.—Del. *Paradies*, 185; Schrader, *COT*, *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, 355-536; Ainsworth, *Euphrates Expedition*, i. 203; Sachau, *Berlin Acad.*, Feb. 14, 1895; Rawlinson, *Herod.* i. 503 n.; Hommel, *AHT* (Index, *s.* 'Haran'); Sayce, *HCM* and *EHH* (both Index). I. A. PINCHES.

HARARITE, THE (הַהֲרָרִי), according to Ges. (*Thes.* 392) = 'a mountain-dweller,' but more probably it should be taken as a gentilic adjective = 'a native of Harar.' No such place is mentioned in the OT, but we may infer from 2 S $23^{11f.}$ that it was situated somewhere near the Philistine frontier, probably in the Shephelah. Two (not three) of David's heroes are distinguished by this title.

---

* Lit. *bethel* (*bêt-ili*).

1. Shammah the son of Agee, 'one of the thirty' (2 S 23^{33} ὁ Ἀρωδείτης). In the parallel 1 Ch 11^{34} Shammah is probably to be read for Shagee (see Driver, *Sam. l.c.*). Further, in 2 S 23^{11} (where we must read '*the* Hararite' [הַהֲרָרִי for הָרָרִי]) it is probably Shammah and not Agee (wh. see) who is thus designated. The LXX to 2 S 23^{11} (ὁ Ἀρουχαῖος) points to a reading 'the Archite' (הָאַרְכִּי), which is partly supported by its rendering of 1 Ch 11^{34} (B ὁ Ἀραχεί and ὁ Ἀραρεί; A ὁ Ἀραρί). See AGEE, SHAMMAH.

2. Ahiam the son of Sharar (2 S 23^{33}; read הַהֲרָרִי for הָאֲרָרִי; B Σαραουρείτης, A Ἀραρείτης). In the parallel 1 Ch 11^{35} Sharar appears as Sacar (אֲחִיאָם בֶּן שָׂכָר הַהֲרָרִי; B ὁ Ἀραρεί, A ὁ Ἀραρί). See AHIAM, SHARAR.
J. F. STENNING.

HARBONA (חַרְבוֹנָא Est 1^{10}) or **HARBONAH** (חַרְבוֹנָה 7^{9}). LXX has Θαρρά in 1^{10} (B), Βουγαθάν in 7^{9}.—The third of the seven eunuchs or chamberlains who waited upon king Ahasuerus. It was he who suggested that Haman should be hanged upon the gallows which he had prepared for Mordecai. The name seems to be Persian: *harban=donkey-driver.*
H. A. WHITE.

HARBOUR.—See HAVEN.

HARD.—The various meanings of 'hard,' whether as adj. or adv., may be given as follows: 1. Literally, *not soft*, only Job 41^{24}, Ezk 3^{9}, Wis 11^{4}, Sir 40^{15} 48^{17}. 2. *Unfeeling, cruel:* Ps 94^{4} 'How long shall they utter and speak hard things?' (RV 'They prate, they speak arrogantly'); Wis 19^{13} 'they used a more hard and hateful behaviour toward strangers' (RV 'grievous indeed was the hatred which they practised toward guests'). Cf. Wyclif, *Works*, iii. 115, 'The vi tyme we schul trowe, that aftyr xxxij yer he suffrid hard passioun, undir Pounce Pilate.' 3. *Trying, exacting:* Ex 1^{14} 'hard bondage' (RV 'hard service'); 2 S 3^{39} 'The sons of Zeruiah be too hard for me'; Ps 88^{7} 'Thy wrath lieth hard upon me'; Pr 13^{15} 'The way of transgressors is hard' (RV 'The way of the treacherous is rugged'); Mt 25^{24} 'Lord, I knew thee that thou art an hard man'; Jn 6^{60} 'This is an hard saying; who can hear it?'; Ac 9^{5} 'It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks'). 4. *Obdurate:* Jer 5^{3} 'They have made their faces harder than a rock'; Ezk 3^{9} 'As an adamant harder than flint have I made thy forehead.' Cf. Shaks. *Ant. and Cleop.* III. xi. 111—

> 'But when we in our viciousness grow hard,
> (O misery on't) the wise gods seel our eyes.'

5. *Strenuous:* only Jon 1^{13} 'the men rowed hard.' 6. *Difficult:* as Gn 18^{14} 'Is anything too hard for the Lord?' (RVm 'wonderful'); 1 K 10^{1} 'She came to prove him with hard questions'; Mk 10^{24} 'How hard is it for them that trust in riches to enter into the kingdom of God!' Cf. Rhem. NT, Preface, 'Moreover, we presume not in hard places to mollify the speaches or phrases, but religiously keepe them word for word, and point for point.' 7. *Close*, as Jg 9^{52} 'And Abimelech . . . went hard unto the door of the tower to burn it with fire'; Ps 63^{8} 'My soul followeth hard after thee'; Ac 18^{7} 'Justus . . . whose house joined hard to the synagogue.' This meaning of the word is common in early writers: cf. Lk 2^{9} Tind. 'And loo, the angell of the lorde stode harde by them'; Job 17^{1} Cov. 'I am harde at deathes dore.' It is sometimes used of time, as in Rhem. NT, note to Jn 20^{21} 'Though he gave them his peace hard before, yet now entering to a new divine action, to prepare their hartes to grace and attention, he blesseth them againe.'

For Harden, **Hardening**, see next article.

Hardiness.—This subst. occurs only in Jth 16^{10} 'The Persians quaked at her boldness, and the Medes were daunted at her hardiness' (θράσος, RV 'boldness'). Cf. Sir T. Elyot, *Governour*, ii. 47, 'What avayled fortune incomparable to the great kynge Alexander, his wonderfull puissance and hardynes, or his singular doctrine in philosophy, taught hym by Aristotle, in deliverynge hym from the deth in his yonge and flourisshing age?' So Cov. uses 'hardy' for 'bold' in Dn 11^{16} 'no man shalbe so hardy as to stonde agaynst him'; and Barlowe, 'hardily' for 'boldly' (*Dialoge*, p. 68), 'Use they such crafty conveyaunce in promotyng theyr Gospell? Ye hardely, and that without any shame when they be detected of it.'

Hardly does not occur in AV in the mod. sense of 'scarcely.' Its meanings there are two: 1. *Harshly, grievously*, Gn 16^{6} 'And when Sarai dealt hardly with her, she fled from her face' (וַתְּעַנֶּהָ, AVm 'afflicted her'); and Is 8^{21} 'hardly bestead and hungry' (Amer. RV 'sore'; see BESTEAD). RV introduces 'hardly' in this sense into Job 19^{3}. 2. *With difficulty*, Ex 13^{15} 'And it came to pass, when Pharaoh would hardly let us go, that the LORD slew all the firstborn in the land of Egypt' (כִּי־הִקְשָׁה פַרְעֹה לְשַׁלְּחֵנוּ, RVm 'hardened himself against letting us go'); Mt 19^{23} 'Verily I say unto you, That a rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven' (δυσκόλως; RV 'It is hard for a rich man to enter,' a change that is commended by Beckett [*Should RV be Authorised?* p. 100] as much better, though less literal than AV, since the latter suggests, according to our mod. idiom, that a rich man can scarcely enter the kingdom of heaven. The same Gr. adv. occurs in Mk 10^{23}, Lk 18^{24}, and is tr^{d} in the same way in AV, a tr^{n} which RV accepts in these places); Lk 9^{39} 'and bruising him hardly departeth from him' (μόγις, WH μόλις); Ac 27^{8} 'And, hardly passing it, came unto a place which is called The fair havens' (μόλις, RV 'with difficulty'). This meaning of 'hardly' may be seen in North's *Plutarch*, p. 889, 'Demetrius was so scared, that he had no further leysure, but to cast an ill-favoured cloke about him, the first that came to hand, and disguising himselfe to flie for life, and scaped very hardly, that he was not shamefully taken of his enemies for his incontinencie'; and T. Adams, *II Peter* (on 1^{4}), 'He that hath done evil once, shall more hardly resist it at the next assault.'

Hardness.—2 Ti 2^{3} 'Thou therefore endure hardness, as a good soldier of Jesus Christ' (σὺ οὖν κακοπάθησον, edd. συνκακοπάθησον, RV 'Suffer hardship with me,' RVm 'Take thy part in suffering hardship'). Hardness for mod. 'hardship' is found in Shaks., as *Cymb.* III. vi. 21—

> 'Plenty, and peace, breeds cowards; hardness ever
> Of hardiness is mother.'

Elsewhere 'hardness' is either lit. of the clods (Job 38^{38}), or fig. of the heart (Mt 19^{8}, Mk 3^{5} 10^{5} 16^{14}, Ro 2^{5}).
J. HASTINGS.

HARDENING.—The moral difficulty of this subject is the ascription in OT of the hardening of men's hearts to God. Pharaoh's is the typical case; and his story is so vivid in its dramatic unity and details that we cannot wonder that practically his case is regarded as if it were unique. But it is not so; it is only a striking example of a class. Pharaoh's history sets before us the picture of a conflict between the proud head of a great empire and the Almighty, a conflict in ten onsets, or a drama in ten acts, in the last of which the human tyrant comes to the ground. As his case is a typical one, it is important to note the salient features. First of all, the result is twice foretold. The Lord says, 'I will harden his heart' (Ex 4^{21} 7^{3}). In the case of the first five plagues and the seventh (river turned into blood, frogs, lice, flies, murrain, and hail) the phrase is 'Pharaoh hardened his heart' or 'his heart was hardened' (Ex 7$^{14.22}$ 8$^{15.19.32}$ 9$^{7.34.35}$). In the sixth, eighth, and ninth (boils, locusts, darkness) the phrase is 'the Lord hardened his heart' (9^{12} 10$^{20.27}$). Thus the result is not ascribed to God only; both the divine and the human agencies are recognized. Whatever God had to do with the result, Pharaoh's freedom of action was not interfered with. Again, it is significant that 'the Lord hardened his heart' *follows* 'Pharaoh hardened.' It is the phrase used, with one exception, in the second severer series of divine judgments. When the lighter ones failed, heavier ones were sent. And even in the second series the result in one case is ascribed solely to Pharaoh (hail, 9$^{34.35}$). Is it not evident that the divine action described in 'the Lord hardened' was a punishment for the previous disobedience of the king? Is it not equally certain that each judgment, up to the last one, while a punishment, was also a merciful warning and call to repentance? At each stage Pharaoh might have yielded instead of refusing. It should be noted that the phrase 'the Lord hardened' is peculiar to the OT; in the NT it occurs only in quotations from the Old.

The two modes of speech, however, are not confined to Pharaoh's case, but are common in OT. We find 'the Lord hardened' in Jos 11^{20}, Dt 2^{30}, Is 63^{17}, etc., the other phrase in passages like 1 S 6^{6}, 2 Ch 36^{13}, Ps 95^{8}. The language in such passages as Jg 9^{23}, 2 S 24^{1} may seem even more startling. But if we look into the context we shall find that, as in Pharaoh's case, the divine action is a punishment of sin. This language, which before reflection seems to shock our moral sense, is partly to be explained by the OT habit of recognizing the divine action everywhere in nature and history. The thunder is God's voice; storm and tempest do His will; heathen monarchs and empires are His instruments. Men at that early stage of revelation did not discriminate as we do between the different causes at work in events. If they did reflect, they would no doubt see that the two forms of language applied to the same events under different aspects. Very little observation would show them, as it shows us, that divine appeals and commands never leave men as they find them. If not yielded to, they increase insensibility, benumb and gradually deaden moral feeling. This effect is contrary to the divine purpose, and is entirely man's fault; but it is natural and inevitable. The more powerful the appeals, the more rapid the hardening process, until God's Spirit withdraws, and leaves man to his own ways (Ro 1^{28}). Looked at from the human side, Pharaoh, like every smaller transgressor, is seen acting with perfect freedom, consciously pitting his own will against God's, despising louder and louder warnings of ruin, self-punished and self-destroyed. Looked at from the divine side, God is seen commanding, forewarning, repeating rejected opportunities, doing everything to ensure submission and safety but coerce,—and at last leaving to destruction. It is evident that we have here again the old problem of reconciling the divine foreknowledge and government with human freedom and responsibility. Each element is attested by its own evidence. Both are necessary to a complete explanation. The two regions meet at some point invisible to human eye and undefinable in human speech and thought. 'To the Hebrew mind what we call secondary causes scarcely exist, at least in the sphere of religion. That which, in given circumstances, is the inevitable result of God's providential dispensations is viewed absolutely, apart from its conditions, as a distinct divine purpose' (Skinner on Is 6^{10}). J. S. BANKS.

HARE (אַרְנֶבֶת *'arnebheth, δασύπους, lepus*).—Four species of hare are found in Bible lands. They are all called by the Arabs *'arnabeh*, which is the same as the Heb. 1. *Lepus Syriacus*, Hempr. et Ehr. It is a little smaller than the Eng. hare, and of a dark grey colour. It is common along the coast, and in the wooded and hilly districts of Pal. and Syria. 2. *L. Sinaiticus*, Hempr. et Ehr. This species is much smaller, with a longer and narrower head, and longer ears, and is of a lighter grey. It is found in the valleys about the Dead Sea, and southward to Sinai. 3. *L. Ægyptius*, Geoffr. This animal is not more than 18 in. long from the tip of the nose to the root of the tail. The ears are long, and fringed inside with white hairs. It is of a light sand colour above, and nearly white beneath. It is abundant in the Jordan Valley, and in S. Judæa and the N. part of et-Tih. 4. *L. Isabellinus*, Rüpp. The *Nubian hare*. This species is even smaller than the last, and is of a rich fawn colour. It is found only in the S.E. deserts of Palestine.

The hare is a *rodent*, and not a *ruminant*. The statement (Lv 11^{6}, Dt 14^{7}) that it 'cheweth the cud' is to be taken phenomenally, not scientifically. The Arab of the present day regards it as a ruminant, and for that reason eats its flesh. As Tristram well says, 'Moses speaks of animals according to appearances, and not with the precision of a comparative anatomist, and his object was to show why the hare should be interdicted, though to all appearance it chewed the cud, viz. because it did not divide the hoof. To have spoken otherwise would have been as unreasonable as to have spoken of the earth's motion, instead of sunset and sunrise.' G. E. POST.

HAREPH (חָרֵף).—A Judahite chief, 1 Ch 2^{51}. See GENEALOGY.

HARHAIAH (חַרְהֲיָה, Ἀραχίας, but ABא omit the clause, Neh 3^{8}).—Some Heb. texts read חַרְחֲיָה, or even חַרְהֲיָה. Uzziah the son of H., a goldsmith, repaired a portion of the wall of Jerus. in the days of Nehemiah.

HARHAS (חַרְחַס, Ἀραάς B, Ἀρδάς B^{b}, Ἀράς A, Ἀδρά Luc.).—Ancestor of Shallum, the husband of Huldah the prophetess (2 K 22^{14}). Called **Hasrah** חַסְרָה 2 Ch 34^{22}.

HARHUR (חַרְחוּר 'fever'? or 'freeborn').—Eponym of a family of Nethinim (Ezr 2^{51}, Neh 7^{53}), called in 1 Es 5^{31} Asur. See GENEALOGY.

HARIM (חָרִים, חָרִם 'consecrated,' cf. Sabæan pr. name חרם).—1. A lay family which appears in the list of the returning exiles, Ezr 2^{32}=Neh 7^{35}; of those who had married foreign wives, Ezr 10^{31}; and of those who signed the covenant, Neh 10^{27} [Heb.^{28}].

2. A priestly family which appears in the same lists, Ezr 2^{39}=Neh 7^{42}, Ezr 10^{21}, Neh 10^{5} [Heb.^{6}]. The name is found also among 'the priests and Levites that went up with Zerubbabel,' Neh 12^{3}, where it is miswritten Rehum (רְחוּם); among the heads of priestly families in the days of Joiakim, Neh 12^{15}; and as the third of the 24 courses, 1 Ch 24^{8}. To which family Malchijah the son of Harim, one of the builders of the wall (Neh 3^{11}), belonged cannot be determined. See GENEALOGY.

H. A. WHITE.

HARIPH (חָרִיף, חָרִף, cf. חֹרֶף, 'autumn'). A family which returned from exile with Zerubbabel (Neh 7^{24}), and signed the covenant, Neh 10^{19} [Heb.^{20}]. In Ezr 2^{18} the name appears as JORAH; so Lucian in Neh 7^{24} Ἰωρήε. Hareph (חָרֵף) is named as a Calebite in 1 Ch 2^{51}, and one of David's companions in 1 Ch 12^{5} is termed a **Haruphite** (חֲרוּפִי, *Kethibh*), or Hariphite (הֲרִיפִי *Ḳerê*). The latter reading, if correct, perhaps points to a connexion with Hariph. See GENEALOGY.

H. A. WHITE.

HARLOT (זוֹנָה, אִשָּׁה נָכְרִיָּה, קְדֵשָׁה, LXX and NT *πόρνη*) is the name used in our English versions to describe different classes of women who come under the ban of morality. It is sometimes applied generally to women, including married women, of profligate life (Pr), but specially it denotes those who systematically gave themselves up to such a course of life, either for gain, or as a form of religious service. The existence of a class roughly corresponding to that which the name suggests to us may be traced throughout the history of Israel, originating as it did out of universally working conditions, and after the Solomonic period developing to the full its shamelessness, its seductive arts, and its blighting influence (Is 23^{16}, Jer 3^{3} 5^{7}, Ezk 16^{25}, Pr 7^{10} 29^{3}). But in OT times the harlot represented more than a moral problem and a moral danger of the utmost gravity. It is not too much to say that she was the concrete embodiment of the most powerful and insidious force menacing the purity and permanence of Mosaism. Like their kindred who took possession of the valley of the Euphrates, like the Greeks who were invaded by Phœnician commerce and culture, the Hebrews in Canaan found themselves in contact with a type of religion which deified the reproductive forces of nature, and paid them homage in the form of licentious rites and orgies. The harlot was thus invested with sanctity as a member of the religious caste, and the question was whether a licentious cult was to establish itself in the soil of Jahwism even as it naturalized itself in Babylon (cf. Herod. i. 199), and in Cythera and Corinth (Strabo, viii. 6). And undoubtedly the Canaanitish leaven deeply infected the popular Hebrew religion. In the story of Tamar's intrigue to secure her rights from the house of her deceased husband (Gn 38), she is spoken of as a קְדֵשָׁה—one of the consecrated class—when she sits at the entrance of a village in the guise of a harlot. Especially does Hosea (4^{14}) give us a vivid picture of the extent to which the local sanctuaries, where the worship of Baal and Astarte had been syncretized with that of J″, were coloured by the legitimated prostitution of servants of the divinities. In some sanctuaries a still lower depth was reached, and emasculated enthusiasts (קְדֵשִׁים) earned for the shrine 'the wages of a dog' by giving themselves up to that 'which is against nature.' These practices the prophets of the 8th cent. denounced as the height of impiety and the sure provocation of national judgments (Am 2^{7}, Hos 4$^{13ff.}$). By Asa and Jehoshaphat steps were taken to purge the land of the viler abomination (1 K 15^{12} 22^{46}, cf. 14^{24}); and the Deuteronomic code explicitly banished both classes of 'paramours' from Israel, and prohibited the acceptance of their unholy gains as temple-revenue (Dt 23$^{17.18}$, where see Driver's note *in loc.* with reff.). With idolatry prostitution was made an end of by the Exile. The Levitical legislation recalls the abominations of the Canaanites as the special ground of their rejection and destruction (Lv 20^{23}), and appears to have the class of harlots solely in view as created and sustained by moral depravity. The more important of its enactments are that which forbids a priest to take a harlot to wife (Lv 21^{7}), and the injunction that the daughter of a priest playing the harlot shall be burnt with fire (v.^{9}).

Upon the OT treatment of the subject it may be remarked as startling that there is no express condemnation of sexual immorality which does not involve violation of the marriage-bond. At the most, fornication seems to be condemned in Pr as health- and wealth-destroying folly, while the general tenor of the OT morality is content to proscribe adultery and religious prostitution. In explanation of this, it may be observed that the true ethical attitude towards prostitution was impossible so long as marriage was in the transitional stage mirrored in OT, and that the OT at least unfolded a conception of the divine holiness and its relation to sexual purity which was destined to mature into the higher sexual morality.

In NT the harlot, again, is associated with an important element of teaching. While it was part of the mission of the prophets to refute the horrible idea of the sacredness of her calling, it was a characteristic part of the work of Jesus to rescue her from the Pharisaic tribunal, and bring her within the pale of mercy and redemption (Mt 21$^{31.32}$). She illustrates at once the compassion of Jesus, His insight into the unexpressed longings and possibilities of degraded human nature, and the regenerative power of sympathy. In the apostolic writings we see some repetition of the conflict between the genius of revealed religion and the lax and antagonistic sexual morality of heathenism. In the Epistles to the Corinthians especially, St. Paul was addressing a community whose licentiousness had become a byword even in the putrefying cities of the classical world; and it is necessary for him to enlighten the Christian conscience as to the incompatibility of union with Christ with its hideous contrast in filthy 'conversation' (1 Co 6$^{15.16}$). And in various apostolic passages the prohibition of the Decalogue is explicated or extended so as expressly to exclude the sin in question (Gal 6$^{19ff.}$).

From the prophetic period the harlot was not only involved in, but was the symbol of, idolatry. The experience of Hosea seems to have suggested her faithlessness and fickleness as a fit emblem of the dealings of Israel with her true Lord and with other gods (see IDOLATRY).

LITERATURE.—On Prostitution as a religious institution in the ancient world, see Lucian, 'De Dea Syria'; Pausanias, 'Descriptio Græciæ'; Movers, *Die Phönizier*. On the special subject Selden, 'De uxore Hebraica'; Hamburger's *Lexicon*; Benzinger, *Hebräische Archæologie*.

W. P. PATERSON.

HAR-MAGEDON.—Rev 16^{16} 'And he (AV; who? the sixth angel or the Almighty? RV 'they,' the three unclean spirits of v.^{17}) gathered them (the kings of the whole world, not 'the spirits of the Demons,' as Hommel explains in the passage to be quoted below) together into the place, which is called in Hebrew Armageddon' (AV, 'Har-Magedon' RV). The reading, as well as the meaning and even the context, of this *hapax-legomenon* is very uncertain.

(1) The TR spells Ἁρμαγεδδών; Lachmann, Tregelles, Tischendorf, Alford, Ἁρμαγεδών; WH Ἁρ Μαγεδών (the second word spaced out and in quotation type, referring to Zec 12^{11} [Heb.]). Several Greek MSS have but Μαγεδών or Μαγεδδών (thus Q). The shorter reading is supported by Tyconius and, now, by the (older) Syriac translation discovered and edited by Gwynn (Dublin, 1897): ܡܓܕܘܢ. The later Syriac translation (commonly printed with the Peshiṭta) has ܐܪܡܓܕܘܢ (not quoted in the *Thesaurus Syriacus*, col. 390). The shorter form must have arisen at a time when the whole word was considered to be a compound.

(2) The oldest explanation put forward in the Church seems to be that of Hippolytus, unhappily preserved only in Arabic (P. Lagardii, *ad Analecta sua Syriaca Appendix*, Lipsiæ, 1858, p. 27 n. 18): 'the meaning of this expression is *the smooth* (soft,

trodden) *place* الموضع الوطى.' Is this = *πεδίον ἐκκοπτομένου*, the Septuagint rendering of בִּקְעַת מְגִדּוֹן in Zec 12^{11}? (For the Arabic expression comp. وطية قدم = *βῆμα ποδός*, Ac 7^{6}). It is added that Hippolytus understood it of the valley of Jehoshaphat, Jl 4^{2} [Eng. 3^{11}] ^{12} (Hippolytus ed. [Bonwetsch-] Achelis, I. ii. 236).

Origen-Eusebius excluded the Apocalypse from their Bible Dictionary, but in the *Onomastica Vaticana* Ἀρμαγεδδῶν is explained: *εἰς τὰ ἔμπροσθεν ἐξέγερσις* (*Onomastica sacra*, ed. de Lagarde, p. 187, l. 45), *i.e.* עַר מִקְּדָם, and Jerome, who saw in it Mt. Tabor, explained likewise (*ib.* 80, 11): 'Armageddon (cod. H -gedon): *consurrectio tecti* (? עַר כְּגַג) sive *consurrectio in priora*, sed melius *mons a latrunculis* (cod. H om. *mons*; הַר מְגָדוּר) vel *mons globosus*' (ה׳ כְּגַר ; גַּר = coriandrum).

(3) For a long time the explanation הַר מְגִדּוֹ(ן) 'the mount (of) Megiddo,' was considered pretty certain; see Westcott-Hort, ii. p. 313, who compare Ἁρ Γαριζείν, Ἁρ Σαφάρ, to which may be added, from the Hexapla, Ἁρ Σιών, Ps 47 $(48)^{3}$. Older scholars had also compared Ἀρσαμόσατα of the Classics, while Westcott-Hort prefer to see in the latter name another example of Αρ = עַר (עִיר) 'town,' as in עַר מוֹאָב (Nu 21^{28}, Is 15^{1}; transliterated in the latter place Ἁρ Μωάβ by Theodotion). The latter explanation was put forward long ago by Hiller and adopted by Hitzig, Hilgenfeld, Völter, and others.

A third explanation started from the root חרם (comp. חָרְמָה Nu 21^{28}; חֶרְמוֹן); thus Luther in his marginal gloss 'verdammte Krieger, verfluchte Rüstung . . . ab *Herem* et *gad*.' Older explanations need not be quoted here; see Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum*, ed. Franc. (1712) vol. v. 1829. Makkedah (מַקֵּדָה, LXX Μακηδά), where 'the five kings' were slain (Jos $10^{16. 26}$), lies too far away to be thought of.

(4) Upon the whole, to find an allusion here to MEGIDDO (see article) is still the most probable explanation. Megiddo was famous for the defeat and death of Josiah (2 K 23^{29}, 2 Ch 35^{22}; alluded to Zec 12^{11}); but it is not on account of this unhappy event that the place seems to be mentioned, but because of the victory over 'the kings of Canaan' (Jg 5^{19}). It has been objected that Megiddo lies in the plain (*ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ* M., 2 Ch 35^{22}; *ἐπὶ ὕδατι* M., Jg 5^{19}; עַל מֵי מְגִדּוֹ), and that a mountain was not a fit battleplace (Bousset, *ad loc.*). But in the very context of Jg 5 'Mt. Tabor' and 'the high places of the field' are mentioned (Jg $4^{6. 8. 12}$ 5^{18}).

(5) Hommel ('Inschriftliche Glossen u. Exkurse zur Genesis u. zu den Propheten,' *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 1890, vi. pp. 407, 408) seems to have been the first who saw in Har-Magedon the הַר מוֹעֵד of Is 14^{13} (the mount in the north where the gods meet), supposing that a redactor corrected an original *μανέδ* or *μωέδ* into *μαγεδών*. He might have recalled the fact that in certain cases ע is transliterated by γ. This view was carried out by Gunkel (*Schöpfung und Chaos*, 1894), who finds here the remnant of an ancient tradition about the battle of the gods on a mountain, and reminds us of the gathering of the fallen angels on Mt. Hermon, Enoch 6^{6}. (To the literature quoted by Bousset add: *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, edited by R. H. Charles, Oxf. 1896, ch. xviii. p. 22). Siegfried (*Theol. Lit.-zeitung*, 1895, col. 304) also thinks that in Harmagedon the הַר מוֹעֵד of Is 14^{13} and Μεγιδδώ seem to have coalesced. Ewald (*Die Johanneischen Schriften*, ii. 1862, 294) found by calculation that ארמגדון and רומה הגדולה 'the great Rome,' have the same numerical value—304. The question whether there is in the passage an allusion to Nero and the Parthians must be left to the commentators on the Apocalypse. The solution of the riddle is to be sought for in the apocalyptic literature of the Jews.

EB. NESTLE.

HARNEPHER (הַרְנֶפֶר).—An Asherite, 1 Ch 7^{36}. See GENEALOGY.

HARNESS.—In AV harness always means armour, and to harness means to put on armour. RV gives 'armour' in 1 K 20^{11}, 2 Ch 9^{24}, and 'armed' in Ex 13^{18}; while Amer. RV prefers 'armour' also in 1 K 22^{34}, 2 Ch 18^{33}; both have left Jer 46^{4} untouched: 'Harness the horses.' The meaning is not (as Cheyne and most edd.) yoke the horses to the chariots, but put on their accoutrements. These being chiefly of armour, 'harness' was once a good tr^{n}, but now it is misleading. Cf. 1 Mac 6^{43} 'One of the beasts, armed with royal harness, was higher than all the rest' (RV 'breastplates'). In Apocr. 'harness' occurs also, 1 Mac 3^{3} (RV retains), 6^{41} (RV 'arms'), 2 Mac 3^{25} 5^{3} 15^{28} (RV all 'armour'); and the verb in 1 Mac 4^{7} (RV 'fortified'), 6^{38} (RV 'protected'). Examples of the word are, Nu 32^{20} Tind. 'And Moses sayed unto them, Yf ye will do this thinge, that ye will go all harnessed before the Lorde to warre, and will go all of you in harnesse over Iordane before the Lorde . . . then ye shall returne and be without sinne agenst the Lorde and agenst Israel'; Is 22^{6} Cov. 'I sawe the Elamites take the quyvers to carte and to horse, and that the walles were bare from harnesse'; Knox on Ps 6 (*Works*, iii. 141) represents David as saying, 'Didest not thow anis inflame my heart with the zeale of thy halie name, that when all Israell wer so effrayit that none durst encounter with that monster Goliath, yit thy Majesties spreit maid me so bold and valiaunt, that without harnes or weaponis (except my sling, staf, and stonis) I durst interpryes singular battell aganis him?' And Tindale on 1 Jn 5^{18} says, 'And as men of war they ever keep watch and prepare themselves unto war, and put on the armour of God, the which is God's word, the shield of faith, the helmet of hope, and harness themselves with the meditation of those things which Christ suffered for us.'

J. HASTINGS.

HARNESS.—(1) For *shiryan* (שִׁרְיָן 1 K 22^{34} ‖ 2 Ch 18^{33}), 'shirt of mail.' RV (Amer.) 'armour.' See BREASTPLATE. (2) For *neshek* (נֶשֶׁק 2 Ch 9^{24}), 'arms' (defensive or offensive), RV 'armour.' (3) For *πανοπλία* (2 Mac 15^{28}), 'the complete offensive and defensive equipment of a soldier'; RV 'full armour.'

Harnessed for *ḥămushim* (חֲמֻשִׁים Ex 13^{18}), RV 'armed.' See ARMS, ARMOUR.

W. E. BARNES.

HAROD (חֲרֹד).—A spring (עַיִן, not 'well' AV) beside which Gideon and his army encamped prior to their attack upon the Midianites (Jg 7^{1}). It was here that the famous test by the mode of drinking took place. In v.^{3} there is probably a characteristic play upon the word חָרֵד, 'whosoever is fearful and *trembling*' (חָרֵד). The site of Harod is not quite certain, although it is extremely probable that it should be identified with *'Ain Jalûd* [Gilead (?); see GILEAD (MOUNT)], about $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles E.S.E. of *Zerin* (Jezreel). Robinson describes this as a spring of excellent water, spreading out into a fine limpid pool of 40 to 50 ft. in diameter, which abounds in fish. A stream sufficient to turn a mill issues from it. *'Ain Jalûd* was probably also the spring beside which Saul encamped before the battle of Gilboa (1 S 29^{1}). It 'flows out from under a sort of cavern in the wall of conglomerate rock, which here forms the base of Mt. Gilboa' (Robinson). *'Ain Jalûd* is mentioned in the days of the Crusades as *Tubania* (Will. Tyr. xxii. 26). Bohaeddin (*Vit. Salad.* p. 53) gives the name as *'Ain el-Jalût* ('spring of Goliath'). This is no doubt a reminiscence of a Jewish legend (Asher, *Benj. of Tudela*, ii. 429 f.) that it was here that David slew Goliath.

LITERATURE.—Robinson, *BRP*^{2} ii. 323 f.; Buhl, *GAP* 106; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 397 f.; Guérin, *Samariée*, i. 308 f.

J. A. SELBIE.

HARODITE (הַחֲרֹדִי).—A designation applied in 2 S 23^{25} to two of David's heroes, Shammah and Elika. The second is wanting in LXX and in the parallel list in 1 Ch 11^{27}. In the latter passage, by a common scribal error (ר for ד and ה for ח) the Harodite (הַחֲרוֹדִי) has been transformed into the Harorite (הַהֲרוֹרִי). So *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*, Siegfried-Stade, Driver, Kittel; cf. GENEALOGY, vol. ii. p. 132. 'The Harodite' was probably a native of *'Ain-ḥarod*, Jg 7^1. See preceding article.

HAROEH (הָרֹאֶה 'the seer').—A Judahite, 1 Ch 2^{52}. Perhaps the name should be corrected to Reaiah (רְאָיָה). Cf. 1 Ch 4^2, and see GENEALOGY.

HARORITE.—See HARODITE.

HAROSHETH of the Gentiles (חֲרֹשֶׁת הַגּוֹיִם) was the dwelling place of Sisera (Jg 4^2), from which he advanced against Barak (v.^{13}) and to which he fled after his defeat (v.^{16}). The descriptive epithet 'of the Gentiles' is obscure; it *may* have been given to distinguish this place from a neighbouring *Israelite* Harosheth. H. is generally identified (by Moore rather doubtfully) with *el-Ḥarathîyeh*, on the right bank of the lower Kishon, at a point which commands the entrance to the Great Plain from the Plain of Acre and the commercial roads that led through it. Buhl objects that Harosheth cannot have been near the Kishon, and that a long distance must have separated it from the battlefield (cf. Jg $4^{13.16}$). This objection would have much more force if we could be sure that the story is a unity, but, upon the theory of a Jabin and a Sisera narrative having been combined, the situation of *el-Ḥarathîyeh* suits the Harosheth, which is uniformly connected with Sisera as Hazor is with Jabin. See further, JABIN, JAEL, SISERA.

LITERATURE.—Thomson (the first to identify with *el-Harathîyeh*), *Land and Book*^{2}, ii. 215 ff.; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 393 f.; Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.*^{2} 241; Buhl, *GAP* 214; *SWP* vol. i. sh. v.; Conder, *Tent-Work*, i. 132; Moore, *Judges*, 107 f., 119, 122.

J. A. SELBIE.

HARP.—See MUSIC.

HARROW.—1. In modern agriculture the harrow is used both for breaking stiff soil and preparing it for the seed, and for covering in the seed when sown. For the latter purpose the harrow was certainly not used either in Bible times or later by the Jews, who ploughed in the seed (the technical word for which was חִפָּה, see Vogelstein, *Die Landwirthschaft in Palästina zur Zeit der Mishnah*, 1 Theil, 'Der Getreidebau,' 1894, p. 36) as their successors the Syrian fellahin do to this day (*PEFSt*, 1891, p. 116, *ZDPV* xii. p. 29).* As to the use of the harrow in preparing the ground for seed, the case is not so clear. On the one hand, we find in three passages of the OT unmistakable reference to some method, in addition to ordinary ploughing, for breaking up the soil preparatory to sowing. 'Doth the ploughman plough continually?' it is asked, 'doth he continually open and break the clods of his ground?' (Is 28^{24} RV). The last of these operations (Heb. יְשַׂדֵּד) is usually understood as, and often rendered by, harrowing (*e.g.* by Cheyne, Delitzsch, etc.). The same word is found in two other passages (Hos 10^{11}, Job 39^{10}), where it certainly denotes some agricultural operation by means of an implement to which an ox or other animal might be harnessed, as in the question, 'Canst thou bind the wild ox with his band in the furrow, or will he harrow (יְשַׂדֵּד) the valleys after thee?' (Job 39^{10} RV—the only passage where the verb is so rendered in our EV). On the strength of these passages it has been the custom to regard harrowing as the operation intended, and the harrow as in ordinary use among the Hebrews for the purpose stated. (See AGRICULTURE, vol. i. p. 49^a).

On the other hand, we must reckon with the following facts:—(*a*) the harrow is an implement unknown to the ancient Egyptians (Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, etc., ed. Birch, ii. 395) and the early Greeks (Büchsenschütz, *Besitz. und Erwerb*, etc. 304); (*b*) the harrow itself is not named either in the OT—see 2 below—or in the Mishna, which is so rich in the technical vocabulary of agriculture (see esp. Vogelstein's exhaustive study above cited, p. 42, n. 33); (*c*) it is not in ordinary use among the Syrian peasantry to-day (*ZDPV* xii. 31, and cf. list of modern agricultural implements by Post, *PEFSt*, 1891, p. 110). In the face of these facts, the use of the harrow by the Hebrews must at least be left an open question. It is not improbable that שִׂדֵּד may be a technical term for one of the various ploughings which were customary, in later times at least, before the soil was ready to receive the seed (cf. Vogelstein, *op. cit.* p. 36, n. 68), and may possibly correspond to our cross-ploughing. The Greek translators of Job, it may be noted, understood it of ploughing (*ἑλκύσει σου αὔλακας ἐν πεδίῳ*, 39^{10}), and we know that the Roman authorities much preferred ploughing to harrowing as a means of breaking up the stiff surface (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* XVIII. ch. xlix.; Columella, II. iv. 2).

2. Throughout this discussion we have avoided any reference to the two passages in our EV where harrows are expressly mentioned. The captive population of Rabbah 'of the children of Ammon,' David, we read, 'put under saws, and under harrows of iron (חֲרִיצֵי הַבַּרְזֶל), and under axes of iron,' etc. (2 S 12^{31}, and with slight variations 1 Ch 20^3). By 'harrows of iron' it has been usual to understand—following the LXX *ἐν τοῖς τριβόλοις τοῖς σιδηροῖς*—the threshing-board or drag (חָרוּץ Am 1^3, Job 41^{22} [Eng.^{30}]) of the husbandman, with its under side set with nails and sharp flints (see AGRICULTURE, vol. i. p. 50^b). It is extremely doubtful, however, if this cruelty can be laid to David's charge. Almost all modern scholars are in favour of a rendering resembling that suggested in the margin of our RV. In this case the word rendered 'harrows,' which etymologically denotes a sharp instrument, may be the 'pick,' and the whole would read: 'he put them (to forced labour) with saws, and with picks, and axes of iron, and made them labour (reading הֶעֱבִיד for הֶעֱבִר) at the brick-mould.' (See Driver, *Text of Sam.* 226 ff.; Condamin, *Rev. Bibl.*, April 1898, p. 253 ff.).

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

HARSHA (חַרְשָׁא).—Eponym of a family of Nethinim (Ezr 2^{52}, Neh 7^{54}), called in 1 Es 5^{32} Charea. See GENEALOGY.

HARSITH (הַרְסִית *Ḳerê*, הַרְסוּת *Kethîbh*).—The name of a gate in Jerusalem (Jer 19^2 RV). RVm has 'the gate of potsherds,' *i.e.* where they were thrown out (*Oxf. Heb. Lex.*). AV deriving the word from חֶרֶס 'sun,' has 'the east gate,' AVm 'the sun gate.' LXX has B Θαρσεὶς, ℵ$^{c.a}$ Χαρσὶθ, AQ Χαρσεὶθ. This gate led into the Valley of Hinnom. See JERUSALEM.

HART (אַיָּל *'ayyâl*, ἔλαφος, *cervus*).—The Arab. *'îyyal* undoubtedly refers to the same animal. It is probably *Cervus Dama*, L., the true *fallow deer*, but not that of AV Dt 14^5, 1 K 4^{23}, which is a mistrⁿ of *yaḥmûr*, and should read *roebuck*. The fallow deer is found in Amanus, and is said by Tristram to exist also in the wooded region N.W. of Tabor, and by the Litany River. The present writer has not, however, been able to verify this statement. Hasselquist met with it on Mt. Tabor. It may have become extinct there only in recent times. It seems clear from the fact that it appeared daily upon Solomon's table (1 K 4^{23}), and from the freq. allusions to it in OT, that it was once abundant in Pal. and Syria. It is expressly mentioned as allowed for food (Dt $12^{15.\ 22}$ 15^{22} 14^5). Its power of leaping is noted (Is 35^6), esp. that of its fawn (Ca $2^{9.\ 17}$ 8^{14}). Its weakness when hungry is spoken of (La 1^6), as also its longing for water (Ps 42^1). The former passage certainly, and the latter prob., alludes to the chase.

---

* Roman writers regard harrowing *after* sowing as bad husbandry (see 'Agriculture' in Smith's *Dict. of Antiquities*).

The **Hind** (אַיָּלָה *'ayyâlâh*) is also freq. mentioned. Naphtali is compared to a 'hind let loose' (Gn 49^{21}, where, however, the text appears to be corrupt, see Ball's note in Haupt's *OT*). Her calving is alluded to (Job 39^1, Ps 29^9), and she is spoken of as deserting her young for lack of pasture (Jer 14^5). She is sure-footed (2 S 22^{34}, Ps 18^{33}, Hab 3^{19}). The tune **Hind of the Morning** (marg. title Ps 22 for *Aijeleth hash-Shahar*) may illustrate the early habits of the deer tribe in search of water and food. The writer has often seen gazelles, at break of day, feeding in the desert. G. E. POST.

HARUM (הָרֻם, but the vocalization is doubtful). —A Judahite, 1 Ch 4^8. See GENEALOGY.

HARUMAPH (חֲרוּמַף, Ἑρωμάφ, Ἑρωμάθ B, Neh 3^{10}). —Jedaiah, the son of H., assisted in repairing the walls of Jerus. under Nehemiah.

HARUPHITE.—1 Ch 12^5. See HARIPH.

HARUZ (חָרוּץ, perhaps 'keen' or 'diligent'; Ἁρούς BA Luc.)—Father of Meshullemeth, mother of Amon king of Judah (2 K 21^{19}).

HARVEST.—See AGRICULTURE and VINTAGE.

HASADIAH (חֲסַדְיָה 'J" is kind').—A son of Zerubbabel, 1 Ch 3^{20}. The Gr. form **Asadias** occurs in Bar 1^1. See GENEALOGY.

HASHABIAH (חֲשַׁבְיָה).—**1. 2.** Two Levites of the sons of Merari, 1 Ch 6^{45} 9^{14}, Neh 11^{15}. **3.** One of the sons of Jeduthun, 1 Ch 25^3. **4.** A Hebronite, 1 Ch 26^{30}. **5.** The 'ruler' of the Levites, 1 Ch 27^{17}. **6.** A chief of the Levites in the time of Josiah, 2 Ch 35^9, called in 1 Es 1^9 **Sabias**. **7.** One of the Levites who were induced to return under Ezra, Ezr 8^{19}, called in 1 Es 8^{48} **Asebias**. **8.** One of the twelve priests entrusted with the holy vessels, Ezr 8^{24}, called in 1 Es 8^{54} **Assamias**. **9.** The 'ruler of half the district of Keilah,' who helped to repair the wall, Neh 3^{17}, and sealed the covenant, Neh 10^{11} $12^{24.\ 26}$. **10.** A Levite, Neh 11^{22}. **11.** A priest, Neh 12^{21}. In all probability these eleven are not all distinct, but we have not sufficient data to enable us to effect the necessary reduction of the list. See GENEALOGY.

HASHABNAH (חֲשַׁבְנָה for חֲשַׁבְיָה?).—One of those who sealed the covenant (Neh 10^{25} [Heb.^{26}]).

HASHABNEIAH (חֲשַׁבְנְיָה for חֲשַׁבְיָה?).—**1.** Father of a builder of the wall (Neh 3^{10}). **2.** A Levite, Neh 9^5 = Hashabiah of Ezr $8^{19.\ 24}$, Neh 10^{11} 11^{22} 12^{24}. See GENEALOGY.

HASHBADDANAH (חַשְׁבַּדָּנָה). — One of the men, probably Levites, who stood on the left hand of Ezra at the reading of the law (Neh 8^4). In 1 Es 9^{44} Nabarias.

HASHEM.—See GIZONITE, JASHEN.

HASHMANNIM.—See PSALMS.

HASHMONAH (חַשְׁמֹנָה).—A station in the journeyings of the Israelites, mentioned only Nu $33^{29.\ 30}$. The LXX reading (Σελμωνά, Ἀσελμωνά, AF) appears to confuse this station with the Zalmonah of v.^{41}.

HASHUBAH (חֲשֻׁבָה 'consideration').—A son of Zerubbabel, 1 Ch 3^{20}. See GENEALOGY.

HASHUM (חָשֻׁם).—**1.** The eponym of a family of returning exiles (Ezr 2^{19} 10^{33}, Neh 7^{22} 10^{18}), called in 1 Es 9^{33} Asom. **2.** One of those who stood on Ezra's left hand at the reading of the law (Neh 8^4). In 1 Es 9^{44} Lothasubus. See GENEALOGY.

HASIDÆANS (חֲסִידִים from חָסִיד 'pious,' in the sense of active love to God [Cheyne, *Ps.* 378], or because piety is supposed to be implied by kindness [*Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*]; grecized into Ἀσιδαῖοι) occurs in three passages in the Apocr. 1 Mac 2^{42} (A) speaks of a company Ἀσιδαίων (some important MSS read Ἰουδαίων), and describes them as devoted to the law. 1 Mac $7^{12.\ 13}$ associates them with 'a company of scribes,' who were satisfied that Alcimus should be high priest because of his Aaronic descent. 2 Mac 14^6 confounds them with the Hasmonæans (which see), whom, however, they did not always support (see 1 Mac 7^{10-14}). But, though not mentioned elsewhere by name, their beliefs and practice are shown in such passages as 1 Mac 1^{63} 2^{34}, 2 Mac $6^{18\text{ff.}}$ 7^{10-12}, Jth 12^2; Jos. *Ant.* XIV. iv. 3. They were not a political but a religious party, composing the inner circle of the strictest legalists, and indisposed to interfere in civil government except in defence of Mosaism. They were not the progenitors of the Essenes, from whom they differed on the crucial question of sacrifice, but of the Pharisees, with whose rise their name as that of a party disappears (Wellhausen, *Phar. und Sadd.* 76 ff.; less correctly, Hamburger, *RE* ii. 132–137, 1038–1059). The name occurs in OT frequently, but it is not yet proved that it is used in a technical sense, even in Ps 116^{15} $149^{5.\ 9}$. In later Jewish literature the word denotes a rigid observer of the law (*Berachoth* v. 1; *Chagigah* ii. 7; *Sotah* iii. 4; *Aboth* ii. 10; *Niddah* 17*a*); but it was not until more recent times that its use strictly as the name of a special sect, rather than as descriptive of the habits of the extreme members of a larger party, was revived. R. W. MOSS.

HASMONÆAN, the family name of the Maccabees. It occurs in Jos. [who claimed (*Ant.* XVI. vii. 1) alliance with the family], under the forms of Ἀσαμωναῖοι and Ἀσσαμωναῖοι, and is derived from the name of an ancestor Ἀσαμωναῖος, who is represented as the great-grandfather of Mattathias (*ib.* XII. vi. 1). In the Talm. the family appears as בְּנֵי חַשְׁמוֹנָאִי (*Middoth*, i. 6), and as בֵּית ח׳ (*Sabb.* 21^b; also Targ. Jonathan to 1 S 2^4). The original ancestor חַשְׁמָן is not otherwise known; but his name is connected with חַשְׁמוֹן 'fruitfulness' by Füerst, with חָסַם in the sense of 'to temper steel' by Herzfeld, and with חַשְׁמַנִּים 'opulent' (Ps 68^{32} [Eng. ^{31}]) by Ewald and others. The last suggestion is most probable, but is not unlikely to give way before Wellhausen's conjecture (*Pharisäer* etc. 94) that τοῦ Συμεών of 1 Mac 2^1 is a misrendering of בֶּן חַשְׁמָן. That would explain the apparent absence of allusion to Ḥashmon in 1 Mac, and make him the grandfather of Mattathias. The exploits of Judas caused the family to be afterwards generally known as the Maccabees; but this designation does not once occur in old Heb. literature. Hasmonæan or Hasmunæan is found in its stead, and can hardly have been entirely excluded from the Heb. or Aram. original of 1 Mac. R. W. Moss.

HASRAH.—See Harhas.

HASSENAAH (הַסְּנָאָה).—The sons of H. built the fish-gate (Neh 3^{3}). Their name, which is prob. the same as Hassenuah (wh. see), seems to be derived from some place *Senaah* (cf. Ezr 2^{35}, Neh 7^{38}, and Berth.-Ryssel, *ad loc.*).

HASSENUAH (הַסְּנֻאָה).—A family name found in two different connexions in the two lists of Benjamite inhabitants of Jerus., 1 Ch 9^{7}, Neh 11^{9}.

HASSHUB (חַשּׁוּב 'considerate').—**1. 2.** Two builders of the wall, Neh $3^{11.\ 23}$. **3.** One of those who signed the covenant, Neh 10^{23} [Heb.^{24}]. **4.** A Levite of the sons of Merari, 1 Ch 9^{14}, Neh 11^{15}.

HASTE.—The verb 'to haste' is used transitively in Ex 5^{13} 'And the taskmasters hasted them, saying, Fulfil your works' (RV 'were urgent'); Is 16^{5} 'And in mercy shall the throne be established; and he shall sit upon it in truth in the tabernacle of David, judging, and seeking judgment, and hasting righteousness' (RV 'swift to do righteousness'); 1 Es 1^{27} 'the Lord is with me hasting me forward'; and 2 Mac 9^{7} 'commanding to haste the journey.' So in Wyc., as Pr 13^{12} 'Substaunce hastid shal be lassid [=lessened]'; and in Shaks., as *I Henry IV.* III. i. 143, 'I'll haste the writer'; and *Romeo*, IV. i. 11—

> 'Now, sir, her father counts it dangerous,
> That she doth give her sorrow so much sway,
> And in his wisdom hastes our marriage,
> To stop the inundation of her tears.'

The intrans. sense is more common, as 1 S 20^{38} 'And Jonathan cried after the lad, Make speed, haste, stay not.' Cf. Is 26^{9} Cov. 'My soule lusteth after the all the night longe, and my mynde haisteth frely to the.' And the reflexive use is not infrequent, as Gn 19^{22} 'Haste thee, escape thither.'

J. Hastings.

HASUPHA (חֲשׂוּפָא Ezr 2^{43}, חֲשֻׂפָא Neh 7^{46}, where AV inaccurately gives **Hashupha**).—The head of a family of Nethinim who returned with Zerub., called in 1 Es 5^{29} Asipha. See Genealogy.

HAT.—Hats are mentioned once in AV, but it is quite certain that this is a mistranslation. When Shadrach, Meshech, and Abed-nego were about to be cast into the fiery furnace, they were 'bound in their coats, their hosen, and their hats' (RV 'their hosen, their tunics, and their mantles'). The Aram. is כַּרְבְּלָתְהוֹן, from which comes the denom. vb. כַּרְבֵּל (Pual ptcp. מְכֻרְבָּל), which coupled with מְעִיל is used of David in 1 Ch 15^{27} as 'clothed with a robe of fine linen.' The RV 'mantle' in Dn 3^{21} is probably as nearly accurate a tr^{n} of כַּרְבְּלָא as one could suggest, although Marti favours the meaning 'cap' =Assyr. *karballattu*, a word which, however, Zehnpfund (*Beiträge z. Assyriologie*, ii. 535) contends itself means 'Kriegs[?]-mantel,' 'war-cloak.' See *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.* [כרבל]. J. A. Selbie.

HATHACH (הֲתָךְ, Ἀχραθαῖος, Est $4^{5.\ 6.\ 9.\ 10}$, AV **Hatach**).—A eunuch appointed by the king to attend on queen Esther. By his means Esther learnt from Mordecai the details of Haman's plot against the Jews.

HATHATH (חֲתַת 'terror').—A son of Othniel, 1 Ch 4^{13}. See Genealogy.

HATIPHA (חֲטִיפָא).—Eponym of a family of Nethinim (Ezr 2^{54}, Neh 7^{56}), called in 1 Es 5^{32} Atipha. See Genealogy.

HATITA (חֲטִיטָא, cf. Aram. חֲטַט 'to dig').—Eponym of a guild of porters (Ezr 2^{42}, Neh 7^{45}), called in 1 Es 5^{28} Ateta.

HATRED.—The actual word 'hatred' is seldom found in the Bible. In the OT it represents three different words, two of which (אֵיבָה and מַשְׂטֵמָה occurring four times) mean more precisely 'enmity' (as of one nation towards another), and are so rendered by RV (Ezk 25^{15} 35^{5}, Hos $9^{7.\ 8}$), while the other (שִׂנְאָה which occurs thirteen times) denotes the opposite of love (with which it is explicitly contrasted, Ps 109^{5}, Pr 10^{12} 15^{7}, cf. Ps 97^{10}). In all the cases in which they occur, the words have a personal significance, and express human feelings—the absence of sympathy and love and kindly sentiments, or the state of active ill-will, on the part of men towards men. In NT the word is found once only (ἔχθραι, lit. 'enmities,' so RV) in one of the lists of vices given by St. Paul (Gal 5^{20}).

The verbs, however, which have the meaning 'hate' are frequent both in OT and NT in various connexions. In OT שָׂטַן 'oppose,' corresponding to 'enmity,' occurs five times (in three of wh. instances RV renders 'persecute,' Gn 49^{23}, Job 16^{9}, Ps 55^{3}), always of personal animosity against a person. Far more frequent is שָׂנֵא, of which the Eng. 'hate' is the closest equivalent. It may be said to be used both in a good sense and in a bad sense, when the feeling denoted is praiseworthy and when it is not. It occurs about 125 times, and in three cases out of four it is used in a bad sense. In about half the full number of instances the objects of hatred are persons, men or women; twelve times it is God himself who is 'hated' (*e.g.* Ex 20^{5} ‖ Dt 5^{9}); only some ten times when the word is used in a bad sense is the object not a person but a principle (*e.g.* Job 34^{17}, Ps 50^{17}, Pr $1^{22.\ 29}$). Of the comparatively few cases in which the word is used in a good sense the allusion is in half the number to the divine hatred of evil and sin, God being represented as personally hating evil persons or things, either directly or through his chosen spokesman (Dt 12^{31} 16^{22}, Ps 5^{5} 11^{5}, Pr 6^{16}, Is 1^{14} 61^{8}, Jer 12^{8} 44^{4}, Am 5^{21} 6^{8}, Hos 9^{15}, Zec 8^{17}, Mal 1^{3} 2^{16}). In the remaining cases it is used of men's dislike of and aversion from things (*e.g.* Ex 18^{21}, Ps 45^{7} 119^{104}) or persons (Ps 26^{5} 31^{6}) which have an evil character. In a few passages in the later books of the OT there is a special usage similar to that which is found in some cases in the NT (*e.g.* Lk 14^{26}, Mt 6^{24}) to express as forcibly as possible aversion from or disregard of the interests or claims of one thing relatively to those of another (Pr 13^{24} 29^{24}, Ec $2^{17.\ 18}$).

In NT the reference (the Gr. is μισέω) is in a large majority of instances (two-thirds of the whole) to malicious and unjustifiable feelings on the part of the wicked towards persons who have not deserved evil. In half the remaining instances the word is used of a right feeling of aversion from that which is evil (Ro 7^{15}, He 1^{9}, Jude ^{23}, Rev $2^{6.\ 15}$, 17^{16}); in the others the expression is somewhat hyperbolical, the context denoting relative preference of one thing over another (Mt 6^{24} ‖ Lk 16^{13}, Lk 14^{26}, Jn 3^{20} 12^{25}, Eph 5^{29}).

These passages taken together reveal a clear difference in ethical standpoint between OT and NT, such indeed as is suggested by the saying of Jesus, 'Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you, Love your enemies . . .' (Mt $5^{43f.}$). The 'imprecatory' psalms show plainly that there was under the old covenant no sense of incongruity in appealing to God for aid in carrying out the fiercest hatred, in executing vengeance on an enemy. There are cases, no doubt, where the psalmist rises above mere personal animosity, and has in view the enemies of Israel and therefore of Israel's God; but the standard is not always at the height it reaches in the cry, 'Do not I hate them, O Lord, that hate thee?' (Ps 139^{21}), and 'There is no peace, saith my God, to the wicked' (Is 57^{21}). See PSALMS.

The teaching of Christ leaves hatred of evil alone admissible. St. John's strong assertion, 'Whosoever hateth his brother is a murderer' (1 Jn 3^{15}), is a true comment on the spirit of Christian ethics. The dominant principle of brotherly love, the brotherhood of mankind, is to control all the relations of life. Every thought of self, every personal consideration, all sense of personal injury, must be eliminated. 'Love your enemies . . . and pray for them which despitefully use you,' excludes the possibility of personal hatred; sin must never be resented as a personal wrong, with a personal feeling against the offender. To bear malice, to wish for evil towards a fellow-creature, to close our sympathies against him,—this in the teaching of Christ (and the interpretation of St. John) is to be guilty of spiritual murder. The real sin is the inward disposition, the wish, the purpose of evil; the act is only the outward show of it (cf. Mt 15$^{11.17\text{-}20}$ 10^{28}). On the other hand, hatred of sin and evil in all its forms—evil, because it is evil and opposed to the purpose of God—is a necessary corollary of all the great principles of the Gospel of Love.

J. F. BETHUNE-BAKER.

HATTIL (חַטִּיל, cf. Arab. *ḥatila* 'to be quivering').—Eponym of a family of 'the children of Solomon's servants' (Ezr 2^{57}, Neh 7^{59}), called in 1 Es 5^{34} Agia. See GENEALOGY.

HATTUSH (חַטּוּשׁ).—**1.** A priestly family, which appears among those 'that went up with Zerubbabel,' Neh 12^{2}; and at the signing of the covenant, Neh 10^{4} [Heb.^{5}]. **2.** A descendant of David, who returned with Ezra from Babylon, Ezr 8^{2} (read with 1 Es 8^{29} 'of the sons of David, Hattush the son of Shecaniah'); see also 1 Ch 3^{22} (but if we accept the LXX reading here, a younger Hattush must be meant). **3.** A builder at the wall of Jerus., Neh 3^{10}. See GENEALOGY. H. A. WHITE.

HAUNT.—To haunt is in older English simply to frequent, to make one's stay, be familiar with, and conveys no reproach. Thus Jn 3^{22} Tind. 'After these thinges cam Jesus and his disciples into the Jewes londe, and ther he haunted with them and baptised' (διέτριβε, AV 'tarried'); 11^{54} Tind. 'Jesus therfore . . . went his waye . . . into a cite called Ephraim, and there haunted with his disciples' (διέτριβε, AV 'continued'); Rutherford, *Letters* (No. 1), 'I trust you will acquaint her with good company, and be diligent to know with whom she loveth to haunt.' So in AV, 1 S 30^{31} 'to all the places where David himself and his men were wont to haunt' (אֲשֶׁר־הִתְהַלֶּךְ־שָׁם); Ezk 26^{17} 'the renowned city, which wast strong in the sea, she and her inhabitants, which cause their terror to be on all that haunt it!' (לְכָל־יוֹשְׁבֶיהָ, RVm 'on all that inhabited her'); and the subst. in 1 S 23^{22} 'Go, I pray you, prepare yet, and know and see his place where his haunt is' (רַגְלוֹ, lit. 'his foot' as AVm and RVm). J. HASTINGS.

HAURAN (Αὐράνος, 2 Mac 4^{40}), described as a man 'far gone in years and no less also in madness.' At the head of a large body of armed men he endeavoured to suppress a tumult in Jerusalem provoked by the continued sacrileges of Lysimachus, brother of the apostate high priest Menelaus. Some MSS and the Vulg. support the reading *Tyrannus*, but the more familiar name is less likely to have been altered by copyists.

H. A. WHITE.

HAURAN (חַוְרָן; for various conjectures as to meaning, see *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*; Αὐρανῖτις; Arab. حَوْرَانُ, or in common speech *el-Ḥaurân*.—This was the name given, with varying definition of boundaries, to a tract of land E. of the Jordan, N. of Gilead, extending E. to the desert. In Ezk 47$^{16.18}$ the Jordan is made the border-line between Haurân, Damascus, and Gilead on the one hand, and the Land of Israel on the other. Haurân is there the whole district between Damascus and Gilead, from the lip of the Jordan Valley eastward. This practically corresponds with the province under the Turkish governor of Haurân to-day, whose seat is in el-Merkez, and whose jurisdiction includes Jedûr, Jaulân, and part of the hill-country south of the Jarmuk, as well as the region now specially called Haurân.

A series of beautiful cone-like hills, extinct volcanoes all, runs southward from the roots of Gt. Hermon, through Jedûr and Jaulân. Almost parallel with these, along the edge of the desert eastward, stands the great basaltic dyke, known at different times as Mons Asaldamus, Jebel Haurân, and Jebel ed-Druze. Between these two ranges lies a vast hollow, about 45 miles in breadth. In length, from Jebel el-Aswad in the N. to the bank of the Jarmuk in the S., it is nearly 50 miles; while away to the S.E. it runs out into the open desert. If we derive the name from *hawr*, a 'hollow,' with the place-ending *ân*, it may very well have applied to this gigantic vale.

The natives now say that Haurân consists of three parts, viz. en-Nukrah, el-Lejâ, and el-Jebel. These are clearly defined districts. (1) En-Nukrah, 'the cavity,' lies between the range of ez-Zumleh on the S.W., the slopes of Jaulân to westward, the volcanic fields of el-Lejâ on the N., and Jebel ed-Druze on the E. The wide reaches forming the floor of the hollow are rich, and fairly cultivated. This is the great grain-growing tract E. of Jordan. The elevation of the plain is from 1500 to 2000 ft. above sea-level. (2) El-Lejâ may be roughly described as a triangle, about 24 miles in length, with a base line of about 20 miles in the S., the apex being at Burak in the N. It is composed entirely of cooled lava, which is thrown about in the most grotesque and fantastic forms. The general aspect is dark, stern, forbidding. Soil is scanty, and but indifferently tilled. There are a few springs, but for the most part the inhabitants depend upon rain water, collected in cisterns or natural cavities in the rock. Great tracts to the N.E., owing to lack of water, are left absolutely tenantless during the summer months. The borders, where the lava waves drop to meet the emerald of the surrounding plain, are so distinctly marked that many have supposed this must be the *ḥebel 'Argob*—'the measured lot of Argob' of Dt 3$^{4.13.14}$, 1 K 4^{13} (but see ARGOB). The handful of peasants in the western parts are completely at the mercy of the Arabs of el-Lejâ', of whom a local proverb asserts that 'greater rascals do not exist.' The Druzes hold the district to the S.E. The name *el-Lejâ'*, 'the asylum,' or 'refuge,' signifies the use to which the place is often put. The present writer has met, in the heart of el-Lejâ, men who had been charged with various offences in Mt. Lebanon and elsewhere, who, as soon as they passed the rocky ramparts round the borders, felt perfectly safe from the officers of the law. (3) El-Jebel is, of course, the great range which bounds the eastward view, of which el-Kuleib, 5730 ft. high, and

Salchad, with its mighty fortress crowning the southern heights, are the most outstanding features. The range effectually guards the fertile reaches to westward against the encroachment of the desert sands. The mountain is referred to in the Mishna as 'Mount Haurân,' one of the stations whence flashed the fire-signals announcing the advent of the new year (*Rosh hash-Shanah*, ii. 4). The name Jebel Haurân is now interchangeable with Jebel ed-Druze. After the terrible massacres of 1860, many Druze families moved eastward, occupied the S.E. district of el-Lejâ', and became masters of the greater part of the mountain. The inaccessible nature of the country gives them a great advantage over any attacking force. Until recent years their submission to the Turkish Government has been hardly more than nominal. With the exception of the clumps of trees around Sheikh Sa'ad, the reputed home of Job, and el-Merkez, the plain is treeless. In el-Lejâ, here and there, are a few stunted shrubs. The mountain is well wooded, and fruitful vineyards cling to many of the slopes.

Materials for the history of Haurân are very scanty, and do not go beyond the 1st cent. B.C. Towards the end of his reign Alexander Jannæus brought the western part of Haurân under his dominion; but eastward, Aretas the Arabian, or rather Nabatæan, held sway. The Nabatæans were driven southward by the Romans B.C. 64, but continued to hold Bozrah and Salchad. Herod the Great, succeeding to the government, did much to hold in check the lawless bands who infested the province, and indulged his taste for temple building. The oldest Greek inscription in these parts was found in a ruined temple at Sî'a, near Kanawât, on the pedestal of a statue erected to him during his lifetime. Under his son Philip a period of great prosperity seems to have been enjoyed. On Philip's death, after an interval of 3 years, Herod Agrippa received the province from Caligula. In an inscription found at Kanawât, he speaks of the inhabitants 'dwelling in caves like wild beasts' (Waddington, 2329*a*). Agrippa died in A.D. 44, and for 9 years the province was administered by the Romans. Then Claudius gave it to Agrippa II., who died A.D. 100, when the region was finally associated with the Roman province of Syria. In A.D. 106 the Nabatæans were at last reduced, and the province of Arabia constituted. The capital of the new province was Bozrah, which city is so closely identified with Haurân that an ancient proverb says, 'the prosperity of Bozrah is the prosperity of Haurân.'

Under the Romans civilization advanced, and, as evidenced by the remains of churches and inscriptions, Christianity made rapid progress. In A.D. 632 the Moslem hordes from Arabia burst over the province like a tornado, and the blight swiftly fell, which lies heavy on the land to-day. The latest notice of a Christian building is an inscription found by the present writer at el-Kufr, which records the foundation of a church in A.D. 720 (see *PEFSt*, July 1895, Inscrip. No. 150). Of the cities whose dark ruins are so numerous throughout the region, none can be said with certainty to date beyond the Roman period; although several, such as Kanawât and Bozrah, evidently occupy ancient sites. Many houses, built entirely—both walls and roof—of basalt, the heavy doors and window shutters of the same durable material, still easily swinging on their stone hinges, stand to-day almost as complete as when, centuries ago, their last tenants departed. The underground dwellings for which the district is noted doubtless belong to a much more remote antiquity. The crumbling villages that dot the plain and stud the mountain slopes are nearly all built of materials taken from neighbouring ruins. They have yielded a fine harvest of inscriptions, relating chiefly to the earlier centuries of our era. The rude builders, ignorant of the value attaching to these remains, have destroyed much. Thus it comes that 'written stones,' carved capitals, and bits of sculpture, memorials of a great and splendid past, may now so often be found amid surroundings of squalor and decay.

LITERATURE. — Wetzstein, *Reisebericht über den Haurân* (1860); Delitzsch, *Hiob*^{2} 597 ff.; Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.* 195 ff.; Schumacher, *Across the Jordan*; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 552 f., 609 ff.; Buhl, *GAP* (Index); Schürer, *HJP* (Index, *s.* 'Auranitis').

W. EWING.

HAVE.—Although 'have,' both as auxiliary and as finite verb, is used in many archaic expressions in AV, its meaning is nearly always obvious, and its obsolete uses are few. The foll. examples may be given:—

1. To have, as a finite verb, is to possess, as Lk 8^{27} 'there met him out of the city a certain man, which had devils long time' (ὃς εἶχε, edd. ἔχων); 2 Co 1^9 'But we had the sentence of death in ourselves' (ἐσχήκαμεν, RV 'yea, we ourselves have had the answer of death within ourselves').

2. Have, followed by some subst., has the force of the verb corresponding to the subst., as 'have indignation,' Mt 26^8, Mk 14^4 (cf. Lk 15^{28} Rhem. 'But he had indignation and would not go in'); 'have compassion,' Lk 15^{20}, He 10^{34}; 'have understanding,' Lk 1^3; 'have regard,' Ac 8^{11}; 'have knowledge,' Ac 17^{13}; 'have rejoicing,' Gal 6^4; 'have trial,' He 11^{36}. Cf. Ac 20^3 Rhem. 'he had councel to returne through Macedonia.'

3. Have is sometimes equivalent to 'hold,' as Ja 2^1 'My brethren, have not the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of glory, with respect of persons' (μὴ ἔχετε, RV 'hold not'); Ac 25^{26} 'Wherefore I have brought him forth before you . . . that, after examination had, I might have somewhat to write' (τῆς ἀνακρίσεως γενομένης). So 'have in abomination,' Lv 11^{11}, 1 S 13^4; 'have in derision,' Ps 119^{51}, Ezk 23^{32}, 1 Es 1^{51}, Wis 5^3; 'have in honour,' 2 S 6^{22}; 'have in remembrance,' Ac 10^{31}; 'have in reputation,' Ac 5^{34}; 'have in reverence,' Ps 89^7. Cf. He 13^4 Tind. 'Let wedlocke be had in pryce in all poyntes'; North's *Plutarch*, p. 876, '[Cicero] scorned and disdained all Pompeys preparations and counsels, the which indeed made him to be had in iealousie and suspition'; Ridley, *Brefe Declaration* (Moule's ed. p. 163), 'For all the churche of Christ bothe hathe and ever hathe hadde hym [Augustine] for a man of most singular learnyng, witte, and diligence.'

4. Have has sometimes the meaning of 'carry' or 'take,' as 2 Ch 35^{23} 'And the king said to his servants, Have me away; for I am sore wounded' (הַעֲבִירוּנִי); 2 K 11^{15}, 2 Ch 23^{14} 'Have her forth without the ranges' (הוֹצִיאוּ אֹתָהּ); 2 S 13^9 'Have out all men from me' (הוֹצִיאוּ). Cf. Is 53^8 'He shal be had awaye, his cause not herde, and without eny judgment'; Jn 2^{16} Tind. 'Have these thinges hence, and make not my fathers housse an housse of marchaundyse.' So Knox, *Hist.* 151, 'who being slain, was had to the Queen's presence'; Adams, *Works*, i. 65, 'Herefore they bequeath so great sums for masses and dirges and trentals to be sung or said for them after they are dead, that their souls may at the last be had to heaven, though first for a while they be reezed in purgatory.'

5. Such phrases may be noticed as, 'Have in one's heart to,' 1 Ch 28^2 (cf. Ph 1^7 'I have you in my heart'); 'I would have you without carefulness,' 1 Co 7^{32}; 'I would not have you ignorant,' 2 Co 1^8; 'Who will have all men to be saved,' 1 Ti 2^4 (ὃς θέλει, RV 'Who willeth that all men should be saved'). Cf. Jn 21^{22} Tind. 'Yf I will

have him to tary tyll I come, what is that to the?'

6. As a grammatical point observe 'had' not only for 'would have' (as Gn 43^{10}, Lk 24^{21}), but for 'would' alone, Ps 84^{10} 'I had rather be a door-keeper in the house of my God, than to dwell in the tents of wickedness.' The Revisers have been taken to task (Moon, *Revisers' English*, p. 135; *Eccles. English*, p. 190) for accepting this construction from AV. No doubt 'I would rather' is more grammatical, but 'I had rather' has the best authority and is still in use. Cf. T. Fuller, *Holy State*, ii. 16, p. 109, 'Some men had as lieve be schoolboyes as Schoolmasters, to be tyed to the school as Cooper's Dictionary and Scapula's Lexicon are chained to the desk therein.' Again, such a form as we find in He 11^{15} 'They might have had opportunity to have returned' is now reckoned ungrammatical. It is common in Shaks., as *Hamlet*, V. i. 268—

> 'I hoped thou shouldst have been my Hamlet's wife;
> I thought thy bride-bed to have deck'd, sweet maid.'

So *Merry Wives*, IV. v. 41—

> 'I had other things to have spoken with her.'

See Abbott, *Shaks. Gram.* § 360. RV has the modern form, 'they would have had opportunity to return.'

J. HASTINGS.

HAVEN.—1. חוֹף, properly 'coast,' 'strand,' from [חָפַף] 'enclose,' 'surround.' This word is rendered 'haven' by AV and RV in Gn $49^{13\ bis}$, and by RV in Jg 5^{17} (AV 'shore'). Its only other occurrences are Dt 1^{7} [AV '(sea)side,' RV '(sea)shore'], Jos 9^{1} [AV 'coasts (of the sea'), RV 'shore (of the sea')], Jer 47^{7}, Ezk 25^{16} [AV and RV '(sea)shore']. 2. מָחוֹז Ps 107^{30} (only). 3. λιμήν, Ac $27^{8.\ 12}$.

Havens are seldom mentioned in the Bible, probably for the reason that Palestine proper scarcely possesses any **harbours**, and the Israelites were not a maritime nation. The harbours in OT times on the Mediterranean coast were in possession of the Phœnicians and the Philistines (see GREAT SEA); and as regards that of Ezion-geber, at the head of the Gulf of 'Aḳabah (or Ælanitic Gulf), it was only for a short period in possession of the kings of Israel, notably in the reign of Solomon (1 K 9^{26}). The earliest mention of the word 'haven' (Gn 49^{13}) is in connexion with the blessings pronounced by Jacob on the future tribes, where it is said of Zebulun that he 'should dwell at the haven of the sea, and that he should be for an haven of ships, and his border (should reach) unto Zidon.' It is doubtful if, in the distribution of the Promised Land, the tribe of Zebulun actually touched the coast, though it reached as far west as Mount Carmel. From the port of Accho (Acre) the tribe was debarred by the predominating power of the Phœnician Sidonians, who in the time of the Judges 'oppressed Israel' (Jg 10^{12}); but it is a fair supposition that the terms of Jacob's Blessing point to the importance of the Bay of Acre as the future 'Key of Syria,'[*] and express the desire that it should come into the possession of Zebulun.

Next in importance and sequence of time to Sidon was the seaport of Tyre, situated about 20 miles S. of Sidon, and, like it, having a double harbour to the N. and S. of the promontory, which jutted out from the coast and terminated in a ridge of coralline rock. It was one of several islets lying at some distance from the shore. Only the events connected with the biblical history of Tyre and Sidon can here be referred to.[†] In the time of Solomon, Tyre had reached a high state of eminence under Hiram, who rendered assistance to Solomon in the building of the temple (1 K 5) and in supplying sailors for the fleet built at Ezion-geber, which traded to Ophir for gold (1 K 9^{26}). (See RED SEA). In NT history these cities are memorable for the visit of our Lord to their neighbourhood (Mt 15^{21}), and the miracle of healing in the case of the daughter of the Syrophœnician woman (Mk 7^{25}). But the glories of Tyre and Sidon have long since departed. In the height of their prosperity these Phœnician cities were centres of cruelty, licentiousness, and idolatry, which sealed their doom. When Alexander captured Tyre, the population of the city appears to have been about 40,000 souls; it is now a miserable fishing village with about a tenth of that number of inhabitants. The prophecies of Ezekiel have been literally fulfilled in the present state of these once flourishing cities (Ezk 26^{12} 27^{32}).

The **Fair Havens** (wh. see) are of interest in connexion with the voyage of St. Paul to Italy (Ac 27^{12}), and their position has been clearly determined; the name being preserved in the present *Kaloi Limenes.*[*] They consist of two contiguous roadsteads on the S. side of the island of Crete (Kandia), about 5 m. E. of Cape Matala (Theodia), and not far from the city of Lasca, of which they were the ports. In this position ships were secure against winds from the N.E., such as 'Euraquilo,' which burst upon the ship carrying the apostle at a later period of his voyage after leaving the island.[†]

E. HULL.

HAVILAH (חֲוִילָה, Εὐειλάτ, Εὐειλά, *Hevila*).—A son of Cush according to Gn 10^{7}, 1 Ch 1^{9}, of Joktan according to Gn 10^{29}, 1 Ch 1^{23}. In Gn $2^{11.\ 12}$ the Pison is said to compass the land of H., where there was gold, bdellium, and 'the *shōham*-stone,' while in Gn 25^{18} the Ishmaelite tribes are described as extending 'from Havilah unto Shur,' the eastern frontier of Egypt, and in 1 S 15^{7} Saul is stated to have smitten the Amalekites or Bedawîn from Havilah (but here Glaser, *Skizze*, ii. 326, would read *Hachilah*) to Shur. H. will thus be the 'sandy' desert of N. Arabia extending from the Joktanite district of Ophir on the Persian Gulf to the neighbourhood of Edom. Glaser identifies it with Jemâma in N.E. Arabia, but its western boundary will have been nearer the Shur or 'Fortified Lines' of Egypt. The *shōham*-stone which came from it was perhaps the Assyrian *samtu*, which seems to have been the malachite or turquoise. At an early period the Arabian tribes made their way across the Red Sea to the opposite coast of Africa; hence H. is included among the descendants of Cush. The name of the Cushite Havilah is possibly preserved in the classical Aualis, now Zeila' in Somâli-land. A district of Khaulân (Ḥaulân) is mentioned in the inscriptions of S. Arabia; this is either Khaulân in Tihâmah, between Mecca and San'a, or another Khaulân S.E. of San'a. Niebuhr further found a Ḥuwailah on the Persian Gulf. The name, in fact, was widely spread in Arabia, and Yakut states that Ḥawîl was the name of a dialect spoken by the people of Mehri in the east of Hadramaut. The Mehri is the modern representative of the language of the Sabæan inscriptions.

LITERATURE.—Dillmann, *Genesis*, Eng. tr. i. 129 f.; Glaser, *Skizze*, ii. 323 ff.; E. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alterthums*, i. 224; Sayce, *HCM* 98 ff.; papers in the *Expos. Times*, viii. (1897), 378, 431 f., 473, 525, by Hommel, Cheyne, and Nestle.

A. H. SAYCE.

---

[*] Rawlinson, *Hist. Phœn.* 83, 407; Conder, *Tent-Work in Pal.* 95.

[†] For charts of Tyre and Sidon, see Rawlinson, *Phœnicia*, pp. 66, 71.

[*] Smith of Jordanhill, *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*^{2}, 1856; Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, ch. xiv.

[†] The storm was probably an anticyclone, which at first drove the ship in the direction of the Syrtes, but afterwards carried it, by its rotatory motion, northwards into that part of the Mediterranean called 'Adria,' now known as the Ionian Sea.

HAVVOTH-JAIR (חַוֺּת יָאִיר, *i.e.* 'the tent-villages* of Jair').—A group of towns in Gilead, in the territory that was reckoned to the half-tribe of Manasseh. In Dt 3^{14} and Jos 13^{30} (both D^2) the Ḥavvoth-Jair are improperly located in *Bashan*, and in the latter passage they appear also to be confounded with the sixty fortresses of the Argob from which they are expressly distinguished in 1 K 4^{13}. Unsuccessful attempts have been made by Keil and others to harmonize the statements of D^2 with the testimony of JE (Nu 32^{39-41}, corroborated by Jg 10^4, 1 K 4^{13}, 1 Ch 2^{22}) that the Ḥavvoth-Jair were situated in *Gilead*. Varying explanations of the origin of the name are offered in OT. While in Nu 32^{41} and Dt 3^{14} Jair is a contemporary of Moses, in Jg 10^4 he is one of the judges. This variety of statement corresponds to the different OT traditions as to the settlement of the territory E. of the Jordan. The oldest narratives of the Hex. know of only *two* trans-Jordanic tribes, Reuben and Gad. (Compare Nu 32^{1-32} with vv.$^{33.\ 39-42}$). Even in the Song of Deborah (Jg 5^{14}) Machir is still one of the W. tribes, and only at a much later date became the designation of the Manassites in Gilead. This latter district, there is reason to believe, was really conquered from the *west*, after the occupation of Canaan proper. Hence in Jg 10^4 (which, however, is ethnographical rather than historical) there may be preserved the memory of an expedition led across the Jordan by Jair after the territory originally occupied by Manasseh had proved too small for that tribe. See further, JAIR.

LITERATURE.—Budde, *Richt. u. Sam.* 34, 38f., 87, 97; Kuenen, *Hex.* (Macmillan), 47, 101, 254; Wellhausen, *Comp.* 117, 218 n., *Hist. of Isr. and Jud.* 33 n.; Driver, *Deut.* 55 f.; Graf, *Der Stamm Simeon*, 4 f.; Moore, *Judges*, 274 f.; W. R. Smith, *RS*, 256 n.

J. A. SELBIE.

HAWK (נֵץ *nêẓ*, ἱέραξ, *accipiter*).—A generic word for birds of the hawk tribe. It probably includes all the species of the genera *Accipiter*, *Falco*, *Circus*, and *Pernis*, and perhaps *Buteo*, and excludes those of *Milvus* and *Elanus*, which have special names in Hebrew, *da'äh*, *dayyah*, and *'ayyâh* (see GLEDE, KITE). The following is a list of the hawks found in Palestine and Syria:—

1. *Accipiter nisus*, L., the *Sparrow Hawk* (Arabic *bâshiḳ*). It is common over the whole country. **2.** *A. brevipes*, Sev., the *Levant Sparrow Hawk*. It is much rarer than the last. It is recognized by its short thick tarsi. **3.** *Pernis apivorus*, L., the *Honey Buzzard*. It is one of the resident species, but is rather rare. **4.** *Falco peregrinus*, Tunst., the *Peregrine Falcon* (Arabic *Ṭair-el-ḥurr*). It is confined to the coast and western watershed of the mountains. **5.** *F. lanarius*, Schl., the *Lanner* (Arabic *shâhîn* and *ṣoḳr*). This is the most common of the large falcons, and is a permanent resident. It resorts more esp. to the deserts. It is trained by the natives for falconry. **6.** *F. Sacer*, Gmel., the *Saker Falcon* (Arabic *ṣoḳr*). It is confined to the upland forests E. of the Jordan. It is esteemed by the Arabs the finest of all the falcons, and the name of *Beni-Ṣoḳr*, one of the tribes E. of the Dead Sea, is derived from this species. **7.** *F. subbuteo*, L., the *Hobby*, is a summer visitor to Pal. **8.** *F. eleonoræ*, Gene., the *Eleonora Falcon*, is also a summer visitor only. Tristram found it only in the Buka' (Cœlesyria). **9.** *F. æsalon*, Tunst., the *Merlin*, is a winter visitor to Palestine. **10.** *F. vespertinus*, L., the *Red-legged Hobby*, is a rare summer visitor. **11.** *F. tinnunculus*, L., the *Kestrel* (Arabic *bâshiḳ*), is the commonest of all the hawks, and is universal throughout Pal. and Syria. **12.** *F. cenchris*, Cuv., the *Lesser Kestrel*, is a spring and summer visitor, but, on its arrival, consorts with the last. **13.** *Circus æruginеus*, L., the *Marsh Harrier* (Arab. *darîʽah*), is common over the marshes and plains. **14.** *C. cineraceus*, Mont., the *Ash-coloured Harrier*, is rare, but resident. **15.** *C. cyaneus*, L., the *Hen Harrier*, is also common. **16.** *C. Swainsonii*, Smith, the *Pallid Harrier*, is especially found along the coast. The plumage is almost white. **17.** *Buteo vulgaris*, Leach, the *Common Buzzard* (Arabic *'aḳâb*), may be the *Glede*. **18.** *B. ferox*, Gmel., the *Long-legged Buzzard* (Arab. *shâhîn*), is the largest of the hawk tribe, equalling in size some of the smaller eagles.

The above list amply justifies the expression 'after his kind' (Lv 11^{16}, Dt 14^{15}). It also justifies the expression in Job 39^{26}, where it is asked, 'Doth the hawk fly by thy wisdom, and stretch her wings toward the south?' if by this, as is generally thought, an allusion is intended to the migratory habits of some of the species. Some think, however, that the allusion is simply to the power of flight of all the hawks. No allusion to hunting with falcons is found in the Scriptures. All the birds of this tribe were unclean to the Hebrews.

G. E. POST.

HAY.—The word occurs three times in AV (Pr 27^{25} RV 'hay,' m. 'grass,' Is 15^6 RV 'grass,' 1 Co 3^{12}). In both the OT passages the Heb. is חָצִיר *ḥaẓîr*, which is rendered by the LXX in the first passage χλωρός, and in the second χόρτος. In 1 Co the orig. is χόρτος. There does not seem to be any good reason for the trⁿ *hay* in any of the above passages. The meaning is equally clear if the word be rendered *grass* (see GRASS). חֲשַׁשׁ *ḥăshash* has been thought by some to refer to *hay*. It corresponds to the Arabic *ḥăshîsh*, which signifies *weeds*, or *green fodder*. In Is 33^{11} it is rendered AV, RV 'chaff,' and in Is 5^{24} AV 'chaff,' but RV 'dry grass.' It is customary in Bible lands to cut or pull grass and other fodder plants, and give them to live stock. Women, with large back loads or donkey loads of such fodder, may be seen any morning at the gates, or in the market places of the cities, where they offer it for sale. Large areas are sown in barley, vetch, clover, medick, and other forage plants, to be cut and given to domestic animals in the spring and early summer. It is clear that it was also the custom in Bible days to cut grass for this purpose (Ps 37^2 72^6 $129^{6.\ 7}$, Am 7^1). But it is not customary to *dry* such cut-grass as we do in making hay, to be stored up as winter fodder, and there is no evidence that the Hebrews had such a custom. In fact it would be out of place, as the winter is the season of green grass here, and the flocks continue to crop the stubble to the end of the harvest season in midsummer, and after that find a scanty but sufficient pasturage until the early rains cause the 'tender grass' to sprout up with marvellous rapidity. Stall-fed animals have cut-straw mixed with their barley, and this seems to contain a considerable amount of nourishment, and to answer the purpose of hay. Stall-fed milch cows are fed mainly on this fodder, and continue fat, and give milk on it. It would therefore be better to render *ḥăshash* by *cut-grass* rather than by *dry grass* or *hay*.

G. E. POST.

HAZAEL (חֲזָאֵל, חֲזָהאֵל 'whom God beholds.' 'Αζαήλ BA Luc. Assyr. *Ḫaza'ilu*).—A powerful king of Syria who reigned contemporaneously with Jehoram (last 3 or 4 years), Jehu, and Jehoahaz kings of Israel, and Jehoram, Ahaziah, Athaliah, and Joash of Judah. Hazael is first mentioned 1 K $19^{15.\ 17}$, where Elijah at Horeb receives commission to anoint him king over Syria, that he may execute J″'s vengeance against the Baal worshippers of Israel. At this time he must have been an official at the court of the Syrian king Ben-hadad II., for some time later he was sent to Elisha at Damascus to inquire the issue of his master's sickness. The prophet marked him out as the future king of Syria and oppressor of Israel, and accordingly Hazael seized the earliest opportunity to murder Ben-hadad and usurp the throne (2 K 8^{7-15}). He seems to have been soon engaged in hostilities with the neighbouring kingdom of Israel, meeting the allied forces of Jehoram and Ahaziah of Judah at Ramoth-gilead (2 K $8^{28.29}$ $9^{14.15}$). Hazael gained a series of successes against Jehu, devastating all his country E. of Jordan, from the Arnon in the S. to the land of Bashan in the N. (2 K $10^{32.33}$); and throughout the reign of Jehoahaz, Jehu's successor, he made constant encroachment upon the territory of Israel (2 K13^{22}). It was not till after Hazael's death that Joash son of Jehoahaz was able successfully to repel the aggressions of Syria under Ben-hadad III. son of Hazael (2 K $13^{24.25}$). A century later the remembrance of Hazael was still fresh in the minds of the men of Israel, and Amos uses the expression 'the house of Hazael' as a parallel to 'the palaces of Ben-hadad' (Am 1^{4}). Hazael further directed his arms against the S. of Palestine, besieging and taking Gath, and then marching against Jerusalem, from which he was only bought off by tribute sent by Joash king of Judah out of the temple treasures (2 K $12^{17.18}$). According to 2 Ch $24^{23.24}$ a battle took place, in which the Syrians with a small army defeated the larger forces of the king of Judah.

---

* *Ḥavvôth* is probably connected with the Arab. *ḥiwā*, 'a collection of tents.' 'It may have originally denoted a group of Bedawîn tents, but with the transition to pastoral life it would naturally be applied to more permanent settlements' (Moore, *Judges*, p. 274).

Hazael figures more than once in the cuneiform inscriptions. Shalmaneser II., who in the early part of his reign had defeated an alliance formed by *Dadidri* (Ben-hadad II.), Ahab of Israel, and other kings, and again in the 14th year of his reign had a second time worsted *Dadidri* (*COT* i. 191 ff.), states that in his 18th year (B.C. 842) he joined battle with Hazael of Damascus, who had assembled a large army and entrenched himself upon the mountain of Sanir in the Anti-Lebanon. The Syrian king was defeated, and lost 16,000 warriors, 1121 chariots, and 470 horsemen, together with his stores. Barely escaping with his life, he shut himself up in Damascus, which was besieged by the enemy, but, apparently, not captured, since Shalmaneser merely states 'his plantations I destroyed.' The same inscription speaks of Jehu as paying tribute to Shalmaneser 'at that time'; and it may thus be plausibly inferred that the aid of Assyria against the Syrians had been solicited by Jehu, as was done by Ahaz of Judah in later times (2 K $16^{7\text{ff.}}$). Three years later, in the 21st year of his reign, Shalmaneser again marched against Hazael and took possession of his cities (*COT* i. 197 f., 200 f.).

C. F. BURNEY.

HAZAIAH (חֲזָיָה 'J″ hath seen').—A descendant of Judah (Neh 11^{5}). See GENEALOGY.

HAZAR-ADDAR (חֲצַר־אַדָּר, ἔπαυλις Ἀράδ).—A place on the southern border of Canaan, west of Kadesh-barnea, Nu 34^{4}. It appears to be the same as **Hezron** (which see) of Jos 15^{3}, which in the latter passage is connected with but separated from **Addar** (which see).

HAZAR-ENAN (חֲצַר עֵינָן, once Ezk 47^{17} **Hazar-enon** עֵינוֹן).—A place mentioned in Nu $34^{9.10}$ as the northern boundary of Israel, and in Ezk 47^{17} 48^{1} as one of the ideal boundaries. It was perhaps at the sources of the Orontes. Buhl (*GAP* 67, 111, 240) and Bertholet (*Hesekiel*, 244) suggest that it is identical with the well-known Banias, while v. Kasteren would locate it at *el-Ḥaḍr* farther to the east, on the way from Banias to Damascus, but these sites appear to be too far south.

C. R. CONDER.

HAZAR-GADDAH (חֲצַר־גַּדָּה).—An unknown town in the extreme south of Judah (Jos 15^{27}).

HAZARMAVETH (חֲצַרְמָוֶת). — The eponym of a Joktanite clan, Gn 10^{26}=1 Ch 1^{20}, described as a 'son' of Joktan, fifth in order from Shem. The name occurs in Sabæan inscriptions as חצרמות and חצרמת (*ZDMG* xix. (1865) 239 ff., xxxi. 74 ff.). Its identity with the modern *Ḥaḍramaut* is certain, and Hazarmaveth is probably also the same as the land of the Χατραμωτῖται, one of the four chief tribes of S. Arabia as described by Strabo (XVI. iv. 2). They were celebrated for their traffic in frankincense. For their history see ARABIA, p. 133^{b}. The modern *Ḥaḍramaut* is not so extensive as the ancient.

LITERATURE.—Dillmann and Spurrell on Gn 10^{26}; in addition to above references to *ZDMG* see also xxii. 658, xxx. 323, xliv. 186; Glaser, *Skizze*, ii. 20, 423 ff.; especially for account of inscriptions, Hommel, *AHT* 77 ff., 270, 274, 318 f., 321 n., and Sayce, *HCM* 39 f.

J. A. SELBIE.

HAZAR-SHUAL (חֲצַר שׁוּעָל).—A place in S. Judah (Jos 15^{28}=1 Ch 4^{28}) or Simeon (Jos 19^{3}), repeopled by Jews after the Captivity, Neh 11^{27}. It may be the ruin *S'awi* on a hill E. of Beersheba. See *SWP* vol. iii. sh. xxiv.

HAZAR-SUSAH (חֲצַר־סוּסָה, in 1 Ch 4^{31} **Hazar-susim** חֲצַר־סוּסִים).—A city in Simeon, Jos 19^{5}=1 Ch 4^{31}. The name means 'horse-village,' and is noticed along with Beth-marcaboth, 'place of chariots.' These places were apparently in the southern plain, and were no doubt stations of a cavalry force, probably Egyptian. The sites are unknown. There is a ruin *Susîn*, W. of Beersheba. See *SWP* vol. iii. sh. xxiv.

C. R. CONDER.

HAZAR-SUSIM.—See HAZAR-SUSAH.

HAZAZON TAMAR (חַצְצֹן תָּמָר. 'Hazazon of the palm-tree') is mentioned in Gn 14^{7} as inhabited by Amorites, and as destroyed, along with En-mishpat (Kadesh) and the Amalekite country, by Chedorlaomer. In 2 Ch 20^{2} it is identified with En-gedi as the basis for an invading army from Edom (so read instead of Syria). Josephus (*Ant.* IX. i. 2), speaking of this campaign, says the invaders pitched at En-gedi, where grow the best kind of palm-tree and the opobalsamum.

Most probably the words preserve the older name of En-gedi (which see), and may still survive in the *Wady Husaseh*, N.W. from *'Ain Jidy* (Engedi). See Rob. i. 506; G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geogr.* 271. Jerome (*Quæst. in Gen.*) translates the name *urbs palmarum*, which (cf. Jos. *supra*) suggests a comparison with that 'city of palm-trees' out of which (Jg 1^{16}) the Kenite clan went up with Judah. In that case it may have been this Kenite settlement on the rocky nest of En-gedi which Balaam saw from the heights of Moab, and to which he referred (Nu 24^{21}). G. A. Smith suggests (*Hist. Geogr.* p. 269 ff.) that here we must look for the Tamar of 1 K 9^{18} (*Kethibh*) and Ezk 47^{19} 48^{28}.

It is, however, possible that Hazazon-tamar may be, not En-gedi, but the Tamar of Ezekiel, and that the latter lay S.W. of the Dead Sea. In that case Jg 1^{16} may mean that the Kenites, entering Palestine by the south, joined the invading Judahites on the south of Arad.

A. C. WELCH.

HAZEL (לוּז *lûz*, καρύον, *amygdalus*).—This word, tr^{d} in AV *hazel* (Gn 30^{37}), is better rendered RV *almond*, for (1) the word לוּז is the same in form as the Arab. *lauz*, which signifies *almond*; (2) the *hazel* does not grow in Mesopotamia, where Laban lived, while the *almond* is universal. The objection that there is another name שָׁקֵד *shâkêd* for almond is not decisive, as many plants and animals have two or more names. G. E. POST.

HAZER-HATTICON (חָצֵר הַתִּיכוֹן 'the middle Hazer').—A place named amongst the boundaries of (ideal) Israel, Ezk 47^{16}. It is described as 'by the border of Hauran.' If the MT be correct, Hazer-hatticon is quite unknown; but there can be no reasonable doubt that we ought, with Smend, Cornill, Bertholet, etc., to emend to **Hazar-enon** as in vv.$^{17.18}$ and 48^1. Wetzstein, indeed, proposes [*ZKW* (1884) v. 114] to identify Hazer-hatticon with *Ḥaḍar* to the north of *Jebel Druze*, 'at the foot of the eastern corner of Hermon.' See further, Davidson, *Ezekiel*, p. 352.

HAZERIM (חֲצֵרִים; Ασηδώθ, AF Ασηρώθ).—Mentioned in AV of Dt 2^{23} as the locality in which the AVVIM (wh. see) dwelt 'as far as Gaza.' There is no doubt that the word is not really a proper name, but that it should be rendered (as it is in RV) by *villages*. The clause describes how the Avvim dwelt, until they were expelled by the immigrant Caphtorim (or Philistines); they did not dwell in fortified cities, but in *villages*, or unwalled settlements (Lv 25^{31}), consisting, probably, of rudely-built huts of mud or stone, roofed with leaves or grass. Villages are usually mentioned as the dependencies of towns (*e.g.* Jos 13^{23}); but sometimes a particular tribe is characterized as inhabiting them, as Gn 25^{16} (Ishmaelites), Is 42^{11} (Kedar); and according to this archæological notice, the Avvim, or original occupants of a part of S.W. Palestine, dwelt in them similarly.

S. R. DRIVER.

HAZEROTH (חֲצֵרֹות; Ασηρώθ).—A station of the Israelites in the wilderness, mentioned both in Nu 11^{35} 12^{16} (JE) and in the itinerary 33^{17} (P),—in the latter as the second station after leaving Sinai (the first being Ḳibroth-hatta'avah). Burckhardt (*Syria*, 1822, p. 495) suggested tentatively ('perhaps') that it might be 'Ain el-Ḥuḍerah, about 40 miles N.E. of Jebel Mûsa, and not quite half-way between Jebel Mûsa and 'Aḳabah; and this identification has been accepted by many subsequent writers, as Robinson, *BR*^{2} i. 151; Ewald, *Hist.* ii. 191; Stanley, *Sin. and Pal.* 81 f. (though not very confidently); Palmer, *Desert of the Wanderings*, 260–262 (cf. 313 f.), etc.; Dillm., however (on Nu 11^{35}), hesitates. All things considered, the identification seems fairly probable. The site is most fully described by Palmer (with an illustration).* It lies a little to the left of the main route from Jebel Mûsa to 'Aḳabah, which here, after leaving the Wâdy Sa'al, passes through a sandy plain (in the midst of which is a conspicuous eminence, called Huḍeibat el-Ḥajjāj, or the Pilgrims' Hill), prior to entering the Wādy Ghuzāleh. Ascending for about 10 minutes from the camel track in this plain, the traveller reaches a cleft or gorge in the limestone rock, through which he looks down (towards the N.W.) upon the Wādy Ḥuḍerah, winding along between fantastic, brilliantly-coloured sandstone cliffs, with a 'forest of mountain peaks and chains' beyond, and 'on their left a broad white wādy leading up towards the distant mountains of the Tih.' In the middle of the Wādy Ḥuḍerah, beneath a lofty cliff, lies the dark green palm-grove of 'Ain Ḥuḍerah, with the fountain rising in the rock behind. The water from the fountain, which is still used as a watering-place for camels, 'is conducted by an aqueduct, cut in the solid granite, into a reservoir or pool, from which it is let out by a rude sluice to irrigate the gardens which the Arabs still cultivate here. The remains of several well-constructed walls point to a former and perhaps Christian occupation of the place.' A few miles to the N. of 'Ain Ḥuḍerah there circles round the Wādy el-'Ain, containing a stream of clear, fresh water, which joins ultimately the Wādy Ghuzāleh, to the N.E.

Keil objects that el-Ḥuḍerah, being only '18 hours' from Jebel Mûsa, is too near for Hazeroth, as the Israelites were 3 days (Nu 11^{33}) in reaching Ḳibroth-hatta'avah, the station before Hazeroth (11^{35}); and thinks that Hazeroth must have been some place on the more direct route to Kadesh (13^{26}), such as the station Bir eth-Themed, on the Tih-plateau (cf. Trumbull, *Kadesh-barnea*, 78, 314 f.). It would no doubt be a mistake to regard the identification as certain; still it may be questioned whether, under the circumstances, Keil's objections are cogent; and although the more usual route from Sinai to Kadesh may be through the Wādy Zulaka, on to el-'Ain and Bir eth-Themed (Robinson, i. 148, 198, with the map), yet a route past 'Ain el-Ḥuḍerah, through the Wādy Ghuzāleh, and up the Wādy Wetîr (*ib.* 153, with the map,—apparently the E. half of the Wādy el-'Ain of the Ordnance Survey map), does not seem to be so greatly more circuitous as to be pronounced out of the question. Dillm. thinks the evidence insufficient to show where Hazeroth was.

Whether the Hazeroth of Dt 1^2 (LXX Αὐλῶν) be the same place depends upon the answer given to the difficult question, what the topographical notes contained in that verse are intended to mark (see DIZAHAB). If this verse defines a locality in the Steppes of Moab, Hazeroth will be some place there, otherwise unknown; if it describes—or in its original form described—places passed by the Israelites previously, it may be the Hazeroth of Nu 11^{35} etc. Sayce's location of Hazeroth (*Early Hist. of Hebrews*, 214) as 'near Paran on the borders of Moab' has nothing to recommend it, being inconsistent with the situation presupposed in either Nu or Dt. S. R. DRIVER.

HAZIEL (חֲזִיאֵל 'vision of El').—A Gershonite Levite in time of Solomon, 1 Ch 23^9. See GENEALOGY.

HAZO (חֲזוֹ, 'Αζαῦ).—The eponym of a Nahorite clan, Gn 22^{22}. It is no doubt identical with *Ḥazû*, which along with *Bazû* (Buz of v.^{21}) is mentioned in an inscription of Esarhaddon (see Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 306 f., also in *Zeitsch. f. Keilschriftforsch.* (1885) 93 ff.; Schrader, *KAT*^{2} 141, 221 [*COT*^{2} i. 127, 212], and *Keilinschriften u. Geschichtsforsch.* 399; Tiele, *Geschichte*, 337; Dillmann on Gn $22^{21f.}$).

HAZOR (חָצֹר, חָצוֹר).—**1.** A Canaanite city of Galilee, the chief place of that region, ruled by a dynasty which seems to have had the dynastic name of Jabin, Jos 11^1 12^{19}, Jg $4^{2.17}$. The great battle with the king of Hazor took place at the Waters of MEROM, Jos $11^{5ff.}$ (see art. JABIN). Hazor was fortified by Solomon (1 K 9^{15}), and captured by Tiglath-pileser (2 K 15^{29}) in B.C. 734. Jonathan the Hasmonæan, after encamping 'at the water of Gennesareth, early in the morning gat him to the plain of Hazor,' 1 Mac 11^{67}. Josephus (*Ant.* V. v. 1) places Hazor near Kedesh, on the plateau looking down on the *Hûleh* lake, which he regards as being the Waters of Merom. This leads to the supposition that *Tell el-Hurrawîyeh*, a large ruined site in the required position, is intended. The mountain to the west still bears the name *Jebel Ḥadhîreh*. This is the only known indication, and, as far as the biblical notices are concerned, it would be equally possible to place Hazor farther south, where, at the foot of the chain of Upper Galilee, is found an important ruined site called *Ḥazzur*, in a position more appropriate to the use of the chariots which belonged to the king of Hazor. This latter would also suit well the Hazor of 1 Mac 11^{67} and Jos. *Ant.* XIII. v. 7. From Hazor two letters of the Tel el-Amarna collection were written in the 15th cent. B.C. to the king of Egypt. They are much damaged, but they speak of an attack on the place, and ask for aid. In one of them the king's name is given; and though the first syllable is damaged, it may be read *I-eba-enu*, *i.e.* 'Jabin.' Hazor is also noticed, with places in Upper and Lower Galilee, by the *Mohar* (an Egyptian traveller of the 14th cent. B.C.) on his way from the seacoast to the Lake of Tiberias. See *SWP* vol. i. sh. iv.

---

* A clearer view of the topography of the district may, however, be obtained from the *Ordnance Survey of Sinai* (1869), i. 122 f., with the accompanying map of the peninsula.

LITERATURE.—*SWP* vol. i. sh. iv.; Robinson, *BRP*^{2} iii. 63, 81, 365, 401 f.; Buhl, *GAP* 113, 182, 236; Guérin, *Galilée*, iii. 363 ff.; Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.*^{3} 264; Schürer, *HJP* I. i. 249; Dillmann on Jos 11^1; Sayce, *HCM* 309, 336.

2. A town of Benjamin, Neh 11^{33}, now the ruin *Hazzur* close to Gibeon on the south. See *SWP* vol. iii. sh. xvii.; *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*, Siegfried-Stade, and Buhl (*GAP* 177) suggest that it may be identical with Baal-hazor of 2 S 13^{23}; but see BAAL-HAZOR.

3. In Jos 15^{23} a Hazor in the Negeb of Judah is noticed. 4. In Jos 15^{25} another Hazor appears to be mentioned, which is identical with *Kerioth-hezron* (wh. see). 5. An unknown Arabian locality (Jer 49^{28}) mentioned along with Kedar as smitten by Nebuchadrezzar. C. R. CONDER.

HAZOR-HADATTAH (חָצוֹר חֲדַתָּה).—The text (Jos 15^{25}) is not beyond suspicion. If it is correct, the name may mean 'new Hazor,' with Aram. ת in חֲדַתָּה (*Oxf. Heb. Lex.*). LXX omits. The place was in the Negeb of Judah, but the site is unknown. It appears to be connected with 'Kerioth-hezron, which is Hazor.' See HEZRON.

C. R. CONDER.

HAZZELELPONI (הַצְּלֶלְפּוֹנִי, AV **Hazelelponi**).—A female name in the genealogy of Judah, 1 Ch 4^3. See GENEALOGY.

HE (ה).—The fifth letter of the Hebrew alphabet, and as such used in the 119th Psalm to designate the 5th part, each verse of which begins with this letter. It is transliterated in this Dictionary by *h*.

HE.—After the Heb. idiom (see Davidson, *Syntax*, § 106) a personal pronoun is sometimes inserted superfluously as the subject of the verb. Gn 4^4 'And Abel, he also brought of the firstlings of his flock' (וְהֶבֶל הֵבִיא גַם־הוּא); Dt 1^{30} 'The LORD your God which goeth before you, he shall fight for you'; Jos 22^{22} 'The LORD God of gods, the LORD God of gods, he knoweth'; Is 9^{15} 'The ancient and honourable, he is the head; and the prophet that teacheth lies, he is the tail.' In such cases there is a certain emphasis placed upon the subject, but, as Davidson points out, it is slight, and to translate 'as for the ancient and honourable' is to exaggerate it, though that construction may be permitted in a long sentence like 2 Ch 34^{26}, 'And as for the king of Judah, who sent you to enquire of the LORD, so shall ye say unto him' (וְאֶל־מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה . . . כֹּה תֹאמְרוּ אֵלָיו; RV 'But unto the king of Judah . . . thus shall ye say to him'). The same idiom is found in Apocr. and NT, as 2 Mac $4^{4.5}$ 'Onias seeing the danger of this contention . . . he went to the king' (RV omits 'he'); Jn 1^{18} 'No man hath seen God at any time; the only-begotten Son which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him' (ὁ ὢν εἰς . . . ἐκεῖνος). There are many examples of this construction in Heb. that are not transferred into English. On the other hand, the example quoted from 2 Mac * is peculiar to the Eng. version, for this method of emphasizing a subject, or of catching it up again after a long parenthesis, belongs to all composition. An example of each kind may be quoted from Shaks. *Com. of Errors*, V. i. 229—

> 'There did this perjured goldsmith swear me down,
> That I this day of him received the chain,
> Which, God he knows, I saw not';

Hamlet, I. ii. 22—

> 'Now follows, that you know, young Fortinbras,
> Holding a weak supposal of our worth,
> Or thinking by our late dear brother's death
> Our state to be disjoint and out of frame,
> Colleagued with the dream of his advantage,
> He hath not failed to pester us.'

See also under IT, WHICH.

In Bel $^{3.4}$ there is an interchange between *him* and *it*, 'Now the Babylonians had an idol, called Bel, and there were spent upon him every day twelve great measures of fine flour. . . . And the king worshipped it, and went daily to adore it' (Gr. εἴδωλον . . . αὐτὸν . . . αὐτὸν . . . αὐτῷ). Cf. Tindale, *Expositions*, p. 96 (on Mt 6^{16-18}), 'If thou wouldest kill thy body, or when it is tame enough, pain him.' Similar occurrences of a masc. pronoun for a neut., or a neut. for a masc., are found in the earlier versions, and are due usually to a literal regard for the gender of the Greek word. Thus Jn 1^3 Tind. 'All thinges were made by it, and with out it was made nothinge that was made' (so all the VSS before AV except Wyc. and Rhem.); but 15^{18} 'Yf the worlde hate you ye knowe that he hated me before he hated you' (so Cran., but Gen. changed to 'it' and was followed by the rest). Cf. Mt 18^9 Rhem. 'And if thine eye scandalize thee, plucke him out, and cast him from thee'; and Wyc. *Works*, iii. 150, 'Ffor loued thing drawes men to hit, as tho stoon of a damaunt drawes irne unto hym.' In 2 S $12^{15.21}$ 'it' is applied to Bathsheba's child, but 'he' and 'him' in vv.$^{19.23}$. RV retains this as well as the more glaring discrepancy in Bel $^{3.4}$, and adds at least one instance of its own, Mt 14^{12} 'And his disciples came and took up the corpse and buried him' (reading αὐτόν for αὐτό, AV 'it'), Mk 6^{29} 'And when his disciples heard thereof, they came and took up his corpse, and laid it in a tomb' (retaining αὐτό here).

A clear example of the ancient dative *him* (='for him') remains in 1 K 13^{13} 'And he said unto his sons, Saddle me the ass. So they saddled him the ass.' Other instances are 2 K 10^7 'they . . . sent him them to Jezreel'; Sir 8^{12} 'Lend not unto him that is mightier than thyself; for if thou lendest him, count it but lost'; and with *me*, 1 K 13^6 'pray for me, that my hand may be restored me again.' But these instances are scarcely obsolete. In Ps 7^{13} we read, 'He hath prepared for him the instruments of death.' Coverdale's tr^n was 'He hath prepared him the weapens of death.' This became in Psalter of 1539 'He hath prepared hym the instruments of death,' and it remained in 1640, but in 1662 it was changed to 'for him,' because (as Earle shows) 'prepared him' must be 'prepared for himself' (*sibi*), which is clearly wrong.

Him is occasionally used reflexively: 2 K 13^{15} 'And Elisha said unto him, Take bow and arrows. And he took unto him bow and arrows'; Mt 9^{22} 'But Jesus turned him about, and when he saw her, he said, Daughter, be of good comfort' (ἐπιστραφεὶς, edd. στραφεὶς, RV 'turning'): so with *you*, Hag 1^6 'Ye clothe you, but there is none warm'; and with 'them,' 2 K $17^{9.10}$ 'they built them high places in all their cities.' Examples are frequent in Shaks., as *Macbeth*, V. iv. 4—

> 'Let every soldier hew him down a bough.'

And *himself* for *he himself*, which occurs in Mt 8^{17} 'Himself took our infirmities and bare our sicknesses,' may be illustrated by *Two Gent. of Verona*, III. i. 143—

---

* So also He $9^{11.12}$.

> 'Himself would lodge where senseless they are lying.'

On his as the sign of the poss. case see HIS; and on *his* for *its* see ITS. J. HASTINGS.

HEAD is the translation in OT of רֹאשׁ (in 1 Ch 10^{10} גֻּלְגֹּלֶת 'skull'; in 1 S 19^{16} $26^{7.\,11.\,16}$, 1 K 19^{6} מְרַאֲשֹׁת the place where or the object on which the head is laid; in Aram. portions of Dn רֵאשׁ) and in NT of κεφαλή. The word is used very frequently both in a literal and a metaphorical sense.

(*a*) *Of men* (Gn 40^{16}, Lv 8^{12}, Ca 8^{3}, Mt 5^{36}, Mk 6^{24}, Lk 7^{38} etc. etc.); opposed to 'foot' or used along with it in such expressions as 'from head to foot' (Lv 13^{12}, cf. Is 1^{6}); the son of the Shunammite cries, from the effects of sun-stroke, 'My head, my head' (2 K 4^{19}).

(*b*) *Of animals* (Gn 3^{15}), the serpent's head to be bruised [? see Dillm. *ad loc.*] by the seed of the woman, Ex 12^{9} the head of the paschal lamb, Job 40^{31} [Eng. 41^{7}] of the crocodile. A 'dog's head' is an expression of contumely, 2 S 3^{8}.

(*c*) In a transferred sense, of *inanimate objects*, *e.g.* the tower of Babel whose top (רֹאשׁ) was to reach to heaven Gn 11^{4}, Jacob's ladder 28^{12}, and frequently of mountains Ex $17^{9f.}$ 19^{20} etc. We read of the head of Jacob's bed Gn 47^{31} (cf. He 11^{22} where *ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ῥάβδου αὐτοῦ* is borrowed from the LXX, which must have read מַטֶּה 'staff' instead of מִטָּה 'bed.'

Similar to this is the usage of 'head' to denote the *beginning* or *source* of something, *e.g.* in Gn 2^{10} the river which issued from the Garden of Eden was parted into four 'heads,' *i.e.* stream-beginnings (Dillm.), each of which became a river with a separate course (cf. the use of רֹאשׁ in Is 51^{20}, Ezk 16^{25} 21^{21}, where it means the beginning of roads and streets).

(*d*) Another very common metaphorical sense of 'head' or 'heads' is to denote *the principal person* or *persons* in a community (*e.g.* Ex $6^{14.\,25}$ 18^{25}, Nu $1^{4.\,16}$ 7^{2} 10^{4} 13^{3} 17^{3} $25^{4.\,15}$ 30^{1}, Dt 1^{15} 5^{23} $28^{13.\,44}$, Jos 22^{21}, 1 Ch 5^{24}, Is $9^{14.\,15}$ (where 'head' and 'tail' are opposed). Allied to this is the NT reference to the man as head of the woman Eph 5^{23}, and to Christ as head of the Church Eph 4^{15} 5^{23}, Col 1^{18} 2^{19} (where also the idea of the head as a vital part is probably included), and as head over all principalities and powers Col 2^{10}.

'Heads' are used in apocalyptic literature to denote kings or empires (cf. the golden head of the image seen in Nebuchadrezzar's dream, Dn 2^{32}, which represented that king and his dynasty; the four-headed beast of 7^{6}; the beast with seven heads and ten horns of Rev 13^{1}, with one of the heads wounded to death, v.^{3}, on all of which see DANIEL, REVELATION, and Bruston, *Études sur Daniel et l'Apocalypse*).

The circumstance that the head is a principal seat of life explains the words of Achish to David, 'I will make thee keeper of mine head' (1 S 28^{2}), *i.e.* body-guardsman; cf. Ps 140^{7} 'Thou hast covered (סַכֹּתָה) my head in the day of battle'; Dn 1^{10} 'endanger my head.' The head of an enemy might be cut off and exhibited as a trophy, or as a proof of death, Jg 7^{25}, 1 S $17^{54.\,57}$ 31^{9}, 2 S 4^{7} $20^{21f.}$, 2 K $10^{6ff.}$. *Swearing by the head* is mentioned as a Jewish practice in Mt 5^{36}. The character of the head as a vital part accounts also for certain superstitions connected with the head of a sacrificial victim. While in Ex 12^{9} it is expressly enjoined that the head and viscera of the paschal lamb are to be eaten, a different practice was widely followed amongst Orientals. The same taboo attached to the head as to the blood. Among the Egyptians the head * of the victim was thrown into the Nile, while by the Iranians it was dedicated to Haoma, that the immortal part of the animal might return to him. A dried human head or the head of an animal was frequently used by the Semites as a charm (W. R. Smith, *RS* 359, 362, 449, 456).

Jacob placed his hands upon the heads of Ephraim and Manasseh as a symbol of conveying the blessing to them (Gn $48^{14ff.}$; cf. Gn 49^{26}, Pr 10^{6} 11^{26}). In like manner, evil is spoken of as being requited or returning on one's head (Jg 9^{57}, 2 Ch 6^{23} etc.). The *laying of one's hands on the head of a sacrificial victim* (Ex 29^{15}, Lv 1^{4} $4^{29.\,33}$ etc.) is very frequently interpreted as a symbolical transference of sin to the animal; but while this is distinctly recognized in the case of the scape-goat (Lv 16^{21}), it is not so certainly implied for the ordinary burnt-offering (see W. R. Smith, *RS* 401 f.).

The *hoary head* is a symbol of old age (Lv 19^{32}, 1 K $2^{6.\,9}$, Pr 16^{31}, Is 46^{4}, cf. Job 41^{32}); it is to be honoured, Lv 19^{32}; it is pronounced a crown of glory, the reward of uprightness, Pr 16^{31}.

While the general sense of the expression, 'heap coals of fire upon the head' (Pr 25^{22}, Ro 12^{20}) is clear enough (St. Paul paraphrases, 'Overcome evil with good'), its origin is somewhat uncertain (see Wildeboer, Reuss, etc., on Pr; and Meyer, Godet, Sanday-Headlam, etc., on Ro, *ad loc.*). A good illustration of the working of the principle is supplied by the words of Saul to David, 1 S 24^{17} 26^{21}.

To lift up the head, when spoken of oneself, may mean to recover from disaster (Jg 8^{28}, Zec 1^{21}), or, generally, to succeed or to carry oneself proudly Ps 83^{3} 110^{7} (cf. its use in 24^{7} of gates and see Wellh. *ad loc.* in Haupt's *PB*). To 'lift up the head' of another is used of raising to honour (Gn 40^{13} of Pharaoh's chief butler, 2 K 25^{27} of the captive king Jehoiachin, who was taken out of prison by Evil-Merodach). In Gn 40^{19}, with a designed contrast to the treatment of the butler, it is said that Pharaoh will 'lift up the head of the chief baker from off (מֵעַל) him,' the reference being to beheading.

When Elisha was told that 'the LORD will take away thy master from thy head' (2 K $2^{3.\,5}$), the reference is probably to the custom of pupils sitting at the feet of their teacher (so Siegfried-Stade; cf. Ac 22^{3}).

To wag or *shake the head* was a sign of contempt or of malicious enjoyment, Ps 64^{8} (RV), Jer 18^{16} (both נוּד), La 2^{15} (נוּעַ); cf. Ps 44^{14}, Jer 48^{27} (both מְנוֹד רֹאשׁ 'a shaking of the head'); Mt 27^{39}, Mk 15^{29} (*κινοῦντες τὰς κεφαλάς*, of the men who derided the suffering Saviour).

The *head of one under a vow* was not shaven till its completion (Nu $6^{18ff.}$, Ac 18^{18} 21^{24}). See further under NAZIRITE. The Israelites were forbidden to 'round the corners of their heads' (Lv 19^{27}) in token of mourning (cf. Dt 14^{1}, where 'making baldness between the eyes' refers to the custom of shaving the front part of the head; see Driver, *ad loc.*, and on Am 8^{10}, and W. R. Smith, *RS* 306 f.).

Anointing the head was a common practice amongst the Jews (Ps 23^{5}, Mt 6^{17} 26^{7}, Mk 14^{3}, Lk 7^{46}). See further under ANOINTING.

To cover (חָפָה) *the head* was a token of mourning [2 S 15^{30} David and his men when fleeing from Absalom, Jer 14^{3}, Est 6^{12} (∥ אָבֵל)]. The same was expressed by *putting the hand upon the head* (2 S 13^{19} Tamar after Amnon's outrage) or putting *ashes* (אֵפֶר) or *earth* (אֲדָמָה) upon it (Jos 7^{6}, 1 S 4^{12}, 2 S 1^{2} 13^{19}, La 2^{10}). It is possible that this custom is alluded to in Am 2^{7} 'that pant after the dust of the earth on the head of the poor,' *i.e.* who are so avaricious that they are eager to secure even the dust strewn upon their heads by the poor in token of their distress (see full discussion in Driver, *ad loc.*).

To have the head covered (*κατακαλύπτεσθαι*) in the Christian assemblies is enjoined upon women by St.

---

* Which was regarded as a special seat of the soul.

Paul (1 Co 11^{5}). The contrary rule applies to men (v.^{4}). Much obscurity attaches to v.^{10} 'For this cause ought the woman to have power (*ἐξουσίαν*, RV '[a sign of] authority,' AVm *i.e.* 'a covering, in sign that she is under the power of her husband,' RVm 'authority over') on her head because of the angels' (*διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους*). This passage will be fully discussed in art. POWER (see also WH's remarks on the text). It may be noted, meanwhile, that what is emphasized is the presence of angels *in the sanctuary*, and not the ordinary Jewish notion (Taylor, *Sayings of the Fathers*^{2}, p. 156) about guardian angels, two of whom were supposed to be *always* in attendance on every human being.

It is generally supposed that in Est 7^{8} there is an allusion to a Persian custom of covering the head or face *in token of sentence of death* (so *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*, V. Ryssel in Kautzsch's *AT*, etc.). In support of this interpretation appeal is made to a similar custom among the Romans ('Caput obnubito, infelici arbori suspendito,' Cic. *pro Robirio*, iv. 13) and the Macedonians ('Capite velato in regiam adducunt,' Quint. Curt. vi. 8. 22). But in the *Rev. Biblique Internat.* (April 1898, p. 258 ff.) A. Condamin gives reasons for doubting whether either of these passages is relevant. Some evidence from such a quarter as Herodotus would be much more to the point. Moreover, the LXX have evidently followed a different text, or at least have interpreted differently from the MT (וּפְנֵי הָמָן חָפוּ) and the Vulg. (*operuerunt faciem eius*). They give Ἀμὰν δὲ ἀκούσας διετράπη τῷ προσώπῳ (cf. Jos. *Ant.* XI. vi. 11, Ἀμάνου δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο καταπλαγέντος καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι φθέγξασθαι δυνηθέντος). Condamin maintains that the order of the words in MT and the absence of אֶת־ with פְּנֵי plead in favour of this tr^{n}, 'the face of Haman became troubled' (so Siegfried-Stade, *Hamans Gesicht verschleierte = verdüsterte sich*). The context also he uses in support of his interpretation. If the MT חפו (either Qal or Pual) is considered insufficient to support the LXX rendering, it would be easy, he points out, to emend to חפרו. It may be added that חָפָה is never used elsewhere of covering the *face* but always the *head* (cf. Est 6^{12}, 2 S 15^{30}, Jer 14^{3}). When the face is spoken of, the verbs employed are כִּסָּה (Job 9^{24} 23^{17} 24^{15} etc.) or הִסְתִּיר (Ex 3^{6}, Job 13^{24} etc.).

With the Hebrews not the head but the heart was the seat of intellect. See HEART.

J. A. SELBIE.

HEADBAND.—See BAND and DRESS.

HEADSTONE is erroneously printed in mod. edd. of AV as one word; in 1611 it is 'head stone' (as RV), and means simply the topmost stone of the building.

HEADTIRE.—See DRESS and TIRE.

HEADY.—This is the tr^{n} in 2 Ti 3^{4} AV of *προπετής*, which in Ac 19^{36}, its only remaining occurrence in NT, is tr^{d} 'rashly' (RV 'rash'). Heady is from Tindale; and has been adopted by all the VSS thereafter, except Rhem. 'stubburne,' and RV which uses its mod. equivalent in this sense, 'headstrong.'* In enumerating 'the heap of inconveniences that spring by intemperate and superfluous eating and drinking,' Tindale says (*Expositions*, p. 93, on Mt 6^{16-18}), 'Our fashions of eating make us slothful, and unlusty to labour and study; unstable, inconstant, and light-mannered; full of wits, after-witted (as we call it), incircumspect, inconsiderate, heady, rash, and hasty to begin unadvisedly, and without casting of perils.' Calvin (in Golding's tr^{n}) uses the word of Job's passions (on Job 32^{1-3}), 'Seeing then that Job had so heady passions, no doubt but in so dooing hee made himselfe more rightuous than God.' *High-mind* and *Heady* are the names of the guns which the inhabitants of Mansoul placed at Ear-gate to keep the King's forces out (Bunyan, *Holy War*, p. 50). Bp. Hall uses the word as equivalent to hasty (*Works*, ii. 109, on 'Zacheus'), 'There must be no more hast than good speed in our performances; we may offend as well in our heddye acceleration, as in our delay; Moses ran so fast downe the hill that he stumbled spiritually, and brake the Tables of God.' J. HASTINGS.

HEALTH.—This word has become greatly narrowed in meaning since 1611. Now restricted to the state of the body, it then expressed also the condition of the soul, the relation to God of the whole person. Hence in 'Morning Prayer,' 'We have left undone those things which we ought to have done, and we have done those things which we ought not to have done, and there is no health in us,' which has retained its place since the Pr. Bk. of 1552. But in the Communion Service, 'health' of 1604, 'And as the Son of God did vouchsafe to yield up his soul by death upon the cross for your health,' is found as 'salvation' in 1662. So we find in Wyc., Ac 28^{28} 'Therfore be it knowen to you, for to hethen men this helthe of God is sent'; and in Tind. (as well as in Wyc.), Lk 19^{9} 'This day is healthe come unto this housse.' Cf. also Erasmus, *On the Creed*, p. 40, 'The first degree [=step] than unto helthe is *Credere deum esse* (*id est*) to believe that there is God.' This is the meaning of 'health' in Ps 42^{11} 43^{5} 'Who is the health of my countenance' (Wyc. 'the helthe of my chere'). The Heb. is יְשׁוּעָה, which is tr^{d} 'salvation' in Ps 62^{1}, Is 56^{1} (Wyc. as usual 'helthe,' Cov. 'savynge health'), and elsewhere. In Ps 62^{2} the word is used of the *person*, 'He only is my rock and my salvation' (='saviour,' which is Cheyne's tr^{n} in Ps 42^{11} 43^{5}; RVm gives 'help,' which is Coverdale's word). Again in Ps 67^{2} 'That thy way may be known upon earth, thy saving health among all nations'; 'saving health' stands for the same Heb. word (Wyc. 'helthe'; 'savynge health' being from Coverdale, who uses the phrase in other places, as Is 51^{8} 'But my rightuousness shal endure for ever, and my savynge health from generacion to generacion').

But 'health' was often used in a still wider sense, denoting the prosperity or safety of a person or a place. As expressing 'safety' it occurs in Ac 27^{34} 'Wherefore I pray you to take some meat: for this is for your health' (*σωτηρία*, RV 'safety'). Cf. Ac 27^{20} Wyc. 'Sothely nether sunne nether sterris apperinge bi mo dayes, and tempest not litil schewinge nygh, now al the hope of oure heelthe was don awey.' See MEDICINE.

J. HASTINGS.

HEART, לֵב or לֵבָב, *καρδία*.—In the AV of the OT other Hebrew expressions for the inward parts of the body are also rendered by 'heart': *e.g.* קֶרֶב in Ps 39^{3}, מֵעַי Ps 40^{8}. 'Heart' has thus the general sense of *the midst, the innermost or hidden part of anything*, in such instances as the 'heart of the sea,' Ex 15^{8}; of heaven, Dt 4^{11} (RV and AVm); of a tree, 2 S $18^{14\text{ff.}}$; of the earth, Mt 12^{40}.

But its ruling use is (1) for *the bodily organ*, of the centrality of which as the seat of life the ancients had on the whole a correct view. Since in Bible phrase 'the life is in the blood' (Lv 17^{14}), that organ which forms the centre of its distribution must have the most important place in the whole system. So by an easy transition 'heart' came (2) to signify *the seat of man's collective energies*, the focus of the personal life.

This secondary or psychical meaning it holds unchanged and undisputed through the whole of the biblical writings. Its prominence as a psychological term in the Scriptures and in other ancient books is no doubt due partly to the fact that the physical heart bulked so much more largely in the view of those times than the head or brain. How rarely are any functions of thought attributed to the latter in the OT (see only Dn 2^{28} $4^{2.\,7.\,10}$ $7^{1.\,15}$ as exceptions). This fact introduces the only difference in the Bible use of 'heart' metaphorically from that of everyday modern speech. As from the fleshly heart goes forth the blood in which is the animal life, so from the heart of the human soul goes forth the entire mental and moral activity. To it also all the actions of the human soul return. '*In corde actiones animæ humanæ ad ipsum redeunt*' (Roos). There the soul is at home with itself, becomes conscious of doing and suffering as its own. 'The heart knoweth the bitterness of the soul,' or 'of itself' (Pr 14^{10}).

---

* Headstrong occurs in AV, Sir 30^{8}, of a horse, as tr^{n} of *σκληρός*.

Heart is therefore the organ of conscience, of self-knowledge, and indeed of all knowledge. For though the reflective function is prominent, we must note that all inner human movements are denoted by this word in Scripture; the rational and intellectual as well as other. This is the main distinction between the biblical and the modern usage of the word. In the OT it by no means signifies mainly or only the emotional or volitional elements in human nature, but pre-eminently the intellectual (hence אֵין לֵב = 'without understanding'). It is only in the later Scriptures that the Greek habit of distinguishing the rational from the emotional finds place.

The following analysis of the OT uses of לֵבָב and לֵב is abridged from that of *Oxf. Heb. Lexicon* :—

1. Of the *inner man in contrast with the outer*; opposed to flesh Ps 73^{26}, garments Jl 2^{13}, hands Ps 73^{13}, La 3^{41} (?), eyes Nu 15^{39}, 1 S 16^{7}, ears Ezk 3^{10}, mouth Dt 30^{14}, speech Ps 28^{3} 78^{18}.

2. The inner man, *comprehending mind, affections, will*; note *e.g.* the frequent 'with all the heart and with all the soul' (בְּכָל־לֵבָב וּבְכָל־נֶפֶשׁ) Dt 4^{29} 6^{5} and oft.; cf. 'what is in the heart' (אֲשֶׁר בִּלְבָב) Dt 8^{2}, 'with the heart' (עִם לֵבָב) Dt 8^{5}.

3. With specific reference to *mind*, *e.g.* אַנְשֵׁי לֵבָב 'men of mind' Job $34^{10.\,34}$, *knowledge* Dt 8^{5}, 1 K 2^{44}, *thinking, reflection*, Is 10^{7}, *memory* 1 S 21^{12}.

4. With specific reference to *inclinations, resolutions, determinations of the will*, *e.g.* 'set the mind to' (־אֶל) 1 S 7^{3}, 1 Ch 29^{18}, 'Pharaoh's mind was changed' (יֵהָפֵךְ ל׳ פ׳) Ex 14^{5}.

5. With specific reference to *conscience*, 'my heart (*i.e.* conscience) shall not reproach me' Job 27^{6}.

6. With specific reference to *moral character*: God tries the heart 1 Ch 29^{17}; 'uprightness of heart' Dt 9^{5}, heart perfect with (עִם) 1 K 8^{61}; heart as seat of naughtiness 1 S 17^{28} (?), pride Ps 101^{5}; heart circumcised or uncircumcised Dt 10^{16}, Lv 26^{41}, hardened Dt 2^{30}.

7. Heart=*the man himself*, Dt 7^{17} 8^{17} 9^{4}, Is 14^{13}.

8. As seat of the *appetites*, Ps 104^{15}.

9. As seat of *emotions and passions*, *e.g.* joy Is 30^{29}, trouble 1 K 8^{38}, anger Dt 19^{6}, hate Lv 19^{17}.

10. As seat of *courage* (for which usually רוּחַ) Dn 11^{25}.

Because it is the focus of the personal life, the workplace for the appropriation and assimilation of every influence, in 'heart,' according to Scripture, lies the moral and religious condition of the man. Only what enters the heart forms a possession of moral worth, only what comes from the heart is a moral production. The Bible places human depravity in the 'heart' because sin is a principle which has its seat in the centre of man's inward life, and thence 'defiles' the whole circuit of his action (Mt $15^{19.\,20}$). On the other hand, it regards the 'heart' as the sphere of divine influence, the starting-point of all moral renovation: 'The work of the law written in their hearts' (Ro 2^{15}); 'A new heart will I give you' (Ezk 36^{26}); 'Purifying their hearts by faith' (Ac 15^{9}). Once more, the 'heart' as lying deep within contains 'the hidden man' (1 P 3^{4}), the real man. It represents the true character, but conceals it; hence it is contrasted with the 'outward appearance,' and is declared to be the index of character only for Him who 'searches the heart and tries the reins of the children of men' (1 S 16^{7}; Jer 17^{10} 20^{12}).

This scriptural usage—making the heart the source of the moral life—lends firmness and simplicity to its teachings about sin and grace. That man's moral corruption is seated in his heart means that not the substance of human nature or the personality of man is perverted, but his principles of action. That the saving process begins with 'a new heart' means that not another self or personality is substituted, but that new principles of action are introduced. Hence the whole doctrine of sin and grace is biblically grounded in a way to free it from mistake or exaggeration.

On the relation of the term Heart to Soul, Spirit, Reins, Conscience, see under these words.

LITERATURE.—*Oxf. Heb. Lex.* s. לֵבָב and לֵב; Cremer, *Bib.-Theol. Lex.*, and Thayer-Grimm, s. *καρδία*; Oehler, *Theol. of OT*, i. 221 ff., ii. 449; Schultz, *OT Theol.* ii. 248; Weiss, *Bib. Theol. of NT* ('Heart' in Index). J. LAIDLAW.

HEARTH.—The word 'hearth' is found in seven passages of our AV, in all of which, with one exception (Is 30^{14}), it has been discarded by the Revisers. On the other hand, it has been introduced three times into their text (Lv 6^{9} [Heb.^{2}], Ezk $43^{15.\,16}$), and once besides in an explanatory note in the margin (Is 29^{1}; for all of these see No. 4 below).

1. The primitive domestic hearth was a mere depression in the earthen floor of the living-room, where the family meal was cooked, and around which, in the cold season, the family gathered for warmth. The Hebrew name for the hearth was perhaps מוֹקֵד *môḳēd* (Ps 102^{3} [Heb.^{4}] 'my bones are burned as an hearth' AV; but RV has 'as a firebrand,' cf. LXX *φρύγιον*, with the former rendering in the margin). This word would thus be identical in meaning as well as in form with the Arabic *mauḳid.** The nearly allied יָקוּד (Is 30^{14}), by AV and RV rendered 'hearth,' is more strictly *the burning mass*, a meaning which many would give to *moḳed* (see both words in *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*). The same uncertainty attaches to the form מוֹקְדָה *môḳĕdah* (Lv 6^{9} [Heb.^{2}] 'the burnt-offering shall be on the hearth' RV; 'on its firewood' RVm), which is probably not an independent word, but the masc. form (*môḳēd*) with suffix (so Dillm., Strack, etc.). A detailed description of the modern Syrian hearth (*mauḳdi*) is given by Landberg (*Proverbes et Dictons*, pp. 73, 74), with illustration (p. 455). The smoke from the hearth, on which various kinds of fuel, wood, charcoal, dung, etc. (see COAL, FUEL) were burned, escaped as best it might through door or latticed window (אֲרֻבָּה, Hos 13^{3} AV, RV 'chimney'), since chimneys were unknown (see CHIMNEY).

2. In the houses of the wealthier classes, at least, braziers or chafing dishes were in common use. Thus Jehoiakim on a memorable occasion had Jeremiah's roll 'consumed in the fire that was in the brazier' (הָאָח Jer $36^{22.\,23}$ RV; AV in each case 'on the hearth'; LXX *ἐπι τῆς ἐσχάρας*, which is ambiguous) in his 'winter house.' A similar firepan is referred to in Zec 12^{6} ('like a pan of fire' כִּיּוֹר אֵשׁ; so RV, but AV 'like a hearth of fire'). Cf. for NT times Jn 18^{18} 21^{9}.

3. In Gn 18^{6} Sarah is requested to 'make cakes upon the hearth' (AV), for which RV has, more literally, 'make cakes.' The cakes in question, termed *'ugôth* (עֻגוֹת), were really baked 'upon the hearth' by being covered with the hot ashes, and are therefore accurately rendered by the Vulgate

---

* So Del. *in loc.*, and Siegfried-Stade's *Lex.* For other possible significations of מוֹקֵד see Bæthgen's note in his *Handkommentar*, *in loc.*

subcinericios panes (LXX *ἐγκρυφίας*). See BREAD, vol. i. p. 318.

4. We have seen (under No. 1 above) that, according to a possible interpretation, the top of the altar of burnt-offering was known as its 'hearth' (Lv 6^{9} [Heb.^{2}] in RV). This is confirmed by the description in Sirach of Simon the high priest standing 'by the hearth of the altar' (*ἑστὼς παρ' ἐσχάρᾳ βωμοῦ*, Sir 50^{12}). The upper portion of the altar also receives a special name from Ezekiel, viz. *'Arî'ēl* (הָאֲרִיאֵל, so Kerê $43^{15.\ 16}$), the origin and precise significance of which are uncertain. Most recent scholars are in favour of the meaning adopted by the Revisers, 'altar hearth' (AV wrongly 'altar.'*).

The enigmatical term *Ariel* (אֲרִיאֵל), by which Isaiah ($29^{1ff.}$) designates Jerusalem, is also, by various modern writers, understood in this sense of 'altar hearth' (cf. RVm 'hearth of God.' See comm. of Duhm and Skinner, *in loc.*; also ARIEL in vol. i. with reff. there, to which add Cheyne, *Isaiah*, in Haupt's 'Polychrome Bible').

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

HEATH (עַרְעָר *'ar'ar*, עֲרוֹעֵר *'ărô'ēr*, *ἀγριομυρίκη*, *ὄνος ἄγριος*, *myrica*).—This is AV translation of the Hebrew name of a plant growing in the desert, doubtless identical with the *'ar'ar* of the Arabs, *Juniperus Phœnicea*, L., which grows on the W. face of the range of the mountains of Edom, overlooking the 'Arabah. Its branches, clothed with minute scale-like leaves, may well entitle it to the name 'naked tree' (AVm Jer 48^{6}). In this and the only other passage where the word occurs (Jer 17^{6}), RVm has 'a tamarisk tree.' There is another species of *Juniper*, called by the Arabs *'ar'ar*. It is *J. oxycedrus*, L. This species is not, however, a desert plant. It grows in the middle and sub-alpine regions of Syria. It is unlikely that this is the plant referred to. One species of heath, *Erica verticillata*, Forsk., grows on sandstone and chalky rocks, at an altitude of from 300 to 3500 ft., on the W. face of Lebanon and the chains to the northward. This cannot be the plant intended. There are no heaths in the desert. G. E. POST.

HEATHEN.—The title 'Nations' in Scripture (Heb. *Goiim*, Gr. *Ethnē*), originally covering the nations of the world as a whole, soon comes to designate exclusively the non-Jews, the uncircumcised. Scripture casts its view, and it is a sympathetic view, over the whole human race, before it treats of the forefathers of the Israelites in particular. Though many of the Jews of later times became proudly exclusive in their treatment of those who did not belong to the privileged people, the religion of Scripture gives no warrant for such an attitude on their part; it is fundamentally characterized by the spirit of humanity. The synopsis of the peoples of the earth given in Gn 10, by connecting them all with Noah, presents them as related to each other like kinsmen. Dillmann (*Genesis*, p. 176) points out how other races too, Egyptians and Phœnicians, Assyrians and Babylonians, even Indians and Persians, had a certain knowledge of the earth and its inhabitants, but usually paid little attention to foreigners, except when influenced by political or commercial reasons, and often despised them as mere barbarians. 'Here in Genesis, on the other hand, all the peoples that were known by repute, most of whom could not have stood in any intimate relation to the countrymen of the writer, are included in his survey. All the divisions of mankind are collected in a genealogical tree, and Israel is held to be only an ordinary branch on the stock of universal humanity.' The same breadth of outlook is indicated in the announcements that God created *man* in His own image (Gn 1^{27}), that He blessed *Noah and his sons*, and assigned a penalty for the shedding of *man's* blood (Gn $9^{1.\ 6}$). Even in giving the promise of special favour to Abraham and his seed, God showed Himself gracious to the other inhabitants of the world as well. One race was chosen and disciplined for the ultimate good of the whole. In Abraham all the families of the earth were to be blessed (Gn 12^{3}).

At the same time, we see the severest treatment of the heathen approved of in the OT. Efforts were made to extirpate the Canaanites after the land of Pal. was entered, and the OT represents that it was a great sin to spare them (Ex $23^{27ff.}$, Nu $33^{52ff.}$, Dt $20^{16ff.}$). The disaster that befell the Canaanites is viewed, however, as the consequence of their utter moral corruption, their grievous sin against the light of nature; the reflection stirred by their ruin is comparable to that which is now occasioned by the action of inexorable laws of Providence on demoralized nations of modern times. Israel was commanded to make no marriages with the inhabitants of the land that remained (Jos 23^{12}), and to make no league with them (Jg 2^{2}). The prophets had an arduous struggle to keep Israel's worship of J" separate from that which was contaminated by the idolatrous heathen rites as practised on the high places. Heathenism, with its distinguishing feature of idolatry, remained a congenital faith, even to the people of God, and spiritual monotheism was a new thing which was, for obvious reasons, repugnant to them. The centralization of Jewish worship at the temple, as enjoined in Dt, was mainly due to the purpose of the prophets to isolate the chosen people from all their heathen neighbours. The natural, racial, inherited proclivities of the Israelites could not be extinguished, and the nation could not advance in the knowledge and service of the true God otherwise than by the method of seclusion from the surrounding tribes.

The prophets, however, far from cherishing a spirit of blind hostility towards the heathen, foresee the day when the nations will be gathered into the one family of God's people, having rest and comfort, and enjoying the blessings of the law that goes forth from Jerusalem. The golden age of the world, according to the OT, is in the future, and the heathen will participate in its glory (Is 40–66). The Bk. of Jonah sets forth God's tender regard for the heathen.

Jewish exclusiveness as towards the heathen culminates in the post-exilic age. The Jews being shorn of political influence, became the more confirmed in their devotion to their faith, and hedged it round with an elaborate system of ritual (the Levitical law). The barrier between them and the heathen thus became more impassable than ever.

As the Greeks spread along the shores of the Mediter., and their speech and customs became more prevalent (2 Mac $4^{10ff.}$), they, as the principal representatives, stood for the heathen generally (Ro 10^{12}, 1 Co 10^{32} 12^{13}, Gal 3^{28}; cf. Jn 7^{35}).

The Jewish view of the heathen is marked by conflicting elements, and needs to be superseded. The heathen are at once held in repugnance, and called to the highest honour.

Christianity was, in the first instance, a development and modification of Judaism. As the world had needed preparation for the coming of Christ, so He took up the work which was begun among the Jews and completed it. But the principle of universalism is involved in His doctrine of the kingdom of God as a kingdom of righteousness and love; in His doctrine of God as the Father of individual spirits, who welcomes the returning prodigal on the sole condition that he repents and has faith (Lk 15); or, again, in His announcement that God is a spirit, who must be worshipped in spirit and in truth (Jn 4^{23}). God is the Father of all, and the conditions of acceptance with God are such as all men can and ought to fulfil.

---

* For ההראל *har'ēl*, Ezk 43^{15a} (RV 'upper altar'), we should read as above האריאל, or perhaps throughout האראל, as on the Moabite Stone (Smend and Socin, lines 12, 17).

What was implicit in the doctrine of Christ on this matter was made explicit, after a period of conflict with the other apostles, by St. Paul. To the latter there is no distinction between Jews and Gentiles, except that the Jews, as being the better prepared, through the oracles of God entrusted to them, have the privilege of hearing the gospel first (Ro 3^{2}). But the Gentiles, too, have had a measure of training by the law, that which is known through nature and conscience; and if they turn to God and keep the law, their uncircumcision will be counted to them for circumcision (Ro $2^{14.\,26}$). In all this a continuous plan is seen to be worked out by God, for those who sincerely believe are the true descendants of Abraham, having his faith; and they are the truly circumcised, for true circumcision is of the heart (Ro 2 ff.).

According to the gospel, heathenism proves to be, not a matter of nationality, but of spirit and character. So in the OT the moral aspect of it is frequently emphasized, especially in the Psalms, where heathenism is often synonymous with wickedness. Its essence is set forth by Christ in Mt $6^{31.\,32}$. To the heathen mind God is a power that needs to be appeased or conciliated for *worldly* purposes. The world only is sought with desire—protection from disease or misfortune, material prosperity, enjoyment bodily or mental. By the faithful spirit, on the other hand, religion is made the first choice, and the God who is worshipped is seen in His true character, is recognized as the true God; He is reverenced as a righteous Spirit, and loved more than aught else for His fatherly goodness. In this way distinctions of race, name, or profession pass over into such as are moral and spiritual. See FOREIGNER, GENTILE, GER.

G. FERRIES.

HEAVEN.—The word 'heaven' is used in a variety of senses in the OT and NT, but especially in that of the dwelling-place of God, the abode from which Christ came and to which He has returned, and the destination of the perfected saints. The etymological associations of the term are extensive. It is of uncertain root, though it may be connected with the Lat. *capere*, and the Eng. *have* and *heave*. It appears in different forms in many European languages, Sw. *hefva*, Da. *haeve*, Go. *hafjan*, Ic. *hefja*, *hifinn*, Ger. *heben*, OHG *heffan*, AS *hebban*, ME *heuen*; Chaucer, *CT*, 552; in Robert of Gloucester, however, *hebben*. (See Skeat, *Etymol. Dict.*^{2}).

In the OT it usually represents שָׁמַיִם, Aram. שְׁמַיִן, which expresses 'heaven' in respect of its height; and in the NT οὐρανός, οὐρανοί, which may be connected with ὄρνυμι=*lift*, *heave* (cf. Ger. *Luft*, Scot. 'the lift'), and the Vedic *varuna*, from *var*=*tegere* (see M. Müller, *Oxford Essays*, p. 41). In the LXX οὐρανός stands not only for שָׁמַיִם, שְׁמַיָּא, but also for אֵל, אֱלוֹהַּ, מָרוֹם, שַׁחַק, חוּצוֹת, תֵּבֵל, תְּהוֹם, רָקִיעַ. In our AV the word 'heaven' represents in addition to שָׁמַיִם mainly three words of different significations, רָקִיעַ, מָרוֹם, שְׁחָקִים. But there are also certain words of which it is erroneously made the equivalent. One of these is the term גַּלְגַּל, which expresses the idea of roundness, and is rendered 'heaven' in Ps 77^{18} (AV), as if it meant the 'round orb of the sky,' but which conveys rather the notion of a 'whirl,' and may be best rendered 'whirlwind' (so RV). Another is עֲרָבוֹת, in Ps 68^{4}, in the description of J″ riding 'on the heavens.' But while the term might be taken, as it is by some, in the sense of the large expanse of the sky, it is more accordant with its usual meaning to take it in the sense of 'deserts.' Another is the term עֲרִיפִים, which is rendered 'darkness' by the Syr. and the Vulg., and 'heavens' in the AV in Is 5^{30}; but it means properly 'droppings,' 'clouds,' and expresses probably the idea of the clouds ready to discharge their rains. In Ps $89^{6.\,37}$, too, the word שַׁחַק is rendered 'heaven,' which properly denotes 'dust,' and may best be rendered the 'clouds' or the 'skies.'

The chief ideas attached to the word 'heaven' in the OT, therefore, are the following. It is used (1) in the largest sense, to signify the one half of the whole system of things, the upper division of the created world, the phrase 'the heavens and the earth' expressing the universe as a whole (Gn 1^{1}). More specifically it is used (2) to denote the *firmament* (στερέωμα), the sky, the expanse which God made on the second day of His creative work, after the formation of the 'earth' and the institution of 'day' and 'night' (Gn $1^{6.\,8}$). This 'expanse' is represented as dividing the waters above from the waters beneath. In speaking of it in its different aspects, the OT writers employ a great variety of terms, both literal and boldly metaphorical, which naturally move within the limits of the popular conceptions that prevailed among the Semitic and other ancient peoples on the subject of the system of things, and the place which the earth held in it as its centre and the proper object of God's creative action. The simple ideas which meet us in ancient Greek poetry (cf. Homer, *Il.* xvii. 425, *Od.* iii. 2; Pindar, *Ol. Od.* 10, *Nem.* vi. 3) and in the oldest literature of the East (*e.g.* the Vedic hymns, the Babylonian tablets, etc.), are also expressed in the OT. The 'firmament,' or vault of heaven, is described in terms of a strong cover, curtain, or roof provided for the earth (Is 40^{22}, Ps 104^{2}), resting on pillars, on the mountains and the waters of the earth (2 S 22^{8}, Job 26^{11}, Pr $8^{27\text{-}29}$). Its beauty is described as that of crystal or sapphire (Ex 24^{10}, Job 37^{18}, Ezk $1^{26\text{-}28}$). It is represented as the region of the fowls, the winds, the clouds (Dn 4^{12} $7^{2.\,13}$). In it the ancient Hebrews, like the Greeks and Romans (cf. Plutarch, *De plac. phil.* 2^{14}, Pliny, 2^{39}), conceived God to have placed the fixed stars and the planets (Gn 1^{17}, Is 14^{12} 34^{4}).

It is used also (3) to denote the peculiar abode of Deity, with which the ideas of elevation, majesty, glory, power, holiness, unchangeableness are associated. It is the place to which prayer ascends (2 Ch 30^{27}), which makes J″'s throne (Is 6^{1} 66^{1}), which is His peculiar possession in contrast with the earth which He has given to the sons of men (Ps 115^{16}). It is the 'height' or 'heights' (Job 22^{12}, Ps 148^{1}), supramundane, above the firmament and all created things (Ps $29^{3.\,10}$ $104^{2.\,3}$). As the dwelling-place of God it is described in terms of a temple, a sanctuary, a palace, a throne (Ps 11^{4}, Mic 1^{2}, Hab 2^{20} etc.). The ideas of the supramundane abode are taken so naturally from the visible things of the mundane holy place, which was the centre of the Jewish worship of God and the place where He was specially to be found, that it is sometimes difficult to say which of the two was immediately in the writer's thought (*e.g.* in Is 6; see Riehm, *HW*, under the word *Himmel*). It is the place, too, in which God has His court of angels (Job 1^{6} 2^{1}, implicitly). But while it is often thus spoken of as the peculiar habitation of God, it is also described as incapable of containing Him, and the prophets declare His greatness to be such as to surpass all the bounds of space and all idea of residence within the limits even of the heaven of heavens (Is 40^{12} 66^{1}; cf. 1 K 8^{27}).

But it is also used, (4), in the eschatological sense, to express the new constitution of things which shall in the end take the place of the present imperfect order. In many passages the quality of the changeless and enduring is ascribed to 'heaven,' especially in contrast with the mutable earth and the perishable life of man (Jos 11^{21}, Ps 72$^{5.\,7.\,17}$ 89^{29}, Jer 31$^{35.\,36}$ 33$^{25.\,26}$). But it is also exhibited as an aspect of the changeful and transitory, as contrasted with the changeless being and eternal years of God Himself (Ps 102$^{25\text{-}27}$, Is 51^{6}). And the OT looks forward to a day of divine judgment, the issue of which shall be the dissolution of the present order, the renewal of the system of things, and the creation of a glorious condition of which a restored heaven shall form part (Is 65^{17} 66^{22}).

The NT takes over the general OT idea of 'heaven,' but with certain differences and enlargements. It has the same general conception of 'heaven' as a region above earth. As the OT speaks of a ladder reaching to heaven (Gn 28^{12}), of Elijah as going 'up' in a whirlwind to heaven (2 K 2^{11}), of the 'heights' of heaven (Job 11^{8}), etc., so the NT speaks of the angels of God ascending and descending in relation to heaven (Jn 1^{51}), of St. Paul as 'caught up' to the third heaven (2 Co 12^{2}), of St. John as seeing a door opened in heaven and hearing a voice saying, 'Come up hither' (Rev 4^{1}), of the holy city as descending from God out of heaven (Rev 21^{2}), etc. In the NT it is also the name given to the peculiar dwelling-place of God, and Christ's doctrine of God as our 'Father in heaven' adds to the OT conception of its majesty and remoteness and holiness the new ideas of security, grace, and love. The whole conception of heaven as the habitation of Deity is made more definite by its being presented as the scene of the present life and activity of Christ. It is the place from which He came to earth and to which He reascended (Mk 16^{19}, Lk 24^{51}, Ac 1^{11}); the habitation which 'must receive' Him 'until the times of the restitution of all things' (Ac 3^{21}); the scene of His present reign and His present work. In heaven He is in 'the presence of God' (He 9^{24}), and there His glory can be seen (Jn 17^{24}). The scene of Christ's risen life and the work of intercession which He carries on in it are described with special fulness in the Ep. to the Heb., and in terms of the ancient Jewish sanctuary, its conditions, its sanctities, and its services (He 8$^{1\,\text{etc.}}$ 9^{24}). Heaven is also the abode of the angels (Mt 18^{10} 22^{30}, Rev 3^{5}), and the place from which the Holy Ghost is sent down (1 P 1^{12}).

It is chiefly in its eschatological applications that the word 'heaven' is used in the NT. The idea of a renewal of heaven as well as earth that is associated in the OT with the judgment of the end, is given more distinctly in the NT. In certain large and significant passages the NT speaks of a redemption of the whole creation from the bondage of corruption (Ro 8^{21}), of a gathering together and a reconciliation of things in heaven as well as things on earth (Eph 1^{10}, Col 1^{20}), of a time of the restitution of all things (Ac 3^{21}), of a day when all things shall be made new (Rev 21^{5}), of the formation of a 'new heaven' as well as 'a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness' (2 P 3$^{12.\,13}$, Rev 21^{1}). The NT associates this renewal of the heavens with Christ's Second Coming and the Final Judgment, and connects the hope of a new scene and order for man's life with that of the final perfection of his life. Further, in the NT 'heaven' is in particular the final home of the righteous. It is the place which Christ has gone to prepare for them (Jn 14^{2}), the place from which He is to come with His holy angels (Mt 24^{30}, Mk 13^{26}, Lk 21^{27}, Rev 1^{7}) for the final arbitrament of things, and into which His own shall be received that they may be with Him and see His glory (Mt 5^{12}, Lk 6^{23}, 2 Cor 5^{1}, Eph 6^{9}, He 10^{34} etc.). So it is the sum of all good, and the goal of man's hope (Mt 6^{19}, Lk 6^{23} 10^{20}, Ph 3^{20}, 1 P 1^{4}, He 12^{23}).

There are other questions regarding the 'heaven' of the Bible which are of interest and require consideration. Some relate to the use of the term, others to the ideas of heaven which find expression in the Scriptures. Among these is the question whether the word 'heaven' or 'heavens' occurs either in the OT or in the NT as a metonymy for *God.* The Jew of later times had so exaggerated a sense of the sanctity of the divine name, that he did not allow himself to utter the most proper designation of God, but had recourse to equivalents. There is abundant evidence to show that by our Lord's time the word 'heaven' or 'heavens' was in frequent use in this way; and it is held by not a few competent scholars that the Jewish formula מַלְכוּת שָׁמַיִם is an instance of this, and that St. Matthew's phrase, 'the kingdom of heaven,' is literally the same as 'the kingdom of God,' which is the expression of the other evangelists and of St. Paul (see Cremer, *Bib.-theol. Lex., sub voce* βασιλεία; Thayer's *Lex., sub voce* οὐρανὸς; Edersheim's *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, i. 265; *Jhrb. f. prot. Theol.* 1876, p. 166, etc.; Schürer, *HJP*, Eng. tr. div. II. vol. ii. p. 171). The instances of this use furnished by the Bible are at the best very scanty, and even the most probable cases are negatived by many. There seems, however, to be at least one sufficiently clear instance in the OT (Dn 4^{26}), and another, though more disputable, in the NT (Lk 15^{18}), where, however, it may be (as it is taken, *e.g.*, by Meyer and others) a personification of the heavenly world 'as injured and offended.'

Another question is whether the conception of a *series* of heavens is found in the Scriptures. This has been answered in the negative, and the terms which seem to imply the influence of such a conception have been taken for plurals of majesty, or large, rhetorical expressions of the idea of infinity. But the evidence is all in favour of the affirmative answer. The plural form of the Hebrew word points in that direction. Much more decidedly is this the case with such forms as 'the heaven of heavens' (Dt 10^{14}, 1 K 8^{27}, Ps 148^{4}), 'all the heavens' (Eph 4^{10} RV), 'the third heaven' (2 Co 12^{2}). The same may be said of the peculiar phrase 'in the heavenly places,' or 'in the heavenlies' (ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις), which occurs five times in the Ep. to the Eph. (1$^{3.\,20}$ 2^{6} 3^{10} 6^{12}), and has in each a local sense. To which must be added the idea of Christ as the great High Priest who has 'passed through the heavens' (He 4^{14}), and is 'made higher than the heavens' (He 7^{26}). The affirmative reply is also in harmony with the fact that the idea of a plurality of heavens prevailed among other ancient peoples, and in particular among those that were in contact with the Jewish nation at different periods of its history, such as the Babylonians and the Persians. This conclusion is further confirmed by the large place which is given to this idea in the Rabbinical literature, and in the apocalyptic and other pseudepigraphic books, both Jewish and Christian,—especially the Slavonic Enoch, the apocalyptic parts of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, 4 Ezra, the Ascension of Isaiah, the Apocalypses of Moses, Ezra, John, Isaac, Jacob.

With this is connected the further question whether the plurality that is recognized is one of three heavens or of seven. It has been thought by some that only the idea of a series of three heavens is found in Scripture. It has been pronounced by some (Estius, Le Clerc, Bengel) to be the *doctrine* of the Bible that there are only three heavens. Origen (*Con. Cels.* vi. p. 289) denied that St. Paul had the idea of seven heavens, and the idea of a threefold heaven obtained a considerable place in the Church (Suicer, *Thes.* ii. p. 520, etc.). But the evidence which bears out the existence of the idea of a plurality of heavens also favours the idea of a sevenfold series of heavens. Among the Babylonians a sevenfold division of heavens seems to have prevailed. They had the conception of seven world-zones; they surrounded their cities, Erech and Ecbatana, with seven walls; they thought of hell as divided into seven parts by seven walls. And though no explicit reference to it appears to have been discovered as yet among the inscriptions, it is reasonable to suppose that their heaven was also divided into seven sections (Jensen, *Kosm. der Babyl.* pp. 232–252; Sayce, *Hib. Lect.* pp. 221–227). In the Zoroastrian books, but not in the earliest, we find the idea of a succession of seven heavens, which were traversed by Sosioch in seven days, Zarathrustra himself occupying a golden throne in the seventh. The Jews were familiar, too, with the planets, of which four are mentioned by name in the OT (2 K 17^{30}, Am 5^{26}, Is 14^{12} 46^{1} 65^{11}). The same conception of seven heavens appears to have been almost universal among the Rabbis, only R. Juda being mentioned as diverging from the general doctrine, and teaching the existence of but two heavens. The pseudepigraphic writings, and very definitely the Slavonic Enoch and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, give the same enumeration of the heavens, and describe them at length. It is hazardous to infer, as Meyer does, from the notice of *Paradise* in 2 Co 12^{4} that St. Paul thought of it as higher than the third heaven and belonging to a fourth heaven; for in the pseudepigraphic literature *Paradise* is repeatedly represented as being in the third heaven. But, in view of the evidence, the most reasonable conclusion is that the conception of the heavens which pervades the OT and the NT (not excepting the Pauline writings, though St. Paul mentions only the *third* heaven and *Paradise*) is that of a series of seven heavens.

This idea of a plurality of heavens as it appears in the Biblical writings, however, is free from the extravagances and puerilities which we find associated with it in the extra-canonical literature. In the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, *e.g.*, curious details are given of each of the several heavens. The first is full of darkness and gloom; the second, of fire, ice, and snow. The third contains the hosts that are to execute judgment on the spirits of deceit and of Beliar. In the fourth are thrones and authorities; in the fifth and the sixth are angels with different offices. In the seventh dwells the Great Glory. In the Slavonic Enoch there is a still more elaborate description. In the first heaven, it is there said, are 'a very great sea,' and 'the elders and the rulers of the stars,' and treasuries of snow, ice, clouds, and dew. In the second are the prisoners reserved for eternal judgment. In the third are found the Garden of Eden, and the tree of life and an olive tree ever distilling oil. In the fourth are seen the course of the sun and moon, the angels, and the phœnixes and the chalkidri that wait upon the sun. In the fifth are the watchers, troubled and silent, on account of their fallen brethren. In the sixth are seven bands of angels, very bright and glorious, students of the courses of sun, moon, and stars, also the angels over the souls of men, with seven phœnixes, seven cherubim, and seven six-winged creatures. In the seventh are the heavenly hosts, the ten great orders of angels, and the Lord Himself on His lofty throne. In the Rabbinical books we find similar trivialities. In the *Beresh. rabba*, c. 6, the *Bammidbar rabba*, c. 17, and the *Chagiga*, xii. 6, *e.g.*, the differences between the several heavens are given in extreme and fanciful detail. The first or lowest heaven is called *Vilon* (וִילוֹן, Lat. *velum*), and is empty. The second is called *Raḳîa*, and contains the sun, moon, and stars. The third is called *Shechaḳim*, and contains the mills that grind the manna for the righteous. The fourth is called *Zebul*, and in it are the heavenly Jerusalem, the temple, the altar, and Michael. The fifth is named *Maon*, in which are the 'hosts of angels, praising God by night, but keeping silent by day that God may hear the praises of Israel.' The sixth is named *Machon*, and it holds the treasuries of the snow, hail, rain, and dew. The seventh is known as *Aravoth*, the seat of judgment and righteousness, with the treasuries of life, peace, and blessing. In it, too, are the souls of the righteous dead, the spirits and souls of men yet to be born, and the dew with which the dead shall be awaked. And in it are the Seraphim, Ophannim, Chayyoth, and other orders of angels (cf. Dante, *Par.* c. 27), and God Himself on His eternal throne. The Ascension of Isaiah gives another incongruous description of the series of heavens.

Similar speculations, and, if possible, even more tasteless and absurd, appear to have been indulged in by certain heretical leaders and their sects. Irenæus (*Cont. Hær.* bk. i. c. v. 2) and Tertullian (*Adv. Valent.* 20) speak of the fancies of the Valentinians on the subject. From Irenæus (*Adv. Hær.* bk. i. c. xxx. 4, 5), Origen (*Con. Cels.* vi. 31), and Epiph. (*Hær.* xxvi. 10), we learn also that the Ophites held the doctrine of a Hebdomad of heavens ruled by seven potentates. Others, *e.g.* the Gnostic Marcus (Iren. *Adv. Hær.* bk. i. c. xvii. 1), reckoned eight heavens, and Basilides (August. *De Hær.* i. 4) held there were 365. Nor are the Christian apocalypses, such as the Apoc. Mosis, the Apoc. Esdræ, the Apoc. Johannis, less given to such speculations. The belief in a series of seven heavens, with some of the curious theories which prevailed so extensively on the subject, penetrated indeed into the Christian Church, and was more or less favoured by some of the leading Fathers. Clement of Alexandria, *e.g.*, mentions it in terms which suggest that he did not question its validity (*Strom.* iv. 25). Origen refers to it in much the same way, explaining, however, that there was no authoritative doctrine on the subject (*De princ.* ii. 11). Augustine has an uncertain theory of his own, implying three heavens (*De Gen. ad lit.* xii. 5, 27). Even near the end of the 4th cent. these notions held such a place in Christian thought, that Philastrius pronounced it a heresy to deny the plurality of the heavens, though the question of the particular number, whether two, three, or seven, was left open (*De Hær.* bk. 94). At last, however, the reaction came, and Chrysostom declared the whole conception of a series of heavens to be a human fancy, and contrary to Scripture. Repudiated by the Church, it was adopted by Mohammedanism. It is affirmed in the Koran (*e.g.* c. 22, 41), and in later Mohammedan writings it appears in the crudest possible forms.

The ideas of 'heaven' and the 'heavens' which are expressed in Scripture are of a different order. Neither in the OT nor in the NT have we anything like those far-fetched ineptitudes. It is the more remarkable that it should be so, in view of the fact that these things prevailed so long and so widely, and had so great a hold, not only of ethnic faith, but also of Jewish and Christian thought. Later Christian theology has relapsed from time to time into such theorizings, distinguishing between the heaven of clouds, the heaven of stars, and the empyrean; between the *visible* heaven or firmament, the *spiritual* heaven, the abode of saints and angels, and the *intellectual* heaven, which is the scene of the immediate vision of God (*Elucidar.* c. 3); between the *cœlum sidereum*, the *cœlum crystallinum*, and the *cœlum empyreum* (John of Dam., Thomas Aquin., etc.); or between the *regio nubifera*, the *regio astrifera*, and the *regio angelifera* (Grotius). But such strained refinements have no place in the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures. In all their statements the Biblical books have the notes of simplicity and restraint. In many things they practise a reverent reserve.

There is at the same time a progress in the ideas of heaven which appear in them. These become more definite, more spiritual, and more sharply contrasted both in purity and in elevation with the conceptions found elsewhere. It was not alien to the common Jewish understanding, as it is seen in the curious literature of Judaism, to associate the presence of evil and trouble with one or other of the divisions of heaven. In the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs the second heaven is the habitation of the spirits of the lawless who are in confinement and punishment. In the Slavonic Enoch the second heaven contains the apostate angels who had transgressed with their prince, and were in reserve there against the judgment. In the third heaven, according to the same book, Enoch saw not only the Garden of Eden, but in its northern region a place of punishment, which had 'fire on all sides and on all cold and ice,' prepared for those who dishonoured God on earth and committed deeds of evil. And in the fifth heaven he saw the many hosts of the Watchers (ἐγρήγοροι), with their countenances withered and melancholy and their lips always silent, by reason of their sadness for their brethren, who rebelled in lust of empire and were imprisoned in the darkness of the second heaven. Such ideas were not altogether strange to the dramatic imagination of the OT, as is seen in the representation of the lying spirit that stood before the Lord (1 K 22^{21}), and in the appearance of Satan along with the angels in the presence of God (Job $1^{6.7}$ $2^{1.2.7}$). In the NT the nearest approach to such conceptions is the Pauline designation of the 'heavenly places,' the superterrestrial regions, as the sphere in which 'the spiritual hosts of wickedness' dwell and work (Eph 6^{12}). But in all its positive elements the Bible view of heaven is far removed from these things; and the vision which the NT Apocalypse gives of war in heaven between Michael with his angels and the dragon with his, ends in the overthrow of the latter, and the casting of the conquered ones 'out into the earth.'

Moreover, the ideas of heaven as the dwelling-place of God and the final abode and recompense of the righteous, move on in the course of the revelation of truth which is made in the Scriptures to larger and loftier things. In the OT heaven as the dwelling-place of God is presented chiefly in relation to the divine majesty and remoteness. In the NT it appears in the new and higher aspect of the Father's house, the place that has received the risen Christ, the scene of the activity of the great High Priest and the Advocate with the Father (He 4^{14}, 1 Jn 2^{1}). In the OT it is scarcely known as the future inheritance of the righteous. The eye of the OT looked mainly on the present, and the consummation which it expected was one that was to take place on earth. It had glimpses of things beyond, and at last rose to a clearer and more definite vision of an after life. But the completion of life which it looked to was something to be realized in this world, and the heaven which made its hope was a heaven to be found mainly in the joy of a near fellowship with God here and now. In the NT the heaven which is to be our final home and the goal of our hope is a heaven that is above this world and beyond time, not only superterrestrial, but supramundane, the transcendent heaven which is brought to light in the gospel.

The nature of this heaven, its conditions, and the things in which its blessedness consists, are nowhere given in definite or dogmatic statement. They are presented to faith and to the spiritual imagination by many suggestive expressions and by a great variety of figurative phrases. Heaven itself is described as a *kingdom*, one 'prepared from the foundation of the world,' the 'Father's kingdom,' the 'kingdom of God,' an 'eternal' or 'everlasting kingdom' (Mt 25^{34} 26^{29}, Lk 22^{16}, 2 P 1^{11}, Jude ^{21}); an *inheritance*, one of which we have the 'earnest' here, the 'inheritance of the saints in light,' an 'eternal inheritance,' an 'inheritance incorruptible, and undefiled, and that fadeth not away' (Eph 1^{14}, Col 1^{12}, He 9^{15}, 1 P 1^{4}); a 'house of many mansions' (Jn 14^{1}); a place prepared by Christ (Jn $14^{2.3}$); a 'better country,' a 'city prepared' (He 11^{16}). Once at least it is described as *Paradise* (Lk 23^{43})—a term probably of Median origin, selected by the LXX as the rendering for the Garden of Eden, and used in Jewish literature to express the idea of a home of innocence and peace, with reference sometimes to the Eden of the past, sometimes to an Eden of the future, sometimes to an earthly Eden, sometimes to a heavenly (see article on PARADISE). Its life is set forth as an existence like that of the angels (Mk 12^{25}, Lk 20^{36}), an 'eternal life' (Jude ^{21}), a 'life that is life indeed' (1 Ti 6^{19}), a 'rest' (He 4^{1} etc., Rev 14^{13}), a life of worship, praise, service (Rev 5^{9} etc., 22^{4}). Its happiness is expressed by a rich and varied imagery, as reward, a 'great reward,' a 'full reward,' royalty, an everlasting reign, an everlasting existence, a partaking of the tree of life and the hidden manna, a new name, the dignity of a pillar in the temple of God, a place on the throne, praise, honour, glory, that which is within the veil, the presence of God's glory, a prize, a crown, the 'crown of life,' a 'crown of righteousness,' the promise, a manifestation, a salvation from wrath, the adoption, the vision of God, the being like Christ, the seeing of Him as He is, joy, 'exceeding joy,' 'the joy of the Lord' (Mt 5^{12}, 1 Co $3^{8.14}$, Col 3^{24}, 2 Jn ^{8}, Rev 22^{12}, 2 Ti 2^{12}, Rev 22^{5}, He 10^{34}, Rev $2^{7.17}$ $3^{12.21}$, 1 P 1^{7}, He 6^{19}, Jude ^{24}, Ph 3^{14}, 2 Ti 4^{7}, 1 Co 9^{25}, 2 Ti 4^{18}, Ja 1^{12}, 1 P 5^{4}, Rev 2^{10}, He 9^{15}, Ro 8^{19} 5^{9}, 2 Ti 2^{10}, Ro 8^{23}, Rev 22^{4}, 1 Jn 3^{2}, Jude ^{24}, Mt 25^{21}).

Theology has sought to answer many questions relating to heaven which Scripture suggests, but which it does not itself follow to their conclusions. It has occupied itself with the question as to how the spirituality and omnipresence of the Divine Being can be reconciled with the predication of heaven as His peculiar dwelling-place. It has also discussed the question whether heaven is to be regarded as a place or only as a condition. These are questions which are beyond the range of our present faculties and experience. Scripture freely speaks, on the one hand, of God as everywhere present and as manifesting Himself in different ways in all parts of His creation, and, on the other hand, as specially present in heaven and manifesting His glory in a peculiar sense there. And we can only say that it is with Him, though in a higher sense, as it is with the sun 'which shines everywhere, yet especially displays its full splendour in the firmament' (Oosterzee, *Chr. Dog.* p. 258). Neither can we disconnect the idea of locality absolutely from our conception of heaven. It belongs to the condition of our present mental life and experience to think of heaven more or less in terms of locality, even when we think of God who is spirit, much more when we think of the future home of beings like ourselves.

Theology also has engaged itself greatly (in some eras, however, much more than in others) with the question of the nature of the existence in heaven, the heavenly activities, the felicities of heaven. Sometimes it has committed itself to rude, material, sensuous conceptions; sometimes it has defined heaven as essentially a condition of passivity, contemplation, or quiescence. But for the most part, and in the case of its greatest names, it has avoided these extremes. Even Justin Martyr (*Adv. Hær.* 57), Irenæus (*Apol.* i. 8), and the Fathers who accepted the millenarian doctrine, thought of the immediate communion with God as the essence of the blessedness of heaven. Origen affirmed the progress of life in heaven, and dwelt largely on the intellectual conditions of heaven, regarding its chief joy as found in the satisfaction of the desire of knowledge (*De prin.* II. xi. 2). Greg. Naz. (*Orat.* xvi. 9), Greg. Nyss. (*Orat. Cat.* c. 40) and others, placed its felicity chiefly in the increase of knowledge and in intercourse with all the saints. Augustine (*De Civ. Dei*, xxi. 29, 30), agreeing with all others that the enjoyment of God is the substance of the bliss of heaven, added specially to that the recovery of man's true liberty. While the mystics of all ages have inclined to reduce the various Scriptural representations of heaven to metaphors of subjective states, the schoolmen generally construed them as implying locality, and speculated on the region, its divisions, and its employments. Extreme realistic views of heaven have been advocated by theosophic theologians in all times. And in the system of Emmanuel Swedenborg, with its principle of correspondence, in virtue of which the spiritual world is the outbirth of the invisible mental world and the natural world that of the spiritual world, we have a curious doctrine of the constitution of heaven as the subject of a revelation, and find the existence of three distinct heavens, consisting of three orders of angels, affirmed.

The Scriptures themselves are silent on many things on which theology has dilated. They give us a large, general view of heaven as the final home of God's servants; of its rewards as having degrees corresponding to the character and the service; of its blessedness as found in freedom from all sin, pain, sorrow, in the manifestation of the eternal love and glory, in the realization of hope, the possession of all good, the presence of Christ, the immediate vision and fellowship of God. It leaves much to the sanctified imagination, and makes its final teaching this—'Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him' (1 Co 2^{9}).

LITERATURE.—The books on *Biblical Theology*, especially those by Oehler, Schultz, Dillmann for the OT, and Schmid, Weiss, Beyschlag, Baur, Hahn for the NT; the systems of Dogmatics and Eschatology, especially those by Plitt, Rothe, Schleiermacher, Dorner, Schweitzer, Kliefoth, Atzberger; the Lexicons of Cremer and Thayer; Edersheim's *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*; Hamburger's *Real-encyclopädie*; Eisenmenger's *Entdecktes Judenthum*; Schöttgen's *Horæ Hebraicæ*; Gfrörer's *Jahrhundert des Heils*; Schürer's *The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*; Weber's *Jüdische Theologie*; Wetstein on 2 Co 12; Morfill and Charles's *Book of the Secrets of Enoch*; Jeremias, *Die Babyl.-assyr. Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode*; Kohut, *ZDMG* xxi.; Feuchtwang, *Ztschr. f. Assyr.* iv.; Weber, *Die Lehren des Talmud*.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

HEAVE-OFFERING.—See SACRIFICE.

HEAVINESS.—Besides the literal sense of ponderous, **heavy** is used in two fig. meanings: 1. *Burdensome*, as Nu 11^{14} 'I am not able to bear all this people alone, because it is too heavy for me'; 1 Es 5^{72} 'But the heathen of the land lying heavy upon the inhabitants of Judea, . . . hindered their building' (ἐπικοιμώμενα [Fritzsche conjec. ἐπικείμενα] τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ); Wis 17^{21} 'Over them only was spread an heavy night' (βαρεῖα); 2 Mac 5^{23} 'Menelaus, who worse than all the rest bare an heavy hand over the citizens' (ὑπερήρετο τοῖς πολίταις, RV 'exalted himself against his fellow-citizens'). Cf. T. Lever, *Sermons* (Arber, p. 64), 'And their landlords which shuld defend them, be most heavye maisters unto them.' 2. *Sorrowful*, as 1 K 20^{43} 'And the king of Israel went to his house heavy and displeased' (סַר); 1 Es 8^{71} 'And as soon as I had heard these things, I rent my clothes, and the holy garment, and pulled off the hair from off my head and beard, and sat me down sad and very heavy' (σύννους καὶ περίλυπος, RV 'sad and full of heaviness'); 2 Es 12^{46} 'Be of good comfort, O Israel; and be not heavy, thou house of Jacob' (*noli tristari*; RV 'be not sorrowful'); Mk 14^{33} 'And he taketh with him Peter and James and John, and began to be sore amazed, and to be very heavy' (ἀδημονεῖν, RV 'sore troubled'). So Lk 18^{23} Tind. 'When he heard that, he was hevy; for he was very ryche'; Is 1^{5} Cov. 'The whole heade is sick, and the herte is very hevy'; Hall, *Works*, ii. 144 (on 'Jairus and his daughter'), 'What a confusion there is in worldly sorrow? The mother shreekes, the servants cry out; the people make lamentation, the minstrelles howle, and strike dolefully; so as the eare might question whether the ditty or the instrument were more heavie'; Erasmus, *The Commune Crede*, Eng. tr., fol. 73*b*, 'And that Christ suffered in soule also, even his owne selfe doth witnesse, sayenge, My soule is hevy even unto the deathe.'

The adv. **heavily** means 'with difficulty' in Ex 14^{25} 'And took off their chariot wheels that they drave them heavily' (בִּכְבֵדֻת, lit. 'with heaviness,' the only example of the Heb. word). The meaning is rare in Eng.; cf. Mt 13^{15} Rhem. 'For the hart of this people is waxed grosse, and with their eares they have heavily heard, and their eies they have shut.' Heavily occurs also once in the sense of grievously, oppressively, Is 47^{6} 'upon the ancient hast thou very heavily laid thy yoke'; and once as sorrowfully, Ps 35^{14} 'I bowed down heavily, as one that mourneth for his mother' (RV 'I bowed down mourning'; see Abbott, *Original Texts*, 1891, p. 214).

Heaviness occurs often, but always with the meaning of grief. Thus Pr 10^{1} 'A wise son maketh a glad father: but a foolish son is the heaviness of his mother'; 12^{25} 'Heaviness in the heart of man maketh it stoop: but a good word maketh it glad'; Is 61^{3} 'To appoint unto them that mourn in Zion, to give unto them beauty for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness'; 1 Es 8^{71} 'I sat still full of heaviness until the evening sacrifice' (περίλυπος); 2 Es 10^{8} 'And now, seeing we all mourn and are sad, for we are all in heaviness, art thou grieved for one son?' ('quoniam omnes contristati sumus,' RV 'seeing we are all in sorrow'); Sir 22^{4} 'She that liveth dishonestly is her father's heaviness' (εἰς λύπην γεννήσαντος, RV 'the grief of him that begat her'); 38^{18} 'of heaviness cometh death, and the heaviness of the heart breaketh strength' (both λύπη, RV both 'sorrow'); Ro 9^{2} and 2 Co 2^{1} (both λύπη, RV both 'sorrow'); 1 P 1^{6} 'Ye are in heaviness' (λυπηθέντες, RV 'Ye have been put to grief'); Ph 2^{26} 'For he longed after you all, and was full of heaviness' (ἀδημονῶν, RV 'was sore troubled'). In their Preface the AV translators say of the Scriptures, 'If we be ignorant, they will instruct us; if out of the way, they will bring us home; if out of order, they will reforme us; if in heaviness, comfort us; if dull, quicken us; if colde, inflame us.' The older versions have the word very often, as Jn 16^{6} Wyc. 'sorwe, *or heuynesse*, hath fulfillid youre herte'; Ps 30^{5} Cov. 'hevynesse maye well endure for a night, but joye commeth in the mornynge' (Cran. 'hevynesse maye endure for a night,' and so Pr. Bk.). Cf. Erasmus, *The Commune Crede*, fol. 31*b*, 'Agayn of the defaulte and wante of fayth springeth superstition, sorcerie, idolatry, and covetousness cosen to it, ambition, blasphemy, hevynes, desperation, pride, fear of death, desyre of vengeaunce, fynally what so ever vices or synnes do raygne in the whole worlde.'

J. HASTINGS.

HEBER (חֶבֶר 'association' or 'spell,' from חבר to 'unite,' especially by spells: possibly connected with Ḫabiri, *Journal of Bibl. Lit.* xi. 118, xii. 61).—**1.** A man of Asher and son of Beriah (Gn 46^{17}, Nu 26^{45}, 1 Ch 7$^{31.\,32}$). He founded what appears from the last passage to have been the principal clan in his tribe. The gentilic name **Heberites** occurs in Nu 26^{45}. **2.** The Kenite, according to Jg 4^{17} 5^{24}, husband of Jael. He separated himself (Jg 4^{11}) from his Bedâwin caste of Kenites or nomad smiths, whose wanderings were confined chiefly to the south of Judah, and settled for a time near Kedesh, on the plain to the west of the Sea of Galilee (Conder, *Tent-Work*, ii. 132; G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* 369, note 1). According to the narrative of Jg, Sisera in his flight after defeat by Barak was invited by Jael to take refuge in her husband's encampment, and was there killed by her in his sleep. But Jg 5^{24b} is shown by the metre to be probably a gloss from 4^{17}, which again appears to relate to a different locality from that of 4^{11}. On the whole it is not unlikely that two traditions are blended, and that in the original stories the unnamed wife of Heber dealt with Jabin in a similar way to that of Jael with Sisera. **3.** A man of Judah, son (1 Ch 4^{18}) of Mered by his Jewish, as distinguished from his Egyp., wife. Beyond his genealogy, nothing is recorded of him except that he was the 'father' or founder of Soco. **4.** A Benjamite and member of the family of Elpaal (1 Ch 8^{17}), which appears to have been of pure Heb. blood on both sides, as contrasted with its kindred of partially Moabite descent (1 Ch 8$^{8.\,11}$).

R. W. MOSS.

HEBREW, *'ibri* (עִבְרִי, עִבְרִים, עִבְרִיִּים).—Ebrew (Shaks. *I Hen. IV.* II. iv. 198; AV 1611 Dt 15 heading): Ebreus (Wycl. 2 Co 11^{22}): through Norm. *Hebreu*, *Hebrœus*, Ἑβραῖος, Aram. *'ibrai*, det. forms, *'ibrā'ah*, *'ibrāyah* (עִבְרִי, עִבְרָאָה, עִבְרָיָה, Dalm. *Jüd.-Pal. Aram. Gramm.* p. 155). The Greeks were thus evidently first acquainted with the word through Aramaic-speaking peoples. If, as may be presumed, this was by way of N. Syria and Asia Minor, it throws no light on the date at which they came personally in touch with the Hebrews. As, however, Ἑβραῖος occurs only in later Greek (LXX, Pausanias; *v. infra*), it is possible that it was formed at a time when Aramaic was becoming the prevailing language of the Hebrews themselves, *i.e.* *c.* 300 B.C.

I. USAGE OF THE WORD.—(A) *Old Test.*—Not in P nor, save in Jer 34$^{9.\,14}$ (quot. from Dt 15^{12}), in documents certainly later than 7th cent. B.C., presumably because it has no theological or theocratic connotation but is purely secular, and 'Jew' (wh. see) took its place from the 7th cent. onwards. It is apparently the oldest designation of the chosen people (whether in its primitive use confined to them or not, see II. ii.) in contrast to those of another race. We thus find it used: i. by others—Gn 39$^{14.\,17}$ [J^{2}] 41^{12} [E], Ex 2^{6} [E], Egyptians; 1 S 4$^{6.\,9}$ [E^{1}] 13^{19} [J^{2}] 14^{11} [J^{1}]* 29^{3} [J^{1}], Philistines. ii. By Jews in addressing others—Gn 40^{15} [E], Egyptians; Ex 3^{18} 7^{16} 9^{1} [all J], words that Moses was commanded by God to use to Pharaoh; 5^{3} [J], words so used by him; Jon 1^{9}, by Jonah to the sailors who were presumably Phœnicians. iii. With a contrast to others expressed or clearly implied—Gn 14^{13} ['Exilic Midrash'??], Canaanites and Chedorlaomer's army; 43^{32} [J^{2}], Ex 1$^{15.\,16.\,19}$ [E] 2$^{7.\,11.\,13}$ [E], Egyptians; 1 S 13$^{3.\,7}$* [J^{1}], Philistines; 14^{21} [J^{1}], Philistines and, apparently, the bulk of Israel that were already with Saul; Ex 21^{2} ['Bk. of the Covenant'], Dt 15^{12}, Jer 34$^{9.\,14}$ 'a Hebrew slave' is contrasted with one of any other nationality.

(B) *Apocrypha.*—The word does not occur often, but the usage is similar, as far as it goes. i. Used by others, Jth 12^{11} (Holofernes, an 'Assyrian'), 14^{18} (Bagoas, an 'Assyrian').† ii. By Jews in addressing others, Jth 10^{12} ('Assyrians'), 2 Mac 7^{31} (Syrians). iii. With a contrast to others expressed or clearly implied, 2 Mac 11^{13} (Syrians)‡ 15^{37} (Syrians). iv. The Prologue of Sir is slightly different, for it is there used distinctly of the Hebrew language in contrast to Greek, the discovery of the original of Sir showing that Hebrew, not Aramaic, was intended.

(C) *New Testament.*—The phenomena here are more difficult. 'Hebrews' are contrasted with 'Hellenists' (Ac 6^{1}),§ *i.e.* those Jews who favoured Hellenism and practised Greek customs, and therefore, either by preference or by residence abroad, usually spoke the Greek language. Hebrews would therefore be those who more truly answered to the old idea of the people, the more conservative members who prided themselves on maintaining the old customs, and rejected as far as possible the insidious influence of Hellenism (2 Co 11^{22}, Ph 3^{5}, though St. Paul was a Jew of the Dispersion). In this way it is intelligible how 'Hebrew,' when used of language, may mean either Aramaic (Jn 5^{2} 19$^{13.\,17.\,20}$ 20^{16} Ἑβραϊστί, and probably Ac 21^{40} 22^{2} 26^{14} τῇ Ἑβραΐδι διαλέκτῳ) or Hebrew proper (Rev 9^{11} 16^{16} Ἑβραϊστί).‖ In other words, the evidence now available tends to show that the use of 'Hebrew' does not refer fundamentally to the language,¶ but rather to the historic position and worth of the nation. It is not a linguistic but a national word. Hence Josephus** can remark that the Heb. say for 'red' ἄδωμα (*Ant.* II. i. 1) and for Pentecost ἀσαρθά (*Ant.* III. x. 6), *i.e.* pure Aram. (אֲדוּמָא, עֲצַרְתָּא).††

II. ORIGINAL MEANING OF THE WORD.—*Quot homines tot sententiæ*, for a word that goes back to such primitive times readily lends itself to guesses on the part of those unacquainted with Hebrew, or acquainted with it only in its biblical form.

i. The derivation from *Abram* (אַבְרָם)‡‡ is of course impossible, for א and ע do not readily interchange,§§ and the loss of the final ם would be inexplicable. At most, the similarity of sound between the

---

* Unless we adopt Hitzig's emendation 'mice' הָעַכְבָּרִים.

* Klostermann and Budde read 'a great multitude' (עַם רָב).

† Contrast the use of 'Israel' in Jth, when God's mercies are spoken of, or when there is no thought of members of another nation, *e.g.* 15$^{8ff.}$. 'Jews' is apparently not found in Jth.

‡ Notice the allusion to victories of the Hebrews of old.

§ Cf. the συναγωγὴ Αἰβρέων at Rome mentioned on one, and apparently a second, inscription (see Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 248, and Berliner, *Gesch. d. Juden in Rom* i. 64. Berliner, referring to Derenbourg, thinks Αἰβρέων here means Samaritans, but surely wrongly).

‖ Cf. Prologue to Sirach, *supra*.

¶ As Trench, *NT Synonyms*, § xxxix.

** Cf. A. Meyer, *Jesu Muttersprache*, 1896, p. 40.

†† In the time of Eusebius, when the distinction between 'Hebrew' and 'Hellenist' was hardly regarded by a Gentile Christian, even Philo can be called a Hebrew by birth (τὸ γένος ἀνέκαθεν Ἑβραῖος ἦν, *HE* II. iv. 3). For other examples of Ἑβραῖος, *Hebrœus*, being used in the widest national sense, see Plut. *Sympos.* iv. qu. 6. 1; Pausanias, i. 5, § 5, v. 5, § 2, and 7, § 4, vi. 24, § 8, x. 12, § 9; Appian, civ. 2. 71; Porphyry, *vit. Pyth.*, Leipzig, 1816, p. 22 (if the reading is genuine); Tac. *Hist.* v. 2.

‡‡ Quid ergo probabilius sit Hebræos tanquam Heberæos dictos, an tanquam Abrabæos, merito quæritur, Aug. *Quæst. in Gen.* § 24; cf. Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* x. 14.

§§ עבר is represented by אבר in recent Assyrian lexicons, but this is because there is no differential sign for either א or ע at the beginning of a syllable.

'Hebrews' and their most famous ancestor may have assisted in limiting the term to them.

ii. *Eber* (עֵבֶר Gn $10^{21.\,24.\,25}$ 11^{14-17}, 1 Ch $1^{18.\,19.\,25}$) * is a much more plausible explanation. Assuming him to be a real person, it would be a patronymic, used in two forms, (*a*) Hebrew (עִבְרִי), (*b*) *bĕnē 'Eber* (Gn 10^{21}) ;† cf. *bĕnē Lot* (Ps 83^9), and *bĕnē Israel*.‡

iii. From עבר as verb or preposition, designating the Hebrews as those who have come across, or who belong properly to the land across, some well-known boundary. Euseb. (*Præp. Evang.* vii. 8, xi. 6) prefers to any other a spiritual interpretation, that the Hebrews were those who had passed over from the worship of false gods and the pleasures of the flesh to the service of the God of all and the life of true wisdom and piety. But this is homiletical, not scientific. Three natural boundaries have been suggested.

(*a*) The Red Sea. 'Why was Moses to say to Pharaoh, The LORD God of the *Hebrews* hath met with us? Because they had crossed over the Red Sea' (*Exod. R.* § 3 middle, by a Rabbin. conceit).

(*b*) The Jordan. So Wellhausen (*Isr. u. Jüd. Gesch.* p. 7, 1894), who thinks it was given to them by their neighbours in Western Palestine after they had crossed over. He thinks, however, that in old usage the term was so extended as to include the Edomites, with whom the Hebrews were originally united. Thus 'Hebrews' would mean those who dwelt עֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן, cf. Gn 50^{10} and often (so Stade, *Lehrb.* § 1*b*; Kautzsch [doubtfully], *Heb. Gram.* § 2*b*).

(*c*) Euphrates. (1) In the sense that the Hebrews came from the east of Euphrates to the west, *i.e.* when Abraham crossed it from Haran on the way to Canaan. So Origen (in Field's *Hex.* on Gn. xiv. 13) περάτης (LXX) καλεῖται ὁ Ἀβραάμ, ἐπειδὴ ἀπὸ τῆς Χαλδαίων χώρας διαπεράσας τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν, ἦλθεν εἰς τὰ μέρη τῶν Χαναναίων. This was also the reference of Augustine's word, *transfluvialis* (*Quæst. Gen.* § 29), and presumably of Aquila's περαΐτης, which Field thinks was formed by him from πέραν rather than περάω (περάτης) [to definitely correspond to the Hebrew (הָעֵבְרִי not הָעִבְרִי)].§ 'Hebrew' will thus, according to this derivation, be from עֵבֶר in the same meaning that it has in *mē'ēber lannāhār* (1 K 14^{15}), and perhaps in the phrase *'ebrē nāhār* (Is 7^{20})‖ (so Dillm. on Gn 11^{12}).

(2) In the sense that the Hebrews went from west to east, the standpoint of the speaker being, that is to say, east of Euphrates. So Hommel in the Appendix to his *Ancient Hebrew Tradition: illustrated by the Monuments*, 1897 (contrast his earlier opinion, p. 258), after comparing Glaser's investigations of Minæan inscriptions with cuneiform documents. He supposes that *Ebir nâri* (=*Eber han-nā-hār* of the Bible, *'Ibr naharân* Minæan) was originally the region between Borsippa and Ur, *i.e.* on the west of the lower Euphrates, including the adjoining Country of the Sea to the southward. This is the region, therefore, indicated in Jos 24^2 as the home of Abraham and the Western Semitic tribes who trace their origin to him. It was 'across the River' to the Babylonians among whom Abraham or his forefathers came, and he was called *'Ibri*, as belonging to that land *'Eber*, the term travelling with him and his descendants. In this way we can understand that (*a*) *Ebîr nâri* is used of the country west of Euphrates (and even of Palestine in an inscription of *c.* 1100 B.C.); (*β*) the biblical *Eber han-nāhār* in, perhaps, all other places than 1 K 14^{15} means the same: (*γ*) *'Eber* in Nu 24^{24} need not mean either the Hebrews (so most commentators) or those non-Assyrian peoples who lived east of Euphrates (Dillm.), but a district in the north-west of Arabia.*

Upon the evidence before us this explanation appears to some the most satisfactory.† [See, however, Margoliouth's criticism of Hommel in *Expos. Times*, Aug. 1897, p. 500*b*. Even Sayce (*EHH* p. 8), after mentioning Hommel's theory, says, 'The origin and first use of the name (Hebrew) are still a matter of doubt']. But we should like further evidence of the use of such a word as *'Ibri* in the inscriptions. Have we this?

III. EVIDENCE OF THE MONUMENTS AND INSCRIPTIONS.—Have we any mention in these of the Hebrews by name? Two identifications have been proposed.

i. *'Apri* or *'Epri* of the Egyptian monuments has been said to be merely an Egyptian transliteration of 'Ibri. This identification has been almost given up, but Hommel (*loc. cit.* p. 259) is disposed to regard it not unfavourably, comparing for the change of labial the Egyptian *hurp* taken from the Canaanite *ḥereb*, 'sword,' and pointing out that, although 800 'Epriu (Egypt. plur. of 'Epri) drawn from the foreign residents of 'An in the east of Goshen were employed under Ramses IV. long after the Exodus, yet it is possible that some of the Israelites remained behind and mingled with other foreigners. But the identification is, to say the least, very precarious.

ii. The Khabiri, or Abiri (for Assyriologists transliterate the word in both ways) of the Tel el-Amarna tablets. They are described in the letters of the king of Jerusalem to his suzerain, the Pharaoh, *c.* 1400 B.C. (Hommel), as attacking districts and towns in what we now know as the Negeb, the Maritime Plain, and Judah, and, perhaps, as even laying siege to Jerusalem itself. The king urgently applies for reinforcements, saying, 'If troops can be sent before the end of the year, then the territory of my lord the king may yet be retained; but if no troops arrive it will assuredly be lost.' The difference in the form of the word (*Khabiri* or *Abiri* and *'Ibri*) matters little, for 'the

---

* Augustine (see note ‡‡ p. 325) prefers it in *Retract.* ii. § 16, *De Civ.* xvi. § 3; cf. Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* vii. 6.

† Shem is here called אֲבִי כָּל־בְּנֵי עֵבֶר J², unless with Ball (Haupt's *OT*) כָּל־בְּנֵי is to be considered as an interpolation by P.

‡ Sayce (*Expos. Times*, Mar. 1897, p. 258) suggests that *'Eber* = Bab. *Ebar*, 'a priest.' If so, and if 'Hebrews' be derived from it, the paronomasia in 1 S 13^7 (common text) is due to a faulty philology.

§ Fürst (*Lex. s.v.* עִבְרִי) thinks that 'Hebrew' was *limited* to the Israelites by *'ēber hannāhār* gradually changing into *'ēber hayyardēn* (Jordan). So to Jews ἡ περαία was naturally Eastern Palestine (Jos. often, *e.g. Ant.* XIII. ii. 3, cf. πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, Mk 10^1) and περαΐτης an inhabitant of that province (Jos. *BJ* II. xx. 4).

‖ Nisibis in Mesopotamia is described as being ἐν τῇ περαίᾳ τῇ πρὸς τῷ Τίγρητι ποταμῷ (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Νίσιβις).

* So also the Asshur of this verse may represent the Minæan A'shûr, which seems to be a district to the S.E. of Gaza. It would then appear to be an earlier form of Shur (Gn 20^1). It should also be noticed that this wide use of *'Eber* explains how among the *bĕnē 'Eber* are found both a western branch in S. Arabia of Joktan and other tribes (Gn $10^{25\cdot 30}$) (*J*), as well as an eastern branch round the lower Euphrates in Peleg, the direct ancestor of Nahor and Abraham, with subdivisions arising in Isaac and Ishmael. 'Hebrews' is not, apparently, so used. We may suppose that, even if present in the original documents, the Hebrew editors and copyists preferred some less ambiguous term.

† Akin to this explanation is that which derives 'Hebrews' from the Arabic *'eber* in the sense of a 'tract along the banks of a river (as the place for passing over), and κατ' ἐξοχήν, that of the Euphrates, the whole tract of land stretching from the east bank of the Euphrates to the Tigris, and *from the west bank to the Arabian Desert* (*berrîjet el-'arab*), from which, according to the Turkish Kâmûs and *Lex. Geographicum*, ii. 232, 233, is derived *'Ibri* or *'Ibrâni*, the name of the Jewish people, as having come from the land stretching from the bank of the Euphrates to the Tigris' (Delitzsch on Is 7^{20}). W. R. Smith (*Enc. Brit.*⁹ *s.v.* 'Hebrews') mentions this conjecture, which makes Hebrews to be 'dwellers in a land of rivers,' adding, 'this goes well with Peleg (watercourse), as in Arabia we have the district Falag, so named because it is furrowed by waters' (Sprenger, *Geogr. Arab.* p. 234). In Doughty (*Arabia Deserta.* ii. 38) Fálaj is rendered 'the splitting of the mountain'; but the two derivations are not contradictory if, as it seems, Fálaj is a mountainous district with many torrents.

Canaanite 'Ayin, with which guttural the word 'Ibri commences, is elsewhere in the texts represented by the cuneiform *Kh*, and there are analogous instances of the abbreviation of an earlier form like 'Abiri into a later form such as 'Ibri.' [*] But the identification is at present quite uncertain: (*a*) the king appears to be describing an attack from the west side of Jordan, whereas the Hebrews came from the east side; (*b*) the names of persons do not agree with those mentioned in Joshua; (*c*) the date is much earlier than that which is now usually given to the Exodus, 1322 (Lepsius), or even 1200 (Petrie). But (*a*) the first difficulty may be fairly met by saying that the letters do not necessitate an attack from the west only, that the OT account is very brief, the conquest of even southern Palestine possibly extending over many years, and that much of the south-west country may have been taken before the king of Jerusalem felt in much danger.[†] (*b*) The second difficulty is not conclusive, as persons appear to have been known under different names. (*c*) The third depends wholly on the accuracy of the date given to the Exodus. If this is accepted, the *Khabiri* can be identical with the Hebrews only by some of the Hebrews having returned to Palestine before the Exodus; but though this may be consistent with raids having been made, or small detachments having separated themselves, the letters imply the approach of a large body. Hence, either *Khabiri* has a purely accidental resemblance to 'Ibri,[‡] or the date of the Exodus must be placed much earlier.[§] We cannot as yet say which is right.

Hebrewess, Hebrew Woman (עִבְרִיָּה), Jer 34^{9}, Dt 15^{12}, in contrast to slaves of other nationalities. Ex $1^{15.16.19}$ 2^{7} [E], in contrast to Egyptians.

A. LUKYN WILLIAMS.

HEBREW LANGUAGE.—See LANGUAGE.

HEBREWESS.—See HEBREW.

HEBREWS, EPISTLE TO.—

- i. Aim and Central Idea.
- ii. Method.
  - (1) Christ and Prophets.
  - (2) Christ and Angels.
  - (3) Christ and Moses.
  - (4) Christ and Aaron.
  - (5) Christ and Melchizedek.
- iii. Theological Import.
  - (1) Christology—(*a*) Incarnation; (*b*) Earthly Life of Jesus; (*c*) State of Humiliation; (*d*) Christ's Priesthood, (α) the Melchizedek Type, (β) the Aaronic Type; (*e*) Theory of Redemption; (*f*) Christ's Priesthood in Heaven; (*g*) Salvation.
  - (2) Fatherhood of God.
- iv. Relation to Philo.
- v. Relation to St. Paul.
- vi. Was the Author Jew or Gentile?
- vii. Jew or Gentile Readers?
- viii. Location of First Readers.
- ix. Date.
- x. Author.
- Literature.

i. AIM AND CENTRAL IDEA.—This Epistle is one of the most important writings in the NT. It contains a distinct type of Christian thought, and in that respect may be classed with the Synoptic Gospels, the Pauline Epistles, and the Gospel of John, which also contain, each, a distinctive conception of the good that came to the world through Jesus Christ. It is in aim and method an apologetic writing, intended to help certain Christians, who had no true insight into the nature and worth of the Christian religion, to reach a better understanding of its excellence, and so to fortify them against temptations to apostasy. But the apologetic argument rests on a very definite theological position. The author has a very clear idea of the nature, and a very high estimate of the value, of Christianity. He attaches to it the value of the perfect and therefore the final religion, and he assigns to it this value because he regards it as the religion of *free, unrestricted access to God.* This is the central dogmatic thought of the Epistle, as indicated in 7^{19}, where Christianity is by implication set forth as the religion of the better hope *through which we draw nigh unto God.* No religion, in the writer's judgment, can be satisfactory which does not establish intimate relations between God and man. Herein, for him, lies the great inferiority of Leviticalism in comparison with Christianity. He conceives of Leviticalism as a religion which kept men at an awful distance, and the veil between the holy and the most holy place is in his view the symbol of that radical defect. It is self-evident to him that a religious system which shuts God up in a dark inaccessible shrine cannot be the perfect form of religion. It must eventually give way to a better. Christianity is that better religion. It knows of no veil, and no inaccessible holy place. Christ is not only a High Priest, but a *forerunner*, πρόδρομος: where He goes, though it be into the very presence of God, all believers in Him may follow.

ii. METHOD.—This is the radical contrast between Christianity and Leviticalism. This central contrast, however, is suggestive of many others, and the method adopted by the writer in the prosecution of his apologetic aim is to exhibit in detail the points in which the religion of the NT is superior to that described in the books of Moses. His idea of Christianity is that it is the best possible religion; but what he sets himself to prove is that it is *better* than the Levitical religion. It is not difficult, however, to read between the lines, and to see behind the apologetic *better* the dogmatic *best.*

Word occurs
13 times

The comparison of the two religions runs through the whole theoretic part of the Epistle from 1^{1} to 10^{18}. It begins at the circumference and ends at the centre. The central truth is the priestly performance of Christ by which we are brought into filial relations with God. But the comparison begins with the agents of *revelation*, and proceeds from that starting-point to compare the agents of *redemption.* Under each of these two categories two sets of agents are ascribed to the old religion: prophets and angels under the head of revelation, and Moses and Aaron under the head of redemption. Thus there are four separate comparisons to be made—(1) between Christ and prophets, (2) between Christ and angels, (3) between Christ and Moses, (4) between Christ and Aaron. The first is made in 1^{1-3}, the second in 1^{4-14}, the third in 3^{1-6}, and the fourth in 8^{1}–9^{28}.

(1) *Christ and Prophets.*—The contrast is least emphatic in reference to the prophets, as they might be looked on as belonging in spirit to the new dispensation rather than to the old Levitical one. But there is a latent antithesis here also, traceable in the words carefully selected to describe prophetic revelation,—πολυμερῶς, πολυτρόπως. These adverbs convey the idea that the ancient revelation was fragmentary (in many parts) and tropical (in many modes); and it is implied, though not expressly stated, that the revelation made by Christ was free from both defects—complete and real, and therefore final. All this is in effect said by

---

[*] Hommel, *loc. cit.* pp. 156, 231.

[†] Or may there have been a temporary and partial attack from the south early in the wanderings, such as Nu 21^{1-3} perhaps indicates? Jg 1^{16-21} may possibly refer to the same time.

[‡] So Hommel, who identifies the *Khabiri* with those after whom Hebron was called (Jg 1^{10}). He thinks it is properly identical with Kheber in Gn 46^{17}, and represents part of the tribe of Asher who came into Palestine before the other Hebrews (*loc. cit.* p. 236).

[§] Professor Orr (*Expositor*, March 1897) argues strenuously for the first years of Amenhotep II., B.C. 1449–1423.

the phrase ἐν υἱῷ, used to describe the agent of the Christian revelation. In the end of the days God spake to men by one having the standing of a son. A son knows all that is in a Father's mind; when He has spoken there is nothing more to be said.

(2) *Christ and Angels.*—We are apt to think that the second comparison, that between Christ and angels, might have been dispensed with. But the author was writing for the benefit of *Jews* (this, in the meantime, may be assumed; it is the impression one naturally first takes from the book), and angels held a prominent place in contemporary Jewish religious thought. To them was assigned the function of executors of God's will in the natural world, and also that of intermediaries between J″ and Israel in the lawgiving. The law was a word spoken by angels (2^2, cf. Ac 7^{53}, Gal 3^{19}). Therefore, whatever the writer's own thoughts might be as to the position of angels in the universe and in the history of revelation, he was under the necessity of deferring to current opinion and speaking of them as rivals to Christ. Therefore his second thesis is: Christ better than angels, his proof consisting of a mosaic of OT texts which bring out a threefold contrast: Christ to angels as son to servants, as king to subjects, as creator to creatures. The conclusion is that the essential function of angels is to *serve.* They are ministering spirits—all of them, even the highest archangel—to God, to Christ, even to *Christians*—'sent forth for service to those who are about to inherit salvation' (1^{14}).

(3) *Christ and Moses.*—For Moses the writer had a much deeper respect than for angels, whose rôle he probably conceived to be greatly inflated in Jewish theology. Moses was a great historic reality, whose functions in behalf of Israel at the creative epoch of her history he was not tempted to disparage. But even Moses occupied a place of subordination compared to Jesus, and he does not hesitate to point the fact out, contriving, however, to do so in a manner that could not wound Jewish susceptibilities. He knows how to praise Moses while yet giving him the second place. *Faithful* in all God's house, on God's own testimony, yet faithful only as a *servant.* But Christ was faithful as a *son.*

(4) *Christ and Aaron.*—While the comparison between Christ and Moses is despatched in a few sentences, that between Christ and Aaron runs through two chapters. This is not due to the writer having a higher esteem for Aaron than for Moses. The reverse was the fact. While for his mind Moses was probably one of the world's greatest men, and the Exodus one of the great heroic achievements of human history, the character and functions of the first high priest of Israel seem to have inspired him with only moderate respect. All that elaborate ritual on the great Day of Atonement, in which the high priest played the principal part, seemed to him much ado about nothing. For the blood of bulls and of goats could not take away sin. How poor that Levitical sacrificial system compared with the one sacrifice of Christ, who by an eternal spirit offered *Himself* to God! But why, then, make the comparison, and at such length? Because he is writing for people who think Aaron a very august figure, and his sacerdotal service one of very great importance; and because his apologetic method requires him to use Aaron as a type whereby to convey to ill-instructed Hebrew Christians some rudimentary ideas as to the nature of Christ's sacerdotal functions.

(5) *Christ and Melchizedek.*—One other OT personage is brought upon the stage in the course of the argument—*Melchizedek.* He is introduced, however, not for the purpose of contrast, but to aid in the embodiment of the writer's lofty conception of Christ's priestly function. His thesis here is not, Christ *greater* than Melchizedek, but, Christ *like* Melchizedek. His use of this historic figure also serves an apologetic purpose, but in a different way. He had a difficulty to meet in connexion with the doctrine that Christ was a priest. Jesus did not belong to the tribe of Levi. That was an insurmountable obstacle to the recognition of Him as a priest for law-ridden minds. How, then, does the writer deal with it? In effect thus: 'I know quite well that Jesus could not be a priest on earth, *i.e.* one of the only class of priests you Jews are acquainted with, because He did not belong to the tribe whence the priests are taken. But the Heb. oracles know of another priesthood besides the Levitical, whereof they make honourable mention—that of Melchizedek, priest of the Most High God. It was a more ancient priesthood than that of Aaron. Do you reply: yes, ancient enough, but rude, suitable only for primitive times, and, of course, superseded by a regularly established sacerdotal class, like that of Aaron and his family? I say, not so, for in a psalm later than the institution of the Levitical priesthood, and recognized by you all as Messianic, the Melchizedek priesthood is referred to as if it were the ideally perfect type. "A priest for ever after the order of Melchisedek." The Christ is to be a priest after this ideal type. And He is appointed by an oath of God which implies that it is an appointment of unique importance. And God declares that He will not repent of the appointment, which teaches by implication that God has repented of another kind of priesthood, and that it will pass away, and that the new priesthood will be of such excellence that it will never need to pass away.' We have here an apologetic use of the ancient priesthood of the king of Salem, analogous to that made by the Apostle Paul of the promise given to Abraham long before the era of the lawgiving.

iii. THEOLOGICAL IMPORT.—This rapid sketch may suffice to give some idea of the drift of this Epistle on its apologetic side. But our main concern is with its positive theological significance, to which we now turn.

It is important for a true appreciation of the theological ideas of the Epistle to keep steadily before us its central conception of Christianity as the perfect and final religion, both perfect and final because it brings men really nigh to God. All religions aim at this, Leviticalism included. Nevertheless, it had a veil dividing the tabernacle into two compartments, and a most holy place into which no man might go save the high priest, and he only once a year, and then only with due precautions. Christianity is the one religion that has really solved the problem. In the language of the Epistle it perfects the worshipper as pertaining to the conscience (9^9), or purges his conscience from dead works to serve the living God. It really takes away sin (10^4), so that believers in Jesus can draw near with true heart and full assurance of faith to the very presence of God (10^{22}). There can never be any reason for superseding such a religion. Therefore Christianity is eternal. The epithet 'eternal' is applied many times to the Christian religion and all that belongs to it. We read of an 'eternal salvation' (5^9), an 'eternal redemption' (9^{12}), an 'eternal spirit' (9^{14}), an 'eternal inheritance' (9^{15}), and an 'eternal covenant' (13^{20}). It is clear from such iteration that the thought of the perennial, because perfect, absolute character of Christianity is not incidental and subordinate, but fundamental in the author's system. It dominates his mind and affects his manner of viewing everything belonging to the Christian faith. As it is absolute, perfect, the ideal realized, so are all the personalities and functions connected with it. The Christian revelation is the ideal realized in that department. It is God's final, because full, complete word to men, to which nothing needs to be added. The Person by whom God spoke that last word is perfect in Himself, and in His functions as Revealer and Redeemer. His sacrifice is perfect, and possesses eternal validity and value.

(1) *CHRISTOLOGY.*—This general statement prepares us to find in the Epistle a very exalted conception of *Christ.* The first thought about Him to which we are introduced, in the very first sentence, is that He stands to God in the relation of Son (*ἐν υἱῷ*). It is observable that, in all the four comparisons already referred to, the superiority of Jesus Christ is made to rest on the foundation of *His Sonship.* That is why He is greater than the prophets as the agent of revelation. The Sonship of itself guarantees a perfect, therefore final, revelation. The reason is that Sonship involves likeness and intimacy. To know the Son is to know the Father, and the Son knows all that is in the Father's mind. In like manner the superiority of Christ to angels is made to rest on His Sonship. The Son is begotten; angels, with all other creatures, are made; the Son as the heir of His Father is destined to sit on a throne and be an object of homage to the universe, angels not excepted. Therefore His word, as the Revealer, claims more attention than that spoken by angels, with whatever solemn accompaniments, on Sinai. So also Sonship raises Christ above Moses, however great his character, and however epoch-making his function as the Leader of the Exodus and the organizer of a horde of slaves into a nation. Moses was the greatest in God's house, yet only greatest among servants; Christ is not only greater, but belongs to another category, that of Son. Finally, Sonship is the ground of Christ's incomparable superiority to Aaron. Aaron, though an important personage within the Levitical system, was after all but a sacerdotal drudge, ever performing ceremonies which had no real value: 'daily ministering and offering oftentime the same sacrifices which can never take away sin' (10^{11}). But our great High Priest is Jesus the *Son of God* (4^{14}), who, as a Son, learned obedience through suffering (5^8), and who after His Passion, voluntarily endured, was, as the Son, 'consecrated for evermore' (7^{28}).

These contrasts compel a lofty conception of Christ's Person as the Son of God. Sonship taken in a diluted sense will not bear the argumentative stress laid on it. Sonship must be taken in a unique sense, not in a sense common to Christ with men and angels, or even in a sense applicable only to the great epoch-making characters of history, the heroes of the human race. Why should Sonship make Christ greater than the prophets as agents of revelation, unless it be of such a character as to involve absolute likeness of nature and perfectly intimate fellowship? We know what the author of the Fourth Gospel means when he says, 'No man hath seen God at any time: the only-begotten Son who is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him.' The author of our Epistle must mean something similar when he makes Sonship the ground of Christ's ability to speak the final satisfying word of God to men. And he shows that he does, and that he desires his readers to put the greatest fulness of meaning into the expression *ἐν υἱῷ* by the comment he immediately goes on to make, wherein he gives, at the outset, a statement of his Christological position. In this statement he represents the Son as made by God the heir of all things, an attribute arising naturally out of the relation of Sonship, especially as the Son is the first-begotten (*πρωτότοκος*, 1^6). Further, the Heir of all is represented as the Maker of all—by Him God made the ages (*τοὺς αἰῶνας*) or worlds. This implies pre-existence, or rather, seeing no reference has yet been made to an earthly state, ancient existence. It takes us back to the 'beginning' spoken of in Gn 1^1 and in Jn 1^1, to the primitive era of world-making. It gives to the Son the position assigned to the Logos in the system of Philo, that of God's agent in the universe, the statement being supplemented and completed by the added clause in 1^3: 'bearing all things by the word of his power.' The Son thus appears acting for God in the creation and preservation of the world. To all intents and purposes this means that the Son is a Divine Being, the active Deity of the universe. The presumption is that He is an Eternal Being, *a parte ante* as He is *a parte post*, a Son from eternity as well as for evermore (7^{28}), though the function of world-making implies strictly only antecedence to the things made.*

The eternal being of the Son is more clearly implied in the phrase following, wherein the Son is called the radiance of the glory and the exact image of the essence of God (*ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης καὶ χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ*). There might be a time when God was without a world, but there never was a time when God was without glory. It is the nature of that glory to manifest itself; like the sun it must shine, and the shining is eternal as the glory. The Son of God is the shining of His glory, and therefore eternal as the glory. Probably, however, the aim of the writer in using these remarkable expressions is not so much to declare the eternal being of the Son, as to indicate His supreme qualification for the function of fully revealing God. Who so fit to make God known as one who is related to Him as the sun's rays to the sun, and who resembles Him as the image impressed on wax resembles the seal? His word will be as the bright light of day, than which nothing can be brighter, and He may say of Himself, 'He that hath seen me hath seen the Father.' The precise theological significance of these phrases cannot easily be determined; or rather, one should say, it is doubtful if they possess any such significance. They do not absolutely exclude Sabellianism or Arianism. The Sabellians laid stress on the term *ἀπαύγασμα*, as suggesting the idea of a model manifestation rather than of a distinct personality. The Arians, on the other hand, emphasized the term *χαρακτήρ*, as implying a position of subordination and dependence for the Son in relation to the Father. The orthodox, on their side, maintained that, by the combination of the two, both errors were excluded—the former phrase implying identity of nature, so excluding Arianism; the latter implying independent personality, so excluding Sabellianism.

The final clause of the Christological statement represents the Son as taking His seat 'on the right hand of the Majesty on high.' It is the place which befits one whose position and functions in the universe are such as previously described. The dignity answers to His nature as the Son, and to His vocation as the maker and sustainer of worlds. The language is grand and solemn, and is intended to convey the impression that the Son's place is the highest possible beside that of God. It may indeed be said that to place the Son *beside* God is not to make Him God.† Formally the distinction may be valid, but it cannot prevent the inference to Deity being drawn. He who sitteth at the right hand of God is God for all who believe in His exaltation. This exaltation, though only what corresponds to the nature of the exalted One, is a new event in His history. It takes place after He has performed a signal service for men, referred to in the words 'when he had purged our sins.' It is from this phrase only, so far as the person is concerned, that we learn that the 'Son' ever had a place in the history of this earth. He might have done all that is ascribed to Him, even spoken the final word of God, without being man. His word, like the law, might be that of an angel, spoken from heaven. But purging sin is a sacerdotal act, a function nowhere ascribed to angels, but only to men. That the purification was performed by one in the likeness of men would be very evident if the words 'by himself' (δι' ἑαυτοῦ) were part of the text. But that great thought, unfamiliar to the first readers though commonplace to us, would not be introduced by so skilful a writer till it had been carefully prepared for. The 'Son,' then, was man when He performed for us men a priest's part, how, remains to be seen, and it was after He had done this that He took His place at the right hand of Divine Majesty.

---

* Ménégoz, *La Théologie de L'Épître aux Hébreux*, finds in the Epistle only an Arian Christology, *vide* ch. i. on *Le Christ.*

† So, in effect, Ménégoz, p. 87.

(*a*) *Incarnation.*—The 'Son' *became* man. This momentous event is alluded to in various places and in diverse forms of language; now in terms borrowed from the Psalter as being made a little lower than the angels (2^9), now as becoming partaker of blood and flesh (2^{14}), and at another time by the very general expression 'in the days of his flesh' (5^7). Under what precise conditions the Son entered humanity, whether, *e.g.*, by ordinary generation or otherwise, is nowhere indicated. The term 'children' applied to men in 2^{14}, and the expression 'likewise' (παραπλησίως) applied to the Son's becoming a participant in human nature, may justify the inference that the author conceives of Him as being born, and passing from childhood to manhood. This would scarcely be worth remarking, were it not that in the prologue of the Fourth Gospel these details are left doubtful. There the Logos simply becomes flesh, and dwells for a season among men.

(*b*) *Earthly Life of Jesus.*—What knowledge our author had of the earthly history of the Son, whether, *e.g.*, he was acquainted with the evangelic tradition as embodied, say, in the Gospel of St. Mark, does not clearly appear. He certainly knew more than, after a cursory perusal of the Epistle, we might think. He knew of the temptations of Jesus (2^{18} 4^{15}), of the scope that His earthly experience afforded for the exercise of faith (12^2), of His agony in the garden (5^7), of the opposition He endured at the hands of evil, or ignorant, prejudiced men (12^3), of His gentle bearing towards the erring (5^2), of His work as a preacher of the good tidings (2^3), of His being surrounded by a band of companions who afterwards became a source of valuable and trustworthy information concerning the words of the Master (2^3). Of course, one who knew so much had the means of knowing more. In his description of the agony he seems to indicate knowledge of particulars not reported in the Gospels, when he represents Jesus as offering up prayers 'with strong crying and tears,' though it has been suggested that he borrowed this part of the picture from Ps $22^{14.24}$.*

(*c*) *The State of Humiliation.*—Be this as it may, one thing is certain, the writer has a magnificent conception of the moral significance of the earthly life of the Son as a whole; of the historic career of Him whose human name 'Jesus' he for the first time introduces in 2^9. He perceives clearly the pathos of that life, the humiliation and the glory in the humiliation. It may be, as has been said, that it is the exalted Jesus he has constantly in his eye, but he never forgets that the exalted One passed heroically through a severe curriculum of temptation and suffering, which awakens in his mind, as he contemplates it, admiration and love. There is no trace in his pages of the tendency, very perceptible in the Gospel of St. Luke, to tone down those elements in Christ's experience which might be thought out of keeping with the image of the exalted Lord as it presented itself to the eye of faith. [Compare St. Luke's report of the agony in the garden (leaving out the unauthentic verses, $22^{43.44}$) with the brief but strong statement on the same subject in this Epistle]. He was not without temptation to follow this policy, arising out of the state of feeling prevailing in the community of believers for whose benefit he wrote. Their conceptions of the Christian religion seem to have been crude, ignorant, and superficial all along the line. They did not yet understand even the first principles of Christian belief (5^{12}). The best clue to the nature of their deficiencies in Christian knowledge is to note the things emphasized and reiterated by their instructor. One of these things is the *humiliation of Christ.* That, therefore, was one of their stumbling-blocks. If the Son was so great as you say, how could He be tempted, and suffer death, and death in such an ignominious form? Such was one of their perplexities. One writing to a community in this state of mind was tempted to throw a veil over the indignities of the Saviour's life; to pass over in silence this, to understate that. But there is neither silence nor understatement. 'In all points tempted like as we are' (4^{15}); 'prayers and supplications, with strong crying and tears' (5^7); 'though he were a Son, yet learned he obedience by the things which he suffered' (5^8); 'endured the cross, despising the shame' (12^2); 'endured such contradiction of sinners against himself' (12^3). This depicting in dark colours of the tragic humiliating side of Christ's earthly experience means much. It means, for one thing, that the writer sees in that aspect nothing to hide or be ashamed of; rather something to rejoice in and to be thankful for. He beholds glory *in* the humiliation, honour *in* the shame, *contemporary* honour, not merely honour following and compensating, in a state of exaltation. It means, further, that he does not despair of getting his readers to see this also. At least he is determined to try, because he knows that, until they see it, their faith is unintelligent, and their Christian standing very insecure.

Its Rationale.—The main contribution towards this object is to be found in ch. 2^{5-18}. The leading purpose of this very important section, crammed full with deep weighty thoughts, is to set forth the rationale of the earthly humiliation of Christ. And the drift of it is: *a glory in the humiliation.* On this theme three possible positions may be taken up—(1) the glory of the Son and the humiliation of Jesus incompatible, the position of unbelief; (2) the humiliation a temporary veiling of the glory compensated for by subsequent resumption of glory, the common position of average Christian belief; (3) the humiliation itself glorious when seen in the light of its aim and result, the position of enlightened faith. The writer of our Epistle occupies this highest position, his readers not being far from the lowest. He holds the humiliation itself to be glorious, and worthy of God the first cause and last end of all, profitable to Christ Himself, and full of benefit to us. It *became* God, he teaches, to subject His Son Jesus to suffering (2^{10}). It profited Jesus by perfecting Him for His office as Captain of Salvation, developing in His character the virtues of patience and sympathy, which are necessary to efficient captaincy ($2^{10. 17. 18}$). It is beneficial to us, for we have in Jesus one of whose interest we can be assured, and to whom we can always come with confidence that He will grant us seasonable succour (4^{16}). Such, in brief, is our author's splendid theodicy, his demonstration of the moral fitness of Christ's tragic experience. In the light of it we can have no doubt as to what he means when in ch. 2^9 he speaks of Jesus as 'crowned with glory and honour, that he, by the grace of God, should taste death for every man.' He means just what he plainly says, that God showed His favour to His Son in appointing Him to an office in connexion with which He should have to taste death for men, and that, in the very act of tasting death as Captain of Salvation, the Son was crowned with glory and honour. These things are *true*; they are also *relevant* to the situation. No one has really mastered the problem presented in the antinomy between glory and humiliation till he has got insight into their truth, and thorough mastery was what the writer possessed and aimed at for his readers. There is no difficulty in understanding his words. The difficulty felt by most interpreters arises from their unwillingness to credit him with clear insight into the moral order of the world. Such insight they appear to think beyond the reach of any writer in the first Christian century, even though inspired.

---

* So von Soden in *Theologische Abhandlungen*, Carl von Weizsäcker gewidmet, p. 119.

(*d*) *Christ's Priesthood.*—Passing from the subject of Christ's person to His priestly function, the subject may be introduced with the remark that the writer takes advantage of any means that offers itself of making intelligible to his readers the suffering experience of Christ. He is glad to be able to show them *from any point of view* that it behoved Jesus to die. Sometimes his lines of thought are remote enough from any recognized theories of atonement, as when he bases the thesis that Jesus had to die once *only* on the analogy of general human experience ($9^{27. 28}$). The reason which he assigns in the same context for Christ's dying *once*, viz. that a testator must die before his will can come into effect, is also peculiar, inasmuch, as it is enough that a testator die anyhow, it is nowise necessary that his death should be of a sacrificial character. One wonders at the introduction of so elementary and inferior a view close upon the grand conception contained in 9^{14}; and all the more when it is observed that in order to get a chance of introducing it he has to take advantage of the double meaning of διαθήκη, as signifying at once an alliance or covenant and a testament. In the case of a covenant there is no necessity for the death of either party, therefore after the word has been used in the sense of a covenant in 9^{15} it is employed in the other sense without any apology. The reason for this must be found in the ignorance of the first readers. They had, it must be supposed, no understanding of the rationale of Christ's death from any point of view, and therefore their instructor felt that it was a point gained if he could assign any reason for that death level to their understanding. It is essential to our understanding of the Epistle that this state of ignorance in the first readers be constantly borne in mind. If we come to it, as some interpreters do, with the assumption that the whole doctrine of the atonement was familiar to the persons addressed, and that in all that the writer says on the subject of Christ's priestly work he is simply repeating commonplaces, we incapacitate ourselves for attaining any true insight into its meaning. The truth is, he is writing to persons who do not know the alphabet of the subject, and the problem for him is to get into their dull minds by any means the idea: Jesus, though the Christ, the Son of God, must die. For this purpose several lines of thought are pressed into the service: Jesus must die, as all men die, *once;* He must die, as a testator dies before his heirs enter into possession of his inheritance; He must die for His own advantage as the Captain of Salvation, because He could not be a good fit captain unless He were perfected by suffering; He must die as a priest, not indeed as a priest after the type of Aaron, who offered animals as sacrificial victims, but as a priest of a higher order, that of *Melchizedek.*

(*a*) *The Melchizedek Type.*—The excursus about Melchizedek in ch. 7 is of essential importance to the author's doctrine of Christ's priesthood. It were an entire mistake to regard it as a discussion on a curious topic in theology on which the writer happened to have some pet ideas. In that case the complaint he makes of the dulness of those to whom he writes is altogether unjustifiable. A man may be a good Christian, and yet remain ignorant, or even incapable of understanding an abstruse theologoumenon on the Melchizedek priesthood. The question at issue is really the fundamental one: was Christ in any sense a priest? The writer's conviction is that the priesthood of Christ is not understood in its reality and worth, unless it be seen to be of the Melchizedek type.

In ch. 5^{10} the author indicates the programme of his discussion on the priesthood of Christ in these words: an *High Priest,* after the *order* of *Melchizedek.* His plan is to employ two types of priesthood to indicate its nature—the order of Aaron, and the order of Melchizedek. His purpose is not, as some have imagined, to teach that Christ occupied in succession two priestly offices, one like that of Aaron, another like that of Melchizedek, the former on earth, the latter in heaven. His intention is rather to utilize the Aaronic priesthood to set forth the *nature* of Christ's priestly functions, and the Melchizedek priesthood to set forth their *ideal worth* and *eternal validity.* The two aspects are taken up in the inverse order to that in which they are named in the programme: first, a priest after the order of Melchizedek (ch. 7); second, a high priest after the order of Aaron (chs. 8. 9).

Every order or species has its characteristic notes or marks; therefore the first thing to be done is to determine the marks of the Melchizedek 'order.' To this task the writer addresses himself in ch. 7^{1-3}, which contains a summary of the facts about Melchizedek as stated in Gn 14^{18-20}, with a commentary pointing out their religious significance, and extracting from the facts the desired marks of the type. To make the facts serve his purpose the writer finds it necessary to attach importance, not merely to what is said of Melchizedek, but to what is not said,—to the silences as well as to the utterances of history; also to give ideal meaning to the names occurring in the story. This method of interpretation may seem vicious. We may call it allegorical, or allege that it is borrowed from Philo; the important thing to note is that it *is* his method. By this way he reaches what he is in quest of—the notes of the type. These are, in all, five. Taking them in the order in which they are referred to in the commentary, they are these: the Melchizedek type of priesthood is, first, a *royal* priesthood (*king* of righteousness); second, a *righteous* priesthood (king of *righteousness*); third, a priesthood promotive of *peace*, or exercised in the country of peace (king of Salem = king of *peace*); fourth, a *personal*, not an inherited dignity (without father, without mother, *i.e.* so far as the record is concerned); fifth, it is an *eternal* priesthood (without beginning of days or end of life—so far as the record is concerned). The first four may be conceived as standing to the fifth in the relation of cause to effect. Because the priesthood in question possesses these characteristics, it is eternal.

Observe, now, what the writer is really doing in making this ingenious commentary on the brief narrative in Genesis. He is trying to fix the characters of an *ideal* priesthood. He is solving the problem, What is the highest conceivable type or kind of priesthood? He might have adopted the method of philosophic speculation for the purpose, instead of the method of interpreting an OT text. The question may be asked, Does the latter method fully serve the purpose—give us all the essential features of the ideal? To answer it, one must have in one's mind a conception of the ideal. Now, without hesitation one would say that these things at least must enter into the idea of a priesthood of the highest order. The priest must be *really*, not ritually, holy; he must not be a mere sacerdotal drudge, but one whose priestly ministry is a course of *gracious condescension*—a *royal* priest; he must be one who, by his personal worth and official acts, can establish a reign of righteousness, peace, and perfect fellowship between man and God; finally, he must be one who ever liveth, whose priesthood does not pass from him to another, as a guarantee for the maintenance of peace.

But what about sacrifice, the most essential feature, one would say, in the vocation of a priest? We observe that in the close of the Melchizedek excursus, in a description of the ideal priest, which seems intended to supplement and complete the definition of the Melchizedek type, it is said that the ideal priest does not need to repeat sacrifice (7^{27}). But there is a previous question: does he offer sacrifice at all, and what is his sacrifice? By the method of laying stress on the silences, one would say that in the Melchizedek type there is no sacrifice at all, no mention being made of such in the history. If this were so, then it would seem to follow that precisely the most vital feature in the priestly office of Christ—the sacrificial offering of *Himself*—lay outside the type, as something *sui generis*, having nothing analogous to it either in the priesthood of Melchizedek or in that of Aaron. That would be a serious flaw in the writer's apologetic argument, too serious for him to have overlooked it. We must look more closely to see whether self-sacrifice be not immanent in the other characteristics of the ideal priest. We start from the statement that the ideal priest needs not to *repeat* sacrifice, like the high priests of Israel (7^{27}). Why so? Because of the other characteristics, especially that pointed at by the epithets holy, harmless, undefiled, which unfold the contents of the idea of righteousness. Because the ideal priest is holy (ὅσιος) in relation to God, benevolent (ἄκακος) towards men, and free from any fault that might disqualify for priestly functions (ἀμίαντος), therefore he needs not to repeat sacrifice. But for the same reason he must offer one sacrifice, himself. One who answers to the description king of *righteousness*, one who realizes in his character the ethical ideal, cannot escape the sacrifice of himself in this world. That is not said, but surely it must have been in the writer's mind. It was self-evident to him that one who had all the other characteristics of the Melchizedek type must have this one also, that he was ready to lay down his life for righteousness, equally so that he would be called on to do this, living as a holy one in an unholy world.

The self-sacrifice of the ideal priest, the priest after the Melchizedek type, can be reached by another line of deduction, viz. from the *royal* character of the type. The ideal priest is not a legal drudge, but a king who graciously condescends. Carry out the idea of condescension to its utmost limit and it will yield the result of a life laid down for others: this is the *ne plus ultra* of condescension and voluntary sacerdotal service, and the requirements of the ideal cannot be satisfied with anything short of it. 'The Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for the many.' 'Who loved me, and gave himself for me.'

It is obvious that in these thoughts we pass out of the region of the ritual into the ethical, and are dealing with a kind of sacrifice of entirely different character and of incomparably greater value than those pertaining to sacrifices of Levitical victims. But to this there will be occasion to refer at a later stage. Meantime it remains to indicate the use made of the Aaronic priesthood in the exposition of the priestly office of Christ.

(β) *The Aaronic Type.*—The chief use is that of a foil. The burden of the section, chs. 8^1–9^{28}, is: the priestly ministry of Christ immeasurably superior to that of Aaron. The rubric of the whole passage is: *the more excellent ministry.* But as comparison can be made only between things having a certain resemblance, eulogy runs along the line of parallelism. Superiority is established on a basis of similitude. The points of resemblance are very general. Common to both is *sacrifice*, a *sanctuary* where sacrifice is offered, and a grand representative *ceremonial* in which the two systems culminate. The first point is briefly noticed in 8^3. Every high priest is appointed to offer sacrifice, therefore this man (Jesus) must also have something to offer. The vague statement is meant to provoke thought in dull Heb. readers. 'This man, if He be a priest, must have something to offer. What can it be? He has indicated what it is already—HIMSELF' (7^{27}), but he knows they have not grasped it, and he provokes them to reflection: 'What can it be? Not bulls and goats, of course; what then?' The second topic, the two sanctuaries, is handled at greater length ($9^{1-5.11}$). The construction and furniture of the Levitical tabernacle are minutely described, not, however, in an antiquarian spirit, but with a definite apologetic aim. The salient points in the description are the division of the sanctuary into two compartments separated by a *veil*, and the peculiar manner in which the location of the altar of incense (θυμιατήριον) is indicated. Of course it is the altar of incense that is meant; there should never have been any doubt about that. And it is represented as *belonging to* (not physically within) the Holy of Holies. The phrase is: the Holy of Holies *having* the golden altar of incense. The meaning is: that altar, though standing without the veil, being required for daily service, belonged of right, in spirit and function, to the inner shrine. And this antinomy—without in fact, within by right—is meant to startle into thought the sluggish minds of Hebrew Christians. 'Whence this puzzle as to the whereabouts and relations of the altar of incense? See ye not, it is all due to the *existence* of that *veil*, the emblem of a rude, imperfect, transient religion?' In comparison with the earthly tabernacle, the one in which Christ officiates is described as 'the greater and more perfect tabernacle, not made with hands' (9^{11}), and not belonging to the visible creation, not constructed out of material things, like the precious cloths, woods, and metals of the old tabernacle, which, however precious, were, like all material things, destined to wax old and vanish away.

The ceremonial selected for comparison is that of the great Day of Atonement. In that stately ceremonial the Levitical ritual culminated and was seen at its best. In it also, and in it alone, the Holy of Holies came into use. It was the one service in the year in which Israel's representative man came into the immediate presence of God. It also lent itself to comparison at this vital point, the high priest's entrance into the inner shrine being comparable to the entrance of Jesus into heaven. The latter event is therefore naturally expressed in terms of the former, giving rise at points in the description to obscurities, such as the representation of Christ entering *through His own blood* into the holy place (9^{12}).

All through, the unexpressed refrain 'more excellent' is audible, but it arrests the ear specially in connexion with the closing comparison between the effects of the two priestly functions—that of Aaron on the great Day of Atonement, and that of Christ when after His death on the Cross He entered into heaven. The effect of the one was to cancel the errors, or ignorances (ἀγνοημάτων, 9^{7}), of the people throughout the bygone year, to wipe out all the offences against Levitical law committed in a twelvemonth, so that they might make a fresh start. The effect of the other was to obtain an 'eternal redemption' (αἰωνίαν λύτρωσιν). Comparison here becomes futile: it is a comparison of the finite to the infinite.

(*e*) *Theory of Redemption.*—For modern readers the great thoughts of the Epistle to the Hebrews are obscured by being expressed so largely in terms of Levitical ritual. The apologetic, which was meant to elucidate, now serves to some extent as a veil to hide the true meaning. It is therefore desirable to make the most of those passages in which the writer, so to speak, shakes himself clear of his apologetic trammels, and expresses his ideas in terms of universal validity. There are two sentences in which he does this in reference to the significance of Christ's death. These are 2^{11} 9^{14}, the former containing the great axiom: the sanctifier and the sanctified are all of one; the latter, the sublime thesis that Jesus offered Himself a sacrifice through an *eternal spirit.* The earlier text enunciates the *principle* of redemption, the later explains the infinite efficacy of redemption achieved. The principle is: solidarity between sanctifier and sanctified; the two one in all possible respects, the more respects the better, the one radical difference of holy and unholy always excepted; the more points of contact the greater the sanctifying power. The rationale of infinite value is 'through an eternal spirit.' In the interpretation of this profoundly suggestive expression, theologians are unhappily not at one. To the present writer it has ever been associated with certain broad thoughts that help him to understand the value of Christ's self-offering as compared with Levitical victims. In the first place it suggests that Christ's offering was an affair of *spirit,* not merely of blood-shedding. It expressed a *mind* on the part of the victim. Of course that mind had certain ethical characteristics. Jesus offered *Himself.* So the mind embodied in His sacrifice was *free, loving, holy*; a mind of supreme moral value in the sight both of God and of enlightened men. None of these epithets, however, is used to qualify the spirit in which Jesus offered Himself to God. The epithet chosen is 'eternal.' It is selected because it serves to raise the sacrifice of Christ above the limits of time. Spirit is in its nature eternal, and the sacrifice of Christ as a spiritual transaction has an efficacy and value for all time, for the time that went before the Christian era, as well as for the time coming after. It is not a mere historical event which had no influence before it took place, and whose influence, after it happened, was destined to wane with the lapse of ages. It is an eternal fact having absolute value with God from everlasting to everlasting. But the ethical and the eternal aspects go together, the one conditioning the other. It is because the spirit in which Christ offered Himself was ethically perfect—free, loving, holy—that it has eternal value. In this remarkable phrase, combining these two aspects, the spiritual insight of the writer reaches its highest water-mark. Nothing better, more penetrating, more felicitous, on the subject of our Lord's death and its significance is to be found in Scripture.

(*f*) *Christ's Priesthood in Heaven.*—Before leaving the theme of the priesthood, we may notice briefly a question that has troubled interpreters. The priestly ministry of Christ is located in heaven, yet the sacrifice the Priest presents there appears to be none other than that offering of Himself which He made once for all; an event, so far at least as the initial stage of it, the blood-shedding, is concerned, happening on earth and within this visible world. The key to the solution lies in this, that for the writer heaven is the locus of *realities,* while earth is the locus of *shadows.* In heaven is the *true* tabernacle, the tabernacle which realizes the ideal of a sanctuary (8^{2} τῆς σκηνῆς τῆς ἀληθινῆς); there are the 'patterns' or types of which the vulgar realities of earth are but imperfect copies. For our author the 'true' and the 'heavenly' are synonyms. Whatever is true is heavenly, belongs to the upper world of realities, and whatever belongs to this upper world is true and real. If, therefore, Christ's self-sacrifice be a true sacrifice, it belongs to the heavenly world, no matter where or when it takes place. And Christ's sacrifice is, for the author, a true sacrifice, because it is an affair of spirit. Flesh and blood, whether of man or beast, are of the earth earthy, and belong to the realm of shadows. Even the blood of Christ viewed materially can find no place in heaven. Hence it is vain to attempt solving the above-stated problem by distinguishing between the first stage of the sacrifice —the death, or blood-shedding—and the second, the sprinkling of the shed blood on the mercy-seat within the sanctuary, relegating the former to earth as something lying outside the sphere of Christ's proper priestly activity, and to locate the latter in heaven as the point at which the priestly ministry begins. Christ's sacrifice finds entrance into heaven when blood is transmuted into *spirit.* In other words, the shedding of Christ's blood is a *true* sacrifice, as distinct from the shedding of the blood of bulls and goats, which was only a *shadow* of sacrifice, because it is the manifestation of a mind or spirit. And because it is that it belongs to heaven, though it takes place on earth. The magic phrase 'through an eternal spirit' lifts us above distinctions of time and place, and makes it possible for us to regard Christ's offering of Himself, in all its stages, as a transaction within the celestial sanctuary.

This conception of heaven as the place of realities, as distinct from earth as the place of shadows, is the philosophic presupposition of the system of positive Christian thought contained in our Epistle. It reminds us of Plato and of Philo. Whether our author was acquainted with the writings of either the Gentile or the Jewish philosopher is a question on which opinion differs, and on which a few remarks will be offered at a later stage. The important matter is, not to ascertain where he got this speculative conception, but to note carefully the fact that it was in his mind, and to keep it before our own minds in interpreting his words. At no point in the Epistle is it more necessary to do so than at that remarkable sentence in which the writer expresses his final deepest thought concerning the nature and worth of Christ's sacrifice.

(*g*) *Salvation.*—From the doctrine of Christ's priestly office to the conception of *salvation* contained in our Epistle, the transition is easy. The author describes the 'great salvation' variously, but always in terms suggested by the primitive history of man as contained in the early chapters of Genesis. He first represents it as consisting in lordship in the world to come, founding on a quotation from the 8th Psalm, which is a poetic echo of the statement regarding man's place in the world in Gn 1^{26} (ch. 2^{5-8}). Next he conceives it as deliverance from the power of death exercised by the devil, with obvious allusion to the history of the Fall in Gn 3, wherein death is set forth as the penalty of sin (ch. $2^{14.\,15}$). Finally, he exhibits it as the full final realization of the divine idea and promise of *rest*, to which he applies the felicitous thought-suggesting name *Sabbatism* (σαββατισμός), so making the final bliss of redeemed man consist in entering into the rest which God Himself enjoyed when He had finished the work of creation (ch. 4^{9}, cf. Gn 2^{2}). Taken together, the three conceptions suggest the thought of Paradise restored, the divine ideal of man and the world and their mutual relations realized in perpetuity, man made veritably the lord of creation, delivered from the fear of death, no longer subject to servile tasks, but occupied only in work compatible with perfect repose. From all the three points of view, salvation is a thing in the future. It is an apocalyptic vision. Fruition lies in the Beyond. Dominion, deathlessness, and Sabbatism belong to the world to come, and are objects of hope for those who bear the Christian name.

But salvation is not altogether in the future; it is a present good as well. Christians, as such, are conceived of as 'sanctified' (ἁγιαζόμενοι) and even 'perfected.' These words, however, do not bear quite the same meaning as that which we, familiar with the Pauline theology, are apt to attach to them. In the Epistles of St. Paul sanctification is *ethical*, and means making the Christian holy in heart and life. In the Epistle to the Hebrews this ethical sense appears (though the point has been disputed) occasionally to be traced, as in ch. $12^{10.\,14}$, but more commonly the term is used in a theocratic sense, to express the idea of being put in right covenant relations with God, as in the text: 'By one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified' (10^{14}). The sanctified in this theocratic sense are equivalent to St. Paul's 'justified.' In ch. 2^{11} the word ἁγιαζόμενοι should probably be taken in both senses. The statement the verse contains is of the nature of an axiom, to the effect that whatever parties stand to each other in the relation of sanctifier to sanctified are *ipso facto* 'of one,' have one interest, form a brotherhood bound together by community of nature, experience, and privilege. The principle holds good, whether we understand the sanctifying function theocratically or ethically. If the function of the sanctifier be to place the sanctified, *i.e.* those to be sanctified, in right relations with God, then the more points of contact the better. There must be unity in God's sight, so that what He does is done in the name of those He seeks to sanctify, and avails for their benefit. He must be one with them in death, as it is by His death that He makes propitiation for their sins. He must possess, in common with them, humanity, for otherwise He could not die. Finally, He must be one with them in experience of trial and temptation, because thereby is evinced the sympathy that wins trust, and unless the priest is trusted it is in vain that He transacts. On the other hand, if the sanctifier's function be to make his clients ethically holy, then, again, the more points of contact between Him and them the better. In that case, the sanctifying power lies in the example of the sanctifier: in His character, His history as a man. He makes men holy by reproducing in His own life the ideal of human character, and bringing that ideal to bear on their minds by living a truly godly life under conditions similar to those under which they are placed. In short, His power to sanctify ethically depends on likeness in nature, position, and experience.

The word τελειόω is sometimes also used in our Epistle to denote the establishment of right relations between man and God, that is to say, as equivalent to 'justify' in the Pauline vocabulary. So in the text: 'By one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified.' Perfecting here means giving the worshipper a satisfactory assurance that his sins are forgiven. What the word means in any given case depends entirely on the connexion of thought. In general, it signifies to reach the end, and the specific sense depends on the nature of the end in view. Thus perfecting as applied to Christ in 2^{10} signifies to make Him a fully-equipped Captain of salvation. Applied to the fathers, who died in faith, not having received the promises in 11^{40}, it means getting at length what they had lived and longed for when the company of the saved is complete.

Condition of Salvation.—What is the condition of salvation in our Epistle? We know what it is in St. Paul's theology. We are justified by *faith*. Faith is a great word in the Epistle to the Hebrews also, but its use there is not quite the same as in the Pauline letters. In the apostle's system faith has two functions. It accepts as a gift the 'righteousness of God,' and it works through love as a sanctifying power. Of the former function there is no clear trace in Hebrews. Instead of faith we find obedience in the text: 'He became the author of eternal salvation to all them that *obey* him' (5^{9}). We come nearer to the Pauline conception of justifying faith in 10^{22}, where the writer exhorts his readers to draw near with a true heart in full assurance of faith, where faith means confident expectation of welcome for Christ's sake. The function of faith as a force making for personal righteousness or noble conduct is very prominently set forth in ch. 11, where, in a series of well-chosen instances, it is exhibited as a power helping men to make their lives sublime. But the secret of its power is peculiarly conceived in Hebrews. In St. Paul's system faith derives its power from its personal object, the Lord Jesus Christ. It unites us to Him, and from Him flows a transforming influence. In Hebrews the secret of faith's power is its psychological character as a faculty of the human mind, whereby it can make the future as if it were present, and the unseen as if it were visible. So viewed, faith as a principle making for heroism is not confined to the Christian world. It is as wide as humanity, and can turn out heroes and heroines in every land. Hence even a Rahab finds a place in the roll of those who obtained a good report through faith.

(2) *FATHERHOOD OF GOD.*—The doctrine of the Fatherhood of God and the sonship of men, central in our Lord's teaching, and prominent also in the Pauline letters, is not very conspicuously taught in our Epistle. It makes a formal appearance chiefly in the hortatory section. There God is called 'the Father of spirits' (12^{9}), and it is taught that His supreme aim in all His dealings with His children is to make them partakers of His holiness (12^{10}). The phrase 'Father of spirits'

seems to imply a paternal relation of God to men as such, coextensive with the human family, or, rather, inclusive of the human family, embracing it in a larger category, the world of spirits, including men living in the flesh but having a spirit, the spirits of just men made perfect, and angels. In the theoretical part of the Epistle the Fatherhood of God is referred to, or implied, mainly in reference to the Sonship of Christ. But while this is so, it must be ascribed to the exigencies of the apologetic argument controlling the train of thought rather than to the peculiarity of the writer's theological system, that the doctrine of the Fatherhood is so comparatively in the background. No man could be insensible to the importance of that doctrine who had such a vivid sense of the distinction and glory of Christianity as the religion of free access to and intimate fellowship with God. This central conception covers the whole ground. A religion of unrestricted access is a religion of sonship. Its spirit is *filial*, not *legal*; its watchword *trust*, not *fear*. It brings its votaries to Mount Zion, not to Mount Sinai. At another point the doctrine of sonship is immanent in the Epistle, though not formally named. This is where faithful Christians are called the comrades of Christ. 'We have become fellows of Christ if we hold fast the beginning of our confidence stedfast unto the end' (3^{14}). So we render the passage, taking μέτοχοι in the sense it bears in 1^{9}. The faithful the fellows of Christ, God's Son—such is the writer's idea, implying also, of course, that they are sons in the same house and family of God. This is just what was to be looked for from one who grasped the significance of the great principle, Sanctifier and sanctified all of one. It is but the other side of that great truth. The one side is Christ's oneness with those He undertakes to sanctify, and His readiness to accept all the conditions necessary to His complete identification with them. The other side is the unity of the sanctified with Christ, complete equality with Him in privilege. They are *sons*, therefore, as indeed they are called in 2^{10}, and therefore Christ's brethren. He was not ashamed to call them brethren even when they were in an unsanctified state (2^{11}); how much less will He be ashamed to call them brethren when they have experienced His sanctifying power! Therefore we need have no hesitation in taking μέτοχοι in the fullest sense of comradeship. In doing so we only assume that the author understands his own system of thought, and it may be added that he is in sympathy with the teaching of our Lord and with the conception of the relation between Christ and His people that pervades the entire NT. For the religion of the NT is throughout filial, and God, whether often or seldom so named, is always Father. The dialects for the purposes of theological reflection are various, but the central religious intuition is one.

iv. RELATION TO PHILO.—Such in brief outline is the theological import of the Epistle. We have avoided preliminary discussion of the questions belonging to the head of Introduction, because we did not wish to give any countenance to the idea that a right understanding of the Epistle depends on the previous settlement of doubtful questions respecting its author, its first readers, its date, its theological affinities, etc. We do not believe anything of the kind. It has been said, *e.g.*, that no one can understand the Epistle who does not regard it as the writing of one belonging to the *School of Philo* and thoroughly conversant with his philosophy. We are inclined to think, on the contrary, that to be too sure of this, and to lay great stress on the supposed fact, is the direct way to misunderstanding. It is possible to understand the main drift of the Epistle while remaining in suspense as to the connexion with Philo. It is best to commence the study of the work tolerably uncommitted on the point. It is quite proper, as we go along, to keep our eyes open to all traces of affinity with Philo, so that on arriving at the end of the book we may have, not only a distinct idea of its theological drift, but also a more or less probable opinion on the subordinate question as to the connexion of its author with the Alexandrine school of religious philosophy. But that question, however interesting, is not vital.

That there are affinities of thought and style is not to be questioned, and, indeed, has already been indicated in a passing way. The author's mode of conceiving heaven as the place of realities and the earth as the place of shadows is an instance in point. That peculiarity is a fact patent to any attentive reader altogether apart from the question to what source it is to be traced. We might notice it though we had never heard of Plato or Philo. The only effect of the hypothesis that the writer was a disciple of the Jewish philosopher is somewhat to sharpen our attention and lead us to attach more importance to it than we otherwise would, perhaps more than it deserves. But there need be no jealousy as to having our attention directed to phenomena of this kind. No question of religious importance is involved, and the multiplication of instances of affinity in word and thought between *Hebrews* and the writings of Philo serves the purpose, at least, of increasing our acquaintance with the literary characteristics of our Epistle.

Among the verbal affinities with Philo the following may be specified. Philo, like our author, uses the *prophets* for the OT. 'Απαύγασμα and χαρακτήρ find a place in his vocabulary, θυμιατήριον is used by him (not in LXX) for the altar of incense. Among the functions he ascribes to the Logos is that of cutter (τομεύς), even as our author describes the word of God as more cutting (τομώτερος) than any two-edged sword. The unusual words τραχηλίζω (4^{13}) and μετριοπαθέω (5^{2}) both occur in Philo. Less remarkable is the coincident use by the two writers of the epithets τεχνίτης and δημιουργός in reference to God (11^{10}). Among the thought affinities may be reckoned the distinction between τὰ φαινόμενα (11^{3})=Philo's ὁ ὁρατὸς κόσμος, the visible world, and the non-visible things (μὴ ἐκ φαινομένων, 11^{3})=Philo's κόσμος νοητός, the world of ideas; the conception of heaven as the country or home (πατρίς, 11^{14}) of the soul; the application to Christ of attributes ascribed in Philo to the Logos, such as πρωτότοκος (1^{6}) answering to πρεσβύτερος υἱός or πρωτόγονος in Philo; θεός (1^{9}), ἀρχιερεύς. To these instances thoroughgoing advocates of dependence on Philo would add the whole Melchizedek excursus, but without good reason. At this point our author drew his inspiration, not from Philo, but from the Heb. prophet who wrote the 110th Psalm. Philo does not quote or refer to the text about Melchizedek in that psalm, and there is nothing in all his writings to show that he followed the psalmist, or set the example to our author, in ascribing to the priest of Salem an ideal significance. Bleek states, with strict truth, that in Philo the significance of Melchizedek is always treated in an incidental manner.* As to the attribute of cutting, ascribed to the word of God in *Hebrews*, and to the Logos in Philo, the resemblance is in word rather than in thought. Our author is not thinking of the personal Logos in the passage in question, and the function he ascribes to the Word is *ethical*, exercised in the spirit of man, whereas the function Philo had in view was that of dividing the material of which the world is made into genera and species. On the whole, if, as is not improbable, the writer was more or less familiar with the ideas and philosophic dialect to which the Alexandrian school of Jewish philosophy gave wide currency in the first Christian century, there is no evidence in his work of abject discipleship, but at most of a very free independent use of words and ideas hailing from that quarter, just so far as they would serve his purpose.

v. RELATION TO ST. PAUL.—A similar relation of independence towards the *Apostle Paul* must be claimed for the Epistle. That the apostle was not the author of it is now so generally admitted that it is hardly worth while discussing the question. The diversity in the use of important theological terms such as ἁγιάζω and πίστις, the broad contrast in style, the marked individuality of the two authors in respect of religious temperament, all shut one up to this conclusion. As to the difference of style, it is a matter of detail, with reference to which a decided impression can be made only by a large accumulation of instances, but the following statement gives a sufficient idea of it. 'St. Paul was not free from Hebraism, and derives force from the simplicity of his language; the author (of Hebrews) expresses himself in idiomatic and polished Greek, and delights in the pomp of stately phrases and full-sounding derivatives. They differ in the elementary framework of their sentences by employment of different constructions and different connecting particles. Dialectical subtlety, impetuous bursts of natural eloquence, mighty thoughts struggling for expression in disjointed sentences, are the characteristic features of St. Paul's style. Rhetorical skill, studied antithesis, even flow of faultless grammar, and measured march of rhythmical periods, combine to stamp upon the Epistle a distinct and unique character of its own.' * Behind this difference of style lies an even more marked difference in religious temperament and experience. St. Paul is a man of great moral intensity; the author of Hebrews has about him an air of philosophic repose. We feel in every page of the Pauline Epistles that the man who wrote them has passed through a great religious crisis In reading *Hebrews* we have no such feeling. Instead of a tragic experience there has been a smooth quiet studious life, whose passage into Christian faith has resembled the dawn of day rather than the sudden flash of light from heaven which smote Saul of Tarsus to the earth on the way to Damascus. A significant index of this equable flow is the entire absence from our Epistle of the well-known Pauline antitheses: law and grace, faith and works, flesh and spirit. There are antitheses here also, but they are less pronounced, — shadow and substance, type and antitype,—pointing at, not radical contrariety, but different stages in the religious development of mankind.

---

* *Hebräerbrief*, ii. p. 323, note *a*.

The writer of *Hebrews* was not only not St. Paul, but not even a disciple of St. Paul. To a great extent the proof of the one thesis is at the same time the proof of the other. That he was acquainted with the Pauline literature has been confidently asserted, but cannot be clearly shown.† There are doubtless things that remind us of Pauline texts, *e.g.* the description of the law as 'the word spoken by angels' (2^2), which recalls a similar thought in Gal 3^{19}, and the idea of the heavenly Jerusalem (12^{22} 13^{14}) found in the same Epistle (4^{25}). But these may be mere coincidences in the use of conceptions belonging to the common stock of contemporary religious thought. Acquaintance with Philo's writings can be alleged with much greater show of reason.

But while not a follower of St. Paul, our author is in thorough sympathy with all the leading positions of Paulinism. Without doubt he stands on the ground of universalism. No express text, indeed, can be cited in support of this assertion. From beginning to end there is not a single allusion to Gentile Christians, or the slightest indication that the writer is aware of the existence of such people. He seems to have in view throughout, God's ancient people, and to have for his sole aim to enable Hebrew Christians to remain steadfast in the faith amid circumstances of trial. He takes no advantage of opportunities for indicating the universal destination of the gospel; not even in 2^{16}, where it would have been so natural to have said, He (Jesus) took not hold of (in order to save) angels, but He took hold of *mankind*; instead of which he says, He took hold of the seed of Abraham. Nevertheless, the Epistle breathes throughout the spirit of universalism. The whole scheme of thought, though excogitated for the benefit of Hebrews, is capable of universal application, and implies that Christianity is the concern of all mankind. The remark holds true especially of the Christology. The cosmic relations in which the Son is set in the proem indicate that the word spoken by God through Him is a revelation for the whole world. It is only in universalist writings, such as the Epistles of St. Paul and the Gospel of St. John, that a cosmic Christology is to be looked for. Not less universalist in tendency is the view of the sacrifice of Christ presented in ch. 9^{14}. The doctrine takes its colour from Levitical institutions, but in its core it is not Jewish but human. The phrase *by an eternal spirit* lifts the whole subject above the distinctions, not only of time and space, as already pointed out, but also of race and nationality. It has the same ring as the great epoch-making text in St. John's Gospel: 'The hour cometh, when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father. . . . The hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth' ($4^{21.\ 23}$).

Our author is in thorough sympathy with St. Paul's conception of Christianity as a *spiritual religion.* He sees not less clearly than the apostle the utter worthlessness of rites and ceremonies, except as a shadow of good things to come. He makes no allusion to circumcision, but doubtless he would have been in full sympathy with the Pauline polemic against those who attached religious value to that rite. His own controversy is with those who attach overweening importance to Levitical ceremonial; but it is not less thoroughgoing than the apostle's, and it rests upon the same principles and postulates.

Once more, our author is at one with St. Paul in his conception of Christianity as a religion of free grace. His own conception of it as the religion of unrestricted access to God is an exact equivalent. It is the same truth set in a different antithesis. St. Paul opposed grace to legal works, our author opposes the privilege of free access to the distance at which Levitical regulations kept worshippers from God. The counsel 'Draw near' presupposes a gracious Father to be approached, from whom all spiritual good may be confidently expected: pardon of sin, seasonable succour in all times of temptation. In Hebrews as in Rom. and Gal. salvation is a free gift.

vi. WAS THE AUTHOR JEW OR GENTILE?—Whether the author of our Epistle was a born Jew or a Gentile cannot be decided. The style and the rhetorical structure of the writing make for the latter alternative, the familiarity with Jewish institutions for the former. Both might be combined in a Jew of Alexandrian Hellenistic culture like Apollos, with whom, since Luther threw out the suggestion, there has been a disposition to identify the author, though the hypothesis has no support in ancient tradition. The question of nationality is of subordinate importance. The only question of vital interest in connexion with the theological import of the Epistle is whether the author represented the standpoint of Jewish Christianity with its limited sympathies and its contracted religious ideas. A tendency to take this view of his position has been more or less apparent in some recent contributions to the exegetical literature of the subject. In so far as it is adopted, it makes the understanding of the book hopeless. We cannot too firmly grasp the fact that in his essential ideas the writer soars high above all Jewish-Christian narrowness. In his method of interpreting Scripture, in his modes of argument, and even in some of his subordinate conceptions, he may be a man of his time and people; but in his great central thought of Christianity as the religion of free access and of spiritual reality, he belongs to all time and to all peoples. Whether he came before St. Paul or after him in point of time, he is of the same spiritual brotherhood. He has seen with open face the true nature and the grandeur of the Christian faith.

---

* *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, by F. Rendall, *vide* the *Appendix*, pp. 26, 27.

† *Vide* von Soden in *Handkommentar*, Einleitung, p. 2.

vii. JEW OR GENTILE READERS?—In asserting the universal outlook of our author, we were obliged to admit that on the face of his work he seems to concern himself only with Jewish readers. Till recent times no doubt has been entertained that the inscription *To the Hebrews*, though not original, correctly indicated its destination. But of late there has been a tendency, supported by weighty names, to set this tradition aside, and to hold that the first readers must have been *Gentiles*, not Jews. Among those who share this opinion are Schürer, Weizsäcker, Pfleiderer, and, above all, von Soden. Among the grounds on which this hypothesis is made to rest are such as these: the fundamentals enumerated in $6^{1.2}$ are such as were suitable for catechumens of pagan antecedents; the expression 'the living God' (9^{14}) suggests an antithesis between the true God and pagan idols, and the moral exhortations, addressed to the readers, possess special appropriateness only when conceived as meant for Gentile Christians. The numerous phrases which seem to imply readers of Heb. extraction are explained so as to harmonize with the hypothesis, by the assumption that, at the time when the Epistle was written, the Gentile Church had served itself heir to the title and privileges of the elect people. To the question, what need for so elaborate a plea for Christianity *versus* Leviticalism in an Epistle written for Gentile Christians? the answer given is: The type of Gentile Christianity the author had to deal with was an eclectic syncretistic system, into which an amateur attachment to Levitical institutions entered as an element, and became so strong as to endanger the Christian faith with which it was associated, especially in a time of persecution.[*]

That an amount of ingenuity has been expended in support of this hypothesis, sufficient to make it appear plausible, is frankly admitted. But that the case has been proved we are far from thinking. We sympathize with Ménégoz when he says: 'What strikes us, in this Epistle throughout, is a Jewish "flavour of the soil," and an absence of all allusion to pagan worship so complete that we have difficulty in comprehending how anyone can discover in it the least indication of its being meant for readers of pagan antecedents. We do not say there were no pagan Christians in the community, there may have been for aught we know, but in the texts we see no trace of them.'[†] Ostensibly the first readers are Hebrews, and Hebrews alone; that is generally acknowledged. The *onus probandi* lies on those who affirm that they were not really such, and it requires a very elaborate display of exegetical ingenuity to explain away the apparent Jewish costume and physiognomy. If the readers were indeed Gentiles, they were Gentiles so completely disguised in Jewish dress, and wearing a mask with so pronounced Jewish features, that the true nationality has been successfully hidden for nineteen centuries, and even now, after learned critics have done their best to show us the Gentile behind the Jew, we shake our heads in honest insurmountable doubt, and feel constrained to agree with Westcott when he pronounces the argument of von Soden 'an ingenious paradox.'[‡]

viii. LOCATION OF FIRST READERS.—Where the Heb. community, to which the Epistle was addressed, was located, is a much debated question of inferior moment to that just disposed of. Palestine, Alexandria, Rome are the rival hypotheses, and weighty authorities can be cited for each of them.[§] It is not necessary here to go into details on the subject, as the topic has no vital bearing on the theology of the Epistle. If we attach weight to the inscription *To the Hebrews* as indicating, not merely Jewish nationality, but a section of the Jewish people distinguished by the epithet 'Hebrew,' it points to Palestine or Syria as the locality of the first readers. 'Hebrews' means Jews speaking Hebrew. But as the Epistle was written in Greek, these 'Hebrews' must have been bilinguals acquainted with Greek as well as their mother-tongue. Such bilingual Jews would be found more readily in a Syrian city like Antioch than in Jerusalem. Other things point in the same direction, *e.g.* the statement in 2^3 that the persons addressed had heard the gospel, not from the lips of the apostles, but at second hand. This would apply to the Syrian Churches, which were founded by the scattered members of the Jerusalem Church after the death of Stephen.[*]

ix. DATE.—The *date* of the Epistle has more than curious interest. The solemn earnest tone of the hortatory parts speaks to a great crisis, such as that of the destruction of Jerus. and of the Jewish state, *impending*. All seems to say: a judgment-day is approaching (10^{25}). The Epistle is a supreme effort to avert apostasy at a time of extreme peril. A general overturn is at hand, when all things that can be shaken—cities, walls, temples, hoary religions—will be shaken to make room for the kingdom that cannot be shaken ($12^{26.27}$). There is therefore a high degree of probability in the suggestion that the Epistle was written when the war, which issued so disastrously for the Jewish people, was raging and drawing near to its awful crisis. 'The fatal year A.D. 70 had arrived, and the Roman armies had gathered round Jerus.; if the daily sacrifice had not already ceased, the siege had at all events begun; for until Jerus. was "compassed with armies" no Hebrew Christian would have ventured to address to his Heb. brethren so unsparing a condemnation of the national religion.'[†] The last statement in this quotation may be doubtful, for the prophetic men of Scripture always had the courage to utter their convictions at the proper time, but the selection of the period most suitable to the message delivered is otherwise appropriate. And the date called for by the solemnity of the message is borne out by minute hints occasionally dropped, *e.g.* by the allusion to the 40 years during which the people of Israel saw God's works (3^9). The mere circumstance that the writer connects the 40 years with the seeing of God's works, rather than with the trying of God's patience, as in the psalm quoted from, is significant. He does it intentionally, and as one aware of the original connexion, as is evident from 3^{17}, where he returns to the original connexion. What is his intention? To suggest a parallel between the case of Israel in the wilderness and the Heb. Church to this effect: 'Your fathers saw God's wonderful works, which ought to have kept them true to Him, for 40 years, yet they perished through unbelief. You have seen the wonders of God's grace in the Christian Church for the same period of time; see that ye perish not likewise on Israel's judgment-day.' Reckoning the 40 years from the beginning of the Church, corresponding to the Exodus, the period would take us down to the fateful year 70 or thereby.

That the Epistle was not written at a later date has been argued from the fact that throughout the writer seems to speak of the Levitical ritual as if it were still in force. This, however, it is now generally admitted, is not conclusive, as the author appears to write of that ritual from an ideal point of view. It may have been a thing of the past as an actual fact, yet present for his mind as an object of thought. The possibility of this must be admitted in view of the fact that it is not the temple but the old tabernacle the writer has in view as the scene of Levitical worship (see $9^{2.6.7}$).

---

[*] So in effect Pfleiderer in *Urchristenthum*, p. 620.

[†] *La Théologie de L'Épitre aux Hébreux*, pp. 26, 27.

[‡] *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, Introduction, p. xxxv.

[§] One of the most recent and able contributions in support of the Rome hypothesis may be found in Réville's *Origines de l'Épiscopat*, 1894.

[*] See on this Rendall, *Epistle to the Hebrews*, Appendix, p. 65.

[†] Rendall, *Appendix*, p. 74.

x. AUTHOR.—The Epistle is anonymous, and the author has remained unknown. Apollos, as described in Ac 18^{24-28}, is the *kind* of man wanted—a Hellenistic Jew of Alexandrian culture, acquainted both with the OT Scriptures (in the Gr. version) and with contemporary philosophy. With this we must be content. Other conjectures thrown out from time to time have comparatively little to commend them. The most interesting, and one of the most ancient, is that which ascribed to Luke the Evangelist a share in the production of the work, at least to the extent of translating into good Greek a supposed Heb. original from the hand of the Apostle Paul. Clement of Alexandria entertained this opinion, and through Eusebius (*HE* iii. 38) it became the prevailing view that the Epistle was, in thought, the work of St. Paul, and in a Gr. version the literary work of St. Luke or Clement of Rome. A number of resemblances between the style of St. Luke in the Gospel and in Ac and that of our Epistle have been pointed out, so as to lend at least plausibility to the hypothesis that the evangelist is responsible for the Epistle in its Gr. dress. But if Luke might have been the translator (on the improbable hypothesis of a Heb. original), he certainly could not have been the author. The striking contrast between his account of the agony in the garden and that given in the Epistle is sufficient to settle that question.

We must be content to remain in ignorance as to the writer of this remarkable work. Nor should we find this difficult. Some of the greatest books of the Bible, such as *Job* and the second part of *Isaiah*, are anonymous writings. It is meet that this one should belong to the number, for it bears witness in its opening sentence to One who speaks God's final word to men. In presence of the Son, what does it matter who points the way to Him? The witness-bearer does not desire to be known. He bids us listen to Jesus and then retires into the background. We need have no anxiety about finding for his work an apostolic author who shall guarantee its inspiration and canonicity. The book speaks for itself. It is worthy to be in the NT. It rendered an indispensable service as an aid to faith in a transition time when an old world was passing away and a new world was coming into being.

LITERATURE.—Bleek, *Der Brief an die Hebräer*. 2 vols.; Kuinoel, *Commentarius in Ep. ad Hebræos*; Delitzsch, *Com. on the Ep. to the Hebrews*, 2 vols. (T. & T. Clark); Hofmann, *Die heilige Schrift d. NT*, vol. v.; Lünemann, *Kritisch-exegetisches Handbuch*; Riehm, *Der Lehrbegriff des Hebräerbriefs*; Westcott, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*; Rendall, ditto; Vaughan, ditto; Davidson in *Handbooks for Bible Classes*; Edwards in *Expositor's Bible*; von Soden in *Handkommentar*; Ménégoz, *La Théologie de L'Épître aux Hébreux*.

A. B. BRUCE.

HEBRON (חֶבְרוֹן 'association').—1. The third son of Kohath, known to us only from P (Ex 6^{18}, Nu 3^{19}) and the Chronicler (1 Ch $6^{2.18}$ 15^{9} $23^{12.19}$). Nothing further is known of him personally, but there are a few scattered notices of his descendants. The Hebronites are mentioned with the three other Kohathite families at the census taken in the wilderness of Sinai (Nu 3^{27}), and appear again at the later census in the plains of Moab (26^{58}). In 1 Ch 15^{9} it is said that 'of the sons of H., Eliel the chief, and his brethren fourscore,' were amongst the Levites assembled by David when he brought the ark from the house of Obed-edom into Jerus., and in 1 Ch 23^{19} that when David numbered the Levites there were reckoned four sons of H., Jeriah, Amariah, Jahaziel, and Jekameam (cf. 24^{23}), while 1 Ch 26 mentions some members of the Hebronite family as holding certain offices under David ($26^{23.30.31}$). 2. A son of Mareshah and father of Korah, and Tappuah, and Rekem, and Shema (1 Ch 2^{42-3}). It is possible that in these vv. the names are those of localities rather than individuals.

W. C. ALLEN.

HEBRON (חֶבְרוֹן 'association,' Χεβρών, Arab. *el-Khalîl*).—A very ancient city in the southern part of Canaan, built 'seven years before Zoan in Egypt,' Nu 13^{22} (JE). Josephus (*Ant.* I. viii. 3) also states that it was seven years older than Tanis (Zoan) in Egypt, and also (*BJ* IV. ix. 7) that it was the oldest city in Palestine, older even than Memphis in Egypt, and that its age in his time was 2300 years; thus making it a rival of Damascus, which he states (*Ant.* I. vi. 4) was founded by Uz, the grandson of Shem.

Hebron included Mamre, Gn 13^{18} (J). Abram, when he moved his tents after separating from Lot, 'came and dwelt by the terebinths of Mamre, which are in Hebron': these trees were in possession of Mamre the Amorite, brother of Eshcol and Aner, with whom Abraham was confederate (Gn 14^{13}). When Sarah 'died in Kiriath-arba' ('the same is Hebron,' Gn 23^{2}), Abraham entreated the children of Heth for a burying-place for her, and bought the field of Ephron containing the cave 'which was in Machpelah which was before Mamre' ('the same is Hebron in the land of Canaan'), Gn 23^{17}. 'Now the name of Hebron beforetime was Kiriath-arba ('the city of Arba'), the greatest man among the Anakim,' 'the father of Anak' (Jos 14^{15} 15^{13}, Jg 1^{10}). As Machpelah was before or over-against Hebron (Mamre), it would appear that though close together they were distinct places.

The first mention of the giants who occupied Hebron is made in the account of the spies (Nu 13^{22}) sent by Moses into the land of Canaan, when the sons (Ahiman, Sheshai, and Talmai) of Anak were at Hebron. It would thus appear that at the time of Abraham there were both Amorites and children of Heth at Hebron, and also that the children of Anak were connected with the place, as they were there in the time of Moses, and the city itself was originally called after Arba the father of Anak (but see Moore, *Judges*, p. 23; and Hommel, *Anc. Heb. Trad.* p. 234, who make Kiriath-arba = *Tetrapolis*). There is no record as to whether the Anakim were Canaanites in common with the Amorites and children of Heth; but it would appear that they were not Rephaim, Zuzim, or Emim who dwelt east of the Jordan, and who are mentioned as being as tall and powerful as the Anakim, and not as the same tribe (Gn 14^{5} 15^{20}, Dt $2^{11.21}$). It has been pointed out [cf. Wellhausen, *Comp. d. Hexat.* p. 341 (1889)] that Amorite is the *general* name of the primitive population of Canaan, and that these names are descriptive titles, and not the names of distinct tribes (Gn 14^{13} 23^{5}, Jg 1^{10}), but they were probably *originally* distinct (see Driver, *Deut.* 11 f.).

The Jewish writers take Kiriath-arba to mean the city of *four*, which they refer to four saints,—Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Adam,—in which Jerome also concurs. Sir John Maundeville (in A.D. 1322) states that at the time of his visit the Saracens called Hebron *Karicarba*, while the Jews called it Arbothe; and he also refers to Adam being buried there.

Hebron became after the entry into the Promised Land a city of Judah, situated (Jos 15^{54}) in the hill-country (Jos 20^{7} 21^{11}), and is stated by Eusebius

(*Onom. s.v.* Αρκώ) to be 22 miles south of Jerusalem and 20 miles north of Beersheba. It is now called *el-Khalîl* ('The Friend') by the Mohammedans.

Hebron played an important part in the early history of the Hebrews until Jerusalem became the capital of Palestine. Abraham, after waxing rich and separating from Lot, came and dwelt by the terebinths of Mamre, which are in Hebron, and built an altar there unto the Lord (Gn 13^{18}). From here he went to the rescue of Lot, and brought him back after defeating Chedorlaomer and the kings that were with him; here his name was changed from Abram to Abraham, and it was here that he entertained the angels unawares (Gn $14^{13ff.}$ 17^{5} 18^{2}). Here Isaac was born, and Sarah died and was buried in the cave of the field of Machpelah, bought by Abraham as a burial-place. Here also Isaac and Jacob lived part of their lives (Gn 35^{27} 37^{14}); from here Jacob sent Joseph to seek his brethren, when he was taken into Egypt, and from here Jacob and his sons followed after (Gn 35^{14} 46^{1}). Here the three patriarchs and their wives, except Rachel, were buried (Gn $49^{30.31}$ 50^{13}). Here the spies sent by Moses saw the Nephilim or giants, the sons of Anak (Nu 13^{22}).

Hebron was taken by Joshua and given as an inheritance to Caleb, who drove out the three sons of Anak (Jos 14^{12} 15^{14}). It was made one of the six cities of refuge (Jos 20^{7}, Jos. *Ant.* v. i. 24, ii. 3), and given with its suburbs to Kohathite Levites; but the fields of the city and the villages thereof were given to Caleb (Jos 21^{11}). One of the exploits of Samson was to bring the gates of the city of Gaza and place them on the top of the mountain that is before Hebron (Jg 16^{3}). Hebron was one of the cities to which David sent a portion of the spoils after smiting the Amalekites; here he was anointed king over the house of Judah; and here he remained king of Judah seven and a half years, and six sons were born to him (2 S 2. 3).

Here Abner was treacherously slain by Joab at the gate, and was buried; and here the sons of Rimmon the Beerothite, after their hands and their feet had been cut off, were hanged 'beside the pool' (2 S 3^{27} 4^{12}). Here came all the elders of Israel, and anointed David king over Israel (2 S 5^{3}). Here it was that Absalom came to be declared king (2 S $15^{7ff.}$). At this time there was a spot here for worshipping the Lord, probably the altar said to have been erected by Abraham to the Lord by the terebinths of Mamre (Gn 13^{18} 15^{17}). (But see Jerome, *Quæst. Hebr.* on 2 S 15^{17}).

According to Josephus (*Ant.* VIII. ii. 1), king Solomon went to Hebron to sacrifice to the Lord 'upon the brazen altar that was built by Moses'; and here the Lord appeared to Solomon, who prayed for a sound mind and good judgment; but it is stated in the Bible (1 K 3^{4}) that this took place at the great high place at Gibeon.

Rehoboam fortified Hebron (2 Ch 11^{10}), and it was occupied after the Captivity, when it was called by its old name Kiriath-arba (Neh 11^{25}). Judas Maccabæus captured it from the Edomites, and 'pulled down the strongholds thereof, and burned the towers thereof.' It had thus at that time ceased to be a city of Judah (1 Mac 5^{65}; *Ant.* XII. viii. 6).

At the time that Vespasian was making preparations for the final siege of Jerusalem, Simeon bar-Gioras made a sudden raid into Edom and took Hebron without bloodshed; but it was shortly afterwards recaptured by Cerealis, one of the commanders of Vespasian's army, and was burnt down (*BJ* IV. ix. 7, 9). Josephus states that at this time the monuments of the posterity of Abraham were to be seen at Hebron, 'the fabric of which monuments is of the most excellent marble, and wrought after the most elegant manner. There is also shown at a distance of six furlongs from the city a very large turpentine tree, which has continued since the creation of the world.'

In the 4th cent. the sepulchres of the patriarchs were still shown at Hebron, built of marble and of elegant workmanship. The church described by Eusebius at the terebinths appears to have been the Great Basilica of Constantine, remains of which are still to be seen (*Onomast.* art. 'Arboch') to the north of Hebron. The Bordeaux Pilgrim (A.D. 333) describes the monument of Abraham as a quadrangle built of stones of admirable beauty. Antoninus Martyr (*Itin.* 30) describes a quadrangle with an interior court, open to the sky, into which Jews and Christians entered from different sides, burning incense as they advanced. In the 6th cent. Arculf visited Hebron when it was occupied by the Saracens, and he describes the sepulchre as small and mean, situated about a stadium from Mamre on the east, and surrounded by a low wall. Willibald in the 8th cent. passed here, and mentions the sepulchres in the castle *Aframia*; and Sæwulf, 1103, speaks of the monuments to the patriarchs being surrounded by a very strong castle. In 1167 Hebron was erected into a bishopric under the Latins. William of Tyre says that there never was a Greek bishop before this, but only a prior. Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Hebron in 1163, states that the ancient city was standing on a hill in ruins; while the modern city stood in the valley in the field of Machpelah. He also describes the iron door leading to the caves.

Hebron (*el-Khalîl*, 'the friend') is one of the four sacred cities of the Moslems, and the shrines of the patriarchs are very jealously guarded by them. The town is built without walls, and contains about 18,000 Moslems and 1200 to 1500 Jews. It is situated in a shallow valley surrounded by rocky hills, from which spring no fewer than 25 sources of water. Luxuriant vineyards still clothe the hills and vales, and produce some of the best grapes in Palestine, and groves of olive and fruit trees abound. The town is divided into four quarters; the houses are built of stone, with partially flat and partially domed roofs, on account of the scarcity of large timber for rafters. The valley in which the town is built runs from north to south; the main quarter lies on the eastern slope, with the *Harâm* or sacred area conspicuously rising above it. Two other quarters are to be seen in the north and west slopes, and one to the south. The streets opening on to the main roads have gates. At the northern end of the main quarter is a pool of ancient construction, 85 ft. by 55 ft., and low down in the valley southward is a larger one, also of high antiquity, over 130 ft. square and 28 ft. deep, the traditional spot where the murderers of Ishbosheth were hanged.

There are a large number of traditional sites about Hebron. In *'Ain Keshkaleh* may be found the name Eshcol, although this identification is philologically difficult. At *'Ain Judeideh*, west of the *Harâm*, is a vault where Adam and Eve are said to have mourned for Abel; and above are the *Deir el-Arabîn*, said to be the tombs of Jesse and Ruth; and the *Kabr Hebrûn*, said by the Hebron Jews to be the tomb of Abner. At the foot of this hill is the *Ager Damascenus*, from which was obtained the red earth of which Adam was made.

About two miles to the west of the *Harâm* is a venerable oak (Sindiân), one of the finest in Palestine. It measures 22½ ft. around the lower part. It is probably the tree described as a terebinth by Sir John Maundeville, Belon, and others. Since the 12th cent. it has been pointed out to Christians as 'Abraham's Oak,' under which Abraham pitched his tent. About two miles to the north, near the road to Jerusalem, is the *Râmat el-Khalîl*, called by the Jews of Hebron the house of Abraham. Here are the foundations of an immense building—200 ft. by 165 ft.—of large squared stones, of which two courses only remain, regarded by the Jews as the place of Abraham's tent and the terebinth at Mamre. Guérin (*Judée*, iii. 214) suggests that this enclosure was built round the tree under which the patriarch was supposed to have pitched his tent. Jerome speaks of a fair having been held annually on this spot. It seems probable that from 1st to 12th cent. this was the traditional site of Mamre. It is suggested (*SWP* iii. 323) that this building may have been the market mentioned by Sozomen (*Hist.* ii. 4) as the place where Hadrian sold Jewish captives for slaves (A.D. 165), close to which Constantine afterwards built his basilica at the terebinth of Mamre, the foundations of which are still to be distinguished (Conder, *Palestine*, 85).

It is quite clear that, if the present traditional sepulchres of the patriarchs are genuine, the present site of the city which stands around the *Harâm* cannot coincide with the site of the ancient city of Abraham's time, which was over-against the sepulchre; and this idea appears to have been present to the minds of the early Christian writers, who mention a site on the north-west of the modern city as the original Hebron.

The *Harâm* or 'sacred area' is a quadrangle 197 ft. by 110 ft. externally. The masonry of the wall is identical with that of the Wailing Place at Jerusalem, and is therefore probably not later than Herodian. The height of the ancient wall still standing is about 40 ft., and above this rise walls of modern construction, with lofty minarets at N.W. and S.E. corners. Within the enclosure is a mosque, probably the remains of the church built in the 11th cent. when the bishopric was established, and the monuments to the patriarchs are within. The tombs themselves are, however, below in the rocky cavern, and the iron door which is said to lead to them was shown to the present writer at the bottom of the flight of steps on the outside wall in 1867 (see account by Benjamin of Tudela, *Early Travels in Palestine*, p. 86; *PEF Mem.* iii. 333; Cte. Riant, *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, ii. 411, and art. MACHPELAH; *Onomast.* arts. 'Arboch' and 'Drys'; Antonini Mart. *Itin.* 30, *Early Travels*). C. WARREN.

HEDGE is used in AV to translate words of two different Heb. stems. One of these (*gâdar*, גָּדַר) refers to stone walls, though, perhaps, in some instances, to a stone wall crowned with thorns. In AV its derivatives are often tr. by the word 'wall.' In RV they are prevailingly, though not always, tr. by the word 'fence.' The other stem (*sûk* or *sâkak*, שׂוּךְ or שָׂכַךְ) refers to a thorn hedge. The Gr. φραγμός, tr. 'hedge' in Mt 21^{33}, Mk 12^{1}, Lk 14^{23}, denotes a fence of any kind, whether hedge, or wall, or palings. The purpose of the hedge, as the term is used in the Bible, is either to protect that which is enclosed in it (*e.g.* Job 1^{10}), or to restrain and hinder (*e.g.* Job 3^{23}, Hos 2^{6}). See FENCE.

W. J. BEECHER.

HEED.—Heed is either '*carefulness*,' as Is 21^{7} 'And he hearkened diligently with much heed' (וְהִקְשִׁיב קֶשֶׁב רַב־קָשֶׁב; LXX ἀκρόασαι ἀκρόασιν πολλήν; Vulg. 'et contemplatus est diligenter multo intuitu,' whence AV through Gen. 'And he hearkened and toke diligent hede'; Orelli, 'And has listened with most eager listening'); or simply *attention*, as Ac 3^{5} 'And he gave heed unto them, expecting to receive something of them' (ἐπεῖχεν αὐτοῖς). The phrase is always (except Is 21^{7} above) 'take heed' or (less often) 'give heed,' and the only noticeable occurrence is Sir 6^{13} 'Separate thyself from thine enemies, and take heed of thy friends' (πρόσεχε) This tr^{n} is from Wyc. and Dou. after Vulg. 'ab amicis tuis attende,' the other VSS having 'beware of,' which RV adopts. The meaning of AV is probably 'pay attention to' suspiciously, as in North's *Plutarch* (Cicero, p. 879), 'After that time, Cicero and he were alwaies at iarre, but yet coldly enough, one of them taking heed of another.' But Shaks. uses the phrase in the sense of 'pay attention to' without suspicion, as *Jul. Cæs.* I. ii. 276, 'Three or four wenches, where I stood, cried "Alas, good soul!"—and forgave him with all their hearts; but there's no heed to be taken of them: if Cæsar had stabbed their mothers they would have done no less'; and Coverdale uses it in the sense of 'take care of,' Hos 13^{5} 'I toke diligent hede of the in the wildernesse that drye londe.'

J. HASTINGS.

HEGAI or **HEGE** (הֵגַי Est $2^{8.15}$, הֵגֵא 2^{3}, Γαί).—A eunuch of Ahasuerus, and keeper of the women, to whom the maidens were entrusted before they were brought in to the king. The name is probably Persian; cf. Ἡγίας, who is named in Ctesias (*Pers.* c. 24) as a courtier of Xerxes (so Roediger, *Thes.* Add.). H. A. WHITE.

HEGEMONIDES (Ἡγεμονίδης, 2 Mac 13^{24}).—An officer left in command (στρατηγός) of the district from Ptolemais to the Gerrenians (which see), by Lysias, when he was forced to return to Syria to oppose the chancellor Philip (B.C. 162). AV translates 'made him (Maccabæus) principal governor,' but no parallel for such a use of ἡγεμονίδης is to be found. Syr. recognizes the proper name, but Vulg. reads *Ducem et principem*. H. A. WHITE.

HEIFER (in all the passages cited below, the Heb. term. is עֶגְלָה except Nu $19^{2ff.}$, Am 4^{1}, Hos 4^{16}, where it is פָּרָה. In the only NT occurrence, He 9^{13}, the Greek is δάμαλις).—The heifer is repeatedly mentioned in the Bible, in connexion both with agriculture and with ritual services.

That it was customary to use heifers for ploughing is evident from the saying of Samson, 'If ye had not plowed with my heifer, ye had not found out my riddle,' Jg 14^{18}. Ploughing and harrowing are both specified in Hos 10^{11}, and from this passage as well as from Jer 50^{11} we gather that heifers were employed to tread out the corn.

A heifer of three years old was one of the animals divided by Abraham upon the occasion of his solemn covenant with J″, Gn 15^{9} (J). A heifer was the animal offered by Samuel at Bethlehem, 1 S 16^{2}. When a murder had been committed, the author of which could not be traced, a special atoning ceremony was prescribed, Dt $21^{3ff.}$. The elders of the nearest city had to take a heifer which had never been used for work away to a barren spot where there was a wady with running water, and there break its neck. Thereafter they washed their hands over the carcase, solemnly testified their innocence of the murder, and prayed that J″ would forgive His people for the crime that had been committed in their midst (see notes of Driver and Dillm. *ad loc.*, also W. R. Smith, *RS*^{1} 351). For the ritual prescribed in Nu $19^{2ff.}$ and referred to in He 9^{13}, see RED HEIFER. In Nu 19^{17} AV reads, 'They shall take of the ashes of the burnt heifer of purification for sin,' which gives the *sense* (if not the exact tr^{n}) of מֵעֲפַר שְׂרֵפַת הַחַטָּאת better than RV, 'They shall take of the ashes of the burning of the sin-offering' (cf. *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.* חַטָּאת). The reference is to v.^{9}.

The word 'heifer' is several times used in similes. Egypt is compared to a heifer in Jer 46^{20}, so is Chaldæa in 50^{11}, the points of resemblance being probably beauty, strength, and wantonness (cf. Am 4^{1} 'kine of Bashan' applied to the ladies of Samaria). Israel is compared in Hos 4^{16} to a stubborn heifer that will not accustom itself to the yoke (Nowack), and in Hos 10^{11} to a heifer which has hitherto had the easy task of treading out corn, but is now to have the harder work of ploughing and harrowing.

For 'heifer of three years old' of Is 15^{5}, Jer 48^{34} (AV and RVm) see EGLATH-SHELISHIYAH.

J. A. SELBIE.

HEIR.—i. TERMS. יָרַשׁ *yārash*, and נָחַל *nāḥal*, LXX κληρονομέω, κατακληρονομέω, etc., Vulg. *heres sum*, etc., 'inherit'; ptcp. יוֹרֵשׁ *yôrēsh*, LXX κληρονόμος, etc., Vulg. *heres*, etc., 'heir'; יְרֻשָּׁה *yĕrushshāh*, יְרֵשָׁה *yĕrēshāh*, מוֹרָשָׁה *môrāshāh*, נַחֲלָה *naḥălāh*, LXX κληρονομία, κλῆρος, etc., Vulg. *hereditas*, etc., 'inheritance'; יָרַשׁ, נָחַל, and their derivatives are also commonly used in the more general sense of 'possess,' 'acquire'; and figuratively of the relation between God and His people, *e.g.* J" is the *naḥălāh* of Levi, Dt 10^{9}, and Jacob is the *naḥălāh* of J", Dt 32^{9}; בְּכוֹר *bĕkhôr*, LXX πρωτότοκος, Vulg. *primogenitus*, 'firstborn'; בְּכוֹרָה *bĕkhôrāh*, LXX τὰ πρωτοτόκια, πρωτοτοκεῖα, Vulg. *primogenita* (neut. pl.), 'birthright,' 'right of the firstborn'; גֹּאֵל *gō'ēl*, LXX ἀγχιστεύς, ἀγχιστεύων, λυτρωτής, συγγενής, Vulg. *cognatus*, *propinquus*, *ultor*, 'next-of-kin'; גָּאַל, *gā'al*, LXX ἀγχιστεύω, λυτρόω, etc., Vulg. *propinquitatis jure retinere*, *eruere*, *redimere*, etc., 'act as next-of-kin'; גְּאֻלָּה, *gĕ'ullāh*, LXX ἀγχιστεία, λύτρον, λύτρωσις, etc., Vulg. *propinquitas*, etc. On *bĕkhôr*, *gō'ēl*, and derivatives, see further below.

ii. INHERITANCE. The fact that the terms for *heir*, etc., for the most part meant originally, and continued to mean, *possess*, etc., indicates a certain lack of emphasis on the difference between inheritance and other ways of acquiring and holding property. Land, the most important kind of property, belonged to the family and the clan rather than to individuals, as is shown by the Jubilee and other land laws. All land was, as it were, entailed. Other property too—cattle, slaves, and, in some instances, wives—was inherited. The heir succeeded to the headship of the family, which included the control of the family property. Moreover, the heir succeeded as a right, according to law and custom; he took possession of what had become his. Wills were unknown in ancient Israel, though sometimes (cf. below) a father would interfere with the natural course of things to benefit a favourite son. The phrase 'set thy house in order,' צַו לְבֵיתֶךָ, shows that a dying man would sometimes arrange the disposition of his property, and the future status of the members of his family; but probably in accordance with recognized custom, if not with binding law. The blessing of the dying father would usually confirm the firstborn in his right, but might also, as in the blessings of Isaac and Jacob, transfer it to someone else.

iii. RIGHT OF THE FIRSTBORN, BIRTHRIGHT. The prevailing custom, which is everywhere taken for granted, was that the eldest son succeeded his father as head of the family, and took the largest share of the property. Thus we have the special terms *bĕkhôr*, *bĕkhôrāh*, for 'firstborn,' 'right of the firstborn.' The genealogies, Gn 5, etc., mention the firstborn, and him only. 1 Ch 5^{1} speaks of Reuben having an original right of pre-eminence, which he lost by misconduct. In 2 Ch 21^{3} Jehoram succeeds Jehoshaphat, 'because he was the *bĕkhôr*.' Probably the eldest son, if an adult, succeeded to the high priesthood; but the exceptions were numerous, both in the royal and sacerdotal dynasties. According to Ex 13^{2}, JE, the firstborn of every mother was sacred to J". In Dt 21^{17} the *bĕkhôrāh* is a 'double portion,' פִּי שְׁנַיִם. The difference of status between the mothers of a man's children, often only loosely defined, was a fruitful source of discord as to the *bĕkhôrāh*. Reuben, the son of an inferior wife, is reckoned as Jacob's *bĕkhôr*; he is deposed for misconduct, not on account of his mother's status. On the other hand, Sarah claims that, because Ishmael is the son of a concubine, he shall not even share the inheritance with Isaac, Gn 21^{10}. Evidently, the prior right of the son of the wife over that of the concubine depended upon the feeling of the father towards mother and son, and probably also on the influence of the mother's family.

iv. CASES WHERE THE FIRSTBORN WAS PASSED OVER FOR OTHERS—JUNIOR RIGHT. The exceptions to the rule of the succession of the eldest son are numerous and striking. The line of divine election among the patriarchs usually passes through younger sons, Abraham apparently, Isaac, Jacob. According to 1 Ch $5^{1.2}$, the *bĕkhôrāh* was transferred from Reuben to Joseph. In Gn 49 Jacob puts Ephraim before his elder brother Manasseh. According to Ex 7^{7} (P), Moses was the junior of Aaron. David was the youngest son of Jesse; and Solomon, one of the youngest, at any rate, among the many sons of David. We may take the circumstances of the succession of Solomon as typical. The father would often secure the succession for a favourite son by appointing him his successor, or even by associating him with himself in his lifetime. Such arrangements have always been common, especially in the East. The favourite wife would often be the one last married, and the favourite son the youngest. Apart from 2 Ch 21^{3}, it is never stated that the eldest son succeeded his father as a right. Great men with large harems and numerous families would follow the example of the kings. The transference of the *bĕkhôrāh* from Reuben to Joseph, and from Esau to Jacob, shows that such a change might be made for sufficient cause, and therefore, of course, on any plausible pretext: a case is mentioned in 1 Ch 26^{10}. A further proof of the occasional transference of the *bĕkhôrāh* at the will of the father is the prohibition of the practice in Dt 21^{15-17}.

The frequent succession of youngest sons suggests that the very widespread custom of 'Junior Right' or succession by the youngest existed in pre-monarchical Israel, and survived in some measure in later times. J. Jacobs (*Studies in Biblical Archæology*, p. 47), partly following Sir H. Maine, says: 'The custom would naturally arise during the later stages of the pastoral period, when the elder sons would in the ordinary course of events have set up for themselves by the time of the father's death. The youngest would in these circumstances naturally step into the father's shoes, and acquire the *patria potestas*, and with it the right of sacrificing to the family gods by the paternal hearth.' On the other hand, when the heir was a minor, the inheritance was probably often seized by adult kinsmen. Witness the constant complaints of the wrongs done to orphans.

v. WHO INHERITED WHEN THERE WERE NO SONS. In Nu 27^{5-10} (P), in connexion with the daughters of Zelophehad, the following provision is made for this and similar cases: 'If a man die and have no son, ye shall cause his inheritance to pass unto his daughter. If he have no daughter, ye shall give his inheritance unto his brethren. If he have no brethren, ye shall give his inheritance unto his father's brethren. If his father have no brethren, ye shall give his inheritance unto his kinsman, שְׁאֵר, who is next to him in his clan, מִשְׁפָּחָה.' In Nu 36^{6} it is further provided that heiresses must marry in their own clan. Though the law itself is late, the provisions are obvious and probably ancient, except perhaps the preference given to daughters. A member of another clan marrying an heiress joined her clan, Ezr 2^{61}, Neh 7^{63}, cf. BERIAH. Jeremiah's acquisition of his uncle's field, Jer 32^{7}, is an example of the rights of a kinsman in the family property.

Jacob's action in reckoning Ephraim and Manasseh as his sons is doubtless typical of cases of adoption. Similarly, women would sometimes, as in the case of Sarah, Rachel, and Leah, reckon children born to their husbands by their slaves as their own; but, as we have seen, the rights of such children were uncertain. In 1 Ch $2^{34.\,35}$ a genealogy is traced through the issue of a Jewess and an Egyptian. Abraham, Gn 15^{3}, expects that his slave will be his heir, cf. Pr 30^{23}, where, however, the translation is not certain. The last two cases would also be typical.

The succession is as a rule confined to the father's kin on account of the family *sacra*. W. R. Smith (*Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, p. 95) points out that women could not inherit in early Arabia (cf. Benzinger, p. 355), and that there could be no question of a widow inheriting because she was a part of a man's property, and went with the rest of the estate to the heir. This principle is illustrated in Israel by the law of the levirate marriage, the case of Ruth, the incident in 2 S 16^{15-23}, and the incident of Adonijah and Abishag —to succeed to the king's widow implied succeeding to the throne. By the law of the levirate marriage (Dt 25^{5-10}; cf. Gn 38, Ru 4) the firstborn son of a man's widow by his brother, or *gō'ēl*, became his heir; (cf. GOEL, MARRIAGE, and see Driver on Dt $25^{5\text{ff.}}$).

vi. PROVISION FOR CHILDREN OTHER THAN THE CHIEF HEIR. The principle that the land belongs to the family, involves the providing for the rest of the family by the head who controls the family property. Probably, in early times the maintenance of younger children was provided for according to this principle by customs no longer traceable. Abraham, however, sends his younger children away with gifts (Gn 25^{6} [JE]); according to 2 Ch 11^{23} Rehoboam dispersed his sons among the walled towns of Judah and Benjamin, made ample provision for them, and gave them wives, in order to secure the throne for a favourite son, Abijah. Sons would often be got rid of in this fashion to secure an undisputed succession for a favourite. Other typical cases are those of Ishmael and Jephthah, who were sent away without any share of the inheritance. Daughters would almost always be married; unmarried daughters would be kept and have husbands found for them by their brothers, and where there were sons there would be no question of their sharing the inheritance. Job 42^{15} specially mentions that Job's daughters shared with their brothers, doubtless because this was exceptional.

Dt 21^{16} speaks of the father 'causing the son to inherit that which he hath,' which seems to imply some power on the part of the father to determine the inheritance of his property (Dillm., Driver, *i.l.*; cf. ii.). But this is strictly limited by the context, and it must have been similarly limited by ancient custom. The law, probably, is partly a protest against the violation of such, and partly a provision for new conditions. There is nothing in the history to suggest the subdivision of the family land at each successive generation. Benzinger (p. 354) is doubtful whether any such subdivision took place. It seems very unlikely. Unless, therefore, the above Deut. laws are confined to personal property they are probably late, perhaps were never effective.

The New Testament. No question of the laws or customs of inheritance arises in connexion with the NT. Christ is the (firstborn) son and heir in the parable of the Wicked Husbandmen (Mk 12^{7} etc., and in He 1^{2}); Christians are heirs of God's promises, etc. (Ro 8^{17}, Gal 3^{29} $4^{1.\,7}$, He 6^{17}, Ja 2^{5} etc.). The figure of inheritance is also used in reference to Abraham, and to the Israelites, etc. Διαθήκη is often translated 'testament' by AV, especially in reference to the institution of the Lord's Supper (Lk 22^{20} etc., 1 Co 11^{25}), but it should be 'covenant,' except perhaps in He $9^{16.\,17}$, where the rendering 'testament' is defended by many scholars (see commentaries, *i.l.*). RV has 'covenant' throughout, often with 'testament' in the margin, except that in He $9^{16.\,17}$ 'testament' is placed in the text, and the margin states that the Greek word means either 'covenant' or 'testament.' In Lk 12^{13} we read that 'one said unto him, Master, bid my brother divide the inheritance with me.' See also INHERITANCE.

LITERATURE.—Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* p. 354 ff.; Nowack, *Lehrbuch der Heb. Arch.* p. 348 ff.; Jacobs, *Studies in Biblical Archæology*, p. 48 ff. See also Sanday-Headlam on Ro 8^{12-17}; Beyschlag, *NT Theol.* i. 385 f., ii. 346; Weiss, *Bibl. Theol. of NT*, Index; Westcott, *Hebrews*, 167–169. W. H. BENNETT.

HELAH (חֶלְאָה 'rust'?).—One of the wives of Ashhur the 'father' of Tekoa, 1 Ch $4^{5.\,7}$. See GENEALOGY.

HELAM (חֵילָם, in 2 S 10^{17} with ה *locale* חֵלָאמָה and the Massoretic note יתיר א. Budde, however, maintains that חֵלָאם is the correct form).—The Aramæans from beyond the river,* whom Hadarezer summoned to his aid, came to Helam (2 S 10^{16}) and were there met and defeated by David (v.$^{17\text{f.}}$). As far as the *form* of the word is concerned, חֵילָם in v.^{16} might mean 'their army' (so Aq. ἐν δυνάμει αὐτῶν, followed by Thenius). There can, however, be little doubt that the LXX (Αἰλάμ), Pesh. and Targ. are right in taking it as a proper name (so Ewald, *Hist.* iii. 155 n. 2; Bertheau, Wellh., Driver, Budde, Kittel). Cornill, upon the ground of the LXX Ἡλιάμ, introduces Helam also in Ezk 47^{16} (cf. also Bertholet, *ad loc.*). In this case it must have lain on the border between Damascus and Hamath. J. A. SELBIE.

HELBAH (חֶלְבָּה).—A town of Asher, Jg 1^{31}. Its identity is quite uncertain. (For various attempts to fix its site, see Moore, *ad loc.*).

HELBON (חֶלְבּוֹן).—A place from which wine was brought to Tyre, Ezk 27^{18}. It is the modern *Ḥalbûn* on the east slope of Antilebanon, about 13 miles N. of Damascus. The region around, on Hermon and the Antilebanon, is remarkable for its vineyards to the present day. The wine of Helbon is mentioned also in the cuneiform texts, and the Persian kings are said to have preferred it to any other. It has sometimes been wrongly supposed that Helbon is to be identified with Aleppo.

LITERATURE.—Robinson, *BRP^2* iii. 471 f.; Del. *Paradies*, 281; Wetzstein, *ZDMG* xi. (1857) 490 ff.; Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.* 341; Schrader, *COT^2* ii. 121; Bertholet on Ezk 27^{18}.

C. R. CONDER.

HELDAI (חֶלְדַּי; B Χολδειά, A Χολδαί).—1. The captain of the military guard appointed for the twelfth monthly course of the temple service (1 Ch 27^{15}). He is probably to be identified with 'Heleb the son of Baanah the Netophathite,' one of David's thirty heroes (2 S 23^{29}; A Ἀλάφ, B omits). In the parallel list (1 Ch 11^{30}; B Χθάοδ, A Χοάδδ and Ἐλάδ) the name is more correctly given as Heled. The form *Heldai* is supported by Zec 6^{10} (see below), and should probably be restored in the other two passages.

2. According to Zec 6^{10}, one of a small band who brought gifts of gold and silver from Babylon to those of the exiles who had returned under

---

* The Euphrates, *not* the Orontes as Hitzig maintains. See Wellh. *Sam.* 179 f.

Zerubbabel. From these gifts Zechariah was bidden to make a crown for Joshua the high priest, which was to be placed in the temple as a memorial of Heldai and his companions. In v.^{14} Helem (חֵלֶם) is clearly an error for Heldai; the Peshiṭta in both places reads Holdai or Huldai (ܚܘܠܕܝ). J. F. STENNING.

HELEB (חֵלֶב 2 S 23^{29}).—See HELDAI **1.**

HELED (חֵלֶד 1 Ch 11^{30}).—See HELDAI **1.**

HELEK (חֵלֶק 'portion').—Son of Gilead the Manassite, Nu 26^{30}, Jos 17^{2} P. Patronymic, **Helekites,** Nu 26^{30}.

HELEM.—**1.** (הֶלֶם) A man of Asher, 1 Ch 7^{35}. 'The name must be altered to חוֹתָם (v.^{32}) to fit the context; otherwise we should have הֶלֶם in v.^{32} instead of חוֹתָם' (Kittel in *SBOT*). **2.** (חֵלֶם) An exile who was sent from Babylon with gifts of gold and silver for the sanctuary at Jerusalem, Zec 6^{14}. He is called in v.^{10} Heldai (חֶלְדַּי). LXX has τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν, not treating this and other nouns in the same passage as proper names.

HELEPH (חֵלֶף).—A town on the border of Naphtali, Jos 19^{33}. Although mentioned in the Talmud (*Megillah* i. 1, see Neubauer, *Géog. d. Talm.* 224), Heleph has not been identified.

HELEZ (חֶלֶץ 'vigour'; B Σέλλης, A Ἕλλης, Luc. Χάλλης).—**1.** One of David's thirty heroes (2 S 23^{26}). He is described as 'the Paltite,' *i.e.* a native of Beth-pelet in the Negeb of Judah (cf. Jos 15^{27}, Neh 11^{26}). But in the two parallel lists (1 Ch 11^{27} and 27^{10}) both the Hebrew text and the LXX (ὁ Φελωνεί; ὁ ἐκ Φαλλούς) read 'the Pelonite,' a variant which is supported by cod. A at 2 S 23^{26} (ὁ Φελλωνεί; B reads ὁ Κελωθεί); the former reading is further inconsistent with 1 Ch 27^{10}, where Helez is expressly designated as 'of the children of Ephraim.' From the latter passage we learn that he was in command of the military guard appointed for the seventh monthly course of the temple service. See PELONITE.

2. A Judahite, 1 Ch 2^{39}. J. F. STENNING.

HELI (Ἡλεί = Heb. עֵלִי).—**1.** The father of Joseph, in the genealogy of Jesus, Lk 3^{23}. **2.** An ancestor of Ezra, 2 Es 1^{2}. Omitted in parallel passages, 1 Es 8^{2}, Ezr $7^{2.3}$. See GENEALOGY.

HELIODORUS (Ἡλιόδωρος).—The chancellor (ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων) of Seleucus IV. Philopator. At the instigation of APOLLONIUS (which see), he was sent by the king to plunder the private treasures kept in the temple at Jerus.; but he was prevented from carrying out his design by a great apparition (ἐπιφανία),—a horse with a terrible rider struck him to the ground, while two young men scourged him severely. H. was carried out of the temple by his guards speechless and prostrate, but was restored at the intercession of the high priest Onias (2 Mac $3^{7ff.}$). Some have supposed that the discomfiture of H. was due to a device of Onias (cf. v.^{32}, so Rawlinson in *Speaker's Comm.*). Jos., who seems to have been unacquainted with 2 Mac, makes no mention of the mission of H.; but in 4 Mac 4 a similar story is related of Apollonius. In B.C. 175 H. murdered Seleucus, and attempted to seize the Syrian crown; but he was driven out by Eumenes of Pergamus and his brother Attalus, and Antiochus Epiphanes, brother of Seleucus, ascended the throne (App. *Syr.* 45; Liv. xli. 24). There is commonly supposed to be a reference to H. in Dn 11^{20}, but the interpretation of the passage is doubtful (cf. Bevan *in loc.*). Further, H. is frequently reckoned as one of the *ten* or the *three* kings of Dn $7^{7f.}$. H. A. WHITE.

HELKAI (חֶלְקַי, perh. shortened for חִלְקִיָּה).—A priest (Neh 12^{15}). See GENEALOGY.

HELKATH (חֶלְקַת and חֶלְקָת 'portion,' 'possession').—A Levitical city belonging to the tribe of Asher, Jos 19^{25} 21^{31}. The site is uncertain. The same place, owing perhaps to a textual error, appears in 1 Ch 6^{75} [Heb. ^{60}] as **Hukok.**

HELKATH-HAZZURIM.—The name given to the spot at Gibeon where the fatal combat took place between the twelve champions chosen on either side from the men of Abner and Joab, 2 S 2^{16}. The name חֶלְקַת הַצֻּרִים means 'the field of sword edges.' This is accepted by Driver (*Text of Sam. ad loc.*), who compares Ps 89^{44} [Eng.^{43}] צוּר חַרְבּוֹ 'the edge of his sword.' Others prefer to follow the LXX μερὶς τῶν ἐπιβούλων and read ח׳ הַצִּדִים 'the field of the liers in wait' (so Ewald, *Hist.* iii. 114; Wellh. *Sam. ad loc.*; Budde, *SBOT*, *ad loc.*). Thenius reads ח׳ הצָּרִים 'the field of the adversaries.'
J. A. SELBIE.

HELKIAS (Χελκίας, Gr. form of Heb. חִלְקִיָּה, Hilkiah; in AV of Apocr. reproduced as Chelcias, Helkias, and Helchiah; RV uniformly Helkias).—**1.** The high priest Hilkiah in Josiah's reign. He is mentioned in 1 Es 1^{8} = 2 Ch 35^{8} as a governor of the temple, subscribing handsomely to Josiah's great Passover; in 1 Es 8^{1} (cf. Ezr 7^{1}) as the great-grandfather of Ezra; and in Bar 1^{7} as father of Joakim, who was governor of the temple in the reign of Zedekiah. **2.** A distant ancestor of Baruch (Bar 1^{1}). **3.** The father of Susanna (Sus vv. $^{2-29}$). J. T. MARSHALL.

HELL.—The term used in Old English to designate the world of the dead generally, with all the sad and painful associations of the dark region into which the living disappear. In modern English it has the specific sense of the place and condition of penalty destined for the finally impenitent among the dead. With this it expresses also the abode of evil spirits. It is cognate or connected with the German *hehlen* = *hide*, *hüllen* = *cover*, A.S. *helan*, Lat. *celare*, etc. It appears in much the same form in many of the European languages: Ger. *hölle*, Sw. *helvete*, Go. *halja*, Da. *helvede*, Du. *hel*, Ice. *hel*, O.H.G. *hella*, A.S. *hel*, *helle*, M.E. *helle* (cf. Chaucer, *CT* 1202). The Teutonic base, *hal* = *hide*, akin to *kal*, *kar* (in the older form), is supposed by Skeat to be a 'development from a root *skar*, of which the meaning was to *cover*.' Etymologically, therefore, the term denotes the *covered*, *hidden*, *unseen* place.

In our AV the word 'hell' is unfortunately used as the rendering of three distinct words with different ideas. It represents (1) the שְׁאוֹל of the Heb. OT, and the ᾅδης of the LXX and the NT, which have the general sense of the 'realm of the dead.' In this employment of the word the AV translators were justified so far by the sense which it had in their day, and by the fact that it was applied to the world of the departed generally in the Creeds, in Spenser, in Chaucer, in mediæval miracle and mystery plays, and in Old English religious poetry. It is not the only word which the translators of 1611 used as an equivalent for שְׁאוֹל and ᾅδης. At times they used 'the pit' (Nu $16^{30.33}$), and in a number of cases 'the grave' (Gn 37^{35}, 1 S 2^{6}, Job 7^{9} 14^{13}, Ps 30^{3} $49^{14.15}$ etc.). But 'hell' is their most usual rendering in the OT (Dt 32^{22}, 2 S 22^{6}, Ps 16^{10} 18^{5} 116^{3} 139^{8}, Pr 5^{5} 7^{27} 9^{18} etc.), and the rendering to which they adhered in all the NT passages, however different in their shades of meaning, in which they found some form of ᾅδης (Mt 11^{23} 16^{18}, Lk 12^{5} 16^{23}, Ac $2^{27.31}$, 1 Co 15^{55}, Rev 1^{18} 6^{8} $20^{13.14}$). It is now an entirely misleading rendering, especially in the NT passages. The English Revisers, therefore, have substituted 'Hades' for 'hell' in the NT. In the OT they allow the word 'hell' to remain in the text of Is 14, and give *Sheol* in the margin. In the poetical books they usually give *Sheol* in the text; while in the historical books they place *Sheol* in the margin, and allow the renderings 'the grave' and 'the pit' to stand in the text. In the American Revision the word 'hell' is entirely discarded in this connexion (as are also the terms 'the grave,' 'the pit'), and with a wise consistency *Sheol* is substituted all through the text of the OT, as *Hades* is in the text of the NT. (See also article on HADES).

The word 'hell' is used (2) as equivalent to τάρταρος in the verbal form ταρταρώσας in 2 P 2^{4} (cf. Jude ^{6}). In that passage it is retained by the RV, though it might be better rendered 'cast them down to *Tartarus*.' The particular case in view there is that of the punishment of fallen angels, and the word is applied to the intermediate scene and condition of penalty in which those offenders are detained, held in chains of darkness, in reserve for the final judgment. In this one instance the NT adopts the heathen term for 'hell'—the word which in Plato (*Phæd.* 113 E) designates the place into which the incurably corrupt are hurled with a view to their endless imprisonment; and which in Homer (*Iliad*, viii. 13, etc.) is the name given to the murky abyss, lying as deep beneath Hades as earth is beneath the sun, in which the sins of insurgent and defeated immortals, Kronos, Iapetos, and the Titans, are punished.

In this the paragraph in question, together with the corresponding passage in the Ep. of Jude (v.^{6}), attaches itself to ideas on the subject of the punishment of angels, which have a considerable place in the literature of Judaism, especially the apocalyptic writings. These ideas assumed strange and amorphous forms, unlike anything in the NT, as regards both the place and the nature of the penalty. The Book of Jubilees and the Apocalypse of Baruch, *e.g.*, both speak of the fallen angels as 'tormented in chains,' and the former represents them as bound in the depths of the earth until the day of the great judgment (Bk. of Jub 5^{243} 7^{248} 22^{21} 24^{27} etc., Apoc. of Bar 56^{10-13}). The Book of Enoch dilates at greatest length on these things. Enoch is described as receiving a commission to announce the impending judgment of the fallen angels. Their leader, Azâzel, is doomed to be covered with darkness until the great day of judgment. The prison in which they are confined until the day of decision consigns them to the final retribution, is seen by Enoch. It is described as different from the abyss of fire, in the extremest depth of earth, into which they are in the end to be cast, and in certain parts of the book this preliminary place of punishment is represented, as was the case also with the *Tartaros* of the Greeks, as in the void at the end of heaven and earth (Bk. of Enoch 10^{6} 13^{21} 18^{11} 21^{7} 54^{6} 90^{24}).

The word 'hell' is used (3), and more properly, as the equivalent of γεέννα, the designation of the place and state of the just retribution reserved for the finally impenitent after the judgment. This word γεέννα (less correctly, in view of its derivation from the Aramaic, γέεννα), *Gehenna*, occurs twelve times in the NT, and for the most part only in the Synoptists. It is not found in the Johannine writings, nor in the Bk. of Acts, nor in any of the Epistles except once in one of the Catholic Epp. (Ja 3^{6}). But in the Synoptical Gospels it is found eleven times, and in a variety of phrases—'in danger of the Gehenna of fire' (Mt 5^{22}), 'to be cast into Gehenna' (Mt $5^{29.30}$ 18^{9}, Mk $9^{45.47}$), to 'destroy . . . in Gehenna' (Mt 10^{28}), 'the child of Gehenna' (Mt 23^{15}), the 'damnation' or 'judgment of Gehenna' (Mt 23^{33}), to 'go into Gehenna' (Mk 9^{43}), to 'cast into Gehenna' (Lk 12^{5}). It is found, therefore, in each of the three Synoptists. In all the instances of its use in the Gospels it is given as a word from Christ's own lips, and in one case we have the parallel narrative of Mt and Mk (Mt 18^{9}, Mk 9^{45}). It belongs to the tradition common to the first two evangelists, and there is every reason to believe that it forms part of the primitive report of Christ's words. Hence the importance of defining with all due care its precise sense, point, and connotation.

This term *Gehenna*, γεέννα, which is the solemn NT designation of *hell*, represents the Aram. גֵּיהִנָּם and the Heb. גֵּיא הִנֹּם 'the valley of Hinnom' (Neh 11^{30}), more fully גֵּי בֶן־הִנֹּם 'the valley of the son of Hinnom' (Jos 15^{8} 18^{16}, 2 Ch 28^{3}, Jer 7^{32}), and גֵּי בְנֵי הִנֹּם 'the valley of the children of Hinnom' (2 K 23^{10}, acc. to the *Kethîb*). It is taken by some to mean the 'valley of howling' or 'the valley of lamentation,' גֵּיהִנָּם being supposed to come from an obsolete הָנַן (Arab. *hanna*, 'cry' or 'wail'). But far more probably the *Hinnom* is a personal name. The place so named after one unknown was a deep narrow gorge in the vicinity of Jerusalem, understood to be on the south side, forming a continuation of the valley of Gihon and separating the hill of Zion from the 'hill of Evil Counsel.' It is usually identified with the modern *Wady er-Rebâbi*, though this is contested by some (see Conder in *Encyc. Brit.* xiii. 640). It is repeatedly mentioned in the OT. The border of Judah is described as going up 'by the valley of the son of Hinnom unto the south side of the Jebusite . . . and to the top of the mountain that lieth before the valley of Hinnom westward'; while the border of Benjamin is said to have 'come down to the end of the mountain that lieth before the valley of the son of Hinnom' and to have 'descended to the valley of Hinnom to the side of Jebusi on the south' (Jos 15^{8} 18^{16}; cf. Neh 11^{30}). It is described as 'by the entry of the East gate' (Jer 19^{2}), and as having the valley of Tophet or Topheth in it (2 K 23^{10}, Jer 7^{31} 19^{6}). Jerome speaks of it as having been of old a pleasant place, and as having again in his own time the attraction of gardens. But under Ahaz, Manasseh, and Amon it was made the scene of the gross and cruel rites of heathen worship, idolatrous Jews passing their children through the fire there to Molech (2 Ch 28^{3} 33^{6}, Jer 7^{31}). Hence king Josiah, when he put down the idolatrous priests who had burned incense to Baal under the apostate kings of Judah, also 'defiled Topheth, which is in the valley of the children of Hinnom, that no man might make his son or his daughter to pass through the fire to Molech' (2 K $23^{5.10}$). It was also declared by Jeremiah that the place should be 'no more called Tophet, nor The valley of the son of Hinnom, but The valley of Slaughter' (Jer 19^{6}). After its pollution by the pious son of Amon it became an object of horror to the Jews, and is said to have been made a receptacle for bones, the bodies of beasts and criminals, refuse and all unclean things (so Kimchi). The terrible associations of the place, the recollections of the horrors perpetrated in it and the defilement inflicted on it, the fires said to have been kept burning in it in order to consume the foul and corrupt objects that were thrown into it, made it a natural and unmistakable symbol of dire evil, torment, wasting penalty, absolute ruin. So it came to designate the place of future punishment, and the Talmudic theology spoke of the door of hell as being in the valley of Hinnom (Barclay, *City of the Great King*, p. 90).

It has not this sense in the OT. The nearest approach to it is in such a passage as that in which the prophet makes the demand, 'Who among us shall dwell with the devouring fire? Who among us shall dwell with everlasting burnings?' (Is 33[14]). But the place is not mentioned there, and the fires in question are not those of a retribution after death, but those of the divine wrath and righteousness which now and on earth search all sinners, those in Sion no less than those in Assyria. The terrible description of judgment with which the Second Isaiah closes his great prophecy of grace might seem even more in point (Is 66[24]). It is possible that the horrors of the valley of Hinnom suggested the awful figures in which the prophet there declares of the returning Israelites, that they shall 'look upon the carcases of the men that have transgressed' against Jehovah, 'for their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched; and they shall be an abhorring unto all flesh' (RV). But apart from the fact that here again the place is not named, and from the question whether the passage may not be of too early a date (as Dillmann supposes) for such a colouring, the vengeance which is intimated is not one that is to be looked for in the other world, but one which overtakes the transgressors in this world in the form of miserable overthrow and uttermost dishonour. It assumed this sense, however, in the period between the close of OT prophecy and the Christian era. By the time when Christ taught and the apostles preached, the word *Gehenna* had a well-understood meaning. We can follow the history of the term, and see how it came to have that sense. The history shows us also the variations in the application of the word, and the different ideas which were connected with it.

The OT itself offered the point of issue for the process of development. As its view of the future became enlarged, and the old notion of a *Sheol* which was without moral distinctions, and dealt out to all the dead the same joyless inane existence, began to give place to the loftier and more definite conception of a future embracing a resurrection, the foundations of the doctrine of a heaven and a hell were laid. The idea of a final judgment, which went with that of a resurrection (Dn 12[2]), led naturally to the twofold expectation of a special place of reward for the righteous, and a special place of punishment for the unrighteous in a world beyond the grave. The Jewish literature shows us how this belief shaped itself. It makes it plain, too, that *Gehenna*, as the definite place of future retribution, was originally understood to be something distinct from Sheol or Hades, though other ideas were attached to it now and again or in particular schools. The apocalyptic writings are of special importance in this matter, and the Bk. of Enoch above all others. It is perhaps in it that we have the first definite occurrence of the word as the designation of the place of just retribution destined for the wicked after the final judgment. In *Enoch*, however, as in the apocalyptic writings in general, there is much that is fantastic, and the statements which meet us in different parts of the book are by no means uniform. In certain sections, which are probably more deeply affected by Hellenic ways of thinking, *Hades* appears as a preliminary scene of reward and punishment, and is represented as lying in the remotest tract beyond the ocean. In it the souls of dead men wait the final condition, and have a foretaste of that condition. This moralised Hades is described as having in it intermediate abodes of four distinct kinds for four different orders of men: one for the righteous who died of oppression, and another for the rest of the righteous dead; one for sinners who were not judged by injustice or persecution on earth, and another for those who paid part of the penalty of their offences in their lifetime here (Bk. of Enoch 5. 22. 103[7] etc.). More usually these preliminary scenes of weal and woe were spoken of as only two —one for the good, called also *Paradise* and the *Garden of Eden*; and one for the evil, separated from the other by a wall or gulf, and called, at least in the later Jewish books, by the name *Gehinnom*, *Gehenna*. In the *Slavonic Enoch*, again, or *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, the second of the seven heavens is the prison-house of the apostate angels who wait the eternal judgment, and the northern region of the third heaven is the place of punishment prepared for those who did not honour God (chs. 7 and 10). In the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* the place in which the spirits of the lawless are confined with a view to their punishment is the second heaven (*Test. of Levi*, ch. 3). In the literature of Alexandrian Judaism, on the other hand, in which we have the doctrine of an incorporeal immortality, and the idea that the souls of the pious dead are received at once by God into heaven, *Hades* is the place of punishment for the wicked dead, and is again practically identified with *Gehenna* (Wis 3[10-14] 4[10-19] 5[1] etc.; cf. Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* II. viii. 11, 14). There is evidence enough, therefore, that opinion varied at different periods and in different sections of Judaism. In the theology of the Talmud and Midrash, *Gehinnom*, *Gehenna* meant the scene of penalty, while in certain phases of Jewish belief it appears to have been regarded at once as a place of punishment for the heathen and as a place of purgatorial detention for imperfect Israelites. But with all this there is reason to say that its original sense was that of the final place of retribution, that it was distinguished from *Hades* and from every form of an intermediate state, and that it had this meaning with the Jewish people generally (however it might be with the speculations of the schools) in Christ's time. The apocalyptic writings, which speak of a separation of the just from the unjust between death and the resurrection, also speak of a final punishment after the judgment, and describe the place of that retribution in terms which point to Gehenna. Enoch seems to identify it with the local *Ge-Hinnom*. He comes to the middle of earth, and sees a happy region of hills and valleys. But between the holy hills he sees an accursed valley where 'shall be gathered together all those who speak with their mouths unseemly words against God, and speak impudently of his majesty' (Bk. of Enoch 27[2.3]). Elsewhere in the same apocalypse this place of final retribution is described as 'in the midst of the earth' and 'full of fire' (90[24-26]). And in express terms the Fourth Book of Ezra speaks of the 'gulf of torments' and the 'furnace of Gehenna' that shall be revealed (6[1-14] 7[36], Churton). 'Hell,' therefore, as expressed by γεέννα in the NT, is not the penal side of Hades (so, *e.g.*, Grimm's *Wilkii Clavis*, etc.), but the final retributive scene and condition (see Meyer on Mt 5[22]).

It has further to be asked whether the term 'hell,' *Gehenna*, in the NT expresses the idea of a penal condition that is *permanent*. What the common belief of the Jews was on the subject of the nature and the duration of the final retribution at the time to which the NT writings belong, is a disputed question, and one by no means easy to answer. The literature, however, that is most pertinent to the question does not favour the idea that the doctrine of an ultimate restoration of all souls was the prevalent doctrine among the Jews of that period. It leaves us a choice between two views, annihilation and everlasting punishment, and the conclusion to which it points is that the latter was the belief of the great mass of the people. The apocryphal books speak in the most unambiguous terms of the lot of the wicked dead as final and enduring. In the Bk. of Judith, for example, the vengeance of the day of judgment is described as 'fire and worms' in the flesh of those who rise up against Israel, which 'they shall feel and weep for ever' (16^{17}). In one of the Bks. of Maccabees the lot of the tyrant is declared to be 'eternal torture by fire,' and 'interminable torments' (4 Mac $9^{8.9}$ 10^{10}). Another of these books speaks of the 'furnace of hell,' and of the despisers of the Most High as doomed to be 'henceforth in torments, always in pain and anguish of seven kinds' (4 Ezr $7^{36.79.80}$). As a general rule, the pseudepigraphic writings are equally explicit. They speak of the penalty of the wicked as an 'everlasting curse'; of the last day as a 'day of judgment and punishment and affliction upon the revilers to eternity'; of the 'abyss of fire' in which the impious shall be 'locked up for all eternity'; of a 'just judgment, in eternity for ever' (Bk. of Enoch $5^{5.6}$ 22^{4-11} 10^{11-14} $27^{2.3}$; cf. Apoc. Bar 44^{15} etc.). The testimony of Josephus, too, with all necessary abatements, is to the effect that both Pharisees and Essenes believed in everlasting punishment (*BJ* II. viii. 11, 14; *Ant.* XVIII. i. 3). On the other hand, the final retribution of the impenitent is in not a few cases expressed in terms of a *destruction*, a *perdition*, and the like (Ps. Sol 3^{13} 9^{9} 12^{8} 13^{10} 15^{13}, Bk. En 99^{11} etc.); from which it is inferred that the penalty in question was regarded as an ultimate extinction of being. Such expressions have to be read, however, in the light of the general Jewish conception of *Sheol*. So read they may convey the idea that there is no deliverance for the wicked from Sheol, but do not necessarily mean that the doom in question was absolute extinction of existence. They are also to be measured by other statements of a more definite and unmistakable kind, with which they are accompanied, and by the contrasts in which they are placed with descriptions of the lot of the righteous as an enduring one. In the Rabbinical books there is a wider variety of opinion. Gehenna appears there at times as a purgatory, and statements are found which indicate that at least at certain periods there were those who favoured the doctrine of annihilation, and those who inclined to the hope of a final universal restoration. But these were rather the dogmas or speculations of the schools than the belief of the people, and they belong to a later period. Even in the case of the great Rabbis who spoke of a limited punishment, exception was made of certain classes of sinners. The school of Hillel, *e.g.*, taught that sinners of the heathen and others were punished in Gehinnom for a space of twelve months, and afterwards were consumed. But the Minim (the Christians), the Epicureans, those who deny the divine origin of the Torah and the truth of the resurrection, and those who sin like Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, were said to 'go down to Gehinnom,' and to be 'punished there to ages of ages.' The same is the statement made, but at greater length and in still more explicit terms, in the *Rosh Hashshanah*, in a passage which is described as the 'classical passage of the Talmud' on the subject (Plumptre, *The Spirits in Prison*, p. 52). The most probable conclusion appears to be this—that, while there were variations in belief from time to time, especially in the direction of annihilation, and divergent speculations in the Rabbinical schools, the idea generally connected with the term *Gehenna*, 'hell,' in our Lord's time was that of an irreversible doom for the wholly wicked, and that in His teaching as well as in that of His apostles the word was used in its popular and prevalent sense (see Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 183; Edersheim's *Jesus the Messiah*, ii. pp. 440, 791; Meyer, *Comm.* on Mt 5^{22}; Holtzmann, *Hand-Com.* on Mt 5^{22}, Mk 3^{29} 9^{48}).

Other terms are also used in the NT to express the penalty and the condition indicated by the word *Gehenna*, 'hell.' In the evangelical records of Christ's own discourses such terms are found employed as 'eternal fire'; 'unquenchable fire'; the place where 'their worm dieth not, and their fire is not quenched'; the 'prison' from which there is no coming out until 'the last farthing' is paid; 'eternal punishment' as contrasted with 'eternal life'; exclusion from the kingdom; banishment from Christ; 'weeping and wailing, and gnashing of teeth'; the 'outer darkness,' etc. (Mt $18^{8.9}$, Mk 9^{43-49}, Mt $5^{25.26}$, Lk $12^{58.59}$, Mt 25^{46} 7^{21-23} 13^{42} 25^{30}). Elsewhere the final destiny of the unrighteous is described as 'the mist of darkness for ever' (2 P 2^{17}); the 'blackness of darkness for ever' (Jude ^{13}); the 'fierceness of fire' and 'perdition' (He $10^{27.39}$); 'great tribulation,' 'burning with fire,' being 'without,' the 'second death,' being cast into the 'lake of fire,' the 'lake that burneth with brimstone and fire' (Rev $2^{22.23}$ $18^{8.9}$ 22^{15} 2^{11} $20^{6.14}$ 21^{8} 20^{10} 19^{20}); the 'wrath to come,' 'wrath and indignation, tribulation and anguish,' 'death,' 'punishment,' 'destruction,' 'eternal destruction from the face of the Lord' (Ro 2^{5}, 2 Th 1^{9}, Ro 2^{8} 6^{21}, Ph 3^{19}, 2 Th 1^{9}). Beyond these terms of large suggestion, which are as remarkable for their variety as for their figurative force, the NT does not carry us. Theologians have gone further, and have ventured on many definitions of things left undefined in the Scriptures. They have distinguished between two forms of the future penalty, the *pœna sensus* and the *pœna damni*. They have spoken sometimes of the 'fire' of Gehenna as a material fire (cf. Petavius, *De Angel.* iii. 5), and sometimes as a figurative (Origen, *De Prin.* ii. 4). They have indulged in fruitless questions regarding the locality of hell, the *Limbus* or 'fringe' of hell, and much else. The NT is silent on many things on which imagination and speculation have both spent themselves largely and to little profit. It speaks much less of the retribution of the impenitent than of the reward of the righteous. In what it does say of the former it gives no satisfaction to curious inquiry. It limits itself to intimations which address themselves to character and conduct, and which convey the impression of the untold moral issues that depend upon the present life.

LITERATURE.—The great Commentaries, especially Meyer; the great NT Dictionaries, especially Thayer and Cremer; the systems of Biblical Theology and Dogmatics, especially Oehler, Riehm, Schultz, Weiss, Beyschlag, Dorner, Rothe, Martensen, Plitt, Philippi, Kuhn, Schweitzer; Alger, *Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life*; Atzberger, *Eschatologie*; Kliefoth, *Eschatologie*; Pusey, *What is of Faith as to Everlasting Punishment?*; Gfrörer, *Jahrhundert des Heils*; Drummond, *Jewish Messiah*; Stanton, *Jewish and the Christian Messiah*; Hamburger, *RE*; Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*; Böttcher, *De Inferis*; Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch*; Charles, *Book of Enoch*; Driver, *Sermons on OT*, Sermon iv.; Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*; Delitzsch, *Bib. Psychol.*; Kabisch, *Die Eschatol. d. Paulus.*

S. D. F. SALMOND.

HELLENISM.—See GREECE.

HELM.—The helm is now the handle which moves the rudder, but it was formerly used loosely for the whole steering apparatus. Hence in Ja 3^{4} it is given as tr^{n} of πηδάλιον, a rudder. It was Tind. who introduced 'helm' here, and he was followed by all the VSS except Gen., which has 'rudder,' and Rhem., which has 'sterne.' RV follows Geneva. The only other occurrence of π. in NT is Ac 27^{40}, where Tind. and all after him give 'rudder.' Wyclif's word in both passages is 'governayle.' See SHIP.

HELMET (קֹובַע *ḳôbha'* or כּוֹבַע *kôbha'*—Greek *περικεφαλαία*) was probably made of skin as a rule, since helmets of bronze (Goliath's 1 S 17^5, and Saul's *ib.* v.^{38}) are mentioned as something special. The form of an ancient helmet is shown in the illustration of Assyrian soldiers given under BATTERING-RAM. The helmets worn by the Romans were made either of leather (the *galea*) or of metal (the *cassis*). The helmet included plates to protect the cheeks, a band for the forehead, and a collar-like projection to protect the back of the neck. Such a helmet, when closed, showed little besides the eyes, nose, and mouth. (See illustrations in *Lindenschmit*, Tables ix. x. and xxii.).

Isaiah (59^{17}) describes the Lord as arming Himself for His people with righteousness as a coat of mail, and with salvation as a helmet. It is clear from the parallelism existing between the two halves of the verse (righteousness = vengeance, salvation = zeal) that the passage means that God arises with punishment for the enemy and with deliverance for His people. The 'helmet of salvation' is the helmet of the Lord's deliverance. St. Paul applies the phrase (Eph 6^{17}) differently; on the Christian's head rests (1 Th 5^8) a helmet *of the hope* of salvation. W. E. BARNES.

HELON (חֵלֹן 'valorous').—Father of Eliab, the prince of Zebulun at the first census, Nu 1^9 2^7 $7^{24.29}$ 10^{16} (P).

HELP.—As a verb 'help' is used in AV in some archaic phrases: (1) *Help forward*, Zec 1^{15} 'I was but a little displeased and they helped forward the affliction,' *i.e.* aggravated. Golding uses the phrase in a good sense in *Calvin's Isaiah* (on 40^3), 'what an excellent consolation is this, to heare that God useth the service of Infidels, yea and when his Church hath need, to make all creatures put to their hands for the helping forward of our salvation.' Milton uses the verb without 'forward' in the same sense as in Zec, *PL* vi. 656—

> 'Their armour helped their harm, crush'd in and bruised
> Into their substance pent.'

(2) *Help to* = furnish with, 1 Mac 8^{13} 'Whom they would help to a kingdom, those reign' (*οἷς δ' ἂν βούλωνται βοηθεῖν καὶ βασιλεύειν, βασιλεύσουσιν* [ℵ *βασιλεύουσιν*], RV 'Whomsoever they will to succour and to make kings, these do they make kings'). Cf. *Piers Plowman*, p. 27—

> 'Trywe charite
> That most helpe the men to hevene.'

(3) *Help up*, Ec 4^{10} 'Woe to him that is alone when he falleth: for he hath not another to help him up' (RV 'lift him up'). So Is 49^8 Cov. 'I wil make the a pledge for the people, so that thou shalt helpe up the earth agayne'; and Shaks. *Timon*, I. i. 107—

> ''Tis not enough to help the feeble up,
> But to support him after.'

Help, both as vb. and subst., has often a fuller meaning than 'assistance,' it often means 'deliverance,' almost as much as 'salvation.' See esp. Ps 60^{11} = 108^{12} 'Give us help from trouble: for vain is the help of man' (עֶזְרָה . . . תְּשׁוּעָה, where the second word is usually tr^{d} 'salvation,' as AVm, RVm; LXX *βοήθεια* . . . *σωτηρία*; Vulg. 'auxilium . . . salus'). Cf. Jer 8^{20} Tav. 'The harvest is gone, the sommer hath an ende, and we are not healped'; Ps 22^5 Cov. 'They called upon the, and were helped: they put their trust in the, and were not confounded' (so Pr. Bk. 'They called upon thee, and were holpen').

In Gn $2^{18.20}$ Eve is described as 'an help meet for' Adam. The Heb. is the usual word for 'help' (עֵזֶר), but the meaning is not, as vulgarly supposed 'a help to Adam,' one that will give herself to serve Adam. This mistake has caused the word 'helpmate' to be used of the wife (sometimes evidently under the impression that that is the term in Gn), as even Abp. Sharp, *Works*, IV. Ser. xii. 'God made man first, and out of him created woman; and declared withal, that he therefore created her that she might be a help-mate for the man.' The meaning is a helper (the word is of course concrete as in Ps 70^5) that will assist him in the work given him to do, carrying it on in the same spirit, as Vulg. 'adjutorium similem sibi.' The meaning is well illustrated by Southey, *Wesley*, ii. 188, 'It had therefore been much impressed upon his [Whitefield's] heart that he should marry, in order to have a help meet for him in the work whereunto he was called.' Tindale's tr^{n} is (2^{18}) 'I will make hym an helper to beare him company.' Cf. To 8^6 'Let us make unto him an aid like unto himself' (*βοηθὸν ὅμοιον αὐτῷ*, exactly as LXX of Gn 2^{20}, RV 'a helper like unto him'). Pennant, however (*Brit. Zool.* 'The Hog'), uses the word 'helpmate' in this sense: 'In Minorca the ass and the hog are common helpmates, and are yoked together in order to turn up the land.'

The plu. form 'helps' occurs thrice: (1) 2 Mac 8^{19} 'Moreover he recounted unto them what helps their forefathers had found' (*ἀντιλήμψεις*, RV 'the help given from time to time in the days of their ancestors'). (2) Ac 27^{17} 'they used helps, undergirding the ship' (*βοηθείαις ἐχρῶντο*). Page and Walpole's note is good: 'Cables passed round the hull and tightly secured on deck to prevent the timbers from starting, especially amidships, where in ancient ships with one large mast the strain was very great. The technical English word is *frapping*, but the process is rarely employed now.' See Smith, *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*^{2}, 105, and art. SHIP. (3) 1 Co 12^{28} 'And God hath set some in the church, first apostles . . . helps, governments, diversities of tongues' (TR *ἀντιλήψεις*, edd. *ἀντιλήμψεις*, AV 1611, 'helpes in governments'). See next article.

In AV 1611 and in most edd. still, the past ptcp. is 'holpen' in Ps 83^8 86^{17}, Is 31^3, Dn 11^{34}, Lk 1^{54}; RV retains the form, but Amer. RV prefers 'helped' in all but the last. The past tense is always 'helped'; and 'helped' occurs as past ptcp. in 1 Ch 5^{20}, 2 Ch 26^{15}, Ps 28^7, Is 49^8. J. HASTINGS.

HELPS (*ἀντιλήμψεις*, *opitulationes*).—In LXX (in Pss [for several Heb. words], 1 Es, Sir, 2, 3 Mac) *ἀντίλημψις* implies 'succour,' as of stronger to weaker, not the 'help' of an assistant to superior, *e.g.* Sir 11^{12} *προσδεόμενος ἀ.*, 3 Mac *ἀ. ἐξ οὐράνου*, cf. Jos. *BJ* IV. v. 1. Similarly in papyri of the age of the Ptolemies *ἀ.* = *βοήθεια*, as in the phrase *τυχεῖν ἀντιλήμψεως* (cf. 2 Mac 15^7, 3 Mac 2^{33}); while *ἀντιλήμπτωρ* is a style of the king with whom is asylum (*καταφυγή*, cf. 2 S 22^3). In NT it occurs only in 1 Co 12^{28}, along with *κυβερνήσεις*, to which LXX usage attaches the meaning 'wise counsels' (תַּחְבֻּלוֹת Pr 1^5 11^{14} 24^6 [Job 37^{12} Symm., Pr 20^{18} Theod.]: so *κυβερνᾶν*, Pr 12^5, Wis 10^4 14^6, Sus 1^6; Hesych. paraphrases by *προνοητικαὶ ἐπιστῆμαι καὶ φρονήσεις*. Gloss. on Pr 1^5 *ἐπιστήμη τῶν πραττομένων*). The list of God-given gifts to the Church enumerates 'first apostles, second prophets, third teachers, next powers, next *charisms* of healings, succours, counsels, kinds of tongues'; while in the interrogative recapitulation, which follows in vv.$^{29.30}$, 'succours' and 'counsels' fall out, probably as being less charismatic than the rest and more widely diffused among the brethren. This is confirmed by the analogous list of *charismata* in Ro 12^{6-8}, where the moral also is the same, viz. the duty of the many members to use their functional gifts for the common organic well-being. It is indeed hard to find in the latter list any single synonyms for 'succours' and 'counsels': rather they may well cover several things—the one, personal service (*διακονία*, cf. Phœbe as *διάκονος*, 16^1), charity (*ὁ μεταδιδούς*) or acts of mercy (*ὁ ἐλεῶν*); the other, instruction (*διδασκαλία*) and exhortation *

---

* *ὁ προϊστάμενος* is ambiguous, as (1) Phœbe is called *προστάτις πολλῶν*, *i.e.* patroness (a *patrona* in relation to *clientes*, as it were), which probably has reference to beneficence rather than rule; (2) *προστασίαι* (*καταπονουμένων*) is a recognized equivalent for *ἀ.* (see Suicer, *s.v.*). This must be remembered even in 1 Th 5^{12}.

(*παράκλησις*). But in any case the various activities are so intermingled as to exclude special reference to any officials. We are still at the stage when functions in the *ecclesia*, not functionaries, are everything (cf. 1 P $4^{10. 11}$). In a somewhat later list (Eph 4^{11}) it is otherwise; and we get 'shepherds and teachers' in place of 'succours and counsels.' But meantime these gifts explain and are explained by Gal $6^{1. 2}$, where 'the spiritual' help their weaker brethren to recover their footing, 'bearing one another's burdens'; and by 1 Th 5^{14}, where the brethren in general are to 'put in mind the unruly, comfort the faint-hearted, uphold the weak' (*ἀντέχεσθαι τῶν ἀσθενῶν*, the very words by which Theophyl. defines *ἀντίλημψις*). From this passage we further learn that it is unsafe to refer *ἀ*. and *κυβ*. to distinct offices, even when more or less regular officials are in question. In 1 Co itself we find only one class of regular workers (16^{15-18}), members of the household of Stephanas, who have 'devoted themselves unto ministry to the saints,' and to whose wise counsels the brethren are exhorted to yield subordination. In them, we can hardly doubt, the gifts of 'succour' and 'counsel' dwelt in eminent degree; and we may infer the like of those named in 1 Th 5^{12}, where *κοπιᾷν, προϊστάναι, νουθετεῖν* may be coextensive with *ἀ*. and *κυβ*. Finally, Ac 20^{35} comes in to clinch these conclusions. Speaking to Ephesian elders, whom he describes as guardians of the flock (^{28}), St. Paul bids them toil (*κοπιᾷν*) to succour the weak (*ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι*, cf. Lk 1^{54}, also *συναντ*. Ro 8^{26}), being mindful of their Lord's golden word. Just above he has spoken of the need of wise counsel on their part. So that, once again, we get *ἀ*. and *κυβ*. combined in an undifferentiated official class, here called 'elders.' The 'succour' in question, in keeping with linguistic usage, is that later on rendered by 'bishops' rather than 'deacons.' But so far there is no evidence of any such formal distinction, which meets us first in Ph 1^{1}—where indeed there is as yet no trace of subordination of the one class to the other (cf. their parallel position in 1 Ti 3^{1-13}, *Teaching* 15^{1}). In 1 Co 12^{28}, on the other hand, the 'succours' and 'counsels' not only occur on the same level, as it were, but what was later thought the humbler function actually comes first (there is nothing to suggest Meyer's 'climactic juxtaposition'). This makes the two terms most significant for primitive Christianity and its ministerial conceptions. *Ἀντ*., then, means 'anything that could be done for poor or weak or outcast brethren, either by rich or powerful or influential brethren or by the devotion of those who stood on no such eminence'; while *κυβ*. denotes guidance by 'men who by wise counsels did for the community what the steersman or pilot does for the ship' (Hort).

LITERATURE.—For the word, Schleusner, *Lex. NT*; Deissmann, *Bibelstudien* (1895), p. 87 (for the papyri); for the sense, Weizsäcker, *Ap. Age*, ii. 318 ff., Hort, *Chr. Eccl.* p. 157 ff., commentaries on 1 Co. J. V. BARTLET.

HELVE.—Dt 19^{5} 'As when a man goeth into the wood with his neighbour to hew wood, and his hand fetcheth a stroke with the axe to cut down the tree, and the head slippeth from the helve, and lighteth upon his neighbour, that he die; he shall flee unto one of those cities, and live.' This idiomatic tr^{n} is almost word for word from Tindale, including the word 'helve' for the handle of the axe. But that word is as old as the Wyclifite version of 1388, 'and the yrun slidith fro the helve' (the 1382 ed. has 'haft'). The word, though still in use locally, does not seem to occur in the Eng. VSS except in this place (where Dou. has 'handle,' translating directly the Vulg. *manubrium*), nor is it found in Shaks. or Milton. It is preserved in the proverb 'to throw the helve after the hatchet,' *i.e.* give up everything, as Howell, *Forreine Travell*, § 9, 'If shee should reduce the Spaniard to that desperate passe in the Netherlands, as to make him throw the helve after the hatchet, it would much alter the case.'

The Heb. is עֵץ 'wood' or 'tree,' the same word as has been tr^{d} 'wood' and 'tree' already in the same verse; hence RVm suggests that the axe is supposed to glance off the tree it is working on, which is probably correct. The LXX is *τὸ ξύλον*, 'the tree'; and the words tr^{d} 'haft' (Jg 3^{22}) and 'handle' (Ca 5^{5}) differ from this word. J. HASTINGS.

HEM.—See DRESS, FRINGES.

HEMAM (הֵימָם).—The eponym of a Horite clan, Gn 36^{22}, called in 1 Ch 1^{39} Homam (הוֹמָם). LXX has in both passages *Αἱμάν*. Kittel (in *SBOT*, 1 Ch 1^{39}) declares in favour of the reading Hemam, which answers to the Lucianic *Ἡμάν*. Dillmann (on Gn 36^{22}) points out that Knobel's comparison of *Hemam* with *Ḥumaimeh*, a town south of Petra, is against the phonology.

HEMAN (הֵימָן 'faithful'). This name occurs in three connexions. One man is probably referred to. 1. 1 K 4^{31} one of the four sages whom Solomon excelled in wisdom. Ethan, being specially termed the Ezrahite, appears to be by that distinguished from the other three, sons of Mahol. 2. However, one of the titles of Ps 88 ascribes its authorship to Heman the Ezrahite. If this be reliable, he might be Ethan's brother, and Mahol father only of Calcol and Darda (Keil). It can scarcely be doubted that the Chronicler (1 Ch 2^{6}) interprets Ezrahite as Zerahite, when he makes all four sages sons of Zerah, son of Judah (so Grotius). Delitzsch maintains the identity of the Heman of 1 K 4^{31} with the author of Ps 88. He also conjectures that this Heman has dramatized his own experiences in the Book of Job, 'a Chokma-work of the Solomonic age.' 3. 1 Ch 6^{33} $15^{17. 19}$ $16^{41. 42}$ 25^{1-6}, 2 Ch 5^{12} 35^{15} (1 Es 1^{15} Zacharias). A Kohathite Levite, one of the three precentors of David's temple choir. There are two suspicious features in the Chronicler's account of his family: (*a*) He is made the grandson of the prophet Samuel (1 Ch 6^{33}). But Samuel was an Ephraimite (1 S 1^{1}). Is not this the Chronicler's characteristic explanation of Samuel's constant offering of sacrifice? (*b*) In 1 Ch 25^{4} Ewald and Wellhausen (W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} p. 143, n.^{1}) have shown that the last six names of Heman's 'sons' are merely the words of an anthem: '(1) I have given great (2) and lofty help (3) to him that sat in distress; (4) I have spoken (5) a superabundance of (6) prophecies.' W. R. Smith (*OTJC*^{2} p. 204) maintains, moreover, that the three guilds of singers did not exist until the time of Alexander the Great (Neh 11^{17} 12^{24}). If this be true, the notices of Heman in Chronicles are unhistorical. Ewald (*HI* iii. p. 278 n.^{2}) conjectures that the Levitical schools of music adopted the Judahites Ethan and Heman into their family. Keil, on the other hand, says that the Levites Ethan and Heman are called Ezrahites because incorporated into the Judæan family of Zerah (cf. Jg 17^{7}, 1 S 1^{1}). The title 'seer' (*ḥôzeh*), applied to Heman (1 Ch 25^{5}), as also to Asaph and Jeduthun, may refer merely to musical skill. Cf. the use of 'prophecy,' 1 Ch 25^{1-3}. N. J. D. WHITE.

HEMDAN.—See HAMRAN.

HEMLOCK.—A word occurring in AV in two places (Hos 10^{4}, Am 6^{12}). In the former RVm has *rôsh* (see GALL (2) רֹאשׁ). The Heb. equivalent of the latter is לַעֲנָה *la'ănâh*, which is everywhere else rendered by AV *wormwood*. RV so renders it in this passage. Neither word refers to the poison hemlock, *Conium maculatum*, L., much less to the hemlock tree, *Abies*. G. E. POST.

HEN.—See COCK.

HEN (חֵן).—In Zec 6^{14} 'Hen the son of Zephaniah' is mentioned amongst those whose memory was to be perpetuated by the crowns laid up in the temple (so AV, RV). Wellhausen (*Kl. Proph.*, *ad loc.*) substitutes for Hen the name Joshua [Josiah] found in v.^{10}, and in like manner corrects Helem of v.^{14} into Heldai of v.^{10}. The LXX does not treat the word as a proper name, reading εἰς χάριτα υἱοῦ Σοφονίου. This is followed by Ewald, Hitzig, Keil, Orelli, Marti (in Kautzsch's *AT*), who gives 'Freundlichkeit,' and RVm 'for the kindness of the son of Zephaniah.' J. A. SELBIE.

HENA (הֵנַע 2 K 18^{34} [wanting in the parallel passage, Is 36^{19}], 19^{13} = Is 37^{13}).—According to some a city in Syria, but probably to be taken rather as a divine name. In that case it should be identified with the Arabic star name *al-han'a*; and *'Iwwâ* (better *'Awwâ*), coupled with it, will be identical with the star name *al-'awwâ'u* (cf. Hommel, 'Hena' and 'Awwa' in *Expos. Times*, April 1898). F. HOMMEL.

HENADAD (חֵנָדָד 'favour of Hadad').—A Levite chief (Ezr 3^{9}, Neh $3^{18.\,24}$ 10^{9}). See GENEALOGY.

HENNA.—See CAMPHIRE.

HEPHER (חֵפֶר, 'digging').—**1.** Son of Gilead the Manassite, and father of Zelophehad, Nu 26^{32} 27^{1}, Jos $17^{2f.}$ P. Patronymic, **Hepherites**, Nu 26^{32}. **2.** One of the tribe of Judah, 1 Ch 4^{6}. **3.** A Mecherathite, one of David's heroes, 1 Ch 11^{36}.

HEPHER (חֵפֶר).—A Canaanite royal city, named immediately before Aphek, Jos 12^{17}. The site is uncertain. The land of Hepher (אֶרֶץ ח׳) is mentioned in 1 K 4^{10} along with Socoh.

HEPHZI-BAH (חֶפְצִי־בָהּ 'she in whom is my delight.' So in Phœnician חפצבעל 'the delight of Baal').—**1.** The mother of Manasseh, king of Judah (2 K 21^{1}). **2.** Symbolic name of the Zion of Messianic times (Is 62^{4}).

HERALD (Aram. כָּרוֹז, emphat. כָּרוֹזָא; see Kautzsch, *Gram.* § 64, 4).—The word so translated occurs only once, in Dn 3^{4}. If = Gr. κήρυξ (but see Bevan, 107 n.) it will be one of those words in the Bk. of Daniel that prove its author to have lived 'after the dissemination of Greek influences in Asia' (Driver, *LOT*^{6} 502); such words are קיתרס (κίθαρις), and the names of other musical instruments, mentioned in connexion with the herald's proclamation on this occasion. No distinct mention is made in the annals of Hebrew warfare of the herald in his function of summoning conflicting parties to conference, or of demanding the submission of beleaguered places. Goliath utters his own challenge (1 S $17^{8f.}$). When Sennacherib invaded Judah, his demands were made known by the Tartan, the Rab-saris, and the Rab-shakeh, apparently prominent military and civil personages (2 K $18^{17ff.}$). The official referred to in Daniel may, however, have performed such duties in Babylonian military operations, as on this occasion he is employed to make known the monarch's will at a high religious observance. Κήρυξ is applied by St. Paul to himself (1 Ti 2^{7}, 2 Ti 1^{11}) as a preacher of the divine revelation in Jesus Christ, on both occasions in conjunction with ἀπόστολος. Noah is called (2 P 2^{5}) 'a herald of righteousness.' See PREACHING. G. WALKER.

HERB.—See GRASS.

HERCULES (Ἡρακλῆς) is mentioned by this name only in 2 Mac $4^{19.\,20}$, where Jason, the brother of the high priest Onias III., who had secured by bribery his own appointment in the latter's place, and the head of the Hellenizing party in Jerus. (B.C. 174), sent 300 silver drachmas (about £12, 10s.) to Tyre as an offering in honour of H., the tutelary deity of that city. We know from the precedent of Alexander the Great (Quint. Curt. iv. 7) that it was customary for kings to send offerings to H. at Tyre ('quem praecipue Tyrii colerent'). The same deity is mentioned by Silius Italicus (iii. 14 ff.) as being worshipped at Gades, an old Phœn. colony. He was otherwise known as Mel-Carthus or Melek-Ḳartha = 'Lord of the city.' In a Phœn. inscription (*CIS* I. i. 122) he is called Adonēnu Melḳarth Ba'al Tzure = 'Our Lord Melḳarth, Baal of Tyre.' Jos. (*Ant.* VIII. v. 3; *c. Ap.* I. i. 18) also mentions H. and Astarte together, as Baal and Ashtoreth are often joined. The worship of the Tyrian Baal became widely prevalent in Israel on the marriage of Ahab with the Phœn. princess Jezebel (1 K $16^{31.\,33}$), and in Judah during the reign of Ahaziah and the usurpation of his mother Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab (2 K 8^{27} 11^{18}).

H. was worshipped at Tyre from very early times, and his temple in that place was, according to Herod. ii. 44, as old as the city itself, 2300 years before his own time. As a personification of the sun he afforded an example of nature-worship so common among the Phœn., Egyp., and other nations of antiquity. The Greeks may have borrowed their deities from strangers, and, substituting individuals for abstract qualities or for the forces of nature, claimed for them an indigenous origin. Hercules (Ἡρακλῆς = 'renown of Hera') was with them the heroic embodiment of strength, a demi-god powerful enough to restore even the dead to life (Eur. *Alcestis*, 1136). The connexion between the sun and strength can be easily traced. C. H. PRICHARD.

HERD.—Three words in Heb. are tr^{d} 'herd.' **1.** בָּקָר *bâḳâr*, βοῦς. This word is generic for *oxen*. It is not like *ẓôn*, applicable to two or more species. Wherever it is used, therefore, it might without loss, and with sensible advantage, be translated *oxen*. **2.** עֵדֶר *'êdher*, βουκόλια. This word occurs once (Jl 1^{18}) in the construct state with *bâḳâr*, and the expression is tr^{d} 'herds of cattle.' It would have been better to translate *herds of oxen*. In the same verse *'êdher ẓôn* is tr^{d} 'flocks of sheep,' being prob. intended to include *goats* as well. See FLOCK, SHEEP. **3.** מִקְנֶה *miḳneh*. This word is usually rendered 'cattle.' See CATTLE. In construction with *bâḳâr* (Gn 47^{17}) it is tr^{d} 'cattle of the herds,' AV, RVm; while RV text renders the two words by one, 'herds.' The construct expression מִקְנֵה הַבְּהֵמָה (v.^{18}) is rendered 'herds of cattle,' AV, RV.

The NT word for herd is ἀγέλη, but it is used only for *swine* (Mt 8^{30} etc.). G. E. POST.

HEREDITY.—The law that like begets like, and that therefore children inherit the qualities and the responsibilities of their ancestors, is not scientifically stated in the Bible, but, in so far as it is matter of common experience, it is implied.

The simplest form in which it presents itself to observation is in the case of similarity of physical and moral features. Thus it is remarked by Raguel (To 7^{2}) 'how like' Tobias is to his father Tobit. And, again, it is said of a good son, 'His father dieth, and is as though he had not died; for he hath left one behind him like himself' (Sir 30^{4}). That the father's character is often repeated in his son is too common a phenomenon to escape notice. It is said, *e.g.*, of Abijam (1 K 15^{3}), of Nadab (1 K 15^{26}), and of Ahaziah (1 K 22^{52}), that they walked in the evil ways of their fathers; and of Jehoshaphat (1 K 22^{43}) and Amaziah (2 K 14^{3}), that they followed their fathers' good example. This does not, indeed, constitute a universal rule. Good fathers often have bad sons, as we see in the case of Eli, and bad fathers have good sons; and even where the evil taint is reproduced, it is apparent in different individuals in different degrees. But with a people so quick to discern the ties of kindred, so imbued with a sense of national solidarity as were the Hebrews, the law of heredity was expected to fulfil itself. 'Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean?' (Job 14^{4}) was a question with the answer, 'Not one.' They were accustomed to trace the characteristics of a tribe or a family in the person and career of its founder. Thus Esau is the true ancestor of the wild Edomite peoples, as Jacob is of the chosen race; and the enmity between the brothers Esau and Jacob reproduces itself in the thought of Obadiah in the jealous hate of Edom for Israel.

But not only do children inherit qualities of body and mind from their fathers; they inherit, as well, responsibility. This is the perpetual burden of the Pentateuch. The sins of the fathers are visited upon the children unto the third and fourth generation (Ex 20^{5}, cf. Is 14^{21}); the divine punishments follow the family of the sinner (Lv 20^{5}). And as with sin, so with righteousness; its consequences are equally inherited, and the inheritance is more permanent than that of evil, for the LORD shows mercy unto them that fear Him 'unto a thousand generations.' Israel is beloved 'for the fathers' sake'; and the tenure of the inheritance of blessing is more lasting than the curse which follows sin.

The sense of responsibility seems, indeed, in the OT to attach itself to the family and the nation quite as much as to the individual. The sense of individuality was less felt in early ages than it is in modern life, where it has been strongly emphasized. But at the same time the ultimate responsibility of the individual to God is not overlooked in the OT. The Hebrews of the Captivity put forward as excuse for their miserable condition the sad proverb, 'The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge'; but Ezekiel (ch. 18) warns them against its misinterpretation. Men do, indeed, suffer through their fathers' sins, but the soul is ultimately responsible to God for its own sin alone. 'The soul that sinneth, *it* shall die' (Ezk 18^{20}). See FALL.

We here come upon the great moral difficulty, felt by the Hebrews as by us, though not so keenly, as to the reconciliation of the two principles of the transmission of qualities from father to son, and of personal responsibility. On the one hand, it may be said that 'the dead rule the living'; each man is not only an individual, but a member of a series, or rather of an organism, in which each part is dependent on and affects every other. This, if pressed without qualification, results in the doctrine of traducianism, according to which a man's soul is the product of that of his parents—a doctrine which it is difficult to state so as to save the freedom of the will. On the other hand, we must conceive of each individual as in direct personal relations of responsibility with God; he is therefore not merely the product of the past history of his race, and a factor in the evolution of its future, but a fresh beginning with a soul which is, in part, a new creation (creationism). J. H. BERNARD.

HEREAFTER.—Where the witches (in Shaks. *Macbeth*, I. iii. 50) cry

> 'All hail, Macbeth, that shall be king hereafter,'

they clearly mean 'at some time to come.' This is the present meaning of the word, and it is found a few times in AV, esp. Jn 13^{7}, Rev 1^{19} 4^{1} 9^{12}, where the Gr. is μετὰ ταῦτα, 'after these things.' But where (in the same play, I. iv. 38) Duncan says,

> 'We will establish our estate upon
> Our eldest, Malcolm; whom we name hereafter
> The prince of Cumberland,'

he as clearly means 'from this time forward,' 'henceforth.' This is the most frequent meaning of the word in AV, and it demands attention because the mod. meaning of the word is apt to make one miss the sense of the passage. In Mk 11^{14} 'No man eat fruit of thee hereafter for ever' (μηκέτι, RV 'henceforth') there is no danger of mistake; but in Mk 26^{64} 'Hereafter shall ye see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven,' it is not evident from the English version that the meaning is 'from now,' 'henceforth' (ἀπ' ἄρτι, RV 'Henceforth'). But that is the meaning also in Jn 1^{51} 'Hereafter ye shall see the heaven open, and the angels of God ascending and descending on the Son of man' (where, however, edd. omit ἀπ' ἄρτι of TR, whence RV 'Ye shall see,' etc.); and in Lk 22^{69} 'Hereafter shall the Son of man sit on the right hand of the power of God' (ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν, RV 'henceforth'), and even in Jn 14^{30} 'Hereafter I will not talk much with you' (οὐκ ἔτι, edd. οὐκέτι, RV 'no more'). In 1 Ti 1^{16} 'for a pattern to them which should hereafter believe on him to life everlasting' (πρὸς ὑποτύπωσιν τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν), and in the OT passages (Is 41^{23}, Ezk 20^{39}, Dn 2$^{29.\ 45}$), the meaning is more indefinite, 'at any time after this' (observe that the לְאָחוֹר of Is 41^{23} is in 42^{23} tr^{d} 'for the time to come'). In Gal 6^{17} the Wyclifite version of 1388 is 'And heraftir no man be hevy to me,' while the version of 1380 gives 'Fro hennis forth no man be hevy to me.'

Hereafter is one of a number of so-called pronoun-adverbs, of which 'here' is the first part, always with the meaning of 'this.' The others found in AV are—

Hereby. In the Eng. language even of the beginning of the 17th cent. 'hereby' had sometimes a local meaning, as in Shaks. *As You Like It*, IV. i. 9—

> 'Where is the bush
> That we must stand and play the murderer in?
> Hereby, upon the edge of yonder coppice.'

But in AV it is always instrumental, 'by this means,' as 1 Jn 2^{3} 'And hereby do we know that we do know him, if we keep his commandments' (ἐν τούτῳ, a very common expression in this Epistle, and generally tr^{d} 'hereby').

Herein, lit. 'in this'; in NT always instrumental and always the tr^{n} of ἐν τούτῳ; in OT it occurs Gn 34^{22} 'Only herein will the men consent unto us for to dwell with us . . . if every male among us be circumcised' (בְּזֹאת, RV 'on this condition'); and 2 Ch 16^{9} 'Herein thou hast done foolishly' (עַל־זֹאת).

Hereof. Observe 1 Mac 16^{22} 'Hereof when he heard, he was sore astonished' (καὶ ἀκούσας, RV 'And when he heard'); Mt 9^{26} 'And the fame hereof went abroad into all that land' (ἡ φήμη αὕτη, AVm and RVm 'this fame'); He 5^{3} 'And by reason hereof he ought, as for the people, so also for himself, to offer for sins' (TR διὰ ταύτην, edd. δι' αὐτήν, RV 'by reason thereof'). Cf. T. Fuller, *Holy Warre*, iii. 5, p. 117, 'But hereof hereafter.'

Heretofore = hitherto, as tr^{n} of תְּמוֹל שִׁלְשֹׁם (Ex 4^{10} 5$^{7.\ 8.\ 14}$, Jos 3^{4}, Ru 2^{11}), or אֶתְמוֹל שִׁלְשֹׁם (1 S 4^{7}), lit. 'yesterday three days,' a primitive method of referring to past time. See TIME. In NT, 2 Co 13^{2} 'I write to them which heretofore have sinned' (τοῖς προημαρτηκόσιν).

Hereunto: Ec 2^{25} 'For who else can eat, or who else can hasten hereunto, more than I?' (יָחוּשׁ, RV 'have enjoyment,' RVm 'hasten thereto'; LXX πίεται; Vulg. 'deliciis affluet'; Gen. 'colde haste to outward things' (taking חוּץ so), with marg. note to 'outward things,' *meaning to pleasures*); 1 P 2^{21} 'For even hereunto were ye called' (εἰς τοῦτο).

Herewith, only Ezk 16^{29}, Mal 3^{10}, both as tr^{n} of בְּזֹאת 'with this.' RV adds Lv 16^{3} (same Heb., AV 'thus').

J. HASTINGS.

HERES (הַר־חֶרֶס).—**1.** A mountain named along with Aijalon and Shaalbim as one of the localities from which the Danites failed to expel the Amorites, Jg 1$^{34f.}$. As the word *ḥereṣ*=*shemesh*, 'the sun,' it is very probable[*] that the Heres here referred to may be Beth-shemesh (1 K 4^{9}, 2 Ch 28^{18}) or Ir-shemesh (Jos 19^{41}), on the boundary between Judah and Dan. This is the modern *'Ain Shems* to the S. of Wady Ẓurar, opposite *Ẓur'ah* (Zoar). The LXX (A) has ἐν τῷ ὄρει τοῦ Μυρσινῶνος, which implies a reading, הַר־הֲדַס='mountain of the myrtle grove.'

LITERATURE.—Robinson, *BRP* ii. 224 f.; Guérin, *Judée*, ii. 18–22; Moore on Jg 1^{35}; *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* and Siegfried-Stade, *s.* חֶרֶס.

2. In Jg 8^{13} (RV) 'the ascent of Heres' (מַעֲלֵה הֶחָרֶס) is mentioned as the spot from which Gideon returned after the defeat of Zebah and Zalmunna. Both the topography and the text of the narrative are doubtful. RV has the support of LXX A, ἀπὸ ἀναβάσεως Ἅρες. B reads ἀπὸ ἐπάνωθεν [τῆς παρατάξεως][†] Ἅρες. Aq. and Symm. read הֶהָרִים 'the mountains,' and this is adopted by Siegfried-Stade. AV takes *ḥereṣ* as an appellative and tr. 'before the sun was up'; Targ. Rashi 'before the sun set.' Both these last renderings are pronounced by Moore to be impossible (see his note).

The same word *ḥereṣ* appears in the proper name **Timnath-heres** (wh. see), Jg 2^{9}; but by an intentional metathesis, to avoid anything that savoured of idolatry, *Timnath-ḥereṣ*='portion of the sun,' appears to have been changed into **Timnath-ṣeraḥ**, Jos 19^{50} 24^{30}.

For עִיר הַהֶרֶס of Is 19^{18} see IR-HA-HERES.

J. A. SELBIE.

HERESH (חֶרֶשׁ).—A Levite, 1 Ch 9^{15}. See GENEALOGY.

HERESY (αἵρεσις, *hæresis*, *secta*; in LXX only for 'free choice,' cf. βούλησις, Hesych.).—Αἵρ. in the common sense of 'heresy' never occurs in NT. Here its dominant meaning is 'sect' or 'party' (τὸ αἱρεῖσθαι τὸ ἴδιον καὶ τούτῳ ἐξακολουθεῖν, Ath. *Quæst.* 38 *de Parab.*). In later classical usage it is the usual word for a philosophic school or sect, as selected by its adherents (see Diog. Laert. i. 19 f., etc., *e.g.* αἵρ. λέγομεν τὴν λόγῳ τινὶ ἀκολουθοῦσαν); in Philo it often stands for προαίρεσις=*religio*; and in NT its use is of *a religious party* (as in Jos.), with a more or less deprecatory suggestion, as of the self-willed or sectarian spirit. So always in Ac, whether of the Sad. (5^{17}), the Phar. (15^{5} 26^{5} κατὰ τὴν ἀκριβεστάτην αἵρ. τῆς ἡμετέρας θρησκείας ἔζησα Φ.), or the Christians, as seen from outside (24^{5} πρωτοστάτην τῆς τῶν Ναζωραίων αἱρ.; 24^{14} κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν λέγουσιν αἵρ.—an excellent instance; 28^{22}, the Christian sect πανταχοῦ ἀντιλέγεται). In the Pauline Epistles the like clearly prevails. In Gal 5^{20} it occurs in a list of ἔργα τῆς σαρκός, as a manifestation of the unchastened self-assertive or egoistic principle (cf. 1 Co 3^{3,4}); its immediate neighbours bring 'caballings' (ἐριθεῖαι) and divisions (διχοστασίαι), while itself denotes partisanship (cf. Ro 16^{17}). This was a special vice of the Greek temper; so that we are not surprised to find St. Paul saying in 1 Co 11^{19} that αἱρ. are part of God's providential discipline whereby sterling characters may be brought to light. This principle is given as the ground of his own attitude to the news that dissensions or 'schisms' (σχίσματα) exist in the Christian body at Corinth. It is probable, then, that αἱρ. are here practically synonymous with σχ., the latter term being fixed by the context to practical negations of sympathy and fellowship, especially as between rich and poor (taking outward effect at the Feast of Love itself). Coteries were formed, and the corporate unity vanished (αἱρ. ἐνταῦθα οὐ ταύτας λέγει τὰς δογμάτων ἀλλὰ τὰς τῶν σχ., Chrys. *Hom. ad loc.*; so Theodoret, Theophyl. etc., *ap.* Suicer. To a later mode of thought belongs Aug.'s definition, *hæresis autem schisma inveteratum*). So far we have no reason to connect αἵρ. (or even σχίσματα, *pace* 1 Co 1^{10}, where alienation in sentiment, arising out of intellectual contentions (ἔριδες) of secondary import, is in question, cf. 12^{25}, Jn 7^{43} 9^{16} 10^{19}) with serious doctrinal divergences in the Church, but rather with breaches in the harmony of love. It means a factious division, or the spirit that underlies it. And this is probably the shade of meaning attaching to the adjective αἱρετικός, 'factious,' or self-willed, in Tit 3^{10} (cf. Ro 16^{17}). A twofold development, however, is found in the use in 2 P 2^{1}, where αἱρ. ἀπωλείας are spoken of as being illicitly introduced. Here the qualifying gen. (='leading to ruin,' cf. Ph 3^{19}) and the verb alike suggest the new sense of *falsely chosen* or erroneous *tenets*. Already the emphasis is moving from persons and their temper to mental products,—from the sphere of sympathetic love to that of objective truth. But one change more remains to be made ere the biblical use passes wholly into the patristic and ecclesiastical. For the nature of the erroneous doctrine is here directly immoral (cf. Jude ^{4}); and so αἵρ. preserves part of the ethical connotation which is essential to its NT usage. The earliest case of its meaning pure theological error is also its earliest occurrence outside the NT, viz. Ign. *ad Trall.* 6, ἀλλοτρίας δὲ βοτάνης (=Docetism) ἀπέχεσθε, ἥτις ἐστιν αἵρεσις, cf. *ad Eph.* 6. And in proportion as the conception of 'faith,' and the standard for testing it, became intellectual, the original sense of αἵρ., as a light and irresponsible exercise of native egoism in defiance of the claims of love, receded into the background (cf. Tert. *De præsc. hær.* 6, 'Quarum opera sunt adulteræ doctrinæ, hæreses dictæ Græca voce ex interpretatione electionis, qua quis sive ad instituendas sive ad suscipiendas eas utitur'). Finally, neither σχ. nor αἵρ. in the NT ever denotes a party that has withdrawn from the religious communion amid which it arose. In Judaism the co-existence of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes was not deprecated. In the more intimate unity of each Christian *ecclesia* 'rents' or 'factions' were felt to impair directly the vital functions of the local body in its κοινωνία of love, and so assumed a moral significance. Separate Christian communions, and the applicability to them of the terms σχ. and αἱρ., were problems of the future.

LITERATURE.—Schleusner, *Lex. NT*; Suicer, *Thes. Eccl.*, Comm. *ad loc.*; Burton, *Bamp. Lect.* 1829, and esp. Campbell, *The Four Gospels*, vol. i. Diss. ix. § iv.

J. V. BARTLET.

HERETH (חֶרֶת).—A forest (יַעַר) which was one of the hiding-places of David, 1 S 22^{5}. The LXX, reading עִיר instead of יַעַר, has ἐν πόλει Σαρείκ (B) . . . Ἅριαθ (A). The reference may be to the wooded mountain E. of Adullam, where the village of *Kharâs* now stands. See *SWP* vol. iii. sh. xxi.

C. R. CONDER.

HERITAGE is used in AV (and retained in RV except in 1 P 5^3 'the charge allotted to you' for AV 'God's heritage,'[*] Gr. *οἱ κλῆροι*) as a synonym for 'inheritance,' which has now displaced it except in biblical language and Scots law. See HEIR, INHERITANCE.

---

[*] So Studer, Bertheau, Keil, Budde, and others.

[†] The words in brackets are evidently an accidental repetition from the previous clause (see Moore's note).

HERMAS (Ἑρμᾶς), one of those saluted by St. Paul in Ro 16^{14}. The name is common amongst slaves (although not quite so much as Hermes). It was in its origin an abbreviated form of various names such as Hermagoras, Hermodorus, Hermogenes. He is commemorated in the Roman Calendar on May 9. According to the *Menologium Basilianum*, Nov. 4, he became Bishop of Philippopolis in Thrace.

The name Hermas is also well known as that of the author, or at any rate the professed author, of the Pastor or Shepherd, a well-known allegorical work, belonging to an early period of Christian literature, which for a time made some claims to be inserted in the NEW TESTAMENT CANON (which see). This book need only be referred to here, because from time to time its author has been identified with the Hermes mentioned in Ro 16^{14}. Origen, in his commentary on this passage, writes: 'I think that this Hermas is the author of the book called the Pastor, which appears to me a very useful writing (*scriptum* is not technical), and, I think, divinely inspired.' Origen's statement is a pure conjecture, based apparently only on the identity of name. His opinion was followed by others, but was never widespread, as the book became less and less popular; in later times it has been held by Cotelier, Cave, Pearson, and others. There is little to be said for it. The name was about as common as John is with us, and gives no clue at all; the date of the book may be doubtful, but its tone is certainly not that of the 1st cent.; the author never claims in any way to be a contemporary of the apostles, and very definite historical evidence places him a little before the middle of the 2nd cent. This is not the place to pursue the subject further, but for the benefit of those unacquainted with the book it may be stated that it consists of a series of Visions, Parables or Similitudes, and Mandates or Commands, conveying for the most part moral teaching, and has been called —not perhaps very happily—the Pilgrim's Progress of the Early Church. A further account may be found in *Dict. Chr. Biog.*, and a text and translation in Lightfoot's *Apostolic Fathers*.

A. C. HEADLAM.

HERMES (Ἑρμῆς).—The name of a Christian, quoted with some others in Ro 16^{14}. It is one of the commonest of all slave names. The Greek *Menaea* and *Menologium* make him Bishop of Salona in Dalmatia, and one of the Seventy disciples. He was commemorated April 8.

A. C. HEADLAM.

HERMOGENES (Ἑρμογένης) is mentioned by St. Paul (2 Ti 1^{15}) as having, along with Phygelus and others in Asia, and in contrast to Onesiphorus, been ashamed of his chain. It is impossible now to say what form the denial took, or what led to it. Most likely it was caused by fear lest friendship with the imprisoned apostle might involve him in the same fate. Early traditions, of no historical value, however, associated him with magicians. Nothing is known of H. except what is stated by St. Paul, that he was of those in Asia who turned away. It is not easy to decide what is meant by those 'in Asia.' It has been variously held to mean, all Asiatics then in Rome, the Ephesians who had accompanied St. Paul to Rome, public opinion in Asia Minor, and the Asiatic sentiment in Rome. See PHYGELUS.

W. MUIR.

HERMON (חֶרְמוֹן, 'sacred [mountain]'; cf. Sab. מחרם 'temple,' Arab. *ḥaram*, 'sacred enclosure,' and *ḥormah*, 'asylum').—The great outlier of Anti-lebanon, at the springs of Jordan. See PALESTINE. It was called *Sirion* by the Zidonians, and *Senir* by the Amorites (Dt 3^9). The first of these names is used poetically in Ps 29^6. *Senir* occurs also in Ezk 27^5, Ca 4^8, 1 Ch 5^{23}. Perhaps it may be inferred from the latter two passages (where it is used along with Hermon) that *Senir* originally denoted a particular part of the mountain-range (so Driver, Buhl, etc.). The name appears in the cuneiform texts as *Saniru* (Schrader, *KAT*^{2} 159 [*COT*^{2} 146]), and the Anti-lebanon N. of Damascus between Baalbek and Emesa is still called *Sanîr* by the Arabs. Sayce (*RP*^{2} vi. 41, *HCM* 341) traces a knowledge of the name *Senir* also to the Egyptians. In Dt 4^{48} another name, *Sion* (שִׂיאֹן), is given to Hermon. It is held by some that *Sion* is here a textual error for *Sirion* (שִׂרְיֹן, the reading of Syr.), but this is doubtful (see Driver, *ad loc.*). 'Mount Hermon' (הַר חֶרְמוֹן) is used in Dt 3^8, Jos 11^{17} $12^{1.5}$ $13^{5.11}$, 1 Ch 5^{23}, 'Hermon' alone in Jos 11^3, Ps 89^{12} 133^3, Ca 4^8. The circumstance that the mountain has three peaks accounts for the plur. form חֶרְמוֹנִים 'the Hermons' (RV; not '**the Hermonites**,' AV) in Ps 42^6.

Hermon was held by Hivites (Jos 11^3); it was the northern limit of conquest ($12^{1.5}$ $13^{5.11}$). Its sacred character appears from Ps 89^{12} (where it is coupled with Tabor), and from the name Mount Baal-hermon (Jg 3^3), 'the mountain of the Baal of Hermon.' Cf. 1 Ch 5^{23}. The dew of Hermon is noted as falling on Zion (Ps 133^3), and its wild character is noticed in Ca 4^8. The fir trees of Senir are mentioned in Ezk 27^5.

Mount Hermon is the most conspicuous feature in the scenery of Palestine, rising 9200 ft. above the Mediterranean in a dome-like summit, usually covered with snow till late in summer. There are three low peaks on the top, with a connecting plateau. Lower down, the sides are covered with vineyards round the Druze villages. On the sandstones to the west there are still pines and firs, but the upper part is quite barren, and covered with snow-worn gravel between the cliffs. This mountain is the only place where the Syrian bear is known to exist. The view from the top is magnificent, including the Lebanon and the plain round Damascus. Towards the west Tyre and Carmel are seen, on the south the mountains of Upper Galilee and the plains of Lower Galilee. The Hûleh lake and the Sea of Galilee lie beneath as on a map. This view is, however, obscured in summer by the sudden formation of clouds on the summit.

Hermon was perhaps the 'high mountain' of Mt 17^1, Mk 9^2 ('the mountain' of Lk 9^{28}) near Cæsarea Philippi, which was the scene of the Transfiguration and of the cloud which covered the disciples. In the Roman period it was a sacred centre, and small temples were built on the slopes on every side, while the highest point was encircled with a masonry wall, and seems to have supported an altar. Close by is a rock-cut chamber on the plateau. In the 4th cent. A.D. (see *Onomast. s.* 'Aermon') there was still a temple at which the people of Paneas and Lebanon worshipped, on the summit of Hermon. In the 10th cent. it became the centre of the Druze religion, and to it Sheikh ed-Derâzi, the founder of the latter creed, retired from Egypt. At Hasbeya, on its western slopes, the sacred books of the sect were found by the French in 1860. Hermon is called *Jebel esh-Sheikh*, or 'mountain of the chief,' for this reason, being the residence of the religious Sheikh of the Druzes. The translation sometimes suggested, ‘chief of mountains,’ is grammatically impossible. Hermon was visited by the present writer in 1873 (when the height and geographical position were determined) and in 1882.

---

[*] In Job 31^2, on the other hand, 'heritage' of RV takes the place of 'inheritance' in AV; the Heb. is the usual word נַחֲלָה.

LITERATURE.—*SWP* (Jerusalem volume, Appendix, and Volume of Special Papers); Robinson, *BRP* iii. 357; Baedeker-Socin, *Pal*^{2} 301; Conder, *Tent-Work*, ch. viii.; Buhl, *GAP* 110; Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* 10, 39; Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 104; Wetzstein, *ZKW* v. (1884) 115; W. R. Smith, *RS*^{1} 93, 145; Merrill, *East of Jordan*, 431: Halévy, *REJ* xx. 206; *ZDPV* iv. 87, vi. 6; *ZDMG* xix. 176, 252; Driver on Dt 3^{9} and 4^{48}; Moore on Jg 3^{3}.

C. R. CONDER.

HERMONITES (Ps 42^{6}, AV).—See HERMON.

HEROD (DYNASTY OF).—

i. Index to Names of Family.
ii. Genealogical Table.
iii. Chronological Table.
iv. Origin of Dynasty.
v. Herod the Great.
vi. Successors of Herod.
  (1) Archelaus.
  (2) Herod Antipas.
  (3) Philip.
  (4) Herod, called Philip.
  (5) Agrippa I.
  (6) Agrippa II.
vii. Women of the Family.
  (1) Herodias.
  (2) Salome.
  (3) Bernice.
  (4) Drusilla.
viii. Character of Dynasty.
  Literature.

i. INDEX OF HEROD FAMILY.—In this index every member of the family mentioned in Josephus is recorded. The numbers refer to the genealogical table. The names that occur in NT are printed in clarendon capitals.

AGRIPPA I. (49), son of Aristobulus, grandson of Herod, king of Judæa; m. Cypros, dtr. of Phasael. *Ant.* XVIII. v. 4, XIX. ix. 1; *BJ* II. xi. 6; Ac 12.

AGRIPPA II. (66), son of Agrippa I. *Ant.* XVIII. v. 4, XIX. ix. 1; *BJ* II. xi. 6; Ac 25. 26.

Agrippa (64), son of Aristobulus and Salome. *Ant.* XVIII. v. 4.

Agrippa (73), son of Felix and Drusilla. *Ant.* XX. vii. 2.

Agrippinos (78), dtr. of Mariamne, dtr. of Agrippa I. and Demetrius. *Ant.* XX. vii. 3.

Alexander (23), son of Herod by Mariamne I.; m. Glaphyra, dtr. of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia; put to death by his father in B.C. 7. *Ant.* XVIII. v. 4, XVI. i. 2, XVI. xi. 6.

Alexander (42), son of Phasael and Salampsio. *Ant.* XVIII. v. 4.

Alexander (51), son of Alexander, grandson of Herod. *Ant.* XVIII. v. 4.

Alexander (80), son of Tigranes (61). *Ant.* XVIII. v. 4.

Alexandra (43), dtr. of Phasael and Salampsio. *Ant.* XVIII. v. 4.

Alexas (19), 3rd husband of Salome, Herod's sister. *Ant.* XVII. i. 1.

Alexis Selcias (54), son of Alexas (19); it is not stated whether by Salome or not. *Ant.* XVIII. v. 4.

Antipas or Antipater (1), governor of Idumæa, grandfather of Herod. *Ant.* XIV. i. 3.

ANTIPAS (27), son of Herod and Malthace; tetrarch of Galilee, m. (1) dtr. of Aretas, (2) Herodias. *BJ* I. xxviii. 4; *Ant.* XVII. i. 3, XVIII. v. 4; Mt 14$^{1-6}$, Mk 6^{14} 13^{31} 23$^{7-15}$, Lk 3$^{1.19}$ 8$^{7.9}$.

Antipater (2), minister of Hyrcanus, father of Herod. *Ant.* XIV. i. 3, XIV. vii. 3.

Antipater (21), eldest son of Herod by Doris; m. a daughter of Antigonus, the last of the Hasmonæans; put to death by his father B.C. 4. *BJ* I. xxviii. 4; *Ant.* XIV. xii. 1, XVII. v. 2.

Antipater (36), son of Salome, Herod's sister; m. Cypros, dtr. of Herod and Mariamne. His father's name is not mentioned. *Ant.* XVII. ix. 5, XVIII. v. 4.

Antipater (40), son of Phasael and Salampsio. There seems to be some confusion between this Antipater and the son of Salome (36). *Ant.* XVIII. v. 4.

ARCHELAUS (28), son of Herod by Malthace, ethnarch of Judæa; m. (1) Mariamne, (2) Glaphyra, his brother Alexander's widow. *Ant.* XVII. i. 3; Mt 2^{22}.

Archelaus (76), son of Chelcias, 1st husband of Mariamne, dtr. of Agrippa. *Ant.* XIX. ix. 1.

Aristobulus (22), son of Herod by Mariamne I.; m. Bernice, dtr. of Salome and Costobar; put to death by Herod B.C. 7. *Ant.* XVI. i. 2, XVII. i. 2, XVIII. v. 4.

ARISTOBULUS (47), son of Aristobulus (22), grandson of Herod; m. Jotape, dtr. of Sampsigeramus, king of Emesa. *Ant.* XVIII. v. 4. See under ARISTOBULUS for the supposed ref. to him Ro 16^{10}.

Aristobulus (57), son of Herod of Chalcis, great-grandson of Herod, king of Armenia Minor; m. Salome, dtr. of Herodias. *Ant.* XVIII. v. 4.

Aristobulus (65), son of Aristobulus (57) and Salome. *Ant.* XVIII. v. 4.

Azizus (71), king of Emesa, husband of Drusilla. *Ant.* XX. vii. 1.

Bernice (37), dtr. of Salome and Costobar; m. Aristobulus, son of Mariamne I., mother of Agrippa I. *Ant.* XVIII. v. 4.

BERNICE (68), dtr. of Agrippa I.; m. (1) Herod of Chalcis, (2) Polemon of Cilicia; favourite of Titus. *Ant.* XVIII. v. 4, XIX. ix. 1; *BJ* II. xi. 6; *Ant.* XX. vii. 3; Ac 25$^{13.23}$ 26^{30}.

Bernice (79), dtr. of Mariamne (69) and Archelaus (76). *Ant.* XX. vii. 1.

Bernicianus (58), son of Herod of Chalcis and Bernice. *Ant.* XX. v. 2.

Cleopatra (14), a woman of Jerusalem, wife of Herod, mother of Philip the tetrarch. *BJ* I. xxviii. 4; *Ant.* XVII. i. 3.

Costobar (18), governor of Idumæa, 2nd husband of Salome, Herod's sister, whom she divorced. *Ant.* XV. vii. 9.

Cypros (3), an Arabian of noble family, wife of Antipater, mother of Herod. *Ant.* XIV. vii. 3.

Cypros (25), dtr. of Herod by Mariamne I.; m. Antipater (36), son of Salome. *Ant.* XVIII. v. 4.

Cypros (45), dtr. of Phasael, wife of Agrippa I., mother of Agrippa II. *Ant.* XVIII. v. 4.

Cypros (53), dtr. of Cypros (25) and Antipater (36), granddaughter of Herod; m. Alexas Selcias. *Ant.* XVIII. v. 4.

Cypros (62), dtr. of Cypros (53) and Alexas. *Ant.* XVIII. v. 4.

Demetrius (77), Alabarch of Alexandria, 2nd husband of Mariamne, dtr. of Agrippa. *Ant.* XX. vii. 3.

Doris (10), 1st wife of Herod, a woman of the people, mother of Antipater. *BJ* I. xxviii. 4; *Ant.* XIV. xii. 1.

DRUSILLA (70), dtr. of Agrippa I.; m. (1) Azizus, king of Emesa, (2) Felix, the Roman procurator. *Ant.* XVIII. v. 4, XIX. ix. 1, XX. vii. 1, 2; *BJ* II. xi. 6; Ac 24^{24}.

Drusus (67), second son of Agrippa I. and Cypros, died in youth. *Ant.* XVIII. v. 4.

Elpis (17), 8th wife of Herod. *BJ* I. xxviii. 4; *Ant.* XVII. i. 3.

FELIX (72), Roman procurator, husband of Drusilla. *Ant.* XX. vii. 1–2; Ac 23, 25.

Glaphyra (38), dtr. of Archelaus of Cappadocia; m. (1) Alexander, son of Mariamne I., by whom she had children; (2) Juba, king of Mauritania; (3) Archelaus. *Ant.* XVI. i. 2, XVII. xiii. 1, 4.

HEROD (6), called THE GREAT, son of Antipater; 8 wives of his are enumerated, and he had 2 others; he had 8 sons and 6 daughters. He died B.C. 4. *Ant.* XIV. vii. 3, XVII. i. 3; *BJ* I. viii. 9, I. xxviii. 4; Mt 2$^{1.22}$, Lk 1^{5}.

HEROD (26), perhaps called **PHILIP**, son of Herod and Mariamne II.; m. Herodias; father of Salome. *BJ* I. xxviii. 5; *Ant.* XV. ix. 3 XVII. i. 2, XVIII. v. 4; Mt 14^{3}, Mk 6^{17}, Lk 3^{19}.

HEROD ANTIPAS. See ANTIPAS (27).

Herod (30), son of Herod and Cleopatra (14). *Ant.* XVII. i. 3.

Herod (41), son of Phasael and Salampsio. *Ant.* XVIII. v. 4.

Herod (46), son of Aristobulus, grandson of Herod, king of Chalcis; m. (1) Mariamne, dtr. of Olympias; (2) Bernice. *Ant.* XVIII. v. 4, XX. v. 2; *BJ* II. xi. 6

Herod (63), son of Aristobulus (57) and Salome. *Ant.* XVIII. v. 4.

HERODIAS (50), dtr. of Aristobulus, granddaughter of Herod; m. (1) her uncle Herod, called Philip; (2) Herod Antipas. *Ant.* XVIII. v. 4; Mt 14^{3}, Mk 6^{17}, Lk 3^{19}.

Hyrcanus (59), son of Herod of Chalcis and Bernice. *Ant.* XX. v. 2.

Joseph (4), uncle of Herod, and also, by marriage with Salome, brother-in-law. Appointed ruler during his visit to Antony, and put to death B.C. 34. *Ant.* XV. iii. 5–9.

Joseph (7), brother of Herod, slain in battle by Antigonus. *Ant.* XIV. vii. 3, XV. 10.

Joseph (35), nephew of Herod, son of Joseph (7); m. Olympias, dtr. of Herod and Malthace. *Ant.* XVII. i. 3, XVIII. v. 4.

Jotape (48), dtr. of Sampsigeramus, king of Emesa, wife of Aristobulus, Herod's grandson. *Ant.* XVIII. v. 4.

Jotape (60), dtr. of Aristobulus and Jotape. *BJ*. II. xi. 6; *Ant.* XVIII. v. 4.

Jotape (74), dtr. of Aristobulus, king of Commagene; m. Alexander (71), son of Tigranes. *Ant.* XVIII. v. 4.

Malthace (13), a Samaritan woman, wife of Herod, mother of Archelaus. *BJ* I. xxviii. 4; *Ant.* XVII. i. 3.

Mariamne I. (11), granddaughter of Hyrcanus, wife of Herod; put to death by him B.C. 29. *Ant.* XVIII. v. 4; *BJ* I. xii. 3.

Mariamne II. (12), dtr. of Simon the high priest, mother of Herod called perhaps Philip. *BJ* I. xxviii. 4; *Ant.* XV. ix. 3.

Mariamne (39), 1st wife of Archelaus; divorced by him. *Ant.* XVII. xiii. 4.

Mariamne (56), dtr. of Joseph and Olympias; m. Herod, king of Chalcis. *Ant.* XVIII. v. 4.

Mariamne (69), dtr. of Agrippa I. and Cypros; m. (1) Archelaus, (2) Demetrius. *Ant.* XVIII. v. 4.

Olympias (29), dtr. of Herod and Malthace; m. Joseph, Herod's nephew. *Ant.* XVII. i. 3.

Pallas (15), 6th wife of Herod. *BJ* I. xviii. 4; *Ant.* XVII. i. 3.

Phaedra (16), 7th wife of Herod. *BJ* I. xxviii. 4; *Ant.* XVII. i. 3.

Phasael (5), eldest brother of Herod. *Ant.* XIV. vii. 3, XIII. 10.

Phasael (20), son of Phasael (5), nephew of Herod; m. Salampsio, dtr. of Herod and Mariamne. *Ant.* XVIII. v. 4.

ii. GENEALOGY OF THE HEROD DYNASTY.

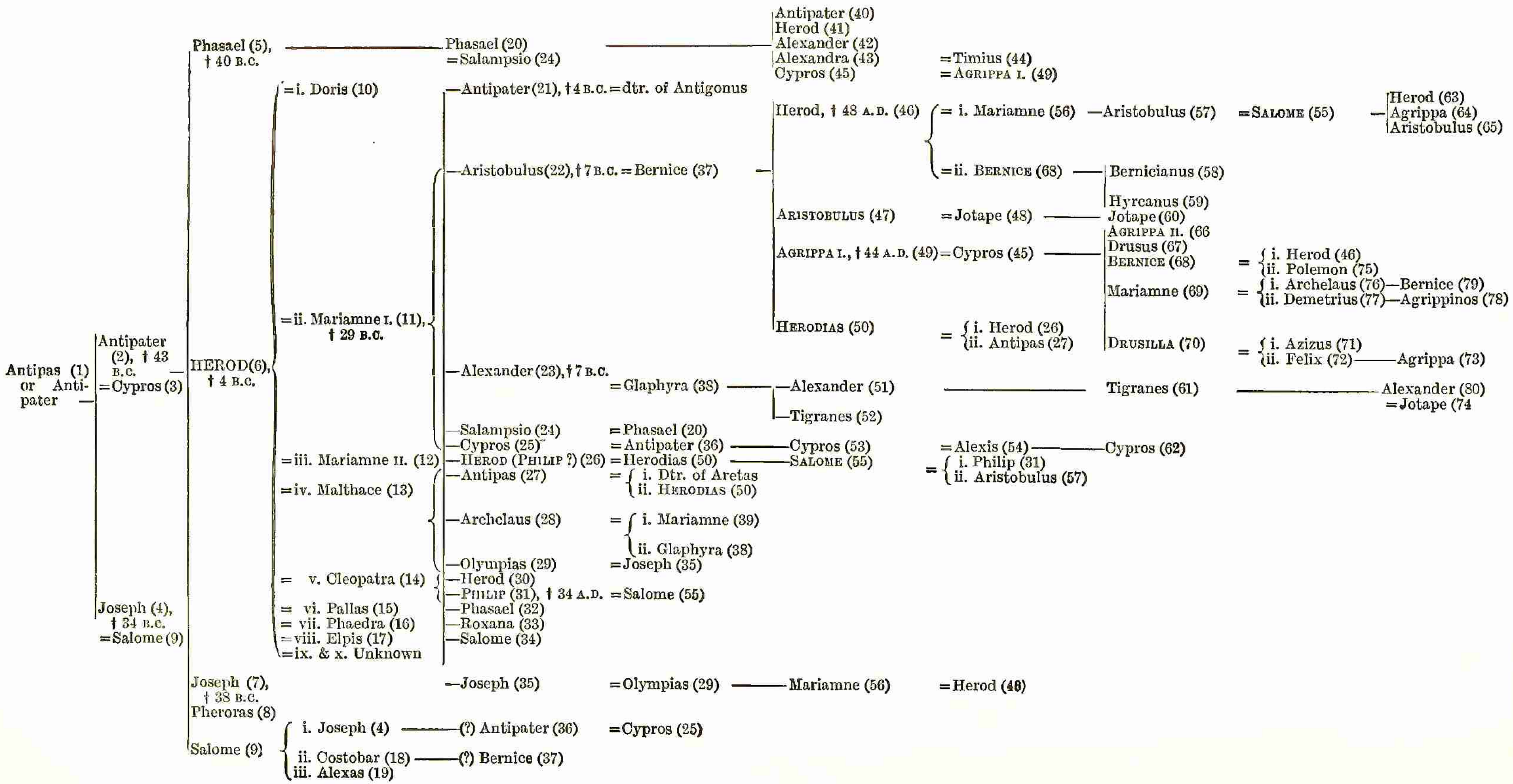
Antipas (1) or Antipater
Antipater (2), † 43 B.C.
=Cypros (3)
Joseph (4), † 34 B.C.
=Salome (9)
Phasael (5), † 40 B.C.
HEROD (6), † 4 B.C.
Joseph (7), † 38 B.C.
Pheroras (8)
Salome (9)
=i. Doris (10)
=ii. Mariamne I. (11), † 29 B.C.
=iii. Mariamne II. (12)
=iv. Malthace (13)
= v. Cleopatra (14)
= vi. Pallas (15)
= vii. Phaedra (16)
=viii. Elpis (17)
=ix. & x. Unknown
i. Joseph (4)
ii. Costobar (18)
iii. Alexas (19)
Phasael (20)
=Salampsio (24)
—Antipater (21), † 4 B.C. =dtr. of Antigonus
—Aristobulus (22), † 7 B.C. = Bernice (37)
—Alexander (23), † 7 B.C.
=Glaphyra (38)
—Salampsio (24)
—Cypros (25)
—HEROD (PHILIP ?) (26)
—Antipas (27)
—Archelaus (28)
—Olympias (29)
—Herod (30)
—PHILIP (31), † 34 A.D.
—Phasael (32)
—Roxana (33)
—Salome (34)
—Joseph (35)
(?) Antipater (36)
(?) Bernice (37)
=Phasael (20)
=Antipater (36)
=Herodias (50)
= i. Dtr. of Aretas
ii. HERODIAS (50)
= i. Mariamne (39)
ii. Glaphyra (38)
=Joseph (35)
=Salome (55)
=Olympias (29)
=Cypros (25)
Antipater (40)
Herod (41)
Alexander (42)
Alexandra (43)
Cypros (45)
Herod, † 48 A.D. (46)
ARISTOBULUS (47)
AGRIPPA I., † 44 A.D. (49) = Cypros (45)
HERODIAS (50)
—Alexander (51)
—Tigranes (52)
Cypros (53)
SALOME (55)
Mariamne (56)
=Timius (44)
=AGRIPPA I. (49)
= i. Mariamne (56)
=ii. BERNICE (68)
=Jotape (48)
= i. Herod (26)
ii. Antipas (27)
=Alexis (54)
= i. Philip (31)
ii. Aristobulus (57)
=Herod (46)
—Aristobulus (57)
Bernicianus (58)
Hyrcanus (59)
Jotape (60)
AGRIPPA II. (66
Drusus (67)
BERNICE (68)
Mariamne (69)
DRUSILLA (70)
Tigranes (61)
Cypros (62)
=SALOME (55)
= i. Herod (46)
ii. Polemon (75)
= i. Archelaus (76)—Bernice (79)
ii. Demetrius (77)—Agrippinos (78)
= i. Azizus (71)
ii. Felix (72)——Agrippa (73)
Alexander (80)
=Jotape (74
—Herod (63)
Agrippa (64)
Aristobulus (65)

NOTE.—1. Each generation is confined to a single column.
2. The numbers as far as possible go consecutively down the columns.

Phasael (32), son of Herod and Pallas. *Ant.* XVII. i. 3.
Pheroras (8), brother of Herod. *Ant.* XVII. i. 3.
PHILIP. See Herod (26).
PHILIP (31), son of Herod by Cleopatra; tetrarch of Trachonitis, etc.; m. Salome, dtr. of Herodias. *Ant.* XVII. i. 3, XVIII. v. 4; Lk 3[1].
Polemon (75), king of Cilicia, 2nd husband of Bernice. *Ant.* XX. vii. 3.

Roxana (33), dtr. of Herod by Phaedra. *Ant.* XVII. i. 3.

Salampsio (24), dtr. of Herod by Mariamne I.; m. Phasael, Herod's nephew. *Ant.* XVIII. v. 4.
Salome (9), sister of Herod. *Ant.* XIV. vii. 3; *BJ* I. viii. 9.
Salome (34), dtr. of Herod by Elpis. *Ant.* XVII. i. 3.
SALOME (55), dtr. of Herodias by her first husband Herod (Philip); m. (1) Philip the tetrarch, (2) Aristobulus, son of Herod of Chalcis. *Ant.* XVIII. v. 4; Mt 14[6], Mk 6[22].

Tigranes (52), son of Alexander and Glaphyra, grandson of Herod; sent as king to Armenia. *Ant.* XVIII. v. 4; Tac. *Ann.* vi. 10.
Tigranes (61), son of Alexander (51), great-grandson of Herod; sent as king to Armenia. *Ant.* XVIII. v. 4; Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 26, xv. 1.
Timius (44) of Cypros; m. Alexandra (43), dtr. of Phasael, and had no children. *Ant.* XVIII. v. 4.

iii. CHRONOLOGY OF THE HEROD DYNASTY.—

B.C.
69. Death of Alexandra. Accession of Aristobulus II. Antipater, father of Herod, first becomes of importance.
63. Capture of Jerusalem by Pompey. Aristobulus deposed. Hyrcanus II., high priest, without the title of king.
54. Crassus robs the temple.
47. Cæsar arranges Syria.
Hyrcanus receives the title of ethnarch.
Herod governor of Galilee.
Phasael governor of Jerusalem.
44–42. Cassius in Syria.
43. Death of Antipater.
41. Antony in Syria. Herod and Phasael named tetrarchs.
40. Parthian invasion. Death of Phasael. Mutilation of Hyrcanus. Flight of Herod. Antigonus assumes the title of king and high priest.
Herod given the title of king of Judæa by Antony and Octavius.
37. Marriage of Herod and Mariamne.
Capture of Jerusalem. Death of Antigonus.
35. Death of Aristobulus III.
34. Death of Joseph, Salome's husband.
Visit of Cleopatra.
31. Battle of Actium. Herod joins the party of Augustus.
30. Death of Hyrcanus II. Augustus in Syria. Extension of Herod's power.
29. Death of Mariamne.
28. Death of Alexandra.
25. Death of Costobar. Also of the sons of Babas.
Institution of games. Building of a theatre and amphitheatre in Jerusalem.
20. The building of the temple begun.
15. Visit of Agrippa to Jerusalem.
14. Beginning of dissensions at court concerning Alexander and Aristobulus.
12. Visit of Herod to Rome with his two sons.
7. Death of Alexander and Aristobulus.
6. Antipater goes to Rome. Herod's first will.
5. Imprisonment of Antipater. Herod's second will.
4. Outbreak under the Rabbis Judas and Matthias.
Antipater executed.
Herod's third will.
DEATH OF HEROD THE GREAT.
Archelaus becomes ethnarch of Judæa,
Antipas tetrarch of Galilee, and
Philip of Trachonitis.

A.D.
6. Archelaus deposed. Judæa under Roman procurators.
34. Death of Philip.
37. Agrippa becomes tetrarch of Trachonitis.
39. Banishment of Antipas.
Agrippa receives his tetrarchy.
41. Agrippa becomes king of Judæa.
44. DEATH OF AGRIPPA I. Judæa again under Roman procurators.
50. Agrippa II. becomes tetrarch of Chalcis.
53. He receives in addition the tetrarchies of Philip and Lysander (Abila), and, a little later, part of Galilee.
70. Destruction of Jerusalem.
100. Death of Agrippa II.

iv. ORIGIN OF THE DYNASTY OF THE HERODS.—The dynasty of the Herods rose into prominence during the confusion which resulted from the decay of the Hasmonæan dynasty, the transference of Syria and Palestine to the sway of the Romans, and the civil wars which marked the decay of the Republic. Their ancestor was Antipater or Antipas, a man of wealth and capacity whom Alexander Jannæus had made governor of Idumæa. So much is clear, but of the origin of the family there are very contradictory accounts. Nicolaus of Damascus said, according to Josephus (*Ant.* XIV. i. 3), that he was of the stock of the Jews who first came back from Babylon. This appears to have been a fiction invented for the benefit of Herod. Josephus evidently looked upon him as an Idumæan; as such he was considered half a Jew. But Pharisaic and perhaps Christian hatred was not satisfied with this. He is stated by Justin to have been a native of Ashkelon (*Dial.* c. 52), and therefore of the hated Philistine race; while Julius Africanus (*ap.* Eus. *HE* I. vii. 11) improves the story by telling us that some Idumæan robbers had attacked Ashkelon and carried away the father of Antipater, who was the son of one of the temple slaves; the priest of the temple was not able to ransom him, and so he was brought up as an Idumæan; this story Africanus had from the kinsmen of the Saviour. Whatever was the origin of the family, its ability is undoubted. Antipater's son, who bore the same name as himself, first appears in history on the death of Alexandra, the Maccabæan queen, in 69. Her eldest son, Hyrcanus II., a man of a peaceful and quiet disposition, allowed himself to be set aside by his younger brother, Aristobulus II., a man of very different character. Antipater, who had been building up for himself a strong position in Idumæa by allying himself with the Arabs at Petra and the Philistine cities, saw his opportunity; under Aristobulus he would be nobody, under Hyrcanus he would rule the country. He attached himself to Hyrcanus, persuaded him not to submit to his younger brother, and, so far as we know, remained absolutely faithful to him the whole of his life, quite content to have the reality of power, and too wise or too loyal to endanger his position by arousing dynastic hatred. At first he attempted to restore Hyrcanus with the assistance of Aretas, king of the Nabatæan Arabs,—(his wife Cypros belonged to one of the noblest families of that country),—but before the war was concluded a new power appeared on the scene. In 66 Pompey had defeated Mithridates, and was now pursuing his first march through Asia. On his approach all the rival parties of every state and country attempted to gain him to their side. Aristobulus, Antipater on behalf of Hyrcanus, and the Pharisaic party who wished to restore the theocracy, rivalled one another in bribes, complaints, and promises. Pompey was, as always, deliberate, and it soon became apparent that Aristobulus was too proud to submit, too faithless to be an ally, and too powerless to restrain the people from rebellion. When the Romans approached Jerusalem, the party of Hyrcanus delivered the city over without a blow; the war party with Aristobulus retired to the temple fortress. A siege followed, in which the defenders exhibited the fanatical courage which the Jews always have shown when their cause is hopeless, and observed the law so strictly that they refused to destroy their enemies' works on the Sabbath day. The city was taken by assault in the autumn of 63, about the fast of the Atonement, and the priests continued to offer the sacrifices in the midst of the battle and were cut down at the altar. Pompey violated the Holy of Holies, but did not plunder the wealth of the temple. Aristobulus and his family were carried captive, and the priest-king of the Jews had to adorn a Roman triumph. The kingdom was reduced in size, the Greek towns were freed, but the hierarchy was untouched. Hyrcanus was made high priest without the title of king, and Antipater became the most important person in the country. This was the first instance in which Antipater showed the marvellous power his family possessed of securing the support of every successive Roman of distinction. Historians generally ascribe it to their capacity for bribing, and this they undoubtedly possessed. Moreover, they had the wisdom to know that bribes must be large. But that was not enough. They were distinguished by being always faithful to the Romans, always competent, and always agreeable. To attach themselves to each successive Roman who became powerful, to spare nothing in his support, and to add to the services they had rendered an agreeable private friendship, was the secret of their success.

The next twenty years gave many proofs of this. Antipater helped Scaurus in an expedition against Aretas, and persuaded Aretas to submit. He made the acquaintance and even the friendship of Mark Antony. He assisted Gabinius in a war with Archelaus with corn and weapons and money, and Gabinius settled the affairs of Jerusalem as Antipater wished (*Ant.* XIV. vi. 4). When Cæsar was in Egypt after the battle of Pharsalia, Antipater saved him when he was in great danger. Cæsar, in return for this and many other services, confirmed Hyrcanus in the high priesthood, and made Antipater a Roman citizen. Afterwards he made Hyrcanus ethnarch, Antipater procurator, and allowed the walls of Jerusalem to be rebuilt, while he conferred privileges on the Jewish race everywhere. When Cassius, after the death of Cæsar, came to Syria to collect money and show how hateful the cause of the Republic could be, Antipater and his sons had the wisdom to provide him with all he required, thus saving their cities from slavery. Antipater was murdered in the year B.C. 43 by a certain Malichos. ‘He was distinguished,’ says Josephus, ‘for piety and justice and love of his country.’ His eldest son Phasael had been made governor of Jerusalem, his second son Herod governor of Galilee. The latter had already shown the energy and the brilliant military capacity for which he was afterwards distinguished. When Antony came to Syria after the battle of Philippi, Herod exhibited all the address of his father by securing his friendship; he and his brother were made tetrarchs, and many members of the Pharisaic party, who persisted in bringing accusations against them, were put to death.

During all these twenty years of Antipater's rule, the younger branch of the Hasmonæan family, Aristobulus and his sons, had persisted in disturbing the country. They had clearly a considerable body of supporters, and it seems almost as if the Romans had allowed them to exist in order to prevent the country from becoming too strong. In the year 40 a Parthian invasion gave Antigonus, the last survivor of the family, his opportunity. He succeeded in getting possession of the persons of Hyrcanus and Phasael; the former he mutilated, the latter put himself to death; Herod only just escaped with his female relations to the fortress of Masada, and Antigonus had a troubled reign of three years. But Herod was not to be daunted; he fled to Rome, explained how Antigonus had allied himself with the Parthians, and much to his own surprise—for he had only hoped that the younger Aristobulus, his own brother-in-law, might become ruler—was made king of Judæa by Antony, Octavius, and the senate. It took him, however, three years to win the kingdom that had been given him, and it was only in the autumn of 37 that he succeeded in taking Jerusalem, and brought the Hasmonæan dynasty to an end.

v. REIGN OF HEROD THE GREAT, B.C. 37–4.—‘C'était, en somme, une fort belle bête, un lion à qui on ne tient compte que de sa large encolure, et de son épaisse crinière, sans lui demander le sens moral.’ So writes Renan; yet the character of Herod is not so easy to sum up, for to be a successful tyrant a certain minimum of morality is required, and that Herod, at any rate until the end of his life, possessed. Nor can we be certain of our information. His reign was a deliberate violation of all the religious instincts of the people, and the friends of the Hasmonæans and the Pharisees were equally interested in putting the worst construction on his acts. Josephus himself prided himself on his priestly family and connexions, yet he is not altogether unfair; much of his information came from Nicolaus of Damascus, who had written an apologetic account of his royal patron, and he suggests that many of the crimes of Herod were the necessity of his position. Physically, Herod was magnificent in his beauty and strength, and these qualities were not more conspicuous than his skill in war. He was clever, able, but unscrupulous and ambitious. He was munificent to his friends, capable of being magnanimous even to his enemies, *e.g.* to Shemaia, but absolutely unscrupulous when necessity seemed to demand it. How far he attempted to gain the kingdom we cannot say: when he received it he accepted the position without hesitation, and allowed nothing to check his ambition. Yet he was a good ruler up to a certain point, and knew well how to manage the Jews. He suppressed insurrection with absolute severity, yet he never indulged in religious persecution. He was munificent to the people: when famine came, he stripped his palace of gold and silver to buy corn. Whatever his feelings towards the Jews, he was always a good friend to them, and used his influence with Augustus to obtain privileges for them in various parts of the world. Although he was probably absolutely irreligious, he respected the Jewish religion so far as to demand that Sylläus, the Arabian, who wished to marry Herod's sister, Salome, should adopt the Jewish customs (*Ant.* XVI. vii. 6), refrain from any images or statues in the buildings he put up within Jewish territory, and put no effigy on his coins. He had the strong lusts and passions of an Oriental; the position of a tyrant and usurper surrounded him with plots, suspicions, and intrigues. As he grew older his cruelty and suspiciousness increased, and the misery of his old age seemed to be a judgment on the crimes of his life. There has been some discussion whether he deserved the title of Great. The fact that his life and works left no permanent results, that his house was built on the sand, may make us hesitate to give it him. But, taken in his person and in his career, he was one of the most conspicuous and interesting figures of his time. If he was not great, he had almost all the qualities which might have made him so.

The reign of Herod is divided by most historians into three periods. The first from 37–25, the period during which he consolidated his power. The second from 25–13, the period of his greatest prosperity. The third from 13 to his death B.C. 4, the period of family feuds.

(1) *Consolidation of Herod's power*, 37–25.—When Herod and the Romans captured the city, he did his best to restrain the butchery of the people and the plunder of the temple, and his vengeance on his enemies was possibly not greater than the necessities of the position demanded. He obtained from Antony the death of Antigonus, put to death forty-five of the principal men of his party, and replenished his coffers from their property; but Pollio and Sameas (Abtalion and Shemaia), the two leading Pharisees, he treated with great respect, and seems to have succeeded in making all but the most extreme section of the party acquiesce in his rule, as a judgment of God which had to be borne.

Shortly before the siege of Jerusalem, Herod had married Mariamne, granddaughter of Hyrcanus, to whom he was violently attached. He had hoped by this alliance with the old dynasty to strengthen his position, but he only succeeded in introducing dissension into his own family. Mariamne and her mother, Alexandra, who seems to have been a violent and unscrupulous woman, treated Herod's sister, Salome, and his mother, Cypros, with the most absolute contempt as low-born foreigners. Salome retaliated by raising Herod's jealousy, and accusing Alexandra and her family of disloyalty and conspiracy. As far as Alexandra is concerned the accusations were undoubtedly true, in other cases they were more doubtful. At any rate, first Aristobulus, the younger brother of Mariamne, who had been made high priest, and whose only crime was that he was too popular, was put to death; then the aged Hyrcanus, who had returned from Babylon at Herod's invitation, and had always been absolutely subservient to his Idumæan subjects; then Mariamne, his wife, of whom he was passionately fond, and whose death caused him infinite misery; last of all, Alexandra herself, the cause of all the misery, who during Herod's illness began secretly to rebel against him, and during all this time had been engaged in constant intrigues. The last victims to Herod's suspicions and severity were Costobar, governor of Idumæa, for a time Salome's husband, and some other mysterious persons, the sons of Babas, who seem to have been adherents of the Hasmonæan party. By the year 25 every possible rival had been removed; Salome's spite had been gratified; and Herod's position had been secured by the sacrifice of his passion or affection.

During the same time he was employed in consolidating his position with the Romans. He retained the friendship of Antony in spite of the opposition of Cleopatra, who wished to be queen of Jerusalem. Like Augustus, he had the wisdom to resist the temptation of her charms, and he also refrained from putting her to death. He fitted up a force in order to assist Antony at Actium, but had the good fortune to be employed at the time in an expedition against the Arabs. As soon as the victory of Augustus was certain, he went at once to him in accordance with the traditions of his family; he said frankly that he had been a good friend to Antony, and had done everything to help him, and he promised to be an equally good friend to him. Augustus accepted his friendship, and confirmed him in his kingdom. Herod on every opportunity was as good as his word. He rendered Augustus very material assistance, received various extensions to his kingdom, and the friendship of Augustus, Agrippa, and Herod became proverbial. From this time Herod's position was assured.

(2) *Period of Herod's prosperity*, B.C. 25–13.—Herod was now able to govern as he wished. He was rich, prosperous, and secure, and he devoted himself to the Hellenizing of his countrymen and the gratification of his taste for magnificence in building. In B.C. 25 he celebrated at Jerusalem the quinquennial games in honour of Augustus, and built there a theatre, amphitheatre, and a hippodrome. Throughout Palestine a number of new cities were founded, the most important of which was Cæsarea on the seacoast. Here and in other Greek cities he built temples to Augustus. He turned Samaria, which he renamed Sebaste, into a magnificent city; nor did he confine his buildings to his own dominions, his benefits reached as far as Rhodes and Athens. But his greatest work was the reconstruction of the temple. This he began in the year B.C. 20. The more sacred portions were completed in eight years; the building was not finished until the year A.D. 63, a few years before its final destruction. It was only a partially completed building in the time of our Lord, and existed only eight years after it was finally finished. To the other works must be added palaces, fortresses, parks, and pleasure grounds; and to the other signs of Hellenizing tendency, the Greek writers and teachers whom Herod attracted to his court, the principal of whom was Nicolaus of Damascus, his secretary and biographer.

(3) *Period of domestic troubles*, B.C. 13–4.—It is probable that we are inclined to exaggerate the troubles of Herod's last years, or rather to look at them from the point of view of the last three or four years of his life. Herod was considered a second Solomon, as the great Jewish king, and the rebuilder of the temple; he was, like him, also as a polygamist. The Jews were allowed more than one wife, but it was hardly the fashion at this time to take advantage of the licence to any great extent. Herod had ten altogether—nine at one time. He had eight sons and six daughters. The family troubles arose through the dissensions between the sons of Mariamne, the Hasmonæan, on the one side, Salome his sister and Antipater his eldest son on the other. Alexander and Aristobulus had been brought up at Rome; when they returned, their beauty, their popular qualities, and their legitimate descent attracted the attention of the people, and they became the centre for numerous intrigues and an object which fanaticism could put before itself. We need not follow the course of the intrigues. They nearly involved Herod in difficulties with the Roman government. They led Augustus to say that it was better to be Herod's pig than his son. Eventually, the two sons of Mariamne were strangled at Samaria (B.C. 7), and Antipater, after being imprisoned for some time, was executed, as the last act of his father's life, for a too premature act of self-assertion. Meanwhile, Herod was afflicted with a painful and loathsome disease. Fanaticism began to break out. The pupils of the Rabbis, Judas son of Sariphæus and Matthias son of Margaloth, were incited to destroy the symbol of idolatry, the golden eagle which adorned the gable of the temple, and the leaders were burnt alive. Herod's cruelty increased with his sufferings. He is said to have assembled all the leading people of Jerusalem in the hippodrome, that on his death they might be put to death, and there might be real grief at his funeral. He died five days after he had caused Antipater to be put to death, after great sufferings.

(4) *Herod and the murder of the Innocents.*—Herod comes into connexion with the gospel narrative, in two ways. Both St. Matthew (2^1) and St. Luke (2^1) agree in stating that it was during his reign our Lord was born. There is no reason to doubt that statement, only it has become quite clear that it could not also be during a taxing under Quirinius (see CHRONOLOGY OF NT, i. 404 f.). St. Matthew also gives us an account of the visit of the wise men, of their interview with Herod, and of the subsequent murder of the infants under two years old at Bethlehem. We have no other account of the event, which could not have been conspicuous in Herod's life; and all that it is necessary to say is that it was exactly consistent with his character, especially during the later years of his life. Reference is especially made to *Ant.* XVI. xi. 7, XVII. ii. 4—events which can have nothing to do with the massacre at Bethlehem, but show conclusively the temper of the king. Macrobius (5th cent.) says, *Augustus, cum audisset inter pueros quos in Syria Herodes, rex Judæorum, intra bimatum jussit interfici filium quoque eius occisum, ait: Melius est Herodis porcum esse quam*

filium (Macrob. *Saturn.* ii. 4), a statement which is so confused as to be quite valueless.

vi. The SUCCESSORS OF HEROD.—Herod had made three wills. By the first he nominated Antipater his successor; if he died before his father, Herod, son of the second Mariamne (see HEROD, below), was to succeed; by the second, Antipas was declared his successor; by the third, Archelaus was to be king, and Antipas and Philip were to have tetrarchies. After suppressing some disturbances on his father's death, Archelaus went to Rome to claim his inheritance, to the same place went Antipas to attempt to obtain what had been left him under the second will, and a little later came Philip, not for his own sake, but to support the claims of Archelaus. Other deputations came asking to be freed from the rule of the Herods altogether. While Augustus delayed to give his decision, disturbances broke out throughout all Palestine, which were with difficulty suppressed. Ultimately, Augustus practically confirmed Herod's will. Archelaus was to govern Judæa, Samaria, and Idumæa, but only with the title of ethnarch, not of king; Antipas, Galilee and Peræa; Philip, Trachonitis and Ituræa. When Archelaus came home he removed the high priest Joazar, son of Boethius, who had taken part in the rebellion. There can be little doubt that this expedition of Archelaus to obtain the kingdom suggested the parable in Lk 19^{11} etc. of the nobleman who went to a far country to receive a kingdom.

(1) ARCHELAUS ('Αρχέλαος) was the elder of the two sons of Herod by Malthace, a Samaritan woman (*Ant.* XVII. i. 3). He was brought up at Rome with his own brother Antipas, at a private house. He had been accused by Antipater of disloyalty, and so had been at first kept out of any inheritance. His visit to Rome has been narrated above. After he had acquired the kingdom, there is little related of him. He outraged Jewish sentiment by marrying Glaphyra, widow of his brother Alexander, although she had had children by him, and had another husband (Juba of Mauritania) living, and his own wife was alive. He built a palace at Jericho, and a village in his own honour of the name of Archelais. He was the worst of all Herod's sons that survived, and, after nine years of his rule, the people of Judæa and Samaria could no longer endure his cruelty and tyranny. They complained to Augustus, who summoned Archelaus to Rome, and, after hearing the case, banished him to Vienne. From this time to the year A.D. 41 Palestine was under Roman procurators.

Archelaus is mentioned once in the NT, in Mt 2^{22}.

(2) ANTIPAS or HEROD ANTIPAS ('Αντίπας), called in NT 'Herod the tetrarch.' He was the son of Herod by Malthace, and in the second of his father's wills had been designated sole heir. Ultimately, he received only Galilee and Peræa, a district which brought him in a yearly revenue of 200 talents. The two portions were divided from one another by the confederation of Greek cities called Decapolis. He seems to have had the ability to govern his country, a decidedly difficult one, and, like his father, he was distinguished for his love of building. He built as his capital Tiberias on the Sea of Galilee.

His first wife was a daughter of Aretas, king of the Nabatæans, but once on a visit to Rome he visited the house of his brother Herod (Philip), son of the younger Mariamne. This Herod had married Herodias, his niece, daughter of Aristobulus, and had by her a daughter, Salome. With Herodias Antipas fell violently in love, and determined to divorce his wife and marry her. This the daughter of Aretas became aware of, and fled to her father for protection.

About this time the territory of Antipas was the scene of the preaching of John the Baptist and of our Lord. It is needless to repeat the story which is told us in the Gospels of John the Baptist, of Herodias, of John's rebuke, imprisonment, and ultimate death (Mt $14^{1ff.}$, Mk $6^{14ff.}$, Lk 3^{19}). According to Josephus, the reason Herod gave for imprisoning him was the fear that he might create a revolt or disturbance among the people. The execution took place at the fortress of Machærus, beyond the Jordan (*Ant.* XVIII. v. 2).

We have more than one reference to Antipas during our Lord's ministry, apart from his relations to John the Baptist. When he heard of the fame of Jesus, his conscience smote him, and he was frightened, thinking that John the Baptist had risen from the dead (Mt 14^{1}, Mk 6^{14}, Lk 9^{7}). Jesus therefore went to Bethsaida Julias in the territory of Philip. Later, apparently when going through Peræa (Lk 13^{31}), a rumour is spread that Antipas desires to kill Him, and Jesus speaks of him as 'that fox,' alluding to his well-known character for craft. He wanted to drive out of his country a teacher who might cause some disturbance, and yet to be free from the guilt of condemning a second prophet (Lk 13^{31}). At that time, according to St. Mark (8^{15}), He had condemned the leaven of Herod. St. Luke (23^{7-15}) relates also an examination of our Lord before Antipas (who had wished to see Him for some time); the result of this was the reconciliation of Pilate and Herod. This was presumably only an informal examination, and not part of the regular trial. It is referred to again in Ac 4^{27}, and is prominent in the Gospel of Peter. It may be noticed that St. Luke appears to have had special means of information about the Herod dynasty, and that his information is apparently accurate. He does not, like St. Mark, incorrectly call Antipas king (Lk 8^{3}, Ac 13^{1}).

The marriage with Herodias was the cause of Antipas' fall. First a war broke out between him and Aretas (A.D. 36), although nine years later apparently than the flight of Herod's first wife. Antipas suffered a severe defeat, which some considered, according to Josephus, to be a punishment for what he had done to John the Baptist (*Ant.* XVIII. v. 2). Again later, Herodias persuaded her husband to go to Jerusalem and demand the title of king from Caius, being jealous of what the latter had done for Agrippa. The result of the application was that Agrippa brought charges against him which caused his banishment (*Ant.* VIII. vii. 2). His place of banishment was Lugdunum in Gaul (*Ant.* XVIII. vii. 2), but Spain, according to *BJ* II. ix. 6, was the place where Antipas died. It has been suggested that this was *Lugdunum Convenarum* at the foot of the Pyrenees, and not the better-known place of that name. (See Smith's DB^{2} I. ii. 1347).

(3) PHILIP (Φίλιππος) was the son of Herod the Great by Cleopatra, a woman of Jerusalem (*Ant.* XVII. i. 3). He had been educated at Rome, like the remainder of Herod's sons. The territory to which he succeeded on the death of his father and by the decision of Augustus (see above), consisted, according to Josephus, of Batanea, Trachonitis, Auranitis, Gaulanitis, and Paneas (*Ant.* XVII. viii. 1, xi. 4, XVIII. iv. 6; *BJ* II. vi. 3), according to St. Luke (3^{1}) the country of Ituræa and Trachonitis, *Φιλίππου δὲ . . . τετραρχοῦντος τῆς 'Ιτουραίας καὶ Τραχωνίτιδος χώρας.* (On the meaning of this passage see ITURÆA). Speaking generally, it implied the district to the N. and E. of the Sea of Galilee. Its revenues were computed at 100 talents, and his title was that of tetrarch. He ruled for 38 years from his accession in B.C. 4

until his death in A.D. 34, without any startling event and without reproach. He was distinguished from the other sons of Herod by the absence of ambition, of cruelty, and of lust. He was only once married, to Salome the daughter of Herodias, and had no children. His character is summed up by Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. iv. 6. 'He was moderate and peaceful in his rule, and spent his whole life in his country. He went out with only a small retinue, always taking with him the throne on which he might sit and judge. Whenever he met any one who had need of him, he made no delay, but set down the throne wherever he might be and heard the case.'

His name is chiefly remembered by the city of CÆSAREA PHILIPPI, which he founded on the site of Paneas at the head waters of the Jordan. It was called Cæsarea in honour of the emperor, and received the name of Philippi to distinguish it from the more important city on the seacoast. He also rebuilt BETHSAIDA, situated on the left bank of the Jordan where it flows into the Lake of Gennesareth, and called it Julias. It was to this city, in all probability, that our Lord retired to escape the attention of Herod Antipas (Lk 9^{10}). He also showed his loyalty to the emperors by placing the busts of Augustus and Tiberius on his coins, a course which was possible mainly owing to the non-Jewish character of the population.

On his death his territory was joined to the province of Syria, but its taxes were collected separately. Caligula immediately on his accession gave it to Agrippa.

(4) HEROD, called PHILIP, was the son of Herod by Mariamne, daughter of Simon the high priest. Her father was a priest, of too low class to be allied with him, but too important to be despised. Herod was wise enough not to use his authority to her detriment, but did not scruple to make her father high priest (*Ant.* XV. ix. 3). Herod had been named in his father's first will, but, owing to the treachery of his mother, was left out in subsequent wills (*BJ* I. xxx. 7), and lived and died a private person, apparently in Rome (*Ant.* XVIII. v. 1). His claim to distinction is that he was the first husband of Herodias. Apparently, he also bore the name of *Philip* (Mt 14^3, Mk 6^{17}).

In Mk 6^{17} all MSS read τὴν γυναῖκα Φιλίππου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ. In Mt 14^3 Φιλίππου is omitted by D, the Vulgate, and some Old Latin MSS. In Lk 3^{19} it is omitted by ℵ B D, the Vulg., Old Latin, and was probably not part of the original text.

The discrepancy may be explained either (1) by assuming that Philip was the other name of Herod. This is all the more probable, as in the passage of Josephus (*Ant.* XVIII. v. 4) Herod Antipas is also called simply Herod. Against this is the fact that St. Luke, who generally has by far the most accurate information concerning the Herods, does not give the name; (2) by supposing that there is a confusion between the first husband and the son-in-law of Herodias, for her daughter Salome married Philip the tetrarch.

(5) AGRIPPA I. was born about the year 10 B.C., being 54 years old at the time of his death in A.D. 44 (*Ant.* XIX. viii. 2). He was the son of Aristobulus, son of Herod the Great by Mariamne, granddaughter of Hyrcanus. His mother was Bernice, daughter of Salome, Herod's sister, and of Costobar (*Ant.* XVIII. v. 4). Not long after his birth his father was put to death by Herod, and he himself with his mother sent to Rome, where he was brought up. His mother was a friend of Antonia, widow of the elder Drusus, and he himself enjoyed the friendship of the younger Drusus. This imperial friendship appears to have been of doubtful advantage. He was magnanimous, reckless, and extravagant, spent large sums in bribing the imperial freedmen, got hopelessly into debt, and, on the death of Drusus, lost the imperial favour. He had to leave Rome, and during the next fourteen years of his life was subject to many strange vicissitudes. At one time he had even meditated suicide. When Tiberius died (March 16, A.D. 37) he was in prison, but the accession of Caligula, which he had looked forward to so indiscreetly as to lose his liberty, at length brought the change of his fortunes. The new emperor immediately gave him the tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias, the title of king, and a golden chain equal in weight to the iron chain with which he had been bound (*Ant.* XVIII. vi. 10), while the senate added the honorary title of prefect. In 38 he visited his new possessions, but in 39 he was back in Rome. He was responsible for the banishment of Herod Antipas in 39, and received his tetrarchy in addition to the other two. More creditable to him was the wisdom and boldness with which he persuaded Caius not to erect a statue of himself in the temple at Jerusalem. The death of Caligula (41) and the accession of Claudius gave him an opportunity of winning the goodwill of the latter; and he received Judæa and Samaria in addition to his other possessions, and ruled therefore over all the territory of his grandfather.

It is from this date that his three years of actual rule began. Its leading feature, and one which harmonizes with the narrative in the Acts, was his friendliness to the Jews and his regard for Jewish customs. He began his reign by offering all the fitting sacrifices in the temple, omitting nothing that the law enjoined; by paying the cost of many who wished to fulfil their Nazirite vows; and by dedicating in the temple the golden chain which he had received from Caius. His determination to uphold the privileges of his people was speedily shown. Some young men in the town of Dora had erected a statue of the emperor in the Jewish synagogue in that place. This angered Agrippa, for it meant the overthrow of the laws of the country, and he used his influence to persuade Petronius the governor of Syria to interfere, which he did, not only ordering the removal of the statue, but punishing those who had erected it. For his loyalty to Judaism both Josephus (*Ant.* XIX. vii. 3) and the Pharisees (Schürer, I. i. p. 444) are loud in his praise. His conduct is contrasted with that of Herod the Great, who showed all his benevolence towards the Gentile cities. He constantly lived in Jerusalem, and preferred it. He kept the laws of his country in purity. He lived a life of the strictest holiness, and allowed no day to pass without offering the sacrifice. So the Mishna tells us how he in person used to offer the first-fruits; and a story is told that at the Feast of Tabernacles, as he read the words, Dt 17^{15} 'Thou mayest not set a stranger over thee which is not thy brother,' he burst into tears. And the people cried out, 'Be not disturbed—thou art our brother! thou art our brother!' He also used his political influence—which was considerable—to spread Judaism. When he betrothed his daughter Drusilla to Epiphanes, son of Antiochus, king of Commagene, he made him undertake to be circumcised.

Quite in accordance with this character is the narrative in Ac 12. He began a persecution of the Church. He slew James the brother of John with the sword, and, finding that this was pleasing to the Jews, proceeded to take Peter also. These events happened during the Passover. Another side of his Judaizing policy is shown by the attempts which he made—both frustrated by the interference of the governor of Syria, Marsus—to strengthen his kingdom. He enlarged the walls of Jerusalem, and while at Tiberias received no less than five vassal princes—Antiochus of Commagene, Sampsigeramus of Emesa, Cotys of Armenia Minor, Polemon of Pontus, and Herod of Chalcis, his own brother. That he was foolish enough to meditate any treason is improbable; he was too fond of peace, and knew too well what was the power of Rome; if he had any object beyond that of increasing his own magnificence, it was probably the extension of Jewish influence among them.

Of his death, which happened in A.D. 44, after the beginning of the month Nisan (see CHRONOLOGY, vol. i. p. 416), we have two independent accounts. According to Josephus (*Ant.* XIX. viii. 2), during the third year of his reign over all Judæa he came to Cæsarea. There he presided at games in honour of Cæsar, surrounded by all the leading men of the province. On the second day he put on a robe of silver of wonderful make. When the first rays of the sun struck it, it produced a wonderful effect. Immediately there were cries addressing him as a god, 'Be propitious; if up to now we feared thee as a man, henceforth we confess that thou art more than mortal.' The king did not rebuke them. Shortly afterwards, looking up, he saw an owl sitting over his head on a cord. He knew that the bird, which had formerly been a messenger of good, was now a messenger of evil, *ἄγγελόν τε τοῦτον εὐθὺς ἐνόησεν κακῶν εἶναι, τὸν καί ποτε τῶν ἀγαθῶν γενόμενον.* He was immediately seized with severe pains, and died after five days. The allusion to the owl is to an omen which had portended his good fortune when he was a prisoner in Rome (*Ant.* XVIII. vi. 7).

According to the Acts, Herod, after the release of Peter, *i.e.* after the Passover, went down to Cæsarea. He was angry with the people of Tyre and Sidon, and a deputation from them came before him asking for peace. Herod, on a day arranged, put on his royal robe, and sitting on his throne made an address to them. The people cried, It is the voice of a god, and not of a man. And immediately an angel of the Lord struck him, because he gave not God the glory; and he was eaten of worms, and died.

It is quite clear that there is a substantial agreement between these passages as to the main incident, but a difference which is quite incompatible with any literary obligation on the part of the author of the Acts.

Agrippa had married Cypros, daughter of Phasael, who was son of Phasael, Herod's brother. Her mother was Salampsio, daughter of Herod by Mariamne, granddaughter of Hyrcanus. He had two sons, AGRIPPA (see below) and Drusus, who died young, and three daughters, BERNICE, Mariamne, and DRUSILLA.

(6) AGRIPPA II., or, as he describes himself on coins, Marcus Julius Agrippa, was the son of Agrippa I. and Cypros. He was only 17 years old at the death of his father in 44, and Claudius was persuaded not to give him his father's kingdom owing to his youth. Agrippa then arrived at Rome, and used his influence on behalf of the Jews (*Ant.* XX. vi. 3). On the death of his uncle, Herod of Chalcis, he received the tetrarchy of the latter and the oversight of the temple (*Ant.* XX. v. 2; *BJ* II. xii.). In the year 53 he gave up Chalcis and received the tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias. Later, Nero added various cities in Galilee and Peræa (*Ant.* XX. vii. 1, viii. 4). Of his relations to his sister Bernice the worst reports were current. Like all the Herods, he tried to combine Judaism and Hellenism. He improved his capital city, Cæsarea Philippi, and called it Neronias; he adorned Berytus with many statues and buildings; his coins bore effigies of the emperors. But Rabbinical tradition records his interest in Jewish questions; he attempted to extend Judaism among the surrounding kings, and under him the temple was finished (*Ant.* XX. ix. 6).

In Ac 25. 26 we have an account of the speech of St. Paul before Agrippa, Bernice, and Festus. St. Paul's compliment, that Agrippa was 'expert in all customs and questions which are among the Jews,' was well deserved, and the somewhat enigmatic 'Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian' may be interpreted according to our conception of Agrippa's character.

Agrippa did what he could to check the growing storm (*BJ* II. xv. 1), and during all the war was on the side of the Romans. He took part in the festivities which succeeded the victory (*BJ* VII. ii. 1), and received a considerable increase of territory. Of his later life we only know that Josephus corresponded with him and received from him information for his history (Jos. *Vita*, 65). He died about the year 100 A.D., the last of the Herods.

vii. WOMEN OF THE FAMILY.—(1) HERODIAS (Ἡρωδιάς, WH Ἡρῳδιάς) was daughter of Aristobulus, son of Herod by Mariamne, daughter of Hyrcanus. Her mother was Bernice, daughter of Salome, Herod's sister. She was thus sister of Herod of Chalcis, of Agrippa I., and of the younger Aristobulus (*Ant.* XVIII. v. 4). According to Josephus, she married first of all Herod, son of Herod the Great by Mariamne, daughter of Simon the high priest, and by him had a daughter of the name of SALOME. According to Ac 6^{17}, and probably Mt 14^{3}, her first husband's name was PHILIP (wh. see). Prompted apparently by ambition, she left him and married his brother Antipas. It was this marriage that drew upon them the rebuke of John the Baptist, and caused the tragedy that followed (Mt 14$^{3-11}$, Mk 6$^{14-18}$); and it was Herodias' ambition which caused Antipas his final ruin. 'She said life was unbearable for them if Agrippa, who came to her husband in such extreme poverty, now returned a king, while he himself, the son of a king, was contented with a private life' (*Ant.* XVIII. vii. 1). Her pride made her faithful to her husband in misfortune. Josephus represents her as saying to Caius, when he told her that it was only her brother who prevented her from sharing the calamity of her husband, 'You indeed, O emperor! say this in a magnificent manner, and as becomes you; but the love which I have for my husband hinders me from partaking of the favour of your gift; for it is not right that I, who have been a partner in his prosperity, should forsake him in his misfortunes.'

(2) SALOME was the name of the daughter of Herod (Philip) and Herodias who danced before Herod Antipas as mentioned Mt 14$^{3-6}$ and Mk 6$^{17-22}$ (but cf. reading of WH in v.^{22}). She married (1) Herod Philip, tetrarch of Trachonitis, by whom she had no children, and (2) Aristobulus, son of Herod of Chalcis, by whom she had three children—Herod, Agrippa, and Aristobulus (*Ant.* XVIII. V. 4).

(3) BERNICE or BERENICE (Βερνίκη) was the eldest daughter of Agrippa I. She was born about the year 28, being 16 years old at the time of her father's death in 44 (*Ant.* XIX. ix. 1). She was betrothed first to Marcus, son of Alexander the alabarch, but seems never to have been married to him (*Ant.* XIX. v. 1, but there is some doubt as to the reading); then about the year 41, being then 13 years old, she was married by her father to her uncle Herod, for whom he obtained from Claudius the kingdom of Chalcis. By him she had two sons, Bernicianus and Hyrcanus (*BJ* II. xi. 6). Herod of Chalcis died in 48. Bernice then lived at her brother's house, and the worst rumours were afloat concerning their relationship—rumours which reached as far as Rome (cf. Juv. *Sat.* vi. 156–160: '. . . adamas notissimus et Beronices in digito factus pretiosior; hunc dedit olim Barbarus incestæ, dedit hunc Agrippa sorori, observant ubi festa mero pede sabbata reges, et vetus indulget senibus clementia porcis. . . .'). In order to allay these suspicions she induced Polemon, king of Cilicia, who was

attracted by her wealth, to be circumcised and to marry her. But she soon left him, *δι' ἀκολασίαν* Josephus tells us, and returned to her brother (*Ant.* XX. vii. 3). About the year 58 we find her with Agrippa visiting Festus to greet him on his appointment, and so, like her younger and equally notorious sister, Drusilla, listening to St. Paul. It may be noticed that great emphasis is laid on her presence. She was one who could always attract attention to herself (Ac $25^{13.\ 23}$ 26^{30}). The next that we hear of her is in the spring of 66. She was in Jerusalem performing a Nazirite vow. Horrified by the massacre which Florus had ordered, she attempted to stop it, first sending her attendants to Florus, ultimately appearing herself (so it was said) barefooted before him. The only result seems to have been that the soldiers murdered their victims before her face and attempted to kill her. But, after her palace was burnt by the Jewish populace, she became an ardent supporter of the Roman cause and the Flavian dynasty (*BJ* II. xv. 1, xvii. 6). Already in 68 there seem to have been intimate relations between her and Titus (Tae. *Hist.* ii. 2); in 75 she came to Rome with her brother, and the intimacy was renewed. She lived in the Palatine with him, behaved as his wife (*πάντα ἤδη ὡς καὶ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ οὖσα ἐποίει*, Dio Cass. lxvi. 15), and was said to have been promised marriage (*insignem reginæ Bernices amorem cui etiam nuptias pollicitus ferebatur*, Suet. *Tit.* 7). But the unpopularity of the connexion persuaded Titus that he must give her up, and when she returned to Rome after the death of Vespasian he took no notice of her ('Berenicen statim ab urbe dimisit invitus invitam,' Suet. *loc. cit.*; Dio Cass. lxvi. 18; and Au. Vict. *Epit.* 10); but even her fidelity to her royal lover was not free from suspicion, and a reputed paramour was murdered by the orders of Titus. After this period she vanishes from history. The only other memorial of her is an inscription found at Athens (*CIG* 361; *C. I. Att.* III. i. 556)—

Ἡ *βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ* Ἀ*ρείου πάγου καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τῶν χ' καὶ ὁ δῆμος* Ἰ*ουλίαν Βερενείκην βασίλισσαν μεγάλην*, Ἰ*ουλίου* Ἀ*γρίππα βασιλέως θυγατέρα καὶ μεγάλων βασιλέων εὐεργετῶν τῆς πόλεως ἔκγονον*. . . .

A simple narrative of Bernice's life is really more eloquent than any comment. She was the last member of the family who played any prominent part in history.

(4) DRUSILLA (Δρούσιλλα) was the youngest of the three daughters of Agrippa I. She was born about the year 38, being 6 years old at the time of her father's death, in 44 (*Ant.* XIX. ix. 1); but she had already been betrothed by her father to Epiphanes, son of Antiochus, king of Commagene. He, however, refused to fulfil his promise to be circumcised, and the marriage never took place. Her brother at the completion of the 12th year of Claudius (53) received from the emperor the northern part of Palestine, and then gave Drusilla, now about 14 years old, in marriage to Azizus, king of Emesa, who was willing to be circumcised. The marriage was neither happy nor of long continuance. Felix, procurator of Palestine, a freedman who had the distinction of being the husband of three queens (Suet. *Claudius*, 28), was so overcome by her beauty that he attempted to gain her for his wife. He sent, to effect this purpose, a man of the name of Simon, a Cyprian by birth, who had the reputation of being a 'magician.' She, unhappy in her marriage and wishing to escape her sister Bernice's jealousy, deserted her husband and transgressed the Jewish law so far as to consent to marry a Gentile. This marriage cannot have taken place earlier than 53 or later than 54, for in the first year of Nero (54–55) Azizus died, and we are particularly told that she left her husband. Drusilla had one son by Felix, called Agrippa, who perished in an eruption of Mt. Vesuvius in the reign of Titus, it is added *σὺν τῇ γυναικί*, which is interpreted by some to refer to his mother, by others to a wife of his own.

In Ac 24^{24} we are told how Felix with Drusilla his own wife (*τῇ ἰδίᾳ γυναικί*, RV), a Jewess, heard St. Paul speak of faith in Christ, and how, when he spake of righteousness, and self-restraint, and judgment to come, Felix trembled.

viii. CHARACTER OF THE HEROD DYNASTY.—In conclusion, it will be convenient to sum up some characteristics of the dynasty of the Herods.

(1) In the first place, we may take them as typical representatives of the *Reges Socii* under the empire. Of no other of the provinces have we the same detailed information as of the Jews in Josephus, and we are able to see the system of what we should call 'Protected states' at work. The kings and other rulers were absolutely dependent on the imperial power; they had no right of making war, their wills were only valid when confirmed by the emperor; they were expected to provide auxiliary troops when necessary. How clearly the Herods realized the limitations of their power is shown by the skilful manner in which they conciliated the Romans. Within their own territory they were supreme, but even here they were liable to accusations from their subjects. The value of the system in governing Orientals, whose character was so difficult for Romans to understand, may be realized by the contrast afforded to the government of the procurators. If Agrippa had lived there would perhaps have been no Jewish war.

(2) In relation to Judaism the first and most obvious characteristic of their rule is the Hellenizing influence that it represented. However distasteful to a large number of the people, however alien to their religious spirit, there is no doubt that the influence was considerable. It produced the inevitable reaction which was one of the causes of the final war, but it modified the ideas of those even who resented it. For Judaism to play its part in the world, it was necessary for it to have some contact with the spirit of Hellenism; and that the Herods gave it.

(3) The peculiar character and influence of Antipater and his descendants undoubtedly made Judaism a much more conspicuous factor in the Græco-Roman world than it would have been otherwise. We know how Cæsar recognized the Jews as one of the three divisions of people; we know how from him they obtained recognition of their privileges in a marked way, and this was to a considerable extent due to the Herods. Moreover, the social influence of the Herods seems to have been a considerable factor in extending Judaism among the other kings of the East.

(4) And how far were the Herodian monarchy and aspirations a natural product of Judaism? They were not absolutely inconsistent with its history, they were in keeping with its higher aspirations. From the days of Solomon temporal sovereignty had always been a dream of many of the people. It achieved its most prominent success in Herod, and the very success made the religious conscience of the people reject it. Ultimately, Christianity and Rabbinism became the two real products of Jewish history. 'The leaven of Herod' was felt to be unsound.

LITERATURE.—Our authorities may practically be reduced to two. Josephus has narrated to us the history of the whole Herod family with great fulness, and to supplement him we have only isolated references in other writings. A history from Rabbinical sources is given by Derenbourg, *Essai sur l'histoire et la géographie de la Palestine*. Modern authorities may practically be confined to Schürer, *Geschichte des Jüdischen*

Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christ (there is an English translation), who gives full references to all authorities ancient and modern. The best monographs are by Keim, in *Schenkel's Bibel-lexicon.* Accounts of the Herods are given by Stanley and Milman, and there is a popular work by Farrar. The articles in Smith's *DB* by Westcott are good.

A. C. HEADLAM.

HERODIANS (Ἡρωδιανοί, WH -ρῳδ-).—The Herodians are mentioned twice in the Gospels (Mk 3^{6} in Galilee; Mt 22^{16} = Mk 12^{13} in Jerus.), along with the Pharisees, as adversaries of Jesus. Some of the later Church Fathers (*e.g.* Tertullian) regarded them as a religious party, who held Herod to be the Messiah; but this is altogether improbable. They were apparently a political party, most probably the adherents of the dynasty of Herod. At the death of Herod (B.C. 4), his kingdom was divided among his sons, Idumæa, Judæa, and Samaritis being allotted to Archelaus. When Archelaus was deposed (A.D. 6 or 7), a Roman procurator was put in his place, and thenceforward Judæa continued under procurators, with the exception of a brief interval, during which Herod Agrippa I. united under his sway all the dominions of his grandfather. It was doubtless the constant desire of the family of Herod to restore the kingdom of their father; and the Herodians would seem to have been the party of those who favoured their pretensions. They were neither the adherents, in particular, of Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee, nor exactly the friends of Rome; but those among the Jews who, in more or less veiled opposition to the Roman procuratorship, as well as to the idea of a pure theocracy, desired the restoration of the national kingdom under one or other of the sons of Herod. Their alliance with the Pharisees in opposition to our Lord was not due to religious or political sympathy, but to the recognition by both parties that Jesus was their greatest common foe. The question regarding the tribute paid to Cæsar (Mt 22^{17}, Mk 12^{14}) was skilfully calculated to draw from Him an answer that would either lead to His being accused of sedition against Rome (Lk 20^{20}), or discredit Him among the people. In order to get rid of Jesus, the Pharisees, who combined even with the Sadducees, would not scruple to enter into a temporary alliance with the Herodians, however much they were opposed to their religious and political sentiments. (See Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, iii. 157 ff., and in Schenkel's *Bibellex.* iii. 65 ff.) D. EATON.

HERODIAS.—See HEROD, pp. 353, 360^{b}.

HERODION (Ἡρωδίων, WH -ρῳδ-).—A Christian mentioned Ro 16^{11}, apparently a Jew (συγγενής), and perhaps a freedman of the Herods. See ARISTOBULUS, vol. i. p. 148^{a}.

HERON (אֲנָפָה *'ănâphâh*, χαραδριός, *charadrion*).—This word designates an unclean bird (Lv 11^{19}, Dt 14^{18}), not otherwise mentioned in the Bible, but sufficiently well known to be taken as a type of a class. The LXX rendering simply means a *swamp bird.* The fact of the occurrence of this name immediately after חֲסִידָה *stork*, and followed by the expression 'after her kind,' gives the only clue we have to the bird intended. Of the birds suggested by various authorities, as the *eagle*, *parrot*, and *swallow*, none would go in a group with the *stork*. The *heron*, on the other hand, belongs to the same group, and, unlike the stork, of which only one species is found in the Holy Land, has no fewer than six species of the genus *Ardea* alone. The most common of these is *A. cinerea*, L., the Grey Heron (Arab. *dŭnkeleh* and *ghŭrnûk*). Less common is *A. purpurea*, L., the Purple Heron; *A. alba*, L., the White Egret; *A. garzetta*, L., the Lesser Egret; *A. bubulcus*, Audouin, the Buff-backed Heron or White Ibis (Arab. *Abu-Bekr*); *A. ralloides*, Scop., the Squacco Heron. There are also three other genera 'after their kind,' *Ardetta minuta*, L., the Little Bittern; *Nycticorax griseus*, L., the Night Heron; and *Botaurus stellaris*, L., the Bittern. In the absence of a better we may retain the rendering of EV 'heron.' RVm (Lv 11^{19}) gives '*ibis.*'

G. E. POST.

HESHBON (חֶשְׁבּוֹן, LXX Ἐσεβών, Ἐσβών, Jos 21^{39} B) ('device' or 'reckoning'; note play on the word in Jer 48^{2} 'in H. they have *devised* . . .').—The chief city of Sihon king of the Amorites, captured by the Israelites on their way to the Jordan. The defeat of Sihon is related Nu 21^{21-26} (E), Dt 2^{24-37}, referred to briefly Dt 1^{4} 3^{6} 4^{46} 29^{7}, Jos 9^{10} $12^{2.5}$ $13^{21.27}$, Neh 9^{22}, more fully in Jephthah's message to the king of the Ammonites, Jg 11^{19-22}. In these passages Sihon is spoken of as 'king of' or 'dwelling in' Heshbon. In the distribution of the land H. is assigned to Reuben by Moses, Nu $32^{3.27}$ (E), and Joshua, Jos $13^{10.17.21}$. The inheritance of Gad extended from H. to Ramath-mizpeh, Jos 13^{26} (P); and in the list of Levitical cities (Jos 21^{39} (P), 1 Ch 6^{81}) H. is reckoned as belonging to Gad.

In the prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah (Is 15^{4} $16^{8.9}$, Jer $48^{2.34.45}$ 49^{3}) H. and cities in its neighbourhood are mentioned as cities of Moab. For these passages, and the reference to H. in the song quoted Nu $21^{27\text{f.}}$, see MOAB and SIHON. The Jews are again in possession of H. in the time of Alexander Jannæus (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. xv. 4, where H. is described as in the country of Moab), and the surrounding district is called in Herod's time Essebonitis (*Ant.* XV. viii. 5) and Sebonitis (*BJ* II. xviii. 1). Whether in the account of places taken by Judas Maccabæus (1 Mac $5^{26.36}$, Jos. *Ant.* XII. viii. 3) H. is mentioned, is doubtful [see notes on passage in 1 Mac (*Camb. Bible for Schools*) and the various readings in Niese's *Josephus*].

In the *Onomasticon* H. (Ἐσβοῦς) is described as 'urbs insignis' in the mountains, 20 miles (Roman) from the Jordan. The name occurs as the seat of a bishopric in the acts of the Council of Chalcedon. St. Sylvia of Aquitania describes *Esebon* as visible from Mt. Nebo, which is confirmed by modern travellers, and adds that it is now called *Exebon*—an interesting piece of evidence as to the pronunciation of the name in her time (*Palestine Pilgrims Text Society*, vol. i. 28). In the life of Saladin in the same series (vol. xiii. p. 97) occurs the modern name *Hesbān*, and Abulfeda mentions it as inhabited (*Geography*, Arabic text, edited by Schiers, p. 129, and translated by Lestrange, *Pal. under the Moslems*, p. 456). The site is now covered with extensive ruins, chiefly Roman, and by the side of the plateau on which these are situated runs a stream issuing from a cave, at which the tribes in the neighbourhood obtain water for themselves and their cattle. From the stream a steep winding mountain-path leads upwards to the city, and at the top of the ascent passes through a sort of passage cut through the rocks, about 3 or 4 yards wide. Buhl (*Palästina*, p. 123) remarks that in a branch of Wâdy Hesbān, N.W. of the city, are traces of ancient pools and conduits. It requires some imagination on the part of travellers to identify the *one* large ruined reservoir noted by them with 'the pools of Heshbon by the gate of Bath-rabbim' (Ca 7^{4}); but the position of the stream outside the present ruins, and the descriptions given above, fully illustrate the passage. Further information may be obtained from Reland's *Palestina*, containing reff. to Talmud, Ptolemy, Pliny, etc.; Conder, *Heth and Moab*, p. 125 ff.; *PEFSt*, 1882, 1888.

A. T. CHAPMAN.

HESHMON (חֶשְׁמוֹן).—An unknown town in the extreme south of Judah, Jos 15^{27}.

ḤETH (letter).—See CHETH.

HETH (חֵת, etym. and meaning unknown).—According to J (Gn 10^{15}=1 Ch 1^{13}), a son of Canaan. P (mistakenly, as Budde, Stade, Ed. Meyer, etc., think) locates Bĕnê-Heth at Mamre in the time of Abraham, who purchased from Ephron the Hittite the cave of Machpelah, Gn $23^{3ff.}$ 25^{10} 49^{32}. The wives of Esau are described in Gn 27^{46} as 'daughters of Heth,' a designation which is identified in the same verse with 'daughters of the land' and in $28^{1.8}$ with 'daughters of Canaan.' 'It appears that (ם)חִתִּי had their proper seat in the north (where also they were encountered by Assyrians from time of Tiglath-pileser I. and by Egyptians from time of Tahutmes III., cf. also Jg 3^3, Jos 11^3), but that individual Hittites were known in Israel (cf. besides 1 S 26^6, 2 S 11^3 etc., 1 K 9^{20}); that the Hittites were regarded (by J E D) as one of the peoples of Canaan, and that the name even came to be used in a more general sense for Canaanites. Only in P do they appear as having a definite settlement in the south' (*Oxf. Heb. Lex.*). Sayce's argument for the presence of Hittites in Hebron is disproved by Gray (see *Expositor*, May 1898, p. 340 f.). J. A. SELBIE.

HETHLON (חֶתְלֹן).—An otherwise unknown city, named in Ezk 47^{15} 48^1 as situated on the ideal northern boundary of Israel, in the neighbourhood of Hamath and Zedad (cf. Nu 34^8). Provided the text is not corrupt, Hethlon is probably (so Furrer, *ZDPV* viii. 27) the modern *Ḥeitela* N.E. of Tripoli. The LXX has in Ezk 47^{15} *περισχιζούσης* and in 48^1 *περισχίζοντος*. It may be mentioned that v. Kasteren proposes to identify Hethlon with the modern *'Adlûn* N. of the mouth of the Ḳasimiyeh, which he takes to have been the ideal northern boundary of Israel. Bertholet (*Hesekiel, ad loc.*) and Buhl (*GAP* 66 f.) are inclined to favour v. Kasteren's identification. F. HOMMEL.

HEWER OF WOOD.—The Gibeonites, for their fraud practised upon Joshua, were condemned to become 'hewers of wood (חֹטְבֵי עֵצִים) and drawers of water' for the congregation (Jos $9^{21.27}$) and for the house of God (9^{23}) or altar of J″ (9^{27}). The phrase occurs also in Dt 29^{11}, where it is applied to strangers serving individual Israelites. Perhaps a more accurate translation, and one that better brings out the menial nature of the occupation, is 'gatherers of firewood' (see Driver on Dt 29^{11}); though the word for 'hewers' is used alone in 2 Ch 2^{10} of those that hew timber for building. See DRAWER OF WATER.

HEXATEUCH.*—The name Hexateuch is now generally given by critics to the first 6 books of OT on the analogy of the Pentateuch, the name long given to the first 5. The object of the change of name is to show that the 6 rather than the 5 form a complete literary whole, and may be looked upon as one book in 6 parts. It is not intended by the title either to exclude the possibility that the Hexateuch, like the rest of OT, was subject to constant revision, or to imply that the sources out of which it was compiled are necessarily to be found only in these books. A century ago it was a matter of common belief that the Pentateuch was written by Moses; but this belief never rested on anything but tradition, and will not bear examination. It will be shown that, in fact, these books are the result of complicated literary processes extending over a long period. As the Mosaic authorship will be thus disproved at the very outset, it requires no separate discussion.

i. THE COMPOSITE CHARACTER OF THE HEXATEUCH.—This is proved by (*a*) *the many unnecessary repetitions*. Thus the creation of beasts and birds is related in Gn 1^{21-25} and again in 2^{19}, of man in 1^{27} and in 2^7. The corruption of man and his threatened punishment are described in 6^{1-7}, and repeated almost immediately afterwards in 6^{11-13} [see FLOOD]. Abraham's departure from his native land is told in 11^{31} and in 12^{1-4a}. The latter cannot have originally referred to his departure from Haran, which was not his native land (see 12^1). The statement of the destruction of the 'cities of the Plain' and Lot's escape in 19^{29} is clearly unnecessary after the detailed account of the events just given. The charge given to Jacob to flee to his uncle Laban is twice related, in 27^{42-45} and in 28^{1-7}. So in Joseph's early history is the passing of the trading caravans, and his being taken down into Egypt, cf. 37^{25-27} 39^1 with $37^{28a.36}$. The giving of names to certain sacred spots is in many cases twice recorded, *e.g.* Beersheba 21^{22-34} 26^{26-33}, Bethel 28^{10-22} 35^{9-15}. We have even three accounts of the laughter which occasioned the naming of Isaac 17^{17} 18^{12} $21^{6.7}$. In the other books we find similar, though less frequent, repetitions. The name J″ is twice revealed to Moses Ex 3^{13-15} 6^{2-9}. The naming of Meribah and the events which gave rise to it are twice related Ex 17^{1-7}, Nu 20^{1-13}. Of the incidents of the manna and the quails, each occurs twice Ex 16, Nu 11. The frequent repetition of similar laws throughout the legislative portion of Hex. is obvious to the most casual reader. We have striking examples in the laws for the burnt-offering Lv 1. 22^{17-33}, the thank-offerings Lv 3. 7^{11-21}. In Joshua we find in 12^{1-6} 13^{8-12} two descriptions of the territory given to the trans-Jordanic tribes, quite distinct from the more detailed account of the portions assigned to the separate tribes in 13^{15-31}. The way in which Caleb obtained his portion is fully narrated in 14^{6-15}, and stated again as though a fresh fact in 15^{13}, and enlarged upon in 15^{14-19}. The lot for the children of Joseph is shortly described in 16^{1-3}, and then given again in rather greater detail, but with some repetitions, in vv.$^{4-9}$. It should be also borne in mind that the number of repetitions, of which in any case this is by no means a complete list, is largely increased if we regard as such what in their present form appear as similar incidents occurring on different occasions. Thus there can be little doubt that the three deceptions on the part of a patriarch's wife narrated in Gn 12^{10-20} 20^{1-18} 26^{1-11} are mere variants of the same story. The same is true of the expulsions of Hagar in Gn 16. 21^{9-21}.

(*b*) *Frequent discrepancies and inconsistencies.*—The Creation story beginning with Gn 2^{4b} differs from that of 1^1–2^{4a} in almost every particular, but most notably in the order of creation, the manner in which man is created, and in the creation of one single woman after that of a single man. The Flood according to $7^{12.17}$ $8^{6.10.12}$ lasted 54 days, according to 7^{24} 8^3 at least 150. [For other discrepancies see FLOOD]. Abraham's incredulity with reference to the possibility of Isaac's birth is mentioned in 17^{17} without comment, as though quite a natural thing. Precisely the same incredulity on Sarah's part is severely reprimanded in 18^{12-15}, and a different occasion and explanation of Sarah's laughter is given in $21^{6.7}$. The youth of Sarah implied in 12^{10-20} 20^{1-8} is inconsistent with Sarah's age as stated in 17^{17}; and it is strange that Abraham, so old that his begetting of Isaac is regarded as an unheard of miracle in 17^{17} 18^{11}, should after Sarah's death have married a second wife, and had several children 25^{1-6}. The caravan which bought Joseph consisted according to 37^{25-27} 39^{1} of Ishmaelites, according to $37^{28.36}$ of Midianites. Often totally different explanations are given of the same name, as of Issachar, which in $30^{15.16}$ is connected with the *hire* for the love-apples given by Leah to Rachel, in 30^{18} with the *hire* given by God to Leah for giving her handmaid to her husband. In 30^{20a} Zebulun is so named because God had given Leah a good dowry (זבד), in v.^{20b} to express the hope that Jacob would dwell (זבל) with her. Joseph is so called in 30^{23} because God had taken away (אסף) Rachel's reproach, in ver.^{24} in the hope that J″ would add (יסף) another son. In 32^{2} Mahanaim is so called because of the *companies* of angels which Jacob met there, in 32^{7-10} there is a significant mention of the *two companies* of people, flocks, etc., that were with Jacob. In the early history of Exodus we find a certain number of incidents which imply that the Israelites were living among the Egyptians, as the story of the midwives 1^{15-22}, and especially the events of the Passover night, when the houses of the Israelites had to be marked $12^{7.13}$, and the Israelitish women were able to ask for jewels of their Egyptian neighbours $12^{35.36}$. In many other passages the Israelites are described as living in Goshen, a country quite separate from the rest of Egypt, and distinguished by immunity from plagues (see esp. Gn 46^{34}, Ex 8^{22} 9^{26}). The law requiring that altars should be made of earth or unhewn stones, Ex 20^{24}, is inconsistent with the directions given so soon after for the altar of acacia wood overlaid with brass in 27^{1-8}; and the permission to erect such altars as the first in every place where J″ should record His name, implying a large number of sanctuaries, does not accord with the frequent directions in Dt that offerings should be made only in the place which J″ should choose, Dt 12^{4-11} etc. Many other inconsistencies of the same kind will be noticed in the course of this article. [See EXODUS, LEVITICUS].

---

* In this article the following abbreviations are used:—J=Jahwistic document, E=Elohistic document, JE=J and E combined, D=Deuteronomic Code, JED=JE and D combined, P=Priestly document, P^h=the Code of Holiness, P^g=the main work of P, J^s, E^s, etc.=the schools of J, E, etc., R=Reviser, at whatever period.

(*c*) *Want of continuity and order in the narrative.*—A history of Noah should have begun, not at Gn 6^{9}, but certainly before 6^{8}, and most probably before 5^{29}. A history of Noah's sons Gn 10^{1} should have included 9^{18-27}. In Gn 20^{1} 'Abraham journeyed *from thence*,' should naturally have followed some statement mentioning the place where he was, instead of a chapter dealing with the history of Lot. Ch. 35^{9} implies that Jacob had just returned from Paddan-aram, and precludes the events of ch. 34. At any rate, it is out of place after the revelation in 35^{1}. In 37^{2b} 'Joseph being seventeen years,' etc., in the present text follows what is evidently the beginning of a history, or more probably a genealogy, of Jacob. Ex 7^{8-13} follows awkwardly after 7^{1-7}. It would be naturally at the first interview that Pharaoh would demand a wonder. Ch. 11^{4}, in which Moses speaks as a matter of course to Pharaoh, comes strangely after 10^{29}, in which he agrees never to see Pharaoh's face again. In the Sinaitic narrative as it now stands, it is almost impossible to get any intelligent idea of the order of events. In Ex 19 alone, Moses, the old man of 80, ascends and descends the mount no fewer than 4 times $19^{3.7.8b.9b.14.20.25}$. Ch. 20 follows very abruptly upon 19^{25}. Moses ascends again apparently in 20^{21}, and no fewer than 3 times in ch. 24, without any descent being mentioned between $24^{9.13.18}$. In ch. 33 there is obviously no connexion between vv.^{12} and ^{11}, and it is difficult to see the connexion between vv.$^{7-11}$ and the rest of the chapter, and throughout there is a want of any definite order in the various pleadings of Moses with God. Lv 26^{46} marks the conclusion of the Sinaitic legislation, and yet other cases follow in ch. 27, and a second similar conclusion is given at the close, 27^{34}. Nu 7^{1-9} seems to imply that preparations for the journey from Sinai were made directly after the completion and consecration of the tabernacle, and it is difficult to see what room is left for the legislation contained in the whole of Leviticus. The account of the spies in ch. 13 and the rebellion of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram in ch. 16 involve numerous petty difficulties if read as continuous narratives (see below, iii. 2. *C*). The writing of Moses' song in Dt 31^{22} and of the law in 31^{24} are clearly out of place, the former referring to the following chapter, the latter to the laws given in previous chapters. The breaks in Joshua are not so obvious at first sight, but a careful reader will see that the book represents two different conceptions of the conquest of Canaan—one a rapid and complete conquest of almost the whole land under Joshua, and a *subsequent* allotment of the conquered portions; the other a gradual settlement carried out by the independent action of several tribes, an allotment having taken place *before the conquest.* The latter conception is more in agreement with Jg 1. But the accounts in Joshua which embody these two ideas have been so carefully interwoven that if that book stood alone it would be difficult to found an argument upon them.

(*d*) *Differences of style and conception.*—These, especially so far as they are connected with special phraseology, will be treated more fully at a later stage of the inquiry. It will be sufficient for the present, in addition to what has been already said of the Bk. of Joshua, to point out two very striking examples. (1) Notice the very remarkable difference in the whole tone and character of the two Creation stories, Gn 1–2^{4a} and 2^{4b} etc. The first describes creation as taking place in a systematic order, reaching its climax in man created *male and female*, everything being made out of nothing by a separate *fiat* of almighty God. In the second, all other things belonging to the earth (the heavenly bodies are not mentioned) are made, after the existence of the first man, in the order best suited for his wants, ending in the creation of woman. Men at least are moulded out of another material, the first man out of the dust of the ground, the first woman out of a rib taken from her husband. J″ walks and talks almost as a man with men. The first account is in form artificial and rhythmical, the second graphic and picturesque. (2) We may observe the same kind of difference in the conception of Moses. According to Ex 15^{22} 4^{10-17} he is indeed an able and practical leader, but a weak and timid speaker, who is allowed to engage Aaron as his spokesman. In Dt he appears as the most fluent and eloquent speaker of the Bible.

It can hardly be denied that these facts taken together form an irresistible argument for the belief that the Hex. was compiled from a variety of sources. It has been sometimes suggested that Moses *compiled* Genesis, but actually *wrote* the last four books of the Pentateuch. This does not meet the facts of the case, because, as already seen, the same phenomena which prove Genesis to be a compilation and not an original work appear abundantly in Exodus, and evidently enough in the other books of the Hexateuch. The compilation must therefore have taken place considerably after the time of Moses.

ii. METHOD OF COMPOSITION.—*A*. Three views at least are possible, which we may call (1) conglomeration or crystallization, (2) expansion, (3) stratification.

(1) The first would imply that a number of fragments, handed down either in writing or by oral tradition, were collected together so as to form a literary whole. If the fragments were collected at one single time the process might aptly be called conglomeration. Crystallization

becomes the more appropriate term if we suppose that the fragments were gathered by degrees round some earlier nucleus. In fact it approaches more or less closely to (2).

(2) The second hypothesis is that a small original document, or a very definite oral tradition, was expanded by frequent revision at subsequent periods.

(3) Stratification is intended to imply that certain more or less independent documents, dealing largely with the same series of events, were composed at different periods, or, at any rate, under different auspices, and were afterwards combined, so that our present Hex. contains these several different literary strata.

There is probably some degree of truth in all these hypotheses, but there are strong reasons for believing that the last most nearly expresses the truth, and with some modifications it is the accepted theory of the great body of modern critics. The necessary modifications are: (*a*) that each stratum, before its incorporation into the united work, was subject to more or less revision, and in some cases considerable expansion from time to time; (*b*) that the combination of the several strata was itself a gradual process, some being already combined before others had been produced; (*c*) that the whole when combined was subject to editorial revision; (*d*) that certain fragments remain which probably did not originally belong to any of these larger strata, but have been connected with them either by the original writers or by later revisers.

B. The main grounds for accepting this third hypothesis (stratification) are: (1) that the various literary pieces, with very few exceptions, will be found on examination to arrange themselves by common characteristics into comparatively few groups; (2) that an original consecution of narrative may be frequently traced between what in their present form are isolated fragments. This will be better understood by the following illustration. Let us suppose a problem of this kind: Given a patchwork quilt, explain the character of the original pieces out of which the bits of stuff composing the quilt were cut. First, we notice that, however well the colours may blend, however nice and complete the whole may look, many of the adjoining pieces do not actually agree in material, texture, pattern, colour, or the like. Ergo, they have been made up out of very different pieces of stuff. So far, we have only proved what may turn out to be the first hypothesis of those given above, a conglomeration of fragments. But suppose that we further discover that many of the bits, though now separated, are like one another in material, texture, etc., we may conjecture that these may have been cut out of one piece. But we shall prove this beyond reasonable doubt if we find that several bits when unpicked fit together, so that the pattern of one is continued in the other; and, moreover, that if all of like character are sorted out they form, say, four groups, each of which was evidently once a single piece of stuff, though parts of each are found missing because, no doubt, they have not been required to make the whole. But we make the analogy with the Hexateuch even closer, if we further suppose that in certain parts of the quilt the bits belonging to, say, two of these groups are so combined as to form a subsidiary pattern within the larger pattern of the whole quilt, and had evidently been sewn together before being connected with other parts of the quilt; and we may make it even closer still, if we suppose that, besides the more important bits of stuff, smaller embellishments, borderings, and the like, had been added so as to improve the general effect of the whole.

C. It will now be shown that this view of the composition of the Hexateuch is borne out by an examination of the books. To do so we will first call attention to a few isolated facts, the bearing of which on the general question will afterwards appear. (1) It is obvious to the most casual reader that the Bk. of Dt, speaking generally, differs strikingly in style and character from the other books of the Hexateuch. It produces when read a different impression, just as St. John produces a different impression from the other Gospels. On examination we discover that this difference of impression is chiefly due to its highly spiritual tone and its constant appeal to the emotions. (2) In Ex 20^{22}–23. 24^{3-8} we find a definite body of laws, religious and civil, both marked by their singularly primitive character, described as written in a book, and marking the basis of a special covenant between God and man. (3) Throughout a large part of Exodus, the whole of Leviticus, and the greater part of Numbers, we meet with a large number of laws, mainly ritual, but partly civil, marked, however, throughout by a sameness of tone and spirit, the stress being always laid on ceremonial observances. Thus we find three distinct codes—the Covenant code (C), the Deuteronomic (D), the Levitical or Priestly (P). These will be found on comparison to differ, not only in general tone and spirit, but also in several definite details, both in their religious and civil portions. For instance, compare C's altar of earth or rough stone (Ex 20^{24-26}) with P's elaborate altar of acacia wood overlaid with brass (27^{1-8}), the offerer apparently himself the priest in C (Ex 20^{24}) with the Levites all priests in D (Dt 18^{1} etc.), and the elaboration of High Priest, Priests and Levites of P, as frequently throughout Leviticus, etc. Notice the differences in the feasts both in number and character: in C three, entirely agricultural, depending in time on the season, namely, Unleavened Bread, Harvest, Ingathering, Ex 23^{14-16} (15^{b} appears to be a later interpolation, cf. 34^{22}); in D also three: Passover and Unleavened Bread, Weeks, Booths, Dt 16, mainly agricultural, but the first in part historical as a memorial of the departure from Egypt in haste, the last two still dependent on the seasons, vv.$^{9.13}$, or the second only relatively fixed if the Passover is to be identified with the beginning of harvest; in P six holy seasons, besides the Sabbath, mentioned in the same category: Passover, Wave-sheaf, Weeks, Trumpets, Day of Atonement, Booths, Lv 23. Two of these only, Wave-sheaf and Weeks, are solely agricultural, the last partly agricultural and partly historical. The meaning of Trumpets is not explained; the Passover is historical, the Day of Atonement purely religious. The law of the manumission of slaves presents similar contrasts. In C (Ex 21^{2-6}) the Hebrew slave, bought as a matter of course, after six years' servitude is allowed to go free, but without the wife procured for him by his master and the children born in servitude. If *from love of these or his master* he elects to stay, his ear is bored, and he becomes his master's slave for ever. In D (Dt 15^{12-18}) the Hebrew slave who, in spite of his slavery, is, being a Hebrew, his master's brother, after six years' servitude (or possibly such of them as remained till the Sabbatical year, cf. 15^{1-11}) is to be manumitted with liberal presents in gratitude for his great service. Nothing is said of his wife and children, but it seems probable that they were to be manumitted too. If from *love for his master and his master's family* he elects to stay, he is treated as in C. In P (Lv 25^{39-55}) if a Hebrew, here called a brother, is sold into slavery through poverty (it is not conceived possible under any other circumstances), he is not to be treated as a slave at all, but as a hired servant. He is to be manumitted *with his wife and children* in the year of jubile, when he returns to his family and family possessions, which are then restored to him. But, even before this, any relative had the power to redeem him, or he might redeem himself. Slaves proper were to be only from the heathen around, or from the stranger that sojourned with them, and these were an absolute possession and heirloom.

That these three laws here contrasted belong to different dates is obvious. The similarity of form makes it equally clear that they are different versions, by revision, of the same law. The order of dates, both with respect to these and the religious laws before compared, is easily determined. The natural order is from the simpler to the more elaborate ritual, from the more barbarous to the kindlier treatment of fellow-countrymen. We should expect that in course of time feasts would be added, and for the sake of general convenience their dates more definitely fixed, and the priesthood become more ordered and defined. We know, too, that, as the danger of foreign invasion increased, the idea of a nation and of a religion both absolutely different from all others became more and more prominent, and hence a marked distinction between the treatment of the foreigner and the Israelite is a characteristic of late date (cf. Neh 13^{23-31}). We gather, then, that C, D, P is the historical order of these codes. It will be seen on examination how, in almost every particular, D marks a transition between C and P in the law of manumission. In C the treatment of slaves is harsh. They are regarded as little better than the absolute property of their masters. They have only the one chance of freedom, which, if they have married in slavery, can only be accepted at the cost of breaking the sacred ties of family. In D this harshness almost, if not entirely, disappears. It is suggested that the master might treat his slave so kindly that the latter would, apart from all other considerations, prefer his service to liberty, and if he did not the master was to reward him liberally. But if the slave elected to remain he had no second chance of liberty. In P the kindness hinted at in D becomes a legal requirement. The Hebrew slave had always through redemption a chance of liberty, and could not legally remain, even nominally, a slave after the year of jubile. The perpetual servitude of a Hebrew was in no case permissible.

D. How are these three codes related to the narrative portions of the Hexateuch? We may begin by examining Genesis. We find that the greater part of the book is divided into groups of longer or shorter pieces, generally paragraphs or chapters, distinguished respectively by the almost exclusive use of Elohim or J″ as the name of God. As the latter is the ordinary word throughout the other books of the Bible, it suggests at once that Elohim is purposely used in those sections where it occurs, because, according to Ex 3^{13-15} 6^{2-8}, the name J″ was first revealed to Moses in Midian, and it seemed improper to anticipate the name, even in the narrative portions of an earlier period. Further, it shows that this scruple was felt by one or more writers, but not by all. The theory advocated by some opponents of biblical criticism, that the names are used by the same writer with special reference to the subject in hand, Elohim representing the God of power, J″ the God of love, or other such distinctions, does not tally with the facts. Why in two narratives both dealing with Creation, and in two narratives both dealing with Abraham and Sarah's deceit, should Elohim be used in one of them and J″ in the other? But in other sections the name of God either seldom occurs, or Elohim is used by or to strangers, in which case J″ is on other grounds inappropriate; or again, in certain sections the two names seem to be used indifferently. Again, beyond Ex 6, the name of God is of less use as a criterion, because Elohim occurs seldom. We will provisionally designate the group of passages in which J″ is used as J, those in which Elohim is used as E. On further examination we discover that while J is, generally speaking, consistent in style and character, E, on the other hand, falls into two very distinct groups. One of them, which we will call provisionally E^1, is very much like J in general character and in the subjects with which it deals, and, moreover, has in many parts been combined presumably with J. The other, E^2, is entirely unlike either of these in style, but will be found on further examination to bear in point of language and character a close affinity to the P code. This is shown partly by the love for ceremonial law, as the Sabbath (Gn $2^{2.3}$), the provision against eating blood (Gn 9^4), the rite of circumcision (17, etc.); but even more remarkably by the use of the characteristic vocabulary and style of P. For example, in Gn 1–2^{3a} 'after his (her or their) kind' occurs very frequently as well as in 6^{20} 7^{14}. It also occurs in Lv 11^{14-29} (9 times), and far less frequently in the parallel passage of D (Dt 14^{11-18}); 'be fruitful and multiply' occurs in Gn $1^{22.28}$ 8^{17} 9^7 35^{11}, Lv 26^9. 'Everything that creepeth upon the earth (or ground),' Gn $1^{25.26.30}$ 6^{20} $7^{8.14.21}$ [contrast 7^{23} of J], Lv 11^{41-46}. We see, then, that the most characteristic phrases of Gn 1–2^{3a} occur not only in similarly characterized (*i.e.* E^2) passages of Genesis, but also in the code of P. We are thus justified in regarding P and E^2 as parts of a single source, and in future we shall understand P as including both. If we examine the narrative portions of Exodus and Numbers, we find the same phenomena, except that as here J″ is most frequently used as the name of God after Ex 3, it becomes more difficult to distinguish J and E. P can usually be separated with little difficulty because of its very marked character. Now, if we compare C with J and E, we find that it bears close affinities in point of language to both, so that we may call it JE, meaning thereby that in its final form it is probably a combination of both, and we shall further find it convenient to use this expression for the present for the J and E elements generally, without at this stage making any attempt to distinguish them. We shall find that by far the larger part of the narratives, as distinct from the laws, of Exodus and Numbers belong to JE, whereas, with special exceptions, the legal portions belong to P. In the last chapters of Dt and in the whole of Joshua we find elements of JE. In the latter book we also find elements which connect it with D (see below iii. 1. *C*). It should be observed that not only do we find here and there different *separate pieces* in the Hexateuch, shown by their characters to belong to these three sources, P, D, JE, but the pieces will often be found connected together by an obvious continuity of subject when pieced together, like the bits of patchwork in the illustration with which we started. For example, if we read continuously Gn 11^{27-32} $12^{4b.5}$ $13^{6a.11b.12a}$ $16^{1a.3.15-16}$ 17. 19^{29} $21^{1a.2b-5}$ 23. 25^{7-11a}, passages mainly, on other grounds, attributed to P, we get an almost continuous and complete, though very concise, account of Abraham's life. When we consider the number of revisions which the books of OT must have passed through, this is remarkable, and shows what a strong inclination the composers and editors must have had to preserve everything which they found.

iii. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DIFFERENT SOURCES.—What has hitherto been said is little more than a statement of what has been proved by the critical investigation of some three-quarters of a century. A really satisfactory proof can only be obtained by one who has the patience to work out the problem step by step for himself. But to do this adequately a fuller account of these sources is necessary. For the convenience of the critical student these will now be taken in their order of difficulty, the first being that which can be most easily distinguished, and so with the rest.

1. **D.**—*A. Characteristics of D.*—As already observed, (*a*) *the larger traits of D* are very easily recognized. A serious student cannot fail to notice the hortatory character of Dt, its tone of gentle pleading, its spirituality as regards both God and man. God has no outward and visible form (Dt 4^{12}); God is near man, and His law is within man's heart (30$^{11-14}$); man's relation to God is by nothing more truly expressed than by love (6^{5} 10^{12}). The heart needs circumcision (10^{16} 30^{6}). Dt may be called the Gospel of the Hexateuch. Comparatively little importance is attached to religious ceremony. Though opposed to anthropomorphism, the writer expresses, in a very marked way, the personality of God in language which implies anthropopathic views; notice esp. 5^{9} 6^{15}. (*b*) *The aims and contents of Dt* are equally characteristic. It seeks emphatically to establish the worship of one God (6^{4}), and enjoins the absolute destruction of all visible representations of J″ as well as of heathen gods, the first by implication (4^{15}), the second by reiterated statement (7^{25} etc. 12$^{2.3}$ etc.), the abolition of all places of worship except the one sanctuary chosen by God (12$^{5-7.11.14.18.21}$ 16$^{2.6}$ etc.). Here, and here alone, they were to offer their sacrifices and keep their feasts. (*c*) Among *the institutions contemplated*, or perhaps we should rather say *described, by Dt* are a monarchy (17$^{14-20}$), a prophetic order (18$^{15-22}$), a priesthood of Levites; that is to say, every Levite is a priest without distinction; the phrase 'the priests the Levites' occurs frequently (17^{9} 18^{1} etc.). (*d*) *The style of Dt* is smooth and flowing, tending to redundancy, generally pleasing to the ear, but at times perhaps a little tedious. Notice especially the accumulation of synonyms, or of words of the same class. Such phrases as 'with all thy *heart*, with all thy *soul*,' etc.; 'the *ordinances*, the *statutes*, and the *judgments*'; 'the *stranger*, the *widow*, and the *fatherless*,' are frequent. There is, too, a constant repetition of favourite phrases (see below, *B* (2)).

B. Language of D.—We shall find it convenient to distinguish (1) *favourite words*, especially where one synonym is used in preference to another; (2) characteristic *phrases and expressions*. Under (1) notice especially Horeb (for Sinai), אָמָה 'a maid-servant' (שִׁפְחָה only in 28^{68}); חֵטְא, the unusual word for 'sin' (the common form חַטָּאת occurs thrice only); אֲדָמָה 'earth' or 'ground,' very frequently in former sense (for common אֶרֶץ); לֵבָב 'heart,' very frequent (לֵב only 4 times); לַמֵּד 'to teach,' very frequent, marking the didactic character of the book; קְלָלָה 'a curse,' frequent (אָלָה occurs 6 times, 5 of them in Dt 29); קֶרֶב with בְּ or מִן 'in' or 'from the midst of' (for תּוֹךְ); שָׁמַר 'to keep, observe,' very frequent, esp. of keeping God's laws, etc.; also in Niphal in such phrases as 'take heed to thyself.' Under (2) the phrases 'J″ thy (your, etc.) God,' 'hear, O Israel,' 'prolong thy (your) days,' 'cleave to J″ thy God,' 'serve other gods, which neither you nor your fathers have known,' 'that it may be well with thee,' 'that thou mayest possess the land,' 'at that time,' are sufficiently familiar. Under both (1) and (2) we have given only a few of the most striking examples out of many. To show the full force of the argument we should have to point out the *relative frequency* of a very much larger number of words and phrases. But those given are so thoroughly characteristic that they will be at once recognized as specially belonging to Deut. by any one at all familiar with that book. Turn for example to Dt 6$^{1-3}$. In these 3 verses, taken almost at random, at least 8 examples occur of the words and phrases mentioned above; indeed there is hardly a single phrase in them, excepting 'a land flowing with milk and honey,' which does not illustrate the peculiar style of the book. It should be realized, too, that such differences of style as we can feel and appreciate go far beyond what can be expressed categorically, just as we may recognize a friend's face, or even his step or his handwriting, from a thousand, although we could but very imperfectly describe the manifold peculiarities which make up its individuality of character. These remarks are also true, more or less, of the characteristics of the other sources of the Hexateuch.

C. Extent of D.—Hitherto we have spoken of D as though it coincided exactly with Dt; but, as a fact, we find on examination (*a*) that the peculiar characteristics which mark D are not found in some few sections of Dt at all. (*b*) In other parts of Dt they are found less constantly, and these have also some peculiarities of their own. (*c*) The characteristics of D, or some of them, are found also in some other parts of the Hexateuch. In other words, D may be used in a narrower and a wider sense. In the narrower sense it includes only Dt 5–34 (or perhaps 12–34), except at least 31$^{14-23}$ 32$^{48-52}$ 34$^{7-9}$ (see below, iii. 2 *C*). The portions of Hex. outside of Dt belonging to D in the wider sense are not so easily determined, though the fact that some do so belong may be regarded as certain. The reason is that in other parts of the Hex. we find very few passages which appear to have been originally written by D, but several which seem to have been revised by one or more writers in the spirit and style of D, because we find in them traces also of the characters which distinguish the earlier documents. Such revisions give rise to some of the greatest difficulties of biblical criticism, and it requires very nice handling to disentangle the various literary elements, but their extent is not large enough to throw the least serious doubt on the larger results of criticism, nor can there be any serious doubt of the fact of such revisions having taken place. As far as D is concerned, the revision seems to have varied very much in different cases. Sometimes a mere characteristic touch is added. Sometimes D must have rewritten passages altogether. Sometimes again D appears to have expanded the narratives, etc., by considerable insertions. This being the case, we can hardly be surprised at a considerable difference of opinion among critics. Thus Dillmann finds in Genesis a large number of passages belonging to D, whereas several critics find none at all. The most characteristic D passage of Genesis is 18^{19}. The suggestion that Abraham would or should command his children reminds us of Dt 4^{10} 6^{7} 11^{19} etc. 'Keeping' (of God's commandments) and 'doing judgment,' etc., are characteristically Deuteronomic; for the latter cf. Dt 6^{1}. Notice also the use of the synonyms 'justice' and 'judgment.' Ex 13$^{3-16}$ is believed by many critics to have been revised by D. The solemn injunction to remember a great event in v.^{3}, the emphatic use of 'this day' in vv.$^{3.4}$, the direction to instruct the children in v.^{14}, the striking metaphors of vv.^{9} and ^{16}, are all familiar characters of D (see Dt 16^{3} 6^{20} 6^{8} 11^{18}), though it is, of course, possible, on the other hand, that Dt 6$^{8.20-25}$ are in reality expansions of this very passage. There are also characteristic D touches in Ex 15^{25b-26}, 'a statute and an ordinance,' 'diligently hearken,' 'J″ thy God,' 'commandments and statutes.' When several touches of this sort occur together, it is extremely improbable that they are the result of a mere coincidence. Perhaps the most instructive example of a D revision is in the Decalogue in Ex 20. The expansion of the Decalogue, as distinct from the short commandments, which probably were the original 'ten words,' is full of D phrases: for example, 'J″ thy God' (vv.$^{2.\,7.\,10.\,12}$), 'jealous God' (v.^{5}), 'love me and keep my commandments' (v.^{6}), and especially 'that thy days may be long' (v.^{12}). There appear to be traces of a similar revision in Ex 34^{10b-15}; and Nu 21^{33-35} is by several critics regarded as interpolated from Dt 3^{1-3}. When we come to Joshua we find that passages so characterized, instead of being as it were sporadic, become frequent; but except in 23, which is throughout Deuteronomic in style, they are mostly confined to the first 13 chapters. This seems to show that previous accounts of the conquest of Canaan were rewritten by D, who also added supplementary passages, such as 18^{7} 21^{43}–22^{8} 23 and parts of 24, while in the earlier books, as in some of the Exodus passages already cited, the D elements are so fused as to make an exact analysis very difficult and uncertain.

D. Date and Origin of D.—D, or part of D, has long been recognized as the book found in the temple in Josiah's reign, the account of which is given in 2 K 22, chiefly on the following grounds. (1) The whole of the Pentateuch, or even of the legal portions of it, could not have been read *twice in one day*, as was apparently the case with this book (2 K 22^{11} 23^{2}). (2) Josiah's reforms, confessedly based upon this discovered book, were, in fact, carried out in the spirit of Dt (*a*) by the destruction of the high places, not only idolatrous, but those in which J″ had been worshipped (2 K $23^{8.\,9}$), so that the one single sanctuary, so emphatically ordered in Dt, then first became an established fact (it is clear that the attempt of Hezekiah, 2 K 18^{4}, to put down the high places was only partial or tentative); and (*b*) in connexion with this by the keeping of the passover at Jerusalem, cf. 2 K 23^{21-23} with Dt $16^{5.\,6}$; (*c*) by the abolition of the Asherim and of all idolatrous images and symbols of worship. (3) The stress laid upon the prophetic order is specially suitable to this period, when the prophets exercised so great and wide an influence. That Jeremiah should have been permitted to utter such prophecies as those contained in chs. 7 and 22 with reference to the temple worship and the royal house without molestation, shows the awe which the prophet's office inspired. (4) The peculiar ideas and thoughts, and to a certain extent the phraseology, of D penetrate Jeremiah's prophecies, and in a less degree those of Ezekiel, as we should expect from a newly-written, epoch-making book. Take, for example, such remarkable thoughts as the spiritual circumcision, cf. Dt 10^{16} 30^{6} with Jer 6^{10} $9^{25.\,26}$, Ezk 44^{7}, and the law written in the heart, cf. Dt 30^{11-14} with Jer 31^{31-34} and Ezk 36^{27}. But in both cases, the latter especially, the peculiarities in the *style*, etc., of these prophetic writers forbid our ascribing Dt to either prophet. And yet some of the ideas of Dt are to be found in a less complete form in Isaiah, and in this connexion we may bear in mind the first attempts by Hezekiah to put down the worship of the high places. From these facts we may conclude that Dt, or the essential part of it, was written either in the reign of Manasseh, or very early in that of Josiah. (1) If the former, it may have been the work of some priest or priests, who employed the time spent in forced seclusion in committing to writing their view of the law, derived partly from earlier documents, partly from the traditional teaching of the priests, and coloured largely, no doubt, by the religious ideas and feelings of their own time. In this way round an earlier nucleus a new body of laws might have gathered, which would naturally have developed all the more rapidly, as the priests, unable during the long reign of Manasseh to perform their ordinary functions, had more leisure for spiritual meditation, just as afterwards the Mishna resulted from the expulsion of the Jews under Hadrian. If so, this law-book was probably hidden by some priest for safety in the temple, in the hope that it might survive those troublous times as the written record of God's law, and the discovery of it may have been perfectly genuine. Even supposing that its existence and whereabouts were secrets known to the priests, this would not present a very serious moral difficulty. Just as the writer or writers of Dt in describing the customs and laws of their own times genuinely believed that they were giving the laws dictated by Moses by express revelation, their successors would have held the same belief, even though they may have known that they had been secretly written down, just as late Jews firmly believed that besides the Pentateuch a very large number of laws had been handed down from Moses by oral tradition. To understand the views of such an age we must first realize the entire absence of anything approaching to literary criticism. (2) Although not a *necessary* result of accepting the later date, the majority of critics believe this book of the law to have been the result of a pious fraud promulgated by Hilkiah and Shaphan with the intention of deceiving Josiah into the belief that the reforms which they desired were the express command of God revealed to Moses. We must reserve for a later stage some remarks about the various extensions and modifications of D. It will be enough at present to say that according to either view the book discovered can hardly be the whole of Dt, but rather the law which it contains, *i.e.* in the main, 12–29^{1} or 12–31^{13}, with possibly the addition of 5–11.

2. **P. The Priestly Book.**—*A.* The most striking *general characteristics* of P are: (1) first and foremost, *the love of ceremonial law*, most obvious, of course, in the legal sections, as in Leviticus and the Priestly laws of Exodus and Numbers, but very noticeable also in the narrative sections, as shown, for example, in the institution and reference to the Sabbath in Gn $2^{2.\,3}$, Ex 16^{21-30}; the prohibition against eating blood, Gn 9^{4}; the rite of circumcision, Gn 17. 21^{3-5}; the Passover, Ex 12^{1-20}, Jos 5^{10-12}. (2) *Fondness for statistical details*, esp. those connected with persons and dates. The exact lengths of the lives of the patriarchs are always given, Gn 5. 9^{29} 11^{10-32} etc. By the age of a patriarch are marked the exact dates of important events, such as the beginning and end of the Flood, Gn 7^{11} 8^{13}, in which last the very day of the month is given; the institution of circumcision, 17^{24}; the age of the father at the birth of the firstborn (or covenant?) son, Gn 5. 11^{10-26}. The exact details and dimensions of the ark are given, 6^{14-17}, as well as of every part of the tabernacle and its contents, Ex 25–31^{17} 35–40. Notice also the frequent insertion of genealogies, for the most part little more than lists of names, Gn 5. 11^{10-26} 25^{12-18} 36. (3) *A tendency to symmetry and similarity of phraseology* in describing similar events. Notice, for example, in Gn 1 the regular repetition of such phrases as 'and God said' and 'God saw that it was good,' 'and the evening and the morning were the first (second, etc.) day.' The genealogies of Gn 5 and 11 are like recurring patterns, the verses scarcely varying except in the name and the number of years. In the five wonders of P in Ex 7–9 (see below iii. 2. *C*) there is a similar framework of phraseology into which the varying details are inserted. 'J″ spake unto Aaron (or unto Moses and Aaron)'—direction how to perform the wonders, beginning in the first four with 'take thy rod,' or an equivalent phrase—statement that the plague was done accordingly—that the magicians could (or could not in the last two) do so with their enchantments—and that Pharaoh's heart was hardened (with some

variation of phrase), 'and he hearkened not unto them as J" had spoken.' (4) We see also the same tendency to symmetry in the insertion of *the same or similar headings* in introducing subjects of a like kind, as 'these are the generations of,' Gn 2^{4} (transposed probably from before Gn 1^{1}) 5^{1} 6^{9} 10^{1} 11$^{10. 27}$ 25$^{12. 19}$ 36^{1} 37^{2a}, 'and Moses gave unto the tribe of,' Jos 13$^{15. 24. 29}$; and of *similar conclusions* at the end of a subject or part of a subject, as, for example, in Gn 10$^{5. 20. 32}$, Ex 25$^{9. 40}$ 26^{30}, Jos 13$^{23. 28}$. (5) *In form* P is in its narrative portions little more than *a collection of dry annals*. Stories are seldom inserted, and when they are it is for the sake of some ceremonial provision, as the Creation story of Gn 1 for the Sabbath, the Flood story as an introduction to the prohibition against eating blood. Both lack the picturesqueness of the corresponding J stories, and all that P has to say of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah is the bare statement of 19^{29}. There is nothing thought worth preserving of P's history of Joseph except the short statistics of Gn 37^{1-2a} 41^{46a} 46$^{6. 7}$, and possibly 47$^{8a. 7-11\,27b. 28}$. (6) P's *style is stiff and formal*, and seldom marked by delicate poetic feeling or grace of treatment, though occasionally stately and dignified, as in the Creation narrative, where the symmetry is certainly melodious, and adds grandeur to the conception. The repetitions help us to realize the almighty power of God. So, too, in the description of the five wonders in Egypt, Ex 7–9, the repetitions serve to intensify the stubborn obstinacy of Pharaoh in resisting the divine power. Again, Gn 23, though introduced by P with the obvious purpose of accounting for the burying-place of the patriarchs, is distinctly interesting because of its archæological quaintness, and is probably based upon some ancient document. The same is true of Gn 14, if, as some critics maintain, in its present form it belongs to P.

B. Vocabulary and Language of P.—In Genesis and Ex 1–5, prior that is to the revelation of the name J", P always uses as the name of God 'Elohim' or אֵל שַׁדַּי 'God Almighty,' the latter esp. of His revelation of Himself to the patriarchs, cf. Ex 6^{2} with Gn 17^{1} 35^{11} 48^{3}; P uses בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל 'the sons of Israel,' not 'Israel,' so also 'the children of Heth' ('Hittite' only in sing.); אֲנִי (130 times) for the more archaic אָנֹכִי (once only in P); נֶאֱסַף in the phrase '*gathered* to his people,' of burial; 'according to their generations'; זָכָר וּנְקֵבָה 'male and female,' Gn 1^{27} 6^{19} (in 7^{2} J has אִישׁ וְאִשְׁתּוֹ 'man and his wife'), Lv 3$^{1. 6}$ etc.; 'thou (you, etc.) and thy seed after thee,' Gn 9^{9}, Ex 28^{43}; בְּיַד 'by the hand of,' with words of command; 'that soul shall be cut off from his people,' and similar phrases, Gn 17^{14} (contrast 'shall surely be put to death' in the Book of the Covenant, Ex 21 (E)); לוּן 'to murmur' (only in P); מִין 'kind,' Gn 1 (throughout), Lv 11$^{14. 15}$; הַמִּשְׁכָּן 'the dwelling,' of the tabernacle (about 100 times); עֵדָה 'testimony,' as in the phrase 'the ark of the testimony' (only thrice in JE, and that in disputed passages); בְּעֶצֶם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה 'in the bone of this day,' *i.e.* 'in this very day,' 14 times; 'be fruitful and multiply,' very frequent; 'Paddan-aram,' never 'Naharaim' (the abode of Laban is called 'Haran' in JE, cf. Gn 28^{10} 29^{4} with 28^{2} 33^{18} 35^{9}, 'the children of the East' in 29^{1}); 'Sinai' (never 'Horeb'). There is also an avoidance of several otherwise common words and phrases, such as נָא with imperatives, גֵּרֵשׁ 'drive out,' עָשָׂה חֶסֶד 'do mercy,' וַיֹּסֶף 'and he added' to do something, *i.e.* did it again, לְפִי חָרֶב 'by the mouth, *i.e.* the edge, of the sword,' though these last two are so common as in a literal Greek translation to have found their way into the language of NT (Lk 20$^{11. 12}$ 21^{24}, He 11^{24}), 'a land flowing with milk and honey' (except in Lv 20^{24}). In this list, which is only a small selection out of many, all sacrificial terms and words of a like nature, which might be accounted for simply by the peculiar subject-matter of P, have been studiously avoided. In P the argument from language is quite as strong as that derived from the general character of that document. In most passages either taken alone would form conclusive evidence.

C. Extent of P.—In Genesis P can be at once distinguished from J by the use of *Elohim*, from E by its general characteristics, style, and vocabulary. All the Elohistic passages of 1–11 belong to P, and create little or no difficulty. In the rest of Genesis we find belonging to P: (1) *Short historical notices* dealing with (*a*) leading events, such as the rescue of Lot from the cities of the Plain, 19^{21}; Jacob's return from Paddan-aram, 31^{18} 33^{18}; his descent into Egypt with a characteristic statement of date, 46^{8}; the settlement of Esau in Seir, 36$^{8-8}$; (*b*) *statistics of births, deaths, and marriages*, 16$^{3. 15}$ 21^{3} 25^{28b} etc.; (*c*) *chronological details*, 12^{4b} 41^{46}. (2) *Genealogies*, 25$^{12-18}$ 35$^{23-29}$ (ch. 36 as a whole is probably a still later insertion). (3) *The blessings* of Abram, Sarai, and Ishmael, connected with the rite of circumcision, and in the case of the first two the change of name, ch. 17; of Jacob by his father in connexion with his dismissal and projected marriage with one of his own family in contrast to the heathen marriage of Esau, 27^{46}–28^{9}; and again directly by God, with change of name, 35$^{9-15}$. (4) The purchase of Machpelah, explaining the origin of the burial-place of the patriarchs, ch. 23, who, according to P, were all buried there, as well as their wives, 23^{19} 25^{9} 49^{31} 50^{13}.

In the Sinaitic portion of Exodus the P sections are obvious. We may, without hesitation, ascribe to P 24^{15b-18} (or ^{18a}) 25^{1}–31^{17} (or possibly ^{18}) 35–40. In the earlier parts of Ex, P is more fragmentary, but it will be readily recognized that the following passages contain several of its characteristics and are evidently connected together. In 1$^{1-7}$ we have a genealogical notice, with the statement in v.^{7} that the Israelites were 'fruitful and multiplied.' 2^{23b-25} is a passage with *Elohim* as the name of God, and refers back to the patriarchal covenant of Gn 17, etc., and therefore must also be assigned to P. We find the connexion between these two sections in 1^{14} a *concise* doublet of vv.$^{8-13}$, which latter has not the characters of P, and belongs therefore to another source (JE). In 6$^{2-9}$ we have P's version of the revelation of the sacred name J" (contrast 3) marked as P's by אֵל שַׁדַּי (see above, iii. 2. *B*). 7$^{1-7}$ is clearly P's introduction to its five wonders (vv.^{8} and ^{7} are very characteristic of P). P's five wonders follow in 7$^{8-13}$ *rod into serpent*, 7$^{19-20a. 21b-22}$ *water into blood*, 8$^{5-7. 15b.}$ [Heb. 8$^{1-3. 11b}$] *frogs*, 8$^{18-19}$ [Heb. 8$^{12-15}$] *lice*, 9$^{8-12}$ *boils*, and 11$^{9. 10}$ (by some ascribed to R) appears to mark the conclusion. In 12$^{1-20. 28}$ we have the ordinances of the passover, marked as P's both by its language and ceremonial character. Ch. 16, *in its present form*, appears largely to belong to P (special points of interest for P being the stringency of the Sabbath requirements, vv.$^{26-30}$, and the preservation of the pot of manna), though parts of the chapter are regarded by many critics as later. The rest of P in this part of Exodus consists merely of short statements giving an itinerary of the journey from Egypt to Sinai.

The whole of Leviticus evidently belongs to P in the wider sense of the word, and almost the whole of Numbers. The exceptions are: (*a*) Nu 10^{29}–12; (*b*) 13. 14; (*c*) 16; (*d*) 20–21; (*e*) 22^{2}–25^{5}; (*f*) 32. Of these (*a*) and (*e*) belong entirely to JE (see BALAAM). In (*d*) and (*f*), if we except perhaps 20$^{1-13}$, only unimportant fragments of P have been introduced. In (*b*) (the account of the spies) and (*c*) (the rebellion of Korah, Dathan and Abiram), P's narrative has been combined with JE, but in both it can generally be separated without much difficulty. In 13$^{1-17}$ we have the list of the spies, their fathers and their tribes, symmetrically arranged with a characteristic heading and conclusion, 'these are the (their) names,' etc., vv.^{4} and ^{16}, a descriptive summary of the geographical range of their search (omitting the picturesque details of JE, such as the huge bunch of grapes, and the terrific giants), and the *date* of their return, vv.$^{25.\,26a}$. In their report no mixture of character is displayed, but there is a sharp contrast between the bad report of the ten spies, v.^{32a}, and the good report of Joshua and Caleb, $14^{6.\,7}$, of whom the latter only appears in JE. The effects on the congregation, as told in the P narrative, are probably to be found in $14^{1.\,2}$ (in part) ^{5} and ^{10}. This last verse has P's characteristic 'tent of meeting.' P's narrative seems to be continued in v.^{26}, but in this section the analysis is far more difficult and uncertain. In ch. 16 we can separate with little trouble P's rebellion of the *Levitical* Korah from JE's *popular* rebellion of Dathan and Abiram, the one against the high priesthood of Aaron, the other against the secular authority of Moses. Quite apart from the critical characters which mark the various sections of the chapter, it is evident that we have not here a single consistent account of a double rebellion, against Church and State, so to speak. For example, in v.^{22} there is an allusion to the sin of 'one man,' evidently Korah, the 250 of v.^{35} being merely his satellites; but almost immediately after, in v.^{24}, Dathan and Abiram are connected with Korah, as though acting in concert. In v.^{25} the first two appear alone, and in v.^{26} the warning to depart out of their tents, which as given by God in v.^{24} refers to all three, is given by Moses only with reference to Dathan and Abiram. The test by which the claim of these two is to be tried, vv.$^{29.\,30}$, is different from that threatened to Korah and his men in v.^{7}. The latter, which is to take place while they are engaged in offering incense, is evidently connected with the punishment of v.^{35}. There can be little doubt that in P's original account Korah was consumed by fire with the 250. It is probable that when the accounts were welded together his name was added in v.^{32}, and those of Dathan and Abiram in vv.^{24} and ^{27a}. Except for some such modifications we can recognize P's narrative in vv.$^{1-11.\,16-24.\,27a.\,35-50}$. The portions of Dt commonly assigned to P are 4^{41-43}, the appointment of the cities of refuge, a necessity which arose in course of time out of the abolition of the high places where sanctuary was originally permitted, 32^{48-52} $34^{1a.\,7-9}$. P's account of the last days of Moses contains, among other characteristics of P, Moses' exact age, 34^{7}, and the statement that 'the children . . . did as J″ commanded Moses,' 34^{9}.

In Joshua the P portions are somewhat curiously distributed. P must certainly have contained some account of the conquest of the country, but it is probable that this was told in a dry and summary manner, and that the compilers preferred the more detailed and interesting account of the older sources. Certain it is that in chs. 1–12, containing the account of the conquest of the country, the only fragments which can be definitely recognized as derived from P are the accounts of the passover and other events in Gilgal told in 4^{19} 5^{10-12}, and of the covenant made with the Gibeonites by the princes of the congregation, $9^{15b.\,17-21.\,27a}$. There are also suspicions of P in such details as those given in 3^{4a} 4^{13} 7^{18b}, but we certainly cannot prove from them what the range of P's narrative really was. Beyond ch. 12 there is some difficulty, as there is evidence of mixture with other sources, but the following passages *in their present form* with little doubt belong to P, 13^{15-33} 14^{1-5} $15^{1-12.\,20-62}$ 16^{4-9} $17^{1a.\,3-6}$ (notice, among other things, the characteristic headings). With ch. 18 we get on clearer ground. With the exception of 18^{2-10} and $19^{40b-47.\,49-50}$, 18–21^{42} and 22^{9-34} belong almost entirely to P. It should be observed, however, that in this general analysis of P we have not, as a rule, attempted to distinguish between the work of P proper and later revisers.

D. Date and Origin of P.—(1) The date *cannot be earlier than Solomon's Temple.* The condition of religious worship evidenced by the Books of Judges and Samuel, for example the social character of the sacrificial feasts, Jg 21^{19}, 1 S 9^{12-24} 20^{18-24} etc.; the performance of sacrificial rites by other than Levites, as by Samuel, 1 S 7^{9} 10^{8} etc. (though an Ephraimite, 1 S 1^{1}), David, 2 S 6^{17}, and David's sons, 2 S 8^{18}; the illegality of the priestly portions, 1 S 2^{12-17}, which though *enjoined* by the Levitical law are here regarded as so sinful as to warrant the downfall of the house of Eli ($2^{22b.}$ is a very late gloss, not found even in the best MSS of the LXX),—all show that the laws of P were either unknown, or absolutely ignored during this early period. (2) Even after Solomon's reign, even if we could suppose that 1 and 2 K always give us an accurate account of the matter, and were not themselves influenced by P or kindred elements, the Levitical law would appear to have been only very partially observed. There are few references to it beyond the elaborate descriptions of the temple in 1 K 5–7. It is still disregarded by such great lights as Elijah and Elisha, who as prophets themselves sacrificed just as Samuel had done, and that without any regard for the one sanctuary which P throughout supposes, for example Lv $17^{3.\,4}$. (3) This argument from silence is strengthened by the remarkable fact that in Chronicles we have in many respects a Levitical version of the same facts as those differently related in Samuel and Kings; as, for example, of the bringing up of the ark from Kiriath-jearim (contrast 2 S 6 with 1 Ch 15–16^{6}), and the conspiracy against Athaliah (contrast 2 K 11 with 2 Ch 22^{10}–23), making it almost certain that the Books of Samuel and Kings were in the main written before, those of Chronicles after, the institutions of P were formulated. (4) A further *terminus a quo* is furnished by a comparison between the codes of D and P. We have already shown at some length reasons for believing that *the code of P was subsequent to that of D* (see above, ii. *C*), showing in every respect signs of greater elaboration and development. (5) The style of P shows, by its stiffness, artificiality, and conciseness of treatment, that it is dealing with a dead past—a mere summary composed out of old written records, not the perpetuation in literary form of a still living tradition. All these facts point in the same direction, that P was far later than JE, and probably considerably later than D. Indeed, a considerable distance of time is required to account for the difference of vocabulary. (6) *There is no historical event likely to account for P previous to the Exile.* Such a document as compared with D marks a reformation, one might almost say a revolution, in religious worship. But it may easily be accounted for by the Exile itself. Outside of P there was no complete system of ritual laws. In all probability, they were largely traditional and of gradual growth. Some of them were codified in Dt, but a great many points are not mentioned, for precisely the same reason that many points of ritual are left untouched in the rubrics of the English Prayer-Book, because they are matters of common knowledge settled by prevailing custom. If a stranger could be supposed to have to conduct a service in an English Church, he would not know what he was expected to say, or whether he was expected to say anything, before and after the sermon, in what part of the Church he was to read the lessons, the Litany, or preach the sermon, and many other things of the kind. How many more serious questions must naturally have arisen concerning the ritual of sacrifice, involving, as it did, so much manual work! These things were originally decided, it is probable, by local custom. When religious worship had become centralized at Jerusalem they would probably be settled authoritatively by the body of priests, who are likely to have followed in the main the traditions of the old sanctuary of Jerusalem. (7) But when the line of tradition was broken by the Exile the need would have arisen for more elaborate directions, and we do actually find the prophet Ezekiel framing a sort of manual of ritual, though in some respects ideal and visionary (chs. 40–48). (8) But the troubles and disturbances which followed upon the Restoration must have made it difficult to establish any complete system of worship, and we do not hear of any complete religious organization till the time of Ezra. It would probably then be near the truth to say that P is *the result of the religious movement which began with Ezekiel in Babylon, and found its completion with Ezra.* Just as the book of the Law found in the house of J″ in Josiah's reign was D, or the nucleus of D, so it is likely that the law-book read by Ezra, Neh 8, was P, or the essential part of P. It is important to observe that the legal ordinances referred to in Neh are to be found in P rather than in D; for example, the custom of dwelling in booths, 8^{13-18}.

3. JE. The Jahwistic and Elohistic Sources.—*A.* When we have taken away from the Hexateuch all the passages which can with a fair degree of probability be assigned to D or P, we find that the remainder forms a fairly complete and homogeneous whole, giving us, by a succession of narratives more or less connected, an outline of Jewish history from the Creation to the Settlement in Palestine, in fact covering, speaking generally, the same ground as P. This remainder we might have regarded as one literary source, were it not that a difference of authorship is discovered by the use of *Elohim* and *J″* in Gn–Ex 3 (see above, ii. *D*), which enables us to distinguish at once a certain number of sections as belonging to J and E respectively. Thus to J belong 2^{4b}–4^{26} 5^{29} 6^{1-4} 7–8 (ptly.) 9^{20-27} $10^{8-19. 21}$ 11^{1-9} $12^{1-4a. 6-20}$ $13^{1-5. 6b-11a. 12b-18}$ 15 (with some mixture perhaps of E), $16^{1b-2. 4-14}$ 18. 19^{1-28} 22^{20-24} (unless the insertion of a reviser) 24. 28^{13-16} 38. 39. To E we may with equal certainty assign 20^{1-17} 21^{6-32} 22^{1-13} $28^{10-12. 17-22}$ $31^{4-17a. 19-44}$ 31^{51}–32^{2} 35^{1-5} 40–42. 45 (almost entirely) 46^{1-5} $48^{1. 2. 8-22}$ 50^{15-26}. But in other sections either the name of God seldom occurs, or the names at first sight seem used indifferently, the sections being in the latter case generally compounded, as a close examination shows, of both sources. After Exodus, though we can readily see that both sources still continue, the distinction becomes more difficult, because though E, unlike P, still uses the name *Elohim* sometimes, *J″* is more generally used; but even here this occasional use of *Elohim* is often helpful in discovering E sections. The mixture of divine names in Gn–Ex 3 sometimes arises from the fact that E *purposely* uses the name *J″* and *vice versâ*. Thus E of necessity used the name J″ in Ex 3^{14} itself, but also in Gn 28^{22}, where the name has a peculiar emphasis, the point being that Jacob promises to worship his country's God even in a strange land; the name is, however, sometimes assigned to a reviser. This is probably the case also with Gn 22^{14}, unless it be actually a Jahwistic passage inserted in the E story. On the other hand, *Elohim* is sometimes used by J: (1) When God is spoken of by those not in covenant with J″, as by Adam and Eve before the time of Seth, when men began to call on the name of *J″* (Gn 4^{26}), and by the Serpent (Gn 3^{1-5} 4^{25} etc.). (2) When emphasis is laid on God's abstract nature, especially in contrast to man, Gn 16^{13} 32^{30} (see below, iii. 3. *B*). (3) In the construct state, when with a following word it is used descriptively of God, as 'God of Abraham,' 'of heaven and earth,' etc., Gn $24^{3. 7. 27}$ 26^{24} etc.

B. The separation of J and E in mixed passages, and those especially in which the name of God is for any of the reasons given not a sufficient criterion, as in the later books of the Hexateuch, is a matter of considerable difficulty, there being no characters of J or E so marked as to enable us (as we could with D and P) at once to assign the sections in which they occur to either source; but it can in most cases be decided with a fair degree of certainty. Moreover, the more the passages which can be definitely assigned to one source or the other, the easier the task becomes, because we obtain a larger number of criteria by which to recognize either source. But in spite of the labours of critics there still remains a considerable number of passages in which the division of sources is very uncertain. There is, too, always a certain danger of using as criteria comparatively rare words or phrases, which possibly by accident happen to occur once or twice in one source or the other. The reasonings by which the critical results are obtained are very complicated. They are chiefly those suggested by breaks in the narrative, points of contact, whether by continuity of language or connexion of subject, with known E or J fragments, and the like. Such arguments are often more trustworthy than those derived from vocabulary. We can make this clearer by analyzing Gn 32 as an example. Here there is no P passage, and the whole certainly belongs to JE. Vv.^{1} and ^{2} (Heb.$^{2. 3}$, and so on with the other verses) are obviously the conclusion of an E section (31^{51}–32^{2}), the name *Elohim* being used throughout and constantly, though the section has no P characteristics. It will be seen on examination that vv.$^{3-13a}$ belong to J. For (1) there is no apparent continuity between vv.^{2} and ^{3}. (2) On the other hand, vv.$^{3-13a}$ form a narrative continuous in itself without any obvious breaks, and the same is true of vv.$^{13b-21}$. (3) Vv.$^{3-13a}$ contain parallels, differing in detail, both with the preceding and the following paragraphs, and therefore belong to a different source from either. Thus v.^{10c} gives a different explanation of Mahanaim from that given in v.^{2}, and in vv.$^{13b-21}$ Jacob is (*a*) *again described* as dividing his property in view of the coming of Esau, but (*b*) *differently*, each drove by itself, vv.$^{16. 17}$, instead of the whole into two, v.^{7}, and (*c*) *with a different purpose*, in order to propitiate his brother by degrees with an accumulation of peace-offerings, vv.$^{17-20}$, not that one might escape if Esau attacked the other, as in v.^{8}; (*d*) *the property is differently described*, goats being added, slaves—male and female—omitted, or rather male slaves mentioned, not as part of the proposed present, but as having charge of it, cf. vv.$^{14-16}$ with $^{5. 7}$. Again, v.^{21b} is a repetition of v.^{13a}. (4) Again, both vv.$^{3-13a}$ and $^{13b-21}$ have points of contact with other known J and E sections respectively. Thus the possessions of $32^{5. 7}$ correspond very closely with 30^{43}, which belongs to J's account of the manner in which Jacob obtained his wealth *by trickery*, 30^{35-43}, and stands in contrast to E's account, which describes it as *a miracle* revealed by God in a dream, 31^{4-17}, or, at any rate, as so explained by Jacob. The latter passage is marked as E's by the constant use of *Elohim.* Again, 32^{9} refers to 31^{3}, an evidently J passage. So far all is clear, but in vv.$^{22-32}$, which has the appearance of a complete and unmixed passage, there is some difficulty. At first sight we should naturally think that it belongs to E, because of *Elohim* in vv.^{28} and ^{30}, and it is so referred by Dillmann; but the word, which is after all only one out of many criteria, may have been used purposely to express the abstract idea of God. The divine nature was such that even to see God, far more to wrestle with Him, meant death. And there are, in fact, many reasons for ascribing the passage to J. (1) The crude anthropomorphism is more in accordance with J's conception of God, see Gn 3^{8} 8^{21} 11^{5} 18$^{1. 2}$, Ex 4^{24} etc. E, indeed, is fond of dreams described as dreams (Gn 20^{3} 28$^{10-12}$ 40. 41), but with J even these are described realistically (see Gn 15^{17}, and cf. 28$^{13-16}$ (J) with 28$^{12. 17 \text{ etc.}}$ (E)). (2) Stories explanatory of place-names are far more characteristic of J than of E. (3) V.^{23b} is a doublet of v.^{21}, which speaks of the present as having already gone over. We may confidently then assign to E 32$^{1. 2. 13b-21}$, to J 32$^{3-13a. 22-32}$. The examination of this chapter will give some idea of the methods by which J and E may be often separated, but it must be admitted that in many cases, as in Gn 27$^{1-45}$, the analysis is much more difficult and uncertain.

C. For a complete analysis of JE throughout the Hexateuch the reader is referred to the critical works enumerated at the end of this article, especially the Tables prefixed to Holzinger's work, and artt. EXODUS, NUMBERS, etc. Sometimes the subject-matter forms indirectly a sufficient criterion for E or J. In the last chapters of Genesis and the early chapters of Exodus we find, as already noticed, two distinct traditions with regard to the locality occupied by the Israelites—one representing them as being in Goshen, apart from Egypt; the other as being among the Egyptians, employing the same midwives, able in the hurried departure of the night-journey to borrow jewels of their Egyptian neighbours, their houses so close together that the difference put by J″ between the Egyptians and Israel in the plague of the firstborn was a miracle of Divine Providence. The second view is certainly that of P (see Gn 47$^{6a. 7-11}$), but we find it also running through several JE sections. Now there are several reasons for ascribing Gn 46^{28}–47^{5} to J, among them being the prominence given to Judah, as in what we have reason to believe to be the J fractions of 37. 38. and 43, and the use of the word 'Israel' for 'Jacob,' the latter being generally found in E. It will therefore follow that in the JE portions all the sections in which Goshen is spoken of as the home of the Israelites belong to J, the rest to E.

D. The general characteristics of JE stand in marked contrast to P. The narratives are full of life and movement, and have a genuine local colour. The characters are men and women with flesh and blood, engaged in all the real and varied occupations of a simple and natural life. The stories are never so subordinated to a religious or historical purpose as to lose their individual interest. They give the impression that, from whatever sources the writers may have derived the thread of their stories, the colouring is that of a life with which they were familiar in all its aspects. But beyond this it will be found that J and E have each sufficiently marked characters of their own. The God of E is a God separate from man, who reveals Himself usually by a voice from heaven, often that of an angel, as in Gn 21^{17} 22^{11} (where *Elohim* seems to have been altered into *J″* to agree with 22^{14}); so in Gn 28^{12} the angels need a ladder to ascend and descend to and from God (contrast J's account in ver.^{13} 'and behold *J″ stood beside him*'). Or God reveals Himself by a dream, as in Gn 20^{3} 31^{11}. Even when anthropomorphic expressions are used, as 'God came,' Nu 22^{20}, 'the finger of God,' Ex 31^{18b}, 'spake unto Moses face to face,' Ex 33^{11} (cf. Nu 12^{8}), they do not seem, as in J, to convey any definite anthropomorphic idea. But the J″ of J is much more human. Though recognized as 'the God of heaven' and the 'God of earth,' Gn 24^{3} etc., He was yet believed on occasions to have in His own person walked and talked with men, Gn 3^{8} 18$^{1 \text{ etc.}}$ 28^{13}, Ex 4^{24}, so that Abraham actually mistook Him for a man, and Jacob wrestled with Him by night, Gn 32^{24}. He needed to go down in order to see the city and the tower, which the children of men builded, and again to see whether the Sodomites had done altogether according to the cry which had reached Him in heaven, Gn 11^{5} 18^{21}. E has a good deal more to say of religious worship, especially in connexion with different localities, such as Bethel and Shechem, so much so that God is once actually called 'the God of Bethel,' Gn 35^{7}. To E belong the earliest sacrificial laws, Ex 20$^{22-26}$. E mentions the construction of the holy Tent of Meeting, 33$^{7-11}$, and the ark, which is spoken of almost as though it were itself an object of religious worship, Nu 10$^{33-36}$. E also speaks of other primitive symbols of worship, as, notably, pillars, Gn 28$^{18. 22}$ 31^{45} 35^{14} (probably taken from E though in a P section), Ex 24^{4}; teraphim, Gn 31$^{19. 30}$; the brazen serpent, Nu 21$^{4-9}$ (cf. 2 K 18^{4}). But such symbols do not always meet with approval. Jacob as an act of exceptional piety makes his family put away their strange gods (*teraphim*) and ear-rings (a religious charm?), Gn 35$^{2-4}$; the calf-worship is condemned, Ex 32. E also has a reference to tithe in Gn 28^{22}. In J the feasts of the sacrificial laws, in their earliest form at any rate, have less of a ritual element, Ex 34^{10-28a}, cf. 23$^{10-33}$. As compared with E, J's narratives are, on the whole, more graphic and picturesque, and appeal more powerfully to the imagination, as especially Gn 2^{4b}–3. 24, Ex 2; but this is partly due to the subjects treated of. J's style is remarkably easy and simple, that of E is somewhat more stiff and formal, and the treatment more dignified, as in Gn 22. We have a good illustration of their difference of character in their treatment of the marvellous. In J the most wonderful phenomena appear quite natural. The writer feels himself in an ideal fairy land in which no wonders are surprising. When we are told that J″ brings the animals to the man to see what he would call them, we do not think of asking how this was possible, or even how it was done. But in other cases what in E are insisted upon as miracles, are in J ascribed to natural means. In J Jacob obtains his flocks and herds by a cunning trick thoroughly in keeping with his character, Gn 30$^{35-43}$. In E it is by a special act of God's providence, 31$^{4-13}$. In J the wonders of Egypt are performed by natural agency. It is an east wind that brings the locusts, Ex 10^{13}, that drives back the waters of the Red Sea, 14^{21}. In E these are performed by the, so to speak, magic power of Moses' rod. Similarly, Amalek is defeated by the virtue of Moses' uplifted hand. The story of Jacob and Laban illustrates also another tendency of E, to soften moral difficulties. The deception of his old father had been largely the fault of his mother, and also took place before the covenant with God at Bethel, and therefore might be passed over, but Jacob's dishonesty in dealing with Laban seemed inconsistent with the character of a patriarch. Notice again how E justifies the expulsion of Hagar, which in J is merely the result of jealousy (Gn 16$^{4-6}$), by representing it as the express command of God (21^{12}). There are also some important differences in the subject-matter of these two. In J Moses acts by and for himself. In E much importance is attached to subordinates. Aaron assists him in his miracles, and Jethro gives him practical advice, and leads him in the wilderness, Ex 18. Joshua acts as his minister, 24^{13}. In J the patriarchs are connected with Hebron, Gn 13^{18} 18^{1}, in E with Beersheba, 22^{19} 28^{10} 46^{5}, and Shechem, 33^{19} 48^{22}. In J Judah takes the leading part among Joseph's brethren, Gn 37^{26} 43^{1-14} $44^{14.16.18}$ 46^{28}, in E Reuben, $37^{21.22.29}$ $42^{22.37}$. In E the prophetic element is more prominent than in J. Abraham, Gn $20^{7.17}$, and Moses, Ex 33^{11} (E?), Nu 12^{8}, Jos 14^{6} (cf. also Ex 20^{18-21}, Nu 11^{2} 21^{7}), are described as prophets, Miriam as a prophetess, Ex 15^{20}. Joshua is the prophetic successor of Moses, both in wonder-working, Jos 8, and in his final exhortation and the promulgation of his law-book, 24.

E. Besides the use of *Elohim* and *J″* respectively, we find the following words and phrases characteristic of these two documents:—

E.—'Amorites' (used as name of aborigines of Palestine) for 'Canaanites.' 'Horeb' for 'Sinai.' 'Jacob' for 'Israel' (yet latter occurs in several E passages, esp. Gn 48–50, perhaps introduced by R). 'Jethro' for 'Raguel' of J. 'The man Moses,' three times. אָמָה 'handmaid,' for שִׁפְחָה (J) *invariably*, as in Ex 21. בְּעִיר 'beast' (only in E). בַּעַל 'lord' in its several uses as 'husband' (J and P have אִישׁ in this sense, E never). חִזֵּק לֵב 'harden heart,' Ex 1–12, for הִכְבִּיד, כִּבֵּד לֵב (J). כֹּה of place (J applies it to time). לֵבָב for לֵב (J). נִסָּה 'try,' 'prove,' esp. of God, as in Gn 22^{1}, Ex 15^{25} 20^{20} (?Ex 16^{4} $17^{2.7}$). הֶעֱלָה 'bring up,' of bringing up the Israelites out of Egypt. פָּגַע בְּ 'to light upon,' as in Gn 28^{11}. רְגָלִים, lit. 'feet,' in sense of 'times,' Ex 23^{14}. רָפָא 'heal,' with God as subject, Gn 20^{17}, Nu 12^{13} (so a ground for ascribing Ex 15^{26} in its original form [see above, iii. 1. *C*] to E). שִׂים לְגוֹי, lit. 'put for a nation,' for עָשָׂה לְגוֹי, lit. 'make for a nation' (J). תְּמוֹל שִׁלְשֹׁם 'the day before yesterday,' with בְּ or מִן, certainly characteristic of E, though in some of the Ex passages all critics do not agree. פָּתַר 'interpret' of dreams.

J.—אֲרַם נַהֲרַיִם 'Aram Naharaim' for 'Paddan-aram' (P). 'Israel' for 'Jacob.' 'Sinai,' as in P, for 'Horeb' (D, E). 'Canaanites,' but 'Perizzite,' Gn 13^{7} 34^{30}, Jg $1^{4.5}$ (according to Meyer an interpolation). 'To find grace in the eyes of,' very frequent in J, also in some JE passages. 'To call on the name of J″' *frequent*. 'To run to meet' *frequent*. Israelites called 'Israel,' not 'sons of Israel' (P), so 'Egypt' for 'Egyptian,' 'Reuben,' 'Gad,' etc., of the separate tribes. 'His brother,' in genealogies. אֲדָמָה 'land,' where אֶרֶץ would be used by E and P. אָנֹכִי for אֲנִי, usually. לָקַח לוֹ אִשָּׁה 'took him a wife,' regular formula in J, but once in E. בֹּאֲכָה 'as thou goest.' בִּי אֲדֹנִי 'I pray thee, my lord,' frequent but not exclusively in J. חִיָּה זֶרַע 'to preserve seed alive.' חָרֵב 'to be dry,' as of the Flood, for יָבֵשׁ (P). טֶרֶם for בְּטֶרֶם (E, only once in J). יָלַד Qal, 'to beget.' יָשַׁב בְּקֶרֶב 'dwell in the midst.' בָּבַר in sense of 'to be great, important.' לֵב for 'self,' as Gn 6^{6} 8^{21}. מִסְפּוֹא 'fodder,' Gn $24^{25.32}$ (E has מָזוֹן, Gn 45^{33}). נָא with imperatives, etc. (in Gn 40 times in J, 6 in E). נִשְׁמַת חַיִּים 'breath of life,' Gn 2^{7} 7^{22} (רוּחַ inserted), for רוּחַ חַיִּים (P), הַפַּעַם הַזֹּאת, הַפַּעַם, etc., frequent. צָעִיר, צְעִירָה of younger brothers and sisters (E קְטַנָּה). עַל־כֵּן קָרָא *frequently*, but once in E, Gn 21^{31}. שִׁפְחָה with P, etc., for אָמָה (E). Notice also a preference for the verbal suffix אֵת.

F. Date and Origin of JE.—The fact that most of the contents of JE are referred to by Amos and Hosea makes it *probable* that JE was prior to these prophets, but not absolutely certain, because, when these books were written, the stories may still have been current only in the form of oral tradition, and the absence of any mention of the story of Joseph, so full of religious and moral suggestions, is remarkable, though in such short books it is far from conclusive. But the priority to these prophets is made still more likely by the attitude of E towards religious symbols (see above, iii. 3. *D*). Hosea and Amos, while they show that such symbols still existed as a matter of course, evidently regarded them with disfavour. It is significant also that E, though disapproving of human sacrifice, exhibits no horror at the thought of it. To accept the blood of victims instead was a gracious act of God, who was willing in mercy to waive His just rights (Gn 22). Again, the fact that E speaks of Abraham, Moses, etc., as prophets (see iii. 3. *D*), points to a time when the prophet occupied an influential position. Add to this that the highest teaching of JE resembles that of the prophets. We can hardly then be far wrong in regarding the times of Hosea and Amos as the *terminus ad quem* for JE. But the differences of character between J and E, especially in their theological conceptions, tend to show that J is the older of the two documents. Moreover, the differences that we find within each of these documents, but most especially in J (see below, iii. 4. *A*), make it likely that both J and E were originally collections of stories varying in date, and probably handed down for the most part, if not entirely, by oral tradition, some of them, it may be, centuries before they were committed to writing. Probably, as among other nations, the oldest which acquired a fixed form were popular songs describing some great national events, such as the Song of Miriam (Ex 15) and those preserved in Nu 21 (cf. also the Song of Deborah, Jg 5). In Gn $4^{23.24}$ we have evidently a fragment of a song far older than the text with which it is incorporated. The chief allusion in the poem was apparently not understood, or at any rate is left unexplained by J. The attempt to fix the date of JE by comparing the patriarchal stories with the relations between the Israelites and the surrounding tribes is not very satisfactory. It may be true that the origin attributed to the Moabites and Ammonites is due to the animosity felt against these related peoples, but the animosity was so constant, at least from the time of the Judges, that we get little help in fixing the date of the story. Again, to refer the whole story of Joseph to the ascendency of the Northern kingdom in the time of Jeroboam II., and date its origin at this period, is to suppose it a deliberate invention, not, as the analogy of other such stories renders far more probable, a legend which had gradually grown up by oral tradition. From the importance attached to the local sanctuaries of Bethel, Shechem, and Beersheba (which last belonged to Simeon, one of the ten tribes), and the great prominence of Joseph, the father of Ephraim and Manasseh, it has generally been supposed that E at any rate was the product of the kingdom of Israel. Add to this that the North, the mission field of Elijah and Elisha, was in early times the chief scene of literary and prophetic activity. These arguments apply also, but with less force, to J, where Hebron takes the place of Beersheba as the abode of Abraham and Jacob; and Judah, instead of Reuben, holds a prominent place in the history of Joseph. From these facts it has been argued that J, though its material was originally derived from the same source as E, either in oral or written form, is *in its present form* the work of a Jewish composer or editor.

G. It is probable that J and E were blended into one whole before D's law-book was composed, as Dt 5–11 suppose it. Even if these chapters are not the work of D proper, they must have been added very shortly after.

4. Distinctions within the various sources.—We have hitherto regarded the different sources of the Hexateuch, for the most part, as though they were each homogeneous in character. In a certain sense they are, in that they possess individual characters which distinguish each from the rest; but within these are found considerable variations, just as we find among plants or animals several distinctly characterized species under one genus, or, to use a still better simile, varieties under one species. It is, in fact, probable that each of these larger sources represents in itself the result of a literary process extending in some cases over centuries.

A. For example, in the J sections of Gn the Flood story, with the beginnings of civilization and the dispersion of races following upon it (11^{1-9}), seems hardly consistent with the growth of civilization described in 4^{16-24}. It has also been suggested that Noah the inventor of wine (9^{20-27}) belongs to a distinct cycle of legends from Noah the hero of the Flood, and that 6^{1-4} gives a different explanation of the origin of sin from 3. Finally, it seems probable that the story of Nimrod, etc. (10^{8-15}), came from the same cycle of stories as the Flood story, and is also of Accadian origin. Hence some critics have drawn a definite distinction between two series of stories, which they have denoted as J^1 and J^2 respectively. To the latter Wellhausen ascribes J's Flood, together with $10^{8-15.\ 18b.\ 19.\ 21.\ 25-30}$ 11^{1-9}. Some critics, however, have ascribed 6^{1-4} as well as 10^{16-18} to revisers of JE (JE^s). Attention has been called to the fact that whereas in J^2 the three sons of Noah are Japheth, Ham, Shem (Gn 10), the sons of Noah in J^1 (9^{20-27}) were originally, as vv.$^{26.\ 27}$ apparently show, Shem, Canaan, Japheth. In Gn 12 and later chapters J^2 has been found by some critics a convenient peg on which to hang unknown fragments, interpolations, etc., such as 12^{10-20} $18^{17-19.\ 22-33a}$, and even 20^{18}, passages usually referred to JE^s or R.

B. Distinctions in E are not so frequently insisted on, but some critics have referred to an earlier source, E^1, such passages as show traces of archaic ideas or expressions, such as the anthropomorphic expressions of Gn 20^{3-7} (cf. Nu 22^{20}, etc.), the ancient custom referred to in Gn 20^{16}, the word קְשִׂיטָה in Gn 33^{19}, Jos 24^{32}.

C. In D we can trace several different stages. It is now generally admitted that the Deuteronomic Code begins either with Dt 5 or with Dt 12. Dt 1–4, and perhaps also 5–11, were afterwards written as an introduction, and still later the history was continued with the Deuteronomic recension of Joshua. It seems likely that these were the gradual work of the Deuteronomic school, extending well on into the period of the Jewish captivity. The D elements of the earlier books of the Hexateuch are sometimes ascribed, not to this school, but to the compilers of JE. At any rate, they probably belong to a comparatively early period.

D. In P the fact of constant revision and gradual compilation is easy to prove, but it is not so easy to say how many distinct stages there were in its history, still less to assign the exact dates to which they belong. The following facts are, however, capable of easy demonstration.

(1) The nucleus of P lies in what is known as the Code of Holiness (P^h) contained in Lv 17–26, though these chapters now contain many interpolations (esp. $22^{17-25.\ 29.\ 30}$ $23^{1-8.\ 23-38}$ 24^{1-14}). This section is marked off from the rest of the P legislation (*a*) by its highly spiritual character and intense feeling of reverence for the holiness of God and everything connected with His service. P^h is the centre and kernel of the new religious movement; (*b*) by its intimate relation to the ideal of ritual, etc., sketched out by Ezekiel, chs. 40–48; (*c*) by its use of a special terminology, words and phrases being found which occur nowhere else. It will be sufficient here to call attention to such phrases as 'I am J″,' 'I J″ am your God,' 'I your God am holy,' and the like; 'walk in my (etc.) ordinances,' 'do and keep my statutes and my judgments,' אָתַּן פָּנַי, 'I will set my face,' 'that man shall be cut off from his people,' 'my (J″'s, etc.) Sabbaths.' For a more complete list see Driver, *LOT*^{6}, 49. (*d*) By discrepancies between P^h and the general body of Levitical law. Thus in P^h the later distinction between the high priest and the ordinary priests is still in the making. The chief priest is but *primus inter pares* (the priest who is greater than his brethren, Lv 21^{10}). Notice that the injunction which in Lv 21^{10} is laid upon the chief priest only, not to let the hair of his head go loose, or rend his clothes, is in Lv $10^{6.\ 7}$ laid upon all the priests. The Feast of Booths lasted, according to the original text of Lv 23^{39-44}, 7 days instead of 8, and is still determined by the season, 'when ye have gathered in the fruits of the land'; the addition of the 8th day and the words 'on the 15th day of the 7th month' in v.^{39}, evidently are interpolations (inconsistent with vv.$^{40-42}$) added when the laws were incorporated into the larger code. On the other hand, it is possible that P^h included passages now outside Lv. 17–26, as esp. Ex $6^{6.\ 7}$, Lv $11^{1-23.\ 41-47}$ in their original form. With reference to the relation of P^h to Ezekiel, it should be noticed that the resemblance extends not only to the general tenor of the subject, a thing in itself striking enough, but even to the style and phraseology; and in this respect it is not confined to these chapters of Ezekiel, but several expressions of P^h are found scattered in various parts of the prophet [see Kuenen, § 15, note 10]. That P^h, therefore, was written either by Ezekiel himself or by one imbued with his spirit, and in all probability a contemporary, does not admit of reasonable doubt, and we cannot be far wrong in assigning it to the latter half of the Exile.

(2) The next in order of time, and the most important of the Priestly documents, is the historical and legislative work known frequently as P^g, which contains all of P excepting P^h on the one hand, and certain later accretions in the legislative portions on the other. The central feature of P^g is the promulgation of the laws, which are all represented as revealed to Moses on Mt. Sinai. P^g was probably, as already suggested, the law promulgated by Ezra, Neh 8. 9^3. Notice that the Feast of Booths is kept eight days according to P^g, see Nu 29^{35}.

(3) A third stage is reached in the union of P^g and P^h, but whether it took place before or after the promulgation of P by Ezra cannot be determined. All that can be said with certainty is that Ezra was the head, perhaps the founder, of a school of scribes specially suited for carrying out a work of this kind.

(4) Lastly, there is evidence of various additions and revisions of the Priestly Code made from time to time (P^s). The most important of the former in Ex–Nu are Ex 30. 31^{1-17} 34^{29-35} 35–40, Lv 1–7. 8. 11^{24-40} 12–15. 16 (in part), most of Nu 1–10^{28} 15. 19, the whole of 28–31. To these we should add the additions to P^h, esp. in Lv 23, to make it agree with P^g. The necessity of supposing such additions to P^g cannot be here proved at length. It is enough to say generally that the proof lies in certain repetitions, inconsistencies, and want of sequence. For example, Ex 35–40 Lv 8 taken together are a repetition of Ex 25–29. Ex 30^{1-10} describes a special altar of incense of which there is no mention in the list of holy things in 26^{31-37}. Cf. Lv 16^{12}, which seems to imply that the one altar was used both for incense and sacrifice. Ex 30 (or at any rate 35)–Lv 8 breaks the sequence between Ex 29 and Lv 9, and Lv 1–7 is itself a

collection of laws with several slight inconsistencies. Finally, Lv 11-15 breaks the connexion between 10 and 16.

(5) To these we should also add the incorporation of the already united JED into P; but to what date either this or the various supplements spoken of under (4) belong, cannot be determined. Probably, the latter represent a long and very gradual process. Kuenen argues from the difference of arrangement found in the LXX translation of Ex 35-40, belonging to 3rd cent. B.C., that the final redaction of these chapters was even then hardly completed.

5. Editorial Revisers.—It has not been found practicable within the limits of this article to give a complete estimate of the work of the various editorial revisers. That several alterations were made as the different sources were welded together is practically certain. A few examples of editorial emendations must suffice. In Gn 22^2 'the land of Moriah' is very suspicious (esp. if, according to Gn 14, Jerusalem was already in existence), inasmuch as (1) the name Moriah does not appear again until the very late Book of Chronicles, (2) E otherwise shows no partiality towards Judah, (3) it could not have taken 3 days to get from Beersheba to Jerusalem, see v.^{4}. It is probable, therefore, that an original 'Amorite' or name of some Ephraimitish mountain, which had perhaps become illegible, was altered by a reviser with Southern propensities, possibly JE, but more probably P^s. 22^{14-19} is certainly not part of the E narrative, but is possibly some fragment of J worked in to suit the story. It is, however, to be observed that in v.^{18} 'be blessed' is הִתְבָּרֲכוּ, not וְנִבְרְכוּ as elsewhere in J; so some have regarded it as the work of a reviser. In $35^{14.\ 15}$ we have probably the working in of an E fragment in a section of P (see above, iii. 3. *D*). Ex 34^{11-26} has been revised by JE or D to agree with other passages, and in vv.$^{29-35}$ it is followed by a story embodying perhaps an old tradition, but written in the spirit and style of P.

iv. SUMMARY.—We may now summarize in this way the probable history of the Hexateuch. For many centuries probably the only records of the past were those contained in song and saga. It is very possible that, as with the ancient Icelanders, these were recited at religious festivals (Ex $15^{1.\ 20.\ 21}$, cf. Jg 11^{40}). The first attempts to collect these, so as to form a *connected written history*, probably date from the 8th or 9th cent. B.C., and originated presumably in the schools of the prophets. There are sufficient evidences of two distinct versions of this ancient history, J and E; but though they deal for the most part with the same cycle of subjects, and E is probably the later of the two, there is no proof that there is any *literary* connexion between them. Later on, towards the close of the 7th cent., these two documents were combined together, but so skilfully that it is often very difficult to separate them (JE). About the same time in Jerusalem a code of ritual regulations and customs, commonly believed to have been revealed by God to Moses, was set forth in writing and afterwards published in the reign of Josiah (D). This code was shortly afterwards provided with a historic setting and combined with the earlier history, and the whole, especially the conquest of Canaan, revised by the same school (JED). It has been conjectured by Kuenen, who has been followed by several other critics, that E's Book of the Covenant, Ex 20^{22}-23, was originally represented as drawn up on the plains of Moab, and that, when the code of D was substituted for it, the former was put back so as to form part of the Sinaitic legislation. This will account both for the present difficulty in connecting Ex 20^{22}–24^{11} with its context, and also for the fact that, while in the historical summary of Dt 1-4 there is no reference to the Bk of the Covenant, several of its provisions in a revised form appear in the main body of D. During the Exile, possibly before the work of D^s was complete, a new body of ritual law, more priestly in its character, was drawn up, probably by some disciple of Ezekiel, and very possibly under his direction (P^h). This was followed by a new version of the whole history, and especially the legislation, conceived in a still more sacerdotal spirit, which was probably completed about a century later, and promulgated by Ezra and Nehemiah (Neh 8. 9) (P^g). Finally, by the union of this with P^h, and the additions of new laws and regulations from time to time, and various editorial revisions extending down to it may be the 3rd cent. (P^s), we get our present Hexateuch.

v. THE HISTORICAL VALUE OF THE HEXATEUCH.—It is, of course, obvious that the Hexateuch as it stands is not strictly a historical work. It did not need criticism to discover this, but criticism makes it absolutely certain. It shows that the most definite and statistical details, those given namely in P, are the least to be depended upon, being unknown to the earliest writers, and apparently the calculations of a writer very far removed from the events described. There is also observable throughout a tendency in the various writers to throw back into their composition the customs, etc., of their own times. Thus the whole body of laws, originating in local custom, or handed down as common law and promulgated from time to time, would come to be fathered on Moses; just in the same way as the Chronicler read into the old documents the ritual of his own day. Similarly, it is probable that the contemporary religious and social customs of Northern Israel are in JE described as those of their ancestors who lived in a distant past. Regarded as a history of the ancient migrations of the Israelites, their establishment as a religious and political community, and their settlement in Canaan, the Hexateuch contains little more than a general outline on which to depend. We may gather that the Israelites were one among a number of Semitic peoples, who after long migration settled in or near Egypt, from which after a period of serfdom they finally escaped, and after further migrations gradually gained a footing in the trans-Jordanic territory, and afterwards made various incursions across the Jordan; until, finally, the larger part of the territory, especially on the hills where the Canaanitish chariots were useless, fell into their hands. That so many traditions and stories should have attached themselves to Abraham and Moses, even though many of them may be inapplicable or exaggerated, shows what a deep impression their personality and work made upon their generation, and it is hardly too much to say that probably all that was noblest and best in the nation must be attributed to such men as these who first sowed the seed, of which the prophetic teaching was the fruit. But if the Hex. has little to tell us of the early history of Israel, it has much to tell us of the times in which the authors lived. The habits and customs, the ideas, above all those connected with morality and religion, are faithfully represented. And thus we are enabled to trace something more than an outline of that history of religion which was the needful preparation for the teaching of Christ.

LITERATURE.—J. W. Colenso, *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua critically examined*, 7 parts, London, 1862-1879; W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2}, Edinburgh, 1892; Driver, *LOT*^{1}, Edinburgh, 1891, ^{6}, 1897; B. W. Bacon, *The Genesis of Genesis*, Hartford, 1892; Bissell, *Genesis Printed in Colours*, Hartford, *The Pentateuch, its origin and structure, an examination of recent theories*, New York; Fripp, *The Composition of the Book of Genesis, with English Text and Analyses*, London, 1892; Kuenen, *An Historico-critical Inquiry into the Origin of the*

Hexateuch, translated from the Dutch by P. H. Wicksteed, London, 1886; Addis, *The Documents of the Hexateuch*, pt. i. London, 1892, pt. ii. 1898; Wellhausen, *Die Comp. d. Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des AT*, Berlin, 1889; Baentsch, *Das Bundesbuch*, Halle, 1892; Cornill, *Einleitung in das AT*, Freiburg in B. 1892; Kautzsch and Socin, *Die Genesis mit äusserer Unterscheidung der Quellenschriften übersetzt*^{2}, Freiburg in B. 1891; Kautzsch and others, *Die H. Schrift des AT übersetzt*, Freiburg in B. 1894; Aug. Dillmann, *Kurzes Exegetisches Handbuch. Gn.*^{6} 1892, *Ex-Lv*^{2}, 1897, *Nu, Dt, Jos*, 1886. A systematic statement of Dillm.'s views is given in the *Schlussabhandlung* at the end of the last [Eng. tr. of *Genesis*, T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1897]; Budde, *Die Biblische Urgeschichte*, Giessen, 1883; Holzinger, *Einleitung in den Hex. mit Tabellen über die Quellenscheidung*, Freiburg in B. 1893. These are only a selected few out of a very large number of works dealing with different aspects, or parts, of the great critical problem. A great deal of useful information will be found in the commentaries on the separate books.

F. H. WOODS.

HEZEKIAH (on forms and meaning of the Heb. name see next article).—**1.** A king of Judah (see next art.). **2.** An ancestor of the prophet Zephaniah (Zeph 1^1), possibly to be identified with the king of the same name. **3.** Head of a family of exiles who returned, Ezr 2^{16} = Neh 7^{21} (cf. 10^{17}).

HEZEKIAH (חִזְקִיָּהוּ or יְחִזְקִיָּהוּ, also חִזְקִיָּה or יְחִזְקִיָּה, 'J″ hath strengthened' or 'J″ strengtheneth,' LXX Ἐζεκίας, Assyr. *Ḫazaḳi(i)au*).—A king of Judah, son and successor of the feeble and superstitious Ahaz, with whom he contrasts as favourably as with his own son and successor Manasseh. He is conspicuous in Jewish history as the first king who is said to have attempted a reformation of religion on the principles which we find formally laid down in the Bk. of Deuteronomy (2 K 18, 2 Ch 29 ff.; see HIGH PLACE, ii. p. 382^b) Special interest also attaches to his reign on account of his close personal connexion with the prophet Isaiah, who occasionally exerted a great influence over him (especially in the memorable crisis which issued in the deliverance of Jerusalem from Sennacherib), and also because of the strong light thrown upon his times by the cuneiform inscriptions as well as by extant prophecies. H.'s history is recorded in 2 K 18^{13}–20^{19}, Is 36–39, and 2 Ch 29–32. The two former are very much alike, K being on the whole more full and exact, and Is having been borrowed from it by the compiler, who added the Song of H. (Is 38^{9-20}), but omitted the annalistic fragment in 2 K 18^{14-16} as not suiting his purpose, which was to trace the fulfilment of the prophecies of Isaiah in connexion with the siege of Jerusalem. Kings is evidently based not only on State annals, but also on prophetic narrative (derived partly from authentic documents, partly from tradition), which bears traces of the style of D in $37^{4.\,34.\,35}$ $38^{1.\,3.\,5}$ 39^1, and cannot be assigned to Isaiah (as suggested by 2 Ch 26^{22} 32^{32}) nor yet to a contemporary, in view of (*a*) the nature of the statements in $37^{7.\,(38).\,36}$ 38^5, (*b*) such late words as יְהוּדִית ($36^{11.\,13}$), (*c*) the apparent anachronisms in 36^{19} 37^{38}, and (*d*) the want of order and coherence in the narrative when carefully examined and compared with the Assyr. records.

The chronology of Hezekiah's reign is beset with special difficulty. According to 2 K 18^{10} the Fall of Samaria (722 as determined by Assyriologists) took place in the 6th year of H., which would give 728–7 as the date of his accession (Ewald, Bredenkamp, Delitzsch, Orelli, Strack, Driver, Kirkpatrick, Duhm, Skinner. Ussher, Winer, W. R. Smith make it 725). In 2 K 18^{13}, on the other hand, the invasion of Jerus. by Sennacherib (701) is said to have taken place in the 14th year of H., who must thus have commenced to reign in 715–4 (Kamphausen, Wellhausen, Ed. Meyer, Kittel, Guthe, Stade, Cornill, Hommel, Cheyne).

An attempt has been made to reconcile the earlier date with 2 K 18^{13} by supposing 14th to be a mistake for 24th (Bredenkamp), 27th (Rawlinson), 29th (Oppert), also by taking vv.$^{13-16}$ to refer to a campaign of Sargon in 711 (the name 'Sennacherib' being considered a late and erroneous insertion), a theory first advanced by E. Hincks (who confined the reference to Sargon to v.^{13}); but for reasons stated by Kuenen, W. R. Smith, and others, the theory of such an invasion by Sargon is now generally abandoned, and the best solution is probably to be found in a rearrangement of the narrative. We have a clue to such rearrangement in 2 K 20 (Is 38), which records a sickness of H. that must have taken place in the 14th year of his reign if the latter extended to 29 years, and if H. lived 15 years after his recovery (2 K 18^2 20^6, Is 38^5). This sickness the compiler seems to have connected with the invasion by Sennacherib (2 K 20^{6b}, Is 38^6), applying to the invasion the note of time (14th year), which properly belonged to the sickness, and introducing the latter with the words 'In those days,' which may have originally belonged to the invasion. This view is supported by the fact that the account of Merodach-baladan's embassy, which took place after the sickness (2 K 20^{12}, Is 39^1), ought certainly to have come before the invasion, as after that event Merodach-baladan was not in a position to send ambassadors, his downfall having taken place the year before (702); nor was H., after being impoverished by the war (2 K 18^{13-16}), possessed of such treasures as would be likely to excite the admiration of his visitors (2 K 20^{13}, Is 39^2). A middle date is suggested by Winckler (followed by McCurdy), who takes 2 K 16^2 as his guide, setting aside both 18^{10} and 18^{13}, and fixes H.'s accession at 720–19. The earlier date, however, besides having 18^{10} to rest on, fits in with the subsequent chronology of the kings of Judah, and agrees with Jer $26^{18\text{ff.}}$, which represents H. as under the influence of the prophet Micah, who is known to have prophesied before the Fall of Samaria (Mic 1^6). On the other hand, it aggravates the discrepancy between the age of Ahaz at his death (by reducing his reign from 16 to 8 years, while the 715 date gives him 20 years of a reign) and the age of H. at his accession, which is stated in 2 K 18^2 to be 25 years (but in LXX 20),—a difficulty which Whitehouse meets by supposing that H. was co-regent with his father from 727 to 715, and that his 14th year is to be reckoned from the latter date, when he was in a position to initiate a new policy following the counsels of Isaiah.

This uncertainty as to the chronology is of less importance, as the interest of H.'s reign, in the light both of prophecy and the Assyr. records, practically closes with the invasion in 701. Even if we suppose him to have lived till 686 (as the later date for his accession would imply), we gain little or no additional information regarding the events of his reign. Assuming that H. came to the throne in 727, it was as a young and inexperienced prince in the midst of faithless and time-serving politicians, who scorned the teaching of the prophets, and a like-minded priesthood. The deplorable state of morality and religion is evident from Mic 1 ff. (cf. Is 28) delivered on the eve of the siege of Samaria, *i.e.* about 725. These testimonies, as well as the fact that the anti-prophetic party continued in the ascendant till 701, oblige us to receive with caution the circumstantial account given by the Chronicler (2 Ch $29^{3\text{ff.}}$) of the reforms effected by H. in the very first year of his reign. He is said to have purified and refurnished the temple, which had been shut up by Ahaz after being despoiled of its treasures, to have renewed the ancient sacrifices with great magnificence and pomp, to have ordained a joyful celebration of the long-neglected Passover, after purging Jerus. of its idolatrous altars and sending out invitations to the Israelites in the north, 'the remnant that had escaped out of the hands of the king of Assyria.' So great was the enthusiasm said to have been evoked that it led to a general crusade against the images and altars and high places in the cities of Judah and Benjamin, Ephraim and Manasseh, both king and people at the same time giving evidence of their devotion by their munificent provision of tithes and offerings for the support of the priests and Levites, who were now carefully registered and organized. The only part of these reforms that is recognized in K is the removal of 'high places' and destruction of 'pillars' and 'Asherah' (2 K $18^{4.22}$), but a remarkable instance of H.'s zeal for purity of worship is also given (v.^{4}) in his destruction of 'the brazen serpent that Moses had made' which had become an object of worship in Jerusalem (see NEHUSTAN).

While it is generally admitted that H. paved the way for the reformation carried out by Josiah in the next century, not only prohibiting idolatry, but seeking to centralize the national worship by destroying the local sanctuaries in the provincial cities of Judah, around which heathen practices were apt to gather (cf. Mic 1^5 5^{12-14}, Is 30^{29} 31^9 1^{29} 2^{20}), it is held by Wellhausen, W. R. Smith, Nowack, Stade, and others, that the reforms could only have taken place after the Assyrian invasion, which brought dishonour on the provinces, but was the means of exalting Jerus. and glorifying its protecting deity, thus counteracting the idolatrous tendencies inherited from the previous reign. In proof that the reformation could not have been earlier, they cite the allusions to prevalent idolatry in such late prophecies of Isaiah as 30^{22} 31^7 (*c.* 702). These indeed show that the reformation had been far from perfect (cf. 2 K 23^{13} and revulsion under Manasseh), being largely due to royal command; but the whole traditional account of H.'s reign points to an earlier date for his turning to J". Cf. Jer $26^{18f.}$ already referred to, the eulogistic summary in 2 K 18^{3-7}, H.'s plea for divine favour in 20^3, and the demolition of high places, etc., ascribed to him by the Rabshakeh in 18^{22}, which, even if an interpolation (Cheyne), was not likely to be introduced unless it had some basis of tradition to rest on.

In addition to his work as a religious reformer, H. revived in some measure the glories of his great-grandfather Uzziah by successful inroads upon the Philistines, over one of whose cities (Ekron) we find him in 701 holding a position of suzerainty; by his care for the interests of national defence, repairing the walls and fortifications of Jerus., fitting up arsenals, constructing aqueducts and reservoirs for securing to Jerus., and cutting off from besiegers, a permanent supply of water; by building cities, and encouraging trade and agriculture through the erection of shelters for sheep and cattle and of store-houses for produce. Whether the underground tunnel leading from Gihon (the modern 'Fountain of the Virgin') to the upper pool of Siloam (1708 ft. long, and a work of great engineering skill) is to be identified with 'the conduit' mentioned in 2 K 20^{20} as the work of H., and apparently referred to in 2 Ch 32^{30} (cf. 32^4 22^{9-11} and Sir 48^{17}), is still a moot point, different opinions being held by experts as to the age of the inscription (discovered in 1880) at the mouth of the tunnel, which is in round characters and in old Hebrew but bears no date,* the question being also complicated by the mention of an already existing Shiloah in Is 8^6, on which see Dillmann's note, and Stade, *GVI* 593 f.

Among the merits which tradition assigned to H. was a taste for music and literature. In his restoration of the temple service, music, both vocal and instrumental, has a prominent place (2 Ch 29^{25-30}). In Pr 25^1 we read of 'the men of Hezekiah' who copied out the proverbs of Solomon, and in the Talm. (*Baba bathra*, f. 15*a*) 'H. and his associates' are credited with the 'writing' of certain books of the OT. Is 38^{9-20} even contains a song which bears in its superscription to have been written by H. at the time of his sickness and recovery. But it is absent from 2 K, and its late insertion in Is appears to have disturbed the text, displacing v.$^{21f.}$. Moreover, it has no distinct marks of its alleged royal authorship, and bears a strong resemblance to Job and the later Psalms. For these reasons it is considered post-exilic by most recent critics, and is even supposed by Cheyne to refer (like Ps 88 and La 3) to the experience, not of an individual, but of the church-nation. In all probability, it was introduced into Is from a collection of liturgical songs (v.^{20}). The sickness referred to appears to have been of the nature of a boil or an abscess, being described by the same name (שְׁחִין) as is applied to one of the plagues of Egypt (Ex 9^9) and to the disease of Job (2^7). Its connexion with leprosy (Lv 13^{18}) explains the promise given to H. that on the third day he would 'go up unto the house of J".' The effect produced on H. by the prophetic announcement that his illness was to prove fatal, illustrates his tender and emotional nature, and enables us to understand the influence exerted over him by the wise and fearless counsellor who on this as on other occasions interpreted to him the will of J". With regard to the sign given to H. by the prophet in token of his recovery, if the fuller text in K be accepted as the original, the narrative must be held to imply a claim on the part of Isaiah to a miraculous control of the forces of nature (20^9); but if K be regarded as an expansion and Is be held to be the original (Stade, Duhm, Dillmann), it is possible to explain the deflection of the shadow as the result of a partial eclipse of the sun or of refraction of light by the atmosphere, the mode of expression in Is 38^{8b} being similar to that in Jos 10^{13}, and capable of similar interpretation (see DIAL).

Probably, it was shortly after this sickness (*c.* 714) that the messengers arrived from Babylon (2 K 20^{12-19}, Is 39). Even if we must regard the promise of deliverance from the king of Assyria in 2 K 20^{6b} Is 38^6 as an interpolation, it is certain that about this time H. had reason to apprehend danger from that quarter. Almost from the commencement of his reign (cf. Is 28) there had been a growing feeling at Jerus. in favour of an alliance with Egypt. The feeling was shared by most of the Phœn. and Philistine powers, and in 720 a bold attempt was made by Gaza, with the support of Egypt, to throw off the supremacy. The defeat of the allied forces at Raphia crushed the movement before it broke into a general revolt; but Judah was no doubt more or less implicated, and it may have been to what took place at this time that Sargon refers in his Nimrod inscription (*c.* 717) when he speaks of himself as the 'conqueror of the remote land of Judah'—unless we suppose (with Winckler and Delitzsch) that Judah is here used by mistake for Israel. For the next seven or eight years Sargon was fully occupied in the consolidation of his empire in the east, and during that time the impression made on Judah and its neighbours by the fate of Samaria and Damascus had almost worn off, and a widespread conspiracy was forming against the domination of 'the great king.' With this we may connect the embassy from Merodach-baladan, Sargon's chief rival, who held the throne of Babylon from 721 till 710 when he was overthrown, only to regain his independence after Sargon's death, when he again wore the crown for about nine months, in 704–3; and to the latter period a few critics would assign his embassy to Jerus. (Wellhausen, W. R. Smith, Cheyne, McCurdy). The ostensible object of the visit was to congratulate H. on his recovery (cf. 2 Ch 32^{31}), but the real purpose (of which the accompanying gifts were a well-understood sign) was to court an alliance against the Assyr. power. The welcome which H. gave to the messengers, and the pride with which he showed them his sacred treasures and military stores, brought upon him, as might have been expected, the severest censure of the prophet; but the prediction of a Babylonian captivity for his family and possessions wears the appearance of a 'vaticinium ex eventu,' having nothing in common with the general tone of Isaiah's teaching at this time, which represents everything as culminating in the great struggle with Assyria. Notwithstanding the prophet's inflexible opposition to any alliance either with Babylon or Egypt, the danger of Judah's being involved in hostilities only became more threatening during the next few years (713–10), as we may judge from the intense earnestness of the prophet's utterances in connexion with the siege of Ashdod (Is 20), when he felt called of God to go about for three years 'naked and barefoot' in token of the fate which would overtake the Egyptians and their allies, as well as from Sargon's Ashdod inscription, which mentions the king of Judah among other tributaries who were at this time 'plotters of sedition,' stirring up rebellion against him and bringing gifts of friendship to Pharaoh, king of Egypt.

---

* See *PSBA*, May, July, 1897, Feb. 1898 (papers by Pilcher, Conder, Davis), and *Expos. Times*, Apr. 1898, p. 292 f., and May 1898, p. 384 (the latter by A. B. Davidson).

The death of Sargon in 705, and the accession of a new and untried king, was the signal for a fresh attempt on the part of many vassals to regain their independence. In the first instance Sennacherib directed his attention to his rebellious subjects in the east, and it was not till 701 that he turned his arms against Palestine in his third campaign, of which we have several monumental records, the fullest being that on the Taylor cylinder. But the rebels were slow in arriving at concerted action, owing to their dependence on Egypt; and in several of Isaiah's discourses about this time (chs. 29–32, cf. 18) we can trace the secret negotiations with Egypt, against which the prophet inveighs vehemently, predicting the utter failure of the hopes his countrymen were setting on 'Rahab that sitteth still' (30^{7} RV), and the shame and ruin they would bring upon themselves by their faithless and short-sighted policy—which was destined, however, to issue in a marvellous deliverance which would prove the regeneration of the national life. By this time H. had openly thrown off his allegiance under the influence of his premier, Shebna, apparently of foreign extraction, whose downfall is predicted by Isaiah a little later in $22^{15ff.}$, and who afterwards appears in an inferior office in 36^{3}. That H. took a leading part in the revolt is evident from the fact recorded by Sennacherib in the cylinder referred to (col. ii. ll. 70 ff.), that H. had imprisoned at Jerus. Padi, king of Ekron, whose subjects had dethroned him on account of his loyalty to Assyria.

After reducing or receiving the submission of a number of powers on the east and north of Palestine, Sennacherib proceeded southward along the Maritime Plain, to punish the ringleaders in the revolt. In doing so, it is possible that he may have despatched a portion of his army to invade Judah from the north, and of this some writers find evidence in the description of the Assyr. advance in Is 10^{28-32}. But probably this is only an ideal picture, and the great prophecy of which it forms part (10^{5}–11^{16}), proclaiming both the mission and the doom of Assyria, admits of other dates, *e.g.* 711 (Cheyne [who, however, connects vv.$^{27b-32}$ with the siege of Samaria in 722], Guthe, Dillmann, Giesebrecht) and even earlier (W. R. Smith, G. A. Smith). The Assyr. record goes on to tell that Sennacherib took Ashkelon, and that his approach had struck terror into the hearts of the men of Ekron when he was confronted by a great army of Egyptians and Sinaitic Arabians under several of their kings, who had come to the relief of Ekron. These he defeated at Eltekeh (*Altaku*), and afterwards took Ekron. It was only then apparently that he sent his troops into Judah, where (he says) they took 46 fenced cities and small towns without number, carrying off 200,150 captives (probably an exaggeration) and obliging H. to sue for peace, which was granted him on payment of heavy exactions, including 30 talents of gold and 800 talents of silver, a narrative which is in substantial agreement with 2 K 18^{13-16}, even the discrepancy between the 300 and the 800 talents of silver being perhaps accounted for by the different standards of the two countries (Brandis, *Münz-system*, p. 98).

Such crushing calamities (Is $1^{5ff.}$) could not fail to be regarded as a vindication of the prophet's counsel, and a condemnation of the policy to which he had been so strongly opposed. H.'s eyes were now opened to see where the true interests of his kingdom lay; and from this time we find Isaiah enjoying his fullest confidence, and guiding the national policy. But there were some on whom the lesson was lost, painful though it had been—citizens who gave themselves up to shameless mirth and revelry as soon as they saw the beleaguering force preparing to withdraw (Is 22). They thought the crisis was over, but it was not so. For Sennacherib soon realized the danger to which his army would be exposed if he advanced into Egypt, leaving such a strong fortress as Jerus. in the hands of a doubtful vassal like H.; and even at the expense of a breach of faith with H. (Is $33^{1.8}$, Jos. *Ant.* x. i. 1) he resolved to make a fresh demand for its surrender. Recent critics (Stade and his followers) have detected in the long narrative (2 K 18^{17}–19^{37}) a somewhat confused combination of two different accounts, which, if referring to two different occasions, ought to be transposed; and Tiele would even place last of all the events related in 2 K 18^{14-16}. The problem is too intricate to be dealt with here. But there is no reason to doubt that Sennacherib made a renewed attempt from Lachish (with which his military achievements are associated in recently-discovered monuments, although he himself does not mention it even by name), and perhaps also from Libnah, to which he may have retreated on hearing that Tirhaka was coming out to meet him (2 K 19^{9}). That he failed to take Jerus. is almost implied in his own vague statement that he shut up H. like a bird in a cage; and his concluding boast about the tribute and other gifts being sent to him at Nineveh (instead of to Lachish, as related in Scripture) is evidently introduced to save any necessity for recording his subsequent disasters. These disasters are involved in mystery. But the biblical account finds an echo in the story told by Herod. (ii. 141), the destruction of his army being probably due to a plague (2 K 19^{35}, Is 37^{36}, cf. 2 S $24^{15f.}$, 1 Ch $21^{12ff.}$ and Is $6^{4f.}$) in the pestiferous region on the borders of Egypt where the Crusaders and others have had a similar experience (cf. 2 K 19^{24} RV). The impression made on Sennacherib was such that though he lived for twenty years longer he never again entered Pal. or besieged Jerusalem. On the other hand, the dramatic account of the conference between his three emissaries (all whose names have now been identified with the titles of Assyr. officers) and the three Jewish deputies, on a famous spot under the walls of Jerus. (cf. Is 7^{3}), bears the stamp of historical reality, as does also the letter which H. is said to have afterwards received from him. In the prophetic words which are embodied in the narrative we have for the most part the genuine utterances of Isaiah, harmonizing with that 'most beautiful of all his discourses' (ch. 33) which marks the peaceful and triumphant close of his ministry, and which finds an echo in the 46th, perhaps also in the 48th, 75th, and 76th Psalms.

The event which was thus commemorated was one of the most impressive and glorious in Heb. history, and has taken rank in the estimation of the Jews with the Exodus from Egypt and the Return from Babylon. It was a most fateful moment, not only for Israel but for its religion; and while the victory of faith was mainly due to the influence of the one inspired man who held fast the conviction that in the Lord J″ was everlasting strength, and that amid all wreck and ruin He would preserve Mt. Zion inviolate as His holy habitation, the glory of the time falls also on the sovereign who shared his lofty spirit and fulfilled in some degree his Messianic hopes, when he made such a heroic stand against the dreaded invader before whom all the other kings of Palestine and Philistia had succumbed. Not unfitly, therefore, it stands written that 'after him was none like him among all the kings of Judah, nor any that were before him' (2 K 18^{5}).

LITERATURE.—Driver, *Isaiah*^{2} ('Men of the Bible' series), *LOT*^{6}, esp. 226 f.; Cheyne, *Book of Isaiah*, 1870, *Prophecies of Isaiah*, 1880, 1884, *Introd. to Bk. of Isaiah*, 1895, Haupt's *PB*; G. A. Smith, *Isaiah*, vol. i. ('Expositor's Bible'); Skinner, *Isaiah* (Camb. Bible); Delitzsch, Dillmann-Kittel, Duhm, Orelli, in their Comm. on *Isaiah*; Stade, *GVI* i.; Kittel, *Hist. of Heb.* (Index); W. R. Smith, *Prophets of Israel* (Index); Schrader, *COT*^{2}; McCurdy, *HPM*; Tiele, *Assyr.-Bab. Gesch.*; Sayce, *HCM* (Index); Wellhausen, *Jahrb. f. deutsche Theol.* 1875, p. 607 ff.; Kamphausen, *Die Chronol. d. Heb. Könige*, 1883.

J. A. M'CLYMONT.

HEZION (חֶזְיוֹן 'vision'; Ἀζείν B, Ἀζαήλ A, Luc.).—Father of Tabrimmon and grandfather of Benhadad, the Syrian king whose alliance was sought by Asa, king of Judah, against Baasha, king of Israel (1 K 15^{18}). It has been plausibly suggested (Ewald, Thenius, Klostermann, etc.) that Hezion is identical with Rezon of 1 K 11^{23}, the founder of the kingdom of Damascus, and an adversary to Solomon. The three generations of Syrian kings may very well correspond with the four generations of the kings of Judah, since Abijam, Asa's predecessor, reigned for three years only. In place of Rezon in 1 K 11^{14} [Heb.^{23}] B reads Ἐσρώμ, Luc. Ἐσρών, Pesh. ܚܶܙܝܽܘܢ; and Klostermann regards חֶזְרוֹן *Hezron* as the original form of the name in both passages 11^{23} 15^{18}.

C. F. BURNEY.

HEZIR (חֵזִיר, either for חֲזִיר 'boar,' or cf. New Heb. חֵיזוּר 'apple').—**1.** The 17th of the priestly courses (1 Ch 24^{15}). **2.** A lay family, which signed the covenant (Neh 10^{20} [Heb.^{21}]). For the name cf. the inscription on the grave of the 'sons of Hezir,' dating from the 1st cent. B.C. (see Driver, *Text of Sam.* p. xxiii). See GENEALOGY, III. 15.

H. A. WHITE.

HEZRO, HEZRAI (*Kethibh* חֶצְרוֹ, *Ḳerê* חֶצְרַי; Ἀσαραί).—One of David's thirty heroes (2 S 23^{35}). He was a Carmelite, *i.e.* a native of Carmel, the modern *Kurmul*, in the hill-country of Judah (see CARMELITE). In the parallel list (1 Ch 11^{37}) the reading of the *Kethibh* (Hezro) is retained, but the LXX supports the form Hezrai (B Ἡσερέ; ℵ Ἡσεραί; A Ἀσαραί).

J. F. STENNING.

HEZRON (חֶצְרֹן and חֶצְרוֹן).—**1.** A son of Reuben, *i.e.* the eponymous head of a Reubenite family, Gn 46^{9}, Ex 6^{14}, Nu 26^{6}=1 Ch 5^{3}. **2.** A son of Perez and grandson of Judah, *i.e.* the eponymous head of a Judahite family, Gn 46^{12}, Nu 26^{21}=Ru 4$^{18.\ 19}$, 1 Ch 2$^{5.\ 9.\ 18.\ 21.\ 24.\ 25}$ 4^{1}. This Hezron appears also in the NT in the genealogy of our Lord, Mt 1^{3}, Lk 3^{33} (in both of which passages AV following TR Ἐσρώμ has *Esrom.* WH has in Mt Ἐσρώμ, in Lk Ἐσρών). The gentilic name **Hezronites** (הַחֶצְרוֹנִי) occurs in Nu 26^{6} referring to the descendants of No. **1** above, and in v.^{21} referring to those of No. **2**.

J. A. SELBIE.

HEZRON (חֶצְרוֹן).—**1.** A town in the south of Judah (Jos 15^{3})=**Hazar-addar** of Nu 34^{4}. It appears to be different from **2. Kerioth-hezron** (קְרִיּוֹת חֶצְרוֹן), Jos 15^{25}, which is prob. identical with Hazor, No. **4**. The name Hezron probably survives at *Jebel Hadhîreh*, a mountain in the Tîh desert N.W. of Petra.

C. R. CONDER.

HIDDAI (הִדַּי; B Ἀδαοί and Ἀδροί;* A Ἀθθαί).—One of David's thirty heroes (2 S 23^{30}). He is described as 'of the brooks [נְחָלִים, 'torrent-valleys'] of Gaash,' and probably lived in the neighbourhood of Mt. Gaash (cf. Jos 19^{50} 24^{30}, Jg 2^{9}) in the hill-country of Ephraim. Thenius and Wellh. prefer the alternative form **Hurai** (חוּרַי; B Οὐρεί; A Οὐρί), which is given in the parallel list 1 Ch 11^{32}.

J. F. STENNING.

HIDDEKEL (חִדֶּקֶל).—The name given to the Tigris in Gn 2^{14}, Dn 10^{4}. In the Sumerian or pre-Semitic language of Babylonia, the river was called Idiḳla and Idiḳna, which the Semitic Babylonians modified into Diḳlat by dropping the initial vowel and affixing the Semitic feminine suffix. Diḳlat is the Diglit of Pliny (*HN* vi. 27) and the Dijlah of to-day. The Persians assimilated the name to their own word *tigra* 'an arrow' (see Strabo, xi. p. 529; Q. Curt. iv. 9. 16; Eust. *ad Dionys. Perieg.* v. 984), from which was derived the Gr. *Tigris.* It is possible that in the first syllable of Idiḳla we have the Sumerian *id*, 'river.' See further Del., *Paradies*, 110 f., 170 ff.

A. H. SAYCE.

HIEL (חִיאֵל 'brother of God' *or* 'he whose brother is God.' The name is a contraction of אֲחִיאֵל *Ahiel*, and this form appears in LXX [Ἀχειήλ B, Ἀχιήλ A]. Cf. חִירָם for אֲחִירָם, and Phœn. חמלכת for אחמלכת).—A Bethelite, famed as the rebuilder of Jericho, in the reign of Ahab (1 K 16^{34}). He is said to have laid the foundations of the city at the cost of the life of Abiram his firstborn son, and to have set up the gates with the loss of his youngest son Segub; in fulfilment of Joshua's curse pronounced against the rebuilder of Jericho (Jos 6^{26}). The meaning of this statement possibly is that the builder *sacrificed* his sons, perhaps by enclosing them alive in the foundation and wall, in order to secure the prosperity of the city by this costly blood-offering. See FOUNDATION. Or, the tradition may have been that, through failure to perform such a rite, his eldest and youngest born sons were claimed by the offended deity at the initiatory and final stages of the building operations. For instances, from various sources, of the widespread primitive custom of human sacrifice 'in order to furnish blood at the foundations of a house or of a public structure,' cf. H. C. Trumbull, *The Threshold Covenant*, p. 46 ff. It may be urged, however, that the language of 1 K 16^{34} implies not a usual practice, but the occurrence of something *involuntary* on the part of Hiel; *e.g.* that the death of his sons was the result of accidents during the building operations.

C. F. BURNEY.

HIERAPOLIS (Ἱεράπολις, in more classical form Ἱερὰ Πόλις, and in ruder native Greek Ἱερόπολις), a city on the north edge of the Lycus valley, probably originally Lydian, but in the Roman period always reckoned to Phrygia, played a highly important part in the early history of Christianity. In the Bible it is mentioned only in Col 4^{13} in association with Laodicea. Standing on the site on the north edge of the Lycus valley, one looks due south across the hollow valley about 6 miles to Laodicea on a slight rising ground, while Colossæ, about 12 miles distant to the south-east, is concealed by the low hills that separate the upper or Colossian glen from the lower or Laodicean glen of the Lycus. Hierapolis, probably, was originally the 'Holy City' of the tribe Hydrelitai, which possessed the north bank of the Lycus; and Kydrâra (*i.e.* Kydrêla, Hydrêla) in Herod. vii. 31 is probably another name for it. It was marked out to the inhabitants by its marvellous medicinal hot springs as the place where divine power was plainly present. The water of these springs is strongly impregnated with alum (being on that account very useful for dyeing purposes), as Hamilton mentions, and it forms a calcareous deposit with extraordinary rapidity, so that the site is almost entirely covered with encrustation formed since the city was ruined, while the precipitous rocks on the south side of the city, over which the water tumbles in many rivulets, have been transformed into the appearance of 'an immense frozen cascade' (Chandler).[*] Even more remarkable was the Ploutonion or Charonion, a hole just large enough to admit a man, reaching deep into the earth, from which issued a poisonous vapour, the breath of the realm of death. Strabo had with his own eyes seen sparrows stifled by this vapour. The city, though devoid of political importance, derived high social consequence and prosperity in the peaceful Roman period from its religious character; and here, as the special stronghold of Satan, Christianity fixed itself from the first. The filling up of the Charonion, the dwelling place of the hostile power, may be plausibly attributed to Christian action in the 4th cent.

---

* The rendering of B is not found at v.^{30} but after v.^{39}, where it is out of place. Its omission in the first instance would appear to be accidental.

From the NT narrative (Ac 19^{10} and Col) it is clear that the Church in Hierapolis was founded through the influence diffused over Asia from St. Paul's residence in Ephesus (perhaps by Timothy, Col 1^{1}). But later legends[†] describe the Apostle Philip as the evangelist both of Tripolis (about 10 miles to the north-west, and also in view) and of Hierapolis, in which the Apostle John also preached; and the Hierapolitan Echidna (*i.e.* the serpent-form in which the Phrygian god Sabazios was there and everywhere represented) is described as their special enemy. It appears well attested that Philip preached and resided in Hierapolis, and that he was buried there with his two daughters, who were virgins, while a third daughter of his was married and buried in Ephesus (Eusebius, *HE* iii. 31, quoting Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus about A.D. 190). Owing to mere confusion of name, Philip the deacon (who had four prophetic daughters, Ac 21^{8}) is connected by some authorities with Hierapolis; but legend and an inscription[‡] found in the city agree with the earliest historical authority, Polycrates. The city, apparently, assumed for a time the name Philippopolis, for Tatianus, bishop of Philippopolis in Phrygia, at the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, was in all probability bishop of Hierapolis,[§] and so also Andreas of Philippopolis in Phrygia in A.D. 692. Ten Christian inscriptions of Hierapolis are published;[‖] two of them may perhaps be Jewish, if not Jewish-Christian.

Probably, nowhere in Asia Minor was the opposition between the native superstition and the Christian religion so strongly accentuated as in Hierapolis. In greater cities, like Ephesus, political considerations came in to complicate the antagonism. But Hierapolis was important only as the home of religion; the native superstition is there revealed to us in its sharpest and most aggressive form, as the worship of the mother goddess Leto (see DIANA) and her son Lairbenos (a form of Sabazios).

The early coins of the city, until about the time of Christ, bear the ruder native name *Hieropolis*, while those of Augustus' later period and all subsequent emperors have the more correct form *Hierapolis*; the change of spelling shows that a step in the Hellenization of the city was made about that time (though private persons seem to have occasionally used the form *Hieropolis* much later).[*] The Christians preferred the form *Hierapolis*.[†]

In the apostolic period H. was a flourishing city, to whose medicinal springs numerous visitors flocked; its prosperity lasted through the Roman period (as is shown by its rich coinage); and it easily recovered from such losses as that of the earthquake which probably injured it in A.D. 60 (Tacitus, *Ann.* xiv. 27). Epictetus is the only important figure in literature connected with Hierapolis. It was made by Justinian, if not earlier, a metropolis; and the north-west part of the great province of Phrygia Pacatiana was placed under it.[‡] The fact that several Christian martyrs were executed at Hierapolis[§] shows that it was a leading city under the Empire, where the proconsul held trials. The Neokorate in the Imperial religion was conferred on it by Caracalla about A.D. 215 (*Athen. Mittheil.* xix. p. 118).

LITERATURE.—On the topography and history, see Hamilton and older travellers: a plan of the city is given by Tremaux, *Voyage Archéol. en Asie Mineure*; fullest discussion in Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, vol. i. pt. i. pp. 84–120, 124 f., and 172–175; on the Christian Antiquities, pt. ii. pp. 500 f., 545 ff.; and on the pagan religion in Hierapolis, pt. i. pp. 86–105, 133–140. See also J. G. C. Anderson in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, pp. 17, 411. The elaborate work on Hierapolis by Judeich, etc., announced for some years as in the press, has not yet appeared.

W. M. RAMSAY.

HIEREEL ('Ιερεήλ), 1 Es 9^{21}.—The corresponding name in Ezr 10^{21} is JEHIEL.

HIEREMOTH ('Ιερεμώθ).—1. 1 Es 9^{27}. In Ezr 10^{26} JEREMOTH. 2. 1 Es 9^{30}. In Ezr 10^{29} JEREMOTH (RVm 'and Ramoth').

HIERMAS (A 'Ιερμάς, B 'Ιερμά), 1 Es 9^{26}.—In Ezr 10^{25} RAMIAH.

HIERONYMUS (Ἱερώνυμος).—A Syrian officer in command of a district of Pal. under Antiochus V. Eupator, who harassed the Jews after the withdrawal of Lysias in B.C. 165 (2 Mac 12^{2}).

HIGGAION.—See PSALMS (Titles).

HIGH, HIGHMINDED.—High is occasionally used in the sense of 'tall,' as 1 S 9^{2} 'From his shoulders and upward he was higher than any of the people' (גָּבֹהַּ); Jth 16^{7} 'For the mighty one did not fall by the young men, neither did the sons of the Titans smite him, nor high giants set upon him' (ὑψηλοὶ γίγαντες). So occasionally in Shaks., as *Merch. of Venice*, V. i. 163—

> 'A kind of boy, a little scrubbed boy,
> No higher than thyself.'

From the literal sense, 'high' passes readily into certain figurative applications, but that which we take as fig. would often to the religious consciousness of Israel be quite literal. See God, Religion, and compare the following passages: Ps 71^{19} 'Thy righteousness also, O God, is very high'; 92^{8} 'But thou, Lord, art most high (RV 'art on high') for evermore'; Is 6^{1} 'I saw also the Lord sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up'; 57^{15} 'For thus saith the high and lofty One that inhabiteth eternity'; 2 Co 10^{5} 'Casting down imaginations and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God' (πᾶν ὕψωμα); with many more. But in the foll. the fig. sense is complete, Dt 26^{19} 'And the Lord hath avouched thee this day to be his peculiar people . . . and to make thee high above all nations which he hath made, in praise, and in name, and in honour'; 32^{27} 'Our hand is high (RV 'exalted'), and the Lord hath not done all this'; 'a man of high degree' 1 Ch 17^{17} (הָאָדָם הַמַּעֲלָה, text certainly corrupt), or 'men of high degree' Ps 62^{9} (בְּנֵי־אִישׁ). Cf. Lk 16^{15} Wyc. 'that that is high to men, is abhomynacioun bifor god.' So frequently in Shaks., as *Two Gent. of Verona*, II. iv. 106—

---

[*] Whence the modern name Pambuk-Kalessi, 'Cotton Castle.'

[†] See Bonnet, *Narratio de miraculo Chonis patrato.*

[‡] See Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics*, i. pt. ii. p. 552.

[§] *Ib.* i. pt. i. p. 344 f.

[‖] *Ib.* i. pt. ii. pp. 543–553.

[*] *Corpus Inscr. Attic.* iii. 129, l. 29, and perhaps *Acta Concil. Constantinop.* A.D. 347, refer to this city, not Hieropolis near Sandykli. See *Cities and Bishoprics*, i. pt. i. pp. 87 f., 107, pt. ii. p. 681.

[†] *Cities and Bishoprics*, i. pt. ii. p. 682.

[‡] *Ib.* pt. i. pp. 108 f., 121.

[§] *Ib.* pt. ii. p. 494.

> 'Too low a mistress for so high a servant.'

In this way 'high' takes on an offensive meaning, *haughty*, as Ps 101^{5} 'Him that hath an high look and a proud heart will not I suffer'; Pr 21^{4} 'An high look, and a proud heart, and the plowing of the wicked is sin' (רוּם עֵינַיִם, lit. as AVm, 'haughtiness of eyes'); which can also be illustrated from Shaks., as *I Henry VI.* IV. vii. 39—

> 'Once I encountered him, and thus I said:
> "Thou maiden youth, be vanquished by a maid";
> But with a proud majestical high scorn,
> He answered thus: "Young Talbot was not born
> To be the pillage of a giglot wench."'

Notice in this connexion the phrase 'high calling,' Ph 3^{14}, lit. 'calling upward' (ἄνω κλῆσις) as RV, which is better than the 'heavenly calling' of Lightfoot and others, though that is the ultimate destination.

In the phrase 'high day' we find two different meanings—(1) 'great,' practically equivalent to 'holy' in Ad. Est 16^{22}, Sir 33^{9}, Jn 19^{31}; and (2) the same as modern 'broad,' referring to the full light of day, in Gn 29^{7}.

For **Most High** see God; for **High Place** see the following art.; for **High Priest** see Priests and Levites; and for **Highest Room** (Lk 14^{8} πρωτοκλισία) see Hospitality, House, Room.

In Ro 11^{20} [WH μὴ ὑψηλὰ φρονεῖν] and in 1 Ti 6^{17} the verb ὑψηλοφρονεῖν is tr^d 'to be highminded'; and in 2 Ti 3^{4} the ptcp. τετυφωμένος is tr^d 'highminded' (RV 'puffed up'). Thus in all its occurrences in AV **highminded** has the bad sense of 'haughty,' 'overweening,' its almost invariable meaning at the time. As Davies points out (*Bible English*, p. 207), Andrewes uses the word in a good (though not in the modern) sense when he says (*Sermons*, v. 50), 'O that you would mind once these high things, that you would be in this sense high-minded,' but it is plain that he is accommodating the word to his purpose; elsewhere he uses it in the same sense as AV. Cf. *Babees Book* (E.E.T.S.), p. 93, 'A hye mynded man thinketh no wight worthy to match with him.'

Highness, which, except in reference to persons of rank, is now displaced by 'height,' is found twice in AV, Job 31^{23} 'For destruction from God was a terror to me, and by reason of his highness I could not endure' (שְׂאֵת; RV 'excellency'; Amer. RV 'majesty,' which is Davidson's word); and Is 13^{3} 'I have commanded my sanctified ones, I have also called my mighty ones for mine anger, even them that rejoice in my highness' (עַלִּיזֵי גַּאֲוָתִי; RV 'my proudly exulting ones,' RVm 'them that exult in my majesty'). Cf. 2 Co 10^{5} Wyc. (1388) 'And we distrien counsels, and alle highnesse that higheth it silf aghens the science of God.' Fisher (on Ps 143) shows the word passing to its mod. sense: 'Blessed Lorde vouchsafe give us leve to speake unto thy hyghnes in this matter.'

Highway.—See Way.

J. Hastings.

HIGH PLACE, בָּמָה pl. בָּמוֹת. LXX τὸ ὑψηλόν, about 56 t.; ἀβαμά, ἀββαμμά (ἀβανά B, ἀββανά A), Ezk 20^{29}; τὰ ἀγαθά, Is 58^{14}; ἄλσος, Jer 26^{18}, Mic 3^{12}; ἁμαρτία = חַטָּאת, Mic 1^{5}; βαιμών, Jos 13^{17}; Βαμά, 1 S $9^{12.13.14.19.25}$ 10^{5}, 1 Ch 16^{39} (21^{29} Lag.), 2 Ch 1^{13}, A. Lag.; Βαμώθ, Jos 13^{17} Lag., 1 Ch 21^{29}; βουνός, 1 S 10^{13}, Ps 78^{58} (Jer 26^{18}, Symm., Mic 3^{12}, Theod.); βωμός, Is 15^{2} 16^{12}, Jer 7^{31} 32^{35} 48^{35}, Am 7^{9}, Hos 10^{8}; ἔδαφος, Job 9^{8}; εἴδωλον, Ezk 16^{16}; ἔρημος, Ezk 36^{2}; θυσιαστήριον, 2 Ch 14^{3}; ἰσχύς, Dt 32^{13}; λίθος, 2 K 23^{15}; μετέωρος, 2 K 12^{3} 15^{4}, Lag.; οἶκος = בֵּית, 2 K $23^{8.13}$; στήλη, Lv 26^{30}, Nu 21^{28} 22^{41} 33^{52}; ὑψηλός, Ps 18^{34}; ὑψηλότατος, 1 K 3^{4}; ὕψος, 2 S $1^{19.25}$ 22^{34}, Am 4^{13}, Mic 1^{3} [עַל־בָּמֳתֵי, Is 14^{14} = ἐπάνω]. In some other passages the LXX renderings prob. rest on a different text from MT.

I. The original signification of the word cannot now be exactly determined, but that it denoted 'high, rising ground' is probable for the following reasons:—(*a*) The corresponding word in Assyr. (*bamâtu*, pl. *bamâti*) is said to mean 'height.' Del. (*Assyr. Hwb.*) renders 'Höhe (opp. Thal), *ṣi-i-ru ba-ma-a-ti* Feld und Höhen.' (*b*) We read of people 'going up' to (1 S $9^{13.19}$, Is 15^{2}) and 'coming down' from (1 S 10^{5} 9^{25}) a high place. (*c*) בָּמָה is used to explain גִּבְעָה רָמָה 'high hill' (Ezk 20^{29}).

II. In poetical language the word is used quite generally to denote the mountain fastnesses of the land, which ensure dominion to their holder (Ezk 36^{2}). In this sense it is used of Israel (Dt 32^{13} 33^{29}, Is 58^{14}; cf. 2 S 22^{34} = Ps 18^{33}, Hab 3^{19}); of God (Am 4^{13}, Mic 1^{3}; cf. Job 9^{8} 'the waves,' marg. 'heights,' RVm 'high places,' 'of the sea'; cf. also Is 14^{14} 'heights,' lit. 'high places,' 'of the clouds,' of the king of Babylon). But much more frequently it signifies 'high places' as places of religious worship. That these were the customary and legitimate places of worship for the Isr. until the 7th cent. there is abundant evidence. Samuel was accustomed to sanction such worship by his presence and blessing (1 S $9^{12.13.14.19}$). They were situated on the outskirts of the city (1 S 9^{25} $10^{5.13}$). In the days of Solomon 'the people sacrificed in the high places' (1 K 3^{2}). Solomon himself, we are told, 'sacrificed and burnt incense in the high places' (1 K 3^{3}), and, in particular, at Gibeon 'the great high place' (1 K 3^{4}). The same is true of the reigns of Rehoboam (1 K 14^{23}), Jeroboam (1 K $12^{31.32}$ $13^{2.32.33}$), Asa (1 K 15^{14}), Jehoshaphat (1 K 22^{43}), Jehoash (2 K 12^{3}), Amaziah (2 K 14^{4}), Azariah (2 K 15^{4}), Jotham (2 K 15^{35}), Ahaz (2 K 16^{4}), and Elijah laments bitterly that the local sanctuaries of J″ had been destroyed (1 K $19^{10.14}$). True, the compiler of the Bks. of Kings looks upon the worship at high places as a stain upon the government of these rulers, and sees in it additional ground for condemnation of the apostate kings (*e.g.* Manasseh, 2 K 21^{3}), and one cause of the captivity of the northern tribes (2 K $17^{9.11}$); but this is due to his inability to recognize that a custom which in his own day was under the ban of the ceremonial law, had ever been legitimate in monarchical times. It may seem strange perhaps that in the Bks. of Kings this worship should meet with such condemnation, whilst in Samuel the many allusions to it are passed over unnoticed; but this is explained by the fact that the editors of these books were influenced by the theory that such worship at high places was lawful before the erection of Solomon's Temple, but was inexcusable afterwards; cf. 1 K 3^{2} 'Only the people sacrificed in the high places, because there was no house built for the name of the Lord until those days.' In the passages already cited, high places are expressly mentioned, but in very many other cases the existence of sanctuaries of J″ all over the country in the period before the establishment of the monarchy is presupposed, *e.g.* at Bochim (Bethel?) (Jg 2^{5}), Ophrah (6^{24} 8^{27}), Zorah (13^{16-19}), Shiloh (18^{31}), Bethel ($20^{18.23.26}$ $21^{2.4}$), Mizpah (Jg 20^{1}, 1 S 7^{9}), Ramah (7^{17} 9^{12}), Gibeah (10^{5} 14^{35}), Gilgal (10^{8} 11^{15} 13^{9} 15^{21}), Bethlehem (16^{2} $20^{6.29}$), Nob (21^{1}), Hebron (2 S 15^{7}), Giloh (15^{12}), and the threshing-floor of Araunah (2 S 24^{25}). For a sanctuary that was purely Israelite in origin, cf. that at Dan (Jg 18^{30}).

But, widespread as was the worship at the local high places, there were gradually developed tendencies towards a centralization of the worship of J″. It was very natural, for instance, that the sanctuary at which the ark was stationed should enjoy a certain pre-eminence over the surrounding high places. Thus Shiloh (1 S 1^{3}) and, at a later period, Jerus. no doubt overshadowed the neighbouring sanctuaries and attracted worshippers from a wide area. Again, the establishment of the monarchy indirectly favoured religious, as directly it brought about political, unity. And, lastly, in the worship at high places itself there lurked a danger which eventually brought about their overthrow. This danger was twofold. Many of the more important of the high places had been the sites of Can. shrines (Dt $12^{2.30}$, Nu 33^{52}). With the place of worship the Isr. had taken over also the symbols of worship, the *Maẓẓēbahs* (see PILLAR) and the *Ashērahs* (wh. see). What was more likely than that the lascivious tendencies which had characterized the older forms of worship should lie hidden beneath these external symbols, and, defying expulsion, should burst forth from time to time into fresh vigour? Or, again, what was more probable than that J″ should seem to be brought down to the level of the Can. gods, of whose shrines He had taken possession, and whose name He sometimes assumed, and so become confounded with them alike in outward worship and in moral characteristics? [For such confusion of J″ with the Can. Baalim, cf. Hos $2^{16.17}$, and the proper names Jerubbaal (Jg 6^{32}), Meribbaal (1 Ch 8^{34}), Beeliada (1 Ch 14^{7}); and see Moore on Jg 6^{32}, with the references there given].

How real these dangers were may be learned from the vigorous way in which the prophets of the 8th cent. denounce the worship at high places as it existed in their own day. Cf., for the northern kingdom, Hos 10^{8} 'The high places of Aven, the sin of Israel shall be destroyed; the thorn and the thistle shall come up upon their altars' (2. $4^{13.15.17}$ 5^{1} $8^{5.11}$ $10^{1.2.5}$ 12^{11} 13^{2}); Am 7^{9} 'The high places of Isaac shall be desolate, and the sanctuaries of Israel shall be laid waste' (4^{4} 5^{5} 7^{13} 8^{14}); and for Judah see Mic 1^{5} 'What are the high places of Judah? are they not Jerusalem?' (where, however, we should probably read, with the LXX, 'sin' for 'high places') (5^{13} 6^{7}). Micah, writing probably after the fall of the northern kingdom, declares that the sanctuary at Jerus. is destined to the same fate that has fallen upon the high places of the sister kingdom. 'Jerus. shall become heaps, and the mountain of the house as the high places of a forest,' *i.e.* as the high places that have been converted into waste forest-land by the invading army (3^{12}=Jer 26^{18}; cf. Ezk 36^{2}).

It should be noticed that what these writers denounce is, not the worship at high places in itself, but the corruption that has contaminated the worship of J″ at the local high places, and that they regard the approaching destruction of the high places, which they foretell, as part of a temporary loss of a national existence. Cf. Hos 3^{4} 'Without king, and without prince, and without sacrifice, and without ephod or teraphim.' The growing feeling against the corrupted local sanctuary worship was no doubt fostered by the introduction of foreign cults by some of the kings. Thus Solomon, we read, built high places for Chemosh and for Molech (1 K 11^{7}), for Ashtoreth (2 K 23^{13}); Ahab built an altar for Baal (1 K $16^{31.32}$); Manasseh did the same (2 K 21^{3}; cf. Jer 7^{31} 19^{5}).

For this corrupt state of things there were two possible solutions. There might be reformation, or there might be abolition combined with the centralization of the worship of J″ at Jerusalem. The latter was the course actually taken when the unifying tendencies of which we have spoken ripened into maturity. The compiler of the Bks. of Kings ascribes it to Hezekiah (2 K $18^{4.22}$ 21^{3}), but there are reasons for doubting the accuracy of his statement. 2 K 18^{4a} seems to be a later addition to the original passage; v.^{22} occurs in a section that is certainly of a late date; 21^{3} is due to the compiler; Hezekiah's reform, if historical, must have been singularly ineffective, for in the accounts of Josiah's reformation we have no hint of earlier steps in the same direction; lastly, Isaiah betrays no hostility to the high places as such (cf. Wellh. *Proleg.* p. 46; Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* ii. 14; Montefiore, *Hib. Lects.* p. 164; and, for a conservative view, Kittel, *Hist. of the Heb.* ii. 356). But, whatever may have been the action of Hezekiah with regard to the high places, the legislation of Josiah (B.C. 639–608) against them was carried through systematically and with thoroughness. Inspired by the then lately promulgated (B.C. 621) law of Deuteronomy (ch. $12^{3.5}$ and freq.), the young king caused the destruction of the high places throughout his dominions (2 K $23^{5.8.13.19}$). The idolatrous priests were apparently put to death (2 K 23^{5}), the priests of J″ were to be allowed to come to Jerus., but not as sacrificing priests (2 K 23^{9}); the worship of J″ was henceforth to have its sole sanctuary at Jerusalem.

A reformation so radical as that just sketched had of course its losses as well as its gains. The latter were seen in the sweeping away of a system that was polluting the very life-blood of the nation, and in the quickening impulse which it must have given to political unification, and to the spread of a more spiritual conception of the national God. But the loss was very great. It was an age when the social and the religious instincts found expression through the same channels, and the abolition of the local shrines must have affected everyday life in the rural districts in a hundred ways. For instance, from time immemorial all shedding of blood had been looked upon as sacrifice; now sacrifice was to be lawful only at Jerusalem. Again, many of the older local festivals would lose their importance now that there was no sanctuary round which they could revolve (cf. 1 S 1^{3} 20^{6} 25^{2}, 2 S 13^{23}). And, lastly, the abolition of the country priesthood, whilst it deprived a large class of the means of livelihood (Jg 17^{5}), removed from their position the recognized educational authorities (Mic 3^{11}, Dt 33^{10}), and made no provision for any substitute. Still, the spontaneous religious feeling of the country districts needed outlets for their expression, and the loss of those 'who handled *torah*' had to be supplied. If the body ecclesiastic was to have its heart in Jerus., it needed also its main arteries throughout the country, and in time such were found for it. In the post-ex. community the synagogue (wh. see) with its worship of prayer supplied to some extent the place of the high place with its cycle of sacrifices, and the recognized teachers of the Levitical law took the place of the older provincial priests.

III. The fortunes of the local high places thus briefly sketched from the historical books may be traced through the same stages in the legal codes. In the earliest legislation high places are not actually mentioned, but they are presupposed. Cf. Ex 20^{24} 'An altar of earth shalt thou make unto me, and shalt sacrifice thereon thy burnt-offerings, and thy peace-offerings, thy sheep and thine oxen: in every place where I record my name I will come unto thee and I will bless thee.'

Cf. also Ex 22^{29}, which presupposes the existence of local sanctuaries. In entire agreement with this the writers of the narrative portions of JE represent the Patriarchs as erecting altars wherever occasion demanded. Thus, *e.g.*, Abraham builds altars at Shechem (Gn 12^{7}), at Bethel (12^{8} 13^{4}), at Mamre (13^{18}), and on Mount Moriah (22^{9}); Jacob sacrifices on the mountain of Gilead (31^{54}), and builds altars at Shechem (33^{20}) and at Bethel ($35^{1.3.7}$); Isaac does the same at Beer-sheba (46^{1}); and Moses builds an altar at Rephidim (Ex 17^{15}), and prescribes the erection of one on Mount Ebal (Dt 27^{5}; cf. Jos 8^{30}).

When we reach the Great Code of the 7th cent. [D=Deuteronomy] all this is altered. True, the compiler nowhere mentions by name the high places of J″, but his zeal for their removal betrays itself in every page of his work. All the sanctuaries of Can. origin are to be destroyed (Dt $12^{2.3}$), and for the Israelites there is to be but one place of sacrifice. 'Ye shall not do so unto the Lord your God. But unto the place which the Lord your God shall choose . . . thither thou shalt come, and thither ye shall bring your burnt-offerings . . .' (12^{4-7}). 'Take heed to thyself that thou offer not thy burnt-offerings in every place that thou seest' (12^{13}; cf. $12^{21.26}$ 14^{23-25} 15^{20} $16^{2.5.6.15.16}$ 17^{8} 18^{6}).

Lastly, in the latest of the Pentateuchal Codes (P=Priestly Code) the one sanctuary is not so much inculcated as tacitly assumed (cf. Wellh. *Proleg*. p. 34).

IV. It has been said above that בָּמָה originally signified 'high, rising ground,' and it is probable therefore that the simplest form of high place was an altar on any slight elevation. They were situated generally, it may be supposed, near a city; cf. 1 S 9^{25} 10^{5}. Close to the altar would be placed the *Mazzēbah* and the *Ashērah*. Sometimes we find the high place distinguished from the altar (2 K 23^{15}, Is 36^{7}, 2 Ch 14^{3}). Again, the high place is distinguished from the hill upon which it stood (Ezk 6^{3}, 1 K 11^{7} 14^{23}). In these passages the name seems to be transferred from the actual site to the apparatus for worship which stood upon it. In the vicinity of the altar were erected buildings for various purposes, the so-called 'houses of high places' (1 K 12^{31} 13^{32}, 2 K 23^{19}). In the case of idolatrous high places, these sometimes contained an image of the god worshipped (2 K 17^{29}). With 'high place' in this secondary sense of 'shrine' or 'sanctuary' we may compare those passages which speak of 'high places' in valleys (Jer 7^{31} 19^{5} 32^{35}, Ezk 6^{3}), or in cities (1 K 13^{32}, 2 K $17^{9.29}$ 23^{5}), or 'at the entering in of the gate' (2 K 23^{8}; cf. Ezk 16^{24}). Cf. also Am 7^{9}, where it is synonymous with 'sanctuary' (מִקְדָּשׁ). In some of these cases it is probable that an artificial high place, with of course the necessary adjuncts, is intended. With this would agree the terms which are used of the destruction of 'high places.' So, *e.g.*, 'destroy' (Ezk 6^{3}, 2 K 21^{3}; cf. Lv 26^{30}, Nu 33^{52}, where a synonymous term is used), 'break down' (2 K $23^{8.15}$), 'burn' (2 K 23^{15}).

In connexion with these local sanctuaries we find, in addition to the *Mazzēbahs* and *Ashērahs*, also *Ephods* and *Teraphim* (wh. see). So in Jg 17^{5}, 1 S 21^{9}; cf. Jg 8^{27}, Hos 3^{4}. That the former were images used in consultation of J″ is probable from 1 S $14^{18\,\text{mg.}}$ 23^{9} 30^{7}. (See Moore on Jg 8^{27}). And in connexion with the Ephod we have the Urim and Thummim, or sacred lots for giving oracles, 1 S 14^{41} (on the reading see Driver, *ad loc.*). For the priests of these high places see CHEMARIM, PRIEST.

V. In four passages of OT the plur. of the word is used as a proper name. These are Nu $21^{19.20}$, Nu 21^{28} RVm 'Bamoth of Arnon,' Jos 13^{17} Bamoth-baal. In this connexion it is noteworthy that the word occurs twice upon the Moabite Stone.

l. 3 'and I made this high place for Chemosh in
QRḤH.'
l. 27 'I built Beth Bamoth, for it was destroyed.'

LITERATURE.—Wellh. *Proleg.* pp. 17–51 (Eng. tr.); Driver on Deut. 12^{1} and pp. xliii–li; Baudissin, *Studien*, ii. 256 ff.; W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} 236 ff., 275, 360. For a theory as to the reason for the choice of high ground as a place of worship see W. R. Smith, *RS*^{1} p. 470.

W. C. ALLEN.

HILEN (חִילֵן), 1 Ch 6^{58}.—See HOLON, No. **1**.

HILKIAH (חִלְקִיָּהוּ, חִלְקִיָּה 'J″ is my portion,' *or* 'he whose portion is J″').—**1.** The father of Eliakim, who was 'over the household' under Hezekiah (2 K $18^{18.26.37}$ = Is $36^{3.22}$; cf. Is 22^{20}).

2. The high priest in the reign of Josiah. He it was who found the book of the law in the temple, whilst the building was undergoing repair in the 18th year of Josiah (B.C. 621). That this book was substantially the Bk. of Deuteronomy is generally acknowledged (see DEUTERONOMY). Hilkiah communicated the news of his discovery to Shaphan the scribe, and this latter, having first made himself acquainted with the contents of the book, then read it before the king. Josiah was greatly moved upon hearing the threats and warnings of Deuteronomy against the introduction of idolatrous cults and the unrestricted worship of J″ elsewhere than at the central sanctuary—'the place which the LORD God shall choose to put his name there' (Dt 12^{5}). Immediately a deputation was formed by order of the king, consisting of Hilkiah and others, who proceeded to Huldah, the prophetess, to learn at her mouth the will of the Lord. Huldah predicted the certain fall of the kingdom of Judah, on account of the religious abuses which had been introduced under king Manasseh, but added that for Josiah's sake a respite was to be granted, that he might not see the evil which J″ would bring upon Jerusalem.* After receiving the message of the prophetess, the young king at once commenced active measures, and carried out the great religious reformation which is associated with his name (2 K 22 f. = 2 Ch $34^{8\text{ff.}}$).

The narrative contains no suggestion by which a charge of fraud can be fastened upon Hilkiah, as though he had deposited the book in the temple and had then professed to make discovery of it, while all the time he was acquainted with the author of it, even if he were not himself the author. On the contrary, the simple and straightforward account of the repairs which were being carried out in the temple, and which led to the discovery, makes the inference obvious that the high priest was previously unacquainted with the book, and that it must have been placed in the temple for safety some time previously, either during the troublous reign of Manasseh, or during the earlier years of Josiah.

3. The father of Jeremiah, and member of a priestly family at Anathoth (Jer 1^{1}). **4.** The father of Gemariah, who acted as ambassador from king Zedekiah to Nebuchadrezzar (Jer 29^{3}). **5. 6.** Levites of the clan of Merari, 1 Ch 6^{45} [Heb.^{30}] 26^{11}. **7.** A contemporary of Ezra, who stood at his right hand when he read the book of the law publicly (Neh 8^{4}). Probably, the same Hilkiah is mentioned as one of the chiefs of the priests who went up to Judæa with Zerubbabel and Jeshua (Neh $12^{7.21}$).

C. F. BURNEY.

HILL, HILL-COUNTRY.—'Hill' is in AV the rendering of (1) גִּבְעָה (always), (2) הַר (sometimes), (3) in Mt 5^{14}, Lk 4^{29} ('the brow of the *hill*') 9^{37} of ὄρος (RV in 9^{37} 'mountain'), and (4) in Lk 3^{5} 23^{30} of βουνός (LXX usu. for גִּבְעָה); it occurs also in 1 S 9^{11} for מַעֲלֶה (RV 'ascent'), in Is 5^{1} in 'a very fruitful hill' (the paraphr. rend. of the Heb. 'a horn, the son of fatness'—'horn' being, as in Arab., fig. for a small isolated eminence), and in Ac 17^{22} for πάγος (RV 'Areopagus'). *Hill* stands also in RV for עֹפֶל, *a swelling* or *bulging place*, in 2 K 5^{24}, Is 32^{14}, Mic 4^{8}.

---

* Probably, Huldah's speech has been to some extent amplified by a redactor of K in exilic times. See KINGS, BOOKS OF.

'Hill' is thus the most characteristic rendering of גִּבְעָה, a word which, coming from a root signifying *to be convex* (cf. גָּבִיעַ 'bowl,' Aram. גְּבִיעַ 'hump-backed'), no doubt denotes properly (Stanley, *Sin. and Pal.* 138, 497) the large rounded hills, mostly bare or nearly so, so conspicuous in parts of Palestine, especially in Judah. Several places situated on such hills derived their names from the circumstance, as '*Gibeah* of Saul,' '*Gibeah* of Phinehas,' '*Gibeah* of the Foreskins,' etc. (see under GIBEAH); cf. the *hill* of Moreh (or of the Teacher) Jg 7^{1}, the *hill* of God (Gibeah) 1 S 10^{5}, the *hill* of Ḥakîlah 1 S 23^{19} 26$^{1.\,3}$, the *hill* of Ammah 2 S 2^{24}, the *hill* of Gareb Jer 31^{39}, also 1 S 6^{1}, 2 S 6$^{3.\,4}$ 'the hill' (near Kiriath-jearim)—all localities so called from the same marked topographical feature. Zion, it may be noticed, though sometimes termed a 'hill' in AV, RV (as Ps 2^{6} 3^{4} 15^{1}), is in the Heb. regularly a 'mountain' (הַר); it is spoken of as a גִּבְעָה only Is 10^{32} 31^{4} (in both ‖ 'mountain'), Ezk 34^{26}; cf. Zeph 1^{10}. Hills of the same kind were also a favourite spot for the idolatrous rites of the Canaanites, which the Israelites were sometimes only too ready to take part in: the standing phrase is 'on every high *hill*, and under every spreading tree' (1 K 14^{23}, 2 K 17^{10}, Jer 2^{20} *al.*; cf. Dt 12^{2}, Hos 4^{13}, Is 65^{7}, Jer 13^{27}, Ezk 20^{28} etc.). Notice that גִּבְעָה is also the term used in Ex 17$^{9.\,10}$. A recollection of what a גִּבְעָה was adds force to Isaiah's picture of every high hill being fertilized by 'streams and water-courses' in the ideal future (30^{25}). גִּבְעָה is never used for a range of mountains (like הַר); but it often stands in poet. parallelism with 'mountain.' See *e.g.* Gn 49^{26}, Is 2^{2}, 30^{17} 40$^{4.\,12}$ 41^{15}.

The passages in which 'hill' stands for הַר may next be considered. הַר is a much more general term than גִּבְעָה: it may be applied to what we should call a mountain-range, to a simple 'mountain,' and also to a block of elevated country (as the central part of Palestine). It thus no doubt in particular cases may correspond to what we should term a 'hill'; but it lacks the definite and distinct characteristics of the גִּבְעָה. Its being represented by 'hill' in AV is sometimes a source of confusion. Thus the 'hill' of Ex 24^{4} is the 'mount' of vv.$^{12.\,13.\,15}$ etc.; the 'hill' of Nu 14$^{44.\,45}$, Dt 1$^{41.\,43}$ is the 'mountain' of Nu 14^{40}, Dt 1^{44}; 1 K 11^{7} the 'hill' in front of Jerusalem is the 'mount' of Olives; the 'hill' of Zion in Ps 2^{6}, and the 'holy hill' of 3^{4} 15^{1} 43^{3} 99^{9} (cf. 24^{3} 68^{16b}), is the 'mount' Zion of other passages. Other passages in which 'mount' or 'mountain' would have been better than 'hill' are Gn 7^{19} (see v.^{20}), Dt 8^{7} 11^{11}, Jos 15^{9} 18$^{13.\,14}$, Jg 2^{9} 16^{3}, 1 S 25^{20} 26^{13}, 2 S 13^{34} 16^{13} 21^{9}, 1 K 16$^{24.\,24.\,24}$ (of Samaria, see Am 4^{1} 6^{1} AV), 20$^{23.\,28}$ 22^{17}, 2 K 1^{9} 4^{27} (see v.^{25}), Ps 18^{7} 68$^{15.\,16a}$ (of the great range of Jebel Ḥauran) 80^{10} 95^{4} 97^{5} 98^{8} 104$^{10.\,13.\,18.\,32}$ 121^{1}, Lk 9^{37} (see v.^{28}). In the great majority of these passages the correction has been made in RV.

עֹפֶל, which is represented by 'hill' in RV of 2 K 5^{24}, Is 32^{14}, Mic 4^{8}, was also (with the art.) the name of the bulging side of Zion on the S. of the Royal Palace (see OPHEL): this is probably alluded to in Is 32^{14}, Mic 4^{8}; in 2 K 5^{24} the name is applied to some similarly shaped spot in Samaria (cf. Mesha's Inscr. l. 22).—'Hill' is never, it may be added, to be understood in RV in the common English sense of *an ascent*, and only twice in AV (1 S 9^{11}, 2 S 16^{1}): the Heb. for this is מַעֲלֶה ('going up,' or 'ascent').

Hill-country occurs in AV 4 times, Jos 13^{6} 21^{11} (for הַר), and Lk 1$^{39.\,65}$ (for ἡ ὀρεινή [often in LXX for הָהָר]); also Jth 1^{6} 2^{22} 4^{7} 5^{1} 6$^{7.\,11}$. In RV the term has been employed much more frequently. As was remarked above, the Heb. הַר is used not only of a single mountain, and of a range of mountains, but also often of a *mountainous tract of country*, esp. the elevated mountain tract, which forms, as it were, the backbone of Palestine, gradually rising from the plain of Jezreel on the N., sloping down on the E. and W. to the Jordan Valley and the Mediterranean Sea, respectively, and terminating (approximately) in the S. in the neighbourhood of Beersheba. In AV, הַר, in this application, is usually rendered 'mountain(s)' or 'mount,'—in neither case very suitably, 'mount' especially (as in 'Mount Ephraim,' 1 S 1^{1} and frequently) suggesting a single eminence (as Mount Ararat, Mount Etna, Mount Zion, etc.), and not a tract of mountainous country. Accordingly, 'hill-country,' the phrase already used in the AV of Jos 13^{6} 21^{11}, has in RV been generally substituted in all these cases. Thus Dt 1$^{7.\,19.\,20}$ 'the hill-country of the Amorites,' and 1^{7} 'the hill-country' (both of the high central ground of Canaan): so Jos 9^{1} 10$^{6.\,40}$ 11$^{3.\,16}$ 12^{8}. Two parts of this 'hill-country,' which are frequently particularized, are the 'hill-country' of Ephraim (Jos 17$^{15.\,16.\,18}$ 19^{50} 20^{7} 21^{21} 24$^{30.\,33}$, Jg 3^{27} 4^{5} 7^{24} 10^{1} 17$^{1.\,8}$ 18$^{2.\,13}$, 1 S 1^{1} 9^{4} 14^{22}, 2 S 20^{21}, 1 K 4^{8} 12^{25}, 2 K 5^{22} 19$^{1.\,16.\,18}$, 2 Ch 13^{4} 15^{8} 19^{4}: in Jer 4^{15} 31^{6} 50^{19} 'the *hills* of Ephraim'); and the 'hill-country' of Judah (Jos 11^{21} 20^{7} 21^{11}, 2 Ch 27^{4}, Lk 1^{65}; cf. v.^{39}, Jos 18^{12}, Jg 1$^{9.\,19}$, 1 S 23^{14}), the latter forming a clearly defined part of the territory of Judah (opp. to the 'lowland,' the 'Negeb,' and the 'wilderness'), the cities of which are enumerated in Jos 15$^{48\text{-}60}$ (cf. Jer 32^{44} 33^{13} 'the cities of the hill-country'; and see JUDAH). We also have the 'hill-country' of Naphtali (Jos 20^{7}), as well as of the Ammonite territory (Dt 2^{37}), and of Gilead (3^{12}), on the E. of Jordan. G. A. Smith (*HGHL* 53) objects to the rendering 'hill-country,' on the ground that the Central Range of Palestine was recognized by the Hebrews as forming a single block, which they called accordingly not by a collective name but by a singular name, *the mountain*. The observation is, no doubt, correct; but 'the mountain' would in English have been so strongly suggestive of a single eminence that it could hardly be considered a preferable rendering.

S. R. DRIVER.

HILLEL (הִלֵּל 'he hath praised'; cf. the name in New Heb. of the well-known Rabbi *Hillel*).—The father of the judge Abdon, of Pirathon in Ephraim (Jg 12$^{13.\,15}$).

HIN.—See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

HIND.—See HART.

HINGE (צִיר *ẓîr*, Arab. *ṣā'ir*, a pivot).—There seems to have been anciently only one kind of hinge in Syria, the pivot and socket. Doors of houses in Lebanon are made of wood, and generally the pivots on which the doors turn are projections of a piece of wood which runs the whole length of the door, and is called the *ṣîyâr*. The pivots themselves are called by the carpenters *sûs*, and are always of wood; they turn generally in sockets of iron, but sometimes a hole is made in a stone for the lower socket, and one is bored in the lintel for the upper.

On the east of the Jordan, in the Hauran, ancient buildings have been found in which the doors are made of one slab of stone, the projecting pivots being of stone also. The sockets are holes bored in the stone lintel and threshold. In 1 K 7^{50} פֹּת is the *socket*. (For a good illustration of an ancient door socket [of Sargon I.] see Hilprecht, *Recent Researches in Bible Lands*, p. 93).

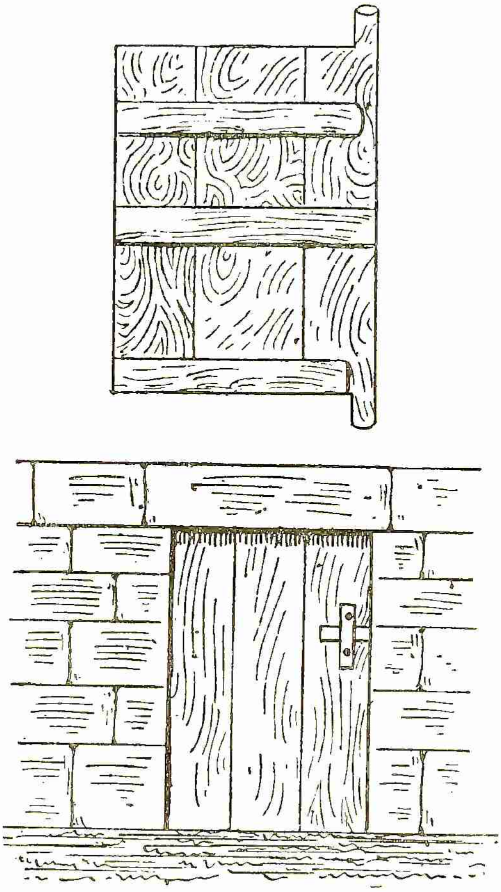

DOORS OF LEBANON HOUSES, SHOWING PIVOTS AND LOCK.

The ancient Egyp. hinge consisted of a socket of metal with a projecting pivot, into which the corner of the door was inserted. This kind is not common in Syria. W. CARSLAW.

HINNOM, VALLEY OF, also called **Valley of the Son of H., Valley of the Children of H.** (גֵּי הִנֹּם Jos 15^{8} 18^{16}, Neh 11^{30}; elsewhere [except in 2 K 23^{10}, where *Kethibh* has 'גֵּי בְנֵי ה] always 'גֵּי בֶן־ה Jos 15^{8} 18^{16}, 2 Ch 28^{3} 33^{6}, Jer 7$^{31.32}$ 19$^{2.6}$ 32^{35}).—Hinnom is mentioned in the OT invariably in connexion with the term *gai* [construct *gê*] (ravine), the Kidron being called *naḥal*, and the vale of Rephaim *ʿēmeḳ*. It seems probable that *gai* denotes the channel or course through which water may make its way in the hills, and thus in Palestine becomes a ravine in the mountains; but the word cannot by itself be taken to mean any particular nature of ravine. It is used, in contradistinction to mountains, to denote valleys or depressions (Is 40^{4}).

Naḥal is the exact equivalent of the modern *wâdy*. See BROOK. It is used of the deep gorges of the rivers Arnon and Jabbok, and of the shallow sandy stream of the 'river of Egypt' (*Wâdy el-ʿArish*).

ʿEmeḳ is a broad vale fit for flowers (Ca 2^{1}), for corn land (Ps 65^{13}), for battlefields (Job 39^{21}), and chariots (Is 22^{7}).

It has been suggested by Birch (*PEFSt*, 1878, p. 179) that these three names represent the three valleys which encompass Jerusalem, east, centre, and west, in the order they are given in the OT, viz.:—*naḥal*, Kidron; *gai*, Tyropœon or Hinnom; *ʿēmeḳ*, Rephaim; but, unfortunately, this easy solution of a very difficult question does not satisfy the conditions.

Although the same appellative is used in the OT for a particular portion of a valley, there seems no reason against the various lengths of a valley being called *naḥal*, *gai*, and *ʿēmeḳ* in succession according to the requirements of the case; and it is obvious that when the branches of a valley have these different names, the portion below the junction must differ in name from one or other of them. Stanley (*SP*, Appendix, p. 482) points out that in 1 S 17^{2} *ʿēmeḳ* and *gai* seem to be used convertibly, and suggests that the *ʿēmeḳ* 'of the terebinth' contracted into a *gai* in its descent towards the plain of Philistia. It is suggested that in this case the *ʿēmeḳ* 'of the terebinth' (Valley of Elah) was the designation of the valley generally, while the separate portions were termed *gai*, etc., according to their character. At the present day the Arabs are in the habit of giving descriptive names to each reach of a valley, in addition to the general name for the whole valley.

Whatever view is taken of the position of the valley of Hinnom, all writers concur in its extending to the junction of the three valleys of Jerusalem below Siloam, *i.e.* there must be one spot below Siloam which all agree in making a portion of the valley of Hinnom. It is suggested that the valley of Hinnom does not end here, but is the name of the whole valley (*Wâdy en-Nâr*), extending from the north of Jerusalem to the Dead Sea. The point, then, which requires to be cleared up is whether it is the east valley or *Kidron*, the centre valley or *Tyropœon*, or the west valley or *Wâdy er-Rubâbeh*.

It is stated (Neh 11^{30}) that on the return of the children of Judah after the Captivity, they 'encamped from Beersheba unto the valley of Hinnom'—where the *gai* of Hinnom may be the *Wâdy en-Nâr*, extending from Jerusalem to the Dead Sea. The valley of H. was near the gate Harsith of Jerusalem (Jer 19^{2}), which in AV is tr^{d} 'east gate' (AVm 'sun gate'), and in RVm 'gate of potsherds.' It is stated (1 Ch 4^{23}) that the potters 'dwelt with the king for his work,' possibly near the king's palace at the southern side of the temple near the water gate, above the Kidron.

The word *gai* is also used for the '*valley* gate' (2 Ch 26^{9}, Neh 2$^{13.15}$ 3^{13}), which appears to have been on the west side of Jerusalem above the Tyropœon valley near the present Jaffa gate.

The valley of Hinnom is mentioned in connexion with the boundary-line between Judah and Benjamin (Jos 15^{8} 18^{16}), but otherwise principally with reference to the abominable rites and ceremonies of the Ammonites. The high places of Tophet and Baal, where children were passed through the fire to Molech (Jer 7^{31} 32^{35}), were built in this valley. Ahaz and Manasseh burnt incense and passed their children through the fire to Molech (2 Ch 28^{3} 33^{6}). This practice was perhaps tolerated in Jerusalem by Solomon (1 K 11^{7}). Josiah defiled Tophet in order to prevent these horrible rites from being carried out there; and from the allusion to the graves of the children of the people (2 K 23$^{6.10}$), it would appear that it was near the common burial-place. It was to receive the name of the 'Valley of Slaughter' in time to come (Jer 7^{32} 19^{11}).

According to Buxtorf, Lightfoot, and others (following Kimchi), there were perpetual fires kept up in this valley for consuming dead bodies of criminals and carcases of animals, and the refuse of the city; and this may be accepted (but see Robinson, *BRP* i. 274) as the most probable method of disposing of the immense masses of refuse which required to be destroyed for the sake of the health of the city (Rosenmüller, *Biblische Geogr.* II. i. pp. 156, 164).

The Talmudists place the mouth of hell in the valley of H. 'There are two palm trees in the valley of Hinnom between which a smoke ariseth —and this is the door of Gehenna' (see Barclay, *City of the Great King*, p. 90, and art. GEHENNA). In this sense it was used by our Lord (Mt 5^{29} 10^{28}, etc.). Jerome (*Comm. in Jer.* 7^{31}, and on Mt 10^{28}) describes Tophet as a pleasant spot in the valley of Hinnom, with trees and gardens watered from Siloam, lying at the foot of Moriah (*i.e.* in the gardens below Siloam at the junction of the east and west valleys).

Stanley (*Sin. and Pal.* p. 172) suggests that the ravine (*gai*) was named Ge Ben Hinnom, or Ge-Hinnom, after some ancient hero who had encamped there, and that from this was formed the word Gehenna. In the Mohammedan traditions the name *Gehenna* is applied to the valley of the Kidron (Ibn Batuteh, 124; Le Strange, *Pal. under the Moslems*, p. 218). Stanley further points out (*Recov. of Jerus.* xiv.) that the valley of H. includes, if it is not identical with, the glen of the Kidron *east* of the city. 'This appears to follow beyond question from Jer 19^{11}; and it agrees, not only with the Mussulman nomenclature, but with almost all the biblical indications on the subject, and especially with the word Ge-hinnom.'

The point which now requires clearing up is the identification of one of the three valleys which encompass Jerusalem as the valley of Hinnom. From En-rogel, 'the border went up by the valley of the son of H. unto the side of the Jebusite southward (the same is Jerusalem); and the border went up to the top of the mountain that lieth before the valley of H. westward, which is at the uttermost part of the vale of Rephaim northward' (Jos 15^8). 'And the border went down to the uttermost part of the mountain that lieth before the valley of the son of H., which is in the vale of Rephaim northward, and it went down to the valley of H., to the side of the Jebusite southward, and went down to En-rogel' (Jos 18^{16}). In considering the direction of the valley of Hinnom south of the city of Jebus, it must be recollected that though we know the limits of ancient Jerusalem, on east, west, and south, by the deep valleys that begirt it, we do not know for certain what portions of it comprised the city of Jebus, and there is considerable difference of opinion on the subject owing to the many very difficult points which are not yet cleared up; in fact, the only solution appears to be derived from considering the dual condition of the ancient city to which references appear constantly in OT and early writings.

The following points seem to be concurred in generally:—

(1) That the temple mount (Moriah) is the eastern hill on which the Dome of the Rock now stands.

(2) That the city of David as mentioned in the Book of Nehemiah is on the spur of Ophel south of the temple area and extending to Siloam.

(3) That the Akra of the Maccabees and Josephus is either north or north-west of the temple area.

(4) That the upper part of the city, the modern Zion, is the φρούριον or upper market-place of Josephus, taken into the city by king David, and not necessarily a part of the ancient city Jebus.

A very brief summary of the information concerning Jerusalem is necessary to clear up this question as to Hinnom. It appears to be conclusively proved by the Tel el-Amarna tablets, that as far back as the year B.C. 1400, or prior to the time of the Judges, Jerusalem or Jebus was known as Urusalim (the element *Uru* being indicated by the Sumerian ideogram *uru*='city' (Hommel, *AHT* p. 201). 'Jebus, which is Jerusalem,' is first spoken of in OT in the account of the spies (Nu 13^{29}, Jos 11^3) as 'the Jebusite in the mountains,' and in the Book of Joshua (15^{63}) is allotted to Judah, and (18^{28}) also to Benjamin. It is stated that neither the children of Judah nor the children of Benjamin could drive out the Jebusites, and that they dwelt with them there. It would appear, therefore, either that Jerusalem was common to both tribes, or that a portion was allotted to each, or that different writers reckoned it differently. Lightfoot, quoting from the Talmud, states (*Prospect of Jerusalem*), 'For most part of the courts were in the portion of Judah; but the altar, porch, temple, and most holy place were in Benjamin.' It was reserved for king David to capture the stronghold of Zion, and the *Millo* or citadel. It is stated (2 S 5^7=1 Ch 11^5), 'Nevertheless, David took the stronghold of Zion: the same is the city of David.' The going up of Joab by the 'gutter' or watercourse, related subsequently, may have been a separate assault on another part of the city. Josephus evidently favours this view, for he says that David began the siege, and that he took the lower city (τὴν κάτω πόλιν) by force, but the citadel (ἄκρα) held out, and that it was taken by Joab (*Ant.* V. ii. 2, VII. iii. 1). If the stronghold of Zion may be accepted as the lower city of Josephus, and Millo as the Akra or citadel which Joab took, all difficulties concerning the passages appear to vanish.

The difference between the stronghold of Zion and the citadel of Millo seems to be accentuated in the following passages:—

'And David dwelt in the stronghold (*mĕẓûdah*), and called it, The city of David. And David built round about Millo and inward' (2 S 5^9). 'And he built the city round about, from Millo even round about; and Joab repaired the rest of the city' (1 Ch 11^8). Millo is mentioned as separate from the walls of the city also in the following passages, 1 K $9^{15. 24}$ 11^{27}, 2 Ch 32^5. The meaning of *Millo* is given in *QPB* as *rampart*, and by Gesenius (*Lex.*) as a *rampart* or *mound*, built up and filled with stones or earth. Lightfoot says, 'Millo, which was an outward place and the suburb of Zion, distinguished and parted from Zion by a wall, yet a member of it and belonging to it.' Williams (*Holy City*, part ii. p. 43) says, 'It must never be forgotten that Jerusalem was originally two distinct cities united together by David.' Stanley has pointed out that the stronghold, fort or castle, of Zion, in all the passages (2 S $5^{7. 9. 17}$, 1 Ch $11^{5. 7. 16}$), represents the Hebrew words *mĕẓûdah* (מְצוּדָה) or *mĕẓâd* (מְצָד), the root meaning a lair whence hunters seek their prey, and to which they can flee as unto a safe retreat (Gesen.); the word itself denoting the top or summit of a mountain, or mountain castle. This word in the LXX is tr^{d} in all these instances as ἡ περιοχή. Grove has also pointed out that *Millo* is rendered in every case (except 2 Ch 32^5) by the LXX as ἡ ἄκρα (the citadel), which they employ nowhere else in the OT. This word ἡ ἄκρα is also used both by Josephus and the Book of Maccabees for the fort or citadel overlooking the temple to the north-west, during the struggle with the Macedonian adherents of Antiochus, which was at last razed and the rocky hill levelled by Simon Maccabæus (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. vi. 7; *BJ* V. iv. 1; but cf. 1 Mac $1^{30\text{f.}}$ $14^{36\text{f.}}$). Sayce (*PEFSt*, 1883, p. 214) also points to a 'stronghold of Zion' on the lower hill taken by David before he stormed the Jebusite citadel on the upper hill; * and states further, 'The dual form Jerushalaim, which apparently goes back to the time of the Maccabees, probably refers to the old division of Jerusalem into the lower city and the temple-hill.' The whole testimony appears, therefore, to be in favour of a Jerusalem separated into two portions—one called the lair or stronghold, which is the city of David, the other called the Millo or citadel. Now, the Book of Nehemiah clearly seems to place the city of David on the spur of Ophel south of the temple, above Siloam (Neh 3^{16} 12^{37}). Again, Josephus, while placing ἡ ἄκρα (the citadel) to the north-west of the temple, also speaks of the lower part of the city being taken by David, and places it near Ophel. The Books of Maccabees speak of the same citadel (ἡ ἄκρα) as Josephus does, and call the temple mount Sion (1 Mac 4^{37} 5^{54}). It therefore appears, that to accept the Ophel spur as the city of David or Zion, and the high ground east of the holy sepulchre as the Millo or citadel of the ancient Jerusalem, will satisfy the various data in the OT, the Books of Maccabees, and Josephus. We thus arrive at the conclusion that the boundary-line between Judah and Benjamin, which went up the valley of Hinnom, was drawn south of either the spur of Ophel or of the citadel (ἡ ἄκρα), or of both.

The next point to ascertain is the position of En-rogel; and this seems comparatively easy, as there appears to be a consensus of opinion at the present day that it corresponds to the copious Virgin's Fountain. It is the only known fountain in the vicinity of Jerusalem. The Bîr Eyûb is a *well* and not a *spring*, the water being 70 to 80 ft. below the surface of the ground in summer. In a land where there are so few springs, this alone ought to identify it. The Virgin's Fountain is close to the stone *Zehweileh*, which Ganneau has identified as the stone Zoheleth, which is close to En-rogel (1 K 1^{9}). This position of En-rogel satisfies the requirements of the two passages (2 S 17^{17}, 1 K 1^{9}). Josephus describes it in two passages (*Ant.* VII. xiv. 4, IX. x. 4) as close to the royal gardens, and the Book of Nehemiah places the king's garden near Siloam (Neh 3^{15}). The Virgin's Fountain also appears to be Gihon-in-the-valley (Siloam being Gihon). Thus Hezekiah stopped the upper outlet at the Virgin's Fountain (Gihon) and brought it through the rock to Siloam (2 Ch 32^{30}) to the west side of the city of David, the city of David being on Ophel.

The third point to ascertain is the general position of the 'mountain that lieth before the valley of H. westward.' Assuming that the fountain of Nephtoah is identified with *'Ain Lifta*, about 2½ miles to the north-west of Jerusalem, the mountain which lieth before the valley of Hinnom westward appears to be the high ground immediately north of Jerusalem, which, though not exactly a mountain, is the highest ground in the neighbourhood, from which valleys start in all directions to the Mediterranean and Dead Sea. The site of the Russian hospice may be said to occupy the position of this mountain. The line of boundary between Judah and Benjamin may now be traced from En-shemesh (east of Jerusalem) to En-rogel, thence up the valley of Kidron to a point opposite to the southern side of the temple, thence across the temple courts south of the temple, and up the valley on the south side of Akra to the Jaffa gate, and thence north by the Russian hospice to Lifta. Under this disposition the valley of Kidron becomes the valley of Hinnom; but it is suggested, that while the Kidron is only the name for the small narrow portion of the valley east of the temple, the valley of Hinnom is the name of the whole valley reaching from near the Russian hospice to the Dead Sea, which is now called *Wâdy en-Nâr* or the Valley of Fire. 'The head of this valley of Hinnom or Kidron commences near the Jaffa road, a mile and a half north-west of Jerusalem, and runs along the northern side of the Tombs of the Kings' (*Recovery of Jerus.* p. 291). Thus the boundary-line, after leaving the valley of H. on the east of the temple, again approaches it north-west of Jerusalem at the highest point of the land, *i.e.* to the 'top of the mountain that lieth before the valley of Hinnom westward' (Jos 15^{8}).

As all writers appear to concur in considering that the position of Tophet in the valley of Hinnom was in the vicinity of Siloam, near the junction of the three valleys which are about Jerusalem, on the level ground there, it seems quite immaterial, so far as Tophet is concerned, which of those valleys was Hinnom, and the interest in this matter lies in the question, already answered, connected with the topography of Jerusalem as to the position of the city of David.

A brief description is here given of these three valleys—

(1) The Kidron Valley will alone suit the requirements of Jos 15^{8} 18^{16}, if En-rogel is to be accepted as identical with the Virgin's Fountain in the Kidron, as from thence the line 'went *up* by the valley of the son of Hinnom.' This identification allows of the partition of Jerusalem between Judah and Benjamin, and suits the requirements of OT, Books of Maccabees, Josephus, Talmudists, Jerome, and Jewish and Arab tradition. It also meets the requirement of Jos 15^{8} and 18^{16}, under which the boundary-line twice approaches the valley of H.,—first at En-rogel, and secondly at the top of the mountain before the valley of H. eastward. Against this identification is the use of the word *gai* in connexion with the valley gate; but this objection is involved in the identification itself of the *naḥal* Kidron and the *gai* Hinnom as one and the same.

(2) The centre valley (or Tyropœon of Josephus), reaching from near the Jaffa gate or the Damascus gate to Siloam, has been identified by W. R. Smith (*Encyc. Brit.*^{9} 'Jerusalem'), Sayce (*PEFSt*, 1883, p. 213), Birch (*PEFSt*, p. 179), and Schwartz (*Das H. L.* p. 190), as the valley of Hinnom. This appears to necessitate the Bîr Eyûb being identified as En-rogel, although Birch expressly states that the Virgin's Fountain is En-rogel. The line passing up the Tyropœon Valley separates the eastern mount from the western, and thus places part of the city, but none of the temple courts, in Judah. The difficulty about adopting this valley as the valley of H. is that it exists only in Jerusalem. It begins at the Damascus gate or at the Jaffa gate, and ends at the pool of Siloam. It is an important division in the city of Jerusalem, but it is very insignificant compared with the valleys to east and west of the city. It cannot fulfil either of the conditions of extending as far as the mountain that lieth before the valley of H., or as far as the *'ēmeḳ* where Tophet was: a glance at the map or model will show that it is a geographical impossibility to consider the gardens below Siloam as part of the central valley. These gardens clearly belong to the junction of the east and west valleys. There is thus no part of the central valley where the high places of Tophet and Baal could have been built.

(3) The identification of the *Wâdy er-Rubâbeh* as the valley of H. has hitherto been generally accepted among Western writers, though Jewish

---

* On the other hand, it may be maintained that 2 S 5^{8} simply describes the manner of the conquest of v.^{7}, and that 'Zion' was the Jebusite stronghold. The passage is certainly ambiguous.

Arab tradition is against it. This valley commences as an *'ēmeḳ* to the north-west of Jerusalem, and fulfils the condition of reaching 'the mountain which lieth over against the valley of H. to the westward'; it passes W.S.W. towards the Jaffa gate, then to south, and again trends round to the west and joins the Kidron near Siloam, thus compassing Jerusalem to the west and south. Two large reservoirs are built in it—the *Birket Mamilla* above, and the *Birket es-Sultân* below the Jaffa gate; its description in detail is given in the article JERUSALEM. At the junction of this valley with the Kidron it again forms an *'ēmeḳ* or fields (Jer 31^{40}). But to identify the *Wâdy er-Rubâbeh* with the valley of H. appears to require En-rogel to be located at the *Bîr Eyûb*, and the whole of Jerusalem to be in Benjamin.

The junction of the east and west valleys cannot be considered to belong to one valley more than the other, and, so far as localizing Tophet, all will allow that the valley of H. extended to this junction. It is stated by Jeremiah (7^{32}) that the valley of H. in the vicinity of Tophet shall be called the 'valley of slaughter,' 'for they shall bury in Tophet till there be no more place'; later on he prophesies (31^{40}), 'and the whole valley (*'ēmeḳ*) of the dead bodies, and of the ashes, and all the fields unto the brook Kidron, unto the corner of the horse gate to the east, shall be holy unto the Lord.' This seems clearly to point to the ground stretching from above the Virgin's Fountain to the Bîr Eyûb, including the mouth of Wâdy er-Rubâbeh. Now, this land is here described as *'ēmeḳ*, although Kidron is termed a *naḥal*, and the valley of H. (wherever located) is termed a *gai*. This ground is also called fields (*shĕdēmōth*, Jer 31^{40} [*Ḳerê*]), and the 'king's garden' by Siloam (Neh 3^{15}), probably the same as the king's dale (*'ēmeḳ*), where Absalom raised a pillar (2 S 18^{18}), stated by Josephus (*Ant.* VII. x. 3) to be 2 furlongs from Jerusalem. Josephus also relates that the 'king's paradise' or 'garden' was in the vicinity of En-rogel, where Adonijah conspired against king David (1 K 1^{9}; *Ant.* VII. xiv. 4, IX. x. 4). Perhaps this may be the 'king's dale' or 'vale' (*'ēmeḳ*) of Shaveh (Gn 14^{17}), where Melchizedek met Abraham. The garden of Uzza is not located (2 K 21^{18}). This junction of the valleys may be the valley (*'ēmeḳ*) of Jehoshaphat or of decision (Jl $3^{2.12.14}$), where all nations shall be judged in 'the day of the LORD,' thus agreeing with the tradition of Christians, Moslems, and Jews for many centuries. See JEHOSHAPHAT (VALLEY OF). The 'king's gardens' were in the immediate vicinity of the remarkable waterworks constructed by the kings of Judah. The Virgin's Fountain is identified as Gihon in the valley (2 Ch 33^{14}), the upper outlet of which was stopped by king Hezekiah, who 'brought it straight down by an underground way on the west side of the city of David' (2 K 20^{20}, 2 Ch 32^{30}). This account exactly describes the rock-cut passage which runs through the Ophel spur to Siloam. There is, however, a still more ancient watercourse by which the Virgin's Fountain supplied the city of David with water (discovered by the present writer in 1868), and this waterduct has been identified by some as the 'gutter' by which Joab got up into the city of the Jebusites. On the outside of the Virgin's Fountain can still be seen the old conduit which led the overflow waters down the Kidron, and which may be identified as the conduit of the upper pool in the highway of the fuller's field (2 K 18^{17}, Is 7^{3} 36^{2}). It may possibly also be the 'king's pool' (Neh 2^{14}). The pool between the two walls at Siloam is also mentioned (Is $22^{9.11}$, Neh 3^{15}). But perhaps the greatest instance yet known of the magnitude of the waterworks of the past in the valley of Hinnom is the remarkable aqueduct cut in the rock running down the *Wâdy en-Nâr* below the *Bîr Eyûb*, discovered and cleared out in 1868 for several hundred yards, and serving for no apparent purpose. This seems probably the aqueduct to carry off 'the brook that overflowed through the midst of the land,' for 'Why should the kings of Assyria come, and find much water?' (2 Ch 32^{4}).

LITERATURE.—Rosenmüller, *Biblisch. Geogr.* ii. 156, 164; Robinson, *BRP*; Stanley, *SP*; Barclay, *City of the Great King*; Riehm, *HWB*; Tobler, *Topog.*; Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.*; *Recov. of Jerus.*; Williams, *Holy City*; *SWP*.

C. WARREN.

HIP.—The only occurrence of this word in AV is in the proverbial expression Jg 15^{8} 'And he smote them hip and thigh (שׁוֹק עַל־יָרֵךְ) with a great slaughter.' The Heb. is lit. 'leg upon thigh,' but the origin of the phrase is quite unknown. The phrase 'hip and thigh' comes from the Gen. Bible, which offers in the marg. 'horsemen and footmen,' the suggestion of Targ.; but that does not explain the expression. Nor is Kimchi's 'heels over head,' in reference to their flight, more likely or more lucid. Others suppose the meaning to be that they were cut in pieces, and limb piled on limb in bloody confusion. We may compare '*catch one* or *have one on the hip*,' supposed to belong to the language of wrestling, and found in Shaks. and elsewhere, as *Mereh. of Venice*, I. iii. 47—

> 'If I can catch him once upon the hip,
> I will feed fat the ancient grudge I bear him.'

RV introduces 'hip' into Gn 32^{32bis} 'the sinew of the hip,' for AV 'the sinew which shrank.' See SINEW.

J. HASTINGS.

HIPPOPOTAMUS.—See BEHEMOTH.

HIRAH (חִירָה).—The Adullamite with whom Judah, according to the story of Gn 38 (J), appears to have entered into a kind of partnership in the matter of flocks (see Dillm. *ad loc.*). In vv.$^{12.20}$ he is called the 'friend' (רֵעַ) of Judah. Instead of רֵעֵהוּ, the LXX must have read רֹעֵהוּ 'his shepherd,' for in both these verses it has *ποιμήν*. This reading is followed also by Vulg. (*pastor*, *opilio*) and Luther (*Hirte*), but there can be little doubt that it is wrong. From v.^{1} it is evident that Hirah's relation to Judah was an independent one, even if Judah was the more important man of the two. After Tamar had successfully carried out her stratagem, it was by the hand of his 'friend' Hirah that Judah sent the promised kid to the supposed *ḳĕdēshāh*, Gn $38^{20ff.}$

J. A. SELBIE.

HIRAM (חִירָם; *Χειράμ*).—Some confusion exists as to the actual form of the name. In the books of Samuel and Kings the form given above is that which is usually adopted; but in 1 K $5^{10.18}$ [Heb. $^{24.32}$] 7^{40} **Hirom** (חִירוֹם) occurs, while the Chronicler adheres to the form **Huram** (חוּרָם; in 1 Ch 14^{1} *Kethîbh* חירם). The LXX invariably gives *Χειράμ*; Josephus Εἴρωμος (*c. Apion.* i. 17, 18) and Εἴραμος (*Ant.* VIII. ii. 6, etc.). The name further appears as Σίρωμος (Herodotus, vii. 98; Syncellus, p. 343 ff.) and Σούρων (Eupolemon cited by Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.* ix. 33, 34). The name is undoubtedly Phœnician, and is equivalent to Ahiram (אֲחִירָם Nu 26^{38}) = 'brother of the exalted one';* cf. Baethgen, *Beiträge zur Semit. Religionsgeschichte*, p. 156 (but see Gray, *Heb. Prop. Names*, 75 ff., upon whose theory the meaning is 'brother is exalted'). According to Movers (*Die Phönizier*, i. p. 505 f.), Hiram or Huram is the name of a deity = 'the coiled *or* twisted one'; but this derivation is very improbable.

---

* Names of this type are especially common in Phœnician; cf. Abibaal, Abiram. Similar instances of the dropping of the initial א occur in Hebrew (Hiel, 1 K 16^{34} חִיאֵל, for אֲחִיאֵל), and in Phœnician (חמלכת, חמלך = 'brother of Milk,' 'of Milkath'; חתמלכת = 'sister of Milkath').

1. King of Tyre, and contemporary with David and Solomon. According to 2 S 5^{11}, 1 Ch 14^{1}, H. sent an embassy to David after the conquest of Jerusalem, and provided him with artisans and materials for the building of his palace. On the accession of Solomon messengers were again sent to the Israelite court, doubtless to offer congratulations to the new king (1 K $5^{1f.}$). A treaty was concluded between the two kingdoms, in accordance with which H. supplied cedar trees and fir trees from Lebanon, together with skilled workmen for the building of the temple. In return, Solomon paid a yearly tribute of 20,000 cors of wheat and 20,000 baths of pure oil (after the reading of LXX, 2 Ch and Josephus; the Hebrew gives '20 cors of oil,' 1 K 5^{6-11}). At the end of the twenty years 'wherein Solomon had built the two houses, the house of the LORD and the king's house,' he presented Hiram with twenty cities in the land of Galilee. The gift, however, failed to please the Phœnician king,* though in return he made Solomon a present of 120 talents of gold (1 K 9^{10-14}). The friendly relations between the two monarchs were further strengthened by their combined trading operations: for 'the king (Solomon) had at sea a navy of Tarshish with the navy of Hiram: once every three years came the navy of Tarshish, bringing gold and silver, ivory, and apes, and peacocks' (1 K 10^{22}, 2 Ch 9^{21}). In addition to this, we are expressly told that the sailors of Solomon's merchant vessels trading between Ezion-geber (at the top of the Gulf of Akabah) and Ophir were accompanied by Hiram's servants, 'shipmen that had knowledge of the sea' (1 K 9^{26-28}, 2 Ch $8^{17.18}$), and were well acquainted with the route to Ophir (1 K 10^{11}).

In the Chronicler's account of Solomon's dealings with Hiram (2 Ch $2^{3f.}$) the yearly tribute paid by the former is increased to '20,000 measures of beaten wheat, and 20,000 measures of barley, and 20,000 baths of wine, and 20,000 baths of oil,' and is applied to the maintenance of the Tyrian workpeople.

This statement seems due to some confusion on the part of the Chronicler: probably a certain quantity of wheat and pure oil was supplied to the Phœnician court, and a similar contribution of barley, wine, and oil handed over to 'the hewers that cut timber.' The Book of Kings only mentions the former payment, which the Chronicler incorrectly combines with a second statement (apparently obtained from another source) relating to the workpeople only. A more striking discrepancy between the two accounts occurs at 2 Ch $8^{1.2}$, where the Chronicler, who ignores the present of gold made by Hiram to Solomon (1 K 9^{14}), refers to the cities of Galilee as if they had been presented to Solomon by Hiram. The omission, as well as the contradiction of the statement of 1 K $9^{11f.}$, is probably due to the desire of the Chronicler to bring the history more into conformity with the views of his own age. According to the later conception it would be as improbable that Solomon, with his fabulous riches, should receive gold from Hiram, as that he should present Israelite cities to a foreign monarch.

A more serious difficulty, however, confronts us when we compare the biblical narrative with the information supplied by Josephus from the Tyrian historians, Menander and Dius (*Ant.* VIII. ii. 6-9, v. 3; *c. Apion.* i. 17, 18). According to the latter, Hiram was the son of Abibaal, and died at the age of 53 after a glorious reign of 34 years. Now, we have already seen that the building of David's palace followed immediately after the capture of Jerusalem (2 S 5^{11}), *i.e.* in the seventh year of David's reign. It is further stated (1 K $9^{10f.}$) that Hiram was still alive in the twentieth year of Solomon's reign, so that, according to the biblical narrative, the total length of his reign must have exceeded 50 years. The disagreement between the two accounts is made even clearer by the statement of Josephus (*Ant.* VIII. iii. 1), that the building of the temple began in the 11th year of Hiram. For the temple was begun in the 4th year of Solomon (1 K 6^{1}), so that Hiram and David could have reigned only 8 years contemporaneously. It has been conjectured by Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. p. 307) and Bertheau (on 2 Ch 2^{2}) that the Hiram of David's reign was the grandfather of Solomon's contemporary. Thenius, on the other hand (on 2 S 5^{11}, 1 K 5^{1}), supposes that Abibaal was merely an honorary title, and that both father and son were called Hiram. The most probable solution of the difficulty is that the Books of Samuel are not chronologically arranged, and that David's palace was not actually built until the end of his reign (Movers, *Die Phönizier*, ii. 1, p. 148 f.; see SAMUEL, BOOKS OF).

Josephus further recounts (*Ant.* VIII. v. 3; *c. Apion.* i. 17, 18), on the authority of Menander and Dius, that Solomon and Hiram engaged in a contest with riddles, in which the former was finally overcome by a young Tyrian named Abdemon. In another passage (*Ant.* VIII. ii. 6-7) he sets forth the letters which passed between the two kings on the subject of the building of the temple, and asserts that copies were preserved, not only in Jewish books, but in the Tyrian state-records (cf. 2 Ch 2^{11}). In all probability, these letters are to be ascribed to Josephus himself; they are given at greater length by Eupolemon (Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.* ix. 33, 34), and are mentioned by Alexander Polyhistor (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 21). According to Clem. Alex. (*loc. cit.*) and Tatian (*Or. c. Græcos*, § 37), Solomon married the daughter of Hiram (cf. 1 K $11^{2.5}$, where Zidonians are mentioned among Solomon's wives).

Among the more important events of the glorious reign of Hiram may be mentioned (1) the campaign against the inhabitants of Cyprus, who had refused to pay the customary tribute; (2) the fortification of the island of Tyre; (3) the erection of new temples to Hercules and Astarte. H. further restored many old sanctuaries and enriched one of the chief temples (that of Zeus-Baalsamin) with numerous golden ornaments, in particular with a golden pillar (mentioned by Herodotus, ii. 44). See Movers, *Die Phönizier*, II. i. 141 f.

2. The artificer procured by king Solomon from Tyre for the purpose of casting the various vessels and ornaments of brass for the temple (1 K $7^{13f.}$): acc. to 2 Ch 2^{13}, he was also 'skilful to work in gold and in silver . . . in iron, in stone, and in timber, in purple, in blue, and in fine linen, and in crimson.' The more important of his works were the two pillars of brass, the molten sea and the twelve oxen, the ten bases and the ten lavers, all of brass, besides the vessels of brass required for the temple service. According to 1 K 7 his mother was a widow woman of the tribe of Naphtali, and his father a Tyrian brassworker. The Chronicler, however, describes him as 'Huram Abi* (חוּרָם אָבִי;

---

* 1 K 9^{13} 'and he called them the land of Cabul.' Cabul is usually taken as='worth nothing.' It is more probable that the LXX ὅριον represents the truer reading, viz. 'land of Galilee' (אֶרֶץ הַגָּלִיל, supposing him to have connected the word with גָּלָל 'dung.' See Klostermann *in loc.*). Buhl (*GAP* p. 221), however, considers that the territory lay somewhere near the town of that name (Jos 19^{27}) in N. Galilee: in this case the LXX ὅριον is treated as a mistranslation of כָּבוּל, as if גְּבוּל.

* The word 'Abi' (אָבִי 'my father') is usually taken (Bertheau on 2 Ch 2^{13}) in the sense of 'master,' a title of respect and distinction; cf. Gn 4^{20-22} 45^{8} etc.

4^{16} חוּרָם אָבִיו), the son of a woman of the daughters of Dan' (2 Ch $2^{13f.}$). As Giesebrecht has shown (*ZATW*, 1881, p. 239 f., but see Cheyne in *Expository Times*, June 1898, p. 471^{a}), it is probable that the Chronicler has here preserved the truer account; the latter portion of the name was omitted as unintelligible by the author of Kings (cf. LXX to 2 Ch 2^{13} *τὸν πατέρα μου, παῖδα μου*). He further suggests that the dislike felt by the editor of Kings to the idea of the temple being built by a half-Phœnician, caused him to insert the words 'a widow of the tribe of Naphtali' (אַלְמָנָה . . . מִמַּטֵּה נַפְתָּלִי), the alteration of מִבְּנוֹת דָּן ('of the daughters of Dan') into מִמַּטֵּה נַפְתָּלִי ('of the tribe of Naphtali') being the more permissible, since Dan lay in the territory of Naphtali. Josephus (*Ant.* VIII. iii. 4) describes him as of the tribe of Naphtali on his mother's side, his father being Ur of the stock of Israel (cf. on this later tradition Ed. König in *Expos. Times*, May 1898, p. 346^{a}).

J. F. STENNING.

HIRE, HIRELING.—Hire in AV is equivalent always to mod. *wages*. Thus Gn 31^{8} 'The ringstraked shall be thy hire'; Is 23^{18} 'And her merchandise and her hire shall be holiness to the LORD' (Del. 'her gain and her wages become holy unto J″'); Mic 3^{11} 'The heads thereof judge for reward, and the priests thereof teach for hire'; Lk 10^{7} 'the labourer is worthy of his hire.' Tindale has the word very much as in the mod. use in Mk 12^{1} 'And let yt out to hyre unto husbandmen.' The plu. 'hires,' now obsolete, occurs once in AV, Mic 1^{7} 'All the hires thereof shall be burned with fire.' So Wyc. (1388) in Lv 25^{53}, Ezk 16^{33}, and (1380) Ro 6^{23} 'Treuli the hyris of synne, deeth' (1388, 'For the wagis of synne is deth').

A hireling is a hired servant (for which see FAMILY, vol. i. p. 849^{a}), and properly carries no suggestion of unfaithfulness. Thus Tindale, *Works*, i. 146, 'Hereby mayest thou not understand that we obtain the favour of God, and the inheritance of life, through the merits of good works, as hirelings do their wages.' So Rhem. has 'hireling' in Lk $15^{17.19}$, where all the other VSS have 'hired servant.' And cf. Sir 7^{20} 'Whereas thy servant worketh truly, entreat him not evil, nor the hireling that bestoweth himself wholly for thee.' But through Christ's use of the word in Jn $10^{12.13}$ it has come to express not only one who has no interest in his work, but even one who is unfaithful in the doing of it. Gosson (*Schoole of Abuse*, Arber's ed. p. 25) says, 'Poetrie and pyping have allwaies bene so united togither, that til the time of Melanippides, Pipers were Poets hyerlings; but marke I pray you, how they are nowe both abused.' The word 'hireling' is now as greatly abused as either, being carried quite beyond our Lord's meaning and intention. Shaks. does not use the word; but Milton (*PL* iv. 193) gives us—

> 'So clomb this first grand Thief into God's fold;
> So since into his church lewd hirelings climb.'

Then South, *Sermons*, iv. No. 5—'If we consider even Judas himself, it was not his carrying the bag, while he followed his master, but his following his master only that he might carry the bag, which made him a thief and an hireling.' Finally, Cowper, *Truth*—

> 'But with averted eyes th' omniscient Judge
> Scorns the base hireling, and the slavish drudge.'

J. HASTINGS.

HIS.—Under an impression, probably, that the *'s* of the poss. case was a shortened form of *his* (though it is really the remains of the Anglo-Saxon genitive ending *-es*), this adj. was employed throughout a long period to indicate possession. It probably arose from a desire to avoid adding *s* to a word which already had that sound, perhaps more than once. Hence it is generally found after words ending in *s*, and especially after proper names. Thus Ridley, *Brefe Declaration* (Moule's ed.), p. 119, 'Innocentius his fantastical invention'; and p. 140, 'Duns his fantastical imagination'; Knox, *Hist.* p. 101, 'Secondarily, said he, I greatly doubt whether James his commandment or Pauls obedience, proceeded of the holy Ghost'; Fuller, *Holy Warre*, I. 3 (p. 4), 'But his Holinesse his converting facultie worketh the strongest at the greatest distance.' It is freely employed, however, where there is no need to avoid repeating *s*. Thus Cranmer, *Works* (Parker Soc.), i. 2, 'And where he had reasons for the King his party, that he was moved of God his law, which doth straitly forbid and that with many great threats, that no man shall marry his brother his wife.' And, on the other hand, old writers had not so nice an ear as we ourselves in the matter of multiplying sibilants. We find in Cranmer, *Works*, i. 18, 'the King's Grace's most honourable Council,' and p. 151, 'the King's Highness's realm'; [*] and in Hall (*Works*, ii. 190) even 'We are Moseses disciples.' The idiom indeed was left after a time to the caprice or taste of the writer. Tindale gives us in Mt 22^{32} 'I am Abrahams God, and Ysaacks God, and the God of Jacob.'

In AV 1611 *his* was used for the poss. case in 1 K 15^{14} 'Asa his heart was perfect with the LORD all his dayes,' and in Est 3^{4} 'to see whether Mordecai his matters would stand.' In 1762 these were changed into the usual form with *'s*. But in the heading of Dt 10 'Moses his suit' remains, and even 'Sarai her name' in Gn 17^{heading}, and the foll. examples of *his* are still found in the Apocr., 1 Es 1^{heading} 2^{30} $3^{7.8}$, To 1^{heading}, Jth 12^{16} 13^{9} 15^{11}. $\text{Three}^{\text{heading}}$ 2 Mac 1^{33m} 4^{38} 12^{22}; and in the Translators' Preface we find, 'Doth not their Paris edition differ from the Lovaine, and Hortensius his from them both,' and 'We might be taxed peradventure with S. James his words.'

For his=its, see ITS. J. HASTINGS.

HITHERTO was formerly an adv. of space as well as of time, as in Shaks. *I Henry IV.* III. i. 74—

> 'England, from Trent and Severn hitherto,
> By south and east, is to my part assigned.'

So in AV, Job 38^{11} 'Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further' (עַד־פֹּה); 2 S 7^{18}=1 Ch 17^{16} 'Who am I, O LORD God, and what is my house, that thou hast brought me hitherto?' (עַד־הֲלֹם, RV 'thus far'). Even when the ref. is to time, 'hitherto' was used in a sense that is now unfamiliar, expressing not only what has been up till now, but what is still going on. In Jn 16^{24} 'Hitherto have ye asked nothing in my name,' the meaning is that that which is true up till now is no longer to be so. But in Jn 5^{17} 'My Father worketh hitherto, and I work,' though the Gr. (*ἕως ἄρτι*) is the same, the meaning is that the work still goes on (RV 'even until now'). Cf. Hamilton's *Catechism*, fol. 14^{b} 'Quhat is the trew sence of the same bukis is ye consent and authorite of our mother the haly kirk, fra the Apostils tyme hitherto'; and Udal, *Erasmus Paraphrase*, ii. fol. 279^{a} 'He is as yet hitherto alyve, that the hater wisheth evill unto, and yet he him selfe is al ready dead. That mans life is safe: and this hath lost everlasting lyfe, being his owne murtherour.' J. HASTINGS.

HITTITES (חִתִּי *Ḥittî*, pl. *Ḥittîm*,[†] *Χετταῖοι*).—In Jos 1^{4} the country between the Lebanon and the Euphrates is described as 'the land of the

---

[*] Cf. Lk 4^{38} 'Simon's wife's mother.'

[†] The proper name חֵת Ḥeth (Gn 10^{15} 23^{3}) may be an assimilation to the Bab. name Khatti which we find in contract-tablets of the age of Abraham.

Hittites,' which is more closely defined in Jg 1^{26} as to the north of Palestine. In 2 S 24^{6} the unintelligible and corrupt 'Tahtim-hodshi' must be corrected into 'the Hittites of Kadesh,' according to a corrected reading of the LXX (Luc. εἰς γῆν Χεττιεὶμ Καδής), so that the power of David extended northward as far as Kadesh on the Orontes close to the lake of Homs. Solomon imported horses from 'the kings of the Hittites,' as well as from the kings of Aram, from Egypt, or perhaps a northern Miẓir, and (according to a suggestion of Fr. Lenormant) from Ḳue on the Gulf of Antioch, the price of a horse being 150 shekels of silver (about £25, 1 K $10^{28.29}$). These northern 'kings of the Hittites' were supposed by the Syrians of Damascus, when they were besieging Samaria at a later date, to have been 'hired' against them by the king of Israel (2 K 7^{6}).

Besides the northern Hittites, other Hittites, or 'sons of Heth,' are mentioned in the OT as inhabiting the south of Palestine. Abraham found them at Hebron (Gn 23^{3} 25^{10}); in Nu 13^{29} the Hittites are named along with the Jebusites and Amorites as dwelling in the mountains of Canaan; and Ezk (16^{3}) declares that the father of Jerus. was an Amorite, and its mother a Hittite. These southern Hittites are probably alone meant in Gn 10^{15}, though, as the Hamathites are also included among the children of Canaan, it is possible that the northern Hittites may be referred to as well. 'Uriah the Hittite' (2 S 12) may have belonged to the Hittites of the south, like the two Hittite wives of Esau (Gn 26^{34} 36^{2}; cf. 27^{46}).

On the Egyp. monuments the Khata or Hittites are first mentioned in the Annals of Thothmes III. of the 18th dynasty (B.C. 1503–1449). In B.C. 1470 the Pharaoh marched to the banks of the Euphrates and received the tribute of the land of the Hittites, 'the Greater,' consisting of 8 rings of silver 400 lb. in weight, and 'a great piece of crystal.' In B.C. 1463 tribute was again sent from 'the king of the Greater Hittite land.' Thothmes IV., the grandson of Thothmes III., repulsed an attack made by the Hittites upon Tunip (now *Tennib*) in N. Syria, and his two successors, Amenôphis (Amen-hotep) III. and IV., as we learn from the Tel el-Amarna tablets, were constantly called on to oppose the Hittite 'king,' who led his forces through the passes of the Taurus into the Egyp. province of N. Syria, or intrigued with disaffected Canaanites in Palestine. We hear, finally, of Eta-gama, the native governor of Kadesh on the Orontes, joining with the king of the Hittites and the king of Mitanni or Aram-naharaim against the Egyptians.

The decay of the Egyp. power in Syria enabled the Hittites to establish themselves, not only at Carchemish on the Euphrates, but also in the Amorite city of Kadesh on the Orontes, near the lake of Homs. Seti I., the second king of the 19th dynasty, claims to have overthrown them. They were ruled at the time by Mutal, the son of Mul-sar, who had been murdered, and who was the son of Saplil. Ramses II., the successor of Seti, continued the war. In the 5th year of the Pharaoh's reign (B.C. 1343), Ramses, while besieging Kadesh, saved himself from a Hittite ambuscade only by performing prodigies of valour, which formed the subject of a sort of epic on the part of the court-poet Pentaür. In the 21st year of Ramses (B.C. 1327) a treaty, offensive and defensive, was made between him and 'the great king of the Hittites,' Khata-sar, who had succeeded his brother Mutal, which put an end to the war. Among other stipulations it was agreed that all political refugees on either side should be pardoned. The observance of the treaty was placed under the protection of the Hittite and Egyptian deities, and the Hittite text of it was engraved on a silver plate, on which was an image of the god Sutekh embracing the Hittite king. The plate was brought to Egypt by the Hittite ambassador Tar-Tiseb. The treaty was faithfully kept, being cemented by the marriage of the daughter of the Hittite king to Ramses, and Kadesh continued to mark the southern limit of Hittite rule.

In the Aramæan districts south of the Taurus the Hittites do not seem to have been more than a conquering caste, and their power was broken by the invasion of the hordes from the islands and coasts of the Greek seas, who poured through Syria and the land of the Amorites into Egypt in the reign of Ramses III. of the 20th dynasty. When the Assyr. monuments, in the time of Tiglath-pileser I. (B.C. 1100), first begin to refer to the Khattâ (also written Khatê), in place of a single Hittite king who is able to summon allies from the distant regions of Asia Minor, we find a number of separate Hittite states. Of these Carchemish seems to have been the wealthiest and most important. The Assyrians penetrated into Kummukh (Commagênê), and compelled Sadi-Tesub (or Sadi-Anteru), son of Khattu-sar, the Hittite king, to become tributary. The name of Khattu-sar is plainly the same as that of the opponent of Ramses II.

In B.C. 880 Assur-naẓir-pal, the Assyr. king, received tribute from Sangara of Carchemish, and forced his way over the fords of the Euphrates to the west. His successor, Shalmaneser II. (B.C. 854), defeated a league of Hittites and Aramæans from Kummukh and the adjoining countries, of which Sangara was the head. The Assyrians had already extended the name of 'Hittite' from the Hittites proper to all the inhabitants of Syria and Palestine, and we find Shalmaneser II. including even the kings of Israel, of Ammon, and of the Arabs, among the 'Hittite' princes. Just as the Babylonians had given the name of 'Amorites' to all the inhabitants of Syria and Palestine, the 'Amorites' having been the dominant people of the west when the Babylonians first became acquainted with it, so the fact that the Hittites were the first and most powerful of the antagonists whom the Assyrians encountered in their Syrian campaigns, caused the name of 'Hittite' in the Assyr. period to be applied to all the nations west of the Euphrates. The capture of Carchemish by Sargon in B.C. 717, and the death of its last king, Pisiris, broke up the Hittite power in northern Syria, and threw the trade of W. Asia into Assyr. hands.

The Hittites under the name of Khatê are mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions of Armenia or Ararat. In the 9th cent. B.C. Menuas, king of Biainas or Van, defeated the Hittite king Sada-halis, and sacked the towns of Surisilis and Tarkhi-gamas. His son and successor, Argistis I., continued the war and conquered the Hittite city of Milid (the modern Malatiyeh). The 'land of the Hittites' of the Vannic inscriptions extended along the banks of the Euphrates from Palu in the east to Malatiyeh in the west.

A study of the Hittite proper names preserved in the Egyp. and cuneiform texts goes to show that they all belonged to the same family of speech, and that they can be traced far to the westward in Asia Minor. Thus the names of the Hittite princes, Saplil, Mutal, and Khata-sar, mentioned by the Egyptians, reappear in those of Sapalulvi, Mutallu, and Khattu-sar, who, according to the Assyr. monuments, were kings of Gurgum (in the neighbourhood of Zinjerli, N. of the Gulf of Antioch) and of Kummukh or Commagênê, while Mutallu is the Motalos of certain Gr. inscriptions of Asia Minor. It is further clear from the Tel el-Amarna tablets that the Hittites were of Cappadocian origin, that they had poured down from the fastnesses of the Taurus and had occupied the Aramæan cities and fertile fields of northern Syria. We may further gather from the Egyp. records that in the 14th and 13th cent. B.C. they had not only established themselves so far to the south as Kadesh on the Orontes, but had founded a military empire, which enabled the king of Kadesh to summon allies and vassals from Asia Minor.

The Hittites, as represented on the Egyp. monuments, were an ugly race, with yellow skins, black hair and eyes, receding foreheads, and protrusive upper jaws. The type is still preserved among some of the Cappadocian peasantry, especially S.W. of Nigdeh in the neighbourhood of the ancient Tyana. They wore boots with upturned ends, originally intended for use among the snows of the Taurus mountains; but they became so characteristic a national dress that at the Ramesseum in Thebes even the Hittites of Kadesh, on the warm plains of Syria, are depicted as wearing them. Over a tunic they also wore a long robe, which was allowed to fall open on one side in walking, and they seem to have gathered the hair at the back of the head into a sort of pigtail.

A curious class of monuments has been discovered of late years in Asia Minor and northern Syria, on which all these characteristics are reproduced. The monuments consist of bas-reliefs in a peculiar style of art, and of inscriptions in an equally peculiar hieroglyphic system of writing. Both the sculptures and the inscriptions exhibit heads and figures with exactly the same features, the same pigtails, costume, and snow-shoes as those which the Egyp. artists assigned to the Hittites. As we learn from the Egyp. records that the Hittites had a script of their own, as, moreover, the monuments referred to are found in the region over which the Hittite power extended according to the Egyp. and Assyr. texts, while there is no other known power to which they can be ascribed, the conclusion is obvious that they must be the monuments of the people called Hittites by the Hebrews, Egyptians, Assyrians, and Armenians. A reminiscence of their empire is probably preserved in a passage of Solinus (ch. xli. p. 195, ed. Mommsen).

Hittite art was based on that of early Babylonia, though some of the later monuments of it are modelled on the Assyr. art of the 9th and 8th cent. B.C. But, though based on Babylonian art, the elements which had been borrowed were profoundly modified, and a new and remarkable style of art was thus developed. The Hittites seem to have had a special fancy for combining parts of different animals into strangely composite and sometimes grotesque forms. It was through the Hittites that the winged horse made its way into Europe, like the two-headed eagle, originally derived, it would seem, from the heraldic symbol of the ancient Bab. city of Lagas (Telloh), but in later days adopted by the Seljukian sultans, and borrowed from them by the Crusaders.

Hittite sculptures and inscriptions can be traced as far south in Syria as Hamah (Hamath), and as far westward in Asia Minor as Lydia. In the pass of Kara-bel, near the site of Sardis, are the figures of two Hittite warriors, one of them accompanied by Hittite hieroglyphs, and supposed by Herodotus (II. 106) to be memorials of Egyp. conquest, while other Hittite hieroglyphs have been found at the side of the so-called 'Weeping Niobê' on Mount Sipylus. From the fact that the figures in the pass are those of warriors, and that in such of the inscriptions as are legible, including one discovered by Ramsay in Phrygia, the characters which denote the grammatical affixes are always the same, we may infer that the Hittite monuments, both of Syria and of Asia Minor, all belong to one people, and that the more distant of them imply conquest on the part of a great military power rather than artistic influence. The influence of Hittite art, which can be traced into prehistoric Greece, is of a different character.

There is a bilingual inscription, in cuneiform and Hittite characters, on the silver 'boss' of Tarkondêmos, but it has proved insufficient to furnish a key to the interpretation of the inscriptions. A brilliant attempt has been made, indeed, by Jensen (*ZDMG*, 1894, pp. 235 ff., 429 ff.), of which Hilprecht speaks very highly (*Rec. Res. in Bible Lands*, p. 178, 'correct in its principal results'; cf. *Bab. Exped. of Pennsyl.* i. 13, 'Jensen has forced the Hittite sphinx to surrender her long guarded secret'). The present writer cannot assent to Hilprecht's verdict. All we can gather with certainty is that the hieroglyphs are partly ideographic, partly phonetic; that some of them are determinatives; that the lines read alternately from right to left, and from left to right; and that the grammatical relations are marked by affixes. Most of the inscriptions are in relief. The proper names of genuine Hittite origin found in the Egyp. and Assyr. texts are non-Semitic, and a comparison of them goes to show that the nom. sing. of the noun was characterized by the suffix *-s*. As the Hittites ruled over an Aramaic population in N. Syria, we naturally find Aramæan by the side of Hittite names. The Hittite hieroglyphs were of native origin, and may have been selected from an older pictorial system of writing, once used in Asia Minor, of which certain characters on two seals discovered at Yuzghât, on the one side, and the Cretan pictographs recently brought to light by Evans, on the other side, may be further relics.

The primitive home of the Hittite race was probably Cappadocia. Here, at any rate, in the ruins of Boghaz Keui and Eyuk, to the east of the Halys, are the remains of two of their most important cities. Boghaz Keui seems to have been a centre of religious worship, and the figures of numerous deities are carved in relief upon its rocks. The mural crown worn by some of the goddesses passed westward into Greek art. Ramsay (*Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, I. pp. xiii–xv, 1895) has pointed out that the ancient high-roads which intersected Asia Minor and led to northern Syria met at Boghaz Keui, indicating that here was the centre of an empire which once extended from Kadesh on the Orontes to the shores of the Ægean.

The relation between the Hittites of N. Syria and the Hittites of Genesis and Ezekiel who lived in S. Palestine is uncertain. We may infer, however, from the identity of name, that in the view of the biblical writers the two populations were connected in race. This is supported by the fact that, according to the Egyp. monuments, the Hittites and Amorites were interlocked in the north, just as they were, according to the OT, in the south. It is further verified by the expression, 'the land of the Hittites, the Greater,' used by Thothmes III., which implies that there was another lesser Hittite-land, as well as by a bas-relief at Karnak in which the people of Ashkelon are represented with characteristically Hittite features. This shows that a fragment of the Hittite race must have been settled in the south of Palestine (but see Gray, *Expos.* May, 1898, p. 340 f.).

LITERATURE.—Sayce, *The Monuments of the Hittites* in *TSBA*, 1881, *The Hittites*, 1888, *The Races of the OT*, 1891; W. Wright, *The Empire of the Hittites*, 1884; Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. iv. (1887); L. de Lantsheere, *De la Race et de la Langue des Hittites*, 1892; Del., *Paradies*, 269 ff.; Schrader, *KAT*² 107 ff.; Meyer, *Gesch.* i. 213 f., *ZAWT* i. 125 ff.; Stade, *Gesch.* i. 143; Budde, *Urgesch.* 346 ff.; Jensen, *Hittit. u. Armen.*, 1898; Conder, *Hittites*, 1898.

A. H. SAYCE.

HIVITES (חִוִּי, always with the art. collectively,

חִוִּי ; Εὐαῖοι).—The name of one of the petty tribes inhabiting Canaan, who were dispossessed by the Israelites. To judge from the passages which localize them most definitely, their home was in Central Palestine; in Jos 9^7 (JE) and 11^{19} (D^2) the inhabitants of Gibeon, about 6 miles N.N.W. of Jerusalem, and (it seems to be implied in 9^{17}) of certain neighbouring cities, are called Hivites; in Gn 34^2 (P; or [Corn.] E) the term is applied to Hamor, father of Shechem (who is here represented as an individual),* likewise a city in Central Palestine (Gn 33^{18}, Jg 9 etc.), 30 miles N. of Jerusalem; 2 S 24^7 is ambiguous; but the statement that Joab passed from Zidon, through 'all the cities of the Hivites' to Beersheba, in the S. of Judah, is evidently quite consistent with the same locality. The expression, 'all the cities of the Hivites,' in this passage is, however, peculiar, and would seem to point to a somewhat considerable group of cities, still inhabited by Hivites, and *possibly* even further to the N. than Shechem. But if such existed, we do not know more about them; and it is remarkable that in the accounts in Jos 16^{10} $17^{12-13.\ 14-18}$, Jg 1 of the districts which the Israelites failed to conquer, there is no mention of Hivites. The other notices of the Hivites are (1) in the rhetorical lists of nations expelled by the Israelites (JE, D, D^2), Ex $3^{8.\ 17}$ 13^5 $23^{23.\ 28}$ 33^2 34^{11}, Dt 7^1 20^{17}, Jos 3^{10} 9^1 11^3 12^8 24^{11}, Jg 3^5, 1 K 9^{20} (=2 Ch 8^7), from which nothing definite can be inferred respecting the place of their abode (unless their being mentioned usually before the Jebusites [of Jerusalem] may be taken as an indication that they were pictured as having lived near them); and (2) in Gn 10^{17} (=1 Ch 1^{15}), where, in accordance with the custom of Hebrew genealogists of representing the peoples inhabiting a country as the 'sons' of its eponymous ancestor, they are included among other tribes 'begotten' by Canaan.†

We do not possess the necessary data for determining with any confidence the character or racial affinities of the Hivites (see speculations in Ewald, *Hist.* i. 237; Sayce, *Races of the OT*, 119 f.). They were the actors in the ruse by which the Gibeonites secured themselves against the Israelite invaders; and if the isolated notice in Gn 34^2 is to be depended upon, the people of Shechem, who take part against the Israelites in the graphic narrative of Jg 9, may have been Hivite (though they are not so termed in the narrative itself). Shechem and Gibeon are elsewhere (Gn 48^{22} E; 2 S 21^2) spoken of as 'Amorite'; but, in view of the manner in which the term 'Amorite' is employed (above, vol. i. p. 84; Driver, *Deut.* pp. 10–12), it is doubtful whether this fact authorizes the definite conclusion that the Hivites were racially 'Amorite.'

In Gn 36^2 'Zibeon the *Hivite*' is almost certainly an error for 'Zibeon the *Horite*' (see vv.$^{20.\ 24}$): in Jos 11^3 read with LXX, and in agreement with the known home of the Hittites in the N., 'the *Hittite* under Hermon' in v.^{b}, with 'the *Hivite*' for 'the *Hittite*' in v.^{a}; and similarly in Jg 3^3 'the *Hittites* (for 'the *Hivites*') that dwelt in Mount Lebanon.' It has been conjectured that חִוִּי is connected with Arab. *ḥiwā'*, 'a circle of tents' (cf. HAVVOTH-JAIR), and means properly 'tent-dweller,' 'villager' (Ges. 'paganus'); but it is extremely uncertain if this is really the case (cf. Moore on Jg 3^5).

S. R. DRIVER.

HIZKI (חִזְקִי, possibly shortened from חִזְקִיָּהוּ, 'J" strengthened').—A Benjamite, 1 Ch 8^{17}, AV **Hezeki.** See GENEALOGY.

HIZKIAH (AV Hezekiah).—A son of Neariah, a descendant of David, 1 Ch 3^{23}.

HO.—The oft-occurring interjection הוֹי, which is more sympathetic—has more of *grace* in it—than אוֹי Woe!, is tr^d 'Ho!' in Is 55^1 and Zec $2^{6\ bis}$; to which RV adds Is 29^1. Ho! does little more than arrest attention, unless its occurrence in Is 55^1 has given it something of an evangelical tone. Shaks. uses it very often, expressing by its means (1) mockery or rebuke, (2) exultation, (3) pain, and (4) simply calling attention. See AH, HA.

HOBAB (חֹבָב 'beloved,' Ges.; 'serpent,' Wellh.).—The name occurs twice (Nu 10^{29}, Jg 4^{11}. In Jg 1^{16} B inserts Ἰοθόρ [so Jos. *Ant.* v. ii. 3]; A, Ἰωάβ). It is uncertain whether he was (1) the father-in-law (AV, RVm) or (2) brother-in-law (RV) of Moses.

The conflicting views may be tabulated thus—

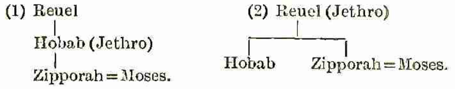

Nu 10^{29} is ambiguous, as חֹתֵן 'father-in-law' may refer either to Hobab or Reuel. In support of (1) it may be stated that (*a*) חֹתֵן is always rendered father-in-law except in RV text of Jg 1^{16} 4^{11}. (*b*) Mohammedan tradition, almost without exception (Lane's *Kuran*, p. 47 n.), identifies Shoaib or Sho'eib [a corruption (?) of Hobab], a prophet sent to the Midianites (*Koran*, Sur. 7. 11. 26. 29) with Moses' father-in-law Jethro. (*c*) The narrative in Ex 2 seems to preclude the idea that the priest of Midian had sons. On the other hand, (*a*) חֹתֵן possibly means any relation on the wife's side, and (*b*) Reuel (Hobab's father) and Jethro seem to be identified (Ex 2^{18} 3^1, so Jos. *Ant.* v. ii. 3). However, Ewald (*HI* ii. p. 25 n.^{7}) conjectures that in Ex 2^{18} we should read 'Jethro the son of Reuel' (LXX ins. Ἰοθόρ in v.$^{16\ bis}$, and A substitutes Ἰοθόρ for Reuel in v.^{18}). 'Hobab was the man's real personal name, and Jethro, which signifies *prefect*, his title.' (*c*) In Ex 18^{27} (E) Jethro, unopposed by Moses, 'went his way into his own land'; whereas in Nu $10^{29\text{ff.}}$ (JE) it is implied that Hobab yielded to Moses' importunity, and remained with Israel. A parallel difficulty occurs in Nu 24^{25} (JE) compared with Nu 31^8 (P). In each case we must remember that we have not all the facts before us: we are dealing, not with one consecutive narrative, but with a compilation of fragments. A difficulty, which equally affects both views, is the fact that Hobab is called a Kenite (Jg 1^{16} 4^{11}), whereas Exodus speaks of Moses' father-in-law as a Midianite. See, further, Dillm.-Ryssel, *Ex-Lv*, 1897, 25 ff.

Whoever Hobab was, he was the human agent by whom God led His people through the wilderness. This service to Israel was long kept in grateful remembrance (1 S 15^6).

N. J. D. WHITE.

HOBAH (חוֹבָה).—The place to which, acc. to Gn 14^{15}, Abraham pursued the defeated army of Chedorlaomer. It is described as 'on the left hand (מִשְּׂמֹאל, *i.e.* 'to the north') of Damascus.' It is identified by Wetzstein (see Del. *Genesis*,^{4} p. 561 ff.) with the modern *Ḥoba*, 20 hours N. of Damascus. This certainly appears to be 'etwas weit,' as Siegfried-Stade remark; but the identification is accepted by Dillmann as more probable than one with a *Ḥoba* mentioned by von Troilo about a mile N. of Damascus.

J. A. SELBIE.

HOBAIAH.—See HABAIAH.

HOD (הוֹד 'majesty').—An Asherite, 1 Ch 7^{37}. See GENEALOGY.

---

* In 33^{19} 'the children of Hamor, the father of Shechem,' Shechem is clearly the place (father=founder, as 1 Ch $2^{50.\ 51}$ etc.); cf. Jg 9^{28} 'the men of Hamor, the father of Shechem.'

† 'Hivite' is read also by LXX, followed by Lagarde, Cheyne, Orelli, Duhm, and others, in Is 17^9 ('like the deserted places of the *Hivites* and the Amorites, which they deserted before the children of Israel').

HODAVIAH (הוֹדַוְיָה or הוֹדַוְיָהוּ; Kittel prefers to vocalize הוֹדוּיָה, cf. LXX A Ὠδουία).—**1.** A Manassite clan, 1 Ch 5^{24}. **2.** The name of a Benjamite family, 1 Ch 9^{7}. **3.** A Levitical family name, Ezr 2^{40}, called in Neh 7^{43} **Hodevah** (which see). **4.** A descendant of David, 1 Ch 3^{24} (הוֹדַוְיָהוּ; AV, following *Kethibh* הוֹדַיְוָהוּ, Hodaiah).

HODESH (חֹדֶשׁ 'new moon').—One of the wives of Shaharaim, a Benjamite, 1 Ch 8^{9}. See GENEALOGY.

HODEVAH (*Kethibh* הוֹדְוָה, *Ḳerê*, followed by RVm, הוֹדְיָה Hodeiah).—A Levitical family name, Neh 7^{43}, called in Ezr 2^{40} **Hodaviah** (which see).

HODIAH (הוֹדִיָּה 'my "majesty" is J″').—**1.** A man of Judah, 1 Ch 4^{19}. AV wrongly takes it as a woman's name (see GENEALOGY, IV. 55). **2.** A Levite, Neh 8^{7} 9^{5} 10^{10}. **3.** Another Levite, Neh 10^{13}. **4.** One of those who sealed the covenant, Neh 10^{18}.

HOGLAH (חָגְלָה 'partridge'). — Daughter of **Zelophehad**, Nu 26^{33} 27^{1} 36^{11}, Jos 17^{3} P.

HOHAM (הוֹהָם), king of Hebron, formed an alliance with other four kings against Gibeon, but was defeated by Joshua at Beth-horon, and put to death along with his allies at Makkedah (Jos $10^{3ff.}$). According to Hommel (*AHT* 223 n.), *Hoham* is identical with the Minæan name *Ḥauhum* (beginning with the guttural aspirate); but this combination is extremely precarious.

HOISE.—This is the older and more correct form of *hoist*, to which the *t* has probably been added from its presence in the past ptcp. It occurs Ac 27^{40} 'they . . . hoised up the mainsail to the wind.' Cf. Hall, *Works*, ii. 37, 'Who can pitty the shipwracke of those marriners, which will needes put forth, and hoise sailes in a tempest?' RV gives 'hoisting up the foresail,' and introduces 'hoist' also in 27^{17} for the simple vb. (αἴρω) of which the compound (ἐπαίρω) is here used. Both 'hoist' and 'hoised' are found as participles. Thus Hall, *Works*, ii. 40, 'Mee thinkes, I see Christ hoysed upon the highest battlements of the Temple'; and Shaks. *Hamlet*, III. iv. 27—'Hoist with his own petard.' J. HASTINGS.

HOLD.—As a subst. 'hold' occurs frequently in AV for a protected place, mod. 'stronghold,' for which the Heb. is generally מְצוּדָה or מְצֻדָה. In Jg $9^{46.\ 49}$ the word so trd is צְרִיחַ, which occurs elsewhere only in 1 S 13^{6}, and of which the meaning is so doubtful that Moore declines to give it any rendering. Some commentators reckon it a secret chamber. RV retains 'holds' in Jg and gives that trn in 1 S, with 'holes' in marg. See Moore on Jg 9^{46}. The 'hold' of Ac 4^{3} is a general word, lit. 'keeping' (τήρησις). The same word with the adj. δημόσιος is trd in 5^{18} 'public prison.' RV gives 'ward' and 'public ward.' In Rev 18^{2} is found another general word (φυλακή), also originally an abstract term, 'guarding,' then a 'guard-room.' It occurs twice in this verse, being rendered in AV first 'hold' and then 'cage' (RV 'hold'). Perhaps 'dungeon' would be the best word here. For the Eng. word it will be enough to quote Bunyan, *Holy War*, p. 18, 'Wherefore into the castle he goes: it was that which Shaddai built in Mansoul for his own delight and pleasure; this now was become a Den and Hold for the Giant Diabolus.'

The verb 'to hold' is used in some obsolete or archaic senses: **1.** To *reckon*, *account*, in 'hold guiltless' Ex 20^{7}, Dt 5^{11}, 1 K 2^{9}, or 'not guilty' Zec 11^{5}; 'hold innocent' Job 9^{28}; and 'hold contented' Sir 29^{3}. **2.** To *grip*, Job 41^{26} 'The sword of him that layeth at him [leviathan] cannot hold' (RV 'avail'; Davidson, 'The sword does not hold or bite, but glances off his adamantine armour'); or *restrain*, *keep under restraint*, Lk 24^{16} 'But their eyes were holden that they should not know him' (ἐκρατοῦντο); Ro 7^{6} 'But now we are delivered from the law, that being dead wherein we were held'* (κατειχόμεθα, RV 'we were holden'); or *retain*, *keep hold of*, Job 23^{11} 'My foot hath held his steps' (RV 'held fast to his steps'); Col 2^{19} 'And not holding the Head' (κρατῶν, RV 'holding fast'); or *arrest* (fig.) Ca 7^{6} 'The king is held in the galleries' (RV 'held captive'). Cf. Mk 3^{21} Tind. 'They went out to holde him. For they thought he had bene beside himselfe' (κρατῆσαι, Cran. 'to laye handes upon him,' AV 'to lay hold on him'). **3.** To *support*, *maintain*, Ps 139^{10} 'thy right hand shall hold me'; 1 Mac 6^{52} 'Whereupon they also made engines against their engines, and held them battle a long season' (ἐπολέμησαν ἡμέρας πολλάς, RV 'fought for many days'). Cf. Defoe, *Crusoe*, p. 366, 'The battle, they said, held two Hours, before they could guess which Party would be beaten.' **4.** Some phrases deserve attention: (1) *Hold forth*, Ph 2^{16} 'Holding forth the word of life' (ἐπέχοντες, Tind. 'holdinge fast,' Gen. [1557] 'putting forth,' Lightfoot 'holding out'). (2) *Hold in*, Jer 6^{11} 'I am weary with holding in.' (3) *Hold of*, Wis 2^{24} 'Nevertheless through envy of the devil came death into the world: and they that do hold of his side do find it' (οἱ τῆς ἐκείνου μερίδος ὄντες, RV 'they that are of his portion'). Cf. Tindale, *Pent.*, Prologue to Numbers, 'He will hold of them and be sworne unto them to be their servauntc.' (4) *Hold to*, Sir 30^{13} 'Chastise thy son and hold him to labour' (ἐργάσαι ἐν αὐτῷ, RV 'take pains with him'); Mt 6^{24} (=Lk 16^{13}) 'either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other' (ἀνθέξεται). Cf. Dt 17^{16} Tind. 'But in ani wyse let him not holde to many horsses, that he bringe not the people agayne to Egipte thorow the multitude of horsses' (quoted also by Latimer, *Sermons*, Arber's ed. p. 25). (5) *Hold up*=support, Ps 119^{117} 'Hold thou me up, and I shall be safe'; 17^{5} 'Hold up my goings in thy paths, that my footsteps slip not' (תָּמֹךְ אֲשֻׁרַי בְּמַעְגְּלוֹתֶיךָ, RV 'My steps have held fast to thy paths'; Wellhausen-Furness, 'My steps—they have followed close in thy footprints'); and the phrase 'hold up my face to,' 2 S 2^{22} 'Wherefore should I smite thee to the ground? how then should I hold up my face to Joab thy brother?' (6) *Hold with*, Dn 10^{21} 'And there is none that holdeth with me in these things but Michael your prince'; 1 Mac 3^{2} 'And all his brethren helped him, and so did all they that held with his father' (RV 'that clave unto'); Ac 14^{4} 'But the multitude of the city was divided: and part held with the Jews, and part with the apostles.' So Hos 11^{12} Cov. 'But Ephraim goeth aboute me with lies, and the house of Israel dyssembleth. Only Juda holdeth him with God, and with the true holy thinges.' J. HASTINGS.

HOLINESS.—IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.—The notion of holiness is expressed in Heb., as in the Semitic languages generally, by the two roots קדשׁ and חרם. Of these the latter was most widely diffused amongst the Semitic peoples, but in Heb. usage it was restricted to certain extreme kinds of consecration, usually involving the total destruction of the devoted thing (see CURSE). The distinctively OT developments of the idea are connected with קָדַשׁ, which is the root commonly employed by the Northern Semites; and in this article the various applications of this root will alone be considered.*

---

* Cf. Lk 4^{38} Rhem. 'And Simons wives mother was holden with a great fever.'

The original idea conveyed by the words is altogether uncertain, neither etymology nor the analogy of the cognate dialects having as yet thrown much light on the subject.† The truth is, that the words are nowhere found save in a religious sense, and the attempt to ascertain the physical conception on which this use is based is generally abandoned by modern scholars as hopeless. There is, however, a certain probability that the primary idea is that of 'separation' or 'cutting off.'‡ Although this view is not capable of demonstration, it may be adopted provisionally as one that fits in remarkably well with OT usage. Thus the technical antithesis to קֹדֶשׁ is חֹל, a word which means simply 'open to common use,' 'profane' (see 1 S 21^{5}, Ezk 22^{26} etc.). At all events, it is correct to say that a holy object is one 'separated' from common use and contact by supernatural sanctions; and if we start from this negative definition of what the OT means by holiness, we shall probably not be far from the fundamental meaning of the root. It only needs to be remarked that in hardly any case does the 'separation' denoted by קדשׁ amount to absolute removal from human use or contact (as is the case with חרם). All that is usually involved is that the use of the 'holy' is *restricted* by ceremonial rules, or confined to privileged persons or to particular times—a principle of which abundant illustration will be found in what follows. The holiness of places, things, seasons, even of persons, is thus safeguarded by a set of recognized religious usages, which sometimes, as in the Levitical ritual of OT, attain a high degree of complexity.

It is obvious from what has been said, that holiness, as a religious term, did not originate within the sphere of the revealed religion of Israel. It is one of those primitive concepts which have been taken up and purified by revelation, but which may retain some traces of their origin in a lower stage of belief. It is not surprising, therefore, if some survivals of ancient Semitic heathenism should appear amongst OT applications of the idea of holiness. One such survival is probably to be found in the conception of holiness as a quality transmissible by contact, and constituting in certain circumstances a danger to be scrupulously avoided (see Ezk 44^{19} 46^{20}, Ex 29^{37} 30^{29}, Lv 6^{27} etc.; cf. Hag 2$^{12f.}$).§ Another peculiar case is that of the vineyard (or field) sown with different kinds of seed, which is said thereby to 'become holy' (Dt 22^{9}; cf. Lv 19^{19}). Again, in the pagan rites described in Is 65^{5}, the bystanders are warned not to come near lest they should be 'sanctified' (the verb to be pointed as *Piel*). These phenomena, which appear to our minds to introduce an irrational element into the idea of holiness, irresistibly suggest an affinity with a custom universal amongst primitive peoples, according to which man's free use of natural objects, etc., was restrained by fear of supernatural penalties. This institution has come to be denoted by the name *taboo*, and the instances just cited seem to indicate a close analogy between taboo and the primitive associations of the word 'holiness' in Semitic religion. This would account for the remarkable points of contact between the laws of holiness and those of uncleanness; the two notions being in their origin practically identical. The first great step towards the spiritualizing of the idea of holiness was taken by OT religion when it established a distinction between things whose use is prohibited because they are appropriated to J″, and things that may not be touched because they are hateful to Him. The latter belong to the category of the UNCLEAN (see the art.), while the term 'holy' is, as a rule, reserved for the former.*

In considering OT uses of the terms for holiness, it will be convenient to arrange them in the following order: I. Holiness of places, things, and seasons; II. Holiness of God and angels; III. Holiness of man.

I. HOLINESS OF PLACES, THINGS, AND SEASONS. —The material objects classed as holy are far too numerous to be separately mentioned here. The general principle of OT religion undoubtedly is that things are holy in virtue of their connexion with the worship of J″. The sanctuary itself in all its parts, the utensils employed in the ritual, the clothing of the attendants, the sacrifices and everything dedicated to J″, are sacred in various degrees through having been brought within the sphere of J″'s worship, and so 'separated' from their natural and common relations. It is true that the cases mentioned above (Dt 22^{9}, Ex 29^{37}, Lv 6^{27} etc.) can only with some difficulty be brought completely under this principle. An attempt is made to sustain the rule by the theory that such things or persons were forfeited for the use of the priests or the service of the sanctuary, as was the case with the censers of Korah's company, which having become holy through being presented to God were unfit for use, and were directed to be made into plates for the altar (Nu 16$^{36-40}$ [Heb. 17$^{1-5}$]). This is possible, although there is no clear evidence of it, and, in the case of the field (Dt 22^{9}), a more likely supposition would be that the crop was simply not to be used. Even if it was confiscated, that was only a consequence of the holiness it had *already* contracted for a different reason; and it is probable that in such cases we have a survival of a conception of holiness in which a relation to J″ was not the exclusive regulating principle. But, with these unimportant exceptions, the rule holds good that holiness is an attribute of the things pertaining to the worship of J″, and is acquired by them through nearness to Him who is the source of all holiness. Holiness, in short, expresses a *relation*, which consists negatively in separation from common use, and positively in dedication to the service of J″.

An important corollary from this principle is that there is no such thing as natural or inherent holiness in any class of created objects (Baud. p. 45).

---

* The two primary words in which the root appears are the abstract noun קֹדֶשׁ (holiness) and the adj. קָדוֹשׁ (holy); the verbal forms in use appear to be all denominatives derived from these. The simple form of the verb (קָדַשׁ) occurs only 10 times, always with the sense of 'become holy,' or 'contract holiness'; Ex 29$^{21.37}$ 30^{29}, Lv 6$^{11.20}$, Nu 17$^{2.3}$, Dt 22^{9}, 1 S 21^{6}, Hag 2^{12} (in Is 65^{5}, and possibly 1 S 21^{6}, the text is wrongly pointed). The secondary sense is, of course, still more obvious in the two causatives (קִדֵּשׁ and הִקְדִּישׁ) and the two reflexives (נִקְדַּשׁ and הִתְקַדֵּשׁ). The other derivatives are מִקְדָּשׁ (sanctuary), קָדֵשׁ [f. קְדֵשָׁה] (ἱερόδουλος), and the proper names קָדֵשׁ and קֶדֶשׁ.

† Dillmann (*AT Theol.* p. 254) refers to the Assyr. *ḳuddušu* (said to be a synonym for 'bright'), and is disposed to connect the root, as others have done before him, with חדשׁ (new). Delitzsch, on the other hand (*PRE*^{2}, art. 'Heiligkeit Gottes'), reasoning from the Sumerian equivalent of *ḳadištu* (sacred prostitute), found a confirmation of the old theological definition of holiness as freedom from defect (*omnis labis expers*). But these are highly speculative constructions, which command no confidence, and, moreover, give no assurance that they reach the original sense of the word.

‡ See Baudissin, pp. 19-40; Nöldeke, *LCBl*, 1879, col. 361 f.

§ An Arabian parallel to the communication of holiness by clothing is given by W. R. Smith in *Rel. Sem.*^{2} p. 451. 'At Mecca, in the times of heathenism, the sacred circuit of the Caaba was made by the Bedouins, either naked, or in clothes borrowed from one of the *Ḥoms*, or religious community of the sacred city. . . . It appears that sometimes a man did make the circuit in his own clothes, but in that case he could neither wear them again nor sell them, but had to leave them at the gate of the sanctuary.'

* On the analogies between taboo and the Heb. laws of uncleanness and holiness, see J. G. Frazer, *Encyc. Brit.*^{9} art. 'Taboo'; and W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.*^{2} pp. 151 ff., 446-454. A good account of Taboo will be found in Jevons' *Introd. to the History of Rel.* chs. vi.–viii.

Things *are* clean or unclean according to their natural condition,* and all that man can do is to recognize the fact and regulate his attitude to them accordingly. But things *become* holy by being dedicated to J", and for nearly every kind of holy object the law prescribes specific ceremonies of consecration. Naturally, only things inherently clean could be so dedicated; hence, to some extent, holiness and cleanness are practically identical, and in OT the terms are liable to be interchanged. Nevertheless, the ideas are radically distinct, the category of cleanness is much more comprehensive than that of holiness, and nothing but confusion of thought can result from overlooking the distinction.†

Of all material embodiments of the idea of holiness, the most instructive and the most fundamental is the 'holy place' or sanctuary.‡ Without a particular place set apart for religious purposes, there could be no such thing as sacred objects or times or even persons in the OT sense (W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.*^{2} p. 141). A holy place is in the first instance a space marked off, 'separated,' from common ground (see Ezk 42^{20}), and only to be entered by those who comply with the conditions of sanctity prescribed by usage or law. These conditions may in some cases be very simple (Ex 3^{5}, Jos 5^{15}), in others, as in the central sanctuary of Israel, they are extremely complicated; but they always exist, and compliance with them constitutes the holiness of the persons concerned. What in Israel makes the holiness of a place is the presence of J", whose nature as the Holy One is expressed in the rules which regulate admission to His dwelling-place. Every spot where J" appears to men is holy ground (Ex 3^{5}, Jos 5^{15}); even the temporary camp in time of war is consecrated by the presence of the God of the armies of Israel (Dt 23^{15}). The sanctuaries frequented by Israelites in pre-exilic times were the stated places where at set seasons the worshippers appeared before J", and probably were all regarded as having been consecrated by a Theophany, in accordance with Ex 20^{24}. When the sacredness of these places was abolished by the law of the one sanctuary, the temple of Jerusalem became the sole earthly dwelling-place of J" (Ezk 43^{7}, Ps 132^{14}, Zec 2^{10} etc.), and the centre from which the whole life of the people was sanctified. The symbolism of the second temple in particular, with its graduated series of sacred spaces culminating in the inmost shrine or most holy place, its different classes of ministers, and its minutely regulated ceremonial, was so designed as to form an impressive exhibition to the Israelites of the ruling idea of holiness. The quality of holiness pertains also to Mount Zion and Jerusalem (Is 11^{9} 27^{13}, Zeph 3^{11} etc.; Is 48^{2} 52^{1}, Dn 9^{24} etc.), and in a less degree to the whole land (Zec 2^{10} etc.). There is but one passage dating from before the Exile (Ex 15^{13}) in which holiness is directly predicated of the land of Canaan; but the idea is implied in Hos $9^{3.4}$ and elsewhere, and must be ancient.

Holy *seasons*, in like manner, are portions of time set apart from ordinary employments and dedicated to J" by acts of worship (Neh 8^{9-11} 10^{31}). The chief of such seasons was the Sabbath (Gn 2^{3}, Ex $20^{8.11}$, Is 58^{13} etc.). The relation to the cultus is less apparent in the case of the year of Jubilee (Lv 25^{12}), but the separation from common time is equally obvious.

Amongst the various objects belonging to the temple ritual the term holy is applied to the *sacrifices* (Ex 28^{38} etc.), the *shewbread* (1 S 21^{5}), the *incense* (Ex $30^{35.37}$), the *anointing oil* (which the people were expressly forbidden to compound for common use, Ex $30^{25.33}$ etc.), the *priestly clothing* (Ezk 42^{14}, Ex $28^{2.4}$ etc.), etc. etc. (For a complete enumeration, see Baud. p. 44 f.).

II. HOLINESS OF GOD (AND ANGELS).—From a very early time the word 'holiness' appears to have been used by the Northern Semites to express the general idea of Godhead. In this vague sense it occurs in the Phœnician inscription of Eshmunazar in the title 'holy gods,' and the same phrase is found in the mouth of heathen speakers in Dn $4^{8.9.18}$ 5^{11}. In that expression 'holy' is not intended to convey any information as to the character of the gods; it is a mere 'otiose epithet, "the holy gods" meaning nothing more than "the gods."'* It will be found that no sense less comprehensive than this suffices to explain the Hebrew usage of the term. There are, no doubt, passages where one special attribute is more immediately suggested to the mind by the context, but there are others where it is clear that no particular divine quality is meant to be predicated, and indeed there is no single attribute which will cover all the applications of the word 'holiness' to God. The plural קְדשִׁים (a so-called pl. of majesty formed after the analogy of אֱלֹהִים) is used of J" almost as a proper name in Pr 9^{10} 30^{3} (? Hos 12^{1}), and similarly the sing. קָדוֹשׁ in Is 40^{25}, Job 6^{10}, Hab 3^{3}. A predicate which is thus capable of being elevated to a proper name may be presumed to be that which includes all specific attributes, viz. divinity. Again, when J" is said to swear by His holiness (Am 4^{2}, Ps 89^{35}, cf. 60^{6} 108^{7}), it might be supposed that the expression signifies to swear by that special attribute which is to be exercised in the act promised, just as when He swears by His strength (Is 62^{8}). But the more natural interpretation is, that to swear by His holiness is to swear by His divinity, or, as it is elsewhere expressed, by Himself (Am 6^{8}, Gn 22^{16} etc.). It is probably in the same vague sense that the adj. is used of the divine *arm* (Is 52^{10}, Ps 98^{1}), or the divine *word* (Jer 23^{9}, Ps 105^{42}). So also in the numerous passages where holiness is predicated of the *name* of God (Am 2^{7}, Ezk 20^{39}, Lv 20^{3} etc.), the name of J" being the expression of His whole being as revealed in Israel. Nor is the case different in such expressions as 'there is none holy as J"' (1 S 2^{2}). The meaning there is not that among divine beings J" alone possesses the specific attribute of holiness, but that He alone is worthy to be regarded as truly divine; in other words, what is asserted is not anything about His character, but simply His supreme Godhead.†

It is plausible, though possibly misleading, to connect this most general sense of holiness with the assumed root-idea of the word, and to say that the aspect of divinity denoted by holiness is the

---

* *i.e.* from the standpoint of the law and the religion generally. There is much to be said for the view that *originally* uncleanness itself denoted a relation, viz. a relation to false deities.

† The antithesis of קֹדֶשׁ, as has been said, is חֹל; the opposite of טָהוֹר (clean) is טָמֵא (unclean). See Baud. p. 22 ff.

‡ The proper designation of a sanctuary is מִקְדָּשׁ (used even of the sacred places of the heathen Is 16^{12}, Ezk 28^{18}); but in the Law the central sanctuary (tabernacle) is more frequently described simply as קֹדֶשׁ, sometimes also as מָקוֹם קָדוֹשׁ = 'holy place' (but only in such expressions as 'eat [wash] in a holy place'). קֹדֶשׁ is also used of the temple in Ezk, Ps, Dn, Ch.

* Davidson, *Ezekiel* (Camb. Bible), p. xxxix.

† The facts adduced in this paragraph are adverse to the view held by some writers, that holiness, even when predicated of J", is a merely relative idea, denoting His fidelity to His covenant with Israel. There are, no doubt, passages which, taken by themselves, might seem to countenance that explanation. But when we take account of all the uses of the word, and especially of the fact that it was a common epithet of heathen deities, it is abundantly clear that holiness is an essential attribute of J", apart altogether from His special relation to Israel. All the applications of the term can be explained in harmony with this position. Thus, to take a salient instance, the phrase 'Holy One of Israel' (see below) need not be paraphrased: 'the God who is Holy in virtue of His relation to Israel.' It may equally mean, and in point of fact does mean, 'the (essentially) Holy Being, who is God of Israel.'

'separation' of God from the world, or His transcendence. There is no doubt that the term does express the sense of an awful contrast between the divine and the human (Hos 11^{9}), although hardly, perhaps, between God and the universe. The opposition which is implied in its application to J″ is rather to the presumption and pride of man on the one hand, and the pretended deity of false gods on the other, than to the whole of created existence.* But whether this idea lies in the word itself, or whether it was reached through the impression caused by the multitude of inviolable things belonging to the sphere of deity, is a point which cannot be certainly determined. It has to be remembered that, in early times at least, the holiness of the gods had no definite meaning apart from the holiness of their physical surroundings.† An illustration of this mode of thinking is furnished by the exclamation of the men of Beth-shemesh after they had looked into the ark: 'Who is able to stand before J″ this holy God?' (1 S 6^{20}). There it is evident that the holiness of J″ and the holiness of the ark are practically identical, J‴s holiness being the quality manifested in His vindication of the inviolability of the sacred symbol. And so it must have been to a large extent in ancient religion: the divine holiness was not so much an object of intellectual contemplation as a fact borne in upon the mind by the constant presence of things and persons that might not be touched, places that might not be entered, and times in which ordinary employments were suspended, because of their appropriation to the service or worship of God.

The question as to the contents of the idea of divine holiness thus resolves itself into the larger question of the conception of Godhead by which religious practice and devotion were ruled; and the development of the idea in OT may be expected to proceed step by step with the progressive revelation of the character and nature of J″. Certain features of divinity, no doubt, retain a prominence due to the ancient associations of the word. The term never ceases to emphasize the awful side of the divine manifestation, and even in later writings this may sometimes be the only thought conveyed by its use. But that, after all, only means that J″ was always regarded as a Being of awful and unapproachable majesty, to be feared just because He was divine. And while the history of the idea certainly does not show any abatement of the sentiment of awe due to J″ as the Holy One, it does exhibit an advance towards the conception of Him as one to be feared, not simply because He is all-powerful, but because of His opposition to all that is impure and sinful.

There are three main aspects of deity specially associated with the term 'holiness' in different parts of the OT; and all of these might without difficulty be derived from the fundamental sense of *unapproachableness*, which is never absent from the notion of J‴s holiness.

(1) The negative idea of unapproachableness readily passes over into the positive conceptions of *greatness*, *power*, *majesty*, and the like. Of all uses of the word this is the most widely prevalent; and in nearly every part of the literature we find expressions where holiness conveys no other thought than the might and majesty of the God of Israel, or the awe and fear which His presence inspires in man. This appears, *e.g.*, in the words of the men of Beth-shemesh already cited (1 S 6^{20}). So in Is 8^{13} to 'sanctify J″' is to regard Him as an object of fear and dread. In Ex 15^{11} J″ is extolled as 'glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders.' In the Psalms He is addressed as 'terrible out of his holy places' (68^{35}); His name is 'holy and terrible' (111^{9}); 'J″ is great in Zion, and exalted above all the peoples,' therefore they are exhorted to praise His 'great and terrible name; holy is it' ($99^{2.\,3}$). This conception is specially prominent in the Bk. of Ezekiel, where the divine holiness appears to denote no other attribute than that of majesty, exhibited in the exercise of irresistible power. J‴s 'holy name' is synonymous with His 'great name' (36^{21}, cf. v.^{23}); and when He is said to 'sanctify himself' (*i.e.* show Himself to be holy), or to 'sanctify his name,' which is profaned when He is forced to conceal any of His divine attributes, the meaning always is that by a display of might He produces the recognition of His true majesty ($36^{20\text{-}24}$ $38^{16.\,23}$ 20^{41} etc.). These illustrations, which might easily be multiplied, will serve to show how largely the usage of the words for holiness is influenced by the majestic and awe-inspiring side of the divine nature.

(2) The priestly *Torah*, being largely occupied with questions of cleanness and uncleanness, was naturally led to present divinity as opposition to all that is impure; and hence in the legal books the idea of holiness approximates to that of *physical purity* (cf. Lv $11^{44\text{ff.}}$ $20^{25.\,26}$, Ezk $43^{7.\,9}$ etc.). It is an undue exaggeration of this fact that has led some theologians to suppose that the primary significance of holiness is purity in a physical sense, or freedom from defect, or 'normality of life' (Diestel). In reality this is but one manifestation of divinity (readily intelligible as a modification of the fundamental conception of unapproachableness); and although it is necessarily emphasized by priestly writers, it is altogether inadequate to explain the whole range of meaning covered by the term 'holy.' What it expresses is J‴s jealous care for the purity of His own worship, and that, again, is probably rooted in antagonism to the worship of heathen deities and other forms of superstition, especially the worship of dead ancestors (see Lv 19^{28}, Dt 14^{1} etc.). The most characteristic expression of the idea is perhaps in the striking but somewhat difficult sentence, 'Be ye holy: for I am holy' (Lv 11^{44} 19^{2} 20^{26}, cf. 20^{7} $21^{6\text{-}8}$). Evidently, the holiness of Israel is there conceived as in some sense a reflexion of the holiness of J″, for it is hardly reasonable to take the word 'holy' in two diverse acceptations in the two members of the sentence. While there are many ways in which holiness might be predicated of J″, and many also in which it might be predicated of Israel, there are very few in which the word could be applied to both. At all events, in such a connexion the holiness of God cannot be His deity in general, nor His power or majesty, but must mean that separation from impurity which belongs to His nature, and is to be reproduced and exhibited in the life of His people. Holiness in this sense is the ruling principle of the Levitical legislation, just as ethical righteousness is the supreme idea of prophecy. Although the expression of the idea occurs chiefly in later writings (esp. Ezk and the Priestly Code), the thought itself is undoubtedly ancient, and must have exercised an influence on the development of the notion of holiness.

(3) The *ethical* sense of the divine holiness is most clearly to be discerned in some parts of the prophetical writings, particularly in those of Isaiah. To the prophets J″ was essentially a moral Being, 'of too pure eyes to behold evil' (Hab 1^{13}), and swift to resent and punish the iniquity of His people. And since holiness embraced every distinctive attribute of Godhead, it was to be expected that, in the light of this ethical concep-

---

* The opinion that holiness was predicated of the gods as having their dwelling-place in heaven does not appear to be well founded.

† W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.*^{2} p. 141.

tion of God, the word should take on the sense of moral perfectness, at least on its negative side of opposition to human sin. Accordingly, in Am 2^7 we find the holiness of J‴'s name set in contrast to the immoral practices of Canaanitish heathenism which had been introduced into the religion of Israel. It may be objected that in this instance the opposition to J‴'s holiness lies not so much in the immorality of the custom as in its association with the worship of strange gods. But, even if that be true, the significance of the allusion is hardly diminished. The fact remains that a rite consistent with the godhead of other deities was inconsistent with the holiness of J″, and the only reason that can be assigned for the difference is that J‴'s godhead or holiness included a moral element which placed a wide gulf between Him and the deities of the Semitic pantheon. In the teaching of Isaiah the thought of the divine holiness has a central importance which it possesses in that of no other prophet; and it is there also that the ethical aspect of the idea receives the fullest expression. In his inaugural vision the great fact impressed on his mind is the holiness of the God of Israel (Is 6^3), and this perception awakes in him the consciousness, not merely of creaturely infirmity, but of uncleanness in a moral sense, as adhering both to himself and his nation (v.^{5}). The connexion of holiness and morality is again expressed in a striking manner in the words of 5^{16}, where we read that 'the holy God shall sanctify himself in righteousness,' *i.e.* He shall show Himself to be holy by the exercise of punitive righteousness. But indeed Isaiah's whole conception of national sin as rebellion against J″ and ignorance of His character, and his demand that J″ should be 'held holy' by compliance with His revealed will (1^4 3^8 8^{13} 29^{23} etc.), imply a view of holiness which is profoundly ethical; and all this is embraced in the divine title which is continually on his lips, **'the Holy One of Israel.'** There is, however, no passage of the OT where it can be supposed that moral purity exhausts the idea of holiness. It never appears detached from the underlying thought of majesty and power; it is, in short, an *element* of holiness as conceived by the prophets, but neither in their writings nor in any other part of the literature does it supersede the vaguer original meaning of the word. So in a later prophet the words, 'Thou that art of too pure eyes to behold evil,' etc. (Hab 1^{13}), are no doubt connected with the name 'my Holy One' in the previous verse, but at the same time they cannot be regarded as the complete equivalent of that phrase.

There are some other applications of the word which fall to be mentioned here, although they can scarcely be said to throw any additional light on its meaning. (1) The expression **Holy Spirit** (wh. see), so frequent in NT, occurs in OT only 3 times (Ps 51^{11}, Is $63^{10.\,11}$). In such a connexion 'holy' may mean much or little; it may be equivalent to '*divine* Spirit' in any of the senses in which holiness is predicated of J″, or it may describe the Spirit as the source of moral purity in the life of the consecrated nation. It is, at all events, of some importance to observe that 'the divine Spirit is not called the *holy* Spirit in so far as it is the principle of cosmical life, but only in so far as it works in the Theocracy' (Oehler). (2) *Angels* are called 'holy ones' in Job 5^1 15^{15}, Ps $89^{6.\,8}$, Dn 8^{13} etc., not on account of their superior purity (see Job 4^{18} 15^{15}), but as partaking of the divine nature ('sons of God'). (3) Lastly, *heaven*, as the dwelling-place of God, is frequently spoken of as a holy place (Hab 2^{20}, Jer 25^{30}, Is 63^{15}, Zec 2^{13}, Ps 11^4 20^6 etc.).

III. Holiness of Men.—The OT applications of the word 'holy' to human persons are of two kinds. There is first an external holiness, which consists merely in consecration to religious functions, and does not differ materially from the holiness of things. In this sense the term is applied to several classes of persons in Israel. The degraded beings devoted to shameful practices in the Canaanitish sanctuaries were known as קְדֵשִׁים and קְדֵשׁוֹת ('holy men' and 'holy women'), in token of their dedication to the service of the god or goddess (Dt 23^{18} etc.). This, of course, is a heathen usage, which has nothing to do with the specifically OT idea of sanctity. Again, *soldiers on a campaign* are consecrated persons (1 S $21^{5.\,6}$), war being a religious act initiated by sacred rites (Is 13^3, Jer 6^4 22^7, Mic 3^5 etc.). The *Nazirites* are holy during the period covered by their vow (Nu $6^{5\text{ff.}}$). An official holiness belongs to the *priests and Levites*, who are consecrated to J″ by special ceremonies (Ex $29^{1\text{ff.}}$, Lv $8^{12.\,30}$ etc.), and whom Israel is enjoined to 'sanctify,' *i.e.* treat as sacrosanct persons (Lv 21^8). In a similar sense we are probably to understand the sanctity ascribed to the *prophets* (2 K 4^9, Jer 1^5): when the great lady of Shunem speaks of Elisha as a 'holy man of God,' she is not thinking of the saintliness of his character; he is holy, simply as one who stands in a near relation to God. Finally, the attribute of holiness pertains to the whole people of Israel as a nation severed from the rest of mankind, and consecrated to J″ (Ex 19^6, Nu $16^{3.\,5.\,7}$, Dt 7^6 14^2 etc.), and hence inviolable (Jer 2^3). In this sense J″ speaks of Himself frequently as the 'sanctifier' (מְקַדֵּשׁ) of Israel (Ezk 20^{12} $37^{27\text{f.}}$, Ex 31^{13}, Lv $20^{7\text{f.}}$ etc.).

But this outward holiness implies, in the case of persons, the observance of certain rules, compliance with which constitutes sanctification in an active and sometimes an ethical sense. No doubt, each of the classes enumerated above was subject to prescribed rules of this kind, as was notably the case with the priests and Nazirites. But the most important developments of the idea are those connected with the application of the term 'holiness' to the religious community as a whole. J″ sanctifies Israel by choosing it from other peoples to be His familiar people, and by taking up His abode in its midst; but Israel is thus bound to *sanctify itself*, by conforming to the requirements that express J‴'s holy will and nature. These requirements, as we have already seen, were mainly external and ceremonial, consisting in avoidance of occasions of physical defilement. But moral precepts are also included (Lv 19, etc.), and are expressly embraced in the formula, 'Be ye holy: for I am holy.' The holiness of Israel, in fact, had to be maintained by obedience to the entire Law of God (Nu 15^{40}); and, in so far as the Law contains a summary of moral duty, the conception of holiness has an ethical significance. It is true that the Law recognizes no distinction between the moral and the ceremonial, and to that extent its teaching is not truly ethical in our sense of the word. Still, where holiness is presented as an ideal to be realized in conduct, and where this ideal is connected with the essential holiness of God (as in the phrase just quoted), the notion is already charged with ethical meaning; and so in the spiritual religion of the Psalms the external element disappears, the conditions of entrance into J‴'s 'holy place' being described in terms which are exclusively ethical (Ps 15. $24^{3\text{ff.}}$).

From a theological point of view, the chief interest of the OT doctrine of holiness lies in this progressive spiritualizing of the idea under the influence of an expanding revelation of God. Although the various steps of the process are obscure, the fact is certain that holiness did come to be conceived more and more as a moral quality. It is probable that the ethical aspect was first introduced in the application of the term to God, and thence transferred to the holiness He requires in His worshippers. In OT the development is arrested at a certain stage, because of the material associations with which the use of the word was invested. One step remained to be taken in order to reach the full Christian sense of holiness, and that was the abrogation of the ceremonial as a term of fellowship with God. When our Lord enunciated the principle that a man is defiled, not by what enters into him, but by what comes out of him, He raised religion to a new level, and made it possible to liberate the moral essence of holiness from the imperfections which clung to it throughout the older dispensation.

LITERATURE.—The modern discussion of holiness appears to start from a passage in Menken's *Anleitung zum eigenenen Unterricht in den Wahrheiten der heil. Schr.* (1805, *Schriften*, Bd. vi. pp. 46–53). His observations have little scientific value, but seem to have aroused interest by the paradoxical position, laid down with hardly an attempt at proof, that holiness means 'self-humbling love and grace' on the part of God.—Diestel's paper (in *JDTh*, 1859, pp. 3–63), though in some respects arbitrary and one-sided, is a far more adequate treatment of the subject. His chief results are these two: (1) that, *in form*, holiness is always a relative idea, Israel being holy as belonging to *J″*, and conversely *J″* being holy as belonging to Israel, in the covenant relation; and (2) that the *content* of the notion has to be determined from the conditions of the covenant as laid down by the Law, the ruling principle of which Diestel finds to be 'normality of life.'—Baudissin's elaborate monograph (*Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, 1878, ii. pp. 3–142) devotes considerable space to the criticism of these and other views of earlier writers. It contains an invaluable and apparently exhaustive collection of the OT material, and for thoroughness of treatment leaves nothing to be desired. The most important result, in the judgment of Nöldeke (*LCBl*, 1879, No. 12, col. 361 f.), is the conclusive demonstration that throughout the OT the ideas of holiness and purity remain distinct. See further the *OT Theologies* of Oehler, Schultz, Dillmann, Marti, and Bennett; Kuenen, *Religion of Israel* (i. 43 ff. [Eng. tr.]); Duhm, *Theol. der Propheten*, 168 ff.; Smend, *Alttest. Religionsgeschichte*, 333 ff.; W. R. Smith, *OTJC*² 228, 364, 377, *Prophets of Israel*², 224 ff., 424, *RS*² 140 ff., 151 ff., 446 ff.; the arts. in Schenkel, *Bibellex.*, and Herzog, *PRE*² (by Delitzsch); Cheyne's Note in *Origin of the Psalter*, 331 f., and Davidson's in *Ezekiel* (Camb. Bible), xxxix f. J. SKINNER.

HOLINESS IN NT.—The study of the NT conception of holiness must proceed mainly from a consideration of the following terms: *ἅγιος*, *ἁγιασμός*, *ἁγιότης*, *ἁγιωσύνη*. Besides this group of words denoting *holy* or *holiness*, we have in NT *ἱερός*, *ὅσιος*, *σεμνός*, *ἁγνός*, and their cognates. It is the word *ἅγιος* and its kindred terms which express the characteristic NT idea of holiness. In order to define and illustrate this idea it is necessary to examine the meaning and use of terms synonymous with *ἅγιος*, so that the significance of the latter may be set in the clearer light.

Etymologically, *ἱερός* is believed to signify *vigorous* or *strong*. The word thus naturally denotes, in classic usage, that which is associated with the gods, that which belongs to them, or that which is divine. It thus approaches *θεῖος* in meaning. The word is commonly applied, not to persons, but to things, which are *ἱερά* because they originate with the gods, belong to them, or are bestowed by them. The term is applied to men when it is desired to designate them as having special relation to the gods, or as being under their protection. Kings and persons who are initiated into the mysteries are sometimes called *ἱεροί* in this sense. The term *ἱερός* thus denoted an external rather than an internal and moral relation to the gods. It did not imply excellence. It meant *sacred* in the sense of inviolable, entitled to reverence, but did not bear the meaning which we attach to the terms *morally pure* and *holy*. While in NT the word has higher associations because of the circle of religious ideas with which it is there connected, it retains clear traces of its history. It emphasizes an outer rather than an inner and spiritual relation with God. The word occurs as an adjective but twice. In 1 Co 9¹³ *οἱ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐργαζόμενοι* is a periphrasis for the priests. *Τὰ ἱερά*, *res sacræ*, are the rites of the Levit. cultus. These rites are sacred because their performance is an act of divine worship. In 2 Ti 3¹⁵ (as also in Philo and Jos.) *ἱερὰ γράμματα* is the OT. These writings are regarded as *ἱερά* because divinely inspired and teaching divine truth. The use of words cognate with *ἱερός* in NT agrees with that of *ἱερός*. Thus *ἱερεύς* is a priest; *ἱερόν* designates the temple-enclosure; *ἱερόθυτον* (1 Co 10²⁸) denotes something which has been offered in sacrifice; and *ἱεροπρεπής* (Tit 2³) means *befitting sacred things or places*, 'reverent in demeanour' (RV). It will be seen that this whole group of words designates ideas and relations which are more distinctively characteristic of OT than of NT, *ἱερός* in this sense having been taken over from the LXX, where it abounds in 1 Es and the Books of Maccabees.

The word *ὅσιος* means *pious*, *godly*. It is the nearest Gr. equivalent of the Lat. *sanctus* and of the Heb. חָסִיד. In its classic use it commonly denoted what was consecrated by law or custom, whether of the gods or of men. In NT, however, it has a distinctively religious significance, and means *consecrated to God*, *pure*, *holy*, *pious*. The NT use of *ὅσιος*, *ὁσιότης* may be seen in such passages as He 7²⁶, where Christ, as High Priest, is described as *ὅσιος, ἄκακος, ἀμίαντος, κεχωρισμένος ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν*; Lk 1⁷⁵, where the people of God are spoken of as serving Him *ἐν ὁσιότητι καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ*; and Eph 4²⁴, where the new man is said to be created according to God *ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ ὁσιότητι τῆς ἀληθείας*. In both classic and NT usage this group of words is commonly associated with *δίκαιος* and its cognates. In the LXX *οἱ ὅσιοι τοῦ θεοῦ* is a frequent designation of God's true worshippers. It will thus be seen that holiness, in the sense of *ὁσιοτης*, includes especially what is designated by the words *reverence*, *piety*, *Frömmigkeit*.

Σεμνός properly means *deserving of reverence or awe*, and in classic usage is applied both to the gods and to men. It is even used of things, in the sense of *grand*, *magnificent*, *impressive*. In NT *σεμνός* denotes *deserving of reverence*, *honourable*. It is once applied to deeds, Ph 4⁸ (RV 'honourable'), and three times to persons, 1 Ti 3⁸· ¹¹, Tit 2², in all of which cases RV renders *grave*. In like manner RV renders *σεμνότης* *gravity* in all three passages in which it occurs, 1 Ti 2² 3⁴, Tit 2⁷. The word signifies something more than *gravity*; it suggests *dignity* or *worth*. It is obvious, however, that *σεμνότης* designates but a secondary aspect of the NT idea of holiness.

Ἁγνός, *ἁγνότης* mean *pure*, *purity*. In LXX these words refer to ceremonial purity. In NT they refer to freedom from moral faults in general, and esp. to freedom from carnal sins. In one passage *ἁγνός* is applied to God (1 Jn 3³). The characteristic use of the word is seen in passages like 2 Co 11², Tit 2⁵. *Ἁγνός* represents an aspect of holiness, but only in a limited and negative way. Even the idea of moral purity is inadequate to represent the full content of the Christian conception of holiness.

The characteristic NT word for *holy* is, as we have seen, *ἅγιος*. It is the nearest Gr. equivalent of the Heb. קָדוֹשׁ, and is the common rendering of that word in the LXX. It is probably from the same root as *ἁγνός* (Lat. *sacer*), and the fundamental meaning of the two words is nearly the same. *Ἅγιος*, however, which is a rare word in classic Greek, appears to have diverged from *ἁγνός* in the direction of a moral and religious conception of holiness. It is generally believed that the fundamental idea which underlies the word is that of separation, and that its moral signification therefore is: separation from sin, and so, consecration to God. The Christian use of the word lifted it into accord with the highest ethical conceptions, and gave it the idea of separateness from the sinful world, harmony with God, the absolutely good Being, moral perfection. Thus *ἅγιος* is, above all things, a qualitative and ethical term. It refers chiefly to character, and lays emphasis upon the demands which that which is sacred (*ἱερόν*) in the highest sense makes upon conduct.

It is necessary briefly to refer to the LXX use of this word, and to the circle of OT ideas which it represents. We find that *ἅγιος* is predicated of God as the absolutely perfect One, and of men and things so far as they are devoted to Him, and, as we may say, in some way identified with Him. Israel, *e.g.*, was an *ἔθνος ἅγιον* because God's peculiar possession. Men are called upon to sanctify themselves, that is, to cleanse themselves from all defilement, to forsake sin, and to come into harmony of life with God. So men may sanctify things by regarding, treating, or using them as sacred, that is, by associating them with God's perfection. The basis of this demand upon men that they be holy is the obligation to be like God: 'Ye shall be holy: for I the Lord your God am holy' (Lv 19²). Now this holiness, as seen in OT, seems to wear a twofold aspect. It comprehends both 'the goodness and the severity of God.' It issues both in redemption and in judgment. These two aspects of the divine holiness appear continually in inseparable connexion and interplay. 'Holiness (in the OT) is the perfect purity of God, which in and for itself excludes all fellowship with the world, and can only establish a relationship of free, electing love, whereby it asserts itself in the sanctification of God's people, their cleansing and redemption; therefore "the purity of God manifesting itself in atonement and redemption, and correspondingly in judgment"' (Cremer, *Bib.-Theol. Lex. s.v.*).

It is evident that ἅγιος and its kindred words are best adapted to represent the NT idea. They express something more and higher than ἱερός, *sacred, outwardly associated with God*; something more than ὅσιος, *reverent, pious*; something more than σεμνός, *worthy, honourable*; something more than ἁγνός, *pure, free from defilement*. Ἅγιος is more positive, more comprehensive, more elevated, more purely ethical and spiritual. It is characteristically Godlikeness, and in the Christian system Godlikeness signifies completeness of life.

The words ἅγιος and ἁγιάζειν occur very frequently in NT. The three nouns (ἁγιασμός, ἁγιότης, ἁγιωσύνη), which are kindred to them, are not of frequent occurrence. The most common among these three nouns, ἁγιασμός, is found ten times (1 Th $4^{3.4.7}$, 2 Th 2^{13}, Ro $6^{19.22}$, 1 Co 1^{30}, 1 Ti 2^{15}, He 12^{14}, 1 P 1^{2}). In five instances it is rendered in AV *holiness*, and in five *sanctification*. In RV it is uniformly rendered *sanctification*. Ἁγιότης occurs twice (2 Co 1^{12}, He 12^{10}), and is rendered *holiness* in both AV and RV. Ἁγιωσύνη occurs three times (1 Th 3^{13}, Ro 1^{4}, 2 Co 7^{1}), and is tr. in both VSS *holiness*. Ἁγιότης (*sanctitas*), ἁγιωσύνη (*sanctitudo*), ἁγιασμός (*sanctificatio*), denote the *quality*, the *state*, the *process*, respectively (Lightfoot, *Notes*, p. 49). Ὁσιότης occurs twice (Lk 1^{75}, Eph 4^{24}), and is rendered *holiness* in both. AV renders εὐσέβεια (piety) in Ac 3^{12} *holiness*, RV *godliness*.

Let us next illustrate the use of the group of words under review, directing special attention to the fifteen passages in which the nouns denoting *holiness* are used. There does not appear to be anything distinctive in the use of the words by the different NT writers. We shall therefore have no occasion to treat the NT books separately. We find ἅγιος applied to God in Jn 17^{11}: 'Holy Father, keep them in thy name which thou hast given me,' etc., where God, as the One who is absolutely good—wholly separate from all that is sinful and wrong—is besought to guard from evil those whom He has given to His Son. The idea closely resembles that which is found in 17^{25}: 'O righteous (δίκαιος) Father, the world knew thee not, but I knew thee,' etc. The idea of God's righteousness here appears to be the quality which prevents Him from passing the same judgment upon Christ's disciples as He passes upon the sinful world. It is the equitableness of God. In both cases the attribute of God which is referred to is not the forensic or retributive element in the divine nature, but God's moral self-consistency, His justice to His own equity. In Rev 4^{8} God is addressed as 'Holy, Holy, Holy,' because He is worthy of all praise and honour. His holiness is His supreme and absolute excellence.

The term *holy* is constantly applied throughout NT to the divine Spirit. As proceeding from God, as the bearer of revelation, and as the mediator of spiritual life, the Spirit is pre-eminently holy. It is the special function of the Holy Spirit to make holy the souls of those in whom He dwells. This conception of the Spirit's nature and function is not prominent in OT, where the Spirit is scarcely more than a name for the power or presence of God. There He bestows strength upon heroes, skill upon artificers, and the knowledge of the divine will upon prophets. The designation of the Spirit as Holy accords entirely with the NT idea of the sanctifying function of the Spirit, and the hallowing of the people of God by inward consecration to Him. The Holy Spirit is conceived of as revealing the inner nature and essential goodness of God, and as accomplishing the transformation of men into His moral likeness. Hence the sin against the Holy Spirit represents the acme of wickedness. It is hatred of supreme and absolute goodness. It despises the perfect purity and unselfish love which dwelt in Him to whom God gave the Spirit without measure, and thus treats perfect goodness as if it were evil. Such a state of mind involves complete moral obduracy. In this, and not in the limitation of the divine mercy, lies the impossibility of its forgiveness. See further HOLY SPIRIT.

With special appropriateness is Christ, as the Son and Revealer of God and the Redeemer of mankind from sin, designated as *holy*. He is the fulfilment of the OT picture of the true and faithful servant of J". He is accordingly spoken of as God's 'holy servant' (ὁ ἅγιος παῖς, Ac 4^{30}), by whom He accomplishes His gracious, saving purposes. So evil spirits are represented as recognizing in Jesus 'the Holy One of God,' the long-promised Messiah, the Messenger of the divine mercy, and the Conqueror of Satan.

Christians are frequently designated as ἅγιοι, *holy ones, saints*. They are such as the elect or beloved of God, who by faith and love have entered into fellowship with Him, and who by obedience to His will and by purity of life have become conformed to the image of His Son. St. Paul speaks of believers as κλητοὶ ἅγιοι (1 Co 1^{2}), saints by a divine call, in the same sense as he speaks of himself as a κλητὸς ἀπόστολος (Ro 1^{1}), an apostle who became such by having presented to him, and by accepting, a divine commission. Esp. are men represented as holy when they have been made the special instruments of the divine will and have been taken into close fellowship with God in the work of revelation and redemption. In this sense the prophets are designated (acc. to the common reading) as 'holy men of God,' οἱ ἅγιοι θεοῦ ἄνθρωποι (2 P 1^{21}). In like manner, the 'holy prophets' declared the divine purpose to restore all things through the Messiah (Ac 3^{21}). So the 'mystery of Christ,' viz. that the gospel was for the Gentiles, was made known to God's 'holy apostles and prophets in the Spirit' (Eph 3^{5}).

In a secondary sense impersonal objects are spoken of as holy. The ways and means whereby God reveals and accomplishes His will are *holy*, because they are associated with Him who is pre-eminently holy and are instrumental in the sanctification of men. Thus the gracious call which God in the gospel addresses to men—inviting them to receive a wholly unmerited salvation—is a *holy calling*, κλῆσις ἁγία (2 Ti 1^{9}). The Messianic promise given in OT times was a *holy covenant*, διαθήκη ἁγία (Lk 1^{72}). The OT Scriptures are, by reason of the sacredness of their contents and their disclosure of the divine will and purpose, *holy writings*, γραφαὶ ἅγιαι (Ro 1^{2}).

We turn now to the group of nouns denoting *holiness*. Ἁγιασμός would properly denote the act of sanctifying, τὸ ἁγιάζειν, and something of this active meaning is preserved in 2 Th 2^{13}: 'God chose you from the beginning unto salvation in sanctification of the Spirit' (ἐν ἁγιασμῷ πνεύματος), that is, in sanctification wrought by the Spirit; cf. 1 P 1^{2}: 'in sanctification of the Spirit,' etc. The active force of the word may also be observed, although in a somewhat different form, in 1 Th 4^{3}: 'For this is the will of God, even your sanctification,' etc. The will of God is this: that He may accomplish your sanctification. In 1 Co 1^{30} Christ is called our 'sanctification,' in the sense that He is the cause or ground of our sanctification.

In most cases in NT, however, ἁγιασμός denotes the effect or result of ἁγιάζειν. (See, however, Sanday-Headlam's note on Ro 6^{19}). In 1 Th $4^{4.7}$ it denotes the sphere of holy action in opposition to the sphere of lustful desire. In Ro 6^{19} ἁγιασμός stands opposed to ἀνομία. These terms denote the ends to which the members are devoted in the sinful and in the Christian life respectively. In the latter the members are presented as servants to righteousness unto the end of sanctification (εἰς ἁγιασμόν). Similarly, in v.[22] Christians are said to have their fruit unto sanctification (εἰς ἁγ.), that is, to attain it as the result and reward of their life. In these passages from 1 Th and Ro, sanctification is particularly set in contrast to carnal lust, although its nature is not limited by that contrast. In 1 Ti 2[15] sanctification is contemplated as a virtue, or as the Christian's normal state, and is correlated with faith and love. In He 12[14] 'the sanctification' (the definite article used only here and in 1 Th 4[3]) is the Christian character, the goal of Christian effort, the preparation for the presence of God: 'Pursue after the sanctification without which no man shall see the Lord,' that is, enter into blessed fellowship with Christ.

Ἁγιότης is used (acc. to the most probable reading) in 2 Co 1[12] in ref. to St. Paul's manner of life at Corinth, to the uprightness of which his conscience bears witness. It is here correlated with the sincerity or purity (εἰλικρίνεια) which God effects by the Holy Spirit. Here *holiness* designates the life and character which the grace of God produces. In the one other passage where the word is used (He 12[10]) it is applied to God. Earthly parents, says the author, chasten their children with wrong or imperfect motives, or to secure some temporary good, but God chastens His children for their highest final good, that they may be 'partakers of his holiness' (εἰς τὸ μεταλαβεῖν τῆς ἁγιότητος αὐτοῦ), that is, that they may be transformed into moral likeness to Himself, and become partakers in His own eternal nature (cf. 2 P 1[4]). This passage carries us to a higher point than do those previously examined, in that it represents the holy nature of God as the type and goal of all perfection in man.

Ἁγιωσύνη is twice used of the moral purity, the God-like character, which the gospel requires and imparts: 1 Th 3[13] 'To the end he may stablish your hearts in holiness before our God,' etc., that is, in the possession of that holy life which will be acceptable to Christ at His coming; and 2 Co 7[1] 'Perfecting holiness in the fear of God,' that is, perfectly illustrating in character the holy life which comports with reverence for God. In Ro 1[4] the word occurs in a description which St. Paul is giving of the Son of God, 'who,' he says, 'was born of the seed of David according to the flesh, who was declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the spirit of holiness, by the resurrection of the dead.' Here the phrase κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης stands in evident contrast to the phrase κατὰ σάρκα. The phrase probably means: the spirit of Christ, that is, His inner, essential life, which is characterized by holiness. If this is the meaning, then ἁγιωσύνης expresses the quality of Christ's spiritual nature. He is *par éminence* holy. He is in absolute accord with God.

We may sum up our results thus: In the absolute sense God alone is holy, and His holiness is the ground of the requirement of holiness in His creatures (1 P 1[16]). Holiness is the attribute of God, according to which He wills and does only that which is morally good. In other words, it is the perfect harmony of His will with His perfect ethical nature. But the divine holiness is not to be thought of as a mere passive, quiescent state. It is an active impulse, a forthgoing energy. In God's holiness, that is, in the expression of His perfect ethical nature, His self-revelation is grounded. Nay, creation itself, as well as redemption, would be inconceivable apart from the divine holiness, the energizing of God's absolutely good will.

By some theologians holiness and love are identified. More commonly they are sharply distinguished—holiness being regarded as the self-preservative or retributive attribute of God, and love as His beneficent, self-imparting attribute. To discuss this subject here would carry us too far. It seems clear, at least, from our investigation, that holiness and love represent closely kindred conceptions, and that there is an inner harmony between them. They are the two words which best express God's moral perfection, and the difference between them seems rather formal than real. At any rate, in their application to men, they seem to express, better than any other words, the highest aims of human life and the most comprehensive obligation of God's perfect law. See, further, the preceding art., and art. HOLY SPIRIT.

LITERATURE.—Studies of the words in Cremer's *Bib. Theol. Lex.* and Trench *NT Syn.*; art. 'Heiligkeit' in Schenkel's *Bib. Lex.* and in Herzog's *RE*; Issel, *Der Begriff d. Heiligkeit im NT*; Sanday-Headlam, *Romans* on 1[3. 7] and the literature there cited.

G. B. STEVENS.

HOLM TREE.—The name of this tree occurs in Is 44[14] RV as the equivalent of תִּרְזָה. The holm is prob. *not* the tree there intended (see CYPRESS).

It occurs also in Sus v.[58]. Two evergreen oaks, both growing in Pal. and Syria, *Quercus Ilex*, L., and *Q. coccifera*, L., are prob. included under the LXX πρῖνος, which is the orig. for *holm tree*. The former is a low tree, growing along the coast and the foot hills of the maritime ranges. The latter is one of the stateliest trees of the East. Its comus is often quite spherical, and sometimes 40 to 50 ft. in diameter. The trunk not infrequently attains a diameter of 6 ft. The leaf of both species is smaller than that of the *holly*, but resembles it in the fact that it is evergreen, of a rich glossy green, and usually with spiny teeth, though some of the varieties have nearly entire leaves. It is from the resemblance of its leaf to the *holly* (Old English *hollen*) that it obtained its name of holm. For the play on the words πρῖνος and πρίσαι see SUSANNA.

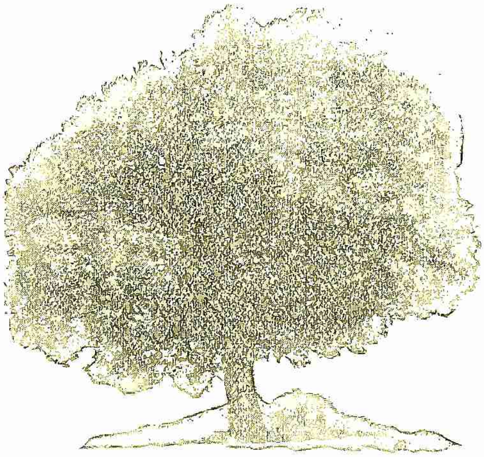

THE HOLM OAK, QUERCUS COCCIFERA, L.

The holm oak is the tree, *par excellence*, around which are grouped the superstitions of the Orientals. One or more grand specimens are sure to be planted over the *welys* or tombs of the Moslem saints. Abraham's Oak is of this species. The dense mass of dark foliage gives to these fine old trees an aspect of solidity possessed by no others in the East. The Druses and other sects often hang bits of rag on their lower branches as a votive offering. A tree so decorated is called *umm-esh-sheraṭîṭ*, i.e. *mother of rags*. Such trees have probably existed from time immemorial on the 'high places.' See OAK. G. E. POST.

HOLOFERNES (Ὀλοφέρνης).—The arch-enemy of the Jews, assassinated before Bethulia (*i.e.* Jerusalem) by Judith, who thus saved her nation. In Jth 2^{4} H. is called 'the chief captain of the army of Nebuchadnezzar.' In the Midrash he is called 'king of Javan,'* and takes the place of Nebuchadnezzar. It is obvious that no one in the days of the historical Nebuch. could have borne the name and played the part of H. as described in Judith. There was an Orophernes king of the Cappadocians in B.C. 158 ff., who was a friend of Demetrius Soter, and supported the latter in his unjustifiable claims as against Ariarathes V., king of the Cappadocians (Polyb. iii. 5. 2, ed. Schweighäuser). Hence the Jews might know about Orophernes as the friend of their great enemy, and might represent him as he is represented in Judith. This would make the date of the book about B.C. 150. See Hicks, *Journ. Hellen. Studies*, vi. 1885, pp. 261–274. The form Ὀροφέρνης is found on coins discovered at Pirene, and in two inscriptions found on amphora-handles (Knidos); see Dumont, *Inscriptions céramiques*, Paris, 1872, p. 329, No. 9, and p. 388, No. 7. The same form is given by late classical authors, *e.g.* Polyb. xxxii. 20. 4, xxxiii. 12. § 2, 3, 9; Aelian, *Var. Hist.* ii. 41, ed. Hercher; Diod. Sic. xxxi. cc. 32 and 34; fluctuating with Ὀλο- and Ὁλο-, *e.g.* Appian, *Bell. Syr.* p. 118, ed. Stephan. 1592; Diod. Sic. xxxi. 19. § 2, 7, ed. Müller. If Ὀλοφέρνης is the original form, ὀλο- will be Greek = 'destroying' (cf. ὀλοεργής), and -φερνης, Persian = 'brilliance, majesty,' cf. Pherendates, Pharnacos, Artaphernes; the root *fra* = 'shine.' The form Ὀροφ. will then represent the Persian pronunciation of the Greek Ὀλοφ. The aspirated Ὁλοφ is due to confusion with compounds in ὁλο-. The Vulg. form Holofernes is aspirated as in *Hiob*, *Hesther*, *Hierusalem*, etc.

Dante introduces Holofernes in *Purgatorio* xii. 59 as one of the instances of defeated pride in the Circle of the Proud. The following famous representations of Judith and Holofernes in art may be quoted: Botticelli, in the Uffizi, Florence (see Ruskin, *Mornings in Florence*, ch. 3); Michael Angelo, in the Sistine Chapel; Cristoforo Allori, in the Pitti; Paris Bordone; Guido, in the Spada Gallery, Rome; Donatello, statue in the Loggia dei Lanzi, Florence.

LITERATURE.—Scholz, *Das Buch Judith*, Würzburg, 1896.

G. A. COOKE.

HOLON (חֹלֹן).—1. A city of Judah in the Hebron hills, given to the Levites, Jos 15^{51} 21^{15}. In the parallel passage 1 Ch 6^{58} [Heb.^{43}] it is called **Hilen.** It is noticed with Debir, and probably lay W. or S.W. of Hebron. The ruin *Beit Aûla*, in the lower hills west of Hebron, would be a suitable site. See *SWP* vol. iii. sh. xxi. 2. A city of Moab near Heshbon, Jer 48^{21}. Its site has not been recovered. C. R. CONDER.

HOLYDAY.—'That kept holyday' is the tr^{n} in Ps 42^{4} of חוֹגֵג, ptcp. of חָגַג 'to make a pilgrimage,' RV 'keeping holyday.' 'Holyday' also occurs in Col 2^{16} as the tr^{n} of ἑορτή, feast, RV 'feast day.' See FEASTS.

In both places AV of 1611 has two words, 'holy day' in Ps 42^{4}, 'Holy day' in Col 2^{16}; and it would be well, owing to the mod. associations of the word 'holiday,' to keep that form still.

HOLY OF HOLIES, HOLY PLACE.—See TEMPLE.

HOLY ONE.—See GOD, vol. ii. p. 204^{b}, and HOLINESS, vol. ii. p. 398^{a}.

HOLY SPIRIT.—In Christian theology the Holy Spirit is the third Person or eternal distinction within the Unity of God. The following article is an attempt to trace in the progressive revelation vouchsafed to Israel and to the Church the steps which have led to this conception. Our sources are the Old and New Testaments, and the intermediate Jewish writings which illustrate the effect of the OT revelation upon the Jewish people, and prepare us to understand the fuller teaching of the Gospel of Christ.

A. Old Testament.
- i. Use of the terms 'Spirit,' 'Spirit of God,' 'Holy Spirit.'
- ii. Work of the Spirit of God in—
  - (*a*) Creation.
  - (*b*) Intellectual life.
  - (*c*) Prophetic inspiration.
  - (*d*) Anointing the Messiah.
  - (*e*) Moral and religious life of men.
- iii. Relation of the Holy Spirit to the Life of God.
- iv. Signs of progress in the teaching of the OT.

B. Apocrypha and other pre-Christian Jewish writings.
- i. Palestinian thought.
- ii. Alexandrian thought.

C. New Testament.
- i. Names and titles of the Holy Spirit.
- ii. Historical events revealing the relation of the Spirit to Christ and to the Church.
  - (*a*) Revival of prophecy at the time of the Incarnation.
  - (*b*) Work of the Spirit in reference to the Incarnate life—
    - (α) Conception.
    - (β) Baptism.
    - (γ) Ministry.
  - (*c*) Work of the Spirit in reference to the life of the Church—
    - (α) Gift to the Apostles.
    - (β) Effusion on the Church.
    - (γ) Results, temporary and permanent.
- iii. Direct teaching on the Person and Work of the Spirit.
  - (*a*) Teaching of Christ—
    - (α) In the Synoptic narrative.
    - (β) In the Fourth Gospel.
    - (γ) In the form of baptism.
  - (*b*) Teaching of the Apostles and first Disciples—
    - (α) In the Acts and Catholic Epistles.
    - (β) In the Pauline Epistles.
    - (γ) In the Apocalypse.

Summary.
Literature.

A. THE OLD TESTAMENT.—i. The word רוּחַ, in LXX πνεῦμα, but also ἄνεμος (about 50 times), θυμός (5 times), πνοή (4 times), ψυχή (twice), etc., belongs to a root רוח *flavit, spiravit*, used only in the Hiph. (הֵרִיחַ *olfecit*, *e.g.* Gn 8^{21}). In OT רוּחַ signifies (1) the breath of the atmosphere, wind: Gn 3^{8} (לְרוּחַ הַיּוֹם = LXX τὸ δειλινόν, Aq. ἐν τῷ ἀνέμῳ τῆς ἡμέρας, Symm. διὰ πνεύματος ἡμ.), Nu 11^{31}, Job 4^{15} 41^{16}, Jer 2^{24} 14^{6}; (2) the breath of man. Since the human breath is at once an indication of animal life, and a vehicle of thought and passion, the word is also used to represent (3) the principle of vitality, in the phrase ר׳ חַיִּים (Gn 6^{17} $7^{15.\,22}$), or absolutely, as in Gn 45^{27}, 1 K 10^{5}, Job 12^{10} 34^{14}, Ps 104^{29}, Ec 3^{19} 12^{7}; (4) the life of passion (Gn 41^{8}, Nu 5^{14}, 2 S 21^{5}, Pr 25^{28}), or of thought and will (Dt 34^{9}, Job 15^{2} 32^{8}, Jer 51^{11}); (5) the spiritual element in human nature (Nu 27^{16}, Ps 31^{5}, Ec 12^{7}); lastly, from the sphere of human nature the word (6) passes into that of the divine. In anthropomorphic descriptions of the life of God it retains its primary sense; God's displeasure is the ר׳ אַפּוֹ (Ex 15^{8}, Job 4^{9}, Ps 18^{15}), His power in operation is the ר׳ פִּיו (Ps 33^{6}, Is 11^{4}; cf. 2 Th 2^{8}). But the writers of the OT conceive also of a Spirit in God which bears some analogy to the higher life of man; the 'Spirit of Elohim' or 'of J"' (ר׳ אֱלֹהִים, ר׳ יהוה, LXX πνεῦμα θεοῦ, πν. Κυρίου) is repeatedly mentioned in every part of the OT. In a few cases, it is true, this phrase may be interpreted of the wind which God sends on the earth (Ex 15^{10}, 1 K 18^{12}, 2 K 2^{16}, Is 40^{7} 59^{19}, Hos 13^{15}), or of the human breath or spirit as deriving its origin from God (Job 27^{3}; cf. Gn 2^{7}). But these are exceptions; in the great majority of passages the

---

* See Jer 46^{16} 50^{16} חֶרֶב הַיּוֹנָה, LXX μάχαιρα Ἑλληνική. Scholz.

'Spirit of God' is the vital energy of the divine nature, corresponding to the higher vitality of man.* This energy is usually presented in one of its relations to man or to the world, *e.g.* as a creative or vitalizing force (Gn 1^{2}, Job 26^{13}, Is 32^{15}), or as propagating or sustaining created life (Job 34^{14}, cf. 10^{12}, Ps 104^{30}); as the source of reason and intellect in man (Job 32^{8}), and in particular of special gifts and endowments (Gn 41^{38}, Ex 28^{3} 31$^{3.\,6}$ 35^{31}), such as the artistic skill of Bezalel (Ex 36$^{1f.}$), the military tact of Joshua (Dt 34^{9}), the heroism of the Judges (Jg 13^{25} 14^{6} etc.), the wisdom of Solomon (1 K 3^{28}); as the well-spring of inspiration in the Hebrew lawgivers, poets, and prophets (Nu 11$^{17.\,25f.\,29}$, 2 S 23^{2}, 1 K 22^{24}, Ezk 11^{5}, Dn 4$^{8.\,9}$ 5^{11}), and of moral purity and strength and penitence (Neh 9^{20}, Ps 51^{11}, Is 63$^{10f.}$, Ezk 36$^{26f.}$, Zec 12^{10}). Especially is the energy of the Divine Spirit connected with the mission and work of the Messiah (Is 11$^{1f.}$ 61$^{1f.}$), on whom, as the prophets foresaw, it was to rest in the fulness of strength and goodness.†

ii. These aspects of the working of the Divine Spirit must be separately examined.

(*a*) *Creative and conservative Operations in Nature.*—In the cosmogony of Gn 1 the Spirit of God broods—מְרַחֶפֶת—over the formless cosmic matter, before the cosmos begins to emerge out of chaos. The Greek versions render the verb by ἐπεφέρετο or ἐπιφερόμενον (Vulg. *ferebatur*), understanding by ר׳ מְרַחֶפֶת a wind sweeping over the abyss (cf. Ac 2^{2}). But the verb suggests another image, that of the bird brooding over her nest: see Delitzsch, *ad loc.*, and cf. Dt 32^{11}; *Chagigah*, ed. Streane, p. 84; Basil. M. *Hom. in Hexaem.* 2, τὸ ἐπεφέρετο (φησὶν [Σύρος τις]) ἐξηγοῦνται ἀντὶ τοῦ Συνέθαλπε καὶ ἐζωογόνει τὴν τῶν ὑδάτων φύσιν κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς ἐπῳαζούσης ὄρνιθος καὶ ζωτικήν τινα δύναμιν ἐνιείσης τοῖς ὑποθαλπομένοις. This metaphor suits the secondary rather than the primary meaning of רוּחַ; it is not the wind, but the divine energy that is regarded as vitalizing the germs which the Divine Word is about to call forth. This conception of the co-operation of the Spirit and the Word is 'specially characteristic of the OT' (Cheyne, *Origin of the Psalter*, p. 322; cf. Ps 33^{6}). It rests on the relation of the breath to the voice, but its significance is not limited by that analogy. The Breath of God vitalizes what the Word creates. Moreover, its vitalizing energy is continuous; it conserves, renews, or withdraws life, in the ceaseless processes of nature (Job 33^{4}, Ps 33^{6} 104^{30}). Thus the OT already justifies the epithet τὸ ζωοποιόν, applied to the Divine Spirit by the Church in the 'Nicene' Creed.

(*b*) *Bestowal of intellectual gifts.*—'The LORD God . . . breathed into [man's] nostrils the breath of life' (נִשְׁמַת־חַיִּים, πνοὴν ζωῆς), by virtue of which he 'became a living soul' (נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה, Gn 2^{7}). This ἐμφύσησις (cf. Jn 20^{22}) represents the Breath of God as originating the personal life of man, together with the intellectual and spiritual powers which distinguish it from the life of the mere animal (ר׳ הַבְּהֵמָה Ec 3^{21}). As the sacred Books proceed, they reveal the same Force lying behind the special endowments which mark off man from man. The Divine Spirit is said to be 'in' (Gn 41^{38}, Nu 27^{18}) or 'upon' (Nu 11$^{17f.}$ 24^{2}) the man who possesses exceptional powers of any kind; he is what he is, because he is filled with the spirit of wisdom and understanding (πνεῦμα θεῖον σοφίας, Ex 31^{3}; πν. αἰσθήσεως, συνέσεως, Ex 28^{3} 35^{31}, Dt 34^{9}).

(*c*) *Inspiration of the Prophets.*—One gift stands out as pre-eminently due to the presence in man of the Spirit of God. The 'prophet' (נָבִיא, LXX mostly προφήτης; on the etymology of the Heb. word see W. R. Smith, *Prophets of Israel*, p. 390 f.), or 'seer' (רֹאֶה), as he was called till after the age of Samuel (1 S 9^{9}), was in an especial sense the man of the Spirit (אִישׁ הָרוּחַ, ἄνθρωπος ὁ πνευματοφόρος, Hos 9^{7}), Vulg. *vir spiritualis.* It has been said that 'the ideal of the OT is a dispensation in which all are prophets' (W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} p. 291, citing Nu 11^{29}); and the title of prophet is given to Abraham (Gn 20^{7}) and Moses (Dt 18^{15}), while it is withheld from Balaam, in whom, though 'the Spirit of God came upon' him (Nu 24^{2}), the sacred writers recognize a diviner (τὸν μάντιν, Jos 13^{22}) rather than a true seer. The true prophet is one who is lifted up by the Spirit of God into communion with Him, so that he is enabled to interpret the divine will, and to act as a medium of communication between God and men. The prophetic gift belonged to the nation, as the elect people; but it was realized in its highest degree only by those whose characters and lives fitted them for personal intercourse with God. The professional prophet seems sometimes scarcely to have risen above the level of μαντική (1 S 10$^{5f.}$ 19$^{20f.}$); the change of 'heart' promised to Saul (10$^{6.\,9}$) is clearly not of a moral or spiritual kind. On the other hand, the prophets who taught Israel and Judah from the 8th cent. onwards have left us the clearest evidence of a genuine inspiration in the elevation and penetration of their teaching, and the revelation of a spiritual religion which their writings contain. No other national literature presents such a phenomenon. It is attributed by the prophets themselves to the Spirit of God; cf. *e.g.* 2 S 23^{2} (where see Driver's note), Ezk 2^{2} 3$^{12.\,14}$ etc., Mic 3^{8}, and the frequent appeals to a divine source, such as the repeated כֹּה אָמַר יהוה of Is, and וַיְהִי דְבַר־יהוה in Jer.

(*d*) *Anointing the Messiah.*—The Davidic King, in whom the elect nation was to find its crown and consummation, must, as the first Isaiah foresaw (Is 11^{2}), receive all the gifts of the Divine Spirit in their fulness: 'the spirit of wisdom and understanding (intellectual gifts), of counsel and power (practical powers), of the knowledge and fear of J″' (religious endowments). In the strength of this abiding presence (ἀναπαύσεται ἐπ' αὐτὸν πνεῦμα θεοῦ) the Second David will show Himself to be the perfect King. It is remarkable that Deutero-Isaiah foretells a similar equipment of the 'Servant of the LORD,' the ideal Israel. 'I have put my Spirit upon him' is J″'s assurance (42^{1}), and the Servant answers, 'The LORD God hath sent me, and his Spirit' (48^{16}, cf., however, Delitzsch, *ad loc.*); 'the Spirit of the LORD God is upon me, because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek' (61$^{1f.}$). The ideal Prophet no less than the ideal King needs the fulness of the Spirit, and, when He comes, shall receive it. If, as some think (Kirkpatrick, *Doctrine of the Prophets*, p. 400), the prophet himself and not the Servant of J″ is the speaker in the last passage, the ultimate reference is still to the highest fulfilment of the prophetic office (Lk 4^{21}). The Spirit is the χρίσμα which makes the Christ (מָשַׁח יהוה אֹתִי).

(*e*) *Moral and religious Elevation.*—The ethical side of the Spirit's work comes into view in the teaching of the psalmists and prophets. In Ps 51^{11} the Spirit is described as רוּחַ־קָדְשְׁךָ, LXX τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον, *i.e.* the energizing principle of the divine holiness (Cheyne, *Origin of the Psalter*, p. 322; on the idea of 'holiness,' see Kirkpatrick, *Doctrine*, etc. p. 173 f.),—a title found again in Is 63$^{10.\,11}$. In the Psalm this Divine Spirit of holiness is apparently regarded as imparting to the individual Israelite dispositions which may bring him nearer to the character of God, the 'clean heart' and 'steadfast spirit'; in the prophetic passage it is represented as having dwelt in the elect nation from the days of the Exodus (cf. Neh 9[20], Hag 2[5]), and as grieved by their rebellions against its guidance. Nor was the moral guidance of the Spirit limited to Israel, if we may adopt the common interpretation of Gn 6[3], which represents the Spirit of J″ as judging, ruling, and working in men before the Flood; but the sense of יָדוֹן is uncertain (*Oxf. Heb. Lex.* p. 192), and the ethical application is at least doubtful (Delitzsch, *ad loc.*). It is certain, however, that the prophets foresee a large extension of the moral operations of the Divine Spirit in the days of the Messianic kingdom (Jer 31[31ff.], Ezk 36[26f.]), and the prophecy of Joel (2[28]) speaks of an outpouring of the Spirit 'upon all flesh,' which, although it is conceived under the image of a general bestowment of the gift of prophecy, pointed, in St. Peter's judgment (Ac 2[16f.]), to the Pentecostal effusion, which brought with it the setting up of the kingdom of God in the hearts of men of all nations.

---

* 'It is, in fact, the divine working rather than the divine nature that the Hebrew Scriptures regard as spiritual' (W. R. Smith, *Prophets of Israel*, p. 61).

† '*The* Holy Spirit' is not an OT expression, and '*His*' or '*Thy* Holy Spirit' occurs only in Is 63$^{10.\,11}$, Ps 51^{11}.

A difficulty arises from the mention in the historical books of an 'evil spirit sent by or proceeding from J″' (Jg 9[23], 1 S 16[14] [מֵאֵת י״] 18[10], 1 K 22[21f.] [וַיֵּצֵא הָרוּחַ, נָתַן י״ ר׳ שֶׁקֶר], 2 Ch 18[20ff.]), and even of an 'evil spirit of God' (1 S 19[9] LXX *πνεῦμα θεοῦ πονηρόν*). Schultz (*OT Theol.* ii. 205, 270) contends that the Spirit is in all cases the same, the Spirit of God working good or evil according to the character of the man on whom it operates. But it is incredible that the sacred writers intend to identify the 'good Spirit' of God (Ps 143[10]) with the power which inspired Saul with jealousy and the prophets of Ahab with lying words. The evil spirit is *from* God and is God's, inasmuch as it is His creature and under His control; but it is not His personal energy. As Wellhausen (on 1 S 16[14]) points out, the expression ר׳ יהוה is apparently limited to the good Spirit, which is the operative presence of J″ Himself.

iii. 'The Spirit of God' as revealed in the OT is 'God exerting power' (A. B. Davidson on Ezk 36[27]). On this account it is invested with personal qualities, and personal acts are ascribed to it. If the truth, mercy, and light of God are partly hypostatized by the Psalmist (Ps 43[3] 57[3] etc.; see Cheyne, *Origin*, etc. p. 322), the Spirit of God, the principle of life which resides in the depth of the Divine Nature, and represents the Divine presence in the world and in man, is necessarily regarded as quasi-personal; it broods, rules, speaks, guides, quickens, because it is the living energy of a personal God. The Spirit of J″ is personal, inasmuch as the Spirit is God (Ps 139[7], Is 63[9. 10]). There is, besides, a quasi-independence ascribed to the Spirit, which approaches to a recognition of distinct personality (cf. *e.g.* Is 48[16]), especially in passages where the Spirit and the Word are contrasted (Schultz, ii. p. 184). But the distinction applies only to the external activities of these two divine forces; the concept of a distinction of Persons within the Being of God belongs to a later revelation.

iv. It may be asked whether a progress can be observed in the OT doctrine of the Spirit. On the one hand, certain points are clear from the first: the Pentateuch in its oldest parts reveals the Spirit of God as the source and support of the higher life in man, and as endowing him with intellectual gifts, and in particular with the gift of prophecy. All this belongs to the teaching of JE, while P adds that the Spirit at the first vitalized the cosmos. Even in pre-exilic times the Spirit is revealed as the quasi-personal energy of God in man and the world. The greatest prophet of the 8th cent. already recognizes the office of the Spirit as the Anointer of the Messiah (Is 11[2ff.]). But as the revelation proceeds, the ethical character of the Spirit's influence on man comes more distinctly into view. The higher view of prophecy, as contrasted with mere soothsaying, appears first in Deuteronomy (see Driver on Dt 18[9-22]); and it is to the period of the Exile and the days that followed it that we must probably attribute the thought of the Spirit as the regenerating and directing force in human nature, and of its operations as about to be extended to men who lay beyond the circle of kings and prophets, and beyond the fold of Israel (for the date of Ps 51, cf. W. R. Smith, *OTJC*², p. 440; Kirkpatrick, *Psalms*, ii. p. 284; and for the date of Joel, see Driver, Camb. Bible, *Joel and Amos*, p. 11 ff.).

B. THE APOCRYPHA OF OT AND OTHER JEWISH LITERATURE.—i. In the non-canonical literature of Palestine, references to the Divine Spirit are rare, and when they occur are little else than echoes—sometimes broken and imperfect echoes—of the canonical teaching. The religious man is filled with the spirit of understanding (Sir 39[6]; cf. Is 11[2]); on the ungodly God sends the spirit of error (Ps-Sol 8[15]; cf. Is 19[14]). The youth Daniel, seized by righteous indignation at the miscarriage of justice in the case of Susanna, is represented as having his holy spirit (*τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον παιδαρίου*) stirred within him by the act of God, or as suddenly endowed with the spirit of wisdom by the angel of the Lord (Sus [45], Theod., LXX). The son of David is to be mighty in the Holy Spirit (*δυνατὸν ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ*, Ps-Sol 17[42]); but, as the Cambridge editors of the Psalms of Solomon point out, there is in this no approach to a belief in a personal Spirit of God, although the use of *τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον* and *πν. ἅγιον* (first in Ps 50 [51][13], Is 63[11], LXX) is interesting as an anticipation of NT phraseology. The above list nearly exhausts the references to the Holy Spirit in the Palestinian books. The growing angelology of the Pharisees (see Edersheim, *Life and Times*, ii. p. 748) may possibly have obscured the biblical conception of the Divine Spirit as the operative force in nature and in man: thus in the Book of Enoch (60[12f.], ed. Charles, p. 156) the powers of nature are represented as wielded by created spirits, amongst whom they have been distributed; God is the 'Lord of Spirits,' but of a ruling Spirit of God no mention is made. To the later Jews the Holy Spirit was chiefly the spirit of prophecy (Cheyne, *Origin*, p. 333); they recognized that David spake by the Holy Spirit (Mk 12[36]), while they attributed the works of Christ to the operation of a *πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον* (Mk 3[30]). Of the inspiration of Scripture they entertained the strongest belief; although the Torah possessed unique authority, all the books of the Canon were sacred (*αἱ ἱεραὶ βίβλοι, τὰ ἱερὰ βιβλία*, Josephus, Philo; see the reff. in Ryle, *Canon of the OT*, p. 291); it was realized that the prophets were taught by a divine *afflatus* (Jos. *c. Ap.* i. 8, *τῶν προφητῶν τὰ μὲν ἀνώτατα καὶ παλαιότατα κατὰ τὴν ἐπίπνοιαν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μαθόντων*; cf. *Ant.* IV. vi. 5, VI. viii. 2). But when prophecy ceased, it seemed as if the presence of the Divine Spirit had been suspended or withdrawn.

ii. At Alexandria, on the other hand, the old consciousness of the perpetual activity of the Spirit of God survived, associating itself with the philosophical thought of Hellenism and growing under its influence into new forms of belief. The Book of Wisdom recalls the teaching of the OT as to the omnipresence of the Spirit (1[7], *πνεῦμα Κυρίου πεπλήρωκεν τὸν κόσμον*, 12[1] *τὸ γὰρ ἄφθαρτόν σου πνεῦμά ἐστιν ἐν πᾶσιν*), its conservating and sustaining power in nature (1[7] *τὸ συνέχον τὰ πάντα*), its special relation to man, as the author of his spiritual nature (15[11]), and of his intellectual endowments and religious knowledge (7[7] *ἐπεκαλεσάμην καὶ ἦλθέν* *μοι πνεῦμα σοφίας*, 9^{17} *βουλὴν δέ σου τίς ἔγνω, εἰ μὴ σὺ ἔδωκας σοφίαν καὶ ἔπεμψας τὸ ἅγιόν σου πνεῦμα ἀπὸ ὑψίστων*;). This connexion of Wisdom with the Spirit appears in the canonical books, but in Alexandrian Jewish thought it is carried further. The Spirit is sometimes identified with Wisdom (1$^{5f.}$ *ἅγιον γὰρ πνεῦμα παιδείας . . . φιλάνθρωπον γὰρ πνεῦμα σοφία . . . ὅτι πνεῦμα Κυρίου*, where the linking of the clauses seems to leave no doubt as to the author's meaning ; cf. 9^{17}), sometimes regarded as its indwelling power (7$^{22f.}$ *ἔστιν γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ πνεῦμα νοερόν, ἅγιον, μονογενές . . . παντοδύναμον, παντεπίσκοπον*). The Alexandrian doctrine of the Spirit finds its completion in Philo. The Spirit of God, he says, is *ἡ ἀκήρατος σοφία ἧς πᾶς ὁ σοφὸς εἰκότως μετέχει* (*Gig.* 5 f.). Indivisible in itself, it can be distributed and communicated like fire from torch to torch. In a sense the Spirit comes to all men, since even the worst of men have their moments of inspiration, their glimpses of better and higher things; with a few, the wisest and the best, the divine *afflatus* abides, and they become the 'hierophants' and instructors of their kind (*Gig.* 12). Philo's conception of the prophet reverts largely to the Platonic *ἐνθουσιασμός* (*Tim.* 71 D). The prophet is simply the interpreter of the divine voice, and so long as he is under divine influence he cannot exercise his reason, for he has made over the citadel of his soul to the Divine Spirit, which is in full possession of it (*De spec. legg.* 8, *καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἐνθουσιᾷ . . . μετανισταμένου μὲν τοῦ λογισμοῦ καὶ παρακεχωρηκότος τὴν μὲν ψυχῆς ἀκρόπολιν, ἐπιπεφοιτηκότος δὲ καὶ ἐνῳκηκότος τοῦ θείου πνεύματος*: cf. *Quis rer. div. her.* 53, and other passages quoted by Sanday, *Inspiration*, p. 74 f.). This mechanical inspiration was shared, according to Philo, even by the Alexandrian translators of the OT (*Vit. Mos.* ii. 7, *καθάπερ ἐνθουσιῶντες προεφήτευον*). Of the ethical aspect of the Spirit's work in man, Philo has little to say, except that its function is to promote clearness of mental vision and capacity for the intellectual knowledge of God, and that it fulfils this mission either by purifying and elevating, or, as in the case of the prophet, by superseding the natural faculties. Of the Spirit as restoring the moral nature of man we hear nothing; the writings of Philo contain no reference to Ps 51$^{10f.}$ or Ezk 36^{26} (cf. Ryle, *Philo and Holy Scripture*, p. 291 ff.). The omission may be partly due to the circumstance that he employs himself chiefly about the Pentateuch, but it is more probably to be traced to the predominance of the intellectual interest in Alexandrian thought.

C. THE NEW TESTAMENT.—i. The NT adopts the phrases used in reference to the Divine Spirit by the Greek translators of the OT. Thus we find in the NT as in the OT the terms *τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον* (*πνεῦμα ἅγιον*), *τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ*, or *πνεῦμα θεοῦ, πν. Κυρίου*, or simply *τὸ πνεῦμα*, or in certain contexts the anarthrous *πνεῦμα*. But they are used in quite different proportions: thus *τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον* (*πν. ἅγ.*), found in the Greek OT only in Ps 51 and Is 63, occurs in the NT between 80 and 90 times, while *τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ* (*πν. θεοῦ, Κυρίου*), the normal expression in the LXX, is comparatively rare in NT. Moreover, the writers of the NT employ phrases which are unknown to the LXX ; the Spirit of God is further defined as the 'Spirit of the Father' (Mt 10^{20}), 'the Spirit of his Son' (Gal 4^{6}), the 'Spirit of Jesus' or 'of Christ' (Ac 16^{7}, Ro 8^{9}, Ph 1^{19}, 1 P 1^{11}). In a few instances the plural is used to denote the various gifts or *μερισμοί* (He 2^{4}) of the one Spirit; *e.g.* 1 Co 14^{32}, Rev 1^{4} 4^{5} 5^{6} 22^{6}. New attributes are assigned to the Spirit, corresponding to new gifts bestowed upon men ; we read not only of the spirit of wisdom (Ac 6$^{3.\ 10}$), but of the spirit of truth (Jn 14^{17} 15^{26} 16^{13}), of life (Ro 8^{2}), of grace (He 10^{29}), of sonship (*τῆς υἱοθεσίας*, Ro 8^{15}). Above all, the Spirit receives a personal name, which it shares with the Son of God in His historical manifestation (Jn 14^{16} *ἄλλον παράκλητον* ; 14^{26} 15^{26} 16^{7} *ὁ παράκλητος*). These facts warn us that in passing from OT to NT we may expect a fuller theology of the Spirit.

ii. The new light which is thrown upon the subject by the Christian revelation is largely historical. (*a*) The gospel history opens with an outburst of prophecy. As the moment of the Incarnation drew near, men and women in Israel found themselves lifted up by the Spirit into new regions of thought and endowed with new powers of expression. The movement began in the family of a priest. A child was born of whom it was foretold that he should 'be filled with the Holy Spirit from his mother's womb' (Lk 1$^{15.\ 80}$) ; and the inspiration was shared by his parents (Lk 1$^{41.\ 67}$). Others were touched by the same current of divine energy—Simeon, to whom there came an oracular warning from the Holy Spirit of the presence of the infant Christ (Lk 2$^{25f.}$ *πνεῦμα ἦν ἅγιον ἐπ' αὐτόν, καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ κεχρηματισμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος, κ.τ.λ.*) ; Hannah, the daughter of Phanuel, who was accounted a prophetess (*προφῆτις*, Lk 2^{36}). Such a revival of prophetic gifts had not occurred since the days of Ezra and Nehemiah ; even the Maccabæan age had looked for it in vain (1 Mac 4^{46} 14^{41}).

(*b*) The new prophecy proclaimed the advent of the Messiah, partly preparing His way, partly welcoming and announcing Him when He came. But the chief outpouring of the Spirit was on the Messiah Himself. It fulfilled itself in two miraculous events—the Conception and the Baptism ; the first introductory to the human life of the Christ, the second to His ministry and Messianic work.

(*α*) Two Gospels relate in independent yet not inconsistent narratives the miracle of the Conception and Virgin Birth (see Gore, *Dissertations*, p. 36 f.). In both it is ascribed to the Holy Spirit (Lk 1^{35}, Mt 1$^{18.\ 20}$). Both contexts are conceived in the spirit of the OT and belong to the earliest age of Christianity, when the fullest teaching of the gospel had not yet been assimilated. We shall therefore probably be right in interpreting *πνεῦμα ἅγιον* here in its OT sense, as the power of God in active exercise, although we may believe that the Church has rightly identified this power with the personal Holy Ghost revealed by Christ. It is not without significance that in both Gospels the power which wrought the Conception is described as *πνεῦμα ἅγιον* rather than as *πνεῦμα θεοῦ* or *Κυρίου*. The Holy Spirit sanctified the Flesh which it united with the Word (Lk 1^{35} *διὸ καὶ τὸ γεννώμενον ἅγιον κληθήσεται*). Not only was 'the new departure in human life,' which began with the birth of the Second Adam (Gore, *Diss.* p. 65), fitly preceded by a directly creative act, but the new humanity was consecrated at the moment of its conception by the overshadowing of the Divine Spirit. The Conception was therefore truly 'immaculate' ; that which was conceived, although true flesh, was free from the taint of human corruption. It is worth while to notice, in passing, that the Gospels do not hint at an immaculate conception of the mother of the Lord ; the special illapse of the Spirit is limited, so far as we can learn, to the conception of her Son. (On the miraculous conception as an article of the Christian faith the reader may consult Pearson, *On the Creed*, art. iii., and, on the early history of the doctrine, the present writer's *Apostles' Creed*, iv.).

(*β*) The Holy Spirit did not leave the sacred humanity which it had sanctified in the moment of conception ; the childhood of Jesus was filled with a strength and wisdom which were the marks of a special grace (Lk 2^{40} *τὸ δὲ παιδίον . . ἐκραταιοῦτο* *πληρούμενον σοφίᾳ, καὶ χάρις θεοῦ ἦν ἐπ' αὐτό*; cf. v.^{52}). But in or about His thirtieth year (*ἦν . . ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα*) a stage was reached when a new illapse of the Spirit on the Second Adam became necessary. The first had sanctified His humanity, the second was to consecrate His official life. It came in connexion with the baptism of John. With the majority of the religious Israelites of His generation, Jesus went to be baptized. As He rose from the Jordan, the sign was given by which the Baptist knew Him to be the Messiah (Jn 1^{33}); John saw the Spirit descend in the form of a dove and rest upon Him. Mr. F. C. Conybeare (*Expositor*, IV. ix. p. 455) cites Philo to show that the dove was the accepted symbol in Alexandrian thought of the divine reason or wisdom, and concludes that the evangelists have converted a metaphor into a fact. But the evangelists—the Synoptists in any case—were strangers to Alexandrian symbolism, and they limit themselves to what they believed to be matters of fact. In this case the fact depends on the eye-witness of the Baptist, attested by his disciple, St. John. The evangelists, however, guard against the impression that the Spirit assumed a material form (Mt *ὡσεὶ περιστεράν*, Mk, Lk, Jn *ὡς π.*); even St. Luke's *σωματικῷ εἴδει* does not involve this inference. The appearance, whether real or subjective, was doubtless symbolical, but the symbol rests on the OT. It carries our thoughts back to the birdlike motion attributed to the Spirit in Gn 1^{2}. At the baptism of Jesus the Spirit of God brooded a second time over the waters, to vivify a new creation by resting on the new Head of mankind. If the symbolism of the dove is to be pressed, it may be taken to indicate the character of the Lord's ministry and of the kingdom of heaven (Mt 10^{16}).

The illapse at the baptism was regarded by the first generation as the anointing of the Christ (Ac 10^{38} *ἔχρισεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ δυνάμει*). In the historical books of the OT הַמָּשִׁיחַ, LXX *ὁ χριστός*, is the title of the priest (Lv $4^{3.\ 5.\ 16}$ 6^{15}), and the king (1 S 12^{3} etc.), who were admitted to their respective offices by the ceremony of unction. In the Psalms and Prophets the title is specially given to the Davidic king (Ps 2^{2} 17^{54} 19^{6} etc.), or to a king raised up by God for a certain work (Is 45^{1} *τῷ χριστῷ μου Κύρῳ*), or to Israel regarded as the servant of the Lord, or to a prophet who speaks in His name (Is 61^{1}). But when the form of the Second David took shape in the inspired thought of the Prophet and the expectations of the Jewish people, it was to the future king of Israel that the name was usually applied. The Psalms of Solomon already speak of 'the Lord Christ' (17^{36} $18^{\text{tit.}}$, see Ryle and James, note on 17^{36}), and the Gospels show that at the time of the advent the Christ was expected both by Jews (*e.g.* Jn 1^{20}) and Samaritans (Jn 4^{25}). The Jewish Messiah, however, was chiefly the anointed king; the conception of Messiah as the Prophet was less distinct, and that of a Christ-Priest (*ἱερεὺς ὁ χριστός*, Lv $4^{5.\ 10}$ 6^{22}) entirely wanting, until it presented itself to the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews (Stanton, *Jewish and Christian Messiah*, p. 293 ff.). Yet the Church has rightly seen that the work to which the Messiah was anointed was sacerdotal and prophetic as well as regal. The baptism, with the descent of the Spirit, was the consecration of Jesus to the Messianic office in all the fulness of its functions and powers. Some of the Fathers find the moment of the Messianic unction in the miraculous Conception (so Gregory of Nazianzus expounds Ps 45^{7}, and see Aug. *De Trin.* xv. 46, cited by Mason, *Baptism and Confirmation*, p. 94), but the earlier interpretation fixes upon the Baptism: see Iren. III. ix. 3, 'Verbum Dei . . qui est Jesus . . qui et assumpsit carnem et unctus est a Patre Spiritu, Jesus Christus factus est'; cf. Jerome on Is 61.* The Gnostic schools exaggerated the importance of the Baptism, confusing the descending Spirit with the pre-existent Christ and ignoring the miraculous Conception. But if the Incarnate life began with the overshadowing of Mary, the official Messianic life dates from the Baptism (cf. Pearson, art. ii.). (*γ*) From that moment Jesus began His Christ-work (Lk 3^{23} *ἦν Ἰ. ἀρχόμενος*), and in the oldest record of the ministry it is regarded as the *ἀρχὴ εὐαγγελίου* (Mk $1^{1.\ 9}$). Henceforth His life is full of the manifested workings of the Spirit, in whose energy the evangelists find the source of the teaching, miracles, and entire ministry of the Christ (Mk 1^{12}, Lk $4^{1.\ 14}$, Mt 12^{28}, Ac 1^{2}). Some of these revealed relations between the Holy Spirit and the ministry of Christ are of special interest. Immediately after the baptism the Spirit impelled Him to meet the Tempter in the wilderness (Mt, *ἀνήχθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος*; Mk, *τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτὸν ἐκβάλλει*). The conquest of evil being at once the first responsibility of the Second Adam, and the first step in the redemption of the race, it was the first work of the Spirit in the Christ. The Spirit of God in man was shown to be the power by which the spirit of evil is to be overcome: 'every victory won' is 'His alone.' To the Holy Spirit also our Lord attributes His power to cast out unclean spirits from the possessed (Mt 12^{28}). We may extend the saying to His other miracles (cf. Jn 14^{10} *ὁ δὲ πατὴρ ἐν ἐμοὶ μένων* [*i.e.* by the Spirit] *ποιεῖ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ*). When in the 5th cent. Nestorius unduly pressed this point, Cyril of Alexandria guarded the doctrine of the Incarnation by insisting that the Spirit by which Christ wrought was His own, and not an imparted power, foreign to His personal life (*Anath.* 9). Nevertheless, the truth remains that the Spirit, who is one with the Son in the Divine Unity, was imparted to His humanity, and strengthened it with supernatural power. The same is true of Christ's teaching; the Lord Himself ascribes it to the anointing Spirit (Lk $4^{18\text{f.}}$). As the supreme prophet He spoke in the power of the Spirit, not at intervals as other prophets, but whenever He opened His lips to teach. Yet behind the human faculties which were guided by the Spirit, was the eternal Word in personal fellowship with the Father; His formula is not that of the old prophets, 'Thus saith the Lord,' but one which expressed personal authority, 'Verily I say unto you.'

(*c*) The Spirit descended on the Second Adam to abide (Jn $1^{32.\ 33}$; contrast Gn 6^{3} LXX). The illapse was not a momentary act, but a new departure in human life, the beginning of a permanent indwelling of the Spirit in man. The 'Gospel of the Hebrews' has rightly seized upon this point: 'descendit fons omnis spiritus sancti et requievit super eum et dixit illi: Fili mi, in omnibus prophetis expectabam te ut venires et requiescerem in te; tu es enim requies mea.' But the Baptist's testimony reaches further. The Spirit became immanent in the Sacred Humanity, that it might be communicated through the Christ to mankind. Jesus was baptized with the Spirit, that He might baptize the world therewith (Jn 1^{33}; cf. Mt 3^{11}, Mk 1^{8}, Lk 3^{16}). The experience of the first generation of believers showed that this hope was realized; Christians shared Christ's unction (1 Jn 2^{20}), and the unction abode in them, as it abode in Christ (v.^{27}). This conviction was expressed in the early use of unction in connexion with Christian baptism (Tert. *De bapt.* 7; Cypr. *Ep.* 70; Cyr. Hier. *Cat. myst.* ii.).

Two historical events mark the extension of the Messianic unction to the Church. (α) On the night that followed the Resurrection Christ communicated the Spirit to the apostles (Jn 20^{22} *ἐνεφύσησεν καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς Λάβετε πνεῦμα ἅγιον*). The act which accompanied the gift clearly looks back to Gn 2^{7}; a new spirit was breathed into humanity by the risen Lord. He began with the apostles, quickening them by communicating His own Spirit, that they might be prepared to carry on His work (*καθὼς ἀπέσταλκέν με ὁ πατήρ, κἀγὼ πέμπω ὑμᾶς*). The gift 'answers to the power of the Resurrection' (Westcott, citing Godet): it is primarily the quickening of the spiritual life of the apostles, but it is conferred with special reference to the work which lies before them. There is therefore no necessity to interpret *λάβετε* as if it were *λήμψεσθε* (Theodore of Mopsuestia), and to refer it to the Pentecostal effusion. The apostles received on Easter night the first-fruits of the new life of the Spirit secured to the Church by the Lord's Resurrection, and were thus consecrated and endowed for their great ministry. Their successors were, potentially at least, included in the gift, and the Western Church of the Middle Ages rightly saw in the words *Accipite Spiritum sanctum* the promise of all ministerial power (Hooker, *Eccles. Pol.* V. lxxvii. 5).

---

* Pearson points out that the two views are not necessarily inconsistent, referring to the double unction received by David (1 S 16^{13}, 2 S 2^{4}, 5^{3}).

(β) If the Resurrection brought the quickening power of the Spirit to the Eleven and to those who should succeed them in the ministry of the word, the Ascension was followed by the outpouring of the fulness of the Spirit on the Church (Ac $1^{5.8}$ $2^{1ff.}$). As at the baptism of the Christ and the consecration of the apostles, the descent of the Spirit was accompanied by external signs. The dove did not reappear, nor was the breath of Christ felt, but the sound of a great gale (*ἦχος ὥσπερ φερομένης πνοῆς βιαίας*) fell upon the ear, and tongues of flame, darting hither and thither and finally resting on the heads of all, appealed to the eye. The symbolism of the wind had been explained by our Lord (Jn $3^{7.8}$); the fire would remind the apostles of the prediction of the Baptist (Mt 3^{11} etc.). Every detail had its significance. The sound of the rushing wind seemed to fill the house, for the new life was to permeate the whole world. The tongues of fire were self-distributing, and none was left without his portion, for the Spirit divideth to every man as He wills (1 Co 12^{11}), and all believers are made to drink of the same Fountain (*ib.* ^{13}). The gift was at once collective and individual; it was for the whole body, and for each member.

Both from the promise of Christ and from the event, it is clear that the Pentecostal gift marked the beginning of a new era in the history of the Spirit's relations to mankind. The 'dispensation of the Spirit,' which began at the Pentecost after the Crucifixion, was so great an advance on all earlier manifestations that St. John does not hesitate to deny that there had been any gift of the Spirit before it (Jn 7^{39} *οὔπω γὰρ ἦν πνεῦμα*: see Westcott *ad loc.*, and cf. Ac 19^{2}). The new manifestation differed from the old, not in degree only, but in kind; before the Incarnation the Spirit had no abiding place in man; since Pentecost the presence of the Spirit is immanent in the Church (Jn 14^{16}; cf. Cyril. Alex. on Jn 7^{39} *τὴν ὁλοσχερῆ καὶ ὁλόκληρον κατοίκησιν ἐν ἀνθρώποις τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος σημαίνειν αὐτὸν ὑποτοπήσωμεν*). The coming of the Spirit corresponds to the coming of the Son, *mutatis mutandis.* The Son came to unite Himself to human nature, the Spirit came to inhabit it. The Son came to tabernacle amongst men, the Spirit to dwell in them. But with each coming a divine mission began which marks a new departure in God's dealings with mankind.

(γ) The coming of the Spirit, like the coming of the Son, manifested itself at first by supernatural signs. To regard the gifts of tongues as unhistorical (Zeller, Weizsäcker), is permissible only to those who deny the possibility of the miraculous. That the fact is recorded by so careful a historian as Luke, writing within half a century of the event, and with opportunities of investigating the truth of the story which reached back at least twenty years further, may lead us to hesitate before we assent to these views. The *γλωσσολαλία* of Ac 2 may have been, like the wind and the fire, rather a sign of the Spirit's coming and a symbol of His work, than a gift intended to supersede the acquirement of foreign tongues, or even an actual assistance to the apostles in their subsequent preaching. But if we may trust the primitive fragment appended to St. Mark's Gospel, the Lord Himself had promised His disciples some manifestation of this kind ('Mk' 16^{17}); and one of St. Paul's undoubted Epistles leaves no doubt that some form of the manifestation existed in the Church of Corinth (1 Co 12^{28} $13^{1.3}$ $14^{2ff.}$). Further, we have the witness of Irenæus (ap. Eus. *HE* v. 7) that he had himself heard the gift exercised in its Pentecostal form (*πολλῶν ἀκούομεν ἀδελφῶν . . παντοδαπαῖς λαλούντων διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος γλώσσαις*). The gift was, however, singularly open to abuse, and St. Paul seems to have felt that it had nearly fulfilled its purpose, and might soon disappear (1 Co 13^{8}). Prophecy, another Pentecostal gift, if less novel and impressive, fills a larger place in the early history of the Church. On the day of Pentecost, St. Peter claimed that the words in which Joel foretold a great revival and extension of prophecy in the latter days had been fulfilled by the coming of the Spirit (Ac $2^{16f.}$). Prophets accordingly arose in the Apostolic Church (Ac 11^{27} 13^{1} 15^{32} 19^{6} 21^{9}), and took rank next after apostles (1 Co 12^{28}, Eph 2^{20} 3^{5} 4^{11}), in some localities surviving as an order into the second or third generation (*Didache*, 10–13). The new prophecy surpassed in St. Paul's esteem all other spiritual gifts, because of its ethical value (1 Co $14^{1.3.4}$). The NT prophet was the inspired teacher of the first age: if he left no literary remains which can be compared with the writings of the Hebrew prophets, it is difficult to exaggerate his importance in the infancy of the Church, when the local bishops or presbyters were as yet but little qualified to instruct their congregations in the mystery of the gospel, and the apostles' writings were as yet incomplete or imperfectly circulated. But the institution, as St. Paul saw (1 Co 13^{8}), lacked permanence, and it was gradually superseded, notwithstanding the Montanist reaction, by the local ministry, strengthened by the growth of the Episcopate.

One invaluable monument of the spiritual gifts of the first generation has survived to our own time. It was promised that the Holy Spirit should bring to the remembrance of the apostles the words and acts of Christ, and that He should lead them into the whole cycle of Christian truth. The Gospels witness to the fulfilment of the first of these promises; the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse correspond to the second. The literature of the first generation, preserved in the Canon of the NT, bears the impress of an inspiration which we miss when we pass to the Epistles of Clement and 'Barnabas.' It is a standing proof of the reality of the miracle of Pentecost that the first age of the Church should have produced a series of writings which, in the elevation of their spiritual tone and the fruitfulness of their teaching, remain absolutely alone. Side by side with this monument of the Spirit's work must be placed another—the Christian Society, or Catholic Church. As the idea of the Church rose before the mind of St. Paul, he saw in its external form a body which the Spirit of God animated and made one (1 Co 12^{13}, Eph 4^{4}). History has proved his words true. The vitality of the greatest and oldest community in the world witnesses to the divine power which brought it into being. The Church on her part has marked her sense of her dependence on the Spirit by the order of her creed: she believes in her own permanence and life, because she believes in the Holy Ghost. *Credo . . in Spiritum sanctum, sanctam Ecclesiam.*

iii. We turn now from the historical facts connected with the coming of the Spirit to the teaching of Christ and the apostles in reference to the nature and work of the Holy Spirit.

(*a*) (α) With one conspicuous exception, hereafter to be stated, the teaching of Christ upon this subject, so far as it is reported by the Synoptists, goes but a little way beyond that of the OT. He recognizes the inspiration of the OT Scriptures (Mt 22^{43}, Mk 12^{36}, Lk 24$^{25f. 44}$) and His own Messianic unction (Lk 4^{18}, Mt 12^{28}); to ascribe His works to Beelzebul is to blaspheme the Spirit, and therefore to commit an 'eternal sin' (Mk 3^{29}). This saying, viewed in the light of its context (Mt 12^{32}), attributes Deity to the Holy Spirit, but does not on that account exceed the limits of the OT revelation (see above, p. 404). Occasionally, the Synoptic Gospels represent our Lord as looking forward to a fuller coming of the Spirit. The apostles will be inspired to defend themselves before the world (Mt 10^{20}); nay, the Holy Spirit will be given by the Father in heaven to all who ask Him for the gift (Lk 11^{13}). A remarkable reading in St. Luke's recension of the Lord's Prayer gives the petition, *ἐλθέτω τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμά σου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ καθαρισάτω ἡμᾶς* (Chase, *The Lord's Prayer*, etc., 24 f.; Resch, *Agrapha*, p. 398); but it is valuable only as showing the interpretation which the Church put upon the opening clauses of the Prayer.

(β) The Fourth Gospel, however, relates a series of conversations running through the course of our Lord's ministry, which reveal entirely new views of the Spirit's relation to the individual life, to the Church, and to God. The conversation with Nicodemus (Jn 3$^{5-8}$) asserts the principle of the new birth, tracing the beginnings of the spiritual life in men to the Spirit of God, and apparently connecting the birth of the Spirit with the future sacrament of Christian baptism. Similarly, the discourse of Jn 6 speaks of the spiritual food of the new life, which was to be imparted in the mystery of Christ's body and blood. In the conversation with the woman of Samaria (Jn 4^{10}), and the proclamation at the Feast of Tabernacles (Jn 7$^{37f.}$), the Lord directs attention to Himself as the Fountain of the Spirit, from which believers should continually receive, and in turn communicate, fresh supplies of the water of life. The language is mystical, but the evangelist was able after the event to find its fulfilment in the dispensation of the Spirit (Jn 7^{39}, Rev 22^{17}). But the fullest and clearest revelation was reserved for the last discourse on the night before the Passion (Jn 14$^{16. 17. 26}$ 15^{26} 16$^{7. 13}$). It opens with the promise, 'I will pray the Father, and He shall give you another Paraclete, to be with you for ever, the Spirit of truth' (cf. v.^{26} *ὁ δὲ παράκλητος, τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον*, where the identification is complete). The Holy Spirit, then, was to be Christ's substitute and representative on earth, a *vicaria vis* (Tertullian, *Præscr.* 13); and the work assigned to Him is that of an advocate (on *παράκλητος* see Westcott's detached note, and Lightfoot's early work, *On a Fresh Revision of the NT*^{2}, p. 50 f.). No function more characteristic of personal life could have been attributed, and Christ speaks accordingly of the Spirit as *ὁ παράκλητος*, not as *τὸ παράκλητον*,—a choice of gender which is emphasized by the repeated use of the masculine pronoun (*ἐκεῖνος μαρτυρήσει . . ἐκεῖνος ἐλέγξει . . . ἐκεῖνος ἐμὲ δοξάσει.*) But the personality of the Deputy is in fact essential to the Lord's reasoning; no impersonal influence could supply the lack of personal guidance and probation which the apostles would feel when the Lord was taken from them.* It is therefore futile to compare His mode of speaking in this passage with the prosopopœia by which in the OT and Apocrypha the wisdom of God is described as a personal (female) agent. Further, it cannot be maintained that Christ is speaking in Jn 14–16 merely of a new operation of divine power in man (cf. Ps 139^{7}), or of His own Spirit as perpetuating itself in the lives of His disciples. For He proceeds to distinguish the coming Paraclete both from the Father and from Himself: 'the Father will give you another Paraclete . . . the Father will send [him] in my name . . . I will send him from the Father . . . the Spirit of truth which proceedeth from the Father.' The differentiation is perfect; the Spirit is not the Father, nor is He the Son; as a Person, He is distinct from both. Again, we are permitted to learn something as to His relation to both. He is sent by both, but He is sent by the Son from the Father; He proceeds from the Father (*παρὰ τοῦ πατρός*). Although this is scarcely equivalent to the ecclesiastical phrase *ἐκ τοῦ πατρός* (see Westcott, *ad loc.*, and on the origin of the later phrase, cf. Hort, *Two Dissertations*, p. 86 f.), the words used by Christ teach implicitly that the Spirit possesses an eternal relation with the Father upon which His temporal mission rests (cf. Jn 16$^{27. 28}$ with 1^{14}, and Westcott's notes).

The Lord proceeds in the same great discourse to shadow forth the work to which the new Paraclete was about to be sent. His mission would be primarily to the disciples and the Church (Jn 14$^{16. 17}$), in the way of fellowship (*μεθ' ὑμῶν*), presence (*παρ' ὑμῖν*), and indwelling (*ἐν ὑμῖν*); and this threefold relation was to be permanent (*εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*), not, as Christ's historical manifestation, transient (Westcott). His functions would be (1) to carry on the teaching work of Christ, partly by quickening the memories of Christ's immediate followers (Jn 14^{26}), partly by guiding them into new truth, till all had been learnt (Jn 14^{26} 16^{13}), and revealing the new order (Jn 16^{13} *τὰ ἐρχόμενα ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν*); (2) to glorify the Son, as the Son glorifies the Father, by revealing the Son to the Church in the fulness of the divine life (Jn 16$^{14. 15}$). But the Spirit would also have a mission to the world, although it could not discern or recognize Him (14^{17} *οὐ θεωρεῖ αὐτὸ οὐδὲ γινώσκει*). He would co-operate with the Church in bearing witness to Christ (Jn 15$^{26. 27}$), and His witness would carry the force of an irresistible conviction (Jn 16^{8} *ἐλέγξει τὸν κόσμον*) concerning the great facts of human sin, divine righteousness, and the process of judgment by which, from the Advent onwards, the victory of righteousness is being determined.

(γ) The crowning revelation followed the Resurrection, and is recorded by St. Matthew alone (28^{19}). The disciples had been taught that the Divine Spirit is a living Person, and that He is not to be identified with either the Father or the Son. From the formula of baptism they now learnt that the three Persons are comprehended under One Name; the Spirit is one with the Father and the Son in the Unity of the Divine Life. The words justify the place which has been assigned to the Holy Ghost in the creeds and the worship of the universal Church (Basil, *Ep.* ii. 125, *δεῖ γὰρ ἡμᾶς*

---

* When Beyschlag (*NT Theology*, Eng. tr. ii. p. 279) writes, 'The notion of the Holy Spirit as a third Divine personality . . . is one of the most disastrous importations into the Holy Scriptures,' he assumes that this idea has been imported, and that his own construction of the Lord's words ('just a pictorial personification') is convincing and even necessary. Against these assumptions must be set (1) the plain and natural interpretation of Christ's words, and (2) the judgment of the Christian Society, in which, according to Christ's promise, the Spirit dwells.

βαπτίζεσθαι μὲν ὡς παρελάβομεν, πιστεύειν δὲ ὡς βαπτιζόμεθα, δοξάζειν δὲ ὡς πεπίστεύκαμεν). But they also foretell the new relation which under the gospel was to subsist between the human spirit and the Spirit of God. To be baptized 'into the Name . . . of the Holy Ghost' is to be placed in a position of lifelong dependence upon the Divine Spirit, and consecration to the service which He inspires.

(*b*) From the moment of the Pentecostal descent the presence of the Paraclete entered as a fact into the daily life of the Christian society. (*a*) The apostles realized at once that the promise of Christ had been fulfilled, and that a new dispensation had begun (Ac $2^{33.\ 38f.}$). As the years went on, they were able to interpret from their own experience the details of Christ's teaching (cf. Ac 5^{32}, 1 Jn 5^{6} with Jn 15^{26}; Ac 9^{31} with Jn 14^{16}; 1 P 4^{14}, Ja 4^{5} with Jn $14^{16.\ 17}$). They realized that as apostles they were specially endowed with the Spirit of God; to practise a deception upon them in their apostolic character was to attempt to deceive the Holy Spirit, and therefore to lie to God (Ac $5^{3.\ 4.\ 9}$); when they and other officers of the Church took counsel on matters of discipline, the Holy Spirit shared their deliberations and their judgment (Ac 15^{25}); to them, as apostles, belonged the power of imparting the Holy Spirit to the baptized by the laying on of their hands (Ac $8^{15f.}$ 19^{6}, cf. He 6^{2}); individually, they were conscious of receiving direct communications from the Holy Spirit (Ac 11^{12} 13^{2} $16^{6.\ 7}$). But they recognized also that the gift belonged to the whole Church and to every member of it (Ac 2^{28} 10^{44-47} $11^{15.\ 16}$ 13^{52} $15^{8.\ 9}$). This fact was evidenced, not merely by miraculous manifestations (Ac 10^{46} 19^{6}), but by the new life of the Christian brotherhood. Miracles might have chiefly attracted attention in the first days, but even then the practical wisdom and joyful spirit of the common Christian life were seen to be fruits of the Spirit of Christ (Ac 6^{3} 13^{52}); and the maturer experience of the Apostolic Church realized that the Holy Spirit is the source of Christian holiness (1 P 1^{2}), the inspirer of prayer (Jude ^{20}), the means of an abiding union between Christ and Christians (1 Jn 3^{24} 4^{12}), the pledge of future glory in the presence of God (1 P 4^{14}).

(*β*) It is, however, to the Epistles of St. Paul that we must turn for the fullest treatment which the doctrine of the Spirit receives within the limits of the NT. Not that St. Paul sets himself to construct a philosophy of religion in which the relation of the Holy Spirit to God, to the Church, and to the human soul receives scientific treatment. He treats the whole subject incidentally and in connexion with his argument, or with the practical interests of the communities he is addressing. But he treats it with an insight, a freshness, and a precision due partly to his unique experience, partly to the intensity of his interest in the gospel and its workings upon human nature. There is a manifest progress in the apostle's handling of this subject which corresponds to the progress in his own life and work. In the earliest group of Epistles (1 and 2 Th) he scarcely exceeds the usual teaching of the first generation. He connects the gift of the Holy Spirit with spiritual power (1 Th 1^{5}) and joy (v.^{6}), with moral purity (1 Th 4^{8}) and religious consecration (2 Th 2^{13}); he offers practical guidance in reference to the miraculous *χαρίσματα*, warning believers against indiscriminately accepting all prophetic utterances on the one hand, and despising them all upon the other, and thus quenching the heavenly fire (1 Th $5^{19f.}$, cf. 2 Th 2^{2}). One interesting verse shows that he recognized in human nature an element corresponding to the Divine Spirit, and fitted to be the sphere of His operations (1 Th 5^{23} *ὑμῶν τὸ πνεῦμα*). The next group of letters (Ro, 1, 2 Co, Gal) carries us into the heart of his teaching on this subject, and we find ourselves in the midst of what is largely a new revelation. In these Epistles, St. Paul, starting with his conception of the human spirit (Ro 1^{9}, 1 Co 2^{11}, Gal 6^{18}), sometimes places the Spirit of God in sharp contrast with the spirit of man, whilst in other places he exhibits the two in close correspondence and co-operation. Instances of the former point of view will be found in Ro $8^{16.\ 26}$, 1 Co *l.c.*, Gal 4^{6}. In such passages the distinct personality of the Divine Spirit comes strongly into view; the Spirit of God bears witness with the spirits of men (Ro 8^{26}), helps our infirmity, and makes entreaty for us with sighs too deep for words (*ὑπερεντυγχάνει στεναγμοῖς ἀλαλήτοις*, Ro 8^{26}), calling from the depth of our hearts upon the Father (Gal 4^{6}, cf. Ro 8^{15}); while at the same time He abides within the life of God, searching the depths of the Divine Nature and counsels, even as the human spirit is privy to the inmost thoughts of man (1 Co 2^{11}). The Spirit of God is, from St. Paul's point of view, uncreated and divine, for it is internal to the Essence of God. Where the Spirit dwells and works, God dwells and works (1 Co 3^{16} 6^{19}, 2 Co 3^{16}); it is by the Spirit that God is immanent in men. Yet the identification is not so complete as to exclude a true distinction between the Spirit and other Persons in God. The Holy Ghost is the Spirit of Him that raised up Christ from the dead (Ro 8^{11}), *i.e.* the Father; He is also the Spirit of Christ (Ro 8^{7}), not merely because He anointed the Messiah, but on account of His personal relation to the Son of God (Gal 4^{6}); He is the Spirit of the Son. Lastly, the three Persons are named in the same sentence as distinct hypostases (2 Co 13^{14}). In a few passages the Spirit of Christ in St. Paul appears to mean either our Lord's human spirit (Ro 1^{4} *κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης*: see Sanday-Headlam, *ad loc.*, and Westcott on He 9^{14}), or His pre-existent nature (2 Co 3^{17} *ὁ δὲ κύριος τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν*), or His risen life (1 Co 15^{45} *ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδὰμ [ἐγένετο] εἰς πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν*); in other contexts the Holy Spirit is identified with Christ, because it is through the Spirit that the ascended Lord dwells in the Church and operates in believers (Ro $8^{9.\ 10}$). But the ambiguity rarely occurs; in the great majority of cases the distinctness of the Persons is clearly seen, and the reader can discriminate between the spiritual nature of Christ, and the Spirit who anointed Him and is one with Him in the unity of God.

But by far the larger number of St. Paul's references to the Spirit in these Epistles are concerned with His operations on the spirit of man. Living in an age of physical manifestations, the apostle does not ignore the miraculous gifts (Ro 12^{6} $15^{18.\ 19}$, 1 Co 12. 14, Gal 3^{5}), and in one place (1 Co *l.c.*) he treats of these at length; they, too, are *χαρίσματα* (Ro 1^{11} 12^{6}, 1 Co 1^{7}, cf. Lightfoot, *Notes*, etc. p. 148 f.), but not the chiefest or best (1 Co 12^{31} 13^{1}), or the most abiding. The permanent results of the Spirit's coming are faith, hope, and love (1 Co 13^{13}); its normal fruits are the virtues which make up the fulness of the Christian life (Gal $5^{22.\ 23}$). The Holy Spirit consecrates even the human body which has received the sacramental pledges of His presence, and has thus become the temple of God (1 Co 3^{16} 6^{19}); and He will hereafter raise it up in the likeness of Christ's resurrection (Ro 8^{11}), a spiritual body (1 Co 15^{42-44}), not liable to corruption or death. But His special sphere is the human spirit. Here His indwelling already works a new life, answering to the life of the Risen Christ (Ro 8^{2} 10^{13}). This life of the Spirit in man is pre-eminently a life of sonship towards God; those who follow it possess the privileges of sons in the divine family (Ro 8^{14}); they are joint heirs of the Heir of all things

(Ro 8^{17}, cf. Mt 21^{38}, He 1^{2}), brethren of the First-born of God (Ro 8^{29}). If the sonship is secured by the Incarnation and the Resurrection, it is manifested and sealed by the gift of the Spirit, who is the *πνεῦμα υἱοθεσίας* (Ro $8^{15.\,16}$, Gal 4^{4-6}). He creates in the adopted sons a character corresponding to their new relation to God and to Christ (Ro $8^{29.\,30}$), by a renewal of the mind which works a transformation in their lives (Ro 12^{2} *μεταμορφοῦσθε τῇ ἀνακαινώσει τοῦ νοός*), and has the effect of engraving the divine will, once written on tables of stone, upon hearts of flesh which will retain the impression and translate it into human life (2 Co 3^{3}). Yet all these operations of the Spirit are but the foretaste of greater things to come. The gift of the Spirit already received by the Church is the *ἀπαρχή* (Ro 8^{23})—the first-fruits of the harvest yet to be reaped; the present indwelling of the Spirit in the heart is the *ἀρραβών* (2 Co 1^{22} 5^{5})—the first instalment of the fuller life, and the earnest that it is to follow (on the word *ἀρρ.* see Lightfoot, *Notes*, p. 323). Of the Spirit's future work the resurrection of the body will form a true part, for the reanimation of man's physical nature is at once a proper function of the 'Giver of life' (Ro 8^{12}), and the manifestation of our adoption into the divine family (Ro 8^{3}). But the resurrection itself is but a fresh departure in the history of the race; beyond it there lies an immeasurable life of progress unfettered by sin and death, 'the liberty of the glory of the sons of God' (Ro 8^{21}); and of this also St. Paul regards the Holy Spirit as the motive power.

In some of these contexts it is not easy to determine whether by *πνεῦμα* the apostle means the Spirit of God in man, or the spirit of man under the influence of the Spirit of God. The question arises especially in passages which contrast the Spirit with the flesh (Ro $8^{4\text{f.}}$, Gal 5^{16}). The *σάρξ* is human nature on its weak and mortal side; is then the *πνεῦμα*, which is opposed to it, the same nature in its victory over death and sin? Lightfoot (on Gal 5^{17}) is disposed to reject this view: 'Throughout this passage,' he writes, 'the *πνεῦμα* is evidently the Divine Spirit, for the human spirit in itself and unaided does not stand in direct antagonism to the flesh.' This is, of course, true; but the objection does not apply to the interpretation which regards *πνεῦμα* as the human spirit influenced by and so far identified with the Spirit of God. On the whole this interpretation seems preferable, although it is clear that in both places the apostle's thought passes at times from one meaning of the word to another, refusing to be bound by an absolute rule (cf. Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*, p. 196). A somewhat similar antithesis of *πνευματικός* and *ψυχικός* (1 Co 2^{14}, cf. 15^{44}) presents the same difficulty. The *ψυχικός* is under the control of the *ψυχή*, or lower rational nature; in the *πνευματικός* the *πνεῦμα*, the higher nature, the understanding and the will guided by the Spirit of God, has the ascendant. Here, again, we cannot exclude the thought either of the Divine Spirit or the spirit of the man; the two are regarded as in their operation one, and the one term covers both, although the human spirit is in the foreground of the thought. Similarly, in the antithesis of *πνεῦμα* and *γράμμα* (Ro 2^{29} 7^{6}, 2 Co 3^{6}), the heart of the contrast lies in the opposition of the external to the spiritual; and while *πνεῦμα* points to the action of the personal Spirit, who is the Giver of spiritual life, its precise meaning must be determined by the context. In the two former passages the reference seems to be to the spirit of man under divine influence; in the latter, to the new life of the Spirit which characterizes the gospel as compared with a dispensation of external law. Even the law has its spiritual element, for it was written by the finger of God (Ro 7^{14} *ὁ νόμος πνευματικός ἐστιν*), and its righteous judgments find an echo in the life of the spiritual man (Ro 8^{4}); but, considered as a mere edict, it stands in direct opposition to the Spirit (Gal 5^{18}), whose sphere is in the heart of the inner man; and he who is guided by the Spirit is emancipated from the external control which he no longer needs.

When we pass from the Epistles of the third missionary journey to those of the Roman imprisonment and the later 'pastoral' Epistles, we find the apostle's point of view somewhat modified. The intensity of his interest in the individual life has now been supplemented by a new interest in the unity and catholicity of the Church (cf. Hort, *Romans and Ephesians*, p. 128 ff.; *Ecclesia*, p. 135 ff.). He touches on the relations of the Spirit to the individual with a freshness of conception which shows that he is as keenly impressed as ever with their primary importance (Eph $1^{13.\,14}$ 4^{30} $6^{17.\,18}$, Ph 1^{19}, Col 1^{7}, 2 Ti 1^{14}); yet it is as the Spirit of the universal Church that he now specially delights to contemplate the Holy Ghost. To some extent this position had been occupied in 1 Co, but there 'he is dealing with the Ecclesia of a single city, . . . in the Epistle to the Ephesians he is dealing with the universal Ecclesia' (Hort, p. 141). The Spirit is in these later Epistles the bond of Catholic unity (Eph $4^{3.\,4}$, cf. 2^{18}, Ph 2^{1}), the source of ministerial gifts (Eph 4^{7-12}, 2 Ti $1^{6.\,7}$) and sacramental grace (Tit 3^{5}). Thus the teaching of the earlier Epistles finds its complement in that of the later, where it appears that the same divine gift which sanctifies and perfects the individual member of Christ, is the bond of corporate unity and the source and support of the common life which animates the whole body of the Church.

(γ) One book of the NT remains. *The Apocalypse* returns to the standpoint of the OT when it represents the Holy Spirit in the light of the Spirit of prophecy (Rev 1^{10} 2^{7} etc., 4^{2} 14^{13} 19^{10} 22^{6}). Yet incidentally it takes up St. Paul's later view. What the Spirit says, He says to the Churches (Rev $2^{7.\,11.\,17.\,29}$ $3^{1.\,6.\,13.\,22}$). For each of the Churches He has a separate message (Rev 1^{4} 3^{1} 4^{5} 5^{6}); the sevenfold gift of God (Rev 1^{4} 3^{1} 4^{5} 5^{6}) fulfils its work in each Christian brotherhood as in each Christian soul under different conditions, and with partial and fragmentary results varying according to the measure in which it is bestowed, and the manner in which it is received. To the universal Church the Spirit bears another relation: He co-operates with it in its witness to Christ; His voice is joined with that of the bride in calling for the bridegroom's return (Rev $22^{17\text{a}}$). Yet in this book of world-wide and time-long interests the need of the individual is not overlooked, and the last mention of the Spirit in the Apocalypse refers to it (Rev $22^{17\text{b}}$ *ὁ διψῶν ἐρχέσθω· ὁ θέλων λαβέτω ὕδωρ ζωῆς δωρεάν*).

Summary.—It may be well briefly to summarize the results of this examination of the teaching of the Old and New Testaments upon the subject of the Holy Spirit.

The first chapter of Genesis represents the Divine Spirit as co-operating with the Divine Word in the ordering of the *cosmos*; the last chapter of the Apocalypse represents Him as speaking in the Universal Church. There are few of the intermediate books which contribute nothing to the doctrine of the Spirit. In every section of the Canon He fills a prominent and important place.

If it be asked what the Bible teaches with regard to the essential nature of the Holy Spirit, the answer is on one point explicit and unanimous. The Holy Spirit is, in the strict sense of the word, divine. No biblical writer yields any support to the Arian conception of a created Intelligence above the angels but inferior to the Son, to whom the name 'Spirit of God' is improperly applied.

But to the further inquiry, whether this Divine Spirit is a person, the reply, if on the whole decisive, does not come with equal clearness from the earlier and the later books. The Old Testament attributes personality to the Spirit only in so far as it identifies the Spirit of God with God Himself, present and operative in the world or in men. But the teaching of Christ and of the apostles, whilst accentuating the personal attributes of the Spirit, distinguishes the Spirit from the Father and the Son. The baptismal formula comprehends the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit in the Unity of the Name which consecrates and claims for itself the whole life of man.

On the office and work of the Holy Spirit the Canon throws fuller light, for here a more precise knowledge is necessary to the well-being of the Church. But here again the revelation is progressive, corresponding in its growth to the growing needs of men. The Spirit appears first in connexion with the cosmogony of Genesis, and the writers of the Old Testament frequently refer to His work in sustaining and renewing physical life. But the Hebrew Canon attributes to Him also the endowment of human nature with intellectual and spiritual gifts, and especially regards Him as the source of the great gift of prophecy. It speaks of Him as the author of moral purity and religious consecration. Lastly, it foretells the coming of an ideal King, a perfect Servant of God, in whom the Spirit should rest in His fulness, and an extension of the Spirit's gifts in the last days to the whole nation and to the world. At this point the New Testament takes up the thread of the revelation. The Synoptic Gospels show how the ideals of the Old Testament were fulfilled in the life and ministry of Jesus Christ. The Fourth Gospel predicts the mission of the Spirit to the Church; the Acts and Epistles relate the fulfilment of His mission in the experience of the Apostolic Church. We are permitted to see how it has changed the whole spiritual order, raising a new Israel out of the old, transforming an elect nation into a Catholic Church, pouring new life into the body of the disciples, sanctifying individual wills, carrying conviction to the world, and guiding believers into the fulness of the truth. In St. Paul's writings the biblical doctrine of the operations of the Holy Spirit reaches its completion. The apostle sees in the Spirit of Christ the source of the vital unity which inspires the Church, the quickening and compacting power of the new creation. But he teaches with equal clearness that the Spirit has come to regenerate and restore the personal life of each of the baptized, dwelling in the body as His temple, identifying Himself with the human spirit in its struggle with the flesh and its striving after God, until He has perfected the nature which the Son of God redeemed and has raised it to the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.

LITERATURE.—The following works, amongst others, may be consulted on the Biblical Theology of the Holy Spirit.

PATRISTIC AND MEDIÆVAL.—Tertullian, *adv. Prax.*; Origen, *de principiis*, i. 3; Athanasius, *Epp. ad Scrap.*; Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.* xvi. xvii.; Didymus, *de Sp. Sanct.*; Basil, *de Sp. Sanct.* (ed. Johnston); Gregory of Nazianzus, *Orat. Theol.* v.; Ambrose, *de Sp. Sanct.*; Augustine, *de Trin.* iv. v. xv., *in Joann.* tr. xxix.; John of Damascus, *de fide orth.* i.; Anselm, *de process. Sp. Sanct.*; Thomas Aquinas, *Summa*, p. i. q. 36–38.

MODERN.—Petavius, *de Trin.* ii. iii. vii.; Pearson, Bp., *Exp. of the Creed*, artt. iii. vii.; Owen, J., *Pneumatologia*; Heber, Bp., *Personality and Offices of the Comforter*; Hare, J. C., *Mission of the Comforter*; Kahnis, C. F. A., *Lehre vom h. Geiste*, Bd. i.; Gaume, *Traité du S. Esprit*; Moberly, Bp., *Administration of the Holy Spirit in the Body of Christ*; Hutchings, W. H., *Person and Work of the Holy Ghost*; Webb, Bp., *Person and Office of the Holy Spirit*; Buchanan, J., *Office and Work of the Holy Spirit*; Smeaton, G., *Doctrine of the Holy Spirit*; Benson, Archbp., *The Seven Gifts*; Wirgman, A., *The Sevenfold Gifts*; Koelling, W., *Pneumatologie*; Candlish, J. S., *Work of the Holy Spirit*.

H. B. SWETE.

HOMAM.—See HEMAM.

HOMER.—See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

HOMICIDE.—See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS, vol. i. p. 521^{b}.

HONEST, HONESTY.—These words have greatly deteriorated in the three centuries that lie between us and the issue of AV. What they mean now we know; then they meant something nearly approaching the meaning of the Latin words from which they come. *Honestus* (from *honos*, 'honour') had two meanings in Latin: (1) 'Regarded with honour,' 'honourable'; (2) 'Bringing honour,' 'becoming,'—and those are just the meanings of 'honest' as it is used in AV. The word had at the time a special, one might almost say technical, meaning when used of women: it meant 'chaste.' Thus in his chapter in *The Profane State* (v. 1. p. 359) on 'The Harlot,' T. Fuller speaks of her crisping and curling and the like, and then adds, 'I must confesse some honest women may go thus, but no whit the honester for going thus.' And this is of course his meaning in *The Holy Warre* (ii. 46, p. 106), 'Thus Jerusalem, after it had fourscore and eight yeares been enjoyed by the Christians, by Gods just judgement was taken again by the Turks. What else could be expected? Sinne reigned in every corner; there was scarce one honest woman in the whole citie of Jerusalem.' And this meaning occurs once in AV, 2 Es 16^{49} 'Like as a whore envieth a right honest and virtuous woman,' though the adj. so tr^{d} is so general a one as *idoneus*, 'proper.' With that exception 'honest' means either (1) honourable, or (2) becoming.

Neither adj., adv., nor subst. occurs in OT, a fact not without significance in comparing the OT ethics with that of Apocr. and NT. The commonest word tr^{d} 'honest' is *καλός*, which means 'seemly' or 'becoming,' but with an ethical content enabling it to describe such character or conduct as deserves respect or esteem. So To 5^{13} 7^{7}, Wis 4^{12}, 2 Mac 6^{23}, Lk 8^{15}, Ro 12^{17}, 2 Co 8^{21} 13^{7}, 1 P 2^{12}. RV retains 'honest' in To 5^{13} 7^{7}, Lk 8^{15}; gives 'honourable' in Wis 4^{12}, Ro 12^{17}, 2 Co 8^{21} 13^{7}; 'his excellent education' for 'his most honest education' in 2 Mac 6^{23}; and 'seemly behaviour' for 'honest conversation' (*ἀναστροφὴ καλή*) in 1 P 2^{12}. In Sir 29^{14} the adj. *εὐσχήμων*, 'decorous,' is tr^{d} 'honest' (omitted in RV); and in 29^{14} *ἀγαθός*, 'good' (as RV); while, lastly, in Ph 4^{8} the word is *σεμνός*, for which we scarcely have an equivalent adj. (RV 'honourable,' RVm 'reverend').*

These two meanings of 'honest' may be illustrated thus: (1) *Honourable*, Ac 17^{12} Wyc. 'And sotheli manye of hem bilevyden, and of hethen wymmen honeste (some MSS 'honest heithen wymmen'), and men not fewe'; Ru 1^{22} Cov. 'There was a kinsman also of the kynred of Eli Melech Naemis huszbande, whose name was Boos, which was an honest man'; North, *Plutarch*, p. 894, 'Now as the Rhodians were desirous to be ridde of this warre, and that Demetrius also was willing to take an honest occasion to do it, the Ambassadours of the Athenians came happily to serve both their desires.' T. Fuller (*Holy Warre*, v. 7, p. 239) speaks of 'terms honest and honourable'; and Rutherford (*Letters*, No. 56) says, 'There is no quarrel more honest or honourable than to suffer for truth.' (2) *Becoming:* Tindale, *Pent.*, Prologe, 'And beholde how righteous, howe honest and howe due a thinge it is by nature that every man love his brother unfaynedly even as him selfe, for his fathers sake.' So Is 52^{1} Cov. 'Put on thine honest rayment o Ierusalem, thou citie of the holy one'; and Golding, *Calvin's Job*, p. 571 (on 32^{11-22}), 'There is a certaine honest comelinesse to be kept.'

---

* The best rendering, says Vincent (*Intern. Crit. Com.*), is 'venerable' (as AVm), if divested of its conventional implication of age. And he notices that Matthew Arnold (*God and the Bible*, p. xxii) suggests 'nobly serious,' as opposed to κοῦφος, 'lacking intellectual seriousness.' 'Honest' is Tindale's word, whom all the VSS follow; Wyc. has 'chaste,' Ellicott chooses 'seemly.' See also J. A. Clapperton in *Preacher's Magazine*, viii. 457.

The adv. **honestly** is the tr^{n} in Sir 22^{9} of *ἐν ἀγαθῇ* ('If children live honestly,' *ἐν ἀγαθῇ ζωῇ*); in 2 Mac 12^{43} and He 13^{18} (Amer. RV 'honourably') of *καλῶς*; and in Ro 13^{13}, 1 Th 4^{12} of *εὐσχημόνως*, 'decorously (Amer. RV 'becomingly').

The subst. **honesty** occurs only in 1 Ti 2^{2} 'that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty' (*ἐν πάσῃ εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ σεμνότητι*, RV 'in all godliness and gravity'). For the Eng. word cf. Joy, *An Apology to W. Tindale* (Arber's ed. p. 19), 'Tindale shulde have goten hym more honesty and lesse shame yf he had writen once lesse to the reader'; and North, *Plutarch*, p. 852, 'The great force of Demosthenes eloquence . . . did so inflame the Thebans courage with desire of honour, that it trode under their feete all maner of considerations, and did so ravish them with the love and desire of honesty, that they cast at their heeles all feare of danger.' J. Hastings.

HONEY.—See Food, vol. ii. p. 37^{b}.

HOODS is AV tr^{n} in Is 3^{23} of an article of female attire, designated by the Heb. term צְנִיפוֹת. RV has **turbans**, and there can be little doubt that this is the correct rendering, and that it might have been introduced into the text of RV in Job 29^{14} and Is 62^{3} (AV, RV 'diadem'), as well as in Zec 3^{5} (AV, RV 'mitre'). The derivation from *ẓānaph* gives the meaning of something wrapped round, as the similar Arab. *liffeh*, 'turban-band,' is taken from *laff*, 'to wrap round.' In the East the head-covering is usually a protection against heat rather than against cold. The habit of keeping the head always covered makes it sensitive to cold, and during a time of severe weather Orientals cover their heads with shawls, after the manner of hoods, but it is not a permanent article of dress. See Dress, vol. i. p. 626^{b}.

G..M. Mackie.

HOOK represents various words in both Heb. and Arab., and sometimes the meaning is very different from what is usually understood by the Eng. word *hook*. 1. The hooks (וָוִים) used in the tabernacle (Ex 26^{32} etc.) are, in the Arab. VS, tr. by a word (*ruzaz*) which means a hook or ring with a spike for being driven into wood. 2. In 2 K 19^{28}, Is 37^{29}, Job 41^{2}, Ezk 29^{4}, the Arab. VS has *ring* (*khazâmet*) as tr. of חַח or חוֹחַ. The ring meant in these passages is one which is put in the nose of a wild animal to bring it under control. In Syria gipsies frequently lead bears about among the villages by means of ropes fastened to rings inserted in the cartilage of the nose. In Ezk 38^{4} חַח is tr. in Arab. *shakîmat*, the bit of the bridle of a horse. 3. In Ezk 40^{43} שְׁפַתַּיִם (gutters?) is tr. in Arab. *maâzîb*. 4. Pruning-hooks (מַזְמֵרָה, Arab. *manâjil*), Is 2^{4} 18^{5}, Mic 4^{3}, Jl 3^{10}. In Syria pruning-hooks are somewhat like the reaping-hooks or sickles used in England, only very much smaller. The handle is of steel, and of the same piece as the blade. It is hollow, and, when the pruning-hook is used to cut down thorns, a long stick is thrust into the hollow handle. 5. Fish-hooks (צִנָּה, סִיר Am 4^{2}, חַכָּה Job 41^{1}, Is 19^{8}, Hab 1^{15}; *ἄγκιστρον*, Mt 17^{27}). 6. Flesh-hooks (מַזְלֵג or [מִזְלָגָה] Ex 27^{3}, Nu 4^{14}, 1 S $2^{13.14}$; Arab. *minshal*), with two or three prongs for lifting meat out of a pot.

W. Carslaw.

HOOPOE (דּוּכִיפַת *dûkhîphath*, *ἔποψ*, *upupa*, AV lapwing).—This bird is mentioned only in the list of unclean birds (Lv 11^{19}, Dt 14^{18}). It is generally admitted that the *hoopoe*, *Upupa epops*, L., is the bird intended. It migrates to Egypt and the Sahara in the winter, but returns to Pal. and Syria at the beginning of March, and spreads suddenly over the whole country. The Arabs call it *hudhud* from its cry. Its Gr. and Lat. names are derived from its habit of *inspecting* the ground. The head of the hoopoe is depicted on the Egyptian monuments. It was supposed by the ancients, as also the modern Arabs, to search the ground for hidden wells and springs. This opinion is based on its habit of bending its head downwards, and alternately erecting and depressing its crest. The Arabs say that it reveals these secrets. In reality it is seeking its food, which consists of small insects and worms. It resorts to dunghills, finding it easy to dig out the insects from the dung. But this is by no means its exclusive source of supply. Perhaps it was this habit which caused it to be regarded as unclean in the Mosaic law. It is not now considered unfit for food. It is often shot, or caught on bird-lime, and sold with other game birds. Tristram says that the Arabs call it the 'doctor bird.' Its general colour is russet, but the wings and tail are black, with white bars. The feathers of the crest are 2 in. long, and black-tipped. It is as large as a thrush. G. E. Post.

HOPE.—AV tr^{n} of the following Heb. and Gr. words:—

1. בָּטַח (vb.), בֶּטַח (noun), Job 6^{20}, Ps 16^{9} (לָבֶטַח correctly tr^{d} by RV 'in safety'); cf. מִבְטָח Jer 17^{7}, בִּטָּחוֹן Ec 9^{4} (elsewhere only 2 K 18^{19} = Is 36^{4}). The vb. בָּטַח (root perh. = 'repose oneself on') is very common in OT. AV generally tr. by 'trust.' 2. כֶּסֶל (from root = 'thick,' 'fat') Job 8^{14} 31^{24}, Ps 78^{7}. It is best tr^{d} 'confidence' (so AV, RV in Pr 3^{26}, its only other occurrence in this sense). The form כִּסְלָה occurs Job 4^{6}. 3. מַחְסֶה Jer 17^{17}, Jl 3^{16} (better RV 'refuge'; so frequently in Pss). 4. מִקְוֶה, תִּקְוָה Ezr 10^{2}, Job 4^{6}, etc. (the root קוה is the frequent 'wait for (on) J″' of OT). 5. 6. Practically synonymous with this are יחל (vb., *Niph.*, *Pi.*, *Hiph.*), תּוֹחֶלֶת (noun), Job 6^{11}, Ezk 13^{6}, Ps 31^{24} and oft., Pr 13^{12}, and שׂבר (vb.), שֵׂבֶר (noun), Ps $119^{116.166}$ 146^{5}, Est 9^{1}, Is 38^{18} (root meaning 'look closely at,' Neh $2^{13.15}$). 7. חוּל (root = 'writhe'), 'wait anxiously,' La 3^{26} (cf. Gn 8^{10} [?], Jg 3^{25}, Mic 1^{12}, Job 35^{14}, Ps 37^{7}, Est 4^{4}).

In NT the noun is *ἐλπίς* and the vb. *ἐλπίζω*, always of favourable expectation (contrast *ἐλπὶς πονηρά* of LXX, Is 28^{19}). In He 10^{23} 'the profession of our faith' should be 'the confession of our hope' (*τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῆς ἐλπίδος*).

The second in St. Paul's triumvirate of graces (1 Co 13^{13}) has attracted less attention than its companions. With respect to the nature of hope in general, faith is its inseparable condition; in He 11^{1} 'foundation' might almost be substituted for 'assurance.' But its distinctive feature is desire of future good. Hope may accordingly be defined as desire of future good, accompanied by faith in its realization. The object both of faith and of hope is something unseen. Faith has regard equally to past, present, or future, while no doubt in Scripture referring mainly to the future (see, however, He 11^{3}). Hope is directed only to the future. Expectation differs from hope in referring either to good or evil things, and therefore lacks the element of desire.

In the nature of things the grace of hope is peculiarly prominent in OT. That was the time of promise and prophecy, ours is the time of fulfilment (Mt 13^{17}). Everything then had a forward look. The Heb. golden age lay in the future. The pious Hebrew was a minor (Gal 4^{3}). It is quite in keeping with the old economy that the element of faith or confidence which is latent in hope was especially active. In OT Luther often renders 'hope' by 'trust.' It is often hard to say whether faith or desire is most prominent (Ps 38^{15}

78^{7} etc.). 'These all died in faith' is almost equivalent to 'These all died in hope' (He 11^{13}). They 'endured as seeing him who is invisible' (v.^{27}). It is often said that the hope of OT believers was directed less to spiritual than to temporal good, such as health, riches, victory; but this is only partially true. Spiritual aspiration cannot well be purer or stronger than in passages like Ps 63^{1} 17^{15}; and temporal good is not forbidden to Christian hope (Mt 6^{33}). Heb. hope, no less than Christian, was set on God (Ps 33$^{18. 22}$ 42^{11} etc.). Jeremiah beautifully addresses J″ as 'the hope of Israel' (14^{8} 17^{13}). If in NT St. Peter is the apostle of hope,—not so much because of frequent express references (1 P 1$^{3. 13. 21}$ 3^{15}) as from the general strain of his teaching,—in OT Jeremiah may be called the prophet of hope for the same reason (17^{7}· 50^{7}); his hope was deeply spiritual in nature (31$^{33f.}$, He 10^{16}).

In NT hope is wider in range, more definitely spiritual in contents, and is attended with greater certainty. It is a 'better hope,' because grounded on 'a better covenant which hath been enacted on better promises' (He 7^{19} 8^{6}). The blessings it seeks are not limited to the future life, but include all that is promised to faith in the present life. Or, to speak more correctly, distinctions of present and future are often ignored in Scripture. The divine promises and Christian aspiration refer to both (1 Co 2^{9}, Ph 3$^{12-14}$). Still, the perfect blessings of the future life are often definitely referred to, giving peculiar magnificence to Christian hope (Ro 5^{2} 8$^{21. 23}$, Tit 2^{13} etc.). If St. Peter is the apostle, St. Paul is the theologian of this grace. Very significantly, as the prophets make J″ the ground of human hope, St. Paul makes Christ the ground (1 Co 15^{19}, 1 Ti 1^{1}, Col 1^{27}). More specifically, Christ's resurrection is the irrefragable seal of hope (1 Co 15, 1 P 1^{3}); hence it is a 'living hope.' Christian hope accompanies a state of peace with God, is attested by experience, and certain of glorious fulfilment because arising out of a sense of God's fatherly love to us (Ro 5$^{1-5}$). It is equally with faith a factor in the process of salvation (Ro 8$^{24f.}$). It is a spring of ceaseless joy (Ro 5^{3} 12^{12}). Its object is salvation or eternal life, or the glory of God (Tit 1^{2} 3^{7}, 1 Th 5^{8}, Ro 5^{2}). Its expression is patient doing and suffering (1 Th 1^{3}, He 6$^{11f.}$ 12^{1}). Hope is aptly called 'an anchor of the soul,' staying it amid the buffetings of earthly change (He 6^{19}). St. Paul puts the final honour on this grace by placing it above faith, and only below love (1 Cor 13^{13}). Like its sister graces, it continues in the future life, because the bliss of that life is capable of endless increase. When God is called 'the God of hope,' it must be as the author, not the subject of hope (Ro 15^{13}). St. John has only one reference to hope, describing it as a motive to personal sanctification (1 Jn 3^{3}). 'Fulness of hope' (He 6^{11}) accompanies 'fulness of faith' (10^{22}) and 'fulness of understanding' (Col 2^{2}). Hope stands sometimes for its object (Eph 1^{18}, Col 1^{5}, Tit 2^{13}).

J. S. Banks.

HOPHNI (חָפְנִי, B Ὀφνεί, A Ὀφνί; the meaning 'fighter' suggested by Gesenius [*Thes.* p. 506] is very doubtful), and Phinehas, 'the two sons of Eli, priests unto the Lord at Shiloh' (1 S 1^{3}).* They are described as 'men of Belial (*i.e.* worthless, unprincipled men) who knew not the Lord, nor the due of the priests from the people' (1 S 2$^{12f.}$ RVm, following the reading of the Versions and most moderns). The particular sin of which the sons of Eli were guilty lay in their abuse of their privileges as priests, in that they claimed more than the customary share of the sacrifices, and further insisted on having it when, and as, they pleased, so that 'men abhorred the offering of the Lord' (see Driver, *Deut.* p. 216; Wellhausen, *Proleg.* pp. 68, 153 f.). The further charge of licentiousness which is brought against them (1 S 2^{22b}) is most probably due to a later editor; the clause is wanting in the LXX, and is omitted by Wellh., Budde, Driver, and Klostermann. The mild rebuke of their father had no effect on their evil practices, and, in consequence, a curse is pronounced against the house of Eli, first by an unknown prophet (1 S 2$^{27-36}$), and afterwards by the youthful Samuel (1 S 3$^{11-14. 18}$). In accordance with the sign given in the former prophecy, Hophni and Phinehas both perished in the battle with the Philistines at Aphek, whither they had accompanied the ark of God (1 S 4^{11}; in 4^{4} read 'and the two sons of Eli, H. and P., were with the ark of the covenant of God').

The history of the house of Eli which is given in 1 S 1–4 clearly belongs to the later (E) of the two documents from which the books of Samuel (see Samuel, Books of) are mainly compiled; but it is probable that the narrative has in parts been expanded (esp. in 1 S 2$^{27-36}$ *) by a later Deuteronomistic editor.

J. F. Stenning.

HOPHRA (Heb. חָפְרַע; LXX Οὐαφρῆ; Herod. Ἀπρίης; Manetho Οὔαφρις).—The Egyptian original, whence the other forms were derived, is *W'ḥ-ib-r'* (see p. 656^{a} note, vol. i. of this *DB*). The name of this king—the fourth of the 26th or Saite Dynasty—occurs but once in the Bible (Jer 44^{30}); yet his influence upon Jewish history was considerable. He was the son and successor of Psammetichus II, and reigned from 588 to 569. Although Hophra-Apries is mentioned on numerous Egyptian monuments, there is an almost complete dearth of native documents from which to reconstruct his history. Material, however, for the two chief episodes of his reign is supplied, on the one hand by the contemporary prophecies of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and on the other by Herodotus, who visited Egypt not much more than a century later.

The constant ambition of the Saite Pharaohs was the recovery for Egypt of her ancient position of suzerainty in Asia. In this none of them had hitherto been more than temporarily successful; the Syrian conquests of Necho had been cancelled by the revival of Babylonian power under Nebuchadrezzar, while in the next reign—that of Psammetichus II—we hear of no campaigns except in Nubia. But, on the accession of Apries, an Asiatic policy became again the king's main interest. A favourable opportunity seemed to be offered by a return to power of the patriotic faction in Judah, and the consequent revolt of Zedekiah. The Babylonian force sent to punish this display of independence was compelled, by the appearance in the south of an Egyptian army, to desist from the siege of Jerusalem (586). The check, however, was but momentary. Apries does not appear to have ventured a battle, and the Jews once more learned the value of Egypt's friendship. While their Egyptian allies withdrew, Jerusalem fell, and the Babylonians wreaked their vengeance on the nation. Nevertheless, the succeeding years of anarchy and bloodshed in Judah induced many of the remaining inhabitants to quit their homes and fly to Egypt for protection. Apries received them and settled them in the frontier fortress of Daphnæ (Tahpanhes, Tell Defeneh), in the eastern Delta, the station of one of the mercenary corps of Ionians and Carians who formed at the time the strength of the Egyptian armies. Certain remains of buildings on this site have been identified with the pavement, etc., referred to by Jeremiah (43^{9}), who himself shared the Egyptian exile of his countrymen.

---

* Possibly, the account here given is incomplete. Wellhausen (*Büch. Sam.* 35) points out that the sons of Eli are mentioned before he himself has been introduced. Thenius and Klostermann insert 'Eli and' with the LXX; more probably we should read simply 'and Eli, priest unto the Lord, was there' (Budde, *Richter u. Samuel*, p. 196).

* The text of this section is in considerable confusion, and the meaning can be extracted only with difficulty. The two events which are foretold are: (1) the almost entire destruction of Eli's house (v.^{31}, referring to the massacre of the priests at Nob, 1 S 22$^{17-20}$); (2) the raising up of a faithful priest (v.^{35}, referring to the appointment of Zadok in the place of Abiathar, the great-great-grandson of Eli, by Solomon, 1 K 2^{27}). The sign given in attestation of the prophecy (v.^{34}) is the death of Hophni and Phinehas in one day. See Wellhausen, *Der Text der Bücher Sam.* p. 48 f.; Driver, *Heb. Text of Sam.* p. 32 f.; Budde, *op. cit.* p. 199 f.

The much discussed inscription, in which some have recognized a reference to Nebuchadrezzar's punitive expedition to Egypt and to the reign of Apries, more probably relates merely the repression of some internal revolt (see *Æg. Zeitschr.* 1884, 87, 93); while the cuneiform fragment, claimed as corroborative evidence for the same event, can be so regarded only on the hypothesis — otherwise unsupported — of a temporary co-regency of Apries and Amasis, since the war it relates appears to have been directed against the latter king. It is curious, though scarcely important, that a tradition of Nebuchadrezzar's invasion should have survived even into Mohammedan times.*

The event of the reign, of which we hear most from Herodotus, is a campaign, undertaken later than those in Syria, in response to an appeal by the Libyans for help against the encroaching Greeks of Cyrene. The expedition was unsuccessful, and the consequent national resentment led to the deposition of Apries in favour of *I'ḥms*-Amasis, one of his generals, by whom he and the Greek mercenaries were defeated at Momemphis. Apries, detained for a time in captivity, was eventually given over to popular vengeance and strangled.

W. E. CRUM.

HOR (MOUNT) (הֹר הָהָר, Arab. *Jebel Haroun*, 'Aaron's Mount').—1. A mountain named as a stage in Israel's journey to Canaan (Nu 20^{22} 21^{4} 33^{37}, Dt 32^{50}), and as the place of Aaron's death (Nu 20$^{23. 25. 27}$ 33$^{38. 39. 41}$, Dt 32^{50}) (all P). The modern *Jebel Haroun* is identified with the closing scene of Aaron's life both by situation and by tradition. Mount Hor is stated to be situated 'by the border of the land of Edom' (Nu 20^{23}); Eusebius states that 'Mons Hor, in quo mortuus est Aaron, erat juxta urbem Petram' (*Onomasticon*), which is the case with J. Haroun, as Petra lies at its eastern base; and Josephus affirms that Aaron's death occurred on a high mountain enclosing Petra (*Ant.* IV. iv. 7). Tradition concurs, and amongst the Arab inhabitants J. Haroun is held sacred as the sepulchre of Aaron, and a small mosque marks the site. It is fair to add that the identity of Hor with *Jebel Haroun* is disputed by Ewald, Knobel, Dillm. (on Nu 20^{22}), Sayce (*HCM* 265), Buhl (*Gesch. d. Edomiter*, 11 f., *Lex.*, 'Ganz falsch die spätere Tradition'), and esp. Trumbull (*Kadesh-barnea*, 128 ff.).

DESCRIPTION.—On approaching the saddle, or watershed, of the Wady el-Arabah from the south, the almost unbroken range of the Edomite mountains opens out to the eastward at Wady Abu Kuseibeh, disclosing a wide valley, at the head of which is J. Haroun, standing out conspicuously amidst an assemblage of broken ridges tumultuously thrown together, and constituting the frontiers of Mount Seir. The mount rises with a bold and precipitous front facing the west, flanked by two lofty bastions of sandstone standing erect on the granitic pedestal, and from its base stretches a wide and gently sloping plain, also enclosed by lesser heights, upon which we can well picture to ourselves the Israelitish host encamped during the solemn period of Aaron's ascent, and in full view of the summit of the mount which was to be his tomb; or (as it is in the narrative) 'in the eyes of all the congregation' (Nu 20^{27}). Here also we may suppose they camped while Moses sent an ambassage to the king of Edom across the intervening pass to ask permission to march through his territory (Nu 20$^{14\text{ff.}}$). The summit of the mount is marked by a little white mosque supposed to cover the tomb of the high priest, and from this point the ridge descends gradually eastwards until it breaks off in the line of cliffs which enclose the quadrangle of Petra, and the channel for the Wady Musa which flows through the city (see PETRA). The mount is quite inaccessible directly from the west, owing to its precipitous face in this direction; but the summit is gained by ascending from the pass leading into Petra, called the Wady Haroun, which runs along the southern flank of the mount. The elevation of the summit is about 4780 feet above the Gulf of Akabah, or 6072 feet above the surface of the Dead Sea,* and from this point an extensive and remarkable view is obtained when the atmosphere is clear—towards the south, west, and north. In the first direction, the eye follows the range of lofty and rugged heights down along the side of the Arabah towards the Red Sea; in the second, it looks across the wide plain of the Arabah to the white cliffs which bound the Badiet et-Tih (Wilderness of Paran), and across this arid tableland itself for many miles towards the horizon; and towards the north, the deep hollow of the Ghōr may be faintly discerned, with the broken slopes of the hills of Southern Palestine bounding the view in that direction. Turning to the east, the observer marks the white crest of the Arabian Desert plateau, sloping steeply downwards into the deep hollow of the Wady Musa, in which lies, almost hidden from view amongst its red-faced cliffs and precipices, Petra, the ancient capital of Edom. Such was the scene which met the eyes of Aaron ere they closed for ever. His body is supposed to have been laid in a sepulchre immediately below the crest of the mount, and over it stands the little white mosque, conspicuous from afar: a token of the sacred character of the spot in the eyes of the wild inhabitants.

GEOLOGY. — Mount Hor is formed of reddish sandstone and conglomerate ('Nubian sandstone' of Russegger) of Cretaceous age; the beds rising in a precipitous wall of natural masonry tier above tier, and presenting a bold front towards the west. These huge beds of sandstone compose the upper part of the ridge to a depth of about a thousand feet from the summit, where they rest on a solid foundation of granite and porphyry of great geological antiquity, associated with which, in some way not very clear, are masses of agglomerate, beds of ash and dykes of igneous rock, all of volcanic origin, but of an age anterior to the Cretaceous sandstone. This latter formation dips towards the east, and gradually descends in the direction of the Wady Musa, where it forms the cliffs which surround the city of Petra. Along the flanks of the escarpment of the Arabian Desert to the eastward the sandstone formation passes below the white marls and limestones of Upper Cretaceous age, which form the surface of the plain at a level of over 5000 feet above the sea.†

2. Another mountain called by the same name (Nu 34$^{7. 8}$) was to be the northern limit of the inheritance of the tribes of Israel, which was to extend from the shore of the Great Sea (Mediterranean) eastward along the border of Mount Hor

---

* See *Abû Ṣâliḥ*, ed. Evetts (Oxf. 1895), p. 83, note.

* As determined by the aneroid observations of Mr. Reginald Laurence, Monday, 10th December 1893 (*Mount Seir*, p. 95).

† Hull's *Memoir on the Geology of Arabia Petræa*, with Maps and Sections (1886).

unto the entering in of Hamath (Syria and the Lebanon). If *Hōr* be an archaic form of *har*, Mt. Hor signifies some conspicuous height among lesser heights; and when we come to apply this meaning to the region of the Lebanon, we cannot remain long in doubt as to the special mount indicated. Among all the mountains on the borders of Syria and Palestine, Mount Hermon is pre-eminently the most conspicuous and important, owing to its enormous mass and great elevation, which reaches 10,000 feet above the level of the sea. On this ground we may identify this second Mount Hor with Hermon, although Porter (*Five Years in Damascus*^{2}, 333), followed by Neubauer (*Géog. du Talm.* 9), Furrer (*ZDPV* viii. 27), and Buhl, prefer *Jebel Akkar*, a N.E. spur of Lebanon.

LITERATURE.—Mount Hor in Arabia Petræa has been visited by Burckhardt, Léon de Laborde, the Expedition sent out by the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund in 1883-84, by Lartet under the Expedition of the Duc de Luynes in 1880, by Professor Palmer and Dean Stanley. The principal references to authorities are the same as those under the head of SELA or PETRA. E. HULL.

HORAM (הוֹרָם), king of Gezer, came to the relief of Lachish when it was besieged by Joshua, but was defeated and slain (Jos 10^{33}).

HOREB.—See SINAI.

HOREM (חֳרֵם).—A city of Naphtali in the mountains, Jos 19^{38} (see Dillm. *ad loc.*). The name means 'consecrated' (cf. Sabæan prop. names חרם, יחרמאל, Halévy, *Étud. Sab.* 471, 504). It is prob. to be identified with the modern *Ḥûrah* west of Kedesh-naphtali. See *SWP* vol. i. sh. iv. C. R. CONDER.

HORESH.—In 1 S 23^{15} (cf. $^{16.\ 18}$) David is found 'in the wilderness of Ziph in a (the) wood' (בַּחֹרְשָׁה, where בְּ and ה *locale* are combined; LXX ἐν τῇ Καινῇ, implying a reading בַּחֲדָשָׁה; see Driver, *Text of Sam. ad loc.*). The word *ḥōresh* means 'wooded height' in Is 17^{9}, Ezk 31^{3} (if the text in these two passages is correct; see *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*), 2 Ch 27^{4}, and this is probably its meaning in 1 S, although some would make Horesh a proper name, as in RVm (see Stade, *Gesch.* i. 245). J. A. SELBIE.

HOR-HAGGIDGAD (חֹר הַגִּדְגָּד).—A station in the journeyings of the Israelites, mentioned only Nu $33^{32.\ 23}$. The Heb., which means the hole or cavern of Gidgad, indicates the character of the locality, and suggests the land of the Horites, or its neighbourhood. The LXX translates τὸ ὄρος Γαδγάδ, reading הַר 'a mountain.' See BEEROTH-BENE-JAAKAN, GUDGODAH, and EXODUS, § iv. A. T. CHAPMAN.

HORI (חוֹרִי).—**1.** A son of Seir, Gn 36^{22} = 1 Ch 1^{39}. As Dillmann remarks, the national name appears here as a clan name. **2.** The father of Shaphat the Simeonite spy, Nu 13^{5}.

HORITES (חֹרִי, AV sometimes Hori, Horims).—The predecessors of the Edomites in the country of Seir. They were there as early as the time of Abraham (Gn 14^{6}). J″ destroyed them before the sons of Esau, and gave the latter their country (Dt $2^{12.\ 22}$). There was, however, such a mingling of the family of Esau and his Horite (in Gn 36^{2} read *Horite* for *Hivite*) connexions, that the Horite name and descent was preserved (Gn 36, esp. vv.$^{20.\ 21.\ 29\text{-}30}$). They are not explicitly said to be *rephaim*, as are the Emim and the Zamzummim, in Dt $2^{10f.\ 20f.}$, but from what is there said it is natural to infer that they were. Except in Dt 2^{12}, they are spoken of as 'the Horite,' using the gentilic noun in the sing., a form of speech that is never used of the other giant peoples; but this can be accounted for by the fact just mentioned, that, in their mingling with their conquerors, the H. name and descent had been preserved, so that, in the time of Moses and later, they were properly a people, and not merely a race of subordinate men, as in the case of the Anakim and others.

The name Horite is supposed to mean 'cave-dweller' (see Driver, *Deut.* p. 38). On the theory that the Horites were *rephaim*, this fact is of interest in its bearing on the character of the *rephaite* civilization; but they did not always remain cave-dwellers. See GIANTS, REPHAIM, and cf. Hommel, *AHT* 263 f. W. J. BEECHER.

HORMAH (חָרְמָה, Ἑρμά, Ἀνάθεμα).—After the return of the spies, an attempt to go up into the S. of Judah was repulsed by the Canaanite and Amalekite (the Amorite according to Dt), who drove the Israelites to Hormah (Nu 14^{45}, Dt 1^{44}). In this passage of Nu, Hormah occurs with the def. art., and the rendering of Dt 1^{44}, preferred by critics (following LXX, Syr., Vulg.), is '*from* Seir to Hormah' (see Driver, *ad loc.*).

The Canaanite king of Arad (Nu $21^{1\text{-}3}$) fought against Israel when in the neighbourhood of Mt. Hor, and took some of them prisoners. Thereupon Israel vowed that if the Lord would give them victory, they would place the Canaanite cities under the ban. The place was accordingly named Hormah. According to Jg 1^{17}, Judah and Simeon utterly destroyed Zephath and called it Hormah. If the events of Nu 21^{3} happened immediately after the attack of the king of Arad, it would seem that the Israelites conquered at that time some portion of the S. of Judah, and in that case a way would have been open for an advance northward. The generally received view seems therefore probable, that Nu 21^{3} describes what took place at a later period, and Jg 1^{17} supplies further details.

Hormah is mentioned, Jos 12^{14}, along with Arad as one of the 31 royal cities taken by Joshua, in 15^{30} as 'one of the uttermost cities . . . toward the border of Edom in the South,' and in 19^{4}, 1 Ch 4^{30} as part of the inheritance of Simeon. In 1 S 30^{30} it occurs after the cities of the Kenites (cf. the same connexion in Jg $1^{16.\ 17}$).

The position of Hormah depends upon that assigned to Kadesh, and two identifications have been proposed: that of Robinson, who identifies it with es-Sufah, a pass through the mountains on one of the roads from Petra to Hebron; and that of Rowlands and Palmer, who propose Sebaita as its site, in the Wady el-Abyadh, about 25 miles in N.N.E. direction from 'Ain Kadis. Both identifications are made with Zephath, which is mentioned only Jg 1^{17}, and assume that the old Canaanite name has survived—an assumption not without difficulty, in face of the evidence of the OT that the place was known as Hormah. Either site is appropriate according to the theory adopted as to the position of Kadesh. If the identifications of Ziklag and Jerahmeel (1 S 30^{29}) be accepted as being in the neighbourhood of Sebaita, they would increase the probability in favour of that site. Its distance from Arad may be urged as an objection, but we do not know the extent of the territory belonging to the king of Arad, nor does it state in Nu $21^{2.\ 3}$ that the cities were in his territory. See Robinson, *BRP*^{2} ii. 181; Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, 374 ff.; and art. KADESH. A. T. CHAPMAN.

HORN (קֶרֶן, κέρας) has, besides its usual meaning, three other significations in the Bible. **1.** A kind of bugle or *cornet* (from L. *cornu*) for military purposes (Jos 6^{5}), which see under TRUMPET. **2.** An emblem of strength or power derived from the offensive weapons of some animals. As the word is always used in the sing., it is very likely that the special animal from which this use of it came was the one-horned rhinoceros, or the fabulous unicorn which still appears on the insignia of British arms. This emblematical sense of *power* is the principal use made of this word in both OT and NT. Thus the horn is said to be 'exalted' (Ps 89^{17}) when the figure represents the show of great power, or 'broken' (Jer 48^{25}) when the idea is that of its destruction. The same metaphor is sometimes used in the sense of arrogance: 'Lift not up the horn . . . speak not with a stiff neck' (Ps $75^{4.5}$ RV); compare the contrary expression of *humiliation*: 'I have sewed sackcloth upon my skin, and have laid my horn in the dust' (Job 16^{15} RV). Another form of the figurative sense is when it represents *kings* (in the Books of Dn and Rev), who wielded the power of a whole nation. There is no real connexion between any of these metaphoric uses and the Ashteroth-karnaim—the two-horned Astarte (Gn 14^{5})—who, in Phœn. mythology, was the goddess of the Moon, and on whose head the crescent is represented in some of her statues. Alexander the Great is also called in the Koran (18. 82), and by Arab. writers, 'the two-horned,' most probably in reference to the two rams' horns seen in some of his coins curling backwards above his ears, which he adopted in honour of Ammon the Egyptian god, to whom the ram was sacred. An equally erroneous idea has been long entertained about the silver horn worn on the head by women of the Lebanon about fifty years ago, which was simply an exaggerated piece of head-dress for supporting the veil to cover the head and face, and had no reference to symbolized *power*. See DRESS in vol. i. p. 627^{a}, where the horn is figured. 3. The *horns of the altar* were four projecting points on its corners—sometimes seen on heathen structures of this kind. They were probably ornamental, but among the Jews they were smeared with the blood of sacrificial victims (Ex 29^{12}), and may have been used for binding the animal until the time came for its slaughter (Ps 118^{27}, where, however, the text is corrupt). Criminals enjoyed immunity of danger to their lives from an avenger so long as they took hold of these horns (1 K 1^{50}), just as in the Middle Ages Christian churches and altars were resorted to for the same purpose. See ALTAR, vol. i. p. 77^{a}.

J. WORTABET.

HORNET (צִרְעָה *ẓir'âh*, *σφηκία*, *crabro*).—The hornet is mentioned thrice in the Hex. (Ex 23^{28}, Dt 7^{20}, Jos 24^{12}). The first two passages contain the general promise that God would send the hornet before the Isr. to drive out their enemies. In the last it is said that God did send the hornet before them to drive out the two kings of the Amorites. (For *two* here we should certainly read *twelve*. So LXX, *δώδεκα*. See Dillm. *ad. loc.*). We have no details of a pest of hornets in Scripture. It is, however, not impossible that such a pest may have aided in the work. Other insects, as ants and locusts, have, at times, vast desolating power. The author of Wisdom (12^{8-10}) takes the passage literally. Hornets multiply at times in large numbers, and there are records in profane history of plagues of them. There are four species in the Holy Land, two of which construct nests of *papier maché* in bushes and trees, and two underground or in cavities of the rocks. Their sting is exceedingly painful, and that of large numbers at once may be fatal (cf. Driver on Dt 7^{20}). Many have thought that the meaning of hornets in these passages is figurative, and equivalent to the 'terror' (Ex 23^{27}). They argue from the Lat. *œstrus*, a *gadfly*, which, from the *terror* and *madness* it inspired in cattle, gave its name to those mental conditions. Whether we adopt the literal or the metaphorical sense, the object is to represent that the agency of apprehension and terror prepared the way for the unparalleled victories of the Israelites (Gn 35^{5}, Dt 32^{25}, Jos 2^{11}, Ps $44^{3.6}$).

G. E. POST.

HORONAIM (חֹרֹנַיִם, חֹרֹנָיִם, perh. 'the two hollows').—A city of Moab, whose site has not been recovered with certainty. It is mentioned in Is 15^{5}, Jer 48^{3} (in both 'the way to H.,' דֶּרֶךְ ח׳) 48^{5} ('the descent of H.,' מוֹרַד ח׳) 48^{34}. Also on the Moabite Stone (ll. 31, 32) it occurs as חורנן, *i.e.* prob. חוֹרֹנֵן *Ḥoronên*: 'Chemosh said unto me, Go down, fight against Ḥoronên; and I went down.' The language here, compared with that of Jer 48^{5}, has led some to find its site to the south of the Arnon, at some inconspicuous ruins mentioned by de Luynes in the neighbourhood of the *Wady ed-Derâ'a* (see Buhl, *GAP* 272 f.).

In Jos $10^{10.11}$ the LXX *Ὡρωνείν* implies a reading חרנים, which ought prob. to be read also in 2 S 13^{34} (see Well. and Driver, *ad loc.*). In these passages, of course, the reference is to the two Beth-horons.

J. A. SELBIE.

HORONITE (הַחֹרֹנִי, *ὁ Ἀρωνεί*, Neh $2^{10.19}$ 13^{28}).—A title given to Sanballat, the opponent of Nehemiah. The name probably denotes an inhabitant of Beth-horon, a town on the borders of Ephraim, about 18 miles N.W. of Jerus. (Jos 10^{10} $16^{3.5}$ etc.). Some scholars (so Gesen.) have derived the title from Horonaim, a town in S. Moab (Is 15^{5}, Jer $48^{3.5.34}$), pointing to the close connexion of Sanballat with Tobiah the Ammonite; but see Neh 4^{2}.

H. A. WHITE.

HORROR has greatly strengthened its meaning since it came into the Eng. language. The Lat. word *horror* (from *horrere*, to stand on end) is used primarily of the bristling of hair, etc., and secondarily of the fear which causes the hair to stand on end. Now the meaning is expressed thus: 'Horror is that very strong and painful emotion which is excited by the view or contemplation of something peculiarly atrocious in the conduct of another; by some vice which exceeds the usual extravagance of vice; enormities that surpass the bounds of common depravity.' This intensity of meaning has been gained gradually. Even in AV of 1611 'horror' means no more than 'dread.' It occurs in Gn 15^{12} 'An horror of great darkness fell upon him' (אֵימָה חֲשֵׁכָה גְדֹלָה 'a terror, a great darkness'); Ps 55^{5} 119^{53}, Ezk 7^{18}, 2 Mac 3^{17} 'For the man was so compassed with fear and horror of the body' (*φρικασμός*, RV 'a shuddering'). Cf. Melvill, *Diary*, p. 144 'Ther was na thing behind bot bitter teares and heavie lamentation, partlie for the present lose, bot mikle mair for the esteat that was till ensew upon the Kirk, quhilk everie an apprehendit in graitter and graitter missour of horrour and feirfulness.' Bp. Hall, speaking of the angel's visit to Zacharias (*Works*, ii. 3), says, 'It was the weaknesse of him that served at the Altar without horror, to be daunted with the face of his fellow servant.'

Horrible is that which causes great fear: Ps 11^{6} 'Upon the wicked he shall rain snares, fire, and brimstone, and an horrible tempest' (רוּחַ זִלְעָפוֹת, RV 'burning wind'; King 'scorching blast'), 40^{2} 'He brought me up also out of an horrible pit' (בּוֹר שָׁאוֹן, AVm 'a pit of noise,' RVm 'a pit of tumult *or* destruction,' LXX *ἐκ λάκκου ταλαιπωρίας*, so Vulg. 'de lacu miseriæ,' and Dou. 'the lake of misery'); Jer 5^{30} 18^{13} 23^{14}, Hos 6^{10} (all 'a horrible thing' = 'a thing to be dreaded'); 2 Es 11^{45} 15^{28} (both 'horribilis'), 15^{34} ('horridus'); Wis 3^{19} (*χαλεπός*, Vulg. 'dirus'), 8^{15} (*φρικτός*, Vulg. 'horrendus'), 11^{18} 'shooting horrible sparkles out of their eyes' (*δεινοὺς σπινθῆρας*, Vulg. 'horrendas scintillas'), 16^{5} 'horrible fierceness' (*δεινὸς θυμός*, Vulg. 'sæva ira'), 17^{5} 'that horrible night' (*τὴν στυγνὴν ἐκείνην νύκτα*, Vulg. 'illam noctem horrendam'), 18^{17} 'visions of horrible dreams' (*φαντασίαι ὀνείρων δεινῶν*, Vulg. 'visus somniorum malorum'), 19^{17} 'compassed about with horrible great darkness' (*ἀχανεῖ σκότει*, Vulg. 'subitaneis tenebris'). In every case the word means 'to be dreaded,' 'dreadful'; the element of loathing does not enter.

And so with **horribly**, Jer 2^{12}, Ezk 32^{10} 'be horribly afraid'; Wis 6^{5} 'Horribly and speedily shall he come upon you' (*φρικτῶς*, Vulg. 'horrende'). Cf. He 10^{31} Rhem. 'It is horrible to fal into the handes of the living God'; and Defoe, *Crusoe*, p. 590, 'Never Tyrant, for such I acknowledged myself to be, was ever so universally beloved, and yet so horribly feared by his subjects.'

J. HASTINGS.

HORSE.—Four Heb. words are used for *horse*, and one, or perhaps two, for *mare*. **1.** אַבִּיר *'abbîr*. This word means *strong* or *valiant*, and is applied metaphorically to the h. (Jer 8^{16} AV, RV 'neighing of his strong ones'), 47^{3} 'the stamping of the hoofs of his strong *horses*' (RV 'of his strong ones'), 50^{11} 'bellow as bulls' (AVm 'neigh as steeds,' RV 'neigh as strong horses').

2. פָּרָשׁ *pârâsh*. The orig. signification of this word is *horseman* or *cavalier* (cf. Arab. *fâris*), as distinguished from the rider of an *ass* or a *camel*. It signifies, secondarily, a *riding horse*, such as is used in war. In this sense it corresponds to the Arab. *faras*, which, however, is generic for all horses. The reason why the Hebrews designated by *pârâsh* only cavalry mounts is that civilians did not use horses for riding. Only two clear instances are given in OT of any person, not of military rank, riding a horse,—that of Mordecai (Est $6^{9.\,10}$), who rode the king's horse (סוּס, not פָּרָשׁ) as a special honour; and that of the 'posts on horseback, riding on swift steeds' (סוּסִים Est 8^{10}). In the obscure passage (Is 28^{28}), so differently tr^{d} in AV and RV, it is not certain whether the horses (פָּרָשָׁיו) were harnessed to the cart, or ridden or driven. When the peaceful mission of Christ is announced (Zec 9^{9}), although he is heralded as a king, it is said that 'he is just, and victorious (lit. saved); lowly, and riding upon an ass,' *i.e.* is not like military conquerors, who ride horses. Then to illustrate the character of this reign it is said (v.^{10}), 'I will cut off the chariot from Ephraim, and the horse (*ṣûṣ*) from Jerus.,' *i.e.* where all is peace the horse is not needed any more than the chariot (see ASS). It is easy in many cases to determine from the context whether *pârâsh* is to be tr^{d} *horse* or *horseman*. Thus 'twelve thousand *pârâshîm*' (1 K 4^{26}) plainly refers to *cavalry horses* as distinguished from *chariot horses*, and not to 'horsemen,' as in AV and RV. It is clear that the people of the house of Togarmah (Ezk 27^{14}) traded, not in 'horsemen,' as in AV, but in *cavalry horses*, 'war horses,' RV. It is the 'war horses' that run (RVm Jl 2^{4}), not the 'horsemen' (text AV, RV). In the pursuit of Saul 'the chariots and the horsemen (בַּעֲלֵי פָּרָשִׁים, owners of horses) followed hard after him' (2 S 1^{6}). On the other hand, *pârâsh* (2 S 8^{4}, Jer 4^{29}) can refer only to the 'horsemen.' The '*pârâsh*' (Nah 3^{3}) who 'lifteth up,' RV 'mounting,' marg. 'charging,' must be the *horseman*. Sometimes neither the *horse* nor his *rider* seems specially designated, and in these cases *pârâsh* corresponds to *cavalry* (Ex $14^{9.\,17.\,18.\,23.\,26.\,28}$, Hab 1^{8}). In other cases *pârâsh* will apply to either the *horse* or his *rider*. Thus (1 S 8^{11}) וּבְפָרָשָׁיו may be 'for his war horses,' as has just before been said 'for his chariots,' or 'to be his horsemen,' as in text AV, RV; and צֶמֶד פָּרָשִׁים (Is 21^{7}) may mean a 'couple of horsemen,' or a *pair of horses*, or 'horsemen in pairs,' or a 'pair of horsemen,' or *horses in pairs* (cf. AV with RV text and marg.).

3. סוּס *ṣûṣ*. This word is often used for *chariot horses* (Ex 14^{9} etc., Jos 11^{4}, 1 K 4^{26}, Jer 50^{37}, Ezk 27^{14}). It is used even more freq. for *riding horses*, esp. *war horses* (Gn 49^{17}, Est $6^{9.\,10}$, Job 39^{19-25}, Jer 6^{23} 8^{16}, Hab 1^{8}, Zec 1^{8} etc.). In not a few cases it seems *general* for horses (Dt 17^{16}, 1 K 18^{5} etc.). In one it seems to refer to a *hunter* (Job 39^{18}).

4. רֶכֶשׁ *rekhesh*. This word is used in three places, in all of which RV renders it by 'swift steeds' (Est $8^{10.\,14}$, AV 'mules'; 1 K 4^{28}, AV 'dromedaries,' marg. 'mules' or 'swift beasts'; Mic 1^{13}, AV 'swift beast'). In the last it clearly refers to a *chariot horse*.

5. רַמָּךְ *rammâk*. This word, rendered AV 'dromedaries' (Est 8^{10}, RV 'stud'), is Pers. *ramah*, 'flock' or 'herd.' See DROMEDARY.

6. סוּסָה *ṣûṣâh*, *ἡ ἵππος*, *equitatus*. AV (Ca 1^{9}), following Vulg., renders this word 'a company of horses,' RV 'a steed,' marg. 'the steeds.' These renderings would make the point of similarity between the bride and the horses their triumphant march. Others would make סֻסָתִי=*my mare*. It is difficult, if this rendering be adopted, to see what is the connexion between this word and the expression 'in the chariots of Pharaoh,' which immediately follows.

It may seem strange that the Isr., who certainly knew the horse well in Egypt (Gn 47^{17}), and who came into a country, many of the tribes of which had large numbers of war horses, should not have adopted and used so noble an animal. The explanation is to be sought in the pastoral habits of the Isr., inherited from their patriarchal ancestors, and continued through the period of their residence in Egypt. These habits led them to seek first the conquest of the hill-country of Canaan. This country is not adapted for the movements either of cavalry or chariots, and the aborigines of these regions seem not to have had horses. But when the Isr. came into the plains of N. Pal. they at once encountered large numbers of chariots and horsemen, but, acting under the command of God, who delivered them into their hands, they houghed the horses and burned the chariots (Jos 11^{4-9}). The fact that the Phil. plains had chariots and horses (Jg 1^{19}) prevented the early conquest of that region. An encounter, 150 years later, in the plain of Jezreel, resulted in another overthrow of the chariots. The Isr., entrenched in their hills, were slow in adopting cavalry and chariots. The Arabs of that day do not seem to have used the horse. In the account of the great raid of Zebah and Zalmunna (Jg 7. 8) no mention is made of horses. David began their use by reserving 100 of the chariots of N. Syria, with their horses (2 S 8^{4}). Solomon increased this force by importations from Egypt, at a fixed price of 150 shekels for a cavalry horse, and 600 for a chariot and its three horses (1 K $10^{28.\,29}$). He had 12,000 of the former and 1400 chariots, which, at three horses to a chariot, would make 4200 (cf. 1 K 10^{26} with 4^{26}, where 40,000 should read 4000). When the kingdom was divided, the ten tribes, which held the plains of N. Pal., had many chariots. When nearly all their chariots and horses were taken in the great overthrow by the Syrians (2 K 13^{7}) they never recovered from the blow. The small number of chariots possessed by the Judæan kingdom led to a constant reliance on Egypt for chariots and cavalry in the encounters with Syria and Assyria. Against this the prophets inveighed (Is 31^{1}, Ezk 17^{15} etc., cf. Dt 17^{16}). The cavalry and chariots of Assyria were esteemed the most formidable in the world, and are often mentioned in the prophets (Hab 1^{8}, Nah 3^{2} etc.). The Jews brought back 736 horses from Babylon (Neh 7^{68}). Horses were regularly employed in war in Pal. down to late Roman times. There was a chariot road to Egypt in the days of the apostles (Ac 8^{28}), and there are abundant evidences of the use of these formidable engines of war in the cities E. of the Jordan, in the pass by the Nahr el-Kelb near

Beirût, and in many other places in the land. It is probable that the present breed of Arabian horses are descendants of the very fine stock for which Assyria was famous. White horses (Rev 6^{2} $19^{11.14}$) were ridden by conquerors. Horses and chariots were dedicated to the sun by idolatrous kings (2 K 23^{11}). Horses had halters (Is 30^{28}) and bridles (Ps 32^{9}). The bridles were decorated with bells (Zec 14^{20}; Layard, *Nin.* ii. 29, 275). The horses were often not shod, hence the hardness of their hoofs (Is 5^{28}). Chariots and horses had rich trappings (Ezk 27^{20}). Saddles were rare (Layard, ii. 357).
G. E. POST.

HORSE GATE.—See JERUSALEM.

HORSELEECH (עֲלוּקָה *'ălûḳah*, *βδέλλα*, *sanguisuga*).—The obsolete Heb. root עָלַק corresponds to the Arab. *'aliḳa*, which means to *hang to*. The Arab. generic name for leeches is *'ălaḳ*, and for an individual *'ălaḳah*. If we regard the creature intended as one of the annelids, *'âlûḳâh* should be rendered *leech* rather than *horseleech*. Of the annelids found in Syria and Pal. the medicinal leech, *Hirudo medicinalis*, Sav., and the horseleech, *Hæmopis sanguisorba*, Sav., are the most common. There are also species of *Bdella*, *Trochetia*, and other genera of leeches, in the stagnant waters. They cling to the feet and legs of those who wade into such waters. They also infest the fountains and pools, and the watering-troughs of cattle, and attach themselves to the throat or nostrils of beasts and men. The tenacity with which they adhere is such that they must sometimes be pulled apart in order to detach them. The pertinacity with which they suck quite justifies the expression 'the *'ălûḳâh* hath two daughters, Give, Give' (Pr 30^{15}). It is, however, possible that the allusion may be to the *'ălûḳ* of the Arabs, the *ghûl* or *female spectre*, which they allege sucks blood like the vampire, and feeds on the flesh of the dead (see Wildeboer, *ad loc.*).
G. E. POST.

HORSELITTER.—Only 2 Mac 9^{8} (*φόριον* [=*φορεῖον*], which is tr^{d} 'litter' in 3^{27}), RV 'litter' (which see). The word is used in Malory's *Morte Darthur* (Caxton's text) several times. Thus i. 3, 'So it was done as Merlin had devised, and they carried the king forth in a horse-litter with a great host towards his enemies'; and x. 37, 'Then came queen Morgan le Fay to Alisander, and bad him arise, and put him in a horse-litter: and gave him such a drink that in three days and three nights he waked never but slept.'

HORTICULTURE.—See GARDEN.

HOSAH (חֹסָה 'refuge').—A Levitical doorkeeper of the temple, whose station was by the 'gate of Shallecheth,' 1 Ch 16^{38} $26^{10.11.16}$. See GENEALOGY, III. 39.

HOSAH (חֹסָה).—A city of Asher, apparently south of Tyre, Jos 19^{29}. The site is doubtful.

HOSANNA.—An acclamation used by the people on the occasion of our Lord's triumphal entry into Jerusalem. It occurs six times in the Gospels: twice (Mk 11^{9}, Jn 12^{13}) it stands absolutely, twice (Mt $21^{9.15}$) it is followed by the dative ('to the Son of David'), and twice (Mt 21^{9}, Mk 11^{10}) by the adjunct 'in the highest'. The circumstance that in all three Gospels the words 'Blessed *is* he that cometh in the name of the LORD,' from Ps 118^{26}, follow it, has given rise to the assumption that it is borrowed from the preceding verse of that psalm, which begins with *'ānnāh J" hoshî'āh nā*, *i.e.* 'save, pray' (Sept. *σῶσον δή*). This v.^{25} of the psalm, according to the ritual of the temple, is said to have been repeated once on each of the first six days of the joyous Feast of Tabernacles during the solemn procession around the altar of burnt sacrifice and seven times on the seventh day (John Lightfoot, *The Temple Service*, etc., ch. xvi. § 2; De Sola and Raphall, *Eighteen Treatises from the Mishna*, 2nd ed., tr. Succah, ch. iv. § 5; M. Schwab, *Le Talmud de Jérus. traduit*, vol. vi. 33). This seventh day thus came to be called the 'Great Hosanna' (Buxtorf, *Lex.* 992) or 'Hosanna Day' (Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge*, u.s.w. 2te Aufl. p. 395 n.; Dalman, *Gram. d. jüdisch-paläst. Aramäisch*, p. 198), and the name was transferred not merely to the prayers of the occasion, but also to the branches of palm trees and willows (Lv 23^{40}) which were carried and waved on that festivity. Similarly, in Christian usage, Palm Sunday, to which our Lord's entry has given name, has in certain periods and regions been called 'Hosanna Sunday' or 'Day of Hosannas,' or simply 'Osanna'; and the term has been applied to the 'Sanctus,' 'Tersanctus,' or 'Triumphal Hymn' (as it is variously called) sung by the people at the conclusion of the 'Eucharistic Preface' in all liturgies (C. E. Hammond, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, 1878, p. 381; Bingham, *Antiq.* xiv. 2, 5); and later the extended use of the word gave rise, especially in the languages of Southern Europe, to such verbs as *hosannare*, *oisisannare*, etc., together with corresponding adjectives (see Ducange, *Gloss. med. et. infim. Latin.*, ed. Favre, iii. 167 f.).

How the Hebrew term *hos(h)î'āna*—employed by Luther not only in his translation of the NT, but even in some editions of his translation of the Psalms (see Bindseil and Niemeyer's ed.), and adopted at first by Tindale in his NT of 1525 (ed. E. Arber, 1871)—became changed into *hosana* (*-anna*), those who hold this opinion are not quite agreed. Jerome, in his reply to the inquiry of Damasus about the meaning of the term (*Opp.* i. 375 ff., *Ep.* xx. in Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* xxii.), lets fall in one place the conjecture that the shorter form is an ignorant corruption (cf. Origen on *Mt. l.c.*, ed. Lommatzsch, iv. 58). The more common supposition regards it as having arisen by syncope or contraction (Jerome as above; Levita, *Tishbi*, *s.v.*; and the commentators generally); or as a supposed Aramaic form (there is no root ישׁע in Aram.) of the verb with the pronominal suffix (meaning 'Save *us*.' See Kautzsch, *Gram. des Bib.-Aram.* 1884, p. 173, and, against this, Dalm. *l.c.*).

But though the words 'Blessed is he that cometh,' etc., are indubitably borrowed from Ps 118, and though vv.$^{22f.}$ of that psalm receive express Messianic reference both from our Lord (Mt 21^{42}, Mk 12^{11}, Lk 20^{17}) and St. Peter (Ac 4^{11}, 1 P 2^{7}), it may be doubted whether the rejoicing multitudes in the evangelic story were consciously indebted to the psalm or its use at the Feast of Tabernacles either for the cry 'Hosanna' or the festive demonstration with palm and other branches. To find the explanation of either word or act in the psalm and its use, involves the NT interpreter in grave embarrassments. The language of the psalm is supplicatory, that of the Gospels is jubilant. The psalmist's petition looks towards himself and those whom he represents (the English Pr. Bk. even follows the Vulg. in inserting the object 'me': *Salvum me fac*, 'Help me'); the *Hosanna* of the Gospels finds its expressed object in 'the Son of David.' This aspect of the case makes equally against discovering the original of our term in the Aramaic אוֹשַׁעְנָא 'Save *us*.' The obvious incongruity between the supplicatory sense and the tone of the narrative has driven expositors to jejune and far-fetched explanations: some, for example, by transposing the Greek, have extorted the rendering '(Saying) to the Son of

David, Oh save'; or, by arbitrarily changing υἱῷ to υἱέ, 'O Son of David, save.' Others, resorting to the secondary sense of *Hosanna*, have taken the shout to mean 'Triumphal palms to the Son of David' (cf. Syr. Philox.). The phrase 'in the highest' also has been made to signify 'O thou that dwellest in the heavens,' or 'May our cry be ratified in heaven,' or 'taken up by the angels,' etc. The inappropriateness of finding an echo of the psalmist's supplication in the Hosanna of the Gospels is made only the more evident by adducing the ceremonies of the Feast of Tabernacles. For that feast occurred in the autumn; the triumphal entry in the spring. Consequently, some critics (*e.g.* Wünsche, *Erläuterung der Evang. aus Talmud u. Midrasch*, p. 241 n.) have felt compelled to assume that the Passover and the Feast of Tabernacles have been confounded in the Gospels, or that a usage of the latter festival has been arbitrarily transferred to the former. Nor is the difficulty relieved by the fact that shouts of joy and waving of palms had become usual at the Feast of Dedication as well as at the Feast of Tabernacles (2 Mac $10^{6.7}$). For as the Feast of Dedication occurred only two months later than the Feast of Tabernacles (cf. Jn 10^{22}), the chronological discord is thereby only slightly abated.

This extension of the jubilant usages of the Feast of Tabernacles, however, does seem to point in the right direction, and to set us free to follow the plain contextual indications of the evangelists' narrative. According to those indications, it is most natural to regard the word *Hosanna*, as respects its form, as neither syncopated nor contracted, but the shorter Hiphil imperative with the appended enclitic (הוֹשַׁע־נָא; cf. Ps 86^2, Jer 31^7). For this form there is distinct Talmudic warrant (Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-paläst. Aramäisch*, p. 198; Levy, *Neuhbr. u. chald. Wörterbuch*, i. 461; Schindler, *Lexicon Pentaglot.* ed. 1653, col. 819). As respects its force, we must, for the same contextual reasons, assume that it had already lost its primary supplicatory sense and become an ejaculation of joy or shout of welcome. As a quaint writer somewhat plumply puts the matter, 'It was a kind of *holy hurrah*'; and the 'Hosanna in the highest' corresponded roughly to our 'three times three.' Cf. the analogous Greek and Roman exclamations 'Ἰὴ παιάν,' 'Io triumphe, terque quaterque.' The waving of palms, etc., and strewing of the way with garments and branches find abundant precedents in ancient usage, including the Jewish: 2 Mac $10^{6.7}$ 14^4, 1 Mac 13^{51}, 2 K 9^{13}; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. xiii. 5; see Wetstein, *Nov. Test. Græc.* i. 460 f.; Keim, *Jesu von Naz.* iii. 89 n. 4 (Eng. trans. v. 107 n. 2); Schoettgen, *Horæ Hebr.* etc. on Mt 21^8. The general use of the palm among the Jews on joyous occasions is attested by extant coins: F. W. Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, Lond. 1881, p. 73.

This ejaculatory interpretation of *Hosanna* finds some confirmation in the post-biblical history of the word. Not without significance is the circumstance that down to quite modern times it was simply transliterated in versions of Scripture, not translated. The Anglo-Saxon versions seem to be the first to render it 'Hail' (see S. C. Malan, *The Gosp. of St. John trans. from the eleven oldest versions*, etc., 1862; J. Bosworth, *Gothic and Anglo-Saxon Gospels*, 1865). Yet Ciasca in his Latin version of the Arabic text of Tatian's Harmony renders it *Laus, Gloria*, and the Armenian Vulgate, *Blessing* (see Hill, *S. Ephraem's Gospel Commentary*, 1896, p. 110). The *Didaché* (10. 6) and the *Apostolic Constitutions* (8. 12, al. 13, p. 259, 17, ed. Lagarde; cf. 7. 26, p. 209, 26) attest its early liturgical use in churches of heathen origin; compare its doxological use, too, in the account by Hegesippus (in Euseb. *HE* II. xxiii. 14) of the martyrdom of James the brother of the Lord. Although it is correctly interpreted (σῶσον δή) in the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, ch. i. (ed. Thilo, p. 510 ff.; *Gesta Pilati*, A. c. i. 4, p. 210, ed. Tdf.), yet even Clement of Alex. (*Pædag.* I. v. 12) says it is equivalent in Greek to φῶς καὶ δόξα καὶ αἶνος, and the diversity of opinion on this point in intelligent Christian circles appears sufficiently in the correspondence between Damasus and Jerome referred to above. By the 10th cent. so thoroughly has its etymological meaning become obscured that Suidas or his annotator (see Gaisford's ed. vol. ii. col. 2794 *b*) can define it εἰρήνη καὶ δόξα, and add, 'Some say it signifies σῶσον δή; *incorrectly*.' Especially instructive are the comments of Augustine (in his *Doctrina Christiana*, ii. 11, Migne, xxxiv. col. 42, and *Tract. in Johan.* li. 2, Migne, xxxv. col. 1764): he says explicitly that the word is nothing more than an interjection of admiring joy, a term expressing an emotional mood, not a connected thought; and he contrasts it with 'Amen' and 'Hallelujah,' the intrinsic meaning of which evidently in his day still clung to them. The contrast he draws finds illustration in pseudo-Justin in the 5th cent. in his *Responsio ad Quæst.* 50 (Otto, *Corp. apol. christ.* ed. 3, vol. v. p. 74), where 'Hallelujah' is correctly interpreted 'Sing praise to the Eternal,' but 'Hosanna' is said to mean 'Transcendent majesty.' The practice of employing the phrase 'Hosanna in the highest' as a glad greeting—deprecated by Jerome on Mt 21^{15} (*Opp.* vii. col. 152, Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* xxvi.)—appears as late as A.D. 570, in the *Itinerary of Antoninus* (ed. Gildemeister, Berlin, 1889, § 40).

LITERATURE.—The discussions of the term are numerous, and widely scattered in commentaries and exegetical works. Specimens of the older may be seen in the *Critici Sacri*; in Poole's *Synopsis*; in Lampe on Jn 12^{13}; J. C. Wolf, *Curæ*, etc., on Mt 21^9, where numerous reff. are given. Worth consulting, also, are the 7th ch. of Gabriel Groddeck's essay on the Feast of Tabernacles in Ugolini's *Thesaurus*, etc. vol. xviii. p. 534 ff., and the note in F. B. Dach's ed. (1726) of the treatise *Succah*, ch. iv. § 5, p. 331 ff. Special essays on the word (or the triumphal entry) by Bindrim (1671), Winzer (1703), Zopf (1703), Nothdurfft (1713), Bucher (1728), Wernsdorf (1765), J. C. Pfaff (1789), J. M. H. Harras, J. G. Rau, Sauerbrei, J. G. Walch, and others, are catalogued; but they have not been accessible to the present writer.

J. H. THAYER.

HOSEA.—

i. Name and Life of the Prophet.
ii. The Prophet's Time.
iii. The Prophet's Book.
  A. First division, chs. 1–3.
  B. Second division, chs. 4–14.
    (1) The cultus.
    (2) The internal misrule.
    (3) External politics.
iv. Some General Ideas.
  (1) God and Religion.
  (2) The People.
v. Integrity and Text.

i. NAME AND LIFE OF THE PROPHET.—The prophet Hosea (Heb. הוֹשֵׁעַ 'salvation,' Gr. Ὡσῆε, Lat. *Osee*, so AV Ro 9^{25}), whose name is identical with the original name of Joshua (Nu 13^8), and with that of the last king of Israel (AV Hoshea 2 K 15^{30}), was certainly a native of the Northern Kingdom, the condition and destiny of which he has in view throughout his prophecy. The references in the prophecy to Judah, though pretty numerous, are more incidental, and Jerusalem is nowhere mentioned.* Israel is 'the land' (1^2), its king is 'our king' (7^5), and it is 'the house of Jehu' on which the blood of Jezreel shall be visited, and 'the kingdom of the house of Israel' that shall be made to cease (1^4). It is the localities of the Northern Kingdom that are familiar to the prophet, Gilead and Tabor (5^{1} 6^{8} 12^{11}), Gibeah (5^{8} 9^{9} 10^{9}), Gilgal (4^{15} 9^{15} 12^{11}), Jezreel (1$^{4.\,5.\,11}$ 2^{22}), Ramah (5^{8}), Shechem (6^{9}), and particularly Bethel (4^{15} 5^{8} 10$^{5.\,8.\,15}$ 12^{4}) and Samaria (7^{1} 8$^{5.\,6}$ 10$^{5.\,7}$ 13^{16}). In like manner it is the internal condition of Israel and the state of parties there to which allusion is made: the neglect and selfishness of the priests (4$^{5\text{ff.}}$ 5^{1} 8^{11}); the heathenish revelry of the people at the feasts (2^{13} 9^{1}), and their immoralities at the high places (4$^{13.\,14}$ 6^{10}); and the conspiracies, bloodshed, and anarchy that followed the death of Jeroboam—'all their kings are fallen' (7^{7} 13^{11}).[*]

---

* References to Judah are: $1^{7.11}$ 3^5 4^{15} $5^{5.10.12\text{-}14}$ $6^{4.11}$ 8^{14} 10^{11} 11^{12} 12^2. A number of these passages appear to disturb the connexion, and have been thought later insertions or alterations of the text.

Little is known of the prophet's history. His father was named Beeri (1^{1}), and he represents himself as taking to wife a woman called Gomer, who became the mother of several children, to whom he gave symbolical names prophetical of the destiny of his country (ch. 1). The rather obscure passage 9^{8} may imply that he and others were exposed to persecution—'as for the prophet, the snare of a fowler is on all his ways, and enmity in the house of his God.' Whether the words of the previous verse, 'the prophet is a fool, the man of the spirit is mad,' be contemptuous language used by the people (2 K 9^{11}, Jer 29^{26}), to which the prophet replies: Yes, 'because of the multitude of thine iniquity, and the great enmity'; or whether the words be those of the prophet himself, expressing the distraction to which he was driven by the wickedness and hostility of the people (Jer 23$^{9\text{ff.}}$), is rather uncertain.

There is nothing to indicate with any certainty to what rank of life the prophet belonged. Duhm (*Theol. d. Proph.* 130 f.) has argued that he was probably a member of the priestly class, on account of his frequent references to the priests (4$^{6\text{ff.}}$ 5^{1} 6^{9}), to the *Torah* of God (4^{6} 8^{12}), to 'unclean things' (9^{3}, cf. 5^{3} 6^{10}), to 'abominations' (9^{10}), and to persecution 'in the house of his God' (9$^{7.\,8}$). He was certainly a man sufficiently educated to follow and estimate the politics of his country, whether at home or abroad (7$^{1\text{-}11}$ 5$^{13\text{f.}}$), and to pass judgment on the course the national history had taken from the beginning. If any inference could be drawn from the figures and comparisons in which the prophecy is so rich, it would be that the prophet, like Amos, belonged to the country rather than the city. Such images are: (*a*) those from wild beasts, the lion, panther, and bear (5^{14} 6^{1} 11^{10} 13$^{7.\,8}$), and other creatures of the field, as the wild ass (8^{9}), and birds (7^{11} 9^{11} 11^{11}), and from the snares and pits employed in trapping them (5$^{1.\,2}$ 7^{12} 9^{8}). (*b*) Those from agricultural life, *e.g.* from stubborn cattle (4^{16} 9^{15}), the yoke and ways of easing it (11^{4}), harnessing, threshing, plowing, and harrowing (10$^{11\text{ff.}}$); from the operations of the husbandman, as sowing and reaping: 'sowing the wind' (8^{7}), 'sowing righteousness' (10$^{12\text{ff.}}$); from the corn floor (9^{1} 13^{3}), and the like. And in general (*c*) the imagery reflects country life, *e.g.* references to the vine and fig and the time when their fruit is choice (9^{10} 10^{1}), to the furrows of the field (10^{4} 12^{12}), the poppy (10^{4}), thorns and thistles (10^{8}), nettles (9^{6}), reeds (13^{15}, cf. the images in 2$^{21\text{ff.}}$ 14$^{5\text{ff.}}$); to the rains of the various seasons, the winter, early and latter rain (6^{3} 10^{12}), to the morning cloud and the early dew (6^{4} 13^{3}), to the swollen country brooks—'like a splinter on the face of the water' (10^{7}), and to the hot desert wind that smites the vegetation and leaves the fountains dry (13^{15}). Hosea is the only writer before Deut. (19^{14} 27^{17}) who refers to the removal of boundary stones in the fields (5^{10}). Whether this imagery warrants any conclusion regarding the prophet's position in life or not, it is evidence of a fine poetic sensibility, of profound sympathy with nature and love of creature life. The prophet lives in the things that are around him, sympathizing with the life in everything and feeling its charm. It is characteristic of his images that they are painted in a word and never developed. Those of them that refer to human life have usually something pathetic in them: Ephraim's decadence among the nations is like grey hairs coming up on the head of one old before his time (7^{9}); in his inability to grasp the crisis now come upon him, and use it as the entrance upon a larger life, he is like the child that dies on the threshold of birth (13^{13}). In His guidance of His people God has been like one that teaches a child to go (11^{3}). Ephraim must bring out his children to the murderer; more merciful would it be if God would deny them children, giving them a miscarrying womb and dry breasts (9$^{11\text{-}14}$). The pleasant homes of Ephraim shall be overgrown with nettles, his children shall be wanderers among the nations, and a foreign land shall bury them (9$^{6.\,17}$).

Jewish writers identify Beeri the father of Hosea with Beerah, a Reubenite prince carried captive by Tiglath-pileser (1 Ch 5^{6}). According to Christian tradition the prophet was of the tribe of Issachar, and from a place called Belemoth or Belemon (Baalmoth, Ephrem Syrus in Knobel, *Prophetismus*, ii. 154; the form Belemon has been compared with a place Balamon [RV], near Dothan, mentioned in Jth 8^{3}). A Jewish legend (in Carpzov, *Introd.*) states that the prophet died in Babylon, and was carried to Galilee and buried in Safed (Neubauer, *Géog. du Talmud*, 227). According to another tradition he was a native of Gilead, and the grave of Nebi Osha (prophet Hosea) is shown near es-Salṭ (Baedeker, *Palest.* 337).

ii. THE PROPHET'S TIME.—Chs. 1–3 contain references to events and prophecies of the time of Jeroboam II., though written later; while much in chs. 4–14 reflects the period of disorder that followed his death. The chronology of the period is obscure. The annals of Tiglath-pileser state that Menahem paid tribute to Assyria in 738 (2 K 15^{19}); this must have been towards the end of his reign (said to have lasted about ten years, 2 K 15^{17}); and as his two predecessors reigned only 7 months in all, Jeroboam's death must have occurred *c.* 746–745. Hosea's ministry therefore began some time previous to this date (1^{4}). The prophet's career probably closed before 735–734, the date of the Syro-Ephraimitic invasion of Judah, as he makes no allusion to this event, nor yet to the deportation of northern Israel by Tiglath-pileser in 734. Gilead is still an integral part of Israel (5^{1} 6^{8} 12^{11}), and Assyria is not spoken of as an enemy but as a delusive support (5^{13} 7^{11} 8^{9} 12$^{1.\,2}$ 14^{3}). The title 'king Jareb' (LXX Ἰαρείμ) given to the king of Assyria (5^{13} 10^{6}) remains obscure. (See JAREB). Not less obscure is 10^{14} 'as Shalman spoiled Beth-arbel.' If Shalman were a shorter form of Shalmaneser, reference might be to Shalmaneser III. (783–773), though the period of his reign is rather remote. Others consider that Shalmaneser IV. (727–722) is referred to, and regard the words as a later gloss. Nothing is known of any operation of Shalmaneser IV. against a place Beth-arbel, and it is by no means certain that Shalman is a contraction for Shalmaneser.[*] Even if the word 'Judah' be genuine in 5^{13} (which there may be some reason to doubt, as it is not repeated in the parallelism), the passage does not say that Judah had recourse to Assyria for help as Ephraim did, and contains no allusion to the appeal of Ahaz to Tiglath-pileser. The reference to the kings of Judah in the heading (1^{1}) is no doubt from the hand of a later editor (cf. Is 1^{1}, Mic 1^{1}). The first part of the title, 'The word of the LORD which came to Hosea, the son of Beeri,' may be older; at any rate the name Beeri is historical. The name 'Jeroboam' may be an inference from 1^{4} 'the house of Jehu,' and be due to the hand which inserted the names of the kings of Judah. If this is not the case, the title must be restricted to chs. 1–3; but there is little probability that these chapters were put out or ever existed separately. Chs. 1–3 appear rather an introductory programme to 4–14, expressing the principle or essential conception of the prophet's teaching, and showing how it was symbolized in his personal experience. Though referring to events in the early part of the prophet's career, chs. 1–3 contain the result of reflection on his whole history and teaching, and in date of composition may be the latest part of the book. The only thing that might seem opposed to this conclusion is the fact that in chs. 1–3 there is no reference to the dynastic revolutions often alluded to in chs. 4–14. But chs. 1–3 are meant to present the prophet's fundamental conception, which is that of the conjugal tie between J″ and Israel, and Israel's unfaithfulness to this tie; and this unfaithfulness, which is a state of the mind, 'a spirit of whoredom,' is most conspicuous in the cultus (though cf. 3^{4} 'without king,' etc.).

Hosea may have heard Amos, he must at least have heard of him and of his teaching, but there is hardly any trace in his book of the earlier prophet's influence. Such parallels as have been cited are entirely inconclusive, *e.g.* the following (the passages from Amos are placed second): 4^{3}, 8^{8}; 5^{5}, 8^{7}; 5^{7}, 7^{4}; 9^{3}, 7^{17}; 10^{4}, 6^{12}; 10^{8}, 7^{9}; 12^{8}, 8^{5}; $12^{10\text{f.}}$, $2^{10\text{f.}}$. Ch. 4^{15} is certainly an echo of Am 5^{5}, but the verse is in disorder, and its originality doubtful. In other places Bethaven for Bethel (5^{8} 10^{5}) may be uncertain, as copyists sometimes made the change (*e.g.* LXX has Bethaven in 12^{4}). Ch. 8^{14} ends with a favourite refrain of Amos, but the words are suspicious.

---

[*] Whether such forms as תרגיל 11^{3}, קאם 10^{14}, אֱהִי *where?* 13^{14} be examples of northern dialect may be doubtful.

[*] Cf. Schrader, *KAT*^{2} 440 ff., and the Comm. *in loc.*

iii. THE PROPHET'S BOOK.—The book has two divisions, chs. 1–3 and chs. 4–14. Chs. 1–3 set forth the history or parable of the prophet's marriage to a woman who became unfaithful, with the moral of the story, which is the love-relation of J″ to Israel, and Israel's unfaithfulness to this relation. The story is told in chs. 1. 3, the exposition of it is given in ch. 2. In chs. 1–3 the prophet has abstracted from his prophetic speeches and career the essential conception of his teaching and set it as a kind of programme at the head of his book. Chs. 4–14 are more a reflection of his prophetic ministry as it was actually exercised, though the chapters have also been written or redacted under the influence of his fundamental idea (cf. for evidence chs. 4–6).

A. *FIRST DIVISION.*—Chs. 1–3.—'In the beginning when J″ spake to Hosea, J″ said to Hosea, Go, take a wife of whoredoms, and children of whoredoms. And he went and took Gomer, the daughter of Diblaim.' A 'wife of whoredoms' does not mean a woman already a sinner; nor yet a woman with a propensity to unchastity, a sense which the words could not bear. A 'wife of whoredoms' is explained by 'children of whoredoms.' The children did not yet exist; they were born in the prophet's house, for Hosea did not marry a woman with a family; and in like manner the woman when taken was not yet that which she afterwards became. If the events be real, the words are written from a much later period in the prophet's history. Looking back on his experiences with Gomer, and all that he had suffered and learned through them, Hosea felt that his impulse to take this woman to wife was the beginning of J″'s speaking to him (cf. Jer 32^{8}). Whether the events were real or not, chs. 1–3 were probably written at a late period of Hosea's life.

Gomer bare a son, and the LORD said, 'Call his name Jezreel, for I will visit the blood of Jezreel upon the house of Jehu' (1^{4}). The blood of Jezreel refers to the murder by Jehu of all the descendants of Ahab and the whole house of Omri (2 K 10). The name Jezreel is used merely to recall the deed of blood. It is an ominous sound, a knell rung in the ears of Jeroboam and the nation to awaken the sense of guilt and the presentiment of retribution. Again, Gomer bore a daughter, and the LORD said, 'Call her name Lo-ruhamah ('unpitied'), for I will no more have pity on the house of Israel' (1^{6}). Finally, she bore a son who was called Lo-ammi ('not-my-people'), 'for ye are not my people, and I will not be your God' (1^{9}). The three names suggest the three successive steps in the destruction of the inhabitants of the land: Jezreel calling to remembrance the blood that lies on the land; **Lo-ruhamah** pointing to a condition of Israel, when, no more pitied by J″, she shall be delivered over to calamity and her enemies; and **Lo-ammi** indicating that the people shall be driven out of Canaan, the house of J″, and go into exile.

Ch. 3 attaches itself to ch. $1^{1\text{-}9}$. The last symbolical word in ch. 1 was Lo-ammi, pointing to a divorce by J″ of His people, or at least a casting of them out of His house. Ch. 3 continues the history. 'And the LORD said unto me,—

> Again, go love a woman, loved of a paramour and an adulteress,
> As J″ loveth the children of Israel, though they turn to other gods.'

The woman whom Hosea is bidden again go love is of course the same woman Gomer of the first chapter. She is a woman loved of a paramour and an adulteress. The word Lo-ammi (1^{9}) suggests the unrecorded step in the history: the woman had fled or been driven from the prophet's house and become the slave-concubine of another. He is bidden renew his love to her. So he acquired her again to himself for a small price (that of a slave, Ex 21^{32}), returning to her in mind, but deferring for a long time to return to her in union (3^{3}). The explanation is added: 'The children of Israel shall remain many days without king, and without sacrifice,' etc. The LORD's love continues with His people, whom He shall keep in long restraint and discipline in exile, till their mind change and they seek Him. Ch. $2^{2\text{ff.}}$ is the exposition of this history: (1) Israel's whoredoms with the baals (the calf images, which are no God, 8^{6}), vv.$^{2\text{-}5}$; (2) her perplexities when 'unpitied,' vv.$^{6\text{-}13}$; (3) her exile and discipline in the wilderness, vv.$^{14\text{-}18}$; and (4) her change of mind and new espousals and obtaining of mercy for ever, vv.$^{19\text{-}23}$. Though ch. 3 be appended somewhat loosely, it supplies an essential step in the story, and its contents are drawn into the exposition ch. $2^{14\text{-}23}$.

The Marriage of Hosea.—Various opinions have been held on this subject. 1. It has been supposed that Hosea allied himself with a woman already known as a sinner, with the view of reclaiming her. It is very difficult to believe either that the prophet should do such a thing, or that he should represent himself as commanded by God to do it. It is a different thing when he seeks to reclaim the woman afterwards (3^{1}), and represents his efforts to do so as the command of God, because she was then his wife. Moreover, the representation that the woman was already a sinner when taken to wife does not suit the symbolism. It is the view of the prophet and all the early prophets that Israel was pure in the first time of her union to J″, and only corrupted herself later. The LORD says, 'I found Israel like grapes in the wilderness,' a figure suggesting His delight in her (9^{10}); and in Jer 2^{2} He says, 'I remember of thee the kindness of thy youth, thy bridal love, how thou didst follow me in the wilderness.' Though this view was formerly advocated, and deserves mention because supported by Pusey, it has probably few adherents now.

2. It has been maintained by many that the whole story is an allegory. Neither the arguments for this view nor those against it are of much force. (1) It is argued that prophets often represent themselves as commanded to perform actions which, from the nature of the case, could not really have been performed (Ezk $4^{2\text{ff.}}$). The actions were ideal; their meaning was easily seen when they were described; and they had no existence except in the idea and the description. All this is true; but it is equally true that prophets, particularly in early times, did sometimes perform real actions having a symbolical meaning (1 K 22^{11}, Jer 28^{10}). (2) The fact that the names of the children, Jezreel, Lo-ruhamah, and Lo-ammi, are significant makes neither for nor against the allegorical interpretation. Real children might have been given symbolical names, as was the case with Isaiah's sons (7^{3} 8^{1}). On the other hand, no symbolical meaning has been discovered for the name of the mother, Gomer. (3) The argument of Ewald, and others after him, that the prophet would have made himself ridiculous if he had published such a pitiful narrative about himself all the while that his wife was virtuous and his domestic relations happy, has little force. If his hearers *understood* that he spoke a parable, they would not have given a thought either to himself or his wife, but have attended only to the moral of his tale. (4) The statement so often repeated, that there is nothing to suggest that the prophet is not narrating an actual history, will not be acquiesced in by everyone. When it is said, 'Go, take a wife of whoredoms, for the land committeth whoredom against the LORD' (1^{2}); and then, 'Again go love a woman, an adulteress, as J″ loveth the children of Israel, while they turn to other gods' (3^{1}), the first impression produced by the words is that the actions commanded were not real, but meant merely to clothe an idea. Cf. the exposition $2^{2\text{ff.}}$.

3. It is held by many that a certain substratum of fact underlies the prophet's narrative. The chief arguments for this view are, first, that it is more in harmony with the realism of ancient prophecy to suppose that Hosea alludes, however reservedly, to a fact, than that he is putting forth a mere literary fable; secondly, that no symbolical meaning can be discovered in Gomer-bath-Diblaim, which must therefore be the name of an actual person; and thirdly, that we have thus an explanation of the origin of the prophet's central conception of the love-relation of J″ to His people and their unfaithfulness. The conception was suggested by the prophet's own experiences. Some such miserable history as he narrates had befallen him. His wife

had gone astray, sharing the common corruption of morals about her. What had happened to him was not an individual case. It was not individuals that were corrupt, the corruption was general—Israel was corrupt. And meditating on his history he saw in it a reflection of the history of J″ and His people, of His love and Israel's insensibility to it. And reflecting further on it, the conviction forced itself upon him that it was not an accident or a misfortune that had brought him through such painful experiences, it was God's providential way of revealing to him His own heart towards His people—his impulse to take this woman to wife was the beginning of J″'s speaking to him (1^{2}).

The attempt to fit this theory into the prophet's life is not without difficulty. (1) The prophet's taking Gomer to wife was due to his own natural impulse; it was not till much later that he concluded that the impulse had been prompted by God. The same must be said of his return in love to her after she had left his house (ch. 3): it was due to his own unchanging affection; and it was only later reflection that led him to interpret his own act as the command of God. (2) But now, these events must have covered a good part of the prophet's life. The birth and weaning of three children, according to the habits of Heb. mothers, would occupy 6 to 10 years; and when to this is added the time during which the woman was away from the prophet's home and under the protection of another, and the time occupied in recovering her, it will appear that not much short of the whole prophetic life of Hosea is covered. (3) It is of some consequence to ask, When did his wife's infidelity become known to the prophet? Wellhausen, who claims to have given the cue to the interpretation both of Kuenen and W. R. Smith, argues, and surely rightly, that it was not till after the birth of his first child. But if so, it was not his misfortunes that gave Hosea his prophetic word. Israel's apostasy was plain to him, and he foreshadowed her doom in Jezreel, the name of his first child, before any misfortunes overtook him. At most, his misfortunes may at a later time have given a *complexion* to his prophetic thoughts. (4) Wellh. (followed by Nowack) appears to think that Gomer's unfaithfulness was discovered before the birth of the other two children. There is really no evidence on the point. There is certainly none in the names of the children, for Lo-ruhamah and Lo-ammi are names having a purely objective reference to the impending fate of Israel; there is not the slightest evidence that they express any feeling on the part of the father toward the children, or any dislike of them as of doubtful parentage. It is hard to believe that Hosea would have continued to retain an adulteress in his house. It is said that 'he concealed the shame of their mother and acknowledged her children as his own, hiding his bitter sorrow in his own heart' (W. R. Smith, *Prophets*, 179, cf. 183). If he concealed the shame at the time, he certainly took effectual pains to proclaim it to all the world soon afterwards. It would be more natural to suppose that it was only after all the children were born that the woman's character was revealed to the prophet, either through her desertion or in some other way, and that then for the first time he could use the bitter words, 'a wife of whoredom and children of whoredom.' Even the passage 4^{14} leaves any other view improbable.

It is not of much consequence for the interpretation of the prophet's book whether we suppose his marriage real or parabolical. In any case his conception of the relation of J″ to Israel is clear. If the story is a parable, it evidently helped Hosea's mind in conceiving the divine relation to imagine a human analogy to it. And many scholars have felt that it helped them to realize his idea and how he reached it to suppose the story historical:—to fancy a man of the prophet's depth and sensitiveness of nature united to a light woman, who could not even understand a mind and love like his; his anguish and desolateness on discovering how things were; and yet, amidst whatever inward struggles, his patience and self-forgetfulness, and the unchanging trueness of his affection, which could not let his wife go, but sought her out in order to recover her from her evil. Such a history of his own, it is thought, helps to explain the colour which he has thrown over the relation of J″ to His people—the human and moral and personal colour which he gives to the relation.

One or two general considerations may be stated. (1) Israel's unfaithfulness and declension must have been patent to Hosea apart from any history of his own, as it was to Amos and to Elijah a century earlier. And J″'s constant goodness must have been equally patent, as it was to Amos (2^{9-11}) and to Isaiah (1^{2}). And the fatal issues of the people's ingratitude must have also been clear. These general truths needed no particular history of his own to impress them on Hosea. (2) It is not therefore these ideas of the relation of J″ to Israel that are peculiar to Hosea, but the conception of the marriage tie under which the relation has been brought. Wellhausen considers the conclusion 'unavoidable' that something in the prophet's experience must have suggested this new idea (*Kl. Proph.* p. 105). But there was little in it new. It was customary to regard the community or land as mother of the inhabitants; to regard the god as the 'baal,' *i.e.* lord or husband of the land; and also to regard the inhabitants as his children (Nu 21^{29}). It therefore 'lay very near to think of the god as the husband of the worshipping nationality or mother land. It is not at all likely that the conception was in form original to Hosea or even peculiar to Israel' (W. R. Smith, *Proph.* 171; cf. *RS* 92 ff.). The idea was so current that Hosea makes Israel express it, 'I will return to my first husband' (2^{7}), and again, 'Thou shalt no more call me my baal' (2^{16}). It did not therefore need any experiences of the prophet's own to suggest this idea to him. (3) What is strange rather is that he did not reject the idea, considering its associations. He has retained it, and what is new in him lies in this, that he lifts the conception of the marriage relation of God and people out of the nature-sphere, to which it originally belonged, into the moral sphere, and gives it developments of surprising depth and tenderness. No one will affirm that domestic experiences of his own were necessary to this, and no one need deny that they might have been helpful. Even on the latter supposition, it must have been some higher influence that enabled him to make the transition from his own history to that of God and the people, for it was not just every good man with a bad wife in Israel that perceived in his own experiences a reflection of the history of God with His people, and forthwith became a prophet. (4) The question is not without wider connexions. There may be a risk of attributing too much to circumstances and too little to mental idiosyncrasy in the prophets, and of forgetting that they had stable convictions regarding God, and were not dependent on incidents for their ideas of Him. Hosea's conception of God is very unlike that of Amos, but every line of his book proves that he was very unlike Amos in type of mind. There may also be a risk of allowing our general views of the stage of religious development reached by Israel in this age to modify our particular views of Hosea's teaching. If we suppose that Hosea is the first to reach the profound thoughts of the spirituality and love of God which he sets forth, we shall welcome any incident or occasion in his life which just at this time suggested such thoughts. But his allusions to the history of Israel do not suggest that he came with an idea of God learned from some other source which he read into the history. He does not read the love of God into the history, he reads it out of it. It is the history that has taught him what J″ is (9^{10} $11^{1ff.}$ $12^{9ff.}$ $13^{4f.}$).

B. *SECOND DIVISION.*—Chs. 4–14.—Attempts have been made to divide these chapters into sections illustrating particular ideas, but without success. Ewald found three sections—first, the arraignment, 4^{1}–6^{11a}; second, the punishment, 6^{11b}–9^{9}; and third, retrospect of the earlier history, exhortation, and comfort, 9^{10}–14^{10}. Driver (*LOT*^{6} 303) finds the thought of Israel's *guilt* to predominate in 4–8; her *punishment* in 9^{1}–11^{11}; while both ideas are combined in chs. 12. 13, with a glance into the brighter future in ch. 14. But in truth the passage is scarcely divisible; it consists of a multitude of variations all executed on one theme, Israel's apostasy or unfaithfulness to her God. This unfaithfulness is a condition of the mind, 'a spirit of whoredoms,' and is revealed in all the aspects of Israel's life, though particularly in three things: (1) The cultus, which, though ostensibly service of J″, is in truth worship of a being altogether different from Him; (2) the internal political disorders, the changes of dynasty, all of which have been effected with no thought of J″ in the people's minds; and (3) the foreign politics, the making of covenants with Egypt and Assyria, in the hope that they might heal the internal hurt of the people, instead of relying on J″ their God. The three things are not independent, the one leads to the other. The fundamental evil is that there is 'no knowledge of God in the land,' no true conception of Deity. He is thought of as a nature-god, and this conception exercises no restraint on the passions or life of the people; hence the social immoralities and the furious struggles of rival factions; and these, again, lead to the appeal for foreign intervention. The prophet sometimes couples (1) and (2) together, as in $8^{4ff.}$, and sometimes (2) and (3), as in 5^{13} 12^{1}. Chs. 4–13 are one long indictment of Israel and threat of punishment; a few passages illustrating the unchanging love of J″ at the beginning (9^{10} 11^{1}), and all through the people's history ($11^{3.\ 4}$, cf. 2^{8}), only throw their unfaithfulness into deeper shadow.*

(1) *The Cultus.*—Chs. 4–6 are mainly devoted to the cultus, though it is often alluded to all through the chapters (8. 9^{1} $10^{1.\ 6.\ 8}$ 11^{2} 13^{2}). The term 'whoredom' is specially applied to the cultus. The idea may have been suggested by the gross immoralities practised at the sanctuaries ($4^{13.\ 14}$), or it may be a corollary from the conception of the marriage relation of J″ to Israel. The cultus is whoredom or unfaithfulness, because, whatever be the name which the people give the god they serve, he is another than J″. There is 'no knowledge of God in the land'; under the name of J″ they are worshipping a *baal*. The feasts of J″ are 'the days of the *baals*' (2^{13}), the local Jehovahs are *baals*. They are not the true husband of Israel, but 'her lovers' or paramours; she goes after them and forgets J″ ($2^{5.\ 13}$). Israel is a harlot, following her 'lovers' for the hire which they give her on all the corn-floors (9^{1} 2^{5}). The judgment of Hosea is that the genuine Israelitish spiritual conception of J″ has been changed, and another conception substituted for it. He goes further, and asserts that the people are not unconscious of the change: 'I will return to my first husband' (2^{7}, cf. 5^{15} $6^{1ff.}$). The conception of J″ that has taken the place of the true idea of Him is that of a local nature-god, from whom nothing higher is expected than the fruits of nature (2^{5} 9^{1}), and who seeks nothing in return but such nature gifts (5^{6}). But this is not J″. He desires piety (or goodness, חֶסֶד), not sacrifices (6^{6}); He has no pleasure in the flesh which they sacrifice and eat (8^{13}). His service is that of the mind and life. Such has been their God from the land of Egypt (12^{9} 13^{4}), who has continuously spoken to them by His prophets, for by a prophet J″ brought up Israel from the land of Egypt, and by a prophet was he preserved; and He has multiplied visions ($12^{9f.\ 13}$). The ritual cultus, because of the perverted notion that it is what J″ desires, is 'sin' (4^{8}): Ephraim multiplies altars to sin (8^{11} 10^{8}). And it is the priests, whose office it was to instruct the people in the true knowledge of God, who are responsible for the people's ignorance. They themselves have rejected knowledge (4^{6}). For interested reasons they foster the people's propensity to sensuous service: 'They feed upon the sin of my people'—the sacrificial cultus (4^{8}). And it is in vain that J″ writes or might write moral *Torahs* ever so many, revealing the 'knowledge' of Him; they are accounted a foreign thing (8^{12}). A 'spirit of whoredom' possesses the people. Their mind is wholly away from J″ as He truly is.

Hosea's judgment is that the religion of Israel has become Canaanitized; it is the old native gods that are worshipped, though under the name of J″. The Dionysiac revelry at the feasts is not Israelitish, it is that of 'the peoples,' the heathen (9^{1}). He hardly ascribes real existence to the *baals*, it is a distinction of conceptions of J″ which he draws. As for the 'calves,' he will not allow that they have any relation to J″—'a workman made it: it is no god' (8^{6}). Its wooden kernel shall become splinters, and its gold hull shall be a present to king Jareb (8^{6} 10^{6}). With mock sympathy he describes the people and priests of Samaria as 'mourning' over its fate (10^{5}), and makes merry over the spectacle of human worshippers kissing calves! (13^{2}). But though the loss of 'knowledge of God' be the worst form of Israel's declension and the source of all other forms of it,—for religion ramifies into all the channels of life, and the nature-god instead of restraining human passions is rather served by the indulgence of them ($4^{2.\ 13.\ 14}$),—Hosea sometimes suggests a broader ground for Israel's corruption. It was due to their entrance upon the Canaanite civilization: 'according to the goodness of his land they made goodly images' (10^{1} 4^{11} 11^{2} $13^{2.\ 6}$). In their whole mind the people has become Canaanitized: 'He is Canaan; the balances of deceit are in his hand' ($12^{7f.}$). Not till all the forms of Canaanitish life be swept away (2^{3}) and Israel have again to go through the wilderness will she learn to know J″ as the chief good, and respond to Him as in the days of her youth ($2^{14.\ 15}$ 12^{9}, cf. Jer 2^{2}). See iv.

(2) *The Internal Misrule.*—Whether Hosea directly calls the internal political condition 'whoredom' is not quite certain. He does so name the external politics: making alliances abroad is 'hiring loves' (8^{9}). And there was no reason why he should not have given the same name to the internal politics, for 'whoredom' is less particular actions than a state of the mind, indifference to J″. In 8^{4} 'setting up kings' and making images are coupled together, and perhaps called 'their two transgressions' (10^{10}). The term 'to be unfaithful' (בגד) appears used both of political and religious defection (5^{7} 6^{7}, possibly 10^{9} for 'stood'). The term 'adulterers' (7^{4}) hardly refers to political immorality, but J″ complains of the people that 'they have departed from him' and 'speak lies against him' (7^{13}), that they surround Him with lies and deceit (11^{12}), and multiply lies and violence (11^{7} 12^{1} 13^{16}). They are untrue to J″; they make and unmake kings, with no regard to Him or the principles of His religion: 'They have set up kings but not by me, princes and I knew it not' (8^{4}); 'all their kings are fallen, there is none among them that calleth upon me' (7^{7}). The 'pride' (גָּאוֹן) of Israel, *i.e.* his self-confidence and indifference to J″, testifieth to his face (5^{5} 7^{10}).

The picture which the prophet draws of the internal condition of the kingdom in his day is a terrible one. Jeroboam, who is supposed to have died *c.* 746–5, was succeeded by his son Zechariah, who, after a reign of six months, was assassinated by Shallum. The murderer was able to maintain himself no more than a month, when he was attacked and slain in Samaria by Menahem. In all likelihood Menahem would have shared the same fate at the hand of some other conspirator but for the assistance of Pul, king of Assyria, to whom he paid 1000 talents of silver that his hand might be with him to confirm the kingdom in his hand (2 K 15^{19}). As an Assyrian vassal (5^{13} 7^{11} 8^{9} 12^{1}) Menahem was able to maintain himself for some years against other factions, which probably sought the help of Egypt (7^{11} 8^{13} 9$^{3.6}$ 11^{5}). Under the long and successful reign of Jeroboam the country had advanced greatly in material prosperity. There were ample resources in the land to nourish the various factions, and they struggled with one another with a fury which the prophet can compare to nothing but the raging heat of an oven, though the figure contains the darker trait of a long-sighted policy which suppressed the fire till the time came to let it blaze out (7$^{4-7}$). Society appears completely dissolved: there is nothing but 'false swearing, and murder, and stealing, and committing adultery,' and one deed of blood follows on the heels of another (4^{2}). The prophet alludes to incidents which would be understood by his hearers, though they are obscure to us. We cannot identify that scene of revelry and possibly regicide which signalized 'the day of our king' (7^{5}); nor tell why Gilead (Gilgal?) is said to be 'tracked with blood' (6^{8} 12^{11}); nor why it is said that 'all their wickedness is in Gilgal' (9^{15}); nor what is meant by 'transgressing the covenant,' nor what *there* refers to (6^{7}); nor explain the allusion, 'the company of priests murder in the way to Shechem' (6^{9}); nor what is meant when the rulers and priests are charged with being 'a snare on Mizpah, and a net spread on Tabor' (5^{1}). These and other allusions, such as to 'the days of Gibeah' (9^{9} 10^{9}), are obscure, but they indicate that internal convulsions were breaking the nation to pieces (5^{10} 7$^{1.9}$ 8^{8}).*

---

* How entirely threats pervade chs. 4–13 may be seen from these passages: $4^{16ff.\ 19}$ $5^{5.\ 8.\ 9.\ 10}$ $7^{12.\ 16}$ $8^{1.\ 3.\ 5.\ 6.\ 13}$ $9^{1\text{-}6}$ $9^{7.\ 11.\ 15.\ 17}$ $10^{1\text{-}8}$ $10^{9\text{-}15}$ $11^{5.\ 6.\ 7}$ $12^{2.\ 9.\ 14}$ $13^{1\text{-}4}$ $13^{5\text{-}8}$ $13^{9\text{-}11}$ $13^{12f.}$.

When Hosea assails 'king and princes,' he is scarcely condemning monarchy in principle as a form of government incompatible with the idea of the theocracy. His judgment is practical and historical, not theoretical. As a matter of history, and particularly in the prophet's day, the monarchy has failed to secure the peace and well-being of the people: 'Where now is thy king that he may save thee, and thy princes that they may deliver thee?' (13^{10}). It has, on the contrary, been the constant source of faction and anarchy. It is the motives and methods of setting up and deposing dynasties that Hosea condemns, of which the revolution of Jehu is an example (1^{4}). It is true that in his picture of the final condition of Israel (2$^{18-23}$ 14) the king finds no place; but this is due to his personification of the community, and his thinking not of its form but of its mind. Following the Targum, some scholars interpret 'the days of Gibeah' (9^{9} 10^{9}) of the election of Saul; but though Saul belonged to Gibeah he was not made king there, but at Mizpah according to one tradition (1 S 10$^{17\text{ff.}}$), or at Gilgal according to another (1 S 11^{15}). Hosea speaks of the days of Gibeah as signalized by some *crime* (10^{9}), though the story of Jg 19 ff. scarcely corresponds to his allusions. At any rate, his reprobation of 'king and princes' must not be read as merely a condemnation of the 'schism' of the North; his idea is much wider and more general. He is weary of Politics. His ideal is already that of the Church of God.

(3) *External Politics.*—Reliance on foreign help is also 'unfaithfulness' to J″ (8^{9}). The love of J″ elevates the subject of it into a personality. Corresponding to His mind there must be another mind, with a sense of benefit and capacity for affection. And when Israel leans on foreign powers, this reveals not only distrust of J″, but alienation of mind from Him, and dissatisfaction with the whole range of affections and duties which the relation to J″ imposes.

To the prophet the issue of all this is certain: J″ will drive Israel out of His house (9^{15}). Hosea has no clear idea of the instrument or means of Israel's destruction. It is 'the sword' (7^{16} 11^{6}), the 'enemy' (8^{3} 5$^{8.9}$); or it is natural, internal decay (7$^{8.9}$ 9^{16}), the moth and rottenness (5^{12}). Israel shall be made to go through the wilderness (2^{14}); but they shall also eat unclean things in Assyria (9^{3} 8^{9}); and again, Egypt shall gather them, Moph shall bury them (9^{6} 7^{11} 8^{13} 9^{3} 11^{5}); and again, they shall be wanderers among the nations (9^{17} 10^{10}). The question sometimes put, whether it was the prospect of national overthrow that impressed upon the prophets the national sin, or the sin that led them to forecast the overthrow, receives a ready answer so far as Hosea is concerned. He perceives that apostasy from J″ contains destruction in it (7^{13} 13^{9}?), that moral law operates as infallibly as natural law: 'they have sown the wind and reap the whirlwind' (8^{7}), 'ye have plowed wickedness, ye have reaped iniquity' (10^{13}; cf. on the other hand 10^{12}); unchastity tends not to increase but to childlessness (9$^{10\text{ff.}}$ 4^{10}); Egypt and Assyria whose help they seek shall swallow them up.

iv. SOME GENERAL IDEAS.—(1) *God and Religion.*—J″ is God: 'there is no knowledge of God' has for parallel 'they do not know J″' (5^{4}, cf. 2^{20}). His nature as revealed in Israel's history is Love. It was in love that He redeemed them from Egypt: 'when Israel was a child I loved him' (11^{1}); and He has an emotional delight in the object of His love (9^{10}). His love has followed Israel all through their history (11$^{3.4}$ 7^{15}); even His chastisements are not without love—'I will speak to her heart' (2^{14} 3); and their restoration and everlasting peace will be due to His love (14^{4} 2$^{18\text{ff.}}$ cf. 11$^{8\text{ff.}}$). J″ is spiritual, and religion is piety (6$^{4.6}$): it is a state of the mind, not external service. It is partly this feeling of the inwardness of religion that leads to the prophet's personification of the community. He thinks of the community as a personal mind, an individual soul, in its relation to God and in His relation to it, with all the mutual, mystical interchange of thoughts and affections towards each other of the two minds. And it was in the wilderness at the Exodus that this true religious relation was perfectly realized, when Israel possessed nothing, through no medium, but mind to mind. And it is in the wilderness that it shall be perfectly realized again, when Israel, destitute of all sacramental tokens of J″'s favour, land, corn, and wine, shall feel that she possesses Himself, and shall respond as in the days of her youth (2^{15}). Such a surprisingly inward conception of religion implies two things: *first*, that the commonplaces of Israel's faith must have been long familiar, such as J″'s redemption of His people, His constant goodness, the freeness of His choice of them, and the moral nature of His whole relation to them (cf. reference to covenant 8^{1} and fatherhood 11^{1}), together perhaps with the consciousness on Israel's part that it had declined to a lower stage of religious life than it once occupied (2^{7}). And *secondly*, that the prophet transcends the stage of religion reached in OT times, and anticipates a more perfect future. In his day the religious unit or subject was the community, but his personification of the community as an individual soul implies that his conception of religion requires a true personal subject—that only the individual mind can be truly in religious communion with God.

(2) *The People.*—The history of the patriarchal age and of the Exodus might almost be constructed out of Hosea's allusions. This history is his Bible, where he finds the texts of his homilies. Israel is to him a moral person, and it is not so much her actions as her mind towards J″ that he has regard to. He has, however, the idea that a course of conduct leads to a state of mind in which amendment is hopeless; as, on the other hand, the state

---

* For walking 'after the commandment' (5^{11}) the VSS read 'after vanity'; but the reading is feeble and indefinite.

of mind reveals itself in all manner of insensate actions—'Ephraim is joined to idols: let him alone' (4^{17}); 'my people ask counsel at their stocks, for a spirit of whoredom causeth them to err' (4^{12} $5^{3.4}$) They have better moments when the thought of a return to J″ fascinates them ($6^{1ff.}$); but it is a passing emotion like the morning cloud, a dramatic ideal which they have not depth and earnestness to realize ($7^{14.16}$). J″ is at His wits' end with them (6^{4}). On account of his conception of Israel as a moral person, Hosea draws no distinction between classes among the people. It is Israel His spouse whom J″ drives out of His house, and it is she whom He again betrothes to Himself for ever (2^{19} 14). Hosea confines his eschatology to the destiny of Israel; the nations find no place in his picture of the end. It was the Assyrian empire that brought the idea of the world, the nations, before the prophets' minds, and Hosea had probably passed away before Assyria closely touched on Israel. His prophecy ends with the prediction of the restoration, the holy beauty and eternal endurance of God's people: 'they shall bloom like the lily, and cast forth their roots like Lebanon' (14^{5}).

Comparisons of one prophet with another are usually unjust to one of the two compared. Amos' mind is filled with great general ethical principles, valid eternally and enforcing themselves universally whether in heaven or on earth; Hosea starts from a religious relation of J″ and people, historically formed, the mutual, mystical intimacies of which engross his thoughts. It is less in ideas than in apt terms to express them that the prophets advance on one another. Am. speaks of the goodness of J″, Hos. first calls it 'love'; Am. inculcates compassion, 'humanity,' Hos. first finds the right word for this (חֶסֶד 4^{1}). On the other hand, while Hos. laments the want of trust in J″ revealed in the foreign alliances of Israel, it is Isaiah that first uses the positive word 'faith' (7^{9}). And again, though Hos. expresses the idea of the 'new covenant' when he speaks of J″ betrothing Isr. again to Himself (2^{19}), it is Jer. that coins the right phrase.

v. INTEGRITY AND TEXT.—Jerome already described Hosea's style as *commaticus*—consisting of short clauses. His fondness for asyndetous construction gives a monotonous, dirge-like music to his verses—'the days of visitation are come; the days of recompense are come' (9^{7}); 'Egypt shall gather them, Moph shall bury them' (9^{6}). He little addresses the people; rather, turning his face away from them, he speaks of them to himself in shuddering disjointed monologue. A number of passages have been regarded by recent scholars as interpolations, particularly those referring to Judah (see i. note*), and those describing the material blessings of Israel restored ($2^{16ff.}$ 14; for list of passages athetized by various scholars see Driver, *LOT*⁶ 306). Reference to Judah in itself need not excite suspicion any more than Isaiah's references to N. Israel. The abruptness of some of the references is strange (5^{10}), though the general unconnectedness of Hosea's style must be considered. Ch 1^{10}-2^{1} is either a later amplification of something briefer, or it is wholly late; its right place seems after 3^{5}. Nowack goes to an extreme in his excision of passages: $2^{6.7}$ are supported by $5^{6.15}$ $6^{1ff.}$; 2^{14} by 12^{9}, and 2^{20} by 4^{1} 5^{4}; and in many other cases the reasons urged for excision appear inadequate.

The *Text* of Hosea has been imperfectly handed down. A multitude of passages are corrupt, some incurably, *e.g.* $4^{4.18}$ (in v.^{19} read the last word *altars*), $5^{2.7.11}$ (צו), 6^{7} 7^{4} 8^{10b} (LXX 'and they shall cease a little from anointing king and princes'—though the ironical 'a little' is unnatural), 8^{13} (הבהבי), 9^{8} 9^{13} 10^{9} 11^{3} (read אקחם and ורועתי), $11^{6.7.12}$ and others.

LITERATURE.—Besides works on the Minor Prophets as a whole, such as Ewald, Hitzig-Steiner, Keil, Pusey, von Orelli, etc., particular comm. on Hosea are: Pocock, Oxf. 1685; Simson, 1851: Wünsche, 1868; Nowack, 1880, and *Kleine Propheten* (Handkom.), 1897; Scholz, 1882; Cheyne (Camb. Bible), 1884. Cf. Valeton, *Amos en Hosea*, 1894; G. A. Smith, *The Book of the Twelve Proph.* (Expositor's Bible), 1896; Wellhausen, *Die Kleinen Proph.*² (Skizzen v.) 1893; also W. R. Smith, *Prophets*, Lect. iv.; Billeb, *Die wichtigsten Sätze d. Altt. Kritik vom Standp. der Proph. Am. u. Hos. aus betrachtet*, 1893. On the Text, Houtsma, *ThT*, 1875, p. 55 ff.; Oort, *ib.* 1890, pp. 345 ff. 480 ff.; Bachmann, *Alttest. Untersuch.* 1894; Ruben, *Critical Remarks on some passages of OT*, 1896; Loftman, *Kritisk undersökning af den Masoretiska texten till prof. Hoseas bok*, 1894, and *Kommentar till prof. Hoseas bok*, 1896.

A. B. DAVIDSON.

HOSEN is AV translation in Dn 3^{21} of פַּטִּישִׁין,* which is probably better represented by RV 'tunics' (Siegfried-Stade and Strack [the latter doubtfully], *Rock*; RVm has 'turbans'). RV has 'hosen' in the same verse and in v.^{27} as trⁿ of סַרְבָּלִין (AV both times 'coats'; Siegfried-Stade, *Unterkleider*; Strack says 'an article of dress, probably trunk-hose' (*Pluderhosen*)). See, further, art. DRESS in vol. i. p. 625ᵇ.

The Eng. word 'hosen' is the plu. of a Teut. word 'hose' (of which the root is unknown) denoting a covering for the leg, 'breeches,' 'trousers.' Hose is also used for the plu., but the sing. occurs in Shaks. (*Taming of the Shrew*, v. i. 69, 'A silken doublet! a velvet hose! a scarlet cloak!') and elsewhere. The 'doublet' for the body, and the 'hose' or 'hosen' for the legs, were the necessary articles of male attire in Shakespeare's day; the cloak being needful for full dress or for cold weather, as *Merry Wives*, III. i. 47, 'In your doublet and hose, this raw rheumatic day!' The hosen generally covered the feet as well as the legs; and when the coverings of legs and feet were afterwards separated, they were called respectively 'upper stocks,' and 'nether stocks' or 'stockings.' By and by both 'hosen' and 'stockings' were restricted to the covering of the feet. Coverdale (from whom comes 'hosen' in Dn 3^{21}) intended to denote the long Eastern trousers.

J. HASTINGS.

HOSHAIAH (הוֹשַׁעְיָה 'Jah has saved').—**1.** A man who led half the princes of Judah in the procession at the dedication of the walls of Jerus., Neh 12^{32}. **2.** The father of a certain Jezaniah (Jer 42^{1}), or Azariah (43^{2} and LXX), who was a man of importance among the Jews after the fall of Jerus. (LXX Μαασαίου).

H. A. WHITE.

HOSHAMA (הוֹשָׁמָע, abbrevⁿ or textual error for יְהוֹשָׁמָע 'J″ hath heard').—A descendant of David, 1 Ch 3^{18}. See GENEALOGY.

HOSHEA (הוֹשֵׁעַ '*deliverance*,' represented by *Ausi* on the Assyrian monuments, LXX Ὡσῆε, Syr. ܗܘܫܥ) was the son of Elah. The accession of this king of Israel took place in the twelfth year of king Ahaz according to the biblical chronology, 2 K 17^{1}. But this scheme it is impossible to maintain in its integrity [see art. CHRONOLOGY OF OT], as it is inconsistent in some details with itself (see Stade, *GVI* 88 ff., 558 ff.; Wellhausen, *Prolegg. zur Gesch. Isr.*² 285 ff.). It is also inconsistent with the date of the Assyrian inscriptions, mainly established by the Eponym Canon (Schrader, *COT* ii. pp. 161-195, 320 ff.). According to the annals of Tiglath-pileser III. (3 Rawl. 10, No. 2, line 28), Peḳaḥ, king of Israel (*bit Ḫumri*), was slain, and Hoshea ascended the throne as the nominee of the Assyrian conqueror in the same year. The original passages may be found in transcribed form in Schrader, *COT* i. p. 247, *KIB* ii. p. 32. The biblical narrative describes Hoshea, the son of Elah, as a conspirator against Peḳaḥ, whom he slew. On the other hand, it seems fairly clear, from the annals of Tiglath-pileser, though the text is mutilated in many portions, that we should render 'Peḳaḥ I slew, Hoshea I appointed . . . over them.' But there is no real contradiction between this statement and that of Scripture. Hoshea was the head of an Assyrian party in Samaria,[*] whereas Peḳaḥ represented a policy of resistance to the encroachments of Assyria. This policy underlies his attack on Ahaz in concert with Rezin; see Cheyne's remarks (*Comment. on Isaiah*), introductory to Is 7. There are significant passages in the oracles of the contemporary prophet Hosea in which Ephraim is compared to a silly dove hovering between homage to Egypt and homage to Assyria (Hos 5^{13} 7^{11}). This theory of Ephraim's shifting foreign policy affords a very probable explanation of the course of events. Accordingly, Hoshea made himself the facile instrument of Assyrian power, which in 733 was threatening the very gates of Samaria. It is also probable that from the commencement of his reign (B.C. 732), down to the death of Tiglath-pileser (727), he paid tribute to Assyria like Jehu and Menaḥem before him. This may be clearly inferred from the mutilated conclusion of the inscription already quoted, and it is in consonance with the statement in 2 K 17^{3}. But we also learn from this verse that soon after the accession of Tiglath-pileser's successor, Shalmaneser (*Shulmânu-asharidu*) IV., the payment of the annual subsidy ceased. Probably, the Ephraimite king expected that the death of Assyria's energetic ruler, Tiglath-pileser, the combatant king (*Jareb* [?]) of Hosea's oracles, would bring the Palestinian states some respite. In our opinion, Isaiah's beautiful poem, 9^{7}–10^{4} 5^{25-30}, belongs to this time[†] (B.C. 726). The language of the opening verses which describe 'Ephraim and the inhabitants of Samaria saying in pride and exaltation of heart "bricks have fallen, but with hewn stone will we build; sycomores have been hewn down, but with cedars we will replace them,"' clearly suggests that Ephraim at this period was beginning to recover in a material sense from the disastrous effects of the invasion of 734–732.

---

* On the vocalization of this word, see note in Kamphausen's 'Daniel' in *SBOT*, *ad loc.*

The new political developments that arose in Samaria were doubtless anxiously watched from the banks of the Nile. Palestine was of great strategic importance to Egypt. For the possession of Samaria, Ashdod, Jerusalem, or Lachish by the ever-encroaching Assyrian power would be a menace to security on the Nile. During the preceding decades Egypt had been weakened by intestine divisions, but now it had passed under the hands of an energetic Ethiopian ruler Shabaka[‡] (Meyer, *Gesch. des alten Ægyptens*, pp. 343 f. 346). Henceforth Egypt sought to confront Assyria by supporting the Palestinian and Hittite states. Hoshea of Israel and Hanno of Gaza were sustained in this policy of resistance to the Ninevite power by promises of aid by the Egyptian monarch. After the death of Tiglath, the Egyptian party and policy, which opposed Assyrian domination, were in the ascendant at Samaria, just as we find in later times took place in Jerusalem (comp. Is 20. 30^{1-5} 31^{1-3}). But bitter experience was destined in the coming years to prove that the Egyptian power was a broken reed. Within the next fifteen years Samaria, Gaza, and Ashdod were in succession fated to discover that Egypt's 'strength was to sit still,' and a terrible overthrow was to overtake them from the arms of Assyria through the procrastinating impotence of their South-western ally.

The cessation of tribute by the king of Israel, which had hitherto been paid annually, was the first serious indication to the Assyrian monarch that Ephraim was preparing to throw off his yoke. In the summer of the year B.C. 724 the armies of Assyria were directed against the Israelite capital. Hoshea at once endeavoured to avert disaster by gifts to the Assyrian monarch, but Shalmaneser had by this time discovered that Hoshea was playing a double part. Perhaps the Assyrian troops intercepted the emissaries which the latter was despatching to the king of Egypt. At this point it is by no means easy to discover the precise order of events narrated in 2 K $17^{3\text{ff.}}$. Fritz Hommel (*Gesch. Babyl. u. Assyr.* p. 675) thinks that a decisive battle was fought before the walls of Samaria, in which king Hoshea was taken prisoner. The biblical statements (v.^{4}) would seem to warrant this view. It would somewhat simplify the chronological problem and allow nine years for the reign of Hoshea (Tiele, *Bab.-Assyr. Gesch.* i. p. 232 *ad fin.*).[*] But it is by no means certain that the capture and imprisonment of the Israelite king did not take place after the final overthrow of Samaria.

Shortly before this time the prophet Hosea uttered his last oracles. The final four chapters evidently belong to the closing years of the Northern kingdom. The shadows of the last overwhelming calamity rest on the prophet's soul. There is indescribable pathos in these closing appeals. J″ pleads with Ephraim (11^{7}): 'My people are bent to backsliding from me [?] . . . How shall I give thee up, Ephraim? how shall I abandon thee, Israel? How shall I make thee as Admah? how shall I set thee as Zeboim? Mine heart is turned within me, my compassions are kindled together.' But, alas! Israel's doom is irrevocable. 'The iniquity of Ephraim is bound up, his sin is laid up in store. . . . Samaria shall bear her guilt, because she hath rebelled against her God: they shall fall by the sword, their infants shall be dashed in pieces' (13^{12} 14^{1}).

At nearly the same time Isaiah delivered his oracle against Ephraim ($28^{1\text{ff.}}$): 'Woe to the crown of pride of the drunkards of Ephraim and to the fading flower of his glorious beauty, which is on the summit of the fertile valley of them that are overcome with wine. Behold, the LORD hath a mighty and strong one; as a tempest of hail, a destroying storm, a tempest of mighty waters overflowing, shall he cast down to the earth violently. The crown of pride of the drunkards of Ephraim shall be trodden under foot.'

---

[*] Comp. Winckler, *Gesch. Israel's* (Theil i.), p. 180, and *Geschichte Babyloniens u. Assyr.* p. 230 ff.

[†] Cheyne, Dillmann, and Duhm would place it some nine years earlier, *i.e.* shortly before the Syro-Ephraimite war; but it is not easy to see what substantial grounds exist for placing it so early. If we take the Assyrian invasion of 734 as the historic background, the refrain becomes doubly significant, and the graphic description of the advancing Assyrian hosts in Is 5^{26-28} (forming, as Dillmann rightly considers, a natural pendant or conclusion to the poem) seems to be based on a vivid and not too remote historic experience. 9^{11} remains obscure, whether we accept the earlier or later date; and even when we regard the Hebrew text as sound (certainly doubtful in the opening part of the verse), the phrase 'enemies of Rezin' would be thoroughly intelligible under the historic conditions which we have suggested.

[‡] The ordinary identification of the סוא (wrongly pronounced Sô by the Massoretes) with this Ethiopian ruler can hardly be maintained. LXX Σηγωρ; Lucian, ed. Lagarde, reads, πρὸς Ἀδραμελεχ Αἰθιοπα τὸν κατοικοῦντα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. In line 25 of the Khorsabad inscr. of Sargon mention is made of Sibi, *tartan* or generalissimo of the Egyptian forces who co-operated with Ḥanunu (Hanno) of Gaza in resisting the arms of Assyria. In all probability, we ought to identify this Sibi (properly *Sib'i*) with the סֶוֶא (as we should pronounce it) of the Hebrew text. But this personage was not the supreme king of Egypt or Pharaoh. This is clear from the same passage in Sargon's inscription, for in line 27 this monarch is referred to under his usual title *Pir'u* as quite a distinct personage from Sibi. It is this Pharaoh whom we may identify with Shabaka or Sabaco. The Assyrians were quite able to pronounce this name, as the great Rassam cylinder (Rm), col. ii. 22, testifies, where it occurs in the form *Shabakû*. See Winckler, *Untersuch. zur altorient. Gesch.* p. 92 ff. On the complex text of 2 K 17^{1-6} see *AT-liche Unters.* p. 15 ff.

[*] Fritz Hommel in his *Gesch. Bab. u. Ass.* pp. 964 ff. 669 ff. places the overthrow of Peḳaḥ in 733, but in his art. ASSYRIA (wh. see) places it two years later. This appears to be too late, though exact chronological sequence in the events of Tiglath-pileser's campaigns (734 ff.) is difficult to attain. See Winckler, *Gesch. Babyl. u. Assyr.* p. 230.

The fulfilment of these prophecies of doom followed swiftly. We know that in the year 724 Samaria was invested by the Assyrian armies. Towards the end of the siege (B.C. 722) Shalmaneser died. Meanwhile, the beleaguered inhabitants were anxiously expecting a relieving force to arrive from the banks of the Nile, which should divert the forces of Assyria and raise the siege of the hard-pressed city. But a fatal paralysis seemed to hamper the movements of Egypt. Time went on—more than two years elapsed—and no relieving force appeared. The numbers of the garrison were doubtless thinned by constant battles with the besiegers, and by the ravages of grim famine. Sargon (*Šarrukînu*), in all probability a usurper, and certainly an able Assyrian general, succeeded to the throne of Assyria in B.C. 722. The siege was pressed on with vigour under this energetic commander. Egypt's procrastination was now Israel's ruin, and the fatal end was at hand. It is summarized in barely two ruthless lines of the great Khorsabad inscription (lines 23 and 24): 'Samaria I besieged, I captured. 27,290 of her inhabitants I carried away. 50 chariots I collected from their midst. The rest of their property I caused to be taken (?). My viceroy I placed over them, and imposed the tribute of the previous king.'

From 2 K 17[6] we learn that the inhabitants were deported to Eastern localities in or near Babylonia (see Schrader, *COT* ii. p. 267 ff.), while Babylonian inhabitants were settled in the districts of Canaan vacated by the exiled Israelites (v.[24]). Illustrative passages confirming these facts may be found in the annals of Sargon.

And so the curtain falls upon the remarkable and chequered history of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes. Respecting king Hoshea, we do not know whether he survived the tragic close of the kingdom which he ruled, or suffered the barbarous tortures too frequently inflicted on Assyrian captives. About his personal character we know little. We may infer that it lacked decisive energy and lofty patriotism. Beginning his reign as a mere puppet in Assyria's hands, he shaped his career as an opportunist. He was too astute to offend any national susceptibilities by abandoning the worship of J″, too cautious and politic to play the rôle of a purist in religious practices. Indeed an accurate historic treatment of Israel's religious history may esteem it highly improbable that such a course, forestalling the reformation of the 7th cent., could ever have entered into Hoshea's thoughts. Whether amid the syncretic tendencies in the traditional religious practices which then prevailed he was at all influenced by the teachings of the contemporary Ephraimite prophet Hosea towards higher ideals, is a question suggested, but suggested only, by the clause (17[2]), that though he committed evil it was not 'as the kings of Israel who were before him.' The impartial historian will not judge this last king of Ephraim too severely, but will unhesitatingly admit that he lived in times of direst difficulty and peril, when nothing but miraculous divinely guided statesmanship, like that of Isaiah, could have saved the realm from overwhelming disaster.

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

HOSPITALITY, HOST.—No customs have taken a deeper and more permanent hold on the mind and life of the Orient than those which gather round the reception and entertainment of the guest. Few legal enactments, by whatever sanctions enforced, have met with such hearty and universal obedience as the unwritten laws of hospitality. The main practices evidently originated amid nomadic conditions. When applied to the more settled order of village or town, they were of necessity more or less modified. In modern times the influence of the tourist, and the growing usages of the West, have done much to corrupt the old simplicities. Yet in many towns and villages, remote from the annual streams of sightseers and pilgrims, and the encroachments of civilization, the traveller will find hospitable and generous welcome, and an aversion to anything like payment. Even in such centres as Safed and Tiberias, one or two wealthy men keep open house for all-comers, where friend and foe are alike free to enjoy food and shelter for the night. In the villages, where poverty reigns supreme, a **guest-chamber**, usually the best room in the place, is often attached to the sheikh's dwelling; and there the stranger is provided for at the cost of the community. The desert Arabs, however, have preserved almost unchanged through four millenniums the customs presented in the scriptural pictures of patriarchal life.

Among the nations of antiquity the virtue of hospitality was highly esteemed. In the Egyptian Book of the Dead, in the Hall of two Truths, the god who tests the spirits thus speaks in commendation of one who has passed the judgment: 'The god has welcomed him as he wished. He has given food to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, clothing to the naked.' The Greeks thought that any stranger-guest might be a god in disguise; and the hospitable entertainment of helpless strangers, not self-declared enemies or robbers, was well-pleasing to Ζεὺς ξένιος, under whose protection they were. The ties established by hospitality were hereditary on both sides. The Romans regarded any violation of the rights of hospitality as a crime and impiety; while the Sibylline books declared that the age of the Messiah, when the happiest conditions for humanity would be realized, should witness the triumph of faith, love, and hospitality.

Turning to the Arabs, among whom are best reflected the immemorial usages of the East, we find that among them a man's hospitality is largely the measure of his reputation. 'A close fist and a narrow heart,' they say; and the niggardly soul shall not hold rule over them. To be described as 'a man of much ashes,' is a coveted distinction; the heap of ashes by his tent indicating the extent of his cooking for the entertainment of guests. 'A man whose dogs bark loudly' is one held in esteem; the dogs guiding the wanderer who might not otherwise find his dwelling. The sheikh's tent always stands in the camp nearest the travelled way, to offer first welcome to the approaching stranger. His superior position must be vindicated by superior liberality. Ibn Rashîd, in Hâyil, who exercises a somewhat uncertain sway over the wandering tribes of central Arabia, entertains at least 200 guests daily; and every stranger in Hâyil is invited to his table. The name of this ruler is accordingly highly honoured. But the poorest man will not turn the needy away. The guest, indeed, is often regarded as a benefactor, whose arrival affords his host the opportunity of honourable service.

Baiti baitak, 'my house is yours,' is part of the hospitable salutation with which the guest is welcomed. The phrase survives in the towns and cities most influenced by Western civilization; only, however, as an expression of courtesy. In remote villages, and in the desert camps, it is a simple statement of fact. As the proverb has it, 'The guest while in the house is its lord.' The present writer has been frequently thus promoted to the lordship of a house of hair, the owner waiting without until the guest bade him enter, and standing up until invited to recline on his own cushions. The stores, be they small or plentiful, are equally at the guest's command. The best of everything is placed before him; and whatever he may desire will be procured if the possibility exists. No sacrifice is too great to be made for the comfort of the guest: many will not stop even at the honour of wife and daughter (cf. Gn 19[8], Jg 19[24]). No man is demeaned by any service to his guest, even by pouring water on feet and hands, and waiting on him at meat. As one said, 'I am the slave of my guest as long as he is with me, but save in this there is no trace of the slave in my nature' (Ḥamâsa, p. 727, quoted by W. R. Smith, *RS*[2] p. 68).

There are certain well-understood provisions for preserving the honour of the host, which all guests are expected to observe. No pains should be spared to reach the resting-place before sunset. The proverb runs, 'He who arrives after sundown goes supperless to bed.' The reason being that this leaves the host too little time to prepare such a repast as his own credit requires. The law may not be enforced; but, while shelter may be demanded, in such a case there is no obligation to give food. This explains the seeming lack of hospitality in the parable (Lk 11[5-9]). Again, the guest is careful not to eat all that is brought to him, especially if his host be a poor man; somewhat must be left over, as evidence that he has had enough, and more than enough. Usually, supplies are too liberal to permit of complete consumption; but when a large company settles on a man for the night there is need for care, that he be not put to shame. Clean dishes would 'blacken his face' in presence of his guests. It is his pride to furnish over and above necessities. Yet, again, it is permissible to manifest great satisfaction with the fare whilst partaking. In drinking coffee, *e.g.*, pleasure is fittingly expressed by drawing in the liquid with considerable noise, smacking of the lips, etc. Such visible tokens of appreciation greatly delight the host. But the offer of anything in payment would be taken as an insult. The Arab eats not in the morning; the guest departs with a simple 'good-bye.' He has had no more than his right; and presently his host will enjoy like treatment at his or some other brother's hands. The recognition of this obligation to the needy stranger must often have been the very condition of life to wanderers in waste lands.

That the guest is inviolable is one of the first principles of Arab hospitality. To be safe, the stranger needs but enter the tent, or only touch a tent rope; then, even if he be an enemy, no hand will be raised against him. The homicide may claim the rights of sanctuary from the slain man's next-of-kin himself, the avenger of blood, on whom lies the chief obligation of revenge. And as the duty of vengeance belongs to all the family or tribe of the murdered man, so protection granted by one is binding upon all. To slay an enemy in battle, or when meeting him in the open field, is esteemed an act of true and valorous manhood; to fall upon one seeking shelter in his tent, would stain an Arab's name with everlasting dishonour. To injure the guest is the mark of deepest depravity. The Arabs of el-Lejâ are held in reprobation as the greatest of rascals; it is said of them that 'they will even murder the guest.' An Arab tradition points to the reputed site of Sodom as the place where stones rained down from heaven upon the people who abused 'some travellers seeking hospitality there.' In Mal 3[5] the Lord is announced as a swift witness against such as turn aside the stranger in judgment.

But the ties of hospitality receive a more weighty sanction when a meal is partaken of in common. For an Arab to injure one who has eaten with him from the same dish, would be equivalent to lifting his hand against his own flesh and blood. They are 'brothers of the bread,' pledged by this act to do each other no harm, and also actively to promote each other's safety to the full extent of their ability. This obligation, however, lasts no longer than they may be supposed to retain the food thus eaten in their bodies; and the limit usually recognized is thirty-six hours. But constant repetition of eating and drinking in common may give permanence to the bonds. W. R. Smith (*RS*[2] p. 270 f.) quotes several illustrations of the length to which these ideas are sometimes carried. Zaid al-Khail, a famous warrior in the days of Mohammed, refused to slay a vagabond who had stolen his camels because the thief had surreptitiously drunk from his father's milk-pail before the theft. In *Amthâl* of Mofaḍḍal al-Ḍabbi, a man claims and obtains help of Al-Ḥârith in recovering his stolen camels, because the water which was still in their stomachs when they were taken from him had been drawn with the help of a rope borrowed from Al-Ḥârith's herdsmen. On the other hand, after the battle of Coshâwa, a captive refused to eat the food of his captor, who had slain his son, and thus kept alive his right of blood revenge.

The protection of the stranger may anticipate his arrival at the tent of his host. It is not uncommon for one in danger to shelter himself under the name of some powerful chief, whose *dakhîl* he claims to be. It is then the duty of all to assist him in reaching his protector's dwelling: any injury done to him is regarded as an outrage upon the honour of the man who, his name thus invoked, has become the stranger's patron and avenger. Thus are deliverance and safety found in 'the name of the Lord' (Pr 18[10], Jl 2[32], Ac 2[21], Ro 10[13] etc.).

The guest may claim entertainment for three days and three nights; and for so long the host may require him to stay. This latter right, although seldom exercised, is always acknowledged. Should the stranger remain beyond this period, he may be put to some useful work—a provision, probably, against idlers and hangers-on. Permanent abode in the dwelling of his host (Ps 23[6]) the guest may secure only by becoming identified with the family through marriage or adoption. See Ger.

The religious significance and origin of these customs is suggested by the name universally given to the stranger entertained. He is 'the guest of God,' *daif Ullah*, that is, one for whom loyalty to God demands hospitable treatment. The Arab is himself a sojourner with God, under the blue canopy of His mighty tent. All that comes to him, whether by robber raid or natural increase of his flocks, he takes as the gift of God, the Generous and Bountiful; in the stranger whom night-fall brings to his tent, he sees a fellow-guest, to be treated according as God has dealt with himself. The spirit in which the obligation is accepted is well expressed in the proverb, 'He who has bread is debtor to him who has none'; which, in turn, suggests comparison with Ro 1[14].

The rights of asylum, associated with temples and holy places, are survivals from the times when, by retreat to the sanctuary, direct appeal was made for the protection of the deity there worshipped; and in certain temples these refugees, guests receiving the gods' hospitality, were organized for service. Ezekiel (44[7]) denounces this practice, which had obtained a hold even in Jerusalem; and the Phœnician inscription at Larnaca affords evidence of its existence among surrounding nations. With the movement of the peoples, there grew up the idea that in migrating to any country it was wise to submit to the god of the land, and to claim his protection, since only by his favour, and as his guests, might they continue to dwell there. This was the relation in which Israel stood to God. All directions for the generous treatment of the poor and the stranger are based upon recognition of this fact (Ex 22^{21} 23^{9}, Lv $19^{33.\,34}$ 25^{23}, Dt 10^{19} 14^{29} 15^{7}, 2 Ch 7^{20}). To use the stranger ill was to insult the god on whose hospitality he was thrown. See GER.

The ties established between host and guest by eating together carry us back to the days when all worshippers of a god were believed to partake with their deity in the sacrificial feast. Traces of this idea are found in Lv 3^{1-9} with 7^{15} and Dt 27^{7}. Admission to this meal signified acknowledgment of the bond between the one so admitted and the god, and therefore that of brotherhood in the common faith. This involved sacred obligations of mutual help and protection. And it is interesting to note that the animal killed by the Arab for the entertainment of his guest still bears the ancient name *dhabîḥah*, 'sacrifice'; and to the feast thus provided every member of the tribe may come freely, uninvited, as a simple matter of right (*RS* 236, 247, 266, 439).

These considerations cast over the customs of hospitality the spell of antiquity and of religious sanction, than which nothing could more powerfully affect the mind of the Orient. This influence is seen in the practice of sealing friendship in a common meal, *e.g.* Gn 26^{30}, and esp. 31^{54}. Israel was thus beguiled into a covenant with the Gibeonites (Jos 9^{14}), which held good notwithstanding discovery of their deceit. The bitterness of the Psalmist's lot is accentuated by the fact that one who had eaten of his bread lifted up the heel against him (Ps 41^{9}). Old Testament illustrations of ancient hospitality are found in Gn 18^{1-8} 19^{1-3}, Ex 2^{20}, Jg 13^{15}, Ps 23^{5}; Rahab received the reward of hospitality in the safety of herself and her relations (Jos 2). The outrage on hospitality committed by the inhabitants of Gibeah was terribly avenged (Jg 20).

There are two apparent violations of hospitality mentioned with approval. One is the case of Joab, who claimed asylum in the tent of the LORD, and who was slain there by Solomon's order. But Joab had put himself beyond the pale of this benign law by his own breach of its most solemn obligations (1 K 2^{31-33}). The other is that of Jael, who drove the tent-peg through the head of her sleeping guest. It may be taken as evidence of the fearful degeneracy and lawlessness of these times, that this dastardly action finds honourable mention in a song of praise. But, while applauded in the excitement of triumph by those whom it so largely helped, the deed was one which, in calm judgment, would be pronounced infamous.

In the NT the customs of hospitality are recognized as binding (Lk 7^{44-46}). It is commended and enjoined as a Christian virtue (Ro $12^{13.\,20}$, 1 Ti 3^{2}, Tit 1^{8}, He 13^{2}, 1 P 4^{9}); and, affording a curious parallel to the passage quoted above from the Egyptian Book of the Dead, the exercise of hospitality is taken as affording the evidence on which final judgment is based (Mt 25^{35} with 10^{40} and Jn 13^{20}).

Host occurs but twice in our Eng. Bible, Lk 10^{35} and Ro 16^{23}. In the former case it stands for *πανδοχεύς*, the keeper of an inn or place of entertainment, where all were received on an understanding as to payment. The *πανδοχεῖον* or *πανδοκεῖον* might be a simple khân, or a place affording accommodation to travellers. From this we have the modern Arabic *funduḳ*, used for 'inn' or 'hotel.' *ξένος* in Ro 16^{23} is used in classic Greek for the 'guest-friend,' *i.e.* any citizen of a foreign State with whom one has a treaty of hospitality for self and heirs, confirmed by mutual presents and an appeal to Ζεὺς ξένιος. In this sense both parties are ξένοι' (Liddell and Scott). While mostly denoting the receiver of hospitality, it was also used for the entertainer; and in that sense it is employed here. The generous hospitality of Gaius, not limited to St. Paul, but extended to 'the whole Church,' marks him out for special honour.

LITERATURE.—Robinson, *BR*² ii. 347, etc.; W. R. Smith, *RS* pp. 76, 269, etc., *Kinship*, 41, etc.; Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*; Thomson, *Land and Book*; Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahâbys*; Lane, *Modern Egyptians* (Gardner, 1895), p. 296, etc.; Trumbull, *Oriental Social Life*, pp. 73–142; Conder, *Heth and Moab*, pp. 314–356 *passim*.

W. EWING.

HOST.—Hostis, in classical Lat. 'an enemy,' came to mean 'the enemy's army,' and then, in mediæval Lat., 'an army' simply. This was its meaning when taken into Eng. from Old Fr. *host*; and this is its meaning always in AV, where it occurs as tr. of all the usual Heb. words for 'army.' Tindale uses it specially for the army in camp, Lv 9^{11} 'the flesh and the hyde he burnt with fyre without the hoste.'

J. HASTINGS.

HOST OF HEAVEN, THE (צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם).—An expression occurring several times in the OT, and denoting most frequently the *stars*, but sometimes *angels*. The word 'host' is the ordinary Heb. word for *army*; and its use implies that those whom it characterizes are conceived partly as numerous, and partly as forming a regularly organized body, obedient to the commands of its lord or head.

A. As applied to the *stars*, it (1) denotes them (often coupled with the sun and moon) as *objects of religious veneration*, Dt 4^{19} 17^{3}, Zeph 1^{5}, Jer 8^{2} 19^{13}, 2 K 17^{16} $21^{3.\,5}$ $23^{3.\,5}$ (2 Ch $33^{3.\,5}$); so also Ac 7^{42}. It appears from these passages that the idolatrous worship of the heavenly bodies—though there are traces of it previously *—first became prominent in Israel in the 7th cent. B.C.: it was patronized by Manasseh, who 'built altars for all the host of heaven in the two courts' of the Temple (2 K 21^{5}); it is mentioned in Dt as a form of idolatry which might prove specially seductive to the Israelite; according to Jer 19^{13}, Zeph 1^{5}, it was carried on upon the roofs of houses. Josiah, in his reformation, destroyed the altars built by Manasseh in the Temple, burnt the vessels used in the rites, and put down the priests who took part in them (2 K $23^{3.\,5.\,12}$). From the terms of 2 K 23^{12} 'the altars which were on the roof of the upper chamber of Ahaz,' taken in conjunction with what is stated in Jer 19^{13}, Zeph 1^{5}, it is difficult to avoid the inference that, though the 'host of heaven' itself is not expressly mentioned, the worship had in fact been introduced into Judah before Manasseh by Ahaz. This systematic worship of the heavenly bodies was in all probability imported from Assyria and Babylonia, where there was a deeply rooted popular belief in the power of the stars to rule the destinies of individuals and nations, and where from a remote antiquity the events which had been observed to follow from given celestial phenomena had been tabulated for future reference (above, vol. i. p. 194; Sayce, *Hibb. Lect.* 396–403).

---

* Proper names, as Beth-shemesh, En-shemesh, and (probably) Jericho imply an ancient worship of the sun and moon: see also Am 5^{26} (*c.* 750 B.C.); and (under Ahaz) Is 17^{8} ('sun-pillars,'—though some scholars think this and the preceding word a later addition): 2 K 23^{11} 'the horses which the kings of Judah had given to the sun' and 'chariots of the sun' (though, the kings not being specified, the date when these were introduced is uncertain). 2 K 17^{16}, also, attributes the worship of the 'host of heaven' to the people of the *northern* kingdom; but the statement (which occurs in a Deuteronomic passage) *may* be only a rhetorical generalization.

Ahaz and Manasseh were both addicted to heathen observances, and both were also vassals of Assyria;[*] so that there is no difficulty in understanding their readiness to patronize Assyrian superstitions.[†]

The expression (2) denotes the stars as *witnessing, in virtue of their apparently countless numbers, and the order and regularity of their appearance, to J″'s creative and administrative power.* So Jer 33^{22} (as innumerable), Is 34^{4} (as dependent for their existence upon J″'s will, and so as mouldering away in the day of His wrath); and 'their host' in Is 40^{26} ('that bringeth out their host by number; he calleth them all by name . . . not one is lacking'), 45^{12} ('I have stretched out the heavens, and all their host I have commanded'), Ps 33^{6}, Gn 2^{1} (where 'their host' is referred to 'earth' only zeugmatically), Neh 9^{6a} ('thou hast made heaven, the heaven of heavens, and all their host'). The expression also denotes the stars in Dn 8^{10} (as audaciously assailed by the 'little horn' [Antiochus Epiphanes]), God being (v.^{11}) their 'captain' or 'prince.'

B. 'Host of heaven' denotes *celestial beings in attendance upon J″*, in 1 K 22^{19}=2 Ch 18^{18} (Micaiah's vision), and Neh 9^{6b}; probably in Dn $4^{35\,(32)}$ (where the Aram. חַיִל is the word which in the Targ. regularly corresponds to צָבָא in this expression): and so also in Lk 2^{13}. 'All ye his hosts' in Ps 103^{21}, and 'all his host' (Ḳerê, 'hosts') in Ps 148^{2}, are meant, probably, in the same sense. J″'s celestial attendants are alluded to frequently elsewhere, though not under this name, as Ps 29^{1} 89^{5-7}, Is 6, Job 1^{6} 2^{1} 5^{1} 15^{15} 21^{22b} 38^{7}, Dn 7^{10} (see further ANGEL, vol. i. p. 95); and the term 'host' designates them, like the stars, as an organized body. For passages in which they are spoken of in terms suggestive of an *army*, see Gn 32^{2} (a 'camp'), Jos $5^{14f.}$ ('captain of J″'s host'), 2 K 6^{17}, Ps 103^{20}, and Jl $3(4)^{11}$ ('mighty ones,' or warriors), Job 25^{3} ('troops' or 'bands').

An ambiguous position is taken by Is 24^{21}, where mention is made of the 'host of the height' (*sc.* of heaven), whom J″ will 'visit' (punish) in the day of judgment on the world which the (post-exilic) prophet depicts. This expression is understood by Delitzsch to refer to angels (the allusion being taken to be to a germinal form of the doctrine, which was afterwards more fully developed, of patron-angels, presiding over the different nations of the earth);[‡] but others (as Oehler, *AT Theol.* § 196; Schultz, *OT Theol.* ii. 228; Baudissin, *Sem. Rel.-gesch.* i. 121-123; Dillm., Duhm, Cheyne;[§] cf. LXX) think the stars are intended.

The question arises, in what relation these two senses of the expression 'host of heaven' stand towards each other. Of course the connexion may be a merely verbal one: angels and stars were equally pictured by the Hebrews as forming a 'host'; both belonged to the heavens; and both were accordingly called independently by the same name. Nevertheless, it is the opinion of many scholars that the connexion between the two senses is closer than this. Ewald (*Lehre von Gott*, ii. 294 f.) suggested that the stars were regarded as the 'visible image,' or counterpart, of the host, or army, of angels, by which J″ was conceived to be surrounded. Stade (*Gesch.* ii. 236-238) supposes that the divinities, whom the heathen nations, and the unspiritual Israelites, supposed to inhabit the heavenly bodies, and whom they venerated accordingly, were harmonized with monotheism by being incorporated into the ranks of the angels, as subjects of the supreme God: the 'host of heaven,' originally denoting these divinities, became thus the name for the countless ministers of the heavenly King. Others remind us that the stars, moving (as it seemed) in the heaven with surprising order and regularity, were regarded by the Greeks and other ancient nations as animate beings;[*] and suppose that this facilitated their being called by the same name as angels. Thus Montefiore (*Hibb. Lect.* 429) writes: 'The stars, to the Jews, no less than to the Greeks, animate beings, become a portion of the heavenly host which attended Yahweh on high'; cf. Baudissin, *l.c.* p. 120 (Hebrew popular belief regarded the stars as animated beings, similar to angels). In estimating this last view, it should, however, be remembered that there is no passage in the OT which actually speaks of the stars as animated, or distinctly identifies them with angels; for the poetical passage in Jg 5^{20} (the stars from their courses fighting against Sisera) is no evidence of the former belief; and the fact that in Job 38^{7} 'morning stars' stand in poetical parallelism with 'sons of God' does not prove that the poet treated them as identical. No doubt, in a later age, the stars were treated as conscious beings, and even sometimes identified with angels (as Enoch 18^{12-16} 21^{1-6}, where seven stars are represented as bound in a prison-house of fire, for disobedience in not rising at their appointed time, just as angels themselves are in 21^{7-12}; and Rev $9^{1.\,11}$, where the star which falls from heaven and receives the key of the abyss, is called the 'angel' of the abyss): but it is a question how much such passages prove for the beliefs of the 8th or 7th centuries B.C. Our knowledge of the origin and history of the expression 'host of heaven' is too imperfect to enable us to pronounce with any confidence upon these theories; but, so far as we can judge (1 K 22^{19}), it seems to have been first applied to denote angelic beings. Whether its application afterwards to the stars was connected merely verbally with this usage, or whether it was facilitated by one or other of the considerations just alluded to, cannot be definitely determined; at the same time, we may at least agree (cf. above, vol. i. p. 95^{b}) that the movements and appearance of the stars may well have suggested to the Hebrews, as they did to other ancient nations, the idea that they were animated, and that hence a tendency may have arisen—though how far it was consistently carried out we do not know—to place them in the same class, or even to identify them, with angels, who also formed an order of heavenly beings, regarded by the Hebrews as in a special degree the ministers and instruments of Divine Providence (cf. Dillm. *AT Theol.* 320).

S. R. DRIVER.

HOSTS, LORD OF.—See LORD OF HOSTS.

HOTHAM (חוֹתָם 'seal').—**1.** An Asherite, 1 Ch 7^{32}. **2.** Father of two of David's heroes, 1 Ch 11^{44}. In this latter instance AV has incorrectly **Hothan.** See GENEALOGY.

HOTHIR (הוֹתִיר).—A son of Heman, 1 Ch 25^{4}. See GENEALOGY, III. 23 n.

HOUGH.—The 'hough' (mod. spelling *hock*) of a quadruped is the joint between the knee and the fetlock in the hind leg; in man the back of the knee joint, called the ham. To hough is to cut the tendon of the hough, to hamstring. The subst. occurs in 2 Es 15^{36} 'unto the camel's hough' (usque ad suffraginem cameli, AVm 'pastern *or* litter'). The vb. is found Jos $11^{6.\,9}$, 2 S 8^{4}, 1 Ch 18^{4} of houghing horses (עָקַר in Piel). Tind. translates Gn 49^{6} 'In their selfe-will they houghed an oxe,' which is retained in AVm, and accepted by RV for AV text 'they digged down a wall' (see Spurrell). In his *Diary* (Wodrow, p. 123), Melvill says of 'Mr Jhone Caldcleuche, a daft wousten man,' that he 'bosted that he wald houche Mr Andro [Melvill], with mikle mair daft talk,' where the word is shown in its later and more general sense of doing one a serious injury. J. HASTINGS.

---

[*] For Manasseh, see Schrader, *KAT*^{2} on 2 K 21^{1}.

[†] For other allusions to the worship of heavenly bodies (though not of the 'host of heaven,' as such) in the same age, see Jer 7^{18} 44^{19} (above, vol. i. p. 169^{b} note), Ezk 8^{16}: cf. also (later) Job $31^{26f.}$.

[‡] Cf. Smend, *ZAW*, 1884, p. 200 (gods of the heathen).

[§] In *SBOT* p. 205 ('astral spirits'); cf. *Introd. to Is.* 70, 151 (in his *Comm.* he explained, with Hitzig, of stars and angels together).

[*] That the stars were divine beings was, says Aristotle, a traditional belief among the Greeks; and he even accommodated it to his own philosophy (*Metaph.* XII. (Λ) viii. 26-30, 1074*b*, 1 ff.: cf. *Phys.* ii. 4, 196*a*, 33; *de Cœl.* i. 2, 269*a*, 30 ff.; *Met.* VI. (E) i. 18, 1026*a*, 18, where they are called τὰ φανερὰ τῶν θείων, with Schwegler's note; *Eth. Nic.* vi. 7, 1141*b* a, ἀνθρώπου πολὺ θειότερα τὴν φύσιν).

HOUR.—See TIME.

HOUSE (בַּיִת [etym. uncertain; Ges. derives from a root='spend the night'], *οἶκος, οἰκία, domus*).—This article deals with the fixed dwellings of man in Syria and Egypt, exclusive of tents and temporary dwellings, which are treated of under other headings (CAVE, PALACE, TEMPLE, TENT); but, in a hot climate, where life is spent in a great measure in the open air under the shade of trees, rocks, and in booths in connexion with permanent habitations, it is not practicable entirely to divide the several subjects. It will be found that the difference to be met with in the habits of the people is not so much between those who live in permanent and in temporary dwellings, as between those who live in fixed abodes and in movable habitations.

The dwellers in towns and villages have fixed abodes, though often of a very frail character; while the nomadic tribes, roving over the country in quest of pasture for their herds and flocks, require habitations which, though they can be readily packed up and carried away, are often of a very permanent texture.

Permanent fixed dwellings existed from the very earliest times (Gn 4^{17} $10^{11\text{f.}}$ [both, however, prehistorical] 12^{15} [Hyksos period ?]), and in the days of Abraham cities of considerable antiquity were already in existence in Palestine and Egypt ('Now Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt,' Nu 13^{23}, which, however, may refer only to the rebuilding by Ramses II., cf. Sayce, *HCM* 190 f.). Evidence to the same effect is supplied by the Babylonian (Nippur) and Egyptian discoveries as well as by Bliss's excavations at Lachish.

Although the family of Lot, on separating from Abraham, dwelt in the cities of the plain (Gn 13^{12}), yet the Hebrews throughout their sojourn in Canaan, until going down into Egypt, were dwellers in tents (Gn 13^{18} 26^{25} 31^{33} 35^{21}): in Egypt they lived in houses (Ex $12^{7.\,27}$), and on entering the Promised Land, after forty years' camping in the wilderness, took possession of the towns and cities built by the Canaanites (Dt $6^{10\text{f.}}$): they thus had no opportunity of establishing any distinctive style of architecture, as did the Egyptians, Assyrians, and Greeks, and there is no class of buildings which can be described as characteristically Hebrew, unless perhaps the synagogues, which do not appear to have been numerous in Palestine till after the time of John Hyrcanus (B.C. 135). The houses of the Hebrews, therefore, were the houses of the people of the land where they dwelt, and we have thus to seek for them in Syria and Egypt.

We have the following records for our use, viz.: The pictures on the monuments of Egypt and Assyria, the ruins remaining on the ground, the descriptions given in the Bible and by early writers, and the modern dwellings themselves.

In drawing inferences as to the arrangements of houses in ancient times from the system adopted in modern dwellings, we must make due allowance for the more jealous seclusion of Moslem women at the present day, and also for the present method of sitting with the legs tucked up, which necessitates taking off the out-door shoe. There was far more social equality of the two sexes among the Hebrews in ancient times than there is now among the Moslems. This affected all the household arrangements, and did not require the careful seclusion of the women's apartments, which complicates the construction of modern houses. Hebrew women, instead of being immured in a harem, mingled freely with the other sex in carrying out their social duties. They attended the flocks (Gn 29^{6}), prepared the meal (Gn 18^{6}), invited guests (Jg 4^{18}), and even on occasion criticized the conduct of their husband (1 S 25^{25}). They conversed with strangers in a public place with propriety (Gn 24^{24} $29^{9\text{f.}}$), and took part in public affairs of any special kind (1 S 18^{6}, which would suggest that they sat in an *agora*). This freedom of action naturally influenced the arrangements of the apartments in the house, and caused them to differ from those of the present day. The custom of sitting on a divan with the legs tucked up instead of sitting on a chair or stool also affects greatly all household arrangements, even to ceremonials and cleanliness, as may be seen at present in the life of the Chinese, who use chairs, and the Japanese, who sit on divans or couches. Another matter not to be lost sight of in considering the nature of the houses in early days, is the patriarchal customs of the Hebrews, and the improbability of their having many wants, accustomed as they were to living so much in tents.

The houses of the poor in early days must always have been of a very primitive character. Very often they were built of clay (mud or sunburnt brick), 'whose foundation is in the dust'; 'which are ready to become heaps'; 'by slothfulness the roof sinketh in, and through idleness of the hands the house leaketh' (Job 4^{19} 15^{28}, Ec 10^{18}, Is 9^{10}). These houses, as at the present day, were of a very unstable description, and if not instantly attended to were liable to be overthrown by heavy rainfall, hailstorm, and strong winds (Ezk $13^{10\text{f.}}$). Another inconvenience of mud houses is their liability to be 'dug through' or broken into by thieves (Job 24^{16}, Mt 6^{19} 24^{43}).

In other instances houses might be built of stone with plaster (Lv $14^{40\text{f.}}$) and mortar (Ezk 13^{11}), and wood of sycomore, holm tree (but see HOLM) and the oak (Is 9^{10}). These stone houses were also very insecurely built; the mortar, frequently made with mud and slime instead of burnt limestone, becomes as slippery as soap during heavy rains, and whole villages have been known to be overthrown in one night during bad weather (*Land and the Book*, ii. 57). In some parts of the country, however, the houses are very carefully built of squared stone throughout, owing to the total absence of wood; and those houses do not readily decay, Mt 7^{24} (Buckingham, *Arab Tribes*, 180, 326).

In the fenced cities the houses forming the walls are necessarily built solidly, 'great, and fenced up to heaven' (Dt 1^{28}), but those within the city do not differ materially from those in villages, except that for want of space the roofs are made more use of, and there are two storeys and often a court within the house. These houses, whether of mud or stone, are also very insecurely built, and are constantly falling down.

The people congregated, as they still do, for safety in villages and towns, and did not build isolated houses in the fields. The houses of the poor are quadrangular, usually of one storey in villages, and containing but one apartment, in which in cold weather the cattle also are housed; the portion for the use of the family being raised on a dais some 2 ft. or more above that where the cattle are herded. On this raised platform are the beds, chests, cooking utensils (1 S 28^{24} (?)). The light comes through the door, and when there are windows they are merely apertures raised some height above the ground, sometimes with wooden gratings. There is no chimney, and the smoke from the fire finds its way out through the holes in the building.

The roofs are usually flat, except where no wood is to be obtained. They are formed of rough rafters or boughs of trees with brushwood laid across, and over all a plaster of mud, rolled flat in showery weather with a stone roller. Upon the roofs are often temporary erections of straw or boughs of trees, for sleeping under, though in dry climates the roof is generally used without any covering except a quilt. It was prescribed by Dt 22^{8} that a parapet (EV '**battlement**') should be erected round the roof, for the protection of those using it for recreation or other purposes. A stairway outside the house frequently gave access to the roof without the necessity of passing through the house. This arrangement is probably alluded to in our Lord's words, 'Let him that is on the housetop not go down nor enter in to take anything out of his house' (Mk 13^{15}). Rahab hid the spies 'with the stalks of flax which she had laid in order upon the roof' (Jos 2^{6}); Peter 'went up upon the housetop to pray' (Ac 10^{9}). For similar uses of the roof cf. Jg 16^{27} (where see Moore's note), 1 S $9^{25f.}$, 2 S 11^{2} 16^{22}, Is 22^{1}, Jer 19^{13}, Zeph 1^{5}, Neh 8^{16}.

A considerable amount of discussion has been occasioned by the narrative of the healing of the paralytic (Mt $9^{2ff.}$, Mk $2^{3ff.}$, Lk $5^{18ff.}$), and the means adopted by his four friends to bring him into the presence of Jesus. Both Mark and Luke imply that the sick man's bearers first made their way to the roof, which would be readily accessible by an outside stairway or a ladder. Their further proceedings are described thus in Mk 2^{4} 'they uncovered the roof where he was, and when they had broken it up, they let down the bed whereon the sick of the palsy lay' (ἀπεστέγασαν τὴν στέγην ὅπου ἦν, καὶ ἐξορύξαντες χαλῶσι τὸν κράβ̈βατον, κ.τ.λ.); in Lk 5^{19} 'They let him down through the tiles with his couch into the midst before Jesus' (διὰ τῶν κεράμων καθῆκαν αὐτὸν σὺν τῷ κλινιδίῳ, κ.τ.λ.). It is not quite clear whether Jesus was teaching in the 'upper room' of a house with more than one storey, or on the ground floor of a one-storeyed house, or, as some think, in a gallery outside the house. In any case there would have been no difficulty either in getting rid of the covering of the roof or making an opening in the battlement that surrounded it. For a full discussion of the meaning of the passage the reader may refer to such works as Gould (on Mk 2^{4}) and Plummer (on Lk 5^{19}), both in *Internat. Crit. Comm.*; Bruce (on Mk 2^{4}) in *Expositor's Gr. NT*; Thomson, *Land and the Book* (1880), p. 358; Tristram, *Eastern Customs*, 34 f.

In the villages there is usually a **court** attached to the house, in which the cattle, sheep, and goats are penned; and in towns they are all brought within the walls and penned in courts and cellars belonging to the houses.

The monuments of Assyria and Egypt represent the houses much as they appear at present (Layard, *Nineveh*; Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*).

In examining the ruins of ancient cities east of the Jordan, one is much struck with the prominence of the temples and the complete effacement of the private dwellings, showing that the latter were built of materials that have readily decayed. This had been noticed elsewhere; and even at Athens in the time of Pericles, foreigners were struck by the contrast between the splendour of the public buildings and the mean dwellings of the common people (Thuc. ii. 14, 65; Dicaearch, *Stat. Græc.* p. 8).

The most striking peculiarity in the aspect of houses at the present day is their blank and desolate appearance from the outside: streets 8 ft. or less in width, houses 40 to 60 ft. high, with blank stone walls and little ornament of any kind, except the door and the projecting window over it, all peeping into which is jealously guarded against by the wooden lattice which fills up the window aperture; it is pierced with holes, and often elaborately carved. The doorways and the doors are often highly ornamented (Is 54^{12}, Rev 21^{21}) and enriched with arabesques, and have sentences from the *Korân* inscribed on them (cf. Dt 6^{9}). The doors are usually of hard wood, studded with iron nails or sheeted with iron, opening inwards, and furnished with bars and bolts. They are fastened with wooden locks, and wooden keys are required, often of enormous size, large enough for a stout club (Is 22^{22}; *Land and the Book*, i. 493). There is an opening in the door to insert the hand and key from the outside, the lock being on the inside (see below, **Lock** and **Key**). On entering the gate there is usually a porch or vestibule with a long stone bench for the doorkeeper and servants, where the master of the house receives visits and transacts business (Gn 19^{1} 23^{10} 34^{20}, Job 29^{7} may serve to illustrate this custom, although in these passages it is the gate of a city, not the door of a house, that is referred to). This porch is separated from the chambers within by a twisted passage, so that a view inside cannot be obtained from it. The house is built round one or more courts according to the wealth of the family, each room opening into the court, and seldom one into the other; there is a verandah round the court. In the larger houses at Damascus there are often several courts, all fitted up with great magnificence, the floors paved with marble, the walls lined with faïence, the ceilings have carved ornaments and tracery and are painted in gay colours, and ornamented wooden screens separate the several chambers.

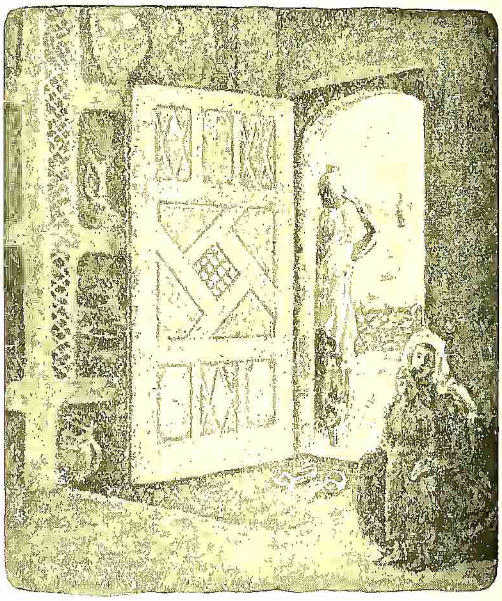
CARVED HOUSE-DOOR OF PEASANT'S COTTAGE (MT. LEBANON).

In towns there are generally two or more storeys, and on each floor the chambers open on to a common balcony running round the inside of the court, with a staircase open to the sky, usually in a corner of the court.

The passage from the entrance doorway leads into the court, which is usually paved with marble or flagging, and may have in the centre a well (2 S 17^{18}) or a fountain, with citron and orange trees around, and overhead an awning may be stretched to keep off the sun.

As it is customary for the married sons to remain under their parents' roofs and bring up families, a house may often have forty or fifty inmates exclusive of the servants and slaves.

Opening into the first court on the ground floor, in smaller houses, are the principal apartments, the women's apartments being either in an inner court or on the floor above; but in larger houses where there are several courts, the first floor of the first court is used for the reception rooms, one large chamber being specially reserved for entertaining guests, who are treated with great honour (Lk 22^{12}, Ac 1^{13} 9^{37} 20^{8}). In addition to the guest-chamber of the house, in every village or encampment there is a public guest-room for entertainment of strangers, kept up at the expense of the inhabitants (cf. Gn 18^{1}, Ex 2^{20}, Jg 13^{15} $19^{17f.}$). In wealthy houses the principal reception chamber opening into the first court is highly ornamented, paved with marble, with a fountain, and at the farther end the floor is raised and called the *lîwan*, with a divan running round the sides, formed of mattresses and cushions covered with carpets. The ceilings and walls are elaborately ornamented and brilliantly painted (Jer 22^{14} of a palace).

Moslems drop the slipper or shoe at the door when they enter an inner room or step on to the *lîwan*. And this is necessary both for comfort and cleanliness, as they sit with their feet tucked under them; but it would not be safe to assume that this custom prevailed among the Hebrews in early days in private life, though it was their custom so far as sacred ground was concerned (Ex 3^{5}, Jos 5^{15}, Lk 7^{38}). There is no clear indication of the Hebrews before the Captivity having used a divan on a raised *lîwan*, and the words signifying 'seats' in the Hebrew do not throw much light on the subject. The ancient Egyptians are shown in one picture squatting on the ground at dinner (Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* i. 58, 181). A bas-relief on the walls of Khorsabad represents the guests seated on high chairs at a festival (Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 411).

The inner courts are often planted with fine trees, and the interior walls, verandahs, and staircase clothed with vines and creepers.

Ewald (*Geschichte*², iii. 451, 602) suggests that the *'armōn*, 'keep,' of a palace was the harem or women's apartment, the most securely guarded portion of Eastern houses; but Gesenius (*Lex.*) says, 'None of the ancients rendered the word "women's apartment," as very many of late have done, after J. D. Michaelis,' and gives the meaning as 'fortress,' 'palace' (so *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*, and Siegfried-Stade). The harem of the king of Persia is spoken of in Est 2^{3}, and also the chamberlain, keeper of the women. It is also probable that king Solomon, after his foreign marriages, kept a harem at Jerusalem; but this was not part of the life of the Hebrews. And the customs of Moslems regarding the seclusion of women can throw little light upon the customs of people among whom the sexes were on almost equal terms.

The doors of the inner court are not usually furnished with locks and bolts, and a curtain is often all that separates it from the outer court, the idea being that all is private within the outer gate or outer court (Dt 24^{10}, Ac 10^{17} 12^{13}).

The upper rooms of the house are called the *'ălîyah*, which is also the Hebrew word (עֲלִיָּה) for upper chamber. Thomson (*Land and the Book*, i. 235) states that in northern Syria this is the most desirable part of the establishment, is best fitted up, and is still given to guests who are to be treated with honour. The women and servants live below, and their apartment is called *'arḍîyeh*, or ground floor; in common parlance *beit*, or house. Every respectable dwelling has both winter and summer house, *beit shatawy* and *beit seify*. If these are on the same floor, then the exterior and airy apartment is the summer-house, and that for winter is the interior and more sheltered room (2 K 4^{10}, Jer 36^{22}, Am 3^{15}; see Driver's note). In the Lebanon the upper rooms are used in summer and the lower rooms in winter. In some parts of the country where the cold in winter is severe, vaults under ground are used during the cold weather. With regard to the use of the roof of the house, the 'housetop,' see ROOF.

The only mention of cooking-places is in Ezk 46^{23} (the temple). The kitchens would probably, as with the Romans and Greeks, have had a hearth, with stone divisions for resting the pots on. There were no other fireplaces (Jer 36^{22} RV). It is supposed that there were no chimneys, but a smoke-hole is spoken of (Hos 13^{3}; see **Window**), and it is difficult to understand how the smoke could be got rid of in two-storeyed buildings without chimneys of some kind.

Leprosy of houses (Lv $14^{34.55}$) is described by Gesenius as probably a nitrous scab; Thomson (*Land and Book*, ii. 518) alludes to leprosy in garments and in buildings as phenomena not only unknown, but utterly unintelligible at this day.

In considering the household arrangements of the Hebrews, the gradual advance of civilization and luxury must not be forgotten, and the probability that even the rich in early days lived with a roughness of surroundings which would be considered as squalor in later days. The influence of the Greeks and Romans on the customs of Palestine and the East has also to be considered. In the very earliest days of the entry of the Hebrews into the Promised Land, the Philistines from Caphtor (which is generally identified with Crete) were in possession of the lowlands of Judah; from B.C. 332 to B.C. 63 Palestine was more or less directly under Greek influence, and from the latter date for many centuries it was directly under Roman influence. The customs of the people have therefore been influenced by Egypt, Assyria, Syria, Persia, Greece, and Rome; and though the dwellings of the poor may have been little affected by these influences, there can be no doubt that those of the rich would have reflected the feelings of the masters of the day. 'How apt we all are to look at the manners of ancient times through the false medium of our everyday associations! How difficult it is to strip our thoughts of their modern garb, and to escape from the thick atmosphere of prejudice in which custom and habit have enveloped us! and yet, unless we take a comprehensive and extended view of the objects of archæological speculation, unless we can look upon ancient customs with the eyes of the ancients, unless we can transport ourselves in the spirit to other lands and other times, and sun ourselves in the clear light of bygone days, all our conception of what was done by the men who have long since ceased to be must be dim, uncertain, and unsatisfactory, and all our reproductions as soulless and uninstructive as the scattered fragments of a broken statue' (Niebuhr, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 92).

Chamber (bed-, guest-, inner, upper).—When a particular apartment of a house is alluded to, the word 'chamber,' 'parlour,' or 'closet' is generally used in AV, the word 'room' being used in a general sense, 'Is there room in thy father's house for us?' 'We have room to lodge in' (Gn 24^{23}), except in three instances in the NT (Mk 14^{15}, Lk 22^{12}, Ac 1^{13}).

The word 'closet' occurs only once in the OT (Jl 2^{16}), where it is used for the *nuptial tent* (see Driver, *ad loc.*), as is the word 'chamber' in Ps 19^{5}. It is used twice in NT, where it represents ταμεῖον, 'store-house' or 'closet' (Mt 6^{6}, Lk 12^{3}). The word 'parlour' is used only three times. In Jg 3$^{20f.}$ the summer parlour (עֲלִיָּה) of Eglon means the *roof-chamber*, raised above the flat roof at one corner or upon a tower-like annexe to the building (Moore). In 1 Ch 28^{11} RV 'the inner chambers' (חֲדָרִים) is tr^{d} 'inner parlour' in AV. In 1 S 9^{22} 'parlour' is used for לִשְׁכָּה, which signifies a room in which the sacrificial meals were held (see Driver, *ad loc.*). In RV it is tr^{d} 'guest-chamber.'

There are thus only three Hebrew words used in connexion with chambers of houses. 1. חֶדֶר a chamber: Job 9^{9} 37^{9} *ἀποθήκη*, *cubiculum*; inner chamber: Gn 43^{30}, 1 K 20^{30} 22^{25}, 2 K 9^{2}, 1 Ch 28^{11}, 2 Ch 18^{24}; bed-chamber: 2 S 4^{7} 13^{10}, 2 K 6^{12}, 2 Ch 22^{11}, Ec 10^{20}; women's apartment: Ca 1^{4} 3^{4}; bridal-chamber: Jg 15^{1} 16^{9}, Jl 2^{16} (chamber); store-house: Pr 24^{4}.

2. עֲלִיָּה (*ὑπερῷον*, *cœnaculum*), *an upper chamber* on the roof of a house: Jg 3$^{20ff.}$ (Eglon), 2 K 1^{2} (Ahaziah), 4^{11} (Elisha), 23^{12} (Ahaz).

3. לִשְׁכָּה (*κατάλυμα*, *triclinium*), a sacrificial dining-room: 1 S 9^{22}; used in later times for the chambers in the Temple Court in which the priests lived: Jer 35$^{2.4}$, Ezk 40^{17} etc.

In the smaller houses there were probably no bedrooms, and in houses generally all rooms could be used for sleeping in, as is the case at the present day; but the inner chambers appear to have been more particularly set apart for sleeping, or were used as closets in which the bedding was kept (2 S 4^{7}, Ec 10^{20}; Jos. *Ant.* XII. iv. 11; 2 K 11^{2}). The furniture of a chamber for sleeping in is given (2 K 4^{10}) as 'a bed, and a table, and a stool, and a candlestick'; its position in a retired portion of the house is indicated in Ex 8^{3}, 2 K 6^{12}, and other passages. Joash and his nurse were hidden in a chamber for the beds (2 K 11^{2}, 2 Ch 22^{11}), probably a closet for the bedding. In the poorer class of houses the place set apart for laying down the beds was often merely a portion of the common room devoted to daily avocations, with the floor somewhat raised, or else a room in which the family all slept together (Lk 11^{7}). The constant reference to chambers for withdrawing to and inner chambers among all classes, shows that it was usual to have more than one room in the house, except with the very poor. Houses were often two storeys in height, and the upper chamber or *'ălîyah* was used for withdrawing to or sleeping in (Jg 3^{20}, 2 K 4^{11}). The chamber from which Ahaziah fell through the lattice was of this nature. Altars appear to have been erected in these upper chambers on the roof (2 K 23^{12}).

Doorway (פֶּתַח 'opening,' 'entrance'), **Door** (דֶּלֶת).—The doorway of the house differs from the gate of the city (שַׁעַר, *πύλη*, *porta*) in that the first was for private and the latter for public purposes. When דֶּלֶת is used of the gate of a city, it appears to differ from שַׁעַר, which denotes the whole structure, including posts, open space, etc., in being restricted to the actual door which swings on its hinges (*Oxf. Heb. Lex.*).

The doorway consisted of three parts:—The threshold or sill (סַף, which is used in some cases for door, 2 K 12^{9} 22^{4}, Jer 35^{4}), the two side posts (מְזוּזוֹת), and the lintel (מַשְׁקוֹף), Ex 12$^{7f.}$. The door itself was of wood, stone, or metal, according to circumstances. Wooden and metal doors have disappeared; but in Asia Minor, and east of the Lake of Gennesaret, stone doors exist to the present day *in situ*, the stone hinges resting in the sockets (Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 58).

These doors were often made with two leaves, and had bolts and bars (Jg 3^{23} 16^{3}, Neh 3^{3} 7^{3}, Ca 5^{5}). See **Bar, Bolt, Key.**

The doorways were often highly ornamented and enriched with tracery (Is 54^{12}, Rev 21^{21}), and inscribed with sentences of Scripture in accordance with the Mosaic Law, 'Thou shalt write them upon the posts of thy house, and on thy gates' (Dt 6^{9} 11^{20}). In Moslem countries the same practice exists at the present day. The *mĕzûzâh*, the distinctive mark of a Hebrew habitation, is a kind of amulet like the phylacteries, and consists of a tube of vellum, inside of which are scrolls with various scriptural texts. These at the present day are hung up inside the doorway on the doorpost. Inside the doorway was a bench for the doorkeeper and servants, and there the master of the house sat and transacted business.

The door could be broken in readily. 'They pressed, and came near to break the door' (Gn 19^{9}). The willing bondman was received into the household by having his ear thrust through with an awl into the door (Ex 21^{6}, Dt 15^{17}). The inner chamber in Amnon's house had a door with a bolt (2 S 13^{17}).

Bar (בְּרִיחַ).—(1) *A cross-beam*, a bar which was passed from one side to the other through the rings of the several boards of the holy tabernacle, which were thus held together (Ex 26$^{26f.}$ 35^{11} 36$^{31f.}$, Nu 3^{36} 4^{31}). (2) A bolt or bar for shutting a door of a gate or house.

The bar was used principally at night time (Neh 7^{3}, Rev 21^{25}), as it is at the present day, to keep the door closed. It was made of wood or iron (Is 45^{2}), and was inserted into sockets in the gateposts or doorway of houses (Ovid, *Amor.* i. 6). The door could not be opened until the bar was removed. Chamber doors were sometimes barred as well as bolted (2 S 13^{17}; Eurip. *Orest.* 154 *b*). The first mention of the use of bars with gates is in the account of the taking of the cities of Og king of Bashan by Moses (Dt 3^{5}). Samson carried away the gates of Gaza, posts, bars, and all (Jg 16^{3}). In the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem in the time of Artaxerxes, both bars and bolts of the gates of the city are mentioned (Neh 3$^{3f.}$).

In the Bible, bars are mentioned in connexion with city gates only, and not with reference to houses. In Jon 2^{6} the term is used in a metaphorical sense.—'The bars of the earth' (pictured as a house out of which Jonah is shut—*Oxf. Heb. Lex.*). The gates of Damascus, Jerusalem, and other walled cities in the East are closed at night and barred.

Bolt or lock (מַנְעוּל, from the root נָעַל, to fasten with a bolt, or to bind sandals to the feet).—In Dt 33^{25} this word (in the form מִנְעָל) is given as 'bars' (RV) or 'shoes' (AV, RVm), *κλεῖθρον*, *sera*. The idea of binding and loosing with a key appears in Mt 16^{19} 'I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.'

The bolt or lock is referred to in connexion with the doors both of city gates and of houses; but in the two instances in which the Heb. word is tr^{d} 'lock' in AV, it is given as 'bolt' in RV (Ca 5^{5}, Neh 3$^{3f.}$). It does not appear that city gates and palaces which had both bars and bolts would require the bolt to be opened with a key, both because they were not opened from the outside, and because guards were present to protect them from being opened by unauthorized persons (Neh 3$^{3f.}$ 7^{3}).

The bolt was shot into a socket made to receive it in the threshold on the inside of a gate or doorway. In the Pompeian doorways two holes in the sill correspond to the two bolts of the leaves of the doors (Gell, *Pompeiana*, 2 ser. vol. i. p. 167); in doorways with a single leaf the bolt would shoot into a socket in the doorpost. In the *Odyssey* (i. 442, iv. 802, xxi. 6, 46–50) the door was drawn to with a silver ring and the bolt fastened with a thong; to open the door from the outside the thong of the ring was loosed, and the 'well bent key' (of brass with an ivory handle) was put in, and by means of it the bolt was struck back. By degrees improvements were made in bolts until locks and keys of very advanced design came into existence, among the Greeks and Romans. In Jg $3^{23f.}$ an account is given of a door which could be locked by means of a key from inside or outside. Ehud locked the doors of Eglon's summer parlour, and Eglon's servants, after waiting for their master to open the doors from the inside, took a key and opened them from the outside. In Ca $5^{4.\,5}$ reference is made to the hole in the door through which the hand was put in with the key in withdrawing the bolt; the handles of the lock (AV) or bolt (RV) are also mentioned. 'My beloved put in his hand by the hole in the door.' In Dt 33^{25} bars or bolts are spoken of as of iron and brass. Reference to the bolting of an inner chamber is made in the account of Amnon and Tamar (2 S $13^{17f.}$). Ancient Egyptian doors, with two leaves, had central bolts and bars (Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* i. 15).

Key (מַפְתֵּחַ, from the root פָּתַח, 'open,' *κλείς, clavis*). This instrument to open a lock or withdraw a bolt is mentioned only once in its literal sense (Jg $3^{25f.}$). In other instances the term is used figuratively (Is 22^{22}, Lk 11^{52}, Mt 16^{19}) as a symbol to denote power and authority delegated to a steward, chamberlain, or minister, 'And the key of the house of David will I lay upon his shoulder; and he shall open and none shall shut: and he shall shut and none shall open.' Merchants and others at the present day in Palestine and Egypt are accustomed to carry large keys of wood or iron over their shoulders, if too long to hang at the girdle. Thomson (*Land and the Book*, i. 493) mentions the enormous wooden keys used in Palestine; in some cases almost a load to carry.

The lock or bolt for magazines, houses, and garden gates is made of wood and hollowed out, about 2 ft. long for a gate and 6 to 9 in. long for a chamber door. It slides through a groove in a piece of wood attached to the door, and shoots into a socket in the doorpost or sill. When the bolt is shot, some pins in the groove drop into corresponding holes in the bolt, and it cannot be withdrawn without an instrument to force up these pins out of the holes and pull the bolt back. This instrument is called the key, and consists of a piece of wood furnished with a number of pins in exactly the same position (reversed). It is introduced into the hollow bolt, and, raising the groove pins, it draws back the bolt. Unless these pins exactly fit, the bolt cannot be released (Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 42).

In some cases doors were sealed with clay. Job 38^{14} 'It is changed as clay under the seal.' At Athens a jealous husband sometimes sealed the door of the woman's apartment (Aristoph. *Thesm.* 422). The king sealed with his own signet the stone brought to the den of lions into which Daniel was cast (Dn 6^{17}). The sepulchre of our Lord was made sure by sealing the stone at the door (Mt 27^{66}).

Hinge (צִיר).—In early days doors were poised, not hung, on hinges (Pr 26^{14}); that is to say, hinges were door-pivots let into sockets in the threshold and lintel on which the door swung. Remains of stone doors with the hinges or pivots attached are found in various parts of Syria and Egypt and Asia Minor.

The Greeks and Romans used hinges for doors like those now in use in Europe; four hinges of bronze are preserved in the British Museum.

Knock (דָּפַק).—There is no mention of a knocker having been affixed to doors, as with the Greeks and Romans. In Jg 19^{22} the word (מִתְדַּפְּקִים) is used of beating violently (till they were tired) against a door. In Ca 5^{2} we hear of the beloved knocking (דּוֹפֵק) at the door. At the present day one stands on the outside of the house and knocks, and calls loudly (Mt 7^{7}, Lk 12^{36} 13^{25}, Ac 12^{13}, Rev 3^{20}).

Window (חַלּוֹן, *θυρίς*).—The Hebrew word is derived from the root חָלַל 'pierce.' This word appears to be used generally where the windows of houses are referred to, which originally were but openings pierced in the walls, without shutters. The word **casement** in Pr 7^{6} (AV) appears as **lattice** in RV, being the tr^{n} of *'eshnâb*. The windows in Daniel's chamber, open towards Jerusalem (Dn 6^{10} [Heb. ^{11}], represent an Aram. word (כַּוִּין) whose derivation is quite uncertain (the root כוא means *to burn*). The words (מֶחֱזָה אֶל־מֶחֱזָה) tr^{d} 'light over against light' (1 K $7^{4.\,5}$) are derived from חָזָה 'see.' The meaning of שְׁקֻפִים and שֶׁקֶף in same verses tr^{d} 'windows' in AV is uncertain. There are three words signifying 'lattice-' or 'net-work' filling up the aperture of a window. **1.** אֲרֻבָּה. It is used to denote the smoke-hole of a room (Hos 13^{3}); the windows of a dove-cote (Is 60^{8}); and the aperture of the window as being closed with lattice-work and not with glass. It is also used for the 'windows of heaven' (Gn 7^{11} 8^{2}, 2 K $7^{2.\,19}$, Is 24^{18}, Mal 3^{10}). **2.** חֲרַכִּים (Aram.) lattice-work or net-work of a window, Ca 2^{9} (only), 'He glanceth through the windows.' **3.** אֶשְׁנָב (of doubtful etym. synonymous with חַלּוֹן), lattice through which the cold air passes (?). Jg 5^{28} 'The mother of Sisera looked down (see Moore) through the lattice'; Pr 7^{6} 'In at the window of my house I looked forth through my casement' ('lattice' RV) [all].

There is another word tr^{d} 'lattice,'—שְׂבָכָה, lattice- or net-work, which is principally used with reference to the lattice- or net-work surrounding the capitals of the columns (1 K $7^{17f.}$), but it is also used for the lattice or balustrade in the upper chamber of Ahaziah in Samaria through which he fell; this word has probably no connexion with window.

At the present time in Eastern towns there is usually a large window prominently projecting over the doorway into the street, and fitted with lattice-work, which is opened only upon the occasion of high ceremonies. It is probable that in early days also one or perhaps more windows of the palaces and larger houses opened into the street, as there is constant reference to windows opening into the street or into the city wall. In the houses of the poorer classes, however, it is doubtful whether any windows existed, and what did exist were only apertures to admit light and let out the smoke. At the present day in the houses in the Lebanon the walls of the rooms are perforated with small openings (in addition to the windows), which let in light and air. Where there are courts, however, there are windows opening inwards. Among the Greeks, windows were not uncommon (Aristoph. *Thesm.* 797). The Romans had few windows, the bedrooms being lighted from the principal apartments, and the rooms on the upper floor only being lighted from the street (Juv. iii. 270). In Pompeii it can be seen how very few houses have windows opening on to the streets, and even in these cases the sills of the windows are over 6 ft. above the footway, and are very small, about 3 ft. by 2 ft.

The discoveries at Pompeii prove that glass was used for windows under the early emperors, as glass windows have been found in several of the houses; glass may therefore have been in use in Palestine in the houses of the wealthy at an earlier date. Pliny (*c.* 70 A.D., *HN* xxxvi. 45) states that windows were made of *mica*, from countries near Palestine, viz. Cyprus and Cappadocia.

The references in the Bible to windows to look out from are almost all in connexion with palaces.

'Abimelech king of the Philistines looked out at a window' (Gn 26^{8}). The mother of Sisera looked forth through a window (Jg 5^{28}). 'Michal the daughter of Saul looked out at the window' (2 S 6^{16}). 'Jezebel looked out at the window' (2 K 9^{30}). In the following cases, however, there are windows in houses of the less opulent classes—Rahab the harlot let the spies down through a window on the town wall of Jericho (Jos 2^{15}); Elisha when sick in his own house directed king Joash to 'open the window eastward' (2 K 13^{17}); St. Paul at Damascus was let down by the wall in a basket through a window (2 Co 11^{33}); Eutychus, asleep on the window-seat of an upper chamber at Troas, fell down from the third storey, ἀπὸ τοῦ τριστέγου (Ac 20^{9}). Windows are spoken of (Jer 22^{14}) in connexion with a wide house and spacious chambers, ceiled with cedar and painted with vermilion. It is threatened (Jl 2^{9}) that locusts shall enter in at the windows like a thief. The pelican and the porcupine singing in the windows is a sign of desolation (Zeph 2^{14}).

LITERATURE.—The *Heb. Archæologies* of Keil, Benzinger, and Nowack; Edersheim, *Sketches of Jewish Social Life*, 93-96; Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 167-199; Tristram, *Eastern Customs in Bible Lands*, 69-88; Trumbull, *Threshold Covenant* (Index). C. WARREN.

HOW.—1. How is sometimes used for 'that,' introducing a dependent sentence which states a fact, without reference to the manner of it. Thus 1 S 2^{22} (RV 'how that'), 1 Ch 18^{9} 'Now when Tou king of Hamath heard how David had smitten all the host of Hadarezer king of Zobah' (RV 'that'); especially in NT (Gr. ὅτι), Lk 1^{58} 21^{5} ('And as some spake of the temple, how it was adorned with goodly stones and gifts'), Jn 4^{1} 12^{19} 14^{28}, Ac 14^{27} ('they rehearsed all that God had done with them, and how he had opened the door of faith unto the Gentiles,' RV 'how that'), 20^{35}, Gal 4^{13}, Philem ^{19}, Ja 2^{22} ('Seest thou how faith wrought with his works,' RV 'Thou seest that'), Rev 2^{2}. Cf. Shaks. *Tit. Andron.* II. iii. 207—

> 'Now will I fetch the king to find them here,
> That he thereby may give a likely guess
> How these were they that made away his brother.'

2. Still more frequently we find 'how that' where mod. usage would use 'that' alone. Ex 9^{29} 'that thou mayest know how that the earth is the LORD'S' (כִּי, RV 'that'), 10^{2}, Dt 1^{31}, Jos 9^{24}, Ru 1^{6}, 1 S $24^{10.18}$, 2 S 18^{19}, 1 K 5^{3}, 2 K 9^{25} etc., and esp. in NT (again for ὅτι). The older versions have this form yet oftener, as in Tindale, Gn 20^{13} 'This kyndnesse shalt thou shewe unto me in all places where we come, that thou saye of me, how that I am thy brother'; Mt 6^{18} 'that it appere not unto men howe that thou fastest'; Jn 9^{18} 'But the Jewes dyd not beleue of the felowe, how that he was blynde and receaved his syght.'

Howbeit (=nevertheless, notwithstanding) is common. In writers of the period 'howbeit' sometimes stands for 'notwithstanding that,' 'although,' as Melvill, *Diary*, p. 371, 'the King sattelit and dimitted us pleasandlie, with many attestationes that he knew nocht of the Papist Lords' hom-coming till they war in the countrey; and whowbeit the esteates had licenced them to mak thair offers, they sould nocht be receaved till they tham selves war furthe of the countrey again.'

Howsoever is once found with its parts separated, 2 S 24^{3} 'how many soever they be.' Cf. Knox, *Hist.* p. 30, 'how suspitious and infamous so ever they were.' Howsoever means either 'in whatever way,' Zeph 3^{7} 'howsoever I punished them'; or 'come what may' (rather more than 'nevertheless') Jg 19^{20}, 2 S $18^{22.23}$. J. HASTINGS.

HOZAI (חוֹזָי) is given as a prop. name in RV of 2 Ch 33^{19}, where AV and RVm give 'the seers.' AVm has Hosai, LXX τῶν ὁρώντων. The latter may have read הַחוֹזִים, which appears to be supported also by the Syriac. If we retain the MT, the tr. of RV seems the only defensible one; but perhaps the original reading was חֹזָיו 'his seers' (so Kittel in Haupt, *ad loc.*). J. A. SELBIE.

HUCKSTER.—Huckster is properly the fem. of 'hawker,' but the distinction between the Anglo-Sax. fem. termination *-ster* and the masc. term. *-er* was early obliterated. The root of the word is held by Skeat to be Du. *hucken*, to stoop (under a load). The huckster has always been distinguished from the merchant as a retailer of small wares, a pedlar; and the word has from very early times carried a certain opprobrium. Thus Sir T. Moore, *Workes*, p. 1304, 'To shewe him selfe a substanciall merchaunt and not an hukster, he gently let them have it even at their owne price'; and Glanvill, *Vanity of Dogmatizing*, Pref., 'Therefore I seek no applause from the disgrace of others, nor will I huckster-like discredit any man's ware, to recommend mine own.' The word occurs in Sir 26^{29} (and in the heading to the chapter) 'A merchant shall hardly keep himself from doing wrong; and an huckster shall not be freed from sin' (κάπηλος, which occurs elsewhere in LXX only Is 1^{22}, and not at all in NT, though the vb. καπηλεύω is found in 2 Co 2^{17}, EV 'corrupt,' RVm 'make merchandise of'). Here the κάπηλος stands parallel to the ἔμπορος, and the charge of not being without sin applies equally to both. The sentiment is in accordance with Rabbinic notions. See Edersheim's note. J. HASTINGS.

HUKKOK (חֻקֹּק).—A place near Tabor on the west of Naphtali, Jos 19^{34}. It is the present village *Yâḳûḳ* (but see Dillm. *Josua, ad loc.*), near the edge of the plateau to the N.W. of the Sea of Galilee, between Tabor and Hannathon, marking the border of Zebulun and Naphtali, Jos 19^{14}.

LITERATURE.—*SWP* vol. i. sh. vi.; Guérin, *Galilée*, i. 354 ff.; Robinson, *BRP* ^{2} iii. 81 f.; Asher, *Benj. of Tudela*, ii. 421, where R. Parchi locates the tomb of the prophet Habakkuk at *Yâkûk*. C. R. CONDER.

HUKOK (חוּקֹק) of 1 Ch 6^{75} [Heb. ^{60}] is a textual error for **Helkath** (which see) of Jos 21^{31}.

HUL (חוּל).—The eponym of an Aramæan tribe (Gn 10^{23}) whose location is quite uncertain. The various attempts that have been made to establish its identity will be found in Dillmann, who does not consider that any of them has been successful.

HULDAH (חֻלְדָּה 'weasel' (?); for bearing of this name on Totem theory, see Gray, *Heb. Prop. Names*, 90, 101, 103).—A prophetess who lived during the reign of Josiah. All we know concerning her is recorded in 2 K 22^{14-20} (reproduced almost *verbatim* in 2 Ch 34^{22-28}). She is described as the wife of Shallum 'the keeper of the wardrobe,' who dwelt in the second quarter (*mishneh*) of the city. See COLLEGE. In spite of our scanty information, she must have had a well-recognized standing as a prophetess, for it was to H. that the messengers of Josiah betook themselves when they were sent to 'inquire of the Lord.' The king's alarm at the contents of the book found in the temple by Hilkiah was only partially allayed by the answer of H., which was in many points far from reassuring, although Josiah on account of his personal piety was to escape the worst of the coming evils. J. A. SELBIE.

HUMILITY (עֲנָוָה, ταπεινοφροσύνη; on the special Christian sense of the latter and on its relation to πραότης, see Trench, *NT Syn.* ^{8} 142 ff.).—In one aspect the whole Bible may be viewed as a revelation of the character of God, and the divine love of humility is a feature of that character which is traceable throughout. In Ps 18^{35} 113^{6} the virtue of humility is attributed to God Himself, who humbleth Himself to behold the things that are in heaven and earth; and recent advances in our knowledge, both of the infinitely great in heaven and of the infinitely little on earth, have deepened our wonder at God's providence, at the contrast of His greatness and His minute care for the least of His works (cf. Mt $10^{29.\,30}$). But, after all, our words 'great' and 'little' can have no direct significance to Him who is absolute and eternal; and, while in men different qualities often stand out sharply distinct, in the transparent simplicity of the divine character we at once see through the humility to the love which underlies it; so that on both grounds it seems unnatural to us to dwell upon 'the great God's great humbleness,' in distinction from the love that moved Him to create, and to deign to take notice of that which He created.

But when we turn to consider the Bible record of God's dealings with the moral natures of men, there is scarcely any divine characteristic so marked as that which is expressed in the words, 'Surely he scorneth the scorners, but he giveth grace to the lowly' (Pr 3^{34}=Ja 4^{6}), and 'Thus saith the high and lofty One that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is Holy: I dwell in the high and holy place, with him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit, to revive the spirit of the humble, and to revive the heart of the contrite ones' (Is 57^{15}). From Babel (Gn 11^{4}) to Nebuchadnezzar (Dn $4^{30.\,37}$), from the song of Hannah (1 S 2^{3}) to the Magnificat (Lk 1^{51}), the lessons of history and the insight of the prophet have taught that 'pride goeth before destruction, and an haughty spirit before a fall' (Pr 16^{18}), while 'blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth' (Ps 37^{11}= Mt 5^{5}). Especially is the duty of humility enforced in Ps and Pr and in some of the Prophets. For though God is known to bless the humble, yet the sense of His special favour is apt to beget pride, and therefore the Deuteronomist and Ezekiel are led to insist on the utter absence of merit in Israel; and to explain that God's choice of His people was not determined by any good qualities in them on which they should pride themselves (Dt 7^{7} $8^{17.\,18}$ $9^{4\text{-}7}$ 26^{5} 32^{10}, Ezk 16, where Jerus. is charged with having used God's gifts to minister to her own vanity, cf. Ro $11^{17\text{-}24}$); while Amos protests that other races besides the children of Israel are equally the objects of God's providence, $9^{7\text{-}10}$.

So far, the Bible idea might not seem to be very far removed from the familiar conception of Herodotus and the Greek tragedians, that God looks askance as with envy on human presumption, and even on innocent success. Yet the Bible at least dwells rather on God's love of the lowly than on His hatred of the proud, and there is no sign of His displeasure at mere prosperity. But our sense of the contrast between the Greek idea and that of the Bible will be deepened if we consider the relations of humility to other virtues.

(1) Humility towards God is based on *truth*. It is the simple recognition of facts as they really are —see Ro 12^{3}. No man can dare to boast before God (Ps 143^{2}, 1 Co 1^{29}), and whatever of merit or success he has he owes to God's bounty (1 Co 4^{7}). Hence walking humbly with God is put by Micah (6^{8}) as a climax after doing justly and loving mercy. Pride comes from forgetting God and forming false judgments on oneself or others from the world's standpoint, *e.g.* Dt $8^{17.\,18}$, Is $10^{12\text{-}15}$, Lk 17^{10} $18^{10\text{-}14}$, 2 Co 10^{12}. (2) From man's dependence upon God follows the principle that there can be no true advance without *readiness to receive* grace, *i.e.* humility. God demands of man that he should humbly ask for help, that he should open his mouth wide that God may fill it. St. Paul attributes the Jews' failure to their not subjecting themselves to this condition (Ro 10^{3}). Abraham is an example of the humility whose prayer God hears (Gn $18^{27\text{-}32}$). (3) As sons who owe all to their Father, men are bound to obey, and humility is thus closely connected with *obedience*. The command to perform acts, even those which to the natural man seem foolish, is the test of the humility and faith which God will bless: thus Naaman (2 K 5^{13}). Similarly, circumcision is, in metaphor, connected with humility (Lv 26^{41}, Dt 10^{16} 30^{6}). (4) In 2 Ch 32^{26} 33^{12} 34^{27} *repentance* and conversion are identified with humbling oneself. God sends chastisements to humble men and bring them to a better mind (Ps 119^{75}, La 3^{33} עָנָה, the same root as is commonly used for humble); but man can refuse to learn the lesson (Ex 10^{3}, 2 Ch $36^{12.\,13}$). Fasting as a self-imposed chastisement is often connected with humility (1 K $21^{27.\,29}$, Ezr 8^{21} etc.).

Humility as regards one's fellow-men fills a much smaller space, especially in OT, than humility towards God. It was often inculcated by Christ (Mt $18^{1\text{-}4}$ $20^{25\text{-}28}$); and St. Paul connects it directly with love (1 Co 13^{4}), while jealousy and envy, sins which have their root in pride, are reckoned among the manifest works of the flesh (Gal $5^{20.\,21}$). So in Ph $2^{3\text{-}5}$ he condemns faction and vainglory, and commends the 'lowliness of mind' in which each counts 'other better than himself; not looking each of you to his own things, but each of you also to the things of others.' Such a 'mind' conforms to the pattern of the humility of the Son of God, who emptied Himself and became incarnate.

We can only touch lightly on the humility of Christ, which was shown in His earthly life from beginning to end. He abhorred not the Virgin's womb, and the lowly circumstances of His birth have ever been the theme of Christian artists and poets. The humility of the thirty years' subjection to His parents, and of the three years of unceasing toil, privation, and opposition, was crowned when He endured the cross, despising shame (He 12^{2}). We may notice specially His praying (Lk 9^{18} etc.), His admitting weariness, distress, and pain (Jn 4^{6}, Mk 14^{34}, Jn 19^{28}), and the solemn words and acts by which He inculcated humility (Mt 11^{29} and Jn $13^{12\text{-}16}$). At the same time, He asserted His authority (*e.g.* to forgive sins, to judge men, to found an undying Church); He proclaimed Himself as the only way to God, etc. (Jn 14^{6}); He claimed that He alone knew the Father of right (Mt 11^{27}). And He felt and expressed burning indignation at bigotry, hypocrisy, and blind self-complacency. St. Paul followed His example, and in him too we see that humility is compatible with righteous indignation, and even with just and true self-assertion.

It is worth observing also that St. Peter, who was at first the type of self-reliant boldness (Mt 16^{22} $26^{33\text{-}35}$), is afterwards particularly careful to dwell on the need of humility (1 P $2^{13.\,17\text{-}20}$ $3^{4.\,8}$ $5^{3.\,5.\,6}$).

W. O. BURROWS.

HUMTAH (חֻמְטָה).—A city of Judah, noticed next to Hebron, Jos 15^{54}. The site is doubtful.

HUNGER.—See FOOD.

HUNTING (צוּד, *θηρεύειν*, *ἀγρεύειν*, *venor*, *capio*, *capio venatione*, *capio prædam*, 'to hunt'; צַיִד, צֵידָה, *θήρα*, *θήρευμα*, *ἐπισιτισμός*, *venandi*, *venatio*, *cibaria*, 'hunting,' 'venison'; צַיָּד, *θηρευτής*, *venator*, 'hunter'; חַיָּה, *θηρίον*, especially in חַיְתוֹ אֶרֶץ, חַיַּת הָאָרֶץ, *τὸ θηρίον τῆς γῆς*, *τὸ θηρίον τὸ ἄγριον*, *bestia terræ*, *agri*, etc.).

When the earliest extant documents originated, the Israelites had not only passed out of, but had entirely forgotten that Israel ever passed through, that stage in the development of primitive tribes at which men's chief business and resource is hunting. Adam (Gn 3^{17}) and Cain (4^{2}) cultivate the soil, and Abel is a shepherd (*ib.*). Israel, in the persons of Isaac and Jacob, is contrasted with the hunting tribes, Ishmael, the 'archer' (Gn 21^{20} E), and Esau, the 'cunning hunter' (Gn 25^{27} J); it is Nimrod, the founder of Assyria, who is 'a mighty hunter before J″' (Gn 10^{9} R). Hebrew, however, preserves a trace of the hunting stage of primitive society. צֵידָה *ẓêdâh*, by etymology 'hunting' or 'game,' and so used in *Kethîbh* of Gn 27^{3}, is regularly used for provision (Gn 42^{25} etc.); thus suggesting a time when game was the ordinary food.

Moreover, in historic times, hunting was neither a common nor a favourite occupation in Israel. The account of Jacob and Esau shows that the Israelites were not addicted to hunting. Other references to hunting are general and casual; no actual hunt is ever mentioned. The references to lions, leopards, bears, etc. etc., and the lists of clean and unclean animals (Dt 14), show that both big and small game were abundant. But the only instances we meet with are where a shepherd or wayfarer has to defend himself or his charge; cf. the supposed fate of Joseph (Gn 37^{33}), Samson (Jg 14^{6} 15^{4}), David (1 S 17^{34-37}), Benaiah (2 S 23^{20}, apparently something more than an act of self-defence), the unnamed prophet of 1 K 13^{24}; cf. also Is 5^{29} 31^{4}, Am 3^{12}. On the other hand, the allusions in Lv 17^{13}, 1 S 26^{20} 'as when one doth hunt a partridge in the mountains,' Job 10^{16} 38^{39} 41^{26}, Pr 12^{27} etc. etc., show that the Israelites were familiar with hunting; and the gazelle (צְבִי) and the hart (אַיָּל) are referred to as ordinary articles of diet (Dt $12^{15.\,22}$), and are mentioned with the roebuck (יַחְמוּר 1 K 4^{23}) as part of the provision made for Solomon's table. Bows and arrows (Gn 27^{3}), slings (1 S 17^{40}), nets (Job 19^{6}, Ps 9^{15}, Is 51^{20} etc.), snares and traps (פַּח Am 3^{5}, מוֹקֵשׁ Am 3^{5}), cf. the group of terms in Job 18^{8-10}, were used to catch game, especially wild birds. Also pits (פַּחַת Is 24^{17}, שַׁחַת Ps 35^{7}) were dug as traps for larger animals; and sometimes a net was concealed (Ps 35^{7}) in such a pit. The few references to hunting furnish us with names of some of the animals hunted and instruments used, but afford scarcely any data as to details in the nature of the instruments or the methods of hunting.

The comparative indifference of the Israelites to hunting is the more striking when we remember how devoted Egyptian and Assyrian kings and nobles were to the pursuit; their monuments depict many hunting scenes. It is true that our Hebrew documents probably come from the central districts at a time when they were too densely populated for much sport. We might hear more of hunting if we had earlier writings from the frontier lands south of Judah and east of Jordan.

In the Apocrypha we read in Sirach of a decoy partridge in a cage (11^{30}), of a gazelle taken in a snare (27^{20}), and of the use of game for food (36^{19}).

Jos. (*Ant.* IV. viii. 9) refers to hunting dogs, which are never mentioned in OT, and tells us that Herod the Great was a mighty hunter (*Ant.* XV. vii. 7, XVI. x. 3; *BJ* I. xxi. 13).

NT only uses a few metaphors borrowed from hunting (*e.g.* Lk 11^{54} *θηρεῦσαι*; Lk 21^{35}, Ro 11^{9}, 1 Ti 3^{7} 6^{9}, 2 Ti 2^{26}, *παγίς*; Mt 22^{15} *παγιδεύειν*). See, further, NET, SNARE, and the articles on animals.

LITERATURE.—Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 1894, p. 204 f.; Nowack, *Lehrb. der Heb. Arch.* 1894, i. 221, 222.

W. H. BENNETT.

HUPHAM (חוּפָם, LXX omits), Nu 26^{39}.—See HUPPIM.

HUPPAH (חֻפָּה 'canopy,' 'chamber').—A priest of the 13th course, 1 Ch 24^{13}. See GENEALOGY.

HUPPIM (חֻפִּים, perh. 'coverings').—The head of a Benjamite family, his precise parentage being obscure, Gn 46^{21} P, 1 Ch $7^{12.\,15}$, Nu 26^{39} (Hupham) P.

HUR (חוּר).—**1.** (Ὥρ) mentioned with Aaron as the companion of Moses during the battle between the Israelites under Joshua and the Amalekites (Ex $17^{10.\,12}$). He was also with Aaron while Moses ascended Mt. Sinai (Ex 24^{14}; all E).

2. (Ὥρ) a Judahite, the grandfather of Bezalel the chief artificer of the Tabernacle (Ex 31^{2} = 35^{30} 38^{22}; all P). The Chronicler traces back his descent through Caleb and Hezron to Perez (1 Ch $2^{19.\,20.\,50}$ 4^{1-4}, 2 Ch 1^{5}), while Josephus (*Ant.* III. ii. 4, vi. 1) makes this Hur the husband of Miriam and identical with Hur No. 1 above.

3. (Οὔρ) one of the five kings of Midian, who, with Balaam, were slain by the Israelites under Phinehas after the 'matter of Peor' (Nu 31^{8}). The incident is referred to in Jos 13^{21}, where the kings are described as 'chiefs' (נְשִׂיאִים) of Midian, and 'princes' (נְסִיכִים) of Sihon, king of the Amorites.

4. According to the Hebrew, an Ephraimite, the father of one of the twelve officers of Solomon who 'provided victuals for the king and his household every month' (1 K 4^{8}, where RV reads BEN-HUR). Klostermann (*in loc.*) restores 'Azariah, the son of Zadok the priest (from v.^{2}), in Beth-horon in the hill-country of Ephraim.' He appeals to B and Luc. Βαιώρ, which he regards as an error for Βαιθώρ = Beth-horon (בֵּית־חוֹרֹן, corrupted in the Hebrew to בֶּן־חוּר; A Βὲν υἱὸς Ὥρ). The further reading of A (Βεέν) he takes as presupposing בחן, in itself a corruption of הַכֹּהֵן = the priest. K.'s conjectural emendation of the text is very ingenious, but can hardly be considered as probable. No doubt the text is corrupt, and it seems probable that the name of the officer in question has been lost.

5. (LXX omits) The father of Rephaiah, who ruled over half the district of Jerusalem and assisted Nehemiah in repairing the walls (Neh 3^{9}).

J. F. STENNING.

HURAI.—See HIDDAI.

HURAM (חוּרָם).—**1.** A Benjamite (1 Ch 8^{5}). See GENEALOGY. **2. 3.** See HIRAM.

HURI (חוּרִי).—A Gadite, 1 Ch 5^{14}. See GENEALOGY.

HUSBANDRY.—The 'husband' is originally the 'master of the house' (Icel. *hús*, a 'house,' and *búandi*, 'inhabiting'), but the word is used in AV only in the mod. sense of a married man. See FAMILY, MARRIAGE.

So a husbandman is a householder, as Mt 20^{1} Wyc. 'The kyngdam of hevenes is lic to an husbond man' (Tind. and all others 'householder'), but in AV it always means a tiller of the ground, a farmer. Then 'husbandry' is first the occupation of a husbandman, 2 Ch 26^{10} 'he had much cattle, both in the low country and in the plains: husbandmen also, and vinedressers in the mountains, and in Carmel: for he loved husbandry' (אֲדָמָה, lit., as AVm, 'ground'); 1 Es 4^{6} 'Those that are no soldiers, and have not to do with wars, but use husbandry' (*γεωργοῦσιν τὴν γῆν*); Sir 7^{15} 'Hate not laborious work, neither husbandry' (*γεωργίαν*). But, secondly, in 1 Co 3^{9} 'husbandry' is used figuratively in the sense of 'that which is cultivated': 'ye are God's husbandry' (*θεοῦ γεώργιον*, lit., as RVm, 'God's field'). The first meaning is common. Thus Shaks. *As You Like It*, II. iii. 65—

> 'But, poor old man, thou prun'st a rotten tree,
> That cannot so much as a blossom yield,
> In lieu of all thy pains and husbandry.'

Golding, *Justine*, fol. 181, 'The women have all the doyng in houskeping and husbandrie, and the men geve themselfs to warre and robbyng.' The second meaning is rare, being in 1 Co 3^9 an adaptation of the word to suit the Gr., as Shaks. uses 'husbandry' of the *product* of husbandry in *Henry V*. V. ii. 39—

> 'Alas! she hath from France too long been chased,
> And all her husbandry doth lie on heaps,
> Corrupting in its own fertility.'

J. HASTINGS.

HUSHAH (חֻשָׁה, Ὠσάν), the son of Ezer, the son of Hur (see HUR 2), and therefore of the tribe of Judah. Probably H. represents the name of a place, otherwise unknown, in Judah (1 Ch 4^4). See HUSHATHITE.

HUSHAI (חוּשַׁי, Χουσεί, *Chusai*).—An Archite (2 S 15^{32} $17^{5.14}$), *i.e.* a native of 'the border of the Archites' (Jos 16^2) to the W. of Bethel. See ARBITE. He is further described as 'the friend of David' (רֵעֶה דָוִד 15^{37}), while at 2 S 16^{16} the two titles are united. It is probable, therefore, that the LXX is right in reading 'the Archite, the friend of David,' at 2 S 15^{32}, though its rendering ὁ ἀρχιέταιρος represents a strange combination of the gentilic name (in a Græcized form) and ἑταῖρος, the whole='chief companion.' At the rebellion of Absalom he was induced by David to act as if he favoured the cause of the king's son. By so doing he was enabled both to defeat the plans of Ahithophel and to keep David informed (by means of Ahimaaz and Jonathan, the sons of Zadok and Abiathar the priests) of the progress of events in Jerusalem (2 S 16^{16}–17^{23}). He is probably to be identified with the father of Baana, one of Solomon's twelve commissariat officers (1 K 4^{16}). G. Buchanan Gray (*Hebrew Proper Names*, p. 323) suggests that חוּשַׁי may be a parallel formation to אֲבִישַׁי (Abishai), the א being dropped as in חִיאֵל, חִירָם.

J. F. STENNING.

HUSHAM.—A king of Edom, Gn $36^{34.35}$ (חֻשָׁם)= 1 Ch $1^{45.46}$ (חוּשָׁם).

HUSHATHITE (הַחֻשָׁתִי; B ὁ Ἀσταρωθεί, Ἀνωθείτης, Ἀθεί, Θωσαθεί, Ἰσαθεί; A Ἀουσαστωνθεί, Ἀσωθείτης, Ἰαθεί (ℵ ὁ Ἀσωθι), Οὐσαθι), probably=an inhabitant of Husha. This description is applied to SIBBECAI (wh. see), one of David's 'thirty' heroes (2 S 21^{18}= 1 Ch 20^4, 2 S 23^{27}=1 Ch 11^{29} 27^{11}). In the latter passage of 2 S the Hebrew reads מְבֻנַּי (Mebunnai), but a comparison with the parallel lists makes it clear that we must read Sibbecai as in 21^{18} (סִבְּכַי). B A read ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν (=מִבְּנֵי); but many MSS have Σαβουχαί, Luc. Σαβενί. In 1 Ch 11^{29} 27^{11} the gentilic name appears as Hushshathite (הַחֻשָׁתִי).

J. F. STENNING.

HUSHIM (חֻשִׁים).—**1.** The eponym of a Danite family, Gn 46^{23}, called in Nu 26^{42} **Shuham.** In 1 Ch 7^{12} Hushim seems to be a Benjamite, but it is possible that for 'sons of Aher' we should read 'sons of another' (אַחֵר, not a proper name), *i.e.* Dan (so *QPB*, *ad loc.*). See further GENEALOGY, VIII. 6 note. **2.** The wife of Shaharaim the Benjamite, 1 Ch 8^8 (חוּשִׁים) 8^{11} (חֻשִׁים). J. A. SELBIE.

HUSKS (κεράτια).—These are the pods of the Carob Tree, *Ceratonia Siliqua*, L., the *kharnûb* or *kharrûb* of the Arabs. It is a fine tree with a hemispherical comus, often 40 ft. in diameter. The foliage is dark, glossy evergreen. The leaves are pinnate, of three to four pairs of oblong, obtuse to retuse, or obovate leaflets, 2 to 3 in. long, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 broad. The tree is diœcious. The flowers are in short racemes, the staminate reduced to five stamens on a top-shaped calyx. The pods are from 5 to 10 in. long, 1 to $1\frac{1}{2}$ broad, and $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ of an in. thick. They consist of a leathery case, enclosing a sweet pulpy substance, in which the seeds are embedded. This pulp is edible and nutritious, and often eaten by the poorer people. The pods are ground and boiled, in order to extract the saccharine substance, which has the colour and consistence of treacle, and is used as food. The name *St. John's Bread*, applied to these pods, is from a tradition that they were the *locusts* which that prophet ate in the wilderness (Mt 3^4, Mk 1^6). But this tradition is contrary to the text of the Gospels. There are also no carob trees in the wilderness. There can be no doubt as to the possibility of the prodigal son eating the pods (Lk 15^{16}).

G. E. POST.

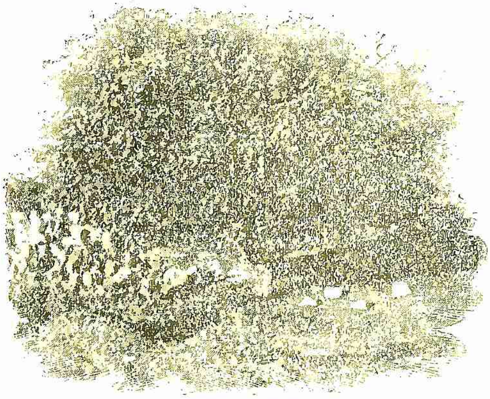

THE CAROB TREE, CERATONIA SILIQUA, L.

(On the left side is a hedge of Indian Fig, the plant on which the Cochineal grows.)

HUZZAB (הֻצַּב).—A word of uncertain meaning, which occurs only in Nah 2^7. It may be taken either as a verb or a noun. Gesenius adopts the former of these alternatives, connects the word with the preceding verse, and translates, 'the palace is dissolved *and made to* flow down' (הֻצַּב being Hoph. of צָבַב, unused in Qal=*flow*). Others make it Hoph. of נָצַב and tr. 'it is decreed' (RVm). Far better suited to the context is the interpretation followed in the text of both AV and RV, which finds in H. a reference to the Assyr. queen. It may be questioned, indeed, whether the Massoretic vocalization of the word is correct. Both Luther and Wellhausen content themselves with the simple rendering 'die Königin'; Kautzsch leaves the clause untranslated, holding that the text is corrupt, and that הצב represents a noun *with the article*, which is intended to be a designation of the queen of Assyria. Wellhausen (*Klein. Prophet*. 32, 158) suggests that Assyriology may yet clear up the question. The LXX ἡ ὑπόστασις gives us no help (cf. Nowack and A. B. Davidson, *ad loc.*, also the latter and Cheyne in *Expos. Times*, vii. 568, viii. 48). J. A. SELBIE.

HYACINTH.—See JACINTH.

HYÆNA (צָבוּעַ [prob. textual error for צָבוֹעַ *ẓâbhôa'*, ὕαινα]. *Ẓâbhûa'* is almost identical with the Arab. *ḍab'* [pl. *ḍubu'*], which signifies a *hyæna*).—This animal is quite common in all Syria and Palestine. Its den is often in a rock-hewn tomb or a cave. It freq. exhumes the bodies of the dead, and devours them. It breaks or gnaws the bones of its hideous meal to extract the marrow. It will, when pressed by hunger, attack large animals, and even men. The passage in which *ẓâbhûa'* occurs (Jer 12^{9}) is a part of a series of images illustrating the state of God's heritage. If it be rendered 'mine heritage is to me the ravenous hyæna (although ה in הַעַיִט is generally taken as interrogative); birds of prey are against her round about; go ye, assemble all the beasts of the field, bring them to devour,' the picture is that of a collection of the hyæna, jackals, foxes, vultures, ravens, and crows around a carcase. The meaning then would be that the chosen people have become ravenous beasts and birds, which are assembled to devour the prey they have slain. But even if ה be taken as the article, it is difficult to regard צָבוּעַ as other than predicate. Another objection to translating הַעַיִט צָבוּעַ *the ravenous hyæna*, is that עַיִט is always in OT employed for *birds of prey* (Gn 15^{11}, Job 28^{7}, Is 18^{6} 46^{11}, Ezk 39^{4}). But it *may* mean *a ravenous beast* as well as bird, the root signifying 'one that rushes' on its prey (cf. Arab. *saba'a*, to *ravin*). If we tr. the first *'ayiṭ beast* and the second *bird*, we have a play on language conformable to Oriental taste. The tr^{n} 'speckled bird' (AV, RV and the majority of modern commentators) is derived from the root צבע 'dye' (cf. Jg 5^{30} צֶבַע 'dyed stuff'). Siegfried-Stade (*s.* עַיִט) suggest the emendation טְרֵפַת צָבֻעַ 'torn by the hyæna.'

The expression 'Valley of Zeboim' (1 S 13^{18}) means *Valley of Hyænas.* G. E. POST.

HYDASPES (Ὑδάσπης). — The name of a river mentioned along with the Euphrates and the Tigris (Jth 1^{6}), and in such a context as to imply that it must be sought for on the Babylono-Median frontier. Probably, however, there is a confusion with the Hydaspes in N.W. India, a circumstance which, considering the unhistorical character of the Bk. of Judith, is not to be wondered at. *Hydaspes* (for *Vitasta*) is an assimilation to the Eranian *personal* name *Hudhâspa*, 'possessing well-equipped horses' (Diod. II. vi. 1; Heliodor. 106, 17; Pseudo-Callisth. II. x. 2; Horace, *Sat.* II. viii. 14). Of course no river could possibly be called by such a name, and it is simply a mistake of Strabo or his authorities when the Vitastā (the modern *Bêhat* or *Jalam*) appears in his pages as the Hydaspes. F. HOMMEL.

HYMENÆUS (Ὑμέναιος).—A false teacher of the time of St. Paul. His name occurs twice in the Epp. to Timothy, but there only in the NT. On the first occasion he is mentioned along with Alexander (see ALEXANDER, No. 4) as having 'made shipwreck concerning the faith,' and in consequence both have been 'delivered unto Satan, that they might be taught not to blaspheme' (1 Ti 1$^{19.\,20}$). On the second occasion he and Philetus (which see) are characterized as 'men who concerning the truth have erred, saying that the resurrection is past already, and overthrow the faith of some' (2 Ti 2$^{17.\,18}$). Mosheim, indeed, and others have held that two different persons must be referred to, on account of the milder terms of condemnation used in the second passage. But these arise naturally from the fact that in the first case it is the man's diseased moral state which is in view, a state requiring for its amendment the severest personal treatment; while in the second the apostle is thinking rather of the doctrinal error into which H. had fallen.

This error is described generally as 'saying that the resurrection is past already,' and in the absence of further particulars it is impossible to determine the full extent of the heresy. But it seems most probable that H. had yielded to what we know to have been a very prevalent Gnostic tendency, springing from an undue contempt for the body, namely, denying the resurrection in its literal sense, and attaching to the word only a spiritual meaning. Everything in Scripture, according to this view, that referred to a future state of being, in so far as it involved a bodily resurrection, was explained or allegorized away, and stress was laid only on the resurrection of the soul from sin, regarding which it could be said that it was 'past already.' The deadly danger of this error is shown by the apostle's description of it as 'a gangrene,' which, if not at once destroyed, would spread and corrupt the whole community; and in support of this prediction, and as helping further to define the erroneous character of H.'s teaching, commentators generally adduce from the Fathers such passages as Irenæus, *Hær.* II. xxxi. 2, where certain heretics are described as holding 'that the resurrection from the dead is simply an acquaintance with that truth which they proclaim,' and Tertullian, *de Resurr.* 19, where we read of some 'who distort into some imaginary sense even the most clearly described doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, alleging that even death itself must be understood in a spiritual sense. . . . Wherefore that also must be held to be the resurrection, when a man is reanimated by access to the truth, and having dispersed the death of ignorance, and being endowed with new life by God, has burst forth from the sepulchre of the old man.'

With regard to the sentence of condemnation passed upon H., considerable difference of opinion has prevailed. By the 'delivering unto Satan,' or more literally 'the Satan' (τῷ Σατανᾷ), 'the Evil One in his most distinct personality' (Ellicott, *in loc.*), some have understood simply excommunication from the Church. But in the parallel passage 1 Co 5^{5}, 'delivering unto Satan' seems to be distinguished from excommunication in itself, which is denoted by 'taking away' or 'putting away from among you' (cf. v.^{5} with vv.$^{2.\,13}$). Others in consequence refer the words rather to the infliction of some bodily loss or suffering, such as we find, for example, in the case of Job. But this does not meet the full and authoritative nature of the apostle's language, 'Whom I delivered (παρέδωκα) unto Satan.' It is best, therefore (with Meyer, Ellicott, and others), to combine both interpretations, and to understand by the expression the highest form of excommunication, by which the condemned person was not only cut off from all Christian privileges, but subjected besides to some bodily disease or death. It was a sentence apparently which on account of its awful nature was not pronounced by the Church, but only by an apostle (cf. the somewhat analogous cases of Ananias and Sapphira Ac 5, and Elymas Ac 13^{11}), though in certain circumstances the apostle could empower others to pass sentence for him (1 Co 5$^{3.\,4}$). It is further of importance to observe that both here and in 1 Co 5^{5} the *remedial* intention of the punishment is emphasized. In the latter case the flesh is destroyed, 'that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus'; while H. and his companion were delivered to Satan, not for their final destruction, but that 'they might be taught (παιδευθῶσιν in NT sense of teaching by disciplining or chastening) not to blaspheme.' [See further CHURCH, vol. i. p. 432; CURSE, p. 534^{b}; and in addition to the commentators, cf. Suicer, *Thesaur.* ii. p. 940, and Bingham, *Antiq.* XVI. ii. 15].

G. MILLIGAN.

HYMN IN NT (for OT see POETRY and SONG).— The use of hymns among Christians was common from the first existence of the Church, both in public worship and in private life (1 Co 14$^{15.\,26}$, Eph 5^{19}, Col 3^{16}, Ja 5^{13}, Ac 16^{25}), such hymns being treated not only as the natural expression of religious emotion, but also as a method of instruction (*διδάσκοντες καὶ νουθετοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς ψαλμοῖς*, Col *l.c.*). The fullest description of them is the triple division into *ψαλμοί, ὕμνοι, ᾠδαὶ πνευματικαί* (Eph-Col). Of these *ψαλμός* is properly 'a song with musical accompaniment,' and doubtless includes the OT Psalms: *ὕμνος*, a song in praise of God or of 'famous men' (cf. Sir 44^{1} *πατέρων ὕμνος*), such as that in Ac 4^{24-30}; *ᾠδὴ πνευματική*, any song on a spiritual theme, such perhaps as Eph 5^{14}. But the distinction is not technical, and cannot be pressed rigidly, for *ὕμνος* is used of the Psalms of David (Ps 71^{20}, Jos. *Ant.* VII. xii. 3), and both *ὕμνος* and *ᾠδή* occur frequently in the titles of those Psalms [see Trench, *NT Syn. s.v.*; Ltft. on Col 3^{16}].

Such Christian hymns would naturally be either direct importations from the services of the Jewish Temple and Synagogue, or the fresh utterances of Christian inspiration influenced in form by these Jewish models (cf. He 2^{12}; Philo, *in Flacc.* 14, *de Vit. Cont.* §§ 3. 10. 11; Driver, *LOT*^{6} pp. 359–367; Edersheim, *The Temple, its ministry and services*, pp. 56, 143). A reference to a purely Jewish hymn is found in Mt 26^{30}, probably the latter half of the Hallel, Pss 115–118, used in the paschal services; but an entirely different hymn, professedly Christian, yet of a strong Gnostic tinge, and undoubtedly spurious, will be found attributed to our Lord on this occasion in the Acta Johannis, c. 11 (*Texts and Studies*, v. 1), and fragments of it are discussed by Aug. *Ep.* iv. 237, §§ 4–8.

The fresh utterances of Christian inspiration often fell into an exalted and poetic form of expression which make it difficult to draw the line between prose and poetry. Thus the enthusiastic acclamation of the crowd (Mt 21^{9}=Mk 11^{9}, Lk 19^{38}), the thanksgiving of the Church on the release of the apostles (Ac 4^{24-30}), the hymn of the love of man (1 Co 13) and of the love of God (Ro 8^{31-39}), the praise of God's blessings in Eph 1^{3-14} with the triple refrain *εἰς ἔπαινον τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ* ($^{5.\ 11.\ 14}$); even the Lord's Prayer itself, in the more elaborate form given by Mt 6^{9-13} 'with its invocation, its first triplet of single clauses with one common burden expressed after the third but implied with all, and its second triplet of double clauses variously antithetical in form and sense' (see WH, ii. pp. 319, 320),—all these have a quasi-rhythmical structure which only just falls short of the level of poetic hymn.

In other passages we have probably fragments from hymns already in use in the Church, *e.g.* Eph 5^{14} (perhaps a baptismal hymn addressed to the new convert), 1 Ti 3^{16}, which should be arranged in two strophes, each containing three lines; perhaps 1 Co 2^{9}, and the half-stereotyped doxologies of 1 Ti 1^{17} 6^{16}, 2 Ti 4^{18}, Rev $4^{8.\ 11}$ $5^{9.\ 12.\ 13}$ 7^{10-12} $11^{15.\ 17.\ 18}$ 12^{10-12} $15^{3.\ 4}$ $19^{1.\ 2.\ 5-8}$. Finally, the most elaborate structure is to be found in the Evangelical Canticles given by St. Luke, viz.:—

(*a*) 1^{46-55}. *The Magnificat*, based very largely upon the language of the OT, especially of the Song of Hannah (1 S 2^{1-10}), and falling naturally into four strophes (i.) $^{46-48}$, (ii.) $^{49.\ 50}$, (iii.) $^{51-53}$, (iv.) $^{54.\ 55}$ (Plummer, *ad loc.*).

(*b*) 1^{68-79}. *The Benedictus*, modelled upon the language of the OT prophets and upon the eighteen Benedictions used in the Temple service. This falls into two halves ($^{68-75.\ 76-79}$), the first half containing three strophes ($^{68-69.\ 70-72.\ 73-75}$), and the second only two $^{76-77.\ 78-79}$ (Plummer, *ad loc.*; Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, i. p. 158).

(*c*) 2^{14}. *The Gloria in Excelsis.* In this the clauses are carefully balanced, whether arranged in a double or triple form. It was early used in the Church as a morning hymn (*Apost. Const.* vii. 47), and is found in a collection of hymns at the end of the Psalter in Codex Alex. of the LXX. It was also incorporated in the Latin Liturgies; but from very early times it existed in a double form; for while the morning hymn seems always to have read *εὐδοκία*, the text of St. Luke and the translation of the Latin Liturgies support *εὐδοκίας* (Plummer, *ad loc.*; WH, ii. App. 52–56).

(*d*) 2^{29-32}. *The Nunc Dimittis*: falling into three strophes $^{29.\ 30-31.\ 32}$, and early (*Apost. Const.* vii. 48) used as an evening hymn (Plummer, *ad loc.*).

For the later development of Christian hymns see Pliny, *Ep.* 97; Ignat. *Eph.* 4, *Rom.* 2; *Martyr.* (*Ant. Act.*) 7; Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 13; Tertullian, *Apol.* 39; Duchesne, *Origines du Culte Chrétien*, iv. § 3; Kayser, *Beiträge zur ältesten Kirchen-hymnen*; Christ und Paranikas, *Anthologia Græca Carminum Christianorum*; Daniel, *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*; Julian, *Dict. of Hymnology*; art. HYMN in *Encycl. Brit.*; and art. VERSE-WRITERS in Smith, *Dict. Chr. Biog.*

W. LOCK.

HYPOCRITE.—The *ὑποκριτής* is primarily 'one who answers,' *ὑποκρίνεται*; and hence (1) 'an interpreter,' and (2) 'an actor.' This is the commonest meaning in classical Greek (Aristoph. Plat. Xen. etc.). The use of the word for 'a pretender,' 'hypocrite,' is not classical. On the other hand, the word is never found in biblical Gr. of an actor on the stage. It means either 'one who acts a false part in life,' *i.e.* one who pretends to be pious when he is not, or (even worse than this) 'one who is utterly bad,' whether he acts a part or not. In Job it is twice used in the general sense of 'impious'; *βασιλεύων ἄνθρωπον ὑποκριτὴν ἀπὸ δυσκολίας λαοῦ* (34^{30}); and *ὑποκριταὶ καρδίᾳ τάξουσιν θυμόν* (36^{13}). In Pr 11^{9} and Is 33^{14} Aq. Sym. and Theod. have *ὑποκριταί*, where in the LXX we have *ἀσεβεῖς*. The same is true of Aq. and Theod. in Job 15^{34}, where in the LXX we have *ἀσεβής*; and Aq. has it Job 20^{5}, where *παράνομος* is the tr. in LXX. In AV of OT 'hypocrite' occurs in Job 8^{13} 13^{16} 15^{34} 17^{8} 20^{5} 27^{8} 34^{30} 36^{13}, Pr 11^{9}, Is 9^{17} 33^{14}, and 'hypocritical' in Ps 35^{16}, Is 10^{6}—in all these instances as a misrendering of חָנֵף 'godless' or 'profane,' the rendering of RV. So also 'hypocrisy' in AV of Is 32^{6} is correctly rendered by RV 'profaneness' (חֹנֶף).

In NT, although the meaning of 'pretending to be religious and devout' prevails (Mt $6^{2.\ 5.\ 16}$ 7^{5} 15^{7} 23^{13-29}, Mk 7^{6}, Lk 6^{42} 13^{15}), yet the more general meaning sometimes occurs. In Mt 24^{51} 'shall cut him asunder and appoint his portion with the *impious*' makes better sense than 'with the *hypocrites*'; and here Lk has 'with the unfaithful,' *μετὰ τῶν ἀπίστων* (12^{46}), instead of *μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν*. In Lk 12^{56} this general meaning is perhaps as suitable as the other. Comp. Mk 12^{15} with Mt 22^{18} and Lk 20^{23}; where Mk has *ὑπόκρισιν*, Mt *πονηρίαν*, and Lk *πανουργίαν*, which does not prove that the three terms are equivalent, but is some evidence that *ὑπόκρισις* may mean 'wickedness' (Hatch, *Biblical Greek*, p. 92). The term includes *dissimulatio* (Gal 2^{13}) as well as *simulatio*; and concealment of convictions was common among opponents of the gospel.

Hypocrites are compared to 'whited sepulchres, outwardly beautiful, but full of uncleanness' (Mt 23^{27}); to 'the tombs which appear not,' and which defile all who come in contact with them, without their being aware of them (Lk 11^{44}); and to leaven (Lk 12^{1}). And hypocrisy is condemned, not merely as a gross form of deceit, but as folly, for it never succeeds. Sooner or later the inevitable exposure comes, and the hypocrite is unmasked (Lk $12^{2.\ 3}$).

A. PLUMMER.

HYRCANUS, AV HIRCANUS (*Ὑρκανός*).—The son of Tobias, 'a man in very high place,' who had money deposited at Jerus., in the temple treasury, at the time of the visit of Heliodorus (2 Mac 3^{11}). Jos. speaks of 'the sons of Tobias' as supporters of Menelaus (*Ant.* XII. v. 1); also of H. the son of a farmer of the revenue named Joseph, who was the son of Tobias and nephew of Onias II. But it is doubtful whether we should, with Rawlinson (*Speaker's Comm.*), identify this H. with the person mentioned in 2 Mac.

The name seems to be a local appellative. Its use among the Jews is perhaps to be explained from the fact that Artaxerxes Ochus transported a number of Jews to Hyrcania (cf. Schürer, *HJP* I. i. 273 f.). H. A. WHITE.

HYSSOP.—The problem in regard to this plant has been much complicated by attempting its solution first in OT. The difficulties will greatly lessen if we approach the question first from the NT side. The word occurs twice in NT. Once in a recital of the ordinances of the first covenant, the author of the Ep. to the Heb. summarizes the sprinklings of blood and water by means of a wisp of scarlet wool and hyssop (He 9^{19}), as these had been laid down in various places in the Pentateuch. Here it is clear that he adopts the rendering of the LXX *ὕσσωπος*. The other passage (Jn 19^{29}) says that 'they filled a sponge with vinegar, and put it upon hyssop, and put it to his mouth.' Here the evangelist alludes to a plant, known to his readers by the name by which he called it. He is not quoting a passage from the OT, but recording a new fact. What was this plant? Here again the problem has been complicated by assuming that *κάλαμος*, in the parallel passages (Mt 27^{48}, Mk 15^{36}), is the same as *ὕσσωπος*. In these passages it is said that, after filling the sponge with vinegar, 'they put it on a reed (*καλάμῳ*), and gave him to drink.' Now, the meaning of *κάλαμος* is indubitably a *reed* or *cane*, not a *rod* or *stick*, as some would have it. The word has in it no suggestion of *hyssop*, and would not have been so understood by the readers of Mt and Mk. It is therefore an unwarrantable assumption that *reed* and *hyssop* are the same (although it is fair to add that the present writer has against him, on this point, almost all modern commentators, who hold that Mt and Mk's *περιθεὶς καλάμῳ* and Jn's *ὑσσώπῳ περιθέντες* are identical in meaning). Admitting their diversity, the passages are easily harmonized by noting that St. John mentions both the articles used to mitigate the thirst of our Saviour, but omits telling how they 'put it to his mouth.' It is clear that this could not have been done by the hand alone. Mt and Mk omit the hyssop, but mention the reed by which the sponge, vinegar, and hyssop were 'put to his mouth.'

The word *ὕσσωπος* appears to have been used by the Greeks, with some latitude, for plants of the *Labiate Family*, much as we use the words *marjoram*, *thyme*, *mint*, *sage*, and *hyssop* itself. Several different genera were doubtless included. The genus *Hyssopus* is of modern creation, and none of the species grow wild in Sinai, Pal., or Syria. There are, however, several species of *marjoram* which grow wild, and are known under the Arab. name *ṣa'tar*, which according to high rabbinical authority was the *hyssop*. We are inclined to think that it was from one of these, probably *Origanum Maru*, L., that the hyssop of Jn was taken. This plant, the leaves and heads of which have a pungent, aromatic flavour, has been used from remote antiquity as a condiment. Its powder, sprinkled over bread, is eaten largely in Bible lands at the present day. Like the peppermint, it tastes at first hot, but this is followed by a cooling, refreshing feeling, and a flow of saliva which quenches thirst. The addition of this substance to the vinegar or sour wine on the sponge would be eminently suited to the purpose of moistening and cooling the mouth of the parched sufferer on the Cross.

We are now in a position to ask whether the plants known to the Arabs as *ṣa'tar* suit the requirements of OT *hyssop*. Hyssop is mentioned alone in connexion with the sprinkling of the passover (Ex 12^{22}), 'and ye shall take a bunch of hyssop and dip it into the blood that is in the basin, and strike the lintel,' etc.). This species of *Origanum* is eminently adapted for this purpose. It has straight, slender, leafy stalks, with small heads. Several of these stalks grow from one root, so that the hand could enclose and break off, at one effort, a suitable bunch or wisp for sprinkling. In certain of the sprinklings, as in leprosy (Lv 14), there was added to the bunch some *cedar wood* (prob. a twig of *Juniperus Phœnicea*, L., or one of its congeners), scarlet, and a living bird. 'Purge me with hyssop' (Ps 51^{7}) no doubt refers to such ceremonial purification, as the succeeding clause, 'wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow,' refers to the ceremonial washing which followed the cleansing of the leper. It is a gratuitous assumption here to attribute to the hyssop medicinal virtues of a detergent sort. It was not used internally, but for sprinkling. A similar bunch, with the exception of the bird, was thrown into the fire which consumed the red heifer (Nu 19^{6}).

This species suits well 'the hyssop that springeth out of the wall' (1 K 4^{33}). It grows in clefts of rocks, in chinks of old walls, and on the terrace walls throughout the land. Thus it will be seen that it suits perfectly all the requirements of OT as well as of NT. *Thymbra spicata*, L., has been suggested, but it is a plant not found in the desert or the interior.

Royle proposed as the equivalent of אֵזוֹב *'êzôbh*, the Heb. original of *ὕσσωπος*, the *caper*, *Capparis spinosa*, L. His argument was based on the supposed etymol. resemblance between אֵזוֹב and Arabic *'aṣaf*, one of the two Arab. names for the *caper*. It is fatal to this theory, however, that it does not explain the passage in Jn. It is improbable that St. John would have written *ὕσσωπος* if he had meant *κάππαρις*, the well-known Gr. name of the *caper*. These words are never interchangeable. Nor could St. John have been biassed, as the writer of He 9^{19}, by a LXX rendering, for, as above pointed out, he was *narrating*, not *quoting*. In order to strengthen his etymol. theory, Royle assumes that *ὕσσωπος* and *κάλαμος* were the same, and shows how a *stick*, 3 or 4 ft. long, could be obtained from the caper, suitable for the purpose for which the *reed* was used. But, even if it were possible philologically to apply the term *κάλαμος* to a *rod* from the caper, any one familiar with the mode of its growth would be likely to reject this plant. The branches of the caper are slender, straggling, and usually beset with hooked prickles. They are eminently unsuitable for the purpose described. On the other hand, the *reed*, a general term for the straight, stiff, hollow stems of the larger grasses, as *Arundo Donax*, L., and *Saccharum Ægyptiacum*, L., would precisely suit the narrative, and was doubtless then as now used to tie things to, in order to hand them up. A further objection to Royle's theory is, that the caper would have been wholly unsuitable to make a *bunch*. Its branches are straggling, prickly, *noli-me-tangere*, with large, stiff leaves and flowers 3 in. broad. It is impossible for us to think that such an intractable plant should have been selected for sprinkling. Finally, the etymology is weak, even for the OT *'êzôbh*, which is composed of the radicals *aleph*, *zayin*, and *beth*, while *'aṣaf* is composed of *alif*, *ṣod*, and *fê*. For the passage in John it has been shown above that the etymol. argument not only fails to confirm the claims of the caper, but is wholly fatal to them. The Arabic *zûfa* is etymol. much nearer to *'êzôbh*, and *zûfa* is doubtless the same as *ṣa'tar*. G. E. POST.

I

I AM.—See under GOD, vol. ii. p. 199^b.

IADINUS (A Ἰάδινος, B -ει-, AV Adinus), 1 Es 9^{48}.—One of the Levites who taught the people the law of the Lord after the return under Ezra. The name corresponds to Jamin in Neh 8^7 (om. LXX), who with the other persons there mentioned is distinguished from the Levites.

IBHAR (יִבְחָר '[*God*] *chooses*'; 2 S 5^{15}, B Ἐβεάρ, A Ἰεβάρ; 1 Ch 3^6 14^5, B Βαάρ, A Ἰεβαάρ; *Jebahar*, *Jebaar*), one of David's sons, born at Jerusalem: his name occurs in all three lists immediately after that of Solomon and before that of Elishua. According to 1 Ch 3^6 he was the son of a wife and not of a concubine; otherwise he is unknown alike to history and to tradition. It is noteworthy that in the Peshiṭta to 2 S 5^{15} his name is given as ܝܘܟܒܪ (*Juchabar*), a form which occurs elsewhere as the equivalent of Jochebed (Ex 6^{20}, Nu 26^{59} יוֹכֶבֶד) and of Ichabod (1 S 4^{21} אִי כָבוֹד): in 1 Ch the form given (ܝܒܚܪ) agrees with that of the MT. J. F. STENNING.

IBLEAM (יִבְלְעָם).—A town belonging to West Manasseh, Jos 17^{11} (JE; wanting in the LXX, see Budde, *Richt. u. Sam.* 13 f.), Jg 1^{27}. It is mentioned also in 2 K 9^{27} in connexion with the death of king Ahaziah, who fled by the way of Beth-haggan (En-gannim [?]; 'the garden house' AV, RV), and 'the ascent of Gur, which is by Ibleam.' The biblical data seem to be well satisfied by the modern ruin *Bel'ame*, some 13 miles E. of N. of Samaria, more than half-way to Jezreel. Conder (*SWP* ii. p. 98) prefers *Yebla*, N.W. of Beisan, while Wilson and others favour *Jelame*, 3½ miles S. by W. from *Zer'in* (Jezreel).

In 2 K 15^{10} קָבָל־עָם (AV, RV 'before the people') should certainly be emended to בְּיִבְלְעָם ('in Ibleam'; so Siegfried-Stade, *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* etc., following Luc. ἐν Ἰεβλαάμ). **Gath-rimmon** (wh. see) of Jos 21^{25} is a scribal error for Ibleam. It is the same place which is called in 1 Ch 6^{55} [Eng.^{70}] **Bileam** (wh. see).

LITERATURE.—Dillm. on Jos 17^{11}; Moore on Jg 1^{27}; Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.*^{3} 228; Schultz, *ZDMG* iii. 49; *SWP* ii. 47 f., 51 f.; Guérin, *Samarie*, i. 339 ff. J. A. SELBIE.

IBNEIAH (יִבְנְיָה 'J" buildeth up').—A Benjamite, 1 Ch 9^8. See GENEALOGY.

IBNIJAH (יִבְנִיָּה).—A Benjamite, 1 Ch 9^8. See GENEALOGY.

IBRI (עִבְרִי).—A Merarite Levite, 1 Ch 24^{27}. See GENEALOGY.

IBSAM (יִבְשָׂם, AV **Jibsam**).—A descendant of Issachar, 1 Ch 7^2. See GENEALOGY.

IBZAN (אִבְצָן, meaning doubtful, cf. אֶבֶץ a town in Issachar, Jos 19^{20}, Ἀβεσσάν), one of the Minor Judges, following Jephthah, Jg 12^{8-10}. He came from Bethlehem, probably the Bethlehem in Zebulun (Jos 19^{15}), 7 miles N.W. of Nazareth. He had 30 sons and 30 daughters, an evidence of his social importance, and arranged their marriages. He judged Israel 7 years, and was buried at Bethlehem. Nothing is said of Ibzan's exploits, and his name does not occur elsewhere; but, on the analogy of other Minor Judges, Tola, Jair, and Elon, we may suppose that he represents a clan, with numerous branches and alliances. See Moore, *Judges*, p. 271 n. According to Jewish tradition, Ibzan was the same as Boaz (Talm. B. *Baba Bathra*, 91*a* and comment.; Rashi, *Comment.* on Jg $12^{8f.}$). G. A. COOKE.

ICHABOD (אִי כָבוֹד; B οὐαὶ βαρχαβώθ; A οὐαὶ χαβώθ; *Ichabod*), son of Phinehas and grandson of Eli. His mother died in giving him birth, overwhelmed by grief at the news of the sudden death of her husband and her father-in-law. The name is usually explained as 'inglorious' (from אִי, the ordinary negative in Ethiopic and Phœnician [cf. Job 22^{30}], and כָּבוֹד 'glory'), in accordance with the meaning suggested by 1 S 4^{21} ('The glory is departed from Israel'; B omits). Possibly, Ithamar (אִיתָמָר) and the Zidonian Jezebel (אִיזֶבֶל 1 K 16^{31} etc.) are words of the same formation, cf. Gray, *Heb. Prop. Names*, p. 246 n. The rendering of the LXX points to a different interpretation (אִי being treated as=אוֹי; in 1 S 14^3 LXX has Ἰωχαβήλ). J. F. STENNING.

ICONIUM (Ἰκόνιον), an ancient city near the borders of Lycaonia and Phrygia, still retains its ancient name in the form *Konia*, and is at present the terminus of a railway that extends from the Bosphorus southwards. Its situation, amid luxuriant orchards at the western edge of the vast plains of central Asia Minor, level and uncultivated, watered by a stream which issues from the hilly region on the west, and loses itself in the plain after making this part of it a garden, is strikingly like that of Damascus (though hardly equal to it in beauty); and this has made the city always a centre of life and the most important in the district. It is commonly described by the ancient writers as a city of Lycaonia, *e.g.* Cicero, *Fam.* XV. iv. 2; cf. III. v. 4, vi. 6, XV. iii. 1; *Att.* V. xx. 2; Strabo, p. 568; Pliny, *NH* v. 25 (95); Stephanus Byzant. *s.v.*, and many others. It is not consistent with its Lycaonian character that Ac 14^6 represents Paul and Barnabas as fleeing from Iconium *into* Lycaonia; but the discrepancy is one of those unstudied touches which prove the originality and accuracy of the narrative. The author conceives that, in traversing the 18 miles separating Iconium from Lystra, the apostles crossed the frontier and entered Lycaonia. Now, Xenophon (*Anab.* I. ii. 19) describes Iconium as the easternmost city of Phrygia; and immediately on leaving it, he entered Lycaonia. The evidence of other visitors or natives proves that the Iconians always considered themselves to be by race Phrygians and not Lycaonians. Stephanus quotes a legend about a king Annakos of Iconium, on whose death followed the Deluge, which destroyed the whole population; and his subjects are called Phrygians in the legend. Pliny, *NH* v. 41 (145), gives a list of famous Phrygian cities, and among them is Conium: the list contains several which had disappeared in Pliny's time, and is doubtless taken from some older Greek writer. In A.D. 163, at the trial of Justin Martyr, one of his associates named Hierax described himself as a slave from Iconium of Phrygia. Firmilian, bishop of Cæsareia Capp., who attended the council of Iconium, describes it as a city of Phrygia (Cyprian, *Epist.* 75, 7). Iconium does not on its coin boast itself as a member of the *Koinon Lycaoniæ*, which was formed soon after A.D. 137. Though claiming Phrygian stock, Iconium (like most cities of Asia Minor) loved to connect itself with Greek legend, deriving its name from the image (εἰκών) of Medusa, brought there by Perseus (Eustath. *ad Dionys. Per.* 856), or from the clay images of men made by Prometheus there after the Flood to replace the drowned people (Steph. Byz.).

Iconium, as a rule, shared the fate of Lycaonia (wh. see). Ruled by the Seleucid kings of Syria in the 3rd cent., it was assigned to the Pergamenian kings in B.C. 190, but was never actually made part of their kingdom, and probably passed soon after under the power of the Galatæ, forming part of the Tetrarchy Proseilemmene, which was transferred from Lycaonia to Galatia (Pliny, *NH* 25 (95); Ptolemy, v. iv. 10), probably about 164 (*Studia Biblica*, iv. p. 46 ff.; see GALATIA, p. 87). Then, along with Galatia,* it probably passed to the Pontic kings not later than B.C. 129; but it was set free during the Mithridatic wars. Its lot is uncertain, until in B.C. 39 Antony gave it to Polemon along with Cilicia Tracheia.† In 36 Antony transferred it to Amyntas, who was at the same time made king of Galatia. At his death, in B.C. 25, it was incorporated in the Roman empire as part of the Province Galatia. Under Claudius it was honoured with the name Claudiconium (probably in compensation for the bestowal of the name Claudioderbe on the frontier city Derbe). Under Hadrian it was constituted a Roman colony with the title *Colonia Aelia Hadriana Iconiensium*.‡ It seems to have remained during the 2nd and 3rd cents. part of the Province Galatia (Ptol. v. 4. 12),§ whereas Lycaonia was made part of the triple Province Cilicia-Isauria-Lycaonia, probably in 137. About 295 Diocletian constituted southern Galatia with parts of the surrounding country into a new Province Pisidia, of which the capital was Antioch, and Iconium the second metropolis (μετὰ τὴν μεγίστην ἡ πρώτη, Basil, *Epist.* 8 (137 Mi.)), while eastern Lycaonia was perhaps still united with Isauria Provincia; hence Ammianus describes Iconium as a city of Pisidia (xiv. 2). But about A.D. 372 it became the metropolis of a new Provincia Lycaonia, extending from the shores of Karalis and Trogitis (Bey-Sheher and Seidi-Sheher Lakes) to the western end of Ak-Göl near Cybistra. This arrangement lasted till the end of the Byzantine Provincial system, and is found in all *Notitiæ Episcopatuum*.

Iconium, like most of Asia Minor, was several times overrun by the Saracens, but its fate is hardly alluded to by historians. It shared in the recovered prosperity of the reviving Byzantine empire, till it was overrun by the Seljuk Turks in 1070, and passed by treaty into their hands, probably in 1072. Though John and Manuel Comnenus approached Iconium more than once (Nicet. Chon. pp. 42, 72; Cinnam. p. 42), and Frederick Barbarossa occupied it in 1190, it remained a Turkish city permanently (the Christian population being permitted to reside in the large village Tsille, 6 miles N.). Konia was the capital of the Seljuk empire, and is still capital of a vilayet.

Being an important commercial city situated on one of the great routes between Cilicia and the west, Iconium was naturally a centre for Jewish settlers, Ac 14^{1}; but the only memorials of the colony are *CIG* 9270, and perhaps 3995*b*, 3998, 4001*b* (Jewish-Christian ?). Lystra is only 18 miles S.S.W. from Iconium, and hence the character of an inhabitant of Lystra was naturally well known among the Iconians (Ac 16^{2}), for Lystra, though in the same district as Derbe (Ac 14^{6} 16^{1}), was actually much closer to Iconium.

Christianity was introduced into Iconium by St. Paul and St. Barnabas on their first missionary journey (Ac $14^{1ff.}$), and the city was visited on the second journey ($16^{2ff.}$). St. Paul's sufferings and difficulties there are mentioned 1 Ti 3^{11}. The interesting legend of St. Thekla is connected with these visits: the legend as we have it was composed by a presbyter of Asia about the middle of the 2nd cent., but contains some details that go back to the 1st cent.; and it probably rests on a historical basis. It rightly traces St. Paul's journey from Pisidian Antioch along the 'Royal Road' (*i.e.* Imperial Highway) that connected Antioch the military centre with the garrison city Lystra, relating how on the way (probably not far from Selki-Serai) he was induced by Onesiphorus to diverge from that road and go across the hill-country to Iconium. It tells that queen Tryphaina (of Pontus) had estates somewhere in this neighbourhood; and this may well be true, as she was granddaughter of Polemon, who formerly possessed Iconium: it rightly makes her a relative of the Roman emperor (Claudius). On this legend see Lipsius, *Apokr. Apostelgesch.* ii. p. 424 ff.; Zahn, *GGA*, 1877, p. 1307 ff.; Ramsay, *Church in Rom. Emp.* pp. 31 f. 380 ff. (with many other authorities there quoted).

According to the North-Galatian theory, nothing else is recorded in NT about Iconium. On the South-Galatian view, soon after St. Paul's second journey, it was visited by Jewish emissaries (coming doubtless from Jerusalem), who persuaded the Iconians that St. Paul was not a real apostle of God, but the mere messenger of the superior apostles, and that the keeping of the whole Jewish law was incumbent on all zealous Christians (urging that St. Paul by circumcising Timothy had practically become a preacher of circumcision, Gal 5^{11}). St. Paul, learning this defection, wrote the Epistle to the Galatians, probably from Syrian Antioch (Ac 18^{22}; or, according to Zahn and Rendall, from Corinth), and soon afterwards visited Iconium again on his way to Ephesus. The Iconian church was evidently thoroughly reconciled to the Pauline teaching, remained in communication with St. Paul during his stay at Ephesus (1 Co 16^{1}), and joined in the contribution which he organized among all his churches for the benefit of the poor Christians in Jerusalem. St. Peter's first Epistle was addressed to it among others.

According to legend, Sosipater (Ro 16^{21}; Sopater of Berœa, Ac 20^{4}) was first bishop of Iconium; Terentius or Tertius (Ro 16^{22}) succeeded him. Cornutus or Coronatus, a martyr bishop (12 Sept. *sub Perennio præside*), is perhaps historical. Celsus, bishop earlier than *c.* 260, is mentioned by Eusebius (*HE* vi. 19) as permitting a qualified layman Paulinus to do church work. Nikomas, bishop about A.D. 264 and 269, is also mentioned by Euseb. (vii. 28). A council was held in Iconium about 232 (Cyprian, *Epist.* 75, 7). Numerous Christian inscriptions are found in the country round Iconium, some of which are probably of the 3rd cent., showing that Christianity spread comparatively early round the city as centre (see GALATIA, p. 88). A monastery τῶν Γαλατῶν in the neighbourhood of Iconium is mentioned by Gregorius Magn. (*Dial.* iv. 38, p. 441). St. Chariton, a native of Iconium, is said to have been arrested under Aurelian and released, and afterwards to have founded several monasteries in Palestine.

---

* Van Gelder, *de Gallis in Gr.* p. 277.

† Appian, *B.C.* v. 75; Strab. p. 568. Being thus summed up with Cilicia, it is occasionally mentioned as a Cilician city, Pliny, *NH* 22 (93), Jerome, *Lib. Nom. Loc. ex Actis*, vol. iii. p. 1302; there is no reason to infer that a distinct Cilician Iconium ever existed.

‡ Some writers erroneously regard the bestowal of the title Claudiconium as implying that it was made a colony by Claudius.

§ Ptolemy does not here mention Iconium (which, in v. vi. 16, he puts in Cappadocia by a pure blunder); but he gives Lystra, Antioch, and Apollonia in Galatia, and *à fortiori* Iconium must have been in that province. Firmilian, *l.c.*, mentions Galatia and (the triple Province) Cilicia as most closely connected with Iconium.

W. M. RAMSAY.

IDALAH (יִדְאֲלָה).—A town of Zebulun, named between Shimron and Bethlehem (Jos 19^{15}). The site is uncertain.

IDBASH (יִדְבָּשׁ).—One of the sons (acc. to LXX) of Etam, 1 Ch 4^{3}. The MT is undoubtedly corrupt. See GENEALOGY.

IDDO.—**1.** אִדּוֹ (? אדר 'strength') Ezr 8^{17} 'The chief, at the place Casiphia,' who provided Ezra with Levites and Nethinim. The text implies that I. was himself one of the Nethinim, but it is impossible that the head of a Levitical seminary should have belonged to the lowest order of ministers. Read, with Ryle, 'unto Iddo and his brethren (*i.e.* Levites) and the Nethinim.' 1 Es $8^{45.\,46}$ has 'Loddeus the captain who was in the place of the treasury . . . Loddeus and to his brethren and to the treasurers in that place,' connecting the name Casiphia with *keseph* 'silver' (so LXX ἐν ἀργυρίῳ τοῦ τόπου). It must have been near Babylon, and can have no connexion with the Caspian Mountains or Caspiæ Pylæ. **2.** (יִדּוֹ 'beloved') 1 Ch 27^{21} son of Zechariah, captain of the half tribe of Manasseh in Gilead, perh. = No. 4. **3.** Ezr 10^{43} (יִדּוֹ Kethib RV, יַדַּי Kerê, RVm Jaddai, AV Jadau, 1 Es 9^{35} Edos) one of those who had taken strange wives. **4.** 1 K 4^{14} (עִדֹּא 'timely,' Ges.) father of Abinadab, who was Solomon's commissariat officer in Mahanaim in Gilead (see No. 2). **5.** (עִדּוֹ) 1 Ch 6^{21} a Gershonite Levite called Adaiah in v.^{41}. **6.** A seer (*ḥozeh*) and prophet (*nabi*) cited by the Chronicler as an authority for the reigns of (*a*) Solomon, 2 Ch 9^{29} (Kethib יֶעְדִּי Jedai, Kerê יֶעְדּוֹ Jedo, LXX Ἰωήλ) 'the visions of I. the seer concerning Jeroboam the son of Nebat'; (*b*) Rehoboam, 2 Ch 12^{15} (עִדּוֹ) 'the history of I. the seer after the manner of (or, in reckoning the) genealogies'; and of (*c*) Abijah, 2 Ch 13^{22} (עִדּוֹ) 'the *midrash* of the prophet Iddo.' The first passage cited is probably the ground of the tradition adopted by Jos. (*Ant.* VIII. viii. 5) and Jerome (*Qu. Heb.* in 2 Ch 9^{29} 12^{15} 15^{1}) that the prophet who denounces Jeroboam in 1 K 13 was named Jadon or Jaddo. Jerome also identifies Iddo with Oded. **7.** עִדּוֹ Zec 1^{1} (עִדּוֹא Zec 1^{7}, Ezr 5^{1} 6^{14}) 1 Es 6^{1} Addo. Grandfather (father acc. to Ezr) of the prophet Zechariah; possibly of the same family as No. 2. **8.** עִדּוֹא Neh $12^{4.\,16}$ (in v.^{16} Kethib has עִדִּיא) one of the priestly clans that went up with Zerubbabel.

N. J. D. WHITE.

IDOLATRY.—The idolatry of Israel, in ordinary usage, is held to include two forms of aberration from true religion. The more heinous type was the worship of alien or fictitious divinities, best described as heathenism (Götzendienst); the less heinous was the worship of the God of Israel by the mediation of images (Bilderdienst). The particular problems arising under these two heads being dealt with in separate articles (see ASHTORETH, BAAL, CALF, EPHOD, etc.), the main object here must be to indicate the general drift and features of the protracted conflict between the religious ideals and the popular religious tendencies which are mirrored in the OT.

Idolatry (εἰδωλολατρεία), which occurs once in AV (1 S 15^{23}) as tr. of תְּרָפִים, has no exact Heb. equivalent. There are, however, nine or ten Heb. words which AV, and, in the main, RV (following LXX) render by 'idol,' and which give lively expression to the varied sentiments of contempt, loathing, and apprehension excited in the prophetical writers by idolatry. The terms are: אָוֶן nothingness (Is 66^{3}), אֵימִים objects of terror (Jer 50^{38}), אֵל neutral expression for any divinity (Is 57^{5}), אֱלִיל a cypher (often, esp. in Is), גִּלּוּלִים massy blocks (Lv 26^{30}), מִפְלֶצֶת a terror (1 K 15^{13}), סֶמֶל or סֵמֶל a figure (2 Ch 33^{7}), עֲצַבִּים carvings, with perhaps a play on sorrow (Hos 4^{17}), cf. עֹצֶב צִיר a figure (Is 45^{16}). Image in AV is used as the equivalent of about an equal number of terms, of which the following alterations in RV may be noted: חַמָּן a sun-image (Lv 26^{30}), מַצֵּבָה a pillar, תְּרָפִים untranslated. פֶּסֶל is the graven image (Ex 20^{4}), but is sometimes used comprehensively (Is 40^{19}). מַסֵּכָה (Ex 34^{17}) and נֶסֶךְ (Is 41^{29}) denote the molten image. In NT 'image' translates εἰκών and once χαρακτήρ (He 1^{3} 'express [RV 'very'] image'). See more fully under IMAGE. The common idol was an uncouth figure of clay or wood; the more pretentious was of gold or silver, or at least plated. The process of manufacture is contemptuously described in Is $44^{11\text{ff.}}$.

I. HEATHENISM IN ISRAEL.—Not the least interesting chapter in the history of this subject is that upon which the narrative of Genesis throws little if any light, viz. the religion of the stock from which the Hebrews sprang. The teaching of Genesis is to the effect that there was a primitive knowledge of the true God, which was handed down through Noah to the line of Shem, of which Abraham became the custodian, and which he transmitted to his posterity. It is, at the most, implied in the story of the Call of Abraham (Gn 12^{1}), and first stated explicitly in Jos $24^{2\text{ff.}}$, that the patriarchal religion had a background of idolatry. For the reconstruction of this primitive Semitic heathenism there is some material available. It is reasonable to suppose, in the first place, that vestiges of the older beliefs and customs survived to the later period illuminated by the OT. A second source, which has been closely examined in the same interest, especially by Wellhausen (*Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, Heft 3) and W. R. Smith (*RS*^{2}), is the type of heathenism which prevailed in Arabia before the rise of Islam, and which, it is assumed, had not widely diverged from that of the common ancestor of the Semitic peoples. The examination of this evidence has shaken the older view that Semitic idolatry began in the worship of the heavenly bodies (so, *e.g.*, Maimonides, *De Idololatria*, who explains star-worship by an intelligible desire to honour what God had honoured, but traces the later phase of image-service to the designs of false prophets, cap. i. § 4). The suggestion of Ewald (*Gesch. Isr.*^{3} i. p. 380), that a polytheistic system may be detected in the genealogies of Gn 4 and 5, where the gods and goddesses of an earlier age have been degraded to patriarchal rank, has not met with much favour. By other writers, esp. Stade, it is held that an important, if not the most important, element in the early religious life of the Semites was ancestor-worship—sacrifices having been offered at Hebron and Shechem to Abraham and Joseph ere they were offered to Jahweh; and for proof stress is laid on significant features of burial and mourning (cf. Is 65^{4}), the long persistence of the worship of a species of household gods known as Teraphim, and the specific designation of spirits as Elohim (1 S 28^{13}). The special purpose of W. R. Smith's work in this field, on the other hand, was to draw attention to the vestiges of a primitive totemism or animal-worship both among Arabs and Hebrews; and these he found to linger, in the case of the Hebrews, in the denomination of tribes and families after animals, birds, and reptiles; in a vigorous animal-cult, described by Ezekiel as flourishing so recently as the eve of the Exile (Ezk 8^{10}); and in the distinction of clean and unclean beasts, where the totem of the earlier survived as the unclean animal of the later period (*Journ. of Philology*, ix. 75 ff.). There are, however, reasons for regarding both ancestor-worship and animal-worship as secondary in the development of the religions of nature; and others are of opinion that the evidence rather points to a polydæmonism as the original type of Semitic heathenism. Of this the fundamental conception is that men are in contact with a realm of spirits which take to do with their concerns, and to which they can draw near in some spot or object in which these are housed—as the well, the tree, the sacred stone (so Kayser, *Theologie des AT*, p. 21 ff.). From polytheism it is distinguished by the fact that the spirits have not yet attained to a clear-cut individuality, or to the possession of a mythology, while it tends to run down into fetishism through the adoration of the tenement in place of the tenant. In one of the most speculative regions of history a certain conclusion is, of course, unattainable, but the view in question at least harmonizes with what is known of the primeval modes of Semitic thought, while such an animistic religion formed some sort of a preparation for the introduction of the higher faith. In particular, it could offer no such opposition as a developed polytheism to the claim of one God upon the undivided allegiance of a people.

When Israel emerges into the light of history, it has broken, at least in principle, with heathenism. In the national memory the momentous step was connected with Abraham; and although the date of the patriarchal narratives makes them in large measure the vehicle of prophetic ideals, there is no reason to doubt that Mosaism reposed on and appealed to a religious past, in which the light of revelation had dawned. The work of Moses was to widen and perpetuate the breach with heathenism, and this he accomplished through the coincidence of the divine deliverance of Israel with the hour of his prophetic mission. Mosaism, whatever else it may have included, was at least a revolt from heathenism, from which it sought to protect Israel by prohibiting the worship of any divinity save J″ its God (Ex 20^{3}), and by bringing under His ban immoral acts and practices to which the genius of heathenism is at the best indifferent. From this standpoint there are two notable declensions related in the history of the period. The story of the golden calf, though its main significance belongs to the sphere of the minor idolatry, is also conceived as an apostasy to other gods than J″ (Ex 32^{8}). The second reported lapse is the idolatry with Moab at Peor, where Israel succumbed to the fascinations of a Baal-cult that consecrated sexual licentiousness (Nu 25). These incidents, however, even if historical,—and it may be noted that they belong in substance to our oldest capital source,—were mere episodes of temporary reaction natural to a period of intense religious fervour. The Israel which hurled itself upon Canaan was the people of J″, and saw in the gods of the nations real gods indeed, but His and their enemies.

Upon the settlement in Canaan there followed a heathen revival. The history of the Book of Judges moves through a succession of cycles: the people forsake J″ and serve the Baalim and the Ashtaroth; J″ in anger delivers them into the hands of the spoiler; then it repents Him, and He raises up judges who save them; then once more they turn back, and deal more corruptly than their fathers (Jg $2^{11ff.}$). For this relapse various causes are plausibly assigned—intermarriage with the Canaanite population, association of the Baal-cult with the agricultural year, a sense of the possession of proprietary rights by the old divinities in the land of Canaan (Smend, *AT Religionsgeschichte*, p. 50). But doubtless the strongest enticement lay in the character of the Canaanitish worship, which, in the main resting on a deification of the productive forces of nature, gathered up into religion all that is comprehended in laughter and licence. And if it had also quite another side, which revealed the divinity as cruel, and lusting for agony and blood, there was an element in the Hebrew nature to which this also appealed. The divine remedy for the backsliding was war. When Israel was attacked and spoiled, or when the hand of the oppressor was heavy upon them, they remembered that of old time J″ had been their deliverer, the religious enthusiasm welled up afresh, and under a leader whom it possessed they marched to victory. Such a leader also, without doubt, was Saul, although the history lays most stress on his later defection from, and his desertion by, J″. But among those who delivered Israel in the name of J″ the noblest and the best character was that of David, whose piety, even if allied with the superstition of divination, and marred by sensuality and cruelty, in some respects was the model of Christian communion with God; and the final outcome of the experiences of the period of the Judges, and esp. of the career of David which established the monarchy, was to place the sovereignty of J″ on as firm a basis as in the first flush of the wars of conquest. But again with an era of peace there came a heathen reaction, beginning in the seduction of Solomon to Canaanitish and cognate cults through the influence of his wives (1 K 11^{1-8}), and extending throughout a great portion of the history both of the Northern and the Southern Kingdoms.

In the Northern Kingdom the religious life took in the first instance an opposite direction. Antagonism to the heathenish innovations in Jerusalem may have been a factor in the power behind Jeroboam, as the setting up of the worship of the golden calves in two ancient sanctuaries may have been conceived in the interests of the ancestral religion; at all events, there is no reason to charge Jeroboam and his immediate successors with deliberate apostasy from J″. The recrudescence of heathenism in the Northern Kingdom is connected with Ahab, who built a temple in Samaria to the Zidonian Baal (1 K 16^{32}), and supported a heathenish priesthood. How far the hostile designs of Ahab against the religion of J″ extended is less certain. Many modern writers are of opinion that Ahab remained loyal to the national God—for which the names of his sons, Ahaziah and Jehoram, afford some evidence, and that the story of the persecutions is at least exaggerated (see, *e.g.*, Smend, *op. cit.* p. 154 ff.). But, while it is true that the OT annals give broad effects and neglect fine distinctions, the Elijah traditions make it impossible to doubt that we have to deal in the case of Ahab with a dangerous assault on the national religion; and this impression is confirmed by the observation that the house of Omri was shortly afterwards destroyed with all its works in the name of the God of Israel (2 K 10). At all events, the intrusion of the alien cult received an effectual check. The annalist grants that the successors of Jehu stopped short in the sin of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, however persistently the heathen leaven may have continued to work in the local sanctuaries.

The main sources for our knowledge of heathenism in this period are the writings of the 8th cent. prophets. Their testimony is, however, somewhat obscure, owing to the difficulty of distinguishing between the degraded worship of J″ and the rites of heathenism proper. It appears that J″ could be worshipped in name while the conception formed of Him was no higher or purer than that of the heathen. 'God has so utterly abolished the idols with whom Satan contested with Him the allegiance of His people that we have no certain knowledge what they were' (Pusey on Am 5^{26}). The final commentary on the history of the Northern Kingdom mentions as the chief forms star-worship, Baal-worship, accompanied by the most cruel rites, and magic (2 K 17). By the Baal-cult we have doubtless to understand the worship, not of a simple mighty rival of J″, but of a multitude of local divinities characterized by alternating moods of prodigality and ferocity. According to Amos, the worship of the Baalim (?, see Driver, *ad loc.*) was one of the four great sins of Israel, aggravated by its association with inhumanity, fornication, and drunkenness ($2^{7.8}$). As the places of worship, are mentioned hills and mountains and groves (*passim*). The central object was the altar, with which were associated the sacred pillar and post—doubtless conceived as 'houses of God.' The rites included the offering of incense (1 K 11^{8}) and of sacrifices, in times of crisis human sacrifices (2 K 17^{17}). In expostulating with his countrymen, Hosea pleads that J″ was from of old the God of Israel who conferred on them great benefits (11$^{1-4}$), and from whose hand they receive their present blessings (2^{8}); while the Baalim are mere creations of their own, who, as proved by experience, are powerless to protect them (13^{1}).

In the Southern Kingdom we discover a more vigorous and developed type of heathenism, but also a more passionate and energetic resistance. A significant note in the record of Rehoboam's reign shows that the idolatry of Solomon left as a legacy the vilest form of consecrated prostitution (1 K 14^{24}); and of this, as well as of the seducing idols, Judah was purged by Asa (1 K 15$^{9\text{ff.}}$). A similar tribute of praise is accorded to Jehoshaphat, and especially to Hezekiah (2 K 18^{4}); and that the latter had to deal with a true heathenism, as well as with a debased worship of J″, may be collected from the contemporary witness of Isaiah.

'The land,' Isaiah declares, 'is become full of not-gods' (2^{8}). As the chief abominations he mentions the Asherahs and the sun-images (17^{8}), of which, however, the former is not necessarily a clue to heathenism. He also mentions the popularity of magicians, soothsayers, etc. (2^{6} 3^{2} 8^{19}). Specially noticeable is the rise to a pure monotheism in the contemptuous dismissal of the rival gods as mere human handiwork (2^{8}), things of naught (31^{7}), and his extension of J″'s sovereignty to the ends of the earth.

From the reforms of Hezekiah there is a sudden descent to the corruptions of the reign of Manasseh, who introduced the worship both of the heavenly bodies and of the Canaanitish divinities, and along with the latter their cruel and licentious rites (2 K 21). To understand such a lapse from the general tradition of the Davidic house we have to bear in mind two facts: the apparent political expediency of showing reverence for the celestial gods of the great empire in the North, and the doubts which the course of events may have aroused as to whether there was indeed in J″ power and will for effectual deliverance (cf. Smend, *AT Theologie*, p. 270 ff.). But in Josiah, another, and the greatest of the reformers, was to follow. In centralizing the worship at Jerusalem he dealt at heathenism the most effective blow possible, while he suppressed with a stern hand the innovations of his father, and the abominations that had crept in in their wake (2 K 23^{5}).

The programme of the reformation under Josiah contained in Deut. is terrible in its thoroughness. Not only does it embody the threat of destruction as the penalty of national apostasy (6^{15} 8^{19} etc.), but it prohibits the individual from practising idolatry, under pain of death (17$^{2\text{ff.}}$). Further, those who persuade others to idolatry are to be punished with death (13^{6}). Nay, the subject was not even to be looked into (12^{30}). The destruction of the furniture of heathenism is a most sacred duty (7$^{5.25}$ 12^{2}). How deeply and harmfully heathenism had eaten into the life of the people may be inferred from the fierceness of these enactments, which occur in a code otherwise marked by exceptional mildness and humaneness.

How far short the reformation fell of fulfilling the prophetic expectations is indicated by the prophets of the Chaldæan period. It would seem that the closing decades of the monarchy were marked by yet wilder excesses, as if the nation were making a last desperate cast in a losing game with fate. 'Thy gods, O Judah,' cries Jeremiah, 'are according to the number of thy cities' (2^{28}). Specially instructive is the vision of Ezekiel (ch. 8), in which he enumerates the three main forms of heathenism by which Judah was polluted—an animal-worship embracing loathsome beasts and reptiles, the cult of Tammuz, which drew the women after it, and the adoration of the sun-god. And the last of the kings succumbed to the contagion of the times, and scouted the counsel that was delivered to them by the prophets in the name of J″.

The purification came in the discipline of the Exile. Surrounded by the emblems of foreign idolatry, the exiles became deeply conscious of the grandeur and truth of the spiritual religion taught by their prophets; and although we know that a large number remained in Babylon, of whom many would become merged in the adjacent heathen mass, the remnant which returned brought with them the contempt of the great exilic prophet for the manufactured gods of gold and silver and wood, and the stubborn loyalty to J″ which was to become in Roman times the wonder and the hatred of the world. That even after the Exile heathen practices lingered in the community is argued by Smend (*loc. cit.* p. 39) from Ps 16$^{1\text{ff.}}$, Zec 10^{2} 13^{2}, Job 31^{26}, cf. Is 27^{9}; but in any case it was a rapidly vanishing quantity. And the lessons of past experience had been carefully gleaned. The dissolution of mixed marriages by Ezra excluded the most dangerous of the influences which made for heathenism, while the Law sought to guarantee the purity of religion by an uncompromising policy of national isolation.

II. Idolatrous Worship of J″.—In the age of the Judges, as we have seen, and in the middle period of the Northern Kingdom, the imminent danger had been the submersion of Jahwism under the refluent wave of heathenism. In the 8th and 7th cents. the object on which prophetism concentrates its fervent energy is the purification or spiritualization of the worship which was rendered to the national God. Of that worship an ancient and increasingly marked feature was the use of images, and with Hosea there begins an attack upon image-service as inconsistent with the spirit of Jahwism, and virtually substituting fetishes for the living God (8$^{5.6}$ 10^{5}).

That the practice was ancient, and sanctioned by high authority, does not admit of dispute. After his victory over Midian, one of the chosen instruments of J″, Gideon, made an ephod out of the spoils—by which the context suggests that we are to understand a gold-plated image (Jg 8$^{24\text{ff.}}$). Still more instructive is the story of Micah the Ephraimite, who out of 200 shekels of silver framed a graven image and a molten image, and hired Jonathan, a descendant of Moses, to be his priest (Jg 17^{3}). Even David has closely associated with him emblems of idolatry; for besides that he tolerates the probably ancestral cult of the human figures called Teraphim (1 S 19^{13}), the interrogation of the Ephod, here again most likely an image of J″, is a habit of his religious life (1 S 21^{9} 23$^{6.9}$ 30^{7}). It could not therefore, as above hinted, impress the national mind as an impious innovation when Jeroboam associated the worship of J″ with the symbols of the golden bulls, and the absence of any polemic against the image-worship in the crusade of Elijah is generally regarded as proving that it was acquiesced in even by the enlightened conscience of the time. (On the other side König, *Hauptprobleme der altisraelitischen Religionsgeschichte*, p. 65). That the idolatrous worship of J″ had even reached back to the Mosaic age, and was sanctioned by Moses, it is not necessary to admit. Apart from the case for the originality of the second commandment, there are independent grounds for believing, on the analogy of other faiths, that primitive Mosaism embodied the conception of an imageless worship (Reichel, *Vorhellenische Götterculte*). Sufficiently significant is the obvious fact that from the Judges to the 8th cent. the idols became more and more numerous and costly, and that only in the Assyrian period were they realized to be alien to the genius of the national religion.

In the prophetic campaign against the historically legitimated idolatry we may distinguish three important phases. Were it made out that Ex 34 contains an older Decalogue, we might have to recognize an earlier attempt at reformation, as it is possible to hold that that code, in prohibiting 'molten gods' (Ex 34^{17}), tacitly sanctioned the simpler type of the graven images (Smend, *AT Theol.* p. 195). The great effort was put forth in the Northern Kingdom, but the prophets were unable even to weaken the idolatry which was embedded in the political framework, and the kings persisted to the last in the sin of Jeroboam, the son of Nebat. In Judah the first notable contribution to a more spiritual ritual was made by Hezekiah, in whose reforming spirit may be detected a reflection of the zeal of Isaiah. In the report of some of his acts, especially of his suppression of the high places and their insignia, critics have suspected the ante-dating of later reforms; but there is at least unmistakable evidence of his active aggression against the idolatrous elements of the traditional religion (2 K 18^{4}). Specially noteworthy is his removal of the brazen serpent, by which he withdrew the most sacred of sanctions, the Mosaic, from the approach to J″ through figured symbol. The Reformation under Josiah is here memorable, not merely as consolidating the worship in an imageless sanctuary, but as energetically acting on the Deuteronomic prohibition of the posts and pillars (Dt $16^{21\text{ff.}}$), which, before there had been images to give expression to the character of a divinity, had been venerated as places of a god's abode. 'He brought out the Asherah from the house of the Lord, and burned it at the brook Kidron' (2 K 23^{6}). On the whole it may be said that in Judah more energy was shown in, and more success followed on, the purification of the Jahweh-worship than was the case in Israel, but that in Judah also the purer Jahwism had its reaction in a grosser heathenism.

On two general features of the OT idolatry as exhibited by the sacred writers a remark may be made. The first feature is the astonishing strength of its fascinations. The perverse obstinacy of the chosen people in opposition to the logic of conscience, history, and heaven, can only be explained on the assumption that idolatry offered some deeply-satisfying provision for human nature. Wherein did this attraction lie? As regards the form which has been described as heathenism, the answer is obvious: it was popular because it was not ethical. There are many things which are felt to be attractive if only they were lawful, and the genius of heathenism, especially of the Canaanitish type, was to make it possible to overleap the boundaries of right and wrong with an appeased conscience. Were we confronted by a new religion which in a solemn spirit, and with a reasoned claim, threw its mantle over all which we assign to the world, the flesh, and the devil, we should realize something of the strength of the opposition with which the prophets of J″ had to contend. As regards idolatrous worship of God, again, the need which it met is a universal one. The invisible God of the infinite attributes is a being whom thought with difficulty grasps, to whom the heart hardly warms—and the necessity of a more vivid and concrete manifestation of His essence is common ground of all the great religions save one. As a fact, we can approach God only through the aid of symbols—mental pictures and words are no less symbols than paintings and statues; and it is not clear that there is any difference in principle between the verbal representation of God as our Father and the more graphic representation of the same conception which can be given in His special material by the artist. The prophet did not scruple to use imagery which represented God as flying and even as roaring and ravening like a beast of the forest, and the image of the idolater was more effective than the imagery. But the justification of the prophetic attitude is that the image was too effective. Where a certain spiritual level has been reached, the visible symbol may be a real aid to devotion; but on lower levels the worshipper stops at the outward form, and sinks back into a true heathenism. And so it worked out, against the wise opposition of the prophets, in Israel: the symbol became to the unspiritual people a fetish, and the fetish poisoned the national life.

From what has been said, we are in a better position to appreciate the scheme of retributive justice which the prophetical writers find exemplified in the history of Israel and Judah, and of their kings. Because of idolatry Israel was removed from its place, and Judah after it went into captivity. The religious reformation is followed by a prosperous reign, the backsliding is avenged by the Philistine, the Assyrian, or the Chaldæan. That, says criticism, is not history. As a fact it is, in the main outline, history, and it is besides the vehicle of the grandest and most certain of historical generalizations—viz. that the Ruler of the world is on the side of purity and righteousness. The idolatry of Israel was, as we have seen, a description from the religious side of the evil doings which God hates, and it is therefore rightly written down as the cause of His vindictive and chastening judgments upon Israel.

Idolatry in NT.—The references to idolatry in NT are naturally of much more contracted scope. With the Jews the opposition to idolatry had become since the days of Antiochus Epiphanes a fanaticism, and the subject scarcely finds a place in the sayings of our Lord. From the circumstances of his mission it occupied a considerable space in the thoughts of St. Paul. Of peculiar importance is what we may call his philosophy of heathenism expounded in Ro 1, where he traces it to its origin in a sin against the light of nature, shows that this was punished by the withdrawal of the former light, and sets forth the hideous moral corruption of the Roman world as the result of the religious apostasy. A somewhat milder judgment of the heathen world is passed in the speech at Athens (Ac 18), where ignorance of God is not insisted on as matter of guilt, and an appeal is made to men on the ground of the dignity of their origin to rise to the recognition of the true God, and hearken to His latest accredited word. A special problem arose for Christian casuistry in connexion with meats offered to idols, which the apostle resolves by referring it to the arbitrament of a conscience enlightened by the twin principles of Christian liberty and Christian sympathy (1 Co 8). To the view popularized by Milton that the idols of the heathen were in reality devils, some colour is lent by 1 Co $10^{14\text{ff.}}$; but, against this is to be put the emphatic protest, 'we know that no idol is anything in the world' (1 Co 8^{4}). Idolatry appears in the catalogue of the works of the flesh (Gal 5^{20}), and of those which exclude from eternal salvation (1 Co 6^{9}); but, as is characteristic of NT thought, the apostle widens the old religious conception, and makes it include all practices which are tantamount to a dethronement of God in favour of a creature. So gluttony and covetousness, where 'non objecto sed solo acto peccatur,' are species of idolatry (Eph 5^{5}, Ph 3^{19}). The recollection of the blessed deliverance from the darkness of heathenism is appealed to as furnishing a motive to sanctification (1 Th 1^{9}). Finally, St. John predicts an idolatrous apostasy in the last days (Rev 9^{20}).

LITERATURE.—The OT idolatry is naturally one of the capital topics in the histories of Israel and in the monographs on the Biblical Theology of the OT. For the presentation of the subject from the purely evolutionist point of view, see Wellhausen, *Isr. u. jüd. Geschichte*; Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*: for a more conservative treatment, Kittel, *Hist. of Hebrews*. In addition to the works on Biblical Theology above mentioned, among which Smend's *AT Religionsgeschichte* is full

and suggestive, may be mentioned Duhm, *Theologie der Propheten*. See also art. 'Baal,' by Ed. Meyer, in Roscher's *Lexicon*. For the Image Controversy in the Greek Church, see in Mansi's *Councils* the decrees of the Seventh Œcumenical Council; and for a review of the arguments, Harnack's *Dogmengeschichte*, ii. p. 460 ff. W. P. PATERSON.

IDUEL (Ἰδούηλος), 1 Es 8^{43}.—In Ezr 8^{16} ARIEL. The form is due to confusion of ד and ר.

IDUMÆA, IDUMÆANS.—See EDOM.

IEDDIAS (A Ἰεδδίας, B Ἰεζείας, AV Eddias), 1 Es 9^{26}.—One of those who agreed to put away their 'strange' wives. Called IZZIAH (יִזִּיָּה: B Ἀζειά, A Ἀζιά, א Ἀδειά) Ezr 10^{25}.

IEZER, IEZERITES (אִיעֶזֶר Nu 26^{30} P), contracted from ABIEZER, wh. see.

IGAL (יִגְאָל '[God] redeems').—**1.** (B Ἰλαάλ, A F Ἰγάλ; *Igal*) One of the twelve spies sent by Moses from the wilderness of Paran: he is described as the son of Joseph of the tribe of Issachar (Nu 13^7).

2. (Γαάλ; Luc. Ἰωήλ) One of David's heroes, the son of Nathan of Zobah (2 S 23^{36}). In the parallel list (1 Ch 11^{38}) the name is given as 'JOEL (יוֹאֵל Ἰωήλ), the brother (A; 'the son' B) of Nathan.'

3. (Ἰωήλ; *Jegaal*; AV Igeal) Son of Shemaiah of the royal house of David (1 Ch 3^{22}).

J. F. STENNING.

IGDALIAH (יִגְדַּלְיָהוּ 'J" is great').—A 'man of God,' father of Hanan, whose name is mentioned in connexion with Jeremiah's interview with the Rechabites (Jer 35^4).

IGNORANCE is spoken of in Scripture mainly in connexion with sin; it modifies to some extent the sinner's responsibility. Thus even of a sin in which the chief actors knew well that they were doing wrong—the crucifixion—St. Peter says, 'Ye did it in ignorance' (κατὰ ἄγνοιαν, Ac 3^{17}); St. Paul, 'if they had known, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory' (1 Co 2^8); and the Lord Himself, 'Father, forgive them: for they know not what they do' (Lk 23^{34}). They all knew something, but not everything; not, for instance, what the apostles only grasped through the resurrection and the teaching of the Risen One, that He was the Son of God, and His death a propitiation for the whole world; hence, according to NT, though their guilt was deep, in some cases awful, it was not unpardonable. The choice of evil, by one who knows clearly and fully what it is, removes the possibility of pardon: such a choice would be the *αἰώνιον ἁμάρτημα* of which Jesus speaks in Mk 3^{29}—sin, final and irretrievable.

On a broad view, the pre-Christian ages of human history, or the pre-Christian part of any one's life, may be characterized as 'times of ignorance' (Ac 17^{30}, 1 P 1^{14}). The meaning is not that the heathen know nothing; there is a light which lightens every man, a law written on the heart, however blurred or even misleading the writing may have become. But they do not know everything, and therefore, according to NT teaching, their sin is pardonable, and repentance and forgiveness are to be preached to them. Ignorance, such as it is, does not entirely exculpate; but it precludes final condemnation out of hand. When those who have lived in heathen ignorance are converted, their past life will not appear guiltless; on the contrary, they will be ashamed and confounded when they look back on it; when it stands out before them in the light of God's eternal law, and of the life of Jesus, they will be unable to understand how they lived as they did; they will condemn themselves, and humbly acknowledge their guilt. They were ignorant, but not innocent; yet, because of their ignorance, not without hope. Such guilt as theirs leaves the possibility of feeling in the moral nature; they may yet be pricked in their hearts, and repent and be saved. It is thus St. Paul interprets his own experience: 'I was a blasphemer, etc.; but I obtained mercy, because I did it *ἀγνοῶν ἐν ἀπιστίᾳ*' (1 Ti 1^{13}).

The gradual enlightenment of the Christian conscience, its entrance under the teaching of experience into fuller possession of the mind of Christ, has to be considered, in applying the plea of ignorance in extenuation of guilt. Thus to keep slaves might once have been done ignorantly —*κατ' ἄγνοιαν*, like the crucifixion—by a Christian; now it would be a sin against the light. Each generation is amazed at what its fathers perpetrated or tolerated or did not see; to say they knew no better is to utter at once their excuse and their condemnation, for such is the connexion between moral integrity and moral enlightenment that we feel sure they might have, and ought to have, known better. St. Paul not only mentions 'the times of ignorance,' which God 'winked at' (Ac 17^{30}), but indicates the genesis of that ignorance in a way which makes it itself an ominous feature of non-Christian life (Ro 1^{18-23}, Eph 4^{17-19}). In the last resort it is due to an immoral suppression, and even extinction, of divine light. It keeps pace with, as it is due to, a *πώρωσις* of the heart; though the two things, once initiated, are mutually cause and effect. Men act in the hardness of their hearts, and the light is dimmed; they act in the darkening light, and the capacity for feeling is deadened. If this process had its perfect work in any one, so that he had lost utterly the power of distinguishing good and evil, the result would not be the *ἄγνοια* which mitigates guilt; it would be that ignorance of the 'moral universal' which is itself a final condemnation.

The verb *ἀγνοεῖν* is used in He 5^2, and the subst. *ἀγνοήματα* in He 9^7, to describe sin in the character of 'sin of ignorance.' For the OT conception see Nu 15, Lv 4. The main idea is that of unwitting error or inadvertence. For such sins a sacrifice was provided, more serious in proportion to the culpability of the offender. Thus more was expected—or ignorance was less of a plea—in the case of a priest or a ruler than in that of a private person. Sins of ignorance *were* sins, and therefore had to be expiated; but they were not high-handed sins, and therefore they *could* be expiated. They were not renunciations of the covenant, which could not be purged with sacrifice or offering for ever, but had to be punished by extermination. What are commonly called 'infirmities' in Christians may be said to answer now to 'sins of ignorance.' There is a disproportion, so to speak, between our nature and our calling. We are flesh and blood, with inherited vices perhaps, and it is our calling to be holy as God is holy. In spite of faith and vigilance the Christian may be overtaken in a fault. The sudden fall, from which the heart instantly revolts, which it condemns, which it deeply mourns, is the sin of ignorance under the new covenant. If we had only known, if we had seen at the moment how it grieved God, scandalized others, hurt ourselves, we should never have done it. This leaves pardon possible, and we have a High Priest, who was Himself compassed with infirmity (though with none that issued in sin), that He might be able to bear gently with those who sin in ignorance and go astray (*τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι καὶ πλανωμένοις*, He 5^2). J. DENNEY.

IGNORANCES.—This plural form is given as the trⁿ of ἄγνοιαι in 1 Es 8^{75}, Sir 23^{3}, and of ἀγνοήματα in To 3^{3}, Sir 23^{2} 51^{19}. It is a literal rendering of the Greek, and can scarcely be illustrated from Eng. secular literature, though other abstract words like 'impenitences' are found, and this plu. is quoted with other meanings. RV retains the form, except in 1 Es 8^{75} 'errors.' For sins of ignorance see the previous article and article SIN. J. HASTINGS.

IJON (עִיּוֹן).—A town in the north part of the mountains of Naphtali, noticed with Dan and Abel-beth-maacah in 1 K 15^{20} (=2 Ch 16^{4}) as taken by the captains of the armies of Benhadad. It was captured also and depopulated by Tiglath-pileser (2 K 15^{29}). The name is thought to survive in the *Merj 'Ayun* or 'meadow of springs,' a plateau N.W. of Dan. The most important site in this plateau is *Tell Dibbîn*, immediately south of the Leontes ravine, which Robinson and others have suggested may be the site of Ijon.

LITERATURE.—Robinson, *BRP* iii. 375; Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.*^{2} 349; Porter, *Handbook* (Index); Guérin, *Galilée*, ii. 280; Buhl, *GAP* (Index, s. 'Ijon'). C. R. CONDER.

IKKESH (עִקֵּשׁ).—The father of Ira, one of David's heroes, 2 S 23^{26}, 1 Ch 11^{28} 27^{9}.

ILAI (עִילַי; B Ἠλεί, A Ἠλί; *Ilai*), an Ahohite, one of David's heroes (1 Ch 11^{29}). In the parallel list (2 S 23^{28}) the name appears as ZALMON (צַלְמוֹן; B Ἐλλών, A Σελλώμ, Luc. Ἀλιμάν). It seems probable that the Chronicler has preserved the more correct text. Klostermann conjectures עֵלִין or אֶלְיוֹעֵנַי as the original form; Wellhausen עלון: Thenius, however, adheres to the text of Samuel. J. F. STENNING.

ILIADUN (B Εἰλιαδούν, A Ἰλ-, AV Eliadun), 1 Es 5^{58} (^{56} LXX).—Perhaps to be identified with HENADAD, Ezr 3^{9}.

ILL.—Like 'evil' (of which it is a contraction), 'ill' is used in AV as adv., adj., and subst. The only occurrence of the subst. is Ro 13^{10} 'Love worketh no ill to his neighbour' (κακόν). Cf. Rhem. NT Note to Mt 3^{10} 'It is not only damnable to doe il, but also not to doe good.' The adj. was formerly, with the meaning of 'bad,' applied to persons as well as things. Thus in the Rhem. NT, the Note on 'Thamar' (Mt 1^{3}) is, 'Christ abhorred not to take flesh of some that were il, as he chose Judas among his Apostles: let us not disdaine to receive our spiritual birth and sustenance of such as be not alwayes good'; and in the Note on the Penitent Thief (Lk 23^{43}) occurs, 'Learne only not to despaire, though thou hast been il [=wicked] to the last moment of thy life.' Again, T. Adams on 1 P 1^{4} says, 'If thy words and works be ill meal, thank the miller, thy heart, for such corrupt thoughts'; and on 1^{6} 'The husband told his wife that he had one ill quality, he was given to be angry without cause; she wittily replied that she would keep him from that fault, for she would give him cause enough.' The adj. occurs in Dt 15^{21} 'any ill blemish'; Jl 2^{20} 'his ill savour'; Jth 8^{8} 'ill word'; Wis 5^{23}, Sir 29^{7} 'ill dealing'; 9^{18} 'ill tongue,' 41^{11} 'ill name.' The adv. is found in Gn 43^{6} 'Wherefore dealt ye so ill with me?' Job 20^{26}, Ps 106^{32} 'go ill'; Is 3^{11} 'be ill'; Jer 40^{4} 'seem ill'; Mic 3^{4} 'they have behaved themselves ill in their doings'; and Wis 18^{10} 'an ill according cry' (ἀσύμφωνος βοή); as well as in the phrase 'ill-favoured,' Gn $41^{3.4.19.20.21.27}$, for which see FAVOUR, and cf. North, *Plutarch*, 889, 'He had no further leysure, but to cast an ill-favoured cloke about him, the first that came to hand, and disguising himselfe to flie for life'; Fuller, *Profane State*, v. 3, p. 365, 'The suspicion is increased if the party accused be notoriously ill-favoured; whereas deformity alone is no more argument to make her a Witch, then handsomenesse had been evidence to prove her an Harlot.' J. HASTINGS.

ILLUMINATE, ILLUMINATION.—Milton uses the verb to illuminate ('give light to,' 'enlighten') literally in *PL* vii. 350—

> 'And made the stars,
> And set them in the firmament of heaven,
> To illuminate the earth.'

He has it figuratively in *Sam. Agon.* 1689, 'Though blind of sight . . . with inward eyes illuminated'; so T. Fuller, *Holy State*, iii. 12, p. 184, 'Of Naturall Fools'—'God may sometimes illuminate them, and (especially towards their death) admit them to the possession of some part of reason.' It is figuratively that the vb. occurs in AV, Bar 4^{2} 'Walk in the presence of the light thereof, that thou mayest be illuminated'; and He 10^{32} 'after ye were illuminated, ye endured a great fight of afflictions' (φωτισθέντες, RV 'enlightened').

AV has followed the Rhem. NT here, which (after Vulg.) has 'illuminate' in the foll. passages in which the Gr. is φωτίζειν, Eph 1^{18} 3^{9}, 2 Ti 1^{10}, He 6^{4} 10^{32}, Rev 18^{1} 21^{23} 22^{5}, having 'lighten' in the remaining places, viz. Lk 11^{36}, Jn 1^{9}, 1 Co 4^{5}. No other version uses the word; but in He 6^{4} Wyc. (1380) has 'illumyned,' 1388 'lightned.' It may be noted that Shaks. uses the three forms of the vb. 'illume,' 'illumine,' and 'illuminate'; Milton only 'illume' and 'illuminate.'

Illumination occurs in AV but once, Sir 25^{11} 'The love of the Lord passeth all things for illumination' (εἰς φωτισμόν; RV after edd. omits). Cf. the Rhem trⁿ of 2 Ti 1^{10} 'But it is manifested now by the illumination (ἐπιφάνεια, Vulg. *illuminatio*) of our Saviour Jesus Christ, who hath destroied death, and illuminated (φωτίζειν, Vulg. *illuminare*) life and incorruption by the Gospel'; and the heading to Jn 9 'Our Lord . . . foretelleth by this occasion the excecation of the Jewes (because of their wilful obstinacie) and illumination of the Gentils who confesse their owne blindnes.' J. HASTINGS.

ILLYRICUM (Ἰλλυρικόν) was a term used in various senses; but in the mouth of St. Paul (Ro 15^{19}) it must undoubtedly be interpreted in its Roman sense, as denoting the Roman province which extended along the Adriatic from Italy and Pannonia on the north to the Macedonian province on the south. That this Roman sense was in the apostle's mind is shown, not merely by his consistent practice of using geographical terms in the Roman sense (Zahn, *Einleitung*, p. 130) and by the fact that it was natural and almost necessary in writing to a Roman church to follow the Roman usage, but also by the very form of the word. The Greek term was Ἰλλυρίς or Ἰλλυρία; and the strict and regular Greek noun, used to translate the Latin *Illyricum*, was Ἰλλυρίς (so in Strabo, pp. 323, 327; while Ptolemy formally gives Ἰλλυρίς in the Greek version of 2 Ch 16 corresponding to Illyricum in the Latin version). But St. Paul simply transliterates the Roman form into Greek as Ἰλλυρικόν; Ro 15^{19} is probably the only passage in Greek where a noun Ἰλλυρικόν is used (showing how Roman St. Paul was in his expression of political or geographical ideas); elsewhere Ἰλλυρικός is always an adjective.

The conquest of Illyricum had been a very slow process; a province Illyria had been formed as early as B.C. 167, and during the following two centuries all new conquests east and north-east of the Adriatic were incorporated in Illyricum, until in A.D. 10 Augustus separated Pannonia from it, and gave a final organization to Illyricum. The province was important and warlike; a large force of troops was required to maintain order, two legions, vii and xi, being stationed there by Augustus; and the governor was a consular *legatus Augusti pro prætore.* The northern half of the province was called Liburnia, and the southern, Dalmatia (wh. see). The name Dalmatia, however, gradually came into use to denote the province as a whole; and from the Flavian period onwards it became the regular and usual term. Pliny, writing before 77, uses both terms. Suetonius uses Illyricum for the time of the earlier emperors (distinguishing Dalmatia as a part of the country under Augustus), while he uses both names for the time of Otho and of Claudius. It is therefore interesting to find that St. Paul in a later epistle (2 Ti 4^{10}) uses the later term Dalmatia, and not the older term Illyricum. This affords no argument for a post-Pauline date. The name Dalmatia was coming into use during his lifetime; and such changes first affect the usage of ordinary life before they affect the formal official and literary usage. If Pliny, who was so much affected by the expression of his authorities (who, being early, would all use the name Illyricum), could use the term Dalmatia before 77, St. Paul might use it ten years earlier. In fact, we may from the usage of St. Paul date the definite change in popular Roman usage from the one term to the other about A.D. 57 to 67.

In Ro 15^{19} St. Paul says he has preached the gospel 'even unto Illyricum.' He is here stating the exterior limit up to which his work had extended; and there is no reason to understand (contrary to Ac) that he had actually preached in Illyricum. The doubt whether an exterior or a contained limit is meant in geographical expressions is observable in many cases, and must be determined by the context and by other evidence (see, for example, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i. p. 319 f.). W. M. RAMSAY.

IMAGE, IMAGERY.—Image is loosely used in AV and RV as the trⁿ of many different Heb. words. A complete list of these words may be given for reference from other articles and for the proper interpretation of this important expression.

1. צֶלֶם *zelem*, a copy or counterpart, is translated 'image' by AV and RV in all its occurrences (Gn $1^{26.27\,bis}$ 5^{3} 9^{6}, Nu 33^{52} [צַלְמֵי מַסֵּכֹתָם 'their molten images'], 1 S $6^{5\,bis.\,11}$, 2 K 11^{18}, 2 Ch 23^{17}, Ps 73^{20}, Ezk 7^{20} 16^{17} 23^{14}, Am 5^{26}), except Ps 39^{6} 'vain shew,' AVm 'image,' RVm (badly) 'shadow.' See next article.

2. סֶמֶל, *semel*, a resemblance or likeness, is rendered 'image' in Ezk $8^{3.5}$ (AV and RV); but 'figure' in Dt 4^{16} and 'idol' in 2 Ch $33^{7.15}$. See IDOLATRY.

3. תְּמוּנָה, *tĕmûnâh*, similitude, is rendered 'image' in Job 4^{16} only; elsewhere 'likeness' (Ex 20^{4}, Dt $4^{23.25}$ 5^{8}, Ps 17^{15}), or 'similitude' (Nu 12^{8}, Dt $4^{12.15.16}$). RV has 'form' everywhere except Ps 17^{15} 'likeness,' m. 'form.' See FORM.

4. מַשְׂכִּית *maskîth*, representation, picture, is translated variously: Lv 26^{1} (אֶבֶן מַשְׂכִּית) AV 'image of stone,' RV 'figured stone'; Nu 33^{52} AV 'pictures,' RV 'figured stones'; Ps 73^{7} (עָבְרוּ מַשְׂכִּיּוֹת לֵבָב) AV 'they have more than heart could wish,' AVm 'they pass the thoughts of the heart,' RVm 'the imaginations of their heart overflow'; Pr 18^{11} AV 'conceit,' RV 'imagination'; 25^{11} AV 'pictures,' RV 'baskets,' RVm 'filigree work'; Ezk 8^{12} AV and RV 'imagery.' See PICTURE.

5. מַצֵּבָה *mazzêbhâh*, pillar, is translated simply 'pillar' by AV and RV in Gn $28^{18.22}$ $31^{13.45.51.52\,bis}$ $35^{14\text{-}20}$, Is 19^{19}; in Dt 12^{3} AV and RV 'pillar,' RVm 'obelisk'; in Ezk 26^{11} AV 'garrison,' RV 'pillar,' RVm 'obelisk'; elsewhere AV has 'image' with 'statue' or 'standing image' in marg., RV always 'pillar' with 'obelisk' in marg. (Ex 23^{24} 24^{4} 34^{13}, Lv 26^{1} [AV 'standing image'], Dt 7^{5} [AVm 'statue or pillar'] 16^{22}, 1 K 14^{23}, 2 K 3^{2} $10^{26.27}$ 17^{10} 18^{4} 23^{14}, 2 Ch 14^{3} 31^{1}, Jer 43^{13}, Hos 3^{4} $10^{1.2}$, Mic 5^{13} [AV 'standing image']). See PILLAR.

6. [חַמָּן] only in plu. חַמָּנִים *ḥammânîm*, pillars for sun-worship. AV translates by 'images' in Lv 26^{30}; by 'images' with marg. 'sun images' in 2 Ch 14^{5} 34^{4}, Is 17^{8} 27^{9}, Ezk $6^{4.6}$; and by 'idols' in 2 Ch 34^{7}; RV always 'sun-images.' See IDOLATRY and SUN.

7. תְּרָפִים, only plu., *tĕrâphîm*, is always simply transliterated in RV 'teraphim.' AV has 'teraphim' in Jg 17^{5} $18^{14.17.18.20}$, Hos 3^{4}; but 'images' in Gn 31^{19} (m. 'teraphim') $31^{34.35}$, 2 K 23^{24} (m. 'teraphim'), Ezk 21^{21} (m. 'teraphim'), with the sing. 'image' in 1 S $19^{13.16}$; 'idolatry' in 1 S 15^{23}; and 'idols' with marg. 'teraphims' in Zec 10^{2}. See TERAPHIM.

8. [עָצָב] only in plu. עֲצַבִּים *'ăzabbîm*, is translated 'idols' almost everywhere by both AV and RV (1 S 31^{9}, 1 Ch 10^{9}, 2 Ch 24^{18}, Ps $106^{36.38}$ 115^{4} 135^{15}, Is 10^{11} 46^{1}, Hos 4^{17} 8^{4} 13^{2} 14^{8}, Mic 1^{7}, Zec 13^{2}); but both give 'images' in 2 S 5^{21}, and RV gives 'images' though AV has 'idols' in Jer 50^{2}. See IDOLATRY.

9. [גִּלּוּל] only in plu. גִּלּוּלִים or גִּלֻּלִים *gillûlîm*, a distinctive word, properly 'idol blocks,' or such term of disparagement, in Ezk thirty-nine times; elsewhere only nine times (Lv 26^{30}, Dt 29^{17}, 1 K 15^{12} 21^{26}, 2 K 17^{12} $21^{11.21}$ 23^{24}, Jer 50^{2}). It is trᵈ 'idols' in AV and RV everywhere except Jer 50^{2} in AV 'images.' See IDOLATRY.

10. אֱלִיל *'ĕlîl*, worthlessness, is often applied in derision to foreign gods. Its translation (when plu.) is usually 'idols' in both AV and RV, Lv 19^{4} (RVm 'things of nought') 26^{1}, 1 Ch 16^{26} (RVm 'things of nought'), Ps 96^{5} (RVm 'things of nought') 97^{7}, Is $2^{8.18.20\,bis}$ $10^{10.11}$ $19^{1.3}$ $31^{7\,bis}$, Ezk 30^{13}, Hab 2^{18}. In Jer 14^{14} both versions give 'a thing of nought'; in Job 13^{4} *rôph'ê 'ĕlîl* is in both 'physicians of no value'; while in Zec 11^{17} *hoi rô'î ha'ĕlîl* is translated in AV 'Woe to the idol shepherd' (where 'idol' is apparently used as an adj.), in RV 'Woe to the worthless shepherd.' See GOD, IDOLATRY.

11. פֶּסֶל *pesel* (from פָּסַל to carve) is translated 'graven image' by RV everywhere (Ex 20^{4}, Lv 26^{1}, Dt $4^{16.23.25}$ 5^{8} 27^{15}, Jg $17^{3.4}$ $18^{14.17.18.20.30.31}$, 2 K 21^{7}, 2 Ch 33^{7}, Ps 97^{7}, Is $40^{19.20}$ 42^{17} $44^{9.10.15.17}$ 45^{20} 48^{5}, Jer 10^{14} 51^{17}, Nah 1^{14}, Hab 2^{18}). AV has 'carved image' in Jg 18^{18}, 2 Ch 33^{7}; elsewhere it agrees with RV.

12. [פְּסִיל] from same root, only in plu. פְּסִילִים *pĕsîlîm*, is also translated by RV 'graven images' in all its occurrences (Dt $7^{5.25}$ 12^{3}, 2 K 17^{41}, 2 Ch $33^{19.22}$ $34^{3.4.7}$, Ps 78^{58}, Is 10^{10} 21^{9} 30^{22} 42^{8}, Jer 8^{19} 50^{38} $51^{47.52}$, Hos 11^{2}, Mic 1^{7} 5^{13}), except Jg $3^{19.26}$ where both versions have 'quarries' in text, with 'graven images' in margin. AV gives 'carved images' in 2 Ch 33^{22} $34^{3.4}$; elsewhere as RV.

13. מַסֵּכָה *massêkâh*, lit. 'a pouring out,' is used of molten metal, and (with the word for 'calf' added) of a 'molten calf' in Ex $32^{4.8}$, Dt 9^{16}, Neh 9^{18}; or 'molten gods' Ex 34^{17}, Lv 19^{4} (with word for 'gods'); but generally it stands alone and is translated 'molten image' (Nu 33^{52} [Heb. here adds *zelem*], Dt 9^{12} 27^{15}, Jg $17^{3.4}$ $18^{14.17.18}$, 1 K 14^{9}, 2 K 17^{16}, 2 Ch 28^{2} $34^{3.4}$, Ps 106^{19}, Is 30^{22} 42^{17}, Hos 13^{2}, Nah 1^{14}, Hab 2^{18}). In Is 30^{1} the words לִנְסֹךְ מַסֵּכָה are rendered in AV and RV 'that cover with a covering'; in RVm 'weave a web *or* pour out a drink-offering *or* make a league.'

14. נֵסֶךְ *nêsek*, or נֶסֶךְ *nesek*, from the same root as the last, is the word for a 'drink-offering,' and is so translated by AV and RV in all its occurrences, except Is 41^{29} 48^{5}, Jer 10^{14} 51^{17} where both versions have 'molten image,' and Nu 4^{7} where קְשׂוֹת הַנָּסֶךְ is rendered in AV 'covers to cover withal,' in RV 'cups to pour out withal.'

In the Apocr. 'image' occurs in the following places: 2 Es 5^{37} 8^{44} (both *imago*), Wis 2^{23} 7^{26} $13^{13.16}$ 14^{15} (all εἰκών), 14^{17} (ἐμφανῆ εἰκόνα, AV 'an express image,' RV 'a visible image'), 15^{4} (εἶδος, RV 'form'), 15^{5} (εἰκών), 15^{13} (γλυπτά, EV 'graven images'), 17^{21} (εἰκών); 1 Mac 3^{48} (εἴδωλον, RV 'idol'), 5^{68} (γλυπτά, EV 'carved images'); 2 Mac 2^{2} (ἀγάλματα, EV 'images').

In NT χαρακτήρ is translated 'express image' in He 1^{3} (χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ, 'the express image of his person,' RV 'the very image of his substance,' RVm 'the impress of his substance'; it is the only occurrence in NT of χαρακτήρ, which gives us our word 'character'). Elsewhere image is always εἰκών, and that Gr. word is always so translated in both versions.

Imagery occurs twice: Ezk 8^{12} 'Son of man, hast thou seen what the ancients of the house of Israel do in the dark, every man in the chambers of his imagery?' (בְּחַדְרֵי מַשְׂכִּיתוֹ, RV 'in his chambers of imagery'); and Sir 38^{27} 'give themselves to counterfeit imagery' (εἰς ὁμοιῶσαι ζωγραφίαν, RV 'to preserve likeness in his portraiture'). In the Prol. to Deut. Tindale uses the word in the sense of images or idols, 'And to beware ether of makynge imagerye or of bowinge them selves unto images.' Sir T. Elyot is very near the use in Sir when he says (*The Governour*, ii. 403), 'It is written that the great kynge Alexander on a tyme beinge (as it hapned) unoccupyed, came to the shoppe of Apelles, the excellent paynter, and standyng by hym whyles he paynted, the kynge raisoned with hym of lines, adumbrations, proportions, or other like thinges pertainyng to imagery, whiche the paynter a litle whyles sufferynge, at the last said to the kynge with the countenance all smylyng, Seest thou, noble prince, howe the boye that gryndeth my colours dothe laughe the to scorne?' Bp. Atterbury uses the word in the same sense as Ezk, 'It might be a mere dream which he saw; the imagery of a melancholick fancy.'

J. HASTINGS.

IMAGE.—About a score of Heb. words are rendered in AV 'idol' or 'image.' See preceding art. and IDOLATRY. The terms reserved for the expression which in Christian doctrine (to which the present art. is confined) represents 'image' or 'likeness,' are צֶלֶם and דְּמוּת, to which correspond *εἰκών* and *ὁμοίωσις* in the NT. For the latter Heb. word the LXX once at least uses *ἰδέα* (Gn 5^{3}). צֶלֶם sometimes (Dn 3^{19}) signifies an aspect or expression of countenance. In biblical Greek *κατ' εἰκόνα* is sometimes used adverbially='after the manner of,' as *e.g.* Hos 13^{2} *κατ' εἰκόνα εἰδώλων*, 'after the fashion of idols.' Wis 13^{13} *εἰκόνι ἀνθρώπου*, 'in the manner of a man.'

There are two main biblical doctrines which find expression under these terms, viz. that of (1) *man as made in the image of God*, and (2) that of *Christ the Son, as the image of the Father*, or *of the invisible God.*

I. The passages in which this view of man is expressly stated are: Gn $1^{26.27}$ $5^{1.3}$ 9^{6}, 1 Co 11^{7}, Col 3^{10}, Ja 3^{9}. To these should be added Ps 8, which, though not containing the phrase 'image of God,' is a poetical *replica* of the creation-narrative of Gn 1 as far as it refers to man. St. Paul's address at Athens is another passage where the idea of 'likeness' between man and his Maker is fully implied, though the word is not used. A quite factitious importance has been attached to the difference between צֶלֶם and דְּמוּת in the primal passage. There is really no difference. At the utmost, it is that between an original or pattern and that which is framed according to the pattern. The double expression in Gn 1^{26} and 5^{3} is simply intended to strengthen the idea. The divine image which man bears is one corresponding to the Original.

This grand assertion is the distinctive feature of the Bible doctrine concerning man. It distinguishes the revealed teaching about him from all ethnic or naturalistic views, and is the real foundation of all our ideas about the dignity of man. Although thus definite and significant, however, the phrase is not explicit. Large place is left for discussion as to whether this definition refers to something in man's own nature or mainly to his relations: and among these whether to his aspect towards the other creatures or his relation to God. This is why the doctrine of the Divine Image in man has been a topic so fruitful of differences in theology. For long the theological bent was to make the *imago Dei* distinctive of man unfallen. In the loss of the image by sin lay man's need of redemption. 'What we lost in Adam,' says Irenæus, 'to wit, the divine image and similitude, that we receive again in Christ Jesus.' But later on, it was seen that this was too sweeping. Then set in the tendency to expound the idea in a double sense. The cruder form of this was the Romish, as expressed by Bellarmin—that by the Fall man lost the 'likeness' of God, though he retained the 'image.' But Protestants held a not dissimilar view, viz. that the image had two meanings. In one sense it is essential to man's nature, and in this sense consists of his intellectual powers, his liberty of will, and his superiority among the creatures,—features which can never be wholly lost, but remain with man though fallen. In the other sense it includes those ornaments or complements of the idea—immortality, grace, holiness, righteousness—which were defaced or blotted out by man's transgression. One point of unity and consistency with Scripture holds fast amid these variations of view. For it is certain that in the passages cited above the divine image is recognized as existing in man fallen as well as unfallen. Among recent evangelical divines of a philosophical cast the tendency has been to return to the position of the early Eastern Church, and place the image mainly in that which distinguishes man among created beings, rather than in that which marks off the unfallen from the fallen condition. The Greek Christian Fathers did define it as something rather metaphysical than ethical. But to place the image mainly in the possession of 'Spirit' and 'Free Will' is to overlook the moral and religious elements essential to man's nature. Man in his ideal is a 'spirit' and 'will' under the dominion of conscience, developed freely no doubt, but in subjection and obedience to God. That this biblical notion of the divine image is a profoundly simple and consistent one, is made clear by the NT passages which speak of its renewal in grace (Col 3^{10}, cf. Eph 4^{24}), where the moral elements are prominent and supreme. But they cannot be read as defining what the divine image was in man at the first, for they treat expressly of the 'new man.' The unity and simplicity of the idea are conserved, if we note that this description of the 'new man' presupposes corresponding outlines in the first man which were broken off by sin, and are for the first time fully realized in man redeemed and renewed.

Another suggestive point in the discussion comes out of the question, long debated, whether the divine image in man was a gift of grace added to his nature, *i.e.* was in a sense something 'supernatural,' or was wholly natural and concreated from the first, as Protestants have always maintained. The real point in dispute is much confused and hidden. The mediæval view is really one of dualism or divergence in man's nature. It splits his life into two. It accentuates the distinction between nature and grace, between things secular and sacred; whereas the true view is that of an original unity in the creature made after God's image, and a harmonious development of the human and divine elements in him. For there is a truth in the mediæval idea of a 'supernatural gift of righteousness' to man, though it was crudely expressed. Human nature only attains its ideal when cultivated by divine grace. The nature of man is incomplete without its Godward development, and this can take place successfully only through grace. For it is essential to man's highest to be not left to himself. Mere human nature or 'unassisted reason,' as the phrase goes, is a contradiction of the Bible idea of man. That idea is that human nature rightly and fully developed manifests the divine, and is a reflection of what it has received of God.

II. That Christ is '*the Image of the Father*' belongs to the doctrine of the Saviour's pre-existent Godhead as taught in the NT. It is one of the ways in which that truth is set forth. The precisely relevant passages are 2 Co 4^{4}, Col 1^{15-17}, He $1^{2.3}$. The idea is not restricted to the term *εἰκών* which occurs in the first two citations, but is also expressed by two kindred phrases in He 1^{3} *ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης*, 'the effulgence of his glory,' and *χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ*, 'the very image of his substance.' It will be noted from the context of all these passages that the terms are used not so much of the incarnate Redeemer as of the eternal Son. No doubt, according to the teaching of Jesus and that of all His apostles, the 'Christ come in the flesh' is for us the mirror and reflection of God. 'He that hath seen me,' says Jesus, 'hath seen the Father' (Jn 14^{9}). This is the prominent and prevailing sense of the Christian doctrine that Christ is the Revelation or Image of God. This is the central teaching of the Incarnation. But in the few places where the word 'image' or its equivalents is used in this connexion by the writers of the NT Epistles, it is employed in support of a special doctrine of Christ's essential divine personality. In this respect it stands on the same plane as the title *ὁ υἱός*, '*the* Son,' used so widely throughout the NT writings, and *ὁ λόγος* in the Johannine passages.

Notice (1) that in the Hebrews passage, where Christ as *υἱός* is the subject of the assertion, the other terms supplement and complete the idea of His divine Sonship. To say that He who is the Son is the 'effulgence of God's glory' and 'the very image or impress of his substance,' is not only to reassert the Sonship, but to add to it the idea of 'likeness.' It affirms community of nature with the Father in the same way as when He is called '*the* Son of God.' It thus strengthens the expression of Christ's place in the Godhead by affirming at once His likeness to God and yet His personal distinctness, for how can any one be spoken of as 'the image' of himself?

Further, note (2) how this term 'image' as used of the pre-existent Christ, echoes, like *ὁ λόγος*, a form of older or pre-Christian speech. *Εἰκών* and *ἀπαύγασμα* are both applied to the 'Wisdom' of Old Testament literature, *e.g.* in Wis 7^{26} 'For she is the "brightness" of the everlasting light, the unspotted mirror of the power of God, and the "image" of his goodness.' *Χαρακτήρ* is applied by Philo to the Logos; so also *εἰκών*, as where he says the Logos is *εἰκὼν δι' οὗ ὁ κόσμος ἐδημιουργεῖτο*. It is probable, therefore, that the writer of the Fourth Gospel, the writer 'to the Hebrews,' and St. Paul were all drawing on ancient terms, common to the Jewish Alexandrian schools, which had been applied in pre-Christian thought to a personified divine attribute. The NT writers are in these passages rescuing these terms to describe their Master's Person and glory. Judaizing Gnosticism had employed some of these expressions to uphold the doctrine of a graduated hierarchy of divine manifestation, more especially that of a secondary or representative divine being alongside of the supreme and invisible God,—a notion which, when applied to the Person of Christ, became afterwards the Arian heresy. The apostolic writers apply these terms *ὁ λόγος*, *ἡ εἰκών*, and the like, to their Lord in a way fitted to bring out what is true in them and to repudiate what is false;—conspicuously, so as to repel the notion of inferiority in the second member of the divine Trinity.

Note (3) how this is clenched by the fact that in the context of the three passages Jn 1^{1-3}, Col 1^{15-17}, and He $1^{2.3}$ the special function of creating and upholding the universe is ascribed to Christ under His titles of Word, Image, and Son respectively. The kind of Creatorship so predicated of Him is not that of a mere instrument or artificer in the formation of the world, but that of One 'by whom, in whom, and for whom' all things are made, and through whom they subsist. This implies the assertion of His true and absolute Godhead. It was evidently meant so to do. For there is no more direct and successful method of affirming that Christ is God than to ascribe to Him the making and governing of all things in the supreme form which the ascription takes in these passages.

Something remains to be said of a possible connexion between these two facts noted by biblical theology, viz. that 'man is made in the divine image,' and that 'Christ is,' in the supreme sense, 'the Image of God.' The older dogmatic was wont to distinguish the two, by saying that the divine image in man was *accidentalis* compared with that Godlikeness which belonged to the eternal Son as *Imago substantialis*. But what Scripture teaches of their connexion can be briefly stated. It has two distinct lines—one referring to the original creation of man, the other to his redemption.

Man is represented in Scripture as the crown or goal of that earthly creation of which the Eternal Word is the Author. He who is the 'Image of the Invisible God' is also declared to be the 'Firstborn or First-begotten of all creation' (Col 1^{15}), *i.e.* the absolute heir and sovereign Lord of all things. There is thus a propriety in holding man to be a copy of the Logos. But there is no express Scripture for the assertion that man was created in the likeness of the eternal Son. On the contrary, it is always the image or likeness of God that is spoken of in this connexion. No doubt, it is implied that the Logos or Image of God is He 'in whom and for whom' man was created. But it would be a misreading of these passages to take them as affirming that man was created after the likeness of the Son, and not of the Father or of the Holy Spirit. Everywhere Scripture represents man as created after the image of the Elohim, or of the Godhead. Man is said to be 'the image and glory of God,' not of Christ alone.

On the other hand, when the new creation of man is referred to, the NT is explicit in asserting that Christ is the prototype of the redeemed or renewed humanity. The 'divine image' is restored in those who are predestinate to be 'conformed to the image of his Son.' We are 'renewed in the spirit of our mind' only as we put on 'the new man—renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him' (Col 3^{10}), —a new creation in which 'Christ is all in all' (Col 3^{11}). Likeness to His Image is only to be completed when the redeemed shall see their Redeemer as He is (1 Jn 3^{2}). The likeness shall then extend even to the outward form. 'He shall fashion anew the body of our humiliation, that it may be conformed to the body of his glory' (Ph 3^{21} RV); 'As we have borne the image of the earthy, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly' (1 Co 15^{49}).

All this is explicit and clear. There has long been a desire and tendency among theological thinkers to complete the connexion of the two statements. It looks extremely probable to infer that man must have been created from the first in the image of Him who was afterwards to be incarnate for man's redemption, and who in redeeming men conforms them to His own likeness. It is a tempting and perhaps innocent speculation, but not an ascertainment of biblical theology.

LITERATURE.—Seb. Schmidt, *De Imagine Dei in Homine ante Lapsum*, 1659; Bp. George Bull, *State of Man before the Fall* (Works, vol. ii., Oxford edition, 1846); Keerl, *Der Mensch das Ebenbild Gottes*, 1863; Grinfield, *The Image and Likeness of God in Man* (Lond. 1837); Laidlaw, *The Bible Doctrine of Man*, 2nd ed. 1895; Cremer, art. 'Ebenbild Gottes' in *PRE*^{3}; Driver, *Sermons on Old Test.* 173 f.

J. LAIDLAW.

IMAGINE, IMAGINATION.—The verb to 'imagine' has always in AV the obsolete meaning of purpose, scheme, contrive. Thus Gn 11^6 'Nothing will be restrained from them which they have imagined to do' (יָזְמוּ, RV 'they purpose'); Zec 7^{10} 'Let none of you imagine evil against his brother in your heart' (אַל־תַּחְשְׁבוּ, Amer. RV 'devise'). Cf. Elyot, *The Governour*, ii. 74, 'It was reported to the noble emperour Octavius Augustus that Lucius Cinna, which was susters sonne to the great Pompei, had imagined his dethe'; and Tindale, Notes to Deut., 'Zamzumims, a kinde of geauntes and signifieth myschevous or that be all waye imagininge.' RV generally retains 'imagine,' but Amer. RV prefers 'think' in Job 6^{26}, 'meditate' in Ps 2^{1} 38^{12}, and 'devise' in Ps 10^{2} 21^{11} 140^{2}, Pr 12^{20}, Hos 7^{15}, Nah $1^{9.\,11}$, Zec 7^{10} 8^{17}.

Imagination has always the sense of evil purpose, contrivance. This is so even in Ro 1^{21} 'became vain in their imaginations,' where the Gr. is *διαλογισμός*, more consistently tr^{d} 'reasoning' in RV; and in 2 Co 10^{5} 'casting down imaginations,' where the Gr. is *λογισμός*, and AVm RVm give 'reasonings'; in the only other occurrence in NT of this Gr. word (Ro 2^{15}) AV and RV have 'thoughts,' RVm 'reasonings.' But 'reasoning' is plainly too colourless, the evil intent in the Gr. words here being lost. For 'imagination' in the sense of mischievous intention, cf. Is 55^{7} Cov. 'Let the ungodly man forsake his wayes, and the unrightuous his ymaginacions, and turne agayne unto the LORDE.' Tindale uses the word in the sense of a visible representation of a thought, Nu 33^{52} 'Se that ye dryve out all the inhabiters of the londe before you, and destroy their Ymaginacions and all their Ymages of Metall.' The Heb. subst. *shĕrîrûth* expresses *firmness* in a bad cause, and is mistranslated by 'imagination' in AV: RV gives 'stubbornness' in all its occurrences (Dt 29^{19}, Ps 81^{12}, Jer 3^{17} 7^{24} 9^{14} 11^{8} 13^{10} 16^{12} 18^{12} 23^{17}).

J. HASTINGS.

IMALCUE, AV **Simalcue** (*Σινμαλκουή* A, *'Ιμαλκουέ* ℵV, *Eἰμαλκουαί*; *Simalchue*, *Emalchuel*, also *Malchus*), 1 Mac 11^{39}.—An Arab prince to whom Alexander Balas entrusted his youthful son Antiochus. After the death of Alexander, in B.C. 145, Imalcue reluctantly gave up the boy to Tryphon, who placed him on the throne of Syria as Antiochus VI. in opposition to Demetrius II. Nikator (1 Mac 11^{39-54}; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. v. 1; Diodorus in Müller's *Frag. Hist. Græc.* ii. p. xvii n. 21). Elsewhere Diodorus (*op. cit.* n. 20) names Diocles, prince of Abæ in Arabia, as the guardian of the young (*νήπιος*) Antiochus. Josephus and the Syriac give the name as Malchus, Diodorus as Jamblichus, both representing the Heb. ימלכו, a name which appears on Palmyrene inscriptions. Cf. *Speaker's Comm.* and Zöckler, *ad loc.*; also Schürer, *HJP* I. i. 247.

H. A. WHITE.

IMLA (יִמְלָא; 2 Ch $18^{7.\,8}$=IMLAH [יִמְלָה], 1 K $22^{8.\,9}$; perhaps 'he is full,' and so 'fulness,' the first form of the name being etymologically the more correct).—The father of Micaiah, a prophet of J″ in the days of Ahab. C. F. BURNEY.

IMMANUEL (עִמָּנוּאֵל, *'Εμμανουήλ*, 'God is with us,' or, as others, 'God with us').—The name of a child whose birth was predicted by Isaiah, and who was to be a sign from God to Ahaz during the Syro-Ephraimitic war (Is 7). The name does not occur again in Scripture; and much difference of opinion has prevailed on the question wherein the point of the sign lay, whether in the person of Immanuel himself, or in the meaning of his name, or in the time of his birth, or in the conditions of his life, or in several of these things together. Other things in the prophecy are also obscure. The mother of Immanuel is described as *the 'almah* (LXX *ἡ παρθένος*), a term which means merely 'young woman' (cf. the *masc.* 1 S 17^{56} 20^{22}), though in usage it appears said only of unmarried persons. Even if the more technical word for 'virgin' (בְּתוּלָה) had been employed, the term might have described the young woman merely at the moment when the prophet spoke; the idea of a virgin conception and birth could have been expressed without ambiguity only by a circumlocution. The force of the art. (הָעַלְמָה) may also be variously understood. Some take the art. as generic, referring to the class of persons called *'almah* (Ec 7^{26}), in which case the meaning would be that any or many of this class would exemplify the prediction, calling their children Immanuel. But perhaps the *'almah* becomes definite to the prophet's mind just from the circumstances connected with her and the part she performs (2 S 17^{17}). There is nothing in the passage to suggest that the *'almah* is of mean birth or estate; but the generality of the term is unfavourable to the idea that the wife of the prophet —called 'the prophetess' 8^{3}—or the wife of king Ahaz is meant. Neither is there anything in the passage to suggest that the *'almah* is a personification of the house of David or the people of Judah.

The prophecy is to be explained partly from the historical circumstances, partly from the circle of thoughts which had filled the prophet's mind from the beginning (chs. 1–6), and in the light of which he interpreted the circumstances, and partly from ideas regarding the house of David that had long formed part of the national faith. It cannot be altogether without significance that it is 'the house of David' that is addressed and spoken of throughout the chapter.

The historical circumstances were these: In the days of Ahaz the kings of Syria and Ephraim formed an alliance and made war on Judah. The object of the allies was possibly to compel Judah to enter into a confederacy against Assyria, and not improbably Egypt had its hand in the game (7^{18}). Ahaz being reluctant, the allies resolved to dethrone the house of David and set a tool of their own upon the throne of Judah. Amidst the terror inspired by the alliance (7^{2}), the prophet was bidden go to meet the king and say to him in regard to the purpose of the allies, 'It shall not stand.' He added the solemn warning that faith in J″ was the condition of deliverance. Shortly after, the prophet offered the corroboration of any sign which the king might ask. This offer Ahaz rejected, putting it away under the pretext that he would not put God to the proof. Roused to passion by the king's unbelief or obstinacy, the prophet exclaimed, 'Is it too small a thing for you to weary men, that ye weary my God also? Therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign.'

The subject may be approached by asking: Of what is Immanuel the sign or corroboration?

1. Some answer, of the promise, 'It shall not stand'—of the failure of the northern coalition, and of the deliverance of Judah from Ephraim and Syria. In this case the sign lies partly in the meaning of the name Immanuel, 'God is with us,' and partly in the time of his birth. His mother and he are no persons in particular—they are any young woman and her son. By the time young women conceive and bear sons they will be calling their children 'God is with us,' in token of Judah's deliverance from Syria and Ephraim: 'Before the child shall know to reject evil and choose good, the land before whose two kings thou fearest shall be depopulated,' v.^{16} (Duhm). This interpretation is simple, but difficult to accept. (1) It requires the excision of vv.$^{15.\,17}$. For, whoever Immanuel and his mother be, they are Judæans, and when it is said that the child shall eat thick milk and honey (v.^{15}), it is implied that Judah shall be reduced by war to a pasture land no more cultivated (v.$^{21\text{ff.}}$)—a thing in direct contradiction to the supposed meaning of the sign. (2) The sign becomes virtually a duplicate of that of Mahershalal (8^{1-4}), for though Assyria is not named as the destroyer of Syria and Ephraim in 7^{16}, it is admittedly in the prophet's mind. A duplication of the same sign is highly improbable. (3) Is it probable or possible that Isaiah should conceive Judæan mothers expressing their thankfulness for deliverance from Ephraim and Syria by using the name Immanuel? He has himself

the utmost contempt for the northern alliance (7^{4}). The danger does not seem to him to lie there (8^{12}). Further, that which will make the northern alliance abortive is the Assyrian invasion, but everywhere in the passage he assumes that the Assyrian will devastate Judah also ($7^{18.20}$ $8^{7.8}$). The Assyrian invasion will extend over Israel and Judah in common. Immanuel cannot be a sign of deliverance from Ephraim and Syria, for the deliverance will be effected only through a calamity infinitely greater. (4) Though the sign first offered to Ahaz was to be a token of deliverance from the allies ($7^{11.12}$), the change of tone on the prophet's part suggests that the sign now given will be of a different sort. It is a mistake to suppose that the sign must be something which Ahaz could see, in corroboration of something else. The sign may be just the coming fact, or some aspect of it, as it was said to Moses, 'And this is the sign to thee that I have sent thee: when thou hast brought forth the people out of Egypt, ye shall serve God upon this mountain' (Ex 3^{12}; cf. Is 37^{30}).

2. Some regard the sign as lying partly in the meaning of the name Immanuel, and partly in the circumstances of his birth and life; that is, the sign is twofold, first, of deliverance from the northern coalition (Immanuel), and second, of the Assyrian devastation of Judah ('milk and honey shall he eat,' vv.$^{15.17}$). But, as before, against this is the utter uselessness of giving Ahaz a sign of deliverance from the allies when that deliverance is effected only by the complete desolation of his own country at the same time.

3. It is therefore probable that the sign is of larger significance. Several things must be taken into account. First, that which others would call a national crisis, the prophets, and particularly Isaiah, consider a religious crisis. His statement to Ahaz, 'if ye do not believe ye shall not be established' (v.^{9}), is not the enunciation of a commonplace. It is the central thought of his prophetic life ($6^{9ff.}$ and often). And this faith is wanting both in prince and people ($7^{12.13}$ $8^{5ff.}$). Secondly, throughout this interview the prophet's mind is in a state of extreme exaltation, as his offer to Ahaz of a sign anywhere in all the universe of things shows. And this exaltation is intensified by the king's rejection of the sign offered him—'Will ye weary my God also'? (7^{13}). The sign now given will not be a favourable one forced upon Ahaz, but one of a wider kind. The prophet casts his eye forward over the whole destiny of the kingdom of J". He sees his conceptions of this destiny about to take shape in history. The conditions and the instruments of fulfilling what he had from the beginning foreseen to be inevitable are now present. A great judgment shall sweep over the land, 'the Lord will bring on thee days that have not been since Ephraim departed from Judah' (v.^{17}); 'milk and honey shall every one eat that is left in the land' (v.^{22}). The country shall be reduced to a pasture land, whose scanty inhabitants shall live on milk and wild honey. But this is not the end; a remnant shall turn: amidst the desolation and behind it there will be those who say, 'God is with us.'* The sign has no reference to Syria and Ephraim; it refers to the destiny of the people, though, of course, to the prophet's mind or his vision this destiny had two steps—the Assyrian devastation, and the repentance and salvation that would follow it. This view is supported by the fact that where Immanuel is mentioned again it is in connexion with the Assyrian invasion ($8^{8.10}$). But does not this interpretation require the omission of v.^{16} 'Before the child know to reject evil and choose good, the land shall be depopulated, before whose two kings thou art in terror'? (so Budde). Even if this should be the case, we must choose that side on which there appears to lie the greater probability. The chapter and the succeeding ones have not escaped interpolation. V.^{16} might be due to the same hand that inserted the words 'within sixty-five years Ephraim shall be broken that it be not a people' (v.^{8}, cf. 8^{7}). The verse in its present form cannot be read along with v.^{17}. Perhaps, however, it might be sufficient to omit the last words of the verse, 'before whose two kings thou art in terror.' With this omission 'the land' would be Judah as in 6^{11}, and the whole passage v.$^{14ff.}$ have reference to the desolation of Judah. It is certainly very improbable that Isaiah should have spoken of Syria and Israel as a single 'land,' though a reader might have so understood the word and helped out the sense by the gloss 'before whose two kings,' etc.*

This view still leaves room for different interpretations of Immanuel. The *'almah* and her son might be considered merely examples of something general, in which case Immanuel would represent the new generation rising up after the desolation (v.^{15}), the 'holy seed' of 6^{13} (cf. the change of mind described in $8^{21ff.}$). The force of the sign to Ahaz would lie in the threat of invasion and the destruction of the order of things now existing of which he and his house was a great part, though the prophet's own interest would be chiefly in that which was to follow this, the new faith in J", expressed in the words 'God is with us.' He himself and his children, not by their names, but by their faith amidst the darkness already as good as fallen on the nation, are a 'sign' of this future faith of the people (8^{16-18}). There are some things, however, which rather suggest a more precise meaning for Immanuel. (1) The whole passage relates to the 'house of David.' It was the design of the allies to dethrone this house, a purpose which could not but awaken wider thoughts in the prophet's mind. As represented in Ahaz this house had pronounced judgment on itself ($7^{9.13}$), and with his assured conviction of the imminent destruction of the nation the prophet cannot have helped forecasting also the fate of the royal family. If, as is likely, the prophecies, chs. 9. 11, belong to this period, they show that he contemplated its downfall (11^{1}). (2) The words 'thy land, O Immanuel' (8^{8}) suggest that Immanuel, in the prophet's mind, is an individual person, to whom the land in some way belongs. (3) The general line of the prophet's thoughts at this time may be fairly appealed to. In 9^{1-7} the 'child born' is certainly a member of the house of David, and he is there introduced in such a matter of course way as to suggest that he had been already referred to and was known. Such a reference could only be found in ch. 7. (4) The names given to the child in ch. 9 may all be summed up in the name Immanuel, of which they are an analysis. These considerations may suggest that Immanuel is identical with the child of ch. 9 and the 'shoot' of ch. 11. If so, the sign does not lie in the *meaning* of the word Immanuel, but in the person who was the embodiment of the meaning, and who was 'called' Immanuel because he was Immanuel.

---

* Whether it can also be said *through* the desolation, *i.e.* by its discipline, will depend on whether לְדַעְתּוֹ (v.^{15}) is to be rendered 'that he may know' (AV) or 'when he knows' (RV), and on whether 'to reject evil and choose good' be a moral act. To dispose of the sense 'that he may know' by saying that eating milk and honey will hardly 'promote the formation of ethical character,' is to use a pleasantry which misses the point. Eating milk and honey is a token and synonym of desolation and hardship, and it is the teaching of all the prophets from Hosea downward that it is just through the discipline of such things that the people shall be brought to a right ethical mind.

* This reading of v.^{16} was suggested in *Expos. Times*, 1894. The same idea has occurred to others, *e.g.* Buhl, *Jesaja oversat og fortolket*, Kjöb. 1894; Kittel, 'Jesaja' (*Exeg. Handb.*^{6}), Leip. 1898).

If Immanuel be an individual person of this significance, the question of the *'almah* perhaps rises in importance. The art. 'the' *'almah* would be easiest explained if in some previous prophecy she had been already mentioned. But the assumption of such prophecies may not be held admissible. The passage Mic 5^{3} 'until the time that she (or, one) that travaileth hath brought forth' alludes to the prophecy of Isaiah. The authenticity of the passage has been doubted, though, of course, not everything which has been doubted is doubtful. If the passage belonged to Mic, it would show how the prophecy of Is was read perhaps 20 or 30 years after it was spoken. It was held to refer to the Messiah, and to be still awaiting fulfilment; and, what is of interest in regard to the way prophecy was interpreted in those days, Isaiah's apparent expectation of the nearness of the Messiah's birth (if 7^{16} be original) was not held of any importance so far as the general meaning of the prophecy was concerned. All these things hold good if the passage be younger than Mic, though we should not in that case have a contemporary, but a later interpretation of the prophecy of Isaiah.

It is uncertain whether the LXX interpreters found anything mysterious in the passage, for Gr. παρθένος, like Lat. *virgo*, was used generally for 'girl' or 'young woman' (Gn $24^{14.43}$). Possibly to evade the technical sense put on the word by the Christians, the three newer Gr. translators (Aq., Theod., and Symm.) adopt the term νεᾶνις, a change of which Irenæus takes notice and disapproves. There is some evidence that the idea that the Messiah would be born of a virgin was to some extent prevalent both in Palestine and Alexandria. The idea may have been suggested by the somewhat mysterious language of Is, or by the LXX version, or by both. In general, it was more the actual life of Christ that suggested to NT writers the application to Him of OT passages, than a prevalent method of interpreting the passages. They saw in His life the full religious meaning of the passages, and the question of their original sense or application did not occur to them. As Bleek long ago argued (*Comm. on Ep. to Heb.*), historical interpreters may have to distinguish between the things which NT writers affirm and corroborate by OT passages, and the proofs or corroborations which they adduce. The things they assert we take on their authority, but the kind of confirmations by which they support them, however valid they may have seemed to those to whom they were addressed, and however well they served as evidence then, may not seem of such importance now. We believe in the resurrection of Christ because it is testified to by eye-witnesses; St. Peter's interpretation of Ps 16 is at best only a corroboration of it. And in like manner we believe in the virgin birth because it is affirmed by one 'who had traced the course of all things accurately from the first' (Lk 1^{3}); the interpretation put on Is 7 (Mt $1^{22f.}$) occupies but the secondary place of a confirmation of it.

LITERATURE.—Besides the Comm. on Is (see particularly the *Additional Note* of Skinner, i. 60 ff.), the following essays among others may be named:—De Lagarde, *Semitica*, 1878; Studer, 'Zur Textkritik des Jes.,' *Jhrb. f. Prot. Theol.*, 1879; Bredenkamp, *Vaticinium quod de Imm. edidit Jes.*, 1880; Budde, 'Ueber das siebente Cap. d. Buches Jes.' (in *Études dédiées à Mr. le Dr. Leemans*), 1885; Giesebrecht, *Die Immanuelweissagung*, *SK*, 1888; F. C. Porter, 'A suggestion regarding Isaiah's Immanuel' in *Jl. of Bib. Lit.*, 1895. A. B. DAVIDSON.

IMMER (אִמֵּר).—**1.** Eponym of a priestly family, 1 Ch 9^{12} 24^{14}, Ezr 2^{37} 10^{20}, Neh 3^{29} 7^{40} 11^{13}. **2.** A priest contemp. with Jeremiah, Jer 20^{1}. **3.** The name of a place (?), Ezr 2^{59}=Neh 7^{61}. The text is uncertain (cf. 1 Es 5^{36}, and see ADDAN).

IMMORTALITY.—See ESCHATOLOGY.

IMNA (יִמְנָע).—An Asherite chief, 1 Ch 7^{35}. See GENEALOGY.

IMNAH (יִמְנָה).—**1.** The eldest son of Asher, Nu 26^{44} (AV **Jimna**), 1 Ch 7^{30}. **2.** A Levite in the time of Hezekiah, 2 Ch 31^{14}. See GENEALOGY.

IMNITES (הַיִּמְנָה). — Patronymic from Imnah (No. 1), Nu 26^{44} (AV **Jimnites**). See GENEALOGY.

IMPLEAD.—Ac 19^{38} 'The law is open, and there are deputies: let them implead one another,' *i.e.* 'accuse' as RV; Gr. ἐγκαλεῖν, to summon one to answer a charge, to bring a charge against; cf. Cotgrave, *Fr. Dict.* s.v. *Emplaider*, 'to sue, to bring an action against'; and Hakluyt, *Voyages*, i. 117, 'They shall not be bound to come before the justices aforesaid, except any of the same barons doe implead any man, or if any man be impleaded.' J. HASTINGS.

IMPORTABLE, in the sense of 'unendurable,' is used in Pr. Man, 'And thine angry threatening toward sinners is importable.' The Rhem. NT uses the word in Mt 23^{4} 'For they binde heavy burdens and importable, and put them upon men's shoulders.' Other examples are: Elyot, *The Governour*, i. 14, 'And all thoughe Hietro, Moses' father in lawe, counsailed hym to departe his importable labours, in continual jugementes, unto the wise men that were in his company, he nat withstandynge styll retayned the soveraintie by goddis commandement'; Becon, *Works*, i. 53, 'He alone shall tread down the wine-press, and take upon his back the great and importable burden of your sins all.' J. HASTINGS.

IMPORTUNITY occurs only in the Parable of the Loaves, Lk 11^{8} 'because of his importunity he will rise and give him as many as he needeth.' The word means radically 'difficulty of access' (from *portus*, a harbour); but the Lat. adj. means 'unsuitable,' 'troublesome,' 'rude'; and the subst. *importunitas*, 'unfitness,' 'insolence,' as Cic. *De Sen.* iii. 7, 'importunitas et inhumanitas omni ætate molesta est.' In the course of its history as an Eng. word 'importunity' has lost some of its force. Even when introduced by Tindale in 1526, it was scarcely strong enough to translate the Gr. ἀναίδεια [T, WH ἀναιδία] of Lk 11^{8}, since that word is literally 'shamelessness.' Christ spoke by contrast, not comparison; if shameless persistence can win a boon from one who is not a friend, surely we may offer prayer that is earnest enough to obtain our Father's blessings. J. HASTINGS.

IMPOTENT.—Impotent is 'without strength,' 'weak,' as the Geneva tr$^{\text{n}}$ of Gal 4^{9} 'how is it, that ye are tourned backwarde unto impotent and beggerly ceremonies?' (ἀσθενής, Wyc. 'feble,' Tind. and others 'weak'). The word is applied in AV to persons who are infirm of body: Bar 6^{28}, Ac 14^{8} (ἀδύνατος); Jn $5^{3.7}$ (ἀσθενεῖν, RV 'sick'); Ac 4^{9} (ἀσθενής). So Fuller, *Holy Warre*, i. 18, p. 28, 'In which compasse (*i.e.* in Palestine) in David's time were maintained thirteen hundred thousand men, besides women, children, and impotent persons'; and *Holy State*, ii. 19, p. 124, 'When Religion is at the stake, there must be no lookers on (except impotent people, who also help by their prayers), and every one is bound to lay his shoulders to the work.' Adams contrasts it with 'potent' in his *Exposition of II Peter* (on 1^{3} p. 26), 'But is there nothing that God cannot do? Yes, he cannot lie, he cannot die, he cannot deny himself. He is for potent, not for impotent works.' J. HASTINGS.

IMRAH (יִמְרָה).—An Asherite chief, 1 Ch 7^{36}. See GENEALOGY.

IMRI (אִמְרִי).—**1.** A Judahite, 1 Ch 9^{4}. **2.** Father of Zaccur, who helped to build the wall, Neh 3^{2}. See GENEALOGY.

IN.—**1.** 'In' is sometimes used in AV where we should now use *at*, as Mt 11^{24} 'But I say unto you, That it shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom in the day of judgment, than for thee'; but in 11^{22} 'But I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon at the day of judgment, than for you.' The Gr. is *ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως* in both places, and RV has 'in the day of judgement' in both. This apparent looseness is due to two causes: (1) the wide range of meaning of the Heb. prep. בְּ, much of which was taken up in NT by *ἐν*; and (2) the greater freedom about 1611 and earlier in the use of the smaller Eng. prepositions. Shaks. has 'at the day of judgment' in *Merry Wives*, III. iii. 227, the only place in which that phrase occurs; but he says in *Othello*, I. ii. 93—

> 'How! the Duke in council
> In this time of the night;'

and *Merch. of Venice*, II. iv. 1—

> 'Nay, we will slink away in supper time.

So also To 2^{1} 'there was a good dinner prepared me, in the which I sat down to eat' (*καὶ ἀνέπεσα τοῦ φαγεῖν*, RV 'and I sat down to eat').

2. The Heb. בְּ being used for the agent and the instrument, and being often followed in this respect by the Gr. *ἐν*, it is not surprising to find the instrumental *ἐν* represented in Eng. by 'in' instead of 'by' or 'through.' So Gal 3^{19} 'it was ordained by angels in the hand of a mediator' (*δι' ἀγγέλων ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου*, RV 'through angels by the hand of a mediator'). It is difficult to decide in many places whether the *ἐν* is instrumental or (spiritually) local. RV often prefers 'in' to AV 'by.' Thus He 1$^{1.2}$ 'God having of old time spoken unto the fathers in (AV 'by') the prophets by divers portions and in divers manners, hath at the end of these days spoken unto us in (AV 'by') his Son.' See the Heb. Grammars and Lexicons on בְּ, the Gr. NT Grammars and Lexicons on *ἐν*, and the commentaries on the various passages, as Sanday-Headlam on Ro 1^{19}, Lightfoot on Gal 1^{16} and Col 1$^{4.16}$, Abbott on Eph 4^{17}; also Westcott in *Expos. Times*, iii. 396; and cf. 1 P 3^{18} Wyc. 'made dede in fleisch, but made quyk in spirit' (so Tind. 'was kylled as pertayninge to the flesshe; but was quyckened in the sprete,' AV 'by the Spirit,' RV 'in the spirit'). In 2 P 1$^{1.2}$ Wyc., Tind., and Rhem. have 'in the righteousness,' and 'in the knowledge,' but Cran. and AV 'through,' Geneva 'by.' Aldis Wright refers to Gn 21^{18} where AV and RV have 'Arise, lift up the lad, and hold him in thine hand,' under the influence of Heb. בְּ, though the meaning is 'take him by the hand,' and he quotes Shaks. *Rich. III.* IV. i. 2—

> 'Who meets us here? my niece Plantagenet,
> Led in the hand of her kind aunt of Gloucester.'

3. The Gr. prep. *εἰς*, which expresses movement and corresponds with mod. Eng. 'into' or 'unto,' is often translated 'in' (Clapperton in *Preacher's Magazine*, viii. 499, says 'one hundred and thirty-one times'). In that way some significant shades of meaning are lost, as in Ac 8^{16} 'they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus' (*εἰς τὸ ὄνομα*, RV 'into the name'; all other versions as AV); 1 Co 8^{6} 'God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him' (*εἰς αὐτόν*, AVm 'for him,' RV 'unto him'); Eph 4^{13} 'Till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man' (*εἰς τὴν ἑνότητα . . . εἰς ἄνδρα τέλειον*, AVm 'into the unity,' RV 'unto the unity'). In mod. Eng. 'in' and 'into' are kept easily apart, 'into' being expressive of movement, 'in' of rest (though we still say 'fall in love,' 'come in question'). But in 1611 they were not so sharply distinguished. Thus Shaks. has (*Merch. of Venice*, V. i. 55)—

> 'How sweet the moonlight sleeps upon this bank!
> Here we will sit, and let the sounds of music
> Creep in our ears';

Rich. III. I. ii. 261—

> 'But first I'll turn yon fellow in his grave';

and *Sonnets* 112—

> 'In so profound abysm I throw all care.'

And so at an earlier time Coverdale translates Is 52^{1} 'For from this tyme forth, there shal no uncircumcised ner uncleane person come in the.' On the other hand, but more rarely, 'into' was used for 'in,' as Lk 13^{21} Wyc. 'It is lijk to sourdough, that a womman took, and hidde it in to thre mesuris of mele, til al were sourid'; and Shaks. *Tempest*, I. ii. 361—

> 'Therefore wast thou
> Deservedly confined into this rock.'

It is not surprising therefore that we should find 'in' for 'into' frequently in AV, as Gn 43^{22} 'We cannot tell who put our money in our sacks' (so RV); 50^{26} 'he was put in a coffin' (so RV); Dt 24^{1} 'Then let him write her a bill of divorcement, and give it in her hand' (so RV); Neh 2^{12} 'What my God had put in my heart' (RV 'into'). Cf. Ps 73^{5}, Pr. Bk. 'They come in no misfortune like other folk'; 136^{13} Pr. Bk. 'Who divided the Red Sea in two parts.'

4. 'In' is occasionally found for 'on,' as in the familiar example, Mt 6^{10} 'Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven' (*ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς*, RV 'Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth'; 'in earth' is probably due to Vulg. 'in cælo, et in terra'; it is found in all the Eng. versions). So Gn 1^{22} 'let fowl multiply in the earth' (so RV); 6^{5} 'in the earth' (AV and RV), but 6^{6} 'on the earth' (AV and RV); Wis 10^{4} 'For whose cause the earth being drowned with the flood, wisdom again preserved it, and directed the course of the righteous in a piece of wood of small value' (*δι' εὐτελοῦς ξύλου*, Vulg. *per contemptibile lignum*, RV 'by a poor piece of wood,' Ball 'on a paltry plank': 'in' was probably used because the translator had the ark before his mind). Cf. Mt 5$^{\text{heading}}$ 'The Sermon in the Mount'; Ac 13^{14} Wyc. (1388) 'and thei entriden in to the synagoge in the dai of sabatis' (Tind. 'on the saboth daye'); Shaks. *Othello*, I. iii. 74—

> 'What in your part can you say to this?'

and Milton, *Lycidas*, 185—

> 'Henceforth thou art the genius of the shore,
> In thy large recompense, and shalt be good
> To all that wander in that perilous flood.'

5. 'In' is used along with a verbal subst. to signify 'in process of,' 'while,' as Gn 35^{18} 'as her soul was in departing'; 2 Mac 4^{30} 'while those things were in doing'; Jn 2^{20} 'Forty and six years was this temple in building.' Cf. Joy, *Apology to Tindale* (Arber's ed. p. ix), 'he knew yat I was in correctynge it myselfe'; Knox, *Hist.* 107, 'While these things were in doing in Scotland.'

6. 'In that' = because, has now gone out of use. It occurs Gn 31^{20} 'And Jacob stole away unawares to Laban the Syrian, in that he told him not,' and other places. Cf. Hooker, *Eccles. Polity*, 'Some things they do in that they are men . . . some things in that they are men misled and blinded with error.'

J. HASTINGS.

INCARNATION, THE.—

Introduction.
- i. Witness of OT.
  - (*a*) The 'Son of David.'
  - (*b*) The self-manifesting J".
  - (*c*) The 'Servant of J",' etc.
- ii. NT account of Jesus Christ.
  - *A*. (*a*) Supernatural birth.
    - (*b*) Sinlessness.
  - *B*. (1) Christ's lordship.
    - (2) His 'Sonship.'
    - (3) God revealed in Christ.
    - (4) Unique significance attached to work and death of Christ.
    - (5) Tradition as to historic events of Christ's life, and acceptance of His Messianic claim presupposed by the apostolic writers.
- iii. Scriptural doctrine of the purpose and results of the Incarnation.
  - 1. Cosmic significance of the Incarnation.
  - 2. A crowning disclosure of God.
  - 3. For the restoration of man.
  - Or, otherwise, Christ's functions are distinguished as those of—
    - (1) Prophet.
    - (2) Priest.
    - (3) King.

Literature.

This term shortly expresses the fundamental fact of Christianity, as St. John describes it in his Gospel (1^{14}), *ὁ Λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο*. It signifies the act of condescension whereby the Son of God, Himself very God and of one substance with the Father, took to Himself human nature in order to accomplish its redemption and restoration. The NT insists upon the I. as a physical, historic fact (1 Jn 1^{3}), but points for its true explanation to the grace, or love, of God (Jn 3^{16}, 1 Jn $4^{9.10}$). The expression of St. Paul, 'mystery of godliness' (1 Ti 3^{16}), implies, on the other hand, that the redemptive action of God is beyond our power completely to analyze or comprehend. Such being the general aspect of the fact, we find the most comprehensive statement of it in the prologue to St. John's Gospel (1^{1-18}). St. John begins by intimating a plurality of persons within the Godhead; he describes the functions of the Logos, the objective utterance or self-expression of Deity, in His relation to the created universe of which He is the author and sustainer, and to man, whose conscience and reason owe whatever illumination they possess to His presence and operation. St. John also teaches, as a further presupposition of his doctrine of the I., the occurrence of a fall, or process of aversion from God, whereby man became subject to the power of 'darkness' or moral evil. It was to recover man from his state of alienation, and to raise him into the life of divine sonship, that the Word was finally manifested in a human form. After being heralded by the witness of creation, and by the voice of Heb. prophecy which culminated in the testimony of the Baptist, the Word finally made His appearance within the pale of an elect people of God; His manifestation, however, had a twofold issue: the incarnate Word was rejected by the chosen nation to which, as touching His manhood (Ro 1^{3}), He belonged; on the other hand, to those individuals who welcomed Him and recognized His true nature and claim, He communicated a due measure of the fulness of 'grace and truth' which resided in Himself, imparting to them 'power to become children of God,' and unveiling to them the glory, *i.e.* the essential character and life, of the Most High. St. John in this passage strikes the keynote of many varied representations of the Incarnation. It was before all else a unique exhibition of divine *grace*; a supreme manifestation of divine *truth*. The NT writers dwell now on one, now on the other, of these two aspects of the fact. Thus the Son is spoken of as 'given' (Jn 3^{16}), or 'sent' ($3^{17.34}$, 1 Jn 4^{9}, Gal 4^{4}), by the Father; but it was not less true that He gave Himself (Eph 5^{25}, 1 Ti 2^{6}, Gal 2^{20}). That which displayed the grace of God the Father (Tit 2^{11}), 'the kindness and love of God our Saviour' towards man (*ib.* 3^{4}), is also to be regarded as exhibiting the grace of the Son (2 Co 8^{9} 13^{14}). The motive of the I. is, in short, the redemptive love of God. On the other hand, the I. was a signal manifestation of *truth*: a revelation of the divine character, supplementing and qualifying that which was revealed of God in nature, conscience, and history. St. John says expressly that 'No man hath seen God at any time; God only-begotten, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him' (1^{18}, cf. 14^{9}).

Such, then, is the dominant point of view from which NT writers regard the I.: it is an act of unmerited grace—a movement of divine love towards fallen man for his restoration and re-creation; it is also a culminating moment in a progressive and continuous self-revelation of God (He $1^{1.2}$); nor is there any hesitation in identifying this divine movement with the historic career of Jesus Christ. Historically, however, the recognition of His higher nature started from the acknowledgment of His Messiahship. He was first recognized as one whose advent had been foretold, and awaited with eager expectation, for a period of many centuries; as the promised seed of Abraham in whom all families of the earth were to be blessed (Gn 12^{3}). Jesus Christ did, in fact, claim to fulfil and satisfy the hopes and anticipations to which successive prophets had given utterance. In 'the fulness of time' (Gal 4^{4}) He appeared, to crown the hopes of the elect people from whom, as touching the flesh, He sprang. It is accordingly necessary to briefly summarize the testimony of OT to the fact of the Incarnation.

i. *Witness of OT.*—There are elements in the theological conceptions of OT which prepare the mind for the mystery of a divine I., *e.g.* the doctrine that man is made in God's image (Gn 1^{27}), and is capable of intercourse and union with God. Thus Ezk 1^{26} implies that man's bodily structure was essentially adapted to represent the form of Deity; and the revelation of God in nature (Ps 19^{1} etc.) would suggest the possibility of His self-manifestation under the form of human nature. Further, the so-called 'Theophanies' of OT—the manifestations of J"'s presence in a created 'angel'—point in the same direction. Again, the ascription by OT of various titles, functions, and relationships to the Godhead, served to prepare the Jewish mind for the Christian doctrine of a triune Deity, which is necessarily connected with that of the Incarnation. Further, the striking personification of the divine Wisdom which meets us in such passages as Pr $8^{22f.}$ (cf. Wis $7^{22f.}$ $8^{1f.}$ $18^{15f.}$) seems to anticipate St. John's doctrine of the creative Logos, or St. Paul's teaching in passages like Col 1^{15-19}. Of special importance, however, is the witness of prophecy, the 'Messianic hope' being at its root an anticipation of the union of divine and human attributes in a single personality. The main points of Messianic doctrine may be summarized as follows: In its earliest stages prophecy is vague and indeterminate. Starting with the promise recorded in Gn 3^{15}, it points to a victory of the woman's seed over the evil principle represented by the serpent, the 'seed' being afterwards more precisely described as 'the seed of Abraham,' in whom all the nations of the earth are to be blessed (Gn 12^{3} 18^{18} 22^{18} etc.). The tribe of Judah is indicated in Gn 49^{10} as the future depositary of sovereignty over the nations (cf. Nu 24^{17}). The passage Dt 18^{15} contributes a further element to the Messianic idea, viz. the notion of a prophetic mediator between God and His people, probably in a comparatively late literary form giving expression to the hopes and ideas which the career and work of Moses had suggested. For it is noticeable, in regard to the Messianic hope in its earlier stages, that the actual history of Isr. itself gives birth to Messianic conceptions, *e.g.* the Exodus from Egypt helped to give form and colour to the national expectations of future deliverance from foes and oppressors; the rise of prophecy and of the kingdom suggested the image of an ideal prophet and a righteous king. At any rate, it is in the early period of the kingdom that the Messianic hope takes a clear and definite shape.

(*a*) The oracle, 2 S 7^{5-16} (cf. Pss 2. 89. 132), points to a future descendant of David whose throne is to be everlasting, and who is to stand in a unique relation to God as His 'Son.' This title, solemnly transferred from the nation (Ex 4^{22}) to the king, implies that the 'Son of David' is to be henceforth regarded as the representative of the chosen nation. This oracle is specially important as determining the scope and future direction of Heb. prophecy. In the prophets and psalmists we find successive pictures of a monarch who is extolled either as a warrior victorious over Judah's foes (Ps 2), or as a royal bridegroom taking to himself the daughter of an alien people (Ps 45), or as a monarch reigning in righteousness and peace (Ps 72), and blessed with signal marks of divine favour, length of days and perpetual communion with God (Pss 21. 61). These predictions of an ideal ruler culminate during the crisis of the struggle with Assyria. Thus Am 9^{11-15} points to the revival of David's *house* as Judah's last remaining hope; Hos 1^{11} 3^{5} goes further, and foretells the appearance of a second David. Mic 5^{1-5} directs the thoughts of the faithful to Bethlehem, the original home of the Davidic family, and predicts its future greatness as the birthplace of the Messianic deliverer. Isaiah describes the Messiah's righteous rule, directed and inspired by the Spirit of J″ (11), and dwells on the glory and peace of the city which Messiah chooses as his metropolis (4. 32, cf. Zec $9^{9f.}$). Indeed it may be said that at this period (*c.* 750–700) the Davidic monarch becomes the central figure of prophecy; and Ro 1^{3} shows that the Davidic descent of Christ was ever regarded as an essential element in the Messianic claim (cf. Ac 2^{30}, 2 Ti 2^{8}), and our Lord Himself bears witness to the current belief that Christ was 'the son of David' in Mk 12^{35}.

(*b*) Closely connected, however, with this conception is another, viz. that of a personal advent of J″ to set up His throne in Zion, as the Judge and Saviour of His people. This thought indeed (Am 4^{12} etc., Is 2. 32, etc.) is not actually combined with the picture of a Davidic king; the figure of the son of David is nowhere identified with the self-manifesting J″. Both elements enter into the general current of Messianic thought, but they find fulfilment and mutual adjustment only in the person of Jesus Christ. In Ezk $34^{11.24}$ we find an instance of the *juxtaposition* of the two ideas. In this and in other instances it is evident that there were parallel streams of prediction which, owing to necessary limitations in the prophetic faculty, were not brought into combination.

(*c*) New elements were added to the Messianic picture by the prophets of the pre-Chald. and exilic period (700–538). The most impressive of these is the wonderful conception of the 'servant of J″,' the representative of the faithful remnant of God's chosen people, who by his vicarious sufferings makes atonement for their transgressions, and by his loyal fulfilment of the divine mission entrusted to him becomes the 'light of the Gentiles' and the missionary of the nations, so accomplishing in his own person the ideal functions of the chosen people (Is 40–66, *passim*). In the post-ex. period of prophecy the priestly and mediatorial work of the coming Messiah rises into prominence (Ps 110) together with his relation to humanity at large as 'the Branch' (Zec 3^{8} 6^{12}, cf. Jer 23^{5} and the phrase 'Son of Man,' Dn 7^{13}). At the same time is indicated his close relation to J″. He is called J″'s 'fellow' (Zec 13^{7}), His 'angel' (Mal 3^{1}), one in whom J″ Himself is pierced (Zec 12^{10}). Such expressions are to be compared with earlier passages which they elucidate or develope: *e.g.* the prophecy of *Immanuel* (Is 7^{14}), or of the king whose name 'shall be called J″ is our righteousness' (Jer $23^{5.6}$, cf. Is 9^{6}). The deepest and most permanent element pervading the varied imagery of the prophets is the thought of the advent of J″ Himself to judge, redeem, and govern His people, and to sanctify them by the bestowal of His Spirit (Ezk 36^{25-27} 37^{27}). The Redeemer who should come to Zion would be Himself divine (cf. Is 59^{16-20}).* See MESSIAH.

ii. *NT account of Jesus Christ.*—*A.* It was through experience of the *Manhood* and *human life* of Christ that men gradually arrived at the recognition of a higher nature, of which the lower was only a veil. Thus the preaching of the I. began with an appeal to facts and incidents open to ordinary observation; Jesus Christ was first known as 'a man' (Ac 2^{22}), and NT lays special stress on the verity and completeness of His manhood. The Gospels describe His birth (Mt $1^{18ff.}$, Lk $2^{6ff.}$), His growth 'in wisdom and stature' (Lk 2^{52}), His liability to the ordinary and innocent infirmities of human nature, *e.g.* hunger (Lk 4^{2}, Mk 11^{12}), weariness (Jn 4^{6}), thirst (Jn 4^{7} 19^{28}), pain and weakness (cf. He 5^{2}), death. His body was subject to ordinary conditions of nurture and development; it was the apt instrument of creaturely service and obedience to the will of God (He 10^{5-7}), and of self-sacrifice on behalf of His fellow-men (Mt 26^{28}). The soul of Christ was subject to human affections and emotions: compassion (Mt 9^{36}), love (Mk 10^{21}, Jn 11^{5}), grief (Jn 11^{35}, Lk 19^{41}), fear and anguish (Lk 22^{44}, cf. He 5^{7}), anger (Mk 3^{5}, Jn $2^{15ff.}$). He had a true human will (Jn 6^{38}, Mt 26^{39}), which, however, is described as ever subjecting itself to the guidance of the divine will. This subjection necessarily implied the possibility of temptation, and of painful effort of will (Mt 26^{38}, Lk 22^{42}), so that 'He learned obedience by the things which he suffered' (He 5^{8}). Finally, Jesus Christ possessed a human spirit (Lk 2^{40} 10^{21}, Jn 11^{33}, Mk 8^{12}), which was apparently the seat or sphere of His divine personality (Ro 1^{4}), and which in the hour of death He commended into the hands of God (Lk 23^{46}). After death this human spirit of Christ, divinely 'quickened' (1 P 3^{18}), is found to have preached the gospel to certain of the departed (*ib.* 4^{6}).

Thus the humanity of Jesus Christ was real and complete. He was made like His brethren in all things (cf. He 2^{17}); 'in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin' (*ib.* 4^{15}). On the other hand, there is nothing in Scripture to support the idea that Christ's humanity was *docetic* or unreal, or that He failed to undergo a real human experience. In all the main conditions of human life He was on a level with His fellow-men; a partaker of flesh and blood (*ib.* 2^{14}); submitting to a life of hard toil, poverty, suffering, moral conflict with keen and varied temptation, alternations of success and failure, honour and dishonour, favour and disrepute. Specially noteworthy is the fact that Christ's life was one of continual prayer (Mt 14^{23}, Mk 1^{35}, Lk 3^{21} 5^{16} 9^{29} 22^{41}, Jn 11^{41} etc.). It is in virtue of a general similarity of conditions that Christ is described as the 'captain of faith' (He 12^{2}), *i.e.* He exhibited those very virtues which are appropriate to man's creaturely condition: trust, reverence, submission, faith, obedience. For the same reason He is pointed to as the true pattern of manhood (Jn 13^{15}, 1 Jn 2^{6}, 1 P 2^{21}). He is the great exemplar of humanity, because the circumstances of His life and probation were, speaking broadly, similar to those of ordinary men. He was found in outward guise or fashion as a man (Ph 2^{7}); on a level with other men 'in all points' that can fall under human observation, 'yet without sin' (He 4^{15}, 2 Co 5^{21}, 1 Jn 3^{5}).

---

* The Messianic beliefs of the period between 165 and our Lord's birth do not come within the scope of this article. A brief survey of them will be found in Loofs, *Dogmengeschichte*, § 7. See also Schürer, *HJP* § 29; Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah*; Stanton, *The Jewish and the Christian Messiah*.

This brings us to two points in which, according to NT, Jesus Christ was different from other men: (*a*) He was supernaturally born, (*b*) He was without sin.

(*a*) The *birth* of Christ is described by Mt and Lk. They tell us that He was conceived by the Holy Spirit (see p. 405^{b}), without the intervention of a human father (Mt 1^{20}, Lk $1^{32.33}$). By the operation of the 'creator Spirit' the 'Word was made flesh.' It is to be observed that this account of the birth is not contradicted, but rather suggested, by the teaching of other NT writers. Thus St. John speaks of Christ as ὁ ἄνωθεν ἐρχόμενος (Jn 3^{31}), and St. Paul calls Him 'the second man from heaven' (1 Co 15^{47}), a phrase which evidently describes the *origin* of the second Adam in contrast to that of the first. Further, as has been already observed, NT speaks of Christ as sinless, holy, sanctified by God (Jn 10^{36}); 'knowing no sin' (2 Co 5^{21}); 'holy, harmless, undefiled, and separated from sinners' (He 7^{26}); 'a lamb without spot and blemish' (1 P 1^{19}); 'the righteous one' (1 Jn 2^{1}, cf. Ac 3^{14} 22^{14}). True, He appeared 'in the likeness of the flesh of sin' (Ro 8^{3}, cf. Ph 2^{7}), *i.e.* He took the very flesh which had been the instrument of human sin, but in assuming it He purified it from the sinful taint: * His flesh was, in fact, 'like' ours, inasmuch as it was flesh; but it was only 'like,' for it was also sinless. Christ, then, was without sin, and NT suggests a close connexion between His sinlessness and His miraculous birth by constantly representing Christ as the Head or First Principle of a new race (ἀρχή, Col 1^{18}), 'the firstborn among many brethren' (Ro 8^{29}), the 'second Adam' (Ro 5^{14}, 1 Co 15^{45}), the 'new man' (Eph 2^{15}). Thus the tradition of the Church which first meets us in Mt and Lk is corroborated to some extent by antecedent considerations. If NT writers are correct in representing Jesus Christ as a new moral creation, it might be asked whether this new creation can have involved anything short of a new mode of generation. 'Must not the physical generation of the second Adam have been such as to involve at once His community with our nature and His exemption from it?' † If, in fact, Jesus Christ was what NT writers believed Him to be, a pre-existent being, the narrative of the virginal birth would have antecedent credibility. 'The chief ground,' says Prof. Stanton, 'on which thoughtful Christian believers are ready to accept it [the miraculous birth] is that, believing in the personal indissoluble union between God and man in Jesus Christ, the miraculous birth of Jesus seems to them the only fitting accompaniment of this union, and so to speak the natural expression of it in the order of outward facts.' ‡ If it be rejoined that the 'fact of its necessity from a doctrinal point of view would tend to the formation of a legend,' it may with equal justice be urged that the evangelists' account of the birth testifies to the early prevalence of the belief in the Divinity of Christ. The ultimate reason, in fact, for belief in this, as in all the other miraculous occurrences recorded in the Gospel, is faith in the higher nature of Jesus Christ. What Augustine says of the Gospel miracles strictly applies to the supernatural birth of Christ: *Mirum non esse debet a Deo factum miraculum . . . Magis gaudere et admirari debemus quia Dominus noster et salvator Jesus Christus homo factus est, quam quod divina inter homines fecit.** The accounts of miracles, it must be remembered, were written for those who were already Christians, *i.e.* who already believed in Christ as a superhuman person. The Gospels were not primarily intended to create such a belief; they rather presuppose it.

(*b*) *The sinlessness of Christ* appears at first sight to conflict with the possibility of His being tempted. We have, however, already noticed that NT describes Christ as liable to temptation (Mt 4, Lk 4, esp. He 4^{15}, Lk 22^{28}); but it never allows us to suppose that He suffered from any disordered affections, any inward propensity to sin. He had no illicit desires, no discord between the flesh and the spirit; † sin could have no enticing or illusive power in His case (Ja 1^{14}); He had no affinity for sin, no experimental knowledge of it (1 Jn 3^{5}, 2 Co 5^{21}). On the other hand, He possessed in their perfection and integrity all those human faculties and senses to which moral temptation appeals,—all necessary and innocent affections and instincts to which some things appear naturally desirable, others naturally repugnant. Accordingly, He was capable of being tempted: for 'if the highest virtue does not exclude that instinct inseparable from humanity, to which pain is an object of dread, and pleasure of desire, which prefers ease and quiet to tumult and vexation, the regard and esteem of others to their scorn and aversion; to which ill-requited toil or experienced unkindness are sources of corroding anguish and depression: then every conjuncture which presents but one of these objects of dread as the concomitant of doing God's will, or associates one of their desirable opposites with neglect or disobedience,—every such conjuncture must produce a conflict between duty and these necessary instincts of humanity sufficient to constitute temptation in the strictest sense.' ‡ Christ, then, could be really tempted; He felt the pressure of moral evil; He experienced the pain of resistance to it, and He endured, He remained stedfast even under the full weight of manifold difficulties. There is nothing in the Gospels to warrant the idea suggested by John Damascene that 'He repelled the assaults of the enemy like smoke.' They rather suggest that the strength conferred on His human nature by the Divine Spirit was 'infallibly sufficient, but not more than sufficient, to sustain Him in His conflict, and bear Him through the fearful strife.' § He verily 'suffered being tempted'; He was made morally 'perfect through sufferings' (He $2^{10.18}$ 5^{9}). In the power of the Divine Spirit (Lk $4^{1.14}$, Mk 1^{12}) He was enabled to prevail over the tempter, but it was by a process of moral struggle ending in victory; indeed the writer of Rev seems to summarily describe the human life of Christ as a continuous victory over evil (Rev 5^{5} 6^{2} 19^{11}, cf. Jn 16^{33}).

With the above significant exception NT depicts Jesus Christ as one who shared in all points the nature of man. He was (to use a later theological term) 'consubstantial' with men. Accordingly, the general conditions of His human life enable Him to be the perfect pattern of human goodness (see below, p. 466^{a}). And indeed there are facts recorded in the Gospels which plainly indicate that Christ underwent a real human development, moral and mental, and that He was even subject to some necessary human limitations in respect of knowledge. At this point it is necessary to touch on these points only so far as they concern the perfection of Christ's humanity. Morally, then, Christ is said to have developed; He grew in wisdom (Lk 2^{52}); He was 'made perfect'; 'He learned obedience by the things which he suffered' (He 2^{10} 5^{8}). There were some qualifications necessary for the discharge of His high-priestly functions which He acquired through the moral discipline of actual human experience, esp. the graces of sympathy (He 2^{17} 4^{15} 5^{2}), patience, faith (cf. Westcott on He 12^{2}). He was perfected in the sense that He was progressively educated by His human experience; He became a consummate 'leader of salvation' (He 2^{10}), a perfect high priest (*ib.* vii. 28). Further, Christ is represented as subject, at least in some degree, to ordinary laws of *mental* growth and development. 'He advanced (*προέκοπτεν*) in wisdom' as well as in stature (Lk 2^{52}). Occasions are mentioned on which He expresses surprise (Mt 8^{10}, Mk 6^{6}); and He also appears at times to desire information as to matters of fact (Mk 9^{21}, Jn 11^{34}, cf. Mt 21^{19}, Mk 11^{13}). Finally, in regard to one special point He professes ignorance (Mk 13^{32}). From these phenomena it may be inferred that Christ's human faculties, supernaturally exalted and illuminated though they were by the operation of the Holy Spirit, were yet subject to limitation; and so far the impression produced by the records, that Christ lived as very man among men, is further strengthened. The Synop. Gospels especially portray a real human life and character; they present to faith as its immediate object the figure of a true man, 'the man Christ Jesus' (1 Ti 2^{5}, cf. Jn 8^{40}).

---

* Cf. Sanday-Headlam on *Romans, ad loc.*

† Gore, *Dissertations*, p. 66.

‡ *The Jewish and the Christian Messiah*, p. 376 f.

* *In Joh. Tract.* xvii.

† Aug. *Op. imperf. c. Jul.* iv. c. 57: 'Christus ergo nulla illicita concupivit, quia discordiam carnis et spiritus quæ in hominis naturam ex prævaricatione primi hominis vertit, prorsus ille non habuit; qui de spiritu et virgine non per concupiscentiam carnis est natus.'

‡ Mill, *Five Sermons on the Temptation*, p. 35.

§ Bruce, *Humiliation of Christ*, p. 269.

B. Besides giving ample evidence of their belief in the real manhood of the historical person Jesus Christ, NT writers endeavour in different ways to express their sense of something transcendent and superhuman in His personality. There is no question, it may be observed, in regard to the actual belief of the apostles themselves, which may be gathered from their Epistles. The importance of the Gospels is that they describe the way in which this belief was arrived at. Speaking broadly, the apostles believed that in the historical Christ a *pre-existent being* had manifested Himself,[*] a being to whom belonged the dignity of a unique divine sonship. This common belief is by no means equally prominent in all the apostolic Epistles; but it is always latent, and even where not expressed it is usually implied in the attributes or functions ascribed to Christ. This belief, then, was slowly and hesitatingly reached by successive steps which can be traced with some clearness in the Gospel narrative. The Gospels record those utterances of Christ which suggested the idea of His higher nature. He Himself proposed the question to His disciples, 'Whom say men that I, the Son of Man, am?' (Mt 16^{13}); He Himself ascribed to His own person a particular significance (*e.g.* Mt 10^{37}); He pointed men to Himself, and the Gospels record the effect on His hearers of Christ's utterances. They describe the moral authority of His teaching (Mt 7^{29}, Mk 1^{27}, Lk 4^{32}), the impression produced by His personality, the claim He put forward to forgive sins (Mt $9^{2\text{-}6}$, Lk $5^{20\text{-}24}$), to judge men according to their personal relation to Himself (Mt 7^{23}), to revise, expand, interpret the Mosaic Law (Mt $5^{21\text{ff.}}$ 12^{3} 19^{4}), to be the giver of rest to the burdened soul (Mt 11^{28}), to be an object of devotion to the heart of man superseding all other interests (Mt 10^{37}, Lk 14^{26}). There can be no serious doubt, moreover, that Christ claimed to be the Messiah. In calling Himself 'the Son of Man' He adopted a title which indisputably involved Messianic pretensions. Further, He claimed to stand in a unique relation to God; although He very rarely applies to Himself the title 'Son of God,' He never disclaims it; on occasions of exceptional urgency He refuses to disown it (Mt 16^{16} 26^{63}); indeed, He habitually speaks of God as 'my Father' (Mt 23 times), and He attributes to Himself powers and prerogatives which imply coequality with God. He exercises sovereign authority over souls, claiming them as His own, and putting forward that jealous, exclusive claim which can rightfully belong only to the Creator Himself (Mt $10^{37.\,40}$, Lk 10^{16}, Mt 24^{35} 13^{41}, Lk 21^{33}). He promises to bestow the Holy Spirit (Mt 10^{19}, Lk 12^{12}, cf. 21^{15}); He speaks of Himself as having given a commission to the ancient prophets of Israel (Mt 23^{34}, cf. Lk 11^{49}). Finally, in one solemn passage common to Mt and Lk, He claims an exclusive knowledge of the Father (Mt 11^{27}, Lk 10^{22}), and an exclusive power of manifesting Him. On the other hand, the negative consideration is important, that although Christ is the preacher of humility, repentance, conversion, and the vehement rebuker of Pharisaic self-righteousness, He never betrays any consciousness of guilt, such as OT prophets frequently exhibit, nor any sense of a personal need of reconciliation with God.

But the Gospels do not merely preserve characteristic utterances of Christ, they describe the process of apostolic belief in Him. We can trace more or less distinctly the successive stages through which the faith of the apostles advanced to the point of acknowledging the higher, or pre-existent personality of Christ. The Fourth Gospel seems, indeed, to serve, among other purposes, that of depicting the development of faith. To sum up briefly the gist of the evangelic testimony: it would seem that the apostles discerned in Jesus Christ first a Teacher or Rabbi sent from God, then successively the expected Messiah, the Holy One, the Lord of nature, the searcher of hearts, the revealer of God, the supreme example of suffering love, the conqueror of death, the Son of God. Faith, finally, bows before Him as 'Lord and God' (Jn 20^{28}). This point is arrived at only after a long and heart-searching discipline of suspense and hesitation; but it unquestionably represents the final answer of the apostles to a question which was morally inevitable, and which, as a matter of fact, had been repeatedly and openly raised,—the question 'who is this?' (Mt 21^{10}, Lk 5^{21} 7^{49} 9^{9}; cf. Mt 8^{27}, Mk 4^{41}, Lk 8^{25}). The ultimate answer seems to have been based on a number of convergent considerations: on the effect of Christ's personality, and the 'self-evidencing' power of His appeal to heart and conscience, on the superhuman claims which His teaching disclosed, and on the symbolic acts of power by which He at once illustrated and authenticated His teaching. For much of the evidential importance of the Gospel miracles depends on their moral character. They are in keeping with all that Christ reveals of God's nature and attributes. They are exactly such phenomena as we should expect in a universe in which physical forces are subordinated to righteous law and a purpose of grace. They reveal power, but the power is that of righteous will; and they are symbolic of the redemptive action of God which the doctrine of Christ proclaims. But what finally crowned and justified the faith of the apostles was the actual resurrection of Jesus Christ from death. Their testimony is concentrated on

[*] Notice the use of the vb. *φανεροῦσθαι* in relation to the Incarnation, *e.g.* 1 Ti 3^{16}, 1 P 1^{20}, 1 Jn $3^{5.\,8}$.

this fact, the real occurrence of which alone explains their spiritual transformation and the stedfastness of their belief in face of hostile opinion. The apostles seem to have recognized, some more quickly than others, but all sooner or later, that the resurrection was in fact inevitable, Christ being what He claimed to be. It afforded a key to the entire life; it was the ground of a final assurance that under the veil of mortal flesh the eternal Son of God Himself had 'tabernacled' among men (Jn 1^{14}). It was the supreme revelation to the apostles of the glory of the Divine Word, who, as man, had lived and conversed with them on earth. It was the starting-point of a new and higher life, and of a more exalted faith. The resurrection followed by the ascension 'declared,' determined, or proved Jesus Christ (Ro 1^{4}) to be, not merely the promised Messiah and 'the Lord' to whom all power was given in heaven and earth (Mt 28^{18}), but a heavenly being who had been manifested in a human form, and had returned into the divine glory whence He originally came. Thenceforth Jesus Christ became an object of worship, and the gospel of redemption preached by the apostles had His person for its central theme (Ac 28^{31}).

Such, then, seems to have been the conception of Christ to which the apostles were led by their long intercourse with Him. When, however, we turn to the apostolic teaching in regard to Christ's higher nature, we cannot fail to recognize a striking diversity of treatment. All the writers are at one in their general conception of the I. as a supreme self-manifestation of God; but we seem to trace, not only a certain advance in clearness of perception, corresponding to differences of phraseology (*e.g.* contrast the OT Messianic title παῖς in Ac 4^{27} with λόγος in St. John's Gospel), but to a certain extent distinct aspects of Christ's person.* These must be recognized even though they form no sufficient basis for the idea of radically different and mutually exclusive types of NT Christology—'adoptianist,' 'pneumatic,' etc. Thus (1) the simple objective view of Christ as fulfilling in His person and life the OT Messianic expectations is characteristic of St. James and St. Peter; (2) the earlier Epistles of St. Paul estimate Christ's person from the side of anthropology: man's yearning for reconciliation and union with God finds its satisfaction in Christ; (3) a more transcendental treatment of Christ's person marks the later Pauline and Johannine writings; they deal with cosmological and mystical aspects of the Incarnation. And it must be remembered that 'between the clear-sighted apostle of the Gentiles and the straitest of [Jewish or Ebionite] zealots there lay every conceivable gradation of intermediate positions.'† But the apostles themselves seem to have a fundamental bond of union in their belief about Christ as one who may be worshipped,‡ and whose name may be co-ordinated with that of God. It cannot be shown that St. Paul taught anything about Christ that was not *implied* in the belief of his fellow-apostles; but we must remember that 'what to them was the result of their belief in Christ, was to him the starting-point from which logical conclusions were seen to follow, practical applications made, in every direction.'

What, then, was the earliest conception of Christ's higher nature current in the Church? We turn to Ac, and find that the earliest preaching of Christ is naturally conditioned by conceptions of God already current among those to whom the gospel message was proclaimed. St. Peter is a Jew speaking to Jews, to whom any unqualified declaration of Christ's Deity or pre-existence would have appeared perplexing, and even blasphemous. We notice in his preaching an avoidance of the phrase υἱὸς θεοῦ (contrast Mt 16^{16}); his starting-point is the well-known historical figure, the facts of whose life, ministry, and recent passion were notorious in Jerus. (Ac 2^{22} 3^{13} 4^{10} 5^{30} $10^{37f.}$). St. Peter dwells repeatedly on the exaltation of One who had been known as man. This man, 'approved of God' (2^{22}), bearing all the marks of God's commissioned 'servant' (παῖς, 3^{13}, cf. Is 52^{13}), manifesting clear tokens of divine unction, was 'made' by God 'both Lord and Christ' (2^{36}). The main points in St. Peter's preaching which would naturally strike a Jewish audience would be (1) his references to the fulfilment of Messianic prophecy in Christ ($2^{23f.}$ 3^{22} 4^{11}), for we must remember that to Jewish ears the very title 'Messiah' would imply a superhuman being; (2) his insistence on the resurrection as at once the seal of Christ's divine unction and mission (2^{32} 3^{15} 4^{10} 5^{31}, cf. 13^{30}), and a decisive manifestation of the glory of His person. The resurrection had proclaimed Him 'prince of life' (3^{15}), source of spiritual blessing and power (3^{26}), 'prince and saviour' (5^{31}), 'judge of quick and dead' (10^{42}). Speaking generally, the same point of view is characteristic of St. Peter's 1st Epistle. He regards Christ as the exalted man, enthroned at God's right hand, and bestowing the gift of the regenerating Spirit (1 P 1^{23}). Christ is One whose human acts and sufferings have preternatural virtue; who is destined to judge mankind (4^{5}); who is the author of Messianic salvation, 'both in its negative aspect as a rescuing from the wrath under which the whole world is lying, and in its positive aspect as the imparting of eternal life.* On the other hand, it is doubtful whether the two passages 1^{11} and ^{20} necessarily imply the doctrine of Christ's pre-existence.† With St. Peter we may couple St. James and St. Jude, each of whom calls himself 'slave of Christ.' St. James even speaks of Christ as 'Lord of glory' (2^{1}), and looks for His appearance in judgment ($5^{8.9}$); he also uses language ($1^{18.21}$) implying that in Christ is revealed a principle of supernatural power which the law was unable to bestow (cf. Ro 8^{3}).

On the whole, it may be taken for granted that St. Peter's sermons in Ac, together with his 1st Ep. and the Epp. of St. James and St. Jude, present us with the general conception of Christ current in the earliest apostolic age. By the first Christians Christ was regarded as the promised Messias, whose mission had been sealed by His resurrection and exaltation, and in whom the Jewish expectations concerning the 'kingdom of God,' and anticipations of future 'salvation,' were spiritually fulfilled. There can be little doubt that both these ideas ('the kingdom' and 'salvation') were coloured by Jewish preconceptions. There was, for instance, a widespread expectation of the speedy second coming of Christ—an idea which seems, indeed, to have been shared by the apostles themselves. But, at any rate, the conception of Christ just indicated formed the starting-point, so to speak, for the deeper conceptions of St. Paul, the writer of He, and St. John. In proceeding to gather up the main christological theses of the apostolic teaching *regarded as a whole*, we are for the most part, but not exclusively, dependent on these last-mentioned writers.

---

* Loofs, *Dogmengeschichte*, § 11. 3, rightly remarks, 'Wesentliche Verschiedenheiten in der religiösen Schätzung Christi . . . sint überhaupt nicht zu konstatieren . . . verschieden aber hat man diese Einzigartigkeit Jesu zu erklären versucht.'

† Robertson, *Athanasius* [Nicene and post-Nicene Fathers, ser. ii.], Introd. p. xxii.

‡ Loofs, *l.c.*, 'Anrufung Christi . . . ist . . . nicht andres als das praktische Korrelat des Prädikats κύριος.'

* Sanday-Headlam on Ro 1^{16}.

† See Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, vol. i. appendix i. Harnack believes in regard to 1 P $1^{18f.}$ that the writer holds to the old Jewish conception of 'pre-existence,' *i.e.* predestination in the counsels of God. Christ 'was manifested in these last days for our sake, that is, He is now visibly what He already was before God. What is meant here is not an incarnation, but a *revelation*' [Eng. tr. vol. i. p. 322]. The passage $1^{11f.}$ may refer to the prophets either of the old or of the new dispensation, but according to the usual interpretation the OT prophets are meant.

The following points appear to be of main importance: (1) The conception of Christ's *Lordship*. The name κύριος meets us in St. Peter's sermons, in Ja and Jude, in Jn and Rev, and in St. Paul's Epistles, *passim*. The word does not necessarily imply Divinity,* but in NT it meets us in contexts and connexions which, taken together, involve the ascription of Deity to Christ. The 'Lordship' of Christ means His 'sovereignty' in the sphere of nature and in that of grace. To Christ belongs a lordship which He has merited by His life of creaturely service and obedience (Ro 10^{9}, 1 Co 12^{3}, 2 Co 4^{5}). He is supreme over the universe and over His Church (Col 1^{16-18}, Ph $2^{10f.}$). Christians belong to Him (Ro 14^{8}, 1 Co 3^{23}); they are 'under law to Christ' (1 Co 9^{21}, Gal 6^{2}). He is the fountainhead of all grace, authority, disciplinary and ministerial power (1 Co 5^{4}, 2 Co 10^{8} 13^{10}). He is to be awaited as judge (2 Co 5^{10}). St. Paul applies to Christ OT Jahweh passages (*e.g.* Ro 10^{13}=Jl 2^{32}; cf. Ro 10^{11-13}, 1 Co 2^{16} 10^{22}); he ascribes to Him the absolute title ὁ κύριος (1 Co 16^{23}, 2 Co 1^{14} 11^{31} 12^{8}, Ro 14^{14}), and in one passage, which is of the nature of a climax, he uses an even stronger expression, '*God over all blessed for evermore*' (Ro 9^{5}).†

(2) Parallel to the idea of lordship is that of *Sonship*. Christ is υἱὸς θεοῦ—a recognized title of Messiah, which, like κύριος, is often illustrated by its context; often by other characteristic NT phrases with which it is closely associated. The 'Sonship' of Christ is spoken of as unique (ὁ ἴδιος υἱός, Ro 8^{32}; ὁ ἑαυτοῦ υἱός, *ib.* 8^{3}; μονογενής, Jn 1^{18}, 1 Jn 4^{9}), *i.e.* it is not ascribed to Christ merely as a Messianic title, but as connoting a personal relationship to God. The phrase is used in contexts which imply a literal pre-existence; the Son of God is 'sent' (Ro 8^{3}, Gal 4^{4}, 1 Jn $4^{9.14}$); He 'comes' (1 Jn 4^{2} 5^{6} 5^{20}); He was originally an inhabitant of heaven (1 Co 15^{47}); the I. was a change of state in the life of a pre-existent being, of the Word Himself (Jn 1^{18}), of One who is essentially 'spirit' (2 Co 3^{17}).‡ The 'Sonship' of Christ is thus defined, and acquires a new significance. It is not merely 'ethical,' *i.e.* such as any man may acquire by moral affinity to God; nor merely theocratic; it denotes a special, unique, incommunicable relationship (Jn 10^{36-38}). Hence, especially in St. Paul's earlier Epistles (Th, Ro, Co, Gal), a position is habitually assigned to Christ which inevitably implies His real Deity. He is co-ordinated with God in greetings and farewells (*e.g.* 2 Th 1^{2}, 2 Co 13^{14}). He is the source of St. Paul's apostolate (Gal 1^{1}); the agent or mediator in creation (1 Co 8^{6}) and in redemptive history (1 Co 10^{4}). The I. was, in fact, an act of self-abnegation whereby a life of creaturely limitations was accepted in exchange for the glories of heaven (2 Co 8^{9}, Gal 4^{4}).

In two passages of later Epp. these christological thoughts are more fully developed. In Ph 2^{5-11} St. Paul deals with the *method* of man's redemption. Christ is set forth as the example of one who foregoes prerogatives that might be claimed, and renounces for a season a state of divine glory, bliss, and sovereignty which was His by natural right. The passage exhibits specially the original divine dignity, the unity, and the continuous action of the person who passed voluntarily from a state of heavenly bliss to a condition of creaturely servitude and suffering. This process St. Paul speaks of as one of self-emptying (ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν, 5^{7}); it was an action by which a being, possessing the attributes of Deity itself, took upon Himself conditions non-natural to Deity, while continuing in a real sense to be what He was before. The reward of His self-sacrificing 'obedience' (5^{8}; cf. Ro 5^{19}) was exaltation according to an essential law of divine action. In the human nature which He vouchsafed to assume, He was raised to the throne of divine lordship as the object of universal worship. In Col 1^{15-20} St. Paul deals with the cosmic significance of the I. of the Son. As the 'image of the invisible God,' He occupies a position of unique pre-eminence and sovereignty, both over the physical universe and over the new or moral creation, the Church of redeemed humanity. He is the essential mediator in nature, the 'firstborn of all creation,' *i.e.* prior to creation, and sovereign over it; in relation to history He is the inheritor of the Messianic promises (Ps 89); in relation to the Church He is the essential mediator in the sphere of grace, the firstborn from the dead, the fountainhead and principle of a new supernatural life. In this majestic statement St. Paul seems to unfold a conception essentially identical with that of the prologue to St. John's Gospel.

(3) In Christ *God reveals Himself*; in Him man is able to discern the character and nature of 'the invisible God' (Col 1^{15}). The word εἰκών in the passage here quoted is found in an earlier Epistle (2 Co 4^{4}). It may be compared both with the Johannine phrase Λόγος, and with the expression in He 1^{3} χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως. The 'Image' of God is at once the *adequate expression* and the *essential revealer* of Deity (cf. Jn 1^{18} 6^{40} 12^{45} 17^{3}, Gal 1^{16}, He 1^{2}, and consider Mt 11^{27}=Lk 10^{22}). In Him the divine Fatherhood is manifested, not as a mere creative relationship in which God stands to mankind, but as an internal and ultimate mystery of the Godhead (Ro 8^{15}, Eph 4^{6}, Jn $14^{6.9}$ 16^{27}); in Christ the love of God (1 Jn 4^{9}) and His holiness (Jn 17^{11}, Rev 4^{8} 16^{5}) are alike revealed. But beyond this, the inner mystery of the divine nature is in part unfolded. An essential Fatherhood, an essential Sonship, eternal and intemporal, subsists within the sphere of Deity: a necessary relationship of communion and dependence between two divine Persons (Jn 1^{1-4}). St. Paul seems to recognize the perfect equality of these divine Persons, especially in such a phrase as that of Ph 2^{6} (ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων); while in 1 Co 15^{24-28} he teaches the fundamental relation of dependence in which the Son stands to the Father. Thus the revelation of God 'in a Son' (He 1^{2}) is the manifestation of the divine 'glory' in a twofold sense; the Son manifests at once the moral perfections of the Godhead, and the internal distinctions of Person subsisting within the divine essence. In Him the whole fulness of Deity has its permanent abode (Col 1^{19}); to faith it can be manifested (2 Co 4^{6}); by human souls it can be apprehended as a source of life-giving grace (Jn 1^{16}).

(4) All the apostles agree in attributing a unique significance to the work and death of Christ. In Him the divine purpose of 'salvation' was realized: deliverance from wrath, and the imparting of eternal life (1 Th $5^{9.10}$).* Jesus Christ stands in relation to human sin not merely as judge, but as 'saviour' and deliverer (1 Th 1^{10}, Ph 3^{20} etc.). He gives Himself a ransom (λύτρον, 1 Ti 2^{6}; cf. Mt 20^{28}, Jn $11^{51.52}$ etc.); He dies 'for our sins' (1 Co 15^{3}; cf. Mt 26^{28}, 1 P 2^{24} 3^{18}), thus inaugurating a new covenant, the distinctive features of which are remission of sins (1 Co 11^{25}), a new right of access

---

* See Sanday-Headlam on Ro 1^{4}.

† See the careful note on this passage in Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*, pp. 233-238. They adopt this rendering 'with some slight, but only slight, hesitation.'

‡ '*The Lord is the Spirit.*' . . . 'It is with this most original conception of the divine essence of Jesus Christ that we must associate the fact of His pre-existence' (Sabatier, *The Apostle Paul* [tr. by Hellier], p. 332).

* See Sanday-Headlam's note on σωτηρία, *Romans*, p. 23.

to God (He 7^{19} etc., Eph $2^{13\text{-}18}$), life and immortality (Ro 2^{7}, 1 Co 15^{42}), the gift of the Holy Spirit (Gal 3^{2}, Eph 1^{13}, He 6^{4}; cf. Ac 2^{38}, 1 Jn 3^{24}). The effects of the redemptive work are described under several different aspects. In Ro and Gal St. Paul connects his doctrine of justification with the Person of Christ. He is the justifier of humanity; through faith in Him the merits of His death are appropriated by men (Ro $3^{25\text{f.}}$), and they are brought into a new relation to God, they are treated as righteous (δικαιούμενοι, Ro 3^{24}), 'accepted in the Beloved' (Eph 1^{6}). The shedding of His blood was, in fact, a sacrifice which had propitiatory value (Ro $3^{25\text{f.}}$). It was parallel to, while it transcended, the sacrifices of the Levitical law; they were material in quality, often repeated, ineffective in result; Christ's sacrifice was spiritual, and therefore real; one only because perfect in moral quality, effectual for the entire removal of sin (He $10^{1\text{-}18}$). Under another aspect Christ is the High Priest of humanity (He 4^{14}): its perfect representative and adequate intercessor before God; quick to sympathize and powerful to save (*ib.* 4^{15} 5^{2} 7^{25}). He appears in the innermost sanctuary of the true tabernacle, there to present Himself in the presence of God on man's behalf (He 7^{25} $9^{23\text{f.}}$). Once again, Christ is the second Adam, the Head of a new race (Ro $5^{12\text{f.}}$, 1 Co $15^{45\text{ff.}}$). His influence on humanity is parallel to that of the first Adam in the extensiveness of its range, but transcendent in the beneficence and power of its effects (Ro $5^{15\text{-}21}$). The result of Adam's sin was death; the mediatorial work of Christ has its issue in the triumphant reign of grace in 'eternal life' (Ro 5^{21} 6^{23}; cf. Jn $3^{15.\,16.\,36}$ 5^{24} $6^{40.\,47}$ 20^{31}).

In Eph, one very prominent thought is that of the extension of the life of the incarnate Redeemer, risen and glorified, in the Church. The Church is His body, the complement or fulness of His being (Eph 1^{23}); Christ is her Head, infusing into her the grace and virtue of His humanity (Eph 1^{22} 4^{11} 5^{23}); present in the manifold operations of His Spirit; uniting His people in fellowship with Himself. St. Peter teaches characteristically that the Church is the true people of God, inheriting by right of spiritual descent the titles of ancient Isr. (1 P 2^{9}; cf. Gal 4^{26}, He 12^{22}); while St. John dwells on the mystery of fellowship with God attained in Christ (1 Jn 1^{3}), and on the grace of sonship vouchsafed to individual believers (Jn 1^{12}). In a word, the work and passion of Christ are regarded by the apostles as the source of all spiritual blessing; as the means of bringing all Messianic promises to accomplishment.

(5) It remains to notice that all the apostolic writers seem to presuppose an authoritative tradition as to the historic events of Christ's career, and a general acceptance in the Church of His Messianic claim. In his sermons (Ac 2, etc.) St. Peter appeals, as we have seen, to the known facts of the Passion and Resurrection; while St. Paul, in spite of the fact that his starting-point is that of one who had not known Christ after the flesh, but was called to believe in a glorified Saviour, alludes in various passages to recognized incidents of Christ's human life (see Ro 1^{3} 8^{3}, Gal 4^{4}, 2 Co 8^{9} 5^{21}, 1 Co 15^{3}, Ph $2^{5\text{f.}}$, and other passages). There was, in short, an apostolic 'tradition' (παράδοσις) or 'traditions' which formed the common groundwork of teaching (cf. Ro 6^{17}, 1 Co 11^{2}, 2 Th 2^{15} 3^{6}). The Messianic conception of Christ's person specially distinguishes St. Peter's sermons in Ac, but it is by no means absent from the earlier thought of St. Paul,* and in St. John's teaching occupies a prominent place. In Rev, for instance, the image of Christ is Messianic. He is described in terms suggestive of His human descent from the chosen people (Rev 5^{5} 11^{15} 12^{10} 22^{16}); and His kingly dominion is Messianically conceived as a victorious conflict with enemies (6^{2} 12^{5} $19^{11\text{-}16}$), though His lordship and royalty are the fruit of humiliation (see especially 5^{6}; cf. Jn $1^{29.\,36}$). There is also a strong Messianic element in the Gospel of Jn, *e.g.* the titles 'Lamb of God,' 'Son of God,' 'King of Israel,' 'He that should come' (6^{14}), 'sent' (9^{7}), etc.*

Such are the leading points of view under which the apostles describe the higher nature of our Lord. Taken together they combine the various lines of Messianic prediction in a single conception, that of the God-man. Jesus the Messiah of prophecy is the central object of their thought and devotion. Nothing more significantly illustrates this than the use by NT writers of the designation δοῦλος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ; in this case the name of Christ replaces that of J" in an already familiar OT phrase (δοῦλος θεοῦ or κυρίου). Further, we may notice that prayer is addressed to Christ (Ac 7^{59}, 2 Co 12^{8}, Jn 9^{38}); and that He is the object of universal adoration in heaven (Rev $5^{8\text{f.}}$); that He is, in a word, God.

It has been found convenient to survey NT teaching in regard to the person of Jesus Christ as a whole. But it is important to bear in mind the fact that the Christian idea of the God-man was one which would not be readily apprehended in all its bearings by men who, like the twelve apostles, had been educated in Jewish modes of thought, and had perhaps imbibed to a great extent the national spirit of their countrymen. It was not till after the fall of Jerus., and the beginnings at least of the movement by which the message of the gospel was extended to the heathen world, that Christians could become fully conscious of the significance of the divine fact on which their religion was based—the appearance of the God-man on earth.† When we consider that our Lord confined His own ministerial activity and that of the Twelve to the 'house of Israel' (Mt 10^{6}), we shall not be surprised that there appears in NT a lower, as well as a higher, form of christological doctrine; a form which is, roughly speaking, represented by the teaching of the Synoptists, and St. James, and St. Peter, as contrasted with that of St. Paul and St. John. But, as we have pointed out, the distinct aspects under which different NT writers present the figure of Christ cannot fairly be construed as representing radically different types of belief in regard to His person. See SON OF GOD.

iii. It may be next inquired what light Scripture throws upon the purposes and results of the Incarnation. The significance assigned to the event in Scripture presupposes something much more than the mere inspiration, 'adoption,' or exaltation of a man. The I. was no mere presence of God in a man; no mere mode of mystical indwelling; no mere moral relationship such as might subsist between friends. It was a real, permanent, indissoluble union of two perfect natures, divine and human; an assumption of manhood into personal unity with a divine being, so that the Godhead employs the manhood as an organ, and wears it as a vesture; so that all the acts and sufferings of the human nature properly belong to the Godhead. This is the doctrine of the NT; it is implied in the express statement of Jn 1^{14} (ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο); in all references to the personality of the Son of God as single and continuous (*e.g.* 1 Co 8^{6}, Eph $4^{5.\,10}$, Ph $2^{5\text{f.}}$, He 1^{3} etc.); in such 'theopaschite' language as that of Ac 20^{28}; in the ascription of life-giving properties to the flesh of Christ (Jn $6^{53\text{f.}}$), or of cleansing efficacy to His blood (He 9^{14}); in the mention of His human nature as an object of adoration (Ph 2^{10}). In fact, speaking generally, the NT regards the I. not as the birth of a unique man, but as a momentous event in the eternal life of God: a manifestation, a forthcoming, a mission, a redemptive movement, a visitation, a great descent. In the I. the self-same Person who had pre-existed in the form of God, who had created and sustained in being the universe of things visible and invisible, 'descended' from heaven (Eph 4^{10}), and submitted Himself to a fresh series of experiences in the sphere of human life and history, without ceasing to be in essence what He ever had been, the Son or Word of the Father. He and none other lay in the cradle, grew in wisdom and stature, was tempted and troubled, suffered, died and lay in the grave, rose again, and ascended to the right hand of God. He is 'the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever' (He 13^{8}). It follows that in virtue of this unity of Person, subsisting in two different states, heavenly and earthly, both human and divine attributes are ascribed to Christ, and may be rightly interchanged. An instance of this 'cross and circulatory' mode of speech (technically called *communicatio idiomatum*) may be found in 1 Co 2^{8}, and possibly also in Jn 3^{13}.

---

* See Sabatier, *The Apostle Paul*, ch. 2.

* Cf. Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, pp. 145-158.

† Cf. Dorner, *Person of Christ*, Div. I. vol. i. p. 4.

The belief of the first Christians as to the real nature of the I. may, in fact, be gathered rather from the *significance attached to Christ's work* than from express statements in Scripture about His person. All the NT writers are at one in ascribing to the appearance and work of Jesus Christ an element of *finality*. St. Peter and St. James reflect to some extent the current Messianic belief in the nearness of Christ's return to judgment (1 P $4^{7.17}$, Ja $5^{8.9}$). The 'revelation' of Christ is the goal of human hope and expectation (1 P 1^{13}). St. Paul teaches that Christ is the supreme object of faith; religion consists ultimately in a right relation of the soul to Him (Ro 3^{26} etc.). Christ is a Being in whom souls are mystically incorporated by baptism. They share sacramentally the acts, experiences, and sufferings of His earthly life (Ro $6^{3ff.}$, Gal 2^{20}, Col 2^{12}, Eph $2^{5.6}$ 5^{30}). They are 'in Christ' (Ro 8^{1} 12^{5}, Gal 1^{22} $3^{26.28}$, Eph 1^{1} 2^{10}, Ph 1^{1} etc.) 'and Christ in them' (Ro 8^{10}, Gal 2^{20} etc.); their souls and bodies are His temple (2 Co 13^{5}).

The writer of Hebrews regards Christianity mainly under one aspect—as the final religion. Christ as 'Son' of God brings to man a final authoritative message from God. The religion which is based on His revelation and finished work has the characteristic of 'perfection' (τελείωσις). It establishes that unimpeded fellowship between God and man which was impossible under the Levitical system (7^{11}). Christianity is 'the better hope whereby we draw near to God' (7^{19}). In this verse we have the 'dogmatic centre' of the Epistle. To St. John Christianity is the absolute religion—the final disclosure of God, revealing the possibility of perfect fellowship between God and man. It is final because it rests on the fact of a real I. of God. 1 Jn 'is probably the final interpretation of the whole series of divine revelations. . . . It declares that in the presence of Christ there has been given and there will be given that knowledge of God for which man was made, issuing in fellowship which is realized here in the Christian society, and which reaches to the source of all life.'* The collective testimony of the apostles, viewed as a whole, irresistibly proves the power of the impression which Christ's life and personality had made. No doubt they varied in their power of analyzing that impression. But the doctrine of the true Deity of Christ is the necessary inference from all that they ascribed to Him, and taught concerning Him.

The august dignity and glory of the event corresponds to the importance of the purpose it was designed to serve: the consummation of the universe, the disclosure of God, the restoration of humanity.

1. The cosmic significance of the I., and the view that it was eternally purposed independently of the fact of human sin, seems indeed to be implied in such passages as Eph 1^{4-10}, and possibly He 2^{10}—passages which seem to suggest that the I. of the Son was an event predestined before the foundation of the world. The universe may well, so far as human reason can judge, have been framed with a view to the I. of its Creator. When, however, the question is raised whether this event was predestined in view of man's foreseen fall, scriptural testimony fails us, and we are left to the consideration whether it is *a priori* probable that God would have made His highest gift to His creatures contingent on human transgression. On the other hand, the evolutionary movement, whether in physical nature or in human history, which tends towards a 'fulness of time' (Gal 4^{4}, cf. Eph 1^{10}), seems unaccountably to fail unless crowned by the appearance of One who is the flower of human kind, and whose coming marks a climax in revelation. But here, again, we have to fall back on *a priori* reasoning.

2. At least we know that the I. is a crowning disclosure of God. He who had revealed something of His nature, His 'power and Godhead,' in the works of creation (Ro 1^{20}); who had spoken to man in divers ways, through the warnings of conscience, through visions, dreams, and oracles; who had manifested His purposes in judgment, type, and inspired prophecy, finally spoke to man 'in a Son' (He 1^{2}). In Christ the will, mind, and character of God were finally revealed. 'If we searched all space,' says Luthardt, 'we should discover only the gospel of power; if we surveyed all time, only the gospel of righteousness. Only in Jesus Christ do we learn the gospel of grace.' Christ indeed revealed the essence of God's being: fatherly love and self-imparting holiness. In the character of Christ, in His life of self-forgetful love, in His compassion for sinners, in the severity of His judgment on sin, is manifested the essential character of God: 'He that hath seen me,' He said, 'hath seen the Father' (Jn 14^{9}; cf. 12^{45}, Col 1^{15}, εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου). Further, by His claim to stand in a unique relation to God, He manifested the distinctions of relationship existing within the divine essence. He unfolded the name of God as Triune (Mt 28^{19}). The formula of baptism, in fact, supplements those passages in which the Son and the Spirit are represented as subordinate to God, or ministering to His will. It implies that these two blessed Persons are co-equal with the Father in nature and state, and in their claim to be, together with Him, worshipped and glorified.

3. The mystery of the I. was intended for the restoration of man, for the removal of sin and its effects (Lk 15^{4} 19^{10}, Jn 1^{29} $3^{14f.}$, Gal 4^{4}, Ro $5^{2.6f.}$, 1 Co 15^{21-26}, 1 Ti 1^{15}, 1 Jn 3^{5}). The coming of Christ made all things new; it restored all things to their original unity (Eph 1^{10}). The Redeemer gathered up into Himself elements which the Fall had disintegrated; He represents manhood to God in its initial truth and purity, corresponding to the divine thought, fulfilling its true law, attaining its ideal destiny, perfection through suffering (He $2^{8f.}$). In Him is exhibited the fact that sin is no true or necessary element in human nature, but a vice or corruption of it. The first step in the re-creation of humanity must be the exhibition of a true pattern of manhood in a life perfectly well-pleasing to the Father (Jn 8^{29}; cf. Lk 3^{22}, Mt 17^{5}). It is needless to illustrate the way in which NT writers constantly point to the example of Christ. He Himself bids men 'learn of him' (Mt 11^{29}) and follow His example (Jn 13^{15}); and St. Paul tells

---

* Westcott, *The Epistles of St. John*, p. viii.

the Thessalonians that they themselves 'are taught of God to love one another' (1 Th 4^{9}; cf. Jn 6^{45}). But, further, Christ removes the barrier which sin had raised between man and his Creator; He 'takes away the sin of the world' (Jn 1^{29}); He makes atonement for it (cf. He 2^{17}); He offers a propitiatory sacrifice for it (cf. Ro 3^{25} ἱλαστήριον, 1 Jn 2^{2} 4^{10} ἱλασμός), the sacrifice of *Himself* (He 9^{26}). He assumed human nature, in its outward aspect such as the Fall had left it, with all its obligations (cf. Mt 3^{15}), its accumulated heritage of weakness and pain, its necessary subjection to vanity (Ro 8^{20}); He 'laid hold of it' (ἐπιλαμβάνεται, He 2^{16}) in its weakness indeed, but not in its perversion and corruption, for He was without sin, though He suffered for sin (Ro 8^{3} etc.); and by a continuous act of perfect obedience (Ro 5^{19}) He discharged the debt of entire self-devotion by which alone man could satisfy the jealous love and the righteous claim of his Creator (cf. He 10^{1-10}). His death on the cross was a representative and vicarious act of submission to the just penalties of human sin (see different modes of expression: in Gal 2^{20} ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, 1 Co 15^{3} ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, Ro 8^{3} περὶ ἁμαρτίας, Mt 26^{28} περὶ πολλῶν, 20^{28} λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν, etc.); and the effects of Christ's acceptance of death are described under different metaphors: 'redemption' (*i.e.* according to OT associations, deliverance from slavery at a mighty cost), 'propitiation' (*i.e.* an act or process by which sin is neutralized), 'remission' of sins (Ro 3^{25} etc.), 'reconciliation with God,'[*] 'salvation,' etc.

But the work of redemption is followed by the work of re-creation and sanctification. The resurrection, by which the seal is set on the mission and work of the Son, and the ascension, by which as High Priest He passes within the veil to appear in the presence of God in our behalf (He 9^{24}), are followed by the outpouring of the Comforter, in whose coming the presence of Christ in His Church is accomplished; He comes as a 'quickening spirit' (1 Co 15^{45}) to inspire, enlighten, heal, strengthen, and sanctify His members, to unite them to Himself and to God, to dwell permanently in their hearts, to impart to them 'by habitual and real infusion' His own righteousness, to make them partakers of His life, to enable them for the life of divine service and sonship, to conform them to the likeness of Himself, and raise them into the glory of the risen life (Ro $8^{9\text{f.}}$, Gal 2^{20} etc., Jn $6^{54\text{f.}}$).

These three aspects of the work accomplished by the incarnate Son of God may be otherwise distinguished, according to Messianic conceptions, as prophetic, priestly, and kingly functions. Thus (1) as Prophet, Christ places Himself, so to speak, in line with the ancient prophets of Israel (Mt $23^{29\text{f.}}$). Like them, He teaches, He reveals the will of God, He preaches the divine requirement; like many among them, He is dishonoured, rejected, and slain (cf. Lk $4^{24\text{f.}}$ $13^{33\text{f.}}$). It is in the exercise of His prophetic office that He preaches the kingdom of God, and reveals its principles and mysteries (see Mt 13^{35}). He elucidates the moral law; He guides souls; He instructs His disciples; He denounces the hypocrisy of the Pharisees; He rebukes, threatens, predicts the future (Mt 5^{20} 15^{13} $22^{21.\,29}$, $23^{13\text{f.}}$ etc.). As prophet endued with power, 'the power of the Spirit' (Lk 4^{14}; cf. Mt 12^{28}), He works miracles which are themselves emblems or symbols of the diverse operations of grace. And He exhibits the divine will for man, not merely by authoritative teaching and by deeds of power, but by a life of unbroken zeal, devotion, and fidelity to God (cf. He 3^{2}); His example, in short, is one element in the exercise of His prophetic office. In Him, according to the prophecy of Isaiah, man is 'taught of God' (Is 54^{13}; cf. Jn 6^{45}).

(2) As High Priest, Christ offers a propitiatory sacrifice on behalf of man—the sacrifice of Himself. The writer of Hebrews implies that, for the discharge of His priestly function, Christ was prepared by the discipline of earthly life: He vouchsafed to 'learn' obedience, sympathy, compassion, fellow-feeling with sinners; His participation in a common nature fitted Him to be a faithful representative of mankind. He fulfils in Himself two distinct types of priesthood: He is a priest after the order of Melchizedek (He 7), *i.e.* His priesthood belongs to an order eternal and supra-national, connected with a celestial service and a 'true tabernacle' (8^{2}), based on divine promises, and combining kingly with priestly functions (cf. Zec 3^{8-10} 6^{9-15}). Further, He fulfilled all that had been prefigured by the Levitic ordinances and priesthood, by offering Himself as a spotless victim (He 7^{27} 8^{3} $9^{14.\,26}$ 10^{10-12}), and by entering within the veil of the true tabernacle, there to present Himself in the presence of God on behalf of His brethren, and to dedicate them in His own Person for the life of acceptable service (4^{14} 6^{20} 7^{25} $8^{1.\,2.\,6}$ 9^{12}). As the true Melchizedek, in whom the offices of king and priest are united, He bestows blessing, and feeds His people with eucharistic bread and wine (cf. Gn $14^{18\text{f.}}$). As the antitype of the Aaronic priest He cleanses the whole sphere of worship with His own blood ($9^{23\text{f.}}$); He purges the individual conscience from the defilement of sin ($9^{13.\,14}$), and 'ever liveth to make intercession for' mankind (7^{25}).

(3) Finally, as King, Christ is the personal centre of the kingdom of God. The royalty of the Messiah had been predicted by ancient prophecy, and as 'King of the Jews' Christ was proclaimed on the cross (Jn 18^{37} 19^{19}). As King, He assumes an absolute authority over the consciences and hearts of men as their rightful lord. In Him the ancient theocratic idea, that God was the true King of Isr., dwelling among His subjects, and residing in His temple as in a palace, was fulfilled. In Rev St. John to some extent reverts to the OT and later Jewish conception of the Messianic King as a warrior victorious over Israel's foes. The Son of God is crowned with 'many crowns'; He rides forth conquering and to conquer (Rev 6^{2} 12^{5} 14^{14} 19^{11-16}); and the same thought of Messianic Kingship is a leading idea of Mt. As King, Christ proclaims 'with authority' the dawn of His kingdom in the Sermon on the Mount (Mt 5–7). He explains its nature and conditions in the parables of the kingdom (Mt 13), and after His resurrection He claims 'all authority' in heaven and on earth (Mt 28^{18}). As King, He is the fountainhead of ministerial power, the Master whom His servants honour and obey, the omnipotent source of grace, power, life, and mercy (He 4^{16}). He founds a mediatorial system whereby men attain what they seek for, union with Himself and with the Father. With authority He institutes the sacrament of baptism or incorporation (Mt 28^{19}, Jn $3^{3\text{f.}}$), and the Eucharist or sacrament of union (Mt 26^{26} etc., Jn $6^{47\text{f.}}$). He bestows the Spirit; He gives 'gifts unto men'; He appoints a ministerial order, which He commissions to act, and to proclaim forgiveness in His name (Eph $4^{11\text{f.}}$, Jn $20^{22\text{f.}}$) in order that the central purpose of His coming may be accomplished, 'that repentance and remission of sins' should be preached in His name among all nations, beginning at Jerus. (Lk 24^{47}). Finally, He rules the universe, bearing all things onward in their appointed course (He 1^{3}), extending His kingdom through gradual subdual of all hostile elements: 'He must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet' (1 Co 15^{25}). He waits expectant 'till his enemies be made his footstool' (He 10^{13}; cf. 1^{13}); and in the last day it is He who will sit as King 'on the throne of his glory' to judge the world (Mt $25^{31\text{f.}}$).

---

[*] See a note in Sanday-Headlam on *Romans*, p. 129 f.

Thus the I., properly understood, is a key to the history of the universe. All history, it has been said, is summed up in the three sentences, *He is coming, He has come, He will come again* (cf. Rev 22^{13}); and certainly this is the fundamental teaching of Scripture. If the OT foresees (Gal 3^{8}) the I., the NT develops its significance as an actual event, and persistently points to the return of the Incarnate as the goal of history. There is no reason for denying a certain advance in the intellectual apprehension and statement of the doctrine of the I. on the part of the apostles, so far as it can be clearly demonstrated. Indeed it is what we should *a priori* expect. But in this article we have been concerned with positive and definite results, with the ultimate position which the NT assigns to Christ; and it is contended that the divergent and varied testimonies of Holy Scripture can only be satisfactorily adjusted and reconciled by the belief that Jesus of Nazareth was not only the expected Messiah of prophecy, but in a unique and absolute sense divine: God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God.

LITERATURE.—Ebrard in Herzog's *RE*, 'Jesus Christus der Gottmensch'; Oehler, *Theol. of OT*; Weiss, *Bib. Theol. of NT*; Dorner, *Person of Christ*; Hooker, *Ecclesiastical Polity*, bk. v. §§ 50–57; Pearson, *On the Creed*; Browne, *Exposition of the* 39 *Articles*; Andrewes, *Sermons on the Nativity*; Liddon, *Bampton Lectures*; Wilberforce, *Doctrine of the Incarnation*; Dale, *The Atonement*; Fairbairn, *Christ in Modern Theology*; Bruce, *The Humiliation of Christ*; Gore, *Bampton Lectures*; Westcott, *Christus Consummator*; Kingdon, *God Incarnate*; Ottley, *Doct. of the Incarnation*; Adamson, *Studies of the Mind in Christ*. For the apostolic belief in regard to Christ's Person see also Harnack, *History of Dogma* (introductory division).

R. L. OTTLEY.

INCENSE is AV tr^{n} of two Heb. words which at first were quite distinct in meaning, although latterly the second of them came to be practically synonymous with the first. **1.** לְבוֹנָה, **frankincense** (wh. see), is tr^{d} 'incense' by AV in Is 43^{23} 60^{6} 66^{3}, Jer 6^{20} 17^{26} 41^{5}, in all of which passages RV accurately substitutes 'frankincense.' The Gr. equivalent is λίβανος, which appears in NT in Mt 2^{11} and Rev 18^{13}. **2.** קְטֹרֶת (in Dt 33^{10} קְטוֹרָה [cf. the prop. name *Ḳeturah*, קְטוּרָה], in Jer 44^{21} קִטֵּר), generally reproduced in LXX by θυμίαμα or θυμιάματα (cf. for NT usage Lk 1^{10}, Rev 5^{8} $8^{3f.}$ 18^{13}, in the last along with λίβανος). In Ex $30^{35.\,37}$ RV substitutes 'incense' (קְטֹרֶת) for 'perfume,' in 2 Ch 2^{6} 'burn incense' (הַקְטִיר) for 'burn sacrifice,' and in Rev 5^{8} 18^{13} 'incense' (θυμιάματα) for 'odours' of AV (cf. Rev 8^{3}).

Frankincense was an ingredient of the holy incense, Ex 30^{24}; it was used as incense, Jer 6^{20}; it was put on the meal offering (Lv $2^{1.\,2.\,15.\,16}$ 6^{8}, cf. 5^{11}, Nu 5^{15}); also on the shewbread, Lv 24^{7}; one form of luxury was to burn it as a perfume, Ca 3^{6} $4^{6.\,14}$; along with gold it is mentioned as part of the tribute to be brought to Israel, Is 60^{6} (cf. Mt 2^{11} of the gifts of the Magi to the infant Jesus). Both frankincense (λίβανος) and incense (θυμίαμα) are mentioned amongst the merchandise of the apocalyptic Babylon, Rev 18^{13}. On the Arabian traffic in incense see ARABIA, vol. i. p. 134^{b}.

The offering of incense, which bulks so largely in the later ritual, appears to have been unknown in the earlier stages of Israel's history. Wellhausen (who is followed in his conclusions more or less closely by Kuenen, Nowack, Benzinger, and many others) will have it that the first mention of offering incense is in Jer 6^{20}. In the older literature קטר,* according to him, always refers to the burning of the fat or the meal and making these go up in sweet smoke (cf. Lv 3^{5} [P] etc.) to J″, while the substantive קְטֹרֶת in like manner has the quite general sense of what is burnt upon the altar.* The meaning 'incense' belongs to it for the first time with certainty in Ezekiel (8^{11} 16^{18} 23^{41}); subsequently the word occurs frequently in P, always in this sense; elsewhere only in Pr 27^{9}, where it is used not with a sacred but a secular application (EV 'perfume'). Even in such late passages as 1 S 2^{28}, Ps 66^{15} 141^{2} Wellhausen denies that it means anything more than *sweet smoke*, which is the sense he attributes to it in the only two certainly pre-exilic passages where it occurs, Is 1^{13} and Dt 33^{10} (otherwise Dillm. and Steuernagel, both of whom find the meaning 'incense' in Dt 33^{10}, although Steuernagel considers that this implies a pretty late date for the passage, which, however, he would make prior to P, because all Levites have according to it the prerogative of burning incense to J″, whereas in P this duty and privilege is assigned only to the seed of Aaron; cf. Nu $16^{6.\,10}$ 17^{5} [Eng. 16^{40}]). Again, in Am $4^{4f.}$ $5^{21ff.}$, Is $1^{11ff.}$, Mic $6^{6f.}$, where we have detailed lists of ritual acts, there is no mention of incense, and JE as well as the books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings are equally silent. לְבוֹנָה, 'frankincense,' appears first in Jer 6^{20} 17^{26} 41^{5}, elsewhere only in P (Ex 30^{24}, Lv $2^{1.\,2.\,15.\,16}$ 5^{11} 6^{8} 24^{7}, Nu 5^{15}), Deutero-Isaiah (Is 43^{23} 60^{6} 66^{3}), the Chronicler (1 Ch 9^{29}), and Canticles (3^{6} $4^{6.\,14}$).

From all this it may perhaps be inferred that the use of incense was introduced not long before the time of Jeremiah (in 6^{20} it is referred to as rare, costly, unnecessary). It may have been connected with the gradual refinement of the cultus, the extension of commerce, and the contagion of the rites of heathen religions (cf. Jer $11^{12.\,17}$ 48^{35}, 2 Ch 34^{25}).

In P incense has a very extensive use, and is regarded as extremely sacred. It was to be used with every meal offering (Lv $2^{1.\,2}$ etc.), as well as to be offered alone, in which latter case it safeguarded the high priest on the Day of Atonement when he entered the Holy of Holies (Lv $16^{12f.}$); and it made atonement for the people after the rebellion of Korah (Nu $17^{11f.}$ [Eng. $16^{46f.}$]). The holy incense was to be prepared according to a special recipe (Ex $30^{34f.}$) from stacte, onycha, and galbanum (see sep. arts. on these words), along with pure frankincense—an equal weight of each (see Dillm. *ad loc.*). Josephus states that there were thirteen ingredients used in his day, and that a great store of these was always kept in the temple (*BJ* V. v. 5, VI. viii. 3). It was forbidden (Ex $30^{37f.}$) to imitate this preparation for private use; to burn it was the prerogative of the high priest; the presumption of the Korahites in taking it upon them to burn incense was punished with death (Nu 16; cf. the Chronicler's account of Uzziah's leprosy, 2 Ch $26^{16ff.}$); Aaron's own sons died for offering it improperly (Lv $10^{1f.}$).

Nothing shows more clearly the growing importance attached by P to incense than the circumstance that finally an **altar of incense** (מִזְבַּח הַקְּטֹרֶת) is introduced. Of this there is no trace in Solomon's temple (1 K 7^{48} being part of what is otherwise known to be a late passage), and in the account of the Tabernacle it is generally admitted that the mention of the incense altar comes in awkwardly at the end (Ex $30^{1ff.}$). Hence the majority of modern critics are disposed to assign the mention of this altar to a late stratum of P. It is pointed out, for instance, that even in the ritual of the Day of Atonement (Lv 16 [P]) it is not upon an altar but with censers (wh. see) that incense is offered (v.^{12}). Even Pseudo-Hecatæus (*ap.* Jos. *c. Ap.* i. 22) mentions nothing as being in the interior of the temple but the candlestick and a golden βωμός, which probably refers to the table of the shewbread (cf. Ezk 41^{22} 44^{16}, with Davidson's and Bertholet's notes). Dillmann, who does not share Wellhausen's scepticism as to the existence of an altar of incense, admits that at least Ex 30^{10} is an addition to the original law, designed for the purpose of supplementing Lv 16^{16b}. On this question, as well as on the position of the altar, and the difficulty occasioned by He 9^{4}, see **Incense Altar** under art. TABERNACLE.

---

* The *Piel* of this verb is used by the older writers, the *Hiphil* by P and the Chronicler, while in the transition period represented by the compiler of Kings the two formations are used promiscuously.

* 'The root *ḳatara* in Arabic signifies *to exhale an odour in roasting*' (Driver on Am 5^{5}).

According to Ex $30^{7f.}$ incense had to be offered on the altar every morning and evening (cf. *Joma* iii. 5). The Mishnic tract *Tamid* gives a full account of the ritual of the morning service, which may possibly be fairly correct for NT times, although it is of little value for our knowledge of the ritual some centuries earlier. We are told, *inter alia*, that it was the custom to decide by lot which of the priests were to perform the various functions (cf. *Joma* ii. 4), amongst which the offering of incense was counted specially solemn, although it was no longer the exclusive prerogative of the high priest. John Hyrcanus (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. x. 3) and Zacharias (Lk $1^{9.20}$) are both said to have received a divine revelation while engaged in this act. In offering the incense, fire was taken from the altar of burnt-offering and carried into the temple, where it was laid upon the incense altar, and then the incense was emptied from a golden vessel upon the fire. See a full account in Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 295.

The use of incense in the temple may have been partly for antiseptic fumigation, but it is largely explained by the partiality of the Oriental to sweet odours. He enjoys these himself, and he offers them to those whom he desires to honour (cf. Dn 2^{46}). In India it was customary to scent the roads when the king went out (Curt. VIII. ix. 23); when Xerxes crossed the Hellespont, incense was burnt on the bridge (Herod. vii. 54); as Alexander the Great marched against Babylon, there were altars erected to him and incense burnt (Curt. v. i. 20). It is easy to see how such customs could be transferred to the cultus, in honour of the object of worship. If this cannot be proved for some other Oriental nations, at least it is certain in the case of such neighbours of Israel as the Phœnicians (2 K 23^{5}, Jer 7^{9} 11^{13} 32^{29} $44^{17ff.}$, Hos 2^{15}), the Babylonians (Herod. i. 183, possibly Is 65^{3}), and the Egyptians (Plutarch, *Isid.* 81; Dioscor. i. 24). Cf., further, 1 K 11^{8}, 2 K 22^{17}, Jer 1^{16} 19^{13}, Ezk 6^{13} 23^{41}. In Israel incense was supposed to be specially acceptable to J″ (Dt 33^{10}), and, as we have seen, to have an atoning efficacy (Nu $17^{11f.}$ [Eng. $16^{46f.}$]). See the very full and interesting note of Dillmann, *Ex–Lv*³, p. 359 f., from which the above illustrations are taken. We may add the explanation of the religious value of frankincense suggested by W. R. Smith (*RS*¹ 406): 'frankincense was the gum of a very holy species of tree, which was collected with religious precautions . . . it appears to have owed its virtue, like the gum of the *samora* tree, to the idea that it was the blood of an animate and divine plant.'

On the symbolical meaning of incense and its ingredients much has been written both in ancient and in modern times that is pure baseless phantasy. In Rev 5^{8} incense represents the prayers of the saints (cf. Ps 141^{2}). The reading *αἵ* (which is the correct text) does not in the least necessitate a reference to φίαλαι instead of θυμιάματα (see Bousset, *ad loc.*). The point of comparison is probably the ascending to heaven of the smoke of the incense (cf. Dillm. on Lv 1^{9}). In Rev 8^{3} there was given to the angel much incense that he should add it (ἵνα δώσῃ) to the prayers of the saints, and in v.^{4} the smoke of the incense goes up (not 'with' RV, but) 'for (RVm; Bousset 'zu Gunsten') the prayers of the saints,' *i.e.* giving them an extra claim to acceptance.

LITERATURE.—*Oxf. Heb. Lex.* s. לְבוֹנָה; Siegfried-Stade, s. קָטַר, קְטֹרֶת; Dillmann, *Ex–Lv*³, 294, 350, 359, also on Dt 33^{10}; Driver on Dt 33^{10}, also *LOT*⁶ 37, and art. 'Exodus' in Smith's *DB*² p. 1022 f.; Wellhausen, *Proleg.* (1895), 64 ff., *Comp.*, 139 ff., *JDTh*, 1877, p. 410 ff., *Reste*², 114; Kuenen, *Hexateuch* (Macmillan), 74 f.; Stade, *ZATW* iii. 143 ff., 168 ff.; Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* ii. 246 f.; Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 401 f., 444 f.; Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 268, 281, 289, 293, 295; Delitzsch, *Studien*, 113 ff.; Hommel, *AHT* 270 f., 279. See also art. CENSER and literature there cited.

J. A. SELBIE.

INCENSE ALTAR.—See TABERNACLE.

INCEST.—See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS, vol. i. p. 521ᵇ.

INCONTINENCY, INCONTINENT.—Incontinency is the trⁿ of *incontinentia* in 2 Es 5^{10}, and of ἀκρασία (Vulg. *incontinentia*) in 1 Co 7^{5}. In 2 Es the word has probably the general sense of 'absence of self-control,' 'lawlessness,' for so both the Lat. and the Eng. words have sometimes been used. The usual sense, however, has always been 'unchastity,' and that is the meaning in 1 Co.

The Gr. word ἀκρασία occurs also in Mt 23^{25}, where it is trᵈ 'excess' by both AV and RV (Vulg. *immunditia*). It describes the character of the ἀκρατής (from κρατεῖν, to control), one who wants self-restraint, its opposite being ἐγκράτεια. This ἀκρασία must be distinguished from ἀκρᾱσία, which comes from κεράννυμι, to mix, is associated with ἀκρατής, 'untempered,' and is used by Theophr. (*C.P.* III. ii. 5) of a bad (lit. 'badly mixed') climate.

The adj. 'incontinent' occurs only in 2 Ti 3^{3} as trⁿ of ἀκρατής, which has probably the general meaning of 'unrestrained,' 'uncontrolled' (RV 'without self-control'). It is scarcely possible, however, to find an instance of 'incontinent' in this general sense; and it is probable that Wyc. and Rhem., from whom AV accepted the word, understood the Vulg. *incontinentes* in the sense of 'unchaste.' Tind. (whom the other versions follow) has 'ryatours.'

J. HASTINGS.

INCREDULITY.—In 2 Es 15^{3} the Lat. *incredulitates dicentium* is rendered 'the incredulity of them that speak against thee.' The word means no more than 'unbelief' (as RV). The Rhem. NT, which confesses itself a translation of 'the old vulgar Latin text, not the common Greek text,' makes frequent use of the word. Thus Mt 13^{58} 'And he wrought not many miracles there because of their incredulity'; 17^{20} 'Then came the disciples to Jesus secretly, and said, Why could not we cast him out? Jesus said to them, Because of your incredulity'; He 3^{19} 'And we see that they could not enter in, because of incredulitie.' In the same version *incredulous* occurs no less frequently, as Mk 9^{19} 'O incredulous generation'; Lk 1^{17}; Jn 3^{36} 'he that is incredulous to the Sonne shal not see life'; 20^{27} 'be not incredulous but faithful'; He 11^{31} 'By faith, Rahab the harlot perished not with the incredulous.'

Incredulity is used in the same way in Preface to AV 1611, 'it is a fault of incredulitie to doubt of those things that are evident.' J. HASTINGS.

INDIA (הֹדּוּ, ἡ Ἰνδική).—This name, which in the OT is found only in Est 1^{1} 8^{9} (cf. 1 Es 3^{2}, Ad. Est 13^{1} 16^{1}), represents the Old Persian *Hind'u* and the Sansk. *Sindhu* (=*sea* or *great rivcr*), and is applied, not to the peninsula of Hindostan, but to the country immediately adjoining the Indus, *i.e.* the Punjab, and perhaps also Scinde. This is the portion of I. which was first known to the Greeks, and which is described by Herodotus (iii. 94, 98) as forming the most easterly region of the empire of Darius. Elsewhere (vii. 9) he names I. and Ethiopia as being among the most distant parts of the empire; and similarly in Est the dominions of Ahasuerus (Xerxes) are said to extend from I. to Ethiopia, comprising 127 provinces. At a later period we have evidence of intercourse between I. and Syria, in the allusion to the Indian drivers in charge of the war elephants of Antiochus V. (1 Mac 6^{37}). In 1 Mac 8^{8}, indeed, I. is said to have been a part of the dominions of Antiochus the Great, taken from him by the Romans and given to Eumenes, king of Pergamum. But neither Antiochus nor Eumenes can really have had possessions in India. The statement must therefore be due to the inaccuracy of the historian; unless, as has been conjectured, we should correct the text and read 'Ionia and Mysia' instead of 'India and Media.'

But although the name I. occurs only in the later Jewish literature, the products of the country were known to the Hebrews at a much earlier date. Many modern scholars have identified the Pison and the gold-producing Havilah of Gn 2^{11} with the Indus and I. (so Ges. *Thes.*; but cf. Dillm. and Del. *ad loc.*). This view is as old as the Targ. Jerushalmi, which in Gn 2^{11} 10^{7} renders Havilah by Hindeki, while in Targ. Jon. of Is 11^{11}, Jer 13^{23}, Hindeki represents Cush. We meet with Indian articles and Indian words in the accounts of the foreign trade of Solomon. The ships from Ophir brought *almug trees* (1 K 10^{11} אַלְמֻגִּים, 2 Ch 2^{8} [Heb. ^{7}] 9^{10} אַלְגּוּמִּים), perhaps sandalwood; and the navy of Tarshish (1 K 10^{22}) imported ivory (שֶׁנְהַבִּים, ? cf. Sansk. *ibhas*, elephant), apes (קוֹפִים = Ind. *kapi*, cf. Halévy, *Mél. de crit.* 81), and peacocks (תֻּכִּיִּים = Malabar *tôgai*, cf. Ges. *Thes.*). See Cheyne and Hommel in *Expos. Times*, July and August, 1898, pp. 470, 524. It is probable also that Indian wares were included in the merchandise of Tyre, whose extensive caravan trade is described in Ezk 27. According to v.^{15} the men of Dedan brought presents of ivory and ebony, products either of I. or Ethiopia; cassia and calamus (v.^{19}) are spoken of by the ancients as coming from I., and perhaps the 'bright iron' was imported from the same country (see Smend). Real knowledge of I. in more Western countries dates from the time of Alexander's conquests, and of the travels of Megasthenes (*c.* B.C. 300), whose works were continually quoted by later Gr. writers. But though it appears that a regular trade with I. by way of the Red Sea was carried on in the Græco-Roman period (cf. *Periplus Mar. Eryth.* 37. 44); and individual Indians, and even Indian embassies, are mentioned as visiting the Rom. Empire (cf. *Mon. Anc.* v. 50, 51; Suet. *Aug.* 21; Dio Cass. liv. 9); yet it is probable that at the beginning of our era the knowledge of that country was but slight, and it is a mistake to suppose that Indian thought can have exerted any appreciable influence upon the West by that time (cf. Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 215 f.; Lightfoot, *Colossians*, 389 ff.). In particular, Zeller (*Phil. d. Griech.* III. ii. 223) denies that any trace of Buddhists is to be found in Gr. literature before the middle of the 2nd cent. A.D. H. A. WHITE.

INDIFFERENT.—'It is a striking testimony,' says Trench (*Select Glossary*, p. 111), 'of the low general average which we have come to assume common to most things, that a thing which does not *differ* from others, is thereby qualified as poor; a sentence of depreciation is pronounced upon it when it is declared to be *indifferent.*' And he points out that the same feeling embodies itself in Greek 'at the other end' when διαφέρειν means *præstare* and τὰ διαφέροντα *præstantiora*. But this is a modern fault. About 1611 and earlier, to be called 'indifferent' was to be highly complimented, for it meant to be *impartial*, not making a difference where none existed. In the *Joint Attestation of Several Bishops and Learned Divines of the Church of England, avowing that her Doctrine was confirmed, and her Discipline was not impeached, by the Synod of Dort*, we read, 'As for ourselves, in the ingenuity of our conscience, we herein do not decline the judgment of any indifferent dispassionate man; and such we hope this true and plain narration will satisfy' (M. Fuller, *Life of Bp. Davenant*, p. 107). Tindale, in *The Obedience of a Christian Man* (*Works*, i. 236), says of God, 'Neither is there any respect of persons with him; that is, he is indifferent and not partial; as great in his sight is a servant as a master.' The adj. occurs in Sir 42^{5}, where 'merchants' indifferent selling' is praised (B περὶ ἀδιαφόρου πράσεως καὶ ἐμπόρων, AℵC διαφόρου and om. καί, RV 'Of indifferent selling of merchants,' so Cowley-Neubauer after Heb. text). The meaning is clearly 'impartial.' But even Tindale, in a note to Ex 12^{3}, says, 'That I here cal a shepe, is in Ebrue a word indifferent to a shepe and a gotte both.' Then in his 'Godly Letter' (*Works*, iii. 177) Knox represents 'the haill Counsaile' as saying of Grindall, Lever, and others of the Protestant preachers, 'Thay wald heir no mo of thair sermonis: they wer but indifferent fellowis; (yea, and sum of thame eschameit not to call thame pratting knaves).' And at a later time Thomas Adams (on 2 P 1^{4}) speaks of 'idle indifferents, that do neither good nor harm.'

The adv. *indifferently* occurs in the Communion Service in the Prayer (1662) for the King and his officers 'that they may truly and indifferently administer justice.' Joy, in his *Apology to Tindale* (Arber's ed. p. 4), says, 'I desier every indifferent reder to iuge indifferently.' So Tind. in *Prologe* to Deut. 'god is lorde above all lordes and loveth all his servauntes indifferently, as well the poor and feble and the straunger, as the rich and mightye'; which is a recollection of his tr^{n} of Ja 1^{5} 'Yf eny of you lacke wysdome, let him axe of God which geveth to all men indifferentlie, and casteth no man in the teth.' And on the miracle of the Ten Lepers, Bp. Hall says (*Works*, ii. 154), 'The miracle indifferently wrought upon all, is differently taken.'

The subst. *indifferency* is also found in the Pr. Bk. of 1604, in the King's Proclamation for the Uniformity, etc., 'the indifferency and uprightness of our Judgment.' Cf. Knox, *Works*, iii. 271, 'I knowledge and confesse . . . the lacke of fervencye in reproving synne, the lacke of indifferency in feedyng those that were hongrye, and the lacke of diligence in the execution of mine office.' But Hall uses the word nearly in the mod. sense (*Works*, ii. 148), 'How many are there that thinke there is no wisdome but in a dull indifferency?'

J. HASTINGS.

INDITE.—To 'indite' a letter is now to write it, and even so the expression is somewhat old-fashioned; but formerly it was to dictate or at least compose, and the 'inditer' is distinguished from the writer. Thus in Pref. to AV 1611, the Translators, describing the Scriptures as 'a fountaine of most pure water springing up unto everlasting life,' add, 'And what marvaile? The originall thereof being from heaven, not from earth; the authour being God, not man; the enditer the holy spirit, not the wit of the Apostles or Prophets; the Pen-men such as were sanctified from the wombe, and endewed with a principall portion of God's spirit.' So in Ps 45^{1} 'My heart is inditing a good matter,' is naturally followed by 'my tongue is the pen of a ready writer.'

The verb in the Heb. (רָחַשׁ) means to bubble up (like a fountain) or boil over (like a pot of water): LXX Ἐξηρεύξατο ἡ καρδία μου λόγον ἀγαθόν; Vulg. 'Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum'; Wyc. 'Myn herte bowide out (1388 'hath teld out') a good woord'; Luth. 'Mein Herz dichtet ein feines Lied'; Cov. 'My hert is dytinge of a good matter'; Great Bible (Pr. Bk.), 'My hert is endyting of a good matter'; Gen. 'Mine heart will utter forthe a good matter'; Dou. 'My hart hath uttered a good word (with note 'I have received by divine inspiration in my hart and cogitation a most high Mysterie'); Bish. 'My heart is inditing of a good matter.' Mod. expositors translate more literally: Del. 'My heart bubbles over with a goodly word'; Per. 'My heart is overflowing with a goodly matter'; Cheyne, 'My heart bubbles with goodly words'; Kay, 'My heart is teeming with a good word'; Kirkp. 'My heart bubbleth over with goodly words'; Kautzsch, 'Mein Herz wallt über von lieblicher Rede'; Wellh.-Furness, 'My heart overflows with a theme that is good'; RV, 'My heart overfloweth with a goodly matter'; Driver, 'My heart is astir with a goodly matter.'

The Eng. word comes from Low Lat. *indictare* (a frequentative of *indicere*, to proclaim), and it entered the Eng. lang. at first in the French form *endicter*, 'indite' being a later spelling in imitation of the Latin, while 'dite' is a vernacular shortening. Knox has the form 'dite' (which he spells 'dyte'), as *Hist.* 214, 'those Prayers were dyted unto the people by the holy Ghost, before they came to the uttermost of trouble, to assure them, that God, by whose Spirit the Prayer was dyted, would not contemne the same in the midst of their calamities.' Thomas Fuller uses 'endite,' as in *Holy State*, iv. 5 (p. 261), 'More hold is then to be taken of a few words casually uttered, then of set solemn speeches, which rather shew men's arts then their natures, as endited rather from their brains then hearts.'

The same verb meant also to *accuse* (after the Lat.); but now a distinction is made, the verb to accuse, though pronounced the same, being spelt 'indict.' Golding, in *Calvin's Job* (on 32^{1-3}), has 'so then, what remayneth, but too learne first and formoste too condemne our selves, and too bring our inditement alwayes readie made, when we come before God, and too say, that we be wretched sinners.' On the other hand, Elyot (*The Governour*, ii. 343) has 'Plato (or rather Socrates, Plato indictynge).' But Fuller, *Holy Warre*, iii. 16, p. 134, spells the word in the mod. way, 'indicted by his conscience for his cruelty.' RV has used the subst. 'indictment' in Job 31^{35} 'O that I had one to hear me! . . . and that I had the indictment which mine adversary hath written' for AV 'and that mine adversary had written a book.'

J. HASTINGS.

INFIDEL, INFIDELITY.—An 'infidel' in our modern speech is one who deliberately rejects the Faith; but at one time a person might be called an 'infidel' who had never heard it. *Infidelis* in eccles. Latin simply meant 'unbelieving,' and 'infidel' carried the same purely negative meaning. Thus Tindale, in his general *Prologe* to the Pent., says, 'Behold how soberly and how circumspectly both Abraham and also Isaac behave them selves amonge the infideles'; and in Rhem. NT the trn of Ro 15^{31} is 'Helpe me in your praiers for me to God, that I may be delivered from the infidels that are in Jewrie'; while Hooker (*Eccles. Polity*, III. viii. 6) speaks of 'Festus, a mere natural man, an infidel, a Roman, one whose ears were unacquainted with such matters.' Hence RV changes 'infidel' of 2 Co 6^{15}, 1 Ti 5^{8} into 'unbeliever,' which is all that the Gr. word (ἄπιστος) means.

So 'infidelity' was once no more than 'unbelief,' as the marg. note to Lv 7^{5} in Matthew's Bible, 'Trespace after the order of the scrypture signifyeth somtyme all the lyffe past which we have lyved in infidelyte, being ignoraunt of the veritie, not only in doyng open synnes, but also when we have walked in oure awne rightwesnes'; and still more clearly in Fuller, *Holy State*, iv. 18, p. 335, 'After his [Gustavus Adolphus'] death, how did men struggle to keep him alive in their reports! partly out of good will, which made them kindle new hopes of his life at every spark of probability, partly out of infidelity that his death could be true.' This is all that 'infidelity' means in 2 Es 7^{44} ('incredulitas').

J. HASTINGS.

INGATHERING, FEAST OF.—See TABERNACLES (FEAST OF).

INHABIT.—We do not now use 'inhabit' intransitively. Hence RV changes 1 Ch 5^{9} 'And eastward he inhabited unto the entering in of the wilderness' into 'he dwelt.' Cf. Pr. Bk. 1552, Act of Uniformity (Keeling, p. vii), 'all and every person, and persons, inhabiting within this realm'; and Defoe, *Crusoe*, p. 510, 'There are many Travellers, who have wrote the History of their Voyages and Travels this way, that it would be very little Diversion to any Body, to give a long Account of the Places we went to, and the People who inhabit there.' Nor do we now speak of a single person inhabiting a place, as Jer 48^{18} 'Thou daughter that dost inhabit Dibon,' though the construction may be defended on the ground that 'daughter' stands for the whole people (RV 'O thou daughter that dwellest in Dibon').

Figurative examples of the word are: (1) Ps 22^{3} 'O thou that inhabitest the praises of Israel' (יוֹשֵׁב תְּהִלּוֹת, RVm 'art enthroned upon'), a bold adaptation, says Kirkpatrick, of the phrase 'that sittest enthroned upon the cherubim' (2 S 6^{2}, 2 K 19^{15}, Ps 80^{1} 99^{1}), the praise-songs of Israel being regarded as clouds of incense which form J″'s throne. Cheyne (*in loc.*) sees in the phrase a poetic glorifying of the 'old mythic phrase.' The cherubim were the forces of nature; but J″ is not merely a God of force, He is a God of praise-producing loving-kindness. See also Cheyne in *Expos.* 3rd ser. vii. 20 ff. (2) Is 57^{15} 'the high and lofty One that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is Holy' (שֹׁכֵן עַד). This trn is after LXX κατοικῶν τὸν αἰῶνα and Vulg. *habitans æternitatem*, and is first used in Geneva Bible 'that inhabiteth the eternitie' (Wyc. 'wonende the everelastingte,' 1388 'that dwellith in everlastyngnesse'). Modern expositors translate more directly, as Del. 'the eternally-dwelling One'; Cheyne and Orelli, 'who dwelleth for ever'; Skinner, 'that sitteth (enthroned) for ever.'

The old and rare form **inhabitance** is found in Wis $12^{7\text{m.}}$ 'new inhabitance' for text 'a worthy colony' (ἀξία ἀποικία). So Beaumont and Fletcher, *Sea Voyage*, iv. 1—

> 'Here's nothing, sir, but poverty and hunger;
> No promise of inhabitance; neither track of beast.'

Inhabiter is used for 'inhabitant' in Rev 8^{13} 12^{12}. It occurs in Coverdale, as Is 26^{9} 'For . . . the inhabitours of the earth lerne rightuousnesse'; and 40^{22} 'all the inhabitours of the worlde are in comparison of him but as greshoppers'; cf. Pr. Bk. Ps 75^{4} 'The earth is weak and all the inhabiters thereof.' The fem. form **inhabitress** occurs in Jer $10^{17\text{m}}$, an attempt to show the gender of the Heb. word used in the passage. Cf. Chapman, *Hymne to Venus*—

> 'An inhabitresse
> On this thy wood-crowned hill.'

J. HASTINGS.

INHERITANCE.—The English word 'inheritance' represents, in the OT, the terms חֵלֶק, יְרֻשָּׁה, מוֹרָשָׁה, and נַחֲלָה. Of these, however, the first is more frequently (and properly) rendered 'portion' (LXX μερίς), and the second and third are rare. The last mentioned occurs nearly two hundred times. Although the common term for the expression of the idea of 'inheritance' proper, or estate which descends to the heir of the last holder, נַחֲלָה need not imply this, and, in ordinary biblical usage, signifies possession generally. The same remark applies to the NT (and LXX) term κληρονομία (cf. the use of 'inherit' and derivatives, *e.g.* in Shaks. . . . 'the great globe itself, yea, all which it inherit'—*Tempest*, iv. 1, also *Hamlet*, i. 1, etc.). At the same time this idea remains, though latent, in both terms, and may in certain connexions of thought become explicit.

i. *Old Testament.*—For the Hebrew law and practice regulating succession see art. HEIR. From these it is evident how true is the remark of Keil, that Israel was 'essentially a land-holding people.' In her case, however, social institutions and usages appear as charged throughout with a religious significance, arising in this instance from the fact that the possession of a national territory, on which the theocracy should be maintained, was among the most elementary and indispensable conditions for the fulfilment of her destiny. The 'land of promise' (He 11^9), accordingly, holds a prominent place among the blessings represented as assured to her from the first. It is the burden of the patriarchal covenants (Gn 15^{18-21} 26^3 28^{13}); a renewed pledge of its acquisition lies behind the exodus from Egypt (Ex 6^8); the entrance of the people upon possession, although not effected without fierce and protracted warfare, is due rather to the interposition of their God on their behalf (Jos 21^{43-45}, Ps 44^{1-3}); and the subsequent division of the land among the several tribes, clans, and families is provided for by detailed regulations bearing divine sanction (Nu 32. 34, Jos 18^{4-9}), and is finally accomplished by lot (Jos 14^2), the 'whole disposing' whereof is 'of the Lord.' Obtained thus by divine infeftment, the land is regarded as held thereafter conditionally upon fidelity on the part of the people to the covenant under which it has accrued to them, and as bound up in the closest way with their moral history. It is 'defiled' by their crimes and impieties (Lv 18^{25}, Jer 16^{18}); may even, by a quasi-personification, be said to 'sin' with its sinful inhabitants (Dt 24^4); and divine punishment takes the form, now of blight and famine overtaking the devoted land for the people's sake (Dt $11^{8ff.}$), now of their forfeiture of it outright (Dt $4^{26ff.}$). On the other hand, reinstatement in the divine favour is signified by restoration to the land and to its peaceful enjoyment. Also, inasmuch as the election of God is 'without repentance,' it appears as His purpose that His people should hold it 'for ever' (Gn 13^{15} etc.). The portion allotted to each several tribe even is to be that tribe's inalienable possession (Nu 36^{1-12})—an idea which underlies the remarkable provisions connected with the Jubilee Year, and which may have dictated the severe condemnation pronounced (Dt 19^{14}, Hos 5^{10}) upon the removing of a neighbour's landmark (cf. Driver, *Deut. in loc.*, however, and Knobel quoted there). Yet withal J″ remains ultimate owner or inheritor here. The land is 'the inheritance of J″' (Ex 15^{17}, 1 S 26^{19}). 'The inheritance is mine, and ye are strangers and sojourners with me' (Lv 25^{23}).

Thus far the land as such, and as the scene of God's fellowship with His people, constitutes the 'inheritance,' which may be regarded as pertaining either, ultimately and absolutely, to Him, or, derivatively and conditionally, to them. So concrete an idea, however, determined thus religiously, could scarcely fail in course of time to be still further spiritualized, as indeed appears in two directions. This is not the place to inquire how far the conception even as already defined may represent the reflection of subsequent modes of thought upon the conditions of an earlier time; but in any case in certain later writings it undergoes a further development. On the one hand, OT faith learns to claim not the land but J″ Himself, fellowship with whom within its borders lends it its significance and value, as the true and proper 'inheritance.' Probably we are to find the immediate suggestion of this way of thinking in the provision by which the priests (Nu 18^{20}) and the Levites generally (Dt 18^2) were to have no territorial inheritance allotted to them: J″ was to be their inheritance. That is to say, their portion was to consist of the altar-dues and first-fruits (Dt 18^{1-5}) offered by the Israelites to J″, 'the service of the god of the land' being 'a burden on the land' (W. R. Smith, *RS* p. 229). From this the step was a short one to the employment of the term to signify that enjoyment of God which is the object of religious faith and hope always (cf. Ps 16^5). In any case by the time of Jeremiah the conception of J″ as the 'portion' of His people was a common one (Jer 10^{16} 51^{19}), while in certain of the Psalms even individual faith claims Him thus (73^{26} 119^{57} 142^5). From the other side, again, the original signification of the term gives way similarly. J″'s 'inheritance' ceases to be the land His people occupy, and becomes rather the people itself. Israel is, in a special sense, His own, brought out of Egypt 'to be unto Him a people of inheritance' (Dt 4^{20}), 'chosen to be a peculiar people unto himself, above all peoples that are upon the face of the earth' (Dt 7^6)—'J″'s portion is His people; Jacob is the lot of His inheritance' (Dt 32^9)—a conception which broadens out under the influence of the later universalism until it includes the Gentiles also (Is 19^{25} 47^6 63^{17}, Ps 2^8). Here the idea has parted with its original associations altogether. In place of attaching to what is at most only a fundamental condition of the realization of the covenant, it now expresses that mutual appropriation and enjoyment of each other on the part of God and His people which is the essence of the covenant itself. Still, this by no means represents the ordinary usage of the term anywhere in the OT. Even when it becomes most highly volatilized, so to say, OT thinking remains charged with elements which belong to the outward conditions amid which it has arisen. The fellowship of God and His people, even in its perfect form, is always represented as to be maintained in the territory originally assured to them; and to the last it is an essential feature in the picture of the Messianic time that the people shall then at length enter upon sure and peaceful possession of their own land (Is 60^{21}, Jer 23^8, Ps 37^9 etc., To 4^{12}), where they shall enjoy the immediate presence of their God and serve Him in righteousness (Ezk 37^{21-28} etc.).

ii. *New Testament.*—In the NT use of the term these limitations naturally disappear. Here also hope grounded on divine promises retains the central place in the religious life (Ro 8^{24}, cf. He 11), and its content as a fellowship with Himself into which God graciously introduces men is the same always; but the external conditions amid which in the OT this is realized remain in the NT merely as a metaphorical colouring in the language expressive of the final spiritual good made available through Jesus Christ. Thus our Lord's saying, 'Blessed are the meek: for they shall *inherit the earth*' (Mt 5^5), may be regarded merely as a figurative mode of signifying the fulness of life and blessedness to which faith ultimately brings men (so Meyer and others; for a more literal interpretation see *Expositor's Greek Testament, in loc.*). Elsewhere Jesus speaks of the faithful inheriting 'the kingdom' (Mt 25^{34}), which, in accordance with His general teaching, is not merely already come, but also, and even more, awaits realization in the future. And again, He represents this as synonymous with entering upon 'life eternal' (Mt 25^{46}, cf. Mk 10^{17}), but neither term does He define more fully. In the earlier apostolic writings a similar indeterminateness of usage prevails. In Ja, for example, that which faith inherits is 'the kingdom which God hath promised to them that love Him' (2^5), or again, 'the crown of life' which has been similarly promised (1^{12}), both expressions being employed to denote generally the ultimate full possession of salvation. In 1 P the connexion of ideas is only slightly more elaborate. Here singular stress is laid upon the hope which lies at the heart of faith always. Possession of it is the distinctive note of the Christian life (1^3 3^{15}); it looks towards the Parousia and the 'grace' which shall be 'manifested' then ($1^{7.\,8.\,13}$ $5^{1.\,4}$); and just as it appears to the writer that the 'people of God' has now first, through Christ's death and resurrection, been truly constituted (2^{4-10}), so also he represents their 'inheritance' as now at length fully discovered and secured (1^{3-5}). It has been suggested (by Weiss, *NT Theologie*, § 50 (c) Anm. 4) that the characterization of the 'inheritance' as 'incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away,' contains a covert allusion to various OT phrases applied to the land of Israel (Is 24^{4}, Jer 2^{7}, Is $40^{6\text{ff.}}$); and this is possible. But no closer definition of it is given. As synonyms the expressions 'life' (3^{7}, cf. 4^{6}) and 'glory' or 'crown of glory' ($5^{1.\,4.\,10}$) are employed, but without being explained further

In the hands of two of the NT writers, however, the idea in question receives much fuller treatment. From his peculiar point of view, the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews is naturally led to make not a little of a conception which had played so large a part in the world of OT faith (see note on *κληρονομία* in Westcott's *Hebrews*, p. 167 f.). That which constitutes the 'inheritance' of the believer is described variously as 'the blessing,' *i.e.* of the covenant (12^{17}), 'salvation' (negatively, from death and every evil, $2^{14.\,15}$ 5^{7}; positively, as the securing of man in his eternal destiny, 2^{3} 5^{9} 9^{28}), 'the promises' (6^{12}), and otherwise. But, in order to apprehend the idea as it presents itself to this writer's mind, it must be subsumed under and interpreted in harmony with the general conceptions and argument of the Epistle. Religion with him is regarded in the light of a covenant into which God has graciously entered with men. Essentially this has been one and the same from the beginning, but historically it has embodied itself in two forms, the Sinaitic and that made through Christ, so diverse in various respects that they may be distinguished as the 'first' and 'second' covenants (8^{7}), of which the earlier proved ineffective and only the later has truly realized the purposes which such an arrangement had in view. In one sense the covenant may be considered as its own end. As signifying a state of relatedness in which God becomes to men their God and they become His people, it stands for that which in itself makes great part of their blessedness, and which is only secured in the 'new covenant' (8^{13}), under the provisions of which the conscience is cleansed from dead works and the worshipper has boldness to enter into the holiest ($9^{14.\,19}$ etc., compared with $7^{11.\,18}$ etc.). But chiefly it is regarded as contemplating that which lies beyond itself. In its later form especially, as sealed by a 'better sacrifice' than before (9^{23}), it rests also upon 'better promises' ($8^{6.\,10-12}$), the fulfilment of which introduces the people once for all into a sphere in which all their hopes and needs are satisfied. Through this 'eternal covenant' (13^{20}) administered by Jesus (9^{15}, where the author, through playing on the double sense of *διαθήκη* as meaning both 'covenant' and 'testament,' brings the idea of succession, namely on the death of 'the testator,' into view for the moment) believers receive the promise of the eternal inheritance (9^{15}); a consummation otherwise described as reaching the heavenly city (11^{16}) or the city that hath the foundations (11^{10}), or receiving the kingdom that cannot be shaken (12^{28}), or having the world to come subjected to them (2^{5} etc.), or entering upon the rest of God. In such expressions the influence of OT modes of thought is obvious, and the last especially forms the subject of a remarkable passage (3. 4) in which the writer betrays almost more fully than anywhere his sense alike of the continuity of salvation under the old covenant and the new, and of the final completeness with which the latter realizes it. When Israel originally entered upon their inheritance and 'possessed the land and dwelt therein,' J″, says the historian, 'gave them rest round about according to all that He sware unto their fathers' (Jos $21^{43.\,44}$). But, as the author of the Epistle recognizes, it proved a delusive rest (4^{8}). Enemies still infesting the land, war waged from without, civil strife and manifold evils in every age disturbed the condition of peace and blessedness assured to them, and which is here (4^{3-5}) represented as a participation in the deep tranquil satisfaction with which God Himself rests in the enjoyment of the works of His hands. Nevertheless, the divine purpose cannot be defeated (4^{6}); it can only at most be temporarily suspended, and that which Israel through unbelief ($3^{10.\,16.\,17}$ 4^{11}) came short of 'we who believe' (*i.e.* in the 'good tidings preached unto us,' 4^{2}) attain to (4^{3}). To put it otherwise, we 'inherit the promises' (6^{12}) in their full and final expression. As has been said (Davidson, *Hebrews*, p. 99), 'the mere land of Canaan was never in itself all that was understood either by those to whom it was promised or by God who promised it, when it was named as Israel's heritage. The patriarchs and people certainly looked to the possession of the land, but the idea they attached to it, or the light in which they regarded it, was that of a settled place of abode with God, where He would be fully present, and where they would find repose in His fellowship. All those religious ideas, dimly perhaps, yet in longing and imagination, clustered about it which we now attach to the heavenly world.' And all this it is, hardly to be defined more narrowly, which faith is heir to.

In the usage of St. Paul, again, the 'inheritance' often signifies the object of believing hope generally (Ac 20^{32} 26^{18}, Eph $1^{11.\,14}$, Col 1^{12} 3^{24}). Also, believers are said to be heirs of 'eternal life' (Tit 3^{7}), or, more frequently, of 'the kingdom' (1 Co $6^{9.\,10}$ 15^{50}, Eph 5^{5}), both expressions being employed in the indeterminate manner common in the Gospels and elsewhere. When he treats of the idea more at large it is in connexion with one or other of two lines of thought. The first of these concerns his anti-Judaic polemic. Quite in the manner of the author of the Ep. to the Hebrews he insists upon the divine 'promises' as lying at the basis of all true faith and hope toward God. The possession of these differentiates the Jew from the Gentile (Ro $3^{2.\,3}$); the covenants are essentially 'covenants of promise' (Eph 2^{12}); while the entrance of the law itself in the course of their historical fulfilment is to be regarded as a mere episode, by no means designed to supersede the promises, but rather to make more manifest the grace they contain and which bestows the inheritance (Ro 4). The import of the promise, however, is stated as being that Abraham should be 'heir of the world' (v.^{13}), an interpretation of the original covenant expressing in a remarkable way the universal purpose which lay within it. But in this sense the covenant is fulfilled only in Christ (Gal 3^{16}), with whom again, in St. Paul's thinking, believers are indissolubly bound up (Gal 3^{9}, Ro 4^{16} 8^{17}); and perhaps, although it must be confessed he does not do this explicitly, it is under this point of view that we ought to bring his references to the inheriting of 'the kingdom.' It is Christ who, as Abraham's seed, has in the first instance assumed the rule of the Messianic kingdom (Gal 3^{16}), and believers, as reckoned within that seed (Gal 3^{29}) and called to His fellowship (1 Co 1^{9}), may be said to share in His rule (1 Co 4^{8}, Ro 5^{17}), in which, in accordance with Eastern modes of thought, the prerogative of judging is included (1 Co $6^{2.\,3}$; cf. Mt 19^{28}).

More distinctive of this apostle still, however, is his attaching of the idea in question to that of the sonship of believers. For his doctrine under this head see art. ADOPTION. What is of importance here to note is, that in his view sonship carries with it an indefeasible right to the inheritance—'if sons, then heirs' (Gal 4^{7}). As Weiss expresses it, 'as justification is the security for life, so its result, adoption, is the security for participation in the divine δόξα as the second chief part of Christian hope in which the whole blessedness and glory of the future eternal life is comprehended in one great view' (*Op. cit.* § 97 (*c*)). As Son, Christ is destined to glory, and first through His resurrection attains to it (Ro 1^{4}); and so also believers, who bear 'the image of the heavenly,' are in the resurrection conformed to the 'likeness of the Son of God,' so that he becomes 'the firstborn among many brethren' (1 Co 15^{49}, Ro 8^{29}). The transformation of the 'body of our humiliation,' accordingly, holds an emphatic place in the inheritance which St. Paul teaches (Ph 3^{21}); while along with this goes a perfect inward assimilation to the mind of the Lord, and beyond it lies that which the apostle describes as 'glory' (see art. under that title), a spiritual condition to which God's children are destined (Ro 8^{30} 9^{23}), in which the mystery of their adoption is finally disclosed (Ro 8^{19}, Col 3^{4}), in the freedom and blessedness of which creation generally will share (Ro $8^{19ff.}$), and which constitutes the ultimate aim of the divine counsel (1 Co 2^{7}). Of the inheritance thus conceived, the Spirit, who attests our adoption (Ro 8^{16}), is meanwhile the seal and earnest (Eph 1^{14} 4^{30}).

Finally, in the Apoc. the faithful are said to 'inherit all (or 'these') things' (21^{7}). What these 'things' consist of is to be gathered from the book generally. Chiefly they appear to embrace 'life'—that life 'which is life indeed' (cf. the recurring representation of the idea in such figures as the 'tree of life' 22^{2}, the 'water of life' 22^{1}, the 'crown of life' which the conquerors carry off 2^{10} 3^{11}, the 'book of life' in which their names are written 21^{27} etc.); perfect holiness (2^{17} $3^{4.5}$ 4^{4} 6^{11} 7^{9} 19^{8}); immediate fellowship with God (7^{15} $21^{3.22}$ 22^{3}), and the vision of His face (22^{4}). A royal dignity (22^{5}) and glory (2^{28}) also pertain to that which awaits the believer, along with deliverance from all pain and want and death (7^{16} 21^{4}). It is a blessedness (14^{13} 19^{9} 22^{14}) which is complete and eternal. ALEX. MARTIN.

INIQUITY.—See SIN.

INJURIOUS.—Like the Fr. *injurieux*, 'injurious' formerly had the meaning of 'insulting,' as well as its mod. meaning of 'hurtful.' Hence in Sir 8^{11} and 1 Ti 1^{13} the adj. ὑβριστής which means 'insolent' is tr^{d} in AV 'injurious.' The same adj. occurs in Ro 1^{30}, where AV has 'despiteful,' RV 'insolent.' RV gives 'insolent' in Sir, but retains 'injurious' in 1 Ti. The meaning of the Eng. word may be illustrated from Shaks. *II Henry VI.* I. iv. 51—

> 'Injurious duke, that threatest where's no cause

and Pope, *Iliad*, ii. 274—

> 'Thus with injurious taunts attacked the throne.

The adv. was used in the same sense, as Hall, *Works*, iii. 966, 'Humane reason is apt to be injuriously saucy, in ascribing those things to an ordinary course of natural causes, which the God of nature doth by supernatural Agents.' And the subst. 'injury,' as Bacon, 'He fell to bitter invectives against the French king, and spake all the injuries he could devise of Charles.'

J. HASTINGS.

INK is mentioned once in OT (Jer 36^{18}), where Baruch says that he wrote Jeremiah's prophecies 'with ink (דְּיוֹ, perhaps from a root signifying *slowly flowing*) in the book.' W. R. Smith (*OTJC*^{2} 71 n.) refers to Ex 32^{33} and Nu 5^{23} for evidence that the old Hebrew ink (derived from lamp-black [?]) could be washed off, and as the foundation of the Rabbinical prejudice against the use of a mordant in ink. From the bright colours that still survive in some papyri, it is evident that the ink used by the Egyptians must have been of a superior kind. The NT term for 'ink,' occurring three times (2 Co 3^{3}, 2 Jn ^{12}, 3 Jn ^{13}), is μέλαν (lit. 'black,' Lat. *atramentum*), which is also a classical term (Plato, *Phædr.* 276 C; Demos. *de Coron.* 313. 11; Plut. *Mor.* 841). See, further, under WRITING.

J. A. SELBIE.

INKHORN.—In one of Ezekiel's visions (Ezk $9^{2.3.11}$) a man appears with a scribe's inkhorn (קֶסֶת הַסֹּפֵר) by his side (lit. 'upon his loins,' בְּמָתְנָיו). The 'inkhorn' consisted of a case for the reed pens, with a cup or bulb for holding the ink, near the upper end of the case. It was carried in the girdle (hence the above expression). See illustration under art. DRESS, vol. i. p. 626^{b}; and cf. Benzinger, *Heb. Archäol.* 290. J. A. SELBIE.

INN.—Owing to the prevalence of hospitality in the East, down to our own times, the growth of places of public entertainment has been slow; and to this day, save in parts frequented by tourists, anything corresponding to our inn or hotel is entirely unknown (see HOSPITALITY).

The word 'inn' first occurs in our English Bible (AV) in Gn 42^{27} as the equivalent of מָלוֹן, and is similarly employed in Gn 43^{21}, Ex 4^{24} (LXX κατάλυμα). In other passages (Jos $4^{3.8}$, 2 K 19^{23}, Is 10^{29}, Jer 9^{2}) מָלוֹן is rendered 'lodging-place'; and the Revisers have adopted this translation uniformly throughout. This does not imply a building of any kind, but only the place where travellers, or carriers of merchandise, were wont, with their caravans, to pass the night. לוּן or לִין appears to have been used in a sense equivalent to that of the Arab *bât*, and the corresponding participial, *mabît*, is a night-lodging. The Arabs also use the word *manzil* in a similar sense. It is 'the place of alighting,' and is now mainly employed for the house where the traveller spends the night; but it still retains its application to the spot where a company of wayfarers may have spent the hours of darkness. Occasionally one may encounter in the East a scene which probably reproduces the chief features of that mentioned in Gn 42^{27}. Near by a well or fountain, or on the bank of a stream, as the day is closing, the caravan will halt. The bales of goods are lifted from the beasts of burden, and placed so as to shelter the men from the night air. The animals, having been watered, are tethered around, and supplied with fodder which they have carried. The men draw close around a fire, where, having partaken of simple fare from their provender bags, they pass an hour in conversation or in hearing or telling tales, and then lie down under their wraps to sleep till daybreak. The place thus occupied is called *el-manzil*; the Hebrew would have called it *mālōn*.

But the development of commerce would necessitate at a very early time some better means of protecting the goods and the lives of the merchants, especially in the more remote and desolate parts, where it might be needful to rest the caravan over night. That buildings were soon erected for this purpose, we have no direct proof; but it is possible that the 'lodging-place of wayfaring men' in the wilderness, referred to in Jer 9^{2}, may have been such an establishment. Chimham, the son of Barzillai, who returned to Jerusalem with David (2 S 19^{37-40}), is supposed by some to have reared some structure near to Bethlehem, which in Jeremiah's time was known as גֵּרוּת כִּמְהָם *Gērūth chimham*. AV renders this 'habitation of Chimham'; RV 'Geruth-chimham,' but in margin 'lodging-place.'

Stanley (*S. and P.* p. 329) and others translate 'inn' or 'hostel.' It may have been such a building as offered shelter to belated merchants or travellers.*

Rahab, described in Jos 2[1] as אִשָּׁה זוֹנָה, is said (but see Dillm. *ad loc.*) by the Chaldee paraphrase to have been an 'innkeeper.' (See also Jos. *Ant.* v. i. 2). The instance given in *Jebamoth* xvi. 7, where the innkeeper's word is not relied on without material corroboration, cannot be quoted as showing that she was regarded with special suspicion (Smith, *DB*, art. INN), since her evidence is placed on the same level as that of the daughter of a priestly house; but it is significant that Jewish writers seem to have used פונדקית or פונדקיתא, formed from the Greek *πανδοκεύτρια*, as the equivalent of either 'hostess' or זוֹנָה (David Kimchi on Jos 2[1]). The idea of an 'inn' was therefore familiar to them. From *Aboda Zara* ii. 1 we gather that the פונדק, from the Gr. *πανδοχεῖον*, was a place where cattle might be sheltered as well as men; it seems to have corresponded in character with the modern *khân* or caravanserai. Of this order certainly was the 'inn' (*πανδοχεῖον*, Lk 10[34]) to which the Good Samaritan carried the victim of outrage, and which by tradition is located at *Khan Hadrûr*, on the way to Jericho. The modern building is probably only the last of a succession erected on the same spot, as in that wild district the need of some such place of retreat would always be felt. Along the great trade and pilgrimage routes in the course of time these khâns or caravanserais were raised, to which the chains of mouldering ruins that stud the sides of the main highways stand to bear testimony. Many of these buildings stood apart, and were of considerable strength, to guard against marauders. Occasionally, as at *Khân et-Tujjâr,* under the brow of Tabor, a fortress overlooked and defended the place of rest. From the days when the sea was so infested with pirates as to render navigation perilous, probably date the ruinous buildings on the caravan routes from Aleppo, Baghdâd, Damascus, and Haurân, which met on the southern border of Esdraelon, followed the common path by Antipatris to Gaza, and passed thence to Egypt. When these pests were cleared away, and transport by ship became both safe and cheap, the deserted roads were soon grass-grown, and the khâns were left to crumble (Thomson, *Land and Book*, i. 106). Those built of old by the Persian magnates on the pilgrimage roads from Baghdâd (Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 478) probably resembled in some ways the 'castles' that mark the desert route of the Syrian *haj*. One great object of the latter is to preserve for the use of the pilgrims the water collected during the rainy season. Provision for pilgrims has long been made on a liberal scale by the Greek and Roman Churches; hospices for their entertainment are found near to most of the holy places the faithful are accustomed to visit. In khân and hospice alike the sojourner furnishes his own food; and he is wise to have also, if possible, his own bedding. The person in charge—the *Khânjy* (cf. *πανδοχεύς* of Lk 10[35])—will supply water to man and horse: nothing more is expected. For this and shelter the natives pay a trifling sum, known as *hak el-khân*, 'the price of the khân.'

In every town of any size in Syria more than one khân will be found, commonly resorted to by muleteers, in which the traveller's horses and native attendants are accommodated at merely nominal charges. These are often very miserable places, quite unlike the imposing buildings that once fringed the highways. There are, however, several famous khâns which represent them at their best; *e.g.* that of Antûn Beg in Beyrout, and that of As'ad Pasha in Damascus. The latter is 'one of the finest specimens of Arabian architecture in the country . . . the stone carving above the gateway and around the stalactite vaults is of the most elaborate character.' The khân is constructed of black basalt and white limestone in alternate layers, and is about two hundred feet square. The interior court is about half that size, with a large round fountain in the centre, above which is a lofty dome, resting upon four arches, each supported by four clustered pillars. These are connected with the walls by a series of similar arches and domes—eight in all. Those domes have each sixteen large windows through which light, air, and sunshine penetrate to the rooms and the court below. Around the sides are vaulted magazines of various sizes, for the disposal of merchandise of every description at wholesale.

> 'On either side of the main entrance a staircase leads up to an arched corridor, which extends quite around the building and communicates with the small retail shops and offices of the merchants. It forms a fine promenade, from where one can look down on the strange and truly Oriental scene in the court below, free from the noise and confusion which there characterize each commercial transaction, large or small. To Khân As'ad Pasha come caravans from Baghdâd, Mosul, Aleppo, Beyrout, and elsewhere. On entering, the muleteers and camel-drivers, with mighty din and uproar, throw down their loads of merchandise in this court, and here they must remain until the owners settle with the custom-house officials' (Thomson, *Land and Book*, iii. 373, 374). With this corresponds Lane's description of the Wakálehs in Cairo (*Mod. Egyp.* ed. 1895, p. 325).

The ordinary khân was, however, a hollow square, open above, with arches round one or more of the sides within, and over these a series of rooms, approached by a stone stair. The rooms are for travellers; muleteers, animals, and baggage share the space and arches below. In the opinion of the present writer, this must be distinguished from the *κατάλυμα* or **guest chamber,*** in which the parents of Jesus sought shelter when they reached Bethlehem (Lk 2[7]). The meaning of this word in the NT may be gathered from a reference to Mk 14[14], Lk 22[11], taken in the light of a prevailing Jewish custom. These two passages concern a room in a private house, which the owner readily places at the disposal of Jesus and His disciples for the celebration of the Passover. This was in accordance with the ordinary practice. At the festivals of Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles the people were commanded to repair to Jerusalem; and it was a boast of the Rabbis, that, notwithstanding the enormous crowds, no man could truthfully say to his fellow, 'I have not found a fire where to roast my paschal lamb in Jerusalem,' or 'I have not found a bed in Jerusalem to lie in,' or 'My lodging is too strait in Jerusalem' (*Aboth R. Nathan*, cap. 34, quoted by Lightfoot, *Works*, ed. 1825, ix. p. 128). The vast numbers who came for the Passover from all parts were made free of the needed apartments, as far as the capacity of the houses permitted; and for this no payment was taken. It was, however, customary for the guests on departing to leave the skins of the paschal lambs, and the vessels which had been employed in the ceremonies, in token of gratitude for their hospitable entertainment (Talm. Bab. *Joma*, fol. 12. 1, quoted by Lightfoot, *Works*, xi. p. 325; compare also use of verb *καταλύω* in Lk 9[12] 19[7]). We may reasonably suppose that on such an occasion as the great enrolment, when natives of a town came from afar, the 'guest chambers' of their friends would be thrown open to receive them. Joseph, arriving late, found that in which he had purposed to stay already occupied; and no room elsewhere being available, he betook himself with his charge to the khân. Even this apparently was full; possibly some of the animals were moved to afford them space; and here Jesus was born.

---

* Instead of גֵּרוֹת, however, there are weighty reasons for reading גְּדֵרוֹת 'pens *or* folds.' So Josephus and Aquila, followed by Hitzig and others.

* *Κατάλυμα* is used, however, in Ex 4[24] to translate מָלוֹן.

Well-organized and equipped hotels are now to be found at the principal seaports of Egypt and Syria, and also in the chief inland towns. Along the more frequented roads the natives have learned that something may be gained by accommodating travellers; but remote from the main routes the ancient conditions prevail.

LITERATURE.—Thomson, *Land and Book*; Lane, *Modern Egyptians*; Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, ed. 1877, pp. 163, 529; Farrar, *Life of Christ*; Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*, ed. 1894, pp. 163, 318, etc.; Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 478; Doughty, *Arabia Deserta* Lightfoot, *Works*, ed. 1825, ix. p. 128, etc., xi. p. 325, etc. W. EWING.

INNER MAN or **INWARD MAN.**—An expression, the exact force of which depends on the contrast intended where it occurs. In 2 Co 4^{16} the contrast is between the 'outward man' (ὁ ἔξω ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος) as mortal and perishable, and the 'inward' as spiritual and immortal; where note, that the Revisers' Greek, with WH and others, reads ὁ ἔσω ἡμῶν (instead of ὁ ἔσωθεν, TR), which exactly corresponds with the former member of the antithesis. Not very remote from this is the contrast in 1 P $3^{3.4}$ between the 'outward adorning' (ὁ ἔξωθεν κόσμος) and 'the hidden man of the heart.'

But the two peculiarly Pauline passages are Ro 7^{22} and Eph 3^{16}, where κατὰ τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον and εἰς τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον are used of something very closely akin to the 'new nature' or the 'renewed man.' The contrast in Ro 7^{22} is of the 'inward man' or of the 'mind' (νοῦς, v.^{23}), with 'the flesh' or 'the law of sin in the members.' In Eph 3^{16} there is no direct antithesis, but a single and positive reference to the new nature, or, at least, to the seat of the Spirit's indwelling and working, to which the corresponding expression in v.^{17} is 'that Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith.' It is possible in both passages to distinguish between the 'inward man' and the new or regenerate nature, but only in the sense that the former is the inner or higher self in man as acted on by divine grace, enlightened by God's law, and under preparation and discipline for salvation. Cremer holds that what is really meant by these expressions is not the mere contrast between the inward and the outward in man, between the invisible and the visible, the reality and the appearance, but the inner, spiritual, divine nature in antagonism to the flesh. 'Inward man,' upon this construction, would answer very nearly to πνεῦμα when that word is used in the special sense of (*e.g.*) Ro 8^{10}, for the 'new nature,' *i.e.* the spirit of man renewed and sustained by the Spirit of God. Thus the phrase must be reckoned as belonging to an entirely NT cycle of ideas—indeed to one almost exclusively Pauline.

J. LAIDLAW.

INORDINATE.—'Inordinate love' is the clumsy tr^{n} in Ezk 23^{11} of עֲגָבָה, a word which occurs only there, and means 'lust' (RV 'doting'); and 'inordinate affection' in Col 3^{5} of πάθος (RV 'passion'). The former tr^{n} comes from Cov. (Wyc. 'lecherie') and the latter from the Bishops' Bible (Wyc. 'leccherie,' Tind. 'unnatural lust,' Gen. 'wantounes,' Rhem. 'lust'). Inordinate is *ill-regulated*, *ungoverned*, as Bacon, *Essays*, 'Of Love' (Gold. Treas. ed. p. 36), 'the former was indeed a voluptuous Man and Inordinate, but the latter was an Austere and wise man'; and Shaks. *Othello*, II. iii. 311—'Every inordinate cup is unblessed, and the ingredient is a devil.' Wyc. uses the adv. in 2 Th 3^{6} 'withdrawe you fro ech brother wandrynge unordynatly'; and Latimer, *Sermons* (Arber's ed. p. 99), 'I heare saye ye walke inordinatelye, ye talke unsemelye other wayes then it becommeth Christian subjectes.' J. HASTINGS.

INQUISITION.—To make inquisition is to make investigation, to search, Dt 19^{18}, Est 2^{23}, Ps 9^{12}, 2 Es 6^{19}, Wis 1^{9} 6^{3} (RV), Sir 23^{24}. In Sir 41^{4} the phrase is 'There is no inquisition in the grave' (οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ᾅδου ἐλεγμὸς ζωῆς, RV 'There is no inquisition of life in the grave,' RVm 'in Hades'), that is, no inquiry is made there how long or short a man's life has been. Coverdale uses the word in Job 10^{6} 'Are thy dayes as the dayes of man, and thy yeares as mans yeares? that thou makest soch inquisicion for my wickednesse, and searchest out my synne?' and 35^{15} 'Then useth he no violence in his wrath nether hath he pleasure in curious and depe inquisicions.' And Fuller (*Holy Warre*, iii. 23, p. 150), in memory of Ps 9^{12}, says, 'But no doubt God, when he maketh inquisition for bloud, will one day remember this bloudy Inquisition.'

J. HASTINGS.

INSECTS.—See NATURAL HISTORY.

INSPIRE, INSPIRATION.—To 'inspire' is literally to 'breathe into,'* and that is the meaning of the word in its single occurrence in AV, Wis 15^{11} 'Forasmuch as he knew not his Maker, and him that inspired into him an active soul, and breathed in a living spirit' (τὸν ἐμπνεύσαντα αὐτῷ ψυχὴν ἐνεργοῦσαν, καὶ ἐμφυσήσαντα πνεῦμα ζωτικόν); Vulg. 'qui inspiravit illi animam quæ operatur, et qui insufflavit ei spiritum vitalem.' Wyc. has 'enspirede' here, but in other places he uses the simple 'spire' = breathe, as Gn 2^{7} 'The Lord God thanne fourmede man of the slyme of the erthe, and spiride in to the face of hym an entre [= entrance] of breth of lijf' (1388 'brethide'). All the other versions have in the passage just quoted from Wyc. 'breathed the breath,' and it is probably in memory of the Vulg. 'inspiravit in faciem ejus spiraculum vitæ' that Bacon (*Essays*, 'Of Truth,' p. 3) has 'First he breathed Light upon the Face of the Matter or Chaos; then he breathed Light into the Face of Man; and still he breatheth and inspireth Light into the Face of his Chosen'; and Milton, *PL* x. 785—

> 'Yet one doubt
> Pursues me still, lest all I cannot die;
> Lest that pure breath of life, the spirit of Man
> Which God inspired, cannot together perish
> With this corporeal clod.'

Cf. also *Judgement of the Synode at Dort*, p. 40, 'So then faith is the gift of God; not in that it is profered by God unto man's free-will, but because it is really bestowed, inspired, and infused into man.' Then the word passes into the meaning of 'fill with the spirit,' which we see in Knox, *Works*, iii. 99, 'Happie is the man whome thow sall inspyre, O Lord'; and in Tindale's tr^{n} of Mk 12^{36} 'for David him selfe inspyred with the holy goost, sayde.'

Inspiration occurs twice in AV: (1) Job 32^{8} 'But there is a spirit in man: and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding'; Heb. נִשְׁמַת שַׁדַּי; Vulg. 'Inspiratio Omnipotentis'; Wyc. 1382 'the inbrething of the Almyghti,' 1388 'the enspiryng *ether revelacioun* of Almyghti God'; so Cov. has 'inspiration,' and is followed by all the versions except RV 'the breath of the Almighty,' which agrees with LXX πνοή, and with AV in 33^{4} for the same Heb. 'The Spirit of God hath made me, and the breath of the Almighty hath given me life.' The reference is to Gn 2^{7}. (2) 2 Ti 3^{16} 'All scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine'; Gr. *πᾶσα γραφὴ θεόπνευστος καὶ ὠφέλιμος*; RV 'Every Scripture inspired of God is also profitable.' For the doctrine of the Inspiration of the Bible see under art. BIBLE, vol. i. p. 296. For this passage, reference may be made (besides the commentaries) to Perowne in *Expos. Times*, ii. 54; Warfield in *Pres. Quarterly*, July, 1889, pp. 389–406 (with *Old and New Test. Student*, Oct. 1889, ix. 245); Row, *BL* 454; Drummond, *Hib. Lect.* 77 f.; and Cremer, *s.v.* *θεόπνευστος*. The construction of the sentence in RV is the oldest Eng. construction: thus Wyc. 'al scripture onspired of god, is profitable,' Tind. 'al scripture geven by inspiracion of god, is profittable,' so Coverdale and the Great Bible. The Gen. Bible is the first to offer 'the whole Scripture *is* geven by spiration of God, and is profitable.' Tindale elsewhere uses the word in the same sense of a person, as Lk 2^{27} 'And he [Simeon] came by inspiracion in to the temple.' J. HASTINGS.

---

* The literal meaning is well seen in Spenser, *FQ* II. iii. 30—

> 'Her yellowe lockes, crisped like golden wyre,
> About her shoulders weren loosely shed,
> And, when the winde emongst them did inspyre,
> They waved like a penon wyde dispred,
> And low behinde her backe were scattered.'

INSTANT.—Instant (*in-stare*, stand upon, press upon) is used in AV in the sense of the present immediate time, as Is 29^{5} 'it shall be at an instant suddenly'; and as an adj. in the sense of 'pressing,' 'urgent': so Lk 23^{23} 'And they were instant with loud voices, requiring that he might be crucified' (*ἐπέκειντο*; Vulg. *instabant*, which gave Rhem. 'were instant,' whence AV; Amer. RV 'were urgent'); Ro 12^{12} 'continuing instant in prayer' (again from Rhem., Vulg. *instantes*, Gr. *προσκαρτεροῦντες*, RV 'continuing stedfastly'); and 2 Ti 4^{2} 'be instant in season, out of season' (*ἐπίστηθι*, Vulg. *insta*, Bishops 'be instant,' Rhem. 'urge'). Cf. Knox, *Hist.* 36, 'At their instant suit, more than of his own motion, was Thomas Gwilliame, a black Frier, called to bee Preacher'; and Ac 6^{4} Rhem. 'But we wil be instant in praier and the ministerie of the word.'

Instantly in AV means 'urgently,' Lk 7^{4} 'they besought him instantly' (*σπουδαίως*; Vulg, *sollicite*; 'instantly' is Tindale's word here; RV 'earnestly'); and Ac 26^{7} 'Unto which promise our twelve tribes, instantly serving God day and night, hope to come' (*ἐν ἐκτενείᾳ*, AV again from Tind., RV 'earnestly'). Cf. Tind. *Prol. to Pent.* 'It is not ynough therfore to read and talke of it only, but we must also desyre god daye and night instantly to open oure eyes, and to make us understond and feale wherfore the scripture was geven'; and his tr^{n} of Mk 5^{10} 'And he prayd him instantly, that he wolde not sende them awaye out of the countre,' where AV follows Rhem. 'he besought him much.' So Cranmer has 'very instantly' in *Works*, i. 77, 'which prior and his brethren . . . have desired me very instantly to be a mediator for them to your Most Noble Majesty'; and Melvill, *Diary*, 171, 'In the mean tyme, the Erles of Angus and Mar, lyand at Newcastell, wryttes for me ans, and the second tyme verie instantlie, to com and pretche the Word unto tham for ther comfort.' The Rhem. NT uses 'instance' in the same sense in Eph 6^{18} 'watching in al instance and supplication.' Shakespeare has both adj. and adv. frequently, but always with reference to time.

J. HASTINGS.

INSTRUMENT.—In the current sense of *the means of accomplishing anything* 'instrument' frequently occurs in OT, chiefly as tr. of *kĕlî*. In NT it is found but twice, both in Ro 6^{13} and in the same sense, 'Neither yield ye your members as instruments of unrighteousness unto sin: but yield yourselves unto God, as those that are alive from the dead, and your members as instruments of righteousness unto God.' The Gr. is *ὅπλα*, the ordinary word for 'weapons' (as AVm and RVm), and it is very doubtful if in NT it ever means 'instruments.' Besides, the military metaphor was more natural to St. Paul, and it reappears in v.^{23} 'the wages ('your pay as soldiers'—Sanday) of sin is death.' Then the meaning is as Lightfoot expresses it (*Notes on Epistles of St. Paul*), 'Sin is regarded as a sovereign who demands the military service of subjects, levies their quota of arms, and gives them their soldiers' pay of death.' Moule hits happily on 'implements,' which is capable of either interpretation, but he also regards the metaphor as a military one.

In To 7^{14} and 1 Mac 13^{42} 'instrument' has the legal sense of a 'deed.' The Gr. is general, *συγγραφή*, a document.

For Instruments of Music see MUSIC.

J. HASTINGS.

INTELLIGENCE.—Dn 11^{30} 'He shall even return, and have intelligence with them that forsake the holy covenant.' The meaning is more than mutual understanding, it is 'communication,' 'intercourse.' So Knox, *Hist.* 186, 'The Queene did grievously complaine, that we had intelligence with England'; and Drayton, *Pierce Gaveston*—

> 'From whence I found a secret means, to have
> Intelligence with my kind lord the king.'

The Heb., however (יָבֵן עַל), means simply 'give heed to'; RV 'have regard unto.' The Eng. word occurs also in 2 Mac 3^{9} in the ordinary sense of 'information,' which is the word preferred by RV. J. HASTINGS.

INTEMPERANCE.—See DRUNKENNESS.

INTEND, INTENT.—To intend is used by Spenser in the lit. sense of the Lat. *intendere*, to stretch out: *FQ* I. xi. 38—

> 'The same advancing high above his head,
> With sharpe intended sting so rude him smot,
> That to the earth him drove, as stricken dead.'

But in AV it is used only in the sense of directing the *will* to an object. This is sometimes no more than the formation of a design, as in modern use. So Ac 5^{35} 20^{13} (*μέλλω*). But sometimes it is the determination of the will, a fixed resolve, as Ac 5^{28} 12^{4} (*βούλομαι*), Lk 14^{28} (*θέλω*). Cf. Gal 1^{7} Tind. 'ther be some which trouble you, and intende to pervert the gospell of Christ' (*θέλοντες μεταστρέψαι*). The word is even used in the sense of *pursuing* a resolution (as distinguished from merely forming it). Thus in Jos 22^{33} it is said that after an explanation from the eastern tribes 'the children of Israel blessed God, and did not intend to go up against them in battle,' where the meaning of AV is no doubt as explained by Davies (*Bible English*, 194), that they had intended in our sense of the word but no longer prosecuted the design. Cf. Latimer, *Sermons*, i. 342, 'The devil sleepeth not; he ever intendeth to withdraw us from prayer'; Knox, *Works*, iii. 297, 'Howe these my wordes at that tyme pleased men, the crymes and action intended agaynste me dyd declare'; and Chapman, *Homer's Iliads*, viii. 80—

> 'Stay, let us both intend
> To drive this cruel enemy from our dear aged friend.'

This verb is now rarely used with a direct object. In AV we find Ps 21^{11} 'For they intended evil against thee' (נָטוּ 'they stretched'; Perowne, either 'they have spread against thee evil,' like a net, Lat. *tendere insidias*; or 'they have bent against thee,' etc., like a bow, Lat. *tendere arcum*; Del. 'cause evil to impend over thee,' so Cheyne; Wellh.-Furness, 'When they revolve evil against thee'; King, 'Though they plotted evil against thee'); Ad. Est 13^{4} (*κατευθύνω*); 2 Mac 14^{5} 'being . . . asked how the Jews stood affected and what they intended' (*ἐν τίνι διαθέσει καὶ βουλῇ καθέστηκαν*, RV 'what they purposed'); and 14^{8} 'even for that I intend the good of mine own countrymen' (*καὶ τῶν ἰδίων πολιτῶν στοχασάμενος*, RV 'I have regard also to mine own fellow-citizens'). So Knox, *Hist.* 25, 'And thus did those cruell beasts intend nothing but murther in all the quarters of this Realme.'

Intent is always *purpose*, *intention*, as in Tindale, *Expositions*, p. 96 (on Mt 6$^{14\text{-}18}$), 'But and if thou think that God delighteth in the work for the work itself, the true intent away, and in thy pain for thy pain itself, thou art as far out of the way as from heaven to the earth'; and p. 147 (on 1 Jn 1^{3}), 'To bring unto the fellowship of God and Christ, is the final intent of all the scripture.' So Jer 44^{25} Cov. 'Purposely have ye set up youre owne good meanynges, and hastely have ye fulfilled youre owne intente'; and Knox, *Hist.* 149, 'They were minded to keep no point of the promise longer than they had obtained their intent.' The phrase in AV is usually 'to the intent that,' but the plural occurs Jer 30^{24} 'until he have performed the intents of his heart' (מְזִמּוֹת לִבּוֹ); He 4^{12} 'a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart' (*κριτικὸς . . . ἐννοιῶν καρδίας*). Fuller says of the Crusaders (*Holy Warre*, I. xii. p. 18), 'We must in charitie allow that many of them were truly zealous, and went with pious intents'; and on p. 243 (v. 9), 'Farre be it from us to condemn all their works to be drosse, because debased and alloyed with superstitious intents.'

J. HASTINGS.

INTERCESSION.—See PRAYER.

INTERMEDDLE (from Old Fr. *entre* among and *medler* to mix) meant formerly either literally to mix, as Malory, *Morte Darthur*, xvii. 15, 'Right so entered he into the chamber, and came toward the table of silver; and when he came nigh he felt a breath that him thought it was intermeddled with fire'; and Hakluyt, *Voyages*, i. 572, 'He hath intermedled in his historie certaine things contrary to the trueth'; or else figuratively to have to do with, take an interest in, which is the meaning in AV. It occurs twice, Pr 14^{10} 'The heart knoweth his own bitterness; and a stranger doth not intermeddle with his joy' (יִתְעָרַב, takes part in, shares, not necessarily *interferes* in; LXX *ἐπιμίγνυται*; Vulg. 'miscebitur'); and 18^{1} 'Through desire a man, having separated himself, seeketh and intermeddleth with all wisdom' (בְּכָל־תּוּשִׁיָּה יִתְגַּלָּע, RV 'rageth against all sound wisdom,' RVm 'quarrelleth with'; Del. 'Against all that is beneficial he showeth his teeth'; *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* 'bursts out in strife against.' AV misunderstands the meaning, and takes the verb in a good sense, 'have to do with,' 'take an interest in,' after the tr. of the Gen. Bible, 'For the desire thereof he wil separate him self to seke it, and occupie him self in all wisdome,' with its margin, 'He that loveth wisdome, wil separate him self from all impediments, and give him self wholly to seke it').

J. HASTINGS.

INTERMEDIATE STATE.—See ESCHATOLOGY.

INTERPRETATION.—This subst. and its verb are used in Scripture in a variety of senses.

1. Of *dreams* (פָּתַר 'interpret,' פִּתְרוֹן 'interpretation'); the dreams of the chief butler and the chief baker, Gn 40$^{5.\,8.\,12.\,16.\,18.\,22}$ 41$^{11.\,12.\,13}$; Pharaoh's dream, 41$^{8.\,15}$; Gideon's dream, Jg 7^{15} (where the word for 'interpretation' is the *ἅπ. λεγ.* שֶׁבֶר, lit. 'breaking up,' *i.e.* 'solution'). In Dn occur the Aramaic forms פְּשַׁר (verb) 'interpret' (*Qal* in Dn 5^{16}, *Pael ptcp.* מְפַשַּׁר 5^{12}), and פְּשַׁר (noun) 'interpretation'; used of the dreams of Nebuchadnezzar (Dn 2$^{4\text{ff.}}$ 4^{6}), of Daniel himself (7^{16}); cf. the use of the same word for the interpretation to Belshazzar of the writing on the wall (5$^{7\text{ff.}}$), and the similar use of פֵּשֶׁר in Ec 8^{1} (only).

Dreams being regarded as vehicles of divine communication and frequently as portending future events, it became a matter of great importance to discover their interpretation. This function was discharged at the court of Egypt by the חַרְטֻמִּים 'sacred scribes' (Gn 41^{8}; cf. the complaint of the butler and the baker, *while in prison*, 'We have dreamed a dream, and there is none that can interpret it,' 40^{8}). With the reply of Joseph (*ib.*), 'Do not interpretations belong to God?' compare the statement of Herodotus (ii. 83) regarding the Egyptian opinion, *Ἀνθρώπων μὲν οὐδενὶ προσκέεται ἡ τέχνη, τῶν δὲ θεῶν μετεξετέροισι.* The 'wise men' and 'Chaldæans' (the latter by a late conception) have similar functions attributed to them, in the Book of Daniel, at the court of Babylon.

2. Of interpreting *a foreign language.* Egyptian being, of course, the language of the court, the conversation between Joseph and his brethren was carried on by the medium of an interpreter, who was probably always expected to be in attendance at court (Gn 42^{23} הַמֵּלִיץ with art. '*the* interpreter'). The interpreter being *between* (בֵּינֹתָם *ib.*) the two parties, מֵלִיץ can be used as = 'ambassador' (2 Ch 32^{31}) or 'mediator' (Is 43^{27}, of prophets standing between J" and Israel; Job 33^{23}, of an angel as interpreting to man God's providential treatment of him and what is right for him to do [Davidson], probably also as interceding for man to God [Dillmann, Siegfried-Stade]). הֵלִיץ and its derivatives (cf. מְלִיצָה in Hab 2^{6}, 'taunt-song') have always the sense of *deriding* or *taunting* except in the four above-cited passages, Gn 42^{23}, 2 Ch 32^{31}, Is 43^{27}, Job 33^{23} (contrast 16^{20}), and in Pr 1^{6} where מְלִיצָה (LXX *σκοτεινὸς λόγος*) probably means 'a dark saying' (RV 'a figure') rather than 'interpretation' (AV, RVm).

In Ezr 4^{7} the passive ptcp. מְתֻרְגָּם is used of a translation from Persian into Aramaic. From this root comes the well-known word *Targum* ('paraphrase') as well as the designation *meturgeman* applied to the official in the synagogue, who was required to translate the Hebrew (which was read to, but no longer understood by, the people) into the Aramaic vernacular. Latterly, in addition to translating the sacred text, the *meturgeman* was wont to add all manner of Haggāda to it (W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} 36, 64 n., 154).

In NT we have the familiar phrase 'which is, being interpreted,' etc. (*μεθερμηνευόμενος, ὃ ἑρμηνεύεται, διερμηνευόμενος, ὃ μεθερμηνεύεται*), where a Heb. or Aram. expression is rendered into Greek (Mt 1^{23}, Mk 5^{41} 15$^{22.\,34}$, Jn 1$^{38.\,41}$ etc. Ac 9^{36} 13^{8}), a symbolical force being also sometimes discovered in it (Jn 1^{42} 9^{7}, Ac 4^{36}, He 7^{2}).

Although it scarcely falls within the scope of the present article, the reference of Papias (*ap.* Eusebius, *HE* iii. 39) to St. Mark as the 'interpreter' (*ἑρμηνευτής*) of St. Peter may be mentioned (see MARK). Link (*SK*, 1896, Heft iii. p. 405 ff.; cf. *Expos. Times*, Aug. 1896, p. 496) contends strongly that 'interpreter' here is to be understood in its strictly literal sense, implying that the Apostle Peter, in his missionary journeys among the Jews of the Diaspora, availed himself of St. Mark's services to render Aramaic into Greek.

3. Of interpreting *the utterances of those who spoke with tongues.* This was a 'gift' (*χάρισμα*) which might or might not belong to the speaker with tongues himself (1 Co 12$^{10.\,30}$ 14$^{5.\,13.\,26.\,27.\,28}$). See CHURCH, vol. i. p. 428^{b}, and TONGUES (GIFT OF).

4. Considerable uncertainty attaches to the meaning of the word 'interpretation' in 2 P 1^{20} (*γινώσκοντες ὅτι πᾶσα προφητεία γραφῆς ἰδίας ἐπι-*

λύσεως οὐ γίνεται, 'knowing that no prophecy of Scripture is of private interpretation'; cf. the use of *ἐπιλύειν* in Mk 4^{34} and Ac 19^{39}). All the varieties of explanation may be grouped under two heads, according as the 'interpretation' is (*a*) *ours* or (*b*) *the prophet's own.* Both the context and the very similar language of Philo (*Quis rer. div. hær.* p. 52) plead in favour of the second explanation. Grimm, indeed (*Clavis, s. γίγνομαι*), supports the first, taking the meaning to be that no one can by his own mental powers explain the prophecies of the OT, but that he requires the aid of the same spirit which originally called forth their utterance. But this true conception seems hardly in place here. See further Alford, *ad loc.*, and Farrar (*Early Days of Christianity*, 119 n.), who takes the meaning to be that 'the prophets did not speak by spontaneous knowledge and spoke more than they could themselves interpret . . . If this *utterance* is not his own, his *interpretation* may also well be inadequate (cf. 1 P 1^{10-12}).'

For interpretation of prophecy see PROPHECY.

The history of the various schemes, Jewish and Christian, for interpreting Scripture, the supposed double sense, the allegorizing method once so much in vogue, etc., lie outside the scope of this article. For details, the reader must refer to works on Rabbinical Theology and on Hermeneutics.

J. A. SELBIE.

INTREAT, ENTREAT.—In the edd. of AV since 1760 'entreat' has the meaning of 'deal with,' 'handle' (mod. 'treat'), and 'intreat' of 'beg,' 'pray.' But they are different spellings of the same verb (fr. Lat. *in-tractare*, through Fr. *entraiter*), and in 1611 the spelling was indifferently 'entreat' or 'intreat.'

In the sense of *treat*, 'entreat' occurs in AV 1611 eleven times, 'intreat' twelve times; in the sense of *pray*, 'entreat' occurs eleven times, 'intreat' twenty-eight times. In Job 19^{16} we find 'I intreated him with my mouth,' but in the next verse 'I entreated for the children's sake.' Again in Jer 15^{11} we read, 'I will cause the enemie to intreat thee well in the time of evill,' while the marg. has 'Or, I will entreat the enemie for thee.' The subst. is found once 'intreaty' (Pr 18^{23}), once 'entreaty' (2 Co 8^{4}), both meaning 'petition.'

1. To *entreat* is simply to 'deal with,' 'handle,' any person or thing, as Hos 6^{4} Cov., 'O Ephraim, what shal I do unto the? O Iuda, how shall I intreate the?' More, *Utopia* (Lumby's ed. p. 69), 'Ther com yearly to Amaurote out of every cytie iii. old men wyse and well experienced, there to entreate and debate, of the common matters of the land.' But in AV the word is used in this sense only with an adv., 'well,' 'evil,' 'spitefully,' 'shamefully,' and once in a good sense, 'courteously,' Ac 27^{3}.

2. To *intreat* is to 'beseech'; but in older Eng. the word had also the meaning of 'beseech successfully,' 'persuade.' Thus Shaks. *As You Like It*, I. ii. 135, 'since the youth will not be entreated, his own peril on his forwardness.' In this sense 'intreat' is evidently used in AV, as Gn 25^{21} 'And Isaac intreated the LORD for his wife . . . and the LORD was intreated of him.' So 2 S 21^{14} 24^{25}, 1 Ch 5^{20}, 2 Ch $33^{13.19}$, Ezr 8^{23}, Is 19^{22}. The Heb. is always the reflex. (Niph.) of עָתַר, *'âthar* (as Gn 25^{21} וַיֵּעָתֶר לוֹ), which in Arabic is 'to slaughter *or* sacrifice' (Lane, see also Buhl *s.v.*, and esp. We.), but in Heb. is used with the more general sense of 'supplicate' in the reflex. 'to let oneself be supplicated,' 'be persuaded,' so that 'be intreated' was an exceedingly happy rendering. In Ja 3^{17}, 'easy to be intreated' (*εὐπειθής*, not elsewhere in NT), the meaning is the same. The tr. is Tindale's; Wyc. has 'able to be counceilid,' Rhem. 'suasible.'

J. HASTINGS.

INWARD, INWARDS.—Inward means: 1. Towards the inside, as 2 S 5^{9} 'And David built round about from Millo and inward' (בָּיְתָה); 2 Ch 3^{13} 'The wings of these cherubims spread themselves forth twenty cubits: and they stood on their feet, and their faces were inward' (לַבָּיִת; RV [as AVm] 'toward the house,' RVm 'inward'); Ezk 40^{9} 'the porch of the gate was inward' (מֵהַבָּיִת, RV 'toward the house'). 2. As an adj. inward has two meanings: (1) *Interior*, as in Bacon, *Essays*, 'Of Building,' p. 184, 'Beyond this Court let there be an Inward Court, of the same Square and Height'; Bunyan, *Holy War*, p. 133, 'The Gaoler, therefore, having received such a charge, put them all in the inward prison'; and Shaks. *Cymb.* III. iv. 6—

> 'Wherefore breaks that sigh
> From the inward of thee?'

The Heb. *ḳerebh*, a subst. of frequent occurrence and variously translated (but of which the general meaning is well seen in Ps 103^{1} כָּל־קְרָבַי 'all that is within me'), is rendered by 'inward part' or 'parts' in Ps 5^{9}, Is 16^{11}, Jer 31^{33} (see also Gn 41^{21} AVm); and by 'inward thought' in Ps 49^{11} 64^{6}, where the meaning is almost 'secret,' as in Bacon, *Advancement of Learn.* II. xxiii. 48, 'The government of the soul in moving the body is inward and profound.' 'Inward parts' is the tr^{n} also of *ṭûḥôth* (parts covered) in Job 38^{36} (but see Davidson and RVm), Ps 51^{6}; and of *ḥădârîm* (chambers) in Pr $20^{27.30}$, RV 'innermost parts.' Inward has the same meaning of 'interior' in 2 Mac 3^{16} 'the changing of his colour declared the inward agony of his mind' (Gr. simply *ἀγωνία*, RV 'distress'). And in NT there occurs 'the inward man,' Ro 7^{22}, 2 Co 4^{16} (*ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος*), *i.e.* the conscience or reason, as opposed to the body (*ὁ ἔξω ἄνθρωπος*, 2 Co 4^{16}; see INNER MAN), a phrase used also by Shaks. in *Hamlet*, II. ii. 6—

> 'Something have you heard
> Of Hamlet's transformation; so I call it,
> Since not the exterior nor the inward man
> Resembles that it was.'

And *Pericles*, II. ii. 57—

> 'Opinion's but a fool, that makes us scan
> The outward habit by the inward man.'

We also find in 2 Co 7^{15} the phrase 'inward affection' as the tr^{n} of *σπλάγχνα*, a tr^{n} which comes from Tindale, and is accepted by all the Eng. VSS except Rhem. 'bowels.' Wyc. 1380 has 'entraylis,' 1388 'inwardnesse.' (2) But the adj. 'inward' means *intimate* in Job 19^{19} 'All my inward friends abhorred me' (כָּל־מְתֵי סוֹדִי, lit. as RVm 'all the men of my council'). Davidson calls the AV tr^{n} 'a fine expression,' and adds, 'the reference is to such as his three friends, men whose high converse and fellowship seemed to Job, as a thoughtful godly man, something almost better than relationship, Ps 55^{14}.' Fuller uses the word in the same sense in *Holy Warre*, ii. 37 (p. 92), 'the Caliph himself . . . having few of his most inward eunuchs about him'; and Evelyn, *Diary*, July 22, 1674, 'He was . . . so inward with my Lord Obrien that, after a few moneths of that gentleman's death, he married his widow'; and Shaks. has it not only as an adj. *Rich. III.* III. iv. 8, 'Who is most inward with the noble duke?' but also as a subst., *Meas. for Meas.* III. ii. 138, 'I was an inward of his.'

Inwards never occurs in AV or RV as an adv., but always as a subst., and the tr^{n} of *ḳerebh*, bowels. See next article and SACRIFICE. In Shaks. *II Henry IV.* IV. iii. 115, it is used generally of the inner parts of the body, 'The second property of your excellent sherris is, the warming of the blood; which, before cold and settled, left the liver white and pale, which is the badge of pusillanimity and cowardice; but the sherris warms it, and makes it course from the inwards to the parts extreme'; but more particularly of the bowels, in *Othello*, II. i. 306—

> 'The thought whereof
> Doth like a poisonous mineral gnaw my inwards.'

J. HASTINGS.

INWARDS, INWARD PARTS.—'Inwards,' representing קֶרֶב, is repeatedly used in AV of Ex and Lv as equivalent to 'entrails.' 'Inward parts' is used in a much wider application throughout the OT, and represents not only קֶרֶב of the original, but several other words, as מֵעִים, חַדְרֵי־בֶטֶן, טֻחוֹת, and לֵב. The phrase is used in two broadly distinct applications—(1) in the literal or corporeal, (2) in the tropical or psychical.

1. Examples of the *literal* sense are Gn 41^{21}, where 'eaten them up' is rendered in AVm 'come to the inward parts' (אֶל־קִרְבֶּנָה); 1 K 17^{21}, where 'let the child's soul come to him again' is on the margin 'into his inward parts' (עַל־קִרְבּוֹ).

2. Examples of the tropical application for the 'inward' or 'hidden' in character contrasted with the 'outward' or 'manifest' are Ps 5^9 62^4 (Heb. ^{5}), mouth or outward expression (פֶּה) contrasted with thoughts (קֶרֶב); Ps 64^6 (Heb. ^{7}), where קֶרֶב and לֵב are put for the concealed elements of character. In Is 16^{11} both מֵעִים and קֶרֶב are used metaphorically of the divine compassions. In Jer 31^{33} קֶרֶב and לֵב are used of the inward nature of man as the seat of a divine renewal.

Several familiar examples of the phrase for the 'secrets of the human soul' threaten to disappear from our Bibles under the effect of modern alterations in reading and rendering, *e.g.* Ps 49^{11} 'Their inward thought is that their houses,' etc., by the transposition of two letters (קִבְרָם for קִרְבָּם), becomes 'Their graves are their houses,' a reading supported by Sept. Pesh. Targ. and adopted by most modern scholars (RVm); Job 38^{36}, where טֻחוֹת 'inward parts' can be rendered 'dark clouds,' and the parallel word for 'mind,' 'meteors' (see RVm); Ps 51^6 (Heb. ^{8}), where Wellhausen (following Hitzig) holds that the consonants בטחות represent, not the noun טֻחוֹת and preposition בְּ, but a derivative of the verb בטח, and accordingly renders 'Faith and trust, it is these Thou lovest ('Psalms' in *Polychrome Bible*, Lond. 1898). See, further, Cheyne in *Expositor*, Aug. 1898, p. 83 ff.

In the NT the phrase, represented by τὸ ἔσωθεν, is used only in Mt 7^{15} and Lk 11^{39} in the unfavourable sense for inward wickedness. The other use of inner or inward man in relation to the renewed nature is almost wholly Pauline. See INNER MAN.

J. LAIDLAW.

IOB (יוֹב, AV Job).—The third son of Issachar, Gn 46^{13}. *Job* (יוֹב) appears to be a textual error for *Jashub* (יָשׁוּב) of the parallel passages Nu 26^{24}, 1 Ch 7^1, which is read by Sam. Pent. and Pesh. even in Gn, and is supported by LXX Ἰασούφ, Luc. Ἰασούβ. So Dillmann, *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*, etc.

J. A. SELBIE.

IPHDEIAH (יִפְדְיָה 'J″ redeems').—A Benjamite chief, 1 Ch 8^{25}. See GENEALOGY.

IPHTAH (יִפְתָּח, AV Jiphtah).—A town in the Shephelah of Judah, Jos 15^{43}. The name has not been recovered.

IPHTAH-EL (יִפְתַּח־אֵל, AV Jiphtah-el).—A ravine (גַּיְא) N.W. of Hannathon, on the north border of Zebulun, Jos $19^{14.\,27}$. The situation of DABBESHETH (v. ^{11}) seems to show that the great ravine, called *Wady el-Ḳurn*, 'valley of the horn,' west of *Kefr 'Anân*, is intended. The word has nothing to do with the name *Jefât* (*i.e.* Jotapata of Jos. *Wars*, iii. 7), with which it has been wrongly compared (*e.g.* by Robinson, *BRP* iii. p. 107).

C. R. CONDER.

IR (עִיר, A Ὠρά, B Ῥαώμ), 1 Ch 7^{12}.—Shuppim and Huppim are mentioned as the sons of Ir (called in v. ^{7} Iri) in a list of the sons of Benjamin.

IRA (עִירָא, Εἴρας, *Ira*).—**1.** A Jairite, *i.e.* of Jair, a family of Gilead (Nu 32^{41} etc.). He is described as 'priest unto David' (cf. 2 S 8^{18}, where David's sons are also called 'priests'; Driver, *Sam.* pp. 219 and 293 f.), and associated with Zadok and Abiathar (2 S 20^{26}). It may be noted in this connexion (*a*) that in the list of court officials given in 2 S $8^{15\text{ff.}}$ (from which this notice [2 S 20^{26}] appears to be repeated, cf. Budde, *Richter u. Samuel*, p. 254) no mention is made of Ira, (*b*) that his name is also absent from the list in 1 Ch $18^{14\text{-}17}$ (which, however, is simply transcribed from 2 S 8); in both these passages a statement as to the office of David's sons is substituted (?), and (*c*) that the difficulty attaching to the word 'priest' in this passage, whether it be applied to Ira or to the sons of David (in 1 Ch 18 'priests' is changed to 'chiefs about the king,' הָרִאשֹׁנִים לְיַד הַמֶּלֶךְ), admits of solution if the passage is assigned to a late date (although, of course, it may be plausibly urged on the other hand that the freer use of the word 'priests' is an evidence of *antiquity*). Additional confirmation is thus given to Budde's theory that 2 S $20^{23\text{-}26}$ were repeated (with variations) from 2 S $8^{15\text{f.}}$ by a later redactor, who wished to include the genuinely old section 2 S 9^1–20^{22} and took this means of connecting the chapters added with what preceded (see SAMUEL, BOOKS OF). Nothing further is known of this Ira, unless, following the reading of the Peshiṭta (ܕܡܢ ܝܬܝܪ = 'of Jattir,' *i.e.* הַיִּתְרִי for הַיָּאִרִי the Jairites, Luc. ὁ Ἰεθέρ), we adopt the somewhat hazardous conjecture (Then. Klost.) that he is identical with **2.** Ira the Ithrite (הַיִּתְרִי), one of David's heroes (2 S 23^{38} = 1 Ch 11^{40}). Most probably Then. and Klost. are right in pointing the text differently (הַיִּתְּרִי for הַיִּתְרִי, see ITHRITE, THE), and treating Ira as a native of Jattir in the hill-country of Judah (cf. 1 S 30^{27}). **3.** (2 S 23^{26}, B Εἴρας, A Ἶρας; 1 Ch 11^{28} Ὠραί; 1 Ch 27^9, B Ὀδουίας, A Εἰρά, Hira) Another of David's heroes, son of Ikkesh the Tekoite. According to 1 Ch 27^9 he was captain of the temple guard for the sixth monthly course.

J. F. STENNING.

IRAD (עִירָד, LXX Γαιδάδ).—Son of Enoch and grandson of Cain (Gn 4^{18}). The name perhaps means 'fugitive' (Budde, 'strong,' 'increasing,' following the Arabic *'arada*, which, used of plants, = 'come forth and become tall' or 'come forth hard and erect' [Lane, 1997 f.]), and may be a transformation of ירד (Gn $5^{15\text{f.}}$ = 1 Ch 1^2). See Dillmann and Spurrell on Gn 4^{18}, and Budde, *Urgeschichte*, 123 ff.

IRAM (עִירָם).—A 'duke' (אַלּוּף) of Edom, Gn 36^{43} = 1 Ch 1^{54}. The precise connotation of the name in this 'geographico-statistical list' (Dillm.) is unknown. The LXX has in Gn A Ζαφωεί, *DE* Ζαφωείν, in 1 Ch B Ζαφωείν, A Ἡράμ.

IR-HA-HERES (עִיר הַהֶרֶס).—In Is 19^{18} the name to be given to one of the 'five cities in the land of Egypt that speak the language of Canaan, and swear to Jehovah of hosts'; in AV, RV, 'one shall be called The city of destruction.' The passage is difficult; and many different views have been held about it, especially in modern times.

(1) The Massoretic reading of the passage (which is supported by Aq. Theod. Pesh.) is that given above: and of this the usually accepted interpretation is that expressed in AV, RV, and adopted by Delitzsch; the name 'city of destroying'—or, more exactly, 'of *tearing down*,' the verb הָרַס being used properly of *tearing* or *pulling down*

buildings, cities, altars, etc. (Ex 23[24], 1 K 18[30], 1 S 14[17], Ezk 13[14] etc.)—is supposed to be chosen for the sake of a punning allusion to *ḥeres* (חֶרֶס Job 9[7]*) 'sun,' the 'city of the sun' being a designation which might have been given in Hebrew to On, the Heliopolis of the Greeks, a city a few miles to the N.E. of the modern Cairo, in ancient times the chief centre of the sun-worship in Egypt, and full of obelisks dedicated to the sun-god, Ra. The meaning of the passage, then, is that the place which has hitherto been a 'city of the sun' will in the future be called the 'city of destroying,' *i.e.* a city which has devoted itself to destroying the temples and emblems of the sun; cf. the prophecy of Jeremiah (43[13]), where it is said of Nebuchadnezzar that 'he will break in pieces the pillars (*i.e.* obelisks) of Beth-shemesh (the 'house, *or* temple, of the sun'), that is in the land of Egypt.' The objections which have been urged against this view, that it requires too much to be supplied, that הֶרֶס does not occur elsewhere, and that the expression ought rather to mean 'the destroyed city,' are not cogent: the name is, of course, meant allusively, not as a complete definition; there are many other words which occur but once in the Hebrew Bible; † and the sense in which the 'destroying' was meant would be determined by the context.

(2) Symm. (πόλις ἡλίου), Vulg. (*civitas Solis*), the Talm. (*Menāḥōth*, 110[a]), and Saadyah (10th cent.), read חֶרֶס ('sun') for הֶרֶס ('destruction'), a reading found also in 16 Heb. MSS.‡ This reading, in spite of the preference expressed for it by Ges. (*Thes.*) and Riehm (*Einl.* ii. 552 f.), cannot be deemed probable,—at least, if the words be accepted as Isaiah's: if it be adopted, be it observed, the expression used by the prophet would be, not 'one shall *be* the city of the sun' (in which case, no doubt, his words could be understood as a promise of the conversion of Heliopolis to the worship of Jehovah), but 'one shall be *called* the city of the sun,' an idiom which, according to usage (cf. 1[26] 4[3] 9[5] 61[3b. 6] 62[4], Jer 19[6], Hos 1[10]), always implies that the words following denote the *character* of the place or person mentioned; and it would be very pointless to say that one of the converted cities would bear the character of a sun-city.

Ges. (*Comm.*), Ew., Knob., who adopt the same reading, explain it from the Arab. *ḥarasa*, 'the guarded *or* protected city'; but this is to introduce a very questionable Arabism into the text of the OT.

(3) The LXX has *πόλις ασεδεκ*, *i.e.* עִיר הַצֶּדֶק 'city of righteousness' (cf. 1[26] 61[3b]). This would yield a fair, though not a specially pertinent sense: it is open to the suspicion of being an alteration based on 1[26] (where the 'righteousness' is in pointed contrast to the unrighteousness denounced in vv.[21-23] etc.). On the other hand, that in Egypt the text of Is 19 was treated freely, and accommodated to the circumstances of a later age, is evident from the LXX rendering of v.[25], where, for 'Blessed be Egypt my people,' they substitute 'Blessed be *my people that is in* Egypt,' with manifest reference to the Jews settled there in the time of the Ptolemies. See further (5).

A decision on the passage is complicated by historical considerations. The high priest Onias III., after his deposition by Antiochus Epiphanes,—or, according to other statements, his son, Onias IV.,*—despairing of better times in Judah, sought refuge in Egypt (*c.* B.C. 170-160) with Ptolemy Philometor; and conceived the idea of building there a temple, dedicated to Jehovah, in which the ancient rites of his people might be carried on without molestation, and which might form a religious centre at least for the Jews settled in Egypt. Upon his application to Ptolemy, the king granted the disused site of a sanctuary of Bubastis at Leontopolis, in the 'nome,' or district, of Heliopolis, and there Onias erected his temple.† In support of his plan he had pointed to Is 19[19] and its context,‡ as a prediction that a temple to Jehovah was to be built in Egypt.§ These facts have been supposed to have a bearing upon both the reading and the exegesis of the passage under consideration. Certainly, if the passage be Isaiah's; they will not affect either; in that case, the first view given above is the only one which can be regarded as probable. But there are scholars whom that view fails to satisfy; and, without going so far as to deny Isaiah's authorship of the whole of 19[16 (18)-25], it must be granted that the clause in v.[18] 'one shall be called,' etc., might well be a later addition to the original text of the prophecy: the verse would not read incompletely without it, nor does it add anything material to the main thought of the verse. Those who hold, then, that this clause (with or without the context) is not Isaiah's, adopt the following views about it.

(4) Duhm boldly translates 'shall be called Leontopolis,' explaining *hereṣ* from the Arab. *hariṣ*, properly the *bruiser*, *crusher*, a poet. name for a lion. But that a very special and fig. application of an Arab. root, not occurring in Heb. even in its usual Arabic sense, should be found in Heb., is most improbable.

Dillmann's suggestions are better worthy of consideration. First (5), adhering to Isaiah's authorship, but deeming (1) and (2) above both unsuitable, he thinks it possible (agreeing in this with Bredenkamp) that 'city of righteousness' was the original reading,‖ supposing that *hereṣ*, 'sun,' and *hereṣ*, 'destruction,' were alterations made intentionally after B.C. 170, for the purpose of introducing a more definite allusion to the temple of Leontopolis (which was situated, as said above, in the nome of Heliopolis), the former by those who viewed this temple with approval, the latter by those who judged it schismatic. But he goes on (6) to throw out the suggestion that, after all, the whole clause may have been added at this later date, *hereṣ*, 'sun,' being the original reading, which was altered afterwards by the Jews of Palestine into *hereṣ*, 'destruction,' in order to obtain a condemnation of the Egyptian temple,¶ and by the Jews of Egypt into *ẓedeḳ*, 'righteousness,' in order to make the prophecy more distinctly favourable to it.

(7) Cheyne (*Introd. to Is.* pp. 102-110), followed by Skinner, rejecting the view that the passage was written in the interests of the temple of Leon-

---

* And in the pr. names הַר חֶרֶס Jg 1[35], תִּמְנַת חֶרֶס 2[9], מַעֲלֵה הֶחָרֶס 'ascent of Ḥeres' 8[13]; 14[18] is dub., see Moore.

† The *form* of the word is perfectly regular and normal: cf. אֶרֶב a *lying-in-wait* (Job 38[40]), קֶשֶׁב an *attending* (Is 21[7]), קֶטֶל a *slaying* (Ob 9), שֶׁבֶר a *breaking*, הֶרֶג a *killing*, חֶבֶל a *destruction* (Mic 2[10]), לֶכֶד a *catch* (Pr 3[26]), etc.

‡ The present text of the Targ. expresses a combination of both readings, (1) and (2): קרתא בית שמש דעתידא למחרב 'the city Beth-Shemesh [see Jer 43[13], cited above], which is destined to be destroyed' (cited in the Talm. *l.c.* without the last clause: see Levy, *NHWB* ii. 112).

* See on this question Baethgen, *ZATW*, 1886, p. 278 ff.

† Probably at Tell el-Yahudiyeh (about 10 miles N. of Heliopolis), near which there are the remains of a Jewish necropolis (Naville, as cited below, pp. 13-15, 19 f.). The place was afterward scalled *Onion*.

‡ See Jos. *Ant.* XIII. iii. 1 *end*.

§ Jos. *BJ* I. i. 1; VII. x. 2-3; *Ant.* XII. v. 1, ix. 7; XIII. iii. 1-3, x. 4; XX. 10; Ewald, *Hist.* v. 355 f.; Schürer, ii. 544-546. See also Naville, *The Mound of the Jew and the City of Onias* (7th Memoir of the Egyp. Expl. Fund), 1890, pp. 18-20.

‖ So Geiger, *Urschrift* (1857), p. 79 f. (treating the verse, however,—and indeed the whole passage, 19[18-25],—as a late addition to Isaiah's prophecy, written for the express purpose of glorifying the temple of Leontopolis).

¶ Dillm. is thus far following Hitzig, *Jesaja* (1833), pp. 219, 233 (who indeed assigns the whole of 19[16-25] to the same age, and even suggests Onias himself as its author).

topolis, and interpreting the words in v.^{18} ('five cities speaking the language of Canaan' [Hebrew], etc.), not as a symbolical expression for the conversion of Egyptian cities to the worship of J″, but as referring to Jewish colonies in Egypt maintaining their national language and religion, supposes vv.$^{16-25}$ to have been written in the latter years of Ptolemy Lagi (*c.* B.C. 290), when there were unquestionably many Jewish settlements in Egypt: the original reading was 'city of the sun,' the meaning being that one of these Jewish colonies, preserving loyally the faith of their fathers, should flourish even in Heliopolis, the city of the sun-god, the Heb. name of which should be *Ir-ha-ḥereṣ*; the reading was altered afterwards, when the Jews of Pal. began to show hostility towards the Egyptian temple, by the Jews of Egypt into 'city of righteousness,' and then further by the Jews of Palestine, as a counter-blow, into 'city of destruction.'

(8) König (*Einl.* p. 86) treats the clause as a late Palestinian gloss, written originally on the margin, in condemnation of the temple at Leontopolis ('city of destruction,' with allusion to *ḥereṣ* 'of the sun').

It is evident that most of these views are merely hypotheses. At the same time, the diversity of reading makes it clear that arbitrary alterations, upon one side or the other, were introduced into the text; and as positive information upon the matter fails us, it becomes necessary to resort to hypotheses in order to explain the facts. The only question is, what hypothesis explains them best? If the words are Isaiah's, the objections to 'city of the sun' being the original reading have been already stated: if the words were written after the foundation of the temple at Leontopolis, the objections to the same being the original reading are, 1. that the temple was *not at Heliopolis*, and 2. (as remarked by Cheyne) that a passage interpolated by an Egyptian Jew in the interests of that temple should have made its way into the Palestinian text of Isaiah. If 'city of the sun' were the original reading, the most reasonable explanation of it is Cheyne's (7), though that implies that the passage is not Isaiah's, and also involves an interpretation of vv.$^{18-20}$, which is, at least, not the obvious one. The present writer must own that the view which seems to him to be the least open to objection is (1): the difficulties which have been found in this do not (as indicated above) seem to him as serious as has been sometimes maintained; and *ḥereṣ*, 'sun,'—whether an intentional or accidental alteration of *hereṣ*, 'destruction,'—though unsuitable, if used in the first instance with reference to Leontopolis, could readily enough be *applied* to it, if found, as upon this view of the case it would be found, in the text of an ancient prophecy.* S. R. DRIVER.

IRI.—See IR.

IRIJAH (יִרְאִיָּה 'J″ seeth').—A captain who, during the siege of Jerus., arrested Jeremiah on the charge of intending to desert to the Chaldæans (Jer $37^{13.\ 14}$).

IR-NAHASH (עִיר נָחָשׁ).—A city of Judah, 1 Ch 4^{12}. The site is uncertain.

IRON (יִרְאוֹן, *Yir'ōn*).—A city of Naphtali, in the mountains, Jos 19^{38}. It is probably the modern *Yârûn*. See *SWP* vol. i. sheet iv., and Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.*^{3} p. 261.

IRON in the English Bible almost always stands for בַּרְזֶל (in Dn Aram. פַּרְזֶל) in OT, and for *σίδηρος* or the adj. *σιδηροῦς* in Apocr. and NT [*Exceptions*:—In Job 41^7 'barbed irons' is the rendering of שֻׂכּוֹת, and in 1 Ti 4^2 'seared (as) with a hot iron' is a paraphrase of *κεκαυστηριασμένος*]. Conversely, בַּרְזֶל and its Gr. equivalents are usually translated by 'iron' [*Exceptions*:—In Dt 19^5, 2 K 6^5 בַּרְזֶל is rendered '(ax-) head,' and in Is 44^{12} חָרַשׁ בַּרְזֶל is simply 'smith'; *σίδηρος* is tr^d 'sword' in Jth 6^6 9^8, 4 Mac 14^{19}].

LXX is less consistent. It has *σίδηρος* for חֶרֶב (sword), Job 5^{20} 15^{22} 39^{22}, for גַּרְזֶן (axe), Dt 20^{19}, for מוֹרָה (razor), Jg 13^5 16^7, 1 K 1^{11}, and *τέκτων σιδήρου* for חָרָשׁ (smith), 1 S 13^{19}. On the other hand, it renders בַּרְזֶל by *μάχαιρα*, Is 10^{34}, by *σιδήριον*, Dt 19^5, 2 K $6^{5.6}$, Ec 10^{10}, and elsewhere by *σίδηρος* or *σιδηροῦς*. Evidently both in Heb. and Gr. 'iron' was a term used somewhat generally to describe both the metal and instruments of various kinds made from it.

This well-known metal is one of the so-called elementary substances. From its abundance, the ease with which it can be separated from its ores, and its many useful properties, it is the most important of all the metals. Ordinary iron is not a pure element, but always contains a small amount of carbon, the proportion of which greatly affects its qualities. When the quantity of carbon is small (from 0·15 to 0·5 per cent.) we have *wrought iron*, which is extremely difficult to melt, but is tough, and can be welded at white heat. When the percentage of carbon is from 3 to 6 we have *cast iron*, which is brittle, and cannot be welded, but which can be melted and cast in mould. The intermediate variety, containing from 0·6 to 2 per cent. of carbon, is *steel*, which can be both cast and welded, and can also be tempered to various degrees of elasticity and hardness. In modern processes iron is separated from its ores in the form of cast iron, from which the other forms are obtained by removing some of the carbon. The high temperature required to melt cast iron has been urged as a difficulty in the way of understanding the use of the metal in early times. But iron can be separated from its ores without being melted. In many countries primitive processes of iron manufacture survive, and are carried on at the present day. These doubtless represent the ancient methods, and their crude product is not cast iron, but a 'bloom' or spongy mass of wrought iron or steel.

Native iron is almost unknown except in meteorites. Meteoric iron, however, contains impurities which make it brittle and exceedingly difficult to forge. For primitive methods of iron manufacture see Napier, *Ancient Workers and Artificers in Metal*; Day, *The Prehistoric Use of Iron and Steel*; Swank, *Iron in all Ages* (OT references in the last-named are uncritical).

In the Scripture records iron appears side by side with brass (which see) or bronze from the very earliest times, and the two metals are often mentioned together. Tubal-cain is described as an artificer in both (Gn 4^{22}), and similar workers are referred to in the reigns of David (2 Ch $2^{7.\ 14}$) and Joash (2 Ch 24^{12}). In Dt 8^9 both are named among the minerals of Palestine, and in Jos 22^8 they are among the spoils carried home by the tribe of Manasseh after the conquest of Canaan. They are mentioned in Nu 31^{22} in a list of incombustible materials, and in Jer 6^{28}, Ezk 22^{18}, among the impurities of silver.

Iron is classed among the necessaries of life (Sir 39^{26}); and the Scripture allusions testify to its extensive and varied applications. Is 60^{17} shows that its relative value in ancient times was much the same as at present, being less than that of gold and silver, and greater than that of stone. Iron was used for *weapons of offence* (Nu 35^{16}, Job 20^{24}, Jth 6^{6} 9^{8}, 4 Mac 14^{19}), for *war chariots* (Jos $17^{16.18}$, Jg 1^{19} $4^{3.13}$), and for *defensive armour* (2 S 23^{7}, Rev 9^{9}). *Saws, harrows*, and *axes* of iron were used by David in dealing (?; see Driver, *Sam.* p. 288, and cf. art. HARROW) with his Ammonite prisoners (2 S 12^{31}, 1 Ch 20^{3}). *Hands* of iron are mentioned as instruments of torture in 4 Mac 8^{12} $9^{26.28}$. There are allusions to iron *gates* (Ac 12^{10}), *fetters* (Ps 105^{18} 149^{8}, 3 Mac 3^{25}, 4 Mac 11^{10}), *prison bars* (Ps $107^{10.16}$, Is 45^{2}), *yokes* (Dt 28^{48}, Jer $28^{13.14}$, Sir 28^{20}), and *horns* (as prophetic symbols, 1 K 22^{11}, 2 Ch 18^{10}). *Axes* for felling trees were made of iron (Dt 19^{5}, 1 K $6^{5.6}$, Is 10^{34}), and also tools for stone-quarrying (Sir 48^{17}) and stone-hewing (Dt 27^{5}, Jos 8^{31}, 1 K 6^{7}). There were iron* *threshing instruments* (Am 1^{3}), *images* (Dn 5^{23}), *vessels* (Jos $6^{19.24}$), *pans* (Ezk 4^{3}), *nails* or bolts (1 Ch 22^{3}, Wis 13^{15}), *pens* or graving tools (Jer 17^{1}, Job 19^{24}). Iron was among the materials gathered by David for the building of the temple (1 Ch $22^{14.16}$ $29^{2.7}$), among the merchandise of Tyre (Ezk $27^{12.19}$), and of the apocalyptic Babylon (Rev 18^{12}). The whetting of iron tools is referred to in Pr 27^{17}, Ec 10^{10}. The *heaviness* of iron is noted in Sir 22^{15}. Its weight was reckoned by shekels (1 S 17^{7}), or by talents (1 Ch 29^{7}).

---

* In connexion with the views which see in the passage an allusion to the temple at Leontopolis, it is at least remarkable that, as M. Naville observes (pp. 12, 20, 21), in the Great Harris Papyrus, which describes at length the buildings of Ramses III. (*c.* 1200 B.C.), mention is made of 'the abode of Ramses III., in *the house of Ra* (the sun-god) *on the north of On*,'—a name which would fairly correspond to 'city of the sun,' and which M. Naville is strongly disposed to consider was the sacred name of the city buried now under Tell el-Yahudîyeh: the close connexion of this place with On is also implied by the further statement in the Papyrus that 'all that belonged to the abode of Ramses in the house of Ra, north of On, the buildings as well as the cattle, was under the authority of the priests of On for their yearly tribute.'

As to the manufacture of iron, the ore is alluded to in Job 28^{2}. The references to the 'iron furnace' (Dt 4^{20}, 1 K 8^{51}, Jer 11^{4}) may be either to the smelting furnace, in which the iron was separated from its ore, or to the blacksmith's forge, which is vividly described in Is 44^{12}, Sir 38^{28}.

In many of the above passages, and in a number of others, 'iron' is used metaphorically. The description of the heavens and the earth as brass and iron (Lv 26^{19}, Dt 28^{23}) is a picture of drought. The iron furnace is a striking figure for the severest suffering. Iron is a symbol of strength, and as such is employed of Asher (Dt 33^{25}), of Israel (Mic 4^{13}), of the fourth kingdom in Nebuchadnezzar's vision (Dn $2^{33\text{-}45\,passim}$), and of behemoth (Job 40^{18} 41^{27}). Prophetic boldness is typified in Jer 1^{18} by an iron pillar. On the other hand, iron is an emblem of Israel's obstinacy (Is 48^{4}) and corruption (Jer 6^{28}, Ezk 22^{18}, iron being an impurity in silver). The rod of iron (Ps 2^{9}, Rev 2^{27} 12^{5} 19^{15}) symbolizes a rule of irresistible might.

One or two passages referring to iron have been reserved for special comment.

The 'bedstead of iron,' belonging to king Og of Bashan (Dt 3^{11}), was probably a sarcophagus of basalt, the black iron-like stone of the region. This stone, and not literal iron, may possibly be intended also in Dt 8^{9}. See Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 11; and Driver, *Deuteronomy, in loc.*

In Jer 15^{12} occurs the phrase בַּרְזֶל מִצָּפוֹן 'northern iron' (AV), 'iron from the north' (RV), of which there are two different interpretations. On the one hand, it has been supposed to refer to the iron manufactured by the Chalybians, which was reputed to be of special excellence; while, on the other hand, it has been understood simply as a figurative description of the northern invasion which Jeremiah elsewhere predicts as impending (1^{14} 4^{6} 6^{1} 13^{20}).

In Ezk 27^{19} we have בַּרְזֶל עָשׁוֹת, which is rendered 'bright iron' in AV and RV, but 'wrought iron' in RVm. LXX connects the phrase with the preceding clause, and translates ἐξ 'Ασὴλ σίδηρος εἰργασμένος. The meaning is generally understood to be 'iron wares of rare workmanship' (*kunstreich verarbeitetes Eisen*—Siegfried in Kautzsch's *AT*). The Rabbis took the locality described to be in South Arabia, like Dedan, and the iron articles to be Indian swords, which were famous in that region. See Cornill and Smend, *in loc.*

The word 'iron' in Scripture is applied to articles which may have been made of wrought iron, and to others which probably were made of steel. The apparent special allusions to steel in AV are misleading (see STEEL). See also following article.

JAMES PATRICK.

IRON (*barzel*).—The use of iron was comparatively late. In the whole of the plunder of Syria about B.C. 1480 iron is never mentioned; nor is it in the cuneiform letters from Syria about B.C. 1360. No clearly dated example of it is known in Egypt before about B.C. 700. Probably it began to come into use in Syria about B.C. 900 or 1000. Beyond the generalities of iron being named among metals (Gn 4^{22}, Nu 31^{22} 35^{16}), and the phrases 'chariots of iron' (Jos $17^{16.18}$, Jg 1^{19} $4^{3.13}$) and 'bed of iron' (Dt 3^{11} [?]), the 'tool of iron' is definitely named under Solomon (1 K 6^{7}), and as an axe about B.C. 850 (2 K 6^{5}). Iron is mentioned under Tiglath-pileser I. (*c.* 1100). See *KIB* i. 39. Well-developed tools of iron (chisels, rasps, files, centre-bits, etc.) were made by Assyrians in B.C. 670, implying that such had probably been in progress for a century or two at least. It appears, then, that iron began to spread about B.C. 1000, most likely from the Chalybes in the Assyr. highlands, who still work it, and were celebrated for it anciently. This is probably quite as early as, or earlier than, it appears for any purpose in Europe. See MINES, MINING. W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

IRPEEL (יִרְפְּאֵל 'El heals').—A city of Benjamin, noticed with Chephirah, Mozah, and others, Jos 18^{27}. The most probable site is the ruin *Rafât*, N. of *el-Jib* (Gibeon). See *SWP* vol. i. sheet xvii.

IRRIGATION.—In Babylonia and Egypt, on account of the lack of rain, water was supplied to the fields and gardens by an elaborate system of irrigation. The waters of the Nile, Euphrates, and Tigris were conveyed to a distance by a network of larger and smaller canals. The water from these, or from reservoirs supplied by them, is raised by various machines, the most common of which is the *shadoof*, the essential part of which is a lever, with a weight at one end, serving to raise the full bucket at the other. Other machines are somewhat like a turbine. The water thus raised is distributed along narrow gutters. The Nile Valley is naturally fertilized by the inundations caused by the rise of the Nile; and the control and distribution of these floods was an important feature in the irrigation of Egypt. To this purpose Lake Mœris was adapted by the great engineering works of Amenemhat III. (see Herodot. i. 193; Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, 67 ff., 445 ff., 763 ff.; Lane, *Modern Egyptians*^{5}, ii. 26 f.; Petrie, *History of Egypt*, i. 193; arts. ASSYRIA, 178^{a}; EGYPT, ii.).

Palestine, however, is by no means a waterless country; the eastern table-lands especially are well provided with springs. In parts, however, *e.g.* on the Judæan plateau, springs are rare, moreover the rain drains away quickly; nevertheless, the earlier and the later rains suffice for the crops generally. As to need for irrigation, Palestine is expressly contrasted with Egypt in Dt $11^{10.11}$ 'For the land, whither thou goest in to possess it, is not as the land of Egypt, from whence ye came out, where thou sowedst thy seed and wateredst it with thy foot, as a garden of herbs; but the land, whither ye go over to possess it, is a land of hills and valleys, *and* drinketh water of the rain of heaven.' This passage does not imply that irrigation was unknown in Palestine, but that it was only used on a small scale, for gardens, etc. Thus we read in Is 58^{11} of a 'watered garden,' *gan rāweh*; in Ec $2^{5.6}$ Solomon is made to say, 'I made me gardens and parks, and I planted trees in them of all kinds of fruit: I made me pools of water, to water therefrom the forest where trees were reared.' Cf. also Sir $24^{30.31}$ 'I also came out as a brook from a river, and as a conduit into a garden. I said I will water my best garden, and will abundantly water my garden bed.' So G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 83, 'Vegetables thrive where summer irrigation is used.' Driver on Dt 11^{10} (cf. 2nd ed. p. xxi) quotes Conder, *Tent-Work*, p. 328, as stating that he had seen gardens irrigated 'by means of small ditches trodden by the foot.' Steuernagel, however, explains 'watered with the foot' in the same passage as referring to a wheel worked with the foot.

---

* Possibly the word in Am 1^{3} means hard black basalt, as in Dt 3^{11}. See Driver, *Joel and Amos*, pp. 130, 227.

There are numerous references to *peleg* or *palgê mayîm* (Ps 1^3 etc.), *i.e.* the trenches used for irrigation; but we cannot therefore deduce a wide use of irrigation in Palestine; some of the passages may have been written in Babylonia, or by authors familiar with the irrigation trenches of Egypt or Chaldæa; nor is it certain that *peleg* may not sometimes mean a natural tributary.

LITERATURE.—Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 1894, pp. 97, 227 ff.; Driver on Dt 11^{10}; Nowack, *Lehrb. der Heb. Arch.* 1894, i. 253 ff.; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* pp. 63 ff., 78 ff., 521. W. H. BENNETT.

IR-SHEMESH (עִיר שֶׁמֶשׁ 'city of the sun,' Jos 19^{41}).—See BETHSHEMESH 1, and HERES 1.

IRU (עִירוּ).—The eldest son of Caleb, 1 Ch 4^{15}. The correct name is probably IR, the -u being simply the conjunction 'and' (וּ) coupling it with the following name Elah. (See Kittel, *ad loc.*).

ISAAC (יִצְחָק; in Am $7^{9.16}$ [where it is a poet. synonym for *Israel*], Jer 33^{26}, Ps 105^9 יִשְׂחָק; LXX and NT Ἰσαάκ).

1. The story of Isaac is that of the least conspicuous of the three Hebrew patriarchs. The following brief description gives all that is preserved in the Book of Genesis respecting him.

Isaac was the long promised son of Abraham and Sarah. He was born when Abraham was 100 and Sarah 91 years old (cf. Gn $17^{17.24}$ 21^5). He was circumcised on the eighth day (Gn 21^4). He was called Isaac ('laughter') by divine command (Gn 17^{19}), because Abraham had *laughed* at the thought of a child being 'born unto him that is an hundred years old' (Gn 17^{17}). The jealousy of Sarah being aroused at the sight of Ishmael, Hagar's son, playing (מְצַחֵק) with Isaac, led to the expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael from the tent of Abraham (Gn 21^{8-21}). See HAGAR. It would appear from this narrative (Gn 21^{14}) that Isaac's earliest days were spent in the neighbourhood of Beersheba.

The next recorded event in the life of Isaac was the sacrifice 'in the land of Moriah,' when Abraham was bidden of God to offer his 'only son . . . Isaac' for a burnt-offering upon one of the mountains (Gn 22^2). For remarks upon this trial of Abraham's faith see the article ABRAHAM. The beauty of the story is enhanced by the simple colloquy between Abraham and his son, as they went 'both of them together' to the appointed place, Isaac bearing 'the wood of the burnt-offering' (Gn 22^{6-8}). The submission and obedience of Isaac are virtues as evidently intended to be emphasized in the narrative as the faith of Abraham. The life of Isaac was spared through the interposition of 'the angel of the Lord'; and 'a ram caught in the thicket by the horns' was offered up by Abraham 'for a burnt-offering in the stead of his son' (Gn 22^{13}). Abraham and Isaac returned to Beersheba (Gn 22^{19}).

The death of Sarah occurred at Hebron when Isaac was 36 years old (Gn 23^1); but Isaac is not mentioned in connexion with the purchase of the field of Machpelah and the burial of Sarah (Gn 23). Abraham is not stated to have consulted Isaac when he despatched 'his servant, the elder of his house' (Gn 24^2), to take a wife for his son from his country and kindred in Mesopotamia. Rebekah, the daughter of 'Bethuel, the son of Milcah, the wife of Nahor, Abraham's brother' (Gn 24^{15}), is brought from Mesopotamia by Abraham's servant. Isaac, we are told (Gn 24^{62}), dwelt at that time 'in the land of the South,' near Beer-lahai-roi. Rebekah became his wife; and Isaac 'was comforted after his mother's (or 'his father's,' reading אָבִיו for אִמּוֹ, as his mother's name has not been mentioned in the section) death.' Isaac joined with Ishmael in committing the body of Abraham to burial in the cave of Machpelah (Gn 25^9).

The remaining records of Isaac's life ('the generations of Isaac,' Gn 25^{12}) are very meagre. Twin children are born to Rebekah after Isaac's entreaty of J″ (Gn 25^{21}). In Gn 26^{1-6} we are told that, in consequence of a famine, Isaac journeyed to Gerar, but was warned by God not to go down into Egypt. On the occasion of this theophany, Isaac is told of the blessing upon himself and his seed because of the obedience of his father Abraham (Gn 26^6). In Gn 26^{7-11} Isaac is guilty of the same cowardice and deceit in the land of the Philistines, as Abraham among the Egyptians. In order, as he thought, to save his own life, he gave out that Rebekah was his sister. Abimelech, the Philistine king, saw from a window 'Isaac . . . sporting (מְצַחֵק) with Rebekah' (Gn 26^8), and perceived at once that she was his wife and not his sister. Abimelech justly rebuked Isaac; and gave his people charge not to molest either him or his wife. Isaac during his sojourn in Gerar became so prosperous as a wheat-grower and herdsman as to incur the envy of the Philistines. They commenced a petty persecution of Isaac, stopping up the wells which his father Abraham had dug, and which Isaac's servants had opened again. Abimelech even counselled Isaac to withdraw from the country in the interests of peace (Gn 26^{16}). We are then told of two wells dug by Isaac's men, and violently claimed by the Philistines; these he called *'Esek* ('strife') and *Siṭnah* ('enmity'). Moving his encampment still farther away, he dug another well, which the Philistines did not dispute, and which Isaac therefore called *Reḥoboth* ('broad places'), generally identified with the modern *Ruḥaibe*, a well some 25 miles S. of Beersheba.

Isaac subsequently journeyed to Beersheba (Gn 26^{23}), where J″ appeared to him by night and blessed him. He built an altar there to J″, and his servants digged a well. And while encamped in this spot, he received overtures for an alliance with the Philistines. Abimelech the king, Ahuzzath 'his friend,' and Phicol the captain of the host, came over from Gerar; and Isaac made a covenant with them, and gave them a banquet. They plighted their faith to him by an oath (שְׁבֻעָה); and on the day of their departure Isaac heard that his servants had come upon water in the well they were digging. Accordingly he gave the well the name of *Shibah*, as if equivalent to *Shebuah*; and thus the name Beersheba, according to one tradition (cf. for another Gn 21^{31}), took its rise.

In the remaining passages in which Isaac is referred to, he is an old and feeble man. In Gn 27 he appears as a man upon his deathbed, practically blind, and desirous to bestow his last blessing upon his elder son, Esau, whom 'he loved . . . because he did eat of his venison' (Gn 25^{28}). Through Rebekah's cunning, Jacob the younger son supplants his brother. Isaac, too blind to distinguish between them by sight, is suspicious of the voice, but is reassured by Jacob's hairy garments, by their feel and smell. He pronounces upon Jacob the blessing of the birthright, in words of a high poetical strain (Gn 27^{27-29}). Shortly afterwards Esau returns; and Isaac is greatly agitated when he realizes the deception practised by his younger son. But he cannot go back. He pronounces a blessing—or rather a prediction of a wild and independent destiny—upon his elder son.

Isaac's days were nearly numbered (Gn 27^{41}). And Rebekah, to save Jacob from Esau's fury and revenge, induces Isaac to send Jacob away to Mesopotamia, there to obtain a wife from his own kindred, and not to imitate Esau by marriage with Canaanite women. Isaac invokes another blessing upon the head of Jacob, and sends him away to Paddan-aram unto Laban, Rebekah's brother (Gn 27^{46}–28^{5}).

Once more only do we hear of Isaac; and that is when we read of his death, after the return of Jacob from his 21 years' sojourn in Mesopotamia. The mention of it occurs just after the enumeration of Jacob's twelve sons; and we then read that 'Jacob came unto Isaac his father to Mamre to Kiriath-arba (the same is Hebron), where Abraham and Isaac sojourned.' Here Isaac died, being 180 years old, and his two sons Esau and Jacob buried him (Gn 35^{27-29}).

2. These somewhat disjointed notices of Isaac's life were drawn from the three main sources of tradition preserved in the Book of Genesis.

J records the promise of a son to Abraham and Sarah (Gn 18^{9-15}), and the fulfilment of the promise, in Gn 21^{1-7}. From the same source (Gn 21^{33}) we gather that Isaac's early years were spent at Beersheba. J records the narrative of the servant's journey to Mesopotamia; and the marriage of Isaac and Rebekah (Gn 24). It mentions Isaac's inheritance from Abraham and the sojourn at Beer-lahai-roi (Gn $25^{1-6.\,11}$). J had also the account of Isaac's dealings with the Philistines (Gn 26), and of the deception practised by Jacob upon his father (Gn 27).

E recorded the birth of Isaac and the expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael (Gn $21^{6a.\,8-21}$); and from E we have the narrative of the sacrifice of Isaac (Gn 22^{1-13}). Portions also of Gn 27 are ascribed to E, showing that this source contained the narrative of Isaac's commission to Esau to bring him the venison that he loved, and of Jacob's deception.

The Isaac narrative in P was evidently very brief. It mentions that Isaac at 40 years of age married Rebekah, the daughter of Bethuel the Syrian (Aramæan), in Paddan-aram; that his two sons were born when he was 60 years of age (Gn $25^{19.\,20.\,26}$); that Esau grieved his father and mother 40 years later by marrying two Hittite wives (Gn $26^{34.\,35}$); that Isaac, to prevent Jacob marrying a Canaanite wife, sent him to Laban in Paddan-aram to obtain a wife from his kindred, and blessed him as he set forth (Gn 27^{46}–28^{9}); and that, after Jacob's return, Isaac died at Hebron 180 years old, and was buried by his sons (Gn $35^{28.\,29}$).

3. The recognition of these different strata of tradition will enable the student to understand the cause of certain apparently contradictory statements in the narrative. Thus attention has often been called to the fact that in Gn 27 Isaac is represented as old, blind, and on his deathbed, while his death is recorded as occurring possibly 80 years later (cf. Gn 26^{34} with Gn 27^{1-41} and Gn 35^{27}). But the narrative in Gn 27 is from the Prophetic, that in Gn 26^{34} 35^{27} is from the Priestly tradition. Similarly, whereas in Gn 27^{41-45} Jacob is sent away to escape Esau's vengeance, which will take a murderous form as soon as Isaac dies, we find in Gn 27^{46}–28^{1-6} that Isaac sends Jacob away to take a wife from Paddan-aram, and blesses him, without any reference being made to the blessing obtained by guile, which has been described in the previous chapter. But the difficulty disappears when we find that Gn 27^{1-45} is from the Prophetic, and Gn 27^{46}–28^{6} is from the Priestly source, and that the two traditions are combined, though not harmonized.

The great similarity between the story—though not harmonized—of the repudiation of Rebekah by Isaac at the court of Abimelech at Gerar, and the story of the repudiation of Sarah by Abraham, likewise at the court of Abimelech king of Gerar, will have occurred to all readers. The Abraham narrative (Gn 20) is from E; the Isaac narrative (Gn 26^{8-11}) is from J. It can hardly be doubted that the two traditions are different versions of the same event.

According to the figures given in Gn 25^{26}, where it is stated that Isaac was 60 years old when Jacob and Esau were born, and those given in Gn 35^{28}, where it is stated that Isaac died at the age of 180, we should infer that Isaac's death occurred only 10 years before Jacob's descent into Egypt (Gn 47^{10}). Moreover, by a comparison of the data of Joseph's age (Gn 41^{46} 45^{6}) with those of Jacob's age (Gn 47^{9}), it would appear that Isaac was 137 years old when Jacob went to Haran.

4. The position of Isaac in the narrative is not so conspicuous or so attractive as that of Abraham or of Jacob. He impersonates, as it were, the peaceful, obedient, and submissive qualities of an equable trust in God, distinct alike from the transcendent faith of Abraham, and from that lower type which in Jacob was learned through discipline and purged from self-will. There are but a few items upon the strength of which a picture of Isaac's character can be constructed. But the submission shown at the crisis of sacrifice (Gn 22), the lonely meditation at eventide (Gn 24^{63}), the intercession on his wife's behalf (Gn 25^{21}), Jacob's allusion to the object of his father's fear (Gn 31^{42}), are details which supply features of greater dignity and grace than are suggested by the mention of his fondness for good food in Gn 25^{28} 27^{4}. He is, however, a subordinate figure as compared with Abraham and Jacob; and the lower level at which he seems to stand is implied in Gn 26^{5}, where the covenant of blessing is granted to Isaac and his seed, not for their own sake, but for their father Abraham's sake.

It was not without significance for the Israelites that the prehistoric founders of their race were not all of heroic mould. The ordinary materials of Hebrew life, as represented in Isaac and Jacob, were selected to be the channels of special revelation no less than the more splendid and striking personality of their father Abraham. Isaac was similar to the majority in every community, yielding, easy-going, stationary, content to receive the promise without realizing the extent or nature of the privilege. The events of his life are associated with a few localities, all (except Mamre, Gn 35^{27-29}) within a restricted area in S. Palestine. His encampments at Beer-lahai-roi, Gerar, and Beersheba form a sharp contrast to the varied scenes in the lives of Abraham and Jacob. The typical service of one of the patriarchs was rendered in quietness and sitting still.

5. *References in the New Testament.* — The sacrifice of Isaac is twice referred to in the NT. (1) He $11^{17.\,18}$, where the writer brings out the triumph of Abraham's faith in the conflict between the affection of a father and the duty of obedience; (2) Ja 2^{21}, where the apostle appeals to the great deed of sacrifice as against the perversion of the doctrine of justification by faith. In each case the submission of Isaac plays its part, but only a secondary part, in the argument of the writer.

6. The great importance attached by the Jews of the Middle Ages to the sacrifice of Isaac is

worthy of attention. 'The Jews implore the mercy of God by the sacrifice of Isaac, as Christians by the sacrifice of Christ' (Mayor, *Ep. James*, p. 97). In the submission of Isaac was seen the submission of the whole race. Cf. *Targ.* on Mic 7^{20} 'Remember for us the binding of Isaac.' *Pesikta R. Kahana*, 'For the merit of Isaac who offered himself upon the altar, the Holy One, blessed be He, will hereafter raise the dead' (Buber).

Amongst many strange Jewish traditions respecting Isaac may be mentioned that of *Targ. Jerus.* on Gn 27^1, where Isaac's blindness is accounted for 'because when his father was binding him, he had seen the throne of glory, and from that time his eyes had begun to darken.' Even more strange is the altercation between Isaac and Ishmael, which, according to the Targum of Palestine, led to the sacrifice of Isaac: 'And it was after these things that Isaac and Ishmael contended; and Ishmael said, It is right that I should inherit what is the father's, because I am his firstborn son. And Isaac said, It is right that I should inherit what is the father's, because I am the son of Sarah his wife, and thou art the son of Hagar the handmaid of my mother. Ishmael answered and said, I am more righteous than thou, because I was circumcised at thirteen years; and if it had been my will to hinder, they should not have delivered me to be circumcised; but thou wast circumcised a child of eight days; if thou hadst had knowledge, perhaps they could not have delivered thee to be circumcised. Isaac answered and said, Behold now, to-day I am thirty and six years old; and if the Holy One, blessed be He, were to require all my members, I would not hesitate. These words were heard before the Lord of the World, and the Word (Memra) of the Lord at once tried Abraham' (Etheridge's translation).

7. Though not employed for that purpose in the writings of the NT (yet cf. Ro 8^{32}), the sacrifice of Isaac was largely made use of by the Fathers as typical of the sacrifice on the cross. The earliest use of it in this connexion appears to be *Ep. Barn.* ch. 7, 'Because He was in His own person about to offer the vessel of His Spirit a sacrifice for our sins, that the type also which was given in Isaac, who was offered upon the altar, should be fulfilled' (Lightfoot's *Apostolic Fathers*, p. 251). Irenæus speaks of Abraham having yielded up his son as a sacrifice in order that God might also be pleased to give His only Son as a sacrifice for our redemption (*προθύμως τὸν ἴδιον μονογενῆ καὶ ἀγαπητὸν παραχωρήσας θυσίαν τῷ θεῷ, ἵνα καὶ ὁ θεὸς εὐδοκήσῃ ὑπὲρ τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτοῦ πάντως τὸν ἴδιον μονογενῆ καὶ ἀγαπητὸν υἱὸν θυσίαν παρασχεῖν εἰς λύτρωσιν ἡμετέραν*, ed. Stieren, i. 572). Cf. August. *De Civ. Dei*, xvi. 32.

8. The *name* 'Isaac.' It would appear that the name Isaac, derived from the root צחק, and meaning 'laugh,' was connected in popular Israelite tradition with incidents preceding or attending the birth of the patriarch. It is impossible to resist the conclusion that the form of these traditions was occasioned by the stories based upon, or suggested by, the popular etymology of the name. At least three different explanations seem to have been given, in order to account for the name; the compiler of Genesis has faithfully reproduced them all. (1) In Gn 17^{17} (P) 'Abram laughed' at the idea of a son being born to him in his old age; (2) in Gn 18^{12} we are told that 'Sarah laughed within herself' at the prediction that she should bear a son; (3) in Gn 21^6 Sarah, after the birth of the child, is represented as saying, 'God hath prepared laughter (צְחֹק) for me.' The continuation of the same verse, however, suggests that there was yet another version of the same tradition, according to which the laughter was neither that of incredulity on the part of Abraham and Sarah, nor that of joy on the part of Sarah, but that of derision on the part of those who heard the news, and who would laugh at one so old becoming a mother: 'every one will laugh at me.' It should also be noticed that the same root occurs in the sense of 'playing' in the story of Ishmael and Isaac (Gn 21^9), and also in that of Isaac and Rebekah (Gn 26^8).

A fanciful Rabbinic derivation for the name explained it to be a compound of two words יצא־חוק 'the out-going of statute,' as if in Isaac was to be discerned a development of the religious faith of Abraham (Hamburger, *RE*, *s.v.*).

It has been suggested that 'Isaac' may possibly be a truncated form for 'Isaac-el,' on the analogy of 'Isra-el,' 'Ishma-el,' and possibly 'Joseph-el' and 'Jacob-el' (cf. Gray's *Studies in Hebrew Proper Names*, p. 214).

See further, for several questions connected with the story of Isaac, and on the whole question of the character of the patriarchal narratives, art. JACOB.

H. E. RYLE.

ISAIAH.—

Introduction.
i. Name.
ii. Personal History.
iii. Structure and Contents of the Book of Isaiah.
  (*A*) Chs. 1-35; (*B*) 36-39; (*C*) 40-66.
iv. Authenticity of the Book.
v. Messianic Prophecies in chs. 1-39.
vi. The Theology of Isaiah.
vii. Religious Reforms in Isaiah's time.
viii. The Historical Chapters, 36-39.
ix. Prophecies certainly not Isaiah's in 1-39.
x. Structure and date of chs. 40-66.
xi. Theology of chs. 40-66.
  (*a*) Chs. 40-55.
  (*b*) Chs. 56-66.
Literature.

Although anticipated by Amos and Hosea in many of his leading doctrines, and excelled both by Jeremiah and the great Prophet of the Exile in depth of personal experience and width of religious outlook, Isaiah was nevertheless the greatest of the Hebrew prophets—by the strength of his personality, the wisdom of his statesmanship, the length and unbroken assurance of his ministry, the almost unaided service which he rendered to Judah at the greatest crisis of her history, the purity and grandeur of his style, and the influence he exerted on subsequent prophecy.

I. NAME.—The English name *Isaiah* is an approximate transliteration of the abbreviated form *Yĕsha'yāh* יְשַׁעְיָה, which appears as the title of the prophet's book in the Hebrew Canon, and occurs besides as the name of several individuals in post-exilic writings (Ezr $8^{7.19}$, Neh 11^7, 1 Ch 3^{21}). The full and older form is *Yĕsha'yāhû* יְשַׁעְיָהוּ (Gr. Ἡσαΐας, Lat. *Esaias* and *Isaias*), by which the prophet himself is always called in the text of his book (cf. 1^1 etc.) and in the historical writings of the OT (2 K $19^{2ff.}$, 2 Ch 26^{22} $32^{20.32}$); also of other Jews, 1 Ch $25^{3.15}$ 26^{25}. It means 'J" is salvation,' and is therefore synonymous with the frequent *Joshua* or *Jeshua* (Jesus) יְהוֹשֻׁעַ or יֵשׁוּעַ, and *Hosea* הוֹשֵׁעַ, cf. the Heb. *Elisha* אֱלִישָׁע 'God is, *or* God of, Salvation'; *Elishua* אֱלִישׁוּעַ, *Ishi* יִשְׁעִי, etc., the Sabæan or Himyaritic forms יתעאל and אליתע, and the Phœn. ישע.

II. PERSONAL HISTORY.—The exact limits which we are led to assign to Isaiah's career depend on the conclusions we have still to reach with regard to several disputed portions of his book. Generally speaking, however, we may say that he prophesied from the year in which king Uzziah died (B.C. 740 or 736) to the year of the sudden deliverance of Jerusalem from Sennacherib, 701, and possibly some years after this. Isaiah was therefore born about 760 (seven years before the reputed foundation of Rome), was a child when Amos appeared at Bethel (*c.* 755 or 750), and a youth when Hosea began to prophesy in N. Israel. Micah was his younger contemporary. Isaiah prophesied under Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah. The chief political events of his life were the ascent of the great soldier Tiglath-pileser III. to the throne of Assyria in 745, with a new policy of conquest; the league of Aram and N. Israel in 735, and their invasion of Judah, which moved Ahaz to call Assyria to his help; Tiglath-pileser's capture of Damascus, and the captivity of Gilead and Galilee in 734; the invasion of N. Palestine by Salmanassar IV. in 725, with the long siege of Samaria which fell to his successor Sargon in or about 721; Sargon's defeat of Egypt on her border at Raphia in 719; Sargon's invasion of Palestine in 711 with the reduction of Ashdod, and his defeat of Merodach-baladan and capture of Babylon in 709; Sennacherib's succession in 705, and invasion of Palestine in 701; his encounter with Egypt at Eltekeh on the borders of Philistia and Judah; his capture of Ekron and siege of Jerusalem, with the pestilence that overtook him between Palestine and Egypt; and his retreat from Palestine, with the consequent relief of Jerusalem—all in 701. About 695 (some say about 690 or even 685) Hezekiah was succeeded by Manasseh. Whether Isaiah lived into the reign of the latter is very doubtful. We have no prophecies from him later than Hezekiah's reign, perhaps none after 701.* The Mishna (*Jebamoth* 49*b*; cf. *Sanhedr.* 103*b*) says that he was slain by Manasseh. The apocryphal work, *The Ascension of Isaiah*, which was written in the beginning of the 2nd Christian cent. (only an Ethiopic version is extant; see Dillmann's ed. with a Latin translation, Leipzig, 1877), affirms that Isaiah's martyrdom consisted in being sawn asunder, which Justin Martyr repeats (*Dial. c. Tryph.* ch. 120, *c.* A.D. 150). Whether this be true, and whether it is alluded to in He 11^{37}, we cannot tell. See next article.

Isaiah is called the son of Amoẓ (אָמוֹץ 1^1 2^1 etc.), who must not be confounded, as he has been by various Christian Fathers, with the prophet Amos (עָמוֹס). A Jewish tradition (*Megilla* 10*b*) makes Isaiah nephew of king Amaziah; and his royal descent has been inferred from his familiarity with successive monarchs of Judah, and his general political influence. A stronger reason than these might be drawn from the presence in his name of J", which appears to have been confined at the earlier periods of Israel's history to proper names of the royal houses. But even this is not conclusive, and one really knows nothing of either Isaiah's forefathers or his upbringing. He was married, his wife is called 'the prophetess' (8^3), and he had two sons to whom he gave names symbolic of those aspects of the nation's history which he enforced in his prophecies: *She'ar-yashub*, 'a remnant shall return,' who was old enough in 736–735 to be taken by his father when he went to face king Ahaz (7^3), and *Maher-shalal-ḥash-baz* 'spoil-speeds-booty-hastes,' who was born about a year later (8^{1-4}). The legend that Isaiah was twice married has been deduced from the false inference that the 'young woman of marriageable age,' הָעַלְמָה of 7^{14}, was his wife. By this expression the prophet probably did not mean a definite individual.

The most certain and significant fact about Isaiah is that he was a citizen, if not a native, of Jerusalem,† and had constant access to the court and presence of the king. Jerusalem is Isaiah's 'immediate and ultimate regard, the centre and return of all his thoughts, the hinge of the history of his time, the summit of those brilliant hopes with which he fills the future. He has traced for us the main features of her position and some of the lines of her construction, many of the great figures of her streets, the fashions of her women, the arrival of embassies, the effect of rumours. He has painted her aspect in triumph, in siege, in famine, and in earthquake: war filling her valleys with chariots, and again nature rolling tides of fruitfulness up to her very gates; her moods of worship, panic, and profligacy. If he takes wider observation of mankind, Jerusalem is his watch-tower. It is for her defence he battles through fifty years of statesmanship, and all his prophecy may be said to travail in anguish for her new birth.'

III. Structure and Contents of the Book of Isaiah.—The book which bears Isaiah's name consists of 66 chapters, which fall into two very distinct collections of prophetic discourses: chs. 1–35 and chs. 40–66, which are separated by a stretch of narrative or history, chs. 36–39.

A. Chs. 1–35 are further divisible into at least five sections—(1) 1–12 a series of orations upon the religious and political state both of Judah in face of invasions by Assyria and by the confederates Syria and N. Israel, and of N. Israel in face of an invasion by Assyria; as well as upon the Messianic future of Israel. There is also a series of narratives recounting Isaiah's call (6), his interview with king Ahaz (7), and other measures that he took (8); as well as a song of praise (12). This section seems composed of independent groups of oracles. Ch. 1 appears to stand by itself, and carries a title which more than covers the contents of the whole section, 'the reigns which it enumerates exhaust the range of Isaiah's career.' At the head of ch. 2 there is another title which appears to cover 2–4, which form a unity by themselves. Ch. 5 stands apart from them, and is itself composed of independent pieces. Then we have the pieces of narrative: 6 by itself on the prophet's vision in the year Uzziah died, and 7–8^4 containing more oracles and running out into others 8^5–9^7, all of them apparently from the reign of Ahaz. 9^8–10^4, along with 5^{25-30}, which obviously belongs to them, from an oracle against N. Israel. 10^{5-34} is an oracle against Assyria, and ch. 11 consists of two prophecies, one of the Messiah (vv.$^{1-9}$), the other of the restoration of all Israel (vv.$^{10-16}$). Ch. 12 is the lyric already alluded to. (2) Chs. 13–23 contain a series of oracles upon heathen nations, with a few upon Judah, but none upon N. Israel. 13–14^{23} treats of the fall of Babylon; 14^{24-27} is on Assyria, and vv.$^{28-32}$ against the Philistines, assigned by its title to the year of Ahaz' death; 15. 16 on Moab; 17^{1-11} on the fall of Damascus and N. Israel; vv.$^{12-14}$, the repulse of Assyria; 18, the same in the form of an address to Ethiopia; 19 on Egypt—vv.$^{16-25}$ appear to be separate from vv.$^{1-15}$; 20 on Egypt, with a bit of narrative that points to Sargon's march against her about 711; 21^{1-10} on Babylon, 'oracle of the wilderness of the sea,' vv.$^{11.\ 12}$ on Edom, vv.$^{13-17}$ on Arabia; 22^{1-14} against Jerusalem during a siege, and vv.$^{15-25}$ against Shebna, a statesman of Judah; 23^{1-14} on Tyre, with an appendix vv.$^{15-18}$. (3) 24–27, an apocalyptic prophecy, describing the judgment of the whole world by supernatural convulsions, the blessedness of Israel who shall be rescued, and the resurrection of their dead. (4) 28–33, a series of oracles reflecting, apparently, the historical circumstances of Isaiah's day; 28^{1-6} predictive of the fall of Samaria, vv.$^{7-22}$ a controversy with the dissolute politicians of Jerusalem; 29^{1-8} the abasement and subsequent deliverance of Jerusalem, vv.$^{9-14}$ the spiritual stupidity of Jerusalem, vv.$^{15-24}$ exposure of a conspiracy of the court with Egypt, suddenly changing to a prediction of the future deliverance; 30^{1-17} a return to the Egyptian alliance with denunciations, vv.$^{18-26}$ a picture of the Messianic age, vv.$^{27-33}$ apocalyptic judgment on Assyria; 31 the Egyptian alliance, with a promise for Israel and doom on Assyria; 32^{1-8} a picture of the Messianic age, vv.$^{9-14}$ against the women of Jerusalem, vv.$^{15-20}$ another picture of the future; 33 denunciation of an invader of Judah, and affirmation of her deliverance. (5) Chs. 34. 35, Israel's triumph over Edom, return from exile, and blessedness.

---

* Eichhorn and Möller, quoted by Vatke, *Einl.* 620, assigned chs. 40–66 to reign of Manasseh. None of the titles in the Bk. of Isaiah affirm that he prophesied under Manasseh.

† Some deduce from 2 K 20^4 that he lived in 'the middle' or 'lower city' (Cheyne, *Encyl. Brit.*^{9} xiii. 378).

B. Then follows the historical section 36–39, of which 36 f. narrates Sennacherib's demand for the surrender of Jerusalem; 38, Hezekiah's sickness and cure, with his hymn; and 39, Merodach-baladan's embassy to Hezekiah.

C. Chs. 40–66, the real or assumed standpoint of the bulk of which is the end of the Babylonian exile, though there are some chapters which appear to have been written in Palestine. (See below.)

IV. CRITICISM OF THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE BOOK.—The preceding analysis reveals not only that the Bk. of Isaiah is the combination of several earlier collections of oracles (ch. 1 a general preface, (*a*) 2–12 consisting of minor collections, (*b*) 13–27, (*c*) 28–35, (*d*) 36–39 (?), (*e*) 40–66), but also that, while many of these have obviously risen from the circumstances of Isaiah's own day, others reflect other periods, especially the Babylonian exile, and some, *e.g.* the apocalyptic passages, betray a style and temper very different from the oracles that belong to Isaiah's lifetime. Moreover, while some of the collections are entitled Isaiah's, others make no claim to be from his hand. Nevertheless, though Ibn Ezra hinted a few doubts and Calvin wrote as if he felt that ch. 55 at least was 'uttered during the captivity in Babylon' (on 55^{3}), up to the end of last century the book was universally understood to be covered by the title in its first verse, and therefore as Isaiah's throughout. About 1780, J. B. Koppe in the Germ. ed. of Lowth's *Commentary* was the first to undermine this position. He was followed by Eichhorn (*Introd.* iii. 76), and by Döderlein (*Esaias*, 1789, Præf. xii), who takes it as obvious that 40 ff. are by an anonymous prophet about the end of the Exile. (Vatke refers to a more detailed proof of this by J. E. Justi). Not without opposition from the conservative school (*e.g.* J. V. Möller, *De authentia oracc. Es.* cc. 40–66), this view was developed by the great critics of the beginning of this century; and it was further perceived that if 40–66 be exilic, parts of 1–39 must also fall to the same date. In 13^{1}–14^{23} 21^{1-10} 34. 35 Assyria is no longer as in Isaiah's day the dominant world power, nor do these oracles emphasize Jerusalem as the inviolate fortress of God. Babylon takes Assyria's place, her fall is imminent, Israel is in exile but about to be restored. To these non-Isaian chapters the critics added 24–27, which, although they appear to have some reflections of the age before the Exile, and do not allude to Babylon, yet contain phrases descriptive of the Exile as actual, with promises of Israel's deliverance therefrom, and hopes of the establishment of Zion, and the repopulation of the Holy Land. To this list of exilic and post-exilic oracles some added ch. 12, and it was agreed that 15–16^{12} was an oracle older than Isaiah's time, to which Isaiah himself added $16^{13.\,14}$. All the rest of the discourses in 1–39, save for some glosses, were still regarded as Isaiah's own.

Such was virtually the position of criticism down to 1890. It had been established by Gesenius, Ewald, Knobel, and Reuss, and was supported by Kuenen (in 1863), Cheyne (*Is. chronol. arranged*, 1870, *Prophecies of Is.* 1880–81, though there is little introduction in this vol., and *Enc. Brit.* art. 'Isaiah,' 1881; see below on 40–66), Delitzsch (who had previously argued for the unity of the book, but in 1879–80 interpreted 40–66 as from the close of the Exile; see more fully his *Comm.*^{4} 1889, Eng. ed. 1890), W. R. Smith (*Proph. of Isr.* 1882), Driver (*Isaiah, Life and Times*, 1888), G. A. Smith (*The Expositor's Bible*, 1888), Dillmann (1890). Some of these carried their doubts further than the passages described above. To the non-Isaian oracles some added 23^{15-18}, some the whole of 23, some 19 in whole or part, and some even 33. Others (see below) denied the unity of 40–66. Even conservative critics like Oehler, von Orelli, and Bredenkamp accepted 40–66 as from another than Isaiah, but the latter two argued for the authenticity of several of the disputed passages in 1–39, Bredenkamp and Klostermann for some in 40–66.

During the last ten years the Bk. of Isaiah, in common with all the prophetic writings, has been subjected to a still more rigorous analysis and criticism, with the result that while Kirkpatrick (*Doct. of the Prophets*, 1892), Driver (*Introd.*^{6}), and Skinner (*Cambridge Bible for Schools*, 1896) adhere in the main to the position of the majority of critics before 1890, Duhm (in Nowack's *Handkommentar*, 1892), Hackmann (*Die Zukunftserwartung des Jes.* 1893), Cheyne (*Introd. to the Bk. of Is.* 1895, cf. his edition of the text and translation in Haupt's *SBOT*, 1898), have cast doubt upon the authenticity of many more portions of 1–39. There can be no question that the thorough analysis to which those critics have subjected the text of 1–39 has been successful in discovering a number of late glosses and other insertions in the genuine prophecies of Isaiah. In all the prophetic books the presence of such is now generally recognized. But Duhm, Hackmann, and Cheyne have cut more deeply than this, and subtracted from Isaiah long passages which were previously regarded as genuine. Their reasons are sometimes mainly subjective; they base their conclusions upon the precarious distinction between the real Isaian style and what they consider to be imitations of it, or infer them from a change of rhythm. The feature of Duhm's able essay is the relegation of a considerable number of passages to the 2nd and even to the 1st cent. before Christ. He founds this upon their apocalyptic character, but he reserves for Isaiah not a few oracles and phrases quite as apocalyptic as those he transfers to the late date. In the latter, too, there are historical allusions which are suitable to the Assyrian period; Duhm either alters the reading of these, or strains their meaning to suit the Greek period. And, finally, there is the almost indubitable fact which he fails to discredit, that the prophetic Canon was so fixed by B.C. 200 as to render impossible the inclusion within it of the prophetic Book of Daniel. Duhm, indeed, argues that the latter was excluded because of its apocalyptic character; but if he is right, the same reason should have excluded from the Bk. of Isaiah the passages which, because of their apocalyptic character, Duhm assigns to the 2nd cent. This argument therefore, for the presence in Isaiah of features of so late a date, may be said to have failed (for details see *Expositor*, July to Dec. 1892, and *Crit. Review*, 1893). Hackmann (*op. cit.* p. 143 ff.) denies to Isaiah the two pictures of the Messiah 9^{1-6} and 11^{1-9}—the former on the grounds that it starts from the ruin of the Jewish state which was not actual in Isaiah's time, and implies a rejection of the reigning king, Ahaz or Hezekiah, and a confidence in an unborn One, which it is inconceivable to associate with Isaiah. It suits better a time when there was no king in Israel and the people had not independent existence. The destruction of David's dynasty is also implied, he thinks, by 11^{1-9}, the picture of universal peace in which and the 'supernatural' elements are further symptoms of a late date. These reasons are anything but conclusive. Few will doubt that the delinquencies of Ahaz furnished sufficient occasion to Isaiah for his hope of the appearance of a real champion and righteous ruler of Israel. It is equally hard to believe the great prophet incapable, at that age in Israel, of a dream of universal peace; one might as well argue that such a dream was impossible in the post-exilic period (to which Hackmann relegates it) because many of the writings of the latter, like Jl 4 and 'Zec' 10, exhibit a rude delight in war. The truth is that among all nations and in all periods of their history the hope of peace has existed along with a belief in the necessity of war, and even with a delight in it. Hackmann finds a more plausible reason (147 f.) for a late date for these passages in their language, which bears a few post-exilic features. He also denies to Isaiah the well-known passage 2^{2-5}, repeated in Mic 4^{1-5}, on the ground that its ideals of the sovereignty of J″ over foreign nations, their adoption of His law, the supremacy of the temple, and universal peace, agree better with a post-exilic than with a pre-exilic date (so, too, Mitchell, *Isaiah, a Study of Chaps.* i.-xii., New York, 1897, 108 ff.). On the last point an answer has been given above; nor on any of the others is there anything incompatible with a date in the 8th century. (So even Duhm: on the details see the present writer's *Twelve Proph.* i. 365 f.). Cheyne, who had previously (see above) agreed with the majority of critics as to what were Isaiah's authentic prophecies, stated modifications of his views in the *JQR* for 1891 f., and in 1895 published his very able and thorough *Introd. to the Bk. of Isaiah*, in which, while accepting some of Duhm's and Hackmann's results, he went still further and withdrew nearly a third of 1-12 from Isaiah, and from the oracles hitherto regarded as genuine in 13-35 nearly a half. It is impossible to examine his argument in details. His general principle must be regarded as sound by all who have worked at the text of the prophets, viz. that to the oracles of even the greatest of the prophets later generations of Israel added supplements, in order to mitigate unqualified messages of doom, or for other purposes of edification. This is a principle, however, in the application of which there must naturally be very great difference of opinion. The conclusions do largely depend on the subjectivity of the critic; and, speaking generally (which is all that the space of this article permits), it must be said that Cheyne's reasons for withdrawing passages from Isaiah are sometimes very hypothetical, and that, to say the least, there often exist in the periods to which he assigns these passages as many difficulties as in the age of Isaiah. There is not a little arbitrariness, as, for instance, when he says that the post-exilic origin of 2^{2-5} is 'beyond reasonable doubt'; or in reference to 15. 16 (which he takes to be not pre- but post-Isaian) 'was Isaiah the man to use another prophet's material?' There is sometimes an undue depreciation of the literary (cf. p. 88) and spiritual abilities of the pre-exilic period in Israel, especially if one keeps in mind the wonderful composition of the constituents of JE. And one may reasonably ask whether hope and comfort were not as much required by Israel, and not as likely to be contributed by her greatest prophet, in the 8th cent. as after the Exile. These considerations detract from the conclusiveness of Cheyne's powerful and candid arguments. Some further details may be noticed. In ch. 1, vv.$^{2-4}$ and $^{27.\ 28}$ are taken from Isaiah, hardly with sufficient reason; 4^{2-6} is placed after the Exile, probably correctly; on 9^{1-6} 'Hackmann is probably right,' and better though still not conclusive reasons are offered for a date later than Isaiah; so with 11^{1-8}. In 13-23, 19 is all post-exilic (Skinner agrees that vv.$^{16-25}$ are probably so). 23^{15-18} is (in agreement with previous critics) a later addition. It is in 29-33 that Cheyne withdraws most from Isaiah: he gives strong reasons for the post-exilic date of 29^{16-24}, less strong for that of 30^{18-26}; 32 is also assigned to after the Exile, but hardly with sufficient reason, though strong objections to Isaiah's authorship are not unduly stated. 33 has been suspected as not authentic since Ewald's time. Kuenen placed it under Josiah or later, Stade after the Exile, and to the latter Cheyne inclines. There are indeed several difficulties both of style and substance in assigning the ch. to Isaiah (cf. Skinner; Driver leaves it with Isaiah).

V. THE PROPHECIES OF THE MESSIAH IN ISAIAH 1-39. — In addition to the examination of the different passages given above, the Messianic element in Is 1-39 requires a more general discussion, not only because of its intrinsic importance, but on account of the tendency of recent criticism to deny that the Messiah appeared at all in the prophecy of Israel before the Exile. This thesis, stated by Marti (*Gesch. der Isr. Rel.* 190), has been elaborated by Paul Volz (*Die vorexil. Jahweprophetie u. der Messias*, Göttingen, 1897, cf. Brückner, *Komp. des B. Jes.*). Besides the evidence stated above from the language and historical allusions of the separate Messianic passages, the following are the chief reasons offered. The functions assigned to the Messiah by the disputed passages are not religious but political: to rescue Israel from her heathen tyrants and to govern her in righteousness, but neither to teach the people of God, whether as prophet or as priest, nor to convert the heathen. The rôle is national, not universal. How, it is asked, can these features be harmonized either with this fact that before the Exile the temper of prophecy is mainly threatening and judicial, or with that other, that when the pre-exilic prophets do open up the future they lay down the lines of a universal ethic? Besides, where is there room for so glorious a representative of J″ in a future which is to be filled with the manifest and all-sufficient presence of J″ Himself?

To the present writer these arguments not only appear inconclusive for a late date of the Messianic passages, but in some respects appear to support the tradition of an early date. For, that the functions of the Messiah are described in the passages as national surely suits an early, rather than the later, stages of Israel's religious development; no detailed picture of the Messiah which was later than the second Isaiah could have omitted the duties and hopes on which the latter so brilliantly insists, of converting the heathen to the knowledge and discipline of J″. Nor is the temper of pre-exilic prophecy so exclusively judicial as is now frequently alleged. The prophets insist that a remnant of Israel shall survive the judgment. Isaiah himself not only predicted, but, during the most influential period of his career, strenuously laboured for, the continuation of the Jewish State. It is not a different dispensation which, like the later apocalyptic prophecy, he anticipates, but a continuance of the present political conditions, purified and exalted. Now among these political conditions in Judah, was the dynasty of David. In contrast with the frequent usurpations of the throne of N. Israel, David's house persisted in Judah practically unchallenged. Since David's own day the religion of J″ was closely wedded with the dynasty, and, besides, David had been successful in achieving the ideal of the unity of all Israel. By Isaiah's time, therefore, the political presuppositions of the Messianic oracles in Is 1-39 were all present. We may even affirm that it would have been passing strange if his anticipations of the religious and political future of Judah had been dissociated from the Davidic monarchy. Moreover, it ought not to be forgotten that none of these disputed passages attribute to the Messiah any of the measures for achieving the establishment of Israel which were required by the exilic or immediately post-exilic ages of the nation's history. There is no word in them of bringing back the exiles or portions of God's people scattered over the world; and no word of the post-exilic dream of a world-empire. On the contrary, in the tasks which these passages assign to the Messiah, we see exactly the two main ends upon which Isaiah's prophetic activity was bent: the deliverance of Judah from the Assyrian invasion which overthrew the kingdom of N. Israel, and the establishment of justice and a pure civic life among the people of J″.

Such considerations amply disprove Volz's contention that the conception of the Messiah was one foreign to the spirit of prophecy, and only dragged into the service of their doctrine by the later prophets, out of the popular religion of Israel. It is true that the hope of the Messiah may have been an article of the popular creed, just as, according to Amos, was the hope of the victorious day of J″. But if the prophets, and, in particular, Isaiah, did not actually create the ideal of a victorious and righteous monarch for Israel, Isaiah certainly re-created it: gave it those moral elements with which we may be sure the popular religion was incapable of investing it.

VI. THE THEOLOGY OF ISAIAH.—We are now in a position to discern the authentic doctrine of Isaiah upon God, religion, Israel, and the world. Like all the earlier prophets, Isaiah reveals his doctrine in no abstract or systematic form, but point by point in connexion with some event of contemporary history or some emergent phase of the character of his generation. Now two great facts were before him, and may be said to have formed from first to last the starting-point, if not the full premise, of his teaching. One was the moral badness of Israel's life, taken along with their stupid misunderstanding of what their God required of them. Isaiah's generation were not as a whole consciously apostate from J″; they were assiduous in His worship, lavish of sacrifice to Him, and careful to observe at all points the ritual which they believed to be His will. But they were shamelessly immoral. Luxury and the vices which spring from it sapped the national life. The administration of justice was corrupt. The rich oppressed the poor, civic duties were neglected. All this evil state of the people was contrary to the will of J″, and due to their misunderstanding of the character and demands of their God. He was a God of righteousness, and He had already made known to Israel His *torah*, as a demand for the very virtues they neglected. He loathed the assiduous worship which they combined with a life so immoral. He regarded the evil features of the latter as sin and rebellion, which required a very thorough punishment, one severe enough to destroy the bulk of the nation.*

Coincident with this state of sinfulness, in which the people were plunged, was the second fact from which Isaiah's prophecies started. The power of Assyria rose on the political horizon, threatening the destruction of all the principalities of Palestine. There had been Assyrian campaigns in N. Syria since 870. Damascus had fallen before one of them in 803, and her forces had suffered another defeat in 773. Then came a pause of nearly thirty years. But in 745, or at least five years before Isaiah's call to prophesy, Tiglath-pileser III., a soldier of great energy, usurped the Assyrian throne, and set in motion a more vigorous policy towards Palestine. The siege of Arpad and the subjugation of Babylon detained him for nine years, but in 734–733 he overthrew Damascus and swept into captivity, besides its people, the Israelite populations of Gilead and Galilee. Isaiah had perhaps at first been uncertain whether the required punishment of Israel would proceed from Assyria or from Egypt, the only other power at that time which was capable of contesting with Syria the lordship of Palestine (cf. 7^{18}). But those proofs of Assyrian power, and the novel Assyrian policy of sweeping into distant captivity the bulk of the subjugated peoples,—those proofs which came with the years 734, 733,—settled the question once for all. Assyria was the destined rod of J″'s anger, and this should accomplish itself not only in the overthrow of N. Israel, to which Isaiah holds out no hope, but in the thorough invasion of Judah. It is an interesting problem, in what proportion the moral conviction of Israel's guilt needing punishment on the one hand, and the political certainty of Assyria's advance on the other, contributed to the assurance of Isaiah's predictions. Of this we may be sure, however, that without their native convictions of J″'s righteousness and power of judgment upon Israel, the prophets could only have viewed the Assyrian advance as a perplexing, if not a paralyzing, problem. But instead of so feeling it, Isaiah is ready for Assyria, predicts the certainty of invasion while the bulk of his people still doubt the latter, and is very clear as to its meaning. That which enabled him and other prophets to see in the advance of Assyria a moral intention, which was to exhaust itself in the destruction of all the Syrian States, but stop short of the utter overthrow of Judah, was the character of Judah's God, His might above all the gods of the heathen, and His purpose of grace not to let His people be abolished. The advance of Assyria was, therefore, a secondary and subordinate factor in the inspiration of Isaiah. At the same time the appearance of the greatest empire of the age, as obviously the instrument of Israel's God, must have lent to the prophets' ideas of His government a largeness to which the religious imagination of Israel had not previously attained (see Ch. IV. of *Bk. of the Twelve Proph.* in the 'Expositor's Bible'). And so we find in Isaiah a conception of the divine providence of the world more wide and majestic than anything that had yet appeared in Israel, although several of its features had already been expressed by Amos and are implied in parts of the JE documents of the Pentateuch. All the forces of the world are subject to J″. The great empires unconsciously fulfil His will upon Israel: the heathen peoples, however they rage, break upon the limits He sets to their advance, as the sea breaks upon its shore. These limits are drawn at the utter destruction of His people. An Israel, however shortened and cut down, must survive. To this end Isaiah (though he sometimes appears to abandon the impenitent people to the destruction they court by their foolishness) insists for the most part on the inviolableness of Jerusalem. Judah may be overrun by the invader: Jerusalem cannot fall. Her security is an essential part of the providence of God.

The constant emphasis which Isaiah lays upon the inviolableness of this one spot of earth, this obscure highland fortress, not only as a settled fact of the future (10^{24-34}) but as an essential article of religious faith (28^{16} etc.), has been criticized as derogating from the spirituality of the religion he taught. But it must be kept in mind that Jerusalem was the one spot on earth where J″ was worshipped. His shrine was there. There lived the only community which preserved for mankind the true knowledge of Him and His purposes—the little band of disciples to whom Isaiah committed His testimony and revelation. The continued existence in the world of this spiritual Israel (it is the first conception in history of the Church within the Church) is what Isaiah believes in and proclaims with such unwearied assurance against both the fears of their rulers and the arrogance of the heathen who sought their overthrow. But for their continuance the inviolableness of at least Jerusalem was necessary; otherwise they had been blotted out of history like N. Israel itself. The Assyrian policy, to judge from the case of N. Israel, did not leave room for the survival of a people of J″ among its captives, as the Babylonian did more than a century later. To interpret, therefore, Isaiah's insistence on the inviolableness of Zion as if it were derogatory to the ethical and spiritual character of his teaching, is as unjust as it would be to bring the charge of unspirituality against any of the great leaders of Christianity who have insisted in a time of persecution that the Church shall not perish, but in spite of its present tyrants survive in freedom and peace. There was no other way for a spiritual community to exist in Isaiah's day except through the security of Jerusalem. And, as we have seen above, it is also in connexion with the survival of a people of J″ that the promise of a victorious and righteous ruler comes so naturally, if not inevitably, into Isaiah's predictions.

---

* That Judah was equally sinful with N. Israel, in Isaiah's regard, appears not only from ch. 1, from whatever date this proceeds, but in the inaugural vision 'people of unclean lips' (6^5), and 2^{11-17} where in v.^{16} at least Judah is meant.

The charge of unspirituality which is brought against the emphasis on Zion's security as a fortress might have had some justice in it if Isaiah had anywhere attempted to provide for that security by merely political means. But, on the contrary, his conviction of God's purpose to preserve Jerusalem is so profoundly spiritual that it leads him to condemn Israel's own restless attempts to save their State; and he does so with as much fierceness as he has condemned their immorality. They will not trust their God any more than they will obey His law; but, on the contrary, distrustful of His purpose and His power, they seek to effect Zion's safety by intrigues and alliances with the heathen. These, says Isaiah, will only draw them into the confusion of the world's politics, from which trust in J″ would assuredly keep them free. So, first, we find him seeking to restrain Ahaz from appealing for help to Assyria when Judah is threatened by Pekah of N. Israel and Rezin of Damascus (7): let them do their worst, they cannot harm Judah; but if Ahaz persists in calling on Assyria, J″ will punish his unbelief by summoning the heathen, either Egypt or Assyria (v.^{18}), to overrun his land. Yet in spite of this, when Ahaz has thrown himself upon Assyria, and Judah settled down in quietness for thirty years as an Assyrian vassal, thus escaping the fate which destroyed N. Israel, Isaiah accepts the fact; and when, in 704, on the accession of Sennacherib, the nations of Palestine throw off their allegiance to the northern empire, he seeks to prevent Judah from joining them, and uses all his powers of counsel, scorn, and threatening to circumvent the political party at Jerusalem that intrigues for an alliance with Egypt (28–31). This apparent change of Isaiah's attitude to Assyria was not due to political opportunism, or only to the political experience of these thirty years, that Judah was as safe in allegiance to Assyria as in 734 he had believed she would be by abstaining from all intercourse with that heathen empire, but to the unchanging conviction that whatever Judah's political relations might be in the providence of God, He was able to preserve her by Himself, and that her rulers' forgetfulness of this, and their anxiety to take measures of their own, would only, because of the unbelief which was their motive, end in disgrace and ruin. Besides, the intrigue with Egypt was a breach of faith with Assyria, an unhallowed and immoral thing, and this was a second proof to Isaiah that it could not succeed. He found a third in the blindness of the Jewish statesmen to the weakness of Egypt, which promised much, but never did, or could do, aught to help those who trusted in her. This gives him occasion to say that, clever as the politicians deem themselves to be, J″ is more wise. J″'s measures for the security of Jerusalem are not mere arbitrary or supernatural exhibitions of power against her foes, but rational counsel to her statesmen, advice to keep clear of Egypt and to continue faithful to the Assyrian alliance.

The Jewish statesmen did not listen to Isaiah; and when Sennacherib invaded Palestine in 701, he found Hezekiah, like all his neighbour princes, in a state of revolt. Even then, however, Isaiah did not abate his confidence in the deliverance of Jerusalem. Once, indeed, his people seemed so corrupt, so abandoned to distrust of J″, and so incapable of the repentance to which he called them, that he announced the impossibility of their forgiveness, and condemned them to death (22^{1-14}). This, however, was momentary. Something happened to change their disposition. What it was exactly we cannot say. The most probable supposition is that Hezekiah submitted to Sennacherib, and bought the security of his city by a large tribute; but that having accepted this the Assyrian returned with heavier and more insolent demands (36. 37). Hezekiah and his statesmen were in despair (37^{1}), and the population, it would appear, ready to yield (36^{11}). Isaiah alone stood firm. Judah was sufficiently punished, the Assyrian in his arrogance made it clear that he expected the city to fall, because its God was no better than the gods of the States he had already overthrown. Isaiah affirmed such arrogance must be punished by J″, who would deliver His now penitent people. And the deliverance came. The hosts of Sennacherib appear to have been visited by the plague during their approach to the Egyptian border,—always in antiquity a region liable to such a visitation,—and the Assyrian corps that invested Jerusalem was suddenly withdrawn (cf. *Isaiah* 1–39 in 'Expositor's Bible'; Driver's *Isaiah* in 'Men of the Bible'; McCurdy, *HPM*, 1896, §§ 675–710). But however this may have been, Jerusalem was relieved, and Isaiah's predictions of her siege and ultimate deliverance literally fulfilled, and fulfilled, too, mainly by his own unbroken confidence and energy. It was, indeed, a victory of that faith by which the world is overcome. The people of J″, though sorely punished, were saved, the continuity of Israel's history preserved, and all the subsequent development of their religion made possible.

The above outline of Isaiah's doctrine and statesmanship makes it clear that while his long experience of the world's history, during one of its most critical periods, expanded and illustrated his belief in God, it was the latter which was the origin and root of all his convictions and his efforts on behalf of Israel. This is what Isaiah himself tells us (6). His ministry started from a vision of J″; and as his record of this vision is not placed at the beginning of his book, but after the first collection of his prophecies, and as the impressions he received from it appear (especially from vv.$^{9.\ 10}$) to be stated as if articulated and developed by his subsequent experience, we may see in the chapter not only the origins, but a full record, of his belief about God. J″ is the Lord or King, immeasurably exalted above everything human. His sublimity is the ruling impression on the prophet's mind, and throughout the discourses it appears again and again, in contrast both to the puny pride and ambition, 'everything high,' in Israel themselves (2), and to the overweening arrogance of the Assyrian (10, etc.). This infinite, awful sublimity is in the main what Isaiah expresses by J″'s holiness—a term whose root-meaning is probably that of separateness. But by the prophet himself this holiness is personally felt most keenly in its contrast to his own and his people's sin. The first conscience excited in Isaiah by the vision of the thrice-holy God is that he is a man of unclean lips, and dwells among a people of unclean lips (6^{5}). Before he can be of use to such a Deity, his uncleanness must be purged away ($6^{6f.}$). And so, before a people can be the people of God, their iniquity must be punished and driven out of them. The awful severity of this judgment (6^{9-12} and in many other passages) is a consequence of J″'s holiness. Isaiah lived through terrible times; he predicted a fearfully rigorous judgment of God's own people by God Himself. Everywhere he betrays a burning sense of the awful earnestness of life, and the pitilessness of the divine providence in dealing with sin, with folly, and with pride. All these are consequences of the holiness of God, and another consequence is the irresistibleness of the power by which His judgments are carried through.

But though the majestic transcendence of God, and His sovereign independence of everything human and earthly, his exaltation above every entanglement and compromise of the world's life is thus the ruling article of Isaiah's creed; the prophet almost equally emphasizes the divine immanence in the world and the history of man. The correlative of J″'s holiness is His glory, of which the earth is full (6^{3}). J″ is not only the infinitely High, but the infinitely Near. His moral interest in man's conduct extends to the minutest details. He sees and is touched by every mood and change of His people's character. He marks each fault they have, loathes each sin, feels each wound, and is swift to respond to each turn of their hearts in penitence. His passion for them, His 'zeal' or 'jealousy,' is quick and powerful. Nor is J″'s interest confined to Israel. The oracles of Isaiah on the foreign nations, and especially those on Egypt and Tyre, not only reveal that J″'s standards of righteousness are for them also, and that their sins are punished by Him as transgressions against Himself, but that He has pity for their teeming multitudes, and rejoices in their particular civilizations and destinies.

Parallel to this doctrine of the immanence and practical interest of J″ in men's life runs Isaiah's constant teaching as to His reasonableness. He is no arbitrary Deity whom Isaiah reveals, but the father and teacher of His people, who reasons and argues with them, who commends His ways to them, in opposition to their own measures, by pointing out the greater wisdom and effectiveness of the former. J″ is wonderful in counsel, and excellent in that kind of wisdom which carries things through (28^{29}). He asks their trust in His guidance, because of its reasonableness, and not simply because it is His will (29^{34}). In the most harrowing and apparently destructive processes of history He proceeds by method (28^{23-29}). The politicians think themselves clever: He also is wise, and has His own righteous purposes, which He will effect in time: the destruction of evil-doers, and in the end the rescue of His people, however much He needs first to beat and break them down (31). In short, He is a God who works in history as in nature by law—*El mishpat* is His name (30^{18}); the simplest of His moral principles effect, if violated, their own revenge (28); leave the tendencies of history, too, to Him, and they will issue right. With all this insistence on law moral and natural, is to be noted the absence of miracle and 'supernatural signs'; only once does Isaiah even seem to appeal to the latter ($7^{10ff.}$). The divine government of the world is manifested in natural and historical processes. The unity of these processes, which all over the visible world was conspicuously illustrated by the Assyrian empire, is for Isaiah himself a corollary from his belief in the transcendent sovereignty of J″. Smend says truly (*AT Religionsgeschichte*, 206) that 'the idea of the *Weltgeschichte* dates from Isaiah: its oldest meaning is the glorification of the One God.'

Isaiah has received from the Christian Church the title of the Evangelical Prophet. This was given mainly in the belief that chs. 40-66 were also by him. But, even in the prophecies which criticism has left to him, we find the elements of the doctrines of Grace. God forgives sin, the most heinous and defiling (1^{18}). Though He has passed sentence of death upon His people (22^{14}), their penitence procures for them His pardon and deliverance (36. 37). Necessarily severe as His judgment is, cruelly as His providence bears upon sin and folly, His love and pity towards His own never fail (14^{32}). He is their well-beloved, and has constantly cared for them ($5^{1ff.}$). It is His passion for them that works their deliverance (9^{7}). He longs to be gracious, and to have mercy even when His people are most given to their own destructive courses; and He waits eagerly for their prayers to Him ($30^{18f.}$).

Of the future which shall follow Judah's judgment and deliverance Isaiah makes several predictions (cf. ESCHATOLOGY OF OT, vol. i. 736 ff.). First, as was to be expected, he emphasizes its ethical features. The sinners having been destroyed (1^{28}), and Jerusalem purified, the city shall be a city of righteousness ($1^{25ff.}$), under a righteous ruler (9^{7} $11^{4ff.}$). But above all J″'s own presence and government shall be very manifest, with exceeding joy and glory. As a result, men shall abandon all their idols (2^{20} etc.), the worship of which (as we ought to have noted above) had not wholly disappeared from Israel, in spite of the fact that the national religion was that of J″. With righteousness shall come peace (2^{4}, if this be Isaiah's, 9^{7} 11^{3}), and with peace the renewed fertility, and the free enjoyment of the fruits of the soil (1^{19} 4^{2} 30^{23-26}). In the last of these passages the promise is given in terms of great beauty, and suited to the needs of a people whose fields had been overrun by war for more years than one, and who have been cooped up by siege. Over all a wonderful light shall be shed: it is the symbol of the dispersion of the people's present gloom. Moreover, the nations shall willingly come to Jerusalem to be taught of Israel's God and His *torah* ($2^{2f.}$; but see above, § IV., where it is pointed out that there are some objections to the authenticity of this passage). On the Messiah see above, §§ IV. V. Isaiah's Messiah is a human king, of the stock of David, and with functions that are political, both military and judicial. He is not the mediator of religious gifts to His people: forgiveness, knowledge of God, and the like. It is only in this, that he saves the people of God from destruction and reigns over them, that he can be regarded as a type of Jesus Christ.

VII. RELIGIOUS REFORMS IN ISAIAH'S TIME.—It would have been strange if a prophet so practical and statesmanlike, and so influential with the rulers of Judah, had not left his mark on legislation and ritual. We cannot believe the author of the oracles against images, the spirit that organized the city's deliverance from Assyria, to have been idle in the long opportunity of reforms afforded by the accession of Hezekiah, and by the years of peace which followed till the death of Sargon, or again during the few years, uncertain in number, of Hezekiah's lifetime after the relief of Jerusalem in 701. It is to the former of these periods that 2 K 18 assigns certain drastic reforms of worship, of which it gives the credit to Hezekiah. The list of them given in v.^{4} contains the removal of the high places, the *maẓẓēbôth* or pillars, the *'ashērîm* (see ASHERAH), and the brazen serpent called Nehushtan, to which the people burned incense; and in v.^{22} the Rabshakeh is reported to have said to the Jews in 701 that Hezekiah had already removed the high places. The integrity of v.^{4} has been justly doubted: the grammar is of late Hebrew. It has also been maintained (Wellhausen, *Isr. u. Jüd. Gesch.*, and Stade, *GVI* 1607 f.) that the only reform which we have any just ground for leaving with Hezekiah is the destruction of the brazen serpent and other images, which, because in 705 ff. Isaiah represents it as still future (30^{22}), can only have taken place after 701.

In ascribing to Hezekiah the destruction of the high places, *maẓẓēbôth* and *'ashērîm*, it is alleged that the hand intruded into v.^{4} and the editor of v.^{22} have wrongly anticipated reforms which were not effected till a century later by Josiah. But while this conclusion is undoubtedly favoured by the language of v.^{4}, it ignores the probabilities on the other side. It is quite true that Isaiah, while condemning images, says nothing against the high places, the *maẓẓēbôth* and the *'ashērîm*. But to condemn images, and to do away with them, was to destroy the significance of the high places, which depended on their worship, and to concentrate the people's faith on the sanctuary in Zion, where J″ was not worshipped under any form. Besides, the Assyrian invasion, devastating as it did the whole country and yet incapable of violating Zion, worked mightily to the discredit of the high places, and the proof of Zion's unique holiness. We may also say that though Isaiah is not reported to have condemned the high places,[*] yet his fundamental principle of the oneness and spirituality of J″ must, according to the religious notions then prevalent, have logically involved the abolition of the high places, at which there was not only a half-pagan ritual, but the tendency also to think of the deity worshipped as a local deity different from J″ of Jerusalem. We are justified, then, in believing in the probability of some measures during Hezekiah's reign for the removal of the high places. But, even if we hesitate to affirm this, we may at least state with certainty that Isaiah, both by his doctrine of J″ as the one true God, who could not be worshipped under the form of an image made by man, and in his insistence upon the solitary inviolateness of Zion and in the unaided faith and energy by which he secured this, laid the indispensable foundation for the legislation of Deuteronomy and the reforms of Josiah. We may also assert that the measures in this direction which Hezekiah inaugurated under Isaiah's inspiration must have been pretty severe; otherwise they could scarcely have provoked the terrible reaction which followed under Manasseh. In this state of probability, somewhat short of certainty, we must be content, with our present data, to leave the question.

VIII. THE HISTORICAL CHAPTERS 36–39.—These chapters are found also in 2 K 18^{13}–20^{19}, where their text has been somewhat more fully and accurately preserved (for details see Driver, *LOT*^{6} 226 f.; Cheyne, *Introd.* 215) than here (cf. especially 38). The passage 2 K 18^{14-16} is wanting in the Book of Isaiah, and the latter's Psalm of Hezekiah is wanting in Kings. The whole section is very composite. For details we must refer to Dillmann, Duhm, Cheyne, Skinner, and to Stade's analysis in *ZATW* for 1886. Here it is only possible to give a bare outline. In 36–37 we have two narratives of Sennacherib's endeavour or endeavours to capture Jerusalem: one of them 36–37^{8}, the other 37^{9-38}.[*] Many have read these as the respective accounts of those successive attempts on Jerusalem which we saw above to be the probable course of the Assyrian campaign. But Stade and others have taken them to be variant records of one and the same assault of Sennacherib on Jerusalem, and have divided them as follows: 36^{1}–37^{9a}+37–38, and 37^{9b-37a}.[†] Further, Cheyne believes that in these narratives the following are later insertions, $36^{1.\,7.\,18-20}$ 37^{4}, 'to reproach the living God,' ^{6} 'Wherewith . . . have reviled me,' $^{8bc\ 22-32.\ 34}$. On the question of the chronology in 36^{1} and 2 K $18^{10.\,13}$ see Driver, *Isaiah*^{2}, 13; Cheyne, *Introd.* 216 ff.; Skinner, *Is.* 1–39, lxxvi f., 262 f. The reported message of Isaiah to Hezekiah 37^{22b-35} consists of—(*a*) a taunt-song in the *Kinah* measure, vv.$^{22b-29}$, and (*b*) the giving of a sign to Hezekiah in another rhythm, vv.$^{30-32}$, and (*c*) a prediction of the relief of Jerusalem, vv.$^{33-35}$. The taunt-song 'appears to be inserted in the narrative from some independent source . . . probably a genuine work of Isaiah'; $^{33-35}$ 'the actual message of the prophet on this occasion' (Skinner); but see Cheyne, *Introd.* 219. Chs. 38. 39 are probably from the same source as 36. 37: Duhm and Cheyne assign them to the author of the second of the two narratives in 36. 37. The 'writing of Hezekiah,' 38^{9-20}, was assumed even by Kuenen in the 1st ed. of his *Onderzoek*, ii. 93, and by Dillmann, to be genuine. The present writer expounded it as genuine in the 'Expositor's Bible,' *Isai.* 1–39, ch. xxv. But he now feels the force of the objections to this, drawn from the language, which has many late features (so Kuenen's later opinion, Duhm, and Cheyne).

IX. PROPHECIES CERTAINLY NOT ISAIAH'S IN CHS. 1–39.—The detailed discussion of these is hardly relevant to an article on Isaiah himself; but a few data may be given concerning the chief of them.

11^{10-16}.—Dillmann argues for Isaian authorship, but most think the passage implies that the Exile has taken place; the Messiah is not, as in Isaiah's own prophecies, the political ruler of Israel, but the restorer of the exiles and the resort of all nations (cf. Giesebrecht, *Beiträge*, 25 ff.; Driver, *Isaiah*^{2}, 214 f.). 12 is without doubt from a date after the Exile (besides the Commentaries see Francis Brown, *Jour. of Bibl. Literature*, 1890, 128 ff.). 13^{1}–14^{23} implies that the Jews are in exile, and in servitude to Babylon, the fall of whose king, however, is imminent; the Medes (13^{17}) are already invading Babylonia. The ideas and language do not suit Isaiah's time, but do suit the exilic age. For details see Cheyne, *Introd.* 69 ff.: Driver dates it a little before B.C. 549. 15^{1}–16^{12} has usually been attributed, on grounds of difference of style from Isaiah's, and of the suitability of its historical allusions to the time of Jeroboam II., to a prophet of that date (so among others Hitzig, Wellhausen, W. R. Smith, Dillmann, and more doubtfully Driver. Ewald, Kuenen, Baudissin, assign to at least a prophet earlier than Isaiah), Isaiah himself adding $16^{13.14}$. In 1888 Schwally (*ZATW* 207 ff.) argued for the post-exilic origin of the whole section; and it forms one of those passages which Duhm would bring down to the Hasmonæan period. Cheyne thinks the most conservative theory which is possible is that a post-exilic author combined a genuine oracle on Moab, 16^{14}, with an anonymous pre-exilic prophecy also on Moab, and filled up illegible passages in an antique style. 21^{1-10} was assigned by some early critics (Ewald and others) to the close of the Exile, on the ground that no siege of Babylon such as the passage describes could have interested Judah before then. Then Kleinert (*SK*, 1877, 174 ff.; so also George Smith the Assyriologist) argued that the passage referred to the first of these sieges of Babylon by the Assyrians in Isaiah's time: 710, 703, 696. To this view Cheyne and Driver at first adhered; but they have recently returned to Ewald's view (Cheyne, *Introd.* 121 ff.; Driver, *LOT*^{6} 216). Skinner agrees. There can be little doubt that they are right. 24–27, one of the most remarkable sections of prophecy in the OT, cannot be Isaiah's, and must be post-exilic, for the general reasons already given (to be found in greater detail in Driver, *LOT*^{6} 219 ff.; Kirkpatrick, *Doct. of the Prophets,* 475 ff.; Cheyne, *Introd.* 145 ff.; and Skinner, *Is.* 1-39, 204 f.). The exact date is very uncertain. Ewald and Delitzsch both placed it in the late 6th or early 5th cent.; so, too, Dillmann, Kirkpatrick, and Driver 'most plausibly.' Probably the question will ultimately lie between this date and the campaigns of Artaxerxes Ochus, *c.* 350 (see below on 63^7–64), for which Cheyne has ably argued in detail. For an exposition of this very important prophecy see the Comm. and 'Expositor's Bible,' *Is.* 1-39. 34. 35 are two visions from the same hand, 34 of a general judgment on the Gentiles ($^{1-4}$) and a special doom upon Edom ($^{5-17}$), 35 of the restoration of Israel from exile. Obviously, they must be later than the beginning of the Exile, and the great crime of Edom when the latter took place. With this their language agrees. We are quite unable to fix an exact date. Dillmann (cf. Driver, *Is.*^{2} 131, *LOT*^{6} 226) suggests the end of the Exile. Arguing that the writer quotes late exilic and post-exilic writings, lives in Palestine, feels nothing of the Babylonian oppression, and sees imminent on Edom the same calamity as Mal 1^{1-5} refers to, Cheyne suggests the end of the 5th cent. or even a later period.

---

[*] Neither with any certainty is Micah, for the reading of Mic 1^{5} is uncertain.

[*] Another division of the chapters would assign 36^{1} (only with the addition 2 K 18^{14-16}) to the first invasion of Sennacherib, 36^{2}–37 to the second.

[†] Winckler (*Untersuch.* 34–36) has attempted to prove that while the first narrative refers to Sennacherib's campaign of 701, the second describes what happened on an alleged return of Sennacherib to Palestine to meet Tirhakah towards the end of his reign between 690 and 681. (Winckler makes the division between the narratives not at 37^{9a} but at 37^{8a}). But for this there is no conclusive evidence: cf. Cheyne, *Introd.* 234 f.

X. STRUCTURE AND DATE OF CHAPTERS 40–66. —The earliest critics who assigned these chapters to the Exile believed them to be a unity. But in the first place it became obvious that after 52^{12} the style changes as decisively and almost as often as in chs. 1-39, and in the second place critics who continued to support Isaiah's authorship alleged that the references are not all exilic or Babylonian, but that in the later chapters there are reflections of Palestine, and some allusions to the Exile as still to come. These facts gradually led to the perception of the composite character of 40–66. Bleek and Ewald were the first to distinguish this, the latter assigning $40^{1.2}$ 52^{13}–54^{12} and 56^9–57^{11} to the reign of Manasseh. In 1881 Cheyne (*Enc. Brit.*^{9}) adhered to the pre-exilic origin of some of these passages, but claimed also that there were others equally separable from the earlier chapters, and these he assigned partly to the early Exile and partly to after the Exile. In 1886 Briggs (*Mess. Proph.*) sought to prove that the sections on the Servant of the Lord were in a different metre and by a different hand from the rest. In 1889 Kuenen assigned 40–49. 52^{1-12} and perhaps 52^{13}–53^{12} to one author, in the end of the Exile, the rest he considered added by this author himself, or by others, after the Return. In 1890 the present writer argued for the composite character of 40–66. In 1892 Duhm distinguished three authors: the so-called 'second Isaiah' in the Exile,* a post-exilic author of the passages on the Servant, and a 'third Isaiah' the author of the bulk of 56–66. Various articles and monographs appeared, working in the same direction. Then in 1895 Cheyne produced the most finished presentation of the theory: 40–55 from one author who combined in it a cycle of poems on the Servant of Jahweh, and the great prophecy of the restoration;† but 56–66, a collection of ten compositions, all of them from the age of Nehemiah, except 63^7–64^{11}, which is probably to be assigned to the reign of Artaxerxes Ochus, or about 360. Meanwhile Dillmann (1890) and Driver [both in the first and sixth (1897) editions of his *LOT*] adhered to the authorship of the great bulk of the prophecy by one prophet, mostly before but partly also after the Return. Dillmann (p. 363 ff. of his commentary) assigns 40–48 to about 545, 49–62 between 545 and the Return, and 63–66 to the very eve of the Return; only in 66 he sees insertions from a later hand. Driver, upon the resemblance of 56^9–57^{11a} and 59^{3-15} to passages in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, takes these to be pre-exilic prophecies incorporated by the author of 49–66 (*Isaiah*^{2}, 187 ff.). Cornill (*Einleitung in AT*) and Wildeboer (*Litteratur des AT*) admit in 49–62 many signs of composition in Palestine, which, however, do not force us to deny them to the author of 40–48. In 63–66, on the other hand, they find the marks of another and a later writer.

Chs. 40–66 have no title and make no claim to be by Isaiah. 40–48 plainly set forth the ruin of Jerusalem, and the Exile as having already taken place. Israel is addressed as if the time of their penalty in servitude to Babylon were exhausted, and their deliverance is proclaimed as immediate. Cyrus is named as their saviour, and is pointed out as already upon his career, and blessed with success by J″. Nor is it possible to argue, as some have tried to do, that the prophet is predicting these things as if they had already happened. For, as part of an argument for the unique divinity of the God of Israel, Cyrus, 'alive and irresistible, and already accredited with success, is pointed out as the unmistakable proof that *former* prophecies of a deliverance for Israel are already coming to pass. Cyrus, in short, is not presented as a prediction, but as a proof that a prediction is being fulfilled. Unless he had already appeared, and was on the point of striking at Babylon, with all the prestige of unbroken victory, a great part of 40–48 would be unintelligible' (*Isai.* 40–66, 'Expositor's Bible,' 9 ff.; see the argument there in detail). There is thus a very clear date for these chapters; they must have been written between 555, Cyrus' advent, and 538, Babylon's fall. If 41^{25} implies the union of Cyrus with the Medes in 549, the possible years are reduced to eleven. Perhaps they should be confined between 545, when Cyrus took

---

* To this author Duhm assigns 40, except vv.$^{5.31b}$, 41, both of which chapters he rearranges, 42^{5-14} (except v.^{12})^{25}, $43^{1-20a.22-28}$, $44^{1-8.21-28a}$, 45^{1-25} except vv.$^{10.13b}$, $46^{1-5.9-13}$, 47^{1-15} except vv.$^{3a.14b}$, $48^{1a.}$ (to 'Jacob')$^{3.5a.6-7a.8a.11-16a.}$ (to 'there am I')$^{20.21}$, 49^{7-26}, 50^{1-3}, 51 except vv.$^{11.15.16.18}$, $52^{1.2.7-12}$, 54 except vv.$^{15a.17b}$, 55 except vv.$^{3a.7}$.

† In 40–55 Cheyne finds a number of insertions, for which the reader must be referred to his translation in the Polychrome Bible. The more important are 44^{9-20}, 46^{6-8}, two passages on the artificial idols; $48^{1a.2.4.5b.7b.8b-10.17-19.22}$; 49^{13}–50^{3}, 51^{1-14} except $^{4b.5b.15.16}$, $52^{1.2.7-12}$, 54 except v.^{15}, 55.

Sardis, and 538. With this agree the thoughts, the local colour, and the language of the chapters (on the last see Cheyne, *Comm.* ii., and Driver, *Isaiah*^{2}, 192 ff.). Nor is there any need to limit this proof to 40–48, though Babylon and Cyrus are confined to them. From 49 to 55 the circumstances are still of exile; as A. B. Davidson remarks, 49 is parallel to 42, and takes for granted the picture of Israel's restoration in 48. The first real break occurs at 52^{13}, where the prophecy of the sin-bearing Servant is introduced. Not only is this written with considerable difference of style, but, if it be left out, 54^1 follows naturally upon 52^{12}. Yet 52^{13}–53 is an evident development from the previous sections on the Servant scattered throughout 40–52. And the whole question is raised whether these sections formed originally a poem by themselves, and if so, whether they are by a different author from the rest of 40–55. Cheyne thinks there is much which makes it impossible for any of these passages to have originally sprung, each at the place which it now occupies, from the progress of the prophet's thoughts. This is doubtful (for reasons the present writer has expressed on p. 313 ff. of *Is.* 40–66), and it would be difficult to understand why, if originally an independent poem, these sections were broken up and placed just where they are now. In any case there is nothing in them incompatible with their being from the same hand as the rest of 40–55; and indeed Cheyne assigns them to that hand. (For other opinions see above). 56^{1-8} is assigned by Cheyne and others to Nehemiah's time; but an earlier date is not impossible; v.^{8}, however, appears to imply that some Jews have already returned (see the linguistic analysis in Cheyne, 312 f.). 56^9–57 is the passage which most clearly reflects the scenery of Palestine, and charges the Jews both with political sins they could commit only in their own land, and with superstitions also most natural there. Critics have been divided between a pre-exilic date, such as Manasseh's reign, when idolatry and persecution were in force (so since Ewald), and a post-exilic date (so latterly Cheyne, who, after a literary analysis of the passage, places 56^9–57^{13a} shortly before Ezra's arrival and the rest later; the former position is by no means certain, especially after a study of Zec 1–8 and 'Malachi'; but probably the whole prophecy is post-exilic). 58 by most critics (including the present writer) has been assigned to the Exile; this is possible, but Cheyne gives strong reasons for a post-exilic date. 59 is very difficult to analyze and assign; probably it is the fusion of two prophecies, one of which speaks as if Israel, in their own land, were responsible for civic justice, the other as if the great deliverance from exile were just at hand. Some argue, not very successfully, for a pre-exilic date of at least portions of this chapter, but Cheyne for a date after Ezra. 60 was previously taken by Cheyne in his *JQR* article to be by the same hand as 40 ff., but in his *Introd.* he argues for its authorship by a post-exilic imitator of that writer, on the grounds of the ideas of the chapter, its poor style, and that the author speaks as if he were a resident of Jerusalem at a time when the city had again a population, though small, and when the temple had been rebuilt, but needed expansion and ornament. These latter reflections of a historical situation are by no means certain; there is no clear implication that the temple has been rebuilt; on the contrary, the city itself appears to have been uninhabited for a time. It is not possible to fix a date. There is the same indefiniteness of circumstance in the poem 61–62. Cheyne affirms that it implies the land of Judah to be in part repeopled and the temple rebuilt (62^9), but this is not evident; one might as well argue from 62^6 that the walls have already been rebuilt. 61^1 proclaims liberty to the captives; if, as Cheyne holds, this refers to the mass of Israel, the prophecy can hardly be referred, as he suggests, to a date after Cyrus, because, though numbers of Jews remained in exile in spite of that great Liberator's edict, they would not be described as in captivity. Probably, however, the reference is too general for so particular an inference from it. Besides, even after Cyrus, there must have been in various parts of the world enslaved or captive Jews. 61^3 speaks of those who mourn in Zion, a phrase which appears to imply that Jerusalem is inhabited, unless we are to take it metaphorically. The language, in spite of resemblances to that of 40–55, affords a little more evidence of a later date. Nothing can be inferred from the person of the speaker of the first verses of 61 till we can conclude whether he is meant to be the Servant of the Lord, in which case we might take the passage as one of the series of oracles on that great figure, and (as some argue) from the same date as the others, or whether he is merely a representative of prophecy. But this is a question which has divided critics, and is very difficult, if not impossible, to answer (see *Isaiah* 40–66, 'Expositor's Bible,' 435 f.). On the whole, then, it is impossible to fix the date of 61. 62; most opinions vary between a date before the liberation under Cyrus and authorship by the writer of 40–55, and a later authorship by an imitator of that prophet.

The brilliant passage 63^{1-6} stands by itself. Its description of the loneliness of J″ in achieving the overthrow of Edom (the attempts to eliminate the name of Edom from the passage cannot be said to be justified) forbids a reference to some historical defeat of that bitter people by Israel. The vision is of a purely ideal conquest of Israel's chief enemy. In 42^{13} we have a similar picture of J″ travailing for the deliverance of His people; this, however, is not enough on which to argue for identity of authorship, while the ferocity of the passage is somewhat against it. None of the other dates suggested are sufficiently probable.

The next section is 63^7–64, a prayer of intercession for Israel. Here, again, there is great possibility for diversity of opinion as to the date. The passage cannot well be by the author of 40–45; as to that, Cheyne's analysis of the ideas and language (*Introd.* 352 ff.) is very convincing. Nor is it so clear as the present writer once thought it was, that because the author appeals (63^{11-15}) only to the delivery from Egypt, and not to that from Babylon, the latter is still future as he writes. For Haggai and Zechariah make no mention of Cyrus' decree, or the return from Babylon, though they wrote very soon after these events. (On the objections to Kosters' theory that their silence is a proof that no return had taken place, see the present writer's *Twelve Prophets*, vol. ii. ch. 16.). What is clear is that Jerusalem has suffered desolation, that the temple has been defiled and burned by Israel's adversaries (63^{18} $64^{10f.}$ Eng.). To what event does this refer? Some say Nebuchadrezzar's destruction of the temple in 586, and date the passage from the early Babylonian exile. But if that were so it would be difficult to understand the Massoretic reading of 63^{18} 'Thy holy people possessed it but a little while'; though this reading is uncertain. The only other similar calamities are that alleged to have taken place in the invasions of Palestine by Artaxerxes Ochus (B.C. 360 ff.) to which Cheyne refers the passage, and that by Antiochus Epiphanes in 169 to which Grotius referred it. The latter may be ruled out of consideration. Of the invasion by Artaxerxes Ochus we know extremely little (for details see W. R. Smith, *OTJC*, note D; and Cheyne, *Introd.*

358 ff.); and that he destroyed the temple is only inferred from his cruel character, from his desecration of other shrines on that campaign, and from an ambiguous tradition in Josephus about the reign of the other Artaxerxes. Nevertheless, W. R. Smith and Cheyne have assigned to the reign of Artaxerxes Ochus Pss 74 and 79, with their references to the destruction of the temple, which others assign to Maccabæan times. And arguing from the parallels between these Pss and Is 63[7]–64 Cheyne also assigns the latter to the same date. The reasoning is strong, but not conclusive, and hampered by the uncertainty of a burning of the temple about 350. Besides, Ps 74 distinctly points to the conviction that prophecy has ceased in Israel. Not only does Is 63[7]–64 betray no such conviction, which, if it had existed, could hardly have been omitted by a writer of the mood of Is 63[7]–64, but the whole prophecy is itself an answer to the idea that the prophetic spirit had faded from the nation. Moreover, if Is 63[7]–64 has some parallels with Ps 74. 79 it has also some very striking resemblances, both of thought and phraseology, to the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah, and its whole tone suits the years of disillusion and despair which elapsed between the return from exile in 537 and the beginning of the rebuilding of the temple in 520. The unique phrases, 'Thy holy cities' (64[10]), and 'J″'s spirit in the midst of Israel' (63[11]), find parallels in Zec 2[16] [Heb.] and Hag 2[5] respectively. There is the same sense of the people's uncleanness as in Hag 2 and Zec 3; the same sense of J″'s excessive anger as in Zechariah's first vision; the same emphasis on the Spirit of J″, and the same idea of J″'s angel, interchangeable with J″ Himself. The despair of Is 63[7]–64 is exactly that which Haggai and Zechariah appear to combat in the people, and the circumstances of the time fully explain, as already remarked, the silence of the whole prayer about the liberation from Babylon. On the whole, then, it must be regarded as more reasonable to date 63[7]–64 from about 525 than about 350.

Ch. 65, taken by the majority of critics as the divine answer to the prayer of 63[7]–64, has been assigned both to Babylonia and Palestine, both to the years before the end of the Exile and to those after the Return. Some (Dillmann, *in loco*) argue for the former, on the ground that the idolatrous practices mentioned are all suitable to Babylonia, that Israel's occupation of the Holy Land is represented as future in v.[9], and that the phrase 'forget my holy mountain' (without reference to the rebuilt temple) recalls the exilic Ps 137[4]. To this view the present writer adhered in 1891, but he does not now feel the conclusiveness of it. For the promise of v.[9] may be naturally interpreted, not of the first return to Zion and occupation of the surrounding district, but to the full possession of Palestine as a whole, which was still unrealized long after the first return. Besides, the idolatrous customs charged may just as easily have been prevalent in Palestine as in any other country of Western Asia, and Gad and Meni (v.[11]) were undoubtedly Syrian deities, and worshipped in Palestine from time immemorial. In the doubt in which these allusions of the prophecy leave us as to its exact date, we are not assisted either by the ideas or by the language of the passage (for details see Cheyne, *Introd.* 320 ff.): these cannot determine between two periods so close to each other as the years just before or the century after the Return. Cheyne, who accepts the Palestinian origin, argues that the Samaritans are the people against whom the chapter is addressed, and fixes the date as that of the troubles of the Jews with the Samaritans, which Nehemiah describes. But that the charge is against superstitious and semi-pagan Jews may also plausibly be argued, and there are really no sufficient data to fix a date. On the whole, a Palestinian * and post-exilic origin is the most probable.

Equally obscure is the question of ch. 66. The chapter is probably not a unity, and the text is unusually corrupt. There are echoes of chs. 40–55, but it is quite impossible to assign the chapter to the great evangelist of the Exile. The temple either has been rebuilt or is being rebuilt (vv.[1-4. 6. 20]); the restored community has already been formed, but is not complete (v.[9]). The language points to a post-exilic date. The attacks upon the idolatrous customs reveal a close connexion between the chapter and 65. On the whole, therefore, a date soon after the Return appears probable for the bulk of the chapter; but there are probably later insertions. On this see Dillmann, Duhm, and especially Cheyne.

XI. THE THEOLOGY OF ISAIAH 40–66.—(*a*) Chapters 40–55, as we have seen, are addressed to Israel in circumstances very different from those of the generation to which Isaiah of Jerusalem spoke. Isaiah had before him a nation on their own soil: responsible for justice and social reform, for the defence of a fatherland and the conduct of a foreign policy. He appealed to kings, statesmen, and definite classes of society. But chs. 40–55 are addressed to a people in exile, without native leaders or the opportunity of developing great personalities: with no civic life and few social responsibilities; a people in the passive state, with occasion for the exercise of almost no qualities save those of penitence and faith, of memory and hope. Moreover, with Isaiah, and indeed with all prophets up to the Exile, the burden of prophesying is the people's guilt and their doom of exile. But this doom has now been fulfilled. Jeremiah limited it to 70 years. These are almost exhausted, and there are signs that the Babylonian Empire, the instrument of the doom, is approaching its fall. Cyrus, king of Anshan and Persia, having conquered the Medes (B.C. 545), and perhaps also the Lydians (542), is descending on Babylon. What is of immediate interest to Israel, therefore, is not, as formerly, the immoral state of the people and the imminence of certain events of chastisement, but the dawn of that redemption and restoration which was promised to appear after the fulfilment of God's sentence. In a word, what is now needed is not so much new predictions of the future as proofs that the fulfilment of former predictions is at hand. Consequently, while the problem before the spirit of Israel is still substantially what it was with Isaiah, viz. the survival of a people of J″, both the factors of the problem and the method of its solution are very different. Some recent critics hardly exaggerate when they say that prophecy proper ceased with the Exile. For instead of the characteristic prophet, denouncing his people upon moral grounds and predicting their doom, we have in Is 40 a commission granted to a number † of voices (whose hearers, indeed, so little feel themselves to be official prophets that they remain anonymous) to comfort Israel and proclaim that the ancient promises to her are about to be fulfilled. But the proof of this requires something more than an appeal to present facts, whether in Israel's own conduct or the general history of the world about her: the whole history and destiny of Israel are brought in, with a full and reasoned revelation of her God.

In such a scheme, it is plain, there is no need for that almost exclusive insistence upon the moral attributes of J″, His demands for justice and purity, which we found in Isaiah's own teaching; but the need is rather for emphasis upon God's intention to fulfil His word, and upon His power to bend to this end the forces of history. The change is best illustrated in the altered meaning which chs. 40–55 give to the term 'righteousness.' In the authentic prophecies of Isaiah, delivered to an unjust and immoral generation, righteousness almost exclusively means the purity and justice which God demands from His people. But in chs. 40–55, in face of a generation who are not charged with the immoralities of Isaiah's, but who are in doubt or despair about their God's power and will to fulfil His word and redeem them, righteousness signifies mainly His consistency and faithfulness. In 41^{26} the adjective *ẓaddîḳ* is applied to one whose prediction turns out to be correct.[*] In 41^{2} the noun *ẓedeḳ* appears to be the virtue of carrying out what one has promised; it is associated with J‴'s call to Cyrus, who has been called not in vain, but in good faith, and for a purpose which will certainly succeed. So in 41^{10}, taken with its context, J‴'s *ẓedeḳ* is His trueness, the harmony of His present purpose with His ancient promise to redeem Israel—His good faith to the people He has called; but it includes also His *power* to fulfil His word: 'the right hand of my righteousness' is the phrase He uses. The whole chapter and other parallel passages (especially $43^{9.\,10.\,18f.}$ $44^{7.\,8}$ $45^{19\text{-}25}$) imply that *ẓedeḳ* or *ẓĕdāḳâh* (the forms are used indifferently) is J‴'s fidelity to His calling of Israel—the quality by which He can neither forsake His own, nor for want of power fail in His promise to justify them to the world; and so, besides being synonymous with strength, righteousness is applied to its own results, and becomes parallel to salvation—*El ẓaddîḳ*, the Righteous God, is equivalent to *Môshîa'*, the Saviour (45^{21}).

---

* On this ground the chapter has been argued to be by Isaiah himself, or his disciples; and one scholar (Bredenkamp) dates it from the reign of Manasseh.

† Note the plural in the opening verse 40[1], 'comfort ye my people.'

The chief claim, therefore, which 40 ff. make for the God of Israel is His power to direct the history of the world in conformity to a long predicted and faithfully followed purpose. This claim starts from the proof that J″ has long before predicted events now happening or about to happen, with Cyrus as their centre. But this is much more than a proof of isolated predictions, though these imply omniscience. It is a declaration of the unity of history sweeping to the high ends which have been already revealed to Israel—an exposition, in short, of the Omnipotence, Consistence, and Faithfulness of the Providence of the one true God. But with almost equal force the chapters insist upon the Creative Power of the same sovereign Deity. Alone, without counsellor or helper, He created and sustains the world, calls all things into being, and bends them to His will.[†] He has made and measured earth and ocean, mountains and hills ($40^{12ff.}$). All the magnitudes and processes of nature are His: heaven, the stars, the clouds, the sea, earth, drought and floods, light and darkness, peace and calamity. Before His omnipotence, His own works and men and their works are as nothing. He is infinitely above them all, sublime and incomparable—in short, the Holy One. For holiness in these chapters is attributed to God always either in connexion with His creative power and the incomparableness to which it exalts Him (40^{25} 41^{20} 43^{15} 45^{11}), or more especially in connexion with the manifestation of that incomparable power for the redemption and glorification of His people (41^{14} $43^{3.\,14}$ 47^{4} 48^{17} 49^{7} 54^{5} 55^{5}). He is Jehovah, and there is none else; God, and there is none beside Him ($45^{5f.}$ etc.).

From this absolute monotheism everything else follows in chs. 40 ff. What invariably kindles the reason and style of the writer is the thought of God. The breadth and force of imagination, the assurance of hope, the daring treatment of the history of the world as a whole, may be traced to the writer's sense of God's sovereignty, and are the signs of how absolutely he was possessed by this as his principal and governing truth. But that he held it not by faith alone or a partial experience, but with the whole force of his reason, is shown, not only in the exposition of J‴'s articulate, clear, reasonable and consistent revelation of Himself and His purpose ($15^{10ff.}$), but also in the powerful scorn with which the author's mind sweeps down upon idolatry. If it is impossible to liken God to anything (41^{25}), then the low thoughts which Israel has of J″, the images in which the heathen figure the Godhead (41^{7} $44^{9ff.}$), their enchantments and divinations ($47^{9.\;12ff.}$), and even the chief gods of the conquering empires ($46^{1ff.}$), are all equally absurd. The ridicule which the writer pours upon these, the delight he has in exposing their futility, and the weary trouble for no end which their religions levy upon the heathen, brilliantly exhibit the intellectual assurance of this most perfect apostle of Israel's monotheism.

But though God is thus sublime He is near to men in sympathy, and full of grace and zeal for His own ($40^{1.\,11.\,27ff.}$ 43^{2} $49^{14ff.}$ $51^{3.\,12}$). Israel's maker is Israel's husband (54^{5}). No prophet is more daring in his ascription of passion to the Deity. With all this writer's overpowering sense of the transcendence of J″, he does not hesitate to picture Him as an excited and furious warrior, and as a travailing woman ($42^{13f.}$)

But as J″ is unique, so is Israel unique. Israel is His special creation, His elect, and His own. The nations are given for Israel's ransom, and the world-powers are employed as contributory to Israel's career (41^{8} $43^{3f.\,14}$ 45^{14} etc.). Cyrus himself, in whom the power of the world is gathered up, is J‴'s servant for Israel's redemption ($41^{2ff.}$ 44^{28} $45^{1.\,4}$ etc.). Yet the creation and election of Israel are not for their own sake. 'This people I have formed for myself; they shall show forth my praise' (43^{21}). They are to be God's revealers and witnesses to the ends of the earth ($41^{8ff.}$). They are to carry His *mishpaṭ* and *torah* to the farthest coasts ($42^{4.\,6}$). Their election is an election to service—the service of mankind in the highest matters of religion and morality. In a far higher sense than Cyrus they are the servant of J″. The picture of J‴'s servant fills a large part of the prophecy. Sometimes this servant is equivalent to all Israel, the seed of Abraham (41^{8} etc.). But as a whole the nation is unworthy of the high office—deaf, blind, and spoiled ($42^{18ff.}$)—in need of forgiveness (43^{25}) and illumination. And so the conversion of Israel becomes part of the servant's work ($49^{3\text{-}6}$). He appears to be the personification of the pious remnant of the people: the true, effective Israel; and he is therefore obviously distinct from the nation, who are not conscious of the destiny God has for His people, or ready to carry it out. Though Israel as a whole be unready, this loyal Israel is glorious in J‴'s eyes, and God is their strength (49^{5}). Speaking in the first person, this Servant describes his experience as the prophet of J″, and carries it to its consequence in martyrdom ($50^{4\text{-}9}$). Many have thought that in this passage the ideal is still more narrowly concentrated, and that we ought to see in the speaker an individual servant of J″. Many more agree that we have an individual presented to us at last in the classical passage 52^{13}–53. The latter opinion the present writer feels to be correct. The nation's functions of service for God are frequently concentrated by other prophets upon an individual. The experience of the individual Jeremiah, who had, in opposition to his whole people, remained faithful to J″, and in his solitary experience suffered for the people's sins, and represented them before J″, surely afforded precedent enough for the vision of a *personal* sufferer and sin-bearer. Yet, whether we take this view, or with many eminent critics continue to see in 52^{13}-53 as in 49 the personification of the righteous remnant of Israel, the religious results remain the same. The spiritual salvation of Israel is accomplished by the vicarious conscience and sufferings of the Servant. He is not merely the prophet of $49^{2\text{ff.}}$ and $50^{4.\,5}$, nor only the martyr of $50^{6\text{ff.}}$, who shall be ultimately vindicated by J″. His sufferings, so misunderstood by the world, have a very practical end ($52^{13\text{-}15}$). Disregarded or misunderstood by his own people, he naturally, as they come to see, bears their transgressions and iniquity; by his stripes they are healed ($53^{1\text{ff.}}$). He is sinless, and therefore unjustly treated by his tyrants; but he submits in order to offer his life as a guilt-offering; and so wins righteousness for his people, and exerts immense influence on men ($53^{7\text{-}12}$). Whether this figure be of the pious portion of Israel or of one holy sufferer, the Christian Church has been right in finding its fulfilment in Jesus Christ; in His sinless suffering, in His consciousness of His solitary distinction from His people; in His knowledge that His suffering was of God's will, and would effect the forgiveness of His people's sin, their redemption from guilt, and so His own exaltation from misunderstanding and abuse to manifest power and glory.

---

[*] As the Arabic *ẓādiḳ* means one who speaks truly.

[†] To describe this creative power the author of chs. 40 ff. is the first to use the term בָּרָא = create.

The equipment of Israel, then, for the religious service of mankind is the end towards which the argument and vision of chs. 40–55 are directed. But indispensable to this is the nation's redemption from Babylonian servitude, their return to the Holy Land, and the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the temple. The deliverance is to be effected by Cyrus, through his conquest of Babylonia and the humiliation of her gods (46 f.). This being certain, J″ calls upon His people to come forth from Babylon (48^{20} $52^{11\text{f.}}$), a call that was necessary in face of the fact that numbers of Jews were unwilling to leave a home into whose life they had deeply settled, for the hard beginnings of life again upon the desolate and comparatively barren soil of Palestine. J″ promises to make easy their way across the desert ($40^{3\text{ff.}}$ $41^{18\text{f.}}$ $43^{19\text{f.}}$ 48^{21}). Cyrus himself shall expedite their progress and arrange for the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the temple (44^{28} 45^{13}). The prostrate and desolate city shall rise from her ruins (40^{2} $51^{17\text{ff.}}$ $52^{1\text{f.}\,9}$) with a full population (44^{26} $49^{17\text{-}19}$ 54^{6}): the cities of Judah shall again be inhabited (40^{9} 44^{26}). But even beyond these limits shall Israel break, and inherit the Gentiles (54^{3}). A glory shall rest upon city and land, conscious of the presence of their God in His wonderful deeds ($40^{9\text{f.}}$ 49^{18} 52^{1} $54^{10\text{ff.}}$). The Gentiles, too, shall acknowledge this, coming to Israel with the words: Surely God is in thee (45^{14} $49^{7.\,22\text{f.}}$).

So lofty and spiritual is the prospect in chs. 40–55; and still so general when it descends to the details of the restoration. There is nothing priestly in the prospect, nothing warlike except in metaphor; no directions are given for the building of the temple, nor for the institution of sacrifice; no emphasis is laid upon the resumption of the latter, and it is not once mentioned as indispensable for the return of J″ to His people, and the renewal of His intercourse with them. To Zion J″ returns *along with* His people; they are His Temple, He is manifest in them (45^{14}). His gifts to them are spiritual: pity, grace, forgiveness, illumination, peace; their political restoration is but the pledge of all these. His demands upon them, too, are purely ethical and in the spirit of the older prophecy—fulfilment of His *torah* and *mishpaṭ* (51^{4}). And the long argument and exhortation concludes in 55 upon the keynote of its opening chapter (40) that J″'s word is omnipotent and creative. It shall bring all these things to pass. We shall see how different this atmosphere is from that of the chapters which follow (56–66).

(*b*) CHS. 56–66.—In passing from chs. 40–55 into 56–66 we feel, as we have already shown (see § X.), a great difference of style. Instead of one long argument and reasoned revelation, visible in the prophecy as a whole and in the series of passages on the Servant which are scattered through it, we enter a series of detached and broken oracles, which have sometimes no relation to each other, and all of which further differ from 40–55 in their style, temper, and the religious interests that they emphasize. It is true that some of the predominant notes of 40–55 are repeated, and others are developed. The argument of the sovereignty and holiness of J″ is taken for granted, and these are asserted almost in the same phrases (57^{15} $60^{9.\,14.\,16}$). 'Righteousness' is occasionally used in the same sense of the exhibition of J″'s faithfulness and burning fervour in the salvation of His people ($61^{10\text{f.}}$ $62^{1\text{ff.}}$). The vision of the zeal and passion of J″ is repeated and elaborated; as before, He is the strenuous and furious warrior ($59^{16\text{ff.}}$ $63^{1\text{-}6}$). There is one more picture of the Servant ($61^{1.\,3}$) with his mission of comfort and restoration to the people; and about this there is the same ambiguity as to whether it be the picture of the prophetic portion of Israel or of some individual endowed with the Spirit. The rebuilding of Jerusalem is described as more imminent, and the vision of her glory is developed in greater detail but with the same essential features of joy, beauty, fertility, an overflowing population of her returned sons and daughters, enrichment by the gifts of the Gentiles, and their acknowledgment of the God who resides in her (56^{7} 60. $61^{3\text{ff.}}$ 62. $65^{18\text{ff.}}$ $66^{6\text{ff.}}$). But several new features are introduced, some of which contrast unfavourably with the lofty and spiritual tone of chs. 40–55, and some reveal the circumstances and duties of a people already re-established in civic responsibility upon their own soil. From 56 onwards the temple and its building bulk more largely ($56^{5\text{ff.}}$ 60^{13} 63^{18} 64^{11} 66^{1}); the sacrificial system becomes a little more prominent (56^{7} 62^{9} 66^{20}), so do others of the institutions and ceremonies of religion; the Sabbath ($56^{2.\,6}$ $58^{13\text{f.}}$ 66^{23}), the priesthood of the people (61^{6}), and the orders of priests and Levites (66^{21}), the perpetual worship (58^{2} 62^{6} 66^{23}); and we find, too, directions on those matters on which the returned community, effecting its reorganization, had to legislate: *e.g.* the place of eunuchs in the congregation ($56^{2\text{ff.}}$) and the question of fasts ($58^{2.\,3}$). And there is an insistence upon civic duties and the social virtues ($58^{6\text{ff.}}$ 59^{4}); the sins of perverting justice and equity, uttering falsehood, and committing robbery are charged upon the people in the fashion that prophecy assumed when Israel was a State ($59^{12\text{ff.}}$ 61^{8}); and righteousness is again used in its older meaning side by side with its newer meaning (65^{5}). These data confirm the conclusion reached above of a difference of authorship between 40–55 and 56–66.

LITERATURE.—Besides the general Histories of Israel and Israel's Religion, Introductions to the OT, works on OT Theology, on Prophecy, and on Messianic Prophecy, the more important special works on Isaiah are as follows:—

A. *COMMENTARIES, TRANSLATIONS, ETC., OF THE BOOK OR PARTS.*—Origen, Jerome (ed. Vallarsii, vol. iv.), Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria; Gaon Sa'adya († 942), Arabic Version (with commentary, of which latter only a few fragments survive), latest edition by J. Derenbourg in *ZATW*, 1889, 1-64, 1890, 1-84; Aben Ezra, 1155, Eng. by Friedländer, London, 1877; David Kimchi (1235), Lat. ed. Florence, 1774; Ulrich Zwingli, *Complanatio Jesaiæ Latina*, Zurich, 1529, *Works*, vol. v. of ed. Schuler and Schultess; John Calvin, *Comm.*, Geneva, 1551, Eng. Edin. 1850; D. Isaaci Abrabanieli, *Comm. in Es. Proph. 30*, etc., Leyden, Elzev. 1631; Louis de Dieu, *Animadversiones in VT Libros omnes*, Leyden, 1648; Lat. trans. of Rashi's *Comm.* by Breithaupt, 1713 (not seen); Camp. Vitringa, *Comm.*, Leeuwarden, 2 vols. 1714-20, ed. Bas. 1732; Lat. trans. of Kimchi, 1774 (not seen); Robert Lowth, *Is., a New Translation with prelim. dissert. and notes*, 2 vols. London, 1778, Germ. by J. B. Koppe, 4 pts. Leipzig, 1779-81; Hensler, *Jes. übers. mit Anm.*, Hamb. 1788 (not seen); J. C. Döderlein, *Esaias*, a Latin trans. with notes, Nürn. 1789, 3rd ed. Altorf, 1789; W. Gesenius, *Comm. with trans.*, Leipzig, 1820-21; Ferd. Hitzig, *Der Proph. Jes.*, Heidelberg, 1833; Maurer, *In Jes. Comm.* 1836; Hendewerk, *Des Jes. Weiss. chronolog. geordnet*, 2 pts. Königsb. 1838, 1843 (not seen); H. Ewald, *Die Proph. des Alten Bundes*, Tüb. 1840-41, 2nd ed. 1867-68, Eng. by Fred. Smith, ii. iv. v., London, 1876-81; E. Henderson, *Bk. of Proph. Is.*^{2}, London, 1840; F. W. C. Umbreit, *Prakt. Comm.*, Hamburg, 1846; Ad. Knobel, *Jes. erklärt*, Leipz. 1843, 3rd ed. 1861; E. Meier, *Proph. Jes. erkl.* Pforzh. 1850 (not seen, only to ch. 23); Drechsler, *Der Proph. Jes.*, 2 vols. 1851-54; G. D. Luzzatto, *Il Profeta Isaia*, etc., Padua, 1855; J. A. Alexander, *Comm.*, Edin. 1865; Fr. Delitzsch, *Comm.* 1866, 4th ed. 1889, Eng. 1892; E. Reuss, *Les Prophètes*, 1876, cf. *Das AT*, ii., Brunswick, 1892-94; Nägelsbach in Lange's *Bibelwerk*, 1877, Eng. 1878; Birks, *Comm. on Bk. of Is.*, Lond. 1878; T. K. Cheyne, *Proph. of Is. trans. with Comm. and Appendices*, 1880, 5th ed. 1889; C. J. Bredenkamp, *Der Proph. Jes.*, Erlangen, 1887; v. Orelli, *Propheten Jes. u. Jeremia*, Nördlingen, 1887, Eng. by Banks, 1889; G. A. Smith, *Is. 1-39*, 1888, *Is. 40-66*, 1890, 'Expositor's Bible'; Aug. Dillmann, *Der Proph. Jes.*, Leipz. 1890, being 5th ed. of Knobel's work in the 'Kurzgefasstes Exeget. Handbuch z. AT' (Diestel had edited 4th ed. in 1872); Bernh. Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaia* in Nowack's *Handkommentar z. AT*, Göttingen, 1892; W. Reich, *Jes.*, vol. i. of *Das Proph. Schriftthum*, Wien, 1892; J. Skinner, *Is. 1-39*, in the *Cambr. Bible*, 1896, *40-66*, 1898; Guthe u. Ryssel in Kautzsch, *Die heil. Schrift*, 1896; H. G. Mitchell, *Is.: a Study of Chs. 1-12*, New York, 1897; T. K. Cheyne, *Is.* in *PB*, 1898; R. Kittel, 6th ed. of Dillmann's *Der Proph. Jes.*, Leipz. 1898.

B. *BOOKS AND ARTICLES OF GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE BK. OF ISAIAH.*—Among the Introductions to the OT in general, Kuenen's and Driver's deal with Isaiah in most detail; Special works of Introduction to Isaiah are the following:—T. K. Cheyne, *Bk. of Is. chronologically arranged*, etc., London, 1870, art. 'Isaiah' in *Encyc. Brit.*^{9} 1880, *Introduction to the Bk. of Is.*, London, 1895; Klostermann, art. 'Jesaia' in Herzog-Plitt's *Real.-Encyc.* 1880; B. Stade, *ZATW*, 1881-84; Cornill, *ZATW*, 1884, 'Die Composition des B. Jes.'; C. H. H. Wright, art. 'Isaiah' in Smith's *Bible Dict.*^{2} 1893; S. R. Driver, *Is., his Life and Times*, Lond. 1893; G. Douglas, *Isaiah One and his Bk. One*, London, 1895 (cf. also on same side as the last, R. P. Smith, *Authenticity and Mess. Interpr. of the Proph. of Is.*, sermons before Univ. of Oxford, 1862); Brückner, *Komposition des Buches Jes. 28-33*, Halle, 1898; Kennedy, *Argt. for Unity of Is.*, 1891.

C. *BOOKS AND ARTICLES UPON THE TEXT OF THE BK. OF ISAIAH.*—D. Kocher, *Vindiciæ text. hebr. adv. R. Lowth criticam*, Bern. 1786; T. K. Cheyne, *Notes and Criticisms on Heb. Text of Is.*, 1868, the Hebrew Text of Is. in Haupt's *SBOT*, 1899; P. de Lagarde, *Prophetæ prior. et poster. chaldaice e fide cod. Reuchlin. editi*, 1872; *Semitica*, i. 1-32; *Ztschrift für Luth. Theol.* 1876, 1 ff. on Is. 40-66 by Klostermann; 1877, 17 ff. *Zur Text-critik Jes.* by H. Strack; *Jahrb. für Prot. Theol.* 1877, 706 ff., 1879, 63 ff., 1881, 160 ff. by Studer; *ZATW*, 1881-84, K. Budde; K. Kohler in *Hebraica II.*, Chicago, 1885; *Journ. of Bib. Lit.* June 1889, 'On the metres of Is. 1,' by Francis Brown; Oort in *Theol. Tijdschr.* 1891, 461 ff. (not seen); Klostermann, *Deuterojesaja* (not seen); Bachmann, *AT Untersuch.*, 1894, 49 ff.; Perles, *Analekten zur Text-Kritik d. AT*, 1895 (not seen); Ruben, *Crit. Remarks on OT*, Lond. 1896. Also these more general works, including other matters than the text:—B. Stade, *De Is. Vatt. Aethiopicis diatribe*, Leipzig, 1873 (not seen); J. Barth, *Beiträge z. Erklärung des Jes.*, Leipzig, 1885; Giesebrecht, *Beitr. z. Jes. Kritik*, Gött. 1890. See also Geiger's *Urschrift*, Breslau, 1857.

D. *BOOKS AND ARTICLES ON THE HISTORICAL AND THEOLOGICAL CRITICISM OF IS. 1-39.*—(1) On Chronology, Assyrian history, etc.:—Hincks in *Jour. of Sacr. Lit.* Oct. 1858; J. Wellhausen, *Jahrb. für deutsche Theol.* 1875; A. Kamphausen, *Die Chronologie der Heb. Könige*, Bonn, 1883; Schrader, *KAT*^{2}, Giessen, 1883, Eng. by Whitehouse, *COT*^{2}, 2 vols. London, 1885, 1888; *RP*, both series; Duncker's and Meyer's *Histories of Antiquity*, also W. R. Smith, *Proph. of Isr.* 145 f., 402, 413 f.; Winckler, *Untersuch. zur Altorient. Gesch.*, Leipz. 1889, *AT Untersuch.* 1897, *Altorient. Forsch.* 1893; McCurdy, *HPM*, vols. i., ii., London, 1894, 1896; Tiele, *Babylon.-Assyr. Geschichte.*

(2) On the history of Isaiah's times in connexion with his teaching:—Strachey, *Jewish History and Politics*^{2}, 1874; Köstlin, *Jes. u. Jeremya*, Berlin, 1879; Sayce, *Life, etc. of Is.*, 1883; W. R. Smith, *Proph. of Israel*^{2}, London, 1896; Guthe, *Das Zukunftsbild des Jes.* (see below); J. J. P. Valeton, jun., *Viertal Voorlezingen over de Profeten des O. V.*, Utrecht, 1886; Meinhold, *Jes. u. seine Zeit*, Freiburg, 1898; Sinker, *Hezekiah and his Age*, 1898.

(3) On the theology of Isaiah in general:—Duhm, *Theol. der Proph.* Bonn, 1875; Riehm, *Messianic Prophecy*, Eng. Edinburgh, 1891; Kirkpatrick, *Doctrine of the Prophets*, 1892; Cornill, *Der Israelit. Prophetismus*, 1895, Eng. by Corkran, Chicago, 1896; A. B. Davidson, *Expository Times*, v. (1894) 296, 369, 391, 438, 488. Other manuals on the Theology of the OT and History of the religion of Israel.

(4) On the Messianic prophecies and Isaiah's view of the future:—Bredenkamp, *Vaticinium quod de Immanuele edidit Jes.* (7^{1}-9^{6}) (not seen); Giesebrecht, 'Die Immanuelweissagung' in *SK*, 1888, 217 ff.; Guthe, *Das Zukunftsbild des Jes.*, Leipz. 1885; Hackmann, *Die Zukunftserwartung des Jes.*, 1893; Porter, 'Isaiah's Immanuel' in *Journ. of Bibl. Liter.* 1895; on $2^{2\text{-}4}$ see comm. on Micah; G. A. Smith, *Twelve Prophets* ('Expos. Bible'), i. 365 f.; on 7, K. Budde in *Études etc. dediées à M. le Dr. Leemans*, Leyden, 1885, 121 ff.

(5) On other special subjects and chapters in Is 1-39, *e.g.* the league of Syria and N. Isr. against Judah in 734:—Caspari, *Ueber den syrisch.-ephraim. Krieg unter Jotham u. Ahaz*, Christiania, 1889; on ch. 12, F. Brown, *JBL*, 1890, 128-131; on chs. 13. 14, Hävernick, *Symbolæ ad defend. authent. Jes. xii. xiv.* 1842 (not seen); W. H. Cobb, *An Exam. of Is 13* (reprint from 'Bibl. Sacra'), 1892, cf. Cheyne in *JBL* for 1898; on $14^{24\text{ff.}}$, Stade, *ZATW*, 1883; on chs. 15. 16, Hitz. *Des Proph. Jonas Orakel über Moab* (1831, not seen); L. de Geer, *De orac. in Moabitas Jes. xv. xvi.*, T. ad Rhen. 1855 (not seen); Oort in *Theol. Tijd.* xxi. 51-64 (not seen); Baudissin in *SK*, 1888, 509 ff.; on $21^{1\text{-}10}$ and siege of Babylon, Kleinert, *SK*, 1879; on the question of Sargon's invasion of Palestine in 711, Hincks in *Journ. of Sacred Lit.* Oct. 1858; on Sennacherib's invasion and the relations to it of chs. 22. 23. 28-33. 36. 37, besides the relevant paragraphs in Kuenen and Cheyne, see Nowack, *SK*, 1881, 'Bemerkungen üb. das 14 Jahr des Hiskias,' and the historical works mentioned above; *Juda u. die Assyr. Weltmacht* (in the 'Programm der Technischen Staatslehranstalten zu Chemnitz,' Easter, 1885), by Asmus Sörensen; Friedr. Delitzsch, art. 'Sanherib' in Herzog-Plitt's *Real-Encyc.*; Stade, *ZATW*, 1886; Meinhold, *SK*, 1893, on c. 28; on 24-27, E. Böhl, *Vat. Jes. c. xxiv.-xxvii.*, Lips. 1861 (not seen); Hilgenfeld, *Ztsch. für Wissenschaftl. Theol.* 1866, 432 ff.; Smend, *ZATW*, 1884; Oort, *Theol. Tijd.* 1886 (not seen); on chs. 34. 35, Grätz, *JQR*, Oct. 1891; Budde, *Jahrb. für deutsche Theol.* xxiii. 428 ff., 529 ff.; on ch. 38, Dillvo, *Das Wunder an den Stufen des Ahas*, Amst. 1885; on chs. 36-39, J. Meinhold, *Die Jesajaerzählungen*, 1898.

E. *VOLUMES, ARTICLES, ETC., UPON IS. 40-66.*—(1) On general questions of Introduction:—Bunsen, *Gott in der Gesch.* i. 383 ff.; Rückert, *Heb. Propheten übers. u. erläutert*, i.; R. Stier, *Jes. nicht pseudo-Jes.*, Barmen, 1850; A. Rütgers, *De echtheid van het tweede gedeelte van Jez. aangetoond*, Leiden, 1866 (not seen); Löhr, *Zur Frage über die echtheit von Jes. 40-66*, 1876-80 (not seen); Klostermann in *Ztschr. für Luth. Theol.* 1876; *The Old Is.*, Moody Stuart, Edin. 1880; Cobb in *Biblioth. Sacra*, 1882; A. B. D[avidson], review of Del.'s *Isaiah* in *Theol. Review*, iv.; T. K. Cheyne, review of *Is. 40-66* ('Expos. Bible') in *Expositor*, 1891, i., also art. in *JQR*, 1892; Lucien Gautier in *Revue Chrétienne*, March 1893, 176 ff.; Geiger, *Jüdische Ztschr.* vi. xi. (according to Cheyne), asserts plurality of authors; on text and rhythm of several sections, K. Budde, *ZATW*, 1891; J. Ley, *Hist. Erklärung des 2ten Teils d. Jes.* 1893, also in *SK*, 1899, 163 ff. See also Cheyne, *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*, 1898; and Ed. König, *The Exiles' Book of Consolation* (Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1899). Both these were published too late to be taken account of in the present article.

(2) On the contemporary history (besides some of the historical works cited on Is 1-39, and general histories of Israel, Babylon, and Persia):—J. Halévy, 'Cyrus et le Retour de l'Exil' in *REJ* i. 1880; Feilchenfeld, *Die jüdischen Gegner der Heimkehr etc. unter Cyrus* (reprint from 'Jübelschrift für Dr. Hildesheimer,' Frankfort, n. d.); Sayce, *Fresh Light from the Ancient Monuments*; on the stele of Nabonidus, Scheil in *Recueil de Travaux*, etc., ed. by Maspero, xviii. 1896 (not seen); C. H. W. Johns in *Expository Times*, 1896; Messerschmidt, *Mittheilungen der Vorderasiat. Gesellschaft*, pt. i. 1896 (not seen).

(3) On the general theology of Is 40-66:—Duhm, *Theol. der Propheten*, 1875; F. Hermann Krüger, *Essai sur la théologie d'Ésaie xl.-lxvi.*, Paris, 1881; A. B. Davidson, artt. in *Expositor*, 1883-84; Kirkpatrick, *Doctrine of the Prophets*, 1892.

(4) On the Servant of J″:—Schenkel, 'Krit. Versuch über den Knecht Gottes' in *SK*, 1836 (not seen); G. F. Oehler, *Der Knecht J″ im Deuterojes.*, Stuttgart, 1865 (not seen); A. Wünsche, *Leiden des Messias*; A. B. Davidson, 'The Servant of the Lord in Isaiah,' in *Brit. and For. Evang. Rev.* 1872; Tayler Lewis, 'The Purifying Messiah: Interpr. of Is. 52^{13}' in *Bibl. Sacra*, 1873, 166 ff. (not seen); *Westminster Rev.* Oct. 1875; Urwick, *The Servant of J″*, 1877; C. Taylor, 'Interpr. of יזה גוים' in *Journ. of Phil.* 1879, 62 ff.; C. H. H. Wright, 'Pre-Chr. Jewish Interpretations of Is. 53,' *Expositor*, May 1888; Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*; John Forbes (of Aberdeen), *On the Servant of the Lord*, 1890; G. F. Dalman, *Is. 53*, 1890; Driver and Neubauer, with introduction by Pusey, *The 53rd Ch. of Is. acc. to Jewish Interpreters*, 2 vols. Oxford, 1876, 1877; M. Schian, *Die Ebed-Jahwe Lieder*, Halle, 1895; Sellin, *Serubbabel*, 1898; Laue. *Die Ebed-Jahwe Lieder*, 1898; Bertholet, *Zu Jesaja 53: ein Erklärungsversuch*, 1899. The last three appeared too late to be taken account of in the present article.

F. Besides the above there have been a number of purely practical and homiletic volumes on Isaiah. A. Marloratus, *Esai Proph. cum catholica expositione ecclesiastica*, Paris, Stephan 1564; Bullinger, *Is. Expositus Homiliis cxc.*, 1567; Sibbes' *Bruised Reed*, etc., vol. i. of his works, ed. Aberdeen, 1809; J. Smith (of Campbelton), *Summary View and Explanation of Prophets* (not seen), 1787; Macculloch (minister of

Dairsie), *Lectures on the Proph. of Is.*, 4 vols., Edin. 1791-1804; J. Stock, *Bk. of Proph. Is.*, Bath, 1803; Fraser (minister of Kirkhill), *Comm. on Proph. of Is., being a paraphr. with notes*, 1800; F. D. Maurice, *Prophets and Kings of OT*, xiii.-xviii. 1852; Perowne, *Sermons*, 1874, 'Exp. of Is 8^{16}–9^{7}'; W. G. Elmslie's *Memoir and Sermons*, 'The Making of a Prophet,' Is 6^{1-8}, 1890; Driver, *Sermons on OT*, II. 'Isaiah's Vision,' III. 'Ideals of the Prophets,' 1892; R. Kittel, *Aus dem Leben des Proph. Jes.* (sermons), Gotha, 1894 (not seen); E. King, *Pract. Reflections on every Verse of Is.*, 1894; W. Kelly, *Exp. of Bk. of Is.*, 1897 (not seen).

G. A. SMITH.

ISAIAH, ASCENSION OF.—i. CONTENTS OF THE ETHIOPIC BOOK.—The book falls into two parts: (*A*) The Martyrdom of Isaiah, (*B*) The Ascension of Isaiah into the Seventh Heaven. The bracketed sections are generally regarded as interpolations.

A. Hezekiah summons Manasseh, his son, to deliver to him revelations which he had received in his sickness, and writings of the prophet Isaiah. The prophet, who is present, declares that Manasseh will not regard instruction, but will cause him to be sawn asunder. After the death of Hezekiah (ch. 2), Manasseh turns to evil ways, and Isaiah retires with other prophets, first to Bethlehem, and then to the mountains beyond it. The false prophet Belkira (ch. 3) discovers his retreat, and accuses him before Manasseh on three grounds: first, that he has prophesied the destruction of Jerusalem; secondly, that whereas Moses had said, No man can see God and live, Isaiah had said, I have seen God, and, behold, I live; thirdly, that he had called Jerusalem and the princes and people of Judah by the names of Sodom and Gomorrah.

[3^{13}–5^{1} gives as a further reason for Isaiah's martyrdom the anger of Berial (or Beliar) at the visions which he had seen of the coming of the Beloved, etc. This forms an apocalyptic section in which there are many points of contact with the later part of the book, and esp. with 11^{2-22}. After the return of the Beloved to the seventh heaven the twelve apostles will preach throughout the world; but among their converts evil will multiply: and at length Berial will descend in the form of an impious king, the murderer of his mother, and will work miracles, and cause himself to be worshipped as the only God. The Lord will return and destroy him: the resurrection and judgment will follow].

While Isaiah is being martyred (ch. 5) Berial offers to release him, if he will confess that he has prophesied falsely. The prophet defies him, and is sawn asunder with a wooden saw, conversing the while with the Holy Spirit.

B. This begins with a new title: 'The vision which Isaiah the son of Amoz saw in the 20th year of the reign of Hezekiah king of Judah.' Isaiah comes from Gilgal (ch. 6), and is met by many prophets. In the presence of these, and of the king and his princes, he sits on the king's couch and prophesies. While he is speaking he falls into a trance with his eyes open. Afterwards he relates his vision to Hezekiah and the prophets, but not to the people. It is as follows:—

He is taken (ch. 7) by an angel, whose name he may not know, because he is to return to his mortal body, first up into the firmament, where he finds perpetual warfare between Satanic powers. Next he ascends into the first heaven, where he sees a throne with angels on either side; they chant a hymn of praise, which he learns is addressed to the Glory of the seventh heaven and to His Beloved. In the second heaven he finds also a throne with angels, but more glorious; he would fain fall down and worship, but is not permitted. In the third heaven he finds the like; there is there no mention of the deeds of the vain world from which he has come, but he is assured that nothing escapes observation. In the fourth heaven he again sees angels on either side of a throne, the glory of those on the right being, as before, greater than of those on the left; and all are more glorious than those below. The same in yet greater degree is true of the fifth heaven. But in the sixth heaven (ch. 8) there is no throne, and no left hand, but all are alike in splendour: it is in close connexion with the seventh heaven, and its glory makes the glory of the five heavens below seem but darkness. At length he comes (ch. 9) to the seventh heaven, where his entry is challenged, but permitted. Here he sees the just clothed in their heavenly robes, but not yet having received their thrones and crowns. These they cannot have until the descent and return of the Beloved has been accomplished. He is shown also the books which contain the transactions of the world below, and learns that all is known in the seventh heaven. He beholds the Lord of Glory, and is bidden to worship Him. He then beholds a second most glorious one, like unto Him, and again is bidden to worship; and then again a third, who is the angel of the Holy Spirit, the inspirer of the prophets. These two latter worship the ineffable Glory; and the chant of praise (ch. 10) sounds up from the sixth heaven. Then the voice of the Most High is heard speaking to the Lord the Son, bidding Him descend through the heavens to the firmament, and to the world, and even to the angel of the infernal regions; He is to assimilate Himself to those who dwell in each region in turn, so that He may not be recognized as He passes down. He will ascend at length with glory and worship from all. The prophet now beholds the descent of the Beloved. In the sixth heaven there is no change of His appearance, and the angels glorify Him. But in the fifth He is changed, and not recognized, and so in each of the lower heavens, down to the firmament, where He passes through the strife that rages there, still unrecognized. At this point the angel calls the prophet's special attention to what follows (ch. 11).

[Here follows a description of the Birth from a Virgin, and a notice of the life, death, and resurrection of the Lord, and the sending forth of the Twelve (11^{2-22}).]

Then the prophet beholds the ascent through the firmament and the six heavens: the Lord is recognized and glorified as He ascends: at length He reaches the seventh heaven, and takes His seat on the right hand of the great Glory; and the angel of the Holy Spirit sits on the left hand. The prophet is then sent back to his mortal clothing. On his return he warns Hezekiah that these things will come to pass, but that they may not be communicated to the people of Israel.

ii. DOCUMENTS AND EDITIONS.—(*a*) *Ethiopic.*—This, the fullest recension, was first published in 1819 by Laurence, Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford, afterwards Archbishop of Cashel, from a MS which he had bought in London, and which also contained an Ethiopic version of 4 Ezra. He accompanied his edition with translations into Latin and English, and with notes and a dissertation. In 1877 this edition was superseded by Dillmann's, which was based on Laurence's MS (now in the Bodleian) and two others in the British Museum. Dillmann gave a literal translation into Latin, which remains the most satisfactory form in which those who are not Ethiopic scholars can read the book. In 1894 a French translation was issued by M. René Basset, as No. 3 of his series *Les Apocryphes Éthiopiens*; but this, though convenient, is not to be relied on for the purposes of criticism.

(*b*) *Latin.*—(1) A Latin version of the second part (B), the *Ascension of Isaiah* proper, was printed at Venice in 1522 from a MS not now known. It was published by Antonius de Fantis in a small volume containing the visions of the Virgin Mechtild and some other pieces. It was reprinted by Gieseler in a Göttingen programme in 1832; and by Dillmann, together with the two fragments next to be mentioned, in his edition of 1877. (2) Two Latin fragments were printed by Mai (1828) in his *Scriptt. Vett. Nova Collectio*, iii. p. 238 f., from a Vatican palimpsest. He found them in company with certain Arian writings, recognized them as belonging to some apocryphon of the OT, but did not identify them. They are reprinted by Dillmann, and comprise chs. 2^{14}–3^{13} and ch. 7^{1-19}. They contain enough to show that they represent a form of the book in which the bracketed section of A was present, and in which A and B were combined.

(*c*) *Greek.*—In 1878, the year after the appearance of Dillmann's edition, Osc. von Gebhardt published, in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift f. wiss. Theol.* (p. 330 ff.), a late recension of the book in Greek from a 12th cent. MS in Paris (*Bibl. Nat.* 1534), a volume of *legenda* (Mar.–May). Under May 9 he found: *προφητεία, ἀποκάλυψις καὶ μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐνδόξου καὶ μεγίστου τῶν προφητῶν Ἠσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου.* This is not alluded to by Dr. Salmon in his excellent article in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.*, and it has also escaped the notice of M. Basset. Its importance lies in the fact that, in spite of its entire recasting of the work, it still gives us considerable portions of the original Greek. But there is little to be gained from it for the history of the tradition of the book. The object of the reviser has been to produce a lection for Church purposes; and he has accordingly reduced the vision of the *Ascension* to small compass, and has rearranged the materials so as to put the martyrdom at the end. He appends an account of the prophet's burial, and introduces some traditions about the Pool of Siloam, which find parallels in Pseudo-Dorotheus, the Paschal Chronicle, and Pseudo-Epiphanius (see the references and citations given by v. Gebhardt).

(*d*) *Slavonic.*—Three versions in Old Slavonic have been published, but they have not as yet been critically investigated. For notices of them see Bonwetsch in Harnack's *Altchristliche Litteratur*, i. 916, and Basset, p. 7 n.

iii. Patristic References. — The most important of these may be noted here, grouped according to the portion of the book to which they belong.

(*a*) Justin Martyr (*Trypho*, 120) accuses the Jews of having obliterated from the OT the story of the death of Isaiah, *ὃν πρίονι ξυλίνῳ ἐπρίσατε.* Tertullian (*de Patient.* 14) says: 'His patientiæ uiribus secatur Esaias, et de domino non tacet.' The phraseology in each case suggests, though it cannot be held to prove, an acquaintance with *A*. Origen (*Comm. in Matth.* 23^{34}; *Ep. ad Afric.* 9) refers to the story of the martyrdom as contained in an *ἀπόκρυφον Ἠσαΐου*; moreover, he cites (*Hom. in Ies.* 5) the charge of contradicting Moses ('Moses, aiunt, non uidit; et tu uidisti?'). Jerome (*Comm. in Ies.* 1^{10}) gives this charge and the further one, 'quod principes Sodomorum et populum Gomorrhæ eos appellauerit,' as the two causes of the prophet's death. Ambrose (*in Ps.* 118) gives the story of the devil's offer to release Isaiah, if he would declare his prophecies to be false. The anonymous commentary printed with Chrysostom's works (Montf. t. vi.), and known as the *Opus imperfectum in Matthæum*, refers to Isaiah's prophecy of the disobedience of Manasseh and of his own death, and to Hezekiah's consequent wish to slay his son (*Hom.* i. p. xx f.).

These references do not of necessity imply more than a knowledge of a Jewish book of the Martyrdom; some of them might be merely allusions to isolated Jewish legends (cf. Fabricius, *Cod. pseudepigr. VT*, p. 1088 ff.). But Cedrenus (Bonn ed. i. 120 f.) cites the calculation of the reign of Antichrist, with slightly changed figures; and it is noticeable that he speaks of the book as *The Testament of Hezekiah.*

(*b*) Jerome, in commenting on Is 64^4, expressly mentions the 'Ascensio Esaiæ,' and says that it contained the quotation cited by St. Paul in 1 Co 2^9 'Eye hath not seen,' etc. This passage is found in *Asc.* 11^{34}, but only in the Latin version. It is probable, therefore, that Jerome knew the book in a form which contained both *A* and *B*. In the context of this last passage he implies that it was used by heretics in Spain; and this accords with a reference in the recently recovered works of Priscillian (*Tract.* 3, p. 47, Schepss). Epiphanius twice refers to the *Ἀναβατικὸν Ἠσαΐου*, and says that it was used by Hieracas, an Egyptian teacher of the beginning of the 4th cent. (*Hær.* 67, 3), and by the Archontici, a sect of about the same date (*Hær.* 40, 2). The former of these references relates to the appearance of the Beloved (*ὁ ἀγαπητός*) on the right hand of God, and of the Holy Spirit on the left hand: the latter refers to the seven heavens.

There are two references in apocryphal writings which deserve special mention. In the *Last Words of Baruch* (ch. 9) allusion is made to the martyrdom of Isaiah in such a way as to suggest that the *Ascensio* in its Christian form was known to the writer (see Rendel Harris's edition, p. 20 ff.). In the *Actus Petri Vercellenses* (ed. Lipsius, p. 72) we have a quotation from *Asc.* 11^{14}. As both these books may have been written before the middle of the 2nd cent., their evidence is of special importance.

Two later writings of very small intrinsic worth seem to have used the *Ascensio*. One is a sermon of Potamius, printed among St. Zeno's works (Verona, 1739, p. 300): it describes the martyrdom, and mentions Belial. The other is the apocryphal *Liber Johannis*, an Albigensian book, printed at the end of Thilo's *Codex Apocryphus NT.*

For further references the student may consult Dr. Salmon's art. in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.*, Harnack's *Altchr. Litt.* p. 854 ff., and Basset's Introduction: in this last he will also find a fairly complete bibliography.

iv. Critical Remarks.—In the outline given above of the Ethiopic book, Dillmann's critical dissection of it has been in the main accepted. But it may be questioned whether his theory of two separate books, *A* and *B*, as we have called them, combined and interpolated at a subsequent period, is not somewhat too rigid. It may be nearer to the truth to suppose that *A* does indeed reproduce a Jewish book on the Death of Isaiah, but that the whole of the remainder is due to a single Christian hand, which modified the opening section, inserted the apocalyptic vision, and added the vision of the Ascension.

There appears to be no sufficient ground for distinguishing the writer of the apocalyptic section from the author of the Ascension. The fact that the Antichrist assumes the form of a matricidal king does not of necessity take the apocalyptic section back into the 1st cent.: the reappearance of Nero as the Antichrist long haunted the imagination of the Christian apocalyptists. The calculation of the duration of his reign appears to be simply borrowed from the Book of Daniel, and gives us no guidance.

If there was a separately existing Jewish book, this may be the source of the references of Justin Martyr, of Tertullian, and even of Origen. In this case Jerome and Epiphanius (or Hieracas as quoted by the latter) would be our earliest authorities (other than anonymous) for the Christian book. Yet on internal evidence we should place it not much later than the middle of the 2nd cent. 'Elders and pastors' are the only titles applied to Christian ministers; prophecy seems spoken of as still in exercise, though failing in influence; and the description of Isaiah's ecstasy suggests that the writer had witnessed Christian trances.

The closest literary parallel may perhaps be found in the Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs, in which the narrative portions at the commencement of each Testament are directly taken from Jewish books, esp. from the Book of Jubilees, and the remainder, homiletical and apocalyptical, is the work of a Christian hand.

v. Interest for Biblical Students.—The chief points of interest are two—(1) the conception of the firmament (as the abode of evil spirits), and of the seven heavens; (2) the use of the name 'the Beloved' as a Messianic title. If these features could be regarded as directly derived from Jewish sources, without the intervention of the NT writings, they would be important illustrations of the language of St. Paul (Eph 1^{2} 6^{12}, 2 Co 12^{2-4}, also Eph 1^{6}). But on the whole it is probable that the apostle's language was familiar to the writer, and was regarded by him as giving a kind of sanction to his conceptions, if it did not actually form their starting-point.

1. For the conception of the seven heavens the student may refer to Mr. Charles' introduction to *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, p. xxx ff. Our author's idea of the seven heavens differs from other descriptions in that he introduces no physical phenomena (as, *e.g.*, ice and snow, sun and moon, paradise, etc.) by way of differentiating them. Tradition has supplied him with nothing but the bare number of seven, and he distinguishes one from another only by a constantly increasing glory. On the other hand, he is unwilling to place any element of evil in any of the heavens, and hence he introduces the firmament as between the earth and the first heaven, so as to find a dwelling-place for the Satanic powers of the air. Perhaps his own main interest lay in the exposition of the idea that the descent of the Beloved escaped the notice of the dwellers in the lower heavens, in the firmament, and on the earth. This idea was found in St. Paul's language in 1 Co 2^{8} 'the hidden wisdom . . . which none of the rulers of this age knew; for, if they had known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of Glory.' 'The rulers of this age' are the powers of the firmament in our book; and the title 'the Lord of Glory' also occurs in it. The same thought is found in the well-known words of Ignatius (*ad Eph.* 19): *καὶ ἔλαθε τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἡ παρθενία Μαρίας καὶ ὁ τοκετὸς αὐτῆς, ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ θάνατος τοῦ Κυρίου.*

2. The name of the Messiah in every part of this book is 'the Beloved.' There is some ground for thinking that this was a pre-Christian Messianic title. For (1) it is used in the OT (*ὁ ἠγαπημένος*, LXX) as a title of Israel; *e.g.* Dt 32^{15} $33^{5.\,26}$, where it renders 'Jeshurun,' as it does also in Is 44^{2}; again in Is 5, *ὁ ἠγαπημένος* and *ὁ ἀγαπητός* render יָדִיד and דּוֹד respectively. It was natural, therefore, that, like the titles 'Servant' and 'Elect,' it should be transferred from the people to the Messiah. (2) At the period when the Gospels were written 'the Beloved' and 'the Elect' were practically interchangeable terms, for Mt writes *ὁ ἀγαπητός μου* (12^{18}) in citing Is 42^{1}, where the Heb. is בְּחִירִי (LXX *ὁ ἐκλεκτός μου*); and Lk (9^{35}) substitutes *ὁ ἐκλελεγμένος* for *ὁ ἀγαπητός* in the words spoken at the Transfiguration. (3) These two substitutions suggest that, whatever may have been the original meaning of the phrase *ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός* (Mk 1^{11} 9^{7}), both Mt and Lk regarded *ὁ ἀγαπητός* as a separate title, and not as an epithet of *υἱός*; and it is interesting to note that the Old Syriac version emphasized this distinction by rendering 'My Son and My Beloved.' (4) In Eph 1^{6} St. Paul uses *ἐν τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ* as equivalent to *ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ* in a context in which he is designedly using terms derived from Jewish sources. (5) Certain passages of the LXX where *ὁ ἀγαπητός* occurs were explained by Christian interpreters as Messianic (Ps 44 (45) *tit.*, Zec 12^{10}). (6) Lastly, we have several passages in early Christian writings in which *ὁ ἠγαπημένος* is used as a title of Christ, *e.g.* Barn. 3^{6} $4^{3.\,8}$; cf. Clem. Rom. $59^{2.\,3}$; Ign. *Smyrn.* inscr.; Herm. *Sim.* IX. xii. 5; *Acts of Thecla*, c. 1; *ὁ ἀγαπητός* is also used, but usually with *υἱός* or *παῖς* (Herm. *Sim.* V. ii. 6; *Mart. Polyc.* 14; *Ep. ad Diogn.* 8; *Acts of Thecla*, c. 24; in the last three cases in a liturgical formula). It is difficult to suppose that in all these instances from Christian writings the title (esp. in the form *ὁ ἠγαπημένος*) has for its only source the NT. And in particular the persistent use of *ὁ ἀγαπητός* in the present book suggests that the writer must have thought its introduction consistent with verisimilitude in a work which sought to be regarded as an ancient Jewish prophecy of Christ.

J. Armitage Robinson.

ISCAH (יִסְכָּה, Ἰεσχά, etym. uncertain).—A daughter of Haran and sister of Milcah, Gn 11^{29} (J). This is the only passage in OT where she is mentioned. There is no probability (see Dillm. *ad loc.*) in the identification of Iscah with Sarai (Jos. *Ant.* I. vi. 5, Targ. Jon., Talm., Ephraem, Jerome, Rashi, etc.), and little warrant for the conjecture of Ewald (*HI* i. 313) that she was the wife of Lot.

ISCARIOT.—See Judas Iscariot.

ISDAEL (Ἰσδαήλ), 1 Es 5^{33}.—In Ezr 2^{56}, Neh 7^{58}, Giddel. The form is probably due to corruption of the Greek, ΓΕΔΔΗΛ being read as ΙΣΔΑΗΛ.

ISHBAH (יִשְׁבָּח).—A Judahite, the 'father' of Eshtemoa, 1 Ch 4^{17}. See Genealogy.

ISHBAK (יִשְׁבָּק).—A son of Abraham by Keturah, Gn 25^{2}=1 Ch 1^{32}. In Gn the LXX has, A Ἰεσβόκ (so Luc.), *D* Ἰεσβούκ, E Ἰεσόκ, in 1 Ch B Σοβάκ, A Ἰεσβόκ. The tribe of which he is the eponym is somewhat uncertain, although Frd. Delitzsch (*ZSKF* ii. 92) identifies it with *Iasbuḳ* of the cuneiform inscriptions, where it is mentioned as a land (*māt*) whose king was allied with Sangara (Shamgar?) of Gargamis (Carchemish) and others against Assur-naẓir-pal and Shalmaneser II. (*c.* 859 B.C.). Dillmann and Delitzsch point out that the name has nothing to do with *Shanbak* in the Jebel esh-Shera, which is not heard of till the time of the Crusades.

ISHBI-BENOB.—One of the four Philistines of the giant stock who were slain by the mighty men of David (2 S 21^{15-17}). See, however, Gob.

ISHBOSHETH (אִישׁ־בֹּשֶׁת), who disputed the throne of Israel with David for about seven years, was the fourth son of Saul (1 Ch 8^{34} 9^{39}). His real name as preserved by the Chronicler was Eshbaal or Ishbaal (אִישׁ־בַּעַל 'man of Baal'), but he is better known to us by the name Ishbosheth (אִישׁ־בֹּשֶׁת 'man of the shameful thing'), which he bears in 2 S 2^{8} and elsewhere. This double nomenclature is easily explained. Baal is most familiar to us as the name of a Tyrian or Phœn. divinity, but in its primary meaning of 'lord' it was the designation applied by the N. Shemites each to their own particular deity, and we know that at one time it was a frequent appellation even of the God of Israel (Hos $2^{16.\,17}$). It is in this way that we must explain its use by Saul in naming his sons, for, whatever faults may be chargeable against the first king of Israel, he was certainly no idolater. In later times, when Baal had come to be regarded as a heathenish name, the words of Ex 23^{13} 'Make no mention of the name of other gods,' were interpreted so literally that in reading, and finally in writing, *Bosheth* ('the shameful thing') was frequently substituted for *Baal*. (The text of Samuel must, according to Wildeboer, *Litt. d. AT* 82, have escaped this alteration till after B.C. 250, the date at which the Chronicler still found the original name Ishbaal written there). As Hosea apparently means to express his contempt for the impure worship of the N. kingdom by substituting (Hos 4^{15} 5^{8} 10^{5}) *Bethaven* 'house of idolatry' for *Bethel* 'house of God,' for a similar reason the *Jerubbaal* of Jg 6^{32} is replaced in 2 S 11^{21} by *Jerubbesheth*. In like manner the name of Jonathan's son was not Mephibosheth but Meribbaal. In this case also it is the Chronicler that has preserved the true name (cf. 2 S 4^{4} with 1 Ch 8^{34} 9^{40}). The offensive component *Baal* was occasionally got rid of in a different way. In 1 S 14^{49} the name of one of Saul's sons appears as *Ishvi* (יִשְׁוִי), in which Wellhausen, followed by Budde (*Richt u. Sam.* 207), sees a corruption of *Ishjo* (אִישְׁיוֹ) or *Ishjahu*. This is supported by the LXX (Luc.) Ἰεσσιού. In this instance the word *Baal*, instead of being degraded to *Bosheth*, is transfigured into one of the forms of the name J″, and the 'man of Baal' (Ishbaal) becomes the 'man of J″' (Ishjahu). On the same principle, David's son *Beel*iada (1 Ch 14^{7}) appears in 2 S 5^{16} as *El*iada (Benzinger, *Heb. Archäol.* 152).

According to 1 S 31^{2}, Saul's three eldest sons, Jonathan, Abinadab, and Malchi-shua fell with their father upon Mt. Gilboa. David's sovereignty was thereupon acknowledged by the men of Judah; but Abner, who had been Saul's general, remained faithful to the cause of his master and kinsman, and under his directions Ishbosheth was proclaimed king at Mahanaim on the E. side of the Jordan. This locality was probably selected by Abner as his headquarters, because the land of Israel proper was completely overrun by the Philistines. Presently the men of David, under the command of Joab, encountered those of I., commanded by Abner, at Gibeon (2 S $2^{12\text{f.}}$). It was agreed to abide the issue of a combat between twelve champions selected on either side, but this proved indecisive, as all the twenty-four fell mortally wounded. A general engagement now ensued in which Abner's forces were completely routed. Some time thereafter I. had the misfortune to give deadly offence to Abner. Having detected his general in an intrigue with Rizpah, Saul's concubine, he reproached him with what, according to the usages of the time, amounted to an act of treason (2 S 3^{6-11}). Abner hotly resented such treatment, and declared his intention of transferring his allegiance to David. The full accomplishment of his purpose was, indeed, prevented by Joab, who, in order to avenge the death of his brother Asahel, treacherously murdered Abner on the occasion of his visit to David in Hebron. The cause of I., weak before, was hopelessly ruined by the defection and death of its chief supporter, and the unfortunate claimant of his father's throne was not long afterwards murdered by two of his officers (2 S 4^{5-7}). The details of the crime are obscured by the rendering of AV and text of RV, although they are correctly given in the margin of the latter, which follows the Sept. That the latter is here to be preferred to the MT needs no proof (see W. R. Smith, *OTJC*² 82). Instead of the unintelligible language and meaningless repetitions of vv.$^{6.7}$, we read, 'And lo, the woman that kept the door was cleaning wheat, and she slumbered and slept, and the brothers Rechab and Baanah passed in unobserved and came into the house as Ishbosheth lay upon his bed, and they smote him and slew him,' etc. The assassins came to David with the head of their victim; but, instead of receiving the reward they expected, they were overwhelmed with reproaches and condemned to instant death (2 S 4^{9-12}). This was the turning-point in the fortunes of David, who, although he had no complicity in the assassination, could not help profiting from the death of his rival. Seeing that he was the only possible leader against the Philistines, the whole nation of Israel now offered him their allegiance, and shortly thereafter he was able vastly to strengthen his position by wresting from the Jebusites the stronghold of Jerusalem, which city was henceforward the capital of the kingdom.

2. Ishbosheth (*i.e.* Ishbaal) should also prob. be read in 2 S 23^{8} for Josheb-basshebeth (wh. see).

J. A. SELBIE.

ISHHOD (אִישְׁהוֹד 'man of majesty').—A Manassite, 1 Ch 7^{18} (AV **Ishod**). See GENEALOGY.

ISHI (יִשְׁעִי 'salutary').—**1.** A Jerahmeelite, 1 Ch 2^{31}. **2.** A Judahite chief, 1 Ch 4^{20}. **3.** A chief of East Manasseh, 1 Ch 5^{24}. **4.** One of the captains of the 500 men of the tribe of Simeon (which see) who smote the Amalekites at Mt. Seir, 1 Ch 4^{42}. See GENEALOGY, II. 5, IV. 11, 57, VII.ᵃ 8.

ISHI (אִישִׁי 'my husband,' LXX ὁ ἀνήρ μου).—The name which Hosea (2^{16}) recommends Israel to apply to J″ instead of *Baali*, 'my lord' (see HOSEA, and cf. W. R. Smith, *Proph. of Isr.* 171, 408 f.).

ISHMA (יִשְׁמָא).—One of the sons (acc. to LXX) of Etam, 1 Ch 4^{3}. The MT is undoubtedly corrupt. See GENEALOGY.

ISHMAEL (יִשְׁמָעֵאל 'God heareth,' or better, 'May God hear'[*]).—The son of Abraham, by his concubine Hagar. The history of Ishmael is contained in parts of Gn 16. 17. 21^{8-21} 25—chapters of which $16^{1a.\,3.\,15.\,16}$ 17. $25^{7-11a.\,12-17}$ belong to P, the rest (so far as it relates to Ishmael) belonging to J (ch. 16) or E (ch. 21). Sarah was barren (Gn 16^{1}); so, in accordance with the manners of the age (cf. $30^{3.\,9}$, also 22^{24}, Ex 21^{7-8}), she gives Abraham her handmaid Hagar, an Egyptian, as his concubine, in the hope that she may be 'builded up from her' (16^{2}), *i.e.* obtain a family by her[†]—viz. by adopting Hagar's offspring as her own. When Hagar saw that she had conceived, a womanly feeling of superiority took possession of her, and she 'despised' Sarah (cf. 1 S $1^{6\text{f.}}$), who forthwith complains reproachfully to her husband, uttering the passionate wish that the indignity done to her may be visited upon him, and appealing to Jehovah to judge whether he is not to blame for permitting it. Abraham replies that Hagar is Sarah's slave, and she can do to her as she pleases. She accordingly 'deals hardly' with her, *lit.* 'humbles' her,[‡] viz. by imposing upon her hard or degrading work, from which Hagar seeks refuge by flight (16^{4-6}). Hagar was an Egyptian: so she naturally fled in the direction of Egypt; and there, in the wilderness, by 'the spring on the way to Shur'—the spring known afterwards (v.^{14}) as the well Beer-laḥai-roi, and identified by many[§] with Muweiliḥ, a watering-place about 25 miles W.N.W. of 'Ain Ḳadîs, on the caravan route between Hebron and

---

[*] The name occurs also in early Bab. as that of a slave from the land of 'Martu' or the Amorites (Thureau Dangin, *Rev. d'Assyr.*, 1897, p. 78) and in Minæan (Hommel, *Süd.-Arab. Chrestomathie*, 117, 135).

[†] The expression, as 30^{3}. For the family being represented under the figure of a house, cf. Ru 4^{11}, Dt 25^{9}, Ex 1^{21}.

[‡] See especially, on the word here used, Rahlfs, עָנִי *und* עָנָו *in den Psalmen* (1892), p. 67 ff. (with numerous illustrations from Arabic); more briefly, Driver, *Deut.* p. 246. Cf. Gn 31^{50} ('afflict').

[§] See Trumbull, *Kadesh-barnea*, p. 64, and cf. Dillm.

Egypt—the angel of J″ 'found' her. He addresses to her three words (16^{9-11}): firstly, bidding her return to her mistress, and 'humble herself'[*] under her hands; secondly, encouraging her to take this step by the promise of a numerous seed; and thirdly, fixing in anticipation the name and character of her future son: 'thou shalt call his name Ishmael, because Jehovah hath *heard* thy affliction. And he shall be a wild-ass of a man, his hand being against all, and the hand of all being against him: and in front of all his brethren he shall dwell.' The wild-ass is a wayward, intractable creature, whose home is the prairie (see the description in Job 39^{5-8}; and cf. Hos 8^{9} 'going alone wilfully'). Ishmael, like many of the other characters in Gn, is an impersonation of his descendants; and the narrator draws here a true and picturesque description of the Bedawis,[†] and of the life led by them to the present day: now, as ever, they are the free and independent sons of the desert, owning no authority save that of their own chief, reckless of life, if occasion demands it, ever ready to plunder the hapless traveller who ventures without permission within their domain. The tribes whom the Hebrews thus regarded as descended from Ishmael, dwelt partly, it seems, on the S. of Canaan; but in the main, as the words 'in the front of all his brethren' (so 25^{18b}, cf. v.^{6}) imply,[‡] their home was on the east of Israel and Edom (see below).

The next allusion to Ishmael is in ch. 17 (P), where, after the promise of a son to Sarah, Abraham, incredulous, and still resting his hopes upon Ishmael, utters the entreaty on his behalf (17^{18}), 'Oh that Ishmael might live before thee!'[§] In reply, God reaffirms His promise to Sarah, but adds (with a play on his name), 'And as for Ishmael, *I have heard* thee: behold, I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful, and will multiply him exceedingly; twelve princes shall he beget, and I will make him into a great nation' (17^{20}; see 25^{12-16}). And at the end of the chapter, it is stated that Ishmael, being 13 years old (cf. 17^{24} with 16^{16}, both P), was circumcised, together with the other male members of Abraham's household.

We again hear of Ishmael some three years afterwards, when Isaac was weaned[‖] (21^{8-21} E). Sarah 'saw the son of Hagar, the Egyptian, whom she had borne unto Abraham, playing,' or *sporting*, *jesting* (19^{14} 26^{8}, Ex 32^{6}, Jg 16^{25});[¶] her maternal jealousy is excited; she a second time appeals to her husband, and bids him, with some peremptoriness, 'cast out' both Ishmael and his slave-mother. Abraham, though resenting this demand,—for Ishmael was his firstborn, and had obviously also (note 'on account of his son') won his affection,—is nevertheless encouraged by God—as may be inferred from v.^{14}, in a nocturnal vision or dream—to yield to it: Abraham's genuine 'seed,' the inheritors of the promises, are to be in Isaac's line; and national greatness elsewhere is in store for Ishmael also. Resigned by these thoughts to the loss of his son, he sends him away with his mother, giving them a modicum of provision to support them on their journey. They wander to and fro over the dry and stony soil of the desert about Beersheba until their water is exhausted; Hagar then, faint and desperate, flings the child down under the shade of one of the bushes, and seats herself sadly some little way off, not wishing to look upon the death of her son. But God 'heard' the voice of the crying child—the word is evidently chosen with allusion to the name Ishmael, even if it be not intended as an explanation of its origin (cf. 16^{11} [J], 17^{20} [P])[*],—called out to his mother, reassured her with a fresh promise (see 16^{10}) of Ishmael's future greatness, and showed her a well of water, which enabled her to revive the dying lad. Ishmael grew up, made his home in the wilderness on the S. of Canaan, and became famous as an archer. His wife, it is added, like his mother, was an Egyptian.

The only other incidents of Ishmael's life which are mentioned, are that he and Isaac buried their father after his death (25^{9} P), and that he himself died at the age of 137 (25^{17} P).

Two expressions in ch. 21 deserve to be briefly commented upon.

(1) מְצַחֵק in v.^{9} was a word which lent itself readily to Haggadistic expositions. R. Akiba (on account of its use in Gn $39^{14.17}$) supposed it to refer to Ishmael's unchastity, R. Ishmael (on account of its use in Ex 32^{6}) to his devotion to idolatry; other Rabbis (on account of the use of שִׂחֵק in 2 S 2^{14}, Pr 26^{19}) to attempts made by him to shoot his brother (*Bereshith Rabba, ad loc.*, p. 254 f. in Wünsche's translation; the second explanation also in Jer. *Quæst. ad Gen.*, and in Targ. Pseud-Jon. *ad loc.*). There were also other stories current among the later Jews respecting Ishmael's insolence towards his brother, his disputes with him concerning the birthright, etc: see Beer, *Leben Abraham's nach Auffassung der jüd. Sage*, pp. 49 ff. (where other Haggadistic expansions of the narrative of Ishmael's expulsion are also given), 57, 61. St. Paul, in Gal 4^{29} (ἐδίωκεν), follows some of these later traditions.

(2) 'Flung' (הִשְׁלִיךְ) in v.^{15} clearly implies that hitherto Ishmael had been *carried* by his mother, although according to 16^{16} $21^{5.8}$ he must have been 15 years old, if not more (see preced. col. and note ‖). Attempts have been made to remove the inconsistency: but it is in reality similar to the one in $12^{11ff.}$ (as well as others occurring in other parts of Gn); 16^{16} 21^{5}, the passages which fix the age of Ishmael, belong to P, whereas the present narrative belongs to a different writer, E, who took a different view of the chronology, and pictured Ishmael as still an infant (cf. v.^{20} 'and he *grew up*').

The twelve 'princes' begotten by Ishmael (17^{20}), or, in other words, the twelve eponymous ancestors of the tribes who were reputed to be descended from him, are enumerated in 25^{12-16} (P): Nebaioth, Ḳedar, Adbeel, Mibsam, Mishmaʿ, Dumah, Massa, Ḥadad, Têma, Jeṭur, Naphish, and Ḳedemah. The first two of these are mentioned several times besides in the OT, chiefly as wealthy pastoral or trading tribes (Jer 49^{28-32}, Is 60^{7}, Ezk 27^{21}; cf. Is 42^{11}, Jer 2^{10}, Ca 1^{5}, Ps 120^{5}), Ḳedar also (Is 21^{17}) as famous for its archers (cf. Gn 21^{20}); Têma (about 250 miles S.E. of Edom) is mentioned Is 21^{14}, Jer 25^{23}, Job 6^{19}: Jeṭur and Naphish appear from 1 Ch 5^{19} to have been neighbours of Reuben on the E. of Jordan; the former in later days moved northwards, and are known in the Roman age as the wild and predatory mountain-tribe of Ituræans, skilled likewise in the use of the bow; for further particulars see the separate names in this Dictionary.[†] The home of Ishmael himself is in Gn 21^{21} the wilderness of Paran, on the S. of Canaan, and no doubt there were Ishmaelites in that neighbourhood;[‡] but the general situation of the tribes descended from him was unquestionably on the east of Palestine, Edom, and the Gulf of ʿAḳabah, in agreement with the expression in 16^{12} and 25^{18b} (cf. v.^{6}) 'in the front of all his brethren': some of these tribes (25^{16}) dwelt in fixed villages (חֲצֵרוֹת, cf.

---

[*] The same word (in the reflexive conj.) as in v.^{9}.

[†] Arab. *bedawi* (also *bedāwi*), a dweller in the *badw* or open plain, opp. to the *'ahl ul-ḥaḍari*, or dwellers in fixed localities (חֲצֵרוֹת): see Lane *Arab. Lex.* pp. 171, 172, 589.

[‡] In accordance with the general sense of the expression: see *e.g.* 1 K 11^{7}, Zec 14^{4}.

[§] *i.e.* under thy eye and care; cf. Hos 6^{2}, Jer 30^{20}, Is 53^{2}.

[‖] Which may not have been till he was two, or even three years old (2 Mac 7^{27}).

[¶] LXX παίζοντα (adding μετὰ Ἰσαὰκ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτῆς), Vulg. *ludentem*, Onk. מְחָאֵיךְ (so 26^{9}, Jg 16^{25}). The rend. 'mocking' is uncertain, though צַחֵק has certainly this sense when followed by the prep. בְּ (*at* or *against*), $39^{14.17}$.

[*] Cf. the threefold allusion to the meaning of 'Isaac,' 17^{17} (P), $18^{12.13}$ (J), 21^{6} (E); see p. 485, No. 8.

[†] Cf. also Ed. Glaser, *Skizze der Gesch. u. Geogr. Arabiens* (1890), ii. 438 ff.

[‡] The terms of 25^{18a} 'And they dwelt from Ḥavîlah (probably north-east Arabia) unto Shur that is in front of Egypt,' would include the wilderness of Paran. The well (and sanctuary?) of Beer-laḥai-roi may have been a common meeting-place for Ishmaelites and Israelites, at which the old traditions about Ishmael were recounted and kept alive (cf. Stade, *ZAW*, 1881, p. 348 f.).

the 'villages' of Kedar, Is 42^{11}), others in טִירוֹת, a peculiar word, denoting, as it seems, the temporary circular encampments of nomad tribes (cf. Nu 31^{10}, Ezk 25^{4}).[*] A daughter of Ishmael is also mentioned, as married by Esau, in Gn 28^{9} (where she is called Maḥalath) and 36^{3} (where her name is given as Basemath); no doubt this statement points to the fact that certain Edomite clans (see 36^{13}, compared with v.^{4}) had in them an admixture of Ishmaelite blood.

Ishmaelites are mentioned by J in Gn 37$^{25.\ 27.\ 28}$ 39^{1} (a caravan of Ishmaelites carrying gums from Gilead to Egypt, to whom Joseph is sold by his brethren: the parallel narrative of E speaks of *Midianites*, 37$^{28.\ 36}$), Jg 8^{24} (where, as the term is applied to Midianites, who belonged to a different branch of the Abrahamidæ, Gn 25^{4}, it seems to be used in a generalized sense, 'not of race, but of mode of life,' to denote itinerant caravan-traders in general), Ps 83^{6}; and individual Ishmaelites are named in 1 Ch 2^{17} (Jether, 'Amasa's father: read accordingly in 2 S 17^{25}), 27^{30} (Obil, superintendent of David's camels).

The Hebrews classified their neighbours genealogically according to the nearer or more distant relationship in which they were regarded as standing towards themselves. The Edomites were most closely related to them: they were accordingly the descendants of Esau, the twin-brother of their own immediate ancestor, Jacob. Moab and Ammon were descended from Lot, Abraham's nephew. To Naḥor, Abraham's brother, are traced twelve Aramæan tribes,—eight to a wife, Milcah, and four to a concubine, Re'umah (22$^{20-24}$). Six tribes (one being Midian), and several sub-tribes, are the descendants of Abraham, though not by Sarah, the mother of Isaac, or by Hagar, but by a concubine, Ḳeṭurah (25$^{1-4}$). And here twelve tribes, spread over different parts of N. Arabia and the country E. of Israel, are traced to Abraham, through a 'handmaid,' Hagar, holding an intermediate position between Sarah and Ḳeṭurah.[†] Historical recollections, similarities of language or civilization,[‡] or other characteristics, the exact nature of which we cannot in every case determine, must have guided the Hebrew genealogists in thus forming ethnic groups, and defining the precise position occupied by each in relation to Israel. The Ishmaelites, being referred to Abraham himself, must have been regarded as belonging to an ancient stock, and evidently (cf. 17^{20} 21^{18} 'a great nation') enjoyed a reputation among the Hebrews, though at the same time some inferiority was implied in the fact that their ancestor was Abraham's son, not by his legitimate wife, but by a 'handmaid': the fact that Ishmael's mother and wife were both Egyptian shows, further, that his descendants were considered to have Egyptian blood in their veins.[§] At a much later date, Ishmael was connected vaguely with Arabia in general:[||] Moḥammed was supposed to have been descended from him through Ḳedar;[*] he is mentioned several times in the Ḳor'ān, and is said to have assisted his father in the construction of the Ka'bah at Mecca.[†] In the OT, however, it is important to observe, Ishmael is hardly at all associated with what we term 'Arabia':[‡] the 'Arabian' peninsula (including parts in the extreme South, as Ḥadramaut and Sheba) is peopled by the Joḳṭanidæ (descendants of Joḳṭan, son of Abraham's sixth ancestor, ''Eber,' and consequently much less closely connected with Israel), Gn 10$^{26-31}$; the Ishmaelites are entirely distinct from these, and are limited to certain specified tribes, living almost entirely on the N. and N.W. of the Joḳṭanidæ.[§] The circumcision of Ishmael at the age of 13 (Gn 17^{25}) is in all probability intended as an explanation of the corresponding custom among the Ishmaelite tribes. Circumcision has for long been practised by the 'Arabs'; but it is commonly performed among them at a much later age than was customary with the Jews:[||] according to Eus. *Præp. Ev.* VI. xi. 49 it was performed in the 13th year by οἱ Ἰσμαηλῖται οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀραβίαν, and so according to Jos. *Ant.* I. xii. 2 by the Ἄραβες.

The personality of Ishmael must be estimated similarly to that of the other patriarchs (cf. vol. i. p. 15 f.; vol. ii. p. 533 ff.).[¶] It is most reasonable to regard him as a historical character, but a character who at the same time was idealized, and whose biography, as told in the Book of Genesis, was coloured in some of its features by the characteristics, or historical relations, of the tribes who were considered to be his descendants. The racial affinity of these tribes to Israel is clearly indicated in the Biblical narratives; it is possible that the picture of Sarah's jealous opposition to Hagar and her son reflects to some extent old racial rivalries and conflicts, which ended in these tribes being obliged to separate from the ancestors of the Israelites, though they secured a successful independence elsewhere. The human passions and interests of Sarah and Abraham, of Hagar and Ishmael, the promptings, partly of natural affection, partly of religious feeling, under which they act, and the manner in which the hand of Providence guides and moulds the destinies of men, are all portrayed with the vividness and psychological truth which is generally characteristic of the Book of Genesis.

In Gal 4^{21}–5^{1} the narrative of Ishmael and Isaac is expounded allegorically. Hagar and Sarah represent the two covenants, the old and the new: Ishmael is the child after the flesh, born in bondage; Isaac is the child of promise, born in freedom: in the rivalries which arose between them, and ended in the triumph of the latter,

---

[*] The word for 'nations' in Gn 25^{16} is also a peculiar one (אֻמּוֹת), more Arabic (*'ummeh*) or Aramaic (Ezr 4^{10}, and often in Dn; cf. in late Heb. Ps 117^{1}) than Hebrew (Nu 25^{15}, also P, 'a head of the *peoples*, or *clans*, of a father's house [*i.e.* of a family] in Midian'), and no doubt adopted here as the technical term used properly of the Ishmaelite tribes.

[†] The recurrence of the numbers 6 and 12 in these tribal systems is an indication that they were to some extent formed artificially.

[‡] In the case of Moab, we know, for instance, that its language differed only dialectically from Hebrew.

[§] Burton (*El-Medinah and Mecca*, 1855, i. 213 f., cf. iii. 31 f.) remarks on the palpably Egyptian physiognomy of some of the Bedawi clans of Sinai, and quotes Gn 21^{21}. Whether this was the case in ancient times, we do not know; but it is perhaps worth remembering that the Sinaitic peninsula was for long owned and garrisoned by the Egyptians, who worked in it mines of turquoise and copper (Maspero, *Dawn of Civil.* 349–358).

[||] Josephus (*Ant.* I. xii. 2) even calls him the κτίστης τοῦ ἔθνους τῶν Ἀράβων.

[*] And so, in the mediæval Jewish writers, לְשׁוֹן יִשְׁמָעֵאל and לְשׁוֹן קֵדָר both mean 'Arabic.'

[†] See T. P. Hughes, *Dict. of Islam*, *s.v.* Ishmael's tomb is shown at Mecca.

[‡] In the OT 'Arab' is the name simply of a single comparatively small tribe (above, vol. i. p. 135).

[§] The principal Bedawi tribes are spread also over the N. and N.W. of the Arabian Peninsula (see the *Encycl. Brit.*^{9} ii. 246–9); but it should be added, to preclude misunderstanding, that we cannot identify any of them specifically with the tribes connected in the OT with Ishmael: all that can be predicated is a general resemblance in their character and mode of life to the description in Gn 16^{12}.

[||] Among the Bedawis of the Sinaitic Peninsula, for instance, at the age of 8 (Palmer, in the *Ordnance Survey of the Pen. of Sinai*, p. 59); among those of Arabia at the age of 5–6, but sometimes ten years later (Burton, *l.c.* iii. 81). Ibn Athir says that among the ancient Arabians the age was from 10 to 15 years (Pococke, *Spec. Hist. Arab.* 319).

[¶] Kuenen (*ThT*, May 1871, p. 296 f.) and others regard Hagar and Ishmael as simply the eponymous ancestors of the tribes known as 'HAGARENES,' and 'sons of Ishmael' or 'Ishmaelites,' the narratives of Hagar's flight and expulsion being suggested by the meaning of the names (cf. Arab. *hajara*, to flee; *hejrah*, flight). Cf. p. 534, *notes*.

St. Paul sees foreshadowed the conflict in the history of the nascent Church, the defeat of the spirit which clung to carnal ordinances, and the triumph of the spirit of freedom, which had the faith and the insight to see that such ordinances must pass away. The practical conclusion follows: let the Galatian converts 'stand fast' in the freedom in which Christ had set them, and not 'be entangled again in a yoke' of Jewish ordinances.

S. R. DRIVER.

ISHMAEL.—**1.** See preceding article. **2.** One of the six sons of Azel, a descendant of Saul through Merib-baal (Mephibosheth), 1 Ch 8^{38} 9^{44}. **3.** The father or ancestor of the Zebadiah who was ruler (נָגִיד) of the house of Judah in the reign of Jehoshaphat, 2 Ch 19^{11}. **4.** The son of Jehohanan, one of the 'captains of hundreds,' who assisted Jehoiada in restoring Jehoash to the throne of Judah, 2 Ch 23^{1}. **5.** A priest of the family of Pashhur, who was forced by Ezra to put away his foreign wife, Ezr 10^{22}. In 1 Es 9^{22} **Ismael.**

6. Ishmael, the son of Nethaniah, the son of Elishama, a member of the royal house of David. See Jer 40–42, and the brief summary in 2 K 25^{23-25}. After the fall of Jerusalem, Ishmael was a commander of one of the bodies of Jewish troops which maintained their independence in the country districts. Nebuchadnezzar had appointed **Gedaliah** (wh. see), the son of Ahikam the protector of Jeremiah (Jer 26^{24}), as governor of the remnants of the Jewish state, with his residence at Mizpah; and one of his first cares was to attempt to restore confidence among the scattered inhabitants of the land, and to induce the remains of Zedekiah's army to submit to the Babylonian conquerors. At first Gedaliah's efforts met with a certain success. The captains of the Jewish forces, and Ishmael among the number, came to Mizpah, and made their submission to the new governor. Gedaliah, promising to use his influence with the Babylonians on their behalf, exhorted them to settle quietly in the cities they had occupied, and to gather in the harvest, which was then standing neglected in the fields (Jer 40^{7-12}). But the restoration of peace and good order in the desolated country of Judah was not in accordance with the wishes of Baalis, the king of Ammon, who doubtless saw an opportunity of extending his territory at the expense of his neighbours on the west. He found a willing tool in Ishmael, whom he commissioned to assassinate Gedaliah. Ishmael may have been actuated by a fanatical hatred against a fellow-countryman who had consented to acknowledge the Chaldæan supremacy, or by jealousy of the preference given to Gedaliah over a member of the royal house. His designs, however, were not unknown; and Johanan the son of Kareah, and the other officers who had formerly acted with Ishmael but now supported Gedaliah, warned the latter of his danger. Gedaliah, unfortunately, would not listen to their warnings; and when Johanan, seeing how disastrous the death of Gedaliah would be for all the Jews, offered to kill Ishmael privately, the governor refused to consent to the proposal, and declared that the charges made against Ishmael were only calumnies (*ib.*$^{12-16}$).

In the seventh month, that is, about three months after the fall of Jerus. and two months after the destruction of the city, Ishmael with ten confederates came to Gedaliah at Mizpah.* Here they were hospitably entertained; but during the meal rose up against their hosts, and murdered Gedaliah and all the Jewish and Chaldæan soldiers in his retinue. Ishmael must after this have gained possession of the town, for he succeeded in preventing any news of what had taken place from being published abroad. Two days later a party of eighty pilgrims from Shechem, Shiloh, and Samaria passed by Mizpah, with offerings which they intended to present at the ruined temple in Jerusalem. On account of the destruction of the sanctuary they were attired as mourners, with beards shaven, and clothes rent, and gashes on their face and hands. With feigned grief* Ishmael went out to meet them, and invited them to visit Gedaliah at Mizpah. Once inside the city, they were put to death by Ishmael and his men. Ten of them, however, were able to ransom their lives by promising to deliver up the stores of wheat, barley, oil, and honey which they had hidden in the fields. The corpses of the seventy murdered men were thrown into a great pit or cistern, which had been made by Asa at the time of his war with Baasha (cf. 1 K 15^{16-22}). The people of Mizpah, together with the royal princesses, who had been left by Nebuchadnezzar in charge of Gedaliah, Ishmael now treated as his prisoners, and attempted to carry them off to the country of the Ammonites (Jer 41^{1-10}). But tidings of the events at Mizpah had reached Johanan ben-Kareah and his companions. They collected their troops and pursued after the fugitives, whom they overtook by the great pool of Gibeon, the scene of the fight between the men of Joab and of Abner (2 S 2^{12-16}). The captives, among whom were the prophet Jeremiah and his scribe Baruch (cf. Jer 40^{6} $42^{1ff.}$ 43^{3}), gladly went over to the pursuing forces; but Ishmael with eight of his men escaped to the Ammonites. The Jewish leaders, having failed to capture Ishmael, were now afraid of suffering the vengeance of the king of Babylon for the murder of his vassal Gedaliah. Accordingly they did not venture to return to Mizpah, but moved to the neighbourhood of Bethlehem, whence they subsequently fled to Egypt, in spite of the advice and warnings of Jeremiah (Jer 41^{11}–43^{13}). A reference in Jer 52^{30} to 745 persons who were carried captive to Babylon in the twenty-third year of Nebuchadnezzar, *i.e.* four years after the fall of Jerus., is perhaps to be connected with fresh measures taken against the Jews in consequence of the outrage of Ishmael. The murder of Gedaliah was kept in memory by a fast instituted in the seventh month (Zec 7^{5} 8^{19}), which is celebrated on the 3rd day of Tisri (Sept.–Oct.)

H. A. WHITE.

ISHMAIAH (יִשְׁמַעְיָהוּ 'J" hears').—The 'ruler' of the tribe of Zebulun, 1 Ch 27^{19}.

ISHMERAI (יִשְׁמְרַי, perh. for ישמריה 'J" keeps').—A Benjamite chief, 1 Ch 8^{18}. See GENEALOGY.

ISHPAH (יִשְׁפָּה).—The eponym of a Benjamite family, 1 Ch 8^{16}. See GENEALOGY, VIII. 11.

ISHPAN (יִשְׁפָּן).—A Benjamite chief, 1 Ch 8^{22}.

ISHSECHEL, Ezr 8^{18} RVm.—It is uncertain whether אִישׁ שֶׂכֶל is to be regarded as a proper name (cf. LXX *ἀνὴρ σαχών* A, *ἀν. σαχώχ* B), or should be tr^{d} 'a man of discretion,' so Luc. (*ἀνὴρ συνετός*) and RV; AV 'a man of understanding,' cf. 1 Es 8^{47} *ἄνδρα(s) ἐπιστήμονα(s)*. For the word שֶׂכֶל = *discretion, intelligence*, cf. 1 S 25^{3}, 1 Ch 22^{12}, Pr 13^{15} 16^{22}, Ps 111^{10} etc. The context leads us to expect the proper name of the representative of the sons of Mahli, and the order of the words is decidedly against the supposition that Sherebiah is meant, the conjunction having been inserted by mistake. With the name Ish-sechel we might compare Eshbaal, 1 Ch 8^{33}, Ishhod, *ib.* 7^{18}. But such forms are rare, and it is probable that there is some corruption in the text; the proper name may have fallen out before the complimentary designation, or may have been wrongly corrected into the present form Ish-sechel. Cf. Ryssel and Ryle, *ad loc.*

---

* In 41^{1} the words וְרַבֵּי הַמֶּלֶךְ should be omitted; so LXX.

* In 41^{6} LXX reads *αὐτοὶ ἐπορεύοντο καὶ ἔκλαιον*, 'they wept as they went,' which Cornill adopts; but the change does not seem to be necessary.

H. A. WHITE.

ISHVAH (יִשְׁוָה 'resembling (his father)').—Second son of Asher, Gn 46^{17} P, 1 Ch 7^{30}.

ISHVI (יִשְׁוִי 'resembling (his father)').—**1.** Third son of Asher, Gn 46^{17}, Nu 26^{44} P, 1 Ch 7^{30}: patron. **Ishvites**, Nu 26^{44}. **2.** Second son of Saul by Abinoam, 1 S 14^{49}. The orig. name may have been אִישׁ־בֹּשֶׁת=אִישׁ־בַּעַל=אֶשְׁיוֹ (Wellh. and Driver, *ad loc.*).

ISLAND, ISLE (אִי, אִיִּים, *νῆσος*, *νησίον*) is the tr. of a Heb. word which has a much wider significance. Its root-meaning is supposed to be *habitable land*, and in one passage (Is 42^{15}) it means undoubtedly *dry land*, as opposed to water: 'I will make the rivers islands, and I will dry up the pools' (RV). Accordingly, some translators (Cheyne uniformly in Psalms, and in Deutero.-Isaiah frequently) render it *lands* or *countries*, with the maritime connotation entirely left out. In by far the greater number of passages, however, it signifies *coastland*—land either washed or surrounded by the sea, whether belonging to continents or islands. The idea of distance is usually contained in the word, either implicitly (Ps 97^{1}, Is 11^{11} 42^{12}) or expressly (Is 66^{19}, Jer 31^{10}), although in Is 20^{6} *this isle* plainly means *the coastland* of Canaan. *The isles that are in the sea* (Ezk 26^{18}) are the *coastlands*, or *island-like countries on the seaboard*, which profited by the traffic of Tyre; and in one instance, judging by the ivory and ebony which they had to exchange, *many isles* (Ezk 27^{15}) may be East Africa or India. Usually, however, they are the islands and maritime countries to the West. *The isles of the sea* on which Ahasuerus laid tribute (Est 10^{1}) are the Islands and Coastlands of the Ægean, in contrast to the inland countries of Asia, as apparently also are *the isles* (Dn 11^{18}) of which 'the king of the North' (11^{15}), Antiochus the Great, should 'take many.' *The isles of the sea* are elsewhere the islands of the Mediterranean and the countries on the western seaboard, with which the people of Palestine traded in later times, as when Simon Maccabæus (1 Mac 14^{5} RV) 'took Joppa for a haven, and made it an entrance for *the isles of the sea.*' *The isles of Elishah*—one of the sons of Javan (Gn 10^{4})—which furnish blue and purple to the people of Tyre (Ezk 27^{7}), may point to Elis and the Peloponnesus generally which produced those dyes. *The isles of the Gentiles* (Gn 10^{5}, Zeph 2^{11}) are the distant coastlands of the Western Mediterranean. *The isles* are sometimes used in Ps, in Is, and in Jer to designate the West, sometimes the distant West, in contrast to the East. Tarshish and *the isles* (Ps 72^{10}), and Sheba and Seba, represent respectively the western and eastern boundaries of Messiah's kingdom. *The isles and the inhabitants thereof* (Is 42^{10}), and *the isles of Kittim* (Jer 2^{10}) are joined with Kedar to signify all lands from west to east. There are references to individual islands both in OT and in NT. *The isles of Kittim* (Jer 2^{10}, Ezk 27^{6}) are the coasts of Cyprus, but the name was used later for any Western maritime people, as far even as Italy (Dn 11^{30}, 1 Mac 1^{1} 8^{5}); *the isle of Caphtor* (Jer 47^{4} margin; comp. Am 9^{7}, Dt 2^{23}, Gn 10^{14}) is held to be Crete, although some authorities identify it with the coastland of the Delta; 'the men of Dedan' (Ezk 27^{15}) are in the LXX (B Ῥοδίων, A Ἀραδίων) called Rhodians (initial R being read instead of D), where the reference would be to the islanders of Rhodes, who were famous mariners; Tyre appears as an island (Is 23^{2}), although *the inhabitants of the isle* may be the dwellers on the neighbouring seacoast of Phœnicia. Cyprus (Ac 4^{37} 13^{4}), Crete (Ac 27, Tit 1), Cauda (Ac 27^{16}, AV Clauda), Melita (Ac 28^{1}), Patmos (Rev 1^{9}), are islands mentioned in the NT. One reference, *the island of the innocent* (Job 22^{30}), which for long puzzled translators and commentators, has disappeared in RV, where the rendering is *him that is not innocent*, the mistranslation having arisen from confusing *'i*, the particle *not* (found in Ichabod, Jezebel), with *'i*, an island. *The wild beasts of the island* (Is 13^{22} 24^{14}, Jer 1^{39}) have also disappeared and been replaced by *wolves*, AV having mistaken the derivation of the word.

See, further, G. A. Smith's *HGHL*, pp. 135, 136, and the same author's *Isaiah*, vol. ii. pp. 109, 110.

T. NICOL.

ISMACHIAH (יִסְמַכְיָהוּ 'J″ supports').—A Levite in the time of Hezekiah, 2 Ch 31^{13}.

ISMAEL (Ἰσμάηλος), 1 Es 9^{22}.—In Ezr 10^{22} ISHMAEL.

ISMAERUS (A Ἰσμάηρος, B Μάηρος, AV Omaerus), —1 Es 9^{34}=AMRAM (Μαρεί), Ezr 10^{34}.

ISRAEL, HISTORY OF.—

- i. The Name of the People.
- ii. The National Characteristics of Israel.
- iii. The Land of Israel.
- iv. The Sources of the History.
- v. The History.
  - 1. The Origins.
  - 2. Israel under the Egyptians.
  - 3. The Exodus and the Wilderness.
  - 4. The Conquest of Canaan.
  - 5. The Transformation of Israel.
  - 6. The Undivided Kingdom.
  - 7. The Hundred Years' War with Aram.
  - 8. The Tyranny of Asshur.
  - 9. The Fall and Exile of Judah.
  - 10. The Exile and the Return.
  - 11. The Greek Period.

The object of this article is to give an outline of the political history of Israel, leaving the religious history (as far as possible) to be dealt with in the article on the Theology of the OT, to appear in a later volume of this Dictionary. A further object has been to call attention to the most important reconstructions of parts of the history, which have been offered by recent critics.

i. THE NAME.—(*a*) The people themselves called themselves in OT times יִשְׂרָאֵל *Yisrael* * (so also they are called by Mesha, *Moabite Stone*, lines 5, 7), or בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל *Bĕnē Yisrael*. The latter form describes the people as the descendants of an ancestor Israel (Jacob), Gn 43$^{6.\,8.\,11}$ (J) etc. See JACOB. In an inscription of Shalmaneser II. (*c.* 854 B.C.) the name *Sir'lai* occurs coupled with the mention of Ahab. For the form *Y-si-ri'l* read on the stele of Merenptaḥ, see below, p. 509^{a}.

(*b*) Foreigners, and Israelites speaking of themselves to foreigners, used the term עִבְרִי *'Ibhri*, Gn 39$^{14.\,17}$ (J), Ex 1^{16} 2^{6} (E), 1 S 4$^{6.\,9}$ 13^{19} 14^{11}. The name is found in Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 2, 'Hebræasque terras'; cf. Gn 40^{15a} 'the land of the Hebrews') and in Jos. in referring to the language (*Ant.* I. i. 1, 2, Bekker) and to the people (*Ant.* VI. v. 3, VII. iv. 1, Bekker). No satisfactory explanation of *'Ibhri* can be given. It may be connected with the *Eber* of Gn 10$^{21.\,25}$; it will then be the designation of several other peoples besides Israel. Again, it may be the adjective corresponding to the substantive עֵבֶר *'Ebher* 'other side,' 'beyond'; Is 7^{20} 'beyond the river,' 9^{1} [8^{23} Heb.] 'beyond Jordan,' Jer 25^{22} 'beyond the sea.' It would seem from these examples that *'Ibhri* (Hebrew) designated the Israelites as *not* autochthonous, but as *intruders* in Canaan from some land 'beyond'; cf. Gn 14^{13} where Abram the Hebrew (the new comer, τῷ περάτῃ, LXX) is distinguished from Mamre the Amorite (the old inhabitant). See HEBREW.

---

* The name *Israel* appears to mean 'God persists *or* perseveres' (see JACOB, p. 530^{a}) rather than 'God strives' in the sense of *contends* ('es streitet Gott,' Nestle, *Eigennamen*, 60), or 'El's warrior' (Ges., Ewald, Kautzsch).

(*c*) Ἰουδαῖος or 'Judæus' ('Jew') was the term used by classical writers, and in part by Jos. (*e.g.* *Ant.* VII. iv. 1, 'David ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων βασιλεύς') in referring even to ancient times. This use is due, of course, to the great part played by the tribe of Judah and the city of Jerusalem in the post-exilic history of the people. See JEW.

ii. THE NATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF ISRAEL.—The character of the ancient Israelites as a nation may be gathered partly from their history, partly from a study of the facts of their history in the light of the characteristics of the modern Bedawin. The Israelites entered Canaan as nomads, and displayed, at least in the earlier period, most of the virtues and vices of tent-dwellers. They seem to have been content with the simple conditions of life under which the Bedawin live; and to have been but little attracted by the civilization (as distinguished from the flesh-pots) of Egypt, or by the culture (as distinguished from the idolatry) of Canaan. Their ideal was that of the shepherd (Gn 46^{32-34} J), which does not in practice exclude such simple agriculture as the care of a few date palms (as among the modern Arabs), or the raising of a few scattered crops of cereals (as among the Zulus before 1878). The Israelites, as revealed in their earliest literature, appear as brave, adventurous, crafty, treacherous, and vengeful in war and enmity (the careers of Gideon, David, and Joab illustrate these characteristics); pure in point of sexual morality within the limits of the polygamy allowed to all Eastern peoples (cf. Gn 39^{9}, 2 S 12^{1-14}; cf. also the laws Ex 20^{17}, and note especially the wide scope of the language used, 21^{7-11}); strong in loyalty to the clan and correspondingly weak in national cohesion (see Judges and 1 and 2 Samuel, *passim*). The mercantile aptitude shown by Israel so much in modern times is alluded to even by Hosea ($12^{7.8=8.9\text{ Heb.}}$) and Amos ($8^{4.5}$), with further allusion to cheating and fraud. Possibly Israel first learned successful trading from the Canaanites (cf. Hos 12^{7} RVm), but it is more probable that they had already practised it in their nomad period, for the nomads too were merchants, Gn 37^{25} 'Ishmaelites' J, and ^{28} 'Midianites' E, Ezk 27^{21}.

In matters of thought the Israelites were not speculative, nor systematic. They realized, in a way the Greeks never realized, that some things were too high for them. God's government of the world (assumed as existing by all but perhaps the latest thinkers) offered the chief problems of their philosophy. 'Why do the wicked prosper?' was perhaps the chief question of the Hebrew 'philosophers.' Hebrew thought was occupied with the practical problems of religion.

And here it must be said that the Israelite (unlike the nomad) was profoundly religious. The modern Bedawy, as described, *e.g.*, by Doughty (*Arabia Deserta, passim*), has little sense of the moral claims of religion, though the name of Allah is constantly on his lips. The Hebrews, on the contrary, endured (sometimes well, sometimes, indeed, ill) the yoke of a faith which made strict demands upon them for a morality higher than that of their neighbours (cf. Nowack, *Heb. Archäologie*, i. 101, 103).

iii. THE LAND OF ISRAEL.—Although Israel was to be 'a peculiar treasure,' סְגֻלָּה *sĕgullāh*, Ex 19^{5} E, 'a special people' (עַם סְגֻלָּה *'am ṣĕgullāh*, RV 'a peculiar people') Dt 7^{6}, the nation as a whole could not be isolated from other nations. Its home, Palestine, held an important place among the lands of the ancient Eastern world. The route connecting Northern Syria and (through Northern Syria) the valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris with Egypt ran along the coast of Palestine; and though this road passed for the most part through Philistine territory, its traffic must have had a great material and moral influence on Israel, whose borders lay so near it. East of Jordan ran the great road which connected Damascus with the head of the gulf of Akabah, and with the West Coast of Arabia. This road, again (if it corresponded at all with the modern *Derb el-Ḥajj, i.e.* the Pilgrim Road to Mecca), lay for the most part outside Israelite territory, but its nearness to Gilead for some 60 miles of its length must have exercised an important influence on the two and a half tribes east of Jordan. Towards the North the fertile plain of Esdraelon, now crossed by a railway, was traversed by a road which connected Damascus with the cities of the coast, ultimately with Tyre itself and with the Western lands beyond the Mediterranean.

With a land thus placed, Israel could not remain untouched by the movements of the great powers of Western Asia. If the Aramæans of Damascus wished to develop their trade on the Tyrian coast, or to find a new outlet for merchandise on the Red Sea, they were bound to make treaties—or war—with Israel. If the Empire of the Euphrates Valley (Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian in succession) wished to crown its conquests with the possession of the Nile, the passage of its armies must mean for Israel terror and spoiling, even if a formal submission and a seasonable payment of tribute should avert for a time worse mischief. Lastly, when Egypt desired to keep war off her own frontiers, it was Palestine which had to supply a confederacy of 'buffer states' to bear the reproach of Pharaoh's faithlessness and the main burden of his defeat.

On the other hand, two facts must be borne in mind which qualify the foregoing account of Israel's position among the nations. (1) Israel was cut off from the sea. It was Phœnicia which represented Palestine to the West. The name of Baal, not that of Jehovah, crossed the Mediterranean in early times. The civilization and religious thought which influenced the coast-lands of the West came from the Zidonians (cf. G. A. Smith, *HGHL* pp. 26–28). (2) Though Israel as a whole was brought into close contact with the powers of Western Asia, yet the position of the Southern kingdom was comparatively isolated. It was the Northern kingdom which sustained the perpetual conflict with the Aramæans, which maintained a close intercourse with Tyre, which finally felt first the weight of the arm of Assyria, and fell first before its armies. Judah was comparatively sheltered from the world until Samaria fell before Sargon (B.C. 722).

Indeed, the territory which fell at the disruption to the Southern kingdom was fitted not only by its geographical position, but also by its physical features, to be a nursery of free men. The Land east of Jordan, the Plain of Esdraelon, and the Maritime Plain, were open to the march of conquering armies, but the Hills of Benjamin and the Hill Country of Judah together formed a Montenegro which a resolute peasantry might defend against the forces of an empire. The ruggedness of the approaches to this district can hardly be exaggerated; the sight of its ravines recalls at once the exploits of Jonathan (1 S 14^{4}), David (23^{14}), and Judas Maccabæus (1 Mac 3^{24} 4^{29-34}), and lends probability to the accounts of the victories of Asa (2 Ch $14^{9\text{ff.}}$) and of Jehoshaphat ($20^{22\text{ff.}}$). One circumstance only made against the isolation of Judah, viz. the mixed origin of the tribe of Judah itself, which seems to have contained a large

Edomite element, the Calebites. (See CALEB, vol. i. p. 340).

The bearing of the physical configuration of Palestine as a whole on the history of Israel has been pointed out with great force by G. A. Smith (*HGHL*, ch. ii.). 'Palestine,' he writes, 'is almost as much divided into petty provinces as Greece, and far more than those of Greece are her divisions intensified by those of soil and climate.' She has been, and always will be, a land where fragments of many races live side by side. Israel at the conquest found 'seven nations' (Dt 7^{1} ['four,' Jg 3^{3}]) occupying Canaan, and was content (after some slaughter) to settle down among them (Jg 3$^{3.5}$). These nations represented racial and not merely political divisions; see the illustrations in Sayce, *Races of the OT*, or in Nowack, *Archäologie*, i. pp. 122, 126, 365. The influence of foreigners in Israel is apparent at several periods; above all, the incorporation of a mass of the old inhabitants into Israel during the time of the Judges (see JUDGES, PERIOD OF THE) had far-reaching results. The nation always had the foreigner in its midst. We hear of a 'mixed multitude' (עֵרֶב רַב *'ērebh rabh*,—read perhaps עֲרַבְרֹב *'ărabhrōbh*, 'a mixed people' without reference to numbers,—Ex 12^{38} E; אֲסַפְסֻף *'ăsaphsuph*, Nu 11^{4} J or E) in the wilderness with Israel, of foreign wives (Jg 3^{6}, 1 K 11^{1}, Ezr 9$^{1.2}$, Ru 1^{4}), guards (2 S 15^{18}, 2 K 11^{4} RV; see GUARD), officers and mighty men (1 S 21^{7}, 2 S 23$^{36ff.}$, Is 22$^{15f.}$), task-workers (1 K 9$^{20f.}$), artificers (1 K 7$^{13f.}$), Rechabites (Jer 35$^{2ff.}$), and Gibeonites (2 S 21$^{1ff.}$, cf. Jos 9$^{3ff.}$). The presence of the stranger (*gēr*) was recognized by law (Ex 20^{10} 23^{9}), and his conversion to Israel's faith was contemplated (1 K 8$^{41ff.}$, Is 56$^{3ff.}$). In fact, in a land like Canaan, broken up into small districts, each of which was the home of a tribe, Israel could not be kept from intermixture with foreigners. See, further, FOREIGNER, GER.

In judging of the climate and fertility of the land, the true meaning of the phrase 'a land flowing with milk and honey' (Nu 13^{27} JE) must be remembered. It is the nomad's praise of a pastoral country, and if we add to this description the additional advantages mentioned in Dt 6^{11} ('vineyards and olive trees'), we shall arrive at a just appreciation of the nature of that part of Palestine which was permanently held by Israel. It was not (with one important exception) agricultural territory. Its rocky slopes were suited for vines and olives, its hills and uplands for pasture, but only the plain of Esdraelon deserves the description of 'a land of wheat and barley' (Dt 8^{8}). The Maritime Plain testifies even now, under the hands of the German colonists, to its former fertility, but the plain was in the hands of the Philistines. Under these circumstances the Israelites never had a stock of corn, and famine is a frequent feature in their history (2 S 21^{1}, 1 K 17$^{1ff.}$, 2 K 4$^{38ff.}$ 8^{1}, Hag 1$^{6ff.}$, Neh 5^{3}). We must remember, therefore, another description of Palestine as 'a land that eateth up the inhabitants thereof,' Nu 13^{32} P (so *LOT*^{6} p. 62, in spite of a misprint). The phrase (cf. Ezk 7^{15}) describes a land subject not only to famine, but also to pestilence. The latter also played a part in the history of Israel (1 S 5^{6} 6^{19}, 2 S 24^{15}, 2 K 19^{35} 20^{7}). The epigram quoted by Abu'l-Fida on Syria as a whole applies to Palestine, at least in part—

> 'Its atmosphere is—pestilence,
> Its dwellings are—straitness,
> Its soil is—stone,
> Its epidemics are—everlastingness.'

iv. SOURCES OF THE HISTORY.—(*a*) For the earliest period:—the narratives of J and E in the Hexateuch. (Unsupported statements in P are generally doubtful).

(*b*) For the period of the Judges:—Jg 2^{6}–18^{29}, apart from the editorial framework in which it is set.

(*c*) The undivided kingdom:—1 S 9–2 S 20^{26}. A large part of 2 S consists of a court history of David of great historical value. 2 S 21^{1}–24^{25} is an appendix of less value. 1 K 1^{1}–11^{43} (apart from additions by the Deuteronomic editor).

(*d*) The divided kingdom, (α) 1 K 13–2 K 17 (mainly concerned with the Northern kingdom); the parallel passages of Chronicles add little to our information, but much illustrative matter can be obtained from Amos and Hosea. (β) 2 Ch 11–28 (mainly concerned with the Southern kingdom, and mostly treated as a romance by modern critics). (γ) 2 K 18–25 (the fall of Judah); this part of the history receives much illustration from Isaiah (first half), Micah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel. Monuments (Moabite, Egyptian, and especially Assyrian and Babylonian) give some additional light, but the statements of classical writers, *e.g.* Herodotus, are confused for the most part and untrustworthy.

(*e*) The Persian Period. Ezra and Nehemiah are valuable in that they contain the memoirs of those two great men, but the books as a whole are ill compiled and incomplete, and it is difficult to extract a coherent story from them. Haggai and Zechariah (1–8) furnish valuable information.

(*f*) The Greek Period. Josephus (*Ant.* XI. viii.–XIII. vii.) gives some information, but his romantic stories are doubtful. For the age of the Maccabees we have a generally trustworthy guide in 1 Mac, and some hints may be gathered from 2 Mac. The Book of Daniel (written *c.* 167 B.C. ?) is generally appealed to in illustration of this age.

v. THE HISTORY.

1. *The Origins of Israel.*—The relationships of the Israelite people according to the earliest source preserved in Genesis are shown in the following table:—

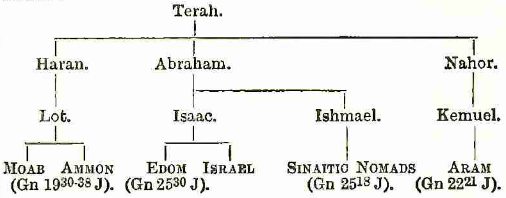

That Moab, Ammon, Edom, and Israel formed together a group of tribes of kindred origin, is generally acknowledged and need not be doubted. It has, however, been questioned whether Israel was really related to Aram (the Aramæans or 'Syrians'), and Wellhausen has suggested that Israel's claim to such relationship was founded not on fact, but on an ambitious desire to be reckoned to belong to 'the mighty Aramæans' (*IJG*^{3} p. 8). Yet against this we may set the fact asserted by Kittel (*Geschichte*, i. 155), that it is an unchanging trait of Israelite tradition that the origins of the Hebrew people lay beyond the Euphrates, *i.e.* in Aram-naharaim, 'Aram of the two rivers,' the country between the Euphrates and the Ḥabor. To the passages in Genesis we may add two interesting references outside it. In Dt 26^{5} (D) the Israelite is told to call his ancestor 'a wandering (or 'lost') Aramæan' (cf. RVm), and in Hos 12^{12} (12^{13} Heb.)—an interpolation acc. to Nowack (*in loco*), but even so, probably independent of the present form of Genesis — we have mention of Jacob's flight into 'the field of Aram' (RV), an event which surely implies some previous connexion with the people of Aram.

On the other hand, the nearness of kinship between Israel and the population of the Sinai peninsula is pronounced by Wellhausen 'very probable,' and he points out that 'the real home of the Patriarchs lay between Edom and Egypt,* where the South of Palestine merges itself in the Desert' (*Geschichte*, p. 9). On the whole, however, it seems best to accept both relationships of Israel, for the two are equally well attested in the earliest records. Israel was no more homogeneous than any other tribe which migrates and conquers. Abraham's grand-nephew Laban was of Ḥaran (Gn 27^{43} 29^{4}, both J), and Isaac's wife came from Aram-naharaim (so RVm Gn 24^{10} J), whence Abraham himself also derived his origin (v.^{4} J). (See art. ABRAHAM, vol. i. p. 15^{a}). On the other hand, the genealogical table given above shows a relationship between Israel and the nomads of Sinai, and the Calebite origin of a large part of the tribe of Judah has already been alluded to. The general presentation in the earliest sources of the history of the patriarchs, viz. that Israel was a tribe from the north drawn southward, falling under the spell of Egyptian influence, and leaving behind it in the Sinaitic peninsula nomads akin to it in blood, has the strongest claims to be received as true. The historical character of the lives of the patriarchs themselves is discussed elsewhere; see especially ABRAHAM, vol. i. p. 15, and JACOB, below, p. 533 ff.

2. *Israel under the Egyptians.* — It has been denied that Israel was ever 'in Egypt'; it is therefore necessary to ascertain exactly what is asserted in the biblical accounts. The people dwelt in Goshen apart from the Egyptians (Gn 46^{28}–47^{4} J), as indeed the narrative of the plagues presupposes (cf. Ex 8^{22} 9^{26}, both J). Such passages as Ex 3^{22} $11^{2f.}$ (both E) do not essentially disagree with this representation: Goshen (*if* Pithom and Rameses, Ex 1^{11} J, were in Goshen, and *if* the first of these cities has been correctly identified by Naville with ancient remains near the Sweet Water Canal) bordered on Egypt proper, so that the Israelites would have Egyptian 'neighbours' north and west of them. Now the fact that we find no certain mention of the Hebrews (Israelites) on the Egyptian monuments (at present known) belonging (presumably) to the period of the Oppression and of the Exodus, does not discredit this story of Israel's sojourn and servitude in Goshen. Israel was not the only people which was impressed to work on Pharaoh's buildings; the story of Israel might very well be lost to the Egyptians amid a dozen similar memories. As a matter of fact, however, one name does meet us in the Egyptian records which recalls the name of the Chosen People. Certain foreigners called *'prw* (? *'Aperu*) were employed on task-work under Ramses II., and as late as the time of Ramses IV. This name has been compared with *'Ibhri* ('Hebrew'). The fact that the Exodus is always supposed to have taken place before the reign of the latter monarch is of small account. The name may have been passed on from the sons of Israel to their successors in the task-work. (See, however, art. EGYPT, vol. i. p. 665). If the *Ḥabiri*, so often mentioned on the Tel el-Amarna tablets as the foes of Egypt in Syria, be the Hebrews, then the Exodus must have taken place as early as the time of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and the same conclusion must be drawn if the *Y-si-r-'l* of the recently discovered stele of Merenptaḥ (Meneptah) be Israel, for *Y-si-r-'l* appears as a Syrian people upon whom the chastisement of Pharaoh has fallen (cf. G. Steindorff, *ZATW* xvi. 330 ff.). Of the true date of the Exodus we still know nothing for certain (see CHRONOLOGY OF OLD TEST., vol. i. pp. 398, 399; and articles by Sayce, Hommel, etc., in *Expos. Times*, vols. viii. and ix.).

3. *The Exodus and the Wilderness.*—The Exodus was the natural revolt of a pastoral people against compulsory brick-making and building, against a system which involved a reckless expenditure of the lives of the workmen; cf. Erman, *Anc. Egypt*, p. 475 ff. In the earlier sources (JE) the Israelite leader is Moses, in the later (P) his leadership is somewhat obscured by the fact that Aaron is constantly co-ordinated with him. The plagues, *eight* in number in JE (the lice כִּנִּים *kinnim* or כִּנָּם *kinnām*, Ex 8^{16} [8^{12} Heb.], and the boils שְׁחִין *shĕḥīn*, 9^{9}, being due to P), are the means of forcing Pharaoh's consent. It is noteworthy that Foreign War is not reckoned among the plagues. The theory, therefore, that the Libyan invasion in the reign of Merenptaḥ facilitated the Exodus, receives no support from the biblical accounts.

With the passage of the 'Red Sea' (see EXODUS AND JOURNEY TO CANAAN, vol. i. p. 802) we arrive at contemporary history. In Ex 15^{1b-3} (Moses' Song) 'we seem,' acc. to Dillm. and Driver (*LOT*^{6} 30), 'to hear Moses himself speaking'; and the latter, while pointing out certain redactional additions, writes, 'Probably the greater part of the song is Mosaic.' The Passage of the Sea must retain its place among the best attested facts of history; no argument drawn from the silence of later documents can weigh against this contemporary attestation. Moreover, as Kittel well points out (*Geschichte*, i. 206), this event lends support on the one side to the story of a sojourn in Egypt, on the other to the story of Wilderness wandering.

Early accounts (Nu 14^{33} JE, cf. Am 5^{25}) reckon the period of the Wandering at forty years. Of the events which marked it very little is known. One thing, however, is clear. Israel was not ready at the Exodus for the immediate conquest of Canaan (Ex 13^{17} E, Nu $14^{3.\ 40ff.}$ JE, Dt 1^{27}).

The Mosaic Religion.—During these forty years some organization based on religion, and mainly of a religious character, was given to Israel (Ex $18^{25f.}$ 19^{3}–24^{14} E and J). A 'covenant' was made between J″ and the people, and the foundation stone of Israel's nationality was thereby laid (Ex 34^{10-27} E or J). Israel professed *Islām* (resignation to God) and prepared for a *Jĭhād* (a war of conquest undertaken in the name of God). Moses was a pre-Christian Mohammed with a more fruitful revelation in his hand.

So far all is clear, what, however, were the exact contents of the revelation given by Moses? The two passages of Exodus referred to above (19^{3}–24^{14} and 34^{10-27}) contain very ancient (probably Mosaic) material, but the relation between the two passages is uncertain (cf. Driver, *LOT*^{6} pp. 39, 40), and the limits of what is ancient are subject to much dispute. Critics are not even agreed as to the identity of the Ten 'Commandments' (דְּבָרִים *dĕbhārīm*, 'words') which seem to be the foundation of the written Law, and Wellhausen has discovered in Ex 34 'Ten Words' of mainly ceremonial contents to dispute the title of 'The Ten Words' with Ex 20^{2-17}.

Two 'Words,' however, are found in both the rival Decalogues: (1) Jehovah alone is Israel's God; (2) molten images may not be made. It seems most reasonable to say that the principles of the Mosaic religion were Monotheism (a personal relation of one God to Israel), and a Repudiation of image-worship as likely to entangle the people in polytheism like that of Egypt. (See, further, Kittel, *Geschichte*, i. 246 ff.).

4. *The Conquest of Canaan.*—That Israel obtained a firm footing east of Jordan before entering Western Palestine is generally acknowledged. The war against Sihon, however (Nu 21^{21-30} JE, according to some E, cf. Dt $2^{26ff.}$), has been questioned, and the ancient song (Nu 21^{27-30}) has been referred to a war of *Israel* against Moab in the 9th cent. It is more natural, however, to find in the song early testimony to a victorious war of

* Cf. Gn 13^{18} J (Abraham), 26^{23} J (Isaac), 37^{14} J (Jacob).

the Amorite against the Moabite, followed by a war of retribution waged by Israel, Moab's kinsman, against the victor. Such a war as the latter could have taken place only in very early times such as those of Moses. (See G. A. Smith, *HGHL*, Appendix III.). The war against Og, the king of Bashan (Nu $21^{33ff.}$, Dt 3^{1-4}), is not equally well attested. See also JAIR, HAVVOTH-JAIR.

Of the conquest of Western Palestine we possess two early accounts. The first of these is contained in Jos 2^{1}–11^{9}; it is the narrative of JE (J and E cannot be accurately separated) broken and expanded by additions from a Deuteronomic Redactor (D^2) and from P. This narrative of JE contains all the well-known features, such as the reception of the spies by Rahab, the drying up of the waters of Jordan, the capture of Jericho, the trespass of Achan, the two attacks on Ai, the treaty with the Gibeonites, and the battles of Beth-horon and of the waters of Merom. Joshua appears as the successor of Moses and as the leader of the whole people. The conquest is represented as the work of united Israel, and its course, save for the repulse at Ai, is uniformly successful. On the other hand, generalizing passages, *e.g.* 10^{28-43} ('all these kings and their land did Joshua take at one time,' v.^{42}) and 11^{10-23} ('So Joshua took the whole land. . . . And the land rested from war,' v.^{23}) are assigned to D^2.

The second early account of the conquest of Western Palestine is found in scattered notices in the later chapters of Joshua and in ch. 1 of Judges. These notices show a similarity of style, and it is possible to make a tentative reconstruction of the narrative from which they have been taken (see Driver, *LOT*^{6} pp. 162, 163). This reconstructed document gives us three glimpses of the conquest, according to which the tribes fight in groups, and not as a united Israel under one leader (Joshua). (1) We first see Judah and Simeon together with nomad tribes of the Sinaitic peninsula, such as the Kenites (Jg 1^{16}), Calebites (Jos 15^{13}), and Kenizzites (Jos 15^{17}), conquering the hill-country of Judah, the 'south' of Arad (Jg 1^{16} MT, 'Descent of Arad' LXX; cf. G. A. Smith, *HGHL* pp. 277, 278), Hebron, and Debir (Kiriath-sepher). (2) We next see the house of Joseph establishing itself on the central ridge at Bethel (Jg 1^{22}), but failing to drive out the inhabitants of Gezer (v.^{29}), and complaining to Joshua that progress northward was stayed by the chariots of iron which the Canaanites had in the Valley of Jezreel (Jos $17^{14ff.}$). Joshua advises them to make room for themselves by clearing the jungle on the central ridge. (3) The third glimpse which the reconstructed document gives is of the limitations set to the conquests of the three northern tribes, Zebulun, Asher, and Naphtali, and of the tribe of Dan, by the stiff resistance of the Canaanite and Amorite (Jg 1^{30-34}). Dan seeks by conquest a new home in the north at Leshem = Laish (Jos 19^{47}; cf. Jg $18^{27ff.}$).

In comparing these two accounts we must remember that the second is put together from fragments, and is quite incomplete. It is defective as regards Joseph and all the northern tribes, nor does it make clear to us the position of Joshua (Jos $17^{14ff.}$); does it treat him (as some think) as simply the leader of the House of Joseph? There is little in it, however, which clearly contradicts the account of JE in Jos 2^{1}–11^{9}, and by piecing together the two accounts we can construct a narrative of the conquest of Western Palestine which has strong claims to be accepted.

Israel, bereaved of Moses (as Islam of Mohammed) at the beginning of a career of conquest, accepted Joshua as Moses' Khalifa (successor), and persevered on the path of conquest (JE). The Jordan was crossed (JE). Jericho, 'the city of palm trees,' was won (JE and F [*]). Gibeon in a panic made terms with Israel (JE). Israel, united under Joshua, won a great victory over a southern confederacy at Beth-ḥoron (JE). Elated by these repeated successes, Judah (perhaps a small tribe at this time) broke loose from the main body, and turned southward to join the Calebites in a division of the southern end of the central ridge (cf. F). Joshua, at the head of the strong tribe of Joseph, and followed by the tribes which afterwards settled in the north, burst in the full tide of victory across the plain of Esdraelon and defeated a northern confederacy at the Waters of Merom (JE). The Canaanites, however, after bending before the storm, recovered courage, and by their chariots and fortified cities retained control of the plain of Esdraelon and compelled the Israelites to keep to the hills (F; cf. Jg 4. 5). (On the historical probabilities considered in the light of geography, see *HGHL*, Appendix II.).

5. *The Transformation of Israel.*—This took place under the Judges (see JUDGES, PERIOD OF THE). It is clear from the earliest records of the conquest that the Canaanites were not exterminated, as the later record (D^2) seems sometimes to assert (Jos 10^{40} 11^{14}). The conquerors settled down in the midst of the half-conquered majority, and the question arose which stock, which civilization, which religion, Canaanite or Israelite, would survive? The result was a compromise: a mixed stock arose, over which it was possible to set up one kingdom, the kingdom of Saul and David. The Canaanite-Israelite was not a nomad, but an agriculturalist, a city-dweller, a merchant, with a wide outlook on the world, such as became the member of an empire which touched the highway of the world of Western Asia, the Euphrates. In religion also the Canaanite-Israelite was a new production. He held his monotheism somewhat loosely, and was ready to worship at Canaanite shrines. Lastly, the new nation was much more numerous than the old invading tribes. David's armies, composed of these Canaanite-Israelites, were not inconsiderable; they enabled him to found an empire. The fusion of races which made a nation capable of winning victories like those of David took place in the period of the Judges.

6. *The Undivided Kingdom.*—We have an express statement (Gn 36^{31}, apparently from an early document) that Edom was governed by kings before any king reigned over Israel. It is probable that the same is true of Ammon (cf. 1 S 11^{1-3}; Jg 11^{12-28}, however, seems to be late) and of Amalek (1 S $15^{8ff.}$, though the passage is not early). The first movement towards the establishment of a kingdom over Israel came from the half-Canaanite Abimelech (Jg $9^{1ff.}$), and affected only the central tribes. In fact it was only hard experience which made the Israelites (still children of the desert in nature) willing to submit to the restraint of an organized kingdom. No doubt the Canaanite leaven in the population hastened this submission.

Of the occasion of the establishment of the kingdom we have two accounts in 1 Samuel (Driver, *LOT*^{6} p. 175 ff.). According to the earlier account (1 S 9^{1}–10^{16} $11^{1-11.\ 15}$), J″ chooses a king (Saul) who is to save His people from the Philistines, and commands Samuel to anoint him ($9^{16f.}$). The language used reminds us of Ex 3^{7} (God charges Moses to lead Israel out of Egypt). Samuel promises Saul 'all that is desirable' in Israel (9^{20} RV), and encourages him to act as king, as occasion offers, in the assurance of divine support (10^{7}). The occasion for action comes in the invasion of Nahash the Ammonite, and on Saul's success the people make him king with rejoicings.

According to the later account (1 S 8. 10^{17-27} 12) the Israelites, disgusted with the corrupt administration of justice by Samuel's sons, ask Samuel to make them 'a king to judge [them] like all the nations' (8^{5}). Samuel (as divinely instructed) treats this demand as a rejection of J″ as king, and, while granting the request, tells the people that they will have reason to repent of it, for their king will take from them all that is desirable in his eyes (8^{11-17}). Samuel describes Saul to the people after his election (12^{13}) as 'the king whom *ye* have chosen,' and tells them (v.^{17}) that their wickedness was great in asking for a king. (There may be a trace of a third account in 12^{12}, where, somewhat inconsistently with 8^{1-5}, the invasion of the Ammonites is given as the immediate occasion of the demand for a king).

---

[*] F = Fragmentary reconstructed accounts.

The first and earliest account accords best with the known facts. Saul established his throne in the midst of a great Philistine Oppression (1 S $13^{6.\,19}$), when the Phil. had a garrison (? נְצִיב) in the heart of Benjamite territory (*ib.* $14^{1\text{ff.}}$), and some of the 'Hebrews' were serving by constraint in the Philistine ranks (*ib.* v.^{21}). Saul's reign (the duration of which is quite uncertain) was an almost continuous struggle against his western neighbours (1 S 13^{3} 14^{52} 17^{1} 18^{25} $23^{1.\,27}$ 28^{1} 31^{1}); he taught Israel to face the Philistines.

The Rise of David.—Saul was the fighting chief of an infant nation, David the founder and organizer of a powerful state. Saul was the Lascaris,[*] but David the Vataces of Israel. The government gained vastly in intellectual power by the accession of David. Saul perhaps could not write (1 S 11^{7}); David wrote the first letter mentioned in the Bible (2 S 11^{14}!), was 'prudent in speech' (1 S 16^{18} RV), a poet of considerable power (2 S $1^{17\text{ff.}}$), if not also a Psalmist (2 S $22^{1\text{ff.}}$, a passage belonging to the Appendix to 2 Samuel), and a man who reflected (23^{1-7}). The whole history of the suppression of Absalom's rebellion stamps David as a man of the highest mental power. The king who could command and apply in the moment of his greatest need the wrathful family faithfulness of Joab and Abishai, the salt-truth of Ittai the Philistine, the friendliness of the priests Zadok and Abiathar, the allegiance of the aged counsellor Hushai, and the helpfulness of Shobi the Ammonite and Barzillai the Gileadite (2 S $17^{27\text{f.}}$), must have been a man of intellectual power far above the ordinary.

David's reign was marked by three events—(*a*) the choice of Jerusalem as capital; (*b*) the rise of the tribe of Judah; and (*c*) the foundation of an Israelite empire.

(*a*) Jerusalem before David's day probably consisted of a half-Israelite town grouped round the Jebusite citadel, which stood on a hill S.E. of the present Ḥaram hill, but probably separated from it by a depression now filled up. Such a town was unsuitable for the Israelite capital so long as it was dominated by the Jebusite fort. David's capture of this fort gave him a site from which he could build towards the North and West, taking in other hills; he thus formed a capital of ample size and of great natural strength.

(*b*) The rise of the tribe of Judah under David is a remarkable fact. In Judges this tribe plays hardly any part save at the Conquest (ch. 1), in which it is almost overshadowed by Calebites, Kenizzites, and Kenites. It is not mentioned in the present text of the Song of Deborah (Jg 5). The earlier leaders of Israel, Moses, Aaron, Joshua, Samuel, and Saul, all belonged to other tribes, and no judge was a Judæan. Under these circumstances it has been supposed (Stade, *GVI* i. 132) that Judah entered Canaan from the south before the rest of the tribes entered from the east, and that in ancient times Judah stood in no union with the rest of Israel. Be this as it may, from the time of David Judah played a great part in Israel's history.

(*c*) It may be surprising that so small a people as Israel was able to found an empire which stretched from the borders of Egypt to the Euphrates. In the south Egypt claimed a hegemony over Syria; in the north the Hittites (1 K 10^{29}, 2 K 7^{6}) and the Aramæans (Syrians) were strong, and, lastly, in the east lay the great Assyrian power. But after the reign of Tiglath-pileser I. (*c.* 1120–1100 B.C.) Assyria was in a state of temporary decline until about the end of the 10th cent. B.C. (McCurdy, *HPM* i. § 181); and the Hittites had ceased to exercise an imperial sway (*ib.* § 179); lastly, from *c.* 1240 to 930 B.C., under the 20th and 21st dynasties, Egypt was weak and divided (see art. EGYPT, vol. i. 662 *b*). Thus room is left for an Israelite empire, *c.* 1017–937 B.C., the period assigned to the reigns of David and Solomon (see CHRONOLOGY OF OLD TEST. vol. i. p. 401).

The empire of David and Solomon was greater in appearance than in reality, and it was, moreover, unstable. Garrisons (or 'governors' נְצִיבִים) were placed in Damascus and in Edom (2 S $8^{6.\,14}$), but other provinces simply paid a tribute (cf. *ib.* v.$^{11\text{f.}}$), the amount of which depended, no doubt, on the strength of their fears.

The reign of Solomon was magnificent and oppressive, the very opposite, in fact, of the ideal given in Dt 17^{15-17}. He put 30,000 Israelites to task-work (1 K $5^{13\text{f.}}$; 1 K 9^{22} is a later gloss), and alienated the northern tribes (12^{4}), already dissatisfied with the House of Jesse (2 S $20^{1\text{f.}}$); he filled his harem with foreign wives for the sake of prestige and policy, and patronized foreign worship (1 K $11^{5.\,7}$) in order to conciliate allied or subject nations. Of twenty years given to building, he devoted seven to the erection of a temple, on which he employed foreign builders (1 K 5^{18}), and in which he admitted foreign devices, such as the Second Commandment condemns (1 K 6^{23}). Whether Solomon had any strong religious feeling (such as his father had) we cannot tell; the Prayer of Dedication in 1 K 8^{23-61} is the work of the compiler of Kings (so Driver, *LOT*^{6} p. 191). On the whole, he reminds us of the typical Pharaoh, who built, oppressed, and boasted of Divine favour. The importance of the Temple must not be exaggerated; David had already made Jerusalem a Holy City by transferring thither the ark (2 S 6^{12}).

7. *The Hundred Years' War with Aram.*—The disruption of Solomon's kingdom relegated the southern half ('Judah') to a comparatively safe obscurity, and imposed upon the northern half ('Israel') the task of preventing the Aramæans (Syrians) of Damascus from advancing to the shores of the Mediterranean. From a nation like the Aramæans, eager for mercantile and material advantages, Israel invited attack in *three* directions. (1) The short route to Tyre by Dan and Abel-beth-maacah was worth seizing (1 K 15^{20}). (2) The fertile plain of Esdraelon was valuable in itself, and also because it led to the sea; hence the fortress of Aphek in the Philistine plain became a point for Aramæan armies to march on (1 K 20^{26}, 2 K 13^{22}, LXX, Lucian's text; W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} p. 435; *Expositor*, Dec. 1895. See also APHEK). (3) Ramoth-gilead (precise site uncertain) was surrounded by good pasture-land, and commanded one of the trade routes which ran east of Jordan leading to Arabia (1 K 22^{3}).

The kings of the house of Omri (1 K 16^{16}–2 K 9^{26}) met the Aramæan danger with courage and skill. Alliances with Tyre (1 K 16^{31}) and with

---

[*] Cf. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. lxii. beginning: 'In his first efforts the fugitive Lascaris commanded only 3 cities and 2000 soldiers; his reign was the season of generous and active despair: in every military operation he staked his life and crown; and his enemies . . . were surprised by his celerity and subdued by his boldness.'

Judah (1 K 22^{2-4}, 2 K 3^{7}) secured the left flank and rear of Israel, a new capital well situated for defence was built and fortified on the hill of Samaria (1 K 16^{24}), Ahab routed Ben-hadad at Aphek (1 K 20^{26}), and Joram, it seems, recovered Ramoth-gilead from Hazael (2 K 8^{28}, cf. 9^{1}).

The fortune of war changed at first under the new dynasty, that of Jehu and his sons. The Aramæans under Hazael and his successor Ben-hadad began to prevail perhaps in the days of Jehu himself; they almost annihilated the armies of his successor Jehoahaz, and became masters of all the land east of Jordan (2 K $10^{32f.}$ 13^{3-7}). On one occasion Hazael traversed the northern kingdom, reached Philistine territory, captured Gath, and threatened Jerusalem (12^{17}). The affliction of Israel in those days was 'very bitter, for there was not . . . any helper for Israel' (14^{26}). A change came again under Joash, the third king of Jehu's line. He thrice defeated Ben-hadad, and recovered the cities taken by Hazael, presumably the cities east of Jordan (13^{25}, cf. vv.$^{14-19}$). He even found leisure for a civil war with Amaziah of Judah, which ended in the capture of Jerusalem (14^{8-14}). But if Joash was the deliverer, Jeroboam II., the son of Joash, was the avenger of Israel. Under him Israel recovered according to 2 K 14^{28} 'Damascus and Hamath,' according to v.^{25} 'from the entering in of Hamath unto the sea of the Arabah.'

The religious policy of Ahab (the true representative of the house of Omri in this) was to patronize the Baal-worship of his Tyrian allies and of his half-Canaanite subjects without actually rejecting the religion of J″ (1 K 18^{21}). If he allowed Jezebel to slay the prophets of the Lord (18^{13}), it was doubtless because these prophets were bold enough to protest against such toleration, and not merely because they were prophets of J″. The work of the great prophet Elijah and of the house of Jehu which embraced his cause (19^{17}), was to inflict such blows on the worshippers of Baal that they never again hoped for any support for their religion from the heads of the Israelite state.

The Religion of the Prophets.—The reign of Jeroboam II. marked the highest point of material prosperity which Israel reached after the disruption, and perhaps the lowest point of Israel's moral degradation. Amos and Hosea, who prophesied under Jeroboam and his immediate successors, met this degradation with a revelation of God which differs in breadth and depth from the Mosaic revelation as sketched above. God, they taught, was not only Israel's God, but also the God of all the world; He would not favour Israel regardless of its moral condition, rather He would punish the sinful nation, whether that nation were Israel or another. If it be uncertain whether the Ten Commandments be Mosaic, it is at least certain that they were the code of the prophets of the 8th cent. Amos and Hosea taught Israel to worship One God, a God of Righteousness and Purity. But the manner as well as the matter of the teaching of these prophets challenges attention. Unlike Elijah and Elisha, they were 'writing prophets.' A prophet was no longer a voice only; he left a body of teaching behind him, to serve in the religious education of his people.

8. *The Tyranny of Asshur* (*Assyria*).—The contest between Israel and the Aramæans was ended by the interference of the Assyrians, who crushed both. We may pass over the victory of Shalmaneser II. over a confederate Aramæan-Israelite army in the days of Ahab (B.C. 854), and Jehu's payment of tribute to Shalmaneser (B.C. 842), as well as the boast of Ramman-nirārī III. (B.C. 811–783) that he exacted tribute from the 'land of Omri.' Assyria declined while Israel flourished under Jeroboam II. (B.C. 782–741). Unfortunately Assyria revived under Tiglath-pileser III. (B.C. 745–727). We need not believe that he had anything to do with Uzziah (Azariah) of Judah* (2 K 15^{1}), but we have monumental references to his defeat of the allied kings Pekah of Israel and Rezin of Damascus (16^{5-9}), and the monuments tell us what the Bible does not, viz. that Ausi'i' (Hoshea) was confirmed as king of Israel by Tiglath-pileser. But Hoshea succeeded to a diminished and depopulated kingdom (2 K 15^{29}); the extreme north and the land east of Jordan, after being ravaged, passed perhaps into the hands of some faithful client of Asshur. It would have been well for the kingdom of Samaria, if it had had only the open foe (Assyria) to reckon with; unfortunately, however, the false friend (Egypt) played a decisive part. From the days of Thutmosis (Thothmes) III. (B.C. 1500?) of the eighteenth dynasty and Ramses II. of the nineteenth, Egypt had looked on Canaan as within the sphere of her 'influence'; and, even when lower Egypt was divided among petty princes, one of these 'So'† (2 K 17^{4}) could not resist the temptation to claim a footing in Palestine by intriguing with Hoshea of Samaria against the Assyrians (see EGYPT, vol. i. p. 663^{a}). Shalmaneser IV. (B.C. 727–722), the successor of Tiglath-pileser, 'found conspiracy in Hoshea,' marched against Israel, and laid siege to Samaria (2 K $17^{4f.}$), which was taken by Sargon (Is 20^{1}), a usurper (B.C. 722–705) who succeeded Shalmaneser (*KIB* ii. 54, 55). Sargon tells us, 'I led forth (*aślula*) 27,290 of those who dwelt in the midst of it'; according to 2 K 17^{6} Israel was transported to Mesopotamia and Media. In any case the land was grievously depopulated; for even after colonists had been brought in from Babylonia and northern Syria (2 K 17^{24}), so much of the land still lay waste that lions increased and committed great ravages.

Israel having been crushed, Sargon marched against So (Sib'u) of Egypt and Hanun of Gaza, the confederates of Hoshea, and defeated them at Raphia (Rapiḥi) on the border of Egypt. The Pharaoh (Pir'u), plainly a different person from So, thereupon prudently paid 'tribute,' and Sargon retired.

Of the subsequent history of what had been the northern kingdom we know (until the time of the Return) only two facts. (1) Samaria was involved with Hamath, Arpad, and Damascus in a futile rising against Sargon (*KIB* ii. 56, 57). (2) In the decline of the Assyrian power Josiah was able to carry out his reforming measures in Bethel (2 K 23^{15}), the 'chapel' of the northern kings (Am 7^{13}), and in the cities of Samaria generally (2 K 23^{19}).

The capture of Samaria and the march of Sargon to the Egyptian frontier revealed the danger in which Judah stood from the Assyrians.

Three policies now presented themselves to Hezekiah. (1) He might ally himself (not as Hoshea with a kinglet of lower Egypt, but) with the growing power of Ethiopia (Is $18^{1f.}$ 20^{5}), under Sabakon (B.C. 707–695), who is perhaps meant, though his successor, Tirhakah (B.C. 690–664), is named in 2 K 19^{9}. Thus supported, Judah might perhaps defy Assyria. (2) He might (like his father Ahaz) throw himself without any serious invitation into the arms of the king of Assyria, and accept his protection, his yoke, and his god, or at least his altar (2 K 16^{7-12}). (3) He might accept the assurance of J″ given through Isaiah of the safety of Jerusalem and of those who took refuge in it (Is 28^{16} 29^{7} 30^{19} $31^{4f.}$). According to this last policy, Hezekiah would not attempt to defend cities like Lachish and Libnah, which lay more or less in the great king's path to Egypt, but would withdraw his people as much as possible into the hill country and into Jerusalem itself. Judah would thus bow before the storm, and neither resist the Assyrian king nor attempt to make friends with him.

---

* *Asriya'u* of *Ja'udi* was a king in northern Syria.

† Read perhaps 'Seve' (*Sib'u* on the Assyr. monuments).

Of course in a case in which three policies were possible, no one was consistently followed. In 701 Sennacherib, the son and successor of Sargon, marched into the west, having Egypt for his final objective (Herod. ii. 141). Hezekiah sent tribute (2 K 18^{14}), but Libnah and Lachish, fortresses which might assist the march of the Egyptians and retard that of the Assyrians, were not surrendered to Sennacherib. The Assyrian king, in accordance with his general plan, set himself with his main army to reduce these fortresses; but he sent 'a great host,' under the Turtan (Tartan), *i.e.* the Commander-in-chief who commanded in the absence of the king, to reduce Jerusalem (2 K 18^{17}). Hezekiah was blockaded, and derided in his helplessness by the Assyrian leaders.

Thus far the Bible and the monuments agree, but the sequel is differently told. According to 2 K 19^{35} the Angel of the Lord (no doubt the pestilence) slew 185,000 of the Assyrian army, and Sennacherib departed to his own land. According to Sennacherib's own account, fear fell on Hezekiah, and he acknowledged the majesty of Sennacherib by sending presents of every kind. It is hard to resist the impression that the Assyrian is escaping from the acknowledgment of failure in the long and wordy list of presents, and that the Hebrew account is based on a trustworthy tradition. In any case, Sennacherib does not claim to have taken Jerusalem, nor to have inflicted any personal chastisement on Hezekiah. The strange tradition with which Herodotus explains the retreat of 'Sanacharibus, king of the Arabians and of the Assyrians' from the frontiers of Egypt, supports as far as it goes the biblical account (ii. 141).

The retreat of Sennacherib, however,—be it remembered,—meant the escape of Jerusalem from the horrors of a sack by the Assyrians, and not the permanent deliverance of Judah from Assyrian vassalage. Esar-haddon (B.C. 681–669), continuing the work of his predecessor, conquered Egypt (B.C. 671), and we may believe him when he tells us that he demanded building materials for his palace from twenty-two kings of the west, including Manasseh, king of Judah, if *Mi-na-si-i šar* (*maḫāzu*) *Ja-u-di* be he (*KIB* ii. 148, 149). The next king, Assur-bani-pal (the Osnappar of Ezr 4^{10}), also made successful expeditions against Egypt, and it is not improbable that on one of these occasions Manasseh was carried off, as the chronicler says (2 Ch 33^{11}), bound in fetters to Babylon.

Religion in Judah during the Assyrian Period.—The religious conflict was hardly less severe than the political. Under Ahaz (2 K $16^{3f.\ 10f.}$) and Manasseh (*ib.* $21^{3ff.}$) foreign worships and foreign superstitions were practised (cf. Is 2^{6} 8^{19} etc.), and against these Isaiah and Micah prophesied with fearless invective and threatening. Supported by the prophets, Hezekiah (according to 2 K $18^{4.\ 22}$) made some sweeping reforms, including the destruction of the brazen serpent, the removal of the high-places, and the centralization of the cultus in Jerusalem.

Wellhausen (*IJG*^{3} p. 90 f.) doubts whether the last two measures were carried out, supporting his doubt by a reference to 2 K 23^{13}, where, however, the *defilement* (not the *destruction*) of Solomon's high-places is ascribed to Josiah. Practical religion must have been at a very low ebb during this whole period, if we may judge from the denunciations uttered by Isaiah and Micah (esp. Mic $3^{10ff.}$), and from Isaiah's favourite thought that only a remnant can survive God's judgment on Judah and Jerusalem.

9. *The Fall of Judah.*—Under Josiah (B.C. 639–608), Judah had a brief breathing space. Assur-bani-pal, the last great sovereign of Assyria, died in 626, and the Assyrian power rapidly declined. Josiah took courage to repair the temple (2 K $22^{3ff.}$), to destroy the high-places, removing the priests attached to them, and even to extend his activity northwards to Bethel and to 'the cities of Samaria' (*ib.* 23^{19}). Under him also was published 'the book of the law' (*i.e.* the Book of Deuteronomy), and the people entered into a covenant to obey its morality, and to worship J″ only in the one place which He had chosen for his sanctuary (cf. Dt $12^{5f.}$). Josiah himself set an example of kingly virtue (Jer $22^{15f.}$) as well as of Deuteronomic orthodoxy (cf. 2 K 23^{21}), and the removal of the yoke of Asshur seemed to promise an era of comparative prosperity for Judah.

Unfortunately the fall of Assyria involved a contest for the spoils between Egypt under Neco(h) (AV Necho(h)) and Babylon under Nabopolassar. Necoh 'went up against the king of Assyria to the river Euphrates' (2 K 23^{29}), passing through Megiddo (somewhere near Mount Carmel) on his march, and at Megiddo Josiah met his death at the hands of the Egyptian king. Of the circumstances of his death we have two accounts. According to 2 Kings (cited above), Josiah *went to meet* (Heb. not EV) Necoh, doubtless in order to come to some understanding with him, perhaps to do homage to him. Necoh, however, judging perhaps that Josiah was too strong a man to be a good vassal, had him slain at the audience ('when he saw him'). According to 2 Ch $35^{20ff.}$ (=1 Es $1^{25ff.}$), on the contrary, Josiah's fate is precisely that of Ahab. He *fights* against Necoh in spite of a Divine warning, and is mortally wounded by an archer. (An obscure passage in Herodotus, ii. 159, gives no help). The sequel, however, is clear: Judah became a vassal to Egypt, and Necoh appointed the infamous Jehoiakim (2 K 23^{34}, Jer $22^{13ff.}$) to be king.

Egypt's triumph was short. Nebuchadrezzar, the son of Nabopolassar, swept Necoh out of Syria, and made Judah transfer its allegiance to Babylon. Twice Judah proved faithless to its new lord. The first revolt was punished heavily enough. Jerusalem was taken, the golden vessels of the temple were made a spoil, and Jehoiakim's son and successor Jehoiachin was carried into captivity to Babylon with his officers, his mighty men, and all the skilled artificers—10,000 captives in all (cf. Jer 24^{1-7}). Nebuchadrezzar appointed as king in Judah Zedekiah (a son of Josiah), and bound him with an oath of fealty (cf. Ezk $17^{12ff.}$). But Zedekiah was too unstable to keep an oath, and too weak to resist the temptation of an alliance with Egypt. After a disordered reign of eleven years, during which the princes ruled rather than the king (Jer $38^{5.\ 25}$), the Babylonians took Jerusalem by blockade, blinded Zedekiah, slew his officers, burned the temple, broke down the city walls, and carried away a number of captives (Jer 52^{28-30}, Heb. *not* LXX B). A poor remnant of the people was left to prevent the land from relapsing into desert, and Gedaliah, son of Ahikam (the patron of Jeremiah), was appointed 'overseer' ('governor' would have been too grand a title) over them (Jer $40^{5ff.}$).

This—the catastrophe of Jerusalem—took place *c.* 587 B.C., but it must be remembered that Judah had been falling ever since the days of Ahaz. In fact the Southern kingdom slowly bled to death from the moment when its isolation was broken down by the dying struggles of the Northern kingdom under Pekah (2 K 15^{29} 16^{5}, cf. Is $7^{1ff.}$). In particular, Judah never recovered from the brutal devastation wrought by Sennacherib, when 46 fortified towns were taken and 200,150 persons led captive (*KIB* p. 94 f.; cf. 2 K $18^{13.23}$). We cannot form any satisfactory estimate of the numbers carried off at various times by the Chaldæans, for the passage (Jer 52^{28-30}) which contains the most precise statements on this point is absent from LXX BℵA, and is in conflict with 2 K 24^{14}; but it seems probable that the Chaldæan ravages were less extensive than the Assyrian, because the population had dwindled, and prosperity had diminished in the meantime. (See, further, Kosters, *ThT* xxxi. (1897) 518 ff.).

10. *The Exile and the Return.*—The captivity of Judah, reckoned from the fall of Jehoiachin (B.C. 597), lasted 59 years, or from the fall of Zedekiah (B.C. 587), 49 years, reckoning B.C. 538 as the probable *terminus ad quem*. The 'seventy' years of Jer 25^{12} is a round number. Of the condition of the Jews in exile we have contradictory indications, from which we may conclude that the circumstances varied in different places and at different times. The first band of exiles were allowed to 'build houses and plant gardens' (Jer $29^{5f.}$), and to live in communities of their own (Ezr 8^{17}, Ezk 1^{1}) under their own elders (Ezk 8^{1} 14^{1} 20^{1}). Jehoiachin, after thirty-six years of captivity, received special marks of favour from Evil-Merodach (Amil-Marduk), the successor of Nebuchadrezzar (2 K $25^{27ff.}$). On the other hand, seditious prophets from time to time provoked the Chaldæans to cruel acts of repression (Jer $29^{21f.}$), and it is probable that some at least of the Jews were put to task-work, for the 'hard service' (Is $14^{3f.}$) wherein Israel was made to serve, looks like an allusion to Nebuchadrezzar's canal-works or temple-restoration, or to like undertakings of his successors, especially Nabuna'id (Nabonidus) (*KIB* iii. 2, p. 60 ff., p. 96 ff.). Yet that the lot of many Jewish families (after the first bitterness of expatriation was past) was at least tolerable in Babylonia, is clear from the fact that a considerable number of Jews (the vast majority, according to some critics) did not take part in the First Return under Sheshbazzar.

With regard to the Return a good deal has been written of late years (particularly since 1889) tending towards a reconstruction of the whole narrative. It will, however, be most convenient in this article to reproduce the account given in Ezra-Nehemiah, while pointing out from time to time how critics propose to correct and supplement it. In the first year, then, of Cyrus (Ezr 1^{1}), *i.e.* *c.* 538 B.C., the 'Persian' (see CYRUS, vol. i. p. 541 f.) king issued an edict for the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem, and invited the Jews to undertake the work. [We may compare with this the mutilated inscription in which Cyrus speaks of his restoration to the cities of Babylonia of gods which Nabonidus had carried off to Babylon (*KIB* iii. 2, p. 126 f.)]. The heads of Judah and Benjamin, together with the Levites, responded to the invitation, and Cyrus gave up the golden vessels of the temple, which had been carried away by Nebuchadrezzar, to Sheshbazzar (*τῷ Σαβανασάρ* LXX B, *τῷ Σασαβασσάρῳ* A, Ezr 1^{8}; *Σαναμασσάρῳ*, 1 Es 2^{11} LXX B, but *Σαναβασσάρῳ*, LXX A^{a}), 'prince (נָשִׂיא *nāsī*) of Judah,' who brought them back to Jerusalem, together with a band of returning exiles. This—the First Return—resulted, we learn indirectly, in the laying of the foundation of the temple (Ezr 5^{16}, but cf. $3^{9f.}$), but we do not know the number of those who accompanied Sheshbazzar, nor any other particulars. It is, however, negatively clear that the movement was not a success. In Babylonia the edict (in spite of the prophecies of Deutero-Isaiah) probably took the Jews by surprise, while in Judah (cf. Ezr $4^{4f.}$, a misplaced passage) there were 'many adversaries.' The time, as the Jews said even sixteen years later (Hag 1^{2}), was not yet come for so important an undertaking as the rebuilding of the temple. Some critics, indeed, smile altogether at the story of this 'First Return,' and reduce it to a conciliatory appointment by Cyrus of a prince of the house of David (Sanabassar) to be governor in Judæa (cf. Cheyne, *Jewish Religious Life*, pp. 5–7).

At the beginning of the reign of Darius Hystaspis (*c.* 522 B.C.), however, the Jewish exiles were prepared for a great movement, and there was, it seems, a Second Return under Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, a descendant of David, and Jeshua the son of Jozadak the priest (Ezr 2^{2}). The whole 'congregation' numbered 42,360, exclusive of servants and handmaids (*ib.* $2^{64f.}$). Of this great immigration, and of Zerubbabel and Jeshua who led it, much was expected, *imprimis* the rebuilding of the temple (Zec 6^{15}), but the realization of the hope was delayed. The people went up 'unto Jerusalem and Judah, *every one to his own city*' (Ezr 2^{1}), and, after the heads had relieved their consciences by making a money-offering for the work of rebuilding, all the exiles 'dwelt in their cities' (*ib.* v.^{70}), or, as Haggai complained, they ran 'every man to his own house,' and allowed God's House to lie waste (Hag 1^{9}). In the autumn (Ezr $3^{1ff.}$) they did indeed gather themselves as one man to Jerusalem for the erection of an altar of burnt-offering, 'but the foundation of the temple of the Lord was not yet laid' (*ib.* v.^{6}).

How did the work of the temple begin at last in earnest? We have two answers, one in a 'prophetical' passage of Ezra (4^{24} $5^{1f.}$), written in the Aramaic tongue, and another in a 'priestly' passage, written in Hebrew by the compiler of the same book (3^{8-13}). The former treats the foundation as already laid (cf. 5^{16}), and reckons the date by the year of Darius *characteristically*, for the prophet's eye always noted political changes; the second, on the contrary, describes in touching detail the laying of the foundation, and mentions as the date 'the second year of their coming to the House of God,' again characteristically, for the priest's eye was all for the holy place. The discrepancy between the two passages is one of words only—(1) as regards *date*, if the Return of Zerubbabel and Jeshua took place, as suggested above, at the beginning of the reign of Darius; and (2) as regards the *nature of the work*, if we assume that after sixteen years of malice, neglect, and weather, the foundations needed some attention, which might be popularly described as relaying.

Ezr 3^{8-13}, however, has a great omission, it says nothing of the activity of Haggai and Zechariah. Yet there can be no doubt that the voice of these two prophets was the deciding factor in the work; words such as Hag 1^{4} 2^{9}, Zec 4^{6-10} were not uttered in vain. In the second year of Darius, the second year of their return to Palestine, the exiles began to build, and in spite of an interruption by Tattenai, governor of Syria (Ezr $5^{3ff.}$), the house was finished in the 6th year of Darius (6^{15}).

This account is traversed and disputed by some modern critics. It is urged that Haggai and Zechariah never mention the Great Return of 42,000 persons, and consequently it is maintained that no considerable body of exiles (the Gōla) did return till the mission of Ezra, *c.* 432 B.C. (so Cheyne, *Introd. to Is.* p. xxxix). From this it follows that the temple which was completed *c.* 516 B.C. was built, not by the returned exiles, but by 'the people of the land,' the descendants of those left by Nebuzar-adan. But what if Haggai and Zechariah do not dwell upon the Return because they took part in it, and spoke to those who took part in it? What if they do speak, at least once (Zec 6^{15}), as the forerunners of a mighty host advancing from Babylon?

One subject remains to be noticed, viz. the attitude of the builders of the temple towards the Samaritans. According to Ezr $4^{2f.}$ (a passage due to the compiler of the book) Zerubbabel and Jeshua peremptorily rejected the offer of the 'adversaries (צָרִים *ẓārîm*, 'rivals') of Judah and Benjamin' to co-operate in the rebuilding. Cheyne, on the contrary, characterizes the story of rejection as 'pure imagination,' and asserts that the Samaritans maintained their connexion with the holy place 'till Nehemiah, armed with a Persian firman, interposed' (*JRL* p. 26).

After the completion of the temple a break of nearly sixty years occurs in our records, and when they speak again the Davidic line which Zerubbabel had represented has disappeared. Some critics (*e.g.* Cheyne and Sellin) partly fill the gap with a reconstruction which represents Zerubbabel as the accepted Messiah of the Jews, a rebel against Persian authority, and a martyr whose martyrdom ruined all the political prospects of the house of David. Cheyne refers Zec 6^{11-13} (in a revised text) to the coronation and reign of Zerubbabel (*JRL* p. 14 f.), and Sellin thinks that he is meant by the Suffering Servant of Is 52^{13}–53^{12}. The ruin of the walls of Jerusalem, which Nehemiah deplored (Neh 1^{3}), may have been part of the vengeance taken by the Persians (or their deputies) on the Messianic kingdom of Zerubbabel.

The biblical records begin again in 'the seventh year of Artaxerxes' (Ezr 7^{8}), *i.e.*, if Artaxerxes Longimanus be meant, in B.C. 458. In that year Ezra the scribe, a man of high-priestly family, went up to Jerusalem armed with a decree (given in Aramaic, *ib.* vv.$^{12-26}$) entrusting him with large powers, and ordering a large offering to be made in the king's name for the support of the worship of the temple. Strangely enough all that we know of the exercise of these powers is that Ezra called an assembly of the whole people in order to deal with the question of mixed marriages, that the people acknowledged the duty of putting away foreign wives, but pleaded for delay, and that a formidable list was drawn up (including the names of men of high-priestly family) of those who had taken foreign wives. Out of this list four persons (priests) actually 'gave their hands' to put away their foreign wives (Ezr 10^{6-44}).

In the twentieth year of Artaxerxes (Neh $2^{1.9}$), *i.e.* in B.C. 445, came the mission of Nehemiah. He, unlike Ezra, was a layman and an officer at the Persian Court, and, unlike Ezra (Ezr 8^{22}), enjoyed the prestige of arriving with an escort of Persian officers and horsemen (Neh 2^{9}). In spirit, however, Ezra and Nehemiah were one. Both aimed at reforming the religion of their people on lines stricter than any which had hitherto been laid down. To Ezra (or to the school of which he is the most conspicuous member) is probably due that rewriting with increased stringency and particularity of the earlier codes of the Hexateuch, which resulted in the formation of that which is commonly called the Priestly Code. The object which Ezra and his adherents set before themselves was the holiness of Israel (*i.e.* its separation from other peoples, and its greater strictness in the service of God).

Nehemiah worked on practical lines. He first made the separation of Israel possible by rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem 'in fifty and two days' (Neh 6^{15}). He next removed the causes of disaffection among the poorer Jews by compelling the richer sort to restore lands and houses taken in pledge, and to forbear the exaction of usury (*ib.* 5^{1-13}). Ezra's edition of the book of the Law was recited and explained before an assembly of the whole people (*ib.* 8^{1-8}). At a great Day of Humiliation the people, headed by Nehemiah, vowed to separate themselves from the 'people of the land,' and to forbear from mixed marriages and from buying and selling on the Sabbath; they also undertook to observe the seventh year as a year of release, and to pay a third part of a shekel* for the maintenance of the sanctuary and its services (Neh $9^{1ff.}$ $10^{1ff.}$). Lastly, Nehemiah took measures for increasing the population of Jerusalem (Neh $11^{1ff.}$).

Nehemiah's second mission to Jerusalem, 'in the two and thirtieth year of Artaxerxes' (*ib.* 13^{6}), *i.e.* *c.* 433 B.C., apparently lasted only a short time. He found some of the old abuses still existing, and acted with his accustomed vigour against them. Some critics believe that Ezra's caravan of exiles (Ezr $8^{1ff.}$) returned not in B.C. 458 (see above), but in connexion with this second mission of Nehemiah.

Of the fortunes of the Jews in the later days of the Persian empire we know next to nothing for certain, but it is probable that they took part in the rising against Artaxerxes III. 'Ochus' (B.C. 361–338), and were punished for it by a partial captivity to Hyrcania. The miseries of the times of Ochus are, it is sometimes supposed, alluded to in Is 24–27 and in several of the Psalms. On the other side, Wellhausen (*IJG*^{3} p. 160) believes that the Jews increased greatly in numbers under Persian rule, and that they assimilated to themselves a large element from 'the people of the land' whom Ezra and Nehemiah had tried to exclude.

11. *The Greek Period.*—The victory of Alexander the Great over Darius at Issus (B.C. 333) put an end to Persian rule in Syria. Greek influence was now brought to bear upon Palestine from two great centres, viz. Alexandria and Antioch. Moreover, the Jewish people was forced by the stress of outward events to leaven itself with foreign thoughts and foreign customs. A great dispersion took place. When at the beginning of the 3rd cent. B.C. Syria was under the rule of Egypt, Ptolemy the son of Lagus transported thousands of Jews to Egypt, to serve as colonists and as a support to his dynasty. Moreover, the Jews had learned to trade, and the openings for world-wide traffic which Alexander's conquests had made for the Greeks, attracted the Jews also. Yet the Jews who spread themselves abroad, left their hearts at home; from time to time they returned on visits to Jerusalem, themselves Hellenized, and exerting a subtle Hellenizing influence in the Holy City itself.

More than a hundred years, however, elapsed after Alexander's conquests before Greek influence drew the inhabitants of Judæa into serious political trouble. For a long time the small province, though hemmed in by Greek cities, Gaza, Joppa, Straton's Tower (*i.e.* Cæsarea), and Samaria, held out against Hellenization. But at last, at the beginning of the reign of Antiochus IV. Epiphanes (B.C. 175–164), the Greek party in Jerusalem, to which most of the ruling class belonged, felt themselves strong enough to take a decided step. A certain Jason got himself appointed high priest by Antiochus for a sum of money, with permission to set up a gymnasium in Jerusalem, and to enrol its inhabitants as citizens of Antioch, *i.e.* to confer on them the title and privileges of these citizens. A certain Menelaus in turn intrigued against Jason, and succeeded in supplanting him as high priest. The disorders consequent upon Greek innovations and scandals in the high-priesthood led to the direct interference of Antiochus, who in B.C. 168 had undertaken an expedition against Egypt. Foiled in this expedition by the *veto* of the Romans, Antiochus wrathfully determined to reduce the affairs of Judæa to order. The external means used were a massacre, an enslavement, and a Syrian occupation of the citadel (ἡ ἄκρα) of Jerusalem. On these followed an attempted conversion by force of the Jewish people to heathenism. The observance of the Sabbath and of circumcision was forbidden, copies of the Law were burnt, an altar was erected to Zeus in Jerusalem, and the Jews were compelled under penalty to participate in heathen sacrifices and to eat swine's flesh (1 Mac $2^{15ff.}$, 2 Mac $6^{18ff.}$). A large party among the Jews were willing to fall in (at least outwardly) with the king's plans, a large party again (the חֲסִידִים *ḥăsīdīm*, Gr. Ἀσιδαῖοι) preferred to offer only passive resistance (1 Mac 2^{29-38} 7^{10-17}), but there was fortunately a third party—perhaps not large in numbers at first—led by a priestly family afterwards called 'Maccabees.' Judas 'the Maccabee' was a hero of the stamp of David. Personally brave, he was also no contemptible leader, and though he died early, he had first taught the Jewish forces to face their enemies in battle with success.

---

* Probably equivalent to the half-shekel of Ex 30^{13} (cf. Ryle, *Ezra-Neh.* p. 274 note).

The campaigns of Judas fall into three divisions. (1) Defensive, against the Syrians. By victories at Beth-horon and at Beth-zur he repulsed the enemy advancing from the West and from the South, and was not overcome until, in B.C. 162, Lysias, accompanied by the young king Antiochus V., led an army of 120,000 men and thirty-two elephants (1 Mac 6^{30}) into Judæa. (2) Offensive-defensive in Gilead and (with his brother Simon in immediate command) in Galilee. From both these districts the Jewish 'garrisons,' with their wives and children, were withdrawn and brought into Judæa. (3) Offensive, against the Edomites and Philistines, to enlarge the borders of his tiny state.

Against the immense resources of the Syrian kingdom the courage and skilful generalship of Judas would perhaps have failed had they not been seconded by the rivalries of various claimants to the Syrian throne. In the hour of victory (B.C. 162) Lysias was forced to grant to the Jews that religious freedom, the denial of which had occasioned the five years' war. In spite of further conflicts, in the course of which Judas fell, the cause of Jewish autonomy never went back, and at last, in B.C. 153, Jonathan the brother of Judas was able to put on the sacred vestments as high priest of the Jews, acknowledged by Alexander Balas, king of Syria (1 Mac $10^{15ff.\ 59ff.}$). In B.C. 142 Simon, the brother and successor of Jonathan, forced the Syrian garrison to evacuate the citadel of Jerusalem, and in the following year the whole nation of the Jews acknowledged the great services of the Maccabæan family by declaring Simon to be 'high priest, captain, and governor' for ever (1 Mac 14^{27-47}). See, further, art. MACCABEES.

[The later history belongs rather to the Introduction to the NT. See NEW TESTAMENT TIMES, HISTORY OF].

LITERATURE.—(*A*) General Histories:—H. Ewald. *Hist. of Isr.*, Eng. tr. by Martineau and Carpenter; A. P. Stanley, *Jewish Church* (based on Ewald); E. Renan, *Histoire du Peuple d'Israël*; B. Stade, *GVI*, 1887; J. Wellhausen, *Isr. u. Jüd. Geschichte*, 1894 (ed. 3, 1898), art. 'Israel' in 9th ed. of *Encyc. Brit.*; H. Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden von den ältesten Zeiten*, 1853–75 (vols. i. ii., containing the Biblical history, were written last), *History of the Jews*, Eng. tr. by Bella Löwy, 1891–92; R. Kittel, *Geschichte der Hebräer* (to B.C. 586), 1888, 1892, *A History of the Hebrews*, Eng. tr. by J. Taylor, Hope W. Hogg, and E. B. Spiers; A. Klostermann, *GVI* (to Nehemiah), 1896; C. F. Kent, *History of the Hebrew People* (to B.C. 586), 1897; C. H. Cornill, *GVI* (to A.D. 70), 1898, *History of the People of Israel*, Eng. tr. by W. H. Carruth, 1898; C. Piepenbring, *Histoire du Peuple d'Israël* (to the Maccabees), 1898; G. Maspero, *Hist. Anc. des Peuples de l'Orient*, vol. ii. (the Eng. tr. [under title 'Struggle of the Nations'] is not to be recommended, being in places very incorrect); H. Winckler, *Gesch. des Israels in Einzeldarstellungen*, i. (1895). Articles in this Dict., ASSYRIA (F. Hommel), BABYLONIA (F. Hommel), EGYPT (W. E. Crum).

(*B*) Historical Monographs:—Articles in this Dictionary, ABRAHAM (H. E. Ryle), DAVID (H. A. White), ISAIAH (G. A. Smith), JACOB (Driver), JOSEPH (Driver), etc.; separate works, S. R. Driver, *Life and Times of Isaiah* ('Men of the Bible') [1888]; T. K. Cheyne, *Jeremiah* (same series).

Important works on the Return and Post-exilic Period:—Kuenen, *Die Chronol. d. pers. Zeitalters*, and *Das Werk Esra's* ('Gesam. Abhandl.,' 212 ff., 370 ff.); W. H. Kosters, *Wiederherstellung Israels*, Deutsch von A. Basedow; various works by v. Hoonacker, esp. *Nouvelles Études sur la Restauration juive*, 1896; E. Meyer, *Entstehung d. Judenthums*; T. K. Cheyne, *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile* ('*JRL*'), 1898 (cf. *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah*, p. xxxiii ff.); P. H. Hunter, *After the Exile: a Hundred Years of Jewish History and Literature*, 1890: see also E. Sellin, *Serubbabel* (an attempted reconstruction of the career of Zerubbabel), 1898.

On the Maccabæan Period:—E. Schürer, *Jewish People in the Time of Christ*, Div. I. vol. i., Eng. tr. by J. Macpherson, 1890; A. W. Streane, *Age of the Maccabees*, 1898.

(*C*) Works illustrating the History of Israel from the Monuments:—E. Schrader (and other Assyriologists), *Keilinschiftliche Bibliothek* ('*KIB*,' most important historical inscriptions occur in vol. ii. and vol. iii. 2, 1890, v. 1896 [Tel el-Amarna tablets]: Assyr. text transliterated and accompanied by a Germ. trn.), *Keilinschriften u. AT*, ed. 2, 1883, *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the OT*, Eng. tr. by Owen C. Whitehouse; H. Winckler, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum AT* (a selection from the inscriptions of those passages which illustrate passages of the OT), 1892, *ATliche Untersuchungen* (discussions of OT passages mainly in the light of Inscriptions), 1892; A. H. Sayce (editor), *RP*, 2nd ser. 1894 (translations of Assyrian and Babylonian Inscriptions and of early Egyptian documents), *Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments* (1894); J. F. McCurdy, *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, 1894–96; W. St. C. Boscawen, *The Bible and the Monuments*, 1895; Hogarth, *Archæology and Authority*, 1899 (OT part by S. R. Driver).

(*D*) Historical Geography:—G. A. Smith, *HGHL*; Townsend MacCoun, *The Holy Land in Geography and History*, New York, 1898 (excellent view-like maps).

(*E*) Archæology:—W. Nowack, *Heb. Archäologie*, 1894; J. Benzinger, *Heb. Archäologie*, 1894; the Publications of the *PEF*, particularly F. J. Bliss, *Excavations at Jerusalem*, 1898; Flinders Petrie, *Tell-el-Hesy* (*Lachish*); F. Buhl, *Geschichte der Edomiter*, 1893.

(*F*) Literary Histories:—Valuable hints are scattered throughout Driver, *LOT*; Robertson Smith, *OTJC* and *Prophets of Israel*; E. Kautzsch, *Outline of the History of the Literature of the OT*, Eng. tr. by J. Taylor, 1898.

(*G*) Histories of Religion:—A. Kuenen, *Religion of Israel to the Fall of the Jewish State*, Eng. tr. by A. H. May, 1874, 1875; A. Duff, *OT Theology*, 1891; J. Robertson, *Early Religion of Israel*, 1892; H. Schultz, *ATliche Theologie*, Aufl. 5, 1895, do. Eng. tr. of ed. 4, 1894; R. Smend, *ATliche Religionsgeschichte*, 1893; A. Dillmann, *Handbuch der ATlichen Theol.*, Hrsg. v. R. Kittel, 1895. A work on this subject is expected from Prof. A. B. Davidson.

(*H*) Chronology. Add to the list given under CHRONOLOGY OF OLD TEST. vol. i. p. 403:—C. Niebuhr, *Chronologie der Geschichte Israels, Ægyptens, Babyloniens, und Assyriens von* B.C. 2000–700.

W. EMERY BARNES.

ISRAEL, KINGDOM OF.—The tribes that had settled in the south of Pal. were from the first cut off from the northern tribes by a line of Canaanitish cities, Har-heres, Gezer, Aijalon, and Shaalbim (Jg $1^{29.35}$); and during the period of the judges, while there was a growing tendency among the northern tribes to coalesce under pressure of invasion, the southern tribes remained distinct. Saul never seems to have gained a paramount influence over these mountaineers of the S., who in large numbers espoused the cause of David. Though the latter, by choosing as his capital Jerus., which lay on the border-land between Benjamin and Judah, and other acts of diplomacy, succeeded in uniting for a time the northern and southern tribes, the union seems never to have been very complete, and once at least the jealousy between them nearly broke out into civil war (2 S 19^{41}–20^{2}). Solomon's policy was specially calculated to exasperate the northern tribes. While they were heavily taxed, and had forced labour imposed upon them, his own tribe seems to have been entirely exempt (1 K 4^{7-19} 5^{13-18}). The rebellion led by Jeroboam, which was suppressed by Solomon, broke out in more formidable proportions under Rehoboam, who continued with even greater severity the oppressive policy of his father.

The separation, encouraged by the prophet Ahijah, who objected to Solomon's idolatrous practices (1 K 11^{29-39}), took place without serious opposition, and Jeroboam became the first king of Israel (12^{20}). His aim was to counteract the centralizing effect of the great temple at Jerus. by setting up a more popular ritual at two of the many already existing local shrines, Bethel and Dan (12^{29}), where from this time J″ was worshipped under the symbol of a golden calf, probably as the God of agriculture. This cult may be regarded as a reaction from that more spiritual mode of worship which, under prophetic influence, had been established at Jerusalem. The view of the editor of the Book of Kings, that Jeroboam's act was a schismatic separation from the worship of the only legal sanctuary, is the reflexion of a post-Deut. age.

The hostility between North and South continued intermittently until the political and commercial alliance between Ahab and Jehoshaphat. While the invasions of Shishak (1 K 14^{25}) and Zerah (2 Ch 14^{9}) weakened the power of Judah, Israel was already being hampered by the growing power of the Syrians of Damascus (1 K 20^{34}). Ahab, whose father Omri was the founder of the dynasty, married Jezebel, daughter of Ethbaal, king of the Zidonians (1 K 16$^{31\text{ff.}}$), and she introduced the worship of the Tyrian Baal and Ashtaroth, with its cruel and immoral rites. In this she was opposed with varying success by the prophets Elijah and Elisha (1 K 18 ff.), through whose influence the dynasty was eventually overthrown by Jehu, and the cult exterminated by him (2 K 9. 10).

During this period the Syrians of Damascus began to take a prominent part in the history of Israel. Were the scanty records of OT our only source of information, we should have supposed the relation between Israel and Syria to have been that of practically unbroken hostility, the treaty of Benhadad II. in 1 K 20^{34} appearing as merely a compact wrung from him in a moment of danger, and broken at the first opportunity (22$^{1.2}$). In fact, the prophetic historian had little interest in events which lay outside the horizon of Israel, and even within it he had little in those which did not directly serve his religious purpose. We find, for example, no explanation how it was that Ramoth-gilead, after the events of 1 K 22, passed into the hands of the Israelites, as we find it in 2 K 8^{28} 9^{1}. Again, from the variety of sources from which the history is drawn without the needful sifting and arrangement, there are some serious inconsistencies. It is difficult, for example, to reconcile 2 K 6^{23} with 6^{24}. From the Assyr. inscriptions, however, we learn that in 854 Israel was a member of a very important alliance of small kingdoms centring in Damascus, which was summoned to his assistance by Irkhulini, king of Hamath, against the Assyr. king, Shalmaneser II. (see BABYLONIA, vol. i. p. 184^{b}). Ahab is said to have furnished no fewer than 2000 (!) chariots and 10,000 footmen, Benhadad 1200 chariots and 10,000 footmen. Altogether 80,000 to 90,000 men were brought into the field. A great battle was fought at Ḳarḳar (Aroer). After a desperate encounter the Assyrians claim to have won the day, killing 14,000 (or according to another account 20,500), but Shalmaneser seems to have been too crippled to make any further advance. The alliance now appears to have broken up. At any rate, in the next two Assyr. campaigns against Benhadad, in 849 and 846, Ahab takes no part. Syria, from its position, was more exposed to attack than Israel, which was encouraged by this circumstance to attempt the recovery of Ramoth-gilead (1 K 22^{1}). During Benhadad's reign hostilities between the two kingdoms usually took the form of guerilla warfare, bands of the Syrians continually breaking into the country and carrying off spoil. Hazael, the murderer and successor of Benhadad II., proved a far more serious enemy. At first, however, he was kept in check by Assyria. In 842 Shalmaneser invaded Syria, defeated Hazael, who was now deserted by his allies, with the loss of 1600 men, but was not successful in his attempt to take Damascus. The other small states, and Jehu among them, did not venture to resist, but sent tribute to Shalmaneser. The account of this campaign is inscribed on what is known as the Black Obelisk in the British Museum (No. 98). One of the sculptures represents Jehu paying tribute to Shalmaneser, and underneath is the following inscription:—'The tribute of Yahuah (Jehu), son of Khumri (Omri!), silver, gold, bowls of gold, vessels of gold, goblets of gold, pitchers of gold, lead, sceptres for the king's hand, (and) staves I received' (see *RP* v. 41). But towards the end of Jehu's reign Hazael, left unmolested by Assyria, invaded the territory of the Transjordanic tribes with such effect as to reduce them to complete submission (2 K 10$^{32.33}$). He afterwards invaded the South, taking Gath, and forcing even Jerus. to capitulate. In Israel itself, during the reign of Jehoahaz, the son and successor of Jehu, Hazael's successes were so great that the fighting men were reduced to the merest minimum (2 K 13^{7}). The tide of fortune began to turn in the reign of his son Jehoash, who is said to have recovered from Benhadad III. all the cities taken from his father by Hazael. He also defeated an expedition sent out by Amaziah, king of Judah, and proceeded to invest Jerus., where he broke down a large part of the wall and reduced it to submission (2 K 14^{13}). It was during his reign that Ramman-nirari, the warlike grandson of Shalmaneser II., defeated the feeble Mari'a, the successor of Benhadad III., and even took Damascus; but it is not certain whether the Israelites were affected by this campaign. The Syrians being thus temporarily crushed, and the Assyrians being at first too much engaged with Eastern affairs, and afterwards too much weakened by internal discords and the feebleness of their rulers to interfere, the kingdom of Isr. continued to gain strength, and reached the height of its power under Jeroboam II., who even 'recovered Damascus and Hamath' (2 K 14^{28}).

With Jeroboam's death the kingdom rapidly declined. Divided by political factions, enervated by its moral corruption and social selfishness (Hos 4$^{11-14}$, Am 2^{8} 4^{1} 8$^{5.6}$ etc.), it easily fell a prey to the Assyrians, who gained an accession of strength under the warlike Tiglath-pileser III. (Pul, 2 K 15^{19}). With the exception of Pekah, none of the petty kings, who ruled for very short periods, have the least historical importance, except so far as by their folly or selfishness they advanced the ruin of their country. Twice Tiglath-pileser successfully invaded the North, and on both occasions probably Menahem paid tribute, thereby reducing his country to vassalage for the sake of securing his own rule, and in order to obtain money had to impose heavy taxes (2 K 15$^{19\text{f.}}$). A spirited effort to resist Assyria was made by Pekah, who, like so many of the kings of Israel, gained his kingdom by the sword. In alliance with Rezin, king of Damascus, he invaded Judah (in 735), in order to depose Ahaz and set up the Syrian Tabeel, with a view to forming an alliance against Assyria (Is 7$^{1-9}$). But Ahaz had already submitted, and sent tribute, to Tiglath-pileser, and in the next year the latter invaded the North and utterly defeated Rezin and other Syrian members of the alliance, capturing and spoiling no fewer than 591 Syrian cities. At the same time the Israelitish cities east of Jordan fell into his hands (2 K 15^{29}), and the population was taken captive; some of the Western cities were also taken. Pekah himself was forced to take refuge in Samaria, while the rest of the country was reduced to a desert. The final effort to throw off the Assyr. yoke made by Hoshea, who adopted the fatal policy of allying himself with So (Shabaka), king of Egypt (2 K

17^{4}), brought about the invasion of Israel by Shalmaneser, and the final captivity of Israel (in 721).

The most striking feature in the history of the kingdom of Israel is its want of stability. There was no one central bond, either religious or political, to unite the people and infuse a national spirit. The seat of royalty was constantly being changed —Shechem, Tirzah, Samaria. Dynasty followed dynasty; one succeeding the other by violence. The longest, that of Jehu, lasted only five generations. The king generally held his life in his hands, and often had to maintain his authority by acts of terrorism and cruelty. There was no central religious shrine to inspire a common feeling of reverence. Religious worship, if not always absolutely revolting, as in the days of Ahab and Ahaziah, was to a large extent heathenish in its methods and conceptions (Hos 4^{13} 7^{14} Am 4^{5} 8^{14}), and in the declining days of the nation's history exercised no influence on its social life. At the same time the history has its elements of interest. While the Judæans, in their isolated position on the S. hills, were developing that marked national character which has distinguished them from other nations, the Isr. were constantly coming in contact with the Can. and other foreign tribes. From these they derived not merely the evils of a bad religious influence, but also many of the advantages of a higher civilization and culture. Humanly speaking there were greater possibilities in the N. than in the S. Until almost the last page of their history, from Elijah downwards, all the great prophets came from the North, or, like Amos, carried on their work there. If in the more refined worship of Solomon's temple was the germ of the stately ritual of post-exilic Judaism, we must confess that it was in the teaching of Northern prophets, such as Elijah and Hosea, that we can trace the main growth of those spiritual truths which became the precious heritage of the Jews, and through them of the Christian world.

LITERATURE.—Apart from the historical books of OT and the works of the prophets Amos and Hosea, the most important sources of information are the monumental remains, esp. those of Assyria. Collections of these are contained in *RP*, Schrader, *COT*. The history has been thoroughly treated in Ewald's *HI* (Tr. 1883-1885), and those of Wellhausen, Kittel, and Reuss. On archæological questions, Nowack's *Heb. Arch.* 1894, is by far the best. The 'Books of Kings' in the *Speaker's Commentary*, though from a critical point of view behind the time, still contains much useful information. *A History of the Hebrew People* by Professor Kent is an excellent book, and quite up to date. The second volume appeared after this article was written.

F. H. WOODS.

ISRAELITE (Jn 1^{47}).—See NATHANAEL.

ISSACHAR (יששכר, pointed by the Massoretes יִשָּׂשכָר;* Yissākār, the second ש being ignored, but the true pointing should probably be יֵשׁ שָׂכָר; LXX Swete Ἰσσαχάρ (but Tisch. Ἰσσάχαρ), and so NT, Treg. WH; Ἰσαχάρ TR).—**1.** The ninth son of Jacob and the fifth of Leah, Gn 30^{18} 35^{23} etc. The meaning of the name is uncertain. Probably it means 'there is a reward' (cf. Jer 31^{16}, 2 Ch 15^{7}); if Wellhausen's suggestion (*Text der Büch. Sam.* 95), that the name should be interpreted as אִישׁ שָׂכָר, is correct, it will probably mean 'hired labourer,' though it might also be translated 'man of reward,' whatever the precise sense of that might be. In favour of the view that it means 'hired labourer' is the character given to the tribe in the Blessing of Jacob (Gn 49$^{14.15}$). Kuenen (*ThT* v. 292 f.) has inferred from this passage that it is to its subject condition that the tribe owes its name. Ball (*SBOT Genesis*, on Gn 30^{18}) thinks it may mean 'Sokar's man,' Sokar or Seker being an Egyptian god, but perhaps is a designation of the tribal totem, meaning 'The Red' and referring to the ass (cf. Gn 49^{14}). In Genesis a double explanation of the name is given. J accounts for it by the fact that Leah hired Jacob from Rachel with the mandrakes found by Reuben (Gn 30^{16}). E interprets it as a reward conferred by God on Leah, because she had given Zilpah to Jacob (v.^{18}).

Our knowledge of the tribe is very meagre. Its territory in Palestine is of uncertain extent, for the delimitation of its boundaries in Jos 19$^{17-23}$ is from P (cf. Dillm. *ad loc.*, and Moore on Jg 5^{15}). It lay S. of Zebulun and Naphtali, and N. of Manasseh. On the E. it was bounded by the Jordan. Whether it ever reached the sea is uncertain (see Dt 33$^{18.19}$). Probably it remained an inland tribe. Its lot included nominally the very fertile plain of Esdraelon, but this was for the most part in the possession of the Canaanites. Robinson says: 'We were greatly struck with the richness and productiveness of the splendid plains, especially of Lower Galilee, including that of Esdraelon. . . . Zebulun and Issachar had the cream of Palestine' (*BRP*^{2} iii. 160). Since the tribe is not mentioned in Jg 1, we do not know anything of the circumstances of its settlement in Palestine. Apparently both Deborah and Barak belonged to it, and in Deborah's Song (Jg 5^{15}) it is mentioned as having taken part in the battle against Sisera. One of the judges, Tola, is said to have belonged to it (Jg 10$^{1.2}$, on the text of which see Moore's note). Baasha, who conspired against, slew, and succeeded Nadab the son of Jeroboam I., also sprang from this tribe (1 K 15^{27}). In the Blessing of Jacob (Gn 49$^{14.15}$) the tribe is taunted with its indolent preference of undisturbed enjoyment of its fruitful land to independence. The reference would be to a later period than the conflict with Sisera, in which it had taken a distinguished part. No reproach is uttered in the Blessing of Moses (Dt 33$^{18.19}$). The latter passage is obscure (see Driver's note), but it apparently refers to the possession by Zebulun and Issachar of sanctuaries to which non-Israelites ('the peoples') resorted, and to material advantages which these tribes thus secured. 'The peoples' (v.^{19}) would probably be Phœnicians, on account of the reference to 'the abundance of the seas.'

According to P the numbers of this tribe at the first census amounted to 54,400 (Nu 1^{29}), at the second to 64,300 (26^{25}); while the Chronicler gives the number in the time of David as 145,600. Unfortunately we can attach no weight to any of these figures.

2. Mentioned in the Chronicler's list of Korahite doorkeepers as the seventh son of Obed-edom (1 Ch 26^{5}).

A. S. PEAKE.

ISSHIAH (יִשִּׁיָּה).—**1.** One of the heads of the tribe of Issachar, 1 Ch 7^{3} (AV **Ishiah**). **2.** A Korahite who joined David at Ziklag, 1 Ch 12^{6} (AV **Jesiah**). **3.** The son of Uzziel, 1 Ch 23^{20} (AV **Jesiah**), 24^{25}. **4.** A Levite, 1 Ch 24^{21}. See GENEALOGY.

ISSHIJAH (יִשִּׁיָּה).—One of those who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10^{31} (AV **Ishijah**), called in 1 Es 9^{32} Aseas.

ISSUE.—See MEDICINE.

ISTALCURUS (A Ἰστάλκουρος, B Ἰστάκαλκος) 1 Es 8^{40}.—'Uthi the son of Istalcurus' here stands for 'Uthai and Zabbud' in Ezr 8^{14} (A καὶ Ζαβούδ, B om.). The name is apparently a corruption of the form in the Ḳĕrê וְזַכּוּר ('and Zaccur'). See ZABBUD.

ITALA VERSION.—See VERSIONS.

ITALIAN BAND.—See AUGUSTUS' BAND.

---

* Ben-Naphtali (Baer, *Gen.* p. 84) points יִשְׂשָׂכָר.

ITALY (Ἰταλία), the geog. term for the country containing the headquarters of the Rom. empire, was originally applied only to the S. part of the peninsula round the Gulf of Tarentum. It was afterwards extended to include all the country to the foot of the Alps. Jews first attained prominence in Italy after the triumph of Pompey, B.C. 62, and, under the protection of Julius Cæsar, they rapidly increased in numbers. They seem to have characteristically appropriated a quarter of the capital, and spread to other cities. Horace (*Sat.* I. ix. 69, 'vin' tu curtis Judæis oppedere') and Juvenal (*Sat.* iii. 296 and xiv. 96, 'Judaicum ediscunt jus') speak of them as a constant element in the population. In A.D. 50 an imperial edict of Claudius banished the Jews from Rome, possibly owing to riots between the latter and the Christians (Suet. *Claud.* xxv.) as to the claims of Christ to be the Messiah. Aquila and Priscilla are mentioned among the exiles (Ac 18^2) from I., which is apparently used as almost synonymous with Rome. See, further, Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 232 ff., and the Literature cited there.

Cornelius, the first Gentile convert to Christianity, is described as a member of the Italian band or cohort (Ac 10^1), *i.e.* the regiment recruited in I., and consisting of native Italians, as distinguished from troops levied in the provinces. See AUGUSTUS' BAND.

I. is again mentioned as the destination of St. Paul (Ac 27^1) when he appealed to Cæsar. The ship on which the prisoners were embarked was on its way back to Adramyttium in Mysia, and would call at several ports on the coast of Asia, at one of which the centurion intended to transfer his charges to a vessel bound for Rome. This shows the existence of a considerable trade between that city and the Mediter. ports. The expression in He 13^{24} 'they of I. (οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας) salute you,' is of too uncertain meaning to decide anything as to either the destination or the place of composition of this Epistle.

Christianity was introduced into I. in early times, probably on the return of the Roman Jews who are called 'strangers from Rome' (Ac 2^{10}) to their native country after the Feast of Pentecost. The Ep. to the Romans, written about A.D. 58, points to the existence of a numerous body of Christians in that city who were partly Jews and partly Gentiles (Ro 1^{13}). C. H. PRICHARD.

ITERATE.—Sir 41^{23} 'Of iterating and speaking again, that which thou hast heard' (ἀπὸ δευτερώσεως, RV 'Of repeating'). Cf. Knox, *Works*, iii. 56, 'I knaw ye will say, it [the Mass] is none uther sacrifice, but the self same, save that it is iteratit and renewit'; Boyle, *Works*, iv. 552, 'Having wiped and cleansed away the spot, I iterated the experiment.' The mod. 'reiterate' is scarcely equivalent. J. HASTINGS.

ITHAI (אִתַי).—A Benjamite, one of David's heroes, 1 Ch 11^{31}. In the parallel passage 2 S 23^{29}, the name is אִתַּי ITTAI (wh. see).

ITHAMAR (אִיתָמָר 'island of palms' (?)*) is known to us only from P and the Chronicler. According to these writers I. was the youngest son of Aaron by Elisheba (Ex 6^{23}, Nu 3^2 26^{60}, 1 Ch 6^3 24^1). Together with his three brothers, and Aaron their father, he was consecrated to the priesthood (Ex 28^1), but the two elder brothers Nadab and Abihu were slain for offering strange fire (Lv 10; cf. Nu 3^4 26^{61}, 1 Ch 24^2).

During the wilderness wanderings the tabernacle and its equipment, together with the Gershonites and Merarites, were under the supreme direction of Ithamar (Ex 38^{21}, Nu 4$^{28.33}$, 7^8). In the reign of David the families of Eleazar and I. are said to have been divided into courses in the proportion of two to one (cf. 1 Ch 24$^{3.4}$). The compiler of the books of Chronicles represents the high priesthood as descending in unbroken succession until the captivity in the family of Eleazar (1 Ch 6$^{3-14}$). But in the earlier historical books we find the ark under the charge of Eli and his descendants, and a comparison of 1 Ch 24^3, 1 S 22^9, 14^3 would suggest that Eli belonged to the house of I. Josephus expressly states that this was the case (*Ant.* VIII. i. 3). See **High Priest** under PRIESTS AND LEVITES. W. C. ALLEN.

ITHIEL (אִיתִיאֵל, prob. 'with me is God').—**1.** A Benjamite (Neh 11^7). See GENEALOGY. **2.** One of two persons to whom Agur addressed his oracular sayings, the other being Ucal (Pr 30^1). Neither LXX nor Vulg. recognizes a proper name here, and most modern commentators point differently, לָאִיתִי אֵל לָאִיתִי אֵל וָאֵכֶל instead of לְאִיתִיאֵל לְאִיתִיאֵל וְאֻכָל, and tr. 'I have wearied myself, O God, I have wearied myself, O God, and am consumed.' So RVm. H. A. WHITE.

ITHLAH (יִתְלָה, B Σειλαθά, A Ἰεθλά, AV Jethlah).—A town of Dan, near Aijalon, Jos 19^{42}. The site is unknown.

ITHMAH (יִתְמָה).—A Moabite, one of David's heroes, 1 Ch 11^{46}.

ITHNAN (יִתְנָן).—A city in the Negeb of Judah (Jos 15^{23}) whose site is uncertain. It is preceded by Hazor and followed by Ziph. In the B text of the LXX it is combined with the former of these names, Ἀσοριωνάιν, and in A with the latter Ἰθναζίφ, although Luc. has Ἰθνάν, Ζείφ.

ITHRA (יִתְרָא 'abundance' (?), Ἰοθόρ). — The father of Amasa, and husband of Abigail, David's sister. He is described as an Israelite (2 S 17^{25}), but the Chronicler undoubtedly has the better reading, 'Jether the Ishmaelite' (1 Ch 2^{17} יֶתֶר הַיִּשְׁמְעֵאלִי; B Ἰοθόρ, A Ἰεθέρ), which is also given by A at 2 S 17. See JETHER.

ITHRAN (יִתְרָן).—**1.** Eponym of a Horite clan, Gn 36^{26}, 1 Ch 1^{41}. **2.** An Asherite chief, 1 Ch 7^{37}, possibly identical with Jether of the following verse. See GENEALOGY.

ITHREAM (יִתְרְעָם 2 S 3^5; B Ἰεθεραάμ, A Εἰεθεραάμ; 1 Ch 3^3 Ἰθαράμ, A Ἰεθράμ, *Jethraam*), the sixth son of David by EGLAH (wh. see), born to him at Hebron.

ITHRITE, THE (הַיִּתְרִי; B ὁ Αἰθειραῖος, ὁ Ἐθθεναῖος, ὁ Ἡθηρεί [ℵ ὁ Ἰθηρεί], Ἰοθηρεί; A Ἐθραῖος, Τεθρίτης, Ἰεθερί), a gentilic adjective applied to the descendants of a family of Kiriath-jearim (1 Ch 2^{53}), amongst whom were two of David's guard (2 S 23^{38}, 1 Ch 11^{40} IRA and GAREB). Possibly, however, the text of 2 S 23 and 1 Ch 11 should be pointed הַיַּתִּרִי = 'the Jattirite' (so Thenius, Klostermann, Budde), *i.e.* an inhabitant of Jattir (mentioned in 1 S 30^{27} as one of David's haunts) in the hill-country of Judah (Jos 15^{48} 21^{14}). The Peshiṭta (2 S 23^{38a}, 1 Ch 11$^{40\,bis}$) reads ܕܝܬܝܪ ܡܢ (=of Jattir), cf. its rendering 2 S 20^{26}. J. F. STENNING.

ITS.—'Its' does not occur in AV of 1611. But in Lv 25^5 'it' was used where we should now use 'its' ('That which groweth of it owne accord of thy harvest, thou shalt not reape'), and in 1660 this was changed into 'its,' and is so printed in all modern editions. That is the only place in which even in modern edd. the word is found.

---

* See Hommel, *Anc. Heb. Trad.* 116; Gray, *Heb. Proper Names*, 246 n.

There is no doubt that about 1611 'its' had begun to struggle for recognition. But it is not once used by Spenser; and although it is found nine times in Shakespeare's First Folio (five of these in *Winter's Tale*), it is suspected that they were all introduced after his death. Bacon has it very rarely; Milton three times in his poetry (*PL* i. 254, iv. 813; *Ode on Nativity*, 106) and twice in his prose. By the time of Milton's death the word was established in the language.

The third pers. pron. in Anglo-Saxon was—

	Mas.	Fem.	Neut.
Nom.	*he*	*heo*	*hit*
Gen.	*his*	*hire*	*his*

The mas. forms are still in use; the fem. were both changed early; the nom. of the neut. lost its *h*, but retained *his* as the regular form for the gen. (*i.e.* possessive) up to the time we have spoken of. Consequently in AV *his* is the usual poss. case of 'it' as well as of 'he.' Thus Gn 3^{15} 'it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel' (Tind. 'And that seed shall tread the on the heed, and thou shalt tread hit on the hele'); Lv 23^{37} 'everything upon his day'; Nu 20^{8} 'speak ye unto the rock, and it shall give forth his water'; Pr 23^{31} 'Look not thou upon the wine when it is red, when it giveth his colour in the cup, when it moveth itself (1611 it selfe) aright'; 2 Es 4^{19} 'the sea also hath his place to bear his floods'; Wis 19^{20} 'The fire had power in the water, forgetting his own virtue; and the water forgat his own quenching nature.'

But when the poss. of both genders was the same there was always the risk of some confusion. Examples that need attention are, Lv 1^{15} 'And the priest shall bring it unto the altar, and wring off his (RV 'its') head, and burn it on the altar'; 1 S 6^{9} 'if it goeth up by the way of his own coast to Bethshemesh' (RV 'its own border'); 2 S 6^{17} 'And they brought in the ark of the LORD, and set it in his place' (RV 'its'); Dn 7^{9} 'I beheld till the thrones were cast down, and the Ancient of days did sit, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool: his (mas.) throne was like the fiery flame, and his (neut.) wheels (RV 'the wheels thereof') as burning fire'); Mt 6^{33} 'But seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness' (*i.e.* 'God's righteousness; but Tind. has 'the kyngdome of heven and the rightwisnes therof,' and he is followed by Cov., Cran., and Gen.; Rhem. 'the justice of him'; Bish. as AV, which is practically the trⁿ of Wyc. 'seke ye first the kyngdom of god and his rightfulnesse'; RV 'But seek ye first his kingdom, and his righteousness,' omitting *τοῦ θεοῦ* with edd.); 1 Co 15^{38} 'But God giveth it a body as it hath pleased him, and to every seed his own body' (RV 'a body of its own').

Various methods were adopted to avoid confusion between 'his' mas. and neut. (1) The use of 'it' for the poss. is regarded as a dialectic peculiarity, belonging to the North-Western counties. Its single occurrence in AV (Lv 25^{5}) comes from the Geneva version.* Its presence in Shaks. is sometimes due to imitation of the language of childhood; thus *King John II.* i. 160—

> 'Go to it grandam, child:
> Give grandam kingdom, and it grandam will
> Give it a plum, a cherry, and a fig.'

But this is not always the case; and examples may be quoted from other authors, as *Judgement of Synode of Dort* (1619), p. 9, 'Election . . . is to bee propounded with the spirit of discretion, religiously, and holily, in it place and time.' Indeed the often occurring 'it self' in AV 1611, is an example just as good as 'it own': cf. Bp. Hall, *Works*, ii. 79 ('Contemplations,' bk. iii.), 'Why may wee not distinguish of fire, as it is it selfe, a bodily creature, and as it is an instrument of God's justice, so working, not by any materiall vertue, or power of it owne, but by a certain height of supernaturall efficacie, to which it is exalted by the omnipotence of that supreme and righteous Judge?' (2) Occasionally *the* was used for 'his,' as in Robynson's trⁿ of More's *Utopia* (Lumby's ed. p. 101), 'They marveile also that golde, whych of the owne nature is a thing so unprofytable, is nowe amonge all people in so hyghe estimation.' (3) Sometimes the noun was personified and the fem. *her* then used. This is Milton's favourite device, as in *Hymn on Nativity*, 140—

> 'And Hell it self will pass away,
> And leave her dolorous mansions to the peering day.'

Cf. Tindale's trⁿ of Nu $4^{9.10}$ 'And they shall take a cloth of Iacyncte and cover the candelsticke of light and hir lampes and hir snoffers and fyre pannes and all hir oyle vessels which they occupye aboute it, and shall put apon her and on all hir instrumentes, a coverynge of taxus skynnes, and put it apon staves.' So in AV, Jon 1^{15} 'the sea ceased from her raging'; Rev 22^{2} 'the tree of life, which . . . yielded her fruit every month.' (4) Occasionally 'of it' was adopted, as Dn 7^{5} 'it had three ribs in the mouth of it, between the teeth of it.' (5) Very often the phrase was slightly turned, and 'thereof' used, as by Fuller, *Pisgah Sight*, p. 40, 'Twice was it [Solomon's Temple] pillaged by foreign foes, and four times by her own friends before the final destruction thereof.' But 'the most curious thing of all in the history of the word "its" is the extent to which, before its recognition as a word admissible in serious composition, even the occasion for its employment was avoided or eluded. This is very remarkable in Shakespeare. The very conception which we express by "its" probably does not occur once in his works for ten times that it is to be found in any modern writer. So that we may say the invention, or adoption, of this form has changed not only our English style, but even our manner of thinking.'—Craik, *Eng. of Shaks.* p. 103.

J. HASTINGS.

ITTAI (אִתַּי, perh. 'companionable').—**1.** A native of Gath, whence he was banished (?) (2 S 15^{19}) with 600 followers, who with their families (v.^{22}) joined David not long (v.^{20}) before the revolt of Absalom. ('After him,' etc., in v.^{18} refers to Ittai, whose name has probably dropped out. So Wellhausen in Driver, *Heb. Text of Sam. ad loc.*). Ewald, following Jos. (*Ant.* VII. ix. 2), identifies this band with the 600 whom David commanded when an outlaw (1 S 23^{13} 25^{13} 27^{2} 30^{9}), and these, again, with the *gibborim* (mighty men), reading, after Thenius, in v.^{18} *gibborim* for *Gittim*. The LXX and Vulg. are cited as supporting this emendation; but the LXX here is at once conflated and defective. The genuine LXX (acc. to Wellhausen) and the Vulg. interpolation are merely explanatory of 'Cherethites—Gittites.' The *gibborim* of 2 S 16^{6} included the Cherethites, etc.; see also 2 S 23^{8}. David's original followers were Hebrews (1 S 22^{2}), but Ittai's 600 were Philistines (2 S 15^{18} 'from Gath,' ^{20} 'thy brethren'); on the other hand they were different from the Cherethites, etc., whose captain was Benaiah. It may be added that the phrase 'the Gittith' (titles of Ps 8. 81. 84) is rendered by Hitzig and Delitzsch 'a march of the Gittite guard.'

---

* The LXX is *τὰ αὐτόματα ἀναβαίνοντα*. In Ac 12^{10} the same Gr. word (*ἥτις αὐτομάτη ἠνοίχθη* [edd. *ἠνοίγη*] *αὐτοῖς*) is trᵈ in AV 'the iron gate . . . which opened to them of his own accord.' In Luther's Bible Lv 25^{5} is *von ihm selber*; Ac 12^{10} *von ihr selbst*. The Gen. NT has in Ac 12^{10} 'which opened to them by it owne accorde.'

The scene in which we first meet Ittai (2 S 15^{19-22}) almost surpasses the parting of Naomi and her daughters-in-law as a portrayal of noble unselfishness, and of intense personal devotion. David, never so kingly as when in affliction, urges Ittai, as a stranger (נָכְרִי), to retire from a desperate cause, bids him either engage in the service of the new king, or return home to Gath, and dismisses him with a gracious benediction. Ittai in reply, swearing by the God of Israel, affirms an undying loyalty. In the battle with Absalom, Ittai was one of David's three generals (2 S $18^{2.5.12}$). It is possible that he fell in the engagement, as we hear of him no more. Jerome (*Qu. Heb.* on 1 Ch 20^2) cites a tradition that it was not David but Ittai that took the crown off the head of the Ammonite idol Milcom, it being forbidden to a Hebrew to take, with his own hands, gold or silver from an idol. **2.** 2 S 23^{29} (1 Ch 11^{31} **Ithai** אִתַי) one of David's heroes. N. J. D. WHITE.

ITURÆA is the EV translation of the first term in St. Luke's description of Philip's tetrarchy (*τῆς Ἰτουραίας καὶ Τραχωνίτιδος χώρας*, Lk 3^1, AV 'Ituræa and the region of Trachonitis'). But Ramsay has shown (*Expositor*, 1894, ix. pp. 51 ff., 143 ff., 288 ff.) that the word is not used as a noun by any writer before Eusebius in the 4th cent. after Christ, and doubtfully even by him (so not even in Jos. *Ant.* XIII. xi. 3, where Niese reads *Ἰτουραίους*; nor in Appian, *Civ.* v. 7: read *τὴν Ἰτουραίων*). Strabo calls it *τὴν Ἰτουραίων ὀρεινήν* (XVI. ii. 16), and *τὰ Ἀράβων μέρη καὶ τῶν Ἰτουραίων* (XVI. ii. 20), and Dio Cassius, *τὴν τῶν Ἰτουραίων τῶν Ἀράβων* (lix. 12). Epiphanius (*adv. Hæres.* xix. 1) uses the adjective *ἀπὸ τῆς Ναβατικῆς χώρας καὶ Ἰτουραίας*, and Ramsay (*op. cit.* 289 n. 2) argues for the adjectival meaning of *Ἰτουραῖοι* even in Euseb. (*Onom.* ed. Lag. 268, 298), and more doubtfully in Jerome's translation. Elsewhere, in Greek and Latin authors, it is the name of the people which is given, *Ἰτουραῖοι*, *Ituræi*, *Ityrei*, etc. 'There remains, then, no single passage in ancient literature to justify the noun which has been forced on Luke' (Ramsay, 289), which noun, further, would render the sentence 'degenerate Greek,' 'in utter disregard of the rules of Greek expression as observed by the older classical authors' (*ib.* 144).

The Ituræans were well known to the Romans as a race of hardy archers, and they frequently appear in the pages of Latin writers. They fought with Cæsar in the African war (*Bell. Afric.* 20), and formed a bodyguard for Mark Antony when he was triumvir, rattling with their arms through the forum to the indignation of Cicero (*Philipp.* ii. 19, 112, xiii. 18). Virgil sings them, 'Ituræos taxi torquentur in arcus' (*Georg.* ii. 448), and Lucan, 'Ituræis cursus fuit inde sagittis' (*Pharsal.* vii. 230), 'tunc et Ituræi Medique Arabesque soluto arcu turba minax' (*ib.* vii. 514). In A.D. 110 there was a 'cohors I Augusta Ituræorum sagittariorum' (*CIL* t. iii. 868). About A.D. 255 we have the statement 'habes sagittarios Ityræos trecentos' (Vopiscus, *Vita Aureliani*, c. 11), and in his Gazetteer of the geographical terms of the Latin poets, Vibius Sequester (*c.* A.D. 500) names them as 'Ithyrei, vel Itharei, Syrii usu sagittæ periti' (ed. Hesselii, 155).

The quotations given above from Strabo, Appian, and Lucan[*] call them or associate them with both Arabs and Syrians; and, as Schürer points out (*HJP* I. ii. App. I. 'History of Chalcis, Ituræa, and Abilene,' 326), the proper names of Ituræan soldiers, mentioned in Latin inscriptions, are Syrian (cf. Münter, *de Rebus Ituræorum*, 1824, 8-10, 40 ff.; *CIL* t. iii. n. 4371; *C. I. Rhenan*, ed. Brambach, 1233 f.). This agrees with the position assigned to them on and about the skirts of the Lebanons; and considering the incessant drift upon these parts of nomad Arabs from the neighbouring deserts, we ought probably to see in the Ituræans the descendants of **Jetur** (יְטוּר) mentioned in Gn 25^{15} and 1 Ch 1^{31} as among the sons of Ishmael, *i.e.* as Arabian desert tribes. Eupolemus (*c.* B.C. 150), quoted by Eusebius (*Præp. Evang.* ix. 30), mentions Ituræans along with Ammonites, Moabites, Nabatæans, etc., as among the objects of David's campaigns E. of the Jordan.

Because of this semi-nomadic state and this gradual drift from the desert to the fertile parts of Syria, the exact territory of the Ituræans is difficult, if not impossible, to define. Josephus places the Ituræan kingdom in or upon the N. of Galilee in B.C. 105 (*Ant.* XIII. xi. 3), when Aristobulus having defeated them added a large part of their territory to Judæa. Upon an inscription of about A.D. 6 (*Ephemeris Epigraphica*, 1881, 537–542) Q. Æmilius Secundus relates that being sent by Quirinius 'adversus Ituræos in Libano monte castellum eorum cepi.' Dio Cassius (xlix. 32) calls Lysanias, who ruled Lebanon from Damascus to the sea with his capital at Chalcis, king of the Ituræans; and the same writer (lix. 12) and Tacitus (*Ann.* xii. 23) call Soemus, who was tetrarch in Lebanon (Jos. *Vita*, 11), their governor; while Strabo places them in Anti-Lebanon with their centre at Chalcis in the Beka'. This evidence appears to prove Schürer's conclusion, that Anti-Lebanon and the valley to the east was the centre of the Ituræans just before and at the beginning of the Christian era; and Ramsay's contention, that 'the true home of such a race is *not* the long-settled and well-governed land between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon,' conflicts not only with the data of classical writers, but with the constant proof of how rich lands in Syria were being overrun and occupied by nomadic tribes from the desert. It is probable, however, that the Ituræans extended their influence eastwards and south-eastwards from Anti-Lebanon. About B.C. 25 Zenodorus leased the domains of Lysanias, whom Dio Cassius (xlix. 32) calls king of the Ituræans, and Zenodorus' territory included Ulatha, Paneas, and the country round about. The question remains, whether the 'Ituræan region' extended so far as to include or overlap Trachonitis, the country around the Trachons, one of which is the modern Lejá. Ramsay maintains that, both according to St. Luke's statement and as a matter of fact, it did. But of the latter there is absolutely no evidence before Eusebius in the 4th cent., and in face of such silence his testimony about the east of the Jordan in the beginning of the 1st cent. cannot be allowed to prevail. In the absence of evidence, the following facts are all we have to go by. Names have been constantly in drift in that part of Syria, and as Philo extended over all Philip's tetrarchy the name of its eastern portion Trachonitis (*Legat. ad Gaium*, 41) it is possible that the adjective 'Ituræan' may likewise have been sometimes extended eastward so as to cover Trachonitis, especially as the Ituræans themselves were probably driven in that direction after the Romans took their Lebanon territory from them. At the same time, Strabo, writing after this was accomplished, still treats of Ituræa and Trachonitis as distinct. Whether, therefore, St. Luke meant by his phrase *τῆς Ἰτουραίας καὶ Τραχωνίτιδος χώρας* 'two distinct portions of Philip's tetrarchy or two equivalent or overlapping names for it; and whether on either of these interpretations of his words he was correct —are questions to which the geographical data of the 1st cent. supply us with no certain answer.'[*] Besides the literature quoted above, see the present writer's *HGHL* 544 ff., and *Expositor*, 1894, viii. 406, ix. 51 ff., 143 ff., 231 ff., 331 f.

---

[*] Cf. Arrian, *Al. An.* 18: *οἱ πεζοὶ τοξόται οἱ τῶν Νομάδων καὶ Κυρηναίων, καὶ Βοσπορανῶν τε καὶ Ἰτουραίων.*

G. A. Smith.

IVORY (שֵׁן *shên*, ἐλεφάντινος).—The word *shên* signifies a *tooth*, and is freq. employed in its orig. sense in OT (Ex 21^{24}, Lv 24^{20} etc.). It is also freq. used in the sense of *ivory*, as being the *elephant's tooth* (AVm 1 K 10^{22}; see שֶׁנְהַבִּים under Elephant). Once ivory is spoken of as 'horns of teeth,' קַרְנוֹת שֵׁן (Ezk 27^{15}). The word *horns* alludes to the shape of the tusk, but its construction with teeth shows that the Hebrews understood what ivory really was. The context always makes it clear when *shên* should be rendered *ivory*.

In Ps 45^{8} הֵיכְלֵי שֵׁן prob. refers to *palaces* or *chambers* in them, inlaid with ivory (cf. בָּתֵּי הַשֵּׁן Am 3^{15}, and בֵּית הַשֵּׁן 1 K 22^{39}). Chambers with elaborate panellings of ivory and ebony exist in Damascus and other cities of the East to-day. Tables, stands, screens, picture-frames, pipes, and many other articles, inlaid with ivory, mother-of-pearl, silver and gold, are found in the houses of well-to-do people in the East. Solomon imported large quantities of ivory (1 K 10^{22}). His throne was made of it (1 K 10^{18-20}). It was also used for making or inlaying couches (Am 6^{4}), and the benches of galleys (Ezk 27^{6}).

The Egyp. and Assyr. monuments allude to the trade in ivory, and porters bearing tusks are figured on them. Among the merchandise of Babylon (Rev 18^{12}) were vessels of ivory. It was probably brought to Pal. by the caravans ('travelling companies') of Dedanîm (Is 21^{13}), as well as the ships of Tarshish (1 K 10^{22}). The 'tower of ivory' (Ca 7^{4}) may have been a tower richly ornamented with this substance, or a figure to illustrate the whiteness of the bride's neck, as we say 'a snowy neck,' or 'an alabaster arm.'

G. E. Post.

IVVAH (עִוָּה; LXX variants are numerous, see Swete).—According to 2 K 18^{34} (wanting in B of LXX), 19^{13} (=Is 37^{13}; the name is wanting in both MT and LXX of Is 36^{19}) a city conquered by the Assyrians, named along with Sepharvaim and Hena. It is frequently identified with **Avva** (עַוָּא), whence, according to 2 K 17^{24}, Sargon (but see Winckler, *Alttest. Untersuchungen*, 100 ff.) brought colonists to Samaria. Regarding Avva no information is to be gathered from the inscriptions (Schrader, *KAT*^{2} 281, 384 [*COT*^{2} i. 273, ii. 8]). Hommel (*Expos. Times*, April, 1898, p. 330 f.) supports the view that Hena and Ivvah (or, as he prefers, Avvah) are not places at all, but the names of the two chief gods of the three Syrian cities, Hamath, Arpad, and Sepharvaim. (For the grounds of this conclusion and the various stages through which he holds the MT to have passed before reaching its present form in 2 K $17^{30f.}$, see the article just cited). Winckler (*op. cit.*), on the other hand, considers that the parallelism, not to speak of other reasons, requires in 2 K 18^{34} 19^{13} (=Is 37^{13}) *one* place name, which, judging from the variety of LXX readings, has been ill preserved, but may have been Avvah or Ivvah, and must have designated a city coming within the sphere of vision of the Jews—probably situated, like Sepharvaim, in Syria.

J. A. Selbie.

IVY (κίσσος, *hedera*).—This plant was sacred to Bacchus. The Jews were compelled, at the time of the feast of this god, to carry ivy in procession in his honour (2 Mac 6^{7}). The 'corruptible crown' (1 Co 9^{25}) of the Isthmian games was sometimes made of its leaves, at other times it was a garland of pine. The ivy, *Hedera Helix*, L., grows wild in Pal. and Syria, and climbs up the faces of the cliffs along the coast and to the middle zone of the mountain ranges.

G. E. Post.

IYE-ABARIM (עִיֵּי הָעֲבָרִים 'Iyim of the regions beyond,' distinguishing this place from the Iim of Jos 15^{29}).—The station following Oboth mentioned in Nu 21^{11} 33^{44} and described (21^{11}) as 'in the wilderness which is before Moab toward the sunrising,' and more briefly (33^{44}) as 'in the border of Moab.' Nothing is known as to its position beyond these indications. The versions, though affording no geographical information, are interesting in their renderings of the first word; the LXX of 21^{11} has Χαλγλεί B, with a variant Ἀχελγαί in A, and (perhaps) F, and in $33^{44.\,45}$ Γαί. The Syriac takes the word as עַיִן 'fountain,' Targ. Onk. has מגות as its equivalent in 21^{11} and 33^{44}, and in 33^{45}. This word is used for a ford or passage in Targ. of 1 S 13^{23} 14^{4}, and in Targ. Jon. of Gn 32^{22}. See, further, Dillm. on Nu 21^{10}.

A. T. Chapman.

IYIM (עִיִּים 'heaps' or 'ruins').—**1.** Short form of **Iye-abarim** in Nu 33^{45}. See Iye-abarim for renderings of the VSS. **2.** Jos 15^{29} (AV and RV incorrectly **Iim**), a town in Judah, one of the 'uttermost cities toward the border of Edom.' The LXX has Βακώκ B; Αὐείμ A, reading עוים; and Syr. reads עלין.

IYYAR (אִיָּר, Ἰάρ).—See Time.

IZHAR (יִצְהָר 'fresh oil' or 'shining').—Son of Kohath the son of Levi, Ex $6^{18.\,21}$, Nu 3^{19} 16^{1} P, 1 Ch $6^{2.\,18.\,38}$ $23^{12.\,18}$; patron. **Izharites**, Nu 3^{27}, 1 Ch 24^{22} $26^{23.\,29}$.

IZLIAH (יִזְלִיאָה, AV **Jezliah**).—A Benjamite, head of a 'father's house,' 1 Ch 8^{18}. See Genealogy.

IZRAHIAH (יִזְרַחְיָה 'J" will arise *or* shine').—A chief of the tribe of Issachar, 1 Ch 7^{3}. See Genealogy.

IZRAHITES (הַיִּזְרָח).—Gentilic name in 1 Ch 27^{8}, but should probably be read הַיִּזְרָחִי, which is possibly another form of הַזַּרְחִי **Zerahites** vv.$^{11.\,13}$. See Genealogy.

IZRI (יִצְרִי).—Chief of one of the Levitical choirs, 1 Ch 25^{11}, called in v.^{3} **Zeri**. See Genealogy.

IZZIAH (יִזִּיָּה 'J" will sprinkle'?) AV **Jeziah**.—One of those who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{25}), called in 1 Es 9^{26} **Ieddias**. See Genealogy.

---

[*] The identification of the name Jetur or Ituræan with the modern Jedur (*i.e.* Gedur) to the S. of Damascus, is philologically impossible.

J

J.—The symbol used by critics for the Jahwistic document. See HEXATEUCH.

JAAKAN.—See BEEROTH-BENE-JAAKAN.

JAAKOBAH (יַעֲקֹבָה).—A Simeonite prince, 1 Ch 4^{36}. See GENEALOGY.

JAALA (יַעֲלָא Neh 7^{58}) or **JAALAH** (יַעֲלָה Ezr 2^{56}).—The name of a family of the 'sons of Solomon's servants' who returned to Palestine with Zerubbabel. In 1 Es 5^{33} Jeeli. See GENEALOGY.

JAAR (יַעַר).—Usually in OT a common noun, meaning forest or wooded height, *e.g.* Jos 17^{15}, Hos 2^{14}. Once only as proper name, RVm of Ps 132^{6} 'We found it in the field of Jaar.' Here, according to some of the best authorities, it is a poetical name for Kiriath-jearim, 'forest town,' cf. Ps 78^{12} 'field of Zoan.' The name of this place appears in several forms, see Jos $15^{9.60}$, 2 S 6^{2}, and in 1 Ch 13^{5} an account is given of the bringing up of the ark from Kiriath-jearim, where it had lain for twenty years after its restoration by the Philistines. The rendering of this obscure verse,—conjectured to be a fragment of antique song,—which was first suggested by Kühnöl, and has been adopted by Delitzsch, Perowne, and most moderns, would make it run thus: 'We heard of it (the ark) as being at Ephrathah, we found it in the field of Jaar (*i.e.* Kiriath-jearim).' Baethgen, however, understands the word as an appellative, 'auf waldigem Gefilde' (cf. LXX *ἐν ταῖς δασέσι τοῦ δρυμοῦ*, and Jerome 'in regione saltus'; so RV (text) 'in the field of the wood'), referring 'it' to the oath of David quoted in vv.$^{3-5}$, reading 'published' (הוצאנוה) for 'found' (מצאנוה), and supposing the 'wooded field' to be a poetical designation of the country at large. Similarly Ew. (so Targ.), though he explains the 'field of the wood' of Lebanon as representing N. Palestine. However, the general drift of the reference to the ark can hardly be mistaken.

W. T. DAVISON.

JAARE-OREGIM (יַעֲרֵי אֹרְגִים; BA Ἀριωργείμ, other MSS Ἀρωρί; *saltus polymitarius*), according to 2 S 21^{19}, a Beth-lehemite, the father of Elhanan, who slew Goliath the Gittite. It is, however, highly probable that the text is corrupt, the former part of the name being a mistake for JAIR (יַעֲרֵי for יָעִיר), while the latter half (אֹרְגִים *oregim*=weavers) has been accidentally repeated from the following line. This view, which is supported by the parallel passage 1 Ch 20^{5} (Ḳerê בֶּן יָעִיר=son of Jair; Kethibh בֶּן יָעוּר), has been adopted by Thenius, Wellh., Driver, and Budde. Klostermann, following the reading of Lucian (Ἐλλανὰν υἱὸς Ἰαδδεὶν υἱοῦ τοῦ Ἐλεμί), prefers to restore 'the son of Dodai the Beth-lehemite' (בֶּן דּוֹדַי בֵּית הַלַּחְמִי, cf. 2 S 23^{24}). The rendering of the Peshiṭta (ܒܪ ܡܠܦ ܐܘܪܓܐ) probably points to the same text as the Hebrew (omitting *Jaare*), though the Arabic, which is based upon it, takes the second word (ܡܠܦ=*doctus*) as a proper name (Malaph). Similarly the Targum of Jonathan hardly presupposes a different text, since its rendering 'and David the son of Jesse, the weaver of the veils of the house of the sanctuary, who was of Bethlehem, slew Goliath the Gittite' (וקטל דוד בר ישי מחי פרוכית בית מקדשא דמבית לחם ית גלית גיתאה), is an obvious attempt at harmonizing the present text with 1 S 17. Jerome seems to have read יַעַר=*saltus*, instead of יַעְרֵי (Jaare), and so far confirms the reading of 1 Ch 20^{5}. For a further discussion of the relation of 1 Ch 20^{5} to 1 S 17 and to 2 S 21^{19}, see SAMUEL (BOOKS OF), and ELHANAN.

J. F. STENNING.

JAARESHIAH (יַעֲרֶשְׁיָה, perhaps = 'J" fattens,' AV **Jaresiah**).—A Benjamite chief, 1 Ch 8^{27}.

JAASIEL (יַעֲשִׂיאֵל).—The 'ruler' of Benjamin, 1 Ch 27^{21}, prob. = '**J. the Mezobaite**' (which see) of 11^{47}.

JAASU (יַעֲשׂוּ Ezr 10^{37} *Kethibh*) or **JAASAI** (יַעֲשַׂי *Kerê*, so RVm), AV Jaasau.—One of those who had married foreign wives in the time of Ezra. LXX, regardless of the meaning, rendered *καὶ ἐποίησαν* ('and they did'), *i.e.* וַיַּעֲשׂוּ for יַעֲשׂוּ.

JAAZANIAH (יַאֲזַנְיָהוּ 2 K 25^{23}, Ezk 8^{11}; יַאֲזַנְיָה Jer 35^{3}, Ezk 11^{1}, 'J" hears.' See also JEZANIAH. LXX 4 K 25^{23}, B Ὀζονίας, A. Luc. Ἰεζονίας, Ezk 8^{11} 11^{1}, Jer 42^{3} [Heb. 35^{3}], B Ἰεχονίας).—**1.** A Judæan, styled 'son of the Maacathite,' one of the military commanders who came to Mizpah to give in their allegiance to Gedaliah, the governor of Judah appointed by Nebuchadrezzar (2 K 25^{23}=Jer 40^{8} **Jezaniah**). After Ishmael, son of Nethaniah, had murdered Gedaliah, and carried captive the Judæans who were left at Mizpah, Jaazaniah, though not mentioned by name, appears to have joined with the other captains of the forces in giving battle to Ishmael and recovering the captives (Jer $41^{11ff.}$). Probably also he was one of those who determined, against the advice of the prophet Jeremiah, to abandon the land of Judah, and to lead the remnant of the people down into Egypt (Jer 42).

2. A chieftain of the clan of the Rechabites, whose fidelity to the commands of his ancestor Jonadab was tested by the prophet Jeremiah as an example to the people of Judah (Jer 35^{3}).

3. Son of Shaphan, who appeared in Ezekiel's vision as ringleader of seventy of the elders of Israel in the practice of secret idolatry at Jerusalem (Ezk 8^{11}).

4. Son of Azzur, one of the princes of the people at Jerusalem, against whose counsels Ezekiel was commanded by J" to prophesy (Ezk $11^{1ff.}$).

C. F. BURNEY.

JAAZIAH (יַעֲזִיָּהוּ).—A son of Merari, 1 Ch $24^{26.27}$. The text is hopelessly corrupt. (Cf. Berth. and Oettli, *ad loc.*; Kittel's proposed restoration of the text and note in Haupt's *Sacred Books of OT*; and Kautzsch's *AT*, *ad loc.*). See GENEALOGY.

JAAZIEL (יַעֲזִיאֵל).—A Levite skilled in the use of the psaltery, 1 Ch 15^{18}, called in v.^{20} **Aziel**. Kittel (see note, *ad loc.*, in Haupt's *SBOT*) would correct the text in both instances to עֻזִּיאֵל Uzziel.

JABAL (יָבָל, LXX A Ἰωβέλ, E Ἰωβήδ, Luc. Ἰωβήλ).—Son of Lamech by Adah, and originator of the nomadic form of life, Gn 4^{20} (J). See König in *Expos. Times*, May, 1898, p. 347^{a}. The meaning of the name is quite uncertain; for conjectures see Dillm. *ad loc.* and Ball in *SBOT*.

JABBOK (יַבֹּק, Ἰαβόκ).—One of the principal rivers of E. Palestine, now called *Wady Zerḳa* from the bluish colour of its water. Its course may be indicated thus: take on a map a point 18 miles E. of the Jordan on the latitude of Nâblus, and from it draw a line 18 miles long due south. On this line as diameter, and to the E. of it, draw a semicircle; and from the N. end of its diameter (the point originally taken) draw a line inclining slightly to the S. as far as the edge of the Jordan valley (here about 5 miles from the river); and from that edge draw a line in a S.W. direction to the Jordan. The figure will give approximately the course of Wady Zerka, though in its numerous windings it continually deviates from the outline figure above indicated. In its upper semicircular portion it forms a boundary between east and west; while in its lower portion it forms a boundary between north and south. These two portions are referred to in Nu 21^{24}, where the territory of Sihon is described as extending 'from Arnon unto Jabbok, even unto the children of Ammon'; *i.e.* the lower portion of the Jabbok formed the N. boundary, while the upper portion formed the E. boundary of Sihon's kingdom; and the verse may be made clear by inserting 'northwards' after Jabbok and 'eastwards' after Ammon. The upper portion is referred to in Dt 2^{37}, where the border of the children of Ammon is described as 'all the side of the river Jabbok.' The river Jabbok is also mentioned as a boundary Dt 3^{16}, Jos 12^{2}, Jg $11^{13.22}$.

One remarkable incident in the patriarchal narratives is connected with this river. Jacob, after sending all that he had over the stream, was left alone to wrestle with the mysterious visitor, and to prevail (Gn $32^{24ff.}$ referred to in Hos 12^{4}). The Heb. word for wrestling (from the root אבק), which is used only here, is similar in sound to *Jabbok,* and it is intended that the name of the river should call to mind this instance of favour shown to the ancestor of the chosen race. A probable derivation of the word is from the root בקק 'pour out.' The river Jabbok is mentioned only in connexion with Jacob, and as a boundary existing at the time of Israel's appearance E. of Jordan, in the passages already noted. A. T. CHAPMAN.

JABESH (יָבֵשׁ).—Father of Shallum, who usurped the kingdom of Israel by the assassination of king Zechariah (2 K $15^{10.13.14}$).

JABESH-GILEAD (יָבֵשׁ גִּלְעָד, also יָבֵשׁ or יָבֵישׁ alone in 1 S $11^{1.3.5.9.10}$ $31^{12.13}$, 1 Ch 10^{12}).—While the history of this East Jordan city as furnished in the Bible is meagre, it gives us vivid pictures of both tragic and tender scenes in ancient Hebrew life. In the early period of Jewish history it seems to have been prominent, and later to have fallen into insignificance. Its first appearance is when the Israelites are said to have made a raid upon it with a powerful force, put all the males and married women to death, destroyed the city, and carried off 400 virgins, who became wives to the Benjamites (Jg 21). Afterwards, when it had regained its position of importance, it was attacked by the Ammonites under Nahash, when Saul, to whom the inhabitants appealed for succour, came quickly with his army and utterly routed the enemy (1 S 11). Later, when Saul and his sons were slain in the disaster at Mount Gilboa, and their bodies were being ill-treated by the Philistine conquerors, the men of Jabesh-gilead rushed into the face of death, recovered the bodies, and saw that they were cared for in the kindest manner and buried with proper honours (1 S 31). David, when he was made king at Hebron, remembered this act, and sent special messengers with commendatory blessings to the men of Jabesh-gilead for their heroic devotion to Saul (2 S 2^{5}). Subsequently the bones of Saul and his sons were brought thence by David and buried in the territory of Benjamin (2 S 21^{12-14}).

No doubt the name Jabesh is preserved in the modern *Yabis,* and when on the line of this stream in the Gilead hills one is near the site of this ancient city. Robinson (*BRP*^{2} iii. 319 f.) suggested a place, *ed-Deir,* lying south of Wady Yabis; but this has no ancient ruins, and, besides, it is some distance off the main road. From researches made in this region by the present writer, a more appropriate place would seem to be *Miryamin,* a point north of Wady Yabis on the ancient road leading over the mountain, where there are massive ancient remains. This is about 7 miles from Pella, and corresponds to the statement of Eusebius in his *Onomasticon* (268. 81), our best authority in the absence of any special biblical indications as to its site (Merrill, *East of the Jordan,* p. 439).

S. MERRILL.

JABEZ (יַעְבֵּץ).—A descendant of Judah, who was 'more honourable than his brethren.' His name is traced to the fact that his mother bare him with *sorrow* (עֹצֶב *'ōẓeb*), 1 Ch 4^{9}. The same play upon words recurs in his prayer or vow in the expression לְבִלְתִּי עָצְבִּי 'that it be not to my *sorrow,*' v.^{10}. (On the correctness of MT see Kittel's note, *ad loc.,* in Haupt's *SBOT,* and on the possibility of a clause having dropped out, Kautzsch, *ad loc.,* in his *AT*).

J. A. SELBIE.

JABEZ (יַעְבֵּץ).—A place inhabited by scribes, apparently in Judah, 1 Ch 2^{55}. The site is unknown.

JABIN (יָבִין 'discerning,' Ἰαβείν, Ἰαβείς).—**1.** King of Hazor in N. Palestine, defeated by Joshua at the Waters of Merom [Jos 11^{1-9} (JE) $^{10-15}$ (D^{2})].

2. Jabin, 'king of Canaan, that reigned in Hazor,' occurs again in Jg 4. He takes no part in the battle of the Kishon, nor is he mentioned in the ancient song (Jg 5). The introduction of Jabin and of Hazor into this narrative creates many difficulties, and the title 'king of Canaan' arouses suspicion. The probability is that two traditions relating to Jabin and Sisera have been united, and harmonized by making Sisera the captain of Jabin's host (cf. Ps $83^{9.10}$, which implies the union of the two traditions). The Jabin tradition probably preserved an account of the early struggles of Naphtali and Zebulun for their territory in the north. The two clans had made Kedesh their headquarters, and successfully defeated Jabin king of Hazor, who had combined with the neighbouring Canaanites to resist the intruders. This tradition forms the basis of the battle of Merom in Jos 11, which has been generalized by the Deut. redactor, and treated as the conquest of N. Palestine by Joshua and all Israel. G. A. COOKE.

JABNEEL (יַבְנְאֵל 'El causeth to build,' B Λεμνά, A Ἰαβνήλ, for other forms see below; in Apocr. Ἰαμνεία or -ία or -νν-, *Jebneel, Jabnia, Jamnia*).—**1.** A town on the northern border of Judah, near the sea, mentioned after Ekron, Shikkeron, and Mount Baalah (Jos 15^{11}). It is not mentioned in the lists of cities of Judah, Dan, or Simeon in the Bk. of Joshua, but in Jos 15^{46} LXX substitutes Γεμνά (B) or Ἰεμναί (A), Jabneh, for MT יָמָּה 'even unto the sea.' It does not appear again in the OT until 2 Ch 26^{6}, where under the name of **Jabneh** (יַבְנֵה, LXX B Ἀβεννήρ, A Ἰαβείς) it is captured along with Gath and Ashdod from the Philistines by king Uzziah, and its wall broken down. Josephus (*Ant.* V. i. 22) describes it as belonging to the tribe of Dan, in company with Gath and Ekron, and mentions it with the inland towns Marissa and Ashdod in contradistinction to the maritime towns Gaza, Joppa, and Dora (*Ant.* XIV. iv. 4; *BJ* I. vii. 7). It is spoken of (Jth 2^{28}) under the name of **Jemnaan** as in fear and dread of Holofernes. Under the name **Jamnia** (1 Mac 4^{15} 5^{58} 10^{69} 15^{40}) it is referred to as a garrison, with plains near it, Gorgias in command (*Ant.* XII. viii. 6). In 2 Mac $12^{8.9.40}$

Judas Maccabæus set fire to the haven and navy of Jamnia, so that the light of the fire was seen at Jerusalem, 240 furlongs off. Pliny (*HN* v. 13) speaks of the two Jamnias 'Jamnes duæ, altera intus,' and places them between Azotus and Joppa. See Reland, *Pal.* p. 823. Ptolemy (v. 16) speaks of the port of the Jamnites between Azotus and Joppa, and subsequently mentions Jamnia among the cities of Judæa.

In common with Ashkelon, Azotus, and Gaza, the harbour or naval arsenal of Jamnia bore the name of *Majumas* (Reland, p. 590 f.; Raumer, Kenrick, *Phœnicia*; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.*). Jamnia was taken from the Syrians (*c.* B.C. 142) by Simon Maccabæus (*Ant.* xiii. vi. 7; *BJ* i. ii. 2), and it was restored (B.C. 63) to its inhabitants by Pompey (*Ant.* xiv. iv. 4); it was repaired or rebuilt (*c.* B.C. 57) by Gabinius (*BJ* i. viii. 4), and was given to the Jews by Augustus (B.C. 30). Herod bequeathed (B.C. 4) Jamnia (*Ant.* xvii. viii. 1) to Salome his sister, and she left it with all its toparchy to Julia the wife of Augustus Cæsar (*Ant.* xviii. ii. 2; *BJ* ii. ix. 1). Philo Judæus (*de Legat. ad Gaium*, Opp. vol. ii. p. 575) states that in this town, the most populous of Judæa, a Roman officer named Capito raised an altar of mud for the deification of the emperor Caligula; the Jews demolished the altar, and the incensed emperor forthwith ordered an equestrian statue of himself to be erected in the Holy of Holies at Jerusalem (*c.* A.D. 37). Strabo (Bk. 16, 'Syria') states that *Iamneia* and the settlements around were so populous that they could furnish 40,000 soldiers. The Talmud abounds with references to the learned Rabbins who frequented the school at Jamnia. Milman (*Hist. of Jews*) states that it contained a school of Jewish learning which obtained great authority, and whether from the rank and character of its head, or from the assemblage of many of the members of the ancient Sanhedrin, who formed a sort of community in that place, it was looked upon with great respect and veneration by the Jews who remained in Palestine. This school was subsequently suppressed by the Romans, owing to the imprudent speeches of the fiery Simon ben-Jochai. Before the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, according to Jewish tradition the Sanhedrin escaped the general wreck. Before the formation of the siege, it had followed Gamaliel, its Nasi, or Prince, to Jabneh (Jamnia; Milman, *Hist. of Jews*). According to tradition also, the great Gamaliel was buried in Jamnia, and his tomb was visited by Parchi in the 14th cent. In the time of Eusebius, Jamnia was but a small place of little importance. It gave a bishop to the Council of Nicæa, and had still a bishop in the time of the emperor Justinian (Epiph. *adv. Hær.* ii. 730).

The Crusaders found the ruins called *Ibelin* (A.D. 1144, William of Tyre), where they built the fortress Ibelin (corrupted from Jabneel), mistaking it for Gath, and it gave its name to the French family of d'Ibelin, one of whom, Jean, count of Jaffa and Ashkelon, restored (*c.* 1255) the famous code of the 'Assises of Jerusalem,' originally composed by Godfrey de Bouillon (Gibbon, ch. 58; Samut. l. iii. p. xii, c. 58). Benjamin of Tudela (*c.* A.D. 1163) identified Ibelin, three parasangs south of Jaffa, as the ancient Jabneh, and states that the site of the schools might still be traced there (*Early Travels*, p. 87). The *Itin. Ant.* places Jamnia 12 MP. from Diospolis (Lydda) and Joppa, 20 MP. from Ashkelon, and 36 MP. from Gaza. It was on the old road from Joppa to Ashkelon, through Jamnia and Azotus (*Peutinger Tables*); another road led to it from Diospolis.

The modern village of *Yebnah* stands on the ruins of the town of Jamnia. It occupies a strong site, 170 ft. above the sea, on an isolated rounded hill, south of the Wady Rûbîn, in the position assigned to it by the *Itin. Ant.*, and the old road from Jaffa to Ashkelon passes by it. The houses are of mud, but there are interesting ruins of a church and also of a mosque erected by Crusaders and Saracens. The ancient *Majumas* or harbour of Jamnia is situated immediately south of the mouth of the Wady Rûbîn. The port seems to have been double, and entered by narrow passages as at Tyre and Jaffa. The northern bay is some 400 paces across (north and south), flanked with a rocky promontory on each side. The southern bay is larger, and on the promontory south of it are the ruins of ed-Dubbeh. A large reef is visible outside, beneath the water (*SWP* vol. ii. p. 269). The port would seem to be naturally better than any along the coast of Palestine south of Cæsarea. A very little trouble in clearing a passage through the reefs would probably render the *Minet Rûbîn* a better port than Jaffa, as the reefs are farther from the beach (Conder, *PEFSt*, 1875, p. 168). The harvests about Yebnah are very abundant, and the ground is of surprising fertility (*Land and Book*). The present writer (*PEFSt*, 1875, p. 181) suggests that *Yebnah* or *Ibnah* may be the modern equivalent of **Libnah** as well as Jabneel. Libnah was given over to the priests, the sons of Aaron (Jos 21^{13}, 1 Ch 6^{57}), within the boundary of the tribe of Judah, and has not been identified, though supposed to be near Beersheba. Both Jabneh (Jos 15^{11} B) and Libnah appear as *Λεμνά* in the LXX.

LITERATURE.—Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* vol. iii.; *Itin. Ant.*; *Onom. s.v.* Ἰαμνεία; Irby and Mangles, *Travels*; Lightfoot, *Opp.*; Milman, *Hist. of Jews*; Sepp, *Jer. u. das HL*; Strabo; Pliny; Philo, *de Legat. ad Gaium*; Epiphanius, *adv. Hær.* lib. ii. 730; Grätz, *Gesch. der Juden*; Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* 73 ff.; Schürer, *HJP* ii. i. 78 f.; Guérin, *Judée*, ii. 55 ff.

2. (B *Ἰεφθαμαί*, A *Ἰαβνήλ*, *Jabnæel*). It appears in Jos 19^{33} in connexion with Adami-nekeb and Lakkum as part of the northern boundary of Naphtali, Lakkum being near the Jordan. There is no clue to identifying its position. Conder (*Handbook to the Bible*, p. 269) gives the following identifications to the places in Jos 19^{33}:—

Heleph is probably Beit Lîf, at the edge of the higher mountains towards the west. Adami is the ruin Adain; Nekeb (the Talmudic Tziidetha, Talm. Jerus. *Megillah* i. 1) is the ruin Seiyâdeh; Jabneel (the Caphar Yama of the Talmud) is *Yemma*, 7 miles south of Tiberias in Naphtali (*SWP* i. p. 365). The *Variorum Bible*, however, gives 'Adami-hannekeb,' *i.e.* 'Adami in the pass.' Schwarz (p. 144) places Kefr Yamah ('the village by the sea') on the southern shore of the Sea of Galilee; and Neubauer (*Géog. du Talmud*, p. 225) places it between Tabor and the Sea of Galilee, thus apparently agreeing with Conder in the identification of *Yemma* as Jabneel. Josephus speaks of *Ἰαμνεία* (*Vita*, 37) or *Ἰαμνίθ* (*BJ* ii. xx. 6) as a rocky fastness in Upper Galilee which he fortified, together with Meroth, Achabari, and Seph (cf. *BJ* ii. vi. 3).

C. WARREN.

JABNEH.—See JABNEEL.

JACAN (יַעְכָּן).—A Gadite chief, 1 Ch 5^{13}, AV Jachan. See GENEALOGY.

JACHIN (יָכִין).—**1.** Fourth son of Simeon, Gn 46^{10}, Ex 6^{15}. In 1 Ch 4^{24} he is called Jarib (יָרִיב), but Kittel corrects this to Jachin. In Nu 26^{12} the patronymic Jachinites occurs. **2.** Eponym of a priestly family, 1 Ch 9^{10}, Neh 11^{10}. See GENEALOGY.

JACHIN.—One of the brazen pillars erected in front of Solomon's temple, that on the right (looking eastward) or south of the porch, see 1 K 7^{21}, 2 Ch 3^{17}, Jer 52^{21}. See for particulars BOAZ and TEMPLE.

JACINTH (*ὑάκινθος, hyacinthus*), one of the foundation stones of the New Jerusalem (Rev 21^{20}), RVm ‘sapphire.’ The uncertainty which surrounds the real meaning of many of the precious stones named in the Bible applies also to the jacinth; this was inevitable in an age when the principles of chemistry and crystallography were unknown. According to C. W. King (*Nat. Hist. of Gems*, p. 167), the jacinth comes to us from the Italian *giacinto*, and this from the Latin *hyacinthus*. In mediæval times the jacinth seems to have been a gem of a yellow colour, but sometimes tinged blue or purple:—characteristics which belong to varieties of quartz, such as the cairngorm and amethyst; and it was frequently employed by the Greeks for intagli in early times, and by the Romans for cameos. According to Pliny (*HN* xxi. 26), ‘Hyacinthus in Gallia eximiè provenit. Hoc ibi pro cocco hysginum tingitur.’ The dye *hysginum* is usually translated ‘blue.’

The modern hyacinth includes the bright-red varieties of zircon; a silicate of zirconia with a little oxide of iron. It crystallizes in the form of a square prism or octahedron, and is found at Assouān on the Nile, Auvergne, Bohemia, and other volcanic countries. Large crystals have been obtained from Siberia and Ceylon.

E. HULL.

JACKAL.—This word is not found in the text of AV. It occurs in text of RV as the equivalent of *tannîm* (Is 34^{13}, Jer 9^{11} 10^{22} 49^{33} 51^{37}, Mic 1^{8}), which is tr. AV ‘dragon.’ We prefer in these passages the tr. *wolves* (see DRAGON 1). In one passage (Jer 14^{6}) RV text tr. *tannîm*, ‘jackals,’ marg. ‘the crocodile,’ AV text ‘dragons.’ In two places (Is 13^{22} 34^{14}) אִיִּים *’iyyîm* is wrongly tr^{d} in AV ‘wild beasts of the islands,’ RV ‘wolves.’ The word *’iyyîm*, however, is etymologically equivalent to the Arab. *benât-âwa*, which means *jackals*. We think, therefore, that it should be so tr^{d} here. If our views are accepted, the first passage would read ‘and the jackals (*’iyyîm*) shall cry in their castles, and the wolves (*tannîm*) in their pleasant palaces,’ and the second (including latter clause of v.^{13}) ‘an habitation for wolves (*tannîm*), a court for ostriches, and the wild beasts of the desert shall meet with the jackals (*’iyyîm*).’

Jackal also occurs in RVm as the equivalent of *shû‘âl* (Jg 15^{4}, Neh 4^{3}, Ps 63^{10}, La 5^{18}), text AV and RV ‘fox.’ See Moore on Jg 15^{4}, and art. FOX, p. 64^{a}, where the meaning of *shû‘âl* is more fully discussed.

G. E. POST.

JACOB (יַעֲקֹב ‘supplanter’ [see below]; Ἰακώβ).—**1.** Son of Isaac and Rebekah, also called *Israel*, the father of the twelve patriarchs, who were the reputed ancestors of the twelve tribes of Israel. The history of Jacob is contained in parts of Gn 25^{21}–50^{13},—the narrative being chiefly JE, the passages (so far as they relate to Jacob) which belong to P being 25^{26b} $26^{34.\,35}$ 27^{46}–28^{9} $29^{24.\,29}$ 31^{18b} (from ‘and all’), 33^{18a} 34 (partly: see below), $35^{9\text{-}13.\,15.\,22b\text{-}29}$ * 36 (in the main: v.$^{6\text{-}7}$ in particular belong here), $37^{1\text{-}2a}$ (to ‘Jacob’), $46^{6\text{-}27}$ $47^{5\text{-}6a}$ (to ‘dwell’), $^{7\text{-}11.\,27b}$ (from ‘and they’), ^{28} $48^{3\text{-}6.\,7}$ 49^{1a} (to ‘sons’), ^{28b} (from ‘and blessed them’), $^{29\text{-}33}$ $50^{12.\,13}$. As in most other places in Gn, P gives little more than a skeleton of the facts, the picturesque, lifelike narratives are almost entirely the work of J and E. J and E are here closely interwoven: the distinction between them will be noted where necessary; but in general these two narratives appear to have covered largely, when intact, the same ground, and, though exhibiting sometimes divergent traditions, to have been substantially similar in their contents.

The birth of Jacob is recounted in Gn $25^{21\text{-}26}$. Isaac must be pictured as still dwelling by the well Beer-lahai-roi, near Beersheba (25^{11b}); Rebekah, like Sarah before her, was barren; but in consequence of Isaac’s prayer to J″, she became fruitful. The Hebrews loved to picture the characters and fortunes of the peoples with whom they were themselves acquainted, as foreshadowed in their ancestors (cf. Gn $9^{25\text{-}27}$ 16^{12}): and in the case of the ancestors of Israel and Edom the rivalry which became such a marked feature in later generations, began even before their birth. The twin fathers of the two nations struggled together in the womb: their mother, concerned at such an ill-omened occurrence, went to inquire of J″,—we may suppose, at the sanctuary of Beersheba (21^{33} $26^{23\text{-}25}$),—and received in answer the oracular declaration, couched in poetical form:—

Two nations are in thy womb,
And two peoples even from thy bowels shall be parted asunder;*
And one people shall be stronger than the other people,
And the elder shall serve the younger.

When the time came for Rebekah to be delivered, the elder of the twins, we read, was born with the hand of the younger holding his heel,—*i.e.* endeavouring to hold him back, and to secure the first place for himself: so early did Jacob’s characteristic nature display itself. From this circumstance, it is said, he was called *Jacob* (יַעֲקֹב), *i.e.* ‘one who takes by the heel,’ ‘endeavours to trip up *or* supplant,’ from עָקֵב ‘a heel.’

This, at least, is the idea which the name *Jacob* suggested to the Hebrew ear. עָקַב is ‘to take by the heel,’ Hos $12^{3(4)}$ (with allusion to the same occurrence), ‘to trip up,’ ‘supplant,’ fig. ‘to defraud,’ ‘deceive,’ Jer $9^{3(4)}$, ‘trust ye not in any brother, for every brother will utterly *supplant*, and every neighbour will go about with slanders’; עָקוֹב Jer 17^{9} is ‘deceitful,’ and עָקְבָּה 2 K 10^{19} is ‘subtilty.’ It is another question whether this explanation expresses the actual meaning of the name. It has been supposed, for instance, that *Jacob* is really an elliptical form of *Jaḳob’ēl*: in this case *El*, ‘God,’ would be the subject of the verb (like *Ishmā‘ēl*, ‘God heareth,’ *Isrā’ēl*, ‘God persisteth,’ *Yeraḥme’ēl*, ‘God is compassionate’),† and the word might be explained from the Arab. ‘God follows,’ or (from conj. IV.) ‘God rewards.’‡ In fact there is now evidence that the name is much older than the date at which, according to the Biblical narrative, Jacob must have lived: Mr. Pinches has found on contract tablets of the age of Khammurabi (*c.* 2300 B.C.) the personal name *Ya‘ḳub-ilu* (analogous to *Yashup-ilu*, *Yarbi-ilu*, *Yamlik-ilu*, *Yakbar-ilu*, etc., of the same age);§ and according to Hommel (*AHT* 203), the contracted form *Yaḳubu* occurs likewise. Further, in the lists of 118 places in Palestine conquered by Thothmes III. (B.C. 1503–1449, Sayce and Petrie), which are inscribed on the pylons of the temple at Karnak, there occur (Nos. 78 and 102) the names *Y-ša-p-’a-ra̤* and *Y-‘-ḳ-b-’â-ra̤*. These names (the Egyp. *r* standing, as is well known, also for *l*) can be only יספאל *Joseph-’ēl* and יעקבאל *Jaḳob-’ēl*; and we learn consequently that places bearing these names (cf. for the form the place-names *Jezre’el*, *Jabne’ēl* Jos 15^{11} [= *Jabneh* 2 Ch 26^{6}], *Yiphtaḥ’ēl* Jos $19^{14.\,27}$, *Yeḳabẓe’ēl* Neh 11^{25}, *Yirpe’ēl* Jos 18^{27}) existed in Palestine, apparently in the central part, in the 15th cent. B.C.‖ What connexion, if any, exists between these names and those of the patriarchs, may never perhaps be ascertained; but their existence at such a date in Palestine is remarkable. These facts, however, make it not improbable that (as had indeed been supposed even before their discovery¶) names of the type *Jacob*, *Joseph*, *Jephthah*, etc., are elliptical forms of a more original *Jaḳob’ēl*, *Joseph’ēl*, etc. But, however that may be, to the Hebrews, as we know them, the idea which *Jacob* suggested, and in which it was supposed to have originated, was that of *supplanter*.

The boys grew up: Esau was a clever hunter, living in the open field; Jacob was a ‘plain man, living in tents,’ *i.e.* a quiet, home-loving man, pursuing the life of a shepherd among his tents

---

* Perhaps also fragments in $30^{1a.\,4a.\,9b.\,22a}$ 35^{6}.

* *I.e.* shall take different courses (Gn 13^{11}) even from birth.

† Or, ‘May God hear!’ etc. (Gray, *Studies in Heb. Proper Names*, p. 218; Clermont-Ganneau, *Rev. Arch.* xxviii. (1896), p. 350.

‡ Baethgen, *Beiträge*, 158, who compares the Palmyrene name עתעקב, ‘‘Ate has rewarded’ (or, as this sense does not appear to be found in Aramaic, ‘‘Ate follows,’ or ‘searches out’). The same root occurs also in the pr. names ‘*Aḳḳub* (Ezr 2^{42} etc.), and the post-Bibl. ‘*Aḳabiah* (*Abhoth*, iii. 1). ‘May God supplant (our foes!)’ would also be a possible explanation (Skipwith, *JQR* x. (1898), p. 667).

§ Hommel, *AHT* 61, 96, 112.

‖ See, further, Meyer, *ZATW*, 1886, p. 1 ff.; W. M. Müller *Asien u. Europa*, 162 ff.; Gray, 214 f.; Sayce, *HCM* 337 ff.

¶ Olshausen, *Lehrbuch* (1861), p. 617.

(cf. Gn 4^{20}). An incident soon occurred, which displayed the contrasted characters of the two brothers. Esau returned one day exhausted from the chase: his brother was cooking pottage, and half fainting he asked to be allowed to swallow (הַלְעִיטֵנִי־נָא) a little. But Jacob saw his opportunity; and did not scruple to make the most of it. 'Sell me first thy birthright,' he said. Esau, feeling in his exhaustion that his life depended upon it, too readily consented. Jacob, however, is still not fully satisfied; and to make the compact more sure, obliges Esau to seal his promise with an oath. Thereupon he gives Esau the bread and pottage which he desired. The birthright, it need hardly be remarked, was a highly valued possession: it implied both a better position in the family, and also, ultimately, a larger inheritance, than fell to any of the other brothers (cf. 43^{33} 48^{13-20}, Dt 21^{17}). The narrator comments on the heedlessness with which Esau, thinking only of the moment, surrendered what would otherwise have been an inalienable right: the modern reader is more impressed by the avarice and selfishness shown by Jacob in taking such a mean advantage of his brother's need.

Gn 27^{1-45} relates another characteristic incident in Jacob's life, and tells the story of the artifice by which, instigated by a designing mother, he deceives his aged father, and wrests from his brother his father's blessing. The narrative, which belongs chiefly, if not entirely, to J, is told with the picturesque detail and the psychological truth which that gifted narrator habitually displays. There is no need to repeat the details here: the vivid description of Rebekah's treacherous scheme for defeating her husband's purpose, of Jacob's too willing compliance when, with his usual caution, he has once satisfied himself that he can yield it safely, of the ready falsehood with which he allays his father's suspicions, of Isaac's dismay, and Esau's bitter cry of disappointment, when the truth is discovered, will be fresh in the memory of every reader. Only two or three points may be selected for comment. The contrasted blessings of Jacob and Esau express clearly the different geographical and political conditions of the countries owned afterwards by their respective descendants. Of Jacob, his father says:

27b See, the smell of my son
Is as the smell of a field which Jehovah hath blessed:
28 And God give thee of the dew of heaven,
And of the fatness of the earth,
And plenty of corn and must:
29 Let peoples serve thee,
And nations bow down to thee:
Be lord over thy brethren,
And let thy mother's sons bow down to thee:
Cursed be every one that curseth thee,
And blessed be every one that blesseth thee.

In vv.$^{27b. 28}$ the poet thinks of the fruitful fields and vineyards of Canaan, watered by copious dews (Dt 33^{28d}), and yielding in abundance 'corn and must,'—two of the three staple productions of Palestine, often mentioned together as a triad of blessings (Dt 7^{13} 11^{14}*al.*; cf. 33^{28c}): in v.^{29} he thinks further of the peoples of Canaan, subjugated under the Israelites, and of the neighbouring nations, Edomites, Moabites, and Ammonites,—all 'brothers,' or other near relations of Israel (Gn $19^{37f.}$),—made tributary by David (2 S 8).

The 'blessing' of Esau (vv.$^{39. 40}$) is a very qualified one. Playing on the ambiguous sense of a Hebrew preposition,—which would more naturally mean *from* or *of* in a partitive sense (as v.^{28}), but might also mean *away from*, if such a sense were favoured by the context,—the poet puts into the patriarch's mouth these words—

39b Behold, (away) from the fatness of the earth shall be thy dwelling,
And (away) from the dew of heaven above:
40 And by thy sword shalt thou live, and thou shalt serve thy brother;
And it shall come to pass, as thou roamest about at large,*
That thou shalt break his yoke from off thy neck.

The contrast to v.^{28} is manifest. The reference is to the relatively rocky and arid territory of the Edomites, which obliged its inhabitants to find their livelihood elsewhere, by means of war and plunder. In v.^{40} the doom of subjection to Jacob is not revoked; but it is limited in duration: the time will come when, after repeated efforts,† Edom will regain its freedom. Edom revolted from Judah in the reign of Jehoram (2 K 8^{20-22}): no doubt, circumstances with which we are unacquainted,—perhaps a series of abortive efforts preceding the final success,—suggested the terms of v.^{40b}.

Jacob's treatment of his brother was followed by its natural consequences. Esau 'hated Jacob because of the blessing wherewith his father blessed him,' and only waited for his father's death in order to take vengeance on him. But his mother, Rebekah, ever watchful of the interests of her favourite son, urged him to flee forthwith to her brother Laban, in Ḥaran (across the Euphrates, on the Belikh, N.N.E. of Palestine), and to remain with him until Esau's resentment should have been dulled by time (27^{42-45}).

At this point the compiler of the Book of Genesis has inserted a passage (27^{46}-28^{9}) from P, suggesting an entirely different motive for Jacob's visit—it is not here spoken of as a *flight*—to Laban. Esau, the same narrator had stated previously ($26^{34f.}$), had, to his parents' great vexation, taken two 'Hittite' wives; and now Rebekah, fearful lest Jacob should do the same, mentions her apprehensions to Isaac, who thereupon charges Jacob to journey to Paddan-aram, and find there a wife among the daughters of his uncle Laban. Jacob obeys; and departs accordingly with his father's blessing.‡ It is of course true that, *in itself*, this representation is not inconsistent with that in 27^{42-45}: men notoriously act often under the influence of more motives than one; and Rebekah may not have mentioned to Isaac her principal motive for wishing Jacob to leave his home. But presenting, as this paragraph does, all the literary marks of a hand different from the author of 27^{1-45}, there can be no doubt that it forms part of a different representation of the current of events.

28^{10-22}§ forms the true sequel of 27^{1-45}. Jacob starts from Beersheba, on his journey to Ḥaran. Travelling northwards through Canaan, he lights upon a spot where he passes the night. Even now the soil at Bethel is 'covered, as with gravestones, by large sheets of bare rocks, some few standing up here and there like cromlechs' (Stanley, *S. and P.* 219), and the hill a little to the S.E. rises to its top in terraces of stone.‖ He dreams; and in his dream the natural features of the locality shape themselves into a 'ladder,' or flight of stone steps, rising up to heaven; angels are ascending and descending upon it; and by his side¶ (v.^{13} RVm) stands J″, addressing him in words of encouragement and hope, promising him a countless posterity, who will possess the land on which he lies, and assuring him that He will be with him on his journeyings, and will bring him back in safety to the land he is leaving. The dream represents under a striking symbolism the thought that heaven and earth are connected, that an ever-present providence watches over the destinies of men, and also, in particular, that this was a place in which above others God was manifest upon earth, and which deserved pre-eminently to be termed His 'house.' As a mark of the sacredness of the spot, Jacob consecrates the boulder on which his head had rested, setting it up as a 'pillar,' and pouring oil upon the top of it: he also promises solemnly, if he returns home in safety, to make it a 'house of God,' and to pay J″ tithes of all his gains. Bethel became afterwards a famous and much-frequented sanctuary (Am 7^{13} etc.); and no doubt it was the 'pillar,' that would naturally stand beside its altar (Am 3^{14}: cf. Hos 10^{1}), and the custom of paying tithes there (Am 4^{4}), the origin of both of which was thus attributed by tradition to Jacob. The Phœnicians believed in λίθοι ἔμψυχοι (Eus. *Præp. Ev.* i. 10. 18); and there are many traces in antiquity of stones, esteemed as sacred, being anointed with oil (λίθοι λιπαροί), and venerated as divine (Arnob. *adv. Gent.* i. 39, vi. 11; Is 57^{6}: cf. vol. i. p. 278^{a}; also W. R. Smith, *RS*^{1} 109, 184–188, 214 f. [^{2} 116, 201-205, 232 f.]);* and the sacred 'pillar,' or monolith, of Bethel, it is difficult not to think, must in its actual origin have been regarded similarly as a shrine or abode of the deity; but in the existing narrative the idea may possibly be that Jacob venerated it as the channel through which he received his dream.†

---

* This, as Arabic shows, is the meaning of *rûd*, which occurs elsewhere in the OT only Jer 2^{31b}, Ps 55^{3b} (Eng. ^{2b}; RV 'am restless'), Hos 11^{12} (?); cf. מְרוּדִים La 1^{7} 3^{19} (RVm), Is 58^{7}.

† Such seems to be the force of כַּאֲשֶׁר תָּרִיד: see Delitzsch.

‡ Notice, in the phrasing of $28^{3. 4}$ the points of contact with previous promises or blessings in P: 'God Almighty,' as 17^{1} *al.*; 'make fruitful and multiply,' as 17^{20} 48^{4} (cf. $1^{22. 28}$ $9^{1. 7}$ 35^{11}); 'company of peoples,' as 35^{11} 48^{4}; 'land of thy sojournings,' as 17^{8} (cf. 36^{7} 37^{1}). 'Paddan-aram,' also (for Aram-naharaim), as regularly in P (25^{20} 31^{18} 33^{18} $35^{9. 26}$ 46^{15}).

§ $28^{10. 13-16}$ seem to be from J; $28^{11. 12. 17-22}$ from E.

‖ In the *PEF Mem.* ii. 305, there is a view of a large 'gilgal,' or circle of stones, near Bethel.

¶ Properly, '(bending) over him.'

29$^{1-14}$ Jacob proceeds on his journey, reaches Ḥaran, and quickly meets with his relations. In his uncle, Laban, Jacob finds, at least for a time, his match in the art of overreaching; and the narrative recounts first the engagement concluded by him with Laban, and then the ruse by which the latter succeeded in marrying first his elder daughter Leah, and so in securing Jacob's services as a shepherd, for 7 years more, in return for his younger daughter Rachel.‡ The section 29^{31}–30^{24} narrates the birth of 11 of Jacob's 12 sons, and of a daughter Dinah, alluding at the same time incidentally to the family jealousies which arose in consequence between his two wives. It is unnecessary to dwell here upon details: it will be sufficient to state that first Leah bears, in succession, Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah: then Rachel's handmaid, Bilhah, bears two sons, Dan and Naphtali, in her mistress' name; next Zilpah, Leah's handmaid, bears Gad and Asher; after this, Issachar and Zebulun, as also a daughter Dinah, are born to Leah; lastly, Rachel bears Joseph. A collateral aim of the narrative, to which evidently no small importance is attached, is to explain the names borne afterwards by the corresponding tribes: the explanations (as is constantly the case in similar cases in the OT), though apparently etymological, are, however, in reality based, not upon etymologies (in our sense of the word), but upon *assonances*, and must not, therefore, be understood as necessarily expressing the real meaning of the names. In the case of several of the names, a double explanation is given (or alluded to), — an indication of the composite character of the narrative (v.^{16} and v.^{18}; v.^{20a} and v.^{20b}; v.^{23} and v.^{24}).*

Jacob, having been in Laban's service for 14 years, was now anxious to return home to his father. He accordingly begs his uncle to let him go, together with his wives and children. Laban, however, is reluctant to part with a servant who, he is obliged to own (30^{27b}), has served him well; and with feigned magnanimity invites him to name the terms on which he will remain with him. Jacob, in reply, professing to be very generous, declares his willingness to serve him for nothing, if he will agree to the following arrangement: Jacob will remove from the flocks all the parti-coloured animals, and having done this will take nothing but the animals so marked, which are born afterwards, as his wages. Laban, supposing that these would be few or none, closes eagerly with the offer; and in order to make the arrangement doubly secure, removes the spotted animals from the flock himself, gives them into the hands of his sons, and places three days' journey between himself and the flocks left with Jacob (30$^{31-36}$). Jacob, however, is equal to the occasion; and by means of various ingenious devices, succeeds in outwitting his not too generous uncle. (1) Jacob placed parti-coloured rods in front of the ewes at the time when they conceived, so that the latter in consequence bore parti-coloured young (vv.$^{37-39}$).† (2) He arranged that the spotted lambs and kids thus produced should be in view of the rest of the flock, so that, when the ewes conceived, there should be a further tendency to bear spotted young (v.^{40}).‡ (3) Jacob further put up the peeled rods only when the stronger sheep were about to conceive: he thus secured all the strongest animals for himself (v.^{42}). The result was (v.^{43}) that Jacob's possessions increased immensely.

Jacob's increasing prosperity soon arouses the envy of Laban; and he no longer views him with the same friendliness as before. Encouraged by J″ (31^{3}), Jacob resolves accordingly, without again consulting his father-in-law, to return home: he explains his position to his wives, pointing out to them Laban's arbitrary and ungrateful treatment of him; and they agree to accompany him (31$^{4-16}$). Here it is to be observed that the description of Laban's arrangement with Jacob, and of the manner in which its consequences were evaded by Jacob, differs from that given in ch. 30: in 31$^{7-12}$ Jacob says that Laban had been in the habit of arbitrarily changing his wages (so 31^{41}), as seemed most likely to benefit himself, of which there is nothing in ch. 30; and further, that the effect of the change had each time§ been frustrated, not by his own ingenious contrivance (as in 30$^{37-42}$), but by the intervention of Providence (31$^{8-9}$):‖

---

* See, further, Tylor, *Primitive Culture*^{3}, ii. 160–167.

† It is observable that in v.^{22} the title, 'house of God,' is applied to the monolith itself, not to the place marked by it. Some have seen in the passage (esp. v.^{11}) an allusion to the custom of 'incubation': cf. Smend, *AT Theol.* 39; Holzinger, *ad loc.*

‡ V.^{27} 'fulfil the week of this one,' *i.e.* the week of festivities usually accompanying a marriage (Jg 14^{12}, To 11^{19}): do not break off the usual round of wedding festivities. When they were ended, Jacob received Rachel on the understanding that he was to serve Laban for 7 years more.

* See, further, the articles on the several names. 29^{34} 'be joined'; the name 'Levi' is played on similarly in Nu 18$^{2.4}$ (*lāwāh*, to join). 30^{3} 'be builded up from her': so 16^{2} of Hagar, the fig. being that of a house (cf. Ru 4^{11}, Dt 25^{9}). 30$^{14-16}$ 'mandrakes,' or better *love-apples*, were supposed to possess aphrodisiac properties, and to ensure conception: hence the reason why Rachel asks for them. In v.^{16} Leah 'hires' Jacob with the love-apples she had given to Rachel; in v.^{18} Leah says that Issachar is the 'hire,' or payment, which she has received for having given Zilpah to Jacob,—manifestly two explanations of the name Issachar (*sāchār*, 'hire' or 'wages').

† The physiological principle involved is well established. According to an authority quoted by Delitzsch, cattle-breeders now, in order to secure white lambs, surround the drinking-troughs with white objects.

‡ This seems to be the meaning of v.^{40} as it stands. But many modern scholars think that the words 'and set . . . of Laban' are a gloss; in which case the verse will merely state that the parti-coloured young, produced as described in v.^{39}, were kept by themselves, and not mixed with those of uniform colour (which would be Laban's).

§ Notice the imperfect tenses in 31^{8}.

‖ The *dream* (31$^{10-12}$) is mentioned as a notification to Jacob that the birth, by natural means (and not through Jacob's artifice), of the parti-coloured young was by God's appointment, in compensation for Laban's treatment of him (v.^{12} *end*).

ch. 30 gives J's representation of the transactions, ch. 31 gives that of E.[*] Jacob takes flight while Laban is engaged in sheepshearing (cf. 1 S $25^{2.7.11}$, 2 S 13^{23}); he crosses the Euphrates, and directs his steps towards Gilead (31^{17-22}). Rachel, at the same time, steals her father's *teraphim*, or household gods (cf. 1 S $19^{13.16}$), as though (Ewald) to appropriate and carry with her into Canaan the good fortune of her paternal home.

Laban, upon hearing of Jacob's departure, starts in pursuit, and overtakes him in the hill-country of Gilead. The account of the meeting is told in 31^{26-55}. Laban begins by expostulating with Jacob on the manner in which he has left him, and especially on the theft of his household gods, with which he charges him. Rachel, who was alone the guilty person, by a piece of woman's wit conceals the theft, and, in her turn, outwits her father: this gives Jacob the opportunity of retorting upon Laban, of reminding him of the 20 years which he had spent ungrudgingly in his service, and of reproaching him with the many attempts he had made to deprive him of his lawful earnings (vv.$^{26-42}$). Laban, smitten by his conscience (vv.$^{24.29}$), and unable to reply, seeks to close the dispute by proposing a treaty of friendship. Up to this point the narrative has been clear; but from v.^{46} it becomes somewhat confused, two different accounts (J and E) having, it seems, been combined together, and at the same time enlarged with additions by a redactor. The analysis is difficult, and some of the details are uncertain; but it is clear that both a 'pillar' and a heap of stones are described as erected as a witness; that two distinct agreements are entered into—one (v.^{50}) that Jacob will in no way ill-treat Laban's daughters, the other (v.^{52}) that neither Jacob nor Laban will pass the boundary marked by the heap of stones with hostile intent toward the other; that the heap of stones is the witness of the former agreement (vv.$^{48-50}$), and the pillar, therefore, presumably (v.^{52}) of the latter; and further, that each agreement is sealed by a common meal (v.^{46}; v.^{54}).[†] The narrative explains in addition the name 'Gilead,' which is derived, by a popular etymology, from *Gal-'ēd*, 'Heap of witness.'[‡] There must, it seems, have been somewhere on the N.E. frontier of Gilead, a cairn of stones, with a single boulder, standing up prominently beside it, the origin of which was popularly attributed to this compact between Laban and Jacob.[§] The narrative, as it stands, explains also (v.^{49}) the name *Miẓpah*, the 'Watch-tower,' a place of uncertain situation, but no doubt some eminence in the same neighbourhood, which overlooked the broad plain of Ḥauran, and guarded the approach from the direction of Damascus.[‖] It seems that the ancestors of the Israelites and the Syrians are here conceived as fixing the border between the territories occupied afterwards by their respective descendants, which was often, especially during the period of the Syrian wars, matter of bloody dispute between them.

The 'long game of well-matched wits' is thus ended; and Laban returns to Ḥaran (31^{55}), while Jacob travels on towards Canaan. As he journeys, the 'angels of God' meet him, as if to welcome and congratulate him on his auspicious return; and from this circumstance the name *Maḥanaim* is explained ('the double camp').[*] Maḥanaim became afterwards an important place (2 S $2^{8.12.29}$ the capital of Ishbosheth's kingdom; see also $17^{24.27}$, 1 K 4^{14}); but its situation is not known: from the sequel of the present narrative, it must, however, have been N. of the Jabboḳ (now the *Zerḳâ*), though not much N., and within sight of the Jordan (v.^{10}): in Jos $13^{26.30}$ it is mentioned as a place on the border between Gad and Manasseh.[†]

A fresh danger now threatens Jacob, the prospect of meeting again his brother Esau, who might be supposed to have still not forgotten old grudges. Jacob sends (32^{3-5}) a conciliatory message to him, but learns in reply that he is coming to meet him with 400 men. He is greatly alarmed; but his powers of resource do not desert him. He divides his party into two 'camps,' in the hope that if one should be smitten by Esau, the other at least might escape; and besides this worldly precaution, he invokes in prayer the aid of God, reminding Him that it was He who had bidden him (31^{3}) return to his native land, and pleading before Him the blessings which He had already bestowed upon him (v.^{10}), and the promises which He had given him (v.^{12}).[‡] (In vv.$^{7.8}$, it is to be observed, there is clearly a second explanation, parallel to the one in v.^{2}, of the name *Maḥanaim*[§]). If vv.$^{13b-21}$ be the original sequel to vv.$^{3-13a}$, the passage will describe a further precaution taken by Jacob, viz. a present of cattle, consisting of 580 head, and divided into separate droves for the purpose of making a favourable impression upon Esau, who, as drove upon drove came up, would be at once gratified and surprised to learn that each was intended for himself. But the passage from v.^{13b} to v.^{21} appears to proceed from the other narrator E;[‖] so that the account of the present may be a parallel, and not a sequel, to the division into two 'camps' in vv.$^{7.8}$.

There follows the account of Jacob's wrestling with the angel. His party had crossed the Jabboḳ (the *Wādy Zerḳâ*); and he himself was left behind 'alone,'—it is difficult to say, on which side of the stream.[¶] It was the eve of the greatest crisis of his life. His future welfare hung in the balance. Long ago he had taken cruel advantage of his brother: he had had to flee before his threatened vengeance; now Esau was on his way to meet him with a large retinue of attendants; and what would the issue be? In the solitude and darkness a 'strange and nameless dread' came over him: the terrible thought that God was his antagonist took possession of him; and so vividly did he realize it, that he seemed to himself to be engaged in an actual struggle with a living man.[*] The struggle continued till the approach of daybreak.[†] But Jacob wrestled bravely: his mysterious antagonist saw that he could not prevail against him by the means which a wrestler would naturally employ; so, in order to escape before daylight, and at the same time to show that he was superior to Jacob, he sprained Jacob's thigh. But Jacob, though he can no longer wrestle with his antagonist, can still hold him: he perceives that he is more than an ordinary mortal; so he seizes the opportunity to win a blessing for himself, 'I will not let thee go, except thou bless me.' The blessing takes the form of a change of name. 'Thy name shall be called no more Jacob, but Israel; for thou hast *persevered* with God and with men, and hast prevailed.' The name 'Israel,' meaning (on the analogy of other names similarly formed) 'God persists (*or* perseveres),'[‡] is interpreted as suggesting the meaning 'Perseverer with God.'[§] Jacob's persevering struggle with God is just ended: of men, he has persevered against both Laban and Esau; his struggle with Laban was concluded previously; that with Esau is not yet concluded, but '*hast* prevailed' is a word full of hope for the future. At the same time, as the name was to the Hebrews the symbol or expression of the nature, the change of name is significant of a moral change in the patriarch himself: he is to be no longer the Supplanter, the Crafty one, the Overreacher, but the Perseverer with God, who is worthy also to prevail.[‖] The incident serves to explain further the name *Penuel*, 'Face of God'; 'for,' said Jacob, 'I have seen God *face* to *face*, and yet my life is preserved.'[¶] The narrator deduces also from this incident the custom of not eating in animals the muscle corresponding to the one which had been strained in Jacob's thigh: it was treated as sacred through the touch of God. The site of Penuel is uncertain; but it must have been near both the Jabboḳ and the Jordan. As Jacob journeys from Penuel to Succoth, so Gideon, pursuing the Midianites in the contrary direction, comes first to Succoth, and afterwards 'goes up' to Penuel (Jg $8^{5.8}$); it may therefore be conjectured that it was some elevated or projecting spot, near where the Jabboḳ descends from the uplands into the Jordan Valley: Merrill suggests Tulūl eḍ-Ḍahab, conical hills, with ruins at their top, which rise from the Jabboḳ Valley, with the stream flowing between them, to a height of 250 ft.[**]

---

[*] Notice the frequency with which *God* (אֱלֹהִים), not *Jahweh*, occurs in this narrative (vv.$^{9.11.16.24.42}$).

[†] The mark of amity and reconciliation, as is still the case among the Arabs. V.^{54} speaks of a sacrifice as well.

[‡] Wellh. and Dillm. assign vv.$^{46-50}$ to J, and vv.$^{45.51-54}$ to E, treating 'Behold, this heap, and' in v.^{51}, 'This heap be witness, and,' and 'and this pillar' in v.^{52}, as glosses due to the redactor. However, יָרָה (v.^{51}) is not the word that we should expect to be used of a מַצֵּבָה: perhaps (cf. LXX here and v.^{45}) we should restore, with Ball, הֲרִימֹתִי. Kautzsch and Socin assign vv.$^{51.52}$ to J, treating the three references to the 'pillar' in these verses as glosses. The precise determination of the analysis is not important; for, in any case, the passage describes two distinct transactions (as explained above in the text).

[§] Cf. Ewald, *Hist.* i. 347 f., 356, who thinks even that the real meaning of the tradition is that the mountain-range of Gilead itself is the 'heap,' piled up by Laban and Jacob as a boundary between the two nationalities. So also Wellh. *Hist.* 325 f.

[‖] It may be doubted whether the present *Kal'at er-Rabad*, a height just on the N. of the Wādy 'Ajlun, with a commanding prospect (Merrill, Buhl, *Geogr.* 262), is sufficiently far to the north. It is also uncertain whether this 'Miẓpah' is identical with the רָמַת הַמִּצְפֶּה of Jos 13^{26} (on the N. frontier of Gad). The abrupt way in which Miẓpah is here introduced leads most critics to regard the notice respecting it as a gloss.

[*] The word rendered 'host' in 32^{2}, and 'company' in $32^{7.8.10.21}$ 33^{8}, properly means *camp*, and is usually so rendered. It is a pity that a different rendering has been adopted here.

[†] Comp. G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 586.

[‡] With v.^{12} compare $28^{14.15}$ (the phrasing, as 22^{17} 16^{10}).

[§] Vv.$^{1.2}$ belong to E; vv.$^{3-13a}$ to J.

[‖] Notice that at v.^{21b} the narrative is at exactly the same point that it had reached at v.^{13a}.

[¶] V.^{22} implies that Jacob had crossed it, v.^{23} that he had not. The two verses clearly belong to different sources. If, as most critics agree, vv.$^{22.24-32}$ belong to J, the scene of the wrestling will have been S. of the Jabbok.

The dreaded meeting with Esau passes off happily (33^{1-17}). Jacob prepares for the worst (vv.$^{1-3}$); but Esau shows a generous and magnanimous spirit: he receives his brother with all friendliness, and inquires with interest after his children (vv.$^{4-7}$). He at first refuses Jacob's present; but Jacob by pressure induces him to accept it, no doubt hoping thereby to purchase the continuance of his good-will in the future (vv.$^{8-11}$).[*] Esau afterwards offers Jacob his protection for the rest of the journey, or at least some of his people as an escort; but Jacob declines both these offers; he will lay himself under no obligation to his brother, nor will he incur any risk of a rupture in the cordial relations now established between them (vv.$^{12-16}$). Esau accordingly returns to Edom; while Jacob moves on to Succoth (the name of which is explained from the *booths* [סֻכּוֹת] built by him there for his cattle). The site of Succoth is not more certainly known than that of Penuel: it was on the E. of Jordan (Jg $8^{4.5}$), in the valley, perhaps (Dillm.) near the ford of ed-Dâmiyeh (on the road from es-Salṭ to Nâblus), a little S. of the point where the Jabboḳ enters the Jordan.[†] After crossing the Jordan, Jacob advanced into the heart of the country, to Shechem. There he encamped in front of the city, and bought the plot of ground on which his tent rested, of the native Shechemites for 100 *ḳesîṭahs*.[‡] The purchase of this land is mentioned on account of the sequel: it was the place in which the bones of Joseph ultimately reposed (Jos 24^{32}); and it had the same interest and significance for the N. kingdom which the cave of Machpelah at Hebron (ch. 23) had for the kingdom of Judah.[§]

We come (ch. 34) to the somewhat remarkable narrative of the dealings of Jacob with Shechem. The chapter is plainly composite; but the criteria are in some cases ambiguous, so that critics are not fully agreed in their results. The main characteristics of the two narratives of which it is composed are, however, sufficiently clear. According to J,[‖] Shechem, son of Ḥamor, having seduced Jacob's daughter, Dinah, desires to obtain her from her father and brothers in marriage: they agree, only imposing a condition the nature of which in the existing text of J is not specified, but which Ḥamor at once accedes to (vv.$^{11.12.19}$); afterwards, however, Simeon and Levi, resenting keenly Ḥamor's treatment of their sister, fall upon him, without their brothers' knowledge, slay him and his father, and rescue Dinah; their father blames them severely for making him and his family unpopular among the native Canaanites, and endangering their lives; they reply that the honour of their tribe is above all such considerations: 'Should he deal with our sister as with an harlot?' Here the transaction has a *personal* character: only Shechem is involved; and his aim is the personal one of securing Dinah as his wife. According to the rest of the narrative,[¶] Shechem equally desires to obtain Dinah as his wife, but much wider interests are involved: the transaction assumes a *national* significance: Ḥamor proposes what is virtually an amalgamation of the two communities, with full reciprocal rights of trade and inter-marriage (vv.$^{8-10.\ 21-23}$): the sons of Jacob generally (not merely Simeon and Levi) speak on their sister's behalf: they impose the condition (which is here circumcision) not on Shechem only, but on the whole people (vv.$^{13-18}$); and the *entire* city experiences their vengeance (vv.$^{25\ \textit{end.}\ 27-29}$). On the possible significance of this narrative, see p. 535.

---

[*] *In the sense of the tradition*, the contest, as Dillm. remarks, is plainly an external and physical one.

[†] In the rare word נֵאָבֵק for *wrestle*, vv.$^{24.25}$, there is a play on the name Jabboḳ (יַבֹּק), if not an explanation of its origin, as though it meant *Wrestling* (*-stream*).

[‡] Sayce's derivation (*EHH* 73, and elsewhere) from *yāshar*, 'to be upright,' 'to direct' (!), has nothing to recommend it.

[§] Cf. Arab. *shariya*, to *persist*, or *persevere*; conj. iii. (expressing the idea of *rivalry*) to *persist* or *persevere against* another (viz. in contention or wrangling). The same root is contained in *Seraiah*, 'Jah persists.' (The root means '*to strive*' (RVm) only in the sense of *to exert oneself*, not in that of *to contend*. It has no connexion with *sar*, 'prince,' from *sārar*).

[‖] J from this point prefers, though not (in our existing texts) quite uniformly, *Israel* to *Jacob* as the designation of the patriarch.

[¶] With allusion to the often expressed belief that no one could 'see God and live' (Ex 19^{21} 33^{20}, Jg $6^{22f.}$ 13^{22}). Notice the adversative force of the *Wāw* consecutive (Ges. § 111*e*).

[**] See Moore, *Judges*, 220 f., 223; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 585 f. There was a Phœnician headland called θεοῦ πρόσωπον; and 'Penuel' may really, like this headland, have derived its name from some physical feature presented by it.

[*] V.^{10} 'forasmuch as I have seen thy face, as when one seeth the face of God' (*i.e.* I have found it as favourable), is manifestly, as Wellh. remarks, another explanation of the name *Penuel*. 'To see the face' is the phrase used of one admitted to the presence-chamber of a monarch, or other ruler (Gn $43^{3.5}$, 2 S $14^{24.28}$, 2 K 25^{19}; of God, Ps 11^{7}, Job 33^{26}), and, it is implied, viewed by his superior favourably. Jacob, by using this expression, pays Esau a high compliment. 'Beiden Wendungen der Sage liegt zu Grund, dass man in Peniel den unfreundlichen Gott als freundlichen erfährt' (Dillm.).

[†] Comp. Moore, *l.c.* p. 218 (who mentions another proposed site, at Deir 'Alla, N. of the Zerḳa; cf. G. A. Smith, *l.c.* p. 585).

[‡] A piece of money (or metal) of uncertain value. It is mentioned besides only in Jos 24^{32}, Job 42^{11}.

[§] As Dinah, who (31^{41} comp. with 30^{21}) must have been quite an infant when Jacob left Ḥaran, appears of marriageable age in ch. 34, Jacob (if the narrative is to be treated as consistent) must be supposed to have passed some years at Succoth (or at Shechem, before the events mentioned in ch. 34 occurred); cf. Dillm. on $30^{25f.}$ 33^{17} 34^{1}.

[‖] Vv.$^{2b.3.5.7.11.12.19.25}$ ('two of the sons of Jacob, Simeon and Levi, Dinah's brethren, took each man his sword') $^{26.30.31}$. This narrative is naturally not quite complete, parts having been omitted when it was combined with the other narrative.

[¶] P; or (Wellh., Cornill, Holzinger) E, amplified in parts by a writer of the school of P.

From Shechem Jacob proceeds on his way to Bethel (about 20 miles S. of Shechem), a panic terror (35^{5}) restraining the natives of the neighbourhood from pursuing him. Bethel was the spot, which, when he was starting for Ḥaran some 20 years (31^{41}) previously, had been consecrated for him by his great dream (28^{11-22}); and now, in anticipation of visiting it again, he bade his household and retainers put away all 'foreign gods' from among them: the 'God of Bethel' (31^{13}) had proved Himself true to His promise (28^{15}); He had led His servant safely through many trials and anxieties; and at Bethel, in fulfilment of his vow (28^{22}), he would now build an altar to Him. Later generations pointed to the terebinth at Shechem (cf. Jos 24^{26}) as marking the spot at which the idols brought from Ḥaran (cf. Gn 31^{19}, Jos $24^{2.\ 14.\ 23}$), and the amulets,[*] were buried by Jacob. The erection of the altar is narrated in 35^{7} (E, as also vv.$^{1-5.\ 8}$). P ($35^{9-13.\ 15}$) describes at this point a theophany, with a renewed promise to Jacob of a numerous and royal posterity, and of the gift of the land (vv.$^{11.\ 12}$);[†] to the same occasion he also assigns (v.^{10}) the change of name from *Jacob* to *Israel*, which J has narrated already at Penuel (32^{28}), and the origin of the name of *Bethel*, which J had connected with Jacob's former visit to the place (28^{19}). The relation of the 'pillar,' which, according to v.^{14} (probably J), Jacob set up, and upon which he is said also to have poured a drink-offering and oil, to the one mentioned previously in 28^{18} (E), is not clear; the verse *may* relate to a different 'pillar,' it *may* give a different version of the origin of the same 'pillar.'[‡]

Leaving Bethel, Jacob continued his journey to the South. Shortly before reaching Ephrath, Rachel died in childbirth: she herself, so tradition told, called her son *Ben-oni* 'son of my sorrow,' but his father preferred a name of better omen, and called him *Ben-jamin*, 'son of the right hand.'[§] On the site of her grave, Jacob erected a 'pillar,' which still bore her name in the narrator's day (35^{20}). In 1 S 10^{2} Rachel's grave is distinctly stated to have been on the (Northern) border of Benjamin, not far from Bethel (cf. v.^{3}; and see also Jer 31^{15}): unless therefore there were different traditions respecting its site, the gloss 'the same is Beth-lehem' (in spite of its repetition in 48^{7}, and in spite also of its being in agreement with other statements, as Ru 4^{11}, Mic 5^{2}) is incorrect, and there were more localities than one called *Ephrath.* Still pursuing his way, Jacob next rested beyond the 'tower of Eder' (or 'of the flock'),—a place, of which (in spite of Mic 4^{8}) the situation is quite uncertain. P (35^{22b-29}) brings Jacob on to Hebron (v.^{27}; cf. 37^{14} JE). There Isaac (who was last mentioned as being at Beersheba[*]) dies; and (according to the same source, P) Jacob and Esau meet once more for the purpose of burying him (v.^{29}; cf. 25^{9}).

The active period of Jacob's life is now over: the rest of his days is passed in quietude; and Joseph becomes the moving spirit in the patriarchal family. Joseph was his father's favourite son; his brethren envied him; his dreams of future exaltation increased their jealousy; but his father fondly wondered what these dreams might signify (37^{12}). Jacob is still at Hebron, but his flocks are at Shechem,[†] tended by his other sons, and he sends Joseph thither to inquire after his brethren's welfare (37^{12-14}). Deceived in his old age by his sons, as he had in his youth deceived his own aged father, he receives with inconsolable grief the evidence, as it seems to him, of Joseph's cruel death (37^{31-35}). As the famine grows severe in Canaan, he sends his sons, but without Benjamin, who now naturally takes Joseph's place as his father's favourite, to buy corn in Egypt (42^{1-4}): upon their inauspicious return, his distress and grief find bitter expression in the reproachful words (42^{36}), 'Me have ye bereaved of my children: Joseph is not, and Simeon is not, and ye will take Benjamin away; upon me are all these things come.' In the end, he is obliged to let Benjamin go back with his brethren into Egypt, but with characteristic prudence he sends with them a present calculated to win the favour of the great man of the land (43^{11-13}). The *dénoûment* soon follows; and ch. 45 recounts the delight with which he hears that his son is still alive, and receives the message to come and join him in Egypt (vv.$^{25-28}$). He sets forth from Hebron, journeys to Beersheba, the home of Isaac and of his own former days (27. 28^{10}), and there, when on the point of leaving for a second time the land of promise, and taking up his abode in the land of Egypt, receives a word of encouragement and promise suitable to the occasion ($46^{3.\ 4}$; cf. previously, at Bethel, 28^{13-15}). Israel thus 'went down into Egypt'; and a new and momentous epoch in the history of the nation was inaugurated. The list of Jacob's sons and grandchildren who accompanied him into Egypt is given by P (46^{6-27}).[‡] Jacob meets his son Joseph in Goshen, and the wish of his heart is accomplished ($46^{29\text{ff.}}$). Afterwards he is honourably received by the Pharaoh, and assigned, with his sons, a residence in the pastoral district of Goshen ($47^{1-4.\ 6b}$ [from 'in the land'] J; $47^{5.\ 6a.\ 7-11}$ P).[§]

As the time drew near for Jacob to die, he made Joseph promise not to bury him in Egypt, but to lay him in the tomb of his fathers in Canaan

---

[*] This is the meaning of the 'rings' of 35^{4}.

[†] With v.^{11} cf. the passages cited p. 527 note ‡; and add 17^{6} ('kings').

[‡] Cornill conjectures that this verse originally (without 'in the place where he spake with him') stood in close connexion with v.^{8}: in this case the 'pillar' would be a sepulchral stele (cf. v.^{20}), and the libations would be poured out as offerings to the dead (*ZATW*, 1891, p. 15 ff.; cf. Holzinger, *Comm.* p. 217).

[§] Whether this is the true explanation of the name, must remain an open question. Sayce (*EHH* 79) agrees here with Stade (*Gesch.* i. 161) in thinking that the name (the 'Southerner') has really reference to the position of the territory of Benjamin on the S. of Ephraim.

[*] 28^{10} compared with 27^{42-45}: according to P (35^{28} compared with 25^{26} 26^{34}) *eighty* years previously, Jacob being now 120 years old! (According to JE, Jacob was but 20 years in Mesopotamia, 31^{41}; cf. p. 532^{b}).

[†] The author of this passage must have pictured Jacob's flocks as roaming pretty freely over the country (cf. v.^{17}, Dothan being about 15 miles N. of Shechem), if he himself was at Hebron. In view of ch. 34, the mention of their being at Shechem is remarkable; but the writer, it is possible, pictured the inhabitants of the neighbourhood as deterred by fear (cf. 35^{5}) from interfering with Jacob's possessions.

[‡] On difficulties connected with the enumeration, esp. in vv.$^{26.\ 27}$, see the Commentaries.—An interesting illustration of Jacob's descent into Egypt is afforded by the representation, on a tomb at Beni-Hassan, of 37 Asiatics (*Âmu*), bringing a present of eye-paint, and two live ibexes, to Usertesen II., of the 12th dynasty, in his 6th year (*c.* B.C. 2600, Petrie). The procession is a remarkable one: it comprises men, women, and children, and two asses: the men wear long richly-coloured tunics, or in some cases coloured loin-cloths, and one is playing with a plectrum on a lyre of six strings. See Wilkinson-Birch, *Anc. Egyp.* 1878, i. 480; Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, 468–470; or Petrie, *Hist. of Egypt*, i. 172–174; also Hommel, *AHT* 52f.

[§] The sequence in vv.$^{5.\ 6}$ is better in the LXX; see the Comms., or *LOT* pp. 10, 16 (^{6}11, 17) *n.* The situation of Goshen, fixed approximately by tradition, has been determined definitely by the researches of M. Naville; it was the district lying between the three modern villages of Saft, Belbeis, and Tel el-Kebir, about 40 miles N.E. of Cairo.

(47^{29-31}). Ch. 48 narrates (1) how he adopted Joseph's two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim, placing them on the same level with his own children (vv.$^{3-7}$ P); and (2) how he blessed them, giving at the same time the first place to the younger, Ephraim, in view of the future pre-eminence of the tribe descended from him (vv.$^{1-2.\ 8-20}$ JE). There follows a special promise and gift, made to Joseph (vv.$^{21.\ 22}$ E). The terms of v.^{22} are remarkable, 'And I give thee one shoulder * (*shĕkhem*) above thy brethren, which I took out of the hand of the Amorite with my sword and with my bow.' There is manifestly here an allusion to Shechem, afterwards an important and central place in the territory of Ephraim (cf. G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 332–334), where also Joseph was buried (Jos 24^{32}); but nothing is said elsewhere of a *conquest* of Shechem by Jacob: it is evident that there is preserved here a version of Jacob's dealings with Shechem different from any which we find elsewhere.†

49^{2-27} contains the more elaborate poetical Blessing, which Jacob is said to have addressed to all his sons before his death. Throughout this Blessing what the poet really has in view are the *tribes*; as so often elsewhere in Genesis, the tribe is conceived as impersonated in its ancestor, and the ancestor foreshadows the character of the tribe. The poet passes the tribes in review: he singles out in each some striking feature of moral character, political state, or geographical position, for poetical amplification; and on each he pronounces some word of praise or blame, according to its deserts. The moral instability of Reuben, the disorganized social condition of Simeon and Levi, the ideal sovereignty and vine-clad territory of Judah, the maritime advantages enjoyed by Zebulun, the ignoble indifference which led Issachar to prefer ease to independence, the quick and effective attack of Dan, the warlike bravery of Gad, the richness of Asher's soil,‡ the blessings of populousness, military efficiency, climate, and soil, which, in spite of envious assailants, are showered upon Joseph, the martial skill and success of Benjamin, —these, briefly, are the features which the poet selects, and develops one after another, in varied and effective imagery. The historical and geographical conditions reflected in the poem are those of the period of the Judges, Samuel, and David; and this is the age in which the ancient tradition of the patriarch's Blessing must have received its present poetical form.

After this, we read, Jacob charged his sons to bury him in the family grave at Machpelah (49^{29-32} P: 47^{29-31} is parallel in JE), and then died (v.^{33} P). His body was embalmed, according to the Egyptian custom (50^{1-3}): a great funeral procession was organized, such as was usual in Egypt (50^{1-9}); § and he was buried in the land of Canaan, in the cave at Hebron ($50^{12.\ 13}$).‖

The *chronology* of Jacob's life presents serious difficulties: it is evident that the traditions (or theories) about it are inconsistent. (1) P's chronology, as often elsewhere in Gn, is entirely irreconcilable with that of JE. In ch. 27 (JE) Isaac is to all appearance upon his deathbed (cf. v.^{2}); yet according to P (25^{26} 26^{34} 35^{28}) he survived for *eighty years*, dying at the age of 180. Ussher, Keil, and others, arguing back from the dates given in 47^{9} 45^{6} 41^{46} 31^{41}, infer that Jacob's flight to Ḥaran took place in his 77th year: this reduces the 80 years to 43 years, though that is almost equally incredible; but it involves the fresh incongruity of supposing that *thirty-seven* years elapsed between Esau's marrying his Hittite wives (26^{34}), and Rebekah's expressing her fear (27^{46}) that Jacob, then aged *seventy-seven*, should follow his brother's example! Nor is it natural to picture Jacob seeking a wife in Ḥaran, and tending Laban's sheep, as a man 77 years old. (2) It may be doubted whether even the chronology of JE is perfectly consistent. (*a*) The supposition made p. 530 note § is required, as there explained, for consistency; but an unspecified sojourn of some years at either Succoth or Shechem is hardly consonant with the general tenor of the narrative of Jacob's return (31^{3}) from Ḥaran. It is true, in 37^{2} Joseph is said to be 17 years of age; but the years of Joseph's boyhood would be placed more naturally between 35^{22} and 37^{2} than at 33^{17} or 33^{19}. (*b*) Joseph is called (37^{3}) a son of Jacob's 'old age,' as though he were appreciably younger than his brethren: yet Zebulun and Dinah could not have been more than a year or two older (30^{20-24}); for *all* Jacob's children (except Benjamin) must have been born, at least according to E (see 31^{41}), between the 7th and the 16–17th years of his service with Laban (leaving, say, 4–3 years for the events narrated in 30^{25-43}). However, 37^{3} belongs very probably to the other source, J, which may have represented Joseph as born later. In P he is born when Jacob is about 90 (Gn 41^{46} [47 45^{6} E] 47^{9}).

Allusions to Jacob in subsequent parts of Scripture.—The most important are in Hosea, who already applies his history didactically:—

(1) Hos $12^{2-4\ (3-5)}$:—

> 3 In the womb he *supplanted* his brother;
> And in his strength he *persisted with* God:
> 4 Yea, he *persisted* [וַיָּשַׂר] *with* the angel, and *prevailed*;
> He wept, and made supplication unto him;
> At Bethel he found him, and there he spake with him.*

The allusions to the incidents recorded in Gn 25^{26} 32^{28} 28^{13-15} are palpable. Ephraim is lax, indifferent, and frivolous: the ambition shown by its ancestor Jacob to secure pre-eminence even in the womb, the persistence with which afterwards he exerted himself to win the blessing, and the tears with which he sought it,† are held up as examples for its imitation.

(2) Hos $12^{12f.\ (13f.)}$:—

> 12 And Jacob fled into the field of Aram,
> And Israel served for a wife,
> And for a wife he kept (sheep):
> 13 But by a prophet did Jehovah bring Israel up out of Egypt,
> And by a prophet was he kept (preserved).

For the allusions in v.^{12}, see Gn 27^{43} (cf. $35^{1.\ 7}$); $29^{18.\ 20.\ 30}$ 31^{41}. The flight, the penury, the hardships (cf. Gn 31^{38-41}) undergone by Jacob are contrasted with the deliverance of his descendants under the honourable guidance of a prophet.

In Dt 26^{5} 'An Aramæan ready to perish‡ was my father, and he went down into Egypt, and sojourned there, few in number; and he became there a nation, great, mighty, and populous,' the allusion is to Jacob's Aramæan connexions, and to his hard and perilous life as a shepherd in Aram-naharaim. Jacob is also most probably meant by 'thy first father' in Is 43^{27}. In Mal $1^{2.\ 3}$ (cited Ro 9^{13}) the reference is really national: see Gore in *Studia Biblica*, iii. 37 ff.; Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*, 245 ff.

The Character of Jacob.—Of all the characters which are sketched in any fulness in the OT, that of Jacob is the most mixed. On the one hand, he is by nature the 'supplanter': 'is he not,' exclaims Esau, 'rightly named Jacob, for he hath supplanted me these two times'? Twice he takes a mean advantage of his brother; he deceives his aged father; even where he does not directly overreach, prudence and expediency are the determining motives of his life; his thoughts centre in himself; he is ever striving to turn circumstances to his own profit, to make the most out of every opportunity. He is a striking contrast to his brother: Esau is frank, straightforward, and generous; Jacob is scheming, ambitious, and self-seeking; by fair means or foul, he sets himself to compass his ends. On the other hand, Jacob is not destitute of good qualities. He has a deeper and more stable character than Esau: Esau is governed by the impulses of the moment, is heedless of the future, has no thought for any but present and material goods: Jacob, if he is the 'Overreacher,' is also the 'Perseverer' ('Israel'); he possesses steadiness and consistency of purpose; he does not flinch from toil and exertion,—even Laban admits that he has served him well (30^{27}); he can labour and deny himself in order to attain a far-distant goal; he has cleverness, versatility, and diplomatic ability: he thus possesses qualities which, though they may be misdirected, are nevertheless adapted to form the foundation of a sound and genuine character. And one aim of the history of Jacob, as written in the Book of Genesis, is to show how, through the discipline and spiritual experiences of life, the better elements of a character may in the end prevail, and become its determining and predominant principles.

---

* *i.e.* 'mountain-slope' or '-side'; cf. the use of the syn. כָּתֵף Jos $15^{8.\ 10}$ $18^{12.\ 13.\ 16.\ 18}$ (RV poorly, 'side').

† In the parts of ch. 34 which belong to J, two of Jacob's sons wreak their vengeance on individual Shechemites; but Jacob himself repudiates their deed. The present passage shows that a version must have been current according to which Jacob (*i.e.* Israel as a whole) conquered and took possession of Shechem. This version is allied to, and perhaps underlies, the other narrative in ch. 34, according to which the sons of Jacob (and not Simeon and Levi alone) massacred the inhabitants of Shechem; but it is not said, or even implied, in this narrative that they retained the city as their own possession. (The statement in 33^{19} that Jacob purchased a piece of land outside the city, is of course not inconsistent with his forcible conquest of the city itself afterwards). See further, Dillm., Holzinger, and Wellh. *Comp.* 316 ff.

‡ The blessing on Naphtali is too uncertain in its terms to be summarized with any confidence.

§ Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 320 f.

‖ 50^{4-11} (JE) is the sequel to 47^{29-31} (in both Joseph alone is the prominent person); $50^{12.13}$ (P) is the sequel to 49^{29-33} (in both Jacob's sons in general are the actors), the *détour* by Atad (vv.$^{10.\ 11}$), on the *East* of Jordan, is manifestly made merely by the narrator, for the purpose of explaining the name 'Abel-Mizraim,' which, meaning properly *Meadow of Egypt*,—perhaps (cf. the so-called 'Job's Stone' [above, i. 166^{b} *n.*] as commemorating in some way the Egyptian occupation of Canaan,—is here derived, by an assonance, from *'ēbel*, 'mourning.'

* So Pesh., Aq., Symm., Theod. The Heb. text has *with us*, which must mean 'with us in the person of our ancestor.'

† A trait (v.^{4b}) not mentioned in Gn 32^{26-29}.

‡ Or, *lost*; the word is often used of a lost sheep, as Ezk $34^{4.\ 16}$

It may be asked how a character exhibiting so many doubtful qualities should have been selected by Providence as its chosen agent, and be represented as receiving so constantly the marks of God's care and approval (28^{13-15} $31^{12b. 13. 24}$ 32^1 etc.). The answer, no doubt, is to be found in the fact that Providence does not judge by present appearances; and that Jacob possessed qualities which, in spite of the faults, and even the grave faults, by which they were accompanied, were qualities which, when purified, and elevated, and freed from purely personal aims, could be consecrated to the service of God, and made subservient to carrying out His purposes. The turning-point in his life is the struggle at Penuel. In all his dealings hitherto, whether with Esau or Laban, he has been true to his name, he has been the Supplanter or Overreacher. His treatment of Esau was without excuse: in his dealings with Laban, craft was matched against craft; though, in judging Jacob here, it is only right to remember that Laban not only takes the first dishonest step, but is throughout the chief offender. Had Laban treated Jacob honestly and generously, there is no reason to suppose that he would have sought to overreach him. But since Laban seeks, not once only, to profit at his expense, Jacob retaliates,*—and, so far as material gains are concerned, wins. But, as has just been pointed out, Jacob's character includes inconsistent elements; and the struggle at Penuel marks the triumph of the higher over the lower elements in his character. It is the critical moment of his life. He is at the point of re-entering the land which he left twenty (31^{41}) years before; he is about to meet his brother whom he had wronged and deceived; memories of the past return upon him; his conscience smites him, and he is 'greatly afraid.' But God is his real antagonist, not Esau; it is God whom his sins have offended, and who here comes to contest His right. These thoughts and fears are, as it were, materialized in his dream. He struggles with his mysterious antagonist, and, as in his struggles with Esau and Laban, strives to win: he struggles bravely: nor can his antagonist overcome him, until by a divine touch He paralyzes his natural strength. Even then Jacob's tenacity of purpose remains unimpaired; he is conscious that he has a heavenly visitant in his embrace; and he will not let Him go until he has received from Him a blessing. The moment marks a spiritual change in Jacob's character. His carnal weapons are lamed and useless,—they fail him in his contest with God; as the result of his struggle his natural self is left behind, he rises from it an altered man. A new truth is vividly brought home to him,—the valuelessness before God of the weapons in which he has hitherto trusted. The lameness which he carries away with him is, as it were, a palpable memento of the fact. And his new name symbolizes his new nature. It is true, even before this, he has not been represented as destitute of religious feeling; his prayer in 32^{10} evinces humility, thankfulness, and a sense of dependence upon God. Indeed this prayer may be said to prepare psychologically for the spiritual struggle which follows. But it is the result of this struggle that henceforth the better and higher elements in his character assert themselves more strongly than they had done before. In his dealings with Esau in ch. 33 he is politic, and makes the best of the situation; but he cannot be said to treat his brother dishonourably. His rebuke of Simeon and Levi in 34^{30}, however, shows timidity and weakness, and is not prompted by any motive higher than expediency. In his old age domestic trials overtake him: he loses Rachel; for many years he is bereaved of his favourite son; the dread of losing another son weighs heavily upon him (42^{38} 43^{14}): his character is mellowed and softened; and the picture of his closing days is that of a just and God-fearing typical Israelite, strong in faith (48^{21}), and grateful for the Providence which had 'shepherded'* him through his long course of anxieties and vicissitudes, and 'redeemed him from all evil' ($48^{15f.}$).

There remains the question, *how far, and in what sense, the narratives relating to Jacob are historical.* In approaching this question there are some important things to be borne in mind. (1) Upon any view of the Book of Genesis, it was not committed to writing for many centuries after the events described in it occurred: we thus possess no guarantee whatever that it contains a *literally exact* record of the acts and sayings of the patriarchs; for it does not satisfy the primary canon of sound historical criticism, that only narratives contemporary, or nearly so, with the events narrated, and, moreover, consistent with themselves, can claim such a character. (2) It is remarkable how, in Gn, individuals and tribes seem to be placed on the same level, and to be spoken of in the same terms, and how, further, individuals seem frequently to be the impersonation of homonymous tribes. Thus Bethuel is mentioned as an individual (22^{23} 24^{15} *al.*), but his brothers Uẓ and Buz are tribes ($22^{21f.}$). Ḳeturah, again, is described as an individual (25^1); but her sons and grandsons are tribes (25^{2-4}). In Gn 10 nations are quite manifestly represented as individuals; and one of them, Cush, has, conversely, an individual for his son (10^8). So elsewhere: Machir, in Gn 50^{23} an individual, in Nu 26^{29} 'begets' (the country) Gilead; in Jg 11^1 Gilead 'begets' Jephthah.† Again, Canaan, Japheth, and Shem, in Noah's blessing (Gn 9^{25-27}), clearly represent three groups of nations: Ishmael (16^{12}) is in character the personification of the desert tribes whose descent is traced to him (25^{13-15}): Esau 'is Edom' (25^{30} $36^{1.8.19}$; cf. Jer 49^{10})), and Edom is the name of a people. More than this, 'Jacob' and 'Israel' are themselves national names, the latter a standing one, the former a poetical synonym (Gn 49^{7}, even in Jacob's own mouth; Nu $23^{21.23}$, Dt 32^{9} 33^{28}, Hos 10^{11} 12^{2}, Am $7^{2.5}$, and frequently). Heredity is undoubtedly a true principle: children inherit the qualities of their parents; they also often experience, for good or for ill, as the case may be, the consequences of their parents' acts; but it would be extending the principle altogether unduly to suppose that the character and political condition of an entire group of peoples were really determined by a father's curse upon their ancestor (Gn 9^{25}), or to imagine that the whole subsequent history of two of the Israelitish tribes was fixed in reality (49^{5-7}) by an act of their ancestors, in which, after all, they were merely maintaining, by means consistent with the manners of the age, the honour of a sister. In cases such as these, we can surely have only the explanations devised either by popular imagination, or by a poet interpreting the mind of his people, for the purpose of accounting for national character, and national conditions, as they existed at a later age.

---

* At least according to J (30^{31-43}). According to E ($31^{4-16. 26-43}$), Laban arbitrarily and unfairly changes Jacob's wages; but Jacob's gains are not due to his own artifices, but to the dispositions of Providence (31^{8-12}). As the two narratives are thus derived from different sources, it follows that $31^{5b. 7-9. 12. 24. 29}$ do not express, or imply, divine approval of the artifices described in 30^{31-42}.

* AV, RV, entirely losing the metaphor, 'fed.'

† Comp. the curious notice of 'Ephraim' in 1 Ch 7^{20-24} (see art. BERIAH).

Admitting, however, that these principles are true, how far may they be adopted in explanation of the patriarchal narratives? Are Jacob and his twelve sons, Esau, and Laban simply the personifications of corresponding peoples, Israel and the 12 tribes, Edom, and Syria (like Hellen, with his sons, Dorus and Æolus, and his grandsons, Achæus and Ion, among the Greeks), the characteristic features of each being reflections of the circumstances and relations of the age which gave them birth (cf. Wellh. *Hist.* 318–325)?[*] An unsubstantial figure, like Canaan, might be an example of such personification; but the abundance of personal incident and detail makes such a view improbable in the case, at least, of the principal patriarchal characters. May they then *represent* tribes and sub-tribes? in other words, may the movements, and mutual relations, of tribes and sub-tribes have been expressed in a personal and individual form? This is Ewald's view. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob represent the successive migratory movements of Hebrew tribes from the original common home of the Hebrew and Aramæan nationalities in Aram-naharaim across the Euphrates. Jacob's father was a Hebrew already settled in Canaan: his mother was an Aramæan (Gn 25^{20}); he marries two Aramæan wives: after a long contest with his uncle (and father-in-law) Laban, 'the Aramæan' (25^{20} 28^{5} $31^{20.24}$), he ultimately comes to terms with him, returns to Canaan with great wealth, and finally gives his name to the people settled there: this means that a new and energetic branch of the Hebrew race migrated from its original home in Aram-naharaim, pushed forward into Canaan, amalgamated there with the Hebrews ('Isaac') already on the spot (becoming thereby Isaac's 'son'), and, in virtue of the superior practical abilities displayed by it, acquired ultimately supremacy over all its kin: the contest with Laban 'represents the struggle which continued, probably for centuries, between the crafty Hebrews on the opposite banks of the Euphrates, showing how in the end the southern Hebrews gained the upper hand and the northern were driven off in derision': Edom was a branch ('son') of the tribe represented by 'Isaac'; 'Jacob,' becoming fused with this tribe, is Esau's 'brother,' but at the same time his younger brother, as arriving later in Canaan,—though, as he became afterwards the more powerful nation, he is described as having wrested from him his birthright: similarly, Jacob's wives and sons represent the existence of different elements in the original community, and the growth of tribal distinctions within it.[*] Ewald, however, holds at the same time that Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph are historical characters, prominent leaders of the nation at successive stages of its history (pp. 301, 305 f., 340, 342, 345, 382).[†] Again, the amount of personal incident and detail in the patriarchal narratives seems to constitute an objection to this explanation of their meaning: would the movements of tribes be represented in this veiled manner on such a large scale as would be the case if this explanation were the true one? No doubt, there are elements of truth in both these explanations: each will account reasonably for *some* traits in the patriarchal narratives: the question is, whether they will account for all.

The view which on the whole may be said best to satisfy the circumstances of the case is the view that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are historical persons, and that the accounts which we have of them are *in outline* historically true, but that their characters are idealized, and their biographies in many respects coloured by the feelings and associations of a later age. 'J,' says Mr. Ottley,[‡] and his remarks are equally true of E, 'describes the age of the patriarchs as in some essential respects so closely similar to later periods, that it can only be regarded as a picture of primitive life and religion drawn in the light of a subsequent age. We have here to do with the earliest form of history—traditional folk-lore about primitive personages and events, worked up according to some preconceived design by a devout literary artist.' The basis of the narratives in Genesis is in fact *popular oral tradition*; and that being so, we may expect them to display the characteristics which popular oral tradition does in other cases. They may well include a substantial historical nucleus: but details may be due to the involuntary action of popular invention or imagination, operating during a long period of time; characteristic anecdotes, reflecting the feelings, and explaining the relations, of a later age may thus have become attached to the patriarchs; phraseology and expression will nearly always be ascribed rightly to the narrators who cast these traditions into their present literary shape. One very conspicuous interest in these narratives is the explanation of *existing facts and institutions*—the fact, for instance, that Edom, though an older nation than Israel (36^{31}), was nevertheless politically its inferior, the sanctity of Bethel and its famous monolith, the names borne both by Israel itself and by its twelve tribes, the origin of the great border-cairn on Gilead, the names of places, as Bethel, Mahanaim, Penuel, Succoth, Allon-bachuth, Abel-mizraim, the custom of not eating of a particular muscle (32^{32}), the ethnological relations subsisting between Israel and its neighbours (Ishmaelite tribes, 25$^{12-17}$; Edom, and the racial affinities of its inhabitants, ch. 36), the characteristics of the different tribes (48^{19}; ch. 49). It may be doubted whether in all these cases we have the real historical explanations of the facts in question, and not rather explanations due to popular imagination, or suggested by current etymologies: in some cases, it will be remembered, we find duplicate and inconsistent traditions respecting the same occurrences. Wellhausen may be wrong in not allowing a more substantial historical substratum for the patriarchal narratives; but his general characterization of them is just.[*]

---

[*] See the full discussion of this view in Kuenen, *ThT*, May 1871, p. 228 ff.; and cf. Smend, *AT Theol.* 12, 96 f.; Meinhold, *Wider den Kleinglauben* (1895), 19, 23.

[*] Ewald, *Hist.* i. 310 ff., 338, 341–344, 346, 348–350, 363, 371–374 375 ff. Cf. Stade, *Gesch.* i. 124–128 (who, however, does not allow that anything pre-Mosaic is reflected in the patriarchal narratives).

[†] Dillmann's view is substantially that of Ewald: recollections of tribal movements are preserved in the family histories of Genesis; Isaac and Jacob, like Lot, Ishmael, Esau, and their sons, being 'ideal personal names,' derived either from subdivisions of the nation as it existed at a later time, or from historical stages of its growth, Jacob representing a new Hebrew immigration from Mesopotamia; Abraham, however, being the personal leader of the first band of immigrants, who, according to all the Pentateuchal narrators, was the spiritual father of the entire nation (*Gen.*^{6} 218, 219, 316 [Eng. tr. vol. ii. pp. 1–5, 190]; *AT Theol.* 77 f., 79–81). (Dillmann's remarks on these narratives of Genesis contain much that is suggestive and excellent, and deserve to be read in their entirety). The view of Kittel (*Gesch.* i. 153 [Eng. tr. i. 168 ff.]) is similar, except that he treats the patriarchs more distinctly as personal tribal chiefs, who afterwards gave their names to the tribes led by them.

[‡] *Bampton Lectures*, p. 109.

It must further be allowed that the characters of the patriarchs are coloured *religiously* by the feelings and beliefs of a later age. In the days of the patriarchs, religion must have been in a rudimentary stage: there are traces of this in the idea, for instance, of the revelations of deity being confined to particular spots, and in the reverence paid to sacred trees or pillars; but at the same time the patriarchs often express themselves in terms suggesting much riper spiritual capacities and experiences. Here we cannot but trace the hands of the narrators, who were men penetrated by definite moral and religious ideas, and who, writing with a didactic aim, idealized to a certain extent the characters of the patriarchs, and, while not stripping them of the distinctive features with which they were traditionally invested, so filled in the outlines supplied by tradition as to present the great figures of Hebrew antiquity as *spiritual types*, examples, for imitation or warning, as the case might be, for successive generations.

The patriarchs are, thirdly, idealized in another direction, in common with many of the other patriarchal figures in Genesis, by being invested with the characteristics which afterwards marked the tribes descended, or reputed to be descended, from them:[†] indeed it is possible that sometimes even episodes of tribal life are referred back to them in the form of incidents occurring within the limits of their own families. Ishmael, for instance, in 16^{12} may be the personal son of Abraham; but if he is this, he is also something more: he impersonates the Bedawîn of the desert. So Jacob and Esau, in their contest for supremacy, are more than the twin sons of a man named Isaac: they impersonate two nations; and the later relations subsisting between these two nations plainly colour parts of the narrator's representation (esp. the terms of the Blessings). Jacob, keeping Laban's sheep, may be an individual; but when he and Laban are fixing the boundary which neither is to pass, they plainly represent two peoples. The story of Shechem and Dinah is one in which especially it may be suspected that this explanation is the correct one. Jg 9 shows how, after the conquest, Israelites and Canaanites lived in Shechem side by side; the almost complete identity of expression between Gn 33^{19} 'the sons of Ḥamor, the father of Shechem,' and Jg 9^{28} 'the men of Ḥamor, the father of Shechem' (where Shechem is clearly the place),[‡] raises a legitimate doubt whether in the former passage 'Shechem' does not mean the place as well, and whether therefore in ch. 34 the same name is not a personification of the inhabitants of the place: if this view be correct, ch. 34 will mean that an Israelite clan (Dinah) had gained a footing in Shechem, and was in danger of being absorbed by the native Canaanites (the Benê Ḥamor): Simeon and Levi interposed to prevent this;[*] but their action was not supported by the Israelites at large ('Jacob,' 34^{30}); cf. 49$^{5.6}$. Gn 49^{7}, it has even been conjectured, contains an allusion to the result: the Canaanites retaliated with such effect that these two tribes were broken up, and never afterwards recovered from the blow.[†] See art. SIMEON (TRIBE).

But, however that may be, it is impossible not to be impressed by the remarkable manner in which Jacob, both in the brighter and in the darker aspects of his character, is the prototype of his descendants. His doubtful qualities exactly recall that remarkable faculty of acquiring wealth and influence which the Jew possesses in such an extraordinary degree, and which, as must be admitted by his best friends, he is unfortunately apt to exercise with an exaggerated regard to self-interest. 'By Jacob's peculiar discipline of exile and suffering, a true counterpart is produced of the special faults and special gifts, known to us chiefly through his persecuted descendants in the Middle Ages. Professor Blunt has, with much ingenuity, pointed out how Jacob seems to have "learned, like maltreated animals, to have the *fear of man habitually before his eyes*."[‡] In Jacob we see the same timid, cautious watchfulness that we know so well, though under darker colours, through our great masters of fiction, in Shylock of Venice, and Isaac of York. But no less, in the nobler side of his career, do we have the germs of the unbroken endurance, the undying resolution, which keeps the nation alive still even in its present outcast condition, and which was the basis, in its brighter days, of the heroic zeal, long-suffering, and hope of Moses, of David, of Jeremiah, of the Maccabees, of the twelve Jewish apostles, and the first martyr, Stephen.'[§]

LITERATURE.—Comms. on Gen.; Ewald, *Hist.* i. 341–362 (who brings out well the dramatic aspects of parts of Jacob's career); Stanley, *Jewish Church*, vol. i. Lect. III.; F. W. Robertson, *Notes on Genesis*, and *Sermons*, i. 40 ff. (on the wrestling at Penuel). For post-Biblical Jewish views about Jacob, it must suffice to refer to the Targums on Gn, the Midrash *Bereshith Rabba* (tr. Wünsche, 1880), the Book of Jubilees (Dillm. in Ewald's *Jahrb.* iii.; Rönsch, 1874; Charles, 1895), the Midrashim trd in Rönsch, 390 ff., and art. JACOB in Hamburger's *Real-Encyclopädie f. Bibel u. Talmud.*

2. (Ἰακώβ) The father of Joseph the husband of Mary (Mt 1$^{15f.}$). S. R. DRIVER.

JACOB'S WELL.—The ancient records contain no account of Jacob having dug a well. The earliest mention of it occurs in Jn 4^{6} (πηγὴ τοῦ Ἰακώβ). There, however, it is taken as matter of common belief that the well by which our Saviour conversed with the woman of Samaria was made by the patriarch. The traditions of Jew, Moslem, and Christian concur in identifying this well with that now universally known by the name *Bîr Ya'ḳûb*, or 'Jacob's well.' The Samaritans, who have dwelt in the locality for about 2300 years, have never wavered in their conviction that this was the work of Jacob. The circumstances connected with the founding of their community would lead them to make the most of all traditional associations which their neighbourhood afforded, with the fathers of Israel. That they were tempted in some cases to invent such associations, seems all too likely; but there are elements which go to confirm this tradition. It is in itself a strong presumption in favour of this site, that the Jewish belief coincides with that of the Samaritans. Considering the strenuous opposition offered to other identifications supported by the Samaritans, we may be sure this would not have escaped had there been any ground on which to attack it. The agreement indicated in the narrative between the Jews and Samaritans in the 1st cent. may be taken to prove the existence of a tradition inherited by both from a time anterior to the great quarrel. But the tradition also afforded a reasonable explanation of the presence of the well in this particular spot, in such close proximity to plentiful streams from perennial sources. These were naturally in the hands of the people of Shechem. When Jacob pitched his camp in the plain near by, being a man of peace, he would desire to avoid all occasion for the strifes so often arising from the contentions of rival herdsmen at the springs. By digging this well, he could secure the necessary supplies, make good his own independence, and enjoy an added assurance of peace. Jacob's residence here in such conditions is the one circumstance recorded in history which satisfactorily accounts for the existence of this well.

---

[*] *Hist.* 318–327 (cf. 464 *n.*). The contemptuous criticisms of Robertson (*Rel. of Isr.* 120–135) show little insight, and are anything but conclusive.

[†] Cf. Baethgen, *ap.* Ottley, p. 111.

[‡] 'Father'=*founder*, *settler*, as 1 Ch 2$^{21.23}$ (Machir, the 'father' of Gilead), $^{42-45.49-52}$ (the 'fathers' of Ziph, Hebron, and other towns), 4$^{3-5.11.12.14.17-21}$.

[*] Ewald, *Hist.* i. 359, 378 f.; cf. Dillm. pp. 369, 460.

[†] Wellh. *Comp.* 353–355, more briefly *Hist.* 324; Stade, *Gesch.* i. 147, 154; Kittel, ii. 63 (Eng. tr. ii. 70); Moore, *Judges*, p. 240 f.; who suppose that the incident referred to took place when the Israelites, after the conquest, first began to establish themselves on the W. of Jordan.

[‡] *Undesigned Coincidences*, I. viii.

[§] Stanley, *Jewish Church*^{3}, i. 56 f.

That it was here Jesus held His memorable interview with the woman of Samaria, seems beyond dispute. Going through Samaria to Galilee, Jesus must needs pass close by this place. As one journeys northward along the base of Mt. Gerizim, skirting the fertile plain of Mukhneh, almost opposite the entrance to the pass between Ebal and Gerizim, the road bifurcates, one branch bending to westward, through the vale to Shechem, and thence by way of Sebastîyeh (Samaria) and Jenîn to Galilee. The other goes northward, across the bay of the plain where it narrows between the mountains, and again divides; one limb passing downwards to Beisân and the Sea of Galilee, the other leading straight to Jenîn. Either of these roads may still be taken. While that past Sebastîyeh is naturally the more frequented to-day, the other is more direct; and it is impossible to say which was the more popular in Christ's time. But as the well in question lies in the fork between the two, it was equally easily accessible to the traveller from either.

The well is described as being close by Sychar, 'near to the parcel of ground that Jacob gave to his son Joseph' (Gn 48^{22}). If, as seems certain, this was the plot spoken of in Gn 33^{19}, it lay before, *i.e.* to the east of, the city of Shechem, where, in the plain, the patriarch had chosen his residence. It became, according to St. Stephen (Ac 7^{16}), the burying-place of those that went down to Egypt; and here the bones of Joseph were laid to rest (Jos 24^{32}). The modern town of Nâblus, representing the old Shechem, lies in the hollow between Ebal and Gerizim, less than 2 miles to the west, and is apparently farther distant than was the ancient city. The traditional tomb of Joseph is seen in the vale close by to the north-east; and just beyond this, to the lower slopes of Mount Ebal clings the village of 'Askar, which probably represents the town of Sychar mentioned in the narrative (see 'The Question of Sychar' in G. A. Smith's *HGHL* pp. 367–375). Eastward and southward stretches the rich plain which attracted Jacob and his flocks, whose whitening fields arrested the Saviour's eye, and where valuable crops are grown to-day.

Mount Gerizim throws its rugged crags steeply against the sky, immediately to the south, and, crowning the heights, just behind the Moslem Wely seen from the well's mouth, are the ruins of Justinian's fortress and the Samaritan place of sacrifice, enshrined in the sacred memories of millenniums. The dark cliffs seem almost to impend over the spot, so that it would be most natural, standing at the brink of the well, to speak of it as 'this mountain.' In these respects the situation of *Bîr Ya'ḳûb* exactly meets the requirements of the history.

The mouth of the well is some feet below the present surface, in the midst of a vaulted chamber, about 15 ft. square, the roof of which has fallen in. Major Anderson made a descent into the well in 1866, an account of which he gives in the *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 465. 'The mouth of the well,' he says, 'has a narrow opening, just wide enough to allow the body of a man to pass through with arms uplifted, and this narrow neck, which is about 4 ft. long, opens into the well itself, which is cylindrically shaped, and about 7 ft. 6 in. in diameter. The mouth and upper part of the well is built of masonry, and the well appears to have been sunk through a mixture of alluvial soil and limestone fragments, till a compact bed of mountain limestone was reached, having horizontal strata which could easily be worked; and the interior of the well presents the appearance of having been lined throughout with rough masonry.' The estimates of depth have varied widely, from Arculfus (A.D. 670), who gives it as about 240 ft., to Maundrell (1697), who puts it at 105 ft.; and Major Anderson, who found it to be 75 ft. No doubt it was originally much deeper than it is now. In the decay of the several buildings that have stood over it, much rubbish must have fallen into it, and the habit travellers have of dropping a stone into a pit and watching how long it takes to reach the bottom, that so they may judge of the depth, contributed to the same result. This now, however, is carefully guarded against. Some years ago the well, and ground around it, were acquired by the authorities of the Greek Church in Nâblus. A dry-stone wall surrounds the plot, which has been planted out as an orchard, the keeper being accommodated in a small hovel by the gate. Over the well itself a hut has been built, the key of which is in charge of a neighbouring priest, in whose company the well may be visited.

A succession of churches stood on this spot, as we gather from the narratives of pilgrims. The last appears to have been destroyed after the crushing defeat of the Crusaders in 1187. An excellent account of the ruins of these buildings will be found in the *PEF Mem.* ii. p. 174, etc. A stone was found in 1881 (see *PEFSt*, p. 212), which may have been the original cover of the well.

The water now usually lasts until the month of May, and sometimes later. Then it disappears until the return of the rainy season. If the well were cleaned out, doubtless it would last much longer. Maundrell found 15 ft. of water in May 1697. The supply is therefore probably derived from percolation and rainfall; and apparently it has never risen near to the surface—the woman says 'the well is deep.' This possibly suggested to Jesus the phrase 'living water' as descriptive of His truth. For 'living water' is, in the language of the East, that of the fountain or stream as contrasted with that collected in cistern or well. In Jn 4^5 the name used is indeed *πηγὴ τοῦ Ἰακώβ*, the well or fountain of Jacob; but in vv.$^{11.12}$ the woman uses the strictly accurate term *τὸ φρέαρ*, the water-tank or cistern. For most purposes, living water is preferred; but where this is very 'hard' or 'heavy,' like that 'gushing from the very bowels of rocky (limestone) Mount Ebal,' the 'light' water that descends from heaven is greatly valued. Thus the water of Jacob's well is highly esteemed by the modern inhabitants of Nâblus and district (see letter from Dr. Bailey, a former missionary in Nâblus, *PEFSt*, 1897, p. 67; cf. also pp. 149, 196).* If the same were true in our Lord's time, apart altogether from the sacred associations which would lend it special attractions, it would be sufficient to account for the presence of the woman there, even if her home were on the lip of the rushing stream at *'Askar*.

LITERATURE.—Robinson, *BRP*^{2} ii. 285 f.; Thomson, *Land and Book*, ii. 146–151; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* pp. 367–375; *PEF Mem.* ii.; Conder, *Tent-Work in Palestine*, pp. 15, 38; Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*, ed. 1894, pp. 215, 216; *Narrative of a Mission of Inquiry to the Jews*, p. 212; Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 241; *Expos. Times*, March 1894, p. 97 f.

W. EWING.

JACUBUS (A Ἰάκουβος, B Ἰαρσούβοος), 1 Es 9^{48}.—In Neh 8^{7} AKKUB.

JADA (יָדָע, perhaps 'the knowing one').—A Jerahmeelite, 1 Ch 2$^{28.32}$. See GENEALOGY.

JADDUA (יַדּוּעַ).—**1.** One of those who sealed the covenant, Neh 10^{21} [Heb. ^{22}]. **2.** A high priest, the third in descent from Eliashib, the contemporary of Nehemiah, Neh 12$^{11.22}$. The latter verse seems to make him contemporary with Darius the Persian, *i.e.* Darius III. Codomannus, and he is doubtless the Jaddua who is named by Josephus in connexion with Alexander the Great (Jos. *Ant.* XI. viii. 5, cf. vii. 2, viii. 7). See GENEALOGY.

H. A. WHITE.

JADDUS (B Ἰαδδούς, A Ἰοδδούς, AV Addus), 1 Es 5^{38}.—A priest whose descendants were unable to trace their genealogy at the time of the return under Zerub., and were removed from the priesthood. He is there said to have married Augia, a daughter of Zorzelleus or Barzillai, and to have been called after his name. In Ezr 2^{61}, Neh 7^{63} he is called by his adopted name Barzillai; his original name Jaddus, and the name of his wife Augia, appear only in 1 Es. See BARZILLAI, No. 1.

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

JADON (יָדוֹן, Εὐαράων, Ἰαερείν, Ἰαρί, Ἰαρίμ, Ἀαρών; AB‎א omit; Neh 3^{7}).—A Meronothite, who in company with the men of Gibeon and of Mizpah took part in rebuilding the wall of Jerusalem. The title Meronothite occurs again 1 Ch 27^{30}, but a place Meronoth is nowhere named. According to Jos. *Ant.* VIII. viii. 5, ix. 1, J. was the name of the man of God sent from Judah to Jeroboam (1 K 13). This tradition probably rests upon the identification of this prophet with IDDO the seer (which see).

H. A. WHITE.

JAEL (יָעֵל 'mountain-goat'; see on the name, Gray, *Heb. Prop. Names*, 90) is remembered on account of one famous episode in her life, of which we have two not altogether consistent accounts—one in prose (Jg 4$^{4-22}$), the other in poetry (Jg 5$^{2-31}$). We shall first examine the latter, as undoubtedly the earlier version, and then consider the additional information supplied by the prose narrative.

From the Song of Deborah we learn that Deborah, a prophetess, and Barak, determined to free their countrymen from the tyranny of the kings of Canaan (5$^{6.19}$), which seems to have been especially felt by the tribe of Issachar (v.^{15}). The leader of these kings was Sisera, and against his army the tribes of Ephraim, Benjamin, Manasseh (v.^{14}), Issachar (v.^{15}), Zebulun, and Naphtali sent troops, the latter two tribes being especially active (v.^{18}). The decisive battle was fought 'in Taanach by the waters of Megiddo' (v.^{19}), where a great storm came on and 'the stars in their courses fought against Sisera' (v.^{20}). The defeated leader escaped, and is described (v.^{25}) as asking for hospitality from Jael, 'the wife of Heber the Kenite' (v.^{24}). She gave the thirsty man to drink of the milk which would naturally be found in the tent of a nomad chieftain, and then 'she put her hand to the peg (יָתֵד), and her right hand to the workmen's hammer; and with the hammer she smote Sisera, she smote through his head, yea, she pierced and struck through his temples. At her feet he bowed, he fell, he lay; where he bowed, there he fell down dead' (vv.$^{26.27}$). For this exploit she is described in Deborah's triumphal ode as 'blessed above women.'

The first question to determine is, by what instrument and in what fashion is Jael here represented as having slain Sisera? Most modern critics (Cooke, Moore, Budde, etc.) hold that the words of vv.$^{26.27}$ indicate that Sisera was struck down as he was in the act of drinking, Jael dealing him a sudden blow, much as Saladin slew the treacherous knight in Scott's *Talisman*. And some identify the 'peg' with the handle of the 'workmen's hammer' mentioned in the parallel clause of v.^{26}. Thus W. R. Smith held that Jael's act was 'not the murder of a sleeping man, but the use of a daring stratagem. But the word "peg" suggested a tent-peg, and so the later prose story took it, and thereby misunderstood the whole thing' (*OTJC*^{2} 132). But it is extremely doubtful whether יָתֵד can mean anything but a 'tent-pin' (Ex 27^{19}) or 'peg' (Is 22^{25}, Ezk 15^{3}); and, further, the meaning of the verbs מָחַק (ἅπ. λεγ.) and חָלַף (see Job 20^{24}) is too uncertain to entitle us to assert that there is here no hint of *piercing*, as contrasted with *crushing*, Sisera's skull. The truth is that vv.$^{26.27}$ of ch. 5 are too obscure to admit of dogmatism as to their meaning; and it is by no means clear that they were misunderstood by the writer of the later prose narrative (4^{22}), whose account is: 'Jael took a tent-pin (יָתֵד), and took an hammer in her hand, and went softly unto him, and smote the pin into his temples, and it pierced through into the ground; for he was in a deep sleep: so he swooned and died.'

The prose narrative, then, is not necessarily in contradiction with the Ode as to the manner of Sisera's death, though undoubtedly, if we had only the Ode to guide us, we should not be able to reproduce the scene described in 4^{21}. The prose narrator seems to have had independent information, oral or otherwise.

There are other points of difference between chs. 4 and 5 which make it probable that the later writer has made free use of sources other than the Song. (*a*) As we have seen, 5$^{14.15.18}$ describes the uprising of many tribes; but in 4^{10} Barak collects 10,000 men from Zebulun and Naphtali only. It cannot, however, be denied that these are the tribes whose prowess is most prominent in the Song (5^{18}). (*b*) In the poem, *kings* of Canaan are mentioned, of whom Sisera is the leader; in 4^{2} Sisera is the general of Jabin, king of Canaan (or [4^{17}] of Hazor), under whose tyranny the people of Israel had been 'mightily oppressed' for twenty years (4^{3}). (*c*) The connexion of Jabin with the Jael-Sisera story is not clear. Jabin takes no part in the action; and it is possible that he has been introduced here through a reminiscence of Jabin, king of Hazor, the head of a Canaanite confederacy, whose army Joshua defeated at the Waters of Merom (Jos 11$^{1-11}$). (*d*) Jabin's city, Hazor, was in Galilee, far distant from the Kishon Valley; and Kedesh is north of Hazor. Here (4^{11}) were Heber's tents,† to which Sisera fled after his defeat, having first (4^{15}) abandoned his chariot with the view of escaping his pursuing enemy. But (α) it is curious that Sisera should have passed by Jabin's stronghold when seeking shelter;† and (β) it is difficult to reconcile the geographical data of the prose version with the implication that Jael's tent was not far from the battlefield.

To return to the episode of Sisera's death at the hands of Jael. The prose version makes the case against Jael blacker than the song does; for (*a*) in 4^{18} she *invites* Sisera to her tent, (*b*) in 4^{20} his trustful reliance on her loyalty is shown by his charge to her to stand at the tent door and deny, if asked, that any one lay concealed within; and (*c*) in 4^{21} she kills him when *asleep*. But, on either story, her act seems one of black and inexcusable treachery; and difficulty has been felt in reconciling the words of approval in 5^{24} with the verdict of conscience. Various expedients have been devised to evade the difficulty. It has been supposed that Jael was granted a revelation from God (cf. Jg 4^9) bidding her slay Sisera, and that her action is to be compared to Joshua's alleged pitiless extermination of the aboriginal inhabitants of Canaan, in accordance with the command recorded in Dt $7^{1.\,2}$. But this is to read something into the narrative for which there is no scriptural warrant; Jael seems to have acted entirely on her own initiative. Mozley* gave a more plausible explanation. When Sisera was in Jael's power, he urges, she was in a dilemma; she must be treacherous to him or disloyal to Israel, for, if he got away safely, no one could tell how soon he might raise another army. Now she looked on him as an outlaw, as one who had no right to life or fair dealing, for the divine command had gone forth for the destruction of him and his host; and the idea of human personality, of the individual's private rights, was little developed in that primitive age. And thus she was justified, *relatively to the morality of her time*, in killing Sisera; and the commendation of 5^{24} is to be interpreted in like manner as expressing the natural feelings of a semi-barbarous people. This explanation, though valuable as laying stress on the rude condition of the Hebrew conscience in the early stages of Hebrew history, is not altogether satisfactory. For Jael's act was *not* in accordance with contemporary morality.† It was a violation of the duty of hospitality, conspicuously sacred among her countrymen and in her age. To such a degree did Lot regard it that he was willing to purchase the safety of his guests by the honour of his daughters (Gn 19^8). And, according to the prose narrative, Sisera was not Jael's enemy: 'There was peace between Jabin, king of Hazor, and the house of Heber the Kenite' (Jg 4^{17}). Thus she must have been in danger from the advance of Barak's army, flushed with victory, in whose track her tent lay, unless she could devise some plan for propitiating the conqueror. Self-preservation suggested the way of escape, and she adopted it. 'Come and *I* will show thee the man whom thou seekest,' she said to Barak (4^{22}).

---

* The letter is quoted in *HGHL*^{3} p. 676.

* In Jg 1^{16} it is recorded that 'the children of the Kenite, Moses' brother-in-law,' accompanied the tribe of Judah to the north of Palestine after the conquest of the country. After some unspecified time, Heber, seemingly an important person among them, moved northward to the territory of Naphtali, and 'pitched his tent as far as the oak in Zaanannim, which is by Kedesh' (4^{11}). While living there, he seems, according to 4^{17}, to have formed an alliance with Jabin.

† It might be urged that Sisera may have thought the tent of the women a more secure haven than Jabin's city; a defeated and discredited general might well fear to return to his master.

But whether her motive was patriotic or selfish, the 'moral difficulty' of the narrative is serious only to those who do not recognize the gradual education of mankind. Jael's act was not moral according even to her own standard, and thus to compare her with Judith or with Charlotte Corday is not quite apt. The approval of Deborah's Song must be ranked with those passages in the imprecatory Psalms which breathe at times the cruel and vengeful spirit of man, rather than the Spirit of God. See DEBORAH, HEBER, JABIN, SISERA.

J. H. BERNARD.

JAGUR (יָגוּר).—A town in the extreme south of Judah, Jos 15^{21}. The site is unknown.

JAH (יָהּ).—An abbreviated form of *Jahweh* (יְהוָה), found chiefly in proper names, but occasionally also besides. The form of the abbreviation is in accordance with analogy: the apocopation of the last syllable gave rise to *yahw*, and this, by the principles of the Massoretic vocalization, became *yāhū* (cf. *tṓhū* from *tohw*, and, what is even a closer parallel, *yishtaḥăweh*, shortened after the *wāw* consecutive into *yishtáḥū*, in pause *yishtā́ḥū*, through an intermediate form, not recognized by the Massoretes, *yishtaḥw*); and *yāhū* (יָהוּ) was afterwards shortened to *yāh* (יָהּ—with *mappiq*), and ultimately (in proper names) to *yāʰ* (יָה).

(1) Proper names, of which the second element is *yāh*, are very numerous in Hebrew: Mr. Gray (*Studies in Heb. Proper Names*, p. 284 ff.) enumerates 127 (*e.g.* Abijah, Uriah, Isaiah, etc.). The reader who is not conversant with Hebrew ought, however, to know that in the original the form in very many of these proper names is *yā́hū*: on the whole, it may be said that the earlier form is *yā́hū*, and the later form *yāh* (the *h* 'quiescing'); but there are exceptions to this rule, and sometimes both forms occur side by side in the same context.

Thus, to take a few examples (the names, in their earlier parts are written generally in their English form), we have in 1 K 1–2 *Adoniyāhū*, except in $1^{5.\,7.\,18}$ 2^{28} where we have *Adoniyāh*; *Aḥazyāhū* occurs regularly in both K and Ch, except in 2 K 1^3 $9^{16.\,23.\,27.\,29}$ 11^2, 2 Ch 20^{35} *Aḥazyāh*; the same is the case with *Eliyāhū* (*Eliyāh* 2 K $1^{3.\,4.\,8.\,12}$, Mal 3^{23}, and, not of the prophet, 1 Ch 8^{27}, Ezr $10^{21.\,26}$), *Amazyāhū* (*Amazyāh* 2 K 12^{22} 13^{12} 14^8 15^1, Am $7^{10.\,12.\,14}$, 1 Ch 4^{34} 6^{30}), *Benayāhū* (*Benayāh* 2 S 20^{23}, 1 Ch 4^{36} $11^{22.\,31}$ 27^{14}, 2 Ch 20^{14}, Ezk 11^{13} [v.^{1} *Benayāhū*], Ezr $10^{25.\,30.\,35.\,43}$), *Yirmĕyāhū* (the prophet), except 27^1 $28^{5.\,6.\,10.\,11.\,12.\,12.\,15}$ 29^1, Dn 9^2, Ezr 1^1; *Yesha'yāhū* (the prophet Isaiah) uniformly (including 2 Ch 26^{22} $32^{20.\,32}$); *Uzziyāhū* (the king), except 2 K $15^{13.\,30}$, Hos 1^1, Am 1^1, Zec 14^5; *Gedalyāhū* (in 2 K 25, Jer 39–43) uniformly, except Jer $40^{5.\,6.\,8}$ 41^{16}; *Hizkiyāhū* (the king Hezekiah) uniformly, except 2 K $18^{1.\,10.\,13.\,14.\,15.\,16}$, Hos 1^1, Mic 1^1, Pr 25^1; *'Athalyāhū* (the queen), both K and Ch, except 2 K $11^{1.\,3.\,13.\,14}$, 2 Ch 22^{12}; etc.: on the other hand, *Uriyāh* occurs everywhere, except Jer $26^{20.\,21.\,23}$ (*Uriyāhū*); *Aḥiyāh* is more common than *Aḥiyāhū* (only 1 K $14^{4.\,5.\,6.\,18}$, 2 Ch 9^{29}), occurring already in 1 S $14^{3.\,18}$, *Malchiyāh* than *Malchiyāhū* (Jer 38^6), *Micah* in Jg 17–18 than *Micāyᵉhū* ($17^{1.\,4}$), *Neriyāh* (Baruch's father) in Jer than *Neriyāhū* ($36^{14.\,32}$ 43^6), *Nethanyāh* in Jer 40–41 than *Nethanyāhū* (40^8 41^9). In Ezr-Neh proper names compounded with *-yah* are very numerous; but the form *-yāhū* occurs but once (Ezr 10^{41} *Shelemyāhū*): on the other hand, in the parts of Ch added by the compiler many of the names of Levites and others are written with *-yāhū* (see, *e.g.*, 1 Ch $15^{18.\,21.\,22.\,24}$ $24^{21\text{-}26}$ $25^{12\text{ff.}}$ $26^{2.\,11.\,14}$ $27^{16\text{ff.}}$, 2 Ch 17^8 $29^{12\text{f.}}$).\*

(2) Outside proper names, Jah occurs only in poetry (mostly in late liturgical poetry), viz. Ex 15^2 'My strength and a song is Jah' (cited Is 12^2, Ps 118^{14}), Ex 17^{16} (if the text be sound) in a poetically-worded passage of E (see RVm), Is 26^4 'In Jah Jahweh is a rock of ages,' $38^{11.\,11}$ (Hezekiah's song), Ps $68^{4.\,18}$ 77^{11} 89^8 $94^{7.\,12}$ 102^{18} $115^{17.\,18}$ $118^{5a.\,17.\,18.\,19}$ 122^4 130^3 $135^{3.\,4}$ 150^{6a}; in three passages in which the Massoretes treat it (questionably) as part of a compound word, Jer 2^{31} (text dub.), Ca 8^6, Ps 118^{5b} (read prob. as RV); and in 'Hallelujah' (written in MT as one word, הַלְלוּיָהּ) 23 times (see HALLELUJAH) between Ps 104^{35} and 150^{6b} (always as a liturgical formula at the beginning or end of a Psalm).† It would be natural to think of the abbreviated form as first arising in connexion with proper names; but it is difficult to reconcile this view with Ex 15^2 17^{18}, supposing the text of these passages to be sound, and the passages really early. The great majority of the occurrences of the word are indisputably late.

It was argued by Friedr. Delitzsch in 1881 (*Paradies*, pp. 158–166), in opposition to the generally accepted view, that *Yah* or *Yahu* was the original name of the God of Israel, and continued always to be the popular name; *Yahweh* was a later modification of *Yahu*, designed for the purpose of establishing a connexion with *hāwāh*, to *be* (or *come to be*), and so of making the name the expression of a theological truth (above, p. 199^b). The principal grounds alleged for this opinion were the occurrence of the shorter form in all proper names, and the supposed traces of the name among Semitic nations (other than the Hebrews), who did not use the verb *hāwāh*, and could not consequently have formed a name from it. The same opinion has been adopted by Hommel (*AHT* 113 f., 115 f., 144, 145, 226), who follows Mr. Pinches* in thinking, in particular, that *Yah* is identical with *Aï* or *Ya*, found in an Arabian name *Aï-kalabu* on a contract-tablet of *c.* B.C. 2300, and in various Assyrian names (as Abu-Aï, Ashur-Aï, Samas-Aï) of 9–8 cent. B.C., and who, inferring from these indications the antiquity of the form, concludes that *Yahweh* is a later Mosaic modification of *Yah*, introduced for the purpose of imparting to it a new significance. Delitzsch's theory was criticized at the time by Philippi:† in view of the fact that Jahweh is the standing form of the name in the OT, and is attested independently for *c.* B.C. 850 by Mesha, while Jah, as shown above, is exceptional and mostly late, it is exceedingly difficult to think that the latter can be really the more original form; while its occurrence in proper names is sufficiently accounted for by the tendency to abbreviation which would there be natural. The opinions of Pinches and Hommel have not hitherto (so far as the writer is aware) been endorsed by other Assyriologists.‡

---

* *Ruling Ideas in Early Ages*, p. 126 ff.

† See Jellett, *Moral Difficulties of the OT*, p. 6 f.

* When *yahw* forms the first element of a proper name, it becomes—through an intermediate *yĕhaw* (cf. גֶּבֶר from גְּבַר)—*yĕhô*, *yô* (as Jehoram, Joram); see Gray, p. 281 ff., who enumerates 29 names of this type; cf. p. 300 (El-*yeho*-'enai, 'Unto Yah are my eyes').

† For Rabb. theories of the orthography in some of these cases cf. Geiger, *Urschrift*, 274–278.

Among the Jewish names occurring on the cuneiform tablets of the Persian period, found recently by the Pennsylvanian Expedition at Nippur, are many of the form *Gadalyāma* (or *-yāwa*), *Igdalyāma* (or *-yāwa*), *Mattanyāma* (or *-yāwa*), *i.e.* Gedaliah, Igdaliah, Mattaniah, etc.§ Mr. Pinches had noted before, from the same age (*PSBA*, *l.c.* p. 14 f.), *Gamaryāma* (or *-wa*), *i.e.* Gemariah; *Natanayāma* (or *-wa*), *i.e.* Nethaniah; *Shubunuyāma* (or *-wa*), *i.e.* Shebaniah; and others. These forms would seem to show that in the Persian age the divine element in such names was pronounced as a dissyllable; it is strange, therefore, to find them in the books Ezr-Neh (as remarked above) all but uniformly written with *-yāh*. Perhaps further investigation may explain the discrepancy. S. R. DRIVER.

JAHATH (יַחַת, perh. for יַחְתֶּה 'he [God] will snatch up').—1. A grandson of Judah, 1 Ch 4^{2}. 2. A great-grandson of Levi, 1 Ch $6^{20.43}$. 3. A son of Shimei, 1 Ch 23^{10}. 4. One of the 'sons' of Shelomoth, 1 Ch 24^{22}. 5. A Merarite Levite in the time of Josiah, 2 Ch 34^{12}. See GENEALOGY.

JAHAZ (יַהַץ Is 15^{4}, Jer 48^{34}; paus. and ה *locale* יָהְצָה Nu 21^{23}, Dt 2^{32} [cf. בְּיָהְצָה Jg 11^{20}]; in Jos 13^{18} called יַהְצָה; in 1 Ch 6^{78}, Jer 48^{21} יָהְצָה, RV Jahzah. The LXX renderings are:—Εἴσσα B Nu 21^{23}; Ἰάσσα B^{a}AF Nu 21^{23}; B Dt 2^{32}, A Jos 13^{18}, Ἰάσα Jg 11^{20} where A has Ἰηλ, Βάσαν B Jos 13^{18}. The variations and omissions in Jos 21^{36}, 1 Ch 6^{78}, Is 15^{4}, Jer $48^{21.34}$ are too complicated for reproduction).—A town at which Sihon was defeated by Israel (Nu 21^{23}, Dt 2^{32}, Jg 11^{20}). According to Tristram and Palmer, it was south of the Arnon on a site marked in maps as *Muhatel el-Haj*. But as Jahaz is counted among the cities of Reuben, whose southern boundary was the Arnon, a situation to the north of that river seems required. After the crossing of the Arnon, messengers were sent to Sihon from the 'wilderness of Kedemoth,' Dt 2^{26}, and he 'went out against Israel into the wilderness and came to Jahaz,' Nu 21^{23}. Jahaz is mentioned in connexion with Kedemoth, Jos 13^{18} 21^{36}. These passages indicate a position for Jahaz in the S.E. portion of Sihon's territory. Eusebius in the *Onomasticon* (264. 94, Lagarde, p. 267) describes Jahaz as existing in his time between Medeba and Dibon (Δηβοῦς). This assigns a more central position to Jahaz, and implies that Israel, before encountering the forces of Sihon, disregarding his refusal, had advanced some distance into his land. If for Δηβοῦς we read Ἐσβοῦς, as Reland (*Pal.* tom. 2, p. 825) suggests, the position of Jahaz will be farther north. Jahaz was one of the Levite cities of Reuben belonging to the children of Merari, Jos 13^{18} 21^{36} (see note in RVm), 1 Ch 6^{78}. According to the Moabite Stone (ll. 18–20), the king of Israel dwelt at Jahaz while at war with king Mesha, but was driven out, and the town was taken and added to Moabite territory. Isaiah (15^{4}) and Jeremiah ($48^{21.34}$) refer to it as in the possession of Moab. The site has not yet been identified. See *SEP Mem.* p. 279 note, and G. A. Smith, *HGHL*, p. 559 and note.

A. T. CHAPMAN.

JAHAZIEL (יַחֲזִיאֵל, 'El sees').—1. A Benjamite who joined David at Ziklag, 1 Ch 12^{4}. 2. One of the two priests who, according to 1 Ch 16^{6}, blew trumpets before the ark when it was brought by David to Jerusalem. 3. A Kohathite Levite, 1 Ch 23^{19} 24^{23}. 4. An Asaphite Levite who is said to have encouraged Jehoshaphat and his army against an invading host, 2 Ch 20^{14}. 5. The ancestor of a family of exiles who returned, Ezr 8^{5}, called in 1 Es 8^{32} **Jezalus**. On the emendation which should probably be made on the MT, see Ryle, *Ezr-Neh*, *ad loc.*, and art. SHECANIAH.

JAHDAI (the vocalization and meaning are both doubtful; Baer points יֶהְדַּי, others יָהְדַי; cf. Kittel in *SBOT*. Gesenius [*Thes.*] makes the name = יהדיה 'J″ leads').—This name occurs in an obscure connexion (see GENEALOGY, IV. 33) in the genealogy of Caleb, 1 Ch 2^{47}, where Jahdai appears as the father of six sons.

JAHDIEL (יַחְדִּיאֵל 'El giveth joy').—A Manassite chief, 1 Ch 5^{24}. See GENEALOGY, VII^{a}. 8.

JAHDO (יַחְדּוֹ in common edd. of MT, יַחְדֹּי in Baer; LXX B Ἰουραί, A Ἰεδδαί, Luc. Ἰεδδώ).—A Gadite, 1 Ch 5^{14}. See GENEALOGY, XI. 3.

JAHLEEL (יַחְלְאֵל 'wait for God').—Third son of Zebulun, Gn 46^{14}, Nu 26^{26} P: patron. Jahleelites, Nu 26^{26}.

JAHMAI (יַחְמַי, perh. = יַחְמְיָה 'may J″ protect,' cf. Sab. יחמאל).—A man of Issachar, 1 Ch 7^{2}.

JAHWEH.—See GOD, p. 199^{a}, and JAH.

JAHZAH.—The form of Jahaz in 1 Ch 6^{78} AV, RV, and Jer 48^{21} RV. See JAHAZ.

JAHZEEL (יַחְצְאֵל 'God divides').—Naphtali's firstborn, Gn 46^{24}, Nu 26^{48} P; in 1 Ch 7^{13} Jahziel יַחְצִיאֵל): patron. Jahzeelites, Nu 26^{48}.

JAHZEIAH (יַחְזְיָה = 'J″ sees,' Ἰαζίας A, Λαζειά B, Ezr 10^{15}; Ἐζεκείας A, Ἐζείας B, 1 Es 9^{14}, AV Jahaziah).—The son of Tikvah, one of four men who are mentioned as opposing Ezra in the matter of the foreign wives (so RV, Gesen., Bertheau, Stade, etc.). The AV regarded J. and his companions as supporters of Ezra, rendering

---

* See *PSBA* xv. (1892) pp. 13–15; *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xxviii. (1895) pp. 11–13.

† See *Studia Biblica*, i. pp. 1–6; and comp. Gray, pp. 149–151.

‡ Comp. Jastrow in *JBLit.* xii. (1894), p. 105 f., and *Zeitsch. f. Assyr.* x. (1895), p. 222 ff.; and Clay in the *Lutheran Church Review* (U.S.A.), 1895, p. 197. Jastrow's arguments against Pinches are forcible, though his own theory that the *ya* in the Assyr. names (as well as in many Heb. names) is an 'afformative' rests upon insufficient grounds. Delitzsch and others explain the Assyr. *ia* simply as the suffix of the first person (Clay, *l.c.* pp. 197–199).

§ Hilprecht in the *PEFSt*, Jan. 1898, p. 55 (and *Bab. Exped.* ix. 27); Pinches, *ib.*, Apr. 1898, p. 137 f.

'were employed about this matter'; and this view is supported by LXX, 1 Es, RVm; but for the Heb. phrase here found (עָמַד עַל), cf. 1 Ch 21^{1}, 2 Ch 20^{23}, Dn 11^{14}, in which passages *opposition* is evidently expressed. H. A. WHITE.

JAHZERAH (יַחְזֵרָה).—A priest, 1 Ch 9^{12}, called in Neh 11^{13} **Ahzai.** See GENEALOGY, III. 17. Siegfried-Stade propose to emend יחזרה to יחזיה=אחזי (Ahzai). See further, Smend, *Listen*, and Ryle, *Ezr-Neh, ad loc.*

JAHZIEL.—See JAHZEEL.

JAIR (יָאִיר 'he enlightens' or 'one giving light').—**1.** A son of Manasseh and contemporary of Moses, Nu 32^{41}, Dt 3^{14}, Jos 13^{30}, 1 K 4^{13}, 1 Ch 2$^{22f.}$. **2.** One of the judges, Jg 10$^{3ff.}$. According to another tradition he was the same as **1.** A very ancient, probably the original, account of the conquest of Gilead is contained in Nu 32$^{39.41f.}$. There can be little doubt that it describes a conquest made after the main body of Israelites were settled *west* of the Jordan. It has, however, got mixed up with the story of the Mosaic conquest of the lands east of Jordan. Even if there was a Jair contemporary with Moses, he could not have been literally the 'son' of Manasseh (see Driver on Dt 3^{14}), hence 'son' must in any case be interpreted in the sense of *descendant.* Attempts have been made unsuccessfully by Keil and others to distinguish the Jair of the Hexateuch from the Jair of Jg, as well as to harmonize the somewhat conflicting notices about the 'tent-villages' (*ḥavvoth-Jair*). In Jg 10$^{3f.}$ Jair is said to have had 30 sons that rode on 30 ass colts, and to have 'judged' Israel 22 years. The 'tent-villages' are there given as 30, whereas in 1 Ch 2^{23}, which possibly reflects post-exilic relations (Moore), they are 23 in number. See, further, the *Comm.* of Dillm., Driver, and Moore on the above-cited passages, and the article HAVVOTH-JAIR. **3.** The father of Mordecai, Est 2^{5}. **4.** (יָעִיר *Ḳerê,** יָעוּר *Kethibh*) Father of Elhanan, 1 Ch 20^{5}. By a scribal error this *Jair* is called in 2 S 21^{19} **Jaare-oregim** (wh. see, and cf. Driver, *Text of Sam.*, and Budde, *SBOT*, *ad loc.*).

J. A. SELBIE.

JAIRITE, THE (הַיָּאִרִי; B ὁ Ἰαρεὶν, A ὁ Ἰαειρεί; *Jairites*), *i.e.* of the family of Jair, the son of Manasseh, whose descendants lived in Gilead (Nu 32^{41} etc.). The gentilic adjective occurs only in connexion with IRA (wh. see), who is further described as 'priest unto David' (2 S 20^{26}). Many scholars, however, consider that 'Jattirite' (הַיִּתְרִי) should be read for 'Jairite' in this passage. If this reading be adopted (cf. Pesh. ܕܡܢ ܝܬܝܪ) Ira might possibly be of the tribe of Levi, since Jattir was a priestly city in the hill-country of Judah (Jos 15^{48} 21^{14}, cf. 1 S 30^{27}).

J. F. STENNING.

JAIRUS (Ἰάειρος, the Gr. form of OT JAIR).—**1.** The father of Mordecai (Ad. Est 11^{2}), called in Est 2^{5} **Jair.** **2.** Eponym of a family of 'temple servants' (1 Es 5^{31}) (AV **Airus,** RVm **Reaiah**). **3.** The ruler of the synagogue whose daughter was restored to life by Jesus (Mk 5^{22}, Lk 8^{41}). See next article.

JAIRUS (RV Jaïrus, Ἰάειρος, probably a transcription of OT name יָאִיר), a ruler of the synagogue, who dwelt at or near Capernaum. After Jesus had returned from Gergesa (Gadara) he was approached by Jairus, a suppliant on behalf of his daughter, aged twelve, who was lying at home at the point of death, Mk 5$^{21f.}$=Lk 8$^{40f.}$=Mt 9$^{18f.}$. Jesus at once set out for the house of Jairus, followed by a crowd; on the way another message came, announcing the death of the child. Having arrived, Jesus entered, taking with him Peter, James, and John, and tried to quell the noisy mourning with the words 'She is not dead, but sleepeth.' This assurance being misunderstood and ridiculed, Jesus expelled the mourners; with the parents and the three disciples went into the chamber of death; took the child's hand, and restored her with the words Talitha cumi (ταλιθὰ κούμ ܛܠܝܬܐ ܩܘܡܝ = 'maiden, arise'). So substantially the Synoptists. According, however, to Mt, Jairus comes while Jesus is at Matthew's feast, pleading for his daughter already *dead*; Mt does not give the name 'Jairus,' and calls him simply ἄρχων (of course=ἀρχισυνάγωγος). All three insert into the above narrative the incident of the woman with the Issue of Blood, which took place on the way to the house of Jairus.

A. GRIEVE.

JAKEH יָקֶה (or יָקֵא; so the Vulg. *Vomentis*).—As a proper name, father of Agur, the author of the proverbs contained in Pr 30. For modes of interpreting the verse Pr 30^{1}, see AGUR.

JAKIM (יָקִים).—**1.** A Benjamite, 1 Ch 8^{19}. See GENEALOGY, VIII. 12. **2.** A priest, head of the 12th course, 1 Ch 24^{12}. See GENEALOGY, III. 15.

JALAM (יַעְלָם).—A 'son' of Esau, Gn 36$^{5.14.18}$, 1 Ch 1^{35}.

JALON (יָלוֹן).—A Calebite, the son of Ezrah, 1 Ch 4^{17}. See GENEALOGY, IV. 53.

JAMBRES.—See JANNES AND JAMBRES.

JAMBRI.—Soon after the death of Judas Maccabæus (B.C. 161), Jonathan and his adherents sent their personal property, which was no longer safe in the wilderness of Judæa, to the friendly country of the Nabatæans. The convoy, which was under the charge of John, a brother of Jonathan, was attacked and captured by a robber tribe, the sons of Jambri, near Medaba, on the E. of Jordan, and John himself slain. To avenge his death, Jonathan and Simon crossed the Jordan and waylaid a large wedding party belonging to this tribe. Many were slain, and the survivors fled to the mountains (1 Mac 9$^{35-42}$, Jos. *Ant.* XIII. i. 2–4).

There is some uncertainty as to the true reading of the proper name, which does not occur elsewhere. Ἰαμβρεὶν A, Ἰαμβρί ℵ*, Ἀμβρί ℵ^{c} cursives; Syr. has ܐܡܒܪܝ (*'Ambri*), Josephus οἱ Ἀμαραίου παῖδες. *'Ambri* is probably the orig. form: some have conjectured that this represents *Amorites* (so Grimm, Michaelis). H. A. WHITE.

JAMES.—This name is our Eng. equivalent for the Ἰάκωβος of the Gr. Test., from which it is derived through the Italian *Giacomo.* It is used in NT of three different persons.

(1) *James the son of Zebedee,* sometimes called the Great.

(2) *James the son of Alphæus.*

(3) *James the brother of the Lord.*

1. JAMES THE SON OF ZEBEDEE.—In Mk 1^{19} (Mt 4^{21}) he and his brother John are represented as mending their nets in their boat on the Sea of Galilee, and at the call of Christ leaving the boat to their father and the hired servants. They were partners with Simon and Andrew (Lk 5^{10}), who were fishing near them and were called at the same time in the words, 'Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men.' This was after John the Baptist had been cast into prison by Herod. We learn from Jn $1^{35ff.}$ that Andrew and his brother, and probably John also, were disciples of the Baptist, and had already been taught by him to see in Jesus 'the Lamb of God.' The call recorded by St. Luke (5^{1-11}) is regarded by many commentators as merely another account of the call narrated by St. Mark, but there is a great difference in the circumstances. Even the words addressed to Simon, which form the chief point of contact in the two, *ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀνθρώπους ἔσῃ ζωγρῶν*, seem to be not so much another version of the words used by St. Mark, *ποιήσω ὑμᾶς γενέσθαι ἁλιεῖς ἀνθρώπων*, as a more urgent command based upon them; and there is a corresponding difference between the *ἀφέντες τὰ δίκτυα, ἀφέντες τὸν πατέρα* of St. Mark and the *ἀφέντες τὰ πάντα* of St. Luke.

---

* 'So LXX, Pesh. (Jerome '*filius saltus,*' *i.e.* יער, without the *plena scriptio*).'—Driver, *Text of Sam.* 272 n ^{1}.

The last call was that to the apostleship (Mt 10^{2}, Mk 3^{14}, Lk 6^{13}, Ac 1^{13}). In all four lists of the apostles, Peter, Andrew, James, and John form the first group; in Mk and Ac, James and John follow Peter; and throughout the history, especially at the Transfiguration and the Agony, we find these three preferred before the others. The fact that James always precedes John (except in Lk 9^{28}), and that John is sometimes described as the brother of James (Mk 5^{37}, Mt 17^{1}), suggests that James was the elder of the two. In Ac 12^{2} James is described as brother of John, to distinguish him from his greater namesake, the brother of the Lord. It is remarkable that he is never mentioned in the Fourth Gospel.

St. Mark tells us (3^{17}) that Jesus surnamed the two brothers Boanerges (Sons of Thunder), alluding, perhaps, to the vehemence shown in their demand that their Master should call down fire from heaven to consume the Samaritans, who refused to receive him because he was going up to Jerusalem (Lk 9^{53}); and again in their request that they might sit on his right hand and on his left hand in his kingdom (Mk 10^{37}), to which our Lord replied by the prophecy that they should drink of his cup and be baptized with his baptism.

The wife of Zebedee was Salome, as we learn from a comparison of Mt 27^{56} and Mk 15^{40}, who appears to have been a sister of the Lord's mother (see Jn 19^{25} and the article on BRETHREN OF THE LORD). James and John would thus be first cousins of Jesus, which may have been one reason why their mother urged their claim to the highest position in his kingdom. We learn from Mk 15^{41} (cf. Lk 8^{3}) that Salome was one of the women who followed Jesus in Galilee, and ministered to him of their substance. Combined with the mention of hired servants, and with St. John's intimacy with Caiaphas the high priest, this fact makes it probable that the family of Zebedee were comparatively well off.

We hear nothing of James, as distinguished from the other apostles, for some 14 years after the Crucifixion. The fact, however, that he was the first of the Twelve to suffer martyrdom, shows that he must have attracted the attention of the Jews and of Herod Agrippa by his bold uncompromising character. This Herod was son of Aristobulus, and grandson of Herod the Great and Mariamne. Herodias, who was the cause of the murder of John the Baptist, was his sister. After reigning in splendour for three years over a kingdom larger than that of his grandfather, Agrippa sought to increase his popularity still further by putting down the new Christian heresy. Shortly before the Passover of 44, he killed James with the sword, and threw Peter into prison (Ac $12^{1f.}$). The sacred writer records in the same chapter the punishment which followed (v.$^{21ff.}$, cf. Jos. *Ant.* XIX. viii. 2).

Eusebius (*HE* ii. 9) gives a quotation from the 7th book of the lost *Hypotyposes* of Clemens Alexandrinus, in which the latter mentions a tradition that the accuser of St. James was so much moved by his confession, that he declared himself to be a Christian, and was carried off with him to execution. On the way thither he asked forgiveness of the apostle, who, after a moment's hesitation, kissed him, saying, 'Peace be unto thee.' The same story is given in the *Apostolica Historia* of pseudo-Abdias (*ap.* Fabr. *Cod. Apoc. NT*), who also narrates the conversion of the magicians Hermogenes and Philetus by St. James.

The legend of Saint Iago, the patron saint of Spain, is given in Mrs. Jameson's *Sacred and Legendary Art*, vol. i. pp. 230-241. According to this, the gospel was first preached in Spain by St. James the Great, who afterwards returned to Judæa, and, after performing many miracles there, was finally put to death by Herod. His body was placed on board ship at Joppa and transported to Iria in the north-west of Spain under angelic guidance. The surrounding heathen were converted by the prodigies which witnessed to the power of the saint, and a church was built over his tomb. During the barbarian invasions all memory of the hallowed spot was lost till it was revealed by vision in the year 800. The body was then moved by order of Alphonso II. to the place now called Compostella (abbreviated from Jacomo Postolo), which became famous as a place of pilgrimage throughout Europe. The saint was believed to have appeared on many occasions mounted on a white horse, leading the Spanish armies to victory against their infidel foes.

The impossibilities of the story have been pointed out by Roman Catholic scholars. (1) It was a tradition of the early Church that the apostles, in accordance with a command of our Lord, did not leave Jerus. for twelve years after the Ascension (cf. the Κήρυγμα Πέτρου in Clem. Al. *Strom.* vi. p. 762; Apollonius in Euseb. *HE* v. 18 *ad fin.*). This is supported by what we read in Ac 8^{1}, that the apostles were still at Jerus. during the persecution in which Stephen was martyred. (2) St. Paul mentions his desire to visit Spain (Ro 15^{24}) just after he had spoken of his rule not to preach the gospel on another man's foundation. The probable date of Ro is 58 [Turner, 55-56], long after the martyrdom of St. James. (3) There is no certain mention of St. James in connexion with Spain till the 9th cent., when Notker, a monk of St. Gall, wrote: 'hujus Apostoli sacratissima ossa ad Hispanias translata in ultimis earum finibus condita celeberrima illarum gentium veneratione coluntur. Nec immerito, quia ejus corporali præsentia et doctrina atque signorum efficacia eidem populi ad Christi fidem conversi referuntur' (*Martyrol.* ad diem 25 Jul.). On the other hand, Innocent I. (d. 417) states that the Churches of Italy, Gaul, and Spain had all been founded by those who owed their authority to St. Peter (Ep. 25 *ad Decantium*); and Vincentius Fortunatus (fl. A.D. 600), speaking of the saints of different countries, makes Vincentius the chief glory of Spain ('Vincenti Hispana surgit ab arce decus,' *Carm.* vii. 3), as Alban of Britain, Hilary and Martin of Gaul, while the Jacobi are assigned to the Holy Land. (See the art. on JAMES by F. Meyrick in Smith, *DB*², and by R. Sinker in the *Dict. of Chr. Antiq.*; the *Acta Sanctorum* for July 25; Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccl.* sæcl. i. § 15; Forbes, *Handbook of Spain*, ch. on Santiago).

2. JAMES THE SON OF ALPHÆUS.—In the four lists of the apostles we find James, son of Alphæus, standing at the head of the 3rd group, of which the other members are Thaddæus (Mk 3^{18}), also called Lebbæus (Mt 10^{3} cod. D and AV) or *Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου* (Lk 6^{16}, Ac 1^{13}); Simon Zelotes (Lk 6^{15}, Ac 1^{13}), also called Σ. *Καναναῖος* (Mt 10^{4}, Mk 3^{18}), and Judas Iscariot. By St. Luke he is coupled with Simon, by St. Matthew and St. Mark with Thaddæus. Nothing else is told us about this James in the NT, but it is probable that he was a brother of Levi or Matthew, who is also called son of Alphæus (Mk 2^{14}). The phrase *Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου* means almost certainly 'the son,' not the 'brother of James.' He is usually identified with **James the Little** (AV 'the Less'), the brother of Joses and son of Mary, who is mentioned in Mk 15^{40}, Mt 27^{56}. This Mary is apparently called *ἡ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ* in Jn 19^{25}, words which some have interpreted 'the wife of Clopas,' and have in consequence identified Clopas with Alphæus. They have also understood the clause which precedes (*ἡ ἀδελφὴ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ*) of this Mary, instead of understanding it of Salome, and thus have identified James, son of Alphæus, with James the brother of the Lord. The extreme improbability of this hypothesis is pointed out in the art. on the BRETHREN OF THE LORD. Hegesippus (*ap.* Euseb. *HE* iii. 11) speaks of a Clopas who was brother of

Joseph; if Mary was his wife, she would be aunt of the sons of Joseph, the brethren of the Lord. (The evidence as to the festival of James, son of Alphæus, being distinct from that of the brother of the Lord, is given in Sinker's article under this head in the *Dict. of Chr. Antiq.*).

3. JAMES THE BROTHER OF THE LORD.—See the article on the BRETHREN OF THE LORD for the proof that this James was the son of Joseph and Mary, not one of the Twelve, nor even a believer until after the Resurrection. His conversion seems to have been connected with a special appearance of the Risen Lord (1 Co 15[7]). Of his subsequent history we gather from the Acts and the Epistles of St. Paul, that, after the Ascension, he with his brothers remained at Jerusalem in the company of the eleven apostles and Mary and the other women, waiting for the descent of the Spirit (Ac 1[14]), and that within ten years from this time he became the head of the Church at Jerusalem. Thus in Gal 1[18. 19] St. Paul says that three years after his conversion, probably about A.D. 38, he went up to Jerus. and stayed with Peter fifteen days, seeing no other apostle, but only James the Lord's brother,—a statement which is quite in accordance with Ac 12[17], where Peter on his escape from prison (A.D. 44) is said to have gone to the house of Mary the mother of Mark, and desired that news of his escape might be sent to James and the brethren. In Gal 2[1-10] St. Paul describes a later visit to Jerus. after an interval of fourteen years, *i.e.* about A.D. 51. In this visit the leaders of the Church, James, Peter, and John (Gal 2[9]), after hearing his report of his first missionary journey, signified their approval of his work, and 'gave right hands of fellowship,' agreeing that Paul and Barnabas should preach to the Gentiles and they themselves to the circumcision. In vv.[11-14] Peter's inconsistency in regard to eating with the Gentiles at Antioch is explained by the arrival of 'certain from James.' St. Paul's second visit to Jerus. is more fully described in Ac 15[4-29], where James appears as president of the Council held to consider how far the Gentile Christians should be required to conform to the customs of the Jews. It is James who sums up the discussion and proposes the resolution which is carried, in the words *ἐγὼ κρίνω μὴ παρενοχλεῖν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπιστρέφουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν, κ.τ.λ.* James is seen in the same position of authority in Ac 21[18], when St. Paul presents himself before him on his return from his third missionary journey (A.D. 58). After joining in praise to God for the success which had attended his labours, James and the elders who are with him warn St. Paul of the strong feeling against him, which had been excited among the 'myriads of Jewish believers who were all zealous for the law,' by the report that he had taught the Jews of the Dispersion to abandon circumcision and their other customs. To counteract this impression, they recommended him to join in a Nazirite vow, which had been undertaken by four members of their community, as a proof that the report was unfounded, and that he himself walked according to the law. From 1 Co 9[5] *μὴ οὐκ ἔχομεν ἐξουσίαν ἀδελφὴν γυναῖκα περιάγειν ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ τοῦ Κυρίου*, it has been inferred that St. James was a married man. On his authorship of the Epistle which goes by his name, see next article.

Further particulars are supplied by Josephus, Hegesippus, the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and other apocryphal books, including in these the *Clementine Homilies and Recognitions.*

The Gospel according to the Hebrews, which Lightfoot speaks of as one of the earliest and most respectable of the apocryphal narratives (*Gal.* p. 274), is quoted by Jerome (*de Vir. ill.* 2) to the following effect: 'The Lord after his resurrection appeared to James, who had sworn that he would not eat bread from the hour in which he had drunk the cup of the Lord till he saw him risen from the dead. Jesus, therefore, took bread and blessed and brake it, and gave it to James the Just, and said to him, My brother, eat thy bread, for the Son of Man has risen from the dead.' There are other versions of the same story, in which the vow is dated, not from the Last Supper, but from the Crucifixion (see Nicholson's ed. of the Gospel, p. 62 f., and the Introduction to Mayor's *St. James*, p. xxxvii n.). Possibly, the reference to the Last Supper may have arisen from the fact that St. James shaped his vow after the Lord's words spoken at the Supper, 'I will not drink henceforth of the fruit of the vine till the kingdom of God shall come.'

Hegesippus (c. A.D. 160) is quoted by Eusebius (*HE* ii. 23) to the following effect: 'The charge of the Church after the Ascension devolved on James the brother of the Lord in concert with the apostles. He is distinguished from others of the same name by the title "Just," which has been applied to him from the first. He was holy from his mother's womb, drank no wine or strong drink, nor ate animal food: no razor came on his head, nor did he anoint himself with oil nor use the bath. To him only was it permitted to enter the Holy of Holies. . . . His knees became hard like a camel's, because he was always kneeling in the temple, asking forgiveness for the people. Through his exceeding righteousness he was called "Oblias," which, being interpreted, is "the defence of the people," and "Righteousness," as the prophet declared of him. Some of the seven sects of the Jews inquired of him, "What is the door of Jesus?" And he said that he was the Saviour; whereupon some believed that Jesus is the Christ. . . . Hence arose a disturbance among the Jews, fearing that all the people would look to Jesus as the Christ. They came, therefore, and . . . set James on the pinnacle of the temple and cried to him, "O thou just one to whom we all are bound to listen, tell us what is the door of Jesus." And he answered with a loud voice, "Why do ye ask me concerning Jesus the Son of Man? He is both seated in heaven on the right hand of Power, and he will come again on the clouds of heaven." And when many were convinced and gave glory at the witness of James, the same scribes and Pharisees said to each other, "We have done ill in bringing forward such a testimony to Jesus; let us go up and cast him down, that they may fear to believe him." And they cried out saying, "Alas! even the just has gone astray." And they fulfilled that which is written in Isaiah, "Let us take away the just, for he is not for our purpose." So they cast down James the Just, and they began to stone him, since he was not killed by the fall; but he kneeled down, saying, "O Lord God, my Father, I beseech thee forgive them, for they know not what they do." While they were thus stoning him, one of the priests of the sons of Rechab, of whom Jeremiah the prophet testifies, cried out, "Stop! what do ye? The just is praying for you." But one of them, who was a fuller, smote the head of the just one with his club. And so he bore his witness. And they buried him on the spot, and his monument still stands by the side of the temple with the inscription, "He hath been a true witness both to Jews and Greeks that Jesus is the Christ." And immediately Vespasian commenced the siege.'

Lightfoot has pointed out the many improbabilities in this narrative, and conjectures that it may have been taken by Hegesippus from the Ebionite Ἀναβαθμοὶ Ἰακώβου, of which we find traces in the *Clementine Recognitions.* In the *Recognitions*, as in Hegesippus, we read that James refuted the Jewish sects, and that he was hurled down from the temple by his persecutors. Lightfoot thinks that there may be truth in the statement that James was an ascetic and a Nazirite, and, we may add, in the respect entertained for him even by his unbelieving countrymen. The account of the death, however, which is given by Jos. (*Ant.* XX. ix. 1) is far more likely to be historical. 'During the interval between the death of Festus (prob. in the year 62) and the arrival of his successor Albinus, the high priest Ananus the younger, being of a rash and daring spirit, and inclined like the Sadducees in general to severity in punishing, brought to trial James the brother of Jesus, who is called the Christ, and some others before the court of the Sanhedrin, and, having charged them with breaking the laws, delivered them over to be stoned. The better class of citizens and those who were versed in the laws were indignant at this, and made complaints both to king Agrippa and to Albinus, on the ground that Ananus had no right to summon the Sanhedrin without the consent of the procurator; and Agrippa in consequence removed him from the high priesthood.' Origen (*Cels.* i. c. 47) and Euseb. (*HE* ii. 23) also cite Josephus as ascribing the miseries of the siege to the divine vengeance for the murder of James; but this does not occur in his extant writings.

Clement of Alexandria (*ap.* Euseb. *HE* ii. 1) says that Peter and James and John, who were most honoured by the Lord, chose James the Just to be bishop of Jerus. after the Ascension, and that the Lord imparted his esoteric teaching (*τὴν γνῶσιν*) to James the Just and Peter and John after his resurrection, and again that this was imparted by them to the other apostles, and by the latter to the Seventy.

In the *Clementine Homilies* (written early in the 3rd cent.) James is represented, in the letter addressed to him by Clement, as the chief ruler of the Church at large, Κλήμης *Ἰακώβῳ τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ ἐπισκόπων ἐπισκόπῳ, διέποντι δὲ τὴν <ἐν>* Ἱερουσαλὴμ *ἁγίαν* Ἑβραίων *ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὰς πανταχῇ θεοῦ προνοίᾳ ἱδρυθείσας, κ.τ.λ.*

Eusebius (*HE* vii. 19) reports that his episcopal chair was still shown at Jerus. at the time when he wrote.

Besides the canonical Epistle of St. James, his name is attached to the apocr. *Protevangelium Jacobi* and the so-called *Liturgy of St. James.* See *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* p. 1019 f., art. 'Liturgy,' and *Dict. of Chr. Biog.* under 'Gospels, Apocryphal,' p. 701 f.

J. B. MAYOR.

JAMES, THE GENERAL EPISTLE OF.—i. AUTHORSHIP.—The writer describes himself (1^1) as 'James, a servant of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ.' As the name was very common, and the description one which is applicable to all Christians, it is evident that he must have been distinguished from others who bore the same name by position or otherwise, so as to justify him in addressing the Twelve Tribes of the Dispersion with the tone of authority which is so marked a feature of the Epistle. This inference receives support from the Ep. of Jude, the writer of which styles himself 'brother of James,' evidently assuming that his brother's name would carry weight with those to whom he writes.

The Epistle itself is strongly contrasted, not only with Ro and Gal, against which some have supposed it to be directed, but also with 1 P, which, in some points, it closely resembles. In style it reminds one now of Pr, now of the stern denunciations of the prophets, now of the parables in the Gospels. It has scarcely any direct reference to Christ, who is indeed named only twice. In commending the duty of patience (5^{7-11}) the writer refers to the example of the husbandman, and to Job and the prophets of the OT: if he alludes to our Lord at all, he does so only obscurely in the words 'ye killed the just; he doth not resist you'; while St. Peter, on the contrary, dwells exclusively on the example of Christ (1 P 2^{19-24} 4^{12-14}). In urging the duty of prayer, reference is made, not (as in He 5^7) to the promises or prayers of Christ, but to the prayer of Elijah; the exhortation to kindness, and the warning against evil-speaking in ch. 3, are based, not on the example of Christ and the thought of our common brotherhood in him (as in 1 P 2^{23}, Ro 12^5, Eph 4^{25}), but on the parables of nature, on the fact that man was created in the image of God, and on general reasoning; and again (in 4^{11}) speaking evil of a brother is condemned as putting a slight on the law, not as causing pain to Christ. No mention is made of the crucifixion or resurrection, or of the doctrines of the incarnation and atonement. To a careless reader the tone seems scarcely to rise above that of the OT; Christian ideas are still clothed in Jewish forms. Thus the law, called for the sake of distinction 'the law of liberty' or 'the royal law,' seems to stand in place of the gospel, or even of Christ himself (2^{8-13} 4^{11}); the love of the world is condemned in the language of the OT as adultery against God. This contrast rises to its highest pitch in treating of the relation between faith and works (2^{14-26}). While St. Paul writes (Ro 3^{28}) 'We reckon, therefore, that a man is justified by faith without the works of the law,' the language of St. James is (2^{24}) 'Ye see then that by works a man is justified, and not by faith only.' And while the case of Abraham is cited in Ro $4^{3.\ 13.\ 16}$ in proof of the doctrine of justification by faith, and the case of Rahab is cited for the same purpose in He 11^{31}, St. James makes use of both to prove that man is justified by works (2^{25}). Speaking generally, we may say that this Epistle has a more Jewish cast than any other writing of the NT, and that the author must have been one who would be more in sympathy with the Judaizing party, and more likely to exercise an influence over them, than any of the three great leaders, Peter, Paul, or John.

works of law
works of faith

Comparing what is said of James the brother of the Lord in the preceding article, we find in him one who exactly fulfils the conditions required in the writer of the Epistle; and if we examine the speech attributed to him in Ac 15 and the circular letter there given, which was probably drawn up by him, we find in these a remarkable similarity to the language of the Epistle. That St. Luke has recorded the actual words of the speaker, either in the original language or in a translation, seems probable from his use of the form 'Symeon' (v.^{14}), which is not found elsewhere in Ac, as well as from the resemblances, noticed by Alford (vol. iv. *Prologomena*), between 1 P and the speeches ascribed to him in the Ac. It is surely a remarkable coincidence that, out of 230 words contained in the speech and circular, so many should reappear in our Epistle, written on a totally different subject.

They are as follows: (1) the epistolary salutation *χαίρειν* (Ja 1^1, Ac 15^{23}) found in only one other passage of the NT, the letter of Lysias to Felix (Ac 23^{26}); (2) the curious phrase, borrowed from the LXX, which occurs in NT only in Ac 15^{17} *ἐφ' οὓς ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ' αὐτούς*, and Ja 2^7 *τὸ καλὸν ὄνομα τὸ ἐπικληθὲν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς*; (3) *ἀκούσατε ἀδελφοί μου* found in Ja 2^5 alone in the Epistles, compared with *ἄνδρες ἀδελφοὶ ἀκούσατέ μου* in Ac 15^{13}; (4) *ἐπισκέπτεσθαι* Ja 1^{27}, Ac 15^{14}; (5) *ἐπιστρέφειν* Ja $5^{19.\ 20}$, Ac 15^{19}; (6) *τηρεῖν* and *διατηρεῖν*, Ja 1^{27} *ἄσπιλον ἑαυτὸν τηρεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου*, Ac 15^{29} *ἐξ ὧν διατηροῦντες ἑαυτοὺς εὖ πράξετε*; (7) *ἀγαπητός* occurs in Ac only in 15^{25} *σὺν τοῖς ἀγαπητοῖς Βαρνάβᾳ καὶ Παύλῳ*, while *ἀδελφοί μου ἀγαπητοί* is found three times in our Epistle; (8) the pregnant use of the word *ὄνομα* in Ja 5^{10} *ἐλάλησαν ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Κυρίου*, v.^{14} *ἀλείψαντες ἐλαίῳ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι*, 2^7 *τὸ καλὸν ὄνομα*, and in Ac 15^{14} *λαβεῖν ἐξ ἐθνῶν Λαὸν τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ*, v.^{26} *ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν* 'I. X.; (9) perhaps we may compare also the use of *δαπανάω* in Ac 21^{24}, probably spoken by St. James (*δαπάνησον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς*), with our Epistle 4^3 *ἵνα ἐν ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ὑμῶν δαπανήσητε*, and the occurrence of *ἁγνιζω* in the same verse with its occurrence in Ja 4^8.

An objection may be raised to the identification of the writer of the Epistle with the brother of our Lord on the ground that no claim is made to this title in either of the Epistles which go by the name of the brothers James and Jude. If they were really brothers of the Lord, would they not have laid stress on the authority derived from this relationship, just as St. Paul lays stress on his apostleship? But what was Christ's own teaching on the matter? When his mother and brothers sought on one occasion to use the authority which they assumed that their kinship gave them, they were met by the words, 'Who is my mother or my brethren?' And he stretched out his hands to his disciples and said, 'Behold my mother and my brethren.' St. Paul expresses the same idea of the disappearance of the earthly relationship in the higher spiritual union by which all the members of the body are joined to the Head, in the words 'though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now know we him so no more' (2 Co 5^{16}). Surely it is only what was to be expected that James and Jude would shrink from claiming another

?

name than that of 'servant' to express the relation in which they stood to their risen Lord, after having failed to acknowledge him as their Master in the days of his humiliation.

So far the evidence seems to show that the writer of the Epistle was James the Just, the brother of the Lord. Let us see what further light this fact, if it be one, will throw upon the Epistle. The word 'just,' which is also used of his father Joseph, implies one who not only observes but loves the law; and we may be sure that the reverence for the law, which is so marked a feature of the Epistle, was learnt in the well-ordered home of Nazareth. There, too, he may have acquired, with the full sanction of his parents (who would gladly devote the eldest-born of Joseph in such marked way to the future service of the Messiah), those strict ascetic habits which tradition ascribes to him. But the constant intercourse with him who was full of grace and truth in childhood as in manhood, must have prepared James to find in the Ten Commandments no mere outward regulations, but an inner law of liberty and love written in the heart. That deep interest in the mysteries of the kingdom, that earnest search after truth which led the child Jesus to remain behind in the temple, must surely have had its effect upon his brother. Whatever means of instruction were within reach of the home at Nazareth would, we may feel sure, have been eagerly taken advantage of by all its inmates. While, therefore, accepting the view which seems to be best supported, that Jesus and his brothers usually spoke Aramaic, we are not bound to suppose that, with towns like Sepphoris and Tiberias in their immediate vicinity, with Ptolemais, Scythopolis, and Gadara at no great distance, they remained ignorant of Greek. In the eyes of the scribes they might 'never have learnt letters,' since they had not attended the rabbinical schools of Jerusalem; but the ordinary education of Jewish children, and the Sabbath readings in the synagogue, would give a sufficient start to enable any intelligent boy to carry on his studies for himself; while the example of Solomon and the teaching of the 'sapiential' books, with which the writer of the Epistle was intimately acquainted, held up the pursuit of knowledge and wisdom as the highest duty of man.

There are other characteristics of our Epistle which find their best explanation in the supposition that the writer was the son of Joseph and Mary. The use of parables was common among Jewish teachers, and especially common in Galilee (cf. Neubauer in *Studia Biblica*, i. p. 52); but it was carried to an unusual length by our Lord, both in his preaching to the multitude, of which it is said 'without a parable spake he not unto them,' and in his ordinary conversation, which constantly ran into a parabolic or figurative form to the great bewilderment of his disciples, as when he bid them 'Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees.' One distinctive feature of our Lord's use of parables is that there is nothing forced either in the figure or in the application: natural phenomena and the varied circumstances of human life are watched with an observant eye and a sympathetic and loving heart, and the spiritual analogies which they suggest are seen to flow naturally from them. Such a habit of mind could not have been acquired after manhood. The love of nature, the sympathy in all human interests, the readiness to find 'sermons in stones and good in everything,' must have characterized the child Jesus, and coloured all his intercourse with his fellows from his earliest years. It is interesting therefore to find the same fondness for figurative speech in the Epistles of his two brothers, St. James and St. Jude.

Another marked feature of our Epistle is the close connexion between it and the Sermon on the Mount, in which our Lord laid down the principles of the kingdom which he came to establish upon earth. It must suffice to refer here to the general harmony between the two as to the spiritual view of the law (Ja 1^{25} $2^{8.\,12.\,13}$, Mt 5^{17-44}), the blessings of adversity (Ja $1^{2.\,3}$ 2^{5} $5^{7.\,8.\,11}$, Mt 5^{3-12}), the dangers and the uncertainty of wealth (Ja $1^{10.\,11}$ $2^{6.\,7}$ $4^{4.\,6.\,13-16}$ 5^{1-6}, Mt $6^{19-21.\,24-34}$), the futility of a mere profession of religion (Ja $1^{26.\,27}$, Mt 6^{1-7}), the contrast between saying and doing (Ja 1^{22-25} 2^{14-26} $3^{13.\,18}$, Mt 7^{15-27}), the true nature of prayer (Ja 1^{5-8} 4^{3} $5^{13.\,18}$, Mt 6^{6-13}), the incompatibility between the love of the world and the love of God (Ja 2^{5} 3^{6} 4^{4-8}, Mt 6^{24}), the need to forgive others if we would be forgiven ourselves (Ja $2^{12.\,13}$, Mt $6^{14.\,15}$), the tree known by its fruits (Ja $3^{11.\,12}$, Mt 7^{16-20}), the interdiction of oaths (Ja 5^{12}, Mt 5^{34-37}) and of censoriousness (Ja $4^{11.\,12}$, Mt 7^{1-5}), the praise of singleness of aim (Ja 1^{8} 4^{8}, Mt $6^{22.\,23}$). Nor are these reminiscences confined to the Sermon on the Mount, or to our Lord's words as reported by St. Matthew; there is much to remind us both of St. Luke and St. John. It is worthy of note that, close as is the connexion of sentiment and even of language in many of these passages, it never amounts to actual quotation, but is rather the reminiscence of thoughts often uttered by the original speaker and sinking into the heart of the hearer, who reproduces them in his own manner.

It may be asked, if St. James was thus deeply influenced by his Brother's teaching, how are we to explain the fact that at one period of his life 'he did not believe on him'? Perhaps we may gather from the Epistle that the writer would have found a difficulty in some of the sayings of Christ. 'Before Abraham was, I am'; 'Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood, ye have no life in you,'—these must have been 'hard sayings' to the brother of Jesus even more than to strangers. This state of mind was doubtless combined with an intense love and reverence for the elder Brother, and was perhaps not incompatible with the belief in Christ's mission as a preacher of righteousness, and a willingness to accept him as the anointed King of the Jewish people; but it might easily lead to an anxious solicitude as to his sanity and the prudence of the measures which he took for extending the number of his adherents. (See the subject more fully treated in Mayor's *Introduction to St. James*, ch. i. on the Author, ch. iv. on its relation to other Books of NT).

ii. CANONICITY. — Eusebius in a well-known passage (*HE* iii. 25) distinguishes between the disputed and the undisputed books which made up the NT, and were publicly read in the church at the time when he wrote (*l.c.* iii. 31), *i.e.* in A.D. 314 (see Lightfoot in *Dict. of Chr. Biog.* ii. p. 323). Together they contain all the books included in our present Canon and no others; those which were disputed, though generally known, being the Epistle which goes under the name of James and that of Jude, as well as the 2nd of Peter and the so-called 2nd and 3rd of John. The Apoc. he had before doubtfully classed among the undisputed, but questions whether it should not rather be classed with the spurious, like the Revelation of Peter. Elsewhere he says (ii. 23), 'The first of the Epistles styled Catholic is said to be by James the Lord's brother, which is held by some to be spurious. Certainly not many old writers have mentioned it, as neither have they the Epistle of Jude.' His own practice, however, betrays no suspicion of its genuineness, as in one passage he quotes James as Scripture (*Comm. in Psalm.* p. 648, Montf.), and in another quotes Ja 5^{13} as spoken by the holy apostle (*ib.* p. 247).

The same doubt as to the canonicity of the Epistle is shown by its omission from some of the early versions and catalogues of sacred books, *e.g.* the Muratorian Fragment (of which Westcott says that it may be regarded as 'a summary of the opinion of the Western Church on the Canon shortly after the middle of the 2nd cent.'), and the Cheltenham list, which is supposed to have been written in Africa about the year 359. On the other hand, it was generally recognized in the East, being included in the Peshiṭta, which omits 2 P, 2 and 3 Jn, Jude, and Rev. The Pesh. used to be ascribed to the 2nd cent., and is probably not later than the 3rd, but the date is still in dispute. Ja is also found in the lists given by Origen (*Hom. in Jos.* vii. 1), Cyril of Jerusalem, Athanasius, Gregory of Nazianzus, and others, and was finally ratified by the Third Council of Carthage in 397. Its late reception in the West may probably be explained by the fact that it was addressed to Jews of the Eastern (?) Dispersion, that it did not profess to be written by an apostle, and that it appeared to contradict the teaching of the great Apostle to the Gentiles.

Origen (d. 253) is apparently the first who cites the Epistle as Scripture, and as written by St. James; see *Comm. in Joh.* xix. 6; *in Rom.* iv. 1, 8, ix. 24; *Hom. in. Ex.* iii. 3, viii. 4; *in Lv.* ii. 4, xiii. 3; *Sel. in Ps.* 31. 5, 37. 24, 118. 153; *Comm. in Prov.* (Mai, *Nov. Bibl.* vii. 51); but Clement of Alexandria (d. 220) is said by Eusebius (*HE* vi. 14) to have included in his *Outlines* (*ἐν ταῖς Ὑποτυπώσεσι*) short explanations of all the sacred books, *μηδὲ τὰς ἀντιλεγομένας παρελθὼν, τὴν* Ἰούδα *λέγω καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς καθολικὰς ἐπιστολὰς τήν τε* Βαρνάβα *καὶ τὴν* Πέτρου *λεγομένην ἀποκάλυψιν*. Cassiodorus (*Inst. div. lit.* 8) limits this by saying that Clement commented on the canonical Epistles, *i.e.* on 1 P, 1 and 2 Jn, and Ja. The notes on the first three, and on Jude, but not on Ja, are still extant in a Latin translation, and some have doubted whether the reading in Cassiodorus should not be altered accordingly; see, however, Zahn, *Neutest. Kan.* i. 322, *Forschungen*, iii. 153; Sanday in *Stud. Bibl.* iii. 248.

iii. DATE.—If we are right in our view of the authorship of the Epistle, it must have been written not later than A.D. 62. This view, however, although approved by the great majority of scholars and divines up to the end of last century, is regarded with suspicion by some modern scholars. We will give briefly their conclusions, and then state the reasons for believing that it was written between A.D. 40 and 50. Von Soden, in the Introduction to his *Handkommentar* (1890), allows that in thought and expression there is considerable resemblance between our Epistle and the writings of Clement of Rome, and especially of Hermas, but considers that there is no reason to suppose any literary connexion. They resemble one another simply because they were produced under the same conditions. No trace of our Epistle is to be found in the 2nd cent. Nothing in the letter suggests Jewish readers. The title may be genuine because Christians had learnt to regard themselves as strangers and pilgrims. It was probably written for Christians generally, in the reign of Domitian. W. Brückner, in his *Chronolog. Reihenfolge d. N.T. Briefe* (Haarlem, 1890), considers that it cannot be assigned to an earlier date than A.D. 150, as it borrows from 1 P, which was written during the persecution of Trajan. The Judaizing tone implies a late stage of doctrinal development, inasmuch as it attacks Paulinism as the seed of an existing Gnosticism. The true address reveals itself in the phrase 'your synagogue' (2^{2}), by which we are to understand a little conventicle of Essene Christians at Rome. The phrase 'Diaspora' denotes similar scattered conventicles, in which alone the true Israel, the poor, are to be found. By 'the rich' is meant Christians outside the conventicle. Pfleiderer, in his *Urchristenthum* (1887), regards the Epistle as representing the catholicized Paulinism of the latter half of the 2nd cent. He thinks it is an abbreviation of the Shepherd of Hermas. The polemic is not directed against St. Paul, but against the later Gnostics who appealed to his authority. There is nothing Judaistic in the writer's tone; he simply enforces the truths of practical Christianity as understood by the Catholic Church. The latest writer on the subject is F. Spitta (*Zur Geschichte u. Litteratur des Urchristenthums*, vol. ii. 1896), who, while allowing the references to our Epistle in St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, avoids the reproach of coming to a commonplace conclusion by starting the theory that it is a Christian adaptation of a Jewish book, written before the Christian era.[*] He draws this conclusion from the considerations stated in the earlier part of this article, and explains away the resemblance to the Sermon on the Mount by quoting parallels from the Apocrypha and other Jewish writings.

There is certainly much more to be said for this theory than for those which have been just described. Postponing its examination for the present, we proceed to state the grounds (independently of what has been already said under the head of authorship and canonicity) for believing that the Epistle was written before A.D. 50. In the present writer's *Introduction to St. James*, ch. ii., will be found proof that it was known to Irenæus, Theophilus, Justin Martyr, the writer of the Ep. to Diognetus, Ignatius, Polycarp, and, above all, Hermas, in the 2nd cent.; that it was known to Clement of Rome, to Barnabas, to the authors of the *Didaché* and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* during the 1st cent. We can, however, afford to dispense with these witnesses, if it can be proved that it was known to more than one of the writers of the NT; and if we are not mistaken, it has been shown in the above *Introduction* (ch. iv.) that traces of its influence may be seen in the Epistles of St. John, in the Ep. to the Hebrews, in those to Timothy, above all in the 1st Epistle of St. Peter, and in St. Paul's Epistles to the Romans and Galatians.

Our space will not allow us to deal with more than the last two, merely premising (1) that if the Epistle of James was written by the Lord's brother, it must probably have been written before the year 51 [Turner, 49], the date of the Apostolic Council, as otherwise it must have contained some reference to the question, which was then agitating the Diaspora, as to the admission of Gentiles into the Church; (2) that if such an Epistle were in existence, containing phrases which could be turned against the doctrine of justification by faith, it was likely to be eagerly made use of by Judaizers, and would thus be brought under St. Paul's notice. It has been remarked that the words 'whosoever shall keep the law and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all' (Ja 2^{10}), might easily be twisted so as to represent St. James as insisting on the observance of the whole Mosaic code, and that this may possibly be alluded to in the words (Ac 15^{24}), 'We have heard that certain which went out from us troubled you, saying, Ye must be circumcised and keep the law, to whom we gave no such commandment.' On the other hand, there is less likelihood of St. Paul's

---

[*] The same view is taken by L. Massebieau in an article entitled 'L'Épitre de Jacques, est-elle l'œuvre d'un Chrétien?' which appeared in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, Paris, 1895.

Epistles, addressed to distant Churches, and dealing so much with personal questions, having been brought under the notice of St. James.

The main points of connexion between the Epistles are Ro 2^{13} *οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἀκροαταὶ νόμου δίκαιοι παρὰ τῷ θεῷ, ἀλλ' οἱ ποιηταὶ νόμου δικαιωθήσονται*, compared with Ja 1^{22} *γίνεσθε ποιηταὶ λόγου καὶ μὴ ἀκροαταὶ μόνον*, and Ja 4^{11} *ποιητὴς νόμου* (the only other place in NT where this phrase occurs); the phrase *παραβάτης νόμου*, occurring only in Ro $2^{25.\ 27}$ and Ja 2^{11}; Ro 7^{23} *βλέπω ἕτερον νόμον ἐν τοῖς μέλεσίν μου ἀντιστρατευόμενον τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ νοός μου*, compared with Ja 4^{1} *πόθεν πόλεμοι; οὐκ ἐντεῦθεν ἐκ τῶν ἡδονῶν ὑμῶν τῶν στρατευομένων ἐν τοῖς μέλεσιν ὑμῶν*; Ro 14^{4} *σὺ τίς εἶ ὁ κρίνων ἀλλότριον οἰκέτην; τῷ ἰδίῳ κυρίῳ στήκει ἢ πίπτει*, compared with Ja 4^{11} *εἷς ἔστιν νομοθέτης καὶ κριτής, σὺ δὲ τίς εἶ ὁ κρίνων τὸν πλησίον*; Ro 5^{3-5} *καυχώμεθα ἐν ταῖς θλίψεσιν, εἰδότες ὅτι ἡ θλίψις ὑπομονὴν κατεργάζεται, ἡ δὲ ὑπομονὴ δοκιμήν, ἡ δὲ δοκιμὴ ἐλπίδα, ἡ δὲ ἐλπὶς οὐ καταισχύνει, ὅτι ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκέχυται*, compared with Ja 1^{2-4} *πᾶσαν χαρὰν ἡγήσασθε ὅταν πειρασμοῖς περιπέσητε ποικίλοις, γινώσκοντες ὅτι τὸ δοκίμιον ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως κατεργάζεται ὑπομονήν, ἡ δὲ ὑπομονὴ ἔργον τέλειον ἐχέτω ἵνα ἦτε τέλειοι*; v.^{9} *καυχάσθω δὲ ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὁ ταπεινός, κ.τ.λ.* In these and other cases of resemblance it is easier to suppose that St. Paul works up a hint received from St. James, than that St. James omits points of interest and value which he found ready to his hand.

The crucial test, however, of the relation between the two is to be found in the controversy as to faith and works. St. James had said over and over again that 'faith without works is dead' (2^{17} etc.), his intention being (as is plain from v.^{14}, and the illustration in vv.$^{15.\ 16}$ of a philanthropy which is limited to words, as well as from the whole tone and argument of the Epistle), not to depreciate faith, which is with him, not less than with St. Paul, the very foundation of the Christian life (see $1^{3.\ 6}$ 2^{1} 5^{15}), but to insist that faith, like love, is valueless if it has no effect on the life. St. Paul himself does the same in 1 Th 1^{3}, Gal 5^{6}, 1 Co 13^{2}, Ro 2^{6-20} and elsewhere; but in arguing against his Judaizing antagonists, who denied salvation to the Gentiles unless they were circumcised, and in all other respects 'performed the works of the law,' he had maintained that it was impossible for men to be justified by these works, and that it was by faith alone that even the Jews and Abraham himself must be justified. He is therefore compelled to challenge the phrase of St. James, *ἡ πίστις χωρὶς τῶν ἔργων ἀργή ἐστιν, νεκρά ἐστιν*, by a direct contradiction, *λογιζόμεθα γὰρ δικαιοῦσθαι πίστει ἄνθρωπον χωρὶς ἔργων νόμου*, in support of which he appeals to the confession of the Psalmist (Ps 14. 143^{2}; see Ro 3^{10-20}, Gal 3^{10}) that 'by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified.' If St. James wrote after St. Paul, must he not, with these passages before him, have either attempted to meet the arguments, if he dissented; or if he agreed with them (as he certainly does in $2^{10.\ 11}$ 3^{2}), would he not have avoided the use of phrases such as *χωρὶς τῶν ἔργων*, which were liable to be misunderstood alike by the followers and the opponents of the Apostle to the Gentiles?

St. Paul goes on to argue that the blessings promised to Abraham and all the families of the earth in him, and the covenant made with Abraham and his seed, are anterior to, and irrespective of, the law; that the Scripture expressly attributes to Abraham a righteousness, not of works, but of faith, and states generally that 'the just shall live by faith.' To these arguments no reference is made by St. James, except to the familiar quotation, *ἐπίστευσεν Ἀβραὰμ τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην* ($2^{21.\ 22}$), which was probably in common use among the Jews, to prove that orthodoxy of doctrine sufficed for salvation. His answer to the text so used is that Abraham's faith proved itself by action when he offered Isaac on the altar: if he had not acted thus, he would not have been accounted righteous, or called the friend of God. It is interesting to observe how St. Paul deals with this statement, to which he distinctly refers in Ro 4^{2}. St. James had said, *Ἀβραὰμ ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων ἐδικαιώθη*; St. Paul replies, *εἰ γὰρ ἐξ ἔργων ἐδικαιώθη, ἔχει καύχημα*; but this, as he proceeds to show, is inconsistent with the phrase 'reckoned for righteousness,' which implies an act of free grace on the part of God, not a strict legal obligation of wages earned for work done. His second answer is to replace the quotation in its original context (Ro 4^{16-22}) as spoken of the birth, not the sacrifice of Isaac. Abraham's faith in the promised birth was a settled trust in God, a long-continued hoping against hope; it was this posture of mind, not any immediate action consequent upon it, which was reckoned to him for righteousness. All this is most apposite in reference to the argument of St. James, and the use which might be made of it by Judaizers. But put the case the other way: suppose St. James to have written after St. Paul; and how inconceivable is it that he should have made no attempt to guard his position against such an extremely formidable attack! Again, if St. James was really opposed to St. Paul, and desired to maintain that man was saved, not by grace, but by obedience to the law of Moses, which was incumbent alike on Gentile and on Jew, why has he never uttered a syllable on the subject, but confined himself to the task of proving that a faith which bears no fruit is a dead faith? See this more fully developed by Spitta, *l.c.* 202–225.

We have seen, then, (1) that the resemblance between the two Epistles is such that it can only be explained by supposing one of them to have been written with a knowledge of the other; (2) that a close comparison shows that, where there is a resemblance, the statement in St. James is in general more elementary, less exact and developed, than that in St. Paul; (3) that, in the controversy on faith and works in particular, St. Paul is evidently anxious to guard against misunderstanding by carefully defining terms which are used by St. James in a vague general sense: thus, while the latter uses *πίστις* indefinitely, at one time of genuine Christian trust ($1^{3.\ 6}$ $2^{1.\ 5}$ etc.), at another of an empty profession (2^{14-26}), St. Paul begins his discussion by twice defining it as 'faith in Christ' (Ro $3^{22.\ 26}$); while St. James had used the ambiguous word *ἔργον* with similar vagueness, St. Paul distinguishes between the *ἔργα νόμου* (Ro $3^{20.\ 28}$ 9^{32}) and the *ἔργον πίστεως* (1 Th 1^{3}, 2 Th 1^{11}), 'faith working through love' (Gal 5^{6}). There is a still more careful limitation in Gal 2^{16}, where St. James' declaration, *ἐξ ἔργων δικαιοῦται ἄνθρωπος καὶ οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως μόνον*, is qualified, not merely as to the principal terms *ἔργον* and *πίστις*, but also as to the extent of opposition, by the use of the hypothetical *ἐὰν μή*, and as to the kind of causation attributed to faith, *διά* being substituted for *ἐκ* in the words *οὐ δικαιοῦται ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἔργων νόμου, ἐὰν μὴ διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*; (4) that, whereas the argument of St. James has no reference to St. Paul or to the arguments used by him, St. Paul turns aside, in the most skilful and delicate way, whatever in the argument of St. James might be made use of by Judaizers, while at the same time he reaffirms in more guarded language the truths which both apostles held in common. Nothing could be more courteous and nothing more effective. On the other hand, if we imagine St. James to be answering St. Paul, we should have to charge him with dis-

There is no contradiction from either Paul or James
when we consider that in Rom 3.^{28} speaks of works
of law and the other in James 2^{14-16} w. of Faith

courtesy in addition to an entire misapprehension of the situation.

It remains now to show, in opposition to Spitta, that our Epistle was written after A.D. 40. If it was written by the brother of the Lord, this is about the earliest date which would allow time for his authority to establish itself, as it evidently had done when the letter was written, and also for the growth of a Church of the Diaspora with the experiences described. The hypothesis, however, which we have to meet is that it is a Jewish writing of the 1st cent. B.C., interpolated and adopted by a Christian, in the same way as the *Didaché*, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Sibylline Books, and the Fourth Book of Ezra were interpolated. All that is required to restore it to its original form is, to omit the words τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ in 1^1, and ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ in 2^1, a change which greatly simplifies the construction of τῆς δόξης in the latter passages, leaving the familiar phrase τὴν πίστιν τοῦ Κυρίου τῆς δόξης, examples of which are quoted from the Bk. of Enoch (Spitta, p. iv).

The first thing which strikes us is that a Christian editor would not have been satisfied with such a slight revision. *We* may possibly explain the absence of any reference to Christ among the examples of patience given in $5^{10.11}$, on the ground that, before the existence of our Gospels, the Jews of the Dispersion would be less familiar with the story of our Lord, than they were with the OT Scriptures which were 'read in the synagogues every Sabbath day.' But this consideration was hardly likely to occur to a Christian (of the 1st cent.? No date is suggested by Spitta) who was desirous to adapt a Jewish book for the service of the Church. (2) We must remember that the general Judaic tone is explained and indeed required by the hypothesis that the author is the brother of the Lord, which is commended to us on so many other grounds. It is his office to interpret Christianity to the Jews. He represents and he addresses the many thousands who believe and are zealous for the law. He is the authority whom St. Paul's opponents profess to follow. Tradition even goes so far as to describe the unbelieving Jews as still doubting at the end of his life, whether they might not look to him for a declaration against Christianity (see quotation from Hegesippus in the art. on JAMES). (3) There is the fact of the resemblance of the language of the Epistle to that used by St. James in the Acts. (4) There is the fact of the extraordinary resemblance between the Epistle and our Lord's discourses, especially the Sermon on the Mount. Spitta labours to show that both borrow from older Jewish writings. Even if this were so, it would be far more probable that one of the two borrowed indirectly, taking these sayings straight from the other, than that they should both have collected them independently from a variety of obscure sources. But it is mere perversity to put forward such vague parallels as are adduced from rabbinical writings on the subject of oaths, for instance, or the perishable treasures of earth, by way of accounting for the exact resemblance existing between Ja 5^{12} and Mt 5^{34-37}, Ja $5^{2.3}$ and Mt 6^{19}. Indeed this is true of almost all the resemblances which have been pointed out by the commentators. (5) The Epistle contains many phrases which bear a recognized Christian stamp, even though it may be possible to find some approach to them in pre-Christian documents. Such are ἀδελφοί μου ἀγαπητοί ($1^{16.19}$ 2^5), ἡ παρουσία τοῦ κυρίου ($5^{7.8}$), τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῆς ἐκκλησίας (5^{14}), προσευξάσθωσαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀλείψαντες ἐλαίῳ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι (5^{14}), κληρονόμους τῆς βασιλείας ἧς ἐπηγγείλατο (2^5), βουληθεὶς ἀπεκύησεν ἡμᾶς λόγῳ ἀληθείας, εἰς τὸ εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἀπαρχήν τινα τῶν αὐτοῦ κτισμάτων (1^{18}), νόμον τέλειον τὸν τῆς ἐλευθερίας (1^{25}), suggesting a contrasted law of bondage, of the letter as opposed to the spirit. (6) But the characteristic quality, after all, is to be found, not in particular phrases or occasional reminiscences of our Lord's teaching, but in the identity of spirit between our Epistle and the Sermon on the Mount, which is so striking as to warrant the assertion that, if the former is not Christian, then neither is the latter. (7) Spitta does not suggest that the name 'James' is an addition by the supposed Christian editor. We have seen how exactly the Epistle agrees with all that we know of James the brother of the Lord; but if this is to be considered a part of the original pre-Christian document, where is the author to be found who combines in himself so many remarkable characteristics? We arrive at the same result by comparing it with the Jewish Apoc. writings, such as Ps-Sol. Where do we find an approach in any of these to the teaching of our Epistle as summed up in the section on its contents which follows?

iv. CONTENTS.—The design of the Epistle is on the one hand to encourage the believing Jews of the Dispersion, to whom it is addressed, to bear their trials patiently, and on the other hand to warn them against certain errors of doctrine and practice.

i. *Of Trial* (1^{1-18}).—(*a*) Trial is sent to perfect the Christian character. That it may have this effect wisdom is needed; and this wisdom is given in answer to believing prayer (1^{2-6}). A warning against doublemindedness. The believer should recognize the greatness of his calling, and not allow himself to be either elated or depressed by outward circumstances (1^{7-11}). (*b*) Patient endurance of trial leads to the crown of life promised to all that love God (1^{12}). (*c*) Though outward trial is appointed by God for our good, we must not imagine that the inner weakness which is brought to light by trial is from God. God is perfect goodness, and only sends what is good. The disposition to misuse God's appointments comes from man's own lusts, which, if yielded to, lead to death as their natural consequence (1^{13-15}). (*d*) So far from God's tempting man to evil, it is only by his will, through the regenerating power of his word, that we are raised to that new and higher life which shall eventually penetrate and renew the whole creation (1^{16-18}).

ii. *How we should receive the Word* (1^{19-27}).—(*a*) As humble listeners, not as excited speakers (1^{19-21}). (*b*) Nor is it enough to listen to the word; we must carry it out in action (1^{22-24}). (*c*) Blessing comes to him alone who patiently studies the word, and frames his life in accordance with the law of liberty embodied therein (1^{25}). (*d*) Ritual observance is of no avail unless it helps us to rule the tongue, and practise brotherly kindness and unworldliness (1^{26-27}).

iii. *Warning against Respect of Persons* (2^{1-13}).—(*a*) Courtesy to the rich, if combined with discourtesy to the poor, is a sign of weakness of faith, and proves that we are not whole-hearted in the service of him who is the sole glory of believers (2^{1-4}). (*b*) The poor have more title to our respect than the rich, since they are more often rich in faith and heirs of the kingdom; while it is the rich who maltreat the brethren, and blaspheme the name of Christ (2^{5-7}). (*c*) If it is from obedience to the royal law of love that we show courtesy to the rich, it is well; but if we do this only from respect of persons, it is a breach of the law, and a defiance of the Lawgiver, no less than murder and adultery (2^{8-11}). (*d*) Remember that we shall all be tried by the law of liberty, which looks to the heart, and not to the outward action only. It is the merciful who obtain mercy ($2^{12.13}$).

iv. *Belief and Practice* (2^{14-26}).—(*a*) A mere profession of faith without corresponding action is of no avail (2^{14}). As may be seen in the parallel case of benevolence, when it does not go beyond words (2^{15-17}). Without action we have no evidence of the existence of faith (2^{18}). The orthodox belief of the Jew is shared by the demons, and only increases their misery (2^{19}). (*b*) True faith, such as that of Abraham and Rahab, necessarily embodies itself in action (2^{20-26}).

v. *Warnings with respect to the use of the Tongue* (3^{1-12}).—(*a*) Great responsibility of the office of teacher (3^1). (*b*) Difficulty and importance of controlling the tongue (3^{2-8}). (*c*) Inconsistency of supposing that we can offer acceptable praise to God as long as we speak evil of man, who is made in the image of God (3^{9-12}).

vi. *True and false Wisdom* (3^{13-18}).—(*a*) The wisdom which comes from God is simple and straightforward, full of kindness and all good fruits ($3^{13.17.18}$). (*b*) If there is a wisdom which does not conduce to peace, but is accompanied by bitterness and jealousy, it is not from above, but is earthly, carnal, devilish (3^{14-16}).

vii. *Warning against Quarrelsomeness and Worldliness* (4^{1-17}).—(*a*) The cause of quarrels is that each man seeks to gratify his own selfish impulses, and to snatch his neighbour's portion of worldly good ($4^{1.2}$). (*b*) No satisfaction can be thus obtained. Even our prayers can give us no satisfaction if they are infected with this worldly spirit (4^{3}). (*c*) God demands the service of the whole heart, and will reveal himself to none but those who yield up their wills to his ($4^{1\text{-}6}$). (*d*) Therefore resist the devil, who is the prince of this world, and turn to God in humble repentance ($4^{7\text{-}10}$). (*e*) Cease to find fault with others. Those who condemn their neighbours condemn the law itself, and usurp the office of him, the Lord of life and death, who alone has the power and right to judge ($4^{11.\,12}$). (*f*) Worldliness is also shown in the confident laying-out of plans of life without reference to God ($4^{13\text{-}17}$).

viii. *Denunciations and Encouragements* ($5^{1\text{-}11}$).—(*a*) Woe to those who have been heaping up money and living in luxury on the very eve of judgment. Woe especially to those who have ground down the poor and murdered the innocent ($5^{1\text{-}6}$). (*b*) Let the brethren bear their sufferings patiently, knowing that the Lord is at hand, and that he will make all things turn out for their good. Let them imitate Job and the prophets, and so inherit the blessings pronounced on those who endure ($5^{6\text{-}11}$).

ix. *Miscellaneous Præcepts* ($5^{12\text{-}20}$).—(*a*) Swear not (5^{12}). (*b*) Let all your feelings of joy and sorrow be sanctified and controlled by religion (5^{13}). (*c*) In sickness let the elders be called in to pray and anoint the sick with a view to his recovery ($5^{14.\,15}$). (*d*) Confess your sins to one another, and pray for one another with all earnestness ($5^{16\text{-}18}$). (*e*) The blessing on one who wins back a sinner from the error of his ways ($5^{19.\,20}$).

The doctrinal basis of St. James' practical teaching may perhaps be stated as follows:—Man was created in the image of God (3^{9}), the All-good ($1^{13.\,17}$); but he has fallen into sin by yielding to his lower impulses against his sense of right ($1^{14.\,15}$ $4^{1\text{-}3.\,17}$), and the natural consequence of sin is death, bodily and spiritual (1^{15} $5^{3.\,5.\,20}$). Not only is man liable to sin, but as a matter of fact we all sin, and that frequently (3^{2}). God of his free bounty has provided a means by which we may conquer sin; he has begotten us anew through his word sown in our hearts ($1^{18.\,21}$). Our salvation depends on the way in which we receive the word (1^{21}). If we have a steadfast faith in God's goodness ($1^{5.\,7.\,13}$ 2^{1}); if we read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest the word, so as to make it the guiding principle of our life, the law of liberty by which all our words and actions are regulated (1^{25} 2^{12}), bearing its natural fruit in compassion and love towards our fellow-men (1^{27} $2^{8.\,15.\,16}$), then our souls are saved from death, we are made inheritors of the kingdom promised to those who love God ($1^{12.\,25}$ 2^{5}). But the training by which we are prepared for this crown of life is not pleasant to the natural man. It involves trial and endurance ($1^{2\text{-}4.\,12}$); it involves constant watchfulness and self-control and prayer for heavenly wisdom, in order that we may resist the temptations of the world, the flesh, and the devil (1^{26} $3^{2\text{-}8.\,15}$). Thus faith is exercised; we are enabled to see things as God sees them ($2^{1.\,5}$), to rise above the temporal to the eternal ($1^{9\text{-}11}$), to be not simply patient, but to rejoice in affliction (1^{2} $5^{7.\,8.\,10.\,11}$) and exult in the hope set before us ($1^{9.\,12}$), until at last we grow up to the full stature of a Christian (1^{4} 3^{2}), wise with that wisdom which comes from above, the wisdom which is steadfast, unpretending, gentle, considerate, affectionate, full of mercy and good fruits, the parent of righteousness and peace ($3^{17.\,18}$). But there are many who choose the friendship of the world instead of the friendship of God, so vexing his Holy Spirit and yielding themselves to the power of the devil; yet even then he does not leave them to themselves, but gives more grace, hedging in their ways in the present and warning them of judgment to come ($4^{4\text{-}6}$ $5^{1\text{-}8}$). If they humble themselves under his hand, and repent truly of their sins, he will lift them up; if they draw nigh to him, he will draw nigh to them ($4^{7\text{-}10}$). Here, too, we may be helpful to one another by mutual confession and by prayer for one another. Great is the power of prayer prompted by the Spirit of God ($5^{15\text{-}20}$).

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works cited above, see the *Commentaries* of Cornelius a Lapide (1648), Estius (1661), Gebser (Berlin, 1828, contains extracts from the Fathers), Schneckenburger (Stuttgart, 1832), Theile (a condensed *Variorum ed.* 1833), Kern (Tübingen, 1838), Schegg (Roman Catholic), 1883, Plumptre (in *Camb. Bible*, 1878), Plummer (in *Expositor's Bible*, 1891), especially Beyschlag (Göttingen, 1888). See further B. Weiss, *Die kathol. Briefe*, *Text-krit. Untersuchungen u. Textherstellung*, 1892; W. Schmidt, *Lehrgehalt d. Jacobusbriefes*, 1869; R. W. Dale, *Ep. of James*, 1895; Review of Spitta's theory in *Crit. Rev.* 1896, p. 277 ff.; van Manen in *ThT*, July, 1897.

J. B. MAYOR.

JAMIN (יָמִין).—1. A son of Simeon, Gn 46^{10}, Ex 6^{15}, Nu 26^{12}, 1 Ch 4^{24}. The gentilic name **Jaminites** (הַיָּמִינִי) occurs in Nu 26^{12}. See GENEALOGY, II. 1. 2. A Judahite, 1 Ch 2^{27}. See GENEALOGY, IV. 7. 3. A priest (?, or Levite) who took part in the promulgating of the law, Neh 8^{7}.

JAMLECH (יַמְלֵךְ).—A Simeonite chief, 1 Ch 4^{34}.

JAMNIA (Ἰαμνία, Ἰαμνεία, Ἰαννεία), 1 Mac 4^{15} 5^{58} 10^{69} 15^{40}, 2 Mac $12^{8.\,9.\,40}$.—The later name of JABNEEL (wh. see).

Jamnites (οἱ Ἰαμνῖται, *Jamnitæ*), gentilic name, 2 Mac 12^{9}; cf. οἱ ἐν Ἰαμνίᾳ, 12^{8}.

JANAI (יַעְנַי, perhaps for יַעֲנְיָה 'J" answers').—A Gadite chief, 1 Ch 5^{12}, AV Jaanai.

JANGLING.—In 1 Ti 1^{6} ματαιολογία is tr^{d} in AV 'vain jangling,' after Tind. and most VSS; RV 'vain talking,' which is near the Rhem. NT 'vaine talke.' This is the only occurrence of the word in bibl. Greek, but ματαιολόγος occurs in Tit 1^{10}, EV 'vain talker.' The Eng. word 'jangle' (of Low Germ. origin; Skeat compares Lat. *gannire*, to yelp) was occasionally used in 1611 in the sense (still common) of 'quarrel,' but more frequently in the sense of 'chatter,' and that is its meaning here. Chaucer (*Persones Tale*) says, 'Jangling is whan man speketh to moche before folk, and clappeth as a mille, and taketh no kepe what he seith'; and in the same Tale, 'A philosophre seyde, whan men axed him how that men sholde plese the peple; and he answerde, "do many gode werkes, and speke few jangles."' J. HASTINGS.

JANIM (יָנִים *Kethibh*; AV Janum, following *Ḳerê* יָנוּם).—A town in the mountains of Hebron, near Beth-tappuah, Jos 15^{53}. The site is uncertain.

JANNAI (AV Janna, TR Ἰαννά; Lach., Tisch., Treg., WH Ἰανναί).—An ancestor of Jesus, Lk 3^{24}.

JANNES AND JAMBRES (Ἰαννῆς καὶ Ἰαμβρῆς).—The traditional names of the two Egyp. magicians, who by their enchantments imitated the signs which Moses showed before Pharaoh. In Scripture the names occur only in 2 Ti 3^{8} 'As Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses, so do these also withstand the truth.' The allusions to them elsewhere are numerous and widespread, though full of anachronisms and contradictions. J. and J. are said to have been the sons of Balaam (*Sohar* 90. 2) or his young men (*Jerus. Targ.* Nu 22^{22}); and yet they were in the court of Pharaoh, and so interpreted a dream of the king as to forebode the birth of Moses, and cause the oppression (*ib.* Ex 1^{15}). They are mentioned by name as opposing Moses (*ib.* Ex 7^{11}), but were so awed by Moses' later signs as to become proselytes, and leave Egypt with 'the mixed multitude' (*Yalkut Reubeni* 81. 2). They instigated Aaron to make the golden calf (*Tikkunim* 106. 4), and yet came with Balaam from Pethor when he visited the camp of Balak (*Jerus. Targ.* Nu 22^{22}). As to their death, there are diverse accounts. They were drowned in the Red Sea, or put to death after the incident of the golden calf, or during the slaughter of Phinehas. Their names occur also in the *Gospel of Nicodemus* (ch. 5), where Nicodemus warns Pilate by the example of J. and J. not to condemn Jesus; in the *Acts of Paul and Peter*, where Paul makes use of J. and J., to warn Nero against Simon's deceptions (Lipsius, *Apocr. Apostelgesch.* ii. 302), and in *Constitut. Apostol.* viii. 1, where J. and J. are paralleled with Annas and Caiaphas; while Palladius (*c.* A.D. 420) narrates that Macarius visited their tomb (Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. 150). In Gentile circles we find the Roman writers Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xxx. 2) and Apuleius (*Apolog.* c. 90) mentioning Moses and Jannes among the famous magicians of antiquity; and a Gr. philosopher Numenius (2nd cent. A.D.), quoted by Eusebius (*Præp. Evang.* ix. 8), speaks of J. and J. as Egyp. ἱερογραμματεῖς. The early date of the tradition and its wide spread prove Levy in error in contending that J. and J. are John the Baptist and Jesus (*Chald. Wört.* 337).

In 2 Ti 3^{8} there is a various reading Μαμβρῆς; and it is interesting to find Mamre, מַמְרֵי or מַמְרֵא, in Jewish circles also. The spelling יוֹחָנֵי וּמַמְרֵא is found in Midrash *Vayyosha'* (*i.e.* from Ex 14^{30}), and also in *Yalkut Shimeoni* and the Talmudic tractate *Menachoth* 85*a* (quoted in Aruch).

It is probable that *Jannes*, otherwise spelt יוֹנוֹס or יוֹחָנֵי, is a corruption of Ἰωάννης = יוֹחָנָן: with a side allusion, however, to Aram. יוֹנֵי 'he who misleads'; and that *Jambres* is from יַמְרֵי, ptcp. מַמְרֵי 'he who opposes.' The insertion of β into the *Yamre* and *Mamre* recalls Μαμβρή (Gn 13^{18}) and Ἀμβράμ (Ex 6^{18}) in LXX. Schöttgen gives other spellings of the names in Jewish writings.

LITERATURE.—Schöttgen (*Hor. Heb.*) and Wetstein (*Nov. Test.*) on 2 Ti 3^{8}; Schürer *HJP* II. iii. 149 ff.; Buxtorf, *Chald. Lex. s.* יוֹחָנָא, and the Bible Lexicons. J. T. MARSHALL.

JANNES AND JAMBRES, BOOK OF.—An apocryphon not yet discovered. It is twice mentioned by Origen. On Mt 27^{8} Origen says that St. Paul, in 2 Ti 3^{8}, does not quote 'from public writings, but from a sacred book, which is entitled The Book of Jannes and Mambres.' (The form Mambres is found in Codd. F G and Itala of 2 Ti 3^{8}, and in many Latin authors. The Jews also knew the form מַמְרֵי). On Mt 23^{37} Origen adduces 2 Ti 3^{8} as an instance in which an apocr. writing is quoted in Scripture. The same work is probably intended in the *Decretum Gelasii*, under the title *Pœnitentia Jamnis et Mambræ*. Whether St. Paul really read the work, or, as Theodoret opines, gathered his information from the unwritten teaching of the Jews, we can but conjecture. There are two points slightly in favour of Origen—(1) The fact that the Gentiles, Pliny, Apuleius, and Numenius knew of J. and J., seems to point to a written source; and since Pliny died A.D. 79, the work was probably in existence before 2 Ti was written. (2) The fact that Pal. Targ. gives the Gr. form of the names ינים וימברים, seems to imply that here, as in the case of Eldad and Modad (which see), the Targumist is quoting from a written source. It is probable, then, that we have here to do, not with an oral tradition, but with a definite apocryphal work.

LITERATURE.—Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. 149 ff.; Zöckler, *Apokr. d. AT*, 424; Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigr. VT*, i. 813-825.

J. T. MARSHALL.

JANOAH.—**1.** (יָנוֹחַ). A town in the northern mountains of Naphtali, near Kedesh, 2 K 15^{29}. It is the modern *Yanûh*. See *SWP* vol. i. sheet ii. **2.** (יָנוֹחָה, AV Janohah). A place on the border of Ephraim, east of Taanath-shiloh, Jos $16^{6.7}$. In the 4th cent. A.D. (*Onomasticon*, *s.v.* 'Jano') it was known as lying in Akrabattine (the region of '*Akrabeh* in the hills east of Shechem), 12 Roman miles east of Neapolis (Shechem), or where the present *Yânûn* now stands, with the supposed tomb of Nun. See *SWP* vol. ii. sheet xii. (cf. Robinson, *BRP* iii. 297; Guérin, *Samarie*, ii. 6; Buhl, *GAP* 178). C. R. CONDER.

JAPHETH (יֶפֶת, Ἰάφεθ).—The name of one of the sons of Noah, and the ancestor of a number of tribes (esp. Gn 10^{2-4}).

1. In the article HAM we have seen reasons for adopting the opinion according to which the three sons of Noah originally represented a division of the inhabitants of Palestine, but which part of the population was represented by Japheth is not clear: Wellhausen (*JDTh* xxi. 403) conjectured the Philistines; Budde (*Urgesch.* 338 ff.), the Phœnicians; but the words in the blessing of Noah (Gn 9^{27}), 'God make room (so perhaps literally) for Japheth to dwell in the tents of Shem,' would seem to imply a closer relationship than that of neighbouring nations, and one more resembling that of castes of tribes forming a single state, like the Ramnes and Tities in Rome, or the Brahmins and Kshattriyas of Hindustan. Of the name 'Japheth,' however, with any such denotation there is no trace. The text of Gn offers no etymology for the name, but only an assonance with Aram. פתח 'to be wide'; and though a name derived from this root would perhaps have a parallel in the Nabatæan אפתח, there are other Semitic roots from which the name could with equal probability be derived; the etymology which has found most favour is from the Hebrew יפה 'to be beautiful,' whence the Arabic-speaking Jews make it the equivalent of 'Al-Hasan'; and this, though not free from grammatical difficulty, is accepted by some modern authorities.

2. As the name of one of the founders of the human race, it is natural to compare Japheth with Iapetos, a personage who appears in Homer (*Il.* viii. 479) as a giant, and in Hesiod as the father of Prometheus; while in a passage of Berosus, quoted on the very questionable authority of Moses of Chorene (ed. Florival, i. 30), a Chaldæan cosmogony makes an Iapetos joint founder of the human family with two others whom Moses not unnaturally identifies with Ham and Shem.* The only value of this notice is that we learn from it who first compared the Greek and Hebrew legends. The identification is etymologically possible (Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 256), but not certainly correct, since the Greek language offers a sufficiently good derivation for the name of the giant Iapetos (Ebeling, *Lexicon Homericum*, *s.v.*), and the original import of the biblical Japheth is not obviously connected with the giant: if the two names are in reality traceable to the same source, the latter is more probably Semitic than Greek, but it may very well be neither.

3. Many attempts have been made, both in ancient (Jos. *Ant.* I. vi. 1; Talm. Bab., *Yoma*, f. 10*a*; Talm. Jer., *Megillah*, p. 19; for other Rabbinic references see Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* 421 ff.) and in modern times (see Lagarde, *l.c.*, and esp. Lenormant, *Orig. de l'Hist.*^{2} 1882) to identify the tribes derived from Japheth, of which Madai or Media, Javan or Ionia, and of Javan's sons Citium and Tarshish are familiar, and perhaps Meshech and Tubal may be said to be known; while the remaining names occur either in this table only (Tiras, Riphath) or chiefly besides in Ezk (esp. chs. 27. 38) and Jer (Ashkenaz). The omission of the name of Persia, which is known to Ezekiel (27^{10} 38^{5}), seems to give us a *terminus ad quem* for the composition of the list, while the fact that Magog occupies the second place shows that it can be little earlier than Ezekiel's time. The names of the grandsons may represent the results of more extended knowledge than that expressed in the names of the sons; but it is unlikely that the table in any form was derived from an official source; the names which it contains belong to distant nations, known to the Israelites of Ezekiel's time chiefly by hearsay, though several of them had by that date acquired some political importance. The writer who made them descendants of Japheth would seem to have already adopted the interpretation of Gn 9^{27} which appears in the Targ. Onk., and Talm. Bab. *l.c.*, according to which it is God, not Japheth, who is to dwell in the tents of Shem. The first clause, 'God make room for Japheth,' when the room was no longer confined to Palestine, would be a ground for counting among Japheth's descendants the barbarians who peopled the unknown north and the islands of the unexplored sea.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

JAPHETH (Ἰάφεθ).—A region whose identity is uncertain, mentioned in Jth 2^{25}. Holofernes 'came unto the borders of Japheth, which were toward the south, over against Arabia.'

JAPHIA (יָפִיעַ; B Ἰεφθά, A, Luc. Ἰαφαλε;

---

* The modern Armenian poet Pakratuni (*Haig*, i. p. 17) rather ingeniously tbinks of 'earthly' and 'heavenly' names. The Armenian form of the name in Moses is Japetosthé, whereon Pictet (*Origines Indo-Européennes*, i. 627) based some inferences, accepted by Lenormant, *l.c.* II. i. 191.

Japhia).—**1.** King of Lachish, who, together with the kings of Hebron, Jarmuth, and Eglon, joined Adoni-zedek, king of Jerusalem, in attacking the Gibeonites after the latter had made a treaty with the Israelites. The five 'kings of the Amorites' were routed by Joshua at Beth-horon, and fled to the cave at Makkedah, where they were slain at Joshua's command (Jos $10^{3ff.}$).

2. (B Ἰεφίες, Ἰανοῦε, Ἰανουού; A Ἀφίε, Ἰαφίε; Luc. Νάφεθ, Ἀχικάμ, Ἰαβέγ) One of David's sons born at Jerusalem; the list is given three times (2 S 5^{14b-16}, 1 Ch 3^{5-8} 14^{4-7}). J. F. STENNING.

JAPHIA (יָפִיעַ).—A town on the south border of Zebulun, Jos 19^{12}. It is probably the modern *Yâfa*, near the foot of the Nazareth hills. See *SWP* vol. i. sheet v. (cf. Robinson, *BRP*^{2} ii. 343 f.).

JAPHLET (יַפְלֵט).—The eponym of an Asherite family, 1 Ch $7^{32f.}$. See GENEALOGY.

JAPHLETITES (יַפְלֵטִי).—The name of an unidentified tribe mentioned in stating the boundaries of the children of Joseph, Jos 16^3 (see Dillmann's note).

JARAH (יַעְרָה).—A descendant of Saul, 1 Ch 9^{42}. In 8^{36} he is called **Jehoaddah**, and Kittel (in *SBOT*) would substitute יַעְדָּה for יַעְרָה (so Siegfried-Stade and [doubtfully] *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*; and Gray, *Heb. Prop. Names*, 283, n. 14).

JAREB (יָרֵב, Ἰαρείμ, Ἰαρείβ) is twice employed by Hosea (5^{13} 10^6) as a designation of the king of Assyria. Various opinions have been expressed as to whether it is a proper name or a descriptive epithet. AV, which, like RV, has 'king J.' in the text, offers in the marg. the alternative renderings 'the king of J.' or 'the king that should plead,' while RVm gives 'a king that should contend.' Sayce (*HCM* 417) conjectures that J. may have been the natal name of the usurper who seized the throne of Assyria after the death of Shalmaneser IV. in Dec. B.C. 723, and who is known to history as Sargon II. It was natural that he should assume the name of one of the most illustrious of the early Bab. monarchs (Sargon I.), just as his two predecessors, who were also usurpers, exchanged their original names (Pul and Ululâ) for those of earlier Assyr. kings (Tiglath-pileser and Shalmaneser). What appears to be a fatal objection to Sayce's theory, is that we seem compelled by internal evidence of the strongest character to assign the whole of Hos 4–14 to a date prior even to the deportation of the inhabitants of Gilead by Tiglath-pileser (734), whereas, if J. is to be identified with Sargon, we should have to bring down the date of some at least of these chaps. to about B.C. 722, the year when Samaria fell. Others (like AVm, RVm), connecting J. (יָרֵב) with רִיב=*strive*, render, *e.g.*, 'the warlike king' (W. R. Smith), 'a hostile king' (Gesenius), 'king Combat' (Farrar), 'Kampfhahn' (Guthe in Kautzsch's *AT*). Reuss, deriving J. from the same root רִיב, makes it=Lat. *patronus*, a title which he holds to be fairly applicable to a king whose assistance had been invoked by Ephraim and Judah (2 K 15^{19} 16^7). Schrader's identification of 'the combatant king' with Assurdân (*c.* 755) lacks probability, as is pointed out by Whitehouse, who agrees with Nowack that J. is Tiglath-pileser III. (745–728). A very attractive explanation of the name is offered by McCurdy, who considers that J. is a participial adjective from the root רבב meaning 'to be great.' *Jareb* would thus answer to the familiar title of Assyr. monarchs, 'the great king' (*Hist. Proph. and Mon.* i. 415). W. Max Müller (*ZATW*, 1897, p. 334) obtains the same meaning by dividing the words מלכי רב instead of מלך ירב. So also Cheyne (*Expositor*, Nov. 1897, p. 364; cf. *Expos. Times*, ix. [1898] pp. 364, 428). See further, Nowack, *Kl. Proph. ad loc.*; Neubauer, *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.* iii. 103; Hommel, *Gesch. Bab.-Assyr.* 680; Schrader, *COT*^{2} ii. 136. J. A. SELBIE.

JARED (יֶרֶד, pausal form יָרֶד, LXX Ἰάρεδ, NT Ἰάρετ).—The father of Enoch, Gn $5^{15. 16. 18. 19. 20}$, 1 Ch 1^2, Lk 3^{37}. See further, JERED.

JARHA (יַרְחָע).—An Egyptian slave who married the daughter of his master Sheshan, 1 Ch $2^{34f.}$ See GENEALOGY.

JARIB (יָרִיב).—**1.** The eponym of a Simeonite family, 1 Ch 4^{24}=Jachin of Gn 46^{10}, Ex 6^{15}, Nu 26^{12}. **2.** One of the 'chief men' who were sent by Ezra to Casiphia in search of Levites, Ezr 8^{16}. He is called in 1 Es 8^{44} Joribus. **3.** A priest who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10^{18}. He is called in 1 Es 9^{19} Joribus.

JARIMOTH (A Ἰαριμώθ, B -ει-), 1 Es 9^{28}.—In Ezr 10^{27} JEREMOTH.

JARMUTH (יַרְמוּת).—**1.** A town in the W. of Judah. In Jos 10 (JE) its king, Piram, joined the Canaanite league against the Gibeonites, and suffered death along with his confederates at Makkedah—all of which argues a place of considerable importance. (Cf. Jos 12^{11} D^2). According to Jos 15^{35} (P) it was situated in the Shephelah, and belonged to the tribe of Judah, which tribe on its return re-peopled the town (Neh 11^{29}).

The site is upon the present Jebel Yarmuk, a hill, the slopes of which still show the marks of old retaining walls, and are covered with the ruins of buildings. The summit is crowned by the foundations of a wall, the early acropolis of the place. Guérin (*Judée*, ii. 371 ff.) states that the ruins lie 'three good hours from Beit Djibrin, the ancient Eleutheropolis, on the road to Jerusalem.' The town will then be identical with the Ἰερμοῦς or Jermus of the *Onomasticon*, which Eusebius and Jerome agree in placing 10 miles from Eleutheropolis on the way to Jerusalem. And the Ἰαβεῖς or Jarimuth of the *Onom.* may be the same place, repeated with an error in the text (see Guérin, *ad loc.*). Though the site is not within the Shephelah, it immediately commands it.

2. A city in Issachar, belonging to the Gershonite Levites (Jos 21^{29}). Probably we should read רֶמֶת Remeth: for (1) in the duplicate list (1 Ch 6^{73}) the name is Ramoth, in the tribal list of cities (Jos 19^{21}) Remeth appears; (2) in Jos 21^{29} the LXX reads Ῥεμμάθ B, Ἰερμώθ A; and in 19^{21} Ῥέμμας B, Ῥαμάθ A.

The place has not been identified. Guérin (*Galilée*, i. 129 ff.) conjectures Kaukab el-Haoua, a height between Scythopolis and Tiberias, which the Crusaders named Belvoir. The only reason is that Ramah or Remeth means height (!). Conder (*PEF Mem.* 1881, p. 201) suggests Rameh N. of Samaria, near which tradition places Issachar's grave. A. C. WELCH.

JAROAH (יָרוֹחַ).—A Gadite chief, 1 Ch 5^{14}. The text is doubtful (cf. Kittel in *SBOT*).

JASAELUS (Ἀσάηλος, AV Jasael), 1 Es 9^{30}.—In Ezr 10^{29} SHEAL.

JASHAR, BOOK OF (AV Jasher, סֵפֶר הַיָּשָׁר; LXX 2 S 1^{18} βιβλίου τοῦ εὐθοῦς; Vulg. *libro justorum*; Syr. Jos 10^{13} 'book of hymns *or* praises,' ܬܫܒܚܬܐ, 2 S 1^{18} 'book of Ashir,' ܐܫܝܪ; Targ. סִפְרָא דְאוֹרַיְתָא,

'book of the law').—According to MT, this document was the source of the lines,

> 'Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon;
> And thou, Moon, in the valley of Aijalon.
> And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed,
> Until the nation had avenged themselves of their enemies'
> (Jos $10^{12.\,13}$);

and of David's Lament over Saul and Jonathan, 2 S 1^{17-27}. LXX of Jos omits the reference to the Bk. of Jashar. But probably the original text of 1 K $8^{12.\,13}$ stated that the lines,

> 'J" hath said that he would dwell in the thick darkness.
> I have surely built thee an house of habitation,
> A place for thee to dwell in for ever,'

were taken from this book. LXX makes our 1 K $8^{12.\,13}$ the close of 8^{53}, apparently following a somewhat different text, and adds *οὐκ ἰδοὺ αὕτη γέγραπται ἐν βιβλίῳ τῆς ᾠδῆς*. The last three words represent סֵפֶר הַשִּׁיר, which is probably a corruption, by the transposition of two letters, of סֵפֶר הַיָּשָׁר.

Nothing further is known of this document. Syr. of Jos and S, and LXX of 1 K 8^{53}, suggest that ישר in Jos and S may be a corruption of שיר 'song'; but this view has met with little if any support. The data are too scanty and obscure to determine either the character of the book or the meaning of its title. As the passages quoted are ancient poems on great events, especially battles, probably the book was a collection of such poems. Some other OT poems may be from this collection. The Targ. 'book of the law' represents a rabbinical theory that the Bk. of Jashar was the Pentateuch or part of it. Donaldson, in his *Jashar: fragmenta archetypa carminum Hebraicorum*, published at London in 1854, attempted a reconstruction of the book, and assigned to it a large number of passages from OT; but his views met with no acceptance.

The date of the collection is obviously later than the time of David, and probably older than B.C. 800—the references to Jashar are assigned to J^1 (Budde, *Samuel*, etc.).

MT points ישר as the ordinary יָשָׁר 'upright,' and it is so understood by LXX, Vulg. etc. If so, it may be taken as 'hero,' or collectively 'heroes,' courage and warlike prowess being the virtues most admired in primitive times; Ilgen notices the title *Hamasa*, 'warlike virtue,' 'valour,' given to a section of an Arabic anthology, containing poems in praise of heroic deeds. Or 'the hero' may be Israel, whose name is based on a root similar to ישר, and who is sometimes called יְשֻׁרוּן *Jeshurun* (which see), Dt 32^{15} $33^{5.\,26}$, Is 44^{2}. Or ישר may be the initial word of the book, possibly to be read as *yāshîr* 'sang,' as in אָז יָשִׁיר Ex 15^{1}, Nu 21^{17}.

There are two rabbinical works with the title 'Book of Jashar,' a moral treatise by R. Shabbatai Carmuz Levita, A.D. 1394, contained in a MS in the Vatican; and a treatise on the laws of the Jews by R. Thom, *d.* 1171, first printed in Italy A.D. 1544. There is also an anonymous historical narrative, with the same title, containing the Pent., Jg., and Jos with additions; accepted by some Jews as the Bk. of Jashar; probably the work of a Spanish Jew of the 13th cent. It is said to have first appeared at Naples, and was first printed at Venice in 1625. In 1674 a German version of this work, with additions, was published at Frankfort-on-Main by R. Jacob. In 1751 a Bristol type-founder published a forgery professing to be an English translation of the Bk. of Jashar, with a preface by Alcuin. It was reprinted in 1827 with a forged attestation by Wyclif.

LITERATURE.—Art. JASHAR in Smith's *DB*¹; Holzinger, *Einleitung in den Hexateuch*, 228 ff.; Ryle, *Canon of OT*, 19 ff.; Driver, *LOT*⁶, 108, 121, 192; Wildeboer, *Lit. d. AT*, 73 ff.; Kautzsch's *AT*, Beilage, 136 f.; W. R. Smith, *OTJC*² 433 ff.

W. H. BENNETT.

JASHEN (יָשֵׁן, *Ἀσάν*, *Jasen*).—The sons of Jashen (בְּנֵי יָשֵׁן) are mentioned in the list of David's heroes given in 2 S 23^{32}. In the parallel list (1 Ch 11^{34}) they appear as the sons of **Hashem** (הָשֵׁם), who is further described as the **Gizonite** (הַגִּזוֹנִי) (wh. see). The name *Gizon*, however, does not occur elsewhere, and it seems probable that the true form of the gentilic adjective has been preserved by Lucian (2 S Ἰεσσαὶ ὁ Γουνί; 1 Ch Εἰρασαὶ ὁ Γουνί), viz. 'the Gunite' (הַגּוּנִי), or member of the Naphtalite family of Guni (Nu 26^{48}); so Driver, Budde, Klostermann. It is further generally admitted by most scholars that the word בְּנֵי ('sons of') has crept into the text both of 2 S and 1 Ch by dittography from the preceding הַשַּׁעַלְבֹנִי ('the **Shaalbonite**'): Lucian omits it in both passages. Hashem (1 Ch), though supported by the LXX (2 S Ἀσάν; 1 Ch A *υἱοὶ Ἀσάμ ὁ Γωυνί*), must, in view of Lucian's text, be rejected in favour of Jashen. For 'the sons of Jashen' (2 S 23^{32}) we should therefore read 'Jashen the Gunite.' See further, Driver, *Notes on the Books of Sam.* p. 283.

J. F. STENNING.

JASHOBEAM (יָשָׁבְעָם).—One of David's mighty men, 1 Ch 11^{11} 12^{6} 27^{2}. There is reason to believe that his real name was Ishbosheth, *i.e.* Eshbaal. See JOSHEB-BASSHEBETH.

JASHUB (יָשׁוּב 'he returns').—**1.** Issachar's fourth son, Nu 26^{24} P, 1 Ch 7^{1}, called in Gn 46^{13} **Iob** (wh. see): patron. **Jashubites**, Nu 26^{24}. **2.** A returned exile who married a foreigner, Ezr 10^{29}.

JASHUBI-LEHEM (יָשֻׁבִי לֶחֶם).—The eponym of a Judahite family, 1 Ch 4^{22}. The text is manifestly corrupt. LXX gives *καὶ ἀπέστρεψεν αὐτούς*, Luc. *καὶ ἐπέστρεψαν ἑαυτοῖς*. Kittel (in *SBOT*) reads וַיָּשֻׁבוּ בֵּית לָחֶם 'and they returned to Bethlehem,' remarking that the LXX and Vulg. (*et qui reversi sunt in Lahem*) rightly recognize the verb שוב. לחם must stand for בֵּית ל׳, and the last two letters of MT ישבו may be a trace of the בית. Even so, the meaning of the passage is obscure.

JASON (*Ἰάσων*).—A common Gr. name, not unfrequently used by Hel. Jews, or by Palestinians who were favourable to Hellenizing influences. In some cases it was adopted as the equivalent of *Joshua* or *Jesus* (Ἰησοῦς); cf. Jos. *Ant.* XII. v. 1.

1. J. THE SON OF ELEAZAR, one of the envoys sent by Judas Maccabæus to conclude a treaty with Rome (B.C. 161). The Greek name suggests that he belonged to the more liberal party among the Jews (Stanley), 1 Mac 8^{17}, Jos. *Ant.* XII. x. 6.

2. J. THE FATHER OF ANTIPATER, who was sent as an ambassador by Jonathan, in B.C. 144, to renew the former treaty with the Romans (1 Mac 12^{16} 14^{22}, Jos. *Ant.* XIII. v. 8). This Jason is perhaps the same as No. **1.**

3. J. OF CYRENE, a Jewish writer, who composed five books on the history of the Maccabees and the wars of the Jews against Antiochus Epiphanes and his successor Eupator. Of this work our Second Book of the Maccabees is an abridgment (*ἐπιτομή*), and from the epitomizer's preface our whole knowledge of J. is derived. The date at which he lived can be determined only by internal evidence. Comparing the epitome with 1 Mac, which deals in the main with the same period of history, we find numerous discrepancies not only in important details, but sometimes even in the order of events; and it cannot be doubted that on the whole the simpler narrative of 1 Mac is to be preferred. At the same time 2 Mac supplies us with many additional particulars, which there is no reason to doubt. The writer seems to have been specially well informed upon the earlier troubles which led to the Maccabæan rising. J. clearly had at his disposal valuable contemporary information; but if this was not written but oral, and frequently not received at first hand, it is easy to account for the numerous inaccuracies and legendary additions which are to be found in his work. The narrative of 2 Mac extends to B.C. 160; and J. probably wrote not long after that date. His name and place of residence imply that he was a Hellenist; the ornate and rhetorical style of the work is characteristic of the later Gr. writers; and from internal evidence it seems clear that the orig. work of J. was written in Greek. Cf. Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. 211-215; Zöckler on 2 Mac, *Einl.* 2.

4. J. THE HIGH PRIEST, the son of Simon II., and brother of Onias III., was the leader of the Hellenizing party among the Jews. His orig. name was Jesus or Joshua (Jos. *Ant.* XII. v. 1). On the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes, he induced the king, by means of a large present of money, to expel Onias from the high priesthood, and to confer the office upon himself (2 Mac 4^{7-17}, 4 Mac 4^{15-20}. Josephus, *l.c.*, seems to be mistaken when he asserts that J. became high priest on the death of his brother, and also when he states that the next pretender, Menelaus, was a brother of J.). J. further procured from Antiochus permission to erect a gymnasium and 'ephebeion' in Jerus., and obtained for the inhabitants the title and privileges of 'citizens of Antioch.' Through J.'s influence Gr. customs were largely adopted among all classes of the Jews; and to the sacred games, which were celebrated at Tyre every four years in honour of Hercules, he sent a Jewish deputation with a large sum of money. This money, however, at the request of the envoys themselves, was expended on building galleys and not on sacrifices (2 Mac 4^{18-20}). For three years (B.C. 174–171) J. continued in power, then he was supplanted by his own envoy to Antiochus, Menelaus, who gained the office of high priest by offering a still larger bribe (*ib.* 4^{23-26}). J. took refuge among the Ammonites; but the next year, on the occasion of a false report of the death of Antiochus in Egypt, he suddenly attacked Jerus. with a large force, and, becoming master of the city, drove his rival to take refuge in the citadel. On the advance of Antiochus, J. fled once more to the Ammonites, and subsequently to Egypt. Afterwards, relying on the fabled connexion between the Spartans and Jews (cf. 1 Mac 12^{7}), he retired to Sparta, and there died 'in a strange land,' 'nor had he any funeral at all, or place in the sepulchre of his fathers' (2 Mac 5^{1-10}).

H. A. WHITE.

JASON (Ἰάσων). — During St. Paul's visit to Thessalonica, he was the guest of one Jason. When the Jews caused a disturbance, they attacked Jason's house, and, failing to find the apostle, they took Jason and the brethren before the politarchs. The magistrates received security (τὸ ἱκανόν) from Jason and the others, and then dismissed them. The brethren immediately sent Paul and Silas away to Berœa (Ac $17^{5ff.}$). The nature of the security is not mentioned. According to Ramsay (*St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 231), it was a security to prevent the cause of the disturbance, Paul, from coming to Thessalonica. This put a chasm between the apostles and the Thessalonians, and hence he speaks (1 Th 2^{18}) of Satan hindering him (*διότι ἠθελήσαμεν ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἐγὼ μὲν Παῦλος καὶ ἅπαξ καὶ δίς, καὶ ἐνέκοψεν ἡμᾶς ὁ Σατανᾶς*). This explanation is ingenious, but will perhaps hardly explain the *ἅπαξ καὶ δίς*.

In Ro 16^{21} the apostle sends greetings from Timothy, Lucius, Jason, and Sosipater, his kinsmen. This was very probably the same as the Jason of Thessalonica,—an identification made rather more probable by the possibility of Sosipater being the Sopater of Berœa (Ac 20^{4}). He would then be a Jew (*οἱ συγγενεῖς μου*). It was natural that St. Paul should lodge with a fellow-countryman, and Jason was a favourite name for Jews to assume whose Hebrew name was Joshua (Jesus); cf. Jos. *Ant.* XII. v. 1: *ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰησοῦς Ἰάσονα ἑαυτὸν μετωνόμασεν· ὁ δὲ Ὀνίας ἐκλήθη Μενέλαος.* Jason did not apparently accompany St. Paul to Jerusalem (Ac 20^{4}), and therefore presumably remained at Thessalonica. A. C. HEADLAM.

JASPER.—See STONES (PRECIOUS).

JASUBUS (Ἰάσουβος), 1 Es 9^{30}.—In Esr 10^{29} JASHUB.

JATHAN (Ἰαθάν, AV Jonathas). — Son of Shemaiah 'the great,' and brother of Ananias the pretended father of Raphael, To 5^{13}.

JATHNIEL (יַתְנִיאֵל).—The eponym of a Levitical family, 1 Ch 26^{2}. See GENEALOGY.

JATTIR (יַתִּיר and יַתִּר).—A town of Judah in the southern mountains, noticed with Socoh and Debir, a Levitical city, Jos 15^{48} 21^{14}, 1 Ch 6^{42} [Eng.^{57}]. It was one of the cities to whose elders David sent of the spoil from Ziklag, 1 S 30^{27}. It appears to have been far south, since it is noticed in the latter passage with Aroer. The most probable site is the ruin *'Attîr*, N.E. of Beersheba, on a hill spur close to the southern desert.

LITERATURE.—*SWP* vol. iii. sheet xxiv.; Robinson, *BRP*^{2} i. 494; Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.*^{2}, 3, 153; Buhl, *GAP* 164; Dillm. on Jos 15^{48}.

C. R. CONDER.

JAVAN (יָוָן, Ἰωυάν, Ἑλλάς, Ἕλληνες, *Javan, Græcia, Græci*).—A son of Japheth and father of Elishah, Tarshish, Kittim, and Dodanim (the last a textual error for Rodanim, *i.e.* Rhodes) (Gn $10^{2.4}$). In Is 66^{19} (cf. Jl 3^{6}) Javan is associated with the Gr. islands, and in Ezk 27^{13} with the traders of Tubal and Meshech, while in Dn 8^{21} 10^{20} 11^{2} it denotes the Macedonian empire. J., in fact, is the Greek Ἰάων, 'Ionian,' and its position in Gn 10^{2} shows that it must there mean Cyprus (in which Kition [*Kittim*] was situated), called *mat Yavnâ*, *Yânan*, and *Yânana*, 'the land of the Ionians,' in the inscriptions of Sargon and Sennacherib. In the Bab. transcripts of the inscriptions of Darius Hystaspis, *Yâvanu* represents the Ionians of Asia Minor; and when, in B.C. 711, the people of Ashdod revolted from Assyria and deposed their lawful king, they put on the throne in his place a certain Yavanu or 'Greek.' Gaza was also called Iônê, and the sea between Philistia and Egypt was known as 'Ionian' (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἰόνιον). In the Egyp. hieroglyphs Ha-nibu or Ui-nivu is rendered by Uinin or 'Ionians' in demotic, and the Mediterranean is termed the 'circle of the Ha-nibu' as early as the pyramid-texts of the 6th dynasty. One of the Tel el-Amarna tablets (B.C. 1400) speaks of a Yivana or 'Ionian' in the land of Tyre, and W. Max Müller (*Asien und Europa*, p. 370) has pointed out that the name of one of the allies of the Hittites in their struggle with Ramses II. must be read Yevana, 'Ionians.' A. H. SAYCE.

JAVAN (יָוָן), mentioned by Ezekiel (27^{19}) among places that traded with Tyre, but distinct from Javan = Ionia, which occurs in v.^{13}. See preceding article. The verse in which it is found commences וְדָן וְיָוָן מְאוּזָּל, and the third of these words is probably to be interpreted 'from Uzal,' a place in Arabia (Gn 10^{27}); but it is not clear whether Uzal is to be regarded as the factory whence '*Wĕdān* and *Jāvān*' exported goods to Tyre, or whether 'from Uzal' is an epithet of 'Javan' intended to distinguish this Javan from the other. Of the modern authorities who regard the consonants of the text as correct, Smend thinks Javan may be the name of an Arab tribe, or of a locality in the neighbourhood of Uzal (*Ṣanʿā*); while Glaser (*Skizze*, ii. 428-436) is inclined to interpret יָוָן as 'Greeks,' supposing a Greek colony in Arabia to be signified, but seems to prefer to identify it with *Yayn*, a place mentioned by Hamdāni (ed. Müller, p. 171, l. 10) as belonging together with *Waddān* to the territory of Juhaynah, and indeed immediately after *Ḥarrat an-Nār* in the neighbourhood of Medinah (see Doughty's map). The situation of this Yayn can be fixed with some accuracy from the notice in Al-Bekri (ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 859, etc.); but although the LXX rendering (οἶνον) would seem to favour the reading יַיִן in Ezk, and the proximity of *Waddān* seems to support Glaser's identification, the fact that there is no evidence of this *Yayn* having ever been a place of importance, or connected with the trade in iron and spices, or connected with Uzal, renders it impossible to attach any scientific value to the identification.

The majority of modern critics regard the consonants as corrupt (Stade, Briggs, Cornill; cf. *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.* וְדָן); and in Cornill's edition וארנבן is substituted for the consonants of the text, on the authority of a wine-list of Nebuchadnezzar (Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, 1875, p. 63), in which a country of that name (*A-ra-na-ba-nun*) is mentioned with two others which bear some resemblances to places named in v.^{18} as sending wine to Tyre. Though striking parallels to Ezekiel are found in the cuneiform inscriptions (D. H. Müller, *Ezechiel-studien*, 1895, pp. 56-62), the legitimacy of such a correction seems questionable.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

JAVELIN.—See SPEAR.

JAWBONE (Jg $15^{15ff.}$).—See LEHI, SAMSON.

JAZER (יַעְזֵר, יַעֲזֵיר, Ἰαζήρ; AV of Nu 21^{32} 32^{35} **Jaazer**; meaning of name uncertain).—A town E. of the Jordan, in Gilead, and belonging to the tribe of Gad (Jos 13^{25}, 1 Ch 26^{31}).* The indications given in the *Onomasticon* by Eusebius and Jerome, viz. 10 (or 8) miles W. of Philadelphia and 15 N. of Heshbon, are approximately correct. It was a Levitical city (Jos 21^{39}), was evidently a place of more than usual importance, and is mentioned in various connexions. The 'villages' or *daughter towns* of J. are spoken of in Nu 21^{32}, showing that the district was thickly inhabited, and that neighbouring places were grouped about it as their political head. It was chosen as one of the stations of David's census officers (2 S 24^{5}), and, seven centuries after the conquest of the country under Moses, it was famous for its vineyards and fruitful fields (Is 16^{8-10}, Jer 48^{32}).† Jazer is mentioned also in connexion with the wars of the Maccabees, having been, according to Josephus (*Ant.* XII. viii. 1), captured and burnt by Judas Maccabæus, after the latter had inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Ammonites under Timotheus.

When the Hebrews reached Heshbon, they discovered, lying not far to the north of it, an extensive and fertile region which they speak of as 'the land of Jazer' (Nu 32^{1}). Against this a special expedition (Nu 21^{32}) was fitted out by Moses (1) because of its own importance, and (2) because it lay in the line of march to the conquest of Bashan. This region at once attracted the attention of the Hebrews, and the contrast between its broad and fertile expanse and the desert which they had left made them feel that they had reached a paradise. 'It is not to be wondered at that the two and a half tribes were perfectly willing to stay on this side of the Jordan. Judæa has no land to compare with it, neither has Samaria, except in very limited portions. The surface of the country is slightly rolling and comparatively free from stone. Here common Arab trails broaden out into fine roads. Here are wide pasture lands and luxuriant fields of wheat and barley, and the ignorant Bedawin who own the soil point with pride to the green acres that are spread out beneath the sun.'

Jazer, now called *Khurbet Sar*, has extensive remains of antiquity, but those above ground are chiefly of the Roman period. It possesses a curious tower formed of massive blocks of unhewn stone, which could have been put into position only at the cost of immense labour. Sar is about three thousand four hundred feet above the sea-level, and in the wide view to the W. and S. the Dead Sea is embraced. On the south, Wady esh-Shita begins to descend rapidly towards the Jordan Valley, and in the opposite direction not far from the ruins are two large ponds, near to but entirely distinct from each other, peculiar and attractive objects in the landscape. The great plateau about this ancient ruin has for generations been the battle-ground of the Arab tribes in that region, and quantities of skulls are piled under the fallen arches of a once magnificent building (Merrill, *East of the Jordan*, pp. 405, 485).

S. MERRILL.

JAZIZ (יָזִיז).—A Hagrite who was 'over the flocks' of king David, 1 Ch 27^{31}. See GENEALOGY.

JE.—The symbol used by biblical critics for the combination in one whole of the Jahwistic and Elohistic documents. See HEXATEUCH.

JEALOUSY.—There is no more striking example of the anthropomorphic way of speaking of God characteristic of OT than the frequent ascription to Him of jealousy, associated as that idea is in our minds with an evil meaning. 'I am a jealous God' (אֵל קַנָּא Ex 20^{5} 34^{14}, Dt 4^{24} 5^{9}, Jos 24^{19}, Nah 1^{2}). Two things may help to remove the feeling of strangeness. The phrase is probably taken from the marriage relation which is so often used in OT to describe the relation between J″ and the people of Israel (Is 54^{5} 62^{5}, Hos 2^{19} etc.). Again, although the word is now generally used in a bad sense, it has a good side, as in the case of the marriage relation in question; and it is only in this sense, of course, that it is used in the present connexion. Just as jealousy in husband or wife is the energetic assertion of an exclusive right, so God asserts and vindicates His claim on those who belong to Him alone. The use of the figure is much bolder and more picturesque than the bare assertion of right would be. If God is the husband and Israel the wife, then idolatry and wickedness of every kind are spiritual adultery. Israel is often represented as thus provoking God to jealousy (Dt 32^{16}, 1 K 14^{22} etc.). The phraseology occurs with special frequency in Ezk (5^{13} $16^{38.\,42}$ 23^{25} $36^{5.\,6}$ 38^{19} 39^{25}); but it is found in other prophets also (Is *passim*, Jl 2^{18}, Zeph 1^{18}, Zec 1^{14} 8^{2}, Hos $2^{2.\,16}$).

On the other hand, the term is used to denote passionate concern in man for God's honour, as in the case of Phinehas (Nu $25^{11.\,13}$), Elijah (1 K 19^{10}), Jehu (2 K 10^{16}; cf. Ps 119^{139}). So Jn 2^{17} 'The zeal (ζῆλος) of thine house' (Ps 69^{9}); 'a zeal for God' (Ro 10^{2}); 'I am jealous . . . with a godly jealousy' (2 Co 11^{2}). Cf. ὁ καναναῖος = ὁ ζηλωτής, Lk 6^{15}.

The law of the jealousy offering is found in Nu 5^{11-31}. The rite was in the nature of an appeal to God, who was called upon to decide the question of the innocence or guilt of the suspected person. The subsequent practice of ordeals in the West was based on the OT institution.

---

* In Nu 21^{24} Dillm. and others read יַעְזֵר instead of MT עַז, and tr. 'the border of the children of Ammon was Jazer.'

† In Jer 48^{32} 'they reached even unto the sea of Jazer,' יָם 'sea' is a textual error, due to an accidental repetition of the יָם of the preceding clause (so Graf, Grätz, Cheyne, Giesebrecht).

The words ζηλοῦν and ζῆλος are also used in a bad sense, esp. in NT; ζῆλος is coupled with φθόνος (1 Mac 8^{16}), ἔρις (Ro 13^{13}, 1 Co 3^{3}), and ἐριθία (2 Co 12^{20}, Gal 5^{20}, Ja $3^{14.16}$); cf. Ac 7^{9}, 1 Co 13^{4}, Ja 4^{2}.

J. S. BANKS.

JEARIM, MOUNT (הַר־יְעָרִים).—Mentioned only in Jos 15^{10}, where it is identified with CHESALON (wh. see).

JEATHERAI (יְאָתְרַי).—An ancestor of Asaph, 1 Ch 6^{21} [Heb. 6^{6}], called in v.^{41} [Heb.^{26}] **Ethni.**

JEBERECHIAH (יְבֶרֶכְיָהוּ 'J″ blesseth,' generally abbreviated בֶּרֶכְיָה or בֶּרֶכְיָהוּ, **Berechiah**, which see).—The father of Zechariah, a friend of Isaiah, Is 8^{2}.

JEBUS, JEBUSI, JEBUSITE (יְבוּס, Ιεβους; יְבוּסִי, יְבֻסִי, Ιεβουσαῖος -οι, Ιεβουσαι Jos 18^{16}, Ιεβουσειν Jg 19^{11b}).—**Jĕbūs** occurs only in Jg 19^{10} ('Jebus, the same is Jerusalem'), v.^{11}, and in 1 Ch $11^{4.5}$, a passage which the Chronicler has so expanded from 2 S 5^{6} as to introduce the name into it twice (in v.^{4} adding, 'the same is Jebus,' and in v.^{5} 'the inhabitants of Jebus'), each time, obviously, as an intentional archaism. On the strength of these passages, it used commonly to be said that Jebus was the old name of Jerusalem; but the Tel el-Amarna tablets have shown this view to be erroneous; the city is there called regularly *Urusalim.** It seems that, the inhabitants being known as 'Jebusites,' it was inferred incorrectly that 'Jebus' was the name of their city; but more usually, even in early times, it is spoken of as 'Jerusalem' (Jg $1^{7.21}$, Jos 15^{63}, 2 S 5^{6}).

Jebusite † was the name of the local tribe which, in the first centuries of Israel's occupation of Canaan, held Jerusalem, until its citadel, 'the stronghold of Zion,' was captured under David, being called afterwards, from this circumstance, 'the city of David' (2 S 5^{6-9}; cf. 1 K 2^{10} 11^{43} etc.). Allusions to the Israelites' inability to expel the Jebusites from their stronghold are found in Jos 15^{63}, Jg 1^{21}; and in Jg 19^{10-12} it is described as a city of 'foreigners.' Zion was the S. part of the easternmost ‡ of the two hills, on which Jerusalem was situated; and this accordingly was the site of the old Jebusite fortress. From its position it admitted of being strongly fortified: on the E. it overhung the Kidron valley, the bottom of which was some 700–800 ft. below; on the S. its sides sloped down more gradually to even a greater depth; on the W. the Tyropœon valley—not, as now, filled up with *débris*—was some 300 ft. below it; only on the N. was the approach easier, though even here, according to Guthe's excavations, there was a natural barrier, consisting of a depression in the rock, some 30–50 yards wide, and 12 deep. The area thus indicated would include, moreover, the one natural spring in Jerusalem, Gihon.§ The situation of this stronghold thus readily explains its long resistance to the Israelites. In the end, however, in spite of the taunting words in which its inhabitants defied their assailants to enter it, it was taken by David (2 S 5^{6-9}), —if an addition found only in the text of 1 Ch 11^{6} is to be trusted, through the prowess of Joab; and received the name which perpetuated to after-ages the memory of the monarch's success. The position of the Jebusite stronghold is further alluded to in Jos 15^{8} 18^{16}, where it is said that the (North) border of Judah and the (South) border of Benjamin passed along the valley of the son of Hinnom (whether this be the valley on the S. or the S.E. of Zion) to the south shoulder—*i.e.* the projecting mountain-side—of the Jebusite,—in exact agreement with the situation as defined above; it lay thus, according to these passages (P), just within the territory of Benjamin. This position of Jerusalem, so close to the border-line separating the two tribes, explains the variation observable between Jos 15^{63} ('the Jebusites dwell with the children of *Judah* in Jerusalem to this day') and Jg 1^{21} ('the Jebusites dwell with the children of *Benjamin* in Jerusalem to this day'); see JERUSALEM. Of the earlier history of Jerusalem, it will be sufficient here to say that its king, Adoni-zedek, is described as being defeated and slain by the Israelites (Jos $10^{23.26}$; cf. 12^{10}); but nothing is said here about the *city* being taken: the statement in Jg 1^{8} that the children of Judah took it and burnt it, can be reconciled with v.^{21} (Jos 15^{63}) only by very artificial suppositions; and the verse is in all probability a gloss, due to a misunderstanding of v.^{7b} (see Moore, *ad loc.*).

The only Jebusite mentioned expressly by name is ARAUNAH, the owner of the threshing-floor on the top of 'Zion,' which was bought by David for the purpose of building an altar to J″ (2 S $24^{16.18.25}$; cf. 1 Ch $21^{15.18.26.28}$ 22^{1}, 2 Ch 3^{1}); but it is reasonable to suppose that Adoni-zedek (Jos 10^{1} etc.), if not Adoni-bezek as well (Jg 1^{5}; see v.^{7} *end*, and cf. Moore), was Jebusite likewise. How, or when, the Jebusites obtained possession of their stronghold, we do not know: in the Tel el-Amarna letters (*c.* B.C. 1400), Abdichêba is ruler of 'the land (*or* district) of the city of Jerusalem'; but, though allusion is made to the political action taken by the 'city' and 'country' governed by Abdichêba, the name of the inhabitants is not stated. Nor do our data enable us to determine with certainty the racial affinities of the Jebusites; though their position, and the Semitic name *Adoni-zedek* ('Zedek is my lord'), would lead naturally to the inference that they were a sub-tribe of the Canaanites. In Jos 10^{5} (cf. vv.$^{1.3.12}$) Adoni-zedek is called a 'king of the Amorites'; but, in view of the manner in which 'Amorite' is used in E (like 'Canaanite' in J) as a general designation of the pre-Israelitish inhabitants of Canaan, no conclusion can be drawn from the statement as to the distinctive nationality of his subjects: there were at least no Amorites S. of Phœnicia in the age of the Tel el-Amarna letters.*

The Jebusites are frequently mentioned in the rhetorical enumerations of the nations of Canaan, whom the Israelites were to dispossess (or had dispossessed), as Gn 15^{21}, Ex $3^{8.17}$ 13^{5}, Jos 11^{3} (cf. Nu 13^{29}); in these lists, perhaps on account of their being numerically the smallest, they hold nearly always the last place. The buildings of David on the 'Millo' (2 S 5^{9}), and still more the temple and palaces constructed by Solomon, must have greatly altered the appearance of Zion; and few of its former Jebusite possessors can have remained there. The narrative of 2 S 24 shows, however, that David treated his conquered foes with consideration. According to 1 K $9^{20f.}$, the Jebusites, with other Canaanite races, were reduced by Solomon to serfdom, and made liable to forced service (הֶעֱלָם לְמַס עֹבֵד). In Zec 9^{7}, where the future incorporation of the Philistines in the kingdom of God is promised, either (Wellh., Now.) *Jebusite* is an archaistic expression for Jerusalemite, or (Ew.) the allusion is to the Jebusites of old, who were incorporated into Judah by David,—'and he also shall be a remnant for our God, and he shall be as a clan-leader [or, a clan, אַלֻּף] in Judah, and Ekron *as a Jebusite.*' S. R. DRIVER.

---

* Letters 180, 181, 183, 185 in Winckler's edition (Nos. 254, 234, 256, 233, in Petrie's *Syria and Egypt from the Tell el-Amarna Letters*, 1898).

† Jebusi in Jos $18^{16.28}$ (AV) is nothing but an anomalous reproduction of the form of the Heb. gentilic adj.: it is altered in RV to the usual *Jebusite.*

‡ Not, as many maps, following a tradition which does not reach back beyond the 4th cent. A.D., incorrectly exhibit, the *western* hill: see ZION; and cf. W. R. Smith, *Enc. Brit.*^{9} *s.v.* JERUSALEM, p. 639; Guthe, *ZDPV*, 1883, p. 271 ff.: Mühlau in Riehm's *HWB*^{2} i. 695, 698 f., and *s.v.* ZION; Stade, *Gesch.* i. 267, 315 f.; C. W. Wilson in Smith, *DB*^{2} p. 1650 f.; Ryle on Neh 3^{15}. On the top of the hill (N. of the 'city of David') was built afterwards the Temple, with the royal Palace immediately contiguous to it on the S.: 'Ophel' was the bulging mountain side, S. of the 'city of David.'

§ Cf. the plan in Stade's *Geschichte*, i. p. 268.

* Petrie, *Syria and Egypt*, p. 136 f.

JECHILIAH (יְכִילְיָה *Kethîbh*, יְכָלְיָה *Ḳerê* as in 2 K 15^{2}, **Jecoliah**; LXX, B Χααιά, A Ἰεχελιά; Vulg. *Iechelia*).—The mother of king Uzziah, 2 Ch 26^{3}.

JECHONIAS (Ἰεχονίας).—**1.** The Gr. form of the name of king JECONIAH, employed by the English translators in the books rendered from the Greek, Ad. Est 11^{4}, Bar 1$^{3.\,9}$; called in Mt 1$^{11f.}$ **Jechoniah.** **2.** 1 Es 8^{92} (LXX ^{89}). In Ezr 10^{2} SHECANIAH.

JECOLIAH.—See JECHILIAH.

JECONIAH.—See JEHOIACHIN.

JECONIAS (Ἰεχονίας).—**1.** One of the captains over thousands (χιλίαρχοι) in the time of Josiah, 1 Es 1^{9}; in 2 Ch 35^{9} called CONANIAH. **2.** RVm of 1 Es 1^{34}. See JEHOAHAZ 2.

JEDAIAH.—**1.** (יְדַעְיָה) A priestly family, 1 Ch 9^{10} 24^{7}, Ezr 2^{36}, Neh 7^{39} 11^{10} 12$^{6.\,7.\,19.\,21}$. **2.** (same Heb.) One of the exiles sent from Babylon with gifts of gold and silver for the sanctuary at Jerusalem, Zec 6$^{10.\,14}$. LXX does not treat J. here as a proper name, reading τῶν (τοῖς) ἐπεγνωκότων (-κοσιν) αὐτήν. **3.** (יְדָיָה) A Simeonite chief, 1 Ch 4^{37}. **4.** (same Heb.) One of those who repaired the wall of Jerusalem, Neh 3^{10}. See GENEALOGY.

JEDDU (B Ἴεδδος, A Ἕδδος), 1 Es 5^{24}.—In Ezr 2^{36} JEDAIAH.

JEDEUS (Ἰεδαῖος), 1 Es 9^{30}.—In Ezr 10^{29} ADAIAH.

JEDIAEL (יְדִיעֲאֵל).—**1.** The eponym of a Benjamite family, 1 Ch 7$^{6.\,10.\,11}$. **2.** One of David's heroes, 1 Ch 11^{45}, probably identical with the Manassite of 12^{20}. **3.** The eponym of a family of Korahite porters, 1 Ch 26^{2}. See GENEALOGY.

JEDIDAH (יְדִידָה 'darling'; B Ἰεδεία, A Ἐδιδά).—Daughter of Adaiah of Bozkath, and mother of Josiah, king of Judah (2 K 22^{1}).

JEDIDIAH (יְדִידְיָהּ 'beloved of J″'; cf. Sab. ודדאל; B Ἰδεδεί, A Ἐλεδιδιά).—The name given to Solomon by the prophet Nathan, 2 S 12^{25} 'for the LORD's sake' (בַּעֲבוּר יהוה). See SOLOMON.

JEDUTHUN (יְדוּתוּן, יְדֻתוּן [in Kethîbh of Ps 39^{1} 77^{1}, Neh 11^{17}, 1 Ch 16^{38} יְדִיתוּן], LXX Ἰδιθούν, Ἰδιθώμ, etc.).—The eponym of one of the three guilds which, acc. to the Chronicler, conducted the musical service of the temple from the time of David downwards. The name does not occur in the books of Sam. or Kings or in any pre-exilic document. Not only so, but the earliest of the post-exilic writers know of only the Asaphites as singers (Neh 7^{44}, Ezr 2^{41}). There is indeed mention in Neh 11^{17} of descendants of J. who discharged this function, but in this passage we have not the *original* memoirs of Nehemiah, and the reference is wanting in the LXX. The Chronicler makes J. like Asaph, a contemporary of David, and gives him the title of 'the king's seer' (2 Ch 35^{15}). While in 1 Ch 16$^{41f.}$ 25$^{1f.}$ etc. the three guilds of temple musicians are named after Heman, Asaph, and *Jeduthun*, there are other passages where the third name in the list is **Ethan** (1 Ch 6^{44} 15^{17} etc.). The two names are often assumed to be alternative designations of one and the same singer. It may be so, but there are circumstances which render this explanation less satisfactory than it appears at first sight. Reasonable doubts have even been expressed whether J. was originally a proper name at all. The word occurs in the title of three psalms (39. 62. 77). In the first of these (unless לְ be a scribal error for עַל) לִידוּתוּן may be in apposition with לַמְנַצֵּחַ (giving the sense of 'to the chief musician, namely to J.'), but in Ps 62 and 77 the reading is עַל־יְדוּתוּן (LXX ὑπὲρ Ἰδιθούν) '*upon* J.' (which, after the analogy of similar expressions in the headings of the Pss, most probably means 'upon an instrument named J.'), or as in RV '*after the manner of* J.' (where the last word would be the name of a tune or the opening word of a song). The whole subject of Heb. musical terms is so involved in obscurity that it is impossible to reach any certain conclusion. Seeing that the Sept. translators found many of these terms unintelligible, there is nothing improbable in the supposition that the Chronicler writing about the same date (*c.* B.C. 250) adopted an interpretation which took J. for a proper name, and that he transformed it, like the more familiar Heman and Ethan (which see), into the eponym of a Levitical choir. See MUSIC.

LITERATURE.—Graf, *Ges. B. d. AT* 223, 239; W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} 143 n.; Kautzsch, *Heil. Sch. d. AT* 715 n.; Cheyne, *Or. of Psalter*, 101, 111; Ewald, *Psalms*, Eng. tr. i. 44; Kuenen, *Rel. of Isr.* ii. 204; Wellhausen, *Gesch.* 152 n.; Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 225; Köberle, *Tempelsänger im AT*. J. A. SELBIE.

JEELI (A Ἰεηλί, B Ἰειηλεί), 1 Es 5^{33}.—In Ezr 2^{56} JAALAH, Neh 7^{58} JAALA.

JEELUS (B Ἰέηλος, A Ἰεήλ), 1 Es 8^{92} (LXX ^{89}).—In Ezr 10^{2} JEHIEL.

JEGAR-SAHADUTHA (יְגַר שָׂהֲדוּתָא, Aram. = 'cairn of witness,' LXX Βουνὸς μάρτυς, *DE* [τῆς] μαρτυρίας).—The name said to have been given by Laban to the cairn erected on the occasion of the compact between him and Jacob, Gn 31^{47}. See GALEED. The same Aram. root occurs in Job 16^{19} (שָׂהֲדִי 'my witness'). On the substitution of שׂ for ס see Dillmann's note on this last passage.

JEHALLELEL (יְהַלֶּלְאֵל).—**1.** A Judahite, 1 Ch 4^{16}. **2.** A Levite, 2 Ch 29^{12}. See GENEALOGY.

JEHDEIAH (יֶחְדְּיָהוּ 'may J″ give joy'!).—**1.** The eponym of a Levitical family, 1 Ch 24^{20}. **2.** An officer of David, 1 Ch 27^{30}. See GENEALOGY.

JEHEZKEL (יְחֶזְקֵאל 'God strengtheneth,' the same name as *Ezekiel*).—A priest, the head of the 20th (in LXX, B, the 19th) course, 1 Ch 24^{16}.

JEHIAH (יְחִיָּה 'may J″ live'!).—The name of a Levitical family, 1 Ch 15^{24}. See GENEALOGY.

JEHIEL (יְחִיאֵל 'may El live'!).—**1.** One of David's chief musicians, 1 Ch 15$^{18.\,20}$ 16^{5}. **2.** A chief of the Levites, 1 Ch 23^{8} 29^{8}. **3.** Jehiel the son of Hachmoni was 'with (= tutor of?) the king's sons,' 1 Ch 27^{32}. **4.** One of Jehoshaphat's sons, 2 Ch 21^{2}. **5.** One of Hezekiah's 'overseers,' 2 Ch 31^{13}. **6.** A ruler of the house of God in Josiah's reign, 2 Ch 35^{8}. **7.** The father of Obadiah, a returned exile, Ezr 8^{9}, called in 1 Es 8^{35} Jezelus. **8.** Father of Shecaniah, Ezr 10^{2}, called in 1 Es 8^{92} Jeelus, perhaps identical with **9.** One of those who had married foreign wives, Ezr 10^{26}, called in 1 Es 9^{27} Jezrielus. **10.** A priest of the sons of Harim who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10^{21}, called in 1 Es 9^{21} Hiereel. See GENEALOGY.

JEHIELI (יְחִיאֵלִי).—A patronymic from JEHIEL No. 2, 1 Ch $26^{21.22}$ (cf. 23^{8} 29^{8}).

JEHIZKIAH (יְחִזְקִיָּהוּ 'J″ strengtheneth').—An Ephraimite, in the time of Ahaz and Pekah, who supported the prophet Oded in opposing the bringing of Judæan captives to Samaria, 2 Ch $28^{12ff.}$.

JEHOADDAH (יְהוֹעַדָּה, possibly 'J″ hath deposed *or* hath numbered').—A descendant of Saul, 1 Ch 8^{36}. See JARAH.

JEHOADDAN (יְהוֹעַדָּן 2 Chr 25^{1} and, as vocalized, 2 K 14^{2}. The consonants of the text in 2 K 14^{2} give the form **Jehoaddin** [so RV] יהועדין).—A lady of Jerusalem, mother of Amaziah king of Judah.

JEHOAHAZ (יְהוֹאָחָז, or **Joahaz** יוֹאָחָז 2 K 14^{1}, 2 Ch 34^{8} $36^{2.4}$ 'J″ hath grasped').—**1.** King of Israel, son of Jehu. His reign of seventeen years necessitates in 2 K 13^{1} the reading 'one and twentieth' (Jos. *Ant.* IX. viii. 5), or in v.^{10} 'thirty-ninth' (Aldine LXX, and Thenius). The inroads of Hazael of Damascus, which Jehu could not resist (2 K 10^{32}), crushed Jehoahaz. The straits to which he was reduced by the Syrians (2 K $13^{7.22}$ $14^{26.27}$) led by the young prince Benhadad ($13^{3.24}$) imply that the terrible anticipations of Elisha (2 K 8^{12}) were being realized. These calamities were accompanied by a revival of the Asherah worship of Ahab (13^{6}, cf. 1 K 16^{33}). Nevertheless, at the king's prayer, J″ promised Israel 'a saviour' (cf. Jg 3^{9} etc.), a promise not fulfilled in this reign (as Jos. *Ant.* IX. viii. 5, see v.^{22}), but in the victories of Joash and Jeroboam II. (2 K 13^{25} 14^{27}), unless we suppose an allusion to the Assyrian king Rammân-nirâri who captured and plundered Damascus about this time (see Schrader, *COT* i. 207).

2. King of Judah (**Joachaz** or **Jeconias**, 1 Es 1^{34}; **Zarakes**, 1 Es 1^{38}, see *QPB*). The name Shallum, found in Jer 22^{11}, 1 Ch 3^{15}, may possibly be significant, 'to whom it is requited' (Keil), or may contain an allusion to the unfortunate king of Israel, 2 K 15^{13} (Bertheau), but more probably it was his original name, exchanged on his accession for one of better omen. He was the third son of Josiah (2 K $23^{31.36}$ 24^{18}), his position in 1 Ch 3^{15} being due to his insignificance. Although a bad man, *ἀσεβὴς καὶ μιαρὸς τὸν τρόπον*, 'impious and impure' (Jos. *Ant.* X. v. 2), he must have been a popular prince, since the people made him king in preference to his elder brother. He was anointed—a ceremony specified only in the case of a new dynasty or a disputed succession. Even the prophets Jeremiah (22^{10-12}) and Ezekiel (19^{2-4}) speak of him with sympathy and regret. After his victory at Megiddo it is likely that Necho resumed his march on the Euphrates, and sent a detachment to Jerusalem to bring J. to Riblah, whence he was carried a prisoner to Egypt when Necho returned, after having reduced Syria west of the Euphrates. 2 Ch 36^{3} might imply that Necho visited Jerusalem in person when deposing Jehoahaz. This is unlikely; but he probably did so on his return journey (see Rawlinson's note on Herodotus, ii. 159).

3.=AHAZIAH of Judah, 2 Ch 21^{17} 25^{23}.

N. J. D. WHITE.

JEHOASH or **JOASH** (יְהוֹאָשׁ, יוֹאָשׁ, יֹאָשׁ 2 Ch 24^{1} 'J″ is strong,' or 'J″ hath bestowed'*).—**1.** King of Judah (2 K 11. 12, 2 Ch 22^{10}–24). A year-old infant when hidden by his aunt in a lumber-room of the palace (RVm, Jos. *Ant.* IX. vii. 1) from his unnatural grandmother, J. was but seven when placed on the throne of his ancestors (see ATHALIAH and JEHOIADA). It is sufficient here to observe that the significance of his coronation, as the revival of David's line, was emphasized, not only by the employment of David's dedicated armoury, but by a ceremonial of which there is no previous record, the investiture of the king with the royal insignia, 'the crown and the bracelets' (so Wellh. reading הצעדות instead of העדות 'testimony,' cf. 2 S 1^{10}; Jerome [*Qu. Heb.* on 2 Ch 23^{11}] says 'phylacteries are meant, on which were written the ten commandments'). The covenant was renewed, not only between God and the nation, but between the people and the king (Ch omits), and, moreover, Jehoiada took steps to secure the continuance of the Davidic stock (2 Ch 24^{3}). The death of Athaliah was followed by a reaction against the Baal worship which she had fostered; and the temple, which had been 'broken up' during her reign (2 Ch 24^{7}), naturally became the object of the young king's pious care. The account in Kings of the raising of money for this purpose seems to have presented great difficulties to the Chronicler. At this period the commutation of sacrifices by a money payment appears to have been common (2 K 12^{16}), and the money was paid to the priests directly, to each man by his patrons ('acquaintance'). The king directed that the priests should see to the necessary repairs, and should devote to this purpose (α) the money paid for the redemption of personal vows (Lv 27^{2}), and (β) all voluntary offerings in coin. [Ch substitutes the half shekel tax of Ex 30^{13-16}, while AV and RVm of 2 K 12^{4}, supported by Targ., Rashi, etc., imply that this was a third source of revenue]. The priests [Ch 'Levites'], however, with Jehoiada at their head, ignored the king's order; possibly from poverty, as the temple was then only one of many sanctuaries (2 K 12^{3}). At last, in the 23rd year of the reign, the business was, with their consent, taken out of their hands. Jehoiada [Ch 'the king'] placed a money chest 'beside the altar' (so Josephus) [Ch 'without at the gate'], into which the priests that kept the door (cf. 22^{4} 25^{18}) [Ch 'all the princes and all the people'] cast the proper monies. The money was counted by the king's scribe and the high priest [Ch 'chief priest's officer'], and according to Kings was devoted solely to the repair of the fabric, whereas Ch asserts that 'of the rest were made vessels for the house of the Lord,' thus directly contradicting 2 K 12^{13}. The Chronicler now records the criminal weakness of J. in yielding to the idolatrous tendencies of the princes, and his base ingratitude as shown in the murder of Zechariah, the son of those to whom he owed his life and crown. There is nothing of this in Kings. There is indeed in 2 K 12^{2} a hint at a deterioration in J.'s character after the death of Jehoiada (denied by Ewald, who renders 'wherein' 'because,' *HI* iv. 137 n. 1); but, on the other hand, he is ranked in 2 K with Amaziah (14^{3}), Uzziah (15^{3}), and Jotham (15^{34}) as one who 'did right in the eyes of the Lord, yet not like David'; the shortcoming in each case being apparently that 'the high places were not taken away.' However, the reference to the murder of Zechariah in Mt 23^{35}, Lk 11^{51}, seems to guarantee that the story is not inserted merely to give a moral reason for the calamities of Jehoash. The Syrian invasion which followed [Ch immediately] is naturally represented in Ch as a special judgment on J. and the guilty princes, whereas in Kings it is implied that Hazael (not mentioned in Ch) did not actually take Jerusalem, but was bought off by an immense bribe. In any case the invasion was a severe national humiliation, which must have caused much discontent, and this found vent in the murder of J. by two of his servants in the fortress on Mt. Zion. The Chronicler heightens the infamy of his end by adding that he was 'in great diseases,' that they 'slew him on his bed,' that he was not buried in the royal sepulchres, and that the mothers of the assassins were of the two accursed nations of Moab and Ammon (see Dt 23^{3}). Jerome (*Qu. Heb.*, *ad loc.*) notes that 'this is said to emphasize the wickedness of the Israelites who were unwilling to avenge God's priest.'

---

* See on this name and on 'Josiah' a paper by Hommel in *Expos. Times*, viii. (1897) p. 562.

2. King of Israel, son of Jehoahaz. The brief epitome of his reign (2 K 13^{10-13}) merely adds to the inevitable condemnation of his national worship an allusion to his defeat of Judah. But we derive a much more favourable impression of him from the close of the Acts of Elisha (2 K 13^{14-25}), and from the history of Amaziah of Judah, 2 K 14^{8-16} (=2 Ch 25^{17-24}), where the formula of conclusion is repeated from $13^{12.13}$. In J. was partially fulfilled (13^{25}) the promise ($13^{4.5}$) of a saviour from Syria, a promise repeated in the double symbolical prophecy of Elisha to the somewhat irresponsive king (13^{18}); and when we remember the abject condition into which Israel had fallen in the previous reign, it will be evident that J. must have been one of the greatest rulers of the northern kingdom. The hiring by Amaziah of Judah of 100,000 soldiers of Israel, during this reign (2 Ch 25^{6}), would indicate that all fear of Syria had been taken away. 'His might' was shown also in the thoroughness with which he followed up his victory at Bethshemesh, by breaking down the wall of Jerusalem on the weakest side. His natural disposition seems to have been good (so Jos. *Ant.* IX. viii. 6). There was a wholeheartedness in the burst of grief over the dying prophet; there was a pious recognition of the true source of Israel's strength in the words (13^{14}) which re-echoed Elisha's own apostrophe to the ascending Elijah (2^{12}); and even the sarcastic fable in which he replied to Amaziah's gratuitous challenge was dictated not more by pride than by magnanimity.

N. J. D. WHITE.

JEHOHANAN (יְהוֹחָנָן 'J" hath been gracious').—**1.** 1 Ch 26^{3} a Korahite doorkeeper in David's time. **2.** 2 Ch 17^{15} one of Jehoshaphat's five captains. Possibly father of Ishmael, who held a similar post at the accession of Jehoash, 2 Ch 23^{1}. **3.** Ezr 10^{6} (JONAS, 1 Es 9^{1}; JOHANAN, Neh $12^{22.23}$; JONATHAN, Neh 12^{11}) high priest. He is called son of Eliashib Ezr 10^{6}, Neh 12^{23}, but was probably his grandson, Joiada being his father (Neh $12^{11.22}$). His high priesthood is noted as an epoch until which the heads of the Levitical families were registered in 'the book of the Chronicles' (Neh 12^{23}); hence presumably down to the close of the 5th cent. B.C. (H. E. Ryle, *in loc.*). **4.** Ezr 10^{28} (=JOANNES, 1 Es 9^{29}) an Israelite, one of those who 'had taken strange wives.' **5.** Neh 6^{18}, son of Tobiah the Ammonite, Nehemiah's adversary. **6.** Neh 12^{13} a priest, representative of the course of Amariah, in the days of Joiakim. **7.** Neh 12^{42} a priest present at the dedication of the walls.

N. J. D. WHITE.

JEHOIACHIN (יְהוֹיָכִין 8 times, יְהוֹיָכִן Jer 52^{31}, יוֹיָכִין Ezk 1^{2}; **Jeconiah** יְכָנְיָה 5 times, יְכוֹנְיָה Jer 27^{20} [Kethîbh], יְכָנְיָהוּ Jer 24^{1}; **Coniah** כָּנְיָהוּ Jer $22^{24.28}$ 37^{1}; 'J" appointeth'; called **Joakim,** 1 Es 1^{43}; **Jechonias,** Bar $1^{3.9}$; **Jechoniah,** Mt $1^{11.12}$).—King of Judah, son of Jehoiakim. Ewald conjectures that his original name was Coniah, exchanged for Jehoiachin on his accession; Keil more probably ascribes the variation to 'popular twisting and contracting of the longer name.' He reigned three months; the additional 10 days given in 2 Ch 36^{9} 1 Es 1^{44} being probably due to the accidental shifting in the text of 'ten' from his age at accession, which in Ch is eight instead of eighteen. Both readings are found in 1 Es 1^{43}. Upon J., as upon Louis XVI. of France, descended the full force of the divine vengeance incurred by previous generations. In another age he might have been 'the signet upon J"'s right hand' (Jer 22^{24}). He was scarcely on the throne when the Chaldæan forces, which had been ravaging Judæa, were joined by Nebuchadnezzar himself, and closed around Jerusalem, and J. surrendered at discretion. Jos. (*Ant.* X. vii. 1) asserts that Nebuchadnezzar had made J. king, after slaying his father; and that almost immediately afterwards, fearing that he might prove disloyal, he returned to depose him. This is both intrinsically unlikely, and is quite unsupported by the biblical narrative. From the prominent position given to the queen-mother Nehushta in 2 K 24^{8}, Jer 13^{18} 22^{26} 29^{2}, it is reasonable to infer that she exercised more than ordinary influence, and it was possibly at her suggestion that J. capitulated. Jos. (*Ant.* X. vii. 1) attributes it to 'his gentle and just disposition; he did not desire to see the city endangered on his account' (cf. *Ant.* X. xi. 2); and in *BJ* VI. ii. 1 he describes how at the last siege he himself appealed to John of Giscala to 'follow the example of J. who . . . did undergo a voluntary captivity . . . that he might not deliver up this sanctuary to the enemy, and see the house of God in flames; wherefore among all the Jews a sacred discourse celebrates him, and memory for ever flowing fresh hands him down immortal to posterity.' Among moderns, Ewald also takes a favourable view of his character, influenced by the theory that J. is the royal exile of Ps 84^{9}, and therefore author of that Ps, as well as of Pss 42. 43. But such a view seems irreconcilable with the tone of Jer 22^{24-30}, as well as with the unqualified condemnation in 2 K 24^{9}, 2 Ch 36^{9}, 1 Es 1^{44}. The favourable language of Jer 24^{5-7} refers to the captives generally. On the other hand, in Ezk 19^{5-9} the life of Jehoiakim and the fate of his son are fused into one ideal picture; and justly, for J. had no distinct political existence. The arm of Babylon raised to strike his father fell on him, and fulfilled the prophecy against Jehoiakim (Jer 36^{30}), 'He shall have none to sit upon the throne of David.' Conversely in Mt 1^{11} the two reigns are included under 'Jechoniah,' the less important name being chosen as marking more distinctly the epoch of the Captivity (cf. 1 Ch 3^{16}, 2 Ch 36^{10}, where Zedekiah is brother of J.). It is not merely a confusion arising from the identification of the names in LXX and Josephus.

With the fall of Jerusalem, B.C. 597, the Captivity began. Captives had been taken from the country before this, Jer 13^{19}, and possibly still earlier (Dn 1^{3}, Berosus in Jos. *c. Apion*, i. 19), but this marks an epoch, and from it Ezekiel dates his prophecies ('our captivity,' Ezk 40^{1}). The flower of the nation and the treasures of the temple were carried off to Babylon. By a comparison of 2 K 24^{14-16} with Jer 52^{28} (LXX om. Jer 52^{28-30}) we may infer that the captives included 7000 'men of might,' 3023 of the upper classes (Jos. *Ant.* X. vi. 3), and 1000 craftsmen. The king himself is styled emphatically 'the captive' (1 Ch 3^{17} RV), and seems to have been kept in rigorous imprisonment for 37 years. Evil-Merodach began his reign with an act of gracious clemency by releasing J., now about 55 years old. The historian (2 K 25^{27-30}, Jer 52^{31-34}) dwells with evident pleasure on the marks of respect thenceforth shown to the captive prince, in whose person the Jewish exiles felt their nation honoured. The long imprisonment of J. proves, if that were necessary, the unhistorical character of the notices of him in Bar $1^{3ff.}$ and in the History of Susanna, assuming that Hippolytus and others are right in identifying him with Joakim, Susanna's husband.

Needless difficulty has been raised over the question of J.'s children (implied 1 Ch 3^{17}, Bar 1^{4}, Mt 1^{12}). Whatever be the truth as to the parentage of Shealtiel, the very prophecy which is alleged to prove his childlessness (Jer 22^{28-30}) mentions his seed twice. Like Ezk 21^{26}, it is a declaration of the abrogation of the temporal power of David's line. It explains in what sense he was to be 'childless' (LXX ἐκκήρυκτον, 'proscribed'), 'for no man of his seed shall prosper,' words surely unmeaning if he had no seed at all. According to the Mishna (*Middôth* 2), one of the 13 gates of the court of the priests, on the north side, was called the gate of Jeconiah, because he went out by it when going into captivity.

N. J. D. WHITE.

JEHOIADA (יְהוֹיָדָע 'J" knoweth').—**1.** Father of the famous Benaiah, captain of David's bodyguard, who is scarcely ever mentioned without the addition of his father's name. J. was a native of Kabzeel (2 S 23^{20}, 1 Ch 11^{22}), 'a town of Judah in the South' (Jos 15^{21}). In 1 Ch 27^{5} AV we read: 'Benaiah the son of J., a chief priest.' Stanley (*Jewish Ch.* Lect. 36) deduces from this that in David's time there were three rival high priests, namely, Zadok, Abiathar, and J. However, in RV ('the priest, chief') 'chief' refers to Benaiah (so Targ.) as in v.^{6}, and 'the priest' may be referred directly to Benaiah (so LXX, Vulg., Jos. *Ant.* VII. xii. 4, B. ὁ ἱερεὺς τῷ γένει) or to J. (so Targ.). The latter is supported by 1 Ch 12^{27}, where, among those who came to David to Hebron, is 'J. the leader of the house of Aaron' (tribe of Levi, Jos. *Ant.* VII. ii. 2). It is not a serious objection that Kabzeel is not reckoned among the priestly cities in Jos 21. RVm of 1 Ch 27^{5} 'chief minister' is certainly wrong, being based on the Chronicler's alterations of the text in 2 S 8^{18} 20^{26}, where the term כֹּהֵן is applied to persons who, in his estimation, were not qualified to exercise priestly functions. In 1 Ch 27^{34} among David's counsellors is reckoned 'J. son of Benaiah,' but we should probably read with Bertheau and Graf, 'Benaiah son of J.' **2.** High priest (the first who is so styled 2 K 12^{10}) in the reigns of Ahaziah, Athaliah, and Jehoash. His marriage with the princess Jehosheba—the only recorded instance of such a union—possibly conferred on J. a status which enabled him the better to carry out his designs. The careful way in which the deposition of Athaliah was planned, and the promptitude and thoroughness with which it was carried out, coupled with the historical importance of the revolution thus effected, mark J. as perhaps the most eminent of Aaron's successors, not excepting Eli. Like Eli he was virtually king, for his influence, which was necessarily paramount during the minority of Jehoash, was naturally exercised (2 K 12^{2}, 2 Ch 24^{2}) until his death, which must have been quite late in the reign (2 K 12^{6}). In the time of the Captivity (Jer 29^{26}) he is alluded to as the model of a zealous ecclesiastical ruler. One circumstance there is which may seem to modify this conception of him. He was not as eager about the restoration of the temple fabric as was the king; in fact he received a rebuke for his slackness (2 K 12^{7}, 2 Ch 24^{6}). Josephus (*Ant.* IX. viii. 2) attributes the high priest's supineness to his consciousness of the unpopularity of the proposed tax, but more probably it was due to the impossibility of reforming a close corporation, such as that of the temple priests, even by such a chief as J.; especially when the numerous local sanctuaries, still thought legal, diminished their revenues. Acc. to 2 Ch $24^{15.16}$ J. lived to the age of 130, and received the unique distinction of burial in the royal sepulchres, 'because he had done good in Israel, both toward God and toward his house.' See ATHALIAH, JEHOASH.

N. J. D. WHITE.

JEHOIAKIM (יְהוֹיָקִים, יוֹיָקִים, יוֹקִים 'J" raiseth up'; Joakim, 1 Es $1^{37.38.39}$. See *QPB*, Bar 1^{3}).—King of Judah, second son of Josiah (1 Ch 3^{15}). The circumstances under which this prince succeeded to the throne were the first and most significant indication of the long period of ignominious subjection ushered in by the defeat of Josiah by Necho at Megiddo, B.C. 609 or 610. Necho emphasized the new condition of things by deposing the popular Jehoahaz in favour of his elder brother, at the same time imposing on the latter a new name, Jehoiakim, in place of Eliakim. The substitution of the sacred title Jah for the ambiguous El was probably suggested by the young prince himself; yet the change of name was, none the less, a token of vassalage (cf. 2 K 24^{17}). The direct history of this reign is briefly summed up in 2 K 23^{34}–25^{7}, 2 Ch 36^{4-8}; but considerable light is thrown upon it by the writings of the contemporary prophets Jeremiah and Habakkuk (see Jer 7–9. 10^{17-25} 14–17^{18} 18–20. 22^{13-19} 25. 26. 35. 36. 45–46^{12} 47. 49).

At no previous epoch was Judah in a more helpless condition of religious and moral decay. The one visible result of Josiah's reformation was that the temple and the Law were regarded as a palladium, and that the Levitical worship was accurately observed (Jer $7^{4.21}$ 8^{8} 18^{18}). But with the death of the good king all the old abominable idolatries returned in full force, and under the highest patronage, both of the king and the princes, who from this time forward take a large share of the government. Baal and Ashtoreth were worshipped in the very precincts of the temple; the valley of Hinnom was again hideous with the infant sacrifices to Molech; and from the city-roofs incense went up to all the host of heaven. Cruelty, corruption, and oppression flourished unchecked, for the people had 'in their viciousness grown hard.' They felt and averred 'there is no hope.' Of such a nation Jehoiakim was the representative man. In the terrible denunciation (Jer 22^{13-19}) he is charged with covetousness, the shedding of innocent blood, oppression, and violence. All that is recorded of him bears this out. He erected by forced labour (cf. Hab 2^{9-11}) a spacious palace 'cieled with cedar and painted with vermilion,' thus (Jer 22^{15}) vying with Ahaz (Bℵ, cf. 2 K 16^{11}) or Ahab (A, cf. 1 K 22^{39}). He relentlessly pursued and murdered, with marks of indignity, the prophet Uriah who had denounced him (Jer 26^{20}). A similar fate was well-nigh shared by Jeremiah and Baruch (Jer 36^{26}). He cut and burnt with his own hands a roll of divine words, similar to that the recitation of which caused Josiah to rend his garments (Jer 36^{22}); and, as an instance of his covetousness, 2 K 23^{35} specially notes that he satisfied the demands of his suzerain (LXX, v.^{33}, 100 talents of gold, Syriac and Arabic 10 [so also certain Greek cursives and the Complutensian]) by a general taxation of his subjects, not, as had been customary, from the treasuries of the palace or the temple. Jos. (*Ant.* X. v. 2) well sums up his character as 'unjust and malignant; neither holy towards God nor forbearing towards man.' Ezk 19^{5-9}, in which the career of Jehoiakim and the fate of his son seem combined in an ideal picture, has no reference to his moral qualities, unless we adopt the RVm of v.^{7}, which implies a charge of lasciviousness, irrelevant here, though probably true in fact.

Two matters in connexion with this reign require special mention—(*a*) the invasion of Nebuchadnezzar, and (*b*) the end of Jehoiakim.

(*a*) The pretensions of Egypt to the empire of Syria were finally crushed by Nebuchadnezzar at the battle of Carchemish, B.C. 605 (2 K 24^{7}). This battle took place in the *fourth* year of Jehoiakim (Jer 25^{1} 46^{2}), and opened up Syria to the Chaldæans. However, they had not yet attacked Judæa in Jehoiakim's *fifth* year (Jer $36^{9.29}$

'eighth' Bℵ, 'fifth' AQ). The fast then proclaimed by the whole nation in the 9th month was possibly in view of their approach, which yet was not so certain that one could safely predict it. Carchemish is on the Euphrates, and there were many important places, *e.g.* Tyre, to be reduced before the Chaldæans could reach Jerusalem. This being so, it is evident that there was no siege of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar in Jehoiakim's *third* year as stated in Dn 1^1. (*Seder Olam* 25 understands this of the third year of his *rebellion.*) The date assigned in Daniel is due to a mistaken impression (Dn 9^2) that Jeremiah had predicted a 70 years' duration for the captivity of Judah (2 Ch $36^{21.22}$=Ezr 1^1 follows Daniel); but the 70 years of Jer 25^{11} 29^{10} RV refer to the duration of Babylonian supremacy, beginning from the victory at Carchemish. Moreover, Ezekiel (1^2 40^1) reckons the captivity of Judah to begin with that of Jehoiachin, B.C. 597. When Nebuchadnezzar at last appeared before Jerusalem, it is likely enough that he carried off some captives (Berosus in Jos. *Ant.* X. xi. 1; Dn 1^3) and some of the temple vessels (2 Ch 36^7, Dn 1^2). It is certain that J. submitted to him, but rebelled after three years, incited by the Egyptians (Josephus). Jer 47^1 possibly refers to this. Nebuchadnezzar, who had returned to Babylon, did not at first think it necessary to quell this revolt in person, but sent (2 K 24^2, cf. Jer 49^1, Ezk 25^{3-6}, Zeph 2^8) some of his own troops, assisted by bands of the surrounding nations, to harry Judæa, not arriving himself until after the accession of Jehoiachin (2 K 24^{11}). To this interval Jer 35 probably belongs. Now J. reigned eleven years, and at least a year must be allowed to elapse between his revolt and his death, so that the *first* Chaldæan invasion may be dated in his 6th or 7th year. Jos. (*Ant.* X. vi. 1) places it in the 8th year of J., thus making Judæa independent of Egypt and Babylon alike for four years; but this is at variance with his authority Berosus, and leaves no time for the events of 2 K 24^2.

(*b*) The death of Jehoiakim is veiled in obscurity. According to the prophecy (Jer $22^{18.19}$ 36^{30}), his dead body lay unburied outside the walls of Jerusalem; and this is confirmed by 2 K 24^6, which is silent as to his burial. Jos. (*Ant.* X. vi. 3) says that Nebuchadnezzar, when admitted without resistance into Jerusalem by J., slew him, and 'commanded him to be thrown before the walls without any burial,' and took 3000 captives, including Ezekiel (cf. Jer 52^{28}); but Nebuchadnezzar did not arrive until after J.'s death. We may conjecture that J. was killed in a sally (Keil), or more probably assassinated by his indignant subjects. The LXX of 2 Ch 36^8, which is here very strange, says that he was buried in the garden of Uzza (cf. 2 K $21^{18.26}$). The idea that he was brought captive to Babylon rests on 2 Ch 36^6, which is either a false inference from Dn 1^2, or refers to an unfulfilled intention of Nebuchadnezzar's on his *first* invasion, or to Ezk $19^{8.9}$, which, as we have seen, refers to Jehoiachin, although the preceding details refer to his father. Jerome (*Qu. Heb.* 2 Ch 36^8) explains 'that which was found in him' (1 Es 1^{42} 'his uncleanness and impiety') to refer to heathenish marks (forbidden Lv 19^{28}) discovered on his dead body. See CUTTINGS IN THE FLESH, vol. i. p. 538^b. The legend mentioned by Thenius on 2 K 24^1 (Stanley, *Jewish Ch.* 40), that the name of the demon Chodonazer was found on his skin, is merely due to a MS confusion of this note with that on 2 Ch 36^{10}, where Jerome explains the name Nabu-chodonosor. N. J. D. WHITE.

JEHOIARIB (יְהוֹיָרִיב 1 Ch 9^{10} 24^7, elsewhere Joiarib, יוֹיָרִיב 'J" pleadeth'; called in 1 Mac 2^1 Joarib [which see]).—The name of one of the twenty-four courses of priests; first in David's time (1 Ch 24^7), but seventeenth in the time of Zerubbabel (Neh 12^6) and of the high priest Joiakim (Neh 12^{19}). The name is omitted, probably by accident, in the list of the priests that 'sealed to the covenant' (Neh 10). The clan is mentioned among those that dwelt in Jerusalem in the time of Nehemiah (11^{10}), where read 'Jedaiah and Joiarib' as in the corresponding list 1 Ch 9^{10} (so Cappellus and H. E. Ryle). The Maccabees belonged to this clan (1 Mac 2^1; Jos. *Ant.* XII. vi. 1), and also Josephus (*Life* 1). The Babylonian Talmud substitutes 'Joiarib' for 'Harim' in Ezr 2^{39}=Neh 7^{42}.

N. J. D. WHITE.

JEHONADAB (יְהוֹנָדָב or **Jonadab** יוֹנָדָב 'he whom J" has impelled'; cf. *Nedabiah* and *Nadab*).—**1.** Son of Shimeah, David's brother, and the friend of Amnon the son of David. He is described as 'a very subtil man' (אִישׁ חָכָם מְאֹד), and he employed his ingenuity in aiding Amnon to carry out his intrigue against his half-sister Tamar (2 S $13^{3ff.}$). When, at the assassination of Amnon, an exaggerated report reached the ear of David to the effect that Absalom had slain all the king's sons, Jonadab was the first to grasp the true state of affairs, and to allay the king's distress by his prompt report of the safety of the royal princes (2 S $13^{30ff.}$). Both AV and RV give his name uniformly as *Jonadab*, although in v.^{5} the MT has יְהוֹנָדָב *Jehonadab*. **2.** Son of Rechab, of the clan of the Kenites (1 Ch 2^{55}), and formulator of the rules which bound his descendants, the Rechabites, to retain a nomadic life, living in tents and abstaining from the pursuit of agriculture, and especially from the cultivation of the vine and the use of its produce (Jer 35; see RECHABITES). Jehonadab flourished at the time when Jehu, having seized the throne of the Northern Kingdom, was undertaking the extirpation from Israel of the foreign worship of Ba'al-melkart. He appears to have been thoroughly in sympathy with the measures adopted by Jehu for the vindication of the religion of J", and he exhibited his sympathy by giving his hand to the new king, and accompanying him in his chariot to witness the final destruction of the family of Ahab at Samaria, and the ruse by which the worshippers of Ba'al were entrapped and put to death (2 K $10^{15.23}$). Both AV and RV have *Jonadab* in all the passages of Jer, although that is the reading of MT (יוֹנָדָב) only in $35^{6.10.19}$.

C. F. BURNEY.

JEHONATHAN (יְהוֹנָתָן 'J" has given').—A more exact rendering of the name usually represented in English as Jonathan. In RV this form occurs twice. **1.** 2 Ch 17^8. One of the Levites sent out by Jehoshaphat with the book of the law to teach the people in the cities of Judah. **2.** Neh 12^{18}. The head of the priestly family of Shemaiah in the days of Joiakim the son of Jeshua. Here the longer form serves to distinguish this name from the shorter Jonathan=יוֹנָתָן in vv.$^{11.14}$. In AV Jehonathan is found also in 1 Ch 27^{25} of the son of Uzziah, who was over certain treasuries or storehouses in the time of David (RV Jonathan). H. A. WHITE.

JEHORAM or **JORAM** (יְהוֹרָם, יוֹרָם 'J" is exalted'). RV retains Joram for Jehoram, 2 K 9^{15-24}.

1. King of Israel. He was second son of Ahab, and succeeded his brother Ahaziah, 2 K 3^1 (on the interpolated date in 2 K 1^{17} see AHAZIAH, No. 1). The compiler of Kings evidently intended to refer to him all the notices of the king of Israel which occur in the Acts of Elisha; but as Elisha survived J. 43 years, it is possible that in some cases at least other kings were originally intended (so

Ewald, *HI* iv. 87). Terrified probably by his brother's fate, he began his reign by putting away the pillar of Baal that Ahab had made; but it is evident from 2 K 9^{22} 10$^{18-27}$ that the foreign cult was still continued in the country, through the influence of Jezebel, and with the connivance of J. himself, whose secret disloyalty is severely exposed by Elisha (2 K 3$^{13.\ 14}$). Consistently with this, a tone of profane sarcasm, and of scarcely veiled antagonism, may be detected in his use of the sacred name J″ (2 K 3$^{10.\ 13}$ 6$^{27.\ 33}$, where read with Ewald 'king' מלך for 'messenger' מלאך), a tone re-echoed by his courtiers (7^{2}). Immediately on his accession J. took steps to suppress the revolt of Mesha, which was now a matter of two years' standing. He obtained the aid of his father's ally, the compliant Jehoshaphat, who may have desired to chastise Moab for their invasion of Judah (2 Ch 20). J. was entertained at Jerusalem (Jos. *Ant.* IX. iii. 1). The route chosen at the suggestion of the king of Judah, though not the most direct from Samaria, had the triple advantage of securing the co-operation and loyalty of Edom, avoiding the hostile Syrian and Ammonite territory, and attacking Moab from an unexpected quarter. The expedition was barren of result. Before Moab was reached, the army would have perished from thirst but for the miracle wrought through Elisha in deference to Jehoshaphat. The Moabites were routed, but were not subdued. The desperate man who 'gave his firstborn for his transgression' on the wall of Kirhareseth succeeded thereby in disheartening the besiegers, who, it is obscurely hinted, felt that the wrath of God was roused against themselves, the indirect authors of so unnatural a deed, and the allies retired, having failed to realize any lasting advantage. Assuming that 2 K 4–8^{15} belong to this reign, the following matters of public importance may be gleaned from them. Elisha claims to have interest with the king and the captain of the host (4^{13}). He gives information to the king of the secret plans of the Syrians (6$^{9-12}$). A Syrian army penetrates to Dothan, and is led by Elisha to Samaria. He dissuades the king from an ungenerous impulse to kill them, and so procures a temporary cessation of the Syrian incursions (6$^{13-23}$). Benhadad in person besieges Samaria; the inhabitants are reduced to the horrible straits foretold Lv 26^{29}, Dt 28^{53}, and a second time the power of J″ is vindicated by Elisha and the siege raised (6^{24}-7). This invasion may have occurred during the seven years' famine foretold by Elisha 8^{1} (alluded to 4^{38}). The visit of Naaman (5$^{5-8}$) should probably be placed after this (compare 5^{27} 8^{4}). Notwithstanding these constant attacks from Syria, J. seems to have been a vigorous monarch (δραστήριος, Jos. *Ant.* IX. ii. 2). On the death of Benhadad he deemed the opportunity a favourable one to renew the attempt to recover Ramoth-gilead at which Ahab had fallen. Ahaziah of Judah helped him (8$^{28.\ 29}$), and the town was taken (9^{14}), but in the attack J. received arrow wounds (Jos.) which necessitated his return to Jezreel, the army remaining to hold the town (9$^{1-14}$). No long time elapsed when Jehu was seen approaching Jezreel. The mysterious non-return of his messengers excited the curiosity of the sick man. With all his mother's vigour he roused himself, and sallied forth eager to hear what strange news the captain of the host might be bringing. The brutal reply of Jehu to his inquiry left no doubt as to his intentions, and the king had barely time to warn his royal kinsman of his danger when he fell, pierced by the arrow of Jehu, on the fatal field of Naboth. The curse of Elijah (1 K 21^{19}) was beginning to find fulfilment.

2. King of Judah, son of Jehoshaphat. The history of his reign is contained in 2 K 8$^{16-24}$, 2 Ch 21. It opens with a chronological difficulty. He is said in 2 K 8^{16} to have begun to reign in the fifth year of Jehoram of Israel. A comparison of 1 K 22^{42} and 2 K 3^{1} implies that this would be two years before the death of Jehoshaphat. This accounts for the insertion 'Jehoshaphat being then king of Judah,' the spuriousness of which is strongly vouched (see *QPB*). The interpolation in 2 K 1^{17} is discussed under AHAZIAH i. Those who maintain the genuineness of these notes of time are obliged to suppose that he was twice made viceroy by Jehoshaphat, *i.e.* in the 17th and 23rd years of that king's reign. The marriage of J. with the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel had probably seemed to Jehoshaphat a masterly stroke of conciliatory policy. In the event, however, it had the most disastrous effect on Judah. The strong character of Athaliah easily influenced for evil both her husband and son (2 K 8$^{18.\ 27}$), and, as before in the case of Abijam (1 K 15^{4}), nothing but the divine promise to David saved the favoured tribe from the ruin naturally consequent on corruption and idolatry. The most important event in this reign, and the only one recorded in Kings, is the fulfilment of Gn 27^{40} in the final revolt of Edom, which had been, more or less, a dependency of Judah since David's time (2 S 8^{14}). The narrative (8^{21}) of Jehoram's attempt to recover Edom is obscure and probably corrupt. For 'to Zair' צעיר, which is otherwise unknown, Vulg. has 'to Seir,' *Seira* = שׂעיר (B Σειώρ, A om.). Grätz conjectured 'Zoar' צער, but Zoar is in Moab. 2 Ch 21^{9} substitutes 'with his captains' עם־שׂריו. The rest of the verse seems to imply that J. was surrounded by the Edomites by night, and cut his way through, but with loss and discomfiture (see *QPB*). At the same time, in a different quarter, the South-West, Libnah revolted, possibly in connexion with the Philistine invasion (2 Ch 21$^{16.\ 17}$). The Chronicler, mindful of the fact that Libnah was a priestly city (Jos 21^{13}), assigns as the cause 'because he had forsaken the Lord, the God of his fathers.' The town was not permanently lost (see 2 K 19^{8}). We learn from 2 Ch 21$^{2-4}$ that on his accession J. put to death amongst others his six brethren, to whom their father had given great gifts and fenced cities (cf. 2 Ch 11^{23}). The defection to idolatry, which is implied in Kings, is detailed in 2 Ch 21^{11}, where he appears as a religious persecutor. This is followed by a denunciatory letter from Elijah vv.$^{12-15}$, a joint invasion by the Philistines and Arabians, who, if they did not actually capture Jerusalem (so Keil), sacked the palace, and carried off all his sons but one, vv.$^{16.\ 17}$. The narrative concludes with his miserable and unregretted death, dishonourable burial, and exclusion from the royal sepulchres (contrast 2 K 8^{24}). A serious chronological difficulty is involved in the mention of Elijah's letter to Jehoram. But for this statement, one would naturally infer that Elijah's translation had taken place in the reign of Jehoshaphat. (*a*) It is narrated immediately after the death of Ahaziah, and so *Seder Olam*, xvii. 45, places it in the second year of Ahaziah of Israel. (*b*) Elisha began to exercise prophetical functions under Jehoshaphat, 2 K 3. He does not seem to have done so before his master's departure, 2 K 2$^{9.\ 15}$. (*c*) 2 K 3^{11} obviously means that Elijah was no longer on earth. In reply it may be urged that there is no note of time in 2 K 2, and that it is placed in its present position merely to complete the history of Elijah. This seems more plausible than the suggestion of Kimchi, adopted by Keil, that the Lord had revealed to Elijah, before his translation, J.'s wickedness, and that then Elijah wrote this letter, which was to be sent to the king at the proper time; just as Elijah himself anointed

Hazael and Jehu by Elisha's instrumentality (see AVm). Kennicott cuts the knot by conjecturing 'Elisha' for 'Elijah' in 2 Ch 21^{12}.

3. A priest, one of the commission appointed by Jehoshaphat to teach the Law, 2 Ch 17^{8}.

N. J. D. WHITE.

JEHOSHABEATH.—See JEHOSHEBA.

JEHOSHAPHAT (יְהוֹשָׁפָט 'J" hath judged'). **1.** King of Judah, son of Asa. This reign marks a new departure in the mutual relations of Judah and Israel. Hitherto there had been a standing feud between the two kingdoms (1 K 14^{30} 15$^{7.\ 16}$), but 'J. made peace with the king of Israel' (1 K 22^{44}). The immediate object of this policy was doubtless to enable the whole Hebrew race, hitherto weakened by internecine wars, to co-operate against their common enemies. Possibly, also, J. cherished a hope that the marriage of his heir Jehoram with Athaliah the daughter of Ahab, by which the political alliance was now cemented, might, in the future, lead to a peaceful re-establishment of the kingdom of David and Solomon. The actual result, however, of this alliance with the house of Omri brought to J. little credit in his relations with foreign powers; while at home, in the following reigns, it led to a recrudescence of Baal worship, and indirectly to the almost total extinction of the royal family of Judah (2 K 11^{1}, cf. 2 Ch 21$^{4.\ 17}$). There is little told directly of J. in Kings (1 K 22$^{41\text{-}50}$). He completed the extirpation of the Canaanitish abominations begun by Asa, 1 K 15^{12}. Edom was so completely subject to him that although it had a king (2 K 3 *passim*), yet he was merely a nominee ('deputy' נִצָּב) of the king of Judah. Hence, when Edom revolted in the next reign (2 K 8^{20}), it is significantly said they 'made a king over themselves.' Edom being thus a vassal state, J. had access to the seaport of Ezion-geber, and attempted to revive Solomon's trade with Ophir (cf. 1 K 9^{28}); but the fleet was wrecked when starting on the first voyage, and J. was so disheartened that he declined to enter into partnership with Ahaziah of Israel in order to renew the attempt. In 2 Ch 20$^{35\text{ff.}}$ the good king's misfortune is represented as a punishment for his having made a commercial alliance with Ahaziah; and the destination of the ships is not Ophir, but Tarshish. Both here and in 2 Ch 9^{21} the Chronicler misunderstands the term 'ships of Tarshish.' Whatever else we know from Kings about J. is found in the history of Israel. To the strong-willed monarchs of Omri's line J. serves as a foil. They profited by the alliance with Judah. When Ahab desires to recover Ramoth-gilead, or Jehoram Moab, J. is ready with his set formula of acquiescence (1 K 22^{4}, 2 K 3^{7}). He is extremely scrupulous to inquire of a prophet of J", and is not satisfied with an oracle which purports to come from Adonai (1 K 22$^{5\text{-}7}$, 2 K 3^{11}); yet he seems quite unaffected when his ally is denounced, whether by Micaiah or Elisha. He is even persuaded to risk his own life to save that of Ahab (1 K 22^{30}). From the Chronicler (2 Ch 17-20) we learn much more respecting J.'s internal administration of Judah. J. begins his reign with defensive measures against Israel (17$^{1.\ 2}$). His early piety is rewarded, like that of David (1 Ch 29^{28}) and Solomon (2 Ch 1^{12}), with 'riches and honour in abundance' (17^{5} 18^{1}). He then sends a commission, consisting of princes, Levites, and priests, to teach 'the book of the law of the Lord' in the cities of Judah. Godliness at home is followed by peace abroad. The Philistines and Arabians, so troublesome to Jehoram (21^{16}), bring tribute. J. raises a standing army, twice as large as that of Asa (2 Ch 14^{8}), of over 1,160,000 men (17$^{14\text{-}18}$). Ewald thinks that this incredible number refers to the entire male population, but see 17^{19}. The Chronicler then (ch. 18), contrary to the plan of his work, gives a long extract from the history of Israel—Ahab's expedition to Ramoth-gilead—because of the share J. took in it. There are few variations of any interest except the needless addition in v.^{31} 'and the Lord helped,' etc. It was surely by J.'s accent, when he 'cried out,' that the Syrian captains 'saw that he was not the king of Israel.' On his return, J. is rebuked for 'helping the wicked' by the prophet Jehu (cf. 2 Ch 15^{2} 16^{7}). He then provides for the better administration of justice by appointing local judges in every fenced city (19^{5}), and two courts of appeal, ecclesiastical and civil, in Jerusalem, v.^{8}, consisting of Levites, priests, and leading nobles, presided over respectively by the high priest and 'the ruler of the house of Judah' (cf. Dt 1^{17} 16^{18} 17^{8}). The Chronicler does not relate J.'s campaign with Jehoram of Israel against Moab (2 K 3, see JEHORAM 1), but he gives in ch. 20 an account of a more complete deliverance from Moab, Edom, and Ammon. In this story there are two difficulties. (*a*) The inhabitants of Mt. Seir, vv.$^{10.\ 22}$ (in v.^{1} read with Targ. 'Edomites' for 'Ammonites,' see RVm), are here joined with Moab against Judah, whereas in 2 K 3 they not only join their suzerain J. in his attack on Moab, but are the bitterest enemies of that people (2 K 3^{26}). (*b*) The abject terror of J. at this crisis (see esp. vv.$^{3.\ 12}$) is quite unaccountable, if he really possessed a tithe of the army described in 17$^{14\text{ff.}}$. On the other hand, Ewald (*HI* iv. 56 n. 2) fairly argues that 'the valley of Jehoshaphat' (Jl 3$^{2.\ 12}$), which he identifies with the Wady Bereikut (=Beracah), implies some great victory of that king. He dates this event at the beginning of J.'s reign, and thereby accounts for the complete subjugation of Edom, implied in Kings. The prayer of J. on this occasion has a remarkable reference to Solomon's prayer 1 K 8$^{33.\ 37}$, and to Dt 2$^{4.\ 9.\ 19}$, just as the speech of Jahaziel has to Ex 14$^{13.\ 14}$. **2.** The recorder or chronicler in the reigns of David (2 S 8^{16} 20^{24}, 1 Ch 18^{15}) and Solomon (1 K 4^{3}). **3.** One of Solomon's twelve commissariat officers, 1 K 4^{17}. **4.** Father of Jehu king of Israel, 2 K 9$^{2.\ 14}$.

N. J. D. WHITE.

JEHOSHAPHAT, VALLEY OF (עֵמֶק יְהוֹשָׁפָט, κοιλὰς Ἰωσαφάτ, *Vallis Josaphat*).—This valley (*'ēmeḳ*)* is mentioned under the name of 'Jehoshaphat' only by the prophet Joel (3 [Heb. 4]$^{2.\ 12}$). The circumstances related by the prophet concerning the 'day of the LORD' are matters of theological controversy which it would be outside the scope of this article to enter into, but the imagery rests upon a geographical basis whatever may be the symbolical import.

Some commentators have supposed that the name is only an imaginary one due to its significance, 'J" judgeth' (Orelli in Strack u. Zöckler, *Kgf. Komm. on Joel, l.c.*; Michaelis, *Bibel für Ungelehrten*, Remarks on Joel). The name may have been used with reference to the remarkable victory of king Jehoshaphat over the united forces of the heathen of several nations (2 Ch 20$^{16\text{f.}}$), children of Ammon, Moab, and Mount Seir, which resulted to him in a bloodless victory over his enemies, and his triumphant return from the valley of Blessing.

There is no record in the Bible or Josephus as to the valley separating the temple mount from Olivet being called the valley of Jehoshaphat; but early in the 4th cent. it is called so, and the name has continued among Christians, Jews, and subsequently Moslems, up to the present day. The unknown Pilgrim of Bordeaux (A.D. 333) says, 'For one going to the gate which is on the east, that he may ascend the Mount of Olives, there is the valley which is called Jehoshaphat' (*Itin. Hieros.*). Eusebius and Jerome (A.D. 330–400) give the same account (OS^2 272. 89; 145. 13). Eucherius (427–440) says, 'Near the wall of Jerusalem, or of the temple, on the east, is Geennon or the valley of Jehoshaphat' (*Ant. Mart.* xvii.; see also Reland, *Pal.* p. 356). Theodorus (*c.* 530), speaking of Jerusalem, says, 'There is the valley of Josaphat. There the Lord will judge the just and the sinful.' Arculf (*c.* 680) speaks of the brook Cedron in the valley of Jehoshaphat (*Early Travels*, p. 4). Willibald (721), Bernard (867), Saewulf (1102), Maundeville (1322), and Maundrell (1697) all mention the valley of Jehoshaphat as lying between Jerusalem and Olivet (*Early Travels*, p. 469). Theodoricus (1172) states that 'torrens Cedron et vallis Josaphat' lies between Moriah and Olivet. John of Würzburg (*c.* 1213) says, 'Prope juxta Jerusalem, sub Salamonis regia in accubitu in valle Josaphat natatoria Siloam.' The author of *Citez de Jherusalem* (1187) states that the valley of Josaphat is to the east, between Olivet and Mount Zion. See further, art. KIDRON (THE BROOK).

---

* On the possibility that this term could be applied to the valley of the *Kidron* (elsewhere always called *naḥal*, 'torrent-valley,' 'wady'), see Driver's note on Jl 3^{2}.

According to modern Jewish tradition, the valley between the temple mount and Olivet is the valley of Jehoshaphat, and the dearest wish of the Jew is to find a grave there (Briggs, *Heathen and Holy Lands*, p. 290). Benjamin of Tudela (A.D. 1170) calls this valley *Jehosaphat*. Some of the Rabbins have taught that it is necessary to be buried in the Holy Land to obtain a share in the resurrection preceding the Messiah's reign on earth, and that the bodies of the righteous, wherever else buried, have to roll back again under ground to Palestine (J. Nicholaus, *de Sepult. Heb.*).

The *'Aven Shetyeh* appears to have been a portion of rock projecting three fingers' breadth above the floor of the Holy of Holies, covering a *cavity* which was regarded as the mouth of the 'abyss,' reverenced as the centre and foundation of the world, and having the ineffable name of God inscribed upon it. Rabbi Schwartz (*Das Heilige Land*) identifies this stone with the Sakhrah. It is impossible not to suspect that these Jewish traditions are the origin of the sacredness which the Mohammedans have attached to the Sakhrah (*PEFSt*, 1875–76).

In the tract *Middôth*, Rabbi Elieser ben-Jacob said concerning the Water-gate, 'Through it the water proceeded out, and in future it will issue from under the threshold.' The Talmud teaches that there was a canal which brought water to the sanctuary from the fountain of Etam (Jerus. *Yoma*, iii. fol. 41 at *Maim Baith Hammukdash*, v. 15). Rashi thinks Etam may have been the same as Nephtoah (Jos 15^9). The Moslems have a description of 'the day of the Lord' which was probably given by Mohammed as one of the first of his revelations, from which the following verses are extracted (*Koran*, 81):—

'In the name of the all-merciful God a day shall come when the sun shall be shrouded and the stars shall fall from the heavens.

'When the water of the ocean shall boil, and the souls of the dead again be united to their bodies.

'When the heavens will pass away like a scroll, and hell will burn fiercely, and the joys of paradise will be made manifest.

'On that day shall every soul make known that which it hath performed.'

The day of resurrection will be preceded by signs and portents in heaven and earth, wars and tumults, a universal decay of faith, the advent of Antichrist, the issuing forth of Gog and Magog to desolate the world. Every human being will then be put upon his trial as to the manner in which he has employed his faculties, and the good and evil actions of his life. The whole assembled multitude will have to follow Mohammed across the bridge *al-Sirât*, as fine as the edge of a scimitar, which crosses the gulf of Jehennam or hell. Jehennam is a region fraught with all kinds of horrors (W. Irving, *Life of Mahomet*). The bridge *al-Sirât* that will be extended on the day of judgment between heaven and hell is to start from Jerusalem, and the pilgrim is shown a column, built horizontally into the wall [of the *Ḥaram esh-Sherîf*], which is to form its first pier. The holy rock [of the *Ḥ. esh-Sherîf*] is one of the rocks of paradise; it stands on a palm tree, beneath which flows one of the rivers of paradise. The Sakhrah is the centre of the world, and on the day of resurrection the angel Israfîl will stand upon it to blow the last trump; beneath it is the source of every drop of sweet water that flows on the face of the earth (Besant and Palmer, *Jerusalem*). The column called *et-Tarîk* (de Saulcy) or *al-Sirât* (Ali Bey, Merj ed-Dîn, *BFS* part ii.) juts out from the east wall of the *Haram esh-Sherîf*, overhanging the valley of the Kîdron (Gehennam, Jehoshaphat), and on it may be seen devout Moslems in the early morning practising the first step into paradise.

The Moslem names for the valley between the *Ḥaram esh-Sherîf* and Mount Olivet are *Wâdy Jahannum*, *W. Sitti Maryam* (from 'the tomb of the Virgin'), *W. Jûshafat* or *Shafat* (Seetzen), *W. Jehôshâfât* (Robinson), *W. el-Jos.*

In addition to this valley parting Jerusalem from Olivet being called Jehoshaphat, the name also occurs in or adjacent to the valley. In the time of Arculf (*c.* 680) the tower of Jehoshaphat was shown in the valley near the church of St. Mary. In the time of Maundrell (*c.* 1697) the present so-called tomb of Jehoshaphat went by the same name (*Early Travels*, p. 468). In *Citez de Jherusalem* (*c.* 1187) there is the street of Josafas, leading through the Josafas gate (present St. Stephen's gate) into the valley of Jehoshaphat. John of Würzburg (*c.* 1213) also speaks of the gates of Josafat leading into the valley of Jehoshaphat, and of the monument of king Josaphat 'from which the valley was named.'

LITERATURE.—In addition to the authorities cited in the article, the reader may consult Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.*^{2} 98; Neubauer, *Géog. du Talmud*, 51 f.; Robinson, *BRP*^{2} i. 268 ff.; Driver, *Joel and Amos*, 68 f.; Nowack, *Kl. Proph.* 108; Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 41.

C. WARREN.

JEHOSHEBA (יְהוֹשֶׁבַע 2 K 11^2, **Jehoshabeath,** יְהוֹשַׁבְעַת 2 Ch 22^{11} 'J" is an oath.' Stanley, *Jewish Ch.*, Lect. 35, compares the variants Elisheba and 'Ελισαβέτ).—She was daughter of Jehoram of Judah, but not of Athaliah, according to Jos. (*Ant.* IX. vii. 1; Jerome, *Qu. Heb.* on 2 Ch 21^{17}). On the death of her half-brother Ahaziah, she was instrumental in preserving the Davidic stock by concealing the infant Jehoash in a lumber-room of the palace (RVm). She seems to have had apartments in 'the house of the Lord,' *i.e.* in the temple precincts; and, according to the Chronicler, was wife of Jehoiada. This is the only recorded instance of the intermarriage of a high priest with a princess of the royal house, but probably it was no very extraordinary distinction (cf. 1 K $4^{11.15}$). See ATHALIAH, JEHOASH, JEHOIADA.

N. J. D. WHITE.

JEHOSHUA, JEHOSHUAH.—The AV has followed the Geneva Bible in spelling Joshua's name once (Nu 13^{16}) Jehoshua. In 1 Ch 7^{27} the translators of AV have again followed the Gen. Bible, but have added an *h* by inadvertence, giving the unique and wrong form Jehoshuah. RV has restored Joshua in both places.

JEHOVAH.—See GOD, p. 199^{a}.

JEHOVAH-JIREH (יהוה יִרְאֶה).—In Gn 22^{14} the name given to the place at which Abraham sacrificed the ram instead of his son. The name means 'J″ seeth,' *i.e.* (cf. 16^{12} 'Thou art a God of *seeing*'; also Ex 3^{7}, Ps 35^{22} etc.) *sees* the needs of His servants, and relieves them accordingly; but there is, no doubt, an allusion at the same time to the sense which the same verb has in v.^{8} 'God will *see* for himself (*i.e.* look out, provide; so 1 S $16^{1.17}$) the lamb for a burnt-offering.' A difficulty, however, arises in connexion with the following explanatory clause, which is partly ambiguous, and partly does not correspond, as it would be expected to do, with the name to which it is attached: 'so that it is said to-day, בְּהַר יהוה יֵרָאֶה "in the mount of J″ יֵרָאֶה."' The 'mount of J″' is a designation of the Temple-hill (Is 2^{3} 30^{29}, Ps 24^{3}), and the tense of 'is said' shows that the reference is to something that was said habitually (cf. Gn 10^{9b}), so that there is little doubt that the clause preserves some proverb in connexion with the Temple. If the clause stood by itself, it would be most naturally rendered 'In the mount of J″ one is seen (appears),' *i.e.* men, people, appear,—the reference being to the custom of visiting the Temple at pilgrimages ('appear,' as Ex 23^{17}, 1 S 1^{22}, Ps 84^{7}); but this rendering could only be adopted upon the supposition that the connexion with the preceding clause was of a purely verbal nature. Other renderings are 'in the mount of J″ it is seen'* (*i.e.* provided), *or* 'he [J″] is seen (appears),' *or* (Ew., Del., Keil, Dillm., Kautzsch-Socin) 'in the mount (where) J″ appears' (the sentence in this case being incomplete, as 10^{9b}).† It is objected to the first of these renderings that the Niph. of רָאָה does not occur in the sense of 'be provided'; but if 'see' can be used absolutely (41^{33}) in the sense of 'look out,' it does not seem impossible that 'be seen' might be used similarly; still, it is true that, if the proverb had once an independent existence, this would not be a natural or obvious sense for the verb to have. In the two other renderings, the connexion of the proverb with the name 'Jehovah-jireh' depends upon the double sense of the word 'see': J″ 'sees' the needs of those who come to worship before Him on Zion, and then 'is seen,' *i.e.* reveals Himself to them by answering their prayers, and supplying their wants: His 'seeing,' in other words, takes practical effect in a 'being seen.'‡ On the whole, unless the first suggestion made above be adopted, this may be said to be the best explanation of the passage.

With changes of the punctuation, other renderings become possible, though the general sense remains the same: as 'In the mountain (בָּהָר) J″ appeareth'§ (cf. LXX, ἐν τῷ ὄρει Κύριος ὤφθη); 'In the mountain J″ seeth *or* will see' (בָּהָר י׳ יִרְאֶה: so Pesh. and Vulg., assimilating the verb to that in clause *a*). The two clauses might also be assimilated by vocalizing the second element of the name *yērā'eh*, 'is seen' (appeareth), in place of *yir'eh*, 'seeth' (so Strack). S. R. DRIVER.

JEHOVAH-NISSI (יהוה נִסִּי 'J″ is my banner').—The name given by Moses to the altar he erected after the defeat of Amalek, Ex 17^{15} (E). The LXX (Κύριος καταφυγή μου) implies a derivation of the name from the root נוס 'flee,' the Vulg. (*Dominus exaltatio mea*) from נָשָׂא 'lift up.' Onkelos paraphrases, 'he prayed before God who had done miracles (נִיסִין) before him'; Rashi, 'God has done us here a miracle' (נֵס). There can be little doubt, however, that נֵס here = 'banner,' God being considered the centre or rallying-point of the army of Israel, and the name of God as their battle-cry (cf. Ps $20^{7f.}$). The interpretation of v.^{16} (כִּי־יָד עַל־כֵּס יָהּ) is somewhat doubtful. Many critics read נֵס for כֵּס (= כִּסֵּא 'throne'), but this appears neither to be necessary nor to yield a suitable sense. The meaning is probably either 'J″ hath sworn' (EV), or 'I (Moses) swear' (with hand uplifted to J″s throne). See Dillmann and Kalisch, *ad loc.*

J. A. SELBIE.

JEHOVAH-SHALOM (יהוה שָׁלוֹם; LXX εἰρήνη Κυρίου and Vulg. *Domini pax* imply Heb. reading שְׁלוֹם יהוה).—The name given by Gideon to the altar he erected in Ophrah, Jg 6^{24}. The name means 'J″ is peace' (*i.e.* well-disposed), in allusion to J″s words in v.^{23} 'Peace be unto thee.' There appears to be no necessity to take the second noun as genitive '(altar of) J″ of peace,' as in יהוה צְבָאוֹת. Rather is the name 'Jehovah-shalom' to be compared with such names as 'Jehovah-jireh,' 'Jehovah-nissi,' 'Jehovah-shammah,' in all of which J″ is the subject. See Moore, *Judges*, *ad loc.* J. A. SELBIE.

JEHOVAH-SHAMMAH (יהוה שָׁמָּה 'J″ is there'; Κύριος ἐκεῖ).—The name to be given to the restored and glorified Jerusalem, Ezk 48^{35} (cf. Is 60^{14-22} 62^{2}, Rev $21^{2f.}$). 'The prophet beheld the LORD forsake His temple (ch. 11), and he beheld Him again enter it (ch. 43); now He abides in it among His people for ever. The covenant ran that He should be their God and they His people; this is perfectly fulfilled in His presence among them. The end in view from the beginning has been reached' (Davidson). J. A. SELBIE.

JEHOVAH-TSIDKENU (יהוה צִדְקֵנוּ 'J″ is our righteousness,' or 'J″ our righteousness,' Jer 23^{6} 33^{16}).—In both passages (which are in fact the same prophecy repeated, the latter being not found in LXX, and perhaps the insertion of a reviser) it is the title of the Branch, the perfectly Righteous King, who is to rule over the people on their return from the Captivity. If Jer 33^{14-26} is genuine, 33^{17} implies that the prophet has in his mind not one single king, but a succession of kings, who would fulfil the theocratic idea. If the first tr. of the words given above is right, this will mean that under the rule of the Branch men will fully realize the righteousness of J″; if the second, the title of J″ must be understood as applied to the king as God's vicegerent upon earth (cf. Is 9^{6}). To suppose that either passage definitely predicts the God Incarnate is to credit the prophets with the kind of foresight which our knowledge of their writings otherwise does not justify (cf. Driver, *Sermons on OT*, 204 ff.). F. H. WOODS.

JEHOZABAD (יְהוֹזָבָד 'J″ hath bestowed,' cf. זְבַדְיָה and זַבְדִּיאֵל).—**1.** One of the servants of king Joash who conspired against his master and joined in his assassination, 2 K 12^{21} = 2 Ch 24^{26}. **2.** A Benjamite chief, one of Jehoshaphat's 'men of war,' 2 Ch 17^{18}. **3.** The eponym of a Levitical family, 1 Ch 26^{4}. See GENEALOGY.

---

* The tense (as in 'J″ seeth') expressing what is habitual. The futures of AV, RV are (as often) misleading.

† This last rend., though of course possible formally (Ges.-K. § 155 *l*; Dav. § 25), is not, perhaps, in view of the *order* יהוה יראה, very probable (בהר יראה יהוה is what would be expected): see, however, though only after עֵת—which is often used without a rel., and may thus have more readily expressed the sense of 'the time (when)'—Ps 4^{8}, Mic 5^{2}.

‡ Cf. Delitzsch: 'Er sah drein, in dem er sich zu sehn gab d.i. thatsächlich eingriff.'

§ So Stade, *Gesch.* i. 450, who supposes the proverb to have been framed originally with reference to mountains in general, as the places where J″ was anciently worshipped, and which were often marked by theophanies.

JEHOZADAK (יְהוֹצָדָק 'J" is righteous,' cf. Zedekiah צִדְקִיָּהוּ), the father of Joshua the high priest (1 Ch $6^{14.15}$ [Heb. $5^{40.41}$], also in RV of Hag $1^{1.12.14}$ $2^{2.4}$, Zec 6^{11}, where LXX has Ἰωσεδέκ and AV **Josedech**). The name is shortened to **Jozadak** (יוֹצָדָק) in Ezr $3^{2.8}$ 5^{2} 10^{18}, Neh 12^{26}. It appears as **Josedek** (AV Josedec) in 1 Es $5^{5.48.56}$ 6^{2} 9^{19}, Sir 49^{12}. See GENEALOGY.

H. A. WHITE.

JEHU (for form and meaning of the name see next article). — **1.** A prophet of the Northern Kingdom who predicted the downfall and destruction of the dynasty of Baasha (1 K $16^{1-7.12}$). The Chronicler introduces him as denouncing Jehoshaphat for his alliance with Ahab (2 Ch 19^{2}; cf. the way in which Jehu's father Hanani reproves Asa, 2 Ch 16^{7}). 'The words of Jehu the son of Hanani, which are taken up into the Book of the Kings of Israel' is cited by the Chronicler (2 Ch 20^{34}) as an authority for the reign of Jehoshaphat. See art. CHRONICLES, vol. i. p. 394^{a} f. **2.** The king of Israel who destroyed the dynasty of Omri. See next article. **3.** A Judahite, the son of Obed (1 Ch 2^{38}). **4.** A Simeonite prince (1 Ch 4^{35}). While A of the LXX and Luc. have Ἰηού, B must have [mis?] read הוּא instead of יֵהוּא, for it has οὗτος. **5.** One of David's heroes (1 Ch 12^{3}).

JEHU (Heb. יֵהוּא, Assyr. *Ja-u-a*, Syriac ܝܗܘ, Arab. *Jâhû*, LXX B Εἰού, A often Ἰηού, Luc. Ἰού. The derivation is very uncertain. Some would regard it as an abbreviation of יְהוֹהוּא 'Jahweh is he,' just as יֵשׁוּעַ = יְהוֹשׁוּעַ. As a parallel, comp. [א]אֱלִיהוּ).—Jehu was son of Jehoshaphat, son of Nimshi, but he is not infrequently designated simply ben-Nimshi. From his own testimony (2 K $9^{25.26}$) we learn that he witnessed, in company with Bidkar, the judicial murder of Naboth. He evidently held, in conjunction with Bidkar, an important position in Ahab's bodyguard,* and the sentence of doom pronounced by Elijah on the house of Ahab must on that memorable occasion have been carefully treasured in his memory. This raises an interesting question. Was Jehu personally known to Elijah? This seems to be suggested by 1 K 19^{16}. But it is quite evident that the Elijah narrative in this chapter proceeds from a different hand from that which recorded the episodes in 2 K 8. 9, and the redactor has omitted from the Elijah section the fulfilment of the divine commands (1 K 19^{15-18}), though the injunctions themselves still remain. On this subject see Thenius' remarks at the end of his commentary on 1 K 19; Stade, *Gesch.* p. 540, footnote; and Kittel, *Gesch. der Heb.* ii. 184 [Eng. tr. ii. 214].

It is not, however, our purpose to enter into the complex features of the narrative dealing with the reign of Jehu (2 K 9. 10), since this department belongs to the literary features of 1 K and 2 K (see art. KINGS (BOOKS OF)). This subject has been ably investigated by Stade in *ZATW*, 1885, p. 275 ff. It is acknowledged by critics that the section 2 K 9^{1}–10^{27} descriptive of Jehu's revolution comes from the same hand as 1 K 20. 22, 2 K 3 (Cornill), to which may be added 6^{24}–7^{20} (Driver, *LOT*^{6} p. 195; Kittel, *Gesch.* ii. p. 186 [Eng. tr. ii. 216]). Kittel also agrees with Stade in attributing 10^{12-16} to a later source, a view which appears to the present writer well founded. Wellhausen further endeavours to disintegrate 10^{19-27} on the ground of inconsistencies (*Isr. u. Jüd. Gesch*^{2}. p. 77, footnote), but his arguments are not convincing.

Jehu ben-Nimshi rose to power on the crest of a wave of insurrectionary feeling fomented in the prophetic circles by the great personal influence of Elisha. Indeed it may even be true that he had already been designated as the earthly instrument of divine vengeance on the house of Omri by Elijah, and that Elisha had been commissioned by his illustrious predecessor to carry out the divine behest of 1 K 19^{16}. The vivid and dramatic narrative in chs. 9. 10 makes it clear that the causes which led to the popular discontent against the house of Omri were not so much connected with the introduction of the Phœnician Baal and Ashtoreth worship, but rather with the high-handed judicial murder of Naboth (see AHAB, JEZEBEL, and NABOTH). Towards Phœnicia Israel had for centuries felt a traditional friendship. It began with the days of David and Solomon. In language the two were closely akin. They exchanged their commodities, and the bond which linked them was called by the 8th cent. prophet Amos 'a covenant of brethren' (Am 1^{9}, but see Driver's note, *ad loc.*), a fact well illustrated by the beautiful episode of Elijah and the widow of the Phœnician town of Zarephath (1 K 17^{9-24}).

Jehu was the commanding officer in the army of Jehoram, which was conducting operations against the Syrian army under Hazael at the important fortress of Ramoth-gilead, a bone of contention since the days of Ahab, and now held by Israel. The severe wounds sustained by king Jehoram necessitated his retirement to Jezreel. This was the opportunity of which Elisha and the party of insurrection availed themselves. One of the 'sons of the prophets' was despatched by Elisha to Ramoth-gilead with a flask of oil and a commission to take Jehu from the group of officers which surrounded him into an inner chamber, anoint him there, and instantly withdraw in flight. These instructions were faithfully carried out. On Jehu's return to the officers' quarters, he was eagerly interrogated as to the meaning of this mysterious visit from the frenzied* prophetic messenger. On learning the truth, his fellow-officers tore their mantles from their shoulders and spread them as a carpet for their commander on the bare steps,† and proclaimed him as king with a loud flourish of trumpets. The lightning rapidity of the following movements of Jehu, and the murderous energy with which he crushed every opposition, overwhelm the reader. He immediately proceeded to Jezreel at the head of a picked cavalcade, riding with Bidkar in his chariot. The invalided king Jehoram was at that time receiving a visit from his kinsman Ahaziah king of Judah, at his royal residence. The cavalcade is descried at a distance by the watchman near the palace gates, who informs the king (cf. 2 S 18^{24}). At the command of Jehoram, who feels uneasy at the news, a horseman is sent to make the inquiry, 'Is it peace?' The question was purposely ambiguous, and might be regarded as an inquiry respecting the progress of the campaign at the seat of war. But Jehu, with brutal frankness, at once makes his purpose clear, and compels the king's emissary to join his retinue. This strange proceeding is observed in Jezreel, and arouses suspicion. Both the kings at once proceed in their chariots, accompanied by their military staff, to confront the bold insurgent. The two cavalcades met at the ill-omened spot—the field of Naboth, ever associated with Ahab's high-handed injustice consummated by treachery and murder. Jehu was quick to seize the advantage afforded him by these familiar recollections, and, as Jehoram's heart failed him and he turned, immediately discharged an arrow[*] with his full strength, that laid the king of Israel low. As he beheld the fallen son of Ahab, he recalled the words uttered by Elijah on that memorable spot many years before. With characteristic energy Jehu did not allow the opportunity of striking down a possible foe to escape him, and Ahaziah of Judah, who had fled at the sight of his kinsman's terrible fate, was immediately pursued on the road which he took to Beth-haggan. At a place called the Ascent of Gûr,[†] near Ible'am, he was overtaken and mortally wounded, and ultimately escaped to die at Megiddo.

---

* Bidkar and Jehu rode in a chariot along with others in *pairs*. So the Hebrew (רֹכְבִים צְמָדִים) should be interpreted. There was something exceptional in this. Usually *three* rode in a Hebrew chariot, as we find among the Hittites. See article CHARIOT by the present writer in Black's *Bible Encyclopædia*.

* The familiar ancient association of prophecy and madness is indicated in the Heb. מְשֻׁגָּע (cf. Jer 29^{26}), but it would be an error to regard it as a scornful epithet on the basis of Hos 9^{7} (cf. 1 S $21^{14ff.}$). In classical Arabic the verb is employed of speech or writing in the special form of prophetic rhythmic prose.

† גֶּרֶם הַמַּעֲלוֹת probably means the *bare* steps (or, perhaps, the midst of the flight of steps). The idiomatic phrase גֶּרֶם puzzled the LXX, who simply transliterate it (B γαρέμ, A γὰρ' ἕνα. Luc. combines the two, ἐφ' ἓν τῶν γαρέμ, ἐπὶ μίαν τῶν ἀναβαθμίδων).

As Jehu entered Jezreel at the head of his retinue, he was greeted by Jezebel as she sat with her attendants at the window in the stately queen's apartment in the upper storey of the royal palace. The splendid courage of the queen-dowager did not forsake her in that terrible hour of doom. Surrounded by Phœnician luxury, with elaborate head-dress and eyelids painted with stibium, she hurled her angry defiance at the victorious insurgent. To Jehu's previous reminiscence of a well-known episode she retorts with another, as she flings the taunt, 'Is it peace, O Zimri, his master's murderer?' meaning, 'Is there to be peace between me and such a traitor as you with your brief tenancy of power?' The narrator who portrays the lurid facts sheds no ray of chivalry on Jehu's relentless ferocity. The queen at his bidding is flung by the attendant eunuchs from the lofty upper window into the courtyard below, close to his chariot wheels, and suffers instant death. Jehu feasts within the palace in cold-blooded indifference until the thought of the yet unburied queen prompts the command that the 'accursed' (הָאֲרוּרָה) should receive the rights of sepulture due to her dignity and rank. This, however, the carrion kites and scavenger dogs had by this time rendered superfluous.

But the career of assassination was not yet ended, and, without Macbeth's remorse, Jehu felt himself 'young in deed,' and could say without compunction—

> 'I am in blood
> Stepped in so far that should I wade no more
> Returning were as tedious as go o'er.'—*Macbeth*, III. iv. 137.

The seventy sons and grandsons of the royal harem of Ahab still inhabited Samaria, and they undoubtedly constituted a possible source of danger and disaffection. An artfully worded despatch to the elders in Samaria [?],[‡] challenging them to set up one of these royal princes as a rival king, produced the desired effect. The palace-commander, the commander of the city, and the guardians of the sons of Ahab trembled for their own lives, and complied with Jehu's second request. They procured the death of all the royal princes, and sent their heads in baskets to Jezreel. This work of destruction was supplemented according to the section (vv.$^{12-16}$) by a still further holocaust of 42 princes of the line of David, kinsmen of Ahaziah.[*] This pendant to the narrative probably belongs to a later source. Yet the following verse (v.^{17}) clearly shows that further deeds of blood were perpetrated.

The final scene of butchery was enacted in the great temple of the Phœnician Baal, erected by Ahab in Samaria, where, under pretext of zeal for the worship of the god, a large crowd of his devotees were gathered together and then slaughtered by an armed band of eighty men who were posted at the entrance to guard the exit. The Baal 'pillars' (*maẓẓēbôth*) were brought forth and destroyed by fire (2 K 10^{26}).

It is not quite clear what was the religious significance of this destruction of the Baal temple in Samaria and of its devotees. Doubtless Wellhausen is right in saying (*Isr. u. Jüd. Gesch.*^{2} p. 77) that Jehu was essentially a soldier, and his aims were political rather than religious. Yet he posed as a religious zealot, and some meaning must have been ascribed to his destruction of the Baal worshippers. It is more difficult to ascertain the precise significance of this act when we remember that Jehoram, Ahab's son (note that the name of Jahweh is expressed in this royal name), is distinctly stated to have withdrawn the specific Tyrian Baal worship from Samaria, which had been instituted by Ahab under the influence of Jezebel (2 K 3^2). Yet it is quite obvious that this act of Jehoram did not touch the old local Canaanitish Baal worship which still prevailed in the high places of Israel, and too much stress should certainly not be placed on this act of suppression, which appears to have been only temporary or partial in character. This is the view taken by Prof. Peake, the writer of the article BAAL in the first volume of this Dictionary. Accordingly, we may regard the murderous policy of Jehu as simply directed to a drastic suppression of the Phœnician form of Baal worship. This view is supported by the following considerations: (1) The annihilation of Baal worship by Jehu took place in Samaria, the capital and residence of the Omri dynasty, where the Phœnician Baal had his special shrine (1 K 16^{32}). We nowhere read of the suppression of Baal cults generally in the high places. (2) The extinction of Canaanitish Baal worship, if it had ever taken place, could not have been effectual or permanent, since in the 8th cent. the writings of the prophet Hosea reveal the wide prevalence of local Baal cults in the Northern Kingdom. (3) The worship of the golden calf of Jeroboam I. still survived, as we infer from 2 K 10^{29}. This verse and the language of v.^{31} lead us to the conclusion that the words, 'And Jehu destroyed the Baal from Israel' (v.^{28}), can refer only to the specific cult introduced by Jezebel perhaps characterized by gross licentiousness. (4) That Jehu wrought no real religious reformation is shown by the neutral tone of the writer of chs. 9. 10, while the strong reprobation of Hos 1^4 faithfully reflects not only the prophetic but the popular verdict on the character and career of this monarch.

The policy pursued by Jehu towards the dynasty of Omri, and the murder of the Phœnician queen as well as the overthrow of the Phœnician worship, at once shattered the close bonds of an alliance which the dynasty of Omri had found of considerable value to Israel, and which it had taken the utmost pains to consolidate. Ahab, as we have already seen (art. AHAB), had abandoned the friendship of

---

[*] Jehu possessed the archer's skill, which Assyrian monuments almost universally attribute to their monarchs, an aptitude perfected by the exercises of the chase. Comp. the frequent hunting scenes of the Nimrud gallery of the British Museum.

[†] Beth-haggan is identified with Jenîn, a large village in the plain of Esdraelon, on the road between Nazareth and Nablûs. 'Ascent of Gûr' (prob. = 'whelp's hill') was in the neighbourhood of Ible'am, identified with a spot where there is now a ruined tower called *Bel'ame.* See Stade, *Gesch.* p. 542, footnote, and Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*, 2nd ed. (1894) p. 226 ff.

[‡] For יזרעאל of the MT the LXX, Josephus, and Cod. Kenn. 174 read שמרון; but the suggestion ישראל of Cleric., Mich., and Ewald is far more probable.

[*] בֵּית עֵקֶד הָרֹעִים rendered by Targ. 'assembling house of shepherds' (cf. עָקַד 'bind' in Gn 22^9). LXX Βαιθάκαθ, identified with *Beit Ḳad* about 9 miles E. of *Jenîn* (9^{27}) in the plain of Jezreel. See Baedeker, *Pal. and Syria*, 2nd ed. p. 242. The Βειθακάθ of Eusebius is the same spot 15 Roman miles from Legio or Lejjun.

Syria after the disastrous battle of Ḳarkar (854). He had formed a pretty shrewd estimate of the rising power of the Assyrian empire under Shalmaneser II., and thought it wiser to have its ruler as his friend rather than his foe. The further attacks made by the Assyrians upon the Aramæan kingdom of Benhadad (Dadidri) in the years 849, 846, and 842 only made this policy of friendship with Assyria more necessary for Israel; and Jehu, weakened by his break with Phœnicia and by the hostility of Judah, was driven by the force of events to adopt the same policy of subservience to the Assyrian monarch. The black obelisk of Shalmaneser, in a brief statement that runs in clearly legible characters of cuneiform between the graphic figures of its reliefs, records the important statement: 'Tribute of Jehu, son of Omri—objects of silver and gold—bars of silver, bars of gold, a golden bowl, a golden ladle, golden goblets, golden pitchers, bars of lead—a staff for the hand of a king, shafts of spears . . . these I received.'[*] Another inscription (*COT*² p. 200; III. Rawl. 5, No. 6, 40–65) places this event in a clearer light. We there learn that the Tyrians and Sidonians followed the same policy as Jehu. Jehu was forced to adopt this attitude at the commencement of his reign (842 B.C.), because in that year Shalmaneser II. made another invasion of Syria and attacked Hazael of Damascus. It was terribly disastrous for the young Syrian king. He lost 16,000 men and more than 1000 chariots. To save his life he fled to Damascus, whither he was pursued and then besieged. The Assyrians ravaged and laid his territory waste as far as the Haurân range and even the frontiers of Lebanon. This terrible overthrow of the year 842 was followed by another invasion three years later, in which Syria made little resistance. This at any rate is the inference which may be drawn from the long annalistic inscription taken from the obelisk of Nimrud,[†] lines 102–104: 'In the 21st year of my reign (*i.e.* 839) I crossed the Euphrates for the 21st time and marched against the towns [*maḥazâni*) of Hazael of Damascus. Four of his towns I conquered, and received the tribute of the Tyrians, Sidonians, and Byblians.'

While the humiliations inflicted by Assyria upon the Aramæan kingdom continued, the policy of vassalage to Nineveh pursued by Jehu brought him security, and Israel was safe from aggression from his powerful northern foe, Syria. But the tide was soon to turn. After 839 B.C. we read of no more attacks upon the Syrian kingdom from the shores of the Euphrates for more than 30 years. Meanwhile Syria, with wonderful inherent energy and recuperative power, began once more to show itself able to take the offensive. We learn this from the brief notice which closes the biblical record of Jehu's reign (2 K 10^{32}): 'During that time J″ began to cut off (the territories of) Israel, and Hazael smote them in all the borders of Israel,' and in the following verse this is explained as meaning that Israel suffered severe losses of territory along the whole of his eastern dominion on the other side of Jordan. Probably Hazael annexed these territories to his own—the harbinger of further humiliations in store for the dynasty of Jehu, until the tide again turned in favour of Israel under Jeroboam II.[‡]

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

JEHUBBAH (יְחֻבָּה *Kethîbh*, but *Ḳerê* וְחֻבָּה='and Hubbah' is to be preferred [LXX B 'Ωβάβ, A 'Οβά, Vulg. *Haba*]).—An Asherite, 1 Ch 7^{34}. See GENEALOGY, XII. 5.

JEHUCAL (יְהוּכַל 'J. is able').—A courtier sent by king Zedekiah, during the siege of Jerus., to entreat for the prayers of Jeremiah (Jer $37^{3\text{ff.}}$). He is called in Jer 38^{1} **Jucal**.

JEHUD (יְהֻד, LXX B 'Αζώρ, A 'Ιούθ, Luc. 'Ιούδ).—A town of Dan, named between Baalath and Bene-berak, Jos 19^{45}. It is probably the modern *el-Yehûdîyeh*, 8 miles E. of Joppa. See Dillm. *Jos., ad loc.*; Robinson, *BRP*², ii. 242; Guérin, *Judée*, i. 322; Buhl, *GAP* 197; *SWP* vol. ii. sheet iii.

JEHUDI (יְהוּדִי).—A word which generally=*a Jew*, but appears to be a proper name in Jer $36^{14.21.23}$. J. was an officer of Jehoiakim, at whose summons Baruch read to the princes of Judah the roll of Jeremiah's prophecies. J. was afterwards himself employed to read the roll to the king, but he had not proceeded far when Jehoiakim cut it in pieces and cast it into the fire.

JEHUDIJAH (1 Ch 4^{18} AV).—See HAJEHUDIJAH.

JEHUEL (יְחוּאֵל *Kethîbh*, יְחִיאֵל *Ḳerê*).—A Hemanite in Hezekiah's reign, 2 Ch 29^{14}. See GENEALOGY.

JEIEL (יְעִיאֵל).—**1.** A Reubenite, 1 Ch 5^{7}. **2.** An ancestor of Saul, 1 Ch 8^{29} (supplied in RV from 9^{35}). **3.** One of David's heroes, 1 Ch 11^{44}. **4. 5.** The name of two Levite families: (*a*) 1 Ch $15^{18.21}$ $16^{5.5}$, 2 Ch 20^{14}; (*b*) 2 Ch 35^{9}. **6.** A scribe in the reign of Uzziah, 2 Ch 26^{11}. **7.** One of those who had married foreign wives, Ezr 10^{43}. In **2. 3. 6** *Kethîbh* has יְעוּאֵל, **Jeuel**. See GENEALOGY.

JEKABZEEL, Neh 11^{25}.—See KABZEEL.

JEKAMEAM (יְקַמְעָם).—**1.** A Levite, 1 Ch 23^{19} 24^{23}. In the former of these passages LXX has 'Ικεμιάς, in the latter 'Ιοκόμ (B) or 'Ικεμιά (A). Gray (*Heb. Prop. Names*, 46 n.) points out that these LXX readings suggest an original יקמיה, but that the other versions on the whole support the MT.

JEKAMIAH (יְקַמְיָה 'may J″ strengthen').—**1.** A Judahite, the son of Shallum, 1 Ch 2^{41}. **2.** A son of king Jeconiah, 1 Ch 3^{18}.

JEKUTHIEL (יְקוּתִיאֵל, perh. 'preservation of God,' possibly same as יְקַתְאֵל, see *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*, and Gray, *Heb. Prop. Names*, 307 n 8).—A man of Judah, 1 Ch 4^{18}. See GENEALOGY.

JEMIMAH (יְמִימָה).—The eldest of Job's daughters born to him after his restoration to prosperity (Job 42^{14}). The LXX and Vulg. render as if from יום day; most moderns connect with Arab. *jemâma* =dove (see, however, Gray, *Heb. Prop. Names*, p. 108).

JEMNAAN, Jth 2^{28}.—See JABNEEL.

JEMUEL (יְמוּאֵל).—A son of Simeon, Gn 46^{10}, Ex 6^{15}=**Nemuel** of Nu 26^{12}, 1 Ch 4^{24}. The LXX also exhibits both forms, having in Gn 'Ιεμουήλ, in Ex 'Ιεμιήλ (B), in Nu and 1 Ch Ναμουήλ.

JEOPARD, JEOPARDY.—The verb to 'jeopard,' that is, hazard, is derived from the subst. 'jeopardy,' peril, hazard; and that is a corruption of the Old French *jeu parti*, lit. a divided game (Low Lat. *jocus partitus*), *i.e.* a game in which the chances are even. Chaucer (*Troilus*, ii. 465) has—

---

[*] Schrader, *KIB* i. p. 150, *COT*² i. p. 199. Respecting the phrase Jehu, 'son of Omri,' see *ib.* i. p. 179 and footnote **.

[†] Schrader, *KIB* i. p. 128 ff.; see especially p. 142. For a conspectus of the campaigns of Shalmaneser II., see Tiele, *Bab.-Assyr. Gesch.* p. 197 ff.

[‡] Here again the success of Israel was cheaply earned through the intervention of the Assyrian arms. The terrible disaster inflicted by Rammân-nirâri III. in 803 on the Aramæan kingdom was a blow from which it never recovered. Rammân-nirâri III. is the 'deliverer' referred to in 2 K 13^{5}, and this is a chronological datum of considerable value. See the present writer's remarks in Schrader, *COT*² ii. p. 324.

> 'For myn estat now lyth in jupartye,
> And eek myn emes [=uncle's] lyf lyth in balaunce';

and (ii. 772)—

> 'Sholde I now love and putte in jupartye
> My sikernesse, and thrallen libertee?'

Tindale in *Prol. to Leviticus* says, 'They that be dead, yf they dyed in the faith which that sacrament preacheth, they be saffe and are past all jeopardye,' where the word has assumed its modern spelling. The verb occurs often in Tindale and other writers of that time, as Knox, *Works*, iii. 213, 'Why will ye jeoparde to loise eternall life?'; Tind. *Works*, i. 173, 'Whosoever casteth not this aforehand, I must jeopard life, goods, honour, worship (and all that there is, for Christ's sake), deceiveth himself'; Elyot, *Governour*, ii. 263, 'I name that Audacitie whiche is an excessife and inordinate truste to escape all daungers, and causeth a man to do suche actes as are nat to be jeoparded': and Dn 3^{28} Cov. 'that have altered the kynges commaundement and joperde their bodies therupon.'

Jeopardy occurs in AV, 2 S 23^{17} 'is not this the blood of the men that went in jeopardy of their lives?' (הַהֹלְכִים בְּנַפְשׁוֹתָם, lit., as RVm, 'that went with their lives'; but the ב is [as Driver] the *Beth pretii*, 'at the cost or risk of their lives'; W. R. Smith [*RS*^{2} 230], 'the blood of the men that fetched it in jeopardy of their lives'); 1 Ch $11^{19\,bis}$ 'Shall I drink the blood of these men that have put their lives in jeopardy? for with the jeopardy of their lives they brought it' (AVm and RVm 'with their lives'); 12^{19} 'He will fall to his master Saul to the jeopardy of our heads' (בְּרָאשֵׁינוּ, AVm 'on our heads,' but it is the *Beth pretii*, as before); 1 Mac 6^{44} 'Eleazar also . . . put himself in jeopardy, to the end he might deliver his people' (*ἔδωκεν ἑαυτόν*, RV 'gave himself'); Lk 8^{23} 'there came down a storm of wind on the lake; and they were filled with water and were in jeopardy' (*ἐκινδύνευον*); 1 Co 15^{30} 'And why stand we in jeopardy every hour?' (*κινδυνεύομεν*); and in the Preface to AV 1611, 'Yea, why did the Catholicks (meaning Popish *Romanists*) alwayes go in jeopardie for refusing to go to heare it [the English translation of the Bible]?'

The verb is rarer, Jg 5^{18} 'Zebulun and Naphtali were a people that jeoparded their lives unto the death in the high places of the field' (חֵרֵף נַפְשׁוֹ לָמוּת, lit. 'that despised its life to death,' AVm 'exposed to reproach,' Moore, 'that recklessly exposed itself to death'); * 2 Mac 11^7 'Then Maccabeus himself first of all took weapons, exhorting the other that they would jeopard themselves together with him to help their brethren' (*διακινδυνεύοντας*); 14^{38} 'he [Razis] did boldly jeopard his body and life with all vehemency for the religion of the Jews' (*παραβεβλημένος*). J. HASTINGS.

JEPHTHAH (יִפְתָּח 'he,' *i.e.* prob. J″, 'will open'; cf. פְּתַחְיָה Ezr 10^{23} etc., יִפְתַּח־אֵל town in Zebulun, Jos 19^{14}; יִפְתָּח also name of a town in Judah, Jos 15^{43}; Ἰεφθά).—Judge, and conqueror of the Ammonites (Jg 10^6–12^7; cf. 1 S 12^{11}). The narrative has an unusually long introduction 10^{6-18} (cf. 2^{11}–$3^{6.\,7-10}$ 6^{7-10} [D^2]); it is based, however, on what was probably a shorter introduction in the manner of E (vv.$^{6b.\,8.\,15.\,16}$). The particulars in $10^{17.\,18}$ are derived from ch. 11 (cf. 8^{33-35} from ch. 9), and come from D^2. Apparently, this long introduction was intended to include the Philistine as well as the Ammonite oppression (10^7). The main interest of the story of Jephthah clearly lies, not in his personal history or defeat of the Ammonites, but in his vow and its fulfilment, and the origin of an Israelite custom.

Of the antecedents of Jephthah little is known beyond the fact that he was a Gileadite warrior, the son of a harlot. He was driven out of his home by the 'elders of Gilead' (11^7), and became the captain of a band of freebooters in the land of Tob in E. Syria (cf. 1 S $22^{1f.}$, 2 S $10^{6.\,8}$).* The Ammonite invasion made it necessary for the Israelites east of Jordan to find a leader; and there was nothing for it but to appeal to the outlawed Jephthah to come to the rescue. The elders of Gilead begged him to be their leader; and, after expressing surprise that such a request should be made to him, Jephthah agreed, on the condition that he should become their chief when the Ammonites were defeated. A solemn compact was made accordingly, and Jephthah was appointed leader by popular acclamation (11^{4-11a}). At this moment, it would seem, when Jephthah was at Mizpah of Gilead, he went to the holy place or altar, and there, 'before J″,' registered a vow to sacrifice whomsoever should be the first to meet him when he returned victorious (vv.$^{31.\,11b}$).† That he had a human victim in his mind is clear from the language which he used.‡

The long account of the negotiations between Jephthah and the king of the Ammonites (11^{12-28}) with regard to Israel's rights of possession in Gilead, is regarded by most critics as a late interpolation, compiled from JE's narrative in Nu 20. 21, in some places word for word; cf. vv.$^{17-22.\,26}$ with Nu $20^{14.\,17}$ $21^{4.\,13.\,21-24.\,25}$. The remarkable thing about this section is, that although Jephthah is arguing with Ammonites, yet the language which he is made to use refers entirely to *Moabites*. The Ammonites complain that Israel had seized their land between Arnon and Jabbok; Jephthah replies that the district was taken from Sihon king of the Amorites, and not from *Moab* (!). Moab never fought against Israel (but see Jos 24^9), why should Ammon? Even Chemosh, god of the Moabites, is referred to as having given the Ammonites their territory. An extraordinary misunderstanding thus runs through the whole passage.§

A brief description of the defeat of the Ammonites is all that is given (v.$^{32f.}$). The course of the battle cannot be determined exactly, but it probably went in a direction E. of Rabbah (see Jos 13^{25} Aroer), into the territory of the Ammonites.‖ Jephthah returns in triumph to his home at Mizpah; the first person who comes to meet him is his only daughter, accompanied by a chorus of women (cf. Ex $15^{20f.}$, 1 S $18^{6f.}$). The overwhelming grief of the father, the noble self-surrender of the daughter, and her courageous resignation to her fate, are told with admirable skill and reserve. 'He did to her what he had vowed to do.' It became henceforth a custom in Israel to celebrate the tragedy of Jephthah's daughter by four days' mourning every year.*

---

* See Moore *in loc.* for reff. to the use of the verb; and G. A. Smith in *Expos.* 4th Ser. vii. 168, and in *HGHL* 422, for illustration of the character described.

* $11^{1b.\,2}$ are not part of the original story. V.^{1b} is modelled on the genealogical forms of P and Ch; v.^{2} is best explained as due to a misunderstanding of v.^{7}.

† The sequel of v.^{31} is ^{11b}; the text has been disordered by the long interpolation, $^{12-28}$.

‡ 'Whosoever cometh forth,' 'from the doors of my house,' 'I will offer him up': these expressions are inapplicable to an animal.

§ Perhaps the interpolation was made at some moment when the Israelites wanted to assert their title to Gilead. Moore suggests such an occasion as the intrusion of the Ammonites at the beginning of the 6th cent. (Jer 49^{1-5}).

‖ V.^{29} mentions various movements, the reason for which is not clear. Jephthah's object could not have been to raise the tribes; for the people are all assembled in v.^{11a}. In ^{11b} Jephthah is still at Mizpah; he is still there in ^{30}, and thence sets out in due course in ^{32}. V.^{29} is, in fact, an attempt to pick up the thread of the narrative after the long interpolation, $^{12-28}$ (Moore).

That such sacrifices were possible in Israel may be gathered from 1 S $14^{24f.45}$ 15^{33}, 2 S $21^{6.9}$; cf. Ezk 20^{28} with Ex 22^{28}, Mic 6^{7}. In times of desperation or religious degradation they became more frequent (Jer 7^{31}, 2 K 16^{3} 17^{17} 21^{6}, Ps $106^{37f.}$ etc. See Schultz, *OT Theol.* i. 191; Dillmann, *Genesis*^{6}, 289 f.; Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* ii. 205 f.; Ottley, *BL*, 1897, 176 f.).

The narrative goes on to describe a severe conflict between Jephthah and the tribe of Ephraim, who, with characteristic arrogance ($8^{1f.}$), complained that they had not been invited to take part in the war. After expostulating with them, Jephthah collected his Gileadite forces, which had been dispersed when the war was ended, and went to battle. He held the Jordan fords against them; every fugitive who attempted to cross was required to pronounce the test-word *Shibboleth* ('flood'); and if he betrayed his Ephraimite origin by pronouncing it *Sibboleth*, he was put to death.†

The historical character of this narrative has been questioned by Wellh. (*Composition*, 229), who treats it as a mere replica of 8^{1-3}. His arguments, however, are not conclusive; the episode at the Jordan fords is too original to be imaginary; and the majority of modern critics support the genuineness of these verses. It is probable that the numbers in v.^{8} are exaggerated; but this does not condemn the whole story.‡ The narrative of Jephthah is brought to a close with the formula which is used of the minor judges (10^{2-5} $12^{10.12.15}$).§

The account of Jephthah's home and settled life at Mizpah ($11^{34ff.}$) does not seem to agree with his outlawry in $11^{3ff.}$. The confusion of the Ammonites and Moabites in 11^{12-28} is also remarkable. Accordingly, Budde (*Commentary on Judges*, 1897), following an unpublished treatise by Holzinger, attempts to work out a double narrative, as in the case of Gideon. He postulates a Moabite document, and assigns it to E, and an Ammonite document, J. The suggestion is ingenious, but the data are hardly distinctive enough. The contradictions in the accounts of Jephthah's antecedents are not irreconcilable; while, with regard to the interpolation (11^{12-28}), the explanation above satisfies the case.

LITERATURE.—See, above all, Moore, *Judges*, 282 ff.; cf. also Budde, *Richter*, *ad loc.*, *Richt. u. Sam.* 125 ff.; Kittel, *Hist. of Hebrews*, ii. 89 f.; Wellhausen, *Comp.* 228 f.; Nöldeke, *Untersuchungen*, 195 n.; Kuenen, *Hist. Büch. d. AT*, 18 f.; Goldziher, *Der Mythos bei den Hebräern*, 113 ff.; Stade, *GVI* i. 68; Baudissin, *Stud. z. semit. Religionsgeschichte*, i. 55 ff.; Smend, *Alttest. Religionsgeschichte*, 99 ff.; Baethgen, *Beiträge*, 13 ff.; Driver, *LOT*^{6} 166; Cornill, *Einleitung*^{2}, 96 f.

G. A. COOKE.

JEPHUNNEH (יְפֻנֶּה).—1. The father of Caleb (Nu 13^{6}). **2.** A son of Jether an Asherite (1 Ch 7^{38}).

JERAH (יֶרַח), son of Joktan, Gn 10^{28} (1 Ch 1^{20}). The Arabic geographers knew of places named *Yurākh* and *Yarāḥ* in Yemen and Ḥijaz respectively (Yāḳūt and Hamdāni); and the geographer Yāḳūt quotes from Al-Ṣulaiḥi (a usurper who obtained control of Yemen in the 11th cent., and was well versed in S. Arabian geography), a verse in which *Warākh* is mentioned as a place of importance: 'What excuse have I, now I am lord of *Warākh*, for failing to meet the foe?' There are several references to Warākh in Hamdāni's 'Description of Arabia,' from which its site can be accurately fixed. It is possible that the name may be ancient, and that the *Jerah* of Gn may refer to it. Most commentators, however, have preferred to regard Jerah (Heb. 'moon' or 'month') as a translation of some Arabic name; but the conjectures based on this supposition by Bochart, J. D. Michaelis, and more recently Glaser (*Skizze*, ii. 425), seem devoid of probability. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

JERAHMEEL (יְרַחְמְאֵל 'may God have compassion'; B Ἰραμεήλ, Ἰερεμεήλ, Ἰερεμαήλ, Ῥαμεήλ; A Ἰερεμεήλ, Ἰερεμιήλ; *Jerameel*).—**1.** According to 1 Ch 2^{9} the firstborn son of Hezron, the son of Perez, the son of Judah. His descendants, of whom a list is given (vv.$^{25-33}$), lived on the extreme S. border of Judah in what was technically called 'the Negeb of the **Jerahmeelites**' (1 S 27^{10} 30^{29}; see Driver, *in loc.*, and G. A. Smith, *HGHL* pp. 278–286). They appear to have been an Amalekite or Edomite clan, which was afterwards absorbed by Judah.

2. The son of Kish, a Merarite Levite of the house of Mahli. Jerahmeel appears as the only representative of this branch of the house of Merari at the time when David is said to have organized the temple service (1 Ch 23^{21} 24^{29}).

3. The king's son (RV, AVm; 'the son of **Hammelech**' AV, RVm) *i.e.* of the royal blood, who together with two other officers was commanded by king Jehoiakim 'to take Baruch the scribe and Jeremiah the prophet' after the burning of the roll (Jer 36^{26}). J. F. STENNING.

JERECHU (Ἰέρεχος, B^{a} -ειχ-, AV Jerechus), 1 Es 5^{22}.—In Ezr 2^{34}, Neh 7^{36} JERICHO.

JERED (יֶרֶד. It is the same name which is given in Gn $5^{15.18.18.20}$, 1 Ch 1^{2} as **Jared**).—A Judahite, the 'father' of Gedor, 1 Ch 4^{18}.

JEREMAI (יְרֵמַי).—A Jew of the family of Hashum who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{33}).

JEREMIAH.—Seven or eight men of this name besides the prophet (see next art.) are mentioned in OT. The Heb. is always יִרְמְיָה or יִרְמְיָהוּ. **1.** A warrior of the tribe of Gad, fifth in reputation (1 Ch 12^{10}) of those who joined David in 'the hold in the wilderness' in the neighbourhood either of Adullam or of En-gedi, most probably of the latter. **2.** The tenth in reputation (1 Ch 12^{13}) of the same Gadite band. **3.** A bowman and slinger of the tribe of Benjamin (1 Ch 12^{4}), who joined David during his occupation of the frontier city of Ziklag. **4.** The head of a family in the eastern section of the tribe of Manasseh (1 Ch 5^{24}). He was probably one of the Jews carried into captivity by Tiglath-pileser, and settled by him on the Armenian frontier (1 Ch 5^{26}, 2 K 15^{29}). **5.** A Jew of Libnah, whose daughter, Hamutal or Hamital, was one of the wives of Josiah, and mother of Jehoahaz (2 K 23^{31}) and Zedekiah (2 K 24^{18}, Jer 52^{1}). In the last two passages the mother's name is given as Hamital, חמיטל; but a textual error is more probable than that Josiah married two sisters, both daughters of Jeremiah. The latter's place of residence (Jos 21^{13}, 1 Ch 6^{57}), and his relations with the king, as well as the respectful way in which he is in each instance referred to as a well-known man, make it likely that he was a priest of great influence, and possibly also one of the principal instigators or agents of Josiah in the ritual restoration of his reign. **6.** The son of Habazziniah and father of Jaazaniah, who appears to have been the head of the Rechabites (Jer 35^{3}) in the time of the prophet Jeremiah.

---

* See W. R. Smith, *RS* 395.

† Two historical parallels are quoted by the commentators: the 'Sicilian Vespers,' Mar. 31, 1282, when the French were made to betray themselves by their pronunciation of *ceci e ciceri*; and again, during the revolt against the French in Flanders, May 25, 1302, when no one was allowed to pass out of the gates who could not pronounce *scilt ende friend?*

‡ In 12^{2a} a verb must be supplied after וּבְנֵי עַמּוֹן, LXX (A) ἐταπείνουν με, *i.e.* עִנּוּנִי 'afflicted me.' In v.^{4} the sentence from כִּי אָמְרוּ 'because they said' to the end does not make sense. The words, 'because they said, Ye are fugitives of Ephraim,' must come from v.^{5}; the rest of the sentence is a gloss. The entire half-verse is om. in some MSS of LXX; in Syro-Hex. it is asterisked.

§ The closing words of 12^{7} cannot be right. LXX (A) ἐν τῇ πόλει αὐτοῦ Γαλαάδ, Vulg. *in civitate sua Galaad*. Studer conjectures בְּמִצְפֵּה גִלְעָד 11^{29}, suggested by ἐν τῇ πόλει αὐτοῦ ἐν Σεφὲ Γ, the reading of some cursive MSS; cf. Moore, *ad loc.*

7. A priest who in B.C. 536 came back to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel and Jeshua (Neh 12^{1}). His name was given to one of the twenty-two courses or 'fathers'-houses,' into which were divided the four families of priests (Ezr 2^{36-39}, Neh 7^{39-42}) that returned on that occasion. It is not possible to say with certainty to which of these families Jeremiah belonged; but if the lists are parallel, he may have been a member of that of Jedaiah, with which also the high priest Jeshua was connected. The course is mentioned again (Neh 12^{13}) in the priesthood (B.C. 499–463) of Joiakim, Jeshua's son and successor, when its head is said to have been Hananiah. **8.** A priest who in the name of his course, with other princes and representatives of the people, sealed in B.C. 444 Nehemiah's great covenant (Neh 10^{2}). He (or his course) was also appointed to join the right-hand procession at the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh 12^{34}). It is possible that in both of these cases the name is used to denote the official head of a priestly course rather than an individual in his own person. In the former, fifteen of the twenty-one names are identical with those in the lists of Neh 12^{2-7} and Neh 12^{11-20}; and hence there is ground for the assumption that the name is used in this instance as the official designation of a class. But in the latter the forms of expression are slightly in favour of the opposite conclusion, Neh 12^{35} referring specifically to the priests' sons, whilst there is an antecedent probability that the procession would consist of selected representatives only. That, moreover, the name of Jeremiah should recur in different generations of the same family, is not forbidden by known Jewish usage. In the days of Joiakim, Hananiah was the head of the course of Jeremiah (Neh 12^{12}); but Joiakim died some sixteen years before the dedication of the wall, and in the interval it is not unlikely that the headship of the course of Jeremiah had passed into the hands of a man who bore the great family name. And if this Jeremiah was a person and not a class, lapse of time is fatal to his assumed identification with the previous one (No. 7). R. W. MOSS.

JEREMIAH THE PROPHET.—

- i. The Life of the Prophet.
- ii. The Book of Jeremiah.
    - (1) Prophecies under Josiah; (2) under Jehoiakim; (3) under Zedekiah.
- iii. The Hebrew and Greek Texts.
    - (1) Relative value of the two texts. (2) Original place of chs. 46 ff.
- iv. Redaction of the Book.
- v. Literary Style.
- vi. Religious Ideas.
    - (1) Sin. (2) God. (3) The Future. (4) Jeremiah's Piety.

i. LIFE OF THE PROPHET.—Jeremiah (יִרְמְיָהוּ, shorter form יִרְמְיָה 'whom J″ casts,' *i.e.* possibly, as Ges. suggests, 'appoints' Dn 7^{9}, Ἱερεμίας, *Jeremias*) was born of a priestly family in Anathoth, now *'Anâta*, a small town, an hour or an hour and a quarter N.E. of Jerusalem (Is 10^{30}), and prophesied from the 13th year of Josiah till after the Captivity, a period of more than 40 years (B.C. 626–586). Though he had spoken as a prophet for five years when Josiah promulgated the Book of the Law and introduced his Reform, Jeremiah appears to have had no hand in these transactions; but from the death of Josiah till his own death in Egypt he was a prominent figure in all the history of that tragic period. Almost alone he had to expose the immoralities, the self-deception founded on superficial reforms, and the fanatical confidence in the protection of J″ who dwelt in His temple, by which all classes were carried away. His conviction, constantly declared, that the Lord had determined to destroy the temple and nation, exposed him to cruel insults from the temple priests (20^{2}, cf. 37^{13}); and he was on many occasions in danger of his life, from his townsmen of Anathoth (11^{21}), the priests and prophets of the temple ($26^{8.9}$), the arbitrary and vindictive king Jehoiakim ($36^{19.26}$), and the military of the day (38^{4}). The strife in which he was involved, so alien to his nature, wearied him: he longed for a lodge in the wilderness (9^{2}), mourned the perpetual conflicts in which his life was passed (15^{10}), cursed in despair the day of his birth (20^{14}), and vowed to have done with the word of the Lord, which isolated him from all that was human,—but in vain: His word was in his heart like a fire shut up in his bones, and he must declare it (20^{9}). Yet even in that degenerate day his life extorted a certain homage: the better conscience of men was on his side (26^{17-19}); the Ethiopian slave was moved with pity for his distress (38^{7}); king Zedekiah heard him gladly, and did what he could to mitigate his sufferings ($37^{20f.}\ 38^{10}$); the Chaldæans treated him with consideration ($40^{1ff.}$), and even the wretched exiles insisted on dragging him with them as a kind of fetish to Egypt ($43^{5ff.}$).

Jeremiah appears to have been called to the prophetic office young, though the word 'child' (נַעַר 1^{6}), which he employs of himself, may chiefly express his sense of insufficiency for the task set before him. There is no reason to suppose his father Hilkiah identical with the chief priest of that name who discovered the Book of the Law in the temple (2 K 22^{8}). His father may rather have been a descendant of Abiathar, whom Solomon banished to Anathoth (1 K 2^{26}); and if so, traditions of the days of David and the early monarchy, and the great part their ancestor then played, would be cherished in the family and give it a sense of dignity even in its decline, and they would be the food on which the mind of the child Jeremiah was nourished. The family owned land in Anathoth (32^{8}), and though, in later times at least, living mainly in Jerusalem, the prophet continued to frequent his native village ($11^{18ff.}$ $37^{11ff.}$, cf. 29^{27} where he is contemptuously called 'the Anathothite'). His prophetic ministry was probably begun here. As he was not consulted by Josiah and the priests regarding the newly-found Book of the Law (2 K $22^{12ff.}$), he may have been little known in the capital, unless indeed we suppose that owing to the violence of his denunciations the authorities preferred to seek the advice of some more moderate counsellors. There is no ground for supposing the dialogue 1^{4-10} coloured by the prophet's subsequent experience. No man became a prophet suddenly; the decisive event, named his 'call,' was but the climax of many prior movements of mind leading up to it. Jeremiah felt himself 'predestinated' to be a prophet ($1^{4f.}$). The idea may cover much belonging to the past, the godly house out of which he came with its traditions, many movements in his own mind little attended to at the time but remembered now, and the nation's whole history of which he was the child. It is no denial of the reality of the divine voice speaking to him when we look at the dialogue as a conflict in his own mind, in which thought was invalidated by opposite thought, and suggestion and resolution met by counter suggestion and irresolution. The conflict already reveals the duality in his consciousness characteristic of his whole life. God and man wrestle within him no less than they do in St. Paul. The impulses to stand forth as a prophet, awakened by the signs of the times, he calls God; the reluctances and all the considerations that support them are himself. And when the impulses prove the stronger, it is a victory of God and a defeat of himself—'O Lord, thou didst induce me, and I was induced; thou art stronger than I' (20^{7}).

The words, 'See, I have set thee over the nations,' indicate a change of view from that of the earlier prophets, though Jeremiah was perhaps not conscious of the change (28$^{7ff.}$). Israel is no more to be a people that dwells alone (Nu 23^{9}), the stream of its history is to flow into and colour that of the history of the nations. If prophecy now begins to concern itself with the nations, it is because J″ concerns Himself with them. The consciousness of one God has created the consciousness of one world and one mankind. Jeremiah's presentiments at this time are expressed in the two symbols 1$^{11-19}$: First, the symbol of the almond tree, meaning that J″ is 'wakeful' in regard to His word and purposes, and will speedily execute them; and second, the seething caldron with its mouth towards the south, indicating that the North is about to pour its desolating forces over the land. The substance of his prophetic speeches under Josiah is given in chs. 2–6. These chs. reflect chiefly his teaching before the Reform, but contain allusions to the people's mind later, and his judgment on it (2^{35} 3$^{4.5}$ 4$^{3f.}$). The two main thoughts running through the chs. are, first, his verdict on the people's history; it has been one long course of unfaithfulness to J″ (2^{1}–4^{4}); and, secondly, his unchangeable conviction that the issue of such a history must be the destruction of the nation (4^{5}–6^{30}). His thoughts run greatly on the same lines with those of Hosea. Israel was true to J″ in the wilderness,—and with a sorrowful reminiscence J″ recalls the time, 'I remember the kindness of thy youth, thy bridal love, how thou didst follow me in the wilderness' (2^{2}),—but apostatized and became unfaithful on entering Canaan; and this unfaithfulness has continued and become aggravated. Under the name of 'whoredom' Jeremiah includes not only the service of deities nominally different from J″, but the debased service of J″ at the high places, with images and other Canaanite usages. This judgment of Jeremiah has not only ideal or absolute truth, to the effect that the popular worship showed no consciousness of the true being of J″, it has historical truth also; for no doubt the Canaanites absorbed into Israel carried over much of their religious practice as well as their places of worship into the nation. Even the Arabs were conscious that images were a later innovation in their religion. How profound Jeremiah's conception of the true religion of J″ was, and how absolute he felt the contrast between it and the popular religion to be, appears from the figure in which he describes the one and the other: 'They have forsaken the fountain of living water, to hew out for themselves broken cisterns that can hold no water.'

The circumstances of Jeremiah's ministry at this time are not told, but some things give us a glimpse into them. The people reclaim against his judgment on their religion, saying that it is not true, and that, if there was any truth in it, the evil had been amended. That is, they claim that their service is in their intention a service of J″, 'How canst thou say, I have not gone after the baals?' (2^{23}); and that such evils as the 'high places' had been done away (2^{35} 3$^{4.5}$). Their claim that they meant to serve J″ was no doubt just; it was their conception of Him that was at fault, and the modes of giving this conception expression. But both the conception and the modes of expressing it had been inherited by them, and they were unable to see that the prophet's charges were just. As to the other point, Josiah's removal of the 'high places' must have seemed good to Jeremiah, and possibly he hoped something from the Reform at first, but even in Josiah's days he had ceased to cherish any illusions in regard to it. The worship was altered, the Being worshipped remained the same; men had changed their customs, they were unchanged in their mind. The work was superficial, a casting of seed into the old field rank with thorns; they must plough deeper—'Circumcise the foreskins of your heart' (4$^{3.4}$). Jeremiah is not mentioned in connexion with Josiah's reform, nor indeed is he once named in the Book of Kings, but some scholars interpret Jer 11$^{1-8}$ as meaning that he undertook an itinerant mission round 'the cities of Judah' to recommend acceptance of the Book of Deuteronomy. The idea is most improbable. The prophet's 'amen' (v.^{5}) expresses acquiescence in the words of J″, 'Cursed be the man that heareth not the words of this covenant,' not obedience to a command (vv.$^{2.6}$; cf. 28^{6}). Jeremiah may have sought to impress on men the general idea of Dt, that of the covenant between J″ and Israel, for this was his own idea in another form, but a formal championship of Dt would have been very unlike him. The expression 'cities of Judah and streets of Jerusalem' is not to be pressed to imply a circuit of the cities any more than of the streets. When Jeremiah spoke anywhere, he spoke in the cities of Judah and the streets of Jerusalem, for his words went out to all the land (26^{2}), just as when he spoke in Tahpanhes he addressed the dwellers in Pathros, or Upper Egypt (44^{15} etc.). The phrase 'cities of Judah and streets of Jerusalem' means the country and the capital (7^{34} 11^{13}; cf. 4^{5}). The other feeling prominent in the prophet's mind at this time is the imminent destruction of the people by a foe from the north (4^{5}–6^{30}). This 'foe' might be a creation of his moral presentiment, and assigned to the 'north' as the cloudy region of mystery where storms gather and descend upon the world of men, but such descriptions as that in 5$^{15ff.}$ seem to imply an actual people known to the time. It is usually thought that the Scythians are meant. The pathos and depth of these chs. (2–6) are not surpassed by anything in Scripture. Two things in them may be referred to—first, the prophet's profound sense of the national sin, and his presentiment of the desolations which moral evil must work in the earth. In a strange passage (4$^{23ff.}$) he fancies himself to have outlived the judgment, and to be treading on the ashes of the extinct world. He is the last man, alone amidst the silence of death: 'I beheld the earth, and, lo, it was waste and void; and the heavens, and they had no light. I beheld, and, lo, there was no man, and all the birds of the heavens were fled.' And second, his agitation at the thought of the doom hanging over his people: 'My bowels, my bowels! I am pained at my heart; my heart is disquieted in me; I cannot hold my peace, because my soul hath heard the sound of the trumpet, the alarm of war' (4$^{19ff.}$). Other passages reveal his compassion for the people, as 4^{31} 6$^{22-26}$ 10$^{19ff.}$.

Thirteen years after his reform Josiah ventured to oppose Necho the king of Egypt, and fell at Megiddo. His servants carried his body in a chariot to Jerusalem, where he was buried, and the people of the land raised his son Jehoahaz to the throne. The prince, induced or compelled to repair to Necho's headquarters at Riblah, was thrown into fetters, and after a reign of three months carried to Egypt, where he died. Jeremiah makes a pathetic reference to his father Josiah and him: 'Weep ye not for the dead, neither bemoan him; but weep sore for him that goeth away: for he shall return no more, nor see his native land' (22^{10}). In another passage he contrasts Josiah with Jehoiakim (22$^{13ff.}$), but he makes no other reference to the pious king; the statement of 2 Ch 35^{25} that Jeremiah 'lamented for Josiah' seems founded on the tradition that he was the author of Lamentations. Jehoiakim, whom Necho raised to the throne, was the ideal of a bad ruler. Frivolous and superficial in regard to the highest things of life, despotic in temper, and brutal in the measures he used to rid himself of those who crossed his humours (Jer 26^{20-24}), he became the detestation of all serious-minded men. Jeremiah probably reflects the common sentiment regarding him when he says, 'They shall not lament him, saying, Ah my brother! Ah lord! or, Ah his glory! He shall be buried with the burial of an ass, dragged and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem' ($22^{18.19}$). It was easy to be a prophet under Josiah, but in Jehoiakim Manasseh had come to life again. The early years of this reign were the period of the prophet's conflicts. The conflict was twofold: external persecution, from the priests and prophets because of his threats against the temple, for to blaspheme the temple was to blaspheme Him that dwelt therein, and was worthy of death (chs. 7. 26); from his townsmen of Anathoth ($11^{18ff.}$); from the people (18^{18}); and from Pashhur the overseer of the temple, who struck Jeremiah and put him in the stocks (ch. 20). But these external trials reflected themselves in a tumult of contending emotions in his own breast, forming one of the strangest episodes in religious history (11^{1}–12^{6} 14–20).

Meanwhile the hand of 'God who hideth himself' was operating in the north in unexpected events, which seemed again to bring the prophet's early anticipations near. These anticipations indeed seemed to have failed. The wind from the desert which was to wither up the land, whose hot breath he had already felt upon his face (4^{11}), appeared to have been arrested. The storm-cloud of Scythian invasion, like other storms, followed the line of the sea, leaving Jerusalem unscathed, and was dissipated on the borders of Egypt. But in 607 Nineveh fell, and Babylon became heir of all the countries washed by the Mediterranean, the realm which had just been added by Necho to his dominions. A conflict between the rivals could not long be deferred. In 605–4 the two armies met near Carchemish, where Nebuchadnezzar inflicted a decisive defeat on Necho, and Judah exchanged the yoke of Egypt for that of Babylon. Carchemish was an epoch in Jeremiah's life. It was his justification in the eyes of others, for his foe from the north was seen to be no spectre; perhaps it made him feel more deeply himself than ever he had felt before how truly his prophetic presentiments were of God. God had set His seal on his past, and it was this reinvigorated assurance that his prophecies were the word of God that made him commit them to writing and lay them before the people, as is told in ch. 36. Carchemish was to Jeremiah what the appeal of Ahaz to Tiglath-pileser was to Isaiah: like a flash of lightning in the darkness, it lighted up to him the whole line of God's purposes on to the end. He foresaw his past anticipations passing into history. The conviction seized his mind that it was the will of J″ that all nations should serve the king of Babylon; to refuse his yoke, whether for Israel or another people, was to resist the decree of God. But the strangest and most unaccountable of all his presentiments or certainties was his reading beforehand the line of God's government of the world for two generations (ch. 25).

Jehoiakim observed his oath of allegiance to Nebuchadnezzar for three years, when he refused his yearly tribute, an act equivalent to a declaration of independence. By and by the Babylonian armies were put in motion, but, by the time they sat before Jerusalem, Jehoiakim had been removed by death, and his successor Jehoiachin, after a reign of 100 days, was compelled to surrender. He was carried to Babylon, where he lay in prison seven and thirty years, till he was released by the son of Nebuchadnezzar (2 K $25^{27ff.}$) His fate awoke the liveliest sorrow in his people's minds (Jer 28^{4}), and the prophet had to crush their hopes of his return in the most peremptory manner ($22^{24ff.}$ 13^{18}). Zedekiah, who succeeded him on the throne, was a prince of good intentions, but weak and irresolute. He frequently consulted Jeremiah, and would have listened to his counsels had not terror of the stronger wills around him deterred him. With the first captivity under Jehoiachin and the accession of Zedekiah the period of Jeremiah's conflicts was over. God had conquered him, and he acquiesced in His will. He no more intercedes for the people, but bends his whole energies to induce them to yield to the decree of God, and subject themselves to the king of Babylon. This was his attitude both before the siege (chs. 27–29) and during it (21^{1-10} 37. 38). This attitude exposed him to many hardships—he was arrested, beaten, and flung into a dungeon and left to die; but the hardships no more, as in the days of Jehoiakim, reflect themselves in a conflict in his own heart. Like one whose vital energies have exhausted themselves in a struggle with sickness, he lies in quietness, calmly awaiting the end. He awaits it with the more composure that he sees beyond the end (chs. 30–33). After a siege of a year and a half the city fell, and the Chaldæans appointed Gedaliah as their viceroy over the people whom they left in the land. Jeremiah had been found in the city and doomed along with the rest of the inhabitants to deportation, and in company of a band of exiles had been carried north to Ramah. The part he had played in the siege, however, became known to the Chaldæans, and orders came from the highest quarters to show him consideration, and allow him his choice to go to Babylon or remain at home. He chose to remain in the land, and repaired to Gedaliah at Mizpah. When, after a rule of no more than two months, the governor was assassinated, the men of war, with Johanan, son of Kareah, at their head, resolved to flee to Egypt to escape the dreaded vengeance of the Chaldæans. Jeremiah earnestly sought to dissuade them from their purpose, but in vain, and he and Baruch were carried down with them. It was the last and the bitterest cup he had to drink. Failure was written over his life. He had preached repentance to his people, and they would not repent. He counselled submission to Babylon, and they refused to submit. He besought them to abide in the land, and become the seed of a new nation serving the Lord, and they answered by dragging him with them to Egypt. Over the people and their history, and over his hopes, the inscription might be read, '*A full end.*' Nothing is known of the manner of his death, though a tradition says that he died at the hands of his own people.

Like many of the world's greatest children, Jeremiah was little esteemed in his life, but when dead his spirit breathed out upon men, and they felt its beauty and greatness. The oppressed people saw for ages in his sufferings a type of itself, and drew from his constancy courage to endure and be true. Imagery from the scenes of his life and echoes of his words fill many of the psalms, the authors of which were like him in his sorrows, and strove to be like him in his faith. From being of no account as a prophet he came to be considered the greatest of them all, and was spoken of as 'the prophet' (cf. Mt 16^{14}, Jn 1^{21} 6^{14} 7^{40}); and it was told of him how in after-days he appeared in visions to those contending for the faith like an angel from heaven strengthening them (2 Mac $15^{13ff.}$).

ii. The Book of Jeremiah.—In ch. 36 it is stated that in the 4th year of Jehoiakim (605–4), no doubt after the battle of Carchemish in which Egypt was defeated by Nebuchadnezzar, Jeremiah was commanded to write all the words which J" had spoken to him against Israel and Judah and all the nations from the 13th year of Josiah till that time. He dictated his prophecies to Baruch, who read the roll next year in the temple in the hearing of the people assembled from all parts of the country at a fast. This roll was brought to Jehoiakim, who cut it in pieces and threw it into the grate. Jeremiah dictated the contents of the roll anew to Baruch, and added many like words (or, 'as many words more'). The added words might consist in some measure of new oracles, but in the main would be a fuller recapitulation of former prophecies. Now (1) it is natural to suppose that this second roll forms the earlier part of our present book, though how far into the book it extends is difficult to say. It was, however, only one of the elements out of which the present book was compiled, and it is not certain how far the compiler or redactor of the book maintained the original order of the roll. Some passages may have been transferred in order to unite them with later passages of a similar nature, *e.g.* $22^{10-12.\ 13ff.}$ with $22^{24ff.}$. Some parts of ch. 25 certainly belonged to the first roll ($25^{9.\ 10}$ with 36^{29}) and also to the second; the passage, however, was removed from its original place (possibly to form an introduction to a series of prophecies against the nations), and is now redactional and greatly glossed. (2) Baruch's statement, that he wrote from the prophet's mouth, need not absolutely exclude the use of some written notes by Jeremiah, though the command to 'write' his prophecies seems to imply that nothing had hitherto been published. Being dictated mainly from memory, prophecies extending over three and twenty years cannot have been reproduced exactly as they were spoken. It was the purpose of the prophet to preserve and lay before the people a compend of his ideas and teaching, his judgment upon the past history of the people and on their present condition, and his convictions regarding the inevitable issues in the future, without much regard to the circumstances in which the ideas had been originally expressed. Hence these early chapters are fragmentary and without connexion; passages in the same chapter may belong to different situations. The headings and dates are editorial, or at least secondary, and were not contained in Baruch's roll. This is evident from the indefiniteness of some of them, *e.g.* 3^{6} 'in the days of Josiah,' and from the similarity of those in the earlier to those in the later part of the book (cf. the identical forms, 7^{1} 34^{1} 35^{1} 40^{1} 44^{1} and 14^{1} with 46^{1} 47^{1} 49^{34}). Being dictated more than 20 years after they were spoken, the earliest passages may to some extent be coloured by later reflection. On the other hand, as it was the prophet's purpose to give a compend of the principles of his teaching, the fact that some sententious passages stand isolated, *e.g.* $9^{23.\ 24}$ $16^{19ff.}$ $17^{5ff.}$ $17^{12ff.}$, is no evidence that they are not original. (3) The parts of the book belonging to a date subsequent to the 5th year of Jehoiakim are very confused, and the order in which they stand is in many cases inexplicable. There are passages, *e.g.* chs. 24. 27, which seem to come from the prophet's own hand, but most of his sayings after this time are enclosed in historical settings. These historical elements are not from the prophet's own hand, though from whose hand they come is uncertain. Naturally, there is no absolute guarantee that the prophet's words enclosed in the historical frames are exact reproductions of the language used by him. Of course Jeremiah may have preserved jottings, or some contemporary, such as Baruch, may have done so, and these may have been at the compiler's disposal; or, in some cases the prophet's words may already have been set in the historical frame when they came into the compiler's hand; and in other instances, as it was obviously his intention to give as complete a biography of Jeremiah as possible, he may have relied on those who were contemporaries of the prophet and preserved in their memories both the scenes and the words spoken by him. There would be a number of such persons alive in the second half of the exile. At all events the histories are well informed and trustworthy, though some obscurities may suggest that they were not written till some time after the events which they describe (26^{8} with 26^{16}), and that they are not all from the same hand ($39^{14ff.}$ with $40^{1ff.}$). In some cases where the narrative begins by speaking of 'Jeremiah the prophet,' and then introduces him speaking directly, there may be room for supposing that the narrator dramatizes the information at his command. The passage 42^{7-22}, both on account of its rather debased style and its other peculiarities, is probably a free construction from the hand of the historian; and in some other passages the accumulation of phrases characteristic of the prophet is in excess of what would be natural from himself, and suggests the work of a compiler very familiar with his peculiarities. Though it is impossible to say when or by whom the histories were composed, or do more than hazard very precarious conjectures in explanation of the place occupied by some of them in the book (*e.g.* 26. 36. 35), it is generally clear to what situations in the prophet's life they refer and what oracles they illustrate, and thus when they are disposed in their proper places the book may be read with a certain consecutiveness.

1. *The reign of Josiah.*—To Josiah's reign belong chs. 1–6, mainly to the time before his Reform. The date 1^{2} belongs to ch. 1; 1^{3} is a later insertion, meant probably to apply to the whole book (2 K 25^{8}). Chs. 2–6 are a compend of many oracles, but may be considered as two discourses, 2^{1}–4^{4} and 4^{5}–6^{30}, the first giving the prophet's verdict on the people's history from the beginning, and the second announcing the inevitable issue of such a history. $3^{6ff.}$, where Judah is contrasted with Israel, is rightly assigned to the reign of Josiah, for the idea that such a contrast could be of the date of chs. 30. 31 (Ew., Kuen.) is altogether improbable. 3^{14-18} appear to be later than 3^{6-13}; certainly vv.$^{17.\ 18}$ are so, for v.^{18} implies the exile of Judah. But the reference to Zion while Judah was still there (v.^{14}) is unnatural, and mention of the 'ark' when Israel is spoken to is without meaning, and suggests that ark and temple were no more. The question whether $3^{19ff.}$ be the secution of 3^{1-5} or of 3^{6-13} is difficult. Formally, either connexion is suitable. 3^{1-5} seems the continuation of ch. 2 and refers to 'Israel' as a whole, though Judah may be alluded to in v.$^{4f.}$; but Judah does not seem spoken of under the name 'Israel,' except when the general idea of the whole family is in the prophet's mind. If $3^{19ff.}$ follow 3^{1-5}, the passage continues as in ch. 2 to refer to the whole family of Israel. Some things are in favour of this, *e.g.* the gracious design of God, v.^{19}, most naturally refers to the whole family; the designation 'the lovely land' more probably describes Canaan as a whole than either half of it; and $4^{1.\ 2}$, if original, recall the promises made to Israel in its unity. On the other hand, 'children of Israel' (v.^{21}) rather suggests Israel of the north, and $4^{3.\ 4}$, which have no connexion with $4^{5ff.}$, might be the natural conclusion to 3^{1-5}. At all events $3^{19ff.}$ are not spoken of Judah alone, but refer either to Israel as a whole or to Israel of the north, continuing 3^{6-13}. The words 'her sister,' vv.$^{7.\ 8.\ 10}$, are wanting in LXX, cf. Ezk 23^{11}. 17^{19-27} on the Sabbath, which might be after the Reform, are usually considered a later insertion.

2. *The reign of Jehoiakim.*—(1.) In ch. 7 Jeremiah threatens the temple with the fate of Shiloh. The historical commentary ch. 26, itself of later date, refers the discourse to the beginning of Jehoiakim's reign. Indeed it might naturally be placed immediately after the death of Josiah. The people's trust in the temple, which occasioned Jeremiah's threat, implies a feeling of danger, but the danger was over when Jehoiakim was raised by Necho to the throne. Neither is there any allusion to the king in ch. 26, it is the priests who arraign Jeremiah. The story of Uriah ($26^{20ff.}$) is an addition to illustrate the danger of Jeremiah; the incident itself may have been later, though early in the reign of Jehoiakim, for only when Egypt and Israel were friendly would extradition of the prophet have been granted. (2.) The brief oracle on Jehoahaz (Shallum) and Josiah, 22^{10-12}, is of the same period. (3.) 7^{29}–8^{3} is an oracle against Tophet. Ch. 19 probably supplies the historical situation. The incidents, though before the 4th year of Jehoiakim, are later than 7^{1-28}. (4.) Chs. 7–10 as a whole (apart from 10^{1-16}) appear to belong to the same period, though there is much that is obscure in them.

The presentiment of a foe from the north (8^{16} 10^{17-22}), the vision of an invasion and siege ($8^{14\text{ff.}}$), the agitation of the prophet at the prospect of the approaching calamity ($8^{18\text{ff.}}$), and his call to the mourning women to prepare a lamentation ($9^{17\text{ff.}}$), are strange in the early years of Jehoiakim, and recall the situation in chs. 5. 6. Hence some scholars have assigned chs. 7–10 to Josiah's reign; but parts, *e.g.* $7^{1\text{ff.}}$, are certainly later. The whole at any rate appears earlier than the 4th year of Jehoiakim, for after this Jeremiah always names 'the king of Babylon.' (5.) 11^{1}–12^{6} also appear to be of this period. 11^{1-8} are very obscure. Vv.$^{9-17}$, charging Judah with 'conspiracy,' that is, defection from the Covenant, belong to the time of Jehoiakim, and the commands in vv.$^{6-8}$ are referred by Giesebrecht to the same period, though they have usually been thought to refer to Dt and Josiah's Reform. The plot of the people of Anathoth against Jeremiah's life (11^{18}–12^{6}) would hardly be occasioned by his action in connexion with Josiah's Reform, but be owing to his charge of 'conspiracy' at a later time. His complaints 12^{1-8} also suggest this period of his history. (6.) Chs. 18–20. Ch. 18 appears now connected with the historical passage 19^{1}–20^{8}. Ch. 18 teaches that God's dealing with men is moral, that He treats them as their moral conduct permits Him to do; it is only a secondary inference from this that prophecy is conditional, threats and promises being alike revocable according to men's actions. If ch. 19 gave the situation of 7^{29}–8^{3}, ch. 18 might belong to about the same time. On account of the speech in Tophet, repeated in the temple ($19^{14\text{ff.}}$), Pashhur put Jeremiah for a night in the stocks. If Jeremiah's inability to go to the temple (36^{5}) were due to Pashhur's action, the incidents and oracles 18^{1}–20^{18} would belong to the eve of the 4th year of Jehoiakim, though the narrative was not written till later. In $20^{4\text{ff.}}$, however, Pashhur is threatened with deportation to Babylon, and it would be necessary to assume (Kuen.) that the later narrator had reported Jeremiah's words somewhat generally. (7.) There is little in chs. 14–15, referring to a drought, or in 16^{1}–17^{18} to suggest a date, whether before or after the 4th year of Jehoiakim. Such passages as 15^{10} might suggest that the prophet was free to go about among the people, before he had to go into hiding for fear of arrest (36^{26}), and $16^{1\text{ff.}}$ might seem to reflect an early rather than a late date in his life. The idea that 17^{11} refers to Jehoiakim, and 17^{5-10} to his premeditated revolt (Kuen.), seems far-fetched. (15^{11-14} appear to refer to the people, and are misplaced; $16^{14.15}$ though in LXX is an obvious insertion). (8.) According to ch. 36, Baruch wrote a second roll in the 5th year of Jehoiakim containing additions. This roll would thus include chs. 1–6, 7–10 (except 10^{1-16}), 11^{1}–12^{8}, probably 14–15, 16^{1}–17^{18} ($22^{10\text{ff.}}$? $22^{13\text{ff.}}$?), the genuine portions of 25, and probably 45, the short promise to Baruch. Whether 18 and $20^{7\text{ff.}}$ also stood in the roll may be uncertain, as the passages are now enclosed in a historical setting of a later date. (9.) To a later time in the reign of Jehoiakim belong 12^{7-17}, which appear to reflect the situation after his revolt (2 K $24^{1\text{ff.}}$). Ch. 35 also narrates an incident in connexion with the Rechabites probably of the same time. (10.) Ch. 13, describing a symbolical action with Jeremiah's girdle, is usually assigned to the short reign of Jehoiachin, on account of the allusion to him and his mother in v.$^{18\text{f.}}$. There is nothing in the other parts of the chapter to suggest this situation; but if *Perath* (v.^{4}) be the Euphrates, the date would in any case be later than the 4th year of Jehoiakim and Carchemish.

3. *Reign of Zedekiah* (597–586).—(1.) To the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah belongs ch. 24, the vision of the two baskets of figs, the good representing the exiles of 597, the bad the people left at home. (2.) Chs. 21–23 contain a collection of fragments belonging to very different dates on the leading classes in Judah, the kings 21^{11}–23^{8}, and the prophets 23^{9-40}. Whether some of these fragments stood in the original roll may be uncertain; the present collection cannot have been made before the time of Zedekiah ($22^{24\text{ff.}}$), probably not before the Exile ($23^{3\text{ff.}}$). (3.) To the 4th year of Zedekiah (28^{1}) belong chs. 27–29 (27^{1} is a mistaken gloss, wanting in LXX), containing the prophet's opposition to the projected confederacy against Babylon (27), his conflict with Hananiah over the duration of the Exile (28), and his letter to the exiles (29). These three chapters have certain peculiarities in common: (1) The LXX text is shorter, particularly in 27; (2) certain differences of spelling appear, *e.g. Yirmeyah* for *Yirmeyahu*, and so in similar names, and Nebuchad*n*ezzar (for -*r*ezzar). The peculiarities (2) are lost in Gr.; in LXX the name Nebuch. occurs only once (27^{6}). In explanation of these peculiarities it has been suggested that chs. 27–29 may have circulated separately and been glossed; but as LXX shows that the glosses were introduced after the redaction of the book, it must also be supposed that at a late date the genuine text was collated with one of these glossed rolls of 27–29, and supplemented from it,—an intricate hypothesis. The rest of the book (except 46–51) belongs to the time of the siege and later. (4.) 21^{1-10} the prophet's reply to the message of Zedekiah at the beginning of the siege. The passage has been united to $21^{11\text{ff.}}$, the common subject being the kings of Judah. (5.) Ch. 37, containing Jeremiah's reply to another message from Zedekiah, is later, belonging to the time when the siege was raised by the appearance of the Egyptians. Ch. 34, relating to the manumission of bondservants and their reduction to slavery again, is of the same date. When the siege was raised Jeremiah attempted to go to Anathoth, but was arrested and flung into a dungeon ($37^{15\text{ff.}}$). Zedekiah released him, and placed him in the court of the guard, where he remained till the city fell (38^{28}). In this place it appears he could speak to the people ($38^{1\text{ff.}}$), and persons from the outside had access to him (ch. 32). On account of his disheartening speeches to the people and soldiery, the officers had him let down into a cistern, from which he was liberated by Ebed-melech (ch. 38), who receives the promise $39^{15\text{ff.}}$. To the time after his rescue by Ebed-melech belongs his interview with Zedekiah $38^{14\text{ff.}}$*; but whether the incident of the purchase of the field at Anathoth (ch. 32) took place before or after his rescue is uncertain. To the time of his detention in the court of the guard belongs ch. 33, somewhat later than 32 ('the second time' 33^{1}), and probably chs. 30. 31, referring to the Restoration of Judah and Israel. 33^{14-26} are not yet in LXX, and undoubtedly the chapters are otherwise greatly glossed, though much in ch. 31 is original. Possibly the chs. 30–33 formed a separate collection (30^{2}), and the subject was one that invited expansion. Usually Jeremiah employs the terms 'Israel,' 'Ephraim' (twice *house of Jacob* 2^{4} 5^{20}); it is only in these chapters that the simple name 'Jacob' occurs ($30^{7.10.18}$ $31^{7.11}$ 33^{26}), for 10^{16} (51^{19}) is not original, and 10^{25} is doubtful. The phrase 'my servant Jacob' $30^{10.11}$ (=$46^{27.28}$) and much else reflects the language and ideas of Is 40 ff. (6.) $38^{28\text{b}}$ (RV) $39^{3.14}$–44 narrate the events subsequent to the fall of the city, and the history of Jeremiah in Egypt ($39^{1.2}$ seem out of place, and vv.$^{4-13}$ are wanting in LXX).

(7.) Chs. 46–51, prophecies against the nations. There are three questions connected with these prophecies: (1) their genuineness in whole (Driver, and in the main Kuen.), or in part (Gies., Corn.), or not at all (Stade, Wellh., Smend, Schwally); (2) the time in the prophet's life to which they belong if genuine or partially so; and (3) their original position in the book. (1) Chs. 50. 51 (apart from $51^{59\text{ff.}}$) are almost universally recognized to be of a later date than Jeremiah, and by another writer. With regard to 46–49 it may be urged in favour of their genuineness, in whole or in part, (*a*) that Jeremiah was conscious of being a prophet to the nations ($1^{5.10}$ $18^{9\text{ff.}}$ $27^{2\text{ff.}}$); and (*b*) that he is commanded to write his prophecies 'against all the nations' (36^{2}). It is doubtful, however, if such language as 36^{2} implies the existence of prophecies formally devoted to particular nations: it might be satisfied by such passages as 1–6 $9^{24\text{f.}}$ 12^{14-17}, and particularly by $25^{9\text{ff.}}$, and the enumeration (so far as original) of nations in 25^{15-26}. Jeremiah's own statement regarding former prophets, that they prophesied against many countries and against great kingdoms (28^{8}), forbids us to press the words of 36^{2}. If a genuine nucleus existed in 46–49 this would explain the later amplification, and how though amplified the prophecies continued to be ascribed to Jeremiah. On the other hand, the figure of giving the nations to drink of the fury of J″, and the enumeration of peoples in $25^{15\text{ff.}}$, might have suggested to some writer or writers the composition of the prophecies to give body to the idea of Jeremiah (cf. the relation of $51^{59\text{ff.}}$ to chs. 50. 51). Such lengthy oracles against peoples which, with the exception of Egypt, had no significance to Jeremiah or to the time, are little probable from him. Ch. 46^{1-12} is later than Carchemish, but such an exercise on a past event is scarcely to be expected from Jeremiah. 46^{13-28} might be a prophecy by Jeremiah in Egypt, though, of course, also it might be an expansion by another writer of some of his incidental threats against that country ($43^{10\text{ff.}}$); v.$^{26\text{b}}$ reminds of Ezk, and vv.$^{27.28}$ are a repetition of $30^{10.11}$. It is wholly improbable that Jeremiah should have excerpted Is 15. 16, as has been done in the prophecy on Moab (48^{29-38}), and equally incredible that he should have copied Obadiah, or, as the case may be, a prophecy which is the basis of Obadiah, as has been done in the prophecy on Edom ($49^{7\text{ff.}}$). If Is 15. 16 were brought down in their present form to the post-exilic time (Duhm), the problem in regard to them would perhaps be the same as that in regard to Obadiah; but such a date has not been established. And it may be said in general that the current impression that Jeremiah is accustomed to cite or use his predecessors has little evidence in its favour. A nucleus of genuine elements in 46–49 is probably the most that can be assumed; whether the expansions be due to one hand or several may be difficult to say. Some peculiarities are common to the chs., *e.g.* הִפְנָה intrans. or with obj. unexpressed, $46^{5.21}$ (parallel to נוּס), 47^{3}, 48^{39} (obj. expressed), 49^{24} (parallel to נוּס), cf. 49^{8}, but see particularly Nah 2^{9}; the phrase חֶרֶב הַיּוֹנָה 46^{18} 50^{16}, cf. 25^{38} (so read). The purpose of the words, 'Here endeth the judgment of Moab' 48^{47} is obscure, cf. 51^{84} (both passages are wanting in LXX). It is curious that all the promises to the nations of restitution (46^{26} 48^{47} $49^{6.39}$) are wanting in LXX. (2) The date of the foreign prophecies, if genuine, would be after Carchemish; whether any parts of them stood in Baruch's roll cannot be ascertained. The prophecy on Elam is assigned to the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah (49^{34}). (3) On the original place of chs. 46–49 in the book see next section (iii.). (8.) Finally, ch. 52 is a historical extract, identical with 2 K 24^{18}–25^{30}, with the omission of 2 K 25^{22-26}. Ch. 52^{28-30} are not yet in LXX.†

iii. **Hebrew and Greek Texts.**—The differences between the Heb. and Gr. texts are greater in the Book of Jer than they are in any other book, even Job. (1) The Gr. text is much shorter than the Heb.—according to the calculation of

---

* Unless the reference to the 'house of Jonathan' (38^{26}) might imply that the interview took place after his first deliverance from the dungeon (37^{18-21}).

† On chs. 50. 51 cf. Budde, *Jahrb. f. deutsche Theol.* 1878; Driver, *LOT*^{6} p. 266 ff.; Kuen., *Onderzoek*^{2}, § 57; Gies., *Handkom.* 246 ff.; Nägelsbach, *Der Proph. Jer. u. Babylon*, 1850. On chs. 25. 46–49, Schwally, *ZAW*, 1888; Smend, *Religionsges.* p. 238 ff.; Bleeker, *Jeremiah's Profetieen tegen de Volkeren.*, Groningen, 1894.

Graf by about 2700 words, or one-eighth of the book. (2) In Heb. the prophecies against the nations stand at the end of the book (chs. 46–51), in the Gr. they are inserted between 25^{13} and 25^{15} (v.^{14} being wanting), and they are given in a different order from the Hebrew. Much in (1) was due to the Heb. MS on which the translator worked, which differed materially from our present Massoretic text. The difference (2) must be spoken of with less certainty: the place given to the prophecies against the nations may have been suggested by the translator's interpretation of 25^{13}, and the order in which they stand may reflect something of the political situation of the time. But (3) a multitude of differences have arisen through the defective work of the translator himself, who was anything but equal to his task. The differences between the two texts were formerly explained by the hypothesis of two recensions—a shorter one, probably from the hand of Jeremiah himself, which circulated in Egypt; and a longer one, the work of Baruch or others, which became the basis of the MT. But the general identity of the two texts, and the fact that some of the latest elements of the book are found in LXX, show that such a hypothesis is both unnecessary and false. Both texts reflect the same archetype; but this archetype underwent a gradual process of expansion, and the process is reflected at an earlier stage (not necessarily an earlier date) in the MS or MSS at the basis of LXX, and at a more advanced stage in those at the basis of the MT.

(1) *Comparative value of the texts.*—In estimating the relative value of the Heb. and Gr. texts, one must compare them, *first,* in those parts of the book present in both texts; *secondly,* in regard to those parts present in Heb. but wanting in Gr.; comparison in regard to a third class of passages, those present in Gr. but wanting in Heb., though it might be interesting, is of less importance. That is, the comparative estimate must be in regard both to quality and quantity. Speaking generally, the MT is qualitatively greatly superior to the Gr.; but, on the other hand, quantitatively the Gr. is nearer the original text. This judgment is general, admitting many exceptions,—that is, cases where the quality of the Gr. text is better, and its readings more original than the Heb., *e.g.* 2^{20} 4^{28} 11^{15} 16^{7} 23^{33} 41^{9} 46^{22}, and many more; and also cases where, in regard to quantity, Heb. is to be preferred, the omissions in LXX being due to faults in the translator's MS, to his own oversight, or to his tendency to scamp and abridge. Every individual case of difference must be examined before a judgment can be pronounced. In regard to such large passages as 33^{14-26} 39^{4-13}, and even many minor ones, *e.g.* in chs. 25. 27–29, judgment will readily be given in favour of LXX, in which they are wanting; but there is a multitude of other cases in which a decision is difficult. Of the four synonyms for 'destroy' 1^{10}, LXX has only three; and again in 18^{7}, where three of the synonyms occur, LXX has only two. The exclamation, 'temple of the Lord' 7^{4}, stands in Heb. thrice, in LXX twice; so 'O earth' 22^{29}, only twice in LXX. The words 'of hosts' in the divine name are said to be wanting 56 times (2^{19} 6^{8} etc.), the parenthetical 'saith the Lord' 64 times, and in 'Jeremiah the prophet' the title *prophet* is usually absent. Now, when it is considered that LXX shows an undoubted tendency to abridgment, while the ideal of later Heb. style was fulness and roundness of phraseology, the two considerations puzzle the judgment and hold it in suspense. The title *the prophet* is probably in many cases a Heb. addition, the want of the synonym a Gr. abbreviation. It would not be just to charge the LXX translator with arbitrary omission on a large scale. There are over 30 passages which are repeated in the book (some twice), and LXX contains all the repetitions with the exception of 7, and these 7, it is safe to say, were not in the translator's MS. (For list of repeated passages see Driver, p. 276 f.; Kuen. § 58^{11}; and for those wanting in LXX, Kuen. § 58^{12}).

(2) *Original place of chs.* 46 ff.—It is quite evident that prophecies of the compass of chs. 46–49 as they now exist could not have been contained in Baruch's roll. If only a genuine nucleus of them existed they might have followed ch. 25 in its original form and position, though the amplification of them would be more intelligible if they had existed in a separate form. If the prophecies were extant in their present compass when the book was redacted, we might suppose that, according to the analogy of Is and Ezk, they would be placed in the middle of the book after ch. 25. And this would have been their natural place, following the symbol in $25^{15ff.}$ and the enumeration of nations in 25^{18-26}, the nations named being in the main those to which the prophecies refer. The supposition that this was the original place of 46–49 is at least plausible, if nothing more. When the extensive passage chs. 50. 51 was introduced into the book at a later time, chs. 46 ff. were connected with it and transferred to the end of the book. The place of chs. 46–51 in LXX between 25^{13} and 25^{15} is quite unnatural, for the chapters should certainly have followed and not preceded the enumeration of nations in 25^{15-26} to which they refer. It is probable that 46–51 occupied a place at the end of the book, as in Heb., even in the MS used by the LXX translator. Simultaneously with the reception of chs. 50. 51 or in consequence of it, various glosses were introduced, *e.g.* 25^{11b-14}, or at least v.$^{12ff.}$ (50^{1b}; cf. 51^{60b}). In 25^{13} 'even all that is written in this book, which Jeremiah prophesied against all the nations,' LXX translator took the last clause to be independent, rendering, *That which Jeremiah prophesied against the nations.* The words thus became a title, and chs. 46 ff. were transferred from their former place and made to follow it. Neither is the order of the prophecies in LXX original; the order in Heb. corresponds in the main to that of the nations enumerated in 25^{15-26}, and has all the marks of originality.

The translator from Heb. had many difficulties to contend with: the text had no vowels; the letters do not appear to have been divided (in all cases at least) into words; the vowel letters were sparsely written, and thus the plur. and sing. forms of the verb were identical; MSS were badly written, similar letters like *d* and *r* being often confused; there were contractions liable to be misunderstood; Heb. was a dead language, the living Shemitic tongue being Aramaic; and much else. The translator of Jer shows the usual faults of the Gr. version in an aggravated form. (*a*) He divides words wrongly (5^{6} 8^{18} 9^{5} 20^{9} 22^{20} 31^{8} 46^{15}). (*b*) He vocalizes wrongly ($2^{23.34}$ 31 10^{20} 31^{13}). (*c*) When letters like *d* and *r* are confused in his MS, he has not sufficient knowledge to perceive the error (2^{16} 3^{15} 15^{12} 31^{5} 49^{22}). (*d*) He renders proper names as appellatives and *vice versâ*, 8^{7} 21^{13} 31^{21} $46^{16.25}$ $49^{13.28.30}$ 51^{27} (46^{16} 50^{16} חֶרֶב הַיּוֹנָה, μάχαιρα ἑλληνική). (*e*) His knowledge of the language is very deficient: an archaic suffix puzzles him (כֻּלֹּה is read כֻּלָּה 8^{6} 15^{10} 20^{7}); much in the Heb. vocabulary is unfamiliar to him (מָגוֹר מִסָּבִיב is rendered differently each time that it occurs, and generally referred to the root *gûr*, 'to sojourn'); and in syntax he supposes an adj. may stand before its noun (22^{30} 46^{15}?). (*f*) He makes arbitrary changes in person and number to a greater extent than usual in LXX (2^{30} $3^{18.20}$ 4^{17} 6^{7} 7^{25} 8^{18} etc.). (*g*) He is loose and hasty and without a sense of responsibility, often thinking it enough to give an average or approximate rendering of the original ($7^{1ff.}$). If he has wrongly put a sense on a word which will not harmonize with the rest of the verse he modifies the other words, or, if they be wholly intractable, omits them (2^{16} $4^{11.12}$ 5^{26} 8^{18}). In 29^{25-29} the sense is entirely missed. (*h*) It is scarcely due to purpose, but rather to his easy-going style of operation, that when a passage is repeated *verbatim,* his rendering of it in the second instance differs much from that in the first. (*i*) He shares the curious fancy of LXX translators for rendering by a word similar in sound to the Heb. (9^5 תֹּךְ בְּתוֹךְ (*sic*) τόκος ἐπὶ τόκῳ, 31^{21} תמרורים τιμωρίαν (48^{31}? 51^{27}?). Whether in 46^{15} חף (נִסְחַף) was rendered Ἆπις is rather uncertain).

LITERATURE ON THE TEXT.—Spohn, *Jeremias vates e vers. Judæorum Alex. emendatus*, 1824; Kueper, *Jerem. librorum ss. interpres atque vindex*, 1837; Movers, *De utriusque recens. vatic. Jerem. indole et origine*, 1837; Wichelhaus, *De Jerem. versione Alexandrina*, 1847; Scholz, *Der Mass. Text u. die LXX Uebers. des Buches Jer.* 1875; Kühl, *Das Verhältniss der Massora zur Sept. im Jeremia*, 1882; Workman, *The Text of Jeremiah*, 1889; Streane, *The Double Text of Jeremiah*, 1896; also the *Comm.* of Graf, p. xl ff., and Giesebrecht, p. xix ff.; Kuen., *Onderz.* § 58; cf. also Cornill's critical edition of the Heb. text in Haupt's *SBOT*.

iv. REDACTION OF THE BOOK.—In the absence of all direct information, anything better than a more or less plausible hypothesis concerning the redaction of the book is not attainable. Perhaps three stages in its history can be traced. (1) The second roll of Baruch, belonging to the 5th year of Jehoiakim. There is every reason to suppose that this roll has in the main been preserved in the early part of the book. The contents of the roll were chs. 1-6. 7-10 (except 10^{1-16}), 11^1–12^6, probably 14. 15. 16^1–17^{18}, 25 in its original form, possibly 45; whether 18. $20^{7ff.}$ belonged to the roll may be uncertain; and the same must be said of $22^{10ff.}$ and of any parts of 46–49 that may be supposed genuine. The roll, however, was in some cases broken up, and some parts certainly belonging to it (ch. 25) are now found after elements of a much later date, while elements of a later date appear inserted before or among parts belonging to it ($12^{7ff.}$). The roll was only one of the elements used in the redaction of the book, and it was not regarded as inviolable. We should hardly be right if we regarded our present book as a growth, the roll being the fundamental writing to which other prophecies were added as they successively came into existence, or if we supposed a series of successive redactions (Kautzsch, *Abriss*, p. 75; cf. Driver, p. 270). The present order of the contents of the book forbids such suppositions, *e.g.* 21^{11}–23^8 as a collection is later than the fall of the city, while ch. 24 is of the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah; chs. 30–33 as a collection also belongs to the Exile, while ch. 35 is of the reign of Jehoiakim. Such a shuffling of the contents, supposing them to have had originally a historical order, is quite improbable.

(2) The second stage was the actual redaction of the book. At some time, possibly not a great many years after the prophet's death, some person or persons undertook the work of gathering together all the fragments of his oracles and furnishing as complete a biography of him as possible. The biographical interest was perhaps the predominant one. All the available materials, the original roll and other existing sources, were used, and probably the compiler himself, either from his own knowledge or by inquiry, was able also to make considerable contributions. But how much belongs to sources ready to the compiler's hand, and how much is due to himself, it is impossible to discover. As has been already said, Jeremiah may have preserved jottings of his speeches, or some contemporary such as Baruch may have done so, and these may have lain before the editor; or, in a number of cases the prophet's words may already have been set in a historical frame when they came into the compiler's hand. There appears to be something like collections in the book, *e.g.* chs. 18–20. 21–23. 27–29. 30–33, and the like, and some of these may have arisen at the hands of different persons during the Exile. There is nothing more likely than that a number of the historical passages, with the prophet's words enclosed in them, may be from the hand of Baruch, who continued with the prophet after the fall of the city and accompanied him to Egypt. But some of the narratives are probably due to other persons and some to the compiler. The various headings are from the hand of the compiler, but the inference from the identity of the heading in chs. 34. 35. 40. 44, that these historical passages are also the work of the compiler (Kuen.), is scarcely cogent, for the same heading has been given to chs. 7 ff., which the compiler certainly did not write. From the promiscuous way in which such historical narratives as chs. 26. 36. 35 have been placed in the book, it may perhaps be inferred that these passages came as distinct and complete compositions into the redactor's hand. However much in the book may be due to Baruch, everything shows that he was not the editor. The date of the redaction cannot be strictly fixed. The reverence manifested for the prophet is no criterion of date, for this reverence, beginning after his death, continued to increase. Kuenen has suggested the second half of the Exile. The passage 2 K 25^{23-26} appears to be dependent on the fuller narrative, Jer $40^{7ff.}$, and this fact would imply that the Book of Jer was in existence before the Book of Kings was closed, about the end of the Exile (on the other hand, $39^{1b.\,2.\,4-13}$ taken from 2 K 25 is a later interpolation). There is perhaps nothing in the Book of Jer which necessitates a later date, such passages as 10^{1-16} and chs. 50. 51 having been introduced into the book after its redaction. There is no doubt much in chs. 46–49 that might be of the post-exilic period. The complexion of chs. 30–33 might also imply a lower date than the Exile, but the want of 33^{14-26} in LXX shows that the amplification of these chs. went on after the book had been compiled. The redaction took place in Babylon or Palestine, not in Egypt.

(3) This Book of Jer thus edited is the archetype both of the Heb. and Greek. But this book underwent modifications, some passages being added and some amplifications of the text being introduced. This process of enlargement forms the third stage in the history of the book. (*a*) Some additions and insertions penetrated into all the MSS, *e.g.* chs. 50. 51. 52, 10^{1-16} (except vv.$^{6-8.\,10}$), $16^{14.\,15}$ 17^{19-27}, and much more. (*b*) From others the MSS at the basis of LXX remained free, *e.g.* 33^{14-26} 39^{4-13}, and much else, particularly in chs. 25. 27–29. This latter fact does not imply with certainty that all the additions in MT are later than LXX translation, because contemporary MSS may have had different histories even in the same country (treatment of MSS being so free), and particularly if circulating in different countries. The differences between the Heb. and Gr. might certainly be easier explained if we could suppose the MS or MSS on which LXX is founded carried early to Egypt. Egyptian Jews would probably occupy themselves less with the original text than those in Babylon or Palestine, and thus the MSS, even if transcribed, would more retain their primitive form. Amplifications of the text and interpolations really reflect the moods of religious life and hope, and this life was fuller in Palestine than in Egypt.

v. LITERARY STYLE.—The literary style of Jeremiah can scarcely be spoken of, because, strictly speaking, we have no literature from him. The narrative pieces in the book are not from his own hand; and even when fragments of his speeches are reported in these narratives, they have in many cases passed through the narrator's mind, and may have been somewhat modified. The presence of some or many characteristic phrases of Jeremiah in the reports is not proof of their literal fidelity. And in any case such reports are mere compends, in regard to which the question of style can hardly be raised. The only parts of the book on which a judgment in respect of style can be formed are the chapters dictated to Baruch, chs. 1–17, and any other passages which appear to come directly from Jeremiah's own hand. Even the dictated passages are mere outlines and skeletons; the prophet's object was to preserve and present to others the matter, the religious contents of his oracles,—he was little solicitous about the form. No doubt something of Jeremiah's literary manner will be reflected in these fragments, but they represent very inadequately what he was capable of as a writer. We have no literature from Jeremiah in the sense in which we have literature from Isaiah. The flowers of Jeremiah's diction and thought have reached us only after being cut and pressed; the bloom and fragrance yet remaining with them suggest faintly what they were when fresh. The monotonousness and repetition, both of ideas and language, of which writers complain, are owing in good degree to the fact that, in dictating his outline, it was the prophet's purpose to impress strongly certain great ideas, and the same ideas naturally carry with them the same language, though it will always remain a question how many of the repetitions are due to himself. The literary remains of Jeremiah differ from the writings of Isaiah in being formally less perfect: the poetical rhythm is not so regular, losing itself often in elevated prose. Yet even formally there is much true poetical parallelism, and there are many examples of the *Ḳinah* or Elegy, artistically beautiful and full of pathos, *e.g.* $9^{20.\,21}$ $13^{18f.\,20f.}$ $18^{14ff.}$ $22^{6ff.}$. The language of Jeremiah wants the condensed energy of that of the earlier prophets. He belonged to a later literary age, and the progress of language is always towards analysis, gaining in lucidity, but losing in compression. Much of the power of the earlier prophets arises from the fact that their age was a creative one, and they project their religious conceptions with an energy and completeness that can never again be imitated. Jeremiah is their heir, their principles already run in his blood, and what in them was intellectual power is transmuted in him into spiritual life. So far as style can be spoken of in Jeremiah, his style perfectly reflects all the articulations of thought and all the hues of emotion of his mind. He was a nature characterized by simplicity, reality, pathos, tenderness, and a strange piety, but subject to his emotions, which were liable to rise into passions. His mind was set on a minor key, and his temper elegiac. And to all this his language is true. Could sadness be expressed in sadder words than these, 'The harvest is past, the summer is ended, and we are not saved'? His phrases haunt the ear: 'Before your feet stumble on the dark mountains.' 'Is there no balm in Gilead?' 'A voice was heard in Ramah.' 'If thou hast run with the footmen and they have wearied thee.' 'Surely I have heard Ephraim bemoaning himself.' 'Return, ye backsliding children.' The quaint simplicity of his words to God provokes a smile: 'O Lord, wherefore are all they happy that deal very treacherously?' Usually his address is lofty and touching: 'O the hope of Israel, the saviour thereof in time of trouble, why shouldst thou be as a stranger in the land?' ($14^{8f.}$ 16^{19} $17^{12ff.}$). In sombre realism he has no match among the prophets; witness such terrible passages as $15^{1ff.}$ $4^{23ff.}$ (cf. the symbol $25^{15ff.}$, and such descriptions as $5^{15ff.}$ 9^{17-22}). He was sent to be the prophet of doom and death, and his soul revolted against the task. He gloats over life, its human activities ($32^{43ff.}$), its sounds and mirth and all its music (7^{34} 16^{9}); and he recoils from death, and shudders as he sees the shadow enter in at the windows, and feels the awful silence, when there is no sound of a mill and no shimmer of a candle. There is one peculiarity which gives a charm to his style, a certain unconscious dramatizing, when, after describing a situation, he makes those involved in it speak directly, without the word 'saying,' *e.g.* 2^{25} 3^{22} $4^{19.\,31}$ $6^{4.\,5.\,24}$ 9^{11-18} 10^{19} 11^{19} $12^{4.\,5}$ 14^{17} 15^{15} 17^{12}.

Jeremiah's language has some marks of the later style: words in *-ûth* are not infrequent, and be begins to Aramaize; cases occur of *vav cop.* with perf., and the *hê* of direction is otiose (1^{13}). Certain phrases and expressions are often repeated: *e.g.* *to break the yoke and burst the bands* (2^{20} 5^{5}); *to turn the back and not the face* (2^{27} 18^{17}); *to receive correction* (2^{30} 5^{3} 7^{28}); *to come into mind* (עלה עַל לֵב 3^{16} 7^{31} 19^{5}); *the evil of your doings* (4^{4} 21^{12} $23^{2.\,22}$); *great destruction* (שֶׁבֶר 4^{6} 6^{1} 14^{17}); the refrain, *shall I not visit for these things?* etc. ($5^{9.\,29}$ 9^{9}); *heal the hurt slightly* (6^{14} 8^{11}); the phrase, *rising up early, and sending, speaking*, etc. (הַשְׁכֵּם $7^{13.\,25}$ 26^{5} 29^{19}); *to incline the ear* ($7^{24.\,26}$ 11^{8} 17^{23}); *the voice of mirth and gladness*, etc. (7^{34} 16^{9} 25^{10}); *at the time that I visit them* (6^{15} 8^{12} 11^{23} 23^{12}); *terror round about* (6^{25} $20^{3.\,10}$); *over which my name has been called* ($7^{10.\,11.\,14.\,30}$); *the sword, the famine, and the pestilence* (with a variety of order, 14^{12} 15^{3} 21^{7}); and others. See Driver's full list, p. 275. It is doubtful if *to make a full end* (כָּלָה עשׂה) ought to be reckoned; it seems extraneous in 4^{27} $5^{10.\,18}$ ($30^{11}=46^{28}$). Neither should the contorted syntax 14^{1} 46^{1} 47^{1} 49^{34} be ascribed to Jeremiah. Peculiar are חָסִיד used of God (3^{12}); נוֹאָשׁ *hopeless*! in the mouth of the people (2^{25} 18^{12}); קְצוּצֵי פֵאָה *shorn on the temples* (9^{25} [Eng.^{26}] 25^{23}); וַיִּנְאֲמוּ נְאֻם (23^{31}); חַלְלֵי י׳ *slain of J″* (25^{33}); the hiph. of חלם *dream* (29^{8}); the phrase הִפִּיל תְּחִנָּה *present supplication* (38^{26} 42^{9}, Qal 36^{7} 37^{20} 42^{2}, cf. Dn 9^{20}).

vi. SOME RELIGIOUS IDEAS.—The Book of Jer does not so much teach religious truths as present a religious personality. Prophecy had already taught its truths, its last effort was to reveal itself in a life. But though the truths in Jeremiah are old, they all appear in him with an impress of personality which gives them novelty. He is not to be read for doctrines in their general form on God and the people, but for the *nuances* which his mind gives them. Though he might not be aware of it, we can perceive that all his thoughts are coloured by the religious relation to God of which he was himself conscious.

(1) *Sin.*—In his earliest time it is the sin of the people that occupies his mind, their unfaithfulness to J″. They followed Him in the wilderness, but on entering Canaan they went far away from Him. Every class became untrue to the idea of its relation to Him. It is this *change* that seems inexplicable to the prophet. He sets it in all possible lights: 'What evil did your fathers find in me?' (2^{5}). He contrasts the fidelity of the nations to their gods, which yet are no gods (2^{11}). At a later time he contrasts the fidelity of men even to the injunctions of their ancestor, such as the Rechabites (35^{14}). The instinct which guides the migrations of the stork is strangely unerring; the instinct of man's heart, which should direct it to God, as strangely errs (8^{7}, cf. 2^{32} $18^{13ff.}$). We understand Jeremiah's wonder at the change only when we hear him say what to his mind God is: 'They have forsaken the fountain of living water.' Isaiah crushed himself and crushed created man to the ground with his awful *Ḳadosh*; his word was true, but Jeremiah's 'the fountain of living water' seems to come nearer the fulness of truth. The words at any rate suggest the immediateness of the relation of man to God in religion. And it is this that Jeremiah insists upon, as Hosea and Isaiah had done before him. His charge is the unreality of men's religion; it is not with their real selves that they serve J″, and it is not J″ in His true being that they serve. Already in Josiah's days Jeremiah perceived how illusory his Reform was. Indeed it was doubtful if it had not made the condition of things worse. Men thought that when they worshipped at Jerusalem, and multiplied offerings there, they had done what J″ desired. It was a lie which was half a truth, and therefore the harder to fight. It is not certain that Jeremiah thought the lawbook altogether a good. People prided themselves on it, it was wisdom to have it;

they thought the possession of it put them right with God ($8^{8.\,9}$). Pharisaism and Deuteronomy came into the world the same day. The lawbook little satisfied the prophetic idealism. Jeremiah seeks to draw men's minds away from all that was external—sacrifices, temple, ark, and lawbook—to that which was inward and real. People spoke much of reform; he would have used another word: 'Break up the fallow ground, and sow not among thorns'; 'Circumcise yourselves to the Lord, and take away the foreskins of your heart' (4^{4}); 'O Jerusalem, wash thine heart from wickedness' (4^{14}). Sin is 'the stubbornness of the evil heart' (7^{24} 5^{23}). It is the heart that is good or ill. Man is the heart of man. Jeremiah probably has no general doctrine of human nature or its condition, though he perhaps expresses what is technically called *habit* when he says, 'The heart is deceitful above all things, and it is desperately sick; who can know it?' (17^{9}). If not from nature, by practice men become incapable of good: 'Can the Ethiopian change his skin? then may ye also do good that are inured to do evil' (13^{23}, cf. 7^{28} $8^{4\text{ff.}}$). Momentarily awoke by the prophet's appeals, the people become conscious of their inability, exclaiming, 'It is hopeless' (2^{25} 18^{12}). And more generally, 'It is not in man that walketh to direct his steps' (10^{23}). Sin is individually universal; a man cannot be found in the streets of Jerusalem (5^{1}, cf. $8^{6.\,10}$). No providences in God's hand can reform them; the furnace will not purify them; they have been tried, and they are found reprobate silver ($6^{27\text{ff.}}$). Only the creative hand of God can change them; He will give them another heart, and put His law in their inward parts (24^{7} $31^{31\text{ff.}}$). Though Jeremiah, like Hosea, begins by considering the people as a moral personality, and never loses hold of the idea of the nation ($31^{16.\,28.\,31\text{-}34}$), his thoughts just referred to are virtually individualism.

(2) *God.*—In his doctrine of God Jeremiah agrees with his predecessors, but with a significant *nuance* of his own. J″ is God alone, the gods of the nations are no gods (2^{11} $16^{19\text{ff.}}$), and the Gentiles shall yet confess it. J″ rules among the nations, giving them all to drink of the wine of His cup, and putting the world and all that dwell in it into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar ($25^{15\text{ff.}}$ $27^{14\text{ff.}}$). Like all later prophets, Jeremiah sees His power and Godhead manifested in nature: 'Are there any among the vanities of the heathen that can cause rain? or can the heavens give showers?' (14^{22} 5^{24}), particularly in that perpetual wonder the restraint of the raging sea (5^{22}). These are external things. It is in that which He is to His people and His servants that J″ is truly revealed, *e.g.* in His gracious designs with Israel: 'I thought how I shall put thee among the children! ye shall call me my Father' (3^{19}), and in the joy which His service brings: 'Thy words were found and I did eat them, they were the joy and rejoicing of mine heart' (15^{16}). It is in the passages where Jeremiah intercedes for himself or the people that he realizes most fully what J″ is, $14^{7\text{ff.}\,19\text{ff.}}$ $17^{12\text{ff.}}$, or when he gives a definition of what religion is: 'Let him that glorieth glory in this, that he knoweth me, that I am the Lord which exercise loving-kindness, judgment, and righteousness in the earth, for in these things I delight' (9^{24}). But the conception of God receives a new shade in Jeremiah. His definition of man as the heart of man leads to a corresponding definition of God: J″ is He who trieth the heart and the reins (11^{20} 17^{10} 20^{12}). This definition is just the reflexion of Jeremiah's own experience. He does not infer that J″ searches the heart from any general doctrine he holds of the divine omniscience; he reasons the other way: Because J″ tries the heart, He is omniscient, 'Can any hide himself in secret places that I shall not see him?' ($23^{23.\,24}$). Positively, Jeremiah expresses his idea of religion when he says, 'Blessed is the man that trusteth in the Lord, whose hope the Lord is' ($17^{5\text{ff.}}$). The principle of religion is faith.

(3) *The Future.*—Jeremiah's first and continued conviction is that the nation is doomed to destruction. There is something inexplicable to us in this certainty. It might seem mediated by his profound sense of the national sin ($4^{14.\,22\text{ff.}}$), just as he was assured that his fellow prophets were false because of their ethical shallowness, and their healing the hurt of the people slightly (23^{17} 28^{8}). But then this difference of ethical standard between him and other prophets is equally inexplicable. His judgment, both of the prophets and the people, seems the unconscious reflection of his own religious relation to God. But he does not analyze; he knows his consciousness, and it is given directly by God. In his earliest days Judah seems to him a mass of perdition; a man could not be found in the streets of Jerusalem (5^{1}); the furnace had failed to separate silver from lead—there was no silver ($6^{27\text{ff.}}$). Yet it was impossible that God should make a full end of His people (ch. 32); and his hopes seem for the time placed on Israel of the North. Backsliding Israel was justified above treacherous Judah. And in the name of J″ he proclaims to the north, 'Return, ye backsliding children, and I will heal your backslidings' ($3^{14.\,22}$); and his prophetic ear catches a voice from the bare heights, the weeping and the supplications of the children of Israel, 'Behold, we come unto thee, thou art the Lord our God' (3^{21}). With the first captivity of 597 the prophet's judgment on Judah seems softened; there was hope for the nation in the captives, and he predicts their restitution: J″ will give them an heart to know Him ($24^{6\text{ff.}}$). And, finally, during the last times of the siege, when the destruction of the nation was at hand, he embraces both Judah and Israel in his promise of restoration (chs. 30–33). All antagonisms between him and the people were now over; his human feeling had ceased to struggle against the irrevocable decree of God, and he looked forward with composure to the city's fall. His composure and certainty of the future were but the reflexion of his own experience, as in the case of all OT saints (Job $19^{25\text{ff.}}$, Ps $73^{23\text{ff.}}$). The relation to God of which he is conscious is indissoluble; it outlives all forms of national existence. Indeed, from Hosea downwards the prophets become more and more indifferent to the form of a state, their ideal is that of a community with a right mind towards God. Jeremiah does not place reliance on the purifying trials of the Exile; his hope is in the creative hand of God, who will give the people a heart to know Him (24^{7}), and write His law in their inward parts (31^{31}). The true shepherd whom He will raise up to lead them shall be called *Jehovah Ẓidḳēnu*, 'the Lord is our righteousness' ($23^{5\text{ff.}}$).

(4) *Jeremiah's Piety.*—There were pious men before Jeremiah, but the long drawn out struggle of his life revealed piety more than ever before. Very different judgments have been passed on his natural character. The lachrymose nature traditionally ascribed to him is based partly on the idea that he was the writer of the Lamentations, and partly on his own references to his tears. A different view is expressed by Darmesteter (*Les Prophètes*, 67), who says: 'During his 40 years of prophesying he preaches, he acts, he curses: he weeps little.' The contrasts revealed in his life have been epigrammatically expressed by calling him a figure 'cast in brass, dissolving in tears.' Probably his fundamental human characteristic was weakness. In those passages where he speaks of himself as a wall of brass against his opponents,

and where J″ promises him victory over them, we see not a sense of strength but a feeling of weakness. They reflect what he feels he *must* be, but is conscious he is not, what J″ *will* do for him, though it is not done. Isaiah was strong in himself; the divine strength came to him unconsciously as he threw himself into action, and was not distinguishable from his own. But Jeremiah was conscious, introspective, distinguishing between himself and God. The strength he had was from without, hence it was fluctuating and convulsive. In moments of conflict he was strong. When dragged before the princes it was given him what to speak ($26^{12ff.}$). He could run with the footmen, or even like Elijah with the chariots, and not be wearied; but when the conflict was passed and he took his life and history with him into hours of stillness and solitude, the tide of divine strength receded, and he was weakness itself.

On the one hand, he had let himself be induced to be a prophet. J″ had revealed His mind to him, His verdict on the people, and His purpose, and he had entered into His mind, and stood on His side. But this looking at people and things, as might be said, from the standpoint of J″ isolated him; he neither borrowed nor lent, married nor was a father, rejoiced with the joyful nor sorrowed with the sorrowing ($16^{1ff.}$). Besides isolating him, it brought persecution upon him. He felt the hardness of J‴'s service. Gladly would he have laid his office at His feet. He would have been thankful had he never known the truth. He cursed the day of his birth, because his fellowship with J″ isolated him from all other fellowship, and crushed down all that was human in him. For, on the other hand, he profoundly sympathized with the people. He was an Israelite indeed. Israel in him struggled against its doom. The dumb mind of the people found a voice in him. He interceded for it, and his intercession was just the resistance of his human heart to the idea of the nation's destruction. He palliated its offences, saying it was misled by the prophets (14^{13}). He expressed its better self in the confessions which he put into its mouth (14^{7-9} $14^{19ff.}$ $10^{23.24}$). He wept over it (9^1 13^{17} 14^{17}). He was told, it is enough! He was in the cruellest dilemma. If he pleaded for the people it was to be false to J″, to be false to his own convictions of truth, false to what he knew to be the irrevocable will of God. On the other hand, to threaten, above all to threaten with zeal for God, was treason against his own heart and against his people. Thus both God and men seemed to reject him. But his repulse by men drove him to God, and his repulse by God made him press closer to Him. And thus his life became a fellowship with God, his thoughts and feelings a dialogue between him and God.

LITERATURE.—On the life of the prophet: Valeton, *Viertal Voorlezingen*; Cheyne, *Jer., His Life and Times*, 1888; Marti, *Der Proph. Jer. von Anatot*, 1889; Wellhausen, *Isr. u. Jüd. Gesch.*^{2} p. 141 ff.; Smend, *Religionsgesch.* 234 ff.; Cornill, *Der Isr. Prophetismus*; Davidson, *The Exile and the Restoration.* Commentaries: Ewald, 1868; Hitzig, 1866; Graf, 1862; Nägelsbach (in Lange), 1868; Keil, 1872; Streane ('Camb. Bible'), 1881; Cheyne ('Pulpit Comm.'), 1883; Ball and Bennett ('Expositor's Bible'), 1890, 1895; Giesebrecht ('Hand-Komm.'), 1894.

A. B. DAVIDSON.

JEREMIAS (Ἰερεμίας), 1 Es 9^{34}.—One of the sons of Baani who put away his 'strange' wife. The name corresponds to Jeremai in Ezr 10^{33}, who is mentioned among the sons of Hashum; it has been inserted out of its right place in 1 Es.

JEREMIEL.—The name of the archangel who is introduced in 2 Es 4^{36} as answering the questions of the righteous dead. AV has *Uriel*, the same name as that of the angel who was sent to instruct Esdras, 2 Es 4^1 5^{20} 10^{28}.

JEREMOTH (יְרֵימוֹת, יְרֵמוֹת).—**1. 2.** Two Benjamites, 1 Ch 7^8 8^{14}. **3. 4.** Two Levites, 1 Ch 23^{23} 25^{22}, the latter called in 24^{30} **Jerimoth.** **5.** A Naphtalite, 1 Ch 27^{19}. **6. 7. 8.** Three of those who had married foreign wives, Ezr $10^{26.27.29}$. In the last instance *Ḳerê* has וְרָמוֹת 'and Ramoth' (so AV). See GENEALOGY.

JEREMY.—The form in which the name of the prophet *Jeremiah* appears in both AV and RV of 1 Es $1^{28.32.47.57}$ 2^1, 2 Es 2^{18}, as well as in AV of 2 Mac $2^{1.5.7}$, Mt 2^{17} 27^9. In the last three passages RV has *Jeremiah.* The form *Jeremy* is used also in both AV and RV in the title of the Epistle ascribed to the prophet in Bar 6^1.

JEREMY, EPISTLE OF.—A brief apocr. composition purporting to have been written by Jeremiah to the Jews who were about to be led, or had been led (so Syr. and 7 Gr. cursives), into Babylon (cf. Jer 29 [36]^3). The author forewarns them that the captivity, which is a visitation for sin, will continue for seven generations; and his serious purpose is to secure that in exile they may not be so impressed by gorgeous idolatrous ceremonial as to fall into apostasy. To effect this, he gives, in popular style, a detailed exposure of the stupidity of idolatry, which is partly an amplification of Jer 10^{1-16}, Is 44^{9-19}, but which also manifests an intimate acquaintance with many inane and vicious heathen practices.

There is a decided lack of logical sequence in the thoughts, but the vanity of idolatry is emphasized by a sort of refrain, ten times repeated at irregular intervals, and though in every case intentionally varied as to verbal expression, yet always conveying the one meaning. 'This shows that idols are not gods, therefore fear them not.' The thoughts are decidedly forceful, and will perhaps gain in cogency if we arrange them a little more logically, thus:—I. Idols need to be manufactured. They are made by a carpenter, acc. to *his* wish (^{45}) [verses from RV throughout], covered with gold and silver (^{8}), and decked with garments (^{11}). II. They are devoid of perception. They cannot speak (^{8}), see (^{19}), hear howlings of priests (^{32}), or hear prayer (^{41}). III. They have no powers of self-conservation. They cannot wipe the dust from their face (^{13}) or eyes (^{17}), or the rust from their ornaments (^{24}), nor can they feel the smoke (^{21}). They cannot eat (^{27}). They are powerless against theft from their person ($^{10.33.57}$), against war ($^{48.56}$), and fire (^{55}). They cannot rise when they have fallen, or straighten themselves when awry (^{27}). They cannot save their garments from moths (^{12}), or their wooden interior from decay (^{20}). IV. They are impotent for the discharge of their functions as gods. They bear a sceptre, but cannot rule (^{14}); a sword and axe, but cannot kill (^{15}). They cannot give wealth (^{35}), or rain (^{53}); much less can they show signs (^{67}) and restore the blind (^{37}) or the dumb (^{41}). They cannot set up one king and put down another ($^{34.53.56.66}$), or deliver from injustice and death (^{36}), or even give long life to those who made them (^{46}). V. They are indifferent to ethical qualities. They requite neither good nor evil (^{34}). They punish not the perjurer (^{35}), or even the priest who robs his god to feed his lust (^{11}). They do not redress wrong (^{54}), or show mercy to the widow and the fatherless (^{38}); nay, they sanction systematic prostitution (^{43}). VI. They are thus the least useful of all things. A cup, a door, a pillar has its use (^{59}), and so have the sun and moon (^{60}), lightning and wind (^{61}), clouds (^{62}) and fire (^{63}); 'yea, even the beasts are better than they' (^{68}). Then, with rare irony, the author compares an idol to a 'scarecrow' (^{70}); impotent to protect, but deluding the imagination; and, in conclusion, says, 'Better is the man that is just and has no idols, but (adds Syr.) waits on the Lord God,' than the most sumptuous idolater.

Authorship.—The evidence that it was *not* written by Jeremiah is threefold. (1) It was manifestly composed in Greek. There are a few Hebraisms, as, *e.g.*, the imitation of infin. absol. in *ἀφομοιωθέντες ἀφομοιωθῆτε* (v.^{4}), and the repeated use of fut. for pres. freq., but they are such as are inseparable from Hellenistic Greek. (2) The style is quite below that of a prophet of Israel. The mind of the writer is saturated with the Bk. of Jer (cf. Jer 5^{24} with v.^{6}, 10^3 with v.^{45}, 10^8 with v.^{4}, 22^{28} with v.^{17}, 48^{37} with v.^{51}), but the style is inferior. As Ewald says, 'He only succeeds in writing like a speaker who proves and exhausts his subject from every point of view; he shows not the remotest movement towards prophetic flight.' (*HI* v. 479). (3)

The statement that the captivity should continue 'seven generations,' points away from Jeremiah towards one who deplored the long exile, and wished to believe it of divine appointment.

We believe the Ep. to have been written before 2 Mac. We cannot think as do Fritzsche, Schürer, Gifford, and others, that when 2 Mac 2^2 says that 'Jeremiah charged the exiles not . . . to be led astray in their minds when they saw images of gold and silver and the adornment thereof,' there is no allusion to our Epistle. The further vagaries as to the altar and the ark (2 Mac 2^{4-6}) are not said to be 'in the *same* writing,' as AV (so Gifford), but ἐν τῇ γραφῇ, *i.e.* 'in' what the writer considered 'Scripture,' 'the records' of v.^{1}. The most probable supposition is, that the author lived in Egypt in the 1st cent. B.C., and that, deeply concerned lest his brethren should be led astray by the imposing ritual of idolatry, and feeling that additional force would be given to his warnings if he put them into the mouth of Jeremiah, he wrote his diatribe on the idolatry of Egypt as if it were intended for Babylon. He may have lived in Babylon in his youth, and there gained his acquaintance with the deification of prostitution (^{43}), to which Herodotus also testifies as occurring in the temple of Beltis (i. 199); but v.^{19} as clearly corresponds with Hdt.'s description (ii. 62) of the 'feast of lights' at Sais. The slightly inflated style of the Ep. is thoroughly Alexandrian. The fondness for assonance and for long compound words may be illustrated from περιάργυροι, περίχρυσοι, περιελοῦνται, περικείμενοι ($^{56f.}$) and ἐξαποσταλέν, ἄνωθεν, ἐξαναλῶσαι (^{66}).

Canonicity.—Our Ep. is included in the Gr. canon, and is found in all Gr. codices of OT, except the cursives 70, 96, 229. In Syr.-Hex. it follows La, and this claims to have been tr^d from Origen's *Hexapla.* Indeed, Origen (inadvertently, as we think) places it in the list of the Heb. canon (cf. Eusebius, *HE* vi. 25). The uncials A B Q exhibit the same order as Syr.-Hex., as do also all the patristic lists that refer to it (see BARUCH). In Lat., Syr., and some edd. of LXX, Ep. Jer is found as Bar 6; and this is followed in Luther's Bible and other 16th cent. edd. as well as in AV and RV. Its canonicity was not called in question in the Christian Church before Jerome, who called it ψευδεπίγραφος (*Prol. in Jer.*). Theodoret passed it by; and also Hilary, though in his *Prol. in Ps.* 15 he has enumerated it in the Canon; but Tertullian quotes, as from Jer, v.^{4}, about the carrying of gods on men's shoulders (*Scorp.* c. 8); and Cyprian (*On the Lord's Prayer*, c. 5) quotes v.^{6} as the suggestion of the Holy Spirit to Jeremiah, 'In the heart, O God, ought we to worship thee.'

The Text and Versions.—The Ep. is found entire in the Gr. uncials A B Q, while Γ contains 7*b*–24*a*. The differences between these MSS are comparatively unimportant. (See Swete, *OT in Gr.* 379–384; and, for description of MSS, vii.–xi.). There are about 20 Gr. cursives, some of whose various readings are given by Ceriani. Speaking generally, these cursives divide themselves into two classes. One half are thought by Field to represent the Lucianic recension (Origen's *Hex.*, Proleg. c. ix.), the other half are often found in agreement with Q.

The Syriac is a very free rendering of Greek. An arrangement and tr. of the VSS in στίχοι, in parallel columns, discloses that in little more than one-third of the lines does Syr. accurately represent Gr., though the last 12 verses are almost a verbatim tr^n. Some of the more important variations are: 'Seventy years' (^{3}) for 'seven generations'; 'An axe *in his left*' (^{15}); 'As a man condemned by the king, so are their *arms* extended; [thus Walton, but Lag. 'courts'], 'Their heart *is foolish and erring*' (^{20}); 'ravens' for 'birds' (^{22}); 'eagerly eat' for ταριχεύουσι (^{28}); 'stones *of demons* in the mountains' (^{38}); 'before the gate,' in place of τὸν Βῆλον (^{41}); 'They are *not* like crows which fly in the air' (54). The only important omission is that of the 'door' and the 'pillar' in v.^{59}.

The Syro-Hexaplar, given in Ceriani's *Mon. Sacr. et Prof.* i. 1, is in the main a slavishly literal tr^n of the text of B, often in defiance of Syr. idiom; as in vv.$^{31.45}$. Its variations are few. We may mention, 'swallows and *other* birds' (^{22}), so ^{88}; 'weakness' for 'shame' (^{26}), so ^{88}; 'in their temples the priests *sit*' (^{31}), as if καθίζουσι, with Q and its cursives; 'nor rescue the *wronged*' (^{54}), as if ἀδικούμενον, with A and the Lucianic cursives; and 'to *devastate* the mountains' (^{63}), as if ἐξερημῶσαι, with Q and its cursives.

The Vulg. also adheres closely to Gr. text. Its chief deviations are in vv.$^{8-11.\ 20.\ 41.\ 54}$, where it despairs of Gr. and makes a sense of its own. It also reads 'exquiram' (7) for ἐκζητῶν; 'as a dead man carried to a grave' for ὡς ἐπὶ θαν. ἀπ. (^{17}): 'decerpentes' for ταριχεύουσι (^{27}), so Syr.: 'olive stones' for 'bran' (^{43}), and 'gloriabatur' for κιχρήσεται (^{59}).

LITERATURE.—Gifford in *Speaker's Apocr.* vol. ii.; Bissell in Lange's series; Zöckler, *Apokr. in Kgf. Kom.* 1891; Ewald, *Die jüngsten Propheten*, 1868; Fritzsche, *Handbuch z. d. Apokr.* 1851; Reusch, *Erklär. d. Buchs Baruch*, 1853; Reuss, *AT*, vol. vii. 1894.

J. T. MARSHALL.

JERIAH.—The chief of one of the Levitical courses, 1 Ch 23^{19} 24^{23} (both יְרִיָּהוּ) 26^{31} (יְרִיָּה, AV, RV Jerijah). See GENEALOGY.

JERIBAI (יְרִיבַי).—One of David's heroes, 1 Ch 11^{46}.

JERICHO [יְרִיחוֹ and יְרֵחוֹ, the latter uniformly (12 times) in Pent., 2 K 25^5, and in Ezr, Neh, Ch; the former elsewhere;* the form יְרִיחֹה occurs once (1 K 16^{34}). The etym. and meaning are doubtful, although Gesenius (*Thes.*) gives the latter as 'place of fragrance,' from root רוּחַ, while Sayce (*EHH* 250) makes it = 'city of the moon-god' (*yārēaḥ*). LXX Ἱεριχώ, indeclinable, both with and without fem. art.; NT Ἰερειχώ, once (Lk 19^1) with fem. art.; Vulg. *Jericho*, indecl.; Arab. *er-Rīḥa* or *Rīḥa*].—An important city in the Jordan Valley situated over against Nebo (Dt 32^{49}), and called the City of Palm Trees (Dt 34^3). It was the first city to oppose the progress of the children of Israel after they had crossed the Jordan. It had its wall (Jos 2^{15}), and its gate, which was closed at dusk (2^5). Like all the Can. cities of the time, it was ruled over by a king (2^3). The wealth of the place is inferred from the description of the spoil taken: vessels of brass and of iron are mentioned, and from the silver and gold Achan was able to sequester 200 shekels of silver and a wedge of gold of 50 shekels weight, as well as a goodly Babylonish garment (7^{21}). We find no such rich record of spoil in the accounts of the capture of the other cities in this campaign. While the children of Israel were still encamped at Shittim on the other side of Jordan, Joshua sent two spies to investigate the state of the country as far as J. ($2^{1ff.}$). Arrived at that place, they lodged at a house on the town wall, belonging to one Rahab, a prostitute. Their errand was suspected, and news was brought to the king, who sent messengers to Rahab's house to demand that she give up the spies. In the meantime she had hidden them under the stalks of flax which were laid out on the roof to dry, and when the messengers arrived she declared that the spies had left the city at dusk, and she sent the men off on a false chase as far as the fords of the Jordan. Returning to the spies on the roof, she told them of the terror Joshua's approach had inspired, and begged that, in return for her kindness to them, they would agree to save her and her family alive in the coming troubles. This they swore to do, on condition that she preserved secrecy. That her house might be recognized she tied a scarlet thread in her window, from which she let them down with a rope, advising them to hide in the mountains. There they escaped (probably hiding in the cavern-pierced cliffs of Quarantania), and remained for three days, till their pursuers had come back. Then returning to Joshua, they gave a report which greatly encouraged the leader.

After crossing the Jordan, the Isr. encamped in the 'east border of J.' at Gilgal (Jos 4^{19}), celebrating the passover in the 'plains of J.' This solemn ceremony was doubtless held in full view of the city. While near J., Joshua saw the Captain of the Lord's Host (5^{13}). From his speech before his death we gather that a preliminary skirmish preceded the siege, for he says, 'Ye came unto J., and the men of J. fought against you' (24^{11}). The siege itself was extremely strict: 'none went out and none came in' ($6^{1\text{ff.}}$). Joshua having received his commands from the Lord, delivered them to the people. They were to encompass the city once a day for six days, and on the seventh day seven times. The order of march was as follows: first came the armed men, then seven priests with trumpets of rams' horns; immediately behind the priests was borne the ark of the Covenant; and then followed the rear. The first day, having encompassed the city in silence, they returned to lodge in the camp. This was repeated for five days. On the seventh they rose very early and marched around the city seven times, but on the seventh time, when the priests blew with their trumpets, Joshua said to the people, 'Shout, for the Lord hath given you the city.' As they shouted, the wall fell down flat before them, and the people at once entered the city on every side, 'each man straight before him, and they took the city.' By special command of Joshua, Rahab and her family were saved from the general slaughter of man and beast that ensued, according to the promise she had received from the spies. Her family continued to live on in Israel, and the name Rahab occurs in the genealogy of our Lord (Mt 1^5) as the mother of Boaz. J. was burned and everything in it, except the silver and gold, and the vessels of brass and iron, which were reserved for the treasury of the Lord's house. The disobedience of Achan to the Lord's command, that the people should reserve nothing for themselves, resulted in a terrible punishment. The defeat of the Israelites at Ai was ascribed to the fact that the accursed thing was touched. By a process of elimination the crime was traced to Achan, and he and all his family were stoned with stones and burned with fire (Jos $7^{1\text{ff.}}$).

---

* See Driver, *Deut.* p. lxxxix f.

Some of the Mohammedans of the country give a distorted account of the taking of J., confusing it with another scene in Joshua's life. It is said that a great Imam tried to take the city, but so difficult was the task of demolishing the walls that the work was not completed when darkness compelled the besiegers to stop. In the morning the walls had sprung up again, and the siege had to be recommenced. This went on for several days, when finally the Imam caused the sun to stand still, and thus, the day being lengthened, the destruction of the city was completed. This may not represent an early local tradition, as the plains were covered with monasteries when the Arabs took the land, and the Mohammedans very probably confused the various Biblical accounts they heard from the monks.

Not only was J. utterly destroyed, but Joshua pronounced a solemn curse on the man who should rebuild it, prophesying misfortune to his children: 'He shall lay the foundations thereof in his first-born, and in his youngest shall he set up the gates of it' (Jos 6^{26}). In 1 K 16^{34} we are told how this curse fell upon Hiel the Bethelite, who in the days of Ahab rebuilt the city. We infer that between these two periods the site was unoccupied, but that it continued to be known by its old name is proved by the facts that in the partition of the land J. was assigned to Benjamin (Jos 18^{21}), and that David's messengers, after being maltreated by the Ammonites, were told to 'tarry in J. till your beards be grown' (2 S 10^5, 1 Ch 19^5). Notwithstanding the fulfilment of the curse, the city became again inhabited, for, on the complaint of the 'men of the city' that the water was naught and the ground barren, Elisha healed the waters by casting salt in the spring (2 K 2^{19}). There was also a settlement of the sons of the prophets at the place, who had at their command fifty strong men, whom they sent on a vain search for Elijah, when he had been carried up into heaven from the other side of Jordan (2^{16}). After this the place is mentioned several times. When Pekah, king of Israel, made his raid on the southern kingdom, taking many captives, these were released by order of the prophet Oded, and taken to J., 'the city of palm trees' (2 Ch 28^{15}). Zedekiah, fleeing from Jerus. before the forces of Nebuch., was taken in the plains of J. (2 K 25^5, Jer 39^5). In the list of returned captives (Ezr 2^{34}–Neh 7^{36}) the children of J. are put down at 345. These restored exiles evidently took up their abode on the old site, for in Neh 3^2 we read that the 'men of Jericho' had their share in rebuilding the walls of Jerus. Later on it was fortified by the Syrian general Bacchides (1 Mac 9^{50}).

In the time of our Lord, J. had become an important place, owing to the partiality shown by the Herodian family to the city. Josephus describes the place with enthusiasm (*Wars*, IV. viii. 2–3). The city lay 150 stadia from Jerus. and 60 from the Jordan. It was situated in a plain, divided in the middle by the river, and flanked on either side by high mountains, of which the western range overhung the town. Palm trees abounded in the plain, those near the Jordan being the richest. In summer the climate was so hot that no one cared to come near it, but in winter the air was so mild that the inhabitants went about with linen clothing when snow covered the rest of Judea. He speaks at length of a fountain which was situated near the old city taken by Joshua, and which was healed by Elisha. He claims unusual powers of irrigation for these waters, which had only to flow lightly over the soil to make it fruitful, and which watered a plain 70 furlongs long by 20 broad, fertilizing gardens thickly set with trees, which produced balsam and myrobalanum. The palm trees were of many kinds, one yielding an excellent honey. Such was the luxuriance and rarity of the vegetation that the author declares the place might well be pronounced divine, and challenges a comparison with any other climate in the whole earth. Strabo (xvi. 2) likens the plain surrounded by mountains to a theatre, and corroborates Josephus' account of its fertility, declaring that the revenues from the balsam (from which medicine was extracted for the head and eyes) and from other plants was great.

When Pompey visited Pal. and endeavoured to clear the land of robbers, he destroyed two of their strongholds, Threx and Taurus, which commanded the approach to J. (*ib.*). After Jerus. was taken by Pompey, Gabinius, the Rom. general, divided the country into five parts, making J. one of the seats of Assembly (Jos. *Wars*, I. viii. 5). When Herod was appointed at Rome to be king of the Jews, and before he was installed in Jerus., his allies plundered J., finding the houses full of all sorts of good things (*Wars*, I. xv. 6). Later he farmed from Cleopatra the revenues of the regions about the city, which had been granted her by Antony (*Ant.* XV. iv. 2), and fortified above the town a citadel, a building fine and strong, which he called Cypros in honour of his mother, and built a city to the north of J., which he named Phasaelis after his brother (*Wars*, I. xxi. 9). J. was important enough to have its amphitheatre, for we read that from this place Salome announced to the assembled soldiers the news of the death of Herod, which had taken place in the city, though he had given orders that he should be buried at Herodium (*Wars*, I. xxxiii. 8). After his death, his ex-slave Simon, aspiring to make himself king, burned down the royal palace (*Ant.* XVII. x. 6), but this was magnificently rebuilt by Archelaus, who also accomplished important work in irrigating the plain (*Ant.* XVII. xiii. 1). In the time of Josephus (*Wars*, III. iii. 5) Judæa was divided into eleven parts, of which Jerus. was the chief, and one of which was Jericho. When Vespasian approached J. the citizens fled to the mountains (*Wars*, IV. viii. 2). He erected a citadel in the place, and set a garrison (*ib.* IV. ix. 1). Whether Josephus refers to the destruction of J. or Gerasa in this section is not clear, but we have the statement of Jerome that, at the time when Jerusalem was taken, J. was captured and destroyed on account of the perfidy of its citizens (*Onomasticon*).

J., however, still preserved its magnificence when our Lord visited it. His baptism in the Jordan occurred not far off. The hill of Quarantania, to the immediate west of the city, is pointed out as the traditional site of the Temptation. At the end of His ministry, when He was on His way from Galilee to Jerus., He passed through J., and there healed a blind man (Mk 10[46] [name given Bartimæus], Lk 18[35]), or acc. to Mt 20[29ff.] two blind men. At this same time He visited the house of Zacchæus the publican, whose eagerness to see the Lord had led him to climb a sycomore tree, as he was short of stature. The account of his conversion is one of the most graphic in the gospel history (Lk 19[1ff.]). Travellers to-day between Jerus. and J. have to be accompanied by an escort, to prevent their 'falling among thieves,' who have infested this route both before and ever since the Good Samaritan came to the relief of the man in the parable (Lk 10[30]).

We are told by Jerome (*Onom.*) that after its destruction by the Romans, J. was rebuilt a third time, but he does not say when. That the place was inhabited in the time of Origen we infer from the fact of his discovery of some valuable biblical MSS there (Eus. *Eccl. Hist.* vi. 16). This third city existed in Jerome's day as well as the ruins of the other two. It became an Episcopal See, and its bishops begin to be mentioned in A.D. 325; the last reference is to Gregorius, who was present at the Synod of Jerus. A.D. 536. The sacred sites began to be pointed out early in the 4th cent. The Bordeaux Pilgrim (A.D. 333) was shown the sycomore tree of Zacchæus on the right of the road leading to the town from the west. A mile and a half from the town was pointed out the site of the old city taken by Joshua, close to the fountain of Elisha, immediately above which was the house of Rahab. Justinian restored a hospice in J., and a church of the Mother of God (Procopius, *de Ædif.* 5. 9). Theodosius (A.D. 530) visited the fountain of Elisha, which he places 2 miles from the town, and in this latter was shown the house of Rahab, the site evidently having been shifted since the time of the Bordeaux Pilgrim. Antoninus Martyr (A.D. 570) found the walls of the town overthrown by an earthquake. The house of Rabab was still standing, and had been converted into a hospice and oratory, probably the work of Justinian referred to above. At the time of Arculf's visit (A.D. 670) the town was in ruins; only the house of Rahab was standing, but roofless. The Venerable Bede (A.D. 720) describes a similar state of things. Hence the town was in a ruinous condition for at least a century and a half, but by the end of the 6th cent. many churches and monasteries had sprung up on the surrounding plains. Besides the church at Gilgal, Arculf speaks of one on the spot where Christ was supposed to have left His garments at the time of His baptism, and of the monastery of St. John, also near the Jordan. Establishments were dedicated to St. Panteleemon, St. Calamon, St. Chrysostom, St. Eustochium, and others. At the time of the Crusaders many of these were repaired and others constructed. Under the Arabs the town again rose to importance, as is proved by the many references of the Mohammedan geographers beginning in the 9th cent. (see *Palestine under the Moslems*, by Guy Le Strange). Ya'kubi (A.D. 874) speaks of Riha as the capital of the Ghôr, the cleft of the Lower Jordan. Mukaddasi (A.D. 985) says that this city possessed many villages in the plain, which produced much indigo, and many palm and banana trees. Edrisi (A.D. 1154) mentions Ariha, Beisan, and Amta as the finest of the cities of the valley of the Ghôr. When the Crusaders conquered the land, the plain of J. was granted to the Holy Sepulchre, but in A.D. 1111 Arnulfus, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, was blamed for assigning to his niece this district, with its annual revenues, which amounted to 5000 pieces of gold (William of Tyre, xi. 15). Later it again fell into ecclesiastical hands, as it was assigned in A.D. 1138 to a convent at Bethany (*ib.* xv. 26). But by the 13th cent. the town itself had sunk to small dimensions. The square tower which may be seen to-day near the modern village of er-Riha was found by Willebrand (A.D. 1211) in a ruinous condition. Brocardus (A.D. 1230) says that the wretched town had scarcely eight houses, and that all the monuments of the sacred places were destroyed. Ricaldus, writing about the same time, calls the place 'quasi deserta.' However, the plains were at this time richly cultivated. According to the Moslem Yakut (A.D. 1225) the finest sugar of the Ghôr was made at J.; palm trees and bananas abounded. Jaques de Vitry (cap. 53) also refers to the fields of sugar-cane. The ruins to the west of 'Ain es-Sultan, with the connecting aqueducts, appear to date from the Crusading period.

The modern er-Riha is a miserable village, containing about 300 swarthy inhabitants, possibly the descendants of the puny race called by Arculf Canaanites, who dwelt in his time on the plain. The rich patches of barley and wheat, with the gardens of the ecclesiastical establishments, give a hint of the possibilities of fertility which were so amply realized in former days. The level of the village is 900 ft. below the Mediter., and the flora and fauna of the plain differ largely from those of the rest of Pal., some species not being found nearer than the Asiatic and African tropics. A dozen isolated palms represent the splendid groves of the past. The *Zakkûm* (*Balanites Ægyptiaica*), identified by some with the *Myrobalanum* of Josephus, still abounds; also the acacia, and trees of the *Zizyphus* species, called in Arabic *Sidr* or *Dom.* A handsome Russian hospice now stands near the ruined tower mentioned by Willebrand, and there is a small Greek church. Two good hotels accommodate travellers, who may now make the journey from Jerus. by carriage-road, and continue their drive over the plain to the Jordan and the Dead Sea. J. contains only a few plots of freehold, as in recent times it has become the private property of the Sultan, together with many other parts of the Jordan Valley.

All authorities are agreed that the site of the Can. city is at Tell es-Sultan, above 'Ain es-Sultan (Elisha's fountain), one and a half miles from modern Jericho. As we have seen, Josephus places the old city near the fountain, and so does the Bordeaux Pilgrim, who gives the distance from the J. of his day as one and a half miles as above, which distance would do equally well if we identify the latter with the ruins near the pass to be mentioned later. Theodosius makes the distance 2 miles. This mound is 1200 ft. long from N. to S., and the larger part of its area is 50 ft. in height, measured above the fountain at the E., but not so high on the western side, as the original ground slopes from W. to E. Rising from the top of the mound along its edges are four superimposed mounds, the highest being some 90 ft. above the fountain. Near the base of the mound, above the spring, a hollow has been recently scooped out, revealing an ancient mud-brick wall *in situ.* The pottery found strewn over the mound belongs, as a rule, to pre-Roman times, and some pre-Israelitish ware occurs. The superimposed mounds may indicate later fortifications, but the accumulation of 50 ft. of débris below them, by analogy with the excavated mounds of Hissarlik and Tell el-Hesy (see LACHISH), probably represents the alternate growth and decay of the town for several centuries. Hence systematic excavations through the base of the mound would doubtless bring to light the remains of the pre-Israelitish city. On natural grounds, the place, with its abundant supply of water, would have been chosen by the first builders. From one and a half to two miles west of modern J., on the south bank of the Wady el-Ḳelt, near the mouth of the pass, there are abundant remains of a city. An unobservant traveller might not notice them, as the houses are ruined down to the soil, but the ground-plans remain, and often the four sides of a room are quite plain. A large pool, called *Birket Mûsa*, is in the neighbourhood. The character of the pottery with which these ruins are strewn indicates the Roman site. This identification is favoured by the probable identification of the site of *Beit Jubr*, a ruined fort on the south side of the Jerus. road, commanding the ascent from the J. plain, with the fort Cypros, which Herod built *above* J.; as well as by the fact that the aqueducts in the Wady el-Ḳelt, two of which were constructed to bring water to this site, appear to be Rom. work (*PEF Mem.* vol. iii. p. 173). Similar ruins north of ʿAin es-Sultan suggest that Roman Jericho may have been very extensive, occupying both sites, with detached villas between, as there are signs of building at many points in the intervening fields. The settlement of the Crusaders seems to have been at the modern er-Riha, about 2 miles from the pass. In the vicinity of J. the remains of five old monastic establishments may be visited. In the precipices of Ḳuruntul (Quarantania) there are hermits' caves, with chapels adorned with frescoes. The monastery of St. John, near the traditional place of baptism, built by Justinian, and rebuilt by the Crusaders, has again been restored, but traces of the old work remain. The identification of Ḳusr el-Hajlah is not sure. Tell Mogheifir probably represents the ancient St. Eustochium, mentioned by Willibald in A.D. 721 as being in the middle of the plain. At *Khurbet el-Mifjir*, north-east of ʿAin es-Sultan, are the ruins of a splendid monastic establishment. Most picturesque of all is the convent of Elijah, clinging to the crags above the Wady el-Ḳelt. This has been recently restored, but some of the old frescoes remain. Further down in the valley the cliffs immediately above the stream are pierced with hermits' caves, which can be approached only by ladders. They are still inhabited, but their nicely painted wooden doors produce an incongruous effect in the midst of the wild surroundings. F. J. BLISS.

JERIEL (יְרִיאֵל for יְרוּאֵל 'founded of El,' cf. יְרִיָּה).—A chief of Issachar, 1 Ch 7^2. See GENEALOGY.

JERIJAH, 1 Ch 26^{31}.—See JERIAH.

JERIMOTH (יְרִימוֹת).—**1. 2.** Two Benjamites, 1 Ch 7^7 12^5. **3. 4. 5.** Three Levites, 1 Ch 24^{30} (called in 25^{22} Jeremoth) 25^4, 2 Ch 31^{13}. **6.** A son of David and father of Rehoboam's wife, 2 Ch 11^{18}. See GENEALOGY.

JERIOTH (יְרִיעוֹת) occurs in a genealogy in 1 Ch 2^{18}, where the only thing that is certain is that MT is corrupt (see Kittel's note in *SBOT*). It is possible that we ought to read with Wellhausen בַּת־יְ׳ 'daughter of Jerioth' for אֶת־יְ׳. See, further, GENEALOGY, IV. 35 *a*, note.

JEROBOAM (יָרָבְעָם prob. 'may he plead the people's cause,' Ἰεροβοάμ).—**1.** 1 K 11^{26-40} 12^1–14^{20}, 2 Ch $10^{2ff.}$ 11^{14-16} 12^{15} 13, son of Nebat and Zeruah, an Ephraimite of Zeredah, first king of Israel after the disruption, reigned 22 years, B.C. 937–915. Jeroboam's career began early in Solomon's reign (cf. 1 K 11^{27} with 9^{15} 3^1); the king, recognizing the young man's abilities, appointed him commissioner for the house of Joseph. He used his position to plot against his master; and, when Solomon sought to kill him, was forced to flee to Egypt.[*] In the LXX there are two accounts of the way in which Jeroboam became king. The first agrees substantially with the Hebrew, when the contradictions of the text of 1 K 12 (cf. vv.$^{2.3}$ with ^{20}) are removed.[†] As soon as Jeroboam heard of the death of Solomon, he returned from Egypt; he did not attend the conference between Rehoboam and the people at Shechem, but he kept within reach, and came when he was sent for. The other account in LXX B is inserted at 12^{24}. It covers the same ground as the first, but with considerable additions and variations. On hearing of Solomon's death, Jeroboam returned from Egypt, where he had found a patron in Shishak and an Egyptian princess for a wife, 12^{24e},[*] mustered his tribe at Shechem, and so gave the immediate occasion for the revolt. The most important divergence, however, between the two Greek accounts is found in the prophecies which promise Jeroboam the leadership of the ten tribes. In the first we have the prophecy of Ahijah delivered to Jeroboam at Jerusalem in the time of Solomon; in the second a similar prophecy is put into the mouth of Shemaiah at Shechem in the time of Rehoboam. Both accounts are clearly translated from Heb. originals, which must have existed when the LXX translation was made. The Heb. text was not fixed, and the tradition was fluctuating; we cannot feel certain as to what was the actual course of events. With regard to Ahijah a similar uncertainty exists. The prophecy in 1 K 11^{29-39} appears to be an interpolation, for it interrupts the account of Jeroboam's rebellion, which is expected after v.^{28} and implied by v.^{40}. It could not have been Ahijah's prophecy which aroused Solomon's suspicions, for it was a private communication, addressed to Jeroboam alone, as is expressly stated; no third party was aware of it.[†] We find, then, two different traditions of Jeroboam's accession to the sovereignty; the correct history of it must remain uncertain.

The revolt which led to the division of the kingdom and the elevation of Jeroboam was a revolt against the government of Solomon and the heavy burdens which it laid upon the people. Solomon's conception of the state was in fact alien to the national feelings. The free, democratic spirit of old Israel, which could welcome a king chosen by the people, had not become reconciled to a hereditary monarchy, especially when Solomon's heir proved to be out of sympathy with the popular demand for a less despotic government. And the tribal instinct was still strong; it had not yet surrendered to the idea of a united nation. Jealousy of the new preponderance of Judah must have been felt in the powerful tribe of Ephraim; the real strength of Israel lay in the north; neither geographical nor social conditions were in favour of Jerusalem being the centre of all Israel. Hence the revolt came to a head at Shechem, and the instigator of the democratic movement was an Ephraimite who became chieftain of the ten tribes by the free choice of the people. The historian sees in this reverse for Judah a judgment on the sins of Solomon.

But Jeroboam not merely adopted the line of democratic leader appointed by popular choice, he came forward as the patron of the popular religion and the ancient sanctuaries. He quickly realized that it was necessary for his position to establish a strong counter-attraction to the new temple at Jerusalem. Accordingly he made successful efforts to revive the popularity of the venerable holy places at Bethel and Dan, and provided them with golden images of J″ in the form of a steer or bull, in addition to the altar, asherah, and sacred stone (2 K 23^{15}), which were there already. He also instituted a new priesthood and a popular festival on the model of the feasts at Jerusalem.* The popular religion saw no offence in this form of worship (cf. Ex 32$^{1-6}$); and the employment of non-Levites as priests would not have appeared so irregular then as it would have done in later times. But there can be no doubt that Jeroboam's action marked a serious retrogression when compared with the higher religious level which had been reached at Jerusalem. For the sake of political security Jeroboam deliberately sacrificed the higher religious interests of Israel; and there can be no doubt that the sacred writer, who, whatever his merits as a historian may be, possessed a keen religious insight into the events of the past, was fully justified in his unsparing verdict upon Jeroboam as the man 'who made Israel to sin' (1 K 12^{30} 13^{34}, 2 K 17$^{21f.}$).†

---

[*] The account of the rebellion, hinted at in 1 K 11^{26}, is not given as we should expect after v.^{26}. It is noticeable that while the compiler views this and other rebellions as punishments for Solomon's unfaithfulness (vv.$^{9-13}$), yet they occurred early in the reign, *i.e.* before the sins which occasioned them.

[†] 1 K 12^2 is to be placed before v.^{1}, so that 'heard of it' refers to Solomon's death, 11^{43}; a slight change in the Heb. v.^{2b} gives the sense 'and J. returned from Egypt'; omit v.^{3a} and 'Jeroboam and' in v.^{12a}. Thus the narrative is brought into agreement with v.^{20}.

[*] LXX, Swete's edition.

[†] Note also that, in the Hebrew, Ahijah of the second prophecy 14^{1-16} is clearly connected with Ahijah of the first prophecy, while the Greek introduces him as a new person. LXX B places this second prophecy in an impossible place, before the assembly at Shechem, 12^{24h-n}. See, further, W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} 117 ff.

The narrative 1 K 13$^{1-32}$, which contains a prophetic denunciation of the altar at Bethel, belongs to a much later time, when the names of 'the man of God from Judah' and of 'the old prophet' were forgotten. Some critics think that it is founded upon 2 K 23$^{15-20}$; others, that the latter passage, apparently foreign to the context where it stands, was added by the same hand which inserted the story here. The next narrative connected with Jeroboam, the second prophecy of Ahijah, delivered to the queen 14$^{1-18}$, contains old material which has been treated by the compiler in his characteristic style. The language of Ahijah is cast into much the same form as similar prophecies delivered to Israelite kings.‡

With regard to Jeroboam's external relations, the only information we have is that there was constant war between him and Rehoboam and his successor (1 K 14^{30}§ 15^{7b}, cf. 2 Ch 13). At first, no doubt, Jeroboam would have had a considerable struggle to maintain himself against his rival. But no decisive victory or success on Jeroboam's side is recorded; he seems even to have retired from Shechem to Penuel beyond the Jordan (12^{25}). When the Pharaoh Shishak made a plundering expedition into Judah he certainly did not spare the territory of his former protégé, as appears from his triumphal inscription at Karnak;‖ but we are not told that Jeroboam made any attempt at resistance. Perhaps he was more of a politician than a warrior. He had successfully managed a revolt, but he did not succeed in establishing a dynasty. If the revolt was part of the divine plan (1 K 12^{15}), Jeroboam himself proved unequal to the greatness of his opportunity; and, so far from advancing the higher interests of his people, did not rise above the popular standards, and bequeathed to posterity the reputation of an apostate and a succession of endless revolutions.

2. Jeroboam II., king of Israel for 41 years, 790–749 B.C., son of Joash, and fourth ruler of the dynasty of Jehu. Under him N. Israel reached its highest point of prosperity and splendour. For years Israel had been suffering at the hands of Syria; but the tide turned at last, and Joash recovered from Benhadad ten cities which his father had lost (2 K 13^{25}). Syria had also been greatly reduced by the campaigns of the Assyrian kings, Shalmaneser III. (782–772) and Assurdan III. (772–750); so that Jeroboam was able to recover the old limits of the Davidic kingdom 'from the entering in of Hamath unto the sea of the Arabah.' That he was able to establish his rule in the S.E. implies that he must have reduced the Moabites to submission. The meagre statement of 2 K 14^{25} is the only definite piece of information which the historical books give us. The complete picture of the times of Jeroboam must be drawn from the materials furnished by the prophecies of Amos. The nation was enjoying the fruits of Jeroboam's successes. Confident of J‴s patronage, Israel was at last free to devote itself to the ease and pleasures of a period of unwonted peace. Wealth increased, and with it went luxury and self-indulgence (Am 3^{15} 5^{11} 6$^{7.8.11}$). Religious worship was celebrated with the greatest splendour and popularity, both at the royal sanctuary of Bethel (7^{13}) and at Gilgal and Beersheba (4^{4} 5^{5} 8^{14}). But along with all this material prosperity went a deep-seated moral corruption, which it was the prophet's chief concern to denounce. Oppression of the poorer classes by the rich, justice sold and perverted, immorality openly practised, rapacity and greed of gain, were the sins which Amos marks as characteristic of the time. He foretells the impending judgment. The Assyrian was not far off; the only barrier between him and Israel, Damascus, had been removed; J″ will summon this nation to afflict Israel, and they will be carried captive beyond Damascus (6^{14} 5^{27}).

G. A. COOKE.

JEROHAM (יְרֹחָם).—1. The father of Elkanah and grandfather of Samuel, 1 S 1^{1}. While LXX A has Ἰεροάμ, B has Ἰερεμεήλ, *i.e.* Jerahmeel, and the latter may be correct (Driver, *Text of Sam.* p. 3). In the genealogy of Samuel as given by the Chronicler, while MT has uniformly יְרֹחָם, the LXX has in 1 Ch 6^{27} A Ἰεροβοάμ, B Ἰδαέρ, and in 6^{34} A Ἰερεάμ, B Ἠαάλ. 2. A Benjamite family name, 1 Ch 8^{27} 9^{8}. 3. A priestly family, 1 Ch 9^{12}, Neh 11^{12}. 4. 'Sons of Jeroham' were amongst David's heroes, 1 Ch 12^{7}. 5. A Danite chief, 1 Ch 27^{22}. 6. The father of Azariah, a captain who helped Jehoiada in his measures for the overthrow of Athaliah, 2 Ch 23^{1}.

JERUBBAAL (יְרֻבַּעַל, Ἀρβάαλ, Ἰαρβάλ, Ἰεαροβάαλ, Ἰεροβάαλ).—A name given to Gideon, Jg 6^{32} 7^{1} 8$^{29.35}$ 9$^{1.2.5.16.19.24.28.57}$. It is = 'Baal strives,' Baal being a name for J″, as in Ishbaal, Meribbaal; it cannot = 'one who strives with Baal,' as Jg 6^{32} would suggest (LXX δικαστήριον τοῦ B.). Perhaps Jerubbaal should be written Jerubaal (יְרֻבַעַל from יָרָה not רִיב) = 'Baal, *i.e.* J″, founds,' cf. Jeruel, Jeremiah: so Wellh., Budde, Moore. This name was altered to Jerubbesheth (יְרֻבֶּשֶׁת;—*besheth* = 'shame') when Baal could no longer be used of J″ without offence, 2 S 11^{21} (LXX Ἰεροβοὰμ υἱοῦ Νήρ, Luc. Ἰεροβοάλ); cf. Ishbosheth, Mephibosheth. See art. GIDEON.

G. A. COOKE.

JERUBBESHETH.—See JERUBBAAL.

JERUEL (יְרוּאֵל 'founded of El').—That part of the wilderness of Judæa facing the W. shore of the Dead Sea below En-gedi (see EN-GEDI). It was here, according to the narrative of 2 Ch 20^{16}, that in the time of Jehoshaphat there assembled a great host of the children of Moab, Ammon, and other trans-Jordanic tribes, who had swept across the plain at the S. of the Dead Sea, and were encamped at the foot of the lofty cliffs of Ziz (or Haziz). This spot was near the mouth of one of the deep ravines which descend from the tableland, along whose bed the stream, fed by perennial springs, would be available for the use of the host. The same locality was the scene of several memorable events in OT history (Gn 14^{7}, 1 S 24$^{1-4}$).

---

* 12^{31} and 13^{33b} seem to have formed one sentence, of which 12^{31} has preserved the more original end. This sentence was broken up by the insertion of 12$^{33.32a}$. Note tautology in 12$^{32.33}$; the latter verse forms an introduction to the following narrative. 13^{33} seems to have been adapted out of older materials to suit the preceding account, which it clearly implies. See Lv 23$^{33-36}$ P; and Dillmann, *Levit.*^{2} p. 583.

† The phrase is constantly repeated, 1 K 14^{16} 15$^{26.30.34}$ 16^{26} 22^{52}, 2 K 3^{3} 10$^{29.31}$ 13$^{2.6}$ 14^{24} 15$^{9.18.24.28}$ 23^{15}. The compiler, who regards past history from the point of view of Dt, looked upon Jeroboam as the founder of a schism which violated the first principle of the Dt. Code, the law of the one sanctuary.

‡ Cf. 1 K 16$^{1-4}$ 21^{20b-22} 21^{24}, 2 K 9$^{7-10}$. Note the anachronism, 14^{9} 'all that were before thee' (Jeroboam); Tirzah, v.^{17}, does not seem to have become a royal residence till later, 15^{21}.

§ This is contradicted by 12$^{21-24}$, of doubtful authority. The exaggeration of the numbers and the unhesitating submission to a prophet point to later redaction.

‖ Represented in Stade, *GVI* i. 352.

E. HULL.

JERUSALEM (usually יְרוּשָׁלַםִ, but יְרוּשָׁלַיִם in Est 2^{6}, Jer 26^{18}, 1 Ch 3^{5}, 2 Ch 25^{1} 32^{9}; LXX Ἰερουσαλήμ, which occurs also in NT side by side with Ἰεροσόλυμα).

i. The Names.
ii. Natural Site.
iii. History.
iv. Topography.
v. Antiquities.
vi. The Temple Enclosure.
vii. Modern Jerusalem.
viii. Literature.

I. NAMES.—The name Jerus. first occurs in Jos (10^{1} 15^{63}; when the inhabitants are called Jebusites, cf. Jg 19^{10}, 2 S 5^{6}). Various trs. of the name have been proposed, some depending on the later and longer form, and on its pointing as if a dual; but these discussions are superseded by the discovery of letters from an early ruler of Jerus. (Tel el-Amarna collection), which show not only that the name existed before the Heb. conquest of Pal., but also that its meaning (as spelt *U-ru-sa-lim* and *URU-sa-lim*) is 'city of Salim,' or 'city of peace,' which agrees with the rendering by Gesenius, 'abode of peace.' The suggestion of Sayce (*Academy*, 7th Feb. 1891, *HCM* 177, *EHH* 28) that Salim is the name of a deity is unsupported: the sign for deity is not used as a prefix to the name, and the word *Sa-lim* is elsewhere found in the Tel el-Amarna letters with the meaning of 'peace.' * It is by no means improbable that the Jewish tradition, which places the Salem (properly Shalem) of Melchizedek at Jerus. (Gn 14^{18}, see Jos. *Ant.* I. x. 2; *Wars*, VI. x. 1), and the King's Vale (Gn 14^{17}, Jos. *Ant.* VII. xi. 3) two furlongs distant, may be correct; and the monumental spelling favours the view that the city may have been first called Salem only; but it is not doubtful that it was called Jerus. as early as the time of Joshua. It may also have been called Jebus (but see Moore on Jg 19$^{10.11}$, cf. the Jebusite, Jos 18^{28}). In Ps 76^{2} we read, 'In Salem was his covert (see Jer 25^{38}), and his lair (fig. of *lion*) in Zion.' The explanation in the Mishna (*Zebaḥim* xiv. 8), which connects Salem with Shiloh, together with other suggestions (see Midrash *Bereshith Rabba*, ch. 89), are too fanciful to need notice. In the Talm. the later and longer form of the name Jerusalem is used, and the city is also called *Beth 'Olamim* (בית עולמים) 'the house of Ages' (Tosephta, *Tohoroth*, ch. 1).

The Roman name, given by Hadrian after A.D. 135 to the restored city, was Ælia Capitolina, and this appeared on coins of the early Khalifs of Damascus in the Arab. form *Ailia*. Its survival to the 10th cent. is noticed by Eutychius, and it was known to Jerome, and appears in the lists of Synods as late as A.D. 536. This name was derived from that of Ælius Hadrianus himself, combined with that of Jupiter Capitolinus, whose statue Hadrian erected on the ruined site of the Temple. In the 10th to 13th cents. the city was called *Beit el-Mukaddas*, 'The Holy House' (see Sam. Chronicle, el-Mukaddasi, and el-Edrisi). The modern name is *el-Kuds esh-Sherîf*, 'The holy (city), the noble (town),' and in common speech *el-Kuds* only. On some of the Hasmonæan coins the longer spelling of the name Jerusalem occurs. The native Christians, as well as the Jews, still use the old name in the Arab. form *Yerusalîm*.

II. NATURAL SITE.—Jerus. stood on the site occupied by the present town, though at its greatest it extended farther to N. and S. The geogr. position (taken at the Dome of the present Cathedral of the Holy Sepulchre) is 31° 46′ 45″ N. lat., 35° 13′ 25″ long. E. of Greenwich. The town stood on spurs extending S.E. from the main watershed of Pal., and still presents almost the appearance of sliding downhill towards the Kidron ravine on the S.E. This ravine (now called *Wâdy en-Nâr*, 'Valley of Fire') is one of the main drains of the country, and is formed by the junction of three head valleys, the longest on the E. being the Kidron proper, running due south, west of Olivet; the second, which itself had two branches, passed through the city S.E.; the third, running S. and turning E., is the Valley of Hinnom. The summit of Olivet is 2641 ft. above the Mediter., and the valleys at their junction have a level of about 2000 ft. above the same. Thus Jerus. was defended, on the E., S., and S.W., by natural fosses 500 ft. deep, and was naturally weak only on the N. and N.W., from which quarters it has always been attacked in the various sieges recorded in history. In considering the natural site it is, however, important to remember the geological character of the region, and the changes which have been due to artificial alterations—the levelling of hills and the cutting of scarps, ditches, reservoirs, and aqueducts, together with the filling up of the valleys by ruins, or with a particular purpose. The present features, though somewhat obscured by these circumstances, are, however, distinguishable in ancient accounts of the site, and the careful measurement of rock levels, in all parts of the city, now enables us to speak with certainty as to the original conditions. The strata dip down S.E. from the watershed, with an average inclination of 10° or 12°. The highest beds, called locally *Nâri* and *Kakûli*, are found on the summit and slopes of Olivet. The *Nâri* is identified with the nummulitic beds found on Gerizim and Carmel, which belong to the Middle Eocene period. The *Kakûli* is a soft white limestone with bands of flint or chert, and containing marine shells as fossils, with ammonites and other distinctive genera of the Upper Chalk. The E. cliffs of the Kidron Valley, below this white chalk, are formed by the *Mezzeh*—a hard silicious limestone with bands of flint and fossils. This, with the underlying beds, belongs to the period of the Lower Chalk. The *Mezzeh* also appears in the Sacred Rock (*es-Sakhrah*), on the summit of the Temple Plateau, W. of the Kidron; in the cliff of Antonia to the N.; and in the cliff of the traditional Calvary, as well as in that N. of the city at the so-called 'Jeremiah's Grotto.' Under the *Mezzeh* is a deep bed of fine white limestone, very suitable for building stone, and hardening by exposure. It is locally known as *Meleki*, and in it are excavated the great reservoirs of the Temple Area, and the ancient quarries under the city N.W. of the Temple. Beneath the *Meleki* again is a hard dolomitic limestone, of white colour streaked with pink, which appears on the watershed surface W. of the city, and which is called the 'Santa Croce' marble, being found near the Convent of the Cross. The alternation of these hard and soft beds accounts for the existence of cliffs and slopes, and for the water supply of the city, which is deficient on the W., the water sinking down through the *Meleki* bed, and only appearing in the Kidron ravine to the E., where the dolomitic limestone is near the surface. The natural drainage of the watershed is collected in this ravine, and no springs occur near the city at any higher level. The thickness of the various beds differs in different parts, the *Mezzeh* 'tailing off' to the N.W.

---

* Sayce's view is controverted by Zimmern (*Zeitschr. f. Assyr.* 1891, p. 263) and Jastrow (*Journ. Bib. Lit.* xi. [1892], p. 105).

The rock is visible on the present surface on the N. and N.W., near the watershed, and in the N.W. part of the Temple Area. In the valley beds it is hidden by an accumulation of rubbish, which within the city has a depth in some cases of 40 or 50 feet. The level of the surface of the rock has in these parts been traced in mines, in wells and cisterns, and in sinking foundations for houses. About 150 such measurements have been carefully recorded, of which 40 are in the Temple Area and the rest within the ancient city, being fortunately most numerous in the most important parts. On the ridge S. of the Temple 30 such observations were made during the mining operations.* In some cases the rock is visible in great cisterns for a considerable distance, in others its absence is proved by the existence of masonry walls. Thus, although it is probable that a certain amount of earth covered the valley beds from the first, it is known that, in parts where a shingle of stones covers the rock, the filling up of the valleys has been caused by the frequent demolition of buildings during the various destructions of the city.

By the light of such observations it is easy to recover the original features now obscured by the ruins. The eastern spur, on which the Temple stood, was flanked by the Kidron on the E., and by a narrow valley on the W., having its head near the present Damascus Gate. This ridge was artificially cut across, at an early period, N. of the Temple Area, where its level was 2460 ft. above the sea; and a second scarp, facing S. and about 25 ft. high, was made, leaving a block of rock, on which the present Turkish Barracks stand, and a small flat plateau within, which rose gradually to a natural knoll, now known as the *Sakhrah* or Sacred 'Rock.' From this point the plateau narrows into a ridge, which falls gradually S. from a level of 2440 ft. to about 2130 ft. at the junction of the W. valley with the Kidron at Siloam. West again of the narrow western valley, now filled up to a depth of some 40 ft., the main site of the city itself was cut in two by a broad, deep recess, with steep slopes to N. and S., having its head at a narrow neck of land which rises to about 2500 ft. above the sea, and divides this central valley or recess from the upper part of the Hinnom Valley W. of the city. The great recess has its bed under the modern 'Street of David' (which runs down from the W. or Jaffa Gate towards the Temple), opening out into the narrow valley already noticed W. of the Temple hill. This broad, deep recess is now also partially filled in, to a depth of 50 ft., with rubbish, and its great breadth and the steepness of its slopes were hardly suspected until proved by the examination of the rock in various large cisterns in its bed, hidden under the modern surface, and discovered about 1872 during the German excavations in the precincts of the old Hospital of the Knights of St. John.

The central recess or valley thus divides the site of Jerus. into a S. and N. quarter. The S., which is generally allowed to be the 'Upper City' of Josephus, is a flat hill, measuring about 1000 yds. N. and S. by 600 yds. E. and W. On the N. it had a very steep slope, with a precipice on the N.E.; on other sides the slopes were also steep, and the plateau, which has an average elevation of 2500 ft. above the sea, thus stands 500 ft. above the valley beds on the S.E. The N. quarter was less extensive, and for the most part lower than the S. It was formed by a spur from the main watershed, and connected with the S. by the narrow neck or isthmus already noticed, towards the W. of the city. The N. spur appears to have risen into an isolated knoll of small area, which is now shown as the traditional site of Calvary, the summit being about 2490 ft. above the sea. In speaking of the topography of the city it will, however, be shown that the outline of the N. spur was changed in the 2nd cent. B.C. by cutting down the E. part of the N. ridge, near the narrow valley which divided it from the Temple, and which was then filled up. The later Herodian period witnessed an extension of Jerus. beyond this N. quarter, and the hill N. of the Temple (separated off by the artificial ditch as noticed above) was then occupied, and protected by another scarp 20 ft. high, running E. and W., and now supporting the modern city wall in the N.E. quarter. The part of the hill so included in the city (and which Josephus calls Bezetha) rose to about 2520 ft. above the sea close to the N. scarp, and to 2470 ft. on the S., opposite the rock of the Barracks from which the fosse separated it. The city also extended, on the N.W., over the flat ground beyond the knoll of the traditional Calvary, rising gradually to the watershed of Judæa, 2580 ft. above the sea. It would appear that from an early period the flat head of the narrow central valley was flanked by cliffs, the northern of which (at Jeremiah's Grotto outside the modern Damascus Gate) formed a remarkable isolated knoll, 2570 ft. above the sea, which is now regarded by many as the true site of Calvary. The N. ditch was probably in part natural, for in the cliff under the modern city wall, E. of the Damascus Gate, is the entrance to the great quarries under the city, where the *Meleki* beds were cut out for the Temple masonry. That these quarries existed early, and were not merely hewn for the building of Herod's Temple, has been shown by M. Clermont-Ganneau's discovery of a rudely cut sketch of a cherub, or man-bull, in the ancient Heb. or Phœn. style, attributable to a period earlier than that of Herod, and carved on the rock wall of the quarry.

The natural water supply of Jerus. is deficient, and was very early supplemented by the cutting of rain-water tanks and aqueducts. The only natural spring was in a cave on the W. side of the Kidron, S. of the Temple Area. It is remarkable for its intermittent flow, due to a natural syphon leading from a subterranean basin in the rock. The water collected by the valleys from the rocky watershed, and sinking, as above explained, down to the impervious dolomite beds beneath the hill spurs, also bursts out in winter at the junction of the three valleys, and flows in a clear rapid stream towards the Dead Sea. But this overflow is due to the sinking of a deep shaft at the well now called *Bîr Eyûb* ('Job's' or 'Joab's' [see below] well), which reaches down 125 ft. The well is connected with an ancient aqueduct, 70 to 90 ft. below the present surface, on the W. side of the Kidron Valley, and reached by stairways. Although unfinished, this aqueduct must have assisted in collecting the waters to the *Bîr Eyûb*.* The water of the upper spring was also early diverted through an aqueduct to the Pool of Siloam, as will be explained later. In the earliest period of the history of Jerus. it is possible that the bed of the Kidron, then much deeper than it now is,—in consequence of the accumulation of rubbish,—was occupied by a stream flowing on the surface from the upper cave spring, S. of the Temple. Water also found its way down the narrow ravine W. of the Temple hill, and is there still found in the subterranean cave of the *Hammâm esh-Shefa*, or 'healing-bath,' under the W. wall of the present Ḥaram enclosure. The shaft of the modern well is 86 ft. deep, the lower part having been apparently made in the

---

* This proves that no depression divides Ophel from the temple.

* This well was reopened in A.D. 1184 by the Franks, who called it 'Joab's well' (*i.e.* En-rogel).

Rom. period. The rocky chamber and passage at the bottom extend 128 ft., but no ancient notice of this reservoir has been discovered with any certainty. The water supply, both here and at the *Bîr Eyûb*, failed in the winter of 1864–1865, being dependent on the rainfall of a comparatively small area, near the watershed N. of the city. The various artificial reservoirs which supplied the city will be described later. We have no information as to any works which may have been carried out by the Jebusites before David fixed his capital in Jerusalem. The spring in the Kidron Valley existed then, and it is possible that the supply in the *Hammâm esh-Shefa* was also available, and much nearer to the surface. In Neh (as noticed later) the 'Dragon Spring' is mentioned W. of Jerus.; but if a natural supply of water is to be understood, it would seem to be now dried up, as there is no known spring on this side of the city. Jos. calls this place the 'Serpents' Pool' (*BJ* v. iii. 2).

III. HISTORY.—In accordance with Jewish tradition (Jos. *Ant.* I. x. 2, VII. xi. 3; *Wars*, VI. x. 1), Jerus. may be supposed to have been a city (SALEM ?) in the time of Abraham (Gn 14^{18}, where see the cautious note of Dillmann), whose king, Melchizedek, was priest of God Most High (*El 'Elyōn*). The city is next noticed as the capital of a Canaanite king at the time of the Heb. conquest (Jos 10^{5}). The inhabitants were Jebusites; and although its king was killed (Jos 10^{26}), yet Jerus. was not attacked until later (Jg 1^{8} [?]), and remained a Jebusite town, and 'city of the stranger' (Jg 19^{10-12}), in the time of the Judges. The discovery of letters from the early governor of Jerus. to Amenophis (*c.* B.C. 1480–1440), in the Tel el-Amarna collection, gives us some additional light on the history of the city. It is clear from various references that an Egyptian resident, supported by an Egyptian garrison, was there established at a time when all the Philistine towns (including Gezer) were also held by Egypt. But this garrison was withdrawn in consequence of the general rebellion of Pal. and Syria against Egypt, and the king of Jerus. reported that, in consequence, all the country had rebelled to the *Khabiri* (see HEBREWS), who had occupied Aijalon, Lachish, Gezer, Ashkelon, and Zorah, his own position being perilous in consequence. It is clear, therefore, that Jerus. was already a royal Canaanite city before the Heb. conquest under Joshua.

The boundary line of Judah was so drawn as to leave Jerus. in the lot of Benjamin (Jos 15^{7}, cf. 18^{28}, both P; in 15^{63} [JE] Jerus. belongs to Judah); the border ran from En-rogel (in the Kidron) along the Valley of Hinnom S. of Jerusalem. The city was attacked by Judah (Jos 15^{63}; in Jg 1^{21} *Benjamin* has possibly been substituted for *Judah*; Jg 1^{8} is a very doubtful passage, see Moore's note), who, however, did not succeed in driving out the original Jebusites. The choice of Jerus. as a capital, in David's time, was probably due to its being already an important town, in a position more central than Hebron, and less exposed to incursion from the plains than Shechem. David's men scaled the 'gutter,'* or 'water-channel' (*ẓinnōr*, παραξιφίδι), and took the 'mountain fort of Zion,' or 'citadel' (Ἄκρα), which Josephus identifies with the Upper Agora of his own time (*Wars*, v. iv. 1). The mockery of David by the Jebusites shows that Jerus. was considered a strong fortress (2 S 5^{6-9}). The occupation of the citadel did not lead to the expulsion of the Jebusites, for at a later period David appears to have been friendly with Araunah the Jebusite. Jerus. at the time of this conquest (about B.C. 1000) included not only the fort of the upper city, but also a quarter called **Millo** (2 S 5^{9}), which the LXX renders Ἄκρα. Josephus states that David joined the lower city (τὴν κάτω πόλιν) to the citadel (τὴν Ἄκραν), surrounding both with walls (see 1 Ch 11^{4-8}), and established himself in the citadel, calling it (or else Jerus. generally) the city of David. The ark was soon after brought to the city of David, and 'placed in the tent that David had pitched for it' (2 S 6^{12-17}, 1 Ch 13^{13} 15^{25}–16^{3}). The site of the Temple was afterwards chosen at the 'threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite' (2 S 24^{18}, 1 Ch 21^{18-28}), which site was bought for fifty shekels of silver (about £9), or, according to the later account (1 Ch 21^{25}), for 600 shekels of gold. Preparations for the building were made by David, and the Temple was begun by Solomon in the month of Ziv (latter part of April), in the 4th year of his reign (about B.C. 965), and finished in the month Bul (Oct.), seven years later (1 K 6^{1-38}). The ark was finally removed out of the city of David into the Temple (1 K 8^{1-8}), at the feast of consecration in the seventh month, Ethanim (September). The royal palace of hewn stone and cedar was not finished till later (1 K 7^{1-12}), and two bronze pillars were cast for the Temple, with a 'sea' or large reservoir, and other vessels (1 K 7^{13-51}). The Temple, which in plan and adornment resembled those in Babylon, described in a later age in the records of Nebuch., was provided with an altar court with walls and cedar beams (1 K 6^{36}); but the dimensions of this court are not noticed. It is stated that the 'inner' or altar court was separated from other outer courts (2 Ch 23^{5-8}). The royal palace appears (as will be shown in dealing with Topography) to have stood near the Temple on the S., and it was not in the city of David (1 K 9^{24}, cf. 7^{8}). Solomon also built the wall of Jerus., and 'shut in the ravine [?; RV 'repaired the breach'; Heb. סָגַר אֶת־פֶּרֶץ] of the city of David' (1 K 9^{15} 11^{27}). Jerus. was enlarged by the building of the Temple and Palace beyond the bounds of the city of David.

After the revolt of Israel from Rehoboam, Jerus. was attacked by Shishak, king of Egypt (about B.C. 935), when the gold shields made by Solomon fell a prey, with all the treasures of the Temple and of the Palace. We possess a monumental record in which Shishak (Sheshonk) gives the names of 133 cities in Pal. subdued during this campaign, and the last name *Iura* . . ., though unfortunately half-defaced, may perhaps represent Jerusalem. Another attack on the city (about B.C. 850) is recorded (2 Ch 21^{16}) in the reign of Jehoram, when the Phil. and Arabs near Egypt sacked the 'king's house.' After the revolution of Jehu, and murder of Ahaziah, king of Judah, at Jezreel, Athaliah, who had usurped the throne of her grandson, was slain at the entrance of the palace, probably about B.C. 842 (2 K 11^{16}, 2 Ch 23^{15}); and about B.C. 786 Jehoash of Israel marched on Jerus. from the W. plain, and broke down 400 cubits of the wall on the W., carrying off once more the treasures of the Temple and of the Palace (2 K $14^{13.14}$, 2 Ch 25^{23}). The incursion of Ramman-nirari from Assyria (about B.C. 803) into N. Israel and to Damascus, no doubt accounts for the strengthening of Jerus. by Uzziah (2 Ch $26^{9.15}$), when towers were built on the W., on that part of the wall broken down some twenty years before. The city was protected by engines of war, similar to those shown in Assyr. pictures. Jotham (about B.C. 742–736) also strengthened J. by building the 'higher gate' of the Temple, and a wall on Ophel, S. of the same (2 K 15^{35}, 2 Ch 27^{3}). The conquests of Tiglath-pileser in Syria were then causing anxiety in Judah. Ahaz, the next king, was tributary to this Assyr. conqueror (about B.C. 734), and before that date he was attacked by the enemies of

---

* On the various explanations that have been offered of the very obscure passage 2 S 5^{8}, see Driver, *ad loc.*

Tiglath-pileser,—Rezin of Damascus and Pekah of Samaria,—who, however, failed to take Jerus. (2 K 16^{5}). The fall of Samaria to Sargon alarmed Hezekiah, son of Ahaz, and the great improvements—from a military point of view—which were carried out in Jerus., in the water supply of SILOAM (which see), may have been begun by Ahaz at the time of the fall of Damascus in B.C. 732 (Is 8^{6}). The advance of Sennacherib rendered it necessary to prepare for attack about B.C. 701 (Is 22^{11}), and the aqueduct from Gihon to Siloam was probably complete when the Assyr. came to Jerus. (2 K 20^{20}, 2 Ch 32^{30}). The account which we possess of this attack in the records of Sennacherib harmonizes with that found in the Bible (2 K 18^{13}–19^{37}, 2 Ch 32^{9-23}, Is 36. 37). Sennacherib records (see Schrader, *KAT*^{2}) that he invaded Philistia in B.C. 701, and defeated the Egyptians at Altaka; that he set up new tributary rulers in Ekron and Ashdod; and 'captured forty-six cities' of Judah, shutting up Hezekiah in Jerus., like 'a bird in a cage.' He speaks of the riches sent to Nineveh from Jerus., but is silent regarding the disaster that overtook his army on the Egyptian frontier, drove back the Assyr. beyond the Euphrates, and saved Jerus. for a century. The alliance with Egypt (see Is 36^{6}) prevented any danger from Egypt to Hezekiah's capital, but that with Babylon (Is 39) was less useful, since Merodach-baladan was defeated by Sennacherib in B.C. 696. Manasseh (acceding probably about B.C. 695) was tributary to Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, according to their inscriptions, and the former attacked Egypt in 680, and finally took Memphis (Nah 3^{8}) in B.C. 670. The carrying of Manasseh to Babylon (2 Ch 33^{11}) appears to have occurred under Assurbanipal (see Jos. *Ant.* X. iii. 2) after B.C. 668, and this king is known to have restored Babylon as his southern capital. The further fortification of Jerus. by a wall on Ophel, outside the original city of David, and extending to the Fish Gate on the N. of Jerus., was effected apparently after his restoration. Amon, the successor of Manasseh, reigned only two years, and the rule of Josiah coincided with the last years of Assyr. empire, witnessing the terrible Scythian raid which swept down to the borders of Egypt. The Law was discovered in the Temple, and a great reformation effected in B.C. 621 (2 K 22, 2 Ch 34); but in B.C. 609 Necho marched to the aid of the Babylonians and Umman-manda (see Davidson, *Nahum*, note at end), who combined against Nineveh, and Josiah, endeavouring to stop his advance, was slain at Megiddo (2 K 23^{29}). The allies soon quarrelled over the spoils; and the defeat of Necho at Carchemish left Pal. an easy prey to Nebuch. of Babylon, the new master of W. Asia. In B.C. 597 Jerus. was taken and despoiled (2 K 24^{11-15}), and Jehoiachin carried to Babylon. In B.C. 586 Nebuch. again attacked Zedekiah, who fled 'by the way to the Arabah' (2 K 25^{4}), or from the S.E. side of the city. On the 7th of Ab the city was entered by the Babylonians, and on the 9th (about 1st Aug.), according to the Mishnic traditions (*Taanith* iv. 7), the ancient Temple of Solomon was destroyed, with the Palace and all the chief buildings of Jerusalem. The walls were broken down. The treasures of the city had already been taken in the first raid; the sacred vessels were now carried away (2 K 25^{13}, 2 Ch 36^{18}), and the ark itself was probably removed, since Nebuchadnezzar's practice in other cases was to carry off all objects of veneration belonging to defeated peoples. Many of the chief men of Judah had followed Jehoiachin into captivity, and the rest now followed Zedekiah, leaving only the 'poor of the land as vinedressers and husbandmen' under a Babylonian ruler of Palestine (2 K 25^{12}).

The history of the ruined city remains a blank until Cyrus arose and wrested the empire from Nabonidus, the last Babylonian king. The Jews, like the Phœn., were content to remain subject to the tolerant Aryan race which ruled from India to Egypt. The Temple was refounded at Jerusalem (Ezr 3^{12}), and was completed twenty years later (Ezr 6^{15}). The return of Ezra to Jerus., and the establishment of the Law, may be referred to the reign of Artaxerxes I. (B.C. 458); see ZERUBBABEL. Acc. to Jos. (*Ant.* XI. vii. 1), Bagoses, a general of Artaxerxes II., profaned the Temple, and laid a tax on the sacrifices. The restoration of Jerus. by Nehemiah (Neh 3) was merely a rebuilding of the ancient wall found in ruins; but this account is the most complete that we possess of the ancient topography of the city.

The battle of Issus and taking of Tyre laid Pal. at the feet of Alexander the Great, and about B.C. 332 he visited Jerus., according to Jos. (*Ant.* XI. viii. 4). The city suffered, after his death, from the long struggle between the Ptolemies in Egypt and the Seleucidæ in Antioch. Ptol. Soter, son of Lagus, entered Jerus. on the Sabbath in B.C. 305 (*Ant.* XII. i. 1), and Antiochus III. (called the Great) took the city from the Egyp. in B.C. 219 (*Ant.* XII. iii. 3). The influence of Greek art and customs began to spread over Pal. under the Seleucidæ, and when Antiochus IV. (Epiphanes) visited Jerus. in B.C. 172, there appears to have been a gymnasium (perhaps the Xystus, W. of the Temple), built by the Hellenists in the Holy City (1 Mac 1^{14}, 2 Mac 4^{9-12}, Jos. *Ant.* XII. v. 1). Two years later, Antiochus, defeated in Egypt, entered Jerus. unopposed, in a Sabbatic year (1 Mac 1^{20}, *Ant.* XII. v. 3). The Jews, for more than three centuries and a half, had been peaceful subjects of Pers. and Gr. overlords, but the growth of Gr. influence alarmed the pious, and the tyranny of Epiphanes bred a desperate spirit of revolt. In B.C. 168 Apollonius, the Gr. general, was sent to Jerus. by Antiochus, with orders to suppress the national religion. On the 15th of Chislev he desecrated the Temple by sacrifice of swine,—probably in honour of Ashtoreth and Tammuz, to whom swine were sacrificed in this age in Cyprus and Phœnicia,—and an image of a boar is said to have been erected in Jerus. (1 Mac 1^{47}, *Ant.* XII. v. 4). The Gr. garrison was placed in a newly erected citadel on Akra, which—as will be shown later—is identified by Jos. with the Lower City. This citadel dominated the Temple, and during the revolt of Judas Maccabæus its garrison held out even after the defeat of three Gr. armies sent against the patriotic leader. In B.C. 165, after the second defeat of the Greeks, Judas and his followers restored the half-ruinous and neglected Temple, erecting a new altar in place of that desecrated by Apollonius. The 'Feast of Lights,' on the 25th of Chislev, still commemorates this restoration (1 Mac 4^{52}, *Ant.* XII. vii. 7). Two years later, however, Antiochus V. (Eupator) retook Jerus., and overthrew the walls of the city and of the Temple (1 Mac 6^{62}, *Ant.* XII. ix. 5). After the defeat and death of Judas at Elasa, following soon after his victory at Adasa over Bacchides the desecrator of the Temple, a period of misfortune for the Hasmonæan house followed; but under the skilful management of Jonathan, the brother of Judas, the national cause prospered. In B.C. 143 Jonathan built a wall in the middle of Jerus. to separate the Akra citadel from the Upper Market or Agora (1 Mac 12^{36}, *Ant.* XIII. vi. 7). His successor Simon, the wisest and most prosperous of these famous brethren, finally took the Akra citadel on the 23rd of Ziv in B.C. 139, and partly levelled the mountain on which it had stood—a labour lasting three years (1 Mac 14^{36}, *Ant.* XIII. vi. 7; on the historical reliability of this statement see Schürer, *HJP* I. i. 262, note 14). John Hyrcanus, his son, who, being at Gazara, escaped the massacre at Dok, was besieged in B.C. 134 in Jerus. by Antiochus Sidetes, and is said by Jos. to have opened the tombs of the kings, and taken treasure thence (*Ant.* XIII. viii. 4). After his successful rule the quarrels of the Hasmonæans brought further trouble on the city, and the Romans, having under Pompey conquered Armenia to the Caucasus and to the borders of Persia, began to interfere in the affairs of Palestine. An alliance with Rome was one of the latest acts of Judas Maccabæus, and had been renewed later. The country had been at peace during the greater part of the reign of Alexander Jannæus, and the Gr. influence (as witnessed by his coins) had been steadily reasserting its power. After the death of Alexandra-Salome, the able widow of Alexander Jannæus, a war of succession broke out between her sons. Hyrcanus II., aided by Aretas (Harith) the Arab king of Petra, besieged Aristobulus II. in Jerus. in B.C. 65; but Scaurus, one of Pompey's generals, ordered him to raise the siege (*Ant.* XIV. ii. 1). In B.C. 63 Pompey himself besieged Jerus., to put an end to the increasing anarchy. Aristobulus was removed, the walls were demolished, and the bridge leading to the Temple was thrown down. Pompey is said to have entered the Holy of Holies itself. The city was made tributary to Rome (*Ant.* XIV. iv. 4; *Wars*, I. vii. 1). The subjection of Pal. was, however, not yet complete. In B.C. 55 Crassus, before his defeat in Parthia, again pillaged the Temple (*Ant.* XIV. vii. 1), and in B.C. 47 the Hasmon. rule came to an end; Antipater the Idumæan, in recognition of his services on the borders of Egypt, was made ruler of Pal. by Julius Cæsar the year after the battle of Pharsalia. Four years later his famous son, Herod the Great, became joint ruler with Phasael, and in B.C. 40 became Procurator of Judæa, by order of the Senate. He was then driven from Jerus. by the invasion of the Parthians, under their prince Pacorus, who re-established the Hasmon. Antigonus (*Wars*, I. xiii. 13). In B.C. 37 Herod, assisted by Sosius the Rom. governor of Syria, took the city from Antigonus (*Ant.* XIV. xvi. 2), and a period of strong rule and peace followed. In B.C. 24 Herod built his palace in Jerus., on the W. side of the upper city—the old Hasmonæan palace being on the E., near the Temple bridge. He also restored the citadel Baris or Antonia, N. of the Temple, and celebrated games in a new theatre in the city (*Ant.* XV. viii. 1-5, ix. 1). Later in his reign, in B.C. 19, Herod began to replace the ancient Temple enclosure by a new and much larger structure, and this work was finished in B.C. 11 (*Ant.* XV. xi. 3, 6). The death of Herod, in the year of the Nativity (B.C. 4), was signalized by the destruction of the golden eagle erected over the Temple porch (*Wars*, I. xxxiii. 3, 8). The history of Jerus. under Herod's successors, and under the procurators, is almost a blank. In A.D. 35 Pontius Pilate was recalled, in consequence of the riots caused by appropriating the Corban to the purpose of making an aqueduct from near Bethlehem to the Temple (*Ant.* XVIII. iii. 2). Agrippa the tetrarch, grandson of Herod the Great, began the building of a new wall on the N. side of the city, about ten years after the Crucifixion (A.D. 41–44), and Jerus. appears to have grown much larger during the Rom. period (*Ant.* XIX. vii. 2, viii. 2). King Agrippa, son of the last, built a palace in the upper city (*Ant.* XX. viii. 11), about A.D. 56, and the Temple courts were completed in A.D. 64 (*Ant.* XX. ix. 7). The Jewish discontent, gradually increasing since the time of Agrippa's death, led to revolt against the incompetent procurator Gessius Florus in A.D. 66, and during the riots the palaces and Antonia were burnt (*Ant.* XX. xi. 1; *Wars*, II. xvii. 6). Cestius Gallus, president of Syria, besieged Jerus. in consequence, and took the third wall on the N., but retreated in panic (*Wars*, II. xix. 1-9), and Vespasian was called to re-establish Rom. power in Palestine. The campaign was slow and systematic, and not until all the country to the N. had been subdued, and Jericho and the plains of Joppa reconquered, did the Rom. army advance to the attack of Jerus., a task left to Titus in consequence of Vespasian's becoming emperor. The great siege in A.D. 70 was perhaps the most terrible ever undergone by the city, and the full account by Jos. illustrates the topography of Jerus. at the time of its greatest extension and strength.

The great siege lasted 143 days, from the 14th Abib, when the Romans encamped on Scopus (*Wars*, V. xiii. 7) until the final conflagration on the 8th of Elul (*Wars*, VI. viii. 5). The dates of the principal events may be briefly given.

Day of Month.		Day of Siege.	Chief Events.
Abib (Passover)	14	—	Romans arrive, John seizes the Temple (*Wars*, V. vii. 7–17).
Abib	23	1	First day of actual siege (*Wars*, V. vii. 2).
Ziv	7	15	Wall of Agrippa taken. Feast of Dedication of Temple (*Wars*, V. vii. 2).
,,	12	20	Second wall taken. Romans repulsed (*Wars*, V. viii. 1).
,,	16	24	Second wall retaken (*Wars*, V. viii. 2).
,,	21	29	Banks raised against Antonia, after three days' rest and review of troops (*Wars*, V. ix. 2).
,,	29	37	Banks against Antonia, and others commenced 12th Ziv against Hippicus, are completed (*Wars*, V. xi. 2).
Sivan	1	38	Bank at Antonia mined by the Jews (*Wars*, V. xi. 3).
,,	3	40	Banks against upper city destroyed by Jews (*Wars*, V. xi. 5).
,,	7	44	A wall of circumvallation begun and built in three days (*Wars*, V. xii. 2).
,,	10	47	New banks begun against Antonia occupying 21 days (*Wars*, VI. i. 1).
Tammuz	1	68	Antonia attacked. Romans repulsed. The wall falls during the night (*Wars*, VI. i. 3).
,,	3	70	Sabinus killed invading the Temple.
,,	5	72	Antonia surprised by night (*Wars*, VI. i. 6, 7).
,,	17	84	The daily sacrifice fails (*Taanith* iv. 4). Antonia demolished during the preceding week. Banks raised against the inner Temple (*Wars*, VI. ii. 1, 7).
,,	22	89	The Jews set fire to the N. and W. cloisters (*Wars*, VI. i. 9).
,,	24	91	The Romans fire part of cloisters (*Wars*, VI. iii. 1).
,,	27	94	The Jews destroy the W. cloister (*Wars*, VI. iii. 1).
,,	28	95	The Romans destroy the N. cloister (*Wars*, VI. iii. 2).
Ab	8	104	Engines batter the inner Temple wall for six days. Two banks being completed (*Wars*, VI. iv. 1).
,,	9	105	The gate Moked is undermined (*Taanith* iv. 9). The Rom. soldiers set fire to the Temple by night (*Wars*, VI. iv. 5). The city is plundered, the lower city burnt, the family of Izates submits (*Wars*, VI. vi. 3, 4).
,,	20	116	Banks raised against the upper city on N.W. and N.E. (*Wars*, VI. viii. 1).
Elul	7	133	Banks finished after 18 days (*Wars*, VI. viii. 4).
,,	8	134	Final conflagration and conquest of the city (*Wars*, VI. viii. 5).

The first day of the siege (23rd Abib) corresponded in A.D. 70 to the 9th April. That lunar months must be supposed is shown by Jos. (*Wars*, VI. viii. 1, 9). The final fall of Jerus. took place in the hottest part of the year, on 4th September. The terrible sufferings of the besieged from famine, thirst, and disease were thus intensified by the season. It is unnecessary to enter into detail as to these sufferings, or as to the various factions whose conflicts added to the general misery. The Idumæans, introduced by one faction to support themselves, thought only of plunder; and concerted action against the Romans was rendered difficult. The numbers of the besieged are stated by Tacitus at 600,000 (*Hist.* v. 13); the estimate of over a million by Jos. is incredible (*Wars*, II. xiv. 3, V. vi. 1, xiii. 7, VI. ix. 3). The ordinary population cannot have exceeded 30,000 at most; but in consequence of the Passover, and of the Idumæans being admitted, the city must have been densely crowded. The Jewish system perished in blood and fire, and the few survivors were made victims of the circus games at Cæsarea, or led captive to Rome, where, on the Arch of Titus, the golden candlestick, the table of shewbread, and the silver trumpets from the Temple (but not the ark, which never stood in the Temple after the time of Nebuch.), are shown as spoils of this great victory.

In order to understand the topography of Jerus., and to distinguish its later remains, it is necessary briefly to follow the history from A.D. 70 down to the present day. After the capture of the upper city, the walls of the city and of the Temple were thrown down, with the exception of the royal towers and part of the W. wall (*Wars*, VII. i. 1), which remained as the fortress of the legion left in charge. Jerus. has no history for sixty years after its destruction, but an inscription of the time of Trajan (A.D. 117) appears to record the worship there of Serapis by a veteran who may even have been present with Titus. In A.D. 130 Hadrian visited Jerus., and in A.D. 134 occurred the desperate rebellion of the Jews under Bar Cochba and Rabbi Akiba. They were expelled from Jerus. by Julius Severus (Dion Cassius, lxix. 13), and according to later statements (Talm. Jer. *Taanith* iv. and Jerome, *Comm. on Zec* 8^{19}) T. Annius Rufus ploughed up the foundations of the Temple. In the following year they were massacred at Bether (Bittîr) close to Jerus. on the W. In A.D. 136 Hadrian rebuilt the city, and called it Ælia Capitolina. He dedicated the Temple site to Jupiter Capitolinus, and decreed the exclusion of the Jews from Jerus.—a decree which, though perhaps not always enforced, was still in existence in the time of Constantine (Dion Cassius, lxix. 12; Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* iv. 6). The city of Hadrian appears to have been smaller than that of the time of Titus, since the S. part of the upper city was outside the wall in the 4th cent. A.D. In A.D. 130 Hadrian found only a few houses and seven synagogues (see *Biblia Sacra*, pp. 393–455). Only one of these was standing in the 4th cent. (Bordeaux Pilgrim). Hadrian appears to have repaired the walls (Orosius, *Hist.* xv., written about A.D. 416), and, according to the *Paschal Chronicle* (which is, however, a late authority), the new buildings included 'the two markets' (δημόσια), a theatre, a mint, a *tricameron*, a *tetranymphon*, and a *dodekapylon*, formerly called *anabathmoi* (*In Ann.* 3 *Æl. Hadr.*). Eusebius (*Life of Constantine*, iii. 36) speaks of a temple of Venus erected in the city, at the site of the subsequent Church of the Holy Sepulchre. This was afterwards (see Fetellus in A.D. 1151–1157) attributed to Hadrian. Jerome (*Epist.* 49) speaks of a marble statue of Venus 'on the rock of the Cross,' and Eusebius connects her worship with the dark cave (μυχόν) under this rock. A coin of Antoninus Pius represents Venus in a tetrastyle temple with the legend C.A.C., and later coins of Aurelius and Severus have the same reverse with the legend *Col. Æl. Cap.* It seems clear that either Hadrian or the Antonines erected this Venus temple in the N. quarter of Jerus., when it was rebuilt as a pagan city. A coin of Hadrian, struck in Jerus., shows a temple which may be the same. Jerome also informs us (*Comm.* Is 2^{8} and Mt 24^{15}) that equestrian statues of Hadrian were placed on the site of the Holy of Holies, together with an idol of Jove. These were still standing in A.D. 333 (Bordeaux Pilgrim), and an inscription on a stone now built upside down into the S. wall of the Temple enclosure bears the name of Hadrian, and probably belonged to one of these statues. The head of a small statue was picked up by a peasant, in the road N. of the Damascus Gate, in 1873. It is crowned with laurel, and the Rom. eagle appears on the front of the crown. The features resemble those of known statues of Hadrian, and the head may have belonged to one of the above statues.

A cohort was stationed at Jerus. to prevent the Jews entering the city (Sulpic. Severus, *Hist. Sac.* ii. 25), and the decree still held in A.D. 312 (Eusebius, *Theophania*). But in A.D. 333 (Bordeaux Pilgrim) we find the Jews allowed annually to visit the 'pierced stone,' which was near Hadrian's statue in the Temple. They anointed the stone, lamented over it, and tore their garments. It apparently represented the site of the Temple, over which no building is mentioned, and is usually identified with the *Sakhrah* or sacred 'rock,' still remarkable for the shaft which pierces down to the cave beneath from the surface of the rock. Jerome also speaks (*Comm.* Ezk 1^{15}) of the Jews entering Jerus. to wail, in his own time. He says that for fifty years (or until A.D. 130) Jerus. remained laid even with the ground, and lost its former name (*Comm.* Ezk 5^{1}); but under Hadrian it regained the position of an ordinary provincial capital.

We hear no more of its history for nearly two centuries, until the establishment of Christianity by Constantine; but, in the tombs on Olivet, stone boxes have been found (*osteophagi*) belonging to the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th cents. A.D., which held the bones of Jews and Jewish Christians there collected close to the Valley of Judgment. The traditional tomb of St. Pelagia (noticed from the 4th cent. down) contains also an early Gr. text—'Courage Domitela, none is immortal'—which may (as compared with others in Bashan) belong to the 2nd or 3rd cent. A.D. Pilgrimages began to be customary in the latter cent., when Alexander, a bishop of Cappadocia, visited Jerus.; and a female pilgrim is noticed by Cyprian. In A.D. 315 Eusebius speaks of pilgrims coming from all parts of the world to witness the fulfilment of prophecy, and to worship on the Mount of Olives (where the footprints of Christ were shown), which appears to have been the only sacred station then known. Our first account of the city under its new conditions is that of the Bordeaux Pilgrim, who arrived while the new cathedral of the Holy Sepulchre (or 'Church of the Anastasis') was being built by Constantine's order in A.D. 333. As regards the recognition of the site, we have no statement in earlier authors to show that the true locality was preserved by tradition. The legend of Helena's miraculous discovery of the Cross is unnoticed by contemporary writers, though in A.D. 326 the mother of Constantine visited Bethlehem and Olivet. The Cross itself is only noticed by St. Cyril twenty years after the great Basilica was built, and in A.D. 383 by Jerome (*Epit. Paulæ*, 5). Eusebius gives what purports to be Constantine's letter to Macarius (*Chron. Ann.* 339) ordering the erection of the new buildings which he elsewhere fully describes (*Life of Constantine*, bk. III. chs. 34–39). There is no doubt that the sites described are the same still shown, but the letter to Macarius speaks of them as 'long hidden under the earth'; and Eusebius says that the Venus temple was first destroyed, and 'beyond all hope' the sacred tomb was found under the mound then cleared away. There is no doubt that an ancient Jewish tomb (now called that of Nicodemus) was discovered, and that the traditional Holy Sepulchre (a tomb of the Gr. and Rom. type) is rock-cut; the surrounding rock is said to have been cut away to leave the monument isolated in the flat surrounding space.

What is lacking is any evidence that the sites are genuine. The story of the finding of the Cross is first told by Rufinus in A.D. 410, and by Theodoret about A.D. 440. The 4th cent. was an uncritical age, and many of the sites shown to pilgrims were impossible—such as that of Rephidim in Moab (St. Sylvia), of Job's Stone in Bashan, and of the Transfiguration on Olivet—a blunder of the Bordeaux Pilgrim, who also makes David to have met Goliath near Jezreel. The situation of the sites which Constantine honoured awakened apparently some suspicions from an early age. Eusebius (*Life of Constantine*, iii. 33) speaks of the new Jerus. rising round the Basilica opposite the old Jerus. in ruins; and mediæval writers all explain that the extension of the city, which in the 4th cent. A.D. surrounded the Venus temple, was due to Hadrian. A careful consideration of the topography and military considerations tend, however,—as will be seen later,—to show that these sites were equally within the city at the time of the Crucifixion. The case for the traditional sites, which have remained unchanged for fifteen centuries, is thus very weak. The buildings erected by Constantine have perished, but it is generally agreed by Willis, de Vogüé, and Prof. Hayter Lewis, that they consisted of a hemispherical building, continued eastwards by a great basilica, with a court or *atrium* on its E., and an entrance (*propylæa*) with pillars. This was, in fact, a building similar to that erected by Constantine at Bethlehem, where the original pillars of the basilica are still standing. The great leaden roof was gilded, the sacred cave was surrounded with columns, the cloisters had galleries above; the walls were adorned with sculpture (and possibly with mosaics), and, on the S. apparently, was the great tank—still traceable—in which (Cyril, *Catech. Lect.*) the neophytes were baptized at Easter, by total immersion, according to the usual rite. The details of the description are not very clear, but it is certain that the building was large and magnificent, and that it embraced not only the Holy Sepulchre in its open court surrounded by the hemisphere, but also the rock of the supposed Mount Calvary to the S.E. with the cave beneath. A site which had once been a pagan temple was thus (as in other cases at Tyre, Cæsarea, Gerasa, etc.) converted into a Christian shrine, but the strange festival of the Holy Fire (first noticed in the 9th cent.) seems to have perpetuated the pagan fire-feasts of earlier days—perhaps once celebrated at the same spot. In like manner the cave at Bethlehem had, according to Jerome, been sacred to Adonis before the grove was cut down, and the church built by Constantine over its site.

In A.D. 335 a synod was held at Jerus. and the Church of the Anastasis was consecrated (Euseb. *Life of Const.* iv. 43–47). On the temporary reversion of the state to paganism, Julian is said to have attempted to rebuild the Temple (Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.* iii. 20), but was deterred by what would seem to have been an explosion of fire damp, in A.D. 362. About A.D. 450 the empress Eudoxia, widow of Theodosius II., retired to Jerus., where she died in A.D. 461. She built a Church of St. Stephen, of which only a few fragments have been found N. of the city, and restored the walls, enclosing the Pool of Siloam within their circuit (Evagrius, *Hist. Eccles.* i. 22). During this period the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451) made Jerus. a patriarchate independent of Cæsarea. Short descriptions of the city (by

Eucherius and Theodosius) belong to the 5th and 6th cents., and the number of sacred sites shown to pilgrims steadily increased; but the genuineness of these traditions is always doubtful.

About A.D. 532 Justinian erected important works in Jerus., including the Church of the Virgin—usually supposed to have stood on the site of the present Aksa Mosque, the pillars of which have Byzantine capitals which may belong to this age—together with a hospital to the W. of the Temple enclosure, and a Church of St. Sophia, which Antony of Piacenza (about A.D. 600) places at the Prætorium, distinguishing it from St. Mary. It is also placed 'in' the Prætorium by Theodosius (or Theodorus, A.D. 530), and the Prætorium was always shown by Christian tradition N. of the Temple at the site of Antonia, and near the Twin Pools in the fosse to the N. The remains of a small church in the modern barracks are believed by de Vogüé to represent St. Sophia. The Temple Area itself, as described in the 4th, 5th, and 6th cents., was in ruins, and no building stood on the site of the Holy House. The S.E. corner of the enclosure stood up as a ruined 'pinnacle' to which pilgrims refer. Even after the great Church of St. Mary was built, Antony of Piacenza speaks of the 'ruins of Solomon's Temple,' and these ruins are noticed by Eucherius (about A.D. 427-440) and by Arculf (A.D. 680). We have no account of any buildings in this area before the time of Justinian, but the description by Procopius (*de Edificiis Justiniani*, bk. v. ch. 6) shows that his work was extensive. Unfortunately, the account is not very clear: cloisters (στοαί) are noticed, which may have run on the outer walls of the enclosure—except, as he says, on the E. The present Golden Gate, on the E. wall of the enclosure, is architecturally Byzantine work, and may have been built in the 6th cent. (as compared with buildings in N. Syria); it is unnoticed by early writers, and apparently first mentioned by Sæwulf early in the 12th cent. The hospital attached to St. Mary is said (Antony of Piacenza) to have held from 3000 to 5000 beds. Procopius speaks of two hospices (ξενῶνες),—one for pilgrims and one for the sick,—but it is not clear where they stood.

The buildings so erected by the two great emperors, Constantine and Justinian, suffered from the attack of Chosroes II. of Persia, who, aided by 24,000 Jews, is said (*Paschal Chron.* A.D. 614) to have destroyed the Church of the Anastasis, taking the patriarch Zacharias and the Holy Cross to Persia. Immediately after, Modestus, the vice-patriarch, is said to have begun the restoration of the church (*Life of St. John Eleemon* in *Acta Sanct.* ii. p. 500). In A.D. 629 Heraclius made peace with Siroes, son of Chosroes, and entered Jerus. in triumph through the Golden Gate (*Paschal Chron.*) on the 14th Sept. This victory of Christendom was, however, shortly to be followed by the triumph of Islam. It was in the same year that Mohammed destroyed the idols of Mecca, and in A.D. 637 Khalif Omar appeared before Jerusalem. The Christians resisted for some time (four months according to Theoph., *Chronograph*, or two years according to Arab writers). The earliest accounts (including that of Eutychius, A.D. 870) are not contemporary, but all writers seem to agree that Omar's conquest was unstained by blood. He proclaimed security for life and property on payment of tribute, and allowed the existing churches to stand, though no new ones might be built. He erected a wooden mosque W. of the Sakhrah (Arculf, A.D. 680, and Jelâl ed-Din, A.D. 1470), and purified the Rock itself. According to Eutychius (*Annals*, written not later than A.D. 940), the Christians had built nothing on the site of the Temple thus accepted by Islam.

The Ommiyah dynasty of Khalifs being established at Damascus, 'Abd el-Melek, the 10th Khalif (according to all Arab authorities, see Guy le Strange, *Pal. under the Moslems*), erected a *Kubbeh* or 'Dome' over the Sacred Rock in A.D. 688. The small 'Dome of the Chain' to the E. is said to have been the model of this building, which originally consisted of a drum supported on arches, and on pillars torn from some earlier Byzantine building, with an outer arcade—octagonal, and adorned with glass mosaics. These still remain, and the Kufic text above this outer arcade still preserves the date of building, A.H. 72. Under these Khalifs, and under the great Abbaside dynasty of Baghdad, the relationship of Islam and Christendom was friendly, and Harûn el-Rashid is said to have sent the keys of Jerus., with other presents, to Charlemagne, who erected in Jerus., E. of the Holy Sepulchre, chapels, and a hospice for Lat. pilgrims (Bernard, *Itin.*), towards the close of the 8th cent. A.D. The buildings on the site of Constantine's Church of the Anastasis, which Modestus erected as already noticed, and of which Arculf drew a rough plan on a wax tablet for the abbot of Iona, appear to have been small separate chapels. The Holy Sepulchre was enclosed in a round church. Calvary was covered by a separate building, and a third to the E. replaced the Basilica of Constantine. On the S. was a chapel of St. Mary, and N. of Calvary a chapel of the 'Prison of Christ.' In the early part of the 9th cent. the patriarch Thomas restored the dome over the round church (Eutychius, *Ann.* A.D. 813-833), and these buildings remained uninjured during the rule of the Abbasides.

But in A.D. 969 Jerus. fell under the power of the Shia'h Khalif of Egypt, Mue'z (see Gibbon, ch. lii.), and in A.D. 1010 Hakem, the crazy and fanatical Egyp. Khalif, ordered the destruction of the chapels by fire (Will. Tyre, i. 4). Through the influence of the Byzantine emperor, Constantine Monomachus, they were restored in A.D. 1048 by the patriarch Nicephorus, but the new buildings, which existed when the Crusaders took Jerus., were small and poor (Will. Tyre, i. 6, viii. 3). They were similar to those of Modestus, but included a chapel of St. Mary N. of the Sepulchre, and three chapels of St. John, Holy Trinity, and St. James (which still remain), to the S. The cave under the site of Constantine's Basilica, which is covered by a dome resting on clumsy Byzantine pillars, dating perhaps from the time of Modestus, was shown as the 'Chapel of St. Helena,' and as the place where the Cross was miraculously discovered.

The history of the Temple enclosure is traced during this earlier Moslem age by inscriptions, and by the later Arab histories. In A.D. 728 a cupola was erected over the Aksa Mosque (Justinian's Church of St. Mary), and this building was injured by earthquake about A.D. 758-775, but restored soon after by the Khalif el-Mahdi. In A.D. 831 the Khalif el-Mamûn restored the Dome of the Rock, and apparently enclosed it in the present octagonal outer wall. The beautiful bronze gates of this wall bear the above date (A.H. 216). The beams on the old roof resting on the wall also bear a date answering to A.D. 913. In A.D. 1016 an earthquake partly destroyed the dome, and the mosaics were repaired in A.D. 1027 as stated in their inscriptions. The present wood-work of the dome was erected in A.D. 1022. In A.D. 1060 the roof of the Aksa fell and was repaired.

The decreasing power of the Arab race, and the rise of the Seljuk Turks, led to the attack on Jerus. by Isar el-Atsis, a Turcoman general, who drove out the Egyptians in A.D. 1077, when 3000 of the inhabitants are said to have been slain (Will. of Tyre, i. 6). The cruelty of the Turkish rulers was the immediate cause of the first Crusade, when reported by Peter the Hermit after his visit to Jerus. in A.D. 1094. The number of pilgrims had been steadily increasing since about A.D. 1000, when the Amalfi merchants founded the hospice of St. John Eleemon, on the site apparently of that of Charlemagne. While the great contest raged round Antioch, the Egyptians took advantage of the absence of Turkish forces in the N., and seized Jerus. in 1098, expelling the Turcomans after a siege of 40 days. They then rebuilt the walls a few months before the army of Godfrey appeared from the plains (Will. Tyre, vii. 19). The Crusaders encamped on the N. and W., and subsequently extended on the S.W. After forty days of desperate struggle, the city fell on 15th July 1099 (Will. Tyre, viii. 5), and a terrible massacre followed. No sooner was the feudal system established in Pal. than extensive building operations began. About A.D. 1103 a new cathedral to cover the chapels of Nicephorus—already described—was commenced (Sæwulf, *Itin.*; Will. Tyre, viii. 3), and by A.D. 1140 the Church of St. Mary the Great was built S. of the cathedral. In A.D. 1136 the new buildings in the Temple Area, and the new decorations of the Dome of the Rock, then called Templum Domini, were finished after 20 years of work, a chapter of canons having been established in A.D. 1112 (Will. Tyre, viii. 3). The city increased in prosperity for half a cent., and was filled with churches and palaces, many of which remain almost intact. For eighty years it was never besieged, and its walls fell into decay, until the increasing dangers of the Lat. kingdom led to their being renewed in A.D. 1177 (Will. Tyre, xxi. 25). But, after the fatal defeat at Hattîn, the Franks in Jerus. were besieged by Saladin, and surrendered, escaping any massacre, in A.D. 1187. Saladin reconverted the Temple enclosure into a *Ḥaram* or 'sacred' Moslem sanctuary, and two years later restored and regilt the Dome of the Rock, as shown by an inscription in the dome itself. In A.D. 1192 he repaired the city walls to oppose Richard Lion Heart, and from his time downwards the Egyp. and Turkish rulers have added constantly new buildings in the area, with minarets, stained-glass windows, and other details, which it is impossible here to notice fully.

The main building periods of Jerus., after A.D. 70, have been described at some length, in order to explain the present conditions of Jerus. archæology, and to distinguish the works of later ages. In A.D. 1219 the city walls were dismantled by order of the Sultan of Damascus, and ten years later Frederic II., emperor of Germany, received Jerus. by treaty from the Sultan of Egypt. In spite of the conditions of this treaty, the Christians, in A.D. 1239, began to rebuild the walls, when Daûd Emir of Kerak fell upon them, massacred many, and demolished the walls and the citadel. Yet in 1243 Jerus. was again restored, without conditions, to Christendom by the Sultan of Damascus, and its walls repaired. In the following year the Kharezmian Tartars—foes of Islam and Christendom alike—seized Jerus., massacred the population, and rifled the tombs of the Lat. kings near the foot of Calvary. In 1247 they were driven N. by the Sultan of Egypt, and Jerus. remained subject to Egypt for 270 years, until the Ottoman Sultan Selim I. conquered Syria in A.D. 1517. Inscriptions on the walls show that the present ramparts are due to Suleimân the Magnificent in A.D. 1542. The line differs somewhat from that of the 12th cent. on the N.W. and S.

Jerus. under the Turks remained without a history, and hardly increased at all in size, until some 30 years ago. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre was partly destroyed by fire in A.D. 1808, but most of its present structures, including the bell tower, the choir, and the chapels, remain as they were in the 12th cent. In 1825 there was a revolt against Turkish rule in the city. In 1832 it was taken by Mohammed Ali from Egypt. In 1834 the peasantry entered by the drains, and shut up the garrison in the capital for a week. They were relieved by Ibrahim Pasha on the 6th of June. In 1840 Jerus. was restored to the Turks by Europe. The Anglican bishopric was founded two years later. In 1850 the riots of Gr. and Lat. clergy preceded the Crimean War. In recent years there has been a steady influx of Jewish inhabitants, so that a population of about 20,000 souls in 1872 has risen to about 50,000 at the present time. New quarters have sprung up outside the walls, on W., N., and S., and a railway from Jaffa has just recently been completed. The main cause of this rapid development, which has led to much misery and

poverty in the city, was the persecution of the Jews in Russia under the late Tzar.

IV. TOPOGRAPHY.—From the preceding account of the history it will be seen that, in treating of the topography of Jerus., we have to bear in mind various changes due to human agency throughout a period of nearly 4000 years; and that in studying the Antiquities we have to separate the work of Romans, Byzantines, Arabs, Crusaders, Egyptians, and Turks from the older remains of the semi-Greek period, of the Hebrews, or of the Canaanites. We have, in like manner, to distinguish later traditions from the true topography of the earliest writers, and monkish sites from those of the Bible. Our only real authorities are the OT for the earlier periods, and Josephus for the condition of the city just before the great destruction, which he witnessed in A.D. 70. In the Mishna we have, however (Tract *Middoth*), a valuable account of Herod's temple, written about A.D. 150 at Tiberias, by men who were able to visit the ruins, and to hear the remembrances of rabbis who had survived the siege. The accounts given by Jos. were, on the other hand, penned far away in Rome,—that in the *Wars* about A.D. 72, and the *Antiquities* as late as A.D. 93.

The long controversies which have raged as to most of the features of the ancient city have been silenced by the survey of Jerus. in 1864 by Sir C. W. Wilson, by de Vogüé's careful study of the Temple site in 1860–1863, and by the celebrated excavations of Sir C. Warren (1867–1870); and the differences of opinion now existing are few and comparatively unimportant. The principal discrepancies which will be found on the most recent maps concern three points only—(1) the position of the '**City of David**,' (2) the position of 'Akra,' (3) the size and exact position of the Temple. The first two may here be briefly considered. The third will be noticed in treating of the Temple Area.

As regards the extent of the city at the time of David's siege, we read that 'David took the stronghold of Zion, the same is the city of David,' and 'dwelt in the fort, and called it the city of David; and David built round about from Millo (Akra in LXX) and inwards' (2 S $5^{7.9}$). Jos. (*Ant*. VII. iii. 1) explains that, having crossed the ravine, David seized the citadel (Ἄκραν) 'and settled himself in Jerus., which he called David's own city': he adds, 'But David having also surrounded the lower city (τὴν κάτω πόλιν) and joined the citadel (τὴν Ἄκραν), to it made them one body.' In another passage he says that the upper city of his own time was called by David the fort (φρούριον), 'but by us the Upper Agora' (ἡ ἄνω ἀγορά), and that the other hill, called Akra (Ἄκρα), supported the lower city (τὴν κάτω πόλιν) (*Wars*, V. iv. 1). From these passages it is clear that Jos. considered the city in David's time to have coincided with the upper and lower city of his own days; and he describes the old wall surrounding the upper city (*Wars*, V. iv. 2) as having been built by David and Solomon. He agrees with the LXX in identifying **Millo** (that part of the city which was not the fort) with the quarter called Akra by the Greeks, though he also uses the word (with the article, however) of the fort itself. He regards the term 'city of David' as equivalent to Jerus. as it existed in David's time. He never uses the term Zion, which (see ZION) is in no part of the OT identified with any particular quarter of the city, though in the 1st cent. B.C. the author of 1 Mac appears to apply this name esp. to the Temple hill. The site of the upper city, or Upper Agora, is by general consent identified with the principal S.W. hill of Jerus., which Christian writers from the 4th cent. A.D. downwards call Zion. It is also not disputed that the lower city lay to the N. of this hill, which commanded the whole town, and was indeed the only hill on which a strong military situation could be found. The meaning of the word Millo is doubtful (it is usually rendered 'rampart' or 'filling'), and the site is not clearly indicated in the OT, but there is no reason to doubt that Jos. is right in identifying it with the lower city of his own time. It appears clear, then, that the Temple hill was not included in Jerusalem. It was the site of a threshing-floor, and such floors are always found outside towns and villages in Palestine. When the Temple was built, and the quarter of the Nethinim arose on **Ophel** ('the swell'),—a name applied later to the lower and narrower spur of the same hill S. of the Temple,—walls were of necessity extended to include this new quarter. The 'city of David' thus became a term applying to the old main quarters of Jerus., which alone existed in David's age, or perhaps esp. to the stronghold of Zion or upper city.

It has, however, been supposed by some recent writers (*e.g.* W. R. Smith, C. Wilson, Stade, Sayce, Buhl) * that the term 'city of David' should be applied to the spur S. of the Temple, the name Ophel not applying to the whole spur. It is clear, however (Neh $3^{26.27}$, *Wars*, V. iv. 2), that Ophel was a place with houses, and the spur in question presents an area of only a few acres, the crest being lower than the summits of the other hills, and unfitted for the erection of a citadel. The theory rests partly on a passage which, as rendered in AV, would make the aqueduct from Gihon run 'to the W. side of the city of David,' under Ophel (2 Ch 32^{30}). The true rendering (as given by Keil and others) may be, however, 'westwards to the city of David,' which agrees with the supposition that the latter term applies to the upper city. It is sometimes also urged that the tombs of the kings buried 'in the city of David' were on Ophel—a question to be considered later. The indications found in other passages seem to show that no part of the Temple ridge was within the city of David. In 1 K 8^1 we find the ark described as brought up to the Temple 'out of the city of David' (so 2 Ch 5^2). In Neh 3^{15} the 'stairs that go down from the city of David' are noticed with Siloam. In 2 Ch 32^5 'the Millo' is placed 'in the city of David,' and it was not on the Temple ridge. In 2 Ch 33^{14} we read that Manasseh built 'an outer wall westwards to the city of David, as far as Gihon in the ravine.' It appears therefore that the topography shown in most recent maps is correct, and that the city of David included the fortress (מְצֻדָה) of the upper city, and the quarter called Millo, or the lower city to the N. Solomon also fortified 'the Millo' (1 K 9^{24}), and 'shut in the ravine (?; RV 'repaired the breach'; Heb. סָגַר אֶת־פֶּרֶץ) of the city of David his father' (1 K 11^{27}); and after the building of his own palace he brought his Egyp. queen to *her* palace 'out of the city of David' (1 K 9^{24}). Subsequent notices of Millo (2 K 12^{20}, 2 Ch 32^5) do not throw much more light on the subject, though Silla, noticed in the first of these, may be connected with the 'causeway' of another passage (1 Ch 26^{16}), and with the stairs from the city of David, if the word (see SILLA) means 'steps.' The causeway in question was W. of the Temple. As regards the water supply of Jerus. at this time the Gihon spring (now called the Virgin's Fountain) was at some distance from the upper city; but it is possible that the great reservoir (now called *Hammâm el-Batrak*, 'the Patriarch's Pool,' and by others Hezekiah's Pool), which stands immediately N. of the upper city, was already in existence within the walls. It is very probably the 'upper pool'

---

* On the question of the site of the 'city of David' and of Zion, see further art. ZION, where a different view from the above is contended for; and cf. art. JEBUS, p. 554 n ‡.

(Is 36^{2}) which, in Hezekiah's time, had a conduit, and was situated near a 'highway.' It was here that the Assyr. appeared before Jerus. in B.C. 701, and Jos. tells us (*Wars*, v. vii. 2) that the 'camp of the Assyr.' was on the N.W. side of the old city, which was the natural quarter whence they would have approached from Philistia. The pool in question is called by him Amygdalon, and a conduit entering the city on this side is also noticed by him. An aqueduct still leads from the Birket Mamilla outside Jerus. on the W. to the Patriarch's Pool. This upper pool may have formed the chief supply of water within Jerus. as early as David's time.

As regards the royal palace of Solomon and of the later kings, we learn that it took thirteen years to build (1 K 7^{1-12}). 'For he built the house of the forest of Lebanon: the length thereof was 100 cubits, and the breadth thereof 50 cubits, and the height thereof 30 cubits.' The pillars were of cedar with rafters above. It had a porch 50 cubits wide and 30 cubits long at one end, in which was the ivory throne of judgment. A *Ḥarîm* or women's house appears to have been attached; courts existed both within and outside, and the 'great court' (v.^{12}) seems to have been connected with the Temple itself. In later times we read of the king's high house by the court of the guard (Neh 3^{25}, see 12^{39}), as being immediately south of the Temple, and the King's Gate was in the same vicinity (1 Ch 9^{18}), being probably the high gate of the king's house (2 Ch 23^{20}), and the gate of the guard near the king's house, which adjoined the Temple (2 K 11^{19}). Solomon's palace was outside the city of David (1 K 9^{24}, 2 Ch 8^{11}), and the Horse Gate was by the king's house outside the Temple, being the way by which the horses came to the king's house (2 K 11^{16}, 2 Ch 23^{15}). This gate was on Ophel S. of the Temple (Neh 3^{28}, see Jer 31^{40}, Jos. *Ant.* IX. vii. 2, 3). It is clear that Ezk refers to the palace as being divided from the Temple only by a wall (Ezk 43^{8}), and there is a general agreement that the palace stood south of the Temple. It seems to have still existed after the Captivity,—probably in ruins,—but disappeared when the royal cloister of Herod's enlarged Temple enclosure was built, and it is not noticed by Jos. in his account of the Jerus. of his own time.

The fortification of the Ophel spur, south of the Temple, was begun by Jotham (2 Ch 27^{3}), for Uzziah is only said to have strengthened the W. wall (2 Ch $26^{9.15}$), and it was completed by Manasseh (33^{14}). This wall existed no doubt, therefore, in Hezekiah's time, but was rendered more formidable by his successor. It is described in the latter passage as extending from the city of David to Gihon in the ravine, and as stretching to the Fish Gate on the N. side of the city. Ophel and the Temple were thus included, about B.C. 800, in the fortified circuit. As regards Gihon, it is to be noted that it is described as 'in the torrent-valley' (*naḥal*), a term which appears to apply exclusively to the Kidron Valley, the valley of Ben Hinnom being always denoted by another word (*gai*). Thus when Solomon was taken down to Gihon (1 K $1^{33.38}$) he was in full view of the faction supporting Adonijah on the cliff of Zoheleth (now *Zuhweileh*) on the opposite side of the Kidron. The term Gihon ('bursting forth') indicates a natural spring, such as is found only at the so-called Virgin's Pool or '*Ain Umm ed-Deraj* ('spring of the mother of steps') under the E. slope of Ophel. In the Bk. of Jos (15^{7} 18^{16}) this spring is called En-rogel, usually rendered 'Fuller's Spring,' and sometimes connected with the Fuller's Field (Is 36^{2}),[*] but the true meaning is perhaps the 'spring of the water channel.' Hezekiah was the first to connect this spring with the Pool of Siloam by the aqueduct still existing (2 K 20^{20}, Is 22^{11}, 2 Ch $32^{4.30}$), although it would seem that the 'ditch (or basin) between the two walls' had, according to Is, been already made for the waters of an older pool in the time of Ahaz. In the last-quoted passage Hezekiah's great work is described fully, and, as tr. more correctly than in the AV, may read 'stopped the upper spring of Gihon and brought it straight underground, westwards, to the city of David.' In 2 Ch 32^{4} we read that when preparing for the Assyr. attack Hezekiah 'stopped the watercourse that ran (or overflowed) through the midst of the land' (or 'earth'; the LXX read πόλις, 'city'), in order to prevent the Assyrians from getting water. It seems probable that the sudden flow of the Gihon spring (which occurs intermittently) had formerly made a stream, flowing down the Kidron Valley (the bed of which was then much deeper), and that by means of the aqueduct the water was diverted to the Siloam pool, close to the city walls. The Gihon spring now rises in a cave reached by a descent of many steps, but the earth in front of the cave may have been first piled up by Hezekiah, and some natural outlet must at first have existed. The actual line of the old wall near Siloam is unknown, but in the account of the flight of Zedekiah we read of the 'way of the gate between the two walls, which is by the king's garden' (2 K 25^{4}, Jer 39^{4}), this gate leading to the Arabah or Jordan Valley. Jos. understands a 'fortified ditch' on the side nearest to Jericho (*Ant.* X. viii. 2), and the king's garden (belonging no doubt to the palace) was close to Siloam (Neh 3^{15}). Hence the wall of Jotham and Manasseh appears to have passed near Siloam. Gihon is called by Jos. 'Solomon's Pool' (*Wars*, V. iv. 1), and placed close to Ophel.

The general topography of Jerus., before its destruction by Nebuch., thus appears to be clear; but the site of the tombs of the kings is still controverted. Fifteen kings are said in the OT to have been buried in the 'city of David,' though Josephus only says 'in Jerusalem.' These were David, Solomon, Rehoboam, Abijah, Asa, Jehoshaphat, Joram, Ahaziah, Joash, Amaziah, Azariah, Jotham, Ahaz, Hezekiah, and Josiah. The monument was known in the time of John Hyrcanus (*Ant.* VII. xv. 3) and of Herod (XVI. vii. 1), both of whom sought treasure in it. It appears to have been known in the time of the apostles (Ac 2^{29}), but Josephus unfortunately does not describe its position. According to the Mishna (*Parah* iii. 2, see Tosephta, *Baba Bathra*, ch. 1), the only tombs in Jerus. were those of the family of David and of the prophetess Huldah. Certain unworthy kings were, however, buried elsewhere. Manasseh was buried 'in the garden of his own house in the garden of Uzza' (2 K 21^{18}), and Amon was buried in the same place (v.^{26}). They are not said to have been buried in the city of David (see *Ant.* IX. x. 4, X. iii. 2), and, if the garden of Uzza was the same as the king's garden, it lay not far from the palace, and near Siloam, as above explained. This may account for the notice of the 'sepulchres of David' (Neh 3^{16}) near Siloam, if the term 'city of David' is to be strictly applied only to the older city. It is possible that all the kings were buried in this 'burying-place' (2 Ch 26^{23}), but it is remarkable that one ancient tomb is known in the lower city — that now called the tomb of Nicodemus immediately W. of the traditional Holy Sepulchre. Jos. gives a remarkable account of the tombs of the kings (*Ant.* VII. xv. 3) which might apply to this existing tomb, with three *Kukim* or tunnel graves at the far end, and three on each side, thus accommodating nine bodies. A hole in the floor leads to other *Kukim* below, to the left of the entrance. It might, therefore, have sufficed for the kings buried in the city of David if—which cannot now be determined on account of a wall foundation—there were six *Kukim* in the lower tier. It is not impossible that this monument may be the real tomb of the kings, but it is also possible that all were buried near Siloam within the city walls; and future excavation may reveal the 'sepulchres of David' near Siloam.

---

[*] In the Mishna, *Sheḳalim* viii. 1, it is stated that the upper market-place was occupied by pagan fullers.

The most complete account of the topography of Jerus. in the Bible is found in the Bk. of Neh, which relates his survey of the ruined walls, and details his restoration of the ancient circuit. In the first passage (Neh 2^{13-15}) he describes how he went out by the gate of the valley (*gai*), W. of Jerus., 'E. of the Dragon Spring,' which seems to be the Serpents' Pool of Jos. (*τῶν ὄφεων κολυμβήθρα*), W. of the city (*Wars*, V. iii. 2), the site being, however, unknown; and passing S. by the Dung Gate he reached the 'Gate of the Spring,' and the King's Pool (probably Siloam). Then, going up N. by the 'torrent-valley' (Kidron), and finding the road blocked with ruins, he returned to the Valley Gate. In the second passage (Neh 3^{1-32}) the whole course of the wall is described from N. of the Temple, W., S., E., and N., to the starting-point. The names of the gates, and other details, agree with the scattered notices of earlier passages, and must be considered in order. The **Sheep Gate,** repaired by the priests (cf. Neh 12^{39}), is generally allowed to have been on the N. of the Temple. The towers *Hananel* and *Meah* appear to have belonged to the 'fortress' (*birah*, an Aram. word, Assyr. *biratu*) of 'the house' or Temple (Neh 2^{8}), which was apparently the later Baris on the site of Antonia (see 1 Ch 29^{19}, Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. iv. 3, *Wars*, I. iii. 3, V. 4; Mishna, *Middoth* i. 9, *Tamid* iv. 1, *Zebaḥim* xii. 3). These two towers are again noticed (Neh 12^{39}) in the same position, and Hananel (Jer 31^{38}) marked the opposite extreme (on the east) of the breadth of the city measured from the Corner Gate. The **Fish Gate** (2 Ch 33^{14}, Neh 3^{3} 12^{39}, Zeph 1^{10}) was probably the entrance by which men of Tyre brought fish to Jerus. (Neh 13^{16}), and is generally supposed to have been on the N. wall. The **Old Gate** or gate of the old (city) was probably in the city of David, the wall of Manasseh extending to the Fish Gate (2 Ch 33^{14}), in connexion with which a place called the 'second' (city or quarter) is noticed (הַמִּשְׁנֶה, Zeph 1^{10}); it is also noticed in the time of Josiah (2 K 22^{14}, AV wrongly 'college'). It is not impossible that Jos. refers to this quarter, in one passage, when speaking of the 'other city' (*ἄλλην πόλιν*, *Ant.* XV. xi. 5). These indications would seem to place the *Fish Gate* at the head of the narrow valley which bounds the Temple on the W. E. of this valley was the 'second quarter,' walled in by Manasseh, and W. of it was the old city of David. Next to the Old Gate is noticed (Neh 3^{8} 12^{38}) the **Broad Wall,** probably in the weakest part of the city on the N.W., and in this vicinity a gate called the **Gate of Ephraim** (2 K 14^{13}, 2 Ch 25^{23}, Neh 8^{16} 12^{39}) is noticed, about 400 cubits from the Corner Gate: inside this gate and the Water Gate there was a 'broad place' (Neh 8^{16} AV 'street'), where booths could be erected, and the Gate of Ephraim was between the Broad Wall and the Old Gate. The description applies to the flat ground immediately N. of the N.W. corner of the upper city. Beyond the Broad Wall was the **Tower of Furnaces** (Neh 3^{11}) near the Gate of the Valley which probably led out to the Valley of Hinnom, to which this term (*gai*) seems to be generally confined (see 2 Ch 26^{9}, Neh 2^{13}). The Tower of Furnaces may be one of those built by Uzziah at the Valley Gate, and at the Corner Gate, and his towers thus seem to have occupied the site of the later 'Royal Towers' (*Wars*, II. xvii. 6) at the N.W. corner of the upper city. The **Corner Gate** (2 K 14^{13}, 2 Ch 25^{23} 26^{9}, Jer 31^{38}, Zec 14^{10}) was apparently the same as the 'first' (or 'principal') gate, and was clearly on the W. of the city, where the principal road from the plains reached Jerusalem. The **Dung Gate** was 1000 cubits from the Valley Gate (Neh 2^{13} 3^{14} 12^{31}), and is perhaps the same as the **Ḥarsith** Gate near the Valley of Hinnom (Jer 19^{2}), sometimes rendered **Gate of Potsherds.** The dunghills of the city must have been in this neighbourhood. The place called Bethso by Jos. (*Wars*, V. iv. 2) is sometimes explained to mean *Beth ẓoah*, 'house of dung,' and would be in the same vicinity, on the W. side of the upper city. The **Gate of the Spring** (Neh 2^{14} 3^{15} 12^{37}) may have led to Siloam, with which it is noticed, and was apparently near the S.E. slope of the upper city. It is probably the gate by which Zedekiah fled (2 K 25^{4}, Jer 39^{4}), and is noticed in connexion with the wall of the Pool of Siloah, and with the king's garden, and the stairs from the city of David. The next points on the wall were 'over against' the sepulchres of David, and at the 'Tower of Heroes' (*gibborim*), and the 'turning of the wall' (Neh $3^{16.\,19}$). On Ophel was the 'Projecting Tower' near the **Water Gate,** and apparently close to the ancient palace by the 'Court of the Guard' (Neh $3^{25.\,26}$). The Water Gate would lead to the Gihon spring—probably by the rocky shaft which runs up to the surface of the hill, at the back of the cave in which the Gihon wells up. Between this and the Temple the ruins of a great projecting tower still exist on the old wall. The **Horse Gate** leading to the palace was close to the Temple, and from it the priests repaired the wall (2 K 11^{16}, 2 Ch 23^{15}, Neh 3^{28}, Jer 31^{40}). The palace is again noticed as the 'House of David' (Neh 12^{37}). On the E. wall of the Temple were two gates called **Gate of Benjamin** (Jer 20^{2}, Zec 14^{10}) and **Gate of the Guard** (2 K $11^{6.\,19}$ [הַשַּׁעַר אַחַר הָרָצִים], Neh 12^{39} [ש' הַמַּטָּרָה]). One of these may have been the Upper Gate (2 K 15^{35}, 2 Ch 23^{20}), noticed with Ophel, and one the **Gate of Ham-miphkad** (Neh 3^{31}). The description of the circuit closes at the N.E. corner of the Temple, and at the **Sheep Gate** whence it commences. There is, as shown, nothing which indicates discrepancy between this formal account and the earlier incidental notices of the city before the Captivity, or any difficulty in tracing the approximate line of the walls. The city so described occupied about 200 acres, and it is spoken of as extensive in Nehemiah's time (Neh 7^{4}). The suggestion once made, that Jerus. before the Captivity occupied only the E. Temple hill, has found few supporters, and it would reduce the city to the impossible area of some 10 acres, not including the Temple. The upper city and lower city are clearly supposed by Jos. to have existed in the time of David and Solomon, and the measurements of 400 and 1000 cubits, above noticed, cannot be reconciled with a view which would make Solomon's capital smaller than any of the modern village hamlets of Palestine. Ancient cities like Tyre and Cæsarea occupied an area of more than 100 acres, as did Rabbath Ammon; and Jerus. was at least as important as any of these.*

---

* Other places in Jerus. noticed in OT include the Temple Gate Sur (2 K 11^{6}; in 2 Ch 23^{5} 'gate of the foundation' [הַיְסוֹד] should prob. be 'gate Sur' [סוּר]), the New Gate—apparently the higher (or inner) Temple Gate (Jer 26^{10} 36^{10}), the graves of the common people (Jer 26^{23} 31^{40}) apparently in the Kidron Valley, the Prison or 'Guard' (Jer $37^{15.}$ [בֵּית הָאֵסוּר] ^{21} 38^{6} [חֲצַר הַמַּטָּרָה]), the Baker's Street (37^{21}); the Third Entry (or Chief Entry) of the Temple (38^{14}), the King's wine-presses (probably near the king's

We must next consider the topography of the Greek age, when the Hasmonæans carried out important works at Jerus., and the position of the Gr. citadel or Akra, which threatened the Temple. The Greeks are said to have fortified the city of David for themselves to lie in wait against the Temple (1 Mac 1^{33}), to which the term Zion seems to be applied by this writer (1 Mac $4^{36.\ 60}$ 7^{32}): the Gr. tower was by (παρά) the Temple (1 Mac 9^{52} 13^{52}), and they issued from the city of David to the Temple (14^{36}). Since the Temple hill was not in the city of David, it would seem that the tower in question was not on the Temple hill. Josephus, in relating the history of this period, calls the tower 'the Akra,'—a term which, as before noticed, he applies to citadels both in the upper and in the lower city. He, however, places the Gr. fortress in the lower city, which was then high, overlooking (ὑπερκειμένη) the Temple (*Ant.* XII. v. 4). From this citadel Nicanor came down to (εἰς) the Temple (XII. x. 5), and the citadel lay over (ἐπέκειτο) the Temple (XII. ix. 3). In another place he says that the Akra was no other than the lower city (*Wars*, V. vi. 1), and this apparent contradiction is explained in the passage which relates how Simon, brother of Judas Maccabæus, took the Gr. citadel, and levelled the hill on which it stood, so that the Temple might be higher than it (ὑψηλότερον ᾖ τὸ ἱερόν), a work which occupied three years (*Ant.* XIII. vi. 6). The tower (ἡ Ἄκρα) of 1 Mac is thus identified by Jos. with Akra, afterwards the lower city. He distinctly explains this in another passage (*Wars*, V. iv. 1), where he says that the Temple ridge (λόφος) was naturally lower than the Akra, and separated from it by a broad valley (φάραγγι), which the Hasmonæans filled up in order to join the city to the Temple, and demolished the tower so that the Temple might be higher than it. Before the destruction of the Gr. tower Jonathan built a wall in the middle of the city (1 Mac 12^{36}, *Ant.* XIII. v. 11), which divided the Jews from the Greeks. It seems clear that such a wall—which may have run along the N. face of the hill of the upper city—could not have affected a citadel on the Temple hill. Some recent writers have supposed this citadel to have stood N. of the Temple, where Baris—the later Antonia—was subsequently built by the Hasmonæans (*Ant.* XV. xi. 4), this view being supported by the Eng. tr. (*Ant.* XII. ix. 3), which makes the Akra 'adjoin' the Temple,—an incorrect rendering. It is clear that if the site of the Akra was levelled it cannot have been the same high rock still existing, on which—by general consent—Baris or Antonia is held to have been built, apparently by John Hyrcanus (*Ant.* XVIII. iv. 3), though, as already shown, towers there probably existed in Nehemiah's time and earlier. Most modern plans (including the Ord. Surv. of Jerus., which shows Akra W. of the Temple) agree in placing the lower city N. of the upper and W. of the Temple. The valley W. of the Temple may thus conveniently be termed in future the Hasmonæan Valley, which they filled in with the soil from the Akra hill when it was lowered.

From the Hasmonæan period we pass on to consider Jerus. as it existed under Herod the Great, and at the time of the great siege by Titus; and here the accounts given by Jos. are easily understood, and accord with the earlier topography of OT. Tacitus gives us a short description (*Hist.* v. 11. 12), in which he states that Jerus. occupied two hills, with great walls with flanking portions, and crags with towers 60 ft. above the crags, or 120 ft. high when on the flat ground. There were other walls under the royal palace, and the tower of Antonia was particularly conspicuous. There was a fountain of water which ran perpetually, and the mountains were hollowed beneath, and pools and cisterns made for rain water. This brief notice agrees with the more detailed account by Josephus. He states (*Wars*, V. iv. 1, 2) that Jerus. had three walls on the only side (the N.) on which it was not defended by impassable valleys. It was founded on two hills facing (ἀντιπρόσωπος) each other, and these were divided by a valley in which the houses ended (κατέληγον) on either side (ἐπάλληλοι). The hill which supported (on the S.W.) the upper city (τὴν ἄνω πόλιν ἔχων) was by far the highest and largest. It was the fortress (φρούριον) of David, and the Upper Agora of the time of Josephus. The other hill (to the N.W.) was called Akra (not *the* Akra), and was gibbous (ἀμφίκυρτος) in shape. Over against (ἀντικρύ) this was a third ridge (λόφος), naturally lower than Akra, and separated from it by the broad valley filled in by the Hasmonæans. The valley dividing the upper and lower city was called Tyropœon ('of the cheesemakers'), and reached to Siloam. This is clearly the deep, broad valley, or recess, described under the head 'Natural Site,' which falls E., on the N. side of the upper city, and joining the Hasmonæan Valley runs down to meet the Kidron at Siloam. The original city stood on the two hills, and the third to the E. was the Temple ridge. In another passage (*Ant.* XV. xi. 5) Jos. says that the city was placed opposite the Temple like a theatre, girt with a deep valley (that of Hinnom) on the S. Opposite Antonia was a fourth hill called Bezetha (which Jos. renders 'the new city'), separated from that citadel by a deep fosse. It is not impossible that this word is the Aram. Bezatha (בזאתא [?]), 'division.' (Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 239 n., thinks it is בית זיתא 'place of olives'). It was the N. part of the Temple ridge divided off by the still existing rock-cut fosse. Jos. next describes the walls, of which the first was attributed to David and Solomon, and later kings. The **First Wall** ran E. from the tower Hippicus to the Xystus, under the W. wall of the Temple, and this N. face of the wall seems to be the same wall in the middle of the city built by the Hasmonæans. Hippicus stood at the N.W. angle, and was one of three royal towers (*Wars*, II. xvii. 1), the other two being Phasaelus and Mariamne. They stood close to Herod's palace in the upper city (*Wars*, I. xxi. 1, II. xvii. 6, V. iv. 4, VI. viii. 1), and varied in height, though apparently, according to Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 11), the tops of the towers were on a level. This was due to the varying height of the rock basis, and these towers possibly correspond with the three main towers of the modern citadel, that which is popularly known as Hippicus being the largest, and corresponding to Phasaelus, the largest royal tower. Phasaelus had an outer 'cloister,' and the great 'Tower of David' is still distinguished by an outer walk round it, at the top of the scarp of the main ditch. From Hippicus the old wall, on the W. side of the upper city, ran S. to Bethso (already noticed as perhaps meaning the 'House of Dung'), which lay where the dunghills of the city are still placed. It passed a gate called the Gate of the Essenes, and its S. face extended to Siloam, where it bent, and evidently left the pool outside, since the Romans drew water at Siloam before the city was taken (*Wars*, V. ix. 4). On the E. it passed by Solomon's Pool (prob. Gihon), and reached to Ophel, where it joined the E. cloister of the Temple. The Tyropœon Valley,

---

garden, Zec 14^{10}), 'the suburbs' (*parbarim*)* close to the Temple (2 K 23^{11}), and the middle city (2 K 20^{4}) or middle court (MSS and all versions). The site of the Middle Gate (Jer 39^{3}) is unknown. The gate Shallecheth (1 Ch 26^{16}) was by a causeway W. of the Temple.

---

* Perhaps 'colonnade.' The word (פַּרְבָּר in 1 Ch 26^{18}, פַּרְוָרִים in 2 K 23^{11}) is apparently Persian, and means properly *something lighted*, namely, by the sun.

as already explained, was divided from the upper Hinnom Valley by a narrow neck of land, close to the royal towers. It is remarkable that in this valley of 'Cheesemakers' there is still a street where fresh cheeses are sold, and the modern features of the city generally — the fortress of Antonia, the castle at the royal towers, the Temple itself, the situation even of the dunghills outside the wall — retain to the present day the same character as in the time of Josephus. The main market of Jerus. is placed just where the Upper Agora of Herodian times, and of Nehemiah's age, must have existed. The **Second Wall** is more briefly described. It started from a gate called Gennath (prob. the 'garden' gate of the palace), which was in the first wall, and circling round (κυκλούμενον) enclosed the N. part only (τὸ προσάρκτιον κλίμα μόνον) reaching to Antonia. It thus defended Akra or the lower city. It is clearly probable that this wall was built on high ground, and more likely to have crossed the neck of high land already noticed than to have dived down into the Tyropœon, more than 100 ft. below the ground outside it. But if it went 'in a curve,' and started from this point near Phasaelus, it must have also enclosed, or run close to, the high knoll now shown as Calvary. What is known of the rock in this part indicates the existence of a broad trench, W. and N. of the knoll in question, which may have been the fosse of the second wall which, joining Antonia—the modern barracks—at its N.W. angle, was also protected by the Bezetha fosse, which is traceable W. of Antonia. The discovery of part of an ancient wall N. of the royal towers will be noticed under the heading 'Antiquities.'

The **Third Wall** of Jerus. had no existence till after the Crucifixion, being that of Agrippa (*Ant.* XIX. vii. 2; *Wars*, V. iv. 2). It ran from Hippicus to a great octagonal tower called Psephinus, at its N.W. corner—a place whence a wide view was obtained, and consequently on very high ground. Thence it ran E. to the Women's Towers, opposite the tomb of Helena, widow of the king of Adiabene, which was 3 furlongs from Jerus. (*Ant.* XX. iv. 3), and acc. to Pausanias had a rolling stone at its entrance (*Greciæ Descript.* viii. 16). Jerome states that it lay E. of the great N. road (*Epit. Paulæ*), and these indications point to the conspicuous monument in Gr.-Jewish style, with a rolling stone at the door, which is now called the 'Tomb of the Kings.' If the measurement is correct, the third wall must have run farther N. than the present N. wall of Jerusalem. Some suppose it to have followed the present line throughout, placing Psephinus—in accordance with mediæval tradition—at the castle of the Pisans (*Ḳal'at Jalûd*), a ruined 12th cent. castle near the N.W. corner of modern Jerusalem. Robinson, however, found traces of an ancient wall running N.W., in continuation of the present wall, towards the high ground on the watershed near the present Russian cathedral, where probably Psephinus stood.

Jos. says that the third wall stretched a long way (μηκυνόμενον) by the royal caverns, after passing the point opposite Helena's monument, and here it must have stood on the same scarp occupied by the modern wall, E. of the Damascus Gate, in which scarp is the entrance to these caverns or quarries under the city. It then bent (prob. at the existing N.E. angle, which has a rock scarp and fosse), and from the corner tower (still extant), near the Monument of the Fuller (γναφέως), it ran to meet the old wall (apparently of the Temple) by the Kidron Valley. This general description offers no great difficulties, and the only points in dispute are the exact line of the second wall, and of the third wall towards the W. As regards the first point, it should be further noticed that Jos. describes a great pool called Amygdalon, where the 10th and 15th Legions encamped in attacking the upper city on the N.W. (*Wars*, V. xi. 4). The name seems to mean 'almond pool, but perhaps stands for *Ham-migdalon*, 'Pool of the Great Tower,' from its proximity to Phasaelus. It is usually identified with the existing *Hammâm el-Batrak*, the 'upper pool' already noticed. This pool is not mentioned till after the taking of the second wall, and seems to have lain inside its circuit, which agrees with the course of the wall generally advocated. Those who regard the traditional Calvary as the true site seek to trace the second wall on the lower ground, S. and E. of the Calvary knoll, in which case it is almost impossible so to draw its lines as to allow of its both running 'in a circle,' and also avoiding the deep broad Tyropœon, which has its head close to the E. side of the pool Amygdalon. If the second wall ran close to the knoll, the third wall cannot have coincided, on the N.W., with the present city wall, which is too close to the line so traced. The whole question is thus mainly influenced by opinion as to the site of Calvary.

In concluding this account of the topography about A.D. 70, various places noticed by Jos. may be briefly mentioned. On the N., 7 furlongs from the city, was Scopus (*Wars*, II. xix. 7, v. 3), near the present village *Sha'fat*, a high ridge commanding a view of Jerusalem. Close to Antonia was the pool Struthius (*Wars*, V. xi. 4), prob. the later Piscina Interior, recently discovered W. of the Church of St. Anne. E. of the Kidron, on Olivet, was a place called the Rock of the Dovecots (τῆς περιστερεῶνος), and just N. of the village of Siloam is a quarry with remains resembling a dovecot (*Wars*, V. xii. 2; see Ord. Survey Notes, p. 64). On the S. was the tomb of Ananus, which is possibly the Gr.-Jewish tomb in the cliff S. of the Hinnom Valley, close to its junction with the Kidron, now known as the 'retreat of the apostles,' and used—as is shown by remains of frescoes—as a chapel in the Middle Ages. W. of Jerus. were 'Herod's monuments,' near the Serpent Pool (*Wars*, V. iii. 2, vii. 2, xii. 2). The exact site is unknown, but a fine Gr.-Jewish masonry tomb has recently been discovered W. of the Upper Hinnom Valley, opposite the upper city. These places are noted as points on the wall of circumvallation, made by Titus after the third wall was taken. It ran along the E. slope of the Kidron, and outside the Hinnom Valley. On the N.W. it passed the camp of the Assyr., which was outside the second wall (*Wars*, V. xii. 2). Within the city there was a theatre, in an unknown position (*Ant.* XV. viii. 1), and the palace of the Hasmonæans (*Ant.* XX. viii. 11; *Wars*, II. xvi. 3) overlooked the W. cloister of the Temple, near the great bridge, and stood apparently on the cliff at the N.E. corner of the upper city. Other palaces of Agrippa, of Bernice, and of Helena are noticed (*Wars*, II. xvii. 6, IV. xix. 11, VI. vi. 1–3): the first may have been Herod's palace, but that of Helena (and of Monobasus her husband) was in the lower city, as were apparently the Council house and the archives (*Wars*, VI. vi. 3). The Xystus, or gymnasium, built by the high priest Jason (1 Mac 1^{14}; *Ant.* XII. v. 1), was near the great bridge, in the valley W. of the Temple (*Wars*, II. xvi. 2, 3, V. iv. 1, VI. iii. 2, viii. 1). The Hippodrome S. of the Temple may be the same as Herod's theatre (*Wars*, I. xxxiii. 6, II. iii. 1). Jos. also speaks of secret passages near the royal towers and Herod's palace (*Wars*, VI. viii. 1), and such a passage still exists leading from the site of this palace underground towards the Temple hill. The city and Temple were supplied with water by Pilate's aqueduct, 200 furlongs long, from Etham (*'Ain 'Atân*) S. of Bethlehem, and from *'Ain*

Kueizîba still farther S. It still brings water along the S. slope of the upper city to the Temple enclosure (*Ant.* XVIII. iii. 2; see Talm. Bab. *Joma* 31*a*).

The places noticed in NT in or near Jerus.—Bethesda, Gethsemane, and Calvary—have been separately treated. Bethesda was very probably the same as Gihon. Calvary cannot be located with certainty, but is now regarded by many as the knoll N. of the Damascus Gate, which was outside the third wall, at the so-called 'Jeremiah's Grotto.' See, further, art. GOLGOTHA. The Judgment Hall of Pilate (Jn 18^{28}) appears to have been distinct from Herod's palace (Lk 23^{7}), and was probably in Antonia. The Pavement (λιθόστρωτον), called Gabbatha (wh. see) in Aram., was in this hall (Jn 19^{13}), and Jos. uses this term in speaking of the Temple pavement (*Wars*, VI. i. 8). The site of the high priest's palace (Mt 26^{58}, Mk 14^{54}, Lk 22^{54}, Jn 18^{15}) was probably also near the Temple.

Talmudic notices of Jerus. (see Neubauer, *Géog. Talm. s.v.*) are of little value, unless from the Mishna. An ancient rose garden is said to have existed (Talm. Bab. *Baba Ḳamma* 82*a*). All tombs and tanneries were outside the town (Mishna, *Baba Bathra*, ii. 9), but ancient tombs were suspected to exist under the surface (*Parah* iii. 2), and foundations were consequently not dug deep (*Baba Ḳamma* vii. end). Only the royal tombs and that of Huldah were allowed within the walls (Tosephta, *Baba Bathra*, ch. i.). The upper and lower markets are noticed (Tosephta, *Sanhed.* ch. 14), and there were two places called Betzain (בציין), an upper and a lower, in Jerusalem. The lower dated from Ezra's age, the upper was included in Jerus. by a later king, and lay on the 'weak' (that is, the N.) side (Talm. Jer. *Sanhed.* v.; Tosephta, *Sanhed.* ch. 3; Talm. Bab. *Shebuoth* 16*a*; *Megillath Taanith*, ch. 6). This word seems to mean a 'cutting' or 'fosse,' and the upper Betza may be the Bezetha fosse. A place called *Beth Mamila* is also noticed (Talm. Bab. *Erubin* 51*b*, *Sanhed.* 24*a*; *Bereshith Rabba*, ch. 51), the name of which may survive at the *Birket Mamilla*, W. of the city. The 'market of fatteners' and the 'wool market' were towards the N. (Mishna, *Erubin* x. 9; see Jos., *Wars*, V. viii. 1, where the wool, cloth, and braziers' markets are placed just inside the second wall); and the pagan fullers occupied the upper market (Mishna, *Sheḳalim* viii. 1). The Stone of Proclamation (Mishna, *Taanith* iii. 8), where lost property was cried, seems to have been in the lower city. The tomb of Kalba Shebuya—a rich man of the time of the great siege (Talm. Bab. *Gittin* 56*a*)—is placed by modern Jewish tradition at the tomb of Helena of Adiabene. The tomb of the Sanhedrin (popularly of the judges) and that of Simon the Just are also shown by the Jews N. of the city. They are Gr.-Jewish monuments.

Space will not allow of any account of the later Roman, Byzantine, Arab, Norman, or recent topography of Jerusalem. The important points have been noticed in speaking of the history. The obliteration of the older ruins in later times must be carefully held in view in considering existing remains, and the mediæval traditions often confuse a topography which is only to be studied in the Bible and in Josephus.

V. ANTIQUITIES.—The existing antiquities dating before A.D. 70 include the remains of the city walls, towers, pools, aqueducts, and tombs, together with the foundations of the temple walls, its bridges and gates, and the site of Antonia with its outer fosse. The extant inscriptions are few. Many of these ruins have been brought to light by excavation since 1867. They are mingled with later remains, such as the Ecce Homo Arch,—probably erected by Hadrian or his successors,—the work of Constantine and Justinian, the wall of Eudoxia, and the numerous churches and chapels of Byzant. and 12th cent. origin; while the Temple Area is covered with the buildings of the Khalifs succeeding 'Abd el-Melek. The remains of Walls, as yet known, belong chiefly to the *first wall.* Its N. face followed the steep slopes and cliffs which are shown, by observations of the rock in house foundations, to have formed the N. side of the hill of the upper city. The royal towers still present, in their lower courses, the large drafted masonry of Herod's age, which occurs also in the Temple walls; but a later sloping scarp was added outside the walks which surround the so-called Tower of David (prob. Phasaelus), by the Crusaders. At the Protestant cemetery, south of the present S.W. angle of the Turkish wall, a rock scarp, with projecting rock bases for towers, was explored in 1874-5. It has recently (1894-6) been traced eastwards, and it is generally allowed to represent the S.W. angle of the ancient wall. Dr. Bliss has traced a wall thence to Siloam—where it was explored by Dr. Guthe in 1881—enclosing the pool. The character of the masonry is that distinctive of the Byzantine age, and the wall appears to be that built by Eudoxia (about B.C. 450), which enclosed Siloam. The pool, as shown above, was outside the walls in A.D. 70. Under this wall, however, in parts, on the S. slope of the upper city, Dr. Bliss has found remains of an older wall generally of rougher masonry. In one part the Byzantine wall is not carried to the rock, but rests on rubbish under which the old wall was hidden. A gate towards the west of the south face of the upper city wall belongs to the older period, but was renewed in the later times. This seems to answer to the gate of the Essenes noticed by Jos., and it is possibly the Dung Gate of Neh. in Bethso. The point where the old wall crossed the Tyropœon above Siloam is still unknown, but on Ophel Sir C. Warren discovered a fine rampart under the surface, running S. from the S.E. corner of the Ḥaram enclosure for 70 ft., and then S.W. for 700 ft., with a great tower near this end, 80 ft. face and 20 ft. projection. The upper part of the wall is of masonry like that of the modern S. wall of Jerus., but this appears to have been re-used. The first 20 ft. from the foundations present a rough rubble of moderate dimensions, not unlike the masonry of the old wall found by Dr. Bliss. This is founded, not on rock, but on red virgin soil. The rock was traced farther S. on Ophel by Dr. Guthe in 1881, and the masonry then found was of Byzantine character. Although the older wall thus traced in parts, from the gate of the Essenes to the E. cloister of the Temple, does not usually present *in situ* the fine masonry of the Herodian age, it is possible that the rude foundations may belong to Nehemiah's age, the wall erected on them having been used up by later builders in the present city wall and in the upper part of the Temple ramparts. As regards the *second wall,* it is impossible to trace it under the houses of the modern city; but in 1883 a wall of masonry like that of the royal towers was found, running N. on the neck of high land W. of the Amygdalon Pool. This is probably part of the second wall. The *third wall* was still traceable outside the city when Dr. Robinson visited Jerus. half a cent. ago (*BRP*^{2} i. 315), but the only remains of its course now traceable are the scarp E. of the Damascus Gate, and possibly the remains of a tower on a rocky knoll N. of the gate and W. of the main N. road, where the Women's Towers appear to have marked an angle in the wall. There are some fine stones in the side of a tank farther N., which may have belonged to the third wall, but they are not apparently *in situ.* It will, however, be seen that exploration has now shown us approximately the course of the first wall, and the starting-point of the second on the W., while remains of the third can also be laid down on the map from measurements and angles taken by Dr. Robinson. The points still requiring study on the ground affect the farther course of the second wall, and the point at which the first wall crossed the Tyropœon Valley. A fine flight of broad steps discovered close to Siloam on the north may mark the position of the 'stairs from the city of David' in the Tyropœon.

The various **Pools** of ancient Jerus. have been described, and it is only necessary to add that the great pool in the Hinnom Valley, now called *Birket es-Sultân*, did not exist till the 12th cent., though called in the 14th 'The lower pool of Gihon.' The wall of its dam bears an inscription of A.D. 1537. In the 12th cent. it was built by the Germans, and is called 'the German Lake' and the 'New Cistern' (*Citez de Jherusalem* after A.D. 1187, and Theodoric A.D. 1172; Cartulary of Holy Sep. Nos. 169, 170). In addition to Pilate's *Aqueduct* on the S. there was a conduit to the royal towers (Jos. *Wars*, V. vii. 2), perhaps the older conduit of the upper pool. Such a conduit still enters the city from the Birket Mamilla on the W. An aqueduct has also been found on the W. slope of Bezetha leading to the fosse N. of Antonia. It seems to have collected rain water from the rocks N. of the city to fill the fosse. It is continued through the rock of Antonia, in a narrow passage to which Jos. alludes, in connexion with Strato's Tower and Antonia (*Ant.* XIII. xi. 2; *Wars*, I. iii. 4), and it is now closed at the end by the Ḥaram wall, inside which, not far off, is a large cistern to which the passage—if used as an aqueduct—may have led. It would seem to have been cut before the time of Herod, perhaps by the Hasmonæans, and to have existed—as did the Antonia fosse—in the time of Pompey. It may, however, have served as a secret exit from a window in the Ḥaram wall, which has been found above the passage. The oldest Jerus. aqueduct is, however, probably that of Hezekiah, leading from Gihon to Siloam. The inscription found near its mouth in 1881 is cut on the rock wall of the tunnel, and records in ancient Heb. letters the fact that the tunnel was begun from both ends, the parties meeting in the middle, and that it was 1200 cubits long. The length as chained is 1658 ft. long, giving a cubit of 16 in. The point of junction was determined by the surveyors near the centre. The course of this tunnel is very winding, and the level appears to have been lowered near the mouth to obtain a proper flow. The aqueduct branches out of a passage at the back of the Gihon pool, leading to a shaft with steps reaching up to the surface of the Ophel hill at the probable site of the Water Gate. (As to the questions that have been raised regarding the date of this inscription see the Literature cited in art. HEZEKIAH, p. 377^a, footnote).

The existing **Tombs** of the city include the **monument of Helena** already noticed, in an under chamber of which de Saulcy discovered a sarcophagus bearing an Aram. inscription, with the name of 'queen Sarah,' and early Rom. coins. Sarah may have been the native name of Helena. The **monuments of Herod** have also been noticed, and the tomb of Ananus (*Wars*, V. xii. 2). On the E. side of the Kidron are four fine monuments in Gr.-Jewish style, not unlike that of the Petra tombs. The most northerly (now called **Absalom's Tomb**) has a masonry cupola, and is possibly the tomb of Alex. Jannæus (*Wars*, V. xii. 2), which lay in this direction. The so-called **Tomb of St. James** is a true Jewish chamber, with an outer Doric porch bearing, in early square Heb., the names of priests of the Bene Hezir family, and probably cut about A.D. 50. The other two monuments to the S. are uninscribed, but of the same period. The **Tombs of the Judges** (so called) belong to the Rom. period, and near them is a broken tomb with a fragment of Aram. inscription of about the 1st cent. A.D. Immediately W. of the knoll of Jeremiah's Grotto (the possible site of Calvary) are remains of a Jewish tomb, with an additional chamber in the Gr. style. There is a large cemetery near, with Christian tombs of the Byzantine and Crusaders' ages, interspersed with some which bear mediæval Jewish texts. The tombs S. of the Hinnom Valley are also Byzantine, bearing texts which connect them with the Church of St. Sion on the hill of the upper city hard by. The so-called **Tomb of Simon the Just**, N. of Jerus., is also a Greek tomb.

Before describing the remains of the Temple and of Antonia, a word may be added as to **Inscriptions** discovered at Jerusalem. The majority of these are Byzantine Greek-Christian texts and tombstones of Crusaders. An inscription of Hadrian is built upside down into the S. wall of the Temple. Another of the time of Trajan (dating A.D. 117), found in the upper city, records the worship of Serapis at Jerusalem. The osteophagi on Olivet bear Gr. names, and in one case a Heb. text is marked with a cross, as though belonging to a Jewish Christian. They date probably from the 2nd to the 4th cent. A.D. Later Jews have also cut their names on the Temple walls, but the only Jewish texts previous to A.D. 70 are those above mentioned on the tombs, the Siloam Text, probably written about B.C. 702,* and the boundary stone of the Temple enclosure, with Gr. inscription excluding strangers.

The great Ḥaram enclosure at J. presents, at its foundations, magnificent drafted masonry of Gr. character, on the S., W., and E. The dressing of the stones is found nowhere else except at Hebron, and on the arch of the Tyropœon Bridge, but in general character this masonry resembles that of the royal towers, and of the palace of Hyrcanus, built in A.D. 176 at Tyrus in Gilead. The stones average 3½ ft. in height, but on the S. wall a 'master course' 7 ft. high runs W. for 600 ft. from the S.E. angle. The longest stones measure 24 and 39 ft. The whole of this masonry is dressed smooth on face and draft, excepting at the base of the W. wall for 20 ft., under an ancient pavement near the Tyropœon Bridge, and on the E. wall N. of the Golden Gate, where the head of a cross valley exists inside the wall. Probably, in these cases, the rough-faced stones were never visible above the surface. On the E. wall, at the base, are masons' marks in red paint, and two or three Phœn. letters which have forms of a late period. The Tyropœon Bridge, crossing to the upper city from the W. wall close to the S., consisted of two spans. Beneath the old pavement under the bridge an older voussoir has been found, lying in a rock aqueduct, and evidently belonging to an older bridge. The N. side of the Ḥaram is partly bounded by the great block of rock on which the citadel of Antonia stood, and east of this the N. wall presents none of the original masonry, but is built in the later Rom. or Byzant. style. Nor is there any angle in the old E. wall at this point. The smooth masonry which occurs above the drafted was built later than the time of Hadrian,—probably by Justinian,—and the upper part of the rampart is Arab work. The original drafted masonry is attributed by de Vogüé to Herod the Great—an opinion very generally accepted; and no remains of earlier work in the Ḥaram are known. The enclosure is an oblong, with right angles on the S.W. and N.E. The S.E. angle measures 92½°. The S. wall is 922 ft. long, the N. 1042 ft., the W. 1601 ft., and the E. 1042 ft. The area included is about 35 acres. The Tyropœon Bridge appears to be of the same age with the ancient wall, and the older voussoir may have belonged to the bridge broken down by Pompey (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. iv. 2; *Wars*, I. vii. 2). In the S. wall there are two ancient gates, which answer to the two Huldah Gates of the Mishna (*Middoth* i. 3): they appear to have been originally both double, with two inner passages having a total width of 40 ft. (30 cubits), the roofs supported by great columns, and presenting flat domes. The domes of the W. gate remain intact, presenting a semi-classic design of coffer pattern, intertwined with a vine in low relief. This work is attributed by Ferguson the architect to the time of Herod. The lintels of the entrances were formed by huge blocks 18 ft. span. The E. gate (now called the Triple Gate) was altered later,—probably by Justinian,—and the passages leading N. from these gates seem probably also to belong to this later period. The vaults in the S.E. corner of the Ḥaram are also later restorations, but remains of a more ancient vaulting are found, by an ancient window, on the E. wall in these vaults.

---

* This Siloam inscription, now removed and preserved in fragments in the Stamboul Museum, must not be confused with an illegible text in Phœn. characters (now in the Brit. Mus.) found in the village of Siloam. The words *Beth Baal* have been read on the latter, and it may indicate the situation of one of Solomon's temples on Olivet.

On the W. there were four entrances to the enclosure, the S. being at the Tyropœon Bridge. The next is a subterranean gate with a passage leading up from the level of the valley. The third was connected with a causeway which appears to be ancient, but which is not noticed by Josephus. The last, to the N., is now converted into a cistern, but the original passage pierced the wall, and belonged to a gate on or near the level of the valley. These gates seem therefore to answer to the *Parbar* or 'suburb' gates of the Mishna, and to the four entrances noticed by Jos., on the W. side of the Temple (*Ant.* XV. xi. 5), of which the first led to the royal S. cloister, the second to the suburb (*προάστειον*), the third also to the suburb, and the fourth to the 'other city,' by a descent of steps into the valley.

Within the Ḥaram there are no known remains of the ancient Temple, except the great rock-cut vaults and cisterns, of which the largest towards the S.—called the Great Sea—is supported on rock pillars, and capable of holding three million gallons. On the N. the scarp of Antonia rises 30 ft. above the flat rock surface of the inner court, and the block of rock measures 140 ft. N. and S. by 350 ft. E. and W. The fosse to the N. was converted later (before A.D. 333) into a 'twin pool,' by walls and vaulted roofs, and this is identified in the 4th cent. A.D. with Bethesda. In A.D. 70, however, the twin pools had probably no existence. On the W. Ḥaram wall the present writer, in 1873, discovered, close to Antonia, the existence of projecting piers of the ancient masonry above the level of the inner court, resembling those which adorn the wall of the Hebron Ḥaram, which consists of masonry like that of the Jerus. enclosure. In other parts the wall does not reach this level, but it appears probable that the same arrangement existed, at the same level, on the other faces of the enclosure. These remains, together with 40 observations of the level of the rock surface, visible in tanks or vaults, or at the foot of the wall, are the only antiquities known to remain which enable us to understand the area and position of the Temple enclosure, and of Antonia as restored by Herod the Great.

VI. THE TEMPLE ENCLOSURE.—Solomon's Temple (1 K 6, 2 Ch 3; *Ant.* VIII. iii.) was 60 cubits long E. and W., 20 broad, and 30 high (the cubit, as measured at Siloam, and on the masonry of the Jerus. Ḥaram and Galilæan synagogues, being about 16 in.). Its porch to the E. was 20 cubits broad and 10 cubits deep. The chambers, on N., S., and W., were built with a wall set back in steps, so that the interiors in the third storey were 7 cubits wide, in the second 6 cubits, in the first 5 cubits. The thickness of the walls is not stated. The roofs were of cedar, and the interior gilded with designs similar to the Bab. bas-reliefs of cherubs guarding palm trees. The whole structure and style, in short, seems to have resembled the art of Phœnicia and Chaldæa rather than that of Egypt. The Temple appears to have had an inner priests' court, with bronze altar, and an outer court, but no measurements of these are given.* In the later account (2 Ch 3^4) the height is given as 120 cubits (LXX 20 cubits), and Jos. believed that Solomon's Temple was 60 cubits higher than the later restoration by Zerub. (*Ant.* XV. xi. 3). It is possible that the porch may have formed a lofty pylon higher than the Holy House itself. It is not clear whether the two bronze pillars, Jachin and Boaz, each 23 cubits high (1 K 7^{15-21}), supported the lintel of the pylon gate, or whether they stood outside as stelæ (the word 'in' may be rendered 'for,' v.^{21}). Jos. gives the area of Solomon's enclosure at 4 furlongs (*Ant.* XV. xi. 3), and places the E. cloister close to a deep valley (*Ant.* XX. ix. 7), stating that Sol. built the E. wall, to which later kings added others (*Wars*, V. v. 1). But it is not clear how these details could be known when he wrote, since he states that Herod 'took away the ancient foundations' (*Ant.* XV. xi. 3), and built the cloisters 'from the foundation,' and enclosed 'double the area' (*Wars*, I. xxi. 1). He understands the Temple itself to have had an upper storey, and gives the number of chambers as 30 in all (*Ant.* VIII. iii. 2); but these accounts of a building destroyed nearly seven centuries before his time are of less value than his description of buildings which he had himself seen.

There is, however, little doubt that the Holy House occupied the same site, and was of the same length and breadth, in the time of Herod and of Solomon. Jos. says that Zerub. placed the altar 'in the same place where it had formerly been built' (*Ant.* XI. iv. 1); and as to the situation of this building, he says that 'at first the topmost plateau (*τὸ ἀνωτάτω χθαμαλόν*) barely sufficed for the Holy House and the altar' (*Wars*, V. v. 1, see *Ant.* VIII. iii. 9), whence it appears that the highest part of the ridge was the site selected. Herod, though he altered the enclosure, did not touch the Temple itself, which was restored by the priests. In the Mishna it is stated that the east door of the Holy House was directly opposite the summit of Olivet (*Midd.* ii. 4; *Parah* iii. 9, iv. 2; see Ezk 43^{12}). As regards the general description of the third Temple, the account given by Jos. agrees with the careful details of the Mishna (*Middoth*), but his measurements are unreliable—as in other cases at Cæsarea, Samaria, Masada, etc.—and often contradictory. He makes the altar 20 cubits square (*c. Apion.* i. 22), or elsewhere 50 cubits (*Wars*, V. v. 6), and the valleys 300 to 400 cubits deep (*Ant.* VIII. iii. 9; *Wars*, V. v. 1), the real depth not exceeding 160 ft. He speaks of stones 40 cubits long and 6 cubits high (*Ant.* XX. ix. 7; *Wars,* V. v. 1), a greatly exaggerated estimate. When, therefore, he gives the circumference of the third Temple as 4 furlongs* (*Ant.* XV. xi. 3), or, including Antonia, 6 furlongs (*Wars,* VI. v. 4), we must remember that he was writing in Rome, and merely estimated the lengths. Measured along the extant walls, the area, including Antonia, is about 8 furlongs in all.

---

* There appears to have been a 'causeway' or ascent by steps to the Temple (1 Ch 26^{16}), perhaps the same described by Jos. (*Ant.* xv. xi. 5) towards the N. part of the W. wall; but as regards the 'ascent' (עֹלָתוֹ) in the time of Sol. (1 K 10^5, עֲלִיָּתוֹ in 2 Ch 9^4), LXX, Vulg., Pesh. render in K (according to the regular sense of עֹלָה) and read in Ch, 'the burnt-offerings which he offered,' and Jos. follows this reading (*Ant.* VIII. vi. 5). See ASCENT.

Following the description of Jos., some authorities suppose that Herod's Temple occupied a square of 600 ft. side, in the S.W. part of the Ḥaram. The objections to this view are briefly: 1st, that in this case the Temple cannot have stood on the 'topmost plateau'; 2nd, that the area noticed in the Mishna (500 cubits square) is larger; 3rd, that there are no remains of any walls, to E. and N., at the required distances, and no break in the S. wall 600 ft. from the S.W. angle; 4th, that the Ophel wall joined the 'E. cloister,' and has been discovered abutting on the E. wall of the Ḥaram; 5th, that the existing outer gates agree with the descriptions only if the Temple Area is supposed to coincide with the present boundaries of the Ḥaram; 6th, that unless placed on the topmost plateau, the Temple—surrounded by courts at various levels—must have required foundations 30 to 100 ft. deep to reach the known levels of the rock. The masonry was too heavy to have been simply founded on earth. These objections have never been answered, and in our present state of knowledge it seems safer to depend on the general statements of Jos. than on his measurements, which are hard to reconcile with his incidental remarks.

In order to study this question by the light of recent exploration it is necessary to fix the position of **Antonia**, that of each angle of the Temple enclosure, and the position of the 'topmost plateau' opposite the summit of Olivet. Antonia is described (*Wars,* V. v. 8) as standing at the corner of the N. and W. cloisters, on a rock 50 cubits high, scarped on all sides: it had four corner towers, and a large inner space with courts, baths, and places for camps. A ditch and valley protected the towers outside in the time of Pompey (*Ant.* XIV. iv. 2). Strabo speaks of this ditch as 60 ft. deep and 250 ft. broad (see *Wars,* I. vii. 3, V. iv. 2). Cloisters joined Antonia to the Temple (*Wars,* II. xvi. 5, 6), and the rock hid the Temple on the N. (*Wars,* V. v. 8), looking down on the courts (*Wars,* V. ix. 2, VI. i. 5, ii. 5, 9): when it was taken, immediate access was obtained to the flat courts and to the inner Temple (*Wars,* VI. iii. 7). The area of Antonia seems to have formed a projection on the N.W., so that when it was destroyed the Temple enclosure itself became a quadrangle (*τετράγωνον*, *Wars,* VI. v. 4). There is only one existing site which answers to such a description—namely, the block of rock already described at the N.W. angle of the present Ḥaram. This rock overlooks all the interior, and rises 20 ft. higher than the Sakhrah or holy 'rock,' which is the highest point within the Ḥaram. The outer fosse is also traceable, separating this site from Bezetha. The rock thus supporting the modern barracks is therefore identified, on all recent plans, with Antonia—the older Baris or Birah of the time of the Hasmonæans and of Nehemiah. It follows that the W. wall throughout may be regarded as belonging to the enclosure of Antonia and of the Temple in the time of Herod. The S.W. angle is generally agreed to be that of Herod's Temple; and as regards the S.E., Jos. (*Wars,* V. iv. 2) clearly states that the Ophel wall joined the 'E. cloister' of the Temple, so that all the E. wall appears also to belong to the time of Herod, since the junction with the Ophel wall has been determined by excavation. The N.E. angle remains in doubt; for, as above noticed, the N. wall, east of the Antonia rock, is not of the same masonry with the others, while the cisterns inside this part of the Ḥaram are not rock-cut, but are built of masonry very late in character. It seems probable that this part of the area is modern, and that the old N. wall of the Temple ran E. and W. on the line of the present N. wall of the platform, where remains of ancient buttresses have been found. The N.E. part of the Ḥaram is crossed by a valley, running into the Kidron, which has been filled in with earth, but which, in A.D. 70, may have bounded the Temple on the N., and the inner court of Antonia on the E. A gate called Tadi led, by an underground passage, out of the Temple on this side.

As regards the 'topmost plateau,' the rock below Antonia, on the S., is visible over a considerable area at a level about 2430 ft. above the Mediterranean. It has been artificially cut down to form a flat surface. Farther S.E. it rises, in the Sakhrah itself, to a height of 2440 ft., but under the platform which surrounds the Sakhrah its height nowhere exceeds 2432 ft. About twenty observations have been made, which concur in showing a flat plateau at this level, occupying the central part of the Ḥaram. The slope to the W. is very steep, the rock falling to an average level of 2350 ft. at the base of the W. outer wall. The slope to the E. is also steep, though not equal to that on the W. On the S. the plateau narrows to a long spur, which sinks towards Siloam. It is evident that a building surrounded by terraced courts, at various lower levels, can well be fitted to the ground only if its highest floor level is placed on the highest part of the plateau now ascertained to exist, as above described. If, moreover, a line be drawn E., at right angles to the W. wall of the Ḥaram, and through the Sakhrah rock, it will be found to cut the summit of Olivet immediately N. of the present Church of the Ascension. If, on the other hand, the Temple be placed farther to the S.W. (as proposed by those who accept the measurements given by Jos.), not only can no line be so drawn, but the Temple is made to stand on the narrower and lower part of the spur, and its foundations would rest on the steep W. slopes, here falling 90 ft. below the crest of the spur. These various considerations seem, therefore, all to point to the vicinity of the Sakhrah as marking the site of the Holy House itself.

Placed in such a position, it will be found that the levels of the courts, as described in the Mishna and by Jos., agree throughout with the actual levels. In no part does the rock rise or fall so as to render it necessary to suppose foundations of more than 2 or 3 ft. The Sakhrah itself may be that 'stone of foundation' (*Eben hash-Shĕthîyah*) which supported the Holy of Holies, and was said to be the foundation of the world (Mishna, *Joma* v. 3, *Tamid* i. 1) sealing the mouth of the abyss —a legend which still attaches to the Sakhrah and its cave. Under the altar there was no hollow place (Talm. Bab. *Zebaḥim* 58*a*), and its position would agree with a part of the Ḥaram where there are no vaults. The gate Tadi or 'hiding' (*Middoth* i. 3) was reached by an underground passage from the N. side of the inner cloister, and remains of such a passage exist N. of the Sakhrah. On the S. side was the Chamber of the Draw-well, and on this side there is an existing tank in the required position. The Altar Court was 6 cubits lower than the floor of the Temple (or at a level of about 2432 ft. above the Mediter.), and the great Court of the Women, farther E., was again 7½ cubits lower (or about 2422 ft. above the same datum), but on the S. and N. the Altar Court was only 5 cubits above the outer level, which would therefore be about 2426 ft. above the datum—these levels depending on the number of steps, each half a cubit high, noticed in the Mishna (*Middoth*) and by Jos. (*Wars*, v. v.). On applying the plan to the ground it is found that, in each case, the levels so obtained agree exactly with the actual levels, as shown by the present author in 1879 (Conder's *Handbook to the Bible*, last chapter).

---

* If Herod's Temple enclosure was double that of Sol., it is manifestly impossible that both measured four furlongs in circumference (see references in text.)

The details given in the Mishna (*Middoth*) suffice to enable us to draw a block plan of Herod's Temple. The exact arrangements of the gateways and cloisters can only be conjectured, but the enclosure, which is said to have been 500 cubits square, surrounded the inner courts, which no Gentile might enter. The Priests' Court, which surrounded the Holy House, and included the great altar to its east, measured 135 cubits N. and S. by 137 E. and W. On the E. was the great gate Nicanor, leading to the 'Court of the Women,' which was 135 cubits square. Between this and the Court of the Priests a narrow platform (11 cubits wide), having beneath it (*Midd.* ii. 6) chambers opening into the 'Women's Court,' was called the 'Court of Isr.,' and reserved for men only, who formed a representative congregation of Israel. The women were confined to galleries in the Women's Court, which was the general meeting-place of the Jews. Immediately outside these courts a fence (*soreg*) surrounded the Temple, and inscriptions in Gr. (one of which has been recovered) forbade any Gentile to enter on pain of death. The Holy House itself (*hekal*) included a porch (*aula*) and the Holy of Holies. The latter was 20 cubits square, and the Holy Place 40 cubits long by 20 broad (as in Solomon's Temple). The porch was 100 cubits broad N. and S., and the total length of the building was 100 cubits E. and W., the breadth of the main part being 70 cubits, including the chambers to N., S., and E., and the outer gallery (*impluvium*) beyond them on N. and S. The height of the porch was 100 cubits, and that of the main building 45 cubits with a flat roof. A second storey appears to have existed, above the Holy Place and Holy of Holies, its roof 100 cubits from the ground. The great gate of the porch was 20 cubits broad and 40 cubits high, and over it were five oak beams to which apparently the golden vine was nailed. There were apparently two veils—one to the outer gate, one to the doorway of the Holy Place, and these were annually renewed. The surrounding chambers, in three storeys, numbered 38 in all. A stairway in the *impluvium*, on the N., led to the roofs. Twelve steps led down, on the E., to the Priests' Court. In this stood the altar, of rubble and mortar, 32 cubits square at the foundation, which was 1 cubit high. The main part above was 30 cubits square and 5 cubits high; the hearth was 28 cubits square; the total height of the altar was 10 cubits, with four 'horns' at the angles. The sloping ascent on the S. was 16 cubits broad and 32 cubits long, leading to the foot of the hearth. The Court of the Priests had three gates to the N. and three to the S. The E. gate on the N. was called Nitzotz, and had an *exhedra*, the N.W. gate Moked had four chambers at the sides, where the Temple guard of priests kept watch. An underground passage led N. to Tadi, the gate near Antonia, and also to the latrines. On the S. the W. gate was named Aptinas, or, otherwise, the Water Gate, the two others being the Gate of the Offering and the Gate of Flaming. On the E. 15 steps led down from the great gate Nicanor to the Women's Court. These gates were flanked by chambers,—those for salt, for the high priest's bath and for washing, being on the N.; those for wood, for the drawwell and the 'Chamber of Hewn Stone' where the Sanhedrin sat, being on the S. of the Priests' Court. The four chambers of Moked were for the lamb of the daily sacrifice (on S.W.), for the shewbread (on S.E.), for the stones of the old altar taken down by Judas Maccabæus (on N.E.), and for washing, with a descent to the north passage. In the corners of the Women's Court were four chambers,—that of the Nazirites on S.E., that where the wood for the altar was kept on N.E., that of the lepers on N.W., and that for oil on the S.W. The two chambers flanking Nicanor were for the vestment keeper and the pancake maker. Musical instruments were kept in the chambers under the narrow walk called the 'Court of Isr.,' which was divided from the Priests' Court by a railing, near which was a pulpit whence they addressed the people. The Court of Isr. was apparently 2½ cubits lower than the level of the Priests' Court. The *soreg* was reached by three gates, on the N., S., and E. of the Women's Court, and was a lattice-work fence. The limit of 500 cubits square was marked by the *khel* ('rampart' or 'terrace'), which was 10 cubits wide, and reached apparently by other steps (*Wars*, v. v. 2). The gates of the outer walls (or 'Mountain of the House'), namely, the two Huldah Gates on the S., the Parbar Gates and Kipunos ('descent') on the W., with Tadi on the N., have been already noticed. On the E. was the gate Shushan, the position of which is doubtful. The outer cloisters, along the rampart walls, were double except on the S., where the royal cloister is described by Jos. as having three walks, with 162 pillars, each about 6 ft. in diameter (*Ant.* XV. xi. 5). The walks were 30 ft., 45 ft., and 30 ft. wide, and this measurement (in Gr. ft.) agrees closely with the width and position of the existing Tyropœon Bridge, which has a breadth of 50 ft., and an arch 41 ft. 6 in. span. The pillars as described are of about the size of those still standing in the vaulted chamber of the Double (or W. Huldah) Gate, and the epistylia would have been about 22 ft.—the cloister stretching to the present S.E. angle of the Ḥaram. This gives a very natural intercolumniation of 2½ diameters. The pillars were 27 ft. high according to Josephus. These details, taken—except when otherwise stated—from the Tract *Middoth* of the Mishna, agree with the more general description by Jos., except in some cases as regards measurements, where the account of the Rabbis—some of whom had seen the Temple standing, and had been able to measure its ruins—is to be preferred to one written in Italy. No difficulty is found in understanding this account, or in fitting plan and section to the ground, if the Temple is placed opposite the summit of Olivet, on the 'topmost plateau' of the hill.

VII. MODERN JERUSALEM. — Within the last twenty years Jerus. has so largely increased in size and population, on account of Jewish and European settlers building houses outside the walls, that the most recent plans give little idea of the city. The Mount of Olives is covered with houses, and a considerable suburb has sprung up N. of the Damascus Gate. On the W. the Jewish cottages stretch more than a mile from the Jaffa Gate (in the W. wall), and many villas, standing in gardens, reach from W. of the Russian hospice to the vicinity of Birket Mamilla. On the S. other houses, and a German settlement, stand on the high ground S. of the Hinnom Valley. On the S.W. is the railway station. The population has increased from 20,000 souls (including Chris-

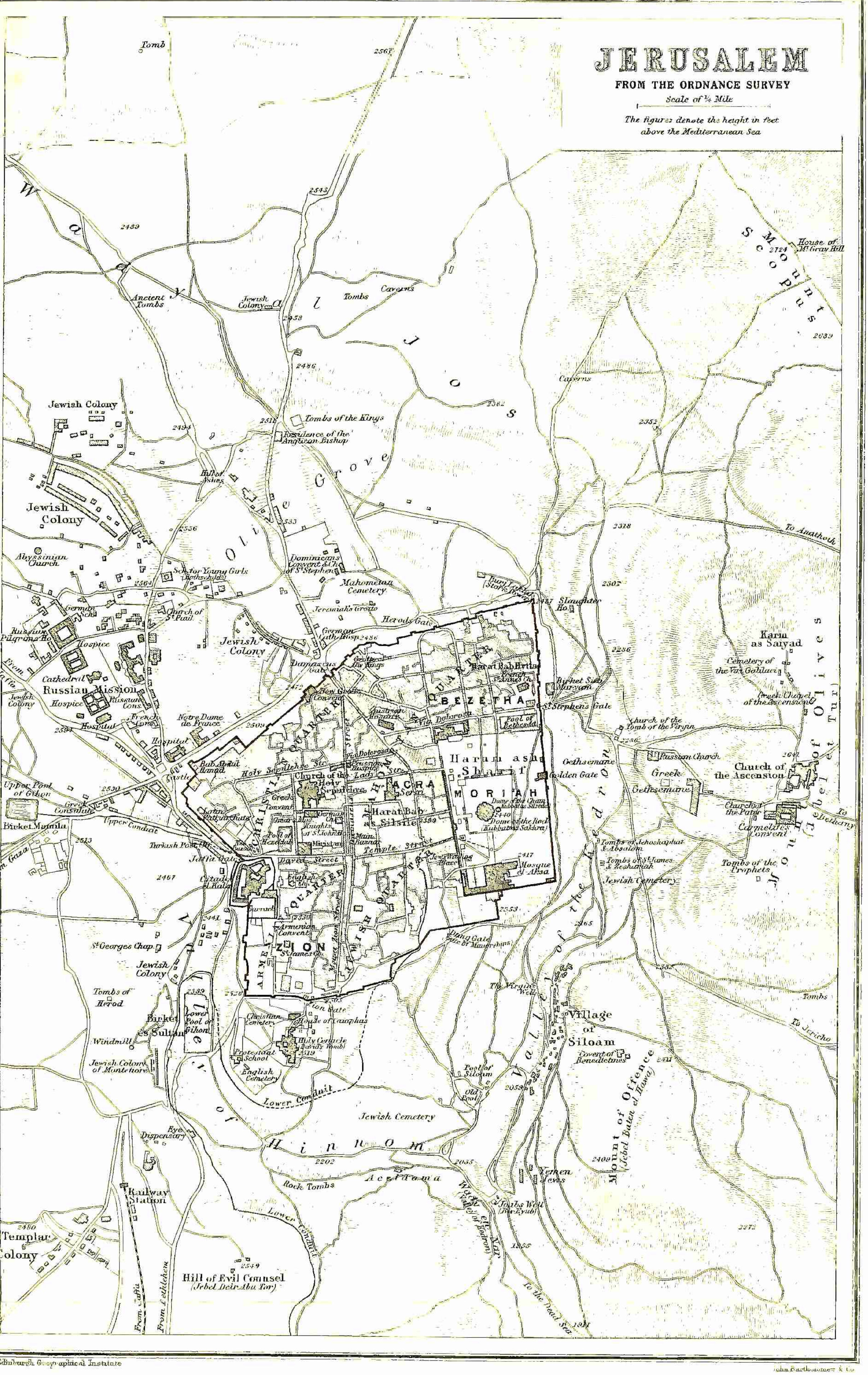

JERUSALEM

FROM THE ORDNANCE SURVEY

Scale of ¼ Mile

The figures denote the height in feet above the Mediterranean Sea

Tomb
2568
2543
2489
Wady al Joz
House of Mc. Gray Hill
2724
Mount Scopus
2639
Ancient Tombs
Jewish Colony
2458
Tombs
Caverns
2486
Caverns
2362
Jewish Colony
2494
2518
Tombs of the Kings
Residence of the Anglican Bishop
2352
Hill of Ashes
Olive Grove
Jewish Colony
2536
2533
2318
To Anathoth
Abyssinian Church
Sch. for Young Girls (Rothschild)
Dominicans Convent & Ch. of St. Stephen
Mahometan Cemetery
Burj Laklak (Stork Tower)
2305
2564
German Sch.
Church of St. Paul
Jeremiah's Grotto
Herods Gate
2457
Slaughter Ho.
Russian Pilgrims Ho.
Hospice
German Cath. Hosp. 2486
Jewish Colony
Karm as Saiyad
2286
From Jaffa
Cathedral
Russian Mission
Damascus Gate
Grotto of the Kings
Harat Bab Hitta
French St. Annes Ch.
Birket Sitti Maryam
Cemetery of the Viri Galilaei
Jewish Colony
Hospice
Russian Cons.
2472
New Gate
Convent
BEZETHA
QUARTER
St. Stephens Gate
Greek Chapel of the Ascension
Hospital
French Cons.
Notre Dame de France
2509
Austrian Hospice
Via Dolorosa
Pool of Bethesda
Church of the Tomb of the Virgin
2594
Hospital
QUARTER
Street
Via Dolorosa
Prussian Hospice
Haram ash Sharif
Gethsemane
Russian Church
2641
Bab Abdul Hamid
Holy Sepulchre Str.
Church of the Lady
Str.
Golden Gate
Greek Gethsemane
Church of the Ascension
Upper Pool of Gihon
2530
Castle
Church of the Holy Sepulchre
ACRA
Serai
MORIAH
Kedron
Greek Consulate
Greek Convent
Latin Patriarchate
German Ch.
Omar's Mos.
Knights of St. John H.
Harat Bab as Silsile
2399
Dome of the Chain (Kubbat as Silseleh)
2440
Dome of the Rock (Kubbat as Sakhra)
Church of the Pater
To Bethany
Birket Mamilla
2513
Upper Conduit
Pool of Hezekiah
Muristan
Main Bazaar
Temple Street
CHRISTIAN
Carmelites Convent
Turkish Post Off.
New Bazaar
David Street
Jews Wailing Place
2417
Mosque el-Aksa
Tombs of Jehoshaphat & Absalom
Tombs of St. James & Zechariah
Tombs of the Prophets
Mount of Olives (Jebel et Tur)
From Gaza
Jaffa Gate
Citadel el Kala
2467
English Ch.
QUARTER
JEWISH QUARTER
Jewish Cemetery
Barrack
2441
2550
Armenian Convent
2353
Valley of the Kedron
2265
Valley of Hinnom
St. Georges Chap.
ARMENIAN
ZION
St. James Ch.
Mount Zion Street
Dung Gate (Gate of Mauerehms)
Jewish Colony
2382
The Virgins Well
Tombs of Herod
2339
2520
Zion Gate
2505
Tombs
Birket es Sultan
Lower Pool of Gihon
Christian Cemetery
House of Caiaphas
Village of Siloam
To Jericho
Windmill
Holy Cenacle David's Tomb
2519
Convent of Benedictines
2411
Jewish Colony of Montefiore
Protestant School
English Cemetery
Pool of Siloam
Mount of Offence (Jebel Baten el Hawa)
2059
Old Pool
Lower Conduit
Jewish Cemetery
Eye Dispensary
2202
2055
2408
Yemen Jews
Aceldama
Rock Tombs
Wady en Nar (Valley of Kedron)
Railway Station
Joabs Well (Bir Eyub)
Lower Conduit
2372
2460
Templar Colony
1856
2549
Hill of Evil Counsel (Jebel Deir Abu Tor)
From Jaffa
From Bethlehem
To the Dead Sea
1911

The Edinburgh Geographical Institute

John Bartholomew & Co.

tians, Moslems, and 8000 Jews) to between 40,000 and 50,000 souls, the Jews having increased to about 30,000 in all. In 1838 there were only 3000 Jews in the city. It is beyond the present purpose to describe the modern city (see Baedeker's *Guide*), but the above-mentioned changes are too remarkable to pass unnoticed.

Literature.—The lit. of the subject would form a vol. by itself, but the progress of scientific study has rendered obsolete most of the works written before A.D. 1838. The generally accepted views as to the topography, which have been given above, are substantially in accord with the conclusions of Dr. E. Robinson (*BRP*, 1838 and 1852, 2nd ed. 3 vols. 1856). The work of Sir C. Warren, and of the present writer, down to 1883, is detailed in the Jerus. vol. of *SWP*. The later explorations, to 1898, are detailed in *PEFSt*, 1883-98, and in Bliss and Dickie's *Excavations at Jerusalem*, 1898. The Ord. Surv. Notes by Sir C. W. Wilson, 1865, give valuable accounts of the antiquities then known. The works of de Vogüé (*Églises de la Terre Sainte*, 1860, and *Le Temple de Jerus.* 1863) are standard authorities for the later periods. The Byzant. and 12th cent. topography is to be studied in the series issued by the Pal. Pilgrims Texts Soc., esp. in the valuable tract, dating after A.D. 1187, called *La Citez de Jherusalem*. It is also discussed in *SWP*. The views advocated by Sir C. W. Wilson are detailed in Smith's *DB*². The modern city is fully described by Dr. A. Socin in Baedeker's *Handbook to Pal. and Syria*.

Without reference to these leading works the student will be unable to obtain correct information as to the views of the chief authorities, and the extant buildings; but familiarity with these, and with Jos. and the Mishna, will be found sufficient, without reference to obsolete theories or to popular works. A valuable and exhaustive paper on the Talm. accounts of the Temple has been published by the *PEF* in 1886, representing the labours of Dr. T. Chaplin for many years in Jerus. itself. The architectural history of the Ḥaram, by the present author, is detailed in *Tent Work in Pal.*, and the full details of the Temple in Conder's *Handbook to the Bible*, 1879. Recent discoveries have not, in any instance, upset the conclusions therein urged, and in some cases they have afforded unexpected support to those conclusions, as shown in this brief account of the Holy City.
C. R. CONDER.

JERUSHA (יְרוּשָׁא 2 K 15^{33}=**JERUSHAH** יְרוּשָׁה 2 Ch 27^{1}, 'possession' or 'possessed').—Mother of Jotham king of Judah. Her father's name is given as Zadok.

JESHAIAH (יְשַׁעְיָה, יְשַׁעְיָהוּ 'salvation of J″').—**1.** A grandson of Zerubbabel, 1 Ch 3^{21}. **2.** One of the sons of Jeduthun, 1 Ch $25^{3.15}$. **3.** A Levite, the ancestor of one of David's treasurers, 1 Ch 26^{25}. **4.** The chief of the Bĕnê-Elam who returned with Ezra, Ezr 8^{7}. **5.** Chief of the Merarites in time of Ezra, Ezr 8^{19}. **6.** A Benjamite, Neh 11^{7}. See GENEALOGY.

JESHANAH (יְשָׁנָה).—A town, named along with Bethel, taken from Jeroboam by Abijah, 2 Ch 13^{19}. It is probably the modern *'Ain Sînia*, a village with a spring, about 3¼ miles north of Bethel. See *SWP* vol. ii. sheet xiv. In 1 S 7^{12} we ought also (so Wellh., Driver, Klosterm., Kittel, Budde) to read *Jeshanah* for MT *Shen* (הַשֵּׁן). See SHEN. Probably the same place is meant by the *Isanas* (ἡ Ἰσάνας) of Josephus (*Ant.* XIV. xv. 12), where Herod the Great defeated the troops of Antigonus.
C. R. CONDER.

JESHARELAH.—See ASHARELAH.

JESHEBEAB (יֶשֶׁבְאָב).—A Levite, the head of the 14th course, 1 Ch 24^{13}. B of the LXX strangely enough omits the name, although thereby the whole number of courses is reduced to twenty-three. A has Ἰσβάαλ, Vulg. *Isbaab*. Kittel (see *SBOT*, *ad loc.*) thinks that aversion to a name compounded with *-baal* accounts for its elimination in B. See also Gray, *Heb. Prop. Names*, 24.

JESHER (יֵשֶׁר 'uprightness').—A son of Caleb, 1 Ch 2^{18}. The LXX Ἰωάσαρ would lead us to expect an *o* in the first syllable (cf. notes of Kittel in *SBOT*, and Baer).

JESHIMON.—This word occurs with def. art. (הַיְשִׁימֹן) in Nu 21^{20} 23^{28}, 1 S $23^{19.24}$ $26^{1.3}$ 'Jeshimon' AV, 'desert' RV in all. A similar variation is found in the renderings of LXX and Vulgate. The latter translates by *desertum* and *solitudo* except in 1 S 23^{24}, where it has *Jeshimon*. The LXX renders it in Samuel by τοῦ Ἰεσσαιμοῦ (Ἐιεσσ... is a variant in A), but in Numbers by ἔρημος with the def. article. The Targums have בית ישׁימון in Numbers (בית ישׁימות Nu 23^{28} Targ. Jon.), but in Samuel ישׁימון; Syr. has אשׁימון throughout. The word also occurs in 7 places in parallelism with *midhbar*, which always in these passages has the def. art. (except in Dt 32^{10}), while *jeshimon* is without it. In Dt 32^{10}, Ps 68^{7} 78^{40} 106^{14} the word is used of the land through which the children of Israel passed on their way to Canaan, and there may be an indirect allusion to it in the other three places, Ps 107^{4}, Is $43^{19.20}$. RV deviates from its uniform rendering of this word by 'desert' in Dt 32^{10}, Ps 68^{7}, where with AV it has 'wilderness.' Though in these passages no distinction between *midhbar* and *jeshimon* is drawn, yet there is a difference in meaning; *midhbar* * is strictly a place where cattle are driven (comp. the German 'Trift' and 'treiben'), the uncultivated region where pasturage (though scanty in parts) may be found; *jeshimon* is the desolate waste without water or vegetation.

Some particular region of this character seems indicated both in Numbers and Samuel, and, as in 1 S 23^{24} 26^{2} Ziph and Maon (places identified as being a few miles to the south of Hebron) are mentioned as being in its vicinity, a tract of land to the west of the Dead Sea seems here indicated. The eastern slopes of Judah are called (Jos 15^{61}) the wilderness, and, though the cities there mentioned show that the land was not entirely uninhabited, the fewness of them (compare the number six with the numbers of cities in other parts of Judah) is evidence of its barrenness. Though containing some fertile spots (as En-gedi), the region as a whole may well be called *Jeshimon*, for to its character as a desolate waste many travellers bear witness. (For the descriptions of Robinson and other travellers, see Ritter, *Comp. Geog. of Pal.* iii. 108 ff.; and cf. G. A. Smith, *HGHL* p. 312). The traveller descending these slopes from the cities of the hill-country first passes through the pasture ground (the *midhbar*) in the neighbourhood of Ziph and Maon (the wilderness of Maon, 1 S 23^{24}, of Ziph, 26^{2}), and at length reaches the desolate waste (*Jeshimon*) by the Dead Sea. This tract of land may be referred to in Numbers, as it would be visible from the highlands of Eastern Palestine, but Dillmann takes Jeshimon to be that part of the Arabah to the N. of the Dead Sea and E. of the Jordan, in which Beth-jeshimoth (the only place bearing a similar name) is situate. (See his *Comm.* on Nu 21^{20}; and cf. art. BETH-JESHIMOTH).

From the words of 1 S 23^{24} 'the wilderness of Maon, in the Arabah, on the south of the desert' (Jeshimon), it seems that the term Arabah, which 'is applied to at least a portion of the great valley which stretches from the Gulf of Akabah into the Jordanic basin' (see art. ARABAH, vol. i. p. 130^{a}), here includes that portion of the valley in which the Dead Sea is situated.
A. T. CHAPMAN.

JESHISHAI (יְשִׁישַׁי 'old,' 'venerable'?).—The eponym of a Gadite family, 1 Ch 5^{14}. See GENEALOGY.

---

* AV renders this word generally by 'wilderness,' but in 12 places has 'desert.' RV has altered these into 'wilderness' except in Dt 32^{10}, Job 24^{5}. Ex $19^{1.2}$ is an instance of AV being misleading in some words of frequent occurrence (see Revisers' Preface). The reader of AV would suppose that the original of 'desert' in v.^{2} was different from that of 'wilderness' in vv.$^{1.2}$; but *midhbar* is the Heb. equivalent of both, which is indicated by the change to 'wilderness' in RV.

JESHOHAIAH (יְשׁוֹחָיָה).—The eponym of a Simeonite family, 1 Ch 4^{36}. See GENEALOGY.

JESHUA (יֵשׁוּעַ 'J" is salvation' or 'J" is opulence' [see *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*], Ἰησοῦς), another form of Joshua, is used of—**1.** Joshua the son of Nun once only (Neh 8^{17}). **2.** The head of the ninth course of priests (1 Ch 24^{11}). AV has Jeshuah. **3.** A Levite in the time of Hezekiah, who had to do with the distribution of the free-will offerings (2 Ch 31^{15}). **4.** A man of the house of Pahath-moab whose descendants returned with Zerubbabel (Ezr 2^{6} Ἰησοῦε, Neh 7^{11}). This J. is perhaps identical with No. 2 above. **5.** A Levitical house or its successive heads in the times of Zerub., Ezra, and Nehemiah. J. is mentioned in connexion with the building of the temple (Ezr 3^{9}), the explanation of the law to the people (Neh 8^{7}, cf. $9^{4ff.}$), and the sealing of the covenant (10^{9}). Cf. also Ezr 2^{40} 8^{33}, Neh 7^{43} $12^{8.\,24}$ Ἰησοῦ. **6.** The high priest who along with Zerub. headed the first band of exiles that returned. In Ezr and Neh he is called Jeshua (יֵשׁוּעַ), in Hag and Zec Joshua (יְהוֹשֻׁעַ). His grandfather Seraiah, who was high priest at the time of the capture of Jerus., was executed at Riblah by Nebuch., and his father Jehozadak carried captive to Babylon, where J. was probably born (2 K $25^{18ff.}$, 1 Ch 6^{15}; see, however, Kosters, *Het herstel v. Isr.* 48 f.). On the arrival of the caravan at Jerus., J. naturally took a leading part in the erection of the altar of burnt-offering and the laying of the foundations of the temple (Ezr $3^{2ff.}$), in Hag and Zec he is frequently coupled with Zerub. after these prophets had begun to stimulate the people to undertake building operations in earnest (Hag $1^{1.\,12.\,14}$, Zec $3^{1ff.}$ $6^{10.\,11}$); he supplies a figure to the imagery of the latter prophet (Zec $3^{1ff.}$), and even receives a crown at his hands ($6^{10f.}$). He is eulogized in Sir 49^{12}. For further details see ZECHARIAH, ZERUBBABEL, and refer to the Literature at the end of the latter article. J. A. SELBIE.

JESHUA (יֵשׁוּעַ).—A town in the south of Judah, Neh 11^{26}. The site is possibly at the ruin *Sa'wi* west of *Tell 'Arad* and south of *'Attîr*, as Beersheba is mentioned with it. See *PEF Mem.* iii. 409 f. Jeshua of Neh 11^{26} appears to correspond to **Shema** (wh. see) of Jos 15^{26} 19^{8} (?). See Dillm. *ad loc.* C. R. CONDER.

JESHURUN (יְשֻׁרוּן) occurs four times in OT as a designation for Israel (Dt 32^{15} $33^{5.\,26}$, Is 44^{2}). Gesenius at one time held that יְשֻׁרוּן was a shorter form of יִשְׂרְאֵלוּן (Cod. Gr., Ven. Ἰσραελίσκος), a dimin. of יִשְׂרָאֵל (Israel), while at the same time there might be an allusion to the idea of rectitude or uprightness contained in the root יָשָׁר. Latterly he adopted a derivation simply from this last root, making J. =*the righteous little people*. The same derivation is accepted by Reuss and Cornill, the latter of whom (with Cheyne) finds light thrown upon the meaning of J. by the references in OT to the 'Book of Jashar,' where Jashar ('the upright') may be a name for Israel. (Cf. Nu 23^{10} 'Let me die the death of the righteous,' in which יְשָׁרִים 'righteous' seems to allude to יִשְׂרָאֵל of the preceding clause). The Sept. in all the four passages cited above, renders J. by ἠγαπημένος ('beloved'). Jerome has *dilectus* in Dt 32^{15}, but elsewhere *rectissimus*, corresponding to εὐθύς or εὐθύτατος of Aq. Symm. and Theod., who manifestly connect J. with the root יָשָׁר. Delitzsch (*Is.*^{5} ii. 189) admits that יְשֻׁרוּן is a secondary form of יָשָׁר, but declines to regard it as a diminutive, because a 'diminutive of affection corresponds little to the language of divine love' (*sic*). In spite of this dictum, Schultz' explanation of J. as 'a pet name from יָשָׁר' seems a peculiarly happy one (*OT Theol.* ii. 29 n.). Driver (Dt 32^{15}) agrees with Dillmann that J. is a poetical title of Israel, pointing allusively to יִשְׂרָאֵל but derived from יָשָׁר, and accordingly designating the nation under its ideal character (cf. Ex 19^{6}, Dt 14^{2} etc.) as 'the *upright* one.' J. A. SELBIE.

JESIAS (B Ἐσίας, A Ἰεσσίας, AV Josias), 1 Es 8^{33}.—In Ezr 8^{7} JESHAIAH.

JESIMIEL (יְשִׂימִאֵל).—The eponym of a Simeonite family, 1 Ch 4^{36}. See GENEALOGY.

JESSE יִשַׁי (etym. and meaning doubtful; perh. 'wealthy,' √ יֵשׁ, Ges., but see *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*; Ἰεσσαί).—Father of David. As grandson of the wealthy Boaz (Ru $4^{17.\,22}$, 1 Ch 2^{12}, Mt 1^{5}, Lk 3^{32}), it is natural to suppose that he was one of the elders of Bethlehem (1 S 16^{4}); but the biblical narrative is not clear on this point. He is called 'the Bethlehemite,' 1 S $16^{1.\,18}$ 17^{58}, and 'the Ephrathite of Bethlehem-Judah,' 1 S 17^{12}. We cannot draw any safe inference as to his position from the fact that his youngest son kept the sheep, or from the simple present of farm produce which he sends, now to the king (1 S 16^{20}), now to the captain (1 S 17^{18}). The Targ. on 2 S 21^{19} calls him 'a weaver of the veil of the house of the sanctuary,' but that is merely an attempt to explain 'Jaare-oregim.' When first introduced into the history (1 S 17^{12}, on the various explanations of which see Wellh. and Driver) he is 'an old man,' 'stricken in years among men,' and he probably did not live to witness the royal dignity of the lad whom he had once thought too insignificant to share in the sacrificial feast (1 S 16^{11}). In 1 S 20^{29} David mentions his brother as superintending the family sacrifice. This may be due to the great age of Jesse, but it is also possible that we have here a survival of the custom according to which the eldest son was the family priest. We last hear of Jesse alive in 1 S $22^{3.\,4}$, when David, mindful of his ancestress Ruth, entrusts his parents to the care of the king of Moab. A Jewish tradition states that the Moabites killed them, but 1 S 22^{4} implies that they rejoined David when he left the cave of Adullam.

There are two slight difficulties connected with Jesse's family. (*a*) According to 1 S $16^{10.\,11}$ 17^{12} he had eight sons; seven only are named in the genealogy, 1 Ch $2^{13\text{-}15}$. The Syriac and Arabic versions here insert 'Elihu the seventh' from 1 Ch 27^{18}, but there we should probably read 'Eliab,' with the LXX. Jerome (*Qu. Heb.* on 1 S 17^{12}, 2 S 21^{21}) says that the prophet Nathan, or Jonathan son of Shammah, was reckoned as one of his sons. (*β*) In 2 S 17^{25} Abigail is called the daughter of Nahash; accordingly Jewish tradition (Targ. on Ru 4^{22}, Is 14^{29}, Jerome, *Qu. Heb. in loc.*) identifies Jesse with Nahash ('serpent'), explaining the double name on the ground that he had no other sin than that original sin which the old serpent introduced into the world. Stanley (*Jewish Ch.*, Lect. 22) suggests that the same woman was first wife of Nahash, king of Ammon, and mother by him of Abigail and Zeruiah, and subsequently wife of Jesse, and mother of his sons. This theory derives some slight support from the friendliness of Nahash and his sons to David (2 S 10^{2} 17^{27}), and also from the genealogy (1 Ch 2^{16}), where Abigail and Zeruiah are not called the daughters of Jesse, but the sisters of his sons. It is possible, however, that בַּת־נָחָשׁ in 2 S 17^{25} is, as Wellh. thinks, a textual error. See NAHASH.

It is interesting to note that while in his lifetime, and in the next generation, 'the son of Jesse' was a contemptuous epithet for David (cf. Jg 9^{28}, 1 S 22^{12}, Is $7^{4.\,5.\,6.\,9}$), and is so used by Saul (1 S $20^{27.\,30.\,31}$ $22^{7.\,8}$), by Doeg (1 S 22^{9}), by Nabal (25^{10}), by Sheba (2 S 20^{1}), and by the ten tribes

(1 K 12^{16}), yet the prophet Isaiah ($11^{1.\ 10}$) associates one of the most sublime Messianic predictions with the stock (גֶּזַע) of Jesse, 'the root (שֹׁרֶשׁ) of Jesse,' and this honorific use of the phrase passed to later writers, 1 Ch 10^{14} 29^{26}, Ps 72^{20}, Ac 13^{22}.

N. J. D. WHITE.

JESUS, the Gr. form (Ἰησοῦς) of the name Joshua (יְהוֹשֻׁעַ) or Jeshua (יֵשׁוּעַ), is employed as a designation of—**1.** Joshua the son of Nun (AV of 1 Mac 2^{55}, 2 Es 7^{37}, Sir 46^{1}, Ac 7^{45}, He 4^{8}, in all of which passages RV has JOSHUA). **2.** Jeshua (Joshua), the high priest contemporary with Zerubbabel (1 Es $5^{5.\ 8.\ 48.\ 56.\ 68.\ 70}$ 6^{2} 9^{19}, Sir 49^{12}, where both AV and RV have in every instance JESUS). **3.** The Levite (1 Es $5^{26.\ 58}$ 8^{63} 9^{48}) who in Ezr 2^{40} 3^{9} is called Jeshua. **4.** An ancestor of our Lord (Lk 3^{29} RV, where AV has **Jose**). **5.** Jesus, son of Sirach. See SIRACH. **6. 7.** See the next two articles.

JESUS CHRIST.—

Method of this article.

I. SURVEY OF CONDITIONS.
  A. *EXTERNAL CONDITIONS: GOVERNMENT, SECTS, AND PARTIES.*
  B. *INTERNAL CONDITIONS: THE STATE OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT AND LIFE.*
    1. General conditions: (α) the darker and (β) the brighter side of contemporary Judaism.
    2. The special seed-plot of Christianity.
    3. The Messianic expectation. Literature.

II. THE PUBLIC MINISTRY.
  A. *PRELIMINARY PERIOD: FROM THE BAPTISM TO THE CALL OF THE LEADING APOSTLES.*
    i. The Baptist and the Baptism: (α) the Baptist's hesitation, (β) the Voice from Heaven, (γ) Apocryphal details, (δ) Synoptic and Johannean versions. Literature.
    ii. The Temptation.
    iii. The first disciples and the miracle at Cana.
    iv. The first Passover.
    v. Retirement to Galilee.—The Synoptic Chronology, the Healing of the Nobleman's Son.
  B. *FIRST ACTIVE OR CONSTRUCTIVE PERIOD: THE FOUNDING OF THE KINGDOM.*
    i. The Call, Training, and Mission of the Twelve (and of the Seventy).
    ii. Differentiation of the Ministry of Jesus from that of John the Baptist.
    iii. Preaching of the Kingdom.
    iv. The Messianic Works.
    v. Effect on the Populace.
    vi. Effect upon the Pharisees.
    vii. The Self-Revelation of Jesus.

THE TEACHING OF JESUS.

a. General Characteristics of the Teaching.

(1) Its relation to the teaching of the Baptist and to that of the Scribes.
(2) Its universal range.
(3) Its method.
(4) The Parables.
(5) Interpretation of the Parables.
(6) The Purpose of teaching by Parables.

b. Contents of the Teaching.

(1) The Fatherhood of God.
(2) The Kingdom of God: (i.) the name; (ii.) the meaning; (iii.) associations; (iv.) the nature of the Kingdom: how far supernatural? (v.) present or future? (vi.) inward or outward? (vii.) national or universal?
(3) The Members or Subjects of the Kingdom: (i.) conditions of entrance; (ii.) character of the members; (iii.) paradoxes of Christianity.
(4) The Messiah: (i.) the Christ; (ii.) the Son of David; (iii.) the Son of Man; (iv.) the Son of God.
(5) The Paraclete and the Tri-unity of God. Literature.

THE MIRACLES OF JESUS.

(i.) Different classes of Miracles.
(ii.) Critical expedients for eliminating miracle.
(iii.) The evidence for the Gospel miracles in general.
(iv.) The quality of the evidence.
(v.) Historical necessity of miracles.
(vi.) Natural congruity of miracles.
(vii.) The unexplained element in miracles. Literature.

  C. *MIDDLE OR CULMINATING PERIOD OF THE ACTIVE MINISTRY.*
    i. The enthusiasm and falling-away of the Populace.
    ii. Widening breach with the Pharisees.
    iii. The climax of faith among the Twelve; St. Peter's confession.
    iv. The culminating point in the Missionary Labours of Jesus.
    v. The Transfiguration.
    vi. The Prophecies of Death and Resurrection.
  D. *CLOSE OF THE ACTIVE PERIOD: THE MESSIANIC CRISIS IN VIEW.*
    i. The so-called Peræan Ministry.
    ii. The Johannean narrative of this period.
    iii. The general character of the teaching of this period.
    iv. The prophecies of Death and Resurrection.
    v. Significance of the Death of Jesus. Literature.
  E. *THE MESSIANIC CRISIS: THE TRIUMPHAL ENTRY, THE LAST TEACHING, PASSION, DEATH, RESURRECTION, ASCENSION.*
    i. The action and the actors: (*a*) the Populace; (*b*) the traitor; (*c*) the Pharisees; (*d*) the Sadducees; (*e*) Pilate. Literature.
    ii. The Chronology of the last week.
    iii. The prophetic teaching of the last week.
    iv. The Last Supper: (1) the text of Lk $22^{14\text{-}20}$; (2) relation of the texts to each other; (3) other NT evidence; (4) significance of the Eucharist; (5) critical theories. Literature.
    v. The Resurrection: (1) the attestation; (2) the sequence and scene of the events; (3) attempted explanations; (4) the permanent significance of the Resurrection.
    vi. The Ascension: (1) its leading import; (2) its manner; (3) its implications. Literature.

III. SUPPLEMENTAL MATTER: THE NATIVITY AND INFANCY.
    i. The sources of the narrative.
    ii. The text of Mt 1^{16}.
    iii. The genealogies. Literature.
    iv. The census of Quirinius.
    v. The meaning of the Virgin-birth.

IV. CONCLUDING SURVEY: THE VERDICT OF HISTORY.
  A. *CHRIST IN HISTORY.*
    i. The Christ of the Gospels. Literature.
    ii. The Christ of the Apostles.
    iii. The Christ of the Undivided Church. Literature.
    iv. The Christ of Personal Experience.
  B. *THE PERSON OF CHRIST.*
    i. The Problem as it stands.
    ii. A pressing portion of the Problem.
  C. *THE WORK OF CHRIST.*
    i. The place in the Cosmical Order of the ethical teaching of Christ.
    ii. The significance of the personal example of Christ in regard to His ethical teaching.
    iii. The Work of Christ as redemptive.
    iv. The Work of Christ as a revelation
    v. The founding of the Church.
    Lives of Christ.

Method.—What method is fittest for a Christian writer to use in approaching the Life of Christ? There is a tendency at the present moment, on the Continent perhaps rather than in England, to approach it from the side of the consciousness of Jesus as the Messiah. A conspicuous instance of this would be Baldensperger's *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu* (Strassburg, 1888; 2nd ed. 1892), a work which attracted considerable attention when it first appeared. No doubt such a method has its advantages. It places the inquirer at once at the centre of the position, and enables him to look down the various roads by which he will have to travel. The advantage, however, is more apparent than real. It would hold good only if we could be sure of obtaining a far more adequate grasp of the consciousness to be investigated than on any hypothesis is likely to be obtained. On the Christian hypothesis, frankly held, any such grasp would seem to be excluded, and the attempt to reach it could hardly be made without irreverence.

It is on all grounds a safer and sounder, as well as a more promising method, to adopt a course which is the opposite of this—not to work from within outwards, but from without inwards; to begin with that aspect of the Life which is most external, and only when we have realized this as well as we may to seek to penetrate deeper, allowing the facts to suggest their own inner meaning. We may then take in certain sidelights which our documents also afford us, which, because they come, as it were, from the side, are not therefore less valuable. And we may finally strengthen our conclusions by following the history some little way into its sequel. In other words, we shall begin by placing ourselves at the standpoint of an observer, one of those who saw the public ministry of Jesus in its early stages, in its development, and to its close. When that has been fully unrolled before us, we can draw upon other data which are not of this public character; and we may further seek to argue backwards from effects to causes.

By pursuing this method we shall have the advantage of taking the facts in no imaginary order, but in the order of the history itself. We shall have them disclosed to us in the same sort of sequence in which they were disclosed to the first generations of Christians—a method always advisable where it can be had, and in this instance peculiarly advisable, because both the origins and the immediate sequel to the origins are of extreme interest and importance.

We shall also have the incidental advantage of following, not only the historical order, but the critical order suggested by the documents. It was natural that what was transacted in public should have the fullest and the earliest attestation: it lay in the nature of the case that some of the details which were most significant, just because of their private and intimate character, should become known only by degrees. This state of things is reflected in the Gospels as we have them. The common matter of the Synoptic Gospels is also the most public matter. It by no means follows that what is peculiar to a single Gospel is by that fact stamped as less historical: no one would think (*e.g.*) of affirming this of some of the parables peculiar to St. Luke; but it is fair to suppose that in the first instance it was less widely diffused. To this class would belong the narratives of the Nativity and of the Infancy. It will be in some ways a gain not to begin with these, but to let them enter into the story as they entered into it with the first Christians. More than one point which might otherwise perplex us will in this way suggest its own explanation.

Limits of space do not allow us to go elaborately into the question as to the trustworthiness of our materials. It may suffice to point to one undoubted fact which furnishes at least a considerable presumption in their favour. The apostolic age produced some strongly marked personalities, with well defined types of thought and phraseology. Now, broadly speaking, these types have left but little trace upon the Gospels. The special type characteristic of the Gospels themselves stands out conspicuously over against them. We need hardly do more than refer to such very significant facts as that the Gospels alone contain specimens of teaching by parables; that the idea of the 'kingdom of heaven' (or 'of God'), which is quite central in the Gospels, recedes into the background in the writings of the apostles; that the same holds good of that most significant title 'Son of Man'; that, on the other hand, such a term as 'justify' is rare and hardly technical, while 'justification,' 'sanctification,' 'reconciliation' (or 'atonement'), and a number of others are wholly absent. It may be said that the Fourth Gospel is an exception, that there we have a suspicious resemblance to the style and diction of the Epp. of St. John. Some resemblance there is, and we would not entirely reject the inference drawn from it. But even here the exception is but partial. It has often been noticed that the evangelist scrupulously confines his doctrine of the Logos to the prologue.

The writer of this art. may be allowed once more to express the conviction,* which he believes that continued investigation will confirm, that the great mass of the Synoptic Gospels had assumed its permanent shape not later than the decade 60-70 A.D., and that the changes which it underwent after the great catastrophe of the fall of Jerusalem were but small, and can without difficulty be recognized.

But the task on which we are at present engaged must in the main supply its own vindication. The picture which it is here attempted to draw will commend itself so far as it is consistent and coherent, and no further. No one, indeed, expects in these days the formal and external consistency aimed at in the older Harmonies; but the writer himself believes that in their inner essence the Gospels are consistent and coherent, and if he fails to convey the impression of this, the failure will be his own. He is conscious of something tentative in the way in which he has sought to work in data derived from the Fourth Gospel with those derived from the other three. But here, again, he is giving expression to the best opinion he can form, and the value of that opinion must be judged by the result. Where he is not satisfied with his own success, he has not hesitated to say so.

To what has been said above it should be added, that if we assume the standpoint of a spectator, a brief preface will be needed to explain what that standpoint is. In other words, we shall have at the outset to take a rapid survey of the conditions under which the Life of Christ was lived, so that we may see to what His teaching had to attach itself, and what served for it as a foil, by way of contrast and antagonism.

The main divisions of our subject will thus be—

I. SURVEY OF CONDITIONS.
II. THE PUBLIC MINISTRY OF JESUS, preceded by that of the Baptist.
III. SUPPLEMENTAL MATTER, not included in the Public Ministry, and derived from special sources.
IV. THE VERDICT OF HISTORY.

I. SURVEY OF CONDITIONS.—The picture which we form for ourselves of Palestine in the time of our Lord is apt to be wanting in play and variety. A few strong and simple colours are all that are used; we do not allow enough for their blending, or for the finer and subtler tones which mingle with them. We see the worldly ambition of the Sadducees, the self-seeking and formalism of the Pharisees; over both, the rough stern rule of the Roman; and under both, the chafing tide of popular passion, working itself up to its outburst of fury in the Great War. Perhaps we throw in somewhere in a corner the cloistered communities of the Essenes; but if so, it is rather as standing apart by themselves than as entering into the general life.

It is not so much that this picture is wrong as that it needs to be supplemented, and it needs a little toning down of the light and shade. This is the case especially with the internal conditions, the state of thought and of the religious life.

A. *EXTERNAL CONDITIONS: GOVERNMENT, SECTS, AND PARTIES.*—The external conditions are so comparatively simple and so well known that a rapid glance at them will suffice.

At the time of our Lord's public ministry, Judæa and Samaria were directly subject to the Romans, and were governed by a *procurator* (**Pontius Pilate**, A.D. 26-36), who was to some extent subordinate to the *legatus* of Syria. Pilate had a character for cruelty (cf. Lk 13[1]). And the Roman rule was no doubt as a whole harsh and unfeeling: we read of wholesale executions, which took the horrible form of crucifixion. But the people whom Rome had to govern were turbulent in the extreme; and so far as the Roman authorities come before us in NT, we cannot refuse them the credit of a desire to do a sort of rough justice.

---

* See the *Bampton Lectures* for 1893, p. 286 ff.

The odious duty of collecting tolls and taxes for the Romans led to the employment of a class of underlings (*τελῶναι, publicani*), who were regarded almost as outcasts by their Jewish countrymen.

The north and east of Palestine were still in the hands of sons of Herod. **Antipas** (4 B.C. to 39 A.D.) held Galilee and Peræa; and his brother Philip (4 B.C. to 34 A.D.), Ituræa and Trachonitis. The name given to the former, 'that fox' (Lk 13^{32}), will sufficiently describe him; he was living in open sin with Herodias, the wife of another brother, but was not wholly unvisited by remorse, and had at least curiosity in matters of religion (Mk 6^{20} ‖, Lk 23^{8}). His capital was at Tiberias, on the Sea of Galilee, and he also held possession of the strong fortress of Machærus * E. of the Dead Sea. Herod Philip governed his dominions quietly, and was the best and most popular of his father's sons.

The **Sadducees** (Zadokite priests) consisted mainly of certain aristocratic priestly families (Ac 4^{6}) who held almost a monopoly of the high priesthood, and who played an influential and active part in the Sanhedrin, which under the Romans wielded considerable power. They were typical opportunists, and were bent above all things on keeping their own rights and privileges. Hence they were sensitive on the subject of popular disorder, which was likely to serve as an excuse to the Romans for displacing them (Jn 11^{48}). It was a coalition of Pharisees and Sadducees which procured the death of our Lord, but in the period of the Acts the Sadducees were the more active persecutors. Religion with them was secondary, but they differed somewhat both in doctrine and in practice from the Pharisees (Ac 23^{8}; cf. Edersheim, *Life and Times*, i. 314–321, etc.). They did not encumber themselves with the Pharisaic traditions, but took their stand upon the Pentateuch. They were notorious for strictness in judgment.

As contrasted with the Sadducees, the **Pharisees** (lit. Separatists or Purists) were essentially the religious party. They numbered more than 6000 (*Ant.* XVII. ii. 4), and were pledged to a high standard of life and scrupulous performance of religious duties (Mt 23^{23}). Unfortunately, the high standard was outward rather than inward. The elaborate casuistry to which the Pharisees had recourse was used as a means of evading moral obligations (Mk 7^{1-13} ‖ 12^{38-40} ‖, Mt 23^{13-33}), and resulted in a spirit hard, narrow, and self-righteous.

Not exactly coextensive with the Pharisees, though largely to be identified with them (we read of 'scribes *of* the Pharisees,' Mk 2^{16} RV; *i.e.* 'scribes who belonged to the party of the Pharisees'), were the **Scribes** (*γραμματεῖς, νομικοί, νομοδιδάσκαλοι*), or professed students of the law, who supplied the Pharisees with their principles. They had to a large extent taken the place of the priests as the preachers and teachers of Judaism. Their chief fields of action were the synagogues and the Rabbinical schools. The most highly respected of the scribes were the great religious authorities of the day. It was their successors who built up the Talmud. There were differences of opinion within the body (*e.g.* the rival schools of Hillel and Shammai, contemporaries of Herod the Great), but, without, their *dicta* were unquestioned. This veneration was, as a rule, only requited with contempt.

While the Pharisees at this date for the most part (though not entirely) held aloof from politics, on the ground that religion as they conceived it could be practised indifferently under any domination, and their own experiences under the national line, represented by Alexander Jannæus, had been the reverse of happy, the mass of the people were burning to throw off the yoke of the stranger. The party of action, which was prepared to go all lengths, was known as the **Zealots**. One member of this party was numbered among the apostles (Mt 10^{4}, Mk 3^{18}, Lk 6^{15}, Ac 1^{13}). In the siege of Jerus. they took the lead, and were distinguished at once by heroic courage and by horrible crimes.

The dynasty of the Herods had from the first claimed alliance with Hellenic culture. The founder of the dynasty had mixed with advantage to himself in the *haute politique* of his day; and he had signalized his reign by buildings in the Greek style, but on a scale of barbaric magnificence. The courts of the Herods must always have had a tincture of Hellenism about them. But the reaction against this was strong, and its influence probably did not extend very far, though it inspired the historians Nicolaus of Damascus, Justus of Tiberias, and Josephus. More likely to affect the lower and middle strata of the population would be the 'Greek cities' founded by the Syrian kings before the Maccabæan rising, such as the cluster known as Decapolis, for the most part east of the Jordan, with later foundations like the flourishing port of Cæsarea. But more important still would be the influence of the Jews of the Diaspora, constantly coming and going to the great feasts at Jerusalem, and with synagogues for their special use permanently established there (Ac 6^{9}). The greatest of the centres with which the Jews were thus brought in contact were Alexandria and Antioch. And there is reason to think that the amount of intellectual intercourse and interchange was by no means inconsiderable.

There must have been other foreign influences at work, but rather by what might be called underground channels. The connexion of Palestine with Babylonia and the East, which goes back to immemorial antiquity, had been revived and deepened by the Captivity. It was kept up by intercourse with the Jews who remained in those regions. But whether or not they had come precisely in this way, there can be no doubt that Oriental, and indeed specifically Persian influences were present in the sect of the **Essenes**. The ceremonial washings, and the reverence paid to the sun, can hardly have had any other origin. The asceticism and community of goods have a Pythagorean cast, and may have come from Greece by way of Egypt, while the rejection of sacrifice and what we know of the speculative tendencies of the Essenes may well be native to the soil of Palestine. The Essene settlements were congregated near the Dead Sea.

B. *INTERNAL CONDITIONS: THE STATE OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT AND LIFE.*

1. *General Conditions.*—To describe justly the state of Judaism in the time of Christ is a difficult and delicate thing. It is too apt to seem like an indictment of the Judaism of nineteen centuries, which not only on general grounds, but specially in view of the attitude of some Jewish apologists of the present day, a Christian theologian will be loth to bring. He will desire to make all the allowances that can rightly be made, and to state all the evidence (so far as he knows it) for as well as against. But at the same time he must not gloss over real faults and defects, without a statement of which Christianity itself can be but imperfectly understood.

Truth does not, as a rule, lie in compromises. And its interests will be perhaps best served if we set down without reserve both the darker and the brighter sides, only asking the reader to remember while he has the one before him, that the other is also there. That we attempt this difficult task at all is due to no wanton assumption of a right to judge, but to the unavoidable necessity that what is so intimately bound up with history should be seen in the full light which history throws upon it.

---

* In *Ant.* XVIII. v. 2 Machærus is in the possession of Antipas, in the previous § it belongs to Aretas; but the reading of this latter passage is questionable (cf. Schürer, *NTZG* i. 362 n., 365 n. [*HJP* I. ii. 23, 25]).

(*a*) *The Darker Side of the Contemporary Judaism.*—As we look broadly at the religious condition of Palestine in the time of our Lord, there can be little doubt that it was in need of a drastic reformation. This is the impression inevitably conveyed by the Gospels, and by the searching criticisms of St. Paul. Nor is it belied by the witness of Josephus, and in particular by the outbreak of untamed passion, with the horrors to which it gave rise, in the Jewish War. And although it may be easy to make a selection from the Talmud of sayings of a different character, it can hardly be questioned that the same source supplies proof enough that the denunciations of the Gospels were not without foundation. There is too evident a connexion between the inherent principles of Judaism and the defects charged against it to permit us to regard these as devoid of truth.

(i.) The idea of God was perhaps the strongest side of Judaism, but it was too exclusively transcendent. It had no adequate means of spanning the gulf between God and man. The faults of Judaism were those of Deism. It had one tender place, the love of J″ for Israel. But this fell some way short of the Christian idea of the Father in heaven, the God who not only loves a single people, but whose essence is love. Judaism also largely wanted the mystical element which has played such an important part in Christianity. The Johannean allegory of the Vine and the Branches, which agrees so closely with the teaching of St. Paul, the whole conception of immanent divine forces circulating through the organism, has no true analogy in it.[*] (ii.) But the most disastrous feature of Rabbinical Judaism was its identification of morality with obedience to written law. 'Duty, goodness, piety,—all these are to the Jew equivalent terms. They are mere synonyms for the same conception—the fulfilment of the law. A man therefore is good who knows the law and obeys it; a man is wicked who is ignorant of it and transgresses it' (Montefiore, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 479). This identification of morality with law led to a number of serious evils. (iii.) Law can deal only with overt action. Hence there was an inevitable tendency to restrict the field of morals to overt action. Motive was comparatively disregarded. It is doubtless true that the Rabbis frequently insist on rightness of motive. A religion which in its Sacred Books included the Prophets as well as the Law could not do otherwise. But the legal conception was too deeply ingrained not to tell its tale. If it had not been so, there would have been no need for the Sermon on the Mount; and the address, 'Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites,' would have had no point. (iv.) Another consequence of the stress laid on overt acts was the development of an elaborate doctrine of salvation by works. We need not suppose that this doctrine was universally held and always consciously acted upon; but it cannot be denied that there was in Judaism a widespread opinion that might be expressed in the terms, 'so much keeping of the law, so much merit'; and the idea of a 'treasure of merit,' which each man stores up for himself, is constantly met with. (v.) In one sense the keeping of the law was very hard. The labours of the scribes had added to the original and primary laws an immense mass of inferential law, which was placed on the same footing of authority. This portentous accumulation of precepts was a burden 'grievous to be borne.' (vi.) Not only so, but a great part of this additional law was bad law. It was law inferred by a faulty system of exegesis. Even where the exegesis was *bonâ fide*, it was in a large proportion of cases unreal and artificial. But there was a great temptation to dishonesty, for which the way was left open by the exaggerated stress laid on acts, and the comparative ignoring of motive. In the dead level of written law the relative degrees of obligation were disregarded. Hence there were a number of precepts which were positively immoral (*e.g.* Corban, Mk $7^{11.12}$ ||). (vii.) A further defect in the legal conception of religion was its intellectualism. The Talmud bears witness to what is little less than an idolatry of learning, and that, we must remember, Rabbinical learning. With religion converted into science, and the science in great part no science, we may well say, 'If the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is the darkness!' The Scholasticism of the Middle Ages had no such unchallenged supremacy; it was not the one all-pervading ideal. (viii.) For the mass of the population the double law, traditional as well as original, could not but be a burden. The accumulation of precepts not possessed of moral value is always a thing to be deprecated. And however much we may allow for the fact that the observance of all these precepts was not expected of every one, there still remained enough to be a real incubus. And yet, on the other hand, the performance of the full Pharisaic standard was not so very difficult for persons of leisure, who deliberately made up their minds to it. It did not mean, or at least it might be understood as not meaning, more than a life mechanically regulated. But then it is easy to see that the existence of this class, consciously setting itself above its neighbours, and able, without any excessive strain, to make good its pretensions, must have inevitably engendered a feeling of self-righteousness or spiritual pride. The parable of the Pharisee and the Publican (Lk 18^{11-13}) must needs have been typical. (ix.) What the Pharisee was to the ordinary Jew, that the Jew was to the rest of mankind. However politically inferior, the Jew never lost his pride of race, and with him this pride of race was a pride of religious privilege. The Zealot sought to translate this into political domination, but the Pharisee was content to retire into the fortress of his inner consciousness, from which he could look with equanimity at the rise and fall of secular powers. (x.) This particular form of pride had a tendency to aggravate itself as time went on. 'To make a fence round the law' was a fundamental principle of Judaism. And in a like spirit the privileged people was tempted to make a fence round itself, and to dwell apart among the nations. Institutions which had had for their object to keep the nation clear of idolatry, were extended when the dangers of idolatry were past, until it required a revolution to say with St. Paul, 'There is neither Jew nor Greek.' (xi.) Worst and most disastrous of all was the tendency to fall back upon national privilege as a substitute for real reformation of life. We can see alike from the Gospels and from St. Paul how constantly the Jews had upon their lips, 'We have Abraham to our father' (Lk 3^8, Jn $8^{33.39}$, Ro 2^{17-20}). It is admitted that 'the Jews were somewhat too confident of their assured participation in the blessedness of eternal life; all Israelites, except very exceptional and determined sinners, were believed to have their share in it' (Montefiore, *Hibb. Lect.* p. 482).

(*β*) *The Brighter Side of the Contemporary Judaism.*—The above is a long and a serious catalogue of charges, partly resting upon the logic of the creed, but also too much borne out by positive testimony. It seems conclusively to prove that not only reformation, but a thoroughgoing reformation, was needed.

---

[*] The comparison of Israel to a vine is not unknown to Judaism, but in a wholly different application (see Wünsche, *Erläut. d. Evang.* on Jn 15^1).

And yet there is another side which the Christian teacher ought to emphasize more fully than it has been the custom to do.

(i.) In the first place, we have to remember that Judaism is professedly the religion of the OT. It is based upon a Book which includes the Prophets and the Psalms (to use the familiar description *a potiori parte*) as well as the Law. And however much Judaism proper gave precedence to the Law, it could not forget the other parts of the volume, or run wholly counter to their spirit. It is not too much to say that even in the Talmud we can see at every turn how the spirit of legalism was corrected by an influence which is ultimately derived from what are rightly called the evangelical portions of OT. We shall see to what an extent Christianity itself is a direct development of these.

(ii). The evidence of NT, severe as it is upon the whole, yet is not all of one tenor. Its pages are sprinkled over with Jewish characters, who are mentioned in terms of praise: Zacharias and Elisabeth, Simeon and Anna, Nathanael, Nicodemus, and Joseph of Arimathæa, the young ruler, and the scribe who was pronounced to be 'not far from the kingdom of God' (Mk 12^{34}). We must not forget that there are parts of NT itself which in recent years have been claimed by Christian scholars as thinly veneered products of Judaism (Ep. of James, Apoc.). Whatever we may think of these particular instances, there are others (such as *Didachê* and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*) in which it is highly probable that a Jewish original has been adapted to Christian purposes. And our present investigation will bring before us many examples in which, while Christianity corrects Jewish teaching, it nevertheless takes its start from it, and that not only from the purer original, but in its contemporary form.

(iii.) The panegyrists of the Talmud have at least right on their side to this extent, that single sayings can frequently be quoted from it in disproof of the sweeping allegations brought against it by its assailants. There are grains of fine wheat among its chaff. Some of these are referred, on what seems to be good authority, to a time anterior to the coming of Christ. The 'golden rule' is attributed to Hillel. The story is that when Shammai drove away an inquirer who desired to be taught the whole Torah while he stood on one foot, the man went to Hillel, who said: 'What is hateful to thyself do not to thy fellow; this is the whole Torah, and the rest is commentary' (Taylor, *Pirqe Aboth*, p. 37). Another great saying is ascribed to Antigonus of Soko: 'Be not as slaves that minister to the lord with a view to receive recompense; but be as slaves that minister to the lord without a view to receive recompense; and let the fear of Heaven be upon you' (*ib.* p. 27). There is a fair number of such sayings. If we take the treatise from which the last is directly quoted we shall see in it what is probably not an unfair representation of the better Judaism in the time of Christ, with its weaknesses sufficiently indicated, but with something also of its strength.

(iv.) It is right also to bear in mind that the Judaism of this date had no lack of enthusiasts and martyrs. Akiba in particular, though a Jew of the Jews, cannot but command our admiration (see Taylor, *ut sup.* p. 67 ff.). And in a different category his fortitude is matched by the *mitis sapientia* of Hillel, of whom it was said that his gentleness brought men 'nigh under the wings of the Shekinah' (*ib.* p. 37).

(v.) A favourable impression on the whole is given by the numerous pseudepigraphic works, which belong in the main to the two centuries on each side of the Christian era. The oldest parts of the Book of Enoch may possibly be earlier, just as some outlying members of the Baruch literature are probably later. The most typical writings are the Book of Enoch and the Psalms of Solomon (which can be dated with tolerable certainty B.C. 70–40), the Book of Jubilees and the Assumption of Moses (which may be taken as roughly contemporary with the founding of Christianity), and the Fourth Book of Ezra (2 Es) and the Apoc. of Baruch, both after the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. These writings show in varying degrees most of the characteristic infirmities of Judaism, but they also show its nobler features in a way which sometimes, and especially in the two latest works, throws the infirmities into the shade.[*]

It is a moot point how far the pseudepigrapha can be taken as representative of the main currents of Judaism. Montefiore, writing in 1892, says, 'It must be remembered that the apocalyptic writings lie for the most part outside the line of the purest Jewish development, and often present but the fringe or excrescence, and not the real substance of the dominating religious thought' (*Hibb. Lect.* p. 467). On the other hand, Charles has no difficulty in assigning the different portions to recognized party divisions in Judaism. Schürer in like manner describes their standpoint as that of 'correct Judaism,' adding, however, that they are 'not products of the school, but of free religious individuality' (*HJP* III. ii. 49). Similarly, Baldensperger speaks of 4 Ezra and Baruch as free from the spirit of casuistry, and not 'absorbed in the Halachic rules' (p. 35, ed. 1). This verdict would apply in some degree to this class of literature generally. It is perhaps in the main of provincial origin, or at least somewhat outside the beaten tracks of Jewish teaching. The Pss. of Solomon and Bk. of Jubilees would be nearest to these. It is very probable that 4 Ezr and Apoc. Bar were directly affected by the ferment of thought caused by the birth of Christianity.

When we endeavour to put together the impressions which we derive from these various sources, we may perhaps say that the outcome of them is that Judaism at the Christian era had all the outer framework of a sound religion if only the filling in had been different. The Jew knew better than any of his contemporaries in Greece or Rome or in the East what religion was. He had a truer conception of God, and of the duty of man towards God; but on the first head he had much still to learn, and on the second he had many faults to be corrected in the working out of detail.

The Jew had at least a profound seriousness on the subject of religion. Where this was wanting, the man was no true Jew. And, even allowing for all the external influences which told against this, there was among the Jews probably less of professed atheism, indifference, levity, than there has ever been in any other society, ancient or modern. The Jew had also an intense feeling of loyalty to this society. His love of what we should call his Church rose to a passion. It is this which makes the apocalypses which followed the fall of Jerusalem so pathetic. The faith of men has probably seldom received a shock so severe. The authors of these apocalypses feel the shock to the uttermost. They grope about anxiously to find the meaning of God's mysterious dealings; but their faith in Him is unshaken. They are divided between passionate grief and resignation: 'Two things vehemently constrain me: for I cannot resist thee, and my soul, moreover, cannot behold the evils of my mother' (Apoc. Bar 3^{3}).

2. *The Special Seed-plot of Christianity.*—In general terms it may be said that when we seek for affinities to Christianity we find more of them the farther we recede from the centre of official Judaism. The one thing to which Christianity is most opposed is the hard, dry, casuistic legalism

---

[*] For a closer and more exact but still tentative analysis and dating, the reader may be referred to the editions by R. H. Charles of *Enoch* (1893), *Secrets of Enoch* and *Apoc. of Baruch* (1896), *Assumption of Moses* (1897); or for a judicious presentation of average opinion, to Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. 54 ff.

of the Pharisee. If we are right in thinking of the apocalyptic literature as in the main provincial, we shall not be surprised to find the points of contact with it become more numerous. Wherever there are traces of a fresher and deeper study of the Psalms and Prophets, there we have a natural kinship for the Christian spirit.

Now there is one class among whom this continuity with Psalms and Prophets is specially marked. It has been observed* that there is a group of Psalms (of which perhaps 9. 10. 22. 25. 35. 40. 69. 109 are the most prominent) in which the words translated in EV 'poor,' 'needy,' 'humble,' 'meek' are of specially frequent occurrence. It appears that these words have acquired a moral meaning. From meaning originally those who are 'afflicted' or 'oppressed' (by men), they have come to mean those who in their oppression have drawn nearer to God and leave their cause in His hands. They are the pious Israelites who suffer from the tyranny of the heathen or of their worldly countrymen, and who refuse to assert themselves, but accept in a humble spirit the chastening sent by God. As there were many such in every period of the history of Israel, they might be said to form a class. Now there is other evidence that this class still existed at the Christian era. They are the *mansueti et quiescentes* of 4 Ezr (2 Es) 11^{42}. They are just the class indicated in Ps-Sol 5$^{13f.}$ 'Who is the hope of the needy and the poor beside thee, O Lord? And thou wilt hearken: for who is gracious and gentle but thou? Thou makest glad the heart of the humble by opening thine hand in mercy.' (Compare also the reff. in Ryle and James, p. 48, and Index, *s.v.* πτωχός). The special NT designation is πτωχοὶ τῷ πνεύματι (Mt 5^{3}). And a better expression of the spirit in question could not easily be found than the *Magnificat* (Lk 1$^{46-55}$). It is clear that the group which appears in Lk 1. 2, not only Joseph and Mary, but Zacharias and Elisabeth, Simeon and Anna, all answer to this description. They are those who look for 'the consolation of Israel,' 'the redemption of Israel' (Lk 2$^{25.38}$), and who looked for it rather by fasting and prayer than by any haste to grasp the sword. There was no organized party, no concerted policy; but we cannot doubt that there were many devout souls scattered throughout the country, and in just the kind of distribution which the chapters Lk 1. 2 would suggest, some for shorter or longer periods making their way to Jerusalem, but the greater number dispersed over such secluded districts as the 'highlands' (ἡ ὀρεινή, Lk 1^{39}) of Judæa and Galilee.

Here was the class which seemed, as it were, specially prepared to receive a new spiritual impulse and to take up a great movement of reformation. And other tendencies were in the air which were ready to contribute to the spread of such a movement when it came. The labours of the scribes had not been all wasted. There is a good example in Mk 12$^{32-34}$—the happy combination of Dt 4^{39} with Lv 19^{18}—which shows that even among the Rabbis there were some who were feeling their way towards the more penetrating teaching of Jesus.

One great transition had been made since Ezk 18. The value of the individual soul was by this time fully realized. The old merging of the individual in the family and the clan had been fully left behind. Another germ contained in the teaching of the prophets had been developed. We can see from the case of the Essenes that men's minds were being prepared for the abolition of animal sacrifices, and along with the abolition of sacrifice for an end to the localized worship of the temple. The great extension of the synagogue services would contribute to the same result.

The proselytizing zeal which the later Judaism had displayed (Mt 23^{15}) operated in several ways. It was a step in the direction of the ultimate evangelizing of the Gentiles. It had created a class in which the liberal influences of Græco-Roman education prevented the purer principles of OT from lapsing into Judaic narrowness and formalism, and in which it was therefore natural that Christianity should strike root. We meet with specimens of this class in the Gospels (Lk 7$^{2-5}$||, Mk 15^{39}||) as well as in the Acts. And not only was there created a class of recipients for the gospel, but in the effort to meet the demands of these converts from paganism there was a tendency to tone down and throw into the background the more repellent features of Judaism. If it is true, as it probably is, that the so-called *Didaché* is a Christian enlargement of what was originally a Jewish manual for proselytes, it would be a good illustration of this process.

3. *The Messianic Expectation.*—But by far the most important of all the preparations for the gospel, negative as well as positive, both as demanding correction and as leading up to fulfilment, was the growth of the Messianic expectation, with the group of doctrines which went along with it.

The more the stress of the times was felt, and the more hopeless it seemed that any ordinary development of events could rescue the Jewish people from its oppressors, the more were its hopes thrown into the future and based upon the direct intervention of God. The starting-point of these hopes was the great prophecy in Dn 7. The world empires, one succeeding another, and all tyrannizing over the Chosen People, were to be judged, and Israel at last was to enter on the dominion reserved for it. The figure of the **Son of Man** who appears before the Ancient of days (Dn 7$^{13f.}$) was not in the first instance a person: it was a collective expression, equivalent to the 'saints of the Most High' in v.^{18}. The form of a 'man' is taken in contrast to the 'beasts,' which represent in the context the dynasties of the oppressors. In conflict with the last of these Israel is at first to be hard pressed, but God Himself will interpose by an act of divine judgment; the enemy will be crushed, and there will be given to Israel a kingdom which is universal and eternal.

This dominion is Israel's by right. It had not only been repeatedly promised from Abraham onwards, but it had been earned as a matter of desert. It was the complement of Israel's possession of the law. By its observance of the law Israel had acquired a right which no other nation could acquire. In the compact or covenant between Israel and Jehovah, Israel was doing its part, and it remained for God to do His.

The grand catastrophe by which this was to be brought about, the περιπέτεια in the tragedy of the nations, was to culminate in an act of judgment. The **day of the Lord**, conceived of by the prophets at first as a decisive battle in which God intervenes, gives place to a judicial act in which those who have oppressed His people are called to account, and the parts of oppressor and oppressed are reversed. To complete the justice of the case, those of the saints who have died in the times of distress must not be left out. There must be a resurrection. And the resurrection will usher in for them a state of lasting joy and felicity. Nature would share with man. There would be a 'new heaven and a new earth.' The tendency was to conceive of these somewhat literally and materially. Elaborate but at the same time prosaic pictures are given of the inexhaustible plenty which the saints (*i.e.* Israel as a people) are to enjoy.

---

* See esp. Rahlfs, עָנִי *und* עָנָו *in d. Psalmen*, Göttingen, 1892; and Driver, *Parallel Psalter*, Oxf. 1898, Glossary, *s.v.* 'poor.'

Their bliss is also sometimes compared to a great feast (cf. Lk 14^{15}).

In the Bk. of Daniel, and, as it would seem for some time afterwards, the reign of the saints is conceived impersonally. It is the dominion of Israel, the Chosen People. But gradually there arises a tendency to go back to a more primitive stage of prophecy, and to see the kingdom as concentrated in the person of its King: there is a personal Messiah. This is conspicuously the case in the Psalms of Solomon (17. 18), the date of which is fixed between B.C. 70–40. The righteous King who is to rule over the nations is the Davidic King of the elder prophets. A personal King is also implied in *Orac. Sibyll.* iii. 49 f., 652-656. In the middle section of the Bk. of Enoch (chs. 37-71), which is also probably pre-Christian, the title 'Son of Man' is taken up from Dn and distinctly identified with a person. Here, too, as in *Orac. Sibyll.* iii. 286, and *Apoc. Bar* 72^{2-6}, the Messiah is not only King but Judge (cf. Enoch 45^{3} 62^{8-13} 69^{27}). The execution of the judgment is handed over to Him by God. There is not absolute unity of view. Sometimes judgment is carried out by the Messiah, sometimes by God Himself (*e.g.* Enoch 90^{18-27}, *Ass. Mos.* 10^{3-10}). There is also some diversity as to the extent to which the resurrection is to be of the righteous, of Israel, or of all mankind. One view is that there are to be two resurrections, with a millennial reign between them.

The Sadducees held aloof from the Messianic expectation to which they were not clearly compelled by the few allusions in the Pentateuch, and which would have been only a disturbing element in their policy of making the best—for themselves—of things as they were. Some of the scribes must have also done what they could to discourage the belief. It is well known that Hillel is said to have asserted that the prophecies of the Messiah were fulfilled in Hezekiah. But there is abundant evidence that in spite of this the expectation was widely diffused. It must have been constantly preached in the synagogues of Palestine, and it certainly took a strong hold of the popular mind. It was differently received and understood by different hearers. With some quiet God-fearing souls, 'poor in spirit' like those who come before us at the beginning of the evangelical narrative in Lk 1. 2, it was cherished secretly with awed and wistful longing (Lk $2^{25. 38}$). With the mass of the population, as well teachers as taught, it took its place only too easily among the body of hard, narrow, materialized beliefs which were so characteristic of the time—a visible earthly kingdom reserved for Israel as its right, and carrying with it domination over other nations, with such unlimited command of enjoyment as a sovereign people might expect under conditions specially created for its benefit: all this introduced by supernatural means, wielded by One who is variously called 'Messiah' or 'Anointed,' 'the righteous King,' 'the Elect' or 'Son of Man,' not (if the question were pressed) in the strict sense God, though endowed by God with plenary powers, a fit Head for the Chosen People in its golden age, which was at last about to begin. And scattered among these masses there were many — some banded together under the name of Zealots, and thousands more who were ready to join them at the first signal—men not of dreams but of action, who were only waiting for the leader and the hour to put their hand to the sword and rise in revolt against the hated foreigners who oppressed them, prepared to take a fearful vengeance, and proud in the thought that in doing so they would be 'doing God service' and establishing His kingdom.

LITERATURE.—Vast stores of ordered material are contained in Schürer's great work orig. called *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte* (*NTZG*), and now as in the Eng. tr. *Hist. of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ* (*HJP*). The Eng. tr. from the 2nd much enlarged ed. came out in 1885-90; a 3rd ed., still further enlarged, has begun to appear (vols. ii. and iii., 1898). The late Dr. Edersheim's *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah* (revised eds. from 1886) is also full of illustrative matter. Other works by the same author may also be consulted; esp. *History of the Jewish Nation after the Destruction of Jerus. under Titus* (2nd ed. carefully revised by H. A. White, 1896). Another very useful work is Weber's *System d. altsynagog. Paläst. Theol.*, now called *Jüdische Theologie* (2nd ed., somewhat improved, 1897). As there is always a danger of confusing Jewish teaching of very different dates, this book should be checked as far as possible by comparison with the *Pseudepigrapha*, Philo, NT, and the early Talmudic work *Pirqe Aboth* (*Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, ed. Taylor, 1877, and enlarged in 1897). To these authorities should now be added G. Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu* (Bd. i., 1898 *fin.*), the most critical and scientific examination of the leading conceptions of the Gospels that has yet appeared.

Mention may be made among older works of Drummond's *Jewish Messiah* (1877) and Stanton's *Jewish and Christian Messiah* (1887). Hausrath's *NT Times* (Eng. tr. 1878-80) is picturesquely written, but far less trustworthy than Schürer; and Wünsche's *Neue Beiträge z. Erläuterung d. Evv.* (1878) is much criticized. Montefiore's *Hibbert Lectures* (1892) and arts. in *JQR* form an attractive apology for Judaism.

II. THE PUBLIC MINISTRY.—We shall now be in a position to approach the study of the Public Ministry of our Lord in the manner indicated at the outset. We shall be able to place ourselves at the standpoint of a sympathetic spectator. We shall have some rough conception of the kind of ideas which would be in his mind, and of the kind of conditions which he would see around him. We shall thus be able to follow the course of the Public Ministry with a certain amount of intelligence. We do not as yet attempt to penetrate the whole of its secret. Broadly speaking, we suppose ourselves to see what a privileged spectator might be expected to see, and no more. We reserve until a later stage the introduction of those special details of illuminative knowledge which, as a matter of history, were not accessible to the first spectators, but were only disclosed after a time. But we hold ourselves at liberty to collect and group the facts which were not removed from the cognizance of a spectator, in any way that may be most convenient to secure clearness of presentation.

It may be well to avail ourselves of this freedom at once, before giving an outline of the ministry, to state summarily certain conclusions which seem to arise out of the study of it. We shall hold the threads in our minds more firmly if we see to what results they are tending.

The anticipated conclusions, then, are these: (i.) From the very first (*i.e.* from the Baptism) our Lord had the full consciousness of the Messiah, and the full determination to found the Kingdom of God upon earth. (ii.) From the very first He had also the deliberate intention of transforming the current idea of the Kingdom. (iii.) In order to make this transformation effective, it was necessary to begin with the idea of the Kingdom and not of the King. In other words, the personal Messianic claim had to be kept in the background. But (iv.) the transformation of the idea was only a preliminary to the permanent establishment of the Kingdom; and this establishment turned round the Person of the Messiah. So that in the end the history of the Kingdom centres in the personal history of the King.

With so much of preface we proceed to give an outline of the Public Ministry according to the periods into which it seems to fall.

A. *PRELIMINARY PERIOD: FROM THE BAPTISM TO THE CALL OF THE LEADING APOSTLES.**

Scene.—Mainly in Judæa, but in part also Galilee.

Time.—Winter A.D. 26 to a few weeks after Passover A.D. 27.

Mt 3^{1}–4^{11}, Mk 1^{1-13}, Lk 3^{1}–4^{13}, Jn 1^{6}–4^{54}.

---

* The choice of *termini a quo* and *ad quem* is sometimes inclusive and sometimes not inclusive. The most salient points are chosen. Here the *term. ad quem* is not inclusive.

B. *First Active or Constructive Period: the Founding of the Kingdom.*

Scene.—Mainly in Galilee, but also partly in Jerusalem.
Time.—From about Pentecost A.D. 27 to shortly before Passover A.D. 28.
Mt 4^{13}–13^{53}, Mk 1^{14}–6^{13}, Lk 4^{14}–9^{6}, Jn 5.

C. *Middle or Culminating Period of the Active Ministry.*

Scene.—Galilee.
Time.—Passover to shortly before Tabernacles A.D. 28.
Mt 14^{1}–18^{35}, Mk 6^{14}–9^{50}, Lk $9^{7\cdot50}$, Jn 6.

D. *Close of the Active Period: the Messianic Crisis in View.*

Scene.—Judæa (Jn $7^{10\text{ff.}}$, 11^{54}) and Peræa (Mk 10^{1} ||, Jn 10^{40}).
Time.—Tabernacles A.D. 28 to Passover A.D. 29.
Mt 19^{1}–20^{34}, Mk $10^{1\text{-}52}$, Lk 9^{51}–19^{28} (for the most part not in chronological order), Jn 7^{1}–11^{57}.

E. *The Messianic Crisis: the Triumphal Entry, the Last Teaching, Passion, Death, Resurrection, Ascension.*

Scene.—Mainly in Jerusalem.
Time.—Six days before Passover to ten days before Pentecost A.D. 29.
Mt 21^{1}–28^{20}, Mk 11^{1}–16^{8} [$16^{9\text{-}20}$], Lk 19^{29}–24^{52}, Jn 12^{1}–21^{23}.

The chronology adopted in this article, not as certain, but as on the whole the best of current systems, is in substantial agreement with that of the art. Chronology of the New Testament. It differs from that in the writer's first work, *The Authorship and Historical Character of the Fourth Gospel* (London, 1872), by placing the Crucifixion in the year A.D. 29 rather than A.D. 30.

A. *Preliminary Period: from the Baptism to the Call of the Leading Apostles.*

Scene.—Mainly Judæa, but in part also Galilee.
Time.—Winter A.D. 26 to a few weeks after Passover A.D. 27.
Mt 3^{1}–4^{11}, Mk $1^{1\text{-}13}$, Lk 3^{1}–4^{13}, Jn 1^{6}–4^{54}.

The Public Ministry of our Lord begins with His Baptism. (i.) This will therefore be the first point to attract our attention, and some explanation will be needed as to the Baptist and his mission. (ii.) Along with the Baptism we must needs take the Temptation, as a glimpse vouchsafed by Jesus Himself, and early and widely published, of the principles which were to determine the nature of His Ministry. (iii.) After this will come the first preliminary gathering of a few loosely attached followers, and the first miracle at Cana in Galilee. (iv.) Then the visit to Jerusalem for the Passover of the year 27, with a short stay in the South. (v.) Then we have a return to Galilee, followed by a brief period of partial retirement, leading up to the Call of the four chief apostles.

Allusions, more or less explicit, to the Baptism and to the ministry of John, are found in all four Gospels; the other events of this period are recorded only in the fourth—unless we are to identify the Healing of the Nobleman's Son (Jn $4^{46\text{-}54}$) with that of the Centurion's Servant (Mt $8^{5\text{-}13}$, Lk $7^{1\text{-}10}$).

i. *The Baptist and the Baptism.*—Our survey of contemporary Judaism has shown us that 'the kingdom of God' was a phrase in almost every man's mouth. It meant, in point of fact, to the majority 'a kingdom for Israel' far more than a 'kingdom of God.' But though in a more or less indefinite sense it was understood to be near, no time had as yet been actually announced for it. Men were on the watch, but rather for the signs of the coming than for the actual coming itself.

We are not surprised, therefore, to find that the news that a prophet had appeared who preached the approaching coming of the Messiah caused a widespread excitement.[*] The aspect of this coming, which he put in the forefront, was the aspect of judgment. The axe was laid to the root of the trees, and the fruitless tree would be burned (Mt 3^{10}, Lk 3^{9}).

The prophet who made this announcement bore the name of John. The scene of his preaching was the wilderness of Judæa, near the lower course of the Jordan where it fell into the Dead Sea. In this wilderness he had lived in solitude for some time before he began his prophetic mission. His whole appearance was sternly ascetic. He seems to have adopted deliberately a garb and a manner of life resembling those of Elijah, probably not so much in anticipation of the verdict which was to be afterwards passed upon him (Mt 11^{14}) as because he took Elijah for his model.

His character and his mission alike were severely simple. His soul was possessed with a strong conviction, wrought in him in precisely the same manner in which such convictions were wrought in the prophets of the OT, that a great crisis was near at hand. What lay beyond was dim, and, so far as the prophet had a definite picture before him, it was probably not very different from that which presented itself to his countrymen. But he saw clearly that the crisis would take the form of a judgment, and that there would be a judge, a personal judge, with a mission vastly greater than his own. At the same time, it is also borne in upon him that the preparation required by this coming judgment is a moral reformation. This he sees intensely; and again he goes back behind the teaching of his day to that of the ancient prophets. That which is required is not merely a stricter performance of the law, but a deep inward change—a change spontaneously expressing itself in right action.

Once more, and indeed very conspicuously, he made good his resemblance to the older prophets by clothing this leading idea of his in an expressive symbolical act. The rumour of him brought the people to him in crowds; and one by one, as they confessed to him their sins and convinced him of the reality of their repentance, he took them down into the running waters of the Jordan; he made them plunge in or let the waters close over their heads, and then he led them out again with the consciousness that they had left their sinful past behind them, and that they were pledged to a new life.

The process was called 'Baptism'; and John, from the fact that it constituted the main outward expression of his mission, was called 'the Baptist.' The act bore a certain resemblance to those ceremonial washings with which the Jews were familiar enough, and which held a specially prominent place in the ritual of the Essenes. But it differed from all these in that it was an act performed once for all, and not repeated from day to day. The lesson of it was that of Jn 13^{10}: he who was once bathed in this thorough and searching fashion did not need to have the act repeated; the effect was to last for life.

The movement took hold especially of the lower and what were thought to be the more abandoned classes. John was kept fully employed in the work of confessing and baptizing, but he did not allow it to be forgotten that all this pointed forward to another mission greater than his own. The presentiment grew upon him that part of his task as prophet was to name this mightier successor. And again, after the manner of the older prophets, he knew that it would be made manifest to him whom he was to name.

Presently the sign was given. Among those who came to be baptized was one who passed for a relative of his own, with whom possibly, though perhaps not probably, he may have had some intercourse in boyhood (cf. Jn 1^{31}). As with others who before their baptism were called upon to confess, so also with this kinsman, John had some converse, and, if we may accept what is found only in a single narrative,[*] at first refused to baptize him. His scruples are set aside, but it is not until the actual baptism that the full truth bursts upon him. Still, the analogy of the older prophecy is maintained. A sign is given such as that which Isaiah offered to Ahaz (Is 7^{11}). From the Fourth Gospel we should gather that it was seen in prophetic vision by the Baptist (Jn 1$^{32-34}$); from the Synoptics we should gather that it was seen in like vision by the baptized (Mk 1^{10}, Mt 3^{16} 'he saw'). And to prophetic sight was joined also the prophetic hearing of a voice from heaven, proclaiming in words that recalled at once Ps 2^{7} and Is 42^{1} 'Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I am well pleased.'

---

[*] Stress can hardly be laid on the form of announcement in Mt 3^{2}, which would make the Baptist anticipate exactly the announcement of Jesus. This would seem to be due to the editor. The oldest version describes the Baptist as 'preaching a baptism of repentance for remission of sins' (Mk 1^{4}).

(α) *The Baptist's Hesitation.*—The incident of Mt 3$^{14\text{f.}}$ is open to some suspicion of being a product (such as might well grow up by insensible degrees in the passing of the narrative from hand to hand) of the conviction which later became general among Christians, that their Master was without sin, and of the difficulty which thence arose of associating Him with a baptism 'of repentance.' We cannot exclude this possibility. But, on the other hand, the difficulty is for us, too, a real one, and the solution given, while it has nothing under the circumstances inconsistent or improbable, is attractive by its very reserve. 'To fulfil all righteousness' = to leave undone nothing which God had shown to be His will. In a general movement which embraced all the more earnest-minded in the nation, it was right that He too should share. It would not follow that the symbolical act of Baptism should have precisely the same significance for every one who submitted to it. For the main body it denoted a break with a sinful past and a new start upon a reformed life. For the Messiah it denoted a break simply, the entrance upon a new phase in the accomplishment of His mission. It took the place with Him of the 'anointing,' which marked the assumption of the active work to which they were called by the kings and prophets of old. This 'anointing' was the 'descent of the Spirit.' The Baptism of the Messiah was Baptism 'with the Spirit,' wherewith He was to baptize. The significance of Baptism in His case was positive rather than negative.

(β) *The Voice from Heaven.*—It has been too readily assumed by some distinguished writers (*e.g.* Usener) that the oldest version of the voice from heaven was in exact agreement with Ps 2^{7} 'Thou art my [beloved] Son: this day have I begotten thee.' In two of the three Synoptics the reading is undoubtedly ἐν σοὶ [ᾧ] εὐδόκησα [ηὐδ.]. It is true, however, that in Lk 3^{22} an important group of authorities has ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε. This is the reading of the larger branch of the Western text (D a b c *al. codd. nonnull. ap.* Aug. Juvenc. *al.*). A similar reading is found in Justin, *c. Tryph. bis* and in other writers, and both readings are combined in the Ebionite Gosp. as quoted by Epiphanius. [The evidence is collected in full by Resch, *Agrapha*, p. 347 ff.]. On the other hand, it is by no means certain that in some of these cases the Ps is not directly quoted, and in all assimilation to the text of the Ps lay very near at hand. Even the Western text of Lk is divided, a smaller but very ancient branch (including e) agreeing with the mass of the Gr. MSS. There can be little doubt that not only the Canonical Gospels, but the ground document on which they are based, had the common reading. The competing reading was a natural application of Ps 2^{7}, and it fell in so readily with views which in different forms circulated rather widely in the 2nd cent. that we cannot be surprised if it met with a certain amount of adoption. See, further, below.

(γ) *Apocryphal Details.*—The story of the Baptism underwent various apocryphal amplifications and adornments. One of the earliest of these is the appearance of a bright light (Codd. Vercell. *et* Sangerm. *ad* Mt 3^{15}; Ev. Ebion. *ap.* Epiph., Ephraem Syr.) or of a fire upon the Jordan (Just. *c. Tryph.* 88, *Prædicatio Pauli ap.* Ps.-Cypr. *de Rebapt.* 17 *al.*). The most elaborate working up of this kind of material is found in the Syriac *Baptismal Liturgy of Severus* (Resch, *Agrapha*, p. 361 ff.).

(δ) *The Synoptic and Johannean Versions.*—When a prophet began his prophetic career he received clear proof of the reality of his call most often through some powerful inner experience or vision (*e.g.* Is 6), but also at times through Divine revelation to another (*e.g.* 1 K 19^{16}). We may regard the events of the Baptism as a Divine authentication of this kind of the Mission of Jesus. But if so, there would be nothing incongruous in supposing that this authentication was vouchsafed, both to the Messiah Himself and to the Forerunner, just as a similar authentication was vouchsafed to St. Paul and to Ananias (Ac 9$^{3\text{ff.}}$ 11$^{\text{ff.}}$). We are therefore not in any way compelled to choose between the Synoptic and Johannean versions as to the incidence of the supernatural signs. The two versions may quite well be thought of as supplementing rather than contradicting each other.

The Baptism of Jesus undoubtedly marks the beginning of His public ministry. How much more was it than this? The Judaizing Ebionites of the 2nd century, who never rose above the conception of Christ as an inspired prophet, and some Gnostic sects which separated the Man Jesus from the Æon Christus, starting from the Synoptic narrative, and combining it with Ps 2^{7}, dated from the Baptism the union of the human and the Divine in Christ in such a way that they are sometimes described as making the Baptism a substitute for the supernatural Birth. We can imagine how, to those who had the story of the Baptism before them, but who had not yet been reached by the tidings of those earlier events round which the veil of a sacred privacy had been drawn, and which (as we shall see) only made their way to general knowledge by slow degrees and after some length of time had elapsed, should regard the descent of the Holy Ghost as a first endowment with Divinity. The fact that it was not till then that Jesus began to perform His 'mighty works,' would seem to give some colour to the belief. And it would be likely enough that a passing phase of Christian thought, based upon imperfect knowledge, would survive in certain limited circles. But the main body of the Church did not rest in this contracted view, which was really inconsistent with the Christology revealed to us in the earliest group of St. Paul's Epistles. It accepted, and, through such leaders as Ignatius of Antioch, emphasized strongly the earlier chapters of the canonical narrative; and the contents of those chapters gave shape to the oldest form (which can hardly be later than Ignatius) of the Apostles' Creed. Already, before the 1st century was out, St. John had presented what was to be the Catholic interpretation of the relation of the Baptism to the Godhead of Christ. Far back at the very beginning of all beginnings the Divine Word had already been face to face with God, and was Himself God; so that, when the same Word entered into the conditions of humanity, this did not denote any loss of Godhead which was inherent and essential. Much less could the Godhead of the incarnate Christ be supposed to date from the signs which accompanied the Baptism. The object of these signs was rather to inaugurate the public ministry of the Messiah, that He might be 'manifested to Israel' (ἵνα φανερωθῇ τῷ Ἰσρ., Jn 1^{31}). Though the Greek is different the idea is the same as that in Lk 1^{80}, where it is said of the Baptist himself that he was in the desert 'till the day of his showing unto Israel' (ἕως ἡμέρας ἀναδείξεως αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Ἰσρ.). Whether or not the signs were in the first instance seen by more than the Messiah Himself and the Baptist (and it is probable that they were not), they were made public by the Baptist's declaration (Jn 1$^{29-34}$), so that in any case there was a real 'manifestation to Israel.'

No doubt there was more than this. Besides the outward manifestation, a new epoch opened for the Son of Man Himself. But the nature of this we can describe only by its effects. The evangelists evidently have before their minds the analogy of the prophetic call and prophetic endowment. After the events of the Baptism Jesus is 'full of the Holy Spirit' (Lk 4^{1}, cf. Mt 4^{1}, Mk 1^{12}). And He applies to Himself the prophetic language of Is 61^{1} 'The Spirit of the Lord is upon me; because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek,' etc. (cf. Lk 4^{18}; it is probably this allusion to 'anointing with the Spirit' which has led to the incident in Lk being placed thus early). In the Gospel according to the Hebrews this is expressed even more emphatically than in the canonical Gospels: 'Factum est autem cum ascendisset Dominus de aqua, descendit fons omnis Spiritus sancti et requievit super eum et dixit illi: Fili mi in omnibus prophetis exspectabam te, ut venires et requiescerem in te. In eo enim requies mea, tu es filius meus primogenitus qui regnas in sempiternum' (Hieron. *ad Jes.* xi. 1).

---

[*] Resch (*TU.* x. ii. 57), in his later opinion, regards this narrative as belonging to the oldest evangelical document; but the passages which he has collected in support of this view might quite well be explained as paraphrastic allusions to the canonical Mt. The Gosp. acc. to Heb. as used by the Ebionites (Epiph. *Hær.* xxx. 13) had a similar scene after the Baptism of Jesus (Resch, *Agrapha*, p. 345 f.).

We have only to add that from this time onwards the rôle of the Messiah is distinctly assumed. The 'mighty works' very soon begin; disciples begin to attach themselves, at first loosely, but with increasing closeness; and there is a tone of decisive authority both in teaching and in act.

LITERATURE.—There is a strange mixture of fine scholarship and learning, with bold, not to say wild, speculation on the subject of this section in Usener's *Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, 1 Teil, Bonn, 1889. With this may be compared Bornemann, *Die Taufe Christi durch Johannes in d. dogmatischen Beurteilung d. Christl. Theologen d. vier ersten Jahrhunderte*, Leipzig, 1896. *John the Baptist*, by the late Dr. H. R. Reynolds (3rd ed. 1888), represents the *Congregational Lecture* of 1874, and deals more with the career of John than with the questions which arise out of the Baptism of Jesus; but it does not leave these untouched so far as they had at that date come into view.

ii. *The Temptation.*—We decline to speculate where the data fail us. But one remarkable glimpse is afforded us into the state of the inner consciousness of the Son of Man after His Baptism. Strictly speaking, this would not as yet have been available to the spectator. It was probably not at this early date that it was disclosed, even to those nearest and dearest to Him. Still, the disclosure must have been made by the Lord Himself during His lifetime; and the extent to which it has found its way into all the Synoptics shows that it must have had a somewhat wide diffusion among the main body of the disciples. For this reason, as well as for the advantage of introducing it at the place which it occupies in the narratives, we shall not hesitate to touch upon the Temptation here, though it might perhaps more strictly come under the head of 'Supplemental Matter.'

The narratives of the Temptation are upon the face of them symbolical. Only in the form of symbols was it possible to present to the men of that day a struggle so fought out in the deepest recesses of the soul. There are two instances of such struggle in the life of the Redeemer—one at the beginning and the other at the end of His ministry (Lk 4^{13} comp. with 22^{53}). In both, the assault comes from without, from the personal Power of Evil. It is impossible for us to understand it, in the sense of understanding how what we call temptation could affect the Son of God. It could not have touched Him at all unless He had been also, and no less really, Son of Man. He vouchsafed to be tempted in order that He might be in all points like unto His brethren (He 4^{15}).

The Temptation clearly belongs to the beginning of the Ministry. It would have had no point before; and the issue on which it turned had evidently been decided before the public life of Jesus began, as that life throughout its whole course followed the law which was then laid down. The Temptation implies two things. It implies that He to whom it was addressed both knew Himself to be the Messiah whom the Jews expected, and also knew Himself to be in possession of extraordinary powers. To say that He was now for the first time conscious of these powers is more than we have warrant for. But, in any case, it was the first time that the problem arose how they were to be exercised. Were they to be exercised at the prompting of the simplest of all instincts—the instinct of self-preservation? Were they to be exercised in furtherance of what must have seemed to be the first condition on which His mission as the Messiah could be accomplished—to convince the world that He had the mission, that it was for Him to lead and for them to follow? And, lastly, when He came forward as the Messiah, was it to be as the Messiah of Jewish expectation? Was His kingdom to be a kingdom of this world? Was it to embrace all the secular kingdoms and the glory of them, to enfold them in a system more powerful and more magnificent than theirs, brought about by supernatural means, with no local limitations like even the greatest of past empires, but wide as the universe itself and indestructible? Was it to be a real restoring of the kingdom to Israel? Was Jerusalem to be its centre, in a new sense the 'city of the Great King'?

All these questions Jesus answered for Himself absolutely in the negative. There did not enter into His mind even a passing shadow of the ambition which marked the best of earthly conquerors. He was determined not to minister in the least to the national pride of the Jews. Still less would He work out a new pride of His own. He did not desire in any sense *volitare per ora.* Even the most natural cravings of the nature which He had assumed He refused to satisfy so long as their satisfaction ended with Himself.

These principles are involved in the narrative of the Temptation. They are laid down once for all; and the rest of the history shows no swerving from them. At the same time it must be remembered that although the decision had been reached by Jesus Himself, it was not yet known, except so far as He was pleased to reveal it. Partly, the revelation was made by acts and the self-imposed limits of action. The clearest revelation was the story of the Temptation itself. But neither the one nor the other was wholly understood.

iii. *The First Disciples and the Miracle at Cana.*—At this point we leave for some time the Synoptic narrative and follow rather that in the Fourth Gospel, which it must be confessed comes to us with very considerable verisimilitude. If we had only the Synoptic Gospels we should have to suppose that our Lord gathered about Him a band of disciples abruptly and suddenly, capturing them as it were by the tone of authority in His command. In St. John we have the steps given which led up to this, and which make it far more intelligible.

From this Gospel it would appear that Jesus remained for some time in the neighbourhood of the Baptist; that the Baptist more than once indicated Him in a marked and indeed mysterious way (Jn 1^{29} 'The Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world'; cf. v.^{36} *); and that one by one several of John's disciples began to attach themselves, as yet more or less loosely, to His person. The Baptist's testimony, strengthened by first impressions, awoke in them the belief that at last the 'mightier than he' predicted by the Baptist had come (Jn 1^{41}). Such a belief at this time and under these circumstances would need no elaborate demonstration. It would be accepted in a tentative way, awaiting verification from events, and, of course, only with those contents which accorded with current Jewish opinion.

The home of Jesus was still, as it had been for some thirty years of His life, at Nazareth; and at the time when He began to collect followers round Him, He was already on the point of returning thither

---

* The words are remarkable, especially as coming thus at the very threshold. It is possible that the evangelist may have been led to define somewhat in view of later events and later doctrines (for the allusion seems to be to Is 53). But the context, including the deputation from Jerusalem, is so lifelike and so thoroughly in accordance with probabilities, that the saying has a presumption in its favour.

(Jn 1^{43}). He had not as yet separated Himself from the domestic life of His family. It was as an incident in this life that He went to a marriage feast at the village of Cana (prob. =*Kâna el-Jelîl* rather than *Kefr Kenna*) in the company of His mother and some at least of His newly-found disciples. Here occurred the first of those 'signs' which were to be one conspicuous outcome of His mission. No wonder that it impressed itself vividly on the memory of one who was present, and that it confirmed his incipient faith (Jn 2^{11}). We shall speak of these signs in their general bearing presently.

iv. *The First Passover.*—There would seem to have been some connexion between the family at Nazareth and Capernaum,[*] as the whole party now spend some days there (Jn 2^{12}). But the Passover was near, and Jesus, with at least some of His disciples, went up to it. In connexion with this Passover, St. John places, what has the appearance of a somewhat high-handed act, the expulsion of buyers and sellers from the outer court of the temple (Jn 2^{13-22}). The Synoptics place a similar act in the last week of the Ministry (Mk 11^{15-18} ‖). It is possible that such an act may have happened twice; but if we are to choose, and if we believe the Gospel to be really by the son of Zebedee, we shall give his dating the preference—the more so as in these early chapters the dates are given with great precision, and apparently with the intention of correcting a current impression.

This act was the first definite assumption of a public mission to Israel, and its scene was fitly chosen at the centre of Israel's worship. It was the act, not as yet necessarily of one who claimed to be the Messiah, but of a religious reformer like one of the ancient prophets. It was naturally followed by a challenge as to the right of such an assumption. To this the enigmatic reply was given, 'Destroy this temple, and in three days (*i.e.* in a short time, cf. Hos 6^2) I will raise it up'; which seems to be rightly glossed in Mk 14^{58}—the Jewish Church with its visible local centre should give place to the Christian Church with its invisible and spiritual centre (cf. Jn $4^{21f.}$). The saying made an impression at the time, and was brought up at the trial of Jesus to support a charge of blasphemy; the disciples at a later date referred it to the Resurrection (Jn $2^{21f.}$).

A striking feature in the Johannean version of His visit to Judæa is the way in which the work of Jesus in connexion with it takes up the work of the Baptist and fills in conspicuous gaps in the narrative of the Synoptics. The cleansing of the temple is an act of reformation which follows up the call to repentance. In Jn alone of the authorities have we a distinct statement that Jesus adopted the practice of baptism (3^{22} 4^1), though no other account of the origin of the Christian Sacrament is so natural. We find also that the necessity for baptism and the 'new birth' which went with it is made the subject of a discourse with the Sanhedrist Nicodemus. The writer of the Gospel had been himself a disciple of John the Baptist, and still kept up his connexion with him, and knew what went on in his circle (Jn $3^{23ff.}$). At the same time he seems to expand the discourses which he records with matter of his own ($3^{16ff.\ 31ff.}$).

v. *Retirement to Galilee.*—Soon after this John the Baptist was arrested by Herod Antipas, and Jesus retired into Galilee. On the way He passed through Samaria, and paused at Jacob's well near the village of Sychar (now generally identified with *ʽAskar*), where His teaching made a marked impression (Jn 4^{39-42}). The Samaritans had a Messianic expectation of their own (Jn 4^{25}); and if the narrator has not defined what took place in the light of subsequent events, Jesus claimed to fulfil this expectation. This was contrary to His policy for some time to come in dealing with Israel (Mk 1^{44}), but He may possibly have used greater freedom among non-Israelites.

The events of Jn 2^{13}–4^{45} may have occupied three or four weeks, but hardly more. At the time when our Lord arrives in Galilee the impression of His public acts at the Passover was still fresh (Jn 4^{45}). This would lead us to explain the latter half of Jn 4^{35} as a description of the state of things actually existing; the cornfields were at the time 'white for the harvest,' and 'Say not ye,' etc., will be a proverb. But that being so, a difficulty would be caused if the incident of the plucking of the ears of corn (Mk $2^{23ff.}$) were in its place chronologically, as the crops would still be in much the same condition as during the journey through Samaria, though the wheat harvest was going on between Passover and Pentecost, and all the events implied in Mk 1^{14}–2^{22} would have intervened. The time is really too short for these. It is more probable that they were spread over some months. We must conceive of our Lord as returning to Galilee with the few disciples with Him still in the state of loose attachment characteristic of this period, and Himself remaining for a while in comparative privacy. The disciples had returned to their occupations when He takes the new and decisive step involved in the call described for us in the Synoptics.

The Synoptic Chronology.—If Mk 2^{23} ‖ is to be taken as strictly consecutive with the events that precede, it would follow that the call of the leading apostles took place at least a week or two before the cutting of the ripened wheat, *i.e.*, as we might infer, before rather than some time after the Passover season. In that case the Johannean and Synoptic narratives would not be easy to combine. But the sequence of incidents in Mk (Eating with sinners, 2^{13-17}; Fasting, 2^{18-22}; Two incidents relating to the Sabbath, 2^{23-36}) suggests that we have here rather a typical group of points in the controversy with the Pharisees than a chronicle of events as they happened in order of time. In that case the call of the apostles might fall in the autumn, and the plucking of the ears of corn might belong to the end rather than the beginning of the period upon which we are about to enter.

The Healing of the Nobleman's Son.—As the narratives have come down to us, there are no doubt real differences between the story of the healing of the Nobleman's Son (Jn 4^{46-54}) and that of the Centurion's Servant (Mt 8^{5-13} ‖). We must, however, reckon with the possibility—it cannot in any case be more—that they are two versions of the same event, arising out of the ambiguity of παῖς and δοῦλος. Years ago (*Fourth Gospel*, p. 100 f.) the writer had taken this view, which has since been adopted by Weiss (*Leben Jesu*, i. 423 ff.). A similar question may be raised in connexion with the common features of the narratives Lk 5^{1-11}, Jn 21^{1-11}. There, too, there may have been some confusion (*Fourth Gospel*, p. 267; cf. Loofs, *Die Auferstehungsberichte*, p. 32). Such instances mark the limits of a laxer or stricter interpretation of the historicity of the documents, between which we are not in a position to decide with absolute certainty.

B. *FIRST ACTIVE OR CONSTRUCTIVE PERIOD: THE FOUNDING OF THE KINGDOM.*

Scene.—Mainly in Galilee, but also partly in Jerusalem.

Time.—From about Pentecost A.D. 27 to shortly before Passover A.D. 28.

Mt 4^{12}–13^{53}, Mk 1^{14}–6^{13}, Lk 4^{14}–9^6, Jn 5^{1-47}.

In this period the points to notice are: (i.) The Call, Training, and Mission of the Twelve, followed perhaps by a larger number (the Seventy of St. Luke); (ii.) the gradual differentiation of the ministry of Jesus from that of John Bapt. and its assumption of a much larger scope; (iii.) a full course of teaching on the true nature of the Kingdom of God (or of Heaven); (iv.) the performance of a number of Messianic works, chiefly of healing; (v.) the effect of these works on the common people as seen in a great amount of superficial enthusiasm, but without as yet much intelligent apprehension of the object really in view; (vi.) the growing hostility of the scribes and Pharisees caused by a more and more declared divergence of principle; (vii.) the very gentle indirect and gradual putting forward by Jesus of His claim as the Messiah.

---

[*] The site of Capernaum is still much debated. At one time it seemed as if the suffrage would go for *Tell Ḥûm*, but of late there has been a reaction in favour of *Khân Minyeh* (see the art. in this Dictionary, *HGHL* p. 456 f., and von Soden, *Reisebriefe* (1898), p. 160 f., who quotes a resident, Père Biever). Buhl, however, *GAP* p. 224, still supports *Tell Ḥûm*.

Up to the point which we have now reached there had been no definite 'founding' of a society; no steps had been taken towards the institution even of a new sect, much less of a new religion. The Baptism of Jesus had been attended by circumstances which marked Him out in a highly significant manner; but the general knowledge of these circumstances was vague, and even in those who were not unacquainted with them they awoke expectations rather than convictions, and these, too, were vague and left for the future to define. For the rest little as yet had occurred to define them. A certain number of disciples had gathered round Jesus in the most easy and natural manner, just as disciples had gathered round many a Rabbi before Him. These simply came and went as inclination took them; they were not as yet bound by any closer ties to His person. He had gone about quietly with some of them in His company, but nothing very startling had happened. The expulsion of the buyers and sellers from the temple was a prophetic act, and two 'signs' had occurred at a considerable interval; but this was little to what the Jews expected in their Messiah. So far Jesus had worked side by side with the Baptist, and on very similar lines. If His disciples took a share in baptizing (Jn 4^{2}), it was in the same kind of baptizing as that of John. It was a baptism 'of repentance,' and in no sense baptism 'into the name of Christ.'

The period on which we are now entering marks a great advance. The work which Jesus came to perform now took its distinctive shape. What had gone before was of the nature of foretaste, hints, foreshadowings; now the strokes follow each other in quick succession by which the purpose of Jesus is set clearly before those who have eyes to see. We may take these one by one.

i. *The Call, Training, and Mission of the Twelve (and of the Seventy).*—The first step is one which evidently struck the imagination of the followers of Jesus, because it is placed in the forefront of the Synoptic narrative. It is, in fact, the real beginning of the Public Ministry. Among those who had been the first to seek a nearer acquaintance with the new Prophet were two pairs of brothers, both from Capernaum, and both fishermen by trade. When Jesus returned to Galilee they all went back to their ordinary occupations, and they were engaged in these when suddenly they saw Him standing by the shore of the lake and received a peremptory command to follow Him (Mk 1^{16-20} ||). This 'following' meant something more than anything they had done as yet; they were to 'be with him' (Mk 3^{14}), so that they might receive His teaching continuously and in a manner systematically. They were encouraged to ask questions, and their questions were answered. Special and full explanations were given to them which were not given to others (Mt 13^{34}). The teaching of Jesus was not esoteric, but there was this inner circle to whom peculiar advantages were given for entering into it.

The call which was issued in the first instance to the four, Peter and Andrew, James and John, was gradually extended. The one other instance particularized in the Gospels is that of Levi, the son of Alphæus, to whom was given—possibly by Jesus Himself (Weiss, *Leben Jesu*, i. 503)—the name of 'Matthew' (='given by God'). A like call proceeded to others, till the number was made up to twelve (lists in Mk 3^{16-19}, Mt 10^{2-4}, Lk 6^{14-16}, Ac 1^{13}). The persons chosen belonged to the middle and lower classes. Some must have been fairly well-to-do. Not only did the fishermen own the boats they used, but the father of James and John had 'hired servants' (Mk 1^{20}), and John was acquainted with the high priest* (*i.e.*, perhaps, with members of his household, Jn 18^{15}). Matthew was of the despised class of 'publicans.' The second Simon belonged to the party of Zealots. One, the second Judas (like his father, Simon, Jn 6^{71} 13^{26} RV), was a native of Kerioth in Judæa. They were chosen evidently for a certain moral aptitude which they showed for the mission to be entrusted to them. Judas Iscariot possessed this like the rest, but wrecked his fair chances. The choice and call of Jesus did not preclude the use of common free-will.

The course of teaching in which the Twelve were initiated covered a considerable part of that of which an outline will presently be sketched, especially its first two heads. It is summarized in the phrase 'the mystery of the Kingdom' (Mk 4^{11} ||). Of course it is not to be thought that the disciples at once understood all that was told them. Very far from it. They had much to unlearn as well as to learn, and they showed themselves slow of apprehension. But the form of teaching adopted by Jesus was exactly fitted for its object, which was to lodge in the mind principles that would gradually become luminous as they were interpreted by events and by prolonged if slow reflection.

Jesus Himself knew full well how unripe even the most intimate of His disciples were to carry out His designs. After a time—we may suppose early in the year 28—He sent out the Twelve on a mission to villages and country districts which He was not able to visit at once Himself (Mt $10^{1\text{ff.}}$ ||). But they were not to attempt to teach. Some of the wonderful works which Jesus did Himself they also were empowered to do; but the announcement which they were to make by word of mouth was limited to the one formula with which both John and Jesus had begun: 'The kingdom of heaven is at hand' (Mt 10^{7}).

In one Gospel mention is made of a mission which seems to be supplemental to this. Lk speaks not only of the Twelve being sent out, but also of Seventy sent out like the Twelve by twos (Lk $10^{1\text{ff.}}$). When we observe that the instructions given to them are substantially a repetition of those already given to the Twelve, the question lies near at hand whether we have not in this incident a mere doublet of the preceding, the number seventy (*var. lect.* seventy-two) representing in current symbolism the nations of the known world (cf. Gn 10)—being gradually substituted in the oral tradition of Gentile Churches for the number twelve, which seemed to point specially to Israel. We note also that Lk omits the restrictions of Mt 10^{5}. But, on the other hand, Lk connects with the return of the Seventy a little group of sayings (Lk 10^{18-20}) which have every appearance of being genuine, and so increase the credibility of the narrative which leads up to them. And there is reason to think that one at least of the special sources to which Lk had access came from just such a quarter as that indicated by the Seventy—not the innermost, but the second circle of disciples. He may therefore have had historical foundation for his statement. Nor need it perhaps mean more than that Jesus did not draw any hard-and-fast line at the Twelve, but made use of other disciples near His person for the same purpose.

ii. *Differentiation of the Ministry of Jesus from that of John the Baptist.*—We have just seen that John, Jesus Himself, and the apostles all opened their ministry with the same announcement. They also made use of the same rite—baptism. But there the resemblance ceased. These were only the links which bound the stage of preparation to the stage of fulfilment. Looking back upon the work of John, Jesus pronounced that the least of His own disciples was greater than he (Mt 11^{11}||). It was the difference between one who was within the range of the Kingdom and one who was without it. The work of John was perfectly good and appropriate as far as it went. Its character was indicated by the 'preaching of repentance,' with which it stopped short. In full keeping with this was John's ascetic habit and mode of life. The abandonment of this by Jesus was the first outward sign of divergence which struck the eye of the world (Mk 2^{18-22}||, Mt $11^{18f.}$||). But the inward divergence was far greater. John inherited the old idea as to the nature of the Kingdom and of the Messiah. While impressed with the necessity of a moral reformation as leading up to it, there is nothing to show that in other respects John's conception of King and Kingdom differed from that of his countrymen. But Jesus came to revolutionize not only the conception but the mode of carrying it out. Hence it was that towards the end of his day, with the despondency of one whose own work seemed wrecked, and who was himself confined in a dungeon, and with the disappointment natural to one who saw or heard of but few of the signs which he had expected as in process of fulfilment, John sent to inquire if Jesus were the Messiah indeed, or, in other words, if the great hope and the great faith to which he had himself given expression had proved delusive. As yet Jesus had but in part, and that very covertly, declared Himself; it was impossible all at once to open the eyes of John to the full mysteries of the Kingdom; and therefore Jesus contented Himself with appealing from the current idea to one of the fundamental passages of ancient prophecy the higher authority of which John would recognize (Mt 11^{5}||). At the same time He hinted that patience and insight were necessary for a true faith; anything less than this might easily stumble (Mt 11^{6}||).

---

* Hugo Delff (*Gesch. d. Rabbi Jesus v. Nazareth*, p. 70 ff.), distinguishing between the Apostle John and the author of the Fourth Gospel, makes the latter a Jew of priestly family.

iii. *Preaching of the Kingdom.*—In the meantime the crowds of Galilee, and especially the Twelve, enjoyed the privilege which John did not. They were having expounded to them in full the new doctrine of the Kingdom of God (or of heaven). This doctrine is of such far-reaching importance, and is so intimately bound up with the rest of our Lord's teaching, that it has seemed best to reserve the fuller account of it for separate and connected treatment at the end of this section. In so doing we are following the example of the First Evangelist, who has massed together a body of teaching at an early place in his Gospel (Mt 5–7), not that it was all spoken on the same occasion, but as a specimen of the general tenor of the teaching of which it formed part. We have a similar example of grouped specimens of teaching in Mt 13. It must suffice to add here (*a*) that the main subject of the teaching at this period would seem to have been the nature of the Kingdom and the character required in its members: such sayings as Mt $7^{22f.}$ are more in keeping with the later cycle of teaching, and were probably spoken later. (*b*) It must be remembered that the vast majority of those who listened to this teaching heard it only by fragments. It was like the seed-corn scattered in various kinds of ground (Mk 4^{1-20}||): it was not to be expected that even under the most favourable circumstances it should germinate and bear fruit all at once. Clearly, the Twelve themselves did not take in its full significance. But it is much that they should have remembered so much of it as they did, and that when their eyes were more fully opened they should have been able to set it down so coherently.

iv. *The Messianic Works.*—Another marked characteristic of this period is the number of miraculous works of healing, etc., which are attributed to it and evidently belong to it. Once more we may follow the example of the First Evangelist by treating these works, which are so much the subject of discussion in modern times, by themselves. We assume here the result which we seem to reach in the section devoted to them. We assume that the miracles are historical; and we observe only that they bear the general character indicated in the reply of Jesus to John the Baptist. They are predominantly works of mercy; and they are a direct, and as we believe conscious, fulfilment of the most authentic of ancient prophecies, as contrasted with the mere signs and wonders for which the contemporary Jews were looking. Here, as in other things, we note at once (*a*) that Jesus condescends to put Himself at the level of those to whom He was sent. Miracles were to them the natural credentials of any great prophet, and especially of the Messiah. Jesus therefore did not refuse to work miracles. That He should work them was part of the conditions of the humanity which He assumed. But (*b*) though He condescended to work miracles, it was only miracles of a certain kind. He steadily refused to perform the mere wonders which the critics of His claims repeatedly challenged Him to perform. In other words, He made His miracles almost as much a vehicle of instruction as His teaching. Those which He did perform fell into their place as the natural accompaniment of one who as in character so novel and unexpected a King was founding so novel a Kingdom.

v. *Effect on the Populace.*—It is a confirmation of the view taken above and based on the Fourth Gospel,—that the call of the Twelve was preceded by a preliminary and more sporadic ministry—that from the first day on which the regular ministry began it attracted great attention and was attended by great, if superficial, success among the populace of Galilee (Mk 1^{32-34}||). Nor did the success of this first day stand alone; it was frequently repeated, and indeed gives the character to the whole of this period (Mk $2^{2.\,12}$|| 3^{7-10}|| ^{32}|| 4^{1}|| 5^{21}||, Lk $7^{16f.}$). Both the miracles and the teaching of Jesus made a strong impression. The people were struck by the difference between the acts and words of Jesus and those of the teachers to whom they were accustomed. Acts and words alike implied a claim to an authority different in kind from that of the most respected of the Rabbis (Mk 1^{27}||, Mt $7^{28f.}$). The Rabbis interpreted the law as they found it; Jesus laid down a new law (Mt $5^{21.\,22}$ etc.), and when He spoke, it was with an air of command. It must not, however, be supposed that Jesus was at once recognized as the Messiah. The testimony of the Baptist had reached but few, and was by this time generally forgotten. The construction put upon the commanding attitude of Jesus was that described in Lk 7^{16} 'A great prophet is arisen among us; and God hath visited his people.' Still less can it be supposed that there was any adequate recognition of the change which Jesus came to work in the current conceptions of religion.

vi. *Effect upon the Pharisees.*—The populace came to Jesus with simple and credulous minds, and they did not resist the impression made upon them, though it lacked depth and permanence (Mk $4^{5f.}$||). Our documents are doubtless right in representing the first signs of opposition and hostility as coming from the religious leaders, the scribes and Pharisees. They are also clearly right in representing the growth of this opposition as gradual. At first Pharisees joined freely in social intercourse with Jesus and His disciples, and even invited them to their own tables (Lk $7^{36ff.}$ probably belongs to this early period). They could not deny the possibility of a prophet arising, and they repeatedly sought to test after their manner whether Jesus were really a prophet sent from God or no (Jn 1$^{19ff.}$, Mt 12$^{38ff.}$|| 16$^{1ff.}$ 19$^{3ff.}$||, Jn 7$^{47ff.}$). But their suspicions were soon aroused. It was evident that the teaching and manner of the life of Jesus conflicted greatly with their own. There was a freedom and largeness of view about it which was foreign to their whole habits of thought. (*a*) In such matters as fasting, the practice of Jesus and His disciples was different (Mk 2$^{18ff.}$, Mt 6$^{16ff.}$ etc.). Worse than this, Jesus appealed expressly to those classes which they scrupulously avoided (Mk 2$^{15-17}$|| etc.). (*b*) Not only did Jesus direct His ministry especially to those whom they regarded as outcast and irreclaimable, but He made some direct attacks upon themselves. At first these attacks may have been slightly disguised (as in Mt 6$^{1ff.}$, where the Pharisees are not mentioned by name), but they constantly increased in directness and severity. (*c*) One of the first topics on which they came into collision was in regard to the keeping of the Sabbath. Mark has collected a little group of incidents bearing upon this (Mk 2^{23}–3^{6}), the first of which, from the mention of the ripe corn, appears, as we have seen, to belong to the second year of the ministry, but belongs to an early phase in the conflict. To the same effect is the incident related in Jn 5$^{1ff.}$, and Luke contributes another (Lk 13$^{11-17}$). (*d*) The Pharisees were also honestly shocked at seeing Jesus adopt a tone and assume prerogatives which seemed to them to encroach upon the honour of God (Mk 2$^{5-11}$||).

It is interesting, and throws a favourable light on the documents, to note how carefully the distinction is marked between (*a*) the local scribes and Pharisees such as were to be found scattered throughout Galilee (Mk 2$^{6.}$|| $^{16.}$|| $^{18. 24}$ 3^{6}||, Lk 7^{36}); (*b*) the scribes who came down from Jerusalem (Mk 3^{22}), apparently emissaries from the hierarchy, like the deputation of Jn 1^{19}; and (*c*) the Herodians (Mk 3^{6}), the dynastic party of the Herods, who with quite different motives acted in alliance with the Pharisees. The Herodians are mentioned again in Mk 12^{13} ||. The name is otherwise almost unknown to history, though the party is known to have existed. Josephus has *οἱ τὰ Ἡρώδου φρονοῦντες*, but not *Ἡρωδιανοί*. This is a pure reflexion of the facts of the time—facts which soon passed away, and which fiction would never have recovered. See, further, art. HERODIANS.

vii. *The Self-Revelation of Jesus.* — Although Jesus assumed these high prerogatives, and although, as we have seen, He both spoke and acted with an authority which permitted no question, He showed a singular reticence in putting forward Messianic or Divine claims. It is remarkable that from the first those possessed with demons publicly confessed Him for what He was; but it is no less remarkable that He checked these confessions: 'He suffered not the demons to speak, because they knew him' (Mk 1^{34}|| 3^{12} [Mt 12^{16}]). He imposed a like injunction of silence on one healed of leprosy (Mk 1^{44}||). The farthest point to which Jesus went in the way of self-revelation at this early period was by taking to Himself the special title 'Son of Man.' There was probably some precedent for the identification of this title with Messiah, but it was at least not in common use, and therefore served well to cover a claim which was made but in no way obtruded. A fuller discussion of the title will be found below (p. 622 f).

This marked reticence of Jesus in regard to His own Person is clearly part of a deliberate plan. One of its motives was to prevent the rash and reckless violence which one who appealed to the Messianic expectation was sure to excite (Jn 6^{15}). But it was in full keeping with the whole of His demeanour and with the special character which He gave to His mission. The first evangelist rightly sees in this a fulfilment (which we believe here as elsewhere to have been conscious and deliberate) of the prophecy Is 42$^{1-3}$ 'My servant . . . shall not strive, nor cry aloud; neither shall any one hear his voice in the streets,' etc.

It is impossible for us to think of the Jesus portrayed in the Gospels as forcing His claims upon the attention of the world. He rather let them sink gently into the minds of His disciples until they won an assent which was not only free and spontaneous, but also more intelligent than it could have been if enforced simply by authority. But, apart from this, it was essential to the development of His mission that the teaching of the Kingdom should precede, and precede by a sufficient interval, the public self-manifestation and offer of the King. The first thing to be done was to change the character and revolutionize the moral conceptions of men. This was to be the work of quiet teaching. The hour for the Leader to come forward was the hour when teaching was to give place to action. Hence it was well that at first and for some time to come the King should remain, as it were, in the background, until the preparation for His assuming His kingship was complete.

THE TEACHING OF JESUS.

a. General Characteristics of the Teaching.

(1) *Its Relation to the Teaching of the Baptist and to that of the Scribes.*—We have seen that Jesus began by taking up not only the announcement of the Baptist that the Kingdom of God was at hand, but also his call to reformation of life and the rite of baptism by which that call was impressed upon the conscience. We are also expressly told that the call to repentance was part of the apostolic commission (Mk 6^{12}). And we find it no less insisted upon after the resurrection (Lk 24^{47}, Ac 2^{38} 3^{19} 5^{31} 11^{18} 17^{30} 20^{21} 26^{20}).

This is clear proof of the continuity which bound together the teaching of Jesus with that of the Baptist. The starting-point of both was the same. And yet this starting-point was very soon left behind. The heads of the Baptist's teaching are soon told; the teaching of Jesus expands and ramifies in a thousand directions. It is like passing from the narrow cleft of the Jordan to a Pisgah-view over the whole Land of Promise.

Although it was permitted to the Baptist to prepare the way for the teaching of Jesus, so far as even to enunciate its opening lesson, the place of the Baptist is quietly assigned to him; and it is a place outside the threshold of the Kingdom: 'He that is but little in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he' (Mt 11^{11}||).

If Christ thus drew a line between His own teaching and that of John, still more marked was the difference between it and other contemporary teaching. John was at least a prophet, and spoke with the full authority of a prophet (Mt 11$^{9. 13}$). The scribes had no original authority at all; they did but interpret a law which they had not made. Jesus spoke with an authority not only above that of the scribes (Mk 1^{22} ||), but higher still than that of John. He is the legislator of a new law (Mt 5^{22} etc.), the founder of that Kingdom which John did not enter.

(2) *Its Universal Range.*—With this commanding character of the teaching of Jesus there goes a corresponding width of outlook. We began with a rapid survey of the state of parties and opinions in Palestine at the time of Christ. But the object of this survey was not to explain the teaching of Jesus by affiliating it to any existing school. It was remarked of Him that He had had no regular training (Jn 7^{15}). He was not a Pharisee, not a Sadducee, not an Essene, not an Apocalyptist. The direct affinities of the teaching of Jesus were with nothing so transitory and local, but rather with that which was most central in OT. We might call it the distilled essence of OT: that essence first clarified and then greatly enlarged, the drop became a crystal sphere.

We are speaking, of course, of the substance, and of the main part of the substance, of the teaching of Jesus. The mere fact that it was conditioned by time and space involved that it should be addressed to a given generation in a language which it understood. Nor was it wholly without definite and particular applications — sidelights, so to speak, upon that space in history within which it falls. But history itself has shown that in the main it transcends all these conditions, and is as fresh at the end of eighteen centuries as when first it was delivered.

(3) *Its Method.*—This wonderful adaptability in the teaching of Jesus is accounted for in part by its extreme simplicity. If it had been a doctrine of the schools, something of the fashion of the schools would have adhered to it. But, as it was, it was addressed chiefly to the common people—sometimes to congregations in synagogues, sometimes to the chance company collected in private houses, more often still to casual gatherings in the open air.

And the language in which the teaching was couched was such as to appeal most directly to audiences like these. As a rule it takes hold of the simplest elements in our common humanity, 'das allgemein Menschliche.' The trivial incidents of everyday life are made to yield their lessons: the sower scattering his seed, the housewife baking her cakes or sweeping the house to find a lost piece of money, the shepherd collecting his sheep, the fishermen drawing in their net. Sometimes the story which forms the vehicle for the teaching takes a higher flight: it deals with landed proprietors, and banquets, and kings with their subjects. But even then there seems to be a certain deliberate simplification. The kings, for instance, are those of the popular tale rather than as the courtier would paint them.

(4) *The Parables.* — We have been naturally drawn into describing that which is most characteristic in the outward form of the teaching of Jesus—His parables. The Greek word *παραβολή* is used in NT in a wider sense than that in which we are in the habit of using it. In Lk 4^{23} it='proverb.' In Mt 15^{15} (comp. with vv.$^{11.\ 16-20}$) it='maxim,' a condensed moral truth, whether couched in figurative language or not. It covers as well brief aphoristic sayings (*e.g.* Mk 3^{23} 13^{28} ||, Lk 5^{36} 6^{39}) as longer discourses in which there is a real 'comparison.' But these latter are the 'parables' in our modern acceptation of the term: they are scenes or short stories taken from nature or from common life, which present in a picturesque and vivid way some leading thought or principle which is capable of being transferred to the higher spiritual life of man. The 'parable' in a somewhat similar sense to this had been employed in OT and by the Rabbis, but it had never before been employed with so high a purpose, on so large a scale, or with such varied application and unfailing perfection of form.

We may say that the parables of Jesus are of two kinds. In some the element of 'comparison' is more prominent. In these the parable moves as it were in two planes—one that of the scene or story which is made the vehicle for the lesson, and the other that of the higher truth which it is sought to convey; the essence of the parable lies in the parallelism. In the other kind there is no parallelism, but the scene or the story is just a typical example of the broader principle which it is intended to illustrate. The parables in Mt 13, Mk 4 all belong to the one class, several of those in the later chaps. of St. Luke (the Good Samaritan, the Rich Fool, the Rich Man and Lazarus, the Pharisee and the Publican) belong rather to the other.

There is a group of sayings in the Fourth Gospel to which is given the name *παροιμία* rather than *παραβολή* (Jn 10^{6}, cf. $16^{25.\ 29}$), though the latter term would not have been inappropriate, in which Jesus uses the method of comparison to bring out leading features in His own character and person. In this way He speaks of Himself as the Good Shepherd, the Door of the sheep, the Vine, the Light of the World. These sayings form a class by themselves, and from the peculiar way in which they are worked out—the metaphor and the object explained by the metaphor being not kept apart but blended and fused together—are commonly classed under the head of 'allegory' rather than 'parable.' This is another instance in which we draw distinctions where the Greek of the NT would not have drawn them.

(5) *Interpretation of the Parables.*—To this day there is some difference of opinion as to the interpretation of the parables. The Patristic writers as a rule (though with some exceptions) allow themselves great latitude of interpretation. Any point of resemblance to any detail of the parable, however subordinate, justifies in their eyes a direct application of that detail. A familiar instance is the identification of the 'two pence,' which the Good Samaritan gives to the host, with the two Sacraments. An opposite modern school would restrict the application to the leading idea which the parable expresses. It is, however, fair to remember that the parables are meant to illustrate the laws of God's dealings with men; and as the same law is capable of many particular applications, all such applications may be said with equal right to be included in the parable. For instance, the parable of the Two Sons may be as true for individuals or for classes as it is for nations or groups of nations. The parable of the Great Banquet to which the invited guests do not come, and which is then thrown open to others who were not invited, no doubt points directly to the first reception of the gospel, but it is equally appropriate to every case where religious privilege is found to give no advantage, and the absence of religious privilege proves no insuperable hindrance. Any such range of application is legitimate and interesting; nor does the aptness of the lesson to one set of incidents make it any less apt to others where a like principle is at work. Every parable has its central idea, and whatever can be related to that idea may be fairly brought within its scope. To press mere coincidences with the picturesque accessories of a parable may be permissible as rhetoric, but can have no higher value.

(6) *The Purpose of Teaching by Parables.*—If we had before us only the fact of parabolic teaching, with the parables as they have come down to us and the actual psychological effect which they are seen to exercise, we should probably not hesitate as to the reason which we assigned for them. The parabolic form is, as it were, a barb to the arrow which carries home truth to the mind. The extreme beauty of this mode of teaching, handled as it is, has been universally acknowledged. If simplicity is an element in beauty, we have it here to perfection. But when simplicity is united to profundity, and to a profundity which comes from the touching of elemental chords of human feeling,—a touching so delicate, so sure, and so self-restrained, which reminds us of the finest Greek art with an added spiritual intensity which in that art was the one thing wanting,—we have indeed a product such as the world has never seen and will not see again. We seem to be placed for the moment at the very centre of things: on the one hand there is laid bare before us the human heart as it really is or ought to be, with all its perversities and affectations stripped away; and on

the other hand we seem to be admitted to the secret council-chamber of the Most High, and to have revealed to us the plan by which He governs the world, the threads in all the tangled skein of being. No wonder that the parables have exercised such an attractive power, not over any one class or race of men, but over humanity wherever it is found.

Then the nature of the parable, at once presenting a picture to the mind and provoking to the search for a hidden meaning or application beneath it, would seem to be exactly suited to the pædagogic method of Jesus, which always calls for some responsive effort on the part of man, and which prefers to produce its effects not all at once, but rather with a certain suspense and delay, so that the good seed may have time to germinate and strike its roots more deeply into the soil.

This natural action of the method of teaching by parables seems so obvious that we might well be content not to seek any further. But when we turn to the Gospels, we find there stated a motive for the adoption of this method of teaching which is wholly different, and it must be confessed at first sight somewhat paradoxical. All three Synoptists agree in applying to teaching by parables the half-denunciatory passage Is 6[9-10]; they would make its immediate object not so much to reveal truth as to conceal it—at least to conceal it for the moment from one class while it is revealed to another, and its ulterior object to aggravate the guilt of those from whom it is concealed. And, what is still more remarkable, all three Synoptists ascribe the use of this quotation to our Lord Himself, as though it really expressed, not merely the result of His chosen method of teaching, but its deliberate purpose. What are we to make of this? One group of critics would roundly deny that the words were ever used in this manner by our Lord. Jülicher (*e.g.*) takes his stand on Mk 4[33] 'with many such parables spake he the word unto them, *as they were able to hear it*,' which would seem to make the method a tender concession to slowness of apprehension rather than a means of aggravating it. But, on the other hand, we observe that the quotation is attributed to our Lord in what must have been the common original of all three Gospels, *i.e.* in one of our best and oldest sources. And while such passages as Jn 12[39-41] (where the same quotation is applied by the evangelist) and Ac 28[25-27] (where it is applied by St. Paul) would show that it was part of the common property of the apostolic age, the fact that it was so would be still more intelligible if the example had been set by our Lord Himself. Nor would it be less but rather more appropriate as coming from Him, if we regard it as summing up in a broad way what He felt was and must be for many of those among whom He moved the final outcome of His mission. The lesson is very similar to that of Jn 12[46-48]. The Son of Man does not need to pass judgment on those who reject Him. His word judges them by an automatic process. That which is meant for their life becomes to them an occasion of falling, when from indolence or self-will it makes no impression upon them. This was the actual course of things; it was a course rendered inevitable by the laws which God had laid down, and which in that sense might be regarded as designed by Him. And inasmuch as the Son associates Himself with the providential action of the Father, it might be also spoken of as part of His own design. It is so, however, rather in the remoter degree in which, allowing for the contrariant action of human wills, whatever is is also ordained, than as directly purposed before the appeal has been made and rejected. It belongs to that department of providential action which is not primary and due to immediate Divine initiative, but secondary or contingent upon human failure.

There is then perhaps sufficient reason to think that the words may after all have been spoken, much as we have them, by our Lord. But granting this, we should still not be forbidden to surmise that they are somewhat out of place. Standing where they do they come to us with a shock of strange severity, which would be mitigated if they could be put later in the ministry, where they occur in St. John. The transference may have been due to the position which the original passage occupies in Isaiah, where it also serves as a sort of programme of the prophet's mission. There, too, the arrangement may conceivably represent the actual historical order, but it may also represent the result of later experience, which for didactic effect is placed at the beginning of the career rather than at the end.

b. Contents of the Teaching.—There are five distinctive and characteristic topics in the teaching of Jesus—

(1) The Fatherhood of God.
(2) The Kingdom of God.
(3) The Subjects or Members of the Kingdom.
(4) The Messiah.
(5) The Paraclete and the Tri-unity of God.

With that simplicity which we have seen to be so marked a feature in His teaching, Jesus selects two of the most familiar of all relations to be the types round which He groups His teaching in regard to God and man—the family and the organized state; God stands to man in the relation at once of Father and of King. These two types by no means exclude each other, but each helps to complete the idea derived from the other without which it might be one-sided. At the same time, in different connexions, first one and then the other becomes more prominent. Thus, when stress is laid upon the Divine attributes, God appears chiefly in the character of Father; when attention is turned to the complex relations of men to Him and to one another, they are more commonly regarded under the figure of a Kingdom.

(1) *The Fatherhood of God.*—It has just been said that the doctrine that God is Father by no means excludes the doctrine that He is also King. This idea, too, is repeatedly put forward (Mt 5[35] 18[23] 22[2] etc.). The title 'King' brings out what in modern language we are accustomed to call the 'transcendence' of God. But the recognition of this was, as we saw (p. 606[a] *sup.*), a strong point in the contemporary Judaism, and therefore it needed no special emphasis. It was otherwise with the idea of Fatherhood.

Not that this idea was unknown to the pagan religions, and still less to the religion of Israel. From Homer onwards Zeus had borne the name 'Father of gods and men.' But this was a superficial idea: it meant little more than 'originator.' This sense also appears in the older Jewish literature, but with further connotations added to it. God is more particularly the Father of His people Israel (cf. Dt 14[1] 32[6], Jer 3[19] 31[9. 20]), in a yet deeper sense of the righteous in Israel (Is 63[16]), and, though not with the same wealth of meaning, of the individual (Mal 2[10], Sir 23[1. 4]).

It is the tenderest side of the teaching of OT (Ps 103[13]) which is now taken up and developed. It becomes indeed the corner-stone of the NT teaching about God. The name 'Father' becomes in NT what the name Jehovah (Jahveh) was in OT, the fullest embodiment of revelation. If it is prominent in the apostolic writings, this is traceable ultimately to the teaching of Jesus (cf. Ro 8[15] and comms.). The title belongs primarily to Jesus Himself as 'the Son' (ὁ Πατήρ μου, esp. Mt 11[27]). Through Him it descends to His followers (ὁ Πατὴρ ὑμῶν, ὁ Πατήρ σου, Mt 5[16. 45. 48] 6[1. 4. 6. 8. 9. 14. 15] etc.). But the love of God as Father extends beyond these limits even to 'the unthankful and evil' (Lk 6[35], Mt 5[45]). The presentation of God as Father culminates in the parable of the Prodigal Son. Older conceptions of God find their counterpart in the Elder Brother of this parable (Lk 15[25ff.] contrasted with v.[20]). The application which is thus made of the Fatherhood of God invests the teaching of Jesus with wonderful tenderness and beauty (Mt 6[32] 7[11] 10[29. 30], Lk 12[32] etc.).

(2) *The Kingdom of God.*—If the conception of God as Father does not exclude His majesty as King, no more does the conception of His Kingdom exclude that of children gathered together in His family. Still, the leading term to denote those active relations of God with man, with which the mission of Jesus is specially connected, is ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ or τῶν οὐρανῶν.

The use of these terms suggests a number of questions which are still much debated. (i.) Were both names originally used? Or if one is to be preferred, which? (ii.) What is the meaning of the phrase? Does βασιλεία = 'kingdom' or 'reign'? (iii.) When we have determined this, with what order of ideas is the phrase to be associated? With the later Judaism? or with the teaching of the prophets? Or does it belong to the more novel element in the teaching of our Lord? (iv.) Is the Kingdom merely conceived of from the side of man or from the side of God? Is it something which man works out or which is bestowed upon him? (v.) Is it present or future? Was it in course of realization during the lifetime of Jesus Himself, or is it mainly eschatological? (vi.) Is it inward or outward? A moral reformation or the founding of a society? (vii.) Was the conception as at first framed national or universal?

These questions are put as alternatives. And they are usually so regarded. But it may be well to say at once that in almost every case there seems to be real evidence for both sides of the proposition; so that the inference is that the conception to which they relate was in fact many-sided, and included within itself a number of different *nuances*, all more or less valid. And the reason for this appears to be, that our Lord took up a conception which He found already existing, and, although He definitely discarded certain aspects of it, left others as they were, some with and some without a more express sanction, while He added new ones. The centre or focus of the idea is thus gradually shifted; and while parts of it belong to so much of the older current conception as was not explicitly repealed, other parts of it are a direct expression of the new spirit introduced into it. The one element definitely expelled was that which associated the inauguration of the Kingdom with political violence and revolution.

(i.) *The Name.* — It is well known that the phrase ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν for ἡ βασ. τ. θεοῦ is a peculiarity of the First Gospel (where it occurs thirty-two times), and that it receives no sanction from the other Synoptics. Neither can Jn 3[5], where the reading is distinctly Western, be quoted in support of it. Hence some have thought that it was a coinage of Mt. It occurs, however, also in *Ev. sec. Heb.* (Handmann, p. 89); and the fact that βασ. τ. θ. is found in Mt 12[28] 21[31. 43] would go to show that the evangelist had no real objection to that form, while the corresponding phrase πάτηρ ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς though it disappears from Lk 11[2] is verified by Mk 11[25]. Moreover, we know that 'heaven' was a common metonymy for 'God' in the language of the time (cf. also Mk 10[21], Lk 10[20] 12[33]), and that the particular phrase 'kingdom of heaven' (though not exactly in the sense usually assigned to it; see below under ii.) occurs repeatedly in the Talmud. It seems, therefore, on the whole probable that both forms were used by our Lord Himself. In any case they may be regarded as equivalents.

(ii.) *Meaning.*—The phrase in both its forms is ambiguous: it may mean either 'kingdom' or 'reign,' 'sovereignty,' 'rule' of heaven, or of God. It appears that in the Talmud the latter signification is the more common (Schürer, *NT Zeitgesch.*[3] ii. 539 n. [Eng. tr. II. ii. 171]; Edersheim, *Life and Times*, etc. i. 267 f.). And though the former is that more usually adopted by commentators, there seems to be no reason why recourse should not be had to the latter where it is more natural (as, *e.g.* in Lk 17[20. 21]). The phrase covers both senses, and the one will frequently be found to shade off into the other. The best definition known to the writer is one given incidentally by Dr. Hort (*Life and Letters*, ii. 273), 'the world of invisible laws by which God is ruling and blessing His creatures.' This is the most fundamental meaning; all others are secondary. The 'laws' in question are 'a world,' inasmuch as they have a connexion and coherence of their own; they form a system, a cosmos within the cosmos; they come direct from 'heaven,' or from God; and they are 'invisible' in their origin, though they may work their way to visibility.

(iii.) *Associations.*—The sense just assigned was that which was most fundamental in the thought of Jesus. It was that which He saw ought to be the true sense, however much it might be missed by His contemporaries. It was deeper and subtler than the conception of Psalmist and Prophet, even than the bright and exhilarating picture of Ps 145[11-13], because it was compatible with any kind of social condition, and because it did not turn mainly on the majestic exercise of power. And if this was true of the later and more developed conception, much more was it true of the earlier notion of the theocracy, which was simply that of the Israelite State with a Prophet or Judge at the head instead of a King (1 S 12[7-12]). The contemporaries of Jesus when they spoke of the 'Kingdom of God' thought chiefly of an empire contrasted with the great world-empires, more particularly the Roman, which galled them at the moment. And the two features which caught their imagination most were the throwing off of the hated yoke and the transference of supremacy from the heathen to Israel. This was to be brought about by a catastrophe which was to close the existing order of things, and which therefore took a shape that was eschatological.

This eschatological and catastrophic side Jesus did not repudiate, though He gave a different turn to it, but the essence of His conception was independent of all convulsions. The simplest paraphrase for 'the Kingdom of God' is the clause which follows the petition for the coming of the Kingdom in the Lord's Prayer: 'Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven.' The only difference is that the Prayer perhaps hints rather more at the co-operation of human wills. This is not excluded in the idea of the Kingdom, which is, however, primarily the working out of the Will of God by God Himself.

(iv.) *The Nature of the Kingdom: how far Supernatural?* — The very name of the Kingdom 'of heaven *or* of God' implies that it has its origin in the world above. It 'comes' (ἔρχεσθαι, Mt 6[10], Mk 9[1], Lk 11[2] 17[20]; ἐγγίζειν, Mt 3[2] 4[17] 10[7] etc.; φθάνειν, Mt 12[28] = Lk 11[20]); it is 'given' (Mt 21[43]) and 'received' (Mk 10[15] = Lk 18[17]); it is 'prepared' by God (Mt 25[34]); it is 'inherited' (*ib.*), and men 'enter into' it (Mt 5[20] 19[23], Jn 3[5]); it is an object of 'search' (Mt 6^{33}=Lk 12^{31}, Mt 13^{45}). All this means that it is not built up by the labour of man, it is not a product of development from below, but 'of the creative activity of God' (Lütgert, *Reich Gottes*, p. 26). It is a gift bestowed, not something to be done, but something to be enjoyed ('Nie eine Aufgabe, wohl aber eine Gabe,' Holtzmann, *NT Th.* p. 202, partly after Lütgert). It is a prize, the highest of all prizes (Mt 13^{44-46}), corresponding to the *summum bonum* of pagan philosophy.

This part of the conception has a considerable range, according as the context points to the popular view of the Messianic Kingdom as implying outward conditions of splendour, abundance, and enjoyment, or as it points to what we have called the inner thought of Jesus, the invisible laws of God's working, taken into and welcomed by the individual soul, as in the parables of the Pearl and the Treasure in the Field.

These parables show that there is a place, though a subordinate place, left for human effort, the co-operation of the human will with the Divine. The process of 'seeking' implies both effort and renunciation. There must be a concentrating of the powers of the soul upon the Will of God, if that Will is to be really done; but where it is done it brings its own exceeding great reward (Lk 6^{38}).

From this point of view it may be said, with Holtzmann (*NT Th.* i. 202-207), that the negative side of the conception is the Forgiveness of Sins as the first condition of entrance into the Kingdom, and that the positive side of it is the active practice of Righteousness with the peace and contentment which that practice brings.

(v.) *Present or Future?*—There can be no real question that the Kingdom is presented in both lights as present and as future. Strictly speaking, the future is divided, and the notes of time are threefold—present, near future, and more distant future. Take, for instance, the following passages: Mt 12^{28} (=Lk 11^{20}) 'If I by the Spirit of God cast out demons, then is the Kingdom of God come (ἔφθασεν) upon you'; Mk 1^{15} (=Mt 4^{17}) 'The time is fulfilled, and the Kingdom of God is at hand' (ἤγγικεν); Mk 9^{1} || 'There be some here . . . which shall in nowise taste of death till they see the Kingdom of God come (ἐληλυθυῖαν) with power.' The only one of these passages about which there can be any doubt is the second (see above, p. 610), and even that belongs to the common groundwork of the Synoptic tradition, and it is supported by Mt 10^{7} ||. If the latest of these dates still falls within the lifetime of the then generation, there is a group of parables (the Mustard Seed, the Wheat and Tares, the Drag-net) which would seem at once to bring the Kingdom into the present, and to postpone its consummation.

These apparent inconsistencies are probably to be explained in the same way as others which we meet with. The future coming, the more or less distant coming, of which the Son Himself does not know the day or the hour, is the eschatological coming of the current expectation, which, if we follow our authorities, we must believe that Jesus also shared. There was, however, a certain ambiguity even in this expectation as popularly held: it was not clear exactly in what relation of time the coming of the Messiah and the establishment of His Kingdom stood to the end of all things. And this ambiguity was necessarily heightened by the peculiar nature of the coming of Christ, and the conviction which gradually forced itself upon the minds of the disciples that there must needs be a double Coming,—one in shame, the other in triumph; one therefore which for them was past, and another still in the future.

But, apart from all this, it will be apparent that the more distinctive conception of the Kingdom as the 'world of invisible laws' by which God works is not subject to the same limitations of time. In this sense it embraces the whole providential scheme of things from the beginning; though, as we have said, it is really a cosmos within the cosmos, and it has its culminating periods and moments, such as was above all that which dates from the Incarnation. The most characteristic expression of this aspect of the Kingdom would be the parables of the Leaven and of the Seed growing secretly.

(vi.) *Inward or Outward?*—A like conclusion holds good for the question which we have next to ask ourselves: Are we to think of the Kingdom of God as visible or as invisible? Is it an influence, a force or collection of forces, or is it an institution? We are familiar with the very common and often quite superficial identification of the Kingdom with the Church. Is this justified? Many recent writers answer this question emphatically, No (list with reff. in Holtzmann, *NT Th.* i. 208). And it is true that there are certain passages by which it seems to be excluded.

Conspicuous among these are the verses Lk $17^{20.21}$ Οὐκ ἔρχεται ἡ β. τ. θ. μετὰ παρατηρήσεως. οὐδὲ ἐροῦσιν, Ἰδοὺ ὧδε, ἢ ἐκεῖ. ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἡ β. τ. θ. ἐντὸς ὑμῶν ἐστίν. A majority of leading German scholars, including Schürer (*Die Predigt. J. C.* p. 18) and Holtzmann (with a slight modification, 'in your reach'), take the last words as meaning 'in your midst,' the main ground being that they are addressed to the Pharisees. But Field seems to have shown (*Ot. Norv. ad. loc.*) that this interpretation is lexically untenable ('no sound example'), and that the better rendering is *in animis vestris*.

But, on the other hand, parables like the Wheat and the Tares and the Drag-net are most naturally explained of a visible community; and there can be no doubt that the popular expectation was of a visible kingdom, such as that in which the sons of Zebedee sought for a chief place.

If we keep to the clue which we have hitherto followed, the facts will be sufficiently clear. The Kingdom in its highest and most Christian sense is the working of 'invisible laws' which penetrate below the surface and are gradually progressive and expansive in their operation. But in this as in other cases spiritual forces take to themselves an outward form; they are enshrined in a vessel of clay, finer or coarser as the case may be, not only in men as individuals but in men as a community or communities. The society then becomes at once a vehicle and instrument of the forces by which it is animated, not a perfect vehicle or a perfect instrument,—a field of wheat mingled with tares, a net containing bad fish as well as good,—but analogous to those other visible institutions by which God accomplishes His gracious purposes amongst men.

(vii.) *National or Universal?*—The same principle holds good throughout the whole of this analysis of the idea of the Kingdom. The aptest figure to express it is that of *growth*. It is a germ, secretly and silently insinuated, and secretly and silently working until it puts forth first the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear. It is a mistake to cut a section of that which is thus ceaselessly expanding, and to label it with a name which might be true at one particular moment but would not be true at the next. The Kingdom of God is not the theocracy of the OT, nor the eschatological Kingdom of the Apocalypses, nor the Christian Church of the present day, or of the Middle Ages, or of the Fathers. These are phases through which it passes; but it outgrows one after the other. For this reason, because He foresaw this inevitable and continuous growth, the chief Founder and permanent Vicegerent of the Kingdom showed Himself, as we might think, indifferent to the precise degree of extension which it was to receive during His life on earth; He was content to say that He 'was not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel' (Mt 15^{24}), though within a generation His gospel was about to be carried to the ends of the then known earth. It was enough that the seed was planted—planted in a soil suited to it, and under conditions that ensured its full vitality, 'like a tree by the streams of water, that bringeth forth its fruit in its season, whose leaf also doth not wither.' It is characteristic of God's processes that there is no hurry or impatience about them; the Master was not so anxious to reap immediate fruit as the disciple (Ro 1^{13}), and therefore He calmly left it to His followers to see 'greater things' than He saw Himself (Jn 14^{12}); but these 'greater things' are none the less virtually His own.

(3) *The Members of the Kingdom.*—As the 'Reign of God,' the *βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ* denotes certain Divine forces or laws which are at work in the world; as the Kingdom of God it was at most stages a society, but at all stages a definite sphere or area, into which men might enter, and, by entering, become partakers of the same Divine forces or subject to the same Divine laws. It was therefore a matter of much moment what were the conditions of entrance into the Kingdom, and what was the character impressed upon its members. The two things run into each other, because it was required of those who entered that they should possess at least the germs of the character to be developed in them.

(i.) *Conditions of Entrance.*—These are clearly laid down: 'Except ye turn, and become as little children, ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven' (Mt 18^{3}). There was to be a definite change of mind, a break with the sinful past. This was to be ratified by submission to the rite of baptism, which, in the discourse with Nicodemus, is described as a new birth of 'water and Spirit' (Jn 3^{5}). The entrance into the Kingdom is something more than a deliberate act of the man himself, it is a self-surrender to Divine influences. The response on the part of God is forgiveness, which is the permanent concomitant of baptism, not only that of John, but also that in the name of Christ (Mk 1^{4} ||, comp. with Ac 2^{38}, Lk 24^{47} etc.).

(ii.) *The Character of the Members.*—The typical character of the members of the Kingdom is that of a 'little child,' in which the prominent features are innocence, simplicity of aim, absence of self-assertion, trustfulness, and openness to influences from above. A sketch of such a character is given in the Beatitudes (Mt 5^{3-9}; the || in Lk 6^{20-26} refers rather to conditions or circumstances suited to the character). The Christian ideal here depicted stands out in marked contrast to most other ideals of what is admirable in man. The qualities commended ('poor in spirit'—where the Matthæan gloss is in any case right in sense,—'meek,' 'merciful,' 'pure in heart,' 'peacemakers') are all of the gentle, submissive, retiring order. And this is fully borne out by other sayings, the cheek turned to the smiter, the litigant forestalled, the requisition of labour offered freely, and even doubled (Mt 5^{38-41} ||), enemies to be loved, persecutors to be prayed for (*ib.* vv.$^{43.44}$), the sword to be sheathed (Mt 26^{52}), the duties of charity strongly inculcated (Lk 10^{25-37}), the duty of forgiveness of injuries (Mt $18^{23ff.}$), service greater than authority (Lk $22^{25ff.}$). And it is noticeable that the same type of character is praised by St. Paul (Ro 12^{21} 'Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good'; cf. ch. 13). The whole duty of man is summed up in love to God and love to one's neighbour (again cf. Ro 13^{8-10}). We observe, too, that the ethical teaching of Jesus is almost confined to that side of ethics which touches upon religion. Allusions to civic and industrial duties are very few, and those negative rather than positive (Mt 18^{27} 22^{21} = Ro 13^{7}).

(iii.) *Paradoxes of Christianity.*—It is only natural that these features in the teaching of Christ should be taken hold of and made a charge against Christianity, as they have been from Suetonius onwards (*Domit.* 15, 'contemptissimæ inertiæ,' of Flavius Clemens, probably as a Christian; cf. Tertull. *Apol.* 42, 'infructuosi in negotiis dicimur'). And it may be doubted whether even yet the full intention of our Lord has been fathomed, and the exact place of the specifically Christian ideal in relation to civic and social duties ascertained. The following suggestions may be offered.

The precepts in question were probably addressed in the first instance, not to promiscuous multitudes, but to the disciples. If certain passages (as Mt 5^{1}) may be quoted to the contrary, it should be remembered that these introductory notes as to the circumstances under which discourses were spoken are among the least trustworthy parts of the Gospel tradition, and are often nothing more than vague conjectures of the evangelists. The type of character described bears on its face the marks of being intended for the little community of Christians (cf. Latham, *Pastor Pastorum*, p. 253).

As such we can see that it had a very special appropriateness. It was not an accident that Christianity is the religion of the Crucified. The Cross is but the culminating expression of a spirit which was characteristic of it throughout. Its peculiar note is *Victory through Suffering.* An idea like that of Islam, making its way by the sword, was abhorrent to it from the first. Jesus came to be the Messiah of the Jews, but the narratives of the Temptation teach us that, from the very beginning of His career, He stripped off from His conception of Messiahship all that was political, all thought of propagating His claims by force. A new mode of propagating religion was deliberately chosen, and carried through with uncompromising thoroughness. The disciple was not above his Master; and the example which Jesus set in founding His faith by dying for it, was an example which His disciples were called upon to follow into all its logical consequences. Christianity, the true Christianity, carries no arms; it wins its way by lowly service, by patience, by self-sacrifice.

History shows that there are no instruments of religious propaganda comparable to these. It also shows that the type of character connected with them is of the very highest attractiveness and beauty. Is it a complete type, a type to which we can apply the Kantian maxim, 'So act as if your action was to be a law for all human beings'? This would seem to be more than we ought to say. It is not clear that the Christian type would be what it is if it were not built upon, and if it did not presuppose, a certain structure of society, to which other motives had contributed. The ethical ideal of Christianity is the ideal of a Church. It does not follow that it is also the ideal of the State. If we are to say the truth, we must admit that parts of it would become impracticable if they were transferred from the individual standing alone to governments or individuals representing society. It could not be intended that the officers of the law should turn the cheek to the criminal. The apostles were to bear no sword, but the judge 'beareth not the sword in vain.'

May we not say that the functions of Christian morals—specifically Christian morals—are these? (1) At their first institution to form a vehicle, the only possible vehicle, for the Christian religion. So far as Christianity has taken a real and genuine hold upon society, it is through these means and no others. Other things may have commended it for a time, but no trust can be placed in them. (2) The Christian motive acting in the midst of other motives gradually leavens and modifies them, imparting to them something which they had not before. If we look round us at the principles which at this moment regulate the action of States, in their external or international relations as well as those which are internal, we shall see that if these principles are not wholly Christian, they are also not pagan. They have a certain coherence, and they mark a very conspicuous advance as compared with the principles of the ancient world. Christianity has shown a power of modifying what it does not altogether supplant. The world even outside Christianity is still God's world. It is a world of which the essential characteristic is that it is progressive; and it may conduce most to this progress that it should be brought under the influence of the Christian precept, not pure but in dilution. And (3) may we not draw from this the augury that in the end, at some time which we cannot see, the social structure may be still more fully recast, under the influence of Christianity: 'Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more'? We can conceive a condition of things in which the Church became coextensive with the State, and in which religion penetrated the body politic in a sense in which it has never done so yet. When that time came, conduct which now would be only quixotic might be rational, and required by the public conscience.

When the verse Mt 5^{42} 'Give to him that asketh thee,' etc., is criticized from the point of view of modern political economy, the mistake is in applying a standard which is out of place. In those days the natural and, indeed, the only outlet of the kind for benefiting the poor was almsgiving; and our Lord's main object was to strengthen the motive, which was in itself a thoroughly right one. It would have been in vain to anticipate methods which God has evidently intended to be the result of long experience. The argument from analogy comes in here with great force. God *might* have removed many forms of human ill with a word; but as it is, He has been pleased to let improved methods, and the wisdom to use them, grow gradually and grow together. The advance which mankind slowly makes is a solid advance, and an advance not here and there, but all along the line.

We have seen that our Lord was not careful to guard against misunderstandings. It has been a salutary exercise for His followers to find out what was the true sense of His sayings for themselves.

(4) *The Messiah.*—We are not concerned here with the very remarkable historical evolution of the claim of our Lord to be the Messiah, which will come before us in connexion with the narrative of His life. At present we have to do only with His teaching on the subject, and that mainly with reference to the deeply significant names by which His claim was conveyed.

(i.) **The Christ.**—We need not delay over the title 'Messiah,' 'Christ,' 'Anointed,' which is simply that of the current Jewish expectation. It is repeatedly applied to our Lord by others, and on three occasions, at least, expressly accepted by Himself (Jn 4^{26}, Mt 16^{17}, Mk $14^{61.\ 62}$ ||, cf. Jn 11^{27}); but only once does our Lord use the term of Himself (Jn 17^{3} Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν), and that in a passage where we cannot be sure that the wording is not that of the evangelist. In like manner the title 'Elect' (ἐκλελεγμένος, Lk 9^{35}; ἐκλεκτός, Lk 23^{35}), which is also current (cf. Enoch 40^{5}), is applied to our Lord, but not by Himself.

(ii.) **Son of David.**—Much the same may be said of another title which belongs to a prominent side of the expectation. 'Son of David' occurs several times (on the lips of the crowd at and before the triumphal entry, of the Syrophœnician woman, of Bartimæus, of the Pharisees), but Jesus Himself does not use it, and rather propounds a difficulty in regard to it (Mk 12^{35}||).

(iii.) **Son of Man.**—The really characteristic title which occurs some 80 times in the Gospels, and is without doubt the one which Jesus chose to express His own view of His office, is 'the Son of Man.' Whereas the other titles are used by others of Him, this is used only by Him and of Himself. What He desired to convey by this is a question at once of no little difficulty and of great importance ('Die Frage gehört zu den verwickeltsten ja verfahrensten der ganzen neutest. Theologie,' Holtzmann).

The starting-point for this, as well as for the idea of the kingdom, is, we may be sure, Dn 7^{13}. The 'Son of Man' in that passage, as originally written, stood for Israel. The four world-empires are represented by beasts, the dominion that falls to Israel is that of a man. But in this as in other respects the passage was interpreted Messianically. In the Similitudes of the Bk. of Enoch (chs. 37–70) the Son of Man takes a prominent place. He is a person, and a superhuman person. It is He who holds the great judgment to which the Apocalyptic writings look forward. The attributes ascribed to Him are all more or less directly connected with this judgment, which is at once to vindicate the righteous, and finally to put down the wicked. The date of this portion of the Bk. of Enoch has been much debated, but opinion at the present time is still more preponderantly in favour of the view that it is pre-Christian (between B.C. 94–64, Charles, *Enoch*, p. 29 f.). The language of the Gospels requires that the title as applied to a person and to the Messiah should be not entirely new. It also requires that it should be not perfectly understood and familiar (Mt 16^{13}, Jn 12^{34}). It is probable that its use did not go beyond a small circle, the particular circle to which the Similitudes of Enoch belonged. This, however, would be enough to give the phrase a certain currency, and to make it at least suggest association with the Messiah.

It is associated with Him, especially in His character as Judge, and as the chief actor in that series of events which marks the end of the age, and the reversal of the places of good and wicked. This sense Jesus did not discard. It appears unmistakably in a number of passages (Mt 13^{41} 16^{28} 19^{28} $24^{30\text{ff.}}$ $25^{31\text{ff.}}$ 26^{64} etc.). But at the same time there can be no doubt that He read into it a number of other ideas, new and original, just as He read them into the conception of the Kingdom.

What is most distinctive in this novel element in the teaching of Jesus? There is an increasing tendency amongst scholars to lay stress on the Aramaic original of the phrase. The Aramaic equivalent is said to mean and to be the only way which they had of expressing 'Man' (generically, *i.e.* 'Mankind'). Hence the attempt has been made to interpret the phrase impersonally, and to get rid more or less of its Messianic application (see Holtzmann, *NT Th.* i. 256 ff.). It is true that an impersonal sense will suit such a passage as Mk 2^{28} 'The Sabbath was made for man . . . therefore the Son of Man is Lord even of the Sabbath.' At the same time this is by no means the necessary sense. And Wellhausen, who is one of those who most emphatically maintain the equation 'Son of Man' = 'Man,' yet sees that the expression must have been used by our Lord to designate His own person (*Israel. u. Jüd.*

Gesch.^{2} p. 381). Nor can this conclusion really be avoided by such an expedient as Holtzmann's, who calls attention to the comparative rarity of the title in the early chapters and early stages of the history (*e.g.* in Mk only $2^{10.28}$), and would explain it during this period impersonally, and only after St. Peter's confession personally. Against this and against more sweeping attempts (*e.g.* by Martineau, *Seat of Authority*, p. 339) to get rid of the Messianic signification altogether, it may be enough to point out that if reasonable critics like Holtzmann allow, and a narrative such as that of the Temptation seems to prove, that Jesus from the first really assumed the character of the Messiah, and if our oldest authorities with one consent treat the title Son of Man as in the later stages Messianic, it is fair to presume that it is Messianic also in the earlier. If the Similitudes of the Bk. of Enoch are pre-Christian, this conclusion would amount almost to certainty.

It is, however, fair to argue from the natural sense of the phrase in Aramaic, that by His use of it, Jesus did place Himself in some relation to humanity as a whole. And we are led to form the same inference by the conspicuous use of the corresponding Heb. in Ps 8^4 'What is man that thou art mindful of him? and the son of man that thou visitest him?' Here the parallelism shows that 'son of man'='man.' We also know from He 2^{6-10} that the psalm was at a very early date applied to Jesus as the Messiah, and at a still earlier date (the Baptism) we have the neighbouring Ps 2^7 applied to Him. It seems to follow, or at least to be a very natural presumption, that these two psalms early became an object of close study to Jesus, and helped to give outward shape to His conceptions.

Ps 8 seems specially adapted to fall in with these, as it brings out with equal strength the two elements which we know to have entered into the consciousness of Jesus—the combination of lowliness with loftiness, the physical weakness of man as contrasted with his sublime calling and destiny. We can see here the appropriateness of the application of one and the same title to Him who, on the one hand, 'had not where to lay his head,' and who must needs 'go as it was written of him,' and who yet, on the other hand, looked to come again 'with power' in His Kingdom.

We do not like to use such very modern phraseology as the 'ideal of humanity,' 'the representative of the human race'; and yet it would seem that Jesus did deliberately connect with His own person such ideas as these: He fused them as it were into the central idea of Messiahship, and we can see how the Jewish conception of the Messiah was enlarged and enriched by them. If the Messiah comes out in the claim to forgive sins, it is the Son of Man whose mission it was 'to seek and to save that which was lost' (Lk 19^{10}), 'not to be ministered unto but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many' (Mk 10^{45} ||).

Here we have another connexion in which the name is frequently used. The prophecies of the Resurrection and of the Second Coming are closely associated with the fatal end of the First: 'The Son of Man must suffer many things, and be rejected by the elders, and the chief priests, and the scribes, and be killed, and after three days rise again' (Mk 8^{31} etc.). If we ask for the OT original of this 'Saviour through suffering,' no doubt it is the Second Part of Isaiah, and especially Is 53. Still, it would be rather too much to describe this idea as embodied in the title 'Son of Man.' It is embodied in the *character* of the Son of Man as conceived by Jesus, but not exactly in the name. The name which expressed it was the 'Servant of Jehovah' (παῖς κυρίου); and this name was undoubtedly applied to Christ by the Church as soon as it began to reflect upon His life and mission (cf. Ac $3^{13.26}$ $4^{27.30}$, Mt 12^{18}), but we have no evidence that Jesus used it of Himself. One reason for the choice of the name 'Son of Man' probably was that it admitted and favoured these associations, even if it did not directly suggest them.

This comprehensive and deeply significant title touched at the one end the Messianic and eschatological expectation through the turn which had been given to it in one section of Judaism (the Book of Enoch). At the other and opposite end it touched the idea of the Suffering Servant. But at the centre it is broadly based upon an infinite sense of brotherhood with toiling and struggling humanity, which He who most thoroughly accepted its conditions was fittest also to save. As Son of God, Jesus looked upwards to the Father; as Son of Man, He looked outwards upon His brethren, the sheep who had no shepherd.

(iv.) **Son of God.**—Only once in Synopt. (Mt 27^{43}) and in a few places in the Fourth Gospel (Jn 10^{36}, cf. 5^{25} 9^{35} *var. lec.* 11^4) is it hinted that Jesus directly assumed this title. It is repeatedly given to Him by others—by the Baptist (Jn 1^{34}), by Nathanael (Jn 1^{49}), by Satan hypothetically (Mt 4^3), as also by the crowd (Mt 27^{40}), by the possessed (Mk 3^{11} ||), by the disciples (Mt 14^{33}), by the centurion (Mk 15^{39}=Mt 27^{54}), and by evangelists (Mk 1^1 *v.l.* Jn 3^{18} 20^{31}).

At the same time it is abundantly clear that the title was really assumed from the indirect mode in which Jesus constantly speaks of God as 'My Father.' This is very frequent in Synoptics as well as in St. John (Mt 7^{21} 10^{32} 11^{27} 15^{13} 16^{17} etc.). And although, as we have seen, the consciousness which finds expression in this phrase becomes the basis of an extended doctrine of the Divine Fatherhood ('the Father,' 'our Father,' 'thy Father,' 'your Father'), there is nevertheless a distinct interval between the sense in which God can be claimed as Father by men, even the innermost circle of the disciples, and that in which He is Father to the Son. In this respect the passage Mt 11^{27}=Lk 10^{22} is quite explicit (cf. also the graduated scale of being in Mk 13^{32} = Mt 24^{36}). Although this passage stands out somewhat conspicuously in Synoptics, the context in which it occurs is so original and so beyond the reach of invention, while it supplies so marvellously the key to that which distinguishes the history of Jesus from other histories, that doubt cannot reasonably be cast upon it. It is confirmed by the sense in which the title 'Son of God' is taken by the Jews—not merely by the populace but by the learned (Mt 27^{41-43}, cf. Mk $15^{31.32}$, Jn 19^7). And, on the other hand, it confirms sufficiently the substantial accuracy of like passages in the Fourth Gospel (*e.g.* $10^{30.38}$). We are thus prepared for the unanimity with which the Church at the earliest date fixed upon this title to convey its sense of the uniqueness of Christ's nature (Ac 9^{20}, Ro 1^4, Gal 2^{20}, Eph 4^{13}, He 4^{14} etc., 1 Jn 4^{15} etc., Rev 2^{18}).

This aspect of the question will come before us more fully later. We content ourselves for the present with observing that the teaching of Jesus, reserved and reticent as it is, presupposes as its background this wholly exceptional relation of 'the Son' to 'the Father.' From that as centre radiate a number of other relationships to His immediate disciples, to the Church of which they formed the nucleus, and to mankind. The Sonship of Jesus is intimately connected with His work as Messiah (Titius, p. 116). It is in this character that 'all things are delivered' to Him (Mt 11^{27} ||), in this character that He is enabled to give to the world a revelation of the Father (*ib.*), in this character that He carries out His work of redemption even to the death (Mk 14^{36} ||).

(5) *The Paraclete and the Tri-unity of God.*—In the earliest Epp. of St. Paul we find that the Son of God is placed side by side with the Father, and is associated with Him as the ground of the Church's being, the source of spiritual grace, and as co-operating with Him in the providential ordering of events (1 Th 1^{1}, 2 Th 1^{1}, 1 Th $3^{11f.}$). It is difficult to describe the effect of the language used in any other terms than as attributing to the Son a coequal Godhead with the Father. And it is remarkable that St. Paul does this, within some twenty-two years of the Ascension, not as though he were laying down anything new, but as something which might be assumed as part of the common body of Christian doctrine.

We observe also that throughout the earliest group of Epp. there are frequent references to the work of the Holy Spirit as the one great force which lies behind at once the missionary activity and the common life of the Church of the apostolic age (esp. 1 Co 12–14, but cf. 1 Th $1^{5f.}$ 4^{8} 5^{19} etc.). This, too, it is assumed that all Christians would understand.

How are we to account for the prevalence of such teaching at so early a date, and in a region so far removed from the centre of Christianity? It would be natural if the Lord Jesus Christ Himself in His intercourse with His disciples had prepared them to expect a great activity of the Holy Spirit, and if He had hinted at relations in the Godhead which made it threefold rather than a simple monad. Apart from such hints, the common belief of the Church respecting Christ Himself and the Holy Spirit seems very difficult to understand. Certain previous tendencies in Jewish thought might lead up some way towards it, but they would leave a wide gap unspanned.

When, therefore, we find that one Gospel ascribes to our Lord rather full and detailed teaching respecting the Paraclete, which is explained to be another name for the Holy Spirit (Jn $14^{16.26}$ 15^{26}), when there is held out a clear hope and promise of a new Divine influence to take the place of that which is being withdrawn, and when in another Gospel we are also told of the institution * of a rite associated with a new revelation of God under a threefold Name, that of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit (Mt 28^{19}), these phenomena are just what we are prepared for, and just such as we should have had to assume even if we had had no definite record of them. We may, then, regard them as having received—whatever the antecedent claims of the documents in which they are found—a very considerable degree of critical verification. The single verse 2 Cor 13^{14} seems to require something very like what we find in Mt and Jn.

LITERATURE.—Much material of value will be found in the works on the Biblical Theology of NT by Weiss, Beyschlag, and esp. H. J. Holtzmann (1897). Reference may also be made to Bovon, *Théol. du NT*, Lausanne, 1897. The most considerable recent work on the Teaching of Jesus as a whole is Wendt's *Lehre Jesu*, Göttingen, 1890 (Eng. tr., T. & T. Clark, Edin. 1892). Bruce, *The Kingdom of God* (1890 and later) embraces the Synopt. Gospels only. In the last few years a number of monographs have appeared on the doctrine of the Kingdom and points connected with it—all, it may be said, bringing out some real aspect in the doctrine, though in the writer's opinion too often at the expense of other aspects. The series began with two prize essays, *Die Lehre vom Reiche Gottes*, by Issel and Schmoller (both Leiden, 1891), and includes treatises with similar titles by Schnedermann (Leipzig, 1893, 1895, 1896), J. Weiss (Göttingen, 1892), Lütgert (Gütersloh, 1895), Titius (Freiburg i. B. u. Leipzig, 1895), Krop (Paris, 1897); also Bousset, *Jesu Predigt in ihrem Gegensatz zum Judentum* (Göttingen, 1892); Paul, *Die Vorstellungen vom Messias u. vom Gottesreich* (Bonn, 1895); Lietzmann, *Der Menschensohn* (Leipzig, 1896); J. Weiss, *Die Nachfolge Christi* (Göttingen, 1895); Grass, *Das Verhalten zu Jesus* (Leipzig, 1895); Ehrhardt, *Der Grundcharakter d. Ethik Jesu* (Freiburg i. B. u. Leipzig, 1895); Wiesen, *Die Stellung Jesu zum irdischen Gut* (Gütersloh, 1895).

THE MIRACLES OF JESUS.—There has been a certain tendency of late to recede from the extreme position in the denial of Miracles. Harnack, for instance, writes in reference to the Gospel history as follows: 'Much that was formerly rejected has been re-established on a close investigation, and in the light of comprehensive experience. Who in these days, for example, could make such short work of the miraculous cures in the Gospels as was the custom of scholars formerly?' (*Christianity and History*, p. 63, Eng. tr.).

(i.) *Different Classes of Miracles.*—Partly this change of attitude is due to the higher estimate which would now be put on the value of the evangelical sources generally, as to which something will be said below. Partly it would be due to a change of view in regard to the supernatural, which is no longer placed in direct antagonism to the natural, but which is more reasonably explained as resulting from the operation of a higher cause in nature. And partly also it would be due to the recognition of wider possibilities in nature, 'more things in heaven and earth' than were dreamt of in the narrow philosophy of the *Aufklärung*.

(*a*) In particular, it may be said that medical science would have no difficulty in admitting a large class of miracles of healing. All those which have to do with what would now be called 'nervous disorders,' all those in which there was a direct action of the mind upon the body, would fall into place readily enough. Given a personality like that of Jesus, the effect which it would have upon disorders of this character would be strictly analogous to that which modern medicine would seek to produce. The peculiar combination of commanding authority with extreme gentleness and sympathy would be a healing force of which the value could not easily be exaggerated.

A question would indeed still be left as to the treatment of the cases of what was called 'demoniacal possession.' There can be no doubt that Jesus Himself shared, broadly speaking, the views of His contemporaries in regard to these cases: His methods of healing went upon the assumption that they were fundamentally what every one, including the patients themselves, supposed them to be. We can well believe that this was a necessary assumption in order to allow the healing influences to operate. We must remember that all the ideas of the patient would be adjusted to the current belief, and it would be only through them that the words and acts of Christ could take effect. In the accounts of such miracles we see that there was a mutual intelligence between Healer and patient from the first (Mk $1^{24f.}$ || ^{34} || 5^{6} ||). It was by means of this mutual intelligence that the word of command struck home.

We should be prepared, then, to say that this class of miracles implied accommodation to the ideas of the time. But when we speak of 'accommodation' on the part of our Lord, we do not mean a merely politic assumption of a particular belief for a particular purpose. We mean that the assumption was part of the outfit of His incarnate Manhood. There was a certain circle of ideas which Jesus accepted in becoming Man in the same way in which He accepted a particular language with its grammar and vocabulary.

It would have been wholly out of keeping with the general character of His Ministry if Jesus had attacked this form of disease in any other way than through the belief in regard to it which at that time was universal. The scientific description of it has doubtless greatly changed. But it is still a question which is probably by no means so clear, whether, allowing for its temporary and local character, the language then used did not contain an important element of truth. The physical and moral spheres are perhaps more intimately connected than we suppose. And the unbridled wickedness rife in those days may have had physical effects, which were not unfitly described as the work of 'demons.' The subject is one which it is probable has not yet been fully explored.

---

* Not, of course, the first institution, but its confirmation as a rite and its first association with the triple formula.

(β) There is, as we have seen, one large class of diseases in regard to which the healing force exerted by the presence and the word of Jesus has a certain amount of analogy in the facts recognized by modern medicine. We must not, however, treat that analogy as going farther than it does. It does not hold good equally for all the forms of disease which are described as having been healed. Wherever the body is subject to the action of the mind, there we can give an account of the miracle which is to some extent—to a large extent—rational and intelligible. But in cases in which the miracle involves a purely physical process it will not be possible to explain it in the same way.

This other class of miracles will fall rather under the same head as those which were wrought, not upon man, but upon nature. In regard to these miracles, the world is probably not much nearer to a reasoned account than it was. It must always be remembered that the narratives which have come down to us are the work of those who expected that Divine action would (as we should say) run counter to natural laws and not be in harmony with them, and that the more Divine it was the more directly it would run counter to them. We may be sure that if the miracles of the first century had been wrought before trained spectators of the nineteenth, the version of them would be quite different. But to suppose this is to suppose what is impossible, because all God's dealings with men are adapted to the age to which they belong, and cannot be transferred to another age. If God intended to manifest Himself specially to the nineteenth century, we should expect Him to do so by other means. We are then compelled to take the accounts as they have come down to us. And we are aware beforehand that any attempt to translate them into our own habits of thought must be one of extreme difficulty, if not doomed to failure.

(ii.) *Critical Expedients for eliminating Miracle.*—In view of the difficulty of giving a rational (*i.e.* a nineteenth century) version of miracle, it is not surprising that recourse should be had to critical expedients for explaining away Miracle altogether; in other words, to account for the narratives of miracles without assuming that objective facts corresponding to them really occurred. The expedients most in favour are: (*a*) imitation of similar stories in OT; (β) exaggeration of natural occurrences; (γ) translation of what was originally parable into external fact. These are causes which have about them nothing violent or incredible, and we may believe that they were to some extent really at work. The question to *what* extent, will depend mainly upon the nature of the evidence for miracles and the length of time interposed between the evidence and the events. This will be the next subject to come before us. We may, however, anticipate so far as to say that whatever degree of verisimilitude belongs to the causes suggested in themselves, they do not appear to be adequate, either separately or in combination, to account for the whole or any large part of the narratives as we have them. And there is the further consideration, on which more will also be said presently, that something of the nature of miracle, something which was understood as miracle, and that on no insignificant scale, must be assumed to account for the estimate certainly formed by the whole first generation of Christians of the Person of Christ.

(iii.) *The Evidence for the Gospel Miracles in general.*—Coming to the question as to the evidence for the Miracles recorded in the Gospels, there are three main observations to be made: (*a*) that the evidence for all these miracles, generally speaking, is strong; (β) that the evidence for all the different classes of miracles is equally strong; (γ) that although for the best attested miracles in each class the evidence is equal, there is a difference between particular miracles in each class; some are better attested than others.

(*a*) It is unnecessary to repeat what has been already said (p. 604 *sup.*) about the general character of the Gospel History. The critical student must constantly have in mind the question to what state of things the different phases of that history as it has come down to us correspond. Does it reflect conditions as they existed after A.D. 70 or before? And if before, how far does it reflect the later half of that period, and how far the earlier? How far does it coincide with a section of Christian thought and Christian life (*e.g.*) taken at the height of the activity of St. Paul; and how far does it certainly point to an earlier stage than this? In other words, how much of the description contained in the Gospels belongs to the period of consequences, and how much to the period of causes?

Every attempt to treat of the life of our Lord should contribute its quota to the answer to these questions. And it is becoming more and more possible to do this, not merely in a spirit of superficial apologetics, but with a deep sense of responsibility to the truth of history. And the writer of this article strongly believes that the tendency of the researches of recent years has been to enhance and not to diminish the estimate of the historical value of the Gospels.

(β) This applies to the Gospel records as a whole, in which miracles are included. It is natural next to ask, What is the nature of the particular evidence for Miracles? How is it distributed? Does the distribution correspond to the distinction which we have drawn between the easier and the more difficult Miracles? If it did, we might suppose that the former class had better claims to credence than the latter.

But an examination of the documents shows that this is not the case. Without committing ourselves to all the niceties of the Synoptic problem, there are at any rate broad grounds for distinguishing between the matter that is found in all the three Synoptics, in the First and Third, and in one only of the Three. Whether the ultimate groundwork is written or oral, the threefold matter represents that groundwork, and is therefore, if not necessarily the oldest, at least the most broadly based and authoritative. There is reason to think that the double matter is also very ancient. It consists largely of discourse, but some few narratives seem to belong to it. The peculiar sections of the different Gospels vary considerably in their character, and it is natural to suppose that they would have the least antecedent presumption in their favour. Some confirmatory evidence would be needed for facts which rested upon their testimony alone.

Now, if it had happened that the Nature-Miracles had been confined to sections of this last kind, while the Miracles of Healing—and especially the Healing of Nervous Diseases—had entered largely into the Double and Triple Synopsis; or—inasmuch as discourse more often bears the stamp of unmistakable originality than narrative—if the miracles of one class had appeared only in the form of narrative, while the allusions in discourse were wholly to miracles of the other, then the inference would have lain near at hand that there was a graduated scale in the evidence corresponding to a like graduated scale in the antecedent probability of the miracle.

But this is not the case. Miracles of all the different kinds occur in all the documents or sources. The Triple Synopsis contains not only the healing of demoniacs and paralytics, but the healing of the issue of blood (Mk 5^{25}‖), the raising of Jairus' daughter (*ib.*^{38}‖), the stilling of the storm (*ib.* 4^{37}‖), the feeding of the five thousand (*ib.* 6^{35}‖). This last miracle is found not only in all three Synoptists, but also in Jn $6^{5ff.}$. And there is this further point about it, that if we regard the miracles generally as a gradual accretion of myth and not based upon fact, we should undoubtedly assume that the feeding of the four thousand (Mk 8^{1}, Mt 15^{32}) was a mere duplicate of it. But it is probable that this story also belonged to the fundamental source, in spite of its omission by Luke. In that case both the feedings of a multitude would have had a place in the oldest of all our authorities, and the first growth in the tradition would have to be pushed back a step farther still. We should thus have a nature-miracle not only embodied in our oldest source, but at its first appearance in that source already pointing back some way behind it.

(γ) It thus appears that the evidence, externally considered, is equally good for all classes of miracles. It is not, as we might expect, that the evidence for the easier miracles is better than that for the more difficult, leaving us free to accept the one and reject the others. We cannot do this, because the best testimony we have embraces alike those miracles which imply a greater deviation from the ordinary course of nature and those in which the deviation is less.

It does not, however, follow that within the different classes of miracles the evidence for particular miracles is equal. When Prof. Goldwin Smith insists that all the miracles recorded in the Gospels stand or fall together, he is going in the teeth, not so much of anything peculiar to the study of the Gospels, but of the historical method generally. And the examples which he gives are unfortunate. 'We cannot pick and choose. The evidence upon which the miraculous darkness and the apparition of the dead rest is the same as that upon which all the other miracles rest, and must be accepted or rejected in all the cases alike' (*Guesses at the Riddle of Existence*, p. 160). No critical student needs to be told that the evidence for the apparitions of the dead (Mt $27^{52f.}$) belongs just to that stratum which carries with it the least weight. The authority for the darkness is much higher, but its miraculous character need not be magnified. Any unusual darkening of the sky would naturally strike the imagination of the disciples; and it might be not contrary to nature and yet also not accidental.

(iv.) *The Quality of the Evidence.*—So far we have spoken of the external character of the evidence. It is speaking within the mark to say that a large part of the evidence for the Gospel miracles, including some of those that are most miraculous, is separated from the facts by an interval of not more than thirty years. We may be pretty sure that before that date, and even much before it, stories of miracles like those recorded in the Gospels circulated freely among Christians, and were a common subject of teaching by catechists and others. We now proceed to ask, What is the quality of the narratives in which these stories occur? What features are there in the stories themselves which throw light upon their historical value?

(α) We are met at the outset by the Temptation. If there is anything certain in history, it is that the story of the Temptation has a real foundation in fact, for the simple reason that without such a foundation it would have occurred to no one to invent it. It suits exactly and wonderfully the character of Jesus as we can now see it, but not as it was seen at the time. Men were trying to apprehend that character; they had a glimpse here and a glimpse there; but they cannot have had more than dim and vague surmises as to what it was as a whole. But whoever first told the story of the Temptation saw it as a whole. We have therefore already drawn the inference that it was first told by none other than Jesus Himself. And by that inference we stand. There is nothing in the Gospels that is more authentic.

But the story of the Temptation presupposes the possession of supernatural powers. It all turns on the question how those powers are to be exercised. It not only implies the possession of power to work such miracles as were actually worked, but others even more remarkable from the point of view of crude interference with the order of nature. The story of the Temptation implies that Jesus *could* have worked such miracles if He had willed to do so; and the reason why He did not work them was only because He did not will.

The keynote which is struck by the Temptation is sustained all through the sequel of the history. We can see that the Life of Jesus was what it was by an act of deliberate renunciation. When He says, as the end draws near, 'Thinkest thou that I cannot beseech my Father, and he shall even now send me more than twelve legions of angels?' (Mt 26^{53}), the lesson holds good, not for that moment alone, but for all that has preceded it. The Public Ministry of Jesus wears the aspect it does, not because of limitations imposed from without, but of limitations imposed from within.

Here lies the paradox of the Miracles of Christ. He seems at once to do them, and so to guard against a possible misuse that it is as if He had not done them. The common idea of miracles was as a manifestation of Divine power. Jesus gave the manifestation, and yet He seemed so to check it from producing its natural effect that it is as though it did not serve its purpose. It really serves His purpose, but not the purpose which the world both then and since has ascribed to Him.

(β) We have seen that the principles laid down at the Temptation governed the whole public life of Jesus. He steadily refused to work miracles for any purely self-regarding end. If the fact that He works miracles at all is a sympathetic adaptation to the beliefs and expectations of the time, those beliefs are schooled and criticized while they are adopted (Mt 12^{39} ‖ $16^{1f.}$, Jn 4^{48}), the element of mere display, the element of self-assertion, even of self-preservation, is eliminated from them. They are studiously restricted to the purposes of the mission.

Now this carefully restricted character in the miracles of Jesus is unique in history. Among all the multitude of wonders with which the faith, sometimes superstitious, but more often simply naïve, of the later Church adorned the lives of the saints, there is nothing quite like it. We may say with confidence that if the miracles of Jesus had been no more than an invention, they would not have been what they are. We can see in the evangelists a certain dim half-conscious feeling of the self-imposed limitations in the use of the supernatural by Christ. But we may be very sure that they have this feeling, because the limitations were inherent in the facts, not because they formed part from the first of a picture which they were constructing *a priori*.

(γ) There are three kinds of restriction in the miracles of our Lord. The limitation in the subject-matter of the miracles is one; the limitation in the conditions under which they are wrought is another (Mt 13^{58} || $15^{24.26}$); and the limitation in the manner in which they are set before the world is a third. In a number of cases, after a miracle has been performed, the recipient is strictly cautioned to maintain silence about it (Mk 1^{34} || demoniacs, 1^{44} || leper, 3^{12} demoniacs, cf. Mt 12^{16}, Mk 7^{36} deaf and dumb, 8^{26} blind). This hangs together with the manifest intention of Jesus to correct not only the current idea of miracles, but the current idea of the Messiah as one endowed with supernatural power. If He was so endowed, it was not that He might gather about Him crowds and establish a carnal kingdom such as the Jews expected.

This, too, is a very original feature. It is certainly not one that the popular imagination would create, because the motive to create it was wanting. It is not to be supposed that the popular imagination would first correct itself and then embody the correction in a fictitious narrative. Here again we are driven to the conclusion that the narrative truly reflects the facts.

(δ) In yet another way do the accounts of the miracles work in with the total picture of the Life of Christ. They have a didactic value, which makes them round off the cycle of the teaching. This fact perhaps leaves some opening for the possibility that here and there what was originally parable may in course of transmission have hardened into miracle. An example of such a possibility would be the withering of the Fig-tree (Mk $11^{12-14\ 20-25}$ || compared with Lk 13^{6-9}). But, on the other hand, it is just as possible that parable and miracle may stand side by side as a double enforcement of the same lesson. The story of the Temptation is proof that Jesus would not hesitate to clothe His teaching in a form at once natural and impressive to that generation, though it is less so to ours. In this He only takes up a marked characteristic of the OT Prophets.

(v.) *Historical Necessity of Miracles.*—The truth is that the historian who tries to construct a reasoned picture of the Life of Christ finds that he cannot dispense with miracles. He is confronted with the fact that no sooner had the Life of Jesus ended in apparent failure and shame than the great body of Christians—not an individual here and there, but the mass of the Church—passed over at once to the fixed belief that He was God. By what conceivable process could the men of that day have arrived at such a conclusion, if there had been really nothing in His life to distinguish it from that of ordinary men? We have seen that He did not work the kind of miracles which they expected. The miracles in themselves in any case came short of their expectations. But this makes it all the more necessary that there must have been something about the Life, a broad and substantial element in it, which *they could recognize as* supernatural and divine—not that we can recognize, but which they could recognize with the ideas of the time. Eliminate miracles from the career of Jesus, and the belief of Christians, from the first moment that we have undoubted contemporary evidence of it (say A.D. 50), becomes an insoluble enigma.

(vi.) *Natural Congruity of Miracles.*—And now, if from the belief of the Early Church we turn to the belief of the Church in our day, there a different kind of congruity appears, but a congruity that is no less stringent. If we still believe that Christ was God, not merely on the testimony of the Early Church, but on the proof afforded by nineteen centuries of Christianity, there will be nothing to surprise us in the phenomena of miracles. 'If the Incarnation was a fact, and Jesus Christ was what He claimed to be, His miracles, so far from being improbable, will appear the most natural thing in the world. . . . They are so essentially a part of the character depicted in the Gospels, that without them that character would entirely disappear. They flow naturally from a Person who, despite His obvious humanity, impresses us throughout as being at home in two worlds. . . . We cannot separate the wonderful life, or the wonderful teaching, from the wonderful works. They involve and interpenetrate and presuppose each other, and form in their indissoluble combination one harmonious picture' (Illingworth, *Divine Immanence*, pp. 88-90).

If we seek to express the *rationale* or inner congruity of miracles in Biblical language, we shall find this abundantly done for us in the Gospel of St. John. Miracles arise from the intimate association of the Son with the Father in the ordering of the universe, especially in all that relates to the redemption of man. When challenged by the Jews for healing a sick man upon the Sabbath, Jesus replied, 'My Father worketh even until now (*i.e.* since, and in spite of the institution of the Sabbatical Rest), I am working also' (Jn 5^{17}); the same law holds for the actions of the Son as for the conservation of the universe. And He goes on, 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, the Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father doing: for what things soever he doeth, these the Son also doeth in like manner. For the Father loveth the Son, and showeth him all things that himself doeth: and greater works than these will he show him, that ye may marvel' (*ib.* vv.$^{19.20}$). Many other passages at once suggest themselves to the same effect (Jn 3^{35} $8^{28f.}$ 14^{10}). The Son is 'sent' by the Father, and He is invested with full powers for the accomplishment of that mission; or rather with reference to it and for the purpose of it, He and the Father are one (Jn 10^{30}).

The sayings of this character are all from the Fourth Gospel. But there is a near approach to them in the well-known passage Mt 11^{27} || ('All things have been delivered unto me of my Father'); and this does but form a natural climax to others, which, without it, would seem to leave something wanting and incomplete.

(vii.) *The Unexplained Element in Miracles.*—When all the above considerations are borne in mind, some may still think that there is a residuum which is not wholly explained—not so much as to the fact of miracles, or as to their congruity with the Person of Jesus, but rather as to the method of particular miracles in the form in which they have come down to us. It is quite inevitable that there should be such a residuum, which is only another name for the irreducible interval which must, when all is done, separate the reflective science-trained intellect of the nineteenth century from the naïve chroniclers of the first. Jesus Himself would seem to have been not without a prescience that this would be the case. At any rate there is a permanent significance, unexhausted by the occasion which gave rise to it, in His reply to the disciples of the Baptist, while appealing to works which, however beneficent, would, He knew, fail to realize all the Baptist's expectations: 'Blessed is he that shall find no scandal—or stumbling-block—in me' (Mt 11^{6} ||). There was doubtless something left in the mind of John which he could not perfectly piece together with the rest of such mental outfit as he had. And so we may be sure that it will be in every age, though age after age has only helped to strengthen the conviction that the modes of thought of the *Zeitgeist* may and do continually change, but that the worth for man of the Person of Jesus does not change but is eternal.

LITERATURE.—Probably the best work in English at the present moment on the presuppositions of the Gospel Miracles would be Illingworth's *Divine Immanence* (1898), a sequel to his *Bampton Lectures* (1894). It may be worth while to compare Gore, *Bamp. Lect.* (1891). On the other hand, Mozley's lectures on the same foundation for 1865 have reference rather to a phase of the controversy which is now past. There is, of course, much on the subject in the various treatises on Apologetics; and articles are constantly appearing in magazines, as well as shorter monographs, both British and Foreign. The present writer cannot say—or at least cannot remember—that he has gained as much from these several sources as in the case of the teaching of Jesus. He would like, however, to mention with gratitude, *Grounds of Theistic and Christian Belief*, by Dr. G. P. Fisher of Yale (New York, 1883; also pub. in London), a very clear and temperate statement of the evidence for the Gospel Miracles on older lines; the chap. on Miracles in Dr. A. B. Bruce, *Chief End of Revelation* (3rd ed. 1890); and three short lectures, entitled *The Supernatural in Christianity* (by Drs. Rainy, Orr, and Marcus Dods, in reply to Pfleiderer, Edinb. 1894).

The most considerable attempt in English to construct Christianity without Miracles is Dr. Edwin A. Abbott's *The Kernel and the Husk* (1886), and *The Spirit on the Waters* (1897). With this may be compared Dr. Salmon's *Non-miraculous Christianity (and other Sermons)*.

There are well-known systematic works on the Gospel Miracles by the late Abp. Trench and Dr. A. B. Bruce.

C. *MIDDLE OR CULMINATING PERIOD OF THE ACTIVE MINISTRY.*

Scene.—Galilee, with an excursion across the northern border.

Time.—Passover to shortly before Tabernacles A.D. 28.

Mt 14^{1}–18^{35}, Mk 6^{14}–9^{50}, Lk 9$^{7-50}$, Jn 6.

This is a period of culminations, in which the prophecy of Simeon begins to be conspicuously fulfilled: 'Behold, this child is set for the falling and rising up of many in Israel, and for a sign which is spoken against' (Lk 2^{34}). The main culminations are (i.) of the zeal of the populace, followed by their disappointment and falling away; (ii.) the still greater embitterment of the scribes and Pharisees; (iii.) the awakening at last of a more intelligent faith in the disciples, reaching its highest point in St. Peter's confession; (iv.) the Divine testimony to Jesus in the Transfiguration; (v.) the consciousness of victory virtually won in Jesus Himself (Mt 11$^{25-30}$, Lk 10$^{17-24}$); (vi.) at the same time He sees clearly, and begins to announce the seeming but transient catastrophe, the final humiliation and exaltation, in which His work is to end.

The time of this period is clearly marked by the occurrence of the Passover of the year A.D. 28 at its beginning, and the Feast of Tabernacles (in October of the same year) at the end. It is probable that within these six months all the salient events referred to below may be included. The place is, broadly speaking, Galilee, beginning with the shores of the lake (Jn 6); but in the course of the period there falls a wider circuit than any that had been hitherto taken. In this circuit Jesus touched on, and probably crossed, the borders of the heathen districts of Tyre and Sidon (Mk 7^{24}‖); He then turned eastwards through the neighbourhood of Cæsarea Philippi (Mk 8^{27}‖); and He finally returned to Capernaum, not directly, but after taking a round to the east of the lake and through Decapolis (Mk 7^{31}). The motive was probably not so much on this occasion extended preaching as to avoid the ferment excited among the population of Central Galilee. Observe Mk 7^{24} and the strict injunctions of secrecy in Mk 7^{36} 8^{30}‖ 9^{9}‖. If we may follow our authorities (Mk 7$^{32ff.}$ 8$^{1ff.}$ $^{11ff.}$) there was a certain amount of active work at the end of the circuit; but Mt 11$^{20ff.}$ appears to mark the practical close of the Galilæan ministry.

The greater part of this circuit lay within the dominions, not of Herod Antipas, where Jesus had hitherto mainly worked, but of his brother Philip. Now we know that the hostility to Him was shared by the Pharisees with the partisans of Herod (Mk 3^{6} and p. 616^{a} above; cf. also Mk 8^{15}). We have also, but probably at a still later date, threats, which if not actually made by Herod Antipas were at least plausibly attributed to him (Lk 13^{31}). In any case, it is likely enough that intrigues were on foot between the two allied parties of the Pharisees and Herodians; and some writers, of whom Keim may be taken as an example, have attributed to these what they describe as a 'flight' on the part of Jesus. They may have had something to do with His retirement.

This division of our Lord's Life includes several narratives (the Feedings of the Five and Four Thousand, the Walking on the Water, the Transfiguration) which sound especially strange to modern ears. We must repeat the warning, that if a nineteenth cent. observer had been present he would have given a different account of the occurrences from that which has come down to us. But the mission of Jesus was to the first cent. and not to the nineteenth. His miracles as well as His teaching were adapted to the mental habits of those to whom they were addressed. It is wasted ingenuity to try, by rationalizing the narratives, to translate them into a language more like our own. Essential features in them are sure to escape in the process. It should be enough to notice that the narratives in question all rest on the very best historical authority. They belong to the oldest stratum of the evangelical tradition. And more than this: if we suppose, as it is not unreasonable to suppose, that the Feedings of the Five and of the Four Thousand are different versions of the same event, this would throw us back some way behind even that oldest stratum; because we should have to allow an additional period of time for the two versions to arise out of their common original (see p. 626 *sup.*). This would carry us back to a time when numbers must have been living by whom the truth of that which is reported might be controlled. In the case of the Feeding of the Five Thousand, we have the confirmatory evidence of the Fourth Gospel, which for those who believe the author to have been an eye-witness must be little less than decisive.

i. *The Enthusiasm and Falling-away of the Populace.*—It was just before the Passover of the year 28 that the impression which Jesus had made on the people of Galilee seemed to reach its climax. This was the result of what is commonly known to us as the Feeding of the Five Thousand. The fact that the Passover was so near at hand accounts for a special gathering of pilgrims, or those preparing for the journey, from the Galilæan towns. In such a mixed multitude there would doubtless be many Zealots and enthusiastic expectants of the 'deliverance of Israel.' The miracle convinces these that they have at last found the leader of whom they are in search. They are aware that hitherto He had shown no signs of encouraging the active measures which they desired: and therefore they hasten to seize the person of Jesus in order to compel Him to put Himself at their head, with or against His will. He, however, retires from them; and their disappointment is complete when on the next day the more determined among them, after following Him at no little trouble into the synagogue at Capernaum, find themselves put off with what they would regard as a mystical and unintelligible discourse. This is a turning-point in what had been for some time a gathering movement on the part of many who were willing to see in Jesus a Messiah such as they expected, but who were baffled and drew back when they found the ideal presented to them so different from their own. And the crisis once past, every possible precaution was taken to ensure that it should not recur (Mk $7^{24.36}$ 8^{30} ‖ 9^{9} ‖, as above).

Are the two Feedings of Mk 6^{30-46} ‖ and Mk 8^{1-9} ‖ to be regarded as two events or one? Besides the general resemblance between the two narratives, a weighty argument in favour of the latter hypothesis is, that in the second narrative the disciples' question appears to imply that the emergency was something new. They could hardly have put this question as they did if a similar event had happened only a few weeks before. The different numbers are just what would be found in two independent traditions. The decision will, however, depend here (as in the instances noted above) on the degree of strictness with which we interpret the narrative generally.

The discourse in the synagogue at Capernaum, Jn 6^{26-51}, works up to one of those profound truths which fixed themselves especially in the memory of the author of the Fourth Gospel. It is not a direct reference to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, but it is a preparatory statement of the deep principle of which that Sacrament is the expression. We shall have more to say on this head below (see p. 637).

ii. *Widening Breach with the Pharisees.*—More than one incident occurs in this period which points to the increasing tension of the relations between Jesus and the Pharisees (Mk $8^{11.15}$). But the decisive passage is Mk 7^{1-13} ‖, the severity of which anticipates the denunciations of the last Passover. In this Jesus cuts away root and branch of the Pharisaic traditions and exposes their essential immorality. From this time onwards the antagonism is open and declared.

iii. *The Climax of Faith among the Twelve; St. Peter's Confession.*—We have seen how the enthusiasm of the multitudes reached its climax after the Feeding of the Five Thousand, but did not recover from the rebuff which it then received, and from that time more or less collapsed, until it flamed up for a moment at the triumphal entry. The Twelve were in a better position to enter into the mind of their Master, and it was but natural that they should be more steadfastly attached to His person. Hence their faith survived the shocks which it was continually receiving, and St. Peter gave the highest expression which it had yet received, when, in reply to a direct question, he exclaimed, 'Thou art the Christ [the Son of the Living God]' (Mt 16^{13-20} ‖). Jesus marked His sense of the significance of the confession by words of warm commendation. He attributes it, indeed, to a direct inspiration from Heaven. The value of the confession stands out all the more clearly when it is compared with the doubts of the Baptist (see above, p. 615). We are not to suppose that St. Peter had by any means as yet a full conception of all that was implied in his own words. He still did not understand what manner of Messiah he was confessing; but his merit was, that in spite of the rude shocks which his faith had been receiving, and in spite of all that was paradoxical and enigmatical in the teaching and actions of his Master, he saw through his perplexities the gleams of a nature which transcended his experience, and he was willing to take upon trust what he could not comprehend.

It would be out of place to attempt here to discuss the conflicting interpretations of the blessing pronounced upon St. Peter. We can only say that although it is not adequate to explain the blessing as pronounced upon the confession and not upon St. Peter himself, it is nevertheless distinctly pronounced upon St. Peter *as confessing*. It is in the fact that there is at last one who, in the face of all difficulties, recognizes from his heart that Jesus is what He is, that the first stone, as it were, of the Church is laid: other stones will be built upon and around it, and the edifice will rise day by day, but the beginning occurs but once, and the beginning of the Christian Church occurred then. It is not to detract from the merit of St. Peter—which so far as the building up of the Church is concerned was as high as human merit could be—if we interpret the blessing upon him in the light of 1 Co 3^{11}. The Church has but one foundation, in the strict sense, Jesus Christ. It was precisely to this that St. Peter's confession pointed. But that confession was the first of all like confessions; and in that respect might well be described as the first block of stone built into the edifice.

iv. *The Culminating Point in the Missionary Labours of Jesus.*—God seeth not as man seeth. To the average observer, even to one who was acquainted with St. Peter's confession, it would seem to be the solitary point of light in the midst of disappointment and failure. A retrospect of the Galilæan ministry seemed to show little but hard-heartedness, ingratitude, and unbelief (Jn 12^{37-40}). Our Lord Himself can only denounce woe upon the cities which enjoyed most of His presence (Mt 11^{20-24} ‖). And yet about the same time two sayings are recorded which mark a deep inward consciousness of success. The ministry which might seem to be in vain was not really in vain, but potential and in promise; to the eye which saw into the future as well as into the present, and which looked into the inmost counsels of the Father, the crisis might even be regarded as past. One of these sayings is Lk 10^{18}. The success of the disciples in casting out demons draws from Jesus the remark that the power of the prince of darkness is broken. And about the same time, as if ingratitude and opposition counted for nothing, He pours out His thanks to the Father: 'I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou didst hide these things from the wise and understanding, and didst reveal them unto babes: yea, Father, for so it was well-pleasing in thy sight' (Mt $11^{25f.}$ ‖). The next verse in both Gospels contains the clearest expression in the Synoptics of that sense of oneness with the Father which is brought out so pointedly in Jn. And the verses which follow in Mt are that wonderful invitation: 'Come unto me,' etc. He who understands this group of sayings has found his way to the heart of Christianity.

v. *The Transfiguration.*—To the confession of the apostle and to the words of thanksgiving, which are also words of serene contentment and inward assurance, there was not wanting an outward Divine sanction. This was given in the scene which is known to us as the Transfiguration (Mk 9^{2-8} ‖). The narrative of the Transfiguration reminds us, in more ways than one, of those of the Baptism and Temptation. Once again the apostles hear words which seem to come from Heaven confirming the mission of their Master. At the same time they see a vision which brings out the significance of that mission in a way for which as yet they can hardly have been prepared. The appearance of Moses and Elijah by the side of, and as it were ministering to, Jesus, symbolized the Law and the Prophets as leading up to and receiving their fulfilment in the Gospel.

It is impossible not to see the appropriateness of this Divine testimony to the mission of Jesus occurring just where it does. That unique relationship of the Son to the Father, which forms the constant background of the narrative of the Fourth Gospel, and is not less the background—real, if not so apparent—of the Synoptics, could not but assert itself from time to time. And what time could be fitter for a clear pronouncement of it than this, when outward circumstances were for the most part so discouraging, and when the prospect was becoming every day nearer and more certain of the fatal and terrible end? If the Son must needs go down into the valley of the shadow of death, the Father's face will shine upon Him for a moment before He enters it with a brightness which will not be obscured.

As bearing upon the essentially historical character of the narrative, however difficult and even impossible it may be for us to reconstruct its details in such a way that we could be said to understand them, note (1) the significance of the appearance of Moses and Elijah at a time when that significance can have been but very imperfectly apprehended by the disciples, and when there was absolutely nothing to suggest such an idea to them; and (2) the Transfiguration comes within the cycle of events in regard to which a strict silence was to be observed. This striking and peculiar stamp of genuineness was not wanting to it. We may note also (3) the random speech of St. Peter (Mk 9^{5} ‖)

as a little graphic and authentic touch which had not been forgotten.

It might be supposed that the enlargements in Lk $9^{31f.}$ were merely editorial, but, like not a few added details in this Gospel, they become more impressive upon reflexion. The other evangelists throw no light upon the subject of the converse between the glorified figures; Luke alone says that they 'spake of his decease which he was about to accomplish at Jerusalem.' This was, we may be sure, the subject which deeply occupied the mind of Jesus at this time; and it is hardly less certain that the particular aspect of it which would be most present to Him would be its relation to the prophetic Scriptures of OT (and the Law also had its prophetic side). We might expect an appearance of Isaiah rather than Elijah; but Elijah was the typical prophet, and the Jews expected his appearing (cf. Wetstein on Mt 17^3). The other peculiar detail in Lk, that 'Peter and they that were with him were heavy with sleep,' may well seem confirmatory of the view (*e.g.*) of Weiss and Beyschlag, that the scene was presented to the three apostles in divinely caused vision.

vi. *The Prophecies of Death and Resurrection.*—The period we are describing is a kind of watershed, which marks not only the summit of the ascent but the beginning of the descent. We have seen how this was the case with the enthusiasm of the multitude: it was also the case with Christ Himself. The confession of St. Peter was immediately followed, and the Transfiguration both preceded and followed, by distinct prophecies of the fatal end which was to close His ministry—an end fatal in the eyes of men, but soon to be cancelled by His resurrection. As these prophecies will meet us again in the next period, to which they give its dominant character, we will reserve the discussion of them till then.

D. *CLOSE OF THE ACTIVE PERIOD: THE MESSIANIC CRISIS IN VIEW.*

Scene.—Judæa (Jn $7^{10ff.}$ 11^{54}) and Peræa (Mk 10^1 ||, Jn 10^{40}).

Time.—Tabernacles A.D. 28 to Passover A.D. 29.

Mt 19^1–20^{34}, Mk 10, Lk 9^{51}–19^{28} (for the most part not in chronological order), Jn 7^1–11^{57}.

In this period we may note more particularly (i.) the peculiar section of St. Luke's Gospel which might on a superficial view seem to be placed in this period; (ii.) that portion of the Johannean narrative which really belongs to it; (iii.) the general character of our Lord's Teaching at this time; (iv.) in particular, the prophecies of Death and Resurrection; and (v.) the hints which are given of a special significance attaching to these events.

The time of this period extends from the Feast of Tabernacles in A.D. 28 to the Passover of A.D. 29. There is more difficulty in mapping out the distribution of its parts topographically. We have some clear landmarks if we follow the guidance of the Fourth Gospel. The events of the section Jn 7^1–10^{21} partly belong to the Feast of Tabernacles and in part follow at no great interval after it. We have again in Jn 10^{22} a clear indication of time and place, the Feast of Dedication at Jerusalem. This would be towards the end of December. After that, Jesus withdrew beyond Jordan to the place where 'John was at the first baptizing' (Jn 10^{40}). Here He made a lengthened stay, and it was from hence that He paid His visit to Bethany for the raising of Lazarus. Then He again retired to a city called Ephraim on the edge of the wilderness north-east of Jerusalem, where He remained until the Jews began to gather together to attend the Passover (Jn 11^{55}). We have thus a fairly connected narrative extending from the beginning of the year to the Passover of A.D. 29, the scene of which is in part Judæa and in part Peræa. We have also a fixed point covering, perhaps, about a fortnight in the latter half of October and localized at Jerusalem. But what of the seven or eight weeks which separate this from the Feast of Dedication? Is it probable that Jesus returned to Galilee and continued His ministry there? It does not seem so. The solemn and deliberate leave-taking from Galilee is not likely to have been so broken. The principal objection to this view would be that the secret and unexpected visit to Jerusalem at the Feast of Tabernacles does not seem consistent with the solemnity of this leave-taking. We may, however, suppose that the Galilæan ministry was practically complete before this date, and that strong expressions like those of Lk 9^{51}, if they are to be taken as they stand, refer to one of the later journeys.

i. *The so-called Peræan Ministry.*—There is a long section of St. Luke's Gospel, Lk 9^{51}–18^{34}, which has been often treated as a single whole and as containing the record of a special ministry, identified with the last journey towards Jerusalem, and having for its scene the lands beyond the Jordan. This is based upon the fact that the beginning of the section coincides with Mk 10^1, Mt 19^1, and that the end of it brings us to the approach to Jericho (Lk 18^{35}). It is true that some part of the time preceding the last Passover was spent in Peræa. We know this on the joint testimony of the other Synoptists and St. John (Mk 10^1, Mt 19^1, Jn 10^{40}). But to suppose that the whole section must be localized there is to misunderstand the structure and character of St. Luke's Gospel. It is far more probable that he has massed together a quantity of material derived from some special source to which he had access, and which could not be easily fitted into the framework supplied to him by St. Mark.

When we come to examine these materials in detail, it would seem probable that they belong to very different periods in our Lord's ministry. Some incidents, for instance, appear to assume those easier relations to the Pharisees which we have seen to be characteristic of the earlier period (Lk 11^{37} [but not vv.$^{42-54}$] $14^{1ff.}$). It would be natural also to refer to this or the middle period the three parables of ch. 15 (Weiss, *Leben Jesu*, i. 507). On the other hand, some of the incidents are practically dated by their coincidence with the other Gospels; while others, like the severer denunciations of the Pharisees and eschatological sections such as Lk 13^{22-30} 17^{20}–18^8, are referred to the later period by their subject-matter. It would be wrong to lay too much stress on mere symmetry; but when a natural sequence suggests itself, it may be accepted as having such probability as can be attained. The document which St. Luke is using in this part has preserved for us discourses of the utmost value, and it is largely to them that the Gospel owes its marked individuality.

ii. *The Johannean Narrative of this Period.*—The historical value of the Fourth Gospel comes out strongly in this period. Rarely has any situation been described with the extraordinary vividness and truth to nature of ch. 7 (see esp. vv.$^{11-15.\ 25-27.\ 31.\ 32.\ 40-52}$). Not less graphic are the details of ch. 9; and there is marked precision in the statements of Jn $10^{22f.\ 40f.}$ 11^{54-57}. We note a special intimacy with what passes in the inner counsels of the Sanhedrin (Jn 7^{47-52} 11^{47-53}). This intimate knowledge might have been derived through Nicodemus or through the connexion hinted at in Jn 18^{15}.* But, apart from the peculiar verisimilitude of these details, some such activity as that described in these chs. is required to explain the great catastrophe which followed. It is impossible that Jesus should have been so much a stranger to Judæa and Jerusalem as the Synoptic narrative would at first sight seem to make Him. For the steps which lead up to the end we must go to St. John.

iii. *The general Character of the Teaching of this Period.*—There are no doubt portions of the teaching of this period preserved in the Synoptics. But except those contained in Mk 10^{1-45} || they are difficult to identify with certainty. For the greater part of our knowledge of it we are indebted to St. John, and we may observe that the teaching now begins to take a new character. Hitherto it has been mainly concerned with the nature of the Kingdom; henceforward greater stress is laid on the person of the King. We have already noted the remarkable verse Mt 11^{27} || 'All things have been delivered unto me of my Father: and no one knoweth the Son save the Father; neither doth any know the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal him.' This verse may be said to represent the text which the discourses in St. John set in various lights. We have now the self-revelation of the Son as the central life-giving and light-giving force of humanity. As He is the living Bread (Jn 6), so is He the living Water (Jn $7^{37f.}$); He is the Light of the world (Jn 8^{12} 9^{5}); He is the Good Shepherd (Jn 10^{11}), the Resurrection and the Life (Jn 11^{25}). If we suppose that these discourses were really held, we shall understand better than we could do otherwise the state of Christian thought which meets us when we open the first surviving Epistles of St. Paul.

---

* The theory of Delff has been mentioned above (p. 614 *sup.*); but it turns too much upon a single set of data, and leads to an arbitrary dissection of the Gospel.

iv. *The Prophecies of Death and Resurrection.*—From the time of St. Peter's confession Jesus began in set terms to foretell that His mission would end in His death, soon, however, to be followed by His resurrection (Mk 8^{31} ||). At the moment of His highest triumph, marked by the Transfiguration, the same solemn prediction is repeated (Mk 9^{31}), and again yet a third time towards the end of the period with which we are now dealing (Mk 10^{32-34} ||).

(*a*) Even an ordinary observer might have seen that the signs of the times were ominous. St. Peter's confession showed no more than one adherent whose fervid faith might be supposed capable of resisting a pressure of life or death. Herod Antipas and his faction were hostile. The Pharisees were yet more hostile, and their bitterness was growing every day. Within the period before us two deliberate attempts were made on the life of Jesus (Jn 8^{59} 10^{39}). And with the certainty that the course on which He was bent would include nothing to conciliate these antagonisms, it was clear where they would end.

(*b*) But the foresight of Jesus took a wider range than this. He had laid it down as a principle that it was the fate of prophets to be persecuted (Mt 5^{12} $23^{34.37}$). In particular, He had before Him the example of the Baptist, whose fate He associated with His own (Mk $9^{12f.}$ ||).

(*c*) But there was a deeper necessity even than this. At the Betrayal, to him who drew sword in His defence Jesus replied calmly, 'How then should the Scriptures be fulfilled, that thus it must be?' And this is His consistent language (comp. Lk $24^{25f.44.46}$ etc.). The mind of Jesus was steeped in the ancient prophecies. He had Himself, as we have seen, deliberately fused the conception of the conquering Messiah with that of the Suffering Servant of Jehovah, and He as deliberately went the way to fulfil these prophecies in His own person. There was nothing accidental about His Death. He 'set his face steadfastly' on the road which led to it.

(*d*) When we look into its lessons we are carried even behind the fulfilment of prophecy. We shall have to speak presently of the extraordinary novelty of the turn which Christ gave to His mission. Others had conquered by the exercise of force; He was the first to set Himself to conquer by weakness, patience, non-resistance. And the natural and inevitable consummation of this new method of conquest was Death.

(*e*) In all this He was carrying out, and knew that He was carrying out, the Will of the Father. It was conceivable that that Will might have yet ulterior objects even beyond those, deep enough as we might think, which we have been considering. That Jesus ascribed to His Death such an ulterior object we are led to believe by the way in which He speaks of it. The two places in which He does so must next engage our attention.

v. *Significance of the Death of Jesus.*—The first of the passages to which allusion has just been made is Mk 10^{45} || 'For verily the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many.' We observe here that Jesus brings His Death under the category of service, and regards it as the climax of a life of service. This is one way of stating the great paradox to which we have just alluded. The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over their subjects; but such was not to be the ambition of the disciples of Christ; rather the very opposite; and it was Christ Himself who set them the example. At the end of the avenue stood a cross, and the Saviour of men walked up to it as if it had been a crown. It is a question of pressing interest how much farther we may go than this: is the *λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν* to be interpreted by the *ἀπολύτρωσις* and *ἱλαστήριον* of Ro $3^{24f.}$, and by the language of other similar passages? By itself we could not say that it compelled such an interpretation; but there is nothing forced in supposing that the early Church knew and followed the mind of its Founder. In that case we should have reason to think that Jesus Himself had hinted at the sacrificial character of His Death, and that He too regarded it as propitiatory.

If this passage suggests a sacrificial aspect of one kind, the other is more explicit in bringing out sacrificial associations of another. All the extant accounts of the institution of the Eucharist connect the Blood shed upon the Cross with the founding of a '[new] Covenant.' This is certainly an allusion to the inauguration of the first Covenant with sacrifice (cf. Ex 24^{4-8}, He 9^{18-23}), and the Death of Christ is clearly regarded as the Sacrifice inaugurating the second (see below, p. 638).

In other words, the momentous question came before the mind of Jesus whether the New Dispensation which He was founding was or was not like the Old in including the idea of Sacrifice. He deliberately answered that it was. And He deliberately foresaw, and as deliberately accepted the consequence, that the Sacrifice of this New Dispensation could be none other than the Sacrifice of Himself.

That which gives this particular Death a value which no other death could have had is (*a*) the fact that it is the Death of the Messiah, of One whose function it is to be the Saviour of His people, and whose Death like His Life must in some way enter into the purpose of the whole scheme of salvation; and (*β*) the further fact that although the Death is a necessity in the sense that it was required for the full development of God's gracious purpose, it was nevertheless a purely voluntary act on the part of the Son, an expression of that truly filial spirit in which He made the whole of the Father's purpose His own. 'The good Shepherd layeth down his life for the sheep. . . . Therefore doth the Father love me, because I lay down my life, that I may take it again. No one taketh it away from me, but I lay it down of myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again. This commandment received I from my Father' (Jn $10^{11.17f.}$). It follows (*γ*) that however much it may be right to conceive of the Death of Christ as a Sacrifice, and a sacrifice which has for its object the 'remission of sins' (Mt 26^{28}), we must not in connexion with it set the justice of God against

His mercy, or think of Him as really turning away His face from the Son of His love.

LITERATURE.—The subject of these last two sections not only comes into the field of New Testament Theology in general and treatises (like Wendt's and others named above) on the Teaching of Christ, but it necessarily occupies a prominent place in discussions of the Doctrine of the Atonement. Among these may be mentioned especially Ritschl's *Rechtfertigung u. Versöhnung*, vol. ii. of which goes elaborately into the exegesis of the leading passages (ed. 2, 1882), and a recent treatise by Kähler, *Zur Lehre von der Versöhnung* (Leipzig, 1898), which gives prominence to the relation of the doctrine to the Life of Christ. A lengthy monograph by Schwartzkopff deals directly with our Lord's predictions of His Passion (*Die Weissagungen Jesu Christi von seinem Tode*, u.s.w., Göttingen, 1895); and 'Christ's Attitude to His Death' is the title of some striking articles by Dr. A. M. Fairbairn in *Expos.* 1896, ii., and 1897, i.

E. *THE MESSIANIC CRISIS: THE TRIUMPHAL ENTRY, THE LAST TEACHING, PASSION, DEATH, RESURRECTION, ASCENSION.*

Scene.—Mainly in Jerusalem.

Time.—Six days before Passover to ten days before Pentecost A.D. 29.

Mt 21^{1}-28^{20}, Mk 11^{1}-16^{8} [vv.$^{9-20}$ an early addition], Lk 19^{29}-24^{52}, Jn 12^{1}-21^{23}.

This series of momentous events has naturally furnished much matter for discussion and controversy, some of it very recent. (i.) Our first duty will be to sketch rapidly the course of the events with special reference to the motives of the human actors in them. (ii.) We must consider the debated points in the chronology of the last week. (iii.) We shall have to discuss the eschatological teaching which the Synoptists place in this period. (iv.) A number of points, critical and doctrinal, will meet us in connexion with the Last Supper. (v.) We shall have in like manner to consider both the attestation and the significance of the crowning event of all, the Resurrection. This will include some discussion of the Appearances which followed. Lastly (vi.), as our subject is the Life of Christ and not the Gospels, we must, even though in so doing we cross the threshold of St. Luke's 'second treatise,' follow the steps of the Master to His Ascension.

i. *The Action and the Actors.* — Our four Gospels, taken together, in part convey and in part suggest a view at once clear and probable of the course of events which led to the Crucifixion, and of the motives which impelled the several actors in them. We have seen that the Fourth Gospel is needed to explain the heightened enmity which had so tragic an issue. A residence in Jerusalem and Bethany of four days would not be enough to account for the overtures to Judas. The events of the Feast of Tabernacles, the Feast of Dedication, and the Raising of Lazarus, with the knowledge that Jesus had been teaching and making disciples at no great distance from Jerusalem, supply what is wanted. And in the case of the Last Week the touches which the Fourth Gospel adds to its predecessors supplement them effectively.

(*a*) *The Populace.*—In the Triumphal Entry we seem to see a gleam once more of the enthusiasm which had followed the Feeding of the Five Thousand. It was probably quite as superficial. We may imagine the crowd made up in part of those who had been impressed by recent teaching beyond the Jordan or in Jerusalem itself, or by the news of the still more striking miracle wrought upon Lazarus: besides these, there would doubtless be a contingent of pilgrims from more distant Galilee, the remnant of the crowds who had at one time or another followed Jesus there. But it would be too much to expect that all, or even many of these, had acquired an intelligent insight into the character of Him whom they were cheering. They were still in the twilight of their old Jewish expectations. They supposed that the moment had at last come when the hopes which they cherished would be realized, and when before the crowds assembled for the Passover Jesus would at last put Himself forward as the Leader for whom they were waiting. Nothing, however, came of this seeming appeal to their enthusiasm. A few discourses in the temple, partly levelled against the religious authorities they were most accustomed to reverence, but containing not a word of incitement against the Romans, and that was all. What wonder if their enthusiasm died away, and if in some of the fiercer among them it changed to bitter and angry disappointment! Doubtless some of these Zealots mingled with those who cried 'Crucify him, crucify him'; it was natural that they should prefer one of their own trade, like Barabbas; but the crowds in Jerusalem at Passover time were so great that many of these fanatics may have had no personal acquaintance with Jesus at all. The choice between Jesus and Barabbas would seem to them a choice between a mock leader, a dreamer of dreams, who offered them nothing but words, and a true son of the people who had shown himself ready to grip the sword in the good cause.

(*b*) *The Traitor.* — It is possible that Judas Iscariot may have shared something of these feelings. In the lists of the apostles he is usually named next to a Zealot. The long course of training which he had undergone may have failed to purge his mind of the carnal expectations of his countrymen. It may have been a sudden access of disappointment, greater than ever before, because the hopes by which it had been preceded had been greater, which impelled him to seek his interview with the members of the Sanhedrin. It has even been suggested that he did what he did in order to compel his Master to declare Himself, and with the belief that He would at last exert for the deliverance of the nation the supernatural powers with which He was endowed. For this we have no sufficient warrant; and we are told expressly (Jn 12^{6} RV text and most Comms.) that Judas was guilty of petty pilfering from the common fund, and therefore may infer that he was accessible to the temptations of avarice. Still, few men act from motives that they cannot at least make plausible to themselves: so that a mixture of obstinate and misguided patriotism is more probable than pure malignity. If Judas had not been at least capable of better things, it is not likely that he would have been chosen to be one of the Twelve.

(*c*) *The Pharisees.*—By this time between Jesus and the Pharisees there is open war. Insidious questions are still put to Him, but only in order to 'ensnare him in his talk' (Mt 22^{15} ||). And on His side Jesus replied to their treachery by the sternest denunciations. It need not be supposed that all 'scribes and Pharisees' were equally the object of these. We know that Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathæa were members of the Sanhedrin; we do not know that they belonged to the party of the Pharisees, but we cannot doubt that there were some Pharisees like-minded with them; just as we learn from the Acts that after the Resurrection a number of the 'priests' (Ac 6^{7}) and at least some Pharisees (*ib.* 15^{5}) became Christians.

(*d*) *The Sadducees.*—With the last week of our Lord's life, or rather, if we may trust St. John, as far back as the Feast of Tabernacles (Jn 7^{45}), a new party comes into prominence. The Sanhedrin begins to take official action against Jesus; and, although the Pharisees had some footing in that body, its policy was more determined by the Sadducees, to whom belonged most of the 'chief priests,' and in particular Caiaphas, the acting high priest, and his yet more influential father-in-law and predecessor Annas. As against Jesus the two parties of Pharisees and Sadducees acted together, but their motives were different. The Pharisees were jealous for their authority and traditions, which were openly assailed. The Sadducees themselves rejected these traditions,—they were selfish politicians, who played their own game. Their motto was *quieta non movere*. They dreaded any kind of disturbance which might give the Romans an excuse to take the power out of their hands (cf. Jn 11^{48}). It is curious to note how from this time onwards the bitterest opposition comes from the Sadducees, while leading Pharisees are neutral or even favourable (Ac 5^{34-39} 23^{9}).

(*e*) *Pilate.*—The position of things is this. The Jews (*i.e.* primarily the Sanhedrin) were bent upon bringing about the death of Jesus. Now they themselves had not the power of life and death (Jn 18^{31}). According to the Talmud, they lost it forty years before the destruction of Jerusalem, which would be about this very time. It is probable, however, that they did not long continue to possess it after the annexation of Judæa by the Romans. This being the case, they could only act through the instrumentality of the Roman governor. This necessitated the putting forward of different reasons from those that really weighed with themselves. Rather we should say that there were really three sets of reasons: (i.) The real motive of the Sanhedrin was jealousy of its own authority,—on the part of the Sadducees fear of disturbance, on the part of the Pharisees resentment of the attacks upon themselves and their traditions, and with some of the most patriotic among them perhaps disgust at a Messiah who was not a Messiah in any sense which they could comprehend. (ii.) The ostensible reason, which with some may have been sincere enough, was the charge of blasphemy against God. This charge they tried to bring home, but for a time could not (Mk 14^{59} ‖), until at last they caught at the confession of Jesus Himself. On the strength of this He was condemned (Mk 14^{62-64}). (iii.) This charge, however, was not one which they could bring before the governor, and therefore they changed their ground. St. Luke, who in all these scenes draws upon special and good information, states the accusation with more precision than the other Synoptists. 'We found this man perverting our nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar, and saying that he himself is Christ a king' (or 'an anointed king,' RVm; Lk 23^{2}).

With this charge it is that the leaders of the Sanhedrin come before Pilate. Pilate has the rough Roman sense of justice, and he feels that the charge is not proved. He sees no evidence that Jesus is really a formidable conspirator, or even a conspirator at all against the State. He therefore desires to release Him; but the Jews insist, the leaders being backed by the clamour of the crowd. The Sanhedrists know the weak point in Pilate's armour, and they fasten upon it: 'If thou release this man, thou art not Cæsar's friend: every one that maketh himself a king speaketh against Cæsar' (Jn 19^{12}, a most lifelike touch). For themselves they protest their loyalty, 'We have no king but Cæsar' (Jn 19^{15}). For many of the Sanhedrin, Pharisees as well as Sadducees, this would be true, and those for whom it was not would discreetly hold their peace. To this pressure Pilate in the end gives way, washing his hands of the responsibility. He might have taken a nobler course, but he felt insecure of his position; he knew that the Jews had matter of just complaint against him; and sooner than face their malice, with the inconveniences which it might cause, he let them have their will.

LITERATURE.—With this section may be compared two works of imagination: Dr. Edwin A. Abbott, *Philochristus*, London, 1878; and *As Others Saw Him*, London, 1895 (written from a Jewish point of view, but sympathetic and instructive). Also Chwolson, *Das letzte Passamahl Christi*, etc., St. Petersburg, 1892, Anhang: 'Das Verhältniss d. Pharisäer, Sadducäer u. der Juden überhaupt zu Jesus Christus' (minimizing the opposition of the Pharisees, and laying the blame upon the Sadducees [Jewish, but written with much special knowledge]).

ii. *The Chronology of the Last Week.*—A number of chronological difficulties meet us in the narrative of this Last Week. (1) The *prima facie* view would certainly be that the Anointing at Bethany was placed by Mark *two* days (Mk 14^{1}) and by John *six* days (Jn 12^{1}) before the Passover. (2) The common opinion is that the Crucifixion took place on a Friday, and the Last Supper on the evening of Thursday; but it has also been argued that the two events took place on Thursday and Wednesday. (3) There is a much larger division of opinion as to the date of the Crucifixion in the Jewish calendar, and the relation of the Last Supper to the Paschal Meal. The Synoptists seem to identify the two, whereas St. John expressly places the Last Supper before the Passover, and would make the Crucifixion fall on Nisan 14. (4) The authorities also appear to differ as to the time of day occupied by the Crucifixion. According to Mk 15^{25} the time of the Crucifixion itself was the 'third hour' (=9 a.m.); according to Jn 19^{14} the trial was not quite over by the 'sixth hour' (=noon), and therefore the Crucifixion was still later.

Of these discrepancies No. 2 need not detain us. The view that the Crucifixion took place upon a Thursday is almost peculiar to Dr. Westcott (*Introd. to the Study of the Gospels*, p. 322, ed. 3). It turns upon a pressing of the phrase 'three days and three nights' in Mt 12^{40}, along with the probability of confusion between 'preparation *for the Passover*' and the more ordinary use of the word in the sense of 'preparation *for the Sabbath*' (*i.e.* Friday). The phrasing of Mt 27^{62} is somewhat peculiar, but not really less so on this way of reckoning than the other, because the day described as the 'morrow after the Preparation' would be itself the weekly παρασκευή. And Mt 12^{40} is due only to the evangelist, and is not supported by the other authorities. [On the length of the interval between the Crucifixion and the Resurrection see esp. art. CHRONOLOGY OF NT in this Dict. i. 410^{b} (with Field, *Ot. Norv.* iii. p. 7, there referred to), and Wright, *NT Problems*, p. 159 ff.].

No. 1 is commonly removed by treating the note of time in Mk 14^{1}‖ as referring to the events of vv.$^{1, 2, 10, 11}$ and not to the intervening narrative of vv.$^{3-9}$. In support of this, Meyer-Weiss (ed. 8, *ad loc.*) points to analogous cases of intrusive matter in Mk 3^{22-30} 4^{10-25} 6^{14-29} 7^{25-30}. On the other hand, M'Clellan (*Gospels*, p. 472 f.) restricts the application of Jn 12^{1} to the arrival at Bethany, which, according to him, was on the afternoon of Friday, Nisan 8. The Anointing he would place on the evening of Tuesday, Nisan 12. Either view is possible, and neither can be verified. If we think that the fourth evangelist deliberately corrects his predecessors, we shall probably give the preference to him. On such a point Mark is not a first-hand authority, and the connexion between his placing of the Betrayal and of the Anointing may well be loose.

As to (4) the difference in regard to the hour of the Crucifixion, attempts have been made with some persistence to prove that St. John used a different mode of reckoning time from that in common use. The writer of this was at one time inclined to look with favour on these attempts. If the premiss could be proved, the data would work out satisfactorily. But, in view of the arts. by Mr. J. A. Cross in *Class. Rev.* 1891, p. 245 ff., and by Prof. Ramsay in *Expositor*, 1893, i. 216 ff., it must definitely be said that the major premiss cannot be proved, and that the attempt to reconcile the two statements on this basis breaks down (cf. also Wright, *Problems*, p. 149 ff.).

The ancient solution of the difficulty was to suppose a corruption (F for Γ, or *vice versâ*) of the text, more often in Jn than in Mk; and rightly, because in Mk there are three several notes of time (Mk 15^1 ‖ $^{25.33}$ ‖) which hang together. So Eus. *ad Marinum*, with a group of MSS *scholia* (*vid*. Tisch. on Jn 19^{14}), etc. This solution is accepted by Mr. Wright (*op. cit.* p. 156 ff.), and it may conceivably hold good.

Prof. Ramsay lays stress rather on the rough and approximate way in which the ancients used the reckoning by hours. It must be remembered that an 'hour' with them was a twelfth part of daylight, and not a fixed space of 60 measured minutes, as with us. If the two statements had been inverted—if Mk 15^{25} had described the end of the trial and Jn 19^{14} the raising of the cross—this elasticity might have amply covered both. As the two passages stand, it hardly does so.

We may ask ourselves whether, supposing that the slaughter of the Paschal lambs began at 3 p.m. (the time of slaughter is given as 3–5 p.m. by Jos. *BJ* VI. ix. 3), there would not be a rather strong temptation on typological grounds to fix the moment of the death of the Messiah at that hour. The other notes of time would naturally be conformed to this. But, on the other hand, St. John's 'sixth hour' seems inconveniently late for the events which have to be compressed between it and the evening. The whole question must be left open. There is a choice of possibilities, but nothing more.

Can we get beyond a similar choice on the last and most important point (3), the discrepancy as to the day of the month of the Crucifixion and of the Last Supper? Perhaps not.

It is the Last Supper which the Synoptists appear to fix by identifying it with the Passover. They say expressly that on the morning of the 'first day of unleavened bread, when they sacrificed the Passover' (Mk 14^{12} ‖), the disciples asked where the Passover was to be eaten. This would be on the morning of Nisan 14. In the evening, which from twilight onwards would belong to Nisan 15, would follow the Last Supper, and on the next afternoon (still, on the Jewish reckoning, Nisan 15) the Crucifixion. St. John, on the other hand, by a number of clear indications (Jn 13^1 18^{28} $19^{14.31}$) implies that the Last Supper was eaten before the time of the regular Passover, and that the Lord suffered on the afternoon of Nisan 14, about the time of the slaying of the Paschal lambs.

We are thus left with a conflict of testimony; and the question is, on which side the evidence is strongest. Now, if we are to believe a very competent Jewish archæologist, Dr. Chwolson, the Synoptists begin with an error. 'From the Mosaic writings down to the Book of Jubilees (cap. 49), Philo, Josephus, the Palestinian Targum ascribed to Jonathan ben Uziel, the Mishnah, the Talmud, the Rabbinical writings of the Middle Ages, indeed down to the present day, the Jews have always understood by the phrase יום ראשׁון לְחַג הַמַּצּוֹת "the first day of the feast of unleavened bread," only the 15th, and not the 14th' (*Das letzte Passamahl Christi u. der Tag seines Todes*, p. 3 f.); so that it would be a contradiction in terms to say with Mk 14^{12} ‖ 'on the first day of unleavened bread, when they sacrificed the Passover.' It is, however, only right to add that Chwolson's assertion is denied by another very good authority, Dr. Schürer, *ThL*, 1893, col. 182. [Schürer does not directly meet the statement that where the feast of Unleavened Bread is represented as extending over eight days, the days intended are Nisan 15–22, not 14–21.*].

Waiving this point, however, for the present, we observe (after Chwolson, but cf. *Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*, 1872, p. 206 f. etc.) that the Synoptists make the Sanhedrin say beforehand that they will not arrest Jesus 'on the feast day,' and then actually arrest Him on that day; that not only the guards, but one of the disciples (Mk 14^{47} ‖) carries arms, which on the feast day was not allowed; that the trial was also held on the feast day, which would be unlawful (on these points see Chwolson, *op. cit.* p. 6 ff.); that the feast day would not be called simply 'Preparation'; that the phrase 'coming from the field' (Mk 15^{21} ‖) means properly 'coming from work'; that Joseph of Arimathæa is represented as buying a linen cloth (Mk 15^{46}), and the women as preparing spices and ointments (Lk 23^{56}), all of which would be contrary to law and custom.

It follows that the Synoptists are really inconsistent with themselves, and bear unwilling witness to the chronology of St. John. We may be still reluctant to think that the contradiction is final. The Synoptists, so far as they identify the Last Supper with the Passover, look as if they were telling the truth. It is possible that there may be some way of reconciling the two accounts, which we do not know enough of the circumstances to specify.

One hypothesis, which the writer was at one time tempted to entertain,—very tentatively,—that the 'Passover' which lay before the disciples and the Sanhedrin was not the Passover proper, but the eating of the *Chăgîgāh* (so Edersheim, M'Clellan, Nösgen), he now believes to be untenable (see *Expos.* 1892, i. 17 ff., 182 f., and Wright, *Problems*, p. 173 ff.). It is more likely that, for some reason or other, the regular Passover was anticipated.

Dr. Chwolson, writing as a Jew, whose interest in the question is purely archæological, would account for such anticipation by the fact that in the year of the Passion, Nisan 15 (not 14) fell upon a Sabbath. But it must be confessed that his argument seems strained (cf. also Schürer in *ThL, ut sup.*).

Mr. Wright thinks that the Synoptists have combined the narrative of the Last Supper with that of some previous Paschal meal partaken of by our Lord (*Problems*, p. 179 ff.). But even if this hypothesis held good, it would hardly meet the case; because it is just the details of the Last Supper, belonging to it *qua* Last Supper (*e.g.* the 'cup of blessing'), which remind us of the Passover. And, in any case, the hypothesis deserts the documents too far to be at all capable of proof.

As the question at present stands we can only acknowledge our ignorance. [The literature will have been sufficiently given in the course of this section; cf. esp. Mr. A. Wright's *Some New Testament Problems*, London, 1898, p. 147 ff.].

iii. *The Prophetic Teaching of the Last Week.*—This, too, has raised difficulties which are not only apparent but real. It is important to bear in mind that no less than six distinct kinds of prediction are ascribed to our Lord during this week or in the period preceding. There is (1) the prediction of His own death and resurrection. There is (2) the prediction of the siege and destruction of Jerusalem. With this in the great passage (Mk 13 ‖) is directly connected (3) the prediction of the end of the world and the last judgment. (4) The discourses in Jn clearly predict the coming of the Paraclete as the substitute for Christ Himself. (5) In another leading passage (Mk 9^1) a phrase is used which may be explained, though it is not

* It is worth noting that the Gospel of Peter agrees with the Johannean rather than the Synoptic tradition, placing the Crucifixion not on, but before, the first day of unleavened bread (πρὸ μιᾶς τῶν ἀζύμων, *Ev. Pet.* 3).

usually explained, of the remarkable spread of the Christian Church from the Day of Pentecost onwards. Lastly (6), there is the explanation which is frequently given of the 'Coming of the Son of Man' as a so-called 'historical coming,' a coming not exhausted by a single occasion, but repeated in the great events of history.

The first three of these classes of predictions are, in any case, authentic and certain. To the believer in the genuineness of the Fourth Gospel the prophecy of the Paraclete is equally certain, and there is much which goes to confirm it in the Acts and Epp. independently of its direct attestation. The other two forms of prediction are more hypothetical. They have been introduced more or less in order to meet the difficulties, although they may have substantial grounds of their own. We will not as yet beg the question either way.

The great difficulty is that as our documents stand the second and third predictions are intimately connected with each other, and in at least one other passage it would seem as if it were expressly stated that the coming of the Son of Man (*i.e.* the final Coming, the Coming to Judgment) would take place within the lifetime of that generation. We know that it has not so taken place, and the great question is what we are to say to this. Is it an error in One who has never been convicted of error in anything else? We must not endeavour to explain away facts; but we may interrogate them, and interrogate them somewhat strictly, to see whether they are facts or no.

We cannot disguise from ourselves, that, whatever the precise language used by our Lord, the disciples would be exceedingly prone to attribute to Him the prediction of His own return as near at hand. The connexion of the Messiah with a world-wide judgment was no new doctrine, but was a common feature in the Jewish apocalypses. But this return would seem to them, as applied to our Lord, the necessary complement of the life of humiliation which He had led upon earth. For it was reserved the full triumph over His enemies which so far must have seemed very imperfect. Resurrection and Ascension would seem to be only foretastes of the great coming in glory on the clouds of heaven. They were steps, but only steps, towards the goal.

We might have been sure, even if we had not been told, that the disciples would naturally fix their thoughts on this Second Coming, and that it would be a natural inference for them to suppose that it was near at hand. Instances like the comparison of Mt 24^{29}=Mk 13^{24}=Lk 21^{25} show that the expectation as to time was not fixed but variable.

On the other side, no doubt, must be set the fact that in the apostolic circle the belief in the nearness of the Second Coming was almost universal (1 Th 4$^{14\text{ff.}}$, 1 Co 7$^{29\text{ff.}}$ 16^{23}, 2 Co 5^{3}, Ro 13$^{11.\,12}$, Ph 4^{5}, 1 P 4^{7}, 1 Jn 2^{18}, Rev 1^{3} 22^{10} etc.). The obvious conclusion to draw from this would be that the belief had a common root in the teaching of Christ Himself.

And in favour of that conclusion might be quoted the language of 1 Th 4^{15}, though it may be questioned how much of this is a 'word of the Lord,' and how much the construction put upon it by St. Paul. The ease with which the apostles postponed their expectation under the teaching of events would tell against the supposition that the words of Christ had been precise on the subject; and when we come to look into the Gospels there are many hints that the time of the Second Coming could not be fixed precisely and might be distant (Mt 24$^{37\text{-}51}$ ‖ 25$^{10\text{-}13.\,14}$). These passages are indeed so clear that they may be fairly said to neutralize those which are quoted on the other side, and to heighten the probability that the apparent definiteness of these other passages is due to the disciples rather than to the Master.

But another hypothesis has been put forward to remove the difficulty. It has been supposed that the Coming of the Son of Man in the places where it is spoken of as near at hand refers, not to the final coming, but to another kind of coming in the great events of history. The prologue of St. John's Gospel appears to point to such repeated comings (Jn 1^{9}); and if any event deserves the name, it might well be given to the Destruction of Jerusalem, which was certainly one of the turning-points of history, and had a momentous influence upon the fortunes of Christianity. There is no doubt that our Lord directly predicted this catastrophe; and it might well seem that the passages which apparently speak of the final coming as near were due to a confusion in the minds of the disciples between the two events regarded as 'Comings.'

It is, however, a question whether this idea of repeated coming can be made good. Most recent writers are inclined to set it down as a modernism (Schwartzkopff, *Weissagungen Jesu Christi*, etc. p. 155; Holtzmann, *Neutest. Theol.* i. 315). It is also very doubtful whether it has any real support in OT. What the prophets looked forward to was '*the* day of the Lord'—a single great intervention of God—not *a* day or succession of days.

On this point the writer is glad to be able to refer to a note which he has received from Dr. Driver: 'The usual expression is "*the* day of J″": in Is 2^{12}, however, it is indef. ("for there is a day for," etc., or "J″ hath a day"); Zec 14^{1} has also "a day"; Ezk 30^{3} is lit. "For near is a day, and near is a day for J″"; Is 34^{8} "For there is a day of vengeance for J″ (or "J″ hath"), a year of recompense for," etc.; also "his days" in apparently the same sense, Job 24^{1}. But these hardly differ except formally from the usual "day of J″." I do not think that a succession of judgments is represented under this figure—except, of course, in so far as what the prophet pictured as taking place in a single day was in reality effected gradually.'

Another hypothesis, however, also appears deserving of consideration. The strongest of all the passages which would make our Lord expressly predict His own Second Coming within the apostolic age itself is Mt 16^{28} 'Verily I say unto you, There be some of them that stand here which shall in no wise taste of death, till they see the Son of Man coming in his kingdom.' But when we compare this with the parallels, Mk 9^{1}=Lk 9^{27} it is clear that the words Son of Man are intrusive, and that the clause really runs, 'till they see the kingdom of God come with power' (*om.* 'with power,' Lk). It is not the 'Son of Man coming in his kingdom,' but the 'kingdom' itself which comes.

What is meant by the kingdom here? Is it not a very natural interpretation to explain it of that great intervention of the Spirit of God in the world, that great influx of Divine powers and energies which dates from Pentecost? In other words, is it not natural to equate it with the promise of the Paraclete in the Fourth Gospel, where it is implied that the coming of the Paraclete is equivalent to the coming of Christ Himself? (Jn 14$^{16\text{-}18}$).

The teaching of the Fourth Gospel respecting the Paraclete is already strongly confirmed by the part assigned to the Holy Spirit by St. Paul; and if the explanation just suggested* holds good, it would be also confirmed from another and unexpected quarter.

There has been a considerable tendency in the advanced liberal camp to get rid entirely of the apocalyptic and eschatological element in the teaching of our Lord. The chief means through which this is done has been the supposed discovery that in the discourse of Mk 13 || there is incorporated a 'Little Apocalypse' of Jewish (Weizsäcker) or Jewish-Christian (Colani, Pfleiderer, Weiffenbach) origin, usually regarded as a 'fly-sheet' composed in A.D. 67–68 during the troubles which immediately preceded the siege of Jerusalem, and identified with the 'oracle' which led to the flight of the Christians to Pella (Eus. *HE* III. v. 3). The first to hit upon this idea was Colani (*Jésus Christ et les Croyances Messianiques de son Temps*, ed. 2, 1864, p. 201 ff.), who was followed by Weizsäcker, Pfleiderer, and on an elaborate scale by Weiffenbach, *Der Wiederkunftsgedanke Jesu*, Leipzig, 1873. This last-named work is usually referred to as having established the position. In the final form of the theory the 'fly-sheet' in question is supposed to consist of Mk 13^{7-9a} || $^{14-20}$ || $^{24-27}$ || $^{30-31}$ ||. And it is true that these verses are fairly detachable from the rest and make a fairly compact whole.

---

* A similar view is taken by Haupt, p. 133 f., and Bruston (Holtzmann, *Neutest. Theol.* i. 315 n.), but commended itself to the writer of this independently. Cf. also Swete, *ad loc.*

By thus eliminating the central passage on which the eschatological teaching of Jesus seemed to rest, it became not very difficult to explain away that teaching altogether. Weiffenbach did so by the hypothesis that the critically verified allusions to the Second Coming of the Messiah all originally referred to *His Resurrection*, the predictions of which formed the genuine nucleus out of which the rest had grown through misunderstanding of the words of Jesus and the blending with them of current apocalyptic doctrines. By this expedient, Weiffenbach, whose object was less radical than that of most of those who went with him, escaped some real difficulties; but just in this it may be doubted whether he has found any follower. It will be seen that the critical analysis of Mk 13 || is the starting-point of the whole construction; and that has not perhaps as yet been brought to any final solution.

iv. **The Last Supper.** — The part of the Last Supper of which it is most incumbent upon us to speak here is its culmination in the solemn acts and words which institute the second of the two great Sacraments. Besides the debates of centuries which have gathered round this subject, a number of questions have been raised in recent years which require discussion. In particular, new light has been thrown upon the text of one of our leading authorities. And our first step must be to determine as nearly as we can its exact bearing.

(1) *The Text of Lk* 22$^{14-20}$.—The importance of this section is such, and it is so desirable that the evidence should be given with completeness and precision, that we may be forgiven if in this instance we print the full text of the original (after Greek RV), and then proceed to give the more crucial variants in technical fashion.

The evidence of the leading Latin MSS is given in full; that of the two oldest forms of the Syriac Version in a retranslation, based for the Sinai MS on Mrs. Lewis and Merx, and for the Curetonian on Baethgen. For the Coptic Version the new critical edition is used (Oxford, 1898).

Lk 22$^{14-20}$. [14] Καὶ ὅτε ἐγένετο ἡ ὥρα, ἀνέπεσε, καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι σὺν αὐτῷ. [15] καὶ εἶπε πρὸς αὐτούς, Ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐπεθύμησα τοῦτο τὸ πάσχα φαγεῖν μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν πρὸ τοῦ με παθεῖν· [16] λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν, ὅτι οὐ μὴ φάγω αὐτό, ἕως ὅτου πληρωθῇ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ. [17] καὶ δεξάμενος ποτήριον εὐχαριστήσας εἶπε, Λάβετε τοῦτο, καὶ διαμερίσατε εἰς ἑαυτούς· [18] λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν, ὅτι οὐ μὴ πίω ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ γεννήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου ἕως ὅτου ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔλθῃ. [19] καὶ λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασε, καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων, Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. [20] καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὡσαύτως μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι λέγων, Τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου, τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυνόμενον.

Locum integrum habent Codd. Græc. et Verss. omn., iis tantum testibus exceptis qui infra nominantur; item Latt. c f q Vulg.; *agnoscunt*, Tert. *adv. Marc.* iv. 40; Eus. *Can.*; Bas. *quæ feruntur Ethica*; Cyril. Alex. *Comm in Luc.*

Om. vv.$^{16. 17. 18}$ Cod. Copt. ℵ (*Catena Curzoniana, excerpto ut videtur Tito* [*Bostrensi*]).

Om. vv.$^{17. 18}$ Lect. 32, Pesh. *codd.*

Om. vv. $^{19b. 20}$ τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμ.—ἐκχυνόμενον, D a ff^2 i l.

Iisdem omissis transp. vv.$^{17. 18}$ *ita ut partem* v.^{19} *priorem sequantur* b e. [[16] Dico enim vobis, quia ex hoc non manducabo illud, donec . . . in regno dei. [19] Et, accepto pane, gratias egit, et fregit, et dedit illis, [17] dicens: Hoc est corpus meum. Et accepto calice, gratias egit; et dixit: Accipite hoc et dividite inter vos. [18] dico enim vobis, quod non bibam de generatione hac vitis hujus, donec regnum dei veniat. [21] Verumtamen ecce manus, etc. b [16] Dico enim vobis quia jam non manducabo illud doneque adimplear in regno d̄i. [19] et accepit panem et gratias egit et fregit et dedit eis [17] dicens hoc est corpus meu. Et accepit calicē et gratias egit et dixit accipite vivite inter vos. dico enim vobis amodo non vivam (*sic*) amodo de potione vitis quoadusque regnum d̄i veniat verum ecce manus, etc. e].

Item transp. vv.$^{17. 18}$ *omisso* (Cur.) *vel partim interjecto* (Sin.) v.^{20} Syrr. (Sin.-Cur.). [[16] . . . ἕως ὅτου πληρωθῇ ἐν τῇ βασ. τοῦ Θεοῦ. [19] καὶ λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων· τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον (*om.* Cur.)· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. [17] καὶ (ὡσαύτως μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι *ins. ex* v.^{20} Sin.) δεξάμενος ποτήριον (*vel* τὸ ποτ.) εὐχαριστήσας εἶπε· λάβετε τοῦτο διαμερίσατε εἰς ἑαυτούς (τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ αἷμά μου [ἡ] καινὴ διαθήκη *add.* Sin.). λέγω (*ins.* γάρ Sin.) ὑμῖν ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν οὐ μὴ πίω ἀπὸ τοῦ γεννήματος τούτου τῆς ἀμπέλου (*vel om.?*) ἕως ὅτου ἡ βασ. τοῦ θεοῦ ἔλθῃ].

To the textual critic these phenomena are fairly clear. The omission of vv.$^{19b-20}$ (D a ff^2 i l) belongs to the oldest form of the Western text. The next step (b e) was to transpose the order of vv.$^{17. 18}$ and ^{19a}, so as to make the sequence of the Bread and the Cup correspond to that in the other authorities. The next (Cur.) was to supplement the words relating to the Bread from 1 Co 11^{24}. The next (Sin.) was to supplement in like manner the part relating to the Cup by somewhat free interpolations partly suggested by Mt, Mk, but mainly from 1 Co 11^{25}. In this instance Syr.-Sin. represents a later stage than Syr.-Cur., though it is more often earlier. The omissions of vv. [^{16}] $^{17. 18}$ are probably not important.

We have then confronting each other the primitive form of the Western text, which is shorter, makes Lk transpose the order of the Bread and the Cup, and omits all mention of a second Cup, and the great mass of Gk. MSS and other authorities, which introduce a second Cup, or second mention of the Cup, and fill out the whole mainly from St. Paul. We cannot doubt that both these types of text existed early in the 2nd cent. Either may be original. And this is just one of those cases where internal evidence is strongly in favour of the text which we call Western. The temptation to expand was much stronger than to contract; and the double mention of the Cup raises real difficulties of the kind which suggest interpolation.

(2) *Relation of the Texts to each other.*—The adoption of the Western text of Lk greatly diminishes the coincidences between St. Luke and St. Paul. Indeed it reduces them to the practically equivalent εὐχαριστήσας for εὐλογήσας (in reference to the Bread; Mt, Mk use it of the Cup). The greatest loss is that of the apparent confirmation by St. Luke of the command to repeat the rite in memory of its Founder. It may be doubted, however, whether the introduction of this into the text of Lk, which—to obtain the circulation it had—must have taken place exceedingly early, and must have been carried out at the headquarters of the Church, is not even stronger testimony to the current practice of the Church than that of a single writer could be, even though that writer was an evangelist.

As to the main lines of the rite all the authorities are agreed. All note the taking of the Bread, the blessing (or 'giving thanks'), the breaking, the words, 'This is my Body.' All note the Cup, which both in the Synoptic (Mt, Mk) and Pauline tradition is related to the [new] Covenant inaugurated by the shedding of the Blood of the Messiah. In the Synoptics (Mt, Mk, Lk) there is an express mention of the giving of the Bread to the disciples, with the further command, 'Take' (Mt, Mk), 'eat' (Mt), and a like communication of the Cup (Synoptics, though with some difference of phrase). And whereas St. Paul emphasizes the redemptive value of the sacrificed Body (τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν *lectio vera*), Mt, Mk do the same for the shedding of the Blood (τὸ περὶ [ὑπὲρ] πολλῶν ἐκχυννόμενον Mt, Mk, and εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν Mt). St. Paul not only doubles the command for repetition, but also adds, 'For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye proclaim the Lord's death till he come.'

(3) *Other NT Evidence.*—We thus have the institution of the Sacrament fully set before us. But if we look at one of the documents upon which we have been drawing, the first in order of writing, though it is only incidentally historical, 1 Co 11, we find there that the Sacrament proper is associated with something else—the common meal or *agape* (Jude^{12}, 2 P 2^{13} *var. lect.*). We ask ourselves what can be the origin of this association? It can hardly go back to the original institution. It is more probable that the association arose out of the state of κοινωνία described in Ac 2$^{42.\,44-46}$ 4$^{32-35}$ 6$^{1.\,2}$.

Perhaps it goes back further still, at least to the very beginning of the period. For one of the characteristic expressions is ἡ κλάσις τοῦ ἄρτου, κλᾶν ἄρτον (Ac 2$^{42.\,46}$), of which Blass says, 'est autem κλᾶν τὸν ἄρτον sollemnis designatio cenæ dominicæ.' It must, however, be somewhat wider than that, for in the immediate context we have κλῶντές τε κατ' οἶκον ἄρτον μετελάμβανον τροφῆς, κ.τ.λ., where τροφή would seem to embrace the common meal as well as the Eucharist.

We are reminded further that the same phrase κλᾶν (κατακλᾶν) ἄρτον is repeatedly used of a solemn act of our Lord independently of the Eucharist (Mk 6^{41} ‖ 8^{6} ‖ ^{19}, Lk 24^{30}). And we gather from the context of the last passage that there was something distinctive in this particular act by which our Lord was recognized (Lk 24^{35}). We are reminded also of the many instances in which attention is specially called to the 'blessing' (εὐλογεῖν or εὐχαριστεῖν) of food by our Lord. They are the same words which are used in connexion with the sacramental Bread and the sacramental Cup.

There is something in these facts which is not quite fully explained. There are *lacunæ* in our knowledge which we would fain fill up if we could. The institution of the Eucharist appears to have connexions both backwards and forwards—backwards with other meals which our Lord ate together with His disciples, forwards with those common meals which very early came into existence in the Apostolic Church. But the exact nature and method of these connexions our materials are not sufficient to make clear to us.

(4) *Significance of the Eucharist.*—We feel these gaps in our knowledge when we pass on to consider the significance of the Sacrament. Certainly Harnack was not wholly wrong, however far we may think him from being wholly right, when he held that the primary object of Christ's blessing was the *meal as such*, in its simplest elements, not specifically bread and wine (cf. *TU* VII. ii. 137).

The prominence given to the meal and to the natural products of the earth which contribute to it, finds some support in the eucharistic prayers of the *Didaché*. 'First, as regards the cup: We give thee thanks, O our Father, for the holy vine of thy son David which thou madest known unto us through thy Son Jesus; thine is the glory for ever and ever. Then as regards the broken bread: We give thee thanks, O our Father, for the life and knowledge which thou didst make known to us through thy Son Jesus; thine is the glory for ever and ever. As this broken bread was scattered upon the mountains, and being gathered together became one, so may thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into thy kingdom; for thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ, for ever and ever. . . . Thou, Almighty Master, didst create all things for thy name's sake, and didst give food and drink unto men for enjoyment, that they might render thanks to thee; but didst bestow upon us spiritual food and drink and eternal life through thy Son' (*Did.* ix. 2-4, x. 3).

It would, however, be doing an injustice both to the ancient and to the modern writer if we supposed that they had in view only the gifts of God in nature. Harnack writes: 'The Lord instituted a meal in commemoration of His death, or rather He described the food of the body as His Flesh and Blood, *i.e.* as the food of the soul (through the forgiveness of sins), when it was partaken of with thanksgiving, in memory of His death' (*op. cit.* p. 139). And the *Didaché* looks beyond the physical eating and drinking to the 'spiritual food and drink,' and to the 'eternal life' bestowed through the Son; and when it speaks of the 'holy vine of David,' there is at least an allusion to the Jewish doctrine of the Messiah, if not directly to the Johannean allegory of the Vine.

We thus come round to an aspect of the Supper which has been emphasized and illustrated, especially by Spitta. There are allusions not only in the immediate context of the words of institution (Mk 14^{25} ‖), but also elsewhere (Lk 14^{15} 'Blessed is he that shall eat bread in the kingdom of God'; cf. Mt 8^{11} 22$^{2\text{ff.}}$ 25^{10}) to the language in use among the Jews respecting the great Messianic banquet. This took its start from the teaching of the Prophets (*e.g.* Is 25^{6}), and has points of contact with prominent passages in the Wisdom literature. Thus in Pr 9^{5} Wisdom issues her invitation, 'Come, eat ye of my bread, and drink of the wine which I have mingled'; which is taken up in Sir 24$^{19-21}$ 'They that eat me shall yet be hungry, and they that drink me shall yet be thirsty.' And in a like connexion the idea of the manna is applied in Wis 16$^{20\text{f.}}$ 'Thou gavest thy people angels' food to eat, and bread ready for their use didst thou provide from heaven without their toil. . . . For thy nature (ἡ ὑπόστασίς σου) manifested thy sweetness toward thy children.'

We are clearly upon the line of thought which links on to the discourse in the synagogue at Capernaum. Indeed we meet here with the same phenomenon that has already come before us on other sides of our Lord's teaching. The current ideas are not discarded, but taken up on to a higher plane and filled with a new content. We have seen that Wisdom was regarded as giving herself to be 'eaten' (*i.e.* spiritually appropriated and assimilated). Philo repeatedly identifies the manna with the Logos (Spitta refers to ed. Mangey, i. 120, 214, 484, 564). Hence we are not surprised to find that St. Paul speaks of the πνευματικὸν βρῶμα and πνευματικὸν πόμα, the miraculously-given meat and drink which nourished the Israelites in the wilderness being treated as typical of the Christian Sacrament. In 1 Co 10^{4} it is not the water, but the stricken rock as the source of the water, which St. Paul identifies with Christ Himself. But a little further he says plainly, 'The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not a communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not a communion of the body of Christ?' (*ib.* v.^{16}). And in Jn 6$^{48-51}$ our Lord is made to describe Himself as the 'living bread which came down out of heaven,' and it is explained that the bread which He will give is His flesh, for the life of the world.

We take the view that the discourse in question does not relate directly to the Eucharist. But it does not do so only because it expresses the larger idea of which the Eucharist is a particular concrete embodiment, the one leading embodiment which Christ has bequeathed to His Church. As there is a communion with Him which is wider than—though it culminates in—that which we call κατ' ἐξοχήν, the Holy Communion, so is there a sense in which He is the Bread from heaven, which is wider than that in which He is given through the sacramental Bread, but it is that bread of which He said, 'This is my Body, which is for you.'

The parallelism between Jn 6^{51} and 1 Co 11^{24} (cf. Mk 14^{24} ‖) is so close that we are certainly justified in interpreting the words of institution in the manner in which the Sacrament itself is interpreted by both St. Paul and St. John.

No writer has brought out this aspect of the Supper as signifying primarily the spiritual assimilation of Christ more forcibly than Spitta. But when he goes on to maintain that the Eucharist has no relation to His death, it is sheer paradox, which can be maintained only by the most arbitrary methods.

The assimilation of Christ does not exhaust the meaning of the Sacrament. If we take the words of institution as they stand, another idea is even more prominent. We have seen that there is considerable doubt as to how far the Last Supper is to be identified with the Paschal meal. St. Paul describes the Death of Christ as the Christian Passover (1 Co 5^{7}), and not only he but other NT writers apply to that Death the language of Sacrifice. But the particular sacrifice with which our Lord's own words most directly connect it is the sacrifice, or group of sacrifices, which inaugurated the Covenant (Ex 24^{4-8}). As the sprinkling of the blood upon the altar of God and upon the people ratified the covenant between Israel and Israel's God, so (it was implied) by partaking of the consecrated symbol of the Blood of Christ the Christian had brought home to him his share in the new Covenant—a covenant which had at once its inestimable privileges and its obligations. It was the means of admission to the state of Divine favour, and it bound over those who were admitted to that favour to a life of loyal service. Here, too, if we want a comment on the words of institution, we may seek it rightly in the later NT writings. For words could not well be more strongly attested than those which accompany the giving of the bread and of the cup, and together they converge upon a root-idea which is expanded most directly in He 9^{18-28}, but is also illustrated by Ro $3^{24f.}$ $5^{1f.}$ $8^{1ff.}$, Eph 1^{7}, 1 P 1^{19}, 1 Jn 1^{7} 2^{2}, Rev 1^{5}.

If we start from the idea of the Death of Christ as a Sacrifice, then it lies near at hand to conceive of the Sacrament as the sacred meal which follows the sacrifice. In this there would be combined the universal and immemorial significance of such meals as an act of communion at once with the Deity worshipped and of the worshippers with each other. This double communion, under this aspect of the sacrificial meal, seems clearly indicated in 1 Co $10^{16f.\ 21}$, but it is also suggested by the words of institution, taken with the distribution of the elements of bread and wine, and the stress which is laid upon the general participation ('Drink ye *all*,' 'they *all* drank').

(5) *Critical Theories.*—A common feature in recent critical theories respecting the Last Supper is the denial that the command, 'This do in remembrance of me,' formed part of the original institution; or, in other words, that the particular circumstances which marked this solemn parting meal were meant to be repeated in the form of a permanent Sacrament. This view was put forward about the same time, and, it is probable, independently, in England by Dr. P. Gardner (*The Origin of the Lord's Supper*, London, 1893), and in Germany by Jülicher in the vol. of essays in honour of Weizsäcker (*Theol. Abhandl.* etc., Freiburg i. B. 1892), and by Spitta (*Zur Gesch. u. Lit. d. Urchristentums*, Göttingen, 1893). The English writer is the most thoroughgoing. Assuming the correctness of the WH text of Lk $22^{19.\ 20}$, St. Paul is left as the sole authority for the express command of repetition. It is then argued from the phrasing of 1 Co 11^{23} 'I received of the Lord,' that the whole account belongs to one of St. Paul's ecstatic revelations, and has not a solid historical foundation. In default of this it is thought that the apostle had been influenced during his stay at Corinth by the near proximity of the Eleusinian mysteries, the central point in which 'appears to have been a sacred repast of which the initiated partook, and by means of which they had communion with the gods' (p. 18). How St. Paul could confuse such subtle external influences with a revelation 'from the Lord,' and how he came to deliver as authoritative instructions to the Corinthians what he had (upon the theory) only himself acquired during his stay at Corinth, are only incidental questions. We cannot tell precisely how St. Paul received his knowledge in such a sense that he could refer it to the Lord. But the solemn simplicity of phrase reads like history, and, so far as other authorities exist, it is completely verified. In any case, it is incredible that a usage which is thus treated as practically the invention of St. Paul could have spread from an outlying Gentile Church over the whole of Christendom. We cannot doubt that not only the Synoptic version of the Supper, but its repetition as a Sacrament, had their origin in the Mother Church. The κλάσις τοῦ ἄρτου of Ac $2^{42.\ 46}$ is an indication of this, which is confirmed by the evidence of Ignatius, Justin, and the *Didachê*. Spitta's theory, that the repeated Sacrament was due, not to a command of Christ Himself, but to the spontaneous instinct of affectionate recollection among His disciples, is more possible, but still gratuitous and hypercritical. We may not allege the witness of St. Luke himself in confirmation of St. Paul, but, as we have already seen (p. 636 *sup.*), the familiar text of his Gospel is no less valid evidence of the common belief and practice.

Of the critical theories respecting the origin of the Eucharist, that which we have just mentioned is the most important. Harnack's contention, that it was sometimes administered with water instead of wine, not only here and there among the sects but in the main body of the Church, belongs rather to the history of the Early Church than to the Life of our Lord. It turns, however, upon a somewhat cavalier treatment of the text of Justin, and has met with strong opposition and (it is believed) practically no acceptance.

LITERATURE.—A summary may be given of the more recent special literature to most of which reference has been made. Lobstein, *La Doctrine de la Cène*, Lausanne, 1889; a lucid exposition dating from the time before the rise of the newer theories. A reasonable criticism may go back to it with advantage. Harnack, *TU* VII. ii., 1891 (replies by Zahn, *Brot u. Wein*, Leipzig, 1892; Jülicher, as below; Headlam, *Class. Rev.* 1893, p. 63); Jülicher in *Theol. Abhandlungen C. von Weizsäcker gewidmet*, Freiburg i. B. 1892; Spitta, *Zur Gesch. u. Lit. d. Urchristentums*, Göttingen; P. Gardner, *The Origin of the Lord's Supper*, London, 1893 (comp. also a criticism by Mr. Wright, *NT Problems*, p. 134 ff.); Grafe in *Z. f. Theol. u. Kirche*, 1895 (said to be an excellent summary of the controversy); Schultzen, *Das Abendmahl im NT*, Göttingen, 1859 (also a full review and examination); Schaefer, *Das Herrenmahl*, Gütersloh, 1897. Bp. Wordsworth's Visitation Addresses on *The Holy Communion* (2nd ed. 1892), though written before the controversy and dealing largely with the liturgical aspect of the question, may be specially commended to English readers.

v. **The Resurrection.**—For our present purpose the discussion of the Resurrection of our Lord will resolve itself into a consideration of (1) the evidence attesting the fact; (2) the sequence of the events, or the appearances which followed the Resurrection; (3) the explanations which have been put forward to account for the Resurrection without miracle; (4) its doctrinal significance.

(1) *The Attestation.*—A fact so stupendous as the Resurrection needs to be supported by strong evidence, and very strong evidence both as regards quantity and quality is forthcoming; but all parts of it are not of equal value, and it is well that the authorities should be compared with each other and critically estimated.

When this is done one piece of evidence drops almost entirely to the rear—the concluding verses of St. Mark. This is not invalidated merely by the fact that the verses were probably not part of the original Gospel. Since Mr. Conybeare's discovery of the Armenian MS, which appears to refer them to the 'presbyter Ariston' or 'Aristion,' it is fair to attach that name to them, because, although the authority is but slender, there is nothing at all to compete with it; and the Aristion mentioned by Eusebius (*HE* iii. 39) as one of the 'elders' consulted by Papias, would suit the conditions as well as any one else belonging to the same generation (say A.D. 100-125). Such an authority cannot be wholly without weight; if it represented a distinct line of tradition, its weight would be considerable. But when the verses Mk 16^{9-20} are examined, it seems pretty clear that the earlier portion of them is really a summary of the narratives in the extant Gospels of St. Luke and St. John, and therefore adds nothing to these Gospels beyond such further sanction as the name of Aristion may give to them. It is proof that the statements in those Gospels were accepted as satisfactory by a prominent Church teacher, himself a depositary of tradition, in the region where St. John had been active. So much the verses contribute, but not more.

There is still some mystery hanging over the close of the Second Gospel. The most probable view appears to be that its original conclusion has been lost—it is more likely than not—by some purely mechanical accident. The fragment that remains, Mk 16^{1-8}, is insufficient to enable us to trace it to its source. If we could be sure that it was complete, we should have to say that St. Mark was *not* here drawing upon the Petrine tradition, because that tradition could not have failed to speak of the appearance to Peter himself. It is, however, possible that that was contained in the missing portion.

This may detract somewhat from the weight of the common Synopt. narrative, which is here disappointingly meagre. And yet, if we are to throw the absence of any mark of Petrine origin into the one scale, there is a little bit of confirmatory evidence which it is fair to throw into the other. All through the history of the Passion St. Luke has access to a special source, which we may well believe to have been oral, but which gave him some items of good information. This information relates especially to the court of Herod Antipas (Lk 23^{7-12}), and it is natural to connect it with the particular mention of 'Joanna the wife of Chuza, Herod's steward' in Lk 8^{3}. Now this very same Joanna appears again in St. Luke's account of the visit of the women to the sepulchre (Lk 24^{10}). The rest of the paragraph appears to be based as usual upon St. Mark. But the renewed mention of Joanna is an indication of the special source, which at least goes to show that there was nothing in that source which conflicted with the Marcan document. In other words, it confirms that document by a distinct line of testimony (cf. Lk 23^{21-24}).

Is it not possible that the story of the Walk to Emmaus has a like origin? The name Cleopas (=Cleopatros) is just such as we should expect to find in the same Herodian circle. In any case, the source bears other marks of being a good one. It gives a graphic picture of the dejection through which the disciples passed; and the phrase 'we hoped that it was he which should redeem Israel' points back to a time before the dreams of national triumph had been purified of the grosser element in them. But most striking of all is the direct confirmation by St. Paul (1 Co 15^{5}) of another very incidental reference, the appearance to Peter (Lk 23^{34}). Not only does St. Paul confirm the fact, but he puts it practically in the same place in the series.

We have, then, every reason to think both that the special source used by St. Luke was excellent in itself, and also that it agreed in substance with the fragmentary record of St. Mark.

If St. Luke thus reaches a hand in one direction towards St. Mark, he does so in another direction towards St. John. For the appearance of Lk $24^{36ff.}$ corresponds to that of Jn $20^{19ff.}$; and both alike receive the seal of authentication from St. Paul (1 Cor 15^{5}). We may not, for the reason given above, use Mk 16^{9} in ratification of Jn $20^{11ff.}$. We note, however, that the incident of St. Thomas is a striking concrete illustration of the disbelief on which so many of our authorities lay stress.* For the rest, the narrative in the Fourth Gospel must go with the problem as to that Gospel generally. It has found a vigorous recent defender in Dr. Loofs (*Die Auferstehungsberichte und ihr Wert*, Leipzig, 1898).

The peculiar element in Mt might have seemed to possess the lowest claim to acceptance, were it not for the singular convergence of proof that something like the injunction of Mt 28^{19} must have been given, or most probably was given, by our Lord Himself (see p. 624 *sup.*; also p. 213 ff.). We believe that for this paragraph, too, there is solid foundation.

And yet the Resurrection is a part of the evangelical narrative for which the leading witness is, after all, not the Gospels, but St. Paul—the double witness of what St. Paul says and what he implies. It is hardly possible for testimony to be stronger than this is. In the same precise and deliberate manner in which he had rehearsed the particulars of the Last Supper, St. Paul enumerates one by one the leading appearances of the Lord after the Resurrection: (1) to Peter, (2) to the Twelve (as a body), (3) to an assembly of more than five hundred, (4) to James, (5) to all the apostles (1 Co 15^{5-7}).

We have spoken of these as the 'leading' appearances, because St. Paul doubtless has in view, not all who under any circumstances 'saw the Lord,' but those who were specially chosen and commissioned to be witnesses of the Resurrection (Ac 1^{22} 4^{33}, cf. 1 Co 15^{15}), *i.e.* as we should say, to assert and preach it publicly. For this reason there would be nothing in St. Paul's list to exclude such an appearance as that to Mary Magdalene (Jn 20^{11-18}). It may have been on this ground—because the two disciples involved were not otherwise conspicuous as active preachers or prominent leaders—that St. Paul does not mention the scene on the road to Emmaus. But it is equally possible that the story of this had not reached him.

We have seen by what a striking coincidence this story confirms, from a wholly independent quarter, the first appearance to Peter. The next in order, that to the Twelve, may well be identical with that which is more exactly described in Lk $24^{33ff.}$, Jn 20^{19-24}. The appearance to James is attested by another line of tradition embodied in the Gospel according to the Hebrews. Beyond this identifications are uncertain.

St. Paul contents himself with a bare enumeration, not from lack of knowledge, but because he assumes knowledge in his readers. He reminds the Corinthians of what he had delivered unto them first of all (ἐν πρώτοις, *i.e.* at the very beginning of his ministry among them). This throws back the date of the evidence some four years—we may say from the year 55 to 51, possibly earlier, but at the latest from 57 to 53.

We are thus brought to much the same date as that of another piece of evidence, not so detailed as that in 1 Co, but quite as explicit, so far as the fact of the Resurrection is concerned, the evidence of the first extant NT writing, 1 Th 1^{10} 4^{14}. The assured tone of these passages shows, not only that the apostle is speaking from the very strongest personal conviction, but that he is confident of carrying his readers with him; we may go further and say that the belief to which he gives this expression was unquestioned, the universal belief of Christians. We might infer this from the attitude of St. Paul in regard to it. Unfortunately, we have no evidence equally early from the Church of Palestine; but as soon as evidence begins to appear it is all to the same effect. The early chapters of Ac no doubt represent a Palestinian tradition, perhaps a written tradition; and they take the same line as St. Paul in making it the chief function of the apostles to bear witness to the Resurrection (Ac $1^{8.22}$ etc.). We need not pursue this evidence further.

---

* This trait is not less authentic because it passed over from primary documents into secondary (such as the Coptic work discovered by Carl Schmidt and commented upon by Harnack in *Theol. Studien B. Weiss dargebracht*). It really does throw into relief, and the early disciples saw that it threw into relief, the revulsion of feeling on the part of the witnesses to the Resurrection and the strength of their conviction. Otherwise Harnack, p. 8, and Loofs, p. 21.

It is noticeable that although there were doubts in the Apostolic Age on the subject of resurrection (1 Co 15^{12}, 2 Ti $2^{17f.}$), it is not as to the resurrection of Christ, but as to that of Christians. St. Paul argues on the assumption that Christ was really raised as from a premiss common to himself and his opponents.

And it is no less noticeable that even the most rationalistic of Christian sects, those (*e.g.*) which denied the Virgin-Birth, nevertheless shared the belief in the Resurrection (Irenæus, *adv. Hær.* I. xxvi. 1, 2 [where *non* before *similiter* should be expunged]; Hippolytus, *Ref. Hær.* vii. 35).

(2) *The Sequence and Scene of the Events.*—It is not an exaggeration—it is only putting in words the impression left by the facts—to say that the conviction among Christians that Christ was really raised, dates from the very morrow of the Resurrection itself. It was not a growth spread over a long period and receiving gradual accretions of strength; but it sprang suddenly into existence, and it swept irresistibly over the whole body of disciples. Of the force and universality of the belief there can be no doubt; but when we come to details it would seem that from the first there was a certain amount of confusion, which was never wholly cleared up. We have records of a number of appearances, not all contained in a single authority, but scattered over several distinct authorities; and it is probable enough that even when all the recorded appearances are put together they would not exhaust all those that were experienced. Different traditions must have circulated in different quarters, and specimens of these traditions have come down to us without being digested into accordance with a single type. The list which approaches most nearly to this character, that which is given by St. Paul in 1 Co, is, as we have seen, not so much a digest as a selection. It is a selection made for purposes of preaching, and consisting of items which had already been used for this purpose. Compared with this, a story like the Walk to Emmaus is such as might have come out of private memoirs. The brief record in St. Mark is more central, but in its present condition it is too mutilated to satisfy curiosity. The narrative of St. John is no less authoritative than that of St. Paul, but it is authority of a rather different kind. St. Paul writes as the active practical missionary, who seeks to communicate the fire of his own conviction to others. St. John also wishes to spread conviction (Jn 20^{31}), but he does so by bringing forth the stores of long and intense recollections from his own breast. He too selects what had taken the most personal hold upon him, and does not try to cover the whole ground.

It is as a consequence of these conditions that when we come to look into the narratives of the Resurrection we find them unassimilated and unharmonized. It is not exactly easy to fit them into each other. The most important difference is as to the chief scene of the appearances. Was it Jerusalem and the neighbourhood, or was it Galilee? The authorities are divided. St. Paul and the Gospel according to the Hebrews make no mention of locality. Mt and Mk throw the stress upon Galilee. The latter Gospel does not indeed (in the genuine portion) record a Galilæan appearance, but the women are bidden to say that the risen Lord would meet the disciples in Galilee (Mk 16^{7}). This is in fulfilment of a promise to the same effect given in the course of the Last Supper, and recorded in the same two Gospels (Mk 14^{28}, Mt 26^{32}). The express mention of prediction and fulfilment in both Gospels not only proves their presence in the common original, but also shows that they were no accidental feature in that original, but an essential part of the whole conception. We have besides a Galilæan appearance described in Jn 21, and clearly implied at the point where the fragment of the Gospel of Peter breaks off (*Ev. Pet.* § 12 [60]).

On the other hand, all the scenes of Jn 20 are laid in Jerusalem; and Jerus. or the neighbourhood is the only locality recognized in Lk 24, which ends with a command to the disciples to wait in the city for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit (Lk 24^{49}).

It is not unnatural that the critical school should regard these two versions as alternatives, one of which only can be taken. The more usual course has been to follow that of Mk and Mt, with or without the supposition that the grave was really found empty (Loofs, p. 18 ff.). According as this assumption was made or not, several constructions were possible, but all equally speculative.

Dr. Loofs has, however, recently argued in favour of the other tradition represented by Lk–Jn 20. And he has certainly succeeded in showing that there is as much intrinsic probability on this side as on the other. But, in order to carry out this theory, he is obliged to treat Jn 21 as having a different origin from the rest of the Gospel, and as falling into two parts, one of which (the fishing scene = Lk 5^{1-11}) has got misplaced, not having originally belonged to the period after the Resurrection, while the other (the dialogue of Jn 21^{15-23}) had originally nothing to connect it with Galilee. These are strong measures, which, however high our estimate of the tradition, Lk–Jn, are obviously not open to one who thinks that the identity of style between Jn 21 and the rest of the Gospel is too great to permit of their separation. (the argument in *Expos.* 1892, i. 380 ff., may easily be extended to ch. 21).

The only remaining course is to combine the traditions, much as they seem to be combined in the Fourth Gospel and the Gospel of Peter. We must not disguise from ourselves the difficulties which this solution leaves. The most serious of these are caused by the command of Lk 24^{49}, and the contracted space within which we shall have to compress the events in Galilee. We have only 40 days to dispose of, in all, if we accept the traditional date of the Ascension,—and even if we regarded this as a round number, the nearness of the Day of Pentecost would allow us very little more margin. From these Forty Days we should have to take off a week at the beginning on account of Jn 20^{26}. And if, as we reasonably may, we suppose that there has been some *foreshortening* in Lk 24^{36-53}, and that two or three distinct occasions are treated as if they were continuous, we should still, to find a place for the injunction to wait in

Jerus., have to cut off another like period at the end. That would leave not much more than three weeks for the retirement to Galilee and return to Jerus.—a length of time which cannot be pronounced wholly insufficient, but which does not fit in quite naturally with the way in which the apostles are described in Jn 21^{3} as returning to their ordinary occupations. These difficulties would be avoided if we could regard *the* Day of Pentecost as that of the following year; but any such hypothesis would conflict directly with Ac 1^{3}, and the interval implied in Jn 21^{14} * is also a short one.

Whichever way we turn difficulties meet us, which the documents to which we have access do not enable us to remove. We have said enough as to the nature of these documents, and of the lines of tradition to which they give expression. It is not what we could wish, but what we have. And no difficulty of weaving the separate incidents into an orderly well-compacted narrative can impugn the unanimous belief of the Church which lies behind them, that the Lord Jesus Christ rose from the dead on the third day and appeared to the disciples.

(3) *Attempted Explanations.* — This universal belief is the root fact which has to be accounted for. It would be the natural product of a real event such as the Epistles assume and the Gospels describe. But what if the event were not real? In that case the widely held and deeply planted belief in it must needs constitute a very serious problem.

In the present century a succession of efforts have been made to account for the belief in the Resurrection without accepting it as a fact. Many of the hypotheses put forward with this object may be regarded as practically obsolete and abandoned. No one now believes that the supposed death was really only a swoon, and that the body laid in the tomb afterwards revived, and was seen more than once by the disciples (on this see a trenchant sentence by Strauss, *Leben Jesu*, 1863, p. 298, end of paragraph). Equally inadmissible is the hypothesis of fraud—that the body was really taken away by Joseph of Arimathæa or Nicodemus, and that the rumour was allowed to grow that Jesus was risen. The lingering trace of this which survives in Renan, *Les Apôtres*, ed. 13, p. 16 ('ceux qui savaient le secret de la disposition du corps') is thrown in quite by the way as a subordinate detail.

More persistent is the theory of 'visions.' This has been presented in different forms, assigning the leading part now to one and now to another of the disciples. Renan, who goes his own way among critics, sees in this part of the narrative a marked superiority of the Fourth Gospel (*Les Apôtres*, p. 9). In accordance with it he refers the beginning of the series to Mary Magdalene (cf. Strauss, *Leben Jesu*, 1863, p. 309). A woman out of whom had been cast 'seven devils' might well, he thinks, have been thrown into a state of nervous tension and excitement which would give form and substance to the creations of fancy. And when once the report had got abroad that the Lord had been seen, it would be natural for others to suppose that they saw Him. Strauss and Pfleiderer (*Giff. Lect.* pp. 112, 149) start rather from the case of St. Paul. Both lay stress upon the fact that he places the appearance to himself on a level with those to the older disciples. His own vision they would agree in explaining as due to a species of epileptic seizure, and the others they would regard as equally subjective, though led up to by different trains of psychological preparation.

It is at this point that some of the best attested details of the Resurrection interpose difficulties. To carry through a consistent theory of visions, two conditions are necessary. (*a*) If they arose, as Strauss supposes, from affectionate dwelling upon the personality of Jesus, combined with reflexion upon certain passages of OT (Ps 16^{10}, Is 53$^{10-12}$), it follows, almost of necessity, that we must also with Strauss throw over the tradition of the 'third day,' and regard the belief as the outcome of a somewhat prolonged process—a process spread over weeks and months rather than days. (*b*) On the other hand, if we must discard the tradition as to the beginning of the appearances, we must equally discard that as to their end. The wave of feverish enthusiasm to which on this hypothesis they owed their origin, certainly would not have subsided in the interval between Passover and Pentecost. We note, as it is, an ascending scale in the appearances—they occur first to individuals (Mary Magdalene, Peter, the Emmaus disciples), then to the Ten and the Eleven, then to the Five Hundred. We can see how one appearance prepares the way for another. St. Peter (*e.g.*) must have been present at three or four. With this increasing weight of testimony, and increasing predisposition in the minds of the disciples, we should naturally expect that the appearance to the Five Hundred would contain within itself the germs of an indefinite series. We should not have been surprised if the whole body alike of Christians and of half Christians had caught the contagion. But that is not the case. There is just the single appearance to James; and then—the vision of St. Paul standing rather by itself—with one more appearance to the assembled apostles, the list comes to what seems an abrupt end.

This description of the facts rests on excellent evidence. The 'third day' is hardly less firmly rooted in the tradition of the Church than the Resurrection itself. We have it not only in the speech ascribed to St. Peter (Ac 10^{40}), but in the central testimony of St. Paul, and then in the oldest form of the Apostles' Creed. It is strange that so slight a detail should have been preserved at all, and still stranger that it should hold the place it does in the standard of the Church's faith. We must needs regard it as original. And for the circumscribed area of the appearances, we have at once the positive evidence of the canonical documents, and a remarkable silence on the part of the extra-canonical.

These phenomena are difficult to reconcile with a theory of purely subjective visions. An honest inquirer like Keim felt the difficulty so strongly that, while regarding the appearances as essentially of the nature of visions, he held them to be not merely subjective, but divinely caused, for the express purpose of creating the belief in which they issued.

This is the least that must be asserted. A belief that has had such incalculably momentous results must have had an adequate cause. No apparition, no mere hallucination of the senses ever yet moved the world. But we may doubt whether the theory, even as Keim presents it, is adequate or really called for. It belongs to the process of so trimming down the elements that we call supernatural in the Gospel narratives as to bring them within the limits of everyday experience. But that process, we must needs think, has failed. The facts are too obstinate, the evidence for them is too strong; and the measures which we apply are too narrow and bounded. It is better to keep substantially the form which a sound tradition has handed down to us, even though its contents in some degree pass our comprehension.

---

* The numbering of this Galilæan appearance as the 'third' might seem to be at variance with St. Paul's list in 1 Co 15; but it is clear that the appearances which St. John enumerates were those to the body of 'the disciples' (*i.e.* primarily, to a group including the apostles). He himself does not count that to Mary Magdalene; nor would he have counted those to St. Peter or the Emmaus travellers.

(4) *The Permanent Significance of the Resurrection.*—The innermost nature of the Resurrection is hidden from us. And if we ask why the supreme proof that God had visited His people took this particular form, the answer we can give is but partial. Some things, however, seem to stand out clearly.

(*a*) In the first place it is obvious that the idea of a resurrection was present to men's minds. Herod thought that the works of Jesus were works of the Baptist restored to life (Mk $6^{14.\,16}$||). Men were quite prepared to see Elijah or some other of the ancient prophets reappear upon the scene (Mk $9^{11\text{-}13}$ ||, Jn 1^{21}). In Palestine and among the circles in which Christianity arose, no mark of special divine indwelling seemed at the time so natural. The belief had not been allowed to grow up without a reason.

For (*b*) from the very first the ideas of bodily and spiritual resurrection were closely intertwined together. Perhaps the oldest passage in which there is a hint of such an idea is the vision of Ezekiel (ch. 37); and there the revivification of the body is the symbol of a spiritual revival. This intimate connexion of bodily and spiritual is never lost sight of in Christianity.

(*c*) 'Die to live' is one of the most fundamental of Christian principles, and this principle is embodied once for all in the Resurrection. If the one side was 'placarded' before the eyes of the world (Gal 3^{1}) in the Crucifixion, the Resurrection was a no less signal manifestation of the other. There is a double strain of inference and application.

(*d*) On the one hand, the Resurrection of Christ was the pledge and earnest of physical resurrection and the life beyond the grave. St. Paul founds upon it the hope of immortality (1 Th 4^{14}, Ro 8^{34}, 1 Co 6^{14} $15^{12\text{ff.}}$, 2 Co 4^{14} etc.).

(*e*) But he equally founds upon it the most earnest exhortations to holiness of life. It is not only that this follows for the Christian as a duty: if his relation to Christ is a right relation, it is included in it as a necessity (Ro $6^{3\text{-}6}$). St. Paul can hardly think of the physical Resurrection apart from the spiritual. And there is a very similar vein in the teaching of St. John (Jn 5^{24}, 1 Jn 3^{14}). The Resurrection is the corner-stone of Christian mysticism.

(*f*) In another aspect, as a divine act, the crowning mark of divine approval, it is a necessary complement of the Crucifixion. It supplies the proof, which the world might desiderate, that the Sacrifice of the Cross was accepted. If the death of the Cross was a dying for human sin, the rising again from the tomb was the seal of forgiveness and justification (Ro 4^{25}, cf. 6^{7}). St. Paul saw in it an assurance that the doors of the divine mercy were thrown open wide; and to St. Peter in like manner it was through it that mankind was begotten again to a 'lively hope' (1 P 1^{3}).

All this mass of biblical teaching hangs together. If the Resurrection was a reality it has a solid nucleus, which would be wanting even to the theory of objective visions. The economy which begins with a physical Incarnation, naturally and appropriately ends with a physical Resurrection. Thus much we can see, though we may feel that this is not all.

LITERATURE.—Besides the recent literature mentioned above (among which the paper by Dr. Loofs deserves rather special attention), and besides the treatment of the subject in numerous works on the Gospel History and on Apologetics, it is well to remember two monographs in English—Dr. Westcott's *Gospel of the Resurrection* (first pub. in 1866), and the late Dr. Milligan's *The Resurrection of our Lord* (first pub. in 1881).

vi. The Ascension.—The Resurrection in itself was incomplete. It was not the goal, but the way to the goal. The goal was the return of the Son to the Father, with His mission accomplished, His work done.

(1) The apostolic writers unanimously represent this return as a triumph. The keynote is struck in the speech which is put into the mouth of St. Peter on the day of Pentecost * (Ac $2^{33\text{-}36}$). It would seem that the form of expression which the conception assumed was influenced largely by Ps 110^{1}, a passage to which attention had been drawn by our Lord Himself shortly before His departure, and which spontaneously recurred to the mind as soon as the nature of His return to the Father had declared itself. Along with this would be recalled the saying with which our Lord had answered the challenge of the high priest (Mk 14^{62} ||). Psalm and saying alike represented the Messiah as seated 'at the right hand' of the Most High. This phrase appears to have at once (in the forms ἐκ δεξιῶν and ἐν δεξιᾷ) established itself in the language of the primitive Church: it occurs repeatedly, not only in the Acts ($7^{55\text{f.}}$) and in the Pauline Epp., but in He, 1 P, and Rev; and, like the detail of the 'third day,' it occupies a fixed place in the Apostles' Creed.

The speech of St. Peter culminates in the declaration, 'Let all the house of Israel know assuredly, that God hath made him, whom ye crucified, both Lord and Christ' (Ac 2^{36}); and it is substantially a paraphrase of this when in a famous passage St. Paul, after speaking of the humiliation of the Christ, adds, 'Wherefore also God highly exalted him, and gave unto him the name which is above every name, that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow,' etc. (Ph $2^{9\text{f.}}$). The return of the Son to the Father was not merely the resumption of a previous state of glory (Jn 6^{62} 17^{5} etc.), it was the resumption of it with the added approval and recognition which His obedience unto death had called forth. We speak of these things κατὰ ἄνθρωπον; or rather, we are content to echo in regard to them the language of the apostles and of the first Christians, who themselves spoke κατὰ ἄνθρωπον. The reality lies behind the veil.

(2) How did our Lord Jesus Christ enter upon this state of exaltation? Now that we have before us corrected texts of the Gospels, it would seem to be probable that they did not give an answer to this question. The answer was reserved for the second volume which St. Luke addressed to Theophilus; it forms the opening section of the Acts of the Apostles.

Mk 16^{19} belongs to the Appendix to the Gospel, which we have seen (p. 638 f. *sup.*) to have been probably composed, not by St. Mark himself, but by the presbyter Aristion in the early years of the 2nd cent. The reading of Lk 24^{51} stands thus—

Καὶ ἀνεφέρετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, ℵ^{c} ABCLXΔΛΠ, etc., c f q Vulg. Syrr. (Pesh.-Harcl.-Hier.) *rell.*, Cyr-Alex. Aug. 1/2.

Om. ℵ*D, a b e ff$_{2}$ Syr.-Sin., Aug. 1/2.

This means that the omission of the words is a primitive Western reading, which in this case is probably right: it was a natural gloss to explain the parting of the Lord from the disciples of the Ascension; there was no similar temptation to omit the words if genuine.

In Ac $1^{1\text{-}11}$ the final separation is described as an 'ascent unto heaven.' When the last instructions had been given, the disciples saw their Lord 'taken up (ἐπήρθη), and a cloud received him out of their sight.' The over-arching sky is a standing symbol for the abode of God; and the return of the Son to the Father was naturally represented as a retreat within its blue recesses, the ethereal home of light and glory. It is sometimes necessary that a symbol should be acted as well as written or spoken. The disciples were aware of a vanishing, and they knew that their Lord must be where His Father was.

---

* When we ask how these early discourses were transmitted to the writer of the Acts, there is a natural reluctance to use them too strictly as representing the exact words spoken. And yet, taken as a whole, they fit in singularly well to the order of development and the thought of the primitive community, which has an antecedent verisimilitude and accords well with indications in the Pauline Epistles.

That the narrative in the Acts is not a myth seems proved by an authentic little touch which it contains, a veritable reminiscence of what we may be sure was their real attitude at the moment, though it soon ceased to be. When they asked, 'Lord, dost thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?' their thoughts were still running in the groove of the old Jewish expectation. It is the last trace of them that we have in this naïve form.

(3) From the point of view of Christian doctrine, for those who not only accept the facts of the life of Christ but the construction put on those facts by the writers of NT, the main stress of the Ascension lies upon the state to which it forms the entrance. (*a*) It is the guarantee for the continued existence of Him who became incarnate for our sakes. (*b*) It not only guarantees His continued existence, but the continued effect of His work. It puts the seal of the divine approval upon all that the Incarnation accomplished. It is the final confirmation of the lessons of the Baptism and of the Transfiguration, 'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.' (*c*) The primitive phrase 'at the right hand of God' describes as nearly and as simply as human language can describe the double truth that Christ still is and that His work still is, that the Incarnation was no transient episode, but a permanent and decisive factor in the dealing of God with man. (*d*) This truth is stated in other words in the doctrine of the High Priesthood of Christ, a doctrine implicitly contained in many places in the writings of St. Paul, and worked out with great clearness and fulness in Ep. to Hebrews. There is something in the relation of the exalted Son to the Father and to His Church corresponding to and that may be expressed in terms of the functions of the earthly high priest in relation to God and to Israel. The great High Priest presents the prayers of His people; He intercedes for them; He 'pleads' or 'presents' His own sacrifice. Only, when we use this language it should be remembered that we are not speaking of 'specific acts done or words spoken by Christ in His glory. His glorified presence is an eternal presentation; He pleads by what He is' (Moberly, *Ministerial Priesthood*, p. 246 n.).

LITERATURE.—Dr. Milligan left a volume on the Ascension as a pendant to that on the Resurrection (*Baird Lectures* for 1891), which is the most comprehensive treatment of the subject in English.

III. SUPPLEMENTAL MATTER: THE NATIVITY AND INFANCY.—Throughout His public ministry Jesus passed for the son of Joseph and Mary, two peasants of Nazareth. Some of those who were present at the long discourse in the synagogue at Capernaum expressed their astonishment at the high pretensions which it seemed to contain, by asking, 'Is not this Jesus, the son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know?' (Jn 6^{4}; cf. 1^{45}). The inhabitants of Nazareth appear to have put a similar question when He came and preached there. The exact words are somewhat differently transmitted. Mk 6^{3} has (in the better attested text), 'Is not this the carpenter?' Mt 13^{55} 'Is not this the carpenter's son?' Lk 4^{23} a passage which, although divergent, contains reminiscences of the same original, has still more directly, 'Is not this Joseph's son?' In the preliminary chapters the same evangelist speaks repeatedly of 'his parents' (γονεῖς, Lk $2^{27.41.43}$). And not only does he himself resolve this into 'his father and his mother' (2^{33}), but he makes the mother of Jesus say, 'Thy father and I sought thee sorrowing' (2^{48}).

It is in keeping with this language that both the First and the Third Gospels place in their forefront genealogies of Jesus, which, in spite of many attempts to prove the contrary, must be admitted to trace His descent through Joseph and not through Mary.

Yet, on the other hand, the same two Gospels, though differing widely in the details of the narrative, assert unequivocally that Joseph had no share in the parentage of Jesus, and that the place of a human father was taken by the direct action of the Spirit of God. The differences show that the two traditions are independent of each other; and yet both converge upon this one point. They agree not only in representing Jesus as born of a virgin, but also in representing this fact as supernaturally announced beforehand,—in the one case to Joseph, in the other case to Mary.

What account is to be given of these seeming inconsistencies? We cannot get rid of them by assigning the opposed statements to different sources. In St. Matthew the genealogy which ends in Joseph is followed immediately by the narrative of the Annunciation and Virgin-Birth. In St. Luke the successive sections of ch. 2, which begins with the Nativity and ends with the scene of the boy Jesus in the Temple, where we have seen that such expressions as 'his parents,' 'his father and mother' occur so freely, are linked together by the recurrent note, 'Mary kept all these sayings, pondering them in her heart,' 'his mother kept all these sayings in her heart' (Lk $2^{19.51}$; cf. also the argument which Prof. Ramsay skilfully draws from 1^{80} $2^{40.52}$[*]). And when we turn to St. John we cannot but remember that the Gospel which records so frankly the Jews' question, 'Is not this Jesus, the son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know?' if it nowhere refers directly to the Virgin-Birth, yet goes further than any other Gospel in asserting the pre-existence of the Son as God with God.

What we regard as inconsistent will clear itself up best if we consider the order of events and the way in which these preliminary stages of the history were gradually brought to the consciousness of the Church.

The sources from which the knowledge of them was derived were, without doubt, private.[†] We shall consider presently the character of these sources. We know more about that of which use was made by St. Luke than of that used by St. Matthew, and we can rely upon it as a historical authority with greater confidence. We shall see that it is ultimately traceable to the Virgin herself, in all probability through the little circle of women who were for some time in her company.

We are told expressly that the Virgin Mary 'kept all these sayings (or things) in her heart.' She, if any one, might well say, μυστήριον ἐμὸν ἐμοί. It was only by slow degrees in the intimacy of confidential intercourse that she allowed her secret to pass beyond herself, and to become known. Even if committed to writing before it came into the hands of St. Luke, it probably did not reach any wide public until it was embodied in his Gospel. The place which the Virgin-Birth occupies in Ignatius and in the Creed seems to show that it cannot have been much later than the middle of the century before the knowledge of it made its way to the headquarters of Christianity. But before some such date as that there is no reason to think that it was generally known. It was no part of our Lord's own teaching. The neighbours among whom His early life was passed, the changing crowds who witnessed His miracles or gathered round Him to hear Him, had never had it proclaimed to them. 'Jesus son of Joseph, the prophet of Nazareth,' was the common name by which He was known. And it is a great presumption of the historical truth of the Gospels that they so simply and naturally reflect this language. We may well believe that the language was shared, as the ignorance which caused it was shared, even by the Twelve themselves. It would be very fitting if the channel through which these sacred things first came to the ears of the Church was a little group of women.*

---

[*] *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* p. 87.

[†] 'Luke gives, from knowledge gained within the family, an account of facts known only to the family, and in part to the Mother alone' (Ramsay, *op. cit.* p. 79). Prof. Ramsay, however, seems to go too far in contrasting Mt with Lk when he says, 'Matthew gives the public account, that which was generally known during the Saviour's life and after His death.' We do not think that any account was known during the Saviour's life, and we prefer to think of the Matthæan version as parallel to rather than contrasted with the Lucan.

i. *The Sources of the Narrative.*—It has often been observed that whereas the first two chapters of St. Matthew appear to be written from the point of view of Joseph, the first two chapters of St. Luke are written from the point of view of Mary. In Mt the Annunciation is made to Joseph; it is Joseph who is bidden in a dream not to fear to take to him his wife; Joseph who is told what the Son whom she is to bear is to be called. It is Joseph, again, who is warned to take the young Child and His mother into Egypt, and who, when the danger is past, receives the command to return; and it is Joseph also whose anxious care is the cause that the family settle in Galilee and not in Judæa. On the other hand, when we turn to St. Luke the prominent figures at first are the two kinswomen, Elisabeth the mother of John the Baptist, and Mary. Mary herself receives the announcement of the holy thing that is to be born of her. The *Magnificat* is her song of thanksgiving. She treasures in her heart the sayings of the shepherds and of her Divine Son. The aged Simeon points his prophecy to her, and foretells that a sword should pierce through her soul.

In regard to the Matthæan document we are in the dark. The curious gravitation of statement towards Joseph has a reason; but beyond this there is not much that we can say. It would not follow that the immediate source of the narrative was very near his person. In the case of Lk we can see farther down the vista. We have already had grounds for connecting the source from which he draws ultimately with the Mother of Jesus. Through what channel did it reach the evangelist? Probably through one of the women mentioned in Lk 8^3 24^{10}; and as Joanna is the least known of the group, and therefore the most likely to drop out for any one not personally acquainted with her, perhaps we may say, by preference, through her (cf. p. 639 *sup.*). We learn from Jn 19^{25} (cf. Ac 1^{14}) that the Mother of Jesus was thrown into contact with this group,—perhaps not for any great length of time, but yet for a time that may well have been sufficiently long for the purpose. And we believe that thus the secret of what had passed came to be disclosed to a sympathetic ear.

Such an inference, if sound, would invest the contents of these chapters with high authority. Without enlarging more on this, we may perhaps be allowed to refer in confirmation to what has been already said as to the appropriateness of the picture given of the kind of circle in which Christ was born, and in which His birth was most spontaneously greeted (see p. 608 above). It was just the Symeons and Annas, the Elisabeths and Zachariahs, who were the natural adherents of such a Messiah as Jesus. And the phrases used to describe them are beautifully appropriate to the time and circumstances, 'looking for the consolation of Israel,' 'looking for the redemption of Jerusalem' (Lk $2^{25.38}$).

The elaborate and courageous attempt of Resch (*TU* iv. Heft 3, 1897) to reconstruct, even to the point of restoring the Hebrew original, a *Kindheits-evangelium*, which shall embrace the whole of the first two chapters of Lk and Mt with some extra-canonical parallels, is on the face of it a paradox, and, although no doubt containing useful matter, has not made converts.

ii. *The Text of Mt* 1^{16}.—Within recent years certain phenomena have come to light in the text of the first chapter of St. Matthew which demand consideration in their bearing upon this part of our subject.

The peculiarities of the Curetonian Syriac, the (so-called) Ferrar group, and some MSS of the Old Latin, had been known for some time, but in themselves they did not seem of very great importance. A new and somewhat startling element was introduced by the publication of the Sinai-Syriac in 1894. More recently still a further authority has appeared, which contains the eccentric reading. This is the curious dialogue published by Mr. F. C. Conybeare under the names of *Timothy and Aquila* (Oxford, 1898). It professes to be a public debate between a Christian and a Jew held in the time of Cyril of Alexandria (A.D. 412–444), and it is in the main a string of *testimonia* commonly adduced in the Jewish controversy. It is a question how far some of this material comes from a work older than the date assigned. The criticism of the dialogue has been acutely treated by Mr. Conybeare, but the subject needs further examination. We will set forth the evidence at length, and then make some remarks upon it.

Mt 1^{16} Ἰακὼβ δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰωσὴφ τὸν ἄνδρα Μαρίας, ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός, *Codd. Græc. unc. qui exstant omn. minusc. quamplur. Verss.* (*incl.* f ff$_2$, *def.* l), *cf. Dial. Tim. et Aq.* fol. 113 r°.

Ἰακὼβ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰωσήφ, ᾧ μνηστευθεῖσα παρθένος Μαριὰμ ἐγέννησεν Ἰησοῦν τὸν λεγόμενος Χριστόν, 346–826–828 (*auctore* K. Lake, *def.* 13–69); cui desponsata virgo (*om.* q) Maria genuit Jesum qui dicitur (vocatur g, q), Christus a g, q, *cf. Dial. Tim. et Aq.* fol. 93 v°.

Similiter, cui desponsata virgo Maria genuit (peperit d) Jesum Christum (*om.* τὸν λεγόμ., Christum Jesum d) d k Syr.-Cur.

Jacob autem genuit Joseph, cui desponsata erat virgo Maria: virgo autem Maria genuit Jesum b (*cf.* c).

Ἰακὼβ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰωσὴφ τὸν ἄνδρα Μαρίας, ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός· καὶ Ἰωσηφ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν λεγόμενον Χριστόν, *Dial. Tim. et Aq.* fol. 93 r°.

Ἰακὼβ ἐγενν. τὸν Ἰωσήφ· Ἰωσήφ, ᾧ ἐμνηστεύθη παρθένος Μαριάμ, ἐγέννησεν Ἰησοῦν τὸν λεγόμενον Χριστον, Syr.-Sin.

The eccentric readings all occur within the range of the so-called Western text, and there is no doubt that they belong to a very early stage in the history of that text. Two opposite tendencies appear to have been at work, which are most conspicuously represented in ancient forms of the Syriac Version, though the original in each case was probably Greek.

On the one hand there was a tendency to emphasize the virginity of Mary, and to remove expressions which seemed in any way to conflict with this. For the blunt phrase, 'Joseph her husband,' the Curetonian Syriac with the oldest Latin authorities substitutes, 'Joseph to whom was espoused'—not only 'Mary,' but 'the Virgin Mary.' A little lower down (with Tatian's *Diatessaron*), for 'Joseph her husband being a just man' (ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς δίκαιος ὢν) it reads 'Joseph being a just man' (ἀνὴρ δίκ. ὢν). In v.^{20} for 'thy wife' it has 'thine espoused.' In v.^{24}, again with Tatian, it has some such softened phrase as 'he dwelt chastely with her,' and for 'took his wife' it has 'took Mary'; and in v.[25] (but here in agreement with ℵBZ *al.*) it has simply 'brought forth a son,'—not 'her first-born son.'

---

* 'If we are right in this view as to Luke's authority, and as to the way in which that authority reached him, viz. by oral communication, it appears that either the Virgin was still living when Luke was in Palestine during the years 57 and 58 . . . or Luke had conversed with some one very intimate with her, who knew her heart and could give him what was almost as good as first-hand information. Beyond that we cannot safely go; but yet one may venture to state the impression—though it may be generally considered fanciful—that the intermediary, if one existed, is more likely to have been a woman than a man. There is a womanly spirit in the whole narrative, which seems inconsistent with the transmission from man to man, and which, moreover, is an indication of Luke's character; he had a marked sympathy with women' (Ramsay, *op. cit.* p. 88). In view of the close resemblance between much that appears in the text and Prof. Ramsay's admirable chapter, it is perhaps right to explain that this had not been read at the time when the text was written, and that it represents an opinion formed long ago. The question as to whether the source was written or oral is left open, because there is reason to think that St. Luke used a special (written) source which may have been connected with the women mentioned below, and through them with the Virgin Mary. The writer could not speak quite so confidently as Prof. Ramsay as to the nearness of this source to the Virgin, but he does not think that it could be more than two or three degrees removed from her. It must have been near enough to retain the fine touches which Prof. Ramsay so well brings out.

In some of these readings, or parts of them, the Sinai-Syriac agrees, but along with them it has others which seem to be of a directly opposite tendency. The most prominent is, of course, 'Joseph begat Jesus,' in v.[16]. We might have thought that this was an accident due to the influence on the mind of the scribe of the repeated ἐγέννησεν of the previous verses; but in v.[21] the same MS has 'bear thee a son,' and in v.[25] 'she bore him a son'; and in Lk 2[5] there is a counter change to that of the Curetonian in v.[20] ('with Mary his wife' for 'Mary his espoused'); all which readings hang together, and appear to be distinctly anti-ascetic. And now the singular reading in v.[16] has found a coincidence in the conflate text of one of the quotations in the *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila*.

It is of course true that both these authorities—the Sinai-Syriac and the *Dialogue*—are very far from thoroughgoing. The Syriac text has not tampered in any way with the explicit language of vv.[18. 20]; and—what is especially strange—in the very act of combining Ἰωσήφ with ἐγέννησεν it inserts a large fragment of the Curetonian reading (ᾧ ἐμνηστεύθη παρθένος Μαριάμ) substituted for τὸν ἄνδρα Μαρίας. On the other hand, the peculiar reading occurs in one only out of three quotations in the dialogue, and there in the form of a conflation with the common text. But is it the case that these authorities point to some form of reading older than any of those now extant, which made Joseph the father of Jesus? There would be a further question, whether, supposing that such a reading existed, it formed any part of the text of our present Gospel?

There would seem to be three main possibilities. (*a*) The genealogy may in the first instance have had an existence independently of the Gospel, and it may have been incorporated with it by the editor of the whole. In that case it is quite conceivable that the genealogy may have ended Ἰωσὴφ δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν. Unless it were composed by someone very intimate indeed with the Holy Family, it might well reflect the current state of popular opinion in the first half of the apostolic age. (*b*) The reading might be the result of textual corruption. There would always be a natural tendency in the minds of scribes to assimilate mechanically the last links in the genealogy to preceding links. A further confusion might easily arise from the ambiguous sense of the word γεννᾶν, which was used of the mother as well as of the father (cf. Gal 4[24]). If we suppose that the original text ran, Ἰωσὴφ τὸν ἄνδρα Μαρίας ἣ ἐγέννησεν Ἰησοῦν τὸν λεγόμενον Χριστόν, that would perhaps account for the two divergent lines of variants better than any other. A reading like this appears to lie behind the Coptic (Bohairic) Version. (*c*) It is conceivable that the reading (or group of readings) in Syr.-Sin. may be of definitely Ebionite origin. That which we call 'heresy' existed in so many shades, and was often so little consistent with itself, that it would be no decisive argument against this hypothesis that the sense of the readings is contradicted by the immediate context. It would be enough for the scribe to have had Ebionite leanings, and he may have thought of natural and supernatural generation as not mutually exclusive. We can only note these possibilities; the data do not allow us to decide absolutely between them.

LITERATURE.—The fullest discussion of this subject took place in a lengthy correspondence in *The Academy*, towards the end of 1894 and beginning of 1895.

iii. **The Genealogies.**—At the time when it was thought necessary at all costs to bring one biblical statement into visible harmony with another, two hypotheses were in favour for reconciling the genealogy of our Lord preserved in Mt 1[1-17] with that in Lk 3[23-38]. These were (*a*) the hypothesis of adoption or levirate marriage, according to which the actual descent might differ at several points from the legal descent, so that there might be two equally valid genealogies running side by side; and (*b*) the hypothesis that the one genealogy might be that of Joseph, as the reputed father of Jesus, and the other genealogy (preferably St. Luke's) that of Mary. A certain handle seemed to be given for this latter supposition by the tradition which was said to be found in the Talmud (tr. *Chagig.* 77, col. 4, Meyer-Weiss), that Mary was the daughter of Eli. [This statement appears to be founded on a mistake, and should be given up; see G. A. Cooke in Gore, *Dissertations*, p. 39 f.]. It was felt, however, that this view could only be maintained by straining the text of the Gospel; and it is now generally (though not quite universally) agreed that both genealogies belong to Joseph. On the other hand, the theory of levirate marriage or adoption, though no doubt a possible explanation, left too much the impression of being coined to meet the difficulty. The criticism of to-day prefers to leave the two genealogies side by side as independent attempts to supply the desiderated proof of Davidic descent. Were they the work of our present evangelists, or do they go back beyond them? Both genealogies appear to have in common a characteristic which may point to opposite conclusions as to their origin. That in the First Gospel bears upon its face its artificial structure. The evangelist himself points out (Mt 1[17]) that it is arranged on three groups of fourteen generations, though these groups are obtained by certain deliberate omissions. That would be, in his case, consistent with other peculiarities of his Gospel: he evidently shared the Jewish fondness for artificial arrangements of numbers (Sir John Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticæ*, p. 131 ff.). From this fact we might infer that the stem of descent had been drawn up by himself from the OT and perhaps some local tradition. If such tradition came to him in writing, the list might still conceivably have ended in some such way as that which is found in the Sinai-Syriac, though if the list was first committed to writing in the Gospel the probability that it did so would be considerably diminished.

It would seem that a like artificial arrangement (77 generations = 7 × 11) underlies the genealogy in Lk. But as this is not in the manner of the Third Evangelist, and as he does not appear to be conscious of this feature in his list, it would be more probable that he found it ready to his hand. In that case it would be natural that it should come from the same source as chs. 1. 2, which would invest the genealogy with the high authority of those chapters. We cannot speak too confidently, but the conclusion is at least spontaneously suggested by the facts.

iv. **The Census of Quirinius.**—Until a very short time ago the best review of the whole question of the Census of Quirinius (Lk 2[1-5]) was that by Schürer in *NTZG* § 17, Anhang 1 (*HJP* I. ii. 105 ff.). This was based upon a survey of the whole previous literature of the subject, and was really judicial, if somewhat severely critical, in its tone. As distinct from the school of Baur, which was always ready to sacrifice the Christian tradition to its own reconstruction of the history, Dr. Schürer is an excellent representative of that more cautious method of inquiry which carefully collects the data and draws its conclusions with no prepossession in favour of the biblical writers if also without prejudice against them. In the present instance he summed up rather adversely to the statements in St. Luke; and in the state of historical knowledge at the time when he wrote (1890), that he should do so was upon his principles not surprising.

According to St. Luke, our Lord was born at Bethlehem on the occasion of a general 'enrolment' (ἀπογραφή) ordered by the emperor Augustus and carried out in Palestine under Quirinius as governor of Syria. The date was fixed as being before the death of Herod, which took place in B.C. 4; and it was explained that Joseph and Mary, as belonging to the lineage of David, had gone up to enter their names at Bethlehem, David's city.

There were several points in this statement which seemed to invite criticism. (i.) In the first place, there was no other evidence that Augustus ever ordered a general census of the empire, although there was good reason to think that he took pains to collect statistics in regard to it. (ii.) Even if he had ordered such a census, it seemed doubtful whether it would be carried out in a kingdom which possessed such a degree of independence as Judæa. And (iii.) if it had been conducted in the Roman manner, there would have been no necessity for Joseph and Mary to leave their usual place of residence. Further, (iv.) while it was allowed, on the strength of a well-known inscription, that Quirinius probably twice held office in Syria, yet, as it was known that Sentius Saturninus was governor B.C. 9–7, and Quinctilius Varus at least B.C. 7–4, it was argued that Quirinius' first term of office could not be before B.C. 3–1, *i.e.* after the death of Herod. (v.) As there was, in any case, a census of Judæa conducted by Quirinius after its annexation by the Romans in A.D. 6, it was thought that St. Luke had a confused recollection of this, and antedated it (in the Gospel, though not in Ac 5^{37}) to the lifetime of Herod.

The chief authority for the census of A.D. 6 is Josephus; and an eminent German scholar, Dr. Th. Zahn, put forward in 1893 the view that it was Josephus who was at fault in dating from this year an event which really fell in B.C. 4–3 (*Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, pp. 633–654). This brought the data more nearly, though still not entirely, into agreement with St. Luke. The theory need not, however, be more fully considered as it has not met with acceptance, and there can be little doubt that it seeks a solution of the difficulties in the wrong direction.

There was one little expression which might have given pause to the critics of St. Luke, viz. his careful insertion of the word 'first' ('the first enrolment made when Q. was governor of Syria'). It might have shown that he was in possession of special knowledge which would not permit him to confuse the earlier census with that of A.D. 6. And yet the existence of the earlier census remained without confirmation, until it suddenly received it from a quarter which might have been described as unexpected if experience did not show that there is hardly anything that may not be found there—the rubbish heaps of papyrus fragments in Egypt.

Almost at the same time, in the year when Dr. Zahn made his ingenious but unsuccessful attempt (1893), three scholars, one English and two German, made the discovery that periodical enrolments (ἀπογραφαί) were held in Egypt under the Roman empire, and that they came round in a fourteen-year cycle. The proof of this was at first produced for the enrolments of A.D. 90, 104, 118, 132, and onwards; but in rapid succession the list was carried back to A.D. 76, 62, and 20.

This gave the clue, which was almost at once seized, and the whole problem worked out afresh in masterly fashion by Prof. W. M. Ramsay, first in two articles in *Exp.* 1897, and then in his volume, *Was Christ born at Bethlehem? A Study in the Credibility of St. Luke* (London, 1898). It would be too much to say that every detail is absolutely verified. The age of Augustus as compared with that which precedes and with that which follows is strangely obscure, and the authorities for it defective. But considering this, the sequence of argument which Prof. Ramsay unfolds is remarkably clear and attractive. (i.) He shows it to be very probable that there was a series of periodical enrolments initiated by Augustus at the time when he first received the tribunician power, and his reign formally began in B.C. 23 (this is the official date usual in inscriptions, p. 140). (ii.) He also makes it probable that this was part of a deliberate and general policy—that the census-takings were not confined to Egypt, but extended to other parts of the empire, and more particularly to Syria. Here, too, there was a tendency to periodic recurrence, though the evidence is not, and is not likely to be, so complete as in the case of Egypt. (iii.) He has shown that Palestine was regarded as part of the 'Roman world,' *i.e.* of the empire. Though Herod had the liberty of a *rex socius*, the Roman power and the emperor's will were always in the background; he had to see that the whole Jewish people took an oath of allegiance to the emperor; he could not make war without being called to account; he could not determine his own successor or put to death his own son without an appeal to Rome; in a moment of anger Augustus threatened that whereas he had hitherto treated him (Herod) as a friend, he would henceforth treat him as a subject (Jos. *Ant.* XVI. ix. 3). It was therefore likely enough that Herod would wish, if he was not positively ordered, to fall in with the imperial policy by taking a census of his people, as another subject king did in Cilicia in A.D. 35. (iv.) But although Herod held a census at the instance of Augustus, it would be in keeping with his whole character and conduct to temper it to Jewish tastes as much as possible; and he would do this by following the national custom of numbering the people by their tribes and families. This was the broad distinction between this enrolment of Herod's and the subsequent census of A.D. 6 or 7. The latter was carried out by Roman officials and in the Roman manner, which was the real cause of the offence which it gave, and of the armed resistance which it excited. (v.) Some uncertainty still hangs over the mention of Quirinius. Mommsen thought that he was the acting *legatus* of Syria in B.C. 3–1. Prof. Ramsay inclines to the view that he held an extraordinary command by the side of Varus some years earlier, as Corbulo did by the side of Ummidius Quadratus, and Vespasian by the side of Mucianus. Such a command might carry with it the control of foreign relations, and be included under the title ἡγεμών.

v. *The Meaning of the Virgin-Birth.*—It is but a very few years since there arose in Germany (the date was 1892) a rather sharp controversy in which many leading theologians took part over the clause of the Apostles' Creed, 'Conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary.' The echoes of that controversy reached this country, and, although not much was said in public, it is probable that some impression was made upon public opinion. This impression was strengthened by the publication soon afterwards of the Sinai-Syriac with its peculiar reading, which was not unnaturally caught at as representing a more ancient and truer text than that to which we are accustomed. But if what has been written in the preceding sections has been followed, it will have been seen that between that time and the present (end of 1898) there has been a steady reaction. The eccentric reading has found its level. As it stands, it cannot possibly be original; and however it arose, it cannot really affect the belief of the Church, as it introduces no factor which had not been already allowed for. And at the same time the historical value of the documents, especially Lk 1. 2, has been gradually rising in the estimation of scholars, until the climax has been reached in the recent treatise of Prof. Ramsay. Even those who desire to see things severely as they are must feel that the opening chapters of St. Luke are full of small indications of authenticity, that they are really not behind the rest of the Gospel, and that they form no exception to the claim made at the outset that the facts recorded have been derived from 'eye-witnesses and ministers of the word.'

Along with this process there has been growing up a better and fuller philosophy of the Incarnation. This has been due especially to some of the contributors to *Lux Mundi*, and may be seen in Canon Gore's *Bampton Lectures* (1891) and *Dissertations* (1895), in Dr. Moberly's *Lux Mundi* essay, and in Mr. Illingworth's *Bampton Lectures* (1894) and *Divine Immanence* (1898).

To those who regard primitive ideas as compounded of nothing but idle imagination, ignorance, and superstition, the evidence in folk-lore of stories of supernatural birth (such as are collected in Mr. Sidney Hartland's *Legend of Perseus*, vol. i., 1894) seems to discredit all accounts of such birth, even the Christian. They do not sufficiently consider the entire difference of the conditions under which the Christian tradition was promulgated from those which surrounded the creations of mythopoeic fancy. The Christian tradition belongs to the sphere, not of myth but of history. It is enshrined in documents near in date to the facts, and in which the line of connexion between the record and the fact is still traceable.

But, apart from this, if we believe that the course of human ideas, however mixed in their character—as all human things are mixed—is yet part of a single development, and that development presided over by a Providence which at once imparts to it unity and prescribes its goal,—those who believe this may well see in the fantastic outgrowth of myth and legend something not wholly undesigned or wholly unconnected with the Great Event which was to be, but rather a dim unconscious preparation for that Event, a groping towards it of the human spirit, a prophetic instinct gradually moulding the forms of thought in which it was to find expression.

And if we ask further what it all means,—why the Son of Man was destined to have this exceptional kind of birth, the answer is, because His appearance upon earth—His Incarnation, as we call it—was to be in its innermost nature exceptional; He was to live and move amongst men, and was to be made in all points like His brethren, with the one difference that He was to be—unlike them—without sin. But how was a sinless human nature possible? To speak of a sinless human nature is to speak of something essentially outside the continuity of the species. The growth of self-conscious experience, expressed at its finest and best in the formulæ of advancing science, has emphasized the strength of heredity. Each generation is bound to the last by indissoluble ties. To sever the bond, in any one of its colligated strands, involves a break in descent. It involves the introduction of a new factor, to which the taint of sin does not attach. If like produces like, the element of unlikeness must come from that to which it has itself affinity. Our names for the process do but largely cover our ignorance, but we may be sure that there is essential truth contained in the scriptural phrase, 'The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee; wherefore also that which is to be born shall be called holy, the Son of God.'

[The most important literature has been mentioned in the course of this section].

IV. CONCLUDING SURVEY: THE VERDICT OF HISTORY.

A. *CHRIST IN HISTORY.*—So far we have been involved in the study of the details of the Life of Christ, mainly on the basis of the Gospels. But the Gospels alone, though the fragments which they have preserved for us of that Life are beyond all price, would yet convey an incomplete idea of the total impression left by it even upon contemporaries, still less of all that it has been in the history of the world. Especially would this be the case if, as some would have us do, we were to follow the first three Gospels only, to the exclusion of the fourth. To that point we shall return for a moment presently. But the time has now come to enlarge our view, to look back upon our subject from the vantage-ground which we occupy at the end of the 19th cent., and to endeavour to see it no longer as an episode affecting a small portion of an 'unimportant branch of the Semitic peoples,' but as it enters into the course of the great world-movement of the centuries.

If we would appreciate this, we must once more go back to the Origins, not now so much in search of details, as in order, if possible, to catch rather more of the total impression. We cannot, of course, attempt to interrogate the whole of history. For our present purpose it may be enough to consider (i.) the net result, if we may so speak, of the portraiture of Christ in the Gospels; (ii.) the impression left by a similar reading of other parts of the New Testament, especially the Epistles; (iii.) the testimony borne by the Early Church, both formulated and informal; (iv.) the appeal that may be made to the religious experience of Christians.

The last of these heads is not really so disparate as it may seem from the rest. The ultimate object that we have in view is to bring home—or to suggest lines on which it may be possible to bring home—what Christ really was and is to the individual believer. In order to do this we endeavour to collect (i.) what He was to those among whom He moved during His life on earth; (ii.) what He was to His disciples, and primarily to the apostles after His departure; (iii.) what the still undivided Church apprehended Him as being. It will thus be seen that there is no real antithesis, as though the appeal were in the one case to history and in the other to experience. For our present purpose history may be regarded as the collective experience of the past, which we are seeking to put into line with the individual or collective experience of the present. Our historical survey, so far as it goes, simply embodies so many superimposed strata of experience.

i. *The Christ of the Gospels.*—We should thus be inclined to deprecate the attempts which are from time to time made to set in contrast some one or other branch of the appeal that we are making as against the rest. In this country we are accustomed to the opposition between the Christ of the (Synoptic) Gospels and the Christ of 'Dogma' or of the Church. And in Germany of late there has been a tendency to oppose the Christ conceived and preached by the apostles to the biographical Christ of the Gospels, and the experience of faith to any external and objective standards. (See especially the works of Kähler and Herrmann mentioned below).

The disparagement of the Gospels as biographies seems to us, so far as it goes,—and neither writer is really very clear on the subject,—to rest upon a somewhat undue degree of scepticism as to the critical use that can be made of the Gospels. It does not follow that all that is doubted is really doubtful. For a more detailed testing of the historical character of the Gospels we must content ourselves with referring to the previous part of this article, only adding to it the two points which will be more appropriately introduced at the end of the next section,—the peculiar kind of confirmation which the two pictures (the evangelic and the apostolic) supply to each other, the difference between them showing that the teaching of the Epistles has not encroached upon the historical truth of the Gospels, while the less obvious likeness shows that they are in strict continuity. We shall also have to state once more in that context our reasons for believing the Fourth Gospel to be really the work of an eye-witness.

But the point that concerns us most at the present moment is that, even if we make to negative criticism larger concessions than we have any right to make, there will still remain in the Gospel picture ineffaceable features which presuppose and demand that estimate of the Person of Christ which we can alone call in the strict sense Christian.

Take, for instance, that central passage Mt 11^{28-30} 'Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light.' Could we conceive such words put into any other lips, even the loftiest that the history of mankind has produced? They are full of delicate self-portraiture. They present to us a character which we may say certainly *was*, because it has been so described. No mere artist in words ever painted such a canvas without a living model before him. The portrait is of One who is 'meek and lowly in heart,' whose yoke is easy and His burden light; and yet He speaks of both yoke and burden as 'His' in the sense of being imposed by Him; He invites men to 'come' to Him, evidently with a deep significance read into the phrase; He addresses His invitation to weary souls wherever such are to be found; and (climax of all!) He promises what no Alexander or Napoleon ever dreamt of promising to his followers, that He would give them the truly supernatural gift of rest—the tranquillity and serenity of inward peace in spite of the friction of the world; that all this should be theirs by 'coming' to Him.

And then how easy is it to group round such a passage a multitude of others! 'I say unto you, Resist not him that is evil: but whosoever smiteth thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also' (Mt 5^{39}). 'The Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister' (Mk 10^{45}‖). 'Suffer the little children to come unto me; forbid them not: for of such is the kingdom of God' (*ib.* v.^{14}‖). 'Whosoever would save his life shall lose it: and whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the gospel's shall save it' (Mk 8^{35}). 'The Son of Man came to seek and to save that which was lost' (Lk 19^{10}, comp. the three parables of Lk 15). 'Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of these my brethren, even these least, ye did it unto me' (Mt 25^{40}).

Sayings like these, it is needless to add, could be multiplied almost indefinitely. Through all of them there runs, indirectly, if not directly, the same self-portraitures. And it is a self-portraiture that has the same two sides. On the one hand there is the human side, the note of meekness or lowliness, condescension that is not (though it really is!) condescension but infinite sympathy, patience, tenderness; and, on the other hand, no less firmly drawn, for all the lightness and restraint of touch, an absolute range of command and authority; all things delivered to the Son in heaven and on earth (cf. Mt 11^{27} 28^{18}).

That which we have called the 'human side' fills most of the foreground in the Gospels; the other, the transcendental side, is somewhat shaded by it; and we can see that it was deliberately shaded, that the proportions were such as mainly (though, as we shall see, not entirely) corresponded to the facts, or, in other words, to the divine method and order of presentation. But when we turn from the Gospels to the rest of the NT we shall find these proportions inverted.

We only pause upon this Gospel picture a moment more to say that, apart from any question of criticism of documents or of details in the narrative, it seems to us to be utterly beyond the reach of invention. The evangelists themselves were too near to the events to see them in all their significance. They set down, like honest men, the details one after another as they were told them. But it was not their doing that these details work in together to a singular and unsought harmony.

LITERATURE.—The fullest account of recent discussions as to the adequacy and trustworthiness of the presentation of Christ in the Gospels will be found in the second enlarged edition of Kähler's *Der sogenannte historische Jesus und der geschichtliche, biblische Christus*, Leipzig, 1896. Another work, which lays the stress rather on personal experience of the life of Christ, and is written with great earnestness from that point of view, but seems to us too restricted in its historical basis, is Herrmann's *Der Verkehr des Christen mit Gott*, ed. 2, Stuttgart, 1892 (Eng. tr. 1895).

ii. *The Christ of the Apostles.*—In passing over from the Gospels to the rest of the NT we find ourselves hampered by critical questions. What we should most wish to ascertain is the conception of Christ held by the mass of the first disciples. And to some extent we can get at this; but, so far as we can do so, it is nearly always indirectly. The writings that have come down to us are those of the leaders, not of the followers; and many even of these are encumbered with questions as to date and origin. Some of these do not so much matter, because in any case they belong to the end rather than the beginning of the apostolic age. The one book which we should most like to use more freely than we can is the Acts, the earlier chapters of which we quite agree with the author of the article in this Dictionary in estimating highly.

We will, however, cut the knot by not attempting to summarize the teaching of all the undisputed books, but by taking a single typical example of manageable compass, the first extant NT writing, 1 Thessalonians, written probably about A.D. 51—in any case not later than 53, or within the first quarter of a century after the Ascension.

Let us suppose for a moment, with the more extreme critics, that a thick curtain falls over the Church after this event. The curtain is lifted, and what do we find? We turn to the opening verse of the Ep. (emended reading). St. Paul and his companions give solemn greeting to the 'Church of the Thess. (which is) in God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.' An elaborate process of reflexion, almost a system of theology, lies behind those familiar terms. First we note that the human name 'Jesus' is closely associated with the title 'Christ' or 'Messiah,' which in the Gospels had been claimed with such quiet reticence and unobtrusiveness. From this time onwards the two names are almost inseparable, or the second supersedes the first: in other words, Jesus is hardly ever thought of apart from His high Messianic dignity. This effect is pressed home by the further title 'Lord' (Κύριος). The disciples had been in the habit of addressing their Master as 'Lord' during His lifetime, in a sense not very different from that in which any Rabbi might be addressed by his pupils (Jn $13^{13f.}$). But that sense is no longer adequate; the word has been filled with a deeper meaning. That 'Jesus is Lord' has become the distinctive confession of Christians (1 Co 12^{3}, Ro 10^{9}), where 'Lord' certainly='the exalted Lord' of the Resurrection and Ascension (cf. Ac 2^{36}).

What is still more remarkable, the glorified Jesus is, as it were, bracketed with 'God the Father.' Let us think what this would mean to a strict Jewish monotheist; yet St. Paul evidently holds the juxtaposition, not as something to which he is tentatively feeling his way, but as a fundamental axiom of faith. In the appellation 'Father' we have already the first beginning—may we not say the first decisive step, which potentially contains the rest?—of the Christian doctrine of the Trinity. And we observe, further, that the Thessalonian Church is said to have its being '*in* Christ' as well as '*in* God.' This is a characteristic touch of Pauline mysticism. The striking thing about it is that in this, too, the Son already holds a place beside the Father (cf. 2^{14} 4^{16}).

There is another passage in the Ep. (1 Th 3^{11}) in which there is the same intimate combination of 'our God and Father' and 'our Lord Jesus.' Here the context is not exactly mystical, but the two names are mentioned in connexion with the divine prerogative of ordering events. The apostle prays that God and Christ will together 'direct' (κατευθύναι, 'make straight and unimpeded') his way to them (the Thessalonians).

It is not by accident that the Holy Spirit is in a similar manner implicated in divine action ($1^{5.\,6}$ 4^{8} 5^{19}), though it would be too much to say that the Spirit is spoken of distinctly as a Person.

The historical events of the life of Christ are hardly alluded to, except His death and resurrection (1^{10} 4^{14} 5^{10}). In the last of these verses Christ is said to have died 'for us'; and in the preceding verse 'salvation,' which is contrasted with 'death,' is said to come 'through' Him. In 1^{10} He is also spoken of as delivering Christians 'from the wrath to come.' It is assumed that Christ is in heaven, from whence He is expected to come again with impressive manifestations of power (1^{10} $4^{15\text{f.}}$; cf. also the frequent allusions to ἡ παρουσία τοῦ Κυρίου).

The Second Coming is the only point on which the Ep. can be said to contain direct and formal teaching. The other points mentioned are all assumed as something already known, not as imparted for the first time.

Not only may we say that they are known, but it is also fair to infer that they are undisputed. There is a hint of controversy with the unbelieving Jews, but no hint of controversy with the Judæan Churches, which stand in the same relation to Christ ($2^{14\text{-}16}$). This is important; and it is fully borne out by the other Epistles, which show just how far the disputed ground between St. Paul and the other apostles extended. There was a good deal of sharp debate about the terms on which Gentiles should be admitted. There is no trace of any debate as to the estimate of the Person of Christ.

We have referred to the Pauline mysticism and to the hints, slight but significant, of what is known as the doctrine of the Atonement. It is clear that St. Paul ascribed to Christ not only divine attributes but divine activities—activities in the supersensual sphere, what he elsewhere calls 'heavenly places' (τὰ ἐπουράνια). We know how these activities are enlarged upon in Epp. to Co, Gal, and Ro. It would, of course, be wrong to suppose that all Christians, or indeed any great number, had an intelligent grasp of these 'mysteries'; but we can see from the Ep. to He, 1 P, Epp. Jn, and Rev, that conceptions quite as transcendental had a wide diffusion. And a verse like 2 Co 13^{14} shows that there must have been large tracts of important teaching which are imperfectly represented in our extant documents. When we consider how occasional these documents are in their origin, the wonder is not that they have conveyed to us so little of the apostolic teaching, but that they have conveyed so much.

The summary impression that we receive is indeed that the revolution foreshadowed at the end of the last section has been accomplished. The historical facts of the Lord's life were not neglected; for Gospels were being written, of which those which we now possess are only surviving specimens. But in the whole epistolary literature of NT they have receded very much into the background, as compared with those transcendental conceptions of the Person and Work of Christ, to which the Gospels pointed forward, but which (with one exception) they did not directly expound.

No doubt this was in the main only what was to be expected. The narrative of the Gospels goes back to the period before the Resurrection; the epistolary literature dates altogether after it. Still it is remarkable how we seem to be plunged all at once into the midst of a developed theology. Nor is the wonder lessened, it is rather increased, when we remark that this theology is only in part set before us deliberately as teaching. The fact that it is more often presupposed shows how deep a hold it must have taken alike of the writer and of his readers.

Impressive contrasts are sometimes drawn (*e.g.* at the beginning of Dr. Hatch's *Hibbert Lecture*) between the Sermon on the Mount and the Nicene Creed; and the contrast certainly is there. But it goes back far beyond the period of the Arian controversy. It is hardly less marked between the Sermon on the Mount and the writings which have come down to us under the names of St. Peter and St. Paul. And yet these writings are practically contemporary with the composition of the Gospels. The two streams, of historical narrative on the one hand and theological inference on the other, really run side by side. They do not exclude but rather supplement, and indeed critically confirm, each other. For if the Gospels had been really not genuine histories of the words and acts of Christ, but coloured products of the age succeeding His death, we may be sure that they would have reflected the characteristic attitude of that age far more than they do. They do not reflect it, but they do account for it by those delicate hints and subtly inwoven intimations that He who called Himself so persistently Son of Man was also Son of God.

The one Gospel which bridges the gap more unmistakably than the others is the Fourth. And the reason is obvious, if St. John was its author. He had a foot in both worlds. As the disciple whom Jesus loved, he vividly remembered His incomings and outgoings. And in the same capacity, as a disciple who was also an apostle, it fell to him to build up that theology which was the deliberate expression of what Jesus was to His Church, not in a section only of His being, the short three years which He had spent among His followers, but in His being as He had revealed it to them as a whole. It is difficult to think of either function as merely assumed by the writer at second-hand. On the contrary, we acquire a fresh understanding of the weight and solemnity of his words when we think of these as springing from direct personal contact with Christ, and intense personal conviction of what Christ really was, not to himself only, but to the world. In this respect the Fourth Gospel is unique; and the very expansion which it gives of the divine claims of Christ prepares us more completely than the other Gospels alone might have done for the transition from them to the Epistles.

It is an especial satisfaction to be able to quote, in support of this view of the first-hand character of the Fourth Gospel, Dr. Loofs in *PRE*^{3} iv. 29.

iii. *The Christ of the Undivided Church.*—For the purpose which we have before us we must examine the evidence of the Undivided Church on three distinct points. (*a*) What was the estimate of the Person of Christ in the age immediately succeeding that of the Apostles? (*b*) Are there any traces of a tradition different from this? (*c*) What is the bearing upon the subject of the creeds and conciliar decisions?

(*a*) On the first head we may say broadly that the mass of Christian opinion was in strict continuity with the NT, rarely (as we might expect) rising to an apprehension of its heights and depths, and keeping rather at the average level, but steadily loyal in intention, and showing no signs of recalcitrance.

Ignatius of Antioch has the strongest grip of distinctive features of NT teaching (Virgin-Birth, pre-existence, incarnation, Logos, Trinitarian language). Clemens Romanus, though much less theological, also has pre-existence and a clearly implied Trinity (lviii. 2). In the former point Barnabas and Hermas agree, though the latter shows some confusion, not uncommon at this date, between Son and Spirit. And then we have the opening words of 2 Clement which exactly describe the general temper, 'Brethren, we ought so to think of Jesus Christ as of God, as of the Judge of quick and dead.'

These, with Polycarp and Aristides, who adopt a similar tone, are the writers. And then, when we look for evidence as to popular feeling and practice, we have the wide prevalence of baptism in the Threefold Name (*Didaché* and Justin), and the hymns sung 'to Christ as God' (Pliny, *Ep. ad Trajan.* xcvi.; cf. Eus. *HE* v. xxviii. 5). It is clear that prayer was generally offered to Christ. Origen's objection to this was a theological refinement, as he held that the proper formula was εὐχαριστεῖν τῷ θεῷ διὰ Χ. Ἰ. (*de Orat.* 15).

The group of Apologists which stands out so clearly in the middle of the 2nd century is characterized chiefly by the use that is made of the Logos doctrine which was identified with the Logos of philosophy. With them begins a more active spirit of reflexion and speculation. The relation of the Son to the Father, and indeed the whole problem of unity and distinctions in the Godhead (Justin and Athenagoras), is beginning to be keenly canvassed. And at the same time it is clear that the question of what were afterwards called the 'Two Natures' was causing much perplexity. It was this difficulty which really lies behind the experiments of Gnosticism. When we come to the latter half and last quarter of the century, with the theologians of Asia Minor, Irenæus, and Clement of Alexandria, the foundations have been laid of a Christian theology, which already bears the stamp that marks it throughout succeeding centuries, viz. that it is not free speculation, but reflexion upon *data* given by the Bible.

(*b*) It was natural, and could not well have been otherwise, that there was in this reflexion at first a considerable tentative element. There was no break, and no conscious divergence between it and the canonical writings. But are there no signs of such divergence? Are there no signs of a tradition differing from that embodied in these writings? Perhaps we ought to say that there are.

The Gnostics began by inventing traditions of their own, but they soon fell into the groove, and professed to base their views like the rest on the canonical Scriptures. A conspicuous example of this is Heracleon's commentary on St. John. But in these circles there was what we might call recalcitrance, as when Cerinthus and Carpocrates rejected the Virgin-Birth as impossible (Iren. *adv. Hær.* I. xxvi. 1, xxv. 1). The Gnostics, however, are outside the true development of Christianity, and their systems had a different origin.

In closer contact with Christianity proper are the heretical Ebionites. For them a better claim might be made out to represent a real divergence of tradition. It is possible that their denial of the Virgin-Birth was derived from the state of things when the canonical narratives had not yet obtained any wide circulation. And yet we should have to pass upon these Ebionites a verdict similar to that already passed upon the Gnostics. They were really Jews imperfectly Christianized. If they regarded Christ as ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος, it was doubtless because the Jews did not expect their Messiah to have any other origin. This is a different thing from, though it may have some subordinate connexion with, the views (*e.g.*) of Paul of Samosata, whose difficulty was caused by the union of the two natures. The human nature he regarded as having an ordinary human birth, though it came to be united to the Divine Logos.

A like account would hold good of Theodotus of Byzantium and the Rationalists described in Eus. *HE* v. xxviii. At last the reader may think that he is upon the track of a genuine Rationalism; but this did not go very deep. It was consistent with belief in the Virgin-Birth and in the Resurrection (Hippolytus, *Ref. Hær.* vii. 35); in fact it probably amounted to little more than a dry literal exegesis.

The *Clementine Homilies* point out that Christ did not call Himself 'God,' but the 'Son of God,' and they emphasize this distinction somewhat after the manner of the later Arians (xvi. 15, 16). When we have said this, we shall have touched (it is believed) on all the main types of what might be thought to be a denial of Christ's full Godhead.

The more pressing danger of primitive Christianity lay in an opposite direction. Loyalty to Christ was so strong that the simpler sort of Christians were apt to look upon the humanity as swallowed up in the divinity. This is the true account of the early prevalence of Docetism (which made the deity of Christ real, the humanity phantasmal or unreal), and of the later prevalence of what is known to students as Modalistic Monarchianism, and to the general reader as Sabellianism (the doctrine that the Son and the Spirit were not distinct Persons in the Godhead, but modes or aspects of the One God). The answer of Noetus was typical of the frame of mind that gave rise to this, 'What harm do I do in glorifying Christ?' (Hippol. *c. Noet.* 1): it seemed meritorious to identify Christ with God. Both these tendencies were far stronger and more widely spread than anything that savoured of Rationalism. Docetism entered largely into the Apocryphal Gospels and Acts, which were very popular; and both Tertullian (*Prax.* 1, 3) and Hippolytus (*Ref. Hær.* ix. 6, μέγιστος ἀγών) imply that the struggle against Monarchianism was severe.

It is evident from this to which side the scales inclined. The traces of anything like Rationalism in the modern sense are extremely few and slight. For the most part, what looks like it is not pure Rationalism (or Humanitarianism) at all. More formidable was the excess of zeal which exalted the divine in Christ at the expense of the human. But the main body of the Church held an even way between both extremes,—held it at least in intention, though there were no doubt a certain number of unsuccessful experiments in the construction of reasoned theory.

(*c*) It was inevitable that in the early centuries there should be a great amount of tentative thinking. But little by little this was sifted out; and by the middle of the 5th cent. the ancient Church had practically made up its mind. It formulated its belief in the Chalcedonian definition (ὅρος τῆς ἐν Χαλκηδόνι τετάρτης συνόδου) of the year 451 (which counts as Ecumenical, though the only Westerns present were the two legates of Pope Leo and two fugitive bishops from Africa), and in the *Quicumque vult*, a liturgical creed composed, according to a tradition which may be sound, by Dionysius [of Milan] and Eusebius [of Vercelli], (cf. the remarkable preface in the Irish *Liber Hymnorum*, i. 203, ii. 92, ed. Bernard and Atkinson, Lond. 1898).

This creed and the definitions of Chalcedon represent the end of the process; the beginning is marked by the creed known as the Apostles'. Criticism has of late been active upon this creed as well as upon the so-called Nicene and Athanasian, with a result which tends, it may be generally said, to heighten the value of all three. The date of the Apostles' Creed (in its oldest and shortest form) has been reduced within the limits A.D. 100–150; Kattenbusch, the author of the most elaborate monograph on the subject, leans to the beginning of that period, Harnack to the end. It is agreed that it was in the first instance the local baptismal creed of the Church of Rome, and that it was the parent of all the leading provincial creeds of the West. The principal open question at the present moment (1899 in.) is as to its relation to the Eastern creeds. Kattenbusch and Harnack both think that it was carried to the East in the time of Aurelian (*circa* 270), and that it became the parent of a number of Eastern creeds, including that which we know as the Nicene; but this is conjecture. Harnack thinks that the Roman creed coalesced with floating formulæ, to which he gives the name of *Kerygmata*, already circulating in the East. But these also are more or less hypothetical. And the question is whether the Eastern creeds, which resemble the Roman, were not rather offshoots, parallel to it, of a single primitive creed, perhaps originating in Asia Minor. This is substantially the view of Dr. Loofs. The main argument in favour of it is that characteristic features of the Eastern type of creed already appear in Irenæus and in a less degree in Justin. Harnack would explain these features as due to his *Kerygmata*; and from the point of view of the history of doctrine the difference is not very great, because the *Kerygmata* were in any case in harmony with the creed.

It would be difficult to overestimate the value of the existence of this fixed traditional standard of teaching at so early a date. It was the rallying and steadying centre of Catholic Christianity, which kept it straight in the midst of Gnostic extravagances and among the perils of philosophical speculation. Our so-called Nicene Creed is only the Apostles' Creed in one of its more florid Oriental forms, with clauses engrafted into it to meet the rising heresies of Arius and Macedonius; while the Chalcedonian formula and the *Quicumque* take further account of the controversies connected with the names of Apollinaris, Nestorius, and Eutyches.

The decisions in question were thus the outcome of a long evolution, every step in which was keenly debated by minds of great acumen and power, really far better equipped for such discussions than the average Anglo-American mind of to-day. If we can see that their premises were often erroneous (especially in such matters as the exegesis of the OT), we can also see that they possessed extraordinary fertility and subtlety in the handling of metaphysical problems. The disparaging estimates of the Fathers, which are often heard and seen in print, are very largely based upon the most superficial acquaintance with their writings. There are many things in these which may provoke a smile, but as a whole they certainly will not do so in any really open mind. There exists at the present time in Germany a movement, which bears the name of its author Albrecht Ritschl (1822–1889), directed against metaphysics in theology generally. No doubt Ritschl also was a thinker and writer of great ability; and the stress that he lays upon religious experience is by no means without justification. But it has not yet been proved that the negative side of his argument is equally valid, or that metaphysics can be wholly dispensed with. And so long as this is the case we certainly cannot afford to ignore these ancient decisions. Every word in them represents a battle, or succession of battles, in which the combatants were, many of them, giants.

LITERATURE.—The subject of this section brings up the whole history of 'Christology,' which may be studied in well-known works of Baur, Dorner, and Thomasius, or in Harnack's *History of Dogma*. There is an excellent survey by Loofs in *PRE*^{3} iv. 16 ff., art. 'Christologie, Kirchenlehre,' marked by much independent judgment and research. In English may be mentioned Gore, *Bampton Lectures* (1891); Fairbairn, *Christ in Modern Theology* (1893); R. L. Ottley, *Doctrine of the Incarnation* (1896).

The later phases of the critical discussions on the creeds are set forth in Kattenbusch, *Das Apost. Symbol* (Leipzig, 1894, 1898, unfinished); Harnack's art. 'Apost. Symb.' in *PRE*^{3} i. 741 ff. (this is the author's most complete and latest utterance; the Eng. reader may consult *Hist. of Dogma*, i. 157 ff.), and an important art. by Loofs in *Gött. gel. Anzeigen*, 1895.

For Ritschl's attitude it may be enough to refer to his tract, *Theologie u. Metaphysik*, Bonn, 1881. We had an English version of the opposition to metaphysics in the writings of Matthew Arnold.

iv. *The Christ of Personal Experience.*—In the case of Ritschl the religious experience of the individual or of communities is directly pitted against metaphysics as the criterion of theological truth. But apart from philosophical theory it is the criterion which is practically applied by hundreds of thousands of plain men—we will not say, in search of a creed, but in support of the creed which they have found or inherited. And there is an immense volume of evidence derived from this source in corroboration of the truth of Christianity, or of what amounts to the same thing, the Christian estimate of the Person of Christ. The singular attraction of this Person, the sense of what Christ has done, not only for mankind at large but for the individual believer, the sense of the love of God manifested in Him, have been so overpowering as to sweep away all need for other kinds of evidence. They create a passionate conviction that the religion which has had these effects cannot be wrong in its fundamental doctrine, the pivot of the whole.

This personal experience operates in two ways. It makes the individual believer cling to his belief in spite of all the objections that can be brought against it. But it also possesses a formative power which so fashions men in the likeness of Christ, that they in turn become a standing witness to those who have not come under the same influence. St. Paul expresses this by a forcible metaphor when he speaks of himself as in travail for his Galatian converts 'until Christ be formed' in them, as the embryo is formed in the womb (Gal 4^{19}). The image thus formed shines through the man, like a light through glass, and so He who came to be the Light of the world has His radiance transmitted downwards through the centuries and outwards to the remotest corners of the earth.

This that we speak of is, of course, matter of common knowledge and of everyday experience. The note of the true Christian cannot help being seen wherever there is genuine Christianity. It is, however, an inestimable advantage that the process should have found expression in such classics of literature as the *Confessions of St. Augustine* and the *De Imitatione*. In these it can not only be seen but studied.

B. *THE PERSON OF CHRIST.*—It is necessary that this article should be brought to a close, and the close may seem rather abrupt. And yet the design which the writer set before himself is very nearly accomplished. It will be his duty at a later date to return to his subject on a somewhat larger scale; and for the present he would conclude, not so much by stating results as by stating problems.

i. *The Problem as it stands.*—We have seen that there are four different ways of attempting to grasp what we can of the significance of the Person of Christ. Towards these four ways the attitude of different minds will be different. For some the decisions of the Undivided Church will be absolutely authoritative and final. They will not seek to go either behind them or beyond them. Others will set the comparative simplicity of the Gospel picture against the more transcendental and metaphysical conceptions of the age that followed. To others, again, the picture traced in the Gospels will seem meagre and uncertain by the side of the exalted Christ preached by the apostles.* Yet others will take refuge in the appeal to individual experience, which will seem to give a more immediate hold on Christ and to avoid the necessity and perplexities of criticism. Others, still more radical in their procedure, will begin with the assumption that Christ was only man, and will treat all the subsequent development as reflecting the growth of the delusion by which He came to be regarded as God.

This last is a drastic method of levelling down the indications of the divine in history, against which human nature protests and will continue to protest. But, short of this, the other milder alternatives seem to us to put asunder what ought rather to be combined. They seem to us to propound antitheses, where they ought rather to find harmony. As the phases in question, distinctly as they stand out from each other, are so many phases in the history of Christianity, they ought to contribute to the elucidation of the Christianity which they have in common.

They ought to contribute to it, and we believe that they do contribute to it. There is, however, room still left for closer study, especially of the *transitions*. We have been so much in the habit of studying the Gospels by themselves and the Epistles by themselves that we have not paid sufficient attention to the transition from the one to the other. If we follow this clue, it will, we believe, show that the first three Gospels in particular need supplementing, that features which in them appear subordinate will bear greater emphasis, and that the resulting whole is more like that portrayed in the Fourth Gospel than is often supposed.

For instance, we are of opinion that much of the teaching of Jn 14–16 is *required by* the verse 2 Co 13^{14} and other allusive passages in the early Epp. of St. Paul; that the command of Mt 28^{19} (or something like it) is required by *Didaché* vii. 1, 3; Just. *Apol.* i. 61; that the teaching respecting the Paraclete is required by the whole Pauline doctrine of the Spirit; that the allegory of the Vine is required by the Pauline doctrines of the Head and the Members, and of the Mystical Union; that the full sense of Mk 10^{45} || is required by such passages as Ro $3^{24.25}$ 4^{25} 5^{6-8} etc., and the full sense of Mk 14^{24} || by He 9^{18-22}. And observations of this kind may be very largely extended.

In like manner, while it is certainly right that the conceptions current in the early Church as to the Person and Work of Christ should be rigorously analyzed and traced to their origin, full weight should be given to the analogues for them that are to be found in NT; and where they have their roots outside the Bible, even there the efforts of the human mind to express its deepest ideas may deserve a more sympathetic judgment than they sometimes receive.

And throughout, it is highly important that the doctrinal conceptions, whether of the apostolic age or of subsequent ages, should be brought to the test of living experience, and as far as possible expressed in the language of such experience. The mind and heart of to-day demands before all things reality. It is a right and a healthy demand; and the Churches should try with all their power to satisfy it. If they fail, the fault will not lie in their subject-matter, but in themselves.

ii. *A pressing Portion of the Problem.*—There is one portion of the problem as to the

---

* 'We know, literally speaking, with much greater certainty what Paul wrote than what Jesus spoke.' 'The centre of gravity for the understanding of the Person (of Christ) and of its significance falls upon what we are in the habit of calling His Work.' Kähler, *Jesus u. das AT*, pp. 37, 60.

Person of our Lord Jesus Christ which both in this country and in Germany has excited special interest in recent years. In its most concrete form this is the question as to our Lord's Human Knowledge, which, however, runs up directly into what is generally known as the question of the *Kenosis*. And that, again, when thoroughly examined, will be found to raise the whole question of the Two Natures. In regard to this series of connected questions there is still abroad an active spirit of inquiry.

It was started in the first instance by the argument from our Lord's use of the OT in its bearing upon the question of OT criticism. This led to a closer examination of the text, Mk 13^{32} ‖ *var. lec.* That, again, expanded into a discussion of the technical doctrine of the *Kenosis* (see the art. *s.v.*), an episode in which was a renewed study of the exegesis of Ph 2^{5-11}. And that in turn, in its later phase (H. C. Powell's *Principle of the Incarnation*, 1896), has opened up the whole question of the Two Natures, which in Germany for some time past has been far more freely handled than in Great Britain.

These discussions have produced one little work of classical value, Dr. E. H. Gifford's study of Ph 2^{5-11}, entitled *The Incarnation*, a model of careful and scientific exegesis, which appears to leave hardly anything more to be said on that head. It is also right to note the special activity on this subject of the diocese of Salisbury, largely due to the initiative and encouragement of its bishop (Mr. W. S. Swayne's *Our Lord's Knowledge as Man*, with a preface by the Bp. of Salisbury, 1891, and Mr. Powell's elaborate work, mentioned above). Weighty contributions have been made to the subject by Dr. Bright in *Waymarks of Church History* (1894), Canon Gore (*Dissertations*, 1898), and in arts. in the *Ch. Quarterly*, Oct. 1891, and July 1897.

On the Continent special views of the *Kenosis* are connected with the names of Dorner, Thomasius, Gess, Godet, and others rather more incidentally. Tracts upon the smaller questions have recently appeared by Schwartzkopff (*Konnte Jesus irren?* 1896), and Kähler (*Jesus u. das AT*, 1896).

In spite of all this varied activity, it may be doubted whether the last word has yet quite been said (Dr. Gifford's treatment of the exegetical question seems to us to come nearest to this). The first concern of the historian is that the facts shall be taken candidly as they are. It is more probable that our inferences will be wrong than the data from which they are drawn. And for the rest, we should not be surprised if a yet further examination of the subject should result rather in a list of *tacenda* than of *prædicanda*.

C. *THE WORK OF CHRIST.*—In regard to the Work of Christ also it is best for us to state problems. Of these the most important are the two that meet us first; they have not been much discussed; and complete agreement upon them has not yet been attained.

i. *The Place in the Cosmical Order of the Ethical Teaching of Christ.*—It is almost a question of names when it is asked whether Christ brought into the world a new ethical ideal. The question would be what constituted a new ideal. The Christian ideal, properly so called, is a direct development of what is found in OT, esp. in Pss. and the Second Part of Isaiah. But it receives a finish and an enrichment beyond what it ever possessed before, and it is placed on deeper foundations.

The chief outstanding question in regard to it would be the relation in which it stood to the older ideals of the best pagan life and philosophy in regard to the civic virtues, and to the newer ideals put forward in modern times in the name of science, art, and industry. The Christian ideal, it must be confessed, rather leaves these on one side. That it should do so would be quite as explicable if we adopt the Christian estimate of the Person of Christ as if we do not. If we do not adopt it, then the omission (so far as there is an omission) would be one of the limitations for which we were prepared. But if we take St. John's view of the relation of the Son to the Father, and see in His action the action willed by the Father, we shall see it as part of the great world-movement, presupposing so much of that movement as had proved itself to be of permanent value in the past, and leaving room for further developments, corresponding to altered states of society, in the future. The teaching of Christ was not intended to make a *tabula rasa* of all that had gone before in Greece or Rome any more than in Judæa; nor was it intended to absorb into itself absolutely all the threads of subsequent evolution, where those threads work back to antecedents other than its own. It was intended so to work into the course of the world-movement as ultimately to recast and reform it. Its action has about it nothing violent or revolutionary, but it is none the less searching and effective. It is a force 'gentle yet prevailing.'

Some remarks have been made above (p. 621 f.) on the way in which the Christian ethical ideal operates and has operated. It is not thought that they are really sufficient; but they represent such degree of insight as the writer has attained to at present, and he would welcome warmly any new light on the subject.

ii. *The Significance of the Personal Example of Christ in regard to His Ethical Teaching.*—When once it is realized that the root principle of the ethics of Jesus is *Life through Death*, the death of the lower self with a view to the more assured triumph of the higher, it must needs break in upon us that the Life of Christ bears to His teaching a wholly different relation from that which the lives of ordinary teachers bear to theirs. An honest man will no doubt try to practise what he preaches, but that will be just a matter of maxims of conduct. The Life of Christ, we can see, was something very much more than this. It was a systematic working out of the Christian principle on a conspicuous and transcendent scale. The Death and Resurrection of Jesus were the visible embodiment of the law of all spiritual being that death is the true road to the higher life.

When we reflect further who it was that was thus exhibiting in His own Person the working out of this law to the utmost extremity, we become aware that Christians have it indeed 'placarded' before their eyes (Gal 3^{1}) in a sense in which no moral law ever was set forth before.

Add that Christ had Himself predicted and that His followers generally believed that after His Ascension He was again visiting His people through His Spirit; that Divine forces were at work in the world, all radiating from Himself—Himself at once crucified and risen; add this to the previous beliefs of which we have just spoken,—remember that Christians supposed themselves to be actually conscious of these forces impressing and moulding their own hearts and lives, and we may come gradually to understand what St. Paul meant when he spoke of 'dying' or 'being crucified' with 'Christ' and 'rising again with Him.' It seems to be a similar idea to that which St. John expresses when he puts into the mouth of Christ the claim, 'I am the Way.' Rather, perhaps, we should not narrow down this phrase to anything less than the whole content of the Life of Christ on earth. 'He supplied in Himself the fixed plan, according to which all right human action must be framed: the Spirit working with their spirit supplied the ever-varying shapes in which the one plan had to be embodied' (Hort, *Huls. Lect.* p. 30).

iii. *The Work of Christ as Redemptive.*—Here we come on to more settled ground. At a very early date Christian tradition gave to Christ the title 'Saviour' (Lk 2^{11}, Ac 5^{31} 13^{23} etc.; cf. Mt 1^{21}, Lk 19^{10}), 'Saviour of the world' (Jn 4^{42}; cf. 3^{17}

12^{47}). What does this title 'Saviour' include? It doubtless includes every sense in which Christ rescued and rescues men from the power and the guilt of sin. He does this, as we have seen, both by teaching and by example—by inimitable teaching and by a consummate example. But if we follow the method indicated above (p. 651), if we take the hints in the Gospels, with the fuller light thrown upon them by the Epistles, we shall be led to the conclusion that there was something yet more in the Life and Death and Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ than this, that there was something in these connected acts of His which had its counterpart in the sacrifices of OT; and that the deepest meaning and purpose of sacrifice was fulfilled in Him. This is a belief which Christians have held from the first days onwards; and it is a belief which does not and will not lack careful restatement at the present time.

iv. *The Work of Christ as Revelation.*—On a similar footing is the belief that Christ came not only to give, but to be a revelation of the inmost mind and character of the Father. Such a revelation was needed. It is not contained in the 'cosmic process.' If we had that process alone before us, we could not infer that God was a Being absolutely righteous and absolutely loving. The idea that He might be so could not rise above a hypothesis. But at this point the Incarnation intervenes. And here again the Synopt. Gospels present us with one central passage (Mt 11^{27}||) with other scattered hints which are taken up and made more explicit in the Fourth Gospel, while that again does but give the fuller ground for a belief which was certainly held in the apostolic circle (comp. *e.g.* the central passage Jn 14^{7-10} with $10^{14f.}$ 3^{16}, 1 Jn $4^{8.\ 16}$, Ro 5^{8} etc.). So we get the broad doctrine led up to by St. Paul and Ep. to the He (2 Co $4^{4.\ 6}$, Col 1^{15}, He 1^{3}), and finally formulated by St. John, that the Son was the Logos or Word (which might be paraphrased 'mouthpiece,' or 'vehicle of utterance of the mind') of the Father.

v. *The Founding of the Church.*—Conventional language is too often heard as though the immediate object of the Incarnation was the founding of the full hierarchical system as it existed in the Middle Ages. This language is based on the complete identification of the Church with the 'kingdom of heaven' (see p. 620 *sup.*). On the other hand, there is a school of critics, both in Germany and in England, who deny that 'Jesus ever created, or thought of creating, an organized society.' The main ground for this latter view is the doubt that rests over the two instances—one of them ambiguous—of the use of the word 'Church' which are confined to the peculiar element of the First Gospel (Mt 16^{18} 18^{17}), and the certainty that there are some senses in which the 'kingdom' and the Church cannot be identified. In some (though not in all) of those who adopt this line of reasoning there is the further tendency to minimize or restrict all that would imply an extended outlook of Jesus over the ages.

It seems to us, however, to be going too far to say that the 'kingdom of heaven' is 'without organization and incapable of being organized.' The two parables of the Tares and the Draw-net distinctly imply the existence of a society; and that the divine laws and influences which constitute the kingdom should express themselves in a society as the vehicle for their realization is antecedently probable. But when Jesus gathered round Him the Twelve, He was practically forming the nucleus of a society; and that society has had a continuous existence ever since, so that it is difficult to think that it was not contemplated. Moreover, when we turn to the writings of St. Paul, we find that even in his earlier Epp. he seems to think of Christians as forming a single body with differentiation of function (Ro 12^{4-8}, 1 Co 12^{4-30}), and in his later Epp. (Eph, Col, Past. Epp.) the unity of the Church with its regular forms of ministry is brought out still more emphatically.

We also find that the Day of Pentecost is described in Ac as inaugurating a state of things which agrees well with the indications in Epp. Paul, while it confirms the promise of Lk 24^{49}, Jn $14^{16.\ 26}$.

On the assumptions made in this art. it would be extremely improbable that this series of phenomena was not fully foreseen and deliberately designed by Christ. It would seem, however, that, after the manner of the divine operations in nature, He was rather content to plant a germ with indefinite capacities of growth, than thought it necessary Himself to fix in advance the details of organization.

The exact nature of the powers conferred upon the apostles is still a subject of much discussion as these concluding lines are written.

Lives of Christ.—To write the Life of Christ ideally is impossible. And even to write such a *Life* as should justify itself either for popular use or for study, is a task of extreme difficulty. After all the learning, ability, and even genius devoted to the subject, it is a relief to turn back from the very best of modern *Lives* to the Gospels. And great as are the merits of many of these modern works, there is none (at least none known to the writer—and there are several that he ought to know but does not) which possesses such a balance and combination of qualities as to rise quite to the level of a classic. What is wanted is a Newman, with science and adequate knowledge. No one has ever touched the Gospels with so much innate kinship of spirit as he. It should be needless to say that the Life of Christ can be written only by a believer. Renan had all the literary gifts—a *curiosa felicitas* of style, an æsthetic appreciation of his subject, and a saving common-sense which tempered his criticism; but even as literature his work is spoilt by self-consciousness and condescension, and his science was not of the best.

It will be well here only to name a select list of books which may be used more or less systematically. The minor works are legion.

Among the older works that would still most repay study would probably be those of Neander (ed. 7, 1873), Hase (*Leben Jesu*, ed. 5, 1865; *Geschichte Jesu*, 1876), Ewald (vol. vi. in Eng. tr. of *Gesch. d. Volkes Israel*, 1883), Andrews (American; revised ed. Edin. 1892).

In this country the books most generally current are Farrar's *Life of Christ* (since 1874); Edersheim's *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah* (since 1883, revised editions from 1886, abridged ed. 1890); to which should perhaps be added Cunningham Geikie, *Life and Words of Christ* (1877). Of these the best is probably Dr. Edersheim's (with very ample illustrations from Jewish sources); but none of the three can quite be said to grapple with the deeper underlying problems, critical or other. A striking attempt was made by the late Prof. J. R. Seeley to realize in modern forms the ethical and social aspect of the Life of Christ in *Ecce Homo* (ed. 6, 1866). And the imaginative works, Dr. Edwin A. Abbott's *Philochristus* (ed. 3, 1878), and the anonymous *As Others Saw Him* (1895, see p. 633^{b} *sup.*), may be consulted with advantage. [Dr. Abbott's later works have been mentioned above (p. 628^{a})].

In French, besides Renan, E. de Pressensé (1866, Eng. tr. same date and later; Protestant) may still be read. Père Didon (1891, also translated; Roman Catholic) represents with dignity the older orthodoxy, and A. Réville (1897) the newer criticism.

The most thoughtful and searching, as well as (if we except Dr. Edersheim) the most learned work, has been done in Germany. The two writers who have tried most earnestly to combine the old with the new are Bernhard Weiss, and Beyschlag. Of these we prefer Weiss. His *Leben Jesu* (1882, Eng. tr. 1883, 1884) is a conscientious and thorough piece of work, which, however, has to be studied rather than read. Beyschlag's (1885 and later) is more flowingly written, but also exhibits rather more markedly the weaker side of a mediating theology. Keim's *Jesus von Nazara* (1867–1882, abridged ed. 1873–1883) is impressive from the evident sincerity of its author, his intellectual force and command of his materials, but the critical premises are unfortunate. A concise *Life* which has just appeared by Dr. P. W. Schmidt of Basel (*Gesch. Jesu*, 1899) seems, if a glance may be trusted, to come under the head of minor works. It gains its conciseness by omitting debatable matter.

The student may be advised to take Weiss for his principal commentary, referring to Schürer (p. 609 *sup.*) or Edersheim for surroundings, and using along with it Tischendorf's *Synopsis Evangelica*, or a Harmony like Stevens and Burton's. He should read *Ecce Homo*.

W. SANDAY.

JESUS CALLED JUSTUS (Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος Ἰοῦστος).—A Jewish Christian resident in Rome during St. Paul's first imprisonment. The apostle sends a greeting from him to the Colossians (4^{11}), speaking at the same time of the comfort that he had received from him as a fellow-worker unto the kingdom of God. Nothing further is known of him.

J. O. F. MURRAY.

JETHER (יֶתֶר 'abundance,' Ἰέθερ).—**1.** Father-in-law of Moses (RVm of Ex 4^{18} E), prob. a mistake for Jethro, יִתְרוֹ. **2.** Eldest son of Gideon, Jg 8^{20}. When called upon by his father to avenge his uncle's death by executing the two Midianite chiefs, Zebah and Zalmunna, the lad shrank from the deed 'because he was yet a youth.' It seems surprising at first to find such a youth among Gideon's 300 tested warriors; but 8$^{4ff.}$ belongs to a much older source than 7$^{4-8}$, and may be connected with 6^{34}, where Gideon's men are drawn from his own clan of Abiezer; thus the boy would be included in his father's following. **3.** An Ishmaelite, father of Amasa, 1 K 2$^{5. 32}$, 1 Ch 2^{17}=יִתְרָא 2 S 17^{25} Ἰόθερ, Luc. Ἰέθερ. **4. 5.** Two men of Judah, 1 Ch 2^{32} 4^{17}. **6.** A man of Asher, 1 Ch 7^{38}=יִתְרָן v.^{37}, Ἰέθερ A. **Ithran** was the name of an Edomite clan, Gn 36^{26} P.

G. A. COOKE.

JETHETH (יְתֵת).—The eponym of an Edomite clan, Gn 36^{40}=1 Ch 1^{51}, which has not been traced. The MT is not beyond suspicion, in view of the LXX (A) reading Ἰεβέρ in Gn, (B) Ἰεθέτ (A) Ἰεθέθ in 1 Ch, and Luc. Ἰεθέρ in both passages.

JETHRO (יִתְרוֹ; in Ex 4^{18a} יֶתֶר, *i.e.* **Jether** [so RVm]; LXX everywhere Ἰοθόρ. יִתְרוֹ may be for יִתְרוֹן, or, as Dillmann prefers, for יִתְרוּ, a name of the same class as גַּשְׁמוּ of Neh 6^{6} and bearing the same relation to יֶתֶר that גַּשְׁמוּ bears to גֶּשֶׁם of Neh 2^{19}).—The priest of Midian and father-in-law of Moses. It was while keeping Jethro's flocks that Moses had his vision of the burning bush and received his commission from J″ to the court of Egypt (Ex 3$^{1ff.}$). Shortly thereafter he went to his father-in-law and obtained his permission to return to his brethren (4^{18}). In a previous narrative (2$^{15ff.}$) we are told how Moses, on fleeing from Egypt, came and dwelt in the land of Midian, how he assisted the seven daughters of the priest of Midian to water their flocks, and how finally he married one of these daughters named Zipporah. In this narrative no name is given to the priest (or it has been lost; see below).

An analysis of the above passages shows that Ex 3^{1} and 4^{18}, as well as all the other passages where the name *Jethro* occurs (*viz.* 18$^{1. 2. 5. 6. 9. 10. 12}$), belong to E, whereas Ex 2$^{15ff.}$ is from J. Now the question arises, What is the relation of **Hobab** of Nu 10^{29} (also J) to Jethro? Is he identical with him, so that in the latter passage חֹתֵן מֹשֶׁה, 'Moses' father-in-law,'* applies to Hobab; or is he his son, Reuel being another name for Jethro, so that Hobab ben-Reuel was Moses' brother-in-law; or, as a third possibility,† are Hobab and Jethro both sons of Reuel and thus brothers? Various considerations point to the following as the most probable answer to these questions. *Jethro* is the name of Moses' father-in-law according to one tradition (E), *Hobab ben-Reuel* is the name according to another (J), which appears not only in Nu 10^{29} but also in Jg 1^{16} (see Moore's note) 4^{11}. All difficulty in the way of identifying Jethro and Hobab is removed if we regard 'Reuel' of Ex 2^{18} as a gloss due to a misconception of Nu 10^{29} (Driver, *LOT*^{6} p. 22f.), or substitute for this reading 'Hobab ben-Reuel.' It is true that some obscurity (but this is so upon any theory of the relation of the two names) still arises from the circumstance that alike in Ex 2$^{15ff.}$ (J) and 3^{1} (E) Moses' father-in-law is priest of Midian, whereas in Jg 1^{16} 4^{11} he is a Kenite. (See, further, Moore on Jg 1^{16}, and Dillmann-Ryssel on Ex 2^{18}).

A very important incident is recorded in Ex 18 (E), where Moses receives a visit from Jethro, and at his father-in-law's instigation appoints subordinates to assist him in the work of 'judging' the people. In v.^{27} we are told how thereafter Jethro 'went his way into his own country.' In J's narrative (Nu 10$^{29ff.}$) we find Hobab in the camp of Israel, and gather the impression (cf. also Jg 1^{16} 4^{11}) that, though at first reluctant, he finally agreed to the proposal of Moses that he should remain and give the people the benefit of his services as guide. See, also art. HOBAB.

J. A. SELBIE.

JETUR.—See ITURÆA.

JEUEL (יְעוּאֵל).—**1.** A Judahite, son of Zerah, 1 Ch 9^{6}. **2.** A Levitical family name, 2 Ch 29^{13}. **3.** A contemporary of Ezra, Ezr 8^{13}. In 2 and 3 *Ḳerê* has יְעִיאֵל, Jeiel. See GENEALOGY.

JEUSH (יְעוּשׁ; in Gn 36$^{5. 14}$, 1 Ch 7^{10} the *Kethîbh* has יְעִישׁ Jeish. The *Ḳerê* is supported by Gn 36^{18}, the LXX Ἰεούς, Ἰαούς, Vulg. *Jehus, Jaus*, as well as by the form in which the name occurs elsewhere).—**1.** A son of Esau by Oholibamah; also the eponym of a Horite clan, Gn 36$^{5. 14. 18}$=1 Ch 1^{35}. **2.** A Benjamite chief, 7^{10}. **3.** A descendant of Saul, 1 Ch 8^{39}. **4.** The name of a Levitical family, 1 Ch 23$^{10f.}$. **5.** A son of Rehoboam, 2 Ch 11^{19}.

W. R. Smith (*Kinship and Marriage*, 218, *RS*^{2}, 42 n. 4) proposes to identify Jeush with the Arabian lion-god Jaghûth, of whose name he declares that it is 'the exact phonetic equivalent.' This is favoured by Wellhausen (*Reste*^{2}, 22) and Nöldeke (*ZDMG*, 1886, p. 168); but Lagarde (*Mittheil.* ii. 77, *Bildung der Nomina*, 133), followed by Dillmann (*Genesis, ad loc.*), objects on the ground, amongst others, that the LXX Ἰεούς points to ʿ and not *gh* in Arabic (see Gray, *Heb. Proper Names*, 109).

JEUZ (יְעוּץ).—The eponym of a Benjamite family, 1 Ch 8^{10}. See GENEALOGY.

JEW, JEWS (Heb. יְהוּדִי, יְהוּדִים (*Kethîbh* יהודיים), Aram. יְהוּדָיֵא, יְהוּדָאִין, Ἰουδαῖος, strictly=persons belonging to *Judah*).—In Jeremiah, the earliest writer employing the term whose date is certain, it is found without (32^{12}) or with implied contrast to others (40$^{11. 12}$ Moabites, 38^{19} 41^{3} 52$^{28. 30}$, cf. 2 K 25^{25} Chaldæans, 44^{1} Egyptians). Curiously (unlike the earlier phrase, 'men of Judah,' אִישׁ יְהוּדָה 1 S 11^{8} etc., or אַנְשֵׁי י׳ 2 S 2^{4}) it is never found in contrast to persons of the N. Kingdom (2 K 16^{6} is a more apparent than real exception, for though the 'Jews' spoken of do, in fact, belong to the S. Kingdom (14^{22}), yet they are contrasted with Syrians [MT] or, rather, Edomites). It seems, therefore, to have been scarcely used until the kingdom of Judah was the one existing Heb. kingdom. This change would make it the more easy for 'Jew' to be employed as a synonym of 'Hebrew' (Jer 34^{9}), and for the language common to N. and S. Pal. to be called 'Jewish' (יְהוּדִית 2 K 18$^{26. 28}$ ∥ 2 Ch 32^{18}, cf. Neh 13^{24}). Although those who inhabited Jerus. and Judah were still regarded for a time as having a special right to the title (Neh 1^{2} 6^{6}), yet it became the national name of the people of Israel in contrast to Gentiles (Neh 4^{6} [^{12} AV] 5^{8}, Zec 8^{23}, Dn 3^{8}, Est 2^{5}, and often; cf. 1 Mac 8$^{23. 27}$ τὸ ἔθνος τῶν Ἰουδαίων).

---

* It is very doubtful whether the Heb. חֹתֵן has ever the sense of *brother-in-law*; at least there is no certain example in OT of its meaning anything but *father-in-law*.

† If (with Ewald, *Gesch.* ii. 38) we read 'Jethro ben-Reuel' for 'Reuel' in Ex 2^{18}.

Josephus is therefore not far wrong when he says, *ἐκλήθησαν δὲ τὸ ὄνομα ἐξ ἧς ἡμέρας ἀνέβησαν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς, ἧς πρώτης ἐλθούσης εἰς ἐκείνους τοὺς τόπους, αὐτοί τε καὶ ἡ χώρα τῆς προσηγορίας αὐτῆς μετέλαβον* (*Ant.* XI. v. 7). Josephus also quotes a passage from Clearchus, which speaks of his master Aristotle definitely using the word 'Jew'; but as he only says that it is derived from Judæa, the country that the Jews inhabit, it is doubtful whether he uses the term in the merely local or the national sense (*c. Ap.* i. 22). Further, though nowhere expressly applied to members of the Ten Tribes (Mordecai as belonging to Benjamin would readily be called 'Jew'), yet, in view of the wide area over which 'Jews' are said to be scattered in Est 9^{15-19}, it seems impossible to believe but that when the Book of Esther was written the term included them.

In Neh 2^{16} (and so also, perhaps, 5^{17}, but not 5^{1}, cf. 5^{8}) 'the Jews' are distinguished from the priests, the nobles, the princes (*sᵉgānîm*), and 'the rest that did the work,' and seem to mean the middle classes, which were, perhaps, then, as in NT times, the most zealous for Judaism. The term occurs as denominative of Gentiles adopting Judaism in Est 8^{17}.

In NT J. is generally used in contrast to Gentiles (*e.g.* Jn 2^{6} Ac 14^{1}), Samaritans (Jn 4^{9}), or proselytes (Ac 2^{10}), *i.e.* it = Jews both in race and religion (cf. also Jn 4^{22}). It is more natural in the mouth of Gentiles than Jews (Mt 2^{2}, cf. Lk 23^{37} spoken by Roman soldiers with ‖ Mt 27^{42}, Mk 15^{32} by the high priests). In Jn it specially denotes the typical representatives of Jewish thought contrasted with believers in Christ whatever their nationality and stage of belief, or with other Jews of less pronounced opinions (*e.g.* Jn 3^{25} 'a Jew,' 5^{10} 7^{13} 9^{22}, see more fully Westcott, *St. John*, Introd. I. 1. i. *a.* *γ.*). In Gal 2^{13} it refers to Christians of Jewish race (cf. St. Paul, 'a Jew, a man of Tarsus,' Ac 21^{39}). Lk 23^{51} ('Arimathæa, a city of the Jews') perhaps means that Ar. was in Judæa, not Samaria or Galilee. For a similar use of the adj. cf. Mk 1^{5}, Jn 3^{22}. In Ro $2^{28.29}$ (cf. Rev 2^{9} 3^{9}) with ref. to ideal Jews who correspond to God's call and choice. In Gal $1^{13.14}$ St. Paul speaks of the 'Jews' religion,' and the same expression (Gr. Ἰουδαισμός) occurs also in 2 Mac 8^{1} (cf. 2^{21} 14^{38}).

Jewess (הַיְּהֻדִיָּה 1 Ch 4^{18}).—'And his wife the Jewess,' RV ('Jehudijah,' AV), *i.e.* perhaps of the tribe of Judah, but perhaps in the widest sense (see above), esp. if she is contrasted with Bithiah, the daughter of Pharaoh, who was, as it seems, Mered's other wife.

In NT Timothy's mother is said to be a believing Jewess, but his father a Greek (Ac 16^{1}). In Ac 24^{24} Drusilla the wife of Felix is called a Jewess. In both cases there is no thought of the tribe.

Jewish (יְהוּדִית, *Ἰουδαιστί*).—Of the language of the inhabitants of Jerus. in time of Hezekiah (2 K $18^{26.28}$ ‖ Is $36^{11.13}$, cf. 2 Ch 32^{18}) and of Nehemiah (Neh 13^{24}); in both cases contrasted with that of non-Isr. nations. In the time of Hez. this was quite, and in that of Nehem. almost, certainly Hebrew. In Tit 1^{14} 'Jewish fables' prob. = *Haggadôth*, by which Jewish teachers popularized their philosophical speculations. A. LUKYN WILLIAMS.

JEWEL is EV trⁿ of **1.** חֲלִי Ca 7^{1} 'The joints of thy thighs (RVm 'thy rounded thighs') are like jewels.' The word comes from a root חָלָה 'adorn.' Its only other occurrence is in Pr 25^{12}, where it is coupled with נֶזֶם 'nose-ring,' and where AV, RV tr. 'ornament.' From the same root comes **2.** The *ἅπ. λεγ.* חֶלְיָה (again coupled with נֶזֶם) in Hos 2^{13} [Heb.^{15}], used of the jewellery worn upon the occasion of a religious festival. Festal garments and ornaments were in accordance with ancient custom, Ex $3^{18ff.}$. One who had not a special robe (Gn 35^{2}), at least washed his ordinary garments (Ex 19^{10}) before approaching the presence of the Deity (cf. W. R. Smith, *RS* 433 f.). After the celebration was over, the festal garment and ornaments were put off, because a certain virtue was believed to attach to them from contact with the object of worship, cf. Ezk 44^{19} '(The priests) shall put off their garments wherein they minister and lay them in the holy chambers, and they shall put on other garments, *that they sanctify not the people with their garments*'; cf. also the mantle of Elijah, 2 K $2^{8ff.}$ (see the interesting note of Nowack, *Kl. Proph.* 20).

3. כְּלִי, a general term for 'article,' 'utensil,' 'vessel,' 'thing.' When coupled with כֶּסֶף 'silver,' or זָהָב 'gold,' or both of them, it is trᵈ 'jewels' in Gn 24^{53}, Ex 3^{22} 11^{2} 12^{35} 35^{22}, Nu $31^{50.51}$, 1 S $6^{8.15}$, Job 28^{17} (with פָּז), Is 61^{10}; so with יְקָר ('preciousness') in Pr 20^{15}; with תִּפְאֶרֶת ('fairness') in Ezk $16^{17.39}$ 23^{26}; with חֲמֻדָה ('desirableness,' 'preciousness') in 2 Ch 20^{25} (cf. חֶמְדָּה in 32^{27}, where for AV 'jewels' RV has 'vessels').

4. נֶזֶם, which in EV is three times (Pr 11^{22}, Is 3^{21}, Ezk 16^{12}) trᵈ 'jewel,' means 'nose-ring.'

5. סְגֻלָּה, Mal 3^{17} 'in that day when I make up my jewels.' Unfortunately, there can be no doubt that this beautiful and familiar phrase rests upon a mistranslation. The Heb. reads וְהָיוּ לִי לַיּוֹם אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי עֹשֶׂה סְגֻלָּה, which can hardly mean anything else than 'They shall be mine, in the day that I do make* (cf. v.^{21}), even a peculiar treasure' (so RV and Amer. RV, except that the latter gives 'mine own possession' instead of 'a peculiar treasure'). סְגֻלָּה, applied in 1 Ch 29^{3}, Ec 2^{8} to a private treasure (of gold, silver, etc.) belonging to kings, is repeatedly used of Israel as the special possession or prize of J″, Ex 19^{5}, Dt 7^{6} 14^{2} 26^{18}, Ps 135^{4} (see Driver on Dt 7^{6}).

In Ca 1^{10} where AV has 'rows (of jewels)' RV gives 'plaits (of hair).' The Heb. is תּוֹרִים, the meaning of which is quite uncertain. Baethgen (in Kautzsch's *AT*) gives *Gehänge*, Siegfried-Stade *Schnüre*. In the second clause of the same verse RV substitutes 'strings of jewels' for AV 'chains (of gold).' The Heb. is חֲרוּזִים, which Siegfried-Stade tr. *Perlen-*, *Corallenschnüre*; Baethgen, *Schnüre*; *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* 'strings of beads.' In 1 P 3^{3} where AV has simply 'gold' RV gives 'jewels of gold,' which is a more exact rendering of *χρυσίων* (gen. plur.).

In Trumbull's *Studies in Oriental Social Life* (p. 319 ff.) there is a striking chapter on the extent to which gold and silver ornaments are worn by the women of Egypt and Arabia. Oriental dress lends itself to ornamental treatment much more than the Western style. The materials may be gold, silver, and rich cloth, as well as precious stones. All the references in Scripture to jewellery imply that it was highly appreciated, and might easily become dangerous to the moral life. It caused the tragedy of Achan; and provided at once the golden calf and the furnishings of the tabernacle. Among Orientals, the same taste that enjoys rich heavy perfumes and bright dazzling colours in dress, naturally found pleasure in the gorgeous display of jewellery. Jewels took the form of armlet, anklet, bracelet, crescent, earring, nose-ring, necklace, and often had a value of amulet protection. See, further, STONES (PRECIOUS).

J. A. SELBIE.

JEWRY.—The Gr. name Ἰουδαία was rendered by Tindale *Jewry* (usually spelt by him 'Jury'), and this was accepted by all the VSS following, except occasionally Rhem. (*Juda*) and AV. The AV was apparently the first to use the more accurate form *Judea*, and it does so everywhere in NT, except Lk 23^{5}, Jn 7^{1}, where the earlier form *Jewry* has been allowed to stand. RV has everywhere the still more accurate spelling *Judæa* (wh. see). The Apocr. was more carelessly tr^{d} in AV, hence *Jewry* is oftener retained, as 1 Es 1^{32} 4^{49} $5^{7.8.57}$ 6^{1} 8^{81} 9^{3}, Bel ^{33}, 2 Mac 10^{24}; but still *Judea* is the more frequent form. In RV the Apocr. is not more carelessly, but it is less consistently tr^{d} than NT, and so *Jewry* is allowed to remain in 1 Es and Bel, but changed to *Judæa* in 1 Mac. In OT the form *Jewry* occurs but once in AV, Dn 5^{13}. The Aram. is יְהוּד, a form which in the very same verse is tr^{d} *Judah*, as it is rendered everywhere else except Ezr 5^{8} (*Judea*). RV always *Judah*. Cf. Tindale's tr^{n} of Mt $2^{5.6}$ 'And they sayde unto hym; at Bethleem in Jury (τῆς Ἰουδαίας). For thus it is written by the Prophet. And thou Bethleem in the londe of Jury (γῆ Ἰούδα), art not the leest concernynge the Princes of Judah (Ἰούδα).'

---

* Or perhaps 'in the day when I act'; Nowack, *den Tag da ich Hand anlege.*

J. HASTINGS.

JEZANIAH (in Jer 40 [Gr. 47]^{8} יְזַנְיָהוּ, LXX Ἰεζονίας; in 42 [Gr. 49]^{1} יְזַנְיָה, BA Ἀζαρίας, Q^{mg} Ἰεζονίας).—A Judahite military officer who joined Gedaliah at Mizpah (Jer 40^{8}). After the murder of Gedaliah, Jezaniah was one of those who went to the prophet Jeremiah for counsel as to their future action (42^{1}). He is called in 2 K 25^{23} **Jaazaniah** (which see), and is apparently to be identified also with **Azariah** (עֲזַרְיָה Ἀζαρίας) of Jer 43^{2}, who was prominent in rejecting the prophet's advice.

JEZEBEL (אִיזֶבֶל, perhaps* 'un-exalted,' 'unhusbanded' [see *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* p. 33^{a}], Ἰεζάβελ).—The daughter of Ethbaal, and wife of Ahab. Ethbaal (Ithobaal) had, after a period of revolution and anarchy, seized (*c.* B.C. 888) the throne of Tyre, which he occupied for more than thirty years. He was the first monarch of note who had reigned in Phœnicia since the days of Hiram, and his alliance was doubtless sought by Omri and Ahab in order to counterbalance the hostility of Damascus. The marriage of J. to Ahab (1 K 16^{31}) exercised a powerful influence upon the history of religion in Israel, and indirectly also in Judah, where J.'s daughter, Athaliah, afterwards shared the throne with Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat. The worship of the Tyrian Baal was now supported by all the court influence. We are not, indeed, to suppose that Ahab abandoned the worship of J", whose prophets he still consulted (1 K 22^{6}), and whose name he meant to honour by the names he gave to his children (*Ahaziah, Jehoram, Athaliah,* all of which are compounds containing some form of יהוה). Nay, he could have pleaded that he simply copied the example of Solomon, both in his foreign marriage and in erecting a sanctuary for Baal (cf. 1 K $11^{1.7}$ with $16^{31.33}$). But what had been tolerated in the days of Solomon now met with strenuous opposition. To the great prophet Elijah, J" was a jealous God; there was no longer room in Israel for the worship of Baal; there must be no 'halting between two opinions,' but a definite choice of the one or the other deity. The attitude assumed by Elijah, and those like-minded with him, provoked the resentment of J., in whose hands Ahab seems to have been little more than a tool. The prophets of J" were either put to death or driven to conceal themselves (1 K 18^{4}), until Elijah could exclaim, 'I, even I only, am left, and they seek my life to take it away' (1 K 19^{14}). The issue of the conflict on Mount Carmel, and the slaughter of the prophets of Baal, from which Elijah hoped so much, served only to augment the persecuting zeal of the queen (1 K 19^{2}).

The darkest stain, however, upon the memory of J. is left by the atrocious crime she perpetrated (1 K 21) in order to procure for her husband the vineyard of Naboth the Jezreelite (see NABOTH). The judicial murder of Naboth sent a thrill of horror through the land, and, as W. R. Smith (*Proph. Isr.* 87), following Ewald and Wellhausen, has truly remarked, this crime had far more to do than the worship of Baal with undermining the throne of Ahab and Jezebel. The popular feeling is doubtless truly reflected in the terrible sentence which (according to the Deuteronomic compiler) Elijah passed upon the actors in this tragedy (1 K 21^{17-24}).

J. survived her husband (who fell in battle at Ramoth-gilead, *c.* B.C. 853) some ten years, and saw her two sons, Ahaziah and Jehoram, in succession seated upon the throne. The house of Omri was at length destroyed by Jehu, a cavalry officer in the service of Jehoram, who treacherously slew both his master and Ahaziah king of Judah (2 K $9^{24ff.}$). When tidings of the catastrophe reached J., the aged queen prepared to meet death with fortitude and dignity. Having attired herself as for a state occasion (the notion that she meant to captivate Jehu by her charms is too ridiculous to need refutation), she awaited the arrival of the usurper, whom she mockingly accosted, 'Is it well with Zimri, the murderer of his master?'* The answer of the brutal Jehu was to order her eunuchs to cast her down from the window of the palace, and, as the helpless woman lay stunned by the fall, he and his captains trampled her under their horses' feet. After a banquet held to celebrate the success of his conspiracy, the savage warrior ordered the rites of sepulture to be paid to his victim; but it was discovered that her body had been devoured by the street dogs. So perished miserably the proud daughter of Tyre, and the murder of Naboth was avenged (2 K 9^{30-37}).

The impression of J. that is left upon us by the narrative of the OT is that of an able, resolute woman, who, once she had formed a purpose, carried it to a conclusion, without much scruple as to the methods she employed. Whether she was guilty, in a literal sense, of the 'whoredoms and witchcrafts' of which Jehu speaks in 2 K 9^{22}, we have not sufficient evidence to decide. Her accuser is by no means an unprejudiced witness, and even he may have only meant, in his coarse fashion, to allude to her worship of the Tyrian Baal. Later traditions interpreted the accusation in its most literal sense (cf. Rev 2^{20}).† There can be little doubt that the prevailing estimate of J.'s character is far less favourable than that which was cherished by her contemporaries. Much of the obloquy that attaches to her name, and that has made 'a Jezebel' a term of reproach, is due to an inexcusable misunderstanding of 2 K 9^{30}, which records a perfectly innocent and dignified act. It is surely a singular coincidence whereby the murderer and his victim, Jehu and Jezebel, are remembered best, not for the part they played at an

* Hommel's theory (*AHT* 116), that the first element of the word is a divine name, is very precarious. König (*Expos. Times*, Jan. 1899, p. 190^{a}) suggests that the first element is אִי 'island,' and that the name may mean 'exalted isle,' which may have been originally an honorific appellation of Tyre itself.

* AV 'Had Zimri peace who slew his master?' is an improbable rendering, and even RV (text) 'Is it peace, thou Zimri, thy master's murderer?' seems hardly to suit the occasion. Our rendering is supported by Kautzsch's *AT*, 'Geht es Simri wohl?' and by Reuss, 'Wie geht's du Simri?' which is paraphrased by the latter, 'Ei guten Tag du Canaille!'

† The correct text is τὴν γυναῖκα. The copyist who added σου seems to have understood the 'angel' of the Church as the bishop. The name 'Jezebel' must be understood symbolically and not as the real name of the woman against whom the denunciation is uttered. She appears to have been a false prophetess (within the Christian Church, and not belonging to Judaism or heathenism) whose teaching had a licentious tendency, πορνεύειν and μοιχεύειν being probably used in a literal and not a figurative sense. Bousset (see his exhaustive note) thinks there is not sufficient evidence to warrant the interesting suggestion of Schürer, that Jezebel in this text is the priestess of the Chaldæan Sibyl, Sambethe, who is believed by Schürer to have had a sanctuary at Thyatira.

important crisis in Israel's history, but he for his 'furious driving,' and she for her painted face!

LITERATURE.—W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} p. 237, *Proph. Isr.* 48, 76; Wellhausen, *Hist. of Isr. and Jud.* 65; Kuenen, *Rel. Isr.* i. 355 ff.; Reuss, *Das AT*, i. 357; Cornill, *Der israel. Prophetismus*, 30 f. J. A. SELBIE.

JEZELUS (Ἰέζηλος).—**1.** (B Ἰέθηλος) 1 Es 8^{32}. In Ezr 8^5 JAHAZIEL. **2.** 1 Es 8^{35}. In Ezr 8^9 JEHIEL.

JEZER (יֵצֶר 'form,' 'purpose'; LXX Gn 46^{24} Ἰσσααρ, Nu 26^{49} B Ἰέσερ, A Ἰεσρί, 1 Ch 7^{13} B Ἰσσειήρ, A Σαάρ).—The head of the **Jezerites** (הַיִּצְרִי, B Ἰεσερεί, A Ἰεσρί), a family of Naphtali. See GENEALOGY.

JEZIEL (יְזִיאֵל *Kerê*, יזואל *Kethîbh*; B Ἰωήλ, A Ἀζιήλ).—A Benjamite who joined David at Ziklag, 1 Ch 12^3.

JEZRAHIAH (יִזְרַחְיָה='J" will shine,' Luc. ℵ$^{c.a}$ Ἰεζριάς, ℵ*BA omit, Neh 12^{42}).—The leader of the singers at the solemn dedication of the walls of Jerus. in the time of Nehemiah. In 1 Ch $7^{3\ bis}$ the same name is rendered **Izrahiah.**

JEZREEL (יִזְרְעֶאל 'God soweth').—**1.** A Judahite (1 Ch 4^3). See GENEALOGY. **2.** The symbolical name of Hosea's eldest son (Hos 1^4), given in token of the prophet's disapproval of the massacre of Ahab's family at J., and his expectation that divine vengeance would speedily overtake the dynasty of its perpetrator, Jehu. See HOSEA, p. 421^a. **3.** J. is used in Hos $2^{22.23}$ as a name for Israel, with a play upon the etymology of the word.

JEZREEL (יִזְרְעֶאל 'God soweth'; LXX A Ἰεσραέλ, Ἰεζραέλ, Ἰεζραήλ, Ἐσραέ; B Ἰαζήλ, Ἰσραήλ, Ἐζερεέλ; Jos. *Ant.* VIII. xiii. 6, Ἰερέζηλα; VIII. xv. 4, 6, Ἰεζέρηλα, var. Ἰζάρα, etc.).—This is the Heb. name of the great plain (עֵמֶק יִ׳, Jos 17^{16}, Jg 6^{33}, Hos 1^5) now generally called *Esdraelon*, and by the Arabs known as *Merj ibn-'Amr*. In modern times it has been applied especially to the vale between Jebel Duhy and Gilboa, sloping E. towards Beisân (see ESDRAELON). Jezreel[*] is the name also of—

1. A city in the territory of Issachar (Jos 19^{18}), the site of which is now occupied by the village of *Zer'în*. This identification is beyond question. The two names are practically identical; the soft initial *yod* of the Heb. is dropped, and, as is not unusual, the Heb. *-el* is replaced by the Arab. *-în* in the modern word. Similar instances are found in *Beitîn* for Bethel, and *Isma'în* for Ishmael. Eusebius and Jerome (*OS*^{2} 268. 52, 165. 14) place Jezreel in the great plain between Legio (*Khân Lejjûn*) and Scythopolis (*Beisân*), and the Bordeaux Pilgrim (A.D. 333) gives the distance from Beisân as 12 Roman miles, conditions quite met by *Zer'în*. Eusebius and Jerome speak of *Esdraela*, and the Bordeaux Pilgrim of *Stradela*, both obvious modifications of the Greek name of Jezreel. In Crusading times it was called *Parvum Gerinum* (William of Tyre, xxii. 6), and in 1173 Benjamin of Tudela mentions *Zarein* (זֵר״ין) as Jezreel. (The Constantinople ed. gives זַרְזִין, but it is full of errors). Brocardus (c. vii. 176, 177) speaks of *Zarein*, and notes the fine view which it commands. Sir John Maundeville says, '5 miles from Nain is the city of Jezreel, which was formerly called Zarim' (*Early Travels in Palestine*, Bohn's ed. p. 184). Robinson observes that from the 14th cent. to the beginning of the 19th the identification was lost sight of. He was himself the first to put it on a secure basis (*BRP* iii. 161-168 [^{2} ii. 318-325]).

The beautiful and commanding situation of Jezreel amply warranted the distinction conferred upon it by Ahab and Jezebel. Mount Gilboa terminates to the N. in bold bluffs which descend steeply into the vale of Jezreel, and to the N.W. throws off a low sinking promontory, thrust like a wedge between the vale of Jezreel and the great bay of Esdraelon, which sweeps round by the base of Gilboa to Jenîn. Guarded on the N. by precipitous cliffs about 100 ft. in height, with the splendid rampart of Gilboa S. and S.E., it is a position of considerable strength, being easiest of approach from the S.W. Here, at an elevation of 200 ft. above the plain, stands the village of *Zer'în*. The hovels that form the village, some thirty in number, built on a mound of rubbish, are mean and dirty, and the general aspect is one of squalor. The inhabitants have been corrupted by travellers, and have learned to prey upon all who pass, while the street dogs here have an evil reputation for savageness.

The place contains little of interest and no antiquities. There are numerous broken cisterns among the houses; and Guérin found a white marble sarcophagus W. of the town (*Samarie*, i. 311; *PEF Mem.* ii. 131). The one conspicuous building is a large square tower, of no great age, now commonly used as a *medâfeh* or place for the entertainment of guests. From the top of this structure a magnificent view is obtained, including the great plain in its whole extent, and every point of importance around it, with the single exception of Tabor. S. and S.E. runs the high barren wall of Gilboa, with its memories of humiliation and defeat for Israel. From En-gannim (*Jenîn*), its white domes and minarets glancing amid the greenery of its sheltered nook, the Samaritan mountains rising behind, the eye ranges along the edge of the plain to Megiddo (*Khân Lejjûn*), and thence to the bushy heights of Carmel, the rough crest of *el-Maḥraḳah*, the place of Elijah's burnt-offering showing clear against the sky. Cut off from the mountain on the north by the gorge of the Kishon, low oak-clad hills divide the plain of Acre from Esdraelon, and, sweeping round eastward in more fertile slopes, drop in precipitous cliffs upon the plain just south of Nazareth, the highest of whose white houses one may descry, with the dark uplands of Galilee beyond. Mt. Tabor is hidden by the shapely mass of *Jebel Duhy*, the hill of Moreh, crowned by its *wely*, with Shunem, Nain, and Endor clinging to its sides. Far down the broad and fertile vale of Jezreel as it slopes to the Jordan Valley, we catch a glimpse of the citadel of *Beisân*; and across the *Ghôr* the view is barred by the steep and rugged mountains of Gilead.

Besides the cisterns mentioned above, Jezreel was well situated for water supply. *Bîr es-Suweid* lies to the N. of the town; and at the base of the cliffs to the E. the waters of *el-'Ain el-Meiyiteh*, 'the dead spring,' form quite a considerable stream. The fountain is so named because once it dried up. After deep digging the waters flowed again; the pit was filled with loose gravel, and since then the supply has been continuous. About a mile farther E., in a cave at the base of Gilboa, a still more copious spring bursts forth, the stream from which is strong enough to turn a mill. This is probably the fountain where the Israelites encamped before the disastrous battle of Gilboa (1 S 29^1). It is also with some likelihood identified with the spring of Harod (Jg 7^1). The native name, *'Ain Jalûd* or *Jalût* (Arab. for Goliath), seems due to some confusion with the scene of David's encounter with the giant. 'Here is the plain where David slew Goliath,' says the Bordeaux Pilgrim; but beyond this, says Robinson, no trace of the tradition is to be found. The fountain which the Crusaders knew as *Tubana* was doubtless the spring *'Ain Ṭuba'ûn*, some little distance off, surrounded by marshy ground. The water is slightly reddish in colour. Conder suggests that this may represent the Talmudic *Tubnia* (Tosephta, *Sheviith*, ch. vii.; *PEF Mem.* iii. 79). The water of all these fountains is sweet, and abounds in small fish: on this was founded the legend of the Crusading army being miraculously supplied with fish for some days (William of Tyre, xxii. 27).

---

[*] The plain probably derived its name from the city, and not *vice versâ* (see Budde, *Richt. u. Sam.* 46 ff.).

Jezreel is first mentioned in marking out the lot of Issachar (Jos 19^{18}). It, with its district, remained faithful to the family of Saul, after the disaster at Gilboa (2 S 2^{9}). The days of its greatest prosperity dawned when Ahab and Jezebel, fascinated no doubt by the beauty of the place and its surroundings, chose it as a royal residence. The palace stood on the E. side of the city, the harem being close by the gate, with windows overlooking the road leading thither (2 K $9^{30.31}$). A tower commanding a view of the approach from Jordan, up the vale of Jezreel, also formed part of the building (*ib.* 9^{17}). This was most necessary to guard against surprise; as then, and until comparatively recent times, the hordes of the East came this way in making their inroads upon the fruitful land of Esdraelon. An object of special admiration was the house of ivory built by the king, an evidence also of the luxury in which the royal pair indulged (1 K 22^{39}; cf. Am 3^{15} 6^{4}). The establishment of idolatrous priests must also have been large (1 K 16^{33}, 2 K 10^{11}). Hither drove Ahab from Carmel through the storm, preceded by the stern, swift-footed Tishbite (1 K $18^{45.46}$). Here was the vineyard of Naboth the Jezreelite (יִזְרְעֵאלִי), coveted by Ahab (*ib.* 21^{1}). Probably it lay E. of the town, where wine-presses cut in the rock are still to be seen (2 K $9^{21.25}$). Whether this city or Samaria was the scene of Jezebel's outrage upon Naboth and his sons (1 K 21^{8-14}, 2 K 9^{26}) is in some doubt. If Ahab's blood was licked by the dogs at Samaria, that would point to the southern city as the scene of Naboth's execution (1 K 22^{38}). On the other hand, the natural sense of 1 K 21 seems to place it at Jezreel; and with this Josephus agrees (*Ant.* VIII. xv. 6).[*] Joram, succeeding his father Ahab, maintained Jezreel as a royal residence; and here he was visited by his kinsman Ahaziah king of Judah (2 K 8^{29}). These two were together when surprised by the newly anointed Jehu, who slew Joram and cast his body into the plot of Naboth: Ahaziah fled, but was wounded, and died at Megiddo (2 K 9^{27}). Here Jezebel also suffered miserably for her offences, being at the conqueror's command hurled from the window into the courtyard, where she was devoured by the pariah dogs (2 K 9^{30-37}). By the gateway of Jezreel were piled the heads of Ahab's 70 sons, brought hither by Jehu's orders from Samaria (2 K 10^{7}); then the town became the scene of one of those sickening massacres which so often stain the records of Oriental monarchies: all who might be suspected of sympathy with the house of Ahab, 'his great men, his familiar friends, and his priests,' were relentlessly done to death (*ib.* 10^{11}). The prosperity of Jezreel seems to have ended with the downfall of the house of Ahab, and its name is seen no more in the sacred books, save only in Hos $1^{4.11}$, where it occurs with a symbolic significance. (See HOSEA).

The Crusaders knew Jezreel as *Parvum Gerinum*, and close by occurred in 1183 a skirmish with Saladin, after which the Saracen leader retired (William of Tyre, xxii. 26). In 1217 the Christian army passed down the vale to Beisân; but the place has been the scene of no important event in later history; and for many centuries it has presented, practically unchanged, the aspect of squalid poverty that meets the eye of the traveller to-day.

2. A town in the hill-country of Judæa, the site of which has not been identified. It was not far from the Judæan Carmel (Jos 15^{56}). Ahinoam (the **Jezreelitess**, יִזְרְעֵלִית or יִזְרְעֵאלִית), one of David's first two wives (1 S 25^{43} 27^{3} 30^{5}, 2 S 2^{2} 3^{2}, 1 Ch 3^{1}), was a native of this town.

LITERATURE.—*Early Travels in Palestine*, Bohn, p. 184, etc.; Robinson, *BRP* iii. 161–168 [^{2} ii. 318–325]; Thomson, *Land and Book*, ii. 177–191; Stanley, *Sinai and Pal.* p. 343, *History of the Jewish Church*, ii. 244; Conder, *Tent-Work in Palestine*, p. 65, etc.; *PEF Mem.* ii. pp. 79, 88, 131; Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*, ed. 1894, p. 242; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* pp. 356, 381, etc.; Buhl, *GAP* 204 f.; Guérin, *Samarie*, i. 311 ff.

W. EWING.

JEZREELITE, JEZREELITESS.—See preceding article.

JEZRIELUS (A Ἰεζρίηλος, B Ἰεζόρικλος; AV Hierielus), 1 Es 9^{27}.—In Ezr 10^{26} JEHIEL. The AV form is derived from the Aldine text.

JIDLAPH (יִדְלָף, perh. 'he weepeth,' if from root דָּלַף 'drip'; A Ἰελδάφ, D om., Luc. Ἰεδλάφ).—A son of Nahor, Gn 22^{22} (J). The clan of which he is the eponym has not been identified.

JOAB (יוֹאָב 'J" is father').—**1.** (Ἰωάβ) the son of Zeruiah and brother of Abishai and Asahel. J.'s *mother* is named because she was David's sister, and thus of more importance than his *father*, of whom all we are told is that his sepulchre was at Bethlehem (2 S 2^{32}). The first mention of J. is upon the occasion of the engagement at Gibeon between David's men and those of Ishbosheth. Abner, who commanded the latter, was completely beaten, but in the course of his retreat killed Asahel, who had overtaken him. At sunset J., at the request of Abner, recalled his men from the pursuit, and returned to David's headquarters at Hebron (2 S 2^{12-32}). Some time afterwards Abner, having quarrelled with Ishbosheth, offered his allegiance to David. J. was absent when Saul's general visited Hebron for this purpose, but returned shortly after his departure. Prompted by a desire to avenge the death of his brother Asahel, and perhaps also by a jealous dread that Abner might supplant him in the favour of David, J. sent messengers to recall him, and then treacherously murdered him (2 S 3^{22-27}). At the siege of Jerus. by David, it was J., acc. to the Chronicler, who first scaled the citadel, and thus earned the reward promised by the king, that he should be chief captain of the host (1 Ch 11^{6}). After the defeat of the Edomites (2 S $8^{13f.}$, cf. title of Ps 60) J. remained in Idumæa for six months, and sought to exterminate all the male population. The terror of his name haunted that country for long (1 K 11^{14-21}). In conjunction with his brother Abishai, J. waged successful war against the allied forces of Syria and Ammon; and when at length the citadel of Rabbath-ammon was ready to fall, he displayed a combination of magnanimity and prudence in sending for David to deal the final blow, so that the king himself might have the credit of the victory (2 S 11^{1} 12^{26-29}). It was during the siege of Rabbah that David was guilty of the most heinous sin of his life. J. fell in readily with the king's plan for getting rid of Uriah the Hittite, and thus obtained a new hold upon David through sharing his guilty secret (2 S 11^{6-27}). After Absalom's murder of Amnon, and his flight to Geshur, it was J. who, through the medium of 'a wise woman from Tekoa,' induced David to recall his son, and who at last, but with reluctance, effected a final reconciliation between them (2 S $14^{ff.}$). When the rebellion of Absalom broke out, J. remained loyal, and accompanied David in his flight across the Jordan. With his brother Abishai, and Ittai the Gittite, he shared the command of the royal army in the battle which proved so disastrous to Absalom and his adherents. It was by J.'s own hand that Absalom met his death as he hung defenceless in the branches of an oak. As he had not hesitated to take the rebel's life in spite of David's strict charge to the contrary, J. did not hesitate after the battle to remonstrate with the king for giving such unrestrained vent to his grief for his son's death. The sturdy common-sense of J., although his plainness of speech must have been very displeasing to his master, availed to check the disaffection that had begun to spread among the royal troops (2 S 19). It was probably resentment at J.'s conduct on this occasion that led David to transfer the command of the army to another of his nephews, Amasa, who had been Absalom's commander-in-chief (2 S 19^{13}). The deadly mistake of this appointment speedily became apparent when the standard of revolt was raised by Sheba ben-Bichri. Amasa proved himself a useless *fainéant*, and the situation became so alarming that David was compelled to send Abishai (or perhaps J. himself)* to take command of the army. At any rate J. was present with the expedition, which was ultimately joined also by Amasa. J. seized the first opportunity to rid himself of his rival, whom he despatched with as little compunction as he had shown in the case of Abner (2 S $20^{8ff.}$, on the text and interpretation of which see Driver, *Sam.*, *ad loc.*). He then prosecuted the campaign with vigour, and speedily brought it to a successful issue. Sheba having taken refuge at Abel-beth-maacah, J. laid siege to the town, and only desisted when the head of the rebel was cast to him over the wall (2 S 20^{22}). J. offered strenuous resistance to David's proposal to number the people (2 S $24^{1ff.}$), and, acc. to the Chronicler, did not complete the work (1 Ch 21^{6}). When Adonijah took steps to have himself proclaimed king, J. attached himself to his party, probably without the slightest thought of disloyalty to David, who seems himself to have intended that Adonijah should succeed him, until the household intrigue of Bathsheba, aided by the powerful support of the prophet Nathan, led him to decide in favour of Solomon. The latter, upon his accession to the throne, considered it prudent to rid himself of J., whose influence with the army might have constituted a serious danger to the new monarch. No doubt a desire to wipe away from his house the stain of the unavenged blood of Abner and Amasa partially influenced Solomon, but State reasons must have predominated. J., on hearing that Adonijah had been put to death and Abiathar deposed, needed no further intimation that his own life was in danger, and he fled to the asylum of the altar. Refusing to leave the sacred place, by Solomon's order he was slain there by Benaiah, whose readiness to act as executioner was doubtless all the greater because he thus secured the reversion of the office of commander-in-chief for himself (1 K 2^{28-34}). Acc. to 1 K 2^{1-12} Solomon, in the execution of J., acted in obedience to the dying injunction of David. Wellh. and Stade hold, however, that this passage is an unhistorical interpolation. The hand of the Deuteronomic redactor is certainly evident in v.^{3}, but Budde (*Richt u. Sam.* 263 f.), following Kuenen, defends the *antiquity* (without committing himself to the *historicity*) of at least vv.$^{5-9}$.

---

[*] It is possible that the prediction in 1 K 21^{19} (which is from a different hand from 22) contemplates the deed of Jehu in 2 K 9^{25}, and not the death of Ahab himself (cf. 1 K 21^{29}). In any case, 22^{38} is an interpolation. See, further, Wellh. *Comp.* 284.

The character of J. has often been unfairly estimated, either from lack of a due regard to the spirit of the age in which he lived, or from prejudice in favour of David and Solomon. The least that can be said is that he was a man of far-seeing statesman-like views, a brave soldier, a skilful commander, and a loyal subject. Even his assassination of Abner and Amasa, so repellent to us, could plead as excuse, in the one case the supposed duty to avenge his brother's death, and in the other the gross injustice of David in depriving him of his command. The Oriental is not usually distinguished for generosity to his enemies or scrupulousness in his methods of revenge, and J. was no exception to this rule; but his action on these two occasions must not blind us to the splendid services he rendered to his country. Without him David was like Ferdinand without Wallenstein. No doubt, like the last-named great general, J. made the most of his knowledge that he was indispensable, and thus in the end was able to obtain his own terms from his master. One thing he had resolved upon, that as he alone was fit for the post, he alone must command David's army. 'Wallenstein war Nichts wo er nicht Alles war, er muss entweder gar nicht oder mit vollkommener Freiheit handeln' (Schiller). This determination to brook no rival, combined with the low moral standard of the age, will suffice to explain the most questionable episodes in the career of the Wallenstein of Israel. J.'s conduct all through the Absalomic rebellion reflects the greatest credit upon his foresight. It is needless to offer any apology for his killing of Absalom, an act that was pardonable because necessary. Nor is it possible, as we have explained already, to convict him of treason because at first he supported Adonijah. Taking everything into account, we feel that this great man deserved a better fate, and it leaves a painful impression upon us when we learn that, after he had served his king and his country so faithfully, his grey hairs were not suffered to go down to the grave in peace.

2. (Ἰωβάβ BL, Ἰωάβ A).—The son of Seraiah, a descendant of Judah, and father 'of the valley of Charashim' (AV), or 'of (the inhabitants of) the valley of craftsmen' (AVm), or 'of Ge-Harashim' (RV), or 'of the valley of craftsmen' (RVm), 1 Ch 4^{14}, cf. Neh 11^{35}. See GE-HARASHIM. 3. (Ἰωβάβ, Ἰωάβ).—The name of a family which returned from exile with Zerubbabel and Ezra (Ezr 2^{6} = Neh 7^{11}, Ezr 8^{9}, 1 Es 8^{35}). J. A. SELBIE.

JOACHAZ (A Ἰωχάζ, B Ἰεχονίας), 1 Es 1^{34} (LXX^{32}).—Jehoahaz the son of Josiah; cf. 2 Ch 36^{1}. B and the Vulgate (*Jechonias*) are in agreement with Mt 1^{11} in omitting the short reign of Jehoahaz.

JOADANUS (A Ἰωάδανος, B Ἰώδανος), 1 Es 9^{19}.—One of the sons of Jesus, the son of Josedek, the priest. The corresponding name in Ezr 10^{18} is GEDALIAH.

JOAH (יוֹאָח 'J" is brother').—1. Son of Asaph, the 'recorder' at Hezekiah's court, 2 K $18^{18. 26. 37}$ = Is $36^{3. 11. 22}$. 2. A Levitical family name, 1 Ch 6^{21} (apparently same as Ethan of v.^{42}), 2 Ch 29^{12}. 3.

---

* In 2 S 20^{6} the MT and LXX have *Abishai*, but Syr. has *Joab*, and the latter reading is adopted by Thenius, Wellh., Driver, Kittel, Löhr. On the other hand, Budde, in his notes to the Bks. of Sam. in Haupt's *Sacred Bks. of OT* (p. 95), considers that MT is correct, and that the narrative is perfectly intelligible upon this assumption. 'As the new commander-in-chief Amasa left him in the lurch, David was obliged to make use of J.'s services, but his dignity as king would not permit the acknowledgment of this by an immediate reinstatement. By charging Abishai his brother with the commission he makes sure that J. will not remain behind, and the latter willingly joins the expedition as a volunteer, in order to put the king under new obligations to himself. The fact that he takes the leadership into his own hands is so much a matter of course that it does not need to be mentioned.'

A Levite, son of Obed-edom, 1 Ch 26^{4}. **4.** Son of Joahaz, the 'recorder' at Josiah's court, 2 Ch 34^{8}.

JOAHAZ (יוֹאָחָז).—The father of Joah, the 'recorder' in the reign of Josiah, 2 Ch 34^{8}. See also JEHOAHAZ.

JOAKIM (Ἰωακίμ or -ειμ, LXX form of יְהוֹיָקִים).—The name is spelt Jehoiakim in canon. books, but Joacim or Joachim in Apocr. AV, and Joakim everywhere in Apocr. RV.

In Apocr. the name belongs to *six* persons. **1.** King Jehoiakim, son of Josiah, father of Jeconiah (Bar 1^{3}). 1 Es 1^{40} follows LXX of 2 Ch 36^{6} in saying that he was carried in copper chains to Babylon. This is in apparent, but not hopeless, discrepancy with 2 K $24^{1.6}$ and Jer 22^{18} 36^{30}. **2.** Jehoiachin, son of Jehoiakim, who is erroneously called Joakim in 1 Es 1^{43}, and is said to have reigned after his father 3 months and 10 days. **3.** A priest, son of Hilkiah, to whom the captives of B.C. 597 are said, in Bar 1^{7}, to have sent money for the purchase of offerings and incense. The Gr. says that the money was 'sent to J. the priest (τὸν ἱερέα), and to the priests (πρὸς τοὺς ἱερεῖς).' Hence RV renders ἱερέα, 'the high priest.' No high priest of this name, however, is mentioned in Scripture, and it is therefore better with Zöckler to regard J. as the second priest, invested with the duties of overseer or treasurer of the temple, as Pashhur (Jer 20^{1}) is called chief officer in the house of J″; and as Zephaniah, a son of Hilkiah and brother of Seraiah who succeeded his father, was promised to be officer in the temple (Jer 29^{26}), and was afterwards 'second priest' (Jer 52^{24}). It is reasonable to suppose that Zephaniah was J.'s successor as *sagan*, or second priest. **4.** A high priest, who, in the days of Holofernes and Judith, when the people of Judæa were 'newly come up from captivity,' is said, as head of the Senate, to have directed military affairs, by commanding the inhabitants of Bethulia to occupy the northern passes (Jth $4^{6.7}$), and at the same time to have led the people in devout supplication in the temple, clad in sackcloth, and with ashes on his mitre (Jth $4^{14.15}$). **5.** A priest, son of Zorobabel, mentioned among the returning exiles in the reign of Darius (1 Es 5^{5}). **6.** The husband of Susanna, a wealthy Jew in Babylon. The rooms of his mansion were used for the administration of justice among the Jews; and acc. to Syr. W_2, for the Synagogue. The horrid calumny concocted by the two lascivious elders came on J. as a terrible blow, and, when Daniel solved the mystery, J. joined with Susanna's relatives in singing praises that no dishonour was found in her (Sus ^{63}). W_2 stands alone in saying that J. died shortly after marriage, and that Susanna was a pious widow when her trial came.

J. T. MARSHALL.

JOANAN (Ἰωανάν WH, Ἰωαννᾶ TR, AV Joanna).—An ancestor of Jesus, Lk 3^{27}.

JOANNA (Ἰωάνα WH, Ἰωάννα TR), the wife of Chuza, the steward of Herod Antipas. She was one of 'certain women which had been healed of evil spirits and infirmities' (Lk 8^{2}). Thus bound to Jesus by the tie of gratitude, J. ministered to Him of her substance, and after the crucifixion was one of the company that went to the tomb to anoint the body of the Lord (Lk 8^{3} 24^{10}).

JOANNES (Ἰωάννης, AV Johannes).—**1.** (B -άνης) 1 Es 8^{38} son of Akatan, in Ezr 8^{12} JOHANAN. **2.** 1 Es 9^{29} son of Bebai, in Ezr 10^{28} JEHOHANAN.

JOARIB (Ἰωαρ(ε)ίβ, Ἰωαρ(ε)ίμ), 1 Mac 2^{1} 14^{29}, Jos. *Ant.* XII. vi. 1, the head of the priestly family from which the Maccabees were descended. Acc. to 1 Ch 24^{7} this family, there called that of JEHOIARIB (which see), was the first of the twenty-four courses of priests.

JOASH (יוֹאָשׁ).—**1.** Father of Gideon, a native of Abiezer (Jg 6^{11} 8^{2}). Notwithstanding Gideon's modest language (6^{15}), J. must have been the most important person in his town ('one of the principal persons of the tribe of Manasseh,' Jos. *Ant.* V. vi. 2); he had more than ten servants (6^{27}), and he was guardian of the local sanctuary of Baal. It may be reasonably supposed that the demonstrated impotence of Baal to protect his altar and the Asherah, coupled with love for his son, revived strongly in the mind of J. a conviction of the unique power of J″, which found utterance in that sarcastic address to the Abiezrites which recalls the mockery of Elijah on a like occasion, and which received a lasting memorial in the name Jerubbaal by which Gideon was known in later times (1 S 12^{11}, 2 S 11^{21}).

2. A son of Ahab to whose custody, and that of Amon, governor of Samaria, Ahab committed Micaiah on his departure for Ramoth-gilead (1 K 22^{26}=2 Ch 18^{25}). J. was probably left behind as his father's viceroy. Rawlinson suggests that here and in 2 Ch 28^{7} 'king's son' means a state officer; cf. Jer 36^{26} 38^{6}. **3.** A descendant of Shelah, son of Judah, 1 Ch 4^{22}. Vv.$^{21-23}$ are very obscure (see *QPB*). **4.** (יוֹעָשׁ) A Benjamite, son of Becher, 1 Ch 7^{8}. **5.** A Benjamite warrior who joined David at Ziklag, 1 Ch 12^{3}. **6.** (יוֹעָשׁ) One of the comptrollers of David's private estate. He was over 'the cellars of oil,' 1 Ch 27^{28}. **7.** See JEHOASH.

N. J. D. WHITE.

JOB, BOOK OF.—In mod. edd. of the Heb. Bible, the third in order of the books called Kĕthubim in the Jewish Canon. Its place, however, has varied; in the Talm. order it stands between Ps and Pr; Jerome places it before both. In the Greek Canon the division of books is for the most part according to subject-matter. After the historical books follow Ps, Pr, Ec, Ca, Job (this is order in B); succeeded by Wis, Sir, and other extra-canonical books. Job, together with the canonical books of Pr and Ec, and the apocr. books Sir and Wis, belongs to what is called the *Ḥokhmah* or Wisdom-Literature of the Old Covenant, and forms its crown and climax. This article will deal severally with the Name of the book, its Contents, its Form, its Text, its Integrity, its Scope and Purpose, its Date and Authorship, and the History of its Exegesis.

i. NAME.—Heb. אִיּוֹב, Gr. Ἰώβ, *'Iyyōb*, misrepresented in the usual Eng. pronunciation. In a postscript to the LXX (not found in Aq. or Symm., and in Theod. only in part), Job is confused with the Idumæan king Jobab, mentioned in Gn 36^{33}. The sentence runs: 'This man is described in the Syriac book as living in the land of Ausis, on the borders of Idumæa and Arabia; and his name before was Jobab, and having taken an Arabian wife, he begot a son whose name was Ennon.' By a further confusion in the name Ζαρά (Gn 36^{13}), Job's descent from Esau is inferred. The traditions embodied in this postscript are followed in the Koran, but are wholly untrustworthy. (For additional traditions concerning Job, see Koran, Suras 38, 40, also Sura 21).

The derivation of the name is doubtful, and the attempts to give to it a significance drawn from etymology are very questionable. It has been taken (Ges. and others) as a passive form from root איב, meaning 'one persecuted' by Satan, or by his friends, or by calamity. Cf. יִלּוֹד from ילד. But this form is never purely passive (Volck, p. 6). Others (including Ewald and Delitzsch) explain after the analogy of Arab. *awwâb*, as from root

אוב, 'the penitent one, *resipiscens*, or pious, ever turning' to God. The latter explanation is favoured by Hitzig and Cheyne (see his *Job and Solomon*, p. 62 and note).

The name of Uz (עוּץ) as the country in which Job lived is not of much assistance in determining his personality. The name is given to a son of Aram in Gn 10^{23}, to a son of Nahor Gn 22^{21} (RV, in AV Huz), and to a grandson of Seir Gn 36^{28}. This last passage, joined with Jer 25^{20} and the mention of Uz in connexion with Edom in La 4^{21}, points to a district E. or S.E. of Palestine, N. of Arabia, and adjacent to Edom. The LXX, quoted above, probably embodies a prevalent tradition; another tradition, traced out by Wetzstein (see Delitzsch, *Comm.*, Appendix), points to the district of the Hauran. Fr. Delitzsch, judging from certain cuneiform inscriptions, fixes upon a district near Palmyra for the site of Uz, whilst some view the names both of place and hero as symbolical only. The names *Bĕnê-ḳedem*, 'children of the East' (1^{3}), 'Temanite,' and to a less extent 'Shuhite' and 'Naamathite,' may be held to confirm the general indications of locality mentioned above. (See Uz).

Outside this book, Job is mentioned in Scripture only in Ezk 14$^{14. 19}$ 'These three men, Noah, Daniel, and Job'; and in Ja 5^{11} 'Ye have heard of the patience of Job.' Both of these passages apparently imply a belief in the actual existence of the proverbially upright and patient man of that name, but not necessarily the existence of this book, or the treatment which Job's history receives in it.

ii. CONTENTS.—The following is an outline or 'argument' of this remarkable book; its form and significance will be considered later. It may be divided into five parts. **1.** *Prologue*, written in prose, chs. 1 and 2. **2.** *Colloquies between Job and his friends*, including Job's Lament, ch. 3. First colloquy, chs. 4–14; second colloquy, chs. 15–21; third colloquy, chs. 22–31. In the first two colloquies, each friend speaks once, and Job replies to each; in the third, according to the present arrangement of the text, Zophar fails to take up his turn, and Job, after replying to Bildad (ch. 26), speaks at unusual length, partly in a kind of monologue (chs. 27–31). **3.** *Intervention of Elihu*, chs. 32–37. **4.** *A Theophany*; utterances of J″, with very brief replies of Job, chs. 38–42^{6}. **5.** *Epilogue*, written in prose, ch. 42$^{7-17}$.

1. The Prologue introduces us to a man named Job, living in the land of Uz, of great wealth and exceptional piety, surrounded by a large and happy family, and possessing every mark of divine favour. Upon this man there falls a series of heavy calamities, succeeding one another with startling rapidity, each more severe and trying than the last. His flocks are carried off by marauders or smitten by lightning, he is stripped of all his possessions, and bereaved at a stroke of all his children. The Prologue represents this as due to a scene in the Council of Heaven, at which there appeared among the 'sons of God' a being called 'the Satan' or 'the Adversary,' who questioned the sincerity and disinterestedness of Job's religion, and received permission to afflict him in various ways, but not to touch himself. This experiment is described as resulting in Job's complete vindication. He bowed in submission to the divine will, and in all this first stage he 'sinned not, nor charged God with folly,' *i.e.* never questioned the moral rectitude of divine providence.

Another council is represented as held in heaven, at which the Adversary accounts for Job's fidelity by saying that he has not been made to suffer in his own person. Permission is then given to inflict the utmost bodily pain upon Job, only his life is to be spared. Job is accordingly smitten with one of the most painful and loathsome of diseases, elephantiasis, a peculiarly trying form of leprosy. But in his utmost suffering and degradation he utters no complaint, though even his wife bids him 'renounce God and die.' Having received good at God's hand, he was content patiently to 'receive evil,' and in all this Job 'sinned not with his lips.'

2. Three friends, Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar, now come to condole with him. They sit in silent sympathy for seven days and seven nights, and 'none spake a word unto him, for they saw that his pain was very great.' The silence is at last broken by Job himself. He had thus far borne unparalleled troubles with unparalleled resignation, but now he 'opened his mouth and cursed his day.' The long-drawn wail of the third chapter is not a direct arraignment of God's providence, but it contains a bitter, agonised complaint which virtually amounts to this. He curses the day on which he was born, wondering why the misery of birth into such a life should ever have been inflicted upon him, and passionately longing for death as a blessed release which is inexplicably denied him. This outburst from the depth of a soul in anguish forms the occasion of the debate which follows. The tone of Job's complaint appears impious in the ears of his friends, who remonstrate, each after his own fashion, whilst to each elaborate speech Job makes elaborate reply. The first stage of the discussion is chiefly occupied by an assertion on the part of the friends of the justice and goodness of God, whose government of the world must be in accordance with truth and equity, the wicked suffering for their sin and the righteous enjoying divine favour. Job meets this by a passionate assertion of his own innocence, and a bitter and often very bold arraignment of the present order of things. At the second stage, the friends dwell more upon history and experience, pointing out the calamities which attend upon evil-doing, and leaving it to be inferred that some kind of sin must lie at the root of the troubles which have overwhelmed Job. On his part, Job clings all the more tenaciously to his original position. At the third stage of discussion, the friends attack Job more directly and explicitly, charging him with definite sins which they are sure he must have committed, to be thus punished. As the friends become more violent, Job becomes more calm. He has been working his way towards a solution, though as yet it is far from clear. He cares less to debate with men, and throws his soul more and more upon God, though He be still strangely and darkly hidden from him. Job's long monologue is full of pathos and sadness, but the bitterness which marked his 'curse' and opening speeches has given place to a more equable frame of mind.

Such is a general outline of the three colloquies, but it must not be understood that the progress thus sketched is uniform and unbroken. Neither Job nor his friends speak 'by the card.' Their utterances contain reasoning of a kind, but they are for the most part the outpourings of deep and earnest feeling, which cannot be reduced to syllogisms, and which necessarily imply much repetition and occasional inconsistencies. Job travels back upon his own course, varies in his moods, speaks now to God, now to the friends, now to himself; he is sometimes inconsistent, if not self-contradictory, as a sufferer wrestling with such a problem was likely to be. The speeches form part of a poem, not of an abstract demonstration, though the poet is artist enough to preserve order in the midst of variety, and never loses the thread of his argument amidst the outpourings of speakers whose feelings are sometimes at white heat. The first speech of Eliphaz is undoubtedly the most moderate, being almost apologetic in tone, whilst the last speeches show that the argument has come to a deadlock, and the resources of the friends fail them. Beyond this it is difficult to trace any clearly defined or steadily maintained advance in the arguments on either side. The conclusion shows each speaker as only more fully confirmed in his original position.

3. Here, according to the arrangement of the book as it has come down to us, an episode occurs, in which a previously unmentioned speaker, named Elihu, intervenes, and gives at considerable length his judgment upon the question in dispute (chs. 32 to 37). After a somewhat tedious introduction (32^{6-33}), Elihu blames the friends for the insufficiency of their arguments, but still more severely condemns Job for justifying himself, and undertakes to correct his many mistakes. The address to Job may be divided into four parts, corresponding with chs. 33. 34. 35 and 36–37 respectively. The gist of the whole may, however, be described as an attempted vindication of God, as at the same time a just and a merciful ruler of the world, who is great and glorious above man's power to comprehend, and who sends afflictions upon His own people as a chastisement, or as a means of purification, or as a divine warning against sin. In the stress laid upon affliction as discipline, lies Elihu's chief contribution to the discussion.

4. In the next section of the poem, J″ intervenes and 'answers Job out of the whirlwind.' Two addresses of the Almighty are given—the first in chs. 38^{1}–40^{2}, followed by a brief reply from Job $40^{3.5}$; the second in chs. 40^{6}–41^{34}, followed by another act of submission on Job's part, 42^{1-6}. The chief subject of the divine address is the glory of God in creation, the sublime and awe-inspiring features of which are recounted in order to impress Job with the greatness of God and the littleness of man, and the unsearchable wisdom and inconceivable power of God compared with man's utter ignorance and weakness. Sometimes the description enters into minute detail, as in the picture of Behemoth (the hippopotamus) in 40^{15-24}, and Leviathan (the crocodile) in 41^{1-34}. The description of the war-horse also in 39^{19-25} is elaborate and highly poetical. The object of the whole address, however, as indicated from time to time by a series of ironical questions, is to overwhelm Job with a sense of the irresistible majesty and resource of that God the justice of whose government he has ventured to impugn. How can one who is so utterly unable to subdue a single one of God's creatures, whose knowledge of even a corner of creation is so hopelessly inadequate, dare to arraign the procedure of Him who holds a universe of such creatures in the hollow of His hand? The effect of these addresses is immediate and complete. Job first confesses himself silenced and justly rebuked, and at last in full contrition acknowledges his sin and folly, repents of his ill-advised complaints, and bows low in submission beneath the irresistible hand of the Almighty.

5. In the epilogue, the story which was begun by a scene in heaven ends with a *dénoûment* visible on earth. The friends who had thought themselves representatives of the divine cause are rebuked, because they had not spoken of God 'the thing that is right,' as His servant Job had done. They are forgiven at Job's intercession, while on Job himself is bestowed prosperity precisely double that which he had previously enjoyed. Job lived long after all his troubles were over, saw 'four generations' of descendants, and died 'being old and full of days'—a sure mark of divine approval and favour (42^{7-17}).

iii. FORM.—The first question which falls to be considered under this head is whether the author intended to convey the idea that he was writing literal history. His narrative begins with the matter-of-fact statement, 'There was a man in the land of Uz,' etc., and both prologue and epilogue at first sight appear to be simple statements of actual fact. This view was held by a large proportion of early Jewish interpreters, but not universally. R. Resh Lakish is quoted in the Talmud (*Baba Bathra*, § 15. 1) as having said, 'Job existed not, and was not created, but he is (only) a parable.' This was altered later into 'was not created except to be a parable.' The prevailing opinion amongst both Jews and Christians for many centuries was that the Bk. of Job was strictly historical. Luther questioned, not the existence of Job, nor the substantial accuracy of the story told in the book, but its literal interpretation throughout as a record of actual facts. Some recent critics (Reuss, Merx, Hengstenberg) have gone to the opposite extreme, and represent the book as entirely imaginative. The majority of modern interpreters, however, view the book as 'poetically treated history'; some (*e.g.* Cheyne) finding in it but a small kernel of fact; others, from Grotius and Lowth to Delitzsch, Davidson, and Driver, being content to read the poem as a free and imaginative rendering of facts handed down by tradition and here substantially reproduced. It is hardly necessary to argue at length that the book cannot be read as literal history from beginning to end. The descriptions of the heavenly council in the prologue are clearly symbolical. The numbers used in the prologue, and the exact doubling of Job's possessions in the epilogue, indicate an ideal rather than an actual picture. Job's calamities come upon him in such a sudden and dramatic form, and are described in so poetical a fashion, with a sort of refrain, 'I, even I only, am left to tell thee,' that we readily understand we are not too literally to interpret every word. And never was it known that sufferer in the extremity of his anguish delivered his soul in highly elaborated poetical phraseology. If, then, the view of the book as 'poetically treated history' be taken as the most probable hypothesis, it is clear that considerable room is left for diversity of judgment as to where the solid substance of fact ends and the drapery of the poet's imaginative treatment begins. The names of the hero and his friends, the country in which he dwelt, the afflictions which befell him, the patience with which he endured them, and his emergence out of his difficulties, may perhaps be considered a kind of irreducible minimum of history used by the inspired genius of the author in his wrestling with the age-long problem before him.

Closely akin to this is the question whether the author of 'Job' intended to represent his hero, not as an individual, but as a type of the righteous in affliction. Does imaginative treatment extend so far that the name of an historical personage is merely used to embody teaching concerning national calamities and the way to meet them? Cheyne adopts the view of Chateaubriand, that 'Job is a type of righteous men in affliction' (see his *Job and Solomon*, p. 65, and the essay in *Proph. of Isaiah*, ii. 235-244), adding, that 'the common view that the hero of the poem of Job is simply an individual must, it is clear, be abandoned.' This can only be established if emphasis upon the word 'simply' is maintained. A purely allegorical view of the poem leads to questionable and sometimes fantastic exegesis. And there is no sufficient warrant for supposing that the modern dramatic mode of treating such a theme, the historical element being so far minimized as to be hardly discernible, and a purely imaginative treatment of a religious subject adopted, was likely to have been used by a Jew at any period to which this book has been assigned. It seems most satisfactory to say, with such writers as Fairbairn (*City of God*, p. 146), that 'the national reposes on the personal sense,' and with A. B. Davidson, that 'Job is scarcely to be considered Israel, under a feigned name. He is not Israel, though Israel may see itself and its history reflected in him. It is the elements of reality in Job's history common to him with Israel in affliction, common even to him with humanity as a whole . . . it is these elements of truth that make the history of Job instructive to the people of Israel in the times of affliction when it was set before them, and to men in all ages' (see his *Job*, Introd. pp. xxvi, xxvii).

The chief reasons which incline us to this view of the poem lie, in truth, upon the surface. The references in Ezk 14^{14} and Ja 5^{11} suggest that Job was an actual person, known to tradition. The writer of the book conveys the impression that he is dealing with actual history, and his teaching would lose much of its force if it were supposed that the whole story lay in the mere cloudland of imagination. A majority of writers, however, include the word *dramatic*, in some form or other, in their characterization of the poem. Theodore of Mopsuestia employed the epithet in the 4th cent., and in modern times Ewald, Hupfeld, and Davidson use the word drama to describe the book. Delitzsch styles it a drama not emancipated from the lyric element, reminding us that a drama need not be scenic in its character. Volck, after Nöldeke, defines Job as 'a didactic poem, in dialogue form, with dramatic development.' Milton described it as an epic, and Godet follows in the same direction. Cheyne calls it a 'germinal character drama,' and compares Goethe's 'Iphigenia' and 'Tasso.' Driver says, 'It is of the nature of a drama, and may be termed a dramatic poem. Its principal parts are constructed in the form of a dialogue, and the action which it represents passes through the successive stages of entanglement, development, and solution. The action is, however, largely internal and mental, the successive scenes exhibiting the varying moods of a great soul struggling with the mysteries of fate, rather than trying external situations' (*Introd. to O.T. Lit.*^{6} p. 411). If any technical definition of form is to be given, that of Volck, quoted above, appears to be the best, or the shorter phrase 'dramatic poem' might be admitted, for a drama in the usual sense of the word the book certainly is not. The name 'lyrical' or 'didactic-lyrical' (G. Baur, *Stud. und Krit.* 1856, p. 582) is misleading in its associations. But it is probably a mistake to attempt to stretch this highly original poem upon a Procrustes' bed, in order to make it fit in with later systems of classification. 'Soul is form, and doth the body make.' The author of Job had certain materials to use, and he kept certain religious objects in view as he wrote; he possessed a poetic genius of remarkable constructive power, and his thoughts were guided by the Divine Spirit. Under these circumstances he produced, not a drama, nor a didactic poem, nor any composition of conventional form or shape, but—the Bk. of Job, which is a law to itself, and which has influenced subsequent writers whose names stand among the highest in literature, yet who, by general consent, are, merely from the literary point of view, outsoared and outshone by their great prototype.

The intimate structure of the poem can best be understood in connexion with the general subject of the poetry of the OT (see POETRY). It may, however, be well to say that the ultimate element in Job, as in all Heb. poetry, is the couplet or distich, consisting of two parallel clauses, the length of each line being determined, not by the laws of regular metre, but by the beat of an irregular but musical rhythm. The single stones of which the poetical structure is composed may be triplets or quatrains instead of couplets, but these larger or smaller units are combined so as to form a strophe (the 'paragraph' of prose), and laws, which are none the less effective because informal and instinctively obeyed, determine the varying lengths of the line, the varying character of the parallelism, and the varying structure of the strophe. An analysis of Job's lament in ch. 3, or of any of the speeches, would illustrate in detail what can here be stated only in outline. It may be remarked, however, that the skill of the poet is especially conspicuous in the success with which he employs throughout a long poem a form of composition which is chiefly suited to the gnomic wisdom of 'Proverbs' or the comparatively brief lyrics of the Psalms.

But the poetical character of Job does not depend upon the balance of syllables or the answering beat of lines and clauses. The constructive imagination of the writer is conspicuous throughout. It reveals itself as remarkably in the bold conceptions, the free, flowing outlines of the whole poem, as in the wealth, variety, and finish of its detailed imagery. The architect of a cathedral shows his skill alike in the detailed workmanship of bosses and finials and in his conception of a majestic whole. It is hardly within the compass of this article to dwell upon the poetical grandeur of *Job* viewed as a literary composition. The sublimity and simplicity of its leading conceptions, the pictures of the august scene in the council-chamber of heaven, and of the sudden desolation and overwhelming sorrow in the earthly household, of Job lying in physical anguish and mental bewilderment upon the *mezbelê* or ash-mound outside his house, and the deep sympathetic silence of his friends broken at last by the heartrending wail of the sufferer's despair,—all indicate the hand of a poet at the outset, and prepare the way for the unfolding of the tragedy that follows. Only a close study of the book can give an idea of the richness and multiplicity of its metaphors, the concentrated vigour of its phraseology, its depth of human feeling, its portraiture of patriarchal life, and the impressiveness of the descriptions of external nature, which form throughout a majestic background to the moving picture of human pain and sorrow.

Sometimes the figurative language is closely condensed—

'Wilt thou harass a driven leaf,
And chase the withered stubble?' (13^{25}).

Sometimes the metaphor is elaborated with startling vigour and emphasis, as in the description of the Divine Being as a giant antagonist wrestling with the puny human frame, or making a target of the miserable man who can offer no resistance—

'I was at ease, but he shattered me;
He seized me by the throat and shook me;
He set me up as his mark,
His arrows beset me.
He cleaveth my side, and doth not spare;
He sheddeth my gall upon the ground;
He breaketh me with breach upon breach,
He rusheth upon me like a giant' (16^{12-14}).

The description of the lion in $4^{10.11}$, of the eagle in ch. 39, 'where the slain are, there is she,' the comparison of deceitful friends to the brook drying up in summer and the mirage of the desert in 6^{15-20}, the brief but graphic succession of figures to describe the rapid flight of years—

'My days are swifter than a runner;
They flit away, they see no good;
They shoot by like skiffs of reed,
Like an eagle that swoopeth upon its prey!' ($9^{25.26}$)—

are only examples taken at random of a poetic vitality in the writer which seems inexhaustible. The sketches of the wild beast in the desert are as faithful in detail as the limning of the glories of the constellations in the nightly sky is impressive; but in each case the work is done by a few strokes of a master-hand. One passage only may be transcribed as an example of several of the features which have been thus summarily and inadequately sketched, and it will, at the same time, illustrate the arrangement of the poem in strophes—

'The Shades tremble
Deep below the waters and their inhabitants.
The Unseen World is naked before him,
The Abyss of Destruction hath no covering,
He stretcheth out the North over the void,
And hangeth the earth upon nothing . . .
The pillars of heaven tremble,
And are amazed at his rebuke . . .
Lo, these are but the outskirts of his ways;
And how small a whisper hath been heard of him
But the thunder of his power, who can understand?'
($26^{5.6.11.14}$)

iv. TEXT.—The Massoretic text of the OT, as is now generally recognized, stands in some places in great need of critical emendation, but the materials extant for the purpose are very scanty. The oldest MS of Job is separated in date from its composition by more than twelve hundred years, and few critical helps from without are forthcoming to aid in the examination and, if need be, the reconstruction of the text. Under these circumstances, textual criticism virtually resolves itself into a comparison of the Heb. with the chief ancient versions, and an examination of internal evidence and inherent probabilities of corruption. Such a process naturally leads to widely differing results, varying according to the preconceptions and methods of individual critics. In modern times Merx led the way in his *Das Gedicht von Hiob* (1871), advocating a reconstruction of the text, based partly upon the ancient versions and partly upon a metrical arrangement of his own. G. Bateson Wright in 1883 carried the work some steps further. Bickell in his *Carmina V.T.* (1882) and in a series of papers in the Vienna *Zeitsch. f. K. d. Morgenlandes* (1891–94) has propounded an elaborate and revolutionary theory for ascertaining what he considers to be the primitive text of Job. He depends partly upon the LXX, but partly also on certain metrical theories, of which more will be said shortly. This work of Bickell has been popularized in English by Dillon in his *Sceptics of the Old Testament* (1895). Finally, Siegfried has published a polychromatic ed. of the text of Job (in Haupt's *Sacred Books of OT*), in which a thoroughgoing recension is advocated, based mainly upon internal evidence such as satisfies the critic.

The chief point for consideration at this stage is the LXX version.

This probably dates from the early or middle portion of the 2nd cent. B.C. The character of the translation is too free and loose to be of much service in the detailed criticism of the text, but it has been long known to scholars that the original text of the LXX was much shorter than the Textus Receptus now found in our MSS. In the time of Origen the current Gr. version was shorter than the Heb. by some 400 lines, the omissions noted by Jerome amounting to more than 700. Origen (*Ep. ad Afric.* § 4) tells us that, in the copies he used, as many as from three or four to sixteen or nineteen verses were lacking in some places, and he remedied the deficiencies by supplying the Greek from Theodotion, obelizing all the passages thus added to the Gr. text before him. Five MSS are extant preserving Origen's marks, and in 1889 Ciasca published a Coptic tr. of the LXX version of Job which exhibits the pre-Origenian state of the text. As this version substantially agrees with the evidence furnished by the five MSS above named, omitting the passages which in them are marked with asterisks, it is clear that this text gives us the LXX version in its earliest form.

The question is, what is its relation to the Hebrew? It must not be taken for granted either that it is earlier and purer than the MT, or that it is simply a curtailed and mutilated tr. from the Heb. that has come down to us. A similar state of things exists in relation to the text of Jeremiah, and scholars are not yet agreed upon an interpretation of the facts. In the case of Job, Bickell uses this evidence to support his own very sweeping reconstruction of the text, seeking to show that the book in its present state has grown by additions, successively made, to a very much shorter poem. Hatch (*Essays in Bib. Greek*, pp. 215-245) argues in the same sense, that the early Greek translation represents the primitive form, the Hebrew a later and amplified form, of the text. Dillmann, on the other hand (*Trans. Royal Prus. Acad. of Sci.* 1890), contends that, except in a few cases, omissions from the Heb. were arbitrarily made by the Gr. translator—a view apparently held previously by Bickell himself; and Driver (*Contemp. Rev.* Feb. 1896, p. 262), though with some hesitation, pronounces the latter to be the more probable hypothesis. It is noteworthy that the omissions of the LXX do not relieve the chief difficulties which attend the text of the book as it stands, whilst, in several cases at least, it is difficult to understand the context without these omitted passages, or to explain how, if they did not form part of the original text, the passages in the Heb. came to be added to it. Glosses and amplifications on such a scale generally declare themselves as such beyond much possibility of question. Intrinsic probability, in other words, is almost entirely against the hypothesis that the shorter Gr. form represents the primitive type of text. Budde, in his latest work on Job (see Literature below), also pronounces against the view of Bickell and Hatch.

None of the other versions are of much use in textual criticism. The Peshiṭta Syriac was made from the Heb., and its renderings are occasionally serviceable in difficulties of detail. The variations of the Targum are more curious than helpful, while the old Latin version was made from the Gr., and exhibits the same peculiarities (cf. Burkitt, *Old Lat. and Itala*, p. 8 f.). A revision of it was made by Jerome, preserving the critical marks which indicated the passages supplied from the Heb. to fill up the considerable deficiencies noted above.

v. INTEGRITY.—Obviously, this subject is closely connected with the last, and some arguments of critics concerning the text have been reserved for this section, because a discussion of the genuineness of certain passages cannot be carried on without an examination into the subject-matter of the book. Criticism has been busy in recent years with the construction of *Job*, and most modern interpreters hold that the book as it has come down to us has undergone more or less of amplification or modification. Some would reduce the volume of the book by at least one half. They hold that neither prologue nor epilogue, neither the speeches of the Almighty nor those of Elihu, formed part of the original work, and that the speeches of Job and the three friends must be both reduced in bulk and altered in character, if we would read them in their original form. Representatives of this extreme view, which lops off from the statue limbs and members till a mere torso, altered in its proportions, is left, are Bickell and Studer.

Three main reasons are assigned for this trenchant handling of the text. (1) The fact that the earliest form of the LXX version was so much shorter than the Heb. as it now stands. But we have seen that it is by no means clearly proved that the shorter form represents the primitive type, and the reconstruction proposed in many respects does not follow the lines thus indicated. (2) A metrical theory concerning the composition of Job—a hypothesis of great learning and ingenuity, in which, however, few Heb. scholars have followed Bickell—demands some such system of wholesale abbreviation as is thus proposed. This attempt to make the lines of Job 'scan' can only be carried out by the application of extreme violence. Not only must whole passages be shorn away, but the lines that remain must be read with frequent elisions and accommodations. In many cases these are so violent and unnatural as to make it clear that Bickell is trying to force into uniformity and regularity an irregular though real and impressive poetical rhythm which runs through the book. It may be added, that a metrical version of a poem which can be remembered with ease would not readily be displaced by a more cumbrous and irregular form. The whole history of Heb. poetry, moreover, is against the supposition that a poem of the length of Job, and of its probable date, was composed in regular metre with lines of almost uniform regulation length.

(3) The third chief line of argument is drawn from a view of the scope and design of 'Job' which is by no means proved. It assumes that the book in its first conception was a poem of revolt, the utterance of a genuine 'sceptic of the Old Testament,' who rebelled against the current doctrine of reward and punishment, and that it has only assumed its present shape under the hands of a number of 'orthodox' manipulators, who, by various additions and interpolations, have contrived to dress up the original product of a *Sturm und Drang* period into a shape in which it might appear in the sacred Canon. Without discussing this hypothesis in full, two remarks may be made. One is, that writers in the OT are not in the habit of disguising their moods of doubt and murmuring, and even rebellion against the will of God. The psalmists give the account of their gloomy periods of unsettled faith and positive denial; while Jeremiah from time to time 'waxes very bold,' and, like Elijah in his despondency, is driven by the pressure of the problems of life to doubt and to deny the goodness of Him who controls life. This supposed dressing up of doubt into decent orthodoxy is a device of modern days. It should be noticed, also, that this theory of the origin and history of 'Job'

is hampered with the further difficulty that these large additions were made to the original text by a poet or poets whose 'imaginative power was at least not inferior to that of the original writer' (Hatch, *op. cit.* p. 244)—a somewhat large demand to make, when the original and sublime character of the book as a whole is borne in mind.

Siegfried, without going so far as Bickell, is yet very severe in his castigation of the MT. He classifies some passages—which may be represented by ch. 28, and the Elihu speeches, chs. 32–37—as 'polemical interpolations directed against the tendency of the poem.' Other passages found in the 12th, 27th, and other chapters, are styled 'correcting interpolations, conforming the speeches of Job to the orthodox doctrine of retribution'; while others, again, are 'parallel compositions,' amongst them being found the section 40^{6}–42^{6}. Some fifty separate passages are banished from the text as scattered interpolations of editors, inserted during the process of 'working over' the poem, which de Wette was the first to suggest had been freely employed. The shorn remnant of the text is, especially in chs. 13 and 14, 20 and 21, and again in 30 and 31, rearranged as regards the order of its clauses and paragraphs, according to the critic's judgment. It is, perhaps, unnecessary to say that for this wholesale reorganization there is no external evidence, the primitive form of the LXX text giving very little assistance in the places where serious difficulties in subject-matter are supposed to require radical changes in the text. Studer (1881) reconstructs the whole book, making chs. 29 and 30 the original prologue—a process which A. B. Davidson describes as leaving a mere trunk, 'so misshapen that its shoulders are found in the region of its bowels.'

Two recent monographs, representing the prevailing current of contemporary criticism, may be mentioned: Grill, *Zur Composition des B. Hiob* (1890); and Laue, *Die Composition des B. Hiob* (1896). The former rejects, as not belonging to the original book, the Elihu speeches, the descriptions of Behemoth and Leviathan, also 12^{4-13} $24^{5-9.\ 14-21}$ 26^{2-27} 27^{7-31}, and chs. 29 and 30. Laue holds that ch. 9^{9-24} and ch. 12 are out of place, and that the former paragraph should be placed after ch. 25, and the latter after ch. 27. Ch. 24 is condemned in part as having been 'worked over,' only a portion of it representing the original tendency of the poem. From chs. 25–28 he admits only 26^{1-4} and 27^{1-6} as genuine. Laue, like many other critics, pronounces the Elihu speeches and the 'Behemoth and Leviathan episodes' to be interpolations, but he holds both prologue and epilogue to be genuine and indispensable parts of the original poem.

Merx, Bateson Wright, and Cheyne may stand as representing those who advocate less sweeping but very considerable changes. Some of the chief modifications proposed are, that as Bildad's speech in ch. 25 is very short, ch. 26^{5-14} might be better placed as a continuation of it. To supply the place of Zophar's third speech, which is lacking, ch. 27^{8-23}—very awkwardly placed where it stands—might be read as coming from him. Ch. 28 is held to be a later insertion, as well as the whole episode of Elihu. The few verses, ch. 31^{38-40}, even Delitzsch considers to be misplaced, forming an anti-climax in their present connexion. He would transpose and read them between vv. ^{32} and ^{33}.

A. B. Davidson is still more moderate; he is, in fact, one of the most conservative critics of the book. He holds that, with the exception of the speeches of Elihu, no serious objection can be brought against any of the five great divisions of the poem, but the Elihu episode he, in common with nearly all moderns, pronounces to be a later addition. Further, he entertains somewhat serious suspicions concerning ch. 27^{7-23}, ch. 28, and the descriptions of Behemoth and Leviathan in the speeches of the Almighty, but apparently would not, on the whole, remove these from the text. A view nearly coinciding with this will be advocated in the present article; but the ultimate decision of such a question as this largely depends, it is clear, upon subjective considerations. Two classes of these may be mentioned. (1) What measure of difficulty in a passage warrants conjectural emendation, and how far is a 19th cent. critic competent to reconstruct an ancient poem, without being guilty of the vice of trying it by his own preconceived ideas and standards? (2) What is the view to be taken of the scope and design of the book? Can it be viewed as a fairly harmonious whole in its present state, and what amount of apparent inconsistency warrants interference with the text as it stands? These are questions which are certain to receive different answers from different types of mind. The only satisfactory line of argument in a conservative direction lies in a justification of the book as it stands, and its success must depend upon power to show that the book can be better understood as we have it, with certain comparatively slight omissions and modifications, than in the forms proposed by more destructive and revolutionary theories.

The section most open to objection is that containing the speeches of Elihu. The chief arguments against its having formed a part of the original book are the following. (*a*) Elihu is not mentioned either in the prologue or the epilogue. In the latter, especially, it would seem unnatural that Jehovah, when referring to the speeches of the three friends and Job, should pass Elihu by in silence. (*b*) Chs. 32–37 are awkwardly placed between Job's monologue and the divine answer out of the whirlwind. The intervention of the Almighty, and the words with which He addresses Job, are much better understood if ch. 38 follows immediately upon ch. 31. The ease and advantage with which this section could be detached from the rest of the poem seems to point to a line of juncture here. (*c*) Elihu's arguments appear to consist partly of a repetition of those of the three friends, partly an anticipation of the address of Jehovah. So far as Elihu does furnish an original contribution to the discussion in the emphasis which he lays upon the purifying influence of suffering viewed as chastisement, it is not in harmony with the general teaching of the book. (*d*) The style is prolix, and, in the opinion of most, distinctly inferior to the rest of the book; though Kuenen (for example) has pronounced that style alone would in this case be insufficient to prove a later origin. (*e*) Certain peculiarities of language are discernible, a much stronger and more decided Aramaic colouring being discernible in this section. Canon F. C. Cook (*Speaker's Com.*) argues, after Schlottmann, that this is the poet's way of indicating Elihu's Aramæan origin. The subject is investigated at length in Stickel's *Das Buch Hiob* (1842), Budde's *Beiträge zur Kritik des B. H.* (1876), and in an essay of Kleinert (*Stud. u. Krit.* 1886); and the bearings of these are investigated by Cheyne (*Job and Solomon*, Appendix, etc. 291–293), who sums up in the words, 'Evidently the speeches of Elihu are later compositions.' (Budde is the most distinguished of the defenders of the genuineness of the speeches).

The force of these arguments really lies in their conjunction. It will be observed that they are of different kinds, and their cumulative force is therefore all the greater. Standing alone, each one would not be fatal. Cook, for example, points out that no person is named in the book till he begins to take part in the action, and he attaches considerable weight to the arguments adduced by Elihu. Bradley, however, in his thoughtful lectures on the Book of Job (1887), takes a different view. The concurrence of arguments drawn from different quarters appears to the present writer convincing, and perhaps the strongest evidence of all is drawn from the view taken of the book as a whole, the plan and outline of which the episode of Elihu mars, or positively disfigures.

The same must, on the whole, be said of ch. 27^{7-23} and ch. 28. The former passage contains an elaborate account of the afflictions which overtake the wicked, apparently quite out of place on the lips of Job, and containing precisely such arguments as had previously been urged by his friends. Compare, *e.g.*, the speech of Zophar in ch. 20, and observe that 27^{13} is almost identical in expression with 20^{29}. There is no real connexion between the first six verses of ch. 27, in which Job asserts his own innocence, and the strain of the verses that follow, which are quite inconsistent with Job's previous contentions. The only two modes of reconciliation possible are these. (1) Job wishes to show that he does not altogether deny the fact that the wicked are punished, and is anxious to sever himself from their perilous and friendless condition. He shrinks from the very thought of being as the wicked are. He wishes to 'avoid everything that can appear ambiguous, and to take a position upon a much higher elevation' (Ewald). Even, however, if this train of thought were appropriate in Job's mouth, it cannot be said that it fits in at all suitably with 27^{1-6} which precedes, or ch. 28 which follows. Or (2) it may be urged (again with Ewald) that Job has by this time conquered his doubts as to the divine moral government, that these 'have worked their own cure,' and that he anticipates already some such issue as is described in the epilogue. But it requires only a moment's consideration to see that this disturbs the whole order of the composition, that it is quite inconsistent with the language of Job's soliloquy, especially ch. 30, and it does not harmonize with the address of the Almighty to Job, which follows.

Ch. 28, again, is of the nature of an episode, beautiful and impressive in itself, worthy of a poetic genius and a devout spirit, but exceedingly difficult to understand in the place which it occupies in the poem. The general drift of the chapter is that Wisdom—in the sense of the principles of true and righteous government which direct the course of this world's affairs—is inscrutable by man; the only possible course for man is to fear and trust Jehovah, and (by implication) to leave himself and his fortunes entirely in the hands of God. Such a train of thought is quite in harmony with the teaching of other parts of Jewish sacred books,—compare several psalms and parts of Proverbs,—but it is irreconcilable with Job's previous position and subsequent language in chs. 30, 31. If Job had already reached this stage in his education, what need of chs. 38–42, and how account for the laments of ch. 31? Again, no satisfactory connexion of thought between chs. 28 and 27^{23} or 27^{6} can be established. The opening כִּי may, indeed, be variously understood. '*For* there is a vein for the silver' (RVm) is the most obvious translation, the rendering 'surely' being adopted to avoid a difficulty, since the inscrutability of divine wisdom affords no reason for the fate which the end of ch. 27 describes as overtaking the wicked. It is necessary to read much between the lines in order to eke out a kind of connexion between the chapters as they stand, *e.g.* 'the wicked are punished, but for all that there are problems in life which that simple principle does not explain, and wisdom is really inscrutable'; or 'the wicked are overthrown, and such a fate is sure to overtake all who disobey God; for wisdom can only be attained by those who fear Jehovah.' It must be felt that these attempts are so forced and artificial that there is a strong presumption against the sequence of chapters as they stand. The difficulty of the opening כִּי would hardly, however, be a sufficient objection, if the chapter as a whole was appropriate to the frame of mind in which the book presents Job at the moment. This is far from being the case; the opening words of ch. 29, 'Moreover, Job continued his parable—Oh that I were as in months past,' etc., exhibit far too violent a break with 27^{23} for sound exegesis to explain.

We are led, therefore, to the conclusion that the section 27^{7-23} is out of place, whether or no it should form part of a speech of Bildad or a third speech of Zophar; that ch. 28 also, with all its truth and beauty, cannot be understood where it stands; and that chs. 32–37 form a subsequent addition to the original book by a pious writer who was not fully satisfied with its teaching. Ch. 31^{39-40a} may perhaps also with advantage be transferred to a place between vv.$^{32 \text{ and } 33}$.

The arguments urged against the genuineness of other portions of the book are not, however, convincing. Cheyne holds that prologue and epilogue do not form a part of the book, the prologue being perhaps part of a prose book of Job, and the epilogue added later by an editor whose object and views were quite distinct from those indicated in the prologue. His work is done 'in a prosaic spirit,' and he makes 'a sad concession to a low view of providential dealings' (*Job and Sol.* p. 69). This is a natural, but perhaps superficial, objection. Dillmann in the 4th edition of his *Hiob* (1891) finds these arguments unsatisfactory. The reply to those who contend that prologue or epilogue, or both, do not fit in with the rest of the poem, can only be made good when the scope of the whole book is examined.

It is further urged that the speeches of the Almighty are 'inserted passages' as much as those of Elihu, while the descriptions of Behemoth and Leviathan were added later still, a 'purple patch' the removal of which would be a gain. The last objection seems to resolve itself into a question of taste, on which no critic's judgment can be final. That the speeches of the Almighty constitute the book as it stands into a consistent whole, which would lose a chief portion of its meaning, if indeed it would be intelligible, without them, is a point which may conveniently be reserved till the scope of the poem is considered. The views of those who would separate prologue, epilogue, and the speeches of Jehovah from the text of the original poem are represented in the words of Cheyne when he says that the book as it stands forms a 'confused theodicy,' that these sections constitute 'disturbing elements,' and that to attempt to weld them into one whole shows a failure to understand the position. These are only the 'conflicting thoughts' of 'earnest, warm-hearted men' on the great question of the suffering of the righteous, interesting separately, but not intelligible in combination. This is the only objection to passages which in style and diction, in force and beauty, are confessedly of a piece with the rest of this noble and remarkable poem. The prose passages also, it is admitted, are not in themselves unworthy of the place in which they stand. The main issue, therefore, with regard to the integrity of the book, so far as these great divisions of it are concerned, depends upon the view taken of its scope and teaching. A fundamental difference of opinion on this head accounts for the differing conclusions of eminent critics on questions of genuineness.

vi. SCOPE AND DESIGN.—The mode of treatment adopted in this section will be to discuss the whole book as it now stands, showing how each part is related to the whole, and inquiring what teaching it may be supposed to convey in its present form. It has been shown in the last section that in all probability certain chapters did not form part of the original design: but this is matter of opinion; and while some critics would excise more, others object to the setting aside of any portion of the book. A picture may be surveyed as a whole, apart from the varying opinions of judges who hold that the colours in one portion or another of the canvas have been laid on by a later artist. Such a survey may aid in the decision of controverted questions.

The poem of 'Job,' so remarkable for imaginative power and literary skill, was unquestionably intended to set forth theological doctrine. Nothing abstract or technical is intended by the phrase; it is but a way of expressing the aspect from which the deepest questions of life are here viewed. The poet can be engaged with no higher themes, with no more living and burning questions, than God, man, evil, good, suffering, hope, destiny. The thesis of the book—to translate poetry into prose—is that suffering in the present life is not precisely proportioned to ill desert; on the contrary, the righteous suffer; yet God is, and God is good. How can this be? It is the object of *Job* to answer the question.

In the first place, let the presuppositions of the discussion be borne in mind. The debate is not concerning the primary truths of natural theology. God is: that is an axiom unquestioned, unquestionable. And by 'God' is meant a Ruler of the world, understood to be righteous and merciful, though the exact measure of His mercy and truth be not apprehensible by man. No atheistic theories are admissible,—that would mean to give up the problem, not to solve it. The pantheist, the materialist, have here no standing-ground. A Western mind of to-day may cut the knot presented in Job in a hundred several ways not open to the Eastern—to say nothing of the Israelite—of 2500 years ago. Further, the evidently accepted religious doctrine presupposed by the book is that in this life the wicked are punished and the righteous rewarded by a just God, each man according to his deeds and character. Against this current orthodox opinion the book is a protest, but it is a religious protest. It is not a sceptical inquiry, nor a cynical denial, nor a blasphemous denunciation, either as a whole or in any of its constituent parts. It is a plea for a wider, deeper, truer, more easily defensible orthodoxy. It represents the process by which a step was taken in the formation of religious thought, and a religious explanation of life-problems was arrived at. Even those who would reduce the book to the narrowest dimensions, and who reject certain portions as pious glosses or orthodox corrections, must admit that Job's attitude throughout is that of the man who is trying to understand God, not denying His existence or mocking at His rule. Job pleads for God as truly as the friends. The ring, if we may so speak, within which the conflict is carried on—a fight for life so far as Job is concerned—*i.e.* the recognized limits of the discussion, must be borne in mind throughout.

The colloquies form the kernel of the book: let them be taken first, especially as they are the only portions which beyond all question constitute its original elements. The exact issue between Job and his friends concerns, not the punishment of the wicked, but the suffering of the righteous. Job is not concerned to deny that the wicked as such suffer: if ch. 27^{7-23} belongs to him, he explicitly asserts it. What the friends assume is that only the wicked suffer, and precisely in proportion to their wickedness; what they at first imply and afterwards explicitly declare is, that if an apparently righteous man suffers, he cannot be so righteous as he seems; hence that Job, who is enduring exceptional pain and calamity, must have flagrantly offended, in secret if not openly, against the laws of righteousness and the Power which executes and vindicates them. This, Job strenuously and even passionately denies. Moreover, it is contrary to hypothesis. To draw for a moment from the prologue, Job is not only asserted by the historian, but by the Almighty, to be upright; 'perfect,' indeed, when judged by the relative standard which alone is in question, a man of thorough integrity within and without. If this be not granted, the whole problem vanishes. Job not only denies his opponents' contention, with his own consciousness and the testimony of facts to back him, but he does so successfully. The poet represents him as victor in the contest of words. The friends are silenced, though not convinced. Without availing ourselves of the justification of Job pronounced by the Almighty in the epilogue, it is clear that the friends are worsted in the conflict, and their position is rendered untenable.

But it does not follow that Job has succeeded in settling the great point at issue. The friends are wrong, but he may not be wholly right. What is Job's position, if we consider only chs. 3-31? Omitting for the moment the doubtful sections 27^{7}-28, and remembering in any case that Job's state of mind is set forth, not in a series of categorical propositions, but in the fervent outpourings of a deeply troubled soul, we may say that up to this point he is absolutely certain of his own righteousness, and that his sufferings are undeserved. He is deeply convinced also in what the mystics call 'the ground of the heart,' that God is righteous and rules righteously; but how these two convictions are to be reconciled, he does not clearly see. Some light has dawned upon him from various quarters in the course of his wrestlings with the great problem. At one moment he is disposed to hope against hope, and hold fast by what he cannot see. 'Though he slay me, yet will I wait for him,' may or may not be the meaning of ch. 13^{15},—for the readings admit of almost opposite interpretations,—but the words represent Job's attitude in certain moods. Not very different is his state of mind when he pleads that he might be allowed to come face to face with the Almighty; he is so sure that he could 'order his cause before him, and fill his mouth with arguments.' At another time he rests in the confidence that his own vindication will come, sooner or later. Whether Job expects this in the present life, or more or less vaguely in a future life, is a very important question in its place, but may for the purpose of this exposition be passed over for the moment. The passage ch. $19^{25.26}$ remains on any translation ambiguous when we ask whether the vindication was to come on this side of the grave or beyond it, though it is glorious in its triumphant assurance that the Vindicator will speak at the last—'he will speak, and cannot lie.' This confidence, however, Job is unable continuously and permanently to preserve. It is not represented as a solution of the problem. Job's last words (ch. 31) are a pathetic lament over his vanished greatness, and a reiterated asseveration, strong, though no longer bitter, that he has not offended. If ch. 28 is to be assigned to Job, it must imply that for a time and in a certain mood he was prepared to bow before the inscrutable wisdom of the Most High; but this is not an abiding frame of mind, and cannot be presented as Job's solution of his own difficulties.

If the Elihu section formed a part of the original book—which we cannot admit—it must be understood as a contribution towards a solution, but one not completely adequate. It forms, in any case, a kind of side-chapel in relation to the whole structure. The righteous man must remember his need of chastisement; suffering is intended to exercise an educative and purifying influence, and the wise man will not recklessly rebel or fretfully chafe against it. But in the poem no one replies to Elihu, the Almighty disregards his utterances, no reference is made to them in any other part of the book, and they can scarcely be said, on any theory of their origin, to form an intimately organic part of the whole.

On the theory advocated by many modern critics, the original poem left the problem in this undetermined condition. The book puts forward no solution, it is a prolonged note of interrogation. There is nothing constructive about the colloquies when standing alone, especially in the mutilated form to which some critics would reduce them. But as the poem now stands, what solution does it furnish of the moral difficulty which it has so powerfully raised? The solution may be said to be threefold; or rather, three classes of considerations may be borne in mind in mitigation of the difficulties propounded. The first is found in the prologue. This lifts the curtain which hides the counsels of Heaven. It suggests that the drama of our earthly life has a significance which earth does not exhaust. The government of the Most High may contemplate issues which are at present beyond us. It may be needful to prove the existence of disinterested goodness to men, to angels, to devils; or to satisfy that strange personality who on the stage of history represents the great Accuser or Adversary of men, a being hard to persuade that goodness means something more than a pious care for one's own possessions or due consideration for one's own skin. If it were given to the righteous man, like a greater Prometheus, to suffer for such a cause, and demonstrate for once to assembled hosts of human spectators of the great drama of human life, or to invisible principalities and powers, that goodness and truth are something more than a cunning provision for the comforts they bring in their train, a life of pain and woe might be considered well spent. The vivid picture of the heavenly tribunal is only the graphic Oriental way of propounding what would now be called a philosophical or theological thesis. The lesson of Plato's *Gorgias* is here enforced against the sophistry of his *Protagoras*. Hedonism is not ethics. With magnificent daring Job is conceived as proving this great thesis on the side of God, against the insinuations of the Satan. Utilitarians should be the first to acknowledge that whether this be or be not a tenable solution of the problem of human suffering, it is a noble one. God knows the hearts of His servants, but on some is conferred the high prerogative of suffering in order to demonstrate to a scoffing world or an incredulous Accuser of the brethren what righteousness really means. This is not, however, represented in the poem as an ultimate or complete solution. The veil that has been drawn aside to allow a glimpse into the designs of Heaven drops again, and is never re-lifted. Job, by hypothesis, must not know of this procedure. Unless he can hold fast by the Right unaided, unconsoled, the experiment will be a failure. The fact that he never gives in or gives up is the poet's silent way of saying that the Adversary has lost his case. With all the odds against him, Job has won. He was content to 'hold hard by truth and his great soul,' beggary and leprosy and desertion and calumny notwithstanding. If the Almighty had never spoken, Job would remain alone upon the field—unconquered, if not victorious.

The Almighty, however, does speak. It is an old complaint with students of the Bk. of Job, that He says so little, according to men's conceptions, of what ought to be said. But much more is said than appears upon the surface. The addresses of Jehovah out of the whirlwind are a powerful plea for the probability that God's providence is right and man's indictment of it wrong. The Creator and Preserver of such a world as we see may surely be left to conduct its affairs unchallenged by the puny creature who knows but one corner of one field in a vast universe, and knows that imperfectly and ill. So far from 'binding the cluster of Pleiades or loosing the bands of Orion,' man does not know 'when the wild goats bring forth,' nor can he even 'loose the bands of the wild ass.' Thou who complainest against Me, 'where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth —hast thou an arm like God?' It is replied, though not in the poem, that this is no answer to Job's questions. By such arguments the Almighty may silence, but He does not convince. The poet judges otherwise. He represents Job as not only submissive, but contrite. Job acknowledges that he has been wrong in reasoning and in temper; he not only gives up his arguments, but repents him of his sin. And the inspired poet displays deeper insight into truth and more profound knowledge of the human heart than the self-sufficient reasoner of later days. Mozley, in his masterly study of Job (*Essays*, vol. ii. p. 219), suggests that the explanation is that 'amazing power softens him, and he feels himself within its grasp a poor and feeble creature, to be dealt with just as that Power pleases'; but this is surely only half the truth. Submission of soul is not satisfaction of mind. Job has learned to *rest* in God at last. His former attitude was wrong, and only now for the first time does he see light and find peace. Why is this, when no definite answer has been given to his passionate question, Why do the righteous suffer?

First, because he has seen and heard God Himself. What is meant by that phrase it would be hard to explain, for it can only be understood by one who has heard that Voice and seen that Vision. But the experience of mankind attests that there is a whole heaven between listening to the most convincing human arguments and receiving a message which is as the very voice of God to the soul. There is a difference between hearing of God and seeing Himself. That, Job says (42^5), is the essential difference between his former and his later state. Further, Job is convinced of God's perfect wisdom in his own case by the spectacle of His combined wisdom, power, righteousness, and goodness in creation around. It is the argument from the analogy of nature before Butler and before Origen. An indirect argument is more cogent against some forms of scepticism than a direct dealing with the difficulty. A contemplation of all that my friend is and has done—his course, his career, his character—may convince me that he is right in a particular instance which I cannot understand, more effectively than any amount of discussion concerning the case itself. Further still, Job's attitude of penitent submission is represented as the real solution of all his difficulties. Only in that attitude of spirit can man really rest. If he could reason out all the causes of all events—he cannot, but we may suppose it possible—he would still be further from the state of mind in which best to face the problems of life than Job was in ch. 42^6. The ultimate solution is not intellectual, but moral, since the problem is more moral than intellectual. 'I retract—and repent in dust and ashes.' The words do not mean that Job does not think, does not feel; but that he has risen above the level of keen resentment of physical pain, above the level of quick-witted dialectic and cut-and-thrust argument, soaring into the lofty altitudes or sinking into the peaceful depths where alone the godly man finds peace—in the shelter of the everlasting arms. The reasoner and the sceptic complain that the issue has been evaded; the religious man knows that he has not shirked it, but left it behind and beneath him, when he bows his head in self-abasing prayer, after a face-to-face vision of God.

After this, the epilogue might well appear to be a bathos indeed. That a man who has borne the extremity of anguish and fought the fiercest of battles and had a vision of the Almighty and come out conqueror, should descend to the level of an unusually prosperous sheikh who owns a few thousand more sheep and oxen than he did before, seems too humiliating. The irony could hardly go further than in the words, 'every man also gave him a piece of silver, and every one a ring of gold'—as if an answer to the soul's questionings were to be expressed in terms of coins and jewellery. The writer of the postscript to the LXX Version seems dimly to have felt this, for, to the words of ch 42^{17} 'Job died an old man and full of days,' he adds that 'it is written that he will rise again with those whom the Lord raises up.' From a modern point of view the epilogue is impossible; it does not move on the same plane as the prologue and the speeches of the Almighty. But the interpreter of *Job* should not occupy a modern point of view. The writer of the book could not say 'he will rise again at the last day.' If the light shed upon this life's tangles by the clear prospect of a future life had been vouchsafed to him, his book would have been very different. The epilogue is the author's way of saying the same thing. Under a dispensation in which there was no clear revelation of a future state, Job's subsequent prosperity was only the outward expression of the divine judgment expressed in 42^{8} 'ye have not spoken of me the thing that is right, as my servant Job hath.' The men who had prided themselves on understanding God's methods and defending Him against aspersion were condemned, and forgiven only at Job's intercession; whereas Job, who had fought against the God of narrow tradition in defence of the God of righteousness and truth was commended. His restoration to more than his former prosperity is but the outward expression of this divine sentence—a kind of 'poetic justice' which, under the conditions of the time, was felt to be needful to the vindication of Job's character and the justification of Job's arguments. And, as Froude suggests in his impressive study of this book, Job was now for the first time prepared fully to use prosperity aright (*Short Studies*, vol. i. p. 325). But the epilogue is not necessary in order to point the chief moral lessons of the book. These are independent of circumstances, and belong to all time.

Leaving the details, and taking the book as a whole, what may be said of *Job* as to its place in the history of revelation? It can only be rightly understood if it is viewed as a stage in the history of religious thought, an advance upon all that preceded it, a step forward taken at the cost of severe suffering and mental conflict, but still only one step in advance. It was given to the author of the poem to see the shallowness and insufficiency of the theory that would make righteousness and prosperity, wickedness and calamity, vary directly in proportion to one another, in the present life. It was not given to him to obtain anything more than a passing glimpse into the prospect of a future life, in which the balance might be redressed; in all probability even this phrase is too strong to express the nature of the confidence attained in ch $19^{25.\ 26}$. The mystery and the beauty of vicarious suffering in the moral and spiritual world were hidden from him. But he had begun to see that, even as regards the present, pain may be a privilege rather than a punishment; that the loftiest spirits may have to pass through it as a trial of their loyalty rather than a chastisement for their transgressions; and that in such a case it behoves them to bear, as the Lord's chosen ones, the burden and the mystery of life, as pregnant with a deep significance certain hereafter to be made known.

It has often been said that Job is a type of Christ. The Christian holds that throughout the OT there were hints and foreshadowings of spiritual truth more fully revealed in the NT, and the suffering of the upright man under the earlier dispensation prepared the way for and was in turn explained by the suffering of the only Sinless Man, the Mediator of a new covenant. Mozley says, 'The Crucifixion is the one consummate act of injustice to which all others are but distant approaches.' The Cross of Christ is at the same time the darkest and the brightest spot upon earth, because there is most fully seen the meaning of that world-old problem of the suffering of the righteous in an evil world. What appears 'injustice' is intended to be a part of redemption. The author of *Job* did not clearly see, perhaps never dimly guessed at that mysterious solution of a mystery. But he grappled with the moral difficulties of his own time like a giant, and left upon record some lessons concerning suffering and its significance, which neither the world nor the Church has fully learned yet.

vii. DATE AND AUTHORSHIP.—There is little or no external evidence of a trustworthy kind to enable us to determine either author or date. The reference in Ezk 14^{14} cannot be quoted in relation to the Bk. of Job, though it may have a bearing on the historical reality of the man. Jewish tradition as represented in the Talmud (*Sota* v. 8; *Baba Bathra* 15*a*) assigned it to Moses. Writers so recent as Ebrard (1858) and Rawlinson (1891) have been found to hold the same position. But the earliest date assigned by the consensus of modern scholarship is the time of Solomon (Delitzsch, Cook, Cox), whilst by far the larger majority of critics place the book somewhere between the 7th and the 4th cent. B.C. For the period after the captivity of the Northern tribes, somewhere between Isaiah and Jeremiah, may be quoted the names of Ewald, Renan, Merx, Dillmann; Davidson and Driver would date the book during or shortly after the Exile, the period which Cheyne and Margoliouth are also inclined to favour. Cornill (*Einleitung*, p. 241) places the book amongst the very latest canonical OT literature. No author's name except that of Moses, which is quite out of the question, has ever been suggested. Whenever the writer lived, he is for us a great Unknown, and it is perhaps impossible to fix the time of composition, except by stating the century within which it probably falls. The following is the principal evidence on the subject furnished by the book itself.

At first sight *Job* presents a picture of primitive non-Israelitish life. Much that we are accustomed to find in other books of OT is conspicuous by its absence. The picture drawn of the life of Job is on the whole faithful to the conditions of patriarchal life. The wealth of the patriarch consists in his flocks and herds (1^{3} and 42^{12}); such sacrifices as are mentioned (1^{5} 42^{8}) are of a primitive type, performed by the head of the household as a priest. The age to which Job finally attains is patriarchal (42^{16}); the piece of money, קְשִׂיטָה named in 42^{11} is uncoined and primitive, mentioned elsewhere only in Gn 33^{19} and Jos 24^{32} of Jacob's purchase from the children of Hamor; whilst the musical instruments, תֹּף, כִּנּוֹר, עוּגָב, mentioned in 21^{12} 30^{31} are the primitive ones of Gn 4^{21} 31^{27}

The names of God are such as belonged to patriarchal times, *El* and *Eloah* (occurring some fifty times in Job, but rarely in OT generally) being the oldest Semitic titles of the Divine Being. The name 'Jehovah,' used in the prologue and epilogue, is not found in the body of the book except once, as if by accident, in 12^9 (compare אֲדֹנָי in 28^{28}). In these and other features the colouring appropriate to the circumstances of Job's life is preserved with great fidelity and skill.

It is impossible, however, to believe that the book dates from a very early or even a moderately early period in the history of Israel. Davidson asserts that the features of a much later time may be perceived 'beneath this patriarchal disguise'; that 'the author is a true Israelite, and betrays himself to be so at every turn, however wide his sympathy be with the life of other peoples, and however great his power of reanimating the past'; and he urges that no careful reader should be deceived by the 'thin antique colour of the book.' Other critics would demur to such decided phraseology, and it is certain that the book has to be searched very carefully before any traces of the law can be discovered in it, and these are not of a pronounced kind. In 22^6 24^9 we read of the taking of 'pledges' (see Ex 22^{26}), and in 22^{27} of vows, while in 24^2 mention is made of the removal of 'landmarks' (see Dt 19^{14}). The adoration of sun and moon is spoken of in 31^{28} as an iniquity to be punished by the judge; so also adultery in 31^9. These, however, must be considered slight and doubtful references, and it is not upon them that the case turns for holding, in Davidson's words, that the book is 'the genuine outcome of the religious thought and life of Israel, the product of a religious knowledge and experience possible among no other people.' We should rather turn to the evidence that the book presupposes an advanced state of society, a knowledge of natural history and human life, a wide and varied experience impossible to a primitive inhabitant of an unsettled country bordering on the desert, who must have lived a nomadic life. Critics have pointed out that passages such as 12^{17-21}, with its mention of counsellors and kings, priests and princes, spoiled and overthrown and captive, implies a knowledge of the history of nations, if not actually of the political changes brought about by great military empires like Assyria and Babylon. Disorder and misery must have been familiar features in the life of the author of this book; not merely personal suffering, but such as the psalmist describes when he says, 'If the foundations be destroyed, what shall the righteous do?'

Perhaps no conclusive argument can be drawn from the language. It is true that this is peculiar and striking. The book contains an unusually large proportion of Aramaic words, and of ἅπαξ λεγόμενα explicable only by the help of Arabic. But it has been argued by some that this is a mark of early date, by others that it is a mark of the Solomonic period as one of wide culture and extended intercourse, by others that it proves a date more or less contemporary with Deutero-Isaiah (Driver), only that the author of Job was brought even more within Aramaizing influences than the prophet. Dillmann does not lay stress upon the 'Aramaisms' as a mark of date, but holds that the language generally points to the period of the later Heb. in the 7th or 6th cent. B.C. Cornill thinks the 'Aramæo-Arabic' cast of the language supports the very late date he adopts (*Einleitung*, p. xxxii). The literary form and character of the poem certainly point, at least, to the maturity of Jewish literature. It is true that a poem of genius and power often characterizes the dawn of a nation's history; and in Dante, the first great writer in the vernacular of his country, is found a master of Italian who has never since been surpassed. This illustration alone is sufficient proof that the concentrated vigour and intensity of expression characteristic of some passages in Job does not necessarily imply a late date in the history of a national literature. The originality of the author of Job is one of his most striking characteristics, but it is not the originality of an early writer. His knowledge, his illustrations, his references, and, to some extent, his style, appear to imply an advanced and not a primitive period of literature and life.

The strongest argument, however, and perhaps the only one which is really conclusive, is drawn from the subject-matter. The theme here discussed and the manner of its discussion necessitate a long previous history. The problems of human life are doubtless old, but they could not be raised in the manner displayed in Job, without a previous religious history, and one of considerable duration, in which the doctrine of the three friends had come to be the current and orthodox explanation of the facts of life. The history of the OT shows that only at a comparatively late period were these maxims questioned; and when we find them not only questioned but discussed in the thorough manner of the Bk. of Job, we may be sure that it was not composed till at least the closing period of the monarchy. Other features of religious doctrine—the doctrine of God, the way in which Satan is mentioned, and the spiritual doctrine of man, for example—point, likewise, to a comparatively late date. In saying this, we do not include the passages which have often been thought to imply a doctrine of immortality, since the meaning of these is by no means certain.

The argument as to date drawn from parallel passages is one that the best critics do not press, as it is encumbered with doubt and difficulty, and is apt to resolve itself into a matter of subjective impressions. But a comparison of some passages in Job with other books in the OT is instructive, to whatever conclusions it may lead, and a few words may be said upon the subject. The parallels are numerous, though in no case are they exceedingly close; they are chiefly found in Dt, Ps, Pr, Is, Jer, and La; the books of Hos, Am, and Zec presenting in a minor degree certain points of comparison. The chief parallels with Dt are Job 5^{14} compared with Dt 28^{29}, Job 5^{18} with Dt 32^{39}, Job 20^4 with Dt 4^{32}, whilst the references to the removal of landmarks and other offences in Job 24^2 and $31^{9.11}$ have been thought to imply a knowledge of Dt 19^{14} 22^{22}. Davidson goes so far as to say that if Dt be understood to be a composition of the reign of Josiah, B.C. 620 is the point above which the composition of Job cannot be carried. As to the Psalms, it appears quite certain that Job 7^{17} implies Ps 8^5, but the date of the latter cannot easily be fixed. The reader may further compare Job 10^9 with Ps 138^8 139, Job 35^{14} with Ps 37^6, Job 22^{19} with Ps 107^{42}, and Job 13^4 with Ps 119^{69}. The Books of Job and Pr, as both belonging to the class of Wisdom-literature, exhibit, as might have been expected, considerable affinity. The personification of Wisdom is found in both; the providential features of human life are dealt with in both, though from different points of view; whilst some phrases are common to both books, the coincidence of form being such as can hardly be the result of accident. The proverbial expression concerning 'the lamp of the wicked being put out' of Pr 13^9 24^{20}, is taken up in Job 21^{17} in a way which absolutely proves the priority of the former. Job 6^3 may be compared with Pr 27^3, and Job 32^5 with Pr 10^{24}, though the comparison presents nothing conclusive as to date. Much more reliance may be placed upon a general comparison of the representations of Wisdom in Pr chs. 1–9 and Job 28, with regard to which it would appear manifest that Job is the later. It has been already admitted that ch. 28 may be a later addition to Job, and the date of the opening section of Pr is not conclusively fixed; but of the general teaching of Job it is clear that it must have followed upon and not preceded the general teaching of Proverbs. For the proverbial philosophy of the latter is in the main that true but insufficient generalization from experience, embodied in prudential maxims, which forms the groundwork of the arguments of the friends. Upon this *Job* forms a searching criticism, and represents a considerably later stage of thought.

The relation between Job and Isaiah, especially Deutero-Isaiah, is exceedingly interesting. It has been discussed at length by Cheyne in the essay appended to his *Proph. of Isaiah* (ii. 235 f.). Job 14^{11} presents coincidence in expression with Is 19^5, the latter being probably the earlier passage. But a more extended parallel with the later chapters of Isaiah may be established by a comparison of Job 12^{9} with Is 41^{20}, Job 15^{35} with Is 59^{4}, Job 9^{8} with Is 44^{24} and 45^{12}, Job 26$^{12.13}$ with Is 51^{9}, and Job 13^{28} with Is 50^{9}. The whole teaching of the Bk. of Job should be studied in connexion with the remarkable picture of the Servant of J″, which is one of the chief features of Deutero-Isaiah. The spectacle of the righteous servant of God suffering, desolate, mocked of men and apparently afflicted of God, yet retaining his hold upon God and ultimately justified by Him, is so far common to the two books and to these almost alone in the OT as to make the comparison full of interest. Cheyne and Davidson have discussed it in full, but the question of priority is not easily settled. Perhaps the conclusion to which most readers will be brought by a study which cannot even be outlined here, will be that announced by Davidson and Driver, acquiesced in by Cheyne, that the two writers were 'surrounded by the same atmosphere of thought' and 'worked up common conceptions into independent creations.' Most critics incline to place Job the later of the two, but the view of suffering taken in Is 53 can never have presented itself to the author of Job. Either the two were entirely independent, or Job is earlier than Deutero-Isaiah, would seem to be the inevitable verdict.

A comparison with Jer furnishes two or three parallel passages in which coincidence can hardly be accidental, though priority may not be easy to determine. One of the chief of these is the 'curse' of Job 3$^{3-10}$ compared with Jer 20$^{14-18}$. Dillmann in 1869 judged that the passage in Job must have been the earlier of the two, an opinion which he modified later (*Hiob*^{4}, p. 33); while Cheyne writes that Jer 20^{15} 'clearly betokens the hand of the original writer.' Other parallels are Job 6^{15} and Jer 15^{18}, Job 12^{4} and Jer 20^{7}, whilst Job 9^{18} may be compared with La 3^{15}, Job 30^{9} with La 3^{14}, and Job 16^{13} with La 3^{12}. In the latter passages opinion is likely to assign a later date to the highly wrought elegy of La than to the vigorous and forcible language of Job. Ps 37 and 88 suggest a general comparison with Job, and there are points of coincidence in expression with other psalms; but all that can be said is that the writer of Job seems to have been acquainted with some psalms, whilst other psalmists appear more or less to have imitated the greater poet.

On the whole, the use of parallel passages in this instance seems to mark out the *general* position of Job in relation to other OT literature, rather than to fix definitely its date in relation to particular books. All the signs point to a period subsequent to the 7th cent. B.C., though how much later, remains undecided. As Margoliouth has pointed out, the references to Ophir in 22^{24} 28^{16} give a *terminus a quo* in the Solomonic period, and a comparison with 1 Ch 21^{1}, in which Satan is used as a proper name, shows that Job 1 and 2, etc., in which the article is used, must have been written earlier. This furnishes a *terminus ad quem* in the 4th cent. B.C. The alternatives lie between the 'very late date somewhere in the Persian period' favoured by Margoliouth and Cheyne, and a date somewhat, though not much, earlier than the Bab. captivity, which appears to the writer the more probable. The range of a century earlier or later than the Exile would be sufficient to include all but the most extreme of modern critics.

LITERATURE.—The following may be mentioned amongst the writers who have contributed to the elucidation of the Bk. of Job during the Christian era, but chiefly during the last century. Origen's contributions towards the study of the text, and Jerome's translation, have been already referred to. Not many of the early Christian writers commented on Job, but the *Scholia* of Ephraem Syrus may be mentioned, and the bulky commentary of Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Jobum*, in which exposition proper is overlaid by a discussion of an endless variety of doctrinal and ethical questions. Amongst the Jewish expositors of the Middle Ages, R. Sa'adya Gaon wrote brief notes in Arabic, and besides Ibn Ezra and Rashi, the two most important commentaries are those of R. Moses ben Nachman and R. Levi ben Gerson, of the 13th and 14th cents. respectively. At the time of the Reformation, Luther characteristically illustrated the new spirit of exegesis by the way in which he handled the Bk. of Job; his remarks gave offence to many by their freedom. The *Conciones* of Calvin exhibit the strength and lucidity characteristic of that prince of expositors.

In the 18th cent. Alb. Schultens (1737) opened a new epoch in the study of Job by his philological notes, illustrating the meaning of words largely—some have thought too largely—from the Arabic. Reiske (1779) and Schnurrer (1781) followed in the same direction. In the present century the number of commentaries on Job has multiplied very largely. The following list of selected literature during the last half century does not profess to be exhaustive or exactly chronological, the dates affixed usually indicating the publication of the first and last editions.

Umbreit, *Das B. Hiob* (1824-1832); Ewald, *Dichter des A. B.* iii. (1836-1854); Stickel, *Das B. Hiob* (1842); Schlottmann, *Das B. Hiob* (1851); Renan, *Le Livre de Job* (1859); Frz. Delitzsch, *Das B. Hiob* (1864-1876); Hengstenberg, *Das B. Hiob erläutert* (1870-1875); Merx, *Das Gedicht von Hiob* (1871); Zöckler in Lange's *Bibelwerk* (1872); Hitzig, *Das B. Hiob* (1874); Budde, *Beiträge zur Kritik des B. Hiob* (1876); *Hiob* (in Nowack's *Handkom.* 1896, a summary of the conclusions of which is given by Budde himself in *Expos. Times*, Dec. 1896, p. 111 ff.); Reuss, *La Sainte Bible*, pt. 6 (1878-1888); Volck in *Kurzgef. Komm.* (1889); Dillmann in *Kurzgef. Exeg. H'buch* (1891); Duhm, *Das B. Hiob erklärt* (in Mohr's *Kurzer Hand-Com.* 1897); also Beer, *Text des B. Hiob untersucht* (1895). Of these, Umbreit, Ewald, Renan, Delitzsch, and Zöckler have been translated into English. Amongst recent English writers may be named Cook in *Speaker's Com.*^{7} (1880); Cox, *Commentary and New Translation* (1880); and Bateson Wright, *Translation, with Essays, chiefly Critical* (1883). A. B. Davidson published in 1862 a full commentary based upon the Heb., but this included only chs. 1-14, and has not been completed. In 1884 his English commentary appeared (*Cambr. B. for Schools*). Cheyne, *Job and Solomon* (1887); Bradley, *Lectures on Job* (1887); R. A. Watson in *Expositor's Bible* (1892); also Rawlinson in *Pulpit Commentary* (1891). The section on the Bk. of Job found in each of the chief 'Introductions' to the OT should, of course, be consulted. The following may be mentioned as representative:—Bleek (6th edition by Wellhausen, 1893), Riehm (ed. Brandt, 1889), Driver (6th ed. 1897), and Cornill (3rd and 4th ed. 1896). Amongst separate articles some of the most noteworthy are Riehm, *Zeitschr. f. Luth. Theol.* (1866); Godet, *Études Bibliques* (1874); Budde, *Beiträge* (1876), *ZATW* (1882), 193-247; Giesebrecht, *Wendepunkt des B. H.* (1879); Kleinert, *Das specifisch Hebräische in B. H.* in *Stud. u. Krit.* (1886); C. H. Wright, *Bibl. Essays* (1886); Mozley in *Bibl. and Theol. Essays* (1878); Dillmann, *Textkritisches zum B. H.* in *Sitz. Ber. der K. Akad. d. Wis.*, Berlin (1890); as well as the monographs of Grill and Laue mentioned above. The present writer has dealt with the subject in his *Wisdom Literature of Old Test.* (1893).

W. T. DAVISON.

JOBAB (יוֹבָב).—**1.** Name of a son of Joktan, Gn 10^{29} (1 Ch 1^{23}): identified by Glaser (*Skizze*, ii. 314) and others with יהיבב, a place mentioned in a Sabæan inscription (*CIS* iv. p. 55; Glaser, *Mittheilungen*, 3 ff.). The author of that inscription speaks of his 'fathers and uncles' as governors of YHYBB, and further mentions a king of Saba, Karibail Wathar, whom there is reason to place in the middle of the 8th cent. B.C. The name is said to occur in another inscription also (Glaser, *Skizze*, ii. 303); but in neither is there anything which fixes its locality, though its governors would appear to have been vassals of the kings of Saba. It is variously read *Yuhaibab* and *Yuhaibib*, and is compared by J. Derenbourg with the Arab. *yabāb*, 'a desert.' Earlier commentators thought of the Ἰωβαρῖται of Ptolemy (vi. 7. 24), and indeed one recension of the LXX has the form Ἰοβόρ. This name seems to correspond with the Arabic *Wabār* (so Sprenger), which denotes a considerable portion of Yemen 'all between Najrān and Ḥadramaut, Mahrah and Shiḥr' (Yāḳūt). Neither of these identifications can be considered more than conjectural. **2.** A king of Edom, Gn 36$^{33f.}$ = 1 Ch 1$^{44f.}$, confused in LXX of Job 42^{17b} with **Job** (see above, p. 660^{b}). **3.** A king of Madon, Jos 11^{1}. **4. 5.** Two Benjamites, 1 Ch 8$^{9.18}$.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

JOCHEBED (יוֹכֶבֶד 'J″ is glory,' cf. the Phœn. כברמלקרת 'Melḳart is glory' (?) *CIS* I. i. 364).—Known to us by name only from P, who states that J. was a sister of Kohath, who was married to Amram her nephew, and who bare to him Aaron and Moses (Ex 6^{20}) and Miriam (Nu 26^{59}). An earlier writer, E, in narrating the birth of Moses, speaks of his mother as a daughter of Levi, but seems to have been unacquainted with her name (Ex 2^{1}).

W. C. ALLEN.

JOD (י).—The tenth letter of the Hebrew alphabet, and as such used in the 119th Psalm to designate the 10th part, each verse of which begins with this letter. It is transliterated in this Dictionary by *y*. See JOT.

JODA (A Ἰωδά, B Ἰούδα[ς?]), 1 Es 5^{58} (^{56} LXX).—**1.** The same as JUDAH the Levite in Ezr 3^{9}; elsewhere called HODAVIAH, Ezr 2^{40}; HODEVAH, Neh 7^{43}; SUDIAS, 1 Es 5^{26}. **2.** An ancestor of Jesus, Lk 3^{26} (Ἰωδά WH, Ἰουδά TR, AV Juda).

JOED (יוֹעֵד, etymology uncertain, Syr. ܝܘܥܕ).—A Benjamite, the father of Meshullam and son of Pedaiah, Neh 11^{7}. In the corresponding list 1 Ch 9^{7} the name does not occur.

JOEL (יוֹאֵל).[*]—**1.** The prophet (see next article). **2.** A son of Samuel, 1 S 8^{2}, 1 Ch 6^{28} (RV, see Driver's note on 1 S 8^{2}) 6^{33}. **3.** An ancestor of Samuel, 1 Ch 6^{36} (called in v.^{24} Shaul). **4.** A Simeonite prince, 1 Ch 4^{35}. **5.** A Reubenite, 1 Ch 5$^{4.\,8}$. **6.** A Gadite chief, 1 Ch 5^{12}. **7.** A chief man of Issachar, 1 Ch 7^{3}. **8.** One of David's heroes, 1 Ch 11^{38}. **9. 10. 11.** Levites, 1 Ch 15$^{7.\,11.\,17}$ 23^{8} 26^{22}, 2 Ch 29^{12}. **12.** A Manassite chief, 1 Ch 27^{20}. **13.** One of those who married a foreign wife, Ezr 10^{43}. **14.** A Benjamite overseer after the Exile, Neh 11^{9}.

JOEL (יוֹאֵל, Ἰωήλ), the son of Pethuel (LXX Βαθουήλ, Vulg. *Phatuel*), is the author of the second (LXX fourth) book of the Minor Prophets. No information has reached us regarding the prophet or his father. The name Joel probably signifies 'J″ is God,' and, on the assumption of the date proposed by Credner, may contain a reference to the re-establishment of the worship of J″ after the overthrow of Athaliah (cf. 2 K 11$^{4\text{ff.}}$). This, though possible, is scarcely probable. The name is not an uncommon one (cf. 1 S 8^{2}, Ezr 10^{43}, Neh 11^{9}, etc.).[†] The book supplies no definite information, either as to the place or the time of the prophet's labours. The date is greatly disputed, but it is generally agreed that Judah, and most probably Jerus., was the theatre of Joel's prophetic activity.

i. Occasion.—The occasion of the prophecy was an invasion of the country by locusts, accompanied by a drought of unusual severity. A calamity of this kind was not uncommon in Pal., and, in ordinary circumstances, would not be made a subject of prophetic discourse. But the visitation described by J. was exceptionally severe. Successive swarms of locusts swept over the country (1^{4}), and their devastations went on for years (2^{25}). The produce of the fields, vineyards, and orchards was destroyed (1$^{10\text{-}12}$). Food failed for man and beast (1$^{10\text{-}12.\,16.\,17.\,18\text{-}20}$). The daily offering to J″ was suspended from lack of the necessary materials (1$^{9.\,13}$ 2^{14}). This was equivalent to an interruption of the covenant relation between J″ and His people. A calamity which led to such a result was a very serious one. No prophet would have been faithful to his mission as watchman of Israel if he had failed to warn the people of the danger with which such a visitation threatened them. Joel saw in the locust invasion a special judgment from J″, and used it as a text for one of the most interesting and instructive discourses contained in the prophetical books of the OT.

ii. Contents.—The book consists of three chapters. [The Heb. text has four chapters, the last five verses of ch. 2 in AV forming ch. 3 in the MT]. It divides itself easily into two parts, in the first of which (1^{2}–2^{17}) the prophet, and in the second (2^{18} to the end) J″, is the speaker.

The first part is made up of two discourses, of which, however, the theme is the same, viz. the locust invasion. The language in which the calamity is depicted differs considerably in the two chapters. But that the army, whose movements and operations are described so graphically and rhetorically in ch. 2, must be identified with the locusts of ch. 1, appears from 2^{25}, where the promise of the removal of the judgment and the renewal of blessings is given in the words, 'I will restore to you the years that the locust hath eaten, the cankerworm, and the caterpillar, and the palmerworm, my great army which I sent among you.'[*] After introducing his subject (1$^{2\text{-}4}$), the prophet, in the first discourse (1$^{5\text{-}20}$), describes the judgment which has fallen on the country in a narrative remarkable for the vividness of the picture and the minuteness of the details. The invading host pours over the land in countless myriads, with teeth like the teeth of lions for the work of destruction before them. The vine is wasted. The fig-tree is not merely stripped of its leaves,—the very bark is torn off, and trunk and branches are left bare (1^{7}). The grain and the fruit crops are alike destroyed (1$^{10\text{-}12}$). The prophet lingers over the desolation which has been wrought, and pushes his description into regions which, if the visitation were not real, would scarcely be referred to. The seed perishes under the clods; the barns are left to fall into decay because there is nothing to gather into them (1^{17}). Such a calamity falls heavily on the beasts of the field. Under the pangs of hunger and thirst they groan and cry unto God. The instinctive appeal of these irrational creatures affects the prophet so powerfully that he associates himself with them in supplicating the Lord for relief (1$^{18\text{-}20}$). Thus the first discourse closes.

In the second discourse (2$^{1\text{-}17}$) the language is highly poetical and rhetorical. The figure before the prophet's mind is that of an army which marches with unbroken ranks and irresistible force to the accomplishment of its mission. This army is J″'s host, at the head of which He marches (2^{11}). The army, as we have seen, is the locusts (2^{25}); and, if the testimony of travellers is to be relied on, the prophet's description as a whole, and the individual illustrations, are true to nature. But no description of the calamity—however powerful and startling—can exhaust the prophet's duty in connexion with it. Such a judgment calls for humiliation and prayer on the part of the people; and the prophet urges this in terms scarcely less striking than those employed in depicting the divine visitation (1^{14} 2$^{12\text{-}17}$).

The second part of the book (2^{18} to the end), with J″ as the speaker, contains the promise of blessings—first of temporal, and secondly of spiritual, blessings. The first words of the promise show that the judgment is at an end (2$^{19\text{b}}$). Famine and drought are to cease; prosperity is to be restored. The new abundance will compensate for the losses inflicted by the ravages of the locusts, and Israel, having learned in the school of suffering that J″ alone is worthy of their trust, will acknowledge and rejoice in Him as their God (2$^{21\text{-}27}$). This prepares the way for the bestowal of spiritual blessings (2$^{28\text{-}32}$, Heb. 3). The outpouring of the Spirit on all the people, without distinction of age or sex, of rank or class, is to follow, in point of time, the restoration of material prosperity (2^{28} 'it shall come to pass *afterward* that I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh'). How long afterward is not indicated. On a matter of this kind the horizon of prophecy is undefined. Then shall come the day of the Lord, which occupies so prominent a place in the book. This day, ushered in by awe-inspiring phenomena, is a day of doom for the nations hostile to Israel. These nations are brought down to the valley of Jehoshaphat ('J″ judges'), where J″'s heavenly warriors crush them as grapes are crushed in the wine-press—cut them down as the grain is cut by the reaper. Israel, on the other hand, shall dwell securely in a land of extraordinary fertility, and J″, enthroned on Mount Zion, shall dwell among them. The situation, as between the people of J″ on the one side and the hostile powers on the other, is summed up in the pointed contrast at the close of the prophecy (vv.$^{19.\,20}$ Egypt and Edom are to be a desolation; Judah is to dwell under the favour of J″ for ever).[†]

iii. Interpretation.—The interpretation of the prophecy depends on the view taken of the locusts. 1. Many of the early Fathers explained the locusts figuratively; and in recent times this view has been supported in his usual fearless fashion by Hengstenberg (*Christ. of OT*, Eng. tr. i. 296 ff.). According to this view, the prophecy refers to future events, and the locusts, in chs. 1 and 2, represent the world-powers opposed to the Church,—such as J″ judges on His great day (3$^{1.\,2}$ [Heb. 4$^{1.\,2}$]). 2. What may be regarded as a modification of this ancient opinion has been recently proposed. According to this view the locusts are apocalyptic,—creatures of a supernatural kind, such as may fitly find a place in a vision of the last things, with which the Bk. of Joel closes (cf. the locusts in NT Apocalypse). 3. The third and, in recent times, the most generally accepted opinion is that the locusts are real. The prophet describes an actual locust invasion, and makes it the occasion of his prophecy. According to the first two views, the book becomes an eschatological prediction, without any historical basis, or any direct reference to the prophet's contemporaries. Against this explanation of the book, the text, on a fair interpretation, offers serious objections. (1) It is not easy to find a satisfactory explanation of the twofold call to repentance already noticed. According to the allegorical or apocalyptic view, we have to think of the prophet as sitting, like a monk in his cell, brooding over the past history of his people, and endeavouring to forecast their future. The fruit of his meditations he records for us in this short book. He has no message to his contemporaries. Even the call to repentance is a mere ideal appeal. The ground of the appeal is the locust invasion. But to the prophet's contemporaries the appeal can have no practical value, if not a single locust is visible and no trace of locust devastation can be discovered. For the ordinary purpose of prophetic teaching the appeal vanishes into thin air. This explanation utterly fails to do justice to the text. The prophet urges repentance on his fellow-countrymen with a view to the removal of a grave calamity, and the restoration of the divine favour. This purpose was realized. The second part of the book begins, as we have seen, with the promise of the withdrawal of the judgment and the bestowal of rich blessings. The explanation may be inferred from $2^{18.\ 19a}$. J″'s anger is at an end. The way is open to the restoration of the covenant relation between Him and His people. The inference is that the people have repented and humbled themselves before Him. Now, that is the practical result for which every prophet laboured among his countrymen. And when the prophetic purpose and the result aimed at are exhibited in the proper relation, as they are in Joel, it is scarcely possible to accept the view that the prophecy has no direct reference to the circumstances of the prophet's contemporaries. (2) The language in which the locust invasion is described is strongly opposed to the allegorical and apocalyptic explanation. The details of the first chapter have been partially referred to. It is highly improbable that the narrative, in this part of the book, is a pure work of imagination, produced by some recluse of post-exilic times. The description of the second chapter is equally opposed to the figurative explanation. If the language is figurative, the locusts represent the world-powers hostile to the Church. The prophet has before his mind men,—warriors, like those led by a Sennacherib or a Nebuchadnezzar. He tells us that these invaders 'run like mighty men' ($v.^{7}$); if they were really gallant warriors, like whom else, or what else, should they run? 'They climb the wall like men of war' (*ib.*); if they were human soldiers, what does the prophet mean by these words? He presents a picture of an invading horde, going steadily forward, in perfect order, to the accomplishment of their task. In their progress they reach the capital, and climb the walls; but it is not said that they make breaches in the walls or cast them down. 'They leap upon the city' ($v.^{9}$), but there is not a hint that their purpose is to destroy it. The ravages wrought by these invaders are confined to the fields. Not a man falls before them. The people suffer grievously, but it is indirectly, through the destruction of their crops, etc. And when the prophet urges the people to repent with the view of propitiating J″, the effect of the withdrawal of the judgment is, not the sparing of the lives of the inhabitants, but the renewal of fertility to the earth, so that there should no longer be the lack of the materials required for the daily meal-offering and drink-offering ($vv.^{12-14}$). The description in these verses ($^{7ff.}$) loses its point, and raises a perplexing question as to the literary character of the book, if the locusts are not real but figurative. If the prophet has before his mind—not locusts, but—a horde of cruel men sweeping over the country and leaving ruin behind them, his language raises not the least difficult of OT problems. And there should be little hesitation in admitting a real invasion of locusts.

---

[*] This name is generally taken to mean 'J″ is God,' and this was prob. the etymology accepted by the later Hebrews, with whom the name was popular. But it is very doubtful if this was the primary meaning. Nestle (*Eigennamen*, 86) and W. R. Smith (*Kinship*, 301) identify with the god *Wail* (*Iolaos*). See, further, *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*, and Gray, *Heb. Prop. Names*, 153.

[†] The name might be taken as a Hiph. Impft. from יאל, (cf. יוֹסֵף), but this is not a probable derivation. (See *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*).

[*] The words used in this verse for the locusts are the same as in 1^{4}, but the order is different; and the prophet perhaps refers to successive swarms of locusts rather than to the same swarm in different stages of growth.

[†] The connexion in which Egypt and Edom are mentioned at the end of the book deserves consideration. The Phœnicians and Philistines appear (v.^{4}) to have been actively hostile to Judah in the prophet's day. The Egyptians and Edomites would naturally have been mentioned along with these if they had stood in the same relation to Judah. And it is possible that, in the antithesis at the close of the book, Egypt and Edom are used typically,—the former representing hostile powers that had no family connexion with Judah, the latter those that were of common ancestry.

iv. DATE.—The date is greatly disputed, but there is general agreement that it is either very early or post-exilic. The book itself contains no distinct chronological data of the kind supplied by the superscriptions in many of the other prophetical books. In such a case the most helpful and trustworthy evidence for the fixing of the date is derived from the nations (if any) mentioned in the book. On this point the argument *e silentio* is important in Joel. No mention is made of Syria, Assyria, or Babylon. But from the days of Amos to the exile of Judah, one or other of these powers has a prominent place in prophetic literature. It may therefore be reasonably inferred that J. wrote before the Assyr. power began to threaten the chosen people, or after the Bab. power ceased to be dangerous; in other words, the date is prior to the 8th cent. B.C., or later than the overthrow of Babylon by Cyrus. If the late date is accepted, the prophecy would fall in the Pers. period. No valid objection to this date can be founded on the non-mention of Persia. For, while it is true that the Jews were in subjection to the Persians, there was a radical difference between the relation of Persia to the chosen people and that of Assyria and Babylon. The latter invaded and conquered the land of promise, and carried the people into captivity. Their relation was one of active hostility. The Persians inaugurated the period of their supremacy by the restoration of the Jewish exiles to their own land. This would sufficiently account for the Persians being placed in a different category from the Assyrians and Babylonians. And the way is clear for a pre-Assyr. or post-Bab. date. The prophet, however, mentions certain peoples as hostile to Judah: Phœnicians and Philistines (3^{4} [Heb. 4^{4}]), and Egyptians and Edomites (3^{19} [Heb. 4^{19}]). If the typical use of Egypt and Edom is accepted (p. 672^{b} *n.*†), the mention of these countries is of no importance in the discussion as to the date. Otherwise, a date must be found comparatively near to hostile action on the part of Egypt and Edom; and the same remark applies to Phœnicia and Philistia. In the period between the invasion of Judah by Shishak (*c.* B.C. 930) and the war in which Josiah fell (B.C. 610), there is no report of hostile action on the part of Egypt such as would meet the requirements of the prophecy. With regard to the other countries mentioned, the case is different. The Chronicler (2 Ch $21^{16.\ 17}$) reports an invasion of Judah by the Philistines in the reign of Jehoram, son of Jehoshaphat and son-in-law of Ahab. The serious character of this invasion may be inferred from the statement of the Chronicler, that the palace was captured, and the royal family—wives and children, with the exception of a single son—were carried into captivity. That the Philistines were actively hostile to Judah about this period is sufficiently attested by Amos (1^{6}). According to this prophet, the Philistines found a market for their Jewish slaves in Edom; and in this traffic the Phœnicians are associated with the Philistines (Am 1^{9}). Further, as against Edom, which apparently had been a dependency of Judah since the time of David, the Chronicler reports that, in the days of Jehoram, it made an effort to secure its independence,—'Edom revolted from under the hand of Judah and made a king over themselves' (2 Ch 21^8, cf. 2 K 8^{20}, where the statement of Ch is confirmed). Edom, indeed, was an inveterate enemy; but in the days of Jehoram specific acts of hostility were committed, which suffice to explain the reference in Joel. It is true that in Ch the Phœnicians are not mentioned. Amos, however, includes them in the same charge as the Philistines. The Phœnicians were the great naval power of the time. The maritime carrying-trade of the world was very largely in their hands. The Jewish slaves who were sold to the Ionians (Jl 3^6 [Heb. 4^6]) were, no doubt, conveyed in Phœn. vessels to the slave markets of Greece. The descendants of those whom Hiram allied to Judah broke the friendly relation, and ranged themselves with the enemies of the chosen people. And there was more than this. The Phœn. Baal-worship had been introduced into the northern kingdom through Jezebel, and into Judah through her daughter Athaliah, the wife of Jehoram. The influence of Phœnicia had been powerful enough to largely suppress the worship of J″ throughout the land of promise. When that worship was restored by Jehoiada, pious Jews would regard the friendship of Phœnicia as more dangerous than the hostility of Philistia. And a prophet of the period might be expected to assign to the Phœnicians a first place among the powers hostile to Judah. This is what Joel does (3^4 [Heb. 4^4]). In support of the late date, attention is directed to the fact that Joel mentions only petty peoples in the neighbourhood as enemies of Judah; whereas, in the early prophets, prominence is given to a heathen power of widely extended influence, which threatens the independence of the chosen people. It is quite true that from the time of Amos, who, if Joel is late, first raises this question in OT prophecy, a world-power aiming at universal empire has to be dealt with. But if a prophet did actually appear and write a book fifty years before Amos,—what then? At that time Assyria was beyond the prophetic horizon. Egypt since the days of Shishak—a century before—had ceased to cause anxiety. Only Phœnicians, Philistines, and Edomites troubled Judah. On the assumption of the late date, the peoples mentioned by Joel raise a serious difficulty. The date proposed by Merx, and favourably regarded by other critics, is about the middle of the 5th cent. B.C., when Nehemiah restored the wall of Jerusalem. In the historical books that deal with that period, tribes in the neighbourhood of Jerus. are spoken of as bitterly hostile to the Jewish community. Chief among these are the Samaritans and the Ammonites,—no mention is made of the Phœnicians (cf. Neh $4^{1ff.}$). It is scarcely credible that a prophet living in Jerus., while Nehemiah was struggling to put the capital in a position of security, should threaten heavy judgments against powers—some of them remote—whose hostility was scarcely felt, and not so much as mention the peoples bordering on Judah whose forces were united in active opposition of the most bitter kind against the Jewish community. And the case is strengthened by the fact that Ezekiel, from whom, according to Merx, Joel is supposed to have freely borrowed, begins his denunciation of the hostile powers with the Ammonites,—as bitter opponents as the Jews of the period had to deal with (cf. Ezk $25^{1ff.}$). Accordingly, if Merx' date is accepted, the mention of the peoples referred to—a factor of the weightiest importance in the determination of the dates of prophetical books—is deprived of its historical significance.

It has been urged that the Bk. of Joel is not an original work, but a *Midrash*—a sort of eschatological compendium—founded on the books of earlier prophets. According to this view, the nations named would lose their historical value. This might be admitted of the Egyptians and the Edomites, and, in a less degree, of the Philistines. But the reference to the Phœnicians cannot be explained in this way. And, in point of fact, so far as our historical information warrants an opinion, there is no period when a prophet loyal to the theocracy would be more likely to introduce his censure of hostile powers in the words of Joel (3^4 [Heb. 4^4]) than the early part of the reign of Joash, when Judah had just escaped the danger of ruin through the Phœn. Baal-worship. To sum up this point—a typical reference cannot be assigned to all the nations mentioned; an exact historical reference is not consistent with the post-exilic date proposed.

In connexion with the late date, another point deserves consideration. The prophet summons the people to repentance; but he does not name any special sin of which they are guilty. How unlike this is to Amos and his successors! On this ground alone it is difficult to find a suitable place for Joel between Amos and the exile of Judah. This may appear to favour a post-exilic date. But the condition of Judah described in the post-exilic books of OT is quite unlike that suggested in Joel. If the latter half of the 5th cent. is accepted as the date, Joel and Malachi would belong to the same period. Malachi gives as melancholy a picture of the moral and religious state of his countrymen as any prophet before the Exile. And the situation, then, is this. One prophet lays bare the sins which are eating as a canker into the heart of the post-exilic Church in language as severe as that of Amos or Isaiah,—while another prophet—practically a contemporary—writes as if there were not a special sin to denounce. Further, Malachi's efforts do not appear to have been crowned with much success (see his book throughout); Joel's simple, earnest appeal led to the happiest results (cf. $2^{18ff.}$). It follows that, if Joel had a practical message to his contemporaries, he can scarcely be placed in the generation to which Malachi belonged. A fair interpretation of the language is opposed to the view that the book is a mere Midrash, having no reference to the circumstances of the prophet's day. If the occasion of the prophet's exhortation was found in the actual condition of Judah at the time, the proposed post-exilic date is highly improbable. If the date is pre-exilic, it is not easy to point to a time more suitable than that suggested by Credner, viz. the early part of the reign of Joash of Judah. Through the reforming zeal of Jehoiada, the worship of J″ was at that time comparatively pure. And the people would be likely to respond to the earnest and affectionate appeals of a prophet like Joel.

Other points of less importance have found a place in the discussion as to the date. No king is mentioned. The prophet appeals to the priests as if the direction of affairs was in their hands. This is held to point to the condition of Judah after the return of the exiles from Babylon, when there was no king, and the administration of affairs, under the Pers. governor, was conducted by the priests and elders The conclusion seems reasonable. It is urged in reply that Joash was only seven years of age when he ascended the throne, and that, for a time, the affairs of the kingdom would, of necessity, be left in the hands of Jehoiada the high priest. That is an important consideration. But of greater importance is the obvious purpose of the book. The prophet makes no special reference to civil or political affairs, or to the social condition of the people. His object is to reach the heart and conscience of the nation through the calamity which has fallen on the country,—to bring his countrymen as penitent suppliants before J″. In a matter of that kind it is the priests that should take the lead. And the prophet's appeal to the priestly party is appropriate.

Again, it is urged that the prophet makes no mention of the northern kingdom. But why should he? His view is confined to the disaster which has overtaken Judah. *Negative* evidence—such as the non-mention of the northern kingdom, and of a king of Judah—cannot counterbalance the positive evidence derived from the peoples named in the book, and the practical purpose of the prophet in behalf of his contemporaries. The question is, 'Whether a judgment such as Joel depicts forms a suitable theme for a prophetic book?' If it does, the absence of references found in other books of prophecy, which cover a much wider field and deal with subjects of various kinds, cannot safely be pressed in discussing the question of the date.

The importance attached to the ritual is held to favour a late date. The question of the ritual is raised, *generally*, by the prominence assigned to the priests, and, *specifically*, by the mention of fasting, and of the daily offering. Fasting, in connexion with an unexpected calamity, was a common practice from an early period of Israel's history in Canaan (cf. 2 S 1^{12} 12^{16}, 1 K $21^{9.12.27}$). The reference to fasting in Jl is quite consistent with an early date. The arrangements for the daily offering are found in P (Ex 29^{38-41}). Whatever date may be assigned to P, the offering of the morning and evening sacrifice was an ancient practice, with the ritual of which the people would be familiar (cf. 2 K 16^{13-15}). The direct references to ritual in Jl are as consistent with an early as with a late date. Moreover, devotion to ceremonial was not a peculiarity of post-exilic times. It may be doubted if any generation of Israelites was more attentive to external observances than those addressed by Amos (cf. Am $4^{4.5}$ 5^{21-23}). The same may be said of Judah in the days of Isaiah (cf. Is 1), and, later, in the time of Jeremiah (cf. Jer 7). It is urged, however, that Joel attaches quite a special importance to the ritual. The interruption of the daily offering is equivalent to a breach of the covenant between J″ and Israel. And it may he doubted whether such a view can be reasonably assigned to any period between Amos and the Exile. The question is, 'Whether it is more reasonable to assign such an estimate of the ritual to post-exilic times than to an early period of reformation like that under Jehoiada?' If Mal may he trusted, Pharisaism was as *unspiritual* in the 5th cent. B.C. as it was in the most degenerate days hefore the Exile. The information availahle for the post-exilic period is scanty; such as it is, it can scarcely be said to support the simple, spiritual explanation of Joel.

In addition to the general character and teaching of the book, there are special expressions which are held to favour a late date. It is argued that ch. 3 [Heb. 4] $^{1.17}$ presuppose the exile of Judah. But the words rendered 'to bring again the captivity of Judah' do not necessarily mean that Jews are actually to be brought back from exile. If this literal interpretation is insisted on, it follows that the restoration of the exiles has not yet taken place, and a date between B.C. 586 and 536 must be found—a most unlikely period for a prophet like Joel. To say that the restoration in B.C. 536 is inadequate, in view of the brilliant promises of the pre-exilic prophets, and that a restoration of a more glorious character must lie in the future, is simply to give up the literal interpretation of the words. In these circumstances, usage must be carefully considered. The words 'to bring again the captivity' seem to be used in the sense of 'to reverse a line of procedure.' Chastisement is to have an end, and that is to be followed by proofs of the divine favour (cf. Dt 30^{3}, Am 9^{14}, Hos 6^{11}, Jer 29^{14} $30^{3.18}$ [where the expression is applied to the *tents* of Jacob], 48^{47} [where the words are applied to Moab]). Moreover, it should be noted that the turning of the captivity is to take place in the same period as the outpouring of the Spirit, and, chronologically, is associated with the final judgment of the nations hostile to the Church. The prophet emphasizes this note of time, ch. 3 [Heb. 4] ^{1a}:—'behold, in those days, and in that time.' If this period was ushered in on the Day of Pentecost—as St. Peter teaches (Ac $2^{16\text{ff.}}$)—the turning of the captivity and the judging of the nations are thrown into Christian times, and the reference to the Bab. exile falls to the ground. Nor does the mention of the Ionians require a date in the Pers. or Gr. period. The reference to the Phœnicians and the Philistines (3^{4} [Heb. 4^{4}]) connects the prophet's message with his contemporaries; the charge against these peoples is that they sold Jews as slaves to the Ionians. The Ionians were settled on the coast of Asia Minor before the 9th cent. B.C. And the ports of Asia Minor offered the nearest market-place for the sale of slaves conveyed in Phœn. vessels. Upon the whole, the evidence available, if used as in the case of other books of prophecy, seems to the present writer more favourable to a pre-exilic than to a post-exilic date.

v. DOCTRINE.—Joel contains a comprehensive summary of prophetic teaching. The calamities of life are the fruit of sin. The punishment of sin cannot be escaped without repentance. Sincere repentance will secure forgiveness, and the restoration of the divine favour. Further, such a calamity as Joel describes is severe enough, and deliverance from it a great blessing; but there is a final judgment and deliverance of which these are but types. Joel uses a grave occurrence of his own day as a basis for a prediction concerning the last times, when, on the great day of the Lord, the cycle of judgment shall close, and the deliverance of the people of J″ shall be complete. To that day of the Lord the prophet sees all things tending. The locust invasion appears to be a harbinger of that day; hence the earnestness of the prophet's appeal to the people. Such, generally, is the teaching of the book—the day of the Lord being the most important subject.

It is quite surprising how much of the imagery and thought of Joel appears in other books of Scripture. If the date is early, later writers lie under very special obligations to the author of this short book. The most striking part of the imagery is that connected with the locusts, which appear as agents in divine judgments from the time of the exodus from Egypt down to the close of the present dispensation (cf. Ex $10^{4\text{ff.}}$, Rev $9^{3\text{ff.}}$). For the phenomena connected with the day of the Lord, the speedy approach of which is supposed to be indicated by the locust invasion, cf. Ex $10^{21\text{ff.}}$, Is $13^{9\text{f.}}$, Ezk $32^{7\text{f.}}$, Am 8^{9}, Mt 24^{29}, Mk $13^{24\text{f.}}$, Lk $21^{25\text{f.}}$, Rev $6^{12\text{ff.}}$. In ch. 3 [Heb. 4] ^{13} two figures occur which appear elsewhere, especially in the Bk. of Rev. The first is that of the harvest (cf. Hos 6^{11}, Jer 51^{33}, Mt 13^{39}, Rev $14^{15\text{f.}}$). The second is that of the wine-press (cf. Is 63^{3}, La 1^{15}, Rev $14^{19\text{f.}}$). Noteworthy also is the figure of the fountain proceeding from the house of J″, when His people are restored to His favour, and watering the dry acacia-wady (ch. 3 [He 4] ^{18}; cf. Ezk $47^{1\text{ff.}}$, Zec 13^{1} 14^{8}, Rev 22^{1}). In the promise of the outpouring of the Spirit, Joel seems to have given expression to a glimpse into NT times, with which he was specially favoured. His words have been taken up by the NT Church, and will be used, to the end of our NT dispensation, to express the sum of blessing bestowed by God on His true people (cf. Nu 11^{26-29}, Zec 12^{10}, Ac $2^{16\text{ff.}}$, Jn $16^{7\text{ff.}}$).

Not less important are the two closely allied truths regarding the *remnant* and the *called* (2^{32}) [Heb. 3^{5}]. For the former, cf. Ob ^{17} (where the language is the same as in Jl), Is 6^{13} (and various other passages), Mic $5^{3.7.8}$ [Heb. $^{2.6.7}$], Jer $31^{7\text{ff.}}$, Ro 11 $5^{\text{ff.}}$. For the latter, cf. Ro $9^{7\text{ff.}}$. It is worthy of note that, in this OT book, the truth is distinctly laid down that (as Ewald puts it) 'no man may boast of a right to redemption' (*Prophets of OT*, Eng. tr. i. 137).

This investigation might be pushed further, but enough has been stated to show that the Bk. of Jl and other books of Scripture have a great deal in common.*

The style of Joel is clear and of a high order, and the language comparatively pure. One of his words for the locusts (גָּזָם) occurs elsewhere only in Am 4^9. This, partly, led Bleek to the conclusion that the locust invasion described in Jl was the same as that referred to in Am, and that the two prophets belonged to the same period—Joel being the earlier. If this view is accepted, the perplexing expression הַצְּפוֹנִי (the northern, 2^{20}) admits of a comparatively easy explanation. A north wind is all that is required to bring the locusts from the northern kingdom into Judah.

---

* Is 13^{6} (cf. Jl 1^{15}), Am 1^{2} (cf. Jl 3 [Heb. 4] ^{16}), Am 9^{13} (cf. Jl 3 [Heb. 4] ^{18}), raise directly the question of quotations. This point has not been discussed, because, in the case of such a book as the OT, an argument founded on quotations is extremely precarious. That quotations occur in the passages just mentioned is scarcely doubtful. The question is, 'Who quotes?' The words of Jl 3^{16} occur quite naturally in a highly poetic passage. The same words in Am 1^{2} seem to be chosen as a sort of text for the prophet's discourse. And the reasonable view is that, in this case, Jl is the original source.

LITERATURE.—Pocock, *Com. on Joel*, Oxford, 1691; Credner, *Joël übers. u. erkl.*, Halle, 1831; Wünsche, *Weissag. d. Proph. Joël*, Leipzig, 1872; Merx, *Die Prophetie d. Joël u. ihre Ausleger*, Halle, 1879 (specially valuable on account of the detailed history of the exposition); Pusey, *Minor Prophets*, 1860; Driver, *LOT*^{6} 307 ff., also *Joel and Amos* in Camb. Bible, 1897; Hitzig, *Kl. Proph.*^{4}, 1881; Cornill, *Einleit.*^{2} 174 f., *Der israel. Prophetismus*, 163; Wildeboer, *AT Lit.* 345 ff.; Gustav Preuss, *Joël, unter besonderer Rücksicht der Zeitfrage*, Halle, 1889; Kirkpatrick, *Doct. of Prophets*, 46 ff.; Findlay, *Bks. of the Prophets*, i. 94 ff.; Wellhausen, *Klein. Proph.* 56 ff., 207 ff.; W. R. Smith, art. JOEL in 9th ed. of *Enc. Brit.*; Farrar, *Minor Prophets*, 113 ff.; Ewald, *Prophets*, Eng. tr. i. 107 ff.; Reuss, *AT*, ii. 47 ff.; Nowack, *Kl. Proph.* 1897; G. A. Smith, *Twelve Prophets*, vol. ii. 1898; Cheyne, *Founders of OT Crit.* 312; A. B. Davidson in *Expositor*, March 1888; Gray, *ibid.* Sept. 1893; Kuenen, *Hist.-Crit. Ond.*^{2} ii. 68; Oort in *Th. Tijd.* (1876) 362 ff.; Matthes in *Th. Tijd.* (1885) 34–66, 129–160, (1887) 357–381; Holzinger in *ZATW* (1889) 89–131. G. G. CAMERON.

JOELAH (יוֹעֵאלָה, text doubtful, see Kittel in *SBOT*. While LXX A has Ἰωηλά, B has Ἐλιά).—A warrior who joined David at Ziklag, 1 Ch 12^7.

JOEZER (יוֹעֶזֶר 'J" is help,' B Ἰωζάρα, A Ἰωζάαρ).—One of David's followers at Ziklag, 1 Ch 12^6.

JOGBEHAH (יָגְבְּהָה; LXX in Nu καὶ ὕψωσαν αὐτάς, in Jg Ἰεγεβάλ, B).—A town of Gad in Gilead, Nu 32^{35}, named also in connexion with Gideon's pursuit of the Midianites, Jg 8^{11}. It is the present ruin *Jubeihah* (or *Ajbeihât*), N.W. from Rabbath-ammon, and about midway between that place and es-Salt. There are remains of a considerable Roman town, and the position is suitable for the line of Gideon's pursuit, from Succoth to Penuel and thence S.E. to Jogbehah. There are three groups of ruins, hence the plur. *Ajbeihât*.

LITERATURE.—*SEP* vol. i. under the Arabic name; Burckhardt, *Syria*, 361; Oliphant, *Land of Gilead*, 232; Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.*^{2} 288; Ewald, *GVI* ii. 547 n.; Buhl, *GAP* 261; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 585; Dillmann on Nu 32^{35}; Moore on Jg 8^{11}.
C. R. CONDER.

JOGLI (יָגְלִי).—The Danite chief who took part in the division of the land, Nu 34^{22} P.

JOHA (יוֹחָא, prob. textual error for יוֹאָח; see Gray, *Heb. Prop. Names*, 283 n. 4).—**1.** A Benjamite, 1 Ch 8^{16}. **2.** One of David's heroes, 1 Ch 11^{45}.

JOHANAN (יוֹחָנָן; LXX Ἰωνά, Ἰωανάν, Ἰωνάν, Ἰωαννάν, Ἰωάννας).—**1.** 2 K 25^{23}, Jer 40^8–43^5 (see AZARIAH, No. 23, and GEDALIAH), the son of Kareah, chief of 'the captains of the forces,' who after the fall of Jerusalem joined Gedaliah at Mizpah. Johanan seems to have been a shrewd man; and, foreseeing the calamities which would certainly ensue if Ishmael's plot were successful, he not only joined the other captains in warning Gedaliah, but in a secret interview pressed in vain to be himself permitted to assassinate Ishmael. When the murder of Gedaliah became known, J. pursued after Ishmael, who was carrying captive the remnant of the Jews. The murderer escaped with the loss of two men (Jer $41^{1.15}$); but J. recovered the captives, and brought them to a khan (?) near Bethlehem, Geruth-chimham (see 2 S 19^{38}, Lk 2^7), whence they might start for Egypt. The politic J. foresaw that the captains would be held responsible by the Chaldæan authorities for the murder of Gedaliah and the escape of the assassin. Having thus determined, J. and all the people consulted Jeremiah, earnestly affirming their resolve to follow at all risks the revealed will of the Lord; but the answer being strongly adverse to their leaving their own land, they accused Jeremiah of being a false prophet, under the malign influence of Baruch, and carried off to Egypt both the prophet and his scribe. **2.** 1 Ch 3^{15} eldest son of Josiah, not the same as Jehoahaz; for (α) Jehoahaz was not the eldest son (see 2 K $23^{31.36}$); and (β) he is mentioned in this verse as Shallum. Johanan possibly predeceased his father. **3.** 1 Ch 3^{24} a post-exilic prince of the line of David. **4.** 1 Ch $6^{9.10}$ a high priest, perhaps under Rehoboam, father of Azariah, No. 5. **5. 6.** 1 Ch $12^{4.12}$ two warriors who came to David to Ziklag, a Benjamite and a Gadite respectively. **7.** Ezr 8^{12} (JOANNES, 1 Es 8^{38}) one of those who returned with Ezra. **8.** 2 Ch 28^{12} an Ephraimite, father of AZARIAH, No. 17. The Heb. is יְהוֹחָנָן, Jehohanan. **9.** See JONATHAN, No. 6, and JEHOHANAN, No. 3.
N. J. D. WHITE.

JOHN (Ἰωάννης).—Five persons of this name are mentioned in the Apocr. **1.** The father of Mattathias, and grandfather of the five Maccabæan brothers (1 Mac 2^1). **2.** J., surnamed Caddis or (RV) Gaddis (wh. see), the eldest son of Mattathias (1 Mac 2^2, where inferior MSS read Ἰωαννάν; Jos. *Ant.* XII. vi. 1). In B.C. 161 he was slain by the 'sons of Jambri' [JAMBRI] (1 Mac 9^{35-42}; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. i. 2–4). In 2 Mac 8^{22}, and perhaps again 10^{19}, he is by mistake called Joseph. **3.** The father of Eupolemus (1 Mac 8^{17}, 2 Mac 4^{11}, Jos. *Ant.* XII. x. 6), who was sent by Judas Maccabæus as an ambassador to Rome. The passage in 2 Mac speaks of certain royal privileges obtained for the Jews by this J., but disregarded by Epiphanes. The privileges referred to are probably those granted by Antiochus the Great (Jos. *Ant.* XII. iii. 3), among which was the right of being governed according to their own laws. **4.** An envoy, who together with another named ABSALOM (which see) was sent by the Jews to treat with Lysias (2 Mac 11^{17}). **5.** One of the elder sons of Simon the Maccabee (1 Mac 16^2), commonly known as J. Hyrcanus (cf. Jos. *Ant.* XIII. vii. 4), and described as 'a (valiant) man' (1 Mac 13^{53}), was appointed by his father commander of the forces, and stationed at Gazara. In conjunction with his brother Judas he defeated CENDEBÆUS (1 Mac 16^{1-10}, cf. Jos. *Ant.* XIII. vii. 3). When his father and brothers had been murdered by Ptolemy at Dok near Jericho, J., who was then at Gazara, received warning of their fate, and, having put to death the men sent to assassinate him, secured the position of high priest, which had been made hereditary in the family of Simon B.C. 135 (1 Mac 16^{11-24}, cf. 14^{46}). See MACCABEES.
H. A. WHITE.

JOHN (Ac 4^6).—A meeting of the Sanhedrin is mentioned, at which there are said to have been gathered together 'the rulers, the elders, and the scribes, with Annas the high priest, and Caiaphas, and John, and Alexander, and all who were of the high priestly family.' Nothing further is known of either John or Alexander (wh. see), and the attempts made to connect the names with other historical characters (such as Johanan ben-Sakkai) are more than improbable. A. C. HEADLAM.

JOHN, FATHER OF SIMON PETER.—In Jn 1^{42} the true reading is Σίμων ὁ υἱὸς Ἰωάνου, in $21^{15.16.17}$ Σίμων Ἰωάνου. The *Vetus Interpretatio Latina* of Origen (*in Matth.* tom. xv. 14, Migne, *Pat. Gr.* xiii. 1295) quotes a passage from the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* in which the words occur, '*Simon, fili Joanne*, facilius est camelum intrare per foramen acus quam divitem in regnum cælorum' (cf. Hilgenfeld, *Evang. secundum Hebræos*, pp. 16, 25), a passage, however, which has no place in the Greek text. Further, a cursive MS (Matt. Mk.) of the 9th century (Tisch. *Not. Cod. Sin.* p. 58) has four marginal glosses, in which *τὸ ἰουδαϊκόν* [*sc.* *εὐαγγέλιον*] is referred to. One of these agrees with a fragment quoted by Jerome from the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, so that it appears that these scholia reproduce matter from that Gospel. On Mt 16^{17} (Βαριωνᾶ) there is the note: *τὸ ἰουδαικὸν υἱὲ* Ἰωάννου (see Handmann, *Das Hebräerevang.*, 'Texte u. Untersuch.,' v. pp. 65, 85). There is sufficient evidence, therefore, that John was found in the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* as the name of the apostle's father.

In Mt 16^{17} the father's name is given as Jonas—Σίμων Βαριωνᾶ.* In the LXX we find that not only is יוֹחָנָן represented in B by Ἰωνά in 2 K 25^{23} and by Ἰωνάν in Jer 47 $(40)^8$, but even יְהוֹחָנָן (1 Ch 26^3) is represented in B by Ἰωνᾶς, in A by Ἰωνάν; cf. 1 Ch 12^{12} (Ἰωάν), Ezr 8^{12}, Neh 6^{18}, 1 Es 9^1, Jer 43 $(50)^4$ ($\aleph^*$). There is ground, therefore, for the conclusion in the case in question that Ἰωνᾶς is a contraction of Ἰωάνης (so Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, ii. p. 213 [iii. p. 261, Eng. tr.]; see esp. Lightfoot, *On a Fresh Revision*, p. 159 n.).

It is possible, however, that we have here an instance of a double name. Such double names were not uncommon; see Zunz, 'Namen der Juden,' in his *Gesammelte Schriften*, ii. p. 15, who among instances of double Hebrew or Aramaic names adduces Jochanan-Joseph (*Gittin*, f. 34*b*). More common were the cases in which to a Hebrew or Aramaic name was added a Greek or Roman name—the latter being often chosen so as to make an assonance with the former. Familiar instances are Saul-Paulus (see Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, p. 181 ff.), Joseph-Justus (Ac 1^{23}). It seems therefore not impossible that the name of St. Peter's father was *Jona-Jochanan* or *Jona-Johannes*. The latter name was so common (see *e.g.* the Index to Josephus, or Pape, *Wörterbuch*) that it must have been familiar to Gentiles (cf. inscription at Ancyra, *CIG* 4045), and in intercourse with them would have something of the convenience of a Greek or Roman name.

A curious specimen of the harmonizing expedient is found in a note of the Paris MSS. Reg. 1789, 1026, *Πέτρος καὶ Ἀνδρέας ἀδελφοί, ἐκ πατρὸς Ἰωνᾶ, μητρὸς Ἰωαννᾶ*, or (as it is otherwise read) *ἐκ πατρὸς Ἰωάννου, μητρὸς Ἰωνᾶς* (see Lightfoot, *ubi supra*).

F. H. CHASE.

JOHN THE BAPTIST (Ἰωάννης ὁ Βαπτιστής).—

i. Sources of Information.
ii. The Facts of John's Life and Ministry.
iii. John's Work and Teaching.
iv. John's Relation to Christ.

i. SOURCES.—In regard to John the Baptist we have practically no sources of first-hand information outside the NT besides the passage in Josephus (*Ant.* XVIII. v. 2), referred to by Eus. (*HE* i. 11). The fullest account is that of St. Luke, with which that of St. Matthew agrees closely, so far as the time after the beginning of his public ministry is concerned. St. Mark's notices are very brief. The Fourth Gospel seems to differ from the others in recording only the 'witness' of John the Baptist *after* our Lord's baptism, while Mt and Lk give his prophetic teaching *before* that event. The relation of the Fourth Gospel to the others, in this connexion, has been made the subject of special monographs, such as that of Boissonas, mentioned at the end of this article.

ii. LIFE AND MINISTRY.—John the Baptist was the son of Zacharias and Elisabeth. The latter was 'of the daughters of Aaron' (Lk 1^5), while Zacharias belonged to the course of Abiah (wh. see), one of the sons of Eleazar, who gave his name to the eighth of the twenty-four courses into which the priests were divided. His priestly descent on both sides brings into stronger contrast the prophetic character of his work. We cannot determine exactly either the time or the place of his birth. Dates varying from B.C. 6 to B.C. 3 have been assigned to it, and Lk 1^{36} would lead us to infer that it was three months before that of our Lord. In regard to the place, it is argued that Zacharias must have lived in one of the priestly towns; but it is possible to prove that priests often lived elsewhere. It is still more arbitrary to pick out one of the priestly towns and fix on Hebron (Othon, *Lex. Rabbin.* 324). Nor is there sufficient evidence for reading **Juttah** in Lk 1^{39}, though this place, which lay a little S. of Hebron, is mentioned (Jos 15^{55} 21^{16}) as a priestly town. A tradition, resting on the evidence of the Russian abbot Daniel (*c.* A.D. 1113), who quotes as his authority a monk of St. Sabas (Didon, *Life of Christ*, Eng. tr. App. D), fixes the residence of Zacharias at *'Ain Karim*, a village to the N.W. of Bethlehem. We cannot go behind the vague statement of St. Luke, who mentions (1^{39}) 'a city of Judah in the hill country.' Of John's early life and training St. Luke, our sole authority, tells us very little. It is summed up in the two verses which state that 'the hand of the Lord was with him' (1^{66}), and that 'the child grew and waxed strong in spirit, and was in the deserts till the day of his showing unto Israel' (1^{80}). To these may be added the words of the angel Gabriel (Lk 1^{15}), 'He shall drink no wine nor strong drink, and he shall be filled with the Holy Ghost, even from his mother's womb.'

With these few details we have to pass over a period of about thirty years which preceded his *ἀνάδειξις* (cf. Lk 10^1, Ac 1^{24}), and can only speculate on the question (which is of some interest in reference to Jn 1^{31}) whether our Lord was personally known to him (as their relationship would seem to necessitate) or not. There can be little doubt that the elaborate accumulation of dates given by St. Luke ($3^{1.2}$), combined with the expression (unique in the NT) 'the word of God came,' is meant to mark the beginning of John's ministry, and to emphasize its *prophetic* character. If (see CHRONOLOGY OF THE NT, vol. i. p. 405) we may assign the fifteenth year of Tiberius to A.D. 25–26, then this is the date of the *beginning* of John's ministry. We cannot determine how long after this beginning the incident of our Lord's baptism occurred, and the arguments used to show that this interval was long (Didon, *l.c.*) or short (Weiss) are not decisive. The only definite fact to notice is that the first passover of our Lord's ministry (see CHRONOLOGY OF NT, p. 405) is that of A.D. 27, and therefore the baptism must be fixed before that time. To the period following Christ's baptism is to be assigned the carefully defined record of Jn 1^{19-42}, while the Synoptic account belongs to the period which precedes that event.

How long an interval elapsed between Christ's baptism and John's imprisonment is the next point to consider. Here it may be noticed (1) that Lk $3^{19.20}$ mentions the imprisonment before our Lord's baptism, evidently with the intention of completing the references to John before passing to our Lord's ministry; (2) that Mt 4^{12} and Mk 1^{14} connect our Lord's first journey into Galilee with the imprisonment, and make it follow that event in time; (3) that St. John mentions a short stay in Galilee and a visit to Jerusalem for the passover, and *then* makes the definite statement that 'John was not yet cast into prison' (3^{24}). We must either assume, therefore, that Jn is at variance with Mt and Mk, or that the visit to Galilee which he records preceded our Lord's public ministry there. The latter is the more probable explanation, and in that case the visit of Mt 4^{12} and Mk 1^{14} may be identified with that of Jn 4^{2}. At any rate, for determining the date of the imprisonment, Jn's statements are more important, for that event must have been subsequent to the passover of A.D. 27; further, if we may press the allusion in Jn 4^{35}—*τετράμηνός ἐστιν καὶ ὁ θερισμὸς ἔρχεται*—our Lord's journey into Galilee will have taken place not very long after the passover, and if we may also use the statements of Mt and Mk which assign the imprisonment as the reason of our Lord's going into Galilee, then we may fix the imprisonment early in A.D. 27. One incident is related during that imprisonment (Mt 11^{2}, Lk 7^{18}), viz. the message sent by John through his disciples to ask our Lord whether He was the Messiah. This is definitely connected, in St. Matthew's account, with the plucking of the ears of corn; in St. Luke it seems to be the result of the report of Christ's ministry in Galilee, and especially of the Raising of the Widow's Son. If, therefore, we follow Mt, this incident would be some time between April and June of the same year; nor would the latter month allow too little time for the completion of the Galilæan tour required by St. Luke's narrative.

---

* In the LXX of Jonah the name is declined—Ἰωνᾶς, Ἰωνᾶν, Ἰωνᾶ (4^6).

The last event to which we have to try and assign a date is the death of John the Baptist, recorded Mt $14^{3ff.}$, Mk $6^{14ff.}$. Little weight can be attached to the almost universal commemoration of this event on Aug. 29 (Nilles, *Kalend. Utr. Eccles.*), though it certainly represents a comparatively early usage. We cannot base any argument on the context in Mt and Mk, for in both the account is inserted parenthetically to explain Herod's statement that John was 'risen from the dead'; but it may be noticed that the news of his death in Mt 14^{13} leads on at once to the miracle of the Feeding of the Five Thousand. Nor can we fix the date of John's death by its coincidence with the *γενέσια* of Herod Antipas. Herod's reluctance (Mt 14^{5}) to put John to death may, but need not, imply a considerable interval between his imprisonment and death; thus Renan (*Vie de Jésus*, ch. vii.) puts the arrest in the summer of 29, and the death on the birthday of Herod Antipas in 30.* We may perhaps safely argue that his death had taken place before the unnamed feast of Jn 5^{1}, for during our Lord's visit to Jerusalem on that occasion he refers to John's witness as past (Jn 5^{35} *ἦν*); and though it is possible to argue that his witness was closed by his imprisonment, it is more natural to refer the expression to his death. John's death therefore took place before the feast of Jn 5^{1}, that is, certainly before the second passover of our Lord's ministry, but how long before must depend on the interpretation given to Jn 5^{1}. It cannot be placed later than the beginning of A.D. 28. According to tradition (Theodt. *HE* iii. 3), John was buried at Samaria.

The *scene* of John's ministry will be placed partly in the desert of Judæa (Mt 3^{1}), in which it began, and partly in the Jordan Valley, and more definitely near the fords (Bethabara [which see]='place of crossing over'), either those in the neighbourhood of Bethshean or those in the neighbourhood of Jericho. Two places are mentioned in connexion with his 'baptism,' viz. Bethany or Bethabara (Jn 1^{28}), and Ænon near to Salim (Jn 3^{23}), probably in the neighbourhood of Bethshean. From Jn 3^{26}, and also from the fact of his coming under the jurisdiction of Herod Antipas, we infer that he probably spent some time in Peræa.

iii. JOHN'S WORK AND TEACHING.—(*a*) The name *ὁ βαπτιστής* or *ὁ βαπτίζων* (whether given to him to distinguish him from others of the same name or not) indicates the feature of his work which attracted special attention. It was used of him during his lifetime by his disciples (Lk 7^{20}), and that the term is not due to the evangelist is clear from Lk 3^{2} 7^{18} etc., where John is by him called son of Zacharias, or simply John. The term is used of him also during his lifetime by our Lord (Mt 11^{11}), who, however, also uses the name John simply (*e.g.* Mt 11^{13}), by Herodias (Mt 14^{8}), by Herod after John's death (Mt 14^{2}), and by the evangelists Mt and Mk but not Lk and Jn. In regard to his baptism, we gather that his right to perform the ceremony was questioned, inasmuch as (Jn 1^{25}) it was connected, according to Jewish ideas, only with the Messiah (cf. Ezk 36^{25}, Zec 13^{1} etc.), with Elias as His forerunner, and with 'the prophet' (*i.e.* of Dt 18^{15}). John speaks of himself as having received a special commission from God to baptize (Jn 1^{33}), though this is not spoken of in the angel's message to Zacharias, and he seems (Jn 3^{27}) to defend our Lord's baptism (Jn 3^{26}, but cf. 4^{2}) by basing it on a similar divine commission. The *import* of the rite was early a question of discussion (Jn 3^{25}), nor does the language of the evangelists make clear what was understood by it; for while Mk 1^{4} Lk 3^{3} define it as 'a baptism of repentance for remission of sins,' Mt 3^{11} speaks of it as a baptism *εἰς* (*τὴν*) *μετάνοιαν*; but *μετάνοια* can hardly have been the *object* of the rite, for it was preceded (Mt, Mk) by a confession of sin. The submission of a Jew to the rite was, so far, an act involving *μετάνοια*, in that it implied that he put himself in the same position towards the coming *βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν* which the proselyte took up towards the old Jewish dispensation; it implied that he rested no longer on his privileged position as a Jew, but realized his individual responsibility in regard to sin. This comes near to Sabatier's explanation (see Lit. below) of the rite as 'consecrating a new Israel,' and would perhaps best explain the meaning of our Lord's words, in regard to Himself, that a submission to John's baptism was (Mt 3^{15}) a fulfilment, *i.e.* a complete realization, of what was meant by *δικαιοσύνη*, as something which consisted not merely in external rites, but involved moral claims. Our Lord implies that John's baptism was from heaven (Mk 11^{30}); and the refusal of the Pharisees and lawyers to receive it is in itself a virtual rejection of God's purpose, while the acceptance of it by the publicans and the people showed a truer recognition on their part of what the righteousness of God really meant (Lk $7^{29.30}$ *ἐδικαίωσαν τὸν θεόν*). We may notice, too (Mt 21^{32}), that our Lord regards John as coming *ἐν ὁδῷ δικαιοσύνης*. So that we may regard John's baptism as emphasizing the true nature of *δικαιοσύνη*.

(*β*) We pass from his baptism to (1) his position as a teacher; (2) the language in which that teaching was conveyed; (3) its underlying ideas.

(1) The angel Gabriel connects with him (Lk 1^{17}) the prophecy of Malachi ($4^{5.6}$), but precludes the idea that Elias would return *in person* as many expected (see Geux, *l.c.* p. 73 ff.), by saying that John should come in 'the spirit and power' of Elias. That he was Elias come in the flesh John himself (Jn 1^{21}) denied, while Christ affirmed that John the Baptist was really the Elias who was to precede the Messiah's coming (Mt 11^{14} 17^{11-13}). The other prophecy which was applied to John the Baptist by himself (Jn 1^{23}) and also by the evangelists (Mt 3^{3}, Mk 1^{2}) is that of Is 40^{3}. He was then 'more than a prophet,' as himself the subject of prophecy. But he was also essentially a prophet, and as such St. Luke introduces him in the unique expression already noticed, as such Zacharias refers to him (Lk 1^{76} *προφήτης Ὑψίστου κληθήσῃ*), as such Christ regarded him (Mt 11^{11}), and the people as a rule (but cf. Mt 11^{18}) accepted him as a prophet (Mt 14^{5} 21^{26}). In regard to his special mission we must refer also to the words used of him in Jn 1^{6} 3^{28}

* These dates are, of course, later than those in the article on CHRONOLOGY OF NT, which is here followed.

(*ἀπεσταλμένος*) and Mt 11^{11} (*ἐγήγερται*). It is then as 'the last of the prophets' and as such closing the dispensation of 'the law and the prophets' (Mt 11^{14}, Lk 16^{16}) that we specially think of John the Baptist.

(2) When we pass to the language in which his teaching was conveyed, we find that it is largely based on that used by OT prophecy, especially by Isaiah. His metaphors of the burning chaff, the fan, the barren tree, are all to be found in OT. Some of the expressions are difficult to trace, and not easy to explain. Thus various interpretations have been assigned to the phrase *γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν* (Mt 3^7 etc., Lk 3^7), which is not to be found in the OT, but is one of several expressions common to our Lord and John the Baptist; another expression of which the meaning is not quite clear is the baptism 'with fire' (Mt 3^{11}).

(3) In regard to the substance of his teaching, it must be remembered (*a*) that even in the fullest account of it given by St. Luke we have only an abstract (cf. 3^7 imperfect *ἔλεγεν*, and 3^{18} *πολλὰ καὶ ἕτερα*); (*b*) that St. Luke regards the character of his teaching as a consequence (3^7 *οὖν*) of his carrying out the preparatory work spoken of in Is 40^3. We may amplify the abstract by noticing the words which are used to describe it. They are *κηρύσσω* (Mk 1^4 etc.), *εὐαγγελίζω* (Lk 3^{18}), *παρακαλέω* (Lk 3^{18}), and in the case of Herod *ἐλέγχω*; and these imply that he announced good tidings, and also the preparation necessary for it; and in both these his prophetic character appears. The 'good tidings' he announced was the near approach of 'the kingdom.' The nature of this kingdom he does not define, nor does he state how the kingdom is to be established, nor who its members are to be. Probably, in accordance with ancient Jewish belief, he expected a visible kingdom; but he advances on that in so far as consciously or unconsciously to imply that it was spiritual, and to prepare the way for the realization that it was not to be merely Jewish but universal. These points can be seen from his insistence on the *moral* preparation for it. Repentance is a necessity, for all national privileges are useless, and the fitting mode of life requires that ordinary pursuits should be followed, but in a new spirit. Thus an individual and universal responsibility is insisted on, and an individual and universal judgment is proclaimed as imminent. Limits of space prevent an examination in detail of this teaching, but it will repay careful study. We can only summarize. It was addressed (Lk 3^{10}; cf. Mk 1^5, Mt 3^5) to the *ὄχλοι*, who came out to him in large numbers, and included in their ranks (Mt 3^7) many Pharisees and Sadducees. The points insisted on by John are (1) confession of sins, and repentance, which had been already enforced by the OT prophets (*e.g.* Hos 6^1, Jl 2^{12} etc.); (2) the uselessness of reposing on their national privileges as 'children of Abraham' is indicated, and possibly the outburst *γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν* may have been provoked by the thought that many of his hearers were relying on his baptism as of value *per se*, and teaching others to do the same (Boissonas, *l.c.* p. 40); (3) a judgment is imminent (*ἤδη*), which is universal (*πᾶν δένδρον*), and determined by the character of the individual. This judgment involves a manifestation of divine *ὀργή*, not only towards the political enemies of Israel (as in OT), but towards the Jews. This *ὀργή* is frequently mentioned in OT and NT, and a resulting purification or separation, *διακαθαριεῖ*, probably implies not, as Godet, the universal character of the purification, but its thoroughness; (4) St. Luke alone records the answers given to different classes who realized the need of action of some kind. John's answers show the changed requirements—not outward observances or a leaving of their ordinary duties, but a new attitude towards them; (5) finally, John removes the doubts of some as to whether he was the Messiah, by asserting the inferiority of his own person and work. His teaching as recorded in St. John will be best considered under the next heading; but it will be interesting for students to try and trace whether there is any difference between St. John's teaching before and after his baptism of our Lord.

It remains under this head to say a word as to the effect of his teaching. It is clear that very large numbers came to him, and he was generally accepted as a prophet; and of the lower classes many accepted his teaching (Lk 7^{30}), though the upper classes refused to accept his baptism, and some said of him, as of our Lord, *δαιμόνιον ἔχει* (Mt 11^{18}). Besides the effect of his work and teaching on the people at large, we read also of *μαθηταί* who fasted (Mk 2^{18} etc.), who attended him in prison (Mt 11^2 14^{12}), and to whom he taught special forms of prayer (Lk 5^{33} 11^1), some of whom left him to follow Christ (Jn 1^{37}). Their number is given in Clem. *Hom.* ii. 23 as thirty. In the Acts (18^{25} 19^3) we hear of Christians at Ephesus who accepted John's baptism. Their mention shows 'how profoundly the effect of John's preaching was felt in districts as remote as proconsular Asia, even after a lapse of a quarter of a century' (Lightfoot, *Colossians*, p. 402). Later on (and Lightfoot finds a trace of this in the argument of St. John's Gospel) the Hemerobaptists connected their beliefs and practices with John the Baptist, and Christians called after him, the Sabæans or Mandæans, are still, though in diminishing numbers, to be found in the marshy districts near the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates (see Lightfoot, *l.c.*, and literature quoted by him p. 405; and also Renan, who finds evidence of Babylonian ideas).

iv. John's Relation to Christ.—From the narrative of St. Luke (chs. 1 and 2), and from Mt 3^{14}, we should infer that John knew our Lord, and realized the nature of His Person; but the words of Jn $1^{31.\,33}$ 'I knew him not,' imply that at any rate till the sign was given at our Lord's baptism John did not recognize Him as the Messiah; and this view is taken by Strauss, Godet, and Weiss. It is quite probable that the Synoptic narrative gives John's teaching before the baptism, and that the Fourth Gospel gives the special *μαρτυρία* which it was John's function, in the Divine Providence (Jn 1^7), to bear, so soon as he realized by the sign at the baptism what our Lord's real personality was. This does not require that our Lord's divinity did not begin till His baptism and the descent of the Holy Ghost there, as held by various Gnostic and Humanitarian sects.* To the time of John's baptism of our Lord is to be assigned that 'anointing' with the Holy Spirit (Ac 4^{37} 10^{38}) which was His consecration to His ministry. We assume here that the Synoptic narrative does refer to the time before our Lord's baptism, and the Fourth Gospel to the period which follows. In the former his references to our Lord's *person* are only relative to himself: He is *ὁ ἰσχυρότερος*—He is the master, while John is the servant who bears (Mt) or looses (Mk, Lk) the master's sandals. The unwillingness to baptize our Lord (Mt 3^{14}) does, however, require that John had some definite grasp of who it was that came to him. John speaks of the *work* of Him for whom he was preparing as consisting in a baptism 'with the Holy Ghost and with fire.' The baptism with fire must refer either to the fire of judgment (as Keim, Neander, Meyer, etc.), or to the Holy Spirit (as Godet), and its effect is either that of devouring (Dt 4^{24}) or purifying (Zec 13^{9}, Mal 3^{2} etc.). In the Fourth Gospel, though we probably must not understand the twice-repeated (Jn $1^{15.30}$) 'who was before me' as a statement of belief in the pre-existence of Christ, yet the language in which John the Baptist speaks of Christ as 'the Son of God' (1^{34}) and the 'Lamb of God' implies a much higher and more definite conception of the person of Christ than any words used by John the Baptist in the Synoptic Gospels, and is best explained by the vision referred to in these Gospels, which would account for the clearer grasp. We cannot be sure that the Baptist understood completely the term 'Lamb of God' which he applied to our Lord, but he must have had in his mind some thought of Is 53. In the other passage in which he speaks of Christ as the Bridegroom, he is using language by which the relation of Jehovah to His people is frequently described in the OT (Is 54^{5} 61^{10}, Hos 2^{20}). It is an interesting point of coincidence between the Synoptic narrative and that of St. John that our Lord uses this same expression of Himself when disciples of John were present, Mt $9^{14f.}$.

---

* Cf. Conybeare, *Key of Truth*, pp. xii, xiii, for the teaching of Gregory the Illuminator, esp. 'John gave priesthood, and unction, and prophecy, and kingship to our Saviour Christ, and Christ gave it to the apostles, and the apostles to the clergy of the Church.'

To complete our notice of John's relation to Christ, it is necessary just to refer to the message which he sent to our Lord from the prison (Mt 11): we can hardly believe, after the terms applied by him to Christ in St. John, that his own faith wavered, and must suppose that he wished some confirmation of Christ's Messiahship to be given for the sake of his disciples.

Before we leave this heading of the subject, it is worth while to notice how many of our Lord's expressions resemble those found in John the Baptist's mouth. Besides the reference to the Bridegroom just mentioned, we find a connexion in the command to repent with which our Lord begins His ministry in the language about the tree and its fruits (Mt 7^{16} 12^{33}), in the expression γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν (Mt 3^{7}) used twice by our Lord (Mt 12^{34} 23^{33}), and nowhere else except by John the Baptist. We must also briefly notice here the testimony borne by our Lord to John, as the greatest born of women, as closing the older dispensation of the law and the prophets, and yet as less than the least in the kingdom of heaven, because he preceded its advent (Mt 11^{11}).

It hardly falls within the scope of this Dictionary to follow the many references connected with the name of John the Baptist in art, in liturgical use, in the dedication of churches, etc. etc.—for these reference may be made to the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, articles 'John the Baptist' and 'Baptisteries,' to the index of Nilles' *Kalendarium Utriusque Ecclesiæ*, to Paciandi, *Antiquitates Christianæ*, vol. iii. ('De cultu J. Baptistæ') Romae, 1755, and to various books on sacred art, etc., such as those of Kraus, Detzel, and Wessely, or Jameson's *Sacred and Legendary Art.*

LITERATURE.—Besides the books just mentioned, and the commentaries on the Gospel narratives, the following will be found useful:—Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, p. 22 ff.; Lightfoot, *Colossians*, p. 400 ff.; Sabatier, article in Lichtenberger's *Encyclopädie*; Renan, *Vie de Jésus* (index). There are a number of monographs and articles on John the Baptist, in which the points mentioned in the preceding article are more minutely investigated. Such are H. R. Reynolds, *John the Baptist*; Simpson, *The Last of the Prophets*; Boissonas, *De l'attitude de Jean Baptiste*; Bornemann, *Die Taufe Christi durch Johannes*; Breuil, *Du culte de S. Jean Baptiste*; Chenot, *Jean le Baptiste*; Geux, *Jean Baptiste*; Haupt, *Johannes der Taüfer*; Köhler, *Johannes der Taüfer*; articles by Loisy in *Revue de l'histoire et de littérature religieuses*, iii. 1, 3.

LL. J. M. BEBB.

JOHN MARK.—See MARK.

JOHN THE APOSTLE (LIFE AND THEOLOGY OF).—

- I. THE LIFE.
  - (*a*) The Gospel narratives.
  - (*b*) Other NT references.
  - (*c*) Traditions of the Early Church.
  - (*d*) The tradition of St. John's residence at Ephesus examined.
- II. THE THEOLOGY.
  - A. *The Gospel and Epistles of St. John.*
    - (1) The 'signs' and the 'witness' of the Fourth Gospel to the Messiahship of Jesus and His unique relation to the Father.
    - (2) The *Word* of God—creative and revealing functions.
    - (3) Importance attached in the Epistles to a true view of the Person of Christ.
    - (4) Theology of the Father and the Son.
    - (5) Scheme of salvation—meaning of the terms 'world,' 'flesh,' 'eternal life'—salvation *through* Christ, implying (*a*) on His part the sacrifice and death of Himself, (*b*) on man's part (α) a being *born again*; (β) the exercise of *faith* in the Son; (γ) the sustaining of the new life hy participation in the *life of Christ.*
    - (6) Doctrine of the Holy Spirit and the Church.
    - (7) The three great statements—'God is Spirit,' 'God is Light,' 'God is Love.'
  - B. *The Apocalypse.*
    - (*a*) The Doctrine of God—(α) Eternity; (β) Universal Sovereignty; (γ) Relation of Father and Son.
    - (*b*) Doctrine of the Spirit.
    - (*c*) Doctrine of Sin and Judgment, and of Salvation and the Church.

I. THE LIFE OF ST. JOHN.—The fragmentary character of the literature relating to the earliest days of the Christian Church has deprived us of any very full or certain knowledge of the lives of the apostles. And it has happened, in the case of St. Peter and St. John conspicuously, that the discussion of the traditions of their later history has been involved in controversy. It will tend to clearness if the ordinary traditional account of St. John's life is first set out, and then the range of the controversy indicated.

(*a*) There are but few scenes in the Gospel story in which St. John takes a prominent place; but enough is said to produce a strong impression of the apostle's character. He appears first, according to a very natural inference, in the opening chapter of the Gospel that bears his name. Two disciples of the Baptist, hearing the witness borne by their master to Jesus, follow the new Prophet. One is named by the author—it was Andrew, the brother of Simon Peter (Jn 1^{40}). The other is not named, but it has seemed obvious to infer that it was St. John. His call to be an apostle is told in the Synoptic tradition, by St. Luke, with the greatest fulness of detail (Lk 5^{8-11}, Mt $4^{21.22}$, Mk $1^{19.20}$). It is from this source we learn that he was son of Zebedee (for John's possible relationship to Jesus see art. SALOME), and that he and his father were fishermen and Galilæans. It has often been pointed out that the presence of hired servants in the ship (Mk 1^{20}) with Zebedee implies a position of some degree of wealth. During the course of our Lord's ministry St. John appears only rarely in a position distinct from that of the other apostles. He is clearly one of the most prominent of the group of our Lord's followers. He, with Peter and James, is admitted to witness the raising of Jairus' daughter (Mk 5^{37}, Lk 8^{51}); the same three are chosen to be present at the Transfiguration (Mt 17^{1}, Mk 9^{2}, Lk 9^{28}), and are nearest to the Lord at the agony in Gethsemane (Mk 14^{33} and parallels). Once these three, with Andrew, are described as inquiring when our Lord's last prophecies would receive fulfilment (Mk 13^{3}). Besides these instances, the two brothers, James and John, appear (Lk 9^{54}) independently, as wishing to call down fire on the Samaritan village that refused them shelter; and are brought to the Lord by their mother with a request for a special place of dignity in the kingdom (Mk 10^{35}). John is once connected with St. Peter alone; according to St. Luke, these two apostles were sent to prepare the passover (Lk 22^{8}). Once John is described as acting alone; it is he who asks our Lord what is to be done with the man whom they had found casting out devils in Jesus' name (Mk 9^{38}, Lk 9^{49}). These notices, though scattered and fragmentary, definitely suggest a particular character—the character indicated by the name given to John and his brother by our Lord: *Boanerges* (wh. see), 'sons of thunder' (Mk 3^{17}). They were fiery in their zeal and severe in temperament; yet, for all this, they were among the closest of our Lord's chosen band. Though He rebukes their vehemence, He sees in them a character such as an apostle needs.

When we turn to the Fourth Gospel, we find that the name of John, son of Zebedee, is never once named. But there are in the account of the Passion and Resurrection certain references to an unnamed apostle whom universal tradition has identified with St. John. At the Last Supper we read of a disciple whom Jesus loved, who was reclining at the table in a place of special nearness to our Lord. It seems from the language used (ch. 13) that the three, our Lord, St. Peter, and this unnamed apostle, occupied one *triclinium*. They reclined, according to custom, on the left side, obliquely across the couch. Our Lord was in the centre, St. Peter in the place second in dignity to this, parallel to the position occupied by the Lord and behind Him; St. John in the third place, parallel also but before Him. When the prophecy of the betrayal is made, St. Peter from behind beckons to St. John in front to ask who it is. St. John, leaning back upon the breast of Jesus as he lay (13^{25} ἀναπεσὼν ἐκεῖνος οὕτως ἐπὶ τὸ στῆθος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ), asks the question and receives the (probably whispered) communication. This same apostle is apparently he who was known to the high priest (18^{16}), and used his acquaintance to admit St. Peter to the court of the high priest. The disciple whom Jesus loved is at the foot of the cross, and there receives the commission to take care of the Virgin-mother after the Lord's death (19^{26}). He is again in close connexion with St. Peter on the day of the resurrection. The news is brought to Simon Peter and the disciple whom Jesus loved (20^{2}), and the two together make a visit to the tomb. In the last chapter of all, for the only time in this Gospel 'the sons of Zebedee' are mentioned (21^{2}), and in the scene which follows, St. Peter and the disciple whom Jesus loved are the prominent agents. It is the latter who is first to recognize the Lord. The chapter is indeed inserted in order to correct an impression that this disciple is to await the coming of the Lord without dying. And then, in words which are closely parallel to the claim (19^{35}) to have been eye-witness of the scene upon the cross, it is distinctly asserted that the disciple whom Jesus loved is he that testifieth these things and that wrote these things (21^{24}).

(*b*) In the Acts, St. John appears in two important scenes in company with St. Peter; the connexion of these two apostles (noted in Lk 22^{8} and closely in agreement with the Fourth Gospel, if the beloved disciple is indeed St. John) is carried out in these chapters of the Acts. These are the two who heal the lame man at the Beautiful Gate of the temple, and are brought before the Sanhedrin (Ac 3. 4). These, again, are the two who go down to Samaria to bestow the gift of the Holy Ghost on those whom Philip had converted and baptized (8^{15}). Once more the name of John is mentioned, again in connexion with St. Peter, as having been seen at Jerusalem by St. Paul when he went up by revelation (Gal 2^{1}) and saw those who seemed to be pillars (Gal 2^{9}). After this, except in the Revelation, the name of John disappears from the New Testament.

(*c*) When we pass beyond the New Testament, we find ourselves in the region of somewhat fragmentary tradition. We learn that at some period undefined St. John left Jerusalem and took up his residence at Ephesus. Of the intervening period between the departure from Jerusalem and the residence at Ephesus we know nothing, except that Tertullian (*de Præsc. Hær.* 36) affirms that St. John came to Rome, and was there by way of suffering martyrdom. He was placed in a cauldron of boiling oil, but was miraculously preserved from death. No date is fixed for this by Tertullian, but St. John is said to have been banished after his escape to an island ('relegatur ad insulam'). Eusebius, however, definitely connects this banishment with the persecution of Domitian (*HE* III. xviii.), and quotes in support of his view the statement of Irenæus that St. John saw the Revelation πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῆς Δομετιανοῦ ἀρχῆς (Iren. *adv. Hær.* V. xxx. 3). Eusebius then affirms (on the basis of ὁ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἀρχαίων λόγος, *HE* III. xx.) that, on the accession of Nerva, St. John removed from Patmos to Ephesus. Here he organized the Churches in Asia, and survived till the time of Trajan (Eus. *HE* III. xxiii., quoting Iren. *adv. Hær.* II. xxii. 5, III. iii. 4).

It is to this period that most of the remaining anecdotes of St. John are assigned. Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, in a letter to Victor of Rome, says that John was priest here, and wore the πέταλον or high-priestly headdress; that he died, and was buried there (Eus. V. xxiv.). On the authority of Apollonius, St. John is said to have raised a man from the dead at Ephesus (Eus. V. xviii.). It was in illustration of his exercise of the episcopal office with characteristic love that Clement of Alexandria tells the story of his journey into the forest to reclaim a convert who had fallen into bad ways and joined a band of robbers (Clem. Alex. *Quis Div. Salv.* ch. 42). While at Ephesus he combats fiercely the heresy of Cerinthus, refusing even to be under the same roof with the heretic (Iren. *adv. Hær.* III. iii. 4), and being persuaded to write his Gospel, specially to confute such heretics as this (*ib.* III. xi.). The Muratorian Fragment contains a story of the origin of the Gospel somewhat akin to this. It describes a discussion in which Andrew took part, in which St. John was pressed to write down his teaching about our Lord. After deliberation, and a special intimation from the Holy Spirit, he acts upon the advice. There are two stories of his extreme old age preserved, the one by Cassian, the other by Jerome. Cassian tells how he used to play with a tame partridge, and when censured for such frivolity used the phrase, 'the bow cannot be always bent' (*Coll.* xxiv. 21). And Jerome describes him at a time when he had to be carried into church, and was too old to speak for any length of time; he used then, in addressing the Church, to use simply the old commandment, 'Little children, love one another.' His disciples, weary of the continual repetition, asked why he always said this: his answer was, 'Quia præceptum Domini est, et, si solum fiat, sufficit' (Jer. *Comm. in Gal.* vi. 10). The last chapter of the Gospel did not prevent the growth of a legend that the apostle was not really dead, but only asleep. And it was confidently affirmed that the ground where he lay rose and fell with his breathing, and that the dust was moved by his breath. St. Augustine mentions this (*Tract. in Joh.* cxxiv. 2), but does not altogether accept it ('Viderint . . . qui locum sciunt, utrum hoc ibi faciat vel patiatur terra, quod dicitur:

quia et revera non a levibus hominibus id audivimus' *).

These are the fragmentary materials out of which is built the idea of the beloved apostle prevalent throughout the Church. They form a consistent picture, of a character that is vehement and tenacious, but has been moulded in its later days by the spirit of love. The story of the journey after the robber is quite consistent with that of the refusal to be under the same roof with Cerinthus the heretic. And both are parallel to scenes in the Gospels and Acts ascribed to St. John.

(*d*) The difficulties that have been raised about the whole question of *St. John's sojourn at Ephesus* do not arise from any inconsistency in the story itself, but from considerations of a different order altogether. They are part of the whole question of the authorship of the writings ascribed to St. John. If the authorities upon which the Ephesian tradition depends are accepted as trustworthy, it will be difficult to explain why and how the account of the origin of the Gospel which seems to have been part of the Ephesian tradition can be set aside. It is not part of our subject to consider the question of the authorship of the Gospel, further than is necessary in order to estimate the evidence for the tradition, but the points now to be raised would be scarcely intelligible apart from this explanation. See, further, next article.

The real point at issue is comparatively small. Irenæus, who became bishop of Lyons in South Gaul after the persecution of A.D. 177, writes a letter to Florinus, a presbyter of the church of Rome who has fallen into heresy. A fragment of this letter is preserved by Eusebius (*HE* v. xx.). In it Irenæus appeals to Florinus to contrast the doctrines he has accepted with those which he once learnt at the feet of Polycarp, who himself claimed to be the pupil of the Apostle John. Irenæus refers to a former time when he, as a boy (*παῖς ἔτι ὤν*), *saw* Florinus, then in distinguished position at court (*λαμπρῶς πράττοντα ἐν τῇ βασιλικῇ αὐλῇ*), with Polycarp. Now Polycarp was martyred, at the age of eighty-six (*Mart. Polyc.* § 8), on Feb. 23, 155.† Thus he must have been born (unless the phrase in *Mart. Polyc.* refers to his conversion and not his birth) in A.D. 69. If St. John really lived till the time of Trajan, *i.e.* till about A.D. 100, there is no reason why Polycarp should not have known him.

This tradition has been assailed on various grounds. It has been asserted that there is no real indication of Johannine influence in the writers who date from Ephesus and its neighbourhood; more especially that Ignatius when writing to the Ephesians in the year 115 makes no allusion to St. John's presence there, though he does mention St. Paul (Ign. *Eph.* ch. xii.), and shows signs of the influence of the letter 'to the Ephesians.' This argument is used by Keim (*Jesus of Nazara*, Eng. tr. vol. i. p. 211 ff.), but its value is greatly impaired by the authority of subsequent critics. The researches of Paul Ewald (*Das Hauptproblem der Evangelienfrage*), of H. Wendt (*Lehre Jesu*), and especially of von der Goltz ('Ignatius von Antiochien,' in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, xii. 3), tend to show the presence in the region required, and in the Ignatian Epistles in particular, of that type of teaching which is associated with St. John's name. This line of argument may therefore be left out of account.

Another and much more impressive method of criticism is that pursued by Harnack in his *Chronologie der Altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius*, Bd. i. pp. 320–340, 656–680. It will have been noticed already that the hinge of the whole case is the relation of Irenæus and Polycarp. If it seemed likely that this relation was less close than is generally supposed, no doubt the evidence of Polycarp to the presence of St. John in Ephesus might be seriously weakened. This is the central point of Harnack's argument. He lays emphasis on the youth of Irenæus (*παῖς ἔτι ὤν*), and the casual character of his relation with Polycarp. There is no evidence, he maintains, that Irenæus was in any strict sense a pupil of Polycarp; he merely heard him preach, like any other member of his congregation. It is, therefore, not improbable that he confused the Apostle John with the *John* quoted by Polycarp, this other John being really the Presbyter John—a person whose existence is affirmed by Papias. To this Presbyter John, Harnack assigns the Fourth Gospel. It is difficult to avoid the conviction that Harnack is greatly minimizing the significance of the passage from the letter of Irenæus to Florinus. It is true that we do not know exactly the age of Irenæus at the beginning of his episcopate, and that the year of his birth cannot be fixed within very narrow limits. It is true that we cannot be certain of the date of the scene *ἐν τῇ κάτω Ἀσίᾳ* to which Irenæus refers. It is true that *παῖς ἔτι ὤν* suggests that Irenæus refers to a time when he was from 12–17 or 18 years old.* But (1) the tone of the letter, especially the reference to the psychology of memory, seems to imply an advanced age; it is usually between 60 and 70 or later that the memory begins to fail for more recent events; and (2) Harnack greatly underrates the fulness of the knowledge which Irenæus claims. If it be true that the words do not imply any direct and personal relation with Polycarp, they do seem to imply a careful and continuous observation of Polycarp's habits both in act and word. † Indeed it is difficult to know what words would convey an account of a continued and carefully treasured experience, if these do not. And it is hardly conceivable that an experience such as is described should have passed, and yet that Irenæus, with all his keenness of observation, should have failed to discover whether Polycarp was talking of John the Apostle or not. Again, the Twelve were a perfectly recognizable and distinct body from a very early time in the Church, and Polycarp's discourses must have been more than usually confused if they left his intelligent hearers uncertain on a fundamental point such as this. It is an even more extravagant hypothesis that Polycarp himself was confused. People will always estimate such a question as this somewhat differently, so that it will be impossible to claim that the significance of Irenæus' words is certain beyond all possibility of discussion. At the same time, the interpretation here given seems the most natural, and it would require very considerable positive evidence to overthrow it.

---

* The tradition which has so profoundly influenced art, that St. John drank poison without being affected by it, occurs in Isidore of Seville, *De ortu et obitu Sanctorum*, ch. lxxii.; and in *Acta Johannis*, c. 9, ed. Bousset, 1898. It is also alluded to in the *Soliloquies*, falsely ascribed to Augustine, ch. xxii. The present writer has failed to trace the origin of the tradition, if it be a tradition, which Browning has followed in *A Death in the Desert.*

† This seems to be the most likely date: an alternative is Feb. 22, 156. See Lightfoot, *Ignatius and Polycarp*, i. pp. 626–722; C. H. Turner, 'On the day and year of St. Polycarp's Martyrdom,' in *Studia Biblica*, Oxford, vol. ii. pp. 105–155; and Haruack, *Chronologie*, Bd. i. pp. 334–350, and reff.

* Though Lightfoot, *Ign. and Polyc.*^{1} vol. i. p. 432, quotes passages showing the extreme looseness with which such words as *παις* were used.

† Μᾶλλον γὰρ τὰ τότε διαμνημονεύω τῶν ἔναγχος γινομένων· αἱ γὰρ ἐκ παίδων μαθήσεις συναύξουσαι τῇ ψυχῇ ἑνοῦνται αὐτῇ ὥστε με δύνασθαι εἰπεῖν καὶ τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ καθεζόμενος διελέγετο ὁ μακάριος Πολύκαρπος, καὶ τὰς προόδους αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς εἰσόδους καὶ τὸν χαρακτῆρα τοῦ βίου καὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος εἰδέαν καὶ τὰς διαλέξεις ἃς ἐποιεῖτο πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὴν μετὰ Ἰωάννου συναναστροφὴν ὡς ἀπήγγελλε καὶ τὴν μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν ἑωρακότων τὸν Κύριον καὶ ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευε τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν καὶ περὶ τοῦ κυρίου τίνα ἦν ἃ παρ' ἐκείνων ἀκηκόει, καὶ περὶ τῶν δυνάμεων αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας ὡς παρὰ τῶν αὐτοπτῶν τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ λόγου παρειληφὼς ὁ Πολύκαρπος ἀπήγγελλε πάντα σύμφωνα ταῖς γραφαῖς.

Such evidence is not forthcoming. The two fragments which bear on the question are less convincing than the passage from Irenæus, but their natural meaning is consistent with the above interpretation of Irenæus. Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, writing to Victor of Rome about A.D. 180, mentions various distinguished persons in the early history of the Church who are buried in Asia Minor. Amongst these he names the Apostle Philip, John the Apostle, and Polycarp. He is a person of importance, a bishop himself, belonging to a family which has given 7 bishops to the church, and he describes himself (probably) as 65 years old (ἑξήκοντα πέντε ἔτη γεγονὼς ἐν κυρίῳ). This would bring his birth to the year A.D. 115. He describes the work of the apostle at Ephesus in the words ἐγενήθη ἱερεὺς τὸ πέταλον πεφορηκώς. If the evidence of Irenæus is invalid, doubtless the probability is increased that Polycrates has made a similar confusion, and has mistaken John the Presbyter for John the Apostle. If, however, Irenæus may be trusted in his account of Polycarp's teaching, then Polycrates becomes an independent witness to the state of things described by Polycarp, and a witness of some importance. He bears testimony to the existence of this tradition in the ecclesiastical circles at Ephesus, and he had probably extremely good opportunities of knowing what these were.*

Lastly, we come to Papias. It is to a fragment of this author that we owe our knowledge of the existence of the Presbyter John. In a passage from the Prologue to his lost work, *Expositions of the Oracles of the Lord*, which Eusebius quotes (*HE* III. xxxix.), Papias explains his method. He has not paid attention to those who have much to say (τοῖς τὰ πολλὰ λέγουσιν), but to those who teach the truth. He has collected and examined the sayings of those who followed the elders (εἴ που καὶ παρακολουθηκώς τις τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις): endeavouring to ascertain 'what Andrew, or Peter said, or what Philip, or Thomas or James; or what John or Matthew or any of the disciples of the Lord: and what Aristion and the Presbyter John the disciples of the Lord say.' Papias is not so good a witness as the others. Eusebius describes him as σμικρὸς τὸν νοῦν, and he certainly seems to have made statements on the authority of John and the elders which are in themselves ridiculous, and can never have come from any one who knew the Lord. The passage mentioned above does not prove that Papias was a disciple of the Apostle John; and Papias shows himself capable of serious confusion in regard to St. John's doctrine. But, in the light of the passage in the letter to Florinus, Papias' statement that he endeavoured to ascertain in Asia Minor what John and other apostles had taught, may at least stand as an additional ground for believing that St. John had dwelt at Ephesus.

We are, fortunately, not concerned with the further and more complicated question of the authorship of the Fourth Gospel, but only with the residence of St. John at Ephesus. The evidence alleged is fragmentary. Even with the addition of the Muratorian Fragment, which confirms what has been already produced, it is less than we could wish. But in a case like this the important point is not so much the extent as the character of the evidence that is to hand. And it is to be noticed that all the three authors we have named are men who would have had the best opportunities of knowing about this matter. We have only fragments of their works, but *they* were not fragmentary. They cover a century between them — a century of vigorous and active Christian life; and they all of them held office in their several churches. We have not pressed the evidence of the Muratorian Fragment, because of the uncertainty of its origin, and the comparative lack of a true context in which to place it. But these difficulties do not attach to the evidence of Irenæus, Polycrates, and Papias. Their relation to the age in which they lived can be denied only at the expense of the surrender of the largest portion of 2nd cent. history.*

II. THE THEOLOGY OF ST. JOHN.

A. *THE GOSPEL AND EPISTLES.*—In the writings ascribed to St. John there is more of a complete and reasoned theology than is to be found in any of the other NT writers. It is therefore a comparatively simple task to indicate the lines of the author's theological thought. It must, however, always be remembered that in the Gospel the theological positions are placed in close relation with the history. So that, in some sense, a historical evolution is traceable in the doctrine described. The prologue to the Gospel (1^{1-18}) may be regarded as summing up the doctrine of the book; and, in like manner, many of the statements in the Epistles are of the nature of inferential doctrinal affirmations. It seems best, therefore, to describe as shortly as possible the progress in doctrine in relation to the history, and then to discuss the conclusions which result.

(1) The Gospel professes to be a selection of anecdotes, out of a large number not recorded, describing the *signs* which Jesus did before His disciples. By *signs* are meant acts which convey a certain teaching, indicate a particular truth or reality. These particular signs are recorded in order to produce a particular belief—'that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ the Son of God' ($20^{30.31}$). The main part of the Gospel describes the growth of this idea in the minds of the apostles, and, at the same time, the growth of hostility on the part of the Jews. The mode in which the conviction is brought home to the minds of Christ's followers is called *witness* (μαρτυρία), and is characterized in various ways. The first stage in the process is the witness of John the

---

[*] The authority of Polycrates has been assailed on another ground. It is said that, when he speaks of Philip the Apostle as being at Hierapolis, he has confused him with Philip the Evangelist; hence that he might easily have confused John the Apostle with John the Presbyter. The question turns on the allusion to Philip's daughters. Luke (Ac $21^{8.9}$) says definitely that Philip the Evangelist, 'one of the seven,' had four daughters παρθένοι προφητεύουσαι. Polycrates affirms that Philip the Apostle had three daughters, two of whom grew old as virgins, and the other ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι πολιτευσαμένη died and was buried at Ephesus. Clem. Alex. (Eus. *HE* iii. 30) quotes Philip as one of the apostles who did not forbid marriage, as he τὰς θυγατέρας ἀνδράσιν ἐξέδωκεν. Papias (Eus. *HE* III. xxxix.) speaks of Philip the Apostle among his authorities. The *Dialogue between Caius and Proclus* (Eus. *HE* iii. 31) represents Philip Evang. with four daughters—as having lived at Hierapolis. The authority of the *Dialogue* is by some adduced to prove the confusion in Polycrates' letter. This seems unnecessary. The *Dialogue* is later in time, and remote in its origin (Italy as against Ephesus), and is manifestly under the influence of the Acts. The statement of Polycrates is precise, and not identical with that in the Acts. We know there were two Philips, and it is not impossible that one had three daughters, and the other four. Cf. Lightfoot, *Colossians*, pp. 45, 46.

[*] It is not quite clear what is meant by Polycrates' phrase ἐγενήθη ἱερεὺς τὸ πέταλον πεφορηκώς. Πέταλον is the word used for the high-priestly mitre; and therefore the adoption of it by St. John must have meant either that he claimed that the old exclusive high priesthood was at an end, or, more probably, that he asserted its fulfilment in the Christian priesthood. Delff (*Gesch. der Rabbi Jesus v. Nazareth*, p. 71) asserts that the phrase means that St. John was of the family of the high priest, and had actually performed high-priestly functions in Jerusalem, wearing the mitre for the purpose. This interpretation of the words of Polycrates is only part of a complicated theory as to the authorship of the Fourth Gospel with which we have nothing to do. But it should be observed (1) that this is not the natural interpretation of the passage; (2) that it assumes a degree of ignorance and confusion on the part of Polycrates which is unjustifiable. St. James is also said to have worn the πέταλον (Epiph. *Hær.* lxxiii. c. 14, where he follows the language of Hegesippus closely; but this particular statement is absent from the passage of Hegesippus quoted in Eus. *HE* II. xxiii.).

Baptist. He first denies to the deputation of priests and Levites that he is the Christ, and then points definitely to Jesus as the Lamb of God, the person on whom the Spirit descended and abode. In consequence of the repetition of this *witness* on the following day, two of the disciples of John—Andrew and, probably, John himself—are detached from the Baptist and follow Jesus. The result of a day's colloquy is that Andrew announces to his brother Simon, We have found the Messiah. In like manner Nathanael is attracted by the same promise, though he seems to have had a stronger and loftier view of the personality of the Messiah than we usually find (1^{49}). The newly-won disciples begin, therefore, with a conviction that Jesus is Messiah. The 'sign' at Cana of Galilee gives them new thoughts. John had done no sign (10^{41}), but in this scene at Cana the disciples perceived what St. John, in the reflective language of his later life, calls the manifestation of the glory of Christ (2^{11}). This phrase seems to mean the specially Divine powers and characteristics which the Lord displayed upon earth; and therefore the importance of the passage consists in this, that St. John marks the occasion when the previous belief in the Messiahship of Jesus began to be affected by a deeper notion of His Divine nature. Looking back upon it in later life, he sees that at that moment the thought that He was Divine was dawning in them.

This event at Cana is also described (2^{11}) as the 'beginning of signs.' It is the opening incident of a particular line of witness—the witness of the works (cf. 5^{36} 10^{38} 15^{24}). This is continued at Jerusalem at the Passover, and produces a number of adherents (2^{23}). And here, again, St. John notices an impression created by Jesus upon His apostles: they found that He exercised considerable reserve in His treatment of those who professed belief, in virtue of an insight into them which he possessed.* After this we come to the account of the Ministry and Preaching of our Lord. As in the Synoptic Gospels, He begins by preaching (to Nicodemus) the Kingdom of God, with this difference, that He declares the necessity of new birth as the condition of entry. It is after the record of this preaching that the witness of John is finally completed and closed, in words which imply that his preparatory mission is over (3^{30}). It is noticeable that in this passage Nicodemus is attracted to the new prophet by signs (3^{2}), and that the Lord, when He is challenged to explain the new birth, refers to the witness of an experience already growing up around Him (ὃ *οἴδαμεν λαλοῦμεν, καὶ ὃ ἑωράκαμεν μαρτυροῦμεν*, 3^{11}). In like manner the conversation with the woman at Sychar leads to the unequivocal declaration of Messiahship on the part of the Lord (4^{26}), and an affirmation of the greatest importance as to the nature of God (4^{24}, see below, p. 689). The impression created by these two scenes on the minds of the apostles is not marked in the same way as before (2^{11} and ^{23}). But it is obvious that their view of His character is changing and developing rapidly. They have as yet no precise and clear view as to His nature, but they are careful as to commenting on, or asking questions about, what He does. This is expressed in a marked way when the apostles return and find Him talking with a woman. They are surprised, but no one said, 'What seekest thou, or Why talkest thou with her?' (4^{27}). So again, when He says, 'I have meat to eat which ye know not,' they do not ask Him what He means, but talk among themselves (4^{33}). A feeling of reserve and reverence is growing up, which completely prevents all curious questions. Their conception is developing as their experience widens.

We now come to the period at which hostility, continually increasing in fierceness, is caused by the acts and words of the Lord. The first scene is at an unnamed feast at Jerusalem, probably occurring some time before the second Passover of our Lord's ministry. The controversy arises over the law of the Sabbath. A man who had been crippled with a disease for 38 years is cured, and told by our Lord to take up the bed on which he is lying, and carry it away. This was, of course, a breach of the Sabbath law, and it seems, from the expression used (5^{16} *ταῦτα ἐποίει ἐν σαββάτῳ*), to have been somewhat typical of our Lord's action. In answer to the Jews, the Lord develops at length the relation between Himself and the Father; His answer, in fact, amounts to a claim to stand in the same supreme position as the Father in regard to the law in question. 'My Father worketh up till now, and I work' (5^{17}).

The discourse which follows is of great importance for our present purpose. In it the Lord, speaking first of Himself under the title of 'the Son,' affirms the absolute and indissoluble unity of the will of the Father and the Son. The Son certainly has derived Being; but the Father has given Him to have life in Himself (5^{26}); in what He does He fulfils the Father's commission, which includes the power of giving life even to the dead, and the prerogative of judgment (5$^{21.\,22.\,26.\,27}$). This unity of action is based on love (5^{20}), and carries with it the right on the part of the Son to honour co-ordinate with that of the Father (5^{23}). It is obvious that this claim, if substantiated, completely meets the charge of independent and self-willed defiance of a law imposed by the Father. In 5^{30} the Lord identifies Himself with the Son, and proceeds to deal with the question of evidence. Here He uses the idea characteristic of this Gospel —*witness*. This teaching, He says, is not a bare assertion of His own; He has evidence, consentient witness to establish it (5^{32}), besides the inner certainty of His own knowledge. There is first the witness of John (5$^{33-35}$) temporary and limited, but bearing on the truth. Secondly, there is the witness of the *works*, done in pursuance of the Father's commission (5^{36}). Thirdly, there is the witness of the Father (5^{37}, see below, p. 686), and, lastly, the witness of the Scriptures. From them will come the really damning charges against the Jews; they have disbelieved the *writings* of Moses, how can they believe Christ's *words*? (5$^{39.\,46.\,47}$).

St. John does not chronicle the effect of this discourse, either upon the Jews or upon the apostles, important as it obviously is. The next scene does lead to a decisive and significant result. Here, again, it is important to recall the circumstances under which the scene took place. It occurred immediately after the miracle of the Feeding of the Five Thousand. The persons thus fed seem to have been a body of Galilæan pilgrims going up to, or returning from, the Passover (cf. 6^{4}). The result of the miracle is that the pilgrims conceive the plan of seizing Jesus and making Him a king; that is, they see in Him the fulfilment of their very uninstructed Messianic hopes. The following day the fact emerges in a dialogue with the Lord that they have compared His act with that of Moses, who fed the people in the wilderness, and that their allegiance will depend on Christ's rivalling this (6^{31}). From this point the discourse takes its start. With increasing clearness our Lord points to Himself as the fulfilment of the acted prophecy of Moses. The Jews (who appear at v.^{40}) protest against the claim implied in this; but this protest only leads the Lord to the still more startling assertions, that life in any true sense depends upon connexion with Himself, and that this connexion is established by eating His Flesh and drinking His Blood. And He ends by definitely connecting this with the type of the manna in the wilderness (6^{58}, cf. 6^{49}). The result of this discourse was to separate the Twelve sharply from other followers: these are puzzled, and walk no more with Him; the apostles, by the mouth of St. Peter, confess Him as the Holy One of God (6^{69}).

---

* The phrase used, *διὰ τὸ αὐτὸν γινώσκειν πάντας*, does not necessarily imply supernatural knowledge; but it records the strong impression which the Master's way of dealing with men had made upon His disciples.

After this scene, the development of the hostility is comparatively rapid; there are practically only three more occasions described. The first occurs at the Feast of Tabernacles. In his account of this feast St. John has shown us a perfect turmoil of conflicting ideas and surmises as to the new prophet, with a background of firm hostility on the part of the ruling class among the Jews. With the various problems and difficulties which were raised by the various parties, we have nothing to do; the decisive utterance from which the discourse or dialogue follows is the phrase, 'I am the Light of the world' (8^{12}). The subsequent passage is of great difficulty. Emphasis is laid again upon the witness of the Father ($8^{15.\,16}$) and the coincidence of the *works* with the will and commission of the Father ($8^{28.\,29}$); and the result was that many believed on Him (8^{30}). But an attempt made by the Lord to offer true freedom to those who had believed Him, rouses their national feelings, so that when Christ, after an agitated argument, makes a claim which they understand as coequality with God, they take up stones to cast at Him as a blasphemer.[*] In the second of the scenes in question, at the feast of Dedication (reading ἐγένετο τότε in 10^{22}), a similar discussion is presented to us arising out of a miracle performed upon a Sabbath-day, and involving by its method a breach of the law. The Jews definitely challenge Jesus with the question of His nature (10^{24}). He refuses to answer directly, but refers again to the *works* (10^{25}) and to the Father's will, ending with the strongest assertion yet made of His union with the Father, ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἕν ἐσμεν (10^{30}). In consequence of this He has to withdraw from Jerusalem; but St. John notes that many believed, seeing how He fulfilled the prophecy of the Baptist (10^{40-42}). The last scene is that of the raising of Lazarus and its immediate consequences. A miracle such as this could not have failed to produce an effect; and St. John notes that it is the decisive event which leads the authorities to determine on the death of Jesus, and produces the enthusiasm among the crowds which is expressed in the Triumphal Entry (cf. $11^{47.\,48}$ 12^{17-19}). At the end of ch. 12 St. John solemnly sums up the result of the mission of Christ; the evidence of signs had largely failed (12^{37}); there were many even of the rulers who really believed, but did not dare to express it (12^{42}), and in all this St. John sees the fulfilment of the prophecy of Isaiah, when 'he saw his glory (*i.e.* of Jesus), and spake concerning him.'

In the part of the Gospel which we have now briefly considered, the author explains the series of events through which his convictions developed. We have therefore before us the idea of one who fulfilled the national expectation of a Messiah, but who, at the same time, identified Himself with the typology of the OT, spoke mysteriously of a deeper union with the Father, and who represented union with Himself as the one necessary means of satisfying human needs. These two latter points are developed at great length in the Last Discourses (cf. $14^{10.\,31}$ 17^{4} 14^{1-12} 15^{1-11} etc.). But the Discourses are delivered under a sense of immediate departure, and therefore they develop, in language mysterious at the time but explained later by events, the close union of the Father and the Son, the future work of the Paraclete, and the new commandment to the followers of Jesus. The questions of the apostles recorded from time to time in the course of these chapters show that they only partially understood then what was said to them. But the teaching is continuous with what had gone before, and could only have confirmed the opinions already held by the apostles. We shall consider it more in detail further on.

One last sign is noted by St. John in the account of the Crucifixion—the effusion of blood and water, and the bearing of prophecy on the scene. This is mentioned with great emphasis, and the presence of the author as eye-witness is deliberately asserted (19^{35}). There then follows an account of the intercourse of the Risen Lord with various of His followers, and we then return to the passage mentioned before, in which St. John declares the purpose of his Gospel ($20^{30.\,31}$).

It will be seen that the result attained by St. John is an evolution that starts from the idea of the Messiah, and rises through the witness of signs and the teaching of Discourses to a lofty and profound notion of Jesus as the Christ, the Son of God. It is this which is the fundamental idea of all St. John's theology, and it has been necessary, therefore, to put it first.

(2) It is obvious, however, that such a view could not be maintained without involving serious consequences upon the idea of God: or, to put the same thing in somewhat different language, the development in the notion of Jesus, from that of Messiah to that of the Son of God, will be found to rest upon theological presuppositions. These are revealed in the Discourses of the Lord, and in part drawn out by the author in the Gospel and Epistles. We have passed them by so far in order to display the historic movement of St. John's thought; but we must now turn to them.

The first passage which calls for consideration is, of course, the Prologue. This contains, in summary, St. John's theology of the Incarnation. It begins by describing the Person involved—the Word; and of Him it asserts eternal pre-existence, eternal communion with God, and finally Divinity itself. The author then proceeds to give an account of the various functions of the Word of God.[*] The Word of God is the instrument of

---

[*] It is assumed that the *Pericope Adulteræ* is out of place in this chapter.

[*] It is impossible to discuss at length the origin and associations of this much disputed expression—the Word of God (see art. LOGOS). It must suffice here to say that there seems to be a great difficulty in connecting it, as would at first sight appear natural, with Greek philosophic thought. It is true that the word λόγος in its earlier usage contained ideas which might have developed into such a conception as this of St. John. But in the history of Greek thought the development of the meaning of the word was governed by the particular interest of Greek philosophy. The idea of language or speech is complex. Speech conveys information (1) as to the mind of the speaker, (2) as to the subject spoken about. In the former case the uttered word appears as the representative of the person or character or act of the speaker; its reference to fact may be of merely secondary importance. In the other case the word has a sort of substantive existence. It does not matter who uses it; the important thing is what it means. The more this aspect of the relation is emphasized the more the idea of a *word* tends towards that of abstract scientific definition—it is a form conveying truth. Its ideal is to correspond as nearly as may be with the reality it describes. The Greeks found the ideal correspondence between thought and thing in universality; and therefore, concurrently with the development in philosophic thought, the word λόγος took on more and more the associations of universality, and lost more and more those of the individual thing or person. With the Hebrews, on the other hand, the Word of God meant always God speaking or doing certain things; the Word was the emissary and representative of God. A doctrine of Incarnation in the Johannine sense is possible on the one line of thought, and impossible on the other.

Creation (*πάντα δι᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο*, not *ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ*). The gift of life, expressed in a living world, was the object, or, if we may so say, the ruling principle of the action of God through the Word, and life was to have been a sign or suggestion to man of the presence of the Word—to have been the light of men. But, owing to the intrusion of the darkness, the light now shines in a hostile atmosphere, without, however, being overcome by it. This doctrine lies closely in connexion with that of the Old Testament. The Pentateuch (Gn 1) and the Psalter (Ps 33^{6}) both ascribe creation to the word of God; they use the metaphor of speech to describe the act of God in it. And throughout the OT the presence and effect of evil is continually asserted. But St. John makes a considerable and important addition to the doctrine of the OT when he unequivocally asserts the Divinity of the Word. In the OT the idea of language was a metaphor used to describe an act; it is said that in Rabbinical thought the Word of God was beginning to take on a quasi-personal character; with St. John the Word by which the world was brought into being was a person, separate enough from God (*ὁ θεός*, *i.e.*), to be in communion with God, but yet essentially Divine in nature.

We next learn St. John's conception of that Revelation of the Word which he himself had experienced. It was heralded by John the Baptist, who was sent from God to witness concerning it. The light was already in the world, and had already a place of its own in the world, but the world rejected its appeal. New birth—birth of God—was given to those who received the light when it came—a birth that broke through and destroyed the old physical succession (1$^{6-13}$). Having thus described the Person of the Word, and the effect of His mission, St. John proceeds to describe the mode of His manifestation. 'The Word,' he says, 'became flesh, and dwelt as in a tent among us, full of grace and truth.' As thus Incarnate, the Word manifested His Divine glory. In regard to this, St John uses a remarkable phrase. He says it was 'glory as of an only-begotten from a Father,' *i.e.* it was identical in nature, but different, if the phrase may be allowed, in individuality from that of the Father. It was representative in the fullest sense, not merely an irradiation from without; it was Divine glory, but the glory of an only-begotten son. For the evidence of this, St. John refers to the witness of John the Baptist (1^{15}), and more particularly to the experience of himself and of the Church. 'We beheld his glory,' he says (1^{14}); and again 'of his fulness,' the grace and truth which came with Him, 'have all we received' in continually increasing proportions, grace in place of grace (1^{16}). Then St. John explains summarily the full height of this Revelation. It superseded the Mosaic law, which was partial and external, by means of this gift of grace and complete truth (1^{17}). It did not give us the vision of God: it meant that one who was God and only-begotten, who is in the bosom of the Father, had come among men and declared the truth.*

We have already seen in brief outline the process of historical observation through which St. John obtained his view of our Lord's nature. The Prologue shows us the same ideas formulated and in some degree systematized. The central point is still the Sonship,—Christ is Son of God in a unique sense,—but the mission of the Son is clearly defined in relation to other things. He is the Word of God: Eternal and Divine: He is the Instrument of Creation: the source of the knowledge of God which men should acquire by life and nature. His coming has superseded all previous revelation. In its earlier stages, as in the case of John, revelation was for witness of a light yet to come. The revelation of the Word was the manifestation of that Light. It was complete where the law, the highest expression of the old order, was partial: it gave final certainty about God on the authority of God only-begotten.

(3) The Epistles show how fundamental a doctrine this was in St. John's theology. He asserts in the most emphatic way (1 Jn 1$^{1-4}$) his own experience in the matter; how the life—the eternal life—which was continually (*ἦν*) with the Father, was manifested in time (*ἐφανερώθη*) to us; we saw and heard and touched beyond possibility of error. To deny the Father and the Son is the sign of antichrist (1 Jn 2$^{22.\ 23}$); it is a departure from the original message (1 Jn 2^{24}). It is the test of spirits: 'Every spirit which confesses Jesus Christ come in the flesh is of God, and every spirit which confesses not Jesus, is not of God, and this is that spirit of antichrist, of which ye have heard that it cometh, and now it is already in the world' (4$^{2.\ 3}$; cf. 5$^{1.\ 6-8.\ 12}$). In the Second Epistle St. John forbids his readers even to receive into their house and salute one who makes denial of this final truth (2 Jn $^{7-12}$). There is therefore no hesitation in his mind as to the truth or the necessity of this doctrine: it is the fundamental doctrine of Christianity and the test of true membership of the Church.

(4) It is in regard to this subject that the theology of St. John is most systematic. We must now pass on to the consideration of some other points less fully systematized, but no less decisive in their character. And first we must call attention to the *Theology of the Father and the Son*. It is contained, for the most part, in incidental references in the Discourses of the Lord. The Father is supreme, and is the source of the Being and all the action of the Son (5$^{19.\ 26}$ etc.). He has sent the Son into the world (3^{16}), and given Him commission to perform certain works there (5^{36} 8^{26} 10$^{32.\ 37}$ 14^{31} 15^{10} 17^{4}). The relation between the Father and the Son is variously described. It is a profound and complete unity: 'I and the Father are one' (*ἕν ἐσμεν*) (10^{30} 17$^{11.\ 21}$). But this unity does not destroy the distinction between the Father and the Son. The Father loves the Son (5^{19} 15^{9}), and the Son loves the Father (14^{31}); the Father knows the Son, and is known by Him (10^{15}; cf. 8^{55}). Before the world was, the Son enjoyed 'glory with the Father,' to which He returns (17^{5}). The Father abides (*μένει*) in the Son, and the Son in the Father (8$^{28.\ 29}$ 14$^{10.\ 11}$): so that it is said 'the Father abiding in me doeth his works' (14^{10}). All that belongs to the Son belongs also to the Father, 'and thine are mine' (17^{10}): yet 'the Father is greater than I' (14^{28}). Hence the representation of the Father by the Son is complete: 'He that hath seen me hath seen the Father' (14^{9}, cf. 8^{19}). So that honour given to the Son is given to the Father (5$^{23.\ 38}$), and those who reject the Son reject also the Father (8^{19} 15$^{21-24}$; cf. 1 Jn 2$^{22-24}$). This fulness of union and intercourse throws some light upon the obscure subject of the witness of the Father. In 5$^{31.\ 32}$ the Lord disclaims bearing witness concerning Himself, but refers instead to the witness of John, and then 5^{37} to the witness of the Father. In ch. 8, in answer to the Jews, He says, 'If I do bear witness of myself, my witness is true, because I know whence I came and whither I go' (8^{14}), and then again (8^{18}) refers to the witness of the Father. In 3$^{32.\ 33}$ (probably a reflective passage by the evangelist and not part of a discourse) we read, 'He that receiveth his (*i.e.* the Son's) witness hath set to his seal that God is true' (*ἐσφράγισεν ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἀληθής ἐστιν*); and in 1 Jn 5^{10} St. John says again, 'He

---

* This interpretation depends, of course, on the reading *Μονογενὴς Θεός*. For further information on this head, see Hort's *Two Dissertations*.

that believeth on the Son hath the witness in himself; he that believeth not God, hath made him a liar, because he has not believed in the witness which God has witnessed concerning his Son.' Thus the most obvious sign of failure to receive the witness of the Father is to misunderstand the promises of God, and the indications of His purpose, which Christ fulfils. The witness of the Father is closely allied to the witness of Scripture, but is not quite the same. It seems to consist in that inner perception of the purpose of God resting on the love of God (5^{42}), which carries conviction in the presence of the life and works of Christ; the Jews fail 'because ye have not his word abiding in you' (5^{38}); without this, they search the Scriptures, and so fail to receive their witness also. The Son appeals to this witness against the charge of self-seeking or self-advertisement; and the certainty of His knowledge of His own nature, and of His mission ('whence I come and whither I go') justifies His witness to Himself.

(5) The next point for consideration, starting with the above-described theology of God and the Incarnation, is *the process or scheme of salvation.* To do this it is necessary to define first St. John's conception of **the world,** and of the condition requiring remedy. The word *κόσμος* means primarily the created order; so in $1^{9.10}$ we find that the world was created through the Word. Also the phrase *ὁ βίος τοῦ κόσμου* occurs (1 Jn 3^{17}) for this world's goods. From the idea of transitoriness (*e.g.* 1 Jn 2^{17}) the word gets a sinister sense; and we find it in its most characteristic signification of the fallen world, the world in opposition to the will of God. In this sense St. John says of it that the whole world lies in the evil one (1 Jn 5^{19}). It is the embodiment of the principle of hatred to all that God requires; by the inherent necessity of its nature it hates Christ and His Church (Jn 15^{18-23}, 1 Jn 3^{13}). Christ is alien from it (Jn 8^{23} 17^{14} 18^{36}, 1 Jn 4^{5}). Its hostility is represented in a ruler, *ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου* (Jn 12^{31} 14^{30}), who has an 'hour' in which he apparently triumphs. The characteristic attitude of the world is sin, which is 'lawlessness,' *i.e.* self-will and rebellion (1 Jn 3^{4} 5^{17}). Those who live in sin are under the wrath of God (3^{36}): their life is no true life, their existence may be described as death (Jn 8^{24}, 1 Jn 3^{14}). From another slightly different point of view the principle of the world's hostility is called **the flesh,** and it is clearly declared to be impossible to pass by natural evolution out of the range of the flesh. That which is born of the flesh is flesh (Jn 3^{6}), and therefore there is no power in the flesh to restore or recreate itself; it can only go on reproducing itself perpetually. This is the condition of things which it is Christ's mission to redeem.

The impulse to restore the world comes from the Father, and is based on love: 'God so loved the world that he sent his only-begotten Son' to save it (Jn $3^{16.17}$; cf. 1 Jn 4^{10-14}). The effect of the mission of Christ is variously described; He comes that the world may be saved through His means (Jn 3^{17}; cf. 4^{42}, 1 Jn 4^{14}); that is the most general phrase. He is the Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world (Jn 1^{29}, 1 Jn 3^{5}). He comes that He may destroy the works of the devil (1 Jn 3^{8}). But perhaps the most frequent expression of the intended result is the phrase **eternal life** (Jn 3^{16}, 1 Jn 5^{11}). This forms the subject of many of the discourses and warnings of the Lord, and it is constantly occurring in the First Epistle. Those who believe have passed from death into life (1 Jn 3^{14}; cf. Jn 8^{24}); eternal life has been promised to mankind by God (1 Jn 2^{25}). Christ Himself is identified with it (1 Jn 1^{2} $5^{11.20}$). He declares that He has come 'that they may have life, and have abundance' (Jn 10^{10}); the commandment of the Father is eternal life (Jn 12^{50}). And again, 'This is life eternal, that they may know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent' (17^{3}). Thus the life which Christ brings consists in union with Christ, obedience to the Father's commandments, and knowledge of God. It is not a thing to be attained only in the future; it is actually in the possession of those who believe (Jn 6^{47}, 1 Jn 5^{11-13}). From another point of view this condition is described as light. Christ is the light of the world (Jn 8^{12}; cf. 3^{19} 12^{46}) in contradistinction to the darkness of sin (cf. 1 Jn 2^{9-11}). (See below, p. 689).

The means of salvation for the world is only through Christ. This is partly implied by the general statements of the purpose of God already cited, and partly by the series of metaphorical phrases used by Christ Himself to describe His functions. Thus He is the Bread of Life ($6^{35.51}$); without participation in His Flesh and Blood there is no true life at all (6^{53}). He is the true fulfilment of the type of the water in the wilderness ($7^{37.38}$); the light of the world (8^{12} 12^{46}). He is the Door into the true fold, to the exclusion of all others ($10^{7.9}$); and again, He is the good Shepherd ($10^{11.14}$). So, at the grave of Lazarus, He proclaims Himself the Resurrection and the Life (11^{25}); in answer to the question of Thomas, He declares Himself the Way, the Truth, and the Life (14^{6}). Through Him alone is man's access to the Father; in Him all truth and all life are summed up. Once more, He is the True Vine, the unity and quickening force of all those who believe (15^{1} etc.). Nor are His functions restricted to those whom He may be connected with during His earthly life, or to those who belong to the chosen people. His work is universal in power and validity (Jn 10^{16} 11^{52} 12^{32}, 1 Jn 2^{2}).

The idea of God, then, if we may so say, is the salvation of the world through His Son, Christ. We must now consider what action is necessary to achieve this purpose, both on the part of Christ and of mankind. We have already spoken of the obedience of Christ, and the exact way in which He fulfilled the commission of the Father; we have now to deal more in detail with the subject. (*a*) The method by which Christ saves the world is by the sacrifice of Himself through death. The law under which He lived is first suggested by the Baptist in his witness: Behold, the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world ($1^{29.36}$).* Christ Himself asserts the same truth, with greater or less distinctness. First to Nicodemus obscurely (3^{14}), and again more clearly to the Jews after the feeding of the 5000. 'I am the living Bread which came down from heaven . . . and the bread which I will give is my Flesh for the life of the world' (6^{51}). He is 'the good Shepherd that giveth his life for the sheep' ($10^{11.18}$; cf. 1 Jn 3^{16}); and by so doing He shows that He has the uttermost love (15^{13}). So deeply is this necessity woven into the fabric of things, that the high priest 'of that year,' speaking more wisely than he knew, prophesied that He must lay down His life for the people ($11^{51.52}$). It is the condition of drawing all men to Him (12^{32}). In two places in the First Epistle St. John uses the phrase *ἱλασμός*, or propitiation (2^{2} 4^{10}); once (1 Jn 1^{7}) St. John speaks of the blood of Jesus Christ as cleansing us from all sin. And our Lord Himself uses once the peculiar phrase, 'I sanctify myself for their sake' (Jn 17^{19}).

Thus it is by this process of sacrifice that our Lord performs His part in the plan initiated by God. (*b*) We now come to consider the function of man—the response required of the world. (1) The fundamental law under which the world is ordered here meets us. The world can do nothing for itself. He, therefore, that will see and enter the kingdom of God must be *born again*: the old physical sequence—of blood, of the will of the flesh, and the will of man—must be broken off, and a new kinship established (3^{3-6}, cf. 1^{13}). (2) Further, there is required of necessity faith in the Son, and acceptance of His mission (Jn 3^{16} 5^{24} $6^{40.\,47}$, 1 Jn 3^{23}). This faith is more than mere belief (8^{31}), which in the passage quoted fails to bear criticism. But St. John supplies no definition of it, or anything approaching a definition. It is rather trust in a person than belief in the truth of what he says: or rather, this kind of belief comes as a result of the trust. It is made impossible, as we shall shortly see, by certain moral conditions. (3) The new life which the new birth begins must be sustained by continual participation in the Life of Christ. This is the burden of the strong and startling language in the synagogue at Capernaum (Jn 6^{52-59}): 'Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood, ye have not life in yourselves. He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day.' And this is said in explanation of the phrase, 'the bread which I will give is my flesh for the life of the world.' It implies that the faithful must in some way, not explained by St. John, enter into and share the sacrifice of our Lord. The sacrifice is thus not an external transaction: all men must have a part in it.

---

* The precise reference of this phrase is, no doubt, obscure; but there can be no doubt that the association with the lamb was one of sacrifice.

In face of these demands stands the fact that Christ was in large measure rejected. He came to His own place, and His own people received Him not (Jn 1^{11}). This, which might easily become a difficulty, is met in two ways. First, St. John presents a strong theory of predestination. The failure no less than the success falls within the sovereignty of the Father. 'No man can come to me, except the Father draw him' (6^{44}); 'I manifested thy name to the men whom thou gavest me out of the world' (17^{6}, cf. 10^{29}). The success and the failure are even matters of prophetic prevision (12^{37-39}): Isaiah saw what would come about, 'when he saw his glory, and spake concerning him.' And Christ administers the will of the Father in this, as in other respects. 'Ye did not choose me, but I chose you, and set you that ye should go and bring forth fruit' (15^{16}, cf. ^{19}). Secondly, faith depends upon certain moral conditions. Those who are evil are, *ipso facto*, incapable of faith: they shun the light ($3^{19.\,20}$). This general truth is made plainer in various discourses of the Lord's. The essential moral fault which prevents faith is self-seeking, aiming at personal distinction, seeking glory one from another ($5^{41.\,44}$ 7^{18}). The Jews refuse to accept the teaching of Christ, because they do not understand the spirit in which it is given: If another comes in his own name, him ye will receive (5^{43}). They will not do the Father's will, and therefore they blind themselves. 'If any man will to do his will, he shall know concerning the teaching, whether it is of God, or I speak of myself' ($7^{17.\,18}$). And the peril of this position lies just in the fact that they are so self-confident. 'If ye had been blind, ye would not have had sin: but now ye say, We see; therefore your sin remaineth' (9^{41})

Thus it is that the manifestation of Christ produces a twofold effect, corresponding to the varieties of moral condition. On the one hand, it produces faith, and so eternal life; this is its natural and proper result. On the other hand, it produces rejection, which is a declaration of affinity with evil—in St. John's language, judgment (3^{19}). 'This *is* the judgment, that the light has come into the world, and men loved the darkness rather than the light, because their deeds were evil.' As eternal life is not a future state of blessedness, but is the correlative of right faith in the Son of Man, so judgment is a condition the precise opposite of life. It consists in the revelation, in action, of hostility to Christ and all that He represents. So Christ says ($12^{47.\,48}$), 'If any man hear my words and keep them not, I do not judge him: for I came not to judge the world, but to save the world. He that rejecteth me and receiveth not my words, hath one that judgeth him: the word that I spake, that will judge him in the last day.' Thus judgment follows the same course of meaning as life. The Father has given into the hands of the Son the two Divine prerogatives of life and judgment ($5^{21.\,22}$). Yet Christ speaks as if life were the immediate consequence of faith, and judgment the consequence of the refusal to believe (cf. 5^{24} 6^{47}). At the same time, both in the case of life and judgment, there is a sort of consummation to be looked for at the last day ($6^{40.\,54}$ $12^{47.\,48}$). In neither case does the condition of life or judgment begin *after* the last day; it is a process which begins here, and is defined and completed at the last day. In the same way Christ speaks before the Passion of having already overcome the world (16^{33}), and St. John in his First Epistle uses similar language of the faith (4^{4} $5^{4.\,5}$), although in the same Epistle he warns against continuance in sin. So again he speaks of the sinlessness of those who are 'born of God' (3^{9}) in similar connexions. On the other hand, to continue the refusal to accept Christ after the opportunity is finally past is 'to die in sin' (Jn $8^{21.\,24}$).

(6) It remains to consider the doctrine of the Holy Spirit and the Church as we have it in these books. The provisions made by the Lord for the future are to be found chiefly in the Last Discourses. These were uttered after the Last Supper and before the arrest. The prominent note in them is, of course, one of farewell: and the provision for the future is put in language which later experience would alone fully explain. First, our Lord promises an **Advocate** (*παράκλητος*) who will supply His place on His departure (14^{16}). There are several noticeable points in regard to this mission. Christ speaks of it as His own return (14^{18}): He promises in relation to it, that the Father will come with Himself to those who keep His sayings, and 'we will make our abode with him' (14^{23}). The Advocate is spoken of as distinct from the Father and the Son, and yet His mission is one which reveals the Father and the Son. Again, in 14^{16} Christ says, 'I will ask the Father, and he will give you another Advocate, that he may be with you for ever—the Spirit of truth.' In 14^{26} a different phrase is used: 'The Advocate, the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name'; and once again there is a further difference (15^{26}, cf. $16^{7.\,13}$), 'When the Advocate comes, whom I will send to you from the Father, the Spirit of truth, that proceedeth from the Father.' Thus there is difference of language in regard to the Spirit's mission, and it is difficult to determine precisely St. John's idea. It seems clear, however, that this is due to the close intercourse and union which we have already noticed in regard to the Father and the Son. The Spirit, though sent like the Son, is one in whom full Divinity resides; His activity is a mission, not the effusion of an impersonal influence. The mission of the Holy Spirit depends on the departure of Christ (16^{7}, cf. 7^{39}): the two dispensations are not to be synchronous. The nature of the mission of the Advocate is gathered from various phrases in these chapters. Like the Son, He will not speak from Himself ($16^{13.\,14}$), but He will speak the things He hears. His mission continues that of Christ. 'He will glorify me, because he will take of that which is mine, and will declare it unto you' (16^{14}). He

will teach, and recall all the things which Christ had said (14^{26}). He will guide into all the truth, just because He speaks not of Himself (16^{13}). His Presence is described as an 'anointing' (*χρίσμα*, 1 Jn $2^{20.\ 27}$) which protects those who have it from error; and is a sign (1 Jn 3^{24}) of the indwelling of Christ in us. Further, He continues the process of witness to Christ already mentioned (15^{26}). This last point brings us in presence of one of the most difficult passages in St. John's writings, that of the Three witnesses.* It is impossible to enter into the complicated discussions which lie round this verse. The witness of the Spirit is placed on a level with that of the water and the blood, and the witness of the three is said to be consentient. It seems probable that the phrase applied to Christ (*ὁ ἐλθὼν δι' ὕδατος καὶ αἵματος*) refers directly to the event noticed by St. John —the effusion of blood and water upon the cross ($19^{34.\ 35}$). But also the Spirit is connected emphatically with water in the Gospel ($3^{5.\ 6}$) in the passage which gives the principle for interpreting the rite of baptism. And again in 6^{63} the Spirit is appealed to when the disciples are puzzled by our Lord's language about eating His flesh and drinking His blood—a passage which contains the theology, so to say, of the other Sacrament. It is probable, therefore, that those are right who see in this passage an assertion of the witness—the evidence conveyed of the truth of the faith—which comes from the Sacraments, interpreted by the Spirit. Our uncertainty (1) as to the exact significance ascribed to the effusion (19^{34}), and (2) as to the exact position assigned by St. John to the Sacraments, makes this interpretation less than certain. So far we have considered the function of the Spirit in regard to the Church. He has also a function in regard to the world. The world cannot receive Him, because it neither sees nor knows Him (14^{17}); but His presence in the world rebukes or convicts it (*ἐλέγχει*) concerning sin, and righteousness, and judgment (16^{8-11}). That is, the presence of the Spirit shows up in its true character the nature of sin, in the refusal to believe in Christ: the nature of righteousness, in the triumph of Christ through humiliation and death, to which the Spirit is a perpetual witness: the nature of judgment, in the final condemnation already passed upon the ruler of this world, and reiterated so long as the faith of Christ is in the world.

The effect of this mission of the Holy Spirit upon the Church has two sides: it alters men's relations to God and to one another. As regards God, it brings them into the closest possible union. Again and again Christ speaks of abiding in them. The Father and the Son will make their abode with those who love the Son (14^{23}). He is the vine, and they are the branches, depending for life on their union with Him ($15^{4-6.\ 7.\ 11}$ etc.). And the same phrase is constantly used by St. John in his First Epistle ($2^{5.\ 8.\ 24}$ $3^{5.\ 24}$ 4^{13} 5^{20}). It results in the certainty of access to God: we have boldness (2^{28} 4^{17}) at the last day ($3^{21.\ 22}$) in judging our own conscience; ($5^{14.\ 15}$) in prayer, knowing that He hears, and that we therefore have our requests. Six times does our Lord promise fulfilment to prayer in His name (Jn 14^{13} $15^{7.\ 16}$ $16^{23.\ 24.\ 26}$). We are Christ's friends (15^{14}); His joy is in us, and our joy is fulfilled (15^{11} 17^{13}), even under persecution (16^{20}); to us He leaves His peace (14^{27}). He looks forward to a consummation in His Father's house, where His followers shall be with Him for ever (14^{3}); and then we, who are now sons, shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is (1 Jn $3^{2.\ 3}$). He sets before the Church as its ideal of unity the abiding of the Father in the Son, the love of the Father and the Son (Jn $15^{9.\ 10}$), and the unity of the Father and the Son (17^{11}), including in this those who shall believe through the preaching of the apostles ($17^{20.\ 24-27}$). In this true correspondence between God and man, especially in the free intercourse through prayer, the Father is glorified in the Son (14^{13}).

This intimate union determines the character of the Church in its relation to the world. The apostles are sent into the world as Christ Himself was sent there (17^{18}); they are His representatives, so that they who receive them receive Him (13^{20}); and they will meet with the same hatred and persecution from the world as He did (15^{17-21}). Among themselves, they will keep His commandments ($14^{15.\ 21.\ 23.\ 24}$ 15^{10}, cf. 1 Jn 2^{3}), and especially the new commandment to love one another (13^{34} $15^{12.\ 17}$). This is emphasized in the Epistles when St. John is writing to the Church already constituted and at work (1 Jn $3^{11.\ 23}$ 4^{21}, 2 Jn ^{5}). And St. John in his usual manner continually contrasts this principle of love, which is of God (1 Jn 4^{7}), with the opposing principle of hatred. This has the essence of murder in it, as the example of Cain shows (1 Jn 3^{12-15}, cf. Jn 8^{44}, where the rising desire to kill Christ is connected with the devil, who was a murderer from the beginning); and this hatred is inconsistent with eternal life (1 Jn 3^{15}), or with the love of God (4^{20}). Their power to overcome the world, in which by Christ's wish and God's ordinance (Jn 17^{15}) they are placed, is their faith that Jesus is the Son of God (1 Jn $5^{4.\ 5}$)—a faith which in St. John's own case and that of his fellow-apostles rested on experience (1 Jn 1^{1-4}, Jn 1^{14}), but belongs also to those who have not seen but yet have believed (Jn 20^{29}).

At His departure, the Lord gave to His Church the power to forgive sins, saying, 'Whose soever sins ye shall remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained' (20^{23}). To St. Peter also He gave the charge to tend and feed the flock ($21^{15.\ 16.\ 17}$). There are signs in the Epistles of the exercise of some discipline. It is made abundantly clear that sin is inconsistent with the Church altogether (1 Jn 1^{6} 2^{1} $3^{6.\ 9}$ 5^{18}); to do sin is to relapse into the darkness from which the light has freed us ($2^{8.\ 9}$, cf. $1^{6.\ 7}$). Still if a man does commit a sin (*ἐάν τις ἁμαρτῇ*) we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous (2^{1}); the blood of Jesus Christ cleanses us from all sin. For certain sins, not unto death, St. John enjoins the prayer of intercession (1 Jn 5^{18-18}); for heresy, he forbids all intercourse or salutation (2 Jn ^{10}). In one church Diotrephes ὁ *φιλοπρωτεύων* requires to be deprived of his undeserved eminence, and reduced to order (3 Jn $^{9.\ 10}$).

(7) It would be impossible to close an account of the Theology of St. John's Gospel and Epistles without reference to the three great phrases in which the nature of God is described: 'God is Spirit' (Jn 4^{24}), 'God is Light' (1 Jn 1^{5}), and 'God is Love' (1 Jn $4^{8.\ 16}$). These three phrases form the crown, and, at the same time, a summary of his Theology. It is important to consider them in close connexion with their content.

The first is ascribed to our Lord Himself in His dialogue with the woman of Samaria. She, finding herself in presence of a prophet, brings before Him the question that had long been at issue between the Jews and the Samaritans. 'Our fathers worshipped in this mountain, but ye say that in Jerusalem men ought to worship.' Jesus answers her implied question comprehensively. For the past ages, the Jews were right: they worshipped with some knowledge, and not blindly, looking forward to salvation: they had so much certainty about God. But for the future, both are alike wrong; the day of local worships is over;

---

* We assume the omission of the late Western gloss concerning the Three Heavenly witnesses.

God no longer chooses a particular place where men should approach Him: 'He is *Spirit*, and must be worshipped in spirit and truth.' Thus this phrase marks the transition from the old to the new order. It excludes all limitations of space and time and matter from God, and, at the same time, the context preserves the truth which the Jewish religion had enshrined.

In the second of these phrases we go further: it bears on the moral nature of God. Throughout these books the contrast of Light and Darkness is used metaphorically to express Good and Evil. In the immediate context of this phrase an instance occurs. God is *Light*, and therefore all who walk in darkness are out of communion with Him. Darkness means hatred (1 Jn 2^{11}) and blindness (*ib.*), and is passing away (2^{8}). The true light was manifested; and 'this is the message which we have heard of Him, and report to you, that God is light.' This phrase, which cannot be altogether separated from the thought of revelation, is really the correlative of the OT doctrine of the Holiness of the Lord. It conveys the assurance of the undimmed purity of God, and the need of purity to man, if he would have fellowship with God.*

In the third we pass beyond both the two previous phrases. The doctrine that God is *Love*, asserts, in the strongest possible form, His Personality, and the possibility of personal intercourse between God and Man. This is indeed the drift of the two contexts in which it occurs. The man who is without love does not know God, for God is love. Knowledge of Him, in other words, is possible, but possible through likeness in nature. And so later the same point is more strongly emphasized: 'God is love, and he that abideth in love abideth in God, and God in him' (1 Jn 4^{16}). The object for which Christ came to earth, that man should have this fellowship with Him and with the Father, depends on the fact that God is love. But it is possible to go a little further than this. The doctrine that God is love helps to clear up those difficult phrases (mentioned above, p. 688) in which Christ speaks of the mission of the Paraclete. The account of the work of the Father, the Son, and the Spirit is full of contradictions, if they are conceived on the analogy of three separate individuals; but these particular difficulties are in some degree modified if we think of them as Three essential eternal modes of the Divine Life, bound together in a perfect love. Such a thought explains the peculiar language used of the Word in His relation to the Father (ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν, ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρός, $1^{1.18}$). We cannot wonder that from this text has arisen the precise theology of the Holy Trinity.

B. *THE APOCALYPSE.*—The task of describing the theology of the Apocalypse is one of very great difficulty. There is no book more obscure, or more doubtful in its historical reference. The method of the author is to explain his ideas by means of an extremely complicated symbolism, to which it is hard to find the key. In interpreting OT prophecies, the first thing to be done is to decide, if possible, on the historical occasion from which they arose. But in the case of the Apocalypse there is great difficulty in getting any certain clue to the occasion. The majority of modern critics are of opinion that the book was written in the time of Nero; but they are not unanimous, and the ancient tradition is unvaried in favour of the times of Domitian. It will be necessary as far as possible to ignore these difficulties in the present discussion: they are dealt with in special articles. See JOHN (GOSPEL, p. 707 ff.) and REVELATION.

The aim of the book is limited, and is defined both at the beginning and at the end: it is to describe things ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐν τάχει (cf. 1^{1} 22^{16}). The visions recorded are not set down as mere pieces of the individual history of the writer: they are events which are full of meaning for the future. But interpreters are not agreed as to whether they are to be referred to the immediate history of the time, or to the whole course of the Church's life, or to the remote future at the end of the world. It is well to remember that St. John, supposing that he is the author, is capable, as has already been noticed, of idealizing in a remarkable way; so that he speaks of the sinlessness of the regenerate at the same time that he provides against the commission of actual sin. It is possible, therefore, that the descriptions even of the end of things are the pictorial exposition of principles permanently at work. In any case it will be sufficient to consider the working of the principles, leaving aside the question of their manifestation. The book falls into two very obvious and clear divisions. The first three chapters contain the opening vision and the Epistles to the Seven Churches: this forms the first division. The second (chs. 4–22) contains the Apocalypse proper—the vision or series of visions in which the things which must shortly come to pass are revealed.*

(*a*) *The Doctrine of God.*—There is no part of the book devoted to the exposition of this doctrine; such doctrine, therefore, as may be gathered from it, underlies the language in which the proper subject of the book is treated. We gather much, first, from the titles used of God. (α) In the salutation (1^{4}) we have the assertion of the *eternity* of God ἀπὸ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος. The name stands undeclined in the nominative, in spite of its construction with the preposition ἀπό; and the imperfect ἦν is treated as a participle. The phrase thus stands for a Being who is subject to no change, but is always, through all the changes which occur; it is an expansion of the old covenant-name Jehovah. The phrase is repeated in 1^{8}, and is there sanctioned by the words, used by the prophets to authorize their message, λέγει ὁ Κύριος. It is worth noticing that in 4^{8}, when the same words recur in the ascription of glory by the four beasts, their order is changed. The words expressing permanence occur in the second instead of the first place: ὁ ἦν, καὶ ὁ ὤν, καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος. After the consummation of things (11^{17}) ὁ ἐρχόμενος is omitted (cf. 16^{5}). The same meaning is carried by the striking phrases τὸ Ἄ καὶ τὸ Ὦ (1^{8} 21^{6} 22^{13}), ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος (1^{17} 22^{13}), ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος (22^{13}). God is conceived as eternal: from Him all things take their origin, and to Him all things return. In 10^{6} and 15^{7} τῷ ζῶντι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, the endless continuity of an eternal Being is declared; in 15^{3} ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν αἰώνων, the idea of rule or dominion is involved. (β) This brings us to a second idea which is frequently associated with God in this book, ὁ παντοκράτωρ—the *all-ruling* (1^{8} 4^{8} 15^{3} $16^{7.14}$ $19^{6.15}$ 21^{22}). It is noticeable that, with the exception of 1^{8} 4^{8}, and possibly 21^{22}, this title is used in connexion with some statement as to the Divine judgments; *i.e.* with the catastrophic declaration of the principles of His rule. This should be compared with the idea of judgment already traced in the Gospel of St. John (see above, p. 688). Besides this, the phrases should be noted in which the creation of the world is ascribed to God (10^{6} 14^{7}). These simply contain references to it as a fact. In 4^{11} the Will of God is definitely assigned as cause, both for the conception and realization of the created order: διὰ τὸ θέλημά σου ἦσαν καὶ

---

* Philo (*de Somn.* I. xiii., tom. i. p. 632 Mang.) uses the same phrase, but with the association of undimmed intellectual vision.

* The question of the internal structure of this section does not come before us.

*ἐκτίσθησαν.** The cry of the souls slain for the word of God and the witness which they held, contains another title still, *ὁ δεσπότης ὁ ἅγιος καὶ ἀληθινός* (6^{10}). This word occurs but rarely in NT of God, and not elsewhere in St. John; it would seem to convey the idea of personal relationship, as St. Paul speaks of himself as the *slave* of Christ (*δοῦλος*). The word *ὅσιος* is used 15^{4}, but the usual word for the holiness of God is, as might be supposed, *ἅγιος*.

The various doxologies heard in heavenly places by St. John convey the same teaching, but with some differences in expression. The Elders, in their response to the ascription of the Four Beasts, say, 'Thou art worthy, Lord and our God, to receive the glory, the honour, and the power, because thou didst create all things, and for thy will they were, and were created' (4^{11}). Later on (5^{13}), when the whole of creation responds to the angels and the elders, they ascribe blessing and honour and glory and might (*τὸ κράτος*); the redeemed (7^{10}) speak of salvation (*ἡ σωτηρία*); and the angels, in response to the great multitude from every nation under heaven (7^{12}), say, 'Amen: Blessing, and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, and honour, and power, and strength (*ἡ ἰσχύς*), be unto our God for ages of ages.' All these, in various ways, assert the supreme sovereignty of God. This is specially emphasized (11^{17} $15^{3.4}$) in regard to the judgments of God: the ways of God are vindicated when, after long trial, the evil is done away with, and holiness triumphs. So the elders, when they sing the song of Moses the servant of God, and of the Lamb, say, 'Just and true are thy ways, O King of ages' (15^{3}); and again, when the waters are turned into blood (16^{5}), St. John heard 'the angel of the waters saying, Thou art just, thou which art, and which wast, the Holy, because thou hast judged these things: because they poured forth the blood of saints and prophets, and thou hast given them blood to drink: they are worthy.' And the altar responds in the same sense (16^{7}, cf. 19^{2}). The majesty of God is described symbolically at the beginning of ch. 4; the Father is 'He that sitteth on the throne' in the centre of the heavenly place. The author does not attempt any description of this supreme Presence in this, or in any other of the many passages where the phrase *ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ* occurs; he uses merely metaphorical language, and implies by so doing that God is in Himself invisible. Thus we have in this book an expansion of the old Hebrew doctrine of God: He is eternal, invisible, supreme Creator, Ruler, and Judge of the world. The coherence of this with the fuller Christian doctrine of God will be obvious when we consider the functions of the Son of God.

(γ) We will consider, first, the relation of the Father and the Son. It is noticeable that these names are most frequent in the first three chapters. The incarnate Son occupies a position of subordination. Thus in the preface to Rev we find these words: 'The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave him, to show his servants' (1^{1}). And this is borne out in the chapters which follow: 'I will give him authority over the nations . . . as I also have received from my Father' (2^{27}). So He says, 'I will confess his name before my Father' (3^{5}); and in 3^{21} He draws a parallel between His own victory and triumph and that of His followers. In 3^{12} He even speaks of the Father as 'My God' (*ὁ θεός μου*). On the other hand, when St. John in the spirit on the Lord's Day sees the opening vision, the figure *ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου*, the Son thus manifested uses of Himself words usually applied to the Father, the first and the last (1^{17}); referring to the Resurrection, so that there can be no possibility of mistake, and claiming further to possess the keys of Hades and of death. Moreover, the features which St. John notes in the figure—the flaming eyes, and two-edged sword from the mouth—are, as the messages to the various Churches show, symbolic of judgment. So He is the source from whom the messages to the Seven Churches come: He holds the seven stars in His right hand (*i.e.* the angels of the Seven Churches, 2^{1}; cf. $1^{16.20}$). These phrases imply sovereignty, and the exercise of judicial office. The same position is conveyed by the various titles used in this passage of the Son. He is 'the faithful and true witness' (1^{5} 3^{14}, cf. 1 Ti 6^{13}); 'the firstborn of the dead' (1^{5}), 'the amen' (3^{14}), 'the ruler of the kings of the earth' (1^{5}). These deal with His work on earth, with His function as fulfiller of the promises of God (cf. 2 Co $1^{19.20}$), and with its triumph over mankind. So, too, 2^{1} 3^{1}. But the title 'the beginning of the Creation of God' (3^{14}), 'the first and the last' (1^{17} 2^{8}), and those in which the prerogatives of judgment are asserted ($2^{12.18}$ 3^{7}), emphasize the Divine attributes of the Son of God (2^{18}). The teaching in these and similar passages precisely resembles in its ambiguity the language already noted in the Gospels. There also the Son speaks of Himself as derived and subordinate, and yet exercises functions which He also reserves for the Father. Such a phrase as Jn 5^{22} 'Neither doth the Father judge any man, but hath given all judgment to the Son,' expresses precisely the point of view of the Apocalypse.

In the first three chapters we find Christ dealing with the Church in the world; with the fourth we pass into the region of visions and symbolism; and the words Father and Son, as already noticed, are of rare occurrence. But the theology is the same, in spite of difference of language. Sovereign over all things is 'he that sitteth on the throne.' By His right hand is the Book written within and without, sealed with seven seals (5^{1}). The seer is told that the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the root of David (cf. 22^{16}, where Jesus assumes this latter title to Himself), has overcome, so as to open the Book and its seven seals (5^{5}). Then 'in the midst of the Throne of the Four Beasts and in the midst of the Elders' he sees a Lamb standing as it had been slain (5^{6}). The Lamb came and took the Book from the right hand of Him that sitteth on the Throne (5^{7}). 'And when he received the Book, the four Beasts and the four-and-twenty Elders fell before the Lamb, having each a harp, and golden bowls full of incense, which are the prayers of the saints. And they sing a new song, saying, Thou art worthy to receive the Book, and to open its seals; because thou wast slain, and didst buy for God with thy blood out of every tribe, and tongue, and people, and nation, and madest them to our God a kingdom and priests; and they reign upon the earth' (5^{8-10}). The angels then respond to this new song with a doxology to the Lamb parallel in character to those addressed to the Father (5^{12}). And, lastly, the whole creation responds with a similar doxology, combining in it both the Lamb and Him that sitteth on the throne (5^{13}). It is obvious that this is a highly significant passage. The Lamb receives the Book from the Supreme; but He is treated with worship similar to that paid to the Supreme. (Contrast the scene in which John falls down to worship the angel, 19^{10} and $22^{8.9}$). Moreover, through the language used by the Elders (5^{8-10}), the Lamb is identified with Jesus Christ: 'To him that loved us and loosed us from our sins with his blood, and made us a kingdom and priests to God and his Father—to him be glory and might for ever' ($1^{5.6}$, cf. 7^{10}). The same position is maintained throughout the book. The

---

* If *ἦσαν* is the true reading, it is difficult to see what it can mean but this; cf. Jn 1^{4} *ὃ γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἦν.*

Lamb is mentioned in connexion with the Supreme ($7^{9.10}$ etc.), and He performs work in which His honour is of the same sort with that of God. The redeemed are they 'who follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth: these were bought from among men a first-fruits to God and the Lamb' (14^4). He appears in the judgment, and witnesses the ruin of the Beast and his worshippers (14^{10}). He wars with the Beast, and overcomes; because He is King of kings and Lord of lords (17^{14}), cf. 'the wrath of the Lamb' (6^{16}). The Church, the new Jerusalem, is the Bride of the Lamb ($21^{9.10}$), and 'the Lord the God, all-Sovereign, is the temple of it, and the Lamb' (21^{22}). There also stands the throne of God and the Lamb (22^3). Similar teaching is found in connexion with the name of Christ (much more rare than the symbolic title 'the Lamb'). 'The kingdom of the world is become (the kingdom) of our Lord and of his Christ' (11^{15}). 'Now is come the salvation and the power and the kingdom of our God, and the authority of his Christ' (12^{10}). The whole scheme is bound up with the order of the world: the Lamb was slain from the foundation of the world (13^8); and yet those whose names are among the redeemed are said to have their names in the Lamb's book of life (13^8 21^{27}). It is difficult to draw any conclusion from this but that St. John regarded the Lamb as a Divine Being, to whom Divine honour was paid, and who was associated in His sovereignty by God. At the same time, He takes from God the commission to perform His functions: He is not independent. Little is said of human nature in regard to Him: twice only He is described as *ὅμοιον υἱὸν* (*var. lec. υἱῷ*) *ἀνθρώπου* (1^{13} 14^{14}). But the sacrifice and the blood of the Lamb are the means by which men are redeemed from their sins; and there is one definite allusion to the crucifixion (11^8 'the great city, which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt where also their Lord was crucified'). With this may be compared the prophecy in 1^7 'Every eye shall see him, and they who pierced him' (*ἐξεκέντησαν*), and Jn 19^{37} *ὄψονται εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν*. The profession of those who follow Christ is called (from the point of view of its manifestation in the world) 'the witness of Jesus.' St. John claims to be giving this himself (1^2, cf. 19^{10}). It is, as it were, a message the contents of which are obnoxious to the world (1^9) and to the powers of darkness (11^7 12^{17} 17^6); it involves persecution even to death (6^9 17^6 20^4); it is the cause of the triumph of those who have it (12^{11}); and it is the fulfilment, the significance, the *spirit* of prophecy (19^{10}).

(*b*) We may speak here of the *doctrine of the Spirit*, so far as it is contained in this book. It is somewhat involved in symbolism. Thus we read of the seven spirits which are before His throne (1^4): the seven *λαμπάδες* (4^6) before the throne are identified with the seven spirits, and so also the seven eyes of the Lamb (5^6) are the seven spirits of God, sent (*ἀπεσταλμένοι*) into all the earth. The number *seven* probably stands for completeness, and the phrase 'the seven spirits' probably means the Spirit in the full variety of His manifestation. It is noticeable that the salutation to the seven Churches comes from the Eternal, and from the seven spirits, and from Jesus Christ (1^4) in that order: the seven spirits, in this case only, standing between the Father and the Son. In the Epistles themselves a peculiar use is to be observed. Each Epistle begins with an announcement from Christ, made with some symbol indicative of His authority, or His intention to exercise judgment; and each ends with the same formula: 'He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith to the Churches' ($2^{11.17}$ etc.). Also in 3^1 the Ep. to Sardis begins: 'These things saith he that hath the seven spirits, and the seven stars' (*i.e.* the angels of the Churches, 1^{20}). In two other places the Spirit is represented as speaking, 'I heard a voice from heaven saying, Write, Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord from henceforth: Yea, saith the Spirit, that they shall rest from their labours' (14^{13}). And again at the end (22^{17}), 'the Spirit and the Bride say, Come.' There is thus comparatively little definite allusion to the Spirit in this book. What there is, seems to involve the following points: (1) the Spirit in His various manifestations proceeds from the Father: (2) Christ *holds* the seven spirits, regulates the diverse operations of the Spirit in the Church; (3) the voice of the Spirit in the Church is, in a sense, the voice of Christ; (4) the Spirit joins in the prayer of the Bride. Though somewhat limited in character, these points imply a doctrine which, both in its clearness and obscurity, resembles the doctrine of the Last Discourses (see above).

(*c*) The remaining points for consideration are those connected with the facts of *sin* and *judgment*, *salvation* and *the Church*. It is better to take these together, owing to the particular form in which they come before us. In dealing with the Gospel we noted the use by the author of pairs of parallel but contrasted ideas, such as Light and Darkness, Life and Judgment, This method is carried out in the Apocalypse on a very extended scale. In the visions contained in this work we witness the warfare of two contending powers: on the one side is the Lamb, and on the other the devil. The devil is described under various names. In 12^3 we read, 'And another sign was seen in heaven, and behold a great red dragon, having seven heads and ten horns,' etc. This dragon is identified (12^9, cf. 20^2) with 'the old serpent, called the devil and Satan, who deceiveth the whole world.' The 'serpent' implies, of course, a reference to the story of the Fall, and this title, therefore, implies that the source of the evil in the world is the power that was against God. In other places we hear of a synagogue of Satan (2^9 3^9), a throne of Satan (2^{13}), and the place where Satan dwelleth (2^{13}); a doctrine of Satan, called by those who follow it 'the deep things of Satan' (2^{24} *τὰ βαθέα τοῦ Σατανᾶ*). But this is not all. There is described in this book an organized kingdom of evil, claiming sovereignty over men like the kingdom of the Lamb. This introduces the most tangled of all the questions connected with this book: the interpretation of **the Beast.** We cannot enter upon the various explanations proposed (see REVELATION), but must confine ourselves to the general question of the position occupied by the Beast in the book. He is the embodiment of the power of the devil (13^2): he aims at winning the homage of the world, and does so win it in a large measure (13^4): he has a certain power to vex the saints—power which is given him (*ἐδόθη αὐτῷ*, 13^7). Further, he has a representative, a second Beast, who works among men in favour of the first (13^{12}), and does signs (v.^{13}), and inspires an image of the first beast with life and speech: he also compels some to receive a mark in their hands or foreheads, and persecutes all others (vv.$^{16.17}$). In all this there is traceable a kind of attempt to caricature the methods and the kingdom of Christ. One of his heads was *ὡς ἐσφαγμένην εἰς θάνατον*, and the blow of his death was healed (13^4), as if he claimed resurrection. The second Beast has two horns, like the Lamb (13^{11}). The worshippers who are deceived say, 'Who is like unto the beast, and who is able to war with him?' (13^4), which caricatures the meaning of the word *Michael*,—'who is like unto God?'—Michael having cast the dragon out of heaven. In 16^{13} we find three powers spoken of—the dragon, the beast, and the prophet who occupies the place of the second beast.

Then later, a woman appears seated on a beast, clothed in scarlet, named Babylon the great. Between these two war arises, in pursuance of the plans of God (17^{17}). With all the obscurity of details the general sense of this imagery seems clear. The forces of evil in the world take their origin from Satan; and the essence of the evil consists in setting up rival claims to worship as against God. This is the force of the caricature of Divine methods. Satan claims to do for men all that God can do. As in the Gospel, the final difference between those who fall under the delusions of the Beast and those who do not is explained by means of predestination. All who dwell upon the earth shall worship him (the Beast), every one whose name has not been written in the book of life of the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world (13^{8}, cf. 17^{8}). This, as well as the temporary power of the Beast, his persecution and ultimate fall, are in the hands of God.

With regard to the judgments of God, it is to be noted that they are retributive in character. During the time before the end the plagues of God come upon the world, and those who follow the Beast only blaspheme the more because of them, and fail to repent ($16^{9.\ 10.\ 11.\ 21}$, cf. 9^{20} and contrast 11^{13}): pain in their case fails to convert. When the end comes, men are judged *κατὰ τὰ ἔργα* (20^{14} 22^{12}). More precisely, those who have slain the saints are given blood to drink (16^{8} 13^{10}); those who commit fornication in Thyatira are cast upon a bed (2^{20}); Babylon is punished with the cup which she mixed for others (18^{6}). The time of probation passes, and then the sins themselves are their own punishment: 'He that is unjust, let him be unjust still; and he that is filthy, let him be filthy still' (22^{11}).

The evil which has thus entered upon the world affects mankind, apparently as a whole; at least there is no sign in the book that any can avoid its taint. And it therefore requires to be abolished: men need salvation. In this book there is but one means to this end: *the blood of the Lamb.* The first allusion to this is in the doxology immediately before the salutation, *τῷ ἀγαπῶντι ἡμᾶς καὶ λύσαντι ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἐν τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ* (1^{5}). It appears again in the doxology to the Lamb (5^{11}, cf. 14^{4}). The hundred and forty and four thousand are said to have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb (7^{14}, cf. 22^{14}): it is by means of it that they win victory over the Beast (12^{11}). A reference to it is made when He who is called the Word of God goes forth with His garments sprinkled with blood (19^{13}). Nothing is said as to the way in which this sacrifice is applied: the fact of it is asserted.

Those who are thus redeemed are made by Christ into a kingdom, priests unto God and His Father (1^{6} 5^{10}); that is, they are a society of men ruled over by God as King. They are sealed in their foreheads (7^{3}). They come from the twelve tribes, but not from these alone: 'I beheld, and, lo, a great multitude, that no man could number, from every nation, and tribe, and people, and tongue, standing before the throne, and before the Lamb' (7^{9}; cf. 14^{6}). Moreover, the whole creation has a part in the scheme of God, and responds with a doxology to the Lamb (5^{13}): the 'eternal Gospel' is based on the fact of Creation (14^{6}), 'I saw another angel flying in mid-heaven, having an eternal gospel to preach to those that sit upon the earth, and to every nation, and tribe, and tongue, and people, saying in a loud voice, Fear God, and give him glory; because the hour of his judgment has come: and worship him that made heaven, and earth, and the sun, and the springs of waters.'

In the meantime, before the end comes, the ideal of the Church is not attained. There is sin and heresy in the seven Churches. There are false apostles (2^{2}), false Jews (2^{9}), the teaching of Balaam (2^{14}), a false prophetess (2^{20}), impurity (3^{4}), lukewarmness (3^{15}). The devil has power to persecute, so that the men in the earth may be tested (2^{10} 3^{10}). Those who are slain cry out beneath the altar, How long? (6^{10}) but others, their fellow-servants and brethren, will have to be slain as they. This fate must befall especially the two witnesses, who prophesy against the Beast (11^{3-8}). So for all this time emphasis is laid upon the qualities of endurance and faithfulness (cf. 3^{10} 2^{10} 13^{10}). The cowardly, the unfaithful, those who murder, and lie, and are idolaters or impure (21^{8} 22^{15}), have no part in the heavenly kingdom. Even a Church, that is already in existence, may lose its place: 'if not, I come to thee, and will remove thy candlestick from its place, if thou repent not' (2^{5}).

In the eyes of God and of the seer the time of waiting is very short. 'Behold, I come as a thief' (16^{15} 22^{20}). And when the time does come the harvest of the world will be reaped (14^{15}), and the vintage gathered (14^{18}), and the evil will be finally separated from the good. Then comes the consummation. There will be the new heaven and new earth; the sea—symbolizing probably restlessness, and division and barrenness—will be no more. And the new Jerusalem, founded on the twelve apostles of the Lamb (21^{14}), will appear. In this the redeemed will dwell for ever (22^{5}) in perfect freedom and happiness. The actual presence of God and the Lamb will make a temple for worship unnecessary: the servants of God shall see His face. Thus the purpose for which man is created is fulfilled.

It is not, perhaps, fanciful to see a symbol of this perfect communion in the fact that it is after the renewal of the heaven and earth, that He that sitteth on the throne is said to speak (21^{5}). Before, voices came from the throne and from the temple, but none from the Supreme. Now at last, when all is fulfilled, He speaks.

It is manifestly impossible to exhaust within reasonable limits the meaning of this inexhaustible book. An attempt has been made to indicate the outlines of the theology assumed in it. It must be obvious by this time how closely the thought of the Apocalypse is connected with that of the Gospel and Epistles. Perhaps the most noticeable points of difference are the comparatively small place occupied in the Apocalypse by the doctrine of the Spirit, and the emphasis laid in this book upon the catastrophe of the judgment. It cannot, however, be said that these are very significant. For, first, the doctrine of the Spirit is similar in character to that in the Gospel so far as it goes; and, secondly, the judgment expresses in its final form a warfare which continues throughout the history of the world.

LITERATURE.—*A. JOHN THE APOSTLE*: F. Trench, *St. John the Evangelist* (1850); Neander, *Planting of Christianity* (Eng. tr. 1864), i. 384-413; Krenkel, *Apostel Johannes* (1871); Godet, *Studies on the NT* (Eng. tr. 1871), 277-293; Stanley, *Essays on Apost. Age*³ (1874), 234-281; Macdonald, *Life and Writings of St. John* (1877); Niese, *Leben des heil. Johannes* (1878); Culross, *John whom Jesus Loved*, 1878; Lechler, *Apost. and Post-Apost. Times* (Eng. tr. 1886); Farrar, *Early Days of Christianity* (Pop. ed. 1891), 362 ff.; Gloag, *Life of St. John* (1891); Rankin, *First Saints* (1893), 169-182; Milligan in *Expos.* 3rd Ser. x. 321-341.

B. THE THEOLOGY OF ST. JOHN: Besides the Biblical Theologies of NT (Messner, 1856; Baur, 1864; Oosterzee, 1870; Reuss, 1872; Schmid, 1877; Immer, 1877; Weiss, 1882; Adeney, 1894; Beyschlag, 1895), and the Comm. on St. John's Gospel, Epistles, and the Apoc. (for which see Lit. at these articles); Frommann, *Johann. Lehrbegriff* (1839); Köstlin, *Lehrbegriff des Ev. u. der Briefe Joh.* (1843); Sears, *Fourth Gospel the Heart of Christ* (1872); Lias, *Doct. System of St. John* (1875); Horton, *Revelation and Bible* (1892), 369-402; Wendt, *Teaching of Jesus* (1892); Wordsworth, *Primary Witness* (1892), 182-219; Caird, *Evolution of Religion* (1893), ii. 217-243; Stevens, *Johan. Theology* (1894); Alexander, *Leading Ideas of the Gospels*^{3} (1898), 182-236; Burton in *Biblical World*, Jan.-March, 1899.

T. B. Strong.

JOHN, GOSPEL OF—

Introduction.
- I. External Evidence for the Early Existence of *Four* Gospels.
- II. External Evidence for the Early Existence of the Fourth Gospel.
  - (*A*) The Testimony of Justin Martyr.
  - (*B*) Testimonies after Justin down to Irenæus.
- III. Canonicity of the Fourth Gospel.
- IV. Internal Evidence for the Authorship.
- V. Character and Career of John as presented in other Literature.
  - (*A*) The Synoptic Gospels.
  - (*B*) The Acts of the Apostles.
  - (*C*) The Epistle to the Galatians.
  - (*D*) The First Epistle of John.
  - (*E*) The Second and Third Epistles of John.
  - (*F*) The Apocalypse.
- VI. Relation of the Fourth Gospel to the Synoptic Narrative.
  - (*A*) A General Statement of the Contrast between them.
  - (*B*) Special Divergences.
  - (*C*) Correspondences.
  - (*D*) Miscellaneous Objections.

Literature on Questions of Authorship, Date, etc.
- VII. The Teaching of the Fourth Gospel.
  - (*A*) Theology and Christology.
  - (*B*) Doctrine of the Cosmos.
  - (*C*) Soteriology.
  - (*D*) Eschatology.

Literature on the Teaching.

The Fourth Gospel is generally admitted to be the work of one remarkably gifted man. Neither in style nor in motive can criticism break it up into different centuries or antagonistic tendencies. Editorial hands have for the most part spared its subtle beauty. There is little with which it can be compared. It stands free of fashion, and possesses throughout a strongly marked idiosyncrasy.

The problem that is forced upon the student is this: Is the so-called 'Gospel' the outline of a biography, or the artistic clothing of an ideal? Have we a true report of the impression produced on the consciousness of an intimate friend by the teaching, manner, and deeds of One whom he could not think of as less than the Eternal Word of God manifest in the flesh, or must we conclude that what we have is the speculation of some one who did not shrink from creating its material and inventing the basis of its theologoumena?

The problem is the more puzzling because to the presumed author of the Gospel is also attributed the production of the Apocalypse. If this compound authorship can be accepted, the personality of 'John' becomes almost as perplexing to scientific history as that of the Lord Jesus Christ Himself. When the diversity of the characteristics of the two documents came into the clear consciousness of the 3rd cent. (Eus. *HE* vii. 10, 24, 25), the apostolic origin of the Apocalypse was repudiated, rather than that of the Gospel. But the preponderant belief of Christians has practically accepted the unity of the Johannine writings. The fact that St. John had the insight which enabled him to preserve discourses and sayings of the Lord Jesus, to see in His human life the fulness of grace and truth, the glory of the only-begotten Son, has seemed consonant with the fact that the same eyes might also have discerned in Him the slain Lamb, the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Prince of the kings of the earth.

If the Son of God did say and do the things recorded in this document, then everything in the universe, every fact in the history of the world, the conclusions of all philosophy, the meaning of all scientific discovery, the future of the world, and the goal of humanity, must be affected by its disclosures. We do not, indeed, contend that the Christian faith is dependent on the Fourth Gospel, or that, should this supreme expression of its inmost spirit be banished to the realm of speculative romance, the faith or the kingdom of Christ is relegated to the same region. The ministry of the Apostle to the Gentiles must have been completed between 30 and 40 years before this Gospel saw the light. Great historic Churches grew into importance and began to suffer disintegration from internal discord before it was possible to heal them by the Valedictory Discourse. The Churches of Judæa and of the Dispersion lived by 'the faith of the Lord of Glory' (Ja 2^1), and 'looked for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life' (Jude $^{20-22}$), before this document could have come into circulation.

If we read between the lines of the most authentic Epp. of St. Paul, St. Peter, or the Ep. of St. James, we see that the message of the apostles had already inaugurated a new philosophy of heaven and earth, of time and eternity, new conceptions of history and ethics, and new standards of life. The leaven had spread from Jerus. to Antioch; from thence it had spread to Ephesus, Corinth, and Rome. All this had occurred before the Fourth Gospel had been crystallized into form, or its interpretation of the baffling mystery had been offered to mankind. Even if we were robbed of the Apoc. and of the spiritual Gospel, or deprived of all confidence in either, we should still be in indefeasible possession of a faith which unriddles the universe, which works by love, which overcomes the world. We should, therefore, mistake most obvious facts if we persisted in regarding the Fourth Gospel as the 'acropolis' or citadel of the faith.

But although this is freely conceded, the inestimable preciousness of the document must still be urged with earnestness. Those who strenuously deny its historicity and repudiate its apostolic character are ready to confess, with Baur, Schenkel, Thoma, Taylor, that the highest, and essentially the truest, revelation of the Son of Man, and interpretation of the mind and will of God, are to be found in this record. Much which it contains has long since been verified by the Christian conscience as fundamentally true, and has permanently enriched the mind of man.

We hail the teaching of the Fourth Gospel as establishing for us the inspiring persuasion that the divine and human are not separated by an impassable chasm, but are in their innermost essence *one*; that, in the portraiture of the Logos made man, humanity at its best is nothing less than the clearest and most gracious revelation of the Eternal God, and that Divinity at its greatest has been manifested through the human.

A philosophy based on the intrinsic unknowableness of God, on the impossibility of converse being held between man and his Creator, is pledged to demonstrate the late origin of the Fourth Gospel, and to find in the Johannine teaching of St. Paul some of the materials of the pious fraud of this *falsarius* of the 2nd century. Many have struggled with the attempt to discover Alexandrine philosophy in the Fourth Gospel. Efforts have been made to show that in the speculations of Cerinthus, Valentinus, and Basilides we may find the historical antecedents of this Gospel. It was even urged by Volkmar that 'John' may have used the works of Justin Martyr, rather than Justin have quoted from 'John,' and a date was provisionally determined for the appearance of the Gospel just anterior to the time when, by general admission, it is known to have been regarded in Antioch and Lyons, Alexandria, Ephesus, and Rome as one of the four indisputable authorities for the biography of the Lord Jesus.

I. External Evidence for the Early Existence of *FOUR* Gospels.—The strength of the argument for the historicity and the credibility of

St. John's Gospel is to be found within itself: (1) in the proof which it explicitly contains of its own authorship; (2) in the transcendent revelation it gives of an august Personality immeasurably greater than that of the supposed author himself, who did not fully assimilate words or thoughts of his Master which yet, by some psychologic process, he was able to preserve and record for all time; (3) in the subtle harmonies between 'St. John's' conception of the Son of God and that expressed by the Synoptists and St. Paul; (4) in the germinant force of the uttered word of Jesus, and in the triumphant response it has found in the consciousness, the fears and hopes, of the human race. And yet there are discords as well as harmonies. These we shall presently attempt to separate, but first we must clearly apprehend what is the material of which these things can be said.

There is proof that towards the last quarter of the second cent., in every part of the Roman Empire, *four* Gospels had been selected and were regarded as authentic, and that these *four* documents were identical with those which are described as 'according to' Matthew, Mark, Luke, and JOHN. Up to that period, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον was a name for the good message, or acceptable speculation, which Christian or heretical writers were offering to their followers. Thus Hippolytus (*Ref. Hær.* vii. 27) speaks of the disciples of Basilides as possessing 'a *gospel*' which was the knowledge (γνῶσις) of supramundane things; but Theophilus of Antioch applied the name to the four separate Gospels, and we hear henceforward not only of *the Gospel*, but of τὰ εὐαγγέλια.

(*a*) The most conspicuous of these testimonies is that of IRENÆUS, Bishop of Lyons in Gaul, who lived between A.D. 140 and 202, and who wrote his treatise *Refutation of Heresies* between A.D. 180 and 190. Other fragments of his work, and a letter to Florinus, are preserved by Eusebius (*HE* v. 20). These are of considerable interest, and show, in combination, that the 'four Gospels' are, together with the Old Testament, to be regarded as 'the Scriptures.' Irenæus specifies these four (*Hær.* iii. 1), referring them by name to their respective authors. He makes frequent reference to St. John by name, and he gives a mystic reason for there being *four* Gospels, neither more nor fewer. Though this is fanciful and carries no theological weight, it shows that the canonical 'four' must have been long in circulation among the Churches of Lyons and Vienne.[*] Irenæus makes no fewer than 500 citations from the *four* Gospels, 100 of these being from the *Fourth* (see Index of Ante-Nicene Library, *Works of Irenæus*, ii. 193–197).

Great stress must also be laid on the relation that subsisted between Irenæus and Polycarp, the disciple of John the Apostle. If the letter to Florinus, recalling in lifelike form the appearance and ways of Polycarp, is genuine, it is quite incredible that the Johannine Gospel from which Irenæus thus quoted 100 times was not written by the venerated teacher of Polycarp.

(*b*) THEOPHILUS, Bishop of Antioch, *c.* A.D. 180, declared in his three Books addressed to Autolycus, a heathen, that the same things were advanced by the prophets and evangelists, and he quotes John (i. 13) by *name*. He is also reported to have written commentaries on the Gospels. On the genuineness of the Lat. transl. of these comm. much controversy has prevailed between Zahn and Harnack; but there is no question that Theophilus was acquainted with St. John's writings, and he designates him as 'spirit-bearing'—occupying the same level with the *Law* and the *Prophets*. It is, moreover, far from improbable that he refers to Jn 12^{24} and 20^{27}, for the resemblance to St. John's language is striking, and we know that he was acquainted with the Gospel.

(*c*) CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA was the head of the celebrated Catechetical School from A.D. 189, and was himself a pupil of Pantænus and the teacher of Origen, who succeeded him in his office. Irenæus and Hippolytus probably for a brief period followed his instructions. He was a *littérateur*, and diligent collector of the opinions and dicta of philosophers. He held in reverence other sacred books, in addition to the Canonical writings of the NT, such as the Gospel according to the Egyptians, and the Apoc. of Peter, a fragment of which has been recently brought to light. He was accustomed to cite and compare the testimonies of ancient writers, as well as early traditions, concerning the Evangelists and the apostles. It is unfortunate that the most interesting of these are preserved for us only by Eusebius (*HE* vi. 14, iii. 23), but they aver the existence and value of the four Gospels. In the *Exhortation* (προτρεπτικός, § 59) he quotes from one or other of the Gospels between 400 and 500 times, and cites *St. John's* by name. Eusebius preserves the tradition of Clement, that Peter approved of Mark's narrative, and that 'John, divinely moved by the Holy Spirit, wrote a spiritual Gospel on observing that the things obvious to the senses had been set forth in earlier Gospels.'

(*d*) TERTULLIAN, whose literary work was done in Carthage between A.D. 190 and A.D. 230, left abundant testimony to the existence and apostolic authority of each of the Gospels. He cites passages from almost every chapter of the Fourth Gospel, and from some chapters almost every verse (see Watkins, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 24). His evidence is of high value, because of the close attention he paid to the text of St. Luke's Gospel, and the detailed proof he advanced, verse by verse, that Marcion's 'gospel' was a mutilated copy of St. Luke. After long and anxious reinvestigation by Baur, Ritschl, Volkmar, the author of *Supern. Religion*, and Sanday, the contention of Tertullian has been sustained; but it is he also who makes it highly probable that Marcion was acquainted with the Fourth Gospel (see Godet's *Introd. to Gospel of St. John*, vol. i. 221); and without doubt, as in his work (*adv. Praxeam*, ch. xxiii.) against the monarchianism of Praxeas, Tertullian submitted to the authority of John the beloved disciple.

No weight need be laid upon the fragments which remain, chiefly in Syriac, of the writings of Melito of Sardis, or of Claudius Apollinaris of Hierapolis, though the list of their works given by Eusebius, and the high value set upon them by Jerome and Socrates, make it probable that treatises on the *Paschal Festival* and on the *Birth of Christ* showed acquaintance with the Four Gospels.

(*e*) But a strong link in the chain of proof is found in the writings of FLAVIUS JUSTINUS, the philosopher and martyr. Critics differ as to the chronology of Justin's career and the date of his martyrdom,[*] but Hort (*Journal of Class. and Sac. Philol.* iii. pp. 155–193), closely approximated by Volkmar, thought it safe to say that the chief works of Justin, his two *Apologies* and his *Dialogue with Trypho*, must fall between A.D. 145 and 148. Caspari and Krüger have ventured on a still earlier date. Justin tells us that, after passing through various stages of philosophic thought, he found the satisfaction of his mind restored by men of prophetic spirit, who did not demonstrate truth, but, being filled by the Holy Spirit, speaking things they had seen and heard, gave him what he wanted: 'kindled a flame in his soul,' and convinced him that 'this philosophy alone was profitable and safe.' The torch of Aristotle and Plato faded when he became familiar with the Light of Christ. In the first apology he frequently cites what he styles 'Memorials composed by the Apostles and their followers.' In ch. 66 he adds 'which are called *Gospels*,' but this clause, as opponents urge, may be a marginal gloss. The term or phrase is slightly varied. Thus he sometimes, as in *Ap.* i., calls them 'Memoirs of the Apostles,' sometimes 'Memoirs' simply, as in the *Dialogue*; and when he is referring to an incident mentioned by all four Evangelists, he introduces it by 'the apostles wrote.' The names of the apostles are not mentioned, yet no phrase could more adequately denote them than 'the apostles and those that followed them.' In addressing the Roman emperors, or the bigoted Jews of Rome or Asia Minor, the obscure names, Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, would have detracted from, rather than increased, their weight. This is parallel with the reticence of Tertullian, who, when writing his *Apology* and his address *To the Nations*, makes no distinct reference to the 'Gospels' or to their authors. Cyprian, Arnobius, and Lactantius follow the same rule. In Justin's references to the events of our Lord's life, he introduces a few picturesque details not to be found in the Canonical Gospels, indicating, it may be, some additional sources of information. If he possessed any 'harmony' of the evangelical narrative, as well as the 'memorials,' it is more likely that it was formed *from* them, than that it was the parent of them. It is, moreover, simply incredible that, between the date of Justin's writing the *Apology* or *Dialogue* and Irenæus' writing his *Refutation*, the Four Gospels should have been brought into existence, and utterly displaced Justin's 'memorials,' or that they should have come into such vogue as to be read in churches and be regarded as of primary importance in Lyons and Carthage, Antioch and Alexandria. Justin refers to some details which are found, so far as we know, in St. Matthew's Gospel *only*; he also cites some of the few specialities of St. Mark's Gospel, and at least seven peculiarities to be found in St. Luke's Gospel. The deviation from the strict accuracy of quotation may be the idiosyncrasy of the author, for he shows also slight and marked divergences from the LXX, and from the text of the Dialogues of Plato (see Sanday, *Gospels in the Second Century*). The deviations from strict accuracy are, as we should expect, more numerous in quotations from the Gospels than from these other sources. Except when quoting a lengthened passage from LXX or other sources, he may have fallen back upon his memory, as other divines have done in all ages.

---

[*] 'Religious veneration such as that with which Irenæus regarded these books is of slow growth. They must have held a great place in the Church as far back as the memory of living men extended' (R. W. Dale, *Living Christ and Four Gospels*, p. 145).

[*] Credner places the limits of his activity between A.D. 130–166 Volkmar reduced the limits between A.D. 140–150.

The contemporaneousness of Justin and Irenæus is a fact of importance when we call to mind the undoubted confidence which the latter places in the *Fourth* Gospel. Irenæus makes no fewer than 30 references to the *Apology* and *Dialogue* of Justin. Equally abundant are the references to Justin by Tertullian, Theophilus, and others, to say nothing at present of Tatian, the supposed author of the *Diatessaron*.

II. EXTERNAL EVIDENCE FOR THE EARLY EXISTENCE OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL.—(*A*) We will commence with the quotations from, or references to, the Fourth Gospel by Justin himself (see Watkins, *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 73–81, for a summary of recent investigations by Ezra Abbot, Thoma, Hilgenfeld, Drummond, Sanday, Westcott, Edwin A. Abbott, and others). The resemblances between Justin and the Fourth Gospel are undeniable, but it has been contended by some that 'John' borrowed from Justin, rather than the reverse. Such a contention, however, must be held to betray a deficiency of literary perception. Others, who accept the priority of John, urge that Justin did not regard the authority of the evangelist as apostolic; and that, if he had drawn upon the Gospel, he ought to have quoted it when endeavouring to establish the pre-existence of Christ, instead of citing words of OT prophets. This suggestion supposes that we can grasp the ethic and philosophy of citation in the 2nd century. There are seven or eight passages in the *Apology*, and several in the *Dialogue*, which turn on (1) the Johannine doctrine of the Logos, its idea of the relation of the Logos to God, as His πρῶτον γέννημα (ch. xxi.), His υἱός (chs. xxii. and lxviii.), His πρωτότοκος τῷ ἀγεννήτῳ θεῷ (ch. lviii.); (2) on the *incarnation* of the Logos, His becoming σάρξ, or ἄνθρωπος, in Jesus Christ, and the 'Teacher' or 'Saviour' of the world (*Ap.* v.; *Dial.* xlviii., cv.). Many portions of the Gospel, besides the Prologue, are referred to by Justin, *e.g.* in *Ap.* xxxv. he regards Isaiah's oracle in 48^{2} as fulfilled by a curious text of Jn 19^{13}, where ἐκάθισε is altered into transitive ἐκάθισαν, and refers to Jesus being forced to sit on the βῆμα or judgment-seat, rather than to Pilate's taking his seat on it. This supposition, that part of the gross humiliation of Jesus consisted in placing *Him* upon the seat of judgment, is confirmed by the fragment of the Gospel of Peter recently discovered. In *Dial.* lxix., Justin refers to the incidents of Jesus healing those ἐκ γενετῆς πηρούς (cf. Jn 9), the lame also and dumb, by His word. Again, Jn 4^{10} is referred to in *Dial.* cxiv.

The most important passage is *Ap.* lxi., which professes to be the word of Christ Himself, ἄν μὴ ἀναγεννηθῆτε οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθητε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. Ὅτι δε καὶ ἀδύνατον εἰς τὰς μήτρας τῶν τεκουσῶν τοὺς ἅπαξ γεννωμένους ἐμβῆναι φανερὸν πᾶσίν ἐστιν. We have only to place this by the side of Jn 3^{3-5} to discern the original form of the idea, although there are many differences in the expression: Ἐὰν μή τις γεννηθῇ ἄνωθεν, οὐ δύναται ἰδεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ. λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Νικόδημος, Πῶς δύναται ἄνθρωπος γεννηθῆναι γέρων ὤν; μὴ δύναται εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ δεύτερον εἰσελθεῖν καὶ γεννηθῆναι. Schwegler, Baur, Zeller, *Supern. Relig.*, E. A. Abbott, have called attention to every deviation, but none of the theories by which they account for these is so free from difficulty as the suggestion that Justin, in an awkward way, has appropriated with gravity, as his own confirmation of Christ's words, the semi-humorous query of Nicodemus which was passed over by our Lord in silence and implied rebuke. There was probably also an echo of Mt 18^{8} blended by Justin with our Lord's words in Jn 3^{3-5}. The verbal differences are conspicuous, and yet accounted for by the very common interchange of the equivalent expressions 'kingdom of God' and 'kingdom of heaven.' Justin expresses the idea of γεννηθῇ ἄνωθεν by ἀναγεννηθῆτε, which is not to be wondered at, seeing that ἄνωθεν is often interpreted by 'again,' and that numerous later writers, who quote indisputably from the Fourth Gospel, make the same modification of the text (cf. also Vulg. and AV). Another deviation, the οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθητε, in place of οὐ δύναται ἰδεῖν, may easily be the reflection of the εἰσελθεῖν of v.^{5} Ezra Abbot found 69 similar deviations from the text in 46 different English divines of modern times.

Hilgenfeld and Keim admit that while the Synoptists affirm that John the Baptist was the 'voice of one crying,' Justin might have referred the exclamation to the consciousness of the Baptist by acquaintance with Jn $1^{22 \cdot 23}$ and 3^{28}. When, in *Apol.* i. 63, Justin declares that the Jews knew neither the Father nor the Son, he must have had Jn 8^{19} and 16^{3} in his memory.

The various uses of the Prologue in the passages referred to, led even Volkmar to declare that 'the prologue of John is the primordial revelation of the Logos in its immediate majesty, and that the writings of Justin are the first attempts at a rational analysis of the contents of the revelation.' Other and later writers derived these great truths from the Prologue of St. John's Gospel; why should not Justin be allowed to have done the same?[*]

Albrecht Thoma (*Die Genesis des Joh. Evang.* p. 824) has endeavoured to show that Justin found his idea of the Logos in Philo Judæus, and that he derived nothing from the Gospel, unless it be the identification of Jesus with the incarnation of the Logos. But the objection to this suggestion is, that while the Logos of Philo receives many striking designations, such as 'High Priest,' 'Son,' 'First-Begotten,' etc., Philo never hints at the Messianic idea or the Incarnation. Nothing could be less like the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ than the Philonic God who, by His λόγος, 'eternal reason,' created or sustains the universe (see Reynolds' introd. to Gospel of John in *Pulpit Comm.* p. xxviii).

(*B*) What indications do we find of the existence of the Fourth Gospel between the latest date of Justin and that of the literary activity of Irenæus?

(1) HERACLEON is referred to by Irenæus and Hippolytus, by Clemens Alex., and above all by Origen, as a disciple of Valentinus, the great Gnostic of the middle of the century. He is probably referred to by Irenæus as one of the unnamed Gnostics who, with Ptolemæus, helped to divide the Valentinians into two groups (*Ref. Hær.* ii. 4, vi. 35. 29), differing on the question whether the original principle of the universe was a monad or a dyad. He did not write a formal exposition of Valentinus, but a practical exegesis of the Gospels of Luke and John, in which the doctrines of Valentinus were assumed. He writes with extreme reverence for the text of the Gospels, as if they commanded attention on the highest ground. He is one of the earliest to write a commentary on any book of the NT; and from his commentary on the Fourth Gospel, Origen quotes 50 times in his own comm., sometimes accepting Heracleon's views, more frequently contradicting them. Large extracts from the comments on the first, second, fourth, and eighth chapters are thus preserved by Origen (see 'Heracleon' in *Dict. Christ. Biog.* by Salmon). The method of comment is allegorical; and while the historical or natural sense is not rejected, the higher and truer meaning is found in forced analogies. But the point of interest here is, that before Irenæus, and reaching back by Heracleon's personal relations with the celebrated heresiarch to Valentinus himself, this Gospel was esteemed as of prime importance and authority in the view of heretics as well as orthodox. That Justin should not have known this document, becomes almost incredible.

(2) This conclusion grows more certain when we compare with it the testimony of Justin's pupil, TATIAN, who between A.D. 160 and 170 issued his *Discourse to the Greeks*, in which explicit citations are made from Jn $1^{3.5}$, and also from Jn 1^1 4^{24}.[†] After the death of Justin, Tatian held and propagated certain heterodox opinions on the subject of marriage, which he regarded as 'corruption' and whoredom. He repudiated the OT as the record of the Demiurge, in consequence of its implied sanction of polygamy. Eusebius reports that Tatian was the founder of the sect of Encratites. All that Irenæus states is that Encratites appear to have appealed to Tatian, as holding that Adam could not be saved, seeing that 'in Adam all die.' Eusebius (*HE* iv. 29) refers to a much more important work of Tatian's, which was a patch-work of the evangelia, compiled after a fashion he did not understand, and called τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων.[*] This document, said Eus., 'is in the possession of some even now.' This passing observation is the first extant reference to the *Diatessaron*, on which much additional light has been thrown in recent times by unexpected discoveries, and by documents the importance of which had been long overlooked. This is not the place to tell the romantic story of the several steps by which the *Diatessaron* to which Eusebius referred has come into our hands. We are amazed at the tenuity and tenacity of the thread of proof on which the conclusion rests that we have before us the interweaving of four distinct Gospels and no others by Tatian, and dating near the middle of the 2nd cent. Seeing that this conclusion carries with it the early and wide circulation at that date of the Fourth Gospel, it naturally excites keen criticism (see *Nineteenth Century*, April 1895). The second reference in Greek antiquity is that of Theodoret (*Hær.* i. 20), Bp. of Cyrus or Cyrrhus in E. Syria (457–8), who attributes the *Diatess.* to Tatian, but condemns it for the omission of the genealogies and the rejection of the evidence that Christ, according to the flesh, was born of the seed of David. Theodoret states that more than 200 copies of this work were found in his little diocese, and that he substituted for them copies of the Four Gospels (see calculations based on this fact in Norton's *Genuineness of Gospels*, ch. 1, touching the extensive distribution of Scripture in the 5th cent.). It appears from this that the Harmony was in all probability written in Syr., which would explain Eusebius' ignorance of its contents. This (as Fuller urges) may account for the blunder made towards the close of the fourth century by Epiphanius (*Hær.* 46), who had got the idea that this document was none other than the 'Gospel according to the Hebrews.' Evidently, neither Eusebius nor Epiphanius had any definite information or actual knowledge of Syr. literature. But Victor, Bp. of Capua (*d.* A.D. 554), came into possession of a codex of NT containing an anonymous harmony of the four Gospels, which he called *Diapente*, and which he was disposed to identify with a 'harmony' made from that of Ammonius of Alexandria, or from that to which Eusebius referred as constructed by Tatian. That which Victor published was a revision in terms of Jerome's Vulg., and is one of the earliest and most valuable MSS of the Vulgate. This codex of the NT Vulg. was conveyed by Boniface to Fulda, and has had bestowed upon it the name *Fuldensis*. As far as the Gospels are concerned, it is practically identical with the Arab. VS of Tatian's Diatessaron which has subsequently come to light. Unlike the description of Tatian's Diat., it commences with Lk 1^{1-4} and contains portions of genealogies which Tatian's did not. These are found to be alterations of the original text, by a careful comparison of the index with the MS. This Latin codex was translated into the Old Saxon dialect in alliterative verse under the name *Héliand*. Another link of interest is the discovery of the Homilies of Aphraates, bishop and abbot of a convent near Mosul (A.D. 336–345). They were written in Syr., and give lengthened extracts from the Diatessaron. Another interesting fragment is a treatise, the *Doctrine of Addai*, which contains the curious Syr.

---

[*] Kirchhofer (*Quellensammlung*) and Charteris (*Canonicity*) quote a large number of other passages from both the *Apol.* and *Dial.* which reveal greater or less resemblance to passages from every part of the Gospel.

[†] See Fuller's most elaborate dissertation in *Dict. of Christ. Biog.*, as well as that of Donaldson (*Hist. of Ch. Doct. and Lit.* vol. iii. pp. 1–60). Both these writers carefully analyze the 'Discourse' and summarize its teachings; Fuller gives the remarkable passage in which the Fourth Gospel is quoted.

[*] Salmon (*Introd. to NT*^{5}, p. 74), on the authority of Mahaffy, shows that διὰ τεσσάρων may be a musical term incorrectly transferred to literature, and means a harmony of four, as διὰ πασῶν a concord of the octave. διὰ πέντε of the first and fifth notes.

legend of the Saviour's letter to king Abgarus of Edessa; and this refers to the Harmony called Ditourion = Diatessaron, which was used and read in the Syriac churches. We learn from other Syr. documents of the 12th cent., on the authority of Dionysius Bar-Salibi, that Ephraem Syrus, a deacon of Edessa, who died A.D. 373, had written a commentary on the Diatessaron of Tatian in the last ten years of his life (see Lightfoot's discussion of this belated testimony of Bar-Salibi, *Contemp. Review*, 1877). It is an extraordinary circumstance that two forms of this commentary are found to exist in the Armenian language. These have been collated and translated into Latin by Aucher and Moesinger. Tatian is not mentioned, but Ephraem comments upon one passage after another of the Gospels, and not infrequently upon a text which is a blending of two or more Gospels.

Zahn (1881) and Wace (see *Expos.* 2nd ser. ii. 1, 128, 193; iv. 161, 294) have given a careful digest of all these passages, and the text on which Ephraem was commenting. The commentary appears to have been written in Syriac. Hamlyn Hill, assisted by Armitage Robinson, has, by comparison of Moesinger's Lat. and the Arm. text, reached a very close approximation to the words of Ephraem. Zahn has been able to arrange the text of the Diatessaron in one hundred sections, with explanatory and textual criticism, collation of the Lat., Syr., and Arm. Vulgates, and the codices A, B, etc. But a remarkable addition to the *apparatus criticus* has been romantically made by the examination of two *Arabic* MSS of the Diatessaron itself: one brought from Egypt to the Vatican Library in 1719, by Assemani, known by the title of *No. XIV.*; the other, also brought from Egypt to Ciasca, of the Vatican Library, and practically a repetition of No. XIV., but with important differences in detail. The collated text has been translated into Eng., and edited by Hamlyn Hill (*Earliest Life of Christ*, 1894; see also Hill, *Dissertation on Gosp. Harmony of S. Ephraem*, 1896; and Rendel Harris, *Fragments of Com. of Ephrem Syrus*, 1895). These translations leave no valid doubt that we have the text before us on which Ephraem commented, and which the Arab. MS avers is a translation from Syriac of the long-lost Diatessaron. A large portion of St. John's Gospel is included in the Diatessaron—a fact which establishes, if it is Tatian's collation of the four Gospels, not only the existence of the Fourth, but the esteem in which it was held between A.D. 150 and 160. The doubt cherished by many about the 'Memoirs' of Justin must therefore be abandoned. Harnack's judgment in the *Encycl. Brit.* (1888, xxiii. 81) is to the same effect. Watkins justly observes, 'the Diatessaron of Tatian is the key to the Memoirs of Justin' (*Bamp. Lect.* 71), and it certainly bridges the gulf between the literary phraseology of Justin and Irenæus.

(3) The MURATORIAN FRAGMENT, one of the earliest attempts to give a list of the books of NT, not only includes the Fourth Gospel, but, in legendary fashion, describes the circumstances under which the Apostle John was urged by Andrew and other apostles to prepare his narrative with their recognition and sanction (*recognoscentibus cunctis*). This testimony is extremely important, but its value depends on its date. The writer says, 'Hermas has very recently in our days written the "Shepherd" while Pius his brother was Bishop of Rome.' The earliest dates for the commencement and close of the episcopate of Pius I. are from A.D. 139–154, the latest from A.D. 141–156. It has been customary to say that the limit of the date (*nuperrime temporibus nostris*) cannot be put later than A.D. 170 (so Döllinger, Lightfoot, and Westcott). But Salmon* (*Introd. to NT*, and art. in Smith, *Dict. of Biog.* vol. iii.) judges differently of this limit, on the ground that the great change in the position of the Bishops of Rome with and after Pius had so long passed as to be forgotten when the unknown author penned these words, and that we cannot assume a date earlier than about A.D. 200. One of the most weighty features of the proof that the Gospel was at that moment widely prized and regarded universally in the Church as the work of the Apostle John, is the reference to the *First Epistle*, which the writer treats as an appendix to the Gospel, adding that John 'professes that he was not only an eye-witness, but also a hearer and writer (*scriptorem . . . per ordinem* 'a historian') of all the wonderful things of the Lord.' The testimony of the Fragment thus confirms the conclusion already reached by the testimonies of Theophilus, Irenæus, Tatian, Justin, and Clement of Alexandria.

(4) Our evidence may be carried still further backwards by what remains of the words or life of PAPIAS, Bp. of Hierapolis. The fragments of the works of this early Christian writer were, for the most part, preserved by Eusebius (*HE* iii. 36, 39).† He is there said to have been bishop of the Church of Hierapolis, and a contemporary of Polycarp the disciple of John. It is more than probable that he was born between A.D. 60 and 70, and wrote his exposition in five books about A.D. 135. The estimate which Eusebius expresses of his mental character in different pages is contradictory. In one place he is called an eminently small man, in derogation, perhaps, of some extravagantly chiliastic prophecies which he is said to have referred to the lips of our Lord. Elsewhere Eusebius describes Papias as 'well skilled in all kinds of learning, and mighty in the Scriptures.' His importance to us lies in the probable source of his information and the nature of his written work. This last appears to have consisted of comments upon the words, miracles, and prophecies of Christ, such as he was eager to obtain from those who had known the Lord ('the truth'), and he mentions 'the elders Andrew, Peter, John, Philip, Thomas, and James, Matthew and other "disciples"' as authorities, whose words came to him by direct speech of friends of his who had known the apostles; and he adds 'what Aristion and the elder John say (λέγουσιν),' as though these elders had survived the rest, and were still available for information.

It is a vain wish that we had more than the few hundred words which Eusebius has preserved. With only these fragments, it is misleading and arbitrary to argue from the silence of Papias as to what he knew of the four Gospels or the Epistles of St. Paul. The passage preserved by Eusebius is taken from the fourth book of the *Expositions* of Papias,—Irenæus having informed us that Papias had written five such books,—in which he confirms his interpretations by his own reminiscences of the speech of those that had known the apostles. It is worthy of special regard that the earliest witnesses and disciples of our Lord are cited in the Eusebian fragment of Papias in the very order in which they are referred to in the Fourth Gospel. Eusebius does not cite passages from Papias in proof of the authenticity of the Fourth Gospel. He adopts this course upon the principle which he follows everywhere, viz. to mention very little concerning the entirely undisputed books, but to bring confirmation from various sources of those which had, upon any ground, been rejected or disputed. In like manner he makes no reference to any of the quotations indisputably made by Irenæus or Origen from the Gospel. The silence here is a proof that Papias made abundant use of the Gospel rather than the reverse. The references to Papias' use of 1 Peter and 1 John support a further suggestion, that Papias was familiar with the Gospels of Mark (the interpreter of Peter) and John the Divine. Eusebius does not refrain (in his *Chronicon ad Olymp.* 220) from speaking of 'Papias the Hieropolitan, and Polycarp Bp. of Smyrna, as being known to be *hearers* of John the Divine and Apostle, as is declared by Irenæus and others.'

---

* Similarly, Zahn and Harnack.

† The only other trace of the book, 'The Exposition of the Oracles of our Lord,' is in an inventory of the books in possession of the cathedral of Nismes, dated A.D. 1218.

This particular passage raises no question about John 'the elder,' of whose existence there is no proof except this solitary comment of Eusebius upon an obscure fragment of Papias. The present writer has discussed the subject fully in Introd. to Gospel in *Pulpit Com.*; see also Salmon, art. 'Joannes Presbyteros,' in *Dict. Chr. Biog.*; Farrar in *Expos.* (1881) 2nd ser. ii. 321; Haussleiter in *Theol. Lit.-blatt*, Sept. 25, 1896; and Gwatkin in *Contemp. Rev.*, Feb. 1897 (cf. *Expos. Times*, viii. 1897, pp. 338, 416). Westcott, Lightfoot, and Gwatkin hold to the Eusebian suggestion. Delff advocated the existence of a disciple not John the Apostle, but possibly John the Presbyter, who is credited with the authorship of the Gospel, who was the disciple whom Jesus loved, and who knew more of the esoteric teaching than any of the Twelve. But the entire story of the second John is due, as many hold, to the inaccurate interpretation by Eusebius of the saying of Papias.

(5) In conjunction with Papias, it is well here to recount the testimony of POLYCARP, Bp. of Smyrna, who may be safely credited with carrying the evidence for the existence of the Gospel back to the lifetime of St. John. The letter of Irenæus to Florinus, preserved by Eusebius, *HE* v. 20, is charged with proof of his own personal remembrances of Polycarp. Irenæus recounts his ways, his 'personal intimacy with John and with the rest who had known the Lord.' 'The miracles and doctrine of the Lord were told by Polycarp, in consistency with the *Holy Scriptures*, as he received them from the eye-witnesses of the Doctrine of Salvation.' These 'Holy Scriptures' to which Irenæus refers were no other than the Gospels,—including the Fourth,—from which he made hundreds of citations in his great work. The historical character of Polycarp's visit to Rome, and of his martyrdom, has withstood all criticism. The memorable exclamation, 'Eighty and six years have I served Christ,' limits the interval between the martyrdom and birth of Polycarp. The painstaking researches of Waddington (independently confirmed by Lightfoot) give A.D. 155 as the date of the martyrdom, and therefore A.D. 69 as that of the birth, and possibly the baptism, of this venerable link between the apostles and the sub-apostolic Church. This would allow for Polycarp's having attained thirty years before the death of John. It is almost impossible to believe that Irenæus blundered so extravagantly as not to have found out, in the strength of his vigorous manhood, whether it was St. John himself, or another, of whom Polycarp spoke to him, in days so well remembered. The brief Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians contains an unmistakable citation of 1 Jn $4^{2.\ 3}$: 'For every one who does not confess that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh is Antichrist, and whoso does not confess the testimony of the Cross is of the devil.' The hypothesis of Volkmar, that the author of the 1st Ep. was quoting from Polycarp, is surely discredited by the assurance that Papias also made use of 1 Jn. The authenticity of Polycarp's letter has been placed beyond question by the researches of Lightfoot (*Contemp. Review*, 1877, and *Apost. Fathers*, pt. II. vols. i. and iii.). Dale, in his *Living Christ and Four Gospels*, developed a striking argument from the absence of mysticism and the lack of originality displayed by Polycarp, in addition to the fact that John, whom he knew, must have written the Gospel which he accepted, and taught his disciples to regard as Holy Scripture. Even the contrast between the tone, the teaching, and the chronology of the Synoptics, and the Fourth Gospel, certainly strengthens the conclusion. This contrast has been greatly exaggerated, but nothing is more likely to have prevented a widespread hesitation as to the authenticity of the Gospel, on account of this contrast, than the assurance of such a man as Polycarp.

6. The testimonies available from CLEMENS ROMANUS and BARNABAS are handicapped by their own antiquity. This is peculiarly the case with Barnabas, in the opinion of hostile critics. But Keim has urged that Barnabas is saturated with the ideas of the Fourth Gospel.* If this can be sustained, it must share, with corresponding features in the writings of St. Paul, the author of He, and others, the explanation that, *pari passu* with the Synoptic tradition, there had from the first been widely diffused a tradition of the teaching of the beloved disciple. Such diffusion must have urged the apostle in his latest years to put into fixed form his undying memories, and greatly facilitated its acceptance in the earliest years of the 2nd cent. There are, indeed, phrases which reflect the influence of Johannine teaching in the *First* Epistle of Clemens Romanus. Thus, among others, ch. xlix., 'He that hath love in Christ, let him do the commandments of Christ' (cf. Jn $14^{15.\ 23}$, 1 Jn $5^{1\text{-}3}$), and 'Jesus Christ our Lord gave His blood for us, by the will of God, and His flesh for our flesh, and His soul for our souls' (Jn 6^{51} and 15^{13}).

The *Second* (so-called) *Epistle of Clement*, which may be accepted, with Lightfoot, as 'an ancient homily of an unknown author,' say about A.D. 150, betrays no certain reference to either St. Paul or St. John. Still, note the tone of ch. ix.: 'If Christ the Lord, who saved us, being first spirit became flesh (*ἐγένετο σάρξ*), and so called us, in like manner in this flesh, we shall receive our reward. Let us then love one another.' We are certainly reminded here of Jn 1^{14} and the spirit of the first Ep., or, what seems more probable, we recognize the diffusion on all sides of those aspects of our Lord's teaching which we refer to Johannine memories.

(7) IGNATIUS.—The great controversy touching the genuineness of the Ignatian letters may be regarded as having now terminated in favour of the Vossian Shorter Gr. Text, and the triumphant refutation by Lightfoot of the hypothesis of Cureton that the three short forms of the Syr. VS of the Epp. to the Romans, to Polycarp, and to the Ephesians are the sole genuine nucleus of the entire literature. If these seven letters, vouched by the Ep. of Polycarp to the Philippians to be genuine, can be regarded as the writing of the Martyr on his way to Rome, certainly not later than A.D. 116, and more probably A.D. 109, we have indubitable traces of the Fourth Gospel having already found its way from Ephesus to Antioch when the memory of St. John must have been fragrant throughout Asia Minor.

A strongly Johannine phrase, not without a special difficulty of its own, appears in the letter to the *Magnesians*, viii. 2: 'There is one God, who manifested Himself through Jesus Christ, His Son, who is His Logos, proceeding from *σιγή*, who in all respects was well pleasing to Him that sent Him.' Lightfoot has shown how this difficult term σιγή was used in the 1st cent., and thinks that Ignatius had a leaning to the early pre-Valentin. Gnosis of the period. Whatever be the text, whether we should read, 'proceeding from σιγή,' or 'not proceeding from σιγή,' a reference to the Fourth Gospel is obvious. In the letter to the *Romans*, vii. 2, we read, 'the living water speaking within me (or, probably truer text, 'flowing, bubbling up'), says, "Come to the Father"; I take not delight in the nourishment of corruption, nor the pleasures of this life: I desire the bread of God, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ (of the seed of David), and desire the drink of God, which is His blood, which is incorruptible love.' In this passage we have reference to Jn 4^{14} and $6^{55. 32. 33}$. In the letter to the *Philadelphians*, vii. 1, ix. 1, there are further echoes, and Jn 10^{7} is expressively referred to.

---

* Charteris, *Canonicity*, quotes twenty passages which suggest some possible familiarity with Johannine phraseology.

Before passing from this period, we may refer to the *Acta Martyrii Polycarpi*, the date of which shortly follows the martyrdom, and 'the letter of the Churches of Lugdunum and Vienne' preserved by Eusebius, and presumably written by Irenæus, who was the bearer of it (*HE* v. 1): 'Then were fulfilled the words spoken by the Lord, that "the period should come when he that killeth you will think that he offers service to God,"' which is almost a verbal citation from Jn 16^{2}.

(8) *The Epistle to Diognetus* was once included among the writings of Justin. Whilst by some it has even been attributed to Scaliger, it is assigned by Nitzsch to A.D. 110–125, by Westcott to A.D. 117, by Bunsen to 135, and by Hilgenfeld to a much later period in the century. It does not therefore supply any valid evidence. Its early origin cannot, however, be disproved, and we find in it the remarkable phrase, apparently from Jn 17^{14} 'They (Christians) are not of this world.' In ch. x. there is a nearly accurate quotation of Jn 3^{16}, and a striking interpretation of Jn 1^{1} etc. applied to the functions of the Christ. There is also a reference to 1 Jn 4^{17} in the same chapter.

(9) In the *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs*, a Jewish Christian puts into the mouths of the founders of the Jewish race Christian counsels and consolations. Sinker, who edits and translates it for the Ante-Nicene Lib., places it at the end of the 1st or beginning of the 2nd cent. Many now regard it as a Jewish work edited for Christian readers. The Saviour is spoken of as 'Light of the world,' 'the Son of God,' 'the only Son,' 'the Lamb of God,' and 'the Spirit of truth'; 'sin unto death' (cf. 1 Jn 5^{16}) is referred to; 'eating of the tree of life' (Rev 2^{7})—all phrases which reveal the presence of the Johannine thought and expression.

(10) *The Didaché of the Twelve Apostles* may prove to be the most ancient of the post-apost. literature. It is referred to by Clement of Alexandria, who cites it as 'Scripture.' The simplicity of the style and the entire absence of any reference to the Ebionite or Gnostic heresies prove that it must have been antecedent to Irenæus or Justin.

The Ep. of Barnabas, which may have been written between A.D. 100 and 120, contains a confessed expansion of the earlier portions of the *Didaché*. A comparison of these related passages (see Bryennios' ed. of the *Didaché* and Schaff's *Oldest Church Manual*, where they are placed side by side, p. 228 ff.) has convinced almost all Eng. and Amer. scholars, as well as Zahn, Funk, Langen, of the priority of the *Didaché*.

The date of Hermas' *Shepherd* is very variously estimated, but, as in the case of Barnabas, what is common to the *Didaché* and the *Shepherd* is most certainly earlier than the latter (Schaff, p. 233).

We are brought by the *Didaché* into the midst of the movements of the early Church. It contains quotations from the Gospels of Mt and Lk. Though we cannot say that the writer had the Fourth Gospel in his hands, yet Harnack admits the striking connexion between the Eucharistic prayers of chs. ix. and x. and Jn 6 and 17.

John (1^{14}) used the remarkable word ἐσκήνωσεν to denote the dwelling in (with) us of the 'Word made flesh': see here *Did.* x. 2. Christ, '*I am the true Vine*, and my *Father* is the husbandman': cf. *Did.* ix. 2, 'We give thanks to Thee, our Father, for the Holy Vine of Thy servant David, which Thou hast made known through Thy servant Jesus.' Cf. also Jn 15^{15} and 17^{26} with *Did.* ix. 2, 3 and x. 2. There are, moreover, striking resemblances between 1 Jn $2^{5. 17}$ and *Did.* x. 5, 6. Much of this teaching obviously points to a community familiar with Johannine teaching.

(11) The use which HERMAS is supposed to have made of the *four* Gospels, and his adoption of the phraseology of the *Fourth*, have been diligently investigated by Dr. C. Taylor in his *Witness of Hermas to the Four Gospels*, 1892. The argument turns on the special style and method of Hermas. He translates into some synonymous or symbolic expression ideas differently phrased by Clemens II. *Ancient Homily*, the *Didaché*, or *ad Diognetum*. Thus in the *Shepherd* ἀγγελία ἀγαθή takes the place of εὐαγγέλιον. In *Vision* iii. and *Similit.* ix. the earliest suggestion of necessary fourfoldness of the Gospels corresponds with the fourfoldness with which all the universe is compacted [a theory found in Plato and Arist. *Nic. Eth.* I. x. 11, τετράγωνος ἄνευ ψόγου]. The four cherubic figures, the four pillars on which the Christ is seated, the Old and New Gate into the Symbolic Tower, are all supposed by Taylor to have been borrowed by Irenæus from Hermas, rather than the other way. The process by which the writer establishes scores of references by Hermas to the Fourth Gospel is a subtle one, and does not carry conviction, except perhaps as to the existence of the tetrad of Gospels a generation before Irenæus wrought out the comparison.

External evidences of the use of the Fourth Gospel *by the enemies of Christianity and by well-known leaders of Gnostic heresies* must not be passed over in this rapid recital. We will, in reviewing this evidence, commence with the later testimonies, and press upwards through the century.

(1) CELSUS was probably no other than Celsus the friend of Lucian, an Epicurean. He was the author of the λόγος ἀληθής to which Origen replied in the 3rd cent. He was a bitter enemy of the Christian faith, but from Origen's great work it appears that he was intimately acquainted with the four Gospels. He lived about A.D. 178, and thus shows not only that these works were beginning to be recognized as of paramount authority, but that they were known as such by heathen controversialists.

Origen (*c. Celsum*, i. 50) tells us that Celsus accused Christians of believing that 'the Son of God is come down from heaven' (see Jn 3^{31} 8^{23}). In i. 67 Origen quotes from Celsus, 'Thou hast made no manifestation, although they challenged thee in the temple to exhibit some unmistakable sign that thou wert Son of God' (cf. Jn 2^{18} 10^{24}). In i. 70 Celsus objected that the body of a God could not be thirsting at the well of Jacob, or eating broiled fish and honeycomb (Jn $4^{6f.}$, Lk 24^{42}). ii. 31 says that Celsus objected that Christians are in error who 'declare that the Logos is Son of God, when they present no pure and holy Logos, but a degraded man punished by scourging and crucifixion. In ii. 36 Celsus referred to the *ichor* flowing in the veins of the crucified; which is a reflection of Jn $19^{34. 35}$. The Fourth Gospel must have been widely diffused for a heathen writer about A.D. 178 to have made this use of it.

(2) We possess only a Lat. tr. of the *Recognitiones* of the PSEUDO-CLEMENT, made by Rufinus. The *Homilies* are probably the more ancient work, and are extant in Greek. The date at which this Ebionite work was produced cannot be finally determined, but the best judgment throws it into the middle of the *second* century. Hilgenfeld in 1850 declined to see any quotation from the Fourth Gospel. Lagarde, however, gives 15 supposed references to it. Thus, *Hom.* iii. 52, 'The true

Prophet hath sworn "I am the gate (*πύλη*) of life," whoso entereth by me, entereth into the life'; and again, 'My sheep hear my voice' (cf. Jn 10^{9} and ^{27}). In *Hom.* xi. 26, 'Except ye be born again of or in living water (*ὕδατι ζῶντι*) unto the name of the Father, Son, Holy Spirit, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of the heavens' (cf. Jn 3^{5}). In 1853 Dressel discovered the xixth *Homily*, where, in ch. 22, occurs an almost verbal quotation of Jn $9^{2.3}$. Hilgenfeld yielded to this evidence, which makes Baur's date for the Gospel finally incredible. There is, doubtless, little agreement between the spirit and teaching of the Gospel and the Clementines, which makes the evidence still more remarkable.

(3) MONTANUS and Montanism also suffer as evidence by the uncertainty as to their date. The disproportionate space given to this theme in Eusebius, *HE* v., does not clearly fasten the rise of this Phrygian heresy to a distinct period, though giving the names and a sketch of the writers, Miltiades, Apollonius, etc., who contended with it in the reign of Commodus, 180 ff. Some have fixed on 140—Gieseler on 150—others 157, others 180. Salmon looks to the 3rd cent. for the origin of the heresy. If the earlier date should be finally established, the evidence becomes clear that John's Gospel must have been taken as a record of the valedictory discourse, for Montanus chose therefrom the term *Paracletus*, 'the other Comforter,' as referring to no other than to *himself*; actually claiming that our Lord prophesied his (Montanus') appearance in the fulness of time. Theodoret also says that Montanus made a similar use of the terms Λόγος and Νυμφίος.

(4) MARCION admittedly makes no reference or allusion to the Fourth Gospel, but Tertullian (*adv. Marc.* iv. 3) shows that Marcion uses Gal 2 to justify his rejection of gospels supposed to be apostolic, because they *were* apostolic, not because they were not so. Tertullian (*de Carne Christi*, ch. iii.), while arguing against the hyperspiritualism of Marcion, says, 'If thou hadst not rejected the writings opposed to thy system, the Gospel of John would be there to convince thee.' Surely the Fourth Gospel is more explicit than are the Synoptics in asserting the full humanity of the Lord Jesus. Marcion reached Rome in A.D. 140, and we are thus allowed to assume an earlier and wide diffusion of the various gospels which he rejected and mutilated to serve the purposes of his own system of philosophy.

(5) VALENTINUS, the poet-philosopher of Gnostic theosophy, with his disciples Ptolemæus and Heracleon, Theodotus and Marcus, formed an important school of thought, pervading the 2nd cent. He appeared in Rome between A.D. 135-160, having been before this in Alexandria, and is said to have died in Cyprus A.D. 160. Tertullian tells us that he made use of the whole of the *instrumentum*, *i.e.* books of NT (*de Præscr. Hær.* 38). Irenæus, about A.D. 182, wrote his great work (*adv. Hær.*) in part to meet and refute the eclectic errors of Valentinus and his school. Hippolytus wrote his *Refutation of all Heresies* in the same spirit, and they both quote from the master and his disciples, not always accurately discriminating them. Now, as we have seen (cf. p. 697a), Heracleon [said by Clem. Alex. to have been well known to Valentinus] composed a comm. upon considerable portions of John's Gospel, extracts from which are preserved by Origen. These passages show that a disciple of Valentinus treated the Fourth Gospel as of divine authority. Ptolemæus also, in a letter of his addressed to Flora and preserved by Epiphanius (*adv. Hær.* xxxiii. 3-7), quotes Jn $1^{1\text{-}3}$ and Jn 12^{27}. Indeed, Irenæus positively assures us that Valentinus and his disciples 'abundantly make use of the Gospel'; and Hippolytus confirms this by a perverted use of Jn 10^{8}, which he attributes to Valentinus himself,—with the formula *φησί* rather than *φασίν*,—and cites also, as from Valentinus, the Johannine phrase, 'the Prince of this world,' 16^{11}. But the entire system of 'Æons,' and their 'Syzygies' or couples, which make up the *Ogdoad* and the *Pleroma*, is marked by the use of such terms as Πατήρ, Λόγος, Φῶς, Ζωή, Ἀλήθεια, Μονογενής, Παράκλητος, with others; it is clear that this cannot be accidental: either 'John' built upon Valentinus, or Valentinus, finding these terms in a book believed to be of sacred authority, utilized them for his own purposes. Putting the simple, natural, and religious use of these terms in the prologue of the Gospel and elsewhere, over against the highly technical and theosophical use of them in the system of Valentinus, it becomes clear that the heresiarch himself was familiar with the Fourth Gospel. In this conclusion, Bleek, Keim, Bunsen agree, as against Davidson and *Sup. Rel.* Thoma (p. 822) admits that the dependence of the Valentinian school upon the Gospel is not chronologically or dogmatically impossible, though indemonstrable.

(6) BASILIDES and the Basilidians. Basilides, whose work and system preceded that of Valentinus, both at Alexandria and Rome, is named by numerous writers—Epiphanius, Jerome (*de Viris Ill.* ch. xxi.), Hippolytus (vii. 8), and Eusebius (*HE* iv. 7) who places his period in the days of Hadrian (117-138) and speaks with intense abhorrence of his impieties and his inventions and asceticism. He does not refer to his doctrine. Hippolytus speaks of the claim made by the followers of Basilides that he had received special instructions from Matthias, one of the disciples of our Lord (Ac 1^{24}). Whether there may or may not be any truth in this report, at any rate it gives early antiquity to their father and founder. Epiphanius (*Hær.* xxiii. 1-7, xxiv. 1) attributes to B. a period of activity in Antioch before his appearance in Alexandria or Rome. If Basilides quoted from the Fourth Gospel, the origin of that precious document is thrown back to the earliest days of the century, and, as has already been urged, into the lifetime of the apostle. Now it is very probable that Hippolytus, in writing his great book (*Ref. Hær.* vii. 22), had the work of Basilides open before him, and that he referred to the master and to his school by his accustomed method of citation, *φήσι* for the former, while he used *φασίν*, or *κατ' αὐτούς* or *λέγουσι* for the latter. If the whole of this passage is read (see Eng. tr. in *A.N. Lib.*), little doubt can remain in any candid mind that Hippolytus was quoting two passages as cited by Basilides himself from Jn 1^{9} and 2^{4}. (See also Matthew Arnold, *God and the Bible*, p. 268; Mangold-Bleek, *Einleitung*, 265; Watkins, *Bamp. Lectures*, p. 365).

(7) The Oriental Gnostics, Ophites, Naassenes, Peratæ (Bunsen's *Hippolytus and his Age*, see *Introd. to St. John*, xli. 11, by Reynolds), made, according to Hippolytus, abundant use of the Fourth Gospel. We cannot depend on his citations as representing the verbal use of the Gospel made by any specific section or leader of these extreme dualists. So great was their antagonism to the OT that they took the very name of the serpent, *naḥash* (Heb.) or *ophis* (Greek), as their ideal of intelligence and emancipation. What recent investigation has shown is, not that we must carry down the Pastoral Epistles or Colossians or the Fourth Gospel till after the days of Marcion for proof of the prevalence of these dualistic ideas, but that ideas of the kind were prevalent as early as the activity of St. Paul, who combated them at Corinth and Ephesus, and that the author of the Apoc. encountered them at Thyatira and elsewhere in Asia. Godet has treated the '*Christ* party' in the Corinthian Church as those who sharply separated between '*Jesus*' and 'the Christ'—who could accept the heavenly Christ, but repudiate the genuine incarnation, crucifixion, or resurrection; who could even anathematize Jesus, and claim special knowledge of, and union with, the Christ. The existence of such a party reveals the presence of these Gnostic tendencies in the middle of the 1st century. Consequently, we have no occasion to wait till the middle or end of the century to find the occasion for the protest against dualism discoverable in the Fourth Gospel.

There is one exception to the uniform result of these researches into the religious ideas of the century. A shadowy sect or people, called by Epiphanius Ἄλογοι [*i.e.* persons destitute of sound sense], *Hær.* II. i. 57, had manifested some antagonism to the Logos-Gospel. Epiph. is amused with the *pun* which he has perpetrated to their discredit, and hopes that it will stick to them. The objections which they raised were not of a philosophical or religious character, but had to do with chronological difficulties which the number of passovers suggests, the close association in which the highest dignity of Christ is placed with His presence at a wedding feast, and, further, the absurd statement that the Gospel had been produced, not by the disciple whom Jesus loved, but by *Cerinthus*. Tradition certainly has made John and Cerinthus contemporary, and this tradition is confirmed by the supposition of these 'stupid' people, that the Gospel had been written by Cerinthus. The views of Cerinthus leaned towards Ebionitism; the whole teaching of the Fourth Gospel is that the Christ came down from heaven.

It is with amazement we read in Reuss, *History of NT*, p. 233, 'The unspeakable pains that has been taken to collect external evidence only shows that there is none in the proper sense of the term.' We do not wish to accept evidence that would not be accepted elsewhere, but the proofs of the existence of the Fourth Gospel seem as cogent as those that are advanced for any books of the NT, to say nothing of the most celebrated patristic or classical masterpieces.

Our conclusion is that we discern the first indications of its appearance in the wide diffusion of Johannine ideas in the epistles of Barnabas and Clement, Ignatius and Polycarp, the Epistle to Diognetus, and the *Didaché*. We have pseudepigraphical literature like the Test. of XII Patriarchs and the Clementines, early heretics and dualists like Basilides and Valentinus quoting from its pages and falsely utilizing its authority. Nay, we actually find some of them commenting at length upon considerable portions of the Gospel. There is not only abundance of such evidence outside the pale of the Church, but the celebrated Christian philosopher, Justin Martyr, in quoting from 'The Memoirs of the Apostles and those that followed them,' has preserved a large number of the apothegms of Jesus; and that these must have been taken from the Gospel becomes almost demonstrated by the romantic discovery, not only of Tatian's *Address to the Greeks*, but also of the Diatessaron, where the largest part of the Fourth Gospel is interwoven with the other three. Within 20 years of this date we have the clear testimonies of Irenæus, Theophilus of Antioch, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian, and then that of Athenagoras, and the Muratorian Canon, frequently cementing the fragmentary relics of the century. Even Keim admits that the evidence is as strong as for any other of the Gospels. Not one of these reminiscences or citations was placed where it has been found for the sake of the modern apologist. It is simply *marvellous* that the elements of the testimony should thus have been drawn together from such a number of sources within the compass of a century.

III. CANONICITY OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL.—There is sufficient evidence that this Gospel is among the least disputed components of the earliest collection of documents. The Apoc., 2 P, 2 and 3 Jn, are missing from the Peshitta. In the Old Lat. belonging to the 2nd cent., He, 2 P, and Ja are wanting. The Mur. Canon does not contain a reference to Hebrews, unless it be identified with the Letter to the Alexandrians; and the reference to 2 and 3 Jn is dubious. The document is incomplete or mutilated, and does not contain explicit mention of the Gospels of Mt or Mk. Yet all these early indications of a list of NT books contain the Gospel of John. The same may be said of Origen's list (184–253). And Eusebius' Canon, which placed among the *antilegomena* Ja, 2 P, Jude, 2 and 3 Jn, and reckoned the Apoc. spurious (*νόθην*), contained the Fourth Gospel. The earliest codices of the 4th cent. (B, ℵ), the Canon of Athanasius and all those of the ecclesiastical councils, also include it. These facts establish widespread and ancient conviction as to the sacred character and authority of this document.

IV. INTERNAL EVIDENCE FOR THE AUTHORSHIP.—The familiar process by which the question of the authorship of the Fourth Gospel is limited and decided must now be briefly recounted in the light of the fresh treatment it has received at the hands of Wendt, Ewald, Weizsäcker, Beyschlag, Cross, Delff, and Sanday.

a. *The author, whoever he may have been, was essentially a Jew.*—From beginning to end he is saturated with Heb. and OT ideas, though they are illumined from within by the new and heavenly light which broke upon him through direct contact with Jesus.

i. The inner sources and main tendencies of the author's thought are to be found in the OT; and his quotations from it in independent freedom, even from the current Gr. VSS, are hardly now in dispute. The whole argument of the Prologue is a prophetic foreshortening of the history of 'His own,' and their age-long refusal to admit to the full the highest revelation of the Eternal. Note also the reference to the hope of the Prophet who should make all things clear, and to the Elijah of the new dispensation (1^{21} 4^{25}), our Lord's zeal for the sanctity of the temple (2^{13-20}), his familiarity with OT history (3^{14}), the ascription to Jesus by John the Baptist of the function of the Bridegroom of the true Israel, an idea which frequently appears in ancient oracles (Jer 2^2, Ezk 16^8, Hos $2^{19.\ 20}$). The writer's references to the feasts of the Jews, the passovers (chs. 2, 6, 12, 18), the unnamed feast (ch. 5) which may or may not be a passover, the feast of tabernacles (ch. 7), the feast of dedication (ch. 10), show the region of his religious ideas. He alludes to the special ceremonial of the feast of tabernacles in the pouring of water and illumination of the temple. The same conclusion may be drawn from his numerous references to Moses (1^{17} 5^{45} 7^{22}) and Abraham (ch. 8); from the great authority attributed to the law, and even from the verbal criticism of the Psalms (ch. 10); from the declaration that 'the Scriptures cannot be broken'; and especially from the fourteen passages quoted from OT. *Five* of these are attributed to our Lord, *seven* are made by the Evangelist, *two* by other speakers (see Turpie, *Old Test. in the New*; Westcott, Introduction in *Speaker's Comm.* p. xiii; Sanday, *Expositor*, March 1892, p. 178 ff.). Four of these agree with the accurate tr. in the LXX. Some, however, are in closer agreement with the Heb. against the LXX. Thus Jn 19^{37} 'They shall look on him whom they pierced' (=Zec 12^{10}) instead of 'insulted.' This tr. is found also in Rev 1^7, and is a curious link of linguistic correspondence between the Gospel and Apoc. It is found also in Justin, and in the versions of Theod., Symm., and Aquila. This does not necessarily imply that the author was utilizing his personal knowledge of Heb., but that more accurate translations of Zec than that of LXX existed. Cf. with this Jn 6^{45} (=Is 54^{13}); and especially 13^{18} (=Ps 41^9) 'He that eateth bread with me has lifted up *his heel* against me.' Here the Gospel stands alone, the four other extant Gr. VSS differing from each other. The passage 12^{40}, quoted accurately from LXX, where this version fairly represents Heb. in Mt and Ac, is different from both authorities in our Gospel. There is no case where this Gospel agrees with LXX against the Hebrew. These peculiarities indicate knowledge of the original Scriptures. Besides these phenomena of translation, let it be observed that the author is acquainted with a majority of the OT books, the historical books, Psalms, Proverbs, and both parts of Isaiah. He is familiar with the history of Abraham, Jacob, Moses, and David, with the brazen serpent, with circumcision, with the manna in the wilderness, and with OT similitude and doctrine.

ii. A point upon which the opponents of the Johannine authorship have laid much emphasis is the writer's use of the term 'the Jews,' as of a hostile party from whom he was separated, *e.g.* 'the purifying of the Jews' (2^6), 'the passover of the Jews' (2^{13}), 'a feast of the Jews' (5^1 6^4), 'the manner of the Jews is to bury' (19^{40}). But the writer is here conveying no reproach, but explaining to Gentiles events of his early life. Doubtless 'the Jews' are discriminated from the *ὄχλος* of Galilæans as hostile to Jesus, but the writer calls special attention to Nicodemus, a ruler of the Jews, to Joseph, and to those of *οἱ ἴδιοι* who received Him, as well as to the *πολλοί* who 'believed on Him.' He says that Jesus made more disciples in Judæa than John (4^1), and in a most emphatic way that Jesus recognized that *σωτηρία* is from the Jews. Cf. the difficult passage (4^{43-45}), where Jesus is said to regard the land of Judæa as 'his own country.' Even ch. 5, which discloses the enmity of 'the Jews' to our Lord's interpretation of the Sabbath (cf. ch. 9), is penetrated throughout with the Jewish ideas of the Sabbath, of the Scriptures, and of Moses. The dramatic episodes of chs. 7–10 reveal great antagonism on the part of the mob in Jerus. and the Jewish authorities to the teaching and mandate of Jesus, but the conversations display the author's intimate knowledge of Jewish law, alike of the Sabbath and of circumcision (7^{23}), and the Jewish idea of the *διασπορά*. And these three or four chapters are replete with assurances that 'many believed on him,' while 8^{31} speaks of 'the Jews that had believed him.'

Again, when Jesus speaks of '*their* law' and '*your* law,' which Pharisees and Sadducees had misinterpreted, it is as one who is bringing to their memory what they and not He had forgotten.

Moreover, not infrequently, by the term 'the Jews' the writer evidently means to denote technically the ruling powers in State and Church, the Sanhedrin in its pride, in opposition to the pilgrims from Galilee or from the 'Dispersion.'

One passage from the 'Jewish' Gospel of Mt (28^{15}) shows an analogous use of the οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι. See also Lk 23^{51}. St. Paul's use of the term is well known, and must have familiarized men in Ephesus, Corinth, and Thessalonica with it, without suggesting for a moment that he was not a 'Hebrew of Hebrews.'

iii. The author is by many opponents of the genuineness of the Gospel allowed to be of Jewish origin and sympathy, but not a Palestinian Jew. He is supposed to have belonged to Alexandria or Ephesus, otherwise, they contend, he would never have made so many errors of a topographical or historic kind. The most serious charge is his reference to Bethany beyond Jordan (1^{28} RV). But it is clear that the author was not confounding this Bethany with that near Jerusalem. And if there were two Bethsaidas, two Canas, two Antiochs, and two Cæsareas, why not two Bethanys? Origen, it is true, had not recognized the site, and probably suggested the Bethabara of AV which is found with variants in some MSS. Caspari has located it N. of the Sea of Galilee; Conder, nearly S.E. of the Sea, far above the traditional site and much nearer to Cana of Galilee. Then the reference to the Pool of Siloam (Jn 9^{7}) has been triumphantly confirmed by recent discovery. The mention of 'Ænon near Salim,' of Ephraim in the wilderness, and of 'Sychar' near Shechem, has been remarkably confirmed by recent research. In association with this may be classed the picturesque reference to the brook Kidron (18^{1}); the 'gabbatha' of the Roman governor, with its Aram. name (19^{13}); 'Solomon's porch' (10^{23}); 'the treasury in the temple' (8^{20}); the scenery and various nomenclature of the Sea of Galilee; and possibly the decoration of the temple courts by the golden vine (15^{1-7}).

These indications of personal knowledge have been disputed as evidence of the author's Pal. origin, because the writer might have visited Palestine and picked up, like the author of the 'Apocr. Gospel of Matthew,' a multitude of small details. So esp. Cross (*Westminster Rev.*, Aug. 1890, p. 177). It is enough to refer to Sanday's complete reply in *Expos.*, March 1892, p. 163.

Frequent use is made of the supposed ignorance of the writer touching the appointment of the Jewish high priest, illustrated by the statement that Caiaphas held the office 'in that year,' as though the *sacerdotium* had been an annual appointment. But the evangelist speaks of Annas being high priest in the very 'same year' in which Caiaphas delivered the unconscious prophecy of the effect of the death of Jesus (11^{49}). Moreover, St. Luke, both in the Gospel (3^{2}) and in the Acts (4^{6}), speaks of Annas and Caiaphas as 'high priests.' Annas had been deposed by the Roman procurator in favour of his son-in-law Caiaphas. His influence was great, though not officially recognized by Pilate; and therefore the evangelist, who was known to the family of the high priest, in giving the account of the preliminary examination by Annas, says that Jesus was sent bound by Annas to Caiaphas the high priest, from whom alone Pilate would have accepted the official charge of the Sanhedrin. The phrase 'that same year' reflects the absorbing interest of that year in which the highest court in the nation rejected and delivered over to the Gentiles the Incarnate Son of God. (See *Pulp. Com.* Introd. p. xl, and notes on 11^{49} $18^{13.\ 19.\ 23.\ 24}$).

Efforts have been made to relegate some of the most characteristic teaching of the Fourth Gospel and First Ep. of the same writer to the dominant influence of Philo Judæus of Alexandria. Lücke, Bleek, Baur, Keim, Schürer, Alb. Thoma, and many others have laid great emphasis on this filiation of ideas. But Siegfried has found the same influence abundantly evident in St. James, in Ep. to Heb., and in St. Paul. Luthardt, Godet, Pressensé, and others disclaim any relation, direct or indirect, on the part of St. John with the philosophy of Philo or his school. Even Keim and S. Davidson contend for the originality of the Fourth Gospel, pre-eminently in its teaching regarding the incarnation of the Son of God and its doctrine of the Messiah. The phraseology current in the Alex. school consists of important terms also used in the Johannine writings, *i.e.* not only *Logos*, but *Light, Life, Truth*, the *Paraclete*, the *Archon*, the *Pleroma*, the μονογενής and πρωτότοκος, 'only-begotten' and 'first-born.' These terms are used to denote the relation and mediation of the Divine Essence to the κόσμος, and part at least of the process by which all things have come into being. Philo endeavoured to utilize the speculation and phrases of both Plato and the Stoics in order to expound the teaching of the Pentateuch, but the amalgam was uncertain and really valueless. No one finally accepted these high-flown allegories of 'law,' or of 'narrative,' any more than they did the Stoic interpretation of the Homeric poems. It is, however, true that the place which, about the same time, St. Paul had in Co, Gal, and Col assigned to 'Christ' and 'the Son' and the 'Rock in the wilderness,' Philo had assigned to the 'Logos.' So, too, 'the heavenly bread' is explained by Philo as the manifestation of the Logos; and other terms in He 1^{1-3}, and the 'Wisdom' of the Psalms, and in the Sapiential Books, are by Philo similarly correlated with the Logos. There are, however, strong reasons for disputing either a verbal or a philosophical dependence of the author of the Fourth Gospel on the Alex. theosophy.

(*a*) The twofold meaning of the term 'Logos.' In Greek this represents not only, as in Philo, the Reason and Self-consciousness, the rationality of a thing or person, but also 'the word,' the expression, the process by which a revelation can be made or ratiocination carried into effect. The same ambiguous word is used for the *Reason* and the *Word* of both God and man. There are those who say that they are but the reverse and obverse sides of the same reality. At any rate, the same term is used by Philo for the archetypal reason and by 'John' for the creative energy, the divine personal nature, the source of life and light in man, which is at length incarnated in humanity, the glory of God revealed, full of grace and truth, the only-begotten and beloved of the Father, able to declare Him.*

(*b*) The Philonic Logos is in no sense personal. The Logos is often identified with the 'world,' as 'intelligible,' the 'image' of God in the universe; 'by His Logos, God is both governor and good.' True, Philo spoke of the Logos who, in place of the Angel of the Lord, brought back Hagar to Sarah (*de Cher.* p. 108), but by Hagar he meant not the woman Hagar, typical or historic, but 'human arts and science, brought back to the true virtue.' Numerous illustrations of the same method constantly recur. There is no personality in the Logos of Philo, such as we find adumbrated in the Books of Job or Wis, and, in another form, in 'the Son' of the Fourth Gospel, the 'Christ' of St. Paul, and the ἀπαύγασμα of God in He 1^{3}.

(*c*) The doctrine of Messiah was ignored by Philo, and that of the incarnation of the Logos was abhorrent to the whole Neo-Platonic school.

---

* Schürer (*HJP* II. iii. 340–368) has more fully given to Philo's Logos the quality of *word*.

(*d*) To the phraseology of Philo some curious analogies are found in the Fourth Gospel, but by Siegfried (*l.c.*) many similar ones have been found in all the books of NT. Even the Ep. of Ja, the Targums, and the Synop. Gospels (*Pulp. Com.* Introd. p. xlix) are supposed to reflect Philo's influence. But this phraseology is kindled into entirely new meaning by the Word made flesh,—cf. 'love,' 'faith,' 'righteousness,' 'life eternal,'—and the use of it does not in the least degree establish a non-Pal. origin for the author of the Fourth Gospel. Thoma's eloquent enumeration of the titles and glories of Philo's Logos vanishes as an anticipation of the Fourth Gospel when it is found that these are only tropical phrases for the discipline through which souls are passing to the rest of a true philosophy.

(*e*) The true origin of the ideas and phraseology of the Fourth Gospel is to be sought in the OT. St. Paul and St. John found their material in the books which they had studied from their youth, and in the traditional interpretations of the Pal. schools. The spoken word is throughout Gn 1 the creative agency, the mediator between the Eternal and the 'cosmos.' In Ps 33^{6} and 147^{15} 'the word of J″' is approximately personified for the same purpose. The personifications, moreover, of the direct activity of J″ under the form of *Memra* or *Debra* of the Lord in the Targums, though they cannot attest a literary usage answering to the Prologue of 'John,' indirectly reveal a mental tone in the Aram. schools, out of which the Johannine representation sprang. The same remark may be made touching 'the Angel of J″,' distinct from the created angels, who makes His appearance throughout the OT, and suggests awful and sublime depths in the bosom of the Divine Essence. The phrase is used as Logos is used, interchangeably with Deity and invested with all J″'s glory. Kurtz in his *Old Covenant* has criticised this, his earlier view (appx. of Eng. tr.); but see Westcott (*Introd.*), Liddon (*Divinity of our Lord*). Cf. also art. ANGEL, vol. i. p. 94.

Philo used to refer the manifestations of the Angel of J″ to the operations of the Logos and to specialized functions of the human mind; the apostles found in this mysterious phraseology an age-long witness to the possibility of an incarnation.

Perhaps nothing more than a personification of *wisdom* can be found in Pr, Job, or the Sapiential Books, but this method of presentation reappears in the Epistles of Paul to the Corinthians and in those to the Colossians and Ephesians.* See also He $1^{1.2}$, from which it is clear that ideas of the Son, robed in phraseology of the Sapiential Books descriptive of wisdom, are independent of the treatment of the Alex. philosophy, and also of the author of the Fourth Gospel. With this may be compared the almost extreme Johannine phrases of Mt 11 and Lk 10. Where could these writers have obtained these notions except from the widely diffused traditions and holy memories of the apostles themselves? Thoma has done service in demonstrating the remarkable resemblance between the root-ideas of St. Paul and the Fourth Gospel. Beyschlag, in his *Theology of NT*, vol. i., has endeavoured with success to show the identical basis of the Synoptic and Johannine ideas of the relation between the Father and Son, the Father and Christ. Yet it is very noteworthy that 'John' uses a term from Gr. philosophy to which he attached a profoundly different sense from Philo, and to which the other sacred writers have not attained. It is almost a demonstration that he was a Palestinian, not an Alexandrian Jew.

β. The writer claims to have been an eye-witness and ear-witness of that which he describes. Numberless unconscious touches, without any theological bias in them, reveal the indelible impression left upon the writer of what he had seen and heard. *E.g.* observe the numerous indications of 'day' and 'hour' when that which he recorded took place ($1^{29.35.39.43}$ 2^{1} 3^{2} $4^{43.52}$ $6^{16.22}$ $12^{1.12}$ $13^{1.30}$ 18^{28} 20^{1}, and many others).

In 1^{14} and in 1 Jn 1^{1} he puts himself in the position of those disciples who beheld His glory, and in 19^{35} he lays the strongest emphasis on the testimony he was personally able to bear to a great sign which accompanied the piercing of the side of the dead Christ. The fact that the author speaks of himself in the third person under the term ἐκεῖνος is in keeping with other tacit references to himself elsewhere, and with a similar usage of ἐκεῖνος, referring to the subject of the sentence, in 9^{37}. The writer indicates throughout intimate acquaintance with the secret fears, thoughts, murmurs, and questionings of the innermost circle of the disciples. He knows what they thought at the time, and how they subsequently modified their views (1. $2^{11.21.22}$ 12^{16}); he records the conversations with Nathanael, Andrew, Philip (chs. 1–6); the questions of Peter, Thomas, Judas Alphæi, Philip, in the valedictory discourse, together with remarks of his own; he gives indications of the blank ignorance of the disciples themselves with reference to the great utterances of their Lord (4^{33} $6^{70.71}$ $11^{7.8.16}$ 16^{17}); the innermost mind of Peter at the feet-washing ($13^{6-11.22}$); the ignorance on the part of all of the deep significance of Scripture (20^{9}); and the conversations with Thomas (20^{24-29}).

He is, moreover, acquainted with the very thoughts and motives of Jesus Himself ($2^{24.25}$ 4^{1} 5^{6} $7^{1.6}$ $13^{1\text{ff.}}$); he gives a whole group of condensed perceptions of the blended divinity and humanity of our Lord which were flashed upon his consciousness by the Saviour's work and conduct (cf. 18^{4}–19^{28}). He certainly suggests himself as the unnamed disciple of the Baptist and of our Lord (ch. 1); and we feel that he must have been an auditor of the conversations with Nicodemus and the Samaritan woman, and with the nobleman in chs. 3. 4. Caspari's interesting suggestion that he had a house in Jerus., connected with the fish trade between that city and the lake, would explain his presence in Jerus. (ch. 5), and his intimate knowledge of what occurred (ch. 6) in 6^{17}. There is an unconscious revelation of his presence in the words, 'Now Jesus was not yet come to them.' We do not see any animosity to Peter's prominence. He is one of the two whom Jesus loved (20^{2}). We owe to his constant clinging to Jesus the details of the trial before Annas, the private converse with Pilate, and the words from the Cross which intrusted the Mother to his care ($19^{25.26}$).

The closing scenes of ch. 21, with the appendix by the survivors, leaves it without doubt that the writer was one of the disciples whom Jesus loved, but not Simon Peter. Those present at the Sea of Galilee ($21^{1.2}$) are *Peter*, distinguished from the unnamed disciple (v.^{20}); *Thomas* and *Nathanael*, who are elsewhere mentioned by name; the two *sons of Zebedee*; and *two other* of His disciples. Now, James the brother of John was early slain (Ac $12^{1.2}$). It follows that the 'beloved disciple' who, in the Epilogue, is accredited with the authorship, must either have been John the son of Zebedee, or one of the two unnamed disciples. Andrew and Philip are conceivably hinted at, but, seeing they are elsewhere mentioned by name, it is not probable;

---

* See Watkins in Smith's *DB*^{2} p. 1755, who also shows the link between OT and Fourth Gospel in many other particulars of 1 P.

and since the two are mentioned last, it is more in accordance with the usage of the writer to understand that they did not belong to the number of the eleven apostles.

The opinion that John, who is frequently referred to in the Synoptic Gospels and in the Acts (Ac 3^{1} 4^{13} 8^{14}–15; cf. Gal 2^{9}) in conjunction with Peter or with his brother (in Synop.) as at the very centre of the apostolic group, is not the disciple who produced this wonderful narrative, brings an anomalous circumstance to view: that the author, whoever he was, never once mentions the name of John. If he was some philosophic mystic of the 2nd cent., he must have deliberately invented the innumerable touches of the eye-witness, which he introduced with such apparent artlessness, *with the view* of suggesting that he was no other than 'the beloved disciple.' This supposition is so harsh that it cannot be accepted without more cogent reasons than those which have hitherto been advanced. Delff (*Grundzüge d. Entwick.-Gesch. d. Relig.* 1883, p. 266) has argued that the beloved disciple was a friend of Joseph and Nicodemus and the high priest, resident in Jerus., familiar with the Jerus. life of Christ, and from his education, higher than that of the Twelve, better able to appreciate and work into his matchless narrative the deeper teaching of Jesus. In that case some incongruities that have afflicted critics would be dissolved, but many fresh difficulties would be created, *e.g.* the utter disappearance of this remarkable personage from evangelic tradition; his acquaintance with Peter, Andrew, Philip and Thomas, Judas Alphæi and Judas Iscariot, Nathanael, Martha, Lazarus, and the Marys, to whom he has referred, together with his utter silence about 'John,' who took so high a place in the early development of the Church in the NT and early tradition. It is incumbent upon the student to weigh the indications which other literature supplies of the character and personality of John the son of Zebedee, and to see whether they are incompatible with the revelation which the writer has unconsciously offered of himself in the composition of the Fourth Gospel.

It must, however, be acknowledged that the self-revelation is studiously repressed. He never distinctly utters his own name, or that of his parents, or of his brother. He allows others to speak for him, and he hides himself behind the shadow of his Lord, and loses himself in the light of his Master's love. We can gather here and there what he thought of 'the Jews,' of the high priest, of Judas and Pilate. We can gather the interpretation he put upon certain perplexing sayings of the Lord, so different from their own lofty tone and fathomless depths, which he was nevertheless able to remember and record. But for the most part he conceals his own individuality.

V. THE CHARACTER AND CAREER OF JOHN AS PRESERVED IN OTHER LITERATURE. — *A. The Synoptic Gospels* tell us that a man named Zebedee (Mk 1$^{19.20}$) with his wife Salome had two sons, James and *John*, that they lived at Bethsaida, near Capernaum, on the Lake of Galilee, and were partners with Simon and Andrew the sons of Jonah (or of John, see RV and crit. notes on 1^{42} and 21$^{15.16}$) in a fishing enterprise (Mk 1^{29}, Lk 5^{10}). They had fishing-tackle, boats, hired servants, and a house. We gather from comparing Mt 27^{56} and Mk 15^{40} that Salome was the name of the mother of Zebedee's children. The Fourth Gospel makes it more than possible that she was sister of the mother of Jesus, and, if this inference is correct, she and her sons were nearly related to Jesus. Zebedee accepted, without recorded murmur, the departure of his sons and of his partners Simon and Andrew at the summons of Jesus to them. The father thenceforth disappears from view. Salome's devotion and ministry of her substance to the wants of Jesus and His disciples, suggest the religious enthusiasm and Messianic patriotism with which the family had been brought up, and it is probable that, through friendship and kinship with the holy society of Nazareth, her expectations had been raised to fever-point. Whether John was called into close companionship with Jesus only once for all, or on two or three separate occasions, belongs to the exegesis and harmony of the Gospels. Matthew (20^{20}) tells us that Salome presented a request of great compass and audacity, that her two sons might sit on the Saviour's right and left hand when He should come in His kingdom. It is most likely that she cherished ideas of a temporal and visible sovereignty, and that John at this period had not been weaned from these materialistic hopes. We gather, however, that the brothers were taught some lessons about the great tribulation, the baptism of sorrow and blood through which they would have to pass to such high fellowship with the Head of the kingdom.

For years before this, John had been in the innermost circle of Christ's disciples (Mt 10^{2}, Lk 6^{14}, Mk 3^{17}, Ac 1^{13}). He had been in the death-chamber of the child of Jairus (Mk 5^{37}, Lk 8^{51}). He had been taken into the cloud of transfiguration (Mt 17^{1}, Mk 9^{2}, and Lk 9^{28}), though Peter was the spokesman of the feelings of the three. The two brothers James and John, with Simon and Andrew, had been permitted to hear the discourse upon the last things, which had opened John's prophetic eye to the great world-wide events with which his Master's kingdom was associated. John was sent with Peter to prepare the passover. With Peter and James, he was a witness of the agony in the garden. There is not a word or a hint in all this incompatible with the spirit of the author of the Fourth Gospel.

We do not know why James and John were called by Jesus 'Boanerges.' There must have been something special in the courage and bearing or in the character of James which signalled him out to Herod Agrippa as a victim that would 'please the Jews' (Ac 12$^{2f.}$). It is probable that, being the elder of the two brothers, he was the more prominent petitioner for the coveted dignity of nearness to the King of Sorrows when approaching the goal of His self-sacrifice. A significant record occurs in Mk 9$^{38ff.}$ and Lk 9$^{49ff.}$, where John himself exclaims, '*Master, we saw one casting out demons in thy name, and we forbade him, because he followeth not* (*thee*) *with us.*' The question seems to invite the rebuke he received, '*Forbid him not*, etc. . . .' This was an event which revealed a jealous love for the Master, and it is paralleled by the spirit which flames forth in the treatment of those enemies of the cross with whom the author of the second and third Epistles contended. But the most striking instance of this spirit is recorded in Lk 9$^{54.55}$, where *John* as well as James burned with indignation against certain Samaritans who refused to receive Jesus. '*Master*, said they, *willest thou that we call fire from heaven to consume them, even as Elias did?*' Here again the two brothers are rebuked. The apostle of love is traditionally accredited with a similar outburst of indignant wrath in his treatment of Cerinthus. The current mediæval representation of the author of the Fourth Gospel was that of one characterized by effeminate softness. This popular conception is not justified by the letter of the Gospel, but is due to tradition and legend. In no part of NT do we find such thrilling utterance of the wrath of God against sin as in Jn. (See 3$^{18.19.36}$ 5^{29}). It is in Jn 6^{70} that Judas is called 'a devil'; cf. also 7^{34} 8$^{23.24.44}$ 9^{39}. Even in the upper chamber, we hear terrible tones of the Judge of all the earth, and the traitor is called 'the son of perdition' (15^{25} 16^{1-3} 17^{12}), while the Evangelist himself (12^{37-43}) denounces the sin of the people in language which echoes Lk 9^{54}. There was much more for John to learn, and the occasional outbreaks of stormy wrath are of the very nature of a finite human love cherished with intensity of emotion for that wonderful Person whose grandeur of being, as well as whose human loveliness, was breaking upon his mind. There are no other special references to John in the Synoptic narrative, and, as a revelation of the personal character of the author, those mentioned are explained rather than contradicted by the tone of the Fourth Gospel.

B. The Acts of the Apostles hides John in the company of the Twelve, and behind the more prominent figure of Peter. Still, the promises given by the ascending Lord (ch. 1), and the preaching of Peter (chs. 2. 3. and 4), reveal the tone and matter of the closing discourse of our Lord, of which John's mind was the repertory. Compare Jn 5^{20} 7^{39} 17^{5} 16^{7} with the substance of Peter's great sermon at Pentecost, and the defence made by Peter and John (Ac 3. 4) with the vindication in the Fourth Gospel of the Messiahship of Jesus. (See esp. Jn 20^{31}). As in the Fourth Gospel, John is a silent presence in the early Church (see Ac 8), but the mission of the two apostles to Samaria prepares us for the mighty words which 'John' was at length to reveal to the world.

C. St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians makes a reference to James, Cephas, and *John* as 'pillars' of the Mother Church, to whom St. Paul was willing to refer his Gentile ministry, based on Christ's own teaching concerning the place of ceremonial in the kingdom of God. This is the only reference in the writings of St. Paul to the personality of John, and so far there is not the smallest reason for questioning, on St. Paul's authority, the widely attested conviction that the beloved disciple was the author of the Fourth Gospel.

D. The First Epistle of John. The Mur. Canon makes distinct reference to 1 Jn as an appendix to the Gospel. It specifies two Epistles by the same evangelist later on. Eusebius (*HE* iii. 39) tells us that Papias 'used passages from the first Epistle'; and we have an unmistakable citation of 1 Jn 4^{1} in Polycarp's *Epistle to Phil.* ch. viii. The extreme significance of this quotation led the author of *Supernatural Religion*, vol. ii., to contend that 'John' quoted from Polycarp, rather than *vice versâ*. Tertullian frequently refers to, or quotes from, the Epistle. Clemens Alex., Origen, and Cyprian cite it as St. John's writing. Many who opposed the authenticity of the Gospel, like Bretschneider in his *Probabilia*, with Paulus and others, do not attempt to separate the authorship of the Gospel and Epistle; but Hilgenfeld and Davidson have advanced many reasons for believing that they belong to different writers and periods. Davidson (*Introd. to NT*) assigns some ten distinct points of difference, which hardly need more than statement for their refutation. Holtzmann (*Einleitung*, p. 463) admits identity of authorship. Haupt and Lias have shown how the original form of the teaching is referred by the apostle to the words of Jesus Himself, while in the Epistle we see the method adopted by the evangelist to apply it to the condition of the Church at the close of the century. Doubtless there are differences in style, weight, compass, between the utterances of the Lord and the application of these ideas to later days, but all the fundamental conceptions of the divine character and righteousness, of 'the word of life,' of the contrariety between 'the flesh' and 'the spirit,' between 'light' and 'darkness,' the emphasis upon the divine love, upon the Holy Spirit and the eternal life, appear in a practical form in the Epistle as well as in the Gospel. There is no necessity to invoke the shadowy form of the Presbyter John to explain the differences between the two documents. They must stand or fall together. Testimony to one becomes a witness for the coexistence of the other. They combine to give us the best insight into the mind of the author of both. What is worthy of particular attention is the conviction that we have here not only the apostle of love, but one whose wrath flamed against untruthfulness, unbelief, and the spirit of the world. Let special notice be taken of 1^{10} $2^{9-11.\ 16.\ 22}$ $3^{6.\ 8.\ 12.\ 15}$ 4^{3} $5^{10.\ 16}$. While there is every reason for recognizing, throughout, the disciple whom Jesus loved and the author of the Fourth Gospel, there is a striking correspondence with the disciple who was ready to call fire from heaven upon those who rejected the Lord and His truth. The first Epistle is a link between the Synoptic John and the personality of whom we are in search.

E. The Second and Third Epistles of John, so far as they bear on the character of the author of the Fourth Gospel. The authenticity and canonicity of the smaller Epistles have had to sustain a heavy fire of criticism. Even Eusebius hesitated to acknowledge them as St. John's own, but Clemens Alexandrinus, Irenæus, and Dionysius have little doubt about them. The small circulation of these private letters is enough to account for their non-inclusion in the Peshitta, though Ephraem Syrus quotes them. The Mur. Canon leaves it doubtful whether the compiler knew of more than two Epistles in all; Theodoret does not mention them. Theodore of Mopsuestia rejected them. Jerome, building on the view taken by Eusebius of the supposed reference to the Presbyter John by Papias, is disposed to attribute them to that shadowy personage; but he does not finally come to that conclusion, as he enumerates seven Catholic Epistles. In modern times the circumstance that the author calls himself 'the elder' has been pressed against their apostolic authority; but it should be remembered that St. Peter (1 P 5^{1}) calls himself *συμπρεσβύτερος*, and that Papias calls the apostles, including St. John, 'elders.' Irenæus gives the same title to Polycarp; and when writing to Soter, Bishop of Rome, gives no higher title to his predecessors in that see, though these are supposed to have included both St. Peter and St. Paul. These considerations show that the title is one which St. John might, consistently with much other usage, have used for himself. And that Diotrephes used malicious words about John the apostle is no reason for thinking that the author was other than the apostle, when we bear in mind the parallel experience of the greatest of the apostles. These Epistles teach the same fundamental truths, and are characterized by the same omissions as the first Epistle and the Gospel, in neither of which is there distinct reference to the Church or the Christian sacraments. The prime words are used in all three Epistles, such as *ἀλήθεια, ἀγάπη, ἀντίχριστος, περιπατεῖν*, etc. There is the same limpid style, aphoristic utterance, and extraordinarily simple way of saying deep, loving, and terrible things. Our conclusion is that these two Epistles do much to link together the authorship of the Gospel with their own, as well as demonstrably prove that any specially prophetic and 'thunderous' symptoms of character discovered in the Synoptic Gospels were not absent from the man who wrote with intense affection, breaking into flames of wrath, the Fourth Gospel. [On this subject see detailed treatment in *Pulp. Com.* Introduction; Ebrard's *Comm. on the Epistles of John*; Huther, Haupt, Westcott, Lücke, Alexander, and others;

as well as the art. JOHN, EPISTLES OF, in this Dictionary].

F. A general comparison between the authors of the Apocalypse and of the Fourth Gospel.—The criticism of the Apoc. begun by Vischer, with Harnack's co-operation, and the theory of a Jewish document which is said to lie at the heart of it, and to be touched up by Christian vision and interlineated with Christian doctrine, have not reached a final stage. The theory might account for some of the most difficult phenomena without taking the authorship out of the hands of the Apostle John. But this is not the place to discuss either the authorship or the date of the Apocalypse. External evidence for the later date and the apostolic origin of the book is stronger than that for any other book in NT. The chief argument on which a much earlier date is assigned turns on purely internal considerations, such as, *e.g.*, the suggestion that Jerus. is still standing when the Apoc. is written, that the succession of Roman emperors fixes the moment of its grand *dénouement*, that 'the number of the Beast' is a cryptogram of *Nero Cæsar*, whose anticipated reappearance after his supposed assassination was confidently feared by the world and the Church. These are controversial matters capable of decision only by careful exegesis, and much balancing of opposing theories. Davidson, Renan, and Farrar have argued in favour of this earlier date; while Lücke, Hengstenberg, and many others have taken the opposite side. It is admitted by all that the longer the interval between the composition of the Apoc. and the Gospel, the easier it becomes to argue that the fiery enthusiasm and prophetic blasts, and the imaginative intensity, more Hebrew than Greek, of the young apostle, may have subsided by long meditation and reflection on the vitalizing words of the Master in the days of His flesh; that the atmosphere of Ephesus and the wide diffusion of Hel. and Alex. culture may then have had time to purge his style and refine his tone, and direct him to a new standpoint of thought and feeling. Many scholars, from Dionysius of Alexandria, who elaborated the contrasts between the Apoc. and the Gospel almost as completely as has been done by modern critics, down to the early followers of Baur, such as Zeller and Hilgenfeld, have come to the conclusion that no ingenuity can ever show the two books to have originated from the same mind, whatever interval or change of scene may be intercalated between them. Some then, with F. C. Baur, by establishing the apostolic authorship of the Apoc., have believed that they demolished the authenticity of the Gospel; while others, by relinquishing the Apoc. and handing it over to some Judaic zealot, have believed that they left the course open to a full acceptance of the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel. But however great the contrasts of an earlier and later style,—as witness, comparatively, in our own day, those of Burke and Carlyle,—a much greater conflict and dissimilarity may be observed when a man of commanding powers distinctly sets himself to approach a different subject, or to look and write from a new standpoint. Many writers, like Swift, Cowper, Wordsworth, and Tennyson, were throughout their career able to adopt, whether by dramatic temperament or deliberate *tours de force*, glaring contrasts of form, dialect, style, tone, manner, which are enough to deceive those who cannot discern the subtle resemblances, and, moreover, have no *external* evidence of authorship to guide them in their conclusions. The different attitude and atmosphere, the modified diction and general purpose of the two books, are not sufficient (whatever be the theory of date) to divorce them from each other while the internal and external evidences of the authenticity of each remain independently so convincing.

That John, the author of the Apoc., called himself a 'bond-slave of Jesus Christ,' and not an apostle, corresponds with the modesty of the writer of the Gospel, and with the very phrase of St. Paul in four of his Epistles. He classes himself among the '*prophets*' of the NT, and does not dissociate himself from the apostles, some of whom were undoubtedly 'prophets,' and, since our Lord built His Church and kingdom (Mt 16^{18}) upon the *petra* of Peter's confession, it is not surprising that John should have seen the names of the twelve apostles upon the foundations of the new Jerusalem. The author declares that 'he bare witness to the word of God, and to the testimony of Jesus Christ' (Rev 1^{2}), which ranges him among the innermost circle of Christ's disciples. The 'John' cannot, by any ingenious theory, refer to any other personage of that name mentioned in NT. Further, the references to persecution, exile, Patmos, and an Ephesian residence, correspond with a whole cycle of tradition and citation which cannot be here given. It is true that Keim (*Jesus of Nazara*, Eng. tr. i. 143, 207) discounts the citations from Irenæus (ii. 22. 5, iii. 23), Clem. Alex., Justin, Apollonius (Eus. *HE* v. 18), Jerome, Epiphanius, etc., thinking that a blunder of Irenæus is the parent of all the supposed testimony; and Keim has been followed in this by Harnack and several other recent writers. But the arguments are unsatisfactory. On the other hand, the external testimonies to the Apocalypse are in various ways confirmatory of apostolic origin and authority, while a clear mention of it in the Mur. Canon—together with that of Peter—assigns it a sure place in the reverence of the Church early in the 2nd cent.

The arguments of Dionysius of Alexandria are based on fundamental differences between the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel.

(1) Differences of *designation*, such as that the author of the Apoc. calls himself 'John,' whereas the author of the Gospel withholds his name. This, as Salmon (*Introd. to NT*, 276) says, can be easily accounted for. The *historical* books of OT, with the exception of Neh, are all anonymous; the same may be said of the Synoptic Gospels and Ac, while all the *prophetic* books, with the exception of Daniel (see ch. 7), open with the name of the prophet himself. Now, the Apocalypse is distinctly prophetic, and its style and imagery are borrowed from that source. Dionysius did not reject it as uninspired, or as written by Cerinthus, or as having insufficient external testimony. He said that he could not understand its meaning, though this was not his point of critical doubt; but that its great dissimilarity in language, style, theme, and tone from the Gospel convinced him, that as there might be many 'Johns' in Asia during the 1st cent., one of them may have been the author. He argued, further, that the resemblance between the Gospel and the first Epistle in phrase, leading terms, and decisive teaching increases the feeling of discrepancy between the Gospel and the Apocalypse. On the hearsay that there were two tombs of 'John' at Ephesus, he raises the ghost of the shadowy 'Presbyter,' who has done such notable service in the piecing together of 2nd cent. fragments. The position occupied by Dionysius in the middle of the 3rd century may have been unconsciously adopted by this wise and candid man, owing to the strong objection he entertained for the chiliasm which he found in the Apocalypse. Nevertheless, his hypothesis was comparatively disregarded until the present century, when it was used in a contrary sense by F. C. Baur and his followers, who recognized and emphasized the

apostolic authorship of the Apoc., to the entire repudiation of that of the Gospel, which was supposed to have originated under different conditions at the close of the 2nd cent. On the other hand, Lücke, Ewald, Lutzelberger, Düsterdieck, de Wette, and Neander, holding the authenticity of the Gospel as proved, and accepting the burden of the Dionysian argument, have resigned the authorship of the Apoc. to the 'Presbyter,' to 'John the Divine,' to John Mark, or to any other who could bear the weight of the responsibility. Volkmar and Renan pressed the Judaic aspects so strongly as to suppose that it was, among other things, an early manifesto against the Pauline Churches and doctrine, under the pseudonym of Balaam or the Nicolaitans.

(2) The emphasis laid upon the Heb. and Hel. *spirit* of the two books respectively has been brought into strong relief by Vischer's *Die Offenbarung Johannis eine Jüdische Apokalypse in christlicher Bearbeitung: mit einem Nachwort von Adolph Harnack*, 1886; see Schoen's *Origine de l'Apocalypse*, also Bousset's *Commentary*, and A. Meyer in *Theol. Rundschau*, Nov. and Dec. 1897. Doubtless the Apocalyptic literature of the Hebrews, as seen in Dn, 2 Es, Enoch, must have been present to the mind of the author; but that he or another re-edited a Jewish Apoc. is more than the precarious criticism which has prevailed of late can be said to have proved. Moreover, the links of connexion and the subtle resemblance between these two most wonderful testimonies to Christ have been too much slighted. The use of rare words and forms characterizing both documents, the practically identical Christology, and a certain resemblance in structure, lead to the conclusion that if John be indeed the author of the Apoc., then the author of the Gospel, notwithstanding its transparent differences, must have been his pupil and follower in the deepest motives and spirit of his utterance. Again, the supposed oppositions of style are certainly balanced by interesting correspondences, the fancied solecisms can be shown to have analogous representations in classical Greek, and certain views of the OT and of the Person of Christ are almost, if not quite, peculiar to these two works. The impression therefore grows upon many, that, notwithstanding the dicta of the Tübingen school, the two books not only may, but must, have issued from the same mind. If this be the final word of the long controversy, the authenticity of the Apoc. becomes one of the strongest arguments for the apostolic origin of the Fourth Gospel.

It is common to say that the Apoc. is strongly Heb. in its grammar, while the Gospel is written in excellent Hel. Greek. The substitution of καί in the Apoc., as representative of the Heb. וּ, for the rich variety of Gr. particles, is urged as a conspicuous proof of the position. But we find also in the Gospel that, where the emotions are intense, and when every sentence becomes a heart-throb, as in chs. 15, 17, and in ch. 21 (where the succession of events constitutes the very nerve of the transcendent narrative), the author is equally content with the simple καί, and dispenses with all other particles. It is urged that πάντοτε and πώποτε and καθώς are used in the Gospel, but not in the Apocalypse. Now, the last word is used often in the Synoptics; and though the former words occur in Jn, they are not to be found in Ac, and only very occasionally in NT, so that no conclusion can be drawn from their omission in the Apocalypse. While the Heb. forms 'Amen,' 'Abaddon,' 'Hallelujah,' are found in the Apoc., and the Heb. imagery of the 'manna,' the 'root and offspring of David,' the 'twelve tribes of Israel,' and the 'New Jerus.' are introduced, they certainly are balanced by the long list of Heb. phrases, information, and imagery found in the Gospel (see below). The Gospel makes claim for the 'Word made flesh' that Abraham rejoiced to see the days of the Christ; that Moses wrote of Him; that Jesus Himself was the Heavenly 'Manna' which came down from heaven, that He was the Lamb of God, taking away sin, that He was the Bridegroom of the Church, that He was greater than the temple, able to rebuild it after its wanton destruction. The Lamb (τὸ ἀρνίον, not, however, ὁ ἀμνός) of the Apoc. is in tremendous conflict with the power of the theocracy, then with the world, then with concentrated world-powers, over which He gains the victory, and receives the acclamations of the universe. The Lamb of the Gospel narrative encounters the powers of the world, displays great 'signs' in the temple, on the land and on the sea, on the bodies and minds of men. Through meekness and submission, not through impotence, through the mystery of suffering and cruel death, and the glory of resurrection, He gains a victory over the world, over all its representatives, over the flesh and the devil. He takes His perpetual place with, among, and within His people, their Lord, their King. Doubtless there is a concrete specialism in the imagery of the Apoc. which seems to conflict with the universalism of the Gospel; but it must not be forgotten that the Apocalyptist sees 'a multitude which no man can number, gathered from every people and kindred and tribe,' who circle the throne of God and of the Lamb, and at last the 'leaves of the tree of life are for the healing of the nations.' The Hebraism of both documents is obvious, and it is hardly more conspicuous in the one than in the other. Instead of separating them by contrast, it may be held to establish community of origin.

(3) The *grammatical peculiarities* of the Apoc. include apparently 'false apposition,' the most remarkable example being 1^4, where ἀπό is followed by ὁ ὤν, καὶ ὁ ἦν, etc. This, however, arises from the writer having regarded the phrase as a tr. of the Eternal, as = J″, and an indeclinable noun. In 30 other places he gives ἀπό its proper regimen. Other instances of unusual apposition may easily be explained without recourse to solecism, such as the ἡ λέγουσα of 2^{20}, cf. 3^{12} 8^9 etc., which are paralleled by similar constructions in Plato (Winer, 671, Eng. tr.), Thucydides, and others. Anomalous varieties of gender and number are best explained by the fervid personifying temperament which gives masculine or feminine features to neuter nouns. The same peculiarities are found in other parts of NT, though they would scarcely be expected in the quiet, limpid prose of the Fourth Gospel. As a set-off against these curiosities, a considerable number of verbal coincidences demand attention. The verb μαρτυρεῖν and the noun μαρτυρία occur very frequently in the Gospel and the Epp. of John, very sparingly in other parts of NT, and in a different sense; but they occur 13 times in the Apocalypse. The word νικᾷν is used in the sense of overcoming evil and the world both in Gospel and Epp., and 17 times in the Apocalypse. Τηρεῖν τὸν λόγον is a phrase peculiar to the Gospel, Epp., and Apoc., and so is τηρεῖν τὰς ἐντολάς. The idea of the tabernacling of God among or with men, σκηνοῦν, is also to be found expressed by the same word in these documents. The following words are virtually peculiar to them: σφραγίζειν in the sense of 'confirm,' Ἑβραϊστί, λαλεῖν μετά τινος, κύριε σὺ οἶδας, περιπατεῖν μετά τινος, which are characteristic of all three writings. What is still more remarkable is that words strangely absent from the Gospel and Epp., like μετάνοια, γέεννα, are not to be found in Apocalypse. The word πίστις, which occurs 340 times in NT, does not occur in the Gospel, and is

almost absent from Epp. and Apocalypse. The same Gr. tr. of Zec 12^{10}, different from LXX, is found in the Gospel, 19^{34-37}, and Apoc. 1^{7}. These correspondences might be greatly multiplied. Weiss and Watkins give lists of more than 100 words or phrases common to the three documents. The impression made upon some opponents of the authenticity of the Gospel is that the 2nd cent. writer who is supposed to have written it, studied the vocabulary, etc., of the Apoc., with the intention of producing the impression of Johannine authorship. This hypothesis neutralizes the hypothesis based upon their conspicuous dissimilarity.

(4) *The plan, scope, and structure of the two books.* — Many insist on the extreme contrast between the two writings in these respects, *e.g.* the absence in the Gospel of climax, the quiet flow of the stream of narrative and discourse, the movement from Jerus. to Galilee and back to the metropolis, with nearly imperceptible chronology, the lack of imaginative background, the omission of Transfiguration and Ascension, and only the quiet gathering intensity of conviction that the victory over evil must lie for all time with the Man of infinite capacity, boundless sympathy, and measureless affliction—so that at length the most sceptical of the Twelve admits His supreme claims. On the other hand, 'the revelation of Jesus Christ to His servant John' is an impressive series of tableaux, arranged in climacteric form, and with very marked septenary arrangements. After the first visions, come the letters to the Seven Churches, a special aspect and title of the Lord being presented in each. Next we have the vision of the seven seals of the Divine Book; the separate issues of the opening of the six seals; the intermezzo of the four angels and other angel; and then the new septenary group of trumpets introduced by the loosing of the seventh seal. Further, after the twofold revelation of the temple and the beasts, come the seven last plagues following on the pouring out of the seven vials. Then appear the closing contrasts of Babylon and the New Jerus.; the victory of the Logos of God over all His foes, the destruction of the Beast, the False Prophet, and the Evil One for ever and ever; and the renewal of all things in the light of the Lord. This series of magnificent images seems strangely diverse from the meditative, gentle flow of the river of life, of which we catch lucent gleams in the Fourth Gospel.

An examination of the Gospel reveals, however, a deeply pondered plan. One thing readily appears: the septenary arrangement. Seven great signs precede the Passion. These constitute a climax, and a revelation not only of divine realities but of the mind of the writer. The first sign (Jn 2^{11}) shows the mastery of the Word made flesh over the material of nature; the second (4^{54}) His mastery over one of the most cruel troubles of human nature, even when the Lord was not visibly present with the sufferer; the third (5^{8}) shows His power to restore the forces which have been lost by sin; the fourth and fifth ($6^{11.\,19}$) are great signs of power and pity, both on earth and sea, with mastery over the forces of nature; the sixth ($9^{1\text{ff.}}$) is a double proof of His being the 'Light of the World'; the seventh (11^{43}) is a concrete conflict with the most terrible evil of humanity, and a victory over it. In addition to this, a singular parallel to the throbbing suspense or postponement of climax in the Apoc., *e.g.* at the loosing of the seventh seal, at the sounding of the seventh trumpet, and in the intercalated scenes before the final victory and glory, may be traced also in the structure of the Gospel. Thus the 'hour' of the highest manifestation seems always at hand, but is again and again postponed. Without enumerating details, cf. Jn 2^{4} $4^{21.\,23}$ $5^{25.\,28}$ 7^{30} 8^{20} 12^{27}, followed by new and wonderful departures. In the midst of the valedictory discourse, 'Arise, let us go hence,' seems to strike the hour; but even now the moment comes for still higher teaching and the Eternal Prayer. This overlapping and renewal of suspense in striking interlineation are continued throughout the story of the Passion to the confession of Thomas and the hyperbole of the closing verses. Observe, further, the presence in both documents of prologue, rehearsal, conflict, victory, epilogue, which curiously correspond with each other and which almost bind them together. In each alike the prologue is an anticipation of the successive arguments of the visions or oracles, as the case may be. As the letters to the Seven Churches give a compendious forecast of the seals, trumpets, and vials, so Gosp. chs. ii.–iv. or v. give most vivid rehearsals of characteristic specimens of the Lord's method and teaching. The sublime key-word of the Gospel, 'The Word became flesh,' rises over the entire Gospel as 'an awful rose of dawn,' just as the vision of the Divine Christ in Rev 1 dominates every subsequent paragraph in the Apocalypse.

(5) This leads us to a brief treatment of the *religious teaching* of these two documents. Many modern critics, Strauss, Baur, Harnack, Wendt, Weiss, Ritschl, put into forcible antithesis the earlier and later Johannine teaching. There is no necessity for these distinctions. Gebhardt and others have given all the evidence needed to prove that no two books of Holy Scripture are so coincident in teaching, even to special peculiarities, as the Gospel and Apocalypse. In one, the author is calmly meditating upon the concrete facts, the peerless life, the transcendent teaching, the unique ending on earth of a ministry which was beginning to exert widespread spiritual influence upon individuals, and to produce political and even cosmic effects upon humanity and the world. In the other, the vision of the place which Jesus had taken in the sphere of providential rule flashes upon him. In the one, he is sweetly dreaming over the potent, procreant fact; in the other, fancy and even grotesque imagination forecast the future. The visions of Heb. seers, by their nature, follow one another, but do not grow from less to more—they are architectural rather than spontaneous. Remembering these different conditions, it is nothing short of unique that the ideas of the *two* documents should have been so similar, if not coincident. The same writer was able to see more deeply than any other into the heart of Jesus, and was also permitted to see more accurately than other apocalyptic writers into the ferments wrought in humanity by the leaven of the kingdom. [Gebhardt's *Doct. of the Apoc.*, Eng. tr. pp. 305, 424; Reynolds' *Introd.* in *Pulpit Comm.* pp. lxxx–lxxxv].

These considerations may be held to prove that the twofold Johannine literature, instead of breaking the evidences of unity of authorship, reveals a high probability that the two documents proceeded from the same mind. We have also seen that the strong evidence for the existence of the Gospel towards the very beginning of the 2nd cent., and the traditional attribution of authorship to the son of Zebedee, are not countermanded by the characteristics of John supposed to be given in the Synoptic Gospels, the Acts, the Pauline Epistles, and the three Epistles of John.

Some able critics, like Gebhardt, Renan in some edd. of the *Vie de Jésus*, and Matthew Arnold, are ready to admit that the external evidence for the Fourth Gospel is as copious as for the Synoptic Gospels and the Pauline Epistles. Keim has even triumphed over Baur's chronology and pressed back the date of the existence of the Gospel to a time when the son of Zebedee may have been still living. But all these hold a view of the writing which deprives it of historic value. They regard it as a Christological romance in the form of a narrative, which was not intended even by the author to be taken as a serious or historical record of what was actually said and done. The intense personality of the author pervades the whole. He has, say they, very sparingly made use of the Synoptic Gospels and the teaching of St. Paul, and freely manipulated traditional material as suited his purpose, and he never intended to convey other than the grand impression produced upon his mind by the forms of the new faith. As Jth, Enoch, 2 Es, the *Shepherd*, the *Platonic Dialogues, the Divina Commedia*, *Paradise Lost*, etc., used semi-narrative forms for the purpose of conveying religious ideas, so our evangelist was one of the most effective writers of didactic fiction.

Others have gone much further than this. They have questioned every mark of early origin, and have thought that they found abundant evidence of later date, *e.g.* references to the second destruction of Jerus. under Hadrian. Some have found traces of Docetism, later Gnosticism, Neoplatonism in the Gospel, and have contended that it is an attempt to trace to the words of Jesus the two types of Hel. and Heb. Christianity, the writer's deliberate aim being to bring about the healing of a schism which can be traced back to the apostles themselves. The controversy turns on the relation of the Fourth Gospel to the Synoptic narrative, and this we must now examine.

VI. The Relation of the Fourth Gospel to the Synoptic Narrative.—*A. A general statement of the contrast between them.*—It is now admitted that this contrast has appeared to modern criticism more extreme than to that of previous centuries. 'Atmosphere' or climate are difficult to define, but the most conservative critics are conscious of a vital change when passing from genealogical details to the abysses of eternity, from the homely life and trade of Nazareth and Capernaum to the heated discussions of the temple courts, from the Sermon on the Mount to the valedictory discourse. The *dramatis personæ* are different. Nicodemus, Lazarus, and Nathanael, the impotent and the blind man, are introduced to us for the first time. Thomas starts into prominence and a position of high argumentative importance. The chronological elements differ. The various visits to the metropolis interfere with the simple flow of the Synoptic narrative. No *direct* mention is made of the birth in Bethlehem from the virgin mother. The story and testimonies of John the Baptist are taken up where the Synoptists drop them, and yet no direct account is given of his death. The temptation, the transfiguration, the agony in the garden, the trial before the Sanhedrin, the dereliction, the ascension, are apparently ignored. The main themes of the discourses, viz. the conditions of admission into the kingdom, are exchanged for profound hints as to the uniqueness of the Lord's own person, His pre-existence, His claim to reveal the Father and to give eternal life. The miracles of the Synoptic narrative appear to set forth His comradeship and His pity for the sorrows of the world, but the later narrative of miracles of Jesus seems mainly used to insist upon the apologetic value of His miracles—they are 'signs' of the glory of God. The little children have vanished from the scene, even from the hosannas of the triumphal entry. It is considered scarcely possible to exaggerate the contrast between the gradual development of the Synoptic Christ, and the aureole of Messianic and divine splendour which invests Him from the first in 'John's' representation.

The first three Gospels represent more than one current type of tradition. The Fourth Gospel is almost universally admitted to be the work of one thoughtful mind, which has impressed itself upon the whole work. The author *in propriâ personâ* addresses his readers with explanations of his own, and at times seems to expand by further reflections or recollections even the words of his adored Master; so that a vigorous subjective element cannot be excluded, although it may have been relatively exaggerated.

B. We have to examine these *divergences* and some others, and to decide whether the admission of their existence destroys the historical value of the Fourth Gospel. *Primâ facie*, the claim of the writer to be the most intimate friend and disciple of Jesus Christ must be held to give a weight and an authority to his autoptic representations to which none of the Synoptists can lay equal claim.

(1) Can we accept the new version of the principal *scene of the ministry* of Christ? Matthew and Mark refer to one passover feast only, for which they bring Jesus to Jerus.—while all the other incidents and teachings are confined to Galilee. It is worth while to remember that to the Romans and Hellenes, to whom Mk and Lk appeal, the difference between the two must have been very insignificant. To the introspective soul of John, who thought of days, places, hours of his intercourse with 'the Word incarnate,' it was of moment to record some of these things in sharper detail. Thus, seeing that the Synoptic narrative of the public ministry ignores the Judæan ministry of the first passover, he reveals his intimate knowledge of the facts by the use of the word *πάλιν* in 4^{3}, thereby corresponding with the Synoptists as to the date of the commencement of the public ministry. In ch. 5 we have an *intermezzo* in which a visit to Jerus. brings our Lord into conflict with the Pharisees on the Sabbatic law. This explains and corresponds with the long and bitter struggle with the Pharisees detailed by the Synoptists in the early portion of the Galilæan ministry. Jesus does not appear to have been accompanied by more than a few disciples on these visits to the metropolis. Caspari (*Chron. Introd. to Life of Christ*, Eng. tr. 142) has made the acute suggestion that John, who was known to Caiaphas, and had a house in Jerus. to which he resorted at the time of the great feasts, may have been the sole auditor and witness of the conversations, and have been his Master's host as well as his biographer. But 'John' never expanded these precious memoranda into a full biography. He, like his predecessors, has given us only fragments, pregnant incidents, great words, which lifted the veil from the mystery of the Lord's consciousness. The references to special occasions are abrupt, *e.g.* to the abiding in Judæa (3^{22}), the walking in Galilee (7^{1}), the retiring to Peræa (10^{40}), the pause at Ephraim (11^{54})—other signs and teachings are cited and summarized from first to last. It is helpful to remember that even the Synoptists are not silent about visits to Judæa, as compare the (Tisch.^{8}, WH) text of Lk 4^{44}, where *εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς τῆς Ἰουδαίας* is inserted in the text —Tregelles and RV insert it in the margin. This might be synchronous with either the first visit of Jesus to Jerus. or even the second. In Lk 5^{17} the presence in Galilee of Pharisees from *Jerusalem* represents the impression already produced in the temple by the great discussion on the Sabbatic law. Both Matthew (23^{37}) and Luke ($13^{21. 33. 34}$) record the terrible and tender apostrophe, 'O Jerusalem . . . how *often* would I,' etc. In Lk 10^{38} the incident of Mary and Martha is not incompatible with our Lord's presence at Bethany during

the feast of Tabernacles, described in Jn 7^{10}. The Synoptic narrative implies, in the final scenes, familiarity with people and things, which is best explained by the Johannine account of these visits to Jerusalem.

(2) Is the *length of our Lord's public ministry* so different, after all, in the two accounts as hopelessly to discredit either account? Browne (*Ord. sæclorum*) has endeavoured to compress even John's account into the short space of one year, contained between the first and last Passover; and this is effected by expunging from the text (Jn 6^4) the reference to another passover; but it has the tendency to render the whole narrative unhistorical when we consider the astounding brevity of the period during which the entire personal influence of Jesus upon friends and foes must have been produced. This becomes more striking when we compare it with the length of the teaching of Socrates, Buddha, or Mohammed. The same comparison may be made with the record of the ministry of Hosea, Jeremiah, or Ezra, or with the history of the career of Moses, David, or Solomon. The fact is that there is no positive statement in any of the four Gospels upon the subject. The only *termini* are the 15th year of Tiberius (Lk 3^1) and the recall of Pontius Pilate (A.D. 36). There is therefore more historic probability in the whole narrative if the extended chronology of John into two years and a half be followed. There is nothing to contradict it in the Synoptic narrative. See, further, art. CHRONOLOGY OF NT, vol. i. p. 406 ff.

(3) The most perplexing and debated apparent discrepancy between the first three Gospels and the Fourth turns on *the day of our Lord's death.* As judged by critics of all schools a formidable difference emerges, which some, like Baur and Strauss, have lifted into capital importance as demonstrating the late origin of the Fourth Gospel at the hands of one who was ready from doctrinal and ecclesiastical motives to contradict the far-spread tradition of a century. It is assumed that the writer wished to make it appear that Jesus was the true Passover, in whom all the ancient symbolism of the Lamb and the system of sacrifices culminated, and that he did not hesitate to affirm by a group of incidental references that our Lord was crucified at the time when the Jews were preparing to kill and eat the paschal supper; whereas the Synop. Gospels had been unanimous in their assertion that the day preceding the agony and the crucifixion was that on which the days of unleavened bread commenced and the paschal lamb was slain and eaten, and that, the Lord Jesus having been tried and condemned on the day of the Feast and Holy Convocation, was laid in the grave on the evening of the Sabbath preparation. The difference of statement is explicit, and said, by the opponents of the authenticity of the Fourth Gospel, to be irreconcilable. This conclusion is strongly emphasized by the Tübingen writers, on the ground that the Quarto-deciman and Jewish-Christian party persisted in celebrating their 'feast of the Saviour's Passover' on the 14th day of Nisan, when the Jews slew their paschal lamb. Their festivals of rejoicing commenced after their fasting had ended, on whichever day of the week it occurred. According to Eusebius (*HE* v. 24), Polycrates of Ephesus affirmed that the Eastern Churches founded their custom in part on the practice of the Apostle John himself, '*who observed the 14th day according to the Gospel.*' But what Gospel? Not the Fourth, according to the critics, but the Synoptic Gospels, where *John* is mentioned with Peter as preparing the Passover on the morning of the 13th Nisan, and celebrating it with the Lord on the night of the 14th. This, it has been alleged, runs directly counter to the representations of the Fourth Gospel.

Now, the difficulty here involved has been greatly aggravated by the twofold method in which conservative critics have endeavoured to solve it. Hengstenberg, Tholuck, Edersheim, Luthardt, M'Clellan, etc., satisfy themselves that every reference in John is compatible with the Synoptic assertion that the Lord's Supper coincided with the Jewish passover on the evening of 14th–15th of Nisan. They think that several of the proceedings of the night were exceptional, *e.g.* Judas going out, that the possible purchase of things needed for the feast or gift of alms could be justified, that 'the passover' which the chief priests were intending to hold, and for the ceremonial attendance on which they would not enter the prætorium, referred to a midday meal on the feast day called 'chagigah,' a 'thank-offering,' and sometimes termed by laxity 'passover' (2 Ch 30^{22} $35^{7.9}$), and that the references to the *παρασκευή*—and the bearing of the cross, are all compatible with the first day of convocation. It is thus thought that the two accounts are harmonized; but, on the other hand, Bleek, Greswell, Godet, Weiss, Westcott, Watkins, etc., have shown the entire incompatibility of the proceedings of the trial, of the crucifixion, the bearing of the cross by one coming from field labour, the purchase of spices, etc., with the most elastic interpretation of the letter of the law then in vogue. The violations of Sabbatic law in performing or allowing deeds of mercy would have been utterly insignificant by the side of these flagrant contradictions of both letter and spirit. These numerous details (see Reynolds' *Introd.* pp. xcii–xcv, and notes on the passages in Gosp.) cannot be discussed. The Synoptists themselves supply many confirmations of the Johannine view, especially the determination of the authorities not to apprehend Jesus 'on the feast day.' Since *Luke* reckons the 50th day after the first day following the Sabbath of Passover (see Lv 23^{15}, Dt 16^9) as that on which Pentecost had fully come (Ac 2^1), and as the universal tradition and custom of celebrating it on a *Sunday* cannot be disputed, it is evident that *Luke* must have reckoned in the year of our Lord's death that the paschal feast was held on the night following the crucifixion.

St. John, who took part in the preparation of the passover, was not purposely correcting a common tradition, but making the chronology more clear. Still there remains to be accounted for the explicit manner in which Luke and Mark refer to the celebration of the supper and the blending with it of the ancient ceremonial on the night of the betrayal. Godet and Westcott do not hesitate to imply that the Synoptic narrative shows that our Lord must have anticipated by a day the legal celebration. Haste and the imminence of the tragedy are thought to account for this departure. The fresh point made by Caspari (*Chron. Introd. to Life of Christ,* Eng. tr. pp. 195–217), is that the four evangelists are unanimous in the assertion that Jesus suffered on the 14th of Nisan, after having prepared for the paschal supper, though without the *lamb*, or the *bitter herbs*, or the *elaborate ceremonial*; that the lamb may have been reserved for the evening of the day of the crucifixion itself, for the hurry and awfulness of which they were unprepared. If this be the fact, the difficulty vanishes. In its favour may be added the *Chronicon Paschale,* which quotes Clemens Alex., who, following the chronology just set forth, implies that the disciples had learned that Jesus was Himself the Lamb, the food and the wine of the feast. The fact that Origen, Chrysostom, and others in the course of the various Easter controversies, took a different view from Clemens Alex., does not here concern us. The points at issue with the Western Church turn on other considerations not vitally connected with our present discussion. With three most plausible, if not absolutely satisfactory, methods of accounting for the difficulty, it is scarcely worthy of candid scholarship to speak of irreconcilable contradiction, or of the impossibility of St. John's being the author of the Fourth Gospel.

(4) *The omission by the Synoptic Gospels of events and discourses which constitute vital portions of the Fourth Gospel* is very startling, and difficult to explain; but it is important to observe that Matthew and Luke are also almost equally characterized by peculiarities of their own. Without enumerating them here in detail

(see *Pulp. Com.* xcvi), it may be sufficient to notice that while paragraphs of various length, peculiar to the author of the Fourth Gospel, amount to *ninety-six,* yet the specialities which we owe entirely to Lk amount to no fewer than *seventy-two,* and similar peculiarities of Mt to *sixty-two,* exceeding together by thirty-eight those of the Fourth Gospel. It is sufficient to urge that the three evangelists each found in the abundance of material what best corresponded with the supreme motive of his selection. Special emphasis has been laid upon the silence of the Synoptists on an event which definitely precipitated the tragedy. Most certainly, the death and restoration of Lazarus take so signal a place in the final working out of Jewish hostility, in John's Gospel, as to imply an extraordinary reticence on the part of the Synoptists. It is possible that amid the affluence of mighty works wrought in Galilee the sorrows and joys of Bethany did not bulk so largely as they seem to the critics to do when this one event is singled out for minute inspection.

(5) *The omission by the Fourth Gospel of events of capital importance in the Synoptic narrative.*

(*a*) The miraculous birth and infancy, the youth, the family, the genealogy of Jesus, and the early ministry of John the Baptist, are passed over in silence. Yet there are significant hints of these things which carry the reader's mind over the omission, without the suspicion of ignorance or indifference.

(*b*) The baptism of Jesus by John, with its accompaniments, is not definitely recorded, and yet it is implied in the testimony of John, and in the thrilling effect produced upon the mind of the Baptist by what he saw and heard. Similarly, no account is given of the imprisonment and death of the Baptist, yet both are hinted at.

(*c*) The omission of the temptation in the wilderness has been put down to doctrinal prepossessions of 2nd cent., but closer study seems to show that the evangelist inserts between the great testimonies of the Baptist and his imprisonment—*i.e.* in precisely the chronological position where Synoptic teaching places the temptation—a series of events covering the matter of each of them. The creative multiplication of wine, as an act of love to *others* rather than of self-assertion or the rectification of personal need, corresponds with the temptation to dispense with the Father's providential care of His beloved Son. The sudden descent upon the temple with reforming energy, in lieu of casting Himself from the pinnacle to attract the admiration of the sign-loving multitude, is charged with effective analogies. Then, thirdly, we find an unostentatious refusal of Christ to palter with evil, or to accept the sanction of the Sanhedrin in order to accomplish the ends of even His own mission. 'Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him alone shalt thou serve,' rings through Jn 2. 3 and 4 just where the Synoptists had chronologically placed the mighty struggle with the suggestions of the devil.

(*d*) The omission of the transfiguration, an event which is fully described in the Synoptic narrative. This is surprising, because the latter represents the son of Zebedee as one of the three witnesses of the incident; but the explanation may be that the eyes of the beloved disciple received more convincing evidence than the bright cloud and the heavenly visitants and a supernatural voice, to establish the divine glory and Person of the Lord. 'We saw,' he said (1^{14}), 'his glory, the glory of the only-begotten.' It is worthy of notice in this respect that Moses and Elijah were perceived by John to have prepared the way of the Saviour and His sacrifice ($1^{17.23}$). The whole Gospel is a continuous revelation of the glory of the Life, a vindication of the fact that Jesus *is* the light- and sight-Giver to blinded humanity.

(*e*) A more perplexing omission is that of the institution of the Eucharist, especially as the very meal at which it took place is mentioned with some other accompaniments, such as the feet-washing of the disciples. Somewhere in the folds and parentheses of the stupendous sentence (13^{1-5}) we imagine that the institution of the Eucharist, which was intended for the sustenance and the responses of a transcendental love, lies concealed. On no supposition can we conceive the author to have been ignorant of the sacramental rite. We know that it had spread from Jerus. to Troas (Ac $20^{7.11}$) and Corinth, and was so highly esteemed as to be abused by the unwary (1 Co $11^{20f.}$). The best supposition is that the apostle has spread out over the discourse contained in chs. 13–17 the deepest and most essential features of the Eucharist. The teaching of transcendent love, and mutual indwelling and eternal life, is thus repeated by the divine Master in these chapters. More than this, John has reported the astonishing discourses at Capernaum (ch. 6), where the Lord described deep spiritual communion with Himself as 'eating his flesh and drinking his blood.' Christ laid emphasis on the faith which accepted the Incarnation, the reality and nearness of the God-man, the actual and perfect humanity of the Son of God, the divine Bread which came down from heaven, under the unique phrase 'eating his flesh,' and a deep appreciation and assimilation of His sacrificial death as nothing less than 'drinking his blood,' not only of 'the blood which is the life,' but the blood which was shed. So early in His ministry, He taught that what He also elsewhere in the Synop. narrative described as a *ransom in place of many,* was effected by the giving of His life. Thus He made it evident that *life* in Him was closely bound up with the stupendous idea of the death of the Christ of God. '*He that eateth me shall live because of me.*' Two theories have prevailed—one, that a transcendental philosopher in the middle of the 2nd cent., ignoring or repudiating the sacrament of the body and blood, chose this way of expressing his spiritualization of this widely prevalent usage. The other hypothesis is, that the beloved disciple, having heard and recorded the Lord's own interpretation of eating His body and drinking His blood, was content. This seems to us far more reasonable. But why should he have omitted the symbol which was so well calculated to preserve the teaching of the great discourse at Capernaum, 6^{34-60}? We have just seen that he did not repel the historical concrete always in favour of the ideal representation. But he may reasonably have been wounded by the prevalence of heathen and superstitious adjuncts to the celebration of the Eucharist. He was not a bigoted spiritualist, as we may judge by the significance of the seven great miracles recorded by him, by the interesting feet-washing which had never become a sacramental usage. (See art. 'Fuss-waschung' by H. Merz in Herzog's *RE*; Smith's *Dict. of Christ. Ant.* 'Baptism,' §§ 34 and 67).

(*f*) The omission of the agony in the garden. Keim says, if St. John's account of the imperial bearing of Jesus in the garden and at the arrest be historical, then the Synoptic narrative is 'pulverized.' Renan, B. Weiss, and others are ready on the other hand to allow that we owe to this Gospel historic traits which throw much light upon the incidents of the passion. In John's account we have a more definite description of the place (κῆπος) than in Mt and Mk with their χωρίον, or Lk with the indefinite τόπος. The 'garden' was a 'place' 'to which Jesus often resorted with his disciples.' Moreover, if the Synop. narrative be historical, John must have been with His Lord in the depth of the olive shade. He must even have witnessed what Luke ($22^{43.44}$, see below) describes of an agony insupportable, of the exceeding bitter cry, of the cup which the Father gave the Son of His love to drink, of the bloody sweat, and of the supernatural rally when, having called from the depths of a divine despair to Him who was able to save Him from death, He was heard because of His godly fear. But this apostle must have seen as no other reporter saw so distinctly, the lanterns and torches which accompanied the temple-guard as they descended into the Kidron Valley by the steep side of the hill below the city wall; he knew the *name*, Malchus, of the servant of the high priest, whose *right* ear Peter smote. Note, in addition to all this, how Jesus, according to John, rebukes Simon Peter for his rash manifestation of physical courage, in words which remind us of the bitterest experience of Gethsemane. We must admit that little trace of the prostration of that awful scene presents itself when the God-man (according to the Fourth Gospel) faces the enemy. He there appears to be a match for all the treachery of Judas, the malice of the chief priests, and even the military power of Rome. He meets the serried ranks of evil in the imperial calm of the intercessory prayer. It is the manner of this evangelist, and of other scriptural writers, to leave unexplained gaps in the midst of what seems to be continuous narrative. Such a manifest *lacuna* occurs here between the close of the valedictory discourse and the arrest of the Son of Man. But we see even from the Synoptists that the great agony was over, and that the angel had strengthened Him (Lk 22^{43}, whose genuineness is indeed doubtful; see WH's note). The cry, 'Thy will be done,' had linked the Father's purpose of redemption with the bleeding heart of man. He had now the energy to rebuke the rabble that gathered round Him. He drove Judas to despair with words of incomparable reproach. He moved forwards, in the face of false witness, to the assertion of the highest claims of Messiahship and divine authority. Even according to the Synoptists, the agony of the garden is compatible with the most stupendous claims.

Moreover, it should not be forgotten that the Fourth Gospel never ignores the vicarious sorrow or the sacrificial agony of the Son of God. Not only does the author show in the valedictory address and prayer the keenest appreciation of suffering (see $16^{2.3.32}$ 17^{12} $15^{18-22f.}$ and 14^{30}), but he gives a parallel scene of surpassing intensity in 12^{25-34}, when a fearful looking for of deviation from the Father's will is surmounted by 'Father, glorify thy name!' The moral significance and the culminating intensity of the sacrifice is really placed chronologically before (not after) the experience of the upper chamber. Cf. also the strange blendings of humiliation and victory in the story of the resurrection of Lazarus. We must admit that as the temptation, the transfiguration, and the Eucharist are suggested throughout the Fourth Gospel, so also is the agony of Gethsemane, and, we may add, the bodily ascension of the Lord. The question arises: is the Synoptic narrative, which presents these themes in tableaux visions or revelations, or is the Fourth Gospel, which gives the same teaching in a group of objective facts and recorded words, the more historical?

To John's eye the grand synthesis of majesty and mercy, of divinity and humanity, of the ideal and the actual, the blending of the mystery of pain with the brightness of the glory, was present in all the word and work of the Logos incarnate. To the Synoptic tradition, the universally diffused synthesis is gathered up into scenes and acts of a drama which readers have no power to blend without philosophical and theological hypotheses. If we are right here, much of the current anti-theological criticism of the Fourth Gospel vanishes.

C. There are numerous *correspondences* between the two documents which merit special consideration.

(*a*) *The broad facts*, the leading *outlines* of the life of the Only-begotten are the same. The *name* of 'Jesus,' the *place* of His early residence (Nazareth), the indisputable reference to 'father,' 'mother,' 'brethren,' and 'sisters,' the significance of this in connexion with the confession of His birth from the Spirit and of His having come down from heaven, belong to the two sources. The birth at Bethlehem (Jn 7^{42}) is assumed to be true by the refusal to explain away a charge actually made. The reader knows that the Synop. tradition has already forestalled the objection which John, for special reasons, reported. Both sources of tradition agree that Capernaum was chosen by Jesus as the scene of special ministry. The different treatment of the Baptist is due to the obvious fact that the Fourth Gospel takes up his story where the Synoptics lay it down. After the wondrous manifestation in the Jordan, and the confidences between Jesus and John after the temptation, the Baptist was dazzled with a vision both of His glory and of His sacrifice. He penetrated the reality of both, and used the mighty names of 'Son of God,' 'Lamb of God,' and 'Bridegroom' of the veritable Israel. All this was perfectly compatible with the fact that the previous *knowledge* of Jesus by John—even a knowledge sufficient to justify the exclamation, 'I have need to be baptized of thee' (Mt 3^{14})—was as star-light to sun-light.

Two great 'signs' of our Lord's mastery over material elements and the forces of nature are recorded in the Fourth Gospel (6^{1-21}), and correspond with the Synoptic narrative in all their main features, and the two throw valuable side-lights on each other; *e.g.* the circumstance that Jesus *constrained* His disciples to enter the boat while *He* sent the multitude away (Mt 14^{22} ‖ Mk 6^{45}), is best explained by the sympathy felt by the disciples towards the desire of the multitude to take Jesus by force and hail Him as Messiah King (Jn 6^{15}). The combined narrative brings out the impressive feature of the history.

Jn 12 gives new and interesting details of the anointing of the Lord by a woman (cf. Mt 26, Mk 14). It is from the Fourth Gospel that we learn her name, as well as the date, the motive, the criticism of this noteworthy deed which has filled the Church and the world with the fragrance of its perfume.

John agrees with the Synoptists in the main features of the triumphal entry into Jerusalem. The accounts of the 'supper' that preceded the passion, notwithstanding differences already discussed, have much in common, *e.g.* the detection and departure of Judas, and much of the matter of advice and consolation given by the departing Lord (cf. Lk 13^{31-38} with the valedictory discourse).

In addition to this there are numerous identities, such as the trial scenes, the denials by Peter, the conduct of Pilate, the incident of Barabbas, the 'title' and accusation, the crucifixion, the two other victims, the death itself, with its certification —the witnesses of the resurrection. Much that John wrote would be more difficult to appreciate if we could not suppose that he had the narrative of the Synoptists before him. Thus, although John does not describe the discussion in the Sanhedrin or the decision arrived at, he implies it in Pilate's private interrogation of Jesus.

(*b*) Other matters of fact or teaching, given in detail by the Synoptists, are characteristically hinted at in the Fourth Gospel, *e.g.* John does not describe the baptism of Jesus, but he pointedly refers to the accompaniments and consequences of it. The reference in 3^{24} to the fact that 'John was not yet cast into prison,' is best explained by the evangelist's knowing from the Synoptic narrative that the commencement of our Lord's Galilæan ministry coincided with the imprisonment of John. Further, he seems to show that the previous Judæan ministry was not incompatible with the assertion that a great *public* ministry of Christ in Galilee was apparently dependent on the arrest of John's activity. The Saviour's knowledge of Peter, and the latter's acceptance of the authority of Jesus (Lk 5^{6}, Mt 4^{18}, Mk 1^{16}), are best understood from Jn 1^{43} and the record of their early intercourse in the place where the Baptist was first exercising his ministry. The parable of the Children of the Bridechamber in Mt 9^{15} is curiously confirmed by the last recorded utterance of the Baptist, Jn 3^{29}.

Again, there are proverbial sayings found in Jn which are preserved sometimes in different connexions by the Synoptics. Comp. 4^{44} with Mt 13^{57}, Mk 6^{4}, Lk 4^{24}; and 13^{16} with Lk 6^{40} and Mt 10^{24}; also 13^{20} with Mt 10^{40} and Lk 10^{16}.

The identity of the character of our Lord as portrayed in the Synop. and Johan. narratives is very remarkable, though this has been sometimes disputed. Even A. B. Bruce (*Apologetics*, p. 485) thinks it difficult to reconcile the apparent motive of the great miracles of the Fourth Gospel with the philanthropic, sympathetic, and personal reasons which dictate corresponding miracles and other incidents in the Synoptics. He says that while our Lord's chief motive in the Synoptics was pitifulness over human need, on the other hand the obvious purpose of His 'signs' in the Fourth Gospel was to call attention to His own Person and claims on human love and veneration. There is serious matter for contemplation here, should this contrast be observed throughout these documents. But the case of every applicant for His mercy was severally considered and dealt with according to His wisdom. As He said to the woman who washed and anointed His feet, 'Thy sins are forgiven thee'; 'She loved much'; 'Go in peace';—so to the woman taken in adultery, and brought before Him, He said, 'Go and sin no more.' Doubtless He healed many in the affluence of His love, as detailed by the Synoptists; but He would not allow the woman with the issue of blood to steal away with a purely temporal blessing; and in like manner He 'found' the sick man of Bethesda in the temple to give him warning, and did not rest after healing the blind man until He 'found' him to confer upon him the highest benediction. The reason of the miraculous feeding of the multitude in both documents is anxiety for their secular and physical requirements; and the creation of the elements of wine at the wedding feast is an answer to the call upon His pity on behalf of the embarrassed villagers. The walking of Jesus upon the boisterous lake was a distinctly expressed concern for the peril both of mind and body to which His disciples were exposed. In all these cases our Lord undoubtedly found occasion to bring out the great assurance that He had come forth from God and down from heaven; that He was the Light of the world, the Giver of strength, and a great Prophet. So though the raising of Lazarus was conditioned by consciousness of alliance with Heaven and oneness with the Father, yet few things in the Bible are more impressive than His sympathetic weeping over that grave, and His divine condolence with Martha and Mary.

Obviously, it was the purpose of the Fourth Evangelist to record the impressive words, gestures, revelations by which the Lord unveiled both Himself and the Father. These are more impressive in St. John than in the popular tradition, but they did not conceal the humanness of His love. The ironical charge, which was transformed into a crown of glory, 'He saved others, himself he could not save,' is one of the keynotes of the Fourth as well as of the other Gospels. On the other hand, do we not find in the Sermon on the Mount as well as in the charge to the twelve disciples (Mt 10), to say nothing of the interpretation of the great parables of the Sower, of the Tares, and of the Dragnet (Mt 13), and of the Seed growing secretly (Mk $4^{26ff.}$), stupendous claims of personal dignity, and of kinship with the supreme Revealer and Arbiter of human destiny? Does any assumption of the Fourth Gospel transcend the claims made by the great prophet of Mt 23–25? The Jesus of the Fourth Gospel felt that His own powers and claims were of supreme moment to mankind, but that the end of all He said and did was the life, light, peace, and joy of His brethren, and their victory over the world. Let the following passages be specially consulted: 5^{40} $6^{27.\ 47\text{-}50}$ $7^{17.\ 37.\ 38}$ $8^{12.\ 31.\ 32}$ $10^{9.\ 10.\ 28}$ 11^{40} $12^{25.\ 35}$ $13^{34.\ 35}$ $14^{3ff.}$, and almost every paragraph of the valedictory discourse. The same features and spirit pervade the Synoptic Gospels, establishing more of unity than diversity in their theme. They alone relate the supernatural birth of Jesus. Nothing more characteristically Johannine can be found than Mt $11^{25\text{-}30}$ and Lk $10^{21.\ 22}$, wherein the Lord's supreme self-consciousness was uttered, and is revealed in most close and gracious relations with the consolation and salvation of mankind. No words in the Fourth Gospel concerning our Lord's character and prerogatives are loftier than those in the Synoptic Gospels. We believe we are justified in saying that the Synoptists would be more difficult to expound without the light of the Fourth Evangelist than the Fourth Gospel without the aid of the Synoptists.

Other interesting and mutually corroborating elements are found in the four Gospels. There is, for example, the portraiture of certain personages in the Fourth Gospel of whom we know nothing elsewhere, not even the name—unless the name be a second name of one known to us by another.

(1) The most striking instance of this is *Nathanael* (chs. 1 and 21). A widely spread idea prevails that he is to be identified with the Bartholomew of the Synoptic lists of apostles, where he is (by his patronymic only) associated with Philip and Thomas.

(2) *Nicodemus* is thrice referred to (3. 7^{50} 19^{39}), nay, he is photographed by a few phrases. The familiarity of our Lord with this distinguished personage is quite parallel with numerous scattered hints of His social relationships, especially in Lk 7^{36} 8^{3} 19^{5}. There is no certain identification of Nicodemus with one N. ben-Gorion, who, according to the Talmud, survived the fall of Jerusalem (see Geikie, i. 584; Winer's *Realwörterbuch*, ii. 152).

(3) The *woman of Samaria* is portrayed with inimitable vivacity, and in a few sentences she has told her own story for all time. The references to Samaria and the Samaritans in Lk and Ac are all illumined by this sketch of the early intercourse of our Lord with the inhabitants of Sychar.

(4) *Mary and Martha* have been introduced to the Synoptic history almost as ideals of the contrast between the contemplative and the active

religious life. In Jn there is a brilliant page of genuine biography and history. The time and the place are recorded; the characterization of the women is beautifully preserved along unconscious lines in Jn 11. The resemblance of their brother's name to that of the beggar of St. Luke's parable does not throw any light on this story, for all the surroundings are different, unless there be a faint adumbration in Abraham's word, 'Neither will they be persuaded,' etc., of the access of malignity in the hearts of the Pharisees, as reported in Jn 12^{10}, on hearing of the resurrection of Lazarus.

(5) *The Virgin Mother.* The reticence of the Synoptic account is one of the marvels of NT. We learn there that probably both she and Joseph also were the lowly heirs of the family and throne of David, that she occupied a purely OT standpoint, that she saw in the great function intrusted to her a solution of the baffling paradoxes of the theocratic kingdom. Mt and Lk combine to tell us of the gracious incidents of the infancy, while Mk sheds a very strong light on the probability that she shared with her other sons the fear that her prophetic child was 'beside himself,' and that she received from Him a severe yet filial rebuke. She would doubtless have spared Him every rough handling, and sought to restrain all undue exposure to the rising storm of mingled enthusiasm and malignity. The sublime way in which, according to Mk, the Lord baffled the design of the brethren, and emancipated Himself from the control of His domestic circle, is on many grounds, both literary and doctrinal, most noteworthy. Cf. and connect Mk 3^{20} with $^{30-35}$. Mary followed Jesus to Jerus. and was present at the tragedy, but there is no statement in any of the Synoptists that she was there. Lk, however, places her with her sons among the disciples before and after the Ascension, and it may be readily inferred that she was among the women who ministered to Jesus, though Mary of Magdala and Mary the mother of James the less and of Joses hide her from view. The same picture of the Virgin Mother is preserved by the beloved disciple. Here also she allows herself to be overshadowed by others and hidden in the glory of her Son and Lord. The author of the Fourth Gospel never breathes her name, but preserves the memory of the incident which he knew best, that he received the dying legacy of his Master, and as a son with a mother took her to his own home. The reference to the mother of our Lord frees his narrative from all Docetic taint; and the firm vindication of the truth that the Lord came in the flesh and was made flesh, seemed to him to be of the very essence of the Gospel, and the denial of it to be antichrist. At the same time, his constant reference to the supernatural, heaven-descended life of Christ gives the most vital basis for His immaculate conception. Minute touches also show at Cana the manner in which, while He delivered Himself from maternal control, Jesus obeyed her desire to meet the needs of their humble hosts. Thus, in the most subtle manner, the rare and wonderful portraiture is the same in both documents.

(6) The portrait of *John the Baptist* differs from that of the Synoptists; but if it be noted that the Fourth Gospel takes up the story where the current tradition dropped it, the chief difficulty vanishes. The strange question sent from the prison (Mt 11^2 and parallels) seems all the more strange in view of the great testimonies to Jesus borne by the Baptist as given in Jn 1 and 3 (cf. Reynolds, *John the Baptist*, 419–449). But there is nothing, after all, in the 'witness of John' which transcends the OT standpoint, and Christ declares (5^{36}) that He had 'greater witness than that of John.' Like Judaism itself, John would never have accomplished his proper work if he had not held to it too tenaciously even after it had reached its climax. But this involves exegetical considerations that are beyond our present scope.

(7) Of nothing are we more certain than of the historical character of *Simon Peter.* The blending of courage and weakness, the desire to suggest the courses to be followed even by his Lord, succeeded by the profound deference paid to the expression of the thought of Christ as soon as his reckless blundering was corrected, recur from first to last. This double personality appears at the earliest introduction to Jesus, amid the splendours of the transfiguration and the solemnities of Gethsemane, in his base denials and bitter tears, on the morning of the resurrection amid the visions of heavenly things, in the controversy with St. Paul over the essence of justification, and in the traditions of Church history. He is a real, not an imaginary man. If St. John had given a fundamentally different interpretation of his personality, it would have been strongly adverse to the historicity of his narrative; but the fact is, that in the transactions of chs. 13. 18. 20 and 21, though handling several diverse incidents, St. John's statements exactly preserve the same complicated features of St. Peter's inner and outer life. He who said to the Lord of the invisible world, 'Not so, Lord,' or 'Depart from me, for I am a sinful man,' or 'That be far from thee, Lord'; who would have builded tabernacles on the slopes of Hermon, or engaged a whole band of Roman soldiers with a single sword, and then declared with curses that he knew not the man whom he had risked his life to defend,—is the same as the disciple who first cried, 'Thou shalt never wash my feet' and then, 'not my feet only, but also my hands and my head'; who rushed into the sea to reach the feet of his risen Lord, and whose new act of impulsive curiosity received anew the rebuke of the Lord. The indelible imprint of personality is carried throughout the fourfold narrative.

(8) *Caiaphas* and *Pilate*, though portrayed at a different angle and in the midst of circumstances which though concordant with those of the Synoptists have a different bearing on the whole narrative, are alike etched from the life, and betray no departure from the reality common to the earlier representation. Caiaphas and Pilate are described as priest and ruler of Israel during the whole of the ministry of Jesus, Lk 3^1. The remorseless resolve of the Sadducean priest to find or make a capital charge against Jesus on the ground either of sedition or blasphemy; the unprincipled endeavour to keep the Pharisees from siding with Jesus in His reformatory zeal; the demand on oath from our Lord of the loftiest claim of Messiahship and Sonship with a view to his immediate condemnation on a charge to which Pilate could not listen; and the delivery of Jesus to the Romans on a new charge altogether, which Pilate saw through at a glance,—all this is left intact by the Fourth Evangelist, while he casts an additional light on the main motives of both the priest and the governor. The moral confusion of the motives of Caiaphas, evinced (11^{49}) in his prophetic forecast of a scapegoat to the indignant majesty of Rome, offered in the person of one absolutely innocent of the crimes alleged; the superstitious fears which blended in Pilate's mind with the abuse of his sovereign power; the uprising of his moral, at least of his political, conscience, which led to the temporary delay of the sentence,—all these elements are emphasized by the Fourth Gospel from its own sources of evidence. The private interviews between Pilate and Jesus, to which the

beloved disciple was privy (18^{33-38} 19^{9-12}), as well as the private and preliminary examination before Annas, add to the general information, and have a supplementary character; still the author does not ignore, but gives the result of the action of the Sanhedrin under the leadership of Caiaphas in Pilate's own words, 'Thine own nation and the chief priests delivered thee unto me' (18^{35}). The Barabbas incident brings into pointed relief the action of the priestly party as touched on in the Synoptic narrative, telling us that there was a pause and a questioning among the ὄχλος, which was overcome by the activity of the priests, who 'persuaded' the people (Mt 27^{20}); but the Johannine narrative shows how the fact corresponds with the earlier tradition; and the extremely culpable weakness of Pilate is further shown in the delineations of the Fourth Gospel. Pilate crushed the warnings of his own conscience, and was more intent on visiting his supercilious antipathy on the priests than on carrying out his own expressed conviction that the prisoner was innocent of the charge brought against Him. He yielded at last to a clamour which might complicate his relations with Tiberius, as the most fateful expression of Jewish national degradation at length burst upon his ear. 'We have no king but Cæsar' sealed the doom, not only of Jesus, but of the theocratic nation. Jesus was sacrificed to the cowardice and meanness of Pilate. The spirit of revenge which induced him to abide by the 'title' upon the Cross is another touch of characterization which we owe, as we believe, to the special sources of information possessed by the Fourth Evangelist. We are not concerned to deny that John's silence about the sublime assumption of the Messiahship and judgment of the world, and of the divine claim He made to the highest conceivable dignity, even when it sealed His death-warrant from the Sanhedrin, is a serious perplexity, but, at all events, it reveals no mere doctrinal perversity on the part of the writer to press the apparent theme and motive of his own wonderful contribution to the history of the Word made flesh.

We have thus considered the objections drawn from the chronological and biographical details of the Synoptic Gospels, and have shown that the omissions by the Synoptics of certain facts presumed to be of historical importance, as well as the striking omissions by the Fourth Gospel of events of cardinal significance in the Synoptic narrative, have often been pressed beyond their real significance. We have traced also the general correspondences in the chief facts and minute details of manner and matter between them, and examined the biographic portraiture of the most noted characters. There remain some general objections of greater or less moment which affect the whole composition.

D. Miscellaneous Objections.—*a.* The supposed exaggeration, through the mythopœic tendency in the later writer, of the *supernatural element.* The transmutation by creative process of 'water' into 'wine' is reckoned as an exaggerated and suspicious instance of divine prerogative attributed to the incarnate Logos. But this act seems by no means a more wonderful display of the will of Christ in harmony with the Supreme Will than is the multiplication of the bread, which belongs to the entire tradition. The heightened intensity of some of the special signs selected by 'John' is sometimes cited, *e.g.* the *thirty-eight* years of the man's infirmity in ch. 5 is compared disadvantageously with the *eighteen* years of similar paralysis as mentioned by Lk; so likewise the blindness from *birth* is compared unfavourably with the temporary blindness which Jesus healed, as recorded by Mt and Mk. But the way in which Mt tells of *two* blind men where the other evangelists, Mk and Lk, mention one, and *two* demoniacs instead of one at Gadara, and two multiplications of bread and fish instead of one in the other records, is far more open to the charge of mythical enlargement than anything that is here attributed to the Fourth Gospel. There is a deepening glory in the resurrections from the dead, which has been commented upon since the days of Augustine. The daughter of Jairus just laid upon her deathbed, and the young man at Nain being carried to his grave, might seem insufficient *per se* to prove that the Lord Jesus had the keys of death in His hands, but the fourth day of death and the assumed putridity of Lazarus' corpse are more conclusive evidence that the Lord is King, and can and will raise in some way all that are in the dust of death. He had chosen death and the sepulchre as His special battlefield,—the evangelist had ample facts from which he made selection with reference alike to blindness and death, and in both cases, as well as in the bread sign and the Bethesda 'Sabbath cure,' he apparently chose the incidents for the sake of the discourses with which they were followed, and which he remembered so well. It must not be forgotten in estimating the weight of this argument that the Fourth Gospel is parsimonious in describing specific miracles, though it records the fact of their abundance ($20^{30.31}$). Further, it is the only one of the four which declares that the miraculous is a kind of evidence far inferior to that of intuition and personal recognition of the divine in Himself (Jn 14^{10-14}). The miracle arrested attention, but it was still in the region of the natural and sensuous, and appealed rather to the understanding than to the higher conscience or to the spirit. The most startling and dramatic scenes, including, as we have seen, the temptation, the transfiguration, and the portents of the crucifixion, are shorn of those mysterious accompaniments which are desired by the miracle-loving multitude, and might be described as the unhistorical accretion of years. After prolonged pondering of the problem, we are convinced it might be urged that there is more of the mythical lustre overspreading the Synoptic narrative, more of the imaginative setting, and the solitary uncorroborated event or teaching in both Mt and Lk than in the Fourth Gospel, and more of the pictorial and even dramatic presentation in the Gospel of Mk than in either of them, and still more than in the stern self-repression and spiritual recollections of the great Apostle of Love.

β. Schenkel (*Charakterbild Jesu*, § ii., and elsewhere throughout his able work), Hase, Renan, Ritschl, and others, have emphasized the absence from the Fourth Gospel of that *progressive mental and official development* of the character and Messianic claim of Jesus alleged to be discoverable in the Synoptic tradition. But if the Preacher of the Sermon on the Mount identified Himself with 'righteousness,' and declared that, by penetrating the secrets of all hearts, He could and would dispose of the final destinies of individuals; if He was hailed as the Holy One of God by the demoniacs (Mk), and in the synagogue at Nazareth (Lk) aroused inveterate hatred by a double claim to Messianic dignity and to an obnoxious universalism,—there is not much room for development after that, especially when the three Gospels emphasize the significance of the Heavenly Voice which accompanied His baptism by John, and His subsequent transfiguration, as the climax of His Galilæan ministry. We are not concerned to deny the development of Jesus from His birth to the twelfth and afterwards to the thirtieth year of His life. Enough has been told to discriminate His infancy finally from that of the later legends of Buddha, or the precocities and monstrosities of the non-canonical Gospels of the Infancy. The originality of Jesus leaves no room to think that either John the Baptist or Philo, Hillel or Gamaliel, contributed anything to His mental resources or to His Messianic rôle. He knew His own mind, and followed it throughout, allowing the voice of the Father and the foreordained unfolding of human need and inquiry to determine the successive phases of revelation. While He was waiting for God, God was working in all things to the unveiling of His own true nature and the vindication of His love to the uttermost. There appears to be quite a parallel, if not a richer, development in the Fourth Gospel than in the other three. There is a wide space between the language addressed to Nathanael (1^{47}) and that to Philip on the night of the passion: 'Have I been so long time with you,' etc.; between the elementary instructions given to Nicodemus (3^{1-16}) touching the fundamental aspects of the new life, and the true nature of the kingdom of God, as consisting of regenerated men on the one hand, and on the other the sublime teaching of the 'good Shepherd,' the mutual indwelling of the Vine and its branches (ch. 15); the glorification of the Son of God, who would go unto the Father, prepare a place for them, 'come again to them' in the power and presence of the Comforter. Almost every school of criticism admits a momentous advance after the close of ch. 12. Those whom He had gathered out of the world, those who at length had come to believe in the mission of the Lord, are set forth at length as face to face with each other, under the shadow of the cross, in the coronation of sacrifice, suffering, sorrow, and death. A higher strain of instruction pervades the Fourth Gospel than that current in the Synoptic tradition—one more adapted to the solitary inquirers, or to a knot of carping and critical priests, or to the society of His own disciples at great crises of their spiritual history, or to angry sticklers for their own customs when preparing their final and deadly assault upon His life, than to the ordinary and miscellaneous groups at the lake side or on the hill slopes of Galilee. However, the contrast does not interfere with the historicity of either account. The progressive aspects of each group of revelations is obviously the result of the different susceptibilities of His audience and their power to catch the meaning of His teaching. In the case of St. John's Gospel this is heightened by the circumstance that the reporter is throughout *one* intense, perfervid, yet contemplative spirit, who received from the infinite fulness of the God-incarnate—knowing Him to be this—just the impression which he alone could receive, and in some degree record for after generations.

γ. The *Gnostic element* in the Fourth Gospel, as distinct from the Synoptic narratives, has been supposed to carry this document from the close of the 1st to the middle of the 2nd cent., to the great disparagement of its biographical and autoptic value. Siegfried, as we have seen, endeavours to establish an influence from Philo of Alexandria upon the entire literature of NT, upon Mt and Ja as well as on Hebrews and the Johannine writings. Thoma has maintained a similar thesis. He even fastens on Valentinus, as Baur had done on Marcion, to redate the Pauline Epistles, and so obtain, *a fortiori*, a plunge down into the 2nd cent. for the Johannine books. This kind of criticism overshoots itself. Both the 1st cent. B.C. and the 1st and 2nd cents. A.D. were seething with the ferment produced by the blending of Hel. and Oriental ideas, of Gr. and Heb. philosophy and phrase. There is no need to come down to the middle of the 2nd cent. to understand the phraseology of Col or Hebrews, the letters of Ignatius or Barnabas, or the Wisdom of Solomon. Specific terms, such as 'Logos,' 'Life,' and 'Light,' were ready at all times to take up a richer connotation than before. The special contrast between the Synoptists and John, to the disparagement of the latter, has been pressed, as though Jn had thus received the hall-mark of the end of 2nd cent. The question arises whether the creation of the whole world by the Logos or Son is affirmed or repudiated by the Fourth Gospel. Does it recognize the dualistic view of the source of good more than do the Synop. Gospels? Surely the latter give us more references to the malice, mischief, and kingdom of Satan, of darkness and demonism, than the Fourth Gospel, which never refers to demoniac energy. There is nothing more, on the other hand, than a vague side reference to the Creation in the Synoptics (Mk 10^{6}). Such language is by no means so clear and explicit with reference to Creation as *πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο* (Jn 1^{3}), nor can it be pretended that matter (*ἡ ὕλη*) or any other element in the *κόσμος* is excepted from the *πάντα*, which owe absolutely their genesis to the Logos. The non-interpenetrating characteristics of 'light' and 'darkness' is not asserted. The power of 'darkness' is not chaotic or anarchic, but represents simply the negation of 'light.' 'Darkness' is not impenetrable to 'light.' The element of will or moral nature enters into the conditions of its permanence. The idea of *ὁ πονηρός* belongs rather to the Synop. than Johan. representations; see Mt 5^{37} 6^{13} 13^{19}, Lk 11^{26}. S. Davidson considered that Jesus (Jn 17^{9}) did not 'pray for the world,' because the *κόσμος* was hopelessly beyond the region of conversion or the power of prayer. This interpretation seems entirely inconsistent with 1^{29} 3^{16} 4^{42} $6^{33.\,51}$ 8^{12} 12^{47} 16^{8}, and even with the context of the assertion, 'I pray not for the world,' in which the Lord prays (v.^{21}) for those who should believe on Him through the word of His disciples, and looks forward to the great consummation of His own mission, 'that the *world* may believe that thou didst send me.' This is the final purpose of the Lord's intercession for His disciples. We admit that pervading the Fourth Gospel there is a class of references to an elect kingdom of susceptible souls to be found throughout the world, 'the other sheep' of 10^{16}, cf. $3^{20.\,21}$ 18^{37}, which suggest the wideness of God's mercy, and also the inscrutable and boundless depths of the divine decrees, the extent of the invisible and omnipotent graces affecting human destiny and counteracting human perversity and corruption. This is not Gnosticism, but one of the great teachings of Divine Revelation in the God-man. A Docetic element is charged upon the Fourth Gospel, and the Gnostic Ebionitism of the 2nd cent. is referred to as its source, and the later supposed date is assigned on this ground to the whole class of representation; but the Johan. writings, and especially the Gospel, are the most decidedly pronounced anti-Docetic documents in NT. They speak of the true humanity of the Son of Man with intentional emphasis. Thus the father, mother, brothers of Jesus are spoken of; the weariness, thirst, tears, inward groanings, personal affections, dress, food, spittle, touch, flesh, blood, bones, wounded side, are severally mentioned. He was 'made flesh,' *i.e.* full humanity; His dead body was partially embalmed, His raiment was divided among the soldiers. After His resurrection He was prepared to take broiled fish and honey and bread. We do not admit a treatment of the supposed phantasmic appearances or disappearances of the Lord (7^{30} 8^{59} 10^{39} 18^{6}) as Gnostic or Docetic in the Fourth, when similar events are recorded in the Synop. Gospels, *e.g.* Lk 4, as well as the walking on the water and the walk to Emmaus. Hilgenfeld has laid stress on a translation his theory has demanded, that in $8^{43.44}$ our Lord is supposed to refer to 'the father of the devil,' and so to the origination of the devil by some inferior god, like the Jehovah of OT as imagined by the Ophites. The whole of this contention has been taken up favourably by the advocates of the 2nd cent. date. It proceeds from unwillingness to recognize that the Gospel places the difference between the children of God and the children of the devil, not in primordial difference of essence, but in the will of man (see Godet's *Introd.* vol. i. 182 ff.).

δ. The phenomena of the Johan. *discourses* unquestionably introduce us to a new atmosphere, and to a place and audience different from those of the Synoptics. This is not finally explained by the frequent suggestion that the Synoptics represent our Lord as addressing the multitudes in Galilee, and that the Fourth Gospel is almost exclusively occupied with individuals, or with small groups of His disciples,—because, on the one hand, we see that the great controversy of ch. 6 was conducted in the synagogue of Capernaum, and those of chs. 5 and 10 were held with large and excited groups in the temple courts. On the other hand, the great Synoptic discourse on the last things was addressed to only four of the twelve disciples. Moreover, the comparison of Mt 5–7 with Lk 6 shows that the Sermon on the Mount was a selection of the most recondite instructions addressed at the first — and in the main — to the inner circle of the disciples. The same features are observed in the special discourse to the twelve disciples in Mt 10, and correspond with much similar instruction given to the seventy disciples in Lk $10^{1\text{-}16}$. We cannot account for these differences of style and subject-matter on such easy terms. A considerable element of subjective choice is distinctly claimed by the author on two occasions. He selected his materials from copious accumulations, out of a wide range of memory and of tradition. The reporter put them together with the hope and belief that they would evoke confidence in the Messiah-functions and divine Sonship of Jesus (20^{31} and 21^{25}). Some of the most 'Johannine' utterances are likewise to be found in Mt $11^{25\text{ff.}}$, Lk $10^{25\text{ff.}}$. Moreover, every great claim made by our Lord in the Fourth Gospel is anticipated by the direct or implied teaching of the reported sayings, and the miracles and parables of the Synoptics. The diction of these sayings is different from that of the earlier narratives, though it is easy to exaggerate the difference, and to ignore a very fundamental element of the problem. We have already seen how much common matter there is in these four documents. Many proverbial sayings or startling apothegms, found in the Three, are not absent from the Fourth, though they are given in fresh connexions. The strain of the self-consciousness of Jesus appears frequently in the Synoptic narrative, though given there when our Lord was concerned with the judgment of men, and foreboding the consummation of all things. Whatever may be the ultimate solution of this great problem, this at least is shown to be probable, that there was from the first a twofold, double-sided strain in our Lord's discourse, on which minds of congenial and susceptible characteristics would and did lay hold, with verbal tenacity, when brought into intimate relation with Him. This corresponds with analogous phenomena in other regions of biographical record. Only by blending these and some dissimilar elements can we obtain the approximate portraiture. We need to combine the commonplace representation of the man Socrates by the matter-of-fact Xenophon, and even the lampoon of the Sophists in the comic satire of Aristophanes, with Plato's ideal of the great teacher, martyr, citizen, and philosopher, before we have the historic Socrates on our canvas. In like manner we are bound to take account of the Pauline Christ and that of the Ep. to the Hebrews, the 'unwritten words,' the threefold type of the Synoptists, and, above all, that representation which in this Gospel presses most near to that portion of His consciousness wherein He communes with the Father and with Himself. In these conversations and soliloquies the subjective element of the reporter is more conspicuous than elsewhere. The prince of biographers is he who is able to gather up the spirit and gist of a long conversation or discourse, and present it in the words of the Master Himself. This is exactly what John seems to have done, and thus he brings us nearer than any other to the great historic reality—'historic,' *i.e.* not, as often implied, on purely non-supernatural lines, but in the sense of objective fact.

The opponents of the authenticity of the Fourth Gospel urge that the writer, alike in his prologue and in the report of the Lord's words in the epilogue, and in the first Ep., adopts a style of expression which he puts into the mouth of Nathanael and Nicodemus, Mary and Martha, Caiaphas and Pilate, the blind man and John the Baptist, corresponding in diction so closely with the phraseology of Jesus, as to suggest that the Greek words of all the speakers, including the Lord Himself, are nothing else than St. John's own strongly characterized vocabulary and diction. Some of the most acute and learned defenders of the authenticity of the document have not hesitated practically to admit this contention. Watkins (in his *Bampton Lectures*, and in his article on the same theme in Smith's DB^2) has maintained the possibility of which we have spoken, and has endeavoured to account for the phenomena by the simple theory of translation from an *Aramaic* original. It is probable that some of the discourses have undergone this process of translation. There is a distinct tradition to a similar effect with reference to the Gospel of *Matthew*. The same peculiarity must be held equally possible in Mk and Lk. And many of the difficulties are surmounted in the present case by the theory of the translation of words uttered in Aramaic into the Greek of Jn, which, having been built up through long years, enabled him to make use of it in representing the words of others, and then he may have adopted the same favourite terms, and a somewhat similar construction of sentences on all occasions. But we cannot admit that this hypothesis completely satisfies the facts of the case.

ε. *The diction of our Lord and of His biographer.* There are peculiarities of diction, vocabulary, and structure which are certainly adopted by this writer—Gr. words are used by him and by no other, some of which are somewhat uncommon, such as ἄντλημα, ἀποσυνάγωγος, βιβρώσκειν, γλωσσόκομον, δακρύειν, δίδυμος, ἐπιχρίειν, θήκη, θρέμματα, κέρμα, κολλυβιστής, νιπτήρ, προσαίτης. But in respect of special vocabulary Jn does not differ from other writers of NT. Again, there is a peculiar fondness manifested in Gospel and Epistle for certain special and almost technical words, — which by frequent repetition acquire a deeper meaning,— such as φῶς (23 times), δόξα (42), κόσμος (78), μαρτυρία (47), γινώσκειν (55), πιστεύειν (98), σημεῖον (17 times). It is also clear that the writer adopted a Semitic connotation for ו in the καί which he makes do ample duty for the various connective particles of the Gr. tongue. A common phenomenon in the Johannine writings is simple juxtaposition of sentences, often producing by the mere use of καί, and in fact sometimes without it, an adversative, concessive, or peculiar emphasis (1^{4} 15^{24} 3^{11} 5^{39}). The very common antithesis of μέν and δέ is almost dropped, and καί repeatedly made to represent δέ. It is curious that the writer, after using λόγος in ch. 1, subsequently drops it and *never* puts it into the lips of Jesus. It recurs in the 1 Ep. (ch. 1) and in the Apocalypse. It therefore becomes clear by this and many other passages and peculiarities that the author had a Greek diction somewhat peculiar to himself, which he used when following his own lines of meditation or narrative. Attention may also be called to the remarkable fact, that he puts into the lips of our Lord no fewer than 145 words which he never uses in his own person. Thirty-eight of these are found also in the Synop. account of our Lord's discourses. A similar peculiarity of expression or construction is reserved by the writer for Jesus, but never adopted by himself. There are nine peculiarities of our Lord's diction, such as the reduplicated 'Amen,' which are peculiar to Jn and never found elsewhere. There are 500 words which are freely used by him in his own portions of the Gospel or in the words of one or other of the interlocutors, which he never attributes to our Lord, so that the phenomena of translation still leave some problems to be solved by closer investigation. That there was a certain amount of translation is obvious, and some strong subjective element in the selection and arrangement of material cannot be ignored; but an effort must have been made to conserve the sacred words of the Lord Jesus in a phraseology which was supposed especially adapted to represent and enshrine the original utterances of the Master. This becomes more obvious when the evangelist frequently comes into direct communication with his reader: when he speaks *in propriâ personâ* occasionally he offers a commentary on the words of our Lord, perhaps even an expansion along certain lines of his own, of the words of Jesus which, though he caught them (and even transferred them into Gr.), he had not fully comprehended. These contrasts between the writer's memories and his explanations, both of the narrative and of the discourse, deserve far more attention than they have received.

The surpassing majesty of the Prologue (1^{1-18}) indicates that the mind of the writer was interpenetrated, overwhelmed with the effect produced by his contact with the Lord Jesus Christ. Clearly, he could think of Him as nothing less than 'the only-begotten of the Father,' as the Agent by whom the fulness of grace and truth broke upon the world,—and yet he drew a distinction between ὁ θεός and the λόγος as divine element in Jesus, although in the same breath declaring an identity between them. The Word, said he, was 'in the beginning,' and 'with God,' and yet 'was God.' It was 'the Word' by whom 'all things' came into being. The Word was both the source and the sphere of life, of that life which was light. All the light which had ever flashed into the darkness, and which the darkness was too gross to admit, was the beaming of His face. This conflict with the darkness resulted in most tragical issues. Nevertheless, this Word at length came into the world, and did so along fresh lines, not merely as eminent in all life and light, but as a fully constituted humanity—'flesh.' From this point onward he proceeded to show how the soliloquies and words of Jesus fell upon his sensitive and susceptible soul, as belonging rather to eternity than to time, as voices which had in them an infinity of meaning and of truth. He selected a few only of these for description and comment, and they grew in weight and wonder till he laid down the pen. At the same time, we feel that the Lord did not write, and could not have written, the Prologue. The logical exordium, the sublime climax, were neither in our Lord's own manner nor in His own phrase, as afterwards reported by the evangelist. A full discussion of this comparison must be reserved for some other place, but a brief treatment of a few of the most salient passages may be attempted.

ζ. *The incommensurability between the writer and his theme.* We come into close contact with the writer in the following passages:—1^{25} $2^{9-11.\,21\,23-25}$ $3^{18-21.\,23}$, possibly $^{34-36}$ 4^{4-6} 5^{1-6} $6^{6.\,15.\,17.\,64.\,65}$ $7^{30.\,39}$ $8^{9.\,20}$ $9^{7.\,22}$ $10^{41.\,42}$ $11^{6.\,13.\,33-35.\,51.\,52}$ $12^{16.\,33.\,37-43}$, possibly 12^{46-50} $13^{1-6.\,11.\,28-30}$ 16^{17-19} 17^{3} $18^{4.\,9.\,14.\,28.\,32}$ $19^{14.\,24.\,28.\,35-37}$ $20^{30.\,31}$ $21^{4.\,23-25}$. These passages are independent of pure narrative, and are selected mainly because the writer essays to inform his readers of the secret sentiment of the disciples or of others, which does not appear in the narrative itself, but still more because of the way in which he attempts to make more obvious the words of the Lord Himself, when the wisdom of his interpretation, though doubtless up to a point conveying a deep or an obvious meaning, is not equal to the accuracy of his report. Only a few of these can be indicated here. 2^{21} '*But he spake of the temple of his body,*' was doubtless a natural inference of a believer in the bodily resurrection of Jesus from the death to which the Sadducean party would in the main condemn Him. The first notes of the death-peal were sounded in the temple. The departure of Jesus from Jerus. was proof of the kind of reception which the great Prophet received from 'his own' as soon as 'darkness' set itself to quench the new 'light.' This was one and the nearest interpretation. But with all the subsequent history of the spiritual temple of believing men, and of the rapidity—the 'three days'—in which the new body and temple rose into spiritual splendour and sufficiency, it is difficult to believe that the evangelist sounded or grasped all the significance of the weighty words. The question whether 3^{16} or $^{18-21}$, and again $^{34-36}$, are expansions of the remembered and cited words of Jesus and the Baptist in the explanatory terms of the evangelist, cannot be discussed here, yet would not have arisen if criticism had not recognized in both places the subtle difference between the individuality of the evangelist and the style of each of his masters. The frequent reference to 'the hour' of Jesus, as in 7^{30} 8^{20}, suggests the knitted, anxious brow of the evangelist as he watched the approach of crisis, and the mysterious deliverance of the Lord from the malice, the arrest, the stones of His enemies. It is curious that many of the chief puzzles of exegesis are to be found in the evangelist's own comment or narrative. By far the most difficult theological *crux* is 7^{39}, which perhaps yields its treasure up to patient inquiry; but the statement of the passage is entirely due to 'John,' viz., that 'until Jesus was glorified' the Holy Spirit *was* not, had not been ('given' or 'manifested'). This assertion is apparently discordant with the teaching of Christ and his apostles, and of John himself. It was a question of 'more' or 'less,' not a contrast between nothing and something. The fulness or splendour of the new dispensation varies with the vital truth and revelation of God wherewith He energizes in the consciousness and even below the consciousness. The contrast between the quickening of intelligence under the OT, and the descent of the Holy Spirit upon Jesus, is so great as to account for John's words, and *a fortiori* the contrast between the ministry of the synagogue and the ascended Lord. The evangelist makes a great and unintentional revelation of himself in 13^{1-5}. His mind must have been working in flights of unparalleled ecstasy when he endeavoured to convey the impression which the feet-washing had made upon him. But the style of the passage, the assumption of co-ordinate emotions in the bosom of Jesus, and the motives not verbally revealed, differ profoundly from the diction and method of thought of the Lord Himself. St. John was able to represent the tones of the 'eternal now' when recording the words of Jesus, but when he tried to reflect the motives or inner spirit of Christ he could find no adequate language.

The purport of the Gospel and the plan and classification of its subject-matter have been variously presented by successive critics and commentators from Lampe of Utrecht (1724) to the present hour under the handling of Reuss, Godet, Luthardt, Thoma, and Beyschlag. Because the structure of this very wonderful book reveals a gathering intensity of meaning, and the succession of events a climacteric force, it does not follow that the broad outline of the chronology has been tampered with in either historical or theological interests. Many of the lives of our greatest men naturally arrange themselves in epochs, great opportunities, deep sayings of historic significance, crises, tragedies—as, *e.g.*, those of Socrates, Cæsar, Buddha, Luther, William of Orange. Now, if we can accept the fundamental idea of God manifest in the flesh, we are satisfied that the most unsympathetic narrator would unconsciously sift material, and gather climax, and glow with dramatic intensity in spite of himself. The Synoptic narrative, with its most solemn and far-reaching suggestions, has prepared the way for the Fourth Gospel, which everywhere presupposes the existence of the wider and more copious detail. It lays down firmly the chronological points, between which it is not impossible to show that the vistas of miracle, parable, self-revelation open out. The non-obtruded but certain septenary arrangement, the gathering of the glory as the story moves from eternity to eternity, the poetic framework showing that from the great deep to the great deep it goes, does not disturb its true proportions of credible and realizable fact.

η. The order of the thought due to the evangelist.—We will make some attempt to show what is the actual order of the thought, whether intentional or not, on the part of the evangelist. As many writers show careful and subtle alliteration in their prose, rhythm and accentuation in their poetry, without any consciousness on their part, so the progress of the thought comes into view with the evolution of the life and self-revelation.

A. Proem. chs. 1-4 contain specimens of the nature and method of the Lord—first manifestations of the Logos Incarnate to His own, to Israel, and the world.—i. Prologue, 1^{1-18}. Explanation of the astonishing phenomena which Jn proceeds to record. Jesus is all that Synoptists endeavoured to prove, viz. Messiah, Son of God, Son of Man; but to St. John He is all this, because He is the incarnation of 'the Word,' v.^{14}, who is in the beginning 'with God' and 'God,' and has been variously manifested and active before the incarnation, in nature, prophecy, conscience, and grace.

ii. The testimonies of the forerunner, 1^{19-34}.

iii. The testimony of the first witnesses, 1^{35-51}.

iv. The testimony of two great signs, 2–3^{2}.

v. Revelation of heavenly things and the new life and redemption; meaning of the whole revelation, 3^{3-21}.

vi. The final testimony of the great seer, 3^{22-36}.

vii. The ministry of the Lord beyond the limits of the theocracy, the Life-giver, the Prophet, and Saviour, 4^{1-42}.

viii. The summation of the Galilæan ministry, 4^{43-54}.

B. The conflict of the Logos Incarnate with His own people, down to the signing of the death-warrant, chs. 5-11.

i. Christ (*a*) the source of life and healing to body and soul, of sabbatic rest and of resurrection glory, 5^{1-29}; (*b*) the witnesses to these claims, 5^{30-40}.

ii. Christ sustains the life of which He is the source, 6^{1-71}. (*a*) The signs (on land and sea) of creative power and love, 6^{1-21}. (*b*) The interpretation of the signs, $6^{22\text{ff.}}$. (*c*) Effect—increase of enmity and intensifying of faith, $6^{41\text{ff.}\ 60\text{ff.}}$.

iii. The truth. Dramatic scenes; conflicting parties, with murderous designs, thwarted, including the story of the adulteress, 7–8^{11}.

iv. The light of the world (8^{12}–9^{41}) vindicated by word and sign. The correlative Giver of sight as well as light, with conflicting issues.

v. The Shepherd of the flock of God, 10^{1-21}.

vi. Identity of essence and function with the Father (10^{22-42}), where the assumption is challenged and vindicated by word and sign.

vii. (*a*) The vanquisher of death and Hades (11^{1-57}), and the claim to be the 'Resurrection and the Life.'

(*b*) The different effect produced upon different classes, especially on the ecclesiastical powers. The ban of condemnation confirmed and published.

C. The close of the public ministry.

i. The feast of love and gratitude, and the presage of the burial, 12^{1-8}.

ii. The diverse effects of the sign, 12^{9-11}.

iii. The challenge of the authorities, 12^{12-19}.

iv. The request of the Greeks and the reply of Jesus, including the glorification of the Son of Man in and through death, and the anticipation of Gethsemane, 12^{20-29}.

v. Last words, and the reflections of the evangelist, 12^{30-50}.

D. The final manifestation of the Word Incarnate as love unto the uttermost, chs. 13–17.

I. The inner glorification of the perfect love to His own disciples.—i. Self-abandoning service, while simultaneously giving the highest expression of His divine commission and His God-consciousness, 13^{1-17}.

ii. Followed by the exclusion of the faithless disciple. 'It was night,' 13^{18-30}.

iii. The last conversation and discourse. (1) The glorification of the Son of Man, with its great demand on the disciples, 13^{31-35}. (2) The question of Simon Peter and its terrible response and sublime consolations (13^{36}–14^{4}). (3) The question of Thomas—bringing out the reply, that He, by death, was their way to the Father, 14^{5-7}. (4) The question of Philip, with greater revelations and the promise of the greater works, 14^{8-21}. (5) The question of Judas, the conditions of His self-manifestation, 14^{22-31}. (6) The parable of the Vine and its branches, 15^{1-10}. (7) The results of the union of Christ and His disciples—bitter but glorious, 15^{11}–16^{6}. (8) The promise of the Paraclete, 16^{7-33}. (9) The high-priestly intercession for Himself, for His disciples, for the whole Church, 17^{1-28}.

II. The more outward and public glorification in the passion, 18–19^{42}.—i. The betrayal, 18^{1-12}.

ii. Examination before Annas, with the discomfiture and denial of Simon Peter, 18^{13-27}.

iii. The Roman trial, presupposing the decision of the Sanhedrin, 18^{28}–19^{16}.

iv. The crucifixion. Love unto the uttermost, 19^{17-24}.

v. The words from the cross, 19^{25-30}.

vi. The side-piercing and the burial, 19^{31-42}.

III. The final glorification and the Resurrection.

(1) The evangelist's own personal conviction, 20^{1-10}.

(2) The manifestation to adoring love, 20^{11-18}.

(3) The manifestation to the ten disciples and others, $20^{19.20}$.

(4) The peace, the gift of the Spirit, 20^{21-23}.

(5) The manifestation to anxious scepticism, eliciting the cry, 'My Lord and my God,' 20^{24-29}.

(6) The evangelist's summation of His argument throughout, $20^{30.31}$.

IV. The Epilogue.

(1) The manifestation of Himself in the work of life, 21^{1-14}.

(2) The service of love. The rehabilitation of, and solemn charge given to, Simon Peter, 21^{15-19}.

(3) Special manifestation to waiting love, 21^{20-23}.

(4) Identification of the author by subsequent editors with the disciple whom Jesus loved, $21^{24\text{f.}}$.

By whomsoever this marvellous document was constructed, it is unique in literature. The concentration and supernatural fulness of the subject-matter — sentence within sentence, hint within hint—reveals worlds of reality with the prodigality wherewith Nature surprises us. An immensely difficult task has been successfully finished by the simplest means; the Divine-Human Christ of the Ep. to Hebrews and the Christ of Ro 3 and 8 and 1 Co 1–4 and 10–15, of Eph and Col, nay, the mysterious personality of Rev 1–3, is not incompatible with the preacher of the Sermon and the parables of the Sower, the Drag-net, and the Prodigal Son; and here He lives before us, and there is no inconsistency. The Supreme Man reveals Himself, still without comparison or analogy or rival, among the sons of men. He stands absolutely alone, yet infinitely near, the one who sums up but transcends all physical and physiological law. All attempts to account for the document upon principles other than those we have contended for, every hypothesis made to bring it down to the middle of the 2nd cent., and there to find an occasion or an author, must be pronounced to have failed, and we fall back upon the memories and love of the first generation or two after this great revelation had been made. It is bound by links which cannot be broken, to the history, the geography, the religion of the day, but transcends as yet all mere human history or known ways of nature.

VII. LITERATURE. — The translation by C. R. Gregory of Luthardt's *St. John, the Author of the Fourth Gospel*, is enriched by a voluminous list of all the works and pamphlets written on the positive and negative side of this prolonged controversy, from Evanson, an Anglican clergyman in 1792, to Beyschlag in 1875. It occupies eighty 8vo pages. Crombie in his tr. of Meyer's *Comm. on Jn* has furnished an ample catalogue of selected works, bearing more upon the interpretation and exegesis of the text than on the controversy about its origin. These lists were completed in 1875. Watkins' *Bampton Lectures* have carried critical and classified enumeration to a later date. A digest of the most noteworthy literature and epoch-making works is all that can be here appended.

Evanson (Ipswich, 1792), with insufficient evidence, gave voice to a rising spirit of free-thinking among the English Deists of an earlier part of the century touching the 'dissonance of the four evangelists,' etc., and suggested that the Fourth was the work of a Platonist of the 2nd cent. Evanson was replied to by no other than Joseph Priestley and by James Simpson, and again took arms in 1794 in defence of his thesis. In 1796 Eckermann assailed the genuineness of the Gospels on the ground of the prominence therein given to miracles. He was one of the first who endeavoured to discriminate between the apost. or Johan. nucleus of the Gospel, and that which he thought had been added by later hands. Two years later, Eckermann retracted these views, 1798. Discussions prevailed between Schmidt and Bolton as to the original language, Syriac or Greek, in which the Gospel had first been written. In 1801 Vogel wrote a vulgar book in which he gave a melodramatic turn to the controversy by bringing the author of the Gospel for trial at the judgment day. Luthardt-Gregory enumerates about fifty works before 1820, but no deep impression was produced until the celebrated theologian Bretschneider issued his *Modest Enquiries into the Genius and Origin of the Gospel and Epistle of John*, in which he gathered to a point all the doubts that had been in the air for a generation. He was ably answered by Olshausen, Lücke, and others, and admitted that his doubts were resolved. Schleiermacher after this did not hesitate to recognize the true historical character of the Christ of John, anticipating views which have long been held in suspense. For several years the positions of Bretschneider were reconsidered by positive and negative critics. Paulus, de Wette, Sartorius, Stein, E. G. Bengel, Hase's different editions of his *Leben Jesu*, 1829 and 1834, and fifty other publications, prepared the way for the four edd. of the celebrated *Life of Jesus* by Strauss, 1835–1840, with which it is well to compare *Das Leben Jesu für das Deutsche Volk*, 1864. Neander's *Life of Christ* largely contributed to the refutation of Strauss, just as the latter had reduced to ridicule the rationalistic anti-supernaturalism of Paulus. Bruno Bauer (1840) made it clear that the mythical theory could not explain the Fourth Gospel, which throughout reveals the presence of a commanding thinker, who, if not a poet of distinct romantic faculty, must have been a wilful forger. Ebrard and others handled this hypothesis with severity. De Wette, Schenkel (1840), Reuss, Schwegler, and many others, grappled with special aspects of the many-sided controversy. In 1840 the highly important *Introd. and Comm.* of Lücke of Göttingen appeared, followed in 1852 by his celebrated *Einleitung in die Offenbarung des Johannes*, in which the authenticity of the Gospel is sustained by referring the Apocalypse to the Presbyter. Cf. Luthardt, *De Compositione Evangelii Johannis*. Andrews Norton, *Genuineness of the four Gospels*, 1837–1848, made a most notable contribution to the discussion as it stood before the efforts of Baur of Tübingen. The latter epoch-making theologian commenced his assault by maintaining, in 1844, that the Gospel could not have been written before A.D. 160. In the *Th. Jahrb.* 1845, Zeller pushed the date forward another decade. Baur wrote *Krit. Untersuch. über d. Canon. Evangelien, Einleit. in d. NT. theol. Wissenschaft* (1850–51 of *Th. Jahrb.*), *Das Christenthum und d. Christl. Kirche d. drei ersten Jahrh.* (1853, 3rd ed. 1863). In 1854 he replied to Luthardt, Fr. Delitzsch, Brückner, and Hase, who had disputed his positions. Hilgenfeld, in 1854, *Die Evangelien*, does not consent to postpone the date of the origin beyond A.D. 120–140. Schneider, 1854, *Die Aechtheit des Jn. Evangeliums nach den Äusseren Zeugnissen*, made an able reply to Baur's treatment of the internal evidence. Scholten, Schürer (to some extent), Ebrard, Luthardt (with reference to the relation of the Gospel to Justin Martyr and the Clementines) fought the issues earnestly. In 1856 Jordan Bucher issued his *Des Apostels Johannes Lehre vom Logos, nach ihrem Wesen und Ursprunge*, and endeavoured to identify the *Logos* of 'John' and Philo; and in 1857 Baur again replied. The date of the last passover now took a prominent place in the debate, and Tholuck again defended the position of the Fourth Gospel. The main thesis of Baur and Hilgenfeld and others was the discovery of a system of Church organization and Christian ideas through which the Fourth Gospel could alone have seen the light. Baur supposes that the Gospel reveals the presence of the 2nd cent. Gnosis, and further, that it reflects the healing of a conjectural and violent schism between the Jerus. apostles and St. Paul, and the Churches which derived their origin and tone from these sources respectively. The two tendencies towards Judaic exclusiveness on the one hand and Pauline universalism on the other, were intensified by Marcionitic anti-Judaism on the one side and Montanistic revolt against the Episcopate on the other. In the writings of Baur the further speculation was hazarded, that towards the close of the 2nd cent. a tendency towards co-operation began; that the Epp. to Col, Eph, Ti and Tit, He, and the Bk. of Ac, were fabricated to bring about a fusion of the hostile parties; that this Gospel was a part of the system of forgeries by which the Cath. Church was originated. It is supposed that an unknown writer cunningly suggested that he was the beloved friend of Jesus and knew His inmost heart; His belief in the theocracy, that 'salvation was of the Jews,' but that God was 'a Spirit'; that among Greeks as well as Jews the buried corn of wheat would bring forth much fruit. This extraordinary writer was ready to justify the Montanistic realization of the grace of the Paraclete, and also, by a delicate series of modifications of the Synoptic tradition, to make the passover of the Jews reach its climax at the hour of the crucifixion; and he sought, moreover, to link the Christ with the ΛΟΓΟΣ of a popular philosophy. Every line of the Gospel was searched for confirmation of some portion of the hypothesis; and adverse elements were cleverly contrived to spread out the occasion for the publication of the spiritual Gospel. The strife between the Eastern and Western Churches as to the celebration of the Easter festival had broken out, and it was a masterstroke to show that one of the Jerus. apostles, who is traditionally reported to have followed the Jewish celebration on the 14th Nisan, the day preceding the crucifixion, had actually set forth the identification of the crucifixion of Jesus with the sacrifice of the paschal lamb. Baur fixed A.D. 170 as the date when this astonishing feat of forgery, concealed polemic, and spiritual manifesto, first saw the light. The question of this date was discussed with great acumen. Ebrard (Introd. to *Comm.*), Thiersch, Hilgenfeld, Lange, Steitz in numerous articles in German journals, with occasional replies from Baur, who died in 1860, kept the controversy before the world.

We have already shown reason to believe that the date assigned by Baur, viz. A.D. 170, is quite untenable, and that step by step the appearance of the Gospel must be antedated at least by forty years and pushed back to the time of Basilides or Valentinus, who must have had the ideas and phrases of the Gospel before them. It has at length become impossible to deny that Justin quoted from the Fourth Gospel, and increasingly probable that Tatian, his contemporary and disciple, actually constructed a Harmony of the Four Gospels, with a chronological basis in the Gospel of John. In 1862 H. Ewald showed that no authorship of an ancient writing is so conclusively attested as that of the Fourth Gospel (see *Die Johan. Schriften übersetzt u. erklärt*). Weiss and Weizsäcker discussed, in *Jahrb. f. deutsche Theologie*, the relation of the Logos doctrine of John to its sources. Strauss and Hilgenfeld, in 1863, made assault upon the Mur. Canon and on minor defences of the Gospel; Volkmar, Renan, A. Réville thought to rehabilitate the argument that if the Fourth Gospel had been in use in A.D. 150, Marcion would have found it more useful for his purpose than Luke's. We have elsewhere shown that Marcion could not even by mutilation have expunged from John's Gospel the humanity of Jesus, his reverence for the Old Covenant, his identification of 'the Lord' of OT, the Creator of all things, with the God and Father of Christ.

In 1863 van Oosterzee's *Life of Christ*, Hengstenberg's *Comm.* on Gospel, favoured, while Echthal's *Les Évangiles* attacked the authenticity. Martineau's review of Renan's *Vie de Jésus*, and Astié, *Explication de l'Évangile*, followed in 1864, with Nicholas' advocating of a partition theory. To this may be added Schenkel's *Charakterbild Jesu*, which suggested that the original nucleus of the Gospel appeared A.D. 110–120, and was afterwards coloured by the Gnostic speculations of Basilides and Valentinus. In 1866 Holtzmann in Bunsen's *Bibelwerk*, Pressensé in his *Jésus Christ son temps sa vie*, etc., and Sabatier, *Essai sur les sources de la vie*,—all three maintaining the authenticity,—were encountered by Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, etc., who argued (1867) that the Gospel was published at the beg. of 2nd cent. under the name of the Apostle John, who nevertheless had never been in Ephesus. Taylor, *An Attempt to ascertain the Character of the Fourth Gospel in relation to the three first*, was strongly opposed to the authenticity. Tobler attempted to cut out the original kernel, and later on (1870) he reduced it to 81 verses. Oosterzee and Scholten again took up opposite sides, so also Ezra Abbot, Higginson, Milligan, and S. Davidson. In 1868 Riggenbach endeavoured to show that the Presbyter John and the apostle were one and the same. In 1869 Holtzmann returned to the controversy, as did Meyer, *Introd. to the Exeg. Handb.*, Godet, *Komm. z. d. Ev. Johannis*, written also in French and translated into English. Stanley Leathes' Boyle Lecture (1870) on *The Witness of St. John to Christ* and Hilgenfeld kept up the struggle. In 1871 Krenkel, in his work, *Der Apostel Johannes*, argued that the apostle was the author of Apoc., but not of Gospel; cf. Milligan, arts. in *Contemp. Rev.* and *Brit. and For. Evang. Rev.*; and Hutton, *Essays, Theological and Literary*, who defended with great force the historicity of the Gospel against Baur and his followers. Holtzmann once more took up the claims of John the Presbyter. In 1872 appeared the important Comm. and Introd. of Schaff, being a tr. and great enlargement of Lange's Comm. in his *Bibelwerk*; and the singularly valuable *Authorship and Hist. Character of 4th Gospel*, by Sanday, followed in 1876 by *The Gospels in the 2nd Cent.* In 1874 was published *Supernatural Religion, An Inquiry into the Reality of Divine Revelation*, which created almost a literature of reply. The anonymous writer was vehemently adverse to the authenticity of this Gospel (vol. ii. 251–476) on every ground and every side issue. Lightfoot in the *Contemp. Rev.* (afterwards republished); Sanday in the *Gospels during the 2nd Cent.*; Row, *The Jesus of the Evangelists*; Luthardt, *Der Johan. Ursp. des 4ten Evang.* (tr. into Eng. by C. R. Gregory, 1875),—replied very successfully. Farrar's *Life of Christ* (1874) sustained the authenticity; but Hilgenfeld, in 1875, in *Hist.-Krit. Einleit. in das NT.*, determined the limits of production between A.D. 132 and 140. Mangold (Bleek's *Einleit.*) was again adverse, but Matthew Arnold, *Review of Objections to Literature and Dogma*, (*Cont. Review*, afterwards republished in *God and the Bible*), defended the authenticity with high literary tact, but by falling back in part on some special partition theory of his own. In 1882 the remarkable work appeared of Albrecht Thoma, *Die Genesis des Johan. Evang.: ein Beitrag zu seiner Ausleg., Gesch., u. Kritik*, in which the author endeavoured to find an Alex.-Philonic origin for the entire Gospel, which is dealt with as Philo handled the Pent., and which, on this hypothesis, could have had no meaning save among the Neoplatonic schools, where supposed forecasts and summaries of history were only cryptograms of philosophical theory, *e.g.* ch. 9 is regarded as a cipher of the position and career of St. Paul, and ch. 21 an outline of the history of the Acts of Apostles. With ingenuity the theory was carried through 879 pages. In 1882 (Eng. tr. 1883) appeared B. Weiss, *Life of Christ*. The chapters on the 'Johannine' sources are singularly impressive, and vindicate the historicity of the Gospel against the speculations of various offshoots of the Tübingen School. The theory of the reminiscence of one who had fathomed the deep secret of the Incarnate Logos in Jesus, interprets the author's 'ideal elevation and spiritual form, but also his historical trustworthiness. If it be regarded as the invention of a semi-Gnostic philosopher of the 2nd cent., it is a delusive will-o'-the-wisp—in truth, a gigantic lie.' In the same sense Godet's invaluable Introd. to his *Commentary* touches and illumines every part of this great subject (Eng. tr. 1887). In 1885 Salmon's *Hist. Introd. to the Study of NT* gave ample space and great freshness to the maintenance of the authenticity. Edward Reuss in his *Hist. of Sac. Scrip. of NT*, tr. into Eng. by Houghton from the 5th Germ. ed., with additional bibliographical details, minimized the value of the external evidence, and left it as only barely possible that Jn was the work of the apostle. The introductory discussions of Hengstenberg are scattered throughout his *Commentary*. Special excursuses on the Paschal and other questions are to be found in M'Clellan's great work on the Gospels. Against Edwin Abbott's view in his article 'Gospels' in *Encyc. Brit.*^{9} may be put Ezra Abbot's *External Evidence of the Fourth Gospel*, and Westcott's Introd. to his invaluable Comm. on the Gospel in *Speaker's Commentary* (and published separately); also Milligan and Moulton, Introd. to their Comm. in Schaff's *Popular Commentary*, and Watkins' Introd. to Comm. in Ellicott's *Comm. for Eng. Readers*, as well as his very important discussion of the history of criticism in *Bampton Lectures* for 1890; Reynolds' Introd. to his Comm. on Jn in the *Pulpit Commentary*. Keim in his voluminous *Life of Jesus of Nazara* settled down to the date A.D. 130 and to a repudiation of St. John's residence in Ephesus. He decided that early antiquity was grievously misled by Irenæus in this and other respects, just as Riggenbach, Farrar, and others think that the very personality of 'John the Presbyter' has been created by an ill-starred guess of Eusebius. In *Handkom. z. NT* ('Joh. Evangelium'), Holtzmann, 1890, argues that the most extreme critical view which he adopts doubles the value of the Gospel. Edersheim's *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah* (1883) throws vivid light upon the Johan. as well as other sources of the great biography by his intimate acquaintance with Heb. literature. In 1890 Hugo Delff, *Das 4 Evangelium*, and (1883) in his *Grundzüge des Entwick.-Geschichte d. Religion*, advocated a special view which creates many fresh difficulties, that 'John' was neither the son of Zebedee, nor John the Presbyter, nor the author of the Apoc., but a well-to-do philosophical disciple of Jesus, whom He loved and who was specially acquainted with the ministry in Jerus., who was subsequently confounded with the John of Acts and Apocalypse. P. Ewald, in 1890, *Das Hauptproblem der Evangelienfrage*, strove to bring out the original Johan. nucleus of the entire evangelical tradition, of which John has given the richest anthology. In 1891 Gloag issued *Introd. to the Johan. Writings.* This is one of the most complete *résumés* of the entire question in the light of modern criticism, embracing not only the Gospel but the Epp. and the Apocalypse. Harnack in his *History of Dogma*, vol. i. 96–98, admits that the origin of the Johan. writings is 'a marvellous enigma,' that therein a Christ clothes the indescribable with words, that a Pauline Christ walks on the earth 'far more human than the Christ of Paul, yet far more divine.' He seems to admit that Christ Himself is the author of ch. 17, but all is suffused in a bright cloud of the supra-historical. He repudiates the dependence on Philo and Hellenism, with which John has little in common but the word λόγος, and he regards the author as a born Jew. Important articles have appeared at various times in the *Expositor* by Lightfoot, Sanday, and others. In 1891 Willibald Beyschlag of Halle published his *NT Theol.* (Eng. tr. 1895). In vol. i. pp. 216–221 he avows his firm conviction of the genuineness of the Gospel, that it rests on historic facts and is superior to the Synoptists in many important details, that 'the Logos Romance' is a critical failure, and, notwithstanding great difficulties, he imagines that the subjective element necessary to a character formed and trained by the Master Himself may solve them.

VIII. THE TEACHING OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

—*A. Theology and Christology.*—The teaching of Jesus cannot be satisfactorily discriminated from that of the evangelist, except in places where the latter speaks *in propriâ personâ*, or offers his interpretation of the Master's words. Alike in the Epistle and Prol. to Gospel, the apostle sums up or generalizes the teaching of Christ or of His mighty deeds, and for the ideas, thought by thought, fact by fact, he brings out a justification in the narrative itself. As to the *Abbrechungen* and *Incongruenzen* on which Wendt insists as indicating different strains of thought and purpose, *e.g.* in the different estimate of ἔργα, σημεῖα, and ῥήματα in the great plan of the Supreme Teacher, the reconciliation is not far to seek, and is to be found in the divine-human majesty of the Lord, whose Personality gives unity to all his representation. The consciousness of the Lord Jesus, as brought out in the fourfold revelation, provides the fact upon which the constructive intelligence of later centuries has founded its doctrine of the GODHEAD. To put it in a word, the Doctrine of the Divinity is simply an endeavour to state without explanation the various elements of that unique consciousness. The most fundamental element in the entire teaching is the absolute oneness of the Deity. Christ never taught the existence of two or three Gods, though the unity or solity embraced the divine indwelling in the entire universe, an infinite transcendence involving the internal relations of Fatherhood and Sonship, and all the mighty operations of the Spirit in the world and in the minds of men. There is only one veritable God, μόνος ἀληθινὸς θεός (17^3), although the Lord was self-conscious of the nearest possible approach of the centres of the spheres, both of His divine and human nature, to the Centre of the all-including and embracing Unity. The theophanies of the OT are outshone by the eternal knowledge of the Only-begotten (1^{18} and 6^{46}), and the adequate sufficing power of the human life and consciousness of Jesus to disclose the secrets of the divine bosom. This revelation differs widely from the Gnostic or Oriental or modern impersonality, 'the Absolute.' Here the ineffable is clothed in forms not incompatible with the Eternal Unity. 'Father,' 'Son,' 'Word,' 'Love,' 'Life,' 'Light,' 'Spirit' are terms which make no schism of the one Deity, but are each necessary concepts in it. This is so complete and thoroughgoing that Fairbairn has skilfully pressed the position that the Lord Jesus was in fact the first monotheist in the history of the world.

A few of the elements of this great synthesis must be specified.

(1) In $4^{24ff.}$ the spirituality of the One who is called 'the Father' is insisted upon. The spirit of man leads the way to the most direct realization of the Eternal.

(2) He is the living and life-giving One, or even Life itself. In the Logos—who is God—there is Life. The mystery of 'life' was not solved, or a definition given, by Jesus or the evangelists; nor is the mystery reduced, but intensified, by the widest and latest researches of science; but St. John may at least be credited with seeing behind the inexplicable phenomena of 'life'—physical, ethical, spiritual, and eternal—nothing less than the personal activity of the Lord God, the Living One.

(3) In this *life* is *light*. In 1 Jn 1^5 God is (not *luminous*, but) '*Light*, and in him is no darkness at all,' no evil, no imperfection, absolute purity, goodness, righteousness, and illumination (Jn 17^{25} $1^{4.5}$).

(4) The most characteristic doctrine of God which we must attribute to the evangelist is that God is *Love* (1 Jn 4^8), or that the most essential quality

and absolute essence of God is that which freely lavishes Himself on the objects of His love. The moral perfections which our Lord attributes to this living and loving One are truth (8^{26}), righteousness (17^{25}), and holiness (17^{11}).

(5) But the most characteristic name and function is that of 'Father,' 'my Father,' 'your Father,' the 'living Father' who has life in Himself (5^{26}), who seeks for spiritual worshippers (4^{23}, where the vital internal relation between God as Father and God as Spirit is made very evident). This fatherly love is, first of all, lavished on the Son and on those who are given to Him. He becomes the source of life to others, and in Him God loves the world ($5^{19.\,26}$ 10^{17} $17^{24.\,26}$ and 3^{16}). Preparation for this revelation of Fatherhood is found in OT and Hel. thought and in the Synop. teaching, but the Fourth Gospel is peculiarly saturated with the ennobling and uplifting thought. Here we come face to face with one who could speak of the Almighty as 'my Father.' He was the 'wisdom' and the 'power' of God, not only (as St. Paul represented it) as the 'image,' but as 'the Son of His love.' The relation of Logos to Theos is warmed into the deeper relation of Son to Father, the Only-begotten to the Eternal. The Fatherhood is essential to God, and therefore eternal. If the Father be thought of as the Supreme Giver evermore lavishing upon an adequate object His own fulness of being, then the Son also is eternal, and from the relation between the giver and receiver, between the Father and Son, does the very conception of Deity emerge. From before all time and worlds, and independently of time or space, the writer saw the infinite giving and receiving of Eternal Love; and he saw in the completeness of the mutual relation the moral and spiritual ἀρχή of the universe. This is not the monad of the Platonic schools or the Gnostic sects, but the living fulness of an infinite Personality, within which there is the reciprocal interchange of gracious and everlasting relations. St. John is alive to the primordial rank and supremacy of the Father, and tells us by the lips of the Divine Son that the Father is the source of all power, and of the self-dependence of the Son. 'He *gave* to the Son to have life *in* himself,' He is 'greater' than the Son, 'gives the Spirit' to the Son without measure, He 'sent the Son into the world' to learn and fulfil all His will (5^{27} 10^{31-37} 14^{24}). Yet the unity and the solity of the Eternal turns upon this very relation; and so identical is the substance and will of the Father and Son, that 'all things,' πάντα, flow out of the mutual relation (1^{1-3}), the monarchy of the Father compatible with unity of the Father and Son.

(6) The relation of *Logos* to *Theos*, as conceived by the evangelist, is sustained by the successive words and deeds of Jesus which had slowly broken on the mind of the writer. The majestic words of the Prologue which are repeated in the opening sentences of the Ep. are the necessary antecedents of the events, the twofold meaning and ambiguity of the term *Logos*, connoting the *self-consciousness* and the necessarily connected *utterance* of the Eternal Theos. This Logos so interpreted is both 'God' and 'with God' at once. He is the organ of divine activity and the great image of His glory. Beyschlag, in his attempt to reduce all the subsequent narrative to the ordinary human consciousness of Jesus, appears to ignore or minimize the supra-historic basis which precedes the historic narrative. Before the manifestation in the flesh of Christ, the Logos was the divine agent of creation. No element of matter, no thrill of force, no harmony or beauty of the cosmos was excluded. The life and light of God streamed forth from Him. The divine immanence in nature and man was His function. The darkness was not in harmony with the Light, and did not apprehend it. He came age after age to His own, to those who were prepared by conscience, providence, and prophecy, and His own received Him not. The Logos even to the present hour, is working in *events*, *laws*, and *forces*, designing and forecasting and evolving the eternal purpose; yet the world and even His own know it not, nay, He is rejected and despised. An element of deep tragedy has entered into human nature which has ever resisted Omnipotence, but never exhausted the resources of divine love. Conscience, even the 'light which lighteth every man,' was reinforced by prophetic voices, of which the Baptist was the highest type, and the conflict between the Spirit and the flesh, the light and the darkness, the Logos and humanity, is always in progress. The victory over the world and the flesh has made still greater demand upon an infinite compassion, and so we are led on to believe in a higher and more convincing contact of the Logos with human nature. The indwelling of the Logos with the cosmos falls immeasurably short of the Incarnation, *i.e.* of an event which is described in the assurance (v.^{14}) that the Word became flesh. The Logos did not become 'all things,' but became σάρξ, to heal the source of human corruption, and consummate the plan of God.

(7) The entire Johannine conception turns on what is meant by these words. Is the synthesis of the divine and human such as obliterates either of the two elements in the Christ; or is it one which, while preserving both in their completeness, stretches the vinculum between them, so that it snaps, and there is left no other than a human Saviour, after all? Beyschlag objects to the ecclesiastical orthodoxy, and wisely discounts the Kenotic theories of Gess, Thomasius, Godet, Pressensé, and others, on the ground that if our Lord never adopted phraseology incompatible with 'mere humanity,' the idea of a divine consciousness and the hypothesis of a true incarnation could never have arisen. Putting aside the two extremes of Nestorian and Monophysite interpretation, and shrinking from the Catholic acceptance of what is true in both, Beyschlag falls back upon the bare human consciousness and historical surroundings of Jesus. He reviews the great sayings of our Lord which affirm a remembrance of 'the glory which he had with the Father before the world was' ($17^{5.\,24}$), or which assert a conscious existence before Abraham (8^{58}), or which indicate a realization of being 'in heaven' while yet on earth (3^{13}), or which refer to His descent from heaven and return thither ($6^{33.\,51.\,62}$), and affirm conscious unity with the Father. In doing this the critic is content with a purely Ebionitic interpretation which leaves the mystery of the greatest fact in the history of the moral world entirely unsolved. He falls back upon a method of interpreting Christ's own pre-existence, corresponding with the Rabbin. method of regarding things of high value, such as the ark of the covenant, as 'eternally pre-existent in God.' By the use of metaphor, or fervid imagination, or intense prophetic or mystic realization of the divine indwelling, and full reconciliation with God, even absorption into the divine fulness, the expressions arose from which he supposes the Christian faith to have had its origin. A similar interpretation of the words and the consciousness of Jesus is advocated in Drummond's Hibbert Lecture, *Via Veritas Vita*, where we seem called upon to forgive our Lord the use of phrases which, after all, are only the commonplaces of the religious life.

The statement, ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, does not, in John's usage, mean a transubstantiation of λόγος into σάρξ, so that henceforth there is no longer λόγος but only σάρξ, seeing that the evangelist (2^{9}) uses a precisely similar phrase to denote 'the water which had become wine.' As the water took up into itself elements not previously in it, so the eternal Logos took up human nature into Himself, and this is enough for humiliation of the Infinite Love. The method of the consciousness can only occasionally (if ever) be given its fulness, but the three axes of revolution in succession suggest the entire mystery. These are 'the Son of God,' 'the Son of Man,' and the 'Christ'; and these remarkable terms are found in the Synoptic Gospels in much the same sense as in the Fourth.

The first, SON OF GOD, is an honorific ascription when used by the disciples or by the Jews, and it is nearly if not perfectly identical with 'Messiah.' It is paralleled by the extraordinary prevalence of like terms among surrounding religions and nations. In Egypt the same king is often set forth on monuments as 'the son' and 'beloved' of many different personages of the Pantheon. God-born was the highest superlative to denote glory and authority. Nathanael ($1^{50.51}$) identifies 'the Son of God' with the theocratic king. Martha (11^{27}) anticipates the advent of one so near to and beloved of God as to have power over death and Hades. Still, the Synoptic citation of the adjuration of Caiaphas shows that he regarded the title, not only as an honorific term for Messiah, but as one which it was blasphemy to assume. The claim to be 'Son of God' in a unique sense, a sense that associated Him with God and enthroned Him as supreme Judge, was the specific charge on which Jesus was condemned by the Sanhedrin. Not merely is He the human offspring of the eternal God, but, as He spake of Himself, pre-eminently *the Son*, the highest expression of the relation of Son to Father, the archetype of Sonship in itself. Doubtless He is 'sent into the world,' to reveal the Father because He is the eternal spectator and companion of the Father, the object of eternal love, the conscious exposition of the Father's character and grace. The entire term is chastened and exalted by the ordered sequence of events. In $3^{28.29}$ $4^{25.29}$ 6^{14} the expected 'Prophet' rather than the triumphant 'King' comes into view, and Simon Peter's confession ($6^{68f.}$ RV) shows that he had grasped the richer aspect of Messiahship which Jesus now permits to become His self-revelation. $12^{12-19.34-36}$ convey the most explicit acceptance of the term by Him, and He actually uses it in the intercessory prayer (17^{3}). The entire progress of the thought culminating in 20^{31} shows that the evangelist blended into one the correlated ideas of 'Logos made flesh,' 'the Son of God,' and 'the Christ.'

The other term SON OF MAN is a mode of expression which, with only two exceptions (Ac 7^{56}, Rev 1^{13}), is never used by any of the disciples, but is confined to His own self-designation. It is being more and more conceded by criticism that the expression is not a euphemism for '*man*' as in the prophecies of Ezekiel, or a translation of the Aram. 'bar-enosh,' but a reflection of the transcendent meaning assigned to it in Dn 7. The ideal man there is lifted into the highest glory, and receives an eternal kingdom. It is as Son of Man that Jesus claims to be Lord of the Sabbath, the forgiver of sin, the judge of quick and dead. In the Synoptic representations and in this Gospel He calls himself Son of Man, because of the divine nature which is the substratum and explanation of the human. In 3^{14} 5^{27} and elsewhere we find in this title a revelation of the highest glory and the most perfect sympathy, not a *tertium quid*, neither God nor man, but at once both God and man. He was known to be Son of Man, the highest, holiest man, by the experience of those who knew Him best. He did not hesitate to use the title of Himself. The inference was, and still is, that He is 'Son of God,' *i.e.* that the divine will and indwelling must be presupposed to justify such a term.

(8) The relation of the Father and the Son, or of Theos and Logos, does not exhaust the Johannine conception of 'the only true God.' Indeed the OT writers speak of *the Spirit of God* as the agent of the Eternal in creation, as the primal source of the human Ego, and as discriminating the living soul of man from that of the animal. With them Spirit is the cause of all beauty or genius, of all prophetic gift, and all sanctifying grace. The Spirit of God is by the Synoptists set forth as the occasion of the humanity and formation of the person of the Lord Jesus. The divine personal Spirit perfects the human character and completes the official equipment of the Son of Man to be the Saviour of the world. So completely is He dominated by the Spirit, that He claims to communicate the Holy Spirit to others (Mt 3^{11}, cf. Lk 11^{13}), while the Pauline teaching identifies the Spirit of Christ with that of the Father (Ro 8^{9-11}). The NT yearns after the unity of the self-conscious Father and the self-conscious Son—the unity of the divine nature as self-conscious in the Christ, together with the conscience of human nature, the unity of all believers in one body by the One all co-ordinating Head. These unities find their best explanation in the Lord's own teaching concerning the Spirit. In the Synop. (Mt $12^{29.32}$ and parallel passages) the dispensation of the Son of Man is contrasted with the dispensation of the Spirit; and in the Fourth Gospel Christ claims to give the Spirit to the Church, that the *world* may be convinced 'of sin, righteousness, and judgment.' The Lord so states the relation of the Holy Spirit to His own consciousness, that He identifies the coming of the Comforter with His own return. The indwelling of the Father and of the Son in human souls is effectuated by nothing less than the Spirit, *i.e.* by the activity and personality of all the fulness of the Godhead. His advent was an incoming to souls both of the Father and of the Son, for the one cannot be without the other. Beyschlag, Reuss, and others seem anxious lest they find anything like Trinitarian doctrine in these numberless references to the Ego of the Father, of the Son, of the Spirit, of the Christ. The Unitarian development of the 4th to the 6th cent. is not homogeneous, because encumbered by the attempt to repudiate the philosophical explanations of the so-called heretics. The Gospels, and particularly the Fourth, like the greatest symbols of the faith, are content to say (*a*) that Jesus was Son of Man; to show that He was Man in body, soul, spirit, will—Man, *i.e.* in all respects, in birth, frailty, limitations, sufferings, and death; (*b*) that the mind of Jesus sounded also the depth of the divine consciousness, so that in His full personality He had dwelt in the bosom of the Father and was able to reveal Him (1^{18}); (*c*) that in the completing and glorifying of the Son of Man, in the resurrection and ascension of the Christ, the God-man shared finally in the very glory of the Eternal.

B. The Johannine Teaching concerning the Cosmos.—(*a*) The evangelist, following his Master, discriminates the world of *things* from that of *men*. Everywhere the cosmos is created, not self-originated. It is the platform of the entire representation, and consists both of heaven and earth. It is not evil in its origin or essence, though it is the theatre of both moral perversity and divine redemption. (*b*) The Gospel and Epp. use κόσμος for humanity considered apart from grace, just as they use σάρξ for human nature apart from the spiritual life.

This may include humanity in its pride, power, civilization, and refinement. To this is not given the faculty of knowing the Eternal Father ('The world hath not known thee'), or of discerning the pre-incarnate Logos, or even of seeing the Father in the Son of His love. The world of men strangely hates the highest light and shrinks from it (3^{19}), neither comes to it. The Father loves the world in its need (3^{16}); Jesus comes into it to 'save,' to 'draw it,' and to be a way for it unto the Father. There is vivid contrast between those who see the light, who live the heavenly life, who are 'convinced of sin, righteousness, and judgment,' who overcome the darkness and the flesh, who follow the Good Shepherd, who feed on the bread of God, with whom the Father and Son take up their abode, who are 'of the truth' and hear the voice of the Son of God; and, on the other hand, those who do not come, are not drawn, nor convinced, who are in danger of perishing, are 'sons of perdition,' are veritably 'lost.' The ultimate cause of the contrast cannot be explained away, nor can any good or bad name which is assigned to it modify the issue. The intense severity of our Lord's judgment (7. 8) is not due to a Gnostic twist given by this evangelist to the teaching of Jesus, but to the historic accuracy with which the tendencies and hostility of the classes in Jerus. were known and set forth. Yet the human will, and no inexorable fate, is (throughout the Johannine theology) the critical element in the question of light or darkness. The activity of the will is not the absolute solution of the puzzle, but it is the proximate occasion of all moral issues. The dualism of the Fourth Gospel is not more explicit than the dualism of other parts of NT, such as St. Paul or the Synoptists. (*c*) St. John and St. Paul, and the Synoptists also, recognize a moral centre of the evil in humanity. Though St. John makes no reference to demoniacs, he refers to 'the Prince of this world' as the source and occasion of the trials of the Lord, between whom and Christ there is irreconcilable antagonism. The designs of the enemies of Jesus are affiliated to the father of lies and manslaying, and the phrase is akin to the use by our Lord and the Baptist of the terrible term 'ye brood of vipers.' Thoma (*lib. cit.* 202–205) regards the circumscription of the operations of the Evil One to the mind of humanity as strongly differentiating the Fourth Gospel from the rest of NT. True, there is no reference to 'possession' in St. John; but neither is there to leprosy, or fever, or other forms of disease on which, as we hear (2^{23} 3^{2} 4^{48} 5^{36} 20^{30}), Jesus wrought marvellous signs. The statement that St. John ignores the visible works of the devil is excessive (see 1 Jn 3^{8} and Jn 12^{31}). Thoma does not agree with Hilgenfeld in finding the Valentinian Demiurge in St. John's doctrine of the ἄρχων. It is refuted by the teaching of the Gospel and Epistle on the expulsion of the devil and the consecration of the world.

C. The Johannine Soteriology.—In grasping the Johan. ideal of salvation, Beyschlag finds the same thoughts as in the Synop. teaching concerning 'the kingdom,' which phrase, when he finds it in ch. 3, he regards as the simple equivalent of 'the life' and 'the eternal life' given by the great Teacher and Revealer of the Father. The kingdom and the life are closely allied in the teaching of Christ, and found in both sources; but they must be discriminated. The kingdom of God is the region within men and communities and the world in which the will of God operates through the free powers of the individual. The methods of discovering it, of entering it, of finding in it hidden potencies and of bringing forth its countless signs, whether acts or fruits, are always in evidence. It is originated as life is in new forms, by seed charged with its future. It has internal intensive force and extensive evolutionary energy, embracing every form of divine indwelling and spiritual growth. In St. John's Gospel, Salvation is Life, Light in its essence, and Truth and Love in method, instrument, or form. But the very idea of salvation, which was appreciated, to begin with, by John the Baptist (1^{29}) and by the Samaritans (Jn 4^{42}, 1 Jn 4^{14}), implies from OT times the great need of man and the greatest work of God. It denotes the rectification or reinstitution of all the relations which had been shattered by sin,—all that is elsewhere covered by such Pauline phrases as pardon, justification, sanctification, adoption,—all such divine experiences as faith, hope, love, life eternal,—in fine, all the work wrought *for* us by the Christ, the Son of God,—all the internal transformation which is effected *in* us, in the fabric of our being, by the Spirit of the Father and of the Son. Christ in the Fourth Gospel makes provision for abolishing the shame and curse, and indicates the hopelessness involved in dying in sins. The most damning sin is a steady refusal to admit His own claim. Faith in Him is the condition of deliverance, not merely by its remoter ethical importance or its stimulus to obedience, but by the very nature of the case; moral surrender to the highest revelation of God is salvation and eternal life.

Christ is that in human nature, and does that in it and through it which can stanch the wound and arrest the spell of sin. He had always been coming into the world—a fact testified by the prophets ($1^{5\mathrm{ff.}}$). The great Lawgiver spoke of Him (5^{46}); Abraham desired a fuller revelation (8^{56}); all the Scriptures testified to Him (5^{39}). Nevertheless, these operations of the Logos, so long as conducted along these lines, were insufficient to secure conviction until He came into closer contact with humanity, was more obviously manifest in human flesh, and came into actual living personal union with the disturbed and imperilled roots of our mind, heart, and will. He thus provides a tangible object of faith. He renews the eye of faith, and supplies the motive of search. He is the shield from condemnation, the deliverance from wrath, the emancipation from bondage. He can 'save' from the malicious destruction of alien powers (10^{10}), from the deadly pangs of unsatisfied hunger (6^{50}); and He can give the food of which if a man eats he shall never die. Under the three often quoted metaphors, salvation covered all the need of man and all the capacities of the Infinite—LIFE, LIGHT, and LOVE.

There is no salvation if we do not consciously possess another LIFE than this ever-vanishing, always-threatened earthly existence. The heavenly life is not menaced by the million perils of earth and the organized hate of hell, by the cruel temptations of time and sense, and will be finally emancipated from the fear which hath torment. Life in its perpetuity is independent of the conditions of death, it is *veritable* (answering, *i.e.*, to its ideal and archetype), it is *eternal*. The purport of the Fourth Gospel was to give concrete proof that Jesus has the power to establish the indispensable conditions and execute the initial stages of this everlasting life. Jesus began by declaring that He would build up the temple of His body after men had destroyed it (ch. 2), and that those who believed in Him should receive this life at His hands ($3^{16.\,17.\,36}$). He selected the palsied man as an image of the method and need of the conferring of life, and He exercised the function along the lines of the divine Father's life-giving work (5^{21-29}). He sustained human life by creative forces against various perils of hunger and storm, with express parabolic instruction as to the deliverances of the inner life from greater peril, and that by His own imperial mandate. The whole of ch. 6 is one continuous illustration of how the Incarnate One could give eternal life, how those who would feed on Him (on His flesh and blood) should die no more for ever. The whole lesson of His unique relation to life, and His power over death, is once more given in ch. 11, where no barriers block the access of His eternal power and Godhead as the Son of the Father's love, and as working out the will of the Eternal. He unriddles death and takes away its sting. In the night of the passion He says, 'because I live, ye shall live'; and the evangelist tells us that all that has been written by himself was to make evident to us, that by believing we might have life through His name (20^{31}).

A second analogue and interpretation of σωτηρία pervading the Fourth Gospel is LIGHT. It is the antithesis of *darkness*, both moral and intellectual. Darkness is dependent on two conditions, absence of illumination and deficiency or destitution of the power of vision, and in both respects He fulfils the functions of *light*. He is 'the light of the world' (8^{12}, and cf. 9^{5}), the forth-streaming of the Divine Glory ($12^{35.\,46}$), the image of His substance, 'the truth' (ἀλήθεια) concerning *God*, the full expression of the archetypal *man*, the embodiment of the normal relations between God and man ('for I do always those things that please him'; 'my meat is to do,' etc. 4^{34}); 'I knew that thou hearest me always' (11^{42}). Thus salvation and eternal life is a knowledge of this *truth* (17^{3}), an acceptance of the light. Moral contamination occasions mental and spiritual blindness —a doctrine inverting the Platonic dictum, which charges all moral contamination on mental incapacity. In the soteriology of St. John the subjective condition is so hopelessly imperfect, and the need of visual faculty has become so imperative, that Christ is represented as restoring a man 'blind from birth' to the exercise of sight, and as commenting on the analogy between this imperial act and what He would do for humanity ($9^{37\text{-}41}$). The glory into which the light of the full revelation of God has ushered His own human nature is the very same light and glory which He supplicates for all His own, and into which He will bring them.

But in close association with *Life and Light* appears the highest conception of the nature of God which has ever dawned on human intelligence. If God is love, the central essence is absolute self-surrender to the well-being of others. That 'God IS LOVE,' and *Love is of God*, are the final outcome of the irradiation of St. John's mind with 'the light of the knowledge of the glory (the essential beauty) of God in the face of Jesus Christ.'

The Prologue commences the sublime details by declaring that the incarnate and only-begotten was full of *grace* and truth. He had been 'in the bosom of the Father,' and declared that which no other had seen. He said, 'the Father loveth me, because I am laying down my life—not as if that were to be the final end, as so many seem resolved to have it, but—that I may take it again' (10^{17}). The revelation of the principle of sacrificial love in the eternal heart of God, as the motive of the heavenly giving, sending, and equipping of the Son, receives its triumphant expression in the human life, which adequately revealed the eternal. A large portion of the Gospel is interfused with this thought. In the conversation with Nicodemus the keynote was the eternal self-sacrificing love of God, of which He had become the expression ($3^{16\text{ff.}}$). To the Samaritans He made it clear that He was seeking the salvation of men, 'of the world' ($4^{32.\,42}$), by the sacrifice of Himself. The discourses of ch. 6 indicate the fountain of self-abnegating love, by which He was giving life to the world. The excited scenes of chs. 7 and 8 combine sternest condemnation of sin with love to sinners. Chs. 9. 10. 11 are the apotheosis of love and sacrifice. Ch. 12 is the record of the response of love to Himself, the fragrance of which has filled 'the whole world.' The evangelist himself shows in $13^{1\text{ff.}}$ how he had personally felt the pulsation of divine love in the breast of Jesus, and how the Lord loved His own unto the uttermost. Every paragraph of the 'Discourse' and 'Prayer' is a fresh variation of the great revelation; and the scenes of the arrest, the magnanimous self-surrender, intensify the teaching. The record of His relations with His mother, with the other Marys, with the beloved disciple, with Thomas and Simon, give a perfectly unique revelation of the fundamental essence of Deity, and the forecast of the fulfilment of the high-priestly prayer, 'that the love wherewith thou lovest me may be in them, and I in them.'

We have further to state the significance assigned in the Johannine writings to *the death of the great Sacrifice.*

In the first Epistle the author regards the blood of Christ as the propitiation for the sin of the world, and as that which cleanses from all sin, and that God 'laid down his life for us.' In the Apoc. in various ways and many degrees of intensity the saved are the purchase of the blood of a high-priestly sacrifice, are souls redeemed by 'the blood of the Lamb which was slain'; while a right to the final privileges of the saved, access to the Tree of Life, is secured by washing the robes (RV).

St. Paul had laid the greatest emphasis on the expiation of sin, the redemption, the propitiation for sin, the ransom, and the righteousness of men through faith in the blood of Christ.

The Synoptists, by the record of the institution of the Lord's Supper, refer to the lips of Jesus Himself the sublime declaration that His blood was being 'shed for the remission of sin.' Mark refers to our Lord the weighty saying, that He had come to give His life a ransom for many (ἀντὶ πολλῶν).

The way in which St. John handles this momentous teaching differs from these familiar representations, but is not incompatible with them. Reuss (*Théol. Chrét.*), Beyschlag, and others emphasize the contrast, and try to exclude from the Fourth Gospel all reference to or implication of the expiatory worth of the death of Christ. We admit, of course, that the glorious dignity of the incarnate Son of God has covered even the humiliation of His death with a mantle of lustre. The 'lifting up of the Son of Man' (12^{32}), and the bursting of abundant fruit from the dying of the corn of wheat, give a character to the awful tragedy somewhat different from that of the Synoptists. Weiss, against the whole of the Tübingen school, rightly emphasizes those elements where the same truth appears in altered form, *e.g.* where John the Baptist (1^{29}) indicates the Lord Jesus in His essential character and function as fulfilling the oracle of Is 53. The chief significance of this is, that the whole passage is frequently quoted by NT writers and speakers as descriptive of the very heart of the work of Christ. By the use thus made of it by Peter, Philip, John, Matthew, Clemens Romanus, it becomes a chapter of NT doctrine, and the quotations of portions practically cover the whole oracle. Now with these citations John the Baptist's words, 'Behold the Lamb of God,' must be placed. Continual anticipations of Calvary and the Cross occur. In the record of the first cleansing of the temple, in the prolongation of 'the hour,' and in the arrest of murderous hands in act to strike, the whole of the Saviour's holy life becomes a continuous sacrifice. The double reference by the evangelist to the prophecy of Caiaphas is specially charged with the same idea ($11^{49ff.}$ 18^{14}).

In the discourse at Capernaum (6^{51}), the eating His flesh and drinking His blood, in other words the moral surrender to His violent death, is *life*. The moral assimilation of the stupendous fact of the divine-human person of the Lord, eating of the flesh, and the acceptance of the sacrifice of that mysterious life of His for the life of the world, 'drinking his blood,' utterly transcends a purely and simply human consciousness. Beyschlag here wonders at Weiss, but does not reply to him or to thousands who have come to the same conclusion before him. A full interpretation which does not emasculate the reference by our Lord Himself to the 'brazen serpent' (3^{14}), leaves the sacrificial meaning of the conquest of sin and death by the Son of Man still glittering with meaning, and calling with undiminished force for faith, love, and obedience.

We have already drawn attention to ch. 10, where our Lord, by sacrificing Himself as the Good Shepherd for the flock, does not relinquish His saving work. Indeed He renews, by resuming His life, His power to deliver men as a shepherd of the sheep, and then His arms become identified with the everlasting arms, and His hands with the almighty hands of the Father. If the Jews had taken the Tübingen view, surely they would not have lifted stones to stone their Saviour-shepherd for His presumption and blasphemy.

The whole tone of the final discourse (14. 15. 16) is that Christ's very method of departure from this world, amid the exultation of the world and the lamentation of His disciples, unveils the nature of His heavenly work, and the fact that *His* way of returning to the Father (viz. death and resurrection) is the ground on which He calls Himself their 'way,' and says that no man cometh unto the Father but by Him. The entire method by which, in this Gospel, he conveyed the fact of the resurrection to different classes of mankind is charged with the highest order of revelation, for He bare in His risen form the signs of His fearful agony and shame, and yet wielded all authority in heaven and earth.

(*a*) The method of appropriating the great salvation. *Faith* is as explicitly pressed in the Fourth Gospel as by the Synoptists and St. Paul. Believing in His name is the condition of becoming 'sons of God.' In great variety of connexion, faith is made the foundation and condition of eternal life (3^{15-18}, cf. ^{36} and 5^{24}). Coming to Him is the physical analogue of mental and moral surrender to Him (6^{35}). This is the part of man in the synthesis, the condition which God demands. He whom God hath sent is indeed the power by which the Father draws men to Himself (6^{65}, cf. 12^{32} 14^{6}). Belief in His name was itself conditioned by moral willingness to do the Father's will, and was itself the indispensable antecedent of receiving the Holy Spirit (7^{37-39}).

(*b*) The following of Jesus. All progress in the divine life is a prolongation of the act of faith. The abiding of Christ in the soul, and of the soul in Christ (the chief theme of ch. 15), are essential to any conception of the efficacy of faith, and emphasize the mutual relations of the human and divine will, the growth and continuance both of grace and faith. 'Following Jesus' and 'abiding in him' are frequently identified with such organic union as to ensure final participation with Him in eternal life and glory. He who sows and they who reap rejoice together (4^{37}); 'He that eateth me shall live by me' (6^{57}); 'He that receiveth whomsoever I shall send receiveth me'; 'He that receiveth me receiveth him that sent me'; 'I am in my Father, and ye in me, and I in you'; 'My Father will love you, and we will come and make our abode with you.' Union will be life-giving; and though separation between the Lord and His disciples is an obvious matter of fact, yet in the power of the spiritual presence after His ascension His disciple may be enabled to '*touch* him' (20^{17}). The 'peace,' the 'joy,' the 'love,' the 'glory' will pass from the central heart of Jesus to 'whosoever wills' or 'comes' (14^{27} 15^{11} 16^{22} $17^{22.\,26}$).

D. The Johannine Eschatology.—The teaching of the Fourth Gospel differs from the rest of NT in its bearing on the future life and eternal judgment.

If, however, the truths in the parables are stripped of their imaginative clothing, and the great arguments and implications of St. Paul deprived of their metaphor, and the nucleus of the apocalyptic visions laid bare, it is probable that we shall find nothing more than, nay, not so much as, we find in the Fourth Gospel. The latter has no festival rejoicing, no exclusion of the guest who does not wear the wedding garment, no scene of final judgment and everlasting life and punishment; yet there is *judgment* ever ripening in the 'loving of darkness,' and there is freedom from condemnation and even from death in any form; and these are shown to be essentially equivalent to the moral rupture with God on the one side, or to ethical harmony with the highest concept of God as 'Light' and 'Love' on the other. The future, like the past, is lost in an eternal now. In $5^{28.\,29}$ the resurrection, the final consummation, are doubtless involved, but in 15^{6} the process which burns up the fruitless prunings would seem to be eternal. The blinding of the foolish heart, the abiding of the divine wrath upon the disobedient, the judgment that is always being enacted and evolved, the terror of dying in sins, the judgment that is inevitable and just (8^{16}), and the *crisis*, the expulsion of the world and its prince, all bring the reader into more vivid realization of the objective fact of judgment than do the parables of the Rich Man, the Marriage, the Talents, or the final unveiling of the great white throne. The momentous events of Heb. history had thrown a lurid light on the prophetic metaphors of the popular discourse; but as the apostle ponders and reports the principle of the eternal judgment upon men and nations and on the entire world, we get closer to the heart and mind of Jesus than by any other medium of communication.

In 1 Jn $2^{18.\,28}$ and 4^{17} the writer anticipates the consummation and the *parousia*, of which the whole NT speaks. It is the perversity of criticism which endeavours to separate the two documents on this very ground, or which cannot discern the harmony between them. The kingdom of God upon earth (ch. 3), the multitudes who are 'of the truth' and 'hear his voice,' who come to the light and yield to His control, the underlying theocracy, or Christocracy, identify the teaching of the Fourth Gospel with that of the Synoptists. 'These things are written that ye may believe that Jesus is the CHRIST, the *Son of God*, and that believing ye might have *life* through His name.' In these words the beloved disciple sums up the teaching of all the Gospels.

IX. LITERATURE.—The literature of this subject is in part contained in the foregoing list of works issued during the last hundred years. Some of those which now follow embrace the theology of the Epp. and Apoc. as well as the Gospel. Beyschlag, whose work on *NT Theol.* is the last on our previous list, has taken each separately, though he has given the theology of the Gospel and the Epistles with some deliberate estimate of their agreement as well as their alleged divergences.

The following works are occupied with the entire subject:—Neander, *Hist. of Planting, etc., of Christ. Church*, Eng. tr. vol. ii. 1-58; Reuss, *Hist. de la Théol. Chrét.* ii. 369-561, also his *Theol. Johan.* Baur, in his *Bib. Theol.*, emphasized the details in which the author of the Gospel rose above the Hebraic and Pauline Christianity. Schmidt and van Oosterzee, in their works on *Bib. Theol. of NT*, have separated the teaching of Christ in Synop. from that of the Prologue and the Epistles of John. Köstlin, *Der Lehrbegriff des Evangeliums und der Briefe Johannis*, moves along the lines of the Tübingen criticism. Weiss, *Bib. Theol. of NT* (Eng. tr. ii. 311-421), gives an exhaustive treatment. Wendt, *Der Inhalt der Lehre Jesu*, 1890, is largely occupied with the peculiarities and (notwithstanding difficulties) the historical value of the material which was at the disposal of the writer, and in the second part with a very elaborate examination of the teaching of Jesus as gathered from the fourfold representations. Beyschlag criticizes throughout many of the conclusions of Wendt, and everywhere minimizes the amount of approach to traditional views of the person and sacrificial work of Christ, accepted by Weiss and Wendt. They all three fundamentally differ from Hilgenfeld, *Das Evangelium und die Briefe Johannis nach ihrem Lehrbegriff dargestellt*, and Albrecht Thoma, *Genesis Joh. Evangeliums*, 1882, pp. 171-302. Marcus Dods, in the *Expositor's Bible*, on St. John's Gospel, covers much of the ground in practical and forceful manner, and the *Memorabilia of Jesus*, by Peyton, with much vivacity and mystic extravagance, yet brings out the heart of the teaching of Jesus. The same may be said of Sears, *Heart of Christ*, and of a vast number of comm. (*e.g.* Westcott in *Speak. Comm.*) on the Gospel, of which no list is here attempted.

H. R. REYNOLDS.

JOHN, EPISTLES OF—

Introduction.
FIRST EPISTLE.
  1. Order of Thought.
  2. Character.
  3. Ideas.
  4. Form and Structure.
  5. Independence.
  6. Purpose and Occasion.
  7. Authorship.
  8. Place and Date.
  9. Destination.
  Literature.
SECOND EPISTLE.
  1. Contents.
  2. Authorship.
  3. Time, Place, and Destination.
  Literature.
THIRD EPISTLE.
  1. Contents.
  2. Time, Place, and Destination.
  3. Occasion.
  4. Affinities and Authorship.
  5. Peculiar Interest.
  Literature.

Of the twenty-one Epp. now included in the NT Canon, three, which form a series by themselves, are associated with the name of St. John. Historical testimony shows them to have been in existence in certain parts of the Church, and to have been used by men of note in the Church, at a very early period; in the case of the longest, at least by the middle of the 2nd cent., and, in the case of the other two, before the 3rd cent. was far advanced. Their connexion with the name of John, and their wide recognition as authoritative writings, are also things of very ancient date; taking us, in the case of the first, as far back as to Papias and Irenæus, and, in the case of the others, perhaps to Clement of Alexandria and Origen, certainly to Dionysius, the pupil of Origen. Before the close of the 4th cent. they had become so generally accepted that they were recognized in the Canons of Councils. From time to time, though never on a large scale till our own century, their claims have been disputed, their connexion with the name of John being denied, or another John than the son of Zebedee being thought to be the writer. But it has been the prevailing belief from the oldest times that they are all three apostolic writings, and part of the legacy of the beloved disciple to the Church.

They belong to a group of Epp. which from a very early date have occupied a position of their own in the NT Canon, and have been known by a distinct title. This group, which in most ancient MSS of the NT (with occasional exceptions, as in the case of ℵ) is placed between Acts and the Pauline Epp., did not appear as a separate collection at one and the same period all over the Church, nor did it include all these three Epp. from the beginning. It had neither the same name nor the same compass at all times or in all the different sections of the Christian communion.

In the Eastern Church the Epp. embraced in it received the title of *Catholic* or *General* (καθολικαί). In the Western Church, in which the collection was of later formation, they were known, at least from the 6th cent., as *Canonical* (*Canonicæ*). In one important section of the Church, the Syrian, the group consisted only of three Epp., and among these only the longest of the Johannine letters found a place. In other parts of the Church, and in the Eastern division at least by the beginning of the 4th cent., it embraced seven Epistles. These included our three, the longest of the three being, along with 1 Peter, the earliest accepted of the whole collection, and the two shorter being added at a later period. (See the article CATHOLIC EPISTLES).

By their inclusion in the peculiar circle of the Catholic Epp. these three are marked off in one particular respect both from the Pauline Epp. and from other Epp. which were held in a measure of honour in the Church but not ultimately accepted as canonical. In other respects they also form a class by themselves. They have a character which cannot be mistaken. They are so obviously distinguished from the other members of the group to which they belong and from the NT Epp. generally, that the least discerning eye must recognize their apartness.

The peculiar character is most evident, of course, in the largest of the three, but it discovers itself also in the smaller two. The latter are Epp. of extremest brevity, the shortest writings in the Canon. They are writings, too, of incidental interest, and personal or ecclesiastical, not to say congregational, concern; while the former looks more like a studied composition, and deals with the weightiest questions of doctrine and the largest concerns of practice. Yet they are so much of the same stamp that in all ages the prevailing, if not absolutely universal, opinion has been, that they come from the same mint and are by the same hand. They are writings in which the profound and the simple kiss each other, great and inexhaustible thoughts being wedded to the clearest and least ambitious terms. They combine the qualities of majesty, maturity, authority, and serenity with occasional fire and vehement utterance.

They are almost impersonal as regards the mind to which we owe them. The first gives no hint of the author beyond the fact that he classes himself in an unstudied and informal way with those who had seen Christ in the flesh, and indicates a measure of acquaintance with the circumstances of those whom he addresses. The second and third give only the intimations contained in the use of the designation of 'the presbyter,' and in the mention of certain individuals whom we have no means of identifying with any confidence. Yet, devoid as they are of tangible, personal notes, the writer's individuality makes itself felt throughout. They move within a circle of ideas which, while not without points of affinity with the thought of the other NT Epp., especially the greater Pauline letters, are for the most part their own. They have a diction which also belongs in a marked degree to themselves. Their words are words of calmest dignity, yet instinct with emotion—words which might be those of the philosopher, but yet are those of the common Christian intelligence.

A large literature has grown up around these Epp., which has always found something new to say in expounding their teaching and in grappling with the problems of their history. The affluence of their thought, the fruitfulness of their doctrine, the spell of their spirituality and their deep tranquillity, have attracted the richest and devoutest minds, the most practical and the most speculative intellects in every age. Their characteristic contents, the forms in which they present the essential message of the gospel, the expression which they give to some of the cardinal Christian doctrines, the insight which they afford into the condition of the early Christian societies, the light which they shed upon the operation and the influence of certain kinds of error, make them Epp. of singular interest. Even in the few verses of the Third Ep. disclosures are found which are of far-reaching significance for the story of the life and the theory of the constitution of the primitive Church.

Questions of various interest and of no small difficulty are connected with them. They present some problems in exegesis (I 2^{19} $3^{2.9.19}$ $5^{6-8.16}$), and some curious points in textual criticism (I 3^{1} 2^{23} $4^{3.20}$ 5^{7}, II ^{8}, III ^{2}). Most things touching their literary history have been the subject of dispute, and some of them are far from easy to determine. The old debate is prolonged as to the *where* and the *by whom* of their composition; whether they were written in Ephesus, in Patmos, or elsewhere; whether by one hand or more; whether by one John or two Johns or three. The destination of the first two; the way in which the second and the third came to rank as *Catholic* Epp. and to have a position in the Canon; the source and the explanation of their special form of doctrine; whether a place can be found within the apostolic age for the type of thought and the ecclesiastical conditions which they exhibit,—these are questions which are still under discussion.

Of these questions, that of their origin and authorship is of primary importance. The answer which comes readiest to hand when one reads them together is that all three are products of the same mind. The answer that is suggested both by historical testimony and by their contents is that that mind is the mind to which we also owe the Fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse. And in point of fact these are the views which prevailed in the ancient Church, and which have been generally acquiesced in since then. But they were not left unchallenged even in ancient times, while in modern times they have been disavowed by a succession of thinkers of distinguished rank among NT critics.

In our own century, in particular, their claims to apostolic date and worth have been strongly contested, and judgments of the most diverse kind have been pronounced upon them by the critical schools. There are those who find no difficulty in attributing all three Epp., as well as the Gospel, to the Apostle John, but discover another hand in the Apocalypse. Bleek, *e.g.*, admits the existence of clear points of contact between all the writings assigned to St. John. But he is of opinion, at the same time, that the affinity between the Epp. and Gospel on the one hand, and the Bk. of Revelation on the other, is limited and occasional, while the difference is great and pervading. That difference is held to extend not only to the diction and the style, of which in the case of the Apoc. the one is confessedly peculiar and the other is pronounced rough and broken, but to the whole genius of the books, their attitude to the Jewish people, city, and temple, their teaching on the *Parousia*, and other things. It is thought to amount to so much that, if the Epp. are ascribed to St. John, the Apoc. must either be allowed to be a forgery by a much later hand or be explained as the work of another John, 'the presbyter,' referred to by Papias in a way interpreted by many as distinguishing him from the apostle (Euseb. *HE* iii. 39). There are others, again, who read the story of these writings in the reverse way, fixing the stigma of the spurious on the Epp. alone, or on the Epp. and the Gospel together. S. G. Lange regarded the Gospel and the Apoc. as the real writings of St. John, but took the First Ep. to be the work of an imitator a century later. The Tübingen critics agree in claiming the Apoc. for St. John, and in repudiating the other writings, though they differ with regard to the order of the latter. Baur himself (in 1857) held the First Ep. to be an imitation of the Gospel by a different hand, while Hilgenfeld places the Ep. earlier than the Gospel. Among those, too, who hold by the common Johannine authorship, certain differences appear, some regarding the First Ep. as the middle term between the Gospel and the Apoc. (Godet), others giving the Ep. a position in time between the Apoc. and the Gospel.

The historical case, as it has been understood by the great majority of students, so far as concerns the main questions, is this: that, while certain doubts overhung for a time the recognition of the shorter Epp., we find them, so far back as we can trace them, bearing the name of John and never any other, when the author's name is given; and that, while certain differences of view appeared in the early Church regarding the particular John, all three were regarded by most as writings of the apostle, and had an assured position as such before the close of the 4th cent. Whether the case can be accepted as it has thus been put, and what the probabilities are with the critical theories referred to, will best appear as the final result of a study of the writings. We shall take each Ep. therefore by itself, and shall look at its order of thought and the various questions which have been raised with respect to its occasion, its purpose, its message, etc. Having done this, we shall take up anew the problem of its origin and authorship, endeavouring to estimate the worth of the traditional view on the one hand and the counter-theories on the other.

THE FIRST EPISTLE.—1. *Order of Thought.*—The Ep. opens with some calm and lofty sentences, not cast in the form of epistolary introduction with which we are most familiar in the NT, but more in that of the Ep. to the Hebrews. In these, without indicating either himself or his readers except in an indirect and general way, the writer states at once the great fact on which all that he has to say rests, viz. the historical manifestation in Jesus Christ of the life that is behind all life, the eternal life that was with the Father. He declares at the outset, too, in this Introduction, the great object which he has in view in addressing his readers, viz. that his joy in them might be perfected by seeing them one with him in that fellowship with God in which he and the brethren with whom he classes himself are conscious of standing (1^{1-4}). He enters then at once upon his specific subject, giving as the basis of his counsel and the fundamental apostolic message the truth that 'God is light'; from which the immediate inference is that a walk in the light is indispensable on our part to this fellowship with God. This inference, however, from which there can be no escape, is declared, not in its logical directness, but in the form that to profess to be in fellowship with God and to continue to walk in darkness, is to commit ourselves to a lie and to all unreality. This walk in the light is not to be thus dealt with. Too much depends on it—not only fellowship with God, but fellowship with other members of Christ's body, and also the purgation of sin by Christ's blood. The cleansing which every Christian needs and which he also obtains coming thus into view, the explanation follows that on the one hand, if we claim to have no sin, we deceive ourselves and put God Himself to the lie, while on the other hand real confession of sin brings with it the divine forgiveness and the divine cleansing (1^{5-10}). The same thought is put in another form before the writer passes to his next subject, when he proceeds to remind his readers that all that he writes to them of the revelation of life, the fellowship with God, the pardon and purification of sin, is written with the practical purpose of instructing them not to sin, and then, recognizing the sin of which the true Christian cannot but be conscious, he points to the certainty of its forgiveness in virtue of what Christ is as Paraclete and Propitiation ($2^{1.2}$).

The thought of the new *fellowship* which has come by the Gospel leads to another near akin to it—that of the *knowledge* which the same Gospel requires and makes possible. The position in which those addressed were at the time, furnishes the occasion for speaking with emphasis and decision of the knowledge with which alone the believer is concerned, and of spurious forms with lofty pretensions. So the writer declares the knowledge of God in its reality to be possible only where the humble way of practical obedience to God's commandments is followed; in which connexion he urges the necessity of walking as Christ walked. In further illustration of the kind of life which befits the Christian, he identifies the walk in the light with the walk in brotherly love, and holds before his readers the duty of loving the brethren as the commandment of commandments, one at once old and new (3^{7-11}). He warns these Christians also against the love of the world and the seductions of false teachers, which are contrary to the love of the brethren, and presses this warning with the greater insistence because the world's opportunity is now short. It is the last time with it and all things, as is witnessed by the fact that many antichrists have appeared. These antichrists are described, and the description is pointed by an exhortation to these believers to abide in that knowledge which they have by the Holy Ghost, a knowledge which cannot deceive, so that they may not be put to shame in the great day of the Lord's *Parousia* (2^{12-28}).

The thought of God as *light* passes over next into the thought of God as *righteous*. Following out this new idea, the writer proceeds to say that only he who is righteous can be the child of God; that the man who has the hope of being like God or Christ must purify himself; and that, as Christ is sinless, he who is in Christ cannot sin. But he adds, with an eye to the subtle deception of the false teachers, that to *be* righteous means to *do* righteousness, and in sharp and decisive terms distinguishes those who sin as the children of the devil, from those who do not and cannot sin as the children of God. He identifies this righteousness also, which is the note of the son of God, as he had previously done in the case of the walk in light, with the love of the brethren, and again warns his readers against the love of the world, which, as was seen in the instance of Cain, means hatred of the children of God (2^{29}–3^{12}). At this point he sets Christ before them again as the supreme pattern of Christian love—a love which must be in deed and truth, and which carries with it these two blessings—the consciousness of being of the truth and the confidence that our prayers shall be heard. Touching again on God's commandment, he shows that it, too, means two things, viz. belief in Christ and love of one another, and explains that he who keeps the divine commandments not only is in fellowship with God, but has through the Spirit the consciousness of that fellowship (3^{12-24}).

Returning to the question of the immediate dangers which threatened his readers, the writer speaks again of the false prophets; and his words of warning on that subject become the occasion for taking up anew the two great themes—the law of love and the keeping of God's commandments, which are so much in his view. He repeats his cautions against the seductions of misleading teachers, and indicates the marks of distinction between the spirit of God and the spirit of Antichrist, between the spirit of truth and the spirit of error (4^{1-6}). He urges again the supreme duty of love—love to God indeed in the first instance, but also, and more particularly in this case, love to man. He reminds those for whom he is so solicitous, that the man who is of God is of love, called to love Him who Himself is love, and who has given the last proof of that in the mission and propitiatory death of His Son. To love God, he tells them, is to be in God, and to have God in them, and to be delivered from the torment of fear. It is all this, but it is also a love that gives proof of itself in the obvious practical duties of loving the brethren and keeping the divine commandments. And these commandments, he adds, whatever they may be to others, cannot be grievous to those who are begotten of God (4^{6}–5^{3}). The mention of this new relation to God, expressed by the term 'begotten of God,' forms a natural point of transition to the idea of the new mental attitude that goes with the new birth. So the writer comes to speak of *faith*,—of what it is as belief in Jesus as the Son of God, and of the witness which it carries with it to His being that; of the victorious might that is in that belief, and of the witness as something more than any external testimony—a witness which the believer has in himself (5^{4-12}). As the letter approaches its conclusion he states again the great object with which it has been written. He refers once more to what prayer is to the children of God, the confidence in it which is their prerogative, and the things they are entitled to ask (5^{13-17}). He brings the Epistle to an end by proclaiming anew the separation of the Christian from sin and from the wicked one; the privilege which is the Christian's both in understanding and in possession; and the necessity that is laid upon those who know the true God and have fellowship with Him to keep themselves from idols (5^{18-21}).

2. *Character.*—It appears, therefore, that the argument of the Epistle, if such a term can be applied to it, turns on a few large and simple ideas. It unfolds itself mostly in terms of certain broad antagonisms—those between Christ and Antichrist, believers and the world, the children of God and the children of the devil, the love of God and the love of the world, righteousness and unrighteousness, confidence and fear, love and hate, sins and a sin unto death, walking in the light and walking in darkness, being begotten of God and being touched by 'that wicked one.' In connexion with these fundamental and recurring antitheses we have a series of statements of what the message of the gospel is; of what fellowship with God is, how it comes, and what it implies; of what Christ is, and what His mission into this world means; of what the believer is, and what the Christian vocation involves.

The message of the gospel is that God is light; that we are to love one another; that in Christ God has given us eternal life. The fellowship with God which is in view is made possible by two things —the historical manifestation of God in Christ and the believer's faith, the former being the objective ground of this new and gracious relation, the latter its subjective condition. This fellowship brings with it the graces of joy, forgiveness, knowledge, the cleansing of the life, the liberty of intercession, the answer to prayer, the assurance and fearlessness of children. It involves a walking in the light, the doing of righteousness, the purifying of ourselves, love to God and love to the brethren, filial obedience, practical benevolence, the observance of the divine commandments, the forswearing of idols. Christ is the Son of God, the only-begotten Son, the manifestation of the Father and of that eternal life which was with the Father; pre-existent as being sent by God into the world; true man, righteous, sinless, the Paraclete with the Father, the propitiation for the sin of the world. His mission is to destroy the works of the devil, to bring us back to God, to give us eternal life, to put away our sin, and to be the Saviour of the world. And the Christian is one who has fellowship with God; who confesses his sin and is cleansed and forgiven; who is begotten of God and sins not; who has the gift of knowledge and can distinguish good from evil, the children of God from the world, truth from error, the false prophet or the false spirit from the true; who walks in the light and does the truth, loving God and the brethren, imitating Christ, and finding no grievousness in the divine commandments; who has passed out of death into life; who knows that his prayers are heard, and looks with holy confidence to the coming of his Lord and the judgment, and has the consciousness of eternal life in him.

Alike in the matter of its thought and in the way in which its ideas are expressed, this Epistle has a character wholly its own. The only Epp. of the NT which are of the same stamp are the two smaller letters which are associated with it. It differs most of all from the Epp. which bear St. Paul's name. It has nothing of the formal structure, the systematic course, the dialectical movement of these. The logical particles which abound in the Pauline writings are strange to this Epistle. Its thought moves on, but not in an obvious progress to a goal. It takes the form of a succession of ideas which seem to have no logical relation, and which fall only now and again into a connected series. They are delivered, not in the way of reasoned statements, but as a series of reflections and declarations given in meditative, aphoristic fashion. This lack of the constructive quality gives the teaching of the Epistle a peculiar directness and simplicity. But it is the directness of authority, the simplicity of truths which are felt to be self-attesting. These characteristics add to the vigour, the originality, the attractiveness of the Epistle. They have strangely been regarded by some as tokens of weakness, and have been reckoned among the things which are supposed to speak of the 'feebleness of old age' (S. G. Lange). Even Baur discovered a certain 'indefiniteness,' a tendency to repetition, a want of 'logical force,' in the tenor of the Ep. which gave it a 'tone of childlike feebleness.' But those critics show a better insight—and they are of Baur's school as well as of others—who find a peculiar beauty, richness, and originality in the Epistle, a special freshness and vividness, particularly in what it says of the 'subjective, inner life of Christianity' (Hilgenfeld).

If the characteristic ideas of the Ep. are few and simple, they are of large significance, and they are presented in new aspects and relations as often as they recur. They belong to the region of primary principles, realities of the intuition, certainties of the experience, absolute truths. And they are given in their absoluteness. The regenerate man is one who *cannot* sin; Christian faith is presented in its ideal character and completeness; the revelation of life is exhibited in its finality, not in the stages of its historical realization. They are ideas which take us into the inner and essential nature of things, into the real that is behind the phenomenal, the inward that is the heart of the outward, the permanent that is the ground of the transitory, the future that is in the bosom of the present. They are mystical in the sense that they are given as truths of immediate certitude, absolute reality, inward vision. But they are not mystical in the sense of being the pure products of intuition, things only of the subjective world, or superior to the common experience of life. They are given in practical relation to the ordinary course of Christian life and conduct. They have their roots, too, in the great facts of the objective revelation of God in Christ, in that which 'we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled of the word of life' (1^1).

3. *Ideas.*—The doctrinal and ethical ideas which meet us in the other NT Epp. appear also in this letter. But they are presented in a special light, and with distinctive notes. The *Theology* of the Ep. has its own points of interest. God is seen in this Ep., as elsewhere, in His Fatherhood, His truth, His righteousness, His forgiving grace, and in the fulness of His life as expressed in His triune Being. But, above all else, He is 'light' (1^5) and He is 'love,' loving us before we loved Him, and so imparting Himself to us that He dwells in us ($4^{8.10.12}$). The *Christology* also has its peculiar features. Christ is the Son, 'the Son of God,' 'the Only-begotten,' who was with the Father before He appeared in the world. He is the explanation of all things. For in Him we see the eternal life that is behind all things, and from Him we have the life that is life indeed. His divine and pre-temporal relations are not left without expression or intimation. But it is especially in His human nature and relations that He forms the great subject of this Epistle. He is never called 'the Son of Man,' it is true, yet it is the integrity of His humanity that is especially affirmed—the fact that He appeared on earth in the full reality of the 'flesh,' neither in phantasmal form nor in divided being, neither as mere spirit nor yet with the divine and the human in any loose or temporary connexion, but as at once 'Jesus' and 'the Christ,'—Jesus Christ come in the flesh, and 'not by water only, but by water and blood' (2^{22} $4^{2.3}$ 5^6). His sinlessness is asserted (3^5), as it is in the Pauline and Petrine writings, and He is said to have been 'sent' by God (4^8), as St. Paul also speaks of His appearance on earth. But His entrance into our world, and His assumption of our nature and estate, are not given, as they are in St. Paul, under the aspect of a *humiliation.* The designation 'the Paraclete,' which occurs in the NT only in the Johannine writings, and is used in the Fourth Gospel directly of the Holy Spirit and only implicitly of Christ, is applied here to the Son Himself directly and definitely (2^2). Further, in this Ep. Christ is presented less in respect of what He was and is, and more in respect of what proceeds from Him and is done by Him. It is a question whether the term 'the Word' is used directly and personally of Him. The form which the sentence takes in which that great term is used is indirect, and its subject is neuter and im-

personal (1^{1-3}). It is specifically as 'the life' that He is set before us here, and the more general term is chosen to express His appearance on earth. It is a *φανεροῦσθαι*. It is not said of Him that 'the Word was made flesh'; and though the idea that His entrance into our world was a real *incarnation* is implied in the description of Him as 'come in the flesh,' that event is exhibited rather as a *manifestation*, and in particular the manifestation of life.

The *Holy Spirit*, again, is spoken of especially as given by God and as bearing witness to Christ (3^{24} 5^{8}). *Sin* is 'unrighteousness' (1^{9} $3^{6.7}$ 5^{17}) and 'lawlessness' (3^{4}); but it is also 'darkness' (1^{6}) and 'death' (3^{14}). The *believer* is the 'child' of God (*τέκνον*, not *υἱός*), 'born' or 'begotten of God,' the special relation in which he is introduced being that of the new life rather than the new standing ($3^{1.2}$). Large expression is given also to the forces of *evil* which are opposed to Christ and the children of God. They are the devil and his works (3^{8}), the spirit of deceit (4^{6} *πνεῦμα τῆς πλάνης*), seducing spirits that have to be tried (4^{1}), the many 'antichrists' who have separated themselves from the Church or been cast out of it, and in whom the antichrist of prophecy is seen ($2^{18.19}$ 4^{3}). Among these forces is mentioned also '**the world**,' an expression which in this Epistle conveys the largest and most complex conception of immediate, encircling evil (2^{15-17} 3^{13} 4^{1-5} $5^{5.19}$). *Faith*, too, has its special aspect and compass here. It is the great subjective condition of the Christian life and standing, but it is not presented here either in the broad idea of it which is expressed in the Epistle to the Hebrews (11^{1}), or in the definite character given to it in the great Pauline Epistles. It is neither generally 'the assurance of things hoped for, the proving of things not seen,' though it comes near to that, nor distinctively the faith that justifies and gives peace with God. It is belief in Jesus Christ, the belief that comes with regeneration, that is of the new life, that is the characteristic note of the man who is born of God. As such it is power, it is victory, it is its own witness ($5^{1-5.10}$).

The Ep. also has its doctrine of *the last things*. Its theology, indeed, is not distinctively an eschatological theology. Its fundamental idea is rather that of *life*, and that 'life' not as a thing wholly or specifically of the future. It is a 'life' that has been with the Father from the beginning, and that has been historically revealed in Christ (1^{1-3}). It is *in* Christ, and it becomes our possession *now* in virtue of our belief in Him and attitude to Him ($5^{11.12}$). It is 'eternal' life, and that not in respect of its perpetuity merely, or its changelessness, but distinctively in respect of its quality—as essential life, a new ethical order of being, not a certain duration of existence, but the kind of life that means the ideal good of life, the perfection of life, its satisfaction in God. This great conception of life as 'eternal life,' which bulks so largely in the Fourth Gospel, occurring there some seventeen times, has an equally prominent place in this Ep., meeting us here six times in the forms *ζωὴ αἰώνιος* (3^{15} $5^{11.13.20}$) and *ἡ ζωὴ ἡ αἰώνιος* (1^{2} 2^{25}). But while this qualitative or ethical conception of life, which lifts it above distinctions of present and future, is the prevailing idea, it does not exclude the eschatological. The 'life' which is essential, and which is ours now in Christ, also looks to a fuller completeness, a future perfection. The Ep. speaks of a manifestation of what the children of God are destined to be (3^{2}). It has its word of hope, its vision of a blessedness still prospective, its anticipation of a manifestation in which we shall see Christ as He is, its doctrine of an advent of Christ which it expresses, as St. Paul also expresses it, as a *Parousia* ($3^{2.3}$ 2^{28}). There is no express mention, it is true, of the *Resurrection*. But it is implied in what is said of the *Parousia* and the *Judgment*, the fact of a great Judgment in the future being stated in express terms (4^{17}). The things of the End may occupy a smaller place in this Ep. than in the writings of St. Peter and St. Paul. But alongside the present conditions which are expressed by the same words, the 'coming' of Christ, the 'judgment,' the 'life eternal' appear also as events of the end and as final conditions. These are, in brief, the main ideas of the Epistle. They have an important bearing, as will be seen, on the question of the authorship of the writing. See also art. JOHN (LIFE AND THEOLOGY OF).

4. *Form and Structure.*—There are certain questions relating to the form and construction of the Epistle. They are matters of subordinate importance, which have had a consideration given them that is much beyond their merits. One of these is the question whether this writing is really an *Epistle* or something else. The fact that it has neither an introduction nor a conclusion, such as we find in other NT Epp., neither a greeting nor a benediction nor a doxology, such as we get in the Pauline Epp., together with the circumstance that in much of its matter it does not run in terms of direct address, has led some to deny it the character of a *letter*, and to speak of it as a homiletical essay or a pastoral (Reuss, Westcott), a *libellus* rather than an Epistle (Bengel), a manual of doctrine (Heidegger), a treatise (Michaelis), a practical or polemical composition meant to form part of the Gospel (Berger, Storr). But if it wants the usual form of superscription and greeting, it has an equivalent resembling the opening of the Ep. to the Hebrews. If it has not the kind of conclusion, or the doxology, with which we are familiar in the Pauline Epp., that is the case also with the Ep. of James. The freedom of the style, the use of such direct terms as 'I write unto you,' 'I wrote unto you,' and the footing on which writer and readers stand to each other all through its contents, show it to be no formal composition or didactic treatise, but an *Epistle* in the proper sense of the word.

Nor is anything to be gained by applying to 1 Jn such ingenious distinctions as are attempted to be drawn (*e.g.* by Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*) between 'letter' and 'epistle,' and denying it the former designation. If the term 'letter' were to be restricted, indeed, in common speech to a piece of private correspondence not meant for the public, it might be necessary to speak only of 3 Jn as a 'letter,' and to describe 1 Jn and (on a particular interpretation of its address) 2 Jn as 'Epistles.' And so some would hold St. Paul's letters to be the only 'letters' in the proper sense in the NT. But there are 'open' letters as well as closed, encyclical letters as well as personal, letters to communities as well as to individuals. What gives to a composition the character of a letter is its style and contents. And though there is not a little in 1 Jn that might suit an address or discourse, there is more that fits a letter, especially such a letter as one might write who had both age and honour on his side, and who could write both freely and authoritatively. The relations which the writing indicates between writer and readers are not distant, but familiar. They are the near relations of those who know each other well.

The question of the *structure* of the Ep. has also been much debated. Some have pronounced the writing to be wholly without a plan, and to consist simply of a number of reflections, counsels, or deliverances loosely put together, without continuity or logical connexion (Calvin, cf. his *Argumentum Epist.* 1 *Joh.*; Flacius Illyricus, *Episcopus*)

Others have regarded it as a systematic composition, on a dogmatic plan, and with a methodical arrangement of ideas in all its parts. Bengel, *e.g.*, asserted for it an elaborate contextual plan on a basis mainly Trinitarian. These are extreme opinions, and the truth lies somewhere between them. It is impossible to claim for this Ep. the strict logical sequence of thought which some imagine they find in it. But it is at the same time more than a series of unrelated ideas, a collection of unconnected maxims or aphorisms. There is a certain order in the Ep., due to the object with which it is declared to have been written. But it is an order that can be taken only in a broad and general way. Attempts have been made to carry it out in detail; but they have been only partially successful. Some have distributed the contents of the Ep. into something like *eight* groups of ideas (Lücke); others have found *five* main divisions in it, viz. 1^{5}–2^{11} 2^{12-27} 2^{28}–3^{24a} 3^{24b}–4^{21} 5^{1-21} (Hofmann, cf. *Schriftbeweis*; Luthardt); others *four*, viz. 1^{5}–2^{11} 2^{12-28} 2^{29}–3^{22} 3^{23}–5^{17}, dealing respectively with the danger of moral indifference, the love of the world and Antichrist, the necessity of a life of brotherly love, and *faith* as the foundation of the Christian life (Huther). Some, again, have arranged the matter of the Ep. on the plan of *three* great exhortations, viz. 1^{5}–2^{28} 2^{29}–4^{6} 4^{7}–5^{21}, with Introduction and Conclusion (de Wette). Others have regarded it as consisting of Introduction, Conclusion, and *two* great connected sections, viz. 1^{5}–2^{28} 2^{29}–5^{5}, both parts setting forth the same subject of fellowship with God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ; but each in its own way—the former having for its special theme the proposition that God is *light*, the latter the proposition that God is *righteous* (Düsterdieck, Alford). Divisions of a somewhat different kind are also suggested, as, *e.g.*, into three main sections, each with three or four sub-sections, the subjects for these sections being taken to be the 'problem of life and those to whom it is proposed,' the 'conflict of truth and falsehood without and within,' and the 'Christian life: the victory of faith' (Westcott).

There is more or less truth in these different readings of the plan of the Ep., and there is a certain measure of agreement among them. But even the simplest schemes do not admit of precise application. One can see that there are certain primary thoughts, especially the great ideas that God is light, that God is righteous, that God is love, to which much of the matter of the Ep. naturally relates itself; and that there are certain paragraphs or series of verses that have on the whole distinct subjects. But the ideas which give a special character to some particular section of the Ep. are not confined to that section. They meet us again and again, though it may not be quite in the same form. The Ep. has its introduction, its body, and its conclusion. It has its ruling thoughts, and it passes from one thought to another by points of transition which can often, if not always, be recognized. In its main contents it has a certain order and succession of ideas. But it is an order that follows the way of suggestion, not that of logical connexion. It is not systematically carried out, neither does it show itself upon the surface. It has the freedom that is proper to a letter, the unstudied, non-constructive character that belongs to a series of meditations or practical counsels.

5. *Independence.*—This is a question of greater importance. Among the NT writings there is one, though only one, that is at once seen to be of the same character as this Epistle. That is the Fourth Gospel. The resemblance is so great and unmistakable as at once to suggest the question, how the two are related to each other. In the Epistle we get the same general style as in the Gospel, the same simplicity of language with the same profoundness and exaltation of thought, the same lofty serenity, the same peculiar structure, the same sententious or aphoristic tone, the same habit of giving a statement both in the affirmative form and in the negative, and of taking up, repeating, and extending an idea already expressed; the same way of conveying truth by the use of contrasts, like that between light and darkness, life and death, love and hate; the same methods of forming sentences and carrying the thought forward. There are the same fundamental conceptions, too, of God, Christ, the purpose of the Son's mission, the nature of His work, His relations to God and to man, the character and standing of His disciples, the world, life, death, the present and the future. Many of the terms which are characteristic of the one are characteristic of the other. Of this class are the following:—*ἀληθής, ἀλήθεια, ἁμαρτίαν ἔχειν, ἀνθρωποκτόνος, γεννηθῆναι ἐκ, ἐντολὴ καινή, ζωή, ζωὴ αἰώνιος, θεᾶσθαι, κόσμος, μαρτυρεῖν, μεταβαίνειν ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου εἰς τὴν ζωήν, μονογενής* (of Christ), *παιδία, παράκλητος, περιπατεῖν ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ, πιστεύειν εἰς, παῤῥησία, τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας, ποιεῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ποιεῖν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, ὁ πονηρός, σκοτία, σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου, τέκνα θεοῦ, τεκνία, τιθέναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ, φανεροῦν, φῶς, χαρὰ πεπληρωμένη.* Other terms distinctive of the Gospel and the Apocalypse together meet us also in the Ep.; *e.g. ἀγαπᾷν, ἀγάπη, ἁγνίζειν ἑαυτόν, ἀληθινός, γινώσκειν, εἶναι ἐκ, θεωρεῖν, μαρτυρία, μένειν, νικᾷν, πλανᾷν, τηρεῖν τὰς ἐντολάς, τηρεῖν τὸν λόγον, φαίνειν.* Peculiar syntactical forms, or peculiar uses of familiar formulæ, which occur in the Gospel, occur also in the Ep., as in the case of *ἵνα, ἀλλ' ἵνα*, etc. There are also many obvious parallelisms of thought and expression. Examples of these may be seen in such passages of the Ep. as—2^{14} 2^{17} 3^{8} 3^{13} 3^{22} 3^{23} 4^{6} 4^{15} 4^{16} 5^{4} 5^{9} 5^{20} when compared respectively with those passages of the Gospel—5^{38} 8^{35} 8^{44} 15^{18} 8^{29} 13^{34} 8^{47} 6^{56} 6^{69} 16^{33} 5^{32} 17^{3}.

In view of all this some have denied the character of independence to the Ep., and have spoken of it as a copy of the Gospel which shows all through the imitative hand (Baur). Others, who have not been disposed to go so far as that, have regarded it as a 'companion' to the Gospel, the second part of the Gospel (Michaelis, Storr, Eichhorn), a kind of dedicatory writing meant to go with the Gospel (Hug, Thiersch, Hausrath, Hofmann, Ebrard, Haupt), a summary or recasting and practical setting of the contents of the Gospel (Hoekstra, Holtzmann), a covering letter designed to serve as a kind of introduction to the Gospel (Lightfoot), etc.

But there are clear and significant differences between the two writings, notwithstanding this remarkable general similarity. There is no such local colouring in the Ep. as we have in the Gospel. There is no such Hebrew stamp in the Ep. as there is in the Gospel. There is not a single quotation from the OT in the former, while in the latter we have both citations from the OT and references to the OT. These differences, indeed, are not conclusive. They may be due to the natural difference between narrative and letter, or to the different circumstances and objects of the writings. But there is much more than these. The ideas which are common to both are, in not a few cases, differently put, and have a different aspect.

In the Ep., *e.g.*, Christ's appearance on earth is presented, as we have seen, in the broad light of a *manifestation.* The specific function of *advocacy* or intercession is ascribed to Him. The qualities of *faithfulness* and *righteousness* on the side of God, and the grace of *confession* on the side of man, are given in a particular connexion with the forgiveness and the cleansing of sin; and *faith* appears in the definite character of a power of overcoming. In the case of certain ideas of the Ep., the affinities are rather with the teaching of the great Pauline Epp. than with the Fourth Gospel. This is true, not only of what is said of God or of Christ as *δίκαιος* (cf. 1^9 2^2 with Ro 3^{26}), but also of the description of Christ as *ἱλασμός* (cf. 2^2 4^{10} with Ro 3^{25}), the designation of His Second Coming as a *παρουσία* (cf. 2^{28} with 1 Co 15^{23}, 1 Th 2^{19} etc.), etc. But, besides this, the Ep. has not a few ideas which it does not share with the Gospel. Such ideas are those, *e.g.*, of a 'fellowship (*κοινωνία*) with the Father and with His Son Jesus Christ,' a 'love perfected' (*ἀγάπη τετελειωμένη*), an 'Antichrist' and 'Antichrists,' a 'sin unto death' (*ἁμαρτία πρὸς θάνατον*), a 'Divine seed' (*σπέρμα αὐτοῦ*), an 'unction from the Holy One' (*χρίσμα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου*). Such terms as *ἀγγελία* and *πλάνος*, such phrases as *ἐπιθυμία τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν*, *ἐπιθυμία τῆς σαρκός*, *ἐν σαρκὶ ἔρχεσθαι*, *ἐν τῷ φωτὶ περιπατεῖν*, *ποιεῖν τὴν ἀνομίαν*, *ποιεῖν τὴν δικαιοσύνην*, belong to the Ep. and not to the Gospel. Such ideas, again, as those of the 'wrath of God' (*ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ θεοῦ*), to 'be from above' (*εἶναι ἐκ τῶν ἄνω*), 'to be from beneath' (*εἶναι ἐκ τῶν κάτω*), and such designations as 'the Holy Spirit' (*τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον*), which are in the Gospel (3^{36} 8^{23} 1^{33} etc.), do not recur in the Epistle. And to these things others might be added. Where the Gospel, *e.g.*, declares God to be 'Spirit' (*πνεῦμα*, 4^{24}), the Ep. declares Him to be 'love' (*ἀγάπη*, 4^{16}); where the Gospel speaks of the Son being 'in the Father' and the 'Father in the Son' ($14^{10.11}$ etc.), the Ep. speaks of us as being 'in God' and God 'in us' (*ἡμεῖς ἐν τῷ θεῷ* 2^5 4^4, *ὁ ἐν ἡμῖν* 2^5 4^4).

There are also certain minuter differences in usage, as in the preference of the Ep. for the preposition *ἀπό* after such verbs as *αἰτεῖν*, *ἀκούειν*, *λαμβάνειν*, where the Gospel has *παρά*. To which must be added the fact that no clear reference to the Gospel is discovered in the Epistle. There is enough, therefore, to show that the Ep. is not dependent on the Gospel, not a second part of it, nor a remodelling of its contents, whether for practical or for polemical purposes, but an independent composition having its own particular occasion, purpose, and character.

6. *Purpose and Occasion.*—Its purpose is that the readers may have fellowship with the writer and his associates who have been eye-witnesses of the Word of life, and whose fellowship is with the Father and with His Son Jesus Christ; that the joy which the writer and his brethren have in them may be made complete by seeing that fellowship realized in their case; and that those addressed may have the comfortable consciousness of possessing eternal life ($1^{2.3}$ 5^{13}). The writer's object, therefore, is to be taken in the breadth which he himself gives it. It is not to be limited to the combating of certain errors, the refutation of certain false teachers, or the reproof of certain shortcomings. The Ep. does deal with certain faults in life, certain errorists and defective doctrines. But its primary purpose is to help these Christians to be partakers with the writer and his fellow-witnesses in the completeness and satisfaction of the Christian life. It is with a view to this that other subjects are introduced, that certain instructions are given, and that counsels are offered against certain infirmities and perils.

The Ep., nevertheless, may have had a particular occasion. That is found by some in a certain critical condition of the Church or Churches addressed (Lücke, etc.); and there are, no doubt, things in the Ep. which point to shortcomings, especially in the matter of brotherly love. But there is nothing to indicate that those addressed were in a peculiarly dangerous or faulty condition, or that the moral life had sunk very low among them. The Ep. is not one of reproof. It is rather written under the sense that writer and readers are living in 'the last time,' and that the Coming of the Lord is expected. Its particular occasion, therefore, may rather be sought in what it says of the appearance of certain false teachers, in which event the writer sees the token of 'the last time.' Who were those errorists that are here spoken of as 'Antichrists'? To this question many different answers have been given. Some of them may be at once dismissed as too large and indefinite. To say, *e.g.* (with Bleek), that the men in view are *Christians*, men who had lost their faith or had practised it unworthily, or that they are men who had fallen into Antinomian licence, is inconsistent both with the fact that the 'Antichrists' are described as outside the Church, and with the kind of fault that is attributed to them here. Further, if Antinomian error had been specially in view, we should have expected (so Neander), not such a declaration as 'Every one that doeth sin, doeth also lawlessness; and sin is lawlessness' (3^4 RV), but rather 'Every one that doeth lawlessness, doeth also sin; and lawlessness is sin.' To say that they were *Jews* (Löffler), or that they were *Ebionites*, is equally wide of the mark, nothing being found to imply that the error in question was merely a denial of the Messiahship of Jesus, or a reduction of Christ to the rank of a second Moses. There is as little to support the idea that the Ep. has in view more than one class of errorists, Ebionites and Sabians (Storr), or Ebionite and Docetic teachers (Sander).

It is more reasonable to identify them with Docetic teachers of the Gnostic type. They are described as denying that 'Jesus is the Christ,' as denying 'the Father and the Son' ($2^{22.23}$), and as confessing 'not Jesus' (4^3). They are contrasted with those who are of the spirit that 'confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh' (4^2); and, toward the close of the Ep., though they are not mentioned, the note that is still insisted on is belief 'that Jesus is the Christ' (5^1). These terms do not carry us to the particular refinements of Gnosticism that are connected with the name of Basilides, as some think (Pfleiderer). There is no point of contact with the strange Basilidean theories of a tripartite sonship, the division of the world into the Ogdoad and the Hebdomad, and the destiny of Jesus to be the 'first-fruits of the sorting of the things confused.' Nor is there any real analogy between the doctrine of the Son in the Ep. and the vague speculations of these Gnostics about the descent of a light from the Hebdomad upon Jesus the Son of Mary at the Annunciation. There might seem more, perhaps, that resembles the Valentinian doctrine, in which the idea of *σπέρματα* has a large and prominent place. But the Christology of the Ep. is far removed from any one or all of the three views of the origin of Jesus which are ascribed to Valentinus by Irenæus (i. 11. 15, etc.). The terms point to something more specific, however, than the ordinary Docetic doctrine which bore that our Lord had only an *apparent* body all through His life on earth, and until His Ascension. They best suit the teachings of the Gnostic Cerinthus, in which Oriental, Jewish, and Christian ideas seem to have been mixed up, and which distinguished between the man 'Jesus' and 'Christ' the heavenly Being, and affirmed that 'the Christ' united Himself with 'Jesus' only at the baptism of the latter, and continued with Him only till His Passion. Beyond this the terms do not seem to warrant us to go. It is probably too much to say (*e.g.* with Holtzmann) that the error in view all through the Ep. is the dualistic form of Gnosis which was Christologically Docetic and practically Antinomian, or (with Lipsius, etc.) that both Docetism and Antinomianism are intended. It is doubtful whether we can say (*e.g.* with Weiss, Harnack, etc.) that the Ep. is directed also against men within the Church who misunderstood and perverted St. Paul's doctrine. Such statements as 'he that *doeth* righteousness is righteous' (3[7]), are not enough to bear the weight of such inferences.

7. *Authorship.*—Who, then, is the *author* of an Ep. which speaks of a form of Gnostic doctrine like that associated with the name of the traditional opponent of the Apostle John in his old age? The general answer, as has been said, has been: the Apostle John himself. This was the almost universal belief of the early Church, the exceptions being few, of small account, and easily understood. The sect of the Alogi may have rejected the Ep., as they did the Gospel and the Apocalypse. But the statement in Epiphanius (*Hær.* tom. i. c. 34) amounts only to a perhaps, and the rejection, if it was the fact, would have been, as in the case of the Gospel, for doctrinal reasons. Marcion, we know, refused it a place in his very limited Canon; but his exclusion of it and of so much else in the NT turned, not upon the question of historical testimony, but on that of harmony with his own special views. At a much later period an obscure statement is made by Cosmas Indicopleustes in the 6th cent. (*Topogr. Christ.* I. vii.), to the effect that some maintained that all the Catholic Epp. were written by presbyters, not by apostles. And Leontius of Byzantium (*contr. Nestor. et Eutych.* iii. 14) speaks of Theodore of Mopsuestia as 'abrogating' the Ep. of James and the other Catholic Epp.—'Epistolam Jacobi et alias deinceps aliorum catholicas abrogat et antiquat.' This is all. And so the case stood, as far as we know, till late in the 16th cent., when Joseph Scaliger declared all three Epp. not to be by the apostle. Then S. G. Lange, with strange taste, pronounced the first unworthy of an apostle, though he felt the force of the historical testimony for its apostolic origin. Others tried to prove it to be the work of a Jewish Christian author and a Gnostic reviser (Claudius), or ascribed it to the presbyter John (Bretschneider, Paulus). But the severest assault made upon the Ep. in ancient or in modern times is that of Baur and his school. The Tübingen criticism has not been at one in all things. Some of its adherents have held the Gospel and the Ep. to be by the same author (K. R. Köstlin, Georgii); others have held them to be by different hands (Baur, Hilgenfeld, etc.). But the school has been at one in denying the apostolic origin of the Ep., and in ascribing it to a writer of the 2nd cent.

The reasons given for this view of the Ep. are such as the following:—The circumstances, the forms of thought, and the condition of the Church which appear in it, it is said, point to a later period than the apostolic. Different critics fix on different things in support of this contention. Some fix upon the doctrine of the *Logos* as they suppose it to be expressed here (Bretschneider); of which it is enough to say that in Hebrew thought and in Greek there was a soil prepared for it before the close of the 1st cent. at any rate. Others argue from the acquaintance which it betrays with Docetic error. But it is too much to assert that that type of error does not emerge till the post-apostolic age, and the particular form in view here is, as we have seen, like the doctrine attributed to Cerinthus. Others (Hilgenfeld, etc.) reason from its reference to Gnostic doctrine. But while the riper and more complicated forms of Gnosticism belong to a later time, it is not made historically good that there was not or could not be at the earlier date Gnostic ideas of a simpler and more rudimentary kind, and it is acknowledged (*e.g.* by Hilgenfeld) that it is only an undeveloped form that appears in this Epistle. But besides that, it has to be said that the things in the Ep. which are supposed to betray the influence of Gnostic thought are not sufficient for the purpose. Of the doctrine ascribed to the 'Antichrists' we have already spoken. But much is made of the use of the terms σπέρμα and χρίσμα, and of the idea that we should only love and not *fear* God. But the terms σπέρμα and χρίσμα have a totally different application here from what they have in the far-fetched and impracticable speculations of the Gnostic sects. Nor do we require to go to Gnostic sources for their origin. They have their explanation in the ideas of Revelation—the one in the OT idea of an *anointing*, the other in the NT idea of a *birth* or a being *begotten* of God. And that there should be, not the fear that hath torment, but pure love to God, is surely a most Christian idea.

It is further argued that the Ep. cannot be an apostolic composition, because it shows the presence of Montanistic doctrine (Planck, Baur). Traces of Montanism are thought to be found especially in what is said of the moral condition of the believer, of the *unction*, and of sins 'not unto death' and 'a sin unto death.' With respect to the first, the Ep. speaks, it is true, of the moral condition of the believer in its ideal perfection. But it is not an absolute sinlessness that it ascribes to him, nor does it speak of his perfection at all in the Montanist way. For the Montanists claimed a spiritual perfection above other Christians. The idea of the *chrism* or 'unction,' as it appears here, is as little Montanistic as it is Gnostic. It rests upon biblical ideas and biblical employments of the act of anointing with oil. Neither does the distinction between two kinds of sin necessarily bear the sense which Baur puts upon it. Even if we were to grant this, it would not carry the late date with it. Hilgenfeld has pointed out that the idea of special *mortal* sins is found in the *Periodi Petri*, a part of the pseudo-Clementine literature, and, in his opinion, it is therefore earlier than Montanism. Much more, too, would surely have been made of the doctrine of the Paraclete, if the Ep. had been written by a Montanist or under Montanistic influences. Other arguments adverse to its apostolic origin and its connexion with John the evangelist are of even less importance. The brevity of the reference to the false teachers and the limited refutation of them have been held to be inconsistent with the claims preferred on behalf of the Epistle. But this is to overlook the method of the Ep., which is to present the truth, and to do that authoritatively, rather than to expose error. The vagueness of the introduction, and the want of anything in it to identify the writer with John the apostle, are also adduced. But it is customary with St. John not to name himself directly, and the author associates himself at least with the eye-witnesses of Christ's life, and speaks all through in a tone befitting one conscious of apostolic dignity.

Once more the apostolic authorship is contested on the ground that the Ep. is so different from the Apocalypse. This is, of course, an important argument with those of the Tübingen school, and it is perhaps best put by those of that school who, like Hilgenfeld, hold the Ep. to be older than the Gospel. The Apoc. being by John the apostle, the remarkable way in which it differs from the Ep. in language and conception makes it impossible, it is argued, for the latter to be by the same hand. The differences, indeed, are great, and extend not only to vocabulary, grammar, and phraseology, but to attitude, spirit, and idea. They may be explained so far, however, by difference in circumstance, time of composition, subject, and so far also by the fact that the one writing is an Ep., while the other belongs to the peculiar order of apocalyptic literature which has a form and a method of its own. The difference in idea, too, is in important cases much less than the Tübingen critics are inclined to make it. There is no such antagonism, *e.g.*, as they suppose between the God of wrath in the Apoc. and the God of love in the Ep., or between the view of the divine righteousness as judging evil in the Apoc. and the view of the same righteousness as forgiving sin in the Epistle. That there are many points of affinity, too, between Gospel, Ep., and Apoc., is admitted by critics like Hilgenfeld. But the question of the Apoc. is one by itself. See art. REVELATION (BOOK OF).

The arguments in favour of the non-apostolic origin of the Ep. are far from convincing. Even were they much more so than they are, they could not prevail against the historical evidence. For that is peculiarly strong. The entire witness of antiquity (with the solitary exceptions already referred to in the cases of Cosmas and Leontius) from the time of Eusebius is for the Johannine authorship. Athanasius, Cyril of Jerusalem, Epiphanius, and others attest it. Jerome, speaking of the Apostle John, in his *Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers* (ch. 9), says of him: 'Scripsit autem et unam epistolam, cujus exordium est, Quod fuit ab initio . . . quæ ab universis ecclesiasticis et eruditis viris probatur.' Eusebius himself places it among the *Homologoumena* (*HE* iii. 25), and ascribes it to John (*HE* iii. 24, 25). Travelling back from these declarations, we find Dionysius, the scholar of Origen, citing the words of the Ep. as those of the evangelist, and reasoning against the Johannine origin of the Apoc. from its unlikeness to the Ep. in style and language (Euseb. *HE* vii. 25). We find Origen himself repeatedly quoting it or referring to it as by John (*e.g. Ev. Joh.* tom. xiii. 21). It is in the Peshiṭta, and in the Muratorian Fragment, the latter quoting the words 'Quæ vidimus oculis nostris et auribus audivimus et manus nostræ palpaverunt hæc scripsimus vobis' as John's. Similar testimony is borne to it by Cyprian (*Ep.* 25), who quotes $2^{3.4}$, by Tertullian (*adv. Marc.* v. 16; *adv. Prax.* ch. 13, 28; *adv. Gnost.* 12, etc.), and by Clem. Alex. (*Strom.* ii. 15, iii. 4, 5, iv. 16). Irenæus, too, quotes the Ep. several times, and ascribes it to John, the Lord's disciple, who also wrote the Gospel (*de Hær.* iii. 16; Euseb. *HE* v. 8). Further, Papias (who is described by Irenæus as Ἰωάννου μὲν ἀκουστής, Πολυκάρπου δ' ἑταῖρος) is reported by Eusebius (*HE* iii. 39) to have 'used testimonies from John's former Ep.' (κέχρηται δ' ὁ αὐτὸς μαρτυρίαις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωάννου προτέρας ἐπιστολῆς). And Polycarp, the disciple of St. John (*ad Philipp.* ch. 7), has the sentence πὰς γὰρ ὃς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῇ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθέναι, ἀντίχριστός ἐστιν; which so closely resembles 1 Jn 4^3 that few (though Scholten is of the number) have refused to see in it an evidence of Polycarp's acquaintance with the Epistle.

Whether we can carry the chain of witness further back even than Polycarp's letter, is doubtful. It depends chiefly on the date to which the *Didaché* is referred, and on the view taken of certain sentences in it. The Ep. appears to be known, indeed, to the writer of the Ep. to Diognetus; but the date of that writing, which is placed by Lightfoot (*St. Ignatius and St. Polycarp*, i. 517) between A.D. 117 and 130, is uncertain. Traces of it have also been found by some in Justin Martyr, the Ep. of Barnabas, the Shepherd of Hermas, and the Epistles of Ignatius. But these are not definite enough to prove acquaintance with the *writing*. They may indicate no more than the use of terms which were common to all Christians, or to certain circles of Christians, at the time. But in the *Didaché* we have, perhaps, something more. In chs. x., xi., *e.g.*, we find the phrase τελειῶσαι αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ σου; παρελθέτω ὁ κόσμος οὗτος; πᾶς δὲ προφήτης δεδοκιμασμένος. These remind us of the τετελείωται ἐν ἀγάπῃ of our Ep. (4^{18}) and the parallel phrases in 2^5 $4^{12.17}$; of the ὁ κόσμος παράγεται of 2^{17} (a very similar form occurs, however, also in St. Paul, 1 Co 7^{31}); and of the δοκιμάζετε τὰ πνεύματα of 4^1. If these are regarded as reminiscences of the words of the Ep., and not simply as proofs of acquaintance with John's teaching, it may be, in oral form, and if the *Didaché* can be referred to the closing years of the first century or the opening years of the second, we have a witness earlier even than Polycarp.

To this must be added the argument drawn from the relation in which Gospel and Ep. stand to each other. If it can be shown that the two writings are by one hand, then all that goes to prove the Gospel to be the work of the evangelist John goes to prove the Ep. to be his also. This question, whether the author of the Gospel also wrote the Ep., is answered in the negative by the Tübingen critics generally. In support of that position it is urged that the two writings differ radically in their attitude to the OT law, in their view of the person of Christ, in their doctrines of the Holy Spirit and the work of Christ, in their eschatology, and in their general mode of thought. The Ep., it is said, stands 'in a more intimate relationship' to the law than is the case with the Gospel. But in point of fact there is no mention of the νόμος in the Ep., and the passages which are supposed to have it specially in view have another application. It does not appear that in the use of the term ἀνομία in 3^4 it is the Mosaic law that is particularly in view, or that the ἀπ' ἀρχῆς in $2^{7.8}$ refers specially to the OT law of love. The idea of a personal Logos, again, which is found in the Prologue to the Gospel, is thought to be foreign to the Epistle. But if we have not the term ὁ λόγος, we have the phrase ὁ λόγος τῆς ζωῆς in the introduction to the Ep.; and, even if it is allowed to be a question whether the latter phrase has the same sense as the former, we have a similar conception of the superhuman, pre-temporal, personal being of Christ in the terms 'life' and 'Son of God' as they appear in the Epistle. The Holy Spirit, it is further urged, is not presented as He is in the Gospel in personal relations, of which the use of the neuter term χρίσμα is supposed to be a proof. But the term χρίσμα is an easily understood term for a particular gift or operation of the Holy One; and the 'witness' which is said to be borne by the Spirit (5^6), which is also ascribed to the Spirit by Christ in the Fourth Gospel (15^{26}), points to the harmony of the two writings on the subject of the personality of the Holy Ghost.

The designation of Christ as 'Advocate' (2^2) is also held by Baur and others of his school to be in affinity with the Ep. to the Hebrews rather than with the Fourth Gospel, and to indicate a view of Christ's relation to His disciples which 'lay far apart from the evangelist.' But the idea of Christ as Intercessor is not peculiar to any particular Ep., but is found again and again in the NT; nor can it be made out that in anything else that is said of Christ's relations to His disciples there is any difference between the Ep. and the Gospel. Nor is it the case that the Ep. has an eschatology which is not known to the Gospel. The conceptions of a present judgment and a spiritual Parousia prevail, it is true, in the Gospel, but not to the exclusion of the ideas of a future judgment and a

Parousia at the end of things ($5^{28.29}$ $6^{39.40}$ etc.). And the eschatological conception of the Advent and the Judgment is expressed in the Ep., but not to the absolute exclusion of the form of doctrine characteristic of the Gospel. For it speaks of a passing from death to life which is already accomplished, and of eternal life as a present possession. Further, to say, with Baur, Hilgenfeld, and others, that there is a more 'material and external' mode of thought in the Ep. than in the Gospel, is to misjudge and misinterpret the former. The designation, *e.g.*, of God as 'light' is strangely thought to express a more material conception of God than is possible to the writer of the Gospel, and the symbols of the 'water' and the 'blood' are thought to be differently used, more materially in the Ep., more ideally in the Gospel. But these suppositions rest on mistaken interpretations of the passages.

There are differences between the two writings, as we have seen, and these differences are neither few in number nor inconsiderable in weight. They are differences which go to establish the independence of the two compositions. But they are not sufficient to prove a difference of authorship. They can be made to appear so only by forced constructions, and by overlooking the distinct purposes and circumstances of the writings. They can be explained by the differences between the Gospel and the Ep. in the occasions which produced them, the subjects with which they have to deal, and the ends which they have in view, and by the natural difference between an historical composition and a letter. On the other hand, there are similarities of the most remarkable kind in thought, style, and expression, in characteristic ideas, in imagery and symbolism, and in the special type of doctrine. They are similarities which pervade the two writings, and point strongly to identity of authorship.

No explanation of the origin of the Ep., therefore, fits the facts so well as the one that has prevailed. It is to internal considerations that those appeal who reject it; and it is largely on the ground of the supposed impossibility of two writings so different in character as the Ep. and the Apoc. proceeding from one and the same hand, that the Tübingen critics deny the apostolicity of the former. The external evidence is not seriously assailed. It is admitted even by so uncompromising a critic as the late Dr. Samuel Davidson that 'the letter is well attested by the voice of antiquity, and that, as far as external evidence reaches, its authenticity seems to be secure' (*Introduction to the NT*, ii. 302).

8. *Place and Date.*—If the Ep. is the work of John, it is most natural to suppose it to have been written in Asia Minor, most probably in Ephesus. It is true that we have no definite statement in early Christian literature to that effect, and some who regard it as intended to form a companion to the Gospel are inclined to refer it to Patmos. But it is with Ephesus that the most ancient tradition connects the composition of the Gospel. What Irenæus says of John the *μαθητὴς τοῦ Κυρίου* and his Gospel is this: *καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξέδωκε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῆς Ἀσίας διατρίβων* (*adv. Hær.* iii. 1), and the same is said in effect by Jerome (*Prolog. to Matth.* vol. vii. pp. 5, 6). If the Gospel and the Ep., therefore, belong to the same period in John's life, as many things go to show, it is reasonable to suppose that the Ep. as well as the Gospel was written in Asia Minor, and most probably in Ephesus, all the more that it is with that territory and that city that ancient tradition connects the closing stage of John's career.

If there is little by which to determine the *place* where the Ep. was written, there is as little by which to fix its *date.* Some, indeed, have thought it possible to define the time of its composition precisely, and have been bold enough even to refer it to one particular year. Ebrard ascribes it to the year 95 of the Dionysian era. But his reasoning turns upon the uncertain suppositions that the Ep. is a dedicatory companion to the Gospel, and that the Gospel was written in Patmos, John being in that island, as he holds, in the fifteenth year of Domitian. Ewald, again, puts the writing of the Gospel at 80 A.D., but thinks it was not in circulation till immediately before John's death; while the Ep., according to him, was written later, but circulated earlier. All that can be said with any measure of confidence is that the Ep. belongs to the later apostolic period. This seems the natural, if not the necessary, inference from the general cast of its contents, the condition of the Christian communities which is indicated in it, the errors which it combats, the lack of any reference to the contest between legalism and liberty, and the impression which it conveys that the questions which occupy so large a place in the great Pauline Epp. are no longer the questions of the day. It is in harmony with the traditional account of the period of John's stay in Ephesus, as it appears in Polycrates (cf. Euseb. *HE* iii. 31), Irenæus (*adv. Hær.* ii. 39, iii. 1, 3), Origen, and Clement of Alexandria (Euseb. *HE* iii. 1, 23), as well as in Jerome (*de Vir. Illustr.* c. 9). It is also in harmony with the tone of the Ep., for it reads like the calm counsel of old age and ripest experience; and with the presumption which is created by St. Paul's declared principle of action (Ro 15^{20}), and by the absence of any reference to John or any salutation to him in the Pauline Epp. addressed to Asiatic Churches, that it was written after the death of the great Apostle of the Gentiles. It is most probable, also, that it was written after the destruction of Jerusalem, though how long after that event it is impossible to say. Some, indeed (*e.g.* Grotius, Düsterdieck, Fritzsche), have held it to be earlier than that catastrophe, on the ground of the mention of 'the last hour' in 2^{18}, or for the broader reason that an event of so terrible moment could scarcely have passed without some notice, if it had happened. But there may be no allusion to that event, for the simple reason that there was no special call to refer to it, or because it was no longer a very recent thing. Nor can anything be made of the statement in 2^{18}. The term 'the last hour' applies, not to the destruction of Jerusalem (how could the 'antichrists' be signs of that?), but to the Parousia, in which connexion we find the phrase *ἔσχατοι καιροί* used even by Ignatius (*Ep. ad Ephes.* c. xi.). The Gnostic teaching which is condemned, and the external position of the errorists, combine with other things to point to a period later than 70 A.D., and towards the end of the century. This is in harmony also with the traditional date of Cerinthus, with whose doctrine the view of Christ's Person repudiated in the Ep. is most probably identified, and with the period in John's life to which tradition assigns his connexion with the heretic.

It has been sought to define the time of composition more precisely by determining the chronological relation of the Ep. to the Gospel. But the materials for doing so are far too scanty, and the arguments which have been urged for the one view or the other have little weight. Some hold the Ep. to be prior to the Gospel, on the ground that writings of 'momentary design, like letters, come naturally before writings of permanent design, like narratives or histories' (Thiersch); or on the ground that a letter of warning to particular Churches against particular errors would probably have been written earlier than a composition like the Gospel, which deals with the historical foundations, and appears to be addressed to all Christendom (Huther, *al.*). Others argue for the posteriority of the Ep. on the basis of certain passages which are supposed to refer to the Gospel, or to presuppose it, or on the ground that the Ep. seems to require the Gospel for its explanation. But, even if the latter were granted, it would not follow that the Ep. was later than the Gospel. Reuss, who thinks that the former needs the latter as its commentary, yet admits that 'as it once had one in the oral instruction of the author, it is not thereby proved that it is later' (*Hist. of the NT*, Houghton's tr., p. 237). And as to the passages appealed to in particular, the opening verses in their relation to the Prologue of the Gospel, the phrase *ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα* (4^2) as compared with *σὰρξ ἐγένετο*, etc., they are almost equally applicable or inapplicable as arguments for the priority of the Ep. and for its posteriority. There is, indeed, nothing in the Ep. that can be justly said to presuppose the existence of the Gospel as we have it, or to go beyond what is explainable by the earlier oral preaching and teaching.

9. *Destination.*—The Ep. being written, then, in the scenes of the closing stage of John's apostolic ministry, it is most reasonable to suppose it to have been written for readers belonging to those parts. It has been supposed, indeed, to have been addressed to Palestinian Christians (Benson). But there is nothing to favour such a supposition, the contents of the Ep. pointing to a Gentile-Christian audience rather than a Jewish-Christian. Some have thought it directed to a single Church, that of Ephesus (Hug), or even that of Corinth (Lightfoot). But its wide scope and encyclical character are inconsistent with that. Others have regarded it as addressed to Christians outside the scene of the life and ministry of John in his old age (Holtzmann), or as an encyclical of the widest scope (Hilgenfeld). But the terms which are said to bear this out do not meet the case. The *καὶ ὑμῖν* and *καὶ ὑμεῖς* in 1^3 do not suffice to establish a distinction between the Asiatic Christians among whom John was writing and those to whom his letter is directed; and while the character of the Ep. suits its designation as a *Catholic* Ep., there are things in it, especially the references to particular forms of error, which so far limit and define its destination.

The most curious thing connected with this question of the readers that are in view, is the fact that Augustine, in quoting 3^2, speaks of the passage as being in John's 'Epistle to the Parthians' (quod dictum est a Joanne in epistola ad Parthos, *Quæst. Evang.* ii. 39). That is the only certain occurrence, indeed, of this designation in Augustine's works. It is given, however, in the Benedictine edition of his Tractates on the Ep., in the title; in the *Indiculus operum S. Augustini* of Possidius; in one or two manuscripts; in the *contra Varimadum Arianum* of Idacius Clarus or Vigilius Tapsensis; and in Bede's (if it is genuine) *Prologus super septem epistolas canonicas*, where it is said that many ecclesiastical writers, and among them the great Athanasius, affirm this Ep. to be 'written to the Parthians.' Hence it has been supposed by some (Grotius, etc.) that the Ep. was addressed to Jewish Christians living beyond the Euphrates within the limits of the Parthian empire. But we hear of no connexion between John and Parthia, and the designation *ad Parthos* appears to have been unknown to the Church of the East, and even to the Church of the West before Augustine's time. It is a pure puzzle, a curiosity on which nothing can be based. It has been accounted for as a mistake for *ad Pathmios* (Serrarius), *ad sparsos* (Wetstein), *adpertius* (Semler), *ad Spartos* (Scholz, on the authority of a 12th century manuscript), *πρὸς διασπαρσαμένους* (!) (Holtzmann, Mangold), *πρὸς πάντας* (Paulus), *πρὸς παρθένους* (Gieseler, etc.). Most favour the last of these explanations. Some think that the title *πρὸς παρθένους* was given to express the pure condition of the Churches addressed (Whiston); others, that the inscription of the Second Ep. (*πρὸς παρθένους*) as found in some manuscripts was transferred as more suitable to the First (Hug). Some, again, suppose that the title ran *ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ παρθένου*, John having the designation *ἀποστόλου καὶ εὐαγγελιστοῦ παρθένου* in the inscription borne by the Apoc. in one manuscript (*Cod. Guelpher.*); others, that Augustine misunderstood what was said by Clem. Alex. (*Frag.* 1011) about the Second Ep. being written *πρὸς παρθένους*, and transferred the title to the First (Huther). All is conjecture, and can in no way affect the probabilities of the case (supported as these are by the tradition bearing on John's residence and work in Asia Minor) that the Ep. had in view the Churches that would be naturally addressed from Ephesus. It is therefore with those Asiatic regions in which Gnostic speculations had become rife (Apoc. $2^{6\text{ etc.}}$), and with that great city in which Paul had planted a Christian Church, and in which John had lived on, according to Irenæus (*adv. Hær.* ii. 22^5, iii. 3^3), into the reign of Trajan, that this majestic Ep., with its heavenly calm and its lofty message of truth and love, is connected in respect both of readers and of writer.

LITERATURE.—Among the numerous Commentaries, special mention may be made of those of Œcumenius, Calvin, Düsterdieck, Lücke, Huther, Ebrard, Rothe (most fruitful of all), Haupt, Alford, Jelf, Westcott, Holtzmann, de Wette-Brückner, Braune, Alexander (in the *Speaker's Comm.*), Ewald, Plummer; among books on *Introduction*, especially those by Weiss, Reuss, Bleek, Hilgenfeld, Salmon, S. Davidson, Holtzmann, Jülicher, Zahn; and among works of other kinds, the Expositions by Neander, F. D. Maurice, R. S. Candlish, Lias, and Watson, Erdmann's *Primæ Ep. Joan. argumentum, nexus et consilium*; Luthardt's *de Primæ Joan. Ep. Compositione*; Flatt's *de antichristis et pseudoprophetis in Ep. Joan.*; Gfrörer's *Urchristenthum*; Besser's *Bibelstunden*; Pfleiderer's *Urchristenthum* and *Hibbert Lectures*; Harnack's *Geschichte der altchrist. Literatur bis Eusebius.*

THE SECOND EPISTLE.—1. *Contents.*—This brief Ep., though it touches the First Ep. at several points, and has also something in common with the Third, has an independent value, and a distinct interest. It is unmistakably a *letter*, and is distinguished from the First Ep. by its personal and private character. It is addressed, not to a wide circle of readers, as is the case with the First, but to a particular individual or Church, and it represents a writer who speaks less with the tone of command, but with more of the earnestness that cares for individual Christians, and seeks to come into direct relations with them. As to its origin and much else belonging to it, we have little or nothing to guide us beyond what can be gathered from its own tenor. It seems to have been occasioned by the pressure of dangers arising from false teaching, and its object is to secure the individual or the Church that is addressed against these perils until the writer could visit the scene in person.

With this object in view the author begins his letter, somewhat in St. Paul's way, with a commendation of the person or persons to whom he writes, and with a large Christian greeting. Again, with a tact and courtesy such as we find in St. Paul's letters, he expresses the joy which he had in the consistent life of her (be it lady or Church) whom he addresses. From this he passes on to an exhortation, couched in terms of entreaty, to fulfil the great law of Christian love—a love explained to imply a life and walk in practical obedience to the divine commandments. His reason for writing in such a strain is, as he indicates, his fear of the possible influence of certain errorists, whom he identifies with Antichrist, because they deny that Jesus is the Christ come in the complete reality of human nature. He counsels watchfulness against the insidious teaching of such deceivers, and speaks of the loss which would follow the acceptance of it. He reminds his reader or readers further of the fact that fellowship with God cannot be enjoyed unless one abides by the true doctrine of Christ. He declares those who deny that doctrine to be men not to be received or welcomed, lest one should make himself partaker in their evil. He adds certain explanations about the shortness of his letter, and his intention to come in person. He closes with a brief salutation from certain Christians with whom he is associated at the time.

2. *Authorship.*—This Ep. has much in common with the First. It speaks, as the latter does, of 'love,' 'truth,' 'the truth,' 'the commandments,' a 'new commandment' and one 'had from the beginning,' of 'loving in truth,' and 'walking in truth,' of 'abiding in' one, of a 'joy' that may be 'fulfilled.' It speaks, too, of 'Antichrist,' and deals with the same form of error—the denial that Jesus is 'the Christ come in the flesh.' And it uses the same methods of stating a thing—first positively, and then negatively. There are some things, it is true, in which it differs from 1 Jn. It has certain phrases and grammatical forms which do not occur in the First Ep.—*e.g.* εἴ τις for ἐάν τις, περιπατεῖν κατά for περιπατεῖν ἐν, ἐρχόμενος ἐν σαρκί for ἐληλυθὼς ἐν σαρκί, θεὸν ἔχειν, διδαχὴ Χριστοῦ, διδαχὴν φέρειν, βλέπετε ἑαυτούς, etc. But little can be made of such things as these. They are not enough to establish any essential difference in idea or in style. It is admitted, even by some who dispute the apostolic origin of 2 Jn, that 'these deviations do not destroy the force of the argument contained in the resemblances' (S. Davidson's *Introd. to the NT*, ii. p. 329).

This being the case, the inference would seem to be that 2 Jn is by the same hand as 1 Jn. This has been in point of fact the general view, and even some of those who have denied the Johannine authorship of 1 Jn have admitted that the two Epp. are by the same writer (Bretschneider, Paulus). But there are some who deny that identity of authorship can be inferred from the similarities which have been noticed, even though these come to so much that more than a half of the smaller Ep. can be found in the larger. They think that these striking resemblances can be explained by the art of a forger, or as the imitative work of a writer who knew 1 Jn well. So some who have recognized 1 Jn to be by the evangelist have ascribed 2 Jn to a different hand—either to the Presbyter John (Erasmus, Grotius, etc.), or to some other John unknown to us. Baur has a somewhat elaborate and far-fetched theory of the origin of this Epistle. He holds it to be of Montanist origin, and to be addressed to the Church to which the Gaius of 3 Jn belongs. He takes it to be indeed the Ep. which is referred to in 3 Jn ^{9}, and to be intended for one of the sections of the Roman Church, in which Church he thinks a schism had taken place. He bases this largely on the statement made by Clem. Alex. in his *Hypotyposes* as to 2 Jn being written *ad quandam Babyloniam electam*, supposing that Rome is meant by the *Babylonia*, and that the term *electa*, ἐκλεκτή, is a designation given to the Church in harmony with the Montanist idea of the Church as the pure and holy bride of Christ. But all this turns on a fanciful and inconsistent interpretation of Clement's words, and those who agree for the most part with Baur, both in his general positions and in his denial of the apostolic origin of 2 Jn, often decline to follow him here. Hilgenfeld, *e.g.*, rejects this peculiar Montanist account of the Ep., and tries to explain it as an official condemnation, in the form of a letter, of fellowship with Gnostic teachers. That the Ep. cannot be ascribed to John the evangelist, however, is also held by some who are unable to go all the way either with Baur or with Hilgenfeld, and whose general view of it is essentially different. Ebrard, *e.g.*, following Erasmus, assigns it to the *Presbyter* John, passing lightly over the resemblances to 1 Jn as so many allusions and reminiscences, and regarding the distinctive passages as essentially different from the evangelist's style.

Although the internal evidence, therefore, is held by most to point to the author of the First Ep. as also the writer of the Second, and to the Apostle John as that writer, it is not read in that way by all. How, then, does the case stand with respect to the external evidence? The historical testimony, it must be admitted, is neither very abundant nor very clear. That it should be so need not seem strange when regard is had to the extreme brevity of the Ep. and its private character. What we have is as much as could be expected, and it is on the whole sufficient for the purpose. The Ep. seems not to have been accepted by the school of Antioch. Theodore of Mopsuestia appears to be reported by Leontius of Byzantium as rejecting James and the other Cath. Epp. The words, however, viz. *ob quam causam, ut arbitror, ipsam epistolam Jacobi et alias deinceps catholicas abrogat et antiquat*, are not very precise. Theodoret makes no reference to 2 Jn. In a homily on Mt 21^{23}, which is doubtfully ascribed to Chrysostom, it is said of it, as well as of 3 Jn, οἱ πατέρες ἀποκανονίζονται. Jerome (*de Vir. Illus.* c. 9) contrasts the two smaller Epp. with the First, and speaks of them as ascribed to the Presbyter John. Origen, who quotes 1 Jn, never quotes either 2 Jn or 3 Jn. He knows of the circulation, however, of the two minor Epp., but remarks that 'not all affirm them to be genuine' (Euseb. *HE* vi. 25). Neither the one nor the other seems to have been included in the Peshiṭta Version. And Eusebius classes both among the *Antilegomena*. He speaks of them as the 'so-called second and third of John,' and indicates that it was questioned whether they belonged to the evangelist, 'or possibly to another of the same name as he' (*HE* iii. 25^{3}).

On the other hand, Irenæus quotes 2 Jn $^{10.11}$ as the words of 'John, the disciple of the Lord' (*adv. Hær.* i. 16^{3}), and gives the statement about the 'deceivers' and 'Antichrist' (2 Jn ^{7}) also as by the Lord's 'disciple,' though he refers to it as in 1 Jn instead of 2 Jn (*adv. Hær.* iii. 16^{8}). Clement of Alex. speaks of John 'in his *larger* Epistle' (ἐν τῇ μείζονι ἐπιστολῇ) as seeming to teach a certain thing; from which it is clear that he knew a shorter Ep. or shorter Epp. (*Strom.* ii. 15). In a fragmentary Latin translation of the *Hypotyposes* he speaks of the same Ep. in these very definite terms: *Secunda Joannis epistola, quæ ad virgines scripta simplicissima est; scripta vero est ad quandam Babyloniam Electam nomine, significat autem electionem ecclesiæ sanctæ.* He is also reported by Eusebius (*HE* vi. 14^{1}) to have commented in his *Hypotyposes* on the disputed books, viz. 'the Epistle of Jude and the other Catholic Epistles.' Dionysius of Alexandria (in a passage given in Eusebius, *HE* vii. 25) speaks of John as not naming himself, ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ φερομένῃ Ἰωάννου καὶ τρίτῃ, καίτοι βραχείαις οὔσαις ἐπιστολαῖς, but as writing 'anonymously as *the presbyter*.' Dionysius therefore regarded the anonymity of 2 Jn as quite in John's manner. And the school of Alexandria seems to have generally accepted the Second Ep. as John the apostle's. Alexander, *e.g.*, in quoting vv.$^{10.11}$ says of them ὡς παρήγγειλεν ὁ μακάριος Ἰωάννης (Socrates, *HE* i. 6). The Muratorian Fragment refers to at least two Epp. of John in the difficult sentence, *Epistola sane Jude et superscripti Johannis duas in catholica habentur et sapientia ab amicis Salomonis in honorem ipsius scripta* (Routh, *Reliq. Sac.* i. p. 296). But the text requires emendation, and it is differently interpreted, some (Lücke, Huther, etc.) understanding it to speak for the Johannine authorship, others (reading *ut* for *et* sapientia)* taking it to mean that, as the Book of Wisdom was not written by Solomon, so these Epp. were not written by John the apostle.

It should be added that, though the great North African Fathers, Tertullian and Cyprian, do not quote 2 Jn, it is clear that it was recognized in their Church. For Cyprian himself, in reporting the statements made by the bishops at the synod which was held at Carthage in A.D. 256, speaks of Aurelius, bishop of Chullabi, as appealing to 2 Jn^{10} in these words: *Joannes Apostolus in epistola sua posuit dicens, si quis ad vos venit*, etc. In like manner, although the Ep. was not in the great Syriac Version, it appears to have been used by Ephraem in the 4th cent., and that in a way indicating that it was understood to be by John the apostle (*de Amore Paup.* iii. 52; *ad Imitat. Prov.* i. 76). And while Eusebius placed it, as we have seen, among the 'disputed' books, he expresses himself differently in his *Demonstratio Evangelica* (iii. 5), when he gives, as it appears, his own opinion. There he says of John that in his Epistles he 'either makes no mention of himself or calls himself *presbyter*, but nowhere *apostle* or *evangelist*'—ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ μνήμην τῆς οἰκείας προσηγορίας ποιεῖται, ἢ πρεσβύτερον ἑαυτὸν ὀνομάζει, οὐδαμοῦ δὲ ἀπόστολον οὐδὲ εὐαγγελιστήν). It was included, too, in the Old Latin VS.

The most ancient historical testimony, therefore, although it is of limited quantity, is in favour of the authorship by John the apostle. It is testimony that comes from sources so far apart as Gaul, Alexandria, and North Africa. It is confirmed by the resemblance of 2 Jn to 1 Jn; the considerations which go to establish the Johannine origin of the latter being so far available also for the Johannine origin of the former. Nor is any difficulty created by the designation 'the elder.' That title rather supports the apostolic origin. It is still a moot point whether we have historical ground for believing in the existence of a *Presbyter* John in Ephesus as distinct from the Apostle John. Nor is there anything in the case as regards 2 Jn to make the hypothesis of this shadowy second John either necessary or helpful. It is to the *apostle* that the earliest evidence points. It is difficult, indeed, to understand how this small private letter could have been accepted as it was, and in due time made part of the Canon, unless the general opinion of the Church had ascribed it to John. And the use of the title, 'the elder,' in the inscription tells for the ordinary view. No one wishing to pass off a writing as by the apostle would have chosen so indefinite a title. No ordinary person, writing with honest intent in his own name, would have called himself '*the* elder,' as if there were none but he; while, if the writer so styling himself had been a person of extraordinary importance, it would be strange that we should know nothing of him. There is nothing to show that the title is used to distinguish 'presbyter' from 'apostle.' Apostles could also be called *presbyters*, as we see from the NT itself (1 P 5^{1}), and as is the case in the very sentence from Papias on which the hypothesis of a distinct *Presbyter* John is founded. It may be a question in what particular sense the title is applied to the writer, whether with reference to his advanced age, as St. Paul speaks of himself as the 'aged,' ὁ πρεσβύτης (Philem^{9}), or, as is rather the case, in respect of his peculiar position. But on no lips could this simple title be so fit or so intelligible as on those of the evangelist, the last of the apostles, who for long years had been overseer of the Christian community in Asia Minor. On his lips the name would explain itself, and it would mean more than 'apostle.' It would be the note of the peculiar relation, both official and fatherly, which the apostle had held to the Churches and their members in those parts, and would be at once understood wherever his superintendence had been known.

3. *Time, Place, and Destination.*—It is impossible to determine with certainty the *time* when the Ep. was written. It seems to belong to the closing years of the apostle. But whether it is earlier or later than the larger Ep. we have no means of deciding. There are those (*e.g.* Ebrard) who argue that it must be later, because there are things in it which appear to refer back to the First Epistle. But the similarities and supposed allusions are not of the kind that can be explained only by the priority of the larger Epistle. It is also probable that 2 Jn was written in the *place* where 1 Jn was written, especially as the false teachers in view are of the same order in both Epp. If the visit which is intimated in v.^{12} can be taken as an intended tour of inspection, we may go further, and say that, in all probability, the letter was written in Ephesus, the centre of the Asiatic circle.

The *destination* of the Ep. is also a matter of great difficulty. The most definite statement we have on the subject in early Christian literature is in the Latin fragment (if it be authentic) of the *Hypotyposes* of Clement of Alexandria, already referred to. But it is a mixed statement, and one that does not help us much. It is to the effect that the Ep. was written *ad virgines*, and to 'a certain Babylonian, *Electa* by name' (*ad quandam Babyloniam Electam*), but that this name *Electa* signified the election of the holy Church. The question turns upon the address ἐκλεκτῇ Κυρίᾳ, and the difficulty is in determining whether that refers to an individual or to a community. These different renderings of it are proposed: (1) *to an elect lady*; (2) *to the elect lady*; (3) *to the elect Kyria*; (4) *to the lady Electa*; (5) *to Electa Kyria.* Grammatically, the first is the simplest and most natural, but it is too indefinite. It is not easy to see how a letter of such a tenor could have been addressed so vaguely. The second interpretation may also be taken as grammatically defensible (cf. ἐκλεκτοῖς παρεπιδήμοις, 1 P 1^{1}), and has been followed by the English Versions and by Luther's German *der auserwählten Frau.* The third, which appears to have been favoured by Athanasius, and has been accepted later by Bengel, Lücke, de Wette, Düsterdieck, Ebrard, etc., is supported so far by the fact that Κυρίᾳ occurs as a proper name (Gruter, *Inscript.* p. 1127 n. 11), and by the analogy of the address of 3 Jn. But against it is the consideration that the more natural form in that case would have been Κυρίᾳ τῇ ἐκλεκτῇ, as we have Γαΐῳ τῷ ἀγαπητῷ (3 Jn^{1}), Ῥοῦφον τὸν ἐκλεκτόν (Ro 16^{13}), and in the Ep. itself, ἀδελφῆς σοῦ τῆς ἐκλεκτῆς (v.^{13}). The fourth rendering, though favoured by Clement, has the difficulty that, while *Electus* occurs as a personal name, *Electa* seems not to be found among the names of women. But, apart from this, there is the fact that the term ἐκλεκτή occurs again in v.^{13}, and it is most unlikely that two sisters should have had the same name *Electa.* The least probable interpretation is the last, which, in addition to other difficulties, makes the person in question the bearer of two strange names.

---

* *Et* is confirmed, however, by the new MS of the Fragment published in *Miscellanea Cassinese*, 1897.

On the whole, there is most to favour the rendering 'to the elect lady,' and the idea that the Ep. is addressed to a Christian matron, who was held in high esteem in a wide Christian circle, and about whose children the apostle had something to write, partly in praise, partly in caution. But of this lady we know nothing beyond what is told us here. The supposition that the person addressed may have been Martha of Bethany has nothing to support it but the fanciful idea that *Kyria* in Gr. is like Martha in Heb., both being feminine forms of the word for 'Lord.' The designation in question, however, has been understood by not a few to be a figurative expression for a Christian society, rather than a literal description of an individual Christian. The reason for this is found partly in John's way of using symbolical terms, partly in the idea that the salutation would come more naturally from a Church to a Church, but chiefly in the fact that there is comparatively little in the Ep. that applies distinctly to an individual, and much that runs in plural terms — loving 'one another,' looking 'to yourselves,' etc. Hence Jerome, followed by Hilgenfeld, Lünemann, and Schmiedel, held the letter to be addressed to the Church generally. But this surely is excluded by the mention of the 'elect sister.' Others, with more probability, have supposed the Ep. to be directed to a particular Church; and some have attempted to identify the Church as that of Jerusalem (Whitby), or that of Philadelphia (Whiston), or that of Corinth (Serrarius). But it is doubtful whether any writer would naturally introduce such a symbolism into a brief private letter like this. And as it admits of no doubt that the Third Ep. is addressed to an individual, it seems most reasonable to suppose that the companion letter is also written to an individual. In this case we have another example, and a very interesting one, of the private correspondence of the apostles, and an instructive instance of John's pastoral concern for an individual believer and her children.

LITERATURE.—Among the Commentaries, especially those by Huther, Düsterdieck, Lücke, Alford, Ebrard, Westcott; among the books of Introduction, those given under the First Epistle; and in addition, Ritmeier, *de Electa Domina*; Krigele, *de Κυρίᾳ Joannis*; H. G. B. Müller, *Comm. in Sec. Ep. Joan.*; Rambonnet, *de Sec. Ep. Joannea*; Knauer, *Studien u. Kritiken*, 1833; S. Cox, *The Private Letters of St. Paul and St. John.*

THE THIRD EPISTLE.—1. *Contents.*—This Ep. is also very brief. The writer explains that it is so, not because he has little to say, but because he expects shortly to see the person addressed, and to 'speak face to face' with him (vv.[13, 14]) It is occupied mostly with things of personal and circumstantial interest, but it touches some important principles, and gives us glimpses of the condition of the early Christian societies which are of great value. It has all the marks of a *letter*, in freedom of style, and in the use of inscription, benediction, and salutation. It is written with much point and spirit, with some dramatic force, and also with singular tact. It begins with an expression of the writer's love for the friend addressed, his interest in his welfare, and his joy in the reports brought him by others of his truth and his consistent walk. It then praises him specially for the kindness which he had shown to certain 'brethren and strangers,' and commends these men further to his hospitable care. In strong terms it then condemns the action of a certain Diotrephes who had acted in a very different spirit, setting himself arrogantly against the writer, and grasping at authority, neither himself receiving such stranger brethren, nor allowing others to do so. Such ambitious and unbrotherly conduct, it says, is not to be imitated, and cannot be favoured by one who is of God. Passing from this unwelcome subject, it speaks a good word for a certain Demetrius, with whom perhaps the letter was to go, and closes with some personal explanations, a brief benediction, and mutual greetings.

2. *Time, Place, Destination.*—This Ep. raises no doubt about its *destination.* It is addressed to an individual, and is of a private character all through. But beyond the fact that his name was **Gaius**, that he had the confidence of the writer, and that he had a large and generous sense of Christian duty to strangers, we know nothing of the recipient. There is nothing to identify him with the Gaius or Caius, one of the 'men of Macedonia' who were 'Paul's companions in travel' (Ac 19[29]); with the Gaius of Derbe who accompanied Paul into Asia (Ac 20[4]); with the Corinthian Gaius who was one of the few baptized by Paul (1 Co 1[14]), and is described as Paul's 'host' and that 'of the whole Church' (Ro 16[23]); or with another of the same name who is said to have been made bishop of Pergamos by John (*Const. Apostol.* vii. 46). The fact that the Gaius of this Ep. and the Gaius of Corinth have both the character of hospitality, is a very slender basis on which to establish the identity of the two. The name Gaius was one of the commonest personal names, and the prominent men in the Churches of Asia Minor may not have been the same in John's time as in Paul's. The Ep. itself, indeed, does not show that this Gaius was a presbyter or held any official position. He may very well have been a simple member, though one of influence and repute. Nor does the Ep. make it possible for us to identify the Church to which he belonged. Some, indeed, have thought it to be the Church of Pergamos, a Gaius being mentioned in the *Apost. Const.* as bishop of that place (Wolf, Thoma); and some have taken it to be the Church of Corinth, supposing this Gaius to be the Gaius of Corinth referred to in the Pauline Epp. (Koenen). We can only say that in all probability it was one in the Ephesian circle.

Nor have we more to guide us in determining the *date* of the Ep. and the *place* where it was written. Its general character and its likeness to 2 Jn point to the close of the apostle's ministry, if it is his composition, and to one or other of the Asiatic Churches over which his superintendence was exercised. As in the case of 2 Jn, Ephesus would most probably be the place, especially if the visit referred to in v.[14] could be understood to mean a tour of inspection. And Eusebius (*HE* iii. 23), speaking of John's administration of the Churches in Asia after the death of Domitian, quotes from Clement a statement bearing that the apostle 'coming from the isle of Patmos to Ephesus, went also, when called, to the neighbouring regions of the Gentiles; in some to appoint bishops, in some to institute entire new Churches, in others to appoint to the ministry some one of those that were pointed out by the Holy Ghost.'

3. *Occasion.*—The Ep. appears to have been occasioned by the visits of certain Christian brethren who moved about from place to place, probably as travelling preachers or missionary teachers, and by the different receptions that had been given them. Such men were dependent on the hospitality of their brethren, and deserved to enjoy it. They had visited the Church to which Gaius belonged, and had also come to John. They had received a brotherly welcome from Gaius, but had been rudely treated by another member of the Church, a man of ambitious spirit who disowned the apostle's authority. The letter is written in these circumstances to encourage Gaius in his generous attitude to such strangers, and to intimate the apostle's purpose to visit the Church in person and set matters right. We gather from it, too, that it had

been preceded by another short letter, which seems to have had no effect. That letter has been identified by some with 1 Jn (Storr, etc.), by others with 2 Jn (Besser, Ewald, etc.). But the subjects dealt with in these Epp. are so unlike those questions of hospitality to a particular class which make the main contents of 3 Jn, that little can be said for such identifications. The letter appears to be one of the lost Epp. of Apostles.

4. *Affinities and Authorship.*—It has marked affinities both with 1 Jn and 2 Jn. It has some words, *φλυαρεῖν, φιλοπρωτεύειν, ὑπολαμβάνειν* as = *welcome*, which are not found in these others. But they are due to the case which the Ep. has to express. It has other words and phrases, such as *προπέμπειν, εὐοδοῦσθαι, ὑγιαίνειν, ἐπιδέχεσθαι, πιστὸν ποιεῖν*, which are either peculiar or more after Paul's style than John's. But they are far outweighed by the general resemblance in the case of the two smaller letters; the similarity of the terms in which the closing personal explanations are made (2 Jn$^{12.13}$, 3 Jn$^{13.14}$); and the occurrence of such parallelisms of phrase between 3 Jn and the Johannine writings as these—*ἐν ἀληθείᾳ* (v.$^{1.3}$, cf. 1 Jn 3^{18}, 2 Jn$^{1.4}$), *ἐκ θεοῦ εἶναι* (v.^{11}, cf. 1 Jn 2^{29}), *θεὸν ὁρᾶν* (v.^{11}, cf. 1 Jn 3^{6}), *μαρτυρεῖν τινι* (v.^{12}, cf. Jn 21^{24}), *οἶδας ὅτι ἡ μαρτυρία ἡμῶν ἀληθής ἐστιν* (v.^{12}, cf. Jn 21^{24}).

In respect of historical attestation this Ep. stands much in the same position as 2 Jn. The testimony to its recognition in the Church and to its being from the hand of the Apostle John, is on the whole, however, somewhat less in amount and in definiteness. Like 2 Jn, it was omitted by the Peshitta, and seems not to have been accepted by the school of Antioch. Like 2 Jn, it was placed by Eusebius among the Antilegomena, and was referred to by Origen as one not admitted by all to be genuine. From the time of Eusebius it appears to have been generally received. With 2 Jn it found a place in the Apostolic Canons, the sixtieth Canon of the Council of Laodicea (A.D. 364), the Canon of Cyril of Jerusalem, the Canon of the third Council of Carthage (A.D. 397), etc. It is referred to by Jerome as among the Catholic Epp., but as said to have been written together with 2 Jn by John the *presbyter* (*de Vir. Illustr.* c. 9), to whom it was also attributed in the decree of Damasus (Charteris, *Canonicity*, p. 24), and by Cosmas Indicopleustes. It is not quoted by Tertullian, Cyprian, or Irenæus. It is not mentioned by Clement of Alexandria when he deals with the Second Epistle. Eusebius, however, speaks of Clement as having explained the Catholic Epp. in his *Hypotyposes* (*HE* vi. 14), from which it may perhaps be inferred that he used this Ep. as well as the others. There is no such evidence that this Ep. was recognized by the Church of North Africa as we have in the case of 2 Jn, notwithstanding the lack of any reference to it in the writings of the great North African Fathers. On the other hand, it has a place in the Muratorian Canon (according to the most probable interpretation); it was in the Old Latin Version; it was recognized by Dionysius of Alexandria; and it was quoted by Ephraem the Syrian. The most ancient testimony to its existence and recognition associates it not with the *presbyter*, but with the Apostle John. This association is in harmony with the Johannine touches which attract our attention in it, while the arguments that go to show this Ep. to be from the same hand as the other two Epp. ascribed to John, go also to prove it to be by the Apostle John. The doubts which overhung it for a time may have been due to its private character and the length of time which a letter of this kind would naturally take before it could become widely known in the Churches.

It has been supposed by some that v.^{12} shows that the writer wished to identify himself with the disciple referred to in Jn 21^{24} (Pfleiderer). But there is nothing to support this. Ewald (*Joh. Schriften*, p. 505) was of opinion that of a number of letters written by John to individuals or particular Churches, only 2 and 3 Jn have survived; that both these Epp. were meant for the same Church; and that the Third was written lest the Second should have been prevented by Diotrephes from getting into the hands for which it was intended. Hilgenfeld has a curious theory of 3 Jn as a letter of introduction intended to assert the rights of the Church of John against the exclusiveness of the rigorous Jewish-Christian party in the matter of letters of commendation. Baur's theory is still more curious and fine-spun. He thought that a schism had been caused in the Church to which Gaius belonged by the Montanist movement; that the exclusive party was headed by Diotrephes; and that this Ep. was written under John's name against the Roman episcopate—the Roman bishop, Soter, or Anicetus, or Eleutherus, being aimed at under the pseudonym Diotrephes.

5. *Peculiar Interest.*—The great interest of this Ep. lies in the insight which it gives us into the ordinary life of the Christian communities of those early times and this wide Asiatic territory, which had enjoyed the oversight of the last of the apostles. It helps us to see what these Churches were, not as we idealize them, but in their actual everyday condition, with their excellences and defects, their noble and their ignoble figures, their meek and their ambitious members, the errors into which they might be betrayed, their varied, mixed, and stirring life. It shows us something, too, of their independence, of the kind of ministry that was in exercise among them, and their relation to it, of their order also and administration. On these latter subjects it has so much to suggest that it seems to mark a notable stage in the growth of the Church and the history of its organization. It discloses a condition of things like that with which the *Didaché* has made us familiar. It places us at the point of transition from the apostolic age to the post-apostolic, from the primitive simplicity to a more developed constitution. Harnack thinks we can see in it the struggle between the old patriarchal, provincial order of things, with its ministry of travelling missionary preachers, and the rise of the settled, organized *Church*, with its officials, its rights, and its administration. He finds in it nothing less than the emergence of the Episcopate proper, and recognizes in Diotrephes the first bishop of the monarchical type known to us by name.

LITERATURE.—Among the *Commentaries* and the books of *Introduction*, those given for the Second Ep.; also Heumann, *Comm. in Joan.* Ep. III.; Stemler, *de Diotrephe*; Gachon, *Authenticité de la 2e et 3e Ép. de Jean*; S. Cox, *The Private Letters of St. Paul and St. John*; and especially Harnack, *Ueber den dritten Johannesbrief* (*Texte u. Unters. zur Gesch. der altchr. Literatur*, xv. 3). S. D. F. SALMOND.

JOIADA (יוֹיָדָע, Ἰοειδί, Ἰωδά, Ἰωαδά, Ἰωδαέ).—1. One of the two who repaired the 'old gate' (Neh 3^{6}). 2. High priest, son of Eliashib (Neh 12$^{10.11.22}$). He seems to have sympathized with his father's gentilizing policy, since one of his sons married the daughter of Sanballat the Horonite, and so 'defiled the priesthood' (Neh 13$^{28f.}$).

N. J. D. WHITE.

JOIAKIM (יוֹיָקִים), Neh 12$^{10.12.26}$; Joakim (Ἰωακείμ), 1 Es 5^{5}, where see *QPB*.—A high priest, son of Jeshua.

JOIARIB (יוֹיָרִיב, Ἀρείβ, Ἰωρείβ, Ἰωιαρίβ, Ἰωαρείμ).—1. Ezr 8^{16}, one of the two teachers sent by Ezra to Iddo to ask for ministers for the temple. 2. Neh 11^{5}, ancestor of Maaseiah a Judahite, one of 'the chiefs of the province that dwelt in Jerusalem' in Nehemiah's time. See also JEHOIARIB.

JOKDEAM (יָקְדְעָם).—A city of Judah, Jos 15^{56}, whose site has not been identified. See JORKEAM.

JOKIM (יֹקִים, Ἰωακείμ), 1 Ch 4^{22}, a Judahite, son or descendant of Shelah.

JOKMEAM (יָקְמְעָם; B Ἰκαάμ, A Ἰεκμαάν).—A town in Ephraim given to the Levites, near Beth-horon, 1 Ch 6^{68} [Heb. ^{53}]. In Jos 21^{22} it is called Kibzaim (LXX omits). No site answering to either of these names is known. Jokmeam is mentioned also in 1 K 4^{12}, where AV has incorrectly Jok*n*eam (but see next art.). C. R. CONDER.

JOKNEAM (יָקְנְעָם, perh. 'let the people possess' [see Gray, *Heb. Prop. Names*, 218]).—A royal city of the Canaanites, on Carmel and the S.W. border of Zebulun, with a 'torrent-valley' (apparently the gorge of the Kishon, which is dry in parts in summer) to the east, Jos 12^{22} 19^{11}. It was given to the Levites, according to Jos 21^{34}, where it is enumerated as belonging to Zebulun. It is possibly the same as Jok*m*eam of 1 K 4^{12} (B Λουκάμ, Luc. Οὐκάμ), which is mentioned as on the border of one of Solomon's commissariat districts, probably at the boundary between Issachar and Zebulun. The site is found at the present *Tell Ḳeimûn*, on the E. slope of Carmel, near the Kishon—a conspicuous mound with ruins of a small town. In the 4th cent. A.D. (*Onom. s.* Camon) it was known as lying 6 Roman miles N. of Legio (*Lejjûn*), on the way to Ptolemais (*'Akka*), and in the 12th cent. A.D. it was called *Cain Mons* or 'Mt. Cain,' from a legend which made it the place where Cain died. It became the centre of a small independent Seigneurie. The ruins include those of a Byzantine building, apparently a chapel. In the Samaritan Book of Joshua it is noticed as the scene of a conflict between the Hebrews and the giants, and Joshua is said to have been here shut up in magic walls of brass, till, on sending a dove to Nabih the Hebrew king of Gilead, he was rescued.

Jokneam appears in Jth 7^{3} under the name **Cyamon** (Κυαμών) in connexion with the encampment of Holofernes (but see Buhl, *GAP* 210; Robinson, *BRP* iii. 339 n.).

LITERATURE.—*SWP* vol. ii. sheet v., and Volume of Special Papers under 'Samaritan Topography'; van de Velde, *Narr.* i. 330 f.; Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.*^{2} 242; Guérin, *Samarie*, ii. 241 f.; Sepp, *Holy Land*, ii. 551; Buhl, *GAP* 210; Robinson, *BRP* iii. 114 f.; Dillmann on Jos 12^{22} 19^{11}. C. R. CONDER.

JOKSHAN (יָקְשָׁן, Ἰεξάν, Ἰεκσάν, Ἰεκτάν).—Son of Abraham and Keturah, and father of Sheba (Saba) and Dedan, Gn 25^{2} (1 Ch 1^{32}). The name seems quite unknown, and the suggestion of Tuch that it is identical with Joktan seems the most plausible. The two forms might represent respectively the Hebrew and Aramaic pronunciation of the same word (cf. קטר קשר, קטי קשא, where the Aramaic ט is hardened from ת, as in קטל for קתל, קטין for קתין). The Arabic genealogists apparently have no suggestion for his identification; for Yāḳish (or rather Yāfish), who is mentioned by a writer quoted by Yāḳūt (iii. 635, Osiander in *ZDMG* x. 31), owes his existence to a conflation of the names Jokshan and Japheth.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

JOKTAN (יָקְטָן, Ἰεκτάν, Ἰουκτάς, Jos. *Ant.* I. vi. 4).—Son of Eber, and father of a number of races (Gn 10^{26}, 1 Ch 1^{20}). The races mentioned dwelt 'from Mesha to Sephar'; and though the import of these names is doubtful, the occurrence among them of Saba, Ḥaḍramaut, and Salif makes it certain that Arabia or a portion of Arabia is intended. When the attention of the Arabic genealogists was drawn to the Old Testament by Mohammed's ostensible acceptance of it, they noticed the names that have been quoted, and drew the same conclusion from them. Two lists of identifications made by archæologists of the early centuries of Islam are given in the miscellaneous work called *Al-Iḳd al-Farīd* (ii. 51). They had to grapple with several difficulties at the outset. The native tradition made Saba son of Yashjub, and Ḥaḍramaut son of Ḥimyar (Ḥamdani, p. 85). The genealogies were harmonized by the supposition that some links had been omitted in the Hebrew record; hence Saba is made by the Arabic historians 'son of Yashjub son of Ya'rub son of Ḳaḥṭān (Yoktan)'; the insertion of the link Ya'rub being to mark the epoch at which the Hebrews (sons of Eber) became Arabs (Ibn Ḳutaibah's *Manual of History*, p. 209, ed. Cairo). Moreover, the name Joktan was itself unknown; some genealogist therefore hit on the name Ḳaḥṭān, which really belonged to some tribe or region (Muḳaddasi in *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.* iii. 104), and thought it near enough to be identified with the Hebrew name; and though this identification was not universally accepted (*Tāj al-'Arūs*, *s.v.*), it was till recently generally adopted both in the East and the West. Mas'ūdi, who records another and probably more ancient pedigree for Ḳaḥṭān, says that he found the biblical genealogy accepted by tribal authorities all over South Arabia. What can scarcely be determined now is whether the legend that makes Ḳaḥṭān founder of the S. Arabian tribes is earlier or later than his identification with Joktan; but it seems clear that there is no connexion between the two names. The word Ḳaḥṭān (of which there was a variety, Aḳḥāt) probably means 'droughty,' and originally applied to some strip of territory. It might have been expected that some of the numerous inscriptions that have been discovered in S. Arabia would throw light on the passage of Gn, but the most important contribution to its interpretation which has been obtained from that source would seem to be the discovery by Glaser of the ancient name of San'ā, whence it would appear that the old identification of Uzal with that city is erroneous.

Since, therefore, both the Arabic legends and the inscriptions fail us, we are left to conjecture. The name may be an ethnological invention intended to connect the Arabs with the Hebrews, and in that case the Targum on 1 Ch (published in Lagarde's *Hagiographa Chaldaice*) is probably right in deriving it from the Hebrew, with the sense 'smaller' or 'shorter,' not, however, with reference to the length of human life, but in comparison with the other 'half' (Peleg) of the sons of Eber. If, however, the name be Arabic and geographical, probably the connexion suggested by Glaser (*Skizze*, ii. 423) between it and Ḳaṭan, the name of several mountains in Arabia (Yāḳūt, *s.v.*), and also of a tribe mentioned by Ptolemy (*Katanitæ*), has most in its favour. The Arabs, however, tell us that *Ḳaṭan* is properly an anatomical term; and if these mountains be named from their resemblance to some portion of the body, the form *Yoḳtan* remains unexplained. If the name met us in an Arabic genealogy, we should almost certainly have the observation that Joktan was the first who had *a fixed residence* (Arab. *ḳaṭana yaḳṭunu*).

With regard to the thirteen names of Joktan's sons, the meagreness of the list forbids us to suppose that it is the intention of the genealogist to give a description of the Arabian peninsula, or indeed of any portion of it; his purpose is rather to localize ethnologically, and to some extent geographically, the races with whose names his readers were already familiar. Hence Saba and Havilah, to which peculiar interest attached, are localized differently in the tables admitted into Gn (10^{7} 25^{3}), We learn from Ezk 27[19] that Uzal was famous in connexion with the spice trade; and it is probable that, were more of the old Hebrew literature preserved, we should be able in each case to name the *sedes glossæ*. The discovery, therefore, of places with identical names in the Arabian peninsula is not sufficient to identify the localities of the table, unless it be shown that the places discovered were of sufficient importance to have been heard of by the Israelites. Glaser's suggestion (*l.c.*), that the table proceeds geographically from S. to N., seems inconsistent with the mention of Saba near the end; for surely Saba should count as a southern or, at any rate, midland state. We cannot even be sure that all the names which occur in it are connected with Arabia; the Targ. on Chron. hints that the juxtaposition of Saba, Ophir, and Havilah is due to all three being connected with the gold industry (cf. Is 60[6]), and this fact would to an ancient ethnologist have constituted a claim to affinity independently of local considerations. The more probable suggestions that have been made for the identification of the names that occur only in this passage are quoted in the separate articles.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

JOKTHEEL (יָקְתְאֵל).—This name occurs twice in OT as applied to two very different places: one a city or town of the Amorites, the other the capital of Edom. **1.** A city described (Jos 15[33. 38], B Ἰακαρεήλ, A and Luc. Ἰεχθαήλ) as lying in 'the Shephelah,' along with some others, from which we gather that it was situated on the extensive plain bordering Philistia, bounded on the E. by the tableland of southern Judæa, and on the W. by the Mediterranean. In the general allotment by Joshua it came into possession of the tribe of Judah. Its site has not been recovered. **2.** The name (which Wetzstein, in Del. *Jes.*[3] 703 f., explains from the Arab., 'protection of God') given (2 K 14[7], B and Luc. Καθοήλ, A Ἰεκθοήλ) to Sela, the ancient capital of the Edomites, after its capture by Amaziah king of Judah (see SELA). It may have been bestowed by Amaziah in recognition of the aid afforded by J″ in the capture of a city of such amazing strength as Sela, and the overthrow of the Edomites in the Valley of Salt. The latter was at the southern end of the Dead Sea, and thus within the territory of the kings of Judah. The name 'Joktheel' did not take permanent hold on the place, because the Edomites in the reign of Ahaz regained their sovereignty (2 Ch 28[17]), and doubtless restored to their capital its original name of Sela.

E. HULL.

JOLLITY.—1 Es 3[20] 'It [wine] turneth also every thought into jollity (εὐωχία) and mirth'; and Sir 13[8] 'Beware that thou be not deceived, and brought down in thy jollity' (ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ σου; AVm 'by thy simplicity'; RV 'in thy mirth'). The meaning is 'mirth,' which is the commonest meaning of the word. Thus Shaks., *Mid. Night's Dream*, V. i. 377—

> 'A fortnight hold we this solemnity,
> In nightly revels and new jollity';

And Milton, *PL* xi. 714—

> 'And all was turned to jollity and game.'

So Latimer, *Sermons* (Arber's ed. p. 58), 'Joab and the other company beynge in theyr jolitye, and kepyng good cheare, heard it.' But in a subsequent sermon (p. 113) Latimer has it with the sense of splendour, 'He shewed him al the kyngdomes of the worlde, and all theyr jolitye.' Cf. Jth 10[3] Wyc. 1382, 'she clothide hir with the clothis of hir jolite,' 1388 'gladnesse.' The adj. 'jolly' is used by Tind., Ex 15[4] 'His jolye captaynes are drowned in the red see'; and by Coverdale, Job 40[10] 'up, decke the in thy joly araye, poure out the indignacion of thy wrath.'

J. HASTINGS.

JONADAB.—See JEHONADAB.

JONAH.—

i. Jonah and 2 K 14[25].
ii. Jonah and Is 15 f.
iii. Jonah and the Book of Jonah.
   1. Contents of the book.
   2. Unity of the book.
   3. Relation between the person and the book of Jonah.
   4. Formal character of the book—*A symbol. narrative.*
   5. Date of the book.
   6. The principal other interpretations of the book. The *externo-historical* and the *legendary* interpretations characterized and examined.
   7. The idea of the book—Universalism of God's plan of salvation, and Israel's mission to the *goyim*.
iv. Other occurrences of the name Jonah.
   Literature.

i. JONAH AND 2 K 14[25].—The name יוֹנָה (Ἰωνᾶς) is found in the canon. OT only in 2 K 14[25] and Jon 1[1]–4[9] (cf. Mandelkern, *Vet. Test. Concord. Heb. et Chald.* 1896, p. 1438[a]). In the former of these passages, where it is used of 'the servant of God, Jonah the son of Amittai, the prophet, which was of Gath-hepher,' the expression 'through his servant' (בְּיַד־עַבְדּוֹ) is nothing remarkable, occurring as it does also in 1 K (8[56]) 14[18] 15[29], 2 K 9[36] 10[10] in the same sense as in 2 K 14[25]. The name Amittai (אֲמִתַּי) is found nowhere in OT except in 2 K 14[25] and Jon 1[1] (Mandelkern, *loc. cit.* p. 1367[b]). Hence all we know of the father of the prophet Jonah is this at most, that he was an inhabitant of the place called גַּת הַחֵפֶר (='press of Ḥepher,' proper names having elsewhere also for certain reasons the article attached to them [cf. König, *Histor.-comparat. Syntax d. Heb.* 1897, § 295]). It is the same place that is meant by גִּתָּה חֵפֶר in Jos 19[13], where the context shows that we have the so-called locative form ('to Gath-hepher,' LXX ἐπί, κ.τ.λ.). There are other instances where the locative, like *Gittáh*, is accented on the last syllable (cf. *Shalíshah*, etc., in 2 K 4[42] etc.).* This accentuation may be determined by the immediately following guttural (cf. *Lehrgeb.* ii. 517). The חֵפֶר without the article in Jos 19[13] may have arisen through haplography of the ה, or הַחֵפֶר (2 K 14[25]) and חֵפֶר (Jos 19[13]) may be related to each other as הָעֲנָק and עֲנָק, etc. (König, *Syntax*, § 295*d*). Hence we are neither to find the place-name 'Gath-hepher' in 2 K 14[25] (G. A. Smith, *Twelve Prophets*, ii. 496) nor the place-name 'Gittah-hepher' in Jos 19[13] (*ib.* note 1). The place *Gath (ha)ḥepher* lay in the territory assigned to the tribe of Zebulun, Jos 19[10. 13].

In 2 K 14[25] it is further recorded of Jonah that in the time of Jeroboam II. (*c.* B.C. 781–741) this prophet predicted the re-conquest of the eastern boundaries of Israel. In this passage 'the sea of the Arabah' (*i.e.* the Dead Sea) fixes, of course, only *ex*clusively the *terminus ad quem*. The uncertain expression 'the brook of the Arabah' (נַחַל הָעֲרָבָה) in Am 6[14] does not contradict this assumption, which is commended also by other considerations (see below, § ii.).

ii. JONAH AND IS 15 f.—We should be much better informed regarding the work of the prophet Jonah, if he were the author of the prophecy which forms at least the basis of Is 15[1]–16[12], and to which Isaiah himself added the epilogue, 'This is the word which J″ *in time past* spake concerning Moab, and *now* hath J″ spoken, saying,' etc. (16[13f.]). That earlier prophecy is, in point of fact, attributed to Jonah by Hitzig (*Des Proph. Jonah Orakel üb. Moab*, 1831), Maurer, Knobel (*Der Prophetismus der Hebräer*, ii. 124), Riehm (*Einleit. in d. AT*, ii. 62), Duhm (*Theol. d. Proph.* 71), Renan (*Hist. du peuple d'Israël*, ii. 417). But (*a*) the announcement of Jonah, which is mentioned in 2 K 14[25], had certainly a much wider scope than the oracle of Is 15[1]–16[12]. (*b*) If the author of Is 15[1]–16[12] was an inhabitant of the Northern kingdom and a subject of Jeroboam II. (which even Cheyne, *Introd. to Bk. of Isaiah*, 1895, p. 88, regards as possible), he could only ironically have called upon the Moabites to send presents to *Zion* (16^1ff.^). (*c*) In the words, 'Send *lambs* (כָּר) for the ruler of the land . . . to Zion' (16^1^), such a political relation of the Moabites to Jerusalem is most naturally presupposed as we find in 2 K 3^4^ (כָּרִים). In all probability, the Moabites after the time of Mesha became tributary again to the kings of Judah, and Is 15^1^–16^12^ related to an attack made upon the land of Moab by the Assyrians. From this part of Isaiah, then, no information regarding Jonah ben-Amittai can be derived.

---

* For the other exceptions see König, *Heb. Lehrgebäude*, ii. 517[3].

iii. JONAH AND THE BOOK OF JONAH.—1. An abundant source of information about Jonah would be opened to us, if the fifth of the twelve minor prophetical books was written by him. The essential *contents* of this book are as follows:—

(*a*) Jonah ben-Amittai evaded the Divine commission to go and preach against the city of Nineveh (1^1-3^). His motive, however, was not 'indolence, sloth, fear of man' (Kleinert, 1893, *ad loc.*), but the fear that J″, on account of His compassionate disposition, would not execute the threatened judgment (4^2^). Many exegetes have sought to justify this motive by remarking that Jonah will have feared to prove a 'prophet of lies' (נְבִיא הַשֶּׁקֶר) (cf. the Midrash in *Jalqûṭ Shim'oni* on *Jonah*,* and the *Gesch. d. Proph. Jona* by B. Wolf [see below], 1897, p. 12). Others will have it that Jonah did not wish to save a people which threatened destruction to Israel (so the *Mechilta* to Ex 1^4^, Jerome, Rashi, Kimchi,† Abravanel). According to *Mikhlal Jophi*, *ad loc.*, Jonah was afraid that the Ninevites, if they repented at the preaching of *a single* prophet, would put to shame the Israelites, who did not repent in spite of *many* prophets (אינם שבים מדרכם הרעה). Yet other interpreters suppose that Jonah was reluctant to make known to a heathen people the knowledge of the true God (Hengstenberg, *Christologie*², i. 469, 'because he grudged the exercise of compassion towards the heathen').

(*b*) God brought about the punishment of Jonah by means of a great storm (1^4-16^). Acc. to Philo (*de Jona oratio*, Op., ed. Richter, vii. 377 ff.), it was the snoring of Jonah that drew the attention of the captain of the vessel to him ('Tradebat eum vox narium stertentium, quum altius reddatur in supinis jacentibus'). On the other hand, the Arabo-Syrian *History of the Prophet Jonah* makes the latter confess his fault on his own impulse, and Jonah is thus held up as a model of noble love of the truth. Moreover, the casting of lots (גּוֹרָלוֹת 1^7^) is not introduced till after v.^14^, somewhat after the example of the Midrash. (For the language of the latter see Wolf, p. 16 f.). In this way the casting of lots would be a last attempt to save the life of the prophet. Also, according to Edm. Hardy (*ZDMG*, 1896, p. 153), it is related in the Hindu *Jat*, 439 (ed. Fausböll, iv. 2), how sailors discovered the guilt of Mittavindaka by casting lots three times, and how, using almost the very language of Jon 1^14^, they exposed him on a raft.

(*c*) But a merciful God thus reduced Jonah to straits, not in order to destroy him, but ultimately to rescue him (2^1-11^).

(*d*) Thereupon the prophet proclaimed in Nineveh that in forty days the city would be destroyed (3^1-4^). The same number 40 (אַרְבָּעִים), which is common to the MT, Targum, Pesh., and Vulg., is given also in one manuscript of the above-named *History of the Prophet Jonah* (p. viii, l. 3, *'arba'îna*). But the LXX (τρεῖς), Philo (*op. cit.* § 27, 'civitas ista *tres* tantum dies habet'), the Arab. (ثَلاثَة), and the other manuscript of the *History* (ܬܠܬܗ̈) have all the number 3. Perhaps this variation is simply due to the relation between מַהֲלַךְ שְׁלֹשֶׁת יָמִים (3^3b^) and מַהֲלַךְ יוֹם אֶחָד (v.^4a^), for it might be supposed that the catastrophe would ensue after the three days' transit through the city. It is less probable that the influence at work was the 'three' of 2^1^ [Eng. 1^17^]. But the Midrash mentioned a fast of שלשה ימים ושלשה לילות (Wolf, p. 25^1^). A symbolical sense of the number 'three' is not to be thought of, nor is an interchange of the numbers μʹ and γʹ (W. Böhme, *ZATW*, 1887, p. 239) likely. Further, the verb נֶהְפָּכֶת, which is imitated in מתהפכא and in the Pesh. ܡܬܗܦܟܐ, was intended to express the sense of *outward* destruction; hence correctly καταστραφήσεται (LXX), *subvertetur* (Vulgate), تَخْسِفُ (*disparebit*), and *Mikhlal Jophi, ad loc.*, רוצה לאמר במהפכת סדום ועמרה כי מעשיה היו כמעשיהם. Wolf, indeed (*op. cit.* p. 21 f.), contends strongly that the נֶהְפָּכֶת of v.^4^ is used 'with intentional ambiguity,' it not being in the plan of an all-seeing Providence to destroy the city. But this argument would be justified only if in other prophetical threatenings also, which remained unfulfilled in consequence of man's repentance, an ambiguous expression had been used. But, *e.g.*, in 1 K 21^21^ it is positively announced to king Ahab, 'Behold, I will bring evil upon thee'; no condition is added, yet the prophet was afterwards told, 'I will not bring,' etc. (v.^29^).

(*e*) Then the people, as well as the king of Nineveh, took Jonah for a messenger of the Deity; a general fast was ordained, and the inhabitants turned from their evil ways (3^5-10^). So universal was the fasting enjoined that even 'cattle and small cattle' were neither to eat nor drink (v.^7^). Nowack (*ad loc.*) regards the words הָאָדָם וְהַבְּהֵמָה in 3^8^ as a later gloss; but, even so, the subjects would not be altered, for in v.^7b^ 'cattle and small cattle' have been mentioned. A real participation of animals in the fast has therefore been rightly recognized also, *e.g.*, by Philo (*op. cit.* § 37 f.) in the passage. His words are, 'Tantum (*sic*) humiliationem animumque compositum secundum scripturam vestiti sunt, ut pecudes quoque eorum precibus vacantes eos juvarent,' etc. Further, the author of the Arab.-Syr. *History of Jonah* put in the mouth of the Ninevites the following prayer, 'If this repentance be not accepted of God, transgressors will in future despair of the possibility of return.' He went on to tell how the Divine pardon was announced by the sending of a letter and the dispelling of a darkness which had lain over the city during the fast (Wolf, *op. cit.* p. 26).

(*f*) Enraged at the action of God, Jonah was brought, through his own grief at the loss of a 'gourd,'* to see that God had rightly pardoned the Ninevites.

---

* ולמה ברח . . . שלחו אל נינוה להחריבה . . . ואמר יודע אני שהגוים קרובי תשובה הם וכשלה רוגזי על ישראל ולא די שישראל קודין אותי נביא השקר אלא אף עובדי אלילים קודין אותי נביא השקר;

† ולא חשש (*sollicitus est*) לכבוד אלהים חשש לכבוד ישראל;

* On *ḳîḳayôn* (4^6f. 9f.^, Targ. קִיקִיוֹן) cf. Herodot. ii. 94, ἀλείφατι δὲ χρέωνται, κ.τ.λ., τὸ καλεῦσι μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι κίκι; see also especially Immanuel Löw, *Aram. Pflanzennamen*, No. 298, 'The *Ricinus communis* (Linn.), under the name *kiki*, was, for the sake of its oil, cultivated as largely in ancient Egypt as it is at the present day'; cf. Diod. Sic. i. 34; Dioscorides, iv. 164; Pliny, *HN* xv. 7. Wolf (p. 52) says, 'In the Talmud (*Shabbath* 21^a^ ll. 6 ff.) Rêsh Laḳîsh assumes that the שֶׁמֶן קִיק of the Mishnah (*Shabbath* ii. 2) is identical with the קִיקִיוֹן דיונה, and Rabbah bar bar (*sic*) Chanah said that he had seen it (חזה לי קיקיון דיונה).' The *ḳiḳayôn*, according to the Talmud, resembles the צלוליבא, a tree from whose pith oil and medicines were prepared. It is the Arabic *ḫirwa'un*, 'ricinus frutex' (Freytag, *Lex. Arab.*). Kimchi had already cited this explanation, which appears also in *Mikhlal Jophi*. It was not the κολοκύνθη, ܩܪܐ, 'cf. ܩܪܥܐ

2. *The Unity of the Book 'Jonah.'*—This book might, at least partially, be a genuine source of information about Jonah ben-Amittai, *if* it were composed of several strata. The latter position was once maintained by Müller in Paulus' *Memorabilien*, vi. p. 167 ff., and by Nachtigall in Eichhorn's *Allgemeiner Bibliothek*, ix. 221–273 (cf. Eichhorn, *Einleit.* iv. § 577*b*). According to Nachtigall (and Bunsen), among the sacred books of the Hebrews there was 'a prayer of Jonah the son of Amittai,' with the note appended, 'after God had delivered him out of the hand of the king of Assyria.' This prayer is supposed to be preserved in Jon 2^{3-10}, and then chs. 3 and 4 and still later chs. 1 and $2^{1\mathrm{f}.\,11}$ [Eng. 1^{17} 2^{10}] to have been added to it. Nachtigall has started from a correct perception, namely, that the first part of the prayer (Jon 2^{3-10}) cannot have been uttered by a man who has been swallowed by a sea-monster. Jonah could not out of the belly of the fish say to God, 'Posuisti me in securo loco' (Philo, *op. cit.* § 22). Having regard to his other experiences, and even *per se*, it was impossible that Jonah should regard his sojourn in the fish's belly as a preliminary to his complete deliverance (Kimchi on 2^{3} בחיותו ידע שיצא ממעי הדג בשלום). This prayer could only at best then be uttered *after* Jonah's deliverance, which is recorded in 2^{11} [Eng. ^{10}]. If now the author of $2^{1\mathrm{f}.\,11}$ had already before him that prayer of thanksgiving (Nachtigall, Bunsen), he would have introduced it after 2^{11}, otherwise he must have placed the origin of the poem within the body of the great fish, in order by this improbability to indicate the didactic purpose of his narrative. But it is more likely that this composition has been supplemented by a later writer who missed the contents of the prayer referred to in 2^{2} (Knobel, *Der Prophetismus der Hebräer*, ii. 377). This older assumption also appears to us the only correct element in the contentions of W. Böhme ('Die Compos. d. Buches Jona' in *ZATW*, 1887, pp. 224 ff., 234), and it is approved also by Cheyne (*Origin of the Psalter*, 1891, p. 126), Budde (*ZATW*, 1892, p. 42), and Nowack (*Handcomm.* 1897, p. 180). G. A. Smith (*Twelve Prophets*, ii. 512) opposes it, appealing to וַיְמַן ('and he arranged *or* ordered') of 2^{1} [Eng. 1^{17}], as showing that the author knew that Jonah was to be saved by means of the fish. But the man who was swallowed by the fish did *not* know this. Hence, if Jonah himself wrote the book, he ascribed to himself by *prolepsis* a prayer of thanksgiving; while, if it was a later writer who put this prayer in the mouth of the swallowed Jonah, he ascribed to the hero of the narrative an action which in the situation of Jon 2^{2} would be a psychological enigma.

Köhler, again (*Theol. Rev.* xvi. 139 ff.), thinks to discover in the Bk. of Jonah partly signs of an earlier age and partly traces of a later revision (but see G. A. Smith, ii. 510^{2}). Finally, W. Böhme (*op. cit.*) has started the theory that four strata can be distinguished within the Bk. of Jonah. But neither his formal arguments nor those based upon the contents can be regarded as valid. This hypothesis has already been examined by the present writer in his *Einleitung*, p. 378 f., and, as no one has since ventured to defend the assumption that the Bk. of Jonah was composed from different strata, it is unnecessary to go into the question in more detail.

3. Is there *a necessary relation between the person and the Book of Jonah?* The genetic connexion of Jonah ben-Amittai and the Bk. of Jonah appears to be based upon this much at least: We seem compelled to assume that a tradition existed, according to which Jonah ben-Amittai journeyed beyond his own country, that he was involved in a dangerous situation, and that he was ultimately delivered from this. Without such a tradition, it seems inexplicable why it is to the name of Jonah that the book is attached. Riehm, indeed (*Introduction*, ii. 167), says, 'The reason why the author selected the name of Jonah was that the only prophet that would serve his purpose was one whose *name* was on the one hand familiar to the people, but about whom on the other hand they knew *nothing more*.' This, however, is inconclusive. There were several prophets of that kind. Only in *one* event would the choice of the name Jonah ben-Amittai (Jon 1^{1}) be explicable without a historical tradition, namely, if *Amittai* were meant to be a *nomen appellativum*, *i.e.* if 'Jonah filius *creduli*' were so designated as a representative of believers κατ' ἐξοχήν, the so-called orthodox party. We call attention to this possibility, because in investigating so difficult a question all possibilities must be weighed. It is a fact at all events that, in the case of *this* ben-Amittai (Jon 1^{1}), Gath (ha)hepher is *not* specified as his birthplace (see further, below, 4 *c*, p. 747^{b}).

4. *The formal character of the Book of Jonah.*—Notwithstanding that the book may rest upon a tradition about Jonah, yet the essential character of the book consists in this, that it belongs to the category of symbolical narratives.

(*a*) There *were* such narratives. For instance, in Jer $25^{15\mathrm{ff}.}$ it is said, 'Take this cup,' etc., and 'I took the cup at the hand of J" and made all the nations drink' (v.^{17}). Thus actions of the prophet are recorded as if they had been outwardly performed, and yet *they cannot have really been so.* Rather is the story merely a form of representation in which a Divine message is presented in a *visible* and therefore *impressive* fashion. This being manifestly the case with Jer $25^{15\mathrm{ff}.}$, there is no need in $13^{4\mathrm{ff}.}$ to take the name *Pĕrath*, which everywhere else (15 times) means the Euphrates (so also in Jer 51^{63}), to refer to a place which is not meant anywhere else in OT, nor so understood by LXX (ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην, κ.τ.λ.), etc., in Jer $13^{4\mathrm{ff}.}$, and which stood in no relation to the captivity of Israel. For the same reason it is unnecessary to suppose that the prophet Ezekiel actually lay for 390 days upon his left and for 40 days upon his right side ($4^{5\mathrm{f}.}$ etc.). Moreover, in 24^{3} the words 'Set on the caldron and pour water into it,' etc., are called by Ezekiel a *māshāl* (cf. the Arab. *miṯlun*, similitudo, παραβολή; see König's art. 'Zur Deutung der symbolischen Handlungen des Propheten Hesekiel,' in the *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, iii. 650 ff.). Similar to the narrative of Jer $25^{15\mathrm{ff}.}$ is that of Hos $1^{1\mathrm{ff}.}$ and $3^{1\mathrm{ff}.}$ (so, *inter alios*, Hitzig, Simson, Keil, Wünsche, Reuss [*Gesch. d. heil. Schriften ATs*, 1890, § 223]; see, further, art. HOSEA in this Dictionary). For there it is expressly said, 'Go, *take* to thee *mulierem fornicationis*,' and, even if the latter phrase can mean only 'a wife of whoredoms' (Cheyne, *Camb. Bible, ad loc.*; G. A. Smith, i. 234, 'a wife of harlotry'), it is improperly assumed by some interpreters (*e.g.* Cheyne, Wellh., Nowack, G. A. Smith) that the woman had not beforehand 'an inclination to infidelity.' Such an interpretation runs counter to the text, according to which at the very outset Hosea was inspired with the idea of marrying a *mulier fornicationis* (*i.e. idololatriæ eorumque vitiorum quæ cum illa cohærere solebant*). Besides, an 'inclination to infidelity' was a thing by no means strange to the majority of the nation, with which J" as it were contracted a marriage in the time of Moses (cf. Ex 32^{8}). Again, if the com-

cucurbita, pepo' (Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr. s.v.*), Arab. يقطين (Koran, xxxvii. 146). As Jerome replaced *cucurbita* of the old Latin by *hedera* ('ivy'), there arose 'tumultus in plebe' (Augustinus, *ad Hieron.*, Epistola 88).

mission of J″ was literally carried out, Hosea must have married an adulteress (Hos 3^{1}). But, with a view to the visible presentation of a truth, there is *no need* for such an *outward* performance of actions which would have been not only in themselves repugnant, but also unnatural for the prophet himself.

(*b*) The above-cited symbolic tales may be imitated in the Book of Jonah (cf. especially the parallelism between Hos 1^{2} 3^{1} and Jon 1^{1} 3^{1}, also Ezk 3^{25} etc.). As Ezekiel was bound, etc., as the representative of the people (3^{25} $4^{8ff.}$ $5^{1ff.}$ etc.), so in the Bk. of Jonah it was related how Jonah undertook a mission to the *goyîm*, etc. This might happen all the more readily that elsewhere the people of Israel and the prophetic order are identified with one another; the servant of J″, who, according to Is 41^{8} etc., is the people of Israel, is a designation in 42^{1} etc. of the servant of God who is to bring, ***i.e.*** proclaim to the *goyîm sententiam et normam iudicii* or *lucem* (Is 42^{6} 49^{6}, cf. 43^{10}), and so also the people of Israel is called the son of God (Ex 4^{22}, Hos 11^{1}). This servant of God was in many ways also blind, and deaf (Is 42^{19}), and dumb (56^{10}); cf. Jon 1^{3}. Further, the captivity of Israel is several times compared to a grave from which they are to come forth again alive; Ezk $37^{11f.}$ 'These bones are the *whole* house of Israel' (rightly interpreted even by Hengstenberg, *Christologie*, ii. p. 588, not 'ii. p. 125' as Bertholet cites it, *Kurzer Handcom. zu Hesekiel*, 1897, p. 184); cf. Ezk 19^{5} 33^{10} 39^{25}. Again, the captivity of Israel is compared to being devoured, 'Nebuchadnezzar hath swallowed me up like a sea-monster (*tannîn*), and he hath filled his belly' (Jer 51^{34}; cf. v.^{44} אֶת־בִּלְעוֹ, and in Is 27^{1} the comparison of the secular power to a *livyathan* (crocodile) and a *tannîn*; see esp. G. A. Smith, 1898, pp. 523–526). Note also that Israel's deliverance from exile is compared to a new birth (Is 66^{8}) and a dream (Ps 126^{1}). Further, as pre-exilic Israel was wont to decline its missionary call (Jon 1^{3}), so a part of exilic and post-exilic Israel discovered in this mission only a call to threaten the *goyîm* (cf. Jer 29^{10}, Ezk 18^{29} 33^{20}, Ps 137^{8}, Is 34 f. $63^{1ff.}$, Ob $^{10ff.}$, Mal $1^{4f.}$ 3^{14}, Jon $3^{1ff.}$). But in this same exilic and post-exilic period there are also voices to be heard calling for prayer to God on behalf of the *goyîm* (Jer 29^{7}) and giving expression to the universalistic tendency of the theocracy (Zec 8^{23}, cf. Jon 3^{10} 4^{11}; see below, 7 *a*). The voice of such a preacher may be heard also in the Bk. of Jonah, whose author may have selected the individualistic presentation of his idea because this was least likely to miss making an impression. This, which for shortness may be called the *symbolical* interpretation of the Bk. of Jonah, is in the main upheld by Hardt, Kleinert (*Commentary*, 1874), Bloch (*Studien zur Gesch. der Samml. d. altheb. Lit.* 1876, p. 72 ff.), Cheyne (art. in *Theol. Rev.* 1877, p. 214 ff.), C. H. H. Wright (*Biblical Essays*, T. and T. Clark, 1886, p. 45 ff.),* Ed. König (*Einleitung*, 1893, p. 380), Kleinert (*Commentary*, 1893, p. 18 ff.), G. A. Smith (1898, p. 502 ff.).†

(*c*) The choice of the name Jonah as the subject of this symbolical narrative may also (see above, 3, p. 746^{b}) have been favoured by the following circumstance. Jonah was an inhabitant of the kingdom of Samaria, and 'the name *Jonah* signifies a dove. Ephraim, the Northern kingdom, the kingdom of Israel as distinguished from that of Judah, is termed by Hosea, the only other prophetic writer who belonged to that kingdom, "a silly dove" (יוֹנָה Hos 7^{11}); and when that prophet predicts the Return from Captivity, he speaks of Ephraim as returning as "a dove (יוֹנָה) out of the land of Assyria" (11^{11}).' C. H. H. Wright, from whose *Biblical Essays* (1886, p. 45) these words are quoted, has not, however, recalled יוֹנַת אֵלֶם רְחֹקִים (Ps 56^{1}), which is most probably interpreted *columba* (*silentii* =) *silens peregrinorum locorum* = *inter et propter peregrinos* (on the silence of *b* after *m* see König, *Syntax*, § 330*m*). This expression in Ps 56^{1} is already referred by the Talmud to כְּנִשְׁתָּא דְיִשְׂרָאֵל וג', by the LXX to ὁ λαὸς ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων μεμακρυμμένης, and so also by the Arabic (*'ummatun*) and the Ethiopic (*chézeb* = populus). [Wellhausen (in Haupt's *SBOT*) changes אלם into אִיִּים, but this suggestion lacks probability]. A remarkable coincidence between Israelitish and foreign conceptions may be discovered in the analogy between the sojourn of the dove (יוֹנָה) in the fish's belly, and the descent of the 'dove' Semiramis from the fish-woman (cf. the ancient picture in Vigouroux, *Die Bibel und die neueren Entdeckungen*, iii. 355) Atargatis or Δερκετώ or Dercetis, who also had a temple at Ashkelon, cf. Ovid, *Metam.* iv. 45 ff.—

> 'Derceti, quam versa squamis velantibus artus
> Stagna Palæstini credunt motasse figura;
> An magis, ut sumptis illius filia pennis
> Extremos albis in turribus egerit annos.'

I venture also to call attention to the circumstance that the name 'Nineveh' (Herodot. i. 103, 106, 193, ii. 150, iii. 155, Νῖνος) is a compound with the root נוּן (cf. Assyr. *nûnu*, 'fish' [Del. *Assyr. Handwörterb.* 1896, p. 454*a*], Aram. נוּנָא, ܢܘܢܐ, *e.g.* Jon $2^{1.\,11}$). For the oft-recurring ideographic way of writing the name of this city characterizes it as *Ni-nu-a* or *Ni-na-a*, 'fish-dwelling.' Hence in the first element of the name we should not be disposed to find '*ni*, Fett, Fettigkeit, Ueberfluss' (Frd. Delitzsch, art. 'Ninive' in *PRE*^{2} x. 589). It may be not impossible that *nun*, which on account of the following *nua* might be differentiated, or through *n* (cf. *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 510 f. and נִין) modified to *nin*, has been combined with *nua* or *naa*, and thus arose *Ni-nu-a* or *Ni-na-a*.

5. *The Date of the Book.*—This symbolical narrative was written, not in the 8th cent., but in the post-exilic period.

(*a*) Literary arguments. The story contains no positive trace that it attributed itself to Jonah. On the contrary, the book speaks of Jonah in the *third* person everywhere except in the *oratio directa* of 1^{9} $2^{3ff.}$ etc. Of course the circumstance that in any writing a name is used in the *third* person, is no sure sign that that writing proceeds from a different author (cf. König, *Einleitung*, p. 314^{4} on Is 7). But, all the same, it is not without significance that Hosea, who opens with the *third* person, in the further course of his story passes to the use of the *first* person; cf. 'Then spake J″ to *me*' (Hos 3^{1-3}) with 'Then came the word of J″ to *Jonah*' (Jon 3^{1} etc.).

(*b*) Linguistic indications. The Book of Hosea shows what phase of development the Heb. language had reached in the Northern kingdom in the 8th cent. But the linguistic character of the Book of Jonah is quite different from this. In Hosea the occurrences of *anokhî* to *anî* are as 11 : 11, whereas in Jonah the ratio is 2 (1^{9} 3^{2}) : 5

---

* Wright cites (p. xxv) the following passages: 2 S $12^{1ff.}$ (Nathan's parable) $14^{6f.}$ (the parabolical narrative of the wise woman of Tekoa), 1 K 20^{39-41} (the parabolical tale of the prisoner who was allowed to escape). These, however, do not furnish real parallels to the Bk. of Jonah, for, like all parables, they have an unknown, general subject. Nevertheless, they show that in Israel it was customary to introduce abstract truths in the form of individualistic tales. This disposition is also a factor in the origin of narratives about real visions, like those of 1 K 22^{19-22} and of Amos and Ezekiel.

† Similar is the judgment of Augusti (*Einleitung*, 1827, § 225), Hitzig (in the Preface to his Exposition of the Book of Jonah in *Kurzgef. exeg. Hdbch.*), Bleek (*Einleitung*, 1878, § 229), Riehm (*Einleitung*, 1889, ii. § 81, 'The contents of the book are pure invention'), Reuss (*Gesch. d. h. Schr. ATs*, 1890, § 407), *et alii*, who have not recognized the analogy of the symbolical narratives of the prophets.

($1^{9.12}$ $2^{5.10}$ 4^{11}); cf. in Malachi 1 *anokhî* (הִנֵּה אָנֹכִי 3^{23}) to 8 *anî*. In Hosea we find only אֲשֶׁר (some eight times), whereas in Jonah שֶׁ is found (these passages are wanting in Mandelkern's *Concordance*, 1291 ff., but are given in König's *Syntax*, § 54) three times, $1^{7.12}$ 4^{10}, as in Ezr 8^{20}, 1 Ch 5^{20} 27^{27}, Ec 1^{3} etc. But in Jonah there occurs בַּאֲשֶׁר לְ (1^{8}) * side by side with בְּשֶׁלְּ ($1^{7.12}$), while in Ec 8^{17} the secondary form בְּשֶׁל אֲשֶׁר already appears (König, *Syntax*, § 389*e*).——רִבּוֹ ('myriad') has not been recognized by tradition in Hos 8^{12}, probably, indeed, on the authority of MSS (see König, *Lehrgeb.* ii. 222^{1}); yet in Ezekiel (16^{7}) we have the genuinely Hebrew word רְבָבָה, whereas רִבּוֹ occurs in Jon 4^{11}, Ps 68^{18}, Ezr $2^{64.69}$, Neh $7^{66.77f.}$, Dn 11^{12}, 1 Ch 29^{7}.——הִתְעַשֵּׁת=*cogitare* in Jon 1^{6}, cf. Dn 6^{4} and Hos 10^{13} Targ., אִתְעַשְּׁתוּן.——'J", the God of heaven' is found in Gn $24^{3.7}$ (overlooked by G. A. Smith, ii. 497^{2}), Jon 1^{9}, Ezr 1^{2}, Neh 1^{5}, 2 Ch 36^{23}, and the simple 'God of heaven' in Ps 136^{26}, Ezr $5^{11f.\,69f.}$ $7^{12.21.23}$, Neh 1^{4} 2^{4}, Dn $2^{18f.\,37.\,44}$.——The notion of 'command' (verb) does not occur at all in Hosea, but it is difficult to imagine that he would have expressed it by מִנָּה (Jon 2^{1} 4^{6-8}, 1 Ch 9^{29}, Dn $1^{5.\,10f.}$ [Aram.], Ezr 7^{25} etc.), for he expresses 'command' (noun) by צַו (5^{11}) and not by טַעַם (Jon 3^{7} [Aram.], Ezr 4^{19} etc., Dn 3^{10} etc.).——Cf., further, שָׁתַק=*consēdit, siluit* (Jon $1^{11f.}$, Ps 107^{30}, Pr 26^{20}) common in Aramaic (Merx, *Chrest. Targ.* 294; Nöldeke, *ZDMG*, 1868, p. 499). Taking all this into account, it is an unnatural supposition that the author of the Book of Jonah should have exhibited all the above-mentioned linguistic features to a reader of the 8th cent. B.C. He must have belonged to a period when the *written* language of the Israelites had already come into close contact with the Aramaic.

(*c*) Material indications. Nineveh, at the time when the Book of Jonah was composed, was no longer in existence. This is clear from the statement (3^{3}), 'Now Nineveh *was* (הָיְתָה, cf. König, *Syntax*, § 362*m*) a great city for God' (*i.e.* according even to a superhuman standard). Hävernick (*Einl.* ii. 2, p. 359) declined to accept this interpretation, and appealed to Gn 1^{2} וְהָאָרֶץ הָיְתָה תֹהוּ וָבֹהוּ. But even this passage confirms the above as the correct explanation of Jon 3^{3}. For to the writer of Gn 1^{2} the earth was no longer a chaos. Further, the 'three days' journey' of 3^{3}, taken in connexion with 'and Jonah began to *enter into* the city *one* day's journey' (*Syntax*, § 330*e*), must refer to the distance *through*, not *round*, the city (Schrader, *KAT*^{2} *ad loc.*). A diameter of such proportions would, however, presuppose a circumference such as even the combination of four cities (Gn $10^{11f.}$, *Keilinsch. Bibliot.* ii. 117) could not have possessed. Then it would be strange that Jonah himself or a contemporary of his should not have given the name of the 'king of Nineveh' (3^{6}) in question. Besides this, Sayce (*HCM* 487, quoted by Driver, *LOT*^{6} 322) is of opinion that the title 'king of Nineveh' could never have been applied to him while the Assyrian empire was still in existence.

(*d*) Arguments drawn from the history of the formation of the OT Canon. (*α*) In the so-called *prophetæ priores* of the Heb. OT there is no word of Jonah's journey to Nineveh (2 K 14^{25}). Nor in the latter passage is there any reference to *other* words of Jonah, such as is intended to the Book of Micah in 1 K 22^{28} וַיֹּאמֶר שִׁמְעוּ עַמִּים כֻּלָּם (cf. König, *Einleitung*, 330 f.).——(*β*) The order of the *prophetæ posteriores*, and especially of the Minor Prophets, was only in its general principles a fixed one. This order was not meant to be chronological (König, *Einleit.* 301). The collectors of the Canon did not intend the books which have no chronological superscription to be considered as belonging to the period mentioned in the nearest preceding book which bears a date. For, on the one hand, in the case of the Book of Amos, the chronological superscription of the Book of Hosea is repeated, and, on the other hand, it cannot be meant that Nahum and Habakkuk prophesied at the date assigned to the preceding book (Mic 1^{1}). Therefore it may be assumed that the Book of Jonah was inserted after the Book of Obadiah on the ground, not of its chronology, but of its contents. Might it not have been supposed that the words צִיר בַּגּוֹיִם שֻׁלָּח ('nuntius ad gentes missus est') found a clear illustration in the story of Jonah? Moreover, in the centuries after the Exile, it was the fate of the Edomites that formed the subject of the liveliest discussion (cf. Mal 1^{4}, 1 Es $4^{45.\,50}$, Sir $50^{25f.}$). Hence it is probable that the question why the threats pronounced against Edom had remained unfulfilled was intended to be answered in the Book of Jonah.——(*γ*) Again, the opening words וַיְהִי דְּבַר יהוה וג׳ appear to the present writer to contain an indirect allusion (*Syntax*, § 368*a*) to the Book of Obadiah, and to have an adversative force (*ib.* § 369*f*). This introduction to the Book of Jonah appears, then, to have originated when the book attained its present position in the Heb. and Gr. OT. On the other hand, probability is lacking to the theory of Budde (*ZATW*, 1892, p. 41) that the Book of Jonah was originally an extract from the 'Midrash to the Book of Kings' (2 Ch 24^{27}). For, in the first place, the story of Jon $1^{1ff.}$ would not have fitted well on to 2 K $14^{25f.}$. In the second place, this story, whose incidents are enacted wholly outside the political history and the land of Israel, would not have been at all suitable in the מִדְרַשׁ סֵפֶר הַמְּלָכִים. Not so clear is the justice of the remark of Nowack (1897, on Jon 1^{1}) that the Chronicles do not breathe the spirit which the supposed Midrash would have exhibited.——(*δ*) The Book of the Twelve Minor Prophets was included among the 'prophets' or 'prophecies' which already lay before Ben-Sirach (Prologue ll. 6 and 14), for 49^{10} reads *καὶ τῶν δώδεκα προφητῶν τὰ ὀστᾶ ἀναθάλοι ἐκ τοῦ τόπου αὐτῶν*, or, in the recently published Heb. text of the Sirach fragments, גַּם שְׁנֵים עָשָׂר הַנְּבִיאִים וג׳. Against the view of Jacob (*ZATW*, 1887, p. 280) that 49^{10} is an interpolation, Nöldeke (*ZATW*, 1888, p. 156), Buhl (*Kanon u. Text*, 1891, p. 11), and Wellhausen (*Skizzen*, v. 211) have declared themselves. Not without importance is also the question whether the *πάππος* of Ben-Sirach (to whom we owe the Greek translation of the Proverbs of Sirach) and the Prologue to the book flourished as early as c. B.C. 300. The present writer claims to have proved this in his *Einleitung* (1893, p. 488), and his conclusions are now accepted also by J. Halévy (*Étude sur la partie du texte hébreu de l'Ecclésiastique récemment découverte*, 1897) and Baethgen (*Hand-commentar zu den Psalmen*^{2}, 1897, p. xxvii). This circumstance forbids one to carry down the composition of the Book of Jonah beyond the year B.C. 300, as G. A. Smith (ii. 498) is inclined to do.

In the above sections (3–5) we have sought, from the oldest indications, to characterize the Book of Jonah *positively*. What follows will give the *negative* supplement to this.

6. *The principal other interpretations of the Book of Jonah.*

---

* It is improbable that the words בַּאֲשֶׁר לְמִי הָרָעָה הַזֹּאת לָנוּ were originally a 'marginal gloss' (so Kautzsch, *AT*; Nowack, *Kl. Proph.*, *ad loc.*; G. A. Smith, ii. 513). For if בְּשֶׁלְּמִי (v.7) were to be explained, the marginal gloss would have been simply בַּאֲשֶׁר לְמִי, the whole sentence would not have been written on the margin. Moreover, the sentence is not absolutely superfluous in v.8. Rather is the question there quite intelligible psychologically as an indirect introduction to the following questions. It is equally intelligible why the question *propter quem hæc calamitas nobis acciderit*, being an *apparent* repetition, should have been omitted in cod. B of the LXX.

(*a*) The symbolical character of such a narrative, although in all probability this *is* the character of the Book of Jonah, might readily be *missed.* For it is psychologically explicable how histories which are related as concrete occurrences should preferably be understood by many as an account of real events. As a matter of fact, this has happened in not a few instances. For instance, has not the story of the dead bones (Ezk 37^{1-14}) been very frequently understood (cf. Hitzig, *Bib. Theol.* 1880, p. 109) as if we had to do with literal dead bodies? And that notwithstanding the explanation of the bones in v.^{11} 'These bones are the *whole* house of Israel.' How often, again, are the stories of the hiding of the girdle (Jer 13^{3-7}) and of the marrying of an adulterous wife (Hos $3^{1ff.}$) understood as real history! Accordingly, the fact that this may have happened also in the case of the Book of Jonah is no proof of the non-symbolical character of the latter.

(*b*) Certainly, those who collected the Canon or those who arranged the *Δωδεκαπρόφητον* may still have rightly regarded the Book of Jonah as a symbolical narrative, for they placed it in a class of writings containing other examples of symbolical character and prophetic tendency. But at a later period the book was frequently treated as if it contained *non-symbolical* history. At the same time, in examining the evidence on this point, one has to exercise great caution. The authors in question may simply have *expressed* themselves with a natural brevity, *as if they* considered the history of Jonah a real affair. This principle may be applied to every instance where some element in the Book of Jonah is merely cited. This may be the case where Jesus Christ (Mt 12^{40}) illustrated his burial by the statement that it would continue only three days, like the sojourn of Jonah in the belly of the sea-monster. But the following saying (v.^{41}), that the men of Nineveh would, on the day of judgment, put to shame the contemporaries of Jesus, is most naturally interpreted on the presupposition that the story of Jonah was a non-symbolical one. Still, the question remains whether this presupposition was merely that of the *hearers* of Jesus (see further, below, 6 *d* δ, p. 751^b). The history of Jonah is, however, conceived as *non-symbolical* when into the mouth of Tobit * are put the words, *πέπεισμαι ὅσα ἐλάλησεν Ἰωνᾶς ὁ προφήτης περὶ Νινευή* (To 14^4), and *πάντως ἔσται ἃ ἐλάλησεν ὁ προφήτης Ἰωνᾶς* (v.^{8}). Philo, too, regarded the story of Jonah as non-symbolical, for he took pains to explain the marvel of the fish (*Orat. de Jona*, § 16, 21). The same interpretation is followed in 3 Mac 6^8 (cf. König, *Einleit.* p. 483) and in Jos. *Ant.* IX. x. 2. According to the latter, *Ἰωνᾶς εἰς Ταρσὸν ἔπλει τῆς Κιλικίας* (!), and he reproduces the whole contents of the Book of Jonah, with the exception of the displeasure of Jonah at the sparing of Nineveh. So also in the Mishna, *Ta'anît* ii. 1,† Bab. *Ta'anît* 15*a*, *Nedarîm* 38*a*, where וַיִּתֵּן שְׂכָרָהּ (Jon 1^3) is incorrectly understood as if Jonah had paid the price of the whole ship (של ספינה כולה), and had thus, in contrast to Amos, been a wealthy man. (For other passages see B. Wolf, *op. cit.* p. 6). Jewish tradition, however, contains also the information that the history contained in the Book of Jonah was enacted in the reign of Osnappar (Ezr 4^{10} [Assurbanipal?]), and, seeing that the date of Jeroboam II. and that of Osnappar were different, the rabbinical tradition spoke of two Jonahs, of whom the first was of the tribe of Zebulun and the second of the tribe of Asher (see, further, Fürst, *Der Kanon d. AT nach d. Ueberlief. in Talm. und Midrasch*, p. 33 f.). Again, in *Numeri Rabbah*, sect. 18, the Book of Jonah is called 'a book by itself and counted separately.' This, however, was simply 'because it is exclusively occupied with the heathen, and Israel is not mentioned in it. But that its canonicity was doubted in earlier times there is no evidence' (Wildeboer-Bacon, *Origin of Canon of OT*, 1895, 70-72). The *non-symbolical* or *externo-historical* interpretation of the story of Jonah is the predominating one also among the Christians of the earlier centuries (cf., *inter alios*, Justin Martyr, *Dialog. c. Tryph.* cap. 107).

(*c*) But gradually questions were everywhere raised about the authenticity of the ancient tradition, and in connexion with this began also the examination of the externo-historical interpretation of the Book of Jonah. The natural clearness of Luther's way of thinking is seen in his judgment upon at least the prayer of Jon 2^{3-10} 'He was not so comfortably placed as to be able to indite so fine a poem.' Continued examination of the book did not lead all critics (see above, 4 *b*) to a symbolical interpretation of the story. Some reached, by means of almost ludicrous * attempts, the third of the leading explanations of the Book of Jonah. This attributes a legendary character to the story, and may therefore itself be called, for shortness, *the legendary interpretation of the Book of Jonah.* Its chief representatives are the following.

Already (in his *Einleit.*^{4} iv. § 576) Eichhorn discovered in the book the presentation of a 'folk-tale.' He pointed to the fact that in $2^{1f.}$, as compared with ch. 1, the narrative is 'quite interrupted, short, incomplete, and unsatisfying.' Hence he held that 'under such circumstances it is no arbitrary hypothesis to assume merely that Jonah, mounted upon the sea-monster, was driven ashore by the storm, and to regard the three days' sojourn in the fish's belly as a popular clothing of this.' 'If the story of Jonah's escape upon the sea-monster . . . was handed on from mouth to mouth . . . for several centuries, how readily might it assume its present form! This is also in harmony with the spirit of the ancient world, as we may gather from the similar clothing given to similar occurrences in Greek history, *e.g.* to the history of Hercules' (see the Greek quotations in Bochart, *Hicrozoicon*, ii. 5, 12). The *legendary* interpretation is accepted, further, by Rosenmüller (*Scholia in Vet. Test.*, ad Jonam); Knobel (*Der Prophetismus d. Heb.* ii. 370ff.); de Wette (*Einleit.* § 291); Winer (*RL*, *s.v.* 'Jona'); Vatke (*Einleit.*, 1886, § 217, 'a legend'); Nowack (*Klein. Proph.*, 1897, p. 175, 'we have before us a prophetic legend'). Essentially similar is the judgment of von Orelli (1896, p. 93 f.), who says, for instance, 'The marvel of the fish was certainly received from tradition,' but 'the story in its present form was written at the close of the Chaldæan or the opening of the Persian period.' But if the book simply contained a 'Prophetenlegende,' this would in the tradition have involuntarily and unconsciously taken its rise, and then the evident didactic tendency of the book would not be adequately explained. Hence Nowack asserts that 'the author used freedom in moulding the traditional material as suited his aim.' But in that case the contents of the book might be called simply 'the free use of an ancient prophetic legend' (Kautzsch, *Abriss d. Gesch. d. alttest. Schriftthums*, 1897, p. 120). It is more likely, however, that the book has no ancient history for basis.

---

* This book was written before the renovation of Herod's temple (König, *Einleitung*, p. 478).

† לֹא נֶאֱמַר באנשי נינוה וירא אלהים את שַׂקָּם ואת תעניתם אלא וירא האלהים את מעשיהם וג׳ (Jon 3^{10}).

* Not Abravanel (cf. Wolf, *op. cit.* p. 6, note 4, against Hävernick, *Einleit.* ii. 2, p. 327), but H. Ad. Grimm (*Der Proph. Jona aufs neue übersetzt*, etc.), supposed that Jonah *dreamed* that he was swallowed by a great fish. Clericus, again, threw out the suggestion (*Bibliot. anc. et mod.*, tome xx. 2, p. 459) that Jonah 'was picked up by a *ship* whose figurehead was a whale'; while Anton (in Paulus' *Neues Repertorium*, Bd. iii. p. 36 ff.) supposed that Jonah *clung to* the belly of the fish. See, for more fancies of the same kind, Eichhorn, *Einleit.*^{4} Bd. iv. § 575.

Many upholders of this *legendary* interpretation, in dealing with particular features of the Book of Jonah, have appealed to *legends and myths of antiquity*. In the first place, they have reminded us that it was in the neighbourhood of Joppa that Andromeda, too, was reduced to straits by a sea-monster (Jos. *BJ* III. ix. 3, ἔνθα τῶν 'Ανδρομέδας δεσμῶν ἔτι δεικνύμενοι τύποι πιστοῦνται τὴν ἀρχαιότητα τοῦ μύθου; cf. on Andromeda also W. R. Smith, *RS* 159, and Duhm, *Kurzer Hdcom.*, 1897, on Job 7^{12}). But this tale agrees with the story of Jonah in the single point of the locality, Joppa (יָפוֹ, 'Ιόππη), and the latter was the natural one to fix upon in the case of a man fleeing from Palestine to the Mediterranean. Still less can the 'legend' of Jonah be derived from the story of the Trojan princess Hesione, who was delivered by Hercules from a sea-monster (*Il.* xx. 145 ff., xxi. 441 ff.). For the features of this tale, which in some measure resemble the history of Jonah, were all produced at a much later date, and hence it is far easier to see here a modification of the story of Jonah than to suppose that the author of the latter borrowed from that foreign tale (cf. Hitzig's third 'Vorbemerkung' to his *Commentar über Jona*). Finally, F. C. Baur, above all, has connected (Ilgen's *Zeitschrift*, 1837, p. 102 ff.) the story of Jonah with the Babylono-Assyrian myth of Oannes. On this see further, below, p. 751, note *.

(*d*) But even the *externo-historical* interpretation of the Book of Jonah has found defenders down to the most recent times. Of these we may mention first, Frz. Kaulen, representing the traditionalist Roman Catholic Church (*Einleit. in d. heil. Schrift*, 1892, § 414), then C. F. Keil (*Einleit.*, 1873, § 89), and J. Kennedy (*On the Book of Jonah*, 1895). This standpoint may perhaps be best characterized in some such way as the following:—

(*α*) Features which point to the didactic character of the story of Jonah are not sufficiently taken into account even by the most recent representatives of the *externo-historical* interpretation. To begin with, the circumstance is significant that the book closes with the presentation of a general truth (against B. Wolf, *op. cit.* p. 28). Cf., further, what has been said above (p. 746^{a}) on the interpolation of the prayer (Jon 2^{3-10}). Again, the repentance of the city of Nineveh is depicted with such grotesque features that the intention of the writer to indicate the didactic tendency of the narrative appears sufficiently clear. For, not to speak of the king sitting in ashes (3^{6b}), the very beasts are also mentioned as partaking in the fast and the mourning ($3^{7f.}$). This command that 'the cattle, the oxen, and the sheep should eat nothing and should drink no water,' and that 'man and beast' (see above, p. 745^{b}) should put on sackcloth, is not to be co-ordinated with the custom whereby at the death of Masistios the Persians cut off their own hair and that of the horses and beasts of burden (Herodot. ix. 24; Plutarch, *Aristides*, cap. 14, ἔκειραν ἐπὶ τῷ Μασιστίῳ καὶ ἵππους καὶ ἡμιόνους), or the custom mentioned by Chrysostom of harnessing horses with black trappings to a hearse. Further, Kleinert (*ad loc.*) refers to the mourning which, according to the myth (cf. Virgil, *Eclog.* v. 19 ff.), was held over the death of Daphnis. But by his reference Kleinert himself unconsciously concedes that the representation in Jon $3^{7f.}$ can be compared only with an *un*real occurrence. Moreover, the complaint of Jonah about the gourd (4^{8b}) is put into such hyperbolical language ('for me death is better than life'), that one is compelled to assume that the writer did not mean the complaint to be understood as a serious one. Again, the narrator puts in the mouth of the prophet the statement that he does 'right' (הֵיטֵב) to be angry over the loss of the gourd, 'even unto death.' But is this not to depict him as an ill-natured child who sulks over the loss of a toy? Certainly, it is not without ground that Ant. Baumgarten, in his *L'humour dans l'ancien Testament* (1896, p. 27^{1}), has adduced 'Jonah, angry even unto death at having seen the gourd perish,' as fit to be included in the category he is dealing with.

(*β*) Elements in the story, which upon the symbolical interpretation explain themselves, are wrongly *weakened* by the adherents of the *externo-historical* interpretation. For instance, the expression 'three days and three nights' (Jon 2^{1}) indicates by its twofold mention of the number 'three' that the writer has in view a small 'numerus rotundus' (cf. Ex 20^{5}, 2 K $11^{5f.}$, Ezk 5^{2}, Zec $13^{8f.}$ etc.; specially '*three* days,' Gn $40^{10.\,12}$ 42^{17}, Ex 10^{22} 19^{11}, Jos 1^{11} $2^{16.\,22}$, 2 S 24^{13}, 1 K 12^{5}, 2 K 20^{5}, Hos 6^{2}, Jon 2^{1}, Est 4^{16}, Mt 16^{21}; '*three* months' or 'years,' Ex 2^{2}, Lv 19^{23}, Is 16^{14} 20^{3}, Dn 1^{5} etc.; cf. Röckerath, *Bib. Chronol.*, 1865, 11 ff., also Rud. Hirzel, 'Rundzahlen' in *Abhand. d. sächs. Gessell. d. Wissensch.*, Leipzig, 1885). The author would not have specified in detail '*three* days and *three* nights,' if he had meant merely one day along with part of the preceding and the following day. Hence his meaning cannot have been 'a period of 37 hours' (Kaulen, *Einleit.* § 414). Such an interpretation of the text (Jon 2^{1}) can by no means be built upon 1 S $30^{12f.}$, Est 4^{16} 5^{1} (against Kleinert and v. Orelli, *ad loc.*), which is opposed also by the expression 'seven days and seven nights' of Job 2^{13}.——The representatives of the *externo-historical* interpretation appeal, further, to narratives according to which the gigantic shark *carcharias* has been known to swallow a man or even a horse whole—nay, to have vomited up a tunny fish and the body of a sailor undecomposed (Kaulen, *Einleit.* § 414). In an occurrence of this kind, which is most correctly related by Eichhorn (*Einleit.*^{4} iv. 340 f.), a '"Seehund," after taking a sailor in its jaws, immediately of its own accord threw him out again, and he was picked up alive and only slightly injured.' Here we miss the 'three days and three nights.' Or we read in the *Neue Luth. Kirchenzeitung* (1895, p. 303 f.), that the whale-hunter, James Bartley, was in February 1891 swallowed by a whale, and that on the following day, when the animal was killed, he was taken alive out of its stomach. 'He lay in a swoon in the belly of the whale. The sailors had much difficulty in restoring him to consciousness. It was not till after three months' nursing that James Bartley recovered his reason.' But, granting the truth of this story, the Jonah of the OT was longer in the belly of the fish than James Bartley, and, so far from there being any word of illness or subsequent nursing, he is said even in the fish's belly to have indited a song of thanksgiving. This point is overlooked also by B. Wolf, *op. cit.*——Here also, finally, comes in the following point. The text (Jon 4^{10}) says that the gourd 'tanquam filius noctis factus est et tanquam (cf. König, *Syntax*, § 332*k*) filius noctis (alterius) periit (so also Pesh.). The words בִּן־לַיְלָה הָיָה necessarily imply that the gourd was the product of a single night (Targ. בְּלֵילְיָא הָדֵין הֲוָא; LXX ἡ ὑπὸ νύκτα ἐγενήθη). But Kaulen (*Einleit.* § 414) denies this sense to the text. He says, 'The plant simply grew out of the earth overnight, and must otherwise have followed the ordinary course of development.' But in that case the *ḳîḳayôn* would not have a full claim to the title 'filius noctis.' Further, the verb הָיָה, as the opposite of אָבַד, must have the sense of 'factus est.' Again, the meaning of v.^{6} is that the *ḳîḳayôn* straightway in the early morning furnished a shade for Jonah; and in any case, according to v.^{7}, its existence was only for a single day. For at dawn of the following day (לַמָּחֳרָת) it was smitten to death, and, when the sun rose, Jonah was without his shade.

(γ) But even the legendary interpretation of the Book of Jonah has not been refuted by the representatives of the *externo-historical* interpretation, for they have been unable to explain away the traces of the late date at which the story of Jonah was committed to writing. Can they give an adequate explanation, *e.g.*, of why the name of the Assyrian king is not mentioned, or why he is entitled 'king of Nineveh'? Can they prove that Jonah himself could have penned the statement, 'Now Nineveh *was*,' etc., or the specification of the extent of Nineveh (3^{3})? On the last-mentioned point Kaulen (*Einleit*, § 414) says, 'The greatness of the city is stated as of three days' journey, either as meaning that a length of three days' journey is attributed to it, or that three days are considered necessary to visit it thoroughly (!). Both meanings are perfectly correct, according as the application of the name "Nineveh" is taken.' But the expression used in 3^{3b} can, according to v.^{4}, refer only to the diameter of the city (see above, p. 748^{a}). But the diameter even of the fourfold city (Gn 10^{11}) was not equal to a three days' journey. 'The length of the road from Kouyunjik to Nimroud is only some 20 English miles. Hence the prophet after *one* day's journey would have been exactly at the other end of the city' (Frd. Delitzsch, art. 'Ninive' in *PRE*^{2} x. 598).——Instead of taking into account these indications in the text, B. Wolf (*op. cit.*) lays emphasis upon the fact that, according to the Arab.-Syr. *History of the Prophet Jonah*, God announced pardon to the Ninevites by dispersing a darkness which hung over the city. Wolf (p. 32) at once infers that this must refer to the eclipse of the sun, which, according to the Assyrian Eponym list, took place in the year B.C. 763. But that later note about the dispelling of a darkness was an addition that lay ready to hand, whereby a visible token might be given of the appeasing of the Divine wrath. In any case, there is nothing about this in the biblical Book of Jonah. Hence it is an arbitrary assertion of Wolf (p. 31) that 'in the tradition of the neighbourhood the record of the eclipse was combined with the story of Jonah.' The author of the Arab.-Syr. *History of Jonah* did not mean darkness caused by an eclipse of the sun. Wolf might have recognized this from the fact that Ephraem Syrus says (*op. cit.* p. 38) that 'the darkness overhung Nineveh during the whole period of penitential mourning.'——In 2 K $8^{7ff.}$, which is cited by B. Wolf (*op. cit.* p. 13), it is recorded that Elisha was in Damascus. But it is not said that he went there as a missionary, and, besides, 2 K 8^{7} furnishes no positive basis for the reality of the details of the Book of Jonah.——Hommel (*AHT* p. 145) says, 'One sees from names like "Father is Aï (or Ja)" that the Israelitish tradition that Jonah preached Jahweh to the Ninevites is not so absurd as according to our modern critics it appears.' But, instead of abusing the critics, it would have been well if he had read the text accurately. The Book of Jonah says not a word about Jonah's preaching 'Jahweh' to the inhabitants of Nineveh. Rather is the name 'Jahweh' avoided, and it is said, 'They believed *God*' (אֱלֹהִים, 3^{5a}, so also $^{8a.\ 9a.\ 10a}$).

(δ) The NT passages involved have also frequently an incorrect meaning and an unnecessary scope attributed to them by the upholders of the *externo-historical* interpretation. *First*, it may be assumed that Jesus, in regard to the literary history of the OT, attached Himself to the notions of His contemporaries. There are certain proofs that He did so in regard to other notions that prevailed then. Not only did He speak of the rising of the sun (Mt 13^{6}, Mk 16^{2}, cf. Ja 1^{11}), not only did He call the grain of mustard seed the smallest of all seeds (Mt 13^{31} ‖ Mk 4^{31}, Lk 13^{19}), because this was then the popular opinion (Lightfoot, *Horæ* ad Mt 13^{31}), but in other matters too He had regard to the inferior knowledge or positive ignorance of His contemporaries. In particular, He paid the temple tax, ἵνα μὴ σκανδαλίζωμεν αὐτούς (Mt 17^{27}). That is to say, although as υἱὸς τοῦ βασιλέως (v.$^{25f.}$) He was free from the obligation, He paid the tax because the priests would not have recognized the right reason of His refusal to pay, and He would thus have given them an occasion of stumbling. For this reason He preferred to make a concession to their opinions. Now, as Christ, in astronomical, botanical, and other matters, placed Himself on the level of His contemporaries, so might He do in regard to the literary conceptions of His age. For the fulfilment of His religious mission, He required to oppose only such opinions as directly concerned the notion of the true kingdom of God—μετάνοια, πίστις, and δικαιοσύνη τοῦ θεοῦ.——*Secondly*, it is the great εὐσεβείας μυστήριον (1 Ti 3^{16}) of the Person of Christ that He was as much true man as true God. He advanced in wisdom (Lk $2^{40.\ 52}$), He learned (ἔμαθεν, He 5^{8}), He did not know the date of His παρουσία (Mt 24^{36}, Mk 13^{32}); cf. Ph $2^{7f.}$. These data of the NT must be taken into account, even by a believing Christian. But J. Kennedy (*op. cit.* p. 57 f.) mentions none of these actual testimonies of the NT.——*Thirdly*, we have to observe that the Evangelists differ in their report of what Jesus said about the Book of Jonah. In Mt 12^{39-41} it is recorded that the Νινευῖται μετενόησαν εἰς τὸ κήρυγμα Ἰωνᾶ. It is not said in Mt that Jonah was a σημεῖον *for the Ninevites*, a statement which occurs only in Lk 11^{30}, ἐγένετο Ἰωνᾶς τοῖς Νινευίταις σημεῖον. Matthew's account, however, must be the original one, for Luke also adds afterwards (v.^{32}) that the Ninevites repented *in consequence of the preaching* of Jonah. Matthew's report, further, corresponds exactly to the narrative in the Book of Jonah, in which all that is said is that Jonah was to *preach* (קְרָא עָלֶיהָ, 1^{1} 3^{1}), and that by his cry, 'Yet forty days,' etc. (3^{4}), he awakened the faith of the Ninevites. But in the Book of Jonah there is not a word to the effect that Jonah exercised any influence upon the inhabitants of Nineveh by the strangeness of his garb or the wonderful experiences he had passed through. All this, again, is silently passed over by J. Kennedy (pp. 27, 50 f.), and yet he assumes as beyond question that Jonah did not come to Nineveh as 'an unknown stranger,' but that 'his entombment in the body of a great fish, and his deliverance from that prison, was known to the people.' If that was so, the narrator of the history of Jonah has omitted a most essential point.* This is not the only instance in which

---

* The same judgment must be passed on the learned essay of H. Clay Trumbull, *Jonah in Nineveh* (Philadelphia, 1892). He starts rightly with the question, 'Where in the OT or the NT except in the Book of Jonah is there such a seemingly unnecessary miracle as the saving of a man's life by having him swallowed in a fish, instead, say, of having the vessel that carried him driven back by contrary winds to the place of its starting?' (p. 6). But 'it is well to ask if there is anything in the modern disclosures of Assyrian life and history that would seem to render the miraculous element in the story of Jonah more reasonable and the marvellous effect of his preaching at Nineveh more explicable and natural' (p. 7). Trumbull reminds us that 'prominent among the divinities of ancient Assyria was Dagan, a creature part man part fish' (p. 7), and 'according to Berosus, the very beginning of civilization in Chaldæa was under the direction of a personage, part man and part fish, who came up out of the sea' (p. 9). Trumbull now suggests that Jonah appeared to the Ninevites as one of the 'Avatars or incarnations' of Dagan (p. 10). But this is *ab initio* improbable, for

J. Kennedy makes alterations on the contents of the Book of Jonah. According to the latter, God said to Jonah, 'Preach the preaching that I bid thee' (3^{1b}), and this preaching was, 'Yet forty days and Nineveh is overthrown' (v.^{4b}). But Kennedy says, 'The preaching of Jonah was not a mere wild monotone, "Yet forty days and Nineveh shall be destroyed." He could find a fresh text in every street and thoroughfare.'

7. *The idea of the book.*—Whatever view one takes of the formal character and origin of the book, the ideas embodied in it are the same.

(*a*) The *main* idea is the following. Israel has been intrusted by God with the mission to call the *goyîm* also to moral amendment, and is not to look askance or be jealous if the *goyîm* manifest repentance and if God takes back the threatenings which He had pronounced against them. With this principal idea the book opens, whether one regards 'Jonah the son of Amittai' as the representative of his nation or as an individual, and the same idea is reflected also in the whole course of the narrative and in the closing words of the book. The story of Jonah thus gives expression to those lofty thoughts which are uttered also in Is 40–66. For the 'Servant of J″' (Is 42^{1}) must be the same who in 41^{8} is expressly called יִשְׂרָאֵל עַבְדִּי, and of this Servant of J″ it is said, 'I have made him for a light of the *goyîm*' ($42^{4.\,6f.}$ 49^{1-6} etc., cf. also Zec 8^{23}, Sir 24^{30} *ἐκφανῶ αὐτὰ* [the contents of the *νόμος*] *ἕως εἰς μακράν*, see above, p. 747^{a}). The Book of Jonah was meant, then, to proclaim the universality of the Divine plan of salvation, and to serve as a protest against the particularist tendencies which now and then led many members of the people of Israel to strive to narrow the boundaries of the Divine kingdom of grace. The book is thus a brilliant example of the diametrical opposite of the spirit which condemned the foreign wives (Mal 2^{11}, Ezr $9^{1ff.}$ $10^{1ff.}$, Neh $13^{23ff.}$, cf. Est 9^{13}), and exhibits a lovely dawn preparing the way for the clear day of the gospel (Jn 3^{16}, Gal 3^{28} etc.).——Similar to the above is the idea that has before now been extracted by many from the Book of Jonah. Even Ephraem Syrus discovered the primary purpose of the book to be to bring back the Ninevites to God (cf. B. Wolf, p. 36). Eichhorn (*Einleit.* iv. 351) expressed the opinion that 'the book is a proof that God has shown his concern also for the heathen by sending them direct messengers.' Essentially the same is the view of Alb. Rebattu (1875, p. 6), 'Docet, Deum non solum Judæis sed omnibus gentibus, dummodo gratia divina dignæ sint, benevolentiam suam præbere'; of Bleck (1878, § 229); of Reuss (*Geschichte*, 1890, § 408); of Renan (*Hist.* iii. 512, 'universalist school'); of Kaulen (*Einleit.*, 1892, § 412); of v. Orelli (1896); of Strack (1898). With perfect correctness also G. A. Smith (ii. 501) remarks, 'The purpose is to illustrate the mission of prophecy to the Gentiles, God's care for them, and their susceptibility to His word.'

(*b*) Others have asserted that the theme of the book is a magnifying of the compassion of God. Already we hear Philo say (*Orat. de Jona*, § 2), 'Sicut in arte medicinæ peritissimi salvare ægrotos promittentes, igne et aqua regunt eriguntque, similiter sapientissimus ille, solus salvator, deperditionem indicens ac ruinam, misericordiam construit salutis.' Cf. also § 53, 'Sicut pristina vita duram merebat prædicationem, similiter pœnitentia eorum ex adverso benignitatem.' Upon this view, the Book of Jonah would be an illustration of Jer 18^{7-10}, where the conditional character of predictions is explained. This was the view accepted also by the Midrash *Yalkut* on Jonah, which closed with the words, באותה שעה נפל על פניו ואמר הנהג עולמך במדת הרחמים דכתיב לה׳ אלק׳ הרחמים והסליחות, *i.e.* 'At that moment Jonah fell upon his face, and spoke [to God], Guide thy world by the norm of mercy, as it is written,' etc. [Dn 9^{9}]. The *Yalkut* was followed by the above-named Arab.-Syr. *History of the Prophet Jonah* (Wolf, p. 27). Also D. Kimchi in his *Commentary* reckons it as a third aim of the book, ללמד שהאל יתברך חומל על בעלי תשובה מאיזה עם שיהיו ומוחל להם וכל שכן בשהם רבים, *i.e.* 'to teach that God should be praised for sparing the penitents to whatever nation those belong, and more especially, if they are many in number.' Essentially the same is the thought of the book, as given by Keil (*Einleit.* § 89). Hitzig (*Comment.* Vorbemerkungen, No. 4) laid special emphasis on the point that the book was intended to vindicate God in the matter of unfulfilled predictions. In like manner, Kautzsch (*Abriss*, 1897, p. 120) thinks that the narrative desired to give an illustration of the Divine question (Ezk 18^{23} 33^{11}), 'Have I pleasure in the death of the sinner?' So also Nowack (*Hand-komm.*, 1897, p. 174). The authors just named thus fail to see that in the Book of Jonah what is pre-eminently depicted is the universality of the Divine plan of salvation, and the duty of Israel to be the missionary to the *goyîm.*

(*c*) It is not at all certain that, in addition to the principal idea, the author of the Book of Jonah desired to impress other sentiments on his readers. But Ephraem Syrus (see above, 7 *a*) found a second aim of the book in this, that it gave to the Israelites an example of the penitent disposition of other nations. This, in fact, was the primary tendency of the book, according to D. Kimchi (נכתבה להיות מוסר לישראל שהרי עם נכרי שאינם מישראל היה קרוב לתשובה וג׳ ועוד להודיע הפלא הגדול שעשה האל, *i.e.* 'The book was intended to serve for instruction to Israel, showing as it did how a foreign nation, not belonging to Israel, was ready for conversion, and how at the very *first* reprimand of the prophet it turned completely from its wickedness, whereas Israel, although reprimanded early and late by the prophets, did not turn from its evil ways'). Kimchi further attributed to the book the purpose 'to make known the great miracle which God wrought upon the prophet.' According to Eichhorn (*Einleit.* iv. 351), the story was intended also to teach that 'Jahweh rules in all places and over all elements.' Riehm (*Einleit.* ii. 166) says, 'The author wishes to teach that no prophet can evade the Divine commission.' He is followed by Volck (art. 'Jona' in *PRE*^{2} vii. 85). Again, Vatke (*Einleit.*, 1886, p. 688) found pre-eminent in the book the thought also that 'the honour of the prophet is not impugned if a threatening is not fulfilled, nor inspiration called in question although many predictions are not realized.' Kaulen (*Einleit.* § 412) goes the length of maintaining that Jon 1^{12} already teaches what was afterwards expressed by the high priest Caiaphas (Jn 11^{50}), *συμφέρει ἵνα εἷς ἄνθρωπος ἀποθάνῃ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ.* Finally, M. Vernes (*Précis d' histoire juive*, 1889, p. 810) contents himself with the words, 'Jonah is a moral tale rather than a prophecy.'

Jonah came to Nineveh *not* as 'a personage part man and part fish.' But the main point is the following:—If God had saved Jonah by means of a fish, in order that the inhabitants of Nineveh might take him for an incarnation of the Dagan, then God would have *strengthened* the Ninevites in their faith in the fish-god Dagan. This would have been an unjustifiable 'concession' (p. 16). Nor is it the case that God caused the star (Mt 2^{2}) to shine forth on account of the Magi. Besides, Trumbull's attempt (p. 14, note 1) to connect Jonah and Oannes is scarcely possible. In the event of such a connexion, we should rather have expected the form Ἰωνᾶ to be retained. Why should the change have been made from Jonah to יוֹחָנָן (*Johanan*, Ἰωανάν)? On the contrary, a more probable derivation of the name Oannes is that proposed by Lenormant (Oannes=*Êa-ḫan*) or by Tiele (=*Êa-vannu*). Finally, in his account of the place-name *Nebi Yunas* (p. 17), Trumbull appears to have turned his attention too little to the Jewish diaspora and the Syrian Christians (see, on Nahum and Habakkuk, König, *Einleitung*, pp. 333, 352).

iv. OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE NAME JONAH.—The name Ἰωνᾶς is found in *OT Apocrypha* not only in To 14$^{4.8}$ and 3 Mac 6^{8} (see above, p. 749^{a}), but also in 1 Es 9$^{1.}$ (B) ^{23} (see JONAS, Nos. 1. 2). In NT it occurs in Mt 12$^{39-41}$ 16^{4}, Lk 11$^{29f. 32}$; Βαριωνᾶ in Mt 16^{17}, Ἰωνᾶ in Jn 1^{43} 21^{15}, but in these last two passages the reading Ἰωάν(ν)ου has strong evidence in its favour. See JOHN (FATHER OF SIMON PETER).

LITERATURE.—(*A*) *TEXTUAL CRITICISM.*—The Targum on *Jonah*, with supralinear punctuation, may be found in Merx' *Chrestomathia Targumica*, 1897, pp. 132–139; Karl Vollers, *Das Dodekapropheton der Alexandriner*, 1880, and in *ZATW* iii. 219 ff., iv. 1 ff.; J. Z. Schuurmanns Stekhoven, *De Alexandrijnsche vertaling van het Dodekapropheton*, Leiden, 1887; M. Sebök, *Die Syr. Uebersetzung d. Zwölf kl. Proph.*, 1887; W. Wright, *Jonah in Chald., Syr., Æth., and Arab.*, 1857; F. Perles, *Analekten z. Textkritik d. AT*, 1895, p. 12.

(*B*) *LITERARY CRITICISM.*—W. Böhme, 'Die Compos. d. Buches Jona' in *ZATW*, 1887, pp. 224 ff.; the *Einleitungen in d. AT* of Eichhorn 1825 f., Augusti 1827, Hävernick 1844, de Wette-Schrader 1868, Keil 1873, Bleek-Wellhausen 1878, Vatke 1886, Riehm 1889, Reuss 1890, Kaulen 1892, Kuenen 1892, Ed. König 1893, Cornill 1896, Driver 1897, Strack 1898; Hamburger, *RE*; Riehm, *HWB* (art. 'Jona' by Gustav Baur); *PRE*^{2} vii.; L. Herzfeld, *Gesch. Isr.* i. 278; M. Vernes, *Précis d' histoire juive*, 1881, p. 810; Renan, *Hist. du peuple d' Israël*, iii. 511 ff.; [Köhler, Kittel, Seinecke do not mention the Book of Jonah in their 'Geschichten Israels'].

(*C*) *COMMENTARIES.*—Besides the ancient versions, the Rabbinical and Church expositions, cf. Rosenmüller, *Scholia in Vet. Test.* vol. x.; Frz. Kaulen, *Liber Jonæ prophetæ expositus*, 1862; M. Kalisch, *Bible Studies*, pt. ii. 'The Book of Jonah,' 1878; Keil-Delitzsch's *Bib. Comm. z. AT*, 'Die 12 kleinen Propheten^{2}'; Hitzig-Steiner, *Kgf. exeg. Hdbch. z. d. kl. Proph.*^{4}; Pusey, *Minor Prophets*, 1886; H. Martin, *The Prophet Jonah*, 1891; v. Orelli in Strack-Zöckler's *Kgf. Com.* 1896; Nowack, *Handkom. z. d.* 12 *kl. Proph.* 1897; G. A. Smith, *The Book of the Twelve Prophets* (in the 'Expositor's Bible'), vol. ii., 1898.

(*D*) *MONOGRAPHS* especially upon the purpose of the Book of Jonah.—J. Friedrichsen, *Kritische Uebersicht über die verschiedenen Ansichten über Jona*, Leipzig, 1841; H. H. Kemink, 'Overzicht van de geschiedenis der exegese van Jonas prophetie' in *Jahrb. voor wetenschaft. Theol.* ii. 209 ff.; Jäger, 'Ueber den sittlich-religiösen Zweck des Buches Jona,' in *Zeitsch. f. Theol.*, 1840, pp. 35 ff.; Riehm in *SK*, 1862, pp. 413 ff.; Alh. Rehattu, *De libri Jonæ sententia theologica*, Jena, 1875; A. E. O'Connor, *Étude sur le livre de Jonas*, Geneva, 1883; Trumbull, *Jonah in Nineveh*, Philadelphia, 1892; John Kennedy, *On the Book of Jonah*, London, 1895; Benedict Wolf, *Die Gesch. d. Proph. Jona, nach einer Karschunischen* [Arabico-Syrischen] *Handschrift, herausgegeben u. erläutert*, Berlin, 1897. This writing was discovered at the end of the 13th cent. in the library of 'Ehedjesu (Assemani, *Bibliot. Orient.* III. i. p. 285; Wolf, p. 39).

ED. KÖNIG.

JONAM (Ἰωνάμ WH, Ἰωνάν TR, AV Jonan).—An ancestor of Jesus, Lk 3^{30}.

JONAS.—**1.** (B Ἰωνᾶς, A Ἰωανάν, AV Joanan), 1 Es 9^{1} the son of Eliasib (B Νάσειβος), to whose chamber (παστοφόριον) Esdras betook himself to mourn over the foreign marriages contracted by the people. In Ezr 10^{6} called JEHOHANAN; cf. Neh 12^{23} JOHANAN. **2.** (A Ἰωνᾶς, B Ἰωανᾶς) 1 Es 9^{23}. The name corresponds to ELIEZER in the parallel list of Ezr 10^{23}. A link between the two forms is given by the Vulg. *Elionas*; אליעיני was perhaps read for אליעזר, as was done in 1 Es 9^{32} (cf. Ezr 10^{31}), the former name occurring in the previous verse of Ezr. Elionas was then corrupted to Jonas. **3.** (*Jonas*) 2 Es 1^{39}. The prophet Jonah.

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

JONATHAN (יְהוֹנָתָן, יוֹנָתָן 'J" hath given'; comp. *Theodore*) is a proper name met with from the time of the Judges downwards.

1. A Levite mentioned in a supplement to the Book of Judges (chs. 17. 18),[*] an adventurer through whom the idolatrous worship in Dan was established, and from whom the Danite priesthood was descended. The narrative in which he figures has a threefold interest, inasmuch as it throws light on the gradual conquest of Canaan, illustrates the low state of religion in the post-Mosaic age, and involves the sanctuary of Dan in discredit by tracing its institution to fraud, violence, and personal ambition.

This degenerate priest is described as the son of Gershom, the son of Manasseh (18^{30}). The Heb. text, however, indicates that the *n* in *Manasseh* is an interpolation (מְנַשֶּׁה), and that the ancestor's name, as remembered in the Jewish tradition, should be read *Moses*. From Bethlehem of Judah the youth went forth to push his way in the world (17^{7}), and first hired himself as house priest to Micah the Ephraimite for a wage of ten pieces of silver with food and raiment (v.^{10})—and this though Micah's household cult had the double taint that he made use in worship of a graven and a molten image (v.^{4}), and that these images had been procured from stolen money (v.^{2}). (Ewald, with support from LXX, thinks the money was originally got by trading). While living with Micah he was accosted by five Danite spies, who had been sent out by their straitened tribe to explore the northern states; and after consulting the oracle he promised the blessing of God upon their enterprise (18$^{1-6}$). The spies discovered at Laish a large and rich land and a people secure (v.^{10}), and on hearing their report an armed band of 600 Danites marched northward to the easy conquest (v.^{11}). Arrived at Mount Ephraim, they halted at Micah's dwelling, and, while the troop held the priest in converse, the spies entered the 'house of God' and carried off the costly furniture of the idolatrous worship (v.^{17}). It was an easy matter to induce the priest to acquiesce in the robbery, and to accompany them on their expedition. 'Go with us,' they said, 'and be to us a father and a priest: is it better for thee to be priest unto the house of one man, or to be priest unto a tribe and family in Israel'? (v.^{19}). Micah pursued the predatory band, but his following was too weak to engage them (v.^{26}). The expedition was successful; and the priestly line founded in Dan by J. continued 'until the captivity of the land' (v.^{30}). The preservation of the story is doubtless due to the fact that it lent itself to the purposes of the prophets of the Assyr. period in their opposition to the cult practised in Dan and Bethel.

2. The eldest son of Saul (1 S 14^{49}), who shared in the perils and enterprises of his father's stormy reign, and was involved in his ruin. The narratives[*] in which he figures successively celebrate his martial exploits and his romantic friendship with David, and they portray a character which combines in a unique degree the heroism of the Hebrew patriot with the spirit of Christian virtue.

As warrior-prince J. takes rank among the bravest captains of Israel's iron age. Like Saul, he was fleet of foot, and of great physical strength (2 S 1^{23}), and, as became a Benjamite, a noted archer (v.^{22}). In the familiar speech of the people, he may have been known for his grace and agility as the gazelle. (So Ewald, rendering v.^{19}, 'the gazelle is slain'). He comes upon the scene as the hero of a campaign against the Philistines, in which the bearing of Saul is little more than a foil to the bold initiative, the rapid movement, and the practical sense of his son. The Philistines, it would seem, had been in effective occupation of the Israelitish territory, and the force collected by Saul had not yet made any considerable impression, when a blow struck by J. (1 S 13^{3}),[†] to whom

---

[*] The great value and antiquity of the substance of these two chapters is generally admitted by critics. Budde's attempt to disentangle two independent narratives, of which the chief is J, is approved by Cornill, disapproved by Wellh. and Kuenen, and questioned by Driver (*LOT*^{6} p. 168).

[*] Of the two main strata in the Books of Samuel distinguished by modern critics (Budde, Driver, Cornill, etc.), the older contributes the account of J.'s military career (1 S 13. 14. 31^{2}), while the later develops the theme of the friendship (1 S 18$^{1-4}$ 19$^{1-7}$ 23$^{16-18}$). The distinctness of the two contributions would be complete if Stade is right in assigning ch. 20 (against Budde) to the later source. The Davidic elegy (2 S 1) commemorates equally the prowess and friendship of Jonathan.

[†] Probably the slaying of a tyrannical officer. The uncer-

Saul had intrusted a third of his following (1 S 13^{2}), loudly sounded the note of rebellion. The Philistines answered the challenge by invading the highlands with an overwhelming force. The Hebrews, on the other hand, did not respond to Saul's expectation of a general rising; some fled beyond Jordan, some hid themselves in caves, some were pressed into the enemy's service, and he was left to front the invasion with a band which had now dwindled from 3000 to 600 men (1 S 13^{15}). The two armies came face to face at the passage of Michmash, and took up their positions on opposite sides of a deep ravine*—the Philistines at Michmash on the north, Saul at Gibeah on the south side. Outnumbered though Saul was, his position at the top of the steep pass was impregnable; and the Philistines, after planting an outpost on their edge of the ravine, set about harrying the surrounding district (1 S 13^{17}). The dead-lock was ended by Jonathan. Accompanied by his armour-bearer (1 S 14^{1}), he hailed the Philistine garrison, and, having satisfied himself that their reply was a sign that the Omnipotent God was on his side (v.^{12}),† he scaled the opposing rocky rampart and fell upon the astonished garrison. As the Philistines fled he struck down twenty men, and where they lay in a row it seemed like a furrow drawn in an acre of land (v.^{14}, perhaps, originally, 'he went through them like a ploughshare'; on other possible interpretations see art. FURROW). The panic spread to the main camp, which, weakened as it was by the absence of the marauding bands, was unable to resist what seemed an attack in force. Seeing the enemy in confusion, and discovering in it the hand of J., Saul with his men also crossed the ravine, and soon the whole force of the Philistines was in headlong flight. That the Hebrews might reap the full fruits of the victory, Saul made proclamation that none should eat until the evening on pain of death (v.^{24}). Ignorant of the prohibition, J., as he passed in hot chase through a wooded district, refreshed himself by eating wild honey (v.^{27}); and, on learning of his father's vow, he warmly blamed the short-sighted order that had taken the vigour out of the pursuit (v.^{30}). In the evening the oracle revealed that a penalty had been incurred (v.^{37}), and the divination of the lot brought the transgression home to J. (v.^{42}). Saul declared his life forfeited, but the people intervened, and by a ransom (Ewald, by a vicarious sacrifice) saved their hero (v.^{45}).

If the military exploits of J. chiefly impressed his contemporaries, it is his friendship with David which has most strongly appealed to the imagination of the after-world. In truth, it gives an unrivalled example of the essential notes of friendship —namely, warmth of affection, disinterestedness, helpfulness, confidence, and constancy. The love of J. for David is represented as of sudden growth —its birthday the day when they first met after the slaying of Goliath (1 S $18^{1\text{-}4}$). The intensity of his love is described in the language of the strongest of passions: he loved David as his own soul (v.^{1}), passing the love of women (2 S 1^{26}); and in the parting scene it finds expression in an outburst of true Oriental vehemence: they kissed one another, and wept one with another until David exceeded (1 S 20^{41}). Of its spirit, disinterestedness is the merest negative description: not only had J. nothing personally to gain from David, but he was reminded by Saul that he had everything to lose (1 S 20^{31}). The friendly services of J. were his first intercession with Saul on David's behalf (1 S $19^{1\text{-}7}$), and his later interposition, as it appeared at the risk of his own life, by which he discovered his father's settled purpose, and conveyed to David a warning to flee from the court (1 S 20). The mutual confidences are frank and full. And, to supply the crowning grace of constancy, there is recorded a last stolen interview in a wood in the wilderness of Ziph, where J., seeking out the friend from whom he had been so long parted by his father's wrath, strengthened his hand in God (1 S 23^{16}).* The relations of J. with Saul reveal essentially the same strong and affectionate character. Of their close association in all weighty business, and of their strong mutual affection, there are various direct and indirect testimonies (1 S 19^{2} 20^{2}). Against this may be set Saul's later suspicion that J.'s friendship with David was of the nature of a conspiracy (22^{8})—the design being to set him aside in favour, either of David, or, as is much more likely, of J. himself. But while it is quite credible that David, in view of the danger to the realm of a half-insane king, may have spoken of the desirability of the father giving way to the son (Stade, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, i. 242), it is not probable that such a design was matured, or even communicated to Jonathan.

J. fell with Saul on Mount Gilboa in battle against the Philistines (1 S 31^{2}). At this time the fourth brother (1 Ch 9^{39}) was 40 years old (2 S 2^{10}), and on this basis of calculation J. may have been between 40 and 50 when he died. If 1 S $13^{1\text{-}3}$ fixes the date of the battle of Michmash, and if Saul reigned nearly 40 years thereafter (Ac 13^{21}), J. cannot have been less than 60 at death, *i.e.* 30 years older than David (2 S 5^{4}). These data are, however, precarious, and it is safer to follow the general impression of the history, and regard him as a contemporary of David. His dishonoured corpse was rescued from Beth-shan by the men of Jabesh-Gilead (1 S 31^{11}). He left a son 5 years old (see MEPHIBOSHETH).

3. A nephew of David who slew a giant of Gath (2 S 21^{21}), probably the same as the 'uncle' (?) spoken of as a wise scribe (1 Ch 27^{32}). **4.** A son of Abiathar the priest, who as a courier rendered service to David during Absalom's rebellion (2 S $15^{27\text{-}36}$ $17^{17.20}$), and brought to Adonijah the report of Solomon's accession (1 K 1^{42}). **5.** A scribe in whose house Jeremiah was imprisoned (Jer $37^{15.20}$ 38^{26}). **6.** One of the line of the high priests in the 5th cent. (Neh 12^{11})—also called **Johanan** (12^{22}), referred to in Neh as introducing a change in the keeping of the genealogical records, and in Josephus (*Ant.* XI. vii. 1) as bringing profanation on the temple by the murder of his brother Jesus within its precincts. **7.** One of David's heroes (2 S 23^{32}, 1 Ch 11^{34}). **8.** One of David's treasurers (1 Ch 27^{25}) (AV Jehonathan). **9.** A Levite (Neh 12^{35}). **10.** The son of Kareah, a Judahite captain after

---

tainty arises from the ambiguity of נְצִיב, an ambiguity which may be reproduced in English by saying that he destroyed a post, *i.e.* either a garrison, or a pillar erected in token of the Philistine supremacy (Gn 19^{26}), or an official of some kind. The last interpretation is supported by 1 K 4^{19}.

* The situation may be made clearer by an extract from Robinson, *Bibl. Researches*², i. 441 f. 'We left Jeba' (Gibeah) for Mŭkhmâs. The descent into the valley was longer and steeper than any of the preceding. The path led down obliquely, and we reached the bottom in half an hour. . . . In the valley (Wady es-Suweinit), just at the left of where we crossed, are two hills of a conical, or rather a spherical, form, having steep rocky sides with small Wadys running up behind each, so as almost to isolate them. These would seem to be the two rocks mentioned in connexion with J.'s adventure. . . . Crossing the valley obliquely, and ascending with difficulty for 15 minutes we came upon the slope on which Mŭkhmâs stands.'

† The sign agreed on was that he should attack only if the Philistines invited him to come up. This, it has been pointed out, was not arbitrary, as their refusing to come down indicated want of courage. There is some force in Stade's objection to this feature, that to hail the garrison was to put them on their guard, and thus endanger the chance of success.

* The passages bearing on the friendship have been somewhat roughly handled by modern critics. Ch. 20, it is alleged, is impossible after ch. $19^{1\text{-}7}$, the story of the parting contains contradictory elements (the signal and the interview), the last interview is unhistorical, etc. In any case, David himself vouches for the main features.

the fall of Jerus. (Jer 40^{8}). **11.** Father of Ebed (Ezr 8^{6}). **12.** One of those who opposed (RV) or assisted (AV) Ezra in the matter of the foreign marriages (Ezr 10^{15}). **13.** A priest (Neh 12^{14}). **14.** Jonathan the Maccabee. See MACCABEES.

W. P. PATERSON.

JONATH ELEM REHOKIM.—See PSALMS.

JOPPA (יָפוֹ, *i.e.* *Yāphō*,* in Ezr 3^{7} יָפוֹא; Ἰόππη, Ιόπη; Arabic *Yâfa*; modern name *Jaffa*).—The town is built on a whale-back rise of rocky ground, made conspicuous by its being the only eminence of the kind along the level sandy beach which extends in a straight line from Cæsarea to Gaza. To vessels approaching from the north or south, the crest of Jaffa is the first visible object on the coast-line. On nearer approach the appearance of the town is exceedingly picturesque, the closely clustered houses, with their numerous arches and walls of blue, pink, white, and yellow ochre, rising above each other, and all sparkling in the brilliant sunlight. In the low-lying ground, part of which must have once been a marsh, immediately behind the town there are extensive irrigated gardens of orange, apricot, and peach trees, the level mass of deep green foliage being relieved by the tall stems of graceful palm trees. Beyond this, the plain of Sharon, with its rich fields of wheat and barley, stretches away to where the outline of the Judæan hills forms the background of the picture.

The whole eventful history of Joppa is explained by its connexion with the influential city of Jerusalem. Geographically, Joppa was the seaport of Jerusalem; but the distance was too great, and the line of communication too often broken, for the maintenance of established ownership. Politically, it was frequently severed altogether from Judæa; and from the religious point of view the produce of Joppa in corn, wine, and oil was considered to be contaminated by its contact with heathenism, and ceremonially unfit for use at the sacred festivals.

Joppa has owed its existence and importance to the fact that it is the only place on the coast that can offer shelter to shipping between Egypt and Mount Carmel. The harbour is formed by a low ledge of rock running out at a sharp angle in a N.W. direction from the southern end of the town. The space is very limited and the water shallow, but in moderate weather Oriental craft, usually about the size of a modern herring boat, can lie at anchor and discharge cargo near the shore. The harbour is entered either by a narrow opening in the ledge or by rounding the point; but when the sea is disturbed by the prevalent N.W. wind the gap can only be rushed on the crest of a high wave, and to round the point brings a vessel broadside-on close to the edge of the surf.

Mythology points to the rock on the southern side of the gap as the spot where Andromeda was chained when Perseus slew the sea monster and delivered the maiden. Josephus, Pliny, Strabo, Jerome, and some of the travellers in the time of the Crusades, speak of the chains still remaining visible in the rock, the earlier writers also testifying to the size of the carcase that lay or was reported to have lain there.†

The antiquity of Joppa is attested by its mention as *Ye-pu* on the Karnak lists among the towns of Palestine conquered by Thothmes III. It is also referred to in the journey of the Egyptian *mohar* (see Sayce, *HCM* 347). It appears as *Ja-ap-pu-u* in Sennacherib's annal-inscription (Schrader, KAT^{2} 172 [COT^{2} i. 160 f.]). In the distribution of the land under Joshua it belonged to the inheritance of the tribe of Dan (Jos 19^{46}).

It is referred to in the Bible as the place where the timber from Lebanon was beached for transport to Jerusalem (2 Ch 2^{16}, Ezr 3^{7}). Here Jonah embarked when seeking in vain to escape from the commandment to go to Nineveh (Jon 1^{3}). In Joppa, Dorcas laboured among the poor and was raised from the dead (Ac 9^{36-42}). Here St. Peter, on the roof of Simon's house, was taught that expansion of the meaning of salvation which has ever since divided the synagogue and the Christian Church (Ac 10^{1-23}). Joppa was a constant sufferer during the famous wars of the Jews with Syria, Egypt, and Rome.

In the days of Judas Maccabæus its Jewish inhabitants were invited into boats by the people of the town to join in holiday enjoyment, and about 200 of them were drowned. This treachery was speedily avenged by Judas, who attacked the harbour by night and burned the boats (2 Mac 12^{3-7}). About B.C. 148 Joppa was captured by Jonathan, brother of Judas (1 Mac $10^{75.76}$), and about six years after it was again captured by Simon, the third of the heroic brothers, who put a garrison into it to ensure its fidelity (1 Mac $12^{33.34}$). Shortly afterwards the same leader had once more to occupy it by a force under his officer Jonathan, son of Absalom (1 Mac 13^{11}). Pompey, after capturing Jerusalem in the time of Aristobulus and Hyrcanus (B.C. 63), restored Joppa and joined it to Syria (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. iv. 4). Sixteen years later it was given back to the Jews, being, however, exempted from the tax to Jerusalem, except what was charged on its agricultural produce and the exports to other towns on the coast (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. x. 6).

One of the principal disasters inflicted on the town was when Cestius Gallus took it and destroyed its Jewish inhabitants to the number of 8400 (Jos. *BJ* II. xviii. 10). During the Jewish wars with the Romans Joppa became a place of retreat for the lawless and those who had been made desperate by failure and suffering and the loss of relatives and property. These turned to the sea as a means of livelihood, and by their piratical outrages endangered all commerce on the Syrian coast. The town was attacked and captured (A.D. 68) by Vespasian on his way to Jerusalem. The inhabitants who had taken refuge in their ships and boats were driven on the rocks by a northerly gale, and about 4200 of them were drowned or slain by the sword (Jos. *BJ* III. ix. 2, 3).

During the time of Christ, Joppa was one of the eleven toparchies of which Jerusalem was the chief.

Since the time of the Romans similar vicissitudes have marked the history of this unfortunate seaport. It has often changed hands, and each change of ownership has been a time of destruction and renewal. It has belonged to Saracens, Crusaders, and the Sultans of Egypt; it was conquered and severely treated by Napoleon, and has finally found rest under the Turkish Government.

The modern town of *Jaffa* has about 8000 inhabitants—Moslems, Christians, and Jews. Its main street leading from the harbour is steep, narrow, crooked, dark, and dirty, with lanes still darker and dirtier leading off among the huddle of houses on each side. As might be expected in such a seaport, many types and nationalities meet and mingle together. Europeans, Egyptians, Soudanese, Northern Syrians, fellaḥîn of Palestine, and Bedawîn of the desert, are seen lounging about or noisily pushing their way among the baggage animals that throng the narrow street. The thoroughfare from the harbour meets a broad sandy road skirting the landward side of the town and running parallel to the coast-line. It was fitting that a town with such a history of changes should be the starting-point of the first railway in Palestine, by which it is now in daily communication with Jerusalem.

---

* Both AV and RV have everywhere *Joppa*, except in Jos 19^{46} where AV has *Japho*.

† The incident at Joppa finds a parallel at Beyrout, where for a similar purpose and on similar rocks a maiden is said to have been exposed as a sacrifice, and to have been rescued by St. George. This gives its name to the bay, and forms the beautiful design on the English sovereign. While the body of the slain dragon has been lost sight of, faith in the living *beast of the sea* has remained undisturbed by the lapse of centuries. A few years ago a Belgian steamer reaching Beyrout at midnight blew her siren whistle to inform the agents of her arrival. The unprecedented shriek startled the town out of sleep, and next day in the bazaars the chief topic of conversation was the visit of the sea monster during the previous night.

LITERATURE.—The books of Maccabees (as above) and Josephus (*passim*); Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 79-83; Buhl, *GAP* 73 f., 82, 86, 125, 187; Thomson, *Land and Book*, i. 5 ff. etc.; W. Max Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, 159; Tristram, *Bible Places*, 70 ff.; Bezold, *Tel el-Amarna Tablets in Brit. Mus.* 146; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 121, 136 ff.; Guérin, *Judée*, i. 1 ff.; *PEF Mem.* ii. 254 ff., 275 ff.; Clermont-Ganneau, *Mission en Pal. et en Phénicie.*

G. M. MACKIE.

JOPPA, SEA OF (אֶל־יָם יָפוֹא, πρὸς θάλασσαν Ἰόππης, *ad mare Joppe*, Ezr 3^{7}), the portion of the Mediter. near the harbour of Joppa (cf. Ryssel, *ad loc.*). But RV 'to the sea, unto Joppa,' cf 2 Ch 2^{16} AV.

JORAH (יוֹרָה, cf. יוֹרֶה 'autumn rain,' Οὐρά,' Ιωρά).—The name of a family which returned from exile under Zerubbabel, Ezr 2^{18}. In Neh 7^{24} the name appears as Hariph, which is probably the true form. 1 Es 5^{16} reads Arsiphurith (Ἀρσειφουρείθ B, Ἀρσιφρουρείθ A), which is probably due to the conflation of a corrupt reading and the correction; read Ἀρειφουρείθ = חרפורת. Cf. E. Meyer, *Entstehung d. Judenthums*, p. 144. See GENEALOGY.

H. A. WHITE.

JORAI (יוֹרַי 'whom J″ teacheth').—A Gadite chief, 1 Ch 5^{13}. See GENEALOGY.

JORAM.—**1.** (יוֹרָם) son of Toi, 2 S 8^{10}, prob. a mistake for Hadoram, the form in 1 Ch 18^{10}. **2.** (יֹרָם) a Levite, 1 Ch 26^{25}. **3.** (Ἰωράμ) 1 Es 1^{9}= JOZABAD, 2 Ch 35^{9}. **4. 5.** See JEHORAM, Nos. 1 and 2.

JORDAN, יַרְדֵּן (*Yardēn*), in prose always with the definite article הַיַּרְדֵּן (as an appellative), so called from descending (יָרַד). The two exceptions to the use of the article are Ps 42^{6} and Job 40^{23}. In the latter instance this arises from the name being used as a representation of any violent rush of water. (See Davidson and Dillm. *ad loc.*). The present Arabic name of the Jordan is *esh-Sherî'ah*, 'the watering-place,' to which the epithet *el-Kebîr*, 'the great,' is sometimes annexed to distinguish it from *esh-Sherî'at el-Mandhûr* or *Jarmûk*, the ancient Hieromax, which joins it from the east about two hours below the Lake of Tiberias. The common name of the great valley through which it thus flows, below the Lake of Tiberias, is *el-Ghôr*, signifying a depressed tract or plain, usually between two mountains; and the same name continues to be applied to the valley for the whole length of the Dead Sea, and for some distance beyond; it thus corresponds to the *Aulon* of Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomasticon*; Robinson, *BRP*² i. p. 537) and 'the Arabah' of OT. The form *el-Urdun* was used among early Arabic writers (Abulfeda, *Tab. Syr.*; Edrisi, ed. Jaubert; Schulten's 'Index in Vit. Saladin,' *F. Jordanes*; Reland, *Palest.*) before the time of the Crusades.

It is scarcely ever called the 'river' or 'brook' or any other name than its own, 'the Jordan' (Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, 284). Josephus always calls it the Jordan, except once when he calls it 'the river,' without any distinctive name, when describing the borders of Issachar (*Ant.* V. i. 22).

The derivation of the name *Jordan* from *Jor* and *Dan* has been traced back as far as Jerome (*Onomasticon*, *s.v.* 'Dan'), who says (*Comm. in* Mt 16^{13}): 'Jordanes oritur ad radices Libani; et habet duos fontes, unum nomine Jor, et alterum Dan; qui simul mixti Jordanis nomen efficiunt.' This was copied by Arculf, 8; Willibald, 16; Saewulf, 47; Will. of Tyre, 13, 18; Brocardus, c. 3, p. 172; Marinus Sanutus on his map; Andrichomius, p. 109; John of Würzburg, 20. It is also current among the Christians of the country to the present day. There is no basis, however, for this etymology, for the name Jordan is merely the Greek form (Ἰορδάνης) for the Hebrew *Yardēn*, which has no relation to Dan. The Arabs near *Tell el-Ḳâḍi* (Dan) call it there *ed-Dan* or *el-Leddân* (*BRP*² iii. 392). Jerome (*Onomast. s.v.* 'Dan') considers Jor equivalent to river; but G. Williams points out that יְאֹר is the Hebrew * form of 'river,' while the proper name (Jordan) is יַרְדֵּן, and never יְאֹרְדַּן, as the proposed etymology would require.

Up to the present century most pilgrims and travellers had visited the valley of the Jordan only at Jericho, hence we had no account of its features in the upper portions. Antoninus Martyr at the close of the 6th cent., and St. Willibald in the 8th, passed down through the whole length of the valley from Tiberias to Jericho; and in 1100 king Baldwin I. accompanied a train of pilgrims from Jericho to Tiberias (Fulcher Carnot); but there is nothing more than a mere notice of these journeys. During the present century, Seetzen, Burckhardt, Irby and Mangles, Banks and Buckingham, Thomson, Porter, Molyneux, Lynch, J. Macgregor, Guérin, Liévin, Robinson, have visited and described portions of the Jordan; and in later years the officers of the Palestine Exploration Fund have thoroughly examined, surveyed, and described it (*PEFSt*, 1869-97, *SWP*).

GEOLOGICAL FEATURES.—The Jordan flows from north to south in a portion of a deep fissure or crevasse on the surface of the earth, nearly parallel to the eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea, extending from the foot of the Taurus Mountains, past Antioch, up the valley of the Orontes, through Cœle-Syria, between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, down the valley of the Jordan and Salt Sea, and through the *Wâdy el-Arab* to the Gulf of *'Aḳabah*, from lat. 38° N. to 30° N. This fissure appears as the most remarkable on the face of the earth, owing to its being cut off from the sea, in so dry a climate that the excessive evaporation keeps the surface of water in the Salt Sea about 1300 ft. below the level of the Mediterranean and Red Sea. It was suggested, probably first by Burckhardt, that the river Jordan originally flowed down the whole course of the depression from the Lebanon to the Gulf of 'Aḳabah; but this view has been rejected with reason by Lartet and subsequently by Hull, and the following is the theory of the formation of the valley, deduced from the observations and memoirs of the above learned geologists.

Professor Hull, in his examination of the *Wâdy el-Arâbah* over a distance of 120 miles from north to south, found that it had been hollowed out along the line of a main 'fault' ranging from the eastern shore of the Salt Sea to that of the Gulf of 'Aḳabah. He found numerous parallel and branch 'faults' along the Arabah Valley, but there was one main 'fault' running along the base of the Edomite mountains, to which the others are of secondary importance. This is called by him the 'Great Jordan Valley Fault.' Lartet, Tristram, and Wilson had already shown that in the Jordan Valley and *Ghôr* there was the evidence of a large

---

* יְאֹר is really an Egyptian loan-word (see *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*), and is the special designation in OT of the Nile.

'fault' corresponding to the line of this remarkable depression, and Hull considers that the features he observed in the *Arâbah* Valley are continuous with those of the Jordan. He considers that in this part of the world the Miocene period was one of elevation, disturbance, and denudation of strata, not of accumulation, the Miocene period not being represented by any strata throughout the district traversed by his expedition. To this epoch he refers the emergence of the whole of the Palestine, and the greater part of the Sinaitic, area from the sea, in which the cretaceo-nummulitic limestone formations were deposited. To this epoch also he considers the 'faulting' and flexuring of the strata to be chiefly referable, and notably the formation of the great Jordanic line of 'fault,' with its branches and accompanying flexures in the strata, which are very remarkable along the western side of the *Ghôr*. These phenomena were accompanied and followed by extensive denudation, and the production of many of the principal features of the region referred to.

From that epoch down to the present day these physical features appear to have changed in a comparatively small degree, as the area referred to slowly rose above from the waters of the Miocene and Pliocene oceans. For a limited time there would have necessarily been a connexion between the waters of this great gulf or valley, 200 miles in length and 10 in breadth, and the southern 'Aḳabah sea through the valley of 'Aḳabah; but, from the time that the outer waters were dissevered from those of the Jordan-Arabah lake by the uprise of the land, there is no evidence that there was any subsequent connexion by means of a stream flowing down from the north into the Gulf of 'Aḳabah. All indications appear to be against this. It would appear that, at a period coming down probably to the prehistoric, a chain of fresh-water lakes existed among the tortuous valleys and hollows of the Sinaitic peninsula. There are still fresh-water shells in the wadis *Feiran* and *es-Sheikh*, and these belong to a period when the contiguous oceans were about 200 ft. higher over the land than at present, indicating that during this later period there has been a further rise of about 200 ft. The evidence of this rise was observed also in the Gulf of 'Aḳabah. From the epoch during the Miocene period when the inland sea was dissevered from the waters of the adjoining oceans, its level would entirely depend upon the amount of rain water from rivers which poured into it, balanced against the amount abstracted by evaporation. Lartet has computed that at the present day at least 6,500,000 tons of water are evaporated daily from the Salt Sea.

The occurrence of terraces of marl, gravel, and silt, through which the ravines of existing streams have been cut at an elevation of about 100 ft. above the present level of the Mediterranean, show that the level of the inland sea at one time stood for a period without change about 1400 ft. higher than it does at present; but this can have had no connexion with the chain of lakes about Sinai, which extended to prehistoric times, as this inland sea was dissevered to the south during a remote Miocene epoch; and though there may have been a connexion for some time by way of the Mediterranean through the plain of Esdraelon, yet, as the land continued to rise, the inland sea would eventually have become entirely isolated. The lowering of the water in the inland sea from evaporation is supposed to have taken place at the commencement of the Pliocene period, so that it reached somewhere about the present level long before the prehistoric times, and there cannot have been any change in the course and character of the Jordan during historic or prehistoric times.

At the present time the level of the Salt Sea is about 1300 ft. below the Mediterranean Sea, the lower part of the floor of the Salt Sea again 1300 ft. below its surface level, and the watershed of *Wâdy Arâbah* 2000 ft. above the SALT SEA, and 700 ft. above the Mediterranean Sea. The plain of Esdraelon at the watershed is about 250 ft. above the level of the Mediterranean, so that on this side there may have been communication with the ocean to a much later period than on the south side; but this point does not seem to have been raised hitherto. Hull brings forward abundant evidence of a Pluvial period having existed through the Pliocene and post-Pliocene (or Glacial) period down to recent times. As it was known from the observations of Hooker, Tristram, and others that perennial snow and glaciers existed in the Lebanon during the Glacial epoch, it is assumed by Hull that the adjoining districts to the south of the Lebanon must have had at that epoch a climate approaching to that of the British Isles at the present day, and that in a region of which many parts were over 2000 ft. above the sea-line there must have been abundant rainfall. Even when the snows and glaciers of the Lebanon had disappeared, the effects of the colder climate which was passing away must have remained for some time, the vegetation must have been more luxuriant down to within the epoch of human habitation. It is considered that the outburst of volcanic phenomena commenced to occur when the waters of the inland sea stretched as far north as the Lake *Hûleh*, that is to say, at the time they began to be lowered by evaporation, shortly after they were dissevered from the ocean, and that the period of the volcanoes of the *Jaulân* and *Haurân* ranged through the Pliocene and post-Pliocene to the recent, when concurrently with the drying up of the waters of the inland sea the volcanic action became extinct.

It would seem, then, that during the Glacial epoch Palestine and Syria presented an aspect very different from the present. The Lebanon throughout the year was snow-clad on its higher region, while glaciers descended into some of its valleys. The region of the Haurân was the scene of some extensive volcanoes; while the district around, and the Jordan Valley itself, was invaded by floods of lava. A great inland sea, occupying the Jordan Valley, stretched from Lake *Hûleh* on the north to a southern margin near the base of *Samrat Feddân* in the *Wâdy el-Arâbah* of the present day, while numerous arms and bays stretched into the glens and valleys of Palestine and Moab on either side. Under such climatic circumstances, we may feel assured, a luxuriant vegetation decked with verdure the hills and vales to an extent far beyond that of the present; and amongst the trees, as Hooker has shown, the cedar may have spread far and wide. As will be shown hereafter, Tristram supposes that the inland sea, now represented by the Jordan Valley, was one of a chain of fresh-water lakes stretching down to Southern Africa. This is a very interesting subject in relation to the practical question as to the amount of salts now deposited in the Salt Sea, and to what extent an increased rainfall would be required to render the Salt Sea habitable by fish, as contemplated in the prophecies of Ezekiel, Zechariah, Joel, and other prophets.

PHYSICAL FEATURES.—The Jordan Valley may be divided into three portions—(*a*) The Upper Jordan, running through Cœle-Syria to Lake Hûleh. (*b*) From L. Hûleh to L. Tiberias. (*c*) From L. Tiberias to the Salt Sea.

(*a*) The Upper Jordan, although always accounted to have its sources at *Bâniâs* and Dan, has its most distant prominent source in the great fountain below *Hâsbeiya* (1700 ft.), running down into the Wady et-Teim, and becoming the turbid torrent of *Nahr Hasbâny*, receiving on its way numberless springs from the Anti-Lebanon and Hermon, and particularly the stream from *Sheb'a*, the great fountain of *Suraiyît*, at the foot of Hermon and *el-Ghujar*. After rushing through a deep gorge it has worn for itself in the basalt, it penetrates the marsh of *Hûleh* for about 5 miles, where it is joined by the united streams of the *Nahr Leddân* from *Tell el-Ḳâdi* (which has been joined by the *Wâdy Laweizâny*) and the *Nahr Bâniâs*. Of these main branches of the Jordan, the *Nahr Hasbâny* is the longest by 40 miles, the *Nahr Leddân* is the largest, and the *Nahr Bâniâs* is the most beautiful. A considerable stream comes down from the plain of Ijon, the contributions of the *Nahr Bareighit*, west of *'Abel*. Several large fountains also burst out from the hills to the west side of the marsh, and send their streams to the river or lake (*Land and Book*, ii. 320). At *Ghujar* the old road from Damascus through *Bâniâs* to the west crosses the *Hasbâny* by a bridge of three arches nearly west of *Tell el-Ḳâdi*. From the foot of the mound at *Tell el-Ḳâdi* (Dan or Laish) gushes out one of the largest fountains in Palestine (505 ft.), called the *Nahr Leddân*, which, joining the *Nahr Bâniâs* and the *Hasbâny*, forms the Jordan. Josephus speaks of the fountains of the lesser Jordan at Dan (*Ant.* I. x. 1 ; V. iii. 1 ; VIII. viii. 4). Speaking of Semechonitis (*Hûleh*), he says: 'Its marshes reach as far as the place Daphne, which, in other respects, is a delicious place, and hath such fountains as supply water to what is called "Little Jordan," under the temple of the golden calf, when it is sent into Great Jordan' (*BJ* IV. i. 1), thus clearly identifying Daphne with Dan.

The name *Bâniâs* is the Arab pronunciation of the ancient name Paneas, a city (Cæsarea Philippi) named from the grotto Panium, which seems to have been consecrated to the god Pan, though there is no historical mention of this deity (*BRP*^{2} iii. 406) at this spot. Josephus states (*Ant.* XV. x. 3 ; *BJ* I. xxi. 3) that Herod erected to Augustus Cæsar a beautiful temple of white marble near the place called Panium. 'This is a fine cave in a mountain, under which there is a great cavity in the earth ; and the cave is abrupt and very deep, and full of still water. On it hangs a vast mountain, and under the cavern rise the springs of the Jordan.' There are Greek inscriptions in the votive niches here, one of which contains the designation of the person who consecrated it as the 'priest of Pan,' implying a temple of that god. The spot is now called by the people *Mughârat Bâniâs*, or *Mughârat er-Râs en-Neba*. From beneath and through the mass of rocks and stones which fill up and hide the entrance of the cavern, gushes forth the *Nahr Bâniâs*, a full and rushing river, twice as large as the stream from the fountain near *Hâsbeiya*. The water is of the purest and finest quality, limpid, bright, and sparkling. Gathering to itself the other streams just below the village, and yet itself distributing its waters over the terrace and portions of the western plain for irrigation, it rushes onward in a ravine of its own, with swift course, towards the south-west, down to the lower plain, and so to the lower *Hûleh*. It is the most beautiful of all the streams of the Jordan (*BRP*^{2} iii. 407). It may be assumed that this great fountain of the Jordan had some historical associations before Herod built the temple there, and it has been suggested (*BRP*^{2} iii. 409) that it is 'Baal-gad in the valley of Lebanon under Mount Hermon (Jos 11^{17} 12^{7}), and that the shrine of the Phœnician Baal ultimately gave place to the Grecian Pan' (but see Dillmann on Jos 11^{17}).

The little *Birket er-Râm* (the ancient lake Phiala), which Josephus (*BJ* III. x. 7) states is the real origin of the fountain of Jordan, and is carried to Panium by an underground channel, is situated in a bowl or crater. It is supplied by surface drainage, and has no outlet; it is on the right of the road leading from Cæsarea to Trachonitis, and its waters are dark, stagnant, and slimy.

The fountain of *Bâniâs* rises at an altitude of 1100 ft. (600 ft. above that of Dan). It flows as a torrent until it joins the *Leddân*, 4½ miles below *Tell el-Ḳâdi*, and half a mile farther down union is effected with the *Nahr Hasbâny*.

The morass above the lake of *Hûleh* was explored thoroughly by J. Macgregor (*Rob Roy on the Jordan*) in 1869. Starting from *Absîs*, at the junction of the *Leddân* and *Bâniâs*, in his canoe, he passed the junction with the *Hasbâny* at *Tell Sheik Yusûf*. He reached a village about 2 miles farther to south. He estimated the river from 30 to 100 ft. wide, with steep banks of reddish clay, rising in places to 20 ft. The waters in flood were 7 ft. deep—turbid, and brown in colour. Beyond this he struggled with his canoe for another mile, only to get firmly entangled in a maze of bushes 8 ft. high, thick-set stumps, and reeds. He was obliged to return and have his canoe carried N.W. along the edge of the morass to the western side of the valley, and on to the *'Ain Melâhah*, on the N.W. side of the lake. Here he again launched his canoe, and, exploring the Lake *Hûleh*, found the mouth of the Jordan about midway across the northern end of the lake. He explored it to the north through a channel in the floating papyrus reeds for about 4 miles, when he came to a barrier of floating jungle, which effectually stopped further progress. It would appear that all the lower portion of the morass for 4 miles is composed of this papyrus, and it is probably encroaching on Lake Hûleh. The waters of *Hûleh* were found to be considerably less in extent than the morass, and to measure about 3 miles from east to west, and 4 miles from north to south. The surface is about 7 ft. above the Mediterranean. From the southern end of *Hûleh* to the northern end of the Lake of Tiberias is about 10 miles, and the fall is 689 ft.—a rapid descent of about 70 ft. a mile over a rocky bed.

(*b*) The Jordan on issuing from *Hûleh* is about 60 ft. broad and 15 ft. deep. About 2 miles down is the *Jisr Benat Yâḳob*, the first bridge over the complete Jordan, built of black basalt and with three arches, over which the great caravan route goes from *Akka* to Damascus. It appears to be of later date than the Crusading period. The canoe was unable to follow this portion of the Jordan, as it partakes of the nature of a torrent, and flows through a rocky glen, shut in by hills, forcing its turbid waters far into the Lake Tiberias, without apparently commingling them with those of the lake for some considerable distance. This has given rise to the legend that the river Jordan passes through the lake intact. It affects the level of the lake somewhat, which stands in the wet season about 6 in. higher than in the dry season.

(*c*) *The Ghôr or lower Jordan Valley.*—The Jordan between L. Tiberias and the Salt Sea lies in a deep depression, sloping nearly uniformly from north to south, at about 9 ft. to 1 mile. On either side are the mountains of Western and Eastern Palestine, rising to heights of over 3000 to 4000 ft. (2000 to 3000 ft. above the Mediterranean), and separated by the comparatively flat Jordan Valley, called the *Ghôr* by the Arabs, the *Arabah* of the Hebrews, *Aulon* of the Greeks, which is 3 miles wide at L. Tiberias, 12 to 16 miles wide at the Salt Sea, contracting to a width of 2 miles south of the plain of *Beisan*. The *Ghôr* has a very gentle slope on either side down to the lower plain (the *Zôr*), in which the Jordan runs, of about five degrees.

The banks of the *Ghôr* leading down into the *Zôr* are not regular, but are fretted away by the fervid sun, the strong winds, and occasional heavy rains in January and February. They are very ragged, and during the rainy season are covered with lovely flowers and verdure, but during most seasons of the year are a scene of utter desolation. Towards the lower portion of the Jordan Valley, where the streams (*en-Nweimeh*, *Faseil*, *el-'Aujeh*, *Kelt*, and others) on the west run into the *Zôr*, the plain of the *Ghôr* is broken up into a series of valleys, the original plain being left in outline here and there isolated and forlorn. These broken valleys have very steep sides, are about 100 to 200 ft. deep, and at first sight it seems impossible that the small streams which meander through them—at the best not 3 ft. deep or 6 ft. wide—can have scooped out these banks over 150 ft. in height, whose irregularities often extend more than a mile from the stream itself. From the ruins which exist about the plain, it is obvious that this work of denudation has proceeded exceedingly slowly, the features having scarcely altered during the last 2000 years. A heavier rainfall in early days would, however, readily account for a more rapid degree of change.

The plains of the Jordan are sterile only at the southern end for a few miles north of the Salt Sea over that depressed portion, which probably in early days, when there was a greater rainfall, was covered by the Salt Sea. The soil is not impregnated with salt at a height of 200 ft. above the level of the Salt Sea, and will bear plentifully provided there is any rainfall, so much so that during the rainy season the Jordan plains for miles, as far as the eye can reach, are vast meadows, abounding in grasses and flowers. Those who see the country after the sun has burned up the pasturage may well conceive the idea that nothing will grow there, for when the hot winds spring up in May the grasses are broken up and blown away, and there is little left but a few dried stumps in a howling wilderness. During January and February and part of March, flocks are brought down from the mountains to feed on the rich pasturage on the plains of Jordan, and browse within a mile of the river. In February 1868 between Jericho and *Jisr Damieh* the country was green everywhere, the weather was chilly, flowers of every hue lay in the path, and the lower Jordan plain or *Zôr* was covered with an early crop of barley, with here and there branches of the overflowing Jordan meandering through it. The plain of *Beisan* at this time was abundantly watered and covered with verdure.

In the plain of *Beisan* three distinct levels can be seen—the *Zôr*, the *Ghôr*, and an upper plain which is about 300 ft. above the *Ghôr* at Beisan. Here the *Ghôr* is cultivated with corn and indigo, watercourses and canals irrigate the crops and supply the mills with water.

At Beisan the Jordan Valley is 8 miles wide, but immediately to the north it is only 1¼ miles wide, and to the south it contracts again to about 2 miles, the hills on the west closing right down to the river. The *Ghôr* varies in width until at Jericho it is about 16 miles across, the foot of the hills being about 400 to 500 ft. above the Salt Sea.

It is quite evident from the number of aqueducts in all directions that the Jordan Valley about Jericho was once very highly cultivated, and that with a little care and a good government it might again be brought under cultivation, and its malarious and pestilential marshes removed.

The Jordan Valley on the eastern side, between the *Zerḳa* and *Nimrin*, is only barren because there are no streams or fountains led out to water it. North of the *Zerḳa*, where streams are numerous the valley is clothed with wheat fields and vegetation. South of the *Zerḳa* there are traces of ancient canals, showing that that portion of the valley between the *Zerḳa* and the road leading from *es-Salṭ* to *Nablûs* was formerly under cultivation, though it is now a desert. Perhaps more than half the Jordan Valley on the east is now reached by irrigation canals, and in those sections not occupied by wheat fields the thistles and weeds are rank, and form such dense jungles that it is almost impossible to get through them. 'Every square mile not now under irrigation could be watered from the Jordan, and the expense for a dam and canals would be small compared with the large number of square miles of valuable land that would be made productive . . . we should have 180 square miles of land as fertile as any prairie, and which at 20 to 25 bushels of wheat per acre would produce between 2 and 3 million bushels of wheat. Give these plains and deserts water, and you can transform them into gardens' (*PEFSt*, 1877, 153). The portion of the valley between the *Zerḳa* and the *Mandhôr* in February and March resembles New England (U.S.) in the month of June. The soil is then burdened with its own productions. By the last of May the weeds, thistles, and wild mustard have formed an almost impenetrable jungle.

From *Wâdy Nimrîn* to the Salt Sea, a distance of 15 miles, lies the great Shittim plain, watered by three copious streams, which make it a rich and beautiful oasis. This position is assigned by some authorities for the site of the cities of the Plain.

The Zôr or depressed plain through which the Jordan flows.—The Jordan issues from the Lake Tiberias gently for a mile and then becomes more rapid; although it has a nearly uniform descent throughout its course, yet it is found to have a great number of small rapids, and its descent is not quite so great about the middle. It has through many ages worked out a passage through the floor-bed of the valley or *Ghôr* (Aulon), which passage is called by the Arabs the *Zôr*. The *Zôr* varies from ¼ mile to 2 miles in width, and is a depressed plain about 20 ft. below the *Ghôr* at the northern end, and 200 ft. below towards the Salt Sea. It appears to have been formed by the changing of the river bed from side to side, breaking down the banks of the *Ghôr* and carrying the silt into the Salt Sea. The Jordan itself varies in width from 30 to 70 yards. The level of the surface of the *Zôr* is uniform with the banks of the Jordan, so that in January and February, when the waters overflow the banks, the *Zôr* is covered, and the total width of river in flood is ½ to 2 miles. The soil is for the most part very rich (except towards the southern end, where it is full of salts), and is highly cultivated, bearing heavy barley crops and vegetables.

The *Zôr* above the *Jisr Mujâmia* is not continuous; below the bridge the *Ghôr* is from 50 to 100 ft. above the *Zôr*. The cliffs of the *Zôr* are here of white soft marl, about half a mile apart below the bridge, but just above the bridge the hills close in on the west, and the *Ghôr* disappears. Near the plain of *Beisan* the crops in the *Zôr* were being reaped in April (1873). Near the river the soil was covered with gigantic thistles 10 to 15 ft. high. The whole region round about the plain of *Beisan* is volcanic, and all the rocks and stones about are black and basaltic in their character. This probably accounts for the number of fords across the river in these parts.

From *Wâdy Mahleh* south of the plain of *Beisan* to *Wâdy Fârah* the mountains on the west close in upon the Jordan, narrowing the *Zôr*, which again widens out opposite to *Wâdy Fârah*, and gradually increases to 2 miles as it approaches the Salt Sea. The river is hidden for a great portion of its course by the jungle of cane and tamarisk on either side: all rank vegetation except reeds ceases about 2 miles from the Salt Sea. On entering the sea the waters form a muddy marsh covered with driftwood, too soft to be crossed by man or beast. Although the land for a few miles above the Salt Sea is a veritable desert, having at times been covered by the Salt Sea itself, yet such is the power of the sun that immediately after heavy rain in January and February small green plants and flowers spring up at once all round, even on the edge of the Salt Sea, and flourish so long as the rainy season lasts, but wither in a few hours after the rain ceases.

From L. Tiberias to the Salt Sea the direct distance is 65 miles, and the fall is 610 ft., viz. betwixt − 682 ft. at L. Tiberias to − 1292 ft. at the Salt Sea; a fall of 9·3 ft. per mile.

The Dee of Aberdeenshire runs 72 miles, with fall of 16·5 ft. per mile. The Tweed runs 96 miles, with fall of 16 ft. per mile. The Clyde 98 miles, with fall of 14 ft. per mile. The Thames runs 215 miles, with fall of 1½ ft. per mile. The sinuosities of the Jordan, however, are so great that in the 65 miles' direct course it travels 200 miles at least (Lynch, *Narr.* p. 265), so that the actual fall is not more than 3 ft. per mile, if this estimate can be accepted.

Molyneux surveyed the Jordan from L. Tiberias to the Salt Sea in a boat in 1847, and Lt. Lynch did the same in 1848. Molyneux found the river when not in flood upwards of 100 ft. broad and 4 to 5 ft. deep near the *Jisr Mijâmia*; for seven hours they scarcely ever had sufficient water to float the boat for 100 yards together. In many places the river is split into a number of small streams, which consequently have not much water in any of them. Occasionally the boat had to be carried upwards of 100 yards over rocks and through thorny bushes; and in some places they had high, steep sandy cliffs all along the banks of the river. In other places the boat had to be carried on the backs of camels, the stream being quite impracticable. Lynch met with equally difficult experiences. He states, 'we have plunged down twenty-seven threatening rapids, besides a great number of lesser magnitude.' Only one straight reach of any length was noticed. The passage of the 200 miles of twists occupied 8½ days. The width varied with the depth and current, but 70 to 80 yards seems to have been an average width, with a depth of 2 to 3 ft., and current varying from 2 to 8 knots, according to circumstances. The greatest width was 180 yards at the Jordan's mouth, with a depth of 3 ft., and a very slow current.

Almost the only description of the Jordan banks from the river itself is given by Lynch in the account which he has written of his adventurous boat journey. The following are the most important passages.

'The river . . . curved and twisted north, south, east and west, turning, in the short space of half an hour, to every quarter of the compass, seeming as if desirous to prolong its luxuriant meanderings in the calm and silent valley, and reluctant to pour its sweet and sacred waters into the accursed waters of the bitter sea. . . .

'For hours in their swift descent the boats floated down in silence, the silence of the wilderness. Here and there were spots of solemn beauty. The numerous birds sang with a music strange and manifold; the willow branches were spread upon the stream like tresses, and creeping mosses and clambering weeds, with a multitude of white and silver little flowers, looked out from among them; and the cliff swallow wheeled over the falls, or, at his own wild will, darted through the arched vistas, shadowed and shaped by the meeting foliage on the banks; and above all, yet attuned to all, was the music of the river, gushing with a sound like that of shawms and cymbals. The stream sometimes washed the banks of the sandy hills, and at other times meandered between low banks, generally fringed with trees and fragrant with blossoms. Some points presented views exceedingly picturesque — the mad rushing of a mountain torrent, the song and sight of birds, the overhanging foliage, and glimpses of the mountains far over the plain, and here and there a gurgling rivulet pouring its tribute of crystal water into the now muddy Jordan. The western shore was peculiar from the high calcareous limestone hills, which form a barrier to the stream when swollen by the efflux of the Sea of Galilee during the winter and early spring; while the left or eastern bank was low, fringed with tamarisk and willow, and occasionally a thicket of lofty cane, and tangled masses of shrubs and creeping plants, giving it the character of a jungle. At one place we saw the fresh track of a tiger [*nimr* or cheetah ?] on the low clayey margin, where he had come to drink. At another time as we passed his lair, a wild boar started with a savage grunt and dashed into the thicket; but for some moments we traced his pathway by the shaking cane and the crashing sound of breaking branches. . . . Many islands, some fairy-like, and covered with a luxuriant vegetation, others mere sandbars and sedimentary deposits, intercepted the course of the river, but were beautiful features in the grand monotony of the shores—the regular and almost unvaried scene of the high-banked alluvial deposit and sandhills on the one hand, and the low swamp-like shore, covered to the water's edge with the tamarisk, the willow, and the thick high cane, would have been fatiguing without the frequent occurrence of sandbanks and verdant islands. High up in the sand bluffs the cliff swallow chattered from his nest in the hollow, or darted about in the bright sunshine in pursuit of the gnat and the water fly' (Lynch, *Narrative*, pp. 211–215).

The Plains.—The words principally used in the OT in connexion with portions of the Jordan Valley are *'ărābāh, midbār, ciccār, gĕlīlōth, jĕshīmon, sādeh, shĕdēmōth, bikʻah.*

The *'Arābāh.* Without the definite article *'Arābāh* refers to any desert or wilderness; but with the definite article it is used only for that part of the Jordan Valley which is a desert extending from some miles above Jericho to 'Aķabah, and including the Salt Sea, which is often called 'the Sea of the Arabah' (Dt 3^{17} 4^{49}, Jos 3^{16} 12^{3}). It is used 21 times in this extended sense, and is usually tr^{d} in AV 'the plain' or 'the plains': in RV it is invariably tr^{d} 'the Arabah.' In the plural (*'ărābōth*) it occurs 19 times in the historical books, and with one exception it refers to a definite spot, viz. the uncultivated land at the northern end of the Salt Sea, the steppes of Jericho (Jos 4^{13} etc.), or the steppes of Moab (Nu 22, etc.). The exceptional case is 2 S 15^{28}, tr^{d} in AV as 'the plain of the wilderness.' It is probable, however, that RV, 'the fords of the wilderness,' is correct (reading עברת, not ערבת). See ARABAH.

Midbār, 'wilderness' (pasture land). With the article this word is generally used for the wilderness of Arabia, but sometimes for tracts of pasture land about Palestine, particularly in respect to the wilderness or pasture country east of Jerusalem, and the passing to it is 'the way of the wilderness' (Jos $8^{15.\,20}$ 16^{1}, Jg 11^{22} 20^{42}, 2 S $15^{23.\,28}$ 17^{16}).

Ciccār, ‘round,’ ‘*circle*,’ a tract of country (when the article is generally used). The word is used for denoting—(*a*) the floor of the valley through which the Jordan runs, with reference to the cultivated parts; (*b*) the oasis which formerly existed in the lower part of the valley around the cities of the Plain. In the former sense it is used 5 times. In 2 S 18^{23} it is used to denote the direction taken by Ahimaaz ‘by the way of the plain.’ In 1 K 7^{46}, 2 Ch 4^{17} it refers to the plain of the Jordan, where was the clay ground between Succoth and Zeredah. In Neh 3^{22} 12^{28} it refers to the country about Jerusalem, ‘men of the plain.’ In its restricted sense it is used 8 times to denote the *oasis* where the cities of the Plain were situated, Gn 13^{10} 19^{17}, Dt 34^{3}.

Gĕlīlōth, ‘*circle*,’ is used to denote the *borders* of Jordan in two cases. Jos 22$^{10.\ 11}$ (see GELILOTH).

Jĕshīmon, ‘*wilderness*,’ refers to a wilderness generally, and not to any particular portion of the Jordan Valley so far as can be judged (see, however, Dillm. on Nu 33^{49} and art. JESHIMON).

Sādeh, ‘*field*,’ is generally used to denote cultivated ground. It is used for the ‘field of Moab,’ Gn 36^{35}, but it is not certain whether this is in the Jordan Valley or upper levels. Stanley (*SP* 491) suggests that the ‘Vale of Siddim’ is the ‘valley of the cultivated fields.’

Shĕdēmōth, ‘*fields*,’ is used for highly cultivated ground. The ‘fields of Gomorrah,’ Dt 32^{32}; of Kidron, 2 K 23^{4}; of Heshbon, Is 16^{8}.

Biḳ'ah, a broad plain between two mountain ranges, like that of Cœle-Syria. It is used once in apposition with *ciccār*, ‘the Round, even the plain (בִּקְעָה) of Jericho’ (Dt 34^{3}). ‘All the region round about Jordan’ (Mt 3^{5}, Lk 3^{3}) does not appear to be capable of geographical location.

Tributaries of the Jordan.—From the west (1) the *Wâdy el-Bireh*, rising about Tabor, a mountain torrent; (2) *Nahr el-Jalûd*, which rises near Jezreel (250 ft.), and passes down the valley of Esdraelon past *Beisan* to the Jordan. This is the valley by which the inland sea in the valley of Jordan would have been connected with the Mediterranean after the connexion by the Gulf of 'Aḳabah was cut off, supposing that the rise of the ground was uniform. (3) The *Wâdy Fârah*, which rises on the east of Ebal and Gerizim, flows in a beautiful perennial stream, fringed with oleanders, to the Jordan. The springs about the plain of *Beisan* and the *Wâdy el-Mâleh*—the wâdis *Fuscil*, *el-'Aujeh*, *en-Nweimeh*, and *el-Kelt*—run for a great part of the year.

On the east are (1) the *Sheri'at el-Mandhôr*, Jarmûk, or Hieromax, which flows into the Jordan past Gadara and the hot springs of Amatha, mentioned by Pliny, Strabo, Josephus, and the Talmud, but the name does not occur in the Bible. It is a large river, running through a deep gorge into the Jordan, and has its sources in the Haurân. (2) The *Wâdy el-'Arab*, a mountain torrent, the *Nahr es-Zerḳa* or Jabbok, which rises at *'Amman* (Philadelphia), and falls into the Jordan near *Jisr ed-Damieḥ*. (3) The wâdis *Nimrîn*, *Kafrein*, and *Hesbân*, the last of which rises in the hills near Heshbon.

Communication.—Roads, bridges, and fords. There is an ancient road on the western bank of the Jordan which, apparently coming from Jerusalem, passes Neby Mûsa near the north-western end of the Salt Sea, passes *'Ain es-Sultân* (Jericho) and *Fûseil* (Phasaelus), near which place one branch passes to the west up *Wâdy Kerâd* to *Nablûs* (Shechem), and the other skirts *Ḳurn Surâbeh* to the east, and at *Tell el-'Abied* again divides, one branch to the west going up *Wâdy Fârah* to *Nablûs*, the other passing along the *Umm ed-Deraj*, a steep and rocky ascent just above the Jordan, passes through *Beisan*, and, keeping near to the Jordan, skirts the L. Tiberias to the village *Tabarîya* (Tiberias). At *Khan el-Kerak* there is a ruin which was a fort protecting the lake district, at *Jisr Mijâmia* a branch of this road crosses the Jordan and goes through Gadara to the *Haurân*, and another branch to *Irbed*, and probably to Jerasa. This is a Roman road, and the old foundation stones and pavement are visible in many parts.

A good road from *Akka* passes down the *Sahel el-Aḥma*, and, emerging by the pass at its mouth on to the Jordan, crosses at the *Jisr es-Sidd* a little below L. Tiberias and passes east to the *Haurân*; it is used by the Bedawîn and Druses to bring barley to Akka by camel. A branch of this road also on crossing the Jordan to the east runs down along the foot of the hills bounding the *Ghôr*, and passing *Fâhil* (Pella) crosses the Zerḳa at a point where it is a foaming torrent, goes to *Nimrîn*, and thence by *Kafrein* to *Hesbân*.

The road along the coast of the lake from Tiberias also crosses the Jordan near Tarichæa, where there is a ruined bridge, and passes up the east side of the lake and also by a great Roman road to Hippos and the north-east. The *Jisr Mijâmia* is 6 miles south of L. Tiberias, the point where the old important Roman road from *Nablûs* and *Beisan* to Damascus crosses the Jordan: it has one large pointed arch and three small ones.

At *Jisr Damieh*, below the junction of the Jordan and *Zerḳa*, the road from Neapolis (Shechem) runs to *es-Salṭ*, *Amman* (Philadelphia), and the east. This bridge is still in a good state of preservation (one arch), but the Jordan has left it and now passes down another portion of the *Zôr*; here is a good illustration of the change in direction of the river in a few hundred years. This bridge is said by Conder to be Saracenic: it appears to have been originally of Roman work, with extensive repairs by Moslems or Crusaders. On the east side the bank is quite low, and the wide flat at that point is often overflowed; hence a causeway at great expense and labour has been made across the low ground. 450 ft. of this causeway on the eastern side still remains, supported on arches of which nine still exist. The bridge itself could not have been less than 100 ft. in length (*PEFSt*, 1879, 139).

No remains of bridges mark the old roads from Jerusalem and Jericho to the east of Jordan, but there are still the remains of the roads which now cross to *Nimrîn* by the *el-Mandesi* and *Umm Enkhôla* fords to *Kafrein* and *Hesbân* by the *el-Ghôraniyeh* ford, and to *Hesbân* and the east of Salt Sea by the *Makhadet Hajlah* ford. These are the principal fords in the southern 25 miles of the Jordan's course. In the 40 miles to the north there are enumerated no fewer than fifty fords: probably this difference is owing to the more stony character of the Jordan bottom in the northern portion. Molyneux says of the upper part of its course (p. 115): ‘I am within the mark when I say that there are many hundreds of places where we might have walked across without wetting our feet, on the large rocks and stones.’ This must have been during a very dry season.

CLIMATE: FAUNA AND FLORA.—For many years past, meteorological observations have been taken at various points in Palestine, and have been tabulated and commented on annually by Glaisher. There are three distinctive climates in Palestine: (1) that of the seashore, which corresponds to other Mediterranean climates in similar latitude; (2) that of the hill-country, which is more hot and oppressive than the hill-country in other parts of the Mediterranean, owing to the vicinity of the Arabian Desert on south and east; and (3) that of the valley of the Jordan and Salt Sea.

The climate of the hill-country, Jerusalem for example, is pleasant in the winter, but hot and trying for six months in the summer. During the heat of summer in a house in Jerusalem the temperature day after day will for two or three hours reach 104° F., and it sometimes does not go below 80° F. all night. The published returns, however, give much lower readings in the air, with a mean temperature for August of 75° F. In the Jordan Valley in summer-time the heat is intense, the temperature being 110° F. after sunset, and scarcely falling during the night when in the vicinity of rocks with a southern aspect. During the first two months of the year the temperature in the Jordan Valley is very pleasant, hot in the daytime and cool at night, often going down to 40° F. except close to the Salt Sea. Much depends, however, upon the direction of the wind. In the month of March there is often snow on the hills. The climate of the Jordan Valley is tropical; that of the region of the Salt Sea is equatorial, probably the most heated in the world, owing to the depressed character of the plain, hemmed in east and west by high mountains. There is a difference of elevation between the summit of Mount Hermon and the level of the Salt Sea of over 10,000 ft., and the difference of temperature and of climate allows of a great variety of animal life. That on the seashore generally is Mediterranean, while that in the Jordan Valley, especially in the lower parts, is principally Ethiopian or Indian, though these parts are cut off from each other by the deserts of Arabia.

The following observations concerning life in the Jordan Valley are extracted principally from *SWP, Fauna and Flora* (Tristram). Here is a patch of tropical character, containing southern forms so peculiar and unique that their presence cannot be connected with any existing causes or other transporting influences. As it has been found by Humboldt that zones of elevation on mountains correspond to parallels of latitude, so here we find a zone of depression, the only one known to us, producing similar phenomena, and exhibiting in generic correspondence the fauna and flora of much lower latitudes: an Ethiopian flora identical with that now existing in Ethiopian regions in the midst of a Mediterranean district.

Tristram considers that the whole of Syria and Arabia Petræa must have emerged from the Miocene ocean while the coast of the Mediterranean was the bed of a Miocene sea, and that during this period Palestine was connected with Ethiopia; that during the Miocene and Pliocene periods the Jordan basin formed the northernmost of a long system of fresh-water lakes, extending from north to south, of which, perhaps in the earlier part of the epoch, the Red Sea and Nile basin, Nyanza, Nyassa, and Tanganyika lakes were members.

During that warm period, fluviatile ichthyological fauna were developed suitable to its then conditions, consisting of representative and perhaps frequently identical species, throughout the area under consideration. The advent of the Glacial period was, like its close, gradual, and, while many species may have perished, the hardiest would have survived, and have gradually modified to meet the changed conditions. But however severe the climate may have been, that of the Lebanon with its glaciers probably corresponding to the Alps at a proportional elevation (due regard being had to latitude), the fissure of the Jordan lay, as we know, as much depressed as at present, and there must have been an exceptionally warm temperature in its waters in which the existing ichthyological fauna could survive.

According to Slater's definition of boundary lines laid before the Linnæan Society in 1858, Palestine forms an extreme southern province of the Palæarctic region. An analysis of each class of its fauna and of its phanerogamic flora shows that while an overwhelming majority of its species in all cases belong to the Palæarctic region, there is in each class a group of exceptions and peculiar forms which cannot be referred to that region, and the presence of many of which cannot be explained merely by the fact of the Palæarctic infringing on the Ethiopian region, and not very distantly on the Indian, but can be satisfactorily accounted for only by reference to the geological history of the country. These species are almost all strictly confined to the area of the Jordan Valley and Dead Sea basin.

Of the mammalia, 55 are Palæarctic, 34 Ethiopian, 16 Indian, and 13 peculiar out of 118. The Indian include 9 which are also Ethiopian, and the Ethiopian 9 which are equally Indian. Of the 13 peculiar forms, 3 are modifications of Palæarctic types and 6 are Ethiopian in their character. One species, *Lepus judææ*, the hare of the Dead Sea basin, differs from either the European or Syrian species in the form of its skull. The *Hyrax syriacus* belongs to a strictly Ethiopian genus, and no theory of immigration or dispersion can account for its presence. Fish of small size abound in the Jordan and its tributaries down to the entrance to the Salt Sea; they bear a strong affinity to many of the species of the Nile, though with far less admixture of species than is found in other rivers of the Eastern Mediterranean. Out of 35 species, 2 are Nilotic, 1 Mediterranean, 7 common to the Tigris and Euphrates, 10 common to Syria and the Damascus lakes, and 16 peculiar to the Jordan. There is a great affinity between these fish and those of the rivers and lakes of tropical Africa. These fishes probably date from the earliest times after the elevation of the country above the Eocene ocean, and they form a group more distinct and divergent from that of the surrounding region than can be found in any other class of existing life. The affinity is very close to the forms of the rivers and fresh-water lakes of east Africa, even as far south as the Zambesi; but while the genera are the same, the species are rather representative than identical. The solution lies in the theory of the Jordan basin having been one of a system of fresh-water lakes, extending from north to south as already proposed. There are no fish in the Salt Sea.

The *Avifauna* of Palestine, out of 348 known species, present 271 Palæarctic, 40 Ethiopian (10 of these also Indian), 7 Indian, and 30 peculiar to Syria. But they are not equally diffused over the whole area. The Palæarctic species almost all belong to the coast area, and the highlands east and west of Jordan, while the Ethiopian and Indian types are almost exclusively confined to the deep depression of the Jordan and Dead Sea basin, which, with the exception of some winter migrants, affords us very few Palæarctic species. There are 11 species belonging to as many different genera peculiar to the Jordan and Dead Sea basin, and not yet traced beyond its limits. Some of these belong to genera exclusively Ethiopian, most of them common to the Ethiopian and Indian regions. The *avifauna* of the Jordan and Dead Sea basin is decidedly distinct and typical in its species, revealing sometimes Indian, more generally African affinities.

Of the 3000 species of phanerogamic plants, the larger proportion consists of the common Mediterranean forms. Sir J. Hooker has remarked that though a vast number are common to the whole country, yet there is a great and decided difference between the floras of such localities as the tops of (1) Lebanon, (2) Carmel, and (3) the hills bordering the Jordan. Of 162 species of plants in *Wâdy Zuweireh* (S.W. corner of Dead Sea), 27 are common European forms extending to Northern India, the remaining 135 are African. Although the Dead Sea flora bears a very strong general similarity to that of Arabia Petræa, yet there can be no question of its distinctness from the adjacent floras of the same latitudes east and west of it.

In the Jordan Valley the *Cyperus papyrus* is locally abundant, and covers many acres in the marshes of *Hûleh*, though long since extinct in Egypt, and not known in Africa farther north than on the White Nile, lat. 7° N. *Calotropis procera* and *Salvadora persica* are never found except close to the Dead Sea, at En-gedi, Safieh, and Seisaban, and are separated by many degrees of longitude and latitude from their other known habitats.

The flora of the Salt Sea area is remarkable for a small average number of species distributed through a large number of orders. We may infer that in this borderland of Europe, Asia, and Africa, the more hardy and accommodating plants of each area hold their own, while those more readily affected by variation of soil or climate disappear.

The following plants and trees of the Jordan Valley are most common: the *Zyzyphus Spina Christi*, or *nubk* or *dôm* tree of the Arabs (which seems to correspond to the 'wait a bit' bushes of South Africa in its power of detaining the unwary traveller). It has a small sub-acid fruit like a thorn apple, very agreeable to the taste. The *Retm* or *Genista Rœtem*, broom plant, grows freely on the plain. There is also the *Balanites Ægyptiaca*, a thorny tree with large olive-like fruit, which affords the oil called *zukkûm* or *Zuk* by the Arabs, supposed to be balm of Gilead, and sold to the pilgrims as such. It is highly prized among Arabs and pilgrims as a remedy for wounds or bruises; the latter call it 'Zaccheus oil' (*BRP*^{2} i. 560). The castor-oil plant and the oleander flourish about Jericho. Tamarisks grow everywhere, on the banks of the streams and in the dry desert; and the *Agnus Casti*, a large flowering bamboo. The acacia tree grows in great variety, also the *Populus Euphratica* on the banks of the Jordan. The caper plant hangs down from the rocks, with its delicate white blossoms, and the *Solanum Sodomæum* or Dead Sea apple, with its bright yellow fruit, is very conspicuous. Numbers of thoroughly tropical plants and trees abound—the *Zygophyllum coccineum*, *Bœrhavia*, *Indigofira*; also on the shore of the Salt Sea the *Calotropis procera* (*'ösher* among Arabs), a beautiful green fruit the size of a peach, with nothing inside but the silky coma of the seeds; it reaches a height of 15 ft., and grows freely in Upper Egypt, Nubia, and Arabia Felix.

The principal larger wild animals of the Jordan Valley are the jackal, fox, hyæna, boar, ibex (*beden*), and leopard. The leopard (*nimr*, *felis pardus*) is found in the Jordan jungle; the writer sent one to England from the banks of the Jordan in 1867. The cheetah (*felis jubata*) is found among the hills, and is tamed by the Moslems of Syria and used in hunting gazelles. Lions are said not to exist in Palestine, though they are found not far to the east in the desert and in the jungle of the Euphrates. They are still, however, supposed by the inhabitants of the Anti-Lebanon to pay visits periodically to the neighbourhood; and in 1869, owing to the loss of four children, one by one, at the village of Burkush, search was made for the supposed lion by the inhabitants without avail (*PEFSt*, 1870, 226). The lion coming up from the thickets of the Jordan is spoken of in Jer 49^{19} 50^{44}.

The birds in the Jordan Valley vary very much according to the time of year, those of the hill-country being driven down there for a short time in the cold season. During a winter visit of Chichester Hart (*PEFSt*, 1879, 286), the following were seen at Jericho: a few sun birds, 'hopping thrush,' shrikes, palm dove, collared turtle, English robins, jays, chaffinches, wheatears, blackbirds, wagtails. The larger birds, such as eagles, vultures, bustards, flamingoes, water birds of various kinds, belong to Palestine or to a larger area, and not particularly to the Jordan Valley.

A review of the botany as well as the zoology of the Jordan basin reveals the interesting fact that in this isolated spot, comprising but a few square miles, a series of forms of life are found differing decidedly from the species of the surrounding region, to which they never extend, and bearing a strong affinity to the Ethiopian region, with a trace of Indian admixture.

Cultivation.—The plains about Lake Hûleh are highly cultivated, and yield heavy crops of wheat, barley, Indian corn, sesame, and even rice. The plains about L. Tiberias wave with corn, and the plains of *Beisan* and valley of Jezreel are very productive, and stand thick with corn or indigo. Stunted palms grow wild, but no large ones now exist, except the single large date palm at Jericho. There are many cucumber and vegetable-marrow gardens at the foot of the hills, irrigated by fountains. In the *Zôr*, barley and *simsim* flourish. The olive, figs, bananas, oranges, sugar-cane, tobacco, grapes, millet (dhurah), cotton, indigo, melons, cucumbers, and marrows are cultivated at Jericho, and the soil for miles around if supplied with water is yet, as of old, capable of the highest cultivation: all that is wanted is irrigation and weeding. The harvest in the Jordan Valley is fully a month in advance of that in the highlands.

JORDAN AS A BOUNDARY. — Stanley remarks (*Sin. and Pal.* 286): 'The tropical temperature to which its whole plain is thus exposed, whilst calling out into almost unnatural vigour whatever vegetation receives the life-giving touch of its waters, withers up every particle of verdure that is found beyond their reach. As a separation of Israel from the surrounding country, as a boundary between the two main divisions of the tribes, as an image of water in a dry and thirsty soil, it played an important part; but not as the scene of great events or the seat of great cities. Its contact with the history of the people is exceptional, not ordinary, confined to rare and remote occasions, the more remarkable from their very rarity.' This is the general view taken at the present day, with Palestine under a feeble government and an enervated race inhabiting the Jordan Valley. The valley was, however, once 'well watered everywhere as the garden of the LORD, and like the land of Egypt,' and this may very well occur again under a stable government and a more energetic race of people. The levels about Jericho and Kafrein are about 200 ft. below that of Lake Tiberias, so that the whole of the Jordan Valley might be irrigated by the Jordan waters if the matter were taken in hand as a Syrian national enterprise.

The terms 'this side Jordan,' or 'the other side Jordan,' are of constant occurrence in the early history, denoting that the Jordan was regarded as a physical feature of demarcation or boundary. The original boundary of the Promised Land was to reach 'unto the side of the sea of Chinnereth eastward. And the boundary shall go down to Jordan, and the extremity shall be at the Salt Sea' (Nu 34^{12}). But the tribes of Reuben and Gad and half Manasseh saw that the eastern side of the Jordan, as now, was good for cattle, and they acquired their inheritance there (Nu 32^{19}), outside the Promised Land, on condition of going armed over Jordan and fully assisting the people of Israel to conquer the land. On the completion of this work they were permitted to return to the eastern side with a blessing, after building an altar by Jordan, 'a great altar to see,' that might be a witness between them that they were one people, and that the tribes living west of Jordan should not in the future say to those on the east, 'What have ye to do with the Lord God of Israel? for the Lord hath made Jordan a boundary between us and you, ye children of Reuben and children of Gad' (Jos 22[10f.]). See ED.

THE CITIES OF THE PLAIN.—The earliest account of the Jordan Valley describes it as very different in appearance from its aspect at the present time. From the high ground near Bethel, 'Lot lifted up his eyes, and beheld all the plain (*ciccār*) of Jordan, that it was well watered everywhere, before the LORD destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, even as the garden of the LORD, like the land of Egypt, as thou comest into Zoar. So Lot chose him all the Plain of Jordan; and Lot journeyed east' (Gn 13[10f.]). This would indicate a position for the cities of the Plain at the northern end of the Salt Sea, as proposed by Sir George Grove. The Arab geographers, however, place these cities at the southern end of the Salt Sea; and recently M. Clermont-Ganneau (*PEFSt*, 1886) has taken the same view, giving identifications for the several cities (see SODOM). On the other hand, Strabo (*Judæa*) in relating that Judæa is full of fire, places these cities on the western side of the Salt Sea within a radius of 60 stadia, close to Masada, and refers to the rocks there bearing the marks of fire, with a soil like ashes, pitch falling in drops from the rocks, rivers boiling up and emitting a fetid odour to a great distance; dwellings in every direction overthrown,—a description very suitable to this spot at the present day, where there are hot sulphur springs and every appearance of volcanic energy near at hand. Strabo describes the overthrow of the cities as due to shocks of earthquake, eruptions of flames, and hot springs, containing asphaltus and sulphur, causing the lake to break its bounds and the rocks to take fire. Josephus states that the country of Sodom bordered upon the Lake Asphaltitis (Salt Sea), and that the cities were burnt by lightning, in consequence of which there are still the remainders of that divine fire, and that the traces of the five cities are still to be seen (*BJ* IV. viii. 4; V. xiii. 6; Tac. *Hist.* v. 6; Diod. ii. 48, xix. 98; Curt. v. 16). He would appear (*BJ* IV. viii. 2) to place Sodom at the western side of the Arabah, near 'the utmost limits of the Asphaltitis southward,' and to place Somorrhon (Gomorrah?) on the eastern side, on the bounds of Petra in Arabia. Sir W. Dawson (*Egypt and Syria*) supposes that the overthrow of these cities may have been due to underground reservoirs of inflammable gases, and petroleum escaping through a fissure along an old line of 'fault,' causing bitumen and sulphur to rain upon the cities. There is no indication that the overthrow of these cities was accompanied by any earthquake or displacement of the level of the Salt Sea (Gn 14[3. 8. 10]), though the passage 'in the vale of Siddim, which is the Salt Sea,' would appear ambiguous. The reference to the whole land which 'is brimstone, and salt, and burning, that it is not sown, nor burneth, nor any grass groweth therein, like the overthrow of Sodom' (Dt 29[23]), etc., would appear to apply more to the southern end of the Salt Sea than the generally accepted site on the northern end. Assuming, however, that there was no disturbance affecting the level of the Salt Sea, it may be questioned whether the physical effect of the substitution of arid plains in lieu of the well-watered district which existed previously may not have seriously affected the fertility of the Jordan Valley. It is known that the level of the Salt Sea varies yearly many feet, according to the rainfall in the adjacent district, as is attested by the lines of driftwood which can be seen at successive levels around the Salt Sea. A change from moisture to dryness over a large area in the valley would essentially affect the surrounding country, and reduce the rainfall, lower the surface of the sea, and expose more and more dry soil. Now, supposing the effects of the overthrow of the cities of the Plain resulted in a fall of 50 ft. in the level of the waters of the lake, it is interesting to remark that the whole of the mud flat at the south of the Salt Sea for about 10 miles (Anderson, *Official Report*, p. 182) would have been covered with water, also a considerable portion of the peninsula of Lisan and the low-lying portions of the shore on the western side, while to the north the *Zôr* would have been covered over nearly as far as the Makhadet Hajlah. If this is so, the area over which the cities of the Plain can be found is very much circumscribed (Anderson, *Official Report*, p. 182). Assuming that the cities of the Plain were situated at the N.E. end of the Salt Sea, it is suggested (*PEFSt*, 1879, 144) that the following *tells* on the Abel-shittim plain were the five cities of the Plain: (1) Tell Kafrein (Abel or Abila), (2) Tell er-Rama (Beth-ramtha or Beth-haran, Julias or Livias), (3) Suweimeh (Beth-jesimoth or Besimoth), (4) Tell el-Hamman, (5) Tell Ektanu ('the little one,' or Zoar). Ganneau (*PEFSt*, 1886), however, identifies *Jebel Usdum* as Sodom, and Gomorrah with *'Ain Ghamr*, at the entrance of *Wâdy Ghamr*, about 20 leagues south of the Salt Sea, and Zoar in *Wâdy es-Safi*. This would appear closely to agree with the traditional sites given by Josephus, already mentioned.

PASSAGES OF THE JORDAN.—It was at the northern extremity of the Jordan that Abram (Gn 14[13f.]), in his pursuit of Chedorlaomer, came up with him at Laish (Dan), and rescued his kinsman Lot.

The first record of a passage of the Jordan is that by Jacob (Gn 32[10]). On the return journey (Gn 33[17]) he crosses on his road from Succoth to Shalem (RVm; but there can be little doubt that RV 'in peace' is the correct translation), a city of Shechem; but as Succoth has not been satisfactorily identified, the ford of passage cannot be conjectured. The passage of Elijah (2 K 2[8]) and the return of Elisha (2[14]) over the Jordan took place over against Jericho; but there is nothing further to indicate the position, though there is a traditional spot on the east of Jordan from which the ascent of Elijah is said to have been made. The point of the Jordan where David crossed when warring against Helam (2 S 10[17]) also cannot be conjectured. Again, when a fugitive to Mahanaim (2 S 15[28] 17[16] 19[18]), he probably escaped by the quickest route over the Jordan; but this depended upon the road he took from Jerusalem, and whether he wished to avoid Jericho. The two fords which would be most suitable would be that of el-Ghôranîyeh, which would necessitate his passing by Jericho, and the Makhadet Hajlah ford, which he could have reached by the road passing the present *M. Neby Mûsa*.

The number of fords between Jisr Damieh and Lake Tiberias exceeds 50, and it would be futile to suggest any particular one which may have been used in that portion of the Jordan, in the passings over between the east and west. There was the ford or passage of the Jordan (Jg 12[5f.]), taken by the Gileadites, when the Ephraimites were discovered by the pronunciation of the word 'Shibboleth.' There was Beth-barah ('even Jordan,' RV), which the Ephraimites (Jg 7[24]) took possession of when they slew the Midianites, and which may be the ford *'Abarah* discovered by Conder (*SWP* ii. 89). The occurrence probably took place near this ford, as *'Ain el-Helwah* (Abel-meholah) is on the southern end of the plain of *Beisan* (Bethshean).

Passage of the children of Israel over Jordan.—This is the most important event recorded in the Bible connected with the passage of the Jordan. The people were gathered together in the plains (*'ărābōth*) of Moab, extending from Abel-shittim ('the meadow of the acacia'), now probably Kafrein, to Beth-jesimoth ('house of the wastes'), now probably 'Ain Suweimeh near the Salt Sea (Nu 33^{49}). And they came to Jordan and lodged there for three days. The plains of Moab, where they had been staying, were from 200 to 400 ft. above the Salt Sea, and the ground which they had occupied for the last three days was probably somewhat on a lower level, but certainly not the *Zôr* or lower terrace of the Jordan as it was in flood, 'overflowing all his banks at the time of the barley harvest' (Jos $3^{1f.}$), probably about the month of April. The description states that the waters which came down from above stood and rose up upon a heap very far from the city of Adam, that is, beside Zaretan; and those that came down toward the sea of the Arabah, even the Salt Sea, were wholly cut off (Jos 3^{16}). The RV has 'at Adam,' and Stanley (304 note) has 'high up the river, very far, in Adam, the city which is beside Zaretan.' The site of Adam is not sufficiently identified, but it is supposed by some to be represented by *Tell Damieh*, near the bridge of that name. Conder has pointed out (*SWP* ii. 14) that somewhat higher up, where the mountains come down and overhang the Jordan, a landslip could readily block up the Jordan for a period, and T. Drake (*PEFSt*, 1874, 182; 1875, 30) suggests that Adam ('red earth') may be *Khan el-Hamrath*, the Red Ruin, situated opposite *Fâhil* (Pella), on the west side of the Jordan in the plain of *Beisan*, and that adherents of the theory that the waters of the Jordan were suddenly dammed by a landslip might perhaps point to the present appearance of the banks at this point and the curious bends of the river here to support their idea. M. Clermont-Ganneau has brought to notice that the historical stoppage of the Jordan in A.D. 1257, while the bridge *Jisr Damieh* was being repaired, is to be found in the history of Sultan Bibars. A landslip in the narrow part of the valley, some miles above *Jisr Damieh*, kept the Jordan dammed up for several hours, allowing the bed of the river to become dry by the water below running off to the Salt Sea. Stanley (*Sin. and Pal.* 304 n. 6) mentions that the appearance of the drying up of the Jordan seems to be described by Antoninus Martyr in the 6th cent., as if it occurred yearly at the visit of the pilgrims. See also King, *Morsels of Criticism*, i. 281.

THE MOUNDS IN THE JORDAN VALLEY.—All over the Jordan Valley mounds or 'Tells' are found, of artificial formation, from 50 to 100 ft. in height. They stand at the entrance to every wâdy where there is a passage for traffic, and appear in these cases to have been placed there to guard the dwellers in the plain from marauders from the hill-country. They appear usually to be formed of remains of sun-dried bricks, probably in some cases the ruins of ancient walls and castles, and in other cases the sites where the bricks were moulded and dried. Near *Beisan* alone there are 20 of these tells, apparently of the same character as those at Jericho. They usually occur in the vicinity of water.

The mounds of Jericho were examined by the present writer in Feb. 1868. Nine mounds were cut through—two at *Wâdy Kelt*, three at *'Ain es-Sultân*, and four within a short distance of the spring head. The trenches were cut across from east to west to get shelter from the sun as much as possible. During the daytime the sun was scorching, at night it was bitterly cold. After the trenches were cut 8 ft. deep, the work was continued by shafts 8 ft. square at intervals of 4 to 6 ft., as the clay composing the mounds would not stand the cutting of one deep trench. Very little was found except pottery jars, and stone mortars for grinding corn. The general result was that the mounds were artificial, of sunburnt brick in a very friable condition, abounding in fragments of pottery. A few solid-looking jars were found (now in the *PEF* Museum). The pottery in the upper portion of these mounds was Roman and later (*SWP* iii. 225).

SCENE OF OUR LORD'S BAPTISM.—When John the Baptist was preaching in the wilderness of Judæa, 'Then went out to him Jerusalem and all Judæa, and all the region round about Jordan, and were baptized of him in the river Jordan. Then cometh Jesus from Galilee to Jordan unto John to be baptized of him.' 'These things were done in Bethabara (RV Bethany, in some MSS Betharabah *), beyond Jordan, where John was baptizing' (Jn 1^{28}). 'Then was Jesus led up of the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil' (Mt 4^{1}). 'And straightway the Spirit driveth him forth into the wilderness' (Mk 1^{12}).

There is not sufficient information here to fix the position on the Jordan of the scene of the baptism, but it leads to the inference that it was on the east side of the Jordan opposite to the desert of Judæa, and not so far north as Samaria. This place, Bethabara [which see] (or Bethany), beyond Jordan, was again visited by our Lord, and He abode there (Jn 10^{40}). The word *'ăbārāh* occurs in the OT in connexion with the Jordan. In 2 S 19^{18} EV tr. it 'ferry-boat' (Gesenius 'a ferry-boat' or 'raft'); 2 S 15^{28} 17^{16} AV reading (ערבת) 'in the plains,' RV reading (עברת) 'at the fords,' Ewald, Gesenius, Grätz, 'at the fords'; Jg 7^{24} Beth-barah, 'house of passage,' (?) Gesenius. There are also three cases in which the word *ma'bārāh* ('a ford'; Gesenius, from the root *'ābar*, 'to pass over') is tr^{d} 'the fords' (of the Jordan), Jg 3^{28} 12^{5}, Jos 2^{7}. The inference is that *Beth-abarah* is the resting-place on the other side.

Stanley (*Sin. and Pal.* p. 311) gives 'the house of a ship' (אֳנִיָּה) as the meaning of Bethania (Bethany); the meaning given by Simonis is preferred by many, viz. בֵּ׳ עֲנִיָּה, *locus depressionis*, which seems to agree exactly with the conditions, a depressed plain beyond the fords of Jordan. The other word is Beth-arabah (the name of a town west of Jordan, Jos 15^{6} etc.). *The* Arabah, however, is the term used for the *desert plain* of the Jordan, extending from near Jericho to the Gulf of 'Aḳabah (Gesen.) and *Arabah*=desert. Conder proposes (*PEFSt*, 1876-77) to identify Bethania (Bethany) with Batanea or Bashan, and the ford of the Jordan east of Beisan called *'Abâra* with Bethabara, or at least with the place of baptism, and points out that among the fifty fords of the Jordan this is the only one retaining the ancient name.

This ford of 'Abara is north of the Samaritan border, about 16 miles south of Lake Tiberias and a day's journey from Nazareth, and 22 miles from *Kefr Kena* (Cana). It does not, however, fulfil the conditions of being near to the wilderness of Judæa, and so placed as to be accessible to the multitudes from Jerusalem and the parts about Judæa.

The line of route taken by king David in his passage from Jerusalem across Jordan to Mahanaim and back does not give much assistance, but is certainly against the *'Arabah* ford site. It appears probable, however, that he would pass over Jordan, when in flight, by the very nearest ford, viz. that over against Jericho, either the *Makhadet Hajlah* or the *Ghôranîyeh*; in coming back he may have used any crossing most convenient, and thus have had recourse to the ferry-boat. There appears therefore to be nothing against the traditional site of our Lord's place of baptism being placed on the Jordan near Kasr el-Jehûd, and not far from the 'Ain el-Kharrar on the eastern side of the Jordan, as has been current since 4th cent. Beth-nimrah ('house of the panther'?), Nu 32^{36}, identified as *Nimrîn*, lies about 8 miles to the east of the Ghôranîyeh ford, and is supposed by some to be the site of Bethabara: in the LXX (B) it takes the form Βαιθαναβρά, and Eusebius calls it Βηθναμβρίς; he also speaks of a town called *Nabara* (or *Abara*) as identical with Nimrah near Heshbon. Epiphanius reads Bethamara for Bethabara (Rel. *Pal.* p. 627). The Bordeaux Pilgrim (A.D. 333) places it east of Jordan, 5 miles north of the Salt Sea, close to the hill where Elijah was caught up to heaven (*Itin. Hieros.*). Jerome (*Per. S. Paulæ*) identifies the place of baptism with the spot where the priests that bare the ark of the covenant of the Lord stood firm on dry ground in the midst of Jordan (Jos 3^{17}), and also the spot where Elijah and afterwards Elisha smote the waters and passed over dry-shod. The following also speak of the place of baptism at this spot: Theodosius, Antoninus, and Arculf.

---

* Βηθανια ℵ* ABC*EF al^{pl} latt syrr$^{pesh\ hcl\ txt\ hier}$ arm me codd$^{pl.}$ ap Orig: Βηθαβαρα C^{2}KT^{b} (V) (Λ) Π^{corr} syrr$^{sin\ cu}$ 1, 22. 33 (69), al^{nonn}: Βηθαραβα ℵ$^{c.\ b}$ syr$^{hcl\ mg}$.

In later years the knights of St. John built a monastery here in order to enable them to carry out one of their threefold duties, viz. escorting pilgrims down from Jerusalem to Jordan. This duty is still carried out once a year by the Turkish governor of Jerusalem, who, on Monday in Passion week, escorts thousands of pilgrims to the Jordan to bathe.

ANCIENT WRITERS ON THE JORDAN VALLEY.—The *Antiquities* and *Wars* of Josephus are full of references to this valley. (*Ant.* I. x. 1 and I. xi. 1) The spring of Jordan called Dan is spoken of, and the destruction of the cities of the Plain. (*Ant.* IV. viii. 1) Moses gathered the congregation together near Jordan where the city Abila now stands, a place full of palm trees. (*Ant.* V. i. 1) Abila to Jordan 60 furlongs. (*Ant.* V. i. 2) Joshua was in fear about their passing over, for the Jordan ran with a strong current, and could not be passed over by bridges, as there never had been any bridges laid over it hitherto, and ferry-boats they had none. (V. iv. 3) The Israelites seize the ford of the Jordan (Jg 3^{28}). (VII. xi. 2) A bridge of boats laid over Jordan to enable king David to return from Mahanaim to Jerusalem. (IX. ii. 2) Elijah disappeared from among men, and no one knows of his death to this very day. (*Ant.* XV. x. 3, V. v. 1, III. x. 7; *BJ* IV. i. 1, I. xxi. 3) The Jordan's sources at Dan and Panium described. The lake Semechonitis (*Hûleh*) is 30 furlongs in breadth and 60 in length; its marshes reach as far as the plain Daphne, under the temple of the golden calf at the lesser Jordan. Jordan's stream from Panium divides the marshes and fens of the lake Semechonitis; when it has run another 120 furlongs it first passes the city Julias, and then passes through the middle of the Lake Gennesaret, after which it runs a long way over a desert, and then makes its exit into the lake Asphaltitis. Around Gennesaret the soil is so fruitful that all sorts of trees are grown upon it, particularly walnuts; also palm trees, fig trees, and olives; it supplies men with figs and grapes 10 months in the year. Some have thought it to be a vein of the Nile, because it produces the coracine fish as well as that lake does which is near Alexandria. (*BJ* IV. viii. 2. 3. 4, V. xiii. 6) The Jordan and Jericho are described. Jericho is situated on a plain, with naked and barren mountains overhanging it; these mountains extend from Scythopolis in the north to Sodom in the south at the utmost limits of the Salt Sea. Somorrhon is also spoken of, the Great Plain, the Salt Sea, and the plantations of palm trees near the Jordan. He speaks of the fountain of Jericho being healed by Elisha; and also of the excellent gardens of Jericho, 70 furlongs long and 20 broad, abounding in palm trees, yielding honey and bees, the balsamum, that most precious of all fruits, the cypress tree, and myrobalanum. He states that it is not easy to light on any country in the world equal to it. The lake Asphaltitis is also described. (*BJ* IV. viii. 4) He describes the aqueduct from Nerea to water the palm trees of Jericho.

Strabo (XVI. ii. 16, *c.* A.D. 19) gives a short account of the Jordan and Jericho. Cœle-Syria, a hollow plain between the mountains of Libanus and Antilibanus. Rivers run through it, the largest of which is the Jordan, which waters a country productive and fertile of all things. It contains also a lake, which produces the aromatic rush and reed. In it are also marshes. The name of the lake is Gennesaritis. It produces also balsamum. The Lycus and the Jordan are navigated upwards chiefly by the Aradii, with vessels of burden. At Jericho is the palm plantation, which contains various other trees of the cultivated kind producing excellent fruit, but its chief production is the palm tree; it is 100 stadia in length; the whole is watered with streams, and filled with dwellings. Here also is a palace and the garden of the balsamum. Strabo has not only given a confused account of the Jordan, but he has mixed up together the account of the Salt Sea with that of the Lacus Serbonis, and he places Tarichæa on the Salt Sea instead of on L. Tiberias.

Tacitus (*Hist.* V. 6, A.D. 97) sums up the Jordan in a few words: 'Nec Jordanes pelago accipitur: secundum atque alterum lacum integer perfluit: tertio retinetur.'

Galen (A.D. 164) and Pausanias (V. vii. 4, A.D. 174) speak of the disappearance of the Jordan in the bitter lake.

Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* V. 15, A.D. 74) speaks of the rise of Jordan at Panium fountain, 'qui nomen dedit Cæsareæ.'

Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomast. s.v.* 'Dan') describe Dan as being 4 R. miles distant from Paneas on the way to Tyre; and here, too, they say the Jordan breaks forth.

The Targum of Jerusalem writes, 'Dan of Cæsarea' (*Targ. Hieros.*, Gn 14^{14}).

The name of the Salt Sea adopted by Josephus (*Ant.* I. ix.), viz. *Asphaltitis Lacus*, is first found in Diodorus Siculus (ii. 48, B.C. 45). He gives an account of the neighbourhood: 'It is, however, well fitted for the cultivation of palms wherever it is traversed by serviceable rivers or fountains available for the purpose of irrigation. In a neighbouring valley grows the plant called balsam, which yields an abundant income, as the plant grows in no other part of the world. It is much used by physicians as a medicine.'

Justin (XXXVI. iii. 6) and Pausanias (V. vii. 4) call it θάλασσα ἡ νεκρά, 'the Dead Sea.'

'As the Jordan in the time of harvest' (Sir 24^{26}; Aristeas, *Epist. ad Philocratem*).

Josephus, *BJ* IV. vii. 6, speaks of Ἄβιλα, Ἰουλιάς (Julias), Βησιμώ, near the lake Asphaltitis.

In the LXX (B) of Jos 13^{27} the name Beth-nimrah is given as Βαιθαναβρά, and the LXX (A) of Jos 13^{20} gives Βηδιμούθ for Beth-jesimoth.

LITERATURE.—*SWP* i. ii. iii., 'Flora and Fauna, Geology'; *BRP*^{2} i. ii. iii. (Index); Tristram, *Land of Israel*; *Journal Pal. Geog. Soc.* xviii. 104, 1848; Molyneux, *Narrative and Official*

Reports; Lynch, *Narrative and Official Reports*; Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* 29 ff.; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* (Index).

C. WARREN.

JORIBUS (Ἰώριβος).—**1.** (AV Joribas) 1 Es 8^{44} (^{43} LXX) = JARIB, Ezr 8^{16}. **2.** 1 Es 9^{19} = JARIB, Ezr 10^{18}.

JORIM (Ἰωρείμ).—An ancestor of Jesus, Lk 3^{29}.

JORKEAM (יָרְקְעָם).—A Judahite family name, 1 Ch 2^{44}. Kittel (in *SBOT*) suggests that we should perhaps read יָקְדְעָם (**Jokdeam**), the name of an unidentified place in the Negeb of Judah, Jos 15^{56}.

JOSABDUS (Ἰωσαβεές B, Ἰωσάβδος A), 1 Es 8^{63} = JOZABAD, No. 6.

JOSAPHIAS (Ἰωσαφίας), 1 Es 8^{36}.—In Ezr 8^{10} JOSIPHIAH (wh. see).

JOSECH (Ἰωσήχ WH, Ἰωσήφ TR, AV **Joseph**).—An ancestor of Jesus, Lk 3^{26}.

JOSEDEK.—See JEHOZADAK.

JOSEPH (יוֹסֵף, Ἰωσήφ).—**1.** The patriarch. See next article, where also the meaning of the name is discussed. **2.** A man of Issachar, Nu 13^7. **3.** A son of Asaph, 1 Ch $25^{2.9}$. **4.** One of the sons of Bani who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10^{42}, called in 1 Es 9^{34} **Josephus.** **5.** A priest, Neh 12^{14}. **6.** An ancestor of Judith, Jth 8^1. **7.** An officer of Judas Maccabæus. Along with Azarias he was defeated by Gorgias, 1 Mac $5^{18.56.60}$. **8.** In 2 Mac 8^{22}, and probably also 10^{19}, Joseph is read by mistake for **John,** one of the brothers of Judas Maccabæus. **9. 10.** Ancestors of our Lord, Lk $3^{24.30}$. **11.** The husband of Mary the mother of Jesus. See sep. article. **12.** One of the brethren of the Lord, Mt 13^{55} (RV, following WH; in Mt 27^{56}, Mk 6^3 $15^{40.47}$, both AV and RV have **Joses**). **13.** Joseph of Arimathæa (wh. see). **14.** Joseph Barsabbas (wh. see), Ac 1^{23}. **15.** The natal name of Barnabas (wh. see), Ac 4^{36} (AV **Joses**).

JOSEPH (יוֹסֵף, in Ps 81^6 יְהוֹסֵף 'May [God] add'; cf. Gn 30^{24}).*—The second youngest son of the patriarch Jacob, Rachel's firstborn, and ancestor of the two northern tribes Manasseh and Ephraim.

Sources.—The history of Joseph is contained in Gn 30^{23} (E), ^{24} (J); and in Gn 37. 39–50. In these chapters the body of the narrative is derived from J and E, the parts which belong to P being only $37^{1\text{-}2a}$ 41^{46} $46^{6\text{-}27}$ $47^{5\text{-}6a.\,7\text{-}11.\,27b\text{-}28}$ $48^{3\text{-}6}$ $49^{1a.\,28b\text{-}33}$ $50^{12\text{-}13}$.

The structure of JE, in the parts where the distinction of sources is most important, will appear most clearly from the following table:—

J	37^{21}		25-27		28b *		31-35		39 †
E		$37^{22\text{-}25}$ (to *bread*)		28a (to *pit*)		28c-30		36	
J		42^{38}–44^{34} ¶		46^{28}–$47^{4.\,6b}$ ††					
E	40 ‡ $41^{1\text{-}45.}$ § $^{47\text{-}57}$ $42^{1\text{-}37}$ ‖		45^1–46^5 **						
J		$47^{13\text{-}27a}$ (to *Goshen*) $^{29\text{-}31}$.							
E	47^{12}								

For the grounds of this analysis, reference must be made to the Comms., or, more briefly, to *LOT* p. 16 f. (^{6} 17 ff.). The history of Joseph must have been told at length in J and E alike, in substantially the same form in both, but with occasional variations in details; and the method mostly followed by the compiler, esp. in chs. 39–47, has been to excerpt long passages from J and E alternately, and at the same time to incorporate in each short notices embodying the characteristic differences of the other. It may assist the reader to place here a synopsis of the principal differences between the two narratives. According to J, Joseph, when his brethren plot to kill him, is rescued by Judah, and then sold by his brethren to Ishmaelites, who in their turn sell him to an Egyptian of position, whose name is not given: after the charge brought against him by his master's wife, he is thrown into the state-prison; and the keeper of this makes him overseer of the other prisoners. In the sequel, the brethren only tell Joseph about their younger brother in answer to his inquiry (43^7 44^{19}); nothing is said about Simeon being detained as a hostage in Egypt; the brethren open their sacks and discover the money in them, at the lodging-place by the way; Judah offers to be surety to his father for Benjamin's return; and Goshen is named as the district allotted to Jacob and his sons. According to E, Joseph is rescued from his other brethren by *Reuben*, and thrown into a pit, from which he is drawn up by *Midianites* without his brothers' knowledge: he is sold by them to *Potiphar*, captain of the guard, who appoints him to wait on the prisoners confined in his house: the brethren, when taxed with being spies, *volunteer* the information about their younger brother ($42^{13.\,32}$); Simeon is left in Egypt as a hostage; the brethren open their sacks at the end of their journey home; *Reuben* offers to be surety for Benjamin's return; and there is no mention of Goshen.* Thus, while both versions bring Joseph into relation with a prison, he is a prisoner himself only in J; in E he is merely appointed to *wait on* the prisoners: further, while in J the keeper of the prison (who is distinct from Joseph's master, $39^{20.\,21}$) commits the other prisoners into his charge, in E his own master, the 'captain of the guard' (37^{36} $40^{3a.\,4}$), appoints him to wait upon the prisoners. In the existing (composite) narrative the two versions are harmonized (though imperfectly) by Potiphar being represented as *both* Joseph's master *and also* 'captain of the guard.'

After the account of his birth ($30^{23f.}$), the next notice of Joseph's life which occurs is when he has grown into a lad, and (according to P) is 17 years old (37^{2a}). His father's favourite,† he excites the envy of his elder brothers, which is increased by his imprudence in communicating to them the dreams,—both too manifestly suggestive of future greatness ($37^{3\text{-}11}$),—of his brethren's sheaves bowing down to his, and of the sun, moon, and eleven stars making obeisance to him. Shortly afterwards, his brethren are keeping their father's flocks at Shechem; and Joseph is sent by his father from the broad 'vale,' in which Hebron lay (37^{14}; cf. 35^{27}), to inquire after their welfare. He finds them at Dothan (2 K 6^{13}), now *Tell Dothan*, about 15 miles N. of Shechem, where the pasturage is still even richer than it is at Shechem (Robinson, *BR* iii. 122). As they see him approaching in the distance, they plan to kill him, and so to frustrate for ever the, to them, unwelcome future portended by his dreams. At this point ($37^{21\text{ff.}}$) the composition of the narrative becomes apparent, and there are two divergent accounts of the manner in which Joseph was rescued from their hands, and came to be sold into Egypt.‡ According to J, *Judah* dissuades his other brethren from carrying out their purpose, and induces them to sell Joseph to a caravan of *Ishmaelites*, who happened at the time to be passing by, on their way from Gilead to Egypt;§ and the Ishmaelites, upon their arrival in Egypt, sell him as a slave to an Egyptian of rank. According to E, *Reuben*,[*] Joseph's eldest brother, dissuades the others from carrying out their plan; at his suggestion they cast Joseph into a pit, and *Midianite* merchantmen, passing by,[†] draw him up out of the pit, without his brothers' knowledge, and sell him into Egypt to Potiphar, the 'captain of the guard.'[‡] Reuben upon returning, after the meal (v.^{25a}), to the pit, in the hope, no doubt, of being able now to send Joseph home secretly, is disconsolate to find it empty. His father's grief, upon receiving the blood-stained coat, which his brethren bring to him, as evidence of Joseph's death, is graphically portrayed (vv.$^{32-35}$ J).

---

* The words, 'And they sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites for 20 pieces of silver.'

† Except in v.^{1} the words 'Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh's, the captain of the guard.'

‡ Except v.^{3} 'into the prison, the place where Joseph was bound'; v.^{5} 'The butler and the baker of the king of Egypt, which were bound in the prison'; v.^{15b} 'And here also have I done nothing, that they should have put me into the dungeon.'

§ Except v.^{14} 'And they brought him hastily out of the dungeon.'

‖ Except vv.$^{27.\,28}$.

¶ Except 43^{14} (on account of the allusion to Simeon), and 43^{23b} 'And he brought Simeon out unto them.'

** Except 45^{4b} 'whom ye sold unto Egypt,' ^{5} 'that ye sold me hither,' 10^a 'and thou shalt dwell in the land of Goshen,' with perhaps one or two unimportant clauses elsewhere.

†† From 'in the land of Goshen.'

* In 30^{23}, from another source (E), a different etymology is given, as though the word were connected with אָסַף *to take away*.

* This last distinction agrees with that which appears in Exodus, where similarly it is only J who describes the Israelites as living apart in Goshen (8^{22} 9^{26}).

† The כְּתֹנֶת פַּסִּים (also 2 S $13^{18f.}$, as worn by princesses), the 'coat of many colours' of AV (so LXX ποικίλος, Vulg. *polymita*), was more probably (Pesh. Aq. Symm.; also LXX Vulg. in 2 S [χιτὼν καρπωτός; *tunica talaris*]) a tunic having sleeves for the arms, and reaching to the feet (cf. RVm), lit. (if the Aram. sense of פס may be adopted, for the word does not occur otherwise in the Heb. of the OT) *a tunic of palms* (of the hands) *and soles* (of the feet),—the tunic ordinarily worn having no sleeves, and reaching only to the knees.

‡ See, above, the parts which belong to the two narratives.

§ Dothan, it is to be observed, lies upon the caravan-route leading from Beth-shean and Jezreel to Ramleh and Egypt (Rob. *l.c.*); it was thus a natural spot for the Ishmaelite dealers, travelling from Gilead, to pass.

How Joseph meanwhile fared in Egypt is recounted by J in ch. 39, and by E in ch. 40 (in each case, with the exceptions noted above). The Egyptian, to whom the Ishmaelites sold him,[§] finding him to be quick and trustworthy, appoints him 'over his house,'—*i.e.* makes him superintendent of his establishment, or his *major domo*,—and intrusts to him the whole of his domestic arrangements, so that 'with him—*i.e.* beside him—he knew not ought, save the bread that he did eat,' which, on account of religious scruples, would not in Egypt be naturally intrusted to the care of a foreigner (cf. 43^{32b}). Under Joseph's administration, everything prospered in his master's house; and the blessing of heaven rested visibly upon it (39$^{1-6}$). But Joseph was 'comely and well-favoured,' and attracted the notice of his master's wife: she makes advances to him, which he rejects, saying nobly that he will neither betray the trust which his master reposes in him, nor sin against God. The advances are repeated, but still meet with no response. In the end, enraged at what she considers as a slight received at Joseph's hands, she brings a false accusation against him before her husband; and he is cast into the state-prison.[‖] There, however, J″ is still with him: he wins the favour of the keeper of the prison, who finds he can place in him implicit confidence, and even commits the other prisoners to his charge (39$^{7-23}$).

Shortly afterwards (ch. 40 E), two of the Pharaoh's officers, the chief of his cupbearers, or butlers, and the chief of his bakers, offended the king, and they were placed in custody[¶] in the house of the 'captain of the guard,'—*i.e.* Potiphar, who, according to 37^{36} (also E), had bought Joseph of the Midianites. Joseph is appointed to wait upon them (40^{4});[**] and, coming in to them one morning, he hears from them about their two dreams. Unable to interpret them themselves, they recount them to him; and he interprets them correctly. Three days after, on the Pharaoh's birthday, the chief butler, as Joseph foretold, is restored to his office, and the chief baker is hung (40$^{5-23}$).

Ch. 41 (with the exceptions noted, E) tells the story of Joseph's elevation in Egypt. After two years, during which time his position remained unaltered (the chief butler having forgotten his promise to mention him to the king), the Pharaoh had his two dreams, of the fat and lean kine, and of the full and withered ears; and much significance being attached in Egypt to dreams, he was disturbed to find no one able to interpret them. The chief butler, reminded by the occurrence of Joseph's skill in his own case, mentions him to the Pharaoh. He is sent for; and, being brought before the king,[*] declares to him what his dreams signify, viz. seven years of plenty, to be succeeded immediately by seven years of famine: in view of the future, he further suggests the practical measure of making provision for the years of famine by storing up in advance a fifth of the produce of each of the years of plenty. The Pharaoh, impressed by his sagacity, and recognizing it as of God (41$^{38f.}$), forthwith invests him with authority over the entire land of Egypt, for the purpose of giving effect to this proposal, and confers upon him other signal marks of the royal favour (41$^{40-44}$): he further, as a mark of his admittance into the Egyptian bureaucracy, bestows upon him an Egyptian name, Zaphnath-pa'aneaḥ, and marries him to Asenath, a daughter of Potiphera, priest of the great national temple of the sun (Ra), at On (Heliopolis, 7 miles N.E. of the modern Cairo). A notice from P (41^{46}) states that Joseph, at the time of his elevation, was 30 years of age. During the 7 years of plenty, Joseph amassed corn in the granaries of every city from the surrounding district: in the 5th of these years, we are told, Asenath bore him two sons, who were named, respectively, Manasseh in allusion to his *forgetting* now his past troubles, and Ephraim on account of his *fruitfulness* in the land of his affliction. When the years of famine began, the Egyptians all came to Joseph to buy corn (41$^{54-56}$).

Famines in Egypt are due commonly to the failure of the annual inundation of the Nile. The famine in which Joseph is concerned is stated, however, to have extended to all the earth (41^{57}); and this circumstance is the fact upon which the entire sequel of the story hinges. 42$^{1-37}$ (E, except vv.$^{27.28}$) tells how, as the famine became severe in Canaan, Jacob sends all his sons except Benjamin to buy corn in Egypt. Introduced into Joseph's presence, they prostrate themselves before him (cf. the dreams, 37$^{7-9}$), but do not recognize him: during the years of separation[†] he has grown from a youth into a man, and his Egyptian dress and shaven face further disguise him. He receives them roughly, and accuses them of being spies, sent to discover the 'nakedness of the land.' The charge throws them off their guard; and they seek to disarm his suspicions by volunteering information[‡] about their family, of which Joseph at once takes advantage: desirous, namely, of ascertaining the truth about Benjamin, he insists that one shall be left bound in Egypt, while the others go home, and bring back their youngest brother with them. Their conscience, the narrator remarks, smites them: they recognize in their misfortunes a nemesis for their treatment of Joseph; and Reuben—who regularly takes the lead in E—reminds them how he had sought to divert them from their purpose. Joseph understood all the time what they were saying, and was much moved by it: he adheres, however, to his terms, and retains as hostage, not indeed Reuben, his former protector, but the next eldest of his brethren, Simeon. Having secretly given orders for each man's money to be restored into his sack, and having given them provision for the way, he lets the others go, and they return to Canaan. Arrived there, they report to their father what had befallen them: the surprising discovery of the money in their sacks[*] adds to their and his anxiety; and he bitterly reproaches them for their inconsiderate treatment of him. Reuben steps forward, and offers his two sons as surety for the safe return of Benjamin from Egypt.

---

[*] At least, if (as most critics suppose) 'Judah' stood originally in v.^{21} (J) for 'Reuben' (as the text stands, v.^{21b} and v.^{22a} are tautologous). But even if that be not the case, we have 'Reuben' in vv.$^{22.29}$ (E), and 'Judah' in v.^{26} (J).

[†] In v.^{28} the absence of the art. before 'Midianites' shows that the reference cannot be to '*the* Ishmaelites,' mentioned specifically in v.^{27}.

[‡] Properly, 'captain (or superintendent, chief) of the slaughterers' (of animals [*not* 'executioners']), a Heb. title, though always, as it happens, applied to foreigners (elsewhere only, with רַב for שַׂר, of Neb.'s 'captain of the guard' Jer 39$^{9ff.}$ 41^{10} 43^{6} 52$^{12ff.}$, 2 K 25$^{8ff.}$, and Dn 2^{14}). The royal butchers came in some way to form the royal bodyguard; cf. W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} 262 f. LXX ἀρχιμάγειρος,—in itself a perfectly possible rendering (see 1 S 9$^{23.24}$), but not probable in view of Jer 39, etc.

[§] Identified in the existing text with Potiphar (37^{36}) by the harmonizing insertion in 39^{1b}.

[‖] The expression is a peculiar one (not the ordinary Heb. term for 'prison'), and is found only here (39$^{20-23}$) and 40$^{3.5}$. Understood as two Heb. words, it might mean 'house of roundness,' *i.e.* a circular tower, such as might be used as a prison; but *ṣōhar* is perhaps the Hebraized form of an Egyp. word [cf. Ebers, *Aeg. u. die Bb. Mos.* 318 f.: the very special character of the *suhan* at Thebes (see Maspero, *Struggle*, 271 n. 5) is an objection to Sayce's view (*EHH* 87) that it may be this word].

[¶] According to the insertions in vv.$^{3b.5b.15b}$ (J), in the state-prison, where Joseph was bound. In vv.$^{14b-15a}$, according to E, Joseph prays to be released, not from imprisonment, but only from servitude in a foreign land, after having been 'stolen away' from his native country (in agreement with E's representation in 37$^{28a.c}$).

[**] Cf. 41^{12} (also E). In 39^{22} (J) Joseph is made *overseer* of the other prisoners; and he receives this appointment, not from his master (as here), but from the keeper of the state-prison.

[*] According to the notice from J, inserted in v.^{14}, from the dungeon, in which J represents him as imprisoned (40^{15b} 39$^{21-23}$).

[†] According to E, more than 9 (41$^{1.48}$); taking account of the additional dates given by P (37^{3} 41^{46}), more than 20 (13+the 7 of 41^{48}).

[‡] 41^{13}, cf. v.^{32}. In the parallel narrative of J, this information must have been given in answer to Joseph's express inquiry: see 43^{7} 44^{19}.

The narrative is now continued by a long extract from J (42^{38}–44^{34}, with the exceptions noted). The famine continuing in Canaan, Jacob is obliged a second time to send to Egypt for corn: he is reluctant at first to let Benjamin go as well: but after the representations of Judah,—who takes the lead in J (cf. $37^{26f.}$), as Reuben does in E,—and his offer to be surety for his safe return (cf. the similar offer of Reuben in E, 42^{37}), he consents, sending at the same time a present, to conciliate, if possible, the favour of the great Egyptian governor. Joseph, seeing Benjamin with his other brothers, and perceiving thus that they have spoken the truth, prepares to show them friendliness, and invites them to a feast in his house. E mentions at this point that Simeon was released to them. They make ready their present for Joseph; and as he comes in, a second time (cf. 42^{6b}) fulfil unconsciously his dreams ($37^{7.9}$): he inquires tenderly for his father, and expresses his satisfaction at seeing Benjamin. At the feast, they are surprised to find themselves seated according to their ages, and Benjamin honoured with a 'mess,'—or honorary portion (cf. 2 S 11^{8}),—five times as large as any of theirs.

The *dénoûment* now approaches. The brethren depart, with their sacks filled with corn, Joseph having privately given orders for his divining-cup to be hidden in Benjamin's sack. Before they can have gone far, he sends messengers after them, who overtake them, and tax them with the theft. Their consciences are clear; and they voluntarily offer the offender to justice. Dismay and despair seize them, when the cup is found in Benjamin's sack. With affected indignation, Joseph reproaches them with what they have done: Judah, in reply, speaking on behalf of them all, attempts no excuse; for no excuse seems to be possible: a just retribution has overtaken them (cf. 42^{21}); they will all remain bondmen in Egypt. But Joseph presses his advantage home: he will only retain Benjamin. Judah now steps forward, and in a speech of striking beauty, remarkable not less for grace and persuasive eloquence than for frankness and generosity, intercedes on Benjamin's behalf: explaining how all had happened from the beginning, he entreats Joseph to have compassion on the feelings of an aged father, and to allow him to remain as bondman himself in his brother's stead (44^{18-34}). Overcome by the pathos of Judah's appeal, and convinced at last of his brethren's altered mind, Joseph discloses himself to them (ch. 45 E[*]). His first inquiry is for his father. For a while they can give no answer for amazement; but he reassures them, and allays their fears: in what they have done, they have been, after all, the unconscious instruments of Providence, for 'God did send me before you to preserve life' ($45^{5.7.8}$). And he sends an affectionate message to his father, to come and settle in Egypt, and be supported by him there.

Upon Jacob's arrival in Egypt, Joseph hastens to meet his father in Goshen (46^{28-30} J). He presents five of his brethren to the Pharaoh, who upon learning from them that they are shepherds, agrees to grant them an abode in GOSHEN (wh. see), a pastoral district about Saft el-Ḥenneh, some 40 miles N.E. of Cairo (46^{31}–$47^{4.6b}$ J; cf. 47^{5-6a} P).[†] (According to P (47^{7-11}) Jacob himself is introduced by Joseph to the Pharaoh; and Joseph assigns him, at the Pharaoh's command, an abode in the 'land of Rameses,'—probably a name for the E. part of the Delta, which Ramses II., the Pharaoh of the oppression, beautified by many new buildings, and often made his residence.)[‡]

There follows a paragraph (47^{13-26} J), describing a permanent change in the Egyptian system of land-tenure, which was attributed to Joseph. The famine continuing in Egypt, the people first gave away all their money for corn, then they gave away their cattle, finally they offered themselves and their land. The result was that all the land in Egypt, except that of the priests (who received a fixed revenue in kind from the crown, and thus had no occasion to sell their possessions for food), became the property of the Pharaoh, the previous owners becoming tenants of the king, paying him, as it were, an annual rent of $\frac{1}{5}$ of the produce.

According to P (47^{27b-28}) Jacob lived with Joseph in Egypt 17 years. As the time drew near for him to die, Joseph hearing of his sickness, brought in his two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim to see him. Upon hearing that they were there, the aged patriarch blessed them, giving Ephraim, the younger, against their father's desire, the first place, in view of the future greatness of the tribe descended from him (vv.$^{1-2.8-20}$ JE), at the same time (vv.$^{21.22}$ E) conferring upon Joseph, as a special gift, 'one shoulder—or mountain-slope—above his brethren' (with allusion to Shechem; see JACOB, p. 532). A parallel text of P (48^{3-7}) describes Jacob's *adoption* of his two grandsons, in virtue of which he places each on the same level with his own sons.

After Jacob's death, Joseph, as was natural, made suitable provision for his burial ($50^{1-11.14}$ JE, probably J; $50^{12.13}$ P). His brethren fear now that he will exact retribution for their past treatment of him, and send accordingly to crave his forgiveness. He replies generously that he is not in God's place, viz. to exact vengeance for actions which, however intended, have been overruled by God's providence for good ('to save much people alive'), and that he will continue to make provision for their nourishment and welfare (50^{15-21} E).[§] He lived, we read, to the age of 110, surviving even the birth of his great-grandchildren.[||] Before

---

[*] In J (see 43^{21}) this discovery is made at the lodging-place by the way; and $42^{27.28}$ is an extract from J's account of it (notice האחד '*the* one,' implying others to follow, not אחד. Observe also that the unusual word אמתחת *sack*, occurring 13 times in ch. 43–44 (J), occurs also twice in $42^{27.28}$, and not elsewhere in the OT).

[*] Except the clauses in vv.$^{4.5}$ referring to Joseph's having been *sold* by his brethren; v.^{10} as far as *Goshen*; and perhaps v.^{28}.

[†] The sequence in $47^{5.6}$ is much better in LXX than in the Heb. text.

[‡] The expression is thus proleptic, even if it be not actually an anachronism.

[§] The terms of v.^{21a} (cf. 47^{12}), and the expression, 'as it is this day,' in v.^{20}, seem to show that the writer pictured the famine as still continuing (cf. 45^{11}). E must have placed Jacob's death earlier than P (47^{28}).

[||] V.^{23} 'the sons of Machir, son of Manasseh,' are specified, on account of the importance attaching later to the corresponding clans of the tribe of Manasseh, on the E. of Jordan (see his death he expressed his assurance that God would ultimately bring up the children of Israel out of Egypt, and gave solemn directions for his bones to be brought up with them (50$^{22-26}$ E). The fulfilment of this injunction is described in Ex 13^{19}, Jos 24^{32} (both E); in the latter place it is added that Joseph's bones were buried finally in Shechem, in the plot of ground bought there by Jacob (Gn 33^{19}) in the centre of the territory owned by his descendants, the 'children of Ephraim.'

The *character* of Joseph is one that is singularly amiable and free from faults. He is the true son, the true brother, the true servant. Loyal and faithful, disinterested and sincere, modest and considerate, he wins the esteem of all right-minded persons with whom he has to do. He is obedient to duty in whatever position he finds himself—whether feeding his father's sheep, or attending to his master's house, or acting for the keeper of the prison, or invested by Pharaoh with authority over Egypt. 'J" was with him' is the significant phrase by which the narrator indicates the Divine approval of his conduct (39$^{2.\,3.\,21.\,23}$). In misfortune he is resigned, and does not complain. He resists temptation. In his elevation he neither presumes upon his position nor forgets his humbler relations: in spite of their cruel treatment of him, he bears his brethren no grudge; even after his father's death he is as generous and magnanimous as before (50$^{17-21}$). He has deep and true affection: his younger brother and his father are ever foremost in his thoughts.* His attitude towards his other brethren, and the humiliation which he imposes on them, are, of course, dictated by the desire to prove them, and bring them to acknowledge their sin; as soon as they have done this (cf. 42$^{21.\,22}$ 44^{16}), and he is satisfied that they are treating his father and Benjamin with genuine affection, he discloses himself, excuses them for what they had done (45$^{5-8}$), and, to assure them of his forgiveness and goodwill, makes provision for their residence near himself in Egypt. He has a lively sense of dependence upon God and of his duty towards Him (39^{9} 41^{16} 50^{24}). He is conscious that he is in God's hands, who overrules evil that good may come, and effects His purposes even though it may be without the knowledge and against the wishes of the actual agents (50^{20}, cf. 45$^{5.\,7.\,8}$). As a righteous man, persecuted and sold by his brethren, wrongfully accused and humiliated, but afterwards exalted, and using his position for the good of others, submissive, forgiving, and tender-hearted, it is not surprising that he should often have been regarded as a type of Christ. Only the measures adopted by Joseph for the relief of the famine might be thought to strike a discordant note in his character. To appropriate the surplus produce of the seven years of plenty, and then to compel the Egyptians to *buy back*, even to their own impoverishment, what they had themselves previously given up, does not seem consistent with our ideas of justice and equity. It must, however, be remembered, that, in this respect, Joseph was not, and could not be expected to be, in advance of the public morality of his age. The economic conditions of Egypt are, and always have been, peculiar. The fertility of the soil is dependent upon a system of irrigation, which can only be kept in proper order by the central government; and the cultivator falls into a state of dependency and indebtedness to it at the same time. Moreover, the Egyptian *fellah* lacks inherently the spirit of independence, and, even to the present day, is content to enrich others by his labour rather than himself. Of course such considerations as these do not justify in the abstract the oppressions to which Egypt has habitually been exposed at the hands of Oriental viceroys and pashas; but they tend to show that Joseph did not do more than was consistent with the condition of the country, with the age in which he lived, and with the position in which he found himself placed at the time.* Nevertheless, as Delitzsch observes, the remark of Niebuhr remains true: 'the history of Joseph is a dangerous precedent for designing ministers.'

Joseph was the reputed ancestor of the two tribes Manasseh and Ephraim, the latter being the most powerful and important in Northern Israel. In the blessings of Jacob (Gn 49$^{22-26}$) and Moses (Dt 33$^{13-16}$), 'Joseph' manifestly represents these two tribes, though no doubt in each the poet is thinking more particularly of Ephraim; in each he descants upon the blessings of soil and climate, of populousness and military strength, enjoyed by the tribe; and in each Joseph bears the title נְזִיר אֶחָיו 'the separate (*or* crowned) one of his brethren,' *i.e.* the tribe distinguished from the others by the possession, in a pre-eminent degree, of such distinctions as wealth, and influence, and political and military power. The terms of these blessings, and the enthusiasm which in each the poet displays for 'Joseph,' show that both spring from the period during which Ephraim was the leading tribe in Israel.† The two tribes are also grouped together elsewhere under the same common designation: not only in the expression 'children of Joseph,' Jos 16^{1} 17$^{14.\,16}$ (J), Nu 1$^{10.\,12}$, Jos 14^{4} 18^{11} *al.* (P), but also in 'house of Joseph,' Jos 17^{17} 18^{5}, Jg 1$^{22.\ddagger\,23.\ddagger\,25}$ 2 S 19^{20}‡ 1 K 11^{28}, and (like Ephraim in Hos) *à potiori* of Northern Israel generally, Am 5^{6}, Ob ^{18} (‖ 'house of Jacob'), Zec 10^{6}, and in 'Joseph' alone (sometimes representing N. Israel generally), Dt 27^{12} 33$^{13.\,16}$, Am 5^{15} 6^{6}, Ezk 37$^{16.\,19}$ 47^{13} 48^{32}, Ps 77^{17} ('the sons of Jacob and Joseph') 78^{67} 80^{1} (‖ 'Israel'), 81^{5}.

On *Joseph-el*, as the name of a place in Palestine in the 15th cent. B.C., see p. 526.

Date of Joseph.—The period of Egyptian history at which the events of Joseph's life are to be placed, cannot be determined except inferentially. As in the Book of Exodus, the name of the Pharaoh is not mentioned; and in view of the general fixity of Egyptian institutions, the allusions to Egyptian manners and customs, as Dillm. remarks, are not sufficiently distinctive to constitute a clue to the age in which he lived.§ The biblical dates, both of the Exodus and of the patriarchal age (which is dependent upon it, Ex 12^{41}), are too uncertain to form a secure basis for further chronological calculations (see CHRONOLOGY, vol. i. p. 398). There are, however, strong reasons for supposing Ramses II. of the 19th dynasty (B.C. 1275-1208, Petrie) to be the Pharaoh of the oppression (Ex 1$^{8ff.}$); and arguing back from this *datum*, it is probable that Joseph's

---

MACHIR and MANASSEH). 'Born upon Joseph's knees,' *i.e.* recognized by him as his descendants; cf. 30^{3}, *Odyss.* xix. 401.

* Gn 41^{51} *end* is naturally not to be taken *au pied de la lettre.* It is an old difficulty that Joseph did not, immediately after his elevation, take steps to inform his father of his welfare; but perhaps separations of this kind were taken in those days more as a matter of course than they would be by us; and certainly, if Joseph had done this, both the interest and the moral of the narrative would have been greatly impaired.

* Cf. the remarks and quotations illustrative of the economic condition of Egypt in the work of Vigouroux, cited below (p. 772 n.*), ii. 183-189; also Ebers, *Gosen*, 486-8 (ed. 2, 498 f.).

† In 2 S 19$^{43\,(44)}$ LXX (בְּכוֹר for בְּדָוִד), 'I am also the *firstborn* more than thou,' the men of Israel claim the birthright—no doubt on account of the prestige enjoyed by Ephraim; cf. 1 Ch 5$^{1.\,2}$: Ew. i. 422.

‡ Including here *Benjamin* (in 2 S 19^{20} Shimei, a Benjaminite, speaks). Cf. Stade, *Gesch.* i. 160 ff.

§ Sayce's statement (*EHH* 90, cf. 83), that the Egypt which the narrative brings before us is that of the Hyksos age, is not warranted by the facts: not one of the illustrations quoted by him is *distinctive* of the Hyksos age, and the great majority are not drawn from that period at all.

elevation in Egypt is to be placed under one of the later Hyksos kings.[*] The Hyksos (*i.e.* Hykshasu, 'prince of the Shasu,' or 'spoilers,' *i.e.* desert-hordes, or Bedawis) were a race of Asiatic invaders, who (according to Manetho) held possession of Egypt for 511 years (B.C. 2098–1587, Petrie), at first devastating and destroying, but afterwards settling down, and assimilating much of the culture of the conquered Egyptians (cf. vol. i. p. 659 f.; Maspero, *Struggle of Nations*, 50 ff., 72 ff.). Zoan (Tanis), in the N.E. of the Delta.[†] (as excavations have shown) was one of their chief cities. George the Syncellus speaks of a general consensus of chronographers to the effect that the Pharaoh of Joseph was Aphophis,[‡] *i.e.* Apepa (II.), the last important Hyksos king.[§] As it happens, if we place the Exodus at about B.C. 1204 (Petrie), this would agree with the date given in Ex 12^{41} (1204 + 430 = 1634 B.C.).

Historical Character of Joseph.—Taken in the abstract, it cannot be said that there are serious historical improbabilities in the *substance* of Joseph's biography. Certainly the narrative contains many dramatic situations. Both Joseph and his brethren pass through a series of crises and adventures, any one of which might readily have closed the drama, though all, in fact, lead on happily to the final *dénoûment.* Truth is, however, proverbially stranger than fiction. There have been many remarkable biographies in history, and we must beware of making probability too absolutely the test of credibility. In the general fact of a foreigner, by a happy stroke of cleverness, winning the favour of an Eastern despot, and being in consequence invested by him with high powers, there is nothing unprecedented; and in the case of Egypt, in particular, the monuments supply explicit evidence of foreigners rising there to positions of political distinction. The question assumes, however, a different aspect when account is taken (1) of the fact that the narratives about Joseph are plainly not the work of a contemporary hand,[‖] but were in all probability only committed to writing 700–800 years afterwards, and (2) of the further curious fact that 'Joseph' (like many of the other patriarchal names) is also a *tribal* name, the name of that subdivision of the nation which was also called after his two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim. The first of these facts at once destroys all guarantee that we possess in the Joseph-narratives a literal record of the facts. The outline, indeed, may still be historical, but for details or particular episodes popular imagination will very probably be responsible: the improbabilities which certainly attach to some of the details connected with the famine and the measures by which it was relieved ($41^{47-49.\ 54.\ 56.\ 57}$ 47^{14-26})[*] may thus, for example, be accounted for. The second fact raises the further question whether the figure of Joseph, in part or even as a whole, is a reflection of the history and characteristics of the tribe, projected upon the past in an individual form.

According to Ewald (cf. above, p. 534), the twelve sons of Jacob represent corresponding subdivisions of the nation: the smaller part of it, distinguished in the extant tradition by the name and fame of Joseph, and consisting essentially of the two tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh (which afterwards separated), migrated into Egypt first; Joseph, who was a real person, was a leader or distinguished member of the immigrants; he rose to power in Egypt, and conferred there great benefits both upon his own people and upon the country, and in the end also attracted the remaining and stronger part of his people to the E. frontier of Egypt. His personality was a remarkable one; and in after ages it was transfigured in the memory of his people: under the influence of Israel's religion it became an ideal of filial and fraternal affection, a high example of goodness, devotion to duty, sincerity, and love. The fundamental idea of the story consists in the happy reunion in Egypt of the long-separated members of Jacob's family, at the call of the son and brother who has risen there to high station; this, in the narrative of Genesis, as we possess it, has been gradually elaborated by successive writers until it attained 'the mature and attractive form in which it was worthy to become an heirloom of the human race.'[†] The view of Dillm. (introd. to ch. 39) and Kittel (i. 168 f.) is similar: behind the individual, Joseph, there stands the tribe (Dillm.); the tribe, migrating to Egypt, acquired there power and pre-eminence over its 'brethren,' and its leader is known to tradition by the same name, Joseph (Kittel). It is an objection to this view that it duplicates the name *at one and the same time*: 'Joseph' denotes both an individual and a tribe, not at different times, but *in Egypt itself*. Stade and others see in Joseph (as in his brethren) merely the imaginary eponymous ancestor of the tribe, in whose life and experiences are reflected the political and other relations of a later age.

Any judgment upon a question of this kind must be more or less 'subjective'; but to the present writer the amount of personal incident and detail in the narrative appears, as in the case of JACOB (p. 534^b), to be an objection to both these views. It seems to him to be more probable that there was an actual person, Joseph, afterwards—rightly or wrongly—regarded as the ancestor of the tribe, whose biography, during the time that it lived only in oral tradition, may have been embellished and made more dramatic in details, but who underwent *substantially* the experiences recounted of him in Gn, and who, having risen to power in Egypt, succeeded in obtaining for his fellow-tribesmen a home in the pastoral land of Goshen. This view, amongst other things, does justice to the Egyptian colouring of the narrative (see below). This colouring, it is true, is seldom specific; it is never of a character to prove close and personal cognizance of the facts described;[‡] nevertheless, its presence in the narrative — as indeed the entire Egyptian episode in Joseph's life — is difficult to account for, if the whole were nothing but a legend, woven by popular fancy upon the hills of Ephraim.

From 47^{13-26}, however, more cannot be inferred than that the agrarian conditions described prevailed in the age of the narrator: the details of the narrative, such as the connexion with the seven years of famine, the exhaustion of the Egyptians' money, etc., will, as Dillm. remarks, 'belong merely *der naiven Sage*.' The benefit derived in consequence by the crown must have been attributed popularly to Joseph's statesmanship; but if it be true that he rose to power under Aphophis, at the very time when the native Theban princes were beginning the war of independence, it is difficult to think that an innovation of this kind, introduced by him, could have survived the expulsion of the Hyksos Pharaohs.

It is, moreover, important to observe, as Kittel has pointed out, that this colouring is common to both J and E: as it is improbable that *two* writers would have added it independently, it may be inferred that it was inherent in the common tradition which both represent. This is a circumstance tending to show that in its origin the Egyptian element was considerably anterior to either J or E, and increases the probability that it rests ultimately upon a foundation in fact. At the same time, it is difficult to deny that the narrative (like those of ISHMAEL and JACOB) has been coloured in some of its details by later events, and even that particular episodes may have originated in the desire to account for the circumstances and relations of a later age. The hostility of the brethren to Joseph, the leadership in one narrative (E) of Reuben, in the other (J) of Judah, the power and pre-eminence of Joseph as compared with his father and brothers, the fact that Benjamin, afterwards the smallest tribe, is the youngest brother, the 'adoption' of his two grandsons by Jacob (*i.e.* their elevation to the same rank as his own sons), and the priority so pointedly bestowed by him upon the younger, are, for instance, points at which it is very possible that popular imagination has thus been at work, colouring or supplementing the historical elements of the Joseph-tradition by reference to the facts and conditions of later times. And naturally the literary form of the narrative, with its charms of style and other characteristic traits, will be due to the different writers, who, severally, cast the original tradition into a written shape.

---

[*] So Knob., Dillm., Riehm, Ebers (in Smith, *DB*^{2} 1792 f.), Brugsch (*Steininschrift*, 131), Wiedemann (with reserve), *Aeg. Gesch.* (1884), i. 293 f., and in his small *Gesch. von alt-Aeg.* (1891) 67 f.; and others.

[†] Zoan would be not more than about 35 miles from Goshen; and it is true that the court of the Pharaoh in Gn is represented as being not far from Goshen (for Joseph was near to both: $45^{10.\ 16}$ 46^{29-34} 47^{7}), whereas the residence of the Pharaohs, both before (12–14 dyn.) and after (18–20 dyn.) the Hyksos period, was far up the Nile, at Thebes. However, an argument in support of Joseph's Pharaoh being one of the Hyksos kings could be based upon this coincidence, only if it were already certain that the narrative was the work of a contemporary hand, which might be trusted to reproduce accurately geographical facts of this kind.

[‡] P. 62 (cf. p. 69) ἐπὶ πᾶσι γὰρ συμπεφώνηται ὅτι ἐπὶ Ἀφώφεως ἦρξεν Ἰωσὴφ τῆς Αἰγύπτου: p. 107, the 17th year of Aphophis is specified. Erman (*Z. f. Aeg. Spr.* 1881, 125–7; cf. Maspero, *Struggle of Nations*, 71) has made it probable that this date was arrived at by a combination of the 430 years of Ex 12^{41} with Egyptian data.

[§] Petrie, *Hist. of Eg.* i. 242, ii. 17 ff.

[‖] Notice incidentally in this connexion the absence of *particulars* in the narrative, *e.g.* any mention of the personal name of the Pharaoh, and of the place in Egypt where he held his court; and cf. Sayce, *HCM* 228 f. Contemporary writers—for instance, Jeremiah—are in such matters much more definite and specific.

[*] Cf. Kuenen, *ThT*, May 1871, p. 269 ff.

[†] Ewald, *Hist.* i. 363, 382, 405, 407–409, 412–420.

[‡] Institutions, officials, etc., for instance, are described *generally*, not by their specific Egypt. names: contrast the long lists of specific titles in Brugsch, *Ægyptologie*, pp. 206–232.

The acquaintance shown by the authors of the Joseph narratives, esp. J and E, with Egyptian customs and institutions has been long observed;[*] and the principal instances deserve to be noticed here, references being added to authorities where the subject may be more fully studied.

37^{25} (cf. 43^{11}). There would be demand in Egypt for resinous substances, such as 'gum tragacanth,' 'balm,' and 'ladanum' (the exudation of the Cistus or Rock-rose),[†] partly for medicinal purposes, partly for the composition of incense to be used in religious rites, and partly for embalming; see Ebers, *Aeg.* 289-293. For Syrian trade with Egypt (in the 18th dyn.), including slaves, see *ib.* 292 ff., Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt,* 516 ff.

39^{4} 'and he appointed him *over his house*.'[‡] Such a position can hardly be regarded as distinctively Egyptian (see note ‡): nevertheless the monuments show that large Egyptian households were organized with superintendents of their different departments (the fields, the cattle, the kitchen, etc.), the *mer-per*, or 'superintendent of the house,' being in particular often mentioned.[§] The 'bread which' his master 'did eat' (39^{6}) would not be left in Joseph's hand, on account of the scruples which the Egyptians had against eating food prepared by foreigners (cf. 43^{32}). To the story of Joseph and his master's wife ($39^{7\text{ff.}}$) there is a remarkable parallel (which has been often compared) in the Egyptian romance, commonly called 'The Tale of the Two Brothers,' written for Seti II. (19 dyn.), and preserved in the d'Orbiney Papyrus. Two brothers, Anpu and Bata, lived together in one house: the elder, Anpu, one day sent Bata back from the fields into the house to fetch some seed; Anpu's wife there made advances to him, which he repelled: when Anpu returned home in the evening, his wife accused Bata to him falsely. Anpu, enraged, at first sought to slay his brother, but in the end he was convinced that he was innocent and had been accused falsely, and he thereupon slew his unfaithful wife.[*]

$40^{1\text{ff.}}$ A 'butler,' or 'cupbearer' (the word in the Heb. is the same, מַשְׁקֶה, lit. *the one giving to drink*), was, naturally, not an institution peculiar to Egypt, being found also in Persia (Neh 1^{11}, cf. 2^{1}), and elsewhere (cf. *οἰνοχόος*): we meet, however, with a very similar title in lists of Egyptian court officials; Chabas, for instance (*Mél. Égypt.* 3rd ser. 131 ff.), publishes such a list, including 'le grand des appartements ou grand supérieur de la maison' (the *major domo*, mentioned above), 'le saigneur de bœufs, le boulanger, le cuiseur de mets, le conducteur des contrôleurs (*abu-u*), qui goûtent le vin,' etc., the last of whom is considered by Chabas and Ebers to have corresponded to the 'chief of the butlers' here.[†] In the tomb of Ramses III. (20 dyn.) there is a representation of a royal bakery, showing a number of figures employed in various processes of bread-making, and amongst them one carrying a tray containing rolls of bread upon his head (v.^{16}).[‡] A 'superintendent of the bakery,' corresponding to the 'chief of the bakers,' is mentioned by Erman, pp. 105, 187 (cf. Ebers, 333 bottom). The custom of *squeezing* grapes into a cup (v.^{11}) is illustrated by Ebers[§] from a text published by Naville from the temple at Edfu, where it is said that grapes squeezed into water formed a refreshing beverage, which was drunk by the king. The birthday of the Pharaoh (v.^{20}), at least in the Ptolemaic period, as we learn from the Canopus and Rosetta decrees (B.C. 239 and 195), was celebrated with a great assembly of priests of all grades, and a granting of amnesties to prisoners.[||]

In ch. 41 Pharaoh's dreams, both in themselves and in their subject-matter, are appropriate to the country. In Egypt (as in Babylon, and indeed in other ancient countries) much importance was attached to dreams. Thothmes IV., while sleeping under the shadow of the great Sphinx, was commanded by Râ Harmakhis to clear away the sand by which it was encumbered. A vision of the god Ptah, appearing in a dream, encouraged Merenptah to attack the Libyans. On the 'Dream-stele' discovered among the ruins of Napata, the ancient capital of Ethiopia, it is related how the Ethiopian king, Nût Amen, saw in a dream two serpents, one on his right hand and the other on his left, which were explained to portend that he would conquer Egypt, and wear on his head the two crowns, of the north as well as of the south.[¶] Strange nostrums were even in vogue for the purpose of obtaining significant dreams.[**] Egypt is dependent for its fertility upon the annual rising of the Nile: the cow-headed goddess Hat-hor,[††] the personification of fruitfulness (with whom Isis, the goddess of the fertile soil of the Delta,* was often identified), is described in inscriptions, cited by Ebers, as 'causing the Nile to appear in its season,' 'giving life to the living with her hands,' 'pouring forth fruitfulness upon the land,' etc.† The cow being sacred to both these deities, kine emerging from the Nile would be a natural emblem of fruitful seasons. *Seven* was also a sacred (and magical) number in Egypt.‡ Among the priestly classes § in Egypt were the 'writers of sacred writings' (saχ-u neter šat: in the Greek text of the Canopus decree, πτεροφόραι,—depicted on the monuments with a feather [quill] on their heads, and a book in their hand ||), and the 'knowers of things' (reχ χet-u), or, as we might say, 'wise men' (in the Greek, ἱερογραμματεῖς, or 'sacred scribes'), of whose superior knowledge the Egyp. king would avail himself in any difficulty.¶ To these correspond, no doubt, the *ḥarṭummim*** and 'wise men,' summoned by Pharaoh to interpret his dreams.

---

[*] Hengstenberg, *Aeg. u. die Bb. Mose's* (1841); Knobel (*Kgf. Comm.* 1852, 1860); Ewald (*Hist.* i. 419 n.); Dillm.; and esp. Ebers, *Aeg. u. die Bb. Mose's*, 1868 (ends with Gn 41^{32}), and in Smith, *DB*^{2}, *s.v.* JOSEPH. See also F. Vigouroux, *La Bible et les découvertes modernes*^{6}, 1896, tom. ii. (a full but not very critical compilation); and H. G. Tomkins, *The Life and Times of Joseph* (1891).

[†] Tristram, *Nat. Hist. of the Bible*, 393 f., 337 f., 458-460; on 'balm,' also, above, i. 236.

[‡] Cf., of Pharaoh's house, 41^{40}; of Joseph's house, $43^{16.19}$ $44^{1.4}$ (where 'steward of his house' is lit. 'he that was *over his house*'): cf. 'over *the* house' (*i.e.* the palace) in 1 K 4^{6} 16^{9} 18^{3}, 2 K 10^{5} 15^{5} $18^{18.37}$ 19^{2}, Is 22^{15} (all of the *major domo*, or governor of the palace, in Israel or Judah)

[§] Ebers, *Aeg.* 303-305; Erman, 187 f.

[*] The tale is translated in full by Maspero in *Les Contes Pop. de l'Égypte anc.*^{2} (1889), 5-32; Petrie, *Egyp. Tales* (1895), ii. 36 ff.; somewhat abridged, in Erman, 378 f.: the part parallel to the Bibl. narrative in Ebers, *Aeg.* 311 ff.; more briefly in Brugsch, *Hist. of Eg.*^{2} i. 309 ff. (new ed. 1891, 123 f.); Sayce, *HCM*, 209 ff. (from Brugsch); *Egypt of the Hebrews*, 25 ff. (from Brugsch and Erman).

[†] On the manufacture and use of wine in Egypt, Ebers, 322-329; cups and goblets, 327-329, Erman, 196-198; a servant offering wine to a guest in a goblet, Wilkinson-Birch, i. 430; several such, at a feast, in *The Tomb of Paheri at El Kab* (11th Memoir of Egyp. Explor. Fund), Plate vii., cf. p. 24 f.

[‡] See Wilkinson-Birch, *Anc. Egyptians* (ed. 1878), ii. 34; Ebers, *Aeg.* 332; or Erman, p. 191: the man carrying the tray, also, in Maspero, *Dawn of Civil.* 314.

[§] *Durch Gosen zum Sinai*^{1} (1872), 480; Smith, *DB*^{2} p. 1796^{a}.

[||] Ebers, 334-337.

[¶] Brugsch, *Hist.* (ed. 1891) 200, 314, 406. Cf. Wiedemann, *Relig. of the Anc. Eg.* 265-267; Ebers, 321 f.; Herod. ii. 141.

[**] Wiedemann, 267 f.

[††] Budge, *The Mummy*, 291, 292; Wiedemann, 143, 219.

Joseph's shaving himself, and changing his raiment (41^{14}), before appearing in the presence of Pharaoh, is in agreement with Egyptian customs: all respectable Egyptians shaved themselves: on the monuments, only foreigners, and natives of inferior rank, are represented as wearing beards; cleanliness of clothes, as well as of person, was also *de rigueur*.†† With the reference to God in 41^{16} (cf. v.^{39} 40^{8}), comp. Herod. ii. 83. Joseph's plan for laying up corn in storehouses ($41^{34f.}$) at least falls in with Egyptian institutions: in all important cities granaries were established, partly for the reception of the corn-tax (an important item in the revenue), partly to provide maintenance for soldiers and other public officials: the 'superintendent of the granaries' was one of the highest officers of the state; it was his duty to see that they were properly filled, and to report to the king annually on the harvests.‡‡ On 41^{40} ('over my house,' *i.e.* palace), cf. p. 772 note ‡, and Erman, pp. 69, 77: the terms of 41^{41} suggest the important office of *T'ate*, or governor, *ib.* 69, 87–89 ('the second after the king in the court of the palace'), 473. The *signet-ring* (41^{42}) was in other countries also a mark of authority (Est 3^{10} 8^{2}, Tob 1^{22}, 1 Mac 6^{15}); but it was notably so in Egypt, where the 'keeper of the seal' (*mer chetam*) was the king's deputy.* The golden collar put round Joseph's neck (*ib.*) was a peculiarly Egyptian form of decoration: it was called 'receiving gold';† Ahmes, the captain-general of the marines, who freed Egypt from the Hyksos, 'received gold,' on seven different occasions, for various acts of valour.‡ Linen was prized in Egypt as a material for dress, especially for men of rank; § but the plural '*garments* of fine linen' makes it doubtful whether (as Ebers supposes) there is a specific reference to the *shendi-t*, or *shend'ot*, the royal apron-garment, worn under the Old Empire only by royal personages, but under the Middle and New Empires, by other dignitaries as well.|| Horses and chariots are first represented on the Egyptian monuments under the 18th dyn.: it is probable, therefore, that they were introduced into Egypt during the Hyksos period; the words for both chariot (*merkobt*) and waggon (*'agolt*) are palpably of Semitic (Canaanite or Hebrew) origin (מֶרְכָּבָה, עֲגָלָה).¶ The king in earlier times was carried by soldiers on a sedan-chair.** Erman (p. 64) describes a scene from a tomb at Tel el-Amarna, in which Amenôphis IV. (18 dyn.), his queen and daughters, and the ministers in attendance, appear riding in chariots of state; but it throws no light on the expression, 'the second chariot which he had.' The monuments supply illustrations, at least in and after the 18th dyn., of foreigners (including slaves from Syria) rising to positions of political importance in Egypt, and adopting there a change of name: Mery-Rē ('beloved of Rê'), the armour-bearer of Thothmes III., and the priest, User-Min ('Min is strong'), were sons of a foreigner, the judge Pa-'Emer'eu (the Amorite); and under Merenptah, a Canaanite, Ben-Mat'ana, son of Jupa'a, from D'arbasana,†† holds the office of 'first speaker of His Majesty' (who acted as an intermediary between the king and his attendants), and receives the name of Ramses-em-per-Ra, 'Ramses in the temple of Ra.'‡‡ In fact, 'change of name was usual with *parvenus* whom the king wished to honour' (Ebers). On (*ib.*) is well known to have been the chief centre of the worship of the sun-god (Rê or Râ), possessing a famous temple, and a large body of priests (cf. Herod. ii. 3).

Famines of long duration, due to the Nile failing to overflow, are not unknown in Egypt: not only is one attested by El-Makrizi, the Arabic historian, for A.D. 1064–1071, §§ but the sepulchral inscription of one Baba, found at El-Kab in Upper Egypt, represents the deceased, in an enumeration

---

* Maspero, *Dawn of Civiliz.* 99, 132.

† Ebers, 357 f. (the dates and sources of these citations are not given: and their relevancy is perhaps doubtful).

‡ Ebers, 339 f.; Smith, *DB*^{2} 1796 (in prescriptions, *seven* drugs are often prescribed, never 6, 8, or 9; and in charms, *seven* objects are taken). Among the numerous forms of Hat-hor, *seven* are often in particular specified (Ebers, 359; *Tale of Two Brothers*, p. 51, Petrie; Brugsch, *Rel. u. Myth. d. alt. Æg.* 318 f., and *Thes. Inscr. Æg.* 800–802 [temple of the seven great Hathors at Speos Artemidos]); and in ch. 148 of the 'Book of the Dead,' mention is made of the *seven* sacred kine with their bull, who provide food and drink for the dead, and whose good services the deceased invokes Ra (Osiris) to secure on his behalf: see Budge's tr. (1898), p. 261 f.; and the fine vignette, representing the kine, with offerings laid before them by the deceased, in sheet 35 of the magnificent facsimile of the Papyrus of Ani, pub. by the Brit. Mus. Trustees (Vigouroux, p. 112, gives a different vignette of the same subject from the Turin Papyrus, pub. by Lepsius, *Todtenbuch*, 1842).

§ Ebers, 341 ff.

|| Wilk.-B. ii. 324, Nos. 8, 9.

¶ In the *Tale of the Two Brothers* (p. 54, Petrie), a lock of scented hair which has been found is brought to the king, who summons the 'scribes and the knowers of things' to tell him who its owner is. The sister-in-law of Ramses XII. is ill, and the Pharaoh is asked to send a 'wise man' to give his advice (Brugsch, 354; Ebers, 347, who adds that there are numerous similar instances). On the *contents* of the 'sacred writings' (which embraced magic, charms, and other subjects, as well as ritual, etc.), see Brugsch, *Ægyptologie*, 85, 149–159, 320.

** LXX ἐξηγηταί (in Ex ἐπαοιδοί, 9^{11} φαρμακοί), RVm 'sacred scribes.' Of uncertain derivation, but found only in connexion with Egypt ($41^{8.24}$, Ex $7^{11.22}$ $8^{7.18.19}$ 9^{11}), and (doubtless borrowed from Gn) in Dn 1^{20} $2^{2.10.27}$ $4^{7.9}$ 5^{11} (AV 'magicians').

†† Ebers, 350 ff.; cf. Wilk.-B. ii. 330, 331, 357; Erman, 225, 439; Petrie, *Tales*, i. 125; Herod. ii. 36.

‡‡ Erman, 108, with illustration of Cha'emḥê't, superintendent of the granaries under Amenôphis III. (18 dyn.), cf. 81, 86, 89, 94, 95; *Records of the Past*, 2nd ser. iii. 7 f., 22. Representations of Egyptian granaries may be seen in Erman, 433, 434; or in Wilk.-B. i. 348, 371: cf. also Maspero, *Dawn of Civil.* 286, 287: close by there were offices and weighing-rooms, in which scribes registered every sack that was brought in or taken out (Erman, p. 95).

* Ebers, *DB*^{2} 1797: cf. Petrie, *Hist.* ii. 90, 172, 198; Brugsch, *Hist.* 321, and *Ægyptologie* (1891), 84, 207, Ptahmoses 'into whose hand the land was given, and on whose fist was the king's seal'; Tomkins, 47.

† Erman, p. 118 f., with the illustrations on pp. 120 (Ey being decorated by Amenôphis IV.), 208; cf. 108; Wilk.-B. iii. 370 f., with the Plate (investiture of a governor with chain of office by Seti I.); Vigouroux, ii. 128 (a similar scene from a stele in the Louvre); Ebers, *ZDMG*, 1877, p. 462 f. The collars were often of massive and costly workmanship.

‡ Brugsch, *Hist.* p. 114 f. (another example, p. 163 f.); or Petrie, *Hist.* ii. 21–23.

§ Cf. Erman, 111, 448; Petrie, *Tales*, i. 125; Herod. ii. 37 (for priests), 81; Ezk 27^{7}.

|| Erman, 62, 206, 210.

¶ Erman, 490 f. (Under the 18th, and esp. the 19th, dynasty, many Semitic words found their way into Egyptian; *ib.* 516 f.; Brugsch, 98 f., 302 ff.; Petrie, *Hist.* ii. 148–150.)

** Erman, 65 (an illustration).

†† Some locality in Bashan, according to W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa nach altägypt. Denkmälern*, 273.

‡‡ Erman, 106, 517 f., 518 n. ('many similar examples').

§§ See Smith, *DB*, *s.v.* FAMINE. The terrible effects of a one year's famine (A.D. 1199) are described at length by Abdollatif (ed. White, 1800, p. 210 ff.: extracts in Stanley, *Jewish Church*, i. 79 f.; Vigouroux, 174 ff.).

of his virtues, as saying, 'I collected corn, as a friend of the harvest-god. I was watchful at the time of sowing. And *when a famine arose, lasting many years, I distributed corn to the city each year of famine.*'[*] The age of Baba (end of the 17th dyn.) would coincide approximately with that of Joseph; and it has even been supposed that the famine referred to may be the same. Ameni (or Amony), governor of the 'nome of the Gazelle,' under Usertesen II. (12 dyn.), tells us that he made provision for his people, very much as Joseph did: 'In my time there were no poor, and none were hungry. When the years of famine came, I ploughed all the fields of the nome, I kept the inhabitants alive, and gave them food, so that not one was hungry.'[†]

42^9. The charge of being spies was a natural one: Egypt was exposed on its E. side, and liable to be invaded by Asiatics; under the 12th dyn. fortresses had been erected along the Isthmus of Suez, and under the 19th dyn. officers were stationed there to take the names of all passing in either direction.[‡] The oath 'by the life of Pharaoh' (42^{15}) is known from Egyptian monuments: in an account of criminal proceedings (20th dyn.), a thief has administered to him an oath *by the king's life,* to prevent him speaking falsely:[§] in a similar document, published by Chabas, the expression 'il fit un *Vie du Seigneur royal*' occurs more than once.[‖]

43^{16}. The expression 'steward of his house' (אשר על ביתו) is explained above, on 39^4. Every great man in Egypt had such an overseer for his establishment. On Egyptian feasts, cf. the Plates in Erman, opposite pp. 250, 255, or Wilk.-B. i. 431: the guests did not sit round a table, as with us, but on rows of chairs, facing a sideboard; the viands, interspersed with rich floral decorations, were arranged on this, and carried round to the guests by servants. On Egyptian houses, which were often on a large scale, Erman, 174 ff. In explanation of v.^{32b}, see ABOMINATION, No. 1; and cf. (Ebers) how it is said, after Pianchi's conquest of Egypt (B.C. 766), that the defeated kings 'did not enter the king's house, because they were unclean (*i.e.* uncircumcised), and they ate fish, which is an abomination to the king' (Brugsch, p. 404, l. 150 f.).

43^{21} 'in full weight' (lit. *in its weight*). Egyptian money consisted of rings of gold (probably unstamped), which were weighed by scribes who made this their business (Erman, 109, 464; Wilk.-B. i. 285, 286). However, the practice of 'weighing' money was also usual among the Hebrews, even to a late date (Jer $32^{9.\,10}$, Zec 11^{12} etc.).

45^8 'a father (*'āb*) to Pharaoh,' v.^{9} (cf. $42^{30.\,33}$) 'lord (*'ādōn*) of all Egypt.' Brugsch has pointed out that both *'āb* and *'ādōn* were official titles in Egyptian.

Āb (or *ābū*) does not mean 'father' in Egyp., but denotes primarily the *overseer* of a kitchen, wine-cellar, bakery, etc.; then in the 19th dyn. the *ābū* of the king becomes an important person in the state, and takes part in judicial investigations, etc.: see Brugsch, *Hist.* (1891), 101, 357, *Steininschrift*, 82; and esp. *Dict. Hiérogl.* v. 37-39, *Aegyptologie*, p. 225 f., and Erman, who represents *ābū* by the peculiar term *Truchsess*, rendered in the Eng. tr.—as badly as possible—by 'slave,' p. 105, l. 11, 10, 7, 6, 4 from bottom, p. 106, l. 1, 11, 14, 18, by 'vassal,' pp. 131-136, 141, 143, 144 (cf. *Z. f. Aeg. Spr.* 1879, pp. 73 ff., 148 ff.), by 'serfs,' p. 187 f. (3 times), and by 'vassal' again, p. 475.

'Ādōn (or *Aten*) was the title given to the *viceroy* (of the Pharaoh), or the *deputy* of a governor or other official (like the Arab. *wakil*): thus we read of the *'ādōn* of a city, of a district, of a regiment, of a treasury, of the grand-chancellor, etc., and even of the whole country. See Brugsch, *Rev. Égypt.* i. (1880) 28 ff. (many examples cited); also *Hist.* 101, 124, 125 (Hor-em-heb (18 dyn.) was '*Adon* of the whole land' for some years before he became king: see p. 231), 281, 290, 339 bottom, 344 *bis*, 347, 348; and Virey in *Records*, 2nd ser. iv. 3 ff. (where the same word is spelt 'tennu').

In view, however, of the fact that both *'āb* and *'ādōn* are common Heb. words (with 45^8 cf. esp. Is 22^{21}), it must be regarded as exceedingly doubtful whether, in using them, E had really in mind the Egyptian offices to which Brugsch has referred.

On 46^{34b} see ABOMINATION, No. 1: there is independent evidence that cow-herds and swineherds (Herod. ii. 47) were looked down upon by the Egyptians, but not that shepherds were. 47^6 'overseers of cattle over that which I have.' Much attention was paid to cattle-rearing in Egypt; and there were many fine breeds.[*] The Pharaoh possessed large herds; and the *mer*, or superintendent, of the royal cattle is often mentioned in the inscriptions.[†] There are parallels for parties of foreigners receiving permission to settle in Egypt: see *Z. f. Aeg. Spr.* 1889, p. 125, or Tomkins, p. 81 (*Mentiu*, or nomads, expelled from their homes, appeal to Ḥor-em-ḥeb, of the 18th dyn., and receive permission to settle in a prescribed locality); and the remarkable inscription cited by Brugsch, ch. v. (p. 100), from the reign of Merenptah (Shasu or Bedawis, allowed to pass a border-fortress of Egypt, and to settle on the property of the Pharaoh). In 47^{14} the 'house' meant is, according to Ebers, the treasury, usually called *per-het*, the 'house of silver': the head-treasurer was a high officer of state, having many subordinate officials under him.[‡] The peculiar system of Egyptian land-tenure, which (47^{26}) is attributed to Joseph, is so far in accordance with the evidence of the monuments, that, whereas in the Old Empire the nobility and governors of the nomes possessed large landed estates, in the New Empire (which followed the expulsion of the Hyksos) 'the old aristocracy has made way for royal officials, and the landed property has passed out of the hands of the old families into the possession of the crown and the great temples.'[§] The monuments do not, however, furnish any explanation of the origin of the new system: there is a conjecture in Erman, p. 102 f.[‖]

$50^{2.\,26}$. Embalming the dead is, of course, well known to have been an Egyptian custom; for descriptions of the process, see Herod. ii. 86-89; Budge, *The Mummy* (1893), 160 ff.; Wilk.-B. iii. 470 ff. Egypt was famous for its physicians (*Od.* iv. 229; Herod. ii. 84, iii. 1. 129), and Egyptian treatises on medicine have come down to us:[¶] but here 'physicians' seems to be used improperly

---

[*] Brugsch, *Hist.* ed. 2, i. 304; ed. 1891, p. 121. Called *Bebi* in Maspero, *Struggle*, 85.

[†] *Ib.* p. 61; or Erman, p. 94. The seven-years' famine under king Toser (?) of the 3rd dyn. (*c.* 4400 B.C.) is known only from the late and doubtful testimony of an inscription forged by some priests of the 3rd cent. B.C. to support their claim to an ancient tithe: Brugsch, *Steininschrift u. Bibelwort* (1891), 88-97; Sayce, *HCM* 217 f. Brugsch thinks that this is the famine, of which a tradition had reached the Biblical writer, but that he connected it incorrectly with Joseph.

[‡] Erman, 538, 539. The words 'How art thou come, *in order to spy out?*' (Brugsch, 110) addressed by Seqenen-Ra in Thebes to the messengers of Apepi, and quoted as parallel to Joseph's question by Brugsch, p. 112, and Tomkins, p. 62, do not, however, appear in the translations of Maspero (*Records*, 2nd ser. ii. 43, *Contes pop.* 283) and Petrie (*Hist.* ii. 18), both of which have simply, 'Why hast thou made this journey?'

[§] *Zeitschr. f. Aeg. Spr.* 1874, p. 62.

[‖] *Mélanges*, iii. 1, pp. 80, 95, 105 (cf. 91).

---

[*] Erman, 436 f.

[†] Ebers; Erman, 94, 95, 108 top, 143, 475 (cf. 300).

[‡] Cf. Erman, 85 f., 96 f., 108 ff.

[§] Erman, p. 102. Diodorus Siculus, in a later age, says that the land in Egypt belonged to the king, the priests, and the military caste (i. 73 f.; cf. Herod. ii. 168, where it is stated that every priest and warrior in Egypt possessed 12 ἄρουραι—about 9 acres—of land tax-free).

[‖] In 47^{31} Chabas (*Mél.* iii. 1. 91 f.), adopting the reading of LXX (He 11^{21}), saw a reference to the Egyp. custom of doing homage, at the time of taking an oath, to the magistrate's wand of office (cf. Vigouroux, 190; Tomkins, 82-85).

[¶] Erman, 357 ff.

for embalmers (who belonged in fact to a distinct profession). Seventy days appears to have been a more usual period for the entire process than forty; but, in point of fact, it varied.[*] In 50^{7-9} a considerable funeral procession is described, such as are often represented on the tombs,—only (Ebers) without 'horsemen': see Plates LXVI. LXVII. LXVIII. in Wilk.-B. (iii. 444, 446, 449), or Erman, p. 320 f. The 'coffin' of 50^{26} is the mummy-case, or sarcophagus: the same word (אֲרוֹן) is used in Phœn. of a sarcophagus.[†] It is remarkable that 110 (*ib.*) appears to have been regarded in Egypt as the ideal age for a man, and as the most perfect age to be desired. 'In the most ancient MS we possess, the Papyrus Prisse,[‡] a life of 110 years is declared to be the best; and in the Papyrus Anast. iv. (T. iv. l. 4) we read "Fulfil 110 years on the earth, whilst thy limbs are vigorous."' On a granite statue at Vienna there is a prayer to Isis to grant health and happiness for 110 years. 'Many similar passages speak of 110 years as the most perfect age to be desired, and therefore by the number 110 is inferred an especially blessed and prosperous life' (Ebers).

On the Egyptian *names* found in 41^{45}, see above, vol. i. 665^{b}; the same explanations are accepted, and cordially approved, by Ebers (*DB*² 1798 f.).[§] It is singular that the three types of name are otherwise not common till an age much later than that to which Joseph must be referred: those of the type Zaphenath-pa'aneaḥ appear first at the end of the 20th dyn. (one instance), and are frequent only in the 22nd (the dyn. of Shishak); of those of the type Potiphera,[‖] Mr. Tomkins cites one (though not borne by a native Egyptian)[¶] in the 18th dyn., but otherwise they appear first in the 22nd, and are frequent only in the 26th dyn. (B.C. 664–525); those of the type Asenath are found now and then earlier, but are frequent only in the 21st dyn. and become common afterwards.[**] It is, of course, unwise to build too much upon a negative argument; but the *combination* of names, otherwise all either rare or unknown at an early period, is certainly remarkable; and Steindorff, Brugsch, and Ebers all agree in inferring from the facts mentioned that the names in question did not originate before the 9th cent. B.C.[††] On ABRECH (41^{43}), see vol. i. p. 18: the explanation of Renouf, there given, is likewise that of Brugsch (*Steininschrift*, 83 f.).[‡‡]

There are also four or five Egyptian words in this part of Gn: but they are all words which were naturalized in Hebrew; they occur in other parts of the OT, and consequently afford no clue to the date of the narratives in which they are found. They are 'Pharaoh'; יְאֹר $41^{1.2.3.17.18}$, the common Heb. name for the Nile (Is 7^{18} and frequently); אָחוּ *reed-grass*, $41^{2.18}$ (also Job 8^{11}†); שֵׁשׁ *fine linen*, 41^{42} (also Ex 26^{1} etc. [P], Ezk $16^{10.13}$ 27^{7}, Pr 31^{22}); and perhaps סֹהַר (p. 773^{a}, note **), and חרטמים (p. 768^{a}, note ‖).[*]

S. R. DRIVER.

JOSEPH THE HUSBAND OF MARY.

I. *IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.*—(1) He is not mentioned by name in Mk,[†] and only indirectly in Jn 1^{45} 6^{42}. (2) Nor are the meagre accounts in Mt and Lk easy to reconcile. Both evangelists state that he was a descendant of David (Mt 1^{20}, Lk 2^{4}[‡]), and that the Virgin Mary was already espoused to him when she became with child of the Holy Ghost (Mt 1^{18}, Lk $1^{27.35}$), and that he lived at Nazareth after the birth of our Lord (Mt 2^{23}, cf. 13^{55}, Lk 4^{22}, cf. ^{16}); but they treat each of these details differently.

(*a*) *The Davidic Descent.*—Mt, making Joseph the son of Jacob, traces his relation to David through kings, Lk through Heli and private persons (Mt 1^{1-17}, Lk 3^{23-38}).

(*b*) *The Conception.*[§]—Lk tells us of the Angelic Annunciation, and of Mary's meekness and faith (1^{26-38}); Mt begins at a later period (1^{18}), and lets us see Joseph's character under a sharp trial. He was a man who strove to conform to the precepts of the law (δίκαιος, cf. Lk 1^{6} 2^{25}), and had a keen sense of personal honour, yet was not so bound by law as to be unmoved by kindly feelings. He did not 'proclaim' Mary (δειγματίσαι), though it seemed to be his duty, but resolved to divorce her in as quiet and secret a way as possible.[‖] Yet though he had already come to this decision, the appearance to him, in a dream, of an angel of the Lord, with the assurance of the true origin and the work of the Child, fully in accordance as the former was with the words of prophecy ('Quod si dubitas Isaiam audi,' Ephraem on Tatian, cf. Iren. iv. 23. 1, ed. Massuet), convinced him of his mistake. He therefore took Mary, and in full faith 'was dwelling in holiness with her' (Tatian's *Diatess.*) until she bare a son.

(*c*) *Nazareth.*—Lk tells us in $1^{26f.}$ that Mary lived in Nazareth, and was espoused to Joseph; and in 2^{4} that Joseph went up out of Nazareth to Bethlehem with her. He therefore presumably (not quite necessarily) also himself lived in Nazareth before the birth of our Lord. Yet Mt $2^{22.23}$ gives no hint that Joseph had had any relation with Nazareth before his return from Egypt, and implies that he would have settled in Judæa but for fear of Archelaus and the direct warning that he received by dream. Assuming the truth of the inference from Lk's language, we must suppose that Mt was not concerned with matters of merely private importance, and that in accordance with his scheme of showing publicly the Messianic character of Jesus, he omitted everything that did not illustrate this. The significance of the birth being at Bethlehem (in the relation of that town to David and to the prophecy of Micah, and in its nearness to Rachel's tomb, Gn 35^{19} 48^{7}, with the *midrashic* application of Jer 31^{15}), and the interest of the removal to Egypt, make it natural that Nazareth should not be mentioned until this town in its turn affected the public life of Jesus. Mt then, in reference to our Lord's familiar name ('Jesus the Nazarene') being derived from it, characteristically connects it with prophetic words (2^{23}, Is 11^{1}).

---

[*] Budge, *l.c.* 179.

[†] *CIS* i. i. $3^{2.3.5}$; Driver, *Notes on Samuel*, xxvi.

[‡] Containing the 'Precepts of Ptah-hotep' (Maspero, *Dawn of Civiliz.* 399–401): see *RP*, 2nd ser. iii. 34.

[§] Brugsch also (*Steininschrift*, 83) agrees in those of Potiphera (Potiphar), and (against his former view, *Hist.* 122) Zaphenath-pa'aneaḥ: Asenath he does not here mention.

[‖] Of which 'Potiphar' is usually regarded as a merely Hebrew variant.

[¶] Petu-baal, 'gift of Baal'; *Life and Times of Joseph*, p. 184: see Brugsch, *Hist.* i. 255 (ed. 1891, p. 118). The name is evidently that of a Semite (Lieblein, *Recherches sur Chronologie*, 129 ff.), and not improbably (Sayce, *EHH* 85) formed in imitation of the Phœn. *Mattanbaal* ('gift of Baal').

[**] See Steindorff, *Z. f. Aeg. Sprache*, xxx. (1892), 50–52.

[††] Hommel (*Aufsätze*, 1892, p. 4) follows Lagarde in using the same facts as a clue to the date of the document E (*c.* 700 B.C.).

[‡‡] Lieblein (*PSBA*, 1898, p. 202 ff.) proposes a different explanation of Potiphar (not of Potiphera) and Zaphenath-pa'aneaḥ: he also explains 'Abrech' as *à gauche, toi! i.e.* 'go to the left!'

[*] רָבִיד *collar*, 41^{42} (also Ezk 16^{11}†) is not the Egyp. name of the decoration mentioned on p. 773^{b}; and whether it is Egyptian at all is extremely doubtful: Harkavy (*Journ. As.* Mars-Avril, 1870, p. 182 f.) suggested 'sous toutes réserves' that it might be the Egyp. *repit*, 'image qu'on porte sur le cou, collier en forme d'image,' which occurs in ch. 162 of the *Book of the Dead*,—in Budge's tr. p. 290, '[This chapter] shall be recited over the *image* (repit) of a cow, which shall be made in fine gold, and placed at the neck of the deceased' (cf. Budge's *Vocab.* p. 194). This is slender evidence that *repit* (or *erpit*) means a 'collar.' There is a Sem. root, Arab. *rabada*, one meaning of which is *to tie*.

[†] TR of Mk 6^{3} speaks of our Lord as 'the son of the carpenter' (=‖ Mt 13^{55}), but the true reading is 'the carpenter' (see below).

[‡] ἐξ οἴκου καὶ πατριᾶς Δ. Possibly the former term is the wider, and includes even those adopted into the household, while the latter refers more strictly to those of the line of the πατήρ.

[§] Canon Gore (*Bampton Lects.*, 1891, p. 78) points out that Mt narrates everything from Joseph's side, Lk from Mary's, and adds that this suggests that the narrative of Mt is ultimately based on Joseph's account, Lk on Mary's. If this be true we may conjecture that Mt's was derived mediately through James the Lord's brother.

[‖] Dr. G. Dalman writes to the author of the present article as follows: 'Edersheim (*Life and Times of Jesus*, i. 154) is wrong in stating that Joseph had a choice in legally divorcing her either publicly or privately. Divorce has always been a private act. No public act of divorce exists. The *gêt* (bill of divorce, which is given solely in the woman's interest), never contains reasons for the divorce. Two witnesses are only necessary that they may state that the *gêt* was really handed over by *this* man to *this* woman. *Keth.* 74^{b}, 75^{a}, quoted by Edersheim, does not refer to divorce itself, but to doubts about the formal legality of an act of divorce which arose *afterwards*, and could become a reason for hearing the decision of a court of justice. Some Rabbis believed that no husband would be likely to resort to a measure which would expose his former wife to the shame of having to do with a court of justice.'

(3) We further learn from Lk that Joseph was present when the shepherds came to Bethlehem (2^{16}); that he as well as Mary brought up the Babe to present Him to the Lord, and marvelled at the things that were being said about Him (2$^{22.\,33}$); that he used to go every year to Jerusalem at the passover (2$^{41.\,42}$), certainly with Mary, and perhaps with the Child; and that when the Boy was twelve years old and stayed on after the days of the feast were over, he shared with Mary in the anxiety, and, like her, did not understand the naive wonder of Jesus at their searching for Him (2$^{41\text{-}50}$); yet his and Mary's authority remained unquestioned in the daily life of the home at Nazareth (2^{51}).

(4) We gather from the remaining references to Joseph that (*a*) our Lord was commonly known as Jesus ben-Joseph, Jn 1^{46} (? at Bethsaida), Lk 4^{22} at Nazareth, and Jn 6^{42} at Capernaum; and (*b*) Joseph was known, or remembered, as the carpenter (Mt 13^{55}).

(5) Nothing is said about Joseph's death. But the command to St. John at the Cross (Jn 19$^{26.\,27}$), and the reference to 'Mary the mother of Jesus, and His brethren' (Ac 1^{14}) immediately after the Ascension, imply that his death took place at least before the Crucifixion. Further, the fact that he is not mentioned with Mary and His brethren when they sought Him (Mt 12^{46} and parallels), suggests that he was already dead before the middle of our Lord's ministry. Probably the usual opinion is right, viz. that he was dead before our Lord's ministry began.

II. *THE LIFE OF JOSEPH FROM APOCRYPHAL SOURCES.**—The account of Joseph is put into our Lord's mouth as He sat on the Mt. of Olives with His disciples (*Death Jos.*, Boh. § i.). He is from Bethlehem, and marries his first wife when 40 years old, living 49 years with her in wedlock (*ib.* § xiv.). He has four sons and two daughters, his wife dying when James is still young. He and his *two* sons work as carpenters (*Death Jos.*, Boh. § ii.). They, however, and his two daughters are married, and he dwells with James his youngest son (*ib.* Boh. § xi. 1). He is one year alone before Mary is given to him (*ib.* Boh. § xiv.). The priests seek a widower to whom they may espouse Mary (who has been in the temple from the age of three to twelve, to fourteen according to others); the heralds proclaim this through all Judæa, and Joseph, throwing away his axe, goes to meet them. The high priest takes the rods of all, enters into the temple, and prays, and returns the rods to each. There is no sign till Joseph receives his rod, the last of all, when a dove comes out of the rod and flies upon his head. The priest says, 'Thou hast been chosen by lot to take into thy keeping the virgin of the Lord.' But he refuses, saying, 'I have children; and I am an old man, and she is a young girl. I am afraid lest I become a laughing-stock to the sons of Israel.' But he receives her (*Protev.* §§ 8, 9). After two years (*Death Jos.* § xiv.), or four months (Niceph. Call. ii. 3, cf. Forbes Robinson, p. 187), the Annunciation takes place. The 'righteous old man,' coming in from his house-building in districts near the seashore (Pseudo-Matt. § 10), wishes to put her away privily, but on Mary's statement of her innocence hesitates, and is assured by the angel in a dream (*Protev.* §§ 13, 14). Yet both he and Mary are accused by Annas the scribe, and by the priest, and are tried by the ordeal of drinking water and going to the hill-country. But they return to the priest unhurt (*Protev.* §§, 15. 16) and go home.

Having heard of the order for enrolment, Joseph sets Mary upon an ass; his son leads it, and he himself follows (*Protev.* § 17). On arriving at Bethlehem he writes his name by a scribe, 'Joseph the son of David, and Mary his wife, and Jesus his son are of the tribe of Judah' (*Death Jos.*, Boh. § vii.). He brings her to a tomb (Lord Crawford's MS), an inn (*Death Jos.*, Sah. vii.), a cave (*Protev.* § 18), where he leaves her while looking for a midwife. He sees all nature stand still in wonder (*Protev.* § 18). He is mentioned as being present at some of the many miracles performed during the flight to Egypt and the sojourn there (Pseudo-Matt. § 19 *sqq.*; *Arab. Gosp.* §§ 10-35). Also after returning to Nazareth he is necessarily an actor in the painful tricks and precocious miracles ascribed to our Lord. He lives by his daily toil, 'never eating bread for nought, but doing according to the law of Moses' (*Death Jos.*, Boh. § ix.). When he was an hundred and eleven years old his body was that of a youth, and he works at his trade of carpenter till the last day of his life (*Hist. Jos. Carp.* § 29), yet he is told that he is to die that year.* He goes up to Jerusalem, into the temple, repents before the altar, and prays. He returns to Nazareth, and laments. He is in great fear of death, and confesses to Jesus his sin in doubting Mary at the first, and in rebuking Him for His childish behaviour. Mary pleads with Jesus that Joseph may not die. While he himself is making the same request, his soul comes up to his throat. His children come and weep over him. Death comes with devils, who depart, rebuked by Jesus. Death is afraid (in *Death Jos.*, Sah. III. § xxiii. Jesus is obliged to go out before Death will come in). Jesus prays. Angels take Joseph's soul (on Epepi 26=July 20), putting it into silk napkins of fine texture. Michael and Gabriel watch it; the angels sing before it till they give it to God. The inhabitants of Nazareth and Galilee gather together and mourn for him till the 9th hour, when they are put forth by Jesus, who pours water on the body and anoints it with oil. At Jesus' prayer two angels shroud the body. The body becomes incorrupt even until the banquet of the thousand years (*Hist. Jos. Carp.* § 26). Jesus promises blessing to those who commemorate each anniversary of Joseph's death, give bread in his name to the poor, and wine to strangers and others on the day of his commemoration; who write out the book of Joseph's going-forth from the body, or, if they are too poor, call their sons by the name of Joseph (*Death Jos.*, Boh. § xxvi.). The great ones of the city coming to bury Joseph find his shroud already fastened to his body. They dig at the door of the cave to place his body there. Jesus prays and embraces Joseph, who is then buried.

---

* These are especially *The Book of James* (*Protevangelium*), *The Life of the Virgin* (Sahidic Fragments, published in Forbes Robinson's *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels*, 1896), *The Death of Joseph* (Bohairic and Sahidic, do.) which = *The History of Joseph the Carpenter* (Arabic), *Liber de Infantiâ* (Gospel of Pseudo-Matt.), *The Gospel of the Nativity of Mary*, *The Arabic Gospel of the Childhood*, *The Gospel of Thomas*.

For the dates of these see Lipsius in *Dict. Christ. Biogr.* ii. 700. The *Protevangelium* dates in its present form from perhaps the latter part of the 3rd cent. The rest from perhaps the 4th to the 6th cent. Many of these narrate the same incident, but one reference seemed to be sufficient here. It did not seem necessary to mention all minute variations of the legend.

* From here onwards the *Death of Joseph* (Boh.) is almost the sole authority.

III. *THE CULT OF ST. JOSEPH.*—Any notice of Joseph can in these days hardly be complete without some mention of his Cult, which has of recent years attained to such an extraordinary development.

(1) The latter part of the preceding section shows that to some writers, especially to those who lived in Egypt and occupied themselves with religious romances, Joseph's attractive personality afforded scope for religious devotion. But very little, if any, trace of this is to be seen in the Fathers.* St. Bernard of Clairvaux is the first writer to show it clearly. He says (if Mgr. Ricard's quotations may be trusted), 'Joseph alone among all men was, here below, the faithful co-worker of her who was the greatest of the works of God';† and again, 'Remember the ancient patriarch who was sold into Egypt, and know that this man (Joseph) not only inherited his name, but possessed, moreover, his chastity, his innocency, and his grace.'‡ Thomas Aquinas also writes strongly.§ But the Roman Church has given much credit to the writings of female mystics, who from the 14th cent. onwards have spoken much of the veneration with which St. Joseph is honoured. Thus Gertrude the Great († 1310) saw in her revelations, when the name of Joseph was pronounced 'all the saints bowed their heads with respect, as a sign of honour to that glorious patriarch, and congratulated him, and rejoiced with him on his incomparable dignity.'‖ St. Bridget of Sweden († 1373), Marie d'Agreda († 1665), Catherine Emmerich († 1824), give innumerable details of Joseph's life seen by them in visions, which are combined in popular lives of St. Joseph for Roman Catholic use to-day. Even Gerson at the Council of Constance (1414) says of Joseph's powers of intercession, 'non impetrat sed imperat.' St. Teresa († 1582), St. Francis de Sales, and Bossuet vie in exalting him.

(2) Further, the growth of the Cult may be seen in the public honours allotted to his feast, and in the status that he holds among the saints by the express decree of the pope. 'In Western Martyrologies of the 9th cent. the name of Joseph is found, and from the same time the Greeks commemorated him along with other saints of the Old Testament on the Sunday before Christmas, and along with Mary, David, and James the Less on the Sunday in the Octave of Christmas' (*Cath. Dict. s.v.* 'Joseph'). In the breviary of Sixtus IV. (1471–1484) the feast of St. Joseph (Mar. 19) is a simple rite; in that of Innocent VIII. (1484–1492) a double rite. Pius V. (1566–1572) ordered that the office of St. Joseph should be in that of confessors who were not popes. Gregory XV. in 1621 made it a feast of obligation for the whole world.* Urban VIII. in 1642 renewed this order. Clement XI. (1700–1721) arranged the hymns and all the parts of the office peculiar to St. Joseph, and raised it to the double degree of the second class. Much discussion was held as to the place in the Litany of the Saints which Joseph's name ought to take; but it was decided by Benedict XIII. in 1726 that it should precede the names of the Apostles and Martyrs, and follow immediately that of St. John the Baptist.

Two other feast days were added in honour of St. Joseph. One is the day of the Patronage of St. Joseph, which was fixed for the 3rd Sunday after Easter by the Congregation of Rites in 1680, and after being observed in a gradually increasing number of places was established throughout Roman Catholic Christendom by Pius IX. in 1847. The other is that of the betrothal or marriage of Mary and Joseph (for which an office was drawn up by Gerson), and allowed (with a different office) by Benedict XIII. in 1725 to be observed in all churches on Jan 23. 'The feast is kept in England as a greater double.'†

Lastly, Pius IX. in 1871 proclaimed St. Joseph Patron of the whole Church as follows: 'Our most Holy Lord, Pius IX., Pope, moved by recent deplorable events, was pleased to comply with the desires of the Prelates, and to commit to the most powerful patronage of the Holy Patriarch, Joseph, both Himself and all the faithful, and solemnly declared him Patron of the Catholic Church, and commanded his festival, occurring on the 19th day of March, to be celebrated for the future as a double of the first class, but without an octave, on account of Lent.'‡

But however much we may respect the faith of Joseph, and gladly recognize, not only Paul the tent-maker and Peter the fisherman, but also Joseph the carpenter, as confessedly high examples of the dignity of work, and of the spiritual reward that it receives, we can have little sympathy with teaching that stands in such lurid contrast to the reticence of the Gospels and of the early Church.

A. LUKYN WILLIAMS.

JOSEPH OF ARIMATHÆA (Ἰωσὴφ [ὁ] ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας).—A wealthy Israelite and member of the Sanhedrin (*βουλευτής*); a 'good man and a righteous' (Lk 23^{50}), who 'was looking for the kingdom of God' (Mk 15^{43}). On the situation of his native place, see ARIMATHÆA and ARUMAH. He was 'Jesus' disciple' (Mt 27^{35}), 'but secretly, for fear of the Jews' (Jn 19^{38}). He had not consented to the judgment of the Sanhedrin against Jesus (Lk 23^{51}), having either absented himself from the meeting (as Mk 14^{64} suggests) or refrained from giving a vote. After Christ's death, the approach of sunset made it difficult for the apostles—unprepared as they were, even if they had recovered their courage—to arrange duly for His reverent interment before the Sabbath began. Joseph, hitherto faint-hearted, rose to the occasion. He appears to have been present at the crucifixion, and his possession of a tomb, new and yet unused, hewn out of a rock in a neighbouring garden, suggested to him the thought of himself obtaining and burying the body of Jesus. The spectacle of the crucified Saviour had quickened his faith and love, and combined, doubtless, with his shame for past faint-heartedness, to raise him above the fear of man. His boldness is the more notable, because, to all human appearance, he was showing sympathy with a ruined cause, at the risk of persecution to death.* His request for the body from Pilate was successful, and he took or saw it taken down from the cross. According to the *Acts of Pilate*, Joseph sought the favour with tears and entreaties; but even if Pilate's humanity were not stimulated by a timely bribe, he would be disposed to show his sympathy with a councillor who had taken no part in constraining him to condemn Christ.† Joseph's example, presumably, moved Nicodemus to similar courage. Together they received the body and laid it in the tomb, Joseph providing the fine linen (*σινδών*) and grave-bands (*ὀθόνια*), Nicodemus the abundant spices (Mt $27^{57\text{ff.}}$, Mk $15^{42\text{ff.}}$, Lk $23^{50\text{ff.}}$, Jn $19^{38\text{ff.}}$, *Gosp. of Pet.* 3 f., 23 f., *Acts of Pil.* 11. 12).

---

* Roman Catholic writers (*e.g.* Mgr. Ricard, *St. Joseph, sa vie et son culte*, Lille, 1896) mention Irenæus, Origen, Eusebius, Epiphanius, Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa, Hilary of Poitiers, Ephraem the Syrian, Cyril of Jerusalem, Chrysostom, Jerome, Augustine, Cyril of Alexandria, and Hilary of Arles as supporting the Cult of St. Joseph. But they seldom give references or distinguish between genuine and spurious works. Thus Augustine is quoted as saying, 'Rejoice, Joseph, that by the merit of the virtue of the angels you live so angelically as to be justly called the father of the Saviour.' This is doubtless from a spurious sermon in Migne, v. p. 2110. Irenæus says Joseph 'served Jesus with a continual joy' (*adv. Hær.* iv. 40, ed. Grabe, = 23. 1, ed. Massuet); but Irenæus really says, 'Joseph joyfully yielded obedience [*to the angel*] in regard to all the rest of the education of Christ' (Joseph et Mariam accepit et in reliqua universa educatione Christi gaudens obsequium præstitit).

† Ricard, p. 279.

‡ E. H. Thomson, *The Life and Glories of St. Joseph*, 1891, p. 16.

§ Ricard, p. 282.

‖ *Ib.* p. 284.

* On feasts of obligation the faithful are bound to hear mass and rest from servile work (*Cath. Dict.* art. 'Feasts').

† *Cath. Dict.* art. 'Espousals.'

‡ The Decree may be found in Latin and English in Thompson, *loc. cit.* p. 485.

The minuteness of the Gospel record, its preservation by all the four evangelists, and its later apocryphal expansion, are due not so much to the fulfilment of Is 53^9, still less to the growth of a myth (Strauss, *New Life of Jesus*, ch. xcvi.) based thereon (for the parallel, obscured by the Sept., is noted by no writer either of the apostolic or of the sub-apostolic age),‡ but to the desire, probably, (1) to signalize the adherence of a member of the hostile Sanhedrin; (2) to render prominent an incident so closely connected with Christ's Resurrection. None the less the correspondence with 'They made (or appointed) his grave with the wicked, and with the rich in his death,' if not exact, is striking; and even if a different original reference be adopted, it is difficult to regard as accidental the fresh significance given to the verse by the circumstances of our Lord's burial.§

A legend, which first appears in William of Malmesbury (*de Ant. Glast. Eccl.* i.), represents Joseph as sent by St. Philip from Gaul to Britain, along with eleven other disciples, in A.D. 63; as obtaining from a British king a small island in Somersetshire (afterwards the site of Glastonbury) engirt by the river Brue; and as building there, 'with twisted twigs,' the earliest Christian oratory in the land. Malmesbury, however, introduces the narrative with an 'ut ferunt,' in marked contrast to his reference of other statements in the same chapter to earlier historians. The absence, also, of any allusion to Joseph's advent in the histories of Gildas and Bede is significant. Probably some other Joseph, who founded Glastonbury, has been confounded with Joseph of Arimathæa. The story of Joseph bringing the Holy Grail to England dates from about 1200 A.D., and was probably composed by Walter Map. Ussher (*Ant. Eccl. Brit.* c. 16) mentions a tradition that Joseph freed Ireland from poisonous reptiles, a service usually attributed to St. Patrick.

Literature.—Wuelcher's Excursus on J. of A. in *Gosp. of Nic.*; Cowper's *Apocr. Gosps.*; Skeat's *Joseph of Arimathie* (Early English Texts); Ittig, *Pat. Apost.* 13; Hearne's *Hist. and Ant. of Glastonbury*; Saurin, *Discours*, x. 451, 466.

H. Cowan.

JOSEPH BARSABBAS (AV Barsabas), surnamed Justus; one of the two disciples who had been followers of Jesus during the whole of His public ministry, and were therefore deemed suitable candidates for the apostolic office vacant by the treachery and death of Judas Iscariot (Ac 1^{23}). *Barsabbas* means 'son of Sabba.' It has been variously interpreted 'son of an oath,' 'son of an old man,' 'son of conversion,' 'son of quiet' (see Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.*; Winer, *Realwörterb.*); but it was probably a patronymic, Joseph's father being named Sabba. If so, we must reject Lightfoot's suggestion, that he and **Judas Barsabbas** (Ac 15^{22}) were brothers of James the son of Alphæus. His Roman surname Justus was doubtless assumed after the manner frequent among the Jews at that time (cf. Ac 12^{12} 13^1). We have no information concerning him beyond what is implied in the one passage where he is mentioned. He is certainly to be distinguished from Joseph Barnabas (Ac 4^{36}) and from Judas Barsabbas (Ac 15^{22}); though it is not improbable, from the identity of the patronymic, that he and Judas were brothers. Eusebius (*HE* i. 12) makes him to have been one of 'the Seventy' (Lk 10^1), and this is not improbable. Eusebius (3^{39}) also relates from Papias a legend that Joseph Barsabbas 'drank a deadly poison and yet, by the grace of the Lord, suffered no harm.' G. T. Purves.

JOSEPH, PRAYER OF.—A lost Jewish apocryphon, mentioned in several catalogues of extra-canonical books. For information as to its contents we are indebted almost exclusively to a few quotations in the writings of Origen. In all the extant passages Jacob (not Joseph) is the speaker. He narrates a conversation he held with the wrestling angel Uriel; and claims to have read the tablets of heaven, and thus to know what is about to befall mankind. The work is said by Origen to have been in use *παρ' Ἑβραίοις*, and his quotations show it to have had an antichristian *animus*. It is a representative of a remarkable trend in Jewish theology, which led the Jews to claim for the three great patriarchs the same sublime and supernatural characteristics as the Christians claimed for the Lord Jesus. For instance, Jacob claims to be 'an angel of God and a ruling spirit'; 'the first-begotten (*πρωτόγονος*) of every creature animated by God'; 'an archangel of the power of the Lord'; and 'the first servant in God's presence.' The wrestling angel, whom Christians claimed to be the Messiah, is told by Jacob that he is only eighth in rank among the angels, Jacob himself being first of all; and in the same strain Abraham and Isaac are said to have been 'created before every (other) work.'

Literature.—Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigr. VT* i. 761–771; Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. 128; Dillmann, art. 'Pseudepigraphen,' in *PRE*².

J. T. Marshall.

JOSEPHUS (A Ἰώσηφος, B Φόσηπος), 1 Es 9^{34} = Joseph, Ezr 10^{42}.

JOSES (Ἰωσῆς).—1. An ancestor of our Lord (Lk 3^{29} AV reads Jose, failing to observe that Ἰωσή of TR is genitive. The correct text as adopted by WH and RV is Ἰησοῦ, so that this Joses gives place to Jesus). 2. One of the 'brethren of the Lord' (Mk 6^3 $15^{40.\,47}$, Mt 27^{56}). In Mt 13^{55} where AV has **Joses**, RV adopts WH text **Joseph** (see Dalman,

---

* Similar intervention nearly cost Tobit his life (To 1^{19}), and actually led to the martyrdom of Porphyrius, a slave of Pamphilus, in the persecution of Diocletian (Eus. *Mar. Pal.* 11). The apocryphal *Acts of Pilate* and *Narrative of Joseph* represent the latter as imprisoned with a view to his execution.

† The *Gospel of Peter* represents Pilate as first asking Herod for the body. Keim's assertion (*Jes. of Naz.* vi. p. 256) that Jn 19^{38} contradicts $19^{31.\,32}$, is hypercritical; Joseph arrived, presumably, before the soldiers had completed their work.

‡ Justin Martyr twice quotes Is 53^9 in connexion with the fulfilment of prophecy (1 *Ap.* 51, *Dial.* 97); but in neither case is there any reference to Joseph.

§ Gesenius and Knobel, following Jewish commentators, interpret 'rich' as = proud, ungodly, vicious (against which see Urwick, *Servant of Jehovah*, p. 145); Ewald, Cheyne (*Introd. to Is.* p. 429), and Duhm adopt, without MS authority, textual emendations, and read עָשׁוֹק oppressor (Ew.) or עָשִׁיק defrauder (Ch. and Du.); in each case the word being referred to the Babylonians, among whom the 'Servant of the Lord' would die. The *Bible Annotée* paraphrases, 'He has been interred with criminals, but after his death he has been put by the Eternal (in Sheol) in the ranks of the most honourable.' Delitzsch⁴, Urwick, etc., retain the meaning 'rich' (literally), and emphasize the similarity between OT prophecy and NT history. The interpretation, 'his sepulchral mounds,' instead of 'in his death' (adopted by Lowth, Ew., Duhm, Ch. in *Intr.*), renders the parallel more conspicuous, but is not essential to its maintenance; 'in his death' may = 'when he died.'

Gram. p. 75). **3.** The natal name (Ac 4^{36} AV) of **Barnabas** (which see). RV after WH has **Joseph**.

JOSHAH (יוֹשָׁה).—A Simeonite chief, 1 Ch 4^{34}. See GENEALOGY.

JOSHAPHAT (יוֹשָׁפָט=יְהוֹשָׁפָט).—**1.** One of David's heroes, 1 Ch 11^{43}. **2.** A priest in David's time, 1 Ch 15^{24}.

JOSHAVIAH (יוֹשַׁוְיָה).—One of David's heroes, 1 Ch 11^{46}.

JOSHBEKASHAH (יָשְׁבְּקָשָׁה).—A son of Heman, 1 Ch $25^{4. 24}$. There is reason to believe that this and five of the names associated with it are really a fragment of a hymn or prayer (see GENEALOGY, III. 23 n.; and cf. Kittel in *SBOT*, and W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} 143 n.).

JOSHEB-BASSHEBETH (יֹשֵׁב בַּשֶּׁבֶת) occurs in RV of 2 S 23^8 as a proper name in place of the utterly meaningless 'that sat in the seat' of the AV. It is evident that the text is corrupt, and that the original name **Jashobeam** must be restored from the parallel passage, 2 Ch 11^{11}, just as the 'Hachmonite' must be substituted for the 'Tahchemonite.' (Cf. Driver, *Heb. Text of Sam.*, *ad loc.*). Budde and others would go further. In Jashobeam itself they find a corruption of the original name, and they recover the latter by the following steps. In B we find Ἰεβόσθε, and in Luc. Ἰεσβάαλ, from which it is inferred that ישבבשבת=ישבשת=ישבעל (אשבעל), so that the name of David's commander was really Eshbaal. (See notes on 2 S 23^8 in Haupt's *Sacred Bks. of OT*, and in Kautzsch's *AT*). J. A. SELBIE.

JOSHIBIAH (יוֹשִׁבְיָה 'J" causeth to dwell'; *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* compares Phœn. ישבעל perhaps=ישבבעל).—A Simeonite chief, 1 Ch 4^{35}. See GENEALOGY.

JOSHUA (on forms and meaning of the name see next art.).—**1.** The successor of Moses. See next article. **2.** The Bethshemite in whose field was the stone on which the ark was set, on its return from the land of the Philistines, 1 S $6^{14. 18}$. **3.** The governor (שַׂר) of Jerusalem in the time of Josiah, 2 K 23^8. **4.** The high priest who along with Zerubbabel directed affairs at Jerusalem after the restoration, Hag $1^{1. 12. 14}$ etc., Zec $3^{1. 3. 6}$ etc. In the books of Hag and Zec he is called Joshua, in Ezr and Neh **Jeshua** (which see).

JOSHUA.—

i. Name.
ii. Contents of the Book.
iii. Relation to the Pentateuch.
iv. Constituent Documents.
v. Problems of their Relation and Composition.
vi. Separation from the Pentateuch, and Date.
vii. Relation to the Book of Judges.
viii. Historical Value of the Book.
ix. The Person Joshua.
x. His Work.
xi. Religious Teaching of the Book.
Literature.

i. THE NAME.—1. The English form Joshua is an abbreviation of the Heb. יְהוֹשֻׁעַ (only in Dt 3^{21}, Jg 2^7) or יְהוֹשֻׁעַ (the usual form, *e.g.* Ex 17^9, Dt 1^{38} etc., 1 K 16^{34}), later abbreviated to יֵשׁוּעַ (of Joshua himself, Neh 8^{17}) in order to avoid, it is said, the sequence of the vowels ô, û (*SK*, 1892, 177, 573; *WZKM* iv. 332 ff.). In Nu $13^{8. 16}$, Dt 32^{44} the form is הוֹשֵׁעַ, the same as that of the king of N. Israel (2 K 15^{30} etc.) and the prophet (Hos $1^{1. 2}$); but Dt 32^{44} is probably a textual error for יהושע, so Sam., Gr., Vulg., and Syr. (cf. Driver, *in loco*), and on Nu $13^{8. 16}$ (P) no reliance can be placed. The LXX give it as Ἰησοῦς, and so it occurs in the NT both as Joshua's own name (Ac 7^{45}) and that of our Lord (Mt $1^{21. 25}$). The name, Stade (*Gram.* 93) suggests, may be a Hiphil. More probably it is a compound 'J" is salvation.' The parallel forms אבישוע and אלישוע favour this (on this and the antiquity of the name see Gray, *Heb. Proper Names*, 155, 259). Cf. the Heb. אֱלִישָׁע, still more אֱלִישׁוּעַ and יִשְׁעִי, the Phœn. ישע, and the Himyarite יהשע, which Derenbourg transliterates Yuhashi.

Joshua the son of Nun, the successor of Moses in the leadership of Israel, is mentioned several times outside the Book of Joshua; but as the traditions concerning him are mainly found in the latter, it will be more convenient to examine its contents and composition before treating of his life.

ii. CONTENTS OF THE BOOK. — The Book of Joshua consists of twenty-four chapters, of which the first twelve take up the history of Israel from the point reached by the end of Deuteronomy, the death of Moses, and continue it through the conquest of Western Palestine; while the next nine record the division of the land among the tribes (12–21). An appendix gives Joshua's speech to Reuben, Gad, and half-Manasseh, his dismissal of them to E. Palestine (22^{1-9}); the controversy about the altar of Ed (22^{10-34}); the last days of Joshua and his death (23–24^{31}); the burial of Joseph's body (24^{32}), and the death of Eleazar son of Aaron (24^{33}).

iii. RELATION TO THE PENTATEUCH.—The Book of Joshua thus proves to be the necessary supplement and completion of the Pentateuch, of whose promises and obligations it records the fulfilment in the settlement of Abraham's descendants in Canaan (cf. Gn 12^7 etc.); in the execution (told in Deuteronomic language) of the Deuteronomic commands to Israel to take possession of the land and extirpate the Canaanites; and even in such details as the burial of Joseph's bones, which the patriarch made Israel swear they would carry up with them from Egypt (Gn 50^{25}).*

Notwithstanding this continuity of historical material and of plan, the Heb. Canon sharply separated the Book of Joshua from the Pentateuch: the Pentateuch comprises the first and earliest part of the Canon—the Torah; the Book of Joshua heads the later Canon of the Prophets, more especially the series of historical works, concluding with the Books of Kings and known as the Former Prophets. Besides, the book in its present form is an independent whole, with a definite beginning and conclusion; its orthography differs in several important details from that of the Pentateuch (*e.g.* it does not continue the epicene הוא and נַעַר of the Pentateuch, nor the form האל for האלה, and spells Jericho יְרִיחוֹ not as always in the Pentateuch יְרֵחוֹ); while in consequence of its later adoption into the Canon its text (cf. the numerous deviations of the LXX) is in a less certain form. For some time, therefore, the book was not brought under the methods of criticism and analysis to which the Pentateuch was subjected in the end of last and beginning of this century. But in 1792 the Scotsman, Father Geddes, in his translation of the Bible, wrote (vol. I. Preface, p. xxi): 'To the Pentateuch I have joined the Book of Joshuah (*sic*), both because I conceive it to be compiled by the same author, and because it is a necessary appendix to the history contained in the former books.'† But it was de Wette, Bleek, and Ewald who were the first to extend to Joshua the documentary theory of the composition of the Pentateuch. De Wette (see list of literature below), after vacillating, in successive editions of his Introduction, between the fragmentary and documentary hypotheses of the composition of the Pentateuch, finally adhered to the latter, and traced through Joshua the Elohist and Deuteronomic documents. In 1822 Bleek distinguished the basis of the book as Elohist, additions to it as by the Jahwist, and its final redaction as from the hands of the Deuteronomist. Soon after Bleek began his criticism, Ewald traced up to the end of Joshua all the documents into which he had already analysed the Pentateuch. The work was continued by other critics, the most prominent of whom have been Knobel, Schrader, Nöldeke, Hollenberg, Wellhausen, Vatke (whose results appear in his posthumous lectures on OT Introduction), Budde, Albers, Driver, Bennett, and Addis. Amid many varieties of opinion as to details, the analyses of this long list of scholars reveal a wonderful agreement, not only as to the presence in Joshua of all the Pentateuchal documents, but even as to the approximate proportions in which they stand to each other.* It is because of these results that OT criticism prefers to speak of the *Hexateuch* rather than of the *Pentateuch*.

---

* Cf. Jos $1^{1ff.}$ with Nu $27^{15ff.}$, Dt 3^{28} $31^{1-8. 23}$; 1^{12} with Nu 32, Dt $3^{18ff.}$; $8^{30ff.}$ with Dt $11^{29ff.}$ $27^{1-8. 11-14}$; 13 ff. with Nu 34; 14^{6-15} with Nu 14^{24}, Dt 1^{36}; 17^{1-6} with Nu 27^{1-11} 36^{1-12}; 20 f. with Nu 35.

† Hollenberg, in his account of the criticism of Joshua (*SK*, 1874, p. 463), is, therefore, so far wrong in naming de Wette as the first to recognize that the analysis of Joshua must follow the lines of that of the Pentateuch.

iv. THE CONSTITUENT DOCUMENTS. — Critics, then, agree that all the chief documents of the Pentateuch are present in Joshua, and indeed this is obvious to any reader of the original who is familiar with the characteristic style and favourite topics of these documents. But the documents are present with certain ambiguities and complications, and these present a number of problems unsolved and perhaps insoluble, which are peculiar to the criticism of Joshua, as contrasted with that of the Pentateuch.

In the following analysis we start with the Deuteronomic elements, the spirit and style of which are so readily recognized. We have seen that the book is faithful to the spirit of the Deuteronomic code—even to the extent of idealizing the facts—in so far as Deuteronomy commands Israel to take full possession of the land and extirpate the native inhabitants. But the Deuteronomic dialect is also frequently observed. The following is a list and analysis of the Deuteronomic passages. They are found chiefly in chs. 1–12, and in the Appendix, chs. 21–24.

(*a*) *The Deuteronomic Passages in Joshua.*—It is not without significance that the introduction is one of the most plainly Deuteronomic passages of the Book. Ch. 1 is not only written in manifest continuation of the end of the Bk. of Deuteronomy (as completed, critics now take for granted, by a Deuteronomic editor), but it is composed almost throughout in the Deuteronomic style. Vv.$^{3-5a}$ are expanded from Dt $11^{24.\,25a}$; Dt 31^{23} is echoed in vv.$^{5b.\,6.\,17b.\,18b}$; Dt 4^{6} 29^{8} (Heb.) in v.^{7}; Dt $1^{29.\,30}$ 20^{3} 31^{6} in v.^{9}; Dt 11^{31} in v.^{11b}. Terms used only in Dt, or in the meaning in which they are employed in Dt, are scattered through the chapter (*e.g.* the intransitive ערץ, and שטרים in the sense of officers who communicate the orders of the chief to the people). The appeal to the Law and the Book of the Law are also Deuteronomic, and so, too, the number of the tribes settled E. of the Jordan as 2½ (cf. v.^{12} with Dt 3^{13-21}), while JE (Nu $32^{1-5.\,20f.}$) states them as 2. At the same time there are complications. The phrases משרת משה (v.^{1}), חמשים and גבורי החיל (v.^{14}), are not phrases of the Dt style, which has other terms for the two latter; the details in v.^{11a} might have been stated by any writer. These facts have led some to conclude that a JE narrative underlies this Dt introduction to the Book. It should be observed that the Dt parallels and echoes in the chapter are all taken from the historical and parenetic portions of the Bk. of Dt which most critics now assign to another hand than that which drew up the legal kernel of the Book, chs. 12–26. 28.

In ch. 2, vv.$^{10.\,11}$ (and perhaps v.^{24}) are not only Deuteronomic in language, but express a favourite thought of the Deuteronomist—the fear which Israel and the wonderful deeds of J″ produced on the inhabitants of W. Palestine. Chs. 3 and 4, on the Crossing of Jordan, are obviously compiled from several sources, for they contain not only differences of style, but of substance. There are, *firstly*, clauses in the Dt dialect deducing from the events described the Dt doctrines (3^{7} 4^{14} the magnifying of Joshua in the eyes of Israel; $4^{21.\,24}$ the duty of teaching future generations the meaning of the events, and the impression of these on the Canaanites); and, *secondly*, in other parts of the narrative, characteristic Dt phrases occur (3^{2-4} הכהנים הלוים, etc.); but, *thirdly* also, there are traces of an original Dt account of the monument raised to commemorate the passage ($4^{2.\,3a.\,8}$, cf. vv.$^{21.\,24}$), which differs from the two JE accounts of the same (see below), in so far as it makes the monument to consist of 12 stones brought by 12 men from the bed of Jordan, and places it at Gilgal. In chs. 5 and 6 (the Taking of Jericho), 5^{1}, the fear of the Canaanites has an echo of Dt, as also $6^{2.\,27}$ are supposed to have (cf. v.^{2} with Dt 2^{24} 3^{2} etc., and v.^{27} with Dt 2^{7-25}). In ch. 7 (Achan's Trespass) no Dt elements can be detected with certainty (though some seem to occur in vv.$^{12b.\,14.\,15}$) till the obvious Dt redaction of v.$^{24f.}$, on which see below among the JE passages. In 8^{1-29} (the Taking of Ai) touches of the Dt style may be detected in vv.$^{1.\,2.\,27b}$.

Ch. 8^{30-35} is a passage of peculiar difficulty. The linguistic evidence proves it to be in the main from the hand of a Deuteronomist editor, but besides containing, as the Dt redaction sometimes does, a trace of the priestly writer (in the phrase כגר כאזרח v.^{33}), it records a fact, the building of an altar at Mt. Ebal, which conflicts with the principal law of Dt, that there shall be only one sanctuary in the land. It apparently refers to two passages in Dt ($11^{29.\,30}$ which orders blessing to be set on Gerizim, but cursing on Ebal, and the very composite 27^{1-13}, which enjoins the erection of plastered stones, when Israel crosses Jordan, and the inscription on them of the Torah vv.$^{2.\,8}$; that this shall be at Ebal v.^{4}, and that an altar of unhewn stones shall be raised there for sacrifice to Jehovah; and that the tribes shall be divided to bless opposite Gerizim and curse opposite Ebal), yet it does not wholly agree with either of these (for it records a *reading of the whole law* where 11^{29} speaks only of the blessing and cursing, and 27^{1-13} speaks only of the *writing* of the Law). Jos 8^{30-35} appears therefore not to have been composed with the mere view of recording the fulfilment of the aforesaid Dt injunctions (and indeed it ignores Dt 27^{14-26} altogether), but to be an independent* writing based on documents, part of which, the building of the Ebal altar, cannot be Deuteronomist, but is more likely to belong to E, whose interest in northern sanctuaries is constant.† (It is to E that the corresponding passage Dt $27^{5.\,6}$ is assigned: on the historical questions raised by the passage, see below).

In ch. 9 (the Guile of Gibeon) the introduction

---

* In opposition to these analyses, defenders of the unity of the book, and (to a greater or less degree) of its independence, have appeared in J. L. König (1836), and Keil in his Commentary. See also *Lex Mosaica*, and Principal Douglas in his handbook on Joshua.

* The Dt passages, the first of which is an interpolation, the second an extraordinarily composite paragraph (in parts contradictory of itself), may, indeed, have been inserted in Dt subsequent to the appearance of the passage in Joshua.

† The description of the altar is very like Ex 20^{25}.

(vv.$^{1, 2}$, cf. Dt 1^{7}, Jos 1^{4}) and the closing words (v.^{27b} the Dt formula 'the place which He shall choose') are Deuteronomic; so, too, vv.$^{9b, 10}$ (the reference to Sihon *and Og*) and vv.$^{24, 25}$ (cf. Dt 20^{10-18}). In ch. 10 (The Victory of Gibeon and Conquest of the South), which is covered by the Dt introduction $9^{1, 2}$, there are many fragments of the Dt style, vv.$^{8, 12a, 14b}$ (the introduction and close of the story of J which is gathered round the quotation from the Bk. of Jashar: the phrase in v.^{12a} 'in the day . . . Israel' is used 9 times in Dt, and nowhere else in the Pent.; the phrase in v.^{14b} יהוה נלחם לישראל is also Dt, but there is no reason why it might not have been used by another writer), and vv.^{19b} (perhaps), ^{25}; besides vv.$^{28-43}$, the summary of the Conquest of the South, which by other documents, Jos 15^{14-19}, Jg 1^{10-15}, is attributed to Judah and Caleb. Ch. 11 (the Conquest of the North) is also treated in the summary arrangement of the Deuteronomist, and mainly in Dt language; while ch. 12 is assigned by virtually all critics to a Deuteronomic hand on the ground that vv.$^{1-6}$ follow Dt $3^{9-12, 14-17}$ rather than the parallel Nu 21^{1-31} (Og is again joined with Sihon), and that Dt touches appear in the following verses. The list of kings vv.$^{9-24}$ might be from any source.

In the Second Section of the Book, the Division of the Land, chs. 13–21, the Dt passages are few. Here again the introduction is one of them, 13^{1-14}, a summary description of the land still unconquered, and a charge to divide what is conquered among the 9½ tribes; and a description of E. Palestine studded not only with phrases but facts peculiar to the Deuteronomist (*e.g.* v.^{14} ‖ Dt 18^{1}; v.^{7} 2½ tribes; v.^{12} Og; cf. also vv.$^{7-14}$ generally with the Dt passage Jos 12^{1-6}). There are, too, signs of an attempt to harmonize two differing accounts of the conquest (cf. Wellh. *Comp. des Hex.* p. 129; Kuenen, *Onderz.* i. 1, § 7, n. 27). Ch. $14^{6, 7}$ is Deuteronomic; so, too, chs. $18^{7, 10b}$ 21^{41-43}, which represent the conquest of the Holy Land as in complete fulfilment of the Divine promise: a representation not consistent with other passages nor borne out by the subsequent history, but in harmony with the Deuteronomist's ideal treatment of the subject. It is remarkable that in ch. 20 the Dt additions do not occur in the LXX. In the Appendix chs. 22–24, Joshua's charge to the 2½ tribes (ch. 22^{1-8}), and his last charge to the nation (23^{1-16}), are in the well-known hortatory style of Dt.

(*b*) *The Priestly Writing in Joshua.*—It is most convenient to take this next. In the First Section, chs. 1–12, the passages from P are few and fragmentary, and consist either (*a*) of additions to the narrative of dates and statistics (about which, however, there is this difficulty, that, though such things are characteristic of P in the Pentateuch, they do not in Joshua always agree with other statistics given by P, and being but bare figures cannot be proved on evidence of language to belong to P); or (*b*) of the substitution of characteristic terms of P for the corresponding terms of other documents; or (*c*) of statements with regard to the ritual and enforcement of the Law. Of the first of those three classes are 3^{4} (?) $4^{13, 19}$; of the second 5^{4} הזכרים כל אנשי המלחמה (6^{4}), and the evident expansion of 7^{24} and 7^{25} וירגמו אתו כל ישראל אבן, 10^{27} עד עצם היום הזה (11^{13}); of the third class 5^{10-12} the account of the Passover, 6^{23b} 7^{1} 9^{17-21} 11^{13}.

In the Second Section, on the Division of the Land, the bulk is from P (all, in fact, except the Dt passages already cited, and a few from JE which will be cited immediately). This is clear from the presence of the characteristic marks of P's style, and the agreement of the injunctions with those laid down in the Priestly Legislation in the Pentateuch. Besides the bulk of the contents, the opening and closing formulas of the various paragraphs of this section are from P. In short, in this section, as in the Pentateuch, P furnishes the framework. In the Appendix, ch. 22^{9-34} (which emphasizes the centralization of the worship by the account of the altar that was 'by Jordan') displays many of the characteristic marks of P's style. There are, however, other features which suggest an independent author.

(*c*) *The Jahwist-Elohist Documents in Joshua.*—As in the Pentateuch, the bulk of the narrative in Joshua belongs to the double document, known to critics as JE. To the trained eye the style is easily distinguished from that of Dt or P. When, however, we seek to discriminate its two constituents, which in the Pentateuch are so often discernible from each other, we receive little or no assistance from the style or the language. It exhibits, however, another and far more decisive difference. Again and again in the JE portions of Joshua it becomes evident that two accounts of the same event have been welded together, for the statements not only repeat each other with a redundancy utterly foreign to the crisp style of either of the two documents J and E, but in details often conflict with each other. In ch 1 there are only fragments of JE. Ch 2 is all JE, except vv.$^{10, 11}$. So, too, chs. 3. 4, the Crossing of Jordan, except the Dt fragments noted above. But when these have been put aside, the remainder reveals the presence of two narratives (as Wellhausen was the first to point out); according to one of which a monument to commemorate the Passage was built at Gilgal with stones taken from the river's bed by the people, but according to the other was set up in the river's bed, and consisted of 12 stones carried by 12 representatives of the tribes. This difference (in addition to the 3rd story of the Deuteronomist referred to above) is apparent not only from the statements in $4^{8, 9}$, but from the fact that while 3^{17} describes the people as having all passed over, $4^{4, 5, 10b}$ treat them as still about to cross. Again, 3^{12} and 4^{2} cannot belong to the same narrative, for they are simply 'doublets'; yet 3^{12} is presupposed by 4^{4}. The two narratives may be thus distinguished—(1) $3^{1, 5, 10, 11, 13-17}$ $4^{1-3, 8}$; and (2) 3^{12} $4^{4-7, 9-11a}$. Of these two accounts it is not easy to say which is J and which E.

Ch. 5 (events between Jordan and Jericho) is one of the most complicated parts of the text of Joshua. V.^{1}, as we have seen, is Dt. Vv.$^{2, 3, 8, 9}$ (the record of the circumcision of the people by Joshua), are from JE. But into v.^{2} words have been inserted—they are not found in the LXX—implying that Joshua did this a *second* time; and vv.$^{4-7}$ (the LXX here offers a widely different reading) interpolate an account of the reasons of the operation, which is not consistent with JE's statement in v.^{9}, that it was undertaken for the purpose of 'rolling away the reproach of Egypt.' These words are in themselves an obviously wrong interpretation of the term Gilgal, *i.e.* 'stone-circle,' and can only mean that in the opinion of the writer Israel had been uncircumcised in Egypt, and that this neglect, which had excited the reproach of the circumcised Egyptians, was now at last repaired. In contradiction to this, vv.$^{4-7}$ declare that the Israelites while in Egypt were circumcised, but that generation had all died, and those who were born after the Exodus had not been circumcised, which neglect Joshua now made good. The phraseology of these four verses is partly P's, but most critics take them, along with the words interpolated in v.^{2}, to be the addition of a later writer, who was anxious to harmonize JE's account with previous reports of P about circumcision. The end of ch. 5 (vv.$^{13-15}$) also presents a difficulty. It is generally assigned to JE; but some critics, on the alleged ground that the phrases צבא יהוה and שר as applied to an angel are found only in late writings, take the passage to be one of the very latest additions to the Bk. of Joshua. So Kuenen. This reason is not conclusive. It was an early belief that Jehovah had a heavenly host (cf. 1 K 22^{19}), the belief in individual angels with special functions was also early, and we need not take שׂר in the special sense in which it is intended when applied to angels in the Bk. of Daniel, but simply in its early signification of a military officer. Vv.$^{13-15}$ may therefore very well be left to JE.

The whole of ch. 6 (the Fall of Jericho), except vv.$^{2 \text{ and } 27}$, belongs to JE, but we meet in it the same phenomenon as in chs. 3 and 4, the presence (again first detected by Wellhausen) of two differing accounts—one (vv.$^{3.\ 7a.\ 10.\ 11}$ partly $^{14.\ 15a}$ 'and it came to pass . . . manner,' $^{15b.\ 20}$ 'and the people shouted') which relates that Israel marched round Jericho on 7 successive days, the first 6 silently, but on the 7th they shouted *at the word of Joshua*, and the walls fell; and the other (vv.^{4} partly, $^{5.\ 7b.\ 8.\ 9}$, parts of vv.$^{13.\ 15}$, vv.$^{16a.\ 20b}$) which relates that a portion of the armed men marched round the city 7 times on one day, having in their midst the ark and priests with trumpets, and that at the 7th round the people shouted *at the signal of the trumpets*, and the walls fell. Cf. especially vv.$^{16 \text{ and } 20}$; in the latter the people shout both before and after the trumpets, though v.^{16} enjoins them not to shout till the trumpets give the signal. As in chs. 3. 4 it is not easy to assign these double accounts, present in ch. 6, respectively to J and E.

In ch. 7 (the Defeat before Ai and Achan's Sin and Doom) all is from JE except v.^{1} and parts of vv.$^{24.\ 25}$. The latter verses afford so instructive an example as to how the original JE narrative has been worked upon by subsequent editors that it is worth examining their details. To begin with, the LXX omits in v.^{24} the words ואת־הכסף—הזהב, and in v.^{25} וירגמו—באש. Moreover, in v.^{24} the term 'and all Israel' has been separated from its fellow-nominative 'Joshua' at the beginning of the verse [*] by the words omitted in the LXX, and by the rest of the catalogue of Achan's property, while in v.^{25} not only does the phrase beginning וירגמו 'and they stoned him with stones,' which is in the language of P, form a mere doublet to the phrase introduced by ויסקלו 'and they stoned them with stones,' but when we remove the former, the latter is still preceded by the words 'and they burned them with fire,' an impossible order: we cannot conceive of Achan and his property as first burned and then stoned. Besides, while v.^{26}, which is JE, speaks of a cairn being raised over Achan alone, v.^{24} describes *them* as brought up to the valley of Achor, and v.^{25} describes *them* as being burned and stoned. Of this confusion Albers has given the following reasonable explanation. The original JE narrative recorded the punishment only of Achan, but a Deuteronomic editor, wishing to bring the process into conformity with Dt 13$^{16.\ 17}$, which enjoins that goods subject to the Ḥerem or Ban shall be burned, has added to v.^{24} the catalogue of Achan's property, which we have already seen to be an evident intrusion, and to v.^{25} the notice of the burning which we have seen to be impossible *before* that of the stoning. This editor must have also changed the 'him' of both these verses into 'them'; it is remarkable that in both the LXX has 'him.' If, now, we take out of the verses those intruded elements of Dt and P, the JE remainder reads consistently: 'And Joshua, and all Israel with him, took Achan the son of Zerah, and brought *him* (LXX A) to the valley of Achor; and Joshua said, "Why hast thou brought trouble upon us? Jehovah will bring trouble upon thee." And they stoned him (LXX BA; αὐτοὺς F) with stones.'

In ch. 8$^{1-29}$ (the Taking of Ai) everything except the Dt fragments already noticed is from JE. But as in chs. 3. 4. 6, two accounts appear to have been fused (though it is not certain how we are to divide them between J and E). This is clear not only from the reduplication of certain details (vv.$^{14.\ 18}$ etc., see below), and awkward connexions (v.^{14}, and v.^{18} with v.^{19}), but still more from a double and contradictory story of the ambush, as well as from an attempt in the Massoretic text to reconcile these, and from the omission by the LXX both of the attempt and of the contradictory data. The first of the two accounts starts with v.^{3} (perhaps earlier, for though vv.$^{1.\ 2}$ are mainly Dt, they contain other elements). According to this, after Joshua and all the army started from Gilgal for Ai, he chose and sent forward [*] 30,000 (? 3000) men by night to conceal themselves on the opposite or western side of Ai, and charged them to wait there till the army should pretend to flee from Ai, and drawing its inhabitants out of it, leave it empty, when the ambush were to take possession. The men chosen go forth and effect this movement, while Joshua passes the same night in the valley (in v.^{9} for עם read with Ewald עמק). At this point the second account starts from v.^{10}, or at least from v.^{11}, which relates that *all* the people (omit for grammatical reasons the words 'of war') which were with him came over against Ai,[†] and (v.^{12}) Joshua took about 5000 men and 'set them as an ambush between Bethel and Ai, westward of Ai.' Then comes the difficult v.^{13}, which seems an attempt to combine and summarize the two accounts. The Greek translator, or the editor of the texts he used, feeling that the combination was impossible, has substituted for 8^{11b} the word 'eastward,' and for ^{12b}, with its contradictory data, the words 'the ambushes of the city from the sea (*i.e.* westward)'; and has omitted all v.^{13}. To this explanation the only alternative is that the data in v.^{12}, which conflict with those of the previous account of the ambush, and v.^{13} have been added to the Massoretic text *after* the LXX translation was made, which is hardly possible. V.^{14} alike by its repetitions, in different words, of the same actions and the awkward grammar by which they are combined, is obviously the fusion of two accounts—one: 'And it came to pass, when the king of Ai saw, that he and all his people hastened to the . . .[‡] in front of the Arabah, not knowing of the ambush against them behind (to the west of) the city'; the other: 'And the men of the city rose up early, and came forth to meet Israel in battle.' The Israelites flee, and draw the men of Ai [§] after them. Here, again, in vv.$^{16.\ 17}$ there are small doublets, and so, in fact, to the end of v.^{29} (*e.g.* in v.^{20b} the people fleeing to the wilderness 'turn on their pursuers,' omitted by LXX; yet in v.^{21} 'Joshua and all Israel see that the ambush have taken the city, and that smoke goes up, and turn and smite the men of Ai'; and in v.^{24} במדבר בשרה). These are quite enough (without supposing that a different use has been imputed to Joshua's javelin in v.^{18} from that in v.^{26}) to prove the fusion of two tales of the same event. V.^{27} is of course Dt. In the Dt passage vv.$^{30-35}$ the part that must have been taken from E has been already pointed out.

---

[*] Though in AV they have been brought together.

[*] V.^{3a}. Some scholars think that according to this first account Joshua sent his ambush ahead *from Gilgal*. This can be maintained only by denying that v.^{3a} belongs to the first account. But there is no cause in the clause itself for separating it from what follows. And it is not probable that any account would have made Joshua send the ambush ahead from Gilgal, for this place is 6 or 7 hours distant from Ai, and if the main body had remained there during the night in which the ambush took up its position west of Ai, starting next morning, it would not have reached Ai till the ambush had been exposed for several hours to the daylight. Take v.^{3a} with what follows it, and we find the first account imply that the ambush was not chosen and despatched till the whole army had gone up towards Ai, which does not contradict the second and more detailed account, that it started after Joshua and the army had arrived in the neighbourhood of Ai.

[†] This still may be, though not probably, the first account.

[‡] לַמּוֹעֵד 'to the appointed place.' Dillmann's theory, that one of the two narratives had previously described this tryst, is surely impossible, for the men of Ai did not know of Israel's arrival. Bennett emends למורד 'to the descent.'

[§] Heb. adds 'and Bethel,' but LXX omits; it must be the addition of a late scribe inserting an allusion to Jg 1.

In ch. 9 (the Guile of Gibeon), after the Dt introduction in vv$^{1.\ 2}$, the JE narrative commences independently in v.^{3}. Its style is distinguishable from the Dt portions, vv.$^{9b.\ 10.\ 24.\ 25.\ 27b}$; and both in style and substance it differs from the P account, vv.$^{15b.\ 17-21}$. But even within JE a double account is as discernible as it was in the JE portions of chs. 3. 4. 6 and 8: cf. the doublets in vv.$^{6-9a}$.[*] In ch. 10$^{1-27}$ we have the JE account of the defeat by Joshua of the kings of Jerusalem, Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish, and Debir, all with territories that afterwards became Judah's. Vv.$^{1-11.\ 16-27}$ read continuously, and relate fully how God smote the Canaanites before Israel by a great hailstorm. Vv.$^{12-15}$ break into this with a story suggested by an ancient verse of poetry, a prayer of Joshua for a day long enough to slay his foes; they add that this prayer was answered by God commanding the sun to stand still for a whole day in the heavens, and that Joshua and his force returned to their camp; while vv.$^{16ff.}$ relate that they continued the pursuit of the 5 kings whose forces had been beaten by the hailstorm recounted in v.^{11}. Vv.$^{12-15}$ are plainly an interpolation by another, who finding in the Bk. of Jashar this poetical ejaculation of Joshua for a day sufficient for his big task, prosaically added, vv.$^{13b.\ 14}$, that this actually happened. This account of the defeat of the southern kings is not compatible with that in ch. 15$^{13ff.}$ and in Jg 1$^{1ff.}$ (see below, § vii.). In ch. 11$^{1-10.\ 13}$ we have the JE account of the conquest of N. Canaan.

In the Second Section, chs. 13–21, on the Division of the Land, the portions by JE are comparatively few, some of them mere fragments: in ch. 13, vv.$^{1-18}$, in ch. 15, vv.$^{14-19.\ 63}$ (see below, § vii.), in ch. 16, vv.$^{1-3}$, the boundary of Joseph; v.^{10} the Canaanite enclaves at Gezer and in Ephraim, the latter assigned to E; in ch. 17, vv.$^{1-2}$ details on Manasseh, and vv.$^{10b-18}$ Manasseh's difficulties with the Canaanites and Joshua's treatment of the house of Joseph; in ch. 18, vv.$^{2-6.\ 8-10}$ Joshua's allotment of land to 7 tribes, by casting lots; in ch. 19^{9} a detail about Simeon, vv.$^{47.\ 48}$ the removal of Dan to Laish (see below, § vii.), and vv.$^{49.\ 50}$ the tribes take possession and Joshua gets Timnath-serah.

In the Appendix (chs. 22–24) the whole of ch. 24, except a few insertions from Dt and P, is assigned to E.

v. Problems of the Relation and Composition of the Documents.—The evidence thus collected from the text itself of the Bk. of Joshua, may be ambiguous in this or that detail; but its cumulative force and its main direction are unmistakable. Were it only by the 'doublets' it contains on the various episodes of the conquest, and by the different degrees of completeness to which various passages describe the division of the land to have been carried, the Bk. of Joshua is amply proved to be a compilation from several sources. Of these, the oldest, which supplies the bulk of the narrative of the conquest in chs. 1–12, and gives the conclusion of Joshua's history in ch. 24, but also supplies some details concerning the division of the land, belongs by linguistic evidence to the document entitled by critics JE. This document is itself composed from two narratives; for, as we have seen, in those parts of it which run through chs. 3, 4, 6 and 8, two accounts of the same episodes, the crossing of Jordan and the taking of Jericho and of Ai, have obviously been combined;[*] and in chs. 13–21, later passages (18$^{2-6.\ 8-10}$ and perhaps others) have been added to it, whether by the hand that combined its constituents it is impossible to say. Alongside these written traditions in JE of the Conquest and Division of the Land, there appears to have existed, either in whole or part, at least one other written tradition, and perhaps two. The passages in chs. 1–12, which on linguistic evidence are assignable to P, seem to have been taken from a Priestly narrative of the Conquest, and there was certainly a Priestly account of the Division of the Territory from which the bulk of chs. 13–21 is taken. But there are also accounts of some events of the Conquest, notably that of the monument at Gilgal (4$^{2.\ 3a.\ 8}$, cf. vv.$^{21-24}$), and the summary of the Conquest of the South (9$^{28-43}$), which seem to imply that there was, in addition to the two other accounts just noted above, one independent Deuteronomic account of the Conquest.

But if the existence of an original Dt narrative of the facts of the Conquest be uncertain, there was another hand at work of the same spirit and style of language. In chs. 1–12 the great majority of the Dt passages do not give evidence of belonging to an independent account of the same events as are described in JE, but consist of introductions to the various sections, the bulk of the narrative in which is JE, and of connexions and transitions; or they point out how the events related in JE illustrate the favourite doctrines of the Deuteronomic writers and enforce the Deuteronomic legislation. All these passages are easily separable from the narratives to which they have been added, and sometimes (as in ch. 7$^{24.\ 25}$) it is clear that their insertion has not been accomplished without the modification of the original text. And, besides, single phrases characteristic of the Dt style have been scattered over most of the chapters. All this points to one conclusion. A Deuteronomic writer has 'edited,' not only chs. 1–12, but the whole book. His is the framework of the whole, his its connexion with the Bk. of Deuteronomy, the modification of the JE narratives, and the lessons deduced from them. Who he was, whether he can be identified with the author of the original Dt law-book (which is improbable), or the author of the historical supplements to the latter, or was another writer of the same spirit and style, are questions that divide critics, and depend on the still unsettled problems as to the composition of the Bk. of Deuteronomy itself.[†] It would be misleading, however, to take for granted that this Deuteronomic redaction was completed by one hand at one time. The reasons for supposing that various strata (though all in the Deuteronomic spirit and style) are represented in it will appear from the next paragraph.

The question of the relation of this Deuteronomic redaction (or redactions) to the elements of P which appear in Joshua is a very difficult one. Was the Dt redaction (or redactions) completed upon JE and the independent Dt traditions (described above), and was the whole only then combined with the passages from P? Or did the Dt redaction take place subsequently to P? The former of these alternatives is accepted by Driver (*Introd.*^{6} p. 104). But there is important evidence in favour of the latter. In the Bk. of Joshua, P does not occupy the regulative position, nor supply the framework, as it does in the Pentateuch. And in the Massoretic text of Joshua portions of P have apparently been subjected to the Dt revision; in ch. 20, for instance, the substance is from P, the additional matter is Deuteronomic (see vv.$^{4-6}$). Again, while most of the Dt passages appear in the LXX translation, and are therefore to be regarded as prior to it, a number are not found in it. For example, in ch. $7^{24.25}$ we saw that the LXX reproduces only some of the Dt modifications of the JE account of Achan's punishment, and the verses ch. 20^{4-6} (just cited), in which Deuteronomic additions are manifest, are not found in the LXX (B). It is also probable that ch. 22^{9-34} was written subsequently to the Priestly Code (cf. W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} 413, and Bennett, *Primer*, 90). Throughout the book, too, we find some words from a very late stage of the language (Dillmann, p. 442). All this implies that what Bennett (*Bk. Jos.* p. 22) calls 'very probable' is a certainty: the Deuteronomic redaction of the Bk. of Joshua is from more than one hand. Some of it, according to the evidence of the LXX, must be very late. Accordingly we understand why no author's name has been assigned to the Bk. of Joshua:* it takes its title from its subject and is an anonymous work. The points upon which an early author, or even one contemporary with the events described, has been assumed, are either illusory (*e.g.* the reading of 5^{1} עברנו should be עברם), or can only prove the date of one or other of the constituent documents. The final redaction affords no historical allusion by which its date might be fixed.

---

[*] The attempt by Budde, p. 50, to get rid of the differences by emending the text, has not convinced critics.

[*] We have also seen that it is not possible to assign these, on linguistic evidence, respectively to J and E.

[†] See the discussions in the works, cited below, of Hollenberg, Kuenen, Dillmann, and Kittel. Hollenberg's conclusion is that not the original Deuteronomist, but the Deuteronomic editor who combined Deuteronomy with the rest of the Pentateuch and added to it chs. 1–4. 27. 29–31, is the writer of these passages in Joshua. Dillmann assigns them in the main to the author of the Bk. of Deuteronomy; Kuenen, either to a writer or writers akin in spirit and style to the author of Dt 1–4, etc.; so virtually Kittel, to a D^{2} whom (not certainly but on the whole) he takes to have been different from D^{1}. There is a curious difference between the Dt passage Jos 1$^{3-5}$ and Dt 11$^{24.\ 25a}$; but it is not very great, and does not carry us far in the discussion of the question.

vi. SEPARATION FROM THE PENTATEUCH, AND DATE.—Another set of problems is raised by the relation of Joshua to the Pentateuch. Most critics have held that the Bk. of Joshua was separated from the rest of the Pentateuch after JE, D, and P had been combined, but Bennett (*A Primer of the Bible*, 1897, p. 90) thinks that the JE, D, and P portions of Jos were combined by another and later editor than the editor who combined the same documents in the Pentateuch. This is certainly borne out by the different rank, alluded to above, which is assigned to P in the Pentateuch and in Joshua. But, whatever be the answer to these questions, the reason of the separation of the Book of Joshua from the Pentateuch when the latter became canonical in Israel in Ezra's time is very intelligible. The legislation really closes with Deuteronomy and the account of Moses' death, and it was legislation which Ezra and Nehemiah were anxious to enforce. That the Bk. of Joshua was not regarded in Israel as what we call canonical till long after the Torah or Five Books of Moses had reached that rank, is clear from the difference between it and them in the LXX translation. While it is evident, from the comparatively few discrepancies between the Massoretic text and that of the LXX, that the text of the Torah had long been guarded with care before the LXX translation was made, the many discrepancies in the Bk. of Joshua, the freedom with which the Greek translator or translators allowed themselves to omit and to modify, prove that when the LXX translation of it was made Joshua was not regarded as of canonical rank. The admission to the Canon of the Prophetical Books, to which it belongs, is generally held to have been about 200 B.C.

vii. RELATION TO THE BOOK OF JUDGES.—But the problems of the analysis of the Bk. of Joshua cannot be fully stated without some comparison of its data of the Conquest with those furnished in the opening chapters of the Bk. of Judges. We have seen that in the Bk. of Joshua there are two different conceptions of how the Conquest was achieved. One is that shared by both D and P: that the Conquest of the Land was completed and the inhabitants exterminated by Joshua, and thereupon the various territories were occupied by the tribes to which he allotted them. The other, very evident from the fragments of J, in the second half of the book, takes the Conquest to have been gradual and partial. This, the older conception, is that which is supported by the Bk. of Judges. In Jg $1-2^{5}$ we have fragments of an account of the Conquest, which an editor has found irreconcilable with the conception that dominates the Bk. of Joshua, and has therefore, by an introductory clause, Jg 1^{1a}, transferred to the days after Joshua's death. This, however, is impossible: we cannot conceive that Israel having gained full possession of Western Palestine and exterminated the Canaanites, was after Joshua's death driven back upon Jericho and began a second series of campaigns which gradually restored the country to them. In itself this is impossible; and that the campaigns in Jg 1 happened in Joshua's lifetime is implied not only by the account of his death which follows them in Jg 2 ff., but proved by the fact that the same episodes (*e.g.* Hebron and Caleb, Debir and Othniel) which are related in Jg 1 as happening after Joshua's death are in the Bk. of Joshua itself related as happening while he still directed the allotment of the territories. Omit Jg 1^{1a} and several other verses in the same chapter which are obvious insertions by an editor and some of which flatly contradict verses that stand next them, and what is left affords an account of the Conquest which is in harmony (as already said) with the older of the two conceptions, contained in the Bk. of Joshua.*

The relation to each other of these parallel passages in the Bk. of Joshua and in Jg 1 has been differently estimated by critics. Yet the facts appear to shut out all the alternatives but one. Not only do the parallels agree (as has just been said) in their general conception of the conquest—that it took place through the efforts of separate tribes, and with incomplete results rather than (as the view of P and D which prevails in the Bk. of Joshua conceives it) by all Israel acting together and with a complete extermination of the 'inhabitants of the land'; but in parts the parallels agree word for word, and they both contain the same characteristic terms and phrases.

The following table represents the agreements and differences:—

Jg 1^{1}. (except the first clause)$^{2.3.5.6.7}$: The beginning of Judah's and Simeon's campaign, and their defeat of Adoni-bezeḳ. Jos $10^{1\text{ff.}}$: After Joshua's capture of Ai and treaty with Gibeon, Adoni-zedeḳ (LXX Adoni-bezeḳ; the reading Adoni-zedeḳ has perhaps arisen as some echo of another ancient king of Jerusalem, Melchi-zedeḳ), king of Jerusalem, with the kings of Jarmuth, Lachish, and Eglon, having attacked Gibeon, is defeated by Joshua and all Israel in the battle of Beth-horon, and afterwards slain.

Jg $1^{19.20.10-15}$: After Judah receives the hill-country for an inheritance, Caleb in obedience to a command by Moses receives Hebron, and takes it, slaying its Anakite lords;

---

* That Joshua is the author is asserted in the Talmud, 'Baba bathra,' 14^{2}. It has been maintained by a few Rom. Cath. and Protestant scholars, and even in this century by, *e.g.*, J. L. König, *AT Stud.* i. 1836. But see Calvin's sane words in his *Argt.*

* On Jg 1 f. consult Wellhausen, *Comp. d. Hex.* 213–215; E. Meyer, *ZATW* i. p. 135 ff.; but especially Budde, both in *ZATW* vii. p. 94 ff., and *Richt. u. Samuel*, pp. 2 ff., 84–89; and Moore, *Judges*, in the *Internat. Crit. Comm.* p. 3 ff. The verses to be eliminated from Jg $1-2^{5}$ are $^{1a.4.8.9.18.36}$ $2^{1b-5a.8}$. Of these 1^{4} is redundant in face of vv.$^{5-7}$; v.^{8}, intimating the capture of Jerus. is contradicted by later history and the rest of the narrative.

he offers his daughter to the conqueror of Ḳiriath-sepher. This is 'Othniel. 'Othniel receives Achsah, Caleb's daughter, and with her the 'upper and lower Guloth.' Jos $15^{13ff.}$: Caleb, in obedience to a divine command by Joshua, receives Hebron, slaying its Anakite lords; then from v.^{16} the story of Debir, 'Othniel, and Achsah follows exactly as in Jg $1^{12ff.}$.

Jg $1^{16.17}$: The settlement of the Kenite and conquest of Simeon's land find no parallel in Joshua.

Jg 1^{21}: The continued hold of the Jebusite upon Jerusalem, the *sons of Benjamin* do not drive him out. Jos 15^{63}: The same, but it is the *sons of Judah* who are said not to *have been able* to drive out the Jebusite.

Jg 1^{22-26}: The house of Joseph go up to Bethel, and with them *Jehovah* (an unusual expression, and not found in the relation of the other campaigns; for *Jehovah* LXX reads *Judah*; Budde reasonably conjectures *Joshua* as the original reading); the house of Joseph takes Bethel. To this there is no parallel in the Bk. of Joshua; but a reminiscence of the capture of Bethel crops up in the story of the taking of Ai, Jos 8^{17} 'Ai *and Bethel*' (but this is omitted by the best MSS of LXX).

Jg$1^{27.28}$: Manasseh *did not dispossess* the inhabitants of Beth-shan, Taanach, Dor, Ibleam, Megiddo, and their subject villages. But the Canaanite *resolved to dwell in that land*. When Israel grew strong they forced Canaanites to work for them. Jos $17^{12.13}$: The Bene-Manasseh *were not able to dispossess* the inhabitants of Beth-shan, Ibleam, Dor, En-dor, Taanach, Megiddo, but the Canaanite *resolved to dwell in this land*; when the Bene-Israel grew strong they forced the Canaanites to work for them.

Jg 1^{29}: Ephraim did not dispossess the Canaanite of Gezer, but the C. dwelt in his midst in Gezer. ‖Jos 16^{10}: And he (Ephraim) did not dispossess the Canaanite who dwelt in Gezer, but the C. dwelt in the midst of Ephraim to this day, and 'had to take up the forced service of a labourer.'

Jg 1^{30-33}: Zebulun, Asher, and Naphtali did not dispossess the Canaanites of certain towns. No parallels to this in Jos.

Jg $1^{34.35}$: The Amorites forced the Bene-Dan into the hill-country, and did not allow them to come down into the '*emeḳ*. And the Amorite *resolved to* dwell in Mt. Heres in Aijalon and in Sha'albim, and the hand of the house of Joseph was heavy, and they were reduced to forced labour. Jos 19^{47}: And the Bene-Dan went up and fought with Leshem and took it, and smote it at the edge of the sword, and took possession of it, and dwelt in it, and called Leshem Dan after Dan their father. From these two passages Budde proposes to restore the full text of the original in this order: Jg 1^{34}, Jos $19^{47a.}$ (LXX) ^{47b}, Jg 1^{35} (cf. the LXX additions to Jos 19^{47b}).

This comparison, besides revealing the similarity of general conception and identity of several passages and characteristic phrases, shows that the passages in Jg 1, besides being set under a wrong date (v.^{1a} 'after the death of Joshua'), have been 'edited' to serve the purpose of the compiler of this part of the Bk. of Judges, which as revealed in ch. 2^{1b-4} is that the failure to dispossess all the Canaanites is the reason why Jehovah proceeded now to punish Israel. For instance, the passages in Joshua generally declare that the tribes *were not able* to drive out certain Canaanite communities; in Jg 1 the words in italics are omitted.[*] And in v.^{21} *the Benjamites* have been substituted for *Judah*, which is given in the parallel Jos 15^{63}. From all this it is clear that in the Bk. of Joshua we have the more original text of these passages; it is impossible that the editor of that book took them from Jg 1. Nor is the converse probable; for in the Bk. of Joshua, as we have seen, these passages have been inserted in a setting, the whole tendency of which is to give a conception of the conquest different from that to which they testify. There remains possible, therefore, only this conclusion, as Budde has clearly exhibited, that the editors, both of the Bk. of Joshua and of Jg 1 f., have taken them from a common source. This source, with its conception of the conquest so different from that of D and P, must, in our ignorance of any other sources of the Hexateuch, be assigned to JE. Can we decide whether it belongs to J or E? It so happens that in ch. 24 we have a piece which, for very obvious reasons, critics are agreed in assigning to E. But its conception of the conquest approaches too nearly to that of the Deuterononic redaction of Joshua to allow us to assign to its author the passages in question. We have therefore no alternative but to regard them as the work of J, or at least of the series of writers designated by that letter. So, for instance, Kittel, Driver (in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*^{2}, vol. i. pt. ii. p. 1816), and especially Budde (*ZATW* vii. 155 ff.), who assigns them, not to the original J, but to the Jahwistic redactor. And to the same hand we must assign, of course, a number of other passages in the Bk. of Joshua which, though they are not found among the parallels present in Jg 1, plainly supplement the latter, and are ruled by the same conception of the conquest, viz. that it was partial, for there were many Canaanite communities and groups of communities whom the tribes could not drive out. These are Jos 13^{13} 17^{14-18}, and probably the simpler forms of the doublets in the JE portions of chs. 1-12, and among them we must also include the additional matter which ch. 19^{47} contributes to the story of Dan as related in Jg $1^{34.35}$. See, further, art. JUDGES (BOOK OF), where on several points a different view is maintained from that represented in the present article.

viii. THE HISTORICAL VALUE OF THE BOOK OF JOSHUA. — We have seen — upon evidence afforded by itself, philological and textual—that the final redaction of the book must be placed very late in the history of Israel: certainly after Ezra's time, perhaps not till the 3rd cent. B.C. We have seen, too, that this redaction includes widely differing accounts of how the conquest and division of the land were accomplished: a Deuteronomic writer and the Priestly writer represent it to have been thorough, and effected in one generation by the whole nation acting together; the Jahwistic document (with ch. 1 of the Bk. of Judges) represents it as the work of separate tribes, and to have been far from complete. When we accept the latter alternative, not only as that of the older record, but as the only one in harmony with the data of the subsequent history under the Judges and Kings, our difficulties are not at an end. For, *first*, the Jahwistic document cannot be proved to be earlier than the 9th cent. B.C.; and, *second*, before being used by the editor of the whole book, it has been combined with the Elohist document in a form which contains such varying accounts of the different episodes of the Conquest as were likely to arise in the many centuries of tradition between the Conquest and the dates of the two constituent documents. These present, too, other difficulties. They are defective: it is remarkable that neither says a word about the conquest of the midlands of Western Palestine, the lands afterwards occupied by Manasseh and Ephraim, although one of them (E) appears to have related the celebration of a solemn service at Shechem, the centre of that region, soon after the crossing of Jordan and in obedience to a word of Moses; while both of them appear to contain a few data that could not have been inserted till long after Israel's settlement in W. Palestine.[*] All these facts, presented to us, be it observed, by the biblical record itself, oblige us to subject the JE narrative to examination upon the ordinary principles of historical criticism. The first question we have to ask is: are there any signs in JE of the employment of older documents? In the early books of the OT such ancient material is usually found in the citation of poetical fragments. Of such the Bk. of Joshua contains only one ($10^{12.13}$)

---

[*] In v.^{19b} the omission of the words is very plain; the infinit. להוריש cannot be construed without them.

[*] *e.g.* in the history of the treaty with Gibeon, though, as we shall see, there is no reason for denying the main fact of such a treaty in the time of Joshua. The contradiction with later history, which is alleged by some to exist in Jos 6^{26}—the abandonment of the site of Jericho (cf. Jg 3^{13}, which represents Jericho as an inhabited town)—may be explained by a change of site.

which may be assigned (though this is not the opinion of all critics) to J. 'Thus Joshua spake to Jehovah . . . and said in presence of all Israel—

> Sun stay upon Gibeon, and moon on the valley of Aijalon.
> And the sun stayed, and the moon stood till the people took vengeance of their enemies.

Is it not written in the Book of Jashar?'[*] This ancient fragment witnesses to two facts: (*a*) that Israel had to fight at this particular point of their advance into W. Palestine, and (*b*) the presence there of Joshua. But the fragment stands alone in the book; on all other points we have to argue upon considerations of a general kind.

The first point which appears to be sufficiently established is the national unity of Israel, before and when they crossed the Jordan. This, it is true, has been denied. Stade (*GVI* i. 134 ff.) and others suppose that the Israelite occupation of W. Palestine proceeded gradually and peacefully —by the drifting across Jordan, one by one, of various Israelite clans, before the pressure of their increasing numbers and in desire for room and food. But the theory of a peaceful invasion is contradicted no less by the general force of tradition than by the historic probabilities; while the national unity is certified, not only by the earliest memories of the people (Bk. of Jg, *passim*) and the unanimous voice of later tradition, but by the fact that the great cause and reason of such a unity, the possession by the tribes of a common faith and a common shrine, had already been achieved by the labours of Moses. The later unity of Israel, accomplished among the separating influences of W. Palestine, geographical, social, religious, would not have been possible unless Israel had already been united before entering these. Nor do the accounts in the Bks. of Jos and Jg relate, before the capture of Jericho, anything contradictory to the theory of such a unity; it is only from Jericho onwards that J describes the tribes as separately undertaking the conquest of their respective territories. Moreover, although J represents separate conquests after Jericho, it assumes, and even explicitly states, that these were preceded by a common understanding of how the work of conquest was to be divided and the territories assigned (Jos 15^{13} $17^{14ff.}$, Jg 1^{1}). If we accept this evidence of J (as against Dt and P), that the conquest was achieved by separate tribes, we should surely receive its testimony that the direction and plan proceeded from a common centre; especially when the unity of Israel, at the time of crossing Jordan, is rendered so probable by the considerations quoted above. (See Smith, *HGHL*, Appen. II.; McCurdy, *HPM* ii. 112).

ix. THE PERSON OF JOSHUA.—We are now able to consider the person of Joshua himself. The attempt has been made to relegate, not only the deeds, but the personality of this great leader to the domain of legend and myth. Stade (*GVI* i. p. 135) and others[†] have fastened on the undoubted fact that in each successive stratum of the tradition Joshua is made to play a more active and regulative part in the allotment and conquest of the territory. They assert that he is not mentioned by J, and that we can trace the origin of him to E. E is an Ephraimitic document, Joshua an Ephraimitic hero. And the inference is drawn by these critics, that, to begin with, Joshua is no more a person than, say, the 'Judah and Simeon his brother' of Jg 1^{3}; but only the personification of a Josephide clan, whose centre was Timnath-serah (Jos 19^{50} 24^{30}) or Timnath-heres (Jg 2^{9})[*] in the S.W. of the hill-country of Ephraim.[†]

But, as Kuenen says, the fact that Joshua appears with increasing importance through the later strata of tradition, so far from being a proof that he did not appear in the earliest stratum, strongly supports the presupposition that he was present there. And, as a matter of fact, Joshua does appear in J (Jos 17^{14-18}), not merely as the leader of Ephraim or of a part of that tribe, as E represents him, but as the arbiter over all Israel to whom the tribes appeal when they are disappointed with the territory allotted to them. Nor is it possible to deny that Joshua appears in the simpler form of the double JE narratives of the taking of Jericho and Ai, and of the treaty with Gibeon; which form Budde has very successfully argued to belong to J (*ZATW* vii. pp. 134–146, 155–157). Budde has also proposed the restoration of Joshua's name to Jg 1^{22} 'And the house of Joseph went up to Bethel, and *Joshua* with them.'[‡] Moreover, Joshua is the speaker in the ancient poetical fragment (ch. $10^{12.13}$). And in conformity with these descriptions of all Israel acting under one leader, at least up to the taking of Ai, ch. 10^{6} states that the army returned to Gilgal after Ai was taken, and, similarly, v.^{15} brings them there again after the battle of Beth-horon. These verses probably belong to E.

There is, then, no point in the development of the tradition at which we can say, Here Joshua was added for the first time to the story. So far back as we can trace it, Joshua is part of the tradition, and he appears upon that line of it, the Judæan J, in which there was no temptation to create him as a tribal hero, for he does not belong to Judah but to Ephraim. On the other hand, the rest of the data of the tradition and the historical probabilities require Israel to have been under one head. In the absence of contemporary evidence, these are all the proofs of his historical reality which it is possible to obtain. But surely they are sufficient. If, as is probable, the poetical fragment is genuine, Joshua's existence as the Captain of all Israel is put beyond doubt.

x. JOSHUA'S WORK. — Joshua, then, was the successor of Moses, and led all Israel across Jordan. All the documents appear to agree that the crossing took place opposite to Jericho,—*appear*, for even here a difficulty arises. As we have seen, one of them, E, makes a statement, found both in Dt and Jos, to the effect that Israel were summoned by Moses to celebrate their arrival in W. Palestine by setting up a monument, with the law written upon it, at Shechem. Now Shechem, besides being the centre of the land, would naturally be the first goal of any invasion of W. Palestine from the other side of Jordan. No one can doubt this who is familiar with the aspect which W. Palestine presents to an observer from the site occupied by Israel in the N. of Moab. A wall of mountain, broken only by narrow gorges, runs far N. of Jericho; the first break in it, the first invitation to invade W. Palestine, is the great pass, the Wady Fera'a, which leads up from Jordan to Shechem; and it is at its mouth that the fords across Jordan are most easy. Take this geographical fact along with the evidence furnished by E, and at first sight it is hard to resist the inference of at least the probability of an invasion by Israel of the midlands of W. Palestine by the fords near Tell Adami and up the Wady Fera'a. Such a conclusion, too, would fill the great gap which yawns in all the other records: the absence of all account of the conquest of Ephraim and Manasseh.

---

[*] The rest of v.^{13} is a prose statement that the prayer of Joshua for a long day in which to complete the rout of the enemy, was fulfilled by the literal halt of sun and moon in their courses.

[†] Cf. Ed. Meyer, *ZATW* i. p. 134; Wellhausen, *Comp. des Hex.* p. 116 f. n. 1.

[*] These passages are reversed by Stade, *GVI* 143, n. 2.

[†] Stade, p. 135; Meyer, *op. cit.*

[‡] MT and B read the meaningless 'and *Jehovah* with them'; A has 'and *Judah* with them.' See Budde, *op. cit.* p. 144. The substitution of another name for Joshua's in this verse and the omission of his name elsewhere in Jg 1 was necessary to the editor, when he removed the events described in Jg 1 from their proper setting and placed them all after Joshua's death. see v.^{1a}.

But, attractive as this conclusion appears, there are many objections to it. The crossing of all Israel opposite Jericho is not only confirmed by the earliest traditions, one of which is E itself, but is supported by historical probabilities. The centre of Israel's power in E. Palestine was immediately opposite Jericho.[*] Nor was the crossing in face of the one fortified city which the Jordan Valley contained south of Beth-shan so improbable as it seems. Jericho, as we shall presently see, was never able to resist a siege; and many subsequent invaders of W. Palestine from the E. have even gone out of their way to take the city before attempting the hill-country behind her, even by the open passes to the N. Their strategy is intelligible. Once captured, Jericho became a well-stocked and well-watered base for campaigns in the comparatively barren hills to the west of her. The oldest traditions assert that Joshua made himself acquainted with the defencelessness of this single fortress on the W. bank of Jordan, by a means of espionage frequently employed by commanders of invading armies. His spies were aided by a harlot among the enemy. The same documents, and P, record that Israel were demoralised by the vicious women of the land (Nu $25^{1ff.}$); JE ascribes to the same frailty the land's betrayal to Israel.

Joshua, then, led Israel across Jordan opposite to Jericho. All the traditions assign the passage to a miracle, similar to that by which the people escaped from Egypt across the Red Sea. The waters of the river were stopped in a great heap, not at the place of the passage, but, as appears from a somewhat corrupt text (3^{16}), higher up, where the valley of Jordan is narrower, and where it is not without interest to remember that an Arabic chronicler records the sudden damming of the river by a landslip in A.D. 1267.[†] The miracle was commemorated by a stone monument, according to three lines of tradition which, however, vary as to where it was erected (see above, § iv. *a*, *c*). On the story of the Circumcision see above, § iv. *c*. Soon after this, Jericho became an easy prey to the invaders; and here again, as we have seen (§ iv. *c*), the traditions differ as to details. But the fact on which they agree, that the city fell to the mere challenge of her besiegers, is an issue singularly in harmony with the fate of Jericho before every subsequent attack which history records, and is also very explicable by the effeminate character of her inhabitants (see *Historical Geogr.* pp. 266–268). The city was razed, the site cursed, and Israel's camp continued to be at Gilgal, which is represented as the starting-point and return of the subsequent campaigns (see above, § ix.).

The Bk. of Joshua represents these as undertaken by Joshua in person with all Israel behind him; but, as we have seen, the oldest traditions describe the invasion as prosecuted from this point by different tribes in different directions. Jg 1 indicates these directions as two, in uniformity with the geographical position of Jericho and Gilgal, from which there are roads, S.W. into what was afterwards Judæa, N.W. into what became the territory of Manasseh and Ephraim. According to Jg 1, Judah and Simeon followed the first of these; and the double tribe of Joseph, still under the leadership of Joshua, the second. But the independent action of Judah and Simeon is not incompatible with Joshua's continued headship over all Israel; for, as we have seen, the same document, J, which relates their campaign, still sees in him the arbiter of the tribes, and assigns to him the allotment of their spheres of conquest (Jos 17^{14-18}). Ai and Bethel, both of them on the easiest road from Jericho to the backbone of the range, were taken by Joshua, and his army returned to Gilgal (10^{6}).

At this point, the most natural in the course of events, occurs the narrative of the service at Shechem (ch. 8^{30-35}), founded on E, which event, however, presupposes the conquest or occupation of the hill-country of Ephraim and Manasseh; and about this not a word, as we have seen, is said. It has been supposed that the story was missing in the documents; and if so, this would be an argument in favour of the reliability of the later tradition and redactions, which abstained from inventing a story, even if the event had happened, when they had no materials for it. But why was this one event missing on *all* the lines of tradition? The problem is one for which no satisfactory solution has yet been offered. It is to the same point in the course of conquest that the Bk. of Joshua assigns the treaty with Gibeon. That this treaty was made in Joshua's time has been denied by many critics on the evidence of the later history. There is, however, nothing in the latter which makes so early a treaty with Gibeon an impossible thing. Budde (*ZATW* vii. p. 135 ff.) marks the fact that in Deborah's time Judah was cut off from the tribes to the N. of her by a belt of territory in possession of the Canaanites, and argues that Gibeon's independence of Israel was necessary to make that belt continuous between Jebus and Gezer.[*] But the geographical data do not make this a necessary conclusion; the northern Israelites may very well have been in alliance with Gibeon and still unable to maintain connexion with Judah; and Kittel (*Gesch.* i. p. 272 ff.) has plausibly argued that the story of Joshua fighting the Canaanites near Gibeon, if historical, renders his treaty with Gibeon extremely probable. But, as we have seen, there is ancient evidence in the poetical piece, ch. 10^{12-14}, for the battle of Beth-horon and Joshua's defeat of the Canaanites there. The oldest tradition, which makes him return after it to Gilgal, is of course to be preferred to the Deuteronomic summary, which follows and assigns to him the conquest of the south: this must rather be assigned, as J assigns it, to Judah and the Calebites, who undertook it independently from Jericho, while Joshua himself led the house of Joseph against Ai, Bethel and the midlands. To Joshua are also assigned by fragments of E a campaign and victory in the N. of the Jordan Valley, and against the probability of this there is no conclusive argument: the narrative as it stands, however, in ch. 11 is largely the work of the Deuteronomist. For details of the question see Dillmann's *Comm.*; Budde, *ZATW* vii. p. 149 ff.; and Moore's *Comm. on Jg* 4.

xi. THE RELIGIOUS TEACHING OF THE BK. OF JOSHUA.—As was to be expected, the religious teaching of the book is mainly found in its later strata—the Deuteronomic and the Priestly. We have seen how they fulfil the scheme of the destiny of Israel on the lines laid down in the Pentateuch, and how the Deuteronomist enforces the law as prescribed in the Bk. of Dt, or records instances of its execution. But it is also to the Deuteronomist sections that we owe the fervent religious exhortations to Joshua and the people, which are the portions of the book most frequently employed in Christian preaching and teaching. The story of Achan, as it has passed from the hand of the latest redactor, is a lesson of great power, on the possibility of individual selfishness and avarice wrecking the enterprises of the whole community. But to one of the earlier sources, probably E (see above, § iv. *c*), we owe the finest religious conception in the book, that of the appearance of the Angel to Joshua (ch. 5^{13-15}). It is a noble illustration of the truth, that, in the great causes of God upon the earth, the leaders, however supreme and solitary they seem, are themselves led. There is a rock higher than they; their shoulders, however broad, have not to bear alone the awful burden of responsibility. The sense of supernatural conduct and protection, the consequent reverence and humility which form the spirit of all Israel's history, have nowhere in the OT received a more beautiful expression than in this early fragment.

---

[*] Stade has indeed attempted to show that this territory opposite Jericho was Moabite, but he can do so only after transferring the song (Nu 21) which celebrates the defeat of Sihon to the 9th cent. Upon this see the present writer's *Historical Geography*, App. II. p. 661 f.; and cf. McCurdy, *Hist. Proph. and the Monuments*, ii. p. 112, and the footnote.

[†] See article by Lieut.-Col. Watson in *PEFSt*, 1895, p. 253 ff.

[*] It was completed by Sha'albim and Aijalon and possibly Kiriath-jearim.

LITERATURE.—1. Commentaries, Introductions, and similar works.—St. Augustin, *Locutiones de lib. Jos.*, Opera, iii. 587 ff.; Is. Abrabanel, *Comm. in Proph. Priores*, 1511 or 1512, also at Leipz. 1686; John Calvin, *Comm. in lib. Josuæ*, 1564 (the last of C.'s works); Andreas Masius, *Josuæ Imperat. Historia Illustrata*, etc., Antverp. 1574; Bonfrère, *Comm. in Jos. Jud. et Ruth*, Paris, 1631 (not seen); Osiander, *Comm. in Jos.*, Tübingen, 1681; Seb. Schmidt, *Prælectiones Academicæ in VIII. priora lib. Jos. Capita*, Hamb. 1693 (not seen); Joh. Clericus, *Comm. in libros histor. VT*, Amsterd. 1708; Vic. Strigelius, *Lib. Jos.* . . . 1710; Corn. a Lapide, *Comm. in Jos.*, Antverp. 1718; Alex. Geddes, *The Holy Bible, trans. with notes, crit. remarks*, etc., vol. i., London, 1792; De Wette, *Beiträge z. Einleit. in's AT*, Halle, 1806–1807, *Lehrbuch der Hist. Krit. Einl. z. den Kanon. u. Apokr. Bü. des AT*, 1st ed. 1817, 6th before his death in 1849, 7th by Stähelin in 1852, 8th by Schrader, 1869 (an Eng. trans. by Theodore Parker, 1843); Bleek, *Einige Aphorist. Beitr. z. d. Untersuchungen üb. d. Pentateuch* in the *Bib. exeg. Repertorium*, Bd. 1, Leipz. 1822, cf. his *Einl. in's AT*, 1st ed. 1860, 5th ed. 1886; Maurer, *Komm. üb. d. B. Josua*, Stuttgart, 1831 (not seen); J. L. König, *AT Studien*, 1 Hft. 1836 (not seen); Keil, *Komm. ü. d. B. Jos.*, Erlangen, 1847, then in his Bibl. Comm. with Delitzsch, *Jos. Richt. Ruth*, Leipz. 1863, 2nd ed. 1874; Knobel, *Komm. z. Nu. Dt. u. Jos.*, Leipzig, 1861; J. W. Colenso, *The Pent. and Bk. of Jos. critically examined*, London, 1862–1871; Kuenen, *Hist.-Crit. Onderzoek*^{2}, i. 1, 1885; Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs*, Berlin, 1885 (*Jahrb. f. Deutsche Theol.* 1876, 1877); Dillmann, *Nu. Dt. und Josua*, 1886; Vatke, *Einl. in das AT*, 1886 (posthumous); W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2}, 1892; Addis, *Documents of the Hexateuch*, London, i. 1892, ii. 1898; Driver, *Introd. to the Lit. of the OT*^{1}, 1891, 6th ed. 1897; cf. art. 'Bk. of Joshua' in Smith's *DB*^{2}, 1893; Holzinger, *Einleitung in den Hexateuch*, 1893; Briggs, *Higher Crit. of the Hexateuch*, New York, 1893, 2nd ed. 1897; Oettli, *Dt. and Josh.* (not seen) in Strack's *Kgf. Komm.* 1894; W. H. Bennett, *Primer of the Bible*, London, 1897, esp. p. 90 and Appendix A.

2. Histories of Israel in which the composition and historical value of the Bk. of Joshua are more or less discussed.—Ewald, vol. i. (first published in 1843); Stade, vol. i. 1881; Kittel, vol. i. 1888.

3. Other works chiefly on the Text, Analysis of Documents, etc. (*a*) More general.—König; Nöldeke, *AT Liter.* 1868, and *Untersuch. z. Kritik des AT*, 1869. (*b*) Special.—Hollenberg in *SK*, 1874, pp. 462–506, and *Der Charakter der Alex. Uebersetz. des B. Jos.* 1876 (not seen); Budde in *ZATW*, 1887, pp. 93–166, *Richter u. Josua*, 1888, p. 148, see also his *Richter u. Samuel*, Giessen, 1890, pp. 1–89; Albers, *Die Quellenberichte in Josua* i.–xii. 1891; W. H. Bennett, 'Bk. of Jos.,' Crit. Ed. of Heb. Text in Haupt's *SBOT*. (*c*) Archæological.—Clermont-Ganneau, *Arch. Researches in Pal.* 1896, ii. 23 ff., 308, 328 f., 491.

G. A. SMITH.

JOSIAH (יֹאשִׁיָּה, יֹאשִׁיָּהוּ, '*J*″ supports').—**1.** A king of Judah. He was the son of Amon and grandson of Manasseh. His mother's name is given as Jedidah, the daughter of Adaiah (2 K 22^1). His father was killed by conspirators after a brief reign of two years. His murderers were brought to justice, and Josiah placed on the throne at the age of eight (2 K 21^{24}). The date of his accession was probably B.C. 639, and his reign lasted thirty-one years, till B.C. 608. During the early part of his reign matters seem to have gone on much as before, the king being too young to introduce any change, if he had been disposed to do so. It was not till the eighteenth year of his reign that the reformation took place which marked an epoch in the history of the national religion. The prophetic party, which had attained great influence under Hezekiah, had lost it under Manasseh, who carried his fanatical attachment to lower forms of religion to the point of persecuting the pure faith. The reformers could only work for the future, and wait till their opportunity came. It is not unlikely that the Scythian invasion gave it them. Hordes of Scythians burst into Western Asia about B.C. 630. The prophets (Jer 6^1, Zeph 1^{14-18}) saw in them the instruments of God's judgment on sinful Judah. They invaded Palestine, and came down the sea-coast towards Egypt. Contrary to expectation, they did not attack Judah. In the relief at so great a deliverance, the reformers found themselves once more in favour. The first sign of this was a movement for the repair of the temple (2 K $22^{3ff.}$). Money was collected from the people, and the work was begun in the eighteenth year of Josiah's reign. Very soon the high priest Hilkiah announced to Shaphan the scribe that he had found the Book of the Law in the temple. Shaphan read it, and informed the king of its discovery. On hearing it read, J. was so alarmed at the threats made against disobedience to its commands, and the knowledge that they had been so often transgressed, that he sent an influential deputation to the prophetess Huldah. As her prophecy is given in 2 K 22^{15-20}, she predicted that the threats against Jerus. should be fulfilled, but that the king should not live to see it, but be gathered to his grave in peace.

The next step was to bring the religious practice into conformity with the law. This could be accomplished only through a drastic reformation. The elders and people of Judah and Jerusalem were summoned to a meeting in the temple, and the law was read to them (2 K $23^{1ff.}$). The king made a covenant to obey the law, and all the people assented to it. The reform consisted in the cleansing of the temple from idolatry, in the suppression of idolatry throughout the kingdom, and, most important of all, in the abolition of the high places or local sanctuaries. After it had been carried through, a great passover was celebrated. It is difficult to overrate the importance of this reformation. The abolition of the local sanctuaries centralized the worship. This in itself was a deathblow to idolatry. Even where J″ alone was nominally worshipped at the local shrines, heathenish elements both in belief and practice inevitably crept in. One temple implied one God. Then, as a corollary of centralization, radical changes took place throughout the cultus, while the priests of the local sanctuaries were degraded into inferior ministers, without the rights of priests. Nor was this all. The acceptance of a written code as binding law was the first step in the formation of a Canon of Scripture, which was to have such immense developments later. Then for the first time Judah became a people of the law.

Critics are agreed that the law on which the reformation was based was the Deuteronomic Code, but how much of our present Book of Deut. was discovered by Hilkiah is a question on which they are divided (see DEUTERONOMY). In one respect it was found impracticable to carry out the Deuteronomic law. The priests of the high places were not admitted to the same privileges as the priests of the temple (2 K 23^9, contrast Dt 18^{6-8}). It is probable that J. found it impossible to carry through this reform on account of the opposition of the Jerus. priesthood. It has been inferred from this that Hilkiah the priest can have had no share in the composition of the work.

We know scarcely anything of the thirteen years that followed the reformation. But it seems to have been a period of peace and prosperity. One very significant fact that comes out in the narrative of J.'s measures to enforce the new law is that they were extended to Samaria, which was not strictly part of his kingdom. The explanation is that the Assyr. empire, though not yet overthrown, was so much weakened that J. was not only practically independent himself, but could interfere in an Assyr. province. And we must probably start from this in solving the riddle why he opposed the advance of the king of Egypt against Assyria. In 608 Cyaxares and Nabopolassar joined in an attack on Assyria. This gave Egypt the opportunity of seizing Syria. J. saw in this a menace of subjection to the Egyp. yoke, and naturally was unwilling to lose his independence. He was no doubt ill-advised in taking the initiative, but he probably expected that Judah would be victorious, now that it had become a people of the law. This ill-grounded confidence cost him his life and Judah her freedom. He fell in the battle at Megiddo (2 K 23^{29}).

J.'s character is very highly estimated by the editor of the Book of Kings, on account of his earnestness in the work of reform; and the ferocity with which it was carried through (2 K 23^{20}) need not, in that age, be urged against him. Jeremiah contrasts his equity in the administration of justice with Jehoiakim's oppression of the weak and shedding of innocent blood (Jer 22^{15-17}).

The account in Chronicles (2 Ch 34. 35) varies in some respects from that of Kings. It places Josiah's religious reforms almost entirely before the discovery of the law, no doubt because it seemed strange that so good a king should have waited till the eighteenth year of his reign before rooting out idolatry. It also states that the Egyp. king warned J. not to oppose him, since God had sent him against Carchemish (2 Ch 35^{21}). This was perhaps intended to account for the death of so righteous a king: he had refused to obey God's warning.

2. A son of Zephaniah (Zec 6^{10}) living at Jerus. in the time of Zechariah. The text of this passage appears to have been tampered with and to need radical correction. See Wellh., Now., and G. A. Smith, *ad loc.* A. S. PEAKE.

JOSIAS (B Ἰωσείας, B^{b}A -σίας).—JOSIAH king of Judah. 1 Es $1^{1. 7. 18. 21-23. 25. 28. 29. 32-34}$, Bar 1^{8}.

JOSIPHIAH (יוֹסִפְיָה 'J″ adds,' Ezr 8^{10}).—The father of one of Ezra's companions. The name of the son is not given in MT, which reads 'and of the sons of Shelomith, the son of Josiphiah'; but the text may be corrected by the help of LXX (ἀπὸ υἱῶν Βαανί A; 1 Es 8^{36} ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν Βανί A, Βανιάς B, Βαναιάς Luc.), and we should read 'and of the sons of Bani, Shelomith,' etc., בָּנִי having fallen out after וּמִבְּנֵי. See GENEALOGY.

JOT.—Tindale rendered the ἰῶτα ἕν of Mt 5^{18} 'one iott' (perhaps under the influence of the Vulg. *iota unum*), and his rendering was accepted by all subsequent translators (Cov., Cran., 'iott'; Gen., Rhem., Bish., AV 'iote'; RV 'jot,' which is the mod. spelling in AV also). The ἰῶτα is the smallest letter in the Gr. alphabet; but the corresponding letter in Heb. (י *yod*) is more distinctly the smallest, so that an argument is found in this verse in favour of Aramaic as our Lord's tongue. (See also TITTLE). After Tind. 'jot' was used to denote any minute thing, and Shaks. uses it even of a drop of blood, *Merch. of Ven.* IV. i. 302—

> 'This bond doth give thee bere no jot of blood.'

Wyclif's tr^{n} (1380) is, 'oon i, *that is lest lettre.*' The Germ. tr^{n} is still (Stuttgart Bible Soc. ed. 1898) that of Luther, 'der kleinste Buchstabe'; but Weizsäcker has 'ein Jota'; and the Fr. translators give 'un (seul) iota.' J. HASTINGS.

JOTBAH (יָטְבָה 'pleasantness').—Named only in 2 K 21^{19}, where we are told that king Amon's mother was 'Meshullemeth, the daughter of Haruz of Jotbah.' It was probably in Judah, but the site is unknown.

JOTBATHAH (יָטְבָתָה, Jotbath in AV of Dt 10^{7}, where the Targ. has the same form. LXX has in Nu Σετεβάθα corrected to Ἐτέβ- in B, Ἰεταβάθαν A; in Dt Ταιβάθα B, Ἰετάβ- A, Ἰτέβ- F; Vulg. *Jetabatha*).—A station in the journeyings of the Israelites mentioned only in Nu $33^{33f.}$, Dt 10^{7}, and described as 'a land of brooks of waters.' Its position is unknown, but cf. § iv. of art. EXODUS (ROUTE OF). Whether it should be identified with **Jotbah**, or with Ἰωτάβη, the seat of a bishopric in the 6th cent. (cf. Reland, *Pal.* p. 533) whose site is unknown, is doubtful. A. T. CHAPMAN.

JOTHAM (יוֹתָם 'J″ is perfect,' or possibly 'solitary one,' Ἰωθάμ).—**1.** The youngest son of Gideon (Jg $9^{5. 7. 21. 57}$). The citizens of Shechem were met in assembly to make Abimelech king, when Jotham suddenly appeared on a spur of Gerizim, and delivered in their hearing a parable with a pointed application. The parable is not consistently applied; the author had several points in his mind, such as these: (*a*) the contrast (though this is not fully worked out) between Gideon's refusal of the kingship ($8^{22f.}$) and the arrogant claim of the worthless son of his concubine. The other sons had qualities which might have given them the right to rule; it was left to the mean and useless 'bramble' to claim the rank of king (cf. 2 K 14^{9}). (*b*) A warning to the Shechemites of the dangerous character of their upstart chief. Not only was his protection worthless if they trusted him, but he would bring destruction on them if they did not. (*c*) A rebuke of the Shechemites for their base ingratitude towards the house of Gideon. The application of the fable is most inconsistent at vv.$^{15. 16}$. The point in v.^{15} is the relation between the Shechemites and Abimelech, but in v.^{16} between the Shechemites and the family of Gideon. Such inconsistencies are not uncommon in fables of this kind; they are found in the parables of the NT. There is no need, therefore, to suppose that Jotham's parable was borrowed from some earlier popular collection, where it had quite a different moral. Jotham's 'curse' was accomplished when Abimelech burnt down the tower of Shechem and met with a violent death himself (vv.$^{56. 57}$ [R^{JE}]).

It is worth noticing that there is nothing distinctively religious in Jotham's parable. Judgment is passed upon Abimelech and the Shechemites on purely moral grounds; and the consequences of their deeds are predicted, not in the form of a prophecy or a message from God, but by the moral sense of a private individual.

2. King of Judah, son of Uzziah and Jerushah (2 K 15^{32-38}, 2 Ch 27^{1-9}). He is said to have reigned 16 years in Jerusalem (751–735); but during the greater part of his 'reign' he was regent in the lifetime of his father (2 K 15^{5}, 2 Ch 26^{21}). He was sole king from about 737 to 735. The historians represent his character in a favourable light. In 2 K it is recorded that he built the upper gate of the temple. The formidable combination of N. Israel and Syria began to show the first signs of hostility against Judah in this reign. According to 2 Ch, Jotham waged a successful war against the Ammonites. The great prophets Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah prophesied in his days.

3. A Calebite (1 Ch 2^{47}). G. A. COOKE.

JOURNEY.—See SABBATH DAY'S JOURNEY.

JOURNEYINGS OF ISRAELITES.—See EXODUS AND JOURNEY TO CANAAN.

JOY.—The following are the principal Heb. and Gr. words of which 'joy' is the tr^{n} in AV:—

גִּיל, גִּילָה (vb. גִּיל or גּוּל, very common), the primary meaning of which, judging from the cognate Arab. *jāl*, may be to *go round or about*, *be excited* to levity, etc. (see *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* p. 162^{a}). It would be difficult to differentiate exactly the similar terms מָשׂוֹשׂ and שָׂשׂוֹן (both from root שׂוּשׂ), רִנָּה, שִׂמְחָה. In general, it may be said that they all include not only a mental emotion but some outward expression of this, such as shouting, singing, leaping, dancing, sometimes with the accompaniment of musical instruments (*e.g.* Ps 132^{9}, Is 49^{13}, 2 S 6^{16}, 1 S 18^{6}, Is 24^{8}).

In NT we have the verb ἀγαλλιάω (-άομαι), in LXX=גִּיל, עָלַץ, רִנָּה, שׂוּשׂ, and the noun ἀγαλλίασις. The latter is unknown to classical Greek but frequent in LXX, and occurs in NT in Lk 1$^{14.44}$, Ac 2^{46}, Jude ^{24}, He 1^{9} (quoted from Ps 45^{8} where it renders שָׂשׂוֹן). This word expresses vehement joy or exultation (cf. Lk 1^{44}). The common NT word for 'joy' (noun) is χαρά (in LXX used for שִׂמְחָה and שָׂשׂוֹן); the verb (see next art.) is χαίρω (in LXX for שָׂמַח, גִּיל, and שׂוּשׂ).

It is important to recognize the identity as well as the difference in religious experience between OT and NT believers. The difference is in circumstantials, the identity in essentials. If joy is not as prominent in OT as in NT, it is still prominent. Its presence is implied in the numerous beatitudes of the Psalms, such as 1^{1} 32^{1}. Such passages imply conscious possession of the blessings mentioned. But explicit references to the subject are numerous and emphatic, especially in the book of Psalms. A striking point of similarity between OT and NT piety is that, in both cases, God Himself is the object and ground of the believer's joy: 'My soul shall be joyful in the Lord, it shall rejoice in his salvation' (Ps 35^{9}, see also 43^{4}, Is 51^{16} etc.). Here religious joy reaches its highest, purest expression. With this may be compared NT passages like Ph 3^{1} 'Rejoice in the Lord'; 4^{4}, Ro 5^{11} 'We also rejoice in God through our Lord Jesus Christ.' A suggestive parallel is found in Ph 3^{3} 'We . . . glory in Christ Jesus.' Among the subordinate aspects or grounds of joy OT significantly emphasizes the divine law or word: 'His delight is in the law of the Lord' (Ps 1^{2} 19^{10} 119^{162} etc.). As we might expect, NT is richer in its exposition of the several aspects of religious joy. Faith is a source of joy (Ph 1^{25}, Ro 15^{13}); so also hope (Ro 5^{2} 12^{12}); the testimony of a good conscience (2 Co 1^{12}). Christian joy is 'in the Holy Ghost' (Ro 14^{17}), *i.e.* 'in connexion with, under the indwelling and influence of the Holy Ghost' (Alford); the Holy Spirit is the sphere or element in which it lives and moves; see also 1 Th 1^{6}. It is also a participation in Christ's own joy (Jn 15^{11} 17^{13}). Persecution and suffering for Christ's sake, instead of hindering, enhances it (Mt 5$^{11.12}$, Ac 5^{41}, Ph 1^{29}). A Christian rejoices in tribulation because of the fruit it bears (Ro 5$^{3.4}$). For the same reason, temptation may be an occasion of joy (Ja 1^{2}). The repentance of sinners causes joy in heaven (Lk 15$^{7.10}$). The joy of Christians should be unbroken (1 Th 5^{16}). The power, permanence, and exuberant fulness of a believer's joy here and hereafter are often dwelt on (Ps 4^{7} 16^{9}, Is 35^{10} 51^{11} 61^{7}, Jn 15^{11} 17^{13}, Ac 13^{52}, 1 P 1^{8}, Jude ^{24}). The Redeemer's joy in the certain prospect of the success of His work is mentioned in He 12^{2}. The final reward of the Christian is participation in that joy (Mt 25^{21}): 'that joy of the Lord arising from the completion of his work and labour of love, of which the sabbatical rest of the Creator was typical (Gn 1^{31} 2^{2}), and of which his faithful ones shall in the end partake; see He 4$^{3-11}$, Rev 3^{21}' (Alford). As believers rejoice in God, so God rejoices in His people (Ps 147^{11} 149^{4}, Zeph 3^{17})—a sentiment re-echoed by a modern Christian psalmist: 'He views His children with delight.' If the reading in RV be accepted, the same sentiment is found in Lk 2^{14}. Rejoicing in the good of others is mentioned as the distinctive feature of Christian sympathy (Ro 12^{15}). The 'joy of the godless' (Job 20^{5}) is 'not so.'

J. S. BANKS.

JOY.—As a verb 'joy' is used by Shaks. both transitively [=(1) *gladden*, as *Rich. III.* I. ii. 220, 'Much it joys me to see you are become so penitent'; (2) *enjoy*, as *II Henry VI.* IV. ix. 1, 'Was ever king that joyed an earthly throne?'] and intransitively; but in AV it is always intransitive, with the meaning 'rejoice.' Sometimes 'joy' and 'rejoice' come together, as Ph 2$^{17.18}$ 'I joy, and rejoice with you all. For the same cause also do ye joy, and rejoice with me' (*χαίρω καὶ συνχαίρω . . . χαίρετε καὶ συνχαίρετε*), there being no difference in meaning.

In most places of its occurrence, Tindale translated καυχάομαι, *to boast*, by the verb to rejoice, and he was followed by AV in Ro 5^{2}, Ph 3^{3}, Ja 1^{9} 4^{16}. Once (Ro 5^{11}) he rendered it 'joy,' and was again followed by AV as well as by Cran. and the Bishops, though the Vulg. is *glorior* (Wyc., Rhem., and RVm 'glory,' the others having 'rejoice'). Even RV gives 'rejoice,' which is plainly inadequate. If 'boast' was felt to be unsuitable, 'exult' would have served.

J. HASTINGS.

JOZABAD (יוֹזָבָד, another form of יְהוֹזָבָד, Jehozabad, wh. see).—**1. 2. 3.** Three of David's heroes, 1 Ch 12$^{4.20.20}$. **4.** The eponym of a Levitical family, 2 Ch 31^{13} 35^{9}. **5.** A priest who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10^{22}. **6.** A Levite, Ezr 8^{33} 10^{23}, Neh 8^{7} 11^{16}. See GENEALOGY.

JOZABDUS (Ζάβδος B, Ὠζάβαδος A), 1 Es 9^{29}=ZABBAI, Ezr 10^{28}.

JOZACAR (AV Jozachar) is mentioned only in 2 K 12^{21}, where we are told that Joash, king of Judah, was murdered by his servants 'Jozacar ben-Shimeath and Jehozabad ben-Shomer.' According to 2 Ch 25^{3} Amaziah put to death his father's murderers. MSS of MT vary between יוֹזָכָר *Jōzākhār*, יוֹזָבָד *Jōzābhādh*, יוֹזָבָר *Jōzābhār* (1 MS of Kenn. cited by de Rossi), and (one of de Rossi's) יוֹזָכָד *Jōzākhādh*; LXX, B Ἰεζειχάρ (Swete; Tisch. gives B's reading as Ἰεζιρχάρ), A and Luc.$^{Lag.}$ Ἰωζαχάρ; Vulg. *Josachar*; Syr. *Jozabar*. The parallel 2 Ch 24^{26} has 'Zabad ben-Shimeath the Ammonitess, and Jehozabad ben-Shimrith the Moabitess.' LXX, B has Ζαβέλ, A Ζαβέθ for *Zabad*. In 2 K *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*, Kautzsch (*AT*), Baer, etc., read יוֹזָכָר *Jōzākhār*, as AV. [יוזבר in Ginsburg's *Heb. Bible* is stated by the editor to be a misprint for יוזכר—S. R. D.]

Kittel (on Chronicles in *SBOT*) not only reads *Jōzākhār* in Kings, but emends 2 Ch 24^{26} to *Zakhar* on the strength of the parallel in Kings. The various readings turn upon the very slight differences between ב and כ, ד and ר, which in some MSS are practically imperceptible; especially in the case of ד and ר, where *Raphe* is not used. The proximity of the very similar *Jehozabad* would facilitate corruption of the text. But the Ch text—which here, as often elsewhere, may be based on an older reading than that in our text of Kings—suggests that, in the original, there was only one name; that this was accidentally written twice over; and that, in process of further copying, the present readings in K and Ch grew out of this doublet.

Jōzākhār='J" remembers,' *Jōzābhādh*='J" bestows gifts,' must be a simple error. See also ZABAD.

W. H. BENNETT.

JOZADAK.—See JEHOZADAK.

JUBAL (יוּבָל, Ἰουβάλ).—A son of Lamech by Adah, and inventor of musical instruments, Gn 4^{21} (J). The name prob. contains an allusion to יוֹבֵל, 'ram's horn.' Regarding the instruments named in Gn, see Dillm. *ad loc.*, and art. MUSIC.

JUBILEE.—See SABBATICAL YEAR.

JUBILEES, BOOK OF, or **LITTLE GENESIS** (τὰ Ἰωβηλαῖα, ἡ κλεινὴ Γένεσις, ἡ λεπτὴ Γένεσις; *Leptogenesis*; in Ethiopic *Kufâlê*).—Under these names there is extant one of the most curious and interesting of the OT Apocrypha. It is preserved complete only in an Ethiopic translation (first edited by Dillmann in 1859), but a considerable portion of a Latin version has been published by Ceriani from an Ambrosian MS, and fragments of the Greek are contained in the Byzantine chronologists, who made large extracts.

The book contains the narrative of Genesis, rewritten from the point of view of the age of the author. It gives the narrative as a later Jew might imagine or desire that it should have happened. The chief characteristics of this rewriting of the book are—(1) the narrative is put into the mouth of the 'angel of the face,' who is represented as telling Moses on Mt. Sinai all that they (the angels) had done, and the legends of Creation, and of the Lord's dealings with mankind. (2) The narrative is arranged throughout in a chronological system of years, weeks of years, and jubilees. Every event is dated; as, for example, 'and in the first week of the third jubilee Cain slew Abel.' (3) Many legends of the class known as *Midrashim* are added to the narrative. (4) Great stress is laid on all the Jewish feasts, and their institution in patriarchal times is asserted (the Feast of Weeks, the Feast of Tabernacles, the Day of Atonement, and the Passover). For example (ch. 16), Abraham institutes the Feast of Tabernacles, 'on this account it is ordained in the tablets of heaven concerning Israel that they shall celebrate the festival of the tabernacles seven days in joy.' (5) Great stress is laid on ordinances of the Mosaic law, which are written in the 'tablets of heaven' and connected with events in the life of the patriarchs—such are new moon and sabbath, the offerings, the laws concerning blood and fornication and war. The sun was created for the sake of enabling the feasts to be calculated. (6) Some passages very derogatory to Edom are introduced.

The date of the book may be approximately fixed by the fact that it is used in the *Testimony of the XII Patriarchs*, and makes no mention of the fall of Jerusalem. On the other hand, it apparently makes use of the Book of *Enoch*. The reference to Edom shows also that it was written after the rise of the house of Herod. Ewald placed it towards the end of the 1st cent. B.C.; but hatred of Edom could exist just as well at a later date, and other indications seem to suggest a time when troubles that preceded the fall of Jerusalem were beginning, the chief eschatological passage seeming to refer to them (ch. 23).

The author was not a Herodian, not a Sadducee (for he believes in the resurrection), not a Pharisee (for he lays no stress on the written tradition), not an Essene (for he does not condemn the sacrifices), not a Hellenist (for he attacks the laxity of Hellenism). He was a Jew who, in a time of laxity and of falling away, tries to restore the authority of the fundamental principles of his faith, and represents the evils which are crowding on his people as the punishment for disobedience. He has quite clearly in his mind a definite falling away from Jewish ordinances, 'they have deserted the ordinances which the Lord had covenanted between them and him.' These ordinances particularly which they had neglected were probably the ones on which stress is laid—the sabbath, the feasts, circumcision, avoiding fornication (*i.e.* mixed marriages). It may be suggested that 'they' are really the Christians, and that the book is written by a fervent opponent of the new faith between the years A.D. 50 and 60, when disorder is beginning to break out, and the effect of the people's falling away is, as he thinks, apparent.

In any case, the book is of great value in illustrating, partly by resemblance, partly by contrast, the New Testament. We have an example of the 'Law given by angels.' The theology of the book is exactly what St. Paul protests against when he condemns 'days and months and seasons and years.' There is a curious resemblance to three out of the four points insisted upon in Ac 15, and it may be noted, as perhaps helping to throw some light on that passage, that fornication is used of 'mixed marriages.'

LITERATURE.—(*a*) *The Ethiopic text.*—Dillmann, Kiel, 1859; a newer edition by Charles based on a larger number of MSS, Oxford, 1895. (*b*) *Latin text.*—Ceriani in *Monumenta sacra et profana*, tom. i. fasc. 1 (1864); Rönsch, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, Leipzig, 1874. (*c*) *Translations.*—German, by Dillmann in Ewald's *Jahrbücher*, ii., iii., 1850, 1851, and by Littmann in Kautzsch's *Apocryphen und Pseudepigraphen*, 1899; English, Schodde, *Book of Jubilees*, Oberlin, Ohio, 1888, and by Charles in *JQR*, October 1893, July 1894, January 1895. (*d*) *Treatises.*—Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. 134 ff.; W. Singer, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 1898; Rönsch, *op. cit.*, and the literature there referred to.

A. C. HEADLAM.

JUCAL.—See JEHUCAL.

JUDÆA (Ἰουδαία) was the most southern of the three districts—Galilee, Samaria, and Judæa—into which Palestine west of Jordan was divided in the time of Christ (Mt 2^1, Lk 2^4, Jn $4^{3. 4. 47. 54}$, Ac 8^1 9^{31}). In several passages (Mt 4^{25}, Mk 1^5 3^7, Lk 5^{17}, Jn 3^{22}, Ac 1^8) Judæa is distinguished from its capital, Jerusalem, which, according to the Talmuds (Neubauer, *Géog. du Talmud*, p. 56), formed a division by itself (cf. Neh 11^3).

After the Captivity the tribal possessions of Judah, Benjamin, Dan, and Simeon were reoccupied by Israelites. Most of the 'children of the captivity' who returned from Babylon belonged to the tribe of Judah, and the limits of the reoccupied district were almost the same as those of the old kingdom of Judah. Thence the district was called *Judah*, and the people received the name of *Jews* (Jos. *Ant.* XI. v. 7). Afterwards the two names were used in a wider sense. All Israelites were called Jews, and Judæa, or 'the land of Judah,' sometimes stood for the three districts of Western Palestine (Lk 4^{44} [?]* 23^5, Ac 10^{37} 26^{20}. See art. CHRONOLOGY OF NT, vol. i. p. 406^b f.).

Under the Persians, Judah was a district (OT 'province,' מְדִינָה) of the 5th satrapy of the Empire (Herod. iii. 91), administered by a governor (פֶּחָה) who was generally, at least, a Jew, and was apparently assisted by a council of Jewish elders. The governor and elders dwelt at Jerusalem, the seat of government (Hag $1^{1. 14}$ 2^2, Ezr $5^{1. 8}$,† Neh 11^3).

The name *Judæa* first occurs in To 1^{18}, where it is applied to the old kingdom of Judah. The later Judæa (1 Mac 3^{34} 10^{38}, 2 Mac 1^{10}), or 'land of Judah' (1 Mac $10^{30. 33. 37}$, cf. Is 19^{17}), extended from Samaria on the north to the desert of Arabia Petræa on the south, and from the Mediterranean on the west to the Jordan Valley on the east. Its limits, which varied at different periods, cannot be more clearly defined. In the time of Judas Maccabæus, Hebron was in the hands of the Edomites (1 Mac 5^{65}); and in the time of his brother Jonathan, three nomes, or toparchies of Samaria—Aphærema, Lydda, and Ramathaim—were added to Judæa (1 Mac $10^{30. 38}$ 11^{34}). According to Josephus (*BJ* III. iii. 5), Judæa extended from Anuath-Borkeos (*'Aina-Berkit*) on the north to Iardas, a village on the confines of Arabia (perhaps *Tell 'Arâd*) on the south, and from Joppa to the Jordan. The sea-coast as far as Ptolemais (*Acre*), and the coast towns, with the possible exception of Cæsarea, also belonged to it. The country was divided into toparchies—a division recognized by Pliny (*HN* v. 14), though his list does not completely agree with that of Josephus. There is some authority for the view that certain districts east of Jordan were included in Judæa. Strabo describes Judæa as being 'situated above Phœnicia, in the interior between Gaza and Antilibanus, and extending to the Arabians' (XVI. ii. 21). Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 6) says the borders of Judæa on the east were formed by Arabia. Josephus (*Ant.* XII. iv. 11) countenances an extension beyond Jordan, and so does the NT in Mt 19^1 ('the borders of Judæa beyond Jordan'). In Mk 10^1, where AV (following TR) reads 'the coasts of Judæa by the further side of Jordan,' RV (following WH, etc.) has the 'borders of Judæa *and* beyond Jordan.' In the time of Ptolemy (V. xvi. 9) some places east of Jordan belonged to Judæa. Possibly the boundary included the valley, and the slopes of the hills east of Jordan. The Talmudists allude to the 'mountain,' or 'king's mountain,' the *Shephēlah*, or 'low hills,' and *Daroma*, or 'the south,' as different portions of Judæa. Daroma was divided into Upper and Lower (Neubauer, p. 62).

---

* The reading Ἰουδαίας instead of Γαλιλαίας is accepted by WH (text) on the authority of ℵBCL, etc. (see 'Notes on Select Readings,' *ad loc.*).

† In Ezr 5^8 AV reads 'Judea,' RV correctly 'Judah.' See art. JEWRY.

On the division of the country after the death of Herod the Great, Judæa was given to Archelaus with the title of ethnarch. A few years later, on the deposition of Archelaus, it was added to the province of Syria, and administered by a procurator subordinate to the governor of Syria. The procurator resided at Cæsarea (*Ant.* XVII. xiii. 5, XVIII. i. 1, ii. 1), which, according to the Talmuds, was not in Judæa. This view is said to have been held by St. Luke, but it seems doubtful whether his intention is to do more than draw a distinction between Judæa and the seat of government, Cæsarea (Ac 12^{19} 21^{10}, cf. 'Judæa and Jerusalem,' as above). In the division of Palestine at the beginning of the 5th cent. Judæa formed part of *Palestina Prima*.

The physical features of Judæa are described in the art. on PALESTINE. It will suffice to say here that the Romans covered the country with a network of roads.

LITERATURE.—Schürer, *HJP* (Index); G. A. Smith, *HGHL* (Index); Buhl, *GAP* 81 f., 131 ff.; Guérin, *Judée*; Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* 53, 55, 59 ff.; Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.*^{3} (Index); *PEF Mem.* vol. iii.; Literature under art. PALESTINE.

C. W. WILSON.

JUDÆA, THE WILDERNESS OF (ἡ ἔρημος τῆς Ἰουδαίας, *desertum Judææ*).—The district in which John the Baptist made his first appearance as the Forerunner of Christ (Mt 3^1). In Mk 1^4, Lk 3^2, it is called simply 'the wilderness.' It is prob. the same as the wilderness of Judah (Jg 1^{16}, Ps 63, title), in which were situated En-gedi and five other cities (Jos $15^{61.\,62}$)—the Jeshimon or desert tract west of the Dead Sea. It perhaps included the western bank of the Jordan to the north of the Dead Sea (Jos. *Ant.* III. x. 7, IV. viii. 2, 3).

C. W. WILSON.

JUDAH (יְהוּדָה *yĕhûdâh*, 'praised' (?), Ἰούδας, *Juda*; in Assyr, inscriptions *Ia-u-du*, *Ia-u-dai*, see Jastrow, *JBL* xii. (1893) 61 ff.).—1. The fourth son of Jacob and Leah. He was born in Paddan-aram (Gn 29^{35}). In J he is very prominent. He suggests to his brethren that they should sell Joseph to the Ishmaelites (Gn $37^{26f.}$), pleads for Benjamin to be sent into Egypt, and becomes surety for his safety ($43^{8f.}$). He thus takes the place corresponding to that assumed by Reuben in E ($37^{21f.}$ 42^{37}). So in Gn 44^{14} we read of Judah and his brethren, and it is he who makes the impassioned appeal to Joseph for Benjamin's release (Gn 44^{18-34}). In consequence of Reuben's misconduct (Gn 35^{22} 49^4) and the treacherous violence of Simeon and Levi (34. $49^{5ff.}$), Judah receives the firstborn's privilege ($49^{8ff.}$). According to Gn 38 he went to Adullam and married the daughter of a Canaanite, Shua. By her he had three sons, Er, Onan, and Shelah. Er married Tamar, but died without children, as did his brother Onan, who refused to perform the duty of raising up seed to his brother. As she was not given to Shelah, she by artifice became the mother of two children by Judah, Perez and Zerah.

This narrative reveals very clearly what is true in part at least of the others, that Judah is the eponymous ancestor of the tribe of Judah, and that the history of the tribe has been thrown into the form of a personal history. Gn 38 thus becomes of great value for its information on the composition of the tribe. Under the metaphors of marriage and paternity the union and origin of various stocks are expressed. The most important fact that emerges is that the tribe of Judah, as we know it in the historical period, was largely of Can. origin. After the Hebrews entered Canaan, Judah left the main body, and struck out in a southerly direction to conquer a district to settle in (Jg 1^{1-20}). In consequence of its union with Hirah and Shua, and later with Tamar, clans near Adullam, five Judahite clans were in course of time formed, but the two oldest of these, Er and Onan, became extinct. But Gn 38 does not exhaust our information as to the composition of Judah. In Jg 1^{16} we find that the Kenites accompanied Judah into the wilderness of Judah, and then went on and dwelt among the Amalekites (reading 'the Amalekite' for 'the people'), where at a later period we find them (1 S 15^6, cf. Nu 24^{20-22}). Perhaps they were of Amalekite origin. Generally they are regarded as Midianites, but this rests on a combination of J and E. Besides the Kenites we find two Kenizzite clans, Caleb and Othniel (Jg $1^{12-15.\,20}$, Jos 14^{6-15} 15^{13-19}). As Kenizzite, they would appear to have been originally Edomite tribes (Gn $36^{11.\,15.\,42}$). Caleb remained a distinct tribe till the time of David (1 S 30^{14}). It lived in the hill-country of Judah, and Hebron was its chief town. It seems to have been the most powerful clan of Judah. Nabal is regarded as a typical Calebite (1 S 25^3). The chief town of Othniel was Kiriath-sepher or Debir. Closely connected with Caleb was Jerahmeel, who in the highly important lists 1 Ch 2 appears as his brother. According to Wellhausen, who investigated these lists and those in 1 Ch 4^{1-23} in his *de Gen. et Fam. Jud.*, Jerahmeel was older than Caleb, dwelt farther south, and adopted a less settled mode of life. It will be clear that Judah not only absorbed Canaanite, but, to a still greater extent, Edomite and kindred elements. These perhaps imparted the fanaticism which was later so characteristic of the tribe.

Originally, Judah seems to have been a smaller tribe than Reuben, Simeon, and Levi. But Reuben began to dwindle at an early period, and Simeon and Levi were broken up in consequence of a treacherous attack upon the Canaanites, with whom they had made an alliance (see SIMEON). Partly as a result of this, partly through the fusion with other clans already mentioned, and probably with the remnant of Simeon, Judah obtained the premier position among the Leah tribes. After the Jordan had been crossed, J. was accompanied by Simeon alone on its invasion of its portion. A victory was gained over Adoni-bezek, and Hebron and Kiriath-sepher were captured (Jg $1^{8ff.}$). We are also told that Jerus. was taken (v.^{8}) and burnt, and three Philistine cities captured by Judah (v.^{10}). But these latter statements are inconsistent with others in the same narrative, and do not well agree with the subsequent history. Judah found it impossible to make good its claim to the 'valley' (*i.e.* probably the coast plain), since it could not cope with the war-chariots of the natives. The extent of Judah's 'lot' is given in Jos 15 (P), but this chapter teaches us much less than it seems to do, partly because a very large number of the places it mentions have not been identified, partly because the description is ideal, and at no time corresponded, even approximately, with the actual facts. According to this account, Judah was bounded on the E. by the Dead Sea, on the N. by the southern boundary of Benjamin (see BENJAMIN for details), on the W. by the Mediterranean, on the S. by a line drawn from the southern tongue of the Dead Sea to the brook of Egypt, and passing through or by the ascent of Akrabbim, Zin, Kadesh-barnea, Hezron, Addar, Karka, and Azmon. Judah never reached the Mediterranean; the Phil. lay between, and so did Simeon, till the latter tribe was exterminated. As to the southern border, apart from the difficulty of fixing some of the sites mentioned, it must be observed that the territory of Judah shades off imperceptibly into the desert to the south. The portion of Judah is divided into four districts, the Negeb (RV South), the Shephelah or Lowland, the Hill Country, and the Wilderness of Judah. The *Negeb* is the largest portion. It is dry and barren, except in the brief spring-time; thinly populated, chiefly by nomads. The *Shephēlah* is undulating country, fertile and beautiful, separated from the sea by the Phil. plain. It was the most valuable district; but Judah could not hold it against the Philistines, who kept it in their own hands through a great part of the history. The *Hill Country* belongs to the great Central Range of Pal., and is separated by a valley from the low hills of the Shephelah. It was, historically, the most important part of Judah—rugged and barren, but with fertile valleys, and, owing to the system of terrace-cultivation, more productive than it could be now. The *Wilderness of Judah* (Jeshimon) lies between the Hill Country and the Dead Sea, a waste of unspeakable dreariness and desolation, 35 miles long by 15 broad. See, further, arts. HILL COUNTRY, and JESHIMON.

Judah was far more inaccessible than the Northern tribes. Protected on the E. by the Wilderness, on the S. by the Negeb, itself more or less of a wilderness, on the W. by the low hills of the Shephelah, by the valley that divides it from the Central Range and the slopes of the Central Range itself, on the N. by Benjamin with its fortresses, it lay far less open to invasion. When it was held by real defenders, it was necessary that the invaders should first master the surrounding country, and then deliver their attack across three of its borders (G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* ch. xiv.). Judah was not impregnable, indeed, for it lay comparatively open from the N., and the Negeb could be crossed from the S., while passes led up to the central tableland from both E. and W., though very difficult to force against opposition. But the very poverty of the country combined with the natural difficulties of invasion to secure it, since it offered little prize to tempt an attack. It was a very little province. Even if it had reached its ideal boundaries, it would have covered no more than 2000 square miles; actually its usual extent was nearer 1300, of which about half was desert.

The isolation of the territory was reflected in that of the tribe. After it had settled in its lot, it had but little to do with the Northern tribes. It is not even mentioned in the Song of Deborah, as if it were not recognized as belonging to Israel; and it appears in the story of Samson as surrendering him to the Philistines (Jg $15^{9ff.}$). It seems to have drawn more closely to Israel in the time of Saul, as we see from the history of David. But Saul's persecution of David must have strained the loyalty of the tribe, and it is not surprising that on his death a kingdom of Judah was formed with David at its head, in opposition to the kingdom of Ishbaal, Saul's son (2 S $2^{4.8}$). Both of these kingdoms seem to have been tributary to the Philistines. The union of the two was due to the evident fact that David was the only man who could hope to lead Israel in successful revolt from the Phil., and was only hastened by the defection of Abner and the murder of Ishbaal (2 S $3^{12ff.}$ $4^{5ff.}$). Judah, as the king's own tribe, was more closely attached to Israel than when the king belonged to another tribe. One of David's greatest and most far-sighted acts was the selection of Jerus. as his capital and the home of the ark ($5^{6ff.}$ 6^{12}). Jerus. did not actually lie in Judah, except possibly to a slight extent, but it was on the border, and the possession of it, with the ark and temple, guaranteed the survival of the Southern kingdom, after the loss of the Northern tribes. But in the latter years of David it is Judah, perhaps because it profited less by its connexion with the king than it expected, that seems to have been foremost in supporting Absalom, whose rebellion broke out in Hebron, the old capital of the tribe (2 S 15^{7}). After its suppression Judah hung back, till its allegiance was won by the ill-timed appeal of David to its kinship with him ($19^{11ff.}$); ill-timed because David's favouritism to Judah provoked jealousy in the Northern tribes, and the abortive rising of Sheba (19^{41}–20^{22}), which anticipated the successful revolt of Jeroboam. Solomon also showed an unwise partiality to Judah, as we see from the fact that it was excluded from the division into twelve districts for purposes of taxation (1 K 4). It is, accordingly, not wonderful that Judah remained loyal to Rehoboam, while the Northern tribes rejected him ($12^{16f.}$).

The Kingdom of Judah seems to have consisted simply of the tribe of Judah with very little of Benjamin (see BENJAMIN), and not of Judah and Benjamin. Only a brief outline of its history is here necessary; for fuller details the articles on the individual kings may be consulted. After the disruption caused by the senseless folly of Rehoboam, war was carried on between the two kingdoms (1 K 14^{30}), but not in a very energetic way. In fact the treasure which Solomon had accumulated was taken by Shishak of Egypt when he invaded Judah ($14^{25ff.}$), and the superiority in wealth of the Southern kingdom would thus be lost. War continued through the reign of Abijam (15^{6} RVm), but it seems not to have been prosecuted with vigour till Baasha succeeded Nadab the son of Jeroboam. He pressed Judah so hard that Asa took the unhappy step, fraught with future mischief, of calling in the aid of Syria. A diversion was thus effected in his favour, and Asa employed the materials of Baasha's fortress, Ramah, in erecting fortresses of his own ($15^{17ff.}$). It was possibly with the accession of Omri that the relations between the two kingdoms were changed. He perhaps formed an alliance with Judah, as with Tyre (16^{31}), probably in view of the dangers that threatened from Damascus. Ahab and Jehoshaphat were certainly allies (1 K 22), and Jehoshaphat's son, Jehoram, married Athaliah the daughter of Ahab (2 K $8^{18.26}$). Jehoshaphat's reign was probably prosperous, though his trading vessels were wrecked (1 K 22^{48}). The relations between Judah and Edom after the reign of Solomon are obscure. Edom seems to have been subject to Judah, at any rate in Jehoshaphat's time (2 K 3^{9}), but it revolted from his son Jehoram

(2 K 8^{20}). The good understanding with Israel continued while Omri's dynasty was on the throne, but Jehu murdered Ahaziah, Jehoram's son, and forty-two of his brethren (9^{27} 10^{14}). Thereupon the queen-mother, Athaliah, massacred all that remained of the royal family, except the infant Joash, and reigned six years. She was put to death by Jehoiada the priest, who made Joash king (2 K 11). Apparently, towards the end of his reign, Hazael, king of Syria, who had severely crippled the Northern kingdom, threatened Jerus., but was bought off by Joash, who perhaps in consequence of this was murdered ($12^{17\text{ff.}}$). His son Amaziah, after a successful war with Edom, challenged Joash of Israel, who inflicted a disastrous defeat upon him (14^{1-14}). Amaziah's son Azariah, or Uzziah, had a more successful reign. Syria had been exhausted in wars with Assyria, and now Assyria itself had a half-century of inactivity, and this left both Israel and Judah time to build up powerful states. Azariah recovered the port of Elath (14^{22}), and from the early chapters of Isaiah we can see how wealthy Judah had become. But the signs began to be ominous before his death. Assyria resumed her old career of conquest, and Syria and Israel formed a coalition against her. When Ahaz refused to join it, they sought to compel the adhesion of Judah; whereupon Ahaz, in a panic and against the earnest warning of Isaiah, took the fatal step of calling in Tiglath-pileser, the king of Assyria (2 K 16, Is 7). The latter suppressed the coalition, but Ahaz paid too dearly for the relief, since he became tributary to Assyria. The heavy yoke was borne till Hezekiah thought himself strong enough, in alliance with other revolting states, and on the promise of help from Egypt, to throw it off (18^{7}). Although the overthrow of Sennacherib saved Jerus. from capture, and the religion of Israel from destruction, yet Judah sustained very heavy loss and had to pay an enormous tribute. The reign of Manasseh seems to have been externally prosperous, so far as this was possible after the exhaustion of Judah in the Assyr. war; but it was marked by fierce reaction against the reforms of Hezekiah and the prophetic policy as a whole, by religious syncretism, and by gloomy and superstitious fanaticism (21^{1-18}). But Josiah instituted a reform on the basis of Deuteronomy, the people being prepared for it by their deliverance from the dreaded Scythian invasion. His happy reign was cut short by Pharaoh-necoh, whose invasion of Syria he had opposed, probably because it threatened the loss of the independence that the decrepitude of the Assyrian Empire gave him (2 K 22. 23). After a brief reign Jehoahaz was removed by Egypt ($23^{31\text{ff.}}$), and Jehoiakim put in his place. He changed masters, Egypt for Babylon, but revolted (24^{1}), and, in consequence of this, his son, who succeeded him, was taken captive to Babylon with the flower of the nation ($24^{14\text{ff.}}$). His successor, Zedekiah, might have reigned in peace as the vassal of Babylon, but revolting, in defiance of Jeremiah's warning, he saw his capital besieged and captured ($24^{18\text{ff.}}$). Jerus. and the temple were destroyed, and a large part of those who remained were taken into exile, where they remained for fifty years. So fell the kingdom of Judah, B.C. 586. Many of those who were still left went down into Egypt, in fear of vengeance for Gedaliah's murder (25^{26}), and thus in Babylon and Egypt Jewish colonies were planted, which were destined to be of immeasurable importance.

As compared with the Northern kingdom, Judah was through most of its history of little account. When it held Edom in subjection its power was strengthened, yet even then the scornful fable, in which Joash set Judah against Israel as a thistle against a cedar, was not without justification. In other things than size and strength the advantage lay with Israel. Life was richer, fuller, and deeper, and that not only social but, what is more important yet less recognized, religious life. It was not in Judah but in Israel that the great prophets Elijah and Elisha did their work, the schools of the prophets flourished, and the earliest (?) history of the Hebrews was written. Amos, it is true, belonged to Judah, yet even he prophesied to Israel, and his junior contemporary, Hosea, was a Northern prophet. It was not till Israel went under that Judah attained its great significance. Yet Judah had advantages of its own. The prestige of the Davidic monarchy secured a permanence of dynasty that was of untold blessing, and saved it from the frequent revolutions and usurpations that tore Israel asunder. Further, while Judah was poorer in great religious teachers, its religion was probably simpler and less corrupt than that of Israel, though its superiority may be easily exaggerated. Its possession of the temple made for greater purity of worship. Yet it was rather the respite granted after the captivity of the Northern tribes, than any religious superiority of Judah, that left it the sole depositary of the higher religion of the prophets. This had not struck its roots deep enough into the life of Israel to survive the transplanting to Assyrian soil. But between 722 and 586, under the fostering care of Isaiah and his successors, it had grown strong enough not merely to survive, but to benefit from the shock, and thus Judah became especially the people of revelation.

On the character of the tribe little need be said. It was profoundly modified by its comparative isolation and the independence this conferred, and by the large foreign elements that it had absorbed. It was narrow and provincial, fanatical and tenacious. To slay the prophets and build monuments to them was characteristic of it, as of so many other peoples; for while it was slow to learn and hostile to new truth, yet the truth when learned was changed into hard dogma and erected as a barrier against fresh revelation. The obstinacy with which an old doctrine was insisted on, when no longer applicable, and new truth opposed for its inconsistency with the old, is shown in the opposition to Jeremiah's teaching that Jerus. would be captured and the temple destroyed, based on Isaiah's doctrine of the inviolability of Zion. Yet Judah had this qualification for its task,—it produced many who were fit vehicles of revelation; it was, in fact, surprisingly rich, especially in its later history, in religious genius, a lovely flower springing, indeed, from a dry and unattractive root.

In NT the tribe of Judah is mentioned in Lk 1^{39} (?), He 7^{14}, Rev 7^{5}.

LITERATURE.—The Histories of Israel and Judah, *e.g.* Ewald, Wellhausen, Kittel, Stade; Kuenen, *Rel. of Israel, passim*; Wellhausen, *De Gentibus*, etc. See also articles GENEALOGY, ISRAEL, and the relevant literature cited under these.

2. Judah, an overseer at the rebuilding of the temple (Ezr 3^{9}) = HODAVIAH of 2^{40} and HODEVAH of Neh 7^{43}. 3. A Levite who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{23}), possibly the same as the Judah of Neh $12^{8.\ 36}$. 4. An overseer of Jerus. (Neh 11^{9}).

A. S. PEAKE.

JUDAH '*upon* (AV) or *at* (RV) Jordan' is named in Jos 19^{34} in the statement of the boundaries of the tribe of Naphtali. The MT בִּיהוּדָה is unrepresented in the LXX, and Bennett (*SBOT, ad loc.*) remarks, 'The clause is apparently an unintelligible gloss which has crept into the text. The context implies that the tribe of Judah is referred to, and this is geographically impossible.' Ewald suggests (*Gesch.* ii. 380) that the passage is corrupt, and that 'Chinneroth,' or some other word, originally occupied the place of 'to Judah.' Conder (*PEFSt*, 1883, p. 183) suggests an interchange of ד and ר, and of ה and ח, so as to read חוּרָה for הוּדָה, when the passage would run וּבחורה הַיַּרְדֵּן, the 'Hollow of (?) Jordan,' equivalent to the *Ghôr*, or valley of the Jordan. Thomson (*Land and Book*, i. p. 389) suggests that the tomb of Seîd Yehûda (supposed by Arabs to be son of Jacob) marks the 'Judah on Jordan, toward the sun-rising.' It is suggested in *Speaker's Comm.* that the Havvoth-jair were colonized by men of Judah, and might be called 'Judah upon Jordan.' Von Raumer (*Pal.* p. 405 ff.) had contended strongly for this identification of 'Judah' with Havvoth-jair; and Keil (*Bib. Comm.*) adopts the same theory, pointing out that, according to 1 Ch 2$^{5.21}$, Jair on his father's side was descended from Judah through Hezron. It cannot be said that any of the last mentioned theories has the slightest probability. Dillm. (*ad loc.*) thinks Ewald's view is the best, but allows that it leaves the origin of the present text unexplained.

C. WARREN.

JUDAH (AV Juda), Lk 1^{39}.—See JUTAH.

JUDAISM.—See RELIGION.

JUDAS (Ἰούδας, *Judas*), the Greek equivalent of the Hebrew name יְהוּדָה JUDAH.

1. The third son of Mattathias, called Maccabæus (1 Mac 2^{4}, Jos. *Ant.* XII. vi. 1). See MACCABEES.

2. The son of Chalphi, one of two captains (ἄρχοντες τῆς στρατιᾶς) who stood by Jonathan when the main part of his army had been scattered by an ambush at the beginning of a battle against the Syrians at Hazor (1 Mac 11^{70}, Jos. *Ant.* XIII. v. 7).

3. A Jew holding some important position at Jerusalem, who is named in the title of a letter sent from the Jews of Jerusalem and Judæa and the Jewish Senate to their brethren in Egypt and to a certain Aristobulus (2 Mac 1^{10}). The latter, who is termed the teacher (διδάσκαλος) of king Ptolemy, is doubtless to be identified with a Peripatetic philosopher who lived at the court of Ptolemy VI. Philometor (B.C. 180–145); so Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. xiv. 97; Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* viii. 9 *fin.* This Judas is often supposed to be Judas Maccabæus; so Grimm, Rawlinson, Zöckler. The purport of the letter (2 Mac 1^{10}–2^{18}), which is probably not genuine, is to invite the Egyptian Jews to keep the Feast of the Dedication. Like the preceding epistle (*ib.* 1$^{1\text{-}10a}$), it stands in no connexion with 2 Mac, and seems to have been prefixed to this book by a later hand. See Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. 213.

4. A son, probably the eldest, of Simon the Maccabee (1 Mac 16^{2}). He, with his brother John Hyrcanus, took the command against the Syrian army under Cendebæus, and was wounded in the engagement (*ib.* 16$^{1\text{-}10}$, cf. Jos. *Ant.* XIII. vii. 3). In B.C. 135, he, with his father and another brother named Mattathias, was murdered at the little fortress of Dok by Ptolemy, the son of Abubus (*ib.* 16$^{11\text{-}17}$). According to the representation of Josephus, Judas was not murdered at the same time as his father, but made prisoner, and subsequently put to death, when Hyrcanus raised the siege of Dagon (? Dok); see Jos. *Ant.* XIII. viii. 1; *Wars*, I. ii. 3–4. **5.** 1 Es 9^{23} = **Judah** of Ezr 10^{23}. **6.** An ancestor of Jesus, Lk 3^{30}. **7.** One of the brethren of the Lord, Mt 13^{55}, Mk 6^{3}. See art. JUDE THE LORD'S BROTHER.

H. A. WHITE.

JUDAS BARSABBAS (AV Barsabas) is mentioned in Ac 15$^{22.27.32.33}$ as one of the two prominent members of the Jerus. Church who were sent to Antioch with Barnabas and Saul, bearing the letter of the apostles and elders to the Gentile Churches. The personal presence of these brethren was intended to give additional weight to the assurances of fellowship which the letter contained. Judas and Silas his companion are described as chief men among the brethren (ἡγουμένους: no doubt presbyters; see He 13$^{7.17.24}$). They were also prophets, *i.e.* men whom the Spirit inspired to communicate His truth and will to the Church. Judas, with Silas, remained in Antioch to strengthen the brethren there, and then returned to Jerusalem (v.^{34} in AV is spurious). We hear no more of Judas Barsabbas. Barsabbas is a patronymic (see JOSEPH BARSABBAS). He may have been a brother of Joseph (Ac 1^{23}). He is not to be identified with Jude the author of the Epistle, because the latter's brother James (see JUDE) was either the son of Joseph, the foster-father of Jesus, or the son of Alphæus. Neither can he have been the Apostle Judas, 'not Iscariot,' both because he is in Acts clearly distinguished from the apostles, and because the Apostle Judas was 'the son of James' (Lk 6^{16} RV).

G. T. PURVES.

JUDAS OF DAMASCUS.—In Ac 9^{11} Ananias is told to go to the street called 'Straight,' and seek in the house of Judas a man of the name of Saul, of Tarsus. Nothing further is known of Judas. Tradition has found a house for him in Damascus, not, however, in the street called Straight, but only a few paces out of it, in a lane to the right, as one goes from west to east.

A. C. HEADLAM.

JUDAS OF GALILEE, mentioned by Gamaliel (Ac 5^{37}) as the leader of a popular revolt 'in the days of the taxing' (RV 'enrolment'), which ended, however, in his destruction and the dispersion of his followers. The 'enrolment' was the one conducted by Quirinius (which see), when in A.D. 6 or 7 he was a second time (cf. Lk 2^{1}) made governor of Syria. It was intended to be a basis of Roman taxation, and excited fierce opposition among the Jews, which was quieted only by the influence of the high priest Joazar (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. i. 1). Judas, however, with a certain Pharisee, Saddoc, called the people to defend their liberties, bidding them acknowledge no Lord but God. Josephus (*Ant.* XVIII. i. 1, 6, XX. v. 2; *BJ* II. viii. 1, xvii. 8, 9, VII. viii. 1), like Gamaliel, usually calls him a Galilæan, but in one passage (*Ant.* XVIII. i. 1) a Gaulonite from Gamala, which lay east of Galilee. It is not clear whether the insurrection broke out in Judæa and the title 'Galilæan' was given to Judas because Gaulonitis was loosely identified with Galilee, or whether it broke out in Galilee and thus the title 'Galilæan' was attached to him. That it was a considerable movement appears both from Gamaliel's notice of it and from the frequency with which Josephus refers to it. According to the latter, from it there arose 'the Zealots,' the most fanatical and patriotic of the Jewish sects, whose violence under Gessius Florus (A.D. 64–66) hastened the war with Rome. Josephus mentions them, after the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes, as the fourth sect of the Jews, and as founded by Judas. He does not mention, however, the death of Judas, or the fate of his insurrection. Gamaliel agrees with Josephus in the date and in the strength assigned to the revolt; nor is there any sufficient reason to question his statement that the leader perished and his followers were dispersed.

Descendants of Judas were also conspicuous for their fanatical violence. Two of his sons, James and Simon, were crucified by Tiberius Alexander (A.D. 46?–48). Another son, Menahem, a leader of the 'Sicarii' in Jerus. shortly before the war with Rome, acquired for a time much power, but was finally slain by the high priest's party.

Still another descendant was Eleazar, who, after the fall of Jerus., defended the fortress of Masada, and persuaded his followers to die by their own hands rather than submit to Rome (*BJ* VII. viii. and ix.).

Schürer (*HJP* I. ii. 4, 80) identifies Judas with the person of the same name who, after the death of Herod the Great, raised an insurrection near Sepphoris in Galilee (Jos. *Ant.* XVII. x. 5; *BJ* II. iv. 1); but Josephus does not identify them, and the earlier Judas appears to have been simply a marauder. G. T. PURVES.

JUDAS ISCARIOT.—This is his usual designation in the Synoptic Gospels: Ἰούδας Ἰσκαριώτης (Mt 26^{14}), Ἰούδας ὁ Ἰσκαριώτης (Mt 10^{4}), Ἰούδας ὁ καλούμενος Ἰσκαριώτης (Lk 22^{3}), Ἰούδας Ἰσκαριώθ (Mk 3^{19} 14^{10}, Lk 6^{16}). St. John calls him 'the son of Simon' (Σίμωνος), thrice giving the epithet 'Iscariot' to Judas (12^{4} 13^{2} 14^{22}), and twice (according to the best texts) to Simon (6^{71} 13^{26}). All four stigmatize him as ὁ παραδοὺς αὐτόν (Mt 10^{4}), or ὃς καὶ παρέδωκεν αὐτόν (Mk 3^{19}), or ὃς ἐγένετο προδότης (Lk 6^{16}), or ἔμελλεν παραδιδόναι αὐτόν (Jn 6^{71}), when they mention him for the first time. At the actual time of the treachery they use ὁ παραδιδοὺς αὐτόν, 'who was betraying him' (Mt $26^{25.46.48}$, Mk $14^{42.44}$, Lk 22^{21}, Jn 13^{11} $18^{2.5}$). See Ac 1^{16}.

Besides (1) his names, we are told (2) that he was called with the rest of the Twelve to be an apostle; (3) that he was covetous and dishonest, and sold his Master to the hierarchy; (4) that he effected the betrayal immediately after the Last Supper; and (5) that on realizing the consequences of his act he destroyed himself.

Every one of these points has given rise to a large amount of discussion, and the real or apparent uncertainty thus produced has led some to the desperate expedient of rejecting the whole story as a myth. Judas is a Christian fiction to represent the treacherous Judaism which put Jesus to death; and no one among the Twelve was really guilty of this enormity (Volkmar, Noack). Keim justly remarks that it is incredible that Christians should invent such a crime for an apostle. From Celsus onwards the foes of Christianity have made capital out of the sin of Judas (Orig. *c. Cels.* II. xii.); and to prove that he never committed it, would remove a weight from the heart of Christendom. The statements in the Gospels and Acts are inexplicable, however, if Judas, 'one of the Twelve,' never betrayed the Christ.

1. The name Ἰούδας is a common one, being the Gr. form of the Heb. name Judah. There are six persons before the time of Christ who bear this name, and six in the NT. But there is no confusion respecting the traitor. Discussion has been frequent merely as to *the meaning of 'Iscariot,'* and this question is practically settled. All other explanations may be rejected in favour of the view that it means 'man of Karioth' or 'Kerioth'; *'ish Keriyoth* becoming Ἰσκαριώτης, as *'ish Tob* becomes Ἴστοβος or Ἴστωβος (Jos. *Ant.* VII. vi. 1). This explains how both father and son have this name, Kerioth being the home of the family. This also explains the reading ἀπὸ καρυώτου which א* and some other authorities have in Jn 6^{71}, and which D has in Jn 12^{4} $13^{2.26}$ 14^{22}. (See papers on 'Iscariot' by Nestle and Chase in *Expository Times*, December 1897, and January, February, and March 1898). Kerioth (LXX Καριώθ) in Judah (Jos 15^{25}) is commonly assumed to be the place referred to in 'Iscariot.' It is generally identified with the ruins *el-Ḳarjetein* south of Hebron. See KERIOTH-HEZRON. In any case Judas is of S. Palestine, while the other eleven were of Galilee; and this may have been one cause of estrangement between him and the rest. Judæans had a tendency to look down on Galilæans.

The life of Judas previous to his call, like that of all the Twelve, is hidden from us; and it is remarkable that the apocr. gospels make so little use of this attractive field of speculation. The *Arabic Gospel of the Infancy* makes the boy Judas a demoniac who *bites* (? the kiss), and the demon takes flight when Judas comes into contact with the boy Jesus (xxxv.); but this passage stands alone.

2. The Synoptists indicate that Judas was called with the remainder of the Twelve, and in all their lists his name stands last in the last group of four, while in Ac his place is vacant (Mt 10^{4}, Mk 3^{19}, Lk 6^{16}, Ac 1^{13}). Mt and Mk place him next to Simon the Cananæan, Lk next to the other Judas; and it is possible that one of these was the traitor's companion when the Twelve were sent out two and two (Mk 6^{7}). Like the others, he received power to cast out demons and heal diseases (Mt 10^{1}, Lk 9^{1}); and, like them, he seems to have been successful (Mk 6^{13}, Lk 9^{6}). Lange conjectures that the enthusiast who said, 'I will follow thee whithersoever thou goest' (Lk 9^{57}), was Judas. But Mt calls this man 'a scribe' (8^{19}), and it is most improbable that he was one of the Twelve, who seem to have been chosen before this took place.

But it is in connexion with their election that the chief difficulty respecting Judas is found. *Why was such a man chosen to be an apostle?* Unless we are prepared to throw aside the express statements of St. John, we cannot here have recourse to the limitation of Christ's knowledge. He tells us, not only that Jesus 'knew all men, and . . . himself knew what was in man' (2^{24}), but that 'Jesus knew from the beginning . . . who it was that should betray him' (6^{64}), and that a year before the Passion He said, 'Did not I choose you the Twelve, and one of you is a devil?' (6^{70}) The parable of the Barren Fig-tree suggests that Christ wished to give Judas every opportunity of bearing good fruit. Or, He may have desired to prevent him from becoming even worse; or, to lessen his powers of mischief; or, to prove to all that no one is safe or constrained, and that even an apostle can rebel to the uttermost; *electus enim a Christo suâ libertate et vitio corruit* (Toletus). Some maintain that Christ selected Judas *because* He knew that he would betray Him and thus fulfil the divine decrees. None of these suggestions removes the difficulty, which runs up into the insoluble problems of the origin of evil, and of divine omniscience combined with human free-will. See Westcott, Add. Note on Jn 13^{18}.

3. We may assume that Judas had some good qualities which led to his admission to the apostolic body. Among these, practical ability and energy seem to have been found. Hence, when the company begins to have funds (Lk 8^{3}), he is selected to administer them (Jn 13^{29}). This he did dishonestly (Jn 12^{4-6}); and the same greed led him to betray his Master to the priests for thirty shekels (Mt 26^{15}, Mk 14^{11}, Lk 22^{5}). His pilfering from the money-box is the one thing to his discredit that is told us previous to his great crime, and the Synoptists are silent as to this preparatory course of sin. But, no doubt, he yielded to other forms of temptation; and it has been much debated *whether covetousness was the sole or the chief cause of his treachery.** It was certainly *a* cause. He sought the priests, not they him; and his question is, 'What are ye willing to *give* me?' But disappointed ambition probably helped. He looked, like the rest of the disciples, for an earthly kingdom with profits and honours, and he may have been the first to see that nothing of the kind was in store for him. Jesus had refused to be made a king (Jn 6^{15}); and it was soon after this that the presence of a diabolical character among the Twelve was announced (6^{70}). The triumphal entry into Jerusalem led to nothing; and then the compact with the hierarchy was made. Resentment probably contributed something, at any rate as the end drew near. During the last year Judas would feel that to some extent his conduct was suspected or known. Christ's strong warnings against avarice, and His denunciations of hypocrisy, would seem at times to be aimed at him, and no doubt were in part meant specially for him. Such passages as Mt 6^{19-21} 13^{22}, Mk 10^{25}, Lk 16^{11-13} acquire additional meaning when we remember that Judas was among the hearers. His hypocrisy after the pilfering began must have been conscious, and seems to have been successful; for to the last the other apostles did not suspect him (Jn $13^{22.28}$). But Christ declared that hypocrisy is always exposed in the end (Lk 12^{2}). It was 'to the disciples first of all,' and (we may believe) to Judas most of all, that He said, 'whatsoever ye have spoken in the ear in the inner chambers shall be proclaimed upon the housetops' (Lk $12^{1.3}$). And who more than Judas needed the warning, 'Look whether the light that is in thee be not darkness'? (Lk 11^{35}). His chagrin at the 'waste' of the ointment, and Christ's public rebuke of his hypocritical lament, seem to have been among the incidents which completed his determination to betray Christ. Constant contact with a goodness to which he would not yield had generated a fierce hate. See Swete on Mk 14^{10}.

---

* We must not argue that so small a sum as thirty shekels *could* not have induced him to commit such a crime. Matricide has been committed for a few shillings. Thirty shekels was the price of a slave (Ex 21^{32})=about £4 according to the present value of silver, but in purchasing power perhaps double that amount. The power of avarice is almost limitless.

Attempts have been made both to darken and to brighten what is told us of Judas. Was he a plotter from the first? May he not have sought admission to the inner circle of Christ's disciples in order to overthrow this revolutionary Teacher? But even St. John, whose horror of him is most clearly expressed, gives no hint of this; and, if it were true, it would be amazing that Judas should share in the general success of the Twelve as preachers and workers of miracles. On the other hand, may not his motive have been much less evil than is commonly supposed? Some would represent him as a brave man who believed that patriotism required him to deliver Jesus to the rulers. Others, with more plausibility, suggest that, like the Baptist, he may have been impatient at the slow progress of the Messiah; and he may have intended merely to precipitate a crisis. If the hierarchy were encouraged to arrest Jesus, His miraculous power would defeat them, the populace would declare for Him, and His triumph would be complete. The Passover was an opportunity which must not be allowed to pass. In arguing and acting thus, Judas was presumptuous and wrongheaded, but he was not a sordid traitor. This view also, which is advocated by De Quincey and Whately, has no support in Scripture, not even in the record of his remorse. If there was nothing worse than this, would Christ have denounced him as devilish, and called him a 'son of perdition'? And granting that διάβολος in Jn 6^{70} is not much stronger than Σατανᾶ in Mt 16^{23} and Mk 8^{33}, yet of no one but Judas did He say, 'Good were it for him if that man had not been born' (Mt 26^{24}). After this it is hardly necessary to point out that both Luke and John regard Judas in the last stages of his career as becoming the abode of Satan (Lk 22^{3}, Jn $13^{2.27}$), who then 'entered into him,' an expression which is unique in Scripture in this spiritual sense. With Keim we reject these hypotheses in defence of Judas as impossible and unworthy inventions which have nothing noble to excuse them.

The enormity of the sin of Judas consisted in its being against all bonds of discipleship and friendship; against light, against mercies, affection, trust, and warnings; against his own promises and preaching. And it was committed deliberately, not under sudden strain, like Peter's denials, but with skilful and persistent calculation. He was not surprised by a violent temptation, but he carefully sought an opportunity, which he used with unswerving pertinacity, in spite of the tenderness of the feet-washing, the solemnity of Christ's public condemnation of the traitor, and the proof given to him privately that Christ knew who the traitor was. The demonstrative kiss (κατεφίλησεν) has no parallel in history, and could hardly have been invented; all the less so, because the narrative tells us that by going forward to meet His captors, and declaring Himself to be the person whom they were seeking, Jesus rendered the signal unnecessary. But the sin of Judas is unique only in its opportunity and its form; in kind it may be repeated. It is possible to 'crucify the Son of God afresh' (He 6^{6}), and therefore it is possible to betray Him afresh.

4. All the Gospels represent the traitor as effecting his purpose immediately after the Last Supper, at which he was present; but the point at which he left the upper room is much disputed. *Did he, or did he not, receive the eucharistic bread and wine?* The first two Gospels seem to imply that Judas received with the rest; but they are indefinite, for they do not mention his exit. St. John is equally indefinite; for he omits the institution of the Eucharist, and we do not know where it should be inserted. St. Luke places the words, 'But behold the hand of him that betrayeth me is with me on the table,' *after* the distribution of the eucharistic bread ($22^{19.21}$), and apparently after the eucharistic cup also, whether or not we accept as original the disputed words ($^{19b.20}$). It is possible to hold that Judas went out between the partaking of the eucharistic bread and that of the eucharistic cup (Westcott on Jn 13); but the view mentioned by Theophylact, that Judas partook of the cup, but concealed his portion of the bread to show to the hierarchy, need only be mentioned. The majority of patristic and mediæval commentators, with some Reformation writers, adopt the view taken in the Anglican Liturgy, that Judas partook of the Eucharist (see Bynæus, *de Morte Christi*, i. pp. 443–448, Amst. 1691; Cornelius a Lapide and Maldonatus on Mt 26^{20}). The majority of modern commentators hold that he did not.

5. The perplexities respecting the career of Judas continue to the end. We have two accounts of his death in Scripture, and they differ both from one another and from a third which is obviously legendary. *Can we accept any as historical?*

In Mt 27^{3-10} we are told that Judas, on learning that Jesus was condemned to death, was stricken with remorse: *perfecto demum scelere magnitudo ejus intellecta est*, as Tacitus says of Nero's murder of his mother (*Ann.* XIV. x. 1). He took back the thirty shekels to his employers, saying, 'I have sinned in that I have betrayed innocent blood.' But they had no further interest in the vile instrument which they had used. 'What is that to us? See *thou* to it.' There are several remarkable words in what follows: καὶ ῥίψας τὰ ἀργύρια εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἀνεχώρησεν—he *hurled* the silver pieces into the *Holy Place* and *went into solitude*. Into the ναός the priests alone might go (Lk $1^{9.21}$, Mt 23^{16} 27^{40}, Mk 14^{58}, Jn 2^{19} etc.). It included both the Holy Place and the Holy of Holies (Mt 27^{51}, Mk 15^{38}, Lk 23^{45}). It is never used like ἱερόν for the whole temple. Either this is a strange exception, or Judas in his desperation rushed into the sanctuary, or (most probably) he hurled the money from a distance. The use of ῥίπτειν εἰς and not βάλλειν ἐν points to this, but is not conclusive. Again, ἀνέχωρησεν means more than 'departed';

it is commonly used of those who shun company, retire from observation (Mt $2^{14.\,22}$ 4^{12} 12^{15} 14^{13} 15^{21}, Mk 3^{7}, Jn 6^{15}, Ac 26^{31}). So also in LXX (Ex 2^{15}, Jos 8^{15}, Jg 4^{17} etc.). Yet it is putting a great deal of meaning into it to interpret, 'he lived as a solitary, became a hermit.' But, if this be adopted, then *ἀπελθὼν ἀπήγξατο* means, 'he left his place of retirement and hanged himself.'

It is from this point that we can compare Matthew's account with that put into the mouth of Peter in the Acts, and with the legend. Matthew seems to mean that Judas hung himself before his betrayed Master was hanged on the cross. He plainly states that Judas left the money, and that the priests, with characteristic scrupulosity about trifles after unscrupulous breach of the gravest commandments (cf. Jn 19^{31}), would not put the polluted silver into the sacred treasury,* but bought with it the potter's field, to bury aliens in. This field was afterwards known as 'the field of blood,' because it was bought with blood-money. Thus a prophecy of Jeremiah (? Zechariah) was fulfilled.†

The narrative in the Acts (1^{16-20}) is strangely different. Nothing is said about the priests or the restoration of the money. On the contrary, Judas himself is said to have 'procured a field with the reward of his iniquity.' There he fell headlong in such a way that 'his bowels gushed out'; and hence the field was called 'the field of blood.' Thus a prophecy of David (Ps 69^{25} 109^{8}) was fulfilled. It is *possible* to harmonize the two modes of death. Judas hung himself over a precipice, the rope broke, and he was dashed to pieces. The Vulgate of Ac 1^{18} suggests this method: *suspensus crepuit medius*. But why should Matthew give only one half of the tragedy, and Luke only the other? And even so there still remain grave discrepancies between the two narratives. In the one Judas restores the money, in the other he keeps it; in the one he procures the field, in the other the hierarchy do so; in the one the name of the field comes from the blood-money, in the other from his bloody death. Moreover, in the one he plainly commits suicide, like Ahithophel (2 S 17^{23}), in the other his death may be accidental. In the Middle Ages two different spots were pointed out, one as 'the potter's field,' and the other as *Akeldama*; and the 'tree of Judas' is still shown.

c. + fl.

It is better to recognize the fact that we have here two different traditions, of which that in the Gospel is nearer in time to the event, and probably nearer to the truth; but even that may have been influenced by the desire to harmonize facts with a supposed prophecy. The tradition learned by St. Luke is later; and popular fancy has guessed at the meaning of 'the field of blood.' But it is an excess of scepticism to say that nothing is known about the end of Judas. We may safely affirm that he came to a violent end, probably by his own hand. And the story of the return of the money and of the priests' treatment of it has every appearance of truth. But it may be admitted that, in the absence of evidence, a horrible end would inevitably have been invented for Judas. We may compare the cases of Dositheus the heretic and his successor Simon Magus, both of whom are represented as perishing by a violent death, and, like Judas in the Acts, by a fall (*Clem. Hom.* II. xxiv.; *Apost. Const.* VI. ix.). The accounts of the death of Arius exhibit a similar feeling (Socrates, *HE* I. xxxviii.; Sozomen, II. xxx.).

This tendency is seen still more clearly in the legendary account of the end of Judas, preserved in a fragment from the fourth book of Papias (Theophylact on Ac 1^{18}, *Catena ad Acta S. App.*; Cramer, Oxford, 1838, p. 12; *Patr. Apostolic Opp.*, Gebh., Harn., Zahn, I. ii. app.; Suicer, *Thesaurus*, *s.v.* *ἀπάγχω*). This story is an amplification of *ἐλάκησεν μέσος καὶ ἐξεχύθη πάντα τὰ σπλάγχνα αὐτοῦ* (Ac 1^{18}), with details which seem to be borrowed from the death of Antiochus (2 Mac $9^{4\text{ff.}}$). Papias had heard that Judas became so enlarged by inflammation that where a waggon could easily pass he could not;—not even his head, which was so swollen that even the physician could not find his eyes. Worms and corruption proceeded from his body, and he suffered horrible torments until he died *ἐν ἰδίῳ χωρίῳ*. The spot was shunned by every one, and for years afterwards an offensive smell tainted the neighbourhood, intolerable to all who passed by. Another addition makes the narrative more harmonious with Ac 1^{18}, by stating that he was crushed by a waggon, *ὥστε τὰ ἔγκατα αὐτοῦ ἐκκενωθῆναι* (Oecumenius, *ad loc.*). But we can hardly say that the story without this detail shows that Papias knew the Acts. He knew a story which seems to have grown in part out of the narrative preserved in the Acts. But, in any case, here, as often, we are able to contrast the sobriety and probability of the Gospel narrative with the grotesque and revolting exaggerations in non-canonical sources.

It is not necessary to enlarge on the contrast between Peter and Judas in their fall and in their repentance. The one yielded to a sudden temptation, was at once touched by his Master's reproachful look of love, and returned to his Lord in affectionate confidence at the earliest opportunity. Judas deliberately sought and persisted in evil in defiance of all loving influences, and, in his dismay at the results of his act, tried to ease his conscience, without turning to Christ or to God for forgiveness. He thus ended, not in repentance, but in despair. See Euthymius Zigabenus on Mt 27^{5}.

But as early as Origen quite another view was taken of the suicide of Judas. He was hurrying to do in the other world what he failed to do in this. Knowing that Jesus would soon be in Hades, and that He was the source of salvation, he determined to be there before Him, and with bared soul to meet Him and implore His forgiveness (Origen, *Tract. in Matt.* xxxv., Migne, xiii. 1767. Suicer, *s.v.* Ἰούδας, quotes the same idea from Theophanes, *Hom.* xxvii. p. 202. See also Theophylact on Mt 27^{5}).

The impious sect of the Cainites had a small composition which they called the *Gospel of Judas*. They regarded him as the true Gnostic, who with supreme insight accomplished the excellent work of overthrowing the power of the Demiurge by causing the death of Christ (Iren. I. xxxi. 1; Epiphan. *Hær.* I. xxxviii. 1; Theodoret, *Hær. Fab.* I. xv.; Pseudo-Tert. *adv. omn. Hær.* ii.).

Representations of Judas are rare in ancient art. Kraus knows of only three of the traitor's kiss. These are a sarcophagus at Verona (Maffei, *Verona illustr.* iii. 54), a sarcophagus of southern Gaul (Faillon, *Monum. de S. Madeleine*, i. 462), and a mosaic of the 6th cent. in S. Apollinare at Ravenna, of which Kraus gives a sketch. In Smith's *Dict. of Chr. Ant.* i. 891 is a drawing of Judas hanging from a tree. This is from the Syriac MS of Rabula, A.D. 586. Kraus gives another from an ivory in the British Museum, which is perhaps of the 5th cent. The crucifixion is part of the same picture, so that Judas hangs side by side with Christ (*Real-Enc. d. Christ. Alt.* ii. 74, 75).

---

* They were perhaps arguing by analogy from Dt 23^{18}. The wages of sin could not be offered to God. But if Judas had sinned, how could they be guiltless?

† The difficulty about the prophecy is not solved by assuming that by a slip of memory St. Matthew has written 'Jeremiah' for 'Zechariah' (cf. 'Barachias' for 'Jehoiada,' 23^{35}). Zec $11^{12.\,13}$ does not agree with the evangelist's quotation. Hebrew, LXX, and Matthew differ widely; but there must be some connexion, and perhaps through a Targum.

LITERATURE.—Zandt, *Comment. de Juda proditore*, Lips. 1769; Daub, *Judas Ischarioth*, Heidelh. 1816; Neander, *Life of Christ*, § 264; S. J. Andrews, *Life of our Lord*, pp. 481–493, 524–529, ed. 1892; and the authorities quoted in Winer, *RWB* i. 635. For the mediæval legend, see D'Ancona, *La Leggenda di Vergogna e la leggenda di Giuda*, Bologna, 1869, and the other works cited in *Enc. Brit. s.v.*, esp. *Notes and Queries*, 2nd series, v. vi. vii.; 3rd series, vii.; 5th series, vi. Besides the Lives of Christ (Lange, Keim, Weiss, Edersheim, Farrar, etc.) reference may further be made to such recent studies as Bruce, *Training of the Twelve*, 371 ff.; Fairbairn, *Studies in the Life of Christ*, 258 ff.; Steinmeyer, *Passion and Resurrection History*, 80 ff.; Stalker, *Trial and Death of Jesus Christ*, 110 ff.; Boyd Carpenter, *Son of Man*, 61 ff.; S. Cox, *Expositions*, i. 331 ff., 348 ff.

A. PLUMMER.

JUDAS (Ἰούδας), 'NOT ISCARIOT,' one of the twelve (Jn 14^{22}), who is also described as 'Judas of James' (Lk 6^{16}, Ac 1^{13}). His identification with the disciple who is also called Lebbæus (Mt 10^{3} AV) and Thaddæus (Mt 10^{3} RV, Mk 3^{18}) is generally accepted, although it has been suggested that Judas really took the place of Thaddæus, who had died during the ministry of our Lord. He is not to be identified with Judas or Jude, the Lord's brother. Nothing whatever is known about him or his ultimate career, except the question recorded by St. John, who is careful to distinguish him from his namesake the traitor. See, further, JUDE, LEBBÆUS, THADDÆUS.

W. MUIR.

JUDE THE LORD'S BROTHER.—A Judas is named as one of the Lord's 'brethren' in Mt 13^{55}, Mk 6^{3}. He has commonly been identified by tradition with the Apostle Judas, 'not Iscariot' (Jn 14^{22}). But the latter is described by St. Luke (6^{16}, Ac 1^{13}) as *the son* (AV has improperly *the brother*) of James. Those who deny that the 'brethren' included any apostles, of course reject this identification also, and regard Judas the brother of Jesus as the son of Joseph either by a former wife or by Mary (see BRETHREN OF THE LORD). Assuming the latter view, we know of Judas merely that he belonged to the Nazarene household, and, like the rest of his brethren (Jn 7^{5}), did not believe in Christ till after the resurrection (Ac 1^{13}). He was doubtless also the author of 'the Epistle of Jude,' styling himself in v.^{1} 'a servant of Jesus Christ and brother of James' (*i.e.* James the Lord's brother, Gal 1^{19}). This indicates that his spiritual relation to Jesus was felt to be more important than the fleshly one; also that Jude was less known in the Churches than James was. In v.^{17} he apparently distinguishes himself from the apostles. The Ep. indicates that he was familiar with the OT and Jewish tradition, and specially indignant against those who introduced immorality under cover of the gospel.

The only mention of Jude in ecclesiastical history is the story related from Hegesippus by Eusebius (*HE* iii. 19, 20, 32), that Domitian, having commanded the descendants of David to be slain, certain heretics made accusation against the grandchildren of Jude,* 'said to have been the Lord's brother according to the flesh'; but that, when they were brought to the emperor, he found them to be poor, hard-working men, who described Christ's kingdom as heavenly, and destined to appear at the end of the world; so he dismissed them with contempt. The historian adds that they afterwards ruled the Churches, being both witnesses (*i.e.* for the faith) and relatives of the Lord; and that they lived until the time of Trajan. Nicephorus Callisti (*c.* A.D. 1350, *Hist. Eccles.* i. 33) reports a tradition that Jude's wife was Mary the mother of James and Joses, and (*ib.* ii. 3) that his mother was Salome; but the statements of Niceph. are inconsistent with respect to these relationships, and his testimony to them is of small value.

G. T. PURVES.

---

* That Jude was married may be inferred from 1 Co 9^{5}. The names of his grandchildren are said to have been Zoker and James (Hegesip. *ap.* Phil. Sedet., *TU* v. 169).

JUDE, EPISTLE OF.—

1. Transmission of the Text.
2. Reception in the Church.
3. Vocabulary, Style, Literary Indebtedness.
4. Relation to 2 Peter.
5. Date of Composition, Authorship.
6. Place of Writing, Destination, Circumstances of Composition.
7. Summary of the Epistle.
Literature.

1. TRANSMISSION OF THE TEXT.—The authorities are (1) MSS (*a*) Uncial: ℵABC ('primary' MSS, Hort, *Introduction*, p. 192) $K_2L_2P_2$; the relative character of all these MSS has been elaborately investigated by B. Weiss, *Die Kath. Briefe*, in 'Texte u. Untersuchungen,' viii. 3; (*b*) Cursive: the chief are 13 (=33 evv.), 40, 44 (=221 Scriv.), 137: (2) Versions: (*a*) Latin: vg. (on Old Latin texts see below under 'Fathers'): (*b*) Syriac: Harklean; the Syriac Vulgate (Peshiṭta) did not contain 2 P, 2 3 Jn, Jude; in modern editions they are supplied after a text taken from a Bodleian MS printed by Pococke in 1630: (*c*) Egyptian: Bohairic (Memphitic), Sahidic (Thebaic): (*d*) Ethiopic: (*e*) Armenian: (3) Fathers: (*a*) Greek: the chief are Clem. Alex., Origen, Didymus (chiefly Latin trans.), Ephraem (not Syriac works), Cyril Alex., the commentators Œcumenius and Theophylact, the Fragments in Cramer, *Catena*: (*b*) Latin: Tertullian does not quote from, but refers to, Jude (*de Cult. Fem.* i. 3, 'Enoch apud Iudam apostolum testimonium possidet'): his words seem to imply that the Ep. was known to his readers, and therefore current in a Latin translation. There are important quotations in Lucifer of Calaris, *de non Conv. cum Hær.* xv. (p. 33 f. ed. Hartel)—vv.$^{1-3.\ 5-8.\ 11-13.\ 17-19.}$; in Priscillian, *Tract.* i. iii. v. (pp. 29, 32, 44, 64, ed. Schepss)—vv.$^{12f.\ 14f.\ 23}$; also in the Speculum commonly known by the symbol m (pp. 455, 647, ed. Weihrich)—vv.$^{6.\ 7.\ 12}$. These quotations supply relics of pre-Hieronymic texts. An examination of them shows (1) that Lucif. and m give substantially the same text in vv.$^{6f.\ 12}$, Lucif. being rather fuller and slightly nearer to the Greek; (2) that Lucif. and Prisc. give different texts. Sabatier quotes also from Jerome, Augustine, Vigilius, and Fulgentius small fragments of Latin texts. The whole subject needs further investigation.

The text in several places seems uncertain, and 'primitive' errors are probable. On vv.$^{1.\ 5}$ see WH, *Introduction*, *Notes on Select Readings*, p. 106 f. In v.^{12} (οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ . . . σπιλάδες συνευωχούμενοι), unless the writer himself after οἱ changed his construction, the οἱ appears to be an early insertion (see the two types of sentences in vv.$^{16.\ 19}$). In v.^{22} *either* the first ἐλεᾶτε is intrusive (cf. WH), *or* (in view of St. Jude's fondness for triplets) οὓς δέ should be inserted before σώζετε (so ℵ). In the latter case the three clauses rise to a climax, and each has its characteristic idea—hopeful compassion, desperate effort, compassion paralyzed by fear of contamination.

2. RECEPTION IN THE CHURCH.—Little or no stress can be laid on supposed coincidences with this Ep. in sub-apostolic writings—*Ep. Barn.* 2^{10} (cf. 4^{9}), Jude$^{3f.}$; *Ep. Polyc.* iii. 2, iv. 2, Jude$^{3.\ 20}$; *Mart. Polyc.* xx. (doxology), Jude$^{24f.}$. The similarity, however, of *Didaché* ii. 7 (οὐ μισήσεις πάντα ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ οὓς μὲν ἐλέγξεις, περὶ δὲ ὧν προσεύξῃ, οὓς δὲ ἀγαπήσεις κ.τ.λ.) to Jude$^{22f.}$ in thought and still more in form is too striking to be accidental (cf. iv. 1 ἡ κυριότης, Jude^{8}); it need not, however, imply direct borrowing, for on other grounds it seems likely that the two documents had their origin within the same circle of Christian thought, and it is conceivable that parts of the *Didaché* are *ultimately* the work of the author of the Epistle.

There is clear evidence that at the end of the 2nd and at the beginning of the 3rd cent. the Ep. was accepted as authoritative in three important Churches. (1) Alexandria. Clement quotes it as the work of Jude in *Pæd.* iii. 8 (p. 280, ed. Potter), *Strom.* iii. 2 (p. 515); he cites words from it (v.$^{22f.}$) as a 'commandment' in *Strom.* vi. 8 (p. 773); his *Hypotyposes* contained 'short explanations' of this as of other Catholic Epistles (Eus. *HE* vi. 14. 1, Photius, *Biblioth.* 109; see at end of this art.). The witness of Clement is carried on by Origen. If in one place he hints at doubts about its reception (*in Matt.* tom. xvii. 30, *εἰ δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἰούδα πρόσοιτό τις ἐπιστολήν*), yet in another (*in Matt.* tom. x. 17), speaking of Jude as one of the Lord's brethren, he commends the Epistle as 'full of strong words of heavenly grace though it be but a few lines in length,' and he repeatedly quotes from or alludes to it (*in Joh.* tom. xiii. 37, *in Matt.* tom. xv. 27, **in Rom.* lib. iii. 6 [Scriptura sacra], **in Rom.* lib. v. 1 [J. Apostolus in epistola catholica], **in Ezek.* hom. iv. 1, **Ep. ad Alexandrinos*, xvii. p. 7 f. (ed. Lommatzsch), **de Princip.* iii. 2. 1; the passages marked * are extant only in a Latin translation). It was also commented on by Didymus (Migne, *Pat. Gr.* xxxix. 1811–1818). (2) Carthage. It was accepted by Tertullian (see above, under 'Text'). (3) Rome. It is included in the Muratorian Canon, not improbably the work of Hippolytus (Lightfoot, *Clement*, ii. p. 405 ff.).* The writer mentions certain writings which cannot be 'received into the Catholic Church: for gall may not be mixed with honey.' He then continues, 'Epistola sane iude et superscrictio iohannis duas in catholica habentur.' The context and the introduction of the sentence by *sane* ('to be sure') imply that doubts existed which he expressly puts aside (cf. Zahn, *Gesch. des NT Kanons*, II. i. p. 93). The evidence then justifies Zahn's verdict (*ib.* I. i. p. 321) that at the meeting-point of the 2nd and 3rd cent. the Epistle was accepted 'in the Catholic Church, the Church of all the countries round the Mediterranean,' a verdict with which Harnack (*NT um Jahr* 200, 79, 86) substantially agrees. On the other hand, the following facts must be noticed. (*a*) Though accepted by Tertullian, the Ep. does not appear to be quoted by Cyprian. Like He and Ja, it is omitted in the Canon Mommsenianus (an African list of the middle of the 4th cent.), unless we accept the somewhat precarious suggestion of Harnack (*Theol. Ltzg.* 1886, col. 173) that a reference to the Epp. of St. James and St. Jude is intended in the *una sola* which stands after the mention of the three Epp. of St. John and again after that of the two Epp. of St. Peter (see Zahn, *Gesch.* II. i. p. 155 n.; Sanday in *Studia Bibl. et Eccles.* iii. p. 243 ff.). It is not unlikely that after the time of Tertullian the Ep. fell out of use in the N. African Church. It should be added that it has no place among the Books contained in the Latin *Antiqua translatio* referred to by Cassiodorus (*de Instit. Div. Lit.* xiv.). (*b*) It was not included in the Syriac Vulgate (cf. Amphilochius, *Iambi ad Seleucum* (Migne, *Pat. Gr.* xxxvii. 1593)), nor is it quoted in the Homilies of Aphraat or in the Syriac works of Ephraem (cf. *Stud. Bibl. et Eccles.* iii. p. 138). None of the Catholic Epistles is mentioned in the *Doctrine of Addai* (ed. Phillips, p. 44) among the Books publicly read in the Syrian Church. (*c*) There is no evidence that it was accepted in the School of Antioch. The passage commonly quoted from the Letter of the bishops who condemned Paul of Samosata (*τοῦ καὶ τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ [καὶ κύριον] ἀρνουμένου καὶ τὴν πίστιν, ἣν καὶ αὐτὸς πρότερον εἶχε, μὴ φυλάξαντος*, Eus. *HE* vii. 30. 4) can hardly be considered as a decisive reference to Jude$^{3f.}$, especially if, according to the best MSS, the words in brackets are omitted. In later times the Ep. does not seem to be quoted in the voluminous works of Chrysostom or Theodoret, and the phrase used (*τῶν καθολικῶν ἐπιστολαὶ τρεῖς*) in the *Synopsis* (Migne, *Pat. Gr.* lvi. 313 f.) which bears the name of the former appears to show that Jude, 2 P, 1 Jn, 2 Jn were known and deliberately excluded. Theodore of Mopsuestia (who made his view of the character of a Book a criterion of canonicity), according to Leontius of Byzantium (Migne, *Pat. Gr.* lxxxvi. 1365), rejected (*ἀποκηρύττει*) this Epistle, as also Ja, 2 P, 2 Jn, 3 Jn (see especially Kihn, *Theod. von Mops.* pp. 67, 75 f.). This is confirmed by the fact that Junilius (*Instit. regularia*, 6, 7), whom Kihn (p. 358 ff.) shows to represent Theodore's views as to the Canon, reckons these Epistles as *mediæ auctoritatis*.

We learn from Didymus, though his words in the Latin translation in which they reach us are somewhat obscure, that the Ep. was questioned by some on account of the strange reference to the dispute about Moses' body. We learn from Jerome (*de Vir. Illustr.* 4) that it was rejected by many ('a plerisque') because it quoted from the Book of Enoch. Eusebius (*HE* iii. 25, cf. ii. 23), reflecting the average opinion of his time, ranks it among 'the disputed Books, which yet are known and acknowledged by most.' The Ep. has a place in the list of Canonical Scriptures set forth by the Third Council of Carthage in A.D. 397. This Canon, supported by the authority of Jerome and Augustine, gained universal acceptance in the W. Church.

To sum up: considering the brevity of the Ep. and its special character, it had received, by the beginning of the 3rd cent., a remarkably wide acceptance in the Church. This early acceptance, representing the voice of tradition, supports its authenticity. From the beginning of the 3rd cent., when tradition was to some extent checked by criticism, and when (in view of the Gnostic controversies) all apocryphal writings were regarded with suspicion, the internal character of the Ep., its quotation from Enoch, and its reference to the *Assumptio Moysi*, tended to become a bar to its recognition as an authoritative document of the apostolic age. Even when the question of the NT Canon was virtually settled by the general opinion of the Church, such doubts and suspicions, based on internal evidence, found occasional expression.

3. VOCABULARY, STYLE, LITERARY INDEBTEDNESS.—In the *vocabulary* of Jude there are three elements. (*a*) There is the obvious Christian element. A Christian dialect has arisen. Certain words, *e.g.* *κλητοί, σωτηρία, πίστις*, have attained, largely through the teaching and the writings of St. Paul (see below), a fixed and recognized meaning among Greek-speaking Christians. (*b*) The writer is steeped in the language of the LXX. In this short Ep. occur several words and phrases derived from the LXX which are not used independently by other NT writers—*ἐκπορνεύειν, ἐμπαίκτης* (2 P), *ἐνυπνιάζεσθαι, θαυμάζειν πρόσωπα, λαλεῖν ὑπέρογκα*. Moreover, it should be noted that he uses words which do not occur in the canonical books, but are found in the Book of Wisdom, *ἀΐδιος* (Wis 7^{26}, cf. 4 Mac 10^{15} *var. lec.*), *ἄλογα ζῷα* (Wis 11^{15}, cf. 4 Mac 14$^{14.18}$), *σπιλοῦν* (Wis 15^{4}). Further, with Jude$^{6f.}$ compare 3 Mac 2$^{4f.}$. (*c*) He has at his command a large stock of stately, sonorous, sometimes poetical words, *e.g.* *ἀποδιορίζειν* (Aristot.), *ἄπταιστος* (Xen., adverb Plat.), *ἐκχυθῆναι* (Aristoph., Polyb.), *ἐπαφρίζειν* (Moschus), *ζόφος* (Hom., Hes., Pind., Polyb.), *παρεισδύεσθαι* (Hippocr., Plut., Philo), *σπιλάδες* (Hom., Anthol., Joseph.), *συνευωχεῖσθαι* (Aristot., Joseph., Lucian), *φθινοπώρινος* (Aristot., Polyb., Plut.). Moreover, such phrases as *πᾶσαν σπουδὴν ποιεῖσθαι* (Herod.), *προκεῖσθαι δεῖγμα, δίκην ὑπέχειν* (Herod., Soph., Eur.), *κρίσιν ἐπιφέρειν*, have a true Greek ring about them. It is interesting to note that more than once he adopts and presses into the service of Christian thought a recognized Greek phrase—*ἡ κοινὴ σωτηρία* ('the safety of the

---

* The *de Consummatione Mundi*, in which (c. x.) Jude^{18} is quoted, is not a genuine work of Hippolytus (see *Hippolyt's Kleinere Exeg. u. Hom. Schriften*, ed. Achelis, p. vii).

state,' see Wetstein's note), *οἱ προγεγραμμένοι* ('the proscribed,' Polyb.).

The vocabulary then of the Ep. proves that the author, though a Jew, was yet a man of some culture and, as it would seem, not without acquaintance with Greek writers. Writers, however, of the 'common' dialect, embodying older strata of the language, would suffice to supply him with his vocabulary.

From vocabulary we turn to *style*. Here we mark an entire lack of flexibility. There is indeed in the Ep. a strong rhetorical element. But the writer is never carried away. There are no rugged, broken sentences (v.^{16} is no exception to this statement) as in St. Paul's Epistles. We miss entirely the power of epigram which is so strong a weapon with St. James, and the oratorical persuasiveness of the Ep. to the Hebrews. The powerful effect of the Epistle is due entirely (on the literary side) to the writer's ability *πυργῶσαι ῥήματα σεμνά*. The richness of the writer's vocabulary stands in marked contrast to his poverty in ways of connecting and manipulating sentences. The general structure is characterized by a certain formality and stiffness. His fondness for triplets (vv.$^{2.\ 5\text{-}7.\ 8.\ 11.\ 12.\ 19.\ 22f.\ 25}$) has often been noticed. The reiteration of *οὗτοί εἰσιν* (*οἱ*) at the beginning of sentences (vv.$^{12.\ 16.\ 19}$, cf. $^{8.\ 10.\ 14}$) is especially marked.* As the Ep. draws towards its close, there is a twice-repeated contrast between the false and the true members of the Church; in either case over against a *οὗτοι* is set a *ὑμεῖς δέ* (vv.$^{16f.\ 19f.}$), an arrangement unfortunately obscured in WH. Thus the writer's Greek is a strong and weighty weapon over which, however, he has not a ready command. The elaborate and balanced doxology (cf. also v.^{4} *καὶ μόνον . . . Χριστόν*) recalls passages in the Epistle of the Roman Clement, and suggests that the writer's words took that liturgical form which was familiar to him in his ministrations in the Christian assembly. Indeed, the impression produced by the carefully-compacted arrangement of the whole Epistle is that in it we not improbably have a résumé of words spoken by an elder in the assembly which, often repeated and pondered over, gradually formed themselves into the elaborate denunciation and exhortation of this Epistle.

The *literary affinities* of the Ep. are important both for the light which they throw on its history and also for purposes of interpretation.

(i.) We have seen that the writer was familiar with the LXX. There are one or two indications, hardly perhaps decisive, that he was acquainted with the Hebrew OT. In v.^{12} *ἑαυτοὺς ποιμαίνοντες* probably comes from Ezk 34^{2} cf. ^{8}, but it is closer to the Heb. (רֹעִים אוֹתָם . . . הָרֹעִים) than to the LXX *μὴ βόσκουσιν οἱ ποιμένες ἑαυτούς*.† In v.^{12} *νεφέλαι ἄνυδροι ὑπὸ ἀνέμων παραφερόμεναι* may be a reminiscence of Pr 25^{14} (נְשִׂיאִים וְרוּחַ וְגֶשֶׁם אָיִן), but the LXX has no resemblance to Jude. In v.$^{22f.}$ it is not improbable that the two phrases *ἐκ πυρὸς ἁρπάζοντες* and *τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς σαρκὸς ἐσπιλωμένον χιτῶνα* are derived from Zec 3$^{2f.}$, from which passage the phrase *ἐπιτιμήσαι σοι Κύριος* (v.^{9}) is clearly taken (perhaps through the medium of the *Assumptio Moysi*). But there are no points of contact between Jude and the LXX rendering. On the other hand, the Hebrew word (צֹאִים) used here, meaning 'filthy,' is connected with the words צֵאָה, צוֹאָה, both meaning 'excrements,' and thus Jude's phrase alludes to the associations of the Hebrew word. The probability of these references taken together is greater than their probability when each is taken separately. So far as they go, they suggest that the writer of the Ep. was a Jew of Palestine.

(ii.) The discovery of the text of the Greek version of the Book of Enoch (1–32) among the Akhmîm fragments has supplied new and important material for the criticism of Jude. As this material does not appear as yet to have been fully utilized for this purpose, no apology is needed for the subjoined table giving coincidences of thought and language. On the quotation in v.$^{14f.}$ from Enoch (1^{9}), see the art. on ENOCH IN THE NT.

JUDE.	ENOCH.
1f. *τοῖς . . . τετηρημένοις κλητοῖς· ἔλεος ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη καὶ ἀγάπη πληθυνθείη.*	1^{8} *μετὰ τῶν δικαίων τὴν εἰρήνην ποιήσει, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς ἔσται συντήρησις καὶ εἰρήνη καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς γενήσεται ἔλεος.* 5^{6} *ἔσται αὐτοῖς . . . πᾶν ἔλεος καὶ εἰρήνη.*
4 *οἱ πάλαι προγεγρ. εἰς τοῦτο τὸ κρίμα, ἀσεβεῖς, τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν χάριτα μετατ. εἰς ἀσέλγειαν κ. τὸν μόνον δ. καὶ κ. ἡμῶν 'Ι. Χρ. ἀρνούμενοι.*	67^{10} 'The judgment will come upon them, because they believe in the lust of their body and have denied the Spirit of the Lord.' The reference to this denial is frequent; see Charles' note on 38^{2}. The sin of impurity is constantly denounced in Enoch; on the sin of the angels see below. The words *ἀσεβής, ἀσέβεια, ἀσεβεῖν* are characteristic of Enoch. They occur 4 times in 1^{9} (=Jude $^{14f.}$). Cf. 5$^{6f.}$ 8^{2} 10^{20} 13^{2} 22^{13}. See below on v.^{18}.
5 *εἰδότας ἅπαξ πάντα.*	1^{2} *ἤκουσα παρ' αὐτῶν πάντα καὶ ἔγνων ἐγὼ θεωρῶν.* 25^{2} *περὶ πάντων εἰδέναι θέλω.* Cf. the *Book of the Secrets of Enoch* 40$^{1.\ 2}$ 61^{2} 'I know all things.'
6 *ἀγγέλους τε τοὺς μὴ τηρήσαντας τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀρχὴν ἀλλὰ ἀπολιπόντας τὸ ἴδιον οἰκητήριον εἰς κρίσιν μεγάλης ἡμέρας δεσμοῖς ἀιδίοις ὑπὸ ζόφον τετήρηκεν.*	The fall of the angels through lust is one of the main subjects of Enoch; see 6 ff. 12^{4} 15^{3} 19^{1} 69$^{4f.}$ 86$^{3f.}$ 106^{14}. Parallels to particular phrases: (1) 9$^{6f.}$ *πάντα σὺ ὁρᾷς ἃ ἐποίησεν . . . Σεμιαζᾶς, ᾧ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκας ἄρχειν τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἅμα ὄντων.* (2) 12^{4} *ἀπολιπόντες τὸν οὐρανὸν τὸν ὑψηλόν.* 15^{3} *διὰ τί ἀπελίπετε τὸν οὐρανὸν τὸν ὑψηλόν;* (3) 15$^{7f.}$ *ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἡ κατοίκησις αὐτῶν . . . καὶ νῦν οἱ γίγαντες . . . ἐν τῇ γῇ ἡ κατοίκησις αὐτῶν ἔσται.* 27^{2} *ὧδε ἔσται τὸ οἰκητήριον.* Cf. 38^{2}. (4) 10$^{4ff.}$ *δῆσον τὸν 'Αζαὴλ ποσὶν καὶ χερσίν, καὶ βάλε αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ σκότος . . . καὶ ἐπικάλυψον αὐτῷ τὸ σκότος καὶ οἰκησάτω ἐκεῖ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας . . . καὶ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς μεγάλης [τῆς ?] κρίσεως ἀπαχθήσεται εἰς τὸν ἐνπυρισμόν.* 10^{12} 16^{1} *μέχρις ἡμέρας τελειώσεως, τῆς κρίσεως τῆς μεγάλης.* 19^{1} *μέχρι τῆς μεγάλης κρίσεως.* 22$^{4.\ 11}$ *μέχρι τῆς μεγάλης ἡμέρας τῆς κρίσεως,* 25^{4} 27^{4} 54^{6} 84^{4} 91^{15} 94^{9} 98^{10}.* (5) 10^{13} *εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον συνκλείσεως αἰῶνος.* 12^{6} *δεηθήσονται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.* 21^{10} *ὧδε συνσχεθήσονται μέχρι αἰῶνος εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.* 22^{11} *ἐκεῖ δήσει αὐτοὺς μέχρις αἰῶνος.* 54^{3} 88^{1} 103^{8} 'Into darkness and chains (lit. net).' (6) 10$^{4f.}$ (see above (4)). 16^{2} *εἰς ζοφώδη τόπον.* 62^{10} 'Darkness will be piled upon their faces.' Cf. *Book of the Secrets of Enoch* 18^{4} 'They [the rebellious angels] are kept in great darkness.'
6f. *ὡς Σόδομα κ. Γόμορρα . . . πυρὸς αἰωνίου δίκην ὑπέχουσαι.*	In 67^{6} the country near the Dead Sea is connected with the punishment of the angels. 'That valley of the angels who had seduced mankind burned

---

* In apocalyptic literature this is a regular formula, often introducing an answer to the seer's question; see *e.g.* Zec 1$^{9f.}$, Rev 7^{14} 11^{4} 14^{4}, *Enoch* 46^{3}, *Secrets of Enoch* 7^{3} 18^{3} 19^{3}, *Apoc. Peter* 4. 5. It is probable that Jude learned the use of the phrase from such writings, for which he clearly had a special liking.

† Symmachus has the same close rendering (*οἱ ποιμαίνοντες ἑαυτούς*) which St. Jude seems to have here.

* The phrase occurs in the *Book of Jubilees* 23, 'usque in diem iudicii magni.' Cf. *Book of the Secrets of Enoch* 18^{6} 'They will be punished at the great day of the Lord'; 44^{5} 48^{9} 50^{4} 52^{15} 'In the day of the great judgment.'

Jude.	Enoch.
	continually under the earth there.'
7 πρόκεινται δεῖγμα	67^{12} 'This judgment wherewith the angels are judged is a testimony for the kings,' etc.
9 ὁ ἀρχάγγελος.	20^{7} ἀρχαγγέλων ὀνόματα ἑπτά, *Secrets of Enoch* 19^{3} 20^{1} 21^{3} 29^{4}.
11 οὐαὶ αὐτοῖς, ὅτι τῇ ὁδῷ τοῦ Καὶν ἐπορεύθησαν.	In 22^{7} (cf. $85^{3f.}$) Cain is mentioned as the murderer of Abel. 94^{3} 'Walk not in the path of wickedness nor in the paths of death.' Then follows a long series of woes.
12f. νεφέλαι . . . δένδρα . . κύματα . . . ἀστέρες.	In 2–5 all things are represented as obeying the divine will οἱ φωστῆρες, τὰ δένδρα, ἡ θάλασσα καὶ οἱ ποταμοί. $80^{2ff.}$ 'In the days of the sinners . . . their seed will be tardy on their lands and fields . . . the rain will be kept back . . . the fruits of the trees will be backward . . . many chiefs of the superior stars will err.'
13 ἀστέρες πλανῆται οἷς ὁ ζόφος τοῦ σκότους εἰς αἰῶνα τετήρηται.	$18^{13ff.}$ ἴδον ἑπτὰ ἀστέρας ὡς ὄρη μεγάλα καιόμενα . . . δεσμωτήριον τοῦτο ἐγένετο τοῖς ἄστροις. The punishment of the stars is referred to in 21^{3-6} 90^{24}.
18 κατὰ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἐπιθυμίας πορευόμενοι τῶν ἀσεβειῶν.	13^{2} περὶ πάντων τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἀσεβειῶν.
21 προσδεχόμενοι τὸ ἔλεος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰ. Χρ.	1^{8} At the time of the judgment ἐπ' αὐτοὺς [τοὺς δικαίους] γενήσεται ἔλεος. 27^{4} ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς κρίσεως αὐτῶν εὐλογήσουσιν ἐν ἐλέει, ὡς ἐμέρισεν αὐτοῖς.
24 στῆσαι κατενώπιον τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ . . . ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει.	14^{20} ἡ δόξα ἡ μεγάλη ἐκάθητο ἐπ' αὐτῷ. 27^{2} περὶ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ σκληρὰ λαλήσουσιν (∥ κατὰ Κυρίου). 63^{5} 'Would that we had rest . . . to confess our faith before His glory.' 102^{3} 'All the angels . . . will seek to hide themselves from the presence of the Great Glory.' 104^{1} 'The angels are mindful of you for good before the glory of the Great One: your names are written before the glory of the Great One.' 5^{9} τὰ ἔτη τῆς χαρᾶς αὐτῶν πληθυνθήσεται ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει.
25 δόξα μεγαλωσύνη κράτος καὶ ἐξουσία.	5^{4} κατὰ τῆς μεγαλοσύνης αὐτοῦ. 12^{3} εὐλογῶν τῷ κυρίῳ τῆς μεγαλοσύνης. 14^{16} ὅλος [ὁ οἶκος] διαφέρων ἐν δόξῃ καὶ ἐν τιμῇ καὶ ἐν μεγαλοσύνῃ, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαί με ἐξειπεῖν ὑμῖν περὶ τῆς δόξης καὶ περὶ τῆς μεγαλοσύνης αὐτοῦ.

(iii.) There is every reason to believe the assertion of Clement, Origen, and other Patristic writers (see the passages conveniently collected together in Charles, *The Assumption of Moses*, p. 105 ff.), that the writer derived the legend referred to in v.^{9} from a document called *The Assumption of Moses*. This document was indeed, as Charles shows, part of a book whose true title was probably *The Testament of Moses*, a fragment of which is known to us in a Latin translation under the title of *The Assumption of Moses*; and this *Testament*, as Burkitt has shown (*Guardian*, June 1, 1898), is probably the epilogue of the *Book of Jubilees*, which claims to be the record of a revelation made to Moses on Sinai by the Angel of the Presence. In view of Jude's use of this Mosaic literature the number of allusions in so short an Epistle to matters connected with Moses is noteworthy: the deliverance and punishment of Israel (v.^{5}), the murmuring (v.^{16}, cf. 1 Co 10^{10}), the episodes of Balaam and of Korah (v.^{11}).

Between the Latin fragment of the *Assumption* (cf. Charles, p. 62) and Jude there are coincidences in thought and (to some extent) in language. With Jude^{3} compare *Assump.* iv. 8, 'permanebunt in præposita fide sua.' With Jude^{12} cf. *Assump.* vii. 4, 'qui erunt homines dolosi, sibi placentes, ficti in omnibus suis et omni hora diei amantes convivia, devoratores, gulæ.' With Jude^{16} cf. *Assump.* vii. 9, 'et manus eorum et mentes immunda tractantes, et os eorum loquetur ingentia'; v. 5 'mirantes personas locupletum et accipientes munera.' With Jude^{24} cf. *Assump.* i. 10, 'ut facias quemadmodum sine querellam sis Deo' [MS est ideo].

(iv.) There can be no doubt that the writer was acquainted with and influenced in language and thought by St. Paul's Epistles. In the salutation to τοῖς ἐν θεῷ πατρὶ ἠγαπημένοις we have parallels in 1 Th 1^{4} 2 Th 2^{13}; the κλητοῖς here is precisely similar to the κλητοῖς of Ro 1^{7}, 1 Co 1^{2}. In v.^{20} the words ἐποικοδομοῦντες . . . πίστει recall Col 2^{7}. To different points in the closing doxology (v.$^{24f.}$) we have a remarkable series of parallels in St. Paul—Ro $16^{25ff.}$ (τῷ δὲ δυναμένῳ ὑμᾶς στηρῖξαι . . . μόνῳ σοφῷ θεῷ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ), Eph 3^{20}, 1 Th 5^{23}, 2 Th 3^{3}, 1 Co 1^{8}, Eph 1^{4}, Col 1^{22}. Besides these verbal coincidences there is a close parallel to 1 Co 10^{1-13} in the prominence given (vv.$^{5.11.16}$) to the deliverance and punishment of Israel regarded as a warning to the Christian body.

The investigation, then, under this head has shown that the writer was influenced in vocabulary, style, and thought by the OT (certainly by the LXX, probably also by the original Hebrew), by the Book of Enoch to a remarkable degree, by another apocryphal document embodying the history of Moses, and lastly by Epistles of St. Paul (including probably Col and Eph). His vocabulary, moreover, proves him to have had at least some acquaintance with the literature of the 'common' dialect, while at the same time his stiffness in the manipulation of sentences seems to stamp him as a man whose knowledge of Greek was acquired in later rather than in earlier life.

4. THE RELATION OF JUDE TO 2 PETER.—That there is a close literary connexion between the two Epistles is clear when the following passages are compared: Jude^{3} ∥ 2 P $1^{5.15}$; ^{4} ∥ 2^{1-3}; ^{5} ∥ $1^{12f.}$ 3^{1}; ^{6} ∥ $2^{4.9}$; ^{7} ∥ $2^{6.10}$; ^{8} ∥ 2^{11}; ^{9} ∥ $2^{11f.}$; ^{10} ∥ 2^{12}; ^{11} ∥ $2^{15f.}$; $^{12f.}$ ∥ $2^{13.17}$; ^{16} ∥ 2^{18}; $^{17f.}$ ∥ $3^{2f.}$. The hypothesis that both writers borrowed from a third document, though it has found stray advocates, may be put aside at once, as being destitute of any shred of external evidence, and as having no support in the peculiar phenomena of the two Epistles. The direct question therefore remains—*which of the two writers is the borrower?*

The priority of 2 P has found within the last few years an intrepid and resourceful champion in F. Spitta (*Der Zweite Brief des Petrus u. der Br. des Judas*, 1885).[*] The considerations are of three kinds: (i.) The general alleged historical connexion. Spitta supposes that 2 P was written by St. Peter shortly before his death; that according to his promise (1^{15}) he made provision for his correspondents being reminded of his teaching; and that St. Jude wrote his Ep. by way of carrying out St. Peter's undertaking. Accordingly, in Jude, Spitta finds direct references to 2 P. In v.^{5} πάντα, and in vv.$^{4.12}$ the article (οἱ), refer respectively to facts and persons well known to St. Jude's readers through 2 P [†] (but on the phrase οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ see above). Lastly, he holds that in Jude$^{17f.}$ there is a specific reference to 2 P 3^{3}. In regard to this last, the crucial, point, it is incredible that St. Jude, writing with the special purpose of reminding his readers of St. Peter's Epistle, should smother his reference to the words of that Epistle in an appeal to the habitual oral teaching (ἔλεγον) of the apostles generally (τῶν ἀποστόλων), and that he should omit the chief count of his master's indictment.

---

[*] Spitta (*Zur Geschichte u. Litteratur des Urchristentums*, ii. pp. 409–411 (1896)) has lately reaffirmed his position as to the relation of Jude and 2 P, and supported it by a fresh argument. He holds that the *Shepherd* of Hermas is a Christian recension of an older Jewish work. Of that Jewish work Jude and 2 P contain reminiscences. But he urges that investigation shows that the echoes of it in Jude must be derived through the medium of 2 P. On Zahn's position see footnote to *Literature*.

[†] In v.^{19} there is a similar article, but no reference to 2 P can be made out. Spitta therefore supposes that the allusion is to St. Paul's Epistles.

(ii.) Connexion of thought. It must suffice to apply this test to two pairs of passages:—

(*a*) In 2 P 2^{11} (ὅπου ἄγγελοι κ.τ.λ.) we have an example of forbearance answering to that adduced in Jude^{9} from the *Assumptio*. It has often been pointed out that the reference in 2 P is so general that it has no meaning until it is interpreted in the light of Jude. Spitta, however, maintains that Jude has mistaken the allusion in 2 P. Adopting the reading παρὰ Κυρίου, he supposes that 2 P refers to Enoch ($10^{4\text{ff.}}$ 12^{4} 13^{1}), where God is described as sending Raphael to the fallen angel Azazel, and Raphael and his fellows as executing the commission by sending Enoch to Azazel with a message of judgment. The objections to this ingenious suggestion are many, and, it seems, insuperable. It necessitates the adoption of the inferior reading παρὰ Κυρίου.* Again, the allusion could not have been surmised by the original readers of 2 P. Its discovery was reserved for a scholar, who, studying 2 P with Jude, had Enoch brought prominently before him. Again, no stress is laid in Enoch on the message being sent through the patriarch; and indeed there is something grotesque in finding an example of forbearance in the angels sending a man to do what, *ex hypothesi*, they shrank from doing themselves. Lastly, a message of judgment from God could not be described as βλάσφημος κρίσις. The passages, therefore, remain decisive witnesses against the priority of 2 P. (*b*) An argument of a different kind is supplied by Jude^{10} ‖ 2 P 2^{12}. The verse in Jude fits into the context (see v.^{8}), and is itself well compacted, the μὲν . . . δέ marking a simple and forcible contrast (cf. v.^{8}). The phrase φυσικῶς ἐπίστασθαι is a very natural phrase,† and the word φυσικῶς is necessary to limit the kind of knowledge. The clause ὡς τὰ ἄλογα ζῷα (note art.) stands after φυσικῶς, which it further defines. Lastly, φθείρονται answers to μιαίνουσιν in v.^{8}, just as βλασφημοῦσιν of v.^{10} to βλασφημοῦσιν in v.^{8}. The Petrine verse, on the other hand, is but loosely connected with the previous context; there is something artificial in the *paronomasia* φθοράν, φθορᾷ, φθαρήσονται (cf. 1^{4} 2^{19}), and the use of the adjective φυσικά is, to say the least, strange. All the expressions in Jude (except ὅσα . . . ἐπίστανται) have something corresponding to them in 2 P, and it is almost impossible to conceive that the ill-compacted and artificial sentence of the latter should have been the original of the terse, orderly, and natural sentence of the former. The investigation of other parallels would lead to the same conclusion; see especially Jude^{13} ‖ 2 P 2^{17}, the phrase οἷς ὁ ζόφος, κ.τ.λ. in Jude referring to the stars, and being a reminiscence (see above) of passages in Enoch.

(iii.) Vocabulary and style. (*a*) Positive arguments. The verdict must be arrived at not by drawing up statistics as to words, but by estimating the naturalness of the use of words and phrases in the parallel passages.

In 2 P we find elaborated expressions, containing sometimes favourite words of the author, corresponding to forcible, simple expressions, sometimes echoes of Enoch, in Jude. Thus, for example, εἰδότας ἅπαξ πάντα (cf. Enoch), Jude^{5}‖ καίπερ εἰδότας κ. ἐστηριγμένους (cf. 3^{17} 2^{14} 3^{16}) ἐν τῇ παρούσῃ (1^{9}) ἀληθείᾳ (2^{2}), 2 P 1^{12}; ὑπὸ ζόφον (cf. Enoch), v.^{6}‖ σειροῖς ζόφου, 2^{4}; ἐν ταῖς ἀγάπαις ὑμῶν σπιλάδες (the meaning 'hidden rocks' being certified by the fact that it is followed by a series of images from the natural world), v.^{12}‖ σπίλοι καὶ μῶμοι (cf. 3^{14}) ἐντρυφῶντες (cf. τὴν . . . τρυφήν, just above) ἐν ταῖς ἀπάταις αὐτῶν (the addition of αὐτῶν confirming ἀπάταις as against the reading ἀγάπαις), 2^{13}.

(*b*) Negative arguments. It must be remembered that, on the hypothesis of the priority of 2 P, Jude had the whole of 2 P before him. St. Jude wrote, according to Spitta's theory, to St. Peter's correspondents to remind them of the apostle's teaching in his letter. It is strange, therefore, that he does not refer explicitly to St. Peter or to his letter, especially as St. Peter had in that letter referred explicitly to St. Paul's letters; strange that, since he must have regarded the whole letter with peculiar reverence, there are large tracts of it which had no influence at all over him; equally strange that he does not in any way catch the strongly marked literary style of his master; and further, that words which would fix themselves in the mind of an attentive student of 2 P are not found in his letter.

These words are such as the following:—ἄθεσμος, 2^{7} 3^{17}; ἀποφεύγειν, 1^{4} $2^{18.20}$; ἀστήρικτος, 2^{14} 3^{16} (cf. στηρίζειν, 1^{12}; -γμός, 3^{17}); διό, $1^{10.12}$ 3^{14}; εἰ γάρ, $2^{4.20}$; ἐντολή, 2^{21} 3^{2}; ἐπάγγελμα, 1^{4} 3^{13} (ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι, 2^{19}); ἐπάγειν, $2^{1.5}$; ἐπίγνωσις, $1^{2.3.8}$ 2^{20} (verb 2^{21} *bis*; γνῶσις, $1^{5\text{f.}}$ 3^{18}); ἐπιχορηγεῖν, $1^{5.11}$; εὐσεβής, 2^{9}, -σέβεια, $1^{3.6.7}$ 3^{11}; ἡγεῖσθαι, 1^{13} 2^{13} $3^{9.15}$; ἡττᾶσθαι, $2^{19\text{f.}}$; ὑπάρχειν, 1^{8} 2^{19} 3^{11}; οὐ φείδεσθαι, $2^{4\text{f.}}$

To sum up: If Jude wrote first, then the author of 2 P, with the Ep. of Jude in his mind rather than actually before him, altered the sequence of its imperfectly remembered thoughts and expressions, elaborated and, with the aid of a phraseology peculiarly his own, made variations on phrases which clung to his memory. If, on the other hand, Jude wrote with the express purpose of recalling his master's letter to his readers, we must yet suppose that with rare skill he eliminated harsh and tortuous phrases, brought together scattered ideas, infused reminiscences of Enoch, and wrought the whole into natural compact and harmonious paragraphs. It is not too much to say that to have composed under such conditions a letter so forcible, so clearly and neatly expressed, and so bound together by interdependence of thought and phrase as is St. Jude's Epistle, would have been little short of a miracle of literary skill.

These various lines of argument converge and, so far as demonstration is possible in literary questions, demonstrate the priority of Jude.

5. DATE OF COMPOSITION AND AUTHORSHIP.—A convenient statement of the dates assigned to the Ep. by German critics is given in Holtzmann, *Einleitung*, p. 329. The older critics of the Tübingen school, regarding the letter as a forgery of the Judaists against the Paulinists, placed it late in the 2nd cent. More recent critics place it about the middle or in the first half of the 2nd cent. Thus Pfleiderer (*Urchristenthum*, p. 835 ff.) holds that it was written against the Carpocratians of Alexandria, and therefore not before A.D. 150. Jülicher (*Einleit.* p. 147) gives the limits as 180 and 100, and urges that, since the writer's tone of wonder and anger implies that he is dealing with a new form of error, it must not be placed very late in this period. With this verdict Harnack (*Die Chronologie*, p. 466) substantially agrees.

The *superior* limit is fixed by the evidence as to the reception of the Epistle; the *inferior* by internal evidence. The latter turns on the following points: (1) the way in which 'the faith' is spoken of as a formulated deposit (vv.$^{3.20}$); (2) the language as to the apostles (v.^{17})—the apostolic period is long passed; (3) the use of Apocryphal writings; (4) the existence of Gnosticism, either that of the Carpocratians or, as Harnack thinks, such as Epiphanius under various names describes as infesting Syria and Palestine, and which (apparently at a later time) found expression in the Coptic Gnostic literature edited by Schmidt ('Texte u. Untersuch.' viii. 1, 2).

These points must be briefly examined. (1) The use of πίστις in Gal 1^{23} 3^{23} 6^{10}, Ro 10^{8}, Eph 4^{5}, Ph 1^{27}, closely approximates to that of our Ep., while the thought does not go beyond that of Gal 1^{6}, Ro 6^{17}. (2) The language of v.^{17} implies that the recipients of the Ep. had been wont to receive *oral* instruction (ἔλεγον) from the *general body* of the apostles (τῶν ἀποστ.), and that this period of intercourse was now over. It may well be that some of the apostles had been removed by death, but the requirements of the language are satisfied if we suppose that the apostles were now scattered. (3) The argument from the use of Apocryphal books is serious only when it is vaguely put, as by

---

* The authorities are: (1) παρὰ Κυρίῳ ℵBC K_2 L_2 P_2 curs$^{\text{pl}}$ cat Thphl Oec; (2) παρὰ Κυρίου curs^{8} m tol syr-harcl cum. ar$^{\text{polygl}}$; (3) om. A 13 40 137 cur$^{\text{al pl}}$ boh (=me) vg·lat syrr·bodl·harcl (text) aeth ar$^{\text{erp}}$.

Spitta (p. 166) among the authorities for (2) gives 'syr$^{\text{p}}$ syr$^{\text{c*}}$.' He has mistaken Tischendorf's 'syr$^{\text{p}}$ c.*' and has evolved a new Syriac version.

† Cf. Xen. *Cyrop.* ii. 3. 9 (inaccurately quoted by Wetstein *in loc.*), μάχῃ, ἣν ἐγὼ ὁρῶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους φύσει ἐπισταμένους, ὥσπερ γε καὶ τἄλλα ζῷα κ.τ.λ.

McGiffert (*Hist. of Christianity in the Apost. Age*, p. 587), 'He makes use of two late apocryphal works.' As a matter of fact, Enoch is assigned by almost all scholars to a date B.C. (Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. p. 59 ff.). The *Assumption of Moses* was probably written within the first 30 years of our era (Charles, § 11; Schürer, *ib.* p. 78 f., with Ewald and others, places it within the first decade after Herod's death). (4) The Gnostic character of the persons attacked in the Ep. is deduced from three passages.

(*a*) In v.^{4b} the words *τὸν μόνον δεσπότην κ. κύριον ἡμῶν* 'Ι. Χρ. *ἀρνούμενοι* are supposed to point to a denial of God as the Creator and Governor of the world, and to a docetic view of Christ's Person. The common article, however, together with *ἡμῶν* placed after *κύριον*, proves that Christ alone is meant—a conclusion confirmed by *τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν* in v.^{4b}. The combination *δέσποτα κύριε* occurs several times in the LXX (*e.g.* Gn 15$^{2.8}$; cf. Is 1^{24}). The denial is a denial in life (cf. Tit 1^{16}) of Christ's sovereignty (1 Co 6^{20}, Ro 16^{18}, Ph 3^{18}). (*b*) The *ἐνυπνιαζόμενοι* of v.^{8} is thought to point to visions as the source of Gnostic speculations. The word, however, in itself connotes nothing more than the wilfulness and falseness of their principles of conduct (cf. frag. in Cramer and Bengel, *in loc.*). (*c*) In v.^{19} it is urged that Jude retorts upon Gnostic teachers their own language of disparagement; *they* are the *ψυχικοί*. But this is to force an elaborate meaning into simple words. A phrase in v.^{16} (*θαυμάζοντες πρόσωπα ὠφελίας χάριν*) shows that the 'distinctions' they made were largely social (cf. Ja 2$^{1ff.}$, 1 Co 11$^{18.22}$). The *οἱ ἀποδιορίζοντες* (which Jude interprets by his antithetical *ἐποικοδομοῦντες ἑαυτούς*) is equivalent to St. Paul's *οἱ τὰς διχοστασίας . . . ποιοῦντες* in Ro 16^{17} (see above). The best commentary on our passage is 1 Co 3$^{1-3}$, Gal 5$^{19f.}$

The arguments therefore for assigning the Ep. to the 2nd cent. break down on examination.

Other critics place the Ep. in the latter half of the 1st cent. To this class belong most English scholars (Plumptre, Lumby, Salmon, Plummer), and among recent German writers Spitta (who places Jude shortly after St. Peter's death), von Soden (who, holding that there is nothing to show that the Ep. was not written by a younger brother of the Lord, gives 80–90 as an approximate date), Kühl (who places it 65–80).

We are brought therefore to the problem of *authorship*. The Ep. begins with the words Ἰούδας Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δοῦλος, ἀδελφὸς δὲ Ἰακώβου. Those who place the Ep. in the 2nd cent. either suppose that it is pseudepigraphic (so Pfleiderer, who suggests that some local traditions influenced the writer to take the name of 'Jude the brother of James'), or hold that it was written by someone bearing the name Jude,* and that (to quote Harnack's view) possibly the words Ἰησοῦ Χρ. δοῦλος, and certainly the words ἀδελφὸς δὲ Ἰακώβου, were added at a later time (*i.e.* 150–180) to enhance its value as a weapon against Gnosticism. If it is objected that such an interpolator would have made Jude to be the apostle, Jülicher suggests that ἀδελφὸς Ἰακώβου is a 'synonym for the title of bishop.' Those who find in the Ep. itself no evidence to show that it could not have been written in the apostolic age need not criticise these speculations. The simplest interpretation of the salutation, which identifies the writer—not with the apostle (cf. Wordsworth), nor with Judas Barsabbas (cf. J. Lightfoot, Plumptre), but—with the brother of the Lord (Mt 13^{55}, Mk 6^{3}), is the best.† It appears that the Lord's kindred had a position of authority accorded them, especially among Palestinian Christians (Eus. *HE* iii. 11. 20, 33. 6, iv. 22. 4). At a much earlier date St. Paul, writing to a Gentile Church, appeals to the case of 'the brethren of the Lord' as having a decisive bearing on the question of his own rights (1 Co 9^{5}). The name of James was influential in distant Churches (Gal 2^{12}, Ja 1^{1}). There is then every reason to believe that the words ἀδελφὸς Ἰακώβου would win a hearing for the writer, whether St. James were living or dead, especially in churches which were in constant communication with the church at Jerusalem. That Palestinian Jews, especially those who, like St. James and St. Jude, had been brought into constant communication with Jews of the Dispersion, would be likely to have a command of Greek has been shown by Mayor, *St. James*, p. xli f., Zahn, *Einleitung in das NT*, § 2 (see especially p. 31 f.).

The limits of date are now greatly narrowed. The *superior* limit is the death of St. Jude. The language of Hegesippus (*ap.* Eus. *HE* iii. 20) shows that the interview of Domitian with St. Jude's grandsons can hardly be placed late in that Emperor's reign (*μέχρι Τραιανοῦ περιμεῖναι αὐτοὺς τῷ βίῳ*), and that St. Jude had been dead some time before it took place (*ἔτι δὲ περιῆσαν*). Hence we cannot place the letter later than 80. As to the *inferior* limit, we must allow time (*a*) for the apostolic college to have been broken up by the separation of its members, and probably by the death of some; (*b*) for such Pauline phraseology as we find in 1 Co, Ro, Col, Eph to have become known to a Hebrew Christian probably of Jerusalem, partly perhaps through personal intercourse (Ac 15. 18^{22} 21$^{15ff.}$), certainly (as the kind of evidence shows) through a study of those Epistles. We cannot then place the Ep. earlier than the composition of Col and Eph. The general tone of the Ep. harmonizes best with a date somewhat late in the apostolic age. We shall not be far wrong if we suppose that it was written within a year or two of the Pastoral Epistles (assuming their genuineness), the Apocalypse (assuming the earlier date), the First Epistle of St. Peter, and the Ep. to the Hebrews.

6. PLACE OF WRITING, DESTINATION, CIRCUMSTANCES OF COMPOSITION.—Many critics, who regard the Ep. as directed against a developed Gnosticism, hold it probable that it was written in Egypt (*e.g.* Jülicher), or even more definitely in Alexandria (Mayerhoff's conjecture, adopted by, *e.g.*, Schenkel, Holtzmann, Pfleiderer). We have already considered the ground for this conjecture. The 'brethren of the Lord' would naturally have a prominent place among 'the elders' closely connected with St. James at Jerusalem. There is no reason to doubt that the Ep. was composed either there or at least in Palestine.

As to its *destination*, the salutation is quite general. From this fact some critics have deduced the conclusion that the Ep. is a circular letter (so Ewald), others that the letter-form is purely artificial (so Jülicher, Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, p. 244). But although the destination is not named in the salutation, the situation with which the letter deals is too concrete to be universally applicable.

A brief examination of the evidence which the letter supplies as to the condition of its intended readers will furnish a clue—probable, not certain—to their identification. (1) The doctrine of God's grace had been taught among them (v.^{4}). They were probably, therefore, men among whom St. Paul had worked. (2) They had received oral instruction from the apostles generally (v.^{17}). They probably, therefore, lived at no great distance from Jerusalem. (3) They were in danger of being leavened by certain false brethren, against whom the Ep. is designed to warn them. What was the character of these false brethren? (*a*) There is nothing in the Ep. to lead to the supposition that they were teachers, or that their error was doctrinal; (*β*) they were grossly immoral in life, vv.$^{4. 8. 10f.}$ (Βαλαάμ) $^{13. 23}$; (γ) they were essentially ἀσεβεῖς,—wholly destitute of godly fear,—and in particular they profaned the ἀγάπαι (v.^{12}) and the associated Eucharist by their reckless participation (συνευωχ. ἀφόβως; cf. 1 Co 11$^{27ff.}$) and their selfish greed (ἑαυτοὺς ποιμαίνοντες; cf. 1 Co 11$^{20ff.}$); (δ) in word and deed they were insubordinate against divinely constituted authority,[*] vv.$^{8. 10. 11}$ (Κορέ) ^{16} (γογγυσταί); (ε) they fomented schisms, v.^{19}; (ζ) they practically perverted the doctrine of grace, v.^{4} (cf. Gal 5^{13}, Ro 6$^{1. 15}$).

---

* Grotius, *Annotationes* (on Jude 1), gives it as his opinion that 2 P was the work of Symeon the successor of James, and that our Epistle was written by Jude, the last Jewish Bp. of Jerusalem in the reign of Hadrian (Eus. *HE* iv. 5. 3; Epiph. *Hær.* ii. 66. 20).

† This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that Jude uses the *Assumption of Moses*. We know that his brother James the Just had much in common with what was highest in the teaching and practice of the Pharisees. To such men the *Assumption*, the work probably of a Pharisaic Quietist (Charles, *Introd.* § 10), would naturally appeal.

All these points (except the last) have parallels in St. Paul's picture of the Corinthian Church. The same dangers from pagan associations and surroundings are emphasized also in Ac 15$^{20. 28}$, 1 Th 4$^{1-8}$, Ro 16$^{17ff.}$, Ph 3$^{2. 17ff.}$, Eph 4$^{17ff.}$, Rev 2$^{14. 20}$ 3^{4}, and again in the *Didaché* (iii. 3, 6). The men, therefore, against whom St. Jude warns his readers appear to have brought the vices and the unchastened selfishness of paganism within the Christian body. The Church, accordingly, to which the letter is addressed was, it would seem, predominantly a Gentile Church. This is confirmed by an incidental phrase, which yet has a conspicuous place in the Ep.—περὶ τῆς κοινῆς ἡμῶν σωτηρίας (v.^{3}). Jude writes as a Hebrew Christian to Gentile Christians. The Church which best fulfils these conditions is *the Church in the Syrian Antioch* (cf. Beyschlag, *Neutest. Theol.* ii. p. 484), where St. Paul taught early and late in his missionary career, a Church in constant communication with the Church at Jerusalem (*e.g.* Ac 15^{1}, Gal 2^{12}), visited, as we learn incidentally, by one of the older apostles (Gal 2^{11}), and exposed to the same dangers from heathenism as the Church at Corinth. It is of course quite possible that the Ep., with its general salutation, was intended to be circulated among a group of Churches connected with Antioch (cf. Ac 15^{23}).

It is not hard to conjecture the *circumstances under which the letter*, such being its scope and such its probable destination, *was written*. We may suppose that members of the Church of Antioch came to Jerusalem with news that the leaven of heathen lawlessness was spreading there. St. Jude, one of the original 'elders' of the mother Church, and therefore now (especially if St. James was dead) in a position of peculiar authority, feels the gravity of the occasion, the danger attending a perversion of St. Paul's doctrine of grace, as St. James had realized that involved in the perversion of the true doctrine of faith. The messengers are returning. St. Jude would gladly have sent by them a letter dealing with the blessings of salvation common to Hebrew and Gentile Christians alike. The crisis, however, of which he has heard forces him to narrow his subject to an earnest appeal that, in the present accentuation of the perils which were inseparable from the position of a Gentile Church, they would preserve the purity of the faith in matters of life and conduct.

7. SUMMARY OF THE EPISTLE.—A necessarily brief paraphrase will bring out the connexion of thought.

The salutation of Jude (v.$^{1f.}$). The treacherous entrance into your Church of certain depravers of God's grace in Christ and practical deniers of Jesus as Lord, force me to make my letter a simple call to you to contend for the one faith (v.$^{3f.}$). I need only remind you of the ancient examples of the danger of faithlessness and fleshly sin—Israel (the primary type of the Christian society), the angels who fell, and (like these last in sin and punishment) the Cities of the Plain (vv.$^{5-7}$). Despite such examples, these men, ever yielding to their own wayward fancies, are guilty both of fleshly sin and of rebellion. They deny the principle of authority; they malign those set to rule. Unlike the archangel in his controversy with the devil, they do not fear to malign even the dread realities of authority which are too high for their comprehension, while in the low region of their own animal instincts they corrupt themselves (vv.$^{8-10}$). Scripture (v.^{11}) and nature (v.$^{12f.}$) prefigure their manifold sins and their doom. Nay, they are the true subject of the ancient patriarch's prophecy (v.$^{14f.}$). Be not as they are. *They* are unrestful—discontented, selfish, boastful, intriguing flatterers. Do *you* be calm, remembering that the apostles, when they visited you, used to tell you that such men would arise (vv.$^{16-18}$). Again, *these* men, having only natural aims, cause divisions. Do *you* build up your society on the foundation of the faith, the Spirit helping your prayers, the love of the Father being your protection, the final mercy of Jesus Christ being your hope (vv.$^{19-21}$). Such is your duty to yourselves. What is it to these men? Towards some, still wavering, cherish a hopeful compassion; others you must try to save by desperate effort; towards others you can only feel a compassion paralyzed by fear of contamination (v.$^{22f.}$). To God the Father, who can preserve you from these snares, and finally place you in His own presence untainted and exultant, to Him through the mediation of Jesus Christ be glory for ever (v.$^{24f.}$).

LITERATURE.—(1) On the reception of the Ep. in the Church, see Charteris, *Canonicity*, p. 331 ff. (based on the next named); Kirchhofer, *Quellensammlung*, § xxxii.; Reuss, *Gesch. d. heil. Schriften NT*, § 233; Westcott, *History of the Canon of the NT*; Zahn, *Geschichte des NT Kanons*, especially i. 1, p. 319 ff.

(2) Commentaries: (*a*) Ancient.—Clement of Alex., *Hypotyposes* (Zahn, *Forschungen*, iii. pp. 83 ff., 95 ff.); Didymus of Alex. (Migne, *Pat. Gr.* xxxix. 1811-1818, Latin version, with a few Greek fragments); Oecumenius (Migne, *Pat. Gr.* cxix.); Theophylact (Migne, *Pat. Gr.* cxxvi.); fragments and scholia in C. F. Matthæi, *Nov. Test.* v., 1782, *Scholia in Ep. Cath.* p. 234 ff., and in Cramer, *Catena*, 1840; Bede (Migne, *Pat. Lat.* xciii.). (*b*) Modern.—The Reformation period—Luther, 1523; Calvin, 1551. The 17th century—Grotius, *Annotationes*, 1650. The present century (in alphabetical order)—Brückner, 1865 (ed. 3); K. Burger in Strack-Zöckler, *Kurzgefasster Kommentar*, 1895 (ed. 2); Fronmüller in Lange, *Bibelwerk*, 1862, 1890 (ed. 4), also Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1870; J. C. K. Hofmann, 1875; Huther in Meyer, 1852, also Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1881; Laurmann, 1818; Lumby in *Speaker's Commmentary*, 1881; C. F. Keil, 1883; E. Kühl in Weiss-Meyer, 1897 (ed. 6); A. Plummer in Ellicott's *Comm. for English Readers*, 1883, the same in *Expositor's Bible*, 1891; Plumptre in *Camb. Bible for Schools*, 1880; Rampf, 1854; M. F. Sadler, 1891; Schneckenburger, 1832; Schott, 1863; von Soden in *Hand-Commentar*, 1892 (ed. 2); Stier, 1850; G. Wandel, 1898; Wiesinger in Olshausen, *Bibelwerk*, 1862.

(3) General.—The relevant sections in the Introductions to the NT, especially the following:—Bleek, Davidson, Hilgenfeld, Holtzmann, Jülicher, Salmon, B. Weiss, de Wette (ed. 1860), Zahn[*]; art. 'Jude' in *Ency. Brit.* (Lumby), the arts. in Herzog (Sieffert), Smith (ed. 1895, A. Plummer), Schenkel (Schenkel): also the following books and articles:—E. Arnaud, *Des Citations apocr. de Jude*, 1849, the same, *Recherches critiques sur l'ép. de Jude avec commentaire*, 1851 (also Eng. tr. in *Brit. and Foreign Evang. Review*, July 1859); L. A. Arnaud, *Essai crit. sur l'authen.* 1835; Beyschlag, *Neutest. Theol.* 1892 (ii. pp. 483–486); Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, 1895

---

[*] In v.^{8} κυριότητα (cf. *Didaché* iv. 1) is abstract: it is the principle of authority in general which they rejected. The word δόξας probably points to actual offices of authority in the Church (cf. Clem. Al. *Strom.* vi. 13, p. 793, ἐγκαταταγῆναι τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ κατὰ προκοπὴν δόξης· δόξα γὰρ δόξης διαφέρει).

[*] The second vol. of Zahn's *Einleitung* appeared after this article was in print. It contains (pp. 42–110) a very full discussion of the questions connected with Jude and 2 P. The chief conclusions at which Zahn arrives are as follows. 2 P was written by St. Peter before, about the autumn of A.D. 63, he visited Rome, *i.e.* 60–63. It was addressed to Churches mainly Jewish in or near Palestine. Ep. Jude was the work of the Lord's brother, and was addressed to the same Churches as 2 P. The libertines of Jude are false *teachers*, and exactly correspond to the picture drawn by anticipation in 2 P, to which, indeed, reference is made in Jude$^{4. 17}$. Zahn takes Jude^{5} to refer to the deliverance of a people (anarthrous λαόν) by 'Jesus' (best supported reading) from the spiritual Egypt of sin, and to the subsequent judgment on the unbelieving in the destruction of Jerusalem. The date, therefore, of the Ep. must be after 70, and is probably about 75. It may be added that Zahn thinks that Jude used the Hebrew or Aramaic original of Enoch.

The writer of the article would gladly have considered Zahn's position in greater detail. But he does not find any reason to modify his own arguments or conclusions.

(p. 189 ff.); Ewald, *Sieben Sendschreiben*, 1870; Farrar, *Early Days of Christianity*, 1882 (i. pp. 220–243); Gloag, *Introd. to the Cath. Epistles*, 1887; Harnack, *Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel* ('Texte u. Untersuch.' ii. 1, 2), 1884 (p. 105 f.), the same, *Die Chronologie*, 1897 (pp. 465–469); Jessien, *De αὐθεντίᾳ ep. Judæ*, 1821; Mansel, *Gnostic Heresies*, 1875 (p. 69 ff.); McGiffert, *Hist. of Christianity in the Apostolic Age*, 1897 (pp. 585–588); Mayerhoff, *Die Petrinischen Schriften*, 1835 (pp. 171–182); Neander, *Planting of the Christian Church* (Eng. tr. in Bohn's series, p. 391 f.); Pfleiderer, *Urchristenthum*, 1887 (pp. 835–843); Renan, *St. Paul*, 1869 (p. 300 ff.); Ritschl in *SK*, 1861 (p. 103 ff., 'Ueber die im briefe des Judas characterisirten Antinomisten'); B. Weiss in *SK*, 1866 (p. 256 ff., 'Die Petrinische Frage, Das Verhältniss zum Judasbrief'); Zöckler, *Handb. d. Theol. Wissensch.*, 1883, i. p. 419 f. (Schulze).

F. H. CHASE.

JUDGE, JUDGING.—Among the early Israelites the official organization of the administration of justice was entirely unknown. There were no courts of law, no official judges, no codified laws. Disputes were settled by the natural heads of families and tribes, in accordance with the customs that had grown up in the course of their development. These customs were connected with the *family* and with *religion*. In the earliest book of Hebrew history (JE) the pictures of patriarchal times represent the father or head of the family as possessing supreme power over his property (Gn 27), his slaves (Gn 21), and the members of his own family (Gn 22. 38^{24}). Disputes between families were settled by an appeal to force, or by an amicable covenant between the heads of the families (Gn 21; cf. the story of Jacob and Esau in Gn 32). But J″ Himself is also represented as acting as supreme judge, and that not only in the case of peoples (Babel, Sodom), but also of individuals (Gn 20^{3}). So also refractory members of a family were solemnly dedicated to God's wrath (Gn $49^{5ff.}$).

The beginnings of the history of Israel as a people were dominated by the strong personality of Moses. During the nomad period, family disputes were still settled by the head of the family; but Moses himself was the supreme judge to whom appeals were brought (Ex 18^{13}), and he is represented as himself bringing the matters to J″ for decision (Ex 18^{19}), though we are not told how he gained his knowledge of the will of the Deity. Moses had no officials to execute his sentences, but seems in case of division of opinion to have appealed to those who agreed with him to carry out his punishments by force (Ex 32^{26}). This work, however, proved too much for one man, and on the advice of his father-in-law he selected a number of the heads of families—already accustomed to judging in matters pertaining to their own families—to judge the intertribal disputes, reserving for himself the right of settling the more difficult questions that arose (Ex $18^{20ff.}$; cf. the parallel account in Nu $11^{16.\ 24ff.}$).

It was in accordance with this appointment that the later 'Book of the Covenant' was represented as given by Moses to these elders as a body of customs for their guidance (Ex 21^{1} 24). The active participation of the Deity in judging is still prominent all through this period. To seek a judgment was to 'seek Jahweh' (Ex $33^{7ff.}$). It was J″ Himself who punished Miriam (Nu 12^{10}), Dathan, and Abiram (Nu 16), and the Israelites themselves (Nu 21). Achan was detected by J″ (whose will on this occasion was ascertained by the drawing of lots), and the punishment was carried out by the people (Jos 7).

The settlement in Canaan, and consequent change from nomad to settled life, led to the emphasizing of *local* rather than family and tribal authority. The ancient customs were continued, but the 'elders of the city' (זִקְנֵי הָעִיר) took the place of the elders of the tribe (Jg 8^{16} 11^{7}, and see below for Deut.; cf. Nowack, *Arch.* i. 322, and see ELDER IN OT), though the claims of the latter were not overlooked even in the 7th cent. (cf. Dt 16^{18}). During this period the term 'judges' was applied to the local heroes, who delivered and ruled the tribes of Israel. (For the use and meaning of שֹׁפֵט in the Book of Judges, see the following two articles).

The institution of a monarchy also modified the previous customs, inasmuch as the king and his officials were in a better position than most to enforce their decisions by means of the power they possessed. The administration of justice in the country naturally remained in the hands of the city elders and men who had gained a reputation for wisdom; and the settlement of disputes was by arbitration rather than by royal justice; but where a royal officer was stationed, there he would often be appealed to. The king was the most powerful (at any rate in the best days of the monarchy), and therefore the supreme judge. The person of the king was usually accessible to the poorest of his subjects. The men of Israel brought their troubles regularly to David (2 S $15^{2ff.}$). The power of the king enabled him when present to override or overawe the local courts (1 K 21, 1 S 8^{20}, 2 S 15^{2} etc.). It was during this period (in the 9th or 8th cent.) that a short book of 'judgments' מִשְׁפָּטִים (Ex 21–23^{9}; cf. EXODUS in vol. i. p. 810) was edited to guide the decisions of men who were called upon to decide certain cases. How far it obtained any authority we cannot tell, but it is very short and incomplete. Judges are mentioned only once in this code, viz. in 21^{22}, but the word פְּלִלִים used here is a rare word; the sentence in which it occurs is difficult to construe as it stands, and Budde has suggested a different reading, which contains no mention of judges (*ZATW* xi. 106 ff.). In Ex 21^{6} $22^{8.\ 9}$ RVm reads 'judges' as a translation of הָאֱלֹהִים, but the word seems to be used here as usual with the meaning 'God' given in the RV text.*

Towards the end of the 7th cent. (in 621) another code of laws—the Deuteronomic—was proclaimed, but the unfortunate death of Josiah seems to have rendered it ineffective from 608 until after the Exile. (See DEUTERONOMY). In judicial matters it confirmed for the most part the already existing customs. Judges and officers (שֹׁפְטִים וְשֹׁטְרִים) are to be appointed in all the cities, according to the tribes (Dt 16^{18}).† The ordinary judges are as before the 'elders of the city' (Dt 19^{12} 21^{18} $22^{15ff.}$ etc.). In difficult matters, where men had formerly had recourse to the more immediate judgment of the Deity, the priests the Levites are to be associated with the usual judges (Dt $17^{8ff.}$ $19^{7f.}$ etc.), and the law as a whole is represented as having been delivered by Moses to the priests the sons of Levi, and unto all the elders of Israel (Dt 31^{9}). The curse of J″ still remains the heaviest of punishments (Dt $28^{15ff.}$). The greatest fault in the administration of justice during this period was due to bribery, a sin which specially excited the indignation of the preacher of moral righteousness (Am 5^{12}; cf. Mic 7^{3}, Zeph 3^{3}). In Am 2^{3} and Mic 5^{1} the word 'judge' שֹׁפֵט seems to be used of the king (see Driver on the former passage in the 'Cambridge Bible for Schools'), but in Micah the LXX have a different reading, and in Amos Nowack refers the word to the officials of the Moabites (*Die kleinen Propheten*, p. 126).

---

* Dillmann thinks that judges who gave judgment in a sanctuary were called אֱלֹהִים in the older Hebrew; cf. his note on this passage in the *Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum AT*, but Marti refers the word to the household gods (*Geschichte der israelitischen Religion*, pp. 29, 48).

† Of the שֹׁטְרִים little is known. They first appear as Israelitish superintendents of forced labour in Egypt (Ex 5, JE), then as 'officers' associated with the elders in the wilderness (Nu 11^{16}, JE). After this they are not mentioned until Deuteronomy. They seem to have been police officials. See note in Driver's commentary on Dt 1^{15}.

The destruction of the monarchies and the exile of both the kingdoms limited the judicial power of the people. In their captivity they were entirely subject to their conquerors. The study of their own law increased, indeed may be said now to have seriously begun, but what little they could carry into practice was only by an act of grace on the part of their masters. The return from exile led to the constitution not of a political power, but of a religious community. The Deuteronomic code was received by it as binding (Neh 8–10), and its provisions were observed as far as was consistent with the laws of the Persians, and afterwards of the Greeks and Romans. Under the Persians the Jews were allowed to follow their own laws in purely internal matters (the elders of the city are mentioned in Ezr 7^{25} 10^{14}), but quarrels with neighbouring powers were submitted to the Persian court (Ezr 4 and 5). In Judæa the Priestly code was soon added to the Deuteronomic, but as this is chiefly religious it scarcely affected the ordinary administration of justice. It was probably during the time of the Greek domination that further organization led to the establishment in Jerusalem of the Sanhedrin as the supreme court of the Jewish community (see SANHEDRIN). In the small towns and villages justice was administered by a council of seven (Jos. *Ant.* IV. viii. 14; cf. Schürer, *Zeitalter Christi*, ii. 132 ff., 3rd ed. ii. 176 ff. [*HJP* II. i. 163 ff.]), and in larger places by one of twenty-three members (Mishna, *Sanh.* i. 4). It is to one of these councils that Christ refers in Mt 5^{22}, and to their members in v.^{25}. For further details as to the courts in the time of Christ, see the articles ROMAN LAW and SANHEDRIN.

LITERATURE.—The works on Heb. Archæology by Nowack and Benzinger; for the administration of justice among nomad Arabs, Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*^{2}, 209 ff.

G. W. THATCHER.

JUDGES, PERIOD OF THE.—

i. Extent of the Period.
ii. Authorities.
iii. Chronology.
iv. Political Geography.
v. The History.
vi. Trustworthiness of the History.
vii. Religion.
viii. Parallel with the Maccabæan Period.

i. The period extends from the death of Joshua to the anointing of Saul as king over Israel.

ii. Our main authorities are the Book of Judges (specially ch. 5, 'the Song of Deborah') and 1 S 1–10. In addition to these the blessing of Jacob (Gn 49) was formerly reckoned to belong to this period; but the more modern view is that, while vv.$^{5-7.\ 14f.\ 16f.}$ point to the period of the Judges, other verses transplant us to a later time (Kuenen, *Hex.* p. 240, Eng. tr.; Dillmann, *Gen.* vol. ii. p. 447, Eng. tr.). The Book of Ruth has reference to this period, but its composition is referred to post-exilic times by recent critics.

iii. CHRONOLOGY.—The whole period is devoid of certain dates; the most that can be said is that its close may be assigned with probability to within fifty years of B.C. 1000. The length of the period is also very doubtful. If we follow what seems to be the Chronology of the Book of Judges itself, we have to conclude that the Judges (exclusive of Eli and Samuel) occupied a period of more than 410 years. No critic, however, has ever accepted this high total, and there are three good reasons why it should be rejected. (1) It contradicts 1 K 6^{1} (480 years from the Exodus to the building of the temple). (2) It has always appeared probable that some of the Judges were contemporaries and not successors or predecessors of the rest. (3) It is improbable that Israel could have existed in the disorganized condition which was hers under the Judges for so long a period as 400 years without being absorbed and lost in the surrounding Canaanites. Moreover, several of the details of which the number 410 is made up do not inspire confidence; the number 40 (representing a generation) or its multiples occurs frequently, and the writer of the book seems to be giving merely a rough reckoning by generations. In the present article it is assumed that the period of the Judges was relatively short, perhaps about 200 years. See CHRONOLOGY OF OLD TEST. vol. i. p. 399.

iv. POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY.—A careful study of Jg, particularly of chs. 1 and 4, shows that the Israelites on entering Palestine did not conquer it, but only overran the inland part of it. A broad strip of land along the coast remained in the hands of the Philistines (cf. Moore on Jg 1$^{18.\ 19}$) and of the Zidonians (Jg 1^{31}). The fortresses which girdled the plain of Esdraelon (Jg 1^{27}), and consequently the plain itself, remained unconquered. Moreover, scattered over the land there were cities, *e.g.* Jerusalem (Jg 1^{21}), Gezer (1^{29}), and probably Shechem (Jg 9$^{1-4}$; Kittel, ii. 74), in which apparently the Israelites had a footing, but not the supremacy. No doubt some cities came at an early date into the hands of Israel or of their allies (Hebron, Jg 1^{10}; Bethlehem, Jg 12$^{8-10}$; Bethel, Jg 1^{22}), but it may be said generally that the Canaanites still kept their fortified cities while the Israelites occupied the villages. It was indeed only to be expected that Israel on ceasing to be a nomadic people, would pass through a stage of free village life before they could accustom themselves to the restricted life of cities. These villages were fixed encampments, collections of tents, rather than houses ordered in streets. 'To your *tents*, O Israel,' was the earlier form of the signal for dispersion, as 'every man to his own city' (1 K 22^{36}) was the later. The heaviest blow which could fall on Israel at this period is described in the Song of Deborah in the words, 'The villages (or 'villagers') ceased in Israel' (Jg 5^{7} AV and RVm). The only refuge of the people was in dens and caves and natural strongholds (Jg 6^{2}, 1 S 13^{6}). They had *destroyed* such fortresses as they had won.

Had the Canaanites possessed any real cohesion among themselves, the Israelites must have been chased out of the country as the Midianites were chased out by Gideon; but the Canaanites were hopelessly divided. They were, in fact, a mixed population, whether we reckon them as exactly seven nations or not.

v. HISTORY.—Owing to the doubtfulness of the chronology, a formal division of the epoch of the Judges into periods is impossible. Three great crises, however, stand out in the history—(1) the union of the tribes against Sisera and the Canaanites (Jg 4. 5); (2) the assertion of Israel's individuality (or nationality) against the Midianites; (3) the appearance of the Philistines.

(1) All writers recognize the importance of the Israelite rising under Deborah and Barak. Israel had been checked in its conquests by the fortresses which girdled the plain of Esdraelon and by the chariots of iron which controlled it. Once checked they sank into helplessness, and the Canaanites of the plain turned upon their former assailants. Their success was great. The Israelites of the north and of the centre would have become the helots of the Canaanites, if Deborah had not prophesied and if Barak had not fought. Nor did the battle of the Kishon give Israel freedom only; it also gave life to the idea of national unity. Six tribes, viz. Ephraim, Benjamin, Manasseh (Machir), Zebulun, Issachar, and Naph-

tali, united to fight the battle of the God of Israel; and four others, Reuben, Gad (Gilead), Dan, and Asher, are reminded in the Song of Deborah of their failure to realize the duties of their kinship with the rest. The sole literature of this period* (so far as we know) is this song of a people struggling to assert its freedom and its nationality.

(2) Gideon represents a crisis hardly less acute than that at which Deborah appeared. Israel was passing from nomadic to settled life; but if the fruits of agriculture were snatched from them by the Midianites, the temptation to return to a wandering (and perhaps marauding) life, would be very great. At another time, under circumstances of stress, Jephthah and David did actually return to the condition of 'children of the East.' From any such retrograde step Israel, as a whole, was saved by Gideon, the farmer called from the threshing-flail to save his people.

The deliverance wrought by Gideon brought up the question of appointing a permanent head, to judge Israel and fight their battles (cf. 1 S 8^{20}). The Midianites invaded the land every year (Jg $6^{1.3}$), so that the crisis demanded some permanent organization to meet the standing danger. Gideon, on the invitation of the people, established a rule which was a theocracy according to his own profession, but it was administered by himself as earthly vicegerent. He established at his home at Ophrah, in addition to the rest of his state, a golden ephod (see EPHOD) of the God whose government he (and his sons after him) professed to administer (Jg $8^{22-27.30}$ 9^2).

(3) The appearance of the Philistines was a matter of grave importance. If, as seems probable (but see art. JUDGES [BOOK OF], p. 818^b), this event was contemporaneous with the beginning of Ammonite assaults on Israel, this importance is greatly enhanced. Attacked on the east by Ammon, reduced in part to subjection on the west by the Philistines, the Israelites fell into a disorganized and helpless state, from which nothing, perhaps, but the establishment of the kingdom could rescue them.

But the period of the Judges was remarkable, not only for the three crises just mentioned, but also for a slow and silent revolution which went on during the whole of its course.

It was at this time that Israel assimilated to itself a large Canaanite population. Wellhausen (*Isr. u. Jüd. Ges.*^{2} 46 ff.) points out that this fusion would begin in the country, since the Canaanite peasant would find more in common with the Israelite settler than with his own fellow-countrymen in the cities. This incorporation of the original population into Israel explains the striking growth of the population which took place under the Judges, which, indeed, made Jacob so much stronger than the kindred tribes, Moab, Ammon, and Edom, and rendered the empire of David and Solomon a possibility.

vi. TRUSTWORTHINESS OF THE HISTORY OF THE JUDGES.—This history is so natural a preface to the period of the Kings, that no charge of improbability can be fairly laid against it as a whole. Many details, however, have been referred with more or less probability to myth or misunderstanding, and not to history.

Cushan-rishathaim (Jg 3^8) of Mesopotamia (Aram-naharaim) is a shadowy and uncertain figure. The Shamgar of Jg 3^{31} is supposed to be irreconcilable with the Shamgar of Jg 5^6; 'he was no deliverer of Israel,' writes Kittel (ii. 66 note), 'as the context [of Jg 5^6] shows.' The minor judges Tola and Jair (Jg $10^{1.3}$), and Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon (Jg 12^{8-15}) are generally said to be merely personifications of leading families. Our present account of Jephthah is open to the objection that Jephthah's 'message to Ammon' (Jg 11^{12-27}) seems to be really a document having reference rather to *Moab*; cf. the mention of Chemosh (v.^{24}) and of Balak (v.^{25}). On the other hand, Jephthah's vow and its fulfilment are defended as natural in Jephthah's age (and therefore as probably historical) by Kittel (ii. 81). The story of Samson, finally, has not been proved a sun-myth, but many will agree with Kittel's dictum (*ib.*): 'Samson wavers between myth, saga, and history, belonging altogether to no one of them, but in part to each.' See, further, JUDGES (BOOK OF), p. 819.

vii. RELIGION.—In speaking of the religion of this period it is necessary to regard only the statements of the ancient part of the book, avoiding the so-called 'margin.' Inquiry was made of God (Jg 1^1), probably by means of the ephod (see EPHOD); war was made in the name of J″ (Jg 3^{28} 4^6), who was regarded as the national God whose dwelling was on the Arabian peninsula (Jg $5^{4.5}$; cf. Moore); the angel of J″ presented himself in human form in order to make his revelations (Jg 6^{11} $13^{3.6.10}$); prophecy was rare (Jg 4^4, 1 S 3^1); the ark was regarded as equivalent to the presence of J″ Himself (1 S 4^3).

Canaanite influence on religion was strong during this period, for the process of fusion of Canaanite and Israelite was going on. Israel, new to the land, was introduced to the old sanctuaries by the old inhabitants, and thus learned to worship the local Baal, the native god of corn and wine, with the corrupt and corrupting forms of that lascivious shedder of blood, the Canaanite. Of Israel's morals during this period little good can be said. A time of anarchy always impairs the vitality of virtue; and in Israel when 'every man did that which was right in his own eyes' (Jg 17^6), very strange things were done (Jephthah, Samson, Danites, Gibeah). There was no lack of courage in this period, and hospitality was evidently regarded by the mass of the people as inviolable. The sacredness of an oath is strangely illustrated by Jg 11^{35} and 21^7.

Taken as a whole the period may be characterized, in the words of Amos (8^{11}), as days in which there was 'a famine in the land; not a famine of bread, nor a thirst for water, but of hearing the words of the Lord.' The redactor of Jg is indeed continually drawing lessons from the experiences of his people under the Judges, but it seems that at the time itself the events were left for the most part to deliver their own message uninterpreted by any prophet. We may compare the period with the years of 'silence' which preceded the coming of our Lord.

viii. PARALLEL WITH THE MACCABÆAN PERIOD.—There are several points of resemblance between the Maccabæan period and that of the Judges. (1) The form of government (if it could be called a 'form') was the same at both periods. The Maccabees were Judges* (שֹׁפְטִים *shōphĕṭîm*) like Gideon, Jephthah, and the rest, *i.e.* not administrators, but champions both against the enemy and against the unfaithful of their own people (cf. 1 Mac $2^{65.66}$ $9^{29-31.73}$). If some of the Maccabees were also *priests* (Jonathan, 1 Mac 10^{20}; Simon, 1 Mac 14^{47}), so were the ancient judges, Eli and Samuel. (2) Both periods were periods of almost continual struggle (if the chronology of the Judges has been rightly understood above), and the very life of Israel as a distinct people was threatened. (3) There was the same want of unity among the

---

[*] If the Blessing of Jacob (Gn 49) in its present form also belongs to the period of the Judges, we have a second document in which is realized the unity of the tribes.

[*] The Carthaginian *sufetes* resembled the *shōphĕṭîm* chiefly in name.

people at both periods (cf. 1 Mac 1^{52} 6^{21} 7^{5}). (4) There was the same absence of 'open vision' (1 S 3^{1}; cf. 1 Mac 4^{46} 14^{41}). (5) Even the language used of the Maccabæan period recalls the time of the Judges (cf. 1 Mac 9^{73} *ἤρξατο κρίνειν*; 2^{42} *πᾶς ὁ ἑκουσιαζόμενος*; 14^{4} *ἡσύχασεν ἡ γῆ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας Σίμωνος*).

See, further, on the whole subject, the following article.

LITERATURE.—The proper sections of the general histories of Ewald, Renan (flippant even for Renan), Wellhausen (brief), Stads (full), Kittel (very good). See also under ISRAEL.

The Commentary of G. F. Moore, 1895; and J. S. Black, *Judges*, 1892 (in the 'smaller Cambridge Bible'); also the Literature cited at the end of the following article.

W. EMERY BARNES.

JUDGES, BOOK OF.—

1. The *Name* of the Book.
2. The condition of its *Text*.
3. Its *Contents* and *Arrangement*.
4. Its inner *Harmony* or *Unity*.
5. *Relation to the Pentateuch 'sources.'*
6. *Character* and *Age* of the component elements.
7. Its *Author*.
8. Its *Spirit* and its place in the history of revelation. Literature.

1. THE NAME OF THE BOOK.—The seventh component of the Hebrew Old Testament is named Book of Judges (סֵפֶר שׁוֹפְטִים) in the oldest sources with which we are acquainted (cf. the Talmudic Tract *Baba bathra* 14^{b}, edited separately by Marx-Dalman in 'Traditio rabbinorum veterrima de librorum veteris testamenti ordine atque origine,' 1884, p. 14). The same expression סֵפֶר שׁוֹפְטִים is found in the *Diḳdûḳê ha-ṭĕʽamîm* of Aharon ben-Asher (10th cent.), ed. Baer and Strack, p. 58. The self-evident term 'Book' is also frequently dropped, and thus the simple שׁוֹפְטִים employed (so the usual reading in above-cited passage from the Talmud). If one compares, for instance, הַשּׁוֹפְטִים (Ru 1^{1}) and *οἱ κριταί* (Sir 46^{11}), it is remarkable that the article is dropped before שׁוֹפְטִים when the latter is used as the title of the Book. But in the course of transition of a *nomen appellativum* to the force of a *nomen proprium*, the article was frequently omitted (for analogies see König's *Syntax*, § 295, h–k). The Heb. title of the Book was either simply transcribed (cf. *e.g.* ܫܘܦܛܝܡ in Ephraem Syrus [acc. to Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr.* 383^{b}] and *Σωφετίμ* in Origen [acc. to Euseb. *HE* vi. 25]), or it might be translated (cf. *e.g. dayyânê* in the Peshiṭta, or *κριταί*, *e.g.* in Melito of Sardis [acc. to Euseb. *HE* iv. 26]), or (*liber*) *iudicum*, *e.g.* in Hieronymus, *Prologus galeatus* (=præfatio regnorum).

2. THE CONDITION OF THE TEXT.—The history of the *Text* of a literary product needs above all to be considered, in order that a basis may thus be laid for all further investigation. In the case of the Book of Judges this rule is all the more to be observed because of the very complicated history of its text.

(*a*) The Heb. text, as one finds it, notably in the *editio Baeriana libri Josuæ et iudicum* (1891), in the excellent *Biblia hebraica* of Ch. D. Ginsburg (1894), and in the well-known collections of various readings by Kennicott and de Rossi, is, of course, in substantial agreement with the Targum, the Peshiṭta, and the Vulgate.*

(*b*) But the Greek version of the Book of Judges is an extraordinarily manifold one. This is already shown by the number and the nature of the variants which the Alexandrian (A) and the Vatican (B) MSS of the LXX present in this book. For instance, in 1^{1b} A reads *τὸν χαναναῖον* (הַכְּנַעֲנִי) and *πολεμήσεσαι* (*sic*) *ἐν αὐτῷ* (בּוֹ), but B has *τοὺς χαναναίους* and *πρὸς αὐτούς*. Further, in 1^{3} A reads *καὶ πολεμήσω* (to represent the plur. נִלָּחֶמָה) *ἐν τῷ χαναναίῳ* (הַכְּנַעֲנִי), but B has *καὶ παραταξώμεθα πρὸς τοὺς χαναναίους*. In 1^{4b} the respective readings confront one another, *ἐπάταξε* (A; cf. the plur. וַיַּכּוּ of MT) and *ἔκοψαν* (B). In 1^{16} חֹתֵן of the MT is reproduced in A by *πενθερός*, but in B by *γαμβρός*, which last is the reading also of Jos. *Ant.* v. ii. 3. But the differences in the Greek translation of the Book of Judges are above all brought to view by de Lagarde, who, in his *Septuaginta-Studien* (Bd. i. 1892, p. 1 ff.) places side by side all the most important variants occurring in the first five chapters of Jg. His judgment is completely substantiated by the thorough investigations of G. Moore in his *Commentary on the Book of Judges*, 1895, pp. xliv–xlvi. Budde (*Kurzer Handcomm. z. Richterbuch*, 1897, p. xvi) has simply reproduced Moore's results. For instance, in 1^{7} the MT as well as AB have 'seventy,' but L(ucian) *ἑβδομήκοντα δύο* (so Jos. *Ant.* v. ii. 2, *δυοῖν καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα*).† But, *e.g.*, in 8^{10} both AB and L offer the same reading, 15,000, as the MT, and only Josephus (*Ant.* v. vi. 5) has *μύριοι καὶ ὀκτακισχίλιοι*. Hence, in spite of the scepticism of A. Mez (*die Bibel des Josephus*, 1895, p. 57) it is quite possible that יח was read as יה (טו=15 is found for the first time in Origen; cf. König, *Einleit.* p. 90, note 1). Regarding the two main branches of the Greek version of Jg, Moore has said very judiciously, 'It would probably be going too far to affirm that they are independent; the author of the younger of them may have known and used the older' (*Judges*, p. xliv).

(*c*) Further, A. Mez (*die Bibel des Josephus*, 1895, pp. 11–18, 56–61, 80 f.) has shown, in regard to Jg, that 'the text of Josephus belongs to the most valuable relics of the history of the text of the OT.' For in the case of Jg, Josephus follows the Lucianic text (L) *not* in the same high degree of dependence as in the Books of Samuel (with four exceptions). In Jg the bond connecting the text of Josephus and that of Lucian is weaker and in many passages even broken. For instance, in 1^{16} the MT has קֵינִי חֹתֵן מֹשֶׁה, L has Ἰωβὰβ *τοῦ Κειναίου*, but Jos. (*Ant.* v. ii. 3) Ἰέθρου *τοῦ Μαδιανίτου ἀπόγονοι, Μωυσέως γὰρ ἦν γαμβρός* (see above for the reading of B). Again, *e.g.*, the expression וַיִּלְכֹּד in 1^{18} is reproduced not only in AL, but also in B by *ἐκληρονόμησεν* (Itala, *hereditavit*), but Jos. v. ii. 4 offers rightly *εἷλον*. Finally, *e.g.*, the king כּוּשַׁן רִשְׁעָתַיִם (Jg 3^{8}) is called in L *Χουσανρεσαμώθ*, in AB (by an easily intelligible omission of the *n*, cf. König, *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 466) *Χουσαρσαθάιμ*, and in Jos. v. iii. 2 *Χουσαρσάθου*, etc. What right Mez has to say in reference to this, 'L ist corrigirt,' we cannot see. Still this investigation has confirmed the present writer's view (*Einleit.* p. 114 ff.) that the traditional Massoretic text is the relatively best source from which to ascertain the words of the Old Testament. This judgment is also entirely substantiated by the investigation into the text of Samuel which Löhr has carried out in the 'Kurzgef. Exeg. Hdbch.' on *Samuel*, 1898, pp. lxix ff.

3. THE CONTENTS AND ARRANGEMENT OF THE BOOK.—(*a*) The book begins with (*α*) the enumera-

---

* Felix Perles (*Analekten zur Textkritik des AT*, 1895) suggests the following emendations on the text of Judges: 3^{23} (p. 85) הַמִּסְגְּרוֹנָה 'privy,' cf. 'posticum' of Vulg.; 3^{28b} (p. 33) וַיִּרְדְּפוּ; 5^{8} (p. 91) M. Lambert's conjectural לַחֲמֵשׁ שְׁעָרִים 'to five doors' (but see König's *Syntax*, § 330 m); 11^{37} (p. 51) וְהֵרַדְתִּי, but it is more natural to suppose that in וְרַדְתִּי (cf. Hos 12^{1}, Jer 2^{31}) the ו was not distinctly written, and that י has thus arisen; 12^{6} (p. 33) from 'כ' which was meant for יָכֹל may have arisen יכין; 13^{12} (p. 35) עֵת (cf. König's *Syntax*, § 385 k); 20^{33b} (p. 34) 'ממער is supposed to have been written for ממערב.

† Cf. the same variation of 70 and 72 in the number of the nations (1 Ch 1^{5-23}: 14+30+26=70; but in the *Clement. Recogn.* ii. 42 we find 72); also in the number of the disciples, Lk 10^{1}, where Codd. BD, etc., have *ἑβδομήκοντα δύο*. Moreover, the number of the Greek translators of the OT came to be reduced from 72 to 70.

tion of the districts in Palestine which at the death of Joshua had not yet been conquered, and with the description of the operations undertaken by several of the tribes of Israel, in part unsuccessfully, for the complete subjection of their territory (1^{1-36}).—(β) This partial failure is traced to the Divine requital of Israel's religious disobedience, and on the same account it was announced that the Canaanites and other enemies of Israel would continue for a time to maintain their independence, with a view to the chastisement and the probation of Israel. The messenger of J″, mentioned in 2^{1}, was wrongly identified with Phinehas (Jos 24^{33}) in *Jalkuṭ Shim'ônî*, vol. ii. ch. 40: מלאך ה׳ והלא פנחס היה.—(γ) Once more it is told how the Israelites, soon after the death of Joshua, were guilty of religious disloyalty. The author's object was to explain why the Israelites suffered repeated defeats in conflicts also with the *surrounding* nations (2^{6}–3^{4}, see below 4 *b*).

(*b*) The history of the individual judges is related. They belonged for the most part to the tribe which suffered most from the particular oppression at the time (3^{5}–16^{31}).—(α) *Othni'el* of the tribe of Judah, who first came upon the scene immediately after the death of Joshua (3^{7-11}).*—(β) *Ehud*, the Benjamite (3^{12-30}), broke the yoke of the neighbouring Moabites by the assassination of their king, Eglon. According to *Nazir* 23^{b} Ruth was a granddaughter of Eglon: רות בת בנו של עגלון מלך מואב. *Seder Olam rabba*, ch. 12 (ed. Meyer, p. 34), combines Jg 2^{16} with Ru 2^{13b}, cf. 1 Ch 2^{11}, Ru $4^{20f.}$.—(γ) *Shamgar* (3^{31}) smote the Philistines.—(δ) In conjunction with *Deborah*, of the tribe of Ephraim, the hero *Barak*, of the northern tribe of Naphtali, defeated the Canaanites, who had again assembled a strong force in the north of Canaan (4^{1}–5^{31}). Sisera, the commander of the army of the enemy, was slain by the woman *Jael*. Many of the Talmudists took offence at the words 'between (AV 'at) her feet (בֵּין רַגְלֶיהָ) he bowed' (*Jebamoth* 103^{ab}, *Nazir* 23^{b}), but other Talmudists, appealing to Gn 31^{29ab}, rightly found in the expression 'between her feet' nothing to the discredit of Jael.—(ε) *Gideon*, of the town of 'Ophrah in Ephraim' (?), expelled the Midianites and reigned for long in peace (6^{1}–8^{35}; cf. Γεδεὼν, ὃς ἑρμηνεύεται πειρατήριον. Ὤμοσε γὰρ, κ.τ.λ., 8^{9},—Philo i. 424, ed. Mangey). But his son *Abimelech*, who seized the reins of power in Shechem, was speedily overcome (9^{1-57}).—(ζ) *Tola*, a man of Issachar, defended Israel ($10^{1f.}$).—(η) After him *Jair*, a Gileadite, judged Israel (10^{3-5}).—(θ) *Jephthah*, the Gileadite, smote the children of Ammon (11^{1}–12^{7}).—(ι) *Ibzan*, of Bethlehem, judged Israel (12^{8-10}); cf. *Baba bathra* 91^{a}: אבצן זה בעז 'Ibzan is Boaz' (Ru 2^{1}).—(κ) *Elon*, a Zebulunite ($12^{11f.}$), and (λ) '*Abdon*, of Pirathon in Ephraim, judged Israel (12^{13-15}). At last (μ) *Samson* 'began to deliver Israel out of the hand of the Philistines' (13^{5b}), and judged Israel twenty years (13^{1}–16^{31}).† It is only up to this point that Jg gives a *continuous* series of narratives. This was already noted in the *Diḳdûḳê* of Aharon ben-Asher, for in § 70 it is said, 'The Book of Judges (extends) from Othniel, the son of Kenaz, to the death of Samson, the son of Manoah, the Danite' (מעתניאל בן קנז עד שֶׁמֵּת שמשון בן מנוח הדני).

(*c*) The last five chapters of Jg do not continue the preceding history, but add two *episodes* to it. (α) The first episode is as follows: a part of the tribe of Dan wandered from south-western Canaan to the sources of the Jordan. There they conquered the town of Laish, and called it, after the name of their tribe, Dan. In this town they established as priest a Levite from Mt. Ephraim, whom they had persuaded to accompany them (17^{1}–18^{31}). (β) The second episode tells how the inhabitants of Gibeah which belonged to Benjamin (20^{4}) abused to death the concubine of a Levite (19^{25}), and how all the other tribes of Israel punished the tribe of Benjamin for refusing to deliver up the miscreants of Gibeah (19^{1}–21^{25}).

The Book of Judges does not state precisely at what parts of the period of the judges these two episodes happened. The first episode is certainly assigned to a time when there had not fallen to the tribe of the Danites anything as a possession (18^{1b}), *i.e.* they had been unable to make themselves real masters of the territory assigned to them on the S.W. coast of Canaan (Jos 19^{40-48}, Ezk 48^{1b})—even Budde (on Jg 18^{1b}) regards this as not mere theory. But it is uncertain *how long* after Joshua's death the oppressions (1^{34} 10^{11b} 14^{4}) continued which prevented the tribe of the Danites from completely conquering their territory. In any case, neither in $1^{34f.}$ nor elsewhere is it implied that 'the southern Dan never dwelt by the sea, not to speak of itself having possessed ships' (Budde on Jg 5^{17}), and this southern Dan was nearer to the ships than the northern. Nevertheless the date of the history narrated in chs. 17 f. can be limited. For according to 18^{30} it was a grandson of Moses that was priest in the city of Dan, מֹשֶׁה being indicated as the original reading through the *Nûn suspensum* of מְנַשֶּׁה (cf. the Talmudic statements and the discussion with L. Blau in König's *Einleitung*, pp. 34, 84^{1}). It is thus intelligible how the oldest author who outside the Bk. of Jg has described the period of the judges,* namely Josephus, has inserted the two episodes immediately after the narratives of the first chapter of Jg. He further transposes the order of the two narratives, introducing (*Ant.* v. ii. 8–12) the contents of chs. 19–21 as an illustration of a *στάσις δεινή*, and with the words *ὅμοια δὲ τούτοις παθεῖν καὶ τὴν Δανῖτιν συνέβη φυλήν*, he appends (*Ant.* v. iii. 1) the history contained in chs. 17 f. *Seder olam rabba* (ch. 12) says, בימי כושן רשעתים היה פסלו של מיכה וג׳ ובימיו היתה פילגש בגבעה, *i.e.* 'in the days of Cushan-rishathaim was the graven image of Micah, etc. (cf. 18^{30}), and in his days was a concubine in Gibeah.' Moore (on chs. 17 f.) also says rightly that the migration may be assigned to a time not very long after the Israelite invasion of Canaan. Are we, then, to suppose that the two episodes stood originally after the first chapter? This is not likely. For in that case we should not expect to read, 'in those days there was no *king* in Israel, but every man did that which was right in his own eyes' (17^{6} 18^{1} 19^{1} 21^{25}). At all events it is not without a special aim that the two narratives are placed at the end of Jg. They are intended to show the *negative* results which during the period of the judges showed themselves in the sphere of religion and morals.

Referring again to the arrangement of the Bk. of Jg, it is interesting to note the ancient division of the *Massoretic* sections (Baer, *Josua et Jud.* p. 125). These are fourteen, and they begin with the following verses of the book: 1^{1} 2^{7} (ויעבדו) 3^{31}

---

* *Sanhedrin* 105^{a} כושן רשעתים הוא לבן הארמי 'Cushan-rishathaim is Laban the Aramæan,' *i.e.* he was of the descendants of Laban.

† In 'Philonis sine præparatione in Sampson oratio' (*Philonis Opera*, ed. Lips. 1830, vol. vii. pp. 351–376) it is said, 'Sampson vires sumpsit ad monstranda opera magna' (§ 12), but also 'quum, a gurgite luxuriæ raptus, illuviem passus fuerit inque abyssum immersus cupidinis, non amplius compos erat sursum aspiciendi, sed totus voluptati deditus, ut verum diceret, tanquam a iudice, a muliere coactus fuit' (§ 1).

* 'The days of the judges' are mentioned in Ru 1^{1}, but passed over in silence between 1 Ch 9^{44} and 10^{1}, and ben-Sirach's only allusion to them is in the two verses Sir $46^{11f.}$. Cf. the words of Justin (*Hist.* xxxvi. ii. 7): 'Post Mosen etiam filius eius Aruas, sacerdos sacris Ægyptiis, mox rex creatur, semperque exinde hic mos apud Judæos fuit, ut eosdem reges et sacerdotes haberent, quorum institia religione permixta incredibile quantum coaluere.'

(ואחריו) 6^{1} 7^{1} 8^{4} (ויבא גדעון וג׳) 9^{7} (ויגדו וג׳) 10^{1} (ויקם וג׳) 11^{32} (ויעבר יפתח וג׳) 14^{1} (וירד שמשון וג׳) 16^{4} (ויהי וג׳) 18^{7} (וילכו וג׳) 19^{20} (ויאמר האיש), and 20^{27} (וישאלו וג׳). It will be observed that several of these beginnings (*e.g.* 14^{1} instead of 13^{1}) are not without much interest.

4. THE INNER HARMONY, OR THE UNITY OF THE BOOK.—(*a*) In 1^{8} it is recorded that the members of the tribe of *Judah* took Jerusalem; but according to 1^{21} this city lay in the sphere of the Benjamites, and by no means can we agree that 'doubtless the author wrote *Judah*' (Moore, *ad loc.*). For, since at a later period the *Judahite* David conquered the city of the Jebusites (2 S $5^{6ff.}$), and since, after the so-called disruption of the kingdom, Jerusalem was the capital of the kingdom of *Judah*, it was natural to reckon Jerusalem to the territory of the *Judahites*. Hence there must have been a reliable tradition that Jerus. originally belonged to the sphere of the Benjamites, else it would not have been in Jg 1^{21} assigned to Benjamin (this also against Budde, *ad loc.*). Further, it is quite an unwarranted assertion that in 1^{34} on account of its difference of form 'the continuation of the Dan history is to be found, whose beginning was still read by Josephus' (Mez, *l.c.* p. 11). That is to say, Josephus makes the remark, Χαναναῖοι . . . τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς, τὴν Ἀσκάλωνα καὶ Ἀκκάρωνα παρεσπάσαντο ἄλλας τε πολλὰς τῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ καὶ Δανίτας εἰς τὸ ὄρος ἠνάγκασαν συμφυγεῖν (*Ant.* v. iii. 1). But Mez has not noticed that the ἅρματα and the πεδίον, κ.τ.λ., previously mentioned by Josephus, point to 1^{19b} as the source of his words quoted above.

(*b*) The two sections 1^{1}–2^{5} and $2^{6ff.}$ were not written by *one* author as parts of one and the same work. For 1^{1} begins by mentioning the death of Joshua, but 2^{6} mentions something that happened while he was still alive, וַיְשַׁלַּח (καὶ ἐξαπέστειλεν; Hieron. 'dimisit ergo') referring in its present context to the assembly of the people in 2^{4}. Neither can we say with P. Cassel, *ad loc.*, that the author meant to 'quote' the words of Jos 24^{28}, nor is the imperf. consec. meant as a plusquamperfect (Keil, *ad loc.*). (See a discussion of all the analogous instances in König's *Syntax*, § 142). Hence, not the original sense of the passage $2^{6ff.}$ but only its present position may be explained as follows: the first section (1^{1}–2^{5}) is meant to show why the *internal* enemies of Israel continued after the death of Joshua, and the second to explain why Israel during the same period was beaten by *foreign* foes. This intention of the section $2^{6ff.}$ appears to reveal itself especially in the expressions employed in $2^{14ff.}$ (cf. 3^{3}). It is not till 3^{5} that the Bk. of Jg returns to the mention of internal foes of Israel, on whose account no *shôphěṭîm* were raised up (2^{16}). Hence it appears to the present writer that the new section begins with 3^{5} and not with 3^{7} as is now generally assumed. Further, 2^{10} is not in contradiction with 3^{9} (1^{13}, Jos 15^{17}), if Kenaz was the brother of Caleb; and this is not only possible but even almost probable, because in 1^{13} 'the younger,' etc., stands nearer to 'brother' and 'Kenaz' than to 'Othniel.' If so, Othniel was a nephew of Caleb and did not belong to the generation of Joshua; and the Κενίαζος ὄνομα which is read in Jos. *Ant.* v. iii. 3 (ed. Niese) is not 'the earliest of all the ingenious attempts that have been made to reconcile 3^{9} with 2^{10}' (Mez, *l.c.* p. 12).

(*c*) There are irreconcilable differences, too, within the history of Deborah and Barak. For in 4^{2} there is mention only of 'the king of Canaan,' but in 5^{19} of 'kings of Canaan.' Further, according to $4^{6.\,10}$ Barak collected his army only from the two tribes of Naphtali and Zebulun, but according to $5^{14ff.}$ warriors joined him also from the tribes of Ephraim, Benjamin, etc. On the other hand, the sleep of Sisera (4^{21}) appears to the present writer to be presupposed also in 5^{26} (cf. vv.$^{26b.\,27a}$), and its express mention seems to be omitted merely owing to poetic brevity. Otherwise it would be improbable that a woman should have slain the warrior. Budde says, of course, that '5^{27} shows that Sisera was struck while standing'; but this interpretation overlooks the words, 'where he bowed there he fell' ($5^{27b\beta}$).

(*d*) שׁ used as the relative is read only in 5^{7} 6^{17} 7^{12} 8^{26}, and in the last three passages cannot be regarded as interpolated (Giesebrecht, *ZATW*, Bd. i. 280; see all the instances of this שׁ in König's *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 322).

(*e*) The same author would not have written both the introductions to the narrative of the invasion of the Ammonites, contained in $10^{17f.}$ and $11^{4f.}$.

(*f*) In ch. 14 a great many very important points are passed over in silence of the most unnatural kind, if all the elements of the text that have come down to us are in their original form. For instance, after v.$^{8f.}$ the statement would be wanting that this journey of Samson did not lead to the marriage intended (לְקַחְתָּהּ, v.^{8a}), and that the father of Samson had got over his initial repugnance to a Philistine daughter-in-law. Probably, then, it is a later addition that the parents of Samson were present at his marriage. Josephus also relates * that Samson presented the honey to the Philistine maid, and not that he shared it with his parents (14^{9a}).

(*g*) Like a so-called red thread there runs through chs. 2–16 a series of passages in which the constant interchange is described between Israel's religious and moral lapses and her punishment, between Israel's repentance and God's help; cf. especially $2^{11\text{-}19}$ $3^{7.\,12a}$ $4^{1\text{-}3}$ 6^{1} $8^{33\text{-}35}$ $10^{6\text{-}16}$ 13^{1}.

(*h*) Also the two episodes which close the book (chs. 17–21) have their peculiar character (*e.g.* the formula 'in those days there was no king in Israel,' etc., 17^{6} 18^{1} 19^{1} 21^{25}), and these two narratives also are wanting in a complete inward unity. For if $17^{10f.}$ $18^{17f.}$ $21^{12.\,19}$ proceeded from one and the same author, they would contain unnatural repetitions.

5. RELATION TO THE PENTATEUCH 'SOURCES.'—The question of the unity of the book as well as that of its date, depends upon the *relation of Jg to the different strata embodied in the Pentateuch.* Hence it will be of advantage for the following investigation, if we first of all make an attempt to fix this relation. Now it is well known that in the Pentateuch there are four main strata to be distinguished: the Jahwistic (J; Gn 2^{4b}–3^{24} etc.), the Elohistic (E; Gn 20, etc.), the Deuteronomic (D), and the Esoteric-Priestly (P; Gn 1^{1}–2^{4a} etc.; cf. König, *Einleitung*, p. 188 ff.); and there is the possibility *in abstracto* that these four works continued the post-Mosaic history of Israel. But that as a matter of fact these four sources of the Pentateuch continue to flow also into the extant Bk. of Jg, can be established only by positive proofs. This proof is all the more necessary in view of the impossibility of making true progress in critical science if a number of results are assumed as already proved, and one makes it his main object always to pile up higher storeys on the building of the literary criticism of the Old Testament. Besides, the relation of the Bk. of Jg to the 'sources' of the Pentateuch is one of those questions which are differently answered even by decided friends of criticism.

(*a*) Is the *Jahwistic* stratum (J) of the Pent. continued in Jg? To begin with, the first chapter of Jg has points of contact in several passages with expressions contained in the preceding book of the OT. For instance, Jos $15^{14\text{-}19}$ is substantially identical with Jg 1^{10-15}; Jos 15^{13} resembles Jg 1^{20}; Jos 15^{63} is substantially the same as Jg 1^{21}; Jos 17^{11-13} (cf. Nu $32^{39.\ 41f.}$) resembles Jg $1^{27f.}$; and Jos 16^{10} is substantially the same as Jg 1^{29}. The opinion of the present writer is that these postscripts in both books are drawn from a common source of earlier origin, and this judgment is based upon the following observations: (*α*) The two series of passages in Jos and Jg are in only a very few instances actually identical. (*β*) In particular the tradition (Jg 1^{21}) that Jerusalem belonged to the ideal sphere of the tribe of Benjamin, is to be considered the older, in opposition to the note (Jos 15^{63}, Jg 1^{6}) that Jerus. was the object of an attack by Judah. See above, 4 *a*; and cf. the *mât* ('land' or 'district') or *mâtât* of *Urusalim* in the Tel el-Amarna letters (*Keilinsch. Bibliothek*, Bd. v. $180^{25.\ 63}$ 181^{49} 183^{14} $185^{1f.}$). (*γ*) The ancient source from which the identical sentences in the two series of passages named are drawn, was not the Jahwistic. For these sentences contain a somewhat artlessly connected series of facts, and do not possess the life and the variety of colouring which mark the Jahwistic style (cf. Gn 18 f., 24, etc.). (*δ*) Precisely in the passage, Jos 15^{14-19} (substantially = Jg 1^{10-15}), which in some measure shows the lifelike style of the Jahwist, there is a deviation from Gn 24^{64}. In the latter the rapid descent from the beast ridden is expressed by *wattippōl* (AV 'she lighted off'), but in Jos 15^{16} and Jg 1^{14} by *wattiẓnaḥ* (AV 'she lighted [from] off'), and this verb *ẓānaḥ* occurs nowhere else but in Jg 4^{21}. If one takes all this into account, it will be found what degree of certainty attaches to the position of Budde, who in the *Kurzer Hdcomm.*, 1898, p. xxii, without positive argument, assigns to the Jahwistic work the following: Jg $1^{1\alpha\beta b.\ 2f.\ 5-7.\ 19.\ 21\ (10.\ 20).\ 11-16.\ 36.\ 17.\ 22-29.\ 30-34}$. Again, the view that the passages in question in the Bk. of Jos are borrowed from Jg 1 (Bertheau, *Commentar*², pp. 3, 37 f., 42) is, in the first place, unnecessary. For the circumstance that those passages in Jos have an 'inorganic' position in their context is explained as well by the view contended for above, that a common source of older origin is used in both books. But the view of Bertheau labours under at least *one* positive difficulty. In Jos 13^{13} we find the same formula used, and yet this remark is not drawn from Jg 1.

---

* *Ant.* v. viii. 6: Καὶ ἀνελόμενος τρία μέλιτος κηρία, σὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς δώροις, οἷς ἐκόμιζε, δίδωσι τῇ παιδί.

To the *Jahwistic* source Budde (p. xxii) would attribute also, *e.g.*, 6^{12b} and 11^{1a}, although in these sentences the expression *gibbôr ḥayil* (AV 'a mighty man of valour') is read. This expression is uniformly avoided in the Pent. (cf. the simple *gibbôr* in Gn 6^{4} $10^{8f.}$ †), but it meets us in Jos 1^{14} 6^{2} 8^{3} 10^{7}, Jg 6^{12} 11^{1} etc. (cf. König, *Syntax*, § 267d). Winckler (*Untersuchungen zur altorient. Geschichte*, 1893–1897) speaks of the 'Quellen-Zusammensetzung der Gideon-Erzählungen' (pp. 42 ff.), and finds, *e.g.*, 7^{9-14} and 7^{15}–8^{3} irreconcilable, because it is impossible that Gideon could have played the spy upon the Midianites ($7^{9ff.}$) and yet have attacked them in the beginning of the middle watch (7^{19}). But all that is related in $7^{9ff.}$ might take place in a matter of four hours. The main point, however, is that Winckler adds (p. 49), 'Having thus to assume two different sources for the two narratives, it is most natural (!) to find in these E and J.' He thinks this suggestion is commended by the use in 7^{14} of הָאֱלֹהִים 'the God.' But he has not observed that in 7^{14b} it is the words of a Midianite that are reported.—The three passages in which שׁ is used as the relative (6^{17b} 7^{12b} 8^{26b})—a notable idiom of the history of Gideon—Budde (p. xxii) assigns thus, to J 8^{26}, to E 6^{17b}, to R^{P} 7^{12} (see below), only in the notes to the first two passages he sets these also down, *on account of* the שׁ, as additions of a glossator. Also 11^{3} belongs, according to Budde, to J, and yet the concept of 'assemble themselves' is expressed only in this passage by הִתְלַקֵּט; cf. נאספו, etc., Gn 29^{3} 34^{30} (both these passages are assigned to J also in Kautzsch's *AT*), Ex 32^{26} (J also according to Ryssel, *Ex-Lv*, 1897, p. 370). Further, 15^{1-19} is from J, according to Budde (pp. xxii, 92). But in those portions of the Pentateuch which are attributed to J, שְׁנֵי is used before the objects enumerated, Gn 9^{22} 19^{1} (27^{9}) 34^{25}, Ex 4^{9} etc. (see König, *Syntax*, § 311c), but שְׁנַיִם before such objects is found nowhere but in Ex 25^{18a}, Dt 17^{6}, Jos 2^{1} 6^{22}, Jg $11^{37.\ 39}$ 15^{13} etc. (see *l.c.*).

(*b*) Can the *Elohistic* stratum (E) of the Pent. be traced in the Bk. of Jg? Budde has, to begin with, assigned $2^{6.\ 6f.}$ to E (also 2^{7} is = Jos 24^{31}, but as a whole it is ascribed by Budde [p. 21] to the Deut. redactor). This is correct in so far as the verses named are substantially identical with Jos 24^{28-30}, and that Jos 24 has indeed marks of the source E has been acknowledged by the present writer in his *Einleitung* (pp. 203 f., 248). The words of Jg 2^{6-9} attach themselves to the Elohistic narrative of Joshua's end. But this does not prove that the Elohistic source has also supplied other elements in the Bk. of Jg. Budde attributes to this source, *e.g.*, 4^{4-22}, appealing (p. 33) to אִשָּׁה נְבִיאָה (4^{4}; see the analogous expressions in König's *Syntax*, § 306 o), etc. But he himself adds the judicious remark that he does not feel certain of his inference. At all events the use of מָשַׁךְ in 4^{6} (where AV offers rightly 'draw') cannot be regarded as evidence. For even *if* Ex 12^{21} could be certainly put down to E, the מֹשְׁכִים of Jg 5^{14} (active, 'grasping the staff [of the commander]'—König, *Syntax*, § 212h ex.; LXX ἕλκοντες; Targ. and Pesh. כתבין, *scribentes!*) would have been a source nearer to hand for 4^{6}. Further, Budde assigns 20^{37a} to E, but not v.^{37b} in spite of the מֹשֵׁךְ, which is found also in Job 21^{33}. To an author denominated E^{2} he ascribes Jg 6^{7-10}. But, *e.g.*, עַל אֹדוֹת (6^{7}) is found, not only in Gn (Samarit. 20^{3}) $21^{11.\ 25}$ 26^{32}, Ex 18^{8}, Nu 12^{1} 13^{24}, Jos 14^{6}, but also in Jer 3^{8}. Here then identity of expression does not prove identity of authors.

(*c*) Is a successor of the *Deuteronomic* author who, *e.g.*, wrote Dt $1^{1f.}$–4^{40} etc. (see König's *Einleitung*, pp. 212–214) to be admitted also for the Bk. of Jg? The passages which repeatedly refer to Israel's disloyalty and Jahweh's anger, Israel's repentance and Jahweh's help (2^{11-19} $3^{7.\ 12a}$ 4^{1-3} 6^{1} 8^{33-35} 10^{6-16} 13^{1}), have points of contact with the passages that are attributed with probability to the Deut. author, not only in their religious and moral tendency, but even in their form. For the verb הִכְעִיס ('to provoke *or* vex') is found with God as the object only in Dt 4^{25} (9^{16}) 31^{29} ($32^{16.\ 21}$), Jg 2^{12}, and the verb מָכַר ('to sell' = 'deliver') is read in Dt 28^{66} (התמכר) 32^{30}, Jg 2^{14} (3^{6}) $4^{2.\ 9}$ 10^{7}. But the same use of הִכְעִיס meets us also in 1 K 14^{15} 15^{30} $16^{2.\ 7.\ 13.\ 26.\ 33}$ 21^{22} 22^{54}, 2 K $17^{11.\ 17}$ 21^{6} 23^{26}, Is 65^{3}, Jer $7^{16f.}$ 8^{19} 11^{17} $25^{6f.}$ $32^{29f.\ 32}$ $44^{3.\ 6}$, Ezk 8^{17} 16^{26}, Ps 78^{56} 106^{29}, 2 Ch 28^{25} 33^{6} 34^{25} (‖ 1 K 22^{54}, 2 K 17^{17} 22^{17}). Here again, then, this use of the verb הִכְעִיס is no guarantee of the identity of the author of Dt 4^{25} etc. with the author of Jg 2^{12}. (Compare here the words of C. Niebuhr [*Studien u. Bemerkungen z. Gesch. d. alten Orients*, 1894, p. 1], 'Die wirkliche Nothwendigkeit einer sachlichen Unterscheidung von Dt and D (oder gar D¹ and D²) vermögen wir bisher nicht nachzuempfinden').

(*d*) To an R^{P}, *i.e.* a redactor having affinities with the *priestly* stratum of the Pent., Budde (p. xxii) assigns the following passages in Jg: $1^{1a\alpha}$ 2^{17} $7^{2-8a.\ 12.\ 14^{*}.}$ † ^{23} $8^{10a\beta b.\ 21b\beta.\ 27a\beta b\ (30-32)}$ $9^{16b-19a}$ (?) 10^{1-5} $11^{1b.\ 2}$ $12^{7b\ (?).\ 8-15}$ 16^{31b} $20^{16\ (?).\ 23\ (?).\ 27b.\ 28a\alpha.\ 37b.}$

---

† By an asterisk Budde means to indicate that he regards the passage in question as having been worked over.

$^{39.\,42b.\,43.\,44b-46}$ $21^{4a\beta.\,14b.\,19a\beta-20a}$. But regarding $1^{1a\alpha}$ he remarks merely that the words 'after the death of Joshua' are in direct contradiction to $2^{6ff.}$. Yet this does not prove that these words are due to a redactor (R^P). As little certainty appears to attach to the attributing of 2^{17} to this source. For לֹא עָשׂוּ כֵן 'they did not so,' reminds us not only 'strongly of P' (namely Gn 6^{22} etc.), but one may compare also Gn 29^{26} $42^{20.\,25}$ 45^{21}, Ex 7^6 etc., 1 K 20^{25}, 2 K 15^{12}, Jer 39^{12} 42^5, Zec 1^6, Neh 8^{17}. Further, on 7^{2-8a} Budde remarks (p. 58) that צרף 'try' (Jg 7^4), comes into use for the first time from Jer 9^6 onwards, and that the suffixless לְבַד (7^5) has parallels only in Ex 26^6 36^6 (this last should be ^{16}), Zec 12^{12-14}. But in Jg 7^5 it is not the usual idea 'alone' (*solus*) that is meant to be expressed, but the stronger idea of 'apart' (LXX κατὰ μόνας, Hieron. *seorsum*). Again, 7^{12}, which contains שֶׁ used for the relative, is ascribed by Budde to R^P, but in the Pent. stratum P this שֶׁ is not found.

One might continue to criticise the views of Budde (cf. once more König's *Einleitung*, pp. 253 f.).* But we cease to test these in detail, and add merely a general remark. Budde says (p. xiv) that by J and E he understands, not persons, but schools.† But this was not the sense originally intended by the terms J and E, and the earlier meaning is not quite obsolete even with Budde. For he speaks still of the 'Zeitalter der Quellen J and E,' and places these sources in relation to the Hexateuch (p. xii). But according to his new view one ought to speak in the plural of 'J's' and 'E's,' and no longer of 'J' or 'E' (Budde, p. xiii), as if there were only 'the' Jahwist; we should say 'a' J(ahwist), etc. But far more important is the circumstance that upon the theory of a plurality of Jahwists the difficulty of tracing the family likeness is very seriously increased. Who has fixed the character of each J, and who *can* determine it? Then, indeed, is there a danger that such a J is an imaginary quantity, and that one still *speaks* of J but no longer *has* him. In any case the judgment of the present writer is to the following effect. Since the different sources from which, according to No. 4 of this article, the present Book of Judges is drawn, cannot be with certainty identified with the main strata of the Pentateuch, nothing results from the relation of Jg to these regarding the *age* of the materials of which Jg appears to be composed, or regarding the date of the book itself.

6. THE CHARACTER AND AGE OF THE SOURCES OF THE BOOK OF JUDGES.—(*a*) If any one of the components of the present Bk. of Jg is an independent whole, and reveals itself as a source, it is the *Poem in which the victory over Sisera is celebrated* (Jg 5). Its verses go tumbling on, foaming like the waves of the Kishon (5^{21}), upon whose banks that victory was gained. Like the gallop of war-horses (5^{22}) ring the anaphora (vv.$^{3b.\,7b.\,12a.\,23a}$), the epizeuxis ($^{12a.\,22b}$), and the symploke ($^{7a.\,24ab}$, cf. $^{19a\alpha\beta.\,20a\alpha\beta}$) in this poem, towards removing whose difficulties the present writer has contributed his part, he trusts not quite unsuccessfully in his *Syntax* (cf. p. 645). This song gives so detailed (vv.$^{6.\,10a.\,14-18.\,23}$) and so lively a picture of the historical situation (vv.$^{24-27.\,28-30}$) which is commemorated in it, that it must have been born of that situation, even if it has not come down to us quite intact. This is the judgment rightly passed upon it even by such free critics as, *e.g.*, Th. Nöldeke (*Untersuch. z. Kritik d. AT*, p. 181), H. Steiner (*die Heb. Poesie*, 1873, p. 24), Ed. Meyer (*Gesch. d. Alterthums*, i. § 167), B. Stade (*Gesch. Isr.* i. 49), Aug. Müller (in *Königsberger Studien*, 1887, p. 7), E. Renan (*Hist. du peuple d'Israël*, i. 136), J. Wellhausen (*Comp. d. Hex.* p. 23), H. Cornill (*Einleitung*, § 16, 3), G. Moore (*Judges*, p. 132 f.), J. Marquart (*Fundamente*, etc., 1896, p. 2), K. Budde (*Comm.* p. 39), Ch. Piepenbring (*Hist. du peuple d'Israël*, 1898, p. 85: 'ce vieux cantique').

Nor can this judgment be shattered by the arguments which are brought forward by L. Seinecke (*Gesch. d. Volkes Israel*, i. 243-245). Neither (*a*) are the political presuppositions of the Song wanting in historical reality, nor do (β) its form or (γ) its contents render a high antiquity impossible for it. For (*a*) even if the northern Canaanites sustained a defeat in the time of Joshua (see below, 8 *a*, on Jos 11^{10-14}), their strength might have recovered itself. (β) The use of שֶׁ for the relative (5^7) has analogies in OT passages of a more northern Palestine origin (see further, 6 *d*). The plur. ending *-în* (5^{10}) may have the same origin, or it may be an element in the poetical dialect as in Pr 31^3 etc. (see König, *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 434). To the same category belong also תִּנָּה (5^{11}: (?) 'im Wechselgesang vortragen,' 'repeat,' 'relate'; cf. the Aram. תַּנֵּי in the Targ. on Ps 9^{12} etc., and the Assyr. *šunnû*, 'communicate' (Del. *Assyr. Wörterb.* 1896, p. 674^a). (γ) The heights of Seir (5^4), which lay *north* of the Peninsula of Sinai, are named as the starting-point of Jahweh who manifested Himself on Sinai (v.^{5}). This tallies with the *ancient* conception that the seat of the gods was in the *northern* region of the earth, Lv 1^{11} 4^{24} etc., Is 14^{13} (Jer 1^{13}), Ezk 1^4 (28^{14}), Ps 48^3 (133^3), cf. Job 26^7. This theophany is also intended as a past one. For the temporal sphere of an infin. depends upon its context (Gn 28^{6b} etc.; see König's *Syntax*, § 216), and בְּצֵאתְךָ, etc. (Jg $5^{4a\alpha}$) is followed by the perfects רָעָשָׁה, etc. Then יָעֵל (v.^{6}) may, coming after בִּימֵי, have arisen from עַל (cf. [א ארח] עַל 1 Ch 7^{39}), the name of a descendant of Asher. It is probable that, as a parallel to שַׁמְגַּר, a man is intended (cf. Bertheau, *ad loc.*).* But even if the words בִּימֵי יָעֵל are a gloss (Moore, Marquart, Budde), the antiquity of the poem itself is not thereby endangered. Finally, the assertion that 'from heaven forces took part in the battle' (5^{20}), contains a religio-poetical clothing of the conception that God assisted the Israelites (cf. Ex 14^{24}, Jos 10^{11}). The assertion is not then to be called a 'gross exaggeration' of a later author.†

---

* W. Frankenberg (*die Composition des deuteronom. Richterbuches*, 1895, p. 1) remarks, 'A deeper insight into the original contents and the historical origin of the Bk. of Jg is sufficient of itself to convince one of the futility of the attempts that are ever being made afresh to build a literary bridge between the Hexateuch and our Bk. of Jg, and to discover the sources of the Hex. in the latter.'

† 'J und E sind mir durchaus nicht Personen, sondern umfassende, neben einander herlaufende schriftstellerische Schulen.'

* Marquart (*Fundamente*, etc., 1896, p. 2) takes Shamgar to be 'der fremde Oberkönig,' and combines him with 'Sangara of Carchemish, in the time of Ašurnāẓirabal, *c.* B.C. 880,' and Sisera with 'Pīẓiri the last king of Carchemish' (*c.* B.C. 740). What an amount of error in the Hebrew tradition is thus assumed without any sufficient reason!

† H. Winckler in his *Altorient. Forschungen* (1893–1897) offers the following remarks on Jg 5: שׂדה in v.^{4}='height' (p. 192, cf. Assyr. *šadu*, 'to be high'). This is possible. But it is more probable that זה סיני in v.^{5} is an intermediate exclamation (see König, *Syntax*, § 414a) than that זה has arisen from רגז (p. 192). The substitution of שֶׂרֶך 'row' for שְׂרִיד in v.^{13} (p. 291) is not probable. In v.$^{14a\alpha}$ he reads (p. 193), מְנִי אפרים שָׂרוּ בעמק 'from Ephraim they came down (cf. שׂור) into the valley,' and he deletes v.$^{14a\beta}$ entirely. We would rather suggest that the *gibbōrîm* of v.$^{13\,ex.}$ are 'heroes from Ephraim,' and that then משרשים is meant to signify 'eradicantes, *i.e.* delentes inter Amalek' (cf. LXX ἐξερίζωσεν). Also the reading וְשָׂרוּ בי׳ עם דברת 'and there came down in Issachar the people of Dabrat' (p. 292), is extremely precarious. For it would be unnatural if after the princes, etc. (v.^{14b}), the population of a single city (Jos 19^{12}) should be mentioned. Finally, instead of נַחַל קְדוּמִים (v.^{21a}) Winckler suggests (p. 193) the sentence, 'the stream of Kishon was [dyed, or the like] with blood' (דָּמִים). But the cir-

M. Vernes (*Précis d'histoire juive*, p. 210) holds that at the very outset (*péremptoirement*) it must be regarded as a settled point that at this epoch we cannot have to do with a campaign undertaken by the tribes of Israel in common. But why might not an extraordinary danger have brought about an extraordinary coalition of many tribes of Israel for common defence against the enemy? Some tribes, indeed, declined to be stirred up from their phlegmatic condition (5^{15-17}). Further, Vernes finds in the mention of Sinai and of Seir 'l'ignorance ou, si l'on préfère, la negligence de l'homme qui écrit librement à grande distance de son sujet.' But he has himself failed to observe that the mention of Mt. Seir had reference to a *northern* starting-point of the theophany of Jahweh (see above, regarding the idea of the northern sphere as the seat of deity). Again, the days of Shamgar, although he defeated the Philistines (3^{31}), might still be a time of oppression (4^{4}), and, besides, the note in 4^{4} *may* be primary, and that in 3^{31} secondary. Further, *if* the Kishon is called in 5^{21} 'l'antique fleuve' (but see König's *Syntax*, § 261d), this expression could be used even in the days of Deborah. According to Vernes, the sentence 'Dan יָגוּר אֳנִיּוֹת' (v.^{17}) is also an unnatural one, for 'jamais les Danites n'ont touché à la mer.' But even if we are not to think, with *Mikhlal Jophi*, of אֳנִיּוֹת הַיַּרְדֵּן, the Danites might 'dwell' as strangers, *i.e.* serve on board ships. Finally, Vernes will have it that even the address to kings and princes in v.^{3} 'indique une époque de relations internationales.' Well, such an epoch was to hand already at the date of the Tel el-Amarna letters! In the *Rev. des Études juives*, xxiv. (1892), p. 249, Vernes calls *sarai* (v.^{15}) an 'état construit ou (!) pluriel de forme araméenne,' and co-ordinates with it '*tsavrè*, plus exactment, *tsavrai*'! (v.^{30}). He denies the existence of 'marques du dialecte hébreu septentrionale' (p. 249^{2}); but see below, 6 *d*. He thinks 'que la terminologie familière au Cantique est celle des livres de la Bible dont on admet le plus volontiers l'origine post-exilienne.' But he has failed to notice that poetry, even in the earliest times, may have preferred expressions which, owing to their rarity or their more foreign cast, lend to the Song of Deborah a special charm. Thus, *e.g.*, the verb פרע (v.^{2}) will not have been 'emprunté aux Nombres et au Lévitique' (p. 249), even if is not to be translated with M. Lambert (p. 141), 'se dépouiller (pour Dieu), offrir généreusement (cf. en himyarite la locution פרע פרע 'faire une offrande').'

H. Winckler (*Gesch. Israels*, Bd. i. (1895), p. 34) admits first that the Song (Jg 5) goes back to the pre-Davidic era, because 'it knows nothing of Judah.' But he adds that 'the form in which the Song has come down to us is a product of a much later age, which transformed it for its own ends, and made of it something quite different from what it originally was.' On what grounds does he rest this judgment? All that he says is, 'vv.$^{4f.}$ are manifestly an interpolation, and form the beginning of a hymn to Jahweh which has nothing whatever to do with the Song of Deborah. Also v.^{31} belongs to the same.' It is clear, he says, that the Song is a compound from a hymn to J″ which is full of mythological allusions ('the stars fought'), and from a piece intended to glorify a battle fought by the Northern tribes. It would scarcely be possible to find weaker arguments than these. Are vv.$^{4f.}$ 'manifestly' an interpolation? Was it not natural that the words 'I will sing praise to the Lord God of Israel' (v.^{3}) should be actually followed by some lines in praise of this God? Was it not natural that at the beginning of a poem meant to celebrate a notable action of the Deity, there should be a recalling of a well-known manifestation by which Jahweh established His renown? Would it have been more natural if, after the mention of the determination to praise the Deity (v.^{3}), the Song had proceeded 'in the days of Shamgar,' etc.? (v.^{6}). Further, the wish 'so perish all thine enemies, J″!' (v.^{31}) could not, it is said, be uttered by a pre-Davidic poet. But must not a poem on a decisive defeat of the northern Canaanites quite naturally burst into such a wish? Consequently Winckler has by no means established his contention, and the poem contained in Jg 5 remains one of the most important sources for the earliest history of Israel.

(*b*) Another ancient source for the present Bk. of Jg is found springing up in the first chapter. In favour of this judgment is first of all the primary character of the tradition that 'Urusalimu' belonged to the sphere of the Benjamites (Jg 1^{21}, Dt 33^{12} contrasted with Jg 1^{8}, Jos 15^{63}). The following circumstance is at the same time not to be overlooked. What is the meaning of the words 'with the Benjamites' in the sentence 'and the Jebusites dwelt with the Benjamites in Jerusalem unto this day'? (1^{21b}). The meaning must be 'within the territory of the Benjamites,' *i.e.* in the sphere which was assigned to the Benjamites as object of the conquest, and was also in the main actually occupied (cf. 'the Jebusites, the inhabitants of the land,' 2 S 5^{6} ‖ 1 Ch 11^{4}). This sense is suggested for the words 'with the Benjamites' by several considerations, one negative and several positive. In the first place, immediately before 1^{21b} it is remarked, 'and (= but) the Benjamites did not drive out the Jebusites, the inhabitants of Jerusalem.' The direct consequence of this failure of the Benjamites in their attack on the Jebusites (1^{21a}) was that the Jebusites dwelt alongside of the Benjamites in Jerusalem (v.^{21b}). Further, the Jebusites are called simply 'the' inhabitants of Jerusalem (Jos 15^{63}, Jg 1^{21a}), and Jebus is simply identified with Jerusalem (יְבוּס הִיא יְרוּשָׁלַם Jg 19^{10}, Jos 18^{28}, or conversely in 1 Ch 11^{4}). Again, in the remark that the Levite (Jg $19^{1ff.}$) was in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem (v.^{10}), the latter is called simply 'this city of the Jebusites' (19^{11b}), and it is expressly added that it was 'the city of a stranger that was not of the children of Israel' (19^{12}). In any case the author of 1^{21} did not record merely the failure of the Benjamites to conquer Jerusalem. Had this been all, he might in his account of the period of the judges have passed over in silence the victory of the Judahite David (2 S $5^{6ff.}$) and yet have written after this victory. No, he must have added that the Jebusites were the—sole—inhabitants of Jerus. down to his own day. Now, it is quite true that even after David's victory (2 S $5^{6ff.}$) Jebusites continued to live in Jerusalem ($24^{16ff. 24}$). But at that period the Jebusites were no longer 'the' inhabitants of Jerusalem (see above), but were oppressed (1 K 9^{20}, Zec 9^{7}). But also most of the other portions of Jg 1 are trustworthy reflections of an ancient situation. For it was very natural that in later times there should be a disposition to represent the success of Joshua's invasion as absolute (see below, 8 *a*, on Jos 11^{10-14}). All the more do the narratives which record the defeats sustained by Israel in their attacks upon the Canaanites, bear the stamp of antiquity. This is confirmed by the wealth of details in the first chapter regarding individual occurrences of this kind which cannot be traced to a certain or probable tendency of later times.

(*c*) Now a similar dry enumeration of particulars is found also in the passages concerning Shamgar (3^{31}), Tola ($10^{1f.}$), Jair (vv.$^{3-5}$), Ibzan (12^{8-10}), Elon

---

cumstance that no trace of such a text has been preserved in exegetic tradition (see König's *Syntax*, § 261a) is a formidable objection.

(v.$^{11f.}$), and 'Abdon (vv.$^{13-15}$). The modern view of these passages is that they were first introduced into the Bk. of Jg at its final redaction (Budde, p. x). What is there to allege in favour of this position?

(*a*) It is said that this late redactor (R^P, see above, 5 *d*) wished to obtain the number *twelve* for the judges (Budde, p. x). For 'in the light of 10^1 the sections 10$^{1-5}$ and 12$^{8-15}$ recognize Abimelech also as a judge' (pp. ix, 19). Thus 'Abimelech, Tola, Jair, Ibzan, Elon, and 'Abdon were for R^P the minor judges.' But was Abimelech really reckoned one of the *shôphĕṭîm*? What is said in 10^1? 'And after Abimelech there arose, to defend Israel, Tola,' etc. This implies, it is said, that Abimelech was reckoned among the 'judges' or 'saviours' of Israel. One might also say that this method of argumentation is typical of a certain modern school of historiography. The express statements of the sources are absolutely ignored, and new and extremely doubtful ones are sought out. For instance, is it not related in 8^{23} and 9^2 that the kind of rule (משל) which was declined by Gideon because Jahweh was the true king of Israel (Ex 15^{18} יהוה יִמְלֹךְ), was desired by Abimelech? Did not the latter surround himself with a body of armed men? (9$^{4. 29b}$, cf. Absalom 2 S 15^1). Is it not expressly said that the men of Shechem made Abimelech *king* (9^6); and is this not confirmed by the fable of Jotham? (9$^{8-18}$ 'the trees went forth to anoint a *king*,' etc.). Again, Abimelech is further called a 'prince' (9^{22} וַיָּשַׂר; cf. the corresponding 'that we should *serve* him' vv.$^{28. 38}$), but not a 'judge.' Nor does his history contain any trace of his having sought to free (הוֹשִׁיעַ) Israel from the yoke of foreign enemies. All the less can the 'to deliver Israel' (לְהוֹשִׁיעַ אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל 10^1) be referred to Abimelech. Further, it is extremely questionable whether a late redactor desired to establish *twelve* as the number of the judges. For not only is Samson, to whom 'delivering Israel' is attributed (13^5, cf. 14^4 15$^{3ff.}$ 16$^{23f. 30}$), counted amongst the judges (15^{20} 16^{31}),[*] but also Eli (1 S 4^{18b}) and Samuel (7^{15}). This could not be unknown to a later redactor of the Bk. of Jg. How then can the disposition be ascribed to him to make the number of the judges twelve? Besides, Budde himself remarks that in the Bk. of Jg thirteen 'judges' are mentioned, if Abimelech as well as Shamgar is included in the number. But he is not so much inclined to give up Abimelech as Shamgar, in order to reduce the thirteen to twelve. This is quite an arbitrary procedure, for the attribute of 'delivering Israel' which belonged to the character of a *shôphēṭ* (2^{16}) is ascribed to Shamgar (3^{31}) but not to Abimelech. Or is Shamgar no real historical figure because in a series of MSS of the LXX and in the Itala (cf. Mez, *die Bibel des Josephus*, p. 81 note) he is named not only in 3^{31} but also after 16^{31}? This vacillating of the textual tradition as to the right place for mentioning Shamgar is explicable by reason of the 'and after him' and the 'Philistines.' But it does not disprove the historicity of an Israelitish hero Shamgar who came upon the scene at a stormy period (5^6).

(*β*) Another ground on which the passages 10$^{1f. 3-5}$ 12$^{8-10. 11f. 13-15}$ are assigned to a very late redactor (R^P), is the following:—In these five sections it is not recorded that Israel was false to its religion, and on that account had to suffer oppression for a term of years, and was delivered from this by a hero. 'The extreme attenuation of the Deuteron. formula is exhibited in 3^{31}. There is mention, indeed, of an act of deliverance, but of no number of years' (Budde, p. 19). But what if those circumstances of which there is no notice did not exist, or were partly not remembered? Can their absence bring into question the historical character of the persons themselves? In the section concerning Othniel (3$^{9-11}$), which by Budde and others is separated from the above six passages, are there any more real elements? It is quite true that something had 'faded,' but this was the recollection of those personages, and not the 'Deuteronomistic formulæ.' What could have prevented the introducing of those formulæ even at a late period into the biography of the persons named. Hence the conclusion appears more certain that it was not the 'formulæ' that were wanting, but the disposition to modify historical reminiscences in accordance with these formulæ. That has been handed down regarding those persons which was known of them, and this was not little: the name of the man himself and that of his father or his tribe, or it may be the place of his birth and his burial (10$^{2. 5}$ 12$^{10. 12. 15}$), or the remembrance of some notable deed done by him (3^{31}), etc. Why should all this be set down to invention? Not because of a wish to reach the number *twelve* for the judges, as we have seen already. Or was it, perchance, to give a judge to each tribe? The tribes of the individual judges were as follows: *Judah* (Othniel 3^9), *Benjamin* (Ehud 3^{15}; ? Shamgar 3^{31}), *Naphtali* (Barak 4^6), *Ephraim* (Gideon 6^{11}), *Issachar* (Tola 10^1), *Gilead* (Jair 10^3), ? *Gilead* (Jephthah 11^1), *Judah* (Ibzan 12^8), *Zebulun* (Elon 12^{11}), *Ephraim* ('Abdon 12^{13}), *Dan* (Samson 13^2). One may observe that in this list some tribes occur twice, and that a few tribes are wanting altogether. If an explanation of the local origin of these judges is to be sought for, it is most natural to find it in the circumstance that the hero sprang up from the tribe which felt most the weight of the invader's oppression. Finally, how came poetic fancy and constructive historiography to distribute in their present fashion the six passages 3^{31} 10$^{1-5}$ 12$^{8-15}$? It is impossible for the present writer to consent to see in this arrangement simply an arbitrary procedure.

(*d*) But there are in the Bk. of Jg also such lifelike and vivid narratives as cannot be set down to the ideas or tendencies of a later age.

(*α*) The history of Abimelech (Jg 9) even M. Vernes (*Hist. juive*, p. 218) calls 'un récit d'une précision, d'un relief étonnant.' But it is not the only one of this class in Jg, as he adds, but it is the only one that is almost wholly *secular* in its character. It is the only narrative in Jg which is true to the life—only for those critics to whom the *secular* life is the *only* real life of ancient Israel. Critics who occupy such a standpoint will not deny the attribute of antiquity to such a story as that of the Benjamite Ehud, who with his *left* hand stabbed the tyrant Eglon (Jg 3$^{15ff.}$). Such critics will not be disposed to deny the historicity of the bold figure of Jephthah, or of the tragic end of his only child (11^1–12^7). As a 'héros d'aventures privées' even Samson has found grace in the eyes of M. Vernes (p. 238), according to whom the exploits of Samson belonged to the 'disputes qui devaient naître fréquemment à l'époque historique des relations établies entre populations antipathiques.'[*]

---

[*] And this not without reason, as M. Vernes (*Hist. juive*, p. 237) supposed when he said, 'Laissons de côté l'étrange prétention de nous faire voir dans Samson un juge d'Israël.' For from the words, 'the Lord raised up judges, which delivered them out of the hand of those that spoiled them' (Jg 2^{16}, cf. 1 S 8^{5b}), it results that the term *shôphēṭ* had assumed the more general sense of 'hero,' or 'leader.'

[*] M. Vernes adds the following note: 'Il s'agit là, ce nous semble, d'une antipathie comme entre Anglais et Français à tant d'époques de notre histoire. On est en paix officielle, on s'unit par des marriages, etc., mais de temps en temps la haine nationale se fait jour par des explosions violentes. Il reste à remarquer que Samson ne se bat pas une seule fois avec l'épée ou la lance; jamais il n'est à la tête d'une troupe quelconque.

(β) But the *religious* life also was a real one in ancient Israel. As early as the time of Moses and during the following centuries zeal for the cause of Jahweh could burn (Ex $32^{25ff.}$), and enthusiasm be aroused for the defence of His honour. For, if the flame of reverence for J″ had not been kindled by Moses, why should he and not Samuel have been named as the greatest hero of the religious development of Israel? If the fire of enthusiasm for the religion of J″ was not lighted at the great epoch of the deliverance from Egypt, how could this fire have burst out just at a period of the deepest depression (1 S $4^{16ff.}$), and why should Israel have felt convicted of impiety against Jahweh? (1 S 7^{6b}). Hence there is no reasonable ground for doubt that Gideon (Jg $6^{11ff.}$) contended for the cult of Jahweh in opposition to the preference for Ba'al, or that he could have taken for his battle-cry, 'For Jahweh and for Gideon (will we fight),' Jg 7^{18b}. Besides, it is in the highest degree worthy of notice that it is precisely in the history of a hero belonging to the tribe of Ephraim, *i.e.* to central Caanan, that the use of שׁ for the relative appears (6^{17} 7^{12} 8^{26}). For it is of the tribe of Ephraim alone that it is recorded in the OT that its dialect differed from that of other Hebrews (Jg 12^{6}); cf. on the speech of Ashdod as a Hebrew dialect, etc., König, *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 349, 353. Further, it is a fact that in the narratives concerning Elijah and Elisha the following linguistic peculiarities appear: אוֹת 'with,' 2 K $1^{1.15}$ $3^{11f.26}$ $6^{16.19}$ 8^{8}; the shorter form *Eliyya* (and *Ahazya*), $1^{2\text{-}4.8.12}$; אַתִּי (*'attî*, 'thou,' fem.) $4^{16.23}$ 8^{1}; the corresponding לכי ('to thee,' fem.) 4^{2}; כי ('thy,' fem.) $4^{3.7}$; שׁ, relative, 6^{11}; cf. איכה 'where'?, 6^{13}, so elsewhere only in Ca 1^{7} (Kethîbh); בהשׂדה 2 K 7^{12}, and the same phenomenon shows itself in ancient histories like those of 1 S 13^{21}, 2 S 16^{2}. Therefore it is a sufficiently well-grounded judgment that the present narratives concerning Gideon are compiled from materials which, so to say, bear a *local* colouring. This judgment is at least supported, further, by two material circumstances. For it is a fact, admitted even, *e.g.*, by Wellhausen (*Prolegom.* p. 71), that the description of the offering contained in Jg $6^{17f.}$ corresponds to the earliest stage of the history of the cultus in Israel. Another point has hitherto not been emphasized, but it is of no less importance. The disinclination manifested by Gideon to accept of the offer made to him to be ruler (משׁל Jg 8^{23} 'the Lord shall rule over you') is perfectly in place in the period before Samuel. For it was not till his time that Israel rejected the kingship of Jahweh (Ex 15^{18}) ('they have rejected me, that I should not reign over them,' 1 S 8^{7}).

(γ) In like manner the antiquity of the narrative contained in Jg 17 f. is witnessed to. For the possession by the Ephraimite Micah of a private house of gods (17^{5a}) tallies with the circumstance that in the earlier period a plurality of places of worship was allowed (Ex $20^{24\text{-}26}$). Further, we see a Levite wandering about, ready to settle down wherever he found office and bread ($17^{8ff.}$ $18^{19f.}$ 19^{1}). This situation of the members of the tribe of Levi was an actual one as long as a number of the Levitical cities were not yet conquered, such as Gezer (Jos 21^{21} 16^{10}, Jg 1^{29}), and those remarks of the Bk. of Jg about the Levites would have possessed no probability if they had proceeded from a period when Jeroboam selected priests from among the people at large (1 K 12^{31}). For the Levite spoken of in Jg $17^{8ff.}$ wandered from Judah to the territory of Ephraim, etc., but after the time of Jeroboam many members of the tribe of Levi, on the contrary, moved from the territories of the Northern tribes to the kingdom of Judah (2 Ch $11^{13f.}$). Finally, the note that the priests of the city of Dan were descendants of Moses (Jg 18^{30}), must be borrowed from an ancient source. Later generations were so little disposed to invent such an item, that they sought rather to convert the name of Moses in this passage into Manasseh.

(δ) But also the *moral* life of ancient Israel did not lack its characteristic aim and peculiar vigour. Even in early times Israel was conscious of a certain sum of moral principles, for we read, 'no such thing ought to be done in Israel': 'do not thou this folly,' and the like (cf. Gn 20^{11} 34^{7b}, Jg 19^{30} 20^{6b}, 2 S 13^{12}). And, since these principles of morality in the most central parts of Israelitish tradition are traced back to the time of Moses, why should we seek for a different origin for them? Is it at all probable, for instance, that they originated at periods which do not give themselves out as creative, but as secondary? Now these ancient principles of the morality of Israel lived in the conscience of this nation, and when they were trodden underfoot, as in the instance of Gibeah (Jg $19^{23ff.}$), the voice of the moral conscience of the nation spoke out loudly ($20^{6\text{-}8}$). Hence it is quite precarious to pronounce the storm of indignation that broke loose upon the Benjamites (v.$^{9ff.}$) fictitious. Finally, the assertion that in the time of the judges a 'common acting on the part of the twelve tribes of Israel is excluded' (Budde on chs. 19–21), is quite ungrounded. Nay, it has not yet been taken into account that the Song of $5^{1ff.}$ contains an indirect proof to the contrary effect. For if in the period of the judges one could not entertain the notion that a common danger to Israel must be warded off by the common action of all the tribes, one could not have blamed those tribes which kept aloof from the struggle against the northern Canaanites (Jg $5^{15\text{-}17}$).

(ε) There is a series of passages in the Bk. of Jg in which the declension of the national prosperity is brought into causal connexion with the religious and moral falling away of the people (cf. especially $2^{11ff.}$ $3^{7.12a}$ $4^{1\text{-}3}$ 6^{1} $8^{33\text{-}35}$ $10^{6\text{-}16}$ 13^{1}). It has been shown above (5 *c*) that these passages cannot with certainty be attributed to a definite Deuteron. author, but we now add the following observations, by way of an attempt to fix positively the character and the age of these passages. (*α*) There was a religious-moral consciousness on the part of Israel (cf. 6 *d*, δ) before the period to which the origin of Dt is traced by a large number of critics, *i.e.* the reign of king Josiah. (β) During the centuries that elapsed between Moses and Samuel, 'the knees which have not bowed unto Baal' (1 K 19^{18}) were not quite wanting. Let us recall, for instance, Deborah and Gideon. (γ) In addition to that series of passages which now are assigned by several critics to a Deuteronomist (Budde's D^{2}), are there not others in the Bk. of Jg in which the same causal nexus between religious unfaithfulness and national decadence is emphasized? cf. $2^{1\text{-}5}$. (δ) May not such passages have been formulated in the guilds of *nĕbi'îm* which gathered around Samuel? (1 S $10^{3\text{-}7}$ etc.). (ε) Nor can it be denied that a kernel of farewell addresses of Moses existed before these assumed their present form in Dt (cf. König, *Einleitung*, pp. 214–216). (ζ) Those passages of Jg which are now by many scholars called Deuteronomistic, are even in relation to their *contents* not really allied to the passages of the Books of Kings which have points of contact with Dt (1 K $3^{2f.}$ 11^{6} etc.; see König, *Einleitung*, p. 267). For it is extremely interesting that in Jg the cove-

---

Les éléments de son histoire nous semblent, en conséquence, appartenir à une époque relativement peu ancienne.' But this is nearly the opposite of the real course of things. It is precisely in olden times that heroes signalize themselves in single combat. Recall, for instance, the giant figures of the Greek world of legend, the heroes of Homer, or the giants of the German pre-historic era.

nant of J″ is mentioned only in $2^{1.20}$ and the commands of J″ only in $2^{17.34}$, but these things are mentioned in 1 K 2^{2} $3^{3.14}$ $6^{12.38}$ $8^{31.55.58.61}$ $9^{4.6}$ $11^{11.33f.38}$ 13^{21} 14^{8} 18^{18} $19^{10.14}$, 2 K 10^{31} 13^{23} 14^{6} $17^{8.13.15f.19.34.37f.}$ $18^{8.12}$ 21^{8} $22^{8.11}$ $23^{2f.21.24f.}$. Further, the idea of the centralization of the cultus is not emphasized in that series of passages which it is usual to call Deuteronomistic. No word of censure is uttered against the *bāmôth* as in 1 K $3^{2f.}$ 15^{14} $22^{44.47}$, 2 K 12^{3} $14^{3f.}$ $15^{3f.34f.}$ $18^{5.22}$ $23^{5.8.25}$. Besides, when the remark is made that D^2 'den Begriff des Richter geschaffen hat' (Budde, p. xvi), in support of which Jg 2^{16} is cited, we miss here a recollection of the words, 'since the time that I commanded judges to be over my people Israel' (2 S 7^{11}).

(*f*) There are only a few passages in Jg which possess sufficiently clear marks of a late origin.

(*a*) We do not venture to reckon among these elements those passages where the intervention of a supernatural power is described, as in the expression 'an (see König's *Syntax*, § 304 *e*) angel of the LORD' (2^{1} $13^{3ff.}$), or 'the Spirit of the LORD came upon him,' etc. (3^{10} 6^{34} 11^{29} $14^{6.19}$ 15^{14}). For 'there are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio, than are dreamt of in your philosophy.'

(*β*) But we find, undoubtedly, a series of so-called 'round numbers'; 'seven' ($6^{1.15}$ 8^{28} 12^{9} $16^{7f.13.19}$ 20^{15}), or 'seventy' (1^{7} 8^{30} [repeated in $9^{2.5.18.24.56}$] ^{4} 12^{14}), or 'seventy-seven' (8^{14}), or 'forty' (3^{11} $5^{8.31}$ 8^{28} 13^{1}). There are, indeed, also instances where the number 'seven' is meant in an exact sense, as in the case of the seven days of the marriage feast ($14^{12.17}$); for such a feast even at the present day actually lasts, as a rule, for seven days, and is called 'the king's *week*' (Wetzstein, *Zeitschrift f. Ethnologie*, v. 291, 293). But the numbers 'seven,' 'seventy,' and 'forty' are unquestionably intended frequently in an approximate sense; cf. 'seven' in Gn 4^{15} 31^{23} 33^{3}, Ex 7^{25}, Lv $26^{18.24.28}$, Dt $28^{7.25}$, 1 S 2^{5} etc., Is 4^{1} etc.; 'seventy' in Gn 46^{27}, Ex 1^{5} 15^{27} $24^{1.9}$, Nu $11^{16.24f.}$ 33^{9}, Dt 10^{22}, 2 K 10^{1}, Is 23^{15}, Jer 25^{11} 29^{10}, Ezk 8^{11}, Ps 90^{10}, Lk 10^{1}; 'seventy-seven' in Gn 4^{24}; 'forty' in Gn 6^{3}, Ex 7^{7} 16^{35} etc., Dt 34^{7}, 1 S 4^{18} 17^{16}, 2 S 5^{4} 15^{7}, 1 K 2^{11} 11^{42} 19^{8}, Ezk 4^{6} 29^{11-13}, Am 2^{10} 5^{25}, Jon 3^{4}, Ps 95^{10}, Neh 9^{21}, Mt 4^{2}, Ac 1^{3}; cf. the Egyp. and the Gr. parallels in Gn 50^{3} and Herodot. ii. 29, iii. 23, iv. 73. The psychological origin of the employment of these numbers lies in this, that naturally it was only approximately and by a familiar expression that one could or would indicate a smaller or a larger quantity. Cf. Adrianos, *Εἰσαγωγὴ εἰς τὰς θείας γραφάς*, § 85: 'Τὸν ἑπτὰ ἀριθμὸν ἐπὶ πλεονασμοῦ λέγει (ἡ γραφή).'

To the same category may be assigned also the numbers 'eighty' (3^{30}), 'twenty' (4^{3} 15^{20} 16^{31}; from 40+20 arose the 60 which in Jg 12^{7} is assigned by the LXX B, etc., as the length of the sway of Jephthah), 'ten' (6^{7} 12^{11}, cf. Gn 31^{7}, Lv 26^{26}, Nu 14^{22}, 1 S 1^{8} etc., Is 6^{13}, Am 5^{3} etc., the ten temptations of Abraham in the *Book of Jubilees*, ch. 19), and the 'fifty' which is read by LXX A, etc., in 3^{11} (cf. Gn 18^{24}, Jos 7^{21}, 1 S 6^{19} etc.). Also the number 'three' in the three years' reign of Abimelech (Jg 9^{22}) might bear the same character, because 'three' sometimes designates an approximate quantity (Gn 30^{36} $40^{10.12}$ 42^{27}, Ex 2^{2} etc., Is 16^{14} 20^{3}, Jon 2^{1}, Est 4^{16}, Dn 1^{5}, 1 Ch 21^{12}). But then the history of Abimelech possesses in other respects many marks of exactitude (see above, 6 *d*, *a*). It is certainly, however, an unjustifiable procedure to include in this class of numbers the 'eighteen' of Jg 3^{14}, the 'twenty-three' of 10^{2}, or the 'twenty-two' read by a few Gr. minuscula MSS in 10^{2}, probably in imitation of the following number 22, the 'eighteen' of 10^{8}, the 'forty-two' of 12^{6}, the 'six' of 12^{7}, or the 'eight' of 12^{14}.*

This last procedure would be justifiable only upon the assumption that these numbers may be regarded as the arbitrarily chosen parts of a previously fixed total. In point of fact, the following observation has been made: the sum of the interregna ($3^{8.14}$ 4^{3} 6^{1} 10^{8}: $8+18+20+7+18=71$) almost exactly corresponds to the sum of the years of the so-called minor Judges ($10^{2f.}$ $12^{9.11.14}$: $23+22+7+10+8=70$). Wellhausen, who was the first to note this correspondence (in Bleek's *Introd.*^{4} p. 185, and in *Prolegom.*^{2} p. 240), afterwards confessed (*Comp. of Hex.* p. 356) that he had no longer much faith in his former attempt. But Budde, in the *Kurzer Hdcomm.* (1897, p. xviii), still regards the observation as pertinent in spite of the difference of the two totals that are said to correspond with one another. But if a redactor of Jg had any thought of this correspondence, would he not have been capable of making it an exact one?

Hence the approximate character can be emphasized only in the case of the number 40 and its actual double (80) or its half (20). This is commended further by the following three considerations. The number 40 occurs with relatively great frequency as a round number (see the series of passages cited above). Further, the 480 years which, according to 1 K 6^{1}, elapsed between the Exodus and the beginning of the building of the temple (in the 4th year of Solomon's reign), are probably a product of 40 × 12. Again, the length of a generation (דּוֹר, Arab. *dârun*, lit. περίοδος) was probably, in the view of the Israelites, 40 years. For a generation, with few exceptions, was doomed to die in the wilderness (Nu $14^{22f.}$ 26^{64}), and this sojourn in the wilderness lasted for (about) 40 years (Nu $14^{33f.}$ $20^{22ff.}$ 32^{13} $33^{38f.}$, Dt 2^{7} 8^{2} 29^{5}, Jos 5^{6} etc.).† Besides, Bertheau (*Comm.*^{2} p. xvi) rightly observes that in 1 Ch 5^{29-34} 6^{35-38} twelve generations are counted from Aaron to Ahimaaz the contemporary of David and Solomon. Kessler (*Chronol. iudicum*, etc. p. 12) remarks that no one can prove that twelve generations actually lived in the period from Moses to Solomon. But all we need is proof that Israelitish tradition ever reckoned twelve generations between a contemporary of Moses and a contemporary of Solomon, and this tradition is actually found in 1 Ch 5^{29-34} and 6^{35-38}. Consequently, it can be maintained with sufficient certainty that the chronology of the Bk. of Jg is a product of secondary combination in so far as the approximate number 40 (3^{11} 5^{31} 8^{28} 13^{1}), its double (3^{30}), and its half (4^{3} 15^{20} ‖ 16^{31}), are employed as factors in this chronology (so, essentially, Bertheau, p. xiii; Oettli, p. 212; Moore, p. xli f.). Further, it appears to the present writer that the chronological problem of the Bk. of Jg has to be examined in the following direction:—(*a*) The number 480 (1 K 6^{1}) is an uncertain total, and cannot be used as the standard in estimating the chronological data of Jg. (*β*) The round numbers of Jg are really to be treated only as approximate figures equally with the 300 years which Jephthah (Jg 11^{26}) says elapsed between

---

* Budde (p. xx): 'die beiden Zahlen 18, die 23 und die 22 stellen leichte Abweichungen von 20 dar'; but even he (p. xviii) derives 'die von der Regel so weit abweichende Zahl 6 für Jephthah (12^{7}) aus einer Vorlage.'

† The round character of the number 40 has been contested by J. C. A. Kessler (*Chronologia iudicum et primorum regum*, 1882) in the words, 'fides historica numeri 40 annorum non dubia est; nam sæpius huius spatii partes commemorantur et in eo singuli anni vel menses numerantur: Dt 2^{14}, 2 S 5^{5}, 1 K 2^{11}, 1 Ch 29^{27}, Ex 19^{1}, Nu 10^{11} 20^{1}, Dt 1^{3}' (p. 12). But Röckerath (*Bibl. Chronologie*, 1865, p. 22) already remarks that the round numbers were partly supplied in place of numbers that had become indistinct, and in any case it is inadmissible to suppose that a period of 40 years could have emerged so frequently *by accident*.

Israel's entrance into Canaan and his own days. Hitherto no attempt (cf. *Seder olam rabba*, ed. Meyer, p. 384 f.) that has been made has succeeded in bringing this number 300 into harmony with the other chronological statements of Jg. (γ) Both the principles just stated appear to the present writer to be more correct than the view (Nöldeke, *Untersuch. z. Kritik d. AT*, p. 173 f.; Moore, p. xli; Budde, p. xviii) that an author of the Bk. of Jg did not count the years of foreign domination ($3^{8.\ 14}$ 4^3 6^1 10^8: 8+18+20+7+18=71 years) in addition to the years of rest, or the years of the hero who destroyed this foreign domination. This is at least *not* the meaning of the text of 3^{8-10}; for after it has been mentioned that the Israelites served Cushan-rishathaim 8 years (3^8), it is added by means of an imperf. consec. 'and (hence) the Israelites cried unto the LORD, and the LORD raised up a deliverer, etc. (v.^{9}), and (hence) the land had rest 40 years, and Othniel died' (v.^{10}). The exegesis which reckons the 8 years of the foreign domination to the years of Othniel, which, it is self-evident, could begin only with the shaking off of the foreign yoke, is not in harmony with the text although it was a favourite with Jewish interpreters.* As little is it the case in 3^{14}, for the 18 years during which Israel groaned under the yoke of the Moabites cannot be included in the 80 years of rest (3^{30}). Nor are the 20 years of oppression (4^3) reckoned among the 40 years of rest (5^{31}). As little are the 7 years of *invasions* by the Midianites (6^1) reckoned among the 40 years during which the Midianites could not lift up their heads, and the country was in quietness; and these forty years are expressly identified with the days of Gideon (8^{28}). And was Jephthah chosen to be leader at the beginning of the 18 years of the oppression (10^8)? Then he must have long deferred his victory; and yet the text ($11^{4ff.\ 12ff.}$) presents the choice, the attack, and the victory of Jephthah as a continuous succession of incidents. Budde, indeed, says (p. xviii) that 'R^p has not counted the times of the foreign domination as elements in the chronology of his people.' But whence does he derive this conclusion? From the circumstance that in the case of the 'minor Judges' only the length of their office is noted; and that in $10^{1.\ 3}$ $12^{8.\ 11.\ 13}$ we find 'after him.' But it is by no means an unquestionable fact that this 'after him' is meant to indicate an 'unbroken' succession. In any case it is a false generalizing from the data to attribute to the author of $10^{1.\ 3}$ $12^{8.\ 11.\ 13}$ the opinion that 'during the whole period of the judges, judge followed judge in direct succession.' And because of this opinion is he to be supposed to have rejected the years of foreign domination and to have replaced these by the years of the minor judges? As the text ($3^{8-10.\ 14}$ etc., see above) shows, he has neither rejected the one nor substituted the other, for the sum of the years of the foreign domination (71) and the sum of the years of the so-called minor Judges (70) are *different*. (δ) As little ground is there for the assumption that the Bk. of Jg meant several incidents to be *synchronistic*. The words 'he (the LORD) sold them into the hands of the Philistines and into the hands of the children of Ammon' (10^7), give only an *appearance* of right to the view that the invasion of the Ammonites ($10^{8ff.}$ $11^{4ff.}$) and that of the Philistines ($13^{1ff.}$) occurred at the same time. But in truth it is recorded in the Bk. of Jg that the attack of the Ammonites which, following the statement of 10^7, is described in $10^{8ff.}$ $11^{4ff.}$, was warded off by Jephthah, that then came the judges Ibzan, etc. ($12^{8ff.}$), and that the people of Israel on account of new unfaithfulness were oppressed by the invasion of the Philistines. For the text reads, 'and the children of Israel did evil *again* in the sight of the LORD, and the LORD delivered them into the hand of the Philistines' (13^1). Hence it is not the thought expressed in Jg itself (13^1) that is seized by Kessler, who, following Keil and others, again assigns to the same date the incidents related in 10^8–12^{15} and those spoken of in $13^{1ff.}$ (*Chronol. iudicum*, p. 29 f.). Now, the question might still arise, whether the order of events in the period of the judges was better known to the sources of the Bk. of Jg or to M. Vernes, who (p. 199) reproaches the 'auteur du livre des Juges' with having placed 'bout à bout des évènements qui ne s'enchaînent en aucune façon.' The present writer for his part prefers the order indicated in the Bk. of Judges.

(γ) Little as the round numbers of the Bk. of Jg positively point to a very late date, this is as little the case with the expression עַד יוֹם גְּלוֹת הָאָרֶץ (18^{30}). It may indeed be somewhat bold to assume הארן as the original reading, and to find in this passage an allusion to the גלה which indirectly is asserted of the *'aron*, 'ark (of the covenant)' in 1 S $4^{21f.}$. It is true that it is not precisely ארץ of which the verb גלה is elsewhere predicated. This may, however, be accidental, for גלה has for subject not only the people (Is 5^{13}, Am 1^5), or Israel (Am $7^{11.\ 17}$, 2 K 17^6 etc.), or persons in general (2 K 24^{24}, Mic 1^6, Ezk 12^3 etc.), but also Judah (Jer 13^{19}, La 1^3, 2 K 25^{21} ‖ Jer 52^{27} etc.), or a city, as גלגל (Am 5^5) or Jerusalem (Jer 1^3) or Damascus (2 K 16^9).—Besides the period during which the descendants of Moses officiated as priests in Dan, in v.^{31} a period is named of the worship of Micah's graven image, namely, the period of the existence of the temple in Shiloh. There is no mention of this temple after the time of Eli (1 S 14^3). In Ps 78^{60} the overthrow of Shiloh is placed before the choosing of Mt. Zion (v.^{68}), and from Jer $7^{12.\ 14}$ it cannot be inferred that it was laid waste during the Assyrian wars (Moore, p. 369). Hence there is not such a serious departure from reality when in *Diḳdûḳê ha-ṭĕ'amîm*, § 70, it is said, 'on the day when Eli died, Shiloh was laid waste' (יום שֶׁמֵּת עלי חרבה שילה).—What is now the meaning of the remark in v.^{31}, and why are the two dicta of v.^{30} and v.^{31} placed side by side? In v.^{31} it must be intended to say that the end of the cult of the graven image of Micah stood in a causal connexion with the destruction of the sanctuary of J″ at Shiloh, and the two notes of v.$^{30f.}$ would best harmonize if there was a reference to the destruction of the Shiloh sanctuary also in the words עד גלות וג׳ (v.^{30}). Now, let it be observed that Eli died when he heard that the ark of the covenant was taken (1 S 4^{19-22}). But if, in spite of all this, it remains uncertain whether in Jg 18^{30} a statement which raised scruples was changed into an easier reading (cf. the interpolated נ in v.^{31}),[*] yet the expression 'until the day of the exile of the land' does not point further down than the time when Tiglath-pileser 'took Kedesh, and Hazor, etc., and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali, and carried them captive to Assyria' (2 K 15^{29}), *i.e.* about B.C. 734. And if this is the meaning of v.^{30}, then from the period of time indicated in v.^{30} a shorter period is selected in v.^{31}. For it was desired to add how long the cult of the graven image of Micah lasted, because this image was a principal subject in the preceding narrative.

---

* The words 'and after him (Joshua) [was raised up] Othniel, the son of Kenaz, forty years [but] subtract from them the eight years of the oppression under Cushan-rishathaim' (*Seder olam rabba*, ch. xii.), contradict the text of OT. But it is a very interesting circumstance that *Seder o. r.* does not always adopt the same exegesis. It does so with the 18 years of 3^{14}, and of the 40 years of 5^{31} two years are subtracted for the oppression of Jabin and Sisera (שני שעבוד ליבין וסיסרא ב׳ שנים); but after the mention of the 40 years of Gideon it is expressly said 'and (=but) the 7 years of Midian (6^1) are not reckoned to them' (ושבע שני מדין לא עלו מחובן). Further, how is one to explain the statement, 'from Othniel to the death of Samson are 324 years'? (*Diḳ. ha-ṭĕ'amîm*, § 70 מעתניאל עד שֶׁמֵּת שמשון שלוש מאות ועשרים וארבע שנים). The numbers 40+80+40+40+23+22+6+7+10+8+20 ($3^{11.\ 30}$ 5^{31} 8^{28} $10^{2f.}$ $12^{7f.\ 11.\ 14}$ 15^{20} ‖ 16^{31}) make up a total of only 296 years. But if 28 be added, the number 324 is obtained. May we perhaps have recourse to the 28 years which in *Seder olam rabba* (ch. xii.) are attributed to Joshua? At the end of § 70 of *Diḳdûḳê* comes the statement, 'from Othniel to the rise of Eli as judge were 324 years.' But this also occasions an insoluble problem. Neither of these dicta of Jewish tradition is either noticed or explained in any of the helps accessible to the present writer (*Biblia Heb. et Rabbin.*; *Seder olam rabba*; Jewish and modern commentaries).

(δ) In the middle of the second episode of Jg (chs. 19–21), where, *e.g.*, we read 'Jebus which is Jerusalem' (19^{10}, cf. 2 S $5^{6ff.}$), Wellhausen (*Comp.* 233 ff.) and some others discover a passage of very late origin, namely, 20^{1}–21^{14}. What opinion are we to form of this? Now, in any case, this section must have displaced another narrative, for between the end of ch. 19 and 21^{15} there is a *lacuna.* But common action on the part of the Israelites was not impossible shortly after the death of Joshua. Let us consider, in addition to what has been said above (6 *d*, *δ*), the story of the building of an altar beside Jordan (Jos $22^{10ff.}$). Was this not a protest on the part of the Israelites settled on the east of Jordan against the idea of separation from their nation? And does the *unity* of the Israelites, which shows itself in 1 S $7^{2ff.}$ $8^{4ff.}$ 11^{3} ('that we may send messengers unto all the coasts of Israel'), etc., ever appear as a *new* phenomenon? The present writer believes that there are more traces of the unity of ancient Israel than are wont at present to be recognized by some scholars. Were there not 'elders' in Israel before Samuel? (1 S $8^{4ff.}$). Could these not then assemble themselves on account of the unheard of scandal perpetrated by a Benjamite city (Jg 20^{1}), as readily as in connexion with the choice of a king? (1 S 8^{4a}). It is quite true the expression *mishkab zakhar* (cf. 'that hath not lain by man') is found only in Nu $31^{17f.}$ and Jg $21^{11f.}$; but this is no proof of the late origin of the latter verse, for the expression in question had very probably also an earlier existence. Hence the judgment of the present writer is that not the section 20^{1}–21^{14} as a whole, but only single elements in it bear a secondary character. Such elements are, above all, the round numbers like 400,000 (20^{17}), and there is no department where hyperbole more readily comes in than the department of numbers. We do not believe that tradition required many centuries—for Budde's R^{p} wrote 'perhaps about the year 400' (p. xvi)—in order to create these figures.

(ε) Only legend, and *not mythology*, has played a rôle in the filling out of the history of Samson. Traces of the so-called 'Folk-lore' are probably to be found, *e.g.*, in the thirty men (14^{19}), the 300 jackals (15^{4}), and the 1000 men (v.$^{15f.}$) whom he slew with the jawbone of an ass. Nay, it is not improbable that this exploit of Samson and the name *Ramath-leḥi*, *i.e.* 'height of jaw,' are connected with each other. Rather may this deed of Samson's have been simply placed here, for the *localizing* activity of popular tradition shows itself elsewhere, or the narrative of the deed may even have been occasioned by the name of the place. The same is probably the case with the story of *'En-haḳḳôrē* ($15^{18f.}$), in which the two homonyms *ḳôrē'*, 'partridge,' and *ḳôrē'*, 'caller,' appear to be mixed up. But, all the same, the Samson narratives are no product of *mythology*. The mythological explaining away of the person of Samson is discountenanced even by M. Vernes (*Hist. juive*, p. 238 f.); and as we have quoted from him several statements which appear to be unfounded, it is but right that we should quote a passage of which we can thoroughly approve. He says, 'l'interprétation mythologique de l'histoire de Samson échoue au port; sans compter qu'on ne sait trop comment y faire rentrer l'aventure du lion et de l'essaim d'abeilles, des chacals, de la mâchoire, de la porte de Gaza, c'est-à-dire ce qui précède les ruses et le succès de Dalila, le Samson du dernier épisode ne saurait être tenu pour le jeune *soleil* du printemps. S'il se sert, en effet, du retour de sa vigueur pour triompher de ses adversaires (les ténèbres, l'hiver ?), il succombe lui-même sous cet effort, et si les deux piliers du temple doivent être tenus pour les colonnes d'Hercule, elles sont mises à une très mauvaise place.'

7. THE AUTHOR OF THE BOOK.—The *author* of Jg is not named in the book itself. In the Talmud (*Baba bathra* 14^{b}) it is said, 'Samuel wrote (or edited [the sense of the verb *kāthab* is examined in König's *Einleitung*, p. 445]) his book and the Bk. of Jg and the Bk. of Ruth' (cf. Marx-Dalman, *Traditio rabbinorum veterrima*, p. 14). Similarly in *Diḳdûḳê ha-ṭĕ'amîm*, p. 57, it is said, שמואל הנביא זכרו לברכה כתב ספרו וספר שופטים ורות. But the tradition which becomes fixed in *Baba bathra* 14 f. is of such late origin, and contains such absolutely impossible elements (see the whole passage in König's *Einleitung*, p. 445 f.), that on these grounds alone no weight can be attached to it. But it is further shown by the above (No. 6) discussion to be an impossible position.

8. THE SPIRIT OF THE BOOK AND ITS PLACE IN THE HISTORY OF REVELATION.—Of more importance is it to examine the *spirit* that pervades the Bk. of Jg, to draw the picture which, framed in this book, exhibits to us a momentous period in the development of Israel. What are the leading features of this picture?

(*a*) The period of the judges was a time of *local* settlement and *physical* self-assertion on the part of Israel. When this people had shaken off the Egyptian yoke—which the Israelites can never have invented as a factor in their history—and were on the point of conquering the homeland of their forefathers, they encountered a uniformly violent opposition. Nevertheless, it is unquestionable that the Israelites under Joshua's leadership gained some fundamental victories. The positive tradition to this effect (Jos 6–11) is not upset by any statement to the contrary effect.

The story of the defeat of the northern Canaanites (Jos 11^{10-14}) may contain some natural hyperboles (*e.g.* 'neither left they any to breathe'), but when these are set aside, the narrative is not set aside. Further, the statements, 'nevertheless the children of Israel expelled not the Geshurites,' etc. (Jos 13^{13} $15^{13-19.\ 63}$ 16^{10} 17^{11-18} $18^{3ff.}$ $23^{4ff.}$), and the parallel statements of Jg $1^{19ff.}$ presuppose that the foundation was laid for the conquest of Canaan, otherwise they would have neither motive nor meaning. These statements add nothing but this, that in the time of Joshua, *within* the conquered kingdoms, many districts still retained their independence. The interposing of these sentences shows also in what sense the partition of the land is to be understood (Jos $13^{1ff.}$). The territories which were assigned to the different tribes are thought of not as places of quiet possession, but rather as meant to be completely subdued. The sense of Jos 13^{1-13} etc., is not that 'la terre promise est considérée comme une table rase' (M. Vernes, *Essais bibliques*, p. 297). Finally, neither in Jos 14^{6-15} nor in Jg $1^{1ff.}$ is the idea contained that the different tribes of Israel *only* in an *isolated* fashion made their attacks upon Canaan (Budde, *Richt. u. Sam.* 1890, p. 84, *Hdcomm.* 1897, p. 2). Budde himself admits (*ad loc.*) ‘the remote possibility’ that in Jg 1^{22} ‘a short word about Ai’ has fallen out. This ‘word about Ai,’ however, has not fallen out, nor was it a ‘short’ one (cf. Jos $7^{5ff.}$ 8^{1-29}). It is a groundless assertion that the record of Jg 1 ‘excludes’ the narrative of the Bk. of Jos, and that the Jg narrative is the ‘older’ (Budde, 1897, p. 2. Charles Piepenbring [*Hist.* 1898, p. 69] accepts but does not prove this thesis). If the narrative of Jg $1^{1a\beta b.\ 2f.\ 5-7}$ etc. (Budde, 1897, p. xxii), had been the older and the only correct one (Budde, p. 2), how then could Judah speak of ‘his lot’? (1^{3}). ‘The narrative, according to v.^{3}, presupposes an earlier division by lot of the yet unconquered land,’ as Budde himself (p. 1) has to notice; and Charles Piepenbring says (p. 75) on Jos $18^{2-6.\ 8-10}$: ‘Nous y rencontrons une nouvelle preuve qu'on assigna d'avance, par le sort, aux différentes tribus, le territoire que chacune devait conquérir’; cf. the words of Budde on Jg 18^{1} ‘es ist Dan wohl ein Gebiet zugefallen, aber es hat sich nicht darin behaupten können, und dass dieses *nicht blosse Theorie* ist, beweisen die danitischen Reste in den südlichen Wohnsitzen, die uns in der Samsongeschichte begegnen.’ A positive representation that Canaan was thus divided is also implied in other passages of Jg 1. Finally, the ‘older’ narrative contained in Jg 1 is pronounced to be also the ‘historically more credible’ (Budde. p. 2). But is it, in point of fact, probable that the tribes of Israel, which under Joshua's lead crossed the Jordan, should not have attacked with their whole force the common foe, in order to inflict upon him some decided defeats? To what end, then, is the narrative (Nu $32^{28ff.}$, Dt 3^{18-20}, Jos 1^{12-16} 22^{1-6}) invented of how the tribes of Reuben, etc., which had their settlements east of the Jordan, crossed this river with the other Israelites, and did not return until the opposition of the western Canaanites was—essentially—broken? Joshua led the host only until the conquest of Jericho (Jos ^{6}; so Budde, p. 1). Did he, then, withdraw from the leadership of Israel? This is ‘historically credible.’ But if this was really the case, why will Budde (p. 11) substitute ‘and *Joshua* was with them’ for the traditional ‘and Jahweh was with them’? (Jg 1^{22}). And if the existence of Joshua was assumed in the narrative of Jg 1, would he have been mentioned in this *passim* fashion?

---

[*] The sentence 'the foundations of heaven moved' (2 S 22^{8}) is changed into 'the foundations of the *hills* moved' (Ps 18^{7}). See, in general, regarding such alterations of parallel texts, König's *Einleitung*, pp. 76 f., 82 ff.

The truth lies in the middle position, and this true relation of things is exhibited in Jos and Jg; in spite of the foundation-laying victories gained under the lead of Joshua over the inhabitants of Canaan, some centuries were still needed to make the Israelites complete masters of Canaan (Jg $1^{19.\ 21}$ etc.).

(*b*) The need for external or political conflict was coupled with the task of *spiritual* self-assertion on the part of Israel against the genius of the Canaanitish nation. The period that followed the migration to Canaan was for the Hebrews the time of the severest *struggle of ideas.* For it was then that the danger was greatest that Israel should lose the consciousness of her uniqueness, seeing that many tribes with other conceptions and ideas dwelt in her midst. Cf. on this contrast, *e.g.* Pietschmann, *Gesch. der Phön.* p. 292 f.; Niebuhr, *Gesch. des ebr. Zeitalters*, p. 317 ff.; Winckler, *Gesch. Isr.* p. 133^{1}; Wildeboer, *Jahvedienst en Volksreligie in Israël*, 1898, p. 10 ff. But when Piepenbring (*Hist.* etc. 1898, p. 96) remarks, ‘au moment où les Hébreux s'emparèrent de la Palestine, les Cananéens leur étaient bien supérieurs sous le rapport de la culture,’ he must be thinking merely of outward culture, such as the art of building cities, the art of war, etc.

During this period the great matter was to defend the heritage of religious ideas and moral principles to which Israel had fallen heir (see above, 6 *d*, *β*, *δ*). The men who were then called to deliver the people belonged to the category of true souls by whom the most important prerogatives of the Jahweh religion were maintained. Then did Gideon defend the monolatry of Jahweh against the adoration of the Canaanite Baal ($6^{11ff.}$). The same hero kept unimpaired the principle (8^{23}) that Israel was under the rule only of a heavenly king (Jahweh, Ex 15^{18}). He pre-eminently exhibits the characteristic which ben-Sirach attributes to the judges when he says, *καὶ οἱ κριταί, ἕκαστος τῷ αὐτοῦ ὀνόματι, ὅσων οὐκ ἐξεπόρνευσε ἡ καρδία, καὶ ὅσοι οὐκ ἀπεστράφησαν ἀπὸ Κυρίου, εἴη τὸ μνημόσυνον αὐτῶν ἐν εὐλογίαις, κ.τ.λ.* (Sir $46^{11f.}$). Then was the conscience of the nation of Israel sufficiently awake to stir them up to energy when danger threatened that the Canaanite immorality (Gn $9^{23.\ 26b}$ $19^{5ff.}$ 34^{2b}, Lv 18^{25} etc.) might gain a footing in Israel (Jg 19^{30} 20^{6b}).

True, indeed, all the acts of the Israel of those days cannot bear to be tried by the standard of an enlightened humanity, or the ideal of evangelical Christianity. We shudder at the cutting off of thumbs and great toes (Jg 1^{6}). But not only were the Athenians once guilty of the same conduct towards Æginetan prisoners (Ælian, *Var. Hist.* ii. 9), but even the Christian Abyssinians of our own day are given to this terrible practice (cf. Flad, *Zwölf Jahre in Abessinien*, etc.). Moreover, in the pre-Christian history of Divine revelation, stages of progress are not wanting; cf. *e.g.* on the history of prophecy (1 S 9^{9}), or the Divine name (Ex $6^{2f.}$, 1 S 1^{3}, Is 1^{4}, Hos 2^{18}), or the idea of retaliation (Ex 20^{5}, Jer 31^{29}, Ezk 18^{20}). Although then a Deborah had not advanced to the stage of an Isaiah, and although a Samson (cf. on the Nazirites, Am 2^{12}) did not stand upon the same plane as the Sermon on the Mount (Jg 16^{28} compared with Mt 5^{44}), yet the Bk. of Jg stands, not without right, in the series of the *nĕbi'îm* (*Diḳdûḳê*, § 70, etc.). This book is a monument of that Divine Providence which sustained the people of Israel, so that they maintained their national existence, and during a time of the strongest temptations kept safe their religious-moral ideals, which had a most important end to serve in pointing to the perfect religion and morality.

LITERATURE.—(A) *Diḳdûḳê ha-ṭĕ'amîm*, edd. Baer et Strack, 1879; Marx-Dalman, *Traditio rabbinorum veterrima de librorum Vet. Test. ordine et origine*, 1884.—(B) Felix Perles, *Analekten zur Textkritik des AT*, 1895; Adam Mez, *Die Bibel des Josephus untersucht für Buch* v.-vii. *der Archäologie*, 1895.—(C) On the literary criticism: S. R. Driver, *LOT*^{6}, 1897; Ed. König, *Einleitung in das AT*, 1893; Wilh. Frankenberg, *Die Compos. des deuteronom. Richterbuchs* (Ri 2^{6}–16), Inaugural dissertation, Marburg, 1895.—(D) Especially on the age of the sources: G. A. Cooke, *The Hist. and Song of Deborah*, 1892; C. Niebuhr, *Versuch einer Reconstellation des Debora-Lieds*, 1894; J. Marquart, *Fundamente israel. u. jüd. Gesch.* 1896.—(E) Commentaries: Rashi, etc., in *Biblia rabbinica*; Jalḳûṭ Shim'ônî (the edition used in the above article is that pub. at Frankf.-a.-M. in 1687); Michlal Jophî, ed. Abendaua, 1661; C. Bertheau in *Kgf. exeget. Hdbch.* 1883; P. Cassel in Lange's *Bibelwerk* (2nd ed. 1887); Oettli in Strack-Zöckler's *Kgf. Comm.* 1893; G. Moore in the ‘Internat. Crit. Comm.’ (Edinb., T. & T. Clark, 1895); Karl Budde in *Kurzer Hdcomm.* 1897.—(F) Chronology: *Seder olam rabba* (ed. Joh. Meyer, 1699), cap. xii.; J. C. A. Kessler, *Chronologia iudicum et primorum regum*, 1882.—(G) History: Rich. Pietschmann, *Gesch. der Phönizier* (in Oncken's ‘Allgemeine Gesch. in Einzeldarstellungen’); L. Seinecke, *Gesch. d. Volkes Israel*, 1876–1884; Stade, do., 1887 ff.; Renan, *Hist. du peuple d'Israël*, 1889 ff.; M. Vernes, *Précis d'histoire juive*, 1889; C. Niebuhr, *Gesch. des ebräischen Zeitalters*, 1894; H. Winckler, *Gesch. Israels*, 1895; Charles Piepenbring, *Hist. du peuple d'Israël*, 1898 (follows, in auswering all main questions, in the track of Budde).

ED. KÖNIG.

JUDGING (Ethical).—The practice of judging, against which we have so many warnings in the NT, consists not so much in the characterizing of particular actions or modes of life, as in making these the basis for a sweeping, and, in some cases, a final verdict on the character of those to whom they are rightly or wrongly attributed. The warnings are given in the interests both of the critic and the criticized. The practice is equally hurtful to both, and therefore if it is not absolutely condemned, it is surrounded by so many safeguards and limitations as to be practically forbidden. On the one hand it is an infringement of the royal law (Ja 2^{13}), on the other, it stands in the way of that self-criticism which is necessary to amendment of morals and progress in religion (Mt 7^{3}). The chief objection to judging, however, is that it must be based on partial knowledge; we are necessarily ignorant of the inner life, the motives and principles of other men; we are not acquainted either with the antecedent conditions of their actions, or the possibilities of justification, or progress, or amendment, that their future may contain. This is the position taken up by Jesus Christ in opposition to Jewish legalists. He declared that the latter judged according to appearance (Jn 7^{24}), according to the flesh (Jn 8^{15}). As their religion consisted in the performance of certain prescribed duties, and the avoidance of outward offences, they had a rough and ready standard by which to estimate character. Christ and St. Paul had a more righteous because more complete standard; they took into account the inner thoughts and motives, and, knowing the complexity of these, deliberately refrained from judging, even where the outward evidence seemed absolutely convincing (Jn 8^{11}, 1 Co 4^{5}). One last motive in the prohibition of judging must not be overlooked. It was necessary to exercise patience and forbearance, not only in the interests of the individual, but in those of the Church. This is at least indirectly taught in the Parable of the Tares (Mt 13^{24}), which cannot be limited exclusively to ecclesiastical discipline, and it is a prominent motive with St. Paul. It appears especially in his treatment of the 'strong' and 'weak' parties in Rome (Ro 14), and of the rival possessors of gifts in Corinth (1 Co 13). In one word, while self-judgment is enjoined, the judgment of others is discountenanced throughout the NT. J. MILLAR.

JUDGMENT.—1. The truth that God will come to the world for judgment is part of the burden of OT prophecy. The rule of God, partially realized over Israel in the days of the prophets, is destined to be made perfect, and it is to extend over all the nations of the earth. This consummation will necessitate a 'day of the Lord,' *i.e.* a judgment of the faithless in the chosen nation and of the heathen (Is 2^{12}, Jl 1^{15} 2^{1} etc.); but Israel will be saved and enjoy the blessings of a new and everlasting covenant (Is 61^{8}, Jer $31^{31\text{ff.}}$ etc.). See **Day of the Lord**, under ESCHATOLOGY, vol. i. pp. 735 ff.

2. When in later times the belief in a resurrection of the dead was developed (Dn 12^{2}), till in the time of Christ it was firmly rooted in the minds of all but the Sadducees, our Lord revealed a great universal judgment of the living and the dead, the issue, represented in figurative and therefore indeterminate speech, being now the establishment of the Messianic kingdom on earth, now the complete transformation of all that at present appears, and the advent of new heavens and a new earth. The people of Christ will be called in the judgment to an everlasting participation in the glories of His heavenly kingdom, and His enemies will have the sentence of eternal condemnation pronounced on them (Mt $13^{36\text{ff.}\ 47\text{ff.}}$ 25, Mk 13, Lk 21).

3. In accordance with the spiritual nature of the kingdom of God, and with the fact that it is even now begun on earth, we find, especially in the Johannine writings, that the judgment in one aspect or stage of it is a present act. For judgment Christ is come into this world (Jn 9^{39}). There is an actual separation of men in progress here and now, and to a great extent they themselves may see that there is nothing arbitrary in the awards which are made; the spiritual blessings bestowed on the one hand and the mental sufferings or want endured on the other, commend themselves to the enlightened conscience as just and inevitable. Christ is as a present light in the world, discerning between the souls of men, attracting and gladdening some, those who do truth, and repelling others who do evil, multiplying for them the pains of darkness, hatred, and sin (Jn $3^{18\text{ff.}}$ 12^{31}). The former are called even now to everlasting life (3^{36} 6^{47}, 1 Jn 3^{14}), and should know that they have it (1 Jn 5^{13}); the latter know not life, but abide in death, and have an immediate experience of the wrath of God (Jn 3^{36}, 1 Jn $3^{14\text{f.}}$ 5^{12}).

4. This judgment, which is in progress now, is destined to be perfected, though there is necessarily obscurity as to the future existence. In the last assize Christ will be the Judge as before (Mt $25^{31\text{ff.}}$, Ac 10^{42} 17^{31}, 2 Co 5^{10}, 2 Ti 4^{1}). Mankind will all appear before His judgment-seat. The righteous will thus have in His presence a perfect vision and possession of the goodness they have chosen in Him (2 Ti 4^{8}, 1 Jn 3^{2}); the wicked will see with dismay into what an abyss of sin and woe they have fallen (Rev 1^{7}). It may be said men will hereafter judge themselves. Those who are unlike Christ will find themselves as such to be separate from Him. The two classes of people are parted because they have acquired distinct natures like the sheep and the goats (Mt $25^{31\text{ff.}}$). The future judgment will thus be 'just,' determined by what people made of themselves when they were in the body (2 Co 5^{10}). Or the books will be opened, and men will be judged out of those things which are written in the books, according to their works (Rev 20^{12}). The character of each person is a 'book' or record, preserving, in moral and spiritual effects, all that he has been and done and loved; and in the judgment these books will be 'opened,' or each man's character will be manifested as the light of Christ falls upon it. The people of Christ themselves receive different awards at the last, according to what their life has been (Lk $19^{11\text{ff.}}$, 1 Co $3^{12\text{ff.}}$). A test like fire will try every believer's work. Some have acquired a close likeness to Christ by their lives of true holiness and love; and the greater the likeness, the more He will be known, loved, and enjoyed, or the richer they themselves will be. G. FERRIES.

JUDGMENT HALL is the AV translation in Jn $18^{28.\ 33}$ and Ac 23^{35} of the Greek *πραιτώριον*, though this word contains no reference to judging. In the RV it is rendered 'palace' or 'prætorium.' See PRÆTORIUM.

JUDGMENT SEAT.—The usual word employed for this in the NT is *βῆμα* (Mt 27^{19}, Jn 19^{13}, Ac $18^{12.\ 16\text{f.}}$ $25^{6.\ 10.\ 17}$, Ro 14^{10}, 2 Co 5^{10}), properly a 'tribune.' Two of these were provided in the law-courts of Greece, one for the accuser and one for the defendant (cf. Liddell and Scott's *Greek Lexicon* under *βῆμα*), but in the NT the word is used of the official seat (tribunal) of the Roman judge. The word *κριτήριον* used in Ja 2^{6} occurs also in 1 Co $6^{2.\ 4}$, where it is translated in RVm by 'tribunals.' See, further, art. GABBATHA.

G. W. THATCHER.

JUDITH (יְהוּדִית *Ἰουδίν, Ἰουδίθ, Ἰουδείθ*).—1. A wife of Esau, daughter of Beeri the Hittite (Gn 26^{34}) (cf. Gn 36^{2}, and see OHOLIBAMAH).

2. Heroine of the BOOK OF JUDITH; daughter of Merari, of the tribe of Simeon (8^{1} [cf. Nu 1^{6}] 9^{2}); widow of Manasses of the same tribe. See following article. F. C. PORTER.

JUDITH, BOOK OF.—1. CONTENTS.—The story of the Book of Judith in the LXX is as follows:—Nebuchadnezzar, king of the Assyrians in Nineveh, in his 12th year made war against Arphaxad king of the Medes, summoning all nations to his aid; and in his 17th year was victorious and destroyed the Median capital, Ecbatana. The next year he sent Holofernes with 132,000 men to take vengeance on the western lands which had refused to come to his help. Holof. laid waste the lands of those who resisted, and required the destruction of their sanctuaries and gods, and the sole worship of Nebuchadnezzar. The Jews feared for Jerusalem and the temple, just reconsecrated after their recent return from exile. Joakim, the high priest, and the Sanhedrin resolved upon resistance, and ordered the fortifying of certain mountain towns of Samaria which commanded the entrance into Judæa from the north. The people gave themselves to fasting and prayer. An Ammonite general, Achior, warned Holofernes, with an appeal to history, that the God of heaven protected this people unless they sinned against him, and for his counsel was delivered to the enemy. Bethulia was the point of attack, and upon the issue of its siege depended the fate of the Jewish land and religion. The three elders of the city, Ozias, Chabris, and Charmis, yielded to the demand of the famished people and promised surrender after five days. Judith, a rich young widow of the tribe of Simeon, confident of the righteousness of her people, believed that God would deliver them by her hand. Prepared by prayer, and protected by strict observance of legal rites, she made her way to Holofernes, predicted the speedy destruction of her people because she foresaw that in their hunger they would eat unclean and consecrated food, captivated him by her deceits and by her beauty, and beheaded him as he lay in a drunken stupor after a banquet in her honour. 'Her beauty took his soul prisoner; the scimitar passed through his neck.' She returned with the head to Bethulia. Achior recognized it, and at sight of it was converted to Judaism. Confusion and fear fell upon the leaderless army of the Assyrians, and the Jews slaughtered them in their flight and gained great spoils. Judith was richly rewarded and honoured, and in a song celebrated the deliverance. Peace reigned during her long life of 105 years, and for a long time after.

2. TEXTS AND VERSIONS.—The LXX text exists in three recensions, (1) B A ℵ, etc., the ruling text; (2) cod. 58, to which Old Lat. and Syriac are closely related; (3) cod. 19, 108, similar to (2).

A Hebrew original is commonly accepted, not only on the ground of Hebraisms in language and ideas, but also because of errors of translation (see 1^{8} 2^{2} $3^{1. 8. 9. 10}$ 4^{3} 8^{21} $11^{7. 11}$ $16^{3. 17}$, Fritzsche, Ball). Origen, indeed, says that he learned from Jews that they did not possess Tobit and Judith even among their 'Apocrypha' (*Ep. ad Afric.* 13), and there are no allusions to Jth in the older rabbinical literature. Yet it does not follow that the later Jewish versions are retranslations from the Greek. If the story had an independent history among Jews it is historically important to trace it. Jerome is the first witness to a Heb. (Aram.) original, and his testimony deserves attention.

The Vulgate.—Jerome (*Pref. to Jth.*) says that the Hebrews had Jth among their Apocrypha, and reckoned it among histories. His Jth he affirms to be a translation of this 'Chaldee' version, which he regarded as the original. He put into Latin 'only those things which a sound understanding could find in the Chaldee words.' His work was indeed hastily done, *in one night*, and carelessly, 'aiming to give sense for sense rather than word for word.' Probably, as in the case of Tobit, an interpreter rendered the Chaldee into Hebrew, and Jerome dictated a Latin version of the Heb. to a scribe. He, of course, had the Old Lat. before him.

Jerome's testimony is commonly set aside, and it is assumed, after Fritzsche, that his modifications of the Old Lat. were mainly arbitrary, and that we can know nothing of his Chaldee text. Is this a just verdict? The Vulg., in comparison with the Old Lat. and Greek, omits many geographical details (*e.g.* LXX 2^{28} $3^{9. 10}$ $4^{4. 6}$ 15^{4}) and many concrete incidents (*e.g.* LXX $1^{13\text{-}16}$ $2^{7\text{-}10}$ $7^{6. 17\text{-}19. 32}$ $10^{2b. 3b. 9. 10b. 17. 18. 20. 22}$ $11^{3b. 4}$ $12^{3b. 15b}$ $14^{8. 9}$ 15^{11b} 16^{24b}, and parts of $8^{2. 3. 6. 29. 31}$ 9^{1} $13^{12. 13}$ $14^{2. 3. 11. 12}$ $15^{12. 13}$). Jth.'s achievement is made less sensuous and more simply religious in character (cf. LXX 10^{4} 11^{17} $12^{13. 15. 16}$). The deceptions are less bald (LXX $11^{5\text{-}7}$ 13^{3}). Homiletical additions are made (Vulg. $4^{10\text{-}13}$ $5^{11\text{-}15}$ $9^{6\text{-}8}$ $5^{16\text{-}19}$, parts of $6^{12\text{-}21}$ $7^{19\text{-}22}$ $8^{21\text{-}26}$). Changes such as these mark a secondary form of the story. But are they due to Jerome? Against that supposition it is to be argued, (1) that it was not his way to edit, but to translate; (2) that he did not in this case take time for such revision. It is therefore probable, apart from the confirmation of the Midrash, that even such deviations of Vulg. from LXX as these were due in the main to the Chaldee version. Still more probable is this in the few cases of additional concrete detail (Vulg. $7^{6. 7}$ 11^{11} $14^{9\text{-}12}$ 16^{31}).

Further, it is probable that in Jerome's Chaldee, Bethulia was identified with Jerusalem. The Vulg. never gives a clear description of the situation of Bethulia (cf. LXX $4^{6. 7}$ $6^{7. 10. 11}$ 7^{3} 8^{3} 10^{18} 11^{2}); it omits or changes all passages which clearly distinguish Bethulia and Jerusalem up to 15^{9} (cf. LXX $4^{6. 7}$ 11^{19} 11^{13} 15^{5}; and Vulg. omits LXX $8^{21. 22. 24}$ 9^{1b} $11^{14. 15}$). Further, Vulg. contains some positive suggestions that Jerusalem is the besieged city (Vulg. 3^{14} [cf. LXX $3^{9. 10}$] $7^{3. 6. 7. 9}$ 15^{4}; and Ozias is 'prince of Judah,' Vulg. 8^{34} 13^{23}). Only in 15^{9} and perhaps $16^{22\text{-}25}$ does Vulg. *require* the distinction. This suggests that the identification is not due to Jerome but to his source.

Hebrew Versions.—The story of Jth exists in several forms in Hebrew, none of them from early sources (Jellinek, Beth ha-Midrasch, i. 130–141, ii. 12 ff. [translations in Lipsius, *Zeitschr. f. wissens. Theol.* (1867), p. 337 ff.; Ball in Wace's *Apocrypha*, i. p. 252 ff.; Scholz, *Commentar*, 2 ed., Anhang i. and ii.]; Gaster, 'An unknown Hebrew Version of the History of Jth' [*PSBA* (1894), p. 156 ff.]). Lipsius distinguishes two forms of the story, one of which is closely related to our book. In both the scene is Jerusalem, the time that of the Maccabæan wars. Judith is in some way related to the Hasmonæan house. It is Nicanor who is beheaded; and the deed is celebrated in connexion with the Feast of Dedication. Names are often omitted, and details vary widely. The long Midrash (Jellinek, ii. 12–22; Scholz, Anhang i.) summarizes chs. 1–5 briefly, but in chs. 7–14 follows the Vulgate so closely that a relationship between them is certain.* The indications of the Chaldee original in the Vulg. pointed out above are strongly confirmed by this version. The phenomena would be explained by supposing that the Midrash is a later form of Jerome's Chaldee text, still less concrete, still more general and homiletical in character. Jerusalem entirely displaces Bethulia; Holofernes is king of Greece, and Nebuch. disappears; Chabris and Charmis are priests, Ozias is prince of Israel (=Vulg. 13^{23}), and Joakim is not mentioned.

The older Form.—Scholz argues for the greater originality of the Vulgate against the LXX, and of the short Midrash (Jellinek, i. 130 f.; Lipsius, p. 355 f.; Ball, p. 252 f.; Scholz, Anh. ii.) against the long. So Gaster confidently claims originality for his Hebrew version, and is followed with surprising unreserve by Cornill (*Einl. in d. AT*^{4}, p. 272). 'It seems undoubted that here lies the simplest and most original form of the story, out of which the Greek romance grew' (cf. Ginsburg). But is the simple always the original form of a story? Gaster's argument, 'If it were an abridged text, names and situations would have been retained, and only the rhetorical portions omitted,' substitutes the interests of a modern historian for those of an ancient story-teller. On the other hand, in favour of the greater originality of the LXX version, apart from the general fact of its far greater age, it is to be urged that it is more natural to suppose (1) that elaborate but not especially significant geographical and historical details, aside from the main story, should be omitted rather than added by later editors; (2) that edifying and rhetorical embellishments, speeches, prayers, etc., should be added, not omitted; (3) that references to the Maccabæan period should be added, not removed to give place to an impossible or an unknown historical setting; (4) that the scene should be changed from Bethulia to Jerusalem, not the reverse; (5) that Greeks should take the place of Assyrians as Israel's enemy; (6) that Jth.'s lineage should be changed from the tribe of Simeon to the family of the Hasmonæans, not the reverse; and perhaps that she should be first a widow, afterwards a maiden. (She is a widow in the long Midrash).

---

* Vulg. and Midrash agree, *i.e.*, in omissions (LXX $7^{17\text{-}19. 32}$ $8^{21\text{-}23. 24b}$ 9^{1} $10^{9. 10f. 17a. 18. 22}$ $11^{4. 14}$ 12^{13b} $15^{3. 4. 5. 11b}$) and in additions (Vulg. $6^{16\text{-}18}$ $7^{6. 10. 11. 19\text{-}22}$ $8^{23\text{-}25}$ $9^{6\text{-}8}$ $10^{16\text{-}18. 20}$ $11^{12. 14. 15}$ 12^{6} $13^{6. 16. 23}$ $14^{7. 8\text{-}14}$), as well as in a multitude of lesser details.

The originality claimed for the LXX, or its Hebrew text, is, however, relative. The story may have had a long previous history.

3. PLACE OF THE STORY.—Bethulia (Betylua) cannot, in the LXX, mean Jerusalem. Its situation is so well described (in Northern Samaria, near Dothan, $4^{6.\,7}$; cf. $3^{9.\,10}$ 5^{1} $6^{7.\,10.\,11}$ $7^{3.\,18}$ 8^{3}) that few doubt its existence, though it is not otherwise known. 'To hold it for a pure fiction belongs to the gross fictions of the learned' (Fritzsche). 'He would not have built his story geographically in the air' (Schürer). It is as clearly distinguished from Jerusalem as words permit ($4^{2.\,6.\,7}$ $8^{21.\,24}$ 11^{19} $15^{5.\,8}$ $16^{18.\,20.\,21.\,23}$, cf. 8^{3}).

4. TIME OF THE STORY.—The historical setting of the LXX is impossible. Nineveh and Assyria fell 608 B.C. Nebuch., king of the Chaldæans in Babylon, destroyed Jerusalem in his 18th year (586), and died 562. The return from exile was not before 536, and the rebuilding of the temple was in 520–516. But the confusion of these events could hardly be due to ignorance. What Jew would not know the place of Nebuch. in relation to the Assyrians and to the Exile? It is possible that a copyist or translator put familiar biblical names in the place of names strange to him (Kaulen). It is also possible that the author used Nebuch. and the Assyrians as symbols, and that he meant to tell (1) no history at all but a story ('poem,' Luther), teaching that Judah is safe from all enemies if it keeps the law; or (2) future history prophetically set forth (an apocalypse, Scholz); or (3) present or recent history disguised under significant names. Thus Volkmar (1860) elaborately defended the equations: Nebuch. = Trajan, Nineveh = Rome (or Antioch), Medes = Parthians, Ecbatana = Nisibis, Holofernes = Lusius Quietus, etc. But the parallels are forced, and 'the arguments which place the Epistle of Clem. in the 1st cent. are a hundredfold stronger than those which place the Bk. of Jth in the second' (Lightfoot). More commonly the Maccabæan history is found veiled in our story. Ball suggests (not always consistently) that Nebuch. = Antiochus IV., Assyrians = Syrians, Holofernes = Nicanor, Arphaxad = Arsaces, Medes = Parthians, Jth = Judas, Bethulia = Jerusalem, Joakim = Alcimus, etc. He says, 'The Bk. of Jth is a free composition in the manner of the Haggada, principally based upon recollections of the facts of the heroic Judas, and more especially upon the facts related in 1 Mac 3^{27}–4^{61} $6^{1\text{-}7}$ $7^{26\text{-}50}$, 2 Mac $9^{1\text{-}3}$ $10^{1\text{-}8}$ 15' (cf. Holtzmann, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, 16). But the book does not readily yield to allegorical treatment. If it was written in the reign of Alexandra (B.C. 79–70) concerning the Maccabæan wars (Ball), why is the scene Bethulia, not Jerusalem? why are Judith and Ozias Simeonites? why should Judas and his exploits be so completely veiled in a book meant to glorify him and his house?

In fact, the indications of the Maccabæan age are of a general and doubtful character. The history 'points to a time when danger threatened not only the people but also its faith. . . . This reminds us of Daniel and the Maccabæan period' (Schürer). The ritualism of the book has some late marks (8^{6}). The high priest did not command Samaria ($4^{4\text{-}6}$; cf. $15^{5.\,8}$) until John Hyrcanus. Hellenistic cities were not independent after the Roman period. But, on the other hand, a writer may attempt to describe past conditions, and may make mistakes in doing so. This writer professes to tell of a time long past (14^{10} 16^{25}). That he wrote in the late Maccabæan or in the Roman period is quite probable. That he wrote primarily of the Maccabæan wars there is little sign.

Schürer now (Herzog^3, 1896) attaches importance to an early view, not mentioned in his *HJP*. 'The presupposed historical background answers more to the time of Artaxerxes Ochus. In one of his expeditions against Phœnicia and Egypt, about B.C. 350, he took also some Jewish prisoners, and among his most conspicuous generals in that campaign were the satrap (king) Holofernes of Cappadocia and the eunuch Bagoas.' Sulpicius Severus (*Chron.* ii. 14–16) first argued that Jth was an actual history of that time. Gutschmid (*Jhb. f. Klas. Phil.* 1863, p. 714) says, 'Severus seems to me to have proved as much as this, that the author of the Bk. of Jth actually meant to put her history in the time of Ochus' (so Nöldeke; Keil; W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} 439; Wellhausen, *Isr. u. Jüd. Gesch.*^{3} 186). True, Holofernes was the title of other Cappadocian kings (Ball), but no other is known to have had anything to do with the Jews (Keil). True also that Bagoas is Persian for 'eunuch.' Yet force remains in the association of the two names in Jth and in this historical assault upon Judæa under the king of the great Eastern empire. It is possible, then, that the writer lived in the 1st cent. B.C. and wrote of an event three centuries earlier. It would be possible then to think of a century or more of peace after the deliverance (16^{25} (cf. ^{23})), and to speak of the return from exile as recent (4^{3} $5^{18.\,19}$). There was no king (5^{3}), and the Joiakim of Neh $12^{10.\,26}$ might possibly be supposed to have been high priest. See also a Persian custom in 2^{7}, and compare 16^{10}.

5. HISTORICAL CHARACTER.—The early chapters of the book contain historical and geographical impossibilities, and the later chapters much self-evident romance. With the geography of Palestine, however, the writer shows great familiarity.* The historicity of Bethulia does not prove the actuality of Judith and her deed, though it is a serious obstacle to the allegorical interpretation of the book and also to the supposition that the story originally concerned the Maccabæan age.†

---

* Schlatter thinks Jth gives a true picture not only of the geographical, but also of the political, social, and religious conditions of the isolated Jewish hill towns of Northern Samaria before the time of the Maccabees.

† Cf. the part played by Bethsura in 1 Mac.

Nevertheless 'it is possible that in some Palestinian town a popular festival was celebrated in memory of the heroic deed of a woman, and that after the true occasion was forgotten and had given place to a manifoldly embellished legend, a history was composed in honour of Judith, probably before the destruction of the temple' (Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge*, p. 124). One is reminded of the little city besieged by a great king and delivered by a poor wise man (Ec $9^{14.\ 15}$), perhaps also an incident of the Persian period.

Josephus is silent both as to the invasion of Ochus and as to Jth, and his silence speaks against the antiquity of the book and its firm place in the Greek Bible of the 1st century. The NT has no reference.[*] The earliest reference is in Clem. Rom. i. 55, where Judith is put before Esther as an example of womanly heroism. The book was therefore classical, probably scriptural, about A.D. 90 among Christians. That Jewish tradition should come to connect the story with the Maccabæan period is natural.

6. Literary Character.—The book is a work of literary skill, 'as a work of art quite perfect' (Ewald). 'The representation contains nothing diffuse, bombastic, forced, but is short, simple, natural, and betrays originality. . . . Appropriate, in part admirable, are the particular descriptions. . . . Extraordinarily successful is the song of praise at the close of the book. . . . I put it unhesitatingly by the side of the best poetical products of the Hebrew spirit' (Fritzsche, 127 f., 209).

7. Religious and Ethical Teachings.—The religious ideas of the book are of the Pharisaic type, particularistic and legal. Patriotism centres in zeal for the temple ($4^{2.\ 3.\ 11\text{-}15}$ $8^{21.\ 24}$ $9^{8.\ 13}$; cf. 5^{19} 9^{1} 11^{13} $16^{18\text{-}20}$). Israel can suffer no harm unless it sin against God ($5^{17\text{-}21}$ $11^{10\text{-}19}$). The fatal sin might be the most excusable of ritual transgressions ($11^{12\text{ff.}}$), though Judith's confidence rests chiefly on the freedom of her race from idolatry ($8^{18\text{-}20}$). In the account of Judith's own piety the food laws (10^{5} $11^{12\text{-}15}$ $12^{1\text{-}9.\ 19}$), fasts (8^{6}), washings ($12^{7.\ 9}$), and prayer (9. 11^{17} 12^{8} $13^{4.\ 5}$) are emphasized. Her persistent widowhood is praised (16^{22}; cf. $8^{4\text{-}8}$). Social virtues are wanting, except the freeing of her slave (16^{23}).[†] The Pharisaic union of determinism and freedom is to be observed. Salvation comes from God, and all is in accordance with His will ($8^{11\text{-}27}$ $9^{5\text{-}14}$ $16^{13\text{-}17}$). Yet it is not through angel or miracle, but through the wisdom and boldness of Judith that deliverance is wrought (cf. $8^{32\text{-}34}$ 10^{9} $15^{9.\ 10}$). But she gets her strength by prayer (9. 12^{8} $13^{4.\ 5}$), and the glory of God is greater because of the weakness of the means through which so great a triumph was achieved (9^{11} $16^{6.\ 7.\ 11.\ 12}$). The absence of angels and miracles (cf. Tobit) and of future life and Messianic hope is to be noted. A proselyte is welcomed (14^{10}).

For history of Jth in the Canon, see Apocrypha.

Literature.—Commentaries by Fritzsche (1853), Volkmar (1860), Wolff (1861, defends historical character), Ball (*Speaker's Com.* 1888), Scholz (2nd ed. 1896, Roman Catholic); Löhr in Kautzsch's *Apocryphen und Pseudepigraphen*, 1898. On Hebrew versions, see above. Further under Apocrypha. Cf. Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. 32 ff., *RE*^{3} i. 644 f., *GJV*^{3} iii. 167 ff.; C. D. Ginsburg in Kitto's *Cyclop. Bibl. Lit.*; A. Schlatter, *Zur Topographie und Geschichte Palästinas*, ch. 23 (1893).

F. C. Porter.

JUEL.—1. (Ἰουνά) 1 Es 9^{34}=Uel, Ezr 10^{34}. **2.** (A Ἰουήλ, B Οὐήλ) 1 Es 9^{35}=Joel, Ezr 10^{43}.

JULIA (Ἰουλία).—One of those greeted by St. Paul in Ro 16^{15} with Philologus, Nereus, Olympas, and others. It has been suggested that Philologus and Julia were husband and wife, and the others members of the family. The name was the commonest of all Roman female names, commonest of all among slaves of the imperial household, and nothing can be proved by it. The following inscription is interesting (*CIL* vi. 20416): D.M | IVLIAE NEREI · F · | CLAVDIAE.

A. C. Headlam.

JULIUS (Ἰούλιος).—The name of the centurion in whose custody St. Paul journeyed to Rome (Ac $27^{1.\ 3}$). When it was determined that St. Paul with his companions should sail to Italy, he was delivered with his companions 'to a centurion named Julius of the Augustan cohort.' Throughout the voyage the centurion is represented as treating his prisoner with some kindness and distinction. He was allowed to go ashore and see his friends at Sidon. Although the centurion does not attend to the apostle's warnings at first (vv.$^{9.\ 11}$), it is at his instigation that he orders the soldiers to cut away the boat (v.$^{31\text{f.}}$), and it is to save him that he prevents the soldiers from killing the prisoners (v.$^{42\text{f.}}$). On arrival at Rome, St. Paul was allowed to live by himself with the soldier who guarded him (Ac 28^{16}).

Two points in this narrative demand close attention, the **Augustan cohort** and the statement last made. We will take the latter first. There is an interesting variation of text. The best of the MSS (ℵABI) and Vulg. Pesh. Boh. read in Ac 28^{16} 'And when we entered into Rome, Paul was suffered to abide by himself with the soldier that guarded him.' This is adopted by WH and by Blass in his α text. The latter in his β text on the authority of HLP$^{\text{etc.}}$ Harcl.$^{\text{cor.}}$ *Gig*, reads, 'the centurion handed over the prisoners to the head of the camp, while Paul was allowed to remain by himself without the camp with the soldiers that guarded him.' The word translated 'head of the camp' is in Greek *στρατοπεδάρχης*, while the one representative of the Old Latin we have here reads *principi peregrinorum*. It must be remembered that D and most Old Latin authorities are defective in this place. A portion of this latter reading is found in the TR, and has always been interpreted as referring to the *præfectus prætorio*; stress has been laid on the singular, and it has been supposed necessarily to refer to a date before 62 while Burrhus filled the office alone. Prof. Mommsen tells us that neither the term nor the duty is consonant with Roman usage, and suggests another interpretation based primarily on the technical Latin word, which appears in the version *princeps peregrinorum*. In order to perfect the organization of the Roman army and the communications with the legions on the frontier, there was a body of troops detached from the foreign legions called *frumentarii*. At some date or other they were organized under a head of their own, and had a camp on the Cælian hill. It was called the *castra peregrinorum*, and the head of it the *princeps castrorum peregrinorum* or *princeps peregrinorum*. This is represented in the Greek apparently less correctly, or at least less technically, by *στρατοπεδάρχης*. To this body of messengers, constantly travelling backwards and forwards, it would be natural that prisoners should be entrusted, and there is evidence to that effect. It had been usual in the absence of evidence to refer this organization to the time of Hadrian, but Mommsen thinks it more probable that it dates from the time of Augustus, and would use the Acts for evidence to that effect.

But the question now arises—What is the authority of the text? for this may be a crucial instance of the value of the β text. How, on Blass's theory, did it come about that St. Luke substituted a vague phrase for the technical language he had previously employed? If his theory be incorrect, which reading is intrinsically likely to be altered? It has become the fashion to hint that the β reading is here correct; but it may be pointed out that the phrase which is most correct technically, that of the Latin MSS, is the work of a translator who, being a Roman, would presumably have more accurate knowledge than the original writer, giving precision in his translations by employing a technical word. Following that line of argument it might be suggested that perhaps here we have an instance in which the more precise text of β arose from the influence of the Latin version and possibly bilingual MSS. At any rate, the β text is here very definitely connected with Rome.

---

[*] Cf. 1 Co $10^{9.\ 10}$ with Vulg. Jth 8^{25} (Scholz).

[†] The question of the morality of Judith's deed should not be discussed without reference to the existing state of war, and to such examples as Jael and Esther.

But what is the meaning of the *σπεῖρα Σεβαστή*? The *cohortes* of the Roman legion had no special designation, and therefore in this case we must have a cohort of auxiliary troops; and many such were named *Augusta*. But then we should have an auxiliary used for services for which, as far as we know, they were not employed. Mommsen seems to suggest a connexion with the *cohors peregrinorum*, although confessing that this name and that of the **Italian band** are still unsolved. Ramsay, starting from this suggestion, develops it as follows: 'But when we recollect (1) that Luke regularly uses the terms of educated conversation, not the strict technical terms; and (2) that he was a Greek who was careless of Roman forms or names, we shall not seek in this case to treat the Greek name (*σπεῖρα Σεβαστή*) as a translation of a correct Roman name; but we shall look for a body in the Roman service which was likely to be called "the troops of the Emperor" by the persons in whose society Luke moved at the time . . . we conclude, then, that "the troops of the Emperor" was a popular colloquial means of describing the corps of officer-couriers; and we thus gather from *Acts* an interesting fact, elsewhere unattested but in perfect conformity with the known facts' (*St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 315).

The conclusions of Professors Mommsen and Ramsay, which are almost always full of interest, are given with this warning, that a superstructure, however ingenious, is built on a slight foundation when it is based on a reading which on external grounds has no claim to acceptance, and may easily be a correction of the 2nd century introducing the precise phraseology and writing of the later date.

The attempt of Schürer (*HJP* I. ii. 53) to connect the Augustan band with a *σπεῖρα Σεβαστηνῶν* does not give any assistance to the problem, and is based on a confusion of ideas.

LITERATURE.—Mommsen and Harnack in *Sitzungsberichte d. Berl. Akad.* 1895, p. 501; Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 53; Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, pp. 314, 315, 347, 348; Wieseler, *Chron. d. Apost.* ix. p. 391 (not seen).

A. C. HEADLAM.

JUNIAS (or **JUNIA**).—In Ro 16^7 St. Paul greets Andronicus and Junias (or Junia); the name being in the accusative, the sex is not determined (*Ἀνδρόνικον καὶ Ἰουνίαν*). If masculine, the name is a shortened form of Junianus; if feminine, Junia is a common name. As has been pointed out under ANDRONICUS (wh. see), there is a little doubt as to whether the two are to be included among the apostles—probably they are to be, the word being taken in its wider signification. In that case it is hardly likely that the name is feminine, although, curiously enough, Chrysostom does not consider the idea of a female apostle impossible: 'And, indeed, to be apostles at all is a great thing. But to be even amongst those of note, just consider what a great encomium this is. But they were of note owing to their works and their achievements. Oh! how great is the devotion of this woman, that she should be even counted worthy of the appellation of apostle.'

A. C. HEADLAM.

JUNIPER (רֹתֶם *rōthem*).—*Rōthem* occurs three times in the Bible. Elijah sat under a *rōthem* (1 K 19^4). The LXX transliterates this *Ῥαθμέν*. The poor are said to cut up the roots of the *rōthem* for food (Job 30^4), LXX *ῥίζας ξύλων*. The tongue is compared (Ps 120^4) to coals of *rōthem*, LXX *τοῖς ἄνθραξιν τοῖς ἐρημικοῖς*. It is clear from these references that the LXX did not understand what was meant by *rōthem*. The Arab. happily furnishes the clue. *Ratam* is a sort of broom, *Retama Retem*, L., which grows in all the deserts of Egypt, Sinai, and the Holy Land. The tr. (AV in all, and RV ,text 1 K 19^4, Ps 120^4) 'juniper' is incorrect. 'Broom' (RV text Job 30^4, and marg. in other passages) is somewhat misleading. The particular species of plant not growing in other lands had better be called by its indigenous name *ratam*.

The *ratam* is a glabrescent shrub, with a few linear leaves, 3–4 lines long, purplish white flowers, half an inch long, 1–5 together in subsessile clusters along the twigs, and obliquely ovate, 1-seeded, beaked pods, half an inch long. The shrub gives the poorest kind of shade, and yet it is often the only refuge from the blazing sun of the desert. Its roots are suitable for burning, and are used for making charcoal. They would be poor eating indeed. This has led some to suppose that שֹׁרֶשׁ *shōresh* (Job 30^4), may mean the seeds which are said to be eaten by sheep. For this, however, there is no etymological warrant. The LXX tr. is against it.

G. E. POST.

JUPITER in 2 Mac 6^2 is Zeus, the supreme god in the Greek pantheon. Zeus Xenios (*ib.*), *i.e.* Zeus the god of hospitality and protector of strangers, was worshipped throughout the Greek world. Zeus Olympios (*ib.*), Olympian Zeus, was probably so called because first worshipped on Mount Olympus in North Thessaly; but owing to the influence of the Homeric poetry the epithet became familiar wherever Greek was spoken, and the god was widely worshipped under that name, *e.g.* at Athens, Chalcis, Megara, Olympia, Sparta, Corinth, Syracuse, Naxos, and Miletus (Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, I. iv.). The juxtaposition of the two cults by Antiochus Epiphanes, who specially honoured Zeus *Olympios* (Nestle, *Marg.* p. 42), would imply to the Greek mind that the supreme God who ruled the whole world, whether of Greeks or foreigners (*Xenios*), was not J″, but the Zeus Olympios who had been a Greek god from the earliest, *i.e.* Homeric, times.

The Jupiter of Ac $14^{12.13}$ though called Zeus, was not the Greek god, but the native god of the Lycaonian population, whose Lycaonian name was represented in Greek as Zeus. The reading of Codex Bezæ in v.^{13} is *τοῦ ὄντος Διὸς πρὸ πόλεως*, and is to be translated 'of Zeus, who is called Zeus Propoleôs,' *i.e.* 'Jupiter-before-the-town'—the epithet *Propoleôs* being given to the god because his temple was outside the town; cf. the inscription in Claudiopolis of Isauria to *Δὶ Προαστίῳ* (Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, pp. 51–53). The remains of this temple have not yet been discovered; but, in the opinion of Ramsay, they might be identified with but very little excavation.

In Ac 19^{35} ('the image which fell down *from Jupiter*,' *τὸ [ἄγαλμα] διοπετές*) the phrase 'from Jupiter' is simply = 'from the clear sky' (see Ramsay, p. 604 n. of vol. i. of this Dictionary).

F. B. JEVONS.

JUSHAB-HESED (יוּשַׁב חֶסֶד 'loving-kindness is returned').—A son of Zerubbabel, 1 Ch 3^{20}.

JUSTICE is in Scripture essentially identical with Righteousness (wh. see). The same words (צַדִּיק, צֶדֶק, צְדָקָה, *δίκαιος*, *δικαιοσύνη*) are rendered now by one and now by the other term, but chiefly by 'righteous,' 'righteousness.' The tendency in RV is to replace 'just' by 'righteous'; see Ps 89^{14}, Pr 4^{18}; in Pr 10$^{6.7}$ the same word is rendered both 'just' and 'righteous.' Referring to the artt. on Justification and Righteousness for detailed exposition of the meaning and development of the idea, we need here refer only to general considerations.

The Eng. word 'justice,' in addition to the broad sense in which it denotes moral excellence in general and is equivalent to righteousness, has acquired the special sense of honesty, fairness to others, and then judicial righteousness, whereas 'righteousness' has kept to its original meaning. In Scripture it is the broad sense that is almost exclusively meant in reference both to God and man. Or, put in another way, the justice or righteousness of Scripture denotes almost exclusively moral and religious perfection, of which every other moral excellence is a necessary corollary. There are indeed the beginnings of a special meaning, but little more; thus 'just balances' (Lv 19^{36}), 'One that ruleth over men righteously' (2 S 23^{3}), 'Whatsoever is right I will give you' (Mt 20^{4}). But, in the main, Scripture refers only to absolute, essential righteousness; in demanding this it demands all.

Such absolute, universal righteousness is everywhere affirmed of God: 'Just and right is he' (Dt 32^{4}), 'A just God and a saviour' (Is 45^{21}), 'The Lord is righteous; he loveth righteousness' (Ps 11^{7}), 'That he might himself be just' (Ro 3^{26}). God is indeed spoken of as a Judge, Gn 18^{25}, Ps 7^{11}, Is 33^{22} (שֹׁפֵט), but it is in the general sense of ruler, sovereign. It is evident, on the principle that the greater includes the less, that every special form of justice — legislative, retributive — is included in and follows from the general idea. The justice ascribed to God is absolute, perfect. 'Thou that art of purer eyes than to behold evil, and that canst not look on perverseness' (Hab 1^{13}).

The term is used in the same comprehensive sense of men. The good are the just or righteous in contrast with the wicked (Ps 37^{12} etc.). The Lord Jesus is so described (Ac 3^{14}, 1 P 3^{18}). 'Whatsoever things are just' (Ph 4^{8}). 'A just man' is the comprehensive description given of individuals (Gn 6^{9}, Mt 1^{19}, Mk 6^{20}, Lk 2^{25} 23^{50}, Ac 10^{22}, 2 P 2^{7}. A bishop must be just (Tit 1^{8}).

Assuming that justice and mercy are the two complementary aspects of holiness, justice is the aspect emphasized in the OT. It may be regarded as distinctively the OT attribute or virtue. Not that this aspect is superseded in NT. The entire teaching of the Sermon on the Mount goes to show that Christianity immensely deepens OT ideas. But in the gospel mercy takes the central place. This is the natural order of revelation. 'The law was given by Moses; grace and truth came by Jesus Christ' (Jn 1^{17}). Justice as righteousness forms the solid substratum of moral character in God and man, and must come first; but this point being secured, mercy lifts us to a higher stage (Ro 13^{10}). The revelation of righteousness is crowned by the revelation of love (1 Jn 4^{8}). Thus the two testaments each play a distinct part in the revelation of moral truth. J. S. BANKS.

JUSTIFICATION.—To 'justify' means to set right, or to put on a right footing, one whose relation, either in consequence of misunderstanding or misrepresentation, or because of misconduct, has been what it should not be. Where there has been no real wrong-doing, 'justification' is simply vindication or declaration of innocence or rectitude; where there has been real wrong-doing, it presupposes the fulfilment of some condition by which the wrong-doing is made good or expiated. In both cases a relation more or less abnormal is changed into one that is normal,—in the one by means of more *light*, in the other by means of more *right*.

Neither the Heb. צדק (*Pi.* and *Hiph.*) nor the Gr. *δικαιοῦν* means to *make righteous*, but simply to put in a right relation. It is a question primarily of relationship, not of character or conduct; though the relationship is conceived as conditioning both character and conduct.

The fundamental meaning of *δικαιόω* is 'to settle or recognize as right.' In Class. Lit. it means (1) to hold or deem right, Herod. i. 100; Eurip. *Supplic.* 526; Thuc. i. 140. 2; ii. 41. 2, etc.; (2) to do a man justice, *i.e.* in general, to judge or punish, Herod. iii. 29, and so frequently in later Greek, especially Dio Cassius (cf. the Scots use of 'justify'). *δικαιόω* came to be a technical term in ecclesiastical Greek in sense (1), used of the decree of councils, *ἐδικαίωσεν ἡ ἁγία καὶ μεγάλη σύνοδος*, Can. 17, Conc. Nic.

In LXX (OT and Apoc.) it is used to translate the Piel and Hiph'il of צדק (Qal=*δεδικαιῶσθαι*), almost always with a personal object: so Ex 23^{7}. The root meaning everywhere seems to be, 'to set forth as righteous,' to justify, in a legal sense. This may signify either (1) to show one to be righteous, Ezk 16$^{51.52}$, Jèr 3^{11}; or (2) to declare righteous, Dt 25^{1}, 1 K 8^{32}. Similarly in the Pseudepigraphical Books, *e.g.* Ps.-Sol ii. 16, ix. 3, where it means to justify God.

In NT the sense is determined largely by the usage of LXX. We have (1) to show one to be righteous, 1 Co 4^{4}, Lk 7^{35}; (2) to pronounce righteous, as a judicial act, Lk 16^{15} 7^{29}; (3) in Pauline usage *δικαιοῦν* denotes the judicial act of God whereby those who put faith in Christ are declared righteous in His eyes, free from guilt and punishment, Ro 4^{5}, Gal 2^{16} *et passim.* (3) is thus an expansion and Christian application of (2). In Ro 8^{30} *δικαιοῦν* is specifically mentioned as an element in the divine work of saving the individual. Cremer points out that while in Hebrew Hiph. presupposes Qal, — justification, the being just,—the converse is true in Greek (*δικαιοῦν—δεδικαιῶσθαι*).

In general we may say that in Bibl. Lit. the word *δικαιοῦν* is used always, or almost always, in the forensic sense, and that its proper meaning is to pronounce righteous. Of itself it does not affirm or deny the *real* righteousness of the person so declared, or treated as, righteous, and in so far as he is not really righteous it implies forgiveness. But it may be taken as certain that it cannot mean to *make* righteous, not even in 1 Co 6^{11}. Verbs in *-όω*, derived from adjectives of *moral* meaning, never have this *efficient* signification. Godet (*Com. on Rom.* Eng. tr. i. 157) goes so far as to say that there is not a single example in the whole of Class. Lit. where the word = to make righteous. And the usage of the NT is unmistakable. See esp. Morison, *Crit. Expos. of the Third Chap. of the Ep. to the Rom.* pp. 163–198.

A word may be added on two other terms. *δικαίωμα* is the declaration or decision, either (1) that a thing is *δίκαιον*, or (2) that a person is *δίκαιος*. (1) gives us the common meaning of 'ordinance' or 'precept,' Lk 1^{6}, Ro 8^{4}, He 9^{1}; (2) the technical Pauline sense in Ro 5$^{16.18}$. *δικαίωμα* is the act of justification regarded as complete; *δικαίωσις* (a word occurring only twice in NT, elsewhere replaced by the verb *δικαιοῦν*) is the act as in process, which, therefore, when relating to sinners = the act of acquittal, as is especially clear from Ro 5^{18}.

See also under RIGHTEOUSNESS.

Put into a sentence, the point of view of this article may be stated as follows:—God has ever been seeking to establish normal personal *relations* between Himself and sinful men; and so far as men have responded to the divine movement, as befitted that movement, on the one hand, and the stage of their personal and moral development to which the movement accommodated itself, on the other, such a normal *relation* was established. That relation was *justification.* The first step was thus taken to God's being to man that without which man could not be to God, still less in himself, what he was designed to be.

I. The act of justification may affect various relations.

1. *A man's relation to himself.*—A man may seek to set himself right with himself, in other words, to justify himself to himself. Something of this kind is implied in 1 Co 4$^{3.4}$ 'I judge not mine own self. For I know nothing against myself; yet am I not hereby justified: but He that judgeth me is the Lord'; and in 1 Jn 3$^{19.20}$ 'Hereby shall we know that we are of the truth, and shall assure our heart before Him, whereinsoever our heart condemn us;

because God is greater than our heart, and knoweth all things.' Such justification is, of course, exclusively the vindication or clearing up of one's own innocence or rectitude before or to oneself. There is such a thing as mistaken self-judgment: it may be either for the better or the worse.

2. *A man's relation to his fellow-man.*—Men set themselves right with their fellow-men, whether regarded individually or corporately. If a man have been *misrepresented,* to justify himself is to clear or vindicate himself in the particular respect in which he has been misjudged; if, on the other hand, he is *guilty of wrong* in thought or word or act, the wrong relation thence arising or thereby constituted, has to be rectified by some sort of expiation or good-making of the wrong. It may be by confession of fault, or an expression of regret, or the payment of a fine, or loss of liberty, or endurance of suffering. In the legislation of Israel, as set forth in OT, provision was made both for the vindication of innocence (Nu 5[18ff.]) and the making good of real wrong-doing (Ex 21[19-30] 22[14]).

3. *Men are sometimes set right or justified by others*; that, too, in both senses, namely, the vindication of innocence or rectitude, and atonement for wrong. The *former* is referred to in Dt 25[1] 'If there be a controversy between men, and *the judges* judge them; then they shall justify the righteous and condemn the wicked.' Justification of the wicked for a reward, on the contrary, is denounced in Is 5[23]. In Ezk 16[51.52] Jerus. is satirically represented as justifying her sinful sisters, *i.e.* causing them to appear righteous, by her own abominations (cf. Jer 3[11]). *Amends* might also be made for evil-doing within certain limits. Elihu is represented as anxious that Job should make clear his rectitude, as, *e.g.*, in Job 33[32], where we read: 'If thou hast anything to say, answer me: speak, for I desire to justify thee'; and it is said of God in Ps 37[6], 'He shall make thy righteousness to go forth as the light, and thy judgment as the noonday' (cf. Is 54[17]).

4. *The justification of men before God* is often referred to, but only to be characterized as impossible; that, too, in *both respects.* Such failure is distinctly pronounced inevitable in Ps 143[2] 'Enter not into judgment with Thy servant: for in Thy sight shall no man living be justified.' See also Job 25[4] 'How then can man be just with God?' In NT the same thing is both everywhere implied and often expressly affirmed, as, *e.g.*, in Gal 2[16] 'because by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified' (cf. Ro 3[20]), Ac 13[39] 'by him every one is justified from all things from which ye could not be justified by the law of Moses.'

Not only is the impossibility of vindicating their righteousness before God denied to men, but also that of setting themselves right by making amends for or expiating unrighteousness. That it cannot be effected by *works,* is clear from declarations like Is 57[12] 'as for thy works, they shall not profit thee'; and especially Is 64[6] 'For we are all become as one that is unclean, and all our righteousnesses are as a polluted garment . . . and our iniquities like the wind have taken us away.' Further, to say, 'The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord are these,' is to 'trust in lying words' (Jer 7[4]). But equally out of the question is it to purchase the divine favour by mere *sacrifices*; for 'In sacrifice and offering He has no delight' (Ps 40[6] 51[16]); 'I desire mercy, and not sacrifice' (Hos 6[6]; cf. Ps 4[5]); a multitude of sacrifices is nothing to Him (Is 1[11]); 'the solemn meeting,' 'new moons,' 'appointed feasts,' His 'soul hateth' (Is 1[13]); yea, 'The sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination to the Lord' (Pr 15[8] 21[27]).

As to NT—the impossibility either of vindicating righteousness or making amends for sin by works of the law and by sacrifices, is the *burden* of the Epp. of St. Paul and of that to the Hebrews, besides being everywhere else implied (cf. *e.g.* Gal 2[16], Ro 3[20], He 10[5-8] where Ps 40 is quoted: 'Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not . . . in whole burnt-offerings and sacrifices for sin thou hadst no pleasure').

5. The impossibility of justification in the sight of God, thus explicitly affirmed in the particular cases adduced, is implicitly assumed throughout OT and NT. In point of fact, the idea that men should either vindicate their own innocence or rectitude, or that they of themselves, or any creature for them, should establish a right relation between God and themselves, by acts or sacrifices, or anything of their own, is totally alien from the spirit and life that produced the writings which constitute our Bible.

Passages, indeed, in which all manner of good deeds are required, whilst contempt is cast on sacrifices and the like, may seem and are often taken to imply that by right conduct men can set themselves right with God; but this is by no means their import. As *fruits* of a right relation, both sacrifices and right conduct are obligatory and pleasing to God; as *means of establishing a right relation,* the one is an abomination, the other utterly insufficient (cf. Ps 51[15-17] with v.[19] of the same psalm).

II. 'Justification,' however, understanding it as previously defined, is undoubtedly recognized both as possible and as a fact. Men are actually set right with God, notwithstanding their sin, and their utter inability to expiate or make amends for sin.

1. 'Justification' is in some sense ascribed even to *Gentiles.* In this respect the case of Cornelius is typical. 'Of a truth,' says St. Peter regarding him, 'I perceive that God is no respecter of persons: but in every nation he that feareth Him and worketh righteousness, is *acceptable* to Him' (Ac 10[34.35]; cf. Ps 15[2], He 11[33], Mt 8[5-13], Ro 2[14], Ac 28[28] 15[17]). To be 'acceptable' is to be on the footing with God, in the relation to Him, which conditions the bestowal of such grace as a man is capable of receiving, *i.e.* to be justified. In a certain respect Abraham may be regarded as an example of Gentile 'justification'; for, as St. Paul emphatically affirms, his faith was 'reckoned for righteousness . . . when he was in *uncircumcision*'; 'that he might be the father of all them that *believe, though they be in uncircumcision*' (Ro 4[9-11]). When he believed, he was neither Jew nor Christian.

2. 'Justification' was, further, a common experience under the *Old Covenant.* The proof of this lies first and foremost in the fact of *forgiveness,* which St. Paul treats as constituting an integral part of justification, even if he does not, as some hold, identify the two. Forgiveness followed on the offering of appointed sacrifices, and is represented as an experience which many had, and all might have, at the hands of God. The frequent injunctions to trust in the Lord, and the many declarations that it is a good thing to trust in Him, point in the same direction. How otherwise shall we account for the consciousness of righteousness which is expressed by men who at the same time make confession of sin? And the confidence placed in God as the hearer and answerer of prayer, as a refuge and stronghold, as a support and a defence, and so forth? These are either justification itself or its fruits.

3. It scarcely needs saying that the fact of justification before God is the great theme of NT, especially of the Epistles to the Galatians, Romans, and Hebrews. Whilst, as was pointed out, the self-rectification of man's abnormal relation to God, whether by 'works of law,' *i.e.* by a self-generated righteousness, or by means of sacrifice and offerings or other religious services

(Gal 3$^{9-12}$), is treated as almost ridiculously impracticable, the blessed news is brought that though all have sinned, all may find justification through faith in Christ, whom God has set forth as a propitiation (Ro 3$^{21-26}$).

III. But by what right, it will be asked, can 'justification' be affirmed, not only of Israelites, but even of Gentiles? The Apostle Paul's correlation of Abraham with believers in Christ (Ro 4$^{20-25}$), has puzzled commentators enough; how then can it be right to correlate with them those whom St. Paul is supposed to represent as having been shut up under a law which brought the knowledge of sin (Ro 3^{20}), and therefore the certainty of judgment (Ro 2$^{5-11}$); whilst the sacrifices which were offered are said to make no one perfect as pertaining to the conscience? (He 9^{9}). And is it not still less admissible to extend 'justification' to those who are characterised as 'sinners of the Gentiles'? (Gal 2^{15}).

The difficulty now touched upon affects all the three aspects of the subject, viz., first, *the divine action* (Ro 3$^{20-26}$ *et passim*); then, the human *faith*, which, no less than divine action, is necessary to justification; and, finally, the very nature of the *relation* itself, which is termed justification.

It can only be met by the recognition, on the one hand, of the distinction between *implicit* and *explicit* justification; and, on the other, of the fact that between implicit and explicit justification there are or may be *stages* which are not subjected to the limits of earth and time.

The three points just referred to can be represented by means of concentric spheres, the outermost of which shall stand for the Gentiles, the two inner ones respectively for the Israelites and Christian believers; though it needs to be noted that since the break-up of the Jewish system—perhaps, also, largely prior thereto—the distinction between the Israelites and the Gentiles, so far as justification is concerned, has gradually been becoming less and less; their two spheres have therefore been merging into one. For there is no nation now that can be said to have legal, sacrificial, and religious institutions to which God stands in the same relation, or which discharge the same function relatively to God, as those which are summarily designated the Jewish Dispensation or Covenant. Let us consider the three points in relation to the three classes of cases specified.

1. In the case of the *Gentiles*, the divine action consists in the opening of the human eye to the sacredness and absoluteness of the right. This takes place ordinarily in connexion with some specific duty. 'I am under a sacred or absolutely binding obligation to do this or not to do that,' the man *feels*, or possibly says to himself. His eye or ear has been opened: a revelation has been made to him. If he respond, yea, and is ready to do what he sees to be right or avoid what he sees to be wrong, he has attained to a footing which for his stage of personal development is right,—in other words, he has exercised that element of faith which is possible at that stage, and attained *implicit justification.*

If he continue faithfully to say, yea, with the same purpose of obedience, even though he have to confess many failures of execution, he is destined one day to stand face to face with Christ, and, by the exercise of full, explicit faith in Him, to become partaker of that conscious peace with God of which previously he had and could have only glimpses and foretastes.

2. Speaking generally, the purpose of the *Jewish Dispensation* was, *negatively* considered, to check the decrease in humanity of the sensitiveness which conditioned justification of the kind just described; *positively* considered, on the one hand, to develop a moral personality that should be capable of justification at ever higher stages; and, on the other hand, prepare the way for the coming and work of the Son of God, by which justification in its highest potence was to be rendered possible.

Abraham was a morally faithful man of the type of Cornelius. The special command and promise given him by God, and his ready obedience, both taken together, rendered possible a higher relation than was open to Gentiles under the conditions previously described.

In and through Abraham, God took the principles of heredity and sociality into the service of the higher spiritual development of the race, instead of leaving them to subserve, almost exclusively, its degradation. For the positive purpose referred to, that is, of developing the moral personality, two methods were pursued; *first*, institutions were regulated or called into existence, and laws were enacted or sanctioned, by which the moral consciousness was quickened, or, as St. Paul puts it, the knowledge of sin was increased (Ro 3^{20}); and, *secondly*, along therewith sacrifices were sanctioned or ordered, by which a way of forgiveness was provided. Still further, with a view to checking the too natural tendency to the conception of righteousness and sacrifice which eventually dominated the mind of the vast majority of the Jewish nation,—the protest against which, be it remarked, largely colours, not only St. Paul's two great Epp. to the Galatians and Romans, but also the Ep. to the Hebrews,—prophets were commissioned, on the one hand, gradually to develop the law and unfold its true significance; and, on the other, to denounce perfunctory sacrifices, offerings, and observances.

The Israelite who loyally recognized the 'law,' that is, the entire complex of duties arising out of his national relationship, as God's means of showing him how to be holy as He was holy (Lv 19), and who availed himself of the divinely provided means of atoning for his failures, exercised faith, so far as it was then possible and required. *Ipso facto*, he thus behaved as one who belonged to the covenant, notwithstanding the sins he might commit. As such his relation was a right one; he was justified to the degree then attainable. If he were ever condemned, it was not for sins, but for open disloyalty to the covenant, with its obligations and sacrifices, *i.e.* for defiant refusal to recognize right as right and grace as grace. But even true Israelites had to wait for the new covenant which God was to make with the house of Israel, when the law should be written in their hearts (He 8^{10}); though their attitude grew to be ever more completely that which we find in Simeon, who, when Jesus was presented to him in the temple, exclaimed, 'Now lettest Thou Thy servant depart, O Lord, according to Thy word, in peace; for mine eyes have seen Thy salvation' (Lk 2$^{29.30}$).

3. 'Justification' reached its culmination through Christ. The realization of the idea and the adoption of the term coincided. The *Gentile* had no proper sense even of forgiveness, much less of justification; but then his sense of sin was not keen enough to cause him real despair because of the lack. The *Israelite* had a profounder sense of sin, and therefore, unless he was to despair, needed an assurance of forgiveness as objective as the command which condemned him; but he never got beyond *sins*, and therefore never realized justification, in the proper sense; nor had he the term. It was reserved for Christianity to produce the consciousness of *sin*, and to meet what would otherwise have generated despair, by opening the way to justification. The apostle who faced *sinfulness* most directly, was the one to gain the profoundest insight into justification; and it is worthy of note that whilst St. Paul stretches a bridge from forgiveness to justi-

fication by once interchanging the terms (Ro 4^{6-8}), he nowhere else substitutes the one term for the other, except in Col 2^{13}, where he uses, not ἀφείς, but χαρισάμενος.

First of all, the *divine action* for the rectification of man's relation to Himself culminated in Christ. Through Him, *law*, revealed alike in life and suffering, and *sacrifice* both by and to God, were presented in their supremest form. Opportunity was thus given, nay more, potential ability was also generated, to respond with a *response* in which *loyal assent* to the right, *trustful surrender* to love, and, finally,—so far as those are concerned who have not seen Christ with the fleshly eye,—*belief* that realizes the invisible, are all blended, *i.e.* a response which is what NT understands by 'faith.'

Such a response under such conditions,—what is it but 'a beginning in spirit' (ἐναρξάμενοι πνεύματι, Gal 3^{3-5}; cf. 3^2 4^6 $5^{5ff.}$, He 8^{8-12}), a 'receiving of sonship' (ἵνα τὴν υἱοθεσίαν ἀπολάβωμεν, Gal 4^{1-5}), and therefore the ability to look up to God as a son, 'crying, Abba, Father' (Gal $4^{6.7}$); in other words, what is it but, *ipso facto*, 'justification,' that is, a rectified relation, a being put on a right footing, in a right relation? The Christian believer is related rightly to God; accordingly law ceases to be mere law, and sacrifice ceases to be a means of purchasing grace; and though he may fall into sin, he can still look up to God as one whose relation has once for all been made right in and through Christ.

(Neither the Roman Catholic and other present-day kindred doctrines which represent justification as in some sense imparting *real* righteousness; nor the traditional or 'orthodox' doctrine of an imputation of the righteousness of Christ, are true to Scripture, though each of them embodies a certain aspect of the truth.)

How Christ by His work on our behalf empowered man to fulfil the conditions devolving on him, *i.e.* to exercise faith, as well as to do that which faith of moral necessity presupposed, is a point which belongs to the doctrine of the atonement; but if justice be done to NT hints on the subject, propitiation, justification, and sanctification will be found to constitute the distinguishable though inseparable factors of one great spiritual whole.

LITERATURE.—Siegfried-Stade, *s.* צדק; Cremer and Thayer-Grimm, *s.* δίκαιος and its cognates; Neander, *Pflanzung*, etc. (tr. by Ryland, 1851); Smith (John), *Select Discourses*, esp. 7 and 8 on 'Legal and Evangelical Righteousness,' etc., 1860; Newman, *Lectures on Justification*, 1838; Herzog, *RE* (art. 'Rechtfertigung,' 1st ed. Kling, 2nd ed. Schmidt); Ritschl, *Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, Bd. iii. 2nd ed. 1883; Dorner, *Christliche Glaubenslehre* (tr. by Banks and Cave, *System of Christian Doctrine*, 1880-1883); Schultz (H.), 'Gerechtigkeit aus dem Glauben im A. u. N. Test.,' in *JDTh*, and *Alttest. Theologie* (tr. by Paterson, *OT Theology*, 1893); Frank, *System der Christlichen Wahrheit*, 3rd ed. 1894; Beck, *Christliche Glaubenslehre*, 1886; Kaftan, *Das Wesen der christ. Religion*, 1888; Romang, 'Rechtfertigung durch den Glauben,' in *SK*, 1867; Sabatier, *The Apostle Paul* (tr. edited by Findlay, 1891); Bruce, *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, 1894; Simon, *Reconciliation by Incarnation*, 1898.

D. W. SIMON.

JUSTLE.—Nah 2^4 'The charets shall rage in the streets, they shall justle one against another in the broad wayes.' Thus the verse appears in AV of 1611. In mod. edd. 'charets' is spelt 'chariots,' but 'justle' is retained (and accepted by RV) though 'jostle' is the usual spelling now. Cf. Golding, *Calvin's Job*, 580, 'if we be pinched with adversitie, the passion of sorow is so vehement, as it cannot be ruled: for then a man skirmisheth in such wise, as he justleth against God, and that is to his owne destruction in the end.' T. Fuller, *Holy Warre*, II. ii. p. 45, 'He was infected with the humour of the clergie of that age, who counted themselves to want room except they justled with Princes.'

J. HASTINGS.

JUSTUS (Ἰοῦστος).—**1.** In Ac 1^{23} we are told that two names were put forward for election to the place vacated by Judas, Joseph called Barsabbas, who was called Justus, and Matthias. Justus is, of course, the Greek name assumed by a Hebrew. See JOSEPH BARSABBAS. **2.** In Ac 18^7 we learn that St. Paul when at Corinth lodged with one Justus, or Tit(i)us Justus, a proselyte (σεβόμενος τὸν Θεόν) whose house was near the synagogue. There is some variation in the MSS. The name is *Titius Justus* in B, the Vulgate, and Memphitic versions (in Codex Amiatinus 'Titus *nomine* Justus'), *Titus Justus* in ℵE, *Titus* alone in the Sahidic version and Peshitta, *Justus* alone in AD and later MSS; two MSS omit the name altogether. According to Ramsay, 'Titius Justus was evidently a Roman or a Latin, one of the *coloni* of the colony Corinth. Like the centurion Cornelius, he had been attracted to the synagogue—his citizenship could afford Paul an opening to the more educated class of the Corinthian population' (*St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 256). **3.** In Col $4^{10.11}$ St. Paul speaks of Aristarchus, his fellow-prisoner, Mark the cousin of Barnabas, and **Jesus,** which is called Justus. They were all 'of the circumcision,' and were his only fellow-workers for the kingdom who were a comfort to him. The name is a Gentile surname assumed by a Jew, as in 1.

A. C. HEADLAM.

JUTAH or **JUTTAH** (in Jos 15^{55} יֻטָּה [Hahn, followed by RV; AV has Juttah, which is the punctuation of Michaelis, יוּטָּה], in Jos 21^{16} יֻטָּה [hence AV and RV both have Juttah]).—A town of Judah (Jos 15^{55}) mentioned in connexion with Maon, Carmel, and Ziph in the mountains, given to the priests, the sons of Aaron (Jos 21^{16}), as a city of refuge for the man-slayer. It has been left out of the catalogue of cities of refuge in 1 Ch 6^{59}, but *QPB* adds note, 'Insert, Juttah with her pasture grounds.' In the time of Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomast. s.v.* Ἰεττάν) it was a large village 18 MP. from Eleutheropolis, and in Daroma-ad-australem. Reland (*Pal.* p. 870) suggests that Juttah was probably the residence of Zacharias and Elisabeth, and the birthplace of John the Baptist, the πόλις Ἰούδα ('a city of Judah') of Lk 1^{39} being so written by a corruption, or from a softer pronunciation, instead of πόλις Ἰούτα (so also Robinson, *BRP*^{2} ii. 206). Seetzen (1807) appears to have identified the modern village of *Yutta* as Juttah, and Robinson (*BRP*^{2} i. 495, ii. 206) corroborated the identification. It is a large Moslem village, standing high on a ridge 16 miles from *Beit Jibrîn* (Eleutheropolis), and in the vicinity of Maon (*Main*), Carmel (*Kurmul*), and Ziph (*Tell ez-Zif*). It is built of stone, and the water supply is from cisterns. On the south there are rock-cut tombs, and rock wine-presses are found all about the village. The country around is stony, but the inhabitants are very rich in flocks (*SWP* iii. 310).

C. WARREN

K

KABZEEL (קַבְצְאֵל, B Καιβαισελεήλ, A Κασθεήλ).—A town in the extreme south of Judah, on the border of Edom, Jos 15^{21}. It is mentioned in 2 S 23^{20} (B Καβεσεήλ; cf. 1 Ch 11^{22}) as the native place of Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada. In Neh 11^{25} it appears under the name Jekabzeel as reinhabited after the Captivity (LXX omits in this verse both Jekabzeel and Dibon). Its site has not been identified.

C. R. CONDER.

KADESH, KADESH-BARNEA (קָדֵשׁ Gn 14^7 [where it is also called עֵין־מִשְׁפָּט 'well of decision'] * 16^{14} 20^1, Nu 13^{26} $20^{1.14}$ *et al.*; קָדֵשׁ בַּרְנֵעַ in Dt $1^{2.19}$ 2^{14} 9^{23}, Nu 32^8 34^4, Jos 10^{41} $14^{6.7}$ 15^3 [all]; LXX Καδής, Καδὴς [τοῦ] Βαρνή).—With the exception of Sinai, no spot is more memorable in the history of the wanderings of the Israelites than Kadesh-barnea. It was here that the host camped during the 38 years that intervened between the sending out of the spies and the entrance into Palestine (Nu $20^{1.16}$ JE). It would appear, indeed, from Dt 2^{14} as if the time was spent *away from* Kadesh. We may perhaps infer † that at Kadesh the tabernacle with the ark of the covenant was set up; that it was the abode of Moses and the chiefs of the tribes, and that it was the general centre to which the people resorted for worship and for judgment on disputed questions. But it by no means follows that the whole multitude with their flocks and herds congregated in the immediate neighbourhood; such a multitude of people and animals would, for the sake of pasturage alone, require a wide field in which to pitch their tents. It was at Kadesh that Miriam died (Nu 20^1); it was the scene of the rebellion of Korah and his company (Nu 16); it was from Kadesh that the spies were sent in advance to ascertain and report to Moses on the physical character and the inhabitants of Canaan (Nu 13^{26}); and it was at Kadesh that the miraculous supply of water was obtained (Nu 20^{1-12}), when, apparently, the fountains which had caused the spot to be selected as camping ground were dried up; caused either by a prolonged drought, or by the blocking up of the underground channels by the falling in of the limestone strata. Whatever may have been the cause, the restoration of the flow of water was clearly miraculous, as it occurred at the moment of the interposition of Moses by command of God; though in a manner at variance with precise directions, which were to 'speak unto the rock' (Nu 20^8), not to strike it with the rod. This departure from his instructions cost Moses his doom.

The position of Kadesh-barnea has been the subject of much controversy. By a comparison of various passages the site is brought within very narrow limits. It was on the borders of the Wilderness of Zin (Nu 20^1), a tract which lay along the western margin of the valley of the Arabah; it was also near the southern boundary of the territory of Judah and of the land of the twelve tribes (Nu 34^4). It was eleven days' journey from Horeb (Mt. Sinai) by way of Mt. Seir, or, in other words, by the route of the Arabah,—doubtless the number of days occupied by the Israelitish host in their journey between these two important camps; and it was not far distant from the border of Edom and the base of Mt. Hor, a site which has been recognized as indisputable by many competent authorities. It was from Kadesh-barnea that Moses on the expiration of the 'forty years,' and the resumption of the journeys of the Israelites, sent messengers to the king of Edom asking permission to pass through his land so as to reach the tableland of Moab on their way northwards; which request was refused (Nu 20^{14-21} E).* All these passages lead us to infer some position in the Badiet et-Tîh—the great expanse of treeless limestone plateau which intervenes between the valley of the Arabah, opposite Mt. Hor on the east and the coast of Philistia about Gaza on the west. These conditions appear to be fully satisfied in the site discovered by the late Rev. John Rowland in 1842, to which he was guided by some Arabs when resident at Gaza. Here he found a lofty wall of limestone, at the base of which issued forth a copious spring, or several springs, which emptied themselves into a large artificially constructed basin, then into another of smaller size; and, continuing to flow down the valley, spread fertility on either hand until the waters ultimately disappeared beneath the sands of the desert. The spring is known amongst the Arabs by the name of *'Ain Ḳadîs*, or Holy Well, a name which seems to preserve the original biblical one. It was clear from the stone troughs and the marks of cattle and sheep around that the well was a favourite resort of the tribes for water, and doubtless was so even prior to the visit of the Israelites. The presence of water is a first necessity of life in those districts, and such a copious supply pointed it out as one suitable for the camping ground of the host. This spot was afterwards visited by Dr. H. Clay Trumbull, who confirms Rowland's identification, and who is the author of the most important work yet published on the subject.† The term 'city' applied to this spot probably means a camp or village of the Midianites (Nu 20^{16}).

E. HULL.

KADESH ON THE ORONTES.—See TAHTIM-HODSHI.

KADMIEL (קַדְמִיאֵל).—The name of a Levitical family which returned with Zerubbabel, Ezr 2^{40} = Neh 7^{43} (cf. 1 Es 5^{26}). The expression which follows, namely, 'of the children of Hodaviah' (or Hodevah), is apparently meant to limit the Kadmiel family to those members who belonged to the Hodaviah branch. In Ezr 3^9 (cf. 1 Es 5^{58}), in connexion with the laying of the foundation of the temple, as well as in Neh $9^{4f.}$ (the day of humiliation) and 10^9 (the sealing of the covenant), Kadmiel appears to be an individual. The name occurs further in Neh $12^{8.24}$. In the last of these passages we ought certainly to read, on the strength of parallel passages, 'Jeshua, *Bani* (or Binnui), Kadmiel' instead of 'Jeshua *ben*-Kadmiel.' This emendation is supported by the fact that ℵBA as well as Luc. have υἱοὶ Καδμιήλ, implying an original בני not בן. See, further, Smend, *Listen*, p. 10, n. 10; Ryle, *Ezra and Nehemiah*, *ad ll. citt.*

J. A. SELBIE.

---

* The name *Ḳadesh* implies that the place was a sanctuary; no doubt it bore this character before its occupation by Israel. See, further, Driver on Dt 33^2, where Wellh. would read 'from Meribath-Kadesh' (מִמְּרִיבַת קָדֵשׁ) for מֵרִבְבֹת קֹדֶשׁ 'out of holy myriads,' of MT.

† But see Driver on Dt 2^{14}.

* In Dt 1. 2^{4-8} there is no mention of these negotiations with Edom (Moore on Jg 11^{16}).

† *Kadesh Barnea* (New York, 1884); also *PEFSt* (1881) p. 210. The site discovered by Rowland is supported by Ritter, Schultz, and Palmer; objected to by Robinson, Stanley, and others. It was not visited by the expedition of the *Pal. Explor. Fund* of 1883-4, as it lay to the westward of the Arabah, beyond the line of survey by Major Kitchener, R.E., now Lord Kitchener of Khartoum.

KADMONITES, הַקַּדְמֹנִי, Κελμωναῖοι, 'men of the East,' only in Gn 15^{19}, inhabitants of the Syrian desert, possibly descendants of Kedemah, the twelfth son of Ishmael (Gn 25^{15}). Mentioned after the Kenites and Kenizzites, the K. are represented as occupying the district along the eastern border of Palestine, near the Dead Sea, which was also called the East Sea, הַיָּם הַקַּדְמוֹנִי (Ezk 47^{18}). Their name occurs in the longest list of the nations which originally held possession of the territories promised to Abraham. Usually seven, sometimes only six, but here ten such nations are named. Ewald and many following him regard the K. as equivalent to the *Běnê Ḳedem*, **children of the East** (wh. see), descendants (? Gn 25^{6}) of Abraham by Keturah (Gn 29^{1}, Jg 7^{12}, 1 K 4^{30}, Job 1^{3}, Is 11^{14}, Jer 49^{28}, Ezk $25^{4.10}$). In that case, K. would be the designation of no particular tribe, but of the Keturæan Arabs, as distinguished from the Ishmaelites. The children of the East are represented in the passages referred to as occupying Paddan-aram, associated with the Midianites and Amalekites, inhabiting Kedar, neighbours and conquerors of the children of Ammon, coupled with the Egyptians in their fame for wisdom, and as Easterns contrasted with the Philistines who possessed the extreme west. Job is described as one of them. It seems better to regard the K. as a particular tribe like the other nations named in this list. Whether they are to be viewed as a branch of the Ishmaelitish or of the Keturæan Arabs is not clear.

LITERATURE.—Ewald, *History of Israel*, i. 253, 314 ff., ii. 213 ff.; Dillmann, *Genesis*, Eng. tr. 1897, pp. 66, 187; Delitzsch, *New Comm. on Genesis*, Edin. 1889, ii. 127.

J. MACPHERSON.

KAIN (הַקַּיִן, properly **Hakkain**, AV **Cain**; A Ἀκείμ, Jos 15^{57}.—A town of Judah in the Hebron mountains, probably the present ruin *Yukîn*, on a high knoll S.E. of Hebron, overlooking the Jeshimon. It is visible from Minyeh (see BETHPEOR), and may be the 'nest of the Kenite' on a cliff (Nu 24^{21}), visible from the top of Peor. The Kenites inhabited this region. The tomb of Cain is now shown at this spot. Near it is the village of Beni N'aim, the old name of which was *Kefr Barakah*, which is the Caphar Barucha of the fourth cent. A.D. (Jerome, *Paula*), supposed to be the place where Abraham 'blessed' God (Gn 18^{22}), and whence he saw the destruction of the cities of the Ciccar. See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xxi.

C. R. CONDER.

KAIN (קַיִן 'lance,' 'spear').—A clan name = Kenites (wh. see), Nu 24^{22}, Jg 4^{11}. In 1 S 15^{6b} Wellh. reads קַיִן instead of קֵינִי, and the same change is proposed by Meyer (*ZATW*, i. 137, n. 3) for בְּנֵי קֵינִי in Jg 1^{16} (but see Moore, *ad. loc.* and on 4^{11}, and cf. Budde, *Richt. u. Sam.* 9, 68).

KALLAI (קַלָּי; A Καλλαί, B om.).—The head of the priestly family of Sallai, in the time of Jeshua the high priest, Neh 12^{20}.

KAMON (קָמוֹן; B Ῥαμνών, A Ῥαμμώ, Luc. Καλκών).—The burial-place of Jair, Jg 10^{5}. The site has not been recovered. It was probably east of the Jordan; probably identical, Moore thinks, with *Kamûn* mentioned by Polybius (V. lxx. 12) in connexion with Pella. Eusebius is certainly wrong in identifying it with *Kammōna* (modern *Tell Ḳeimûn*), 6 miles N.W. of Legio (Lejjûn). See JOKNEAM.

KANAH (קָנָה).—**1.** A *wâdy* (נַחַל), forming the boundary between Ephraim and Manasseh, terminating on the W. at the sea and on the E. at En-tappuah (Jos 16^{8} 17^{9}). This eastern limit must have been near Shechem lying to the S.E., but it has not been identified with any certainty. The modern *Wâdy Ḳanah*, the channel of a small stream rising near *Nâblus* (Shechem), is regarded by Conder as representing the ancient Ḳanah (*Handbook to the Bible*, 263); but Thomson (*Land and Book*, 'Southern Pal.,' 56) considers that this tributary of the *'Aujeh* would put the boundary too far to the south (so also Dillmann). In connexion with the brook Ḳanah a difficulty arises in locating the Me-jarkon and Rakkon (Jos 19^{46} *), if these three under different names are all represented by the *'Aujeh* immediately to the north of Jaffa. The discovery of *Tell Rakkeit* near the mouth of the *'Aujeh* makes the supposition not impossible that Me-jarkon and Rakkon were names of that river after being joined by the brook Ḳanah. All the streams crossing the northern half of the plain of Sharon are reedy and discoloured. Thomson is in favour of the *Falîk* as representing Ḳanah, and its divided mouth would account for the two names Me-jarkon and Rakkon. Farther north, on each side of Cæsarea, are two streams that suggest the Bible names mentioned, namely, *el-Akhdar* (Yellow River) and *el-Azraḳ* (Blue River). These streams would give Dan the coast-line up to Dora, and coincide with the territory assigned to that tribe by Josephus (*Ant.* v. i. 21).

2. A town on the northern boundary of Asher (Jos 19^{28}). The English reader must be careful to distinguish it from Cana of Galilee (wh. see). It is very probably the modern *Ḳana*, a considerable village lying a few miles S.E. of Tyre (cf. Robinson, *BRP*^{2} ii. 456; Guérin, *Galilée*, ii. 390 f.; Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.*^{3} 262 f.). In its neighbourhood there is a large Phœnician sepulchral monument known as 'Hiram's Tomb' (*PEF Mem.* i. 61). Ḳanah is possibly referred to in the journey of the Egyptian *mohar* in the time of Ramses II. under the name *Pa-Kana-na*.

G. M. MACKIE.

KAREAH (קָרֵחַ 'bald').—Father of Johanan, who was a Judæan contemporary of Jeremiah, and one of the captains of the forces in the open field who escaped the deportation to Babylon at the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar (2 K 25^{23}, Jer $40^{13.15.16}$ $42^{1.8}$ $43^{2.4.5}$). In Jer 40^{8} MT reads 'Johanan and Jonathan, sons of Kareaḥ,' but here LXX (47^{8}) makes mention only of Johanan, as in the other passages above cited. Probably therefore יוֹנָתָן in MT is due merely to mistaken repetition of יוֹחָנָן.

C. F. BURNEY.

KARIATHIARIUS (A Καριαθιαριός, B Καρταθειαρειός; RVm '**Kiriath-arim** *or* Kiriath-jearim'), 1 Es 5^{19} for Kiriath-jearim (wh. see).

KARKA (הַקַּרְקָעָה, with ה *locale*, hence AV Karkaa).—An unknown place on the south border of Judah, apparently in the Tîh plateau, Jos 15^{3}. The LXX has κατὰ δυσμὰς Καδής.

KARKOR (קַרְקֹר).—A place apparently in Gilead, Jg 8^{10}. The site is unknown.

KARTAH (קַרְתָּה).—A city of Zebulun given to the Levites, Jos 21^{34}. It is not mentioned in the parallel passage, 1 Ch 6^{77}. The site is unknown. It might be for **Ḳaṭṭath** (קַטָּת) by a clerical error.

KARTAN (קַרְתָּן).—A city of Naphtali given to the Levites, Jos 21^{32}. The parallel passage, 1 Ch 6^{76}, has **Ḳiriathaim** (wh. see). While Luc. reads Καρθάν in harmony with MT, B has Θεμμών, A Νοεμμών.

---

* There are suspicions as to the correctness of the MT (see Dillm.'s and Bennett's notes). Rakkon (רַקּוֹן), which is omitted in LXX, may have arisen by dittography from the preceding הַיַּרְקוֹן.

KATTATH (קַטָּת, B Κατανάθ, A Καττάθ, Luc. Κοττάθ).—A city of Zebulun, Jos 19^{15}, perhaps to be identified with Ḳartah (wh. see) or with Kiṭron (wh. see) of Jg 1^{30}, a place from which the Żebulunites were unable to expel the Canaanites. The site is unknown. Van de Velde suggests *Tell Ḳerdaneh*, N.E. of Ḥaifa, at the source of the Nahr Na'aman. According to the Talm. (Bab. *Megillah* 6*a*) Ḳiṭron is the later Sepphoris (*Seffûrieh*). This is opposed by Neubauer (*Géog. du Talm.* 191).

C. R. CONDER.

KEDAR (קֵדָר, Κηδάρ).—The name of Ishmael's second son (Gn $25^{13}=1$ Ch 1^{29}). 'The earliest reference to Kedar of which the date is certain is Jer 2^{10}' (Cheyne, *Introd. to Isaiah*, p. 131), where Kedar is made the type of a distant and barbarous tribe, being there coupled with Citium as it is with Meshech in Ps 120^{5}. The import of the name is better known to the author of Jer 49^{29}, where Kedar is identified with the Běnê-ḳedem, and their nomad life, with their sheep and camels, tents, curtains, and belongings, is described; by Ezekiel (27^{21}) they are coupled with 'Arab,' and described as trading with Tyre in cattle; and the author of the second part of Isaiah couples them with Nebaioth (60^{7}), alludes to their pursuit of sheep-breeding (*ib.*), and to their unwalled settlements (42^{11}). In Ca 1^{5} the tents of Kedar are made typical of blackness, with perhaps an allusion to the Hebrew sense of the root קדר, 'to be turbid or black.'

While the name *Kedar* is unknown to Arabic traditions, it is said to be preserved in some Minæan inscriptions (Glaser, *Skizze*, ii. p. 439), and is known in various forms to the Greek geographers, who, indeed, locate the tribe very differently (the passages are collected by Gesenius, *Thes. s.v.*). Our chief source of information about it is to be found in the inscriptions of Assurbanipal (George Smith, *History of Assurbanipal*, pp. 256–298; S. A. Smith, *Keilschrifttexte Assurbanipal's*, i. 58–75; *Cuneiform Inscriptions of W. Asia*, iii. plates 24–28, v. plates 7–10). The land of *Ḳi-id-ri* (G. Smith, p. 283), *Ḳa-ad-ri* (*ib.* p. 290), or *Ki-id-ri* (S. A. Smith, p. 60), and the people called *Kid-ra-ai* (G. Smith, p. 271), have been justly identified with Kedar by G. Smith and all who have commented on this king's annals (Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 299; Glaser, *Skizze*, ii. 267–274, etc.), as being mentioned in close proximity to *A-ri-bi* (the Arab) and *Na-ba-ai-te* (Nebaioth), and described as possessors of 'asses, camels, and sheep' (S. A. Smith, *l.c.* p. 67); moreover, some people mentioned with them are, according to one interpretation of a difficult word, described as 'dwellers in tents' (S. A. Smith, *l.c.* p. 103).

It is plain that the identification of *Kedar* with the *Arabs*, which is clearly found in Ca 1^{5}, and prevails in the later Jewish literature, had already commenced in Assyrian times; thus whereas Esarhaddon calls a certain Hazael king of Aribi (*Cylinder A of the Esarhaddon Inscriptions*, ed. Harper, p. 8), Assurbanipal, who repeats this passage, calls him king of Kedar (G. Smith, p. 283);[*] and though U-ai-te' is ordinarily styled by Esarhaddon 'king of the Arabs' (*WAI* iii. pl. 24. l. 11, 108, etc.), the Kedarites are particularly styled 'his men' (l. 107), and likewise the Arab general A-bi-ya-te' is called a Kedarite (l. 121). Nevertheless, a special country of Kedar existed, and from the detailed account of Assurbanipal's Arabian campaign it ought to be possible to locate it accurately. This monarch's army marched 100 *Kash-bu Ḳaḳ-ḳa-ru* from Nineveh, crossing the Tigris and Euphrates, to the wilderness of Mas, and 6 *Kash-bu Ḳaḳ-ḳa-ru* from Azalla in Mas to Kurasiti, where they besieged the Kedarites. It is not, however, clear whether the distance from Nineveh to Azalla, or to the border of Mas, is given in the first figure; and views differ as to the length of the measure employed (Glaser, *l.c.* p. 279 n.; Delitzsch, *l.c.* p. 177). Since the captives are sent to Damascus (l. 113), it seems probable that the direction of the king's march was towards Hauran (as Delitzsch, *l.c.*, suggests) rather than Yemamah (where Glaser, *l.c.*, endeavours to locate Kedar on what seem inadequate grounds). The fact, too, that the Kedarite kings invade Syria *viâ* Moab (*WAI* v. col. vii. 112; G. Smith, p. 288), points the same way.

With regard to the history of Kedar, we learn from the inscription that the gods of Hazael, king of Kedar, had been plundered by Esarhaddon (see above), but that Hazael, having sued for them, received them back (the chief being called Adar-samain), and was made vassal-king of Arabia. His son, called by Esarhaddon Ya'il, by Assurbanipal Ya'u-ta' (*WAI* iii. 21, col. viii. 37), more frequently U-ai-te' (*ib.* 21, col. viii. 7, etc.), probably on account of the heavier tribute exacted from him (Esarhaddon, *l.c.* 8, 20–24) in the next reign joined the party of Samas-sum-ukin, and invaded Syria; but being defeated by the Assyrians, fled to the friendly tribe Nebaioth, who, however, appear to have given him up to Assurbanipal. Another king of Kedar, named Ammuladi, thereupon invaded Syria a second time, but was also defeated, and taken together with Adiyah, wife of U-ai-te'. Simultaneously with the expedition into Syria, U-ai-te' had despatched a force to Babylon under the Kedarites Abiyate' and Aimu, the former of whom, after defeat, sued for pardon, and obtained the sovereignty of Arabia: this, however, he quickly resigned in favour of the cousin and namesake of the former king, who with the king of Nebaioth organized a fresh revolt, against which Assurbanipal's expedition was directed. The Kedarite nest was destroyed, and severe punishment inflicted on Arabia. The date of this invasion is probably B.C. 648 (cf. Lehmann, 'Samas-sum-ukin,' *Assyriologische Bibliothek*, viii. p. 6).

While the inscriptions of Assurbanipal thus explain the co-ordination of Kedar with 'Arab' and 'Nebaioth,' it is not probable that the blow dealt to Kedar by this monarch is that to which Is $21^{16.\,17}$ refers. Cheyne (*l.c.*), who thinks this passage may be Isaianic, seems inclined to connect it with an attack on the Arabs by Sargon; but this monarch nowhere mentions Kedar, and it seems doubtful whether this oracle can have been written before the hegemony of Kedar, which may have existed before the time of Hazael and Esarhaddon, but has not been shown to have been anterior to it. After two invasions of Syria by Arabs led by Kedarite kings, the name of the tribe could be made to stand for the nation, and this suggests that the oracle is later than the events described by Assurbanipal, since its author appears to reckon the Dedanim among the sons of Kedar (vv.$^{13.\,17}$); and the oracle in which they are threatened with an attack by Nebuchadnezzar (Jer $49^{3.\,28}$) is similarly loose in its application of their name.

Interesting as are the Kedarite names recorded in the inscriptions, they are evidently too carelessly transcribed to render identification safe; the name *Ammuladi* (like *Amme'ta'*, S. A. Smith, *l.c.* ii. 38) is clearly Arabic, whereas *Hazael* is doubtless Aramaic. The name of the tribe itself is probably derived from the Arabic root *Ḳdr*, which gives a verb meaning 'to be able or powerful,' but derivatives of which have various senses, suitable for personal names. The name of their chief god

---

[*] In the corresponding plate of *WAI* this passage is obliterated.

(whence either they or a neighbouring tribe were called, Glaser, *l.c.* 278), *A-tar-sa-ma-ai-in*, seems to be either Phœnician or Aramaic הדר שמין (as it is analyzed by Delitzsch, *l.c.*) rather than a form of *Athtar* (as Glaser, *l.c.*, suggests). Further suggestions for the derivation of these names are given by E. Sachau, *ZA*, 1897 (xii.), p. 44 ff.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

KEDEMAH (קֵדְמָה 'eastward').—A son of Ishmael, Gn 25^{15}=1 Ch 1^{31}. The clan of which he is the eponymous head has not been identified. Ball ('Genesis' in *SBOT, ad loc.*) considers that in both the above passages קֵדְמָה is a mistake for נוֹדָב (**Nodab**), which is read in 1 Ch 5^{19}. He remarks that *Ḳēdĕmah*, 'eastward,' is a singular name, that נו might be misread ק, while ב and מ are often confused. Neither the LXX (Κέδμα) nor Luc. (Κέδεμα) lend any support to Ball's proposed emendation.

KEDEMOTH (קְדֵמוֹת).—A place apparently on the upper course of the Arnon, assigned to Reuben, Jos 13^{18}, and a Levitical city, 21^{37} (=1 Ch 6^{79} [Heb. ^{64}]). The 'wilderness of Ḳedemoth' is mentioned in Dt 2^{26} as the point from which messengers were sent by Moses to Sihon. The exact site is unknown, although it has been suggested that it may be the ruin *Umm er-Raṣâṣ*, N.E. of Dibon (*Dhibân*).

LITERATURE.—Tristram, *Land of Moab*, 140 ff.; Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.*^{2} 193; Dillm. on Nu 21^{13}; Driver on Dt 2^{26}; Buhl, *GAP* 268.

C. R. CONDER.

KEDESH (קֶדֶשׁ).—**1.** A city in the south of Judah (Jos 15^{23}) whose site is uncertain. It is to be distinguished from Kadesh-barnea (see Dillm. *ad loc.*). **2.** A city in Issachar, 1 Ch 6^{72} [Heb. ^{57}], where, however, Kedesh is not improbably a textual error for **Kishion** (which see) of the parallel passage Jos 21^{28}. **3.** See KEDESH-NAPHTALI.

KEDESH-NAPHTALI (קֶדֶשׁ נַפְתָּלִי Jg 4^6, also called 'Kedesh in Galilee,' Jos 20^7 21^{32}, 1 Ch 6^{76}; called simply 'Kedesh' in Jos 12^{22} 19^{37}, Jg $4^{9.10.11}$, 2 K 15^{29}, 1 Mac $11^{63.73}$).—A city of refuge (Jos 20^7), and likewise a Levitical city (Jos 21^{32}). In early times it was fortified like a number of other cities in that region (Jos 19^{37}). Its full history would reveal, (1) a sacred city of the earliest inhabitants, (2) a stronghold of unusual importance, conquered by the Hebrews, conquered in turn by the Phœnicians, and a centre of great political influence down to the time when Titus encamped with his army before its walls. From its importance in many ways, and the wonderful fertility of the region, it could never have sunk into a condition of poverty or insignificance.

It is noted in biblical history as the residence of Barak, and here the warriors of Zebulun and Naphtali were assembled by Deborah and Barak before the battle with Sisera, and it was near the city that Sisera met his death (Jg $4^{6.10}$; cf. Moore, *ad loc.*). During one of the many invasions of W. Asia by the Assyr. armies, K., with many neighbouring cities, was captured by Tiglath-pileser (2 K 15^{29}). This was in the reign of Pekah, king of Israel, B.C. 734. In Maccabæan times, *c.* B.C. 150, it was here that Jonathan routed Demetrius, king of Syria, with his army (1 Mac 11^{63-73}; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. v. 6). At the beginning of our era it belonged to Tyre, and was hostile to the Galilæans (Jos. *Wars*, II. xviii. 1; IV. ii. 3).

Strong foundations and walls still surviving at the modern village called *Ḳedes*, lying to the north-west of the Lake of Hûleh, indicate the character of the ancient city, and among the remains several of the finest sarcophagi of the country have been recovered, one of which is double, *i.e.* made to contain two bodies under one lid, the stone pillows in each loculus being at alternate ends. K. was situated on a small plain surrounded by gentle forest-covered hills from which there was a wide outlook, and for picturesqueness and beauty it had few equals among the cities of Upper Galilee.

LITERATURE.—Guérin, *Galilée*, ii. 355 ff.; Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.*^{3} 264; Seetzen, *Reisen*, ii. 127; Robinson, *BRP*^{2} ii. 439; Merrill, *East of Jordan*, 121, 306; van de Velde, *Narrat.* ii. 417 f.; Buhl, *GAP* 235 f.; *SWP* vol. i. sh. iii.; Moore, *Judges*, 117.

SELAH MERRILL.

ḲEHELATHAH (קְהֵלָתָה, Μακελλάθ, Luc. Μακελάδ, *Ceelatha*, Nu $33^{22.23}$).—One of the twelve stations in the journeyings of the children of Israel which are mentioned only in Nu 33. It follows Haẓeroth. Nothing is known about its position. The word is from the same Hebrew root (קהל) as *Maḳheloth* in v.^{25} [note that in the LXX the two words are very similar], and means 'assembly *or* congregation.'

A. T. CHAPMAN.

KEILAH (קְעִילָה) the Garmite (1 Ch 4^{19}).—See following art. and GENEALOGY.

KEILAH (קְעִילָה, Κεειλά, in Josephus Κίλλα, the inhabitants being Κιλλανοί or Κιλλῖται).—This city is interesting principally for its connexion with the history of David. Shortly after he began to gather men around him he defeated the Philistines, who had been raiding Keilah, and robbing the threshing-floors. In Keilah he remained for a while. Thither came to him Abiathar, the representative of the priestly house of Ithamar, bringing the ephod, after Saul had slain the priests at Nob. By consulting the ephod, David knew that Saul would come down to capture him, and that the men of Keilah, notwithstanding the service he had done them, would hand him over to Saul, and he therefore left the town (1 S 23^{1-13}). Apart from this incident, the OT mentions the name of Keilah in three other passages. It is in one of the groups of cities assigned to Judah in the Shephelah (Jos 15^{44}). The two halves of the 'district of Keilah' were represented in Nehemiah's wall-building work (Neh $3^{17.18}$). And in a genealogical fragment (1 Ch 4^{19}), in connexion with certain other names that connect themselves with the geography, mention is made of 'the father of Keilah the Garmite' among the kindred of Caleb the son of Jephunneh.

In the time of David, Keilah was an important place, a city of gates and bars (1 S 23^7). Nehemiah hints at its importance in his time, by speaking of it as a double district. And it was a very important place many centuries earlier, when Ebed-tob and Su-yardata of the Tel el-Amarna tablets wrote of it (under the name *Kilta*) to the Egyptian king along with Gedor, Gath, and Rabbah (*PSBA*, June 1888, *Bab. Tab. from Tel el-Amarna*, iii.), and again along with Gezer, Gath, Rabbah, and Jerusalem (*Mittheilungen aus der Orientalischen Sammlungen*, part iii. Nos. 100, 106).

Keilah is commonly identified with *Khurbet Kîla*, about 7 miles east of Eleutheropolis, and 1575 ft. above the sea. This is reconcilable with the statement in the *Onomasticon*, that it is 17 miles (perhaps it should be 7, Jerome has it 8) from Eleutheropolis, on the road to Hebron; but it is difficult to think of so elevated a region as in the Shephelah (cf. Dillm. on Jos 15^{44}). The *Onomasticon* is cited, as well as later writings (Nicephorus, *Hist.* xii. 48, and Cassiodorus in Sozomen, *Hist.* vii. 29), as giving the tradition that the prophet Habakkuk was buried at Keilah, though other traditions say at Hukkok.

W. J. BEECHER.

KELAIAH (קֵלָיָה).—A Levite who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10[23], called in 1 Es 9[23] **Colius.** In Ezr the gloss is added 'which is **Kelita**' (in 1 Es, 'who was called **Calitas**' [which see]). Kelita appears in Neh 8[7] as one of the Levites who assisted Ezra in expounding the law (cf. 1 Es 9[48], Calitas), and his name occurs amongst the signatories to the covenant, Neh 10[10]. It does not follow, however, that, because Kelaiah was also called Kelita, he is to be identified with *this* Kelita. Siegfried-Stade think not.

KELITA.—See KELAIAH.

KEMUEL (קְמוּאֵל).—The son of Nahor and father of Aram, Gn 22[21] (contrast 10[22] where Aram is son of Shem, and see Dillm. *ad loc.*). Knobel proposed to connect Kemuel with *Kamula* in N. Mesopotamia, but this is pronounced by Dillmann to be out of the question. **2.** The prince (נָשִׂיא) of the tribe of Ephraim, one of the twelve commissioners for the dividing of the land, Nu 34[24] (P). **3.** The father of Hashabaiah the ruler (נָגִיד) of the Levites, 1 Ch 27[17].

KENAN (קֵינָן). — Son of Enoch and father of Mahalelel, Gn 5[9. 12] (AV Cainan; but AVm, like RV, Kenan) 1 Ch 1[2]. LXX has Καινάν, which reappears in Lk 3[37f.] (WH read Καινάμ), giving **Cainan** (which see) of EV. The name *Kenan* is simply a variation of *Cain* (קַיִן 'spear'). 'Halévy (*Recherches Bibl.* ix. 219) calls attention to the fact that Kênân was the name of a god among the Sabæans' (cf. Baethgen, *Beiträge*, 127 f.). See Dillm. on Gn 5[9].

KENATH (קְנָת) is mentioned (Nu 32[42]) as having been captured by a clan of Machir, which then gave it their own name of Nobah. Their occupation was only temporary, for Geshur and Aram (1 Ch 2[23]) reconquered Kenath with its daughter towns.

The *Onom.* (Lagarde, 269. 15, 296. 109) speaks of a village 'now called Καναθά, lying ἐν Τραχῶνι πλησίον Βοστρῶν'; and Jos. (*BJ* I. xix. 2) mentions a Καναθά which in his time belonged to Coele-syria. In accordance with these indications, the site has been generally identified with *el-Ḳanawât*, a place on the western edge of the Hauran range which contains important ruins from the Roman and Christian periods. The fullest description of its present condition is found in Merrill (*East of Jordan*, 36–43). If this be correct, Kenath offers an instance of the persistence of a native name during and in spite of a temporary alien occupation. The accuracy of this identification has been recently contested by, *e.g.*, Socin (*Bäd.*² 313) and Moore (*Comm. on Judges* 8[11]). See, further, Dillm. on Nu 32[42].

A. C. WELCH.

KENAZ (קְנַז).—The eponym of the Kenizzite clan, variously described in OT as the son of Eliphaz and grandson of Esau (Gn 36[11] R), as a 'duke' of Edom (Gn 36[42] P), as the father of Othniel (Jos 15[17] JE), and as the grandson of Caleb (1 Ch 4[15]). The **Kenizzites** (AV Kenezites), who are named amongst the inhabitants of Canaan in patriarchal times (Gn 15[19] R), had probably their original settlements in Mt. Seir (which would account for K. being called a grandson of Esau or Edom), and from thence a branch migrated to the S. of Canaan (see CALEB). The Chronicler makes K. a descendant of Judah (1 Ch 4[13-15]).

KENITES (הַקֵּינִי, הַקֵּנִי; in Nu 24[22], Jg 4[11] קַיִן, οἱ Κεναῖοι, Κιναῖοι, *Cinæus*, *Kain*), first mentioned in Gn 15[19] along with the Kenizzites and Kadmonites of Edom. Balaam 'looked upon' them from the mountains of Moab, and punning upon the likeness of their name to the Hebrew *ḳên*, 'nest,' declared that though their 'nest' was 'in a rock' (*Ṣela'*, perhaps the later Petra), they should be 'wasted'* until Asshur should carry them away captive (Nu 24[21. 22]). Acc. to Jg 1[16], Hobab, the father-in-law of Moses, was a Kenite, and his descendants 'went up out of the city of palm trees with the children of Judah into the wilderness of Judah, which is in the south of Arad; and they went and dwelt among the people.' It was in this direction that the Jewish town of Kinah stood (Jos 15[22]). We find one of the Kenites, Heber, separating himself from the rest of the tribe and camping in the northern part of Israel, near Kedesh, at the time of the overthrow of Sisera (Jg 4[11. 17]). The Chronicler includes them among the ancestors of the great houses of Judah (1 Ch 2[55]); and Saul forewarned the Kenites of his intended attack on the Amalekites or Bedâwin, as they had 'showed kindness to all the children of Israel when they came up out of Egypt' (1 S 15[6]). Similarly, when David pretended to Achish of Gath that he had raided the enemies of the Philistines, he associates together the Israelites of S. Judah, the Jerahmeelites (1 Ch 2[25]) and the Kenites (1 S 27[10]). Subsequently he sent presents out of the spoil which he had acquired to 'the elders of Judah' who 'were in the cities of the Kenites' (1 S 30[29]). Hammath, the ancestor of the Rechabites, is also stated to have been a Kenite (1 Ch 2[55]).

It is thus clear that the K. were regarded as closely allied to the Isr., or at all events to the tribe of Judah. As the father-in-law of Moses was priest of Midian, it would seem that they were also connected with the Midianites. Like the Bedâwin, they were nomads, and the description of the Rechabites (Jer 35[6-10]) shows that even under the monarchy those who lived in the land of Israel still inhabited tents and clung to all the nomadic habits of their forefathers. As was natural, they were chiefly to be found in the south of Judah, and more especially in the desert to the south of it. They thus resembled the gipsies of modern Europe, as well as the travelling tinkers or blacksmiths of the Middle Ages.

Indeed, it is not improbable that they really represent a tribe of smiths. The word *Ḳênî* or 'Kenite' means 'a smith' in Aramaic, from a root which has given *ḳayin*, 'a lance,' in Hebrew. We know that the smiths of the ancient world formed a corporation which was regarded as possessing special secrets, and whose members led wandering lives. We also know that in the time of Samuel the Israelites had no smiths of their own, all having been removed by the Philistines 'lest the Hebrews make them swords or spears' (1 S 13[19. 20]). It would appear, therefore, that the blacksmith's art was confined to a particular corporation, and that the Israelites were unacquainted with it. Yet the art of working in iron as well as bronze was known in Canaan at an early period: in the *Travels of the Mohar*, a story written in Egypt in the time of Ramses II., the hero of the tale finds an iron-smith ready to hand when an accident happens to his chariot.

Josephus, who elsewhere calls the Kenites Κενετίδες, speaks of them as 'the race of the Shechemites' (Σικιμιτῶν) in his account of Saul's expedition (*Ant.* VI. vii. 3). The Targums transform the name into Salmaite, from Salma, 'the father of Beth-lehem,' who seems to be termed a Kenite in 1 Ch 2[54. 55]. The Sam. VS of Gn 15[19] inserts the same name before 'Kenite.'

A. H. SAYCE.

---

* Hommel (*AHT* 245 n.) follows Klostermann in reading לְעֵבֶר for לְבָעֵר, 'Kain shall belong to the 'Eber.' The emendation is not a happy one, any more than Hommel's explanation of Ash(h)ur in the same passage.

KENIZZITE.—See KENAZ.

KENOSIS (Lat. *inanitio, exinanitio, evacuatio*; Eng. 'self-stripping,' 'self-divesting,' 'self-emptying').—This is not a biblical word, occurring neither in the LXX nor in the NT (though once in its literal sense in Theod.'s trⁿ of Is 34^{11}). It is a technical word of later theology found in some fragments of the κατὰ Βήρωνος καὶ Ἥλικος, wrongly attributed to Hippolytus, in Gregory of Nazianzus (*Or.* 31), Cyril of Alexandria (Ep. 2 *ad Nest.* 70A), and later writers, to express the action implied in the use of the cognate verb in Ph 2^7 ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν ('semetipsum exinanivit,' Vulg.; 'exhausit semetipsum,' Tert. *adv. Marc.* v. 20; 'made himself of no reputation,' AV; 'emptied himself,' RV).

In this passage the extent of the self-emptying is explained by the following participle, μορφὴν δούλου λαβών: that of which He emptied Himself, by the preceding words, τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ: so that the meaning is 'He emptied Himself' of His position of equality with God, of 'that condition of glory and majesty which was the adequate manifestation of the divine nature' (Gifford, *ad loc.*; cf. κενώσας ἑαυτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ, Synod of Antioch, *ap.* Routh, *Rell. Sacr.* iii. p. 298) by 'taking on Himself the form of a servant.' The phrase means little more than that He accepted the limitations implied in incarnation (cf. ἐπτώχευσεν πλούσιος ὤν, 2 Co 8^9), and was probably suggested to St. Paul as the antithesis to the conception of the fulness (πλήρωμα) of God which dwelt essentially in His Son. In correspondence with this, *kenosis* in its earliest theological use is little more than a synonym for the Incarnation, but it emphasized the Incarnation as a divine act, human nature being saved from above rather than by self-development from below, and hence it is a favourite word with Cyril in his argument against Nestorius; it emphasized also the free voluntary condescension of the preincarnate Son, and the fact that there were real limitations imposed by Himself upon Himself during the incarnate life. It is put forward by St. Paul as an example of the way in which men should not look only each to his own things, but each also to the things of others. But mediæval and Reformed theology attempted to define more exactly what these limitations were, and with this there followed a change in the exact meaning of the word *kenosis*.

(*a*) It was applied to the limitations upon the Christ in His incarnate human life; to the limitations imposed upon divine omnipotence and divine omniscience within the human sphere of action, in order to allow a real growth and action of human will and human knowledge; and the word was sometimes used widely to apply to all such limitations, sometimes (*e.g.* in the discussions of the 17th cent.) it was used, in antithesis to κρύψις, of a virtual surrender of such attributes, as opposed to a possession but conscious restraint in the use of them. On these exact points the Bible does not define, but it supplies the factors that have to be reconciled, viz. the reality of a divine oneness between the Father and the Son (Jn 1^{1-18} 10^{30}, He 1^3), certain limitations of perfect intercourse between the Father and the Incarnate Son (Mt 27^{46} ἵνα τί με ἐγκατέλιπες;), certain statements of the Lord Himself as to the limitations of His own knowledge (Mk 13^{32}) and of His own 'glory' (Jn 17^4), and statements of NT writers as to the reality of temptation, and of growth in wisdom and learning in Him (Lk 2^{40-52}, He 4^{15} $5^{7.8}$). The analogy of the primary use of the word by St. Paul also suggests that the *kenosis* was always a self-kenosis; that as the original Incarnation was an act of voluntary self-restraint, so the whole state of the incarnate life implied a constant voluntary limitation imposed upon a power or a knowledge that was His by right (cf. Gore, *ubi infra*, p. 218; Ottley, *Incarnation*, ii. 291), 'He willed not to use His power, not to use His knowledge,' is a surer formula than 'He could not.'

(*b*) It has been also applied to limitations imposed upon the Incarnate Christ with respect to His divine attributes as exercised within the divine sphere of action during the incarnate life; so that kenosis will imply the absolute or partial cessation of the Word's cosmic functions while He was incarnate. On this point, again, the Bible supplies no clear teaching, though the language of He 1^3 (ὢν . . . φέρων . . . ἐκάθισεν) seems to imply a permanence of cosmic functions; and such a cessation conflicts not only with the general stream of Christian theology, but with the conception of the unchangeable character of the divine nature.

LITERATURE.—The best exegesis of Ph 2^7 is to be found in Gifford, *The Incarnation* (1897), (cf. also Lightfoot, *ad loc.*). For the later theological usage, cf. Bright, *Waymarks in Church History* (1894), Appendix G; Gore, *Dissertations* (1895), pp. 71-202; Bruce, *Humiliation of Christ* (1889), Lectures ii.-iv.; Powell, *Principle of the Incarnation* (1896); Mason, *Conditions of our Lord's Life on Earth* (1896); Hall, *Kenotic Theory* (1898).

W. LOCK.

KERAS (Κηράς, AV Ceras), 1 Es 5^{29}.—Head of a family of temple servants who returned with Zerubbabel; called KEROS (קֵרֹס, A Κήραος, B Καδής), Ezr 2^{44}, Neh 7^{47} (אA Κειράς, B -ρά).

KERCHIEFS (מִסְפָּחוֹת, ἐπιβόλαια) are mentioned only in Ezk $13^{18.21}$, where a woe is pronounced upon the false prophetesses 'who sew bands (or fillets, *not* pillows as in AV, RV) upon all joints of the hands, and make kerchiefs for the head of (persons of) every stature, to hunt souls.' The passage is somewhat obscure, but the reference appears to be undoubtedly to some species of divination practised in order to obtain oracles. The מִסְפָּחוֹת seem to have been large veils or coverings thrown over the head and reaching down to the feet (and this is the original meaning of the Eng. word), and were adapted to every stature. The wearer of the fillets and 'kerchiefs' was in this way introduced into the magical circle (cf. Davidson's and Bertholet's notes in their *Comm. ad loc.*). Hitzig notes the analogy of the later practice of wearing *tĕphillîm* and putting on the large *ṭallith* at prayer (cf. Mt 23^5).

In the Wyclifite Bible of 1382 occurs the form 'couercheues' (Is 3^{23}, changed in 1388 into 'kercheues'), which shows the derivation from Fr. *couvre-chef* (*couvrir* to cover, *chef* the head). The Geneva version has 'vailes upon the head' in the text, but in marg. 'kerchefes to couer their heades.' The Bishops' Bible first gives 'kerchiefes' in the text. When the derivation of the word was obscured, it came to be used more generally for any small piece of dress. In this sense the word is still familiar in 'handkerchief,' though both 'kerchief' itself and its other compound 'neckerchief' are nearly gone out (see Craik, *Eng. of Shaks.* 176).

J. HASTINGS.

KERÊ.—See TEXT OF OLD TESTAMENT.

KEREN-HAPPUCH (קֶרֶן הַפּוּךְ, literally 'horn of antimony,' so Vulg.; LXX strangely Ἀμαλθείας κέρας, 'horn of Amalthæa,' *i.e.* plenty).—The youngest daughter born to Job in his second estate of prosperity (Job 42^{14}). The name is indicative of beautiful eyes, from the dye made of antimony, used to tinge the eyelashes (cf. Dillm. or Davidson, *ad loc.*; and see 2 K 9^{30}, Jer 4^{30}).

W. T. DAVISON.

KERIOTH (קְרִיּוֹת).—A place in Moab, Jer 48^{24} (in v.^{41} with art. הַקְּרִיּוֹת, RVm 'the cities'), Am 2^2. It is mentioned on the Moabite Stone, l. 13, where Mesha declares that he dragged 'the altar-hearth of Davdoh (?) before Chemosh * in *Ḳeriyyoth'*. Its site is uncertain, but weighty arguments have been adduced in favour of identifying it with **Ar** (wh. see), the capital of Moab (Is 15^{1}), which was probably situated in the valley of the Arnon, somewhere on the N. or N.E. border of Moab (see Driver on Am 2^{2} and Dt $2^{9.18}$, and cf. Buhl, *GAP* 270, who identifies Kerioth, however, not with Ar, but with Kir—the latter of which again he identifies with Rabbath-moab, while he considers Ar to be the name not of a city, but of a district, that, namely, to the south of the Arnon). J. A. SELBIE.

KERIOTH-HEZRON (קְרִיּוֹת־חֶצְרוֹן, LXX *αἱ πόλεις Ἀσερών*, AV 'Kerioth [and] Hezron).—A place in the Negeb of Judah (Jos 15^{25}, where it is added, 'which is Hazor.' See HAZOR, No. 4, and HEZRON, p. 379^{b}). Kerioth-hezron should probably be identified with the modern *Ḳarjetein*, N.E. of Tell 'Arâd. In all probability this was the birthplace of the traitor disciple Judas (wh. see), the name *Iscariot* being = אִישׁ קְרִיּוֹת 'man of Kerioth.' This is much more plausible than the conjecture which connects *Iscariot* with *Azkaroth* of Midrash *Bereshith rabba*, ch. 98, which Schwarz (*Das heil. Land*, p. 128) identifies with *el-'Askar* (Sychar ?).

LITERATURE.—Guérin, *Judée*, iii. 180 f.; Robinson, *BRP*² ii. 101; Buhl, *GAP* 182; Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* 171, 277; Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, iii. 276 n. J. A. SELBIE.

KEROS.—Name of a family of Nethinim who returned with Zerub., Ezr 2^{44} (קֵרֹס) = Neh 7^{47} (קֵירֹס).

KESITAH.—The *ḳĕsîṭāh* (קְשִׂיטָה) is mentioned only three times in the OT (Gn 33^{19}, Jos 24^{32}, Job 42^{11}). In the first and primary passage—to which one of the other passages certainly, and both probably (cf. Budde's 'Hiob,' *Einleit.* p. xliii) refer—Jacob is represented as paying a hundred *ḳĕsiṭāhs* for the 'parcel of ground where he had spread his tent' at Shalem. The *ḳĕsîtah* therefore must have been a standard of value, probably metallic (cf. Job 42^{11}). Its meaning and value in modern currency, however, are entirely unknown. The oldest versions (LXX, Onkelos, Vulgate) give 'lamb' or 'sheep,' on what grounds we do not know. In our Eng. VSS the rendering is 'piece of money' (AV once 'piece of silver,' Jos 24^{32}). Ball, in Haupt's *SBOT* (*Genesis*, p. 91), proposes for philological reasons to point קְשִׁיטָה *ḳĕshîṭāh*. Spurrell (*Notes on Gen.*² p. 288) has a good note (wh. see). Cf. Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, p. 11; Jacobé, 'La Kesita' in *Rev. de l'hist. et de litt. Bibl.* i. 6, pp. 515–518 (not seen); and see art. MONEY in this Dictionary. A. R. S. KENNEDY.

KETAB (Κηταβ, AV Cetab), 1 Es 5^{30}.—Head of a family of temple servants who returned with Zerubbabel. There is no corresponding name in the lists of Ezr and Neh.

KETHIBH.—See TEXT OF OLD TESTAMENT.

KETTLE.—See FOOD, p. 40, V. 2.

KETURAH (קְטוּרָה 'incense').—According to Gn 25^{1} (probably J), Abraham, after the death of Sarah (this is certainly the meaning intended by the compiler of Gn in its present form), again took (וַיֹּסֶף וַיִּקַּח) a wife (אִשָּׁה), Keturah, who bore to him six sons, who became the ancestors of Arab tribes. In v.⁶ (R) she bears the less honourable designation of פִּילֶגֶשׁ 'concubine' (cf. 1 Ch 1^{32}). The Keturah episode in Abraham's life is an evidence at once of the presence of different documents in Gn, the hopelessness of discovering a consistent chronology in that book, and the tendency of personal to shade off into tribal history. In the light of Gn 17^{17} 'Shall a child be born to him that is a hundred years old ?' it would be strange if the *same* writer, according to whose chronology Abraham was 137 years old at the time of Sarah's death (Gn 23^{1}), should relate, without remark, the birth of six sons to him after that event. Of course the difficulty disappears when we observe that a tradition independent of P and P's chronology is preserved by J in Gn 25^{1-5}, relating to Keturah. Further, as has been shown already in art. ABRAHAM (p. 16^{a}), it is impossible to resist the conclusion that the Keturah story is really an embodiment of the Israelitish belief of the relationship of Arabian clans and tribes to the Hebrew stock rather than the record of personal history.

From the meaning of the name *Keturah*, 'frankincense,' Sprenger (*Geog. Arab.* 295) suggests that the 'sons of Keturah' were so named because the author of Gn $25^{1ff.}$ knew them as traders in that commodity. A tribe *Ḳatûrâ*, living in the neighbourhood of Mecca, is named by the later Arab genealogists (Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xii. 19 ff.). On the various Keturah tribes of Gn 25 see sep. articles on the names of these. J. A. SELBIE.

KEY, LOCK.—Many of the old houses in Lebanon have still the ancient wooden lock commonly known in England as the Egyptian lock. It is generally fixed on the outside of the door, but in large villages and towns it is often put on the inside, a hole being cut in the door to allow the arm with the key to be inserted.

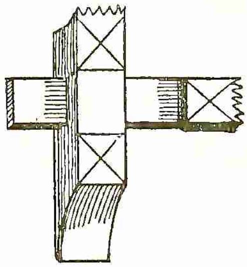

OUTSIDE OF LOCK.

The Syrian lock consists of two pieces of wood set at right angles to each other. The upright piece is nailed to the door, and has in its upper part four or five holes bored, into which headed pins, or nails with the points cut off, are dropped; the upper part of these holes is then plugged with wood. When the cross-bolt is pushed rapidly into the socket in the door-post these pins fall into holes made in the bolt to receive them, and so prevent its withdrawal. The bolt is hollow from the outer end for rather more than half its length,

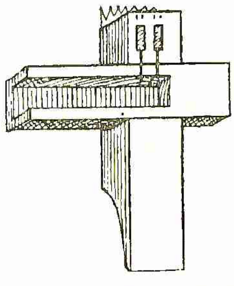

INSIDE OF LOCK, SHOWING TWO PINS.
For position of lock on door see illustration under HINGE.

---

* Showing that the national god had a chief sanctuary there. This favours the notion that Ḳerioth was the capital of Moab.

and into this hollow end the key (מַפְתֵּחַ) is inserted. The latter is a piece of wood about 9 in. long, with pins inserted in its upper surface at one end, to correspond with the holes in the bolt. When the pins in the key enter the holes in the bolt the key is pressed upwards, and the pins of the lock are thus raised above the bolt, which is then set free, and is withdrawn by the key. The length of the bolt is usually about 8½ in., but there are locks very much larger. The key, owing to its size, is generally stuck in the girdle, but is sometimes tied to a handkerchief and slung over the shoulder. The principle of this lock is really the same as that of Bramah's and Chubb's locks. See, further, art. HOUSE, p. 434 f.

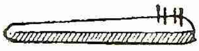

KEY.

Doors or gates are sometimes barred on the inside. The bar often extends from post to post across the door, but frequently the bar is inserted into a recess in the wall from which it is partly withdrawn, and so secures the door.

For use of 'keys' in Mt 16^{19} see art. POWER OF KEYS. W. CARSLAW.

KEZIAH (קְצִיעָה, *i.e.* cassia, or 'fragrant as cinnamon').—The name of the second daughter born to Job after his restoration to prosperity (Job 42^{14}).

KIBROTH-HATTAAVAH (קִבְרוֹת הַתַּאֲוָה).—A station in the wanderings of the Israelites on the journey from Sinai to Kadesh, and within one day's journey from Sinai, Nu 11^{34} 33^{16}, Dt 9^{22}. Its identification depends, therefore, on those of Sinai and Kadesh (which see). The traditional site, as early as the days of St. Sylvia of Aquitaine (*c.* A.D. 388), was a little to the north of the *Nukb el-Hawa*, or 'Pass of the Wind,' by which travellers are wont to reach expeditiously the plain at the foot of the traditional Sinai ('hic autem locus, ubi se montes aperiebant, iunctus est cum eo loco quo sunt *memoriæ concupiscentiæ*'). The name, 'graves of lust,' seems to imply something of a monumental character (? cairn, cromlech). J. RENDEL HARRIS.

KIBZAIM.—See JOKMEAM.

KID.—See GOAT.

KIDNEYS.—The Heb. word *kĕlāyôth* (כְּלָיוֹת, LXX and Rev 2^{23} νεφροί) has received two distinct renderings in our EV according as it is used literally or figuratively.

1. In the literal sense *kĕlāyôth* is used only of the kidneys of animals offered in sacrifice (except in three poetical passages, Job 16^{13}, Ps 139^{13}, La 3^{13}, where it refers to the human organs), and is so rendered. By the law of the Priests' Code, 'the two kidneys and the fat that is upon them, which is by the flanks' (RV loins[*]), along with certain other parts of the viscera, were J″'s special share of all the sacrificial victims. Special instructions to this effect are given (Lv 3$^{4.\ 10.\ 15}$) for the various victims in the case of the peace-offering—the remaining portions of the carcase being consumed by the worshippers, the blood, of course, always excepted—for the sin-offering (4^{9}), the trespass-offering (7^{4}), and, in narrative form, for the special consecration sacrifices (8$^{16.\ 25.\ 28}$, Ex 29$^{13.\ 22}$). In the case of sacrificial victims burnt entire upon the altar, such instructions were unnecessary. The *raison d'être* of the peculiar sanctity attaching to these parts of the viscera is to be found in the idea, common to the Semitic and other ancient peoples, that these parts were, next to the blood, the seat of life (see esp. *RS*^{1} p. 359 ff.), and accordingly, with the blood, to be given back to the Author of life. With the advance of reflexion and speculation on the mystery of life, the practice found its justification rather in the thought that the parts specified, and the kidneys in particular, were the choicest portions of the victim, and therefore appropriately devoted to J″. This point of view led to the poetical figure in the comparatively late 'Song of Moses,' the 'kidney-fat of wheat' (Dt 32^{14}, EV 'the fat of kidneys of wheat') to express the finest variety of that cereal (cf. Is 34^{6} 'the kidney-fat of rams').

2. A natural extension of the idea of the kidneys as an important seat of life led to their being regarded as one of the organs of feeling, as the seat not only of impulse and affection, but of the moral sentiments (see Delitzsch, *Biblical Psychology*, § xiii.; Dillmann, *Handb. d. AT Theologie*, p. 359). In this, to us figurative, sense our translators have adopted the rendering 'reins' (from Lat. *renes*, 'kidneys'), as also in the three poetical passages cited above (under 1). Jeremiah in particular is fond of this use of the word *kĕlāyôth* as a synonym of *lēbh*, the heart. Thus J″ is said to be 'near' in the mouth of the wicked, but far from their 'reins' (Jer 12^{2}), a thought expressed by Isaiah (29^{13}) and Ezekiel (33^{31}) by the contrast of 'mouth' and 'heart.' Jeremiah also repeatedly emphasizes J″'s character as the supreme Judge who 'tries the reins and heart' of men (Jer 11^{20}, with slight variations 17^{10} 20^{12}; cf. Ps 26^{2}, Rev 2^{23}). The kidneys or reins are also represented in poetry as the seat of conscience, man's moral teacher (Ps 7^{9} 'my reins instruct me'), monitor (73^{21} 'I was pricked in my reins'), and approving judge (Pr 23^{16} 'my reins shall rejoice, when thy lips speak right things'). With this thought may be compared the late Jewish conceit that of man's two kidneys, 'one prompts him to do good, the other to do evil' (Talmud, *Berakhoth* 61*a*; cf. Ro 7$^{19\text{ff.}}$).

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

KIDRON, THE BROOK (נַחַל קִדְרוֹן [*i.e.* 'the torrent-valley *or* wādy of Kidron']; LXX ὁ χειμάῤῥους Κεδρών, but twice (2 S 15^{23a} [B] ^{b} [A], 1 K 15^{13} AB) ὁ χειμάῤῥους τῶν Κέδρων, once (Jer 31 [Gr. 38]^{40}) νάχαλ [B; A χειμάῤῥους] K.; NT, only in Jn 18^{1} ὁ χειμάῤῥους τῶν Κέδρων, or according to some MSS, τοῦ Κέδρου or τοῦ Κεδρών).—A deep depression in the ground on the east side of Jerusalem, which is dry not only in summer but also during the greater part of the winter season, but in which after heavy rains a torrent sometimes flows.

The generally accepted explanation of the name (קִדְרוֹן from root קדר 'become black') is from the dark colour of the stream or the ravine.

Baur, who has been followed by Hilgenfeld, has made this the basis of an elaborate attack on the Fourth Gospel, arguing that the writer has imagined Κέδρων to be the genitive plural of κέδρος, 'a cedar,' and therefore cannot be the Apostle John, who as a Jew would have known that the name was derived from קִדְרוֹן 'dark.' Lightfoot, who in his *Biblical Essays* discusses this objection, dwells upon the fact, already alluded to, that in two passages in the LXX (2 S 15^{23}, and 1 K 15^{13}) the reading which has the support of AB is τῶν κέδρων; yet the LXX translators cannot have mistaken the meaning of the word, otherwise they could not have written, as they generally do, ὁ χειμάῤῥους Κέδρων, which on this supposition would be a solecism. Lightfoot also calls attention to the great uncertainty as to the actual reading in Jn 18^{1}; and, though the preponderance of MS evidence is either for τῶν Κέδρων or τοῦ Κέδρου, he believes the true account to be that the original reading was τοῦ Κεδρών; because this reading will explain the other two, whereas neither of the other two will explain either this or each other; and also because it is much more probable that τοῦ Κεδρών would be changed into τῶν Κέδρων and τοῦ Κέδρου, than conversely, the tendency being to assimilate terminations. This solution was adopted by Griesbach and Lachmann. Westcott and Hort, however, in their 'Notes on Select Readings' defend the reading τῶν Κέδρων, and regard it as probably preserving 'the true etymology of קִדְרוֹן, which seems to be an archaic

---

[*] See the coloured illustrations in Driver and White's *Leviticus* Haupt's *SBOT*), facing p. 4.

(? Canaanite) plural of קדר, "the Dark [trees]"; for though no name from this root is applied to any tree in biblical Hebrew, some tree resembling a cedar was called by a similar name in at least the later language (see exx. in Buxtorf, *Lex. Talm.* 1976); and the Greek κέδρος is probably of Phœnician origin.' WH rightly maintain that נַחַל denoted not so much the stream as the ravine through which it flowed, and remark that isolated patches of cedar-forest may well have survived from prehistoric times in sheltered spots.

The Valley of Kidron (modern *Wādy Sitti Marjam*) begins towards the north-west of Jerusalem at the foot of Mount Scopus, where the rocks appear to have been hollowed out by quarrying for stones for building tombs; afterwards it turns to the right towards the south, separating Jerusalem by a deep depression of the ground from the Mount of Olives. It is here at the east side of the city that the name *Kidron* was specially applied to it, for the descent is here much steeper than at the north side of Jerusalem; but the whole forms one continuous channel. Near the site of Gethsemane, where the ravine may have been crossed by our Lord and the eleven apostles on the evening of the betrayal, the bottom of the Kidron is about 150 ft. below Gethsemane, but nearly 380 ft. below the platform of the temple. The bed of the river becomes more perceptible as it turns towards the south, though it is only on rare occasions that water flows in it. There is, however, a curious spring which rises in a cave on the west side of the Kidron, and which appears to have originally flowed into the Kidron valley, but to have been diverted later through a tunnel cut in the rock through the ridge that forms the southern part of the Temple hill. A remarkable inscription was discovered in 1880 which records in pure Hebrew the making of this tunnel; and though it unfortunately gives no information about its date other than what can be inferred from the language and the characters in which it is written, it is conjectured with some probability that it may refer to the engineering work which was carried out by Hezekiah at the time of Sennacherib's invasion of Judæa, when 'he took counsel with his princes to stop the waters of the fountains which were without the city, and they helped him. So there was gathered much people together, and they stopped all the fountains, and the brook that flowed through the midst of the land' (2 Ch $32^{3.4}$). Robinson had suggested long before this discovery that the Kidron might very possibly flow beneath the present surface of the ground; and Barclay asserted that at a point in the valley about two miles below the city the murmuring of a stream could be distinctly heard, which stream on excavating he actually discovered. There may, therefore, before the time of Hezekiah, have been a flow of water in the now dry valley of the Kidron.

On leaving the city, the Kidron valley turns south-east towards the Dead Sea, and as it proceeds becomes deeper and more precipitous, its bed being more than 300 ft. deep. It passes here through a barren and desolate region, where many of the Essenes and anchorites made their homes in grottoes which have been excavated in its sides.

The name *Kidron* does not occur in the earlier books of the Bible; but after David had made Jerusalem the capital of the kingdom, the physical geography of the country in its immediate neighbourhood naturally became more closely connected with the history of Judah than it had hitherto been.

The first mention is in 2 S 15^{23}, where in the story of David's flight from Absalom it is recorded that he passed over the brook (*naḥal*) Kidron. The next mention is in 1 K 2^{37}, in the prohibition to Shimei against his ever crossing Kidron. This passage has been relied on by some scholars (*e.g.* Sir G. Grove) as showing that the name of Kidron was sometimes given to the ravines on the west of Jerusalem; since otherwise Solomon's prohibition would not have been trangressed by Shimei's journey to Gath to recover his fugitive slaves; for whether Gath be identified with *Tell es-Safied* or with *Beit Jibrîn*, it would in either case be by the western or Bethlehem gate that Shimei would leave the city, and the valley on the east side would be altogether out of his way. The narrative, however, does not assert that he actually passed over Kidron; and indeed, when it is carefully examined, it rather suggests the contrary. In the prohibition Shimei is commanded, 'Go not forth thence any whither,' and then the king adds, 'For on the day thou goest out and passest over the brook Kidron, know thou for certain that thou shalt surely die.' But in the recapitulation of the prohibition made after Shimei's journey to Gath, it is the general command 'not to walk abroad any whither' which alone is dwelt on, and there is now no mention of Kidron at all. The reason for its having been expressly mentioned in the original prohibition probably was because it was on the direct road to Shimei's home at Bahurîm, and was the boundary of the city on that side.

The later references to the Kidron in the historical books of the OT all without exception occur in the accounts given of the destruction of heathen images and altars which were either burned at Kidron, or, when broken or ground to powder, were cast into its valley or on the graves which studded it. In 1 K 15^{13} and in 2 Ch 15^{16} it is recorded that Asa burned at Kidron the idol which his mother had set up; and in 2 Ch 29^{16} and 30^{14} that Hezekiah cast into the Kidron the pollutions which had been found in the temple, and the altars that were in Jerusalem; and in 2 K $23^{4.6.12}$ that Josiah burned at Kidron the Asherah that had been in the house of the LORD, and stamped it small to powder, and cast the powder thereof upon the graves of the children of the people. As graves were regarded as polluting all who walked over them or came in contact with them, the intention of these reforming kings was clearly to dishonour thus the images to which worship had been paid, and the altars which had been used in that worship; but from the words of 2 Ch 34^{5} 'it would appear that in Josiah's case at least there was some intention of also dishonouring the graves,' for it is there expressly said that he strewed the dust of the images upon the graves of them that had sacrificed unto them.

The neighbourhood of Kidron would seem to be referred to in Jer 26^{23}; but the only place in the prophetical writings in which it is mentioned by name is in Jer 31^{40}. The passage is a remarkable one. 'And the whole valley of the dead bodies, and of the ashes, and all the fields unto the brook Kidron, unto the corner of the horse gate toward the east, shall be holy unto the LORD, it shall not be plucked up, nor thrown down any more for ever'.

The popular name for the Kidron valley, the **Valley of Jehoshaphat** (wh. see), is not found in the Bible or in Josephus, and cannot be traced earlier than the 4th cent. after Christ. It appears first in the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius (272, 89), and then in Jerome's *Onomasticon* (145, 13), and in his *Commentary on Joel.* It is derived from a supposed identification of the valley of the Kidron with the valley spoken of in Joel's prophecy (Jl $3^{2.12}$). The identification of the two is clearly an error (but see Driver, *ad loc.*). The narrow ravine of Kidron would be a most unsuitable place for the gathering of the nations; and it is to be noted that the word twice used by Joel for the Valley of Jehoshaphat is עֵמֶק, which denotes a wide spacious valley fit for cornfields and suitable for a battlefield, whereas the word habitually employed for the Kidron valley in the OT is נַחַל, denoting a narrow valley or ravine (the modern *wādy*); and these words are never interchanged. There is, however, one passage—2 K 23^{4}—in which the expression *shadmôth Ḳidrôn* (Heb. שַׁדְמוֹת קִדְרוֹן, LXX *σαδημὼθ* [A; *σαλημὼθ* B] Κεδρών) occurs, which is translated both in AV and RV 'fields of Kidron' (prob. a point at the junction with the Valley of Hinnom), but the usual term, *naḥal*, is again used in 2 K 23^{6}.

It has been suggested that the name, 'the Valley of Jehoshaphat' in Jl may be a purely imaginary name, and may represent a locality which had no existence except in the vision of the prophet. Robinson (*BRP*^{2} i. 269) conjectures that it may be a metaphorical allusion to the significance of the name *Jehoshaphat*, 'J" judgeth.' This view appears to be favoured by the tr^{n} of Theodotion, *χώρα κρίσεως*, and by that of Targ. Jon. 'The place of the decision of judgment.' Michaelis takes this view, and supposes it to be a prediction of Maccabæan victories. It has also been suggested that the frequent mention by Joel of Mount Zion, Jerusalem, and the Temple, may have led to the belief that the valley spoken of in the same prophecy was in the immediate neighbourhood.

This characteristic of the prophet Joel may, however, suggest a somewhat different conclusion. His frequent use of the names of real localities in his prophecies may be appealed to as making it probable that the vision of the Valley of Jehoshaphat may also be connected with a real locality. It may be noted that the word used by the Chronicler (2 Ch 20^{26}) to describe the valley in which Jehoshaphat assembled the people after his victory over the combined forces of the Edomites, Ammonites, and Moabites is the same word (עֵמֶק) which is twice used by Joel to describe the valley of Jehoshaphat. The author of Ch is, of course, one of the later writers of the OT, but he is more ancient than the other authorities quoted. The historical event is recorded in Kings as well as in Chronicles, though the account in Ch is fuller. The defeat of so many nations, and the great deliverance thus granted to Judah in the past, might have seemed to the prophet a not unapt type of the future gathering of the nations, and of the victory over them which he foretold. This might help to explain the transference of the title the 'Valley of Jehoshaphat' to the Kidron valley in later times: for the valley which was the scene of Jehoshaphat's victory stretches very near that part of the Kidron which turns towards the Dead Sea.

At the present time the Jewish as well as the Christian and Mohammedan population of Palestine identify the valley of Kidron with the scene of Joel's prophecy, and believe that the Last Judgment will be held there. It is the dearest wish of every Jew to obtain a grave at Kidron.

One of the four monuments by the Kidron at the foot of the Mount of Olives is associated by popular tradition with Jehoshaphat, though it is recorded in 1 K 22^{50} that Jehoshaphat was buried in the city of David. This is repeated in 2 Ch 21^{1}.

The title given to Kidron in Jer 31^{40} 'the valley of the dead bodies,' suggests that Ezekiel, who so often repeats more fully notes which had been struck by Jeremiah, may have intended to represent Kidron by the valley of dry bones to which he was carried out in the spirit of the Lord (Ezk 37). The imagery, indeed, of the vision may have been suggested by sights which he had seen in Mesopotamia, in the desert track where, as Stanley remarks, bones and skeletons of man and beast, the remnants of some vast caravan or the burial-place of some mighty host of ancient days, dry and bleaching in the yellow sands, would form a sight familiar to travellers through the wilderness; yet, as in a dream, imagery taken from one place is often transferred to another and a distant locality, so it may have been with the prophet whose spirit was so often in the land of Israel while his body was by the banks of the Chebar (cf. Ezk 40^{2}), and who by the words with which ch. 37 opens seems to represent the locality to which he was carried out as a distant one.

LITERATURE.—Robinson, *BRP*^{2} i. 231 f., 268 ff., 541; Buhl, *GAP* 93, 132 f.; *PEF Mem.* Jerusalem volume, 122; *ZDPV* v. 316 f., 323 f.; Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 41 ff.; Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* 51 f.; Lees, *Jerusalem Illustrated*, 129 ff.; Driver and Nowack on Jl 3^{2}. See also arts. JEHOSHAPHAT (VALLEY OF) and JERUSALEM in the present volume.

J. H. KENNEDY.

KIDRON (in 1 Mac 15^{39} *τὴν* Κεδρών [Καιδρ-] A, ℵ om. *τήν*; in v.^{41} *τὴν* Κεδρώ A, Κεδρών ℵ*, Χεβρών ℵ$^{c. a. c. b}$; in 16^{9} Κεδρών Aℵ).—A place fortified by Cendebæus (1 Mac 15$^{39. 41}$), and the point to which he was pursued after his defeat by the sons of Simon the Maccabee (16^{9}). It is named in connexion with Jamnia, and may be the modern *Kaṭrah* near *Yebna*. It is possibly the same town that is called **Gederoth** in Jos 15^{41}, 2 Ch 28^{18}.

LITERATURE.—*SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvi.; Guérin, *Judée*, ii. 35 f.; Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.*^{2} 210; Buhl, *GAP* 188; Dillm. on Jos 15^{36}.

KILAN (A Κιλάν, B Κειλάν, AV Ceilan), 1 Es 5^{15}.—Sixty-seven sons of Kilan and Azetas returned with Zerub. from captivity. There are no corresponding names in the lists of Ezr 2 and Neh 7.

KINAH (קִינָה).—A town in the extreme south of Judah, Jos 15^{22}. The site is unknown. The common noun *ḳînah* means 'wailing song,' 'lament for the dead'; but it is possible that the name of the above town is derived from the *Kenites* (קֵינִי), who settled in the Negeb (Nu 10^{32}), and had several cities in that quarter (1 S 30^{29}). See Dillm. *Josua*, p. 525.

KINDNESS (חֶסֶד [see careful study of this term in W. R. Smith, *Proph. of Isr.* 160 ff. 406]; χρηστότης).—1. Religion is and ought to be determinative of human life in general, and so in particular it moulds the grace of kindness. God was kind to the people of Israel, looking upon their affliction in Egypt and delivering them (Ex 3). The people were frequently reminded of this merciful intervention of J", and it was set before them as the ground of obedience and of action resembling His. Israel was not to oppress or vex a stranger, but to love him, for they knew the heart of a stranger, having been strangers in Egypt (Ex 22^{21} 23^{9}, Lv 19$^{33f.}$). The laws in the Book of the Covenant are specially marked by the requirement of kindness to the poor and needy, and the succeeding laws and the exhortations of the prophets continue to press the obligation. Indeed, God's pardon for sin and His rich spiritual blessings are made dependent in part on the suppliant's kindness to others in distress (Is 1$^{15-17}$ 58$^{6ff.}$).

Christ revealed God as the Father of men, and the kindness and mercy He enjoined on His followers resemble the type of these which is manifested by God. The divine Father regards men as potentially His true sons, and yearns for the prodigal's return (Lk 15^{20}). To effect His merciful purpose He uses the instruments of kindness—even His severity is kind. He makes His sun rise on the evil and the good (Mt 5^{45}), and blesses even the unbelieving with rain and fruitful seasons and gladness of heart (Ac 14^{17}), and He sent Christ to reveal Himself by miracles of kindness, and by opening up a way of spiritual salvation. Love to God will dispose men to view others as He does, *i.e.* as persons who are laden with suffering, but capable of the highest things, and as most likely to be influenced for good by love and kindness (Lk 6$^{35f.}$, 1 Jn 3^{17}).

2. (*a*) *Intensively*, kindness is limited, or at least its form is regulated, by the condition that righteousness must be maintained and developed. A holy God cannot bestow complete happiness on the unholy. Penitence, faith, and new obedience are therefore demanded in men, and the misery endured while they are absent or deficient is but a proof of God's kindness. So, if man's brother sin against him, he must be induced to repent and turn from the wrong (Mt 18$^{15ff.}$). He who only showers promiscuous benefits on the evil-doer shows no true kindness to the latter or to the community, but rather encourages the sinner in

sin, and so shares in it. Here kindness is manifested in reclaiming the offender from evil (which must be clearly represented as such), and in particular by the manner in which he is approached, by signs of goodwill, by patience, forbearance, timely speech, and timely silence, and all those nameless, conciliatory arts which can spring only from that love which suffereth long and is kind, and *seeketh not her own* (1 Co 13$^{4f.}$). The ends of righteousness and of true kindness further require that man shall be just before being generous (although when a material debt is paid we still fail to give others their due if it is discharged without love, Ro 13$^{7f.}$), and that there be no indiscriminate or injudicious bestowal of aid, such as would tend to lessen another's self-respect and reliance on self-help (2 Th 3$^{7ff.}$), not to speak of actions which are only to be described as officious (1 P 4^{15}). So, too, it is needful to adhere to the truth, at the risk of an apparent want of kindness. The Christian should endeavour to rise to the height of Christ's example, so as to be able, on occasion given, to speak the truth to those who are in trying circumstances, with such a spirit of faith and glad confidence in the fatherly love of God that the announcement will have, not a hurtful but, as far as may be, a soothing and bracing effect (Eph 4$^{15.\ 25}$). Kindness, therefore, is based on righteous Christian love as its principle and motive; and our Lord's golden rule (Mt 7^{12}) and parable of the Good Samaritan furnish guidance for the practical application of the principle.

(*b*) *Extensively*, kindness is due to all men with whom one has to do, and even to the lower animals, the example and care of God being again our standard (Jn 4^{11}, Mt 6^{26}). People of one's own faith, as being nearer than others, and furnishing more points of contact, and yielding many services which merit gratitude, have special claims (Gal 6^{10}). But the ungodly and sinful also call for compassionate care in view of their spiritual possibilities. Even the minor courtesies of life in general human intercourse are of value (Mt 10$^{12.\ 42}$). G. FERRIES.

KINDRED (in AV 1611 nearly always *kinred*) occurs in the plur. in the sense of 'families,' 1 Ch 16^{28}, Ps 22^{27} 96^{7} (all מִשְׁפָּחוֹת), Ac 3^{25} (*πατριαί*, RV 'families'), Rev 1^{7} 7^{9} 11^{9} 13^{7} (*φυλαί*, RV 'tribes'). Tindale has the sing. in the same sense, Dt 29^{18} 'Lest there be amonge you man or woman kynred or trybe that turneth awaye in his hert this daye from the Lord oure God' (AV 'family'). Cf. Elyot, *Gouvernour*, ii. 99, 'And also for his endeavour, prowesse, and wisedome, [Moyses] was moche estemed by Pharao and the nobles of Egipte; so that he moughte have lived there continually in moche honour and welth, if he would have preferred his singular advaile before the universall weale of his owne kynred or familie.' J. HASTINGS.

KINE.—See OX.

KING (THE OFFICE OF, IN ISRAEL).—I. ORIGIN. —1. Of the origin of the king (מֶלֶךְ *melek*) among Semitic peoples only uncertain inferences can be drawn from the meaning of the word and from facts more or less disputed.

MLK in Assyr. and Aram. = 'advise,' 'decree'; Arab. = 'possess,' 'rule'; Heb. and Eth. = 'rule.' This suggests that the term arose rather from the intellectual than the merely physical side, from counsel rather than prowess. He whose counsel was found best, eventually became king. Further, the term seems to have arisen after the purely nomadic stage of the Semitic nations (in which the Sheikh rules)* had ceased, yet before any had gained large territories. For king seems to be closely connected with *city* life, in contrast alike to unsettled wanderings and to permanent possession of large tracts of country. Thus we find in the time of Abraham several kings in a small space round the Dead Sea, and many throughout Palestine at the time of the conquest, each ruling a town with its adjacent lands, and presumably such villages as were dependent on it. The office in such cases appears to have been normally (apparently not in Edom, Gn 36$^{31ff.}$) hereditary.†

2. Side by side, however, with this there existed in each Semitic city the conception of a divine *King* who was supreme over the whole people, and from whom it had come into being. The frequency with which the gods of Semitic nations have an appellative of which *MLK* forms a part (*e.g.* Melḳart of Tyre) or the whole (Milkom of Ammon), shows that this was one of their primary conceptions of Deity.

We may explain the fact of both God and ruler possessing the same title by supposing either that the root idea of *MLK* suited both alike, the term being given to the Deity as signifying Him who gives counsel (*e.g.* by oracle); or that the title was given to the human ruler in accordance with his claim to be descended from, or to represent, the Deity; or (though this is very improbable) that the roots are different and the identity of the words as applied to God and to the president of a city is accidental. But, whatever the cause, the fact of the identity of titles tended to strengthen enormously the king's position.

3. Of the origin of the *office* (not the *title*) of king in Israel itself we have comparatively full particulars. We see the preparation for it and its inauguration. At the Exodus Moses supplied the place of a king,‡ centralizing in himself all the visible power. We know much less of Joshua, but the same appears to have been the case with him. But after the first flush of victory was over, when the tribes were divided by whole districts of unconquered Canaanites, and the sense even of religious unity was weakened by compliance with local religious customs, the inroads of various foes produced (at God's call) guerilla chiefs who released the parts where they lived from foreign attacks. One of these, Gideon, was invited by 'the men of Israel' to 'rule' over them,§ and though he verbally refused, saying, 'The LORD shall rule over you,'‖ he appears to have ruled over his city Ophrah, for on his death his son Abimelech kills all his brothers (except Jotham) and has himself made king in Shechem (Jg 9^{6}).¶ Abimelech acted as prince (וַיָּשַׂר Jg 9^{22}) 'over

---

* 'Das Königthum ist in Arabien eine fremde Pflanze,' G. Jacob (*Das Leben der vorislamischen Beduinen*, 1895, p. 164).

† Even Ebed-Tob (*c.* B.C. 1400) of Urusalim implies that this was the norm, when he contrasts his own case: 'It was not my father who installed me in this place nor my mother, but the arm of the mighty king has allowed me to enter into *my ancestral house*' (Hommel, *Ancient Heb. Trad.* p. 155). Observe that in the *MLK*, being properly the ruler merely of a city, we have perhaps the explanation of the fact that the term was not used by the Assyrian monarchs of themselves. They may have already found this title belonging to the kings of the various cities that they had conquered, and therefore they called themselves *Sar* (perhaps Is 10^{8} has a satirical allusion to this nomenclature).

‡ Dt 33^{5}, however, 'and he was king in Jeshurun,' probably refers to God.

§ *Mĕshōl bānū*. From a comparison of Jg 9^{2} with 9$^{8.\ 10.\ 12.\ 14}$ this seems to be here synonymous with *MLK*.

‖ Jg 8$^{22.\ 23}$. To say that such a contrast between an earthly and the heavenly king is an anachronism, and that, therefore, these verses belong to a later date (Moore), is with our present knowledge of the sources of Jg much too drastic a treatment. See, further, art. JUDGES (BOOK), p. 816^{a}.

¶ We do not know the relation of Ophrah to Shechem. It is possible that they were the same place, the latter representing the Canaanite part of it, which rebelled against the Israelites.

Israel' (*i.e.* apparently Shechem, and a few towns near), but his death after three years prevented a prolongation of a kingship in Israel after the Canaanite form. Jephthah had a kind of headship in Gilead (Jg 11^{6-11}), but no more was done in the direction of the formal kingdom till the time of Samuel. Samuel had indeed conquered the Philistines at Ebenezer, and had recovered the district that had been formally taken over by the Philistines (1 S 7^{11-14}); but, as it seems, as he became older and less energetic, the Philistines became stronger, and by their superior weapons and organization were reducing the Israelites to a condition little better than that of serfs (1 S $13^{19ff.}$). The danger of extinction as a nation at the hands of the Philistines was imminent, and unity in feeling and action was absolutely essential if Israel was to be preserved. It was the sense partly of this and partly of the declension of Samuel's sons from their father's uprightness in the internal administration of the district round him that led the elders of Israel to ask Samuel for a king.

The words attributed to Samuel in reply are very difficult. On the one hand, if Dt 17^{14-20} (cf. 28^{36}) is Mosaic, the principles that ought to guide the election of a king must, one would suppose, have been well known, and it is so far worthy of notice that in at least three out of the four points (no stranger, not multiplying horses, not multiplying wives, the study of the Law) Saul satisfied these principles. But with our present knowledge it seems impossible to reconcile Samuel's fears with a knowledge by him of the sanction given to the king in Dt. For Dt assumes that the kingdom need not be opposed to the theocratic government of the nation, but may rather become a form of it. On the other hand, Samuel's words are such as could hardly fail to suggest themselves to every far-seeing religiously-minded patriot.*

Nothing but the strongest necessity could justify (as by God's answer to Samuel it *did* justify) the commencement of a system which tended to repress the development of the free life of the individual Israelites, a life which might otherwise have attained much sooner the realization of the perfect liberty of the ideal believer in God. A king, however, was better than destruction by the Philistines or absorption by the Canaanites.

II. THE METHOD OF APPOINTMENT. — 1. *The Choice.*—(*a*) In the case of Saul. The subordination of the 'lay' to the 'religious' element in Israel is clearly seen in the action of the *elders.* Even if (as is hardly probable) any of them had an idea of a king possessing merely secular authority, no trace of such a feeling is shown, as they unite in seeking the sanction and the power of the religious authority. Further, Samuel even after consenting to their wish gives them strictly no voice in the appointment. He is guided to anoint Saul privately, and the public decision is made by lot, after which Saul is presented to the people as 'him whom the Lord hath chosen,' and they shout 'God save the king' (1 S 10^{24} [E^2]). Naturally, after the first success, a public assembly is called by Samuel to ensure the ratification by the people of the choice already made (1 S 11^{14} [J]), he taking the opportunity of convincing the people that a visible king would not have been necessary had they served God fully, and of urging them to serve Him faithfully under the new arrangement (1 S 12 [E^2]).†

(*b*) In the case of David also the appointment was from above (1 S 16^{13} 'midrashic'), but effect was not given to it until after Saul's death, when the men of Judah anointed him as their king (2 S 2^4), and not fully until seven years later, when 'all the tribes of Israel' anointed him king over all Israel. They did this, however, only after receiving certain stipulations from David (2 S 5^3). The virtual omission of these by Solomon, and their definite rejection by Rehoboam, caused the division of the kingdom.

(*c*) In other cases in David's line of which particulars have come down to us, the reigning king freely chose his successor from among his sons (1 K 1^{33-35}, but this was preferably the firstborn, 2 Ch 21^3).* Naturally, on the restoration of Joash to his rights, Jehoiada the priest took the opportunity of obtaining from him and the people an agreement to serve the LORD, the observance of whose worship was bound up with the national constitution and national prosperity (2 K 11^{17}). So again (also after conspiracies by others) the people appointed Azariah-Uzziah (2 K 14^{21}), Josiah (2 K 21^{24}), and, on the untimely death of Josiah, his son Jehoahaz (2 K 23^{30}). The appointment of Ahaziah by the people was due solely to his being the only son left to his father, Jehoram having apparently designated another son before both his and his own death (2 Ch 21^{17} 22^1).

2. *The Anointing.*†—Besides the reference given above, see ANOINTING, §§ 8, 9. The only king of the northern dynasty whose anointing is mentioned is Jehu (2 K 9^6), where the act is strictly private, like that of Saul and of David by Samuel. Many have thought from the absence of all mention in other cases that only those kings were anointed whose claims to the throne were disputed, but this is very unlikely. The cases of private anointing are mentioned as showing to the recipient God's choice and purpose: the public anointing is mentioned only on special occasions, just in the same way as the words 'God save the king' are recorded (1 K 1^{39}, 2 K 11^{12}). The frequency of the term 'the LORD'S anointed' confirms this (1 S 24^{10} 26^9, 2 S 1^{14} 19^{21} [Heb. ^{22}]). It has been suggested that kings were anointed in order that they might fulfil priestly functions (see below), but there is no hint of this. The ceremony was perhaps already purely archaic in Saul's time. The writer, however, of 1 S 16^{13} ('midrashic') connects it with the gift of the spirit.‡

III. THE EXTERNAL MARKS.—(*a*) *Sceptre* (שֵׁבֶט).—This very primitive sign of supreme authority is used of the Israelitish king in Ps 45^7, and perhaps nowhere else. See SCEPTRE.

(*b*) *Spear* (חֲנִית).—This, both among pre-Mohammedan (W. R. Smith, *Kinship*, p. 171) and modern Arabs (Tristram, *Land of Israel*, p. 259), marks the presence of the sheikh. It was in the hand of Saul when David played to him (1 S 18^{10} [J^1]), by his side at meal-time (20^{33} [J^1]), in his hand when he sat at council (22^6 [J^1]), planted by his pillow as he slept in camp (26^7 [E^1]). He is also said by the Amalekite to have leaned on it when he was dying (2 S 1^6 [E^1]).§ These examples suggest that Saul did not use the sceptre; but it should be noticed that in the first three passages the more offensive use of the spear comes into question, and in the fourth and fifth he was engaged in war.

---

* It is, of course, still possible that the *form* of the objections attributed to Samuel is one 'moulded by the experiences of a later age' (Driver, *Dt.* p. 213), but the narrative as it stands probably represents his actual feelings.

† Such is the general result we appear to reach by combining all the data in 1 S; but see *OTJC*^{2} 135 ff.

* In the maintenance of the hereditary principle we may see, probably, the chief cause of the longer duration of the Southern kingdom.

† For the existence of this practice in Egypt at coronations, cf. T. T. Perowne in Smith's *DB*^{2} i. 137.

‡ W. R. Smith (*RS* pp. 215, 364) conjectures (*a*) from Ps 45^8, compared with Is 61^3, that the anointing of kings was part of the ceremony of investing them in the festal dress and ornaments appropriate to their dignity (cf. Ca 3^{11}); (*b*) from the original use of animal fat, that anointing meant the transference of the living virtues of the animal slain. He also sees in the very act of applying the ointment originally a form of homage.

§ Cf. Kirkpatrick on 1 S 18^{10}. Perhaps the *javelin* (כִּידוֹן) in the hand of Joshua was as much a symbol of authority as a weapon (Jos 8^{18}).

(*c*) *Crown* or *diadem* (נֵזֶר), of Saul on the battlefield (2 S 1^{10} [E^1]), therefore light and probably a fillet of silk; and of Joash (2 K 11^{12} ‖ 2 Ch 23^{11}, cf. Ps 89^{39} 132^{18}); with stones (Zec 9^{16}). See, further, CROWN, §§ 3, 4, and DIADEM.

(*d*) *Bracelet* (צְעָדָה), also of Saul (2 S 1^{10}), and in plur. prob. (by emendation) of Joash (2 K 11^{12}). See BRACELET.

(*e*) *Throne* (כִּסֵּא), presupposed in numerous promises and commands (*e.g.* Dt 17^{18}, 1 S 2^8, 2 S 3^{10} $7^{13.16}$ 14^9, 2 K 10^3, Jer 13^{13}). David's is used by Solomon (1 K 2^{12}), who in audience places another throne for his mother (v.^{19}), but afterwards has a costly new one made for himself (1 K 10^{18-20}), as well as a porch for it (1 K 7^7).

(*f*) *A place of honour in the temple* (Ezk $46^{1.2}$ and perhaps 2 K 23^3).

(*g*) *Palace* (בַּיִת, הֵיכָל, אַרְמוֹן).—Solomon's (1 K 7^{1-12}) had apparently three chief parts, the Great Hall (or House of the Forest of Lebanon), the porch of judgment, and the porch or ordinary reception room, besides the private apartments, rich with cedar beams and pillars. So Jehoiakim's was cieled with cedar and painted with vermilion (Jer 22^{14}). Ahab's was of ivory, *i.e.* probably panelled with it (1 K 22^{39}, cf. Ps 45^8).

(*h*) *The royal chariot* (רֶכֶב).—Nowhere expressly included among the insignia of the king, but perhaps implied by the analogy of Egypt (Gn 41^{43}), and the importance that chariots held in the establishment both of the king and of the nobility (1 S 8^{11}, 1 K 9^{19} 10^{26}, Is 22^{18}, Jer 17^{25} 22^4). Hence the fact that Absalom and Adonijah set up a chariot and attendant runners (2 S 15^1, 1 K 1^5) indicated their claim to semi-royal state. See CHARIOT.

(*i*) *The royal harem* (2 S 16^{21}).

(*j*) *The bodyguard*, primarily of Philistine mercenaries (Cherethites, Pelethites, and Gittites, 2 S 8^{18} [J^1] 15^{18} [J^1]) and perhaps Carians (2 K $11^{4.19}$), who may also have been the royal butchers (see W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} pp. 260–263, and art. CHERETHITES). They were apparently identical with the 'mighty men' (1 K $1^{8.10.38}$).*

IV. DUTIES OF THE KING.—1. *In war.*—As preparations for war called the kingdom into existence, so it continued to be the principal function of the king to direct warlike operations, and to see that the land was well defended by fortresses and possessed the *material* of war (*e.g.* 1 K $12^{21ff.}$, 2 Ch 17^2 $26^{9.15}$ 32^{2-5}). Naturally the nucleus at least of a standing army was always maintained, probably the bodyguard (see above), the whole fighting force of the nation being called out only as needed (see ARMY). Sometimes also the king employed a large force of mercenaries (2 Ch 25^6).

2. *Judicial.*—In Eastern even more than in Western lands the supreme court of appeal is the sovereign in person, and in Eastern lands more particularly each litigant, however humble, has the right of bringing his cause before the king if the latter has time to hear it (cf. 2 S $14^{5ff.}$ 15^2, 1 K $3^{16ff.}$). Hence the fact that Jotham judged the people was a sign that he completely took his father's place (2 K 15^5). So, too, right judgment is almost equivalent to a good rule (Is 16^5). Sometimes, perhaps, the king was called 'the judge' (so of Moab, Am 2^3).†

Through this concentration of the judicial functions it is probable that the powers of the 'elders' diminished, and that thus there was the more need for the royal judges whom Jehoshaphat sent throughout Judah, whose head was 'the ruler of the house of Judah' (2 Ch $19^{5.11}$). They seem, however, to have become even more amenable to bribery than the elders (see below). Solomon, as stated above, built a special porch for judgment (1 K 7^7). It is also worthy of note that the king seems to have had no power to originate laws (even Josiah's reform is based on the book that had been found, 2 K 23^{1-3}), and that he himself was under law (1 K $21^{4ff.}$, Dt 17^{19}).

3. *Religious.*—In all early Semitic nationalities, and especially in Israel, religion was bound up with the unity of the people. For a king to neglect the worship of the national god would be to alienate a large proportion of his subjects, who, believing themselves to have sprung from their god, felt that his honour was their own, and also that their own welfare depended upon the treatment he received. Hence the maintenance of the religious establishment was necessarily an important part of the king's duties.* A further question arises whether the early Semitic custom of the king being the religious head of the nation and the chief sacrificing priest obtained also in Israel. It has been asserted that this was the primary object of the anointing of the Israelitish kings, but no hint to this effect is given in the OT (see above). Yet there are certainly traces of the old custom, whether it is to be regarded as held legitimate by the Israelites themselves (till quite late times) or not.

Thus we find the following examples:—(*a*) Sacrifices are offered by Saul against the wish of Samuel (1 S 13^{9-11} [J^2] $14^{33ff.}$ [J^1]), but are evidently regarded by Saul himself as his right in Samuel's absence. Also, perhaps, by David himself (2 S $6^{13.17}$ [J^1] 24^{25} [J^1]), but in these cases the sacrifices may merely have been offered by the priests at David's order (comp., too, Ezk $45^{17b.22}$). (*b*) David wears the linen ephod (2 S 6^{14}, cf. 1 Ch 15^{27}), which was a priestly garment (1 S 2^{18} 22^{18}) (see EPHOD), and he and Solomon bless the people (2 S 6^{18}, 1 K 8^{14}). (*c*) It is more important that David and Solomon dismiss and appoint the chief priest at their pleasure (2 S 8^{17}, 1 K $2^{26.27.35}$).† This may have been due to a desire to have a royal priesthood distinct from the priests of other sanctuaries (cf. 1 Ch 6^{10}, 1 K 4^2 with 1 Ch $16^{39.40}$). It is possible that the officials manifestly not of the Levitical line who are called priests (כֹּהֲנִים), viz. David's sons (2 S 8^{18} [J^1]) and Ira the Jairite (2 S 20^{26} [R^{P}]),‡ represent those royal officials who saw to the maintenance of such royal priests, unless perhaps they were the intermediaries between the king and the whole body of the priests for certain functions, *e.g.* to supply the royal sacrifices, to superintend the royal expenditure upon the preparations for the Temple, etc.§

V. MAINTENANCE AND ESTABLISHMENT.—1. *Taxation.*—(*a*) Ezk $45^{7.8}$ 48^{21} speak of a royal domain with which God's 'princes' will be so satisfied that they will no more oppress the people, but even with this the 'prince' is still to receive large supplies of food (45^{13-16}). Such a royal domain is also hinted at in 1 S 8^{12} (E^2), and actually possessed by David (1 Ch 27^{25-31}).

---

* But surely not with 'the governors of the people' mentioned in 2 Ch 23^{20}, as Smith's *DB*^{2} i. 1245, suggests.

† Not in Dt $17^{9.12}$ (Benzinger, *Arch.* p. 306), for the singular there is either generic and = plural in $19^{17.18}$, or it refers to a president of lay judges (so Driver).

* Ezk 45^{17} expressly orders that the prince shall provide the sacrifices (cf. 46^{4-6} and 2 Ch 30^{24} 35^7).

† That David gets the choir appointed (1 Ch 15^{16-24}) proves nothing, for, apart from the question of the historicity of the Chronicler's narrative, even the closest sacerdotal body may depend on the laity for money. 1 Ch 16^{4-6} is more to the point, but need not imply more. So also with Solomon building the Temple, which Nowack (*Arch.* i. p. 310) strangely compares to Ahaz building the altar in wilful opposition to the type sanctioned by the nation's religious laws.

‡ *I.e.* dated by Budde 440–400 B.C., therefore (on the same principles) not much earlier than the Chronicler (see next note).

§ The Chronicler evades the difficulty by paraphrasing 'the sons of David were chief about the king' (1 Ch 18^{17}). In 1 K 4^5 the title is given to Zabud as well as 'the king's friend' (see below).

The word 'priests' in 2 S 8^{18} 20^{26} has been explained to mean, on the one hand, spiritual counsellors, or the king's highest officials, or his daily companions (which is against usage); and, on the other hand, 'priest' in the fullest sense. But to believe that the sons of David and Ira the Jairite actually exercised priestly functions requires much more evidence than has yet been adduced (but see Driver on 2 S 8^{18}). The act of Uzziah is represented by the Chronicler as monstrously illegal (2 Ch 26^{16-18}), and has no parallel in Israelitish history.

(*b*) Presents, more or less compulsory, were given by subjects (to Saul 1 S 10^{27} 16^{20}), and by foreigners (to David 2 S 8^{10}, to Solomon 1 K 4^{21-23} 10^{10-25}, and to kings of Israel from Moab 2 K 3^4, cf. Is 16^1). The king would also certainly have his share of booty (David 2 S 8^{11} 12^{30}, 1 Ch 26^{27}).

(*c*) The king had apparently the right to the first cut of the pasture land (Am 7^1) for his many horses (1 K 18^5). The land-tax was, as it seems, unknown in Palestine. Yet there was probably a property-tax of some kind (1 S 17^{25} [E^1]), perhaps the tenth of all produce (1 S $8^{15.\,17}$ [E^2]). Naturally, for extraordinary needs extraordinary requisitions were levied (2 K 15^{20} 23^{35}). Caravans paid toll (1 K 10^{15}), and much profit must have been derived from what was in Solomon's days the royal monopoly in horses and, apparently, chariots (1 K$10^{28.\,29}$), as well as from the commerce by sea (1 K 10^{11}). Apparently also the property of condemned persons (1 K $21^{1.\,3.\,7}$), and of those who had left the country (2 K $8^{3.\,6}$), passed to the king. That he also sometimes seized property unjustly is implied in Ezk $45^{7.\,8}$.

(*d*) We are not told the reasons why the census was taken by David (2 S 24^1 [J^1]), but perhaps one was the desire to equalize taxation, as was evidently that of Solomon's division of the country into twelve districts (1 K 4^7),* which were only partly named after the twelve tribes, though roughly coextensive with them.

2. *Officials* (שָׂרִים 2 S 8^{16}).—Perhaps the more important of these were those 'that saw the king's face' (2 K 25^{19}=Jer 52^{25}). It should be noticed that the details are almost confined to the time of David and Solomon (2 S $8^{16\text{ff.}}$ $20^{23\text{ff.}}$, 1 K $4^{2\text{ff.}}$, 1 Ch $18^{15\text{ff.}}$), and that in only a few cases can we affirm the continuance of the office throughout the monarchy.

(*a*) *Military.*—(α) The *captain of the host*, *i.e.* commander-in-chief (under the king) of the whole available fighting strength of the nation, exclusive, perhaps, of the bodyguard (see above). This position, the consolidation and concentration of an older usage (Dt 20^9), was held by Abner under Saul and Ishbosheth (1 S 14^{50}, 2 S 2^8), by Joab (2 S 8^{16}) and for a short time by Amasa in Judah (2 S 19^{13}, 1 K 2^{32}), and, on Joab's removal, by Benaiah (1 K 2^{35}). In the northern kingdom the king appears to have divided the office into that of the two captains of his chariots (1 K $16^{9.\,16}$). (β) The *captain of the bodyguard* (see above), Benaiah (2 S 8^{18} 20^{23}).

(*b*) *Civil.*—(α) The *mazkîr* (מַזְכִּיר), lit.='he who brings to remembrance,' viz. Jehoshaphat in the time of David and Solomon (2 S 8^{16} 20^{24}, 1 Ch 18^{15}, 1 K 4^3), Joah ben-Asaph in the time of Hezekiah (2 K $18^{18.\,37}$=Is $36^{3.\,22}$), Joah ben-Joahaz in the time of Josiah (2 Ch 34^8). This is usually rendered 'recorder,' his duties being supposed to be those of chronicling the chief events; but this would hardly appear to be a sufficiently influential position. Perhaps his duty was rather that of reminding the king in matters of state, and he represented the Grand Vizier of modern times (cf. Benz. p. 310).

(β) The *ṣōphēr* (סוֹפֵר) or 'scribe' (AV, RV), apparently the writer of the royal correspondence, the Secretary of State (2 S 8^{17} 20^{25}, 1 Ch 18^{16}). Solomon had two, who were apparently the sons of David's 'scribe' (1 K 4^3). His duties appear to have been partly financial (2 K 12^{10} 22^{3-9}), and he sometimes is mentioned before the Recorder (2 K $18^{18.\,37}$=Is $36^{3.\,22}$, 2 Ch 34^8, cf. 2 K 22^3). See, further, Riehm, *s.v.* 'Kanzler.'

(γ) The *officer over the household*, אֲשֶׁר עַל הַבָּיִת (1 K 4^6 18^3), *i.e.* the head of the palace, intrusted with 'the key' (Is 22^{22}). Apparently=סֹכֵן (Is 22^{15}), but this may be a general term for 'official.' He perhaps stood for our High Chamberlain or Steward. Not mentioned in David's time. In the time of Hezekiah he is mentioned before both Scribe and Recorder (2 K $18^{18.\,37}$ 19^2=Is $36^{3.\,22}$ 37^2), and certainly held a superior position to that held by the Scribe (cf. Is $22^{15.\,20}$ with 36^3).

(δ) The *overseer of the forced labour* (אֲשֶׁר עַל הַמַּס) first seen in the latter part of David's reign. Adoram (Adoniram) held the office from then till his murder in the revolt from Rehoboam (2 S 20^{24}, 1 K 4^6 5^{14} 12^{18} ∥ 2 Ch 10^{18}).

(ε) The *king's servant* (עֶבֶד הַמֶּלֶךְ) is mentioned with other high officials in 2 K 22^{12}. The same title is on the seal of one Obadiah (figured in Nowack, *Arch.* i. p. 262; Benzinger, *Arch.* p. 258), but nothing is known of it. Perhaps it is the same as

(ζ) The *king's friend* (1 K 4^5, 1 Ch 27^{33}, cf. 2 S 15^{37} 16^{16}).

(η) The *king's counsellor*, Ahithophel (1 Ch 27^{33}, 2 S 15^{12}, cf. ^{31} $16^{20.\,23}$ $17^{1.\,7.\,14}$, Is 3^3). Perhaps also Jonathan, David's uncle (1 Ch 27^{32}).

(θ) The *prefect of the twelve commissariat districts* (1 K 4^5, see above).

(ι) Minor officials, *e.g.* the *head of the wardrobe* (2 K 22^{14}, and perhaps 10^{22}); heads of various departments of royal properties (1 Ch 27^{25-31}); *eunuchs* (סָרִיסִים) or perhaps chamberlains (1 S 8^{15}, 1 K 22^9, 2 K 8^6, and often; in 2 K 25^{19}=officer); *the governor of the city* (שַׂר הָעִיר, 1 K 22^{26}, 2 K 23^8, 2 Ch 34^8, cf. Neh 11^9).

(κ) Although these officials were necessary for the working of the monarchical government, which probably always tended to obliterate the old landmarks of the tribal system, with its semi-independent elders (these are still mentioned under the monarchy, 1 K 20^7, 2 K 23^1), yet by the very severance of the ruling class from the soil it tended also to increase the difference between class and class. The Mosaic legislation, though perhaps hardly suitable for great commercial enterprises, was admirably fitted to maintain comparative equality, but the rule of the king in both N. and S. Israel produced crying injustice on the part of the rich and misery for the poor (*e.g.* Am $2^{6.\,7}$, Is 5^8, Jer 5^{28}, Mic 3^{11}).

VI. Lastly, it may be noticed briefly that the king, both by success and by failure, played an important part in preparation for the future. His success showed the necessity for organization and concentration; his failure, in his degeneration from the nearly ideal David to the worthless Zedekiah (relieved, though the crown temporarily was, by godly representatives), showed that a kingdom as such and alone was an ineffectual protection. A wholly ideal David was hoped for (Ezk 34^{23} 37^{25}), and in due time given. But before then the title of king was borne by members of the Hasmonæan dynasty from Aristobulus I. (B.C. 105–104) to Aristobulus II.

---

* It is hardly accurate to say that Judah is omitted (*e.g.* Benzinger, p. 308), for Socoh (v.^{10}, cf. also Jos $15^{35.\,48}$, 2 Ch 11^7 28^{18}, 1 S 17^1) was up the vale of Elah in the Shephelah of Judah. Of the places mentioned with it in 1 K 4^{10} Hepher is unknown, and also Arubboth (but see Dr. C. Schick in *PEFSt*, Oct. 1898, p. 238. Josephus, ed. Niese, *Ant.* VIII. ii. 3, omits all ref. to v.^{10} [against Smith's *DB*^{2} i. 250]), though this possibly is to be identified with Arab, mentioned in Jos 15^{52} (Socoh, v.^{48} is in the next group), and also in the Shephelah, not far apparently from Dumah, which was near Eleutheropolis (see ARAB and DUMAH). But evidently Jerusalem and the part immediately round it is omitted in Solomon's twelve districts. This is explicable by the fact that being so near to the seat of government it would necessarily be more easily mulcted for provisioning troops, etc., and also may have come under the special care of one of the other officials named, *e.g.* the governor of the city (see below).

(B.C. 63), and by Herod the Great from B.C. 40 to B.C. 4. See separate articles on these names.

LITERATURE.—Besides the ordinary Histories of the Jewish People, and Dictionaries, may be mentioned Benzinger, *Hebräische Archäologie* (Leipzig, 1894); Nowack, *Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Archäologie* (Leipzig, 1894); McCurdy, *HPM* (1894–96, §§ 27–63, 511–538). A. LUKYN WILLIAMS.

KINGDOM OF GOD, OF HEAVEN (*βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ, τῶν οὐρανῶν*).—The importance of the place which this idea of the kingdom of God holds in Scripture, and especially in the teaching of Jesus; the new prominence it has come to assume in recent years in theology (since Kant and Schleiermacher, particularly in the school of A. Ritschl, but also among theologians generally, *e.g.* Lipsius, Oosterzee, Maurice); and the attempts which have been made to find in it the supreme and controlling notion of Christian dogmatics, as well as of Christian ethics,—all render it desirable that full and careful consideration should be given to this leading thought of the Christian religion, and that the attempt should be made to present its biblical aspects in as complete a form as possible, in their relations to each other, and to the other elements of Christian truth. Little inquiry is necessary to convince us that this idea enters vitally into the whole texture of revelation, has its root in the fundamental ideas of the OT, is paramount in the earthly teaching of our Lord, receives further development—with special reference, however, to its eschatological side—in the apostolic writings, and presents points of deepest interest to students both of doctrine and morals at the present day. Our task, then, in this article will be—following the natural biblical development of the subject—to exhibit first the general features of the OT preparation for the Christian doctrine of the kingdom of God; then to set forth the teaching of Jesus on this vital topic; and, finally, to compare with this the doctrine of the Epistles and other NT writings. By pursuing this course we may hope to arrive at a notion which shall be helpful in enabling us to judge of the place and value of this doctrine in theology and ethics, and to form a correct estimate of past and current misapprehensions and mutilations of the idea.

I. OT DOCTRINE OF THE KINGDOM OF GOD.—1. To reach the true idea of the kingdom of God in OT we must go farther back than the point from which a start is usually made—the theocratic constitution at Sinai. As in all the spheres of the Divine operation, grace invariably presupposes *nature*, so is it in this. The real basis for the idea of the kingdom of God is already laid in the Creation history. The doctrine of Scripture, in its oldest as well as in its later parts, is here entirely uniform. The one God—the God who afterwards entered into covenant with the patriarchs, and as J″ brought Isr. out of Egypt, and formed it into a people for Himself—is the Almighty Maker of heaven and earth, the Creator, Lord, and Ruler of all things, animate and inanimate. The Creation narrative in Gn 1, with its delegation to man of ‘dominion’ over the creatures (cf. Ps 8), already lays down this doctrine, and the second history of Creation (Gn $2^{4ff.}$) is equally explicit. No limit is set in these creation histories to the absolute power of God. As H. Schultz says: ‘When God, the possessor of heaven and earth (Gn 14^{19-22}), can make everything good, that is to say, finds nowhere any hindrance in anything already in existence, which, having its origin in some other being, is antagonistic to Him (Gn 1^{31}); and when to His word “Be” comes the willing “And it was”; in other words, when matter obeys the Divine command like a willing servant, it is assuredly taken for granted that everything, even this chaotic matter which obeys the creative word of God, is included within the will of God, and called forth by Him’ (*OT Theol.* ii. 186, Eng. trans.). On this conception of God as Creator rests the doctrine which pervades the whole OT of *His unlimited dominion or rule in nature and providence.* The ethical or spiritual kingdom of God rests on a basis of natural dominion. This is expressed in the clearest way in psalmists and prophets. God is King of all the earth (Ps 47^{7}); His kingdom ruleth over all, and angels, His hosts, and all His works in all places of His dominion, are exhorted to bless Him (Ps 103^{19-22}); natural agents are His ministers (Ps 104^{4}), and continue according to His ordinances as serving Him (Ps 119^{89-91}); He is the God, even He alone, of all the kingdoms of the earth, for He made heaven and earth (Is 37^{16}); ‘all that is in the heaven and in the earth is thine: thine is the kingdom, O Lord, and thou art exalted as head above all’ (1 Ch 29^{11}). This natural dominion or kingdom of God embraces all beings and events—the affairs of men as well as the agencies and powers of nature, which He disposes at His will. Nothing is withdrawn from His providential government, which takes in events great and small, remote and near, of nations and of individuals, the thoughts of men as well as their outward actions, the army of heaven as well as the inhabitants of the earth (cf. Gn 18^{25} 45^{5-9}, Ex 9^{13-16}, Dt 32^{9}, Pr 21^{1}, 2 Ch 16^{9}, 2 K 19^{28}, Is 10^{15}, Dn 4^{35} etc.). The disobedience of men does not withdraw them from the range of the Divine control. If men will not serve the purposes of God willingly, they are made to serve the Divine ends unwillingly (Ex 9^{16}). They are the clay: God is the potter; they cannot escape from the potter's hands; and if they will not be made vessels of honour, they are turned to other uses as vessels of dishonour (Jer 18^{6}; cf. Ro 9^{21-23}). Their very wrath is made to praise Him, and the remainder of wrath He restrains (Ps 76^{10}).

There is therefore recognized in Scripture—OT and NT alike—a natural and universal kingdom or dominion of God, embracing all objects, persons, and events, all doings of individuals and nations, all operations and changes of nature and history, absolutely without exception, which is the basis on which a higher kind of kingdom—*a moral and spiritual kingdom*—is built up. The natural creation obeys God undeviatingly by an inherent law of its constitution (Ps 119^{91}, Is $1^{2,3}$); to man alone belongs the possibility of entering into personal relations with his Maker, and of rendering Him a free and intelligent obedience. We have seen that God's ordinary providential rule in the worlds of matter and mind is never for a moment suspended, even in the case of wicked men; but altogether higher in quality is a moral rule,—a rule in the minds and hearts of men, a rule by moral means over willing and obedient subjects. For man is not a mere natural existence; in Kant's famous phrase, he is a member of a kingdom of ends; is capable of entering into the will of his Creator, and of rendering Him a spontaneous and willing obedience. Here, then, is the idea of a kingdom of God of a higher kind—a realm of free, personal spirits, yielding voluntary obedience to the known will of their Creator,—and it lies in the nature of the case, and is already implied in the narrative of the creation of man, and of God's dealings with him, that the production of such an ethical kingdom in humanity was God's end in creation from the first (Gn 1. 2). ‘How would it now look to you,’ says the philosophic Saxon king Alfred, ‘if there were any very powerful king, and he had no freemen in all his kingdom, but that all were slaves? Then, said I, it would not be thought by me right nor reasonable if men in such a servile condition only should attend upon him.

Then, quoth he, it would be more unnatural if God, in all His kingdom, had no free creature under His power. Therefore, He made two rational creatures, free angels and men, and gave them the great gift of freedom. Hence, they could do evil as well as good, whichever they would. He gave this very free gift, and a very fixed law to every man unto this end.' We have here, therefore, a higher type of dominion, one in which God's will is freely accepted by rational and moral intelligences; and had this been realized on the lines originally laid down, there would have been, even on a creation basis, a kingdom of God in humanity.

2. But this brings us to the next cardinal point in the OT doctrine. The kingdom of God on the basis of creation just indicated was *not* realized. The narrative of creation is immediately succeeded in our oldest history by the record of the *Fall*—of a turning aside of man from his primitive innocence —which frustrated (speaking humanly) the original designs of the Creator, and introduced sin, death, and multiplied penal evils into the world (Gn 3). It is usual for biblical theologians to make somewhat light of this narrative, which stands at the gateway of the history of revelation, as if it did not enter deeply into the religious conceptions of the people of Israel. 'It will hardly be maintained,' says Schultz, 'that any other OT writer even hints at such an idea' as that man possessed an aboriginal dignity which was afterwards lost (*OT Theol.* ii. p. 258 ff.). It may be affirmed with some confidence, on the other hand, that, apart from explicit references to the narrative of the Fall (which, however, could not be unknown to any writer of the prophetic period), the background of the whole picture in OT is that of a world in revolt, turned aside from God, sunk, and ever sinking deeper, in unrighteousness, abandoned to idolatry and to the lusts and corruptions which are the natural fruit of apostasy from the Creator,—a world in contrariety to the divine holiness, and judged as guilty, and justly exposed to the Divine anger (Gn $6^{5.6}$ 8^{21} 13^{13} $19^{20.21}$, Lv 18^{24-30}, Dt 9^{4-6}, 1 K 8^{46}, Ps 14. 51^{5} 143^{2}, Pr 20^{9}, Ec 7^{20}, Is 1, Hos 4, etc. Cf. Dillmann, *Alttest. Theol.* pp. 376–88). This representation of the condition of humanity as universally under sin has for its consequence a proposition of the utmost importance for the right apprehension of our subject, viz., that if God is to have a moral kingdom in the world, it must be a kingdom brought into existence through *grace*,—it must be *produced* through redemption and regeneration as the result of a divine supernatural economy of salvation. This note of grace is already struck with unmistakable clearness in the Protevangelium, where the first sin is met by the promise of a final complete victory, not without suffering, of the 'seed of the woman' over 'the seed of the serpent' (Gn 3^{15}); and the history of revelation ever after is but the history of this developing purpose of God for the complete overthrow of evil, and the final establishment, through a mingled operation of mercy and judgment, of the kingdom of God upon earth. As entering into covenant with His people Israel for the realization of this end, God is known peculiarly by His name J″ (Ex 6^{1-8}),—a name which specially denotes Him as the self-identical and changeless One, the Being who *is* eternally what He *is* (Ex 3^{14}), who is and remains *one* with Himself in all He thinks, purposes, and does (Mal 3^{6}), who possesses, together with immutability, the attribute of self-determining freedom and unlimited rule (Dt 4^{39}); who, therefore, in the relation of the covenant, would display His might, demonstrate His supremacy as Moral Ruler, magnify His covenant-keeping faithfulness, and reveal Himself as the Living, Personal God, working freely in history in pursuance of gracious purposes, and in spite of all human opposition bringing them to pass (cf. Dillmann, pp. 217, 218). The history of OT revelation, therefore, is simply, as said, the history of the developing kingdom of God in its earlier, preparatory, inchoate form, yet from the first a kingdom of grace and salvation. Herein, from the biblical point of view, lies the key to all historical developments, the explanation of all arrangements and movements of Divine providence. Israel's position brought it into contact, not only with petty neighbouring states, but with the mightiest empires of East and West. But these appear in OT only as they affect the chosen race, and it is there made manifest that the centre of God's purposes is always Israel, as, in truth, the centre of interest must always be that portion of the race with which for the time being the kingdom of God is identified. 'Just as,' in the striking words of Trench, 'in tracing the course of a stream, not the huge morasses nor the vast stagnant pools on either side would delay us; we should not, because of their extent, count them the river, but recognize that as such, though it were the slenderest thread, in which an onward movement might be discerned; so is it here. Egypt and Assyria and Babylon were but the vast stagnant morasses on either side of the river; the Man in whose seed the whole earth should be blessed, he and his family were the little stream in which the life and onward movement of the world were to be treated. . . . They belong not to history, least of all to sacred history, those Babels, those cities of confusion, those huge pens into which by force and fraud the early hunters of men, the Nimrods and Sesostrises, drove and compelled their fellows . . . where no faith existed, but in the blind powers of nature, and the brute forces of the natural man' (*Hulsean Lectures*, 1845, Lect. II.).

The stadia in the development of this OT idea of the kingdom of God are those of the history of the chosen people itself. For Israel was, in the root conception of its history, a people of God, a people whom God had chosen, and called, and formed into a nation for His own praise (Ex 19^{3-6}, Is 43^{21}). The name 'theocracy,' therefore, is properly given to its constitution, as Josephus perceived, when he framed this title for it (*c. Ap.* ii. 16). W. R. Smith, indeed, in his able work on *The Prophets of Israel* (pp. 51–53), is of opinion that so far from this title bringing out the distinctive feature of the religion of Israel, it rather denotes that which Israel had in common with all other nations of that time,—for these nations also had their supreme gods, whom they worshipped, and under whose protection they placed themselves in their national undertakings (Chemosh, *e.g.* in Moab). This, however, hardly meets the point, for certainly no other nation ever rested its whole life as Israel did on the consciousness of a redemption and covenant with God, and found the whole reason of its existence in the calling to love and serve Him, and to be a witness for Him in the midst of the earth; nor had any other nation such a story to tell of its origin, even in legend, as Israel (Dt 4^{32-38}; cf. Schultz, *OT Theology*, i. pp. 136–138, ii. pp. 7–9). Within its national theocratic form, besides, Israel cherished, as we shall immediately see, the consciousness of a universalistic destiny, and this consciousness goes back to the very foundation of the nation's life. For the national form was not the first thing in the history of Israel. It had been preceded by an earlier form—the patriarchal—the days of the covenants with the fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (cf. Schultz, ii. pp. 6, 7). And there already we find the clear expression of the idea that Israel was a people called with a view to the ultimate blessing of the whole world (נִבְרְכוּ in Gn 12^{3} 18^{18} 28^{14}; הִתְבָּרְכוּ in Gn 22^{18} 26^{4}).

3. It is now incumbent on us to mark the chief steps in the historical development of this idea in OT more exactly; and here in a general view we readily distinguish as successive the *patriarchal*, the *Mosaic*, the *royal*, and the *prophetic* periods in the growth of this conception. (*a*) The early records trace for us with careful particularity the narrowing down of the line of salvation from the posterity of Seth (Gn 4$^{25.26}$) to that of Shem (Gn 9$^{26.27}$; cf. Schultz, ii. pp. 346, 347), then to the family of Terah (Gn 11$^{27-32}$), till, finally, it concentrates itself in one world-historical figure—that of *Abraham*. Looming through the mists of the past, the personality of Abraham arrests our attention as one of the great creative origins of time. With Abraham strictly historical revelation may be said to begin. Alike on the Divine and on the human side, the transactions with him are unsurpassed in OT in interest and importance. He is the founder of the Heb. nation,—'the religiously-elect nation of antiquity,' as Volkmar calls it; the fountain-head of the three great monotheistic religions of the world; to him in a special sense belonged the covenants and the promises; out of his loins Christ came; in him at this hour all families of the earth are being blessed. The call of Abraham—the covenants made with him—constitute, therefore, a new era in the religious history of mankind. As men multiplied and spread in the earth, they fell farther away from the true God, and there seems little doubt that, left to themselves, they would soon have lost altogether the knowledge of God which they possessed (Jos 24^{2}). This catastrophe was averted by the choice of Abraham. Separated from his kindred, he was to be a witness for the truth which the world was suffering to be quenched in universal idolatry. The covenant was at first with the individual, but its ultimate scope was the blessing of the human race (Gn 12$^{1-3}$ etc.). Neither did it stop with simple declaration, but provided for the fulfilment of the promise by granting to him an heir, through whose descendants, multiplied into a great nation, the promise should be realized (Gn 15$^{4.5}$ etc.). A special part of this promise was that kings should come out of him (Gn 17^{6}). The line of promise was defined more exactly to lie through Isaac and subsequently Jacob (to the exclusion of Ishmael and Esau), with both of whom the covenant was renewed (Gn 26$^{2-4}$ 28$^{11-15}$ etc.); then by a succession of remarkable providences the descendants of Jacob were taken down to Egypt, where, first in prosperity, afterwards under the sterner discipline of oppression, they grew to be a nation such as God required for the fulfilment of His purpose. We are aware of the boldness of the criticism which would dissipate the whole of this history into unsubstantial myth and legend. Against this revolutionary treatment we enter our respectful protest. What legend can do for the life of Abraham is sufficiently evidenced by the fables and stories in the Bk. of Jubilees, and in other Jewish, Mohammedan, and Persian accounts. The history of Abraham in the Bible stands, from internal evidence alone, on an entirely different footing from these. In its simple, coherent, divinely-elevated character, its organic unity with the rest of the history of revelation, its absolute freedom from the puerility and extravagance which mark the products of the myth-forming spirit, it approves itself as a grave, serious record of important events, the knowledge of which had been carefully preserved by family tradition, or even from an early date by written documents (cf. Dillmann, *Alttest. Theol.* pp. 77, 78; and art. by Köhler on 'Abraham' in third ed. of Herzog's *RE*).

(*b*) Hitherto, while the foundations are being laid strong and deep, there has been no specific mention of a kingdom of God, such as we meet with in *the transactions of Sinai* next to be adverted to. A kingdom of God in the only form in which mankind at that time was able to apprehend it could not be created until a body of people had been called into existence out of whom it could be constituted. With the revival of the national faith under Moses, the marvellous deliverance of the Exodus, and the consolidation of the fugitive Hebrews into a nation pledged in covenant to J″ at Sinai, and receiving at His hand laws and institutions for their use, the requisite conditions were fulfilled and a *kingdom of God*, or *true theocracy*, starts for the first time into visible existence. Already in the exaltation of religious feeling J″ is hailed as King in Moses' Song at the crossing of the Red Sea (Ex 15^{18}); but it is in the covenant at Sinai, with its attendant solemnities and sacrifices, that the theocratic constitution is formally established. There God proposes to take the people to Himself as a peculiar treasure above all people, that they may be to Him a kingdom of priests (consecrated), and a holy (separated) nation; and the people, in accepting the terms of this covenant, and pledging themselves to obedience, enter by the sprinkling of blood into the gracious relation thus proposed (Ex 19$^{3-6}$ 24$^{4-8}$). Thenceforth they are a people of God, and J″ is formally their Lawgiver and King (Is 33^{22}). The covenant is based on *grace*, yet the continuance of its blessings is made to depend on the fulfilment of statutory conditions (cf. Ro 10^{5}); it is a covenant of *law*, yet God appears in it as 'merciful and gracious . . . forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin' (Ex 34$^{6.7}$), and provision is made in sacrifices and purifications for the removal of the guilt and uncleanness by which the fellowship with God would otherwise be continually interrupted, if not entirely broken off. The people, on their part, have it set before them as an aim, to be holy because God is holy (Lv 19^{2}), and to realize righteousness by diligent observance of all God's statutes and ordinances, from the central motive of love (Dt 4$^{1-5}$). Such, apart from doubtful details of Levitical ritual, was the general constitution under which Israel was placed, and it separated that people absolutely from their heathen neighbours (Nu 23^{9}). It is easy to see, however, that notwithstanding this limitation of the covenant to a particular people, and even its obvious design to seclude this people for a time from contact with other nations, it had in it germs of universality which were certain ultimately to burst the limits of the national form, and expand into a religion for the whole world. In the words of Riehm: 'By divine revelation ideas were planted in the minds of the people of Israel, so lofty, and rich, and deep, that in the existing religious condition they could never see their perfect realization; ideas which, with every step in the development of the religious life and knowledge, only more fully disclosed their own depth and fulness, and which must therefore necessarily have led them to look to the future for their fulfilment' (*Mess. Prophecy*, 1867, p. 33). How much, *e.g.*, lay in the simple fact that J″, the God of Isr., was yet the God of the whole earth (Ex 19^{5}); that to Him alone belonged honour and glory; that it was due to Him that all nations should serve Him and keep His commandments. 'On the ground of his knowledge of J″ must the Israelite claim the whole earth for the kingdom of his God' (Riehm). The ideas at the root of the covenant, in short, were larger than could be permanently embodied in an exclusively national form, and from the first these larger ideas are seen shining through, and heralding the wider fulfilment (*e.g.* Nu 11^{29} 14^{21} 24^{17-19}).

(*c*) The disparity between the Divine idea and the existing reality of the kingdom of God, which was manifest from the outset in the constant unfaithfulness and repeated rebellions of the people (Ex 32, Nu 11, etc.), was further accentuated in the tribal jealousies and divisions, the lawless turbulence and the gross declensions, alternating with revivals of the spirit of faith and heroism, of the periods of the Conquest and the Judges (Jos 22, Jg 2. 7. 21^{25} etc.), and led in the time of Samuel to the demand for a king (1 S 8), and to *the establishment of the monarchy* under Saul (1 S 10), and then under David (1 S 16^{1-10}, 2 S 5^{1-9}). The sin of the people, as the event showed, did not lie simply in their desire for a king, for this it lay in the purpose of God to give them (Dt 17^{14-20}), but in the spirit of self-will and insubordination out of which the desire came, and the ideal of a king they had set before them—one like those of the nations around, who would judge them, and lead them to battle, and give them distinction and military glory (1 S $8^{7-9.\ 19-22}$). We thus arrive at another transition period in the history of the kingdom of God—the end of the judgeship and the beginning of the monarchy. It was a change which in the nature of things was bound to come. Already in Eli's days we see on every side the evidence of decay, of break-up, of failure. Under Samuel's rule there is a revival of the religion and prestige of the nation, but only for a time. The prophets do not live for ever, and the nation could not always be held together by the bond of Samuel's personality. He grew old, and his sons did not walk in his steps. Then came the clamour for a change—for a trial of a new system. Instead of the prophet, we have the royal Saul—a king after the people's hearts, but yet not after God's heart. In all this, none the less, is to be distinguished an onward movement,—a step to the great goal God always had in view—the bringing in of His own anointed. When Saul's reign had ended in ruin and disaster to himself and to the land (1 S 31), the way was open for God to set upon the throne *His* king—a man after His own heart, who should fulfil all His will (cf. Ac 13^{22}). The Davidic era thus became, despite the deep later shadows in David's personal character and career, a typical one for the history of the kingdom of God. It introduced a new abiding element into the conception of the theocracy, for we have not now simply the single, invisible Ruler, J", but the *visible representative* of this unseen Sovereign reigning in His name on earth. The fundamental outlines of the theocratic kingdom in this new form are laid down in the promises to David (2 S 7), in whose house the kingdom is established (vv.$^{12.\ 16}$, Ps 89. 132); and this yields the ideal of the theocratic ruler as it henceforth appears in the history, and in the loftier strains of psalm and prophecy—one who would feel that his sole function was to be the instrument and visible representative of the great invisible King, and would rule the kingdom in strict subordination to the will and law of God; who would know that his authority was a deputed, delegated authority, and would seek at every step to be guided by God's wishes; who would have unity of will with God—would be in sympathy with God in His ends; a truly pious king, therefore, ruling the kingdom, not from worldly motives, or in a worldly spirit, or for self-aggrandizement, but for God's glory, to whom God would be a 'Father,' and he would be 'God's son' (2 S 7. 23^{1-5}, Ps 2. 20. 45. 72. 89. 110. 132, etc., Is 32, etc.). Only approximately, and with sad defections, was this ideal realized even under David; or amidst the external splendours of the reign of Solomon; or under the most pious of Judah's princes after the division of the kingdom; but the manifest failure of the visible theocracy only made the light of prophecy burn brighter in the hope of a future day and a greater Personage (cf. Is 7^{14-16} $9^{6.\ 7}$ etc.), in whom, under happier conditions, the ideal *would* be realized.

(*d*) This brings us to the last stage in the OT development of the idea of the kingdom of God—the *prophetic*, with which must be conjoined the enlarged ideals and anticipations of the *psalms.* All the germs of previous revelation now blossom into an incomparable fulness of conception of the future glorious triumph of God's kingdom in Isr. and over the earth, but with a clearer apprehension, wrought by the unspeakably bitter disappointments and humiliations of the nation, of the conditions under which alone such a consummation could be wrought out. It is a marvellous fact that it was not because Isr. was succeeding in fulfilling its mission, but because it was failing in it, that the spirit of prophecy wrought so powerfully in the development of these germs, which lay hidden in the nation's life, to a universal form. Now at least, with unmistakable clearness, we have the full consciousness that J" is the God of the whole earth; that His providence rules over all; that His purpose has an aspect to the Gentiles as well as to the Jews; that Isr. is His servant, with a mission to become a light to the Gentiles and a blessing to the whole of mankind (Am 4^{13} 5^{8}, Mic 4^{1-3}, Is 40. 42. 60, etc.). The more evident it became that the existing form of the theocracy would not endure, the stronger became the conviction that God's kingdom would not perish, but that there would be a restoration of the theocracy on a grander and more spiritual basis, accompanied with the promulgation to the nations of the world of the worship of the living God, and the pouring out of the Spirit on all flesh (Jer 31^{31-34}, Ezk 17^{22-24} 36^{25-27}, Jl 2^{28-32}). A similar development of this consciousness of the universal mission of Isr. meets us in the Psalms—the highest point, perhaps, being reached in the 87th Psalm, which foretells the future inclusion of the most distant peoples, the greatest world-powers, even the most inveterate enemies of J", in the future city or kingdom of God (RV, cf. Ps 2. 67. 98, etc.). On no idea, accordingly, is the influence of the development in psalm and prophecy more marked than on that of the theocratic King—the coming Personage in whom the hopes of the spiritual part of Israel increasingly centred. The clearer it became that the restoration and perfection of the theocracy were not to be looked for from pious kings like Hezekiah and Josiah, and the higher and more spiritual the conceptions became of the 'new covenant' which God would have to make with His people, or the remnant of them, after judgment had done its work (Is 6^{9-13}, Jer 31^{31-34}, Ezk 36^{25-27}, Hos 14, etc.), the more imperative was it felt to be that the Deliverer and Ruler of the seed of David should stand in a relation of nearness and unity to J" transcending the limits of ordinary humanity—that the perfect union between Him and J" should be realized on the basis of an exceptional dignity of nature, raising Him to a superhuman level of character and authority (Ps 110, Is 9^{6-7}, Jer 31^{22}, Mic 5^{2}, Dn $7^{13.\ 14}$, Zec 3^{8}, Mal 3^{1} etc.). Along another line—though not without manifest relation to the former (cf. Is 52^{15} 53^{12} $55^{3.\ 4}$ etc.)—is the development of the conception of the 'Servant of J",' which, rising from the basis of the national calling of Isr., narrowing itself after to the spiritual portion of the people (St. Paul's 'election of grace'), culminates in the majestic portraiture of the individual Suffering Servant (ch. 52^{13}–53) whom the Church rightly identifies with her Messiah. Preludes to this representation are found in the psalms which depict the sufferings that fall upon the godly (Ps 5–14. 22, etc.), and in the historical examples which show it to be a universal law that the righteous must suffer at the hands of the wicked, as well as with and for them (*e.g.* Joseph, Moses, David); but the Isaianic conception goes beyond all others in attributing to these sufferings of the Servant an expiatory character, and connecting them with the sin-offering (Is 53^{10-12}; cf. Zec $13^{1.7}$). As respects the future form of the kingdom of God, it is always represented, in characteristically OT fashion, as reaching its triumph in conjunction with a restoration of Isr. or the remnant of it (Is 6^{13}, Am 9^{7-10} etc.), purified by judgment, converted and reunited (*e.g.* Ezk 37, Hos 1^{11}), and with a revival of the earlier institutions (Is 1^{25-27}, 4); while the nations, brought to the knowledge of the true God by the displays of His power and mercy, are either incorporated with the chosen people as sharers of their privileges (Ps 87), or become worshippers and tributaries of J″ (Ps $72^{10.11.17}$, Is 60, Mal 1^{11} etc.). But the sense of the surpassing greatness of the reality constantly tends to break through the literalism of these forms, and to mould them into new shapes (Is $2^{2.3}$, Jl 3^{18-21}, Ezk 47, etc.). The one thing sure on the verge of every horizon is—'The kingdom shall be J″s' (Ob ^{21}).

There is, however, one other respect in which we can see, in this prophetic period, a distinct preparation for the NT idea of the kingdom of God. In the earlier stages of the theocracy, nation and Church—if we may so speak—were one. The Israelite was a member of the theocracy in virtue of birth and circumcision. The religious consciousness and the national consciousness were part of the same inseparable whole. But in the progress of Isr. history we observe a development which forms the necessary transition to the more spiritual idea of the kingdom in NT. It is the idea of *the Church within the Church*—of the true and spiritual Isr. in the midst of the natural Isr., who form a distinct, or at least distinguishable, body by themselves. There are earlier intimations, but in the form we have here especially in view, the growth of this idea belongs more particularly to the last dark days of the national history, when it became clear to prophetic eyes that Isr. as a people was doomed to destruction, and the efforts of the prophets were directed to gather out a remnant who might maintain the witness to God till better times came. A marked stage in this transition is seen in the ministry of Isaiah, who, when his message was rejected, gathered round him the little band of his own disciples, and sealed up the testimony in their midst (Is 8^{16-18}, cf. Mal 3^{16}). It is this 'ecclesia invisiblis of the Old Covenant,' as Oehler calls it,—this 'ecclesiola in ecclesia,' as Delitzsch names it,—which may be regarded as the germ of the Church-idea proper. W. R. Smith perhaps states it better than any. 'The formation of this little community,' he says, 'was a new thing in the history of religion. Till then, no one had dreamed of a fellowship of faith dissociated from all national forms, maintained without the exercise of ritual services, bound together by faith in the divine word alone. It was the birth of a new era in OT religion, for it was the birth of the conception of the Church, the first step in the emancipation of spiritual religion from the forms of political life—a step not less significant that all its consequences were not seen till centuries had passed away' (*Prophets of Israel*, pp. 274–75).

The collapse of the Jewish state in Isr. and Judah seemed to have laid the hope of the kingdom of God in ruins; but events proved that this hope was now strong enough to live on its own account, and *the Babylonian Exile* only tended to its further enlargement and strengthening. Torn from their roots in their own land, without holy city, temple, sacrifices, the people were taught that the acceptable worship of J″ was not tied to any one place, or dependent on a fixed priesthood or ritual; brought into contact with the world, in a geographical respect, to an extent they had never been before, they gained a new view of the extension of the world in space, which carried with it an extension of their idea of the time involved in the Divine plans. A new element entered the thoughts of the Jews at this period which never afterwards left it—an enlarged sense of the scale of things in space and time, the effect of which is seen in the enlarged scale of vision of the Bk. of Daniel (whatever its date), and even of the reveries in such apocalyptic compositions as the Bk. of Enoch. More than any book of OT the prophecy of Daniel gave definite shape and direction to the conception of a kingdom of the God of heaven, granted by the Ancient of Days to one like unto a son of man, who comes to receive it with the clouds of heaven, which kingdom was an everlasting dominion that could not be destroyed (Dn 7^{13-15}, cf. ch. 2^{44}; 'son of man' as opposed to 'beasts'; human, not bestial). The interpretation of this symbol as referring to a kingdom 'given to the saints of the Most High' ($7^{22.27}$) need not exclude a Messianic reference; this, at least, is most generally held to be the source of the title 'Son of Man' as used by our Lord (found also in the Bk. of Enoch 46^{2} 48^{2} etc., both references probably of Christian origin). This kingdom of God in Dn which is to succeed the last of the four world kingdoms, and break in pieces all the others ($2^{34.35.44.45}$; cf. $7^{14.27}$), is of supernatural origin, of holy character, strictly universal in its scope, and endures for ever. The other writings of post-ex. Judaism (Bar, Ps.-Sol, 1 Mac, pseudo-Sibyllines, etc.) never rise to the height of these older representations, and mostly fall far below them into tame generalities, borrowed from passages in psalms and prophets, without any outlook towards the saving of the Gentiles, or discernment of the need of a spiritual conversion of the people. The Messiah, so far as He is brought into view at all, appears only to destroy the wicked, and establish His kingdom with the righteous (cf. Candlish, *Kingdom of God*, pp. 88–117; Stanton, *Jewish and Christian Messiah, passim*). We are thus taken back to the return from exile under Zerub. and the outburst of genuine prophecy connected therewith (Hag, Zec), and to the strains of Mal a century later, as the period of the last great utterances on the kingdom of God in OT. These add little to the features already sketched, beyond the note of warning and expectation of the coming of the Messenger of the Covenant to His temple, preceded by the sending of Elijah, with which Malachi closes (3^{1} 4^{5}). It is difficult not to feel, though centuries intervene, in passing from OT to NT, as if the evangelist had taken up his pen precisely where Malachi laid his down. The chief phenomena of these intervening centuries—so far as they are not absolutely a blank to us—the rise of scribism, of the synagogue worship, of the Jewish sects, the Maccabæan struggle, the dispersion, the fusion of Greek and Jewish thought in Alexandria,—yield little directly for the development of the idea of the kingdom of God, though in many indirect ways their influence was profound, sometimes in narrowing and despiritualizing the conception, and giving it a Pharisaic and political complexion, and again, through the synagogues and contact with Hellenic culture, preparing the way for a freer and more universal religion. The one fact which stands out clear is that in the time of our Lord neither Pharisee, nor Sadducee, nor Essene, had any hold of a conception of the kingdom which answered to the deep, spiritual, vital import of the idea in OT. The few who cherished more worthy views were to be sought for in the private circles of the pious who talked of these things (Mal 3^{16}), and 'looked for redemption in Jerusalem' (Lk $2^{25. 38}$). The idea of the kingdom of God in its spiritual meaning had to be *re*covered, or more properly *dis*covered, in a worldly, legalistic, Sadducean age. To bring it again, with the force of a new revelation, before the minds of men, in union with the call to repentance, was the task of John the Baptist. Then, when the time was fulfilled, Jesus came, preaching the gospel of the kingdom (Mk 1^{15}).

II. THE TEACHING OF JESUS ON THE KINGDOM OF GOD.—1. Here we may first glance at the relation of Jesus to His forerunner. St. Matthew informs us that John came preaching in the wilderness of Judæa, and saying, 'Repent ye: for the kingdom of heaven is at hand' (Mt 3^{2}). Elsewhere this expression is not put in the mouth of the Baptist; but there is no doubt from the tenor of his message, and from the declarations of Jesus regarding him (Mt 11^{10-14}), that the kingdom was the burden of his preaching. Through him a revivification of the idea took place in the minds and consciences of the people, and the greatest commotion was created by his proclamation that the kingdom was just at hand (Mt $3^{5. 6}$, Mk 1^{5}). But the kingdom announced by John was something very different from the political kingdom of Pharisaic expectation. He revived the terrors, warnings, and predictions of the later OT prophecy, and gave them a forcible and immediate application to his own times. He struck at the root of the delusion that mere descent from Abraham would avail for entrance to the kingdom; proclaimed the need of repentance and changed conduct as the condition of forgiveness, declared the imminence of judgment, and a sifting of good from bad at Messiah's appearance (Mt 3^{7-10}, Lk 3^{7-9}). The kingdom he announced was ethical in its demands (Lk 3^{10-14}), was connected with the person of a Coming One, who should execute the work of judgment, and also baptize with the Holy Spirit and with fire (Mt, Mk, Lk), and was immediately to be expected. John was fully conscious of his own inferiority, and of the impotence of his water-baptism to effect a real change of heart in the multitudes who resorted to him, and his hope was therefore placed in this Greater One, who had the baptism of the Spirit (Jn 1^{19-27}). The question, then, arises: Was Jesus from the first conscious that He was this Greater One whom John had proclaimed, or did He begin His ministry, as some have contended (*e.g.* Colani and Renan), only as a disciple and imitator of the Baptist? That the former view is the correct one would be, of course, put beyond doubt, if the intimations of the Fourth Gospel were accepted (Jn $1^{30-34. 40-51}$ 3. 4^{26} etc.); but the Synoptics, also, in their narratives of the relations of John and Jesus at the baptism (Mt 3^{13-17} and parallels), of the temptations (Mt 4^{1-11} and parallels), which would have no meaning unless Jesus was consciously entering on His work as Messiah, of the early use by Jesus of the title 'Son of Man' (Mk 2^{10} etc.), and by many other indications, show plainly that this is the right view to take. (Baldensperger can only get over the use of 'Son of Man,' which he also accepts as a Messianic title, by arbitrarily assuming that all the incidents in which this name occurs took place after Peter's confession—a violent and unwarrantable hypothesis, *Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*^{2}, p. 252). *How* this consciousness of His Messiahship was developed in Jesus is a question which lies beyond our present limits. It was plainly there from the period of the baptism, and we have earlier indications of its presence (Lk 2^{49}, see below). We take it, therefore, as a datum to start from, that when Jesus began to preach the gospel of the kingdom He already knew His vocation to be its Founder and its Lord.

2. The relation of the Baptist to OT prophecy (Mt $11^{13. 14}$), and the historical connexion of Jesus with John, make it evident that, in announcing the approaching advent of 'the kingdom of heaven,' Jesus had in view the very kingdom which the prophets had foretold. We have already seen that this precise expression is not met with in OT (most nearly in Dn $7^{14. 18. 22}$), but Jesus in many places unmistakably takes over the OT theocratic idea (Mt $8^{11. 12}$ 21^{43} 22^{41-46} etc.). This suggests the further question as to our Lord's own customary designation for this divine kingdom. In Mt, with but four exceptions (ch. 6^{33} is an incorrect reading), the phrase employed is always 'the kingdom of heaven'; whereas the other Gospels and the remaining books of NT have uniformly 'the kingdom of God.' Which was Christ's own expression, or did He use both? (so Bruce). The contrast between Mt and the other Gospels, even in parallel passages, compels us to suppose that one is more original than the other, and the question is which. Some (as Weiss) prefer 'kingdom of God,' but preponderating reasons seem to be in favour of the form in Mt. There is reason to believe that the phrase מַלְכוּת שָׁמַיִם (rule [Dalm. *Worte Jesu*, 77 ff.] of the heavens) was a current expression in Rabbinical circles (see passages in Lightfoot and Wetstein on Mt 3^{2}; and especially Schoettgen on Mt 11^{29}); and there is probability in the conjecture that this may have been the form employed by our Lord in His ordinary Aramaic preaching (not necessarily to the exclusion of an occasional use of the other), and that, in translating into Gr., the evangelists may either, as in our existing Mt, have retained this Heb. formula, or have (as in Mk, Lk, etc.) rendered it by its equivalent, more suitable to Gentiles—'the kingdom of God.' This is further supported by comparison with the language of the Lord's Prayer (Mt $6^{9. 10}$, Lk 11^{2}). No distinction in meaning of any importance can fairly be established between the two expressions, which denote the kingdom as, on the one hand, God's, and, on the other, heavenly in its origin, aims, and end. 'The kingdom of heaven, as appears from the prophecies of Daniel, is the kingdom of the Messiah; while the Lord's Prayer teaches us that it is the kingdom of God's Spirit, in which the will of man is made conformable to the will of God—a kingdom which comes from heaven, is heaven on earth, and ends in heaven' (Lange on Mt 3^{2}).

3. In examining the teaching of Jesus on the nature of this kingdom, we do well to start from the point already established—*the connexion of the kingdom with His own Person.* Nothing is plainer than that, in His own view, Jesus is not simply the Founder of this kingdom, but it is *His* kingdom as well as the Father's, and He is Lord and King over it (Mt 13^{41} 16^{28} 20^{21} $25^{34. 40}$ etc.). The idea here is moulded by that of the OT theocracy, in which God was at once the King of the chosen nation, and exercised His functions through a visible representative. This relation, only brokenly and typically illustrated in the descendants of David, is now, in accordance with prophecy, perfectly realized in the Messianic King, whose solidarity with God in heart and will is complete (Mt 11^{27}, Jn 4^{34} 5^{30} 6^{38} etc.). But the connexion of the kingdom with the Person of Jesus is more intimate even than this. Jesus is not only the

Founder and Lord of the new theocracy, but is Himself the vital germ of it,—the living embodiment and representative of its principle, — the actual type of the new relation of sonship to God into which men are invited to enter through Him, —so that the kingdom of God may truly be said to have existed on earth in His Person from the first moment of His manifestation. It is through vital relation to Him, as the Synoptics, and still more clearly the Fourth Gospel, show,—through reception of His Person and message, through faith in Him, surrender to Him, submission to His rule, keeping His commandments, which is synonymous with doing the will of the Father, through union with Him as the branches and the vine, etc.,—that the kingdom is constituted (Mt 7^{21-23} 8^{10} 11^{28-30} $16^{24. 25}$, Jn 15^{1-8} etc.). With all this goes a profoundly modified conception of the *nature* of the sovereignty in this new kingdom of God, which, as founded, not by worldly means of conquest and violence, but by humility, by service, by deeds of mercy, by suffering, by witness for the truth (Mt $11^{4-6. 29}$ 13^{19} $18^{3. 4}$ 20^{25-28}, Jn $18^{36. 37}$), is ruled in like manner, not by force or tyranny, but by the suasive influences of love over freely surrendered hearts (Mt 11^{28-30} 22^{37-40}, Jn 14^{15} 15^{15}).

4. In light of this essential relation of Jesus to His kingdom, we are now prepared to consider the *two great titles* by which this relation was expressed by Jesus Himself—'Son of Man,' and 'Son of God.' The second of these titles, to which we return below, is, in the Synoptics at least, more frequently given to Jesus by others than assumed by Jesus Himself (Mt 3^{17} $4^{3. 6}$ 14^{33} $27^{40. 54}$, Mk 3^{11} 15^{39} etc.), but it is constantly implied, even in the earlier Gospels, in His mode of speaking of His Father, and is sometimes emphatically expressed (*e.g.* Mt 11^{27} $16^{16. 17}$ $26^{63. 64}$). In Jn it is the more common. It is otherwise with the title 'Son of Man,' which is the favourite designation of Jesus for Himself, but is never used by His disciples, or by the evangelists, in speaking of Him (only once outside the Gospels by Stephen, Ac 7^{56}). It occurs also in a singularly impressive and weighty form, with the definite article to both nouns, ὁ *υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*.* It was plainly on His own lips a Messianic title (Mk 2^{10}, Mt 16^{28} 26^{64}, Jn 5^{27} etc.), yet there is no evidence, apart from the doubtful Bk. of Enoch, that it was a current title for the Messiah in that time. The usage in the Gospels shows decisively it was not. It was not the wish of Jesus to make a public avowal of His Messiahship in His early ministry, but we find Him freely using this enigmatic title (Mk 2^{10}). The Jews evidently were perplexed as to its meaning (Jn 12^{34}). The phrase 'Son of Man' in Mt 16^{13} is manifestly not synonymous with 'Christ,' either in popular acceptation or in the minds of the disciples. We must therefore hold it for certain that the expression was one welling up from the depths of the original consciousness of Jesus, and expressing some profound conception of His mission. What precisely this is, is a point on which there is wide difference of opinion (see the various views well stated in Lietzmann's *Der Menschensohn*, 1896). Wendt will have it (*Die Lehre Jesu*, ii. pp. 442, 443) that the title is meant to designate its possessor as a weak, creaturely being—member, Messiah though He was, of the weak, creaturely race of humanity. But this theory cannot be carried through without doing violence to many passages in which this name is evidently used as a title of dignity; the highest functions being claimed by Jesus, not, as Wendt's argument would require, despite of His being Son of Man, but because He is Son of Man (Mk 2^{28}, Jn 5^{27} etc.). More probable is the generally accepted view which connects this title with the language of Dn 7^{13} already alluded to—'there came with the clouds of heaven one like unto a Son of Man,' etc. (cf. Mt 26^{64}). Whatever view be taken of this expression,—whether it be supposed to denote an individual (so Beyschlag), or only to symbolize the *humanness* of the new kingdom in contrast with the kingdoms of the beasts which had preceded,—there lies in it at least the notion that the kingdom of God, not resting like the others on brute force, would be the first in which the divine ideal of humanity would be realized; so that our Lord, in taking this title, may well have expressed the consciousness that there had appeared in Him the New Man of the race—the type and representative of a new humanity—one who, because of this perfection of His humanity, stood in a relation to all men, and was their natural ruler and Lord in the kingdom He had come to found. There lay thus, in the use of the title by Jesus, at once the idea of the reality and truth of His humanity, the consciousness of His unique perfection as man, the sense of His universal relation to the race, and the knowledge of His calling and function to be the Messianic King.* He was Son of Man, as embodying in Himself the divine idea of a godlike humanity—*the* Son of Man, as the unique individual of the race who sustained this character—the Son of *Man* in the universal sense, as representing in His Person, not the seed of Abraham alone, but the whole of mankind. This title, accordingly, already expresses the principle of universality of the new religion in its contrast with the national limitation of Judaism, and the current conception of the Messiah. Baldensperger is therefore only partially correct when he rejects the 'ideal man' theory of this title, and ridicules it as an attempt to carry back our nineteenth-century notions into a period to which they were quite strange (2nd ed. p. 178). There lies behind it, certainly, no such abstract conception as 'the ideal man,' yet the reality which that phrase expresses is undoubtedly present from the beginning as an element in the consciousness from which the title springs.

We return to the more particular consideration of the *second* title, 'Son of God,' which, on the face of it, expresses the consciousness which Jesus had of His relation to God, just as the previous title expressed His consciousness of the relation He sustained to men. Those are undoubtedly right who warn us off from seeking, in the first instance, a metaphysical interpretation of this title. We shall not reach Christ's own meaning in the use of it, or the fact it represents in His consciousness, by starting with the definitions of the Nicene Creed; but must seek our clue rather in the line of the OT conceptions through which originally it came also to Him. As J″ was the Father of His nation Isr. (Ex $4^{22. 23}$, Hos 11^{1}), so was He peculiarly the Father of the theocratic King, 'I will be his Father, and he shall be my Son' (2 S 7^{14}, Ps 89^{20}). We have seen already what the relation imported in the theocratic ruler—a perfect unity with God in will and aim; such a solidarity between God and His visible representative that the purposes of the former, and those only, were perfectly executed by the latter. We saw, too, how entirely this ideal failed to be realized on the purely human basis of the OT theocracy, and how manifest it became, that if ever it was to be realized, the King in whom this was done must stand in a relation of nearness and unity to J″ transcending the limits of ordinary humanity—that he must possess an exceptional dignity of *nature*, raising him to a superhuman rank of character and authority (Is 9[6.7] etc.). When, now, we turn to the Gospels, we cannot but notice that the same ideas prevail. 'Son of God' is there also a Messianic title (Mt 16[16] 26[63.64], Jn 1[49] 10[36] etc.); and it connotes, with whatever else, a perfect oneness of thought, will, aim, sentiment, purpose, between the Father and the Son—entire moral and spiritual unity, reciprocal and exclusive knowledge, the perfect adoption by the Son of the divine ends as His own, and absolute fidelity and devotion in the execution of them (Mt 11[27], Jn 5[20] 10[15.30] etc.). And this is not less clearly associated in Jesus with the consciousness that this unbroken oneness in spirit with God is connected with some peculiar distinction in *nature*—that His relation to God as Son is not that of other men, but that He is the Son *par excellence*—*the* Son of God in a special and solitary relation of life and affection. It is observable, accordingly, that even while He recognizes the divine affinity in every human soul, invites men to sonship in His kingdom, and teaches His disciples to address God, and to love and trust Him as their Father, He never places Himself as Son in the same category with them, but always carefully distinguishes His own relation to the Father from theirs (*e.g.* Jn 20[17]). Here, then, we come on that in the consciousness of Jesus which, while it cannot be properly spoken of as a metaphysical conception of His Person, yet legitimately lays the basis for those metaphysical, or at least transcendental, predications regarding Him which are found in the creeds, and even earlier in the Epistles, and the Johannine Prologue. What this transcendental element in the consciousness of Jesus implied, can only be inferred from His various utterances respecting Himself in the Gospels, from the claims He makes, the prerogatives He assumes, the works He does, His promise of His perpetual presence with His Church, and of His return in glory, His glimpses even into a previous state of pre-existence, etc. (Mt 7[21-23] 18[20] 25. 26[64] 28[18-20], Jn 8[58] 17[5] etc.)—all matters which we cannot discuss here. One thing, however, is at once implied in what has just been said, namely, that whereas in the OT conception the official sense of the phrase 'Son of God' overshadows the personal, in the case of Jesus it is precisely the other way—the official relation is *grounded* in the personal. He is the Son of God as Messianic King, because He is first Son of God by nature. He is 'the Son' *simpliciter*; and this consciousness of a personal peculiarity in His relation to the Father, springing as it no doubt did from His sense of entire spiritual oneness, may be presumed to go back in some form to the earliest dawn of His reflective life (cf. Lk 2[49]). There was no period of His life in which He did not know God as His Father; was not conscious of an untroubled relation of union with Him; did not find in His soul the reflection of His character; and did not yield to Him His entire love, trust, and obedience. We cannot err, therefore, in finding the root of Christ's conception of His kingdom *in His own perfect consciousness of His filial relation to His Father*, together with the new views of religion, of righteousness, of duty, and of blessedness, which this implied. The consciousness he had of Himself as Son, with the correlative idea of God as Father, leads to the designation of the kingdom as 'the kingdom of the Father' (Mt 13[43]); just as St. Paul also speaks of it as 'the kingdom of the Son of His love,' into which the Father has translated us (Col 1[12.13]). The kingdom, in this view, is the sphere of God's fatherly love and rule in hearts truthfully submitted to Him through His Son; of His gracious, unbounded self-communication for the blessing and enrichment of His people. This doctrine of Jesus as to the divine Fatherhood, however, is not offhand to be identified, as it so often is, with the doctrine of the paternal love of God to all men, which has for its correlate the doctrine of a universal natural sonship of man. It is surprising how little basis is found for this doctrine of a universal Fatherhood and sonship in the recorded sayings of Jesus. It is doubtful if it is to be found anywhere, except by implication in the parable of the Prodigal (Lk 15[11-32]). That Christ recognizes a natural kinship of every human soul with God (cf. Gn 1[26.27]), and a calling and destination of every individual to be a son of God in His kingdom, is indeed most true; but Fatherhood and sonship in His ordinary speech is a relation *within* His kingdom, not a relation of mere nature, but (so throughout the whole NT) the result of a divine act of grace placing man in this relation (the Pauline *υἱοθεσία*; cf. Jn 1[12.13]), and of a supernatural impartation of a new nature and life (Jn 3[5.6]). In comparison with this higher, divine relation, the natural sinks, as it were, into the background. We gain, indeed, the right point of view for understanding this doctrine of Jesus on the divine Fatherhood, only when we observe that it takes its origin, not from the general relation of God to the world, or even from the relation of God to believers in His kingdom, but primarily from the relation of the Father to Himself. It does not begin at the circumference—the general relation of God to mankind, but at the centre—the special, unique, incomparable relation of the Father to the Son. It is in the relation to the Son that we have, so to speak, the spring of Fatherhood in the heart of God. This relation, which in its fulness none other can share, is then in its measure extended to those who are the members of His kingdom; and, finally, extends itself even as a blessed possibility to all mankind, in harmony with man's original destination (parable of Prodigal).

---

* Lietzmann in his tractate, *Der Menschensohn* (1896), seeks to break the force of this by going back from the Gr. to the Aram., in which בַרנשא means simply 'man' (unemphatic). But the emphatic force of the expression cannot be erased from the Gospel usage. Lietzmann stands almost alone in holding that the term was not used by Jesus, but found its way into the Gospels from a Christian misconception.

* This is, in substance, Neander's view (*Life of Christ*), and a better has not yet been found.

5. With the help of this clue afforded us by the personal consciousness of Jesus, we are able to advance to some nearer determination on the subject of His kingdom. If Jesus was indeed sure of Himself from the first as the Son of God,—if He had this perfect filial consciousness from the beginning,—there falls away every ground for assuming that His views *fluctuated* and *varied* regarding this kingdom He came to found, or that He did not clearly grasp it from the outset in its essential nature, laws, and conditions of success. The Gospels give us no warrant for supposing that such fluctuation took place; the only point which can with plausibility be raised being that discussed below: whether from the first He apprehended the necessity of His death. If the essential feature in His kingdom was the admission of men through grace into a relation of sonship akin to His own, He could not have varied in His conception of it, of its righteousness, or of the general conditions of entrance into it, unless His own self-consciousness had varied. A second weighty result we reach is, that if Jesus was fully conscious of Himself as Son of God, and Founder of this kingdom, from the first, this kingdom in His view could not have been a merely *future* thing, but must have been conceived of as *already existing*. This, again, is a point on which much discussion has been raised: whether, namely, the kingdom of God, in the teaching of Jesus, has only an eschatological significance (thus Kaftan, Schmoller, etc.), or whether it denotes an already existing reality (Ritschl, Wendt, etc.). The true view, surely, is that it is not either exclusively. It *both* has a

present being upon earth, and has a perfect, glorified form in eternity. The existence of the kingdom as a present, developing reality is implied in the parables of growth (mustard seed, leaven, seed growing secretly, Mt 13, Mk 4^{26-32}); in the representations of it, in its earthly form, as a mixture of good and bad (wheat and tares, the net of fishes, Mt 13); in the description of the righteousness of the kingdom (Sermon on the Mount) which is to be realized in the ordinary human relations; as well as in many special sayings (*e.g.* Mt 12^{28}, Lk 16^{18} 17^{21}, whether 'within' or 'among' makes no difference). But, apart from specific declarations, the truth is implied in the simple fact that Jesus *Himself* was present in the full consciousness of His Sonship and calling to be the Founder of the kingdom, gathering disciples to Himself as the nucleus of a future society. We have formerly observed that in the Person of Jesus, even had there been no other, the kingdom of God was already present in humanity. In Him lay the vital germ of that kingdom; He was the bearer and representative of its principle of Sonship; in Him its powers and grace were made manifest (Mt 12^{28}). When, as the result of His activity, a band of disciples were drawn around Him, the members of which were introduced by Him into a new fellowship with God, and in whose hearts the principle of a divine rule was manifestly established, it was more than ever evident that the kingdom of God had begun on earth.

6. Still endeavouring to keep in view the inward and essential nature of this kingdom, or reign of God among men, which Jesus came to introduce, we are led by the representations of the Gospels to form such conceptions of it as the following. In what is said under these heads, the connexion of the kingdom with its Founder, and the teaching of Jesus on God, man, righteousness, salvation, will receive further illustration.

(*a*) The kingdom is in its beginnings, as just stated, the introduction of *a new principle of divine rule* into the hearts of men, through the word (Mt 13^{19}), the truth (Jn 18^{37}), the Spirit (Jn $3^{5.6}$), in virtue of which, changed in disposition (Mt 18^{3}), they become doers of the will of the Father in heaven (Mt 7^{21} etc.). It is therefore, in its principle, something inward, vital, invisible (Lk $17^{20.21}$). It is not the idea of Jesus, however, that this kingdom should be confined solely to the inward life. It is rather a principle working from within outwards for the renewal and transformation of every department of our earthly existence (marriage, the family, the state, social life, etc., Mt 19^{3-9}, Jn 2^{1-11}, Mt 22^{21} etc.). It is thus a growing, developing thing—as it is represented in the parables (Mt 13). The kingdom is not fully come till everything in human life, and in the relations of man in society, is brought into complete harmony with the will of God (Mt 6^{10}; cf. Neander, *Life of Christ*, p. 89, Eng. tr.). While, however, Jesus gives us many incidental indications of the true relation of His kingdom to society, it is the spiritual or directly religious and ethical aspect of the kingdom which alone is more prominent in His teaching. 'The whole weight is rested on the inward disposition, on the new relation to God, on the new life of the Spirit, on the new righteousness proceeding from that life, on the new hopes and privileges of the sons of God. Everything is looked at in the light of the spiritual, the eternal. We read nothing in Christ of the effects of His religion on art, on culture, on philosophy, on politics, on commerce, on education, on science, on literature, on economical or social reform' (*Christian View of God and the World*, p. 406). So also with the apostles. Yet a regenerating spirit has gone forth from the gospel of the kingdom in all these departments.

(*b*) On the other side, the kingdom of God is viewed as *a sphere of privilege and blessing* into which the disciple is admitted, in which he receives the forgiveness of his sins, attains the satisfaction of his spiritual wants, is filled with righteousness, and inherits the felicity of the eternal life (Mt 5^{3-10} 6^{14} 19^{29} $25^{34.46}$, Lk 4^{18}, Jn $6^{27.35.40}$ 10^{28} etc.). It is the *summum bonum* for man—the good to be desired above all others, and for which everything else should be sacrificed (Mt 6^{33} 13^{44-46} parables of Treasure and Pearl, 19^{29}, Lk 10^{42}, Jn 17^{3} etc.). The kingdom of God is thus emphatically with Jesus, as throughout the whole of Scripture, a kingdom of *grace*, the message of it 'good tidings' (Mt 4^{23}, Lk $2^{10.11}$ 4^{22}). Its proclamation is a gospel, and it brings to man at once the fullest provision for his needs as a sinner, the highest satisfaction of his moral life, and the noblest end for his practical realization. God's royalty in His kingdom is shown not less by gift than by rule; it is gracious, unstinted *giving* which is the foundation of the whole (Mt 7^{7-11}, Jn 5^{14} 6^{32-35} $10^{11.28}$ etc.). It is thus the sphere of 'salvation,' though this term (*σωτηρία*) is still seldom used (Lk 19^{9}, Jn 4^{22}; cf. Lk 1^{69-72}, Mt $16^{25.26}$ 19^{25}, Lk 19^{10}, Jn 3^{14-17} 5^{34} 12^{47} etc.). The all-embracing expression for its good is 'eternal life'; yet in the Synoptics this term is always applied to the future consummation of that good (*e.g.* Mk 10^{30}), whereas in Jn it is used also to denote the *present* possession of the life of God by believers (Jn 5^{24}). Wendt justly points out, however, that even in Jn this is done only in occasional passages (*Die Lehre Jesu*, ii. p. 193), and the Synoptics also recognize *in fact* the present reception and enjoyment by believers of those blessings of the kingdom which Jn designates by 'eternal life' (Mt 5^{3-10} etc.).

(*c*) The kingdom of God is inseparably associated with *character* in its members. The conditions of entrance into it are repentance and faith (Mk 1^{15}, Lk 7^{50} $13^{3.5}$ etc.); its blessings require for their reception such moral dispositions as poverty of spirit, humility, meekness, and lowliness of heart, spiritual hungering and thirsting (Mt $5^{3.6}$ $11^{28.29}$ $18^{3.4}$, Jn 4^{14} 6^{35}); as a kingdom of the truth, those only that are of the truth (Jn 18^{37}), of an honest and good heart (Lk 8^{15}), will receive it; to know its doctrine, there must be a willingness to do the will of God (Jn 7^{17}); a desire for the honour of men is fatal to seeking the honour that comes from God (Jn 5^{44}). These states of mind are not the product of nature, but the result of a new spiritual birth (Jn $3^{3.5}$). Within the kingdom, the rule of God takes the form of the realization of a new and spiritual *righteousness* in the hearts of the members, and in their relations with each other and with the world. This righteousness is of the essence of the kingdom (Mt 6^{33}), and a great part of the teaching of Jesus relates to it (notably the Sermon on the Mount). It is at once part of the blessing of the kingdom (Mt 5^{6}), and a moral task set before the members for their accomplishment (Mt 5^{13-16} 7^{21}). Its norm is the perfection of the Father Himself (Mt 5^{48})—the absolutely Good One (Mk 10^{18}). Like everything else in the kingdom, it is the product of a divinely given life, and develops from within outwards, from heart to conduct, as a good tree brings forth fruit (Mt 7^{17}). It differs from the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees in motive and in aim,—being spontaneous, where theirs was formal and mechanical; spiritual, where theirs had regard only to the letter of the precept; done with a sole respect to God, where theirs was man-pleasing (Mt 5^{17}–6^{18}). Its supreme principle is love (Mt 7^{12}, Mk 12^{28-34}). In relation to God, it takes the form of a spirit of dependence, and trust in His fatherly providence, which relieves from earthly care (Mt 6^{25-34} 7^{6-11}); in its estimate of goods, it sets supreme store on the kingdom and its righteousness, and seeks these beyond all material blessings (Mt $6^{19-23.\ 31-33}$); in its relation to man, it shows itself in mercy, forbearance, forgiveness of injuries, active beneficence, and in the bright shining of a holy example (Mt $5^{5.\ 7.\ 38-48}$ 7^{12}). Its standards of judgment are the direct inversion of most of those which prevail in the world. It inverts, *e.g.*, the world's standards of blessedness in calling the poor in spirit, the mourning, the meek, the persecuted, etc., blessed (Mt 5^{3-12}; cf. Mal 3^{14}); the world's standards of greatness in pronouncing that true greatness lies in humility and service (Mt $18^{3.\ 4}$, Mk 10^{44}, Jn $13^{14.\ 15}$); the world's standards of wisdom in pronouncing the typical wise man of the world a fool (Lk 12^{15-21}); the world's standards of the chief good in making that consist in the kingdom and its righteousness (Mt 6^{33}), etc. Yet, in His doctrine of the righteousness of the kingdom, Jesus declares that He is not introducing anything absolutely new, but only unfolding the deepest spirit and teaching of law and prophets (Mt $5^{17.\ 18}$ 22^{36-39}).

(*d*) It follows from the nature of the kingdom, as just described, that it is a kingdom entirely *spiritual* and *unworldly* in its nature (Jn 18^{36}, cf. Mk $10^{42.\ 43}$)—supernatural and heavenly in its origin, powers, blessings, aims, and ends,—a kingdom free alike from national and ceremonial limitations, working by its own laws, and destined in the end to embrace all peoples. There is thus given us from another side what we saw to lie already in the Lord's designation of Himself as 'Son of Man'—the *universality* of the kingdom of God. Jesus already hints at this in Mt 8^{11} 'They shall come from the east and from the west, and shall sit down with Abraham,' etc.; it is implied in His parables (Mt 13 'the field is the world,' v.^{38}; parable of Mustard Seed, etc.); is declared elsewhere (Mt 21^{43} 'The kingdom of God shall be taken from you,' etc.); and is announced in several sayings of Jn (*e.g.* Jn 12^{32} 'I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me,' etc.). It comes out distinctly in the commission after the resurrection (Mt 28^{19}, Mk 16^{15}). It must also have been given to the consciousness of Jesus from the first by the prophecy in Dn ($2^{35.\ 44}$ $7^{14.\ 27}$). Equally clear is it from the attitude of Jesus to mere ceremonial observances (Mt 15^{1-20}), and the critical, discretionary position He assumed to the whole Mosaic Law (*e.g.* the Sabbath, Mk 2^{28}; marriage, Mt 19^{6-9}), that, while Himself observing the ordinances of His nation, He did not bind these on the members of His kingdom, but claimed the right as Son of Man—*i.e.* the Messiah—to alter, change, and abrogate them. His relation to the Jewish law He lays down in the principle that He came, not to destroy, but to fulfil (Mt 5^{17}). But this fulfilment was of a nature which meant in part destruction. His aim throughout was to judge the details of the law by reference to its underlying principle, and to the highest needs of men (Mk 2^{27}),—to go back at every point clearly from commands to principles, from outward conduct to dispositions of the heart, from forms of worship to spirit of worship—and this led to the dropping away of everything that was of mere provisional or temporary value. In the Sermon on the Mount, accordingly, and in all the Gospels, the whole stress is laid on the spiritual, the ethical, the eternal, and no reference is made to the ceremonial law at all. Nay, in the two similitudes of the Patch on the Old Garment, and the New Wine in Old Bottles (Mt $9^{16.\ 17}$), Jesus indicates in the clearest way His consciousness that His kingdom was something radically new, and not simply a reformed and purified Judaism, and that the old forms were utterly inadequate to contain the spirit of the new religion—that the latter would indeed burst and rend them, if it were put into them.

(*e*) The kingdom thus introduced into time and history has *two stadia*—an earthly and an eternal. The consideration of this point involves, finally, some investigations to which we proceed.

(*a*) A question of much importance here is as to the connexion which Jesus conceived to subsist between the founding of His kingdom and His *death*. The question is twofold: whether from the beginning of His ministry He clearly recognized the necessity of His death; and, if He did, or even if this knowledge came later, what significance He attributed to His death for the founding of His kingdom. The first point is not to be settled on *a priori* grounds, but from an impartial consideration of the history. We cannot, however, doubt, from a review of all the circumstances, that Jesus *did*, from the commencement of His Messianic career, recognize the fate in store for Him—whether the precise *mode* of His death is another question (but cf. Jn $3^{14.\ 16}$). It is true that it was not till after the memorable confession at Cæsarea Philippi that Jesus began to speak plainly to His disciples of His approaching sufferings and death (Mt 16^{21} etc.), but it does not follow that this was the beginning of His own knowledge on the subject. On the contrary, it is evident from the clearness, fulness, and decision with which He then announces His death and resurrection, that these topics had long occupied His own thoughts, and were already settled convictions in His mind. But we are not left entirely to conjecture. It is, on the face of it, in the highest degree improbable that one who from the outset grasped so clearly the essential nature of His kingdom in its contrast with the world, who had rejected the temptations to give it another shape (Mt 4^{1-11}), who predicted so accurately in His parables the stadia of its development in history (Mt 13), who forewarned His disciples of the certain persecutions which awaited them for His sake (Mt $5^{10.\ 11}$ 10^{16-24}), could have been ignorant of the inevitable collision which must occur between Himself and the Jewish authorities, and which He must have foreseen could not but issue in His death. That He did anticipate it is expressly implied in His saying, 'The disciple is not above his Master,' etc. (Mt 10^{24}), and in His allusion to the bridegroom being taken away from them (Mt 9^{15}). More definitely, Jesus had deeply studied the prophecies, and in the very beginning of His ministry announced that those relating to the Servant of J″ in Is were fulfilled in Himself (Lk 4^{21}). But He could not be unaware of what was written of the death of this Servant in Is 53; and the recorded greeting of the Baptist, 'Behold the Lamb of God,' etc. (Jn 1^{29}), would recall that passage. There are other sayings in Jn—those to Nicodemus (Jn $3^{14.\ 16}$), and especially the enigmatic utterances about giving His flesh for the life of the world (Jn 6^{51-56})—which point in the same direction. But if Jesus foresaw His death, it was impossible that He should not have regarded His temporary submission to it as in some way necessary for the ends of His kingdom—for, that His subjection to death was, and could be, *only* temporary, He never, in the strength of His Messianic consciousness, doubted. His announcement of His death is always conjoined with the declaration of His rising again (Mt 16^{21} 20^{19} etc.); and the shadow of the Cross never clouds for a moment His assurance of His final coming in glory to judge the world (Mt 7^{22} 10^{23} 13^{41} 16^{27}, Lk 12^{8} etc.). If, accordingly, we ask, What was the significance which Jesus attached to His death in connexion with the establishment of His kingdom? we are driven, by the passages already cited, to see in it more than the mere illustration of a general law of sacrifice (Jn 12^{24-26}), or a proof of fidelity in His vocation. We must take an incidental saying like Mk 10^{45} 'For even the Son of Man came . . . to give his life a ransom for many,' not as if it stood alone, but with the depth and seriousness of meaning supplied by a context of similar utterances. The great passage on the expiatory sufferings of the Servant of J″ (Is 53) must probably be our clue here also. We recall the word of the Baptist, 'The Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world' (Jn 1^{29}); the saying in which His death is connected with salvation in the conversation with Nicodemus ('as Moses lifted up the serpent,' etc., Jn 3^{14}; for though the 'lifting up' is a term of exaltation, we can hardly fail to associate it with His death); the 'giving his flesh for the life of the world' in Jn 6^{51}; but, above all, the solemn and explicit words at the institution of the Supper, 'My blood of the covenant, which is shed for many unto the remission of sins' (Mt 26^{28}; cf. Mk 14^{24}, Lk 22^{20}, 1 Co 11^{25}). In keeping with this connexion of His death in the consciousness of Jesus with the remission of sins, we are told how, after the resurrection, the disciples were enjoined to make this a fundamental article of their preaching (Lk 24^{47}). The death of Jesus, followed by His rising again, was evidently, in the Lord's own view, a decisive turning-point in the history of His kingdom, and in the spiritual history of the world; and not till that event had taken place, and the spirit had been given as the sequel to it, had the kingdom been fully constituted (Lk 24^{49}, Ac 1^{5} 2^{33}).

(β) It remains that we glance at *the eschatological declarations* of Jesus respecting His kingdom, for that its earthly phase is to be succeeded by a heavenly, in which the separation of good and bad shall be finally effected, and the ripened results of its long development shall be garnered up under new and glorious conditions, is a constant element in His teaching (Mt 13^{40-43} $19^{28.29}$ $22^{29.30}$ $25^{34.46}$, Jn $14^{1.2}$ 17^{24} etc.). This higher and eternal state, described as 'the regeneration' (παλιγγενεσία), or 'the resurrection' (*ut supra*), is introduced by the coming (παρουσία) of the Son of Man in glory, the resurrection of the dead, and a judgment which takes account of the conduct alike of the professed members of the kingdom, and of the nations of mankind (Mt 24, Jn $5^{28.29}$, Mt 7^{21-23} 25, etc.). The principles on which this judgment proceeds are essential character, with its fruits in word and deed; faithfulness or unfaithfulness in duty; watchfulness; boldness in confessing Christ, or sin in denying Him; the presence or absence of love, etc. The separation which the judgment effects is, so far as appears, *final* (Mt 13^{40-43} 25^{46} etc.). In thus carrying the consummation of the kingdom into a future life, and connecting it with His personal return, Jesus goes entirely beyond OT limits; though there also the doctrines of a future life in the blessed enjoyment of God, and of a resurrection of the dead, are in process of formation (Ps 17^{15} $49^{14.15}$ 73^{23-26}, Is 25^{8} 26^{19}, Hos 6^{3} 13^{14}, Dn 12^{2} etc.). The doctrine of the resurrection was a cardinal one with the Pharisees; but it had its deep roots in the OT doctrines of man, of God, of sin, of death, and of salvation (Mt 22^{29-33}), and, as connected by Jesus with the redemption and new life of His kingdom, is an essential part of His religion. The question, nevertheless, is one of some difficulty, how far the undoubtedly largely symbolical and figurative character of these discourses of Jesus on the last things entitles us to rely on them as real representations of the future? They assuredly do not give us a scientific, or perfectly objective, knowledge of the nature, the course, and relative order of these events, such as we can turn with precision into a theological system. Yet they are too definite and circumstantial to permit of our supposing that to the consciousness of Jesus they were *mere* figures, or were not intended to convey to us some real knowledge on the subjects of which they treat. This question presses especially in regard to the Parousia. Did Jesus, *e.g.*, anticipate for His kingdom a long period of development in the world before the end came; or was His Parousia regarded by Himself as immediate, or, at least, as not long to be delayed? Mt 24^{29}, with certain other passages (Mt 10^{23} 16^{28}), might seem to teach the latter, and we know that the times and the seasons were not within the human knowledge of the Son (Mk 13^{32}, Ac 1^{6}); but a careful consideration of the whole teaching of Jesus will lead us to modify this first impression. We cannot mistake that the picture of the kingdom given us in the parables is that of a slowly developing reality, bound to a law of rhythm—'first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear' (Mk 4^{28})—with the world and humanity as its sphere of manifestation, and good and evil growing side by side in it till both are fully ripe (Mt 13); and other passages suggest the like idea of a prolonged world-development, and a diffusion of the gospel among all nations before the end come (Mt 8^{11} 21^{43} 24^{4-14}, Lk $19^{11.12.15}$; cf. also the post-resurrection commissions, Mt $28^{19.20}$, Mk 16^{15} etc.). Against these numerous indications the εὐθέως of Mt 24^{29} (which may be variously accounted for) cannot be allowed to tell; especially as there are not wanting signs in the discourse itself of a nearer and a remoter horizon ('these things,' 'that day and hour,' vv.$^{34.36}$). The truth would seem to be that Jesus does not always speak of His Parousia (any more than of His kingdom) in the same sense; that it is to Him rather a process in which many elements flow together into a single image, than a single definite event, always looked at in the same light. Thus he says to the high priest, with obvious reference to the prophecy in Dn, 'Henceforth,' that is, from this time on, 'ye shall see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of power, and coming on the clouds of heaven' (Mt 26^{64}). He came in His resurrection; in the mission of the Comforter; in the power and spread of His kingdom, especially after the removal of the limitations created by the existing Jewish polity (which seems to be the meaning in Mt 16^{28}); He comes in every great day of the Lord in the history of His Church; He will yet come more conspicuously in the events of the future; and, last of all, He will personally come to judge the quick and the dead. The kingdom advances to its goal, not peacefully or suddenly, but by a succession of great crises (Mt 24), and each of these is in a sense the coming of the Son of Man (cf. Reuss' *Hist. of Christ. Theol.* i. pp. 217, 218; Bruce's *Kingdom of God*, ch. 12; Orr's *Christian View of God and the World*, p. 384).

7. One topic more, of considerable importance, we must allude to before leaving this part of our subject. It is the much canvassed question of the relation of the idea of the kingdom of God to that of *the Church*. If our previous exposition is correct, these ideas are not quite identical, as they have frequently been taken to be. The kingdom of God is a wider conception than that of the Church. On the other hand, these ideas do not stand so far apart as they are sometimes represented. In some cases, *e.g.* in Mt $16^{18.19}$, the phrase 'kingdom of heaven' is practically synonymous with the Church. The Church is, as a society, the visible expression of this kingdom in the world; is indeed the only society which does formally profess (very

imperfectly often) to represent it. Yet the Church is not the outward embodiment of this kingdom in all its aspects, but only in its directly religious and ethical, *i.e.* in its purely spiritual, aspect. The direct business of the Church, *e.g.*, is not to take to do with art, science, politics, literature, etc., but to bear witness for God and His truth to men, to preach and spread the gospel of the kingdom, to maintain God's worship, to administer the sacraments, to provide for the self-edification and religious fellowship of believers (cf. *Christian View of God and the World*, pp. 409, 410). That Jesus contemplated the union of the members of His kingdom into such a visible society—or Church—is evident from direct statements, as in Mt 16^{18} ('on this rock I will build my Church'); from the institution of the apostolate (Mt 10^{1-5}); from the instructions about baptism (Mt $28^{19.20}$); from the rules of discipline He lays down (Mt 18^{15-18}), etc.: while the important functions which He intrusts to this society are seen from the terms in which He speaks of it; the promises He gives to it (Mt 16^{18-20} 18^{20}); the authority He confers upon it (Mt 16^{19} 18^{18}, Jn 20^{23}); the sacraments He leaves with it; and the assurances of His perpetual presence, which are among His last words to it (Mt 28^{20}). In Jn the deeper root of the Church idea is manifest in the conception of the living union of the branches with the vine (Jn 15^{1-7}).

III. THE TEACHING OF THE EPISTLES AND OTHER BOOKS OF NT ON THE KINGDOM OF GOD.—In passing from the Gospels, and especially the Synoptics, to the remaining writings of NT, we are sensible at once of a great difference in the use made of this conception of the kingdom of God. It is no longer the central and all-comprehending notion which it was in the popular teaching of Jesus, but sinks comparatively into the background, where it does not altogether disappear, and is employed, so far as retained, in an almost exclusively eschatological sense. The difference is accounted for by the altered circumstances of the Christian community. It was no longer the Jesus of the earthly ministry, but the Risen Lord, that was the centre of the faith and hope of the Christian believers. The Christ had died, had risen again, was exalted to heaven, had poured out the Spirit, was expected speedily to return to judgment; and interest was concentrated on the meaning and bearings of these great facts on salvation. The gospel had passed over from Jews to Gentiles, and Churches were everywhere being formed and organized. Under these changed conditions it was inevitable also that nomenclature should change, and that the higher stage on which the kingdom of God had entered in history should evolve a speech, and forms of conception for itself, adapted to its new wants. And this is what actually happened. Instead of the kingdom, it is now Christ Himself who is the centre of preaching; in speaking to Gentiles, His work, the blessings of His salvation, the nature and fruits of the new life of the Spirit, the hopes connected with His appearing, are naturally dwelt on without reference to the theocratic conception; as respects the earthly form, the idea of the Church necessarily displaces every other. The one sphere which these altered conditions did not touch was the eschatological, and here accordingly we find the idea of the kingdom, as one among other forms of conception, retained.

The phenomenon which here confronts us has, of course, struck every careful student of the NT. Harnack notices it in his *Dogmengeschichte*: 'It is not wonderful,' he says, 'that in the oldest Christian preaching "Jesus Christ" meets us as frequently as, in the preaching of Jesus, the kingdom of God itself' (i. p. 70; cf. Ritschl, *Rechtfertigung*, ii. p. 293 ff.; Kaftan, *Das Wesen*, p. 229, etc.). In Ac there are a few references which show that 'the kingdom of God' was still the general formula for the substance of Christian preaching (8^{12} 14^{22} 19^{8} 20^{25} $28^{23.31}$). But in the Epistles the term recedes decidedly into the background, and, as just stated, is generally used in an eschatological sense. 1 P does not use the expression; Ja only once (*βασιλεία* alone, Ja 2^{5}). The Pauline theology is developed from its own basis, without any systematic attempt to fit it to this conception. In He it is other ideas that rule. The term 'kingdom' occurs only once, with a future reference (12^{28}). In the Johannine writings, the only occurrences are in two places in the Gospel, and denote (on Christ's lips) the present spiritual kingdom ($3^{3.5}$ 18^{36}—in the latter passage '*my* kingdom'). Generally, in this Gospel, as in the Epistles, the idea of the kingdom recedes behind that of 'life.' The case of Rev requires consideration by itself. Here, clearly, the idea of the kingdom is a governing one. Believers are made a kingdom unto God, and have the hope of reigning with Christ (1^{6} 3^{21} 5^{10}); the Lamb is 'Lord of lords, and King of kings' (17^{14} 19^{16}, cf. 1^{5}); and the climax of His conflict with His enemies is that 'the kingdom of the world is become the kingdom of our Lord, and of His Christ; and He shall reign for ever and ever' (11^{15-17}). The peculiarity in the apocalyptic representation, however, is the interpolation before the general judgment of 1000 years' reign of Christ with His saints on earth, following upon a binding of Satan, and a first resurrection (20^{1-8}). The picture stands alone in NT, though the idea involved in it—that of a 'pre-eminent blossoming time' for the Church before the final consummation—'a time in which the Church shall celebrate her Sabbath eve,—the eve before the Sabbath' (Martensen)—stands in no contradiction with the teaching of Jesus, is in every way probable, and is not unfamiliar to OT prophecy (Is 11^{6} 35, etc.).

At first sight the contrast between the apostolic gospel and the teaching of Jesus in the Synoptics, as respects the use made of this idea of the kingdom, is sufficiently marked; but when we consider the subject a little more carefully—looking rather to the essence of the doctrine than to the language employed—a substantial harmony is apparent. It is plain, from the notices in the Ac above cited, and from the incidental references, that 'the kingdom of God' was still a recognized formula to cover all the contents of Christian preaching; though, for the reasons already assigned, it had no longer the same prominence as at an earlier period; and, while the prevailing tendency was to limit this title to the kingdom of the future, and to connect it with the Parousia (*e.g.* 2 Th 1^{5}, 2 Ti $4^{1.8}$, where *ἐπιφάνεια*), there are still a few cases which show that it was also applied to the present experience and state of privilege of Christians. Such, *e.g.*, are Ro 14^{17}, where the kingdom of God is declared to consist, not in meat and drink, but in 'righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost'; and Col 1^{13}, where believers are spoken of as already 'translated' into 'the kingdom of the Son of his love.' Apart, however, from the mere use of the term,—which is a secondary matter,—we cannot fail to see that everything that Christ *meant* by the present being of His kingdom is fully recognized and insisted on by the apostolic writers; Christ Himself is 'the Lord' (*ὁ Κύριος*); He is exalted to the place of universal dominion at God's right hand (Ac 2^{33-36}, 1 Co $15^{24.25}$, Eph 1^{20-23}, Ph 2^{9-11}, He 1^{8} 2^{9}, Ja 2^{1}, 1 P 3^{22} etc.); the kingdom is that of God *and of Christ* (Eph 5^{5}, Col 1^{13}); He exercises, therefore, a present unlimited sway in and over His people, and over all things for their sake

(Eph 1^{22}). Believers, again, are 'sons of God'; are, like Isr., 'an elect race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people of God's own possession,' called 'out of darkness into his marvellous light,' 'a people of God' (1 P $2^{9.10}$); they are renewed and dwelt in by His Spirit, which gives them the victory over sin in their members (Ro 7^{25} 8^{1-9}); grace 'reigns' in them (Ro 5^{21} $6^{12.13.19}$);—in short, everything that can constitute a present kingdom of God on earth is acknowledged as existing in their case. If, therefore, there is any contrast with the teaching of Christ, it is in the advance to a higher, richer conception of the spiritual life than was possible at an elementary stage of instruction.

As respects the peculiarities of the doctrine of the kingdom of God in the Pauline Epistles, it is not necessary to add much to what has been said. The kingdom, in the apostle's view, as in Christ's own teaching, is connected with 'a redemption (*ἀπολύτρωσις*) through his blood,' and with forgiveness of sins (Col 1^{14}, cf. Eph 1^{7}). In its form of glory it awaits the appearing of Christ (2 Th 1^{5-10}, 2 Ti $4^{1.8}$). But as in Rev we have the millennial doctrine, so in St. Paul we have the doctrine of the development of the man of sin and of the apostasy prior to the advent (2 Th 2^{3-10}, cf. Mt $24^{11.12}$). It is still a moot question how far this doctrine is moulded upon current representations of Antichrist, and how far it is original (cf. references in Stanton's *Jewish and Christian Messiah*, p. 310). In St. John's Epistles the idea is more generalized (1 Jn $2^{18.22}$ 4^{3}); while in the Apocalypse it assumes the threefold form of the Beast, the False Prophet, and the Woman (Rev 13. 17). Finally, St. Paul alone gives us the sublime idea of an ultimate rendering up of the mediatorial kingdom by the Son to the Father, 'that God may be all in all' (1 Co 15^{28}).

It lies beyond the scope of this article to discuss the various shapes which this great scriptural idea of the kingdom of God has assumed in its course down the ages. The chief are the Patristic Chiliastic idea; the Mediæval or Catholic idea (as in Augustine, who, however, has glimpses of a wider truth in his *City of God*); the Reformation idea, which still identifies the kingdom too exclusively with the Church; and the various modern forms of conception in the Church and schools from Kant downwards. A great impulse has been given to the study of this notion by the later Ritschlian theologians, who have done much to restore it to its just importance. It must however, always remain doubtful—and the diversities in the apostolic teaching give additional force to the doubt—how far this single idea of the kingdom of God is fitted to serve as the principle of an exhaustive system of theology. Its proper place would seem to be *within* the system as defining the end in the light of which God's whole purpose in Christ is to be read; and in this way it is fitted to render essential service as the bond of union between dogmatic theology and Christian ethics — two departments which have hitherto stood too far apart. It does this service by introducing the idea of an *end* which is at the same time an *aim*—in setting before the individual as his life-task the realization of that kingdom of God which is God's own end in creation and redemption. The social tendencies of our age give this idea of the kingdom of God a special value for our own time; and we may expect that its importance will be increasingly recognized,—on the one hand, in its ennobling effect on the conception of Christian work, and the higher spirit of unity it tends to engender in those engaged in it; and, on the other, in broadening the conception of Christian duty as embracing the obligation to labour for the supremacy of God's will in *all* the departments of private, social, and public life. It may be that the time has come for a resuscitation of this idea of Jesus which the exigencies of the apostolic age threw somewhat into the background; and that new applications and triumphs await it in the complexities of our modern social life, which even inspired men of the first generation could not reasonably foresee.

LITERATURE.—*Biblical Theologies of Old and New Tests.*: Oehler, Dillmann, Schultz, Riehm, Reuss, Weiss, etc.; Wendt, *Die Lehre Jesu*; Ritschl, *Recht. und Ver.* ii. iii.; Schmoller, *Die Lehre vom Reiche Gottes* (1891); Issel on same subject (1891); Köstlin in *SK* (1892); Candlish, *The Kingdom of God*; Bruce, *The Kingdom of God*; Stanton, *The Jewish and Christian Messiah*; Dalman, *Worte Jesu*.

J. ORR.

KINGDOM OF ISRAEL.—See ISRAEL (KINGDOM OF).

KINGDOM OF JUDAH.—See JUDAH (KINGDOM OF).

KINGS, I. AND II.—

1. Title, Scope, and Place in Canon.
2. Purpose.
3. Method and Characteristics of the Editor.
4. Date of the Editor.
5. Later Editors.
6. Sources and Composition of *Kings* considered in detail.

Literature.

1. TITLE, SCOPE, AND PLACE IN CANON.—The title in AV, RV is 'The first (second) Book of the Kings.' Heb. (ב) מלכים א 'Kings I. II.'; LXX ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΩΝ Γ (Δ). The use of the definite article in the English Version, '*the* Kings,' is therefore unwarranted. The narrative of Kings, like those of Samuel and Chronicles, is continuous, and the division into two books is clearly a later device, and no part of the scheme of the original editor.

The division of the Hebrew text of Kings into two books is not found in the MSS or in the early printed editions. It first occurs in the great Rabbinic Bible of Daniel Bomberg, published at Venice 1516–17, where an asterisk between 1 K 22^{54} and 2 K 1^{1} calls attention to a note in the margin:—כאן מתחילים הלועזים ספר מלכי' רביעי. 'Here the non-Jews (*i.e.* Christians) begin the fourth Book of Kings.' A similar note is found between 1 and 2 S. Cf. Ginsburg, *Introd. to the Massoretico-critical Edit. of the Heb. Bible*, pp. 45, 930 f. Thus the division in MT seems to have been an innovation from LXX, Vulg. While in LXX no known MS presents an undivided text of 1. 2 K, 3. 4 K, 1. 2 Ch, it is interesting to note that in B the first verse of each second book appears also at the close of each first book respectively—a fact which shows that the divider of the books was desirous of indicating the inner connexion existing between the first and second divisions in each case. Cf. the manner in which in MT Ezr 1^{1-3a} (to ויעל) repeats 2 Ch $36^{22.23}$, of which it originally formed the unbroken continuation.

Kings takes up the history of the kingdom of Israel at the point which has been reached by the narrative of Samuel, viz. the last days of David's reign, and the appointment of Solomon as his successor. Passing from Solomon to an account of the circumstances which led to the disruption of the kingdom, the editor from this point gives a parallel history of the divided kingdoms of Israel and Judah. The fall of the northern kingdom having been recorded (2 K 17), the narrative continues with an account of the fortunes of the southern kingdom until its destruction by Nebuchadrezzar and the final deportation of the Judæans to Babylon, B.C. 586. The concluding section of the work carries the history down to the release of king Jehoiachin from prison in the 37th year of his captivity (B.C. 561), under Evil-Merodach, the successor of Nebuchadrezzar.

Kings belongs to the second of the three divisions of the Hebrew Canon—the *Nĕbhî'îm* (נְבִיאִים) or Prophets. In this division the book forms, with Joshua, Judges, and Samuel, the earlier section, styled *Nebhî'îm rîshônîm* (נְבִיאִים רִאשֹׁנִים), the Former Prophets, as distinct from the Latter Prophets—**Isaiah,** Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve minor prophets. The justification of this nomenclature as it applies to Kings is to be gathered from consideration of the purpose which the writer of the book appears to have had in view.

2. PURPOSE.—Kings may accurately be described as a *history* of the period of the monarchy of Israel and Judah; and indeed, on account of the excellence of the sources employed for the composition of the work, takes first rank among the historical documents of the OT. But the mere compilation of a history is not the sole, or main, purpose of the writer. This may rather be characterized as *religious* and *admonitory*. History is employed as the vehicle of certain special religious lessons, drawn from the past, which the writer desires to inculcate upon his own age, and upon future generations. Thus an exhaustive employment of the historical sources which lay at his disposal is no part of his plan. So far from claiming to have utilized to the full his sources of information, he definitely and repeatedly refers to them as containing further details of fact likely to be of interest to the curious (I 11^{41} $14^{19.\,29}$ *al.* See below). His special purpose is consistent with a selection from his materials; and this selection he carries out with such skill that the simple narration of the facts of history generally suffices to convey the lesson which the writer has at heart, even apart from his own comment and application.

The religious standpoint of the writer of Kings is that of the Book of Deuteronomy. He is deeply imbued with the spirit of this book, and his language is strongly coloured by its phraseology (see below).

Thus his aim is to apply to the past history of his race, from the time of Solomon and onward to his own day, the Deuteronomic standard, and to exemplify the view that prosperity is to be traced to a faithful regard for this standard, failure and catastrophe to its deliberate repudiation. The leading principles of Deut. upon which the writer of Kings desires to lay stress may be said, in the main, to be two: (i.) Whole-hearted devotion to J″ as Israel's only God, an obligation based upon the fact that J″ has made choice of Israel from among the nations as His special possession. (ii.) Sacrificial worship of J″ to be conducted only at one centre, viz. at the temple at Jerusalem, the place which J″ has chosen to set His name there. Conformity to these two principles is made the test to which the deeds of individual kings are brought, and in accordance with which a verdict is pronounced upon their characters.

The writer's ideal of kingship is David, the faithful worshipper and servant of J″. The piety of David is repeatedly the norm to which the action of his descendants is referred, and, when the times are darkest and apostasy most rampant, it is for David's sake that J″ still keeps a 'lamp' alight for him at Jerusalem.

Accordingly, the marked prosperity of the earlier part of Solomon's reign is due to the fact that he 'loved J″, walking in the statutes of David his father' (I 3^{3}). It is true that a qualification has to be added,—'only he sacrificed and burnt incense in the high places,' a mode of action alien to the enactment of Deut. with regard to the central sanctuary (Dt $12^{5\text{ff.}}$ *al.*). This, however, can be lightly passed over, in view of the fact that the temple at Jerusalem was not yet built—a point in excuse which is expressly cited (v.^{2}), apparently by some later reviser of the text (see below on ch. 3). The building of the temple by Solomon, as the sanctuary of J‴s choice, receives specially detailed treatment (5-7); its dedication affords scope for the utmost emphasis which can be laid upon its importance as the centre of J‴s manifestation to His people (ch. 8), and is the occasion of a renewal of the promises made to Solomon upon the condition of his faithful adherence to the spirit of the Deuteronomic code (ch. $9^{1\text{ff.}}$).

The decay of Solomon's power is traced (ch. 11) to his marriage alliances with foreign women in deliberate infringement of J‴s command (Dt 7^{1-4}, Ex $34^{12.\,16}$ J; cf. Jos 23^{7} D^{2}), and the consequent introduction of their idolatrous cults. This leads directly to the division of the kingdom, and the irrevocable loss of ten tribes to the house of David.

Jeroboam, the first monarch of the new kingdom of Israel, though J‴s appointed agent in bringing about the disruption (ch. $11^{29\text{ff.}}$), yet no sooner succeeds to power than he sows the seeds of the ruin of the Northern Kingdom. The introduction of the calf-worship (ch. $12^{25\text{ff.}}$) is regarded by the writer as *the* great blot upon Israel's history; and that not only as the worship of J″ under an outward symbol in contravention of the second commandment, but also as being, so far as the kingdom of the ten tribes was concerned, a fatal blow aimed against the centralization of worship at the temple in Jerusalem. It is on account of the maintenance of this cult of the calves up to the fall of the N. Kingdom that a uniformly unfavourable verdict is passed by the writer upon every king of Israel, even upon Jehu, who was most zealous as an eradicator of the foreign cult of Ba'al-Melkart (II $10^{29.\,31}$). II $17^{7-18.\,21-23}$ presents us with the writer's reflections upon the causes which brought about the destruction of the kingdom of Israel, and, among other forms of idolatry cited as instances of unfaithfulness to J″, the 'great sin' of Jeroboam occupies the crowning position (vv.$^{21-23}$).

The kingdom of Judah, as the heritage of the house of David and the seat of J‴s sanctuary at Jerusalem, is regarded by the writer with more favourable eyes. Certain of its kings—Asa, Jehoshaphat, Jehoash, Amaziah, Azariah, and Jotham—have a more or less favourable estimate taken of their characters, though in every case it is mentioned to their disadvantage that 'the high places were not removed,' *i.e.* that the sacrificial worship of J″ was conducted elsewhere than at the central sanctuary only. In the cases of Hezekiah and Josiah the writer's verdict is one of unqualified approval. This is because Hezekiah appears as the initiator of a religious reformation which aims at the removal of the high places (II $18^{3\text{ff.}}$)—a policy which, after the idolatrous reaction under Manasseh and his son Amon, is fully carried out by Josiah upon the lines of the Deuteronomic code, which was discovered in the temple during the 18th year of his reign (II $22^{3\text{ff.}}$; see DEUTERONOMY).

It is this Deuteronomic reformation which, according to Kings as it stands in its present form, avails to delay the doom pronounced upon the kingdom of Judah on account of the apostasy of Manasseh (II 21^{10-15} 22^{15-20}). Perhaps, in the view of the first editor of the book, it might have availed to save the kingdom and to restore it to its pristine glory. This is a question which depends mainly upon consideration of the date which is to be assigned for the editing of Kings, and the character and extent of the additions which the book has received in later times.

3. METHOD AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE EDITOR.—The editor of Kings, in dealing with a period of about 400 years in length, naturally makes use of earlier written documents for the purpose which he has in view. These documents, which form his sources of information, are in some cases expressly named. We have mention of 'the book of the acts of Solomon' (סֵפֶר דִּבְרֵי שְׁלֹמֹה; I 11^{41}), and of 'the book of the annals' (דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים 'acts of days,' *i.e.* 'daily record of events') of the kings of Israel'

(I 14^{19} *al.*), and also 'of the kings of Judah' (I 14^{29} *al.*).*

An official 'recorder' (הַמַּזְכִּיר, lit. 'the man who brings to remembrance'; LXX ὁ ὑπομιμνήσκων, ὁ ὑπομνηματογράφος, ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων) is mentioned among the ministers of David (2 S 8^{16} 20^{25}), Solomon (1 K 4^{3}), Hezekiah (2 K $18^{18.37}$), and Josiah (2 Ch 34^{18}), and it may be assumed that the same office existed in the northern as in the southern kingdom. Probably, the work of this 'recorder' was that of *state-annalist*, whose duty consisted in taking note in writing of the important events of his time (cf. Est 2^{23} 6^{1}). It is not clear whether the editor of Kings had access to the annals of both kingdoms at first-hand, or whether his 'books of the annals' were not rather continuous histories based mainly upon the annals, and thus rather of a literary than an official character. The latter view is most generally adopted (cf. especially Kuenen, *Onderzoek*, § 24^{8}; Cornill, *Einleitung*, p. 111 f.).

Besides these state records, the editor employs other nameless sources, which will be noticed in dealing in detail with the composition of Kings. At this point it should be observed that, as in the cases of the Hexateuch and of Judges and Samuel, so in the case of Kings, the editor's work is rather that of a *compiler* or *redactor* than that of an author strictly so termed. In giving a summary of the events of any particular reign, he appears, it is true, often to epitomize in his own language information which was contained at greater length in the 'Annals.' In other cases, however, he incorporates whole narratives, or sections of narratives, so far as they suit his purpose, in their original form, merely welding the sources together so as to construct a continuous history.

The proof that such was the method of the editor is to be found chiefly in the variations in style and language between different portions of Kings. Lengthy prophetical narratives stand side by side with brief political and statistical notices. Different sections are marked by dialectical peculiarities. Thus the great group of narratives which, commencing with I 17 and running on into the middle of II, relate the affairs of the kingdom of Israel, shows traces of a peculiar diction which may be supposed to be North Palestinian (see below on I 17 ff.). Later sections, again, exhibit a decadence of style, *e.g.* the use of the perfect with weak ו in place of ו consecutive with the imperfect—II $18^{4.36}$ 19^{18} $21^{4.6}$ $23^{4.5.8.10.13.14.15}$. There are variations between section and section in the form of proper names:—II 1^{2-17a} is peculiar among the Elijah narratives in using the form אֵלִיָּה beside the ordinary אֵלִיָּהוּ; II 18^{14-16} employs the form חִזְקִיָּה instead of חִזְקִיָּהוּ, which is used uniformly in II $18^{13.17-20}$ end. And especially, as we shall proceed to notice, the editor himself is characterized by the use of a phraseology which serves as a clear indication of the portions of his book which are to be traced to his own pen. Another mark of the composite nature of Kings is the existence of a small number of discrepancies in detail: *e.g.* I $5^{13ff.}$ (Heb. $^{27ff.}$) 11^{26} are inconsistent with I 9^{22}; I 12^{22-24} disagrees with I 14^{30}.

To the editor is due the stereotyped form into which the introduction and conclusion of a reign is thrown, and which constitutes, as it were, the *framework* upon which the narrative as a whole is built. The regularity of the editor's method in the construction of this framework is worthy of special notice. The form in which the account of a reign is *introduced* is as follows. *For kings of Judah*:—1. A synchronism of the year of accession with the corresponding reigning year of the contemporary king of Israel, probably calculated by the editor himself. This, commencing with Abijah, naturally ceases with Hezekiah, upon the fall of the N. Kingdom. 2. Age of the king at accession. 3. Length of his reign. 4. Name of the queen-mother. This, together with 2, 3, is drawn from the 'Annals.' 5. A brief verdict upon the king's character, framed in accordance with the Deuteronomic standard. *For kings of Israel*:—1. A synchronism of the year of accession with the corresponding reigning year of the contemporary king of Judah. 2. Length of the king's reign. 3. A brief verdict as to his character, always unfavourable, and generally consisting of two parts: *a.* Statement of the general fact that he did evil in the sight of J″; *b.* More special mention of his following the sins of Jeroboam. The *conclusion* of the account of a reign takes the following form:—

1. An indication of the editor's principal source, containing further details as to the king in question. Usually we read—

'*And the rest of the acts of M. and all that he did,*
are they not written in the book } *of the Acts of Solomon?'*
} *of the Annals of the kings of Judah?'*
} *of the Annals of the kings of Israel?'*

וְיֶתֶר דִּבְרֵי פ׳ וְכָל־אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה הֲלֹא הֵם (הֵמָּה) כְּתוּבִים עַל סֵפֶר } דִּבְרֵי שְׁלֹמֹה
} דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה
} דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל

When further details, general or special, are mentioned as existing in the source, these usually stand immediately after '*and all that he did*,' *e.g.* I 11^{41} '*and his wisdom*.' An exception is I 15^{23} (Asa), where '*and all his might*' precedes.

Slight variations of this stereotyped form are—

A. '*And the rest of all the acts*,' etc. וְיֶתֶר כָּל־דִּבְרֵי וג׳ I 15^{23} (Asa).

B. Total omission of '*and all that he did*'; without further details 5 times, viz. I 14^{19} (Jeroboam) 16^{20} (Zimri), II 14^{18} (Amaziah) 15^{11} (Zechariah) 15^{15} (Shallum); with further details II 20^{20} (Hezekiah).

Reading '*which he did*' אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה, 5 times, viz. I 16^{27} (Omri), II 1^{18} (Ahaziah of Israel) 14^{15} (Jehoash of Israel) 16^{19} (Ahaz) 21^{25} (Amon); '*and what he did*' וַאֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה I 16^{5} (Baasha); '*and his might which he did*' וּגְבוּרָתוֹ אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה, I 22^{45} (^{46} Heb. Jehoshaphat).

C. '*Behold, they are*' הִנָּם, in place of '*are they not?*' הֲלֹא הֵם 5 times, viz. I 14^{19} (Jeroboam), II $15^{11.15.26.31}$ (Zechariah, Shallum, Pekahiah, Pekah).

2. Mention of the king's death and burial—

(*a*) '*And M. slept with his fathers,*
(*b*) *and was buried* } *(with his fathers) in X.'*
and they buried him }

וַיִּשְׁכַּב פ׳ עִם־אֲבֹתָיו { וַיִּקָּבֵר / וַיִּקְבְּרוּ אֹתוֹ } (עִם־אֲבֹתָיו) ב׳*

3. Notice of the due succession of the king's son—

'*And N. his son reigned in his stead.*'

וַיִּמְלֹךְ פ׳ בְּנוֹ תַּחְתָּיו

The following table exhibits the regularity with which this system is carried out. When any fact above mentioned as belonging to the *introduction* is omitted in that position, but added subsequently in the narrative of the reign or in the summary, this is indicated by the sign +:—

Introduction.				*Conclusion.*
		David	12ab	I 2^{10}
I 3^{3} $11^{4.6.42}$		Solomon	12ab3	$11^{41.43}$
		Kings of Judah.		
$14^{21.22.31}$	234(5)+4	Rehoboam	12ab3	$14^{29.31}$
$15^{1.3}$	1345	Abijah	12ab3	$15^{7a.8}$
$15^{9.11}$	1345	Asa	12ab3	$15^{23a.24}$
$22^{41.44}$	12345	Jehoshaphat	12ab3	$22^{45.50}$
$8^{16.17}$	1235	Jehoram	12ab3	II $8^{23.24}$
II 8^{25-27} 9^{29}	12345+1	Ahaziah	2b	9^{28b}
11^{3}	+3	Athaliah	...	...
$12^{1.4}$	1345	Jehoash	12b3	$12^{20.22}$
$14^{1.4}$	12345	Amaziah	12b(a)	$14^{18.20b.(22b)}$
$15^{1.4}$	12345	Azariah	12ab3	$15^{6.7}$
15^{32-35}	12345	Jotham	12ab3	$15^{36.38}$
$16^{1.4}$	1235	Ahaz	12ab3	$16^{19.20}$
$18^{1.3}$	12345	Hezekiah	12a3	$20^{20.21}$
$21^{1.2}$	2345	Manasseh	12ab3	$21^{17.18}$
21^{19-22}	2345	Amon	12b3	$21^{25.26}$
$22^{1.2}$	2345	Josiah	12b(3)	$23^{29.30}$
$23^{31.32}$	2345	Jehoahaz	...	...
$23^{36.37}$	2345	Jehoiakim	12a3	$24^{5.6}$
$24^{8.9}$	2345	Jehoiachin	...	...
$24^{18.19}$	2345	Zedekiah	...	...
		Kings of Israel.		
I $13^{33f.}$ 14^{20a}	+3b2	Jeroboam	12a3	I $14^{19.20}$
$15^{25.26}$	123ab	Nadab	1	15^{31}
$15^{33.34}$	123ab	Baasha	12ab3	$16^{5.6}$
$16^{8.13}$	12 +3	Elah	1	16^{14}
$16^{15a.19}$	12 +3ab	Zimri	1	16^{20}

---

* In speaking of the named sources of Kings, we may add the reference to 'the Book of the Upright' (Book of Jashar as in Jos 10^{13}, 2 S 1^{18}), which is to be restored from LXX after I 8^{13} (LXX I 8^{53}). οὐκ ἰδοὺ αὕτη γέγραπται ἐν βιβλίῳ τῆς ᾠδῆς; represents הֲלֹא הִיא כְתוּבָה עַל סֵפֶר הַשִּׁיר, הַשִּׁיר being a misreading of הַיָּשָׁר.

* Once with singular active verb used impersonally: וַיִּקְבֹּר אֹתוֹ 'And (one) buried him,' II 21^{26} (Amon).

Kings of Israel (continued).

Introduction.			*Conclusion.*	
I $16^{23.\,25.\,26}$	123ab	Omri	12ab3	$16^{27.\,28}$
$16^{29\text{-}31a}$	123ab	Ahab	12a3	$22^{39.\,40}$
$22^{51\text{-}52}$	123ab	Ahaziah	(3)1	II $1^{17.\,18}$
II $3^{1\text{-}3}$	123ab	Jehoram	...	...
$10^{29.\,31.\,36}$	+3bb2	Jehu	12ab3	$10^{34.\,35}$
$13^{1.\,2}$	123ab	Jehoahaz	12ab3	$13^{8.\,9}$
$13^{10.\,11}$	123ab	Jehoash	12a(3)2b12ab3	$13^{12f.}$ $14^{15f.}$
$14^{23.\,24}$	123ab	Jeroboam II.	12a3	$14^{28.\,29}$
$15^{8.\,9}$	123ab	Zechariah	1	15^{11}
15^{13}	12	Shallum	1	15^{15}
$15^{17.\,18}$	123ab	Menahem	12a3	$15^{21.\,22}$
$15^{23.\,24}$	123ab	Pekahiah	1	15^{26}
$15^{27.\,28}$	123ab	Pekah	1	15^{31}
$17^{1.\,2}$	123a	Hoshea	...	...

In the body of the narrative there are certain formulæ which are employed for the introduction of an historical notice, to indicate that it is more or less contemporaneous with the events of the narrative immediately preceding. The frequency with which these formulæ recur, especially in the citation of brief facts from the 'Annals,' renders the inference fair that they are due to the hand of the editor, and represent his methods of piecing together the extracts derived from his sources. Of such expressions the most usual is '*Then*' (אָז), I 3^{16} $8^{1.\,12}$ $9^{11b.\,24b}$ 11^{7} 16^{21} 22^{49} (Heb.^{50}); II 8^{22b} 12^{17} (Heb.^{18}) 14^{8} 15^{16} 16^{5}.

When greater definiteness seemed desirable, other phrases are employed. These are: '*In those days*' (בַּיָּמִים הָהֵם), II 10^{32} 15^{37} 20^{1}; '*In his days*' (בְּיָמָיו), I 16^{34}, II 8^{20} 23^{29} 24^{1} and 15^{19} (emend after LXX); '*At that time*' (בָּעֵת הַהִיא), I 14^{1}, II 16^{6} 18^{16} 20^{12} 24^{10}; cf. I 8^{65} 11^{29}, II 8^{22}.

Besides the construction of the framework of the book and the welding of the material, the editor is also responsible for a number of passages of greater or less length, which point and enforce the religious purpose of his composition. These passages generally take the form of a commentary upon the causes which operated in bringing about the developments of history, framed in accordance with the Deuteronomic model. Very frequently, also, the editor allows himself considerable latitude in the expansion and adaptation of the *speeches* contained in his narrative, in illustration of the same standpoint. In passages of this character the editor's hand may readily be distinguished. They exhibit a constant recurrence of strongly marked phrases, to be found elsewhere for the most part only in Deuteronomy or in books which exhibit the influence of Deuteronomy, and therefore presumably derived from that source. Other expressions stand alongside of these Deuteronomistic expressions, and are of a part with the thoughts of which they are the vehicle; and these possess an individuality of their own, and are peculiar (or nearly so) to Kings. To the former class the following phrases may be assigned:*—

1. שָׁמַר מִשְׁמֶרֶת י׳ *Keep the charge of J″*: I 2^{3}, Dt 11^{1}; cf. Jos 22^{3} (D^{2}).

2. הָלַךְ בִּדְרָכֵי י׳ *Walk in the ways of J″*: I 2^{3} 3^{14} 8^{58} $11^{33.\,38}$, Dt 8^{6} 10^{12} 11^{22} 19^{9} 26^{17} 28^{9} 30^{16}, Jos 22^{5} (D^{2}), Zec 3^{7}, Is 42^{24}, 2 Ch 6^{31}, Ps 81^{13} (^{14} Heb.) 119^{3} 128^{1}; cf. Hos 14^{9} (^{10} Heb.).

3. שָׁמַר חֻקֹּתָיו וּמִצְוֹתָיו וּמִשְׁפָּטָיו וְעֵדְוֹתָיו *Keep his statutes, and his commandments, and his judgments, and his testimonies* (generally one or more of these terms is omitted): I 2^{3} 3^{14} 6^{12} $8^{58.\,61}$ $9^{4.\,6}$ $11^{34.\,38}$ 14^{8}, II $17^{13.\,19.\,37}$ 18^{6} 23^{3}. The phrase is of constant occurrence in Dt $4^{2.\,40}$ 5^{29} (^{26} Heb.) 6^{2} *al.*

4. לְמַעַן תַּשְׂכִּיל אֵת כָּל־אֲשֶׁר תַּעֲשֶׂה *That thou mayest prosper in* (or *cause to prosper*) *all that thou doest*: I 2^{3}, Dt 29^{9} (^{8} Heb.).

5. לְמַעַן יָקִים (הֵקִים) י׳ אֶת־דְּבָרוֹ *That J″ may* (*might*) *establish his word*: I 2^{4} 12^{15} (‖ 2 Ch 10^{15}), Dt 9^{5}; cf. I 6^{12}, 1 S 1^{23}, Jer 33^{14}, Dn 9^{12}.

6. בְּכָל־לֵב (לְבָבוֹ, לְבָבָם) וּבְכָל־נֶפֶשׁ (נַפְשׁוֹ, נַפְשָׁם) *With all the* (*his, their*) *heart, and with all the* (*his, their*) *soul*: I 2^{4} 8^{48} (‖ 2 Ch 6^{38}), II 23^{3} (‖ 2 Ch 34^{31}) ^{25}, Dt 4^{29} 6^{5} 10^{12} 11^{13} 13^{3} (^{4} Heb.) 26^{16} $30^{2.\,6.\,10}$, Jos 22^{5} 23^{14} (both D^{2}), 2 Ch 15^{12}. II 23^{25} adds וּבְכָל־מְאֹדוֹ *and with all his might*, a use of the substantive מְאֹד only to be paralleled by Dt 6^{5}.

בְּכָל־לְבָבוֹ (לְבָבָם) *With all his* (*their*) *heart*: I 8^{23} 14^{8}, II 10^{31}.

7. שָׁמַר לְ׳ אֶת־הַבְּרִית וְאֶת־הַחֶסֶד *Keep for him* (etc.) *the covenant and the kindness* (J″ as subject): I 8^{23} (‖ 2 Ch 6^{14}), Dt $7^{9.\,12}$, Neh 1^{5} 9^{32}, Ps 89^{28} (^{29} Heb.), Dn 9^{4}; cf. I 3^{6} *hast kept for him this great kindness.*

8. כַּיּוֹם הַזֶּה *As it is this day* (the phrase calls attention to the fulfilment of a promise or threat): I 3^{6} 8^{24} (‖ 2 Ch 6^{15}) ^{61}, Dt 2^{30} $4^{20.\,38}$ 8^{18} 10^{15} 29^{28} (^{27} Heb.), Jer 11^{5} 25^{18} 32^{20} $44^{6.\,23}$, 1 Ch 28^{7}, Dn $9^{7.\,15}$; כְּהַיּוֹם הַזֶּה Dt 6^{24}, Jer 44^{22}, Ezr $9^{7.\,15}$, Neh 9^{10}. In pre-Deut. writings the only occurrences are Gn 50^{20} (E), 1 S $22^{8.\,13}$ †. Gn 39^{11} (J) is different.

9. עַמְּךָ אֲשֶׁר בָּחָרְתָּ *Thy people, which thou hast chosen*: I 3^{8} a reminiscence of Dt 7^{6} 14^{2}; cf. 4^{37}.

10. הֵנִיחַ י׳ אֱלֹהַי לִי מִסָּבִיב *J″ my God hath given me rest on every side*: I 5^{4} (^{18} Heb.), 2 S $7^{1.\,11}$, Dt 12^{10} 25^{19}, Jos 21^{42} 23^{1} (both D^{2}); cf. Dt 3^{20}, Jos $1^{13.\,15}$ 22^{4} (both D^{2}).

11. Reference to J″'s *choosing* (בָּחַר) of Jerusalem as the seat of his sanctuary: I $8^{16.\,44.\,48}$ $11^{13.\,32.\,36}$ 14^{21}, II 21^{7} 23^{27}. The allusion is to Dt $12^{5.\,11.\,18.\,21.\,26}$ $14^{23.\,24.\,25}$ 15^{20} $16^{2.\,6.\,7.\,11.\,15.\,16}$ $17^{8.\,10}$ 18^{6} 26^{2} 31^{11}.

12. י׳ אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֵין־כָּמוֹךָ אֱלֹהִים בַּשָּׁמַיִם מִמַּעַל וְעַל הָאָרֶץ מִתָּחַת *J″ God of Israel, there is no God like thee, in heaven above, or on earth beneath*: I 8^{23} a reminiscence of Dt 4^{39}; cf. Jos 2^{11b} (D^{2}).

13. אֲשֶׁר נָתַתָּ (נָתַן, נָתַתִּי) לַאֲבוֹתָם *Which thou gavest* (*he, I gave*) *to their fathers*: I $8^{34.\,40.\,48}$ 14^{15}, II 21^{8}; cf. Dt 26^{15}, and the common phrase of Dt *which J″ our* (*your*, etc.) *God is about to give us* (*you*, etc.), $1^{20.\,25}$ 2^{29} 3^{20} 4^{40} 5^{16} *al.*

14. בְּאַחַד שְׁעָרָיו *In any of his gates*: I 8^{37} (upon the authority of LXX, Pesh., in place of the impossible בְּאֶרֶץ שְׁעָרָיו, MT), Dt 15^{7} 16^{5} 17^{2} 23^{16} (^{17} Heb.); cf. 18^{6} †.

15. כָּל־הַיָּמִים אֲשֶׁר הֵמָּה חַיִּים עַל־פְּנֵי הָאֲדָמָה *All the days that they live upon the land*: I 8^{40} (‖ 2 Ch 6^{31}), Dt 4^{10} 12^{1} 31^{13}†.

16. יָדְךָ הַחֲזָקָה וּזְרֹעֲךָ הַנְּטוּיָה *Thy mighty hand and thy stretched out arm*: I 8^{42} (‖ 2 Ch 6^{32}), Dt 4^{34} 5^{15} 7^{19} 11^{2} 26^{8}, Jer 21^{5} (different order) 32^{21} (אֶזְרוֹעַ), Ezk $20^{33.\,34}$, Ps 136^{12}†. *Mighty hand* alone, Dt 3^{24} 6^{21} 7^{8} 9^{26} 34^{12}, Ex 3^{19} 6^{1} 32^{11} (all JE) 13^{9} (E), Nu 20^{20} (JE, referring to Edom), Neh 1^{10}, Dn 9^{15}†; cf. Jos 4^{24} (D^{2}). *Stretched out arm* alone, II 17^{36}, Dt 9^{29}, Jer 27^{5} 32^{17}, Ex 6^{6} (P)†.

17. כָּל־עַמֵּי הָאָרֶץ *All the peoples of the earth*: I 8^{43} (‖ 2 Ch 6^{33}) $^{53.\,60}$, Dt 28^{10}, Jos 4^{24} (D^{2}), Ezk 31^{12}, Zeph 3^{20}†.

18. נָתַן לִפְנֵי *Deliver over to* (lit. *set before*): I 8^{46} (‖ 2 Ch 6^{36}), Dt $1^{8.\,21}$ $2^{31.\,33.\,36}$ $7^{2.\,23}$ 23^{14} (^{15} Heb.) $28^{7.\,25}$ 31^{5}, Jos 10^{12} 11^{6} (both D^{2}), Jg 11^{9} Is 41^{2}, all the occurrences of the phrase in this special sense.

19. *Shall bethink themselves* (lit. *bring back to their heart* וְהֵשִׁיבוּ אֶל־לִבָּם) *in the land whither they are carried captive*: I 8^{47} a reminiscence of Dt 30^{1}.

20. *Return unto thee with all their heart*, etc.: I 8^{48}, II 23^{25}, Dt 30^{10}; cf. Jer 3^{10}.

21. *For they be thy people and thine inheritance, which thou broughtest forth out of Egypt*: I 8^{51} a reminiscence of Dt $9^{26.\,29}$.

22. כּוּר הַבַּרְזֶל *The furnace of iron*: I 8^{51}, Dt 4^{20}, Jer 11^{4}†.

23. *Hath given rest* (מְנוּחָה) *unto his people Israel*: I 8^{56}, probably with reference to Dt 12^{9}; cf. Ps 95^{11}.

24. *There hath not failed* (lit. *fallen* נָפַל) *one word of all his good promise which he promised*: I 8^{56}, Jos 21^{45} 23^{14} (both D^{2}).

25. *That all the people of the earth may know*, etc.: I 8^{60}, Jos 4^{24} (D^{2}).

---

* The sign † indicates that all occurrences of any particular phrase are cited. The sign RD denotes the Deuteronomic Redactor, *i.e.* the prime editor of Kings.

26. *That J″ he is God* (lit. *the God* הָאֱלֹהִים) ; *there is none else* : I 8^{60}, Dt $4^{35.\ 39}$.

27. לָשׂוּם שְׁמִי שָׁם *To put my name there* : I 9^{3} 11^{38} 14^{21}, II $21^{4.\ 7}$ (referring to I 9^{3}), Dt $12^{5.\ 21}$ 14^{24}. In Dt the more ordinary phrase is *to cause his name to dwell there* לְשַׁכֵּן שְׁמוֹ שָׁם, 12^{11} 14^{23} $16^{2.\ 6.\ 11}$ 26^{2} ; cf. No. 64.

28. כָּל־הַיָּמִים *All the days* (*i.e. for ever*) : I 9^{3} $11^{36.\ 39}$, II 8^{19} 17^{37}, Dt 4^{40} 5^{29} (^{26} Heb.) 6^{24} 11^{1} 14^{23} 18^{5} 19^{9} $28^{29.\ 33}$, Jos 4^{24} (D^{2}), 1 S $2^{32.\ 35}$ (Redactor), Jer 31^{36} (Heb.^{35}) 32^{39} 33^{18} 35^{19}. Thus the expression *used absolutely* * appears to be purely Deuteronomic. In I 8^{40} Dt 4^{10} 12^{1} 31^{13} it is defined, and to some extent limited, by the added words, *that they* (*ye*) *live upon the land.*

29. *Shall go and serve other gods, and worship them* : I 9^{6} (‖2 Ch 7^{19}), Jos 23^{16} (D^{2}) ; cf. Dt 11^{16} 17^{3}. The phrase עָבַד אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים *serve other gods*, occurs also Dt 7^{4} $13^{6.13}$ ($^{7.\ 14}$ Heb.) $28^{36.\ 64}$, Jer 16^{13}, Jg 10^{13} (Deut. compiler), Jos $24^{2.\ 16}$ (E), 1 S 8^{8} 26^{19} ; cf. Jer 44^{3}. *Other gods*, with *serve* not preceding as governing verb, but closely following with suffix in reference, is found I 9^{9} (‖2 Ch 7^{22}), II 17^{35}, Dt 8^{19} 13^{2} (Heb.^{3}) 28^{14} 30^{17} 31^{20}, Jer 11^{10} 13^{10} 16^{11} 22^{9} 25^{6} 35^{15}, Jg 2^{19} (Deut. compiler). *Other gods*, without *serve* : I $11^{4.\ 10}$ 14^{9}, II $17^{7.\ 37.\ 38}$ 22^{17} (‖2 Ch 34^{25}), all R^{D}, II 5^{17}, Dt 5^{7} 6^{14} 11^{28} 18^{20} 31^{18}, Jer 1^{16} $7^{8.\ 9.\ 18}$ $19^{4.\ 13}$ 32^{29} $44^{5.\ 8.\ 15}$, Jg $2^{12.\ 17}$ (Deut. compiler), Ex 20^{3} (E) 23^{13} (J), Hos 3^{1}, 2 Ch 28^{25}†.

30. לְמָשָׁל וְלִשְׁנִינָה *For a proverb and for a byword* : I 9^{7} (‖2 Ch 7^{20}), Dt 28^{37}, Jer 24^{9}†.

31. דָּבַק בְּ *Cleave to* ; of *strange wives*, I 11^{2} ; of *sins of Jeroboam*, II 3^{3} ; of *cleaving to J″*, II 18^{6}, Dt 4^{4} 10^{20} 11^{22} 13^{4} (^{5} Heb.) 30^{20}, Jos 22^{5} 23^{8} (both D^{2})—all the occurrences in this special moral sense.

32. הָלַךְ אַחֲרֵי *Go after* ; *a false god*, I $11^{5.\ 10}$ 21^{26}, II 17^{15} (all R^{D}), I $18^{18.\ 21}$, Dt 4^{3} 6^{14} 8^{19} 11^{28} 13^{2} (^{3} Heb.) 28^{14}, Jg $2^{12.\ 19}$ (Deut. compiler), Jer $2^{5.\ 23}$ 7^{9} 11^{10} 13^{10} 16^{11} 25^{6} 35^{15}, Ezk 20^{16} ; cf. Hos $2^{5.\ 13}$ ($^{7.\ 15}$ Heb.). Of following *J″*: I 14^{8} (R^{D}) 18^{21}, Dt 13^{4} (^{5} Heb.), 2 Ch 34^{31}, Hos 11^{10}†.

33. עָשָׂה הָרַע בְּעֵינֵי י׳ *Do that which is evil in the sight of J″* : I 11^{6} 14^{22} $15^{26.\ 34}$ $16^{19.\ 25.\ 30}$ $21^{20.\ 25}$ 22^{52} (^{53} Heb.), II 3^{2} 8^{18} (‖2 Ch 21^{6}) ^{27} (‖2 Ch 22^{4}) $13^{2.\ 11}$ 14^{24} $15^{9.\ 18.\ 24.\ 28}$ $17^{2.\ 17}$ $21^{2.\ 8}$ (‖2 Ch $33^{2.\ 6}$) $^{15.\ 16.\ 20}$ (‖2 Ch 33^{22}) $23^{32.\ 37}$ (‖2 Ch 36^{5}) $24^{9.\ 19}$ (‖2 Ch $36^{9.\ 12}$), 2 Ch 29^{6}, Dt 4^{25} 9^{18} 17^{2} 31^{29}, Jg 2^{11} $3^{7.\ 12}$ 4^{1} 6^{1} 10^{6} 13^{1} (all Deut. compiler), Nu 32^{13} (JE), 1 S 15^{19}, Jer 52^{2}†. Cf. 2 S 12^{9}, Is 65^{12} 66^{4}, Jer 32^{30}, Ps 51^{4} (^{6} Heb.).

34. עָשָׂה הַיָּשָׁר בְּעֵינֵי י׳ *Do that which is right in the sight of J″* : I $11^{33.\ 38}$ 14^{8} $15^{5.\ 11}$ 22^{43} (‖2 Ch 20^{32}), II 10^{30} 12^{2} (^{3} Heb.) (‖2 Ch 24^{2}) 14^{3} (‖2 Ch 25^{2}) $15^{3.\ 34}$ (‖2 Ch 26^{4} 27^{2}) 16^{2} (‖2 Ch 28^{1}) 18^{3} (‖2 Ch 29^{2}) 22^{2} (‖2 Ch 34^{2}), Dt 12^{25} 13^{18} (^{19} Heb.) 21^{9}, and with the addition of הַטּוֹב *that which is good*, 6^{18} 12^{28}. Elsewhere only Ex 15^{26} (JE or D ?), Jer 34^{15}.

35. מִלֵּא אַחֲרֵי י׳ *Go fully after J″* : I 11^{6}, Dt 1^{36}, Jos $14^{8.\ 9.\ 14}$ (JE recast by D^{2}), Nu $32^{11.\ 12}$ (JE)†.

36. הִתְאַנֵּף *Be angry* : I 11^{9}, II 17^{18}, Dt 1^{37} 4^{21} $9^{8.\ 20}$†.

37. וְהָיָה אִם־תִּשְׁמַע *And it shall be, if thou wilt hearken* : I 11^{38}, Dt $28^{1.\ 15}$; with pl. תִּשְׁמְעוּ 11^{13} ; cf. 15^{5} 11^{28}. In the same way (obedience the condition of a promise) כִּי תִשְׁמַע Dt 13^{18} (^{19} Heb.) $28^{2.\ 13}$ 30^{10}, אֲשֶׁר תִּשְׁמְעוּ 11^{27}.

38. הִשְׁמִיד מֵעַל פְּנֵי הָאֲדָמָה *Destroy from off the face of the earth* : I 13^{34}, Dt 6^{15}, Am 9^{8}† ; cf. Jos 23^{15} (D^{2}). הִשְׁמִיד *destroy*, passive נִשְׁמַד, is very frequent in Dt (27 times) ; cf. Driver on Dt 1^{27}.

39. הִכְעִיס *Vex* (J″, by treatment wholly undeserved. RV ‘provoke to anger’ is inaccurate) : I $14^{9.\ 15}$ 15^{30} $16^{2.\ 7.\ 13.\ 26.\ 33}$ 21^{22} 22^{53} (^{54} Heb.), II $17^{11.\ 17}$ 21^{6} (‖2 Ch 33^{6}) ^{15} 22^{17} (‖2 Ch 34^{25}) $23^{19.\ 26}$, 2 Ch 28^{25}, Dt 4^{25} 9^{18} 31^{29} 32^{16}, Jer $7^{18.\ 19}$ 8^{19} 11^{17} $25^{6.\ 7}$ $32^{29.\ 30.\ 32}$ $44^{3.\ 8}$. Elsewhere, with J″ as object, only six times. With Pi‘el (כִּעֲסוּנִי), Dt 32^{21}.

40. מֵעַל הָאֲדָמָה הַטּוֹבָה הַזֹּאת *From upon this good land* : I 14^{15}, Jos $23^{13.\ 15}$ (D^{2})†. The usual phrase in Dt of the land of Canaan is הָאָרֶץ הַטּוֹבָה *the good land* ; cf. Driver, *Deuteronomy*, p. lxxxi.

41. עַל כָּל־גִּבְעָה גְבֹהָה וְתַחַת כָּל־עֵץ רַעֲנָן *On every high hill, and under every green* (or *spreading*) *tree* : I 14^{23}, II 17^{10}, Jer 2^{20}. With the variation עַל הַגְּבָעוֹת *on the hills*, II 16^{4} (‖2 Ch 28^{4}), Dt 12^{2}. Cf. Ezk 6^{13} Jer $3^{6.\ 13}$ 17^{2}, Is 57^{5}.

42. כְּכֹל־תּוֹעֲבֹת (כְּתוֹעֲבֹת) הַגּוֹיִם *According to* (*all*) *the abominations of the nations* : I 14^{24}, II 16^{3} (‖2 Ch 28^{3}) 21^{2} (‖2 Ch 33^{2}), 2 Ch 36^{14}, Dt 18^{9}.

43. הוֹרִישׁ *Drive out* (used of the expulsion of the nations of Canaan by J″) : I 14^{24} 21^{26}, II 16^{3} (‖2 Ch 28^{3}) 17^{8} 21^{2} (‖2 Ch 33^{2}), Dt 4^{38} $9^{4.\ 5}$ 11^{23} 18^{12}, Jos 13^{6} $23^{5.\ 9.\ 13}$ (all D^{2}), Jg $2^{21.\ 23}$ (Deut. compiler), Ps 44^{2} (^{3} Heb.). Elsewhere only Ex 34^{24}, Nu 32^{21}, Jos 3^{10} (all JE).

44. גִּלּוּלִים *Idol-blocks* (a term of opprobrium) : I 15^{12} 21^{26}, II 17^{12} $21^{11.\ 21}$ 23^{24}, Dt 29^{17} (^{16} Heb.), Lv 26^{30} (H), and 39 times in Ezk.†

45. כָּל־נְשָׁמָה *Anything breathing* (lit. *any breath*) : I 15^{29}, Dt 20^{16}, Jos $11^{11.\ 14}$ (D^{2}) ; כָּל־הַנְּשָׁמָה Jos 10^{40} (D^{2}), Ps 150^{6}†.

46. הֲבָלִים *Vain things* (applied to idolatrous symbols) : I $16^{13.\ 26}$,* Dt 32^{21} ; cf. Jer 8^{19} 14^{22}. So with cognate verb, וַיֵּלְכוּ אַחֲרֵי הַהֶבֶל וַיֶּהְבָּלוּ *they followed vanity and became vain*, II 17^{15}, Jer 2^{5}.

47. לֹא אָבָה (לְ)הַשְׁחִית *Would not destroy* : II 8^{19} 13^{23}, Dt 10^{10}.

48. מָחָה שֵׁם פ׳ מִתַּחַת הַשָּׁמַיִם *Blot out the name from under heaven* : II 14^{27}, Dt 9^{14} 29^{20} (^{19} Heb.), the only occurrences of the exact phrase.

49. שָׁמַר לַעֲשׂוֹת *Observe to do* : II 17^{37} 21^{8} (‖2 Ch 33^{8}), 1 Ch 22^{13} (^{12} Heb.), Dt $5^{1.\ 32}$ (^{29} Heb.) $6^{3.\ 25}$ 7^{11} 8^{1} $11^{22.\ 32}$ $12^{1.\ 32}$ (13^{1} Heb.) 15^{5} 17^{10} 19^{9} 24^{8} $28^{1.\ 15.\ 58}$ 31^{12} 32^{46}, Jos $1^{7.\ 8}$ 22^{5} (D^{2}).

The following phrases, though not derived directly from Deuteronomy, are characteristic of the editor of Kings in common with Jeremiah, whose writings exhibit strong Deuteronomic affinities :—

50. כִּי שִׁמְךָ נִקְרָא עַל־הַבַּיִת הַזֶּה *That thy name is called over this house* (in token of *ownership*) : I 8^{43} (‖2 Ch 6^{33}), Jer $7^{10.\ 11.\ 14.\ 30}$ 32^{34} 34^{15}. The phrase is also used of the chosen people, Dt 28^{10}, Jer 14^{9}, Is 63^{19}, 2 Ch 7^{14} ; of Jerusalem, Jer 25^{29} ; of Jerusalem and the chosen people, Dn $9^{18.\ 19}$; of Jeremiah, 15^{16} ; of the nations, Am 9^{12}.

51. שִׁלַּח מֵעַל פָּנַי (פָּנָיו) *Dismiss from before my* (*his*) *face* : I 9^{7}, Jer 15^{1}. So, but with a different verb, הִשְׁלִיךְ *cast away*, II 13^{23} 17^{20} (מִן in place of מֵעַל), Jer 7^{15} ; הֵסִיר *remove*, II $17^{18.\ 23}$ 23^{27} 24^{3}, Jer 32^{31}.

52. כָּל־עֹבֵר עָלָיו יִשֹּׁם וְשָׁרַק *Every one that passeth by it shall be astonished and shall hiss* : I 9^{8}, Jer 19^{8} 49^{17} 50^{13} ; cf. Jer 18^{16}, La 2^{15}, Zeph 2^{15}.

53. שָׁב מִדַּרְכּוֹ הָרָעָה *Return from his evil way* : I 13^{33}, Jer 18^{11} 25^{5} 26^{3} 35^{15} $36^{3.\ 7}$. Elsewhere Jon $3^{8.\ 10}$, Ezk 13^{22} (מִדַּרְכּוֹ הָרָע)†. With pl. *their evil ways*, II 17^{13}, 2 Ch 7^{14}, Zec 1^{4}†. Cf. Jer 23^{22}, Ezk 3^{19} 33^{11}.

54. הִנְנִי מֵבִיא רָעָה אֶל (עַל) *Behold, I will bring evil upon* : I 14^{10} 21^{21}, II 21^{12} 22^{16} (‖2 Ch 34^{24}), Jer 6^{19} 11^{11} $19^{3.\ 15}$ 35^{17} 45^{5}†.

55. עֲבָדַי (עֲבָדָיו) הַנְּבִיאִים *My* (*his*) *servants the prophets* : II 9^{7} $17^{13.\ 23}$ 21^{10} 24^{2}, Jer 7^{25} 25^{4} 26^{5} 29^{19} 35^{15} 44^{4}. Elsewhere Am 3^{7}, Zec 1^{6}, Ezr 9^{11}, Dn 9^{10}.

Other resemblances with Jeremiah, from the later chs. of 2 K, are given by Driver, *LOT* p. 193 (^{6} 203).

Phrases and modes of expression wholly or nearly peculiar to the editor of Kings are as follow :—

56. Reference to *the sins of Jeroboam*, *i.e.* his institution of the calf-worship. So, as causing the

---

* The same phrase כָּל־הַיָּמִים *all the days*, used in a strictly limited sense of the lifetime of an individual (for *all his, thy, etc., days*) is *non*-Deuteronomic. Cf. the writer's note on 1 K 5^{15}.

* So v.^{2}, according to LXX ἐν τοῖς ματαίοις αὐτῶν, and probably Pesh. ܒܥܒܕ ܐܝܕܝܗܘܢ ‘with the work of their hands,’ in place of MT בְּחַטֹּאתָם ‘with their sins.’

destruction of his own house, I 14^{16} 15^{30}. In the summary of the character of kings of Israel a regular formula appears—

he did not depart from }
he walked after (*in*) } *the sins of J.* } *which he*
he clave to } *caused Israel*
he walked in the way of J. and in } *to sin.*
his sin (*sins*) }

So I $15^{26.}$ (Nadab) ^{34} (Baasha) 16^{26} (Omri), II 3^{3} (Jehoram) 10^{31}, cf. ^{29} (Jehu) 13^{2} (Jehoahaz) ^{11} (Jehoash) 14^{24} (Jeroboam II.) 15^{9} (Zechariah) ^{18} (Menahem) ^{24} (Pekahiah) ^{28} (Pekah). Of the people of Israel, II 13^{6}. In all these cases the antecedent of the relative אֲשֶׁר הֶחֱטִיא is not יָרָבְעָם but חַטֹּאות יר׳; cf. II 17^{21}. I 16^{30} (Ahab), II 17^{22} חַטֹּאות יר׳ *the sins of J.* without אֲשֶׁר הֶחֱטִיא וג׳ *which he caused*, etc. : I 22^{52} ([^{53} Heb.] Ahaziah), II 23^{15} אֲשֶׁר הֶחֱטִיא אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל, referring not to חַטֹּאות (omitted), but to יָרָבְעָם *J.*, *who made Israel to sin.* In I 16^{13} the sins of Baasha and Elah, and in II 21^{11} of Manasseh (אֲשֶׁר הֶחֱטִיא אֶת־יְהוּדָה), are spoken of in the same terms.

57. Reference to David as the ideal standard of a righteous king : I $3^{3.\,6.\,14}$ 9^{4} $11^{4.\,6.\,33.\,38}$ 14^{8} $15^{3.\,5.\,11}$, II 14^{3} 16^{2} 18^{3} 22^{2}.

58. לְמַעַן דָּוִד אָבִיךָ (עַבְדִּי) *For David thy father's* (*my* or *his servant's*) *sake* : I $11^{12.\,13.\,32.\,34}$, II 8^{19} 19^{34} 20^{6}; cf. I 15^{4}†.

59. A *lamp* (נִיר) for David (figurative of a lasting posterity): I 11^{36} 15^{4}, II 8^{19} (‖ 2 Ch 21^{7}); cf. Ps 132^{17}.

60. הָלַךְ לִפְנֵי י׳ *Walk before J"*: I 2^{4} 3^{6} $8^{23.\,25}$ (‖ 2 Ch $6^{14.\,16}$) 9^{4} (‖ 2 Ch 7^{17}). Elsewhere the Hithpa'el is used הִתְהַלֵּךְ לִפְנֵי י׳, II 20^{3} (‖ Is 38^{3}), 1 S 2^{30}, Gn 17^{1} (P) 24^{40} (J) 48^{15} (JE), Ps 56^{13} (^{14} Heb.) 116^{9}.

61. לֹא יִכָּרֵת לְךָ אִישׁ מֵעַל כִּסֵּא יִשְׂרָאֵל *There shall not fail thee* (lit. *be cut off to thee*) *a man on the throne of Israel*: I 2^{4} 8^{25} (‖ 2 Ch 6^{16}) 9^{5} (‖ 2 Ch 7^{18}); cf. Jer 33^{17}.

62. בָּנָה בַיִת לְשֵׁם י׳ *Build a house to the name of J"*: I 3^{2} $5^{3.\,5}$ ($^{17.\,19}$ Heb.) $8^{17.\,20.\,44.\,48}$. The original is 2 S 7^{13} *He shall build a house to my name,* quoted in I 5^{5} (^{19} Heb.) 8^{19}.

63. *There hath been* (*was*) *none like thee* (*him*) *before thee* (*him*), etc. : I 3^{12}, II 18^{5} 23^{25}.

64. לִהְיוֹת שְׁמִי שָׁם *That my name might be there*: I $8^{16.\,29}$, II 23^{27}. Cf. No. 27.

65. *Heart perfect* (שָׁלֵם) *with J"*: I 8^{61} 11^{4} $15^{3.\,14}$; cf. II 20^{3} (‖ Is 38^{3}). The adj. is thus used in application to the heart, elsewhere only eight times in Ch.

66. הֵרַע (לַעֲשׂוֹת) מִכֹּל־אֲשֶׁר (הָיוּ) לְפָנָיו *Did* (*hast done*) *evil above all that were before him* (*thee*): I 14^{9} $16^{25.\,30.*\,33}$; cf. II 17^{2} 21^{11}.

67. מַשְׁתִּין בְּקִיר *Every man child* (lit. *mingens ad parietem*): I 14^{10} 16^{11} 21^{21}, II 9^{8}. Only besides 1 S $25^{22.\,34}$.

68. עָצוּר וְעָזוּב *Shut up and left at large* (*i.e. all*; every one being supposed to fall under one of the two categories†): I 14^{10} 21^{21}, II 9^{8} 14^{26}, Dt 32^{36} †.

69. וּבִעַרְתִּי אַחֲרֵי *I will utterly sweep away*: I 14^{10} 21^{21} †; הִנְנִי מַבְעִיר אַחֲרֵי I 16^{3} †.

70. *Him that dieth to M. in the city shall the dogs eat; and him that dieth in the field shall the fowls of the air eat*: I 14^{11} 16^{4} 21^{24} †.

71. הִתְמַכֵּר לַעֲשׂוֹת הָרַע בְּעֵינֵי י׳ *Sold himself* (*themselves*) *to do that which is evil in the sight of J"*: I $21^{20.\,25}$, II 17^{17} †.

72. לֹא סָר מִן־ *Turned not aside from*: I 15^{5} 22^{43}, II 3^{3} $13^{2.\,6.\,11}$ 14^{24} $15^{9.\,24.\,28}$ 17^{22}; with מֵאַחֲרֵי *from after*, II 10^{29} 18^{6}; with מֵעַל lit. *from upon*, II 10^{31} 15^{18}.

73. רַק הַבָּמוֹת לֹא סָרוּ עוֹד הָעָם מְזַבְּחִים וּמְקַטְּרִים בַּבָּמוֹת *Howbeit the high places were not taken away; the people still sacrificed and burnt incense in the high places*: I 22^{43} (^{44} Heb.; אַךְ for רַק), II 12^{3} (^{4} Heb.) 14^{4} $15^{4.\,35}$; cf. I $3^{2.\,3}$ 15^{14}, II 16^{4}.

The extent and limits of the passages which are due to the editor's hand are noticed below in dealing with the *composition* of Kings.

4. DATE OF THE EDITOR.—As Kings now stands, the earliest possible *terminus a quo* for the composition of the book is the date of the latest event related, viz. Jehoiachin's release from prison in the 37th year of his captivity, *i.e.* B.C. 561, some 25 years after the fall of Jerusalem. As, however, the writer states that the privileges granted by the Babylonian king to Jehoiachin were continued 'all the days of his life' (II 25^{30}), the strong presumption is created that the words were not penned so early as B.C. 561, but some time later, viz. subsequently to the death of Jehoiachin, whenever that may have taken place.

Agreeable to such an exilic date as is implied by the last two chs. of 2 K are certain passages in the body of the work which seem to presuppose the captivity of Judah. These are I 11^{39} II $17^{19.\,20}$ $23^{26.\,27}$, and perhaps, though not so clearly, I 9^{7-9} II $20^{17.\,18}$ 21^{11-15} 22^{15-20}. To these we may add the reference in I 4^{24} (Heb. 5^{4}) to Solomon's dominion as extending over all the kings '*beyond the River*,' a statement which, as referring to the country W. of the Euphrates, implies that the writer is living in Babylonia on the E. side of the river.*

On the other hand, however, there are certain indications which show that the first editing of Kings must have taken place *prior to* the final decay and fall of the Judæan monarchy.

Chief among these is the use of the phrase '*unto this day*' (עַד־הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה) in the statement that the condition of affairs which the writer is describing still continues to exist up to the time of writing. If this phrase always or most frequently occurred in the course of lengthy narratives excerpted by the editor from his sources, there might then be room for the theory that a statement which was true as it stood in the old pre-exilic narratives had, through oversight on the part of an exilic editor, been allowed to stand after, through changed conditions, it had lost its force, or rather had become untrue and misleading. But, as a matter of fact, the expression is employed in connexion with terse statements of facts derived from the 'annals,' and in such cases can be due to no other hand than that of the editor himself, who, in using the phrase, either formulates his own statement, or intelligently admits a statement which he is able to verify.

The cases of the use of '*unto this day*,' which ought to be noticed as *implying the continued existence of the kingdom of Judah*, are the following :—I 8^{8} (the ends of the staves of the ark still to be seen projecting from the Adytum into the Holy place†); 9^{21} (the Canaanites still subjected by Israel to forced labour, as they had been under Solomon); 12^{19} (the division between the ten tribes and the house of David still in existence); II 8^{22} (Edom still successful in shaking off the yoke of Judah); 16^{6} (the Edomites still hold Elath, from which the Judæans were expelled by Rezin, king of Syria‡). The other occurrences of 'unto this day' do not necessarily presuppose pre-exilic times, but may be cited to prove the frequency of the formula as employed by the editor of Kings :—I 9^{13} 10^{12}, II 14^{7} $17^{23.\,34.\,41}$.§

---

* LXX (B, Luc.) prefixes (Luc. καὶ) ἐπονηρεύσατο, *i.e.* וַיָּרַע, before מכל וג׳, probably correctly.

† The most plausible explanation of the phrase is that of Ewald, *Antiquities*, 170, '*kept in* (by legal defilement) *and exempt.*' For this use of עָצוּר cf. Jer 36^{5}; Niph'al נֶעְצָר 1 S 21^{8}. Other explanations are quoted by Driver on Deut. *l.c.*

* The phrase עֵבֶר הַנָּהָר, implying an exilic standpoint, is found again in Ezr $4^{10.\,11.\,16.\,17.\,20}$ $5^{3.\,6}$ $6^{6.\,8.\,13}$ $7^{21.\,25}$ 8^{36}, Neh $2^{7.\,9}$ 3^{7}. The rendering of RV text in 1 K 4^{24} 'on this side the River,' is quite impermissible, this being a direct violation of the constant meaning of עֵבֶר—country lying *across* or *on the other side of* a river.

† It is noticeable that in LXX of this passage the words 'unto this day' have disappeared, the excision being doubtless due to some later scribe who knew that in his own time their purport had ceased to be true.

‡ Reading אֱדֹם, אֲדוֹמִים, in place of ארם, ארומים.

§ In II 10^{27} עַד־הַיּוֹם, occurring in a lengthy narrative, must have been written prior to the destruction of Samaria (Kuenen, *Ond.* § 25^{14}), and is thus due to the source and not to the editor.

Again, it seems to be clear that, at the time when the editor is writing, *the Davidic dynasty still possesses a monarch reigning in Jerusalem.* David has, and is still to have, a *lamp* before J″ at Jerusalem continually (see above, No. 59 of the editor's phrases). The expression 'before J″ at Jerusalem' of I 11^{36} implies further that *the temple is still standing intact*, a point which is also assumed in the dedication prayer of I 8$^{15-53}$ which owes its present form to the Deuteronomic editor. Throughout this prayer the leading petition is that supplication made *in* or *towards J″s temple built by Solomon* may meet with a favourable answer (vv.$^{29. 30. 31f. 33. 35. 38. 42. 44. 48}$). We may notice also I 9^{3} which likewise occurs in a section in which the editor's hand is prominent: 'I have hallowed this house which thou hast built, *to put my name there for ever; and mine eyes and my heart shall be there perpetually.*'

Upon these grounds it may be concluded that the main editing of Kings must have taken place prior to the destruction of the Judæan kingdom, and that such sections of the book as imply an exilic standpoint are therefore of the nature of later redactional additions and interpolations.

For the work of this principal editor, influenced as we have seen him to be by the spirit and language of Deut., the *terminus a quo* is the discovery of Deut. in the year B.C. 621, the *terminus ad quem* the destruction of Jerusalem B.C. 586. And since the editor's standpoint seems to indicate that he wrote before the glamour of Josiah's reformation had wholly or nearly faded during the latter days of the Judæan monarchy, the assumption is fair that he undertook and completed his book not later than B.C. 600.*

5. LATER EDITORS.—From the preceding examination and conclusion as to the date of the main redaction of Kings it is clear that the pre-exilic book must have received certain additions at the hands of a later editor or editors before it attained the form in which we possess it. The chief of these additions is the appendix, which carries the history down to the year B.C. 561. To this appendix belongs certainly II 24^{10}–25^{30}, and, presumably, 23^{31}–24^{9}. The conclusion of the pre-exilic book has, however, probably been worked over by the second editor, and so adapted to receive his addition that it is now impossible exactly to discover its position.

Any of the vv.$^{25. 28}$ or even ^{30a} of ch. 23 might have formed a conclusion scarcely more abrupt than the present conclusion ch. 25^{30}. Ch. 23^{29a}, if it is not exactly imitated in style in ch. 24^{1a}, must be by the same hand, *i.e.*, presumably, the hand of the second editor. But, again, it is unlikely that the first editor should have appended the usual summary of a reign in v.^{28} without mentioning the manner of the king's death. The statement of v.^{25b} seems at first sight to presuppose the writer's acquaintance with the characters of all the succeeding kings of Judah, but need not necessarily do so. Cf. the somewhat stereotyped formula of I 14^{9a} with reference to Jeroboam.

Upon the other passages above mentioned as implying an exilic standpoint see below (*Composition*). It is noticeable that, apart from the difference of standpoint involved in the destruction of the Judæan kingdom and the Exile, the mould of mind of the second editor is essentially the same as that of the first editor. The same Deuteronomic mode of thought is couched in the same phraseology, while in the appendix the structural method of the first editor is faithfully imitated. Thus, if the main Deuteronomic editor or redactor be cited under the sign R^{D}, it is reasonable to employ the sign R^{D2} in referring to the second editor of the same school of thought.†

Kings, as it stands in the Hebrew Bible, has, again, undergone still later revision than that of R^{D2}. This is clear from certain variations in form and order between the MT and the recension of the text which is represented by the LXX. While in some cases the condition of the LXX text is greatly inferior to that of MT, yet, on the other hand, it is clear that in a number of sections LXX preserves a superior arrangement in order, or a simpler form, of narrative which points to the fact that MT has suffered dislocation and interpolation at the hands of a reviser or revisers of a date later than the separation of the two recensions. As instances of this we may notice I 4$^{20-34}$ (Heb. 4^{20}–5^{14}) 5–7 (Heb. 5^{15}–7) in the main, 8$^{1-13}$ 11$^{1-13}$, and the position of MT 21 after 19, so that 22 succeeds 20 without a break in the narrative. Consideration of such points as must here be raised is best reserved for a sectional criticism of the composition of the book.

6. SOURCES AND COMPOSITION OF KINGS CONSIDERED IN DETAIL.*—I 1^{1}–2^{46}. Narrative of the events which led to the establishment of Solomon as the successor of David. It is generally assumed, and with great probability, that this section originally formed part of the document 2 S 9–20, which gives a history of David. 2$^{2. 3}$ is due to R^{D} (see above, *phrases of R^{D}*, Nos. 1–6, 60, 61).

A point of interest in connexion with the homogeneity of the narrative is the fact that after 2^{35a} LXX (B, Luc.) inserts *καὶ ἡ βασιλεία κατορθοῦτο ἐν Ἰερουσαλήμ*, *i.e.* MT 2^{46b} with the reading בירשלם for ביד שלמה. The correct position of the sentence seems to be at the end of v.^{35}, from which in MT it was separated by the insertion of the Shimei section. Solomon's establishment in the kingdom resulted from the death of his powerful adversaries, Adonijah and Joab, and could not have been much enhanced by the death of Shimei some three years later. The fact that in LXX these words precede v.^{35b} suggests that this latter may be a later insertion made to complete the information supplied by v.^{35a}.

3^{1}–11^{43}. History of Solomon's reign. The narrative follows a well-defined plan. The kernel is 5^{1}–7^{51} (Heb. 5^{15}–7^{51}), the description of Solomon's building operations, with its sequel, ch. 8. Around this are grouped (chs. 4. 9. 10) a series of notices, for the most part brief, illustrative of the king's wisdom, magnificence, and prosperity. Ch. 3 forms an introduction to the whole, detailing Solomon's request for wisdom, with a signal instance of its exercise: ch. 11, as a conclusion, gives a description of the circumstances which paved the way for the disruption of the kingdom.

3^{1}, as it stands in MT, is out of place. There can be little doubt that, together with 9$^{16. 17a}$, it originally formed part of the document embodied in ch. 4$^{20ff.}$. See *ad loc.*

3$^{2. 3}$ expresses disapprobation of *Bāmā* worship, based upon the law of Deut. which restricts sacrifice to the central sanctuary. Similar notices by R^{D} are found elsewhere in Kings (see *phrases*, No. 73). The old narrative treats *Bāmā* worship as a matter of course; cf. v.^{4} 18^{30} 19^{10} etc.

Though vv.$^{2. 3}$ of 3 both exhibit the influence of Deut., it is scarcely possible to assign both to one author R^{D}. In v.^{3} the subject, as in vv.$^{1. 4}$, is Solomon, while in v.^{2} the *people* are specified. V.^{3} simply places two facts side by side without any attempt at correlation:—Solomon loved J″, only he sacrificed and burned incense on the high places; v.^{2} supplies an explanation:—This *Bāmā* worship was a popular custom, due to the fact that the house of J″ was not yet built. Hence v.^{3} is the work of R^{D}, and opens the account of Solomon's reign by introducing the narrative of the vision at Gibeon; v.^{2} proceeds from a later editor, who, with a view to explaining Solomon's conduct, inserted the phrase, which he found to be frequent elsewhere, v.^{2a}, together with the explanation which follows, v.^{2b}, and, in order to illustrate this latter, probably moved v.^{1}, which mentions the fact of the house of J″ being not yet built, from the position which it properly occupies in ch. 4 LXX. In LXX of ch. 3, v.^{1} is wanting and v.^{2} fragmentary.

---

* So Kuenen, *Onderzoek*, § 26; Wellhausen, *Composition*, p. 298 ff., etc. König, on the contrary, holds that the editor of Kings compiled his work not earlier than B.C. 588, *i.e.* during the Exile (*Einleitung*, § 53^{3}).

† In speaking of a second Deuteronomic editor (R^{D2}) it is not, of course, intended dogmatically to assert that all passages assigned to such a writer must have flowed from *the same* pen, since it is obvious that more than one Deuteronomist may have had a hand in the revision of Kings. R^{D2} denotes a Deuteronomic redactor *or* redactors of the Bk. of Kings who lived in exilic or post-exilic times.

* The following criticisms upon the narratives of Kings are, in the main, taken, directly or in an abridged form, from the writer's *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Kings*, which is in course of preparation by the Oxford University Press.

3^{4-15} is an ancient narrative, to some extent revised by R$^{\text{D}}$, whose hand may be traced in vv.$^{6. 8a. 12. 14}$ (*phrases* Nos. 2. 3. 8. 9. 57. 60. 63). Probably also v.^{15}, at least in its present form, is due to R$^{\text{n}}$, since if according to v.^{4} '*the* great high place' was at Gibeon, it is difficult to understand why Solomon should have returned to Jerusalem to offer sacrifice, except from the Deuteronomic standpoint. The phrase 'ark of the covenant of J″' is mainly a D expression. 3^{16-28} is an old narrative in its original form.

4^{1-19}, which gives a list of Solomon's officers of state, may be supposed to be derived from 'the book of the annals of Solomon.'

The list has received one later addition, viz. v.^{4b}. The statement that 'Zadok and Abiathar were priests' is no part of the register in its original form as an official state document. This naturally headed the list with the name of the high priest of the time, Azariah, the son of Zadok. The insertion was made by R$^{\text{n}}$ or by someone still earlier, who wished, as a matter of historical interest, to notice that Zadok and Abiathar were priests at the commencement of the reign. It is noticeable that in this case only is there omission of the *name of the father* of any official. The sentence at the end of v.^{19} should be emended, after Klostermann, וְנָצִיב אֶחָד עַל כָּל־הַנִּצָּבִים אֲשֶׁר בָּאָרֶץ 'and one officer was over all the officers who were in the land,' the allusion being to Azariah of v.^{5}.

4^{20-34} (Heb. 4^{20}–5^{14}) appears in LXX (B, Luc.) in a form somewhat different from MT. $4^{20. 21. 25. 26}$ and part of v.^{24} ('from Tiphsah . . . the river') do not appear, but are to be found in the addition at the end of ch. 2^{46}. At the close of 4^{19} the text continues in the following order:—vv.$^{27. 28. 22-24. 29-34}$, after which follow ch. 3^1, ch. $9^{16. 17a}$. Thus the commencement of v.^{27} 'And these officers provided,' etc. (וְכִלְכְּלוּ הַנִּצָּבִים הָאֵלֶּה וגו׳, not, as RV, 'and *those* officers,' etc.), hinges directly on to the section 4^{7-19}, which enumerates the officers and their respective districts. This explains הָאֵלֶּה '*these*' of v.^{27}, which is otherwise anomalous. There can be no question that the text of the section as preserved by LXX is complete in itself, and bears the stamp of originality rather than the somewhat confused account of MT.

The disturbing factors in MT appear to have been vv.$^{20. 21. 25}$.* These, which contain no very precise information, were added probably not from a written source, but from oral tradition, by a post-exilic scribe, who desired reference to the happy times under Solomon's golden age. The insertion led to the dislocation of vv.$^{27. 28}$, causing them to be placed after vv.$^{22. 23. 24}$. Probably the same hand excerpted the notice about Pharaoh's daughter and her dowry from its true position after v.^{34}, dividing it and placing part at the beginning of ch. 3 (for the reason given above, $3^{2. 3}$), and part as a sequel to the mention of Gezer in ch. 9^{15}.

5^1–7^{51} (Heb. 5^{15}–7^{51}).† The main document, represented by chs. 6. 7, appears to have been one, and was probably derived from the *temple archives*. 5^{3-5} has been amplified by R$^{\text{n}}$ upon the lines of 2 S 7 (*phrases*, Nos. 10, 62). In 5^{12} the idea and phrase 'as he promised him' (כַּאֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר־לוֹ) are Deuteronomic,‡ and thus the first half of this verse ought probably to be assigned to R$^{\text{n}}$.

In 5^{15-18} the relationship of the 70,000+80,000 workmen to the 30,000 of $5^{13. 14}$ is obscure,§ and probably points to a difference of source. So Ewald and Stade; the latter noticing that הלבנון 'the Lebanon,' of v.^{14}, is in v.^{15} called ההר 'the mountain.'

The narrative of 6. 7 has been much worked over in post-exilic times. In 6^1 the exact coincidence in length of the period of 480 years from the Exodus to the commencement of Solomon's temple, with the period which extends from this latter point to the return from the Exile, is scarcely accidental, and marks the verse as a post-exilic insertion. LXX places 6^1 between vv.$^{18. 17a}$ of 5, into which position it has probably crept from the margin. In its place we have $6^{37. 38a}$, which give the date of laying the foundation of the temple and of its completion. This position for these latter verses is accepted by Wellhausen (*Composition*, p. 267), though not by Stade. 6^7 intrudes itself very awkwardly into the midst of the account of the side chambers, and, if forming a part of the original description, must, at any rate, be out of place. In 6^{8a} read, with LXX (B, Luc.), Targ. הַתַּחְתֹּנָה 'the lowest,' in place of הַתִּיכֹנָה 'the middle.' 6^9 (omitting גבים ושדרת, with B, Luc.) ought to follow 6^{10}.

6^{11-14}, which is omitted by LXX, is not, as is generally assumed by critics, the work of R$^{\text{n}}$, but is due to a post-exilic editor, who shows acquaintance with the Law of Holiness (H) and the Priestly code (P). The section contains some D phrases, such as could, and did, pass from D into P, but other expressions belong solely to P or to H. V.^{14} is by the same hand as vv.$^{11-13}$, v.^{9a} being repeated in order to round off the interpolation and attach it to the preceding narrative. The following special marks of authorship should be noticed:—

V.^{12} אִם־תֵּלֵךְ בְּחֻקֹּתַי *If thou wilt walk in my statutes.* Never in Dt; twice in Jer $44^{10. 23}$. In H, Lv 26^3 (cf. 18^4), and constantly in Ezk (whose connexion with H is well ascertained; Driver, *LOT*^{8} p. 49 ff.) $5^{6. 7}$ 11^{20} $18^{9. 17}$ $20^{13. 16. 19. 21}$.† Cf. the phrase הָלַךְ בְּחֻקּוֹת הַגּוֹיִם *walk in the statutes of the nations*, Lv 18^3 20^{23} (H).

וְאֶת־מִשְׁפָּטַי תַּעֲשֶׂה *and wilt execute my judgments.* The exact phrase (with J″ as spokesman—*my judgments*) belongs to H; Lv 18^4, Ezk 5^7 11^{12} 18^{17} 20^{24}, 1 Ch 28^7. In 1 K 11^{33b} the passage belongs to R$^{\text{n}}$, but the words וְחֻקֹּתַי וּמִשְׁפָּטַי are an exilic insertion, as is shown by their omission in LXX. Even with מִשְׁפָּטָיו *his judgments*, הַמִּשְׁפָּטִים *the judgments*, the phrase is not specially characteristic of Dt;* 26^{16} 33^{21} (blessing of Moses in Appendix); elsewhere Neh 10^{29}. Similar H phrases are found in Lv 18^5, Ezk $20^{11. 13. 21}$, Lv 19^{37} 20^{22} 25^{18}, Ezk 11^{20} 20^{19} 36^{27}.

לָלֶכֶת בָּהֶם *to walk in them* (*the judgments*). So exactly only in Lv 18^4 (H). D's phrase is לָלֶכֶת בִּדְרָכֵי י׳ 'to walk in *the ways* of J″.'

V.^{13} וְשָׁכַנְתִּי בְּתוֹךְ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל *And I will dwell in the midst of the children of Israel.* Very distinctive of P; Ex 25^8 29^{45}, Nu 5^3 35^{34}, Ezk 43^9. No occurrences in D. With the whole verse cf. Lv $26^{11. 12}$ (H).

6^{15-22}, which gives an account of the interior of the building, has been much corrupted by later glosses. Thus in v.^{16} לְקֹדֶשׁ הַקֳּדָשִׁים 'for the most holy place,' a phrase which belongs to P, has been added to explain לִדְבִיר 'for an adytum.' Other more serious interpolations (omitted in LXX) are הוּא הַהֵיכָל, 'that is, the temple,' in v.^{17}, vv.$^{18. 21}$ (except last 4 words in Heb.) 22^{b}. In vv.$^{15. 16}$ emend קוֹרוֹת הַסִּפֻּן '*rafters* of the ceiling,' הַקּוֹרוֹת 'the rafters,' with LXX (B, Luc.), Vulg., Pesh. in place of קירות הספן, הקירות. V.^{19} is probably due to R$^{\text{n}}$ (notice the phrase 'ark of the covenant of J″'). By its omission we are able, with a slight emendation, to plausibly restore the original statement of vv.$^{17. 20a}$ 'And 40 cubits was the house before the adytum. And the adytum was 20 cubits long, and 20 cubits broad, and 20 cubits high; and he overlaid it with pure gold.' In v.^{20b} we may emend (with LXX, B, Luc.) וַיַּעַשׂ for וַיְצַף, and thus, with the last 4 words of v.^{21}, we read, 'and he made an altar of cedar wood before the adytum, and overlaid it with gold.' Stade would omit all references to the use of gold-plating or gilding in Solomon's temple, but in so doing he appears to go further than is warranted by the state of the text.†

---

* 4^{26} properly belongs to ch. 10, where it occurs in LXX (B, Luc.) in connexion with v.^{26}.

† Upon the text of this section Stade's article, 'Der Text des Berichtes über Salomos Bauten,' *ZATW*, 1883, p. 129 ff., is most invaluable.

‡ Cf. Dt 1^{21} 6^3 9^3 *al.* Driver (*Comm. on Deut.* lxxxi) cites from D fifteen occurrences of כאשר דבר (ל) י׳, besides instances from the compiler of Judges and Joshua.

§ According to 2 Ch $2^{16. 17}$ the former consisted of 'the strangers that were in the land of Israel.' Of this difference, however, there is no hint in the text of Kings.

* D's usual phrases are שָׁמַר מִשְׁפָּטִים לַעֲשׂוֹת *observe judgments to do them*; 5^1 7^{11} 11^{32} 12^1, 2 K 17^{37} לִמֵּד מִשְׁפָּטִים לַעֲשׂוֹת *teach (someone else) judgments to do them*; $4^{1. 5. 14}$ 6^1.

† Cf. the writer's *Notes on the Hebrew Text of Kings*, p. 73 f.

6$^{23-28}$ runs smoothly when, following the clever suggestion of Stade, v.^{26} is inserted between v.^{23a} and v.^{23b}.

6$^{29.30}$ (omitted in LXX) is a gloss. V.^{29} is clearly by the same hand as v.^{18}, and v.^{30} is redundant after ^{22a}, and also out of place.

6$^{32.35}$ may also readily be recognized as due to the author of vv.$^{18.29}$. Notice the late usage of the perf. with weak ו, וְקִלַּע, וְצִפָּה.

6^{33b} is rendered intelligible by the emendation מְזוּזוֹת רְבֻעוֹת 'doorposts standing foursquare,' after LXX (B, Luc.)

7$^{1-12}$, the account of Solomon's further activity as a builder, appears to be free from later interpolation, doubtless because it did not possess so great an interest for post-exilic times as did the description of the first temple.

In v.^{2b} read 'three' (B, Luc.) for 'four,' in agreement with the statement of v.^{3};* v.^{5b} וּמוּל פֶּתַח אֶל־פֶּתַח 'and door was over against door' (partly following B, Luc.), instead of 'and light was over against light,' a statement already made in v.^{4b}; v.^{7b} עַד־הַקּוֹרוֹת 'to the rafters' (Vulg., Pesh.), in place of עַד־הַקַּרְקַע; v.^{9b} וּמֵחֲצַר בֵּית י׳ 'and from the court of the house of J″' (cf. v.^{12}), for וּמִחוּץ rendered by RV 'and so on the outside.'

7$^{15-22}$ has been much mutilated and obscured by glosses. These were added for the purpose of describing the 'wreaths of chain-work' (גְּדִלִים מַעֲשֵׂה שַׁרְשְׁרוֹת) and the 'lily work' (מַעֲשֵׂה שׁוּשָׁן), of which there appears to have been no mention in the original account; cf. the summary vv.$^{41.42}$. The glosses are v.^{17a} (down to שַׁרְשְׁרוֹת) in its present form, vv.$^{19.20a.22}$. The original description may be restored by the aid of LXX.

In 7^{24} read שְׁלֹשִׁים בָּאַמָּה 'for 30 cubits,' in place of 'for 10 cubits.'

7$^{27-37}$ is in a very disordered condition, and but little help in reconstruction can be obtained from the Versions. Stade's rearrangement and emendation is well worthy of notice. He distinguishes between two parts of the carriages of the lavers: the מְכוֹנָה *the movable base* 4 cubits in height, mounted upon wheels of 1½ cubits in diameter, and the מַעֲשֵׂה־כֵן *the pedestal*, 1½ cubits high, fitted on to the top of the מְכוֹנָה and containing the socket in which the laver was placed.

7$^{38-45}$ is substantially correct as it stands in MT (read הַסִּירוֹת 'the pots,' in v.^{40a} after LXX, Vulg., in place of הַכִּיֹּרוֹת 'the lavers').

7$^{46-51}$ is somewhat disordered. The vv.$^{48b-50}$, which describe, or rather summarize, the making of *golden* vessels by Ḥiram, are to be regarded as a later gloss. The remainder should take the following order: v.^{47} (emending the first half verse, after LXX B, אֵין מִשְׁקָל לַנְּחֹשֶׁת אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה אֶת־כָּל־הַכֵּלִים הָאֵלֶּה מֵרֹב מְאֹד מְאֹד 'There was no weight to the brass wherewith he made all these vessels, because it was exceeding much'), v.^{46}, v.^{48a} (emending, with LXX, Luc., וַיִּתֵּן ש׳ 'and S. placed,' instead of וַיַּעַשׂ ש׳ 'and S. made'), v.^{51}.

8$^{1-13}$, the dedication of the temple, is an old narrative revised by later hands under the influence of P. In LXX vv.$^{1-5}$ appear in a much shorter form, which shows no trace of abridgment, and certainly presents substantially the original account as it left the hand of R^{n}.

The phrases of P to be noticed are—v.^{1} 'all the heads of the tribes, the princes of the fathers'; v.^{4b} the distinction between the priests and the Levites (contrast in the original account vv.$^{3.6.10.11}$ where the priests alone are mentioned); v.^{5} עֲדַת יִשְׂרָאֵל 'the congregation of Israel,' and the verb הַנּוֹעָדִים 'that were assembled,' used in a ceremonial connexion. Beside these we find, in LXX as in MT, v.^{4a} the phrase אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד 'the tent of meeting,' mainly characteristic of P, and perhaps here substituted for an original הָאֹהֶל 'the tent' (cf. ch 1^{39}); v.^{6} קֹדֶשׁ הַקֳּדָשִׁים 'the most holy place' (cf. above on 6^{16}); and vv.$^{8.10}$ הַקֹּדֶשׁ 'the holy place,' *i.e.* the outer room of the temple, called הַהֵיכָל in 6$^{17.33}$ 7^{21}. The hand of R^{n} may be seen in the phrase 'ark of the covenant of J″' vv.$^{1.6}$, in v.^{8b} (see above, *date*), and probably in v.^{9b}.

The two vv.$^{12.13}$ are found in LXX (*after* the section vv.$^{14-53}$) in a fuller form than in MT, which, as is shown by Wellhausen (*Composition*, p. 271), presupposes, after the correction of a few translator's errors, a text substantially superior to MT. The addition at the close, which points to an original text, 'is it not written in the Book of the Upright,' must also be regarded as genuine.

8$^{14-66}$ presents throughout clear indications that it owes its present form to R^{D} (*phrases*, Nos. 2, 3, 6–8, 11–26, 28, 50, 60–62, 64, 65). The final portion (vv.$^{62-66}$) may perhaps exhibit an older narrative into which Deuteronomic additions have been incorporated, but the remainder, and especially the central prayer of dedication, has been so thoroughly amplified by the editor that it is impossible to discover any older kernel upon which he may have based his work. The choice of subjects in the successive divisions of the prayer seems for the most part to have been suggested by the catalogue of curses contained in Dt 28$^{15-68}$;—cf. v.^{33} 'When thy people Israel be smitten down before the enemy,' with Dt 28^{25}; v.^{35} 'When heaven is shut up, and there is no rain,' with 28$^{23.24}$; v.^{37} 'pestilence,' with 28^{21}; 'blasting, mildew,' with 28^{22}; 'locust, caterpillar,' with 28$^{38.39.42}$; 'if the enemy besiege,' etc., with 28$^{49ff.}$ (especially v.^{52}); 'whatsoever plague, whatsoever sickness,' with 28$^{22.27.35.59-61}$; v.^{46} 'If they sin against thee . . . and thou deliver them to the enemy, so that they carry them captive,' etc., with 28$^{36.37.64-68}$.

The division of the prayer vv.$^{46-49}$, which brings forward the possibility of a general captivity of Israel in punishment for sins, is considered by Wellhausen (*Composition*, p. 270), Stade (*Geschichte*, i. p. 74), Kamphausen (in Kautzsch, *Die Heilige Schrift*) to be marked by its contents as not earlier than the Exile, and therefore later than R^{D}.* Against this view may justly be cited the vagueness of the terms of v.^{46} 'so that they carry them away captive unto the land of the enemy, far off or near,' and the fact that the writer (v.^{48}) appears to regard the temple as still standing during the period of the Exile: 'and pray unto thee towards their land . . . the city which thou hast chosen, and the house which I have built for thy name.' But the chief argument for the pre-exilic date of the passage is to be derived from comparison of Dt 28, which, as has been noticed, forms to some extent the model of the prayer. This ch. 28 is regarded by all critics as being, if not an integral portion of D (chs. 5–26),† at least closely akin to D in standpoint and date, and thus certainly pre-exilic. Yet, notwithstanding, vv.$^{36.37.64-68}$ threaten a captivity of the nation in language decidedly more definite than that of the passage of the prayer which has been called in question. We may therefore be content to regard these verses as containing nothing necessarily opposed to the supposition of a pre-exilic authorship, and so, as of one piece with the whole, vv.$^{22-53}$.‡

9$^{1-9}$, the account of Solomon's second vision, is coloured throughout by the phraseology of R^{D} (*phrases*, Nos. 3, 28, 29, 30, 51, 52, 57, 60, 61). Owing to the terms in which this section speaks of the exile of Israel and the destruction of the temple (vv.$^{7-9}$§), it is regarded by Kuenen, Wellhausen, Stade, and Kamphausen as the work of R^{D2} in exilic times. Such a conclusion, however, is by no means inevitable. The terms of v.^{3} (see above, *date*) go quite as far to prove a pre-exilic position as do the words of vv.$^{6-9}$ to argue a post-exilic point of view; nor are the terms of these latter verses so definite as to preclude the opinion that they were penned by R^{D} *cir.* B.C. 600 (see above on 8$^{46-49}$). If vv.$^{7-9}$ *do* imply an exilic standpoint, vv.$^{6-9}$ (and not the whole section) will belong to R^{D2}, vv.$^{1-5}$ to R^{D}.

---

* אַרְבָּעִים וַחֲמִשָּׁה חֲמִשָּׁה עָשָׂר הַטּוּר 'forty and five, fifteen in a row,' can refer only to הָעַמּוּדִים 'the pillars,' and not, as RV, to הַצְּלָעוֹת (fem.).

* Wellhausen and Stade seem to regard these verses as determining the exilic date of the whole section, vv.$^{19-66}$. Kamphausen assigns vv.$^{44-53}$ to D^{2}.

† Cf. Kuenen, *Hexateuch*, § 7^{21}; Driver, *Deuteronomy*, p. 303 f.

‡ Cf. Kuenen, *Onderzoek*, § 26^{5}.

§ Especially v.^{8}, where עֶלְיוֹן must be emended עִיִּים (cf. Mic 3^{12} ‖ Jer 26^{18}, Ps 79^{1}) 'and this house shall be *ruinous heaps*.'

9^{10}–10^{29} consists mainly of a series of short notices drawn from the same sources as chs. 4. 5 (Heb. 4–5^{14}). The originals appear to have been cut up and pieced together with no great skill; but whether the arrangement throughout is due to R^{D}, or later hands have employed themselves in altering the sequence of the narrative, is not clear. In LXX (B, Luc.) the arrangement is somewhat different, but scarcely superior, to that of MT.

One single original document appears to be represented by 9$^{10. 17. 18. 19. 15. 20. 21. 22. 23}$, and these verses may very well have originally taken this order, the completion of Solomon's building operations being first narrated, and then followed by an account of the forced levy raised to carry out these works. After v.^{23} there probably followed in the original a list of the *names* of the chief officers (שָׂרֵי הַנִּצָּבִים). The statement of v.^{24b} connected by R^{D} to v.^{24b} by the particle אָז 'then,' is probably from the same document. Next to the account of the king's building activity—his most important work, there would naturally follow mention of his achievement next in importance—the provision of an efficient shipping for the increase of his wealth from external sources. This succeeds in 9$^{26-28}$ 10^{11}. But reference to the ships naturally leads up to mention of the imports introduced by their means, as we see in 9^{28} 10^{11}, and the use to which these rare and valuable materials were put. Thus there follows 10$^{12. 14-22}$. The general subject of imports suggests allusion to a specially important item—horses from Egypt, apparently first introduced into the kingdom in any considerable numbers by Solomon, 10$^{26.* 28. 29}$.

Thus the disturbing factors introduced into this main account are seen to be 9$^{11-13. 14. 16. 24a. 25}$, 10$^{1-10. 13. 23-25. 27}$. Notice in 9$^{11. 16. 24}$ the awkward pluperfects pointed by the order—subject preceding verb, פַּרְעֹה מֶלֶךְ־מִצְרַיִם עָלָה, חִירָם מֶלֶךְ־צֹר נָשָׂא אֶת־שׁ׳, אַךְ בַּת־פַּרְעֹה עָלְתָה, and marking the passages as mere *excerpts* from sources which, in describing a regular sequence of events, must have read וַתַּעַל בַּת־פַּרְעֹה, וַיַּעַל פַּרְעֹה, וַיִּנָּשֵׂא חִירָם. In v.^{11b} אָז יִתֵּן וג׳ cannot represent the apodosis of v.^{10}, since אָז used in this connexion (in place of ו *consecutive*) would be quite without analogy. Moreover, even if v.^{11b} *could* form the apodosis, the parenthesis v.^{11a} would come in with very great awkwardness. V.^{18} has already, with 3^{1}, been referred to its true position after 4^{34} (Heb. 5^{14}). From the same source would seem to be derived v.^{24a}, while v.^{25}, though clearly alien to its immediate context, cannot definitely be assigned to any special source. 10$^{1-10. 13}$ is an ancient narrative introduced at this point to illustrate Solomon's wealth and wisdom, much in the same way as 3$^{16-28}$ serves to depict his discernment in judgment; and the two stories may very possibly be derived from the same source. Finally, 10$^{23-25. 27}$, couched in vague and generalizing language, are probably relatively late in origin, and are here introduced to give the finishing touch to the picture of Solomon's prosperity.

11$^{1-13}$, in its present form, is coloured by the hand of R^{D} (*phrases*, Nos. 3, 27, 29, 31–33, 35, 36, 57, 58, 65). The view that the latter portion of this section is not earlier than the Exile (R^{D2}; so Kuenen vv.$^{9-13}$, Kamphausen, vv.$^{9. 10}$) is based upon the words of v.^{9} 'who had appeared unto him twice,' and presupposes that the narrative of the second vision, ch. 9$^{1-9}$, comes from the hand of R^{D2}; but upon this opinion see *ad loc.* On the other hand, the fact that vv.$^{11-13}$ speak of a division of the kingdom but make no mention of an exile, favours their pre-exilic authorship. 11$^{1-8}$ appears in LXX in a somewhat differently arranged and briefer form, which is, in the main, correct.†

11$^{14-22}$ seems, as it now stands, to be somewhat confused. Hadad, though but 'a little lad' at the time of his flight into Egypt, at once finds favour with Pharaoh, and receives from him a house, an allowance, and land. He then, in spite of his extreme youth, marries the sister of Pharaoh's queen, Tahpenes, and his son Genubath is brought up in the palace with Pharaoh's sons. The form Adad (אֲדַד) of v.^{17a}, as a variation of Hadad (הֲדַד), creates further suspicion as to the integrity of the narrative.

H. Winckler (*Alttest. Untersuchungen*, 1–6) very skilfully distinguishes and reconstructs two narratives which have been interwoven. The one speaks of an *Edomite* Hadad, who, as a child, is carried into Egypt by his father's servant, and brought up by Pharaoh's queen. The other makes Adad a *Midianite* prince, who flees with his adherents into Egypt, taking with him certain Edomites from Paran, and is well received by Pharaoh, who gives him for wife the sister of his queen. A son, Genubath, is born to him, but of his fate we are not informed.

In 11$^{23-25}$ of MT the short account of Rezon appears to have assumed its present position at the hands of a later reviser of the text. LXX (B, Luc.) omits vv.$^{23-25a}$ (down to 'all the days of Solomon'), and then, in place of the impossible MT, presupposes a text זֹאת הָרָעָה אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה הֲדַד וַיָּקָץ בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל וַיִּמְלֹךְ עַל־אֱדֹם 'This is the evil which Hadad did; and he abhorred Israel, and reigned over Edom.' This seems to be correct both in reading and position, referring as it does the latter part of v.^{25} to Hadad, and adding the necessary summary as to his relationship to Solomon. The definiteness, however, of the statement, 'This is the evil,' suggests that in the original narrative some explicit account of Hadad's aggressions must have intervened after v.^{22}.

The short reference to Rezon, thus omitted by LXX, has been inserted between v.^{14a} and v.^{14b}; but clearly by a later hand. So placed, it breaks the connexion of the Hadad story, and necessitates the resumption καὶ Ἀδὲρ ὁ Ἰδουμαῖος, v.^{14b}, repeated from v.^{14a}. The notice is ancient and genuine, but its original position cannot now be accurately determined.

11$^{26-40}$ seems to have originally formed part of a history of Jeroboam, and perhaps belongs to the same source as 12$^{1-19}$ 14$^{1-18}$. As the narrative stands in Kings it has probably undergone some abbreviation at the commencement, in order to fit it on to the preceding account of Solomon's 'adversaries.' Notice the summary form of the introduction v.^{26} and the phrase of R^{D} 'at that time' (בָּעֵת הַהִיא) v.^{29}. Vv.$^{31-39}$ show signs of expansion at the hands of the editor (*phrases*, Nos. 2, 3, 11, 27, 28, 34, 38, 57–59).

Not improbably the speech has received some few later additions. In v.^{33} וְחֻקֹּתַי וּמִשְׁפָּטַי 'and my statutes and my judgments,' is wanting in LXX, and the use of these terms after לַעֲשׂוֹת 'to execute' rather than לִשְׁמֹר 'to keep' being characteristic of H (see on 6^{12}), the two words may reasonably be suspected to be a later insertion. LXX also omits אֲשֶׁר שָׁמַר מִצְוֺתַי וְחֻקֹּתַי 'who kept my commandments and my statutes,' at the end of v.^{34}, and, though the phrase is Deuteronomic, yet the repeated אֲשֶׁר has something of the awkward ring of an interpolation. The omission of the close of the speech by LXX (end of v.^{38} 'and I will give thee Israel'; v.^{39}), taken in connexion with the reference of v.^{39}—the affliction of the seed of David, but not for ever—suggests that this also may be an addition of exilic or post-exilic times; though, as Kuenen points out, the statement of v.^{39} *need* not imply an exilic standpoint; cf. 2 S 7^{14b}. The use of the imperfect with weak ו (ואענה) is perhaps another mark of the late hand.

After the account of the disruption of the kingdom (1 K 12), the composition of the narrative takes the form indicated above in dealing with the editor's *method*. Into the framework of the history, constructed by the editor, are embedded—

(i.) Short notices which give an *epitome* of historical events. These have reference to both the N. and S. kingdoms, and were no doubt generally, if not in every case, extracted by R^{D} from the two books of 'Annals' to which he so constantly makes reference. From the character of this narrative it is to be inferred that R^{D} made use of just so much of his sources as was necessary to form an outline sketch of the history, often summarizing in a few words matter which lay before him in greater detail; cf. the recurring phrase 'and there was war between M. and N. continually,' I 14^{30} 5$^{6. 16. 32}$, and also the brief passing reference to wars in I 14^{19} 22^{45} (^{46} Heb.), II 13^{12} 14$^{15. 28}$.

To this epitome are to be assigned I 14^{21}–16^{34} 22$^{41-53}$, II 8$^{16-29}$ 10$^{32-36}$ 12^{17} (Heb. ^{18})–13^{13} 13^{22}–17^{6} (except 14$^{8-14}$ 16$^{10-18}$).

---

* This verse originally stood in combination with 4^{26} (Heb. 5^{6}); see on 4$^{20-34}$.

† Notice especially in v.^{8b} the text of Luc. ἐθυμία καὶ ἔθυε, *i.e.* מַקְטִיר וּמְזַבֵּחַ וג׳ in place of מַקְטִירוֹת וּמְזַבְּחוֹת. *Solomon himself* burnt incense and sacrificed to the strange gods, but this fact has been toned down by some later hand into the statement of MT. Syntax, however, has suffered in the process (we should expect at least הַמַּקְטִירוֹת וְהַמְזַבְּחוֹת).

(ii.) Lengthy narratives, generally incorporated in their original form, and exhibiting only here and there the marks of R^D's hand, chiefly in the expansion of speeches. These are in most cases, as is clear from their religious tone, the work of prophetical writers. In some cases, however, the narratives have to do with the affairs of the temple and its priesthood, and exhibit such a minuteness and apparent accuracy of detail that they must be regarded as due to priestly hands, and were probably derived from the temple archives. These are II 11^{1-20} 12^{4-15} ($^{5-17}$ Heb.) 16^{10-16} 22^{3}–23^{24}.

12^{1-24}. In this narrative vv.$^{15.\ 17.\ 21-24}$ appear to be additions of a later hand. V.^{15}, with its reference to the prediction of Ahijah, probably presupposes $11^{31\text{ff.}}$ in its present form, and must in this case be due to R^D. Vv.$^{21-24}$, standing in close connexion with v.^{15} (cf. v.^{15} 'for it was a thing brought about of J″,' v.^{24} 'for this thing is of me'), give a Judaic turn to the originally impartial narrative of vv.$^{1-20}$, and are scarcely consistent with the statement of 14^{30}, which is based upon the contemporary 'Annals.' Notice further, that while v.^{20} speaks only of the tribe of Judah, vv.$^{21.\ 23}$ are careful to make reference also to the tribe of Benjamin. V.^{17}, which stands in an awkward position, and is absent from LXX, is probably a later gloss, though not by the same hand as vv.$^{15.\ 21-24}$, since it makes no reference to Benjamin.

12^{26-33}. Judging by the stress which R^D lays upon Jeroboam's cult of the calves as the cause of all subsequent deflection of Israel from the pure worship of J″ (*phrases*, No. 56), it is probable that this narrative has obtained its present *casting* at his hands, though there is no reason hence to infer that any detail of *fact* is underived from the older source. Kuenen (*Onderzoek*, § 25^4) observes justly, 'Jeroboam's measures with reference to the worship must already have been related in older narratives, but it is only natural that the Redactor, when dealing with a matter which so specially excited his interest, should not fail to set before us his own construction and his own verdict.' Vv.$^{32.\ 33}$ serve to introduce the story of ch. 13.

13^{1-32}. The style of the language in this narrative shows traces of decadence:—cf. וְנָתַן perf. with weak ו v.^{3}, צִוָּה אֹתִי, דִּבֶּר לִי vv.$^{9.\ 17}$, apparently first written as passives צֻוֵּיתִי, דֻּבַּר לִי (cf. Wellhausen, *Comp.* p. 280), and perhaps מֹפֵת v.^{7}—and this fact, together with the anachronism 'in the cities of Samaria' v.^{32} (cf. II $17^{24.\ 26}$ 23^{19}), and the non-mention of the names of the principal actors, marks the narrative as being of comparatively late origin. It may be thought to have been a story previously current in the form of oral tradition, and to have assumed a literary form shortly after the event predicted—the destruction of the altar at Bethel—had come about. Notice the precision of the statement 'Josiah by name' v.^{2}. The style is about contemporary with that of the annals of Josiah's reformation, II $23^{1-15.\ 19-24}$, where the perf. with weak ו is used with some frequency: vv.$^{5.\ 8.\ 10.\ 12.\ 14.\ 15}$.

It is, however, by no means to be hence inferred that the story is of the character of a *vaticinium post eventum*. Such a view presupposes that it, together with the notice of II 23^{15-18}, was inserted into Kings subsequently to the redaction of R^D (Wellhausen, *Comp.* p. 280; Kuenen, *Ond.* § 25^4); whereas, on the contrary, ch. $12^{26\text{ff.}}$ appears to have been carefully edited by R^D so as to lead up to the story, and the resumption of the main narrative in $13^{33.\ 34}$, forming a link to 14^{1-20}, constructs of the history a harmonious whole. If the story be merely a very late Judæan fiction, the point of the details as to the disobedience and punishment of the *Judæan* prophet seems to be quite inexplicable.

The narrative of 14^{1-18} * exhibits very clear traces of the hand of R^D in Ahijah's prophecy vv.$^{7-16}$ (*phrases*, Nos. 3, 8, 13, 29, 32, 34, 39, 54, 56, 57, 66–70), with which should be compared the prophecies of Jehu son of Hanani against Baasha 16^{1-4}, of Elijah against Ahab 21^{20-24}, and of the young prophet against the house of Ahab II 9^{6-10}.

Narratives of the Northern Kingdom.—I 17–19. 20. 21. 22^{1-38}, II $1^{2-17a\alpha}$ $2^{1-18.\ 19-22.\ 23-25}$ 3^{4-27} $4^{1-7.\ 8-37.\ 38-41.\ 42-44}$ 5. $6^{1-7.\ 8-23.\ 24-33}$ 7. $8^{1-6.\ 7-15}$ 9^{1}–10^{28} $13^{14-19.\ 20.\ 21}$ (14^{8-14}). This great group consists of narratives dealing with the affairs of the kingdom of Israel. The stories are in most cases of some length, their high descriptive power and sympathetic feeling indicating that they have their origin in the kingdom to which they relate; and this conclusion is substantiated by such touches as 'Beer-sheba which belongeth to Judah' I 19^{3}, 'at Beth-shemesh which belongeth to Judah' II 14^{11}. No blame is anywhere attached to the calf-worship of Bethel and Dan, the efforts of Elijah and his successor being wholly directed to the rooting out of the foreign cult of the Tyrian Ba'al.

Certain peculiarities of diction probably belong to the dialect of North Palestine.

The following may be noticed:—

Suffix 2 f. sing. ־ֵכִי, pl. ־ַיְכִי; *Kĕthîbh* II 4^{2} לָכִי, ^{3} שְׁכֵנָיְכִי, ^{7} בָּנַיְכִי, נִשְׁיֵכִי. Elsewhere sing. Ca 2^{3}, Ps $103^{3.\ 4}$, Jer 11^{15} (text corrupt), pl. Ps $103^{3.\ 4.\ 5}$ 116^{7}. Cf. Syriac suff. 2 f. sing. ـܟܝ—, pl. ـܟܝܢ—.

Personal pronoun 2 f. sing. *Kĕthîbh* אַתִּי:—II $4^{16.\ 23}$ 8^{1}. Elsewhere Jg 17^{2}, Jer 4^{30}, Ezk 36^{13} †. Cf. Syriac ܐܢ̱ܬܝ. So probably *Kĕthîbh* הָלַכְתִּי II 4^{23} stands for הָלַכְתְּ אַתִּי, as in Syr. ܩܛܠܬܝ for ܐܢ̱ܬܝ ܩܛܠܬ (Duval, *Gramm. Syr.* p. 174 f.).

Demonstrative pronoun f. זֹה II 6^{19}. Cf. Aramaic דָּא.

Infin. constr. verb ל״ה with suff. בְּהִשְׁתַּחֲוָיָתִי II 5^{18}, perhaps presupposing form without suff. הִשְׁתַּחֲוָיָה with termination as in Aram. (cf. Dalman, *Gramm. Jüd.-Pal. Aram.* p. 289 f.).

Relative שֶׁל in מִשֶּׁלָּנוּ (if not a textual error) II 6^{11}. So Jg 5^{7} (N. Palestine) 6^{17} 7^{12} 8^{26} (probably Ephraimitic), and uniformly in Ca (exc. title 1^{1}). Elsewhere only in exilic or post-exilic writings. In Phœnician the relative is אש with prosthetic א.

Preservation of ה of article after prep. ב: II 7^{12} בְּהַשָּׂדֶה.

Kĕthîbh אֵיכֹה = *where?* II 6^{13}. Elsewhere only Ca 1^{7} *bis*. Cf. Aram. אֵיכָא, ܐܝܟܐ. עֲד־הֵם, עַד־אֲלֵיהֶם II $9^{18.\ 20}$.

Construction with the suff. pronoun anticipating object (akin to Syr.): I 19^{21} בִּשְּׁלָם הַבָּשָׂר, 21^{13} וַיְעִדֻהוּ . . . אֶת־נָבוֹת.

Indefinite use of אֶחָד *a certain*: I $19^{4.\ 5}$ 20^{13} 22^{9} (cf. v.^{8}) II 4^{1} 8^{6}; add I 21^{1} after LXX (B, Luc.). Elsewhere only I 13^{11} (perhaps for אַחֵר *another*), Jg 9^{53} 13^{2}, 1 S 1^{1}, 2 S 18^{10}, and late Ezk 1^{15} $8^{7.\ 8}$ etc.

To these may be added a few roots which betray the influence of Aramaic: שָׂפַק I 20^{10}, מְדִינוֹת $20^{14.\ 15.\ 17.\ 19}$ (elsewhere only very late), חֹרִים $21^{8.\ 11}$, הַשְּׁלָה II 4^{28}.

There is also a fair number of ἅπαξ λεγόμενα, some of which take the place of ordinary words, and thus may be dialectical: *e.g.* שִׁנֵּס *gird*, I 18^{46} (for אָזַר, חָגַר), אֲכִילָה *food*, 19^{8} (for אֹכֶל, אָכְלָה, מַאֲכָל); but of others nothing can be affirmed.

The narratives are clearly not all by one author. (i.) Some are histories of Elijah and Elisha, or of movements which they initiated in the direction of religious reform. (ii.) In others the fate of the kingdom is regarded from a political standpoint, and this as determined mainly by the action of the *king*; though here also prophets play an important part as advisers and announcers of the oracle of J″. Thus both classes have a religious colouring or motive, and may equally be regarded as the work of men of prophetic training, perhaps members of the guilds which we see coming into prominence in some of the Elisha stories.

(i.) To the former class belong I 17–19. 21,

---

* Upon the LXX version of this narrative in its relationship to MT, see Winckler, *Alttest. Untersuchungen*, p. 12 ff.; Kittel, *History of the Hebrews*, ii. p. 206 ff.; and the writer's *Notes on the Heb. Text of Kings*, where the whole question of the interrelationship of the two forms of the history of Jeroboam (11^{46}–14^{20}) is discussed at length, pp. 163–169.

II 1$^{2-17a\alpha}$ 2$^{1-18. 19-22. 23-25}$ 4$^{1-7. 8-37. 38-41. 42-44}$ 5. 6$^{1-7}$ 8$^{1-6. 7-15}$ 9^{1}–10^{28} 13$^{14-19. 20. 21}$.

Of these I 17–19 forms a continuous narrative. From the abruptness of v.^{1}, no reason being assigned for Elijah's threat, and no point of connexion existing for 'hence' (מִזֶּה), v.^{3}, it may be inferred that the commencement of the story has been omitted or abbreviated by R$^{\text{D}}$, and the specification 'Elijah the Tishbite, etc.,' thus represents his summary introduction. The sequel also, in strict accordance with 19$^{15. 16}$, is lacking, only one part of J″'s commission being fulfilled, vv.$^{19-21}$.

I 21 is clearly out of place in MT, breaking the connexion between ch. 20 and its sequel ch. 22, and LXX is no doubt correct in placing this narrative immediately after ch. 19. The dislocation may have been due to the desire to bring the prophecy of Ahab's death (21^{19}) nearer to the account of its occurrence (22$^{35\text{ff.}}$), and perhaps in a minor degree to the description of the king's mood as 'chafing and sullen' (סַר וְזָעֵף) in 20^{43} as in 21^{4}. Most critics (Wellhausen, Driver, Kamphausen, Kittel; but Kuenen is uncertain, *Ond.* § 25^{7}) assign I 21 to the same author as I 17–19. Thus Wellhausen cites as points of contact the central position occupied by Elijah, his eagle-like swoop upon Ahab at the right moment, and the formulæ וַיְהִי אַחַר הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה 'and it came to pass after these things' 21^{1} (but cf. LXX) as 17^{17}, וַיְהִי דְבַר י׳ אֶל־א׳ 'And the word of J″ came to E.' 21^{17} as וּדְבַר י׳ הָיָה אֶל־א׳ 18^{1}.

On the other hand, it may be maintained that Elijah is not really the central figure as in I 17–19. He does not appear upon the scene until v.^{17}, and then takes scarcely a more conspicuous position than Micaiah in 22$^{8\text{ff.}}$. The king and his action form the centre of interest both at the beginning and end of the narrative. Further, Kuenen notices the absence of any reference in 21 to 17–19, and *vice versâ*, the murder of Naboth forming the single crime of Ahab and Jezebel in the one story, while in the other the sole pivot is the struggle between J″ and Ba'al. This, however, is a point of slight moment, and no definite conclusion can be reached as to the relative authorship of the two sections.

More important is the question of the connexion of I 21 with its natural sequel II 9^{1}–10^{28}. Critics generally argue or assume that the latter section is by a different author from the former, and most (Wellhausen, Driver, Kamphausen, Kittel) assign II 9 f. to the writer of I 20. 22, II 3$^{4-27}$ etc. (see below). The argument against identity of authorship of I 21 and II 9 f., as stated by Wellhausen, is based upon the supposed discrepancy in detail. While in I 21 it is the *vineyard* of Naboth which is mentioned, and this is described in v.^{1} as 'hard by the palace of Ahab' (אֵצֶל הֵיכַל אַחְאָב), II 9$^{21-26}$ alludes to the חֶלְקַת נָבוֹת, *i.e.* the *portion* or *estate* of Naboth, which lay outside the city. Again, I 21^{13} records only the death of Naboth, while II 9^{26} speaks also of the blood of his sons as calling for vengeance.

On the other hand, the following considerations clearly make for the unity of the two narratives:—

II 9^{21b}, the meeting of Joram son of Ahab with Jehu actually upon the estate of Naboth is a touch of high dramatic power which demands that the writer should not merely have *known* the story of Naboth (proved by vv.$^{25. 26}$), but should actually have written it down himself as an introduction to the sequel II 9 f. Hence a presumption is created in favour of our Naboth narrative being the story thus written.

The parallels between the prediction I 21$^{19. 23}$ and the fulfilment II 9$^{25. 26. 36}$ cannot be insisted upon, because I 21$^{19\text{ff.}}$ has been largely amplified by R$^{\text{D}}$ (*phrases*, Nos. 32, 39, 43, 44, 54, 67–71), and it is not now possible certainly to determine the original kernel of Elijah's prediction. It should, however, be noticed that the usual method of R$^{\text{D}}$ is to expand rather than to excise, and, if this plan has here prevailed, the original speech must be contained in vv.$^{19. 20. 23b}$. The disagreement in poiuts of fact between I 21 and II 9 proves upon examination to be non-existent. Ahab's dispute with Naboth arose in the first instance about a vineyard adjoining the palace; but this was only a portion of Naboth's estate (חֶלְקָה), the whole of which would lapse to the king, supposing that the family of Naboth became extinct. And I 21^{15}, where Jezebel tells Ahab to go down and take possession of the vineyard, clearly implies the extirpation of the whole family; in the statement 'for Naboth is not alive, but dead,' the name Naboth means Naboth *and his sons*, just as much as in v.^{15} 'thy blood, even thine,' means the blood of Ahab *and his son*.

More decisive, however, is the question of the supposed unity of II 9^{1}–10^{28} with I 20. 22, II 3$^{4-27}$ 6^{8}–7^{20}. If this be granted, the diverse authorship of I 21 and II 9 f. seems necessarily to follow, since I 21 can scarcely be regarded as of one piece with I 20. 22. The place where the dogs lick the blood of Ahab, 22^{38}, is discordant with 21^{19}, and in general the interest of the writer of 20. 22—mainly, if not wholly, political—and his sympathetic feeling for the king of Israel, preclude the supposition that he is also the author of the Naboth story.

Wellhausen cites the following coincidences in phraseology of II 9 f. with I 20. 22, etc.:—חֶדֶר בְּחֶדֶר 'a chamber within a chamber,' II 9^{2}, I 20^{30} 22^{25}; חַכֵּה 'tarry,' II 9^{3} 7^{9}; רֹכֵב הַסּוּס 'horseman,' 9^{18} 7^{14}; * הָפַךְ יָדָיו 'turn the hands,' II 9^{23}, I 22^{34}; תָּפַשׂ חַי 'take alive,' II 10^{14} 7^{12}, I 20^{18}; and the root חרא II 10^{27} 6^{25}. The importance of this collection is, however, open to doubt, since it contains no striking phrase, but only such as might be expected to occur in narratives nearly contemporaneous, and having, in the main, the same subjects in common.

On the other hand, a point of phraseology, apparently hitherto overlooked, sharply separates between II 9 f. and I 20. 22, etc., and seems absolutely to preclude the theory of a common authorship. This is the title which is ordinarily applied to the *king* in the course of the narrative.

I 20. 22, II 3$^{4-27}$ 6^{8}–7^{20} are bound together by the use of a common title. In all, the writer's phrase is '*king of Israel*,' and the proper name of the king, if it occurs at all, is in nearly every case reserved for the necessary specification at the commencement of a section.

II 9, on the other hand, agrees with I 21 in exhibiting a regular preference for the proper name simply, without further title.

The facts are as follow:—

I 20. *Ahab king of Israel*, vv.$^{2. 13}$; *king of Israel* 11 times, viz. vv.$^{4. 7. 11. 21. 22. 28. 31. 32. 40. 41. 43}$; *the king*, vv.$^{38. 39\,bis}$; *Ahab* simply, v.^{14}.

I 22. *King of Israel* 17 times, viz. vv.$^{2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 8. 9. 10. 18. 26. 29. 30\,bis. 31. 32. 33. 34}$; *the king*, vv.$^{15\,bis. 16. 35. 37b}$.

II 3$^{4-27}$. *King of Israel* 8 times, viz. vv.$^{4. 5. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13\,bis}$; *Ahab* simply, v.^{5} (probably from another source); *the king Joram*, v.^{6}.

II 6^{8}–7^{20}. *King of Israel* 7 times, viz. 6$^{8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 21. 26}$; *the king* 10 times, viz. 6$^{28. 30}$ 7$^{2. 6. 12. 14. 15. 17\,bis. 18}$.

II 9. *Joram* or *Jehoram* simply 9 times, viz. vv.$^{14\,bis. 16\,bis. 17. 21. 22. 23. 24}$; once *Jehoram the king*, v.^{15}; and once *Jehoram king of Israel* in direct distinction from 'Ahaziah king of Judah,' v.^{21}; never *king of Israel* simply. The double occurrence of *Joram* in v.^{16} is specially to be noticed, since, on account of the proximity of 'Ahaziah king of Judah,' the specification *king of Israel* might have been expected.

Similarly, in I 21 *Ahab* simply is usual; 9 times (omitting the prophecy vv.$^{21-26}$), viz. vv.$^{2. 3. 4. 8. 15. 16. 20. 27. 29}$. *Ahab king of Samaria*, v.^{1}; *Ahab king of Israel*, v.^{18}.

Now though this agreement in form of reference cannot be pressed to prove *identity* of authorship for I 21 and II 9, any more than can the fact that I 17–19 always speaks of *Ahab* simply, be used to connect this section with I 21, because different writers may easily have employed the same obvious citation of the proper name; yet the fact of the disagreement in form of reference between I 21 and I 20. 22, etc., ought to be emphasized as demonstrating *diversity* of authorship. It is true that in I 20. 22, etc., the general use of *king of Israel* may be explained as prompted to a large extent by contrast to 'king of Syria'; but this does not sufficiently account for the almost total omission of the king's proper name, which would certainly have occurred far more frequently had the author of II 9 been the writer of these narratives. Contrast especially I 22, II 3$^{4-27}$, where (excepting 3^{6}) the names of Ahab and Joram are never mentioned in spite of the close connexion with 'Jehoshaphat king of Judah,' with II 9, where in connexion with 'Ahaziah king of Judah' the usual form of citation is *Joram*, *Jehoram* simply. And, again, notice the use of *the king* simply 5 times in I 22, 10 times in II 6^{8}–7^{20}, where the desire for distinction from 'the king of Syria' cannot have been in the writer's mind, and the occasion might have been suitable for the use of the king's proper name.

---

* In 7^{14} MT vocalizes רֶכֶב סוּסִים, but LXX renders B ἐπιβάτας, Luc. ἀναβάτας, *i.e.* רֹכֵב (or רֹכְבֵי) for רֶכֶב.

By this point, therefore, the diverse authorship of I 20. 22, etc. and II 9 seems to be proved, and this dissociation adds weight to the arguments which have been put forward above in favour of the unity of II 9^{1}–10^{27} with I 21.

II 1$^{2-17a\alpha}$ is out of a different source from the preceding Elijah narratives. This fact is marked by the form of the name אֵלִיָּה vv.$^{3.4.8.12}$, peculiar to this section, and generally by the inferior literary merit of the composition. The story is probably much later than I 17–19, II 21 and its sequel.

II 2$^{1-18}$, Elijah's translation, links itself closely on to some of the longer Elisha narratives which follow, as their introduction; but also might have formed a suitable close to the Elijah history, of which we possess a fragment in I 17–19, if this can be thought to have gone on to embody also a history of Elisha. The following coincidences between the narratives are worthy of notice, and suggest that I 17–19, II 2$^{1-18}$ 4$^{1-37}$, to which we may add II 5, may be the work of one author. In the case of II 8$^{7-15}$ 13$^{14-19}$ the evidence is too slight to build upon.

Elijah.	*Elisha.*
I 17$^{8-24}$. Miraculous provision for the widow of Zarephath during famine, and the raising of her son from death.	II 4$^{1-7}$. Miraculous provision for the wife of one of the sons of the prophets. II 4$^{8-37}$. Raising to life of the son of the Shunammite woman.
I 18^{26} וְאֵין קוֹל וְאֵין עֹנֶה 'and there was nó voice, neither was there any that answered'; v.^{29} וְאֵין קוֹל וְאֵין עֹנֶה וְאֵין קָשֶׁב 'but there was no voice nor any that answered, nor any attention.'	II 4^{31} וְאֵין קוֹל וְאֵין קָשֶׁב 'but there was no voice, nor any attention.'
I 19$^{13.19}$. Mention of Elijah's *mantle* (אַדֶּרֶת).	II 2$^{8.13.14}$ *ib.*
I 18^{42} וַיִּגְהַר אַרְצָה 'and he crouched upon the earth.'	II 4$^{34.35}$ וַיִּגְהַר עָלָיו 'and he crouched upon him.' *
II 2$^{2.4.6}$ חַי י׳ וְחֵי נַפְשְׁךָ אִם־אֶעֶזְבֶךָּ 'as J″ liveth and as thy soul liveth, I will not leave thee.'	II 4^{30} *ib.*
II 2$^{7.15}$ מִנֶּגֶד 'over against.'	II 4^{25} *ib.*
II 2^{17} וַיִּפְצְרוּ־בוֹ עַד־בֹּשׁ 'and they urged him till he was ashamed.'	II 8^{11} וַיָּשֶׂם עַד־בֹּשׁ 'and he set (his countenance upon him) till he was ashamed.'
II 2^{17} אָבִי אָבִי רֶכֶב יִשְׂרָאֵל וּפָרָשָׁיו 'my father, my father, the chariots of Israel and the horses thereof.'	II 13^{14} *ib.*

The short Elisha stories are probably popular tales handed down orally at first, and not put into writing until some considerable time after the longer narratives.

(ii.) The second class includes I 20. 22$^{1-38}$, II 3$^{4-27}$ 6$^{8-23.24-33}$ 7 (14$^{8-14}$).

All these, with the exception of 14$^{8-14}$, deal in the same style with the same subject—Israel's relations with Syria, and may not improbably flow from one hand. Notice especially the close bond of connexion between I 22$^{4.7}$ and II 3$^{7.11}$.

II 14$^{8-14}$, which stands apart from the other narratives, is marked as probably N. Palestinian by its tone, and especially by the reference of v.^{11} 'in Beth-shemesh, which belongeth unto Judah.'

It does not appear that any of the group of N. Palestinian narratives has undergone important *editorial revision*. The fact that the speech of Elijah in I 21$^{19ff.}$ has been amplified by R^{n} has already been noticed. This is also true of the speech of the young prophet who was deputed by Elisha to anoint Jehu, II 9$^{7-10}$. II 3$^{4.5}$, which serves summarily to introduce the succeeding narrative, is probably not of one piece with this latter, but is rather to be assigned to the 'Annals' (cf. II 1^{1}). II 9^{29} belongs to the scheme of R^{n}.

Traces of *later interpolation* are not numerous. In I 18 the reference to the 400 prophets of the Asherah is probably to be regarded, with Wellhausen, as a later insertion. Notice the absence of את before נְבִיאֵי הָאֲשֵׁרָה, and the omission of all mention of such prophets in vv.$^{22.40}$. The insertion seems to exhibit a late confusion of the Asherah with the goddess Ashtoreth (see ASHERAH).

The statement of v.^{31b} in the same narrative looks like a quotation of the exact words of P in Gn 35^{10}; and, if this be the case, vv.$^{31.32a}$, which appear to describe the building of a new altar, will form a later addition to the statement of v.^{30b} which speaks merely of the *repair* (וַיְרַפֵּא) of the old altar of J″. It should not, however, be overlooked that the giving of the name of Israel to Jacob is related also in J (Gn 32^{29}), and that the relationship of 1 K 18^{31b} to the passage of P may be nothing more than an easy verbal coincidence. In this case vv.$^{31.32a}$ may represent a detailed description of that which is first summarily stated in v.^{30b}, much in the same way as Gn 27$^{24-29}$ stands related to Gn 27^{23}.

In the narrative of I 20 the grounds upon which Wellhausen regards the reference to the parts played by anonymous prophets (vv.$^{13.14.22.28.35-43}$) as later additions are inconclusive.*

I 22^{28b}, which is omitted in LXX (B, Luc.), is certainly an interpolation, derived from Mic 1^{1} for the purpose of identifying Micaiah with Micah the Morashtite. The plural עַמִּים regularly denotes 'peoples,' *i.e.* foreign nations generally, and is seldom or never used of Israel.

Very possibly also vv.$^{35b\beta.}$ (from וַיִּצֶק 'and the blood ran out,' etc.)^{38} may not have formed part of the original narrative of Ahab's last battle. In LXX (B, Luc.) v.$^{35b\beta}$ precedes v.$^{35b\alpha}$ 'and he died in the evening.' V^{38}, for which v.$^{35b\beta}$ prepares the way, hinges awkwardly on to the apparent close of the narrative in v.^{34}, and seems to be intended to satisfy the prophecy as to Ahab's death in 21^{19b}, though the scene of the event differs from that of the prediction.

II 17$^{7-18.21-24}$ is the commentary of R^{n} (*phrases*, Nos. 3, 29, 32, 33, 36, 39, 41, 43, 44, 46, 51, 53, 55, 56, 71, 72, and cf. Driver, *LOT*^{6} p. 203) upon the short historical notice 17$^{3-6}$.† Vv.$^{19.20}$ are certainly a later insertion, subsequent to the commencement of the Judæan exile, and due to R^{D2}. The opening of v.^{21} כִּי קָרַע וג׳ '*For* he rent,' etc., clearly refers immediately to the statement of v.^{18} וַיִּתְאַנַּף . . . וַיְסִרֵם 'was very angry . . . and removed them,' but the sequence is destroyed by the interpolation, כִּי v.^{21} being deprived of all point. The whole reference of the section is to the causes which brought about the rejection of the kingdom of *Israel*, no reference being elsewhere made to Judah except in v.^{13}, where וּבִיהוּדָה 'and unto Judah,' is probably by the same hand as vv.$^{19. 20}$.

---

* The verb גהר is not elsewhere found.

* Kuenen (*Ond.* § 25^{10}) agrees with Wellhausen's verdict upon vv.$^{13.14.22.28}$, but inclines to regard vv.$^{35-43}$ as of much greater antiquity, and of a piece with the narrative of ch. 20.

† Possibly composite. Cf. Winckler, *AT Untersuchungen*, 15–25.

Stade (*ZATW* vi. 163 f.) regards 17$^{7-17}$ as an exilic addition, later than R^{D}, upon the grounds that the writer of these verses ascribes Molech-worship (v.^{17a}) and Assyrian star-worship (v.^{16b}) to the Northern kingdom—the abuses which later on were rife in the Southern kingdom under Manasseh (II 21$^{3. 6}$), and also because certain phrases appear to exhibit the influence of Jeremiah; cf. v.^{13} 'Turn ye from your evil ways,' with Jer 18^{11} 25^{5} 35^{15} 36$^{3. 7}$; 'J″ testified,' etc., with Jer 7$^{25ff.}$, 11$^{7ff.}$; v.^{15b} 'and they followed vanity,' etc., with Jer 2^{5}. The reflections embodied in these verses are, however, in strict accordance with R^{D}'s plan which runs throughout his work, as the number of phrases above cited as characteristic of his hand sufficiently shows, nor is it at all unnatural that the editor who worked not many years after Josiah had removed from the kingdom of Judah the foreign abuses of Manasseh's reign, should ascribe the same kind of religious abuses to the kingdom of Israel, side by side with the worship of J″ under the form of a calf. Nor, again, need the phrases above mentioned imply dependence upon the written prophecies of Jeremiah, any more than need other phrases used by R^{D} elsewhere (Nos. 50–55) in common with Jeremiah go to prove that R^{D} and Jeremiah were one and the same person. All that clearly emerges from the fact of such resemblances is that the two writers were members of one prophetic school of thought, *i.e.* the Deuteronomic (cf. Driver, *LOT*^{6} p. 203 at end).

The narrative of II 17$^{24-41}$ is certainly composite. Vv.$^{32. 41}$, in speaking of the races which were settled by the Assyrian king in the cities of Samaria, say that they 'feared J″,' while retaining the worship of their own national deities. In v.^{34}, on the contrary, it is stated with great emphasis that they 'feared not J″.' Again, while vv.$^{24ff.}$ refer exclusively to the *foreign* settlers, and only mention the introduction into their midst of a single priest of Israelitish nationality (v.^{28} אֶחָד מֵהַכֹּהֲנִים), to whom was due their instruction in the worship of J″; vv.$^{34b-40}$ are couched in such terms as can refer only to *Israelites as such*, of however mixed and renegade a strain. Notice especially vv.$^{35. 38}$ the reference to the Deuteronomic covenant; v.^{36} 'J″, who brought you up out of the land of Egypt.'

Thus this latter section must be regarded as a later addition to the narrative of Kings (R^{D2}; *phrases*, Nos. 3, 16, 28, 29, 49), referring probably to the Samaritans of post-exilic times. V.^{40b} rounds off the interpolation by the repetition of v.^{34a}, the statement of the older narrative to which the later writer attaches his addition. Vv.$^{24-34b. 41}$, on the other hand, form, in part at least, an ancient narrative embodied by R^{D}.

Stade (*ZATW* vi. 167 ff.) regards vv.$^{24-28. 41}$ as the original kernel which has received the later extension vv.$^{29-34a}$. Possibly this latter may be assigned to R^{D} himself; v.^{32b} resembles I 12^{31}, and in v.^{34a} עַד־הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה 'unto this day,' is an expression commonly employed by R^{D}.

II 18$^{1-8}$ is mainly the work of R^{D} (*phrases*, Nos. 3, 31, 63, 72), based upon the notices of vv.$^{4. 7b. 8}$. Vv.$^{7b. 8}$ are probably drawn in substance from the 'Annals.' With regard to v.^{4} this is not so clear. The verse shows marks of a late style (perf. with weak ו, as in 21$^{4. 6}$ 23$^{5ff.}$), and sketches the outline of a religious reformation which appears in all essentials to have resembled and anticipated the reformation of Josiah. Hence some critics regard the notice as a late and unhistorical interpolation (cf. Stade, *Geschichte*, i. 607 f., *ZATW* iii. 8 ff., vi. 170 ff.; Wellhausen, *Comp.* 291).

The occurrence of a reformation under Hezekiah is supported by 18^{22} (which must, with the rejection of 18^{4}, be likewise branded as a later misconception), and perhaps also by the statement of Jer 26^{17-19a}, which speaks of the influence exercised upon Hezekiah and all Judah by the preaching of Micah the Morashtite. Micah 1^{5b} MT mentions the *Bāmôth* of Jerusalem for reprobation; but this passage must not be pressed, because LXX, Pesh., Targ. presuppose a different reading.[*]

Certainly Isaiah does not appear to have had in view any centralization of J″s cultus, such as was prominent in Josiah's reformation, but his attacks upon the idol-worship (2$^{8. 18. 20}$ 31^{7}; cf. 10$^{10. 11}$), tree-worship (1^{29}), and necromancy (8^{19}), which seem to have been rife in the kingdom of Judah, are in agreement with such a movement in the direction of the pure worship of J″. Probably, therefore, as is allowed by Stade (*Ges. loc. cit.*), the statement of v.^{4b} is based upon authentic information as to such a reform, and this has been later on expanded in v.^{4a}, under the influence of the accomplished fact of Josiah's reformation.

II 18$^{9-12}$ is a notice from the 'Annals,' introduced by the synchronism of R^{D} v.^{9a}, and closed by his comment v.^{12}. The notice is identical with 17$^{5. 6}$.

II 18^{13}–20^{19} = Is 36^{1}–39^{8}.[†]

II 18$^{14-16}$, which is not found in Is, is distinguished from 18$^{13. 17ff.}$ by the form of the name חִזְקִיָּה Ḥizḳiyyah (instead of חִזְקִיָּהוּ Ḥizḳiyyahu), which occurs also in 18$^{1. 10}$ ('Annals'). 18$^{14-16}$ appears to be in strict agreement with the Assyrian record (Taylor Cylinder, col. iii.; cf. *COT* i. p. 286, ii. p. 1), and is probably a genuine excerpt from the 'Annals.'

It is generally agreed that the narrative of Is 36^{1}–39^{8} cannot be traced to Isaiah himself, but must be of a considerably later date. Notice the mention of Sennacherib's death (Is 37^{38} = 2 K 19^{37}), which did not happen until B.C. 681, twenty years after the campaign against Jerusalem, and certainly later than the death of Isaiah. Again, it seems to be clear that the Isaiah section (except 38$^{9-20}$ from another source) must have been extracted from our Book of Kings by the editor of Is 1–39.

Certain phrases which are due to R^{D} in the Kings narrative appear also in Is; cf. 'for David my servant's sake' II 19^{34} ‖ Is 37^{35}; 'How I have walked before thee in truth and with a perfect heart, and have done that which is good in thy sight' II 20^{3} ‖ Is 38^{3}; and the redactional phrases 'In those days' II 20^{1} ‖ Is 38^{1}, 'At that time' II 20^{12} ‖ Is 39^{1}. Kings is also superior to Is in the account of Hezekiah's sickness. Is 38$^{4-8}$ has been abbreviated; 38$^{21. 22}$ is misplaced.

The Kings narrative II 18$^{13. 17}$–20^{19} seems to represent a combination of three sources. Stade (*ZATW* vi. 174) notices that Isaiah's threat against Sennacherib occurs three times in similar terms: 19^{7} 19^{28b} 19^{33}. The contents of Sennacherib's letter (19$^{10-13}$) merely repeat in brief that which has already been said by the Rabshakeh (18$^{28-35}$). Again, it is highly improbable that Sennacherib, after hearing the news with regard to Tirhaḳah (19^{9a}), should have imagined that the mere dispatch of a letter would be likely to compel Hezekiah's submission, after the failure of previous verbal negotiations. The true sequel to 19^{9a} seems to be 19$^{36f.}$; upon receiving information of Tirhaḳah's hostile movement, Sennacherib raises the siege of Jerusalem and returns to Assyria. We have, then, two separate accounts of the Assyrian campaign, 18$^{13. 17}$–19$^{9a. 36f.}$; 19^{9b-35} 19^{9b} having probably been slightly modified by the redactor. Further, the section 19^{9b-35} itself appears to be composite in character. The taunt song vv.$^{21-28}$, with its accompanying sign vv.$^{29-31}$, stands apart from the prosaic statement vv.$^{32-34}$. לָכֵן, 'therefore,' of v.^{32} answers, not to anything in the prophecy preceding, but to v.$^{20b\beta}$ אֲשֶׁר הִתְפַּלַּלְתָּ שָׁמַעְתִּי 'Whereas thou hast prayed . . . I have heard,' and, as has been noticed above, vv.$^{28b.33}$ are duplicates of the same statement. Thus vv.$^{21-31}$, generally regarded by critics as an authentic prophecy of Isaiah, appear to have been inserted into the midst of the prophetical history $19^{9b-20.32-34}$, v.^{21a} representing the redactor's link.

---

[*] חַטָּאת 'sin,' parallel to פֶּשַׁע transgression, as in v.^{4a}. The reading of MT is, however, accepted by Kittel, who regards the rendering of the Versions as merely a simplification (*History*, ii. 357).

[†] In addition to the authorities cited at the end of this article, cf. the Literature given under ISAIAH, especially Dillmann, *Jesaia*, 1890, p. 310 ff.; Cheyne, *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah*, 1895, p. 212 ff. (where, however, the writer proceeds upon the assumption that Kings was not compiled until after B.C. 588).

The narrative of 20^{1-19} probably belongs to the author of one of the two preceding narrative sections. Cheyne, following Duhm, selects the second narrative $19^{9bff.}$ Notice, as a point of connexion, the occurrence of a prayer of Hezekiah in each section: $19^{15ff.}$ $20^{2f.}$. Very possibly the chronological notice at the beginning of 18^{13}, 'In the 14th year of king Hezekiah,' properly refers to the events of 20^{1-19}, and occupies its present position upon the false assumption that Sennacherib's invasion took place in the same year as Hezekiah's sickness and recovery. This arrangement is probably due to R^D, who removed the note of time from its true position at the head of the narrative of $20^{1ff.}$, replacing it by his synchronistic phrase 'In those days.' Notice the reference to Assyria in 20^6. The whole verse from וּמִכַּף 'and from the hand, etc.,' must be due to the author of the mistaken synchronism. Cf. the latter half with 19^{34}.

The 6th year of Hezekiah for the fall of Samaria, B.C. 722 (18^{10}), cannot be reconciled with the 14th year for Sennacherib's campaign, B.C. 701 (18^{13}), and it seems the best course to regard this latter date as true for the sickness of Hezekiah and the embassy of Merodach-Baladan, which will then fall *cir.* B.C. 714. Thus Hezekiah's reign may be supposed to have closed B.C. 699, *i.e.* some 15 years after B.C. 714 (20^{6a}).

The short prophecy of $20^{17.18}$ has probably been worked over by R^{D2} in post-exilic times, when Babylon, and not Assyria, was the oppressor.

II 21 is throughout the work of R^D (*phrases*, Nos. 11, 13, 27, 42–44, 49, 54, 55, 66; and cf. Driver, *LOT*^{6} p. 203) based upon very brief notices (vv.$^{3.4a.5.6a.7a.16a}$), derived, presumably, from the 'Annals.' Vv.$^{10-15}$ appear to presuppose the captivity of Judah, and must therefore, in their present form, be assigned to R^{D2}.

II 22^3–23^{25} is a continuous narrative, probably drawn from the temple archives. Deuteronomic phrases are found in $23^{3.19.25}$ (*phrases*, Nos. 3, 6, 20, 39, 63), and in the speech of Huldah 22^{15-20} (*phrases*, Nos. 29, 39, 54; and cf. Driver, *LOT*^{6} p. 203), which seems to show signs of revision by R^{D2} in exilic times. Certainly this later editor is responsible for the addition at the close of the narrative $23^{26.27}$ (*phrases*, Nos. 11, 39, 51), which strikes a note strangely alien to the enthusiasm of the pre-exilic author in view of Josiah's reformation (cf. especially vv.$^{22.25}$).

Upon II 23^{29}–25^{30} see above (*Later editors*). 25^{22-26} is a much abbreviated account of the events described in Jer 40^7–43^6, to which source R^{D2} clearly owes his information. Jer 52, on the other hand, seems to be a later addition to the prophet's book (notice the closing words of ch. 51, 'Thus far are the words of Jeremiah'), excerpted from 2 K 24^{18}–25^{30}, naturally with omission of 25^{22-26}, as having been already related in fuller detail.

LITERATURE.—O. Thenius, *Die Bücher der Könige* (in *Kgf. Exeg. Handb.*), 1^e Aufl. 1849, 2^e Aufl. 1873; F. Böttcher, *Neue exegetisch-kritische Aerenlese zum AT*, 2^e Abtheilung, 1864, pp. 1–120; C. F. Keil, *Die Bücher der Könige* (in *Bibl. Comm.*), 1^e Aufl. 1865, 2^e Aufl. 1876 (Eng. tr. 1872); H. Ewald, *The History of Israel* (Eng. tr. 1871), vol. iii. p. 204 ff., vol. iv.; H. Grätz, *Gesch. der Juden*, vols. i. ii. 1, 1875 (frequent textual suggestions omitted in Eng. tr. 1891); E. Schrader, *COT*, 1885–1888, vol. i. p. 172 ff., vol. ii.; A. Klostermann, *Die Bücher Samuelis und der Könige* (in Strack and Zöckler's *Kgf. Komm.*), 1887, p. 262 ff.; A. Kuenen, *Historisch-kritisch Onderzoek*, 2nd ed. 1887 (Ger. tr. 1890), §§ 24–27; I. Hooykaas, *Iets over de Grieksche Vertaling van het OT*, 1888; J. Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des AT*, 2^e Druck, 1889, pp. 266–302, 359–361 (= Wellhausen-Bleek, *Einleitung*, 1878, p. 231 ff.), *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, 4^e Ausg. 1895, pp. 275–299 (Eng. tr. 1885, p. 272 ff.), *Israelitische und Jüdische Gesch.*, 2^e Ausg. 1897, p. 64 ff. (enlarged from art. 'Israel' in *Encyc. Brit.* 1881 = *History of People of Israel and Judah*, 2nd ed. 1891, p. 53 ff.); B. Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 2^e Aufl. 1889, 1er Band, pp. 73–79, 296 ff., *ZATW* iii. 129 ff. (on I 5–7), v. 178 (on I $22^{48f.}$), v. 275 ff. (on II 10–14), vi. 156 ff. (on II 15–21); S. R. Driver, *LOT*^{1} (1891), pp. 175–193, ^{6}(1897), pp. 185–203; H. Winckler, *Alttest. Untersuchungen*, 1892, pp. 1–54; E. König, *Einleitung in das AT*, 1893, pp. 263–269; A. Kamphausen (in Kautzsch's *Die Heilige Schrift des AT*, 1894), pp. 350–426, Beilagen, pp. 20–34; C. H. Cornill, *Einleitung in das AT*, 3^e Aufl. 1896, pp. 108–117; R. Kittel, *A History of the Hebrews* (Eng. tr. 1896), vol. ii. 49 ff., 177 ff.; Piepenbring, *Hist. du peuple d'Israël*, 1898, p. 167 ff.

C. F. BURNEY.

KING'S POOL.—See POOL.

KING'S VALE, THE (עֵמֶק הַמֶּלֶךְ, AV the king's dale).—The place where the king of Sodom met Abram, Gn 14^{17} (*τὸ πέδιον βασιλέως*). Here also the childless Absalom erected in his lifetime a monument to himself, 2 S 18^{18} (*ἡ κοιλὰς τοῦ βασιλέως*). See HINNOM (VALLEY OF), p. 388^a; SHAVEH (VALE OF), and JERUSALEM, p. 584^a.

KINSFOLK.—Although 'kinsfolk' is itself plural (see FOLK), and is so treated in Job 19^{14} 'My kinsfolk have failed,' and Lk 2^{44} 'They sought him among their kinsfolk' (*ἐν τοῖς συγγενέσι* [WH -*εῦσιν*]), it is also found with an *s* added, giving the irreg. plur. 'kinsfolks,' in 1 K 16^{11} 'Neither of his kinsfolks, nor of his friends'; 2 K 10^{11}, 2 Mac 8^1 15^{18}, Lk 21^{16}. The NT Revisers have dropped the *s* in Lk 21^{16}, and the Apocr. Revisers in 2 Mac, but in 1 K 16^{11} the OT Revisers have kept it. In 2 K 10^{11} RV prefers 'familiar friends,' the Heb. expressing no reference to kinship (מְיֻדָּעָיו, cf. LXX *γνωστούς*, the same word as is tr^d 'acquaintance' in Lk 2^{44}). For the form 'kinsfolks' cf. Strype, *Life of Archbp. Whitgift*, 1597, '[Geta] asked him, if those whom he had put to death had no parents, kinsfolks, nor friends'; and Bacon, *Essays*, 'Of Parents and Children' (Gold. Treas. ed. p. 24), 'The Italians make little difference betweene Children and Nephewes or neere Kinsfolkes.' J. HASTINGS.

KINSMAN.—This is the proper singular form of 'kinsfolk,' with the fem. form 'kinswoman.' 'Kinsman' is the tr^n in OT mostly of גֹּאֵל *gô'ēl* (see GOEL), and in NT of *συγγενής*. In Apocr. *συγγενής* is so tr^d twice, Sir 41^{21}, 2 Mac 12^{39}, and *ἀδελφός* twice, To 3^{15} 7^4 (RV 'brother'). In Ru 2^{20} AV gives 'next kinsman' as the tr^n of *gô'ēl*; RV changes this into 'near kinsman,' and gives 'near kinsman' instead of the simple 'kinsman' for all the other occurrences of *gô'ēl* in Ruth. In Ru 2^1 the Heb. *Kethibh* מְיֻדָּע means strictly no more than 'acquaintance,' but whether we adopt this reading or that of the *Ḳerê* מוֹדַע, 'kinsman' is plainly the meaning. Hence RV rightly retains the AV translation.

Kinswoman occurs Lv $18^{12.13.17}$, Pr 7^4; and RV adds Lk 1^{36} 'Elisabeth thy kinswoman,' for AV 'thy cousin Elisabeth,' the word 'cousin' (wh. see) having become contracted in application since 1611. The Greek of TR is *συγγενής*, but the weight of authority is in favour of the late fem. form *συγγενίς*, which edd. (except Tr.) adopt.

THE END OF VOL. II.

A

Dictionary of the Bible

VOLUME III

PREFACE

THIS DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE, as stated in the Preface to Volumes I. and II. already published, is intended as a contribution towards furnishing the Church for the great work of *teaching*. It is a Dictionary of the Old and New Testaments, together with the Old Testament Apocrypha, according to the Authorized and Revised Versions, with constant reference to the original tongues. Every effort has been used to make the information it contains as full, reliable, and accessible as possible.

1. As to fulness. In a Dictionary of the Bible we expect an explanation of all the words occurring in the Bible which do not explain themselves. The present Dictionary meets that expectation more nearly than any work hitherto published. Articles will be found on all the Persons and Places that are mentioned in the Bible, on its Archæology and Antiquities, its Ethnology, Geology, and Natural History, its Theology and Ethics, and on such words occurring in the Authorized or Revised Version as are now unintelligible or liable to misapprehension. Much attention has been given to the language, literature, religion, and customs of the nations around Israel. The Versions have been fully treated. Articles have been contributed on the Apocalyptic and other uncanonical writings of the Jews, as well as on such theological or ethical ideas as are believed to be contained in the Bible, though their modern names are not found there.

2. As to reliability. The writers have been chosen out of respect to their scholarship and nothing else. The articles have all been written immediately and solely for this Dictionary, and, except the shortest, they are all signed. Even the shortest, however, have been contributed by writers of recognized ability and authority. In addition to the work upon it of authors and editors, every sheet has passed through the hands of the three eminent scholars whose names are found on the title-page.

3. As to accessibility. The subjects are arranged in alphabetical order, and under the most familiar titles. All the modern devices of cross-reference and black-lettering have been freely resorted to, so that in the very few instances in which allied subjects have been grouped under one heading (such as MEDICINE in this volume) the particular subject wanted will be found at once. Proper Names are arranged according to the spelling of the Revised Version, but wherever it seemed advisable the spelling of the Authorized Version is also given, with a cross-

reference. The Abbreviations, considering the size and scope of the work, will be seen to be few and easily mastered. A list of them, together with a simple scheme for the uniform transliteration of Hebrew and Arabic words, will be found on the following pages.

It is with devout thankfulness that the Editor sees this third volume of an arduous though congenial work issued within reasonable limits of time. The fourth volume is in progress, and may be looked for next year. He has pleasure in again expressing his thanks to many friends and fellow-workers, including the authors of the various articles. But especially he desires to thank the members of the editorial staff, the publishers, the printers, and (without mentioning others whose names have already appeared in the Preface to Vols. I. and II.) Mr. G. F. HILL of the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum for assistance and advice in the preparation of the illustrations to the article on the MONEY of the Bible.

⁂ Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, have the sole right of publication of this DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE in the United States and Canada.

SCHEME OF TRANSLITERATION

ARABIC.		HEBREW.	
ʼ	أ	ʼ	א
b	ب	b	ב
t	ت	g	ג
th	ث	d	ד
j	ج	h	ה
ḥ	ح	u, w	ו
kh	خ	z	ז
d	د	ḥ	ח
dh	ذ	ṭ	ט
r	ر	i, y	י
z	ز	k	כ
s	س	l	ל
sh	ش	m	מ
ṣ	ص	n	נ
ḍ	ض	ṣ	ס
ṭ	ط	ʻ	ע
ẓ	ظ	p	פ
ʻ	ع	ẓ	צ
gh	غ	ḳ	ק
f	ف	r	ר
ḳ	ق	s, sh	שׂ שׁ
k	ك	t	ת
l	ل		
m	م		
n	ن		
h	ه		
u, w	و		
i, y	ي		

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

I. GENERAL

Alex. = Alexandrian.
Apoc. = Apocalypse.
Apocr. = Apocrypha.
Aq. = Aquila.
Arab. = Arabic.
Aram. = Aramaic.
Assyr. = Assyrian.
Bab. = Babylonian.
c. = *circa*, about.
Can. = Canaanite.
cf. = compare.
ct. = contrast.
D = Deuteronomist.
E = Elohist.
edd. = editions or editors.
Egyp. = Egyptian.
Eng. = English.
Eth. = Ethiopic.
f. = and following verse or page; as Ac $10^{34f.}$
ff. = and following verses or pages; as Mt $11^{28ff.}$
Gr. = Greek.
H = Law of Holiness.
Heb. = Hebrew.
Hel. = Hellenistic.
Hex. = Hexateuch.
Isr. = Israelite.
J = Jahwist.
J″ = Jehovah.
Jerus. = Jerusalem.
Jos. = Josephus.
LXX = Septuagint.
MSS = Manuscripts.
MT = Massoretic Text
n. = note.
NT = New Testament.
Onk. = Onkelos.
OT = Old Testament.
P = Priestly Narrative.
Pal. = Palestine, Palestinian.
Pent. = Pentateuch.
Pers. = Persian.
Phil. = Philistine.
Phœn. = Phœnician.
Pr. Bk. = Prayer Book.
R = Redactor.
Rom. = Roman.
Sam. = Samaritan.
Sem. = Semitic.
Sept. = Septuagint.
Sin. = Sinaitic.
Symm. = Symmachus.
Syr. = Syriac.
Talm. = Talmud.
Targ. = Targum.
Theod. = Theodotion.
TR = Textus Receptus.
tr. = translate or translation.
VSS = Versions.
Vulg. = Vulgate.
WH = Westcott and Hort's text.

II. BOOKS OF THE BIBLE

Old Testament.

Gn = Genesis.
Ex = Exodus.
Lv = Leviticus.
Nu = Numbers.
Dt = Deuteronomy.
Jos = Joshua.
Jg = Judges.
Ru = Ruth.
1 S, 2 S = 1 and 2 Samuel.
1 K, 2 K = 1 and 2 Kings.
1 Ch, 2 Ch = 1 and 2 Chronicles.
Ezr = Ezra.
Neh = Nehemiah.
Est = Esther.
Job.
Ps = Psalms.
Pr = Proverbs.
Ec = Ecclesiastes.
Ca = Canticles.
Is = Isaiah.
Jer = Jeremiah.
La = Lamentations.
Ezk = Ezekiel.
Dn = Daniel.
Hos = Hosea.
Jl = Joel.
Am = Amos.
Ob = Obadiah.
Jon = Jonah.
Mic = Micah.
Nah = Nahum.
Hab = Habakkuk.
Zeph = Zephaniah.
Hag = Haggai.
Zec = Zechariah.
Mal = Malachi.

Apocrypha.

1 Es, 2 Es = 1 and 2 Esdras.
To = Tobit.
Jth = Judith.
Ad. Est = Additions to Esther.
Wis = Wisdom.
Sir = Sirach or Ecclesiasticus.
Bar = Baruch.
Three = Song of the Three Children.
Sus = Susanna.
Bel = Bel and the Dragon.
Pr. Man = Prayer of Manasses.
1 Mac, 2 Mac = 1 and 2 Maccabees.

New Testament.

Mt = Matthew.
Mk = Mark.
Lk = Luke.
Jn = John.
Ac = Acts.
Ro = Romans.
1 Co, 2 Co = 1 and 2 Corinthians.
Gal = Galatians.
Eph = Ephesians.
Ph = Philippians.
Col = Colossians.
1 Th, 2 Th = 1 and 2 Thessalonians.
1 Ti, 2 Ti = 1 and 2 Timothy.
Tit = Titus.
Philem = Philemon.
He = Hebrews.
Ja = James.
1 P, 2 P = 1 and 2 Peter.
1 Jn, 2 Jn, 3 Jn = 1, 2, and 3 John.
Jude.
Rev = Revelation.

III. English Versions

Wyc. = Wyclif's Bible (NT *c.* 1380, OT *c.* 1382, Purvey's Revision *c.* 1388).
Tind. = Tindale's NT 1526 and 1534, Pent. 1530.
Cov. = Coverdale's Bible 1535.
Matt. or Rog. = Matthew's (*i.e.* prob. Rogers') Bible 1537.
Cran. or Great = Cranmer's 'Great' Bible 1539.
Tav. = Taverner's Bible 1539.
Gen. = Geneva NT 1557, Bible 1560.
Bish. = Bishops' Bible 1568.
Tom. = Tomson's NT 1576.
Rhem. = Rhemish NT 1582.
Dou. = Douay OT 1609.
AV = Authorized Version 1611.
AVm = Authorized Version margin.
RV = Revised Version NT 1881, OT 1885.
RVm = Revised Version margin.
EV = Auth. and Rev. Versions.

IV. For the Literature

AHT = Ancient Hebrew Tradition.
AT = Altes Testament.
BL = Bampton Lecture.
BM = British Museum.
BRP = Biblical Researches in Palestine.
CIG = Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum.
CIL = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
CIS = Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum.
COT = Cuneiform Inscriptions and the OT.
DB = Dictionary of the Bible.
EHH = Early History of the Hebrews.
GAP = Geographie des alten Palästina.
GGA = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
GGN = Nachrichten der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.
GJV = Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes.
GVI = Geschichte des Volkes Israel.
HCM = Higher Criticism and the Monuments.
HE = Historia Ecclesiastica.
HGHL = Historical Geog. of Holy Land.
HI = History of Israel.
HJP = History of the Jewish People.
HPM = History, Prophecy, and the Monuments.
HPN = Hebrew Proper Names.
IJG = Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte.
JBL = Journal of Biblical Literature.
JDTh = Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie.
JQR = Jewish Quarterly Review.
JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JRL = Jewish Religious Life after the Exile.
JTS = Journal of Theological Studies.
KAT = Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Test.
KIB = Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek.
LCBl = Literarisches Centralblatt.
LOT = Introd. to the Literature of the Old Test.
NHWB = Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch.
NTZG = Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte.
ON = Otium Norvicense.
OP = Origin of the Psalter.
OTJC = The Old Test. in the Jewish Church.
PB = Polychrome Bible.
PEF = Palestine Exploration Fund.
PEFSt = Quarterly Statement of the same.
PSBA = Proceedings of Soc. of Bibl. Archæology.
PRE = Real-Encyclopädie für protest. Theologie und Kirche.
QPB = Queen's Printers' Bible.
REJ = Revue des Études Juives.
RP = Records of the Past.
RS = Religion of the Semites.
SBOT = Sacred Books of Old Test.
SK = Studien und Kritiken.
SP = Sinai and Palestine.
SWP = Memoirs of the Survey of W. Palestine.
ThL or *ThLZ* = Theol. Literaturzeitung.
ThT = Theol. Tijdschrift.
TSBA = Transactions of Soc. of Bibl. Archæology.
TU = Texte und Untersuchungen.
WAI = Western Asiatic Inscriptions.
WZKM = Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes.
ZA = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.
ZAW or *ZATW* = Zeitschrift für die Alttest. Wissenschaft.
ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
ZDPV = Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
ZKSF = Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung.
ZKW = Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft.

A small superior number designates the particular edition of the work referred to, as *KAT*^{2}, *LOT*^{6}.

PLATES AND MAP IN VOLUME III

(Plates) Coins current in Palestine *c.* b.c. 500–a.d. 135 . *between pages* 424 *and* 425
(Map) St. Paul's Travels . . . . *facing page* 697

DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE

KIR (קִיר).—The name of a country and nation. It occurs in the following passages:—(1) Am 9^7 Ḳir is the land from which God brought the Aramæans (Syrians), as He led the Israelites from Egypt, etc. It must, after this analogy, be a country remote from the principal seat (*i.e.* Damascus) of the Aramæans in Amos' time. The LXX reads 'depth,' 'pit' (βόθρος, *i.e.* קער). (2) 2 K 16^9 After the capture of Damascus, the Aramæans were carried captive to Ḳir by the king (Tiglath-pileser III.) of Assyria. This would indicate that Ḳir was under Assyrian dominion, and, again, at a considerable distance from the region of Damascus near the borders of the Assyrian empire. But the name of the country was wanting in the LXX originally (B), and inserted later (A, etc. Κυρηνήνδε) from the Hebrew text (after Symmachus). Therefore this passage is suspicious; see Field, *Hexap.* pp. xxii, 682. (3) Am 1^5 threatens indeed: the people of Aram shall go into captivity unto Ḳir (LXX 'the one called as ally,' ἐπίκλητος, קרא?). But this passage also seems to be interpolated from Am 9^7. If Ḳir was the original home of the Aramæans (Am 9^7), the Assyrians would never have deported them back to their old country, where they would have found remainders of the original stock of their nation, and would have, by union with them, become strong again and dangerous to the king of Nineveh. The Assyrians, as well as other nations, deported their captives always to countries where they were strangers, separated by language and race from the inhabitants of the new country, and therefore forced to rely upon the government which had settled them there. Consequently, the name *Ḳir* in this passage is strange, and to be used only with caution. (4) Is 22^6 an attack on Jerusalem is described, evidently that of the Assyrian army under Sennacherib (cf. 2 K 18): 'And Elam bare the quiver with chariots of men * and horsemen, and Ḳir (LXX συναγωγή, cf. קרה?) uncovered (עֵרָה) the shield' (*i.e.* prepared it for fighting). Consequently, Ḳir was among the allies or subjects of the Assyrians, and was a warlike nation. (5) Also Is 22^5 seems to belong here: מְקַרְקַר קִר וְשׁוֹעַ אֶל־הָהָר, RV 'a breaking down (others, surrounding) of the walls (sing. !) and a crying to the mountains,' LXX ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἕως μεγάλου πλανῶνται ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη, Vulg. 'scrutans *murum* et magnificus super montem.' The passage was rendered by Cheyne (following Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 236), 'Ḳir undermineth, and Shoa is at the mount.' Klostermann, Bredenkamp, Cornill, Winckler (*Alttest. Untersuch.* 177, who conjectures, 'who stirs up Ḳoa' and Shoa' against the mountain') have, however, given up the paronomasia and corrected *Ḳir* to *Ḳoa'* (קוֹעַ), a nation mentioned together with Shoa' in Ezk 23^{23}; the *Ḳutû* or *Ḳû* of the Assyrian inscriptions, a warlike nomadic tribe S.E. of Assyria, chiefly on the banks of the modern rivers Dijâlâ (the Gyndes of the classics) and Adhem adjoining the *Sutû*, *i.e.* the biblical Shoa'. This agrees with Is 22^6, where Kir is a neighbour of Elam. It results that we have to try the same emendation also in this passage (Is 22^6), and indeed the LXX reads there consonants which come nearer to קוע than to קיר, likewise in Am 9 (where קער = original קוע). See, further, art. KOA, footnote.

It is very probable, then, that in all passages the same pastoral people Ḳoa' קוע, were originally meant. The corruption of one may have caused that of the other places. (For the Assyrian and Babylonian texts see Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 233; Schrader, *KAT*^{2} 425). The country *Gutium*, *Gutî*, which is mentioned as early as B.C. 3000 in inscriptions, seems to be the same as *Ḳutî*, *Ḳutû*, *Ḳû*, which is only the later spelling.* The inhabitants seem to have been always Semites, so that their relationship to the Aramæans, who appear in cuneiform inscriptions first in Southern Babylonia, is very plausible. Otherwise, the cuneiform inscriptions have been searched in vain for a nation Ḳir. The ancient versions (Aq., Vulg., partly LXX, Targum) were guessing when they introduced the Libyan *Cyrene*, which is absurd.† By those to whom the emendation of *Ḳir* to Ḳoa' seems too bold, the conjecture may be hazarded that some day the name *Ḳir* will be discovered in the same region E. of the Lower and Middle Tigris, where various nomadic tribes roamed with the rapacious Shoa' and Ḳoa'. But the emendation seems more plausible.

W. MAX MÜLLER.

KIR (OF MOAB) (קִיר־מוֹאָב, τὸ τεῖχος τῆς Μωαβ(ε)ίτιδος, *murus Moab*).—One of the chief towns of the land of Moab, coupled with Ar of Moab, Is 15^1. Since in the Moabite tongue *ḳîr* = Heb. *'îr* or *'ār*, it is conceivable that Kir of Moab and Ar of Moab are identical. The almost universally accepted identification of Kir of Moab with the modern *Kerak* rests upon the Targum on Isaiah, where Kir is rendered by Kerakka (so also apparently Ar of Moab). This may have been a native name which has survived, or it may be a rendering of that name which has supplanted it. The modern name of *Kerak* can be traced back as belonging to the place in early times. Under the form Χαρακμῶβα it appears in the acts of the Council of Jerusalem A.D. 536, and in the geographers Ptolemy and Stephanus of Byzantium. The Crusaders discerned the strategic importance of the place as commanding the trade route from Egypt and Arabia into Syria. Under king Fulco of Jerusalem, A.D. 1131, a castle was built there, of which extensive remains may yet be seen. Saladin in A.D. 1183 unsuccessfully besieged it; it fell into his hands in A.D. 1188. The contributions which the Chroniclers of the Crusades make to the localizing of the site are full and interesting; it was then the chief city of Arabia Secunda, or Petracensis; it is specified as in the Belkâ, and distinguished from Moab or Rabbat, and from Mons Regalis or Montreal. The Crusaders further identified it with Petra, or gave that name to it; an error which the Greek Church has perpetuated, for the Greek bishop of Petra has his seat at Kerak. It is frequently referred to in writers of the Christian period as *Charak-Moba* (also *Mobu-Charax*), corrupted to *Charakōma*, *Charagmucha*, *Karach*, and *Kara*. On the question of the identity of Kir of Moab with Kir-hareseth or Kir-heres see art. on these names.

---

* 'Of men' may be a gloss, see Duhm.

* Perhaps occurring also in Egyptian texts as *Gut*, see W. M. Müller, *Asien*, p. 281.

† More modern guesses: the Κῦρος or Κύρρος, river of Armenia, the modern Kur (Michaelis). But this name has *k* not *ḳ*, and is too far north. Bochart proposes Κουρήνη (Ptol.) in Eastern Media, but this place is obscure and too far east. Furrer suggests the region near Antioch called Κύρρος, Κυρρεστική, but this name was given only in later times in imitation of a Macedonian city (see Mannert).

The Wady el-Kerak runs S.E. from the head of the bay of the Dead Sea, which lies east of the peninsula el-Lisân, uniting with the Wady 'Ain Franji about 10 miles up. Kerak is situated on a lofty spur between these two ravines, and is about four thousand feet above the level of the Dead Sea. The sides of the hill descend steeply some thousand feet to the bottom of the valleys, but the height on the other side is much greater, so that the town is commanded by hills on every side. (This may explain 2 K $3^{25\text{ end}}$). Such a position was for ancient warfare almost impregnable. The great weakness must have been want of water, and there are remains of enormous rock-hewn cisterns. The city was surrounded by a wall of great thickness, which had but two entrances—one on the N.W., the other on the S., each being approached by a long tunnel cut through the solid rock. There are remains of five great towers; but further investigation seems needed to decide what is ancient Moabite work, and what is due to mediæval engineers.

A map of the town is given in de Saulcy, *La Mer Morte*, 8, 20.

LITERATURE.—Reland, *Pal.* 463, 553, 705; Bohaeddin, *Vita Salad.* ch. 25; Georgius Cyprius, ed. Gelzer, 53, 198; Quatremère, *Hist. Sultans Mamlouks*, ii. 236; Schultens, *Index Geographica*, s. 'Caracha'; Robinson, *BRP*^{2} ii. 167 f.; Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 467; Seetzen, *Reisen*, i. 412 f., ii. 358; Burckhardt, *Travels*, 379–390; Irby, ch. vii.; de Saulcy, *La Mer Morte*, i. 356 f.; Schwarz, 217; Tristram, *Land of Moab*, 68 ff.; Duc de Luynes, *Voyage*, i. 99 ff., ii. 106 ff.; and for modern aspect Baedeker, *Palestine*^{3}, p. 191 f.

C. H. W. JOHNS.

KIRAMA (A Κιραμά, B Κειράμα, AV Cirama), 1 Es 5^{20}.—The people of Kirama and Gabbe returned from Babylon under Zerub., 621 strong. In Ezr 2^{26} Ramah and Geba (הָרָמָה, A Ῥαμά, B Ἀράμ); cf. Neh 7^{30} (Ἀραμά). The form in 1 Es is due to the definite article הָ being read as חָ.

KIR-HARESETH (קִיר־חֲרֶשֶׂת, τοῖς κατοικοῦσι Δέσεθ μελετήσεις, Vulg. *murus cocti lateris*, Is 16^7; in 2 K 3^{25} pausal form קִיר־חֲרָשֶׂת, AV Kir-haraseth, LXX τοὺς λίθους τοῦ τοίχου καθῃρημένους, Vulg. *murus fictilis*) or **KIR-HERES** (קִיר־חֶרֶשׂ, κειράδες αὐχμοῦ, *murus fictilis*, Jer $48^{31.36}$; in Is 16^{11} pausal form קִיר־חָרֶשׂ, AV Kir-haresh, LXX τεῖχος ἐνεκαίνισας, Vulg. *ad murum cocti lateris*).—These two names are to be taken as slight variants of one and the same proper name denoting a place in the country of Moab, evidently regarded as a place of the first rank, of great strength and importance. The natural conclusion that **Kir of Moab** is meant is a conjecture, but has received general assent.

The LXX and Vulgate regard these names, however, as phrases, the meaning of which is sought by an attempted Hebrew etymology. That they were so regarded when the vowel points were added to the text need not be assumed, though some traditional etymology may have influenced the pointing. Certainly, the etymologies suggested connecting them with *ḳîr*, 'a wall,' and some Hebrew word denoting 'clay,' or its manufactured products such as 'bricks' or 'pottery,' do not lead to any convincing result. That *ḳîr* also denoted a 'fortress or walled city' in Hebrew seems assumed to meet the case; a 'city of potsherds' or a 'brick fortress,' even with the explanation 'because the chief seat of Moabite pottery,' is too obviously lame. Such a meaning would go against the identification with modern *Kerak*. The top of a steep hill is unlikely to be a 'seat of pottery,' and the accounts of the remains there point to the ancient walls being of stone, not brick.

There does not seem any call to seek a Hebrew etymology. If it was a Moabite name, and the variations in spelling and vocalization suggest its being foreign to the Hebrew scribes,[*] then we must turn to the native tongue for an etymology. There we find that *ḳîr* is the Moabite for 'town,' walled or fortified. The second element of these names is not, however, preserved in the scanty remains of the Moabite tongue (cf., however, the place name *MḪRT* in line 14 of Mesha's Inscription). Palmer (*The Desert of the Exodus*, p. 472 f.) says that *ḫârit* means 'mound' in the language of the modern inhabitants. The obvious difficulty is that an interchange of *ṭ* and *s* is unusual; we should expect rather *ḫareš* than *ḫares* as representing modern *ḫariṭ*. The modern language of Moab would need detailed examination before a decisive rule could be laid down.[†] Of a somewhat similar Assyrian word for 'mount' (often a wooded hill), both forms, *ḫuršu* and *ḫursu*, exist side by side.

If the commonly received identification of the place with Kir of Moab and that with modern *Kerak* be correct, we might regard 'mountain fortress' as a suitable name; but that does not establish the etymology in the absence of direct evidence from native sources. All that is said of Kir-heres, etc., seems to suit Kerak well enough, and the Targum on Isaiah renders Kir-hareseth by *Kerak tokpehon*, which perhaps points to a 'cliff' fortress of some kind. See, further, art. KIR OF MOAB.

C. H. W. JOHNS.

KIRIATH (קִרְיַת).—A town noticed with Gibeah as belonging to Benjamin, Jos 18^{28}. Both the text and the site are uncertain, but the latter may possibly be found at *Ḳuriet el-'Enab*, 'town of grapes,' west of Jerusalem, which is often called simply *Ḳurieh* by the inhabitants. See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvii. This village, on the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem, is also now called *Abu Ghôsh*, from a celebrated chief so named. It is remarkable for its fine Norman church, built in the 12th cent. A.D..

It is held, however, by most OT scholars that in Jos 18^{28} *Ḳiriath* is a mistake for *Ḳiriath-jearim*,

---

[*] '*Ḫarosheth* of the Gentiles' (Jg $4^{2.13.16}$) is a similar name, and both it and *Ḫareseth* may go back to Canaanite sources.

[†] There is a *Ḳasr ḫaraša* still, 35 minutes' walk above Derâ'a (*ZDPV*, 1895, p. 69 ff.).

יְעָרִים having been dropped through confusion with the following עָרִים. Not only does קִרְיַת bear the appearance of a construct, but the same conclusion is supported by the LXX, B *καὶ πόλεις καὶ Γαβαωθιαρείμ* (where Gibeath and Kiriath-jearim are mixed up), A *πόλις* 'Ιαρίμ, Luc. *πόλις* 'Ιαρείμ (cf. Dillm. *ad. loc.*, and Bennett in *SBOT*).

C. R. CONDER.

KIRIATHAIM (קִרְיָתַיִם).—**1.** A town in a 'plain' (שָׁוֵה) inhabited by the Emim at the time of Chedorlaomer's campaign (Gn 14^{5}), mentioned with Heshbon and Elealeh as built by Reuben (Nu 32^{37}), also mentioned with Kedemoth and Mephaath, farther south, and with Beth-peor, Baal-meon, and Beth-jeshimoth (Jos $13^{18.\,19.\,20}$). It appears as a Moabite town in Jer 48^{23}, Ezk 25^{9}, and on the stone of Mesha (line 10) is called *Ḳiryathēn*. It may be distinct from Kerioth (which see). According to the *Onomasticon* (*s.* Καριαθαείμ, Καριάθα), it lay 10 Roman miles west of Medeba. The site is uncertain, although many identify Kiriathaim with the ruin called *Ḳarêyât*, lying S.W. of *Makaur* (Machærus) and S. of *Jebel 'Attârûs*. It is probably to be sought towards the south of the Moab plateau, but may have been near Heshbon. Burckhardt's identification with *et-Teim*, 1½ miles W. of Medeba, is now generally abandoned.

LITERATURE. — Porter, *Handbook*, 300; Tristram, *Land of Moab*, 275, 305; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 567 f.; Buhl, *GAP* 276 f.; Dillmann on Gn 14^{5} and Nu 32^{37}.

2. A city in Naphtali, given to the Gershonite Levites, 1 Ch 6^{76} [Heb.^{61}). In the parallel passage, Jos 21^{32}, it is called **Kartan** (which see).

C. R. CONDER.

KIRIATH-ARBA (קִרְיַת אַרְבַּע, in Neh 11^{25} ק' הָאַרְבַּע).—A name which occurs repeatedly in the OT, always except in Neh 11^{25} with the explanation that it is another name for Hebron, Gn 23^{2} 35^{27} (both P), Jos 14^{15} 15^{13} (both JE) 15^{54} 20^{7} 21^{11} (all P), Jg 1^{10}. For the situation and history see art. HEBRON. *Ḳiriath-arba* is probably = *Tetrapolis*,* 'four-towns' (cf. בְּאֵר שֶׁבַע 'seven wells'), the name possibly implying that the city had four quarters occupied by four confederate clans. If the name *Hebron* means 'confederacy,' it may have had a similar origin. In the MT of Jos 15^{13} 21^{11} 14^{15} *Ḳiriath-arba* is taken as = 'city of Arba,' the latter supposed founder of it being called 'the father of the 'Anaḳ,' or 'the greatest man among the 'Anakim.' As Moore points out, however, the LXX has preserved the original reading in the first two of these passages, *πόλις* 'Αρβὸκ *μητρόπολις* (*i.e.* אֵם not אֲבִי) 'Ενάκ, and in 14^{15} הָאָדָם הַגָּדוֹל is another miscorrection. It may be noted further that these last two words gave rise to a curious piece of Rabbinical exegesis, 'hā'*ādām* haggādôl' being supposed to imply that *Adam* was buried at Kiriath-arba (Hebron), 'the city of four saints,' namely, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Adam.

J. A. SELBIE.

KIRIATH-ARIM, Ezr 2^{25}.—See KIRIATH-JEARIM.

KIRIATH-BAAL (קִרְיַת בַּעַל 'city of Baal').—See KIRIATH-JEARIM.

KIRIATH-HUZOTH (קִרְיַת חֻצוֹת 'city of streets' (?), LXX *πόλεις ἐπαύλεων*, which perhaps implies a reading חצרות instead of חצות).—One of the places to which Balak first went with Balaam, Nu 22^{39}. It seems to have been near Ir of Moab (v.^{36}), and may have been a suburb of that city. Tristram (*Land of Moab*, 305) is inclined to identify it with Kiriathaim, others (*e.g.* Knobel, Keil) think it is the same as Kerioth.

C. R. CONDER.

KIRIATH-JEARIM (קִרְיַת יְעָרִים 'city of thickets').—One of the chief towns of the Gibeonites, Jos 9^{17}, on the border of Judah and Benjamin (assigned to the former tribe in Jos $15^{9.\,60}$ 18^{14}, Jg 18^{12}, to the latter in Jos 18^{28} if Kiriath [which see] = Kiriath-jearim). The position is more particularly described in Jg 18^{12}, where the *Maḥaneh-dan* ('camp of Dan'), which was near Zorah and Eshtaol (Jg 13^{25}), is said to have been 'behind' (*i.e.* west of) Kiriath-jearim. Kiriath-jearim appears also to have been near Beth-shemesh (1 S 6^{21}), which was near Zorah. It may have been the city beyond the border of Benjamin where Saul first met Samuel (1 S $9^{5.\,6}$, cf. 10^{2}). When the ark was sent back by the Philistines, it remained at Kiriath-jearim till the time of David (1 S $7^{1f.}$, 2 S 6^{2}, where the city is called **Baale Judah** [but בַּעֲלֵי is an error for בַּעַל]). In Jos 15^{60} it bears the name **Kiriath-baal**, 'city of Baal,' and it is the same place that is called in Jos $15^{9.\,10}$ and 1 Ch 13^{6} **Baalah**. Its inhabitants seem to have been related to the Hebronites, 1 Ch 2^{50}. After the Captivity it is mentioned as re-peopled (Neh 7^{29}; Ezr 2^{25}, where **Kiriath-arim** [קִרְיַת עָרִים] is a clerical error for Kiriath-jearim [ק' יְעָרִים]; 1 Es 5^{19}, where it appears as **Kariathiarius**). It is probably Kiriath-jearim that is referred to in Ps 132^{6}, where 'the field of the wood' is mentioned as the place where the ark was found. The prophet Uriah ben-Shemaiah, who was put to death by Jehoiakim, was a native of Kiriath-jearim (Jer $26^{20ff.}$). In the 4th cent. A.D. (*Onomasticon*, *s.* 'Cariathiarim'), it was shown 9 Roman miles from Jerusalem, on the way to Diospolis (Lydda), but this would not be near Beth-shemesh or Zorah. In the upper part of the valley of Sorek an ancient ruined site called *'Erma* exists, on the south side of a very rugged ravine. It is evidently a town, with a remarkable rock terrace, and wells in the valley to the east. This site (suggested by Henderson) is suitable, being within sight of the mouth of the ravine, beyond which lies Beth-shemesh in the more open part of the valley, east of Zorah and Eshtaol, which appears to answer to the 'camp of Dan' (*Maḥaneh-dan*). The ruin is on the ridge on which Chesalon (which see) stands, and therefore in the required position on the border which appears to have run north from Kiriath-jearim to Chesalon (Jos $15^{9.\,10}$), or to have left Chesalon in Benjamin, north of the border which followed the valley of Sorek. The whole ridge is covered with copse to the present time. Possibly, Kiriath-jearim is noticed in the Tel el-Amarna letters (No. 106 Berlin) as *Bitû Bêlû* or Beth Baal, a city revolting against Jerusalem (others suppose Jerus. itself to be so called in this passage); and it is remarkable that it was one of the few cities that submitted, without fighting, to the Hebrews.

Robinson's identification of Kiriath-jearim with *Ḳuriet el-'Enab* or *Abu Ghôsh* does not meet the requirements of Jg 18^{12} and 1 S 6.

LITERATURE.—The whole question of the site is fully discussed in *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvii.; see also Henderson, *Palestine* (Index); G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 225 f.; Moore, *Judges*, 393 f.; Dillmann on Jos 9^{17}; Buhl, *GAP* (Index); Robinson, *BRP*^{2} ii. 11 f. (Smith, Moore, Dillmann, Buhl, all speak with more or less suspicion of the correctness of Robinson's identification with *Ḳuriet el-'Enab*, but decline to commit themselves to the *'Erma* site, which Buhl pronounces to be still more improbable, and Smith remarks that it would place Kiriath-jearim very far away from the other members of the Gibeonite league. Neither of these writers, however, gives due weight to the position near Chesalon).

C. R. CONDER.

KIRIATH-SANNAH (קִרְיַת סַנָּה, *πόλις γραμμάτων*) occurs once (Jos 15^{49} P) as another and presumably an older name for Debir (wh. see). A third name was Kiriath-sepher (which see for site); and this, not Kiriath-sannah, was the reading of the LXX here.

To those who retain the Massor. reading the meaning is obscure. Gesenius (*Thes.*) takes Sannah for a contraction of Sansannah, and translates 'palm-city'; but, besides that the contraction is unlikely, one hardly expects a palm city in 'the hill-country.' Sayce (*HCM* 54), following a suggestion mentioned by Ewald (*Gesch.* i. 347 n.), translates 'city of instruction,' and uses the name to support his very precarious theory that Debir was a library and archive town of the Canaanites. He further suggests that the name may be present as Bit 'Sani in a fragmentary letter from Ebed-tob the vassal king of Jerusalem, in the Tel el-Amarna collection.

---

* So *e.g.* Moore and Hommel, the latter of whom identifies Kiriath-arba with the *Rubûti* of the Tel el-Amarna letters (*AHT* 234 f.), but see König's art. on the Ḥabiri in *Expos. Times*, March 1900. Sayce and Petrie make Rubûti = Rabbah of Jos 15^{60}.

A. C. WELCH.

KIRIATH-SEPHER (קִרְיַת סֵפֶר, *πόλις γραμμάτων*; *Καριασσώφαρ* *π″ γ″*, B in Jg 1^{11}) is twice mentioned in the parallel passages (Jos $15^{15f.}$, Jg $1^{11f.}$, J) as the older name of a town which the victors called Debir. It is frequently identified with the present ed-Dhâherîyeh, a village which lies '4 or 5 hours S.W. of Hebron,' on a high road down Wady Khulil, and which is on the frontier of the hill-country towards the Negeb (see, however, DEBIR).

Many commentators from the earliest times, accepting the word as Heb., have translated with various shades of sense 'book town' (cf. LXX above, Vulg. *civitas litterarum*, Targ. ק″ אַרְכֵי). Sayce (*HCM* 54) has based on this a theory about the condition of literary culture among the early Canaanites. The three town names yield him proof of the presence of an oracle, which gave rise to a library, and so attracted students to a university. It is utterly unwarranted to build so much on the uncertain etymology of a non-Heb. word. Smith (*Hist. Geogr.* 279 n.) suggests that the sense may be 'toll-town,' and he compares for the translation 2 Ch 2^{17}, and for the toll the town's position on a road into Syria. But the sense given to ספר is somewhat artificial. It is much more likely that traces of the same foreign root are to be found in Sephar of S. Arabia (Gn 10^{30}) and Sepharvaim (2 K 17^{24}). See the whole subject very fully and fairly discussed by Moore, *Judges*, 26 f.

A. C. WELCH.

KISEUS (Κεισαῖος).—The form in Ad. Est 11^2 of Kish (Est 2^5), the name of the great-grandfather of Mordecai. See KISH, No. 4.

KISH (קִישׁ).—**1.** The father of Saul the first king of Israel (1 S 9^1 10^{21} 14^{51}, Ac 13^{21}). He was the son of Abiel of the tribe of Benjamin. In 1 Ch 8^{33} 9^{39} Ner and not Abiel is said to have been the father of Kish,* but there seems to have been some confusion in the text, due perhaps to the very elliptical character of the record or to the frequent recurrence of the same family names. The home of Kish and of his family was at Gibeah (rendered 'the hill of God' and 'the hill' both in AV and RV of 1 S 10^5 and 10^{10}). He does not seem to have been in any way prominent, but to have been living the simple life of a small farmer, when his son was called to be king. **2.** The uncle of the foregoing, the son of Jeiel or Jehiel (1 Ch 8^{30} 9^{36}). **3.** The eponym of a family of Merarite Levites (1 Ch $23^{21.22}$ $24^{28f.}$, 2 Ch 29^{12}). **4.** A Benjamite ancestor of Mordecai, queen Esther's cousin (Es 2^5). See ESTHER.

W. MUIR.

KISHI (קִישִׁי).—A Merarite Levite, ancestor of Ethan, 1 Ch 6^{44} [Heb.^{29}]. In the parallel passage 1 Ch 15^{17} the MT has קוּשָׁיָהוּ, Kushaiah. In all probability the latter is the correct form of the name. It is supported by Luc. Κουσει in the first of the above passages. Kittel (in *SBOT*) prefers קִישָׁיָהוּ, or rather קִישַׁיָהוּ, pointing out that the LXX (B) in 1 Ch 6^{44} has Κεισαι = קִישַׁי, and in 15^{17} Κεισαῖος = קִישַׁיָהוּ (?).

J. A. SELBIE.

KISHION (קִשְׁיוֹן).—A town allotted to Issachar (Jos 19^{20}), given to the Levites (21^{28}, where AV has Kishon). The parallel passage, 1 Ch 6^{72} (Heb.^{57}], reads Kedesh, which is taken (perhaps wrongly) by Dillmann and others to be a textual error for Kishion. The latter name has not been recovered, while there is a large ruined mound called *Tell Ḳedes* near Taanach in Issachar. See *SWP* vol. ii. sheet viii.

C. R. CONDER.

KISHON (נַחַל קִישׁוֹן; B ὁ *χειμάῤῥους* *Κεισών*, other forms *Κισών*, *Κισσών*).—This is the ancient name of the stream which drains almost the whole of the great plain of Esdraelon and the surrounding uplands. All the waters from Tabor and the Nazareth hills, which reach the plain eastward of a line drawn from *Iḳsâl* to Nain, together with those from the N. slopes of Little Hermon, are carried into *Wady esh-Sherrâr*, and thence to the Jordan. The district between Little Hermon and Gilboa, reaching as far west as *el-Fûleh*, also inclines eastward, the waters flowing down *Nahr Jalûd* past *Beisân* into the *Ghôr*. The torrents from Little Hermon between Shunem and Nain, and all from the Galilæan hills west of *Iḳsâl*, make their way through the soft soil of the plain, to join the deep hidden flow of Kishon. The main supplies, however, come from the southern side. The longest branches of the river stretch up the lofty steeps of Gilboa away to the east of *Jenîn*. They are dry torrent-beds, save only in the rainy season, when they carry down foaming floods to swell the central stream. The most distant perennial source is *'Ain Jenîn*, which rises in the glen behind the town. It is carried by a conduit to a well-built fountain in the centre of the place, and thence is distributed for irrigation among the gardens and orchards. By these much of the water is absorbed; and in summer the bed of the river a mile away is as dry as the surrounding plain. Copious springs in the neighbourhood of *Taʿanûḳ* and *Khân Lejjûn*, and many smaller sources along the southern border of the plain, send contributions to the volume of Kishon. About 3 miles east of *Ḥaifa* it is joined by the streams from the great fountains of *Saʿadîyeh*, which rise under the northern base of Mount Carmel, on the edge of the plain of Acre.

The Kishon ('crooked *or* tortuous' [?]) pursues a tortuous course, in a north-westerly direction, keeping well into the centre of the plain. It sweeps round by *Tell el-Ḳassîs*, breaks through a narrow pass on the north of Carmel into the plain of Acre, and enters the sea a little to the north of *Ḥaifa*. *El-Muḳaṭṭaʿ*, 'the watercourse,' is the Arab name for this stream. The old name *Kishon* seems to have quite disappeared; but of its identity there is no reasonable doubt. If the 'waters of Megiddo' (Jg 5^{19}), by which clearly the Kishon and its branches in the neighbourhood of that city is meant, became a popular name, the Arabs may have exchanged *Megiddo*, which was meaningless to them, for *Muḳaṭṭaʿ*, so closely resembling it in sound, the meaning of which they knew (G. A. Smith, *HGHL*^{1} 387), and which, besides, was every way appropriate; for *el-Muḳaṭṭaʿ* is *par excellence* 'the watercourse' of the district.* In the yielding soil of the plain it has hollowed out a great trench, often not less than 15 or 20 feet in depth, along the bottom of which the waters may creep almost unseen to the sea.

In the higher reaches the waters swiftly disappear with the advancing summer. The surface of the plain grows hard in the heat, and cracks in all directions, save only in the vicinity of springs, where, owing to the depth of adhesive mud, travelling is always dangerous. After entering the plain of Acre it is seldom dry, and from the fountains of *Sa'adîyeh* it flows in a constant sluggish stream, between deep banks, surrounded by thick jungle and marsh-land. This part has been reputed a haunt of crocodiles. In recent years Macgregor stands alone in claiming to have seen one of these reptiles while descending to the shore in his canoe (*Rob Roy on the Jordan*, pp. 398–404). A short distance from the sea the river is spanned by a wooden bridge; but save in times of flood it is easily forded along the sandbank thrown up by the waves at its mouth. From the bank southward, fringing the coast, stands a grove of beautiful date palms. Northward are great tracts of barren sandhills. The main ford is where the road crosses from Ḥaifa to Nazareth. Here a succession of bridges has been built, whose workmanship guaranteed their speedy demolition by winter spates. The means of crossing now are not different from what they were in the days of Sisera. The fords higher up are mostly safe in summer for those who know the locality of springs. In winter they are often quite impassable; to attempt them at that season without a qualified guide is to court disaster. The conditions change with great rapidity, intensifying the treacherous character of the river. A few hours of such rain as at times falls on the encircling mountains are sufficient to change the dry bed into the channel of a rushing stream, and the baked earth along the banks into a quagmire. If G. A. Smith's translation (*HGHL*^{1} 395) of Jg 5^{21},* 'torrent of spates,' be correct, it is entirely appropriate.

---

* Kittel (in Haupt's *SBOT*) and Kautzsch read the first clause of these verses, 'And Ner begat Abner.' See ABIEL.

* Moore (*Judges*, 158 n.) rejects decidedly the attempt to find the name *Megiddo* in *Muḳaṭṭaʿ*.

The tides of conflict often rolled along the banks of the Kishon in this great battlefield of the ancient world, but its name is seldom mentioned in history. The first probable reference to it is in Jos 19^{11} 'the brook that is before Jokneam' (RV); Jokneam of Carmel being identified with *Tell Keimûn*, the allusion seems clear (but see Dillm. *ad loc.*). Kishon next appears in the account of Israel's victory over Sisera and his hosts (Jg 4^7, cf. Ps 83^9), and is enshrined in the song celebrating that glorious event, as an ally of the triumphant army (Jg $5^{19.21}$), where a most realistic picture is given of the enemy's rout. The storm beat hard in the faces of the foe; the moistened soil, firm enough for the passage of footmen, yielded to the tread of cavalry; the terrified plunging of the horses as they sank in the deep mire threw their ranks into confusion, leaving them exposed to the onrush of the eager and agile highlandmen. The pitiless rain sent down swift cataracts from the hills, and soon Kishon in dark and sullen flood rolled onward to the sea. Any ford would then be difficult. The foreign horsemen knew none of them, and in vain efforts to escape they simply plunged into the river to die. The ground in the neighbourhood of Megiddo, where this battle appears to have been fought, is extremely treacherous, as the present writer had occasion to prove, even as late as the month of May (1892).

Kishon again figures in the narrative of Elijah's encounter with the false prophets (1 K 18^{40}). The scene of this famous contest is, with tolerable certainty, located at *el-Maḥraḳah*, 'the place of burnt sacrifice,' a rocky plateau at the eastern end of the Carmel range. Thence the doomed men were led down for slaughter in the Kishon. A path, steep but practicable, leads to the river just at the base of *Tell el-Ḳassîs*, 'hill of the minister,' or 'presbyter.' The bed of the Kishon after the prolonged drought was, of course, dry; but the down-rush from the coming storm would soon efface all evidence of the prophet's ghastly work. Close by this hill the grim tragedy was probably enacted. Kishon is not mentioned again in the sacred records, and the name does not occur in Josephus. Eusebius and Jerome mistakenly describe it as rising on Mount Tabor; Benjamin of Tudela (A.D. 1173) speaks of נַחַל קִישׁוֹן as descending from Mount Carmel. He evidently applies נַחַל קְדוּמִים (Jg 5^{21}) to the Belus, *Nahr Na'amân*, near Acre.

LITERATURE.—*PEF Mem.* ii. 36, 96, etc.; Conder, *Tent-Work in Palestine*, 69, 97; Thomson, *Land and Book*, ii. 208–218, 230–234, etc.; G. A. Smith, *HGHL*^{1} 382, 394; Robinson, *BRP* iii. 228, 232, *Later Res.* 114, etc.; Macgregor, *Rob Roy on the Jordan*, 394, 398–404; Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, 336, 339, 355; Maundrell, *Early Travels in Palestine* (Bohn), 430.

W. EWING.

KISS (verb, נָשַׁק, *φιλέω* and *καταφιλέω*; subst. נְשִׁיקָה, *φίλημα*).—A mark of affection or favour, given upon the lips, cheek, brow, beard, hand, clothing, even the ground trodden upon, etc., according as it bore less or more of the idea of respect or fear. As a common form of salutation, it had a place in the social life of ancient times, and still has in the East, which it no longer possesses in modern European countries, being limited by our latter-day reserve to the more tender relationships of life. The OT affords no phenomena regarding the kiss distinctive from the usages of ancient peoples other than Hebrew: in NT we find one peculiar form (see below, 5). The various circumstances and occasions in which the kiss, in some form or other, finds place may be enumerated as follows:—

1. The kiss as a token of *domestic affection*. The mother caressing her infant, fondling it with hands or lips, is so natural that probably we need not go further for the origin of kissing: we have, however, no instance of this mentioned in the Bible (but cf. 1 K $3^{19\text{ff.}}$). The extension of the kiss to other family relationships (in law and blood alike) is but natural: we may distinguish three cases. (*a*) Parents kiss their sons and daughters, Gn $31^{28.55}$ 48^{10} (grandchildren), Ru 1^9. (*b*) Brothers and sisters kiss each other, Gn 33^4, Ca 8^1; in Gn 29^{11} Jacob kisses Rachel as her cousin; the male cousin having the same right as the brother (as among the Bedawîn, Wetzstein, *ZDMG* xxii. 93, 108). (*c*) Children kiss their parents, Gn 27^{26} 50^1 (Joseph kisses his dead father, on which see Schwally, *Leben nach d. Tode*, p. 8, and cf. the solemn kiss at the end of the orthodox rite of burial [Neale, *Holy East. Ch.* ii. 104^b]), Ru 1^{14}.

2. Connected with (*a*) we have (remembering that the relation of father to child was not without a stern element: in older times he had the power of life and death; see Benzinger, *Heb. Archäol.* 148) the kiss as a mark of *condescension*, 2 S 15^5 (Absalom kisses the people) 19^{39} (David kisses Barzillai); the king or prince as father of his people.

3. From (*b*) we may derive the kiss of *friendship*. From among brothers the privilege of kissing is carried into relations outside of the family strictly taken, Gn 29^{13} (Laban and Jacob), To 7^5 (Raguel and Tobias—cousins once removed); then among friends as such, 1 S 20^{41} (Jonathan and David). Meetings and partings were naturally the special occasions for the kiss;—*a fortiori* for the family kiss as under 1—1 K 19^{20}, To 10^{12}, Lk 7^{45a}, Ac 20^{37}; a still more fitting occasion was the reconciliation of friends, Gn 45^{15}, 2 S 14^{33}, Lk 15^{20}. Here, too, belongs the false kiss, Pr 27^6, Sir 29^5, Lk $22^{47.48}$; also the kiss in a metaphorical sense, Ps 85^{10}, Ezk 3^{13} (AVm).

4. Again, from (*c*) we have the kiss as a mark of *respect* growing into *reverence*, 1 S 10^1, Pr 24^{26}, Lk $7^{38.45b}$; see also Gn 41^{40} (but cf. Dillmann, *Genesis*, *ad loc.*); cf. the kissing of the royal hand, or the

---

* On the very obscure expression נַחַל קְדוּמִים (AV, RV 'that ancient river'; LXX *χειμάῤῥους ἀρχαίων*) see, further, Moore, *ad loc.*

pope's sandal; slaves kissing the sleeve or skirt of their master, as still in the East; the conquered kissing the conqueror's feet, or the ground he treads upon ('licking the dust,' Ps 72^{9}, Is 49^{23}, Mic 7^{17}). Idols were kissed by their worshippers, 1 K 19^{18}, Hos 13^{2}, to which may be compared the kissing of the Black Stone in the Ka'ba at Mecca; towards the heavenly bodies as deities a kiss was thrown with the hand (Job 31^{27}).*

5. In NT and the subsequent usage of the Church we find the kiss as a token of *Christian brotherhood*: a holy kiss (φίλημα ἅγιον), Ro 16^{16}, 1 Co 16^{20}, 2 Co 13^{12}, 1 Th 5^{26}; a kiss of love (φίλημα ἀγάπης), 1 P 5^{14}. In time this became a regular part of the Church service as the 'kiss of peace' (ἀσπασμὸς εἰρήνης, osculum pacis, *Const. Apost.* ii. 57. 12, viii. 5. 5; Tertull. *de Orat.* 14). At first it was given promiscuously; later the men kissed the men, the women the women.

6. Finally must be mentioned the kiss as a token of *love between the sexes*, naturally seldom mentioned even in OT (Ca 1^{2}, and in a bad sense Pr 7^{13}), and, as might be expected, not at all in NT.

A. GRIEVE.

KITE.—There are two passages in AV (Lv 11^{14}, Dt 14^{13})† where 'kite' occurs as the tr. of אַיָּה *'ayyâh*. In another passage (Job 28^{7}) AV gives 'vulture' for *'ayyâh*. In all RV gives 'falcon.' In the first two passages RV tr. דָּאָה *dâ'âh* and דַּיָּה *dayyâh*, 'kite.' In both AV tr. 'vulture.' In Is 34^{15} RV tr. *dayyôth*, 'kites,' AV 'vultures.' *Dâ'âh*, *dayyâh*, and *'ayyâh* refer to birds of prey of the falcon tribe. It is evident from the passages in Lv and Dt that the words are generic, and it is a waste of time to endeavour to fasten specific meanings on them.

There are three kites in Bible lands: (1) *Milvus ictinus*, Sav., the *Red Kite*, which may be the *'ayyâh*. It is called in Arab. *sa-f*. It is common in winter, and in rainy weather the flocks of red kites sit motionless in rows on rocks and trees. (2) *M. migrans*, Bodd., the *Black Kite*, perhaps the *dâ'âh* or *dayyâh*. It is very common in Egypt, where it perpetually hovers over the towns and feeds upon garbage. It comes to Palestine and Syria in March, and soon spreads over the country. (3) *M. Ægyptius*, Gmel., the *Egyptian Kite*. It is distinguished from the former by its yellow bill and more deeply forked tail. It is found in Palestine chiefly in the Jordan Valley and adjacent ravines.

G. E. POST.

KITRON (קִטְרוֹן).—A Canaanite town in the territory of Zebulun, Jg 1^{30}. See KATTATH.

KITTIM (כִּתִּים, *i.e.* prop. 'Kitians' [note כִּתִּיִּם in Is 23^{12} Kt., Jer 2^{10}], people of כת [*CIS* I. i. 11], more usually כתי *Kition* [I. i. 10, 11, 14, 19, 88 etc.]; AV **Chittim**, so also RV in 1 Mac 1^{1} 8^{5}).—A people described in Gn 10^{4} as descended from Javan, and therefore belonging to the Greek or Græco-Latin races of the West, occupying territories stretching along the coasts of the Mediterranean Sea. Elishah, Tarshish, and Rodanim (Ῥόδιοι in LXX, better than Dodanim of MT), named in that passage alongside of Kittim, are now generally identified respectively with Sicily and Southern Italy, Spain, and Rhodes. As these are all islands or coastlands in the West, it is natural to look to the same region for the localizing of the Kittim. That they were islanders is explicitly asserted by the phrase current among the prophets, 'the isles of Kittim' (Jer 2^{10}, Ezk 27^{6}). But though distinctly Westerns in respect of geographical situation, they are represented as having been from the earliest times intimately associated with the civilized and commercial peoples of the extreme eastern limits of the Mediterranean coast. Thus Ezekiel (27^{6}) mentions 'the isles of K.' as supplying Tyre with boxwood, or more probably sherbin wood, a species of cedar, out of which the benches or decks of their costly and luxurious ships were constructed. And further, we find that the prophet in this passage places 'the isles of K.' between Bashan and Elishah, therefore west of the former and east of the latter, *i.e.* between Palestine on the east and Sicily or Italy on the west. In Is 23$^{1.12}$ Tarshish or Spain is said to hear from the land of K. of the fall of Tyre, which implies that the land of K. lay somewhere between Tyre and Tarshish. The country of the K., therefore, must have been an island situated somewhere in the eastern part of the Mediterranean, to the east at least of Sicily, and not very far removed from the coasts of Tyre. Josephus (*Ant.* I. vi. 1) points to the name of the city Kition or Citium in Cyprus as a memorial of the residence of the K. in that island. This writer also, most probably drawing his information from tradition current among the Jews of his day, states that the ancient name of Cyprus was Cethima, and that it received its name from Cethimus, the third son of Javan, who had settled there, and whose descendants held possession under the name of Kittim. Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis in Cyprus, whose life covers most of the 4th cent., makes use (*Hær.* xxx. 25) of the name K., in a wider sense, to include not only the inhabitants of Cyprus, but also those of Rhodes, and even of the coastlands of Macedonia. This, indeed, is quite in keeping with the later Jewish usage of this word. 'The ships of K.' in Dn 11^{30} are evidently those of the Romans, and 'the land of K.' in 1 Mac 1^{1} 8^{5} is evidently that of the Macedonians. In this late period the name was applied generally to the lands and peoples of the West. The reference to the Romans in Dn 11^{30} is quite distinctly to the expedition of Caius Popilius Laenas. This Roman general was sent in A.D. 168 against Antiochus Epiphanes, who had entered Egypt and attacked that country, quickly reducing him to submission and causing him hastily to withdraw to Syria. The story of the campaign is told by Polybius (xxix. 11) in language singularly like that employed in Daniel. See also Livy, *Hist.* xliv. 19, xlv. 11. This wider application of the name K. is quite in accordance with the usage of Josephus (*Ant.* I. vi. 1), who says that it is from the possession of the island of Cethima or Cyprus by Cethimus that 'all islands and the greatest part of the seacoasts are named Cethim by the Hebrews.' At the same time, just as here also in Josephus, it appears to be the unanimous opinion of antiquity that the original location of the K. was in the island of Cyprus.

In very early times the Phœnicians had sailed up and down in the Mediterranean, and, while trafficking in their wares far and near, they established colonies in several of the islands, and at points along the coast convenient as depôts for their foreign carrying trade. From its natural situation Cyprus must have early attracted their attention, and must soon have become their principal station in the conducting and extending of their trade with the West. Herodotus (*Hist.* vii. 90) distinctly states that most of the Cypriote cities had originally been Phœnician colonies. The Phœnician origin of Kition, a city in the south-east of the island, now Larnaka, is plainly witnessed to by Cicero (*de Finibus*, iv. 20), and naturally enough the Phœnician settlers in other parts of the island would carry with them the name of their oldest and principal foundation. These Phœnician settlements in Cyprus date from a very early age—it may be even before the days of Moses (Diodor. v. 55. 77; Herodot. i. 105; Pausan. i. 14. 6). After a time it would seem that these Phœnicians in Cyprus were joined by certain Canaanitish refugees, who had been driven out by the Philistines, and that they brought with them their moon goddess Atergatis (Derceto), whose temple was built at Old Paphos, while that of the Phœnician Baal was at Kition (see ASHTORETH). The existence of such Phœnician colonies in Cyprus is witnessed to also by the occasional references in history to the Kittim as subject to, or at least as claimed as subjects of, Tyre. It would seem that even as early as the days of king Solomon the K. were subject to the Tyrians, and compelled by Hiram to pay tribute (Jos. *Ant.* VIII. v. 3, *c. Apion.* 1. 18). Josephus also tells how Elulæus, king of Tyre, sailed against the revolted K., and reduced them again to submission (*Ant.* IX. xiv. 2). In the annals of Sargon the Cypriote kings are referred to as put under tribute in B.C. 709 (Schrader, COT^2 ii. 96).

---

* 'Kiss the son' Ps 2^{12} (AV, RV text), is an extremely doubtful passage. The MT נַשְּׁקוּ בַר is prob. corrupt, and nothing is gained by simply substituting Heb. בֵּן for Aram. בַּר. Aq., Symm., Jerome (although in his Comm. on Ps he gives *adorate filium*) take בר='pure,' 'choice' (cf. RVm), and tr., respectively, καταφιλήσατε ἐκλεκτῶς, προσκυνήσατε καθαρῶς, *adorate pure*. The LXX δράξασθε παιδείας (cf. Targ. קַבִּילוּ אוּלפנא, Vulg. *apprehendite disciplinam*, and RVm), 'lay hold of instruction,' may imply a text קְחוּ מוּסָר. Lagarde emends (מוֹסֵרוֹ) נַשְּׁקוּ מוֹסֵרוֹ 'put on his bonds' (cf v.^{3}), and this has been adopted by Kamphausen and Cheyne (*Origin of Psalter*, 351). But in his latest view of the passage (*Book of Psalms*, 2nd ed., and *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*, 1898, p. 112) Cheyne substitutes נַשְּׁקוּ ('kiss'='do homage') for גִּילוּ ('rejoice') in v.^{11}, and drops בר, which, he says, is really a fragment of the word rendered 'with trembling' (ברעדה): thus—

Serve J" with fear,
And do homage with trembling,
Lest he be angry, and your course end in ruin.

† The text of Dt 14^{13} is corrupt. For הָרָאָה read הַדָּאָה, and delete הַדַּיָּה (so *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*, Siegfried-Stade, Dillm., Driver, Steuernagel, following Sam. and LXX).

It is not, however, to these Phœnician colonists that the name is given in Gn 10^4. The Phœnician K. may rather be set alongside of the Caphtorim (Gn 10^{14}), who are represented as Cushites, and of the sons of Ham, and as inhabiting some island or coastland near to Cyprus, in all probability Crete. The Japhethite K., as sons of Javan, belonged to the Greek family of nations—whether to the ancient pre-Hellenic Carian population of the island, or to some Hellenic tribe which had in early times settled there, can scarcely now be determined. Interesting inscriptions have been discovered near Larnaka, the ancient Kition, which, although figured in Phœnician letters, are yet composed in a Greek dialect. This seems to indicate that the people from whom these inscriptions have come down to us were a Greek people, ethnographically belonging to the family of Javan, retaining their language and modes of thought, but largely influenced by the presence of a Phœnician immigration. That they adopted the Phœnician letters and mode of writing is just the sort of result we should have expected, seeing that the Phœnician colonists were enterprising merchants, who would naturally lead in matters of commerce and correspondence with those around.

The last recorded words of Balaam are a prophecy of the destruction of Asshur and Eber by some conquering power coming in ships from 'the coast of Kittim' (Nu 24^{24}). It is quite evident that here the term אִי כִּתִּים is used, not to describe the island of Cyprus, or any other exactly defined territory, but as indicating quite generally some great Western people which had made themselves a name, and become a terror among the nations. No doubt Asshur and Eber stand for the great powers of the East collectively, and the prophecy is a foretelling of the utter overthrow of the sovereignty of the Eastern monarchies by the advancing power of the great empires of the West. The beginning of the fulfilment was seen in the campaigns of Alexander the Great, but it was much more truly and permanently realized in the development and growth of the empire of the Romans. The phrase 'coast of Kittim,' therefore, does not mean Macedonia, nor Rome, but simply the Western power which, for the time being, is to the front, or gives promise of prominence and permanence in the immediate future. See CYPRUS.

LITERATURE.—Besides works mentioned in the text, see Kurtz, *History of the Old Covenant*, vol. iii. Edin. 1859, p. 450ff.; Orelli, *The OT Prophecy of the Consummation of God's Kingdom*, Edin. 1885, pp. 143–147; Bevan, *Short Commentary on Daniel*, Camb. 1892, p. 190 f.; Ewald, *History of Israel*, London, 1880, vol. v. pp. 245, 297. See also 'Chittim' by Kautzsch in Riehm, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 234; and by Kneucker in Schenkel, *Bibellexicon*, 1515 f.; and the literature under CYPRUS.

J. MACPHERSON.

KNEAD, KNEADING-TROUGH.—See BREAD, vol. i. p. 317ᵃ.

KNEE, KNEEL (בֶּרֶךְ [Assyr. *birku*], in Dn 6^{10} Aram. בְּרַךְ, once Dn 5^6 Aram. אַרְכֻבָּה; 'kneel' is expressed by vb. בָּרַךְ in *Qal*,[*] 2 Ch 6^{13}, Ps 95^6 [all], cf. Aram. ptcp. בָּרֵךְ in Dn 6^{10} and *Hiph.* וַיַּבְרֵךְ used in Gn 24^{11} of causing camels to kneel. The LXX and NT terms are γόνυ, 'knee,' and γονυπετεῖν, 'kneel').—The knees appear repeatedly in Scripture as a seat of strength, and hence as weakened through terror, Job 4^4 ('thou hast confirmed the feeble knees'; cf. Is 35^3, He 12^{12}); Ezk 7^{17} ('all knees shall be weak as water'; cf. 21^7 [Heb.^{12}]); Dn 5^6 (the appearing of the handwriting upon the wall so terrified Belshazzar that 'his knees smote one against another'; cf. Nah 2^{10}). A psalmist complains that his knees are weak through fasting, Ps 109^{24}. Amongst the plagues denounced upon disobedience to the Deuteronomic law is this, 'The LORD shall smite thee in the knees . . . with a sore boil,' etc., where the reference appears to be to some form of elephantiasis (see Driver, *ad loc.*).

Kneeling down to drink (from their hands) was the attitude adopted by a portion of Gideon's warriors on the occasion of the famous test, Jg $7^{5.6}$ (where see Moore's note). One of the stages in the measurement of the depth of the river which Ezekiel saw issuing from the temple was that 'the waters were to the knees' (Ezk 47^4). Delilah made Samson sleep עַל־בִּרְכֶּיהָ Jg 16^{19}; the Shunammite's son sat upon his mother's knees till he died, 2 K 4^{20}; children were dandled upon the knees, Is 66^{12}.

Gn 48^{12} (E), 'And Joseph brought them out from between his knees' (וַיּוֹצֵא יוֹסֵף אֹתָם מֵעִם בִּרְכָּיו), is not perfectly clear, but the meaning probably is that Joseph took his sons away from *Jacob's* knees, before himself bowing down to receive the blessing (v.^{15} connects directly with v.^{12} in E's narrative, the intervening vv.$^{13.14}$ being from J).

In Gn 30^3 (E) Rachel gives Bilhah to Jacob 'that she may bear upon my knees' (וְתֵלֵד עַל־בִּרְכַּי); in 50^{23} (also E) the children of Machir the son of Manasseh were born upon Joseph's knees (יֻלְּדוּ עַל־בִּרְכֵּי יוֹסֵף); Job (3^{12}) asks, 'Why did the knees receive me?' (מַדּוּעַ קִדְּמוּנִי בִרְכָּיִם). In the first two passages at least[†] there appears to be an allusion to the custom of placing newly-born infants on the father's (or grandfather's) lap as a token of his recognition or adoption of them (cf. Hom. *Od.* xix. 401). Rachel thus undertakes to acknowledge Bilhah's children as her own, and Joseph recognizes Machir's children as his descendants (see

---

[*] The other conjugations have the sense of 'bless' (*Piel*), 'bless oneself' (*Niph.* and *Hithp.*), 'be blessed' (*Pual*). The pass. ptcp. *Qal* בָּרוּךְ also occurs 71 times with the meaning of 'blessed.'

[†] In Job 3^{12} Dillmann finds nothing more than a placing of the newly-born child on the knee of the midwife or the father, without any symbolical meaning (but see Duhm, *ad loc.*).

Dillm. on all these three passages; also art. BIRTH in vol. i. p. 300^b; Ploss, *Das Weib*^{2}, ii. 177 ff.; Stade, *ZATW* vi. (1886), 143 ff.).

Kneeling as an attitude in worship is repeatedly mentioned in Scripture, 1 K 8^{54}=2 Ch 6^{13} (Solomon at dedication of the temple); 1 K 19^{18} ('the knees which have not bowed to Baal'; cf. Ro 11^4); Ezr 9^5 (Ezra in confessing the iniquity of the foreign marriages); Is 45^{23} ('to me every knee shall bow'; cf. Ro 14^{11}, Ph 2^{10}, on which last see Lightfoot's note); Dn 6^{10} (when Daniel prayed three times a day); Ac 7^{60} (the dying St. Stephen); 9^{40} (St. Peter before the raising of Dorcas); 20^{36} (St. Paul praying with the elders of Ephesus); 21^5 (a similar scene at Tyre); Eph 3^{14} (St. Paul's prayer for the 'Ephesians.'). A variation from this attitude is found in 1 K 18^{42}, where Elijah in praying for rain 'put his face between his knees' (וַיָּשֶׂם פָּנָיו בֵּין בִּרְכָּיו). The same mental feeling underlies the adoption of kneeling in addressing an entreaty to a fellow-creature, or in doing homage to a superior, 2 K 1^{13} (Ahaziah's officer in entreating Elijah to spare his life); Mt 17^{14} (the father of the epileptic boy came kneeling to Jesus [*γονυπετῶν αὐτόν*]); Mk 1^{40} (the leper); 10^{17} (the rich young ruler); Mt 27^{29} (the soldiers mocked Jesus by kneeling down before Him [*γονυπετήσαντες ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ*, cf. Mk 15^{19} *τιθέντες γόνατα προσεκύνουν αὐτῷ*]). In Lk 5^8 Simon Peter falls down upon his knees (*προσέπεσεν τοῖς γόνασιν*) as he cries, 'Depart from me: for I am a sinful man, O Lord.'

For the doubtful 'Bow the knee' of Gn 41^{43} see ABRECH. J. A. SELBIE.

KNIFE (חֶרֶב, מַאֲכֶלֶת).—Knives were originally of flint or sharp stone (Ex 4^{25} צֹר, Jos $5^{2.3}$ חַרְבוֹת צֻרִים).

Flint knives have been found in a cave at Antelias, near Beirût, amongst bones and charcoal; and also in a calcareous deposit on the old road along the sea-coast near the Nahr el-Kelb. It is said that flint knives are still used by the Bedawîn of the Syrian desert. The knives generally used in Syria are sheath-knives, and are stuck in the girdle. They are from 8 to 10 in. long, including the handle. They are used for every purpose for which a knife is required, and are formidable weapons. W. CARSLAW.

KNOCK.—See HOUSE, vol. ii. p. 435.

KNOP (a variant of *knob* and of *knap* [in knapweed], Old English *cnaep*) is used by our translators to render 1. כַּפְתֹּר *kaphtōr*, the spherical ornament on the stem and arms of the golden lampstand in the tabernacle (Ex 25^{32-36} and parll. pass. 37^{17-22}). The Greek translators have *σφαιρωτήρ*, the Vulgate *sphærula*, Luther *Knauf* (a kindred word). The 'knops' are easily recognizable in the familiar representation of the later 'candlestick' on the arch of Titus. For their relation to the rest of the ornamentation see TABERNACLE (sec. dealing with the **golden candlestick**). A similar knop is seen on the stem of the chalice which appears on the obverse of certain Jewish coins (see MONEY).

The same word, *kaphtōr*, occurs in two other passages of the OT, viz. Am 9^1 (AV 'smite the lintel of the door,' marg. 'chapiter' [so RV] or 'knop'), and Zeph 2^{14} (AV 'the upper lintel,' marg. 'knops *or* chapiters'; the last is the rendering of RV). In the former passage the reference is clearly to the capitals or chapiters of the pillars in the schismatic temple of J" at Bethel, in the latter to those of the columns in the ruined city of Nineveh. The feature common to these capitals and the knops of the lampstand was doubtless the circular or rather spherical form (cf. the spherical capitals of the two pillars Jachin and Boaz, 1 K 7^{41}; see art. CHAPITER).

2. In our EV 'knops' is also the translation of an entirely different word פְּקָעִים, *pĕḳā'îm*, of which the precise signification is still uncertain. It is used to describe the ornamentation on the cedar lining of the temple walls: 'And there was cedar in the house within, carved with knops (marg. 'gourds') and open flowers' (1 K 6^{18} RV). This must refer to some egg-shaped (cf. Targum, *in loc.*) ornament, carved in low relief, perhaps, as the margin proposes, the fruit of the *citrullus colocynthus*, which appears to bear in Hebrew the cognate name *paḳḳû'ah*—the 'wild gourd' of 2 K 4^{39}.* Two rows of the same ornamentation were introduced 'under the brim' of the great 'molten sea' which stood in the temple court (1 K 7^{24}). In this case, however, the knops were not the product of the artist's chisel, but were cast with the sea (*ib.*). See SEA (BRAZEN). A. R. S. KENNEDY.

KNOWLEDGE.—The word 'knowledge' is here considered, not generally, but only in the ethico-religious sense, or so far as there is an approximation in Scripture to a technical (theological) use of it. At the very beginning of the OT the probation of man is connected with the tree of the knowledge of good and evil (Gn 2^{17}). The view of 'knowledge' underlying this mythical narrative seems to be that which is brought out in Wellhausen's interpretation (*Prolegomena*^{2}, p. 316 f.). To know good and evil does not mean in Hebrew to have the moral consciousness developed; it means to be intelligent, 'to know what's what.' The desire to know is the desire to be like God—to possess His secrets, to wield His power, and so to be independent of Him. But the gratification of this desire, so the moral would originally run, always defeats itself. The impulse to know, the impulse which creates science and civilization, is indulged at a great cost. We build Babylon, and become conscious that we have lost Eden. That this appreciation of 'knowledge,' which pervades the sceptical passages in Ecclesiastes, underlies the third chapter of Genesis, is not to be denied; but neither can we deny that the myth is so treated by the writer as to make it yield an explanation of the transition in human history from innocence to guilt. The eating of the forbidden fruit was an act in which man lost the knowledge of God and acquired the knowledge of sin.

i. The OT everywhere assumes that there is such a thing as the knowledge of God, but it is never speculative, and it is never achieved by man. God is known because He makes Himself known, and He makes Himself known in His character. Hence the knowledge of God is in the OT=true religion; and as it is of God's grace that He appears from the beginning speaking, commanding, active, so as to be known for what He is, so the reception of this knowledge of God is ethically conditioned. The secret (סוֹד, lit. *friendly conversation*) of the LORD is with them that fear Him (Ps 25^{14}); the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the LORD are one (Is 11^2). On the other hand, an irreligious man is described as one who does not know God; and that though he is the priest ministering at the altar (1 S 2^{12}). The moral corruption of the last days of Israel is described by Hosea when he writes, 'There is no truth, nor loving-kindness, nor knowledge of God in the land' (Hos 4^1). The ethical content and value of this knowledge are seen also in ch. 6^6 'I desire mercy and not sacrifice, and the knowledge of God more than burnt-offerings.' It is in this sense of an experimental acquaintance with God's character, and a life determined by it, that a universal knowledge of God is made the chief blessing of the Messianic age. 'The earth shall be full of the knowledge of the LORD' (Is 11^{9}); 'They shall all know me, from the least to the greatest' (Jer 31^{34}). And this again is not because men have achieved it by speculative efforts of their own: 'All thy children shall be taught of the LORD' (Is 54^{13}). Side by side with this practical knowledge of God the OT makes room for any degree of speculative agnosticism. God is great beyond all our thoughts: His ways are unsearchable (Job 5^{9}). He is a God who hides Himself (Is 45^{15}), and gives no account of His matters. But such agnosticism is not a rival of religion, of the knowledge of God: it is a part of it. The knowledge of God includes a recognition of His immensity, and part of man's worship must always be silence (Ps 65^{1}). This is especially brought out in the Book of Job. The conception of true religion as the knowledge of God is probably the true antecedent and parent of some NT expressions for which affinities have been sought in the phenomena of Gnosticism. John (6^{45}) quotes Is 54^{13} (see above); and the key to the emphasis which he lays on 'knowing' God, or the truth, or Jesus Christ, is more likely to be found in such passages as are referred to above, than in modes of thought alien to Christianity.

---

* It has been pointed out (Löw, *Aram. Pflanzennamen*, p. 278) that פְּקַעַת in the Mishna denotes a ball of yarn (see this word and פְּקוּעָה in Levy, *Neuheb. Wörterb. s.vv.*).

ii. In the NT it will be convenient to take the different sections apart. (*a*) In the *Gospels* Christ appears first in the character of a teacher, moved with compassion for a people left without the knowledge of God, excluded from His kingdom because the key of knowledge—*i.e.* knowledge itself, the key which should open the door of the kingdom—has been taken away by its guardians (Lk 11^{52}). He represents it as the chief privilege of His disciples that to them it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven (Mt 13$^{10-17}$)—mysteries which kings and prophets had longed to see, but could not. He represents it as His own unique distinction that He alone has, and can communicate, the knowledge of God as the Father, in which true religion henceforth consists (Mt 11$^{25-27}$). But here, as in the OT, it is no abstract conception that Jesus wishes to impart; to know God as Father is in reality to know that we are the children of God, and in knowing it to become His children. The new knowledge has to give a new character to our life, and if there is no trace of such a new character it is vain for us to say that we know the Father: we are in darkness in spite of all God has done to make Himself known. The ethical conditions of this knowledge are plainly stated in Mt 5^{8}, Jn 7^{17}; and in Jn 17^{3} it is identified with eternal life, the perfect blessing that the Son of God has come to impart. The proper relation to God is always conceived by St. John to be involved in the true knowledge of God; to know Him that is true and to be in Him that is true are all one. It is exactly this sense that the knowledge of God has in Hos 4. 6, or in Jer 31: there is no schism between the intellectual and the practical for the apostle or the prophet; the two are united in the integrity of the heart, which in Scripture is the organ of knowledge. When we read in Jn 8^{32} 'Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall set you free,' the freedom spoken of is probably not so definite in its application as in many places in St. Paul. The idea rather is that to be right with God puts one right, sets one free, in all other relations.

(*b*) In *St. Paul's writings* knowledge appears in many aspects. (*α*) In contrast with the wisdom of this world the gospel as a whole is conceived as a wisdom of God, which God has revealed in His Son and interpreted by His Spirit. There is, indeed, or there might have been, a natural knowledge of God (Ro 1$^{19f.}$, Ac 14^{17}), but a knowledge of God in any sense bringing salvation is possible only through the reception of God's Spirit (1 Co 2). Such knowledge *every* Christian possesses; Christ is made to him *wisdom* (1 Co 1^{30}), and he is chosen in sanctification of the Spirit and belief of *the truth* (2 Th 2^{13}). But St. Paul speaks of knowledge in another sense. There are degrees of insight into the one great truth of God; there are truths which are not imparted to babes, but only spoken 'among the perfect' (1 Co 2^{6}); there is a χάρισμα, a special spiritual gift, called 'the word of knowledge' (1 Co 12^{8}), in which the Corinthians were rich; and though a χάρισμα was given to one for the good of all, we see that knowledge might be the possession of a few, or of a circle, not of the whole Church. To judge from 1 Co 2$^{9f.}$ one of the subjects with which this higher knowledge was concerned was eschatology—'all that God has prepared for them that love him.' But it had also more directly practical applications. An enlightened conscience in regard to the use of things indifferent was one mode of it. 'As touching things offered to idols, we know that we all have knowledge' (1 Co 8^{1}). Christian intelligence generally was sufficiently developed to know that an idol is nothing in the world. But in some it was not sufficiently developed to know that this mere perception of a principle is no adequate guide to Christian conduct. It is not by principle merely, but by consideration of persons, circumstances, and consequences, that a Christian must act; in other words, not by knowledge but by love. Knowledge in this abstract sense is not without moral peril; it inflates the individual, whereas love builds up the body of Christ. All through the First Ep. to the Corinthians, knowledge as a gift distinguishing one Christian from another is subordinated in this way to love (chs. 8. 12. 13. 14).

(*β*) When we pass to the Epp. of the Captivity, knowledge has quite another position and emphasis. The gospel is confronted with a φιλοσοφία, which is at the same time a 'vain deceit,' something determined by human tradition and agreeing with 'the elements of the world,' Jewish or pagan (Col 2^{8}); and in opposition to this philosophy, or as it would now be called theosophy, the Christian revelation is defined and expanded as the true wisdom of God. As a formal indication of the extent to which the gospel is here put under the point of view of 'knowledge,' Holtzmann (*NT Theologie*, ii. 237) quotes the following list of words from the Ep. to the Ephesians: *ἀκούειν, ἀλήθεια, ἀληθεύειν, ἀποκάλυψις, ἀποκαλύπτειν, ἀποκρύπτειν, ἄφρων, γινώσκειν, γνῶσις, διδασκαλία, διδάσκειν, εἰδέναι, ἐπιγινώσκειν, ἐπίγνωσις, μανθάνειν, μυστήριον, νοεῖν, νοῦς, πλάνη, σκοτίζεσθαι, σκότος, σοφία, σοφός, σύνεσις, συνιέναι, φανεροῦσθαι, φῶς, φωτίζειν.* This knowledge centres in Christ. He is the mystery of God, in whom are all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge hidden away (Col 2^{2}). All the questions which man has to ask in the sphere of religion—questions as to the origination of the world, its natural unity, the place in it of the human race; questions as to the relation of humanity to God, its sin, reconciliation, and glory—must find their answer in Him. The doctrine of Christ in these Epistles is expanded into a Christian interpretation of the world, and this is the object of Christian knowledge. It is not to be the property of a class. St. Paul warns *every* man and teaches *every* man in *every* wisdom, that he may present *every* man *perfect* in Christ (Col 1^{28}). As in the earlier Epistles, there is a certain eschatological reference in the knowledge or wisdom which is so emphasized here: Christ is conceived among the Gentiles as '*the hope of glory*' (Col 1^{27}), and St. Paul prays that the Ephesians may have the eyes of their hearts enlightened to know what is '*the* *hope of his calling*, and what the riches of the glory of his inheritance in the saints' (Eph 1^{18}). Such inward illumination indeed is the aim of the letters; they can be summed up (Weiss, *NT Theol.* p. 428) in the prayer 'that the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory, may give unto you a spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of him' (Eph 1^{17}). In this last passage knowledge is ἐπίγνωσις, a word which as opposed to γνῶσις denotes full or further knowledge, and which, though frequent in St. Paul, is used besides only in He and 2 P. According to Cremer, it is always used of a knowledge which has the strongest influence on the religious life; it is combined with such expressions as τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀληθείας, τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, τοῦ μυστηρίου τοῦ θεοῦ, τοῦ θελήματος τοῦ θεοῦ, τοῦ Κυρ. ἡμῶν Ἰ. Χ. It does not therefore suggest an abstractly intellectual view of Christianity—a theology, so to speak, as distinct from a religion; just as in the OT and in St. John, knowledge includes the spiritual and moral relation to its object, which answers to the nature of that object. Truth as truth is in Jesus is not only to be believed and known but *done* by the Christian (1 Jn 1^{6}). What St. Paul calls ἡ ἐπίγνωσις τοῦ θεοῦ is not only a deeper comprehension of the Christian revelation in itself, but a deeper insight into its practical significance and obligations.

(γ) In the Pastoral Epistles Christianity is conceived as a teaching or doctrine (διδασκαλία) more definitely than in any other part of the NT. Christians are those who have repented and come to the knowledge of the truth (1 Ti 2^{4} 4^{3}). To oppose the gospel is to resist the truth (2 Ti 3^{8}). But though the truth can be stated by itself, it is always of moral import. It is the truth 'which is according to godliness' (Tit 1^{1}), a διδασκαλία καλή and ὑγιαίνουσα. When men abandon it or reject it, it is from some moral unsoundness; they turn from the truth, and with itching ears heap up teachers 'according to their own lusts.' The 'knowledge falsely so called' (1 Ti 6^{20}), whether the ἀντιθέσεις justifies a reference to Marcion or not, is conceived as a morbid phenomenon opposed to the morally wholesome teaching of Christianity, and whoever is misled by it 'errs concerning the faith'—his religious life misses the mark.

(*c*) In *the other books of the NT* knowledge is not a characteristic conception. In 2 P it has a certain prominence ($1^{2f.}$ 2^{20} 3^{18}), in a sense more akin to that which it bears in the Pastorals than elsewhere; the ἐπίγνωσις or full knowledge of God, or of Jesus our Lord, is saving knowledge. We grow in it as we grow in the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ; the two processes of growth are one. It is morally efficacious for our deliverance from the pollutions of the world. In the Ep. to the Hebrews γνῶσις does not occur at all, and ἐπίγνωσις only in 10^{26} (cf. Tit 1^{1}, 1 Ti 2^{4} 4^{3}). But the whole Epistle may be regarded as a specimen of a particular kind of Christian γνῶσις. It recognizes the distinction between a less and more perfect apprehension of Christianity ($5^{11ff.}$ $6^{1ff.}$), and the writer exhibits his own 'knowledge' in that interpretation of the OT which makes its institutions and characters typical of Christ. This typological γνῶσις is quite different from the ἐπίγνωσις of the mystery of God, even Christ, which we find in the Pastoral Epistles; yet as a mode of representing the organic unity of the NT and the OT it may also contribute to a Christian philosophy. And some such thing—not in the sense of a speculation *a priori*, without ethical inspiration, but in the sense of an expression and interpretation of Christian faith, which shall be pervaded throughout by the spiritual virtue of that faith—seems to be set before us by the NT writers as the ideal of 'knowledge.'

J. Denney.

KOA (קוֹעַ; Ὑχουε B, Λουδ A, Κουε Q; Targ. קוּעָאֵי; Syr. ܩܘܥ; Aq. κορυφαῖον; Vulg. *principes*).—In Ezk 23^{23} 'the children of Babylon and all the Chaldæans, Peḳod, and Shoa' (שׁוֹעַ), and *Ḳoa'*, all the children of Asshur with them,'—most probably the contracted form of *Ḳutû*, *Ḳuti*, the name of a people (also called *Gutium*, *Guti*), often mentioned in the Assyrian Inscriptions, whose home was to the N. of Babylon, in the mountainous district between the upper Adhem and the Dijâlâ (see the map in Del. *Paradies*; *KAT*² *ad loc.*).* The following are the grounds for this conclusion. The inscriptions speak often of a country *Su-êdin*, *Su-tium*, or *Suti*; and as Ezk names together *Peḳod* (also Jer 50^{21}) and *Shoa'*, so Sargon (Khors. inscr. l. 19: *KIB* ii. 55; cf. ll. 82, 123, 135 f.) mentions together among his conquests *Puḳudu* and *Suti*: elsewhere, moreover, in the inscriptions, the shorter form *Su* is found for *Su-êdin*, *Su-tium*: on these grounds, therefore, it is probable that the *Shoa'* of Ezk are the *Suti* of the inscriptions (S.E. of Ḳutu, in the direction of Elam). Further, as Ezk. couples together *Shoa'* and *Ḳoa'*, so the inscriptions often couple together *Su-êdin* or *Suti* with *Ḳutu*:† a presumption thus arises that as *Shoa'* corresponds to *Suti* or *Sutu*, so *Ḳoa'* corresponds to *Ḳutu*, the only link in the complete proof that is missing being the fact that (according to Del.) the shorter form *Ḳu* (corresponding to *Su*) is not known to occur in the inscriptions. Nevertheless, the identification is a very probable one; and if, as Hilprecht's discoveries appear to have shown,‡ the Chebar was 'a large navigable canal near Nippur,' Ezekiel would not, speaking comparatively, have been far distant from any of the three peoples named in this verse. Both Sutu and Ḳutu are, as Winckler (*Alttest. Unterss.* 1892, 178) remarks, the standing *foes* of Assyria: the words in Ezk. 'all the children of Asshur,' are not, however, necessarily in apposition with these two names.§

Ges. (*Thes.*) defends the appellative sense *principes*; but his etymology, though ingenious, must be owned to be far-fetched and improbable. See, further, Schrader, *KAT*² *ad loc.*; and especially Delitzsch, *Paradies*, pp. 234–6; and cf. art. Kir in the present volume.

S. R. Driver.

KOHATH (קְהָת) is known to us only from P and the Chronicler. According to these writers, he was the second of the three sons of Levi (Ex 6^{16}, Nu 3^{17}, 1 Ch $6^{1.16}$ 23^{6}). He had four sons, Amram, Izhar, Hebron, and Uzziel (Ex 6^{18}, Nu 3^{19}, 1 Ch $6^{2.18}$ 23^{12}), and lived to the age of 133 years (Ex 6^{18}). In 1 Ch 6^{22} Amminadab is said to be the son of Kohath, but this is probably a clerical error for Izhar (cf. 6^{38}). His sister was Jochebed, the aunt and wife of Amram, and the mother of Moses (Ex 6^{20}, Nu 26^{59}). For the rebellion of his grandson Korah (Nu 16) see Korah. Nothing further is related of K. personally, but we have fuller particulars of the fortunes of his descendants. Their history falls into three periods—(1) the wilderness wanderings and the settlement in Canaan, (2) the monarchy, (3) the period after the Exile.

1. At the time of the census taken by Moses in the wilderness of Sinai the **Kohathites** were

---

* Or acc. to Winckler (*Unterss. zur altor. Gesch.* 131), like the *Suti*, a nomadic tribe of the Mesopotamian plains.

† Cf. *KIB* i. p. 5, where the 'widespread Ḳuti' and the 'Suti' are named in successive lines among the tribes subjugated by Rammân-nirâri I. (*c.* 1325 B.C.). So Sargon, *l.c.* (*KIB* ii. 55), mentions *Gutium*, three lines before *Puḳudu* and *Suti*.

‡ *Bab. Exped. of the Univ. of Pennsylv.* ix. (1898), p. 28; cf. *PEFSt*, Jan. 1898, p. 55.

§ Winckler (with Bredenkamp and Klostermann) would read קוע for קיר (with שׁוע as pr. name) in Is 22^{5}. This is favoured also by W. Max Müller (in art. Kir above); but the two names are difficult to harmonize with מקרקר, except by giving this verb arbitrary meanings like 'surround' or 'stir up.'

divided into four families, the Amramites, the Izharites, the Hebronites, and the Uzzielites (Nu 3^{27}). The whole number of males from a month old was 8600 (3^{28}), and between 30 and 50 years of age 2750 ($4^{2.\ 3.\ 34\text{-}37}$). Their position in the camp was on the side of the tabernacle southward (3^{29}), and their chief at this time was Elizaphan the son of Uzziel (3^{30}). The office assigned to them by P during the wilderness wanderings was the carrying of the sanctuary and its furniture, after it had been prepared for travel by Aaron and his sons (3^{31} $4^{4\text{-}15}$ 10^{21}). In this respect the Kohathites, the family of Aaron, had a more honourable office than that given to the descendants of Gershon the elder brother, and they consequently precede the Gershonites in Nu 4, Jos 21, 1 Ch 6. 15, 2 Ch 29^{12}. In consequence of the greater holiness of their burden they carried it upon their shoulders (Nu 7^{9}), in contrast to the Gershonites and Merarites, to whom waggons and oxen were given ($7^{7.\ 8}$). The Kohathites are also mentioned at the time of the census taken by Moses and Eleazar in the plains of Moab by the Jordan, when the whole number of Levites was 23,000 (26^{57}).

At the allotment of Levitical cities by Joshua and Eleazar after the settlement in Pal., thirteen cities out of the territories of Judah, Simeon, and Benjamin were assigned to the Kohathite descendants of Aaron (Jos $21^{4.\ 13\text{-}19}$ [P]=1 Ch $6^{57\text{-}60}$); and ten others out of the territories of Ephraim, Dan, and Western Manasseh to the rest of the Kohathites (Jos $21^{5.\ 20\text{-}26}$ [P]=1 Ch $6^{61.\ 67\text{-}70}$).

2. In the reign of David, as narrated by the Chronicler, we have several references to the Kohathites. The Kohathite family of Heman, together with the Gershonite family of Asaph and the Merarite family of Ethan or Jeduthun, were, acc. to this writer, specially set apart to administer the temple music (cf. 1 Ch $6^{31\text{-}47}$ $16^{41.\ 42}$ $25^{1\text{-}7}$, and see HEMAN). In accordance with this, at the bringing up of the ark into Jerus., of the large number of Kohathites who are said to have been present (1 Ch $15^{5.\ 8.\ 9.\ 10}$), Heman and certain others took part in the music ($15^{17.\ 19}$). Descendants of the four Kohathite families are mentioned as 'heads of the fathers' houses' when David divided the Levites into courses (1 Ch $23^{12\text{-}20}$), and in 1 Ch $26^{1.\ 23\text{-}31}$ the particular offices held by descendants of the first three families are given in detail. Kohathites are spoken of as taking part in the temple services in the reign of Jehoshaphat (2 Ch 20^{19}), and as co-operating with the other Levites in cleansing the temple under Hezekiah ($29^{12.\ 14}$).

3. In the period after the Exile we find very few traces of the Kohathite family. The Berechiah, son of Asa, son of Elkanah, mentioned in 1 Ch 9^{16}, was probably a Kohathite. So also were the 'children of Shallum' who accompanied Zerubbabel (Ezr 2^{42}; cf. 1 Ch $9^{17.\ 19}$, Neh 12^{25}, in last Meshullam).

The **Kohathites** (הַקְּהָתִי; in Nu 10^{21}, 1 Ch 20^{19} הַקְּהָתִים) are mentioned Nu $3^{27.\ 30}$ $4^{18.\ 34.\ 37}$ 10^{21} 26^{57}, Jos $21^{4.\ 10}$, 1 Ch $6^{33.\ 54}$ 9^{32}, 2 Ch 20^{19} 29^{12}. Also called 'the sons of Kohath,' Ex 6^{18}, Nu $3^{19.\ 29}$ $4^{2.\ 4.\ 15\,(2)}$ 7^{9}, 1 Ch $6^{2.\ 18.\ 22.\ 61.\ 66.\ 70}$ 15^{5} 23^{12}, or 'the children of Kohath,' Jos $21^{5.\ 20\,(2).\ 26}$. For their history see above.

W. C. ALLEN.

KOHELETH.—See ECCLESIASTES.

KOLAIAH (קוֹלָיָה).—1. The father of a false prophet named Ahab, Jer 29^{21} [Gr. 36^{21}; *υἱὸν Κουλιοῦ* only in Q^{mg}]. 2. The name of a Benjamite family which settled in Jerusalem after the Captivity, Neh 11^{7}; B *Κοδιά*, A *Κωλειά*.

KONÆ (*Κωνά*, Jth 4^{4}).—So B calls an unknown town of Palestine. But ℵ reads *Κωλά* (as A in Jth 15^{4}, for *Χωλά*); A has *Κωνας*. Some MSS read *κώμας*, whence AV 'the villages.'

F. C. PORTER.

KOPH (ק).—The nineteenth letter of the Hebrew alphabet, and as such employed in the 119th Psalm to designate the 19th part, each verse of which begins with this letter. It is transliterated in this Dictionary by *ḳ*.

KORAH, DATHAN, ABIRAM (קֹרַח, דָּתָן, אֲבִירָם).—Most readers of the Eng. Bible are familiar with the story of Korah's rebellion, and of the terrible fate that overtook him and his followers. When we turn, however, to the record of these events (Nu 16), it is by no means easy to reduce it to a consistent or continuous narrative. The thread of the story is strangely broken, and we encounter remarkable repetitions (vv.$^{5.\ 8.\ 16}$). Here, as in many other cases, we are helped by the labours of those critics who have analyzed the contents of the Hexateuch.

There is reason to believe that *three* strata are present in the composition of Nu 16 and 17. This conclusion, which had been previously reached by various critics, was first placed on a thoroughly satisfactory basis by Kuenen (*ThT* (1878), p. 139 ff.), whose analysis has been substantially accepted by critics of such different schools as Baudissin, Cornill, Dillmann, Driver, Robertson Smith, and Wellhausen. Of the three narratives, the first two were originally quite independent of one another, while the third works over the material from the standpoint of a later age than that of the second writer.

I. We have a narrative from the well-known source JE, which has suffered very slight mutilation at the hands of the final redactor. It tells how Dathan and Abiram, descendants of Reuben, the oldest of Jacob's sons, rose against *Moses*, because they were jealous of the authority he claimed, and were disappointed with the results of his leadership. On being informed of their murmurings, Moses cited them to appear before him; but they refused to obey the summons, and repeated to his messengers their complaints (Nu $16^{12\text{-}14}$). Moses, in anger (v.^{15}), went to their tents in company with the elders of Israel, and solemnly warned the people to withdraw from the neighbourhood of Dathan and Abiram, who, with all their households, were then swallowed up by the earth (vv.$^{28\text{-}34}$). 'This is a rebellion of *laymen* against the *civil* authority claimed by Moses' (Driver).

II. The author of the priestly narrative (P) relates quite a different story. Korah, at the head of 250 princes of the congregation, instigates a rebellion against Moses *and Aaron*, in the interests of *the people at large* against *the tribe of Levi*. 'All the congregation are holy,' says K. (v.^{3}), and as much entitled as the Levites to discharge religious functions. Moses invites them to put the matter to the proof by coming on the following day with their censers to offer incense. They accept the challenge (vv.$^{18.\ 19}$), and, in the act of offering, they are consumed by fire from the Lord (v.^{35}). Their fate provokes the people, who murmur that Moses and Aaron had killed the people of the Lord (v.^{41}). A plague breaks out in consequence, which is only stayed by the atoning offering of Aaron (v.^{48}), The story of ch. 17 is the sequel, and comes from the same source, P. The blossoming of Aaron's rod is meant to establish, not his rights in opposition to those of other Levites, but to establish the prerogative of *the tribe of Levi* as represented by Aaron, in opposition to *the other tribes* as represented by their respective princes. Here, again, we have a rebellion of *laymen*, but directed this time against the *ecclesiastical* authority claimed by the tribe of Levi.

III. Another writer of the priestly school, whom we may designate, with Cornill, P^x, worked up the narrative at a later period. In his version of the story, K., at the head of 250 *Levites*, opposes, in the interest of the tribe of Levi, the monopoly of the *priesthood* claimed by *Aaron* (vv.$^{8\text{-}11}$). The test proposed by Moses is the same as in the second narrative (vv.$^{16.\ 17}$, which are a repetition of vv.$^{6.\ 7}$), and P's account of the fate of the rebels is adopted (v.^{35}) without change. From the hand of the latest writer come also vv.$^{36\text{-}40}$, which relate how the censers of the 250 were made into a covering for the altar, to be a memorial of the fate of the rebels.

It is evident that the two priestly narratives have quite different aims. In P there is no opposition between Levites and priests, but between non-Levites and Levites, whereas in P^x there is a sharp distinction between the tribe of Levi and the family of Aaron. (Note especially v.^{40}, where the moral of P^x's narrative is thus given, 'that no stranger which is not of the seed of Aaron come near to burn incense before the Lord, that he be not as K. and as his company'). On the other hand, it is not quite certain whether, according to the original narrative of P, even K. himself was a Levite, for the words in v.^{1} 'the son of

Izhar, the son of Kobath, the son of Levi,' may well come from the hand of the redactor. But in any case it is clear enough that all his 250 followers were not Levites; a conclusion which is confirmed, if confirmation were necessary, by Nu 27^3, where the daughters of Zelophehad plead that their father had no part in the rebellion of Korah. As Zelophehad belonged to the tribe of *Manasseh*, this plea need not have been offered if all K.'s followers had been Levites.

The differences between JE and P, and the original independence of their narratives, are equally apparent. JE knows only Dathan and Abiram, P knows only Korah; and, accordingly, the author of Dt 11^6, who is acquainted with the Jahwistic but not with the Priestly document, mentions only Dathan and Abiram.

The analysis of the two chapters may be given as follows (practically after Driver):—

JE $16^{1b\text{-}2a.\ 12\text{-}15.\ 25\text{-}26.\ 27b\text{-}34}$.
P $16^{1a.\ 2b\text{-}7a.\ 18\text{-}24.\ 27a.\ 32b.\ 35.\ 41\text{-}50}$. ch. 17.
P^x $16^{7b\text{-}11.\ 16\text{-}17.\ 36\text{-}40}$.

The composite character of the narrative is borne out by the separation, after 16^1, of the two parties, Dathan and Abiram on the one hand, Korah and his company on the other. They act separately (cf. vv.$^{3\text{-}4}$ with vv.$^{12\text{-}15}$); they are addressed separately (cf. vv.$^{5\text{-}7}$ with vv.$^{25.\ 26}$); they are punished separately and differently (cf. v.^{31} with v.^{35}).

Traces of the welding process by which the narrative has assumed the comparative smoothness of its present form may be detected in v.^{7b} ('ye sons of Levi'), and in v.^{32b} ('and all the men that appertained unto Korah, and all their goods').

It cannot be over-emphasized that *all* the indications in the narrative point to the above result, and that literary differences combine with differences of agents and of motives to establish three distinct elements in the composition. 'Of course *in itself* a difference of motive is no ground for supposing that the narrative in which it appears is of composite authorship; that inference follows solely from *the manner in which the difference is introduced* . . . In itself an alliance between an ecclesiastical and a civil party is perfectly intelligible; but the literary analysis shows Nu 16 to be composite; and when the component parts have been separated into two groups, it is found that the actors in one group represent ecclesiastical interests, while they represent civil interests in the other. Such a coincidence cannot be accidental; the differences of person and motive (though they *might* have been combined in such a manner as to arouse no suspicion whatever that the narrative was composite) so *coincide* with literary differences as to corroborate the conclusion to which these point' (Driver, *LOT*^{5}, App. 523 f. [cf. ^{6} p. 65]).

We have thus disentangled three distinct narratives, of which the last two are memorials of the struggles that took place, and of the various stages that were passed through before the prerogatives of Levi were admitted by the other tribes, and those of the house of Aaron by the other Levitical families. At whatever date we place these last results, we may be certain that they were not reached without fierce opposition.

One or two remarks have still to be made on the text of Nu 16. In v.^{1} וַיִּקַּח, for which the LXX offers ἐλάλησεν, and which AV and RV both render 'took *men*' (supplying the last word), can scarcely be the correct reading. There is probably a copyist's error also in וְאוֹן בֶּן־פֶּלֶת 'and On the son of Peleth.' There is no mention of **On** in the subsequent narrative, nor does his name occur anywhere else in the OT. For *Peleth* we should doubtless read, as in Ex 6^{14} etc., *Pallu*, and perhaps, as Graf suggests, v.^{1b} should run thus: וְדָתָן וַאֲבִירָם בְּנֵי אֱלִיאָב בֶּן־פַּלּוּא בֶּן־רְאוּבֵן. In vv.^{24} and ^{27} Wellhausen and Driver agree in holding that the original reading was probably 'tabernacle of *J*".'

Literature.—Driver, *LOT*^{5} 59 ff., App. 523 f. [^{6}, 63 ff.]; Graf, *Gesch. B. d. AT*, 89 ff.; Baudissin, *Ges. d. AT Priest.* 35 n.; Wellh. *Comp.* 106, 339; Reuss, *AT*, iii. 34, 454; W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} 402; Kuenen, *ThT* xii. (1878), p. 139 ff., *Hex.* 95, 334; Oort and Hooykaas, *Bible for Young People*, iv. 242; Cornill, *Einleit.*^{2} 59 f.; Kittel, *Hist. of Hebrews*, i. 219.

2. Korah, a son of Esau (Gn 36^5). **3.** A 'duke' of Edom (Gn 36^{16}). **4.** A son of Hebron (1 Ch 2^{43}).

J. A. Selbie.

KORAHITES (קָרְחִי), or **SONS OF KORAH** (בְּנֵי קֹרַח); AV has in Nu 26^{58} **Korathites**, and in Ex 6^{24}, 1 Ch 12^6 26^1, 2 Ch 20^{19} **Korhites**. — The inference from Nu 16^{32}, that the whole family of Korah perished along with their head, is checked by a note in 26^{11} to the effect that the 'sons of Korah died not.' This explanation was called for in view of the fact that a well-known guild connected with the second temple traced their descent to Korah. At one time the 'sons of K.' appear to have constituted one of the two great temple choirs, the Asaphites composing the other (see Asaph). We have two groups of Pss (42–49 and 84. 85. 87. 88) whose superscription לִבְנֵי קֹרַח shows that they were taken from what was once the hymn-book of the Korahite choir. The musical service of the temple had been remodelled by the time of the Chronicler, when three guilds (Heman, Asaph, Ethan) had replaced the original two (Asaph, Korah). The Korahites have now become a guild of *door-keepers* (1 Ch 9^{18} /19 $26^{1.\ 19}$ etc.), although a reminiscence of their former functions as *singers* is found in 2 Ch 20^{19} (W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} 205 n.).

J. A. Selbie.

KORE.—**1.** (קֹרֵא) The eponym of a Korahite guild of door-keepers, 1 Ch 9^{19}. **2.** (קוֹרֵא) Son of Imnah, a Levite in the time of Hezekiah, 2 Ch 31^{14}.

KUSHAIAH.—See Kishi.

L

L.—1. This symbol was proposed by de Lagarde (*Genesis græce*, 1868, p. 12) to denote the illuminated Purple Manuscript of the Greek Genesis at Vienna, one of the chief specimens of Christian book-illumination. The manuscript is designated VI by Holmes, and the text has been edited by him from a copy of Alter, 1795, in a publication preparatory to the great Oxford Septuagint (title: *Honorabili, et admodum reverendo, Shute Barrington, LL.D. Episcopo Dunelmensi, Epistola, complexa* GENESIN, *ex codice purpureo-argenteo Cæsareo-Vindobonensi expressam; et Testamenti Veteris Græci, versionis septuaginta-viralis, cum variis lectionibus denuo edendi, Specimen. Dedit Robertus Holmes, S.T.P.* Oxonii, MDCCXCV fol.). It is a parallel to the famous *Codex Cottonianus Geneseos* in the British Museum, and has not been used by Swete for his edition of the Greek OT (vol. i. 2nd ed. 1895),* because at that time it was not yet published in full facsimile. This has been done since in the splendid work, *Die Wiener Genesis herausgegeben von Wilhelm Ritter von Hartel und Franz Wickhoff.* Beilage zum xv. und xvi. Bande des Jahrbuches der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses. Mit 52 Lichtdrucktalfeln, etc. Wien (Prag, Leipzig), F. Tempsky, 1895 fol. (the Greek text in transcription, pp. 102–125). An exhaustive monograph on the pictures of the MS has recently been published by a pupil of Prof. V. Schultze of Greifswald, Willy Lüdtke, *Untersuchungen zu den Miniaturen der Wiener Genesis* (Inaugural Dissertation, Greifswald, 1897, 50 pp.). Lüdtke considers the volume as the first known manuscript of the Bible in which pictures are connected with the text, the first illustrated book of Bible story, and is inclined to assign it to the latter half of the 5th cent. E. M. Thompson (*Handbook of Greek and Latin Palæography*, 1893, p. 154) makes it probably of the latter half of the 6th cent.; Kenyon, of the 5th or 6th cent. The text is sometimes abbreviated, and several passages are very difficult to read; the MS is therefore less important for the textual criticism of the Greek OT; but it is a monument of the first rank in the history of Christian art. Attached to the codex are two leaves from the purple MS of the New Testament, called N.

2. In the criticism of the NT the symbol L is used to designate the *Codex Regius*, a manuscript of the Greek Gospels preserved in the National Library of Paris, now numbered 62. It was known already to Stephen, who called it *η*, as is stated in the volume by a later hand, 'Roberto Stephano *η*.' Scrivener (*Introduction to the NT*, 4th ed. (1894) p. 138) overlooked this *η*, and misunderstood, therefore, this entry when he wrote, 'it was even then in the Royal Library, although "Roberto Stephano" is marked in the volume.' Griesbach rated the MS very high: Tischendorf published it in full in his *Monumenta sacra inedita*, 1846. It is ascribed to the 8th cent., and was for a long time unique, as giving two alternative endings to the Gospel of Mark, namely—besides and before the received one, which is introduced by the heading *ἔστιν δὲ καὶ ταῦτα φερόμενα μετὰ τό· ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ*, a shorter ending, printed by Westcott-Hort after the one just mentioned. This wretched supplement, as Scrivener styles it, is separated in this MS from the words of the text (*ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ*) by an ornamented line, and introduced by the heading *φέρεταί που καὶ ταῦτα.* Recently it has been found in several Greek, Latin, Syriac, and Ethiopic documents, the nearest ally to L being a manuscript on Mount Sinai (Δ^{12}), ascribed to the 7th cent. The latter has the subscription *εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μάρκον* immediately after *ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ*; then follows the shorter supplement (whether introduced by the same formula as in L is not certain, the MS being defective at that place) with slight variations (*om.* *καὶ* before *ἄχρι*, *adds* *ἀμήν* after *σωτηρία*); after this comes *ἔστιν δὲ καὶ ταῦτα* etc. On the questions connected with the end of St. Mark see the monograph of Dean Burgon (1871); P. Martin, *Introduction à la critique textuelle du NT*, Partie pratique, tome ii. (1884); Westcott-Hort, *NT*, App. 28–51, with the additional notes to pp. 38 and 51 on p. 142 of the reprint of 1896; J. R. Harris, 'On the alternative ending of St. Mark's Gospel,' *Journ. of Biblical Literature* (1894), pp. 96–103; H. B. Swete, *The Gospel according to St. Mark* (1898), p. xcvi ff.; Th. Zahn, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (1899), ii. pp. 227–235, 237–240. The shorter ending had its origin probably in Egypt; there also L seems to have been written. On the third leaf of the MS is a note by a later hand, which might show where the MS was before it came to Europe, if it could be read and interpreted with certainty (a Georgios *τοῦ Λιάσκόβιτη* left some MSS *εἰς τοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Παύλου τὸ ὀσπίτιον*). Facsimiles are to be found in Tischendorf, plate i. n. 7, plate iii. n. 7; Scrivener, plate ix. n. 21; P. Martin, *Description technique des manuscrits grecs relatifs au NT conservées dans les bibliothèques de Paris* (1884), plate 1.

EB. NESTLE.

LAADAH (לַעְדָּה).—A Judahite, the 'father' of Mareshah, 1 Ch 4^{21} (B *Μαδάθ*, A *Λαδά*).

LABAN (לָבָן, *Λαβάν*).—**1.** Son of Bethuel (Gn 28^{5}), grandson of Nahor, Abraham's brother ($22^{20.\ 22}$ 24^{24},—in 29^{5} 'son' = grandson), and brother of Rebekah (24^{29}; 25^{20}), uncle of Jacob on his mother's side (27^{43}; 28^{2}), and (after his marriage with Leah) his father-in-law as well. When Abraham and Lot migrated from Ḥaran (on the Belikh, a tributary of the Euphrates, in Mesopotamia) into Canaan (Gn $12^{4.\ 5}$), Nahor remained behind in Ḥaran; here his family grew up around him (22^{20-24}; the names, except in the cases of Bethuel and Rebekah, are, however, those of *tribes*); and Ḥaran (cf. 29^{4}), though the identification is not made expressly, is, there can be no doubt, the 'city of Nahor' (24^{10}), to which Abraham's servant took his way, when sent by his master to find a wife for Isaac from the land of his nativity. Laban's home (Gn 24^{10}) was in 'Aram (AV Syria) of the two rivers' (the Euphrates, in its upper course, and the Ḥabor); and so, like his father Bethuel (25^{20} 28^{5}), he is called specifically the 'Aramæan' (AV Syrian), 25^{20} $31^{20.\ 24}$ (cf. of Jacob, Dt 26^{5}). It is in connexion with the negotiations for Rebekah's hand that we first read of Laban. He is evidently the moving spirit in his father's house. He comes forward to receive Abraham's servant, listens to what he has to say, and takes the lead in the subsequent negotiations ($24^{29-33.\ 50.\ 53b.\ 55}$). It is no doubt true that in the East (cf. Gn $34^{11.\ 12}$, Ca 8^{8}) a girl's brothers have a prominent voice in the disposal of their sister's hand; but, independently of this, Laban seems clearly to throw his father Bethuel into the background. It has been observed that Laban already displays the grasping disposition which was manifested more fully afterwards in his dealings with Jacob: he is attracted by the ring and bracelets which Abraham's servant had given his sister (24^{30}).

---

* Its readings will find a place in the Apparatus of the larger edition, which is now being prepared by Brooke and M'Lean.

What we read about Laban subsequently relates exclusively to his dealings with Jacob (29^{10}–31^{55}). These have been described so fully in the art. JACOB (vol. ii. pp. 528–9, 533) that an outline will be sufficient here. Laban must now be pictured as quite an old man. Jacob, sent by his mother to her brother, arrives at Ḥaran, and quickly finds his uncle's house (29^{1-13}). He remains with him a month (29^{14}); at the end of which time Laban, no doubt discovering that his services as a shepherd are likely to prove valuable to him, asks him on what terms he will remain with him. He replies that he will serve him 7 years for his younger daughter Rachel. At the end of the 7 years Laban, by a ruse, passes off upon him his elder daughter Leah; and only permits him to have Rachel as well, on condition that he serves him for 7 years more (29^{15-30}). At the end of the second 7 years Jacob is anxious to return home; but Laban, reluctant to part with a profitable servant, invites him, with a show of disinterestedness, to name the terms on which he will continue in his service (30^{25-28}). Jacob thereupon proposes an arrangement by which, ostensibly, he will gain little or nothing, and with which, therefore, Laban immediately closes, but which, it soon appears, his son-in-law knows how to turn to his own advantage (30^{29-43}). Laban, envious of Jacob's increasing prosperity, now shows ill-will towards him; his sons (mentioned also in 30^{35}) complain that Jacob has taken away all their father's possessions: accordingly Jacob, after consulting with his wives (who both agree that their father has shown them no real affection, $31^{14.15}$),* takes flight, accompanied by his family and their belongings (31^{1-21}). His father-in-law, considering that he has some kind of claim on the services and belongings of his son-in law, and vexed besides at the loss of the teraphim (which Rachel had stolen), starts in pursuit. On the way, apparently on the night before he came up with Jacob, 'as if an evil conscience preyed secretly upon him' (Ewald, *Hist.* i. 356), he is warned in a dream not to proceed against Jacob too violently (31^{24}). Overtaking the fugitives on the borders of Gilead, Laban remonstrates with Jacob on his ungrateful treatment of him, and especially for having carried away his daughters secretly, which was both an affront to them (31^{26b}), and an injury to his own feelings (31^{28}). Jacob, in reply, declares that he was afraid, if he told Laban, that he would retain his daughters by force; and then, after the incident with the teraphim (in which Laban is outwitted by his own daughter), he goes on to remind him of the long years which he has spent ungrudgingly in his service, and of the repeated attempts that Laban had made ($31^{7f.}$) to deprive him of his lawful earnings (31^{31-42}). Laban, conscious of the truth in Jacob's reproaches, makes no attempt to reply: he contents himself with protesting that everything which Jacob has is really his; and then seeks to close the dispute by representing himself as concerned for his daughters' welfare. Accordingly he proposes a covenant, the terms of which are—(1) that Jacob will in no way ill-treat his daughters; (2) that neither he nor Jacob will pass the boundary, marked by a heap of stones then thrown up, with hostile intent towards the other (see, further, on the object of this 'covenant,' above, ii. p. 529). The covenant having been solemnly ratified by both parties, Laban returns home, and is not mentioned again (31^{43-55}).

The character of Laban is not an amiable one. His sister and daughters all show duplicity and acquisitiveness; and Laban displays an exaggeration of the same qualities. His leading motive is evidently self-interest; and he is not particular in the choice of means for securing his ends. The ruse by which he passes off Leah upon his nephew instead of Rachel, is an unpardonable piece of deceit. In his subsequent dealings with his son-in-law, he does not treat him equitably. It is admitted by him, expressly in J (30^{27}), and by implication in E,—for the statements in 31^{38-41}, cf. v.^{6}, pass unchallenged,—that Jacob is a good servant; but Laban seeks to make out of him more than fair profits. In 30^{29-43} he betrays his grasping disposition by closing with an arrangement which, if carried out fairly, could not but have proved an inequitable one for Jacob, and in which, therefore, Laban had no right to be surprised if he found himself circumvented. In the narrative of E (31^{1-42})—which (vv.$^{8-12}$) differs from that of J in not representing Jacob as taking any unfair advantage of his father-in-law (cf. ii. p. 533, *note*)—Laban is charged with defrauding Jacob, and arbitrarily changing the wages that had been agreed upon, to suit his own ends (vv.$^{7.41}$). And his daughters own ($31^{14.15}$) that he is a hard and unnatural parent.

2. A place mentioned in the obscure verse, Dt 1^{1} (see Comm.; or above, art. DI-ZAHAB). Nothing can be said about it, except that if the verse describes a locality in the 'steppes of Moab,' Laban will be the name of a place in that neighbourhood, otherwise unknown; while if, as others suppose, the verse, at least in its original context, described places passed by the Israelites in their previous wanderings, it may be identical with the LIBNAH (which see) of Nu 33^{20} (which, to judge from v.^{17}, was near a *Ḥazêroth*, as was the case also with the Laban mentioned in Dt 1^{1}). S. R. DRIVER.

LABANA (Λαβανά), 1 Es 5^{29} = LEBANAH, Ezr 2^{45}.

LABOUR.—As a subst. 'labour' is now almost confined to what is called the *abstract* use—the act or state of labouring. Formerly it expressed also the fruit of labour, as Ex 23^{16} 'when thou hast gathered in thy labours (מַעֲשֶׂיךָ) out of the field'; Hab 3^{17} 'The labour (מַעֲשֵׂה) of the olive shall fail' (Davidson, 'the produce of the olive'). Hence the word is frequently in the plural, as Jn 4^{38} 'other men laboured, and ye are entered into their labours' (εἰς τὸν κόπον αὐτῶν, RV 'into their labour'). Knox, *Hist.* 92, has the word in the sense of 'effort,' 'Great labours were made to make them have a good opinion of the Masse.'

The verb is used with a trans. forcc in 2 Mac 2^{31} 'But to use brevity, and avoid much labouring of the work (τὸ ἐξεργαστικὸν τῆς πραγματ(ε)ίας παραιτεῖσθαι, RV 'to avoid a laboured fulness in the treatment'), is to be granted to him that will make an abridgement.' So in beg. of Pref. to AV 1611, 'Zeale to promote the common good, whether it be by devising any thing our selves, or revising that which hath bene laboured by others, deserveth certainly much respect and esteeme, but yet findeth but cold intertainment in the world.' Cf. Hall, *Works*, ii. 100, 'these are the men whose cure wee must labour'; Pref. to Rhem. NT, 1852, 'The poore ploughman, could then in labouring the ground, sing the hymnes and psalmes either in knowen or unknowen languages, as they heard them in the holy Church, though they could neither reade nor know the sense, meaning, and mysteries of the same.' J. HASTINGS.

LACCUNUS (Λακκοῦνος, AV Lacunus), 1 Es 9^{31}.—The name in Ezr 10^{30} is CHELAL, to which the Vulg. form *Calcus* in 1 Es approaches.

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

---

* 'And hath also quite devoured our money,' *i.e.* the price paid for us by our husband, the gains accruing to Laban from Jacob's 14 years' service, some part of which he would, if generous, have naturally allowed his daughters.

LACE.—Lace is from Lat. *laqueus*, a snare, through the Old French *laqs, las*, and it is used in the sense of snare in Chaucer, Spenser, and others. Thus Chaucer, *Legend of Good Women*, 600—

> 'But love had broght this man in swiche a rage,
> And him so narwe bounden in his las,
> Al for the love of Cleopataras,
> That al the world he sette at no value.'

Then it is used for any cord or band, as Fuller, *Holy Warre*, 123, 'Pitie it was that Rahabs red lace was not tied at his window.' This is the meaning of the word in AV, where it occurs only as tr. of פְּתִיל *pâthîl*,* Ex 28^{28} ('And they shall bind the breastplate by the rings thereof unto the rings of the ephod with a lace of blue') 28^{37} 39$^{21.\ 31}$; and of *κλῶσμα* in Sir 6^{30} 'her bands are purple lace' (*κλῶσμα ὑακίνθινον*, AVm 'a ribband of blue silk'; RV 'a ribband of blue'; Fritzsche, 'purple-blue threads'; Bissell, 'hyacinthine threads'). Cf. Shaks. *Winter's Tale*, III. ii. 174—

> 'O, cut my lace, lest my heart, cracking it,
> Break too.'

J. HASTINGS.

LACEDÆMONIANS.—The word *Λακεδαιμόνιοι* occurs only once in LXX, and its Eng. equivalent only once in RV, viz. 2 Mac 5^{9}. Jason, the head of the Hellenizing party in Jerus., who had bought the high priesthood from his brother Onias III. during the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, was himself outbidden and expelled from the office by Menelaus his brother (Jos. *Ant.* XII. v. 1 and XV. iii. 1), or, according to 2 Mac 4^{23}, the brother of Simon, a former governor of the temple. On a false report of the death of Antiochus, Jason made an unsuccessful assault upon Jerus.; but, after causing great loss of life among his fellow-citizens, he was driven an outcast to the land of the Ammonites, from there to the court of Aretas an Arabian prince, then into Egypt, and lastly to the L., in whose country he died a dishonoured exile. The reason of his ultimate recourse to the latter people was the alleged kinship between the Jews and the Greeks, resting on the supposed connexion between Peleg and the Pelasgians, a prehistoric people mentioned as living in different parts of Greece and coasts of the Ægean Sea. Peleg, however, or Phaleg, whose name implies 'division' (Jos. *Ant.* I. vi. 4), the ancestor of Abraham and the son of Heber,—the eponymous ancestor of the Hebrew race,—was (Jos. *ib.*) the great-grandson of Noah, and belonged to the Semitic family. The Pelasgians, on the other hand, were part of the Indo-European stock, and afterwards mingled with the Hellenes in Greece, and with the Carians, Lydians, and Phrygians in Asia Minor.

LITERATURE.—Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vols. i. and iii., Appendixes and Notes.

C. H. PRICHARD.

LACHISH (לָכִישׁ, LXX Λαχείς, twice with the art. τὴν Λαχείς Jos 10$^{32f.}$, in Jos 15^{39} B Μαχής, B^{ab} Λαχής; Vulg. *Lachis*).—An important fortified town in Judah. Its king, Japhia, formed a league with four other Canaanite kings, viz. those of Jerus., Eglon, Hebron, and Jarmuth, to smite the Gibeonites, as they had made peace with Israel (Jos 10$^{1ff.}$, JE mainly). Joshua overcame the united forces, and the kings fled to a cave in Makkedah, where they were pursued by the Israelites, who rolled stones against the mouth of the cave. Later, the kings were taken out, humiliated, and hanged on five trees. At sunset, by command of Joshua, their bodies were taken down and placed in the cave, at whose mouth stones were again rolled. The siege of L. by Joshua, according to D^{2}, occupied parts of two days (vv.$^{31.\ 32}$). When it was taken, all the inhabitants were put to the sword.

The place is next mentioned in the list of cities built by Rehoboam for defence, by which it may be understood that he re-fortified the town (2 Ch 11^{9}). Amaziah fled to L. from a conspiracy in Jerus., but he was pursued and slain there (2 K 14^{19} ‖ 2 Ch 25^{27}). The prophet Micah inveighs against L. as 'the beginning of sin to the daughter of Zion, for the transgressions of Israel were found in thee' (Mic 1^{13}), an enigmatical utterance, the conjectures regarding the meaning of which will be found in Nowack's *Comm. ad loc.* When Sennacherib made his raid on the kingdom of Judah, he took all the fortified cities, including L. (2 K 18$^{13.\ 14}$, Is 36^{1}). The scene of the siege is depicted in an Assyr. sculpture, now in the British Museum. To this place Hezekiah sent messengers with immense gifts and promises of submission, to induce the Assyr. king, who was there encamped, to abandon the campaign (2 K 18$^{14-16}$). In reply, Sennacherib despatched a great host against Jerus. (2 K 18^{17} ‖ Is 36^{2}). But his forces were miraculously destroyed, and he returned to Assyria, abandoning his conquests (2 K 19$^{35.\ 36}$ ‖ Is 37$^{36.\ 37}$, 2 Ch 32^{21}). The account in 2 Ch 32^{9} mentions the envoys sent to Hezekiah, but not the expedition against Jerus., as it says of Sennacherib, 'but he (himself laid siege) to L., and all his power with him.' When *c.* 120 years later, Nebuch. king of Babylon, destroyed the kingdom of Judah and carried the people into captivity, L. was one of the cities taken (Jer 34^{7}). On the return of the Jews, L. was one of the places re-occupied, but it is noticeable that while each of the other places is spoken of as being occupied 'with the villages thereof,' 'Lachish and the fields thereof' are referred to as if the occupation was but feeble (Neh 11^{30}). It is not mentioned in the NT, nor in the Apocrypha.

Scholars are now generally agreed that L. is to be identified with Tell el-Ḥesy, a mound in the rolling country between the maritime plain and the Judæan hills, 16 miles E. of Gaza, a little to the north. This identification was first proposed by Conder, who sees in the radicals of the modern name a reminiscence of the ancient, though the change in the second radical from כ to ח is unusual. The position of Tell el-Ḥesy corresponds fairly with Jerome's description of L. in the *Onomasticon.* He says: 'Lachis in tribu Juda . . . et nunc est villa in septimo milliario ab Eleutheropoli euntibus Daromam.' Eleutheropolis is the modern *Beit Jibrin*, 10 miles from Tell el-Ḥesy, which nearly coincides. Daroma may be the Shephelah, or low country, in which Tell el-Ḥesy is situated. Another equally important mound, Tell en-Nejileh, is found 3½ miles to the south of Tell el-Ḥesy, about the same distance from *Beit Jibrin*. Both have springs at their base. These two mounds seem to represent L. and Eglon, which were within easy marching distance, as Joshua took Eglon on the day that he left L. (Jos 10^{35}). As Eglon disappears from history earlier than L., and as the remains on the top of Tell en-Nejileh are earlier than those on the top of Tell el-Ḥesy, Petrie regards the former as Eglon and the later as Lachish. However, until systematic excavations are conducted at Tell en-Nejileh, the matter should not be held to be finally settled.

The site of Tell el-Ḥesy is admirably suited for a town, as the original dwellings stood on a bluff facing east, some 60 feet above the Wady el-Ḥesy, and were further protected by ridges to the west. During the course of centuries the remains accumulated, until the last occupation stood some 120 feet above the stream-bed. In 1890, Petrie, excavating for the Pal. Explor. Fund, studied the *tell*, during a short season, in cuttings around its sides, arriving at conclusions which the present writer's more extended work, covering four seasons, modified, but did not materially alter. One-third of the mound being chosen, it was cut down, layer by layer, each layer representing a distinct occupation, until the virgin soil was reached. We have thus the plans of eight cities, the second built on the ruins of the first, the third on the ruins of the second, and so on. This series of superimposed constructions is due to the material. Each city was built of mud-brick, which requires nothing but mud-brick for its foundation. The cities were approximately dated by the objects found *in situ*. The first three or four towns occupied an area about ¼ mile square, while the later towns confined themselves to a space about 100 yards square, and may thus be regarded as a series of forts, as almost all are flanked by thick walls. The earliest town was distinguished by peculiar styles of pottery, which have been named Amorite. It also contained a group of unique bronze implements. It is fortified by a strong wall and tower, and may be dated at about B.C. 1700. City II. is dated by scarabs at about B.C. 1500. City III. was buried under a thick bed of ashes. Outside one of its chambers was discovered a cuneiform tablet, which from its style and contents is shown to belong to the period of the Tel el-Amarna tablets, which were letters sent to Amenhotep III. and IV. of Egypt, about B.C. 1450, by their allies and dependants in Syria, Palestine, and farther east. It mentions the name of Zimridi, who, as we learn in a tablet from Jerus., was governor of L., murdered in that city by servants of the Egyp. king. The hopes suggested by the discovery of this tablet are far-reaching. The date B.C. 1450 for this city is confirmed by scarabs found here. In City IV. (B.C. 1400–1000) Phœn. pottery prevails. Here iron objects first appeared, but these were found in all the superimposed cities. In City V. (about B.C. 1000) and City VI. (about 800) Jewish ware is prevalent. City VI. has a great accumulation, from which we infer a long occupation. The red and black figured Greek pottery is common in Cities VII. and VIII., suggesting B.C. 500–400 as the limits of these occupations. The absence of coins and of Roman and Seleucidan remains shows that the site was deserted after B.C. 400.

---

* Elsewhere *pâthîl* is rendered in AV 'bound' Nu 19^{15}; 'ribband' Nu 15^{38} (RV 'cord'); 'thread' Jg 16^{9} (RV 'string'); 'line' Ezk 40^{3}; 'bracelets' Gn 38^{18} (RV 'cord') 38^{25} (RV 'cords'); 'wires' Ex 39^{3}.

The remains at Tell el-Ḥesy thus correspond admirably to the history of Lachish. One of the earlier cities undoubtedly fell a prey to Joshua, a later one was fortified by Rehoboam, and we may point with considerable confidence to the thick walls of City VI. as the fortifications taken by Sennacherib, whose sculptures commemorating the event bear a striking resemblance to Tell el-Ḥesy.

We have, however, in considering the identification, to count with the phrase of Jerome, 'nunc est villa.' While the *tell* shows no late remains, the adjacent fields are strewn with Roman pottery, and 3 miles away is the slight ruin of *Umm-Lakis* [but see Clermont-Ganneau, *Bibl. Res. in Pal.* i. (1896) p. 438], containing Roman remains, which was formerly identified with L. and which Petrie translates, 'her [? ; see *Mound of Many Cities*, p. 141] mother was Lachish.' He suggests that soon after the return of the Jews from exile they removed the settlement to *Umm-Lakis*. The name is pronounced *Laggis* by the Arabs, who pronounce a ק like hard *g*. A change from כ to ק is not common. But either in the fields near Tell el-Ḥesy, or at *Umm-Lakis*, we have late ruins which may easily represent the town still inhabited in the time of Jerome.

LITERATURE.—*Tell el-Hesy (Lachish)*, by W. M. Flinders Petrie; *A Mound of Many Cities, or Tell el-Hesy Excavated*, by F. J. Bliss; both published for the Committee of the PEF by Alexander P. Watt, London.

F. J. BLISS.

LACK is both a subst. (=want) and a verb (=be deficient in, want). Thus as subst., Ex 16^{18} 'he that gathered little had no lack'; Job 4^{11} 'The old lion perisheth for lack of prey'; Ph 2^{30} 'to supply your lack of service toward me' (τὸ ὑμῶν ὑστέρημα; RV 'that which was lacking in your service'); 1 Th 4^{12} 'that ye may have lack (χρείαν, RV 'need') of nothing.' Cf. Elyot, *Governour*, ii. 263, 'To the one and the other is required the vertue morall called fortitude, whiche as moche as it is a vertue is a Mediocritie or meane betwene two extremities, the one in surplusage, the other in lacke'; T. Lever, *Sermons*, p. 83, 'Some doo raveyn and spoyll that which is not their owne, and be ever in lacke and neede.' Lever uses the subst. in the plu. also, *Sermons*, p. 74, 'These be verye small thinges towardes the amendment of so many lackes, in so great a multitude.'

As a verb 'lack' is both trans. and intrans. Thus Ja 1^{5} 'If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God.' Cf. Ro 2^{20} Tind., 'An informer of them which lacke discrecion'; Pr. Bk. 1549 (Communion), 'And if there be any of you, whose conscience is troubled and grieved in any thing, lacking comfort or counsel, let him come to me, or to some other discreet and learned priest, taught in the law of God, and confess and open his sin and grief secretly, that he may receive such ghostly counsel, advice, and comfort, that his conscience may be relieved.' The intrans. use, though Abbott (*Shaks. Gram.* § 293) gives it in his list of 'trans. verbs rarely used intransitively,' is often found in AV. Thus Ps 34^{10} 'The young lions do lack, and suffer hunger'; 1 Co 12^{24} 'having given more abundant honour to that part which lacked.' Cf. Pr. Bk. 1552 (Com.), 'there lacketh nothing but the guests to sit down'; and Hall, *Works*, ii. 51, 'Either will or ability lacked in them.'

Earle (*Psalter of* 1539, p. 267) points out that, in place of 'lack' of previous versions, AV often has 'want.' He quotes Ps 23^{1} 'therefore can I lack nothing' in 1539, 'I shall not want' in 1611; Jg 18^{10}, Lk 15^{14}. And he explains that the word 'lack' had in the meantime suffered depreciation from the use of it as a common interpellation by stall-keepers to passers-by: What d'ye lack, what d'ye lack? To Earle's examples add Ja 1^{4} Tind. 'lacking nothing,' AV 'wanting nothing'; and for the subst., 'for lacke of knowlage' in the Camb. MS of Ridley's *Brefe Declaration*, reprinted by Moule (p. 95), changed in the Oxford and 'modernized' MS into 'want.'

J. HASTINGS.

LAD.—In OT the only word tr^{d} 'lad' is נַעַר *na'ar* (33 times), and in NT *παιδάριον* (once, Jn 6^{9}). Like *na'ar* in Heb., 'lad' has always been used colloquially in Eng. for 'servant.' Once RV changes 'lad' into 'servant,' 2 K 4^{19} 'And he said to a lad (הַנַּעַר, RV 'his servant'), Carry him to his mother.' Tindale uses the word of Joshua, Ex 33^{11} 'And when Moses turned agayne in to the hoste, the ladd Josua his servaunte the sonne of Nun departed not out of the tabernacle' (AV 'his servant [RV 'minister'] Joshua the son of Nun, a young man'). Once the Rhem. version translates *παῖς* by 'lad,' Mt 17^{18} 'the ladde was cured from that houre' (AV and all previous versions 'child,' RV 'boy').

J. HASTINGS

LADAN (לַעְדָּן).—**1.** A name occurring in the genealogy of Joshua, 1 Ch 7^{26} (*Λαδδάν*). **2.** A Gershonite family name, 1 Ch $23^{7.8.9}$ (B Ἐδάν, A *Λεαδάν*) $26^{21\ ter}$ (B *Χαδάν*, *Λαδάν* ^{bis}, A *Λεδάν* ^{bis}, *Λααδάν*). In 6^{17} it appears as LIBNI (wh. see).

LADDER (סֻלָּם, *κλίμαξ*).—**1.** Jacob in his dream at Bethel saw a 'ladder' set up on the earth and reaching to heaven (Gn 28^{12}). The Heb. word occurs only here, and though LXX renders it by *κλίμαξ* it has been doubted whether 'ladder' conveys its exact meaning.* The heights near Bethel are said to present the appearance of steps from certain points of view, and it has been conjectured that in Jacob's dream the piled-up rocks around him were transformed into a vast stairway on which angels went and came (Dillm. and others note that the angels are conceived as wingless. See ANGEL, vol. i. p. 94^a). The visionary 'ladder' was a symbol to Jacob of the communication with God which was open to him, and Christ alluded to it in claiming that this communication between heaven and earth would be perfected in Himself (Jn 1^{51}). See Bush, *Notes on Genesis*; Dods, *Genesis, in loc.* **2.** In 1 Mac 5^{30} ladders are mentioned among the preparations for the siege of Dathema. The use of scaling ladders for attacking fortified walls was general in ancient warfare. Such ladders are represented on Egyptian and Assyrian monuments, as well as on later classical remains. See Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, i. 243; Erman, *Ancient Egypt*, 533; Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 372; Rüstow u. Köchly, *Geschichte des Griechischen Kriegswesens*, 205, 320; Rich, *Rom. and Gr. Antiquities*, *s.v.* 'Scalæ.'

---

* Henderson (*Expos. Times*, Jan. 1893, p. 151 f.) contends that Jacob's 'ladder' was really a temple-tower similar to the Babylonian *E-Sagila*.

JAMES PATRICK.

LADDER OF TYRE (*ἀπὸ τῆς κλίμακος Τύρου*; Vulg. *a terminis Tyri*; Syr. 'from the borders of Tyre,' 1 Mac 11^{59}; Talm. סולמא רצור; '*κλίματος* in Alex. 64, 93 ist vielleicht vorwitzige[*] Aenderung des unverstandenen Ausdrucks,' Grimm, *Handbuch zu den Apokryphen, loc. cit.*).—This was evidently a prominent landmark; it is given as the northern limit of the territory to the captaincy of which Antiochus VI. promoted Simon Maccabæus (1 Mac 11^{59}; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. v. 4). In describing the situation of Acre, Josephus mentions it again, as a mountain lying about 100 stadia to the north (*BJ* II. x. 2). The mountains stand round the plain of Acre almost in the form of a semicircle, terminating S.W. and N.W. in the bold promontories of Carmel and *Râs en-Naḳûrah*, which drop precipitously on the shore. Between the base of Carmel and the beach there is a strip of land, leaving room for a highway, which affords free communication between the plain of Acre and that of Sharon. The cliffs of *Râs en-Naḳûrah*, on the contrary, plunge straight into the waves, and the journey northward is made with difficulty over the height. This has led many to identify *Râs en-Naḳûrah* with the 'Ladder' to be scaled before the land of the Tyrians could be approached. But when this obstacle is surmounted, a not less formidable barrier is interposed between the traveller and Tyre by *Râs el-Abyaḍ*, 'the white promontory,' Pliny's *Promontorium album*, at a few miles' distance, on the northern edge of a pleasant vale. The cliffs of this headland 'of white indurated marl interlaced with seams of dark-coloured flint,' fall from a great height, sheer into the sea. Along the face of the precipice a pathway has been cut, to be traversed not without danger; the crags rising steeply from the edge on one hand, and on the other a perpendicular descent, the waves booming among the rocks and caves 200 ft. below. The ascent to this path is cut after the manner of a staircase. This, perhaps, has led some to identify the Ladder of Tyre with *Râs el-Abyaḍ*. But the same was true of *Râs en-Naḳûrah* before certain recent alterations (*PEF Mem.* i. 192). Asher hazards the conjecture that Benjamin of Tudela intended this place by חוֹמַת צור (vol. ii. p. 75).

A study of the locality together with the statement of Josephus (*BJ* II. x. 2) has convinced the present writer that the name Ladder of Tyre was not applied to either of these promontories alone. Speaking in succession of the mountains of Galilee and Carmel, Josephus says that which the natives call the Ladder of the Tyrians 'is the highest of all.' *Râs en-Naḳûrah*, which is only 223 ft. high, does not answer the description; neither does *Râs el-Abyaḍ*, which, in addition, is not visible from Acre. It could apply only to the lofty ridge N. of the plain, measuring some 8 miles across, and rising to a height of over 1000 ft., which, as it sinks seaward, throws off three distinct headlands, terminating abruptly on the shore: *Râs el-Musheirifeh*, *Râs en-Naḳûrah*, and *Râs el-Abyaḍ*. The two former, being close together, are often spoken of as one under the name of the second. These western spurs, barring the approach to the Phœnician plain, doubtless suggested the name, 'Ladder of the Tyrians,' applied to the whole mountain.

LITERATURE.—Robinson, *Later Researches*, 66, 89; Stanley, *Sinai and Pal.* 264, 266, 269; Thomson, *Land and Book*, ii. 246, 263, 265; Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* 39; *PEF Mem.* i. 143, 192; Maundrell, *Early Travels in Palestine* (Bohn); Baedeker, *Pal. and Syr.*^{2} 271.

W. EWING.

LADE.—The mod. form 'load' occurs in AV 1611 twice, Is 46^1 'your carriages were heavie loaden,' and Ps 68^{19} 'Blessed be the Lord, who daily loadeth us with benefits.' Elsewhere the form is 'lade,' which is now used only of ships. T. Fuller, *Holy and Profane State*, p. 359, says, 'The ship may have Castor and Pollux for the badge, yet notwithstanding have S. Paul for the lading.'

J. HASTINGS.

LADY.—This word occurs six times in AV, translating three different words. (1) גְּבֶרֶת *gĕbhereth*, which means 'mistress' and is so translated everywhere else (viz. Gn $16^{4.8.9}$, 2 K 5^3, Ps 123^2, Pr 30^{23}, Is 24^2), is translated 'lady' in Is $47^{5.7}$, a trⁿ which has come down from Wyclif. RV retains 'lady,' but Amer. RV prefers 'mistress.'

(2) שָׂרָה *sârâh*, the name of Abraham's wife, signifies 'princess,' which is its tr. in 1 K 11^3 and La 1^1 in AV and RV. But in Jg 5^{29}, Est 1^{18} AV gives 'lady,' which RV changes to 'princess' in the second passage; the same change should have been made in the first also. In Is 49^{23} both have 'queen,' with AVm 'princess.'

(3) In NT *κυρία*, which occurs only 2 Jn$^{1.5}$, is translated 'lady,' a trⁿ which again comes from Wyclif. In this case the trⁿ is much disputed, some taking the word as a proper name. See art. JOHN, EPISTLES OF, vol. ii. p. 740 f.

As in the sense of *master* 'lord' has nearly passed out of use, except in its application to Christ, so 'lady' in the sense of *mistress* is rapidly passing away, except in reference to the Virgin Mary.[*] The Douay version of La 1^1 was originally 'How doth the citie ful of people sit solitarie: how is the ladie of the Gentils become as a widow?' But the modern editions have 'mistress' for 'ladie.' Cf. Gn 16^4 Wyc. 'And Agar seigh that sche hadde conseyved, and sche dispiside hir ladi'; and Is 47^7 Cov. 'and thou thoughtest thus, I shalbe lady for ever.'

J. HASTINGS.

LAEL (לָאֵל, BA Δαήλ, Luc. Δαουήλ; O.L. [Lyons MS] *Dael*;—apparently an error extending through all known copies of the LXX, and earlier than the O.L.).—A Gershonite Levite, Nu 3^{24}. The name means 'belonging to God,' and is interesting as being almost the only example in OT of such a formation (preposition + divine name). The idea expressed by it 'appears to rest on a reflection which must have been foreign to the highest antiquity' (Nöldeke, *WZKM*, 1892, p. 314, quoted in Gray, *Heb. Proper Names*, p. 207; cf. also Wellhausen, *Reste*^{2}, p. 7). The nearest Semitic parallel to it adduced by Nöldeke is the Palmyrene לשמש 'belonging to the sun.'

J. A. SELBIE.

LAHAD (לַהַד).—A Judahite family name, 1 Ch 4^2 (B Λαάθ, A Λάδ).

LAHAI-ROI.—See BEER-LAHAI-ROI.

---

[*] Suggested perhaps by ὁρίων which follows.

[*] In the 'glosses' as they were called, *i.e.* marginal notes, to the fragment of NT printed by Tindale in 1525, there occurs at Mt 1^{25} 'it followeth not that Joseph knew our lady afterward.' In the notes to the NT of 1538, 'Mary' is substituted for 'our lady.'

LAHMAM (לַחְמָם, perh. textual error for לַחְמָס, which is adopted by RVm **Lahmas**, following LXX Μαχές and Luc. *Λαμμάς*).—A town of Judah, noticed with others near the foot of the hills, Jos 15[40]. There is a ruin called *el-Laḥm*, near Beit Jibrîn, which is a possible site (cf. Tobler, *Dritte Wanderung*, 129; *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xx.). C. R. CONDER.

LAHMI. — The name given in our copies of Chronicles to a certain Philistine giant. The statement is: 'And smote Elhanan . . . Lahmi the brother of Goliath the Gittite' (1 Ch 20[5]). But the parallel statement is: 'And smote Elhanan . . . the Bethlehemite Goliath the Gittite' (2 S 21[19]). Any one who will compare these, as written in Hebrew characters, will find reason to think that one is a copy of the other, and that one copyist or the other misread his copy. Probably the reading in Samuel is correct, and the word Lahmi (אֶת־לַחְמִי) is properly a part of the word Bethlehemite (בֵּית הַלַּחְמִי), the giant in question being a relative and namesake of the Goliath whom David slew (but see art. DAVID, vol. i. p. 562[b], and cf. Driver, *Text of Sam.* p. 272).

W. J. BEECHER.

LAISH (לַיִשׁ).—**1.** The original name of the town of Dan (wh. see), Jg 18[7. 14. 27. 29]. The variation Leshem (wh. see) occurs in Jos 19[47 *bis*]. **2.** The father of Palti or Paltiel, to whom Michal, David's wife, was given by Saul, 1 S 25[44], 2 S 3[15].

LAISHAH (לַיְשָׁה), Is 10[30].—The name of a place connected with Gallim, and mentioned here along with other localities in Benjamin and Judah. If Gallim be *Beit Jâla* near Bethlehem, Laishah would also be in that neighbourhood.

LAKE.—The inland waters which may be classed under the term *lakes* are of two kinds—open and closed. Open lakes, in which the water is fresh, have an outlet in the form of a river or stream by which the unevaporated waters escape; while, in the case of closed lakes having no outlet, the water they receive from streams or springs is evaporated as fast as it enters, and as a general result the water of such lakes is salt or brackish. Of both of these varieties we have examples in the cases of the three principal lakes of Palestine; those of Hûleh (Merom), Galilee (Tiberias), and the Dead Sea. In the case of the first two, the waters of the Jordan descending from their sources in the Lebanon, augmented by many other streams flowing in from the east and west, enter from the north and pass out from the south; finally entering at the northern end of the Dead Sea, they pass off into the air by evaporation, there being no outlet from this great reservoir (see MEROM, WATERS OF; GALILEE, L. OF; DEAD SEA). These lakes being each described under their own names, only a few points by which they are connected with each other need be noticed here.

(1) *The physical origin of the Jordanic lakes.*—As the great line of fault and dislocation of the strata known as 'the Jordan-Arabah fault' is now recognized as the primary cause of the valley, or line of depression, of that name, it may be inferred that the existence of the lakes is due to unequal subsidence in the primeval floor of this line of valley; the lake basins representing portions where the depression of the original bed was greater than the intervening portions now occupied by the river Jordan.* In addition to this cause, which may be called *mechanical*, it is not improbable that volcanic action during the Miocene and Pliocene periods may have played an important part in the formation of these great hollows. The evidences of volcanic action all along the eastern side, and, to a limited extent, along the western side, of the Jordan valley are shown in the vast sheets of lava of the Jaulân, Gilead, and Moab; and it seems a fair inference that the withdrawal of such enormous quantities of matter from the underground magma, and its extravasation at the surface, may have resulted in producing subsidences in the bed of the Jordan valley similar to those known to exist in other volcanic regions, such as Auvergne in Central France and the countries bordering the Mediterranean.

(2) *Relative levels.*—The surface of the Lake of Hûleh is 7 feet below that of the Mediterranean, and its depth slight; that of the Sea of Galilee 682 feet below the same level; and that of the Dead Sea 1292 feet: thus the fall between the L. of Hûleh and that of Galilee is 675 feet in a distance of 10 miles, being about 67 feet per mile, that between the L. of Galilee and the Dead Sea 610 feet in a distance of 65 miles, being at the rate of nearly 9·4 feet per mile; the Jordan is therefore, at least in its upper section, a rapid stream. The above distances are measured in a direct line.

Besides these three most important lakes, we may mention—

(*a*) *L. Phiala* (Birket er-Râm), lying at the southern foot of Hermon, a lake, circular in form and about half a mile in diameter, which occupies the crater of an extinct volcano; one of the great group of Trachonitis.*

(*b*) *Birket el-Jish.*—Another small lake of volcanic origin, occupying the crater of a truncated cone called Jebel Jish, not far from Safed, on the western side of the Jordan valley.

(*c*) *The Damascus Lakes.*—These shallow sheets of water, which in summer are converted into swamps, are fed by the Abana (Nahr Barada) and Pharpar (Nahr Taura) 'rivers of Damascus' (2 K 5[12]). These streams, issuing from the ravines in the Lebanon, by whose springs they are fed, pour their life-giving waters over a tract of the Syrian Desert in which the city of Damascus is situated; and, assisted by an ancient system of canals and conduits, spread fertility over an area of several hundred square miles, converting it into a garden remarkable both for the richness and the variety of the vegetation, which has been a theme of admiration for all travellers. The Abana traverses the city itself, and its waters are distributed by seven canals and conduits (see DAMASCUS). Looking at the beneficent effects of the waters of these rivers on the soil of Syria, Naaman seems to have been fully justified from his point of view in exclaiming, 'Are not Abana and Pharpar, rivers of Damascus, better than all the waters of Israel?' E. HULL.

LAKKUM (לַקּוּם, B Δωδάμ, A ἄκρου, Luc. Λακούμ).—A town of Naphtali, Jos 19[33]. It is mentioned in the *Onomasticon* as Λακούμ, but the site has not been recovered.

LAMA.—See ELI, ELI, LAMA SABACHTHANI.

LAMB is used to render various Hebrew terms, of which the most frequent are the following: **1.** כֶּבֶשׂ *kebes*, LXX ἀμνός, with its feminines *kibsāh* and *kabsāh*, ἀμνάς, EV 'ewe lamb,' whence by metathesis the less common forms כֶּשֶׂב *keseb* and כִּשְׂבָּה *kisbāh*. *Kebes* is said to occur 87 times in

---

* It should be recollected, however, that these supposed local depressions occurred *not* from a nearly horizontal floor, but from one inclined from north to south; in other words, from the sources of the Lebanon to the original floor of the Dead Sea—a slope of over 2000 feet in a distance of about 150 miles.

* Described by S. Merrill (*East of the Jordan*, 14 (1881)), Tristram (*Land of Israel*, 589, 2nd ed.).

Ex, Lv, and Nu (all in passages belonging to P) in connexion with the ritual of the various sacrifices. It most nearly corresponds to our 'lamb,' being very frequently employed with the qualification 'of the first year' (בֶּן־שָׁנָה lit. 'son of a year'). In a number of passages the Revisers have sought to bring out more clearly the distinction between the masc. and the fem. forms by rendering *kebes* more uniformly 'he-lamb' (as opp. to *kibsāh* 'ewe-lamb,' Nu 6^{14} etc.), see Nu $7^{17ff.}$ $28^{3ff.}$ $29^{2ff.}$, Lv $14^{13.21}$.

2. שֶׂה *seh*, which strictly denotes 'a head of small cattle' (צֹאן), *i.e.* a sheep or a goat, and therefore lacks the precision of *kebes* (cf. Ex 12^5 'Your [Passover] lamb (שֶׂה) shall be without blemish, a male of the first year, ye shall take it from the sheep (כְּבָשִׂים) or from the goats'). In a few passages our EV have 'sheep' where, as in Ex 12^5 just quoted, the context points to 'lamb' as the more appropriate rendering, so *e.g.* Lv 22^{27}.

3. כַּר *kar*, perhaps a he-lamb at a stage intermediate between the *kebes* and the *'ayil* (אַיִל) or ram. *Kārîm* are mentioned as delicacies Dt 32^{14}, Am 6^4, as coveted spoil 1 S 15^9, and as tribute Is 16^1, 2 K 3^4 (Mesha's to the king of Israel; cf. RVm and *Comm. in loc.*).

In three passages of the Greek translation the obscure word קְשִׂיטָה *kĕsîṭah* is wrongly translated 'lambs' (see art. KESITAH).

We have seen how frequently lambs are mentioned in connexion with the sacrifices of the Priests' Code. Of these may be singled out the daily morning and evening sacrifice—the תָּמִיד *tāmîd* of later Judaism; cf. Dn $8^{11ff.}$ and Mishna *passim*—at each of which 'a male of the first year, without spot,' was offered (Ex $29^{38ff.}$, Nu $28^{3ff.}$); the Sabbath *tāmîd*, when the number of lambs was doubled (Nu $28^{9f.}$); the sacrifices at the great festivals such as Pentecost, when nine lambs in all were offered, and Booths, when the daily number rose to fourteen (Nu $29^{13ff.}$, but seven only on the eighth day, v.^{36}). To a different category belong the mother's offering of a lamb after childbirth (Lv 12^6), and the leper's of 'two he-lambs and one ewe-lamb of the first year' (Lv $14^{10ff.}$). For the special case of the Passover lamb, see art. PASSOVER.

The flesh of the lamb was naturally esteemed a delicacy among the Hebrews as elsewhere (Dt 32^{14}, Am 6^4; also 2 S $12^{3ff.}$, Nathan's parable of the ewe-lamb). It was forbidden, however, to kill a lamb till it was a week old (Ex 22^{30}, Lv 22^{27}), and even then the dam and her offspring must not be killed on the same day (Lv 22^{28}).

It was inevitable that so familiar and characteristic a creature as the lamb should supply Hebrew writers with a variety of figures. Thus the gambolling of lambs in the spring-time suggests itself to the author of the Book of Wisdom as a suitable figure for the exuberant and praiseful joy of the Hebrews on the occasion of the exodus from Egypt (Wis 19^9; cf. a similar figure in Mal 4^2 [Heb. 3^{20}]). In Hebrew, as in other literatures, the lamb is the symbol of innocence and gentleness, as opposed to cunning and ferocity. 'What fellowship,' asks ben-Sira, 'hath the wolf with the lamb?' (Sir 13^{17}; cf. Horace, *Epod.* iv. 1); yet one of the most striking features of the Messianic age is the cessation of this hereditary antipathy, when 'the wolf shall dwell with the lamb' (Is 11^6; cf. 65^{25}). The lambs are the special object of the Messiah's care (Is 40^{11} טְלָאִים *ṭĕlā'îm*, *ἄρνας*). In the spirit of this prophecy we find that 'feed my lambs' (*τὰ ἀρνία μου*) was part of the Master's threefold charge to Peter (Jn 21^{15}).

The lamb as the synonym of guileless innocence and gentleness, further, is appropriated by Jeremiah, who, all unsuspicious of the wiles of his enemies, describes himself as 'a gentle lamb' (Jer 11^{19} RV), a figure repeated in the familiar portrait of the suffering Servant of J″, who is also portrayed 'as a lamb that is led to the slaughter' (Is 53^7 RV).[*] The influence of the latter passage in shaping the Messianic Hope of Judaism cannot be over-estimated. Thus it is generally admitted that it, above all, was in the Baptist's mind when he pointed to our Lord with the words, 'Behold the Lamb of God[†] (*ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ*) which taketh away the sin of the world' (Jn $1^{29.36}$; cf. Ac 8^{32}). It is not impossible, however, that there may also be included a reference to the lamb of the daily sacrifice and even to the lamb of the approaching Passover (see Westcott, *in loc.*), since the writer of the Fourth Gospel beyond a doubt declares the Saviour upon the cross to be the true Paschal Lamb (see esp. Jn 19^{36}; cf. for St. Paul 1 Co 5^7). This expiatory aspect of our Saviour's death is also emphasized by St. Peter in his application to Christ of the technical attributes of the sacrificial victim, 'a lamb without blemish and without spot' (1 P 1^{19}; cf. Ritschl, *Die christl. Lehre v. d. Rechtfertigung*^{2}, 1882, ii. 176, 177).

There remains the oft-recurring (twenty-seven times) symbol of the Book of Revelation, in which our Lord is figured as the 'Lamb' (note *ἀρνίον* throughout, not *ἀμνός*), first introduced in 5^6 'as though it had been slain' (*ἀρνίον . . . ὡς ἐσφαγμένον*). This is not the least striking of the points of contact—even though the terms used are not identical—between the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel (see the latest commentary, Bousset, *Die Offenbarung Johannis*, 1896, p. 206), and in so far supports the opinion of those who seek the source of the apocalyptic symbol in the Paschal Lamb rather than in Is 53^7 (for the whole question see the commentaries and works on NT theology). The lamb in early Christian symbolism is beyond the limits of a Dictionary of the Bible (see art. LAMB in Smith's *Dict. of Christian Antiquities*).

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

LAME, LAMENESS.—See MEDICINE.

LAMECH (לֶמֶךְ, *Λάμεχ*).[‡]—1. A descendant of Cain, Gn $4^{18ff.}$ (J). He is said to have married two wives, Adah and Zillah (v.^{19} the first mention of polygamy in the Bible), the former of whom became the mother of Jabal and Jubal, the latter of Tubal-cain (v.$^{20ff.}$). Legend ascribed to Lamech the following somewhat enigmatical utterance, which has been preserved by J in poetical form:—

'Adah and Zillah, hear my voice;
Ye wives of Lamech, hearken unto my speech;
For I slay (have slain?) a man for wounding me,
And a young man for bruising me.
If Cain shall be avenged sevenfold,
Truly Lamech shall be avenged seventy and sevenfold.'

The above is frequently called 'the sword-lay,' being supposed to be a glorification by Lamech of the weapons forged by his son Tubal-cain, by the aid of which he can defy his enemies and defend himself, instead of having to look, like Cain, to God for protection. This is the generally accepted interpretation of modern scholars (those who are curious to make acquaintance with Jewish and patristic fancies may refer to Smith's *DB*, *s.* 'Lamech'), and there can be little doubt that it is mainly correct. Wellhausen (*Composition d. Hex.* 305), it is true, thinks it is precarious to explain the lay from its present context, with which it may have a purely accidental connexion. That is to say, he sees no necessity for connecting Lamech's language with Tubal-cain's invention, but would recognize in it only a piece of characteristic Oriental bravado (the calling in of the wives is characteristic too, parallels being found amongst the Arabs) uttered by one clan (or chieftain) against another. Holzinger substantially accepts Wellhausen's explanation.

---

[*] The terms are different, however, in the original: כֶּבֶשׂ in Jer 11^{19}, שֶׂה in Is 53^7.

[†] Cf. also the pseudepigraphic work, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*: 'Honour Judah and Levi, for from them shall arise for you *the lamb of God* (*ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ*), saving all nations by grace' (*Test. Josephi* 19).

[‡] Dillm. and Holzinger agree (against Budde) that the name למך is unintelligible from Hebrew, but that Arabic may give the meaning *juvenis robustus*. Ball ('Genesis,' in *SBOT*), following Hommel (*PSBA*, March 1893), considers *Lamech* 'to be an easy adaptation of Bab. *Lamga*, "the Servant" (of Merodach), another title of Sin, synonymous with *Ubara* in the name *Ubara-tutu*, "vassal of Merodach," the *'Ωτιάρτης* (or rather *'Ωτάρτης*) of Berosus, and father of *Ξίσουθρος*, the hero of the Flood, who corresponds to the Hebrew Noah.'

2. A descendant of Seth and father of Noah, Gn 5$^{25f. 28. 30f.}$ (P), 1 Ch 1^{3}. From the coincidence of the names *Lamech* and *Enoch* in the Cainite genealogy of J (Gn 4) and the Sethite genealogy of P (ch. 5), as well as the very close resemblance between a number of other names in the two lists, it is generally held that we have before us two recensions of one and the same list, the object of the one being to trace the descent of the human race to an ancestor called Cain, the other to one called Seth. Delitzsch, while opposing this, agrees with Wellhausen, that, together with the genealogy 4$^{16-22}$ terminating in Lamech and his three sons, there was in the Jahwistic document another genealogy which started from Adam and terminated in Noah and his three sons, and that this has been displaced by the genealogy of P (ch. 5). Wellh. finds the conclusion of J's narrative in 5^{29}, its opening perhaps in 4$^{25f.}$.

LITERATURE.—Buttmann, *Mythologus*, i. 152 ff.; Budde, *Bib. Urgeschichte*, 102, 130 ff.; Wellh. *Comp.* 5, 305; Kuenen, *Hexateuch* (Macmillan), 252; Reuss, *AT* 213 f.; Stade, *ZATW* (1894), 283, 295 ff.; *Comm.* of Del., Dillm., and Holzinger, *ad loc.*

J. A. SELBIE.

LAMED (ל).—The twelfth letter of the Hebrew alphabet, and as such employed in the 119th Psalm to designate the 12th part, each verse of which begins with this letter. In this Dictionary it is transliterated by *l*.

LAMENTATION.—See MOURNING.

LAMENTATIONS, BOOK OF—consists of five poems, whose subject is the sufferings of Judah and Jerusalem during the siege and subsequent to the capture of the city by the Chaldæans (B.C. 586). The description of the woes of the people is interspersed with confessions of sin, exhortations to repentance, and supplications for a return of the divine favour.

I. NAME AND PLACE IN THE CANON.—In Hebrew Bibles the title of the book, taken from its opening word, is *'Ekhah* (אֵיכָה = How !). Another name, which occurs in the Massoretic subscription and in the Talmud and Rabbinical literature, is *Ḳînôth* (קִינוֹת), to which correspond the Θρῆνοι of the Sept. and the *Threni*, *Lamentationes*, *Lamenta* of Jerome and the Fathers. In the Heb. Canon (according to German MSS) the book is placed among the *Kĕthûbhîm* or Hagiographa, and forms one of the five *Megillôth* or Rolls (Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther). These were read in the Synagogue service on stated occasions every year, Lamentations on the 9th of Ab, the anniversary of the destruction of the temple. In the Sept. as in the Eng. Bible, Lamentations immediately follows Jeremiah. That this was not the position in which the Sept. translators found it, is held by some to be proved by the circumstance, noted by Nöldeke, that the tr^{n} of the two books is not from the same hand, Jer being a comparatively free rendering of the original, while Lamentations is rigorously literal and marked by numerous Hebraisms. When the latter book attained to its present position in the Alex. Canon, it came to be regarded more and more as an appendage to its predecessor, until Jeremiah-Lamentations could be reckoned a single book like Judges-Ruth. This result was reached all the more readily in some quarters owing to a fancy for reckoning the canonical books of the OT as twenty-two, the number of letters in the Heb. alphabet. (See Ryle, *Canon of the OT*, 219 f., and Wildeboer, *Entstehung des AT Kanons*, 76 f.).

II. STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK.—The first four chapters are acrostic poems, of which the first, the second, and the fourth contain each 22 verses which open with the Heb. letters in succession. Ch. 3 contains 66 verses, and each letter is repeated thrice, having three successive verses assigned to it. Ch. 5 is not acrostic, but contains 22 verses. In chs. 1 and 2 the verses consist of three members, in 4 of only two, while in 3 each verse has but a single member. It is the *division* of these members, however, which characterizes the four poems we are discussing. The *Ḳînah* or elegy is marked by a peculiar rhythm which differentiates it from ordinary Hebrew poetry. De Wette, Keil, Ewald, and others helped to elucidate the nature and laws of the elegiac measure, but to Budde belongs the merit of having thoroughly investigated and explained the subject. His conclusions are set forth mainly in an essay in the *ZATW* (1882, pp. 1-52); but the Eng. reader will find all that is essential in an interesting article contributed by the same author to the *New World* (March 1893), under the title 'The Folk-Song of Israel in the mouth of the Prophets.'

The characteristic features of the elegiac measure are that each verse-member (there may be one or more members in a verse) is divided by a *cæsura* into two unequal parts, of which the second is the shorter (the proportion is generally 3 : 2), and that this second part, instead of balancing and reinforcing the first, as is usual in the Heb. poetry, is frequently an imperfect echo of it, or not parallel in thought to it. (See Driver's *LOT*^{6} 458). Budde has proved that this was the strain affected by the 'mourning women' in their lamentations for the dead. In Jer 9^{17}, where these are summoned to utter a dirge, the 'limping verse,' as Budde calls it, is introduced with great effect (vv.$^{19. 21. 22}$) alternately with the ordinary evenly-moving verse. There are numerous other instances of its occurrence in the OT, of which we may cite the magnificent passage Is 14^{4b-21} (ode on the king of Babylon), Ezk 19, and Am 5^{2} (cf. Driver's note on this last passage). The prophets seem to have adopted this measure whenever they desired to make an unusually deep impression. It is obvious that all the associations connected with it rendered its employment in Lamentations specially suitable. 'The singer or singers employed this versification because it afforded them the surest way of putting their listeners into a mood corresponding to their melancholy utterances. High and low, learned and unlearned, old and young, man and woman, all understood this melody, all felt themselves transported by it to the bier of their relatives or neighbours, and were carried away by it to bewail their people, their city, themselves' (Budde). The plaintive melancholy cadence can be fully appreciated only in the original Hebrew, but its effect can be approximately reproduced even in English. Take as an example 1^{5}—

'Her adversaries are become the head,
Her enemies prosper;
For the Lord hath afflicted her
For the multitude of her transgressions:
Her young children are gone into captivity
Before the adversary.'

(It is greatly to be regretted that this peculiar rhythm is not exhibited in the RV, although in Kautzsch's *AT* it is reproduced very effectively in German by Baethgen).

The text of Lamentations is in some instances corrupt, and it is not easy to bring every verse under Budde's scheme. Still, not a little success has been achieved by this critic and others in restoring the original text of the *Ḳînah*. See, further, art. POETRY.

From all this it is evident that in poems such as those that make up Lamentations we have no simple spontaneous outburst of grief, but the result of conscious effort and of not a little technical skill. While ch. 5 is not in the *Ḳînah* measure (it is only accidentally that vv.[2. 3. 14] conform to it), something of the same effect is produced by the assonances (*u, nu, anu, enu, inu, unu*), which recur 44 times (Reuss), and to which there is no parallel in the OT except in Ps 124.

III. ANALYSIS OF THE CONTENTS.—Each of the five poems is complete in itself, and forms a well-rounded whole, independent alike of its predecessor and its successor. This was admitted even by Eichhorn, who ascribed all the five to Jeremiah, but held that they were composed by the prophet at different times and when in different moods. Attempts have indeed been made to trace a progress either in the historical situation (de Wette), or in the thoughts (Ewald), from one chapter to another. The former failed completely to accomplish his self-imposed task, and the scheme of the latter can be carried through only by discovering in the Lamentations features that are absent and ignoring others that are present. Ewald certainly lays himself open to the sarcastic remark of Thenius, that upon such principles a connexion could be established between the most disparate elements in the world. Let any careful student judge whether it is correct to say with Ewald that chs. 1 and 2 contain the bitterest and, as yet, hopeless complaints; that in ch. 3, which is the turning-point, the poet reaches comfort at least for himself; that in ch. 4 lamentation indeed recurs, but now the people break in with the language of prayer and hope; while in ch. 5 we have nothing but prayer, offered by the whole community, whose tone is sad indeed, yet composed and hopeful. No doubt Ewald exhibits here an attractive model from which the author or authors *might* have worked, but they have not done so. Nay, so far from there being any traceable connexion between the different poems, it is no easy matter sometimes to discover connecting links between the verses of the same poem. The truth is that the nature of the subject did not readily admit of logical development, and it may have been partly for this reason and as a mnemonic device that the acrostic scheme was adopted in the first four chapters (its absence in ch. 5 has never been satisfactorily explained). In chs. 2 and 4 the verses have the firmest, in 1 and 5 the loosest connexion. In the light of the foregoing remarks it will be understood that the following scheme of analysis, which is mainly Löhr's, is largely provisional.

Ch. 1 contains two divisions—(*a*) vv.[1-11b] spoken by the poet (with the exception of [9c]); (*b*) vv.[11c-22] spoken by the city (with the exception of [17]). The ever-recurring themes are the abandonment of the city by her allies, the distress of her inhabitants, the pride of the enemy. In v.[8] there is already a confession that Jerusalem has been justly punished for her sins, and in [9c] already a cry to God, which is repeated in [11c]. In vv.[12-16], where the city is supposed to speak, we have an appeal to passers-by, to whom under a variety of figures the misery of Zion is described. In v.[17] the poet suddenly speaks again in his own person, but in vv.[18. 19] it is once more the city that appeals to all peoples, and in vv.[20-22] addresses a prayer to J″ to execute vengeance on the foes who had gloried in Jerusalem's misfortunes.

In ch. 2 the situation reminds us of Jer 14[15-18]. There are two main divisions—(*a*) vv.[1-12]. The daughter of Zion has been crushed down by the judgment of J″, all her political glory has faded, her temple has been destroyed, the city and its inhabitants have suffered alike. The agonies of the siege, the despair of the citizens, the terrible scenes due to famine, are realistically depicted; (*b*) vv.[13-22]. The poet turns to the people with mingled warnings and consolation. The sin of Jerusalem, especially of her false prophets, and the scorn that has overtaken the latter, are held up to view; the nation is invited to turn to J″ in supplication (vv.[18. 19]), and it responds in the prayer of vv.[20-22].

Ch. 3 is the most important from a *religious* point of view, and is also constructed with the most art. It differs from the other chapters in being spoken in the 1st person singular, although we should perhaps understand the 'I' not of an individual, but of the people collectively, after the manner of Pss 31. 34. 35. 51, and many of the later psalms.[*] The chapter may be arranged under three divisions. (*a*) Vv.[1-18] touchingly describe the utter desolation of the people, but at the mention of God in v.[18] a ray of hope darts into the soul of the speaker, who after the parenthetical passage (vv.[19-21]) passes on to fulfil in (*b*) a *didactic* function (vv.[22-51]). The inexhaustible compassion of God is insisted upon, the purposes of grace which He may have in His visitation are suggested, all tending to enforce the call to repentance. (*c*) In vv.[52-54] there is a return to the tone of complaint, which soon passes, however, into joyful confidence (vv.[55-58]) that God will hear and deliver, while vv.[59-66] breathe a prayer for vengeance on the nation's foes. (As to the interpretation of vv.[56ff.] and the question of a *precative* perfect, see Ewald's *Heb. Syntax*, Kennedy's tr. p. 15; Driver's *Heb. Tenses*^{3}, pp. 14, 25; Davidson's *Heb. Syntax*, p. 63).

Ch. 4 closely resembles in structure ch. 3. There are two main divisions, the first of which falls into two subdivisions. (*a*) Vv.[1-11], of which vv.[1-6] exactly balance vv.[7-11]. The בְּנֵי צִיּוֹן of the one is parallel to the נְזִירִים of the other; in both sections there is a description of the sufferings occasioned by famine, and a tracing of these to the anger of J″ (v.[12], which breaks the connexion, probably owes its origin simply to the necessities of the acrostic scheme). In (*b*) there are three subdivisions—(1) vv.[13-16] treat of the sin and the punishment of the priests and the prophets; (2) vv.[17-20] of the sin and the punishment of the king and his courtiers, who looked in vain to Egypt for help; (3) vv.[21. 22] address a word of threatening to Edom and of comfort to Israel.

Ch. 5, like ch. 1, is wanting in consecutive thought. It opens with a prayer that J″ would look upon the reproach of His people, which is described from a variety of points of view (vv.[2-18]). Zion's desolation suggests, by way of contrast, J″'s abiding power, upon the ground of which the poet repeats his appeal for help (vv.[20-22]). The last verse being considered one of ill omen, the Jews were accustomed in reading to repeat after it the preceding verse. For a similar reason the same usage was followed in connexion with the last verse of Isaiah, Malachi, and Ecclesiastes.

---

[*] So Calov, Hupfeld, Reuss, Cheyne, Smend (see esp. *ZATW*, 1882, p. 62 ff.). On the other hand, Budde (*Klagelieder*, 92 f.) contends for the individual sense of the 'I,' by which he supposes the author of the poem to have intended an eye-witness (most likely Jeremiah) of the destruction of Jerusalem.

IV. AUTHORSHIP.—Both in Jewish and in Christian circles a tradition has long prevailed that the book was written by Jeremiah. We will examine—

(*a*) *The External Evidence.*—While the Heb. Bible is silent as to the authorship of Lamentations, it is otherwise with the Sept., where the book opens thus: *καὶ ἐγένετο μετὰ τὸ αἰχμαλωτισθῆναι τὸν Ἰσραὴλ καὶ Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἐρημωθῆναι ἐκάθισεν Ἰερεμίας κλαίων καὶ ἐθρήνησεν τὸν θρῆνον τοῦτον ἐπὶ Ἰερουσαλὴμ καὶ εἶπεν* ('And it came to pass, after Israel was led into captivity and Jerusalem laid waste, that Jeremiah sat weeping, and lamented with this lamentation over Jerusalem, and said'). It has been urged that these words, which sound like the rendering of a Heb. original, imply a notice to the above effect in the Heb. MS from which the Sept. translator worked. The Vulg. opens with words which reproduce in Lat. the above Gr. sentence, with the additional phrase *et amaro animo suspirans et ejulans*, and these words in italics imply, acc. to some, the existence of yet another Heb. original. In ch. 5, moreover, Vulg. has the heading *Oratio Jeremiæ prophetæ*. The superscription of the book in Pesh. also supports the same tradition.

There are, however, two circumstances that greatly weaken the force of the above evidence. Firstly, the absence of any allusion to Jeremiah in the MT would be utterly inexplicable if such a notice as occurs in the Sept. had ever stood in the Hebrew. As every student knows, it was far more the tendency of copyists to add than to suppress. Secondly, the place of the book in the Heb. Canon, not attached to Jer, but included among the *Kĕthûbhîm*, is hard to reconcile with its prophetic authorship. As Driver remarks, at least three centuries separated the Sept. from Jeremiah, and its notice quoted above may be merely an inference founded on the general resemblance of tone which the Lamentations exhibit to such passages as Jer 8^{18}–9, 14–15, and on the reference assumed to be contained in $3^{14.\,53\text{-}56}$ to incidents in the prophet's life (Jer 20^{7} $38^{6\text{ff.}}$). It was doubtless a similar feeling that gave rise to the extraordinary conflate reading *τῷ Δαυὶδ Ἰερεμίου*, which is the title in some MSS of Ps 137 (Cheyne). According to Löhr and Gerlach, the *καὶ ἐγένετο*, etc., of the Sept. was written in order to connect Lamentations with the prophecies of Jeremiah, probably at the time when it was an object to reduce the number of books in the Canon to twenty-two. It need scarcely be added that the statements of the Fathers, the superscription in the Targum, and the citations from the Talmud, have no independent value as evidence in regard to the authorship.

There has been much discussion as to the meaning of 2 Ch 35^{25} 'And Jeremiah lamented for Josiah, and all the singing men and singing women spake of Josiah in their lamentations unto this day, and they made them an ordinance in Israel, *and behold they are written in the lamentations*.' The question is whether the words we have italicized refer to our book of Lamentations. If so, we should have a tradition as early as the days of the Chronicler (*c.* B.C. 250) in favour of Jeremiah's authorship of at least a portion of its contents. Thenius answers the above question in the negative, holding that the *Ḳînôth* referred to were *a collection of lamentations for the dead* sung on the occasion of the burial of the kings of Judah. In this collection Jeremiah's lament for Josiah may easily have had a place, but our book never formed part of it. On the other hand, a great many of the leading OT scholars of the day understand the Chronicler to refer to the canonical book of Lamentations. Löhr offers three reasons for this conclusion: (1) it is hard to believe that there were extant other lamentations by Jeremiah outside the Canon; (2) the Chronicler might readily have referred such passages as La 2^{6} and 4^{20} to Josiah; (3) an uncritical writer like the Chronicler might easily have committed a blunder into which Jos. (*Ant.* X. i. 5) probably and Jerome certainly fell. The words of the latter in commenting on Zec 12^{11} are, 'super quo (Josia) lamentationes scripsit Jeremias, *quæ leguntur in Ecclesia* et scripsisse eum Paralipomenon testatur liber.' The same interpretation of the Chronicler's language is supported by Nöldeke, Cornill, Wildeboer, W. R. Smith, and Budde.* If it be correct, it gives us a testimony in favour of Jeremiah's connexion with Lamentations, dating from about the same period, and entitled to much the same consideration as the testimony of the Sept. which we have just examined. As the external evidence is manifestly insufficient to decide the question, we are thrown back upon—

(*b*) *The Internal Evidence.*—At the first glance this may seem to be in favour of Jeremiah's authorship, which has been strongly maintained by Keil and others. The verdict of modern criticism, however, is given for the most part against the traditional view. The undoubted affinities of all the five chapters with Jer (see a list of similarities in Driver, *LOT*^{6} 462*d*) are recognized by critics of all schools, but are explained on the ground that this prophet's works were the favourite study of the author or authors of Lamentations, who were in such sympathy with his spirit that the book might be entitled 'Lamentations of the sons of Jeremiah' (Cheyne).

There are several passages which militate against Jer.'s authorship. La 2^{9} ('Her prophets find no vision from the LORD') might almost be pronounced decisive. In this same verse, moreover, חָזוֹן is used in a special sense which meets us for the first time in Ezk 12^{27}. A number of other instances are cited by Cornill (*Einleit.*^{2} 247) where the language shows such a dependence upon Ezekiel (who did not publish his prophecies before B.C. 570), that Jeremiah's authorship seems out of the question. La 4^{17} does not sound like the language of Jeremiah, who never shared the hopes of those who looked for help to Egypt. La 4^{20} could hardly be spoken of Zedekiah by one who judged him as Jeremiah did. Chs. 1 and 5 imply an acquaintance with Deutero-Isaiah, while ch. 3 contains echoes of the later psalms and of Job (which probably dates at the earliest from the Exile). In his *Job and Solomon*, Cheyne adduces the following parallels with the latter book—La $3^{7.\,9}$=Job 19^{8}, La 3^{8}=Job 30^{20}, La 3^{10}=Job 10^{16}, La $3^{12.\,13}$=Job 7^{20} $16^{12.\,13}$, La $3^{14.\,63}$=Job 30^{9}. The dependence of the elegies upon Job is more likely than the converse supposition.

A circumstance that may have some bearing on the question of authorship, is that the order of the letters ע and פ is different in chs. 2–4 from what it is in ch. 1. In the latter the normal order is followed, in the other three chapters פ precedes ע (a phenomenon which occurs also in the correct text of Ps 34 as well as in Pr 31 [according to the LXX], probably also in Ps 9 f., and, according to Bickell, in Nah 1; cf. Budde, *Klagelieder*, 70 f.). Even if we suppose, with Thenius, Ewald, Nägelsbach, and others, that at one time the order of the Heb. alphabet was not definitely fixed, it is hardly likely that one and the same author would have followed different orders in two successive poems. This would indicate, then, that at least ch. 1 is from a different hand from chs. 2–4.

---

* Budde points out, however, that the Chronicler does not attribute all five poems to Jeremiah, but apparently only one of them, the other four being assigned to the 'singing men and singing women' (*Klagelieder*, p. 73).

In regard to the linguistic aspect of the question, it may be mentioned that Löhr (*ZATW*, 1894, Heft 1; cf. Driver, *LOT*^{6} 463) subjects the vocabulary of Jeremiah and of Lamentations to a comparison, the result of which is that while the words common to both are four times as numerous as those found only in Lamentations, yet the latter contains a great many words not found in Jeremiah. These words, moreover, are without exception important, while the common use of words like אִישׁ or בֵּן, of course, proves nothing as to community of authorship (*e.g.* שֶׁ for אֲשֶׁר, which occurs in La 2$^{15.16}$ 4^9 5^{18}, is unknown to Jer). Many of the above considerations tell not only against Jeremiah's authorship but against—

V. THE UNITY OF THE BOOK.—While there is comparative agreement amongst modern critics that Jeremiah is not the author, there has been much diversity of opinion as to the number of authors whose work is to be traced in the book. W. R. Smith argued strongly that the book is a unity (art. 'Lamentations' in *Encycl. Brit.*^{9}), but the prevailing tendency at present is decidedly adverse to this opinion. It is pretty generally agreed that at least ch. 3 is by a different and later hand than the rest of the book. Budde formerly (*ZATW*, 1882) agreed with Stade, who is content to go this length, and who assigns 1. 2. 4. 5 to a single author. Thenius holds 2 and 4 to be Jeremiah's, while 1. 3. 5 are assigned each to a separate author. A considerable number of modern critics divide the book into three groups in the following chronological order (2 and 4) (1 and 5) (3). This, which was the scheme of Nöldeke, has gained the adherence of Löhr, Cornill, Wildeboer, and now (*Klagelieder*, 1898, pp. 74 ff.) substantially of Budde.* Another arrangement of the book is that of Cheyne (*Jeremiah* in 'Men of the Bible' series), which also recognizes three groups (1. 2. 4) (3) (5). On this question criticism has not yet spoken the last word.

VI. PLACE AND DATE OF COMPOSITION.—Upon these two points there are differences of opinion even amongst those who support Jeremiah's authorship of the book. The freshness of the pictures has often been adduced as an argument for an early date. It may be said, however, that while there is something that appeals to the imagination in the old picture of the faithful prophet sitting down to lament the fate of the city which had turned a deaf ear to his warnings, it is a psychological improbability that a man of Jeremiah's spirit should have turned out acrostic poems, and especially such a laboured work of art as ch. 3 amidst blackened ruins where the fire had hardly cooled, and in streets where the blood had hardly dried. Hence, even if the poems were his, we should have to think of a relatively late date for their composition, when the bitterness of the moment had given place to calm reflection. (With this tallies 5^{20} 'so long time'). Thenius, who regarded 2 and 4 as genuine productions of Jeremiah, dated the one at about B.C. 581 (prior to the third deportation after the murder of Gedaliah), and the other at a later period, during the prophet's sojourn in Egypt. Löhr formerly fixed upon 550 as an approximate date for the completion of the book. This would allow sufficient time to account for the references to Ezekiel. In a later work (1893) Löhr is willing to come down as late as 530, but objects to a post-exilic date, because he holds that the *Ḳînah* measure, although found in Deutero-Isaiah, cannot be traced in any post-exilic work (not occurring in Hag, Zec, Mal, Jl, or Jon). Wildeboer finds nothing in the contents of the book to compel us to fix upon the close of the Exile as the *terminus ad quem* for the publication of Lamentations. Some of the elegies might well have been composed in Babylon by an exile who did not share the sanguine expectations of Deutero-Isaiah, or even in Judæa by one who had returned with Zerubbabel in 536. Wildeboer thinks, however, that the latest possible date is 516, the year when the rebuilding of the temple was finished. But if the possibility of Lamentations being post-exilic is admitted, some plausibility must be conceded to Cheyne's suggestion (*Founders of OT Criticism*, 356) that as the church of the second temple composed its own psalms, it is far from impossible that it preferred to indite fresh elegies for use on the old fast-days. There were details enough in the historical books to enable a poet possessed of dramatic imagination to draw the pictures in Lamentations. The tone of the book, however, is inconsistent with the contention of Fries (*ZATW*, 1893), that chs. 4 and 5 belong to so late a period as that of the Maccabees. This is conclusively proved by Löhr (*ZATW*, 1894), who exhibits the complete contrast between the Maccabæan Psalms, where the people protest that they suffer in spite of their innocence, and the Bk. of Lamentations, which confesses throughout that the nation's suffering is due to the nation's sin.

LITERATURE.—Driver, *LOT*^{6} 456–465; Cornill, *Einleit.*^{2} 244–248; W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} 181, 219, also art. 'Lamentations' in *Encyc. Brit.*^{9}; Wildeboer, *Lit. d. AT*, 298–303; Nöldeke, *AT Lit.* 142 ff.; artt. by Budde, Smend, Löhr, Fries in *ZATW* (1882–1894); Ryle, *Canon of OT*, 69, 115, 121, 219; Wildeboer, *Entsteh. d. AT Kan.* 9, 12, 17, 77, 131 ff.; Buhl, *Canon and Text of OT*, 20, 39 f. Of modern foreign commentaries may be mentioned those of Thenius, Keil, Ewald, Gerlach, Reuss, Nägelsbach, Löhr (1891 and 1893, the latter in Nowack's *Hand-kom. z. AT*; both Löhr's works are exceedingly valuable, and there is an important review of the first by A. B. Davidson in *Crit. Review*, Jan. 1892); Minocchi, *Le Lament. di Geremia*, 1897; Budde in *Kurzer Hdcomm.*, 1898. Amongst Eng. commentaries are those of Payne Smith (in *Speaker's Comm.*), Plumptre (in *Ellicott's Comm. on OT*), Cheyne (in *Pulpit Comm.*), cf. the same author's *Jeremiah* in 'Men of the Bible' series, and his *Founders of OT Criticism*, 356 f.; Streane (*Camb. Bible for Schools*), Adeney (in *Expositor's Bible*). See also Greenup, *Targum on Lam.*, *Comm. of Rabbi Tobia ben Elieser on Lam.*, *Short Comm. on Lamentations*.

J. A. SELBIE.

LAMP (לַפִּיד, נֵר, *λύχνος*, *λαμπάς*).—The first of these words is tr^d 'torch' in Nah 2^4 and Zec 12^6 (AV and RV); and in Gn 15^{17}, Jg 7^{16}, Job 41^{19}, Ezk 1^{13} the same tr^n is adopted by RV in place of 'lamp' of AV. The other Heb. word, as well as the Gr. *λαμπάς*,* may mean torch likewise, but is more properly lamp, with oil and wick, as in the description of the golden candlestick (Ex 25$^{31-37}$) of the tabernacle, and those made by Solomon for the temple (2 Ch 4$^{20.21}$), which were kept burning all night (Ex 30$^{7.8}$, Lv 24^2).

The common lamps of Pal. were of terra-cotta, as we have abundant evidence from the numerous specimens found in all parts. Glass lamps of Egyp. or Phœn. make might have been known, and bronze lamps are not infrequently found. Very little is known of the lamps used in Egypt. Herod. (ii. 62) describes them as flat saucers filled with a mixture of salt and oil, on the top of which floated the wick. The oldest form of lamp found in Pal. is not unlike that described by Herodotus. It is like a shallow saucer, the rim of which, on one side, is pinched together, forming a narrow channel through which the wick passed (see Fig. 1). This style is called Phœn., and is found in the tombs and ruins of the oldest cities in Phœnicia and Palestine (*PEFSt*, 1893, p. 14; and Bliss, *Mound of Many Cities*, p. 87). The more common forms are oblong, but not open like the above. There is a saucer-like depression in the upper surface, at the bottom of which there is an orifice for the admission of the oil into the lamp, and another opening at the extremity for the admission of the wick. At the opposite end there is often a small handle (see Figs. 2 and 3: Fig. 3 is bronze). Sometimes the form is circular, an open saucer-shape, with a smaller saucer inverted in the larger (see Fig. 4). This form of lamp, especially No. 2,* with or without the handle, is called Roman, and was doubtless commonly used in the time of Christ, and is most probably the kind referred to in the parable of the Ten Virgins (Mt 25). They hold little oil, and would soon need replenishing. The peasants of Syria and Pal. use these lamps still, although petroleum has in most places taken the place of olive oil for lighting. An open glass or terra-cotta cup with a piece of rag for a wick is often seen in the poorer peasants' houses, and this they frequently keep burning all night. The people of the country do not like to sleep without some light in the house, and a dim one furnished by such a lamp suits their purpose. In illuminations at weddings and on feast-days this open style of lamp is much employed. The wick used is a small one drawn through a piece of cork and left to float on the surface of the oil.

---

* Who assigns chs. 2 and 4 to an eye-witness (not Jeremiah) of the calamities they describe, dates chs. 1 and 5 (from *different* hands) about 530 (or later) and 550 respectively, while he fixes the date of ch. 3 much later, in the pre-Maccabæan period in the 3rd cent. B.C.

* See under art. LANTERN.

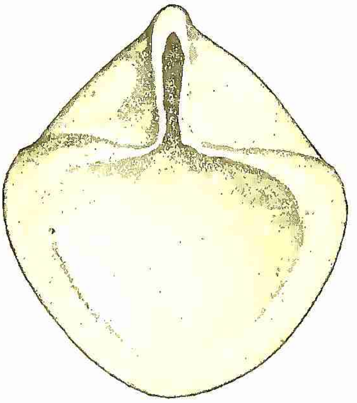
FIG. 1.

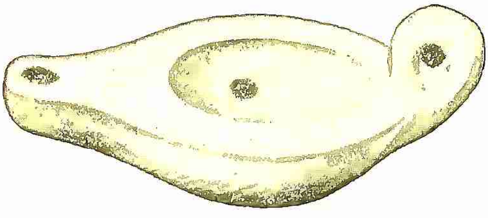
FIG. 2.

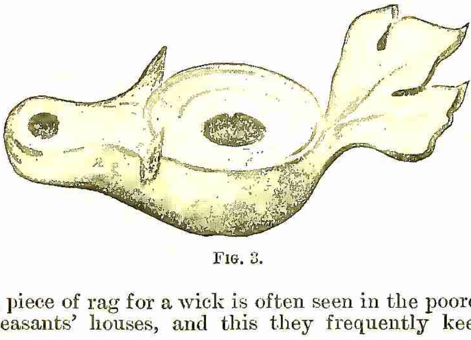
FIG. 3.

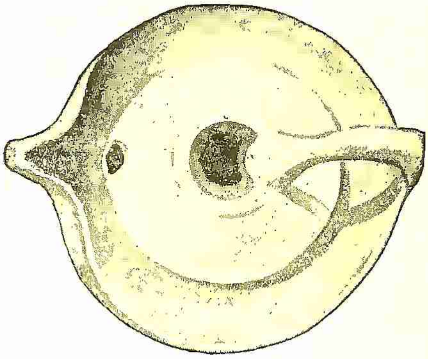
FIG. 4.

Lamps appear to have been kept burning before the *teraphim* (images of ancestors); hence the words 'the lamp of the wicked is put out' (Job 18[6] 21[17]) may have originally meant that the wicked shall have no male descendants to fulfil this duty of placing a lamp before his image (so Schwally, *Leben nach dem Tode*, 40). H. PORTER.

LAMPSACUS (1 Mac 15[23] RVm).—See SAMPSAMES.

LANCE.—See SPEAR.

LANCETS (רֹמַח 1 K 18[28]).—A mistaken correction in modern edd. of the original reading of the AV of 1611, 'lancers,' *i.e.* 'lances,' properly spears used for hurling. Both forms of the word are old, 'launcetis' being the later Wyclifite form in this passage. AV of 1611 adopted the 'launsers' of the Bishops' Bible (spelling it 'lancers,' however), and the change into 'lancets' was not made before 1762. Cf. Scrivener's *Introduction to the AV*, pp. xlvi, xlvii. See SPEAR.

W. E. BARNES.

LAND CROCODILE (Lv 11[30] RV).—See CHAMELEON.

LAND LAWS.—See LAW (in OT) and SABBATICAL YEAR.

LANDMARK (גְּבוּל).—An object, such as a stone, a heap of stones, or a tree with a mark in its bark, intended to fix the limit of a field, a farm, or the property of an individual. In Palestine these landmarks are scrupulously respected; and in passing along a road or pathway one may observe from time to time a stone placed by the edge of the field from which a shallow furrow has been ploughed, marking the limits of cultivation of neighbouring proprietors.

In order to perpetuate the observance of the rights indicated by landmarks in the Mosaic ritual, a curse is pronounced against the surreptitious removal of a landmark belonging to one's neighbour (Dt 19[14], for the meaning of which see Driver, *ad loc.*). In Egypt the land had to be re-measured and allotted after each inundation of the Nile, and boundary-stones placed at the junction of two properties. A collection of such objects is to be seen in the *Assyrian Room*, British Museum.

E. HULL.

---

* See an interesting paper by Père Lagrange in *Rev. Biblique* (Oct. 1898) on two Pal. lamps to which his attention was called by Clermont-Ganneau. These are figured in the *Revue*.

LANGUAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.—1. *Names.*—(*a*) The greater part of the Old Test. is written in the language called by the Assyrians 'the tongue of the west country' (Winckler, *Die K. I. Sargons*, p. 72, l. 423, etc.),* by biblical writers 'the lip of Canaan' (Is 19^{18}), or 'Jewish' (2 K $18^{26.\,28}$; cf. Neh 13^{24}), by the Rabbis 'the Sacred Tongue' (*Sotah*, vii. 2, etc.), or 'the Text' as opposed to 'the Targum' (Bab. *Megillah*, 18*a*, etc.), or 'the language of the Law' as opposed to 'the language of the doctors' (Weiss, *Studien zur Mischnahsprache*, p. 9). The Palestinian † Rabbis further apply to it the term 'Hebrew' (Jerus. *Megillah*, p. 19, etc.), and the absence of this name in the OT can be due only to accident; it is the term regularly employed by Greek-speaking Jews (first occurring, it would seem, in the Pref. to Sir; used also by Josephus, *Ant.* I. i. 2), and it can only be through ignorance that Philo substitutes 'Chaldee' for it. The name 'Hebrew' was adopted by early Christian writers (*e.g.* Ac 21^{40}), and with the spread of Christianity it migrated into Asiatic, African, and European languages; some of which have also adopted from the Rabbis the name 'Sacred Tongue.'

(*b*) The portions of the OT which are not in Hebrew are in the language called Aramaic in the Bible (2 K 18^{26} etc.) and Talmud (Bab. *Shabbath*, 12*b*, etc.), and not infrequently 'Targum' in the latter (Bab. *Megillah*, *l.c.*), 'Syriac' in the LXX and sometimes in the Talmud (Jerus. *Sotah*, vii. 2). It would seem that the name 'Chaldee' does not belong properly to this language, although the Aramæans and Chaldees are sometimes juxtaposed in old inscriptions (Sennacherib, ed. G. Smith, p. 36). It is probable that the use of the name for 'Aramaic' is due to the comparison of Dn 1^{4} with 2^{4}; and the identification of the two appears in the notes of Jerome and Ibn Ezra on the latter passage, though the LXX translator of Dn 2^{27} appears expressly to avoid it. In Syriac works, probably through similar reasoning, 'Chaldee' is sometimes said to mean 'Old Syriac' (*Thes. Syr. s.v.* 'Kaldaya'); but in very late times the 'Chaldæans' are identified with the 'Nestorians,' probably on the ground of their geographical position (Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 181; cf. Rassam, 'Biblical Lands,' in the *Proceedings of the Victoria Institute*). In Aramaic are written (1) Dn 2^{4}–7^{28}, (2) certain documents quoted in Ezr 4^{7}–6^{18} and 7^{12-26}, ostensibly in their original language; it is, however, noticeable that the connecting narrative is also in Aramaic; (3) Jer 10^{11}, regarded by some as an interpolation, while others endeavour to account for the transition on rhetorical grounds. There are besides several places in the OT where the writers appear to lapse into Aramaic, possibly through the fault of their copyists. In Jos 15^{25} the adjective חֲדַתָּה, in the name 'New Hazor,' is Aramaic; in 14^{8} an Aramaic word (המסיו) is substituted for the Hebrew of the word 'melted' in the phrase 'melted our heart' (cf. Dt 1^{28}). Sporadic cases of words which are Aramaic both in derivation and grammatical form occur in Is 30^{28}, Ezk 24^{26} 33^{30}, Ps 116^{12}, possibly Job 37^{13}, Dn 11^{23}, and elsewhere.

(*c*) The employment of other languages than these in the OT does not exceed the quotation of isolated words and phrases, or calling attention to varieties of nomenclature. Besides the Aramaic equivalent for Gilead cited in Gn 31^{47}, Egyptian is quoted *ib.* $41^{43.\,45}$ (JE), Moabite Dt 2^{11}, Ammonite *ib.* v. ^{20}, Sidonian and Amorite *ib.* 3^{9}, Tyrian 1 K 9^{13}, Persian (?) Est 3^{7}, Babylonian (?) Dn 4^{5}, perhaps Philistian Is 2^{6}. Moreover, it may be observed that, in speaking of dignitaries, biblical writers are ordinarily (not invariably) careful to give them their native titles: see Ex 15^{15}, Jos 13^{3-21}, Ezk 23^{6}, Hos 10^{5}, Est 1^{3} 4^{12} 8^{10}, Dn 3^{2} etc.

2. *Antiquity.*—The Hebrew language may be appropriately termed the Israelitish dialect of Canaanitish. Outside the OT the chief pre-Alexandrian monuments of the Israelitish dialect which we possess appear to be an inscribed weight in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, found at Nablûs, and the Siloam inscription (Driver, *Notes on Samuel*, p. xv), probably of the age of Hezekiah. But of other Canaanitish dialects we possess far earlier monuments. The oldest of these are the glosses of the Tel el-Amarna tablets (see Winckler's edition in the *KIB*, 1896). The writers of these epistles sometimes accompany their Assyrian with a Canaanitish equivalent, using, of course, the cuneiform character for both (examples are 181. 5 *khalkaat*, explained by *abada*, 'perished'; 189. 16 *ana shamē* by *shamima*, 'heavenward'; 191. 24 *sise* by *suusu*, 'horse'; 189. 18 *kakkadunu* by *rushunu*, 'our head'). It may be noted as a peculiarity of the writers' dialect that the substantive verb in it would appear to have drawn some of its tenses from the stem in use in Phœnician (and Arabic), and others from the stem in use in Hebrew (and Aramaic). 'If you say *kuna*,' says one writer, 'I will answer *yahya*' (149. 36). These tablets are assigned to the 15th cent. B.C., but the existence of the Canaanitish language is certified for a yet earlier period by some of the loan-words found in Egyptian monuments, some of which go back to the 16th century or earlier. The bulk, however, of these loan-words occur in papyri of the 14th and 13th cents. B.C. Maspero, who first brought this fascinating subject into prominence (in his *Epistolographie Égyptienne*, 1873), thought that during those centuries the employment of Semitic words was in fashion among the upper classes in Egypt; and if this opinion be correct, it follows that the Canaanitish language must by then have reached a high state of development. This opinion, however, was not shared by J. H. Bondi, who, in his dissertation on these words (Leipzig, 1886), collected as many as sixty-five of them; while a still greater number was collected by W. Max Müller (in his *Asien und Europa*, 1893), who has since (in the volume dedicated to Ebers, 1897) tracked out a few in the celebrated *Papyrus Ebers*, which deals with medical prescriptions. Whether their introduction into Egyptian was the work of the upper or the lower classes, the variety of the spheres of thought to which they belong is such as to allow of their being compared with the words afterwards borrowed by the Copts from the Greeks. The unsatisfactory nature of the Egyptian transcription renders them somewhat less amenable to grammatical analysis than the Tel el-Amarna glosses. Of the remaining monuments of the Canaanitish language, the inscription on a patera dedicated to Baal-Lebanon in Phœnician (*CIS* i. No. 5) is probably the oldest, while the Mesha stele (of the time of Jehoshaphat of Judah) approaches most nearly to the Israelitish idiom, being in Moabitic; of the other Phœnician inscriptions, that of Byblus (*CIS*, i. 1) approximates to Hebrew, but the most important is doubtless the Eshmunazar inscription (*CIS* i. 3), about the time of Alexander the Great. From Palestine the Canaanitish language was carried by Phœnician colonists to Africa, the islands and harbours of the Mediterranean, and Spain. Here it was supplanted first by Greek, and then more extensively by Latin; but would seem to have survived as a spoken language down to the 5th cent. B.C., and perhaps later.

---

* Delitzsch (*Handwörterbuch*, *s.v.* 'ḫilāni') suggests that Hittite is meant here. It would seem, however, that the words are easily explicable as Canaanitish (cf. Jer 22^{14}), and B. Meissner (*Noch einmal das Bît Ḫillāni*, 1893) thinks this does not admit of a doubt.

† In the Babylonian Gemara עברי at any rate sometimes means a foreign language, *e.g.* *Shabbath*, 115*a*.

3. *Origin.*—The Canaanitish language belongs to the Semitic family, and is closely allied to the Arabic, *i.e.* the language made world-famous by the conquests of Mohammed and his successors. These are the only languages of the Semitic family that have, in regular use, (1) a prefixed article, leading to a variety of syntactical rules; (2) an interrogative prefix of a single letter,[*] as well as a syllabic prefix of the same import (Dt 32^{6}); (3) a series of passive conjugations, formed by a change of vowel from the active;[†] (4) a regular conjugation Niphal;[‡]—Canaanitish has, moreover, considerable remnants of (5) a case system; (6) an infinitive system; (7) a mood system identical with those of classical Arabic. The theory represented in the grammar of J. Olshausen (Brunswick, 1861), according to which the relation of Hebrew to Arabic is that of daughter to mother (in the sense in which these metaphors may be used of languages), is that which best suits the facts;[§] and indeed the proximate ancestors of Hebrew forms can in the great majority of cases be easily found in Arabic. The apparent absurdity of deriving so ancient a language as Canaanitish from one of which the earliest monuments in our possession are so recent, disappears in the face of the overwhelming evidence which comparative grammar can produce. The earliest specimens of classical Arabic that have come down to us are not, indeed, earlier than the 6th cent. A.D.; and though numerous inscriptions in other dialects have been discovered in both S. and N. Arabia, the dialect of the Koran is scarcely represented in any stone monuments earlier than the composition of that book. There is, however, no doubt that the Mohammedans inherited a literary language, which prevailed over the greater part of the Arabian peninsula, with slight differences of dialect. But for the early history of that language we cannot go to Mohammedan writers, but are left to what we can infer.

The line of investigation to be followed is the same as that applied by M. Pictet to the Indo-European languages, and which employs the assumption (called by M. Lenormant 'the true principle') that, where kindred nations which have separated call objects or institutions by the same names, and there are no signs of those names having been borrowed independently, they must have possessed the names and the objects, etc., before they parted. A comparison therefore of the Hebrew and Arabic names for a variety of things should give us something like a correct idea of the state of Arabian society when the Canaanites first migrated northward. The result would seem to be the following:—

The nation from which the Canaanitish colonies emanated must before that event have attained as high a level of development as any Oriental State uninfluenced by Europe has reached. Society was already organized on the basis of the family, for the languages have identical names for 'father-in-law,' 'mother-in-law,' 'son-in-law,' and 'daughter-in-law,' which necessarily imply it; but the family was polygamic, since the relation of 'fellow-wife' is indicated by the same name with the proper phonetic changes. The treble system of naming in use in Arabia would seem to have existed also, since the Canaanites retain all three words for 'naming' and 'names,'[*] but have apparently ceased to distinguish between them accurately; and the castes of freemen and slaves were already distinct. The life of the people was passed partly in villages, partly in towns, with streets and squares, and defended by walls. The same cereals were cultivated in the fields, many of the same pot-herbs in the gardens, mostly the same fruits in the orchards and plantations, and the same animals domesticated as afterwards in Canaan; and the chief agricultural processes had already been invented and named. Various trades were exercised in the towns: there were smiths and carpenters who understood the use of the saw, the axe, and the adze; there were money-changers with scales,[†] and there were money-lenders.[‡] The last two trades imply some acquaintance with arithmetic, and the Arabs before the Canaanitish migration possessed special names for 'thousands' and 'myriads.' Money-lending implies the calculation of days, and this is based on astronomical observation, the beginnings of which already existed, for some of the constellations[§] were already named. Writing already existed,[‖] and, it would seem, an alphabet,[¶] and certain styles of elegant composition were already practised.[**] Religion had already taken shape: men could distinguish between the sacred and the profane, they had a pilgrimage, and learned various ceremonies, including, probably, genuflexions and prostrations. The prophetic profession seems to have existed in a variety of forms. Custom had already to some extent become stereotyped in the form of law.

It is probable, therefore, that the Canaanites issued from a country where a classical language was spoken and written. Some tribes may have carried that language with them into their new home; but, in the case of those whom we know best, it would appear to be a vulgar dialect of Arabic which formed the basis of the language. Many curious parallels can be found between the language of the Bible and the dialects of Arabic spoken in Egypt and Syria in the present day.[††] While in general simplifying the structure of the ancient language, they contain many relics of the classical rules. The classical language from which both are derived must therefore have flourished long before the 15th cent. B.C., for which time the existence of the later language is certified. The elaborate syntax and accidence which the early poetry of the Arabs exhibits would seem to have been codified more than two thousand years before that poetry was composed. It is in favour of this result that the Arabs have no accurate notion of the commencement of their literature, or of the time when any of their classical metres was invented. Yet those metres imply the whole of the grammatical system, which can only have been the product of organized study. That all trace of the schools and colleges of early Arabia should have perished is noteworthy, but scarcely extraordinary, if we consider what such isolated monuments as the Mesha stele or the Iguvine tablets imply as to the extent of literatures that have wholly perished.

---

[*] The Aramaic of Daniel also has this.

[†] The biblical Aramaic as well as that of the papyri shows some traces of these passives. The Hebrew of the OT shows considerable relics of a passive of the first form, which the grammatical tables cannot recognize. The punctuators identified it with *Pu'al*, the passive of ii. עֻבַּד Is 14^{3} and שֻׁטַּף Lv 6^{21} are striking cases.

[‡] This conjugation is given in the Assyrian paradigms.

[§] Vollers, in his review (*ZA*, 1897) of Nöldeke, *Zur Grammatik des Kl. Arabischen*, thinks that work will tend to modify this view; but see the author's reply in the same volume.

[*] כנה in Arabic, 'to address by an indirect name,' *i.e.* to call a man by his son's name, 'father of so-and-so,' instead of by his own. In the *Aghāni* the narrators often point out how the Caliph *kannānī*, 'called me Abū so-and-so' to do me honour. In Syriac the word merely means to 'name'; in Hebrew, Is 45^{4} 'to call by a family name,' Job 32^{21} 'to flatter.' It would seem clear that the Arabic practice (extraordinary as it is) lies behind both the Heb. and Syr. usage. The word *laḳab*, in Arabic 'title,' serves to give a verb to the Hebrew שֵׁם: אֲשֶׁר נִקְּבוּ בְשֵׁמוֹת 'whose names have been mentioned,' Nu 1^{17}.

[†] מֹאזְנַיִם is a case of popular etymology. The root וזן being lost in Hebrew, the word was popularly derived from אֹזֶן 'an ear.' The Carthaginians have a similar word, *Rev. Ass.* v. 12.

[‡] The Heb. נשה, of which the construction is peculiar, seems evidently connected with *nasī'ah*, 'deferred payment.'

[§] See Hommel's article in the *ZDMG*, 1892.

[‖] The word סֵפֶר seems to be the Arab. *zibr*, which occurs in the earliest Arabic known to us. See *Mu'allaḳah* of Labid. The Assyr. *satar* is used in early Arabic also. The meaning 'to write' is lost in Hebrew, but lies behind the sense of שֹׁטֵר.

[¶] הגה has the sense of Arab. *hajā*, 'to articulate,' in several passages: Pr 8^{7}, Is 59$^{3.13}$.

[**] It seems difficult to separate the word מְשֻׁגָּע used with נָבִיא Hos 9^{7}, מִתְנַבֵּא Jer 29^{26} (cf. 2 K 9^{11}), from the Arab. *sij'*, 'rhymed prose,' the traditional style of the *Kāhins*. The Heb. הִגָּיוֹן was compared by Meier with the Arab. *hijā*. מָשָׁל and *mathal* appear to be also independent.

[††] Some examples are given by W. Wright in his *Arabic Grammar* (2nd ed.) and his *Comparative Grammar*. The form הֶעֱלִיתֻנוּ (Nu 20^{5}) is vulgar (*ḳataltūnā* for *ḳataltumūnā*). The uses of יַעַן can be illustrated by those of *ya'nī* in languages that borrow from Arabic. The use of אֲשֶׁר as a final and explanatory particle would seem to be a vulgarism. الذى is so used in some Arab. dialects, and likewise in modern Armen. the relative *wor* has taken the place of *yethē* 'that.' Perhaps the Heb. עָשָׂה 'to do,' is the Arab. *ghashiya* vulgarly used; cf. *Lisān al-'arab*, xix. 363. 5.

The evidence for the priority of Arabic grammar to the development of the Canaanitish language is to be found partly in what may be termed the residues which Canaanitish exhibits. Of these, examples are to be found (1) in the spelling, (2) in the grammatical forms, (3) in the syntax.

(1) As examples of orthographic residues, we may notice (*a*) the employment of א to represent the sign of prolongation of the vowel *o* in a number of words in which the Arabic has the consonantal א preceded by a short *a* (*e.g.* רֹאשׁ, צֹאן, יֹאמַר; see Böttcher, *Lehrbuch*, i. p. 245). In some other words the letter א is still written without affecting the pronunciation. It would seem clear that the tribes who migrated from Arabia to Canaan had already found difficulty in pronouncing the consonantal *Aleph*, which indeed many still regard as the hardest of the Arabic consonants. They pronounced *ā* for *a'*, a pronunciation which indeed the Arabic grammarians tolerate in poetry. But while this *ā* in Arabic was either retained or reduced in the direction of *ē*, the immigrants pronounced it as well as other Arabic *ā*'s (with rare exceptions) as *ō*. The writing צֹאן for *ẓōn* therefore is a case in which an old spelling is retained after it has become doubly unsuitable to represent the correct pronunciation; and in all cases where this letter represents anything but the soft breathing, it must be regarded as a remnant from an earlier language, or due to false analogy. The perpetual interchange which we notice in the OT between roots ל״א and roots ל״ה shows that the consonantal א could no longer be pronounced at the end of a word. But from etymological orthography of this sort we can infer with certainty the existence of a literature in which the orthography agreed not only with etymology, but with the actual pronunciation; in other words, the existence of written documents in Arabic earlier than the Canaanitish migration.

(*b*) Of no less interest as an etymological remnant is the employment of the letter ה *at the end of words* to represent the lengthening of a vowel, a peculiarity which the Phœnician dialects apparently do not share with the Hebrew and Moabitic. This mode of writing has two obvious sources. In Arabic the pausal form of nouns ending in *atun* is *ah*, and in this form the *h* is pronounced as a consonant (Heb. הּ), as we learn from its treatment in verse: thus *martabah* is made to rhyme with *intabah*, in which the *h* is radical (Hariri, ed. 1, p. 64), etc. This pausal form has in Hebrew ousted the other. That it is everywhere pronounced *ā* for *ah* is a phenomenon to be easily illustrated from Hebrew itself (in which the *āh* of the feminine suffix has a tendency to sink into *ā*), and from many other languages. But the Phœnicians did not adopt this pausal form, retaining the *t* in the absolute as well as in the construct state. Hence one of the sources of this employment of the letter *h* was wanting in their language.

The second source of this phenomenon is to be found in the masculine suffix of the third person. Relics of the Arabic *hu* are not infrequent, but ordinarily (as in modern Arabic locally) that suffix is reduced to *ō*. When modern Arabic is written, the *h* is retained (see *e.g.* *Ḳaṭa'if al-laṭāif*, Cairo, 1894, p. 51, etc.), and the same is the case frequently in Hebrew and in Moabitic. In all these cases, however, it is an etymological remnant.

(*c*) As a third case of etymological writing, we may note the employment of the sign שׂ to represent *s*. This orthography is characteristic of the older forms of Hebrew, Phœnician, and Aramaic, falling gradually into disuse in all of them. Now we know that the words which in Hebrew are written with שׂ almost invariably correspond to Arabic words with *sh*. Since a great number of the words which in Arabic have the sibilant that corresponds with ס have that letter in Hebrew also, the desire to avoid confusion may well have perpetuated the old spelling in the cases where a *sh* had come to be pronounced *s*. We learn, moreover, from the well-known passage in Jg 12^{6} that in parts of Palestine only one of these sibilants could be pronounced.

(2) Of the grammatical residues, which are numerous, we need merely notice the variation in the second and third persons plural of the imperfect between the forms *ūn* and *ū*. All distinction in meaning between these forms is clearly lost; at most it can be said that some writers have a predilection for one form rather than the other. Classical Arabic, however, distinguishes them very decidedly: the dropping of the *n* with its vowel is a sign of the subjunctive or jussive mood, and is not an isolated phenomenon, but belongs to a system. What renders the treatment of these forms by the Hebrews peculiarly interesting is that the vulgar Arabic written by Jews, Christians, and even Mohammedans, exhibits the same phenomenon. Such writers as Jephet Ibn Ali are well acquainted with both forms: only the sense of their proper employment fails them.

(3) As a syntactical residue we may instance the treatment of the numerals. Here the Arabic rule is very simple, and its ground can easily be seen. One part of it is that the numbers 11–99 take after them the accusative singular. If the usage of the Hebrew OT be tabulated, the only expression for it seems to be that with words which from their nature are constantly coupled with numerals the Arabic rule is fairly regularly observed; with others the plural is more common, but the singular optional. Thus in Jg 8^{28} 'The land rested forty year,' but v.^{30} 'Gideon had seventy sons'; Jg 9^{2} speaks of 'seventy man,' but v.^{24} 'the seventy sons of Jerubbaal,' v.^{56} 'his seventy brothers.' In Jos the rule is sometimes observed with the word 'man,' but other variations occur which stamp the language as patois-like and ungrammatical: the following examples of the syntax of the word 'twelve' taken from Jos 3 and 4 show how unsettled was the usage in eveu so ordinary a matter. 3^{12} שְׁנֵי עָשָׂר אִישׁ, 4^{2} שְׁנֵים עָשָׂר אֲנָשִׁים, 4^{4} שְׁנֵים הֶעָשָׂר אִישׁ; $4^{3.9}$ שְׁתֵּים עֶשְׂרֵה אֲבָנִים, 4^{8} שְׁתֵּי עֶשְׂרֵה א׳. The rule seems to be similarly observed when numerals precede the word אֶלֶף 'a thousand,' owing to ancient calculations, whereas the old rule about the syntax of words following אֶלֶף seems to be equally often observed and forgotten. From the practically regular observance of the Arabic syntax in the case of the word 'year,' which from its nature must be constantly coupled with numerals, it seems reasonable to infer the antiquity of the Arabic rules. The ordinary style of the OT exhibits therefore in this case, as in the last, a survival from an older language.

At what time the Canaanitish language first began to be written cannot be determined; but it seems certain that there can have been no break of any length between the writing of Arabic and the writing of Canaanitish; the etymological remnants would otherwise be inexplicable. Thus the writing of *aiment* in French for *aime* must be inherited from a generation who both pronounced and wrote *aiment* or *amant*; had French been first written by persons who pronounced the word *aime*, the *nt* could never have been introduced. We cannot know either whether the Canaanitish orthography was gradually formed or became fixed at a definite epoch. The evolution of Ethiopic from Sabæan, which offers some striking analogies to that of Canaanitish from Arabic, is in favour of the latter supposition. Those who made Ethiopic a written language abandoned some of the Sabæan letters and introduced others. Those who gave Canaanitish a literature omitted some six or seven of the letters of the old Arabic alphabet, but added none. It is probable, then, that the double pronunciation of the six letters בגדכפת, with which we are familiar in Hebrew, Phœnician, and Aramaic, was not yet noticeable. The lost letters are to some extent the same as those which are no longer pronounced in many of the countries where Arabic is spoken, albeit they are still written. In Canaanitish *th* coalesces with שׁ, *dh* with ז, *kha* with ח, *ḍād* and *ẓā* with צ, *ghain* with ע. This rule holds good ordinarily, but human speech is subject to fluctuations, and irregular correspondence (as *e.g.* חדל Arab. *khadhala*, נעדר Arab. *ta'adhdhara*) need not always imply independent roots, where the significations are clearly akin. In the case, moreover, of the other letters the Canaanitish dialect shows considerable deviation from the Arabic, sometimes in a manner that can be paralleled from dialects the peculiarities of which are noted by Arabic grammarians. Thus it would appear that there was a tendency to shift from *mediæ* to *tenues* (*e.g.* מסך, Arab. מזג; כחד, Arab. גחד; תף, Arab. דף; שלף,

Arab. שלב ; שפע, Arab. שׂבע ; פור, Arab. בלר), which can be paralleled from what has happened in other languages (*e.g.* modern Armenian as compared with ancient). The Canaanitish language shows further considerable confusion of the gutturals: besides the tendency to pronounce ק for ב (*e.g.* בקר for בבר, עקש for עבש, צחק for צׂחך), we find ח for ע (קרחה, Arab. קרעה), ה for ח (*e.g.* בזה, Syr. בזח, Arab. מוח), ב for ח̇ (בבה for Arab. חׄבו), etc. There is also considerable confusion of the sibilants (ס for ז in נםע, ס for צ in ספק, ז for צ in זעיר, etc.), and of the liquids (*e.g.* נקב for לקב, רשן for רשם, מלח for מכמח); moreover, the letter ח is frequently displaced by the emphatic ט, *e.g.* קטל for קחל, etc., and מ by ב (*e.g.* נשב for נשם, ערברב for ערמרם, בחן for מחן). Further phenomena which often meet us in vulgar dialects are the frequent assimilation of the nasal *n* before another consonant (cf. Ital. *mese* for *mensem*, mod. Armen. *gigni* for *gingni*, 'he falls'), and the misplacement of the aspirate. Indeed, in Canaanitish as well as in the older Aramaic and in some of the S. Arabian dialects, an initial breathing seems regularly to be aspirated when it is a grammatical prefix, and sometimes when it is radical (so הפך for אפך); but, on the other hand, the Hebrew sometimes substitutes the soft breathing for the aspirate (cf. אימה with Arab. היבה), especially in the middle of a word (so עֵד 'a witness' for עהד 'one who knows'; cf. Jer 29^{23} יודע ועד ; דור through דאר for דהר). Where two of these irregular changes occur in the same word, it often becomes unrecognizable; and the occasional transposition of radicals introduces great difficulty: just as some mod. Armenian dialects have *tepur* for *phethur*, so Hebrew has צוח for וצח, לוה for ולה ; cf. עצם for Arab. עׄמץ. The chief grammatical differences between Arabic and Hebrew are due (1) to the loss of the final vowels, which in the older language have syntactical value; (2) to the exaggeration of the accent, resulting in the strengthening of some vowels and the loss of others; (3) to the tendency to simplify, which explains the loss of whole series of forms in many of those languages that have grown out of the decay of classical idioms. In the opinion of some, the language has by these changes gained in vigour what it has lost in finesse—a matter which must be left to the individual taste.*

Of the families of words in use in Canaanitish, it would seem that more than half can be identified with roots known to the lexicographers of classical Arabic; but the waywardness which characterizes human speech has not failed to leave its mark on the treatment of the old words in respect both of their preservation and the evolution of their significations. Thus Canaanitish and classical Arabic have the same word for 'peace,' but different words for 'war'; the same for 'to eat,' but different for 'to drink'; the same for 'near,' but different for 'far'; the same for 'low,' but different for 'high'; the same for 'gold,' but different for 'silver'; the same for 'to ride,' but different for 'to sit' and 'to stand'; the same for 'ass,' but different for 'horse,' though the same for 'horseman.' In several of these cases, and in numerous others, while the same words or the same families are retained in both languages, the meaning in one or other has been so generalized or specialized as to render the introduction of another necessary in order to represent the original meaning. In some cases it is likely that neither language retains the original sense; but in most it would seem that, in spite of the late date of our Arabic documents, the Arabic signification is prior; and good service has been done by those acquainted with both languages since the days of the Talmudists in tracking out the development of these significations.

A few familiar cases are—(1) the Hebrew for 'to say' אמר, in Arab. 'to command': that 'to command' is the original sense is shown by occasional relics of that meaning in the OT (2 S 1^{8}), and by the derivative התאמר 'to be proud,' a sense which can scarcely be connected with the Hebrew 'to say,' but derives very naturally from the Arab. 'to play the prince or commander,' like the words השתרר (Nu 16^{13}), התנשא (*ib.* 16^{3}). (2) זיד, in Heb. 'to act insolently,' in Arab. 'to increase': a relic of the older usage seems to be found in Dt 18^{20} 'the prophet who shall add to speak in my name words which I have not commanded him': the Latin *loquetur ultro* would exactly illustrate the transference of ideas. (3) The Hebrew חלל 'to profane,' and החל 'to begin,' seem both traceable to the Arab. חל 'to loosen,' whence both ideas flow by a course of reasoning exactly similar to that illustrated in the evolution of the Aramaic שרה. In several cases what we have in Canaanitish is apparently an expression current in the mouths of the vulgar exalted into a classical phrase: the Hebrew words for 'handmaid' and 'family' would appear to have a very obvious etymology in Arabic (cf *Koran*, iv. 28; *Romance of Saif*, i. 28), which, however, would exclude them at the first from the mouths of the well-bred. A certain number of alterations in meaning can be explained by popular misapplications, *e.g.* the Canaanites use for 'blind' the word which in Arab. means 'one-eyed,' for 'deaf' the word which in Arab. means 'dumb.'

It is not in our power to gauge the whilom wealth of the Hebrew language,* and far more of the copious Arabic vocabulary may have been retained by the Canaanites than is ordinarily supposed. Most of the books of the OT offer examples of *hapax legomena* that can be satisfactorily explained from the Arabic, whether in the form of antiquated phrases for which the ordinary language employs other synonyms (*e.g.* Dt 27^{9} הסכת, Arab. *uskut*, 'be silent,' in every way parallel to the herald's 'O yez'), or of dialectic words (*e.g.* נצב, Arab. *niṣāb*, Jg 3^{22}), or of words which there is no reason to suppose to have been rare, but which for one reason or another the biblical writers have not elsewhere occasion to employ (*e.g.* עֲטִישָׁה 'sneezing,' Job 41^{18}).

Arabisms in this sense can be found not only in the latest biblical writers,† but even in the fragments of Ben-Sira, and in the New-Hebrew of the Mishna.[*] As borrowing from the Arabs is highly improbable, and in many cases shown by the phonetic changes to be impossible, the whole stock of words common to Canaanitish and Arabic must have constituted the linguistic capital of the former language. The parallelistic style, which is probably earlier than the migration, served to retain in use many synonyms which might otherwise have disappeared;[†] but without a far greater mass of literature than has come down to us we could not pronounce without hardihood on the original bulk of the Canaanitish vocabulary, or deny any genuine Arabic root a place in it.[‡]

---

* Of many of the elegances of Arabic grammar there are faint traces in the OT. The Arab. *rubba* 'many a,' appears *once*, Pr 20^{6}. Of the broken plural the only real example in the OT appears to be זְכוּר plural of זָכָר; in other cases its meaning is lost, even though its form be present, *e.g.* קְלֹקֵל Nu 21^{5}. In Böttcher's *Lehrbuch* the most is made of these relics as well as of supposed remains of the dual of verbs and pronouns. The syntax of the Book of Joshua seems to show that there was a time when the old rules of the article were in danger of being lost (3^{14} 7^{21} 8$^{10.\,33}$), but this (like Is 36$^{8.\,16}$) may be due to corruption of the text. A remarkable relic is in Jer 22^{18} הוֹי אָחוֹת, which resembles the *āh* added in Arabic, *wā Zaidāh*, 'alas, Zaid!' (Vernier, *Gram. Arabe*, § 565).

* In the Concordance published at Warsaw, 1883, *roots* are given in large type, *verbs* (counting each conjugation separately) are marked with a circle, and *nouns* with a star. According to computations made for this article, the numbers are respectively 2058, 2930, 3937.

† So Ec 9^{1} בּוּר 'to try,' Arab. *bāra*; in *Lisān al-'arab*, v. 153, several curious passages of old authors are cited in which this word occurs. The etymology is given by Ges. *Thes.*, but omitted in the *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* 2^{20} יֵאָשׁ can scarcely have been thought out by the writer from the biblical נואש, but must represent an old word (Arab. *ya'isa*). A few striking Arabisms may be collected here. Gn 28^{12} סֻלָּם 'a staircase,' Arab. *sullam*; 40^{16} חֹרִי 'white bread,' Arab. *ḥuwwārī*; 42^{27} אַמְתַּחַת 'baggage,' Arab. *amti'at*, plur. of *matā'* (it is curious that Mohammed uses this word in *Koran*, xii. 25, where this verse is represented 'when they opened their baggage *matā-'ahum*'. The change of ע to ח is caused by the following ח: in Egypt it is now customary to say שמחת for שמעת, ארבחת for ארבעת [Tantavy, *Grammaire*, p. v.]); Ex 5^{4} תַּפְרִיעוּ

4. *Secondary Sources.*—Of the roots and words which the Hebrew vocabulary contains, a great number cannot be identified in the Arabic dictionary. Of these, however, some seem to have been current in Arabia before the migration, for we find them in the Ethiopic language, which we know to have sprung from a S. Arabian dialect.[§] A few more are stamped as Arabic by their occurrence in S. Arabian inscriptions.[‖] But this still leaves a great number unaccounted for. We have therefore to recognize in Canaanitish a non-Arabic element, and must endeavour to account for its origin.

According to the biblical account, the patriarchs and their families having acquired Hebrew in Canaan, sojourned in Egypt, but retained their own language, which was brought back to Canaan. Although the seclusion of the Israelites in Egypt, on which some of the narratives insist, would account for their failing to adopt the language of Egypt, their dependent position there would lead us to expect that their Hebrew would be affected by their long exile from Canaan, and that their literature would show traces of Egyptian, which other Canaanitish monuments would fail to exhibit. This expectation is not fulfilled. If the hieroglyphic vocabulary[*] be collated with the Hebrew, the cases in which they show any correspondence are extremely rare, and these cases seem to belong to a period prior to the separation between the Egyptian and Semitic races: in any case, the fact that they are mostly Semitic and not specifically Hebrew words, shows that they were not learned by the Israelites in Goshen. The Coptic vocabulary is indeed far more illustrative of Hebrew; but this is due mainly to the extensive borrowing of Canaanitish by the Egyptians at a period to which reference has been made; and in many cases the words are Semitic with purely Canaanitish forms, and words which, while isolated in Coptic, belong to extensive families in Semitic. The few words in Hebrew which may be justly regarded as Egyptian are such as may easily have been brought by travellers.[†] It is, however, surprising that the historians of the Egyptian episode in Exodus are acquainted with scarcely any of the Egyptian technicalities which we should have expected them to introduce, *e.g.* the words for taskmasters, magicians,[‡] pyramids, and that one of the writers excerpted should suppose that the Egyptians spoke Hebrew (Ex 2^{10}). One of the authors copied in Gn is better informed on this point (42^{23}), but even his employment of Egyptian words is inconsiderable. Very different is the amount contributed to Canaanitish by the language of Assyria. We learn from the Tel el-Amarna tablets that in the 15th cent. B.C., while Palestine was under Egyptian suzerainty, the official language of communication was Assyrian, albeit the Canaanites had a language of their own. The employment of Assyrian as an official language points, however, to a yet earlier period of Assyrian supremacy. The language known as Assyrian is indeed Semitic, but greatly mixed with foreign elements, and with the consonantal system seriously deranged: it is therefore probable, where Canaanitish and Assyrian have words in common which are unknown to the other Semitic languages, that the former has borrowed from the latter. These words have been the subject of some classical monographs;[§] and they are such as affect the whole character of the syntax, pronouns, conjunctions, prepositions,

---

'ye make idle,' Arab. *tufrighūna*; 26^{5} מַקְבִּילוֹת, Arab. *muḳābilāt*; Lv 19^{28} כְּתֹבֶת, Arab. *kitābat*; Nu 19^{15} צָמִיד 'a cover' or 'lid,' Arab. *ṣimād*; 25^{8} קֻבָּה 'a tent,' Arab. *ḳubbah*; Dt 6^{7} שִׁנַּנְתָּם 'thou shalt teach them,' Arab. *sanna* 'to prescribe,' whence 'the sunnah'; 18^{57} שִׁלְיָה, Arab. *salā*; Jos 10^{12} דּוֹם 'remain,' 'abide,' Arab. *dum*; Is 10^{15} מַשּׂוֹר, Arab. *minshār* 'saw'; 33^{20} צען 'to migrate,' Arab. *ẓaʿana*; 32^{4} עִלֵּג, Arab. *ʿilj* 'barbarous'; 41^{26} צַדִּיק 'truthful,' Arab. *ṣiddīḳ*; Jer 12^{8} צָבוּעַ, Arab. *ḍabuʿun*; Ezk 16^{3} שַׁלֶּטֶת 'loud-tongued,' Arab. *salīṭat*.

[*] So ערקוב *Bikkurōth*, vi. 11; אווז *ib.* vii. 6.

[†] So Job 16^{19} 'my witness (עֵדִי) is in the heavens, and my *testis* שָׂהֲדִי in the heights'; 18^{5} שְׁבִיב parallel to אוֹר; Pr 22^{25} תֶּאֱלַף parallel to לָקַחְתָּ; 27^{3} נֵטֶל parallel with כֹּבֶד. The retention of חָרוּץ (Phœn.) and כֶּתֶם (Egyp.?) as names for 'gold' is perhaps due to poetical necessity.

[‡] Some parallels between the expressions of the Arabs and the OT are put together by G. Jacob, *Studien in Arabischen Dichtern*, iv. (Halle, 1897), and by E. Nestle, *Marginalien*, p. 58 ff. A longer list could be got from the commentaries of A. Schultens and F. Hitzig. Some curious cases are: 'when their foot slippeth' (Dt 32^{35} etc.), for 'when misfortune befalls them,' in Arabic *zalla 'l-ḳadam* (*Koran*, xvi. 96); commencing letters with 'and now' (2 K 5^{6} 10^{2}), in Arabic *ammā baʿdu*, *i.e.* 'after compliments': 'swallowing my spittle' (Job 7^{19}) used for 'resting a moment' as in Arabic; 'hast thou listened in the council of God,' etc. (Job 15^{8}), bears a curious likeness to the theory that the Jinns used to listen there and so learn mysteries (*Koran*, xv. 18). The phrase חִלָּה פָּנִים 'to curry favour' is perhaps to be explained from the Arab. *khalā* in *Koran*, xii. 9, 'the face of your father shall be clear (*yakhlu*) for you.' Much of the 'eloquence' of the Koran can be illustrated from that of the OT, *e.g.* 'ask the village' for 'the people of the village' in *Koran*, xii. 82, resembles Dt 9^{28}.

[§] See the Hebrew dictionaries, *s.vv.* אבן, אשׁ, אשׁכל, בוא, חבר, חמם, חץ, ידה, יצא, ירה, כבר, למד, נגה, נגשׁ, נשׂא, נשׁך, סמך, עבה, עוף, פנה, צמר, צמר, קשׁר, רוץ, רחק, רשׁע, שׁחת, שׁבב, שׁכם, תקע. Specially interesting identifications are those of the Heb. מְתִים 'men,' מֶלְתָּחָה (2 K 10^{22}), מַלְתָּעוֹת (Ps 58^{7}). With the familiar Heb. הִגִּיד 'he told,' perhaps Eth. *aghada* should be compared; with מֵרֵעַ 'a paranymph' *marʿāwī*=*nuptiator*; with מָעַל 'to rebel' *maʿlet*=*defectio*.

[‖] So, *e.g.*, the preposition בַּעֲבוּר, and חלה (with the same meaning as in Eshmunazar's epitaph) in the glossary to Mordtmann's article in *Mittheilungen des K. Museums zu Berlin*, 1893.

[*] Pierret, *Vocabulaire Hieroglyphique*, Paris, 1876.

[†] One of the few philological observations of interest in the Haggadah is the suggestion of R. Nehemiah (first occurring in *Pesikta*, ed. Buber, p. 109*b*) that אָנֹכִי is the Coptic *anok*: God, he thought, addressed the Israelites (Ex 20^{2}) in Egyptian because they had forgotten Hebrew. This view appears for the *last* time, perhaps, in Peyron's *Lex. Copt.* Egyptian words occurring as such in the OT were collected in the last century by Jablonski (*Opuscula*, vol. i., republished Leyden, 1805); Wiedemann's *Sammlung Ægyptischer Wörter* (1883) reduces the list to meagre dimensions. A great collection of kindred Egyptian and Semitic words was made by Schwartze in his *Altes Ægypten*, 1842 (p. 1000 sqq.); whereas Uhlemann, *de Vet. Ægypt. lingua* (1851), endeavoured to collect those which might reasonably be supposed to have been borrowed by the Hebrews. If we take no account of (*a*) proper names, (*b*) words of pre-Semitic antiquity, (*c*) words borrowed by the Egyptians, the number left is small; יְאֹר, Copt. *iaro*; אָחוּ (Gn 41^{2}), Hier. *āχu*, Copt. *aχi*; דְּבִיר (a shrine), Hier. *ṭeber*, Copt. *tabir*, Abel, *Kopt. Untersuchungen*, 422; if the theories expounded in that work be correct, it will be difficult to deny קרם (Ex 21^{6} etc.; cf. Copt. *kros*) and כִּכָּר an Egyptian origin; and the last has been regarded as Egyptian by good authorities. שַׁעַר of Gn 26^{12} seems to be rightly compared with Copt. *shaar*, and מִין 'a species' with Copt. *mini* (a native Egyptian word according to Abel, *l.c.* 28). De Rougé (*Chrestom.* i. 56) suggests that אִי 'island' is Egypt. *aa*, and (*ib.* 40) identifies *sneḥem* with סָלְעָם (Lv 11^{22}).

[‡] Wiedemann, while offering an Egyptian etymology for חרטם, allows that it is probably Hebrew.

[§] Frd. Delitzsch, *Hebrew and Assyrian* and *Prolegomena*.

numerals, familiar adverbs, as well as political, commercial, legal, and religious terms.* It is not improbable that one of the most characteristic of the Hebrew idioms is due to the influence of Assyrian.† The study of the Assyrian monarchs' annals and letters also reveals phrases which form part of the rhetorical capital of the Hebrew authors,‡ which it is probable were originally imitations of the Assyrian style. The Aramaic language has also inherited some of the Assyrian wit which the Canaanites did not adopt.§

There remain, however, a number of Canaanitish words which cannot be identified from any of the sources that have been enumerated. Several of these were probably tribal words of the communities that migrated northwards, and, though ancient and Semitic, never formed part of the old classical language; while others may have belonged to the classical language, though they have become obsolete in all its other descendants. It is likely, moreover, that a considerable number of Canaanitish words were learned from the Canaanitish aborigines. A race that may be named in this connexion, the Hittites, has left monuments the decipherment of which has occupied many scholars without as yet leading to any satisfactory result. An eminent Assyriologist has recently endeavoured to identify the Hittites with the Armenians (Jensen, *Hittiter und Armenier*, 1898); and since the Hittite race at one time played an important part in Palestine, we should expect, if Jensen's conjecture were correct, to find some considerable illustration of the Canaanitish vocabulary in the Armenian language. The mixed nature of that language (of which the basis is Indo-germanic) renders its employment for the explanation of Hebrew extremely hazardous; and many tempting identifications of words can be shown to be due to pure accident.‖ The local names of Palestine, of which the Bk. of Joshua in particular furnishes a great number, throw less light than might be expected on the character of the aboriginal languages employed there. The greater number seem very certainly Semitic, albeit they not infrequently, both in vocabulary¶ and grammatical form,* exhibit traces of an older language than that known to us as Canaanitish. A considerable number of these names can be traced to the 15th cent. B.C., and even earlier, in Egyptian and Assyrian records. An un-Semitic remnant there is, but its linguistic character is difficult to fix.

5. *Progress of the Language.*—The Tel el-Amarna tablets represent the country as settled in States, somewhat as we find it described in the Bk. of Joshua. The States in which Canaanitish was spoken must have acquired the language either prior to their separation, or posterior to it if that consisted in the hegemony of the community whose native language it was.

Dialectic differences developed as the Canaanites began to write, each dialect preserving something which the others discarded,† but also evolving peculiarities of its own. It would not, however, appear that the Canaanites down to a late period had any difficulty in understanding each other. Jeremiah (27[3]) expects his message to be understood by Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites, Tyrians, and Sidonians; and the tombstone of Eshmunazar contains phrases which seem to imply some acquaintance on that king's part with the Hebrew Scriptures.‡ When David succeeded in welding together an Israelitish empire, it would seem that he took steps to make the language of Israel § (rather than that of Judah) official; and to the extent of the elements of grammar such as were taught in the schools the Israelitish language was thereafter uniform. These elements would, however, appear to have been exceedingly meagre. The scientific spirit would seem to have failed the ancient Israelites absolutely; ‖ and it is the same habit of mind which seeks to codify the order of nature and to find regularity in human speech. The Israelites could indeed distinguish and despise a foreign pronunciation,¶ and set value on correct speech; ** but it is improbable that their power of judging this matter went beyond questions of intonation and accent: throughout the OT there is scarcely a grammatical term to be found; and though several of the writers have a fondness for etymologizing,†† the cases in which modern scholars regard their efforts as successful are rare. The result of the want of grammatical training is apparent in even the most classical portions of the OT. Where the writers have to do with quite ordinary words and notions, their language is regular; but so soon as this region is left, it becomes tentative, and it is partly due to the variety of these experiments that the Hebrew grammars reach a bulk that is out of all proportion to the literature with which they have to deal. Thus, where the prophets have to address companies of *women*, we find no certainty about the grammatical terminations; Isaiah (32[9-12]) tries three different ways of forming the imperative to be employed in such a case; Ezekiel (13[20-22]) tries three ways of forming the pronominal suffix. The attempts made to form the infinitives of the conjugation *Niphal*, and indeed of all the derived conjugations, are very varied. Other curious specimens of uncertainty as to the right form are to be found in Jos 6$^{17.\ 25}$, Dt 2^{35} 3^{7}, Jer 51^{9} etc.

---

* In Frd. Delitzsch's *Handwörterbuch* some 160 words and roots can be illustrated from Hebrew, but not from Arabic. Examples of the words referred to above are *sha* (Heb. שׁ, whence, perhaps, אֲשֶׁר), *ki-i* (כִּי), *ūlā* (perhaps אולי), *itti* (אֵת), *a-a-ka* (אֵיכָה), *a-ta-a* (עַתָּה), *ēsh-tē* (עשתי), *ma-a-du* (מְאֹד), *is-su-ri* (אִסָּר), *na-sī-ku* (נסך). Other examples of common words in which Canaanitish and Assyrian agree against the S. Semitic group are: אָדָם, אוּלָם, אוֹר, אָשֵׁר, אֹיֵב, אנשׁ, אָרַשׁ, אשר ; הדה ; זִק (dart); יפה ; לקח ; מעט, מצא ; נאר, ניא (hinder); נשׁק (kiss); סכל (fool); כפר (mourn); עבות, עבור (produce); שׁאר (body); שׁמר (guard); תמך (maintain). היכל is said to be a Sumerian word, borrowed first by the Assyrians, and from them by the Canaanites.

† *i.e.* the *waw conversive.* Most of the Assyrian chronicles exhibit only *one* tense, the Heb. imperfect. It would seem possible that the annalistic employment of this term in Hebrew was at first an imitation of the Assyrian, which then developed idiomatically.

‡ So 'to open the ear' (K. 95. 15 in S. A. Smith, *KT Assurbanipals*); 'to break in pieces like a potter's vessel' (Sargon, *passim*); טוֹב לֵב for 'cheerfulness,' יֹשֵׁב בַּשָּׁמַיִם as an epithet of the Deity, etc. Many cases are collected by Karppe in his articles in the *Journal Asiatique*, ser. 9, vol. x.

§ The phrase אכל קרצי occurs in the Tel el-Amarna tablets. In Budge's notes to 'Rabban Hormizd' some interesting illustrations of this are given.

‖ אַגָּן is Armenian, according to Lagarde (*Ges. Abh.* p. 8). A word that may possibly be Armenian is צִיּוּן 'a stele' or 'monument' (2 K 23[17], Jer 31[21], Ezk 39[15]), Arm. *siun* 'a pillar.' This is an old Armenian word = Greek κιών with the proper changes. Lagarde first thought כֹּמֶר (Hos 10[5] etc.) 'a priest,' borrowed from the Arm. *khurm*, but afterwards reversed his judgment. חֹלֶד 'a mole' is temptingly like Arm. *khlourd* 'a mole,' which might seem a derivative of *khlem* 'to pluck up,' 'root out'; but from Lagarde's *Arm. Stud.* it appears to have another derivation.

¶ *e.g.* אֶלְתְּקֵה Jos 19[44], perhaps Arab. *iltikā* 'battle,' *Koran*, iii. 11, etc. Perhaps the form אֶלְתְּקֹן has preserved the *tanwīn*.

* *e.g.* שַׁעֲלַבִּין Jos 19[43], דֹּאר 21[32].

† So in a Citian inscription we find the pluperfect formed by apposition of כן *kāna* as in classical Arabic; Heb. has neither the old substantive verb nor the construction.

‡ Compare espcecially line 12 with Is 37[31] שֹׁרֶשׁ לְמָטָּה וּפְרִי לְמָעְלָה; elsewhere the adverb used with שֹׁרֶשׁ is תַּחַת. תֹּאַר (*ib.*) in the sense of 'beauty' occurs Is 53[2]. תַּחַת הַשָּׁמֶשׁ is a favourite phrase with Koheleth, who, however, is probably later than the inscription. The commencement bears a curious likeness to Hezekiah's hymn, Is 38[16].

§ Cf. Winckler's *Geschichte Israels.*

‖ Perhaps an exception should be made in favour of geography.

¶ Is 32[4] 33[19].

** Heb. דִּבֵּר בֵּן Jg 12[6].

†† Ezk 20[29] is perhaps the most curious.

The state in which the text of the OT has come down to us renders it difficult to speak positively on this matter; but perhaps the result of a comparison of the few duplicate texts which we possess is such as to show that philological considerations did not concern the editors and copyists who were also the authors of the historical texts. The alterations introduced merely through the absence of any idea of accuracy and without any religious or political interest, such as are to be observed in the parallel texts of Jos 15$^{15-19}$ and Jg 1$^{11-15}$, Is 2$^{2-4}$ and Mic 4$^{1-3}$, or Is 36–39 and 2 K 18–20, suggest the impossibility of basing a grammatical system on books so preserved; for it is clear that the copyist's licence extends so far as the substitution not only of synonyms, at least for ordinary ideas, but of what to the copyist seemed optional grammatical forms for one another, this latter licence including not only orthography, but what seem to us most serious syntactical variations, resulting in what to the rigid grammarian might seem grave errors, though the general sense is not affected. It is unfortunate that the duplicate texts of Ps 14 and 53, Ps 18 and 2 S 22, and of the oracles common to Nu, Is, and Jer, in which the language is from the nature of the subject choice and obscure, reveal an amount of licence on the copyist's part that is far greater than what appears where the texts are easy. How much, therefore, that is abnormal in our text is due to the original authors and how much to the hands through which it has passed, cannot without fresh discovery of MSS be ascertained; but it seems likely that if there had been Hebrew grammarians as well as writing-masters in any pre-Christian century, the sphere of the optional in Hebrew grammar would have been reduced to narrower limits. There are forms in the existing text of the OT which might suggest vast surmises as to the extent to which a Palestinian could have observed the rules of Arabic grammar without being unintelligible.[*]

Owing to the fact that the language was never fixed by organized study, the distinction of dialects and periods is hazardous; and the very different opinions that excellent scholars have held about the time and place to which portions of the OT belong, show that there is little definite to be said about these matters. We learn from Jg 12^{6} that an Ephraimite could not pronounce the letter שׁ correctly; but it by no means follows that his writing would show any signs of this inability. Some scholars have attempted to distinguish two dialects in the OT, others three (North Palestinian, South Palestinian or Simeonic, and Jewish: so Böttcher, *Lehrb.* i. 15 ff.), but it may be doubted whether there is a single grammatical form which can with safety be said to belong to one dialect rather than another. If it be the case that revisers have introduced uniformity where there were previously marked differences, we cannot now get behind their work. It is, however, possible to note in several of the OT narratives peculiar words or usages which may have been characteristic of the tribes from which those narratives emanated, though the extent of the literature at our command does not justify us in asserting this positively. Thus מוֹרָה (Jg 13^{5}) may be Danite for 'razor' (Arab. *mūsā*), שָׁמֵעַ (Jg 11^{10}) Gileadite for 'witness' (Eth. *samāʿī*; cf. Pr 21^{28}), נוע Manassite for 'to rule' (Jg 9^{13}). Several other curious phrases occur in the history of Gideon, and several in those of Ehud (Jg 3$^{15-29}$) and Samson (Jg 13–16); perhaps some of those in the last two narratives are not Israelitish at all, but Moabitic and Philistian; and indeed in Jg 16^{25} the form שחק seems clearly intended to be Philistian, but is certainly not exclusively so. In the parts of the 2nd Bk. of Kings which treat of the northern kingdom, scholars have tried to detect much local phraseology; and the same has been tried with the prophecies of Hosea, Amos, and others. The general uniformity of the language renders the term 'dialect' inapplicable to these minute *nuances* of style, which for the most part may be characteristic of individual writers rather than of regions.

The chief characteristics of the Israelitish dialect were probably fixed by the time of the consolidation of the united kingdom under David; and it is not probable that from that time to the first captivity it altered very seriously. The comparatively settled state of the country being favourable to the growth of the arts and the development of professions, a certain number of words continued to accrue from foreign sources, chiefly Assyria[*] and Egypt, but to some extent also India[†] and Greece,[‡] while old words were utilized to express new ideas, or old roots to form fresh derivatives. In the case of the sacerdotal profession we can apparently trace the formation of a terminology on somewhat the same lines as that by which the terminology of Mohammedan tradition was afterwards formed. The inability of the language to form compounds somewhat limits the resources of the inventors of words; the same form has to do duty for 'to contaminate' and 'to declare impure,' the same for 'to expiate' and 'to offer as an expiatory sacrifice.' Lexicography is slightly more represented in the OT than grammar, albeit it is curious that in the one case where a technical term is defined at length (Dt 15^{2}) that term (שְׁמִטָּה) does not recur elsewhere. The wealth, however, of the old Arabic language seems to have been so great that the preservation rather than the invention of words was desirable.[§]

6. *Periods.*—With regard to the periods of the language of the OT it is generally agreed that the Bks. of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Ecclesiastes, and Daniel display sufficient difference from the style of most of the remaining books to justify the application of some term like New Hebrew to the language in which they are composed. All these books have in common the

---

[*] *e.g.* מְקַלְלַוְנִי Jer 15^{10} (=*muḳallilū-nī*, Schultens); מנהו Joh 4^{5} (=*minhu*); 15^{2} תְּרַפְּאוּנְנִי. Apparently, the use of *īn* and *īm* to form the plural was optional, see Mic 3^{12} quoted in Jer 26^{18}. From Jer 25^{3} and Ezk 14^{3} it might seem that the preformative of the 4th and 7th conjugation might be pronounced א.

[*] *e.g.* Ezk 16^{33} נדה, Bab. *nidit* (Meissner, *Babyl. Privatrecht*, p. 149); עסק, Assyr. *isḳu* (*ib.* 127); נכסים *nikāsu*, *ib.*

[†] For India see Comm. on 2 K 10^{22}. Lagarde (*Ges. Abh.*, first Essay) suggests an Indian origin for אפן, ברכם (Ca 4^{16}), and ספיר.

[‡] One of the early Rabbis suggested that מְכֵרוֹת in Gn 49^{5} was the Greek word μάχαιρα (R. Eleazar quoted in Levy, *NHWB*, iii. 116). The identification is tempting, as the word is exceedingly obscure; but it is not certainly right. One other pre-exilic word פִּלֶגֶשׁ is certainly identical with the Greek παλλακίς (known to Homer); it is un-Semitic in form, and would seem to belong to a monogamous community; and can be derived without much difficulty from Greek roots. The word לַפִּיד (Ex 20^{18} etc.) seems to be a contraction of the Aram. לַמְפִּיד, which in its turn can scarcely be anything but the Greek λαμπάδ-; for it has no Semitic affinities, and means 'a meteoric light,' which is the very sense the word has in old Greek writers (*e.g.* Æschylus, *Choëph.* 590, λαμπάδες πεδάοροι, mentioned among physical terrors). How this word got into Hebrew and Aramaic seems a mystery. פּוּךְ of 2 K 9^{30} etc. seems to be the Greek φῦκος, and is certainly identical with Lat. *fucus*; but the meaning of the Greek word does not quite agree. In post-exilic times the immigration of Greek words is easily intelligible, but very few can be detected with certainty. רַפְסֹדֹת of 2 Ch 2^{15} [Eng.^{16}] has a Greek appearance, but cannot be identified; אַפִּרְיוֹן of Ca 3^{9} is in the same case. The identification of לִשְׁכָּה with λέσχη has found little favour.

[§] See the collection in Freytag's *Einleitung ins Studium der Arab. Sprache.*

employment of Persian * or Aramaic † words for ideas which the older Hebrew was quite equal to expressing, as well as for ideas which perhaps were not known to the older Hebrews; and Ecclesiastes in particular is marked by the introduction of several particles ‡ which seem foreign to the older language, and which seem to imply that the writer had been schooled in some very different vehicle of expression. These particles were inherited by the post-biblical literature, with some others which are probably as old as Koheleth, though not employed by him. Whether some of his turns of expression were suggested by the necessity of translating from the Greek cannot at present be determined; this ingenious writer has every appearance of being a great innovator in language, and indeed seems to say so (12^{9}). Esther shares with Ecclesiastes some of the new particles, and from the nature of its subject-matter exhibits the Persian element very markedly. The Hebrew of Dn, though marked by conscious imitation of 'the Bible' (9^{2}), which is not always, perhaps, felicitous (10^{16} compared with Is 21^{3}), lapses occasionally into phrases that are characteristic of the very latest style,§ and also has some Syriasms that are peculiar to itself.‖ The language of the four remaining books is practically the same, although the Persian element is less apparent in Ch, which, on the other hand, exhibit grammatical formations which seem Mishnic ¶ rather than biblical, and Syriac ** rather than Hebrew.

Were more of the historical parts of the Apocrypha preserved in their original language, it is probable that it would chiefly differ from this New Hebrew in the introduction of Greek words, such as are found in great numbers in the Mishna, but the occurrence of which in the later Hebrew of the OT as a characteristic of lateness seems doubtful. If the Bk. of Ruth belongs to the early part of this period, its author has kept it free from the most characteristic phrases of the New Hebrew, while employing several expressions which, though isolated, appear to be antique.

It is certain that a considerable portion of the rest of the OT was already known to the writers of these works and constituted their classical literature; and of this collection the largest amount that can be assigned to a single period with certainty consists of the Bks. of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Deuteronomy, the genuineness of the greater portion of the first two being ordinarily admitted, while there seem cogent reasons for assigning the fifth book of the Pentateuch to about the same epoch. This may therefore be called the 'classical' period of the language, though the portions of Isaiah which belong to the close of the Exile seem to surpass them in brilliancy. All these books show signs of literary ambition: 'Isaiah' claims, with justice, the possession of a scholar's tongue (50^{4}); Jeremiah is conscious of the effects of his oratory (23^{29}), and dictates for a reading public (36^{23}); many chapters of Ezk reveal study and preparation; the value which Dt claims for its 'words' could scarcely be more strongly expressed than in 6^{6-10}. These writers inherited some prophetic phraseology from earlier prophets (Jer 23^{31}, where a verb 'to *nĕ'um*' is coined, meaning to use the characteristic phrase of the prophets), and, indeed, some prophetic commonplace (so Jer 25^{30} seems to give the traditional proem to a prophecy, the words recurring from Am 1^{2} and Jl 4^{16}); but it is probable that in the main their language represents that of the ruling and official class at Jerusalem in its last century of independence. It is not unnatural that there should be a group of words and phrases which are peculiar to Dt and Jer, and another group peculiar to Jer and Ezk.

The greater portion of the OT, however, does not consist of works produced by single individuals, embodying their ideas in their own language, but of the work of schools or societies, who compiled, abridged, and edited. The main streams have perhaps been separated by critics with success; but each of these main streams is made up of a variety of smaller rills, so to speak, which cannot be localized. Owing to the variety of the documents, written and oral, poetical and prose, which are utilized in one place or other of the series which extends from Gn to 2 K, we have a great variety of idioms exemplified, of which only in rare cases we can define either the time or the locality. The only cases which deserve much attention are, of course, those for which the ordinary language has synonyms. In the Bk. of Leviticus a word (עָמִית) is used eleven times for 'neighbour' which may be said to occur nowhere else; this must clearly be indicative of dialect, but it is not known which. In the 'law of the slave' (Ex 21^{1-12}), a phrase (בְּגַפּוֹ) for 'by himself' occurs three times which is not known elsewhere. In the episode of Esau (Gn 27) words occur for such common notions as 'to touch' (מוש), 'to plot' (מתנחם), 'a quiver' (תלי), 'a deceiver' (מתעתע), 'a superior' (גביר), which occur nowhere else. All of these would seem to be dialectic; and the last, which is the masculine of a word that occurs frequently in the feminine, is certainly so. The story of Joseph (Gn 37–50) has a whole vocabulary of its own; as dialectic there may be characterized the words for 'just' (כן), 'sack' (אמתחת), 'restore to his place' (השיב על כנו), 'load' (טען). The word for 'just,' which occurs five times in this narrative, but for which in the same sense we have to go to Syriac authors, must certainly have met us elsewhere in the OT, if we possessed other documents of the same place and the same time as those to which the original story of Joseph belonged. Although many of the expressions which the documents employed by the compilers contain must have been as unintelligible to them as they are to us, the cases in which they endeavour to interpret or to emend them are rare. A case of an emendation occurs in Jg $3^{22.\,23}$, but both alternatives are obscure to us. In 1 S 9^{10} attention is called to the ancient import of a word, and in Gn 14^{14} a hard word is glossed, but in neither case is the ancient philology unequivocally confirmed by modern. Where we have parallel narratives (as in Gn $15^{2.\,3}$, Dt 1^{41}, and Nu 14^{44}) we can sometimes trace the remains of ancient interpretations of difficulties. The reason that these glosses are so few is probably to be found in the fact that with the Hebrews as with the Arabs a book is rather the possession of an individual or a family (Dt 31^{25}) than of the public; the skeleton writing almost necessitates an authorized exponent. A second reason is probably to be found in the tendency to abridge, which has reduced the Israelitish literature to so small a compass.

Whether it is possible to obtain any fixed linguistic epochs in the classical and ante-classical literature seems exceedingly doubtful. It is indeed possible to tell Aramaisms by phonetic rules; but as Aramaisms meet us in very early literature,—*e.g.* one of the characteristic words in the story of Jephthah is an Aramaism, a word which occurs also in Deborah's song,[*]—no argument as to date can be drawn from their occurrence, except when they belong to the classes already noticed. From the fact that the Canaanitish and Aramaic peoples have the same modification of the old Arabic alphabet, which they, indeed, subsequently developed somewhat differently,—from the fact that the oldest Aramaic most resembles Canaanitish, and that one of the oldest Canaanitish inscriptions which we possess contains an Aramaic word,[†] it would seem that the two nations though speaking different languages migrated simultaneously, and, until the final extinction of Canaanitish, did not cease borrowing from each other's vocabulary. We should obtain more fixed points from the internal growth of the language, if the literature were sufficiently large to enable us to name with precision the inventors of words; but this we are not able to do. Most of the passages that might seem of use for the history of particular words, turn out not to be so. In Jer 23^{36} the use of the word *massā* for 'oracle' is emphatically forbidden; but we find it employed nevertheless by authors far later than Jeremiah (Mal 1^{1}). The words of Dt 24^{8} seem to imply the existence in some form of the technical rules of Lv 13 and 14, but it is impossible to say how many of the terms there employed existed in the time of the Deuteronomist. A very little of the sacerdotal terminology can be traced back to those ancient times before the Canaanites separated into nations,[‡] but for the origin of most of it we have no data.

---

* פִּתְגָם for דָּבָר Est and Ec; דָּת for מִשְׁפָּט Ezr and Est; אִגֶּרֶת (perhaps Assyrian rather than Persian) for סֵפֶר (2 K 5^{5}) Neh, Est, and Ch; פַּתְשֶׁגֶן or פַּרְשֶׁגֶן for מִשְׁנֶה Ezr and Est.

† זְמָן for עֵת Neh, Est, and Ec; כָּנַס for אסף Ec, Est, Ch; עֲבָד for מַעֲשֶׂה Ec. In Bah. *Megillah*, 9a, attention is called to the occurrence of פתגם and יקר.

‡ אִלּוּ (also in Est); כְּבָר, עֲדֶנָּה, and עֲדֶן; יֹתֵר שֶׁ and יתר מן (also in Est); מַה־שֶּׁהָיָה.

§ עָצַר כֹּחַ (10^{8}) only in Ch besides, תֹּקֶף (11^{17}) only in Est besides, בִּזָּה, סְלִיחוֹת, עֹמֶד.

‖ אפדן (11^{45}), מכמן (11^{43}), רשום (11^{21}).

¶ שְׁחִיטָה 2 Ch 30^{17} is the Mishnic nom. act.

** בִּירָנִיּוֹת 2 Ch 17^{12} seems to be a Syriac diminutive.

The poetical books have been left out of the above considerations, because choice and archaic language is characteristic of the poetry of all nations, and the widely divergent dates assigned by the best scholars to various psalms show the difficulty that is felt in distinguishing the really archaic from affected archaism. The five poetical books of the OT would seem to have emanated from different schools, and the *Psalms* and *Proverbs* probably also contain materials collected from very different ages. That they emanated from schools is shown by the predominance in each of a peculiar vocabulary, which in the case of the Psalms would seem to have been inherited by the authors of the much later Psalms of Solomon. The obscurity and rarity of the expressions is in other cases no clue to the date of the Psalms, for some of the least intelligible phrases are found in compositions which are agreed to be exceedingly late.[§] The Proverbs are remarkable as professing to embody the compositions of non-Israelites, but the chapters in which these are collected may perhaps have been translated, as indeed the text of Pr 25^{1} implies that the proverbs of Solomon were. The nature of the collection prevents it from preserving much of the popular language, as the proverbs of most nations do, and as a collection of sayings current among the Israelites, such as those to which the prophets occasionally refer (cf. Jer 23^{29} 31^{29}, Ex 11^{7}), would undoubtedly have done. But these exhibit the remains of a somewhat developed philosophical, or perhaps we may say mystic vocabulary, and are marked by the further recurrence of several phrases, which, though not technical, seem to have been employed only in the school of the writers.[*] The Book of Job, which is ostensibly non-Israelitish throughout, is probably, from a linguistic point of view, the most remarkable in the OT, though to what extent (if at all) it contains non-Israelitish materials cannot with the present evidence be determined. Choice and obsolete phrases seem to be paraded here, as in the artificial poetry of the Arabs; but the commentary which may originally have accompanied them has not been handed down. Modern criticism is inclined to ascribe this book to a series of writers; but if so, they must have had access to the same sort of literature, for even a portion of such doubtful authenticity as the Elihu speeches differs from the rest, not so much in the quality of the language as in the quantity of obscure and striking expressions, many of which can here be interpreted (like those in the rest of the book) from the Arabic and Aramaic languages. It is probable that the *Canticles* preserve more of the popular style than any other portion of the OT poetry. The matter is such that the employment of a rustic dialect lends it a special charm; but the dialect cannot any more than the others be located. The language of the *Lamentations* has some peculiarities of its own, but also has much in common with that of the Psalms.[†]

The separation of the sources and the fixing of the dates of the pieces composing the OT has been attempted with varying success by modern critics. Neither the earliest nor the latest verse in the OT can be named with certainty, but there is probably none either earlier than 1100, or later than 100 B.C. That the earliest fragments were in verse must not be hastily assumed, since the Oriental peoples employ verse not only to commemorate, but also to glorify the past;[‡] and, owing to the considerations that have already been urged, the verses which are occasionally quoted in the older historical books in connexion with particular events must, until further discoveries of literature, be located rather by religious and political than by linguistic data.

The continuity of the Hebrew language would seem to have been finally snapped with the taking of Jerusalem by the Romans; circumstances having forced the survivors of that catastrophe to adopt some other idiom for the ordinary needs of life, though it has not ceased to carry on a sort of existence to this day, partly as a learned language, partly as a vehicle of communication for members of the Jewish community throughout the world. The commencement of its decay is no doubt to be dated from the time when acquaintance with another language was necessary for high offices of State; and this would seem to have been the case in Hezekiah's time (Is 36^{11}), and was probably the case earlier. During the first exile and after it, acquaintance with some other language was requisite, not only for the official, but for the ordinary householder; and though Nehemiah busied himself with the maintenance of the Jewish language in its purity (13$^{21\text{ff.}}$), his own style gives us no exalted notion of his standard in that matter. The question, however, of the precise epoch at which Hebrew ceased to be a living language is fraught with considerable difficulty, owing to the dearth of materials for settling it. Josephus, who survived the Fall of Jerusalem, says (*BJ*, Preface,

---

[*] יְתַנּוּ. Moore in his valuable commentary says such an Aramaism is impossible in Old Hebrew; but is not this a 'Machtspruch'? Similarly, Dillmann tries to explain away שַׁלִּיט in Gn 42^{6}. קְרָב of 2 S 17^{11}, יְקַר of Jer 20^{5}, are also Aramaic. If the form *kattāl* be everywhere Aramaic, as it seems to be, it would be difficult to point to any portion of the OT that would be certainly free from Aramaism (see Hos 8^{6}, 1 S 15. 19). Another striking case of a word known only from the Aramaic is תַּחֲלִימֵנִי in Hezekiah's ode (Is 38^{16}).

[†] ראשת in the patera of Baal Lebanon.

[‡] *e.g.* שלם, כליל, עלה (at any rate the verb). כליל would seem to have been borrowed by the Egyptians, whence the Copt. *chlil.*

[§] See *e.g.* Pss 74. 80.

[*] *e.g.* פרע 'to despise,' יפיח for 'a witness' התגלע.

[†] Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the OT* contains important observations on the usage of the different writers.

[‡] Thus the author of the historical manual *Al-Fakhri* (*circ.* 1250) quotes the verses of the poet at Al-Raḍī (*circ.* 1000) on Omar II. (*ob.* 720).

§ 1), that being a Hebrew, he had written a history of the war in his native language; but when he proceeds to state that the whole East, down to the remotest of the Arabs, had access to that work, such a description applies better to Aramaic than to Hebrew. The passages in the writings of the Rabbis which bear on this question are too late to give trustworthy information.*

7. *Biblical Aramaic.*—The earliest Aramaic documents which we possess are the inscriptions first published by E. Sachau in the Collections of the Berlin Museum for 1893, which certify the existence of a written Aramaic language for the early part of the 8th cent. B.C., or earlier, just as the inscriptions on weights and indorsements on Assyrian contracts, collected in the second volume of the *CIS*, certify it for the latter half of the 8th cent. and later. The opinion of M. Maspero, (*l.c.*) that evidence for the existence of the Aramaic language is to be found in far earlier Egyptian documents, is now accepted by Egyptologists. As has already been observed, the oldest Aramaic is without a number of the characteristics that serve to distinguish the later language from Canaanitish; but it seems possible that this phenomenon is in part due to the influence of the Canaanitish orthography, since the Aramaic representation of the letters *th* and *dh* does not seem derivable from the Canaanitish and old Aramaic *sh* and *z*, whereas it is easily derivable from those letters themselves. In grammar this language shows some striking affinity with the S. Arabian dialect Sabæan; but in vocabulary the earliest Aramaic seems to agree remarkably with Canaanitish, and though several words which are ordinary in Aramaic only figure in poetical language in Heb., this is what is frequently found in the case of kindred nations.

The area within which the Aramaic language was employed seems even in Babylonian times to have been very great; we have Aramaic inscriptions and papyri found in Syria, Babylonia, Egypt, and Arabia, which there are good grounds for regarding as earlier than Cyrus. Its employment even in the 8th cent. B.C. as a diplomatic language (Is 36^{11}) implies an Aramaic hegemony either in politics or literature of some previous century; for it seems clear that the only languages ever employed in this way are such as have for one of these reasons become important to members of many nationalities. The Aramaic verse in Jer (10^{11}) is shown by the form of the word 'earth,' and the termination of the word 'shall perish,' to belong to the earliest form of Aramaic of which we have cognizance; but the fact that the ordinary Aramaic for 'earth' occurs in the second half of the verse shows that no confidence can be placed in the tradition, and it is highly probable that the old Aramaic forms should be restored throughout. The influence of Assyrian on the old Aramaic was very considerable in matters affecting vocabulary—such as to leave a permanent mark on the language; but on the grammar and syntax it would seem to have had either less effect or a different effect from that which it exercised on Canaanitish. The accession of the Persians to world-empire seems to have again largely affected the Aramaic vocabulary; and the documents in Ezra which belong to the Persian period bear witness to the influx of Persian words, which, if these documents are genuine, the language must almost at the commencement of that period have undergone. The idiom of these documents agrees remarkably with that of the papyri edited in *CIS* (ii. Nos. 145 ff.), which some scholars have suspected of Jewish origin. The Aramaic parts of Daniel are characterized by a distinctly more modern idiom than that of Ezra; and, indeed, contain such decidedly Hebrew constructions that it is evident that either their author thought in that language, or they represent a translation from it. Of the Aramaic inscriptions which have been discovered, perhaps those of Palmyra approach most closely to the language of Daniel. The language has begun to assimilate Greek words, but there is as yet no regular system of transliteration. The language is rigidly distinguished from the later Christian Aramaic by the preservation of the old passive forms, by the fact that the emphatic form still has the force of the definite article, as well as by certain peculiarities of grammar and orthography. The later Jewish Aramaic, while in some of these matters it has developed uniformly with the Christian dialect of Edessa, in others has retained the older forms, and in vocabulary differs widely from all Christian dialects, save that known as Palestinian Syriac. Unlike the language of Canaan, Aramaic held its ground during the integrity of the Roman Empire in the East, developing a variety of dialects and of scripts, and, though ousted in the seventh and succeeding centuries by Arabic, it has still representatives in the dialect of the Christians of Mesopotamia, which the missionaries Stoddart, and, more recently, Macleane, have endeavoured to provide with grammar and vocabulary, and in some other less known dialects.

LITERATURE.—The history of the earliest grammatical studies in Hebrew is sketched by W. Bacher, 'die Anfänge der Heb. Grammatik,' in *ZDMG* xlix. 1–62 and 334–392; for the few notices of grammar to be found in the Talmuds see further A. Berliner, *Beiträge zur Heb. Grammatik im Talmud u. Midrasch*, Berl. 1879. Bacher's papers carry the history of Hebrew grammar and lexicography down to the end of the 10th cent.; while the invention of the vowel-points is connected with the labours of the Massoretes, the first actual author of a grammatical treatise was the Gaon Saadya (*ob.* 941), whose work, however, exists only in quotations; to the 10th cent. belong the *Risalah* of Jehudah Ibn Koraish, ed. Barges and Goldberg, Paris, 1842, the *Mahbereth* or dictionary of Menahem Ibn Saruk (ed. H. Filipowski, Lond. 1854; see also Siegmund Gross, *Menahem B. Saruk*, Breslau, 1872), and the *Teshubhah* or 'Response' of Dunash B. Labrat (ed. R. Schroter, Breslau, 1866; cf. S. G. Stern, 'Liber Responsionum,' Vienna, 1870); to the 11th cent. the 'Book of Hebrew Roots' of R. Jonah, called *Abu 'l-Walid Merwan* (ed. by A. Neubauer, Oxford, 1875, cf. Neubauer, 'Notice sur la lexicographie Hébraique,' in *Journ. Asiat.* 1861), and his grammar, called *Harrikmah* (ed. Goldberg, Frankf. 1866). See further for this early period Ewald u. Dukes, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der ältesten Auslegung u.s.w. des A. Testamentes*, Stuttgart, 1844. We are brought nearer to modern times by the works of Abraham Ibn Ezra, *Moz'ne l'shon hakkodesh* (ed. Heidenheim, Offenbach, 1791), *Sefer Sahuth* (ed. Lippmann, Fürth, 1827), and *Safah B'rurah* (ed. Lippmann, Fürth, 1839); see also Bacher, *Abraham Ibn Ezra als Grammatiker*, Strassburg, 1881. To the same century belongs the lexicon of Solomon Ibn Parhon, completed at Salerno, 1160 (ed. S. G. Stern, Pressburg, 1844; cf. M. Weiner, *Parchon als Grammatiker u. Lexicograph*, Offen. 1870). Still more important were the grammatical and lexicographical works of David Kimḥi (1160–1235), whose *Michlol* has been often printed, first at Constantinople, 1534; see also J. Tauber, *Standpunkt u. Leistung des R. D. Kimhi als Grammatiker*, Breslau, 1867. His dictionary, called *Sefer hashshorashim*, has also been repeatedly printed, most recently by Biesenthal and Lebrecht, Berlin, 1847.

The European study of Hebrew and Chaldee commences with the grammars and dictionaries of Sebastian Munster and Pagninus, 1525–1543; in the next century the *Thesaurus Grammaticus* of J. Buxtorf, Basel, 1663, was of considerable importance. In this century the works of W. Gesenius have, notwithstanding many rivals, maintained their popularity; his Hebrew grammar, which first appeared at Halle, 1813 (followed by the more elaborate *Lehrgebäude*, Leipzig, 1817), has repeatedly been re-edited and translated; the 26th edition, revised by E. Kautzsch, appeared in 1896 at Leipzig, and was translated by Collins and Cowley, Oxford, 1898. Of Gesenius' rivals the most eminent was H. Ewald, the author of both a larger and a smaller grammar; the 8th edition of the former, called *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der heb. Sprache*, appeared at Göttingen, 1870, the Syntax of which was translated by Kennedy, Edinburgh, 1879. Other important works on Hebrew grammar are J. Olshausen's *Lehrbuch*, Brunswick, 1861; Fr. Böttcher's *Ausführliches Lehrbuch*, Leipzig, 1866 (in many respects the fullest that has yet appeared); B. Stade's *Lehrbuch*, Leipz. 1879 (these three do not touch the syntax); F. E. König, *Hist.-krit. Lehrgebäude*, Leipzig, 1881–1897. Driver's *Hebrew Tenses* (3rd ed., Oxford, 1890); Harper's *Elements of Hebrew*

---

* Weiss in his *Studien zur Mischnahsprache* (in Hebrew), collects some passages which, though of interest, lead to no definite conclusion.

Syntax (London, 1890); and Wickes' Treatises on Hebrew Accentuation (Oxford, 1881–1887), are of great importance. Lexicography is mainly represented by various editions of the dictionaries of Gesenius (*Handwörterbuch*, Leipzig, 1810, 13th ed. by Buhl, 1899; new edition by Brown, Briggs, and Driver in course of publication; *Thesaurus*, 1835–1858, finished by E. Rödiger); while these can be supplemented by the Concordances, of which that by Mandelkern, Leipzig, 1896, is the newest and fullest. The grammar of the Aramaic parts of the OT has been treated most recently by K. Marti in Petermann's series, Leipzig, 1896, and H. Strack, Leipzig, 1896. Some of the more important monographs on special questions have been noticed above; but the various journals devoted to the study of the OT, *e.g.* the American *Hebraica* and the German *ZATW*, as well as those devoted to Jewish literature and to Oriental study, contain more articles of importance than can be noticed here—1899. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

LANGUAGE OF THE APOCRYPHA.—The Apocrypha may with fair accuracy be described as a collection of works emanating from Jewish communities in the period between the close of the OT Canon and the commencement of that of the NT. Most of these books seem to have been composed in Hebrew, a few in Aramaic, and the rest in Greek; but as they were preserved in the Christian community, the Hebrew and Aramaic originals were at an early time lost or neglected, and their place taken by Greek translations; and in the case of some, which never acquired lasting authority, the Greek translation itself has been lost, and the work preserved, if at all, in secondary versions. This has occurred in the case of the Books of Enoch and of Jubilees, which are known *chiefly* through Ethiopic versions; while the Fourth Book of Ezra, the Apocalypse of Baruch, and the Assumption of Moses, are known in secondary translations,—in the first case in a variety of languages, in the second in Syriac, and in the third in Latin. Books 2 and following of Maccabees are known to have been written in the language in which we possess them (Greek); and the same is probably the case with the Epistle of Jeremy; but the remaining books would seem to be all translations, though it is not always easy to distinguish Hellenistic Greek from translated Hebrew. The most ambitious in point of style is the Wisdom of Solomon, which few even now regard as a translation; yet the proof that it is one is difficult to elude; for 14^{10} 'for that which is made shall be punished together with him that made it' is clearly a *mistranslation* of a sentence that is quoted in the Midrash on Gn 48 (*Rabba*, § 96) כשם שנפרעין מן העוכד כך נפרעין מן הנעבד 'just as the worshipper is punished so is that which was worshipped,' the translator's mistake being due to his giving the verb עבד its Aramaic sense 'to do or make,' whereas the author used it in its Hebrew sense 'to worship.' It may be added that the Greek of this verse (*τὸ πραχθὲν σὺν τῷ δράσαντι κολασθήσεται*), which really means 'that which has been done shall be punished together with him that did it,' shows signs of mistranslation that could have been detected without the aid of the original. It is, however, certain that the translator's object was rather to provide a masterpiece of Greek rhetoric than to reproduce his original faithfully; and in the absence of materials it seems impossible to fix with precision the limits of the work translated, or the character of the original language, which must in any case have shown signs of Greek influence.

That the book called Ecclesiasticus or the Wisdom or the Proverbs of Jesus Ben-Sira was originally written in Hebrew we know from the statement of the Greek translator in his preface; but the date of the disappearance of the original is a matter of obscurity. Jerome professes to have seen it. The writings of the earlier Rabbis contain a certain number of quotations from it, which are collected by Cowley and Neubauer (*A portion of the Orig. Hebrew of Ecclus.*, Oxford, 1896); this collection, however, requires considerable reduction. The reason for its disappearance is doubtless to be found in the passage in the Gemara of B. Sanhedrin (f. 100*b*), in which it is asserted that a Jew would risk his eternal salvation by reading it; the passages, however, which are cited there both for and against this opinion, seem very inadequate for either purpose. From these quotations we should gather that the author used a language similar to that of the Mishnic authors, *i.e.* a highly developed New Hebrew; and this there seems no reason to doubt, though it is likely that the quotations are not scrupulously accurate. In an essay by the present writer, published in 1890, reasons were brought forward for thinking that many of the differences between the Greek and the Syriac versions, both of which were made from the original, could be solved by the assumption that the writer used New Hebrew words; and that the writer used a nine-syllable metre, of which the base was a foot called in Greek *Bacchic*, consisting of a short, a long, and a short: the middle syllable being invariably long, whereas the others were common. Ben-Sira, however, professes to be in the main a compiler from the OT (24^{29}), which he doubtless imitated constantly; but in this he is doing himself an injustice.

In 1896 a leaf was brought over from Cairo containing a portion of Ecclus. in Hebrew, followed by the discovery of other portions, published in the work mentioned above, while yet other portions await publication.[*] The present writer has shown grounds (*The Origin of the Orig. Heb. of Ecclus.*, Oxford, 1899) for thinking this Hebrew a retranslation made in the 11th or 12th cent. A.D., partly from the Syriac and partly from a Persian version of the Greek.[†]

The remaining poetical book in this series, the Psalms of Solomon, would seem to have been rendered into Greek by a specially skilful hand: had we the original, it is probable that it would reveal little difference in expression from many Psalms in the Psalter ascribed to David.

Of the post-biblical historical writing of the Jews occasional fragments are to be found in the Talmud, *e.g.* B. *Kiddushin*, f. 66*a*. The old forms are still retained, though the writer introduces without scruple vulgarisms of his own age. It is probable that the historical portions of the Apocrypha were in a style similar to this, but of course we cannot be sure. The Book of Judith is known to have been written in Hebrew from 3^9, where the word 'saw' evidently is a mistranslation of a Hebrew word signifying 'plain' (משׁר); the statement of Jerome that Chaldee was the original language of the book, must therefore be regarded as inaccurate. Attempts that have been made to find mistranslations from the Hebrew in the other books, *e.g.* in Tobit by F. Rosenthal (*Vier Apocryphische Bücher*, 1885), and in 1 Mac by the same scholar (*das erste Makkabäerbuch*, 1867, p. 6) seem to have produced no convincing result. The title of the latter, which is handed down by Origen, *sarbeth sarbane* 'historiæ historiolarum' seems certainly Aramaic, and indeed Syriac (*Thes. Syr.* col. 4323. 4), and it is unlikely that a Hebrew book would have a title of this sort.

The prophetic and apocalyptic style is represented by works ascribed to Baruch, Ezra, and others. The Book of Baruch consists very largely of phrases taken from the OT, and hence the elaborate reconstruction of the original by Kneucker (Leipzig, 1879) probably gives a correct idea of the author's style. In the Apocalypse of Baruch some relics of the original Hebrew can, it has been thought (R. H. Charles in his edition, pp. xliv-liii) be discerned in errors of the translation; and the same is said to be the case with the Assumption of Moses (R. H. Charles in his edition, pp. xxxix-xlv). Too little of the original language can in any case be recovered to enable us to speak with certainty of its character.

---

[*] See now *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, by Schechter and Taylor, Camb., 1899; and G. Margoliouth in *JQR*, Oct. 1899.

[†] See König and Margoliouth in *Expos. Times*, August 1899 and foll. months; also Smend in *ThL*, Sept. 1899; Lévi in *REJ*, Ap.-June 1899; and Bacher in *JQR*, Oct. 1899.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

LANGUAGE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.—The subject of this article is the species of Greek in which our canonical NT Scriptures are written.

A person familiar with Attic Greek, who should take in hand for the first time a Greek NT, could not fail to be struck by its peculiar idiom. Apart from traits which distinguish one portion of the volume from another (see V. p. 41 below), the language in general would seem strange to him—by reason of the admixture of popular, not to say plebeian, terms in its vocabulary; by its occasional outlandish and hardly intelligible phrases and constructions; by the meagre use of the connectives and other particles by which the earlier writers give balance, shading, and point to their periods; by the comparative avoidance or irregular use of the genitive absolute, attraction, and other syntactical devices for securing compactness and gradation in the presentation of thought; and throughout by a style which, though often monotonous, is conspicuous for its directness and simplicity; a style which, while it shows occasionally the digressions and broken or anacoluthic sentences characteristic of colloquial and uneducated utterance, is seldom encumbered with parentheses or protracted and entangled periods; a style obviously the expression of men too simple, self-forgetful, and earnest to pay much heed to literary elegancies or the established rules of the rhetorician.

Before considering in detail the characteristics of this variety of Greek, thus distinctly marked in vocabulary, construction, and style, we must notice briefly its name, its origin, and its history.

(*a*) *Name.*—Some of the names proposed for this peculiar idiom are evidently too restricted in their reference, as respects time or place or both (as, 'the ecclesiastical dialect,' 'the Alexandrian dialect,' 'Palestinian Greek'). Others, like 'Jewish Greek,' 'Jewish-Christian Greek,' though intrinsically appropriate, have failed to gain currency. But the appellation 'Hellenistic Greek,' first suggested apparently by the younger Scaliger, is now almost universally accepted. Protests on the ground that this name not only fails to indicate in what direction the language deviates from ordinary Greek (and consequently is less descriptive than 'Hebraic' or 'Aramaic Greek' would be), but is also inherently tautological or meaningless, because tantamount to 'Greekish Greek,' are powerless to dislodge it. Its adoption has been favoured, doubtless, by the use of Ἑλληνιστής in Ac (6^1 9^{29} 11^{20} *var. lec.*) as the designation of grecizing or Greek-speaking Jews. The application of the term 'dialect' to the Gr. of a particular locality and period is infelicitous, since that term has already been appropriated by the idiom of the several branches of the Greek race.

(*b*) *Origin.*—The literary supremacy of Athens (*c.* B.C. 500–B.C. 300) had caused her dialect, the Attic, gradually to supplant the forms of the language used by the other families of the Gr. race; and the diffusion of Greek was much furthered through the conquest and colonization of the East by Alexander the Great and his successors. In this process of diffusion, however, the Attic dialect itself was modified by the speech and usages of the nations among which it spread, till at length there arose a cosmopolitan type of Greek known as the 'Common Dialect' (*ἡ κοινή, sc. διάλεκτος*), a prominent abode of which for two centuries or more before the Christian era was the empire of the Ptolemies and their capital Alexandria. Here dwelt myriads of expatriated Jews, to whom in time their native or ancestral tongue became so unfamiliar that a Gr. translation of their sacred books was prepared to meet their needs (approximately between B.C. 285 and B.C. 150; see SEPTUAGINT). To this version much of the reverence felt for the Heb. originals was soon transferred, and its common use by all Jews resident outside of Palestine did much to fix and perpetuate the type of Greek it represents. That Greek, after undergoing the modifications resulting inevitably from the use of separated localities and intervening generations, furnished the vehicle by which the revelation of God through Jesus Christ was given to the world.

Its origin discloses its fitness for its providential office. It embodied the lofty conceptions of the Heb. and Christian faith in a language which brought them home to men's business and bosoms. It was an idiom capable of such use as not to forfeit the respect of the cultivated (see, for example, Ac $17^{22ff.}$ $26^{24ff.}$); yet, in substance, it was the language of everyday life, and hence fitted for the dissemination of the gospel by preaching wherever Greek was spoken. It differs evidently from the language of writers like Philo and Josephus, who, though of Heb. extraction, addressed themselves to the educated classes and aspired after idiomatic elegance of expression. It occupies apparently an intermediate position between the vulgarisms of the populace and the studied style of the litterateurs of the period. It affords a striking illustration of the divine policy in putting honour on what man calls 'common.'

(*c*) *History.*—The true nature, however, of this noteworthy idiom was for a time in certain quarters unrecognized. This is surprising in view of the deviations from the classic standard which stare one in the face from every page of the NT. Moreover, the educated man among the apostles frankly confesses his lack of the graces of classic diction (1 Co $2^{1.4}$ 1^{17}, 2 Co 11^6); and competent judges of Greek among the early Christians, such as Origen (*c. Cels.* vii. 59 f., *Philocalia*, iv., ed. Robinson, p. 41 f.) and Chrysostom (*Hom.* 3 on 1 Co 1^{17}), not only are forward to acknowledge the literary inferiority of the biblical language, but find evidence in that fact both of the divine condescension to the lowly and of the surpassing dignity of the contents of revelation in that, though destitute of the charms of polite literature, it could yet command the allegiance of the cultivated. Leading scholars of the Reformation period also (Erasmus, Luther, Melanchthon, Beza) held in the main the same correct opinion. But early in the 17th cent. this opinion encountered emphatic dissent, which led to a discussion (known as the 'Purist Controversy') which was protracted for more than a century, and conducted at times with no little heat. The heat was largely due to the circumstance that those who denied the classic purity of NT Greek were thought by their opponents to dishonour the divine author of the book. But if these over-zealous champions of the divine honour had had their way, they would have disproved the claim of the volume to be the production of Greek-speaking Jews of the 1st cent., and have nullified the philological evidence it affords that, at that epoch, there entered a new and transforming energy into the realm of human thought. We see the foolishness of God to be wiser than men. (A full bibliography of this instructive controversy, with a critical estimate of the arguments advanced on both sides, is given in Schmiedel's *Winer*, § 2).

The peculiarities of the NT language will be most conveniently exhibited in connexion with the several elements entering into its composition, viz.—

I. The later or 'Common' spoken Greek.
II. The Hehrew or spoken Aramaic.
III. The Latin and other foreign tongues.
IV. The religious or distinctively Christian element.
To the consideration of these will he subjoined—
V. A summary view of the peculiarities of Individual Writers.
VI. Some of the linguistic Prohlems in the NT, with the aids to their solution.
VII. A glance at the Bihliography of the subject.

The peculiarities noticed in the first four divisions may be classified as (*A*) Lexical, and (*B*) Grammatical:—The former comprising—**a.** New Words, and **b.** New Meanings; the latter, **a.** Peculiarities of Form, and **b.** Peculiarities of Construction or Syntax.

At the outset it should be noted that not a little uncertainty still exists with regard to many points of detail; and the limits of the present exposition will restrict for the most part the examples and specifications given to a few representative particulars.

I. THE 'COMMON' OR SPOKEN GREEK.—(*A*) In its *Lexical* relations:—**a.** New *words.* A few of the NT words commonly reckoned as belonging to later Greek are the following:—

ἀβαρής, ἀγαλλιάομαι, ἀγνόημα, ἀδηλότης, ἄθεσμος, ἀθετέω, ἀκαιρέομαι, ἀκατάλυτος, ἀκατάπαυστος, ἀλεκτοροφωνία, ἀλληγορέω, ἀμετάθετος, ἀμετανόητος, ἀνάδειξις, ἀναθεωρέω, ἀναντίρρητος, ἀναπολόγητος, ἀνάχυσις, ἀντιδιατίθημι, ἀντοφθαλμέω, ἀνυπότακτος, ἀπαράβατος, ἀπελπίζω, ἀπερισπάστως, ἀποθησαυρίζω, ἀποκαραδοκία, ἀποκεφαλίζω, ἀπρόσιτος, ἀστοχέω, ἀτενίζω, βραβεῖον, γογγύζω, γονυπετέω, δεισιδαιμονία, διαγνωρίζω, διαγρηγορέω, διαυγάζω, διαφημίζω, διερμηνεύω, διθάλασσος, διοδεύω, δίψυχος, δουλαγωγέω, δυσερμήνευτος, ἐγγίζω, ἐγκακέω, ἐγχρίω, ἐθνικός, ἐκδαπανάω, ἐκδικέω (etc.), ἔκθαμβος, ἐκπλήρωσις, ἐκτένεια, ἐξαρτίζω, ἐξισχύω, ἐπιθανάτιος, ἐπισκηνόω, ἐπιχορηγέω, ἑτερόγλωσσος, εὐαρεστέω, εὐδοκέω, εὐθυδρομέω, εὐκαιρέω, εὔκοπος, ἡμιώριον, ἤρεμος, θηριομαχέω, θριαμβεύω, ἱματισμός, ἰσότιμος, καθημερινός, καταβαρέω, καταγωνίζομαι, κατάκριμα, κατάλυμα, καταντάω, καταπονέω, κατοπτρίζομαι, κενοδοξία, κερματιστής, κωμόπολις, μεθερμηνεύω, μεταμορφόω, μετριοπαθέω, νεωτερικός, ὁδηγός, οἰκοδομή, ὀψώνιον, παλινγενεσία, πάντοτε, παραχειμασία, παρείσακτος, παρεισέρχομαι, παρεπίδημος, περιλάμπω, περιοχή, πορισμός, προελπίζω, προσεγγίζω, πρόσκαιρος, προσκληρόω, ῥᾳδιούργημα, σημειόω, σκωληκόβρωτος, στρατολογέω, στρατοπεδάρχης, συνκατάθεσις, συνβασιλεύω, συνμερίζω, συνοδία, συνπνίγω, συνυποκρίνομαι, τελώνιον, τετράδιον, τετράρχης, τρίστεγος, υἱοθεσία, ὑπερπλεονάζω, ὑπογραμμός, ὑπολιμπάνω, ὑποτύπωσις, φίλαυτος, φιλήδονος, χειρόγραφον. Several verbs in -όω (*e.g.* ἀνακαινόω, δολιόω, δυναμόω, χαριτόω), -ίζω (*e.g.* αἰχμαλωτίζω, ἀναθεματίζω, ἀνεμίζω), -εύω (*e.g.* αἰχμαλωτεύω, γυμνιτεύω, μαθητεύω, μεσιτεύω) are either of later coinage or modifications of earlier endings.

These may serve as specimens of the difference between the vocabulary of the NT and that of the classic writers. But it must be remembered that our imperfect knowledge makes it impossible to say how many such words, apparently late, are merely old words reappearing after a period of disuse—a phenomenon often exemplified in our own vernacular; or how far, again, they may have been long current in colloquial speech, although remaining foreign to the language of literature, as, for example, the swarm of everyday deities catalogued by Augustine in his *de Civitate Dei*, iv. 8, 11, 21, are alien to the Jupiter, Juno, and the rest that make up the literary 'properties' of the poets.

But this list of specimen words brings to view certain general characteristics of the NT vocabulary; for example, its employment of terms which in the earlier Greek are distinctly literary and even poetic. To some such already given may be added the following: ἀγέλη, ἀδάπανος, ἀδημονέω, αἰσθητήριον, ἀλυσιτελής, ἀμάω, ἄμεμπτος, ἀμέριμνος, ἀναθάλλω, ἀνακράζω, ἀνήμερος, ἀπαλλοτριόω, ἀπέραντος, ἀπόδημος, ἀποφθέγγομαι, ἀποτομία (-μως), ἀποψύχω, ἀσάλευτος, ἀσχήμων, ἄτακτος, ἀτιμάζω, αὐγάζω, αὐθάδης, αὔξω, αὐτόχειρ, αὐχέω, ἄφαντος, ἀφρίζω, βαρέω, βαστάζω, βρέχω, βρώσιμος, γενετή, δέσμιος, διαυγής, διηνεκής, δόλιος, ἔκδηλος, ἐκμάσσω, ἐκτελέω, ἐμβατεύω, ἐμπαίζω, ἐμφανίζω, ἐνάλιος, ἐπαιτέω, ἐπακροάομαι, ἐπικέλλω, ἐπισφαλής, ἐρείδω, ἐριθίζω, ἐσθής, εὐδία, εὐσχημοσύνη, εὐφροσύνη, ἤπιος, ἠχέω (ἦχος), θανάσιμος, θεοστυγής, θύελλα, θυμομαχέω, ἰκμάς, ἱμείρομαι (ὁμ.), κακόω, καύχημα, κενόω, κλαυθμός, κλέος, κλύδων, κολλάω, κραταιός, κυρόω, λάμπω, μαγεύω, μαστίζω, μητρολῴας, μόχθος, μυελός, μωμάομαι, νυστάζω, ὀδύνη, οἰκτιρμός, ὅρασις, οὐρανόθεν, πανοικεί, πανπληθεί, παραλογίζομαι (etc.), παροτρύνω, πενιχρός, πιάζω, πολυποίκιλος, προπετής, ῥιπίζω, ῥυπαρός, σαπρός, σκορπίζω, συμπαθής, τηλαυγῶς, τρόμος, τρύβλιον, τυρβάζω, ὑπερήφανος, φαντάζω, φέγγος, φιμόω, χειμάζομαι, χειραγωγέω, χλιαρός, ὠδίνω.

Conspicuous in it also is the later Greek fondness (agreeably to the popular striving after strong expressions) for compounded and sesquipedalian words. Of these the following may serve as additional representatives: ἀνεκδιήγητος, ἀνεκλάλητος, ἀνεξερεύνητος, ἀνεπαίσχυντος, ἀνταποκρίνομαι, δυσβάστακτος, ἐμπεριπατέω, ἐξαγοράζω, ἐξακολουθέω, ἐξανατέλλω, ἐξομολογέω, ἐπιγαμβρεύω, ζωογονέω, καταβραβεύω, καταδυναστεύω, κατασοφίζομαι, κατισχύω, λιθοβολέω, ματαιολογία, μετοικεσία, οἰκοδεσποτέω, ὀλιγόψυχος, πατροπαράδοτος, προσαναβαίνω, προσαναπληρόω, προσανατίθημι, προσκαρτερέω, προσπορεύομαι, συναναμίγνυμι, συνευωχέομαι, συνκαταψηφίζω, συναντιλαμβάνομαι, συνυποκρίνομαι, συνυπουργέω.

The biblical writers indulge this partiality still further; as witness such words as the following: ἀγενεαλόγητος, αἱματεκχυσία, ἀλλοτριοεπίσκοπος, ἀνεξίκακος, ἀνθρωπάρεσκος, διενθυμέομαι, ἐκζητέω, ἐκμυκτηρίζω, ἐκπειράζω, ἐξαστράπτω, ἐπαναπαύω, ἐπιδιατάσσομαι, ἐπιδιορθόω, ἐπισκευάζω, ἐπισυντρέχω, ἱερουργέω, κατακληροδοτέω, κατακληρονομέω, καταλιθάζω, κατεξουσιάζω, κατεφίστημι, κατοικητήριον, μισθαποδοσία, ὀρθοτομέω, ὁρκωμοσία, ὀχλοποιέω, παραπικραίνω, περιαστράπτω, ποταμοφόρητος, προενάρχομαι, συναιχμάλωτος, ὑπερεκπερισσῶς, ὑπερεντυγχάνω, χρηστολογία, χρυσοδακτύλιος. Moreover, not a few decomposite words are found in it—as in general in the later Greek—which have been formed by prefixing a preposition (as ἐπί, διά, παρά, πρό, πρός, σύν, ὑπέρ) to a word already in use. Conversely, simple verbs are sometimes substituted for their compounds more usual in the classic period; as, ἐρωτάω for ἐπερωτάω (Mk 8[5]), κρύπτω for ἀποκρύπτω (Mt 11[25]), ἀθροίζω for συναθροίζω (Lk 24[33]), δειγματίζω for παραδειγματίζω (Mt 1[19]), ὀχλέω for ἐνοχλέω (Ac 5[16]), τρέφω for ἀνατρέφω (Lk 4[16]).

Another characteristic of NT Greek (as of modern Greek, and indeed of popular speech in general) appears in the disproportionate number of so-called diminutives its vocabulary contains: ἀρνίον, γυναικάριον, ἐρίφιον, θυγάτριον, ἰχθύδιον, κλινάριον, κλινίδιον, κοράσιον, κυνάριον, ὀνάριον, ὀψάριον, (παιδίον) παιδάριον, πινακίδιον, πλοιάριον, ποίμνιον, προβάτιον, σανδάλιον, στρουθίον, σχοινίον, φορτίον, ψιχίον, ψωμίον, ὠτάριον, ὠτίον are among them; and even βιβλαρίδιον, a diminutive of a diminutive, occurs. Several of these words have quite lost any diminutive force—if indeed they ever had it (cf. *e.g.* θηρίον, κρανίον, etc.). For ὠτάριον (Mk 14[47], Jn 18[10]), ὠτίον (Mt 26[51]), Lk (22[50]) substitutes οὖς.

b. But not merely had later Greek, as it discloses itself in the NT, enlarged its vocabulary by the introduction of new words (or the revival of those long disused), it had also modified more or less the *meaning* of many retained from the classic period. This is exemplified by the meanings subjoined to the following words: ἀκαταστασία 'political disorder,' ἀνάκειμαι and ἀναπίπτω 'recline at table,' ἀναλύω 'depart (from life),' ἀναστρέφομαι 'conduct one's self,' ἀντίλημψις 'help,' ἀποτάσσομαι 'bid farewell,' 'renounce,' ἀφανίζω 'render unsightly,' γενήματα 'fruits of the earth,' δῶμα 'housetop,' *ἔντευξις* 'petition,' *ἐντροπή* 'shame,' *ἐρεύγομαι* 'speak out,' *ἐρωτάω* 'request,' *εὐσχήμων* 'honourable' of rank, *εὐχαριστέω* 'thank,' *ζωοποιέω* 'cause to live,' 'quicken,' *καταστολή* 'apparel,' *ξύλον* 'a tree,' *τὰ περίεργα* 'magic,' *περισπάομαι* 'be distracted' (with cares, etc.), *πτῶμα* (without adjunct) 'a corpse,' *ῥύμη* 'a street,' *στέλλομαι* 'withdraw,' *στιγμή* 'moment,' *συνκρίνω* 'compare,' 'interpret,' *συνίστημι* 'establish,' 'prove,' *σχολή* 'school,' *σώματα* (without adjunct) 'slaves,' *τρώγω* *i.q.* *ἐσθίω*, *φθάνω* 'come to,' 'arrive at,' *χορτάζω* 'feed' (of persons), *ὑπάρχω* nearly *i.q.* *εἰμί*, *χρηματίζω* 'be styled' or 'called.' And when the modification is not so marked as in these cases, there is at times a change in frequency of use which indicates a change at least in connotation. This is illustrated in the use of *βλέπω*, *θεωρέω*, and *ὁράω* to express seeing; of *ἔρχομαι*, *πορεύομαι*, and *ὑπάγω* to denote going; of *λαλέω* and *λέγω* in reference to speaking. The caste or social status, so to speak, of words varied in ancient as it does in modern times with age and locality.

Many verbs, moreover, which in the earlier language were commonly transitive, assumed a reflexive or neuter sense; *e.g.* *ἀπέχω* (Lk 15[20]), *ἀπορίπτω* (Ac 27[43]), *αὐξάνω*, *αὔξω* (Mt 6[28], Eph 2[21]), *ἐνισχύω* (Ac 9[19]), *ἐπιβάλλω* (Mk 4[37]), *κλίνω* (Lk 9[12]), *παραδίδωμι* (perh. Mk 4[29]), *στρέφω* (Ac 7[42]) and its compounds. On the other hand, some neuter verbs came to be used transitively or causatively; as, *βλαστάνω* (Ja 5[18]), *βλασφημέω* (Mt 27[39]), *γονυπετέω* (Mt 17[14]), *διψάω* and *πεινάω* (Mt 5[6]), *ἐμπορεύομαι* (2 P 2[3]), *εὐδοκέω* (Mt 12[18]), *μαθητεύω* (Mt 28[19]). An interesting extension of this usage appears in *ὃ γὰρ ἀπέθανεν . . . ὃ δὲ ζῇ* (Ro 6[10]).

(*B*) But this brings to our attention the *Grammatical* peculiarities which the language of the NT exhibits in common with later Greek. Peculiarities of this class, whether relating to form or to construction, are much less numerous than those which, agreeably to the general law of growth in language, affect its vocabulary.

a. The peculiarities of *form* are some of them common to the different dialects of the earlier Greek; as, *βούλει*, *ὄψει*, *διδόασι*, *τιθέασι*, *ἐδαφιοῦσιν*, *ἠδυνάμην*, *ἤμελλε*, *ἠβουλήθην*, to the Attic; dat. *γήρει*, gen. and dat. in *-ης*, *-ῃ*, from nouns in *-ρᾰ* (as *μάχαιρα*, *πρῷρα*, *πλήμμυρα*, *σπεῖρα*), the presents *γίνομαι*, *γινώσκω*, also *εἶπεν* (*εἶτα*), after the Ionic; *ἀφέωνται* (for *ἀφεῖνται*), *ἤτω* (for *ἔστω*), *ὄρνιξ* (*ὄρνις*), held to be Doric; *ἐδυνάσθην*, collat. form of *ἠδυνήθην*, *ἐκάμμυσα* (*καμμύω*), *ῥήσσω* (*ῥάσσω*), Epic; *ἀποκτέννω* (*-κτείνω*), Æolic. Others may be traced to the popular preference for regularity of inflection: *e.g.* the change of verbs in *μι* into verbs in *ω*; the termination *-σαι* in the 2nd pers. sing., as *δύνασαι*, *καυχᾶσαι*; the inflection *οἶδα*, *-δας*, *-δατε*, etc.; the aorists *ἔδωσα*, *ἔζησα*, *ἡμάρτησα*, *ἦξα* from *ἄγω*, *ἦξα* (?) from *ἥκω*, and the like. There is also a propensity to omit the augment of the pluperfect, and especially to give the 2nd aor. the endings of the first, as *εἴδαμεν*, *-αν*, *εἶπαν*, *ἔπεσα*, *-αν*, *ἦλθαν*, *ἐλθάτω*, etc.; and in the imperfect of *ἔχω* we find *εἶχαν* and *εἴχοσαν* (so *ἐδίδοσαν*, *ἐδολιοῦσαν*), due doubtless to the love of assimilation in form. Sundry nouns have varying genders, as *ὁ* and *ἡ* *βάτος*, *ληνός*, *λιμός*; *ὁ* and *τὸ* *ἔλεος*, *ζῆλος*, *ἦχος* (?), *θεμέλιος* *-λιον*, *πλοῦτος*, *σκότος*; *ἡ νίκη* and *τὸ νῖκος*; and even a twofold declension, as *δεσμός* plur. *-μοί* and *-μά*, *ἔλεος* *-ου* and *-ους*, *σκότος* *-ου* and *-ους*, also nouns ending in *-αρχος*, *-άρχης* (as *ἑκατόνταρχος* and *ἑκατοντάρχης*); others show a preference at times for the uncontracted forms, as *ὀστέα*, *ὀστέων*. The same tendency to assimilate explains, probably, the fondness for terminal *ν*:—both in nouns, as *ἄρσεναν*, *μῆναν*, *ἀσεβήν*, *ἀσφαλήν*, *συγγενῆν*, *χεῖραν*; and in verbs, as 3rd pers. plur. of the perfect, *γέγοναν*, *ἔγνωκαν*, *εἴρηκαν*, *ἑώρακαν* (*ἑόρακαν*), *πέπτωκαν* (*πέπωκαν*). Here it was favoured by the gradual obscuration of the distinction between the perfect and the aorist (see in **b** below), to which cause also may be due the occasional appearance of the ending *-κες* for *-κας* in the 2nd pers. sing. of the perfect. The dual number has disappeared, and the word *δύο* itself tends to become indeclinable. Particles of rest (*ποῦ*, *ὅπου*, etc.) have superseded those of motion (*ποῖ*, *ὅποι*, etc.); *εἷς* has encroached largely upon the province of *τις*, and *πότερος* (*-ρον*, except in Jn 7[17]) has disappeared.

Negligent or variant pronunciation appears in irregularities of spelling; such as the retention of *μ* in sundry forms and derivatives of *λαμβάνω* (as *λήμψεσθαι*, *ἀνάλημψις*, etc.); the neglect of assimilation in compounds of *ἐν* and *σύν*; the doubling or non-doubling of *ν*, *ρ*, and some other letters, *e.g.* *γένημα*; inconsistency respecting *ν* movable, elision, and the final *s* in *ἄχρις*, *μέχρις*, *οὕτως*. The interchange of sundry letters, as in *μαστός* and *μασθός*, *ζβέννυμι* and *σβέννυμι*, *σφυρίς* and *σπυρίς*, *οὐθείς* and *οὐδείς*, *ποταπός* and *ποδαπός*; and especially in the case of the vowels *ει*, *ε*, *η*, *ι*, as well as *αι*, *ε*, a tendency to that obliteration of distinctions which culminated in itacism and the pronunciation of modern Greek.

Many of these irregularities, and others both of form and pronunciation, have been adopted by the editors of the text of the NT in conformity with the usage of the oldest extant MSS; but how far, in any given case, they are to be set down to the account of the original authors or of later scribes, is a question to be settled only after the other nearly contemporary writings have been edited with equal attention to such details, and in the light of the accumulating testimony of inscriptions, papyri, and other relics.

b. The *Syntactical* peculiarities which the NT shares in common with later and spoken Greek, though less numerous than the formal, are not less noteworthy. They appear particularly in the constructions of the verb. Besides those alluded to in the opening paragraph of this article, may be mentioned:—the general disuse of the optative in dependent sentences; the weakening of constructions with *ἵνα* (a particle which had nearly supplanted *ὅπως*), which often have the force merely of the classic infinitive; the interchange of *ἐάν* and *ἄν*; the use of *ὅταν* with the indicative (Rev 8[1]), and in dependent clauses to denote indefinite frequency; an extended use of *ὅτι*, and also of the final infin., the genitival infin., and the infin. with *ἐν* and *εἰς*; the scanty employment of interrogative particles, and the use of *εἰ* in direct questions (perhaps a Hebraism); the ordinary substitution of the present participle for the future, and in general a fondness for the present tense (especially *λέγει*, *ἔρχεται*, etc.) agreeably to the love of vividness and directness; a lax use of the aorist participle, in fact a tendency to blur the distinction between the aor. tense and the perfect; the use of *ὄφελον* as a particle of wishing; the prefixing of *ἄφες* to the hortatory subjunctive, and the pleonastic use of the imperatives of *ὁρᾶν*, *βλέπειν* (as *ὁρᾶτε βλέπετε ἀπό*, etc. Mk 8[15]); the tendency of *μή* to encroach on the province of *οὐ*, especially with infinitives and participles, and to prevent a hiatus; the use of the compound negative *οὐ μή*; employment of *εἰμί* with the participle as a periphrasis for the simple verb; and the freq. omission of the copula *εἰμί*; carelessness in placing particles (*e.g.* *ἄρα* Lk 11[20. 48], *γε* Lk 11[8], *τοίνυν* He 13[13], *ὅμως* Gal 3[15]).

The popular striving after emphasis which appears in many of these usages shows itself, further, in the use of the active voice with the reflexive pronoun instead of the middle; of *ἴδιος* instead of the simple possessive pronoun; of *εἷς* for the indefinite *τις*, and, in general, a needless multiplication of pronouns; of devices for strengthening the forms of comparison, *e.g.* ἐλαχιστότερος, μειζότερος, μᾶλλον περισσότερον, and the use of παρά and ὑπέρ with comparatives instead of ἤ (yet ἤ alone is at times used with comparative force, *e.g.* Mt 18^{9}, Lk 15^{7}, 1 Co 14^{19}); of prepositions to reïnforce the simple cases. The use of the neut. sing. of an adjective with the art. as a substitute for the abstract noun, though not unusual in the classics, is more common in Paul and Hebrews, and in the later Gr. writers became a striking literary mannerism.

II. The Aramaic and Hebrew Element.—It is usual to distribute the Hebraisms of the NT into two classes: 'perfect' or pure Hebraisms, which consist of such words, phrases, and constructions as have no precedent or analogue in extant Gr., and hence are held to be directly transferred to the NT from the mother tongue of the Jews; and 'imperfect' Hebraisms, consisting of Hebraistic expressions to be found, indeed, for substance in Gr., but the use of which by the NT writers is most naturally traced to the influence of their native language. The limits of this latter class, however, our scanty knowledge of the history of the later Gr. language makes it difficult to fix; and for our present purpose it will be more convenient to follow the classification adopted by us hitherto. A just impression, moreover, of this element of the NT language requires that our presentation of facts should be liberal and inclusive, rather than rigorously restricted. For example, the word σπέρμα with the meaning *progeny* may be traced as far back as Æschylus and Pindar; but the more than thirty instances of its use in this sense in the NT fairly entitle it to be enrolled as a Hebraism.

(*A*) *Lexical Hebraisms*:—not all of which, be it remembered, first make their appearance in the NT.

a. New *words*.—Of these, some are (1) Semitic words simply transliterated; as, ἀββά, ἀλληλουιά, ἀμήν, γαββαθά, γολγοθά, κορβάν, πάσχα, ῥαββεί etc., ῥακά, σαβαώθ, σατάν, σίκερα, ταλειθά, χερουβείν; others are (2) Grecized by some slight change, generally of termination; as, βάτος, γέεννα, ζιζάνιον, (and as is commonly thought) κάμηλος, κιννάμωμον (to which may prob. be added the names of several other plants and spices, as well as of precious stones; as, κύμινον, λίβανος, συκάμινος, ὕσσωπος, σάπφειρος), κόρος, μαμωνᾶς, μάννα, σάτον, σάββατον.

b. Far more numerous are the words and phrases, Gr. in form, which under Heb. influence have taken on a new *meaning*; as, ἄγγελος (ἀρχάγγελος), ὁ αἰὼν οὗτος (ἐκεῖνος, ὁ μέλλων), ἀνάθεμα (-τίζειν), γλῶσσα 'a people,' δέειν and λύειν 'to forbid' and 'permit,' ὁ διάβολος, δόξα 'brightness' (τοῦ φωτός, Ac 22^{11}), δύναμις τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (of the stars), ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ 'in the judgment of God,' ἐξομολογεῖσθαι 'give praise,' ἐξορκιστής 'an exorcist,' ἐπισκοπή of the divine visitation, μακροθυμέω 'be long-suffering,' νύμφη 'daughter-in-law,' οἰκοδομεῖν in trop. sense (?), ὄνομα 'authority,' ὀφθαλμὸς πονηρός of envy, ὀφειλέτης (-λήματα, in reference to sin), περιπατεῖν and ὁδός in a technical sense, of a course of life, (ποιεῖν νόμον in classic Greek 'to make a law') ποιεῖν τὸν νόμον 'to do, keep, the law,' πορεύεσθαι 'to die,' also π. ὀπίσω τινός to 'become one's follower,' πορνεύειν (-νεία) of idolatry, πρόσωπον θαυμάζειν and λαμβάνειν, also εἰς πρόσωπον βλέπειν, etc., of externals, σκάνδαλον (-λίζειν) in a fig. sense, σπέρμα 'offspring,' φωτίζω of spiritual enlightenment.

Not a few are due to national institutions, usages, historic incidents, and the like; as, ἀκροβυστία, ἀποδεκατόω, ἀποσυνάγωγος (ἀρχισυνάγωγος, etc.), οἱ ἄρτοι τῆς προθέσεως, γραμματεύς, διαθήκη, διασπορά, δωδεκάφυλον, ἐνκαίνια (-νίζω), ἐπιγαμβρεύω, εὐνουχίζω, θυσιαστήριον, τὸ ἱλαστήριον, καθαρίζω and κοινόω levitically, κληρονομέω in its technical use, λατρεία the ritual service, λυτρόω in its theocratic sense, μοσχοποιέω, νομοδιδάσκαλος, ὁλοκαύτωμα, πατριάρχης, πεντηκοστή, πρεσβυτέριον, προσήλυτος, προφήτης, πρωτοκαθεδρία, πρωτοτόκια, σκηνοπηγία, υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου (τοῦ θεοῦ), φυλακτήριον. There are indications, however, that some of these terms (*e.g.* καθαρίζω, πρεσβυτέριον, προφήτης) were known to heathen usage in a religious reference (Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien*, Marburg, 1897).

Others spring from the Oriental love of pictorialness and circumstantiality; as, ἀπερίτμητος τῇ καρδίᾳ, ἐν καρδίᾳ λέγειν, ἡ καρδία ἡμῶν πεπλάτυνται, ἐν γεννητοῖς γυναικῶν, ἐν ἡμέραις Ἡρῴδου, ἐνωτίζεσθαι, ἔσκαψε καὶ ἐβάθυνε, ζητεῖν τὴν ψυχήν τινος, καρπὸς τῶν χειλέων, ποτήριον in a fig. application, σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα, σπλαγχνίζεσθαι, στηρίζειν τὸ πρόσωπον, στόμα μαχαίρης, υἱός or τέκνον with the gen. especially of an abstract (*e.g.* εἰρήνης, βροντῆς, φωτός, ὀργῆς, ὑπακοῆς, etc.), χεῖλος τῆς θαλάσσης.

But some of these phrases may with equal propriety be ranked with—

(*B*) *Grammatical Hebraisms.*—The great dissimilarity in structure between the Heb. and the Gr. operated as a barrier to the free introduction of the characteristic idioms of the former language into the latter. The grammatical influence of their native tongue shows itself in the NT writers rather in their general style of expression; in particular, a marked inaptness in the use of moods (even as compared with contemporary Gr. authors), simplicity of construction, and a coordination of clauses which would have seemed monotonous if not illogical to a Greek. Still, usages are not wanting which distinctly recall the Hebrew. Among them are the following:—An extended use of prepositions; for instance, ἐν (cf. בְּ): not only in construction with verbs, as εὐδοκεῖν, ὀμνύειν, etc., but particularly with instrumental force, as κράζειν ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ (Rev 14^{15}), ποιεῖν κράτος ἐν βραχίονι (Lk 1^{51}), πολεμεῖν ἐν τῇ ῥομφαίᾳ τοῦ στόματος (Rev 2^{16}).—εἰς (cf. לְ): in such phrases as γίνεσθαι εἰς οὐδέν (Ac 5^{36}), λαμβάνειν εἰς κληρονομίαν (He 11^{8}), λογίζεσθαι εἰς περιτομήν (Ro 2^{26}); and in general, its insertion before the second accusative after verbs signifying 'make,' 'hold,' etc., as, εἰς προφήτην αὐτὸν εἶχον (Mt 21^{46}).—ἀπό (cf. מִן): as, φεύγειν ἀπό, etc. (Mt 3^{7}, Jn 10^{5}).—ἐπί (cf. עַל): as, ἐλπίζειν ἐπί, etc.—μετά (cf. עִם): μεγαλύνειν, ποιεῖν, ἔλεος μετά, etc. (Lk 1$^{58.\,72}$).—Periphrastic expansions of prepositions:—by the use of ὀφθαλμός (cf. בְּעֵינֵי) Mt 21^{42}, Lk 19^{42};—πρόσωπον (cf. לִפְנֵי) Ac 5^{41}, Mk 1^{2}, Ac 13^{24};—στόμα (cf. בְּפִי) Mt 4^{4}, Lk 1^{70}, (עַל פִּי) 2 Co 13^{1}, Mt 18^{16};—χείρ (cf. בְּיַד) Jn 10^{39}, Gal 3^{19}, Ac 2^{23} 7^{35}.—The employment of ἔμπροσθεν (Mt 11^{26} 18^{14}), ἐνώπιον (Ac 6^{5}), κατενώπιον (Eph 1^{4}), κατέναντι (Ro 4^{17}), ὀπίσω (Lk 14^{27}), as prepositions.—The pleonastic use of pronouns (see above, I. *B.* b, *sub fin.*), especially αὐτός (*e.g.* Rev 2$^{7.\,17}$), which is even added in a relative sentence (Mt 3^{12}, Mk 7^{25}, Rev 7$^{2.\,9}$ etc.).—The use of a limiting genitive to express quality (Lk 18^{6}, Ja 2^{4} 1^{25}).—The use of (a superfluous) καὶ ἐγένετο (or ἐγένετο δέ) before a specification of time or occurrence.—An imitation of the Heb. infinite absolute by a cognate dative prefixed to the verb (as ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐπεθύμησα Lk 22^{15}, χαρᾷ χαίρει Jn 3^{29}), or (in quotations) by a prefixed participle (as βλέποντες βλέψετε Mt 13^{14}, cf. the pictorial ἀναστάς or πορευθείς before a verb).—εἰ (cf. Heb. אִם) in sentences with suppressed apodosis as a formula of swearing or to express emphatic negation (He 4$^{3.\,5}$, Mk 8^{12}).—A lax use of ἀποκρίνομαι (cf. עָנָה) when no proper question has preceded.—προστίθημι (cf. יָסַף) with an infin. to express repetition (*e.g.* προσέθετο τρίτον πέμψαι Lk 20$^{(11)\,12}$).—A superfluous use of ὄνομα (Mt 1^{21}, Lk 2^{21}; found in papyri as early as B.C. 260).—The repetition of a numeral to give it distributive force (*e.g.* δύο δύο Mk 6^{7}; cf. συμπόσια συμπόσια, πρασιαὶ πρασιαί Mk 6$^{39\text{f.}}$, (and probably) ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἡμέρᾳ 2 Co

4^{16}.—*οὐ . . . πᾶς* equivalent to *οὐδείς*.—Such phrases as *τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί* (Mk 1^{24}, Jn 2^{4}), *περὶ ἁμαρτίας, sc. θυσία* (Ro 8^{3}?).

The majority of these Hebraistic forms and constructions appear in the LXX also, which as a tr.—in parts servile, and made by persons some of whom evidently had but an imperfect acquaintance with the Gr. language—is far more Hebraistic in its cast than the NT. But it would be a mistake to assume that this tr. in its peculiarities represents a type of Gr. established and in actual currency at the time. Such an assumption would reverse the historical process. While its language reproduces fundamentally, no doubt, the popular Gr. of the Ptolemaic period, its distinctive character is due rather to the translators' exaggerated deference to the Heb. sacred text, and their mechanical reproduction of it. Yet beyond all question the idioms of this Gr. reproduction of the earlier Scriptures, made familiar as they were by the religious use of the version for generations among the Jews of the Dispersion, must have had great influence in forming the type of Gr. current among people of Jewish stock. Indeed, owing to the cosmopolitan relations of that race during the time intervening between the origin of the two bodies of literature, it need not surprise us to encounter idioms having a distinctly Hebraistic flavour even in native Gr. circles. Consequently our classifications here, as elsewhere, are more a matter of convenience than of rigorous historical accuracy. We must not forget the uncertainty arising from our present defective knowledge. We must not interpret the fact of prior occurrence into clear proof either of primary origin on the one hand, or direct derivation on the other. We must not overlook the truth that coincidences of popular expression are to be found in many widely separated and unrelated tongues. But, notwithstanding all uncertainties and abatements, the general influence of the LXX upon NT Greek was indubitably great. (See Schmiedel's *Winer*, § 4. 1*b*. A good Lexicon and Grammar of the LXX are pressing needs of the student of Biblical Greek, and are now made possible by Swete's edition of the text, and Hatch and Redpath's *Concordance*. Help on one minor point may be found in C. W. Votaw's comprehensive lists of *The Use of the Infinitive in Biblical Greek*, pp. 5, 9. Chicago, 1896. See Viteau as mentioned in the Bibliography, VII. below).

But not all the influence on the language of the NT writers came from Hebrew and Aramaic or from the LXX. Other languages foreign to the Gr. had left their traces on that language by the 1st cent. of our era, some of which can with tolerable assurance be pointed out.

III. OTHER FOREIGN ELEMENTS. — (*A*) The supremacy of Rome, and its multifarious official relations with the populations under its sway, in which relations it naturally employed its vernacular (see LATIN LANGUAGE), would prepare us to expect to find not a few traces of Latin in the popular language of the apostolic period.

a. The *Lexical Latinisms* in NT consist chiefly of judicial and military terms, names of coins, articles of apparel, utensils, etc.; as, *ἀσσάριον, δηνάριον, ἔχω æstimo, κεντυρίων, κῆνσος, κοδράντης, κολωνία, κουστωδία, λεγεών, λέντιον, λιβερτῖνος, λίτρα* (Lat. *libra?*), *μάκελλον, μεμβράνα, μίλιον, μόδιος, ξέστης, πραιτώριον, σικάριος, σιμικίνθιον, σουδάριον, σπεκουλάτωρ, αἱ ταβέρναι, τίτλος, φελόνης, φόρον, φραγέλλιον* (-*λόω*), *χάρτης?, χῶρος*.

More than two score Lat. names of persons and places occur, as well as the technical terms *ὁ Σεβαστός* (*Augustus*), and *Καῖσαρ*.

Latin phrases reappear in *ἐργασίαν δοῦναι* (*operam dare*), *τὸ ἱκανὸν λαμβάνειν* (*satis accipere*), *τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιεῖν* (*satis facere*), *συμβούλιον λαμβάνειν* (*consilium capere*). Notice also *σὺ ὄψῃ* (Mt 27^{4} *tu videris*), *ὄψεσθε αὐτοί* (Ac 18^{15}).

b. The influence of the Lat. language upon the *Grammar* of NT Gr. is much more difficult to trace with confidence than in the case of the Heb., owing to the closer structural affinity between the Lat. language and the Greek. Traces of that influence, however, may be detected, it is thought, with more or less distinctness in the following constructions:—The preference for *ὅτι* and *ἵνα* over the accusative and infinitive (cf. the growing use of *ut* after impero, rogo, etc., æquum est, mos est, etc.); the encroachment of the subjunctive on the optative after an historic tense; the tendency to obscure the distinction between the perfect and the aorist; the use of *ἀπό* before the genitive after *φυλάσσειν* and other verbs of fearing (cf. cavere ab); the exclusive use of the infinitive (even of the inf. passive) after *κελεύειν*; the use of the accusative after *προέρχεσθαι* (cf. præire aliquem), of the dative after *γαμέω* (cf. nubere alicui), of *ἐκ* after *νικάω* (cf. victoriam ferre ex); the continuative *ὅς* equivalent to *καὶ οὗτος* (cf. qui = et hic) in a co-ordinate clause; the anticipatory position of *ἀπό* and *πρό* in specifications of time and place; the general omission of the interjection (*ὦ*) before the vocative, the use of the preposition *σύν* as tantamount to *καί*.

(*B*) But the current Gr. of our Lord's day had appropriated other foreign elements from the languages spoken in the various provinces of the empire. These, again, were chiefly names of local objects or usages. Among such are reckoned the following:—*βαΐον, βίβλος* (*βύβλος*), *σίναπι, σινδών* (yet cf. *Ἰνδός*, Sind), recognized as Egyptian; *κράβαττος* (cf. Lat. *grabatus*), *παρεμβολή, ῥύμη?*, as Macedonian; *ἀγγαρεύω* (yet see Æsch. *Agam.* 282), *γάζα, σανδάλιον* (-*δαλον*), as Persian; *ἀρραβών* as Phœnician; *ῥέδη* (-*δα*) as Gallic or Celtic; *βουνός* as Cyrenaic and Sicilian. Several of these words, however, had long before become naturalized in Greek.

IV. But the element which most conspicuously distinguishes the Gr. of the NT is the RELIGIOUS ELEMENT. Here we come to the very centre and soul of our subject. For the NT language is no mere medley of miscellaneous linguistic survivals, no mechanical mingling of diverse ingredients; its vitality resides in the spirit that quickens it. This discloses itself on every page. It ushers a reader into a new realm of thought, and introduces him to a new type of life. Both had their natural effect on the speech of the first believers. Yet just because the essence of the language consists in its new spirit, it escapes anatomical dissection. It is as pervasive as the atmosphere, but as intangible as a perfume. Hence it is most inadequately exhibited by any catalogue of specifications. The few particulars that can here be set down will serve, at the best, as mere suggestions of its character.

(*A*) The religious element in its *Lexical* aspects. Many of the NT words denoting concrete objects or external institutions and relations were inherited from Judaism, and have been illustrated under II. *A*. a and b above. We will here, therefore, confine ourselves mainly to those of a more internal or spiritual character.

a. The *words* wholly new are, from the nature of the case, comparatively few, and any list of them that may be attempted is subject to doubt and revision by reason of present imperfect knowledge. But among the more distinctive the following may perhaps be mentioned: *ἀγαθοποιΐα, αἰσχροκερδῶς, ἀκατάκριτος, ἀλίσγημα, ἀνακαινόω* (-*καίνωσις*), *ἀντιμισθία, ἀντίχριστος, ἀπέκδυσις, ἀπελεγμός, αὐτοκατάκριτος, ἀφιλάγαθος, ἀφιλάργυρος, βαττολογέω, δαιμονιώδης, δικαιοκρισία, δίλογος, διώκτης, δοκιμή, ἐγκομβόομαι,* *ἐθελοθρησκία, εἰδωλολατρία* etc., *ἐπιούσιος, ἑτεροδιδασκαλέω, εὐαγγελιστής, εὐμετάδοτος, εὐπροσωπέω, θεοδίδακτος, ἰσάγγελος, καλοδιδάσκαλος, καρδιογνώστης, καταθεματίζω, κενοφωνία, λογομαχέω* (*-χία*), *ὀλιγόπιστος* (*-πιστία*), *ὀρθοποδέω, ὀφθαλμοδουλία, πληροφορία, πολύσπλαγχνος, προσωπολήμπτης* (*-λημπτέω, -λημψία*), *πρωτοκαθεδρία, συνζωοποιέω, συνκακοπαθέω, συνκακουχέω, συνσταυρόω, σύνψυχος, φρεναπατάω* (*-πάτης*), *φυσιόω* (*-σίωσις*), *χρηστεύομαι, ψευδάδελφος, ψευδαπόστολος* (and other compounds of *ψευδο-*).

Incomparably more noteworthy are—

b. The *New Meanings* with which the new faith has freighted the old terms.

A few of these meanings arc of a technical or ritual character; as, *ἀδελφός* of fellow-Christians, *τὸ ἀντίτυπον* (*τύπος*), *ἀποστολή* (*-λος*, in the official sense), *ἀρχαί, ἐξουσίαι*, etc. of angels, *βάπτισμα, γλῶσσα* of the 'gift of tongues,' *διάκονος, ἐκκλησία* (cf. *ἐκλεκτοί, κλητοί*), *ἐπίσκοπος, εὐαγγέλιον* (*-λιστής*), *ἱερεῖς* of Christians, *παράδεισος* (2 Co 12[4]), *ὁ παράκλητος, προφητεύω* (*-φήτης*) of a Christian function (cf. II. *A*. **b.** above), *ὁ χριστός*.

But the aggregate influence of Christianity is shown in modifying, more or less, the mass of the NT vocabulary. It has elevated, spiritualized, transfigured words previously current. It has set old terms in new relations. It has added lustre to conceptions already radiant. It has made substantial, and clothed with divine majesty, expressions embodying the instinctive judgments and aspirations of men. Its transforming power, being diffused and a matter of degree, cannot (as has been already said) be adequately exhibited in isolated particulars. The attempt, furthermore, to illustrate it would require space not here at command. Only a few terms, therefore, will be set down, the study of which, it is believed, will more than verify the statements just made: such words as *ἀγάπη, εἰρήνη, ζωή, πίστις, συνείδησις, σωτηρία, χάρις* are monuments of its power to raise language to a new level. Words of secular reference like *κόσμος*, of national application like *οἱ ἅγιοι, ὁ λαὸς τοῦ θεοῦ* (He 4[9]), *Ἰσραήλ* (Ro 9[6]), of everyday life like *ὁδός, παγίς, πρόσκομμα, φορτίον*, even the very component parts of man's being—*σάρξ, ψυχή, πνεῦμα*, take on an ethical significance, of which in this last case the later philosophic use furnishes but a foregleam. A servile word like *ταπεινοφροσύνη* is ennobled; a term like *σταυρός*, suggestive of infamy, is crowned with a halo of glory. The emphasis given to other words has made them the cardinal terms of doctrinal discussion through the Christian centuries: witness *δικαιόω* and its cognates, *ἀπολύτρωσις, ἀπώλεια, ἐπιστρέφεσθαι, ἔργα, θάνατος, μετάνοια*, etc.

(*B*) Even the *Grammatical* influence of the new religious thought bears witness to its fertilizing power. Take as an instance *πιστεύω* with its half a dozen different constructions in the NT (viz. absol.; with thc dat.; with *εἰς* and the accus.; with *ἐπί* and the accus. or the dat.; with *ἐν* and the dat.; with an object accus.). *Ἐλπίζειν, ὁμολογεῖν*, and other words expcrienced a similar enlargement of construction under Christian conceptions (see A. Buttmann, *Gram. of NT Greek*, § 133, 4 sq., Eng. tr. p. 173 ff.); and the wealth of suggestion made to reside in such phrases as *ἐν Χριστῷ, ἐν κυρίῳ*, is full of instruction (cf. G. A. Deissmann, *Die neutest. Formel 'in Christo Jesu' untersucht*, Marburg, 1892).

V. But the circumstance that the NT forms a body of literature having its own distinct linguistic peculiarities, must not make us overlook the fact that it contains within itself considerable diversities of language as well as of style. The uniqueness of the volume, and the practice of using it as the one authoritative source and test of Christian truth, tend to make us isolate it unhistorically from the literature that immediately preceded and followed it, and, on the other hand, to unify it unwarrantably. It is a library comprising the works of, perhaps, ten or more different authors. The statement that 'they all use the same language' requires at oncc the qualification 'but they do not all use it in the same way.' The first three Gospels, for instance, with all their indications of a common basis, exhibit in their present form indubitable marks of the individuality of their several authors. The frequent use of *τότε* (*ἀπὸ τότε*—some 90 times), *ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν* (some 33 times), *ἵνα* (*ὅπως*) *πληρωθῇ* (*τὸ ῥηθέν*, etc., some 12 times), *ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ἐν* (*τοῖς*) *οὐρανοῖς* or *ὁ οὐράνιος* (20 times), *προσέρχεσθαι* (51 times), *συνάγειν* (24 times), *ἀναχωρεῖν* (10 times), etc., mark distinctly the personality of Matthew. The use of *εὐθύς* (some two score times), of the pictorial participle, of diminutives and Latinisms, and, notwithstanding his terseness, a proneness to emphasize by the repetition of equivalent phrases (*e.g. διαπαντὸς νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας*, 5[5]; *ἔσωθεν ἐκ τῆς καρδίας*, 7[21]; *νῦν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ*, 10[30]; *σήμερον ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτί*, 14[30]), etc., are some of the traits that characterize no less distinctly the second Evangelist. A comparison of the sections common to Luke with the other two shows the distinctively literary cast of his phraseology. The identity of topic but throws the difference in language into greater relief. He distinguishes himself from the other Synoptists by his fondness for infinitives (*ἐν τῷ* with the inf. 37 times, *τοῦ* with the inf. 25 times), for *καὶ ἐγένετο* or *ἐγένετο δέ* (43 times), *δὲ καί* (29 times), *καὶ αὐτός* (28 times), *σύν* (25 times), *πορεύομαι* (50 times), *ὑποστρέφειν* (22 times), *ἐνώπιον* (20 times), *ἔμπροσθεν* (10 times). The strikingly Semitic complcxion of his first chapter, and the variations between his language in the Gospel and in the Acts, are doubtless attributable in large measure to his sources. The terms *λόγος, σκοτία* (*σκότος*), *φῶς, ζωή* (*αἰώνιος*), *ἀλήθεια, δόξα, κρίσις, κόσμος, μαρτυρέω* (*-ρία*), *γινώσκω, πιστεύω*, the phrases *ἀμὴν ἀμήν, ἁμαρτίαν ἔχειν, γεννηθῆναι ἐκ* (*τοῦ*) *θεοῦ* (or *πνεύματος*), *εἶναι ἐκ* (*τοῦ κόσμου*, etc.), *ἡ ἐσχάτη ἡμέρα, ὁ υἱός, ὁ πατήρ*, etc., are at once recognized as characteristic of John; and not less so are his short and simple sentences and their asyndetic collocation, his co-ordinateness and parallelism of construction (note *ἀπεκρίθη καὶ εἶπεν*), his verbal reiterations, his Hebraisms (*χαρᾷ χαίρει* 3[29], *υἱοὶ φωτός* 12[36], *ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας* 17[12]), his emphatic demonstratives, his combined particles (*καίτοιγε, ὅμως μέντοι*), his weakened *ἵνα*, and especially his recurrent *οὖν*, which often marks mere transition instead of logical sequence.

The distinctive vocabulary of the creative Paul is too salient and well known to be dwelt upon:—his abstracts: *ἀγαθωσύνη, ἁγιωσύνη, ἁγνότης, ἁπλότης, δικαιοκρισία, δικαίωσις, δοκιμή, ἐνέργεια, ἑνότης, ἐξανάστασις, ἐπιπόθησις, εὐσχημοσύνη, ἱκανότης, ἱλαρότης, καινότης, κενοδοξία, μεθοδία, μωρολογία, ὀφθαλμοδουλία, πεποίθησις, πιθανολογία, πιότης, προσαγωγή, σκληρότης, υἱοθεσία*;—his compounds: *ἀκατακάλυπτος, ἀλάλητος, ἀμεταμέλητος, ἀμετανόητος, ἀναπολόγητος, ἀνεκδιήγητος, ἀνεξερεύνητος, ἀνεξιχνίαστος, ἀνθρωπάρεσκος, ἀνταναπληρόω, ἀπαρασκεύαστος, ἀποκαραδοκία, ἀπορφανίζω, ἀποτολμάω, ἐθελοθρησκία, ἐπαναμιμνήσκω, ἑτεροδιδασκαλέω, ἑτεροζυγέω, εὐπροσωπέω, θηριομαχέω, ἰσόψυχος, ὀλιγόψυχος, καταβραβεύω, κατοπτρίζομαι, κενοδοξία, κοσμοκράτωρ, μετασχηματίζω, ὀρθοποδέω, παρεισέρχομαι, προενάρχομαι, προσαναπληρόω, συνυπουργέω, συνυποκρίνομαι, ὑπερεντυγχάνω*;—his particles: *ἀλλὰ μενοῦνγε, ἄρα οὖν, ἐάν τε γάρ, ἐκτὸς εἰ μή, οὐ μόνον δὲ ἀλλὰ καί, τὲ γὰρ . . . ὁμοίως δὲ καί, ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ, ὡσπερεί, ὡς ὅτι*. Not less familiar are the characteristics of his style:—his long and sometimes involved sentences, his participial appendages and amplifications, the irrepressible crowding of his thoughts, his imperial disregard for niceties of construction in his determination to 'wreak his meaning on expression.'

Very different is the studied rhetorical periodicity of the writer to the Hebrews. The nature of his theme, indeed, leads him to use many words and constructions found in the LXX; but the general air of his vocabulary, no less than of his style, is literary. Reminiscences of classic phraseology meet us in his ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν and ἔμαθεν ἀφ' ὧν ἔπαθεν. His varied use of particles— δήπου, ἐάνπερ, καθώσπερ, καίπερ, καίτοι, μετέπειτα, τε (τε γάρ), and the affectedly indefinite που (2^{6}, 4^{4})—further attests his culture. So do the periphrastic phrases ἀρχὴν λαμβάνειν (*i.q.* ἄρχεσθαι), πεῖραν λαμβάνειν (yet cf. ὑπόμνησιν λ. 2 Ti 1^{5}, λήθην λ. 2 P 1^{9}, etc.), and such terms as αἰσθητήριον, ἀπαύγασμα, ἔγγυος, ἔλεγχος, ἕξις, εἰς τὸ διηνεκές, πρόσφατος, τραχηλίζειν, χαρακτήρ. Still, he betrays conspicuously the later Gr. fondness for sonorous words (see p. 37 above); as, ἀγενεαλόγητος, αἱματεκχυσία, ἀκατάλυτος, ἀμετάθετος, ἀνασταυρόω, ἀντικαθίστημι, ἀπαράβατος, ἀφομοιοῦσθαι, δυσερμήνευτος, ἐπεισαγωγή, εὐπερίστατος, καταγωνίζεσθαι, μετριοπαθεῖν, μισθαποδοσία, ὁρκωμοσία, συνεπιμαρτυρεῖν, etc., bear witness. One of the noteworthy grammatical peculiarities of the Epistle is its use of the perfect tense as nearly tantamount to the aorist (*e.g.* $11^{17.\,28}$; note the co-ordination of the two in the former passage), in accordance with the laxity of the late and less cultivated writers (cf. *e.g.* Rev 5^{7}, 8^{5} etc.).

In some respects the Ep. of James shares the characteristics of that to the Hebrews. In style, to be sure, it is very different: terse, abrupt, vivid, incisive, at times picturesque, not to say poetic. But its vocabulary exhibits a similar variety and amplitude; and in the skilful use of the Gr. language its author is inferior to no NT writer. Peculiar to him are the compounds ἀδιάκριτος, ἀκατάστατος, ἀνέλεος, ἀπείραστος, ἀποκυέω, ἀφυστερέω, δαιμονιώδης, θανατηφόρος, κακοπαθία, κατιόομαι, νομοθέτης, πολύσπλαγχνος, σητόβρωτος, χρυσοδακτύλιος, the bookish terms ἀποσκίασμα, βρύω, ἔμφυτος, ἐνάλιος, κατήφεια, ὄψιμος, παραλλαγή, ῥυπαρία, τροπή, τροχός, τρυφάω, and the pictorial ἀνεμίζω, αὐχέω, δίψυχος, εὐπρέπεια, ὀλολύζω, ῥιπίζω, σήπω, φλογίζω, φρίσσω, χαλιναγωγέω. His Ep. contains some seventy words that are peculiar to him; while the Ep. to the Heb., nearly three times as long, exceeds that number by scarcely one hundred; and 1 P, nearly identical in length with James, falls short by some ten in the number of its peculiar terms. Some of James's words, *e.g.* πολύσπλαγχνος, χρυσοδακτύλιος, are thought to be of his own coinage.

Jude, when its diminutive extent is considered, is quite as characteristic as James in its terminology. Such words and phrases as ἀποδιορίζω, ἄπταιστος, ἐκπορνεύω, ἐπαγωνίζομαι, ἐπαφρίζω, μεμψίμοιρος, παρεισδύω, σπιλάς, φθινοπωρινός, πρὸ παντὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος, θαυμάζοντες πρόσωπα, sufficiently mark its individuality.

The vocabulary of the Petrine Epistles presents the phenomenon that of the one hundred and twenty-one words found in them and nowhere else in the NT, only one (ἀπόθεσις) is common to both Epistles, while each Epistle exhibits about the same number of peculiar terms,—viz. the first some sixty-three, the second fifty-seven, while in length their relation is nearly seven to five.

The Apocalypse, the most distinctly Hebraistic and Oriental specimen of literature in the NT, owes its linguistic individuality not so much to its vocabulary—although such words and phrases as βασανισμός, δράκων (of the devil), ἐγχρίω, ἐνδώμησις, ζηλεύω, ἡμίωρον, ὁ θάνατος ὁ δεύτερος, θειώδης, τὸ ἱππικόν, κατάθεμα, κατήγωρ, κολλούριον, κρυσταλλίζω, ἡ κυριακὴ ἡμέρα, μεσουράνημα, ὅπου . . . ἐκεῖ, πελεκίζω, ποταμοφόρητος, τὸ σιρικόν, στρηνιάω, τιμιότης, are peculiar to it—as to its intrepid disregard of the conventionalities of Gr. grammar, of which ὁ ἀμήν, ἀπὸ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, ἀνὰ εἷς ἕκαστος, δὶς μυριάδες, ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου, φωνὴ λέγων, ἡ οὐαί, οὐαί followed by the accusative (8^{13} 12^{12}), ἐδόθη μοι κάλαμος . . . λέγων, etc., are specimens; and to them may be added a propensity to lapse into the use of the nominative, although this case is thus left suspended in mid-air (cf. 1^{5} 2^{18} 3^{12} 7^{4} 9^{14} $14^{12.\,14}$ 19^{11}). Its deviations from the ordinary laws of Greek construction are at times so bold and capricious as to start the query whether the work, in parts at least, is not the mechanical reproduction of an Aramaic original.

The undeniable individuality of the several NT writers may put us on our guard against too confidently over-pressing slight variations in phraseology into proof of difference in authorship or of substantial difference of thought. Changes in a writer's vocabulary, even in his style, may be due to the topic treated, or the character and circumstances of the persons addressed; or may be nothing more than those varying mannerisms which temporarily bear sway with all writers except the most practised. For example, it has been noticed (see W. H. Simcox, *The Writers of the New Testament*, p. 37) that Paul to express 'in every thing' uses ἐν παντί in the Epistles to the Thess. and Cor. (twelve times), but in the Pastoral Epistles ἐν πᾶσιν (six [five] times), while in that to the Philippians (4^{12}) he unites the two: ἐν παντὶ καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν (cf. 2 Co 11^{6}). On the other hand, the similarities, even coincidences, in language to be noted at times in different NT writings (on comparing, for instance, the Pauline Epistles and 1 P, or 1 P and Ja, or the writings of Luke and the Ep. to the Heb.) present a problem which this is not the place to discuss. Suffice it here to say, that they suggest the early growth of a distinctive religious terminology which largely became the common possession of the brotherhood of believers; and remind us also that not all the reciprocal influence of the Christian leaders upon one another was exerted through their writings. Moreover, as well coincidences as differences in vocabulary may admonish us afresh that NT Greek is not an isolated language, but can be correctly appreciated only by being studied in its relation to the written and spoken Greek of the apostolic period.

VI. PROBLEMS.—It has been intimated more than once already in the course of this article that considerable ignorance still exists respecting sundry details belonging to the NT language. This ignorance should not be exaggerated. It is not such as to throw uncertainty over the general tenor of biblical teaching. Nevertheless, the student and the Christian are alike concerned in its removal. The frank recognition of it is an indispensable preliminary to the patient study and research by which alone it can be diminished. Over and above matters clouded in uncertainty by reason of our scanty historical knowledge—such as 'baptism for the dead' (1 Co 15^{29}), 'the gift of tongues' (1 Co 14, etc.), the apostle's 'thorn in the flesh' (2 Co 12^{7}), etc.—there are points both of lexicography and of grammar respecting which unanimity has not yet been reached by leading expositors, and which consequently appeal invitingly to the enterprising student.

Among the former may be enumerated ἁρπαγμός (Ph 2^{6}; how far, if at all, is the distinction between verbal nouns in -μα, -μος, and -σις obliterated or obscured in NT Greek?), τὴν ἀρχήν (Jn 8^{25}), ἐμβριμάομαι (Mk 1^{43}, Jn 11^{38} etc.), ἐξουσία (1 Co 11^{10}), ἐπερώτημα (1 P 3^{21}), ἐπιβαλών (Mk 14^{72}), ἐπιούσιος (Mt 6^{11}, Lk 11^{3}), εὐπερίστατος (He 12^{1}), κατοπτρίζομαι (2 Co 3^{18}), κεφαλιόω (Mk 12^{4}), κοσμικός (He 9^{1}), ὁδὸν ποιεῖν (or ὁδοποιεῖν, Mk 2^{23}), παραρυῶμεν (He 2^{1}), *προεχόμεθα* (Ro 3^{9}), *σπιλάδες* (Jude ^{12}), *συναλίζομαι* (Ac 1^{4} etc.), *συνκρίνοντες* (1 Co 2^{13}), *τροπῆς ἀποσκίασμα* (Ja 1^{17}), *τροχὸς γενέσεως* (Ja 3^{6}). Further, what is the distinction, or how far is it regarded by the NT writers, between *ἄλλος* and *ἕτερος* (*e.g.* Gal $1^{6f.}$), *βούλομαι* and *θέλω* (*e.g.* Mt 1^{19}), *εἰμί* and *ὑπάρχω* (*e.g.* Ph 2^{6}), etc.? How far do the uses of *εἰς* and *ἐν* tend to approximate, and the difference in the classics between the several cases after prepositions (*e.g.* *πρός*) grow indistinct? Does *εἰς τό* with the infin. always express purpose? What is the difference between *εἴγε* and *εἴπερ*? Is *διότι* ever equivalent to the simple *for*? Is *ὅτι* ever tantamount to the interrogative *why* (Mk $9^{11.\ 28}$), or does *εἰ* introduce a direct question? Does Paul use the 1st pers. plur. of himself alone? etc. etc.

Turning to points more strictly grammatical, we may mention—the use and force of the article: how far (if at all) does it deviate from the classic standard?—with *πᾶς* (*e.g.* Eph 2^{21} 3^{8}, Ac 2^{36}, 1 Ti 1^{16}); with *νόμος*; with *πνεῦμα* (*ἅγιον*); in such passages as Ro 5^{7} 3^{30}, 1 Ti 2^{15}. Is the classic law requiring an article before an attributive participle which follows a definite antecedent rigorously observed (cf. 1 P $3^{19.\ 20}$)? Is there any difference in meaning between *ὁ ὄχλος πολύς* and *ὁ πολὺς ὄχλος* (cf. Jn $12^{9.\ 12}$ and Mk 12^{37})? What is the difference between *αὐτός* and *ἐκεῖνος* in 2 Ti 2^{26}? Are *αὑτοῦ*, etc., used reflexively? Is *ὅστις* ever a pron. of simple reference (*i.q.* *ὅς*, cf. Mt 22^{2} 18^{23})? What is the force of the genitive in the phrases *δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ* (cf. Ro 1^{17}), *πίστις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* (Ro 3^{22})? Does *ἀκούειν φωνῆς* differ in sense from *φωνὴν ἀκούειν* (cf. Ac $9^{4.\ 7}$ $22^{7.\ 9}$ 26^{14}, and see Buttmann, *NT Grammar*, §§ 132, 17; 144, 16)?

The matters above specified are called 'problems,' because difference of opinion about them still exists in reputable commentaries; although it may be questioned whether several of them have not been already disposed of in the judgment of scholars. To them may be added the stock exegetical problems, such as Mt 6^{13}, Lk 12^{49} 18^{7}, Ac $26^{28f.}$, Ja 4^{5}, 2 P 1^{20}; together with more general questions, such as, What effect, if any, had amanuenses on the style of the NT writings? What indications, if any, of the locality of their origin do the NT writings disclose? What influence, if any, had the Heb. parallelism in obliterating for the Jewish-Greek mind the delicate shades of difference between Gr. synonyms? What influence, if any, had the use of Jewish manuals in producing agreement in the form or the employment of OT passages? (Note the agreement in combined quotations, deviating in the same particulars from the LXX, which occur in Ro $9^{32.\ 33}$ and 1 P 2^{6-8}; cf. Ro 12^{19} with He 10^{30}).

The uncertainties still cleaving to the NT language it is by no means over-sanguine to hope may be gradually, and in the end greatly, reduced. Not a little help towards this result is yet to be drawn from the literary relics of the centuries immediately preceding and following the Christian era. The more accurate editing and careful study of these relics, which is already engaging the efforts of scholars, is yielding results which both justify and augment expectation. Particulars, individually slight, amount to a considerable gain in the aggregate. Meantime, noteworthy accessions to our knowledge of the language of the Alexand. and Gr.-Roman period have already come from the inscriptions, and especially the papyri (some of them going back to the days of the Ptolemies), which the last few decades have unearthed, and which it may reasonably be hoped are but the first-fruits of a rich harvest of discovery. Resemblances in phraseology are instructive even where the intellectual and religious quality of the conceptions covered may be widely different (cf. *e.g.* *υἱὸς θεοῦ*, *κύριος*, *σωτήρ*, as used of the Roman emperors, and in the vocabulary of the Stoics). Moreover, the unalterableness, and in many cases the definite date of many of these sources, lift their testimony above the suspicion of possible clerical modification from which the text of even our best extant NT MSS is not always quite free.

VII. The LITERATURE of our subject requires little space here. Suffice it to refer the reader to Schmiedel's 8th ed. of Winer's *Grammatik*, of which the first part (*Einleit. und Formenlehre*, pp. 194) appeared in 1894, the second in 1897, and where almost no publication of moment is left unmentioned. A careful review of Pt. i. by W. Schmid in the *GGA*, 1895, No. 1, pp. 26–47, deserves also to be consulted. The comparison of the NT language with the later Gr. has been greatly facilitated by the last-named scholar's elaborate work, *Der Atticismus in seinen Hauptvertretern von Dionysius von Halikarnass bis auf den zweiten Philostratus* (vol. i. 1887, vol. ii. 1889, vol. iii. 1893, vol. iv. 1896, Index 1897), by the treatise of William Schmidt, *de Flavii Josephi elocutione*, etc., in Fleckeisen's 'Jahrbücher für classische Philologie,' 20ter Supplementband (1894, pp. 345–550), by the *Subsidia ad cognoscendum Græcorum sermonem vulgarem e Pentateuchi versione Alexandrina repetita* of H. Anz in 'Dissertationes Philolog. Halenses,' vol. xii. (1894) pp. 261–387, and by G. A. Deissmann's *Bibelstudien* (Marburg, 1895), which contains, pp. 57–168, an instructive study of the Gr. of the LXX in the light of the results furnished by papyri and recently-discovered inscriptions; supplemented in 1897 by *Neue Bibelstudien*; new ed. in Eng. tr. by Grieve, 1900.

Other noteworthy recent works dealing directly with the language of the NT are: Joseph Viteau, *Étude sur le Grec du Nouveau Testament: Le Verbe; Syntaxe des Propositions* (pp. 240, 8°, Paris, 1893), especially convenient owing to the summary of NT peculiarities given at the close of every chapter; particular attention is paid also to the usage of the LXX, which is made still more prominent in his *Étude*, etc.: *Sujet, Complément et Attribut* (pp. 248, Paris, 1896); F. Blass, *Grammatik d. Neutest. Griechisch* (pp. 329, 8°, Göttingen, 1896; Eng. tr. by Thackeray, 1898), which has the exceptional merit of recognizing the characteristics of the several writers, and of frequently noting variant readings from the MSS., and citing parallels from the Apostolic Fathers; E. W. Burton, *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses in NT Greek*, 2nd ed. pp. 215, 1893; H. A. A. Kennedy, *Sources of NT Greek*, pp. 172, 1895; Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, 1898.

Interesting light is thrown on sundry details also by Arnold Meyer, *Jesu Muttersprache*, pp. 176, Leipzig, 1896; and Edward Hicks, *Traces of Gr. Philosophy and Rom. Law in the NT*, pp. 187, Lond. 1896.

The multiplying of manuals of a popular character (Combe, Huddilston, Moulton) indicates a growing interest in the language, and emphasizes the demand for a new work by a master hand which shall combine the excellencies of the standard treatises of Winer and Buttmann, utilize the knowledge of the subject which has accumulated during the last thirty years or more, and furnish a student with a compact yet complete handbook.—[1897]. J. H. THAYER.

LANTERN occurs only in Jn 18^{3} 'with lanterns and torches and weapons,' where it is the tr. of *φανός*, a word which occurs only here in biblical Greek, and is not common elsewhere. That 'torch' would be a more accurate rendering than 'lantern' seems clear from Xenophon's *ὑπὸ φανοῦ πορεύεσθαι* (*Rep. Lac.* v. 7). The word is formed directly from *φαίνω* 'to give light.' The Eng. tr. is from Wyclif, 'with lanternis and brondis and armys,' who thus translates the Vulg. 'cum laternis et facibus et armis,' and all the versions follow with 'lanterns' (except Cov. who has 'with cresshettes, with lanternes, and with weapens'). 'Lantern' was formerly used with more freedom than now. Wyc. translates Jn 5^{35} 'Sothli he was a lanterne brennynge and schynynge' (Tind. 'He was a burninge and a shyninge light'; Geneva, 'candle'), and Ps 119^{105} 'Lanterne to my feet thi woord; and light to myn pathis' (1388 'Thi word *is* a lanterne'); so Cov. 'Thy worde is a lanterne unto my fete, and a light unto my pathes,' and this is the form in which the verse is quoted at the time; as, Tind. *Expositions* (Parker Soc.), p. 149; Ridley, *Brefe Declaration*, 96, 'by the lanterne of thy worde'; Knox, *Works*, iii. 301, 'The bryght lantarne to the fete of these that by nature walke in darkenesse'; and Davenant, *Fast Sermon* (Fuller's *Life*, p. 276).

Trench in his *NT Synonyms*, p. 157 ff., endeavours to distinguish the five words *φῶς*, *φέγγος*, *φωστήρ*, *λύχνος*, and *λαμπάς*;

but he seems to have forgotten *φανός*. *Φῶς* and *φέγγος* mean 'light,' the former chiefly the light of the sun, the latter chiefly that of the moon. *Φωστήρ* is a luminary. *Λύχνος*, he thinks, should always be translated 'lamp,' and *λαμπάς* 'torch.' These distinctions are valid, though it is not possible to observe them invariably. How far the RV has done so may be seen from the following list:—

φῶς is everywhere 'light' in AV and RV, except Ja 1^{17} AV and RV 'lights' ('the Father of lights,' *τῶν φώτων*), Ac 16^{29} RV ('he called for lights,' *φῶτα*); in Mk 14^{54} AV renders *πρὸς τὸ φῶς* 'at the fire,' and in the par. passage Lk 22^{56} 'by the fire,' RV both 'in the light of the fire'; in Eph 5^{9} edd. prefer *ὁ καρπὸς τοῦ φῶτος* for TR *τοῦ πνεύματος*, whence RV 'the fruit of the light' for AV 'the fruit of the Spirit.'

φωστήρ is 'light,' Rev 21^{11}, and in plu. 'lights,' Ph 2^{15}, in both versions, with RVm 'luminaries.'

φέγγος occurs only in Mt 24^{29}, Mk 13^{24}, Lk 11^{33}, and both versions have 'light.'

λαμπάς is in AV translated 'lamp' in Mt $25^{1.3.4.7.8}$, and RV retains with marg. 'torch,' also in Rev 4^{5}, which RV retains without margin. In Rev 8^{10} RV turns AV 'lamp' into 'torch,' but retains AV 'torch' in Jn 18^{3} and 'light' in Ac 20^{8}.

λύχνος has been translated 'lamp' in RV in all its occurrences, but AV varies between 'candle' in Mt 5^{15}, Mk 4^{21}, Lk 8^{16} $11^{33.36}$ 15^{8}, Rev 18^{23} 22^{5}; and 'light' in Mt 6^{22}, Lk 11^{34} 12^{35}, Jn 5^{35}, 2 P 1^{19}, Rev 21^{23}.

J. HASTINGS.

LAODICEA (*Λαοδικία*, Tisch. and WH, as appears in ℵ everywhere, and in B Col 2^{1}, Rev 1^{11} 3^{14}: *Laodicia* or *Laudicia* often in Latin Versions. B has *Λαοδίκεια* in Col $4^{13.15.16}$; so TR everywhere. *Λαοδίκεια* is certainly the correct Greek form; it is the practically universal form in Greek literature, Strabo, Steph. Byz., Philostratus, etc., also an inscription dated [*ἀπὸ Λαοδι*]*κείας* A.D. 129.[*] The good Latin form is *Laodicea*, not *Laodicia*. The early Turkish form *Ladhik*[†] [compare *Ladik*, still used of the Pontic and Lycaonian cities] points to *Λαοδίκεια*. The forms *Λαυδίκεια* and *Λαδίκεια* occur later).—Laodicea, distinguished from other cities of the same name as *ἐπὶ τῷ Λύκῳ*, or *ad Lycum*, was founded probably by Antiochus II. Theos, B.C. 261–246, and named after his wife Laodike. It was placed on a spur of the low hills fringing the Lycos valley on the south, about 2 miles south from the river. It is close to the station Gonjelli on the Ottoman Railway, and the branch line to Denizli runs up the valley of the little river Asopos, close to the western gates of the city. It was distant only 6 miles from Hierapolis, and 11 from Colossæ (Col $4^{13.16}$). Behind the hills to the south, only a few miles away from the city, rises the great range of Mount Salbakos (Baba Dagh), and to the south-east Mount Kadmos (Khonas Dagh), both reaching to the height of about 8000 ft. above the sea, while the city is only about 800 or 900 ft. above the sea. Before Laodicea was founded, the chief town or village of this part of the valley was certainly situated at Denizli, 6 miles south, close under Salbakos, where the natural water-supply was extraordinarily abundant; and after Laodicea decayed, about the end of the 11th cent., Denizli again took its place as the chief city of the whole valley.[‡] Laodicea was dependent for its water on an aqueduct whose maintenance required more skill and prudence than could be applied in the 12th cent. It has ever since been called Eski-Hissar, 'the Old Fortress,' as distinguished from the modern city Denizli, 'Full of Waters.'

The site of Laodicea is now utterly deserted. The ruins are not conspicuous or imposing; the site has been rifled to build and repair Denizli, and in recent years much injury has thus been done to the old city.

The city Laodicea was founded to be a garrison and centre of Seleucid power in the country, and population was selected and planted there likely to be loyal to the Seleucid kings. Hence there are some traces of a Syrian element in the population.[*] Jews also formed part of the citizens; these may have been brought there by the founder, or been settled there by Antiochus the Great towards B.C. 200, when he sent 2000 Jewish families from Babylonia to the cities of Phrygia and Lydia (Josephus, *Ant.* XII. iii. 4).[†] In B.C. 62 Flaccus, the governor of the province Asia, refused to let the money which was regularly sent to Jerusalem by the Jews go out of the country, because he feared that the loss of specie might be dangerous. At Laodicea, by the governor's orders, 20 pounds weight of gold, which had been collected by the Jews, was seized; and at Apameia 100 pounds weight (Cicero, *pro Flacco*, 68). A letter of the Laodicean magistrates is preserved by Josephus (*Ant.* XIV. x. 20), promising to obey the Roman orders, and grant full religious freedom to the Jews.

Laodicea was a small city until after the Roman period had begun; then it rapidly became great and rich. Destroyed by an earthquake in A.D. 60, it disdained to seek help from the liberality of the Emperors, as many of the greatest cities of Asia had done; *propriis opibus revaluit* (Tacitus, *Ann.* xiv. 27). Hence its boast, Rev 3^{17} 'I am rich, and have gotten riches, and have need of nothing.' It was renowned for the beautiful glossy black wool of its sheep, and carried on a great trade in garments manufactured from this wool. Owing to its central position at the point where the great trade-route from the East was joined by several branch-roads, and its importance as chief city of the Cibyratic *conventus*, to which, at stated intervals, the people of many cities and a large district flocked, it became a centre of banking and financial transactions; and Cicero intended to cash there his bills of exchange (*Ep. ad Fam.* iii. 5. 4). Hence Rev 3^{18} 'I counsel thee (not to take the gold of thy bankers, but) to buy of me gold refined by fire, and (not the glossy black garments made in the city, but) white garments.'

Laodicea was not far east of the temple of Men Karou, connected with which was a famous school of medicine in the century immediately before and after Christ. There was an article called 'Phrygian Powder,' used to cure weakness of the eyes; it is very probable that this was made at Laodicea.[‡] Hence 'I counsel thee (not to use thy 'Phrygian Powder,' but) to buy of me eyesalve to anoint thine eyes that thou mayst see' (Rev 3^{18}).

Very little is known about the history of Christianity in Laodicea. Timothy, Mark, and above all Epaphras (Col 1^{7}), are likely to have been first instrumental in spreading the new religion in the Lycos valley; after them came Philip the Apostle, and (according to late tradition) John. Archippus, Nymphas (Col 4^{15}), and Diotrephes (3 Jn ^{9}), are named by untrustworthy tradition as the first bishops of Laodicea. Sagaris, a bishop of Laodicea, died a martyr about A.D. 166. Sisinnius, a bishop, and Artemon a presbyter, under Diocletian, are mentioned in the *Acta S. Artemonis* (Oct. 8), a late and poor production.[§] Few Christian inscriptions are known. Laodicea was represented by its bishop Nounechios at the Council of Nicæa, A.D. 325; and a council was held in the city about 344–363. It was the leading bishopric of Phrygia throughout the Christian period. The subscription at the end of 1 Ti, ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Λαοδικείας, has no authority, and is certainly false. The Epistle called ἡ ἐκ Λαοδικείας (Col 4^{16}) is perhaps the existing Epistle to the Ephesians (wh. see). The so-called *Epistola ad Laodicenses* is a late and worthless forgery. St. Paul himself had never visited the Lycos valley (Col 2^{1}).

---

[*] See quotations *Cities and Bish. of Phr.* i. pp. 32, 37, 38, 44, 47, 54. The form *Λαοδικίας* occurs chiefly in the genitive case, in which the accent of *Λαοδικείας* falls on the same syllable as that of *Λαοδικίας*.

[†] *Op. cit.* p. 26. Ladhík implies an original *Λαοδίκεια*, not *Λαοδικία*.

[‡] *Op. cit.* p. 20 f.

[*] *Op. cit.* p. 33.

[†] On the history of the Phrygian Jews (who seem to have been far more numerous in Apameia and Central Phrygia than in Laodicea) see *op. cit.* pt. ii. ch. xv.

[‡] So the famous Polemon of Laodicea was called 'the Phrygian' by his admirer Herodes Atticus, *op. cit.* pp. 44, 52.

[§] Other martyrs at Laodicea, *op. cit.* pt. ii. pp. 494, 512. Add Trophimus and Thallus, *Acta Sanct.*, 11th March.

Laodicea is classified by NT writers under the geographical name Asia. Zahn, however, and Blass consider that St. Luke reckoned it, not under Asia, but under Phrygia (see LYDIA, against this view).

LITERATURE.—Most of what has been learned about Laodicea is collected by Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, pt. i. pp. 1–83, 342 f.; pt. ii. pp. 512 ff., 542 ff., 785 f. Anderson in *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (1897), p. 404 ff., and Weber in *Jahrbüch. des Arch. Instituts* (1898), pt. i., supplement that work. Among the older travellers Hamilton gives the best account; but Smith, Pococke, Chandler, Arundell, Fellows, Texier, are all worth reading. W. M. RAMSAY.

LAODICEANS (Λαοδικεῖς, Latin *Laodicenses*) is the correct term for the people of Laodicea (Col 4^{16}). Λαοδικεύς is the invariable form on coins. Λαοδικηνός is used in the sense of 'made in, or belonging to, Laodicea'; and in Latin *Laodicenus* also occasionally is used for a man of Laodicea.

W. M. RAMSAY.

LAPPIDOTH (לַפִּידוֹת 'torches,' 'flames,' cf. Ex 20^{18}; B Λαφειδώθ, A Λαφιδώθ).—Husband of Deborah, Jg 4^{4}. For the form of the name, with the fem. plur. ending -*ôth*, cf. Naboth, Meremoth, Meraioth, Jeremoth, Mikloth; prob. an intensive plur. (König, *Syntax d. Heb. Spr.* § 261), perhaps with a figurative meaning (Böttcher, *Lehrbuch*, § 719*a*). Jewish commentators, *e.g.* D. Kimchi, Levi ben-Gershom, identify Lappidoth ('flames') with Barak ('lightning'); so Hilliger, *Das Deborah-lied* p. 11; Wellh., *Composition* p. 223; Budde, *Richt. u. Sam.* p. 69. Other Jewish interpretations explain that Deborah was 'a woman of torches,' *i.e.* made wicks for the sanctuary, or, 'a woman of flames,' referring to the fiery or energetic character of her prophesying. These explanations are improbable.

G. A. COOKE.

LAPWING.—See HOOPOE.

LARGE.—Like Lat. *largus*, 'large' formerly expressed abundance rather than bulk. Its meanings in AV are all practically obsolete, and are apt to be missed. 1. *Spacious, of great extent*, as Jg 18^{10} 'When ye go, ye shall come unto a people secure, and to a large land' (וְהָאָרֶץ רַחֲבַת יָדַיִם, RV 'and the land is large'; lit. 'spacious on both hands'); Neh 4^{19} 'The work is great and large, and we are separated upon the wall, one far from another'; Is 30^{23} 'In that day shall thy cattle feed in large pastures'; Jer 22^{14} 'I will build me a wide house and large chambers' (עֲלִיּוֹת מְרֻוָּחִים, AVm 'through-aired chambers'; RV 'spacious chambers'); Rev 21^{16} 'And the city lieth foursquare, and the length is as large as the breadth' (RV 'as great as the breadth'). Cf. Howell, *Letters*, I. i. 5, 'I pray God bless us both, and send us, after this large Distance, a joyful meeting.' 2. *Unconfined, free*, as 2 S 22^{20} ‖ Ps 18^{19} 'He brought me forth also into a large place' (מֶרְחָב, trd 'a large place,' also in Ps 118^{5}, Hos 4^{16}, but in Ps 31^{8} 'a large room,' RV 'a large place'; except in Hos (where see Cheyne's note), it is an expression denoting great prosperity. De Witt translates Ps 18^{19} 'He brought me forth into room unconfined,' and points out that the opposite is the 'calamity,' or 'sore pressure' of the previous verse); 2 Es 1^{13} 'I led you through the sea, and in the beginning gave you a large and safe passage' (plateas vobis in invio munitas exhibui, RV 'where there was no path I made for you highways'). Cf. Mt 7^{13} Rhem., 'Enter ye by the narrow gate, because brode is the gate, and large is the way that leadeth to perdition.' So Hall, *Works*, ii. 2, 'None but a sonne of Aaron might offer incense to God in the temple; and not every sonne of Aaron, and not any one at all seasons: God is a God of order, and hates confusion no lesse than irreligion: albeit he hath not so straitned himselfe under the Gospell, as to tie his service to persons, or places, yet his choice is now no lesse curious because it is more large; he allowes none but the authorised, he authoriseth none but the worthy.' Cf. also Shaks. *As You Like It*, II. vii. 48—

'I must have liberty
Withal, as large a charter as the wind,
To blow on whom I please';

and *Hamlet*, IV. iv. 36—

'Sure, He, that made us with such large discourse,
Looking before and after, gave us not
That capability and godlike reason
To fust in us unused.'

3. *Liberal in giving*, only Mt 28^{12} 'They gave large money unto the soldiers' (Tindale's tr., Gr. ἀργύρια ἱκανά). This meaning was once very common. Thus Shaks. 2 *Henry VI.* I. i. 111—

'the poor King Reignier, whose large style
Agrees not with the leanness of his purse';

and Dryden, *Brit. Red.* i. 86—

'Large of his treasures, of a soul so great
As fills and crowds his universal seat.'

In Gal 6^{11} we have the nearest approximation to the modern use, 'Ye see how large a letter I have written unto you with mine own hand.' The Gr. is πηλίκοις γράμμασιν, which RV translates 'with how large letters,' introducing the modern meaning of 'large' unmistakably. Field (*Otium Norv.* iii. 117), who calls the RV the only possible rendering, says, 'St. Paul was a very indifferent penman, and when he did not employ an amanuensis, was obliged to write in very large and, probably, ill-shaped characters.' He illustrates from Plutarch's *Cato*: 'In describing Cato's method of educating his son, the historian tells us that he wrote histories for him *with his own hand and in large characters*' (ἰδίᾳ χειρὶ καὶ μεγάλοις γράμμασιν). The Eng. word recalls Milton's *Sonnet* 'New Forces of Conscience'—

'New Presbyter is but old Priest writ large.'

The phrase 'at large' occurs Wis 19^{9} 'For they went at large like horses' (ἐνεμήθησαν, Vulg. depaverunt [escam]; RV 'they roamed at large'); Sir 47^{12} 'After him [David] rose up a wise son, and for his sake he dwelt at large' (κατέλυσεν ἐν πλατυσμῷ: Bissell explains, 'He was no more full of care for this and that; he gave up all to the management of his wise son.' But Ball [*QPB*], 'Solomon enjoyed ease and freedom for David's sake'); 2 Mac 2^{30} 'To stand upon every point, and go over things at large, and to be curious in particulars, belongeth to the first author of the story' (περὶ πάντων ποιεῖσθαι λόγον, RV 'to indulge in long discussions,' RVm 'to provide a place for discussions.' Fritzsche prefers the reading of codd. A and V περίπατον ποιεῖσθαι λόγων, 'to make the round of matters'). Cf. Rhem. NT, p. 204 (*Argument* to John's Gospel), 'the intent of this evangelist writing after the other three, was, to omit the Actes of Christ in Galilee, because the other three had written them at large; and to reporte his Actes done in Iurie, which they had omitted.'

Largely, in the sense of freely, occurs in 1 Mac 16^{16} 'when Simon and his sons had drunk largely' (ἐμεθύσθη, RV 'had drunk freely'; Ball and Bissell, 'were drunk,' which is the only possible meaning). Cf. North's *Plutarch*, 'Alexander,' p. 687, 'Then did Alexander offer great presents unto the god, and gave money largely to the priests and ministers of the temple.'

Largeness occurs only 1 K 4^{29} 'And God gave Solomon wisdom and understanding exceeding much, and largeness of heart' (רֹחַב לֵב), where the meaning is not, as now understood, a charitable disposition, but breadth of intellectual interest, the difference being due, however, to the difference between the Heb. and Eng. uses of 'heart.' Thus the marg. of the Geneva Bible (copied into the Bishops' Bible) explains the phrase, 'able to comprehend all things,' where the tr. is 'a large heart.' But it is probable that as first used by Wyclif the Eng. phrase meant liberality in giving, as the marg. note to the 1388 ed. has '*largenesse of herte*, to spende in greet worschip.' Cf. Elyot, *Governour*, ii. 104, 'Crœsus, the riche king of Lidia . . . saide on a tyme to Cyrus, when he behelde his liberalitie, that suche largenesse as he used shulde bringe hym in povertie, where, if he lysted, he mought accumulate up treasure incomparable.' J. HASTINGS.

LASCIVIOUSNESS is the tr. in AV and RV of ἀσέλγεια in Mk 7^{22}, 2 Co 12^{21}, Gal 5^{19}, Eph 4^{19}, 1 P 4^{3}, Jude ^{4}. The Gr. word is found also in Ro 13^{13}, where both versions have 'wantonness,' and three times in 2 P, viz. 2^{2} TR πολλοὶ ἐξακολουθήσουσιν αὐτῶν ταῖς ἀπωλείαις, AV 'many shall follow their pernicious ways,' but edd. ἀσελγείαις, whence RV 'their lascivious doings'; 2^{7} ἐν ἀσελγείᾳ ἀναστροφή, AV 'filthy conversation,' RV 'lascivious life'; and 2^{18} ἀσελγείαις AV 'through much wantonness,' RV 'by lasciviousness.' In LXX ἀσέλγεια occurs only twice, Wis 14^{26} AV 'shameless uncleanness,' RV 'wantonness'; and 3 Mac 2^{26} 'acts of impiety.'

The etymology of ἀσέλγεια has had a curious history. The derivation from α priv. and Σέλγη, a Pisidian city, is still mentioned by lexicographers, though it is doubtful if it was for morality or immorality that that city was famous: Thayer-Grimm, 'whose citizens excelled in strictness of morals'; Trench, 'whose inhabitants were infamous for their vices.' The favourite derivation is, however, α and σέλγω, *i.e.* θέλγω to charm. But the use of the word in NT alone is sufficient to fix its meaning and to show that 'lasciviousness' is too restricted and definite to cover it all. The meaning is absence of restraint, indecency; and although that is generally regarded as shown in sensuality, there are passages, as Mk 7^{22} and 1 P 4^{3}, where sensuality is not yet in sight. In the latter passage, as Salmond points out, the writer begins with a general term ('excesses') sufficient to include unbridled conduct of all kinds, and then passes to particulars. Trench thinks 'wantonness' the best rendering, 'standing as it does in a remarkable ethical connexion with ἀσέλγεια, and having the same duplicity of meaning,' *i.e.* indecency in general and sensuality in particular. See Trench, *NT Synonyms*^{8}, p. 54 ff., and Thayer, *NT Greek Lex.*, *s.v.* The leading idea in the word is probably conduct that is shameless. It is thus joined with πορνεία and ἀκαθαρσία in 2 Co 12^{21} and Gal 5^{19}, where πορνεία is a special form of impurity; ἀκαθαρσία uncleanness of any kind that may, however, be unseen; ἀσέλγεια uncleanness that shocks public decency. See Lightfoot on Gal 5^{19} and 1 Th 2^{3} (the latter in *Notes on Epp. of St. Paul*, p. 21). It is remarkable that in all the places in which 'lasciviousness' is found it has been introduced by the AV translators. The earlier word is nearly always 'wantonness' (except in Wyc. and Rhem. following the Vulg. too closely and giving 'lechery' or 'impurity' mostly). RV has carried the mistake still further by changing 'wantonness' of 2 P 2^{18} into 'lasciviousness.'

J. HASTINGS.

LASEA (Λάσαια) is never mentioned by any ancient author except St. Luke; but in the 'hundred-citied' Crete it is not strange that an unimportant town should be only once mentioned. Lasaia was near Fair Havens (Ac 27^{8}); and as St. Paul's ship lay for some considerable time in the Havens, it would be necessary to purchase stores from the city, on which account it comes to be mentioned by the historian. The ruins of the city were examined in 1856 by the Rev. G. Brown. They are about 5 miles east from the Havens, and 1 mile east from Cape Leonda or Leona; and according to Mr. Brown are still called Λάσαια by the Cretan peasantry. This may probably be the Lisia mentioned in the Peutinger Tables as 16 miles south from Gortyna. In an air line the distance on the map seems hardly more than 12 miles; but in mountainous Crete the road may be 16 miles. Mr. E. Falkener has published an old Venetian description of the island of Crete, which mentions in this neighbourhood a place Lapsea, with a ruined temple (Mr. Brown mentions two temples).

LITERATURE.—Smith, *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, 3rd ed. p. 295 f.; Falkener in *Museum of Class. Antiq.* (1852), p. 287. W. M. RAMSAY.

LASHA (לָשַׁע, A Δάσα, E and Luc. Λάσα).—Mentioned only in Gn 10^{19}, as forming the boundary of the Canaanites towards the east. Jerome and Jerus. Targum identify with the famous hot springs of Callirrhoë in the Wâdy Zerḳa Maʻin to the east of the Dead Sea; but this appears to be too far to the north, and, as Dillmann remarks, we rather expect a situation on the west side of the Dead Sea or of the Ghôr. Wellh. (*JBDTh* xxi. 403 f.) would change לֶשַׁע into לֵשָׁה or לֶשֶׁם, *i.e.* Laish (Dan) on the northern boundary of Canaan; but the boundary from north to south seems to have been sufficiently given in the words 'from Zidon . . . to Gaza,' and we expect a boundary now in a new direction, namely, from west to east. One might think of the promontory *el-Lisân* at the south end of the Dead Sea, but if this were intended, the art. would have been found, הַלָּשׁוֹן, as in Jos 15^{2}. J. A. SELBIE.

LASSHARON.—Amongst the kings subdued by Joshua, the MT (followed by AV, RV) includes the king of Lassharon (AVm Sharon). In the *Onomas.* (*s.* 'Saron') the name *Sharon* is applied to the region between Tabor and the Lake of Tiberias, stated to be 'still called Sarona.' The name *Sarôna* is at the present day applied to a ruin on this plateau, which is a possible site for Lassharon (*SWP* vol. i. sheet vi.). Sarona is mentioned on the list of Thothmes III. See PALESTINE.

The text of Jos 12^{18} appears to be in some disorder. While MT has מֶלֶךְ אֲפֵק מֶלֶךְ לַשָּׁרוֹן, B of the LXX has βασιλέα Ὀφὲκ τῆς Ἀρώκ (A simply βασιλέα Ἀφέκ), where Ἀρώκ is doubtless a corruption of Σαρών. The Heb. text before B would thus appear to have been מֶלֶךְ אֲפֵק לַשָּׁרוֹן 'king of Aphek in Sharon,' the Sharon being not the plain of that name on the coast, but the district in Galilee above mentioned (so Dillm. on Jos 12^{18}; cf. Wellh. *Sam.* p. 55). C. R. CONDER.

LASTHENES (Λασθένης), an officer of high rank under Demetrius II. Nikator. He bears the honorary titles of 'kinsman' (συγγενής 1 Mac 11^{31}) and 'father' (πατήρ *ib.* 11^{32}) of the king, the former not necessarily implying near relationship to Demetrius (cf. 1 Mac 10^{89}), and the latter pointing to his superior age, and to the advice (cf. Gn 45^{8} of Joseph) and protection which he afforded to the young prince (cf. Rawlinson and Zöckler). Himself a Cretan, he raised a body of Cretan mercenaries, and enabled Demetrius to land in Cilicia, and wrest the throne of Syria from Alexander Balas (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. iv. 3, cf. 1 Mac 10^{67}). From the new king Lasthenes seems to have received some official position, possibly that of governor of Cœle-

Syria (cf. 1 Mac 10^{69}). Hence when Demetrius was endeavouring to make terms with Jonathan the Maccabæan, he wrote to Lasthenes in favour of the Jews, and forwarded a copy of his letter to the Jewish prince (1 Mac 11^{29-37}, Jos. *Ant.* XIII. iv. 9). It is probable that Lasthenes was the powerful favourite, who, by encouraging the luxury and tyranny of Demetrius, eventually brought about his overthrow by Tryphon (Diod. xxxiii. 4, and Vales. *ad loc.*). H. A. WHITE.

LATCHET (שְׂרוֹךְ, ἱμάς).—The word refers to the leather thongs used for tying on sandals. (See DRESS, vol. i. p. 627ª). In Gn 14^{23} Abram tells the king of Sodom that he had taken an oath that he would not accept at his hands 'from a thread to a shoe-latchet' (מִחוּט וְעַד שְׂרוֹךְ־נַעַל), *i.e.* nothing of his most worthless possessions, much less anything of value. In Is 5^{27} it is stated that the army to be brought from afar against disobedient Israel would be of such disciplined energy that no loose girdles or broken latchets would be seen in it. John the Baptist indicates his relationship of inferiority by saying that he is unworthy to loose the latchet of the shoes of Christ (Mk 1^{7}, Lk 3^{16}, Jn 1^{27}). Among Orientals everything connected with the feet and shoes is defiled and debasing, and the stooping to unfasten the dusty latchet is the most insignificant item in such service. G. M. MACKIE.

LATIN.—In Jn 19^{20} (Lk 23^{38} inferior text) it is stated that the inscription on the tablet placed upon the cross by Pilate 'was written in Hebrew, and in Latin, and in Greek.' There seems to be no clear evidence that the affixing of such a tablet to the cross was a legal requirement, or even the ordinary usage. But a tablet or placard announcing a criminal's offence was often carried before him on his way to execution, or hung about his neck, and sometimes he was preceded by a herald proclaiming his crime (cf. Sueton. *Calig.* 32, *Domit.* 10; Dion Cass. *Octav.* 54. 3. 7; Euseb. *HE* 5. 1. 44; Mishna, *Sanhedr.* 6. 1, 10. 6). Inscriptions and proclamations in two or more languages were not uncommon (see Jos. *Ant.* XIV. x. 2, 3, xii. 5). The tablets set up in the temple at Jerus. forbidding any foreigner on pain of death to enter the Holy Place, were some in Latin, some in Greek; Jos. *BJ* V. v. 2, VI. ii. 4 (one of the latter, unearthed about twenty-five years ago by M. Clermont-Ganneau, is reproduced and described in the *Revue Archéologique* for 1872, p. 214 ff.; cf. *PEF*, *Twenty-one Years' Work*, p. 167 f.). Although Greek formed a part of the training of every educated Roman, and was the widest medium of communication even in Palestine, yet Latin was especially employed as the legal, official, and military language, and Roman pride was disposed to be tenacious of it in intercourse with provincials (see Val. Max. 2. 2. 2; Dion Cass. 57. 15. 3). The emperor Claudius, for example, who was fond of Greek learning, and an adept in the use of the language (Sueton. *Claud.* 42), deprived a prominent Greek of Roman citizenship for ignorance of Latin (*ibid.* 16). Abundant reff. may be found in Mayor's note on Juvenal, xv. 110.

Respecting the influence of Latin upon the later Greek, see LANGUAGE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. J. H. THAYER.

LATIN VERSIONS, THE OLD.*—Among those witnesses which are of primary importance for determining the text of NT, and, in a modified sense, that of OT also, the early Lat. VSS occupy a foremost place. Hitherto, perhaps, their importance has not been sufficiently recognized. But the rapid developments in the science of textual criticism which this century has seen are bringing more clearly into view their unique value. This consists mainly in their high antiquity, on the one hand, and their extraordinary faithfulness to the text which they tr., on the other. The last-named characteristic has never been disputed. As to the other, there is, at least, a general agreement that, at the latest, a Lat. tr. of the Bible already existed in the middle of the 3rd cent. A.D. But this means much. The oldest Greek MSS which have, as yet, come down to us, cannot be dated further back than the 4th cent. The great majority of them must be placed at a much later date. The early Lat. VSS, therefore, as extant in MSS or biblical quotations in the Fathers, supply us with evidence prior to any contained in Gr. MSS. But this comparison must be made with caution. Otherwise it would only mislead. Our extant Gr. MSS, of course, witness to a text far earlier than the date of their own origin. The evidence of a version is only second-hand. And, besides, it is always more or less local, presenting us with important data for determining one particular type of text, but restricted as to the value of its general bearing. From another point of view, however, this limitation has advantages. The history and character of the version must, of necessity, shed light upon the history of the Church in the definite area over which its influence has spread. And this is pre-eminently true of the Lat. VSS. They are closely bound up with the origin and diffusion of Western Christianity. Through the influence of the Lat. Fathers they have, to a great extent, moulded its theological conceptions and its current theological terms. Finally, to the history of the Lat. language their contributions are invaluable; for they preserve the late Lat. renderings of an extant Gr. original, using many varieties of synonyms, many abnormal constructions, and many strange formations, all of which reveal the tendencies of the later language, and fix with more or less certainty particular dialectical variations.

1. *Name.*—The name Old Latin is used here to denote the Lat. VS or VSS which existed previous to, or independent of, the great revision made by Jerome at the close of the 4th cent.* The designation is derived from the Lat. Fathers themselves, who speak of 'uetus editio,' 'antiqua interpretatio,' 'uetus translatio,' and the like. It seems time now to abandon the misleading term 'Itala,' or even 'uetus Itala,' to denote the pre-Hieronymian type of text. For, as we shall see later, the name 'Itala' is most ambiguous, and forms the central point of one of the keenest controversies which has ever arisen on this complicated subject. The expression 'Old Latin' makes no assumption, but simply states an admitted fact. Under this heading there might fall 'mixed' Lat. texts, in which OL and Vulg. readings are found side by side. As a rule, however, such texts have a Vulg.

---

* Abbreviations used in this article :—

OL=Old Latin Version (or Versions).
Archiv.=*Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie*, ed. by E. Wölfflin.
CSEL=*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, pub. under auspices of Vienna Academy.
GGA=*Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.*
Stud. Bibl.=*Studia Biblica*, by Members of Univ. of Oxford 4 vols.
SK=*Theologische Studien und Kritiken.*
T. u. U.=*Texte und Untersuchungen* (Gebhardt and Harnack).
ZwTh=*Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie.*

* See Wordsworth, *OL Biblical Texts*, i. p. xxx: 'Old-Latin texts . . . mean all early Latin versions of the Bible which are not Hieronymian, of whatever date the MSS may be which contain them, or in whatever country they were current.' It is surely refining too minutely when Sittl (Bursian-Müller's *Jahresbericht*, vol. lxviii. p. 249) asserts that the term 'pre-Hieronymian' ought to be applied only to the biblical quotations of the older Fathers.

base, and it is only when the OL element in them is of marked importance that they will be noticed below (see VULGATE).

2. We have spoken above of the OL '*Version* or *Versions*.' This brings before us a much-debated question. Was there originally only a single tr. of the Scriptures into Lat., or were there several or many distinct versions? Before discussing the point, let us guard against certain misconceptions. No one has ever argued that one *type* of OL text, whether of OT or NT, presents itself in the Lat. MSS or Fathers from the time of Tertullian onwards. The most casual comparison of our existing authorities disproves this at once. For while, as we shall find, both MSS and Fathers may be, with caution, classified by groups, even within those provisionally separate classes, a considerable amount of variation appears. Still greater and more distinct are the differences which seem to justify us in shading off those groups from one another.[*] That is to say, even those who maintain that one original VS lies at the basis of all subsequent OL texts, are quite willing to admit the existence of various *recensions* of that version, made at different times and in different countries. In addition to this, it would be admitted on all sides that this assumed original tr. was by no means the work of one hand: that separate books were done into Lat. by separate translators, both in OT and in NT, and that some, in all probability, were tr^{d} at a later date than others. But those scholars who adhere to the hypothesis of a *single* original version hold that, admitting many minor differences both in readings and renderings, there appears, through the complexity of variations, one fundamental groundwork. While the various authorities seem to move on different lines through several verses, they return to an agreement sufficiently striking to demand the assumption of a common source.[†] Equally important names can be adduced in support of the opinion that there were, at least, several distinct OL versions.[‡] And certainly, at first sight, there seems much to justify the hypothesis. The same passage often appears in very different forms in the various MSS and Fathers. To gain some impression of these variations, we have only to turn to the formidable array of parallels from MSS and Fathers given in such works as H. Linke's *Studien zur Itala*,[§] or Ziegler's *Die lat. Bibelübersetzungen vor Hieronymus*. How is the question to be decided? Quite naturally, an appeal has been made to the expressed opinions of the Lat. Fathers themselves, more especially Augustine and Jerome. And some passages in their writings seem to have a real connexion with the problem. Thus Aug. *de Doctr. Christ.* ii. 11: 'Qui scripturas ex Hebræa lingua in Græcam uerterunt numerari possunt, Latini autem interpretes nullo modo: ut enim cuique primis fidei temporibus in manus uenit codex Græcus et aliquantulum facultatis sibi utriusque linguæ habere uidebatur, ausus est interpretari.' Two chapters further on, in the same treatise, he says: 'quoniam et quæ sit ipsa sententia quam plures interpretes pro sua quisque facultate atque iudicio conantur eloqui, non apparet, nisi in ea lingua inspiciatur, quam interpretantur.'[‖] He also speaks of an 'infinita uarietas Latinorum interpretum,'[¶] and uses many other similar expressions.[*] It is quite evident that Aug. believed in a large number of separate OL versions.[†]

In the writings of Jerome the facts are presented somewhat differently. Thus, for example, in his *Præf. in lib. Paralip.*: 'cum pro uarietate regionum diuersa ferantur exemplaria, et germana illa antiquaque translatio corrupta sit, atque uiolata, nostri arbitrii putas aut e pluribus iudicare quid uerum sit aut nouum opus in ueteri opere cudere.' And again, *Epist. ad Damasum*: 'si enim Latinis exemplaribus fides est adhibenda, respondeant quibus: tot sunt pæne quot codices.[‡] Sin autem ueritas est quærenda de pluribus, cur non ad Græcam originem reuertentes ea quæ uel a uitiosis interpretibus male edita uel a præsumptoribus imperitis emendata peruersius uel a librariis dormitantibus aut addita sunt aut mutata corrigimus?' See also his *Præf. in lib. Job.* It seems as if, in the passages quoted, Jerome is thinking rather of separate and most corrupt recensions or copies (exemplaria) of the tr^{n} than of several distinct versions. For in the first he contrasts the 'germana antiquaque translatio' with the 'diuersa exemplaria' of it which have arisen through corruption and local variations. And he could scarcely speak of there being almost as many separate tr^{ns} as there were MSS. On the other hand, many passages can be quoted from his writings which give colour to the opposite hypothesis. So, *e.g.*, in his *Præf. in Proverb.* he talks of 'imperiti translatores'; in *Epist.* 18. 21 of 'interpretum uarietatem.'[§] In what way can the apparent confusion of the evidence be harmonized? Perhaps we are not justified in treating these statements of the Fathers as authoritative on the subject. There is much force in the words of Zahn:[‖] 'It is a thoroughly short-sighted attempt to seek in the occasional utterances . . . of a Jerome or an Augustine regarding the Latin Bible an answer to the questions which bear on the date of its origin, the original unity or multiplicity of translators. These men would not have kept back from us a definite tradition regarding the place, the time, the originator of the version or versions, if they had possessed such. . . . What they say has neither in form nor meaning the slightest resemblance to an historical tradition or an ancient report. It is rather the scanty result of a more or less intelligent view of the actual facts which they had before their eyes.' We cannot, at least, be blind to the rhetorical exaggeration in the passages quoted. And it seems quite reasonable to suppose that Jerome and Aug. are simply putting forward their own hypotheses to account for the state of things which they find existing. Probably, they could give no more definite answer to the question before us than that which Jerome gave as to the use of Theodotion's tr. of Daniel by the Church in place of the LXX: 'et hoc cur acciderit nescio' (*Præf. in Dan.*). It is along other lines that the problem must be approached.

It has been already observed that a comparison of the extant OL texts, whether in MSS or Fathers, reveals clearly enough a large number of more or less important variations. These are of different kinds. Sometimes the variant consists in the use

---

[*] It must be noticed that we are not here separating differences of *reading* from differences of *rendering*. See some important remarks by Sanday, *OL Bibl. Texts*, ii. p. xlii.

[†] See, *e.g.*, Reusch, *Tübing. Quartal-Schrift*, 1862, p. 244 ff.; Fritzsche in Herzog, *RE*^{2} viii. p. 433 ff.; Zimmer, *SK*, 1889, ii. p. 331 ff.; Haussleiter in Zahn's *Forschungen*, iv. pp. 72, 73.

[‡] See, *e.g.*, Kaulen, *Gesch. d. Vulg.* p. 107 ff.; L. Ziegler, *Die lat. Bibelübersetzungen*, etc., Munich, 1879, p. 4 ff.; P. Corssen, *Jahrbücher f. protest. Theol.* 1881, p. 507 ff.

[§] Breslau, 1889. It bears only upon the Apocalypse.

[‖] *De Doct. Christ.* ii. 13.

[¶] *Ib.* ii. 11.

---

[*] See the large collection of quotations bearing on this point, from Aug., in Ziegler, *op. cit.* pp. 6–10.

[†] Wiseman's attempt (*Essays on Various Subjects*, i. p. 24 ff.) to show that 'interpretari' and its cognates can be used, and are used, by Aug., of *recensions* as well as translations, is now discredited even by defenders of the one-version theory, *e.g.* Fritzsche, *op. cit.* p. 435.

[‡] 'Of no passage is this judgment more true than of this actual sentence itself, which is hardly quoted in the same way in any three MSS' (H. J. White in Scrivener's *Introduction*, vol. ii. p. 42. See also Wordsworth and White's *Vulgate*, Fasc. i. p. 2).

[§] See Ziegler, *op. cit.* p. 13.

[‖] *Gesch. d. NT Kanons*, bd. i. p. 33.

of a synonym: sometimes it presupposes a different underlying Gr. text: sometimes it shows another form of construction: sometimes it lies in an addition or omission, while, at times, it is merely an inversion of the order of words in a sentence, or a difference of spelling. One or two examples will make our meaning clear.

Matthew 2^{1-4}.

k (Cod. Bobiensis).	*a* (Cod. Vercellensis).	*b* (Cod. Veronensis).	*f* (Cod. Brixianus).
Et eum hī^{s} natus esset in bethlem iudææ in diebus herodis regis ecce magii ab oriente uenerunt hierosolima dicentes ubi est qui natus est rex iudæor̄ uidimus enim stellam . . . Set autem rex herodes turbatus est et tota hierosolima cum eo. Et conuocatis omnibus sacerdotibus et scribit plebis quærit ab eis ubi ☧ nascitur.	Cum ergo natus esset Jesus in bethlem ciuitate iudææ in diebus herodis regis ecce magi ab oriente uenerunt hierosolyma dicentes ubi est qui natus est rex iudæorum uidimus enim stellam eius in orientem et uenimus adorare eum. Audiens autem herodes rex turbatus est et omnis hierosolyma cum ipso. Et [congreg]auit omnes principes sacerdotum et scribas populi et interrogabit ab eis ubi Christus nascitur.	Cum ergo natus esset Jesus in bethlehem ciuitatem iudeæ in diebus herodis regis . . . oriente uenerunt in hierosolyma dicentes ubi est qui natus est rex iudæorum uidimus enim stellam illius in orientem et uenimus adorare eum. Audiens autem rex Herodis turbatus est et omnes hierosolyma cum illo. Et congrega . . . sacerdotum et scribas populi et interrogauit ab eis ubi Christus nasceretur.	Cum ergo natus esset Jesus in bethleem iudeæ in diebus herodis regis ecce magi ab oriente uenerunt hierosolyma dicentes, ubi est qui natus est rex iudæorum uidimus enim stellam eius in orientem et uenimus adorare eum. Audiens autem herodes rex turbatus est et omnis hierosolyma cum illo. Et congregauit omnes principes sacerdotum et scribas populi et requisiuit ab eis ubi Christus nasceretur.

Exodus 32^{17-20}.

Cod. Wirceburgensis.	Cod. Lugdunensis.
Et audiuit ihs̄ uocem populi clamantium dixit ad Moysen uox pugnæ in castris auditur. Et dixit Moyses non est uox de principum cum uirtute sed nec uox de principum fugæ sed uocem principatus uini ludentium ego audio. Cumque adpropinquasset castræ uidet uitulum et choros populi. Et iratus animo Moyses proiecit de manib suis duas tabulas et comminuit eas sub montem. Et sumens uitulum quem fecerant combussit igni et comminuit eum minutatim et seminauit eum in aqua et potauit filios istrahel.	Et cum audisset Iesus clamorem populi clamantium, dixit ad Moysen : non uox pugnæ in castris auditur. Et dixit Moyses : non est de principibus cum uirtute, sed nec uox de principium fugæ sed uocem principatus uini ego audio. Cumque adpropinquassent castræ uident uitulum et choros populi: et iratus animo Moyses proiecit de manibus suis duas tabulas et comminuit eas sub montem. Et sumens uitulum quem fecerant, combussit eum igni et conteruit eum minutatim et seminauit eum in aqua, et potauit illud filios Istrahel.

The above instances are taken entirely at random to give a general idea of the agreements and differences of the parallel texts. It must be said that in many passages the differences would be found to be far more considerable than in either of those above. Yet, as the total result of numerous comparisons of the various texts with each other, one is bound to admit, at least, the increasing probability of the conclusion that at the basis of all the types of text there is one original version which has determined, in great measure, the character of all the subsequent revisions.* For surely the differences can be reasonably accounted for. In OT we know that at this time the MSS of the LXX were in a state of hopeless confusion—a confusion which had been intensified by the misuse of Origen's critical signs. A proof of the mixture of Gr. texts followed is found on almost every page of the OL versions of OT. The same cause would also be at work in NT. Add to this the carelessness of scribes and the independent efforts at translating the original, either deliberately introduced into the text or gradually gliding into the text from the margin, and we have causes which seem, at least, sufficient to explain the numerous variations.* As an instance of what was possible, the Psalter which Jerome had corrected according to the LXX was so corrupted by scribes in his own life-time that he was compelled to emend it a second time.† But after all, as Burkitt puts it : ‡ 'whether there were one or two independent versions is a comparatively minor question in face of the undoubted fact that the independent versions were few in number.'

3. The problem which is of paramount importance in this subject is, Can we trace the history of the version (or versions)? For the sake of the subsequent discussion we will here subjoin a list of the extant authorities for the OL Bible.§

OLD TESTAMENT.—*HEXATEUCH.*—**1. Cod. Lugdunensis** [6th cent.]. At Lyons (MS 54). Gn 16^{9-16} 17^{1-18} 19^{5-29} 26^{33-35} 27–33^{15} 37^{7}–38^{22} $42^{36\text{-end}}$, Ex 1–7^{19} 21^{9-35} 25^{25}–26^{13} $27^{6\text{-end}}$, Lv 1–18^{30} $25^{16\text{-end}}$, Nu, Dt, Jos, Jg 1–11^{31} (?). Published as far as Dt 11^{4}, by U. Robert, *Pent. Versio Lat. Antiquissima*, etc. Paris, 1881. Remaining part discovered by Delisle in autumn of 1895. See 'Academy,' Nov. 30th, 1895. For the romantic history of the MS, see the 'Avant-Propos' of Robert's work. **2. Fragments in Cod. Ottobonianus**, No. 66 [8th cent.]. In Vatican. Fragg. of Gn from chs. 37, 38, 41, 46, 48–50; of Ex from chs. 10, 11, 16, 17, 23–27. Pub. by C. Vercellone in *Variæ lectiones Vulg.* etc. Tom. i. pp. 183 ff. 307 ff., Rome, 1860. **3. Cod. Wirceburgensis** [6th cent. ?]. Univ. Libr. of Würzburg (MS 64a). Gn $36^{2-7.\ 14-24}$ 40^{12-20} 41^{4-5}, Ex 22^{7-28} 25^{30}–26^{12} 32^{15-33} 33^{13-27} 35^{13}–36^{1} 39^{2}–40^{30}, Lv 4^{23}–5^{8} 5^{10}–6^{1} $7^{2-11.\ 16-17.\ 22-27}$ $8^{1-3.\ 6-13}$ $11^{7-9.\ 12-15.\ 22-25.\ 27-47}$ 17^{14}–18^{21} 19^{31}–20^{3} $20^{12.\ 20}$–21^{2} 22^{19-29} 23^{5-9}, Dt 28^{42-53} 31^{11-26}. Pub. by E. Ranke, *Par Palimpsest. Wirceburgensium*, Vienna, 1871. **4. Cod. Monacensis** [5th or 6th cent.]. Hof-Bibliothek at Munich (Lat. 6225). Ex 9^{15}–10^{24} 12^{28}–14^{4} 16^{10}–20^{5} 31^{15}–33^{7} 36^{13}–40^{32}, Lv 3^{17}–4^{25} 11^{12}–13^{6} 14^{17}–15^{10} 18^{18}–20^{3}, Nu 3^{34}-4^{8} 4^{31}–5^{8} 7^{37-73} 11^{20}–12^{14} 29^{6}–30^{3} 31^{14}–35^{6} 36^{4-13}, Dt 8^{19}-10^{12} 22^{7}–23^{4} 28^{1-31} 30^{16}–32^{29}. Pub. by L. Ziegler, *Bruchstücke einer vorhieron. Übersetz. d. Pent.* Munich, 1883. **5. Fragg. of Genesis** (25^{20}–28^{8}), from a Lat. VS of the *Quæst.* of

---

* There are some books in which two types of text seem far more marked, *e.g.* the Synoptic Gospels and Apoc.; while in others, such as the Pauline Epp., there is a much closer resemblance between all types of text. This suggests one of the most important methods to be followed in investigating the OL Bible—that, namely, of treating each group of books separately.

* See Wellhausen in Bleek's *Einleitung in d. AT*⁴, p. 595.

† See P. Corssen, *Epist. ad Galatas*, p. 3.

‡ *Old-Lat. and Itala*, p. 5.

§ Books marked with an asterisk the writer has not had the opportunity of seeing.

Philo. Pub. by F. C. Conybeare, *Expositor*, 4th series, vol. iv. pp. 63 ff., 129 ff. **6.** Gn 12^{17}–13^{14} 15^{2-12} in *Palimpsestus Vindobonensis*, pub. by J. Belsheim, 1885.

HISTORICAL BOOKS.—**1.** Ruth. **Cod. Complutensis** [9th cent.]. Univ. Libr. Madrid (MS 31). Pub. by S. Berger, *Textes Lat. inéd. de l'Anc. Test.* Paris, 1893. **2.** Jg 5 fr. Com. of Verecundus in Vercellone. **3.** Fragg. of Jg, also 1, 2 S and 1, 2 K, being notes on margin of **Cod. Gothicus** [10th cent.]. At Leon. Pub. from copy in Vatican by C. Vercellone, *Variæ Lectiones*, Tom. ii. The hitherto unknown Marginalia of Cod. Goth. have been transcribed by Linke from the Vat. copy, though not yet published. See *Archiv*, viii. 2, pp. 311–12. †**4.** 1 S 2^{3-10} from MS No. 2 at Einsiedeln [15th cent.]. Pub. by S. Berger, *op. cit.* **5.** Some verses of 1 and 2 S and 2 K from several Corbey and S. Germain MSS. Pub. by P. Sabatier, *Bibliorum . . . latinæ Versiones*, vol. i. Paris, 1751. **6.** 1 S 9^{1-8} 15^{10-18}, 2 S 2^{29}–3^{5}, 1 K 5^{2-9}. From two leaves at Magdeburg and Quedlinburg. First two Fragg. pub. by W. Schum, *SK*, 1876, p. 121 ff. All four by Weissbrodt, *Index lectt. Brunsbergensis*, p. 11 ff. 1 K 5^{9}–6^{7}. Pub. by A. Düning, *Ein neues Fragm. d. Quedl. Itala-Codex*, 1888. **7.** 2 S 10^{18}–11^{17} 14^{17-30} [7th or 8th cent.]. Parchment leaves at Vienna. Pub. by J. Haupt, **Veteris antehieron. vers. libr. II. Regum fragmenta* . . . Vienna, 1877. **8.** 1 S 1^{14}–2^{15} 3^{10}–4^{18} 6^{3-15} 9^{21}–10^{7} 10^{16}–11^{13} 14^{12-34}, 2 S 4^{10}–5^{25} 10^{13}–11^{18} 13^{13}–14^{4} 17^{12}–18^{9} [5th cent.]. Palimpsest at Vienna. Pub. by J. Belsheim, **Palimpsestus Vindobonensis*, 1885. **9.** (*a*) **Cod. Corbeiensis,** No. 7 (now MS. lat. 11549). At Paris. Book of Esther.‡ Pub. by Sabatier, *op. cit.* (*b*) **Cod. Vallicellanus,** B. vii. Est 1–2. Pub. by Sabatier, by Tommasi, more accurately by Bianchini.§ (*c*) **Cod. Pechianus.** Fragg. of Est 3–end. Sabatier. (*d*) **Cod. Lat. Monacens.,** 6239 [9th cent.) Est. Pub. by J. Belsheim, *Libros Tobiæ, Iudit, Ester . . . ex Cod. Monac.*, Trondhjem, 1893. (*e*) **MS of Lyons, No. 356.** Beginning and conclusion of Est. Pub. by S. Berger, *Notice*, pp. 31–32. This ancient résumé of Esther also found in *Cod. Complutensis, Cod. Casinensis*, No. 35, *Cod. Monac.* 6225, *Cod, Ambrosianus E.* 26 *inferior*, of which second alone has been pub. (*Biblioth. Casin.* T. i. 1873).

POETICAL BOOKS.—**1.** (*a*) **Fragment of Fleury.** Job 40^{3-9}.‖ Pub. by Sabatier, Tom. i. p. 904. See also Berger, *Hist. de la Vulg.* p. 86. (*b*) Fragg. of Job from margin of *Cod. Gothicus* at Leon [10th cent.]. First few lines pub. by Berger, *Notice*, pp. 21–22. **2.** (*a*) **Cod. Veronensis.** At Verona. Book of Psalms. Pub. by Bianchini, *Psalterium duplex cum Canticis*, in his *Vindiciæ Canon. Script.* Rome, 1740. (*b*) **Cod. Sangermanensis.** Lat. MS No. 11947. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris. Pub. by Sabatier, *op. cit.* Tom. 2. (*c*) Fragg. of OL Psalter in Palimpsests at Carlsruhe. See F. Mone, **Latein. Messen*, p. 40; also **De libris palimps.* p. 48, Carlsruhe, 1855. (*d*) Considerable extracts from OL Psalter in Mozarabic Liturgy (Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, T. 85). See Kaulen, *Gesch. d. Vulg.* p. 199 ff. Gams, *Kirchengesch. Spaniens*, i. p. 86 ff. Readings, fr. 4 Psaltt: *Carnutense, Corbeiense, Mediolanense, Coislinianum* in Sabatier. See on OL Psalter generally, Lagarde, *Probe einer neuen Ausgabe der latein. Übersetzung des AT*, 1885. See also H. Ehrensberger, *Psalterium Vetus* (Tauberbischofsheim, 1887). **3.** (*a*) Cod. No. 954. Palimps. Imperial Library, Vienna. Pr 2^{1}–4^{23} 19^{7-27}. Pub. by A. Vogel, *Beitr. z. Herstell. d. alt. lat. Bibelübersetzung*, Vienna, 1868. (*b*) Palimps. St. Paul in Lavant-thale, Carinthia. Pr 15^{9-26} 16^{29}–17^{12}. Pub. by F. Mone, **De libr. palimps.* (*c*) Cod. 11 of St. Gall [8th cent.]. Fragg. of Pr, Ec, and Ca. Pub. by S. Berger, *Notice*, p. 23 ff. (*d*) Marginal readings from Pr in MS, Lat. 11553. Biblioth. Nat. Paris. See Berger, *Hist. de la Vulg.* p. 65. (*e*) A few Fragg. of Pr in Sabatier, Tom. 2.† Fragg. of Ec and Ca, disc. by Amelli. Still unpub. See Ziegler, *Latein. Bibelübers.* p. 107, n. 6.

PROPHETICAL BOOKS.—**1.** Fragg. of a Weingarten MS at Fulda, Darmstadt, and Stuttgart [prob. 6th cent.]. Hos 4^{13-14} $5^{4.\,7}$ 7^{16} $8^{1-6.\,13-14}$ 9^{1-17} 12, portions of vv.$^{3.\,7.\,9.\,12}$ $13^{1.\,3}$ 13^{4}–14^{2}, Am 5^{24}–6^{8} 8^{10}–9^{1} 9^{5-9}, Mic 1^{5}–3^{3} 4^{3}–7^{20}, Jl 1^{1-14} 2^{3-5} $4^{2-4.\,15-17}$, Jon 1^{14}–4^{8}, ‡Ezk 16^{52}–17^{6} 17^{19}–18^{9} 24^{25}–25^{14} 26^{10}–27^{7} 27^{17-19} 28^{1-17} $42^{5.\,6.\,14}$ 43^{22}–44^{5} 44^{19}–45^{2} 46^{9-23} 47^{2-15} 48^{22-30}, Dn 2^{18-33} 9^{25}–10^{11}. Pub. in full, with Appendix, by E. Ranke, *Fragm. Vers. . . . antehieron.* Vienna, 1868. His previous work, *Fragm. Hos. Am. et Mich.* Marburg, 1856, is included in that above named. So also Vogel's *Fragg. of Ezek. from St. Paul in the Lavant-thal.* Additional Fragg. of Prophets. Weingarten MS. Stuttgart. Am 7^{13}–8^{10}, Ezk 18^{9-17} 20^{18-21} 27^{7-17} 33^{26-30} $34^{6.\,8-12}$, Dn 11^{35-39}. Pub. by E. Ranke, *Fragm. Stutgardiana*, 1888. **2. Cod. Wirceburgensis.** Palimps. [prob. 6th cent.]. Univ. Libr. of Würzburg (MS 64a). Hos 1^{1}–2^{13} 4^{13}–7^{1}, Jon 3^{10}–4^{11}, Is 29^{1}–30^{6} 45^{20}–46^{11}, Jer 12^{12}–13^{12} 14^{15-16}. Fragg. of 15, 16, 17, 18^{16}–20^{4} $20^{6-7.\,9-10.\,11-14.\,16-18}$ 21^{1}–23^{39} 35^{15}–37^{11} 38^{23}–40^{5} 41^{1-17}, La 2^{16}–3^{40}, Ezk 24^{4-21} 26^{10}–27^{4} 34^{16}–35^{5} 37^{19-28} 38^{8-20} 40^{3}–42^{18} 45^{1}–46^{9} 48^{28-35}, Dn [Sus] $^{2-10}$ 1^{15}–2^{9} 3^{15-50} (including *Oratio Azariæ*) 8^{5}–9^{10} 10^{3}–11^{4} $11^{20-21.\,23-25.\,26-29.\,31-33.\,36-42}$ (*Bel et Drac.*). Pub. by E. Ranke, *Par Palimpsest. Wirceburgensium*, Vienna, 1871.§ **3.** Fragg. of Is and Jer discovered in a Bobbio Lectionary at Turin by G. Amelli. Still unpublished. See Ziegler, *Die lat. Bibelübers.* p. 105, n. 2. **4.** Fragg. of Jerem. from **Cod. Sangallensis,** No. 912. Pub. by Tischendorf, *Mon. sacr. et prof.* p. 231. More fully by F. C. Burkitt as Appendix to *Old Latin and the Itala*, p. 81 ff. Camb. 1896. **5.** A few 'Cantica' from the Prophets in Sabatier, Tom. 2.‖ Some 'Cantica' also published by Fleck, *Wissenschaftliche Reise*, Bd. ii. Abt. 3, p. 337 ff. See further, Hamann, *Canticum Moysi*, Jena, 1874, and Bianchini, *Vindiciæ*, etc., who pub. 7 'Cantica' fr. Verona MS of Ps.

APOCRYPHA.—**1.** *Fourth* [*Second*] *Esdras.* Complete text ed. by Bensly and James, Cambridge *Texts and Studies*, iii. 2, 1895. For particulars regarding MSS see the Introduction to the above, and also *The Missing Fragment of the Fourth Book of Ezra*, by R. L. Bensly, Camb. 1875. **2.** *Third* [*First*] *Esdras.* Two OL Texts. Ordinary Vulg. and another contained in MS Lat. 111 of Biblioth. Nat. at Paris (printed in Sabatier); in Mazarine MS 29; Douai 7; Vienna 1191; Madrid E. R. 8. Fragg. of another text in Lagarde, *Septuaginta-Studien*, 1892, Theil 2, fr. Lucca MS. **3.** *Tobit.* OL version found in MSS Biblioth. Nat. lat. 6, 93, 161, 11505, 11553; in Cod. Gothicus at Leon;

---

† See Driver, *Notes on Heb. Text of Samuel*, pp. lxxvii–lxxxii; Wellhausen in Bleek's *Einleitung in d. AT*^{4}, p. 571 ff. Schepss, *Zeits. f. Kirchengesch.* xv. pp. 566–8 refers to two MSS with OL readings in 1 and 2 S.

‡ It should be stated that, in the OL Bible, we have not an exact tr^{n}, but only a résumé of Esther. See Berger, *Notice*, p. 31.

§ *Vindiciæ Canon. Script.*, Rome, 1740.

‖ The continuous text of Job, publ. as OL by Sabatier, is not OL at all, but a revision taken from a Vulg. MS and pub. by Martianay in *Hieronym. Opp.* T. 1, whence Sabatier derived it. See Ranke, *Fragmenta . . . Antehieron.*, Fasc. 1, p. 13.

† Berger points out that there are a vast number of variants from the OL in Vulg. MSS of the Sapiential books, *e.g.* Paris MS, 11553, quoted above; Bible of Théodulfe; MS No. 7 at Metz.

‡ See a very important contribution by Cornill, *Das Buch des Propheten Ezechiel*, Proleg. pp. 25–35. Cornill denotes the Weingarten Fragg. by *w*, the Würzburg Palimps. by *h* (=*Herbipolensis*). Two new Fragg. of Weing., Ezk 33^{7-11}, Dn 11^{18-23}, pub. by P. Corssen, *Zwei neue Fragmente*, etc., Berlin, 1899.

§ This includes the Fragg. pub. by Münter, *Fragm. Vers. Antehieron.* etc., Hafn. 1819.

‖ The Fragg. of the Prophets pub. from Lat. glosses in a palimps. at Grotta Ferrata, by J. Cozza, Rome, 1867, are not considered to be genuine OL even by Cozza himself. He supposes that they are a version made partly from the OL, but brought into strictest agreement with the Greek.

Cod. Complutensis at Madrid; Bible of Huesca (Museo Arqueologico of Madrid); MS 6239 at Munich; MS 7 at Metz; E. 26 infer. of Ambrosian Libr.; Cod. Regio-Vaticanus, No. 7. Of these, MSS 93, 11505, 11553 of Bibl. Nat. and Cod. Regio-Vat. have been pub. by Sabatier. Munich MS 6239, pub. by J. Belsheim, *Libros Tobiæ* . . . etc., Trondhjem, 1893. **4.** *Judith.* MSS Biblioth. Nat. lat. 6, 93, 11505, 11549, 11553; Cod. Gothicus at Leon; Cod. Complut.; Bible of Huesca; Auctar. E. infra 2 of Bodleian; Metz 7; Munich, 6239. Of these, 93, 11505, 11549, 11553 of Bibl. Nat. have been pub. by Sabatier. Mun. MS 6239, pub., as above, by J. Belsheim. **5.** *Wisdom of Solomon* passed into Vulg. unrevised. See Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, i. 241–282, Göttingen, 1884. **6.** *Sir* also passed into Vulg. unrevised. See Lagarde, *op. cit.* 283–378. Another version in a Fragm., embracing 21^{20-31} 22^{1-7}, from MS at Toulouse, pub. by C. Douais, *Une ancienne Version latine*, etc., Paris, 1895. **7.** *Baruch.* Also preserved in Vulg. Another OL version in MSS Bibl. Nat. lat. 11, 161, 11951 (pub. by Sabatier); Arsenal 65 and 70; Vallicellanus B. 7 (pub. by Sabatier and also Bianchini, *Vindiciæ*); Cod. Casinensis 35; Reims MS No. 1 (in Sab.). **8.** 1 *and* 2 *Mac.* passed into Vulg. unrevised. Another text containing 1 Mac 1–13, pub. by Sabat. from MS 11553 of Bib. Nat. Text of 2 Mac from MS E 26 infer. of Ambrosian Lib., pub. by A. Peyron, *M. Tull. Cic. Orat. fragm. ined.* Stuttgart, 1824, i. p. 70 ff. Both books complete in Cod. Complut. Extracts from OL version in Cod. 356 of Lyons. See for one or two other Fragg., Berger, *Notice*, p. 38.

Extracts from all OT books except Ru, Ob, and Jon; and from all Apocr. books except 3 and 4 Es in *Liber de diuinis Scripturis siue Speculum*, erroneously ascribed to Augustine [8th or 9th cent]. Pub. from Cod. Sessorianus, No. 58 (now in Biblioteca Vittorio Manuele at Rome), by A. Mai (1) in *Spicilegium Romanum*, ix. 2, pp. 1–88; (2) in *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, i. 2, pp. 1–117, Rome, 1852. Pub. from six MSS by F. Weihrich, vol. 12 of *CSEL*, 1887. See especially Weihrich's dissertation, *Die Bibel-Excerpte de diuin. Script.* etc. Vienna, 1893. This authority quoted as *m*. Lagarde in *Septuaginta-Studien*, 1892, Theil 2, pp. 5–44, pub. some OL Fragg. containing genealogies from the whole Bible. These are partly from a MS in Cathedral of Lucca = M (*c.* A.D. 570); partly from a Bobbio MS at Turin, dependent on M = C. He there states that those Fragg. belong to the CH. OF N.W. AFRICA. Several Fragg. published by Vercellone in *Dissertationi Accademiche*, Rome, 1864; also Gustafson, *Fragm. Vet. Test.*, Helsingfors, 1881.

NEW TESTAMENT.†

GOSPELS.—**a. Cod. Vercellensis** [4th cent. or perh. later]. Cathedral of Vercelli. Four Gospp. Many words and letters mutilated or missing. Wanting in Mt 24^{49}–25^{16}, Mk 1^{22-34} 4^{17-25}; alm. entirely 4^{26}–5^{19}; 15^{15}–16^{7}, Lk 1^{1-12}; 11^{4-11} alm. entirely; 11^{12-26} 12^{38-59}. Pub. by J. Irico, *Sacrosanctus Evangg. Cod. S. Euseb.* etc. Milan, 1748; by Bianchini, *Evangeliarium Quadruplex*, Rome, 1749 (reprinted in Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* xii.); also by J. Belsheim, *Cod. Vercellensis*, Christiania, 1894.‡ a$_2$. *Fragmenta Curiensia* [5 or 6], Raetisches Museum at Chur. Lk 12^{11-29} 13^{16-34}. Pub. by E. Ranke, *Fragm. Antiquiss. Evang. Luc. Curiensia*, Vienna, 1873; also in *OL Bibl. Texts*, ii. Oxf. 1888. Recognized as having the same original as a. It is part of the same MS as n. **b. Cod. Veronensis** [5 or 6]. Chapter Libr. Verona. Gospels. Wanting in Mt 1^{1-11} 15^{12-23} 23^{18-27}, Mk $13^{9-19.\,24}$–16^{20}, Lk 19^{26}–21^{29}, Jn 7^{44}–8^{12} (erased). Pub. in Bianchini's *Evangeliarium*, and Migne, *op. cit.* **c. Cod Colbertinus** [13]. Paris (Lat. 254). Gospels (rest of NT is Vulg.) Pub. by Sabatier, T. iii.; also by Belsheim, *Cod. Colbertinus*, etc. Christiania, 1888. See Ranke, *Fragm. Curiens.* pp. 9–10; Burkitt, *Old Latin and Itala*, p. 35 ff. **d. Latin Version of Cod. Bezæ.**† [6]. Cambridge. See Rendel Harris, *Study of Cod. Bezae*, Camb. 1891, and his *Four Lectures on Western Text of NT*, London, 1894, F. H. Chase, *Syriac Element in Cod. Bezae*, Lond. 1893, and *Syro-Latin Text of Gospels*, Lond. 1895; F. Blass, *Acta Apostolorum*, Prolegomena, Göttingen, 1895;‡ *Acta Apost. sec. Formam . . . Romanam*, Leipz. 1896, *SK*, 1894, pp. 86–120, and *Hermathena*, xxi. p. 121 ff. Especially Sanday in *Guardian*, May 18 and 25, 1892. **e. Cod Palatinus** [prob. 5]. Vienna. (Pal. 1185). Single leaf at Trin. Coll. Dublin. Fragg. of *e* in a copy in Vallicellian Libr. at Rome. Extant: Mt 12^{49}–13^{13} (13^{13-23} in Dublin leaf), 14^{11} ($^{11-21}$ in copy at Rome), ^{22}–24^{49} 28^{2-20}, Jn 1^{1}–$18^{12.\,25}$–Lk $8^{30.\,48}$–$11^{4.\,24}$–24^{53}, Mk 1^{20}–$4^{8.\,19}$–6^{9} 12^{37-40} $13^{2.\,3.\,24-27.\,33-36}$. (This is usual 'Western' order of Gospp.). Pub. by Tischendorf, *Evangelium Palatinum*, Leipz. 1847. Leaf at Dublin by Abbott in *Par Palimpsest. Dublinens.* Lond. 1880. 14^{11-21} by H. Linke, *Neue Bruchstücke des Ev. Pal.*, Sitz.-Berichte of Munich Acad., 1893, fasc. 2, pp. 281–287. Pub. anew by Belsheim, *Evang. Palat.* etc. Christiania, 1896. **f. Cod. Brixianus** [6]. Chapter Libr. Brescia. Wanting: Mt 8^{16-26}, Mk 12^{5}–13^{32} $14^{53-62.\,70}$–16^{20}. Pub. by Bianchini, *op. cit.*; Migne, *op. cit.*; also by Wordsworth and White in their *Vulgate*. **ff$_1$. Cod. Corbeiensis** [prob. 10. See Gregory, *Prolegomen.* iii. pars. ult. p. 957]. At St. Petersburg (Ov. 3, D. 326). Belonged to Lib. of Corbey, near Amiens. Matthew. Closely related to Vulg. Pub. by Martianay, *Vulg. Ant. Lat. et Itala*, etc., Paris, 1695; by Bianchini (*op. cit.*); by Sabatier; and by Belsheim, Christiania, 1882. **ff$_2$. Cod. Corb. ii.** [6 or 7]. Paris. (Lat. 17225). Gospels. Wanting: Mt 1^{1}–11^{16}, Jn 17^{15}–18^{9} 20^{22}–21^{8}, Lk 9^{48}–10^{21} 11^{45}–12^{6}. Some vv. wanting in Mt 11, Mk 9, 16. Pub. by Belsheim, Christiania, 1887. Collations pub. by Bianchini, *op. cit.* **g$_1$. Cod. Sangermanensis.** [9]. At Paris. (Lat. 11553). Formerly at S. Germain des Prés. OL only in Mt. Other Gospp. have Vulg. text mixed with OL readings. Collation of readings pub. by Martianay in ed. of ff$_1$, and reprinted by Bianchini. Pub. by Bp. Wordsworth, *OL Bibl. Texts*, i. Oxf. 1883. **g$_2$. Cod. Sangerm. ii.** [10]. Paris. (Lat. 13169). Appar. mixed OL (?) and Vulg. text. Berger (*Hist. de la Vulg.* p. 48) considers it to belong to the Irish recension. **h. Cod. Claromontanus** [6 or 7]. Vatican. (Lat. 7223). OL only in Mt. Wanting: Mt 1^{1}–3^{15} 14^{33}–18^{12}. Excerpts in Sabatier. Pub. by Mai, *Scriptor. Vet. Nova Collectio*, iii. p. 257, Rome, 1828. By Belsheim, Christiania, 1892. **i. Cod. Vindobonensis** [6 or 7]. Vienna. (Lat. 1235). Once at Naples. Lk 10^{6}–23^{10}, Mk 2^{17}–3^{29} 4^{4}–$10^{1.\,33}$–14^{36} 15^{33-40}. Pub. by Alter in *Neues Repertorium*, etc., vol. iii. pp. 115–170 (Mark), Jena, 1791, and in Paulus' *Memorabilia*, vii. pp. 58–95 (Luke), Leipz. 1795. Collation in Bianchini. Also in full, by Belsheim, *Cod. Vindobonensis*, Leipz. 1885. **j. Cod. Saretianus** [5]. Discovered at Sarezzano. Now at monastery of Monte Cassino. Jn 1^{38}–3^{33} 3^{33}–5^{20} $6^{29-49.\,49-67.\,68}$–7^{32} 8^{6}–9^{21}. See G. Amelli, **Un Antichissimo Codice biblico Latino purpureo*, Monte Cassino, 1893. **k. Cod. Bobiensis** [prob. 5]. Turin. (G. vii. 15). Mk $8^{8-11.\,14-16.\,19}$–16^{8}, Mt 1^{1}–3^{10} 4^{2}–14^{17} 15^{20-36}. Pub. by

---

† The NT MSS of the OL are, as a rule, designated by the small letters of the alphabet. This originated with Lachmann in his critical ed. of the NT.

‡ But see review by Gregory, *Theolog. Lit. Zeit.* No. 21, 1894.

† See art. TEXT OF NT.

‡ See also import. review of Blass by Holtzmann, *Theol. Lit. Zeit.* 1896, No. 3, and other notices referred to there. Corssen, *GGA*, 1896, No. 6.

F. Fleck, *Anecdota Sacra*, Leipz. 1837, pp. 1-109; by Tischendorf, *Jahrb. der Literatur, Anzeige-Blatt*, various vols. Vienna, 1847-49; by Wordsworth and Sanday, *OL Bibl. Texts*, ii. Oxf. 1886. **l. Cod. Rehdigeranus** [7]. Breslau. Once belonged to T. von Rehdiger. Wanting: Mt 1^{1}-2^{15}, Jn 1^{1-16} 6^{32-61} 11^{56}-12^{10} 13^{34}-14^{23} 15^{3-15} 16^{13}-21^{25}. Mt and Mk pub. by Scheibel, Breslau, 1763. Collation of readings inserted by Scheibel in ed. 3 of Griesbach's NT. Pub. by H. F. Haase *Evangelior. . . . vetus Lat. interpretatio* (in *Index lect. univ. Vratislav.*), Breslau, 1865-6. **m.** Extracts from *Liber de div. Script. sive Speculum*, of which the chief MS is **Cod. Sessorianus**, No. 58 [8 or 9], at Rome. Erroneously ascribed to Aug. Quotations from all NT books except Philem, He, and 3 Jn. See p. 51. **n. Fragmenta Sangallensia** [5 or 6]. St. Gall. (MS 1394). Mt 17^{1}-18^{20} 19^{20}-21^{3} $26^{56-60.\ 69-74}$ 27^{62}-$28^{3.\ 8-20}$, Mk 7^{13-31} 8^{32}-9^{10} 13^{2-20} 15^{22}-16^{13}, Jn 19^{28-42}. Fragg. of Jn 19^{13-27}. Pub. by P. Battifol, Fragm. Sangallensia, *Rev. Archéol.* Paris, 1885, vol. iv. pp. 305-321. (Fragg. last named above in separate 'note,' 1884). Also by H. J. White, *OL Bibl. Texts*, ii. Oxf. 1886. Recognized now to belong to same MS as **a_2**. **o. St. Gall Frag.** [7]. In same vol. as *n.* Mk 16^{14-20}. Same editors. **p. St. Gall Frag.** [7 or 8]. (MS 1394, vol. 2). Seems to belong to a mass for the dead. Jn 11^{16-44}. Pub. by Forbes, *Arbuthnot Missal*, Burntisland, 1864; by Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, etc., vol. i. Append. G. p. 197, Oxf. 1869; by H. J. White, *OL Bibl. Texts*, ii. **q. Cod. Monacensis** [7]. Royal Libr., Munich. (Lat. 6224.) Gospels. Wanting: Mt 3^{15}-4^{23} 5^{25}-$6^{4.\ 28}$-7^{8}, Jn 10^{11}-12^{38} 21^{8-20}, Lk 23^{23-35} 24^{11-39}, Mk 1^{7-21} 15^{5-36}. Pub. by H. J. White, *OL Bibl. Texts* iii. Oxf. 1888. **r. Cod. Usserianus** [6 or 7]. Trin. Coll. Dublin. (A. iv. 15). Wanting: Mt 1^{1}-$15^{16.\ 31}$-$16^{13.}$ 21^{4-21} 28^{16-20}, Jn 1^{1-15}, Mk 14^{58}-$15^{8.\ 29}$-16^{20}. Pub. by T. K. Abbott, *Evangel. versio Antehier.* Dublin, 1884. (A collation of a second Cod. Usser. is given in which the parts of Mt extant are appar. OL, while in the other Gospp. the text is alm. Vulg). **s. Ambrosian Fragg.** [6]. Ambrosian Libr. Milan. (C. 73 inf.). Lk 17^{3-29} 18^{39}-19^{47} 20^{46}-21^{22}. Pub. by A. M. Ceriani, *Mon. Sacr.* i. pp. 1-8, Milan, 1861; also in *OT Bibl. Texts*, ii. **t. Berne Fragg.** [5 or 6]. Berne. (MS 611). Mk 1^{2-23} 2^{22-27} 3^{11-18}. Pub. by H. Hagen, *ZwTh.* xxvii. pp. 470-484; also in *OL Bibl. Texts*, ii. **v. Fragmentum Vindobonense** [7]. Vienna. (Lat. 502). Jn 19^{27}-20^{11}. Pub. by H. J. White, *OL Bibl. Texts*, iii. Two leaves of a Gospel MS [6], bound up with Ambrosius 'De fide Catholica,' in Benedictine Libr. of S. Paul in Carinthia. See Von Gebhardt, *Theol. Lit. Zeit.* 1894, No. 17. Perhaps there should also be added the interlinear Lat. tr. of the Cod. Sangallensis (Δ). See Rendel Harris, *Cod. Sangallensis*, Lond. 1891.

ACTS.—**d.** As in Gospels. **e.** Lat. version of **Cod. Laudianus** (E) of Acts.† **g. Cod. Gigas Holmiensis** [13]. Stockholm. Ac and Apoc in OL version. This portion pub. by Belsheim, Christiania, 1879. **g_2. Milan Fragg.** [10 or 11]. Ambrosian Libr. Ac 6^{8}-$7^{2.\ 51}$-8^{4}. Pub. by Ceriani, *Mon. Sacr.* etc. T. i. fasc. 2, pp. 127-128. **h. Palimpsest of Fleury** [6 or 7]. Paris. [Lat. 6400 G]. Ac 3^{2}-4^{18} 5^{23}-$7^{2.\ 42}$-8^{2} 9^{4-23} 14^{5-23} 17^{34}-18^{19} 23^{8-24} 26^{20}-27^{13}, Rev 1^{1}-2^{1} 8^{7}-9^{11} 11^{16}-12^{14} 14^{15}-16^{5}, 1 P 4^{17}-5^{14}, 2 P 1^{1}-2^{6}, 1 Jn 1^{8}-3^{20}. Once at Fleury on the Loire. Fragg. of Ac 3, 4 in Sabat. (iii. p. 507). Further portions pub. by Van Sittart, *Journal of Philol.* (ii. 240-246, iv. 219-222), and by Omont (2 leaves of Apoc) in *Biblioth. de l'École des Chartes* (vol. 44, pp. 445-451). Pub. by Belsheim, *Appendix Epp. Paulin. ex Cod. Sangerm.* Christiania, 1887. Most accurately by S. Berger, *Le Palimpseste de Fleury*, Paris, 1889. **m.** As in Gospels. **s. Cod. Palimps. Bobiensis** [5 or, more probably, 6]. Vienna. [Lat. 16]. Ac 23^{15-23} 24^{6}-$25^{2.\ 23}$-$26^{2.\ 22}$-27^{32} $28^{4-9.\ 16}$ *ad fin.* Mutil. in parts. Partly pub by Tischdf. *Wiener Jahrb. d. Literat.* Bd. cxx., *Anz. Bl.* pp. 36-42, 1847; by Belsheim, *Fragmenta Vindob.* Christiania, 1886; and by H. J. White, *OL Bibl. Texts*, iv. Oxf. 1897. **Fragm.** of Ac in Vulg. MS of Perpignan. [13]. MS lat. 321 at Paris. Ac 1^{1}-13^{6} 28^{16-31}. Pub. by S. Berger, *Un ancien texte Latin des Actes*, etc. Paris, 1895. Also MS at Wernigerode. See Blass, *SK*, 1896, p. 436. Contains import. readings. Harnack (*Th. Lit. Zeit.* 1898, No. 6, sp. 172) gives sev. vv. of Ac from *Miscellanea Cassinese*, 1897.

CATHOLIC EPISTLES.—**ff. Cod. Corbienensis** [10]. St. Petersburg. (Qv. i. 39). Ep. of St. James. Pub. by Martianay along with ff_1; by Belsheim, *Der Brief des Jac.* Christiania, 1883; and by Wordsworth, *Stud. Bibl.* i. pp. 113-150, Oxf. 1885. Reprinted in Commentary on St. James by J. B. Mayor. See a dissertation on it in *Stud. Bibl.* i., by Sanday. (But cf. *OL Bibl. Texts*, ii. p. cclv). **h.** See under Acts. **m.** See under Acts. **q.** Munich Frag. Clm. 6436 [6 or 7]. 1 P 1^{8-19} 2^{20}-3^{7} 4^{10}-5^{14}, 2 P 1^{1-4}, 1 Jn 3^{8}-5^{21}. Fragg. of St. Peter pub. by L. Ziegler, *Bruchstücke einer vorhieron. Übersetz. des Petr. Briefs*, Munich, 1877. Fragm. of St. John also pub. by Ziegler, *Itala-fragmente*, Marburg, 1876. **s.** As in 'Acts.' Ja 1^{1}-$3^{5.\ 13}$-$5^{10.\ 19}$ *ad fin.* 1 P 1^{1-12} 2^{4-10}.

PAULINE EPISTLES.—**d.** Lat. version of **Cod. Claromontanus.** See art. TEXT OF NT. **e.** Lat. version of **Cod. Sangermanensis.** **f.** Lat. version of **Cod. Augiensis.**† **g.** Lat. version of **Cod. Bœrnerianus.** See an elaborate discussion of the double Latin renderings of Cod. Bœrn. by H. Rönsch, *ZwTh*, 1882-1883. **gue. Cod. Guelferbytanus** [6]. Palimps. at Wolfenbüttel. (Weissenb. 64). Ro 11^{33}-12^{5} 12^{17}-13^{6} 14^{9-20} 15^{3-13}, 1 Ti 4^{15}. Pub. with Gothic Fragg. by Knittel, Brunswick, 1762, and also by Tischdf, *Anecdota Sacr.* etc. Leipz. 1855, pp. 153-158. **m.** See under Acts. **r. Freisingen Fragg.** [5 or 6]. Munich. (Clm. 6436). Ro 14^{10}-15^{13}, 1 Co 1^{1}-3^{5} 6^{1}-7^{7} 15^{14-43} 16^{12-27}, 2 Co 1^{1}-2^{10} 3^{17}-5^{1} 7^{10}-8^{12} 9^{10}-11^{20} 12^{14}-13^{10}, Gal $2^{5-14.\ 16}$-3^{5}, Eph 1^{16}-$2^{3.\ 5-16}$ 6^{24}, Ph 1^{1-20}, 1 Ti 1^{12}-2^{15} 5^{18}-6^{13}, He 6^{6}-$7^{5.\ 8}$-8^{1} 9^{27}-11^{7}. Pub. by Ziegler, *Italafragmente*, etc. Marburg, 1876. Two additional leaves containing Gal 3^{5}-4^{3} 6^{5-17}, Eph 1^{1-13}, pub. by E. Wölfflin, *Neue Bruchstücke der Freis. Itala* in S. B. of Munich Academy, Heft 2, pp. 253-280, 1893. **r^2. Fragm. from Munich.** Clm. 6436 [7]. Ph 4^{11-23}, 1 Th 1^{1-10}. Pub. along with **r.** **r^3 Göttweig Fragg.** [6 or 7]. Ro 5^{16}-$6^{4.\ 6-19}$, Gal $4^{6-19.\ 22}$-5^{2}. Pub. by Rönsch, *ZwTh.* xxiii. pp. 224-238.

APOCALYPSE.—**g.** See under Acts. **m.** See under Acts. **h.** See under Acts. On Apoc. in general, see H. Linke, *Studien zur Itala*, Breslau, 1889.

FATHERS.‡

Alcimus Avitus.—Archbp. of Vienne, *c.* 450-517 (?). Important witness for Gallican type of text. See Berger, *Hist. de la Vulg.* p. 2.

Ambrose.—Bp. of Milan fr. 374 to 397. See Rönsch, *Zeit. f. histor. Theol.* 1869, pp. 434-479; 1870, 91-145.

Ambrosiaster.—Name given to author of Comm. on the thirteen epp. of Paul. Written towards end of 4th cent. See Marold, *ZwTh.* 1883, p. 27 ff.

Arnobius.—African presbyter. Begin. of 4th cent.

---

† See art. TEXT OF NT.

† But on whole subj. of Gr.-Lat. MSS see Westcott and Hort, *NT*, vol. ii. pp. 82, 83.

‡ This list gives only those of the Lat. Fathers whose works are of special value, as containing important extracts from OL Version, or shedding some light upon its history. See, on the general value of VSS and Fathers for the NT text, a suggestive essay in *Stud. Bibl.* ii. p. 195 ff. by L. J. Bebb. References made in this list to literature almost entirely concern the *biblical quotations* of the writers.

Auctor Exhortationis de pœnitentia. Erroneously ascribed to Cyprian. See Wunderer, *Bruchstücke einer African. Bibelübersetzung*, Erlangen, 1889.

Auctor libri 'De aleatoribus.'—Harnack would place this treatise at least as early as Cyp. See *T. u. U.* v. 1, 1888. Miodonski, *Anonymus adversus aleatores*, Leipz. 1889, makes the author dependent on Cyp. See also Haussleiter, *Th. Lit. Bl.* 1889, 5, 6, and 25.

Auctor libri 'De Pascha Computus.'—Africa, A.D. 243.

Auctor libri 'De promissionibus.'—Erroneously ascribed to Prosper of Aquitania. Written appar. *c.* 450, perhaps in Campania. Writer has close connexion with Africa. See Corssen, *Der Cyprianische Text der Acta Apost.* Berlin, 1892, p. 5.

Augustine.—Bp. of Hippo, 354–430. See Rönsch, *Zeits. f. histor. Theol.* 1867, pp. 606–634; *CSEL* vol. xxviii. sec. iii. pars 3, ed. by Zycha,[*] Preface, p. v ff.; see also his *Bemerkungen zur Italafrage* in *Eranos Vindobonensis*, 1893, pp. 177–184; Desjacques in *Études Religieuses*, 1878, p. 736 ff.; Weihrich in *Serta Harteliana*, Vienna, 1896; Petschenig, *Berl. Phil. Woch.-Schr.* 1896, 24.

Barnabas.—Lat. version of *Epistle.* Prob. before end of cent. 5. See Gebhardt and Harnack, *Patr. Apost.* Opp. Fasc. 1, pp. xvi, xxix.

Capreolus.—Bp. of Carthage, fl. 431. See L. Ziegler, *Itala-fragmente der paulin. Briefe*, pp. 26–28.

Cassian.—Monk at Marseilles, ob. *c.* 435. See *CSEL* vol. xvii. ed. by Petschenig, Preface, p. lxxviii ff.; Vollmöller, *Roman. Forschungen*, ii. p. 392 ff.

Clement.—Latin version of his *First Ep. ad Corinthios.* See G. Morin, *Anecdota Maredsolana*, ii. Maredsous, 1894.

Commodian.—Perhaps middle of 3rd cent. See Corssen, *GGA*, 1889, i. pp. 311, 312.

Cyprian.—Bp. of Carthage, ob. 258. See Sanday, *OL Bibl. Texts*, ii. p. xlii ff.; Rönsch, *Zeitsch. f. histor. Theol.* 1875, p. 85 ff.; Dombart, *ZwTh*, 1878, p. 374; Lagarde, *Symmicta*, i. 74.

Didascalia Apostolorum. — OL Version. See Hauler, *Sitz.-Berichte of Vienna Academy*, Phil.-Hist. Classe, Bd. cxxxiv. Abt. xi.

Fulgentius.—Bp. of Ruspe, *c.* 468–533. See S. Berger, *Le Palimpseste de Fleury*, pp. 16–18.

Gildas.—Of Britain. Perhaps end of 6th cent. See Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, etc., Appendix G.

Hermæ Pastor.—Lat. version. See Haussleiter, *De Versionibus Pastoris H. Latinis*, i., Erlangen, 1884.

Hilary. — Bp. of Poitiers, ob. 368. See A. Zingerle, *Die latein. Bibelcitate bei S. Hilar. von Poitiers*, Innsbrück, 1887.

Irenæus.—Bp. of Lyons, fl. 180. Lat. tr. of his *πρὸς αἱρέσεις.* Date doubtful (Tischdf., Gregory: end of 2nd cent.; WH 4th cent.).[†]

Jerome.—Presbyter, ob. 420. See art. VULGATE.

Lactantius.—African writer, *c.* 260–*c.* 340. See Rönsch, *Zeit. f. histor. Theol.* 1871, p. 531 ff.; Brandt, *Archiv*, v. 2, p. 192.

Lucifer.—Bp. of Cagliari in Sardinia, ob. 371. See Dombart, *Berliner Wochenschrift*, 1888, p. 171.

Maternus, Julius Firmicus, fl. perh. *c.* 345.

Novatian.—Heretical bp. at Rome, fl. 252.

Optatus.—Bp. of Milevis in Numidia, fl. *c.* 368.

Philastrius.—Bp. of Brescia, fl. 380.

Primasius. — Bp. of Adrumetum, N. Africa. Middle of 6th cent. See Haussleiter in *Zahn's Forschungen*, iv. pp. 1–224.

Priscillian.—Bp. of Avila in Spain, fl. end of 4th cent. See Schepss, *CSEL*, vol. xviii. Introduction, and in *Archiv*, iii. 3 u. 4, p. 307 ff.

Salvian.—Of Marseilles, fl. 450. See J. B. Ullrich, *De Salviani scripturæ sacr. versionibus*, Neustadt a. Haardt, 1893.

Tertullian. — Of Carthage, *c.* 150–*c.* 240. See Rönsch, *Das Neue Testament Tertullians*, Leipz. 1871. See also import. criticism of Rönsch by J. N. Ott, *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 1874, p. 856 ff.

Tyconius.—African, fl. *c.* 390. See F. C. Burkitt, *Rules of Tyconius*, Camb. 1894; Haussleiter, *Der Urspr. des Donatismus*, *Th. Lit. Bl.* 1884, 13.

Victor.—Bp. of Tunis. Middle of 6th cent.

Victorinus.—Bp. of Pettau in Pannonia, fl. *c.* 300. See Haussleiter, Luthardt's *Zeitsch. f. kirchl. Wissenschaft*, vii. pp. 239–257.

Vigilius.—Bp. of Thapsus (Africa), fl. *c.* 484.

We may add here Fritzsche, *Liber Judicum*, Turici, 1867 (containing quotations in Fathers from Jg).

The above lists of MSS are believed to be fairly complete. For further particulars regarding NT MSS, see H. J. White in Scrivener's *Introduction*^{4}, p. 45 ff.; C. R. Gregory, *Prolegg. to Tischdf.'s NT*^{8}, vol. iii. pars ult. p. 953 ff. Numerous details of importance are to be found in S. Berger's *Hist. de la Vulg.*, Paris, 1893. We have attempted to make the OT list as full as possible, since hitherto there has been no convenient survey of the materials in hand.[*]

The earliest attempt to collect the fragments of the OL version was made by Flaminius Nobilius (assisted by others), *Vetus Test. sec. LXX latine redditum*, Rome, 1588. This consisted of quotations from the Fathers, with the gaps filled up by the editors. It was entirely superseded by the great work of the Benedictine, P. Sabatier, whose *Bibliorum sacrorum latinæ versiones antiquæ seu vetus Italica* appeared at Reims 1739–1749.[†] It is made up, partly of extracts from the Fathers, and partly (to a less extent) of fragments of MSS, chiefly at Paris. It is a monument of painstaking, self-denying work. But it requires to be used with caution, as the critical ideal of that time was necessarily somewhat crude.[‡]

Strangely enough, it remains the only full collection of quotations from and fragments of the OL version of OT and NT, although a rich abundance of material has come to light since Sabatier's day.

A new work, however, on the lines of Sabatier, is being prepared under the auspices of the Munich Academy. It is to deal with OT.[§]

We must return to the problem already stated. Can we trace the *history* of the Latin Bible? It is needful to deal very cautiously with our small group of data, lest our conclusions should go beyond the facts. Much of the discussion has centred round the *origin* of the Latin Version. Was the Bible first trd. into Latin at Rome or in N. Africa, for these were the two great centres of Western Christianity? Or is there any other alternative? Various hypotheses have been put forward with confidence. Some scholars, such as Kaulen,[||] Reinkens,[¶] and Gams,[**] decide for Rome on the supposition that the lower stratum of members in the Christian Church of the Metropolis would, from the earliest times, require a Lat. tr. of the Scriptures. And yet we know that Greek was the language of the Roman Liturgy, even within the 3rd cent.[*] Since the appearance of Wiseman's *Two Letters on some parts of the controversy concerning* 1 *John* v. 7 (reprinted in *Essays on Various Subjects*, i. pp. 5–70), perhaps the majority of critics have accepted Africa as the birthplace of the Lat. Version. As we shall find, there are several important facts in the history of the OL which give countenance to this hypothesis. The earliest form of the version to which we can assign a definite date, namely, that used by Cyprian, plainly circulated in Africa. The language and style of the trn., taken generally, find their closest parallels in African writers. Indeed it is this latter point which has, in the minds of many, led to a definite decision in favour of Africa. But there are certain cautions which deserve attention. To begin with, *k*, the oldest MS authority for the specially 'African' type of text, is considered by the best palæographers to have been written outside the bounds of Africa,[†] and the same is true of *h*, another leading witness.

---

[*] Unfortunately, most unsatisfactory as regards biblical quotations. Z. corrects Aug. according to an arbitrarily chosen text of LXX. See E. Preuschen in *Theol. Lit. Zeit.* 1897, 24.

[†] The Clarendon Press announces *Novum Testamentum S. Irenæi*, containing a full collation of its readings with those of OL authorities, edited by Prof. Sanday. Will be published as one of *OL Bibl. Texts* series.

[*] This was written before the appearance of Nestle's art. in *Herzog*^{3}, iii. 24 ff.

[†] Reprint at Paris, 1757.

[‡] See E. Ranke, *Frag. Vers. . . . Antehieron.* 1868, pp. 7–14.

[§] See Linke, 'Ueber den Plan einer neuen Ausgabe der Itala,' *Archiv*, viii. 2, pp. 311–312. For the various collections of material in addition to Sabatier, see the lists of MSS above, where the works which contain the several fragments are enumerated.

[||] *Gesch. der Vulg.* p. 109 ff.

[¶] *Hilarius von Poitiers*, p. 336*s*.

[**] *Kirchengesch. Spaniens*, i. p. 86 sq.

But, further, too much stress must not be laid on the 'Africanism' of OL Bible. It must be borne in mind that the Lat. literature of the 2nd and 3rd centuries which we possess is almost exclusively African. And so we are in danger of labelling with that name a type of diction which may well have prevailed throughout the Latin-speaking provinces of the Rom. Empire. A definite foundation is given to this last hypothesis by the fact that there are numerous points of contact between the OL Bible, the Campanian Petronius, the Church Fathers (chiefly African), the Jurists, Papinian, Ulpian, and Paulus, and the Lat. Inscriptions of Africa.[‡] And the dialect of the Spanish and Gallican Lat. writers, so far as we possess it, cannot be separated by any well-marked boundaries from that of Africa.[§] In short, the current investigation of Late-Latin is more and more tending to reduce the so-called 'Africanisms,' and to establish a wider basis for their occurrence.[‖]

Perhaps it is possible to obtain some light on the origin of the Lat. Bible from a different direction. What other texts are usually found in its company? The answer is not far to seek. A glance at the *apparatus criticus* of any of the larger edd. of NT shows us an almost constant grouping of the OL MSS with D (Cod. Bezæ), some other Gr.-Lat. MSS, and the Syr. VSS. That is to say, the OL MSS form an important branch of the authorities for the so-called 'Western' text of NT.[¶]

Now Hort, whose authority is unrivalled on a question of this kind, in speaking of the term 'Western,' says:[**] 'It has become evident that readings of this class were current in ancient times in the East as well as the West, and probably to a great extent originated there. On the whole, we are disposed to suspect that the "Western" text took its rise in North-Western Syria or Asia Minor, and that it was soon carried to Rome, and thence spread in different directions to N. Africa and most of the countries of Europe.' Already E. Ranke (*Par Palimpsestorum Wirceburgens.* p. 432), in discussing the origin of the Würzburg Palimpsest of OT, had concluded from the use of the word 'legati' for ἡγεμόνες (Gn 36^{15} *et al.*) that its birthplace was to be sought in one of the Imperial provinces which were governed by 'legati.'[*] Now Syria is virtually the only one of those which could well satisfy the requirements of the case. But this assumption has some valid reasons in its favour. It is an undoubted fact that here and there throughout OT the OL agrees in a remarkable way with the Luc. recension of the LXX, a recension intimately connected with Antioch in Syria.[†] Of course this recension was much later than the origin of the OL, but one of the marked elements in Lucian's text is also present here and there in the OL. Kaulen[‡] also had pointed out that the trs. of the OL seemed to have an accurate knowledge of Heb. or Aramaic. This would most easily be accounted for by assuming them to be situated either in or near or in intimate connexion with the Rom. province of Syria, which included Palestine. But, further, there is the extraordinary agreement, even in rare and isolated readings, of the early Syr. VSS with the OL.[§] Accordingly, putting those various threads of evidence together, we had been led to the hypothesis that in Syria, and probably at Antioch, a most important religious and theological centre, we must look for the home of the original Lat. Version as well as of the 'Western' text. Since coming to this conclusion, we find that the same theory is supported by most powerful arguments in a brilliant review of Rendel Harris's *Study of Cod. Bezæ* in the *Guardian* of May 18 and 25, 1892, by Sanday.[‖] Let us give the briefest summary of his main conclusions.

In order to explain the relations of the OL MSS among themselves and to the Syriac VSS,[¶] he believes that the starting-point must have been not a single MS bilingual[**] or other but a *workshop* of MSS—that at the very threshold of the Lat. VSS there must have been several MSS copied in near proximity to each other, and affected by allied, but yet different, Gr. texts. He then asks in what *class* the version was likely to arise, and finds the answer in the 'notarii,' public copyists who had not only to do with copying but with translating. 'And where could this class of copyists congregate most thickly but in the suite of the governor of one of the most important provinces?' Valuable evidence is adduced to show that the OL was the work of some one possessing a special acquaintance with the administrative arrangements of Palestine.[*] Further, it is pointed out that the author or authors of the 'Western' text had a knowledge of Heb. and Aramaic. And finally, the numerous interpolations which appear in this text, as derived either from oral tradition or from some early fragmentary written source, could have no more probable birthplace than the province of Syria. As to the relations of the Syr. VS, Sanday thinks that it 'took its rise in the very midst of the development of the Lat. Version.' Of course this is only theory; but a theory which seems adequate to account for the phenomena in question is the only basis on which successful investigation can be reared.

---

[*] See a concise summary of evidence for the prevalence of Greek at Rome in Sanday and Headlam's *Romans*, pp. lii–liv. A masterly and convincing discussion of this subject in Caspari, *Quellen zur Gesch. des Taufsymbols*, Bd. iii. See esp. pp. 286–288, 303 ff.

[†] See Sanday, *Academy*, May 11, 1889, who quotes Maunde Thompson in favour of Italy. Corssen, *GGA*, 1889, i. p. 313, thinks it derives its origin from the 'hohen Norden.'

[‡] See Kübler, *Archiv*, viii. 2, p. 202. Thielmann, *ib.* viii. 2, p. 235 ff. (import. parallels with younger Seneca and Columella, both of Spanish origin).

[§] See Sittl, Bursian-Müller's *Jahresbericht*, lxviii. p. 246. Cf. Note by Mommsen, *Provinces of Rom. Emp.* (Eng. tr.) ii. 343 ff.

[‖] See Sittl, *Die lokalen Verschiedenheiten der lat. Sprache*, p. 146 ff. *OL Bibl. Texts*, ii. Addenda, p. 139. Kroll, *Rhein. Mus.* lii. 569–590.

[¶] See art. NT TEXT.

[**] *Introduction*, p. 108.

[*] This fact is also noted in an article in the *Guardian*, May 25, 1892, by Prof. Sanday.

[†] See Ceriani, *Le recensioni dei LXX e la versione latina detta Itala* (Nota . . . letta al R. Istituto Lombardo . . . 18th Feb. 1886), esp. pp. 4–5.

[‡] *Gesch. der Vulg.* p. 140 ff.

[§] Surely this cannot be accounted for on the supposition of Zahn (*Gesch. des Canons*, i. p. 422), that NT was a gift brought by Tatian to his fellow-countrymen from Rome. It is difficult to imagine that the Christians of Syria, so long the very centre of diffusion for the Faith, had to depend on a chance occurrence for their version of the Scriptures, although, at the same time, the intimate connexion of Tatian with the earliest stages of the Syrian Bible cannot be doubted.

[‖] F. H. Chase comes to the same conclusion regarding the birthplace of the 'Western' text from a totally different point of view, namely, the attempt to prove that behind the 'Western' text there existed certain Gr-Syr. bilingual MSS, in which the Syr. exercised a powerful influence on the Greek. In summing up, he also quotes the review above mentioned in support of his conclusions. See *Syriac Element in Cod. Bezæ*, pp. 132–149; *Syro-Lat. Text of Gospels*, pp. 138–142. The arguments he brings forward do not depend on the validity of his general theory.

[¶] *Guardian*, May 25, 1892, p. 787.

[**] This is the theory of Rendel Harris, *Cod. Bezæ*, p. 226 sq. Resch believes that the archetype of Cod. Bez., Syr., and OL was a redaction of the ecclesiastical Gospel-Canon made about A.D. 140. See 'Aussercanonische Parallel-Texte,' *T. u. U.* x. 1, esp. pp. 35, 47.

We come, however, to actual facts when we make inquiry as to the first certain traces of the OL Version. How far back can it be traced? We can speak with absolute certainty of Cyprian. His works (especially the *Testimonia*) abound in biblical quotations. What is of greater importance, Cyp. usually [perhaps always] adheres to one particular type of text. This provides us with a fixed date and a standard. We can affirm that in the year 250 A.D. a Lat. tr^{n} of the Bible, whose characteristics we are able to determine, circulated at Carthage. But this is virtually identical with the OL Version of the Gospp. preserved in Cod. *k*, with Cod. *h* of Acts, a text used by Aug. in the *Acta cum Felice Manichæo* and *Contra Epist. Manich.*, and that of the *Comment. on the Apocalypse* by Primasius.[†] It stands also in a close relation with Cod. *e*, though a certain distance separates them.[‡] It is found in the biblical quotations of Lactantius, Firmicus Maternus, Optatus, Commodian, Auctor libri *de Promissionibus*, and, to a certain extent, Lucifer.[§] These facts may quite reasonably suggest that in Cyprian's time there was some official, ecclesiastical recognition of a particular type of text.[‖] But is it possible to go behind the days of Cyprian? Certainly, in the earlier Father, Tertullian, whom Cyp. called 'magister,'[¶] there are some expressions bearing on this point which have to be reckoned with.

Adv. Marc. v. 4 (Gal 4^{24}): Hæc sunt enim duo testamenta, siue, 'duæ ostensiones,' sicut inuenimus interpretatum. *C. Prax.* 5: ideoque jam in usu est nostrorum, per simplicitatem interpretationis, 'sermonem' dicere in primordio apud deum fuisse cum magis 'rationem' competat antiquiorem haberi. *De Monog.* 11: sciamus plane non sic esse in Græco authentico, quomodo in usum exiit per duarum syllabarum, aut callidam aut simplicem euersionem: 'si autem dormierit uir ejus' (1 Co 7^{39}). *Adv. Marc.* iv. 1: 'alterius instrumenti uel quod magis usui est dicere testamenti.'

These passages seem to show clearly that some definite usage already existed; that there was already some standard of tr^{n} to follow. But there is more marked evidence than this. *E.g.* Gal 3^{26} is thus quoted by Tert.[**] (*Adv. Marc.* v. 3): 'Omnes enim filii estis *fidei*.' Here, plainly, '*fidei*' must be a variant of the Lat. 'dei' and not of Greek θεοῦ. Tert. had a Lat. text before him, and evidently he had not compared it with the Gr. original. Now Tert.'s quotations from the Bible are numerous. What can be said of their relation to the Bible of Cyp.? The most rapid survey of Tert.'s quotations puts us on our guard against hasty inferences. For his method of quoting is most fickle.[*] Often his words are a mere paraphrase; often a more or less distinct reminiscence of the text: while constantly the same passage is cited in the most varying forms. The general impression which his biblical extracts leave is that of a tr^{n} which he uses, but does not regard as in any sense authoritative: which, perhaps, has only been for a short time known in Africa and is only gradually coming into use. This would find an adequate explanation if official sanction only ratified the version either a little before or in the days of Cyp. And yet the existence of such a tr^{n} is almost necessary to explain the richness and fulness of Tert.'s theological vocabulary. We have endeavoured to make a somewhat full collation of Tert.'s quotations with those in the *Testimonia* of Cyp.,[†] using mainly that part of Tert.'s works which has appeared in the *Vienna Corpus* of the Latin Fathers (vol. xx. pars 1), ed. A. Reifferscheid and G. Wissowa, and in addition Rönsch's *Das NT Tertullian's*. The results are rather vague and confusing. Evidently, in the Epp. Tert. and Cyp. use the same Lat. text. For the Gospp. the case is different. There is, indeed, a frequent agreement of Tert. with Cyp. and *k*, and, again, a frequent disagreement. In the latter instance, Tert. coincides pretty often with *a*, *b* against Cyp., *k*.[‡] In OT Tert. has some important points of contact with Cyp.'s text of Psalms. As regards the Pent. and the Prophetic books, it is not easy to speak definitely. In the former (in which the range of our collation has been very narrow), the differences seem mostly to consist in the use of synonyms. In the latter, the quotations come fairly close to each other, except in Dn, where Tert. uses the LXX, while Cyp. usually follows Theodotion.[§]

Even before a thorough investigation of the subject had been made, Hort, with his wonted grasp and insight, had undertaken a classification of the extant NT documents. The earliest group he named *African*, consisting of texts which agreed, on the whole, with the quotations of Tert. and Cyp. To this he assigns *k*, *e*, and *h* of Ac and Apoc. The second class he designates *European*, to embrace a type of text which may be either a revision of the 'African' or a separate tr^{n}, but which circulated at all events in North Italy and the West of Europe generally. Under this heading he would probably place *a*, a_2, *b*, *c*, ff_2, *h*, *i*, *n*, *r*, and *p* of Gospels; *g*, g_2, and *s* of Ac; perhaps *ff* of Ja and *g* of Apoc. The *third* family he names 'Italian.' The name is derived from the famous passage of Aug. (*de Doct. Christ.* ii. 15), in which he recommends a tr^{n} (interpretatio), which he calls '*Itala*,' and which is presumably the text which he usually follows. Now this is found often[‖] to be a revision of the 'European' text.

---

[*] *Guardian*, May 25, 1892, p. 787.

[†] See Sanday in *OL Bibl. Texts*, ii. pp. xlii-cxxviii; Corssen, *Der Cyp. Text der Acta Apost.*, Berlin, 1892. It is of interest to note that the text nearest to *h* of Acts is the *margin* of the Philox. Syr., which has a most intimate relation with the OL. On the text of the *Testimonia*, which is a most important question for the OL Version, see Sanday, *op. cit.* p. 42 ff., and Appendix II. p. 123. Also his essay in *Stud. Bibl.* iii. 'The Cheltenham List,' etc. Domhart, *ZwTh.* 1879, p. 379 ff.

[‡] Cod. *e*, which has certainly an 'African' base, has suffered from the intrusion of other elements. See Sanday, *loc. cit.*

[§] Mr. F. C. Burkitt, however, who has kindly read this article in proof, holds that the biblical quotations in these writers are solely from the *Testimonia*.

[‖] See Watson's remarks on Cyprian's low estimate of the OL Version, to which, nevertheless, he rigidly adhered. This suggests that the text he used had some official sanction. *Stud. Bibl.* iv. pp. 194–195.

[¶] Hieron. *de Vir. illustr.* 53.

[**] See Zimmer, *SK*, 1889, ii. p. 339.

[*] An excellent example is his citation of 1 Co 15^{47}, which appears in three of his separate treatises in three distinct forms. One of these is identical with Cyprian's text.

[†] Vol. iii. of *CSEL*, ed. Hartel. The *Vienna Corpus* furnishes by far the most trustworthy texts for the Lat. Fathers, and has been used for this article where available. But see on the text of the *Testimonia* in Hartel's ed. the references under n. † in preceding column.

[‡] Perhaps Tert. *may* have become acquainted with a 'European' form of text at Rome.

[§] For a full discussion of this last point, see F. C. Burkitt, *Old Latin and Itala*, p. 18 sq. Corssen, *Zwei neue Fragmente d. Weing. Propheten-MS*, Berlin, 1899, pp. 45–47, believes that not only did Tert. use various texts, but texts which already had mixed elements.

[‖] Not always. The Bible of Aug. is a most variable quantity. See Corssen, *Der Cyp. Text*, etc. p. 25; Zycha, *CSEL*, vol. xxviii. sec. 3, pars 3, pp. v–vii.

To this class he refers *f* and *q* of Gospels; *q* (?), *r*, r_2, r_3 of the Epp. This enumeration omits many of the texts given in our list, some of which he hesitates to classify, while others, such as the Lat. texts of the bilingual MSS (Cod. Bezæ, Claromont. etc. etc.), he does not regard as strict evidence for OL Bible.[*] Let us briefly examine this classification in the light of recent investigations. As we have already seen, the earliest traces of the OL Bible are found in Africa. Perhaps the tr^n came there by way of Rome, whose connexion with Africa and Carthage at this time was as intimate as can be conceived.[†] Perhaps it travelled westward through Upper Egypt. Indeed, certain phenomena bearing upon the underlying Gr. text might seem to favour this hypothesis, notably a remarkable affinity here and there in OT with the recension of Hesychius, and in both OT and NT with Cod. Alex.[‡] In any case we are quite justified in giving the name '*African*' to the group of texts mentioned above in connexion with Cyp., although this makes no assumption as to their origin.[§] It is at this point that we enter on more uncertain ground. Are the 'European' texts a separate family from the 'African'? We believe that Sanday's suggestion quoted above, that a 'workshop' of MSS existed at the origin of the OL, is the most adequate yet put forward to account for the facts. For this is very much the impression made on an unbiassed mind. There are, assuredly, marked differences between the 'African' and 'European' texts, but they are not separated by any hard-and-fast lines. There are points at which they shade off into each other. Perhaps it may be allowable to regard *a*[‖] (in Matthew, at least) as a connecting link between the 'African' and 'European' families. A credible tradition associates it with Eusebius, Bp. of Vercelli, situated between Milan and Turin, a part of Italy to which Gr. influence had not, in any powerful degree, extended, and where a Lat. Bible would be early required. Here, in Italy, it would be quite natural that many of the roughnesses of the original tr^n should be toned down, and that is, indeed, the character of 'European' in so far as it may be distinguished from 'African' Latin.[¶] The vividness of the latter gives place to a certain insipidity; there is a less bold use of compound expressions; some words have a large extension given to their meaning; there is a more normal use of the commoner parts of speech, such as prepositions and pronouns. Accordingly, the so-called 'African' elements in *a* may be merely the more marked traces left of the original tr^n or of one type of it. From a careful collation of the readings of the Lat. tr^n of Irenæus[**] with the leading MS authorities,[††] while *Iren. Lat.* stands constantly alone, there seems to be a more than accidental connexion between his text and that of *a*.[*] Perhaps *d*[†] (Lat. of *Cod. Bezæ*) is not far removed from this stage in the history of the text, and it is not improbable that *Cod. Bezæ* was written in Lyons where Irenæus was bishop. It should also be borne in mind that Irenæus, a native of Asia Minor, was in closest connexion with the East. And, as bearing upon this, the suggestion of Prof. Armitage Robinson must be noted, that already, in A.D. 177, a Lat. VS of the Bible was known to the narrator of the story of the martyrdoms at Vienne and Lyons.[‡] These facts seem to hint at a connexion between the earliest branch of the 'European' family and the South of Gaul.[§] A remarkable clue to the whole history of the version, as well as this special point, would be furnished if Blass'[‖] theory of a double recension of Luke's writings were made good. The rough draft first made by Luke is seen, he holds, in the *Cod. Bezæ* especially and its allied documents. The second and more polished copy is the received text. But Luke has always been closely associated with Antioch. This would therefore be another line of evidence pointing to the birthplace of the version.

The most representative text of the 'European' group is the Verona MS *b*, which seems to have a close affinity with all the other members of this family.[¶] And yet here again we are reminded of the danger of sharply distinguished groups. For in some parts of *b* there are, possibly, signs of the 'Italian' revision already to be found,[**] while some markedly 'African' phenomena also reveal themselves.[††] An important subdivision of this group is that embraced by *r*[‡‡] and *p*.[§§] They seem to contain a specially *Irish* or *British* form of text which appears repeatedly in various Vulg. MSS.[‖‖] They often agree with the quotations of Fastidius and Gildas. And this goes far to suggest a British recension of the OL.[¶¶] It is quite natural that this British type of text should have intimate relations with the 'European' family, seeing that there was an established line of communication between Ireland especially and monasteries such as Bobbio and St. Gall in the North of Italy and Switzerland. Perhaps there is a hint to be gained in this direction bearing upon the whole history of the version. It is possible that every region of importance, ecclesiastically, may have had its own recension.[***] There are certainly traces of this in Spain also. And an important contribution to its history is made by the biblical quotations of Priscillian, whose works have been lately discovered by Dr. G. Schepss, and edited by him in vol. xviii. of *CSEL.* Those quotations, indeed, bear a great resemblance to the 'Late-African' group, which will be glanced at immediately, but they present special points of affinity with typical Spanish MSS, especially those of Leon.[*] Of the other 'European' texts, *g* and g_2 of Ac agree remarkably with that found in the numerous quotations of Lucifer, Bp. of Cagliari[†] (in Sardinia). *ff* of St. James[‡] appears also to be of this family, although there is probably an African colouring in its text. It is of importance to notice that 'European' texts were those most commonly used in Gaul. For this the chief witness is Hilary, Bp. of Poitiers.

---

[*] See, for Hort's classification, Westcott and Hort's *NT*, ii. pp. 78–84.

[†] See Caspari, *Quellen z. Gesch. d. Taufsymbols*, iii. p. 456 ff.

[‡] Perhaps this affinity is better explained by later revision.

[§] It ought here to be noticed that P. Thielmann assigns to this class, and with good reason, the Lat. tr^n of Wis and Sir. See *Archiv*, viii. 2, p. 235 ff.; 4, p. 501 ff.

[‖] Including a_2. It is interesting to find that the quotations of *Novatian* have a close resemblance to *a*. He was schismatic Bishop at Rome, and a contemporary of Cyprian. See Burkitt, *Old Lat.* etc. p. 16.

[¶] See Thielmann, *Archiv*, ix. 2, p. 247 ff.

[**] Surely there is a great deal of evidence for the earlier date of the Lat. tr^n of Iren. See Harnack, *Altchristl. Literatur*, vol. i. p. 267, ii. p. 667. Lipsius, *Dict. of Christian Biog.* ii. p. 256. Massuet's *Dissertatio*, ii. § 53, as reprinted by Stieren, *Iren. Opp.* Tom. ii. pp. 230–233.

[††] This was made possible by means of the full conspectus of variants printed in *Novum Testamentum S. Irenæi*, ed. by Sanday, and in course of publication by the Clarendon Press. Through Mr. C. H. Turner's great kindness, and the courtesy of the Clarendon Press, the writer has seen the proofs for the four Gospp.

[*] There is a distinctly isolated element in Irenæus. Is this specially 'Gallic'?

[†] See Rendel Harris, *Cod. Bezæ*, p. 160 ff.

[‡] See *Passion of S. Perpetua*, pp. 97–100.

[§] Perhaps there may have been even a 'Gallican' recension of the tr^n. The evidence for this is considerably augmented by biblical quotations from recently discovered *De Mysteriis* of Hilary and *Peregrinatio*. See Bernard, *Proc. of Royal Irish Acad.* 3rd ser. vol. ii. No. 2, p. 155 ff.

[‖] See references under *Cod. Bezæ* in list of MSS. But Blass himself would assign the origin of the 'Western' text to Rome. See *Acta Apost. sec. formam Romanam*, 1896, p. 7.

[¶] Perhaps its most intimate connexion is with *q* and *i*.

[**] See *OL Texts*, ii. Append. III. p. 136.

[††] *Ib.* Addenda, p. 139.

[‡‡] In the European group, *r* is said to stand closest to *h*. From collations we have made, it has certainly a great resemblance to *b*.

[§§] See *OL Bibl. Texts*, ii. pp. 206–212. Points of contact are shown between *p* and *d*.

[‖‖] Many readings in the Book of Mulling recall Cod. *r*. See H. J. Lawlor, *Book of Mulling*, Edin. 1897, esp. pp. 55–63, 134, 144. Most thorough discussion of affinities of Irish OL text. Concludes that Irish VS was prob. not indigenous. The VS on which it was founded, and from which its African, Italian, and *d* elements are derived, may have come from the region wh. gave birth to *h*. Another distinctively *Irish* text in Book of Armagh, which seems to have a definite relation to the Spanish texts. See Berger, *Hist. de la Vulg.* pp. 34 ff. 32 ff.

[¶¶] See especially the most important, Append. G in Haddan and Stubbs' *Councils*, etc. vol. i. pp. 170–198.

[***] See Wordsworth, *Academy*, Nov. 13, 1869.

There is a less marked distinction between the 'European' and 'Italian' groups than between the former and the 'African.' For, admittedly, the 'Italian' is a revision of the 'European.' We have already referred to the derivation of the name from Aug.'s celebrated dictum, *de Doct. Chris.* ii. 15: in ipsis autem interpretationibus *Itala* ceteris præferatur, nam est verborum tenacior cum perspicuitate sententiæ. A keen discussion has centred round the expression 'Itala.' Bentley went the length of proposing to read 'illa . . . quæ' for 'Itala . . . nam.' This proposal has been revived by Corssen,[§] who seeks to show that it fits in with the context. But this is merely to cut the knot. We cannot help believing that the true solution is that suggested by an admirable article in the *Theolog. Review* for 1874 by Kenrick, who proves beyond doubt that Northern Italy by the end of the 3rd cent. was regularly known under the name 'Italia.'[‖] But this was the very region in which Aug. had first become acquainted with the Scriptures. And the quotations of Ambrose, his teacher and guide, agree with this 'Italian' type of text. Is it not, at least, probable that this revision was made in N. Italy, and so naturally became known to Augustine?[¶]

Burkitt has recently essayed to prove that Aug. here means nothing else than the Vulg. of Jerome.[**] His main argument is the Gospel quotations in the *De Consensu Evangelistarum* and a passage in the *Contra Felicem.* It cannot be doubted that the text of the Gospp. in the former stands in closest agreement with the Vulg.; while the latter also appears to be Jerome's revision, though it stands side by side with an 'African' text of Acts. Yet it must be remembered that, in the Gospels, texts like *f* and ff_2 are in close agreement with the Vulg., and there would always be the tendency to correct Aug.'s text according to Vulg. readings. This latter hypothesis would quite account for the phenomena in *Contra Felicem.* But, even supposing Aug. did (as he quite well may have done) use the Vulg. in this treatise, how can this be used to prove that he designates it by the name 'Itala' in the celebrated passage quoted? Surely the data are insufficient to justify so wide a generalization.[††]

This 'Italian' revision has regard both to *readings* and *renderings.* It is an attempt to soften the harsher Lat. tr^{ns}, while, at the same time, the Lat. text is corrected according to a non-Western and late group of Gr. MSS.[*]

The leading representative is *f*. *q* is also usually assigned to this family; but, as Mr. White[†] has shown, 'if it be Italian in its readings, it is European in its renderings.' Indeed *q* shows a mixture of various elements,[‡] having close relations to *k*, *b*, *f*, g_1, and *a*. The other most important representative of this group is to be found in the Freisingen Fragg. of the Epistles.[§] These exhibit a remarkable resemblance to the quotations of Aug. and Capreolus, Bp. of Carthage. Perhaps we ought to mention here an interesting type of text found chiefly in the Catholic Epp. It is the Late-African of the epoch of the Vandal supremacy.[‖] It is found in *h* of Cath. Epp.; apparently in 1 J[¶] of the Freisingen Fragg., and in Fulgentius, Bp. of Ruspe. It was probably derived from the 'Italian' type, but greatly modified by its transference to Africa. The important text of the 'Speculum' (*m*) probably belongs to this group,[**] and, though not entirely of the same type, we may assign to it the Fleury Apocalypse (*h*). Berger would place the text of Priscillian as the transition between the 'Italian' family and this 'Late-African' group.

There still remains a large number of texts which have not been classified. These are the Gr.-Lat. MSS, in which the Gr. text must, of course, have had a powerful influence upon the Latin.[††] There is Cod. Colbertinus (*e*), a MS of Languedoc, which has 'African,' 'European,' and Vulg. elements. g_1[‡‡] seems to be distinctly 'European' in St. Matthew, although 'Italian' and, at times, Vulg. readings appear. *l* has apparently a Vulg. base with numerous OL readings intermixed.[§§] The Lat. interlinear version of Cod. Sangallensis (δ) is shown to contain, at least, a very important OL element, which sometimes goes back to the earlier stages of the 'European' text.[‖‖] The latest OL text of Acts discovered by Berger in a MS of Perpignan occupies 'a central position in the midst of the various recensions.'[¶¶] It seems to have a Spanish colouring, but yet to belong to the same general family as the Gigas (*g*), *s* (Bobb. Frag.), the Frag. in the Rosas

---

[*] See Berger, *Hist. de la Vulg.* pp. 8 ff. (esp. pp. 27–28). The Frag. of Sir, lately published by Douais, belongs to the Spanish family, and Berger's Perpignan Frag. of Acts has apparently a connexion with the Spanish text. It is of some importance to find that the poet Juvencus, prob. a Spaniard by birth, is nearest, in his biblical text, to *a* and *h*.

[†] When Lucifer has an 'African' text, he is usually quoting directly the works of Cyprian.

[‡] In this Ep. the remarkable resemblance between the 'Speculum' (*m*) and Priscillian is very clear.

[§] *Jahrbücher f. prot. Theol.* 1881, pp. 510–512.

[‖] See pp. 326–328. [¶] See Ceriani, *Rendiconti*, etc. 1886, pp. 4, 5.

[**] *Old-Latin and Itala*, pp. 55–65. The suggestion had been previously made by Reuss in the 2 and 3 edd. of his *History of the NT*, that the 'Itala' of Aug. might be Jerome's first tr^{n} of the Bible from the LXX. See also C. A. Breyther, *Diss. de vi, quam antiq. Verss. . . . lat. in crisin evang. iv. habeant*, Merseb. 1824.

[††] Would not the fact, which Burkitt adduces, that the Vulg. Gospels were published under the auspices of Pope Damasus, have suggested, almost inevitably, the epithet 'Romana'? But so weighty an authority as Berger is inclined to believe that the solution of the question may be found in the direction indicated by Burkitt. See *Bulletin Critique*, Sept. 5, 1896. So also Zahn in *Theolog. Lit.-Bl.* xvii. No. 31, and Corssen, *Bericht über die latein. Bibelübersetzungen*, p. 5.

[*] 'The "Western" MSS DG (in the Epp.) are usually found on the side of those readings which the "Italian" MSS have rejected.' See Zimmer, *SK*, 1889, ii. p. 354.

[†] *OL Bibl. Texts*, iii. p. xxi. [‡] 'Ein sehr buntes Ding' (Corssen)

[§] Perhaps this text had an official sanction, as is assumed with reason for the version of Cyprian.

[‖] See Berger, *Le Palimpseste de Fleury*, pp. 15–18.

[¶] This text seems almost identical with the 'Speculum.'

[**] But see an import. article in *Classical Review*, iv. pp. 414–417, by Sanday, in which he suggests that 'the Speculum was put together somewhere in the circle in which Priscillian moved, and from a copy of the Bible which, if not exactly his, was yet closely related to it' (p. 416). This is certainly borne out by a comparison of OT passages in Priscill. and the 'Speculum.'

[††] But is not Hort's estimate of the value of the Lat. texts too low? (*Introduction*, p. 82). There is a very close agreement in the Epp. between the Lat. of Cod. Clarom. and Cod. Bœrner. and the quotations in Victorinus and Ambrosiaster. On the basis of this, Zimmer has made out, at least, a strong case for three types of text in the Epp. (1) 'Princeps' = text found in Tert. and Cyp. (2) 'Communis' = text of Clarom.—Bœrn.—Victorin.—Ambros^{ter}, being a revision of (1), with closer adherence to Gr. original. (3) Bible of Aug., Freis., and Göttweig Fragg. A typical example of the 'Italian' revision. See *SK*, 1889, ii. p. 331 f. Also, *Der Galater-Brief im alt. latein. Text*, Königsberg, 1887.

[‡‡] Thus, *e.g.*, in Mt 2, a minute collation of authorities shows that *a b q* respectively are closer to g_1 than to each other or any of the remaining Lat. authorities.

[§§] ['Vulg. in Mt and Mk, OL in Lk, mixed (but chiefly Vulg.) in Jn'—Burkitt].

[‖‖] See Harris, *Cod. Sangall.* p. 19.

[¶¶] See Berger, *Un ancien texte Latin*, pp. 11–18. He asks whether in Acts there is any distinction between 'European' and 'Italian' texts. We are inclined to think that the same question might be relevant as regards the Pauline Epp.

Bible,[*] and Cod. *e* (Laudianus) of 'Acts,' *i.e.* to the 'European' group.

For NT authorities, Hort's learning and judgment have laid a sound basis of classification. In the case of OT MSS such a grouping does not yet exist. And any attempt at furnishing principles of genealogical relationship seems beset on every side with no ordinary difficulties. The reasons are plain. Only in rare instances have we a variety of documents covering the same ground. Even when this is the case, their fragmentary nature renders it unsafe or impossible to generalize. In OT the quotations of the Fathers are, as a rule, specially perplexing, because, by this time, the text of the LXX had reached an almost hopeless state of confusion. It is only when a thorough examination of the principal cursives of the LXX has been made that order can be brought into the chaos. We do not propose, therefore, to attempt a classification. All we can do is to give the results of a more or less minute comparison of the leading witnesses for OT. Let us follow the order in the list of MSS above.

Hexateuch.—We have here our best opportunity for comparing various texts, as there are *four* authorities which cover, to a great extent, the same ground. These are Cod. Lugdunensis, Cod. Wirceburg., Cod. Monacens., and the Fragg. of Cod. Ottobon. A comparison of the four texts reveals, at first sight, some strange phenomena. In *Gn* there is a close agreement between Cod. Ottob. and Cod. Lugd. In *Ex*, Cod. Lugd. and Cod. Wirceb. apparently belong to the same tr., while the Munich MS seems to stand by itself. Cod. Ottob., which appears to have suffered grievously by corruption, has a possible resemblance to the two first-named MSS. In *Lv* there is a good deal of variation between the three chief texts (Ottob. not extant). In *Nu* and *Dt* we find that Cod. Lugd. and Cod. Monac. have, without question, the same source, while the relation to them of Cod. Wirceb. is difficult to determine. When we compare patristic quotations with the texts, it is striking to discover that those of Lucifer have a remarkable resemblance both to Cod. Lugd. and to Cod. Wirceb. What can be said of such complex results? We believe the solution lies in taking into account the underlying Gr. text. Accepting the classifications made by Ceriani[†] and Lagarde[‡] in reference to the Lucianic, Hesychian, and Palestinian recensions of the LXX, we find phenomena such as the following. In a section of *Gn* in which we have compared Cod. Wirceb. with the chief Gr. authorities, the result shows the most extraordinary mixture. On the whole, Cod. Wirceb. comes closest to the 'Cotton' Genesis (D), but the Bodleian E also finds a place. There are distinct traces, in addition, of 'Lucianic' readings, and the Pal. recension is not wanting. A similar collocation in *Ex* confirms the mingling of elements in the text. Here, Cod. Wirceb. shows an intimate relation with AF and Hesychius, but there is also a Lucianic strain throughout. Following the same method with Cod. Lugd. in *Lv*, we reach a like result. From the definite facts already stated, and the total impression left by repeated comparison of texts, we are led to believe that in this group of writings the extant documents probably go back to an original tr^{n} of which they are recensions. Only, the extraordinary variety of LXX texts prevalent in the age when the MSS were transcribed caused an unusual amount of correction and mixture of readings in the various documents.[§] This is quite sufficient to account for the manifold differences. And it is to be observed that some portions suffered from this process far more severely than others. Probably, we might not be wrong in placing the above-mentioned MSS parallel to the later 'European' texts[*] of NT, if not to the 'Italian.' They have something in common both with the quotations in Ambrose and those of the 'Speculum' (*m*). The Fragg. of *Gn* pub. by Conybeare come closest to Cod. Lugd. and S. Ambrose.

Historical Books.—According to our list, these consist of Ruth, Fragg. of Samuel and Kings, and Esther. Apparently, the text of *Ru*, which is 'Spanish,' agrees almost exactly with the quotations of Ambrose, and so may be designated 'Italian.'[†] The Fragg. of Samuel and Kings, while having their origin in different countries, are linked together in various ways. They all seem to have an intimate connexion with the recension of Lucian,[‡] while they have the closest resemblance to the quotations of Lucifer, Ambrose, and Claudius of Turin. Accordingly, they may be classed, perhaps, as early 'Italian.'[§] In *Est* much confusion is found among the extant texts, perhaps arising from the fact that only a 'résumé,' as Berger calls it, and not a complete version, existed in the OL Bible. We have compared Sabatier's text, which is from a Corbey MS No. 7 (at Paris), with that of the Munich MS pub. by Belsheim, the Vallicellian text (in Sabatier), and the extracts given by Berger from a Lyons MS. Probably, this last is the best. It resembles closely the Vallicellian text and that of Belsh. (which appear to us to be almost identical), while the Corb. text in Sabat., owing to mutilations and corruptions,[‖] seems a long way inferior to all the others. Here, again, we may perhaps go the length of saying that one tr^{n} seems to lie at the foundation, but it has undergone much revision and corruption from a comparison with Gr. texts which had been subject to an exceptional amount of mixture. From an almost entire lack of quotations in the Fathers it is impossible to attempt to localize the text. There are frequent traces of the 'Lucianic' recension.

Poetical Books.—The extant remains of *Job* are so scanty that it is difficult to come to any conclusion regarding the text. Apparently, the Frag. of Fleury, which is found both in the 'Speculum' and Priscillian, belongs to the earliest form of the Lat. VS, following the same type of Gr. text as Cyp. and Lucif., and therefore, perhaps, being entitled to the designation 'African.'

According to Burkitt,[¶] a second type of OL is found in the quotations of Ambrose, based on the leading uncials of the LXX and in intimate connexion with the Greek. The Fragg. which Berger has pub. from the margin of the Leon Cod. also reveal a close attachment to the Greek (esp. Cod. A), and coincide most frequently with the quotations of Ambr. and Aug. Perhaps the two last types of text ought to be called 'Italian.'

For a genuinely 'African' text of Ps our most trustworthy authority is MS L. of Cyprian's *Testimonia*. The Verona and St. Germain Psalters both exhibit a later type of text, although the former has suffered less revision. It would be rash to specify either text definitely as 'European' or 'Italian.' A noteworthy feature is that the Verona MS shows a striking agreement with Aug.'s text of Ps, while decidedly marked is the affinity between the St. Germ. Psalter and the quotations of Cassiodorus the Calabrian. The portions of the OL Psalter found in the Mozarabic Liturgy belong to this latter type of text.[*]

---

[*] See Berger, *Hist. de la Vulg.* pp. 24, 25.

[†] See A. M. Ceriani, *Le recens. dei LXX e la vers. lat. detta Itala* (Rendiconti del R. Istituto Lombardo, Feb. 18, 1886), and the numerous references to his other works given there.

[‡] See Lagarde, *Ankündigung einer neuen Ausg. der griech. Übersetz. des AT*, Götting. 1882, esp. pp. 25–30. Also his *Libr. Vet. Test. Canonic.* Pars Prior, Götting. 1883, pp. iii–xvi.

[§] See Wellhausen, Bleek's *Einleit. in das AT*^{4}, pp. 586–594.

[*] Rendel Harris points out some very curious resemblances in spelling between Cod. *d* and Cod. Lugd., which go to suggest, he thinks, that both were Rhône-valley MSS (*Study of Cod. Bez.* pp. 29, 30).

[†] See Berger, *Notice*, pp. 12, 13.

[‡] See Lagarde, *Septuaginta-Studien*, 1892, i. pp. 71, 72; Driver, *Notes on Heb. Text of Samuel*, pp. lxxvii–lxxxii; Burkitt, *Old-Latin and Itala*, p. 9.

[§] See Berger, *op. cit.* pp. 14, 15.

[‖] Still more defective appears to be the Cod. Pechianus which Sab. gives for the latter part of the book. OL of *Est* is to be pub. by Thielmann.

[¶] *Old-Latin*, etc. pp. 8, 32–34.

Proverbs.—Here we can distinguish two recensions. The one is represented by Vogel's Fragg., which agree with the quotations of Cyp. and Vigilius of Thapsus, having also a close resemblance to the 'Speculum.' It may be designated 'African.' The other is seen in the Fragg. of the St. Gall MS, No. 11. These have their chief parallels in Jerome, Ambrose, and Augustine. They therefore belong to the 'Italian' family.

The Fragg. of *Ecclesiastes* and *Canticles* named in our list are of precisely the same character as the second recension in Proverbs. We may here note that for OT it seems even more difficult than in the NT to draw a line between 'European' and 'Italian' texts. Often, indeed, there appears to be none.

Prophetical Books.—In attempting to classify the extant OL texts of the Prophets, we are met, as in the Hexateuch, by the difficulty of conflicting evidence. Fortunately, part of the ground has been cleared by Burkitt in his *Rules of Tyconius*. Much of what follows depends on his important investigations. The extant Fragg. of the Prophets plainly do not belong to the oldest stratum of the OL tr^n. It is needful, therefore, to begin as usual with Cyprian; as we have seen, Tertullian's quotations are of doubtful value. Now, Burkitt has clearly proved[†] that Tyconius the Donatist (*c*. A.D. 400) used an OL version of the Prophets (in Isaiah at least[‡]) almost identical with that of Cyp., the only difference being a slight revision of the Latin. How does this writer stand towards our two chief MS authorities, the Weingarten (*w*) and Würzburg (*h*) Fragg.? At many points he is in close agreement with both, but especially, perhaps (*e.g.* in Ezk), with *w*. Now, a comparison of *w* and *h* shows so many agreements in proportion to differences that we cannot help believing that they are copies of the same tr^n of the Prophets, whose variation is accounted for by varying elements in the Gr. texts by which they were revised.[§] In *h*, *e.g.* in the midst of a great mixture of types, the Luc. strain is considerably more prominent than in *w*.[‖] Accordingly, we may perhaps call *h* an 'Italian' text;[¶] its coincidences with Ambrose, and to a less extent with Augustine, are noteworthy. *w* is possibly an earlier revision of the same tr^n.[**] It is interesting to note that Tyc. has a text essentially the same in the Prophets as another Donatist, Habetdeus, whose quotations can be assigned to the year A.D. 411. And to make the coincidence still more important, it is found that the St. Gall Frag. of Jeremiah has remarkable points of connexion with the biblical text used by a Donatist in the pseudo-Augustinian *Contra Fulgentium Donatistam*. This goes some way to establish a Donatist tradition of the OL version.[*]

A comparison of Tyc. with the 'Speculum' reveals a far greater amount of difference than between the former and Cyprian. But there is so much important resemblance that the variation is probably due to a gradual revision of the language in *m*. This, as Burkitt points out, greatly enhances the value of the 'Speculum,' though a late text, for the criticism of the LXX.[†]

In some passages the 'Spec.' has a very close connexion with *h*, while in others it is entirely different. In comparing the quotations of Tertull. and Cyp., with reference to the Gr., for another purpose, the writer was surprised to find that in the Book of *Daniel*, while Cyp. sometimes used Theodotion's version and at others the LXX, Tert. seemed invariably to follow the latter. The whole subject has been thoroughly investigated by Burkitt,[‡] who proves beyond question, that while Theodotion was followed as early as the 3rd cent. by Auctor *de Pascha Computus*, and thenceforward throughout the Lat. Church (also in *h* and *w* of Prophets), Tertull. adhered to the LXX, as also, to some extent, did Cyp., whose text is mixed.[§] This shows the varying histories of the several books of Scripture, a fact which has been already noticed in regard to NT.

APOCRYPHA. Fourth [*Second*] *Esdras*.—The texts of this book have been accurately studied, with the result that the leading authorities fall into two groups. Two MSS, Cod. Sangermanensis (pub. by Sab.) at Paris (Bibl. nat. lat. 11504–5) and Cod. Ambianensis (Amiens, Bibl. Communale 10) have a 'French' text; the other two, Cod. Complut. (Madrid Univ. 31) and Cod. Mazarinæus (Paris), present a 'Spanish' type of text. The other extant texts are related to these two families.[‖]

Third (*First*) *Esdras*.—Here, again, we possess two types of text, both of which are represented in Sab., and one of which is the Vulg. Both texts are evidently of great antiquity, presenting many of the most typical characteristics of the 'African' group. Probably, Vulg. is an emended form of the other version.

Tobit.—As appears from our list, there are many MSS extant of the OL version of Tobit. So far as we can judge, they all go back to one tr^n, though considerable differences exist. A rough comparison leads us to believe that the leading texts are related somewhat as follows: Sabatier's text (derived from MSS lat. 93 and 11505 at Paris) seems closest to the quotations of Lucifer. Slightly different from it are Paris MS lat. 11553 and Munich 6239, which agree closely. Cod. Regio-Vat. No. 7 is more independent of the other texts, and may be, perhaps, a separate translation.[¶] It contains only chs. i.–vi. The rest is Vulgate. The quotations in *Speculum* seem to show a third recension.

---

[*] There seems to be a close resemblance in Ps between Priscillian and the 'Speculum.' The Latin Psalter with Anglo-Saxon paraphr. pub. by Thorpe, Oxf. 1835, is almost identical with the so-called 'Roman' Psalter of Jerome, although occasionally it diverges. The text of Cassiod. has also a most intimate connexion with Roman Psalter.

[†] *Rules of Tyconius*, pp. lii–cvii.

[‡] It must be noted that there is a considerable difference between Tyconius' text of Is and of Ezk. See important table on p. cvi of *op. cit.* Burkitt suggests that perhaps there was 'a partial revision of the African Bible anterior to Cyprian,' the result of which is seen in the text of Ezk in Tyc. This point has been already brought forward in connexion with the quotations of Cyprian.

[§] See also Cornill, *Das Buch d. Proph. Ezech.* p. 31 ff. But see Corssen's most important discussion of the two MSS in *Zwei neue Fragmente d. Weing. Propheten-MS*, Berlin, 1899, in which he shows that the variation is largely due to the insertion of glosses in the texts.

[‖] May it be that the infusion of this element into OT texts corresponds to the 'Antiochene' revision of NT? Since this was written, we are interested to see that Sanday is inclined to assign the above-named revision to Lucian (*Oxf. Debate*, p. 29).

[¶] Streane, *Double Text of Jeremiah*, p. 370, shows that for Jer *h* is non-African and prob. Italian. His searching investigation goes to confirm our hypothesis.

[**] Ranke shows that *w* has points of contact with Arnobius, Lucifer, Ambrose, and Hesychius (a Dalmatian bishop). See *Fragmenta . . . Antehieron.* fasc. 2, pp. 122, 123. This would suggest a very wide diffusion. An attempt to trace points of agreement and differences between the two texts (*w* and *h*) and the Fathers has led, on the whole, only to confusing results. Clearly, we have much yet to learn regarding the OL version (or versions) of the Prophets.

[*] Cf. Rendel Harris on the Montanist character of Cod. Bezæ (*Study of Cod. Bez.* p. 148 ff.).

[†] *Rules of Tycon.* p. lxiv.

[‡] *Old Latin and Itala*, pp. 18–31.

[§] This mixed text also found in Lactantius and Firmicus Maternus.

[‖] See *Fourth Book of Ezra*, by Bensly and James, pp. xii–xxii.

[¶] See Fritzsche, *Hdbuch zu. d. Apokryphen*, ii. pp. 5, 11.

Judith.—As in To, the OL of Jth appears in a variety of MSS. While one original lies, apparently, behind all the texts, it appears to us that Mun. MS 6239 has the oldest type of text. A somewhat longer and perhaps later form is found in the text of Sabatier (Paris MSS lat. 93, 11505). The Paris MS 11553 seems to have a mixed text, now agreeing with Mun. MS, now with Sabat. MS lat. 11549 (at Paris), while somewhat mixed, agrees perhaps more often with Mun. MS.[*]

Wisdom of Solomon.—As already pointed out, this is proved to be an 'African' text. It seems to be fully as old as Cyp.[†]

Sirach.—The Vulg. text of this book is also 'African' Latin. Curiously enough, however, chs. 44–50 are shown by Thielmann[‡] to have been tr$^{\text{d}}$. later than chs. 1–43, 51, and they belong to the 'European' type of text. The Prologue is also 'European.' The Frag. ed. by Douais is apparently a 'Spanish' text, being a revision of the primitive 'African' version.

Baruch.—Two main types of text, so far as we can judge from the published MSS, are extant in this book. The one is the Vulg., which agrees with the quotations of Cyp., Vigilius, and, as a rule, Fulgentius. The other, which is not far removed, is represented by Paris MS 11951, Rheims MS No. 1, and Vallicell. B. 7 (all in Sab.). We cannot say much as to patristic evidence, but at times, at least, it is corroborated by the quotations of Hilary and Augustine.[§]

Maccabees.—In 1 Mac two forms of text can be traced. The one is the Vulg. The other, which in many passages is identical with the Vulg. and then disagrees to a great extent, is found in Paris MS lat. 11553, pub. by Sabat. It agrees uniformly with the quotations of Lucifer, which are very numerous in this book. Berger points out that this latter rests on the same tradition as that of Cod. Complut., while there are readings in the Leon Palimpsest (Chapter Lib. No. 15) which seem to lie behind the St. Germain text in Sab.[‖] A mixed text, according to Berger, is found in the Lyons MS No. 356.

In 2 Mac we find several versions more or less distinct. The Vulg. stands by itself. A mixed text is that of Lyons MS 356.[¶] The text of Cod. Complut. is of a different type from the Vulg. We have not been able to see the text from Ambrosian MS E. 26 infer., pub. by A. Peyron.[**] Berger (*Hist. de la Vulg.* p. 138) says of it: 'The version . . . preserved by our MS is not found elsewhere, and is of extreme importance.'[††]

A few words ought to be said, before we conclude this article, upon the Gr. text which underlies the OL version. For, after all, its primary importance consists in the evidence it furnishes for the original Gr. text of both OT and NT. Obviously, the inquiry is very wide in its range. We can only give the barest outline; and even this, in the present condition of the investigation, is incomplete and provisional. Two most important and suggestive statements are made by Hort as to the type of Gr. text circulating at the period with which we are here concerned. 'The text of D presents a truer image of the form in which the Gospels and Acts were most widely read in the 3rd and probably a great part of the 2nd cent. than any other extant Gr. MS.' And again: 'A, both in the Gospels and elsewhere, may serve as a fair example of the MSS that, to judge by patristic quotations, were commonest in the 4th cent.' (*Introd.* pp. 149, 152). These words, in our view, have a very significant bearing on the question before us. For it has become sufficiently clear that the period from the middle of the 2nd cent. to the end of the 4th is the most important for the OL version. Keeping them in mind, let us come to the actual facts, in so far as we are able to present them.

The NT must be our starting-point. What can be said as to the earliest group of texts, presumably the 'African' family? Cod. *k*, which, as we have seen, agrees with Cyp., is the most important witness. Fortunately, Sanday, in the work so often quoted, has a valuable Appendix on 'the Gr. text implied by *k*.'[*] Elaborate lists showing the relation of *k* to the leading Gr. authorities plainly declare that the main elements in its text are the 'Western' (as represented by D) and the 'Neutral' (א B in particular). The 'Western' strain slightly predominates. As regards the kindred Cod. *e*, a collation we have attempted of several long sections from the Gospp. reveals a close relation with B and one almost as intimate with D, א, and A. The one fact which strikes us in comparing the two sets of results is that A has become an important factor in Cod. *e*. When the 'European' group is investigated, it is interesting to note the changing of places by the MSS. We have taken *a* and *b* as typical texts, and the results for both are, on the whole, congruous, except that א seems to have a much more important place in *b* than in *a*. In both, B loses the prominent position which it occupied in the 'African' group. D has, of course, a predominating influence, but it is closely followed by A. Indeed it looks as if, in the Gospp. at least, the influence of A were among the chief forces in differentiating the 'European' from the 'African' group. And this seems to coincide remarkably with Hort's hypothesis of a Syrian recension, perhaps made at Antioch, about the beginning or a little before the beginning of the 4th cent., whose influence spread in all directions. For, in the Gospp., 'A has a fundamentally Syrian text.' In any case, the great increase in the A element is plainly no accidental circumstance, but, as we shall find in the OT, a fact intimately bound up with a certain stage of the OL version.

We have taken *f* as representative of the 'Italian' texts. The facts which a minute examination of long sections in Mt, Mk, and Lk brings out are of the kind we might expect. There is, apparently, a great mixture of elements in the underlying Greek. One of the most noteworthy of these is represented by Cod. L, itself a very mixed text, containing early readings mingled with 'Alexandrian,' 'Western,' and 'Syrian' elements. Cod. C is also prominent, which again is composed of most various forms of text. As invariably, D is still an important factor, while A also appears to have lost little ground. א and B have not regained the place they occupied in the 'African' group. In Ac, as we have seen, we can at least distinguish between the 'African' and

---

[*] Scholz in *Comm. über das Buch Judith* (Würzburg, 1896), p. xxiii f., considers that Paris MS 11549 (Cod. Corb. in Sab.) is a private tr$^{\text{n}}$, though closely related to the other. He would also assign importance to Cod. Pechianus (in Sab.), which he believes to be directly transl. from a Greek text with the help of the OL. It stands closest to Paris MS 11553 and agrees with the quotations of Lucifer. The quotations of Fulgentius most resemble the text of Sabat. which is a 'Gallic' text. Perhaps the Munich MS may be 'African.' See also Fritzsche, *Hdbuch.* ii. p. 119, and Thielmann, *Beitr. z. Text-Krit. d. Vulgata*, Speier, 1883. Thielm. is to pub. OL of Tob, Jud, Sap, and Sir.

[†] See Thielmann, *Archiv*, viii. 2, p. 235 ff.

[‡] *Archiv*, ix. 2, p. 247 ff. A most important and valuable article. But see a noteworthy criticism by Geyer in Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, xcviii. p. 83.

[§] See also Kneucker, *Das Buch Baruch*, Leipz. 1879.

[‖] See Berger, *Notice*, pp. 33–38.

[¶] Its base is Vulgate.

[**] As an Appendix to his *MT Ciceronis Orationum pro Scauro . . fragm. incdd.*, Stuttgart, 1824.

[††] On OL of Apocr. see also Schürer's valuable art. 'Apokryphen' in *PRE*^{3}, and the introductions to Kautzsch's 'Die Apokryphen u. Pseudepigraphen d. AT.'

[*] *OL Bibl. Texts*, ii. Append. i. pp. 95–122.

'European' texts, represented most typically by the Fleury Palimpsest (the text of Cyp.) and the Gigas (the text of Lucif.) respectively. From Corssen's investigation[*] it is plain that the former depends on a 'Western' text even more uniform than D. The latter, so far as a rough survey of its readings can reveal, has a very mixed character. D is a prominent factor in it, perhaps the most prominent. Of the other more important uncials, E, and at some distance A and C, seems the best represented.[†] One has the impression of a text belonging to a time of revision. And the phenomena found here appear to justify Berger's query as to whether, in Ac, there is any distinction between 'European' and 'Italian' readings.[‡] Space forbids any further examination of the NT books except that we may point out that the chief of OL versions of the Epistles[§] (except Freis. Fragg.) seem to depend for their text mainly on D and G, whether separate or combined, and often on the group D G K L.[‖] The Freis. Fragg. have a far greater mixture of elements, being apparently revised from MSS such as C A ℵ L (while their basis is D G). In the Apoc. the text of Primasius seems[¶] to approach closest to that of Andreas of Cæsarea, and Cod. P; but there remains an important element peculiar to himself.[**]

As regards the Gr. text underlying the OL of the OT, our statements must be even more general and provisional. For the leading uncial MSS of the LXX have never been grouped, and we cannot, with any definiteness, state their mutual relations. And the cursives, which in the LXX are of unique importance, have received little investigation. Hence there are few ascertained data on which to base any reasonable hypothesis. Certainly, the classification into families of texts, and the marking off of stages in their history, would be a difficult task. For this tr^{n} must have undergone from first to last the most varied treatment. The original Gr. VS, the rival tr^{ns} of Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus, the attempt of Origen to purify the text, the subsequent recensions of Eusebius, Lucian, and Hesychius, all have conspired to produce a chaos in the MSS of the LXX. This has a bewildering effect on the comparison of the OL with the underlying Gr. No doubt we may say that the earliest Lat. VS of the OT must have been made from the pre-hexaplar Gr. text which was in common use.[††] But we know little of its history. It must also have been subjected to various forms of corruption. We cannot identify it with the genuine LXX. We are also unable to state definitely the relation borne to it by the great extant uncials and those groups of cursives which are assumed (with more or less reason) to be particular recensions. Accordingly, the following notes must be somewhat vague and hypothetical.

In the books which apparently preserve a fundamentally '*African*' text, such as *Sirach*, we might expect to find a relatively pure Gr. text at their base. Nor are we, on the whole, disappointed. This OL text shows a close relation to Cod. 248, which is here, perhaps, the best representation of the original Gr. text.[‡‡] But, in the words of Lagarde,[*] 'all the MSS of the Gr. tr^{n} of the OT are either directly or indirectly the result of an eclectic procedure.' This is the key to the phenomena of the OL version of the OT.[†] When we come to examine the large group of OT texts which we have designated either '*European*' or '*Italian*' (and the boundary between them is, at least, a fluctuating one), the result is most confusing. In the *Hexateuch*, as already observed, there appears an almost indefinite amount of mixture. It is, perhaps, useless to ask to which of the great uncials the leading MSS are most nearly related. For other elements intrude continually. Here and there, indeed, a definite relationship reveals itself, as, *e.g.*, in Exodus where Cod. Wirceb. has a distinct connexion with the group A F. But, as a rule, both in it, in Cod. Lugd., and in Cod. Monac. there are constant traces of Hesychian[‡] and Lucianic readings, as well as relations of an undefinable kind to the leading uncials.

In the *Historical* books it can, at least, be affirmed that the recension of Lucian is one of the prominent elements lying at the basis of the text.[§] This is specially noticeable in the Vienna Fragg. of Samuel and the Leon Fragg. of Kings. Ceriani had observed the agreement of 'Lucianic' MSS with the text of Ambrose and the 'Speculum.' And thus he is led to believe that the 'Italian' revision of OT (which perhaps includes the 'European') had, partly at least, for its standard, some MSS of the same type as those used by Lucian in his recension. At the same time, A and B cannot be ignored. Indeed, as Lagarde has pointed out,[‖] Cod. A has a specially close connexion with the OL text of OT which asserts itself here and there.[¶] When the *Prophetic* books are examined, this becomes more evident. In Ezk, *e.g.*, Cornill has shown that the text both of *h* and *w* has close relations with A, although these are sometimes obscured by Hexaplaric omissions and insertions, or confused by later corrections and corruptions.[**] The same holds of other books, *e.g.* the OL of *Job*.[††] It is a noteworthy fact, and suggests a real connexion between the OL of OT and NT at a certain stage, as we have already seen the prominent place A occupies in all but the oldest NT texts. Considerations of space prevent us from lingering on this most important but complicated department of our subject. We cannot do better than close with a quotation from Burkitt's summary of conclusions as to the relation of the OL to the Gr. text in the Prophets.[*] For, in all probability, similar processes and results would appear in the other groups of writings. 'The OL brings us the best independent proof we have that the Hexaplar signs introduced by Origen can be relied on for the reconstruction of the LXX. . . . Together with the Hexaplar text,' it 'often agrees as to omissions with the text of B. . . . Yet the same authorities convict B here and there of interpolations. . . . When we turn from questions of insertion and omission to questions of rendering of the Heb. and the substitution of one Gr. word for another, we find that the OL in the Prophets sometimes supports "Lucianic" readings.' And finally, 'there are renderings found in the OL representing Gr. readings which have disappeared from every known Greek MS, but which, by comparison with the Hebrew, are shown to preserve the genuine text of the LXX from which the readings of our present Greek MSS are corruptions. In these passages the OL is sometimes, but not always, supported by one or both Egyptian versions.'

---

[*] *Der Cyp. Text d. Acta Apost.*, Berlin, 1892. See esp. p. 18 ff.

[†] The Fleury text has a very intimate connexion with it, while it shares many readings also with the text of Aug. and with that of the Vulgate.

[‡] *Un ancien texte . . . des Actes*, p. 18.

[§] Codd. Claromont. and Bœrner. and the texts of Victorinus and Ambrosiaster.

[‖] In this group they are often joined by Jerome in his Commentaries. See Corssen, *Epist. ad Galatas*, pp. 52, 53.

[¶] This result is provisional, as our investigation only embraced two or three chs. of Apoc. See Bousset, *Textkritische Studien*, pp. 1–44.

[**] See Haussleiter, *Zahn's Forschungen*, iv. pp. 207–224.

[††] Designated by the Fathers 'uulgata editio' and κοινή.

[‡‡] See Ryssel in Kautzsch's 'Apokryphen,' pp. 244–249, and Herkenne, *De Vet. Lat. Eccles.* Capp. i.–xliii., Leipz. 1899.

[*] *Anmerkungen zur griech. Uebersetz. der Proverb.* p. 3.

[†] Thus, *e.g.*, Vogel's Fragg. of Proverbs, which are plainly 'African,' agree 18 times with A rather than B, 17 times with B rather than A; they have 18 readings only found in cursives, while 110 are peculiar to themselves.

[‡] Cornill connects Cod. A closely with the Hesychian recension (see *Ezechiel*, p. 67). Silberstein (*ZAW* xiv. p. 26), after an elaborate investigation, comes to the conclusion that the origin of the form of text in A must be referred to the recension of Origen. He agrees, on the whole, with Cornill as to B.

[§] See Vercellone, *Variæ Lectiones*, ii. p. 436. Driver, *Notes on Samuel*, pp. lxxvii–lxxxii. Ceriani, *Recensioni dei LXX*, etc., p. 4. It is now generally admitted that MSS 19, 82, 93, and 108 (in Holmes and Parson's ed. of LXX), agreeing, as they do, with the quotations of Theodoret and Chrysostom, represent the recension of Lucian. See also Lagarde, *Vet. Test. Græce*, Pars Prior, Gött. 1883, Preface.

[‖] *Septuaginta-Studien*, i. pp. 71, 72.

[¶] A question which still awaits investigation is the relation of A to Lucian. This would shed much light on the OL. It is of interest to find that the prevailing type of text in quotations from the LXX in the Gospels is that of A and Lucian. B is scarcely observable. See Staerk, *ZwTh.* 1893, i. p. 97 ff.

[**] Cornill would connect A with the recension of Hesychius (*Ezechiel*, pp. 67, 71). Unquestionably, those cursives which contain in all likelihood this latter text are an important element for the criticism of the OL of the Prophets along with the kindred Cod. Marchalianus (Q), which has copious marginal notes from a Hexaplar copy. See Ceriani's most important dissertation, *De Codice Marchaliano Commentatio*, Rome, 1890. He compares the various texts of the LXX from sections of the Prophets, both mutually and in relation to the OL.

[††] See Berger, *Notice*, p. 23.

One subordinate department of our subject has not been touched, as, to a great extent, lying outside the scope of the present article, and also as requiring far more space than could be afforded. We refer to the *Latinity* of the OL versions. It seems advisable, however, to give references to some of the leading authorities.

A large collection of material is to be found in *Itala und Vulgata*, by H. Rönsch, ed. 2, Marburg, 1875. This work deals with peculiarities of formation, inflexion, grammatical structure, and meaning. See a penetrating criticism of it by J. N. Ott (Fleckeisen's *Jahrb. f. Philologie*, etc. 1874, p. 778 ff., 833 ff.). Rönsch also contributed a great number of articles to various journals. See especially his 'Sprachliche Parallelen' and 'Itala-Studien' in *ZwTh.* 1868, 1881–82: 'Zur vulgären und biblischen Latinität,' in *Zeitsch. f. die österreich. Gymnasien*, 1879, No. 11. There are further studies on this subject in his *Semasiologische Beiträge*, 1887–89, and *Collectanea philologa*, 1890. Of great importance is the unfinished work of G. Koffmane, *Geschichte des Kirchenlateins*, Breslau, 1879–81 (only 2 parts of vol. i. have appeared). It devotes special attention to the Christianizing of Late-Latin, and the moulding of it to biblical use. H. Schuchardt's elaborate *Vokalismus des Vulgär-Lateins*, Leipz. 1866-67, contains much that is suggestive for the language of the version. More directly bearing on our subject is K. Sittl's *Die lokalen Verschiedenheiten der latein. Sprache*, Erlangen, 1882. It deals largely with 'African' Latin, with special reference to the Bible. The *Handbuch zur Vulgata*, by F. Kaulen, Mainz, 1870, also provides material for study. Valuable collections of linguistic facts are to be found in some of the edd. of the MSS. See, especially, that of the Lyons Pentateuch, by U. Robert, pp. xli–lxxxv, cxxiii–cxxviii, which contain an examination of the grammar and orthography of the text, as well as giving tables of Hellenisms and new words; E. Ranke's *Par Palimpsestorum Wirceburgensium*, pp. 412–427, with copious grammatical notes; and Sanday's dissertation on Cod. *k*, *OL Bibl. Texts*, ii. § 14. Perhaps we ought to mention also Rendel Harris's *Study of Cod. Bezæ*, ch. iv. v. xii. xxvi., and Burkitt's *Rules of Tyconius*, pp. lxviii–cv. Sanday has an important appendix in *Studia Biblica*, ii. p. 309 ff., and in vol. iv. of the same series there is a valuable essay on the *Style and Language of S. Cyprian*, by E. W. Watson. See also Ehrlich, *Beiträge z. Lat. der Itala*, 1895. By far the richest storehouse of matter bearing on the Latinity of the OL is the *Archiv für latein. Lexikographie*, ed. by Wölfflin (pub. at Leipzig). The following articles are of special importance: 'Die ersten Spuren des African. Lateins,' by Wölfflin (Jahrg. VI. Heft i. p. 1 ff.); 'Die Heimath der Appendix Probi,' Sittl (vi. 3, p. 557 ff.); 'Die Sprache Priscillian's,' Schepss (iii. 3, p. 307 ff.); 'Lucifer von Cagliari und sein Latein,' Hartel (iii. 1, p. 1 ff.); 'Lexikographisches aus dem Bibellatein,' Thielmann (i. 1, p. 68 ff.); 'Minucius Felix,' Wölfflin (vii. 4, p. 467 ff.); 'Die latein. Sprache auf. african. Inschriften,' Kübler (viii. 2, p. 161 ff.); 'Spuren gallischen Lateins bei Marcellus Empiricus,' Geyer (viii. 4, p. 469); articles on 'Wisdom of Solomon' and 'Sirach,' by Thielmann, already referred to; 'Die europäischen Bestandtheile des latein. Sirach,' Thielmann (ix. 2, p. 247 ff.). See also the 'Jahresbericht über Vulgär-und Spätlatein,' by K. Sittl in Bursian-Iwan Müller's *Jahresbericht*, lxviii. pp. 226–286, and that on 'Die christlich lateinische Litteratur von 1886–87 bis Ende 1894' in the same series, by C. Weyman, 1896.[*] For further references to the language of particular authors see the list of Fathers. We have omitted mention of the numerous works which deal with the Latin language in general.

This article has dealt only with the early history of the Latin translations of the Bible. Their later developments from the time of Jerome onward are treated under VULGATE.

For the general literature of the subject, see the authorities referred to throughout the article, Nestle's art. in *Herzog*^{3} (iii. 24 ff.) which appeared while this was in the press, and Corssen's admirable *Bericht über die latein. Bibelübersetzungen* (Bursian's *Jahresb.* Bd. ci.), published only in time to admit of a few footnotes being added from it during final revision. H. A. A. KENNEDY.

LATTER.—The adj. 'late' is now regarded as having two forms for the compar. and superl., later, latest, and latter, last, and a difference in meaning is usually observed. But the distinction is quite recent. In modern editions of AV the only spelling is 'latter,' but the ed. of 1611 had 'later' in four places, Is 47^7, Jer 5^{24} 48^{47} 49^{39}, and there is no difference in meaning. Shakespeare has 'later' twice (acc. to Bartlett's *Concordance*), once in ref. to time, 'And she goes down at twelve —I take 't, 'tis later, Sir' (*Macbeth* II. i. 3), once as equivalent to 'latter' as it was then used, *K. John* III. I. 288—

> 'Therefore thy later vows against thy first
> Is in thyself rebellion to thyself.'

He also uses 'latest' for 'last,' as *Love's Labour's Lost*, V. ii. 797,—'At the latest minute of the hour.'

In AV as in Shakespeare 'latter' is always (except when distinctly opposed to 'former') equivalent to 'last.' Thus in AV, Job 19^{25} 'For I know that my redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth' (RV 'at the last upon the earth'); 2 P 2^{20} 'the latter end is worse with them than the beginning' (RV 'the last state is become worse with them than the first'): and in Shaks. *Henry V.* IV. i. 143, 'All those legs and arms and heads, chopped off in a battle, shall join together at the latter day'; and 1 *Henry VI.* II. v. 38—

> 'And in his bosom spend my latter gasp.'

The expressions 'latter end' and 'last end' are thus equivalent, and both old-fashioned redundancies.

For Latter Rain see RAIN. J. HASTINGS.

---

[*] *Rules of Tyconius*, pp. cxvi, cxvii. See also Streane, *Double Text of Jeremiah*, 369–372.

[*] For later lit. see 'Jahresb. über Vulgär-und Spätlatein' by P. Geyer, Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, xcviii. pp. 33–117.

LATTICE.—See under **Window** in art. HOUSE, vol. ii. p. 435^{b}.

LAUD (taken directly from Lat. *laudare*, to praise) as a synonym for 'praise' seems never to have been very frequently used, either as verb or subst., though the latter was more common than the former. Shaks. has each twice. In AV the subst. does not occur, and the verb was retained only once, Ro 15^{11} 'Praise the Lord, all ye Gentiles; and laud him, all ye people.' The Greek verbs here are different (αἰνέω and ἐπαινέω), and no doubt Tindale, from whom the tr. comes, introduced the variation purposely; but AV seems simply to have accepted it from the immediately preceding versions, for in Ps 117^{1} of which this is a quotation, the Heb. verbs are again different, and Coverdale's tr. was again 'praise' and 'laud,' but the Geneva version, followed by the Bishops, changed 'laud' into 'praise,' and AV has 'O praise the Lord, all ye nations: praise him, all ye people.' RV obliterates the distinction between the Greek verbs in Ro 15^{11} giving 'praise' twice, but restores it in Ps 117^{1}; and in Ps 145^{4} RV again introduces 'laud' for 'praise' to tr. the same Heb. verb. But in Ps 147^{12} RV has taken over the AV tr. 'Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem; praise thy God, O Zion,' though the Heb. shows the same distinction in its verbs. Driver (*Parallel Psalter*, 1898) is more consistent, rendering שָׁבַח by 'laud' wherever in the Psalter it can be so rendered (63^{3} 117^{1} 145^{4} 147^{12}), and keeping 'praise' for הִלֵּל.

Tindale uses the verb in Lk 19^{37} 'the whole multitude of the disciples began to rejoyce, and to lawde God with a loude voyce'; and the subst. in 1 P 1^{7} 'that youre fayth . . . myght be founde unto lawde, glory, and honoure at the apperinge of Jesus Christ,' and 2^{14} 'for the laude of them that do well.'

It is doubtful if even the verb can be used now without affectation; but if it can, and the Revisers seem to have thought so, it is a pity it was not consistently used for ἐπαινέω (Lk 16^{8}, Ro 15^{11}, 1 Co 11$^{2.17.22}$), to distinguish it from the more common αἰνέω, to praise. J. HASTINGS.

LAUGHTER.—The laughter mentioned in the Bible is of three kinds, (1) loud laughter as opposed to demonstrative weeping, (2) wondering or incredulous, and (3) derisive.

(1) Ḳoheleth allows that there is a time to laugh as well as a time to weep (Ec 3^{4}), but he reckons sorrow better than laughter (7^{3}), and calls laughter madness (2^{2}). Bildad offers Job the prospect, if he be really upright, of a time when God will fill his mouth with laughter (Job 8^{21}); the returning exiles enjoyed such a time (Ps 126^{2} 'Our mouth was then filled with loud laughter'—De Witt); and Jesus promises it definitely in the Restitution to those who weep now (Lk 6^{21}). In every instance it is the Oriental loud laughter, which is rarely heard, and only upon occasion of the utmost glad surprise. Christ's woe is pronounced on those who laugh now when no such surprise is possible (Lk 6^{25}).

(2) More frequent is the laughter of wonder or incredulity. So Abraham (Gn 17^{17}) and Sarah (18^{12}) laughed when they heard the promise of a son. And even when the promise could not be doubted longer by themselves, they knew that all that heard would laugh at them (21^{6}), they were so old.

RV retains in Gn 21^{6} the AV translation 'all that hear will laugh with me.' But יִצְחַק־לִי can mean only 'will laugh at me'; cf. Job 5^{22} 39$^{7.18.22}$, Ps 59^{8}. Still it is not *derisive* laughter that Sarah fears; she does not *fear* the laughter at all; she only knows that when people hear of it they will laugh, it is so astonishing as to be still almost incredible. 'Laugh with me' is the rendering of the ancient versions and of all the English versions from Wyclif, except Tindale, 'And Sara sayde, God hath made me a laughinge stocke, for all that heare, will laugh at me.' Coverdale has even, 'God hath prepared a joye for me, for who so ever heareth of it, wyll rejoyse with me,' and is followed by the Geneva translators and the Bishops. Kalisch defends the AV tr., on the ground that 'no other sense is adapted here but the smile of surprise and admiration.' But Dillmann, Del., Kautzsch (über mich), Segond (de moi), and most modern commentators translate 'will laugh at me'—meaning, however, to express surprise rather than derision.

(3) But the most frequent occurrence of laughter is in derision. The feeling ranges in expression from the gentle mocking of Daniel (Bel ^{19}) to the judicial laughter of Him that sitteth in the heavens (Ps 2^{4}).

There are three Heb. verbs translated 'laugh,' צָחַק (except Jg 16^{25} Ezk 23^{32}, confined to Pent.), its later form שָׂחַק, and לָעַג. All three are occasionally rendered in AV 'laugh to scorn,' but esp. the last, which does not properly mean to laugh but to scoff at or scorn. In 2 Es 2^{21} *claudum irridere noli* is tr^{d} 'laugh not a lame man to scorn,' and the expression 'laugh to scorn' is found in the Gr. Apocr. as the tr. of καταγελάω, Jth 12^{12}, Sir 7^{11} 20^{17} (cf. also 1 Mac 10^{70} 'I am laughed to scorn for thy sake,' ἐγὼ δὲ ἐγενήθην εἰς καταγέλωτα); ἐκγελάω, Wis 4^{18}; καταμωκάομαι, Sir 13^{7}; and χλευάζω, 2 Mac 7^{27}; cf. also Sir 6^{4} 'Shall make him to be laughed to scorn of his enemies,' ἐπίχαρμα ἐχθρῶν ποιήσει αὐτόν. In NT καταγελάω is so tr^{d} where it occurs (Mt 9^{24} ‖ Mk 5^{40} ‖ Lk 8^{53} at the raising of Jairus' daughter), so that a distinction is maintained between the simple γελάω (only in Lk 6$^{21.25}$) and its more emphatic compound. The phrase is due to Tindale in these places, who thus improved on Wyclif 'thei scorneden hym.' Tind. was followed by all the versions.

The phrases 'laugh on' and 'laugh upon' are now obsolete, though we retain the equivalent 'smile upon.' They occur once each, Job 29^{24} 'If I laughed on them, they believed it not' (אֶשְׂחַק אֲלֵהֶם, RVm 'I smiled on them when they had no confidence'; the AV tr. comes from the Geneva Bible, which explains its meaning by the marg. note, 'That is, thei thoght it not to be a jest, or thei thoght not that I wold condescend unto them'), 1 Es 4^{31} 'if she laughed upon him, he laughed also' (ἐὰν προσγελάσῃ αὐτῷ, γελᾷ). J. HASTINGS.

LAUNCH is now transitive only. In AV it occurs intransitively and only so. RV has changed the word into 'set sail' (Ac 21^{1}), 'put to sea' (Ac 27$^{2.4}$), or simply 'put' (Lk 5^{4}), and once has retained it (Lk 8^{22}). The transitive use must be the older, as the verb is formed from 'lance,' and means primarily to 'hurl a lance,' and then to send (a ship) into the water. Spenser uses it frequently in the simple sense of 'to pierce,' almost as we now use 'lance,' as *FQ* II. iv. 46, 'For since my brest was launcht with lovely dart.' Shakespeare has the word only once, and it is transitive, *Troil. and Cress.* II. ii. 82—

'Why, she is a pearl,
Whose price hath launch'd above a thousand ships.'

The Greek is either (1) the compound form ἐπανάγω, which occurs in MT only thrice, Mt 21^{18} in the sense of returning into a city, and Lk 5$^{3.4}$ in the sense of 'put out' (RV) to sea (in 5^{3} AV has 'thrust out,' after Tindale); or (2) the simple ἀνάγομαι, which is found only in the writings of St. Luke (though the active ἀνάγω 'bring up' occurs in Mt 4^{1}, Ro 10^{7}, He 13^{20}, as well as in Lk and Ac), but there it is of frequent occurrence. AV varies in its tr. between 'launch forth' (Lk 8^{22}), 'launch' (Ac 21^{1} 27$^{2.4}$), 'loose' (Ac 13^{13} 16^{11} 27^{21}), 'sail' (Ac 18^{21} 20$^{3.15}$), 'set forth' (Ac 21^{2}), and 'depart' (Ac 27^{2} 28$^{10.11}$). RV has usually 'set sail' (Ac 13^{13} 16^{11} 18^{21} 20$^{3.13}$ 21$^{1.2}$ 27^{21} 28^{11}), but also 'launch forth' (Lk 8^{22}), 'embark' (Ac 27^{2}), 'put to sea' (Ac 27$^{4.12}$), and simply 'sail' (Ac 28^{10}). The idea expressed in the prep. ἀνά is not 'up' to the ship, but up to the high sea from the lower harbour or coast-line; cf. καταβαίνω 'go down' to the coast from the higher land. J. HASTINGS.

LAVER (כִּיּוֹר or כִּיֹּר; LXX λουτήρ).—This is the name given to the ten brazen basins made by Hiram for Solomon's Temple, 1 K 7$^{30.38.43}$ (=2 Ch 4$^{6.14}$).* They were raised on high stands, and furnished with wheels. Anything beyond this is difficult to ascertain with certainty. Keil and others make out the *bases* or stands (מְכֹנוֹת) to have been square boxes with ornamented panels. Nowack (*Heb. Arch.* ii. pp. 44–46), following Stade (*ZATW* iii. 159 ff.), corrects the text, which at present is unintelligible in parts, and, further, utilizes for comparison the vessels now known to have been used in Semitic antiquity from the evidence of the Assyrian monuments. He thus arrives at a more probable reconstruction, though he is perhaps over-bold in venturing on a conjectural sketch of a laver as he understands it. In the following description of the details Nowack is followed in the main.

---

* In 1 K 7^{40} הַכִּיֹּרוֹת should be emended to הַסִּירוֹת (cf. v.^{45} ‖ 2 Ch 4$^{11.16}$ and LXX λέβητας).

The *base* or stand was made up of a lower and an upper division. The lower division was a square framework, of which the sides were partly open. If they had been massive plates of metal, each 3 × 4 cubits, the whole would have been too heavy to move. Moreover, the Assyrian examples show a much lighter kind of stand than those used in supporting the Greek amphora. The sides were like an unglazed window-frame, with horizontal *borders* or *panels* (מִסְגְּרוֹת) and vertical *ledges* or crosspieces (שְׁלַבִּים). At the corners were *undersetters* or *shoulders*, *i.e.* square pillars whose lower extremities were extended to form *feet*, in which were fixed the axles, on which the wheels turned. The wheels, each 1½ cubits high, were thus completely under the body of the base. Thus the lower part of the base being itself 3 cubits high, its top edge was 4½ cubits high. On the top of this lower part was a *pedestal* (1 K 7^{29}) consisting of a *round compass* or ring (v.^{35}) something like the *capital* of a column (v.^{31}). The outside measurement of this ring was 1½ cubits across, and the inside measurement 1 cubit, while it was raised half a cubit above the base proper (v.^{35}). As the diameter of the latter was 4 cubits, the supports (*stays* or *hands*) of the ring must have sloped inwards very considerably. These supports seem to have sprung from a square framework (v.^{31}) resting on the top of the base. As a dome with a central circular window is often built over four square walls and supported by four ribs from the corners sloping inwards, so this open metal frame had a square base and a round opening or ring, into which the basin or *laver* fitted. The *borders* and *stays* were ornamented with lions, oxen, and cherubim, and with embossed wreaths.

It is remarkable that these ten lavers do not reappear in the sketch of the new temple put forth by Ezekiel, or in the temple of Zerubbabel, nor is anything like them found in P's representation of the tabernacle. The last we hear of them is that Ahaz cut off *the borders of the bases* and took the laver off them (1 K 16^{17}). From this the suggestion has been supported that the connecting parts of the framework were, as in some similar constructions of which Semitic archæology has evidence, hollow, or that they were wood inside plated over with brass. As for the discarding of the molten sea and ten movable lavers, which seems to indicate some prejudice against them, it has been conjectured that they had some mythical associations which had now become distasteful. The great molten sea is connected with *the deep* (תְּהוֹם) and the lavers with the clouds. It is observed that Ezekiel, who describes no wheeled lavers ornamented with lions, oxen, and cherubim, yet has a vision (ch. 1) of living creatures, uniting the characteristics of lion, ox, man, and eagle, and of wheels closely associated with them, the whole imagery suggesting the personification of the clouds borne on by the storm blast. The explanation of the Chronicler (2 Ch 4^6), that the lavers were used for washing the sacrifices, has nothing to support it in Kings, and it is hard to see how such lofty basins could have been put to practical use. No hint is given in the elaborate description of any means for drawing off water. The symbolical interpretation gives a fine suggestiveness to these vessels. The priest of J″ draws near to Him as Lord of the furthest abyss and of the rolling storm clouds.

Although, as we have seen, the molten sea and ten lavers have no parallel in the account of the tabernacle, yet we find there a single laver. It is mentioned only in passages which are secondary in relation to P^g (Ex 30^{17-21} 31^9 35^{16} 38^8 39^{39} 40^{11}, Lv 8^{11}), and nothing is said as to its size or shape. It consisted of two parts, the basin and its pedestal (כֵּן). The word 'base' (מְכוֹנָה) is not used. In Ex 38^8 it seems to be stated that it was made of the mirrors of the serving women. Others, with some violence to the Hebrew, render '(provided) with mirrors for the serving women.' Its purpose was definite, viz. that the priests might wash their hands and feet there before entering the tabernacle, by the door of which the laver stood on the inner side of the brazen altar. So in He 10^{22} the imagery is applied to the true worshipper, and in Tit 3^5 the laver becomes a type of the baptismal font, by which (*διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας*) believers have access into the Church of the firstborn. In Zerubbabel's and Herod's temples there was, in accordance with P's representation, a single laver.

LITERATURE.—Keil, Nowack, and Benzinger on Bibl. Archæology (only the first translated); Gesenius, *Thes.*; the commentaries on Exodus and 1 Kings.

G. HARFORD-BATTERSBY.

LAW (IN OLD TESTAMENT).—

i. History of the term 'Torah.'
ii. Torah threefold—judicial, ceremonial, moral.
iii. Rise and history of written Torah.
iv. Synonyms of 'law':—
    (1) *Mishpāṭ*; (2) *ḥōḳ, ḥuḳḳāh*; (3) *miẓwāh*; (4) *'ēdwōth* or *'ēdōth*; (5) *piḳḳūdīm*.
v. The different codes of Hebrew law:—
    A. JE: (1) the Decalogue; (2) Book of the Covenant—summary of its provisions—the 'Little Book of the Covenant'—age and character of the Book of the Covenant.
    B. Deuteronomy—summary of its provisions—changes in the laws repeated from JE—the new provisions introduced.
    C. The Law of Holiness (H)—summary of its provisions—compared with Book of the Covenant.
    D. The Priests' Code (P)—summary of its provisions—P characterized and compared and contrasted with earlier codes and with institutions of other Semitic peoples—danger of abuse of ceremonial law—pædagogic office of the Law.
Literature.

The Heb. word for 'law' is *tôrāh* (תּוֹרָה), from *hôrāh* (הוֹרָה), *to point out* Gn 46^{28}, or *to direct* Jg 13^8, meaning properly, *a pointing out*, or *direction*, and being used specially of *authoritative direction*, given in Jehovah's name—primarily, no doubt, by priests, though it is by no means limited to what is given by them—on points of moral, religious, or ceremonial duty.

The root *yārāh* signifies properly *to throw* or *cast*; and hence it is possible, as has been conjectured (Wellh. *Hist.* 394, cf. *Skizzen*, iii. 167, ed. 2, 143; Nowack, *Arch.* ii. 97; Benzinger, *Arch.* 408), that the primitive meaning of *hôrāh* in this connexion was to *cast* the sacred lot—or arrows used as lots—at a sanctuary, for the purpose of ascertaining the will of the deity on behalf of those who came to consult it (the word is used of *casting* lots Jos 18^6, and of *shooting* arrows 1 S 20^{36} *al.*). Comp. the use made by the priest of the Ephod and Urim and Thummim, 1 S $14^{3.18}$ (LXX) ^{41} (esp. LXX) ^{42} etc. *Tôrāh*, if this view be correct, will have denoted originally the 'direction' obtained by means of the sacred lot: it remained a duty of the Isr. priest to teach J″'s *tôrāh*, though this particular method of ascertaining it no doubt fell early into abeyance, and the term acquired a more general sense. Comp. the pr. names 'Terebinth(s) of Moreh,' or 'the teacher' (Gn 12^6, Dt 11^{30}), and 'Gibeath-Moreh,' 'Hill of the teacher' (Jg 7^1), most probably the seats of ancient Canaanite oracles.

i. The word had a history; and in order to understand it properly, the stages of its history must be briefly noted. (1) One of the earliest passages in which it occurs is Ex $18^{16.20}$ (E), where the decisions given by Moses on disputes 'between a man and his neighbour'—evidently on secular matters—are termed the 'statutes' and 'directions' of God. This passage sets before us Heb. law in its beginnings. 'It is to be remembered that in early Semitic life government was largely administered by means of "Tôrōth," authoritative decisions, delivered by the chief or judge, who gave his verdict upon the basis of custom or precedent. It was the reign of Themis, or of what we might call Consuetudinary Justice.* A picture of such an administration, actually conducted by Moses on such lines, stands before us in the narrative of Ex 18$^{13-27}$' (Ryle, *Canon of the OT*, p. 32). Decisions given in this way, especially on difficult questions (cf. Ex 18^{26}), would naturally form precedents for future use (cf. *OTJC*^{2} 304); and thus an increasing body of civil and criminal law would gradually grow up. (2) In the prophets the term is used of teaching given in Jehovah's name—sometimes by priests, but more frequently by prophets—on questions of religious or moral duty. Hosea (4^{6}) attributes the crimes prevalent in Israel (vv.$^{1.\ 2}$) to the priests' forgetfulness of the *Tôrāh* of their God (cf. 8$^{1.\ 12}$): this passage is important, as showing that the *priestly* 'tôrāh' included a moral element (cf. Ex 23$^{1-9}$, Lv 19), and was dependent for its effectiveness upon the 'knowledge' of God. The word is used similarly, of moral and spiritual teaching, in Am 2^{4}. In Is 1^{10} the '*Tôrāh* of our God' is the exposition which follows (vv.$^{11-17}$) respecting the true character of religious service; Is 5^{24} the *Tôrāh* which Judah has rejected consists of the precepts of civil righteousness and morality, the disregard of which the prophet has been denouncing (vv.$^{8-23}$); Is 8$^{16.\ 20}$ it denotes the half-political half-religious advice just given by the prophet (vv.$^{12-15}$): it is used similarly in 30^{9} (see v.$^{10f.}$; and cf. v.^{20}, where the prophets are called by the corresponding participle, the 'directors' [teachers] of the people of Jerusalem). In Jer 6^{19} 9^{13} 16^{11} 26^{4} 32^{23} 44$^{10.\ 23}$ the reference may be partly (see 26^{4}) to the preaching of the prophets, partly (notice the context, and the addition in 9^{13} 26^{4} 44^{10} of 'which I set before you') to the teaching of Deuteronomy. Other examples of the same general sense of *direction*, though not specially given by prophets, are Ps 78^{1} (of a didactic Psalm), Job 22^{22} ('Receive now *direction* from his [God's] mouth'); in the mouth of a mother, Pr 1^{8} 6^{20}; of a teacher of practical wisdom, Pr 3^{1} 4^{2} 6^{23} (cf. RVm) 7^{2} 13^{14}; of the model woman, 31^{26} ('law,' in all these passages, is a misleading rendering). It is also used of the *guidance*, or *direction*, to be given by J″, or His representative, in the future ideal age: Is 2^{3} (=Mic 4^{2}), Jer 31^{33}, Is 42^{4} (of the preaching of J″'s ideal servant), 51^{4}. (3) Side by side with this broader prophetical application of the term, there was, however, a narrower one, in which it was particularly associated with the priests, and (like the cognate verb *hôrāh*) denoted the *oral direction* given by them in Jehovah's name, especially on matters of ceremonial observance, such as the nature of the different kinds of sacrifice, the cases in which they were respectively to be offered, the criteria of leprosy, the conditions upon which it depended whether a thing was 'clean' or 'unclean,' etc.; the laity came to the priests for instruction on all such points, and the answer given to them was *tôrāh*, 'direction.' Hag 2^{11}, though a late passage, shows what 'tôrāh' was very clearly: the prophet is told to inquire of the priests whether in two particular cases an object becomes 'holy,' or 'unclean,' in the words 'Ask now *direction* of the priests' [not as RV, 'concerning the law': there is no art. in the Heb.], the answer to the inquiries being the 'direction' or *tôrāh* (cf. Mal 2^{6} 'truthful *direction* was in his mouth'; v.^{7} 'they seek *direction* from his mouth'; v.^{8} 'ye have caused many to stumble by your [false] *direction*'; v.^{9} 'and have respect of persons in *direction*' [not 'in the law']). For earlier instances, partly of the subst., partly of the cognate verb, see Dt 17^{11} (of decisions given by the supreme court of priests and lay-judges on cases of civil or criminal law) 'acc. to the *direction* wherewith they *direct* thee, and acc. to the judgment which they tell thee, thou shalt do,' 24^{8} 'take heed that thou do according to all that the Levitical priests *direct* you' (in the case of leprosy), 33^{10} 'they *teach* Jacob thy judgments [Ex 21^{1}], and Israel thy *direction*,' Mic 3^{11} 'her priests *direct* for hire,' Jer 2^{8} ('the handlers of the *tôrāh* [תֹּפְשֵׂי הַתּוֹרָה], *i.e.* the priests, know me not'), 18^{18} '*direction* will not perish from his mouth,' *i.e.* the priest and his functions will never come to an end (said by those who disbelieved Jeremiah's predictions of disaster), Zeph 3^{4} ('her priests have profaned what is holy, they have done violence to *tôrāh*,'—חָמְסוּ תּוֹרָה), Ezk 7^{26} ('*direction* shall perish from the priest, and counsel from the elder': cf. La 2^{9} 'without [priestly] direction'), 22^{26} ('her priests have done violence to my *tôrāh*, they have profaned my holy things, they have made no difference between the holy and the common'), 44^{23} (cf. Lv 14^{57}) 'they shall *direct* my people between the holy and the common, and make them to know between the unclean and the clean' (notice in these two passages the connexion of *tôrāh* with ceremonial distinctions), Hab 1^{4} 'therefore *tôrāh* is numbed' (*i.e.* is paralyzed, ineffectual: the violence and disorder, vv.$^{2.\ 3.\ 4b}$, incapacitates even the priests in the discharge of their duties). These passages show clearly the association of *tôrāh* with the priests (cf. also 2 K 17$^{27.\ 28}$, 2 Ch 15^{3}); they show not less clearly that, although it denoted a simply *oral* direction, this 'direction' was regulated by certain fundamental principles, which might be neglected or violated by unfaithful priests. (4) In process of time, *tôrāh* came further to denote a *body of technical direction* on a given subject: in this sense it occurs frequently in P, esp. in the expression 'this is the *tôrāh* ('law') of the burnt-offering, of the cereal offering, of leprosy, of the Nazirite,' etc., Lv 6$^{9.\ 14.\ 25}$ 7$^{1.\ 11.\ 37}$ 11^{46} 12^{7} 13^{59} 14$^{2.\ 32.\ 54.\ 57}$ 15^{32} 26^{46}, Nu 5$^{29.\ 30}$ 6$^{13.\ 21}$ 19$^{2.\ 14}$ 31^{21}. As, however, Wellh. has pointed out (*Hist.* 59, 395; cf. Nowack, ii. 98), the more original sense of *tôrāh* even here will have been that of directions given to the laity, not (as in Lv 6–7) rules regulating the priests' own *praxis* at the altar.

In Dt (1^{5} 4$^{8.\ 44}$ 17$^{18.\ 19}$ 27$^{3.\ 8.\ 26}$ 28$^{58.\ 61}$ 29$^{21.\ 29}$ 30^{10} 31$^{9.\ 11.\ 12.\ 24.\ 26}$ 32^{46}) the term, esp. in the expression 'this law,' is used somewhat ambiguously: sometimes it denotes more particularly the code of laws embodied in Dt; sometimes it is used more generally of the exposition of an Israelite's duty contained in the book, and consisting partly of the actual laws, partly of the hortatory introductions and comments accompanying them, in other words it denotes the Deuteronomic legislation generally; in the last-named sense it also occurs repeatedly (often in such phrases as 'the book of the law,' 'the law of Moses,' 'the law that Moses commanded,' etc.) in the Deuteronomic sections of Jos and Kings (Jos 1$^{7.\ 8}$ 8$^{31.\ 32.\ 34}$ 22^{5} 23^{6}, 1 K 2^{3}, 2 K 10^{31} 14^{6} 17$^{13.\ 34.\ 37}$ 21^{8} 22$^{8.\ 11}$ 23$^{24.\ 25}$).

After the time of Ezra,* when P had been combined with JED, and the Pentateuch had assumed (virtually) its present form, the term is used, yet more generally, of the Pent. as a whole, as 1 Ch 16^{40} (with reference to Ex 29$^{38ff.}$ P), 2 Ch 31^{3} etc., Ezr 3^{2}, Neh 8$^{1ff.}$. In the Psalms it is used often of the legislative parts of the Pent. in general, as Ps 1^2 19^7 37^{31} 40^8 (perhaps here with particular reference to Dt), 94^{12} $119^{1.18}$ etc.

---

* Cf. Maine's *Ancient Law*, ch. i.

* The reference in *Malachi* (4^{2}) is to Deuteronomy: see *OTJC*^{2} p. 425 f.

ii. From the preceding survey of passages, it will be apparent that Hebrew *tôrāh* had a threefold character: it was *judicial*, *ceremonial*, and *moral*. The ceremonial *tôrāh* is most prominent in the OT; but the judicial and moral *tôrāh* was not less a reality, esp. in early times. Nor is it doubted by critics that this *tôrāh*, under all its aspects, originated with Moses. Wellhausen writes (*Hist.* 396, 397 n., 438): 'The priests derived their Torah from Moses: they claimed only to preserve and guard what Moses had left (Dt $33^{4.9f.}$). . . . From the historical tradition [of the Pent.] it is certain that Moses was the founder of the Torah.' [*] Moses, however, did not create a finished code: he was the founder of a *principle*, and of a *tradition*; he was 'the first to call into activity the actual sense for law and justice, and to begin (Ex 15^{25} 18) the series of oral decisions which were continued after him by the priest.' And Montefiore, after emphasizing the fact that from the beginning J″ was a *moral* God, a God of justice, continues (*Hibb. Lect.* pp. 45, 64 f.), 'Most original and characteristic was the moral influence of Yahveh in the domain of law. Yahveh, to the Israelite, was emphatically the God of right. . . . From the earliest times onward, Yahveh's sanctuary was the depositary of law, and the priest was his spokesman. The oracle of Yahveh, of which the priests were the interpreters, decided suits and quarrels, and probably gave guidance and advice in questions of social difficulty. The *Torah*—or teaching—of the priests, half-judicial half-pædagogic, was a deep moral influence; and there was no element in the religion which was at once more genuinely Hebrew and more closely identified with the national God. There is good reason to believe that this priestly *Torah* is the one religious institution which can be correctly attributed to Moses. . . . Though Moses was not the author of the written law, he was unquestionably the founder of that oral teaching, or *Torah*, which preceded, and became the basis of, the codes of the Pentateuch.' That the priest, in giving judgment, was J″'s spokesman, is evident from the term of Ex $18^{15f.}$ (the people come to Moses to 'inquire of God' for the settlement of civil disputes, and his decisions are 'the statutes and *tôrōth* of God') 21^6 $22^{8.9}$ (comp. 1 S 2^{25}).[†] Questions of ceremonial also fell naturally within the priests' province; and their answers on this subject were regarded similarly as the judgments of God. It resulted further, from the ethical character of J″, that the *tôrōth* of Moses and his successors, even on judicial and ceremonial matters, were always permeated by a strong moral element. The decisions framed by Moses and his successors accumulated: they were from the first the expression of the same, or similar, principles: the result was thus a *fixed tradition*, having a definitely marked character, which exerted naturally a regulative influence upon the new decisions which, as time went on, were found necessary for the purpose of meeting new needs.

iii. '*Tôrāh*' was originally *oral*,—handed down orally from one generation of priests to another, and delivered orally by the priest to those who came to seek it of him (cf. Mal $2^{6.7}$; also Job 22^{22}, Pr 31^{26}). The question arises, When was it first committed to writing? An examination of the Pent. shows (1) that the laws contained in it are not homogeneous, but fall into groups, differing from one another in style, in contents, and in scope; and (2) that the different groups cannot be regarded as the product of a single generation, but must spring from different periods of the history. These and other indications make it clear that the process of writing down the oral *Tôrāh* was a gradual one. First of all, small collections of priestly *Tôrōth* on particular subjects were written down: then these were enlarged, or supplemented by others: till the final result was the body of *tôrōth* embedded in our present Pentateuch. These different collections did not often remain in their primitive form: new provisions were introduced into them; they were revised and adjusted to suit the requirements of a later age: in some cases, they were largely expanded by parenetic or other additions. The frequently loose arrangement of subjects in the various groups is a sufficient proof that we no longer possess them in their original form. The process of writing down began, no doubt, at an early date; though we cannot say definitely how early. The Book of the Covenant is an early written collection of such *tôrōth*: it is true, the name is not actually given to it; but the analogy of Ex $18^{16.20}$ shows that it would correctly describe it. The ritual section of this collection (23^{10-19}) appears in a different recension in Ex 34^{10-26}. Other collections of *tôrōth* are those forming the original nucleus of the 'Law of Holiness' (see below). The laws forming the basis of the Deut. code were also doubtless, at least in the great majority of cases, taken by the writer from a written source (or sources). The existence of written *tôrōth* is implied distinctly in Hos 8^{12} RV (where J″ says that, however many 'directions' He writes for Ephraim, His people treat them as something with which they have no concern): the context, however, and 4^6 (see above) show that the allusion here is not to ritual, but to ethical and religious precepts, especially those relating to civil righteousness.[*]

There is an interesting, but obscure, passage bearing on this subject, in Jer 8^8 'How say ye, We are wise, and J″'s *direction* is with us? Surely falsely hath it wrought, the false pen of the scribes.' The priests here claim that they possess the legitimate tradition, and principles, of J″'s *tôrāh*: Jeremiah replies that the scribes—which must denote here those who committed this *tôrāh* to writing—had dealt falsely, *i.e.* (apparently) had been untrue to the principles which it was their duty to maintain, had in some way perverted or falsified the *tôrāh* of which they were the exponents (cf. 2^8, though there is not here any reference to writing). We do not know more precisely what Jeremiah alludes to: perhaps to heathen rites, for which, in the syncretistic fashion of the day, the false priests sought thus to gain the sanction of J″'s name.

Other priestly laws were written down by Ezekiel, in his draft for the worship of the restored community, esp. in chs. 43–45 (cf. *OTJC*² 374–377; Ryle, *Canon*, 73); but the great bulk—those, *viz.*, embraced in what is now generally known as the 'Priests' Code'—were not, it seems, codified till somewhat later, when, the temple having been destroyed, and the worship interrupted, the priests, that the traditions of their order might not be forgotten, reduced to writing and systematized what had hitherto been familiar to them from the daily exercise of their profession (cf. Wellh. *Hist.* 59 f., 404; Ryle, *Canon*, 71–74; Montefiore, *Hibb. Lect.* 234 f.).

iv. *Synonyms of 'Law.'*[†] — 1. מִשְׁפָּט *mishpāṭ*, 'judgment' (sometimes rendered 'ordinance'), properly a decision given in an individual case, and then established as a precedent for other similar cases. *Mishpāṭ* occurs in this sense in JE, Ex 15^{25} ('there made he for it (Israel) a statute and *ordinance*, and there he proved it,'—

---

[*] Comp. W. R. Smith, *OTJC*² 303, 339.

[†] Cf. *Il.* i. 238 f., ix. 98 f. (θέμιστες intrusted to the king by Zeus).

[*] Wellh. *ad loc.*: 'Offenbar Weisungen über die דעת אלהים (4^1), die also damals schon aufgezeichnet vorlagen'; cf. *Hist.* 57; Cheyne or Nowack, *ad loc.*; König, *Offenb.-Begr.* ii. 329; Ryle *Canon of OT*, 33.

[†] Cf. Briggs, *Higher Crit. of the Hex.*² (1897), p. 242 ff.

a noticeable passage, witnessing, like Ex $18^{16.\,20}$ above, to Moses' work as a framer of laws for his people[*]), 21^{1} and 24^{3} (of the enactments in the 'Book of the Covenant' prescribing penalties for particular offences, introduced by *if* or *when*, and contained chiefly in 21^{1}–22^{17}); in H (always combined with חֻקּוֹת 'statutes') Lv $18^{4.\,5.\,26}$ 19^{37} 20^{22} 25^{18} $26^{15.\,43.\,46}$ (here חֻקִּים); in Dt, usually with 'statutes' (חֻקִּים, not as in H חֻקּוֹת), of the provisions of the Deut. code (chs. 12–26), $4^{1.\,5.\,8.\,14.\,45}$ $5^{1.\,31}$ $6^{1.\,20}$ $7^{11.\,12}$ 8^{11} $11^{1.\,32}$ 12^{1} $26^{16.\,17}$ 30^{16}; also in the Blessing of Moses, 33^{10} (as pronounced by the priests: ‖ 'direction'); in P rarely, and in the specific sense of Ex 21^{1} 24^{3} only Nu 27^{11} $35^{24.\,29}$, cf. 36^{13}.[†] The primary sense of the word is an enactment of the civil or criminal law; but it is also (as in H) applied to enactments of the moral or ceremonial law, which might be viewed analogously as Divine 'decisions.' (The word occurs also frequently in other books besides the Pent.)[‡]

In Gn 14^{7} Kadesh is called 'En-mishpāṭ,' 'spring of judgment,' —either, it seems, because it was the site of an ancient oracle, at which decisions were given for the settlement of disputes, or (Wellh. *Hist.* 343, 397 n., 430, 439) from its having been the scene of Moses' legislative activity, during what appears to have been Israel's long stay there (Driver, *Deut.* p. 32 f.).

Mishpāṭ also occurs sometimes in the enlarged sense of *right* ('Recht'), as a rule of action in general: it thus becomes virtually equivalent to *religion*, regarded as a system of practical duties; Jer 5^{4} 'they (the poorer classes) know not the way of J″, nor the *mishpāṭ* of their God,' v.^{5} 8^{7}, Is 42^{1} 'he shall bring forth (publish) *right* (*i.e.* religion) to the nations,' vv.$^{3.\,4}$ 51^{4} (‖ *tôrāh*), 58^{2}; cf. 2 K $17^{26.\,27}$ (AV and RV, poorly, 'manner').

2. חֹק, חֻקָּה, *ḥōḳ*, *ḥuḳḳāh*, 'statute,' from חקק *to cut in, inscribe, engrave* (Ezk 23^{14}, Job 19^{23}, Is 10^{1}, Pr 8^{15} [AV and RV 'decree']), and therefore denoting properly something *engraven* on stone, or other durable surface, though applied in usage to any kind of fixed ordinance. It was a common practice in antiquity to engrave laws upon slabs of stone or metal (*στῆλαι*), and to set them up in some public place—and the same custom is presupposed in the use of these two words in Hebrew. Both terms occur frequently in H, Dt, and P. The earliest examples (JE) are Ex 12^{24} 13^{10} $15^{25.\,26}$ $18^{16.\,20}$ (E); cf. (in a different connexion) Gn 47^{26}, also Jos 24^{25}, Jg 11^{39}, 1 S 30^{25}. The combination 'statutes and judgments' is common in H and Dt (see above). For instances in P (often in the expression, 'a statute [RV frequently, 'due'] for ever'), see Ex 27^{21} 28^{43} $29^{9.\,28}$, Lv 3^{17} $6^{18.\,22}$ $16^{29.\,31.\,34}$ etc.[§]

3. מִצְוָה *miẓwāh*, 'commandment,' a general term, implying something *commanded* (viz. by J″). Most frequent in Dt (43 times), as $4^{2.\,40}$ $5^{29.\,31}$. Rare in the other codes: in JE, Ex 15^{26} 16^{28} 20^{6} (prob. from Dt), 24^{12}; in H, Lv 22^{31} $26^{3.\,14.\,15}$; in P, Lv $4^{2.\,13.\,22.\,27}$ 5^{17} 27^{34}, Nu $15^{22.\,31.\,39.\,40}$ 36^{13}.

4. עֵדְוֹת *'êdwōth* or *'êdōth*, 'testimonies': in the Pent. only Dt 4^{45} $6^{17.\,20}$; a theological term, denoting generally moral and religious ordinances, regarded as an *attestation*, or solemn declaration, of the Divine will. In P the sing. *testimony* is used frequently of the Decalogue, as a statement *κατ' ἐξοχήν* of God's will for man, esp. in the expressions 'Ark, tables, or tabernacle, of the testimony,' Ex $25^{16.\,21.\,22}$ 27^{21} 31^{18} 34^{29}, Nu $1^{50.\,53}$, and elsewhere.

5. פִּקּוּדִים *piḳḳūdîm*, 'precepts': only in the Psalms (19^{8} 103^{18} 111^{7}, and 21 times in Ps 119).

v. Hebrew law falls into distinct *Codes*, those viz. of JE, Dt, H, and P, and the characteristics of these must next be examined.[*]

A. In JE we have (1) the DECALOGUE (wh. see), Ex 20^{2-17}, a concise but comprehensive summary of the fundamental duties of the Israelite towards God and man. We have (2) the 'Book of the Covenant' (Ex 20^{20}–23^{33}; in explanation of the name see 24^{7}), the laws contained in which comprise two elements (24^{3}), the 'words' (or commands) and the 'judgments': the 'judgments,' expressed all hypothetically, and relating to the civil and criminal law, being comprised in 21^{1}–$22^{17.\,25-27}$, and the 'words,' consisting mostly of positive injunctions of the moral or ceremonial law, and introduced by *thou shalt* or *thou shalt not*, being comprised in 20^{23-26} $22^{18-24.\,28-31}$ 23^{1-19}. With the *form* of the laws, and the parenetic additions which they sometimes exhibit (as 22^{23-24}), we are not here concerned: the laws themselves are designed to regulate the life of a community living under simple conditions of society, and chiefly engaged in agriculture. They may be grouped as follows[†]:—

i. *Enactments relating to civil and criminal law:*
  1. The rights of Hebrew slaves (male and female), 21^{1-11}.
  2. Law of murder and manslaughter vv.$^{12-14}$, of violence to a parent v.^{15}, of man-stealing v.^{16}, of cursing a parent v.^{17}.
  3. Bodily injury caused by men vv.$^{18-27}$ (bodily injury inflicted in a quarrel v.$^{18\text{f.}}$; beating a slave to death v.$^{20\text{f.}}$; injury done in a quarrel to a pregnant woman v.^{22}, or other bystander vv.$^{23-25}$; striking out the eye or tooth of a slave v.$^{26\text{f.}}$).
  4. Bodily injury due to animals, or neglect of reasonable precautions vv.$^{28-36}$ (injury done by an ox to a free man or woman vv.$^{28-31}$, or to a slave v.^{32}; injury caused by neglect in leaving an open pit v.$^{33\text{f.}}$; injury done by an ox to one belonging to another person v.$^{35\text{f.}}$: in the first and last of these cases, the penalty, where the neglect is culpable, is materially increased).
  5. Theft 22^{1-4} (theft of ox or sheep v.^{1}; burglary vv.$^{2-4}$).
  6. Compensation for damage v.$^{5\text{f.}}$ (damage done by straying cattle v.^{5}; damage done by fire spreading to another man's field v.^{6}).
  7. Compensation for loss or injury in various cases of deposit or loan vv.$^{7-15}$ (cases of deposit vv.$^{7-9.\,10-13}$; case of injury to a borrowed animal v.$^{14\text{f.}}$).
  8. Compensation for seduction v.$^{16\text{f.}}$.

ii. *Moral, religious, and ceremonial enactments:*
  1. Law relating to altars 20^{24-26} (altars to be of earth or of unhewn stone, and not to be approached by steps).
  2. Sorcery and bestiality to be punished with death $22^{18\text{f.}}$.
  3. Sacrifice to 'other gods' to be punished with the 'ban' 22^{20}.
  4. Humanitarian laws 22^{21-27} (the *gêr*, or resident foreigner, the widow and the orphan, not to be oppressed 22^{21-24}; interest not be taken from the poor 22^{25}; a garment taken in pledge to be returned before nightfall $22^{26\text{f.}}$).
  5. God not to be reviled, nor a ruler cursed 22^{28}.
  6. Firstfruits and firstborn males to be given to J″ $22^{29\text{f.}}$ (cf. 13^{12}, where it is added that the firstling of an ass is to be either redeemed with a lamb or killed, and the firstborn of a man is to be redeemed); and flesh torn of beasts not to be eaten 22^{31}.
  7. Veracity and impartiality in giving evidence in a court of law 23^{1-3}.
  8. An *enemy's* beast to be preserved from harm $23^{4\text{f.}}$.
  9. Justice to be administered impartially 23^{6-9} (bribes not to be taken: the poor and the *gêr* not to be oppressed).
  10. The seventh year to be a fallow year, and the seventh day a day of rest 23^{10-12} (the motive in each case is a philanthropic one).
  11. God's commands to be honoured, and 'other gods' not to be invoked 23^{13}.
  12. The three annual pilgrimages (of Unleavened Cakes, Harvest, and Weeks) to be observed 23^{14-17} (all males to appear before J″ at each).
  13. Three closing regulations $23^{18.\,19}$ (sacrifice not to be offered with leavened bread, nor its fat to remain un-

---

[*] Cf. Wellh. *Hist.* 343; and Dillm. *ad loc.*

[†] Cf. Ex $21^{9.\,31}$, Dt 21^{17}, Jer $32^{7.\,8}$, Ezk 16^{38} 23^{45}.

[‡] See further Baentsch, *Das Bundesbuch* (1892), 29–34.

[§] Both these words are also used sometimes of *laws of nature*: as Jer 31^{36}, Job 28^{26}, Ps 148^{6} (חֹק); Jer 5^{24} 31^{35} 33^{26}, Job 38^{33} (חֻקָּה).

[*] The *literary* characteristics of the Codes do not fall within the scope of the present article; but it may be remarked in passing that each possesses distinctive literary features of its own, and that even the form of the laws sometimes differs in the different codes: thus, while in Ex 21–23 a law commonly begins in the form וכי יכה איש ($21^{20.\,22.\,26}$ etc.), in P the form אדם כי or נפש כי is frequent (Lv 1^{2} 2^{1} 4^{2} etc.), and in H the form איש איש אשר (Lv $17^{3.\,8.\,10.\,13}$ etc.).

[†] Comp. Stade, *Gesch.* i. 636; Holzinger, *Einl.* 243. Many of these laws seem to fall into groups of *ten*, which L. B. Paton has endeavoured recently to restore in their (supposed) original completeness; see *JBL*, 1893, p. 79 ff. (an abstract in *LOT*^{6} p. 40); and cf. Briggs, *l.c.* p. 211 ff.

burnt until the following morning; firstfruits to be brought to 'the house of J″'; a kid not to be boiled in its mother's milk).

The ceremonial provisions contained in 23^{10-19} are repeated in 34^{10-26}—a section sometimes called the 'Little Book of the Covenant,' and sometimes also (from 34^{28}) the 'Words of the Covenant'—with changes of order, and slight verbal variations, and with the addition in 34^{12-17} of more specific injunctions against idolatry.*

The 'Book of the Covenant' is the oldest Code of Hebrew law with which we are acquainted—older, no doubt, than the narrative (E) in which it was incorporated; it embodies, to use Cornill's expression, the 'consuetudinary law of the early monarchy,' and embraces (in accordance with the sense of *tôrāh* and *mishpāṭ*, explained above) the formulated decisions which had accumulated gradually up to that age. That the community for whose use it was designed had made *some* progress in civilization is evident from the many restrictions imposed on the arbitrary action of the individual; on the other hand, that it was still in a relatively archaic condition appears from such regulations as $21^{18f.}$ and 21^{23-25} (the *lex talionis*), or the conception of God as the immediate source of judgment (21^{6} $22^{8.9}$; cf. 1 S 2^{25}). The stage of society for which the Code was designed, and the characteristics of the Code itself, are well indicated by W. R. Smith (*OTJC*² 340 ff.). 'The society contemplated in it is of very simple structure. The basis of life is agricultural. Cattle and agricultural produce are the main elements of wealth; and the laws of property deal almost exclusively with them. The principles of criminal and civil justice are those still current among the Arabs of the desert, viz. retaliation and pecuniary compensation. Murder is dealt with by the law of blood revenge; but' the distinction—which in Greece was still not recognized in the age of Homer—is drawn between murder and manslaughter, and 'the innocent man-slayer may seek asylum at God's altar (21^{13}, comp. with v.^{14}: cf. 1 K $2^{28f.}$). With murder are ranked man-stealing, offences against parents, and witchcraft. Other injuries are occasions of self-help, or of private suits to be adjusted at the sanctuary (22^{9} [cf. 21^{6}]). Personal injuries fall under the law of retaliation, just as murder does. Blow for blow is still the law of the Arabs; and in Canaan, no doubt as in the desert, the retaliation was usually sought in the way of self-help. Except in this form, there is no punishment, but only compensation, which in some cases is at the will of the injured party (who has the alternative of direct revenge), but in general is defined by law. Degrading punishments are unknown, and loss of liberty is inflicted only on the thief who cannot pay a fine (22^{3}). Definite rights are secured for the slave. He recovers his freedom after 7 years, unless he prefers to remain a bondman, and seals solemnly his determination at the door of the sanctuary. His right of blood revenge against his master is, however, limited ($21^{20f.}$); though, instead of the *lex talionis* for minor injuries, he can claim his liberty ($21^{26f.}$). Women do not enjoy full social equality with men. Women slaves were slaves for life, but were often, it may be inferred, married to members or servants of the family ($21^{4.7-9}$). The daughter was her father's property (21^{7}), who received a price for surrendering her to a husband; and so a daughter's dishonour is compensated by law as a pecuniary loss to her father ($22^{16f.}$).'†

To many of the laws there are interesting parallels in the early codes of other nations (*e.g.* in Solon's Code at Athens): these are pointed out in the commentary of Dillmann. Some of the provisions seem to us harsh (21^{21} 22^{18}), but account must be taken of the age for which they were prescribed; and a humane regard for the unprotected and the helpless is unquestionably the dominant spirit of the Code.

Turning now to the more distinctively moral and religious aspects of the Code, we observe firstly the regard paid to the claims of humanity and justice. An emphatic voice is raised against those crying vices of Oriental government, the maladministration of justice and the oppression of the poor. The *gêr*, or foreigner living in Israel under the protection of a family or a community, has no legal status, but he is not to be oppressed. The Sabbath is enjoined as a day of rest for men and cattle; and the produce of every field or vineyard is to be left to the poor one year in seven. Religious institutions are in a simple, undeveloped stage. He who sacrifices to any god but Jehovah falls under the ban. The only ordinance of ceremonial sanctity is to abstain from the flesh of animals torn by wild beasts. Altars are to be of simple, almost rudimentary, structure. The sacred dues are firstlings and firstfruits; and the former must be presented at a sanctuary on the eighth day. This regulation of itself presupposes a plurality of sanctuaries, which also agrees with the terms of 20^{24b}. The three pilgrimages, at which every male is to appear before J″, mark three periods of the agricultural year—the beginning and the close of harvest, and the end of the vintage. The only points of sacrificial ritual insisted on are abstinence from leaven in connexion with the blood of the sacrifice, and the rule that the fat must be burnt the same night. The only sacrifices named are burnt-offerings and peace- (or thank-) offerings (20^{24}).

B. The next code which has to be considered is that of *Deuteronomy.* From a literary point of view, Deuteronomy (disregarding the few short passages belonging to P, and the two poems in chs. 32. 33) consists of a code of laws accompanied by hortatory introductions and comments. Here we are concerned only with the laws as such. A comparison of the laws embodied in Dt with those of the 'Book of the Covenant' at once shows that they are designed for a community living under more fully developed social conditions. Dt, speaking generally, may be described as a revised and enlarged edition of the Book of the Covenant, adapted to the requirements of a later age. With the exception of the compensations to be paid for various injuries (Ex 21^{13}–22^{15}), nearly all the provisions of Ex 20^{22}–23^{33} are included in it; and there are in addition many entirely new ones. A complete tabular synopsis of the two codes will be found above (vol. i. p. 600 f.); here, therefore, it will be sufficient to give a brief outline of the Deut. Code, and to make some general remarks on the Deuteronomic changes and additions.

Outline of laws in Deuteronomy:—

i. *Religious Observances:*
    1. Law of single sanctuary 12^{1-28} (burnt-offerings, sacrifices [*i.e.* peace-offerings], tithes, 'heave-offerings' [firstfruits, and other offerings from the produce of the soil], vows, freewill offerings, and firstlings, all to be offered at the central sanctuary: blood not to be eaten).
    2. Laws against the worship of 'other gods' 12^{29}–13^{18}.
    3. Sanctity of the laity 14^{1-21} (person not to be disfigured in mourning $14^{1f.}$; law of clean and unclean animals 14^{3-20}; flesh of animals dying of themselves not to be eaten 14^{21}).
    4. Laws tending to ameliorate the condition of the poor 14^{22}–15^{18} (disposition of the charitable tithe 14^{22-29}; relief secured to debtors every seventh year 15^{1-11}; law of slavery 15^{12-18}).
    5. Offerings and festivals (firstling males to be offered to

---

* $34^{18}=23^{15a}$; $34^{19-20a}=13^{12.13}$; $34^{20b}=23^{15b}$; $34^{21}=23^{12}$; $34^{22}=23^{16}$; $34^{23}=23^{17}$; $34^{25}=23^{18}$; $34^{26}=23^{19}$ (in most cases, with slight verbal differences). For attempts to recover from these laws a 'Decalogue of J,' see (briefly) *LOT* 37 (⁶ 39), more fully, Briggs, *l.c.* p. 189 ff.

† See, further, art. CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS in vol. i.

J″ 15^{19-23}; regulations respecting the observance of the three annual pilgrimages 16^{1-17}).

ii. *The Office-bearers of the Theocracy :*
  1. Judges, 16^{18-20} (to be appointed in all cities ; and to be strictly impartial in judgment).
    [$16^{21f.}$ asherahs and 'pillars' prohibited ; 17^{1} sacrifices to be without blemish ; 17^{2-7} an Israelite, convicted of idolatry, to be stoned to death].
  2. The supreme central tribunal 17^{8-13}.
  3. The king 17^{14-20}.
  4. Priests 18^{1-8}.
  5. The Prophet 18^{9-22} (v.$^{10f.}$ against different forms of magic and divination).

iii. *Criminal Law :*
  1. Manslaughter and murder 19^{1-13} 21^{1-9} (cities of refuge 19^{1-13} ; symbolical rite of expiation for an untraced murder 21^{1-9}).
  2. Law of the landmark 19^{14}.
  3. Law of witness 19^{15-21}.
    [Four laws designed to secure self-control and forbearance in the conduct of war, c. 20. 21^{10-14}].

iv. ***Miscellaneous Laws, relating chiefly to Civil and Domestic life.***—21^{15}–25 : *e.g.* primogeniture 21^{15-17} ; treatment of undutiful son 21^{18-21} ; lost cattle or other property to be restored to its owner (based on Ex $23^{4f.}$) 22^{1-4} ; law of 'tassels' 22^{12} ; slander against a newly-married maiden 22^{13-21} ; adultery 22^{22} ; seduction 22^{23-29} ; prohibition of marriage with step-mother 22^{30} ; usury (interest) $23^{19.\,20}$; vows 23^{21-23} ; divorce 24^{1-4} ; man-stealing 24^{7} (based on Ex 21^{16}) ; leprosy $24^{8.\,9}$; pledges $24^{6.\,10-13}$; family of a criminal not to be punished with him 24^{16} ; excessive severity in punishment forbidden 25^{1-3} ; Levirate-marriage 25^{5-10} ; just weights and measures 25^{13-16}.

Note also the moral and religious duties which form the subject of the imprecations in $27^{15ff.}$ (all with parallels in JE, H, or Dt ; see Driver, *Deut.* p. 299).

This outline will suffice to give an idea of the greater variety of subjects included in the Code of Dt as compared with that of JE, as also of the greater detail in which they are mostly treated. The organization of society is more complex ; and institutions at once more numerous and more varied are needed to regulate it. The following are the principal *changes* in the laws repeated from JE. In Ex 21^{7} a daughter sold by her father into slavery does not go free in the 7th year : in Dt $15^{12.\,17}$ she does ; since the law of Ex was formulated, society has advanced ; a father's power over his daughter is less absolute than it once was, and it is no longer usual for a Hebrew girl to be *bought* to be the wife of her master or his son. In Ex 21^{13} the asylum for manslaughter is J″'s altar : in Dt 19 six cities are set apart for the purpose. In Ex $22^{16f.}$ seduction is treated among cases of injury to property ; in Dt ($22^{28f.}$) it appears among laws of moral purity. In Ex 22^{30} firstlings are to be offered on the 8th day from birth ; in Dt 15^{20} they are to be presented annually—a change rendered necessary by the substitution of a single central place of sacrifice for the local altars. In Ex $23^{10f.}$ the sabbatical year is essentially one of rest for the soil, in Dt 15^{1-6} the institution is so applied as simply to form a check on the power of the creditor.

In other cases, the principle of the older law is merely extended, or fresh definitions are added. Thus Dt 13 and 17^{2-7} may be regarded as expansions, with reference to particular cases, of the brief law against idolatry contained in Ex 22^{20}; 16^{1-17}, as compared with Ex 23^{14-17}, adds fresh regulations for the observance of the three annual Pilgrimages ; $18^{10f.}$ (against divination and magic) extends the principle of Ex 22^{18} (sorceress alone) to other analogous cases ; 19^{15-21} (the law of witness) is a development, with special provisions, of the general principle of Ex 23^{1} ; 22^{1-3} extends the principle of Ex 23^{4} to other cases of lost property as $24^{6.\,10-13}$ (pledges) does that of Ex $22^{26f.}$; 22^{23-29} (seduction) particularizes with greater precision than Ex $22^{16f.}$ the cases which might arise. There are also instances in which the older law is repeated without further modification than that of form, as $16^{19f.}$ (Ex $23^{6.\,8}$), $23^{19f.}$ (Ex 22^{25}), 24^{7} (Ex 21^{16}).

Those provisions of Dt, which are without parallel in JE, relate mostly to conditions which, in the age when the laws of JE were drawn up, were not yet regarded as demanding legislative regulation : the greater variety of subjects included in the Code is evidence both of the growth of civilization in itself, and also of more systematic and maturer reflection upon its needs. A fundamental principle of the Deut. legislation is opposition to the heathen practices of the Canaanites : this is particularly prominent in the parenetic parts of the book, but it also determines several of the laws. The law of the single sanctuary (ch. 12), it cannot be doubted, is largely prompted by the desire to free the worship of J″ from the heathen elements by which it had been contaminated at the local shrines ; the essential aim of the law of the king (17^{14-20}) is to guard this most important office against the influence of foreigners or participation in foreign policy ; the laws of 12^{29}–13^{18} $14^{1.\,3-20}$ $16^{21.\,22}$ 17^{2-7} $18^{10.\,11}$ 22^{5} $23^{17f.}$, are also, some obviously, others, it is probable, implicitly, directed against heathen observances. Of ritual and ceremonial laws there are but few in Dt, though more than there are in JE. Sacrifices and other dues are to be brought to the central sanctuary (ch. 12), but little (v.^{27}) or nothing is said of the ritual with which they are to be presented. Only blood is not to be eaten ($12^{16.\,23}$ 15^{23}), in accordance with an old practice in Israel (1 S $14^{32.\,34}$), though no provision on the subject occurs in the legislation of JE. The laws regarding firstlings, and the observance of the three Pilgrimages (15^{19-23} 16^{1-17}), are fuller than the corresponding ones in JE. Regulations of a ceremonial character without parallel in JE are those relating to clean and unclean animals (14^{3-20}), tithe (14^{22-29}), the offering of sacrifices without blemish (17^{1}), the dues of the priests (18^{1-8}), the brief note on leprosy ($24^{8f.}$), and the liturgical forms to be used by the Israelite at the central sanctuary, when he presents his first-fruits (26^{1-11}), and after payment of the triennial tithe (26^{12-15}). It need only be added that it would be a serious mistake to suppose that the laws of Dt were the *creation* of the age in which the book was composed. This may be the case with one or two : but the majority are beyond question much older, the aim of Dt being merely to present them in a new literary setting, and to inculcate them with fresh motives.

C. We come next to the *Law of Holiness* (H), Lv 17–26. This consists substantially of an older body of laws, which have been arranged by a later editor in a parenetic setting, the whole thus formed being afterwards incorporated in P, with additions and modifications designed for the purpose of harmonizing it more completely with the system and spirit of P. For details see LEVITICUS, or *LOT*^{6} p. 47 ff. ;* here our attention must be confined as far as possible to the older body of laws thus imbedded in this part of Lv.

Outline of the original nucleus of the Law of Holiness :—

$17^{3a.\,4}$ (partly). Domestic animals, when slain for food, to be presented at a sanctuary.

17^{9} (partly). All sacrifices to be offered to J″.

$17^{10.\,13f.}$ (partly). Blood, whether of domestic or wild animals, not to be eaten.

18^{6-23}. Laws of chastity (four pentads of laws : v.$^{6-10}$ kinship of the first degree ; vv.$^{11-15}$ kinship of the second degree ; vv.$^{16-19}$ relationships through marriage ; vv.$^{20-23}$ purity outside the family, and Molech-worship).

$19^{3-4.\,9-20.\,26-36}$. Religious and moral duties : vv.$^{3-4}$ laws parallel with the first Table of the Decalogue ; vv.$^{11-12}$ laws parallel with the 8th and 9th Commandments ; vv.$^{13-18.\,32-36}$ laws of conduct towards one's neighbour,—justice in judgment, freedom from malice, respect of elders, justice in trade, etc. ; vv.$^{26-31}$ nothing to be eaten with the blood, divination and other heathen superstitions not to be practised.

[Vv.$^{5-8}$ on peace-offerings, v.^{19} against dissimilar mixtures, v.^{20} a special case of unchastity, are unrelated to their present context, and probably once stood elsewhere in H. V.$^{9f.}$ (gleanings to be left) is better placed in 23^{22}; and vv.$^{23-25}$ (fruit of newly planted trees not to be eaten till the fifth year) is a ceremonial regulation more akin to ch. 23, or 25$^{2-7}$, than to the main topic of ch. 19].

---

* For chs. 18–20, 21–22, also, the valuable discussions of L. B Paton, *JBL*, 1897, p. 31 ff.; 1898, p. 149 ff.

20$^{2-21}$. Penalties for Molech-worship, and necromancy (vv.$^{2-6. 27}$), and for different cases of unlawful marriage and unchastity (similar to, and in many cases the same as, those prohibited in ch. 18).

Chs. 21–22 (with the exception of some redactional additions) ceremonial regulations respecting priests and offerings (restrictions in domestic life obligatory upon the priests 21$^{1-15}$; physical imperfections disqualifying from the priesthood 21$^{16-24}$; conditions for partaking in 'holy' food 22$^{1-16}$; animals offered in sacrifice to be free from imperfections 22$^{17-25}$; three special regulations regarding sacrifices 22$^{26-30}$).

23$^{10-12. 15-17. 18-19}$ (partly) ^{20} (mostly) $^{22. 39}$ (middle part), $^{40. 41a. 42}$ (regulations for the observance of the Feasts of Unleavened Cakes, Weeks, and Booths). The rest of the chapter consists of supplemental regulations relating partly to these Feasts, partly to other sacred seasons, incorporated from the point of view of P.

24$^{15b-16a. 17-21}$ (laws on blasphemy, and certain cases of injury to man and beast).

25^{2b-7a}, parts of vv.$^{8-55}$, perhaps in particular vv.$^{8-9a. 10a. 13-15. 17-22. 24-25. 35-40a. 43. 47. 53. 55}$. Land to lie fallow in the sabbatical year vv.$^{2b-7}$; land not to be sold beyond the next Jubile v.$^{13-15}$; and four regulations for the relief of the impoverished Israelite v.^{25}, v.$^{35-38}$ (usury not to be exacted of him), vv.$^{39. 40a. 43}$, vv.$^{47. 53. 55}$.

26$^{1f.}$ (certain fundamental religious duties).

To the original Law of Holiness belong also, in all probability, Lv 11$^{2-7. 9-10. 13-22. 41}$ (animals permitted, and prohibited, for food); cf. 20^{25}.

The nucleus of Ex 31^{13-14a} (on the Sabbath); and of Nu 15^{38} (the law of 'tassels')

The original nucleus of H, when compared with the Book of the Covenant, will be seen to deal very much less fully with civil and criminal law, and more fully with the moral and ceremonial law. The only regulations relating to criminal law are those in 24$^{17-21}$: those in ch. 25 might be classed as belonging formally to civil law; but they are regarded more properly as expressions of religious or humanitarian principle. In chs. 18–20 the fundamental moral principles underlying the Decalogue and parts of the Book of the Covenant are applied to a much larger number of individual cases than is the case in the earlier legislation. Ceremonial legislation has evidently advanced: the number of regulations relating to priests and sacrifices is noticeable. The only species of sacrifices mentioned are, however, the same as those mentioned in Dt, viz. the burnt- and the peace-offering. The characteristic feature of this group of laws in its present form, viz. their subordination to the principle of *holiness*—partly ceremonial, partly moral—seems not to attach to the laws in their original form, but to be an addition due to the compiler (R^{h}).

D. The legislation of the *Priests' Code*, properly so called (P), is confined almost entirely (see exceptions in Nu 27$^{1-11}$ 35. 36) to ceremonial observances, especially those relating to sacrifice and purification. The following is an outline of the subjects treated in it (directions for the construction of the tabernacle and its parts omitted):—

Gn 17 Circumcision.
Ex 12$^{1-13}$ the Passover; vv.$^{14-20}$ Feast of Unleavened Cakes; vv.$^{43-49}$ qualifications for partaking in the Passover.
  28 the dress of the priests.
  29$^{1-37}$ ritual for the consecration of the priests.
  29$^{38-42}$ the daily burnt-offering.
  30$^{22-38}$ composition of the anointing oil, and the incense.
  31$^{12-17}$ (expansion of H), 35$^{1-3}$ the Sabbath to be observed under pain of death.
Lv 1 ritual of the burnt-offering.
  2 ,, ,, meal- (or cereal-) offering.
  3 ,, ,, peace- (or thank-) offering.
  4–5^{13} ritual of the sin-offering, and cases in which it is to be offered.
  5^{14}–6^{7} (Heb. 5$^{14-26}$) cases in which a guilt-offering (אָשָׁם) is prescribed (the *ritual* of the guilt-offering follows in 7$^{1-7}$).
  6$^{8-30}$ (Heb. 6$^{1-23}$) 7$^{8-38}$ regulations, in the main ancillary to those in 1–6^{7} (Heb. 1–5), relating to the sacrifices there prescribed:—
  6$^{8-13}$ the dress of the priest who offers the burnt-offering; fire to be always burning on the altar of burnt-offering.
  6$^{14-18}$ the priests' portion of the meal-offering.
Lv 6$^{19-23}$ the high priest's daily meal-offering.
  6$^{24-30}$ disposal of the flesh of the sin-offering.
  7$^{8-10}$ the priests' share of the burnt- and meal-offering.
  7$^{11-21}$ on the *species* of peace-offering, and the conditions under which the flesh is to be eaten.
  7$^{22-27}$ fat and blood not to be eaten.
  7$^{28-34}$ the officiating priest's share of the peace-offering.
  10$^{12f. 14f.}$ the priest's share of the meal- and peace-offering (substantially a duplicate of 6^{16} and 7$^{33f.}$).
  10$^{16-20}$ the flesh of the people's sin-offering (4$^{13-21}$) to be eaten by the priest.
  11–16 Laws of Purification and Atonement:—
  11 Clean and unclean animals.
  11$^{1-23. 41-47}$ animals clean and unclean as *food* (H's law on the subject, with slight expansions).
  11$^{24-40}$ on uncleanness caused by *contact* with the carcases of certain animals.
  12 purification after child-birth.
  13–14 Leprosy (in man, clothing, and houses; diagnosis of symptoms, and ritual of purification).
  15 Purification after certain natural secretions.
  16 Ceremonial of the annual Day of Atonement.
  17–26 Supplementary additions in various parts (as 19$^{21f.}$); redactional additions harmonizing chs. 21–22 with the principles of P; in ch. 23 the parts not assigned above to H (the Day of Atonement, vv.$^{26-32}$; and regulations for the observance of the other sacred seasons, fuller than those of H, but not so minute as those of Nu 28–29); 24$^{1-4}$ the lamps in the tabernacle; 24$^{5-9}$ the shewbread; in ch. 25 additions, partly consisting of more detailed regulations, esp. regarding the redemption of land, and partly extending the benefits of the Jubile from lands to *persons*.
  27 the commutation of vows and tithes.
Nu 5$^{1-4}$ Lepers, and other persons ceremonially unclean, to be excluded from the camp.
  5$^{5-8}$ a supplement to Lv 5^{14}–6^{7} (Heb. 5$^{14-26}$), prescribing that, in case the defrauded person is dead, and there be no next-of-kin, the compensation is to be paid to the priest offering the guilt-offering.
  5$^{9-10}$ Dedicated things to belong to the priest receiving them.
  5$^{11-31}$ law of ordeal for a woman suspected by her husband of unfaithfulness.
  6$^{1-21}$ the law of the Nazirite.
  6$^{22-27}$ the formula of priestly benediction.
  8$^{1-4}$ instructions for fixing the lamps upon the golden candlestick.
  8$^{5-26}$ the consecration of the Levites, and (v.$^{23ff.}$) their period of service.
  9$^{9-14}$ (a law arising out of the incident, 9$^{1-8}$) the supplementary or 'Little' Passover (to be observed by those accidentally debarred from keeping the regular Passover).
  15$^{1-16}$ the meal- and drink-offering to accompany every burnt- and peace-offering.
  15$^{17-21}$ a cake of the first dough of each year to be offered to J″.
  15$^{22-31}$ the sin-offering, to be offered by the community, or an individual, for sins of inadvertence (a parallel to Lv 4$^{13-21. 27-31}$).
  15$^{37-41}$ the law of 'tassels' (expanded from the shorter law of H).
  18$^{1-7}$ the duties, and relative position, of the priests and the Levites.
  18$^{8-19}$ the revenues of the priests.
  18$^{20-32}$ distribution of the tithe between priests and Levites.
  19 the rite of purification, by means of water mingled with the ashes of a red heifer, after defilement with a corpse.
  27$^{1-11}$ the law of the inheritance of daughters, in families in which there is no son.
  28–29. A priestly calendar, prescribing the public sacrifices to be offered at each season. Cf. Lv 23.
  30 the law of vows.
  31$^{21-30}$ the law of the distribution of spoil taken in war (after purification, to be divided equally between the soldiers engaged and the community,—the priests, however, to have $\frac{1}{500}$ of the former, and the Levites $\frac{1}{50}$ of the latter).
  35$^{1-8}$ Forty-eight cities appointed for the residence of the Levites.
  35$^{9-34}$ Law of murder and manslaughter (cities of refuge, with regulations for their use).
  36 Heiresses possessing landed property to marry into their own tribe (supplement to 27$^{1-11}$).

The highly systematized character of the legislation of P will be apparent from this outline. It centres in the 'tabernacle,' the prototype of the later temple; its aim is to secure the *holiness* of Israel, to maintain a community worthy, both collectively and individually, of the consecrating presence of God in its midst (cf. Ex 29$^{44-46}$, Nu 5^{3} 35^{34}). The priests, with the Levites as their ministers, serve the sanctuary: they maintain there, on behalf of the community, the suitable sacrifices and rites of atonement and purification; they are also at hand to present the sacrifices, and perform the purifications, obligatory from time to time upon individuals. The sacrifices are numerous; and the details are minutely regulated. P exhibits the idea of a holy people dedicated to God, and realizes it on a large scale. The 'congregation' (עֵדָה) is not a nation, but a *church*. This idea is substantially the same as that which underlies Ezk 40–48; but it is worked out in greater detail. The principles most prominent in the Code are those of atonement (כִּפֶּר) and purification (טִהַר, טִמֵּא); the sacrifices most frequently prescribed are the guilt-offering (אָשָׁם) and, especially, the sin-offering (חַטָּאת), neither of which is mentioned at all in any of the other codes, though both occur in Ezk[*] (see further SACRIFICE). The great aim of the Code is, in fact, by means of these rites, to remove the sins and defilements which are inconsistent with the presence of J" in His sanctuary in Israel's midst.

The silence, or the contradiction, of the earlier literature[†] makes it probable that the Priests' Code, in the form in which we have it, or, in other words, the *completed* Priests' Code, is the work of the age subsequent to Ezk. When, however, this is said, it must not be understood to be implied that all the institutions of P are the *creation* of that age. On the contrary, there are allusions in the earlier literature to many of them (though sometimes with evident variations of detail) which show that, at least in a more rudimentary form, they were already in force.

Examples: Gn 8^{21} (J) 'savour of contentment' (Lv 1^{9}, and often in P); Jg $13^{4.7}$ 'unclean' food; Jg $13^{5.7}$, Am $2^{11f.}$ Nazirites; 1 S 2^{28} 'fire-sacrifices' (Lv 1^{9}, and frequently); 3^{3} the 'lamp of God' (Ex 27^{20}); $6^{3ff.}$ a guilt-offering (אָשָׁם); 21^{6} the shewbread; Am $4^{4.5}$ tithes, thanksgiving offerings, and free-will offerings; 8^{5} (so Hos 2^{11}, Is 1^{15}) observance of the 'new moon' (Nu $28^{11\text{-}15}$); Is 1^{13} a 'convocation' (Lv $23^{2.3}$ etc.); 2 K 16^{15} (but no *evening* burnt-offering, as in P; cf. Ryle, *Canon*, p. 84 f.). And in Dt, not only the parallels with H,[‡] but also tithes (though with regulations very different from those of P), 'heave'-offerings (12^{6} etc.), vows, freewill offerings, ceremonial uncleanness in persons ($12^{15.22}$) as well as in things ($14^{3\text{-}20}$), and produced by particular causes (21^{23} [Nu 35^{34}] $23^{10f.}$ [Lv 15^{16}] 24^{4} [Nu 5^{13}] 26^{14} [Nu $19^{11.14}$; cf. Hos 9^{4}]), the *'aẓéreth*, or 'solemn assembly' (16^{8}; cf. Am 5^{22}, Is 1^{13}), a *tôrāh* for leprosy (24^{8}). Ezk also, esp. in chs. 43–45, alludes to a still larger number of usages of the same kind, and, moreover, employs a priestly phraseology which presents many affinities with that of P (cf. *LOT*^{6} 145 ff.).

A priesthood in itself implies the existence of a ceremonial, more or less developed, as the case may be: the oldest traditions of the Hebrews mention repeatedly an 'Ark' and 'Tent of Meeting' as existing in the Mosaic age; and there are early allusions to Aaron, to a hereditary priesthood descended from him, and to the duties—consisting partly in giving decisions on points of civil and criminal law, partly in the maintenance of ritual observances—discharged by the tribe of Levi (Ex 4^{14} 18^{12}, Dt 10^{6b} 33^{10}; cf. Jg 17^{13}). The simplest and earliest ceremonial regulations are those contained in Ex $20^{24\text{-}26}$ $22^{29\text{-}31}$ $23^{14\text{-}19}$, and the parallel code of Ex $34^{17\text{-}26}$: but these are obviously of a rudimentary character; and it is only natural to suppose that, as time went on, fresh definitions and distinctions would be introduced, and more precise rules would be prescribed for the method of sacrifice, the ritual to be observed by the priests, the dues which they were authorized to receive from the people, and other similar matters. After the priesthood had acquired, through the foundation of Solomon's temple, a permanent centre, it is probable that the process of development and systematization advanced more rapidly than before; the allusions in Dt imply the existence of priestly usages beyond those which fall directly within the scope of the book, and Ezekiel, being a priest himself, refers to such usages more distinctly. Although, therefore, there are reasons for concluding that the legislation of P did not assume finally the shape in which we have it until after the age of Ezk, it rests ultimately upon an ancient traditional basis; it exhibits the final development and systematization of elements and principles, which in themselves are of great antiquity; and many of the institutions prominent in it are recognized, in various stages of their growth, by the earlier pre-exilic literature, by Dt, and by Ezk.[*]

The question is not one of great importance in the present connexion; but it should be added that it is doubtful whether the legislation of P springs throughout from the same age; there are indications that it exhibits sometimes the usage of different periods side by side. Cf. Dillm. *Ex-Lv*, 413 (^{2}455: on Lv 4), *Nu-Dt-Jos*, 84, 181 (on Nu 28-29), 635, 641 f., 643; Kuen. *Hex.* §§ 6. 13-15; 15. 28-30; Holzinger, *Einl.* 418-25, 453 f.; also Ryle, *Canon*, 84-88.

In its *general* features—*i.e.* the *general* principles of sacrifice, tithes, annual festivals, purification, etc.—the ceremonial system of the Hebrews did not differ essentially from the systems prevalent among other Semitic nations, and indeed among ancient peoples generally, as, for instance, the Greeks.[†] It is not improbable that elements in it were borrowed from the Canaanites. Some of the Heb. sacrificial terms (זבח, שלם, כליל, מנחה, כלל) are found in the Carthaginian inscription, relating to sacrifices, preserved now at Marseilles;[‡] and vows are also frequently mentioned in other Phœn. inscriptions. There are analogies for the Sabbath among the Babylonians; and even CIRCUMCISION (which see) was not a rite peculiar to the Hebrews. The Levitical ritual, though its form is late, is based ultimately 'on very ancient tradition, going back to a time when there was no substantial difference, in point of form, between Heb. sacrifices and those of the surrounding nations' (*RS* 198, ^{2}215). Of course, among the Hebrews, these common Semitic institutions received, as time went on, many modifications and special adaptations. But the really distinctive character, which they exhibited in Israel, consists in the new spirit with which they are infused, and the higher principles of which they are made the exponent. The aim of the Heb. legislation was 'not so much to create a new system as to give a new significance to that which had already long existed among Semitic races, and to lay the foundation of a higher symbolism leading to a more spiritual worship' (Ryle, *Canon*, p. 28; cf. Ottley, *Bampt. Lect.* 229).

The most conspicuous feature in the legislation of P is perhaps the multiplication and specialization of ceremonial observances, which has been already touched upon.

Another characteristic, which Wellh. has emphasized, is the *statutory* character of religion in the Priestly Code, as contrasted with its more spontaneous character in the earlier codes. In the earlier codes religious observances arise largely out of the circumstances and incidents of daily life. Sacrifices are the spontaneous outcome of the religious feeling of the worshipper; the feasts are occasions of religious observance fixed by the annually recurring seasons of harvest and vintage; the Sabbath is an institution designed expressly for humanitarian ends. In P this is all different: the observances are systematized; their original significance is obliterated; they are to be regarded simply because J″ has enjoined them; the Sabbath is made not for man, but for God, and the slightest infringement of its sanctity is to be visited with death (Ex 31^{15}, Nu 15^{35}). A system of ceremonial observances of this kind manifestly lies in great danger of being abused: except in persons of more than ordinary spiritual vitality, it tends to stifle and sterilize real spiritual life. Among the later Jews (as allusions in the NT and the Mishna show) it led actually to these consequences, and a religion of excessive formalism was the result. The fundamental conception of the priestly legislation, that of a people ever serving God in holiness and purity, is, in the abstract, a great one; but the means adopted for its realization, viz. a routine of external observances, are not those which, in the long-run, can succeed. The routine degenerates inevitably into externality and formalism. There is also another point to be observed. In the ideas of holiness and purity, ritual and moral distinctions were confused. Exactly the same penalty is imposed for infringements of ritual (Ex $30^{33.\ 38}$, Lv $17^{4.\ 9.\ 14}$ 19^{8}) as for grave moral offences (Lv 18^{29}). Death is the penalty, alike for murder (Nu 35^{31}) and for Sabbath-breaking (Ex 31^{15} 35^{2}). Purification from *sin* is prescribed after purely physical defilement, as through contact with a corpse, and even for a house which has been affected by leprosy (Lv $14^{49.\ 52}$, Nu $19^{12.\ 13.\ 19.\ 20}$ [the Heb. in these passages for *cleanse, purify* is properly to 'free from sin']). A sin-offering is also sometimes enjoined for merely ceremonial uncleanness (*e.g.* Lv $5^{2.\ 6}$, Nu 6^{9-11}). Mr. Montefiore comments on the indifference to bloodshed, combined with zeal for ritual purity, displayed by the singular—and, we may be sure, ideal — narrative of the war with Midian in Nu 31 (vv.$^{17.\ 19f.\ 23f.}$). The principle of ceremonial cleanness and uncleanness, it may be noticed, was the point on which our Lord broke most decisively with the Mosaic law (cf. p. 75^{b}).[*]

---

[*] Ezk 40^{39} 42^{13} 44^{29} 46^{20}: the חַטָּאת, also, $43^{19.21.22.25}$ 44^{27} $45^{17.19.22.23.25}$. Neither, it is to be observed, appears as a *new* institution in Ezk.

[†] See *LOT* 129-132 (^{6}136-139). The most noticeable contradictions with Dt relate to the position and revenues of the priestly tribe, the disposal of tithes and firstlings, and the manumission of slaves (*ib.* 77 f., ^{6}82 f.; Driver, *Deut.* xxxviii.-ix., 169-172, 185, 187). In 2 K 12^{16} observe that the guilt- and sin-offerings consist in *money* payments (cf. *RS* 402 f., ^{2}423).

[‡] See vol. i. p. 600 f.

[*] W. R. Smith (*OTJC*^{2} 372 f., 377, 382-4) points also to the evidences of ancient ritual law in the hands of the priests; cf. Stade, *Gesch.* ii. 66 (who instances in particular Lv 1-7. 11-15. 17-26, Nu 5-6. 9. 15. 19, as being for the most part 'Niederschrift vorexilischen Gebrauchs'); Cheyne, *Jewish Rel. Life after the Exile*, 81. There are also many examples of *archaic* ideas and usages embedded in P, not less than in the other codes: see, *e.g.*, Lv 11 ('uncleanness'; cf. *RS* 428 ff., ^{2}447 ff.), $14^{7.53}$ (*ib.* 402, ^{2}422), $16^{21f.}$, 21^{6} *al.* (the 'bread of God'; *ib.* 207, ^{2}224), Nu $5^{11ff.}$ (*ib.* 164 f., ^{2}180 f.), $19^{2ff.}$.

[†] W. R. Smith, *RS*, Lect. VI. (on sacrifice), and elsewhere; Ryle, *Canon*, p. 27 f. Cf. the 'Sacrificial Calendar from Cos,' published by E. L. Hicks in the *Journ. of Hellenic Studies*, ix. (1888) p. 323 ff.

[‡] *CIS* I. i. 165; see the transl. in Hogarth's *Archæology and Authority* (1899), p. 77 f.; and cf. *RS* 200, 219 n. (^{2}217, 237 n.).

The priestly legislation, however, though it bulks largely in the Pentateuch, never, it must be remembered, formed the *sole* rule of life for the Israelite. The codes of JE and Dt were not abrogated by it; the warm moral and spiritual teaching of Dt possessed exactly the same authority as the ceremonial of P; and the teaching of Dt was supported by the indirect, but by no means indistinct, testimony of the non-legislative parts of the Pentateuch. The prophets, moreover, remained the eloquent and moving exponents of spiritual religion, and of the paramount claims of the moral law above all ritual observances. The corrective for the ceremonialism of P was thus close at hand, in writings acknowledged by the Jews themselves as authoritative. The Jews were never *exclusively* under the rule of the ceremonial system of P. On its ceremonial side, the 'law' was undoubtedly liable to be misapplied, and to lead to formalism; but even its ceremonial institutions were the expression of profound religious ideas, and furnished an outlet for varied and genuine religious feelings; while, treated as a whole, the 'law,' as the later Psalmists abundantly attest, provided an atmosphere in which a religious spirit—for something, of course, in such matters, depends upon the temper of the worshipper—could breathe freely, and draw in spiritual refreshment. The ceremonial legislation never had a separate existence of its own; and the Jewish 'law,' if it is to be judged properly, must be judged as a whole, and not with exclusive reference to one of its parts.

In the earlier codes the broader duties of humanity, justice, and morality are chiefly and sufficiently insisted on. They were adapted to create a righteous and God-fearing nation. The Israelite who obeyed loyally the precepts of Dt could not deviate widely from the paths of truth and right. As time advanced, a ceremonial system was gradually developed, and this, though the earlier provisions just referred to were not abrogated, became ultimately the more formal and distinctive expression of Israel's faith. And this system played an important function in the religious education of mankind. 'It enforced and deepened the sense of sin. It declared the need of restoration and forgiveness. It expressed in the form of institutions the great principles which regulate man's converse with God. It emphasized the significance of sacrifice under its different aspects, as eucharistic, dedicatory, propitiatory.[*] It taught more and more distinctly that an atoning rite must precede the acceptance of the worshipper by God. It thus established the principles which in the fulness of time were to receive their supreme and final application in the sacrifice of Christ. In all its stages, the Mosaic law held before the eyes of Israel an ideal of duty to be observed, of laws to be obeyed, of principles to be maintained; it taught them that human nature needed to be restrained; it impressed upon them the necessity of discipline. And in the post-exilic age, when the disintegrating influences of Hellenism might have operated disastrously upon the nation, the institutions of the law bound together the majority of its members in a religious society, strong enough to resist the forces which threatened to dissolve it,'[†] and able to guard efficiently the spiritual treasures with which it had been intrusted. Through the ordinances of the law, imperfect in themselves though they might be, God thus trained and disciplined His people, till it should be ripe to cast off the yoke of external ordinances, and be ruled by principles operative from within (Jer $31^{33f.}$) rather than by commands imposed from without. And this is the sense in which St. Paul speaks of the law as a *παιδαγωγὸς εἰς Χριστόν* (Gal 3^{24}). The *παιδαγωγός* was the 'tutor' (RV), or superior slave, intrusted with the moral education of a child; and the law was similarly an agency for discipline, or moral training, holding the nation in a moral constraint (*ἐφρουρούμεθα*, v.^{23}) till it was fit for the freedom of mature age, to be secured by Christ. And the means by which the law acted in this capacity was partly by quickening and disciplining man's moral sense, partly by bringing to light transgression, and so awakening the sense of sin and the need of forgiveness, which in view of man's moral weakness it could not itself provide.

On the view taken of the 'law' in the NT see the following article; and on the law in post-biblical Judaism (the Mishna, etc.), see TORAH.

---

[*] On the sense in which our Lord came to 'fulfil' the law (Mt 5^{17}),—*i.e.* in so far as it was imperfect, to complete it, especially by disengaging from its limited and temporary forms, and placing in their just light, the ethical and religious truths of which it was the expression,—see also Kirkpatrick, *Divine Library of the OT*, 134 ff.

[*] It ought not in this connexion to be forgotten that only *unintentional* sins were atoned for by the sin-offering, not sins committed 'with a high hand' (Nu $15^{30f.}$), *i.e.* in deliberate defiance of God's will.

[†] Driver, *Sermons on the OT*, p. 131 f.; cf. Sanday, *BL* 183 ff.; Ottley, *BL* 228 f.

LITERATURE.—Kuenen, *Relig. of Isr.* (1875) ii. 250–286 (on P), *Hibb. Lect.* 1882, 82 ff. (priests and *tôrāh*), 156–167 (the priestly law), *Hex.* § 10. 4 (meaning of *tôrāh*); Wellhausen, *Hist. passim*, esp. chs. i.–iii. ix. (see Contents, pp. xi–xvi), x. (the Oral and the Written Torah), and pp. 435–440, *Isr. u. Jüd. Gesch.* (1894) pp. 134 ff.; W. R. Smith, *OTJC*² p. 298 ff. (Tôrāh), 428–430, and Lectures xi. (laws of JE) xii. (Deut. and P); Ryle, *Canon of the OT* (1892), 22–33, 48 f., 57–60, 71–4, 75–91; Montefiore, *Hibb. Lect.* 1892 (see Index, 'Torah' and 'Law'); Smend, *Alttest. Rel.-Gesch.* 1893 (see Index, 'Thorah' and 'Gesetz'); Schultz, *OT Theol.* i. 188 ff. and ch. xviii. (sacred institutions of Israel, acc. to P); Nowack, *Arch.* (1894) ii. *passim* (sacred institutions described according to the different Codes, see Contents); Briggs, *Higher Crit. of the Hex.*² (1897); Bruce, *Apologetics* (1893), pp. 208 ff., 261 ff.; Sanday, *Bampt. Lect.* 1893, Lect. iv. (pp. 168–188); Ottley, *Bampt. Lect.* 1897, Lect. v. (religious ideas and symbolism of P); Cheyne, *Jewish Rel. Life after the Exile*, 1899, p. 72 ff.

S. R. DRIVER.

LAW (IN NEW TESTAMENT).—

Use of term 'Law' in NT.
- I. Relation of Jesus to the Law.
  - (1) His recognition of its divine origin and authority.
  - (2) His critical attitude towards the Law.
- II. Attitude of the Early Church to the Law, and especially the practice and teaching of St. Paul.
  - *A*. Practice of the earliest Christian society.
  - *B*. Practice and doctrine of St. Paul.
    - (*a*) His practice during his Second Missionary Journey.
    - (*b*) His practice during his Third Missionary Journey.
    - (*c*) St. Paul's use of the term 'law.'
    - (*d*) His teaching in his Four Great Epistles as regards (1) the place of the Law in History; (2) the mode in which it acts in the individual who lives under it; (3) the relation of Law and Gospel, and esp. the relation of Christ's Death to the Law; (4) the relation of the Christian to law.
    - (*e*) St. Paul's action on his last visit to Jerusalem.
    - (*f*) Teaching of his later Epistles.
- III. The Law in the Epistle to the Hebrews.
- IV. The Law in the other NT Books.

Literature.

The word law (*νόμος*) is used in the NT of 'any law whatsoever' (Grimm, *Lex. s.v.*), but when 'the law' is spoken of without qualification, it is always the law of God which is meant. This is not a classical meaning or use of the word, and explains the fact that in the NT (with the exception of a quotation from the LXX of Jer 31 (38)^{33} in He 8^{10} 10^{16}) it is always found in the singular. 'The law of God,' or 'the law of Moses,' or 'the law' *simpliciter*, is the style of Scripture; a classical writer would say 'the laws' of Athens or of Solon. But 'the law,' and 'law' without the article, are religious conceptions, and it is as such that they are treated here. The word occurs some 196 times in the NT, but it is not found in Mk, in Th, 2 Co, Col, Tit, 2 Ti, Philem, 1 and 2 P, Jude, the Epp. of John, and Rev. To bring out its significance in the NT it will be convenient to examine (1) the relation of Jesus to the law; (2) the attitude of the early Church to the law, and especially the practice and teaching of St. Paul; (3) the peculiar view of the law taken in the Ep. to the Hebrews; and (4) the indications in other NT books of legal or antinomian tendencies in the first century of the Christian era. The necessary preliminary to the understanding of all these points is a knowledge of the contents of the 'law' of the OT, for which reference may be made to the preceding article.

I. THE RELATION OF JESUS TO THE LAW.—To begin with, the relation of Jesus to the law was passive, like that of every Jew. He was born under the law (Gal 4^4); the requirements of the law in regard to circumcision and purification were complied with in His case as in that of any child of Jewish birth (Lk $2^{21f.}$). He was taken up to the temple when He had completed His twelfth year (Lk $2^{42ff.}$), and became, like other Jewish youths, בֶּן הַתּוֹרָה (or בַּר מִצְוָה) a son of the law. He would be instructed in it, and its responsibilities would be laid on Him, simply because it was the law of the nation of which He was a member. He must have accepted it as part of the national inheritance to which He was born. The NT gives us no means whatever of judging how the passive unconscious relation to the law was changed into the conscious and responsible one which we see when our Lord entered on His public work. No doubt He grew into that power of judgment and liberty of action which characterize His ministry; but we cannot tell what effort and perplexity, or whether any effort or perplexity, accompanied this growth. When we consider the shortness of His ministry, it seems extremely improbable that we should be able to trace within its narrow limits any 'evolution' or progressive change in His attitude to the law. That attitude was really determined by His character, by the spirit of sonship, of free appreciation of God's will, of unrestrained love to man; and His character was complete when He identified Himself with our sinful race in His baptism, and received there the attestation of the heavenly Father as His beloved Son. No doubt, as one thing in His life led on to another, and as opposition defined His attitude, it became more and more clear what His relation to 'the law,' both as a divine institution and as a divine institution administered and corrupted by man, must be; but in principle this was determined from the beginning. Hence it is not necessary, under the idea that clear self-consciousness is the last result of action, to attempt to trace in detail the practical impulses under which our Lord's attitude to the law was gradually defined, or to assume that *He* was learning His own mind all the time (so practically Holtzmann, *NT Theologie*, i. 130–160); we may take the Synoptics as they stand, and aim at a more systematic view.

(1) Speaking positively, Jesus recognized the law as a whole as a divine institution, and therefore as invested with indefeasible divine authority. He expressed His sense of this authority in the strongest possible language; and, with the idea of the law as embodied in writing present to His mind, declared that 'till heaven and earth should pass, one jot or one tittle should in no wise pass from the law till all should be fulfilled' (Mt 5^{18}, cf. Lk 16^{17}). It has been asserted that Jesus, whose attitude (as we shall see) to certain parts of the law was at least critical, could not have used such language, and that it belongs to the Judaism of the First Gospel. But it is found also in the Third, which is Gentile or Pauline rather than Jewish, and the assertion is pedantic. Jesus certainly believed that the law embodied a revelation of God; it was, in short, God's law; and without considering in what respects it might be subject to modification or expansion, He could say broadly that just because it *was* God's law, not the dot of an *i* or the stroke of a *t* could be abrogated by any power on earth. And when confronted, as He is on both the occasions when He uses this strong language, with the deformed righteousness of the Pharisees (Mt 5^{20}, Lk 16^{14-17}), by which the law of God was virtually annulled, we can easily believe that He could and did express Himself thus vehemently. This seems truer, psychologically, than to say with Wellhausen (*Israelitische u. Jüdische Geschichte*^{2}, p. 382) that He found room everywhere for His soul, and was not straitened by what was little in the law, so highly did He exalt the worth of that which was great: the latter one should do, the former not leave undone. It is a more placid and controlled statement of Christ's relation to the law in principle which is found in Mt 5^{17}, the text or theme of the Sermon on the Mount: 'Think not that I came to destroy the law or the prophets: I came not to destroy, but to fulfil.' The law *and* the prophets is a compendious expression for the

ancient religion as embodied in the OT. To no part of this—neither to the statutory elements in it nor to the elements of promise, neither to its morality nor to its hopes—was Jesus in any sense hostile. There must have been something in His conduct or teaching to raise the question, something which created difficulty for men who identified the law with the current interpretation of it in the Rabbinical schools or in the religious practice of the day; but when it was fairly stated, it created no difficulty for Jesus. In His conscience there was no sense of antagonism or antipathy to the old revelation either of God's will or of His purpose. On the contrary, He had come to identify Himself with that revelation, and to consummate it. The πληρῶσαι in Mt 5^{17} applies to the OT in both its parts. It is true that in the rest of Mt 5 it is the law alone which is taken account of, and this has made it possible to doubt whether πληρῶσαι means 'to show the full meaning of,' or 'to keep perfectly'; but the very absence of the object in v.^{17}, and the disjunctive ἤ (the law *or* the prophets), show that Jesus was thinking of the OT as containing elements at once of requirement and of promise, and asserting that all it meant in both kinds would be brought to its consummation in Him. Hence in principle there is no antagonism between Jesus and the law, between the NT and the OT. For the conscience of Jesus they needed no reconciliation. The New Testament was in Him, and He was thoroughly at home in the Old.

It agrees with this that Jesus refers freely to the law as a religious authority, and as the way to life. 'If thou wouldst enter into life, keep the commandments' (Mt 19^{17}). 'What shall I do to inherit eternal life? Jesus said to him, What is written in the law?' (Lk 10^{26}). 'They have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them' (Lk 16^{29}). It agrees further with this, that in the most unsparing denunciation of Pharisaism and hypocrisy, He safeguarded with scrupulous care the sanctity of the law they 'hedged' and abused: 'The scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat: all things therefore that they say to you do and observe' (Mt 23^{3}). Like Mt 5^{18} this saying has been impugned on the ground that Jesus could not, in consistency with His real opinion, have spoken thus. This is the criticism of persons who have never spoken to a crowd, and who do not know that the large consistency of leaving a sound and homogeneous impression on the mind is indifferent to the abstract precisian consistency which dictates such doubts. Why should not Jesus say, 'As interpreters of the law of God, show them all due reverence; as keepers of the law of God, beware of following their example'? They were poor interpreters, no doubt, but the function itself was a legitimate one, and all that they did in the exercise of it was, *primâ facie*, entitled to respect. Even if it were not so without qualification (and in part, of course, it was not, as Jesus immediately goes on to show), the qualification could be left to take care of itself; the main interest of the moment was to expose the Pharisaic practice by which the law was so wickedly annulled. That making void (ἀκυροῦν) the law of God (Mt 15^{6} ‖ Mk 7^{13}) which Jesus laid to the charge of the Pharisees was exactly the opposite of the πληρῶσαι, which He used to define His own relation to it. With them, in spite of all the hedges which guarded it, it lost its rights; with Him, in spite of all His freedom, it came to its rights.

(2) Besides this positive attitude of Jesus to the law as a whole, we have to take account in His life of what may be called a more critical attitude. Without any sense of hostility to the law, He was conscious of its imperfection; this is implied even in His having come to fulfil it. Of this there are various indications.

(*a*) He speaks of the old revelation as a whole, as of a thing which has had its day. 'The law and the prophets were until John: from that time the kingdom of heaven is preached'; it is a new era, in which they have no longer the same significance (Lk 16^{16}, Mt $11^{12f.}$). There is a parabolic hint of this also in Mk $2^{21f.}$ and ‖ Mt 9^{17}, Lk 5^{37}.

(*b*) He delights in summaries of the law, in which it is at once comprehended and transcended. 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets' (Mt 7^{12}, cf. Mt $22^{34\text{-}40}$). Such summaries lift the soul above all that is statutory and positive in the law; in other words, they enable it to conceive of religion as the keeping of law, and yet as without any element of legalism.

(*c*) He presents a positive new standard of life from which legalism has disappeared. Sometimes it is His own example (Jn 13^{15}), interpreted as in Jn 13^{34} into a new commandment of love like His own. Sometimes it is the example of the heavenly Father, whose love, impartial and inexhaustible, is the pattern for His children (Mt $5^{43\text{-}48}$). It is by this standard of love that all the nations are unconsciously judging themselves now, and will be judged by Him at last (Mt $25^{31ff.}$). Sometimes it is represented as 'the will of my Father who is in heaven' (Mt 7^{21} 12^{50}). All these modes of conceiving the standard of disciple life, though not annulling 'the law' but fulfilling it, are nevertheless indifferent to it, either as a historic document or as a national institution.

(*d*) Jesus distinguishes within the law between its weightier matters—judgment, mercy, and faith; and its more trivial ones—the tithing of mint, anise, and cummin (Mt 23^{23} ‖ Lk 11^{42}). This is not exactly the same as to say that He subordinated the ritual to the moral, though no doubt He did. Nothing could put this more forcibly than Mt $5^{23f.}$. A man is to leave his gift before the altar, to be reconciled to his brother. There is no law except love; no statute that can be pleaded against it, no rite so solemn but must give way to it. The tendency of legalism is to reduce all commandments to a level; they are all parts of a divine law, and it is not for men to pick and choose between them; and the Jewish conscience, to which the law was one law and God's law, could not find itself at home in the division of it into ritual and moral. For it there was a moral obligation to keep what we call the ritual law. But as this distinction of Jesus mastered the mind, the sense of moral proportion came back, and it was felt, by some at least, that there were elements in the law which were waxing old and ready to vanish away.

(*e*) Jesus expressly and formally criticised the law as it was interpreted in the conscience and practice of His countrymen. In Mt $5^{21\text{-}48}$ we have a series of illustrations. The sixth commandment (v.$^{21ff.}$), the seventh (v.$^{27ff.}$), the law of perjury (v.$^{33ff.}$), the *lex talionis* (v.$^{38ff.}$), the law as to the treatment of neighbours and enemies (v.$^{43ff.}$), are discussed in succession. It is not always clear when it is the letter of the OT itself, and when it is only the current legal rendering of it, which is under review; but in either case Jesus adopts a free critical attitude towards it, and exalts it to a new power. On one of the subjects touched in this chapter, in connexion with the seventh commandment, namely, the law of marriage and divorce, Jesus on another occasion tacitly withdrew a permission which He recognized as conceded by the Mosaic law (ἐπέτρεψεν Μωυσῆς), in the interest of the ideal of marriage. 'Because of your hardness of heart Moses allowed you to put away your wives, but from the beginning it was not so' (Mt 19^{8} ‖ Mk). The question was one on which Jewish schools were divided, and Jesus legislates upon it in independence, indeed, of Dt 24^{1}, but in harmony with the law embodied in the creation narrative, Gn 2^{24}. From the point of view of legalism it is impossible to say why the authority of Dt should be relative and that of Gn absolute; and the positiveness with which Christ pronounces marriage indissoluble, except by the sin which, *ipso facto*, annuls it, shows that He has completely transcended the legal standpoint. (See, further, art. MARRIAGE). The same holds of His criticism of the Sabbath law, the subject on which He came most frequently into conflict with His countrymen: cf. Mt 12$^{1-12}$ (the disciples plucking the ears of corn; the healing of the withered hand); Lk 13$^{10-17}$ (the woman with a spirit of infirmity), 14$^{1-6}$ (the dropsical man); Jn 5$^{1-17}$ (the paralytic at Bethesda); Jn 9 (the blind man restored to sight). Cf. Lk 6^{5} (D; the incident of the man working on the Sabbath). Here it is impossible to say that Jesus was hostile to the law of God, or to any ideal of the Sabbath having its roots in the OT. But He was irreconcilably hostile to the accumulation of traditional human precepts into which the prohibition of labour, in the interest of man and beast, had been expanded by the perverse ingenuity of the scribes (cf. Schürer, *GJV*^{3} ii. 470 ff. [*HJP* II. ii. 96 ff.]). He was hostile to the method of interpretation which defeated God's purpose in giving the law, and changed a blessing into a burden. He was especially indignant that on a day which was made for man He should be forbidden to do works of humanity, by exercising His power to heal. As Son of Man, the head of the kingdom in which humanity was to come to its rights, He claimed to be Lord of the Sabbath, and to judge all statutes concerning it according to their agreement or disagreement with its humane intention. It is in connexion with conflicts of this kind that we first read of His enemies plotting His death (Mk 3^{6}): He wounded their pride in their legal holiness too deeply to be forgiven. It is one of the defects of legalism that the less the grounds of the law can be discerned—in other words, the more positive and arbitrary it is—the greater seems the merit of punctually observing it. Hence the numberless prohibitions into which the fourth commandment had been developed had a greater importance for the legally-trained conscience than the weightier matters of the law; and the assumption of freedom toward them, as by Jesus, was regarded as the most daring impiety. How far the teaching and practice of Jesus were immediately grasped by His followers we cannot tell; there are indications in the Gospel (Lk 13^{17}) that there were many prepared to appreciate them. But if in relation to the Sabbath and to the law of marriage we can say that Jesus criticised the legalistic practice of His time by reference to the ideal enshrined in the OT itself, we are on different ground when we come to consider—

(*f*) The attitude of Jesus to what we should call the ritual law—that part of the law and custom of the Jews which was purely positive, and in which there was really no ethical content. As far, indeed, as this was represented by the cultus of the nation, He treated it with at least silent respect. We do not know that He was ever present at a sacrifice, but neither do we hear that He ever denounced sacrifice. He certainly spoke of the temple as His Father's house, and as destined to be a house of prayer for all nations; and in a flame of zeal He drove from it the traders who made it a market-place and a den of robbers (Mt 21^{13} ‖). He paid the temple tribute, not, indeed, because He was bound to do so,—on the contrary, He, and His disciples also, as the king's children, were free from such imposts,—but to avoid offence (Mt 17$^{24-27}$). He did not shrink from touching the leper (Mt 8$^{1-4}$), being raised above the thought of ceremonial pollution; but He told him to go and show himself to the priest, and offer the gift which Moses commanded, for a testimony to them. There is a combination here of inward liberty and indifference, with a formal outward respect determined by circumstances, and necessarily ceasing with them. Cf. also Lk 17^{14}. (In this connexion it may be noted that the idea of *σκάνδαλον* as a thing to be avoided in conduct is part of the new moral ideal of Jesus, dependent on the primacy He gives to love; we are bound to consider others—as He did, for instance, in paying the temple tax—with a consideration which we may not need ourselves; and to deny this consideration, and out of selfishness injure others or lead them into sin, is denounced by Him in the most passionate words, Mt 18$^{6\text{f.}}$). But there is one point in which, according to the evangelic tradition, Jesus completely broke not only with the practice of His time, but with the law of Moses itself—the distinction, namely, between clean and unclean foods, and the observance of various ritual purifications by washing, Mk 7$^{1-23}$, Mt 15$^{1-20}$. The discussion here starts from the violation by His disciples of 'the tradition of the elders.' To this, naturally, Jesus could allow no authority; but He went further, and assailed it as a morally malignant thing which practically annulled the law of God. He appealed to Scripture (*e.g.* to the fifth commandment, Mk 7$^{9\text{f.}}$) *against* this tradition—to the law of God against the ordinance of man—precisely as the Reformers appealed to the Bible against the Church (Holtzmann, *NT Theol.* i. 141). But in explaining to *the people* ('Hear me, all of you, and understand') the principle on which He acted, He went further still, and, as the evangelist expressly asserts, 'made all meats clean' (*καθαρίζων πάντα τὰ βρώματα*, Mk 7^{19}). In Lk 11^{37} the same subject is treated more from the point of view of indifference; it is only when the dish is filled with the proceeds of rapine that there is anything offensive in insisting on its being outwardly (*i.e.* Levitically) clean; but in Lk 10^{7} (the mission of the Seventy) there may be a reference to the more thorough view. The missionaries are to eat and drink what they are offered, with no needless scruples. This decisive breach with the law was felt to be what it was both by the opponents of Jesus and by Jesus Himself: 'Then came the disciples and said unto him, Knowest thou that the Pharisees were offended when they heard this saying?' . . . 'Let them alone,' He answered; 'they are blind guides; and if the blind guide the blind, both shall fall into a pit' (Mt 15$^{12\text{ff.}}$).

It is at this point, where this decisive breach with legalism is accomplished, that Jesus is compelled to leave Palestine (Mt 15^{21} ‖ Mk), to give up the attempt to win the people, and devote Himself to the training of the Twelve. It was only to a select company that His mind could now be unfolded; a great gulf had been fixed between Him and the worshippers of the law, across which no understanding was possible. Nor do the Gospels give us the means of knowing how far He was able to carry the education of the Twelve on this subject. The 'meats and drinks and divers washings' were part of a system; what of the remaining part of it? What of all that element of the law which was identified with the temple and its worship? What of animal sacrifice? What even of the covenant sign, circumcision? As for the temple, He predicted its fall, and with it the collapse of the ritual worship. But was this element in the law to have fulfilment through Him, or was it only to be destroyed? The one hint we have of an answer to this is the fact that Jesus spoke of His own death as the basis of a (new) covenant between God and man—that covenant which Jeremiah foretold ($31^{31ff.}$), which has as its fundamental blessing the forgiveness of sins. To connect the forgiveness of sins with the shedding of blood is in the Bible inevitably to conceive the shedding of blood as sacrificial; only sacrificial blood atones for sin. In the great word spoken at the Supper, therefore, Jesus hints at a fulfilment in His own person of that whole side of the law which has to do with approaching God in worship, Mt 26^{28}. He gives the impulse and the justification to that interpretation of His life and death in relation to the (Levitical) law which we afterwards find in the Ep. to the Hebrews.

On the whole, then, it may be said that the attitude of Jesus to the law was that of entire loyalty to it as the revelation of God's will, entire comprehension of it in its principle and aim, entire subordination of every expression of it to its principle, entire superiority to all human interpretations of it, as designed perhaps for its greater security, but actually making it of no effect; and entire indifference, not indeed to the law as constituting an order for approaching God in worship, but to those elements in the law which, because in themselves without ethical significance, operated to corrupt conscience, and to divide men from one another without moral ground.

II. THE ATTITUDE OF THE EARLY CHURCH TO THE LAW, AND ESPECIALLY THE PRACTICE AND TEACHING OF ST. PAUL.—*A. At first* the law presented no problem to the Christian society. All the members of that society were Jews, and devout Jews. The Ananias who baptized St. Paul is described as *εὐλαβὴς κατὰ τὸν νόμον*, and as having testimony borne to him by all the Jews inhabiting Damascus (Ac 22^{12}), and this character was no doubt typical. The early Christians, in company with the apostles, assiduously frequented the temple (Ac 2^{46} 3^{1} $5^{12.20}$); the observance of the law, so far as it was observed by common people, would be a matter of instinct with them—a part of their nationality, the relation of which to their religion never presented itself to their minds. The charges made against them by the priests have never any reference to the law, and the proofs adduced for the Messiahship of Jesus, which seem to have filled a considerable space in apostolic preaching, were related not to the law, but to prophecy. As far as the Bk. of Acts gives us any indication, difficulty first emerged in connexion with the preaching of St. Stephen. He was charged with speaking 'blasphemous words against Moses and against God'; with incessantly 'speaking words against this Holy Place and against the law'; with saying that 'Jesus of Nazareth will destroy this place, and change the customs which Moses delivered to us' (Ac 6). From these accusations we can only infer that the new wine was beginning to burst the old bottles, and that the enemies of Christianity, with senses sharpened by hatred and fear, saw perhaps sooner than its friends that it was essentially irreconcilable with the established legalism of the Jewish Church. It was divine and human; Judaism was national and traditional; it could not harmonize finally with the traditional and national framework. But in the Christian society itself, so natural was it for Jews to live as Jews, even after they accepted Jesus as the Christ, that the difficulty was not felt.

This difficulty was first forced on the attention of every one by the circumstances attendant on the reception of Cornelius into the Church. While St. Peter, divinely led from Joppa to Cæsarea, was yet preaching the gospel in Cornelius' house, the Holy Spirit fell on all those who heard the word (Ac 10^{44}). The circumcised believers who were there were amazed, but St. Peter saw the significance of the event, and at once had them received into the Church by baptism, and associated familiarly with them (Ac 11^{3}). When his conduct—which really meant that the ceremonial law, as a Jewish national law, separating the Jews as God's people from all others, had ceased to have religious significance—was called in question at Jerusalem (Ac $11^{2ff.}$), he defended it apparently with the full consciousness of what it meant. 'If God gave them the same gift as he gave us also when we believed in the Lord Jesus Christ, who was I that I should obstruct God?' (cf. Ac $15^{7ff.}$). It is implied here that the gift of God—in other words the Holy Ghost—is *the* essential of Christianity, and the only one; where it is found, nothing else counts, and no questions are to be raised; circumcision is nothing and uncircumcision is nothing. But if this is so, then (so far as it is a term of communion and a condition of salvation) does not the law as a whole, to which men were bound by circumcision, cease to have any religious significance? Is it not possible already to define the Church as a society in which there is neither Jew nor Greek?*

This inference, which was involved in St. Peter's conduct, and in his defence of it, was not, however, clearly drawn at once. The exceptional case of Cornelius was regarded as exceptional; one man and his family could not make a Church, and this isolated instance might perplex rather than enlighten the simple-minded. But with the extension of the Church to Antioch, and especially with its extension beyond Antioch through the mission conducted by Paul and Barnabas, the subject was brought up with greater urgency. In the account of the first mission of these apostles, we have a hint of the peculiar Pauline attitude to the law: 'in this man (Jesus) every one who believes is justified from all things from which ye could not be justified by the law of Moses,' Ac 13^{39}. It is not in this, however, but in the doctrine of a crucified Messiah, and perhaps in personal jealousy, that an explanation may be found of the opposition offered to the mission *en route*. Not Jewish Christians attached to the law, but Jews who were not Christians at all, resisted the preachers.

When Paul and Barnabas returned, they summed up the result of their mission in the words: 'God has opened the door of faith to the Gentiles,' Ac 14^{28}. But this 'conversion of the Gentiles,' though the news of it caused great joy in Phœnicia and Samaria (Ac 15^{3}), awakened very different feelings even in Christian circles at Jerusalem. Emissaries from Jerusalem insisted on teaching (*ἐδίδασκον*, Ac 15^{2}) the brethren at Antioch—men who had believed in Jesus Christ and received the Holy Ghost—that without circumcision they could not be saved. It was a deliberate challenge not only to the work of Paul and Barnabas, but, as they believed, to the work of God; and as it involved the unity of the Church, it was arranged that Paul and Barnabas with some brethren from Antioch should go to settle it with the apostles and elders at Jerusalem. It was not a question on which the apostles to the Gentiles could compromise; and everything depended, not indeed for the future of Christianity, but for the present peace of the Church, on the conciliatory spirit and insight of the leaders of the Church at Jerusalem. Room was given for discussion (Ac 15^{7}), but the question was settled by the argument of St. Peter—an argument identical in principle with that of ch. 11: 'God who knows the heart bore witness to them (the Gentiles) in that he gave them the Holy Spirit just as he did to us; and he made no distinction between us and them, in that he purified their hearts by faith.' For the Gentiles, at all events, a place in the Church and a part in salvation is in no way dependent on circumcision, or on keeping the law of Moses. This was the principle for which St. Paul contended; and it was in consistency with it that he refused to have Titus circumcised on the occasion of this visit to the Jewish Church (Gal 2^{3}), and that he withstood St. Peter to the face when, during a subsequent visit to Antioch, he yielded to Jewish pressure, and withdrew from fellowship with Gentile believers.

---

* We have assumed above that the Cornelius episode is historical, and also in its right place.

The recognition of this principle on both sides does not discredit the decree of Ac $15^{22\text{ff.}}$. The decree is a measure of expediency, necessarily of a temporary character, but one to which (in the interests of peace and of the Church's unity) St. Paul could easily enough agree—once his principle had been recognized. Where Judaism was focused, in Jerusalem for instance, the law would assert itself as inevitably as nationality or patriotism; in purely Gentile Churches no question as to its place in revelation or its religious significance might ever be raised; in places where Jew and Gentile were much in contact there would no doubt be inconsistencies, misunderstandings, and practical compromises and accommodations of various sorts. Of these the decree is a specimen.

B. The centre of interest in the NT is now in *the practice and the doctrine of St. Paul.*—(*a*) In the course of his second mission he visited Europe, and in a few verses of the 1st Ep. to the Corinthians, written to a Church founded in the course of this mission, he gives a clear and precise account of the principles on which he acted. 'Being free from all, I made myself a slave to all, that I might gain the more. And I became to the Jews as a Jew, that I might gain Jews; to those under law, as under law, not being myself under law, that I might gain those under law; to those without law (*i.e.* the Gentiles as 'outlaws' from the Jewish point of view), as without law, not being without law to God, but under law to Christ (ἔννομος because the Christian lives *in* the law, he is not *under* it as one to whom it speaks from without and from above, and whom it oppresses), that I might gain those without law' (on the whole passage 1 Co $9^{19\text{-}22}$ see the masterly note of Edwards, *Comm. ad loc.*). It is in pursuance of this policy that St. Paul at the outset of this journey circumcises Timothy (Ac 16^{3}), and delivers to the Churches on his route the decree of the Jerus. Council (Ac 16^{4}); it is still in pursuance of it that he preaches at Corinth a gospel to which everything is indifferent but Jesus Christ crucified (1 Co $2^{1\text{f.}}$), and declares that circumcision is nothing and uncircumcision nothing (1 Co $7^{18\text{f.}}$).

In these verses in 1 Co it may be assumed that St. Paul is interpreting the principle on which he had acted when at Corinth, and on which he acted everywhere. The man who is called (*i.e.* who becomes a Christian) uncircumcised is not to circumcise himself; the man who is circumcised when the call comes to him is not to undo or disguise the fact: as far as the gospel and membership in the Church are concerned, circumcision and uncircumcision are neither here nor there. It is of this principle and practice that St. Paul says: so I ordain in all the Churches (1 Co 7^{17}). The Jewish opposition to St. Paul at Corinth seems also to have fastened on this aspect of his work: it no longer flowed from personal jealousy, as probably in Galatia. The charge laid against him before Gallio was that he persuaded men to worship God παρὰ τὸν νόμον (Ac 18^{13}), by which is no doubt meant, in violation of the Mosaic law. Judaism was a *religio licita*, and as the teaching of St. Paul was frankly indifferent to the national character in virtue of which the law possessed this public standing, his enemies thought to bring him within the scope of the Roman law as violating it. Yet with all this he was anxious to maintain communion with the mother Church at Jerusalem, and at the close of his journey formally paid his respects to it once more (Ac 18^{22}).

(*b*) To the third mission of St. Paul, which is ordinarily dated as commencing 55 or 56 [Turner, 52] A.D., belong the great controversial Epistles, 1 and 2 Co, Gal, and Ro, in which his doctrine of the law (for he was obliged both by his spiritual experience and by the challenges of his adversaries to have a doctrine) is expounded in all its aspects. Law in a sense is the subject of all, but especially of the two last named. The very frequency with which the word occurs is significant. It is found 32 times in Gal, 76 times in Ro, 8 times in 1 Co; elsewhere in the Epistles ascribed to St. Paul only 6 times. In Gal the reference is mainly to what we should call law in its *ritual* aspect, for the claim made on the Christians of Galatia by the Judaizers was that they should submit to be circumcised; in Ro, on the other hand, it is the *moral* law which is the subject of discussion. Yet this distinction is not one which would be present, at least vividly, to St. Paul's mind. He thinks of the law as one, and as the law of God; and his point is that statutory obedience is not the way of salvation. Much of the difficulty which his opponents had in understanding St. Paul must have been due to the apparently (and inevitably) equivocal attitude which he assumed to the religion of Israel. On the one hand, the gospel was a specifically new thing. It was independent of the law. It did for him what the law could not do (Ro 8^{3}). It had to be defined by contrast with the law; sometimes it seemed as if it could be defined only by opposition to the law, as in 2 Co 3 where they are confronted as γράμμα and πνεῦμα, as ἀποκτέννειν and ζωοποιεῖν, as κατάκρισις and δικαιοσύνη, as τὸ καταργούμενον and τὸ μένον. Even in Ro, which is written in a more conciliatory mood, pains are taken to show that in principle the two religions (the law and faith, works and grace, wages and promise) are mutually exclusive (Ro 4). On the other hand, the connexion of the new religion with the old is as indubitable. The δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ preached in the gospel may be χωρὶς νόμου, yet it is witnessed to by the law and the prophets (Ro 3^{21}, cf. $1^{2.\,17}$ $10^{5\text{f.}}$). The last passage referred to is particularly striking, for in it St. Paul applies to the gospel words spoken by Moses about the law, and that for the very purpose of pointing the superiority of the gospel to the law. In other words, he read the OT as a Christian book, and yet proved from it the thesis that the OT religion was not Christianity. But though this inevitable formal difficulty must often have led to misunderstanding in controversy, it is no more than formal, and the apostle's position is intelligible enough. The OT, if regarded as a code, is not Christian, is indeed antichristian, as every religion based on statutes and therefore legal in spirit must be; but as a revelation it has the promise of Christianity in it, and bears witness to the gospel.

(*c*) Before examining St. Paul's doctrine, or the various suggestions of his Epistles, on the law, it is necessary to observe more closely his use of the word. (*a*) He sometimes has it with, sometimes without, the article. The question has been raised whether the meaning is the same in the two cases. If we ask questions which were not present to the mind of the writers whom we are interpreting, we are apt to get unreal and unreliable answers; and in answering this question there has been little agreement among scholars. No doubt when St. Paul says 'the law,' without any qualification, he is thinking of the law of Moses. There was nothing else in the world to describe by that name. The one specimen exhausted the species. Is anything else meant when he speaks of 'law' without so defining it? The answer given by such scholars as Lightfoot and Gifford is that in such cases what St. Paul has in view may indeed be the law of Moses, but it is that law not definitely *as* Mosaic, not as the historical institute with which the Jews were familiar, but indefinitely, and simply in its character as legal. In spite of the objections of Grafe, this view seems thoroughly sound. Even what is regarded as a decisive case on the opposite side (Ro 5^{20} νόμος δὲ παρεισῆλθεν) is much more effective and relevant to the apostle's argument if we render 'Law came in,' instead of 'The Law.' St. Paul is writing of the great spiritual forces which have dominated the history of humanity, Sin, Law, and Grace, and it is in their character as such, not in their historical definiteness, that he is concerned with them. It is only when this is admitted, that what St. Paul says of law has any interest for others than Jews. It was because he could conceive of the law of Moses not as Mosaic, but simply as legal, that he could find an analogue to it among the Gentiles, and preach to them also a gospel (and the same gospel) which meant emancipation from legalism. The Gentiles, he says, in explaining how it is possible for them to be judged by God, though they have no law (in the sense in which Israel had) yet do by nature the things required by the law, and so display 'the work of the law written in their hearts' (Ro $2^{14f.}$). They have the idea of a task to be done, just as the Jews have; and there is a 'natural legality,' to use an expression of Chalmers, in men which disposes them to aim at achieving righteousness in this way. The first thought of man, Jew or Gentile, is that he will do the things that are required of him,—in other words, keep the law,—and on the ground of what he thus achieves claim as of right the approbation of God. This is what St. Paul means by attaining righteousness ἐξ ἔργων νόμου, by works of law. The Mosaic law is included, but it is included not as Mosaic, but as legal, and it does not exhaust the concept. The law may be the form that haunts the mind of the 'natural legalist' the world over; and to all such alike, Jew or Gentile, St. Paul declares that the way they are treading can never lead to acceptance with God. It does not matter what the special content is which is embodied in the legal form; it may be mainly what we call ritual, as in the Ep. to the Galatians, or mainly what we call ethical, as in the Ep. to the Romans; in no case whatever can statutory obedience constitute a claim on God or command His approbation. 'By works of law shall no flesh be justified in his sight' (Ro 3^{20}).

(*β*) There is another point to be cleared up in St. Paul's use of the word. There are passages in which 'the law' is used with a genitive in a way which suggests to a modern, perhaps especially to an English reader, that the word is used with some approach to the sense it now bears in physical science. Thus 'the law of sin which is in my members' is interpreted as the sinful mode in which 'my members' normally or habitually act (Ro 7^{23}); similarly also 'the law of the spirit of the life in Christ Jesus' (Ro 8^{2}). But the passage most relied on to prove this sense is Ro 7^{21} εὑρίσκω ἄρα τὸν νόμον, τῷ θέλοντι ἐμοὶ ποιεῖν τὸ καλόν, ὅτι ἐμοὶ τὸ κακὸν παράκειται. This is often interpreted to mean, 'I find therefore this regularly recurrent phenomenon,—this "law" in the sense of modern science,—that when I would do good, evil is present with me' (so Winer, ed. Moulton, p. 697, who renders τὸν νόμον *normam*; and cf. Meyer or Sanday and Headlam, *ad loc.*). But the 'law' of modern science belongs to an intellectual world which was not then in being, and there can be little doubt that by εὑρίσκω ἄρα τὸν νόμον St. Paul means to say, 'this is what I find as far as the law is concerned,—I mean well, but am perpetually baffled by the presence of evil.' (So Vaughan). The words τὸν νόμον refer to the law of Moses, under which St. Paul had *his* experience of legal religion; but it is the experience also of every one who has tried legal religion in any shape, Mosaic or another. So in the other passages referred to above, 'the law' is to be conceived as related to a legislator, and not as in modern physics. 'The law of God' (Ro 7^{22}) is the law which God enjoins; the law 'of the mind' (v.^{23}) is the law which the νοῦς or practical reason of the man prescribes, or the law of God as re-enacted in conscience; the law of sin is the mode of life (not in which sin is normally exhibited, but) which Sin, personified as a rival to God, enjoins upon man and compels him to follow; the law of the Spirit of the life in Christ Jesus is the mode of life (not in which spirit acts automatically, and on the analogy of a physical force, but) which the Spirit authoritatively prescribes, and, as being in its essence impulse as well as law, enables man freely to realize.

There are, however, cases in which the genitive with νόμος is of a different kind, and in which νόμος itself seems to be used in a larger sense, almost = 'religion,' as something instituted by God. Thus in Ro 3^{27} St. Paul says boasting is summarily excluded, and asks διὰ ποίου νόμου; through what sort of law? In other words, What sort of character must we suppose Christianity as a divine institution to possess, in order that this result must follow? Is it to be characterized by works, or by faith? The latter, says St. Paul: the genitives in the verse being those of the characterizing quality. In v.^{31} of the same chapter νόμον is ambiguous. It may refer to the OT religion as a whole; and then the answer to the question, Do we annul (the) Law through faith? would be given in ch. 4, where St. Paul shows that the justification of Christians has its prototype in that of Abraham,—in other words, that the old order is confirmed (ἱστάνομεν), not subverted, by the new. But νόμον may be generic, and the question may mean, Do we then annul Law—all that has ever been known as moral order, all that has ever been supposed to safeguard morality whether of Mosaic or other origin—by our faith, *i.e.* by our new Christian religion? In this case, the proof of the assertion that we do not annul but establish Law by Faith—that the Christian religion is the only effective guarantee of morality—is given, not in ch. 4, but in chs. 6–8, where Christianity is shown to involve the possession of the Holy Spirit.

(*d*) We may now proceed to notice more particularly what St. Paul teaches about Law, bearing in mind that it was through the Mosaic law that he obtained the experience out of which he speaks, but that he speaks for the benefit of men who may have had a similar experience although they had never heard of Moses; in other words, that even where he is formally discussing *the* Law, it is Law itself, in all that is characteristic of it as legal, which he is really concerned with.

(1) As regards its place in history, it is an entirely subordinate thing. The great spiritual powers which have had dominance in the life of man are Sin and Grace; in comparison with them, Law is a minor matter. Sin entered the world (εἰσῆλθεν,

Ro 5^{12}), and so did Grace, but Law only *παρεισῆλθεν*=entered as an accessory, or in a subordinate capacity (Ro 5^{20}). To a Jew, the most important figure in religion was Moses; St. Paul argues that the importance of Moses in the spiritual history of humanity is an entirely inferior thing when compared to that of Adam or of Christ. This is the purport also of the argument in Gal $3^{15ff.}$, where he aims at showing that the Promise—*i.e.* the Christian religion as it was announced to Abraham, and in a sense imparted to him—was not conditioned by the Law, which came 400 years afterwards, and that not by the immediate act of God, but 'ordained through angels, by the hand of a mediator.' It is not so clear whether St. Paul regarded Law, or the reign of Law, either in its more statutory form as in Israel, or in its vaguer form as present to conscience among the Gentiles, as a *positive* preparation for the gospel. The figures of the prison-house and the *παιδαγωγός* in Gal $3^{23f.}$ hardly amount to this. As Lightfoot remarks, 'the tempting explanation of *παιδαγωγὸς εἰς Χριστόν*, "one to conduct us to the school of Christ," ought probably to be abandoned.' *Εἰς Χριστὸν* really means 'until Christ came.' During the pre-Christian stage of our life we were 'shut up and kept in ward under the law'; it was our prison and our moral guardian, but St. Paul does not regard it as leading us to Christ. The *παιδαγωγός* was a slave who had to exercise a certain moral restraint over the boy under his charge; the law, too, was servile, an inferior type of religion, and all it could do by itself was to attempt a similar restraint.

(2) On the mode in which Law acts in the individual who lives under it, St. Paul has much to say. (*a*) It brings the knowledge, especially the full knowledge (*ἐπίγνωσις*) of sin, Ro 3^{20} 4^{15}, and esp. $7^{7ff.}$ 'I had not known sin, but through the law,' etc. The description of spiritual experience in Ro 7^{7-25} is not to be mechanically interpreted; it belongs to what may be called 'ideal biography.' It is neither the experience of the regenerate nor of the unregenerate man, but the experience, if one might say so, of the unregenerate man seen through regenerate eyes, interpreted by a regenerate mind; it is individual experience, but universalized; it is not a deposition for a law court, but some kind of essential eternal truth. It contains much of St. Paul's doctrine of the law—a doctrine resting on experience of his own. The starting-point is purely ideal. 'I was alive without the law (*χωρὶς νόμου*) once.' This is not a date which can be fixed in any one's life. There is not really a golden age, a happy time to which we can look back, when we had no conscience, and therefore no bad conscience. It is, however, the assumed starting-point of the spiritual life for St. Paul. It lasts till its peace is invaded by the Law. When the commandment comes, sin wakes up to life, and the man dies. The prohibition of the Law reveals to man his antagonism to it. The Law *comes* to him, from without, and it *is* without: man and the law, the very moment the law appears as such, are discovered to be in some kind of antagonism to each other; conscience first exists as a *bad* conscience.

(*β*) The law not only brings the full consciousness of sin, it also brings its doom. The law works wrath, Ro 4^{15}. There is a 'curse of the law' which comes upon all who violate it. To know that one has broken the law is to know that he is subject to this curse. The doom of death stares him in the face. St. Paul nowhere gives an analysis of *θάνατος*, or *κατάρα*, or *κατάκριμα*, or any of the words he uses in this connexion, and it is merely misleading to introduce such distinctions as physical, spiritual, and eternal death to interpret his meaning. That death which is the doom or curse of the law is one awful indivisible thing, which only a despairing conscience can realize, and which is too overwhelming to be the subject of such distinctions. It includes in every case the feeling that God, whose the Law is, is against those who have broken it.

(*γ*) The Law, according to St. Paul, stimulates sin, and was given for that very purpose. 'The Law came in beside, that the trespass might abound,' Ro 5^{20}. The Law was added *τῶν παραβάσεων χάριν*, Gal 3^{17}: where 'because of transgressions' must be interpreted on the analogy of Ro 5^{20} *ἵνα πλεονάσῃ τὸ παράπτωμα*. Cf. also Ro 7^{13} 'that sin through the commandment,' *i.e.* through the law in one of the injunctions or prohibitions composing it, 'might become exceeding sinful.' This is one of the most daring points in St. Paul's doctrine, yet it rests on the familiar psychological fact that prohibition provokes resistance. When the law—any law whatever—says 'Do not,' there is something in man which is inclined to say 'I will.' The peculiarity is that St. Paul represents God as availing Himself of this characteristic of human nature in order (indirectly) to prepare man for salvation. When he says that the purpose for which Law came in was that the trespass might abound, the purpose is conceived as God's. It is as though God saw that the only way to get man to accept *His* righteousness was to make him despair of his own, and the way to make him despair of his own was to subject him to a discipline under which the sin that was in him would reveal its exceeding sinfulness, its irresistible tyrannical strength, and annihilate all his hopes. It is in this connexion of ideas that St. Paul says the law is the strength of sin, 1 Co 15^{56}. No doubt it was at this point that his doctrine would seem most impious to a pious Jew. The Law, his adversary would naturally assume, was given to be kept. It was given to guide man in the way of life, to be a light to his feet and a lamp to his path. It was a kind of insanity—so it would seem to him—to represent it as given to stimulate sin, to counteract its own nature, defeat its own purpose, and lead to its own supersession by a new religion. But, in reality, Law is used in two different senses by the parties to this controversy. The Jewish interlocutor whom we have supposed is thinking of the whole OT revelation, which is not necessarily legal at all; St. Paul is thinking of it specifically *as* legal, as that system of statutes and traditions to which it had been reduced in the Pharisaic circles in which he had been brought up; and he is interpreting God's purpose in giving the law through his own experience—surely an experience in which the hand and purpose of God could be traced—under those conditions. If experience proved anything, it proved that God could mean nothing by the law (as St. Paul had known it) except to make a full revelation of sin. It was not meant to bring salvation, it was meant to bring despair.

(*δ*) But though the law acts in this paradoxical way, and does so in pursuance of God's purpose, God is not to blame for the sin which is multiplied, nor is the character of the law itself in the least degree compromised. The law is spiritual and holy. Both *πνευματικός* and *ἅγιος* are words which indicate the connexion of the law with God. The commandment, the prohibition or precept in which the law expresses itself, is holy (=divine), just (=answering to the relations which subsist between God and man, or between men themselves), and good (=morally beneficent). The explanation of the disastrous working of the law (disastrous, though God's grace makes it an indirect preparation for the gospel) is to be found in man himself, and especially in his nature as flesh: 'I am σάρκινος, a creature of flesh, sold under sin,' Ro 7^{14}.

The law, perhaps, ought to be able to do for us something quite different from what it actually does; but it cannot do that other thing; it is weak 'through the flesh,' Ro 8^3. St. Paul nowhere explains how the flesh has come to have this peculiar, native, invincible antipathy to the law, and this is not the place to inquire; it is enough to notice that it is on his conception (which like all his other conceptions is not an abstract but an experimental one) of what the flesh is, that the most characteristic part of his doctrine of the law depends. It is because the flesh is what it is that the law stimulates sin, plunges man into despair, and so prepares him for the gospel, *i.e.* for a divine righteousness to which 'works of law' contribute nothing, though witness is borne to it 'by the law and the prophets.' The flesh and the law together explain the universal need and the universal craving for redemption.

(3) It is necessary, however, to define the relation of law and gospel more closely. It is true that the law contributes nothing to the gospel: no statutory obedience whatsoever enters into the δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ preached by St. Paul to sinners whom the law has brought to despair. But the law is not ignored by the gospel. It is God's law. It is enforced by the most terrible sanctions: its sentence of condemnation, its curse, its doom of death, are awful realities, and cannot simply be passed by. Nor in St. Paul's gospel are they passed by. The very heart of that gospel is Christ's relation to the law—His relation to the law, not merely as a law which issues commandments, but as a law which has pronounced sentence upon man. When Christ is said to be made under law, to redeem them that are under law, it is this which is in view: St. Paul has a gospel to preach to men under the condemnation of the law, because that condemnation has been taken on Himself by Christ. This is the idea which explains all the formulæ the apostle uses in describing the redeeming work of Christ, and which explains above all the fact that the redeeming work of Christ is so constantly identified with His death. Death is the doom of sin, the sanction, the curse, the sentence of the law; and in dying for us Christ recognized without abatement the utmost claims of the law as expressive of the holy will of God. It is in this sense that He is said to have become a curse for us, and to have been made sin for us by God; it is in this sense also that God is said in Him to have condemned sin in the flesh. All these passages (Gal 3^{13} $4^{4f.}$, 2 Co 5^{21}, Ro 8^3) describe the same thing: the absolute honour paid to the law by Christ in freely submitting to that death in which the law's condemnation of humanity is expressed.

We do not discredit this connexion of ideas by saying that death is merely physical, and that the conception of it as the doom of sin is fantastic or mythological. Nothing that happens to man is merely physical. All that happens to a spiritual being has in the last resort a spiritual meaning; and when death is interpreted (not through its physiological antecedents or conditions, but as it must be by the philosopher, the moralist, and the theologian) through the conscience, it will be hard to find for it any other significance than that which St. Paul accepts. It is the dreadful experience in which conscience sees not the debt of nature, but the wages of sin; and it is as such that Christ is conceived as submitting to it.

The same holds of the more elaborate passage Ro 3^{21-26}. Christ is there represented as set forth 'as a propitiation, . . . in his blood, with a view to demonstrate God's righteousness, owing to the passing by of foregone sins in the forbearance of God.' The idea is that God's treatment of sin hitherto—His suspense of judgment—cast a shadow on His righteousness: it might be questioned whether God was really concerned about the difference between right and wrong. But at the cross His righteousness has been cleared from this shadow. How? Because there the doom of sin has fallen upon His own Son. Nothing could show more conclusively that God was inexorable, irreconcilable to sin—that God's law was an inviolable law. There is nothing in the argument of Weiss (*Comm.* on Ro 3^{25}) that punishment and propitiation are alternatives between which God had to choose, but which had nothing to do with each other. God chose to make propitiation for the sin of the world, and He did it, according to St. Paul,—not in this passage only, but in all the others cited above,—in the following way: He sent His Son to take the sin of the world upon Him in all those consequences of it in which His condemnation and the sanctity of His law are expressed, and especially, therefore, in death. Death in Christ's case has propitiatory significance,—in other words, it is the basis of gospel,—because it is the bearing of sin, the full recognition, in their full extent, of the Law's claims upon man. To dissolve the relation between the Death of Christ and the sentence of the Law—to take the curse and condemnation out of the Cross—is to annihilate the gospel as St. Paul understood it. It is essential to a doctrine of atonement that it should in this sense at least 'establish the law.'

(4) But the question remains, What is the relation of the Christian to the Law, or to law in general? Much of the paradox of St. Paul's teaching gathers round this point. In all religion, of course, from the point of view of ethics, there is something paradoxical. It belongs to religion, as such, to transcend the ethical point of view, yet to conserve and promote, indeed to be the only effective means of conserving and promoting, ethical interests. Hence moralists are the most severe, if at times the most inept, critics of religion, and St. Paul's idealism and his paradoxes together provoked and still provoke infinite comment. Yet his position is quite clear. On the one hand, the Christian has nothing more to do with law in any way. 'I through law died to law that I might live to God.' An exhaustive experiment of living under law convinced him that there was neither life nor righteousness to be found that way, and he was done with law for ever. 'I am crucified with Christ; and it is no longer I who live, but Christ who lives in me.' The old end of life is not renounced; his aim is still righteousness; but the old means are renounced. Righteousness is not to be achieved out of his own resources, and brought to God for His approval; it is to be the work of Christ dwelling in him through His Spirit. Law was weak through the flesh, and could not do what was wanted; but the Spirit is stronger than the flesh, and can secure in spite of it what the law failed to secure; in us (Christians), as we walk not after the flesh but after the spirit, 'the just demand (τὸ δικαίωμα) of the law' is fulfilled, Ro 8^4. Sin has not dominion over us, for we are not under law (the working of which has been explained above under 2 (γ)), but under grace; law only enslaves to sin; but grace gives the quickening spirit and liberates.

Hence in the Christian religion, as St. Paul understood it, nothing statutory could have any place. To give a legal authority to any formal precept, ethical or ritual, is to shut the door of hope, and open again the door of despair. It is to contemn the Spirit, which is Christ's gift, and the cross, by which He won it, and to renounce the liberty with which He has made us free. St. Paul was not an *anti*nomian (for the just demand of the law is to be fulfilled in all Christians), but he was certainly an *a*nomian. He recognizes no law in the Church but the law of the spirit of the life in Christ Jesus, and while that is both law and impulse it is essentially personal, and can never be reduced to statutory form. He can speak of Christianity indeed (to which circumcision is nothing and uncircumcision is nothing) as 'the keeping of the commandments of God,' 1 Co 7^{19}; but all legalism is eliminated when the law is described as having its fulfilment in love, Ro 13^{10}, Gal 5^{14}, and 'the law of Christ' is explained as 'bearing each other's burdens,' Gal 6^{2}. Legalism, in short, and Christianity (life in the Spirit) are to St. Paul mutually exclusive ideas; and though in a formally constituted society, *i.e.* in sense a corporation in the eye of the law, a legal creed and a legal organization might become necessary, the idea that the existence of Christianity depended upon them could only have seemed to him a fatal contradiction of all that Christianity meant.

(*e*) At the close of his third mission, St. Paul came again to Jerusalem. He had with him the collection from the Gentile Churches, and was most eager to maintain brotherly relations between the Gentile and the Jewish sections of Christendom, though he had grave misgivings as to what might happen. Cf. Ac $21^{17\text{ff.}}$, 2 Co 8 and 9, Ro $15^{25\text{ff.}}$. The opposition to his 'lawless' Christianity, which had followed him in all his churches and been combated in his four great Epistles, had been busy in Jerusalem also. The native Christians there were devoted in their attachment to the law in its national aspects (*πάντες ζηλωταὶ τοῦ νόμου*, Ac 21^{20}). They had been sedulously instructed (*κατηχήθησαν*) that St. Paul was teaching the Jews who lived abroad to apostatize from the law, neither circumcising their children nor keeping the traditional customs. This was undoubtedly the logic of St. Paul's gospel, though there is no evidence, apart from this unscrupulous assertion, that St. Paul ever sought to denationalize his countrymen; and it is a fair question whether St. James and his elders did not ask him to do something which would leave an essentially false impression when they asked him to associate himself with certain men in a vow, that all might know that none of the things which they had been drilled to believe about him were true, and that he himself also in his conduct was an observer of the law (v.^{24}). Probably, in yielding to this request, St. Paul was carrying to an extreme the conciliatory principles of 1 Co $9^{20\text{ff.}}$; but the tumult which ended in his imprisonment and transference to Rome prevented any further development of the controversy about law between the apostle and the Jewish Christian party.

(*f*) The later Epistles hardly enable us to add anything of importance. In Eph the law as a national institute—the law of commandments contained in ordinances, cf. Col 2^{14}—is regarded as a dividing wall between Jew and Gentile; it has been broken down and annulled by the death of Christ, and with it the enmity which severed the two great branches of the human family; they are now one new man. In Col what St. Paul has to deal with is a movement which in its requirements resembles the ritualistic legalism with which he had been confronted in Galatia; the difference is that in Galatia the legalism attached itself directly to the law of Moses, in Colossæ it seemed to be connected with some philosophical or theosophical system, possibly of Essene affinities, and therefore more exacting in its demands than the letter of Moses' law. Cf. Col $2^{16\text{ff.}}$. St. Paul was equally irreconcilable to it in both cases, and for the same reason. As dead with Christ, the Christian was dead to that whole mode of being, that whole conception of life, which allowed order to be prescribed from without. It was worse, of course, when the multiplied prohibitions, 'Touch not, taste not, handle not,' had no divine sanction (as the Mosaic law had) or even the pretence of it, but were merely a tradition of men. The conscience which has received the Spirit of Christ is shirking its own responsibilities when it allows others to lay down the law for it. To be perfectly free, and to take the whole responsibility of freedom, is the only way to wholesome morality and to Christian sanctification. 'Therefore let no one judge you in eating or drinking, or in respect of a festival or new moon or Sabbath.' All laws and customs as such tend to extinguish the feeling of personal responsibility, to blunt the keenness of individual conscience: hence to bind them on the conscience, in their character as legal and customary, is antichristian. In Ph $3^{1\text{-}11}$ there is a sudden fierce flash, provoked we cannot tell how, of the ideas and temper that belong to the great controversial Epistles. In the Pastoral Epp., which represent a considerably later date, we can see that questions connected with law still engaged attention, though there is nothing indicative either of the passion or the interest in principle which characterize the earlier years of the apostle. Titus (3^{9}) is warned to decline *μάχας νομικάς*, as though the whole subject were practically settled; and we catch the same half-contemptuous tone in 1 Ti 1^{7}, where persons are referred to, Judaizing no doubt, who wish to be *νομοδιδάσκαλοι* though they have no idea of the functions of law. It may be questioned whether the two verses following come up to the insight of Ro 7, but they have their own truth, and probably served the writer's purpose. When the battle was practically over, and the victory won, even St. Paul may have expressed himself in this almost indifferent commonplace; perhaps he despaired of gaining access to the general mind for any profounder statement of the truth. The legalism of the persons who forbade to marry and commanded to abstain from meats (1 Ti 4^{3}) cannot have been Mosaic, but must have been of some philosophical type, akin to that found in Colossæ.

III. THE LAW IN THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.—The Pauline affinities of the Ep. to the Hebrews cannot be denied, but the conception of law in it is very different. Law here is sometimes expressly the law of Moses (7^{28} 9^{19} 10^{28}), but it is regarded not so much as a set of statutes to be punctually obeyed, as a religious constitution under which the nation had to worship. Cf. the use of the verb *νομοθετεῖν* in 7^{11} 8^{6}. The fundamental idea of the book is that there is one people of God through all ages, though it has stood at different times in different relations to Him. Its relation to God, its nearness or distance, depends on the kind of priesthood it has; and when the priesthood is changed there is necessarily also a change of law: that is, the religious constitution is altered, 7^{12}. The old law—the religious constitution under which the people of God lived when mediation was that of the Levitical priesthood—'made nothing perfect' (7^{19}); there was no absolute or final religion then, no purgation of conscience, no sure immediate joyful access to God. Christianity, on the other hand—the religious constitution under which the people of God live now, when mediation is that of the Melchizedek priest, the Son of God—is the *τελείωσις* of what was promised of old. The new covenant is legally constituted on the basis of better promises (8^{6}). It has, with the definite outline of reality, the good things of which the law had only a shadow (10^{1}).

There is nothing in St. Paul which exactly corresponds to this: not even in Col 2^{17}, still less in what he says of the promise in Gal 3 or of the promises in 2 Co 1^{20}. In fact, we do not find in St. Paul any conception of Leviticalism as possessing a religious significance, as dealing even in a pathetically disappointing way with spiritual necessities in man, which would find their adequate satisfaction only in Christ. In the Ep. to the Hebrews Christ is still regarded as making propitiation for sins (2^{17}), but His death is not put, so prominently as in St. Paul, in relation to the Law. Yet in $10^{5ff.}$, where such emphasis is laid on Christ's obedience, it is to be noted (see v.^{10}) that the obedience required of Christ is specifically that of a Redeemer: *i.e. ex hypothesi,* the obedience of One who becomes one with the sinful not only in nature but in experience and in lot (one of the leading thoughts of the Epistle, cf. 2^{10-18}), taking on Himself their flesh and blood, their temptations and discipline, the whole burden, curse, and doom of their sins, and so setting them free. Yet the difference between the conception of Law here and in St. Paul is seen in this, that while St. Paul expresses the result of this redemptive death by δικαιοῦν, in Hebrews it is expressed by ἁγιάζειν. In other words, the result to St. Paul is that there is no condemnation, the claim of the Law against the individual is annulled; to the writer to the Hebrews the result is that worship is made possible; the soul is able now, as it was not before, to draw near to God; true religion is put within its reach. This distinction justifies us, after all, in saying that the distinction between moral and ritual law belongs to the NT. St. Paul does mainly think of law as moral—God's demand for righteousness; Hebrews thinks of it as ritual—the medium through which or the constitution under which we worship. But in both cases the law comes to an end with the gospel. Christ finishes it as a way of attaining righteousness, Ro 10^{4}. Hebrews finishes it also as a mode of worshipping God, $13^{10ff.}$.

IV. THE LAW IN THE OTHER NT BOOKS.—Among the remaining books of the NT, those which exhibit most indications of the controversy which had raged between Jewish and Gentile Christians are the Apocalypse and the Ep. of James. In the former (2^{20}) the Church in Thyatira is threatened because it tolerates 'the woman Jezebel who . . . teaches and seduces my servants to commit fornication, and to eat things offered to idols,' *i.e.* to violate the compact of Ac $15^{28f.}$, cf. Rev 2^{24}. There may have been a spurious, antinomian influence at work here, which appealed to St. Paul's name, but it is absurd (with Renan, *Saint Paul,* pp. 303, 367, *L'Antechrist,* p. 363 ff.) to regard this as a denunciation of St. Paul's doctrine. Although, too, the Apocalypse lays great stress on works, it never regards them as having the character of statutory acts of obedience: in other words, they are not legal. They are the works of Jesus (2^{26}), and are co-ordinated in 2^{19} with love, faith, ministry, and patience (Holtzmann, *NT Theol.* i. 465). A favourite expression for the Christian life (the keeping of the commandments of God, 12^{17} 14^{12}, cf. 3^{8}) is probably borrowed, like other things in the Apoc., from St. Paul (1 Co 7^{19}). The conception of a reward (22^{12} 11^{18}) no more proves legalism in the author of this book than in Jesus Himself (Mt 5^{11}). If there *is* a future which is determined according to man's works, and this is the teaching not of Apoc. only but of the whole NT, it is neither legal nor servile, but only sane to let it tell on the present life. In the Gospel of St. John the numerous references to the law, with the exception of 1^{17}, have no religious interest; and there it is contrasted with the gospel as a less perfect revelation, grace and truth (חֶסֶד וֶאֱמֶת) being the essential attributes of God.

The Ep. of James is more difficult. It has often been treated as a document of legal Christianity, the aim of which is to refute the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith apart from works of law. But it is remarkable that the critical passage (2^{14-26}), in which faith and works are discussed in their relation to each other, never once uses the Pauline expression ἔργα νόμὸν. If the writer is controverting St. Paul, it must be admitted that he has not grasped the Pauline point of view, and that Luther's verdict on his work was justified. His conception of faith is not the same as St. Paul's, and that is why he has to supplement it by works; and the works by which it is supplemented, and in which indeed it is exhibited, are not what St. Paul meant by works of law. They are not acts of obedience to any statutory embodiment of divine will. As illustrated in v.$^{15ff.}$ they are rather what St. Paul would have called fruits of the Spirit. They are, if we choose to say so, the fulfilment of a law, but the writer takes care that we do not conceive the law legally. It is a law which must be actually obeyed, no doubt, but it is also the law of liberty (1^{25} 2^{12}), which Christians freely and spontaneously fulfil; it is condensed, as in the teaching of Jesus, Mt 22^{40}, into the 'royal law,' Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself; and it is perfect. The law, in short, is the same as the word of God, and to St. James this is not external and preceptive. There is a native affinity between man and the word; when he receives it, it becomes an implanted word, a thing that strikes root in his nature and has power to save his soul (1^{21}). With this word God has begotten him; it is in his heart, as Jesus promises, spirit and life (Jn 6^{63}); the law, that is, is impulse as well as law to the Christian, and the keeping of it is perfect freedom. Formally a contradiction of Paulinism, it is at bottom the same kind of experience which is here described. To St. Paul Christianity is a new religious relation to God, which he defines by contrast to legalism; to St. James it is rather a new ethical life, which he describes in terms of law, but of law from which legalism has been eliminated. See, further, JAMES (EPISTLE OF).

The conception of St. James is that from which the phenomena of nascent Catholicism can best be understood, and this is a strong argument for putting the book late. In the other Catholic Epistles Law is not mentioned, but it is clear from Jude, 2 P and 1 Jn, that there were tendencies to antinomianism at work in many places. Such tendencies seem inseparable from every revival of religion, religion, as already remarked, transcending even while it guarantees morality. To counteract them without reintroducing legalism and lapsing from a Christian to a pre-Christian type of religion, was not easy; and the use of νόμος by St. James, the habit of conceiving the OT as a revelation of God's will for the ordering of life, and of regarding Jesus as the Legislator by whom the revelation was made perfect, led inevitably and not slowly to the conception of Christianity itself as a new law. This conception is common to Christian writers from Barnabas onward. The new law might have been, and at first was, akin to 'the law of liberty' in St. James, 'the law of faith,' 'the law of Christ,' 'the law of the spirit of the life in Christ Jesus' in St. Paul; but as the Church became a State, and orthodoxy took the place of inspiration, the new law was correspondingly degraded, and in the early and the mediæval Catholic Church the very idea of spiritual liberty was lost. The religious idealism of St. Paul was far above out of its sight, and it was not till the Church was born again in the 16th cent. that the gospel, which brings a righteousness of God to which works of law contribute nothing, fairly found access into the human mind.

LITERATURE.—The *NT Theologies* of Baur, Weiss, Beyschlag, Holtzmann; Ewald, *HI*, vols. vi. vii. viii. of the Eng. tr.; Schürer, *GJV*^{3} ii. 464 ff. [*HJP* II. ii. 90 ff.]; Wellhausen, *Israelitische u. Jüdische Geschichte*^{2}, pp. 342–356; Weizsäcker, *Das apostolische Zeitalter*, p. 624 ff. and *passim* [Eng. tr. ii. 303 ff.]; M'Giffert, *Hist. of Christianity in the Apostolic Age*, see Index, *s.vv.* Law, Liberty; Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, *passim*; Ritschl, *Rechtf. u. Versöhnung*, vol. ii., and *Die Entstehung der altk. Kirche* (2nd ed.); Baur, *Paulus*, vol. ii. pp. 145–183, etc.; Bruce, *The Kingdom of God*, pp. 63–84, and *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*; Wendt, *Die Lehre Jesu*, p. 207 ff.; Schürer, *Die Predigt Jesu in ihrem Verhältniss zum AT*; Holsten, *Zum Evgm. des Paulus u. des Petrus*; Grafe, *Die paulinische Lehre vom Gesetz*; Zahn, *Das Gesetz Gottes nach der Lehre u. Erfahrung des Ap. Paulus*; Ménégoz, *Le Péché et la Rédemption d'après S. Paul*; A. Sabatier, *L'apôtre Paul*; Pfleiderer, *Der Paulinismus*, and *Das Urchristenthum*; Jowett, 'Essays and Dissertations' (vol. ii. of his *Comm. on St. Paul's Epp. to Thess. Gal. Rom.*); Gifford on *Romans* (Appendix to Introduction); Mackintosh, *Christ and the Jewish Law*; Clemen, *Die Christliche Lehre von der Sünde*, pp. 20–68.

J. DENNEY.

LAWGIVER occurs six times in AV of OT (Gn 49^{10}, Nu 21^{18}, Dt 33^{21}, Ps 60^{7} [Heb. 9] = 108^{8} [Heb. 9], Is 33^{22}) and once in NT (Ja 4^{12}). In the OT it is the tr^{n} of מְחֹקֵק, in NT of *νομοθέτης*. The root חקק means 'to cut in,' 'inscribe,' 'engrave,' and hence, from the practice of inscribing a decree (חֹק, חֻקָּה) upon tablets [see LAW (IN OT) above, p. 67^{a}], 'to enact *or* command.' Thus we find in Jg 5^{9} חוֹקְקֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל = 'the commanders of Israel.' The *Po'el* ptcp. מְחֹקֵק appears to have two distinct senses: (*a*) that of 'leader,' 'commander' ('lawgiver' is too narrow a term, especially as in the mind of the English reader it is associated so closely with the *Mosaic* law). This is the meaning of the word in Dt 33^{21} ('a commander's portion was reserved'), where it is used of the leader of the warlike tribe of Gad; in Jg 5^{14} ('out of Machir came forth leaders' [מְחֹקְקִים ‖ חוֹקְקִים of v.^{9}]); and in Is 33^{22}, where מְחֹקְקֵנוּ 'our lawgiver' (LXX *ἄρχων*) is used in parallelism with שֹׁפְטֵנוּ 'our judge' and מַלְכֵּנוּ 'our king.' (*b*) The other meaning which it appears to be necessary to postulate is that of 'ruler's *or* commander's staff,' which it would bear in Gn 49^{10} (where מְחֹקֵק is parallel with שֵׁבֶט), 'The [royal ?] sceptre shall not depart from Judah nor the ruler's staff from between his feet'; in Nu 21^{18} (‖ מִשְׁעֲנֹת 'staff'), where RV 'with the sceptre' is plainly more appropriate as a rendering of בִּמְחֹקֵק than AV and RVm 'by direction *or* order of the lawgiver' (LXX *ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτῶν*, Vulg. *in datore legis*); and in Ps 60^{7} = 108^{8} 'Judah is my sceptre,' although LXX has *βασιλεύς* 'king' (similarly Pesh. and Vulgate).

The most controverted of the above passages is Gn 49^{10}. For וּמְחֹקֵק מִבֵּין רַגְלָיו the LXX has *καὶ ἡγούμενος ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ*, Vulg. *et dux de femore ejus*, Targ. Onk. וספרא מבני בנוהי, all three taking מְחֹקֵק in a personal sense, and understanding מִבֵּין רַגְלָיו to be a promise of an unbroken succession of descendants. But the parallelism between מְחֹקֵק and שֵׁבֶט demands that these two words have similar senses (the LXX is consistent in this respect, rendering שבט by *ἄρχων*); and as there can be little doubt that '(royal ?) sceptre' is the meaning of שֵׁבֶט, 'ruler's staff' seems a very appropriate sense for מְחֹקֵק. Then again the expression מִבֵּין רַגְלָיו, which is parallel to מִיהוּדָה, may mean 'from before him' (cf. בֵּין רַגְלֶיהָ used of Jael in Jg 5^{27}), referring to 'the actual position of the long staff, grasped in the right hand as the chief walks or stands still' (Ball in *SBOT*, *ad loc.*). The mention of the 'feet' rather than the hands Ball explains as due to the fact that it is not a short ornamental sceptre that is in view but a long staff reaching to the ground, and he compares the Egyp. hieroglyph for 'great man,' 'chief,' 'king' (*ura*), which is a figure holding the staff as described above. He notes, further, that similar insignia of authority are still carried by the Bedawin sheikhs and headmen of villages, and considers that the idea of a sitting figure, with the staff held between the feet, as seen in some ancient sculptures, does not harmonize so well with the context which suggests movement. In any case the meaning of the couplet, 'The sceptre shall not depart from Judah nor the ruler's staff from before him,' appears to be that Judah is to retain the hegemony among the tribes of Israel (or probably the royalty [note שֵׁבֶט absolutely]), עד כי יבא שילה, on the meaning of which last words see art. SHILOH, and cf., above all, Driver in *Camb. Journ. of Philology*, xiv. (1885), and in *Expositor*, July 1885, p. 10 ff. See also Dillm. and Spurrell, *ad loc.*

The only NT occurrence of 'lawgiver' is, as we have said, in Ja 4^{12}, where *νομοθέτης* is coupled with *κριτής*, the two terms being used of God as at once the Supreme Lawgiver and Judge. This is the only instance in which *νομοθέτης* is used in the NT, although the verb *νομοθετέω* occurs in He 7^{11} 8^{6} and the noun *νομοθεσία* in Ro 9^{4}, in all these three passages the reference being directly or implicitly to the giving of the law to Israel.

On the work of Moses as the lawgiver of Israel see LAW (IN OT), above, p. 66, and MOSES.

J. A. SELBIE.

LAWYER (*νομικός*).—In the NT the name usually given to the scribes is *γραμματεύς* (man of letters); but *νομικός* ('lawyer') and *νομοδιδάσκαλος* ('doctor of the law') are also occasionally used. Of the two latter terms, the second is found only in Lk 5^{17}, Ac 5^{34}, and 1 Ti 1^{7} (where it is used of would-be teachers of the law in the Christian Church); while the first occurs most frequently in Lk (7^{30} 10^{25} $11^{45.46.52}$ 14^{3}), once in Mt (22^{35}), and nowhere else in the NT except in Tit 3^{13}. A comparison of Lk 5^{17} with v.^{21} and Mk 2^{6} Mt 9^{3} shows that the three terms were used synonymously, and did not denote three distinct classes. The scribes were originally simply men of letters, students of Scripture, and the name at first given to them contains in itself no reference to the law; in course of time, however, they devoted themselves mainly, though by no means exclusively, to the study of the law; they became jurists rather than theologians, and received names which of themselves called attention to that fact. Some would doubtless devote themselves more to one branch of activity than to another; but a 'lawyer' might also be a 'doctor'; and the case of Gamaliel shows that a 'doctor' might also be a member of the Sanhedrin (Ac 5^{34}).

Long before the time of our Saviour, the law, written and oral, had become the absolute norm of Jewish life. Every detail of life, civil as well as religious, was regulated in the minutest manner by the law. It was impossible for the ordinary Jew to be fully acquainted with the innumerable statutes referring, *e.g.*, to Levitical purity or the keeping of the Sabbath, and to apply them to the fresh cases that emerged daily; and yet his standing before God depended upon his scrupulous observance of these statutes. It was absolutely necessary, therefore, that a special class of men should devote themselves expressly to the study of the law. These were the 'scribes,' 'lawyers,' or 'doctors of the law.'

(*a*) Their first and main function was to study and expound the law, including the innumerable 'traditions of the fathers'; they had so to explain it as to show its application to the circumstances of the present time; for every new case that occurred they had to find out some pertinent statute or precedent; and, in the absence of such a statute or precedent, they had to deduce some rule from their knowledge of what was legal.

They were thus men whose special calling it was to know what was legal.

(*b*) Their special knowledge of the law naturally qualified them for holding the office of judge; and in all probability the members of the various Sanhedrins throughout the country were chosen, as far as possible, from among their number. From such passages as Mt 16^{21} 20^{18} 21^{15} 27^{41}, Mk 8^{31} 11^{27} 14$^{43.53}$ 15^{1}, Lk 9^{22} 20^{1} 22^{66}, Ac 4^{5}, in which they are named among the supreme Jewish authorities, it is evident that some of them were members of the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem. Though they had no official standing in the synagogues, their knowledge of the Scriptures generally and of the law in particular would lead to their being the principal speakers in religious assemblies (Mk 1^{22}).

(*c*) The teaching of the law was also one of their essential functions. In the time of our Saviour there were special academies (*beth hammidrash*) in various parts of the Jewish world; in Jerusalem certain halls and rooms of the outer court of the temple were set apart for this purpose (cf. Lk 2^{46}). The pupils sat in a semicircle round their teacher, who also sat on a slightly raised bench. The teaching was mostly oral and catechetical; it consisted mainly of a constant repetition of the various 'traditions of the fathers' dealing with all manner of real and imaginary cases; the pupils were encouraged to put questions to their teachers; they also attended the discussions that leading Rabbis held among themselves, and were probably also allowed to be present at meetings of the Sanhedrin.

For their judicial and teaching activity the 'lawyers' or 'doctors' were understood to receive no payment. Some of them would therefore maintain themselves by following a trade (cf. Ac 18^{3}), and doubtless many men of means would adopt a profession which was almost universally held in the very highest esteem. They were not, however, always so unselfish as Jewish sources represent them (cf. Mk 12^{40}=Lk 20^{47}). They were also exceedingly ambitious of honour (Mt 23$^{5-11}$, Mk 12$^{38.39}$, Lk 11$^{43.45}$ 20^{46}). More especially they demanded, and received, such honour from their pupils. According to the Talmud, one's teacher is to be more reverenced and honoured than one's father, if the latter is not also a man of learning; 'for his father has only brought him into this world, while his teacher, who teaches him wisdom, brings him to life in the future world' (quoted in Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 317). See, further, art. SCRIBES.

LITERATURE.—The article 'Schriftgelehrte' in Herzog's *RE*^{2} by Strack, in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexikon* by Klöpper, in Riehm's *HWB*^{2} by Schürer; cf. also the latter writer's *GJV*^{3} ii. 312 ff. [*HJP* II. i. 312 ff.]; Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, i. 93 ff.; O. Holtzmann, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, 151 ff.; H. J. Holtzmann, *Neutest. Theol.* i. 36 ff.; Wellhausen, *Isr. u. Jüd. Gesch.*^{3} 193 ff., and *passim*; Weber, *Jüd. Theologie auf Grund des Talmud*, etc., 1897, p. 105 ff., and *passim*.

D. EATON.

LAY.—An abrupt use of the simple verb to lay is found in Mt 8^{14} 'He saw his wife's mother laid, and sick of a fever.' It is a literal tr. of the Gr. *βεβλημένην καὶ πυρέσσουσαν*; RV gives 'lying sick,' ignoring the *καὶ*. The full form occurs in Mk 7^{30} 'She found the devil gone out, and her daughter laid upon the bed' (*βεβλημένην ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης* (edd. *τὸ παιδίον βεβλημένον ἐπὶ τὴν κλίνην*)). Cf. Ac 13^{36} 'David . . . fell on sleep, and was laid unto his fathers' (*προσετέθη πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας αὐτοῦ*). Hall, *Works*, ii. 52, says, 'His servant is sick; he doth not drive him out of doores, but layes him at home.'

The simple verb to lay is used in Jon 3^{6} in the sense of 'lay aside,' 'He arose from his throne and he laid his robe from him.' The expression is irregular, and due to the word 'from' following.

To lay means to 'impute' in Job 24^{12} 'God layeth not folly to them' (לֹא־יָשִׂים, RV 'imputeth it not for folly'; cf. 1 S 22^{15} 'Let not the king impute anything unto his servant,' Heb. אַל־יָשֵׂם). So Jonson, *Sejanus*, ii. 1—

'So prepare the poison
As you may lay the subtle operation
Upon some natural disease of his.'

Some phrases demand attention: 1. *Lay along*, see ALONG. 2. *Lay apart*, Ja 1^{21} 'Wherefore lay apart all filthiness' (*ἀποθέμενοι*, RV 'putting away,' a metaphor from the putting off of clothes—Mayor). 3. *Lay at*, meaning 'strike at,' Job 41^{26} 'The sword of him that layeth at him cannot hold.' Cf. Holland, *Suetonius' Caligula*, c. 25, 'With her perilous fingers shee would not sticke to lay at the face and eyes of other small Children playing together with her.' 4. *Lay away*, *i.e.* lay aside, Ezk 26^{16} 'Then all the princes of the sea shall come down from their thrones, and lay away their robes'; Ad. Est 14^{2} 'Esther . . . laid away her glorious apparel.' Cf. Spenser, *FQ* I. viii. 49—

'Such the sight
Of fowle Duessa, when her borrowed light
Is laid away, and counterfesaunce knowne.'

5. *Lay down*, meaning to stake or deposit, Job 17^{3} 'Lay down now (שִׂימָה נָּא, RV 'Give now a pledge'), put me in a surety with thee.' Cf. Is 14^{15}, Cov. 'Yet darre I laye, that thou shalt be brought downe to the depe of hell.' 6. *Lay hands on.* The verb *κρατέω* 'to gain power over,' 'seize,' is so tr^{d} in Mt 18^{28} 21^{46}, and *πιάζω* 'to seize,' 'capture,' in Jn 8^{20}. For *κρατέω* RV prefers the more modern 'lay hold of,' and for *πιάζω* 'take.' 7. *Lay open*, Pr 13^{16} 'A fool layeth open his folly' (RV 'spreadeth out,' as AVm). Cf. Fuller, *Holy Warre*, v. 2 (p. 231), 'I will lay open my cause, and justice shall be done without any by-respect.' 8. *Lay out*, 2 K 12^{11} 'And they gave the money, being told, into the hands of them that did the work . . . and they laid it out to the carpenters and builders,' a compromise between the Gen. version 'payed it out' and the literal tr^{n} 'brought it forth,' RV 'paid it out.' 9. *Lay wait* occurs often. The more modern form 'lie in wait' is also found, as well as 'laying await' and 'laying of wait.' See WAIT.

J. HASTINGS.

LAYING ON OF HANDS (*ἐπίθεσις χειρῶν*, Vulg. *impositio manus* or *manuum*), Ac 8^{18}, 1 Ti 4^{14}, 2 Ti 1^{6}, He 6^{2}.—The ceremony thus described is mentioned frequently both in OT and NT, where it appears in connexion with religious acts of widely different character.

i. OLD TESTAMENT.—(*a*) It occurs as a symbol of benediction in Gn 48$^{14ff.}$ 'Israel stretched out his right hand and laid it (וַיָּשֶׁת, *ἐπέβαλεν* *) upon Ephraim's head . . . and Joseph said . . . Put (שִׂים, *ἐπίθες*) thy right hand upon his (Manasseh's) head.' In giving the high priestly blessing to the congregation 'Aaron lifted up his hands toward the people' (Lv 9^{22} וַיִּשָּׂא, *ἐξάρας*); but the action, though ritually distinct,† seems to have had in this case the same significance as the imposition of hands upon an individual (cf. Nu 6^{27} *ἐπιθήσουσιν τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραήλ, καὶ ἐγὼ Κύριος εὐλογήσω αὐτούς*). (*b*) The laying on of hands occupies an important place in the sacrificial system of P (Ex 29$^{10.15.19}$, Lv 1$^{4.11}$ (LXX) 3$^{2.8.13}$ 4$^{4.24.29.33}$ 8$^{14-18}$ 16^{21}; cf. 2 Ch 29^{23}). It is prescribed in the case of (1) the bullock and the rams offered at the consecration of Aaron and his sons; (2) private offerings of quadrupeds on all occasions;‡ (3) sin offerings made on behalf of the whole congregation, in the event of a common *ἀγνόημα*; (4) the goat 'let go for Azazel.' (*c*) Witnesses laid their hands on the head of a person charged with a capital offence (Lv 24^{14}, Sus ^{34}). (*d*) The tribe of Levi at their dedication received imposition of hands from representative members of the other tribes (Nu 8^{10}). (*e*) Moses appointed Joshua to be his successor in the same manner (Nu $27^{18.23}$, Dt 34^{9}). In all these cases except (*a*), סמך, LXX *ἐπιτιθέναι*, is used.

---

* *ἐπιβαλεῖν τὰς χεῖρας* usually—in the NT always—implies hostile action.

† Cf. *Dict. Chr. Ant.* i. p. 757 f.

‡ See Dillmann on Lv 1^{4} 7^{2}.

It is not easy to grasp the common idea which underlies the various OT uses of this primitive ceremony. In (*a*) and (*e*) the laying on of hands seems to denote the imparting of a personal gift or function; see Dt, *l.c.* 'Joshua . . . was full of the spirit of wisdom, for Moses had laid his hands upon him.'[*] But in (*b*), (*c*), (*d*) the prominent thought is that of the devotion to God of the object on which hands are laid, to which must perhaps be added in the case of certain offerings the idea of a transfer of responsibility or guilt to the victim (Lv 16^{21}: cf., however, Schultz, *OT Theology*, Eng. tr. i. p. 391 ff., and W. R. Smith, *RS*² p. 422 f.). On the whole, it would appear that the fundamental meaning of the symbol was identification by contact, with the subsidiary idea of transference, whether from man to man, or from man to God. By laying his hands on a child or disciple, the patriarch or prophet signified that he desired to impart to the younger life powers or gifts which had been committed to himself; by laying his hand on an offering, the offerer solemnly identified himself with the victim which he dedicated to the service of God; by laying their hands on the head of a criminal, the witnesses of the crime delivered him over to judgment.

ii. NEW TESTAMENT.—(*a*) This symbol was once employed by our Lord in an act of benediction (Mt $19^{13.15}$=Mk $10^{13.16}$=Lk 18^{15}): 'then were there brought unto him little children that he should lay his hands on them and pray . . . and he laid his hands on them.' As the desire originated with the friends of the children, it must have had its origin in the custom of the time (cf. Buxtorf, *de Synag.* p. 138). The blessing of the ascending Lord was given to the Eleven in the manner prescribed to Aaron (Lk 24^{50} *ἐπάρας τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ εὐλόγησεν αὐτούς*). (*b*) Our Lord habitually laid His hands on the sick as a sign of healing (Mt 9^{18}= Mk 5^{23}, Mk 6^{5} 7^{32} $8^{23.25}$, Lk 4^{40} 13^{13}); we may probably add the passages where *ἅπτεσθαι* is used in similar contexts with or without *ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα* (Mt 8^{3}=Mk 1^{41}, Lk 5^{13}, Mt 8^{15} 9^{29} 20^{34}, Mk 7^{33}, Lk 22^{51}).[†] This practice was continued by the apostles and their followers ('Mk' 16^{18}, Ac $9^{12.17}$; cf. Irenæus, *ap.* Eus. *HE* v. 7, *τοὺς κάμνοντας διὰ τῆς τῶν χειρῶν ἐπιθέσεως ἰῶνται*). (*c*) The Apostles used the laying on of hands with prayer in the act of imparting the Holy Spirit to the baptized (Ac $8^{17.19}$ 19^{6}). The Lord had breathed upon them when He communicated the Spirit (Jn 20^{22}), and this *ἐμφύσησις* was peculiarly appropriate (Jn 3^{7}, cf. Gn 2^{7}); but as it symbolized a divine power and a personal relation to the Spirit of God which was incommunicable, no attempt was made to repeat it; when the Apostles passed on to other believers the gifts which they had received, they were guided to the ordinary symbol of benediction. It is to this use of the imposition of hands that reference appears to be made in He 6^{2} *βαπτισμῶν διδαχὴν ἐπιθέσεώς τε χειρῶν* (cf. v.⁴ *φωτισθέντας γευσαμένους τε τῆς δωρεᾶς, κ.τ.λ.*). (*d*) The imposition of hands was also used by the Apostolic Church on certain occasions when members of the Church were set apart to a particular office or work (Ac 6^{6} 13^{3}, 1 Ti 4^{14}, 2 Ti 1^{6}). The occasions specified are those of the appointment of the Seven, the sending forth of Barnabas and Saul, and the subsequent sending forth of Timothy to accompany St. Paul (Hort, *Ecclesia*, p. 215 f.). Of the use of the rite in the ordination of presbyters and deacons there is no direct evidence, if we except 1 Ti 5^{22} (on which see below); for in Ac 14^{23} *χειροτονεῖν* doubtless refers to the election of presbyters in the various churches, and not to the ceremony of their admission to office. Nevertheless, as Dr. Hort points out, 'Jewish usage in the case of Rabbis and their disciples[*] renders it highly probable that (as a matter of fact) laying on of hands was largely practised in the Ecclesiæ of the apostolic age as a rite introductory to ecclesiastical office.' In the post-apostolic Church the rite was practically universal; the exceptions which have been observed admit of an intelligible explanation.[†] (*e*) The context of 1 Ti 5^{22} (*χεῖρας ταχέως μηδενὶ ἐπιτίθει, μηδὲ κοινώνει ἁμαρτίαις ἀλλοτρίαις*) has led some eminent expositors (Hammond, Ellicott, Hort) to see in that verse a reference to the use of the imposition of hands in the reconciliation of penitents. The custom was undoubtedly early, if not primitive; cf. Eus. *HE* vii. 2; *Const. Ap.* ii. 41; Cypr. *de laps.* 16, *ep.* 15. On the other hand, the main current of patristic interpretation is against this explanation of St. Paul's words, and it is not impossible to explain them in reference to ordination without doing violence to the context; see, *e.g.* Theod. Mops. *ad loc.*: 'non facile ad ordinationem quemquam producas sine plurima probatione . . . si (inquit) te ut convenit probante ille deliquerit, non est tuum crimen.'

For the post-apostolic history of the ceremony see Morinus, *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* (*passim*); Suicer, *Thes. s.vv.* *χειροτονέω*, *χειροθεσία*; *Dict. Chr. Ant.* art. 'Imposition of Hands'; Mason, *Relation of Confirmation to Baptism.* H. B. SWETE.

LAZARUS OF BETHANY.—The name Lazarus is an abbreviation of the Heb. Eleazar='God hath helped.' In the LXX we find both Ἐλεαζάρ and Ἐλεάζαρος; in Josephus commonly Ἐλεάζαρος. But *Λάζαρος* occurs *BJ* v. xiii. 7

All that we know of L. is told us in the Fourth Gospel. He was the brother of Martha and Mary, who are mentioned by both St. John and St. Luke. In Jn 11^{5} the names are probably given in order of age, 'Martha, her sister, and Lazarus.' In both Gospels Martha seems to be the eldest, and the mistress of the house; and the fact that Luke does not mention L. points to his being younger, and perhaps much younger, than his sisters. All three were specially beloved by Christ (Jn 11^{5}). We know that He visited them more than once (Lk 10^{38-42}, Jn 11^{1-53}), and it is probable that He often did so when He was at or near Jerusalem. They were probably well-off. The number of condoling friends from the city, and the costly ointment used by Mary, point to this. That they had a funeral vault of their own may be true, but is not stated. Luke does not give the name of the village in which they lived, probably because it was not stated in the source which he used; but John tells us that it was Bethany, which is barely two miles from Jerusalem. He calls L. 'a certain man, Lazarus of Bethany, the village of Mary and her sister Martha' (11^{1}). There has never been any doubt about its site, and the modern name is derived from Lazarus—*El-Azerîjeh*, or *Lazarieh*.* Here Christ raised Lazarus from the dead. Here Mary anointed His feet. Here He began His triumphal entry into Jerusalem. Here He rested during several of the days before His Passion. And from some spot near to Bethany He ascended into heaven. L. was sitting at meat with Him when Mary anointed His feet, and his presence attracted many of 'the common people of the Jews' to the village, that they might see, not only Jesus, but the man whom He had raised from the dead: and the hierarchy in their plots against Christ 'took counsel that they might put L. also to death, because that by reason of him many of the Jews went away and believed on Jesus' (Jn $12^{2.\,9\text{-}11}$). The multitude that had been present when Jesus called L. out of the tomb were enthusiastic in bearing witness during the triumphal procession, and attracted others from the city to meet Him (Jn $12^{17.\,18}$).

---

[*] A somewhat different account appears in Nu 27^{18}, 'take thee Joshua . . . *a man in whom is the spirit* [lit. 'there is spirit,' *i.e.* the necessary endowment for the office in view], and lay thine hand upon him.'

[†] In several of these instances hands were laid upon the part affected and not upon the head. The communication of healing power by contact (Mk $5^{30f.}$) is probably the thing signified.

[*] See Buxtorf, *Lex. Chald. et Talm. s.v.* סְמִיכָה; Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopädie*, *s.v.* 'Ordinirung': a Rabbi could make his scholar a Rabbi by the use of a formula which was ordinarily accompanied by imposition of hands.

[†] On the occasional omission of the ceremony in the ancient Church (Hatch, *Organization*, p. 133 f.) see T. A. Lacey, *L'imposition des mains dans la consécration des évêques*, Paris, 1896.

Here all that we know about L. ends. The chief interest in the brief account of him lies in the miracle of which he was the subject. The raising of L. is commonly regarded as the climax of Christ's miraculous activity; and perhaps no portion even of the Fourth Gospel has been more vigorously assailed by hostile critics. Not only the miracle as a whole, but a large number of the details, have been made the objects of rigorous and minute criticism. It would be hardly too much to say that every objection, reasonable or unreasonable, that ingenuity could devise has been urged. And the reason for this is intelligible. The consequences of the truth of the narrative are so considerable. Spinoza is said to have declared that, if he could be convinced of the truth of the raising of L., he would break up his system and become a Christian (Bayle, *Dict. s.v.*). That is not a logical statement, for the Christian faith depends, not upon the raising of L., but upon the resurrection of Jesus Christ. Yet such a declaration shows that, as at the time when it was wrought, a miracle of this character is capable of exercising a mighty influence upon the intellects and hearts of men. It cannot fail to raise the question, 'What manner of man is this, that even death and the grave obey Him?'

The two most reasonable objections to the narrative as a whole are (1) the silence of the Synoptists, and (2) the amazing character of the miracle. It will be best to take them in this order; for injustice may be done by taking the second to augment the weight of the first. It may be doubted whether any one evangelist was ever induced to record any particular miracle by the thought that it was of a specially surprising character. They give us samples of *all* Christ's mighty works, especially those which had a marked effect upon His disciples and other hearers.

(1) The difficulty respecting the silence of the Synoptic Gospels as to the raising of L. has been seriously exaggerated even by apologists. Thus Trench says, 'It must always remain a mystery why this miracle, transcending as it does all other miracles which the Lord wrought, so memorable in itself, drawing after it the consequences which it did (Jn 11^{53}), should have been passed over by the three earlier evangelists' (*Miracles*^{8}, p. 394). The Synoptic Gospels have been more minutely studied since these words were written (1846), and the fact that in the main they give us one and the same tradition, and that a very fragmentary one, is now much more fully realized. It has been seen that this common fragmentary record has preserved hardly any particulars about the interval between the close of the ministry in Galilee (which is its chief theme) and the last Passover. St. Luke alone has done anything considerable to fill this blank, and the silence of the Synoptists should rather be called 'the silence of St. Luke.' And here again a similar explanation is applicable. 'The great intercalation' in the third Gospel (9^{51}–18^{14}) is itself very fragmentary, and seems to come from more than one source; and there is nothing very astonishing in the fact that St. Luke had no source which mentioned the raising of Lazarus. Indeed there is nothing unreasonable in the conjecture that, if he had used a source which mentioned it, he would still have omitted it; for he had already recorded two instances of Christ performing this miracle. And we misunderstand Jn 11^{53} if we suppose that it was the raising of L. which determined the hierarchy to put Jesus to death. Some time before this His enemies decided to kill Him, and tried to do it, as St. John himself tells us ($7^{1.\,25.\,26.\,44}$ 8^{59} 10^{31}, and even in this very narrative $11^{8.\,16}$). The raising of L. was the cause, neither of the enthusiasm of the people at the triumphal entry, nor of the deadly hostility of the priests. It merely augmented the one and quickened the activity of the other. Both would have existed and have been efficacious, even if L. had not been raised. None of the evangelists need the story of L. to make the narrative intelligible. John, knowing that the others had omitted it, tells us what he himself had heard and seen. It was of special interest to him, because of its effect in converting some of 'the Jews'; and he had recorded no other instance of Christ's raising the dead.

(2) Is it correct to say that the raising of L. 'transcends all other miracles which the Lord wrought'? It would be safer to affirm that it *seems to us* to transcend them. But is this view correct? In the main it is a modern view. To us raising the dead seems to be a miracle *sui generis*; and raising a man who has been dead four days seems to be a stupendous instance of a stupendous kind of miracle. But to the philosophic believer in miracles all genuine miracles are alike. When natural causes are inadequate and a supernatural cause is admitted, all *degrees of difficulty* are excluded. One who has Omnipotence to aid him cleanses lepers and raises the dead as easily as he heals ordinary diseases. If any miracle is credible, raising a man who has been dead four days is credible. It is illogical to say that the evidence would warrant us in believing a miraculous cure, but does not warrant us in believing in the raising of a dead man.

The objection, that Jn $11^{47\text{-}53}$ is inconsistent with the fact that in accusing Jesus before the Sanhedrin and Pilate no mention is made of the miracle, is not reasonable. It would have paralyzed the Sanhedrin to admit that Jesus had worked such a sign. The dismay of the priests at the miracles, and their silence about it at the trial, are entirely consistent.

Some of the criticisms of the details require notice. Very different views are taken about the 'four days' (see Andrews, *Life of our Lord*, p. 405). Probably L. died the day that Jesus heard of his illness, and was buried almost immediately (2 K 9^{34}, Ac $5^{6.\,10}$). This would be all the more necessary if he died of some infectious disease. Then, after two days (11^{6}), Jesus set out for Bethany, and was part of two days on the road. But this is unimportant. It is urged that His wait-

---

[*] Schwarz seems to be alone in disputing the site; but many modern travellers are incredulous about the vault at the bottom of 26 steps, *in the middle of the village*, which is shown as the tomb of Lazarus.

ing two days and allowing L. to die, in order to prove the sisters and reveal His own glory more signally, was heartless. So far as we know, He did not act thus. Had He started at once, He would probably have arrived too late to see L. alive. 'But he could have healed him from a distance.' No doubt He could, if it had been God's will. But He ever worked in accordance with the divine plan; and in this plan the raising of L. was to do three things: (*a*) strengthen the disciples' faith; (*b*) convert many of the Jews; (*c*) cause the priests to hasten their movements, so as to be ready when 'his hour had come' ($11^{15.45.53}$). Healing L. from a distance would have been less efficacious for the first of these, and would have done little towards the other two.

The indignation and sorrow attributed to Him ($11^{33.35}$) are said to be unworthy of the incarnate Logos. Evidently St. John, the exponent of the Logos doctrine, did not think so. To those who believe in the reality of Christ's humanity there is nothing strange in His being angered by the hypocritical wailings of His enemies, and shedding tears of sympathy with the sisters (11^{33}).

We are told that ἤδη ὄζει (11^{39}) expresses, not merely Martha's expectation, but a fact. And are we prepared to maintain that Christ restored a putrid corpse to life? The reply to which is, that we have no right to dogmatize, but that we have full right to believe that God, who had determined that L. should be raised, had preserved his body from corruption.

When the stone was raised, Jesus lifted up His eyes to heaven and said, 'Father, I thank thee that thou didst hear me' (11^{41}). It is maintained that such words on the lips of the God-Man are unreal. Only those who think that the incarnation involves the extinction of the human nature by the divine can so think. Christ here intimates whom they have to thank for the immense mercy that is before them. The Son can do nothing of Himself; His power is from the Father (5^{19-26}). The words are parallel to 'declare how great things *God* hath done for thee' (Lk 8^{39}).

Our intellectual difficulties would not be at an end if we were to admit that no such miracle ever took place. The hypothesis that the story is a fiction is quite incredible. The narrative holds together with the closest consistency (11^{1-16} and $^{17-38}$ with $^{39-44}$); and the story as a whole not only harmonizes with what follows, but explains it section by section ($11^{45-53.\ 54-57}$ $12^{1-8.\ 9-11.\ 12-19}$). The people who take part in it are intensely real, and quite beyond the evangelist's powers of invention. In particular, the characters of the two sisters are not only very true to life, but receive remarkable confirmation from the entirely independent sketch of them by St. Luke (10^{38-42}). There, in utterly different circumstances, the practical Martha and contemplative Mary are as real as in St. John's narrative. The only reasonable explanation of the harmony between the two pictures is that both are taken from life (Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, p. 38; Fairbairn, *Expositor*, 1st series, ix. p. 189).

The narrative with its evidence of the miracle is there, and must be explained. How did the report of such an event arise? We have our choice of various suggestions. (1) The old Rationalism offers us a remarkable coincidence. L. was in a trance, from which he was recovering just as Jesus reached the tomb. When the stone was removed, Jesus perceived that he was not dead, and cried, 'Lazarus, come forth.' (2) Renan sees clearly that something really did take place at Bethany which was looked upon as a resurrection; but he rejects the idea of mere coincidence. The family of devoted disciples arranged that L. should pretend to be dead, in order that Jesus might overwhelm His foes by seeming to restore him to life: and Jesus allowed Himself to take part in this imposture. (3) Keim regards the whole as undoubtedly a fiction, made up largely of Synoptic materials, and composed partly as a great final picture of Christ's powers, partly as an exposition of His saying that Jews who did not listen to Moses and the prophets would not be persuaded though L. rose from the dead (Lk 16^{31}). It is a parable translated into fact. (4) Others take a similar view, but differ as to the central germ. These make the whole story an allegorical illustration of Christ's declaration, 'I am the Resurrection and the Life,' etc. (Jn 11^{25}), which is the one substantial factor in the composition. (5) Strauss falls back on his usual expedient of treating the narrative as a myth. There are many variations in explaining details, but these five are typical of the expedients employed by those who regard a miracle as wholly incredible. Each person must judge for himself whether any of these explanations is more satisfactory than a belief in the reality of the miracle. The first two are revolting even to those who hold that Jesus was only the best man who ever lived, and they entirely fail to explain either 11^{1-16} or $^{17-38}$. The others ascribe to the evangelist a creative power which would be a miracle in the literature of that age. For, even if he got some ideas from the other Gospels or from popular imagination, the form of the narrative, with its impressive reality and vividness, its internal consistency and its harmony with the rest of the Gospel and with St. Luke, is his own. The Apocr. Gospels show us what kind of stories early Christians could invent, when they tried to add to what was known about Christ. 'No narrative of NT bears so completely the stamp of being the very opposite of a later invention' (Meyer, *ad loc.*). 'The Johannine narrative is both unexplained and inexplicable, unless its historical character be accepted' (B. Weiss, *Leben Jesu*, bk. vi. § 6). In particular, the silence of the narrative is as impressive as its contents, and is in marked contrast to fiction. Nothing is told us of the emotions or experiences of Lazarus. No word of his is recorded. Not even his amazement, or joy, or trouble at being restored to life is described; and he makes no revelations about the other world. Would a writer of romance have denied himself this attractive theme? Would he have been thus careful to avoid gratifying unhealthy curiosity? See art. JESUS CHRIST, vol. ii. p. 625.

Various untenable identifications have been made in connexion with the story of Lazarus. Mary has been identified either with Mary Magdalene, or with the sinner in the house of Simon the Pharisee, or with both. Almost certainly they were three different persons. Simon the Pharisee has been identified with Simon the leper, in whose house was the meal at which Martha served, Mary anointed the Lord's feet, while L. was one of those who reclined with Him at table. This also is highly improbable. All these identifications, however, have been suggested by some patristic writers as well as by some moderns. It was reserved for the imagination of a modern scholar to identify L. himself not only with the young ruler who had great possessions (Mt 19^{16}, Mk 10^{17}, Lk 18^{18}), but with the young man with a linen cloth about him, who was near being arrested with Christ (Mk 14^{51}). We do not know that L. was *young*; it is most improbable that he was a *ruler*; and although the family seems to have been well-to-do, there is no evidence that L. *had great possessions*. And were there so few young men in Palestine that wherever we find one mentioned we must assume that he is the same as some other one? To identify the ruler of Lk 18^{18} with the young man of Mk 14^{51}, and both of these with L., is against all probability. The interesting article on Lazarus in Smith's *DB* is an excellent example of spinning ropes of sand.

In various forms of early Christian art the resurrection of Lazarus was a favourite subject. It is found, from the 3rd cent. onwards, very often in paintings and sculptures, and sometimes in mosaics. And there is evidence that it was also woven or embroidered on clothing. In early examples Christ is a large figure and Lazarus a very small one, and the latter is wrapped tightly in grave cloths. Small images of Lazarus were sometimes fastened outside tombs. See the authorities quoted in Trench, *Miracles*, § 29 *sub fin.*; Smith's *Dict. of Chr. Ant.* ii. p. 949; Kraus, ii. p. 286.

Legends about Lazarus are less common than one might expect. The Jews are said to have sent him and his sisters with other disciples to sea in a leaky boat, which took them safely to Marseilles, where he became a bishop. Writers of mediæval romances sometimes made him their mouthpiece in publishing their ideas about the unseen world (T. Wright, *St. Patrick's Purgatory*, p. 167 ff., London, 1844). No trust can be placed in the tradition preserved by Epiphanius that Lazarus was thirty when he was raised, and lived thirty years afterwards (*Hær.* ii. 2. 652). In short, nothing historical can be added to the brief narrative of St. John, which has never ceased to impress the mind of Christendom.

In conclusion, it is worth noting that this narrative contains important evidence respecting Christ's human consciousness. Supernatural knowledge was within His reach (Jn $11^{4.\,11.\,14}$); but when He could acquire the necessary information in the usual way He did not make use of supernatural means ($11^{17.\,34}$).

A. PLUMMER.

LAZARUS AND DIVES.—In this parable alone is a name given to any of the persons introduced. The name Lazarus may be a later addition, to connect the parable with L. of Bethany, who *did* 'go to them from the dead,' and still they did not repent. More probably, the name suggests the *helplessness* of the man, so far as his fellow-men were concerned. Tertullian argues that the name proves that the story is historical, and that the scene in Hades confirms his view that the soul is corporeal (*de Animâ*, vii.). In this parable also popular usage has given the other chief character a name. In the West 'Dives' has become almost a proper name; and this in spite of the fact that tradition had given the name of Nineuis to the rich man (Euthym. Zig. on Lk 16^{20}).

This parable is the counterpart of the parable of the Unjust Steward. That teaches what good results may be won by a wise use of present advantages. This teaches how calamitous are the results of failing to make a wise use of them. It illustrates also the preceding saying, that what is exalted among men may be an abomination in the sight of God (Lk 16^{15}). It is not 'Ebionitic.' It neither states nor implies that it is wicked to be rich. Dives is condemned, not for having been wealthy, but for having found in wealth his highest good, and for not having used it to win something better. Out of this mammon he might have made L. and others his 'friends,' and through them have secured 'eternal tabernacles.' Both halves of the parable are original, and each is needed to explain the other. It is a grave error to suppose that the scene in Hades is the only part of the parable that is significant, or that its purpose is to teach us the nature of the unseen world. The one thing that it teaches is that our condition there depends upon our conduct here, and that this may produce a complete reversal of human judgments. The details of the picture represent Jewish ideas about Sheol, but they in no way confirm those ideas. In order to enable us to realize the picture, disembodied spirits are described as if they were bodies. The finger, the tongue, the flame, etc., are figurative, for the actual finger and tongue were in the grave.

In both halves of the parable L. (like his namesake in all the scenes at Bethany) is silent; and his silence is instructive. It indicates that, just as Dives is not punished for his wealth, so L. is not rewarded for his poverty. He is rewarded for his patient submission. In life he does not murmur at God's unequal distribution of goods, nor rail at Dives for his neglect of him. In Sheol he does not triumph over Dives, nor protest against the idea of his being at his beck and call. He leaves Abraham (a righteous rich man) to decide everything; and Abraham points out that as the one had had uninterrupted luxury, and the other uninterrupted misery, in life, so there can be no interruption in the reversed conditions of either in Sheol.

The hypothesis that Dives and his five brethren represent six of the Herods (father, sons, and grandsons being called brethren for simplification) is incredible. Those who hold it consistently maintain that the parable is wrongly attributed to Christ, and is a later composition. Christ certainly would not have made a personal attack of this kind on any one, although He did not hesitate to censure Antipas publicly (Lk 13^{32}).

The belief that Lazarus was a leper has produced such words as *lazzaro* for leper and *lazzaretto* or *lazar-house* for leper-hospital. During the Crusades an order of knights of St. Lazarus was founded (1119, 1255), with the special duty of protecting and tending lepers. It lasted till modern times, but is distinct from the much more modern order of Lazarists or Lazarians.

A. PLUMMER.

LEAD (אֹפֶרֶת *'ophereth*) is often named among the spoils from Syria under Tahutmes III.; and it was common enough by B.C. 1200 to be used in Egypt for the sinkers of fishing-nets. This use was familiar to Israelites, as the Song of Moses has 'sank like lead in the mighty waters' (Ex 15^{10}). Lead in the literal sense is mentioned in Nu 31^{22} (P) along with brass, iron, and tin, and along with the same metals is used figuratively of Israel in Ezk 22^{18} (cf. v.^{20}); and it appears in Ezk 27^{12} along with silver, iron, and tin as an article of commerce brought from Tarshish to Tyre. In Job 19^{24} the sufferer exclaims, 'O that with an iron pen and lead [my words] were graven in the rock for ever!' There may be a twofold reference here: (*a*) to the use of a leaden tablet to be written on with an iron pen, (*b*) to the cutting-out of an inscription on a rock, but more probably there is but one figure before the mind's eye of the speaker,—that of pouring molten lead into the letter-forms sunk in the stone. (See Davidson and Dillmann, *ad loc.*). See, further, under MINES, MINING.

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

LEAH (לֵאָה, *Λεία*).—The elder daughter of Laban, and one of Jacob's wives. The ruse by which she was palmed off by her father upon Jacob, who imagined that he was marrying Rachel, is described in Gn $29^{21\mathrm{ff.}}$. As to her personal appearance, we are told that her eyes were רַכּוֹת, which the LXX render by ἀσθενεῖς, and EV by 'tender,' *i.e.* weak or dull. The context and the etymology of the word both favour this meaning rather than that of 'beautiful,' which is attributed to the word by Onk. and Sa'adya, who imagine that the sense intended is, that though Leah had fine eyes she was otherwise not so handsome as Rachel. By her marriage with Jacob, Leah became the mother of six sons, Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulun, and a daughter, Dinah, Gn $29^{31\text{-}35}$ $30^{18.\,20.\,21}$. See JACOB, vol. ii. p. 528. Along with her sister she expressed sympathy with Jacob on account of his treatment by Laban, and agreed to accompany her husband in his flight from her father, $31^{4.\,14.\,33}$. When the meeting between Jacob and Esau was about to take place, Leah and her children were placed in an intermediate position between the handmaids with their children in the front and Rachel with her children in the rear, $33^{1.\,2.\,7}$. Leah is mentioned in 49^{31} as having been buried in the cave of Machpelah, having evidently died prior to Jacob's going down to Egypt. In Ru 4^{11} the women who invoke a blessing on the union of Boaz and Ruth, make honourable mention of Leah and Rachel as having 'built' the house of Israel.

It is clear that the most ancient division of Israel distinguished Leah tribes and Rachel tribes. Wellhausen (*Proleg.* 150; cf. W. R. Smith, *Kinship*, 195, 257; Stade, *ZATW* i. 112 ff.) regards *Levi* as a patronymic derived from *Leah*. See LEVI.

The meaning of the name *Leah* is somewhat uncertain. Gray (*Heb. Prop. Names*, 96) accepts the meaning 'wild cow' (so W. R. Smith, *Kinship*, p. 119 ['bovine antelope']; Frd. Delitzsch, *Proleg.* 80, and [doubtfully] Nöldeke, *ZDMG*, 1886, p. 167). Others, as Haupt (*GGN*, 1883, p. 100), compare the Assyrian *li'at* in the sense of 'mistress.' Upon the ground that the narrative in Gn 29^{17} describes the one sister as ugly and the other as beautiful, Ball (in *SBOT*, *ad loc.*) suggests a connexion between לֵאָה (and perhaps לֵוִי) and the Arab. root لوى 'to be ugly,' II. 'to look ugly *or* malignantly.' See Lane, p. 2677. J. A. SELBIE.

LEANNOTH, Ps 88 (title).—See **Mahalath** under art. PSALMS.

LEASING is the Anglo-Saxon *leásung*, 'a lie,' and comes from *leás*, 'false,' which Skeat believes to be the same word as *leás*, loose, so that 'leasing' is literally '*looseness* of statement.' In the Acts of James I. of Scotland, 1424, 'It is ordanyt—that all lesingis makaris and tellaris of thaim, the quhilk may ingener discorde betuix the king and his pepill,—salbe challangit be thaim that power has, and tyne lyff and gudis to the king'—Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary*, *s.v.* 'Lesing-makare.' And still older, in the Preface to king Alfred's Laws, the 44th article is, Onscûna thû â leásunga = 'Shun thou ever leasings.' Wyclif uses the word often. Thus, Jn 8^{44} 'Whanne he [the deuel] spekith a lesinge, he spekith of his owne thingis; for he is a lyiere, and fadir of it.' He also has the forms 'leasing-maker,' Pr 21^6, and 'leasing-monger,' as Sir 20^{27} 'Betere is a theef than the customablenesse of a man, a leesyngmongere' (1382, 'than the besynesse of a man liere'). With Wyclif's translation of Jn 8^{44} cf. Knox, *Historie*, p. 288, 'But who can correct the leasings of such as in all things show them the sons of the Father of all lies'; Elyot, *The Governour*, ii. 217, 'And the devill is called a lyer, and the father of leasinges. Wherfore all thinge, which in visage or apparaunce pretendeth to be any other than verily it is, may be named a leasinge; the execution whereof is fraude, whiche is in effecte but untrouthe, enemie to trouthe, and consequently enemye to god'; and Twysden, *Decem Script.* col. 2650, 'For before that the fende fader of lesynges was lowside, was never this gabbyng contryvede.'

The word occurs three times in AV, Ps 4^2 'how long will ye love vanity, and seek after leasing?' (Heb. תְּבַקְשׁוּ כָזָב, Wyc. 'sechen lesing,' Cov. 'seke after lyes,' Gen. 'seking lyes,' Douay 'seeke lying,' Bish. 'seeke after leasing,' RV 'seek after falsehood' [so also Driver, *Parall. Psalter*, with note '*i.e.* probably vain plans (2^1) for the ruin of the Psalmist, and false charges or calumnies against him,' to which he adds on p. 487, under *Corrigenda*, 'Or better, perhaps, false and baseless imputations' by impatient and distrustful companions, 'reflecting discredit upon the Psalmist']); 5^6 'Thou shalt destroy them that speak leasing' (דֹּבְרֵי כָזָב, Wyc. 'Thou schalt leese alle that speken leesyng,' Cov. 'Thou destroyest the lyers,' Gen. 'Thou shalt destroy them that speake lyes,' Dou. 'Thou wilt destroy al that speake lie,' Bish. 'Thou shalt destroy them that speake leasing,' RV 'Thou shalt destroy them that speak lies'); 2 Es 14^{18} 'For the truth is fled far away, and leasing is hard at hand' (*appropinquabit mendacium*, RV 'For the truth shall withdraw itself further off, and leasing be hard at hand'; the AV is again the tr^n of the Bishops). In Is 59^3 Cov. has 'leasing' as tr^n of שֶׁקֶר (AV and RV 'lies').

The word, which is frequently used by Spenser in his antiquated English, is found only twice in Shaks. (*Twelfth Night*, I. v. 105, and *Coriolanus*, V. ii. 22), and by the time of Thomas Fuller had dropped out of use. In *Ch. Hist.* III. i. 33, Fuller says, 'Amongst the many simoniacal Prelates that swarmed in the land, Herbert, Bishop of Thetford, must not be forgotten; nicknamed (or fitnamed shall I say?) Losing, that is, the Flatterer; our old English word leasing for lying retains some affinity thereunto, and at this day we call an insinuating fellow a Glozing Companion.' J. HASTINGS.

LEATHER, LEATHERN (עוֹר *'ôr*, *δέρμα*, *δερμάτινος*).—Elijah and John the Baptist wore a girdle of leather (2 K 1^8 אֵזוֹר עוֹר, Mt 3^4, Mk 1^6 *ζώνη δερματίνη*. In the last passage AV needlessly introduces the variety, 'girdle of *skin*'). Although mentioned in EV only in connexion with girdles, leather must have been used for many purposes. The Heb. and Gr. words properly mean *skin*; and in such passages as Ex 25^5 ('rams' skins dyed red, and badgers' skins') they clearly refer to tanned skins, and perhaps in Nu 31^{20} ('all that is made of skins') they do the same. Leather was used for thongs, latchets of sandals, etc. Water-bottles and wine-bottles were often made of leather, as at the present day in Syria and Palestine. The Egyptians used it for many purposes besides those mentioned, such as coverings for shields, seats of chairs, etc. (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyp.* ii. 185-189); also for writing (*ib.* 183), rolls being made of it like papyrus. See, further, SKIN, TANNER. H. PORTER.

LEAVE.—The verb to leave is often used in AV in the sense of 'desist,' 'leave off,' as Gn 18^{33} 'And the LORD went his way, as soon as he had left communing with Abraham'; Ru 1^{18} 'When she saw that she was stedfastly minded to go with her, then she left speaking unto her'; Ac 21^{32} 'when they saw the chief captain and the soldiers, they left beating of Paul.' Cf. Tind. *Expos.* p. 106, 'He that buildeth a costly house even to the tiling, will not leave there, and lose so great cost for so small a trifle more.' So Latimer, *Serm. of the Plough*, 'If I might see any such inclination in you, that you would leave to be merciless, and begin to be charitable, I would then hope well of you'; and Shaks. *I Henry IV.* V. v. 44—

> 'Let us not leave till all our own be won.'

'Leave off' is also found in AV, as Sir 23^{17} 'All bread is sweet to a whoremonger, he will not leave off till he die'; 47^{22} 'But the Lord will never leave off his mercy.' And it is used both with the *ptcp. in -ing*, and with *to and the infin.*, as Gn 17^{22} 'And he left off talking with him'; 1 K 15^{21} 'he left off building of Ramah'; Gn 11^8 'they left off to build the city'; Hos 4^{10} 'they have left off to take heed to the LORD.' In Gn 17^{22} Tindale's *Pent.* of 1530 has 'left of talking,' but the ed. of 1534 'left talking.'

In Ac 18^{18} and 2 Co 2^{13} *ἀποτάσσομαι* is tr^d 'take leave of.' RV retains this tr. and introduces it in Mk 6^{46} for AV 'send away'; but in Lk 9^{61} RV retains 'bid farewell' of AV, and in 14^{33} (the only other occurrence of the Gr. verb in NT) changes AV 'forsake' into 'renounce.' The verb *ἀσπάζομαι* is once (Ac 21^6) rendered 'take leave of' in AV, when RV prefers 'bid farewell.'

With the expression in Ac 21^{3} 'Now when we had discovered Cyprus, we left it on the left hand': cf. Ac 20^{16} Rhem. 'Paul had purposed to saile leaving Ephesus'; Nu 34^{12} Tind. 'And then goo downe at the Iordayne, and leve at the salte sea'; and especially Guylforde, *Pylgrymage*, p. 14, 'whiche yle we lefte on our lefte hande towardes Grece.' J. HASTINGS.

LEAVEN (שְׂאֹר, ζύμη, *fermentum*).—The Hebrew word *sĕʾōr* (שְׂאֹר), which probably expresses the idea of fermentation, is found only five times in the OT (Ex $12^{15.19}$ 13^{7}, Lv 2^{11}, Dt 16^{4}); more commonly we find a word from another root, denoting *to be sour*, and hence *to be leavened* (חָמֵץ *ḥāmēẓ*). Bread, kneaded in a baking trough (מִשְׁאֶרֶת Ex 8^{3} 12^{34}), and leavened, probably by means of a lump of fermented dough, must have been a common article of food among the Israelites; but as time was required to allow the leaven to work (Hos 7^{4}), bread of another kind was used when food was required at short notice. This took the form of unleavened cakes (Gn 19^{3}, Jg 6^{19}, 1 S 28^{24}), called *mazzôth* (מַצּוֹת), either as being sweet, unsoured (מָצַץ='to suck,' so Ges.), or on account of their dry, insipid character (Fleischer in Levy, *NHWB* iii. 315; Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* ii. 145). It was, according to Ex $12^{34.39}$ (JE), unleavened cakes of this kind that the Israelites baked for themselves on their hurried departure from Egypt, since they had not time to leaven their dough.

In early times leavened bread, as a common article of food, probably formed a part of a sacrificial meal, and of the gifts offered to the Deity by the worshipper (cf. 1 S 10^{3}). In the Northern kingdom leaven was an accompaniment of the thank-offering, though Amos seems to refer to the custom in terms of disapproval (Am 4^{5}). Traces of a similar usage are to be found even in P; for the shewbread (Lv 24^{5-9} [P]) was probably leavened, while leavened cakes, as bread of the first-fruits, formed part of the sacred gifts presented at the Feast of Weeks (Lv 23^{17}, cf. ^{20} [H]), and also accompanied the peace-offering, when offered as a thanksgiving (Lv 7^{13} [P]). In none of these cases, however, was the leavened bread actually placed upon the altar. On the other hand, to eat anything leavened, or even to keep it in the house, was strictly forbidden during the seven days of *mazzôth* (Ex 13^{3-7} 23^{15} 34^{18} [JE], Dt $16^{3.4.8}$, Ex 12^{14-20}, Lv 23^{6-8}, Nu 28^{17} [P]), a festival which was originally distinct from the Passover, though Dt shows a tendency to combine the two (Dt 16^{8}, and cf. Driver, *ad loc.*). A historical explanation of the prohibition is given in JE, where, as we saw, the use of unleavened cakes is connected with the events of the exodus (Ex 12^{34-39}), and a connexion between the exodus and *mazzôth* is suggested elsewhere (Ex $13^{3\text{ff.}}$ 23^{15} 34^{18}). Similarly, in Dt 16^{3} the unleavened cakes of this season are termed 'the bread of affliction,' from their association with the Egyptian bondage of the Israelites, and their hurried departure. Probably, however, the feast of *mazzôth* was originally the opening festival of the harvest season (cf. Dt 16^{9}, Lv $23^{9\text{ff.}}$); in this case the use of unleavened cakes may be explained from the use of new corn, hastily prepared for food in the busy time at the beginning of harvest, and from the desire not to mix the first-fruits with the last year's dough (see Wellhausen, *Proleg.*, Eng. tr. pp. 85–87; Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* ii. 145 f.). The more general prohibition of leaven in sacrifices was doubtless due to the association of the processes of fermentation and putrefaction. Leaven was regarded as a source of corruption; and accordingly P excludes it from any meal-offering (Lv 2^{11} 6^{17}, and cf. Dillm. *ad loc.*), and lays down the principle that nothing leavened, nor even honey, which might produce fermentation (cf. Pliny, 11, 15), was to be burnt as an offering to J″. The laws in JE (Ex 23^{18} 34^{25}) also forbid the use of leaven in a sacrifice, but in both passages a special reference is made to the Passover, and it is possible that the prohibition was originally confined to this feast (cf. *RS* p. 203 f.).

The association of leaven and corruption is not confined to the OT. Plutarch explains on this ground why the Flamen Dialis was not permitted to eat bread prepared with leaven (*Quæs. Rom.* 109); and *fermentum* is used in Persius for 'corruption' (*Sat.* i. 24). In the NT there is, indeed, the parable of the leaven, where its unseen influence and penetrating power is taken as a symbol of the growth of the kingdom of heaven (Mt 13^{33}, Lk $13^{20\text{f.}}$); but elsewhere our Lord warns His disciples against the 'leaven' of the Pharisees and of Herod (Mt 16^{6-12}, Mk $8^{15\text{ff.}}$, Lk 12^{1}); and St. Paul, emphasizing its secret and expansive working, quotes the proverb, 'A little leaven leavens the whole lump' (Gal 5^{9}, 1 Co 5^{6}), to warn his converts against the contagious example of evil-doers, and exhorts them to purge out the old leaven of malice and wickedness (1 Co 5^{8}). Similarly, in Rabbinical writers leaven is used as a symbol of evil: thus R. Alexander prays against 'the leaven in the dough,' *i.e.* the evil inclination in the heart, which prevents man from doing the will of God (Talm. *Berachoth*, 17*a*; and cf. Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* on Mt 16^{6}). H. A. WHITE.

LEBANA (לְבָנָא), Neh 7^{48}, or **LEBANAH** (לְבָנָה), Ezr 2^{45}.—The head of a family of returning exiles, called in 1 Es 5^{29} Labana.

LEBANON (in prose with art. הַלְּבָנוֹן, except 2 Ch 2^{8b} [Heb.^{7b}]; in poetry 18 times with art., 20 times without. LXX Λίβανος, generally with art.; Vulg. *Libanus*).*—Derived from root [לָבֵן] 'to be white,' either from the snow which covers the summits seven months in the year, or from the light colour of the limestone in its upper ranges.

Lebanon is mentioned in the OT over 60 times, but almost two-thirds of the references occur in poetical passages. It is not mentioned in the NT. While included in the land assigned to the Israelites, Jos 13^{5} (D^{2}), these mountains were never conquered by them (Jg 3^{1-3}), the actual limit of conquest being 'Baal-gad in the valley of Lebanon, under Mount Hermon' (Jos 11^{17}). This valley of Lebanon was known to the Greeks as Cœle-Syria, and is the modern *Buḳaʿ*. Anti-Libanus proper is mentioned but once in the OT as 'Lebanon towards the sunrising' (Jos 13^{5}). The Hivites are said to be inhabitants of the Lebanon (Jg 3^{3}), and the Giblites dwelt at Gebal (the modern *Jebail*, Greek *Byblos*, at the base of the mountains) (Jos $13^{5.6}$). During the reign of Solomon, the Lebanon appears to have been subject to Hiram king of Tyre, who contracted to bring cedar trees, firs, and almug (algum) trees by sea to Joppa for the temple (1 K 5^{6}, 2 Ch 2^{8}). On the other hand, Solomon appears to have erected buildings in the Lebanon (1 K 9^{19}, 2 Ch 8^{6}). At the rebuilding of the temple, after the restoration, cedar trees were again brought from the Lebanon (Ezr 3^{7}). See, further, art. CEDAR.

Mt. Lebanon runs N.N.E.–S.S.W. for 95 miles from *Nahr Ḳasmîyeh*, lat. 33° 20′ (known as the Liṭâny, the classic Leontes, along its upper course), to *Nahr el-Kebîr*, the ancient Eleutherus. The plain of the *Buḳaʿ* separates it from the Anti-Libanus, which, starting from the Barada, runs for 65 miles roughly parallel to the Lebanon.

---

* The name appears in Assyr. as *Labnânu*, etc. (see Schrader, *COT*² on 1 K 5^{13}), and in Egyp. perhaps as *Ramannu* (see W. Max Müller, *As. u. Europ.* 198 f., 204).

Strabo (xvi.) represents the two ranges as parallel, but is in error in stating their direction: Lebanon, according to him, beginning at Tripolis, and Anti-Libanus at Sidon, both running towards Damascus. The foot-hills of Lebanon—the western range—rise abruptly from the seashore, except for the narrow strip of plain at Sidon, and for the triangular projections of the promontories of Beyrout and Tripoli. At its southern end the main ridge is divided into two ranges, roughly parallel, by the brook *Zaharâni*, which, after flowing southwards, turns abruptly west and enters the sea south of Sidon. The eastern ridge is known as *Jebel Riḥân*, and the western as *Jebel Taura* (alt. 4500 ft.). Both are more or less wooded. Near the plateau on which stands *Kefr Ḥouni*, these two ridges merge into one, which is separated from the twin peaks *Taumât Nîḥa* (alt. 5625 ft. and 5550 ft.) by a notch 600 ft. deep. The ridge now becomes higher and more pronounced, rising to an altitude varying from 5500 to 7000 ft. Its various parts are locally named from the larger villages, as *Jebel Nîḥa*, and *Jebel Barûk*. North of the latter the ridge falls to an altitude of 4700 ft., and is crossed by a transverse ridge, *Jebel Kuneiseh* (alt. 6960 ft.). A narrow watershed connects this with *Jebel Ṣannîn*, a triangular-shaped mountain—one face being parallel to the sea, one in the line of the main ridge, and the third or northern one running roughly east and west. Its highest point is on the eastern face. From a distance the top appears to be level, but it is exceedingly rough owing to numerous conical depressions, in which snow may be found late into the summer. For some distance beyond *Ṣannîn* the top of the main ridge is really a broad, rolling plateau, called *Jebel Muneitri*, varying in altitude from 5800 to 6000 ft. North of the village *'Aḳûrah* the altitude increases rapidly, and the western part of this broad mass is broken up by a series of intricate ridges, suddenly breaking down into the great amphitheatre of the *Nahr Ḳadîsha*. This is bounded on the east by the narrowed main ridge, joining on to the huge mass which forms the northern side of the amphitheatre. This is named as a whole *Ḍahr el-Ḳaḍîb*, and is surmounted by two series of peaks, roughly parallel, varying in height from 9800 to 10,225 ft. The highest peak is called *Jebel Mukhmal* by Burton, but no local trace of the name appears to have been recovered by later travellers. The western face of this northern mass is a series of sheer cliffs. To the north another great amphitheatre opens out, in which are found the head waters of the northern branch of the *Nahr el-Bârid*. Beyond this rises the *Jebel el-Abiadh* (alt. 7380 ft.), after which the mountain breaks down to the valley of the *Nahr el-Kebîr*, and the low, rolling hills joining the Lebanon to the mountains of the *Nuseirîyeh*.

With very few exceptions all the Lebanon streams rise on the western face. South of Beyrout the main rivers have their sources in high valleys between ridges approximately parallel to the main ridge. Their course is thus first southerly, then westerly, to the sea. They are the *Zaharâni*, the *Awwali* (Bostrenus), and the *Damûr* (the Tamuras of Strabo, and the Damuras of Polybius). North of Beyrout the head waters of the rivers are in wide amphitheatres, separated from each other by narrow watersheds, in places 5000 to 6000 ft. high; and in their course to the sea they break through the spurs of the great hill in narrow gorges. The western face of the Lebanon is thus extremely rugged and varied in contour. The main streams are—*Nahr Beyrout* (the Magoras), with its two branches, rising on the face of Kuneiseh, and between Kuneiseh and Ṣannîn respectively, *Nahr el-Kelb* (Lycus flumen) draining Ṣannîn; *Nahr Ibrahim* (the Adonis) with its main sources at Afḳa and 'Aḳûrah; *Nahr ej-Jauz*; *Nahr Ḳadîsha*, draining the Cedar amphitheatre, and entering the sea at Tripoli; *Nahr el-Bârid*; and, finally, the boundary river, *Nahr el-Kebîr*, which sweeps around the northern end of the mountain. The eastern face of Lebanon presents a very different aspect from the western, as it slopes directly down to the plain of the Buḳa', sometimes with no foot-hills, and unbroken by any important valleys, except at the south end of Kuneiseh and at Zaḫleh, where the Nahr Berdaûni comes out of a wild gorge. There are several large fountains at the base of the main ridge, and the Lake Yammûneh, with its intermittent fountains, lies in a depression between the main ridge and the partly wooded foot-hills, north-west of Baalbek.

A few words as to *geology*. The Lebanon is composed of three conformable series of strata, all of which are sometimes exposed on the sides of the deepest valleys. The lowest is regarded by some authorities as lower cretaceous, by others as upper jurassic. It consists of several thousand feet of hard, thick-layered limestone, containing few fossils, among which are sponges, corals, brachiopods, and, most characteristic, *Cidaris glandaria*, from which the formation has been named the Glandaria limestone. While forming the bottom of the deepest valleys, by foldings it is in places elevated to the height of from 4000 to 5000 ft. It weathers into grand castellated rocks, whose bluish-grey sides are beautifully fluted by the frosts and rains. The second series of strata has been named from a characteristic fossil, *Trigonia syriaca*, the Trigonia zone. It consists of sandstone, soft limestone, and clay, with here and there small quantities of poor bituminous coal and bituminous limestone, with pyrites and efflorescent salts. The sandstone is from fifty to several hundred feet thick, and by its red colour serves readily to distinguish the other series of rocks. Most of the Lebanon pines grow on this sandstone. The limestone and clays of the Trigonia zone may attain a thickness of from 500 to 1000 ft., and are very rich in fossils. The third series has been named the Hippurite limestone, as some of its strata are almost entirely composed of fragments of hippurites, which in places are found well preserved. There are also many nerineas. The hippurite limestone occurs on the sides of Lebanon, where, with the other formations, it is extensively faulted and folded, and it forms the summits of all the highest mountains, where it is in most cases nearly level. Its greatest thickness must be nearly 5000 ft. At low levels near the sea are found chalks, with and without flint, which are the uppermost of the cretaceous rocks, and which appear to have been deposited after the mass of the mountains was well above the sea, since they are in no case found in the centre of the range. In several localities the chalk has yielded numerous finely-preserved fishes. Upon the chalk is found soft miocene limestone, and a porous sandstone of a quarternary date which is largely calcareous.

From the above description it will be seen that the Lebanon presents some magnificent scenery. It is no wonder that the salient features of this border-land to their country seized upon the imagination of the Hebrew poets. The deep and sudden gorges, the sweeping amphitheatres, the variety of colouring in the soil, the towering snow-covered peaks, the gushing fountains,—all unite in producing pictures of almost bewildering variety. Villages are scattered everywhere; some nestle at the mountain base, others cling to the steep sides, while still others are perched on ridges over 4000 ft. above the sea. Many of the bald promontories of rock are crowned by belfried monasteries. The extent of cultivation is extraordinary, and the system of terracing is carried to a height of almost 6000 ft. Wheat, the vine, the olive, the mulberry, and the walnut all abound. The water from the various fountains is carefully stored up and led off in irrigation. A considerable quantity of silk is manufactured. The Lebanon was once well wooded, but the charcoal burners and the browsing goat are now powerful destructive agents. The valley of the Nahr Ibrahim, however, is still thickly wooded with oak and pine, while the stream is shaded with plane trees. Besides the historic grove of the cedars above Besherreh, there are still small groves on the ridge south of Kuneiseh, and a more extensive forest at el-Hadeth, south of the Nahr Ḳadîsha. Jackals abound, but hyænas, wolves, and panthers are fast disappearing.

Of ancient buildings there are very few traces, the principal ones being the ruin at *Deir el-Ḳula'a*, above the Beyrout river; *Ḳula'at el-Fuḳra*, near Ṣannîn; and the temple of Venus at Afḳa, the source of the Adonis. This was destroyed by Constantine owing to the licentious rites practised there. The site is striking: behind the temple there rises, for 1200 ft., an almost perpendicular cliff, richly coloured, at the base of which is a large cave, from which in the spring-time a volume of water gushes forth, immediately joining the perennial stream, which plunges down in a series of three cascades. The water is said to be at times impregnated with mineral salts, giving a red colour, typifying to the ancients the blood of Adonis. At the mouth of Nahr el-Kelb are inscriptions in Assyrian, Egyptian, and Greek. At the bottom of the wild Ḳadîsha gorge there are many early anchorite caves; in front of some of them convents have been erected—notably *Ḳannubîn*, the traditional seat of the Maronite patriarch.

The feudal system lasted in the Lebanon far into the present century. In consequence of the massacres of 1860 the government of the mountains was reorganized, with a Christian governor under the general protection of the Powers. The population is about half a million, and includes the following sects, which are given as nearly as possible in the order of their numbers, the most numerous being first:—

Maronites.
Greek Orthodox.
Druzes.
Papal Greeks.
Mutawileh.
Mohammedans.
Protestants.
Syriac and Armenian.

In general the Druzes are to be found south of the Beyrout river, while the stronghold of the Maronites is to the north. (For details as to the Maronites, see *PEFSt*, 1892, Bliss). Owing to recent efforts of missionaries, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, the number of schools is very large. The natural abilities of the Lebanese are decidedly above those of the rest of the peasantry in Syria and Palestine.

The Buḳa'.—The Lebanon is divided from the Anti-Libanus by a broad valley known in its southern part as the *Buḳa' el-'Azîz*, and in its northern part as *Saḥl-Ba'albek*. It is drained by two rivers, the *Liṭâny* (Leontes), which rises in the neighbourhood of Baalbek and flows south, and by the *'Asi* (Orontes), which rises a short distance farther north, and flows northward. The watershed is almost imperceptible. The *Buḳa'* proper is very fertile, and supports a large population in the villages scattered over it, and especially in the valleys along its sides. The northern end is much less fertile. (For the splendid ruins of *Ba'albek* see reff. at end of this article). At its southern end the plain suddenly contracts into a narrow gorge, through which the Liṭâny flows. Both the plain and Anti-Libanus are subject to the Governor of Damascus.

Anti-Libanus, Jth 1^{7} only (Ἀντιλίβανος. In Dt 1^{7} 3^{25} 11^{24} and Jos 1^{4} 9^{1} the Heb. לְבָנוֹן is rendered by Ἀντιλίβανος).—The southern limit of Anti-Libanus may be conveniently placed at the Barada river and Damascus, leaving the mountains to the south to be considered as part of the system of Mount Hermon. It runs roughly parallel to the Lebanon for 65 miles, terminating rather abruptly at the plain of Ḥums. The main ridge is separated from the plain of Cœle-Syria by a small plain and ridge at the north end; by a rough mass of low ridges, called *Jebel Ḳusha'a*, in the central part; and by the plain of Zebedâni with ridge in the southern part. At the north the main ridge is narrow, but broken by a series of prominent peaks; the central mass is broader, higher, and rougher; while the southern part is diversified by long wadis leading off to the east, with a single wady (Ḥarîri) leading to the south. To the east of the main ridge there is a descending series of plateaux, gradually dropping to the level of the plain of Damascus, and separated by five ridges which spread out somewhat like a fan, and which, if produced, would meet in the main mass of Hermon.

The highest plateau (alt. 5255 ft.), which is called *'Asal el-Ward*, drains northward, past the towns Yabrûd and Nebk, and is watered by a number of fine fountains. The principal peaks of the Anti-Libanus are: *Ḥalîmat Ḳâbu* (8250), *Ḥalîmat Ḳârah* (8150), and *Ḥalîmat Ḳurraîs* (8150) at the northern end; *Tâla'at Mûsa* (8755) in the central mass; *Abu el-Ḥîn* (8135) and the *Blûdân* ridge (8090) farther south. The only considerable streams of Anti-Libanus are the *Yaḥfûfah*, emptying into the Liṭâny; *Ḥelbûn*, flowing eastward to the Damascus plain; and the *Barada* (Abana of Scripture). This important river has its main upper source in the south end of the plain of Zebedâni, in a beautiful pool fed by many springs, but drains the whole of that plain; the volume of water is much more than doubled by the fountain of *'Ain Fîjeh*, which joins it less than half-way to Damascus.

Literature.—The geographical and geological descriptions are condensed from unpublished notes made by Professor West and Professor Day respectively, both of the Syrian Protestant College, Beyrout. The table of population is taken from the Book of Statistics of the Lebanon, published in Arabic, 1898. The reader may refer further to such works as Robinson, *BRP*² ii. 435 ff., 493; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 45 ff.; Buhl, *GAP* 110; Burton and Drake, *Unexplored Syria*; de Saulcy, *Journey round the Dead Sea*, etc., ii. 558 ff. (especially on the ruins of Baalbek).

F. J. Bliss.

LEBAOTH (לְבָאוֹת perhaps 'lionesses').—A city in S. Judah, Jos 15^{32}. Site unknown. It is called in Jos 19^{6} **Beth-lebaoth**, and in 1 Ch 4^{31} (perhaps by textual error) **Beth-biri** (wh. see).

C. R. Conder.

LEBBAEUS (Λεββαῖος) is the name given to one of the Twelve in AV of Mt 10^{3}, but rejected by RV as without sufficient authority. The reading and the meaning of the name will be fully discussed in art. THADDÆUS. See also WH², *Notes*, pp. 11, 24, 144, and Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, p. 40. The greatest obscurity prevails regarding him, but the view which identifies him with the Thaddæus of Mk 3^{18} and Mt 10^{3} (RV), the Judas of James of Lk 6^{16} and Ac 1^{13}, and the Judas, not Iscariot, of Jn 14^{22}, may be accepted without serious hesitation. There are no references to him in NT except those in the lists of the Twelve and the question recorded by St. John, who carefully distinguishes him from the traitor, and nothing whatever is known of his ultimate career. See, further, art. THADDÆUS. W. MUIR.

LEBONAH (לְבוֹנָה, *Λεβωνά*).—A place near Shiloh on the way to Shechem, Jg 21^{19}. It is the ruin called *Khan el-Lubban*, about 3 miles W.N.W. of *Seilûn* (Shiloh). See *SWP* vol. ii. sheet xi.; Robinson, *BRP*^{2} 271 f.; Guérin, *Samarie*, ii. 164 f.; Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.*^{3}, 217. C. R. CONDER.

LECAH (לֵכָה).—A name occurring in the genealogy of Judah (1 Ch 4^{21}) as the 'son' of Er. Most probably it is the name of a place, although it is impossible to identify it. See GENEALOGY, IV. 2.

LEECH.—See HORSELEECH.

LEEKS.—The word חָצִיר *ḥāẓîr* is usually tr. 'grass' (see GRASS) or 'hay' (see HAY), but in one passage (Nu 11^{5}) it is tr. 'leeks.' Its occurrence in this passage with the other two alliaceous plants *onions* and *garlic*, and the authority of the LXX *πράσα*, Vulg. *porri*, ancient Syriac and Arab., have caused most interpreters to accept the AV and RV 'leeks.' The plant is *Allium Porrum*, L. It is extensively cultivated in the East. It has an ill-defined bulb, leaves about an inch broad, and a stem about 2 ft. in height. The young stem, enveloped in its leaves, is banked up, as in the case of celery, and plucked up while tender, before the flowering head is developed. It is eaten raw, or made into a salad, or used as a flavouring for cooked dishes. It has a more delicate flavour than onions or garlic. It is known in Arab. by the name *kurrâth*. G. E. POST.

LEES.—This is the tr^{n} in AV and RV of Heb. שְׁמָרִים in Is $25^{6\,bis}$, Jer 48^{11}, Zeph 1^{12}; in its only remaining occurrence, Ps 75^{9} [Eng.^{8}] it is rendered 'dregs.' The word 'lees' is a plur., formed from Fr. *lie* (the sing. seems never to have been used in Eng.), which is defined in Cotgrave's *Fr. Dict.* as 'the lees, dregs, grounds, thick substance that settles in the bottome of liquor.' The further derivation from Low Lat. *lia*, accepted by Skeat, is rejected by Brachet. In Is $25^{6\,bis}$ the word is used in an apparently good sense, 'a feast of wines on the lees, of fat things full of marrow, of wines on the lees well refined'; and that passage, being most frequently quoted, has given 'lees' a somewhat less offensive meaning in mod. Eng. than 'dregs.' But there is no difference between the words, as may be seen from Shaks. *Troil. and Cress.* IV. i. 62—

> 'Drink up
> The lees and dregs of a flat tamed piece.

Macbeth, II. iii. 100—

> 'The wine of life is drawn, and the mere lees
> Is left this vault to brag of.'

And in Is the sense of *shĕmârîm* is the same as elsewhere, the *fæces* or dregs of wine. But wine that, after fermentation, is allowed to stand long on its dregs, gathers strength or body, and when filtered before drinking is superior to recently fermented wine. The figure in Jer and Zeph is of one who has had little trial in life, has been too long at ease, and grown indolent and indifferent. See WINE. J. HASTINGS.

LEFTHANDED (in 1611 two words) is the tr^{n} in Jg 3^{15} 20^{16} of אִטֵּר יַד־יְמִינוֹ, which is literally 'shut up (or bound) as to the right hand,' as in AVm. The Heb. phrase, which occurs nowhere else, is used first of Ehud and then of '700 chosen men' of Benjamin, who 'could sling stones at an hair breadth, and not miss.' The adj. אִטֵּר is in New Heb. 'lame,' and the AV translation is no doubt right. It comes from the margin of the Geneva Bible at 3^{15}, the text being 'lame of his right hand,' and from the text of the same at 20^{16}. The LXX gives *ἀμφοτεροδέξιος*, 'double handed,' and the Vulg. 'qui utraque manu pro dextera utebatur' (in 20^{16} 'ita sinistra ut dextra præliantes'), whence Wyc. 'the which either hoond uside for the right' (in 20^{16} 'so with the lift as with the right fightynge'). Cov. has 'a man that mighte do nothinge with his righte hande.' The Douay follows the Vulg., 'who used both handes for the right.' J. HASTINGS.

LEG.—1. [כֶּרַע New Heb. from root כרע 'bow' or 'bend'] The sing. is not found in OT, but the dual fem. כְּרָעַיִם occurs repeatedly in the ritual of P, Ex 12^{9} 29^{17}, Lv $1^{9.\,13}$ 4^{11} 8^{21} 9^{14} (chiefly in the collocation 'the inwards and the legs'); in Lv 11^{21} of the long *bending* hinder legs of the saltatorial Orthoptera (see *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*, and the illustration on p. 84 of Driver's *Joel and Amos*). The only other occurrence of the word is Am 3^{12} (of the shepherd rescuing two legs of a lamb out of the mouth of a lion).

2. רֶגֶל, lit. 'foot.' 1 S 17^{6} Goliath had greaves of brass 'upon his legs' (עַל־רַגְלָיו; LXX *ἐπάνω τῶν σκελῶν αὐτοῦ*).

3. שׁוֹק, denoting the upper part of the leg, including, or sometimes synonymous with, the thigh (יָרֵךְ). (*a*) *Of animals.* This word is wrongly translated 'shoulder' by AV (cf. LXX *τὸν βραχίονα*) in Ex $29^{22.\,27}$, Lv $7^{32.\,33.\,34}$ $8^{25.\,26}$ 9^{21} $10^{14.\,15}$, Nu 6^{20} 18^{18}, 1 S 9^{24}, in all of which RV correctly renders 'thigh.' The שׁוֹק was a choice piece, and as such is mentioned in 1 S 9^{24} as having been reserved by Samuel for Saul. One of the chief points of difference, in the matter of the priestly revenues, between the Deuteronomic and the Priestly Code, is that in the latter the priest's share of a sacrifice is the breast and right thigh (Lv $7^{32\text{-}34}$), whereas in the former it is the head, maw, and shoulder (זְרוֹעַ, lit. 'arm,' Dt 18^{3}). See W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} 383 note 3, and Driver, *Deut.* 215. (*b*) *Of men.* In Dt 28^{35} one of the curses threatened on disobedient Israelites is that they will be smitten 'upon the knees and upon the legs with an evil boil,' where the reference is probably (see Driver, *ad loc.*) to a species of elephantiasis.—In Ca 5^{15} the Shulammite compares the legs of her beloved to pillars of marble.—Nebuchadnezzar's image had his legs (Aram. שָׁקוֹהִי) of iron, Dn 2^{33}.—In Pr 26^{7} the pointing of the text is somewhat doubtful. The MT has דַּלְיוּ שֹׁקַיִם מִפִּסֵּחַ (AV 'the legs of the lame are not equal' [AVm 'are lifted up'], RV 'the legs of the lame hang loose'). If we adopt RV tr^{n}, probably we ought to point דָּלְיוּ (so Ewald, Siegfried-Stade, and [doubtfully] *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*). Delitzsch (*Comm.*), followed by Kamphausen (in Kautzsch's *AT*) and Wildeboer (*Comm.*), points דַּלְיֵי, which he takes to be a noun = 'a hanging down.' The tr^{n} of the verse would then be, 'as the hanging down of the legs of the lame,' etc. In any case the general sense of the passage is clear, namely that a 'parable' is as useless in the mouth of a fool as are the legs of a lame man.—In Ps 147^{10} 'legs' are a symbol of strength, '(The Lord) delighteth not in the strength of the horse, he taketh no pleasure in the legs of a man.'—For Jg 15^{8} 'He smote them שׁוֹק עַל־יָרֵךְ,' lit. 'leg upon thigh,' see art. HIP.

4. שֹׁבֶל in Is 47^{2} is wrongly translated 'leg' in AV. The correct rendering is 'train.' The proud daughter of Babylon is called upon to assume the guise of a slave, to take the millstones and grind meal, to remove her veil, to strip off her train, to uncover her leg (שׁוֹק 'thigh'), *i.e.* to gird up

her garments that she may wade through the rivers.

5. In NT σκέλος—only of the breaking of the legs to hasten death, which was practised on the two crucified robbers but not upon Jesus, Jn $19^{31ff.}$. This practice, known as σκελοκοπία (cf. the *hap. leg.* σκελοκοπεῖν in *Ev. Petr.* 4) or *crurifragium*, is referred to in Aur. Vict. *Cæs.* 41; Plaut. *Asin.* II. iv. 68; Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 20; Seneca, *Ir.* iii. 22, etc. (see full list in Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, Eng. tr. vi. 253 note 3).

J. A. SELBIE.

LEGION.—This word, familiar as it is to us, was not a familiar word to the inhabitants of Palestine in NT times, for the legions were stationed in the frontier provinces, and nothing happened to bring them into Judæa until the outbreak of the Jewish war in A.D. 66 (see AUGUSTUS' BAND). Λεγιών (so spelt in ℵ* B* D; λεγεών usually in AC) occurs in NT only in Mt 26^{53}, Mk $5^{9.15}$, Lk 8^{30}—and even so never in its proper sense of 'a legion of Roman soldiers'; it never occurs in LXX (so Hatch-Redpath); and it is rare (if it occurs at all) in Josephus (τάγμα stands for 'legion' in *BJ* ii. 544, iii. 8, 97, ed. Niese, *et passim*).* Nor, again, is there much evidence that the word in its Semitic form (לגיונא or לגיון, pl. לגיונא or לגיונין or לגיונות) was well known in Palestine early in the Christian era. It is found (S. A. Cook, *Glossary of Aram. Inscr.*) in the Palmyrene Inscriptions (1st-3rd cents. of the Christian era), and at least once in the OT Peshiṭta, Nu 24^{24} 'Legions shall go forth from the land of the Kittim' (similarly Targ. Jer. *ib.*). On the other hand, the word is fairly common in Talmudic and Midrashic literature (from 3rd cent. of the Christian era onwards), and some instances may be quoted in illustration of λεγιών in NT.

(1) It connotes a great number. 'It is easier to feed one legion in Galilee than one sucking child in the land of Israel' (*Genesis Rab.* xx. 6 *fin.*, ed. Wilna, 1878).

(2) Connoting special and severe punishment. The waters of the Flood are compared to a 'cruel legion' (*Gen. Rab.* iv. 6; cf. also v. 6).

(3) Connoting (under certain circumstances) uncleanness. A legion on the march is unclean because skulls to be used as charms are always carried with it (Talm. Bab., *Ḥull.* 123^{a}).

(4) Connoting attendance on a king. God speaks of Israel at the passage of the Red Sea as 'My legions' (*Exod. Rab.* xxiii. 7). The tribe of Levi is the legion which stands in God the King's presence (*Num. Rab.* i. 12). God when He goes forth 'for peace' is attended by multitudes (אוכלוסין) and legions (*Num. Rab.* xi. p. 89, col. *a*, ed. Wilna).

These references illustrate both Mt 26^{53} ('Twelve legions of angels'); cf. (1) (4); and Mk 5^{9} ('legion; for we are many'); cf. (1) (2). The idea of uncleanness is not prominent in the word.

A Roman legion in our Lord's time was an army complete in itself, consisting of both infantry and cavalry, and amounting to upwards of 5000 men; cf. Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, ii. p. 430 ff. See also Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 49-51; Swete, *St. Mark* 5^{9} note; Plummer, *St. Luke* 8^{30} note; J. Levy, *NHWB*, *s.v.* לגיון.

W. EMERY BARNES.

LEHABIM (Gn 10^{13}, 1 Ch 1^{11} לְהָבִים, Λαβιείμ, Λαβείν, Vulg. *Laabim*) occurs as the name of a nation descending from Mizraim, *i.e.* nearly related to the Egyptians. Scholars always have noticed the great similarity of the name to that of the Lubim, Libyans. Some suppose Lehabim to be merely a corruption for original לוּבִים; others, a double writing of this name, which they suppose to be hidden in the לוּדִים *Ludim* connected with it; others suppose Lehabim and Ludim (Lubim?) to have been different tribes of the same nation, therefore, with similar names. Certainly, the graphic similarity between *h* and *u* is small, only לאבים might form a transition. An insertion of *h* for phonetic reasons is anything but probable; the insertions of *h* in other cases are not sufficiently analogous. Therefore, the origin of the present form remains obscure. On the other hand, it can hardly be doubted that the Libyans are meant (see LUBIM). Strange etymologies such as from לַהַב 'flame,' *i.e.* those living in a flaming hot country (!), or wild guesses such as the translation of Walton's Arabic version, 'the inhabitants of Behnesa' (Middle Egypt, near Oxyrhynchus of the Greek time), deserve no consideration.

W. MAX MÜLLER.

LEHI (לְחִי 'jawbone,' 'cheek'; LXX Λευ(ε)ί, Λεχί, Σιαγών; Luc. Λεχεί; 'Α.Σ.Θ, Jos. *Ant.* V. viii. 8, 9 Σιαγών).—A place in Judah, the scene of Samson's slaughter of the Philistines, Jg 15^{9-19}. In 2 S 23^{11} לֶחֱיָה 'to Lehi' (LXX Luc. ἐπὶ σιαγόνα), is to be read for לַחַיָּה 'to the troop (?).' The site is unknown. Schick (*ZDPV* x. 152 f.) suggests *Khurbet es-Sijjâgh* (σιαγών), 2 m. S.S.E. of Ṣor'ah; but see Smith, *HGHL* 222 n., and Moore, *Judges* 348, where other identifications are quoted. The name 'jawbone' must have been suggested by the formation of a prominent rock; cf. Ὄνου γνάθος, the name of a peninsula on the W. of Cape Malea, the S.E. promontory of the Peloponnese (Strabo, p. 363, ed. Casaub.). Perhaps Beer-lahai-roi (Gn 16^{14}) is to be explained in the same way, לְחִי רֹאִי 'the jawbone of the antelope,' Arab. *'urwiye* 'mountain goat' (Wellh. *Proleg.*³ 339 and n.; Ball, 'Genesis' in *SBOT* 66); cf. also the place-name in Arab., *laḥy gamal* 'camel's jawbone.'

The Philistine marauders made Lehi their headquarters for attacks upon the Hebrews of the district; the name of the place was suggestive; and tradition attached to it the story of Samson's exploit with the 'fresh jawbone' (*lĕḥi*) of an ass. Popular etymology explained Ramath-lehi, Jg 15^{17}, 'the height (from *rûm*) of Lehi,' as the place where Samson threw away (*rāmāh*) the jawbone; a hollow basin in the hill-side, shaped like a 'mortar' (*maktēsh* v.^{19}, cf. Zeph 1^{11}, Pr 27^{22}), which held the water of the 'Partridge Spring' (*'ên hakḳôre'*, cf. 1 S 26^{20}, Jer 17^{11}), became the spring which God granted when Samson called (*ḳārā'*) for help in his exhaustion (see EN-HAKKORE). Thus the legend was founded upon the popular explanation of these names; indeed the word בִּלְחִי v.^{16} might mean either 'in Lehi' or 'with a jawbone' (Moore, *Judges* 347). It is noteworthy that the exploit of Shammah, one of David's mighty men, also took place at Lehi, 2 S 23^{11} (see above), and bears considerable resemblance to the story of Samson. Cf. also the story of Shamgar, Jg 3^{31}.

G. A. COOKE.

LEMUEL (לְמוּאֵל or לְמוֹאֵל).—The name of a king otherwise unknown, to whom his mother addressed the words recorded in Pr 31^{2-9}. Most moderns understand Pr 30^{1} (see RVm) to imply that Lemuel was 'king of Massa' in Arabia; where lived the descendants of Massa, the son of Ishmael mentioned in Gn 25^{14}, 1 Ch 1^{30}. See AGUR. The name Lemuel may be compared with Jemuel in Gn 46^{10}, or Nemuel 1 Ch 4^{24}; and in meaning with Lael, a man consecrated 'to God,' in Nu 3^{24} (see Gray, *Heb. Prop. Names*, 207).

W. T. DAVISON.

LENDING.—See DEBT.

---

* Λεγιών (λεγεών) does not appear in the *Index Voc. Græc.* in Havercamp's ed. of 1726, nor is Josephus cited *s.v.* in Liddell and Scott (ed. viii.), or in Stephanus (ed. Hase-Dindorf), or in Sophocles, *Lexicon* (ed. 1870).

LENTILS (עֲדָשִׁים *'ădâshîm*, φακός, *lens*). — The authority of the LXX and Vulg., and the identity of the Arab. *'adas*, make it certain that the grain intended in the four passages where *'ădâshîm* occurs (Gn 25[34], 2 S 17[28] 23[11], Ezk 4[9]) is the *lentil*, *Ervum Lens*, L. It is an annual, of the order *Leguminosæ*, with pinnate, tendril-bearing leaves, of 5–6 pairs of oblong-linear leaflets, 1–4-flowered peduncles, white corolla, and ovate-rhombic, 1–2-seeded pods half an inch long. The seeds are lenticular, with a reddish outer coat. They are cultivated everywhere in the East. They are usually stewed with onions, rice, and oil, or small bits of meat and fat, and seasoned to the taste. This dish, which is known as *mujedderah*, is universal among the poor. It is by no means unpalatable, and is common enough on the tables of the rich also. The colour of it is a darkish-brown. It would seem that it was red in Esau's day (Gn 25[30]). The term red, however, is a somewhat indefinite one in the East, and applies to a number of shades of red and brown. It was 'pottage' of lentils, similar to if not identical with *mujedderah*, for which Esau sold his birthright (v.[34]). Lentil flour is still made into bread in Egypt by the very poor, as in ancient times (Ezk 4[9]).

G. E. POST.

LEOPARD (נָמֵר *nâmêr*, πάρδαλις, *pardus*).—A well-known animal, *Felis pardus*, L., still called *nimr* in Arab., a name which, however, it shares with the tiger. It is a fierce carnivorous creature, often attaining a length of 4 ft. from the tip of the nose to the insertion of the tail. It is a type of ferocity (Is 11[6]). It is exceedingly agile, and swift in its attacks (Hab 1[8]). A four-winged leopard is used as a type of the Macedonian, or, according to another interpretation, of the Persian Empire (Dn 7[6]). It is specially noted for the patience with which it waits, extended on the branch of a tree, or a rock near a watering-place, expecting its prey, on which it springs with a deadly precision. Hence 'a leopard shall watch over their cities' (Jer 5[6]), and 'as a leopard by the way will I observe them' (Hos 13[7]). The black spots on the yellow ground of its fur (Jer 13[23]) make it one of the most beautiful of animals. The skins sometimes sell in Syria and Palestine for as much as £10. They are used as rugs and saddle covers. Some dervishes wear a leopard's skin over their back. Leopards are still found in Lebanon (cf. Ca 4[8]), though rare. One was shot near Kefr Matta, within 15 miles of Beirût, in the winter of 1866–7, after it had killed 60 goats. A young one was taken at Bano, about 15 miles north of Tripoli, the same winter. One was seen at Jisr el-Ḳâḍi, about 10 miles from Beirût, a year or two before. They are not rare along the Liṭâny (Leontes), and in the Antilebanon, and the ravines which open into the Jordan Valley. Another species of leopard, *Felis jubata*, Schreb., the *chetah*, or *hunting leopard*, the *fehd* of the Arabs, is found in Galilee and Gilead. It is occasionally domesticated, and used by the Arabs for hunting. Both *Nimr* and *Fehd* are names commonly given to boys, as emblems or presages of strength and valour.

The word *nâmêr*, in its feminine form *nimrah*, and its plural form *nimrîm*, is several times used in the names of places, as 'Nimrah' and 'Beth-nimrah (Nu 32[3. 36]), now *Nahr Nimrîn*, and the 'waters of Nimrim' (Is 15[6], Jer 48[34]), and 'the mountains of the leopards' (*nimrîm*, Ca 4[8]). The leopard is also alluded to in Sir 28[23] and Rev 13[2].

G. E. POST.

LEPROSY (צָרַעַת or נֶגַע צָרַעַת *ẓâra'ath*, *nega' ẓâra'ath*; LXX and NT λέπρα).—A genus of diseases with which, in a special degree, the element of uncleanness was associated. The removal of other maladies is spoken of in NT as *healing*, but the removal of leprosy is called *cleansing* (Mt 8[3] 10[8] 11[5], Mk 1[42], Lk 4[27] 7[22] 17[17]). The only case in which the verb ἰᾶσθαι is used in this connexion is in Lk 17[15] in the case of the Samaritan, whose relation to the ceremonial law would perhaps not be recognized by a Jew: in all other passages it is καθαρίζειν. Leprosy also involved exclusion from the community as did no other disease; and the leper was looked upon, not only as defiled himself, but as a source of defilement to his neighbours.

There is an initial difficulty in the identification of these diseases, as the Greek word λέπρα is used by the early physicians as the name of a skin disease, now called *psoriasis*, characterized by an eruption of rough, scaly patches. Hippocrates, Polybius, and Paulus Ægineta treat it in general as a curable disease of not very serious import. This skin disease is neither contagious nor dangerous to life, nor, in most cases, productive of much inconvenience or suffering to the individual; and, except for the sense of disgust engendered by the disfigurement which it causes in the rare case of its affecting the face, it is not injurious to the community. And yet the LXX translators and St. Luke must have known of this use of the word which they employ as the equivalent of *ẓâra'ath*. On the other hand, the disease now called leprosy must have been known in Bible times, and could scarcely escape notice. Besides, other diseases of the skin did not produce ceremonial uncleanness, and this group of scaly eruptions which the Greeks called *lepra* was not necessarily associated with dirt or vice, and could scarcely be singled out from allied diseases as divine visitations; also the scaliness which, from the first, is distinctive of these, is not mentioned as a specific character.

The true leprosy has been known in India since the days of Atreya, about B.C. 1400; and it is said to be referred to in Japanese records about 500 years later. In the Egyptian papyrus Ebers, written in the reign of Amen-hotep I., about B.C. 1550, there are over a score of prescriptions for an apparently intractable disease called *ukhedu*, which attacked the head, the limbs, the face, and the body generally; which was attended with the development of bean-like nodules (*ḥunḥun*), open sores, or skin spots, which were liable to ulcerate, and had to be covered with plasters. The singular form of this word was probably *khed*, and in Coptic the derivative *ϭot* is used for a swelling, and, with the *status constructus* of the verb *er* prefixed (*erϭot*), it is used for a sore or an ulcer. There is little doubt that this disease was leprosy. In the Coptic version of Leviticus another cognate word is used, *çeht*, to denote leprosy.

The first classical reference to the disease is in the *Prorrhetica* of Hippocrates (ii.), where, after referring to *lepra*, he mentions the *Phœnician disease* as a far more serious malady. There is also a reference to leprosy, although not by name, in a fragment of Hesiod quoted by Eustathius in his *Comment. in Odyss.* v. p. 1746. Galen mentions it under the name *elephantiasis*, and says that it is common in Alexandria, on account of the coarse food of the people. To this also Lucretius (vi. 1114) refers—

> 'Est elephas morbus qui propter flumina Nili
> Gignitur Ægypto in media neque præterea usquam.'

Some have supposed that the λειχὴν λευκός of Æschylus (*Choephoroi*, 281) is leprosy, but it is more probably the scaly *psoriasis*, as is the same word in *Eumenides*, 754. Themison is said by Cælius Aurelianus, iv. 1, to have described it about B.C. 100, but his description is lost. The scantiness of the references in classical literature before the beginning of the Christian era support the statement of Pliny (xxvi.), that it was brought into Europe from Syria by the army of Pompey (B.C. 61). Others of the Greek and Latin physicians of later date describe it under the name *elephantiasis* (Celsus iii. 25, and Soranus, according to Marcellus, xix.). Paulus Ægineta compares it to cancer of the whole body. Aretæus also gives a graphic description of its loathsome later stages. For an account of the characteristics of the advanced stages see Thomson, *Land and Book*, ii. 530.

The first biblical reference is in the account of the signs given by God to Moses whereby he was to prove to Pharaoh his divine commission (Ex 4^6 J); but in Ex 7^{10-13} (P), where his interview with Pharaoh is reported, there is no mention of this sign being shown. The reason of this omission is not difficult to understand. This incident may be the foundation of Manetho's story quoted by Josephus (*c. Ap.* i. 31), that Moses was a leper, and was expelled from Heliopolis on this account. Manetho also said that the Jews were driven out of Egypt because they were afflicted with this disease (*ib.* i. 26).

The second historical mention of it is very significant. In Nu 12^{10} the smiting of Miriam with leprosy is recorded. Here we have a graphic reference to the effects of the disease in Aaron's prayer for his sister, when he says, 'Let her not, I pray thee, be as one dead, of whom the flesh is half consumed (eaten away) when he cometh out of his mother's womb' (v.^{12}).

In Lv 13 there are minute instructions given for the recognition of these diseases in their early stages. Here the name is used with *nega'* prefixed to indicate that it is regarded as a 'stroke from God' (cf. Vulgate rendering of 'smitten' by *leprosum* in Is 53^4). There are here apparently seven varieties of the disease to be distinguished. (1) שְׂאֵת *sĕ'êth*, LXX οὐλή, a rising of the skin or subcutaneous nodule. (2) סַפַּחַת *ṣappaḥath*, LXX σημασία, a scab or cuticular crust. (3) בַּהֶרֶת *bahereth*, LXX τηλαύγημα, a bright or shining spot. These are the earliest appearances, and even at this stage the disease is said to exhibit the two distinctive features of being really subcuticular, and of turning the hairs white. If these diagnostic marks are present when the suspect is brought before the priest, he is to be pronounced unclean at once; but if not, he is to be shut up for seven days, and then again inspected. Should the disease have undergone no change during this period, he is again to be isolated for another week, and again examined. (4) Another form, or perhaps a later stage of the disease, is that in which 'quick raw flesh,' that is, red granulation tissue, appears in the tumid spot (v.^{10}); this was to be recognized as a sure sign, and the person declared unclean. (5) One of the most singular provisions of the law is that in v.^{13}, referring to the cases in which the white efflorescence becomes universal from head to foot; when this occurs, the person is pronounced *clean*. It is probable that in this case the priest was to consider it as a form of *psoriasis*, and not as a genuine leprosy, which is rarely universal until a late stage, and then is not white. If, however, any sign of the coexistence of leprous ulceration with the whiteness should appear, he is to be declared unclean (v.$^{14f.}$). To provide for the case in which this redness or sore is only a temporary pustule, such as often occurs in almost any skin disease, the patient is to come again to the priest as soon as the sore is healed, when he is again to be pronounced clean (v.$^{16f.}$).

In all these cases the diagnosis in the early stages is between leprosy in which the infiltration is dermal and the hairs lose their colour, and *eczema* or *psoriasis* in which the swelling is chiefly epidermal and the hairs do not change. If, during the periods of quarantine, the spot appears to be fading (כֵּהָה *kāhāh*, RV 'dim,' AV 'somewhat dark,' following LXX ἀμαυρά), and not spreading, he is to be pronounced clean, and the disease is said to be only מִסְפַּחַת *mispaḥath*, a scab, *i.e. psoriasis*, unless on further inspection it appeared to be spreading.

(6) Another variety, described in v.^{18}, is that which attacks the cicatrix of an ulcer or a boil, שְׁחִין *shĕḥîn*, in which there is a white rising, *sĕ'êth lĕbhânâh*, that is, a smooth shining spot, red in patches; the description seems to indicate some one of an obscure group of diseases of the skin, called by various names, *cicatricial keloid*, *scleriasis*, etc. Between all these diseases and leprosy there are many points of resemblance, but there is no evidence that they are contagious. In doubtful cases the priest is to require a week's quarantine in order to decide whether it is true leprosy or only *ẓârebeth hashshĕḥîn* (RV 'the scar of the boil,' AV 'a burning boil'), a temporary swelling from the irritation of the scar, or else only the cicatrix itself (v.^{23}). A similar form of the disease may attack the scar of a burn (v.^{24}), and is to be treated in the same way.

(7) The form of disease affecting the hairy scalp (v.^{30}) is called נֶתֶק *netheḳ* (LXX θραῦσμα, AV 'a dry scall'), and is to be diagnosed by the presence of thin yellow hairs. Every suspicious case is to be inspected, and if there be no black hair in the spot whereby its nature may be tested, the person is to be subjected to a week's quarantine, after which, if the disease is not spreading, all the hair is to be shaven except that on the scall. If, after another week's seclusion, the scall still appears to be spreading, he is to be pronounced unclean, whether there be yellow hair or not. In the Tract *Negaim*, x. 5, it is directed that two hairs should be left in shaving the part, outside the margin of the scall, so as to test its spreading. Yellow thin hair and yellow crusts are characteristic of *favus* or crusted ringworm, which is a very contagious disease, due to the presence of a fungus, *Achorion Schœnleinii*. The presence of black hair in any diseased patch is usually sufficient evidence that no parasitic fungus is present.

In v.$^{38ff.}$ rules are given for the diagnosis of *behârōth lĕbhânōth*, white shining spots on the skin,—whether another variety of disease or not it is difficult to say. If these are dim or dull in colour, they are only 'freckled spots' (AV, 'tetters' RV). This eruption, which is called בֹּהַק *bōhaḳ* (*ẓaḥar* in Jerus. Targ., LXX ἀλφός), is probably the λέπρα of the older Greek physicians, the *vitiligo* of Celsus, and does not render the sufferer unclean. A common eczematous skin disease is called in some places in Arabia by this name still; see Forskål's note to Niebuhr's *Arabia*, 1774, 119. According to Minch, a form of *vitiligo* is prevalent among the Sarts of Turkestan and is called by them *pycz*. Those afflicted with it are segregated from the community along with the lepers, as it is regarded as contagious. Baldness and forehead baldness are distinguished from leprosy in vv.$^{40-41}$, unless they are complicated by the other signs of leprosy, in which case the man is to be pronounced utterly unclean, as the plague is in the head.

The Rabbinic comments on these regulations in *Negaim*, *Siphra*, and *Mechilta* are very prolix, and add nothing to our real knowledge of the disease. R. Chanina recognizes 16 kinds; R. Dosa, 32; and Akiba, 72. In *Jalkut* on Job 28^{25} man is said to be made up half of water and half of blood; if he sin, this balance is disturbed,—either the water becomes excessive and he is dropsical, or the blood increases and he becomes leprous. Many of the later commentators, medical and otherwise, are not much better. See Mason Good, *Study of Medicine*, iv.

For those pronounced unclean there was no further seclusion; but they are to be excluded from the community, to live outside the towns, with rent clothes (in the case of men; women were not to rend their garments, *Sota* ii. 8), and the hair of their head going loose. They are directed to cover their upper lip, and to cry 'unclean.' This exclusion is represented as put in practice when the tabernacle was constructed (Nu 5^{2}, P), and Miriam was one of those temporarily shut out in the early days of the law (Nu 12^{14}, JE). The Deuteronomic code refers to these laws (Dt 24^{8}). The four lepers of 2 K 7^{3} were thus outside Samaria even during the siege. According to *Negaim* xii. 11, if lepers entered into a house, they rendered it unclean (see also *Kelim* i. 4); or, if under a tree, they defiled any one passing beneath its shade. As they could not enter a walled town, they were excluded from synagogue services there; but in unwalled towns there was often a place set apart for them in the synagogue, into which they could enter before the rest of the congregation; but they could not leave until every one else had departed. Any transgression of these rules was punished by 40 stripes (see Otho, *Lex. Rabbin.* 324).

The Jews regarded leprosy as a contagious disease, and recent investigations have confirmed this opinion, although it is not communicated very easily, and seems to have a long incubation period. It is produced by a specific schizomycetous fungus, *Bacillus lepræ*, discovered by Hansen in 1871, which is of very minute size. These organisms retain their vitality for a long time. Köbner found them living in a piece of leprous tissue that had lain forgotten, wrapped in a piece of paper, for ten years. It is a peculiarly human parasite, the result of many experiments showing that it is not communicable to animals by inoculation. The bacillus has been found, though sparingly, in the earth of a pathway frequented by lepers at the Almora Asylum. Cases like that of Damien show that it is communicable to healthy persons. For other instances see Abraham in Allbutt's *System of Medicine*, ii. 41. It is interesting to note that Calmet long ago supposed leprosy to be due to organisms, which he describes as animalculæ that eat the skin from within (*Comm. on Levit.*).

It was probably a fairly common disease among the Jews (Lk 4^{27}), although not many cases are mentioned; but there are more references to it than to any other ailment. It has been supposed, though without any reason, that the kiln-work in Egypt fostered it in the days before the Exodus. Buxtorf, however, says it is not as common among the Jews as among other peoples, and ascribes this to their separateness, and to their abstinence especially from swine's flesh (see Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 4). In the NT there are records of only twelve cases: the ten lepers in Lk 17^{12}, the leper in Mt 8^{2} whom our Lord touched (cf. Mk 1^{40}, Lk 5^{12}), and Simon the leper (Mt 26^{6}, Mk 14^{3}); but these are only specially selected cases, for He commanded His disciples to cleanse the lepers (Mt 10^{8}; see also Mt 11^{5} and Lk 7^{22}).

The course of the disease is slow, especially in the early stages; there are cases on record of persons who lived as lepers for 40 years. Observations in Trinidad gave an average of nearly 9 years as the duration of the disease (Beavan Rake). According to Danielssen, in Norway, and Carter, in Bombay, the average duration of life in the nodular form is about 9 years, and in the form which affects the nerves and causes anæsthesia (the commonest form in the East) it is 18½ years. Cures are rare; the official report for Norway gives 38 cures during the period 1881–85 (the total number of lepers there in 1892 was 500). Simon the leper may have been one of those cured by Christ (for traditions see Ambrose, *Comm. on Lk* 6; Theophylact *in Mt* 26; Nicephorus, *HE* i. 27). In the early stages there are often few symptoms and little discomfort, and sometimes 'the eruption may vanish altogether, giving rise to illusory hopes of cure' (Abraham). It is therefore easy to understand how a great general like Naaman might retain his office although a leper (2 K 5^{1}). (See in this connexion Jos. *Ant.* III. xi. 4). King Robert the Bruce, who according to Ker (ii. 357) died of this disease, was apparently suffering from it when he held the Parliament at Cambuskenneth, and organized his last invasion of England. According to a doubtful tradition the emperor Constantine was a leper; see Zonaras, *Annales*, xiii. c. 3.

The sudden infliction of leprosy as a divine judgment is recorded not only in the case of Miriam, but also in that of Gehazi (2 K 5^{27}), which could not be due to infection, although it is called the leprosy of Naaman, as in all known instances the incubation period is much longer. There is also the example of Uzziah (2 K 15^{5}, 2 Ch 26^{23}). Of him it is said that he lived in a בֵּית הַחָפְשִׁית *beth haḥophshîth*, LXX οἶκος ἀπφουσώθ (or ἀφφουσώθ, or ἀφφουσιών), 'a several house' or (RVm) 'a lazar house.' According to Jos. *Ant.* IX. x. 4, this judgment was accompanied by an earthquake (see Zec 14$^{4.5}$). This author also states that, being a leper, Uzziah was buried in his own garden; but another account is given in Ch. Herodotus says that the Persians believed that a man was afflicted with leprosy for having committed some offence against the sun; that every stranger who had the disease was driven out of the country; and that they even destroyed white pigeons, thinking them to be leprous (i. 138). For other references to leprosy as a judgment see *Erachin* 16; *Baba Bathra* 10. 4; *Midrash Rabba* on Lv 14, etc. Chrysostom says, however, that in his day lepers were not excluded from the cities (*Vidi Dominum*, etc. iv.).

The heredity of leprosy was generally believed in by the Jews; it is referred to in the curse on Joab (2 S 3^{29}), and in the punishment of Gehazi (2 K 5^{27}). The Leprosy Commission in India could discover a history of heredity only in 5 per cent.; and of the 108 cases in the Tarn Taran Asylum only 16 had a leprous parent or grandparent. No treatment is referred to in the Bible; the washing of Naaman was a trial of faith, not a remedy (in connexion with his speech about Abana and Pharpar see Strabo, viii. 3. § 19, concerning the river Alpheus). Jehoram, from his ejaculation in 2 K 5^{7}, evidently thought leprosy beyond human skill to cure.

The date of the spread of the malady to Western Europe is unknown, but it was in Britain before the first Crusade, as the leper house at Canterbury was founded in 1096, the year of the starting of the Crusade. Between that date and the building of the last in 1472, one hundred and twelve such asylums were set apart for lepers in England. In early Christian times there were special rules for lepers. The Council of Ancyra (314) excluded them from the churches, and ordered them to remain outside with demoniacs and those guilty of unnatural crimes, all of whom were called *hiemantes* (χειμαζόμενοι) on this account (Martene, *Coll. Ampliss.* vii. p. 1365). It is supposed that the small skew window often seen in old churches, and commanding a view of the altar, was for the purpose of allowing the *hiemantes* to see the mass, hence these squints are often called *leper windows* or *hagioscopes*. The Third Council of Orleans forbade lepers to wander from one diocese to another; and Gregory II., in his letter to Boniface in A.D. 715, directed the administration of the Eucharist to them by themselves. The bishops were also ordered to supply them with food and raiment out of the Church funds.

There is no reference in the Bible to leprosy as a type of sin; the nearest approach to this is in Ps 51^{7}, where the reference is to the ceremonial cleansing of the leper. Among the Fathers, also, there are few who take note of a similitude so familiar in modern homiletics. Origen (*Hom.* vii. *in Nu*) speaks of heretics outside the Church as having leprosy of mind; and Chrysostom (*Hom.* iv. *in Ti* 2) is one of the earliest writers who directly compares the defilement of sin to leprosy. The one part, indeed, of the Levitical law which is most often noticed, is the cleanness of the man who is all leprous, and this is used to illustrate the most diverse lessons by Tertullian (*de Pudicitia*, xx.), Theodoret (*Quæstiones in Lv* 13), and Origen (*in Levit.* viii. 231). In one of the epistles doubtfully attributed to Jerome, he treats of the various kinds of leprosy (*Ep.* xxxiv.). Leprosy was most commonly regarded as a type of heresy rather than of other sin (Rupertus Tuitiensis, p. 271; Bede, *in loco*, 'Lepra doctrina falsa est'; see also Rabanus Maurus, *Allegoria*, *s.v.* 'Lepra').

When a leper became cured of his plague, he did not resume his place in the community until he had been ceremonially cleansed. The priest went outside the city to look on him, and if he saw that he was healed (1) he commanded that two living clean birds be brought, with a rod of cedar wood (probably juniper, the wood of *Juniperus oxycedrus* supposed to be incapable of decaying) a cubit long (*Neg.* 14. 6), scarlet (wool), and hyssop ('the humblest plant for a disease generated by pride,' *Midrash Rabba*, *Koheleth* 10. 4). One bird was to be killed, in an earthen vessel, over running water—that is, water from a running stream is to be put into the earthen vessel to keep the blood liquid, and as a type of purification. The living bird and the cedar, to which the hyssop was to be tied with the scarlet woollen band, are to be dipped in the blood, and the leper is to be sprinkled therewith seven times. Some have supposed that, as 'the blood is the life,' this signifies the imparting of a new life to one who has, ceremonially, been dead. He is then declared clean, and therefore permitted to come into the city; and the living bird is set free in the open country—a symbol of the carrying away of the evil (see Frazer, *Golden Bough*, ii. 151). (2) The leper is then to wash his clothes, shave off all his hair, and bathe; but must stay outside his house for 7 days; he then repeats the ablutions and shaving, and (3) on the 8th day makes his final offering at the temple. This consists (*a*) of a guilt-offering of a he-lamb, which with a log (about 3 gills) of olive oil was to be waved before the Lord, and the lamb was to be killed. The priest was then to take some of its blood, and to touch with it the right ear, the right thumb, and the right great toe of the cleansed man; the priest was then to pour the consecrated oil into the palm of his left hand, and, dipping his right forefinger in it, he was to sprinkle some of it seven times before the Lord, and then to touch with it the places upon which the blood of the guilt-offering had been put, and the rest of the oil was to be poured on the leper's head. This offering was a reparation to God for the loss of service during the time of his seclusion—the blood and oil typifying atonement and reconsecration. (*b*) A second he-lamb was to be offered as a sin-offering, as an atonement for sin on his readmission into the congregation, and afterwards (*c*) a ewe-lamb was to be offered as a burnt-offering, and $\frac{3}{10}$ths of an ephah (about $7\frac{1}{2}$ quarts) of flour as a meal-offering. During these ceremonies the man stood in the Nicanor gate between the Court of the women and the Court of Israel, into which he was not free to enter until the purification was accomplished. A poor man was allowed to substitute two doves for the second pair of lambs, one for the sin-offering and one for the burnt-offering, and needed only to bring $\frac{1}{10}$th of an ephah of flour for the meal-offering (Lv 14^{1-32}).

In mediæval times a man who was a leper was formally excluded from the Church by a funeral mass, in which earth was thrown on his feet as a sign of symbolic burial, the priest saying 'sis mortuus mundo, vivens iterum Deo.' The leper then laid aside his garments in the church and put on a black habit. An account of the rituals observed in connexion with lepers is given by Martene (*de Rit. Antiq.* iii. 10). The ceremonies for the readmission of those healed were similar to the penitential and reconciliation ceremonies for the other *hiemantes*.

Opinions are divided as to the nature of Job's disease. The Talmudists called it *ḥakok* or scratching leprosy (*Baba Kamma* 80*b*). From the description of the symptoms ($2^{7f.}$) and of his isolation (19^{14-21}), it has been supposed to be some form of leprosy * (see MEDICINE). For older opinions on the subject see Wedel, *de Morbo Hiobi*, Jena, 1687.

Leprosy in Garments.—In Lv $13^{47ff.}$ is a description of certain reddish or greenish discolorations in garments, woollen, linen, or leathern, which are called *ẓāra'ath mam'ereth* (v.^{51}), a fretting leprosy, eating a hole in a garment. It is probably the effect of a fungus or mildew, said, but with slight evidence, to be from the use of the wool of dead or diseased sheep (Michaelis, *Com. on Laws of Moses*, iii. 290), or from the skin of a diseased animal; but this would not account for its attacking linen. Whether it is due to a specific parasite (as Formstecher supposed, *Isr. des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 1847, No. 32) or not is uncertain, but this is improbable. If after a week's seclusion the stain spreads, the garment is pronounced unclean, and is to be burnt. If it have not spread, the fabric is to be washed and shut up for seven days more, when, if it remain unchanged, it is to be burnt; but if it fade after washing, the spot is to be torn out and burnt, and the rest of the garment is to be washed and pronounced clean. Where garments are worn for a long time, as they often are in the East, fungus growths are not unlikely to occur. It has been supposed that the 'garment spotted by the flesh' of Jude ^{23} refers to this; perhaps also there is a reference in Job 13^{28} and 30^{18}.

Leprosy in the House.—Certain discoloured patches on the inner walls of a house are said to be leprous (Lv $14^{34ff.}$). These are described as hollow strakes, *shĕḳa'ărûrōth*, that is, depressed spots, coloured greenish or reddish. When discovered, the occupant is to empty the house, lest, if pronounced unclean, all in the house be defiled. The priest is then called to inspect, and he shuts up the house for a week. If it spread in this time, the stones are to be taken out and cast into an unclean place; the plaster is to be scraped off the walls, and the house re-plastered. If no return take place, the house is clean; but if it recur, the whole house is to be destroyed. Before the cleansed house is inhabited, a cleansing ceremony similar to the first part of the cleansing ceremony of the leper is to be performed. It is probable that this disease is the formation of a flocculent mass of calcium nitrate, such as often takes place when the gases set free from decaying animal matter act on the lime of plaster, and is sometimes called mural salt. This, with an accompaniment of mould or other hyphomycetous fungus, produces an appearance like that described (see Blechrodt, *Theoret.-Pract. Abhandl. über die Ursachen der Feuchtigkeit in Gebäuden*, Weimar, 1839, 45). Jerome spiritualizes this plague, 'Arbitror eum in parietibus domus lepra esse referatur, hæreticam perfidiam notari' (*Ep.* xxxiv.).

---

* So Davidson, Dillmann, and most modern commentators; cf. Dt 28^{27}.

Literature.—The bibliography of leprosy is immense, but most of the older treatises are of little value. The best are Bartholinus, *de Morbis Biblicis*, Hafniæ, 1671; also the treatises of Dorndorf (Zurich, 1728), Withof (Duisburg, 1758), Eschenbach (Rostock, 1774), Chamseru (*Mém. de la societé d'émulation*, Paris, 1810, iii. 335), Jahn (*Biblische Archäologie*, Wien, 1818, ii. 355), Zensler (*Geschichte des abendländischen Aussatzes*).

For the modern literature the most useful works are Abraham, in Allbutt's *System of Medicine*, ii. 41; *Report of the Leprosy Commission to India*, London, 1893; also *Report of the Commission to the Cape of Good Hope*, 1894–95; Hillis, *Leprosy in British Guiana*, 1881; Carter, *Leprosy and Elephantiasis*, 1874; Rake, *Reports of the Trinidad Asylum*, 1889–1893; Danielssen and Boeck, *Traité de la Spédalskhed*, Paris, 1898; Minch, *Prokaza na Tuge Rossii*, Kiev, 1889; Fox and Farquhar, *Endemic Skin Diseases of India*, London, 1876; Wolters in *Centralblatt für Bakteriologie*, xiii. 1893; Simpson, *Edinburgh Medical Journal*, 1841–42, vols. lvi., lvii.; Thin, *Leprosy*, London, 1893; J. R. Bennett, *Diseases of the Bible*, 1887. For an account of the Knights of St. Lazarus, who had always a leper for their Grand Master, see Hélyot, *Ordres Monast.* 1721; Mochsen, *de med. equit. dignit. ornat.* p. 56.

On the Levitical prescriptions regarding leprosy, see, above all, Dillmann-Ryssel, *Ex-Lv*, p. 553 ff., where further references to the literature of the subject will be found.

A. Macalister.

LESHEM (לֶשֶׁם).—A form, occurring only in Jos $19^{47\,bis}$, of the name Laish (which see). Wellh. (*de Gentibus*, etc. 47) emends לַ֫שֶׁם, which is admitted by Dillm. to have been 'perhaps' the original pronunciation.

LESSAU (A Λεσσαού, V^{vid} Δεεσαού).—A village (κώμη) where an encounter took place between the Jews and Nicanor, 2 Mac 14^{16}. The site is unknown, and the text is uncertain. *Dessau* of AV may be due to the frequent interchange of Λ and Δ in uncial Greek, or (as Ewald conjectured) it may be another form of *Adasa* (cf. 1 Mac 7^{40}).

LET.—There are two Anglo-Saxon verbs somewhat alike in spelling but directly opposite in meaning, *lǽtan* to permit, and *lettan* to hinder. In middle English *lǽtan* became *leten*, and *lettan* became *letten*, and they were still distinguishable. The double *t* was kept by careful writers in the verb meaning 'to hinder,' or the subst. meaning 'hindrance,' as by Milton in *Areopagitica* (Hales ed. p. 57, l. 1), 'evill hath abounded in the Church by this lett of licencing.' But when it was dropped there was no way, except by the general sense of the passage, of distinguishing two words whose meanings were so different that a mistake was equivalent to the insertion or omission of a *not*. In AV the verb occurs six times with the sense of 'hinder,' and is always spelt in the ed. of 1611 with one *t*, Ex 5^4 'Wherefore do ye, Moses and Aaron, let the people from their works?' (תַּפְרִיעוּ, RV 'loose'); Nu $22^{16\ \text{marg.}}$ 'Be not thou letted from coming unto me' (text, 'Let nothing hinder thee'); Is 43^{13} 'I will work, and who shall let it?' (יְשִׁיבֶנָּה, AVm 'shall turn it back,' RVm 'reverse it'); Wis 7^{22} 'an understanding spirit . . . which cannot be letted' (ἀκώλυτον, RV 'unhindered'); Ro 1^{13} 'oftentimes I purposed to come unto you, (but was let hitherto)' (ἐκωλύθην, RV 'was hindered'); 2 Th 2^7 'only he who now letteth *will let*, until he be taken out of the way' (ὁ κατέχων, RV 'one that restraineth'). The verb occurs also in Pr. Bk., Collect for 4th Sun. in Advent, 'we are sore let and hindered in running the race that is set before us.' In the Pr. Bk. of 1552, 1559, and 1604 (Communion), we read, 'It is an easy matter for a man to say, I will not communicate, because I am otherwise letted with worldly business'; but in 1662 'letted' was changed into 'hindered.' Examples from the earlier versions which have been changed in AV are Job 31^{31} Cov. 'Yet they of myne owne housholde saye: who shal let us, to have oure bely ful of his flesh?' 1 P 3^7 Tind. 'that youre prayers be not let.' Cranmer is fond of the word, frequently using it along with one or more synonyms, as *Works*, i. 82, 'she wrote letters to the Pope, calling upon him in God's behalf to stop and let the said marriage'; p. 85, 'do not interrupt, let, or hinder the said David.'

As a subst. 'let' is found in AV only in the heading to Dt 15, 'It must be no let of lending or giving.' It occurs occasionally in Pr. Bk. In the Preface to the Scotch Liturgy of 1637 we read, 'After many lets and hindrances, the same cometh now to be published, to the good, we trust, of all God's people, and the increase of true piety, and sincere devotion amongst them.' 'In all our promises,' says Tindale (*Expos.* p. 57), 'it is to be added, If God will, and If there be no lawful let.'

J. Hastings.

LETHECH occurs in AVm and RVm of Hos 3^2 instead of 'an half homer' which is read in the text of both AV and RV. Both the original reading of the passage and the capacity of the measure (?), called *lethech*, are uncertain. For the MT לֶתֶךְ שְׂעֹרִים the LXX reads νέβελ οἴνου, 'a skin of wine,' which may or may not imply that a different Heb. text from the present lay before the Greek translator (see Nowack, *ad loc.*). According to Jewish tradition, the *lethech*=½ *homer*=4 bushels. See art. Weights and Measures. It has been computed that the whole amount of grain here mentioned would have been equal in value to 15 shekels of silver, so that the price paid by Hosea in money and kind together would be 30 shekels. He thus re-acquired his wife for the cost of a slave (cf. Ex 21^{32}).

J. A. Selbie.

LETTER.—See Epistle.

LETUSHIM (לְטוּשִׁם, Λατουσιείμ) and **LEUMMIM** (לְאֻמִּים, Λοωμ(ι)είμ).—Sons of Dedan, Gn 25^3. The MT gives the names of Dedan's sons as Ashurim, Letushim, and Leummim; but the LXX prefixes to this list Raguel (Ῥαγουήλ) and Nabdeel (Ναβδεήλ). The three given by the MT are pointed as plurals, and hence were regarded by some ancient interpreters as descriptive epithets (so Targ. Onk.); and the third of the names, *Leummim* ('nations' in Heb.), lends itself well to that explanation; some races which the ethnologist chose to classify among Dedanites may have been known as 'nations' or 'hordes,' just as the Berbers are called by the Arabs *Ḳabā'il* or 'tribes,' and their language *Ḳabīlī*. For *Letushim* the Rabbis (Rashi, *ad loc.*) suggest an etymology from the Hebrew verb נָטַשׁ meaning 'scattered'; they can indeed point with justice to the interchange of ל and נ at the beginning of words, but this explanation does not seem satisfactory. The apparent connexion of this word with the verb לָטַשׁ 'to sharpen' is rather in favour of the view (taken by Steiner in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexicon*) that the words represent names of *trades*; and such a classification would bear a curious likeness to that of the S. Arabian Parias, some of whom are called *Ḥā'ik*, 'weavers,' etc. (Maltzan, *Reisen in Arabien*, i. 190, 191). The greater number of authorities, however, regard these words as proper names, and *Letushim* has been compared with לטשו of some Nabatæan inscriptions (Ley, *ZDMG* xiv. 403, 404), while a name resembling *Leummim* has been found in a Sabæan inscription (*Oxf. Heb. Lex.*). If they are personal names, the final ם could be more easily explained from Sabæan than from Nabatæan. Glaser (*Skizze*, ii. 461) thinks the home of the tribes thus designated is to be sought in the Sinaitic peninsula, but he throws no new light on the name.

D. S. Margoliouth.

LEVI (לֵוִי, LXX Λευ(ε)ί(ν)).—Son of Jacob and

Leah. The meaning and derivation of the name are uncertain. (1) In Gn 29^{34} (J) *Levi* is interpreted as *joined, i.e.* husband to wife; the root *lavah* is used with this meaning in the reflexive conjugation (Niphal), Is $56^{3.\,6}$, Ps 83^{8}: in Arab. it = 'turn, bend.' In Nu $18^{2.\,4}$ (P) there is a word-play; the tribe of *Levi* is *joined to, attendant on*, Aaron. After the establishment of the Levites as subordinate temple ministers, this meaning was read into their name; it does not, of course, represent an etymology in the strict sense. (2) Lagarde, *Orientalia* ii. 20, *Mittheilungen* i. 54 ff., explains *Levites* as those who *attached themselves to, accompanied*, the Israelites at the Exodus from Egypt; like Moses, they were Egyptians. The name might also mean those who were *attached to* the ark. Thus Levi is not a name like the names of the other patriarchs, but an adjective; and it need not have borne the same meaning in the time of Ezra as in the time of Solomon or Moses. (3) Baudissin, *Gesch. AT Priesterthums* 72 n.^{1}, finds in the name an original abstract meaning, *lēv* = 'following, escort,' from which the adj. *lēvi* was formed, in the sense of *one who escorted* the ark. The name was thus first given to the tribe of priestly servants, and from them to the ancestor of the tribe. Against these views see Kautzsch, *SK*, 1890, 771 f., who points out that the manner in which Levi is connected with Simeon by a merely genealogical and political relationship, such as exists in the case of the other sons of Jacob, makes it impossible to see in Levi the special character which the above views presuppose. The name of the tribe was not derived from the name of any official function; the escort of the ark was not the prerogative of the Levites only, for in the older narratives it is the priests who have this charge. Similarly, Stade, *ZATW* i. 1881, 112–116, insists, with reason, that no different origin can be allowed to Levi than is given to the other patriarchs. Against deriving *lēvi* from *lavah*, he urges the form of the noun with *ē*, and the fact that in early times Levi was a purely secular tribe, Gn $49^{5\text{-}7}$. (4) Hommel, *Aufsätze u. Abhandlungen* 30 f., *Süd-Arab. Chrestom.* 127, *AHT* 278 f., connects *levi* with *lavi'u* (fem. *lavi'at*) = *priest*, on the Minæan inscriptions from el-Ola, N. of Medina; and Mordtmann, *Beiträge z. minäischen Epigraphik*, 1897, 43, and Sayce, *Early Hist. of the Hebs.* 1897, 80, agree with him. The usage of the word in these inscriptions ('a priest of Wadd,' 'his priestess') is, however, very different from the usage of Levi in the OT. Such an expression as 'a Levite of J"' is never found; and the primary meaning of Levite is not 'priest,' but 'a member of the tribe of Levi.' (5) Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*^{3} 146, proposes an etymology which has been widely accepted, and may be considered the most plausible yet put forward: Levi is simply a gentilic form of his mother's name, Leah = 'wild cow' (Arab. *la'ay, la'at*). So Stade, *ZATW* i. 112–116, *GVI* i. 146, 152 f.; Gray, *Hebr. Pr. Names* 96, etc. Nöldeke on the whole accepts this, though not without hesitation, *ZDMG* xl. 1886, 167.[*] Robertson Smith, who maintains that 'the most ancient division of the Israelites is between Rachel and Leah,' both animal names, detects in this family history the presence of the matriarchal system of reckoning descent, and the custom of calling tribes after the names of animals (totemism); *Kinship and Marriage* 30, 195, 219 f., 257. (6) Two other etymologies may be mentioned. Wellhausen, *Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten* iii. 114 n. [the note is omitted in the second edition (1897), p. 119], alludes to the ancient Arabic custom of consuming the flesh of a sacrifice at a family meal. A portion of the flesh was set aside for a guest whom it was desired to treat with special honour (cf. 1 S 9^{23}), and called the *lavijja* (Agh. vii. 76. 6). The *lavijja* would be the priests' portion; hence possibly the origin of the name Levi. In this connexion we can hardly fail to remember the Minæan *lavi'u* = 'priest.' G. H. Skipwith, in the *JQR* xi. 1899, 264, ingeniously connects *levi* with *leviathan*, the root *lavah* describing the coils of the serpent. This suggests that Levi derived his name from a serpent-god, and may explain why the Levite Moses selected the brazen serpent, Nehushtan, as an emblem of the God of Israel!

Early history of Levi.—An incident in the early history of Levi is preserved in Gn 34. The young Canaanite chief, Shechem, had conceived a passion for Dinah, the sister of Simeon and Levi, and had 'humbled' her, to the indignation of the sons of Jacob (vv.$^{2b.\,3a.\,5.\,7}$). The two brothers undertook to avenge the outrage themselves; they assassinated Shechem, and carried off Dinah out of his house (vv.$^{25b.\,26}$). That the action of Simeon and Levi was treacherous and savage is implied in J, the earlier of the two documents which are combined in Gn 34. Shechem had accepted the terms imposed upon him by the father and brethren of the damsel (vv.$^{11.\,12.\,19}$). What the terms were is not stated; possibly the circumcision of the bridegroom before marriage (Wellhausen, *Proleg.*^{3} 355 n., *Composition* 319: cf. Ex $4^{24\text{-}26}$, and Robertson Smith, *RS* 310), or the grant of a piece of territory to Jacob near Shechem (Cornill, *ZATW*, 1891, 12, cf. Gn $37^{12\text{ff.}}$). Whatever the agreement was, Simeon and Levi violated it, and acted independently of their brethren, who took no part in the deed of violence, and of their father, who bitterly resented it. We may notice that Jacob's reproof is prompted by instincts of self-preservation, and not by moral displeasure. The two brothers, however, take up a moral ground in their retort, evidently with the sympathy of the narrator ($34^{30.\,31}$).[*]

The story may be understood to describe an episode in the early struggles of Israel in Canaan after the Exodus. The attachment of Shechem, son of Hamor, to Dinah, daughter of Jacob, will then represent an alliance between a branch of the Israelite family and the city of Shechem; and the action of Simeon and Levi may be interpreted either as an attempt to seize by force this important city for themselves, or as a blow struck to free the Israelite element in the city from the danger of being swallowed up by the Canaanite majority. Whatever the motive may have been, the tradition is clear that there was treachery and violence on the Israelite side, and that in consequence Simeon and Levi received a repulse from which they never recovered. Simeon became merged in Judah, with undefined possessions on the S. frontier (cf. Jos $19^{1\text{-}9}$ with $15^{26\text{-}32.\,42}$), though the tribe does not seem to have been so completely shattered as Levi (Jg $1^{3.\,17}$); while Levi also found shelter in Judah, but for the most part became a homeless wanderer in the territory of the other tribes.

This is the state of things implied in Gn $49^{5\text{-}7}$ 'I will divide them in Jacob, and scatter them in

---

[*] Of the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of Levi, almost half have names with this gentilic ending, *e.g.* Merari, Mahli, Mushi (from Mosheh, Moses), Libni, Shimei, Bukki, Uzzi, Kishi, etc. (Nu $3^{17\text{-}21}$ 26^{58}, 1 Ch $6^{1\text{-}48}$).

[*] The above follows the earlier narrative, J. In the other account, by some assigned to E (Wellh., Cornill, Holzinger), by others to P (Dillmann, Driver P possibly based on E, Ball P^{2}), Hamor, on behalf of his son, negotiates a general marriage alliance, vv.$^{8.\,9}$; the circumcision of all males is stipulated and accepted as the condition, vv.$^{14\text{-}17.\,20\text{-}24a}$, and all the sons of Jacob wreak their vengeance with wholesale slaughter vv.$^{25ac.\,27\text{-}29}$ (cf. the later narratives of the conquest of Canaan). Perhaps the vengeance was ascribed to all Israel because of the later feeling about mixed marriages, cf. Nu $25^{6\text{-}9}$ $31^{7\text{-}11}$ (P), Ezr 9^{12} 10. If this narrative belongs to E, an editor of the school of P (vv.$^{15b.\,22b.\,24}$) has worked over the whole after the combination of J and E. See especially on this ch. Kuenen, *ThT* xiv. 257 = *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* vi.; Wellhausen, *Composition* 312–319; Cornill, *ZATW*, 1891, 1–15.

Israel.' The verses express, in the language of vigorous denunciation, the popular verdict upon the offending tribes. It must have taken shape not long after the deed was done; and as the incident of Gn 34 belongs most probably to the early days of the conquest of Canaan, this will agree very well with the date generally accepted for the Blessing of Jacob, the period of the Judges, Samuel, and David. Neither Simeon nor Levi is mentioned in the Song of Deborah, Jg 5.

Levi and the Priesthood.—The next important evidence for the early history of Levi is furnished by Jg 17 and 18, a most ancient document. Here, for the first time, the Levite is a priest. The following facts are to be gleaned from these chapters. (1) The Levite comes from Judah, the headquarters of the tribe, Jg 17^{7-9}. Both in these chs. and in $19^{1.18}$ the Levites are connected with Judah; two of them come from Bethlehem $17^{7.8}$.* We can detect traces of this connexion in the names of some Levitical families, such as Libni, Hebroni, Ḳorḥi.†

(2) But if the Levites had found a home in Judah, their dispersion had already begun; the pressure of circumstances was driving them to seek a maintenance where they could find one, Jg $17^{8.9}$.

(3) At this period any one might become a priest. Micah could consecrate one of his sons to the priesthood, 17^{5}. But if a Levite could be found, he was much preferred, as being specially qualified for the office, Jg $17^{10.13}$ 18^{10}. The Levite ministered in any private or local sanctuary where his services were paid for, Jg $17^{4.10.12}$ $18^{4.30}$. His special skill lay in consulting and interpreting the sacred oracle ($18^{5f.}$), and in conducting the ritual of the ephod, teraphim, and graven or molten image (17^{5} $18^{18.20.30}$).

(4) Two points about the family of the Levite (or Levites) in this story call for special notice. In 17^{7} it is said that 'the young man' was 'of the family of Judah'; in 18^{30} that the Levite Jonathan was a grandson of Moses. The former of these statements raises a difficulty: how could a Levite be described as belonging to the family of Judah? It has been suggested (Wellhausen, Moore) that 'Levite' here denotes the office, not the race; the point of importance in early times being not the pedigree but the art of the priest. If this could be established, the difficulty is disposed of. But it is hard to believe that at this early period, which cannot be far removed from the date to which Gn 34 and 49^{5-7} belong, the Levites as a tribe had disappeared, and that their name had been given to a priestly caste which was open to the member of any tribe who might care to enter it (see Wellhausen, *Proleg.*^{3} 146; Hommel, *AHT* 268). No satisfactory explanation has been given of the words 'of the family of Judah' as they stand. They seem to be omitted by LXX B, and are treated by Kuenen and Kautzsch (*Heil. Schr.*) as a gloss; but a scribe would hardly invent such a statement about a Levite. Budde, *Richter* 116, suggests (after Studer) that the words have been altered out of respect for Moses,‡ and that the original reading was 'of the family of Levi,' or 'of the family of Moses.' For want of any better explanation, this correction may be provisionally accepted. At the close of the story (18^{30}) it is stated that Micah's Levite, who had been kidnapped by the Danites, became the founder of a line of priests who ministered at the chief sanctuary of Dan until the exile of the ten tribes in 722, or of the N. tribes in 734 (2 K 15^{29}). Jonathan's priesthood was therefore hereditary,* and, what is more, his descent is traced back through Gershom to Moses. It is probable that we have here a clue to the obscure problem, How did the Levi of Gn 34 and 49 become the Levi of the sanctuary? Most likely the answer is, Through the influence and position of Moses. Moses was the founder of Israel's religion, the chief minister of the sanctuary; and Moses was a Levite. His own clan supported and followed him (Ex 32^{26-29} E). The sacred lore of the priesthood, the traditions of public worship, the usages of the oracle, were preserved in his family and handed down to his descendants. Thus we find the Mosaic families of Gershom and of the Mushites (probably from Mosheh, Moses) mentioned in the genealogies of P, Nu $3^{17f.21.33}$ $26^{57f.}$, 1 Ch $6^{1.17.19}$. The priesthood, however, was not confined to the family or tribe of Moses; but the prestige of his name, the importance of his position in the history of the national religion, induced those priests, who did not necessarily belong to his race, to call themselves Levites, and to justify the title by some kind of genealogical fiction, or by the common Semitic practice of regarding membership of a guild or order as equivalent to sonship.† In this way there grew up a priestly tribe of Levi which looked upon Moses as the founder of their order and the ancestor of their race.‡ The formation of such a tribe was rendered all the easier because there had existed an ancient tribe of Levi, which, although it was broken up in the early days of the occupation of Canaan, nevertheless produced one famous son who became the ancestor of a new Levi with a changed character. When the change began it is impossible to say; it must have come about by degrees. Those who maintain that the Levite of the early period of the Judges (Jg 17. 18) could belong to 'the family of Judah' and at the same time claim to be a grandson of Moses (18^{30}), do not appear to allow sufficient time for the official sense of Levite and the artificial connexion with Moses to have established themselves.

A different account of what may be called the conversion of Levi from the barbarous tribe to the priestly caste is given by van Hoonacker in his work, *La Sacerdoce Lévitique*, 1899, 304–311. His view may be mentioned as representative of those which differ from the account given above. He takes Gn 34 as referring to an incident of the first immigration of the Hebrew clans into Canaan. Gn 49 is also assigned to a pre-Mosaic date, chiefly on the ground that it is unlikely that the tribe to which Moses belonged would be spoken of in the terms of vv.$^{5-7}$ so soon after his death, if the Blessing of Jacob be assigned to the period of the Judges. In the early days of the settlement in Canaan after the Exodus, the tribe of Levi possessed not only the prestige of its connexion with Moses, but the prerogatives of the priesthood which it owed to him. Not much later, in the period of the Judges, we find Levites popularly regarded as priests: the interval is not long enough for the change in the character of the tribe to have taken place. Accordingly, van Hoonacker believes that the 'conversion' of Levi occurred during the sojourn of Israel in Egypt, and supposes that Levi developed not only a capacity for assimilating the culture and civilization of Egypt,* but a special zeal for the national religion. In this way the Levites naturally rallied round Moses in his great religious enterprise, and because of their superior culture became recognized as the spiritual organ of the community. Against the view of van Hoonacker it may be said that the evidence is no more in favour of the conversion of Levi having taken place in Egypt than in the period which followed the struggle for Canaan; while the historical and geographical conditions implied in the Blessing of Jacob are not those of the pre-Mosaic but the post-Mosaic age.

---

* Two narratives are interwoven in ch. 17. According to one there is a young Levite (הַנַּעַר) residing in Micah's neighbourhood, whom Micah treats as a son, consecrates and makes his priest (vv.$^{7.11b.12a}$). The other narrative tells how a Levite (הָאִישׁ) from Bethlehem comes, in the course of his wanderings, to Micah's house, and is hired by him as his priest (vv.$^{8-10a.12b.13}$).

† Wellhausen, *Isr. u. Jüd. Geschichte*^{2} 191 n. Korah (Ḳoraḥ) seems to have been originally a clan of Judah, 1 Ch 2^{43}.

‡ The same motive, to avoid connecting the priest of Dan with Moses, instigated the Jewish correction of Moses into Manasseh in 18^{30}. Perhaps this is the reason why LXX B omits the words here.

* Similar establishments of hereditary priests are mentioned at Shiloh (Eli) and at Nob (Ahimelech), 1 S $1^{3ff.}$ 21. The priesthood of Shiloh was traced back to the family of Moses (1 S 2^{27}, though this is a post-Dt. passage) through Phinehas, son of Eleazar, son of Aaron (Nu 25^{13} P, 1 S 2^{30}, Jos 24^{33} E). Wellhausen regards Eleazar as = Eliezer, son of Moses (Ex 18^{4}), and so makes the priesthood of Shiloh directly Mosaic, *Proleg.*^{3} 144.

† In the oldest documents the descent is traced back to Moses rather than to Aaron. Moses, not Aaron, is the chief minister of the sanctuary in Ex 33^{7-11} E. The designation of Levites as 'sons of Aaron' belongs to P.

‡ See Benzinger, *Heb. Archäol.* 416 ff.

It does not fall within the scope of this article to deal with the later developments and organization of the priestly tribe of Levi, which will be fully treated of in art. PRIESTS AND LEVITES. Besides Jg 17 and 18, 19 and 20, the only other places in pre-exilic historical books where Levites are mentioned are 1 S 6^{15}, 2 S 15^{24}, 1 K 8^{4} 12^{31}, and all of these appear to be secondary or Deuteronomic.† One other important passage, however, requires mention, to complete the early account of Levi, Dt 33$^{8-11}$. The Blessing of Moses 'breathes the bright and happy spirit of the earlier narratives of the Kings,' and may be dated shortly after the separation under Jeroboam I. By this time, then, we find that Levi has become thoroughly established as the priestly tribe, enjoying the priestly rights of administering the divine oracle and instruction (torah), and offering incense and sacrifice; though it appears that the exclusive priesthood of the Levites was not without its opponents even at this period (Dt 33^{11}). The Blessing describes the character of the ideal Levite by an allusion to past history when the fidelity and disinterestedness of the tribe were conspicuously proved. Though Levi is not mentioned in connexion with the events of Massah and Meribah (Ex 17$^{1-7}$, Nu 20$^{10-13}$), yet it is possible that another version of these incidents was current in which the tribe was in some way tested by Jehovah.‡ The other past event alluded to is that in Ex 32$^{27-29}$, when the Levites distinguished themselves by remarkable disinterestedness. The reference to this occasion is, however, disputed; for the verbs in Dt 33^{9abc} may be translated as presents and not as pasts, and the statement may be merely a general one. Nevertheless, the allusion to Ex 32 may be implied at the same time.

The principal authorities have been cited above. Besides these may be mentioned Graf, *Geschichte des Stammes Levi* in Merx, *Archiv.* 1867, i. 68-106, 208-236; Edu. Meyer, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, 1884, i. 377 ff.; Fr. v. Hummelauer, S.J., *Das vormosaische Priesterthum in Israel*, 1899.

G. A. COOKE.

LEVIATHAN (לִוְיָתָן *liwyāthān*).—The description of leviathan (Job 41) clearly points to the *crocodile* (LXX δράκων). Again, the mention of leviathan (LXX δράκοντες, Ps 74^{14}) is in the middle of an allusion to the miracles connected with the Exodus of the Israelites. Leviathan here is to be understood as the crocodile, the emblem of 'Pharaoh, the king of Egypt, the great dragon (*tannîm*) that lieth in the midst of his rivers' (Ezk 29^{3}). 'The people inhabiting the wilderness' (Ps, *l.c.*) are the *wild beasts of the desert*, to which Pharaoh's host became a prey (comp. 'people,' 'folk,' Pr 30$^{25.\,26}$). On the other hand, leviathan of the sea (Ps 104^{26}, LXX δράκων) cannot be the crocodile. It is probably the whale. Whales are not rare in the Mediterranean, which is doubtless the 'sea great and wide' (v.^{25}). Parts of skeletons of two rorquals are preserved in the Museum of the Syrian Protestant College at Beirût. One was thrown on shore near Tyre, and the other at Beirût itself. In Job 3^{8} 'leviathan' of RV and AVm (AV 'their mourning') is taken by most modern commentators to refer to the dragon, which in popular mythology was believed to darken or eclipse the sun and moon by 'throwing its folds round them or swallowing them up. Enchanters were supposed to have power to set this dragon in motion' (Davidson, *Job*, p. 20). The same mythological allusion underlies Job 26^{13} (see Dillmann's note) and Is 27^{1} (see Cheyne, *ad loc.*).

G. E. POST.

LEVIRATE LAW.—See MARRIAGE.

LEVIS (A Λευίς, B -είς), 1 Es 9^{14}.—Wrongly taken as a proper name in this book; in Ezr 10^{15} 'Shabbethai the Levite' stands in place of 'Levis and Sabbateus.'

LEVITES.—See LEVI and PRIESTS AND LEVITES.

LEVITICUS (called by the Jews, from its opening word, וַיִּקְרָא; other names found in the Mishna are תּוֹרַת כֹּהֲנִים ('Law of Priests'), סֵפֶר כ׳ ('Book of Priests'), סֵפֶר קָרְבָּנוֹת ('Book of Offerings'), cf. *Menach.* iii. 4; *Megilla*, iii. 6; *Siphra*, etc.; LXX Λευ(ε)ιτικόν (cf. Philo, Λευιτικὴ βίβλος); Vulg. *Leviticus*).—Leviticus is the third part of the sixfold work now generally known as the Hexateuch. It belongs in its entirety to the Priestly school of writers (P). For the explanation and proof of this statement see art. HEXATEUCH.

As the whole book can be ascribed to a single 'document,' it might seem that the literary problem was a simpler one than in the case of Genesis and Exodus. In fact, however, the questions that demand solution are, though in large measure different from, yet no less complex than, those of the earlier books. The geologist who has settled to what 'formation' the rocks of a district belong, has yet to investigate the composition and relative order of the perhaps dislocated and contorted strata which are comprised under the same general title. In the art. on EXODUS (§ IV.) we have already seen how documents after being separated from others may be again resolved into distinct components. The extent to which this process is carried out below may seem unwarranted, for, though many of the points are fully treated in well-known works like Kuenen's *Hex.* and Driver's *LOT*, it has not been usual to press the analysis so far. It is, however, believed that the main lines are firmly laid on grounds that have proved generally convincing, even though details may be regarded as unsettled.

LITERARY STRUCTURE.—The 27 chapters fall readily apart into four divisions which are successively discussed, *i.e.* (1) the Law of Sacrifice, 1-7; (2) the Consecration of the Priesthood, 8-10; (3) the Law of Clean and Unclean, with appendix on the Day of Atonement, 11-16; (4) the Law of Holiness, with appendix, 17-27.

(*N.B.*—For explanation of abbreviations and signs see EXODUS).

§ 1. 1-7: The Law of Sacrifice.

A. Analytical Summary.

P^{t} denotes material consisting of priestly teaching or *torah*, codified before P^{g}, and subsequently incorporated.

P^{s} marks sections written after P^{g}.

---

* Van Hoonacker notices the Egyptian proper names among Levitical families, Phinehas, Putiel (Ex 6^{25}), Moses; and the unique expression about the ancestors of Eli's family, 1 S 2^{27} 'when they were in Egypt, servants (LXX) to the house of Pharaoh.'

† Nowack, *Heb. Archäol.* ii. 91 n.

‡ Driver, *Deuteronomy* 400.

+ in any column shows supplements of the same school and period.

‡ Many similar titles or introductory clauses, added by the compiler, are left to the student to notice.

P^t	P^s	
	1–6^7	A MANUAL FOR WORSHIPPERS.
	$1^{1\cdot 2a}$	R^p Title.‡
$1^{2b\text{-}9}$		BURNT-OFFERING of the herd.
$10\text{-}13$		. . . . of the flock.
$+\ 14\text{-}17$		. . . . of fowls.
$2^{1\text{-}3}$		MEAL-OFFERING of fine flour.
$+\ 4\text{-}13$		. . . . baked, etc.
$+\ 14\text{-}17$		. . . . of firstfruits.
$3^{1\text{-}5}$		PEACE-OFFERING of the herd.
$6\text{-}11$		. . . . of the flock: sheep.
$12\text{-}16$		. . . . . . goats.
17		. . . . eating fat or blood forbidden.
	$4^{1\text{-}12}$	SIN-OFFERING for anointed priest.
	$13\text{-}21$	. . . for whole congregation.
	$22\text{-}26$	. . . for a ruler.
	$27\text{-}31$	. . . for any person (a goat).
	$+\ 32\text{-}35$	. . . . . . (a lamb).
$5^{1\text{-}6}$		SIN-OFFERING for any person (lamb or goat).
$+\ 7\text{-}10$		. . . . . . (fowls for poor).
$+\ 11\text{-}13$		. . . . . . (meal for poorer).
$+\ 14\text{-}16$		GUILT-OFFERING for trespass in holy things.
$17\text{-}19$		. . . . for unknown sins.
$+\ 6^{1\text{-}7}$		. . . . for trespass against a neighbour.
	6^8–7^{38}	A MANUAL FOR PRIESTS.
	$6^{8\text{-}9a}$	R^p Title.
$6^{9b\text{-}13}$		Ritual of BURNT-OFFERING.
$14\text{-}18$		. . MEAL-OFFERING.
$+\ 19\text{-}23$		. . . . . . of the priest.
	$6^{24\text{-}25b}$	R^p Title.
$25b\text{-}29$		Ritual of SIN-OFFERING.
	6^{30}	Supplement to above.
$7^{1\text{-}7}$		Ritual of GUILT-OFFERING.
	7^8	Priest to have skin of the burnt-offering.
$+\ 9$		Priest to have meal-offering.
	7^{10}	Sons of Aaron to have all meal-offerings.
$11\text{-}21$		Ritual of PEACE-OFFERING.
$+\ 22\text{-}27$		Eating fat or blood forbidden.
$+\ 28\text{-}34$		Wave breast and heave thigh for priests.
	$7^{35f.}$	Anointing portion of priests.
$37f.$		Colophon.

B. Critical Notes.

With regard to this division there are two questions to answer. (1) Does it form part of the great Priestly writing (P^g) which contains Ex 25–29? (2) If not, what is its relation to it? Is it, like Ex 35-40, later, or is it in the main earlier? Let the facts decide. The process of exhibiting them will bring out other points requiring special attention in these chapters.

a. The directions in Ex 29 for Aaron's consecration ordered burnt-, sin-, and peace-offerings. Now the ritual there prescribed precisely accords with the requirements of Lv 1-7, which are therefore already assumed in a passage which precedes.

b. After Ex 35-40 (or the shorter account of the erection of the Tabernacle which it has replaced) we expect to hear of the fulfilment of the other command, in Ex 29, to consecrate Aaron. But Lv 1-7 comes in before Lv 8, the account of the consecration. It appears, that is, as an interruption.

c. At the same time, Lv 1-7 is linked with P^g by a practical identity of sacrificial terminology.

d. Certain elements, however, which are often mentioned and constantly presupposed in P^g and P^s, are either absent from these chapters, or appear in clauses which can be readily removed as interpolations, or find place in passages otherwise marked as exceptional. Such are the presuppositions that the people are living in a *camp*, that their sanctuary is *the Tent of Meeting*, and that the only priests are *Aaron and his sons.*

For instance, the *Tent of Meeting* is unmentioned from 1^{10} to 2^{16}; in 1^3 its occurrence is plainly an interpolation, for it interrupts the connexion (for the acceptance of the victim depends, according to $22^{19\text{-}25}$, on the absence of blemish). Again, in 1-3 *the priest* occurs 11 times, and *Aaron's sons the priests* (or an equivalent phrase) 11 times. The facts, that each paragraph reverts to the singular, that sing. verbs follow plural subjects $1^{5f.\ 11f.}$ etc., that LXX twice, and Sam. once, correct to pl., all go to prove that *the priest* was the original term, and that the peculiar phrase *Aaron's sons the priests*, $1^{5.\,8.\,11}$ 2^2 3^2, is an adaptation of the simple term *the priest* by prefixing *Aaron's sons* and altering sing. to pl. Contrast the uniform formula of P^g *Aaron and his sons.*

e. Moreover, the conspectus *A*, given above, on the face of it suggests that 1-7 is not itself homogeneous. It falls apart into two codes, each of which treats the whole round of offerings, but without reference to the other, and with a different aim and plan. Again, the two codes 1–6^7 and 6^8–7^{38} have been themselves subject to revision and enlargement. The nucleus of 1–6^7 is 1-3, a little code which perhaps never dealt with sin- and guilt-offerings. In any case 5–6^7 are distinct in form, and much more so 4 (P^s).

A few instances of the clues which have been followed may be given as illustrations of method. $2^{4\text{-}16}$ is marked as supplementary, for (1) it repeats $^{1\text{-}3}$, and (2) it uses *thou* and *ye* instead of *he* as in the rest of 1-3.—4 distinguishes *the altar of sweet incense* from *the altar of burnt-offering* (see art. EXODUS, IV.), and elaborates ceremonial; it is therefore given to P^s (perhaps better to $P^{s'}$). In Ex 29 P^g and Lv 8 P^s even at the consecration of Aaron the blood of the sin-offering was not as here ($4^{6f.}$, cf. $^{17f.}$) brought into the holy place.—$5^{1\text{-}6}$ is older than 4, because of the variety of cases in view, and the absence of ritual direction. It has features that connect it with P^h.—$5^{14\text{-}16}$ and $6^{1\text{-}7}$ are not by author of $5^{1\text{-}6}$, for the guilt-offering, which in ^{6} is confused with the sin-offering, is here clearly assigned to cases of damage done to the interests of Jahweh or a neighbour.—$5^{17\text{-}19}$ interrupts the connexion, and completes $^{1\text{-}6}$, not $^{14\text{-}16}$. In $^{1\text{-}6}$ atonement is provided for unconscious offences after discovery; but what if calamity vaguely convicts of unknown guilt? Here is the remedy.

The remaining section 6^8–7 has also been edited afresh with several additions. The original work is easily separated by following the clues given by the introductory formula *This is the law of . . .*, and by the list of subjects given in the colophon 7^{37}, which concludes this little 'Priests' Manual.'

Both the order of subjects (see *A* above), and the framework in which they are set, support the view that this section is not based on 1–6^7, nor by the same author as 1–3.

f. Except in 4, where the indications point to a later date than P^g, there are no clear signs that any of the sections in 1–7, THE LAW OF SACRIFICE, formed part of P^g or were subsequent in date. On the contrary,. when a few isolated phrases have been removed, there is an unbroken appearance of independence and priority. (In the Oxf. Analyt. ed. of the *Hex.* the text is printed so as to bring this out clearly). And, as this conclusion agrees with the preceding indications, it is regarded as established that these chapters belong to an earlier series of priestly teachings (*toroth*), and may be designated P^t.

§ 2. 8–10: The Consecration of the Priesthood.

A. Analytical Summary.

P^t	P^g	P^s	P^{s1}	
		8 in the main		CONSECRATION of Aaron and his sons.
			$8^{10b\text{-}11.\ 30}$	Aaron's sons, etc., anointed.
	$9^{1\text{-}24}$			The octave of the consecration.
	$10^{1\text{-}5}$			Death of Nadab and Abihu.
			$10^{6f.}$	Prohibition of mourning to Aaron and surviving sons.
		$10^{8f.}$		Priests on duty not to drink wine.
$10^{10f.}$				Priestly duty as to clean and unclean
$^{12\text{-}15}r$				Priests' dues.
			$10^{16\text{-}20}$	Blame for not eating sin-offering.

B. Critical Notes.

As Ex 35–40 is generally supposed to have taken the place of an earlier and briefer account of the fulfilment of Ex 25-28, so Lv 8 is held to be an expansion of an original short narrative of the consecration of the priesthood as ordered in Ex 29. In view of its laborious reproduction of Ex 29, and a few modifications introduced, it would be rash to assign it to the original draft of P^g.

The anointing of the tent ^{10b}, the altar, etc. ^{11}, and Aaron's sons with his and their garments, ^{30}, is irreconcilable with the absence of such injunction in Ex 29^{7-9}, and marks these verses as glosses, like Ex 28^{41} and part of 29^{21} (*and of the anointing oil*). LXX puts Lv 8^{10b} after ^{11}.

In 9^1 the main thread of the Priestly Law and History Book P^g is resumed from Ex 29, the original brief account of the making and erection of the sanctuary and consecration of the priesthood having probably been displaced by fuller narratives in Ex 35-40 and Lv 8, as suggested above. Note that only one altar is mentioned, and that the blood of the sin-offering is not brought into the Holy Place. That 9 is earlier than 4 is seen from ^{3}, and than 8 from ^{13}.

$10^{6f.}$ is late P^s, for in ^{7} anointing is extended to Aaron's sons (see above).—$10^{8f.}$ is itself a fragment, and to it $^{10f.}$ is loosely attached. The latter betrays affinity with P^h, cf. 20^{24b-26}. Cf. also Dt 14^{3-20} 24^8 33^{10}.—10^{12-15} Except the introductory clause, this par. recalls P^t. In particular, notice the peculiar expression *a holy place* ^{13} (‖ *a clean place* ^{14}), which occurs also in $6^{16. 26f.}$ 7^6. It is defined in ^{12} as *beside the altar*; whereas the clause *in the court of the tent of meeting* is probably a gloss in $6^{16. 26}$ (in 10^{17} it is altered into *the place of the sanctuary*).—In 10^{16-20}, a late supplement, fault is found for contravention of 6^{26} (see further Kuen. *Hex.* § 6 n. 21).

§ 3. 11–16: The Law of Clean and Unclean.

With Appendix on the Day of Atonement.

A. Analytical Summary.

P^t		P^s	
(1)	(2)		
11^{1-8}			CLEAN AND UNCLEAN FOOD: land animals.
	11^{9-12}		FOOD THAT IS ABOMINATION: water animals.
	12-19		. . . . birds.
	20-23		. . . . winged creeping things.
11^{24-28}			UNCLEAN TO TOUCH: land animals.
29-31			. . . . . creeping things on earth.
+32-38			. . . . . things unclean by contact.
+39f.			. . . . . dead clean beasts.
	$11^{41f.}$		FOOD THAT IS ABOMINATION: creeping things on earth.
	43-44a		Conclusion of (2).
11^{44a-45}			Conclusion of (1).
46f.			Colophon to (1) and (2).
	12^{1-7}		Purification after CHILDBIRTH.
	+8		. . . . . case of poverty.
13^{1-28}			LEPROSY: detection and discrimination, on the skin.
29-44			. . . . . . on the head.
45f.			. . . . . rule for lepers.
+47-59			. in a garment (with colophon).
	14^{1-8a}		LEPROSY CLEANSED BY SPECIAL RITES.
		14^{8b-20}	Leprosy cleansed by regular sacrifices
		+21-32	. . . . . case of poverty.
		+33-53	. . . . . case of a house.
$14^{54-57f.}$			Colophon to 13^{1-45}, expanded.
	15^{1-33}		SECRETIONS and means of cleansing.

P^g	P^s	$P^{s\prime}$	
16			DAY OF ATONEMENT.
16^{2-28}			Solemn atonement by Aaron for the people.
	$16^{1. 3. 6. 11. 14. 17b}$ etc.		Special atonement for Aaron.
		16^{29-31}	Day of atonement made annual.
	+32f.		This to be repeated by each high priest.
		16^{34a}	Annual day of atonement.
16^{34b}			Statement as to accomplishment by Aaron.

B. Critical Notes.

Like 1-3. 5-6^7 6^8-7, the chapters 11-15 betray that they are substantially earlier than P^g, though subsequently united in their present form with the main Priestly code. In the case of 11 on food and contact, and 13 f. on leprosy, it is possible to discover several layers of legal material.

11: *On eating and touching animals.*—The reasons for the analysis given above lie mainly on the surface. A section $^{2-8}$ on land animals which are clean or unclean is followed by $^{9-23}$ which are in subject a sequel, dealing with water animals, birds, and winged creeping things, but which no longer discriminate animals as *unclean* (cf. Dt 14^{3-20}), but as *an abomination* (שֶׁקֶץ, not תּוֹעֵבָה, as Dt 14^3). These verses, again, are continued in $^{41f.}$ on *creeping things upon the earth* which are *an abomination*; while $^{43-44a}$, which uses the same word as a verb, forms the obvious conclusion of the series. Into this series $^{24-40}$ has been thrust, dealing with the different subject of uncleanness through contact. It is doubtful whether this last passage is included in the colophon $^{46f.}$

Dt 14^{3-20} *compared with* 11. Though interpreters differ, the facts, when taken all together, favour the priority of Dt over Lv. (1) The clean animals' names, given Dt $14^{4f.}$, are omitted in Lv as covered by general law in $^{6f.}$; while names of birds, etc., are retained of necessity. (2) The cases of camel, hare, and coney are expanded in Lv 11^{4-6}. (3) Lv 11^{9-12} is an expansion of Dt $14^{9f.}$ (4) The new term *abomination* is used in Lv. (5) In its present form at least Lv 11 in $^{24-40}$ covers the question of contact, which Dt would hardly have omitted had it been contained in the ordinance quoted. (6) Dt omits mention of *creeping things upon the earth*, Lv $11^{41f.}$ (7) The exceptions in $11^{21f.}$ are wanting in Dt. (8) The prohibition which is absolute in Dt 14^{21a} is relaxed in Lv 11^{39}; cf. 17^{15}.

It is hard to say why the *abomination* series of verses should begin where it does, seeing that the terminology in Dt is uniform over the whole range of cases. Perhaps the compiler had before him two variants of the ordinance quoted in Dt, and found one fuller than the other in dealing with the later cases. The signs of reduplication in $^{9-12}$ confirm this conjecture, by revealing the presence of a 'join' of the two legal threads.

11^{24-40}. This section is distinct from $^{1-23}$, for (1) it deals mainly with touching (eating ^{40a} only), while $^{1-23}$ deals mainly with eating (touching ^{8} and perhaps ^{11}); (2) it enumerates only the *unclean*, and mentions only two classes instead of five; (3) it prescribes means of cleansing; (4) it is doubtful if it is included in the colophon. But $^{24-40}$ is hardly to be reckoned homogeneous. $^{32-38}$ is probably secondary on its own account, for the transition is very abrupt from cases of animals that make persons unclean to cases of things that any of those animals may make unclean. But if $^{39f.}$ originally belonged to $^{24-40}$, then $^{32-38}$ is clearly an addition. $^{39f.}$, however, looks more like a completion of $^{2-8}$, perhaps misplaced by intrusion of the *abomination* passages. $^{24-31}$, on the other hand, at no point presupposes $^{2-23}$, but is complete in itself.

12: *On purification after childbirth.*—This short chapter, whose chief interest lies in the fulfilment of its conditions at the presentation of Christ in the temple, seems in ^{2b} to refer to and depend upon 15, and presents the same features.

The only trace of the *camp* form of legislation characteristic of P^g is found in ^{6b}. V.^{8} is marked as a supplement; for (1) it comes after the colophon ^{7b}, and (2) elsewhere (5^7 14^{21}, cf. 1^{14}) the provision for cases of poverty is seen to be a later addition.

13 f.: *On leprosy.*—The laws in this section present a very complex problem to the student. Dt 24^8 gives no details such as are found about clean and unclean in 14^{3-20}, but refers for the procedure in a case of leprosy to the torah of the priests, presumably oral. The extreme elaboration of treatment detailed in 13 f. may perhaps indicate that the usage was not committed to writing till a late period; but, apart from introductory phrases and an occasional gloss, there are no signs of the

influence of P^{g} in the sections assigned to P^{t}. But these relatively older portions are not homogeneous. For while 13 is entirely occupied with the detection and discrimination of leprosy and the regulation of the leper's life, and 14 provides for the cleansing of the recovered leper, each is independent of and distinct from the other. Each, too, contains earlier and later elements, which may be readily separated as in the *analysis* above.

The colophon 14^{54-57} will furnish a good starting-point in indicating the nature of the argument. Originally, it probably consisted only of ^{57b}: *this is the law of leprosy*, in accordance with the usage elsewhere (fifteen times *this is the law of* . . . in P^{t}), and came after 13^{46}, for even in its expanded form there is no reference to *cleansing*, and 13^{47-59} has its own colophon. Then the reference was made more explicit: *this is the law for* (unique phrase) *all manner of plague of leprosy, and for a scall* ^{54} (referring to 13^{2-28} and $^{29-44}$), *to teach when it is unclean and when it is clean* ^{57a}. The addition of 13^{47-59}, though it has its own colophon, produced the clause *and for the leprosy of a garment* ^{55a}, and similarly there followed (for the Heb. construction is different) *and for an house* ^{55b}, to refer to 14^{33-53}, which was kindred to 13^{47-59}; while ^{56}, which clearly was a gloss to make pointed allusion to 13^{2-28}, providing *for a rising and for a scab and for a bright spot*, has been inserted wrongly, instead of before *and for a scall*.

In 13^{6} etc. *the priest*, after examining a man with a favourable result, *shall pronounce him clean . . . and he shall wash his clothes and be clean*. But in 14, *if the plague be healed*, many ceremonies must be performed before the priest *shall pronounce him clean* ^{7}, and then he has not only to *wash his clothes*, but to *shave off all his hair, and bathe himself* before *he shall be clean* ^{8a}. Yet both the archaic colouring and the alternate vagueness and precision of the ritual directions in 14^{2-8} proclaim that this passage is comparatively early. Was the author of 13 ignorant of this ceremonial, or did he think it superstitious or unintelligible?—14^{9-20} seems to be a description of an independent form of cleansing after the pattern of the latest sacrificial law (perhaps introduced to supersede the old form, or because it was becoming obsolete), which the compiler has combined with 14^{2-8a} by the link ^{8b}. For originally a second shaving ^{9a} could hardly have been required. Moreover, although the present arrangement is meant to suggest that the first cleansing only admitted to the camp, there is no higher grade of sanctity conferred in ^{20}, only *he shall be clean* as before. The clause ^{3a} which leads up to this view contradicts ^{2b}.—14^{21-32} is a supplement, as it has a separate colophon (cf. 12^{8}).—14^{33-52} is a fresh supplement independent of 13^{47-59}, for it combines the mode of cleansing in 14^{2-8} and $^{9-20}$, and has other marks of later origin.

15: *On secretions.*—This chapter by its tedious repetitions suggests a later date than most of P^{t}. But only twice does a clause recall P^{g}, *i.e.* in ^{14} and ^{29} *unto the door of the tent of meeting*, and this is a frequent gloss. The sacrificial ritual enjoined does not go beyond the prescriptions of 5, and is omitted in the case of normal secretions. The case of 12 is similar.

In 15^{31a} we catch an echo of P^{h}; and ^{31b} (RVm: *when they defile my dwelling that is in the midst of them*), which most naturally refers to the gracious inhabitation of the land by its Divine Lord, recalls a time when the visible structure had not been elevated to the place it occupies in P^{g}, monopolizing the term *dwelling*.

16 (Appendix): **On the Day of Atonement.**—This is not the place to discuss the historical origins of the great Jewish fast. See art. ATONEMENT (DAY OF). It must suffice to support briefly the analysis given above, which takes a middle course between the conservative view that 16 is an early homogeneous whole, and the radical view that no part of it is even as early as P^{g}. (1) It is possible to disentangle a main thread of ordinance providing for the cleansing of *the holy place, and the tent of meeting, and the altar*, and for a solemn atonement for the sins of the people. This bears the marks of P^{g}. (2) From this there falls apart a series of verses (see above) providing for a special atonement for Aaron and his sons, which is connected in ^{1} with the death of Nadab and Abihu, but which does not fit in with the context. (3) $^{32f.}$ orders the ceremonial to be repeated by each subsequent high priest. (4) $^{29-31}$ and ^{34a} make it an annual fast day.

(1) The main thread is given to P^{g}, because it contains nothing inconsistent with the ritual in Ex 29 or Lv 9, and because *the altar* $^{12.18.20.25}$ is used as if only one were known, while the use of *a censer* in $^{12f.}$ seems to exclude the presence of an altar of incense. (2) The atonement for Aaron, being omitted in the summaries in ^{14} and ^{20}, can hardly be original, and the awkwardness of ^{3} and ^{6} justifies their excision as supplements. The sevenfold sprinkling and the heightening of the high priest's dignity are both peculiar to P^{s}. (3) The absence of any *Aaron* phrases, the substitution of *holy sanctuary* ^{33} for *holy place* $^{16f.\,20}$, and of *the priests* ^{33} for *himself and his house* $^{11.\,17b}$, and the generality of the terms, confirm the view that $^{33f.}$ is a later addition. (4) Again, if $^{29-31.\,34a}$ were original, mention would not be made only of one element, the *atonement for the children of Israel*, while the cleansing of the holy place, the tent of meeting, and the altar, is passed over. ^{34a} would fit better before ^{31}.

§ 4. 17–27: The Law of Holiness.

With Appendix on Vows, etc.

A. Analytical Summary.

P^{h}		P^{g}	P^{s}	
(1)	(2)			
17^{1-7r}				Rule of SACRIFICE.
	$17^{8f.}$			A parallel ordinance.
	10-16			Prohibition to eat blood, or dead carcase.
18^{1-20} 22-30				On SEX RELATIONS.
+21				On Molech-worship.
19^{1-37}				VARIOUS LAWS, on justice, equity, kindness, pure worship, etc.
	20^{1-8}			On Molech-worship.
	+9			On reverence for parents.
	10-24a			On SEX RELATIONS.
20^{24b-26}				On CLEAN AND UNCLEAN.
+27				Against witchcraft.
21^{1-9}				On the PRIESTHOOD: sanctity of priests.
10-15				. . the high priest.
16-24				. . . disqualifying blemishes.
22^{1-9}				. . . rules of clean and unclean.
10-16				. . their food holy.
17-20				On SACRIFICES without blemish: burnt-offering.
	22^{21-25}			. . . peace-offerings.
22^{26-33}				. . . when they are acceptable.
		23^{1-2a}.		A SACRED CALENDAR: introduction.
			23^{2b-3}	. . The Sabbath.
		23^{4-8}		. . Passover and unleav. bread.
$23^{9-11.\,12-}$ 13.´14				. . The wave sheaf.
15-18a. 18b- 19a´ 19b-20				. . The Feast of Weeks.
		23^{21}		. . Feast of Weeks.
23^{22}				. . On gleaning.
		23^{23-25}		. . Feast of Trumpets.
			23^{26-32}	. . Day of Atonement.
		$23^{33-38.\,44}$		. . Feast of Booths, and conclusion.
23^{39-43r}				. . Feast of Booths.
		24^{1-4}		OIL for, and lighting of, the lamps.
		5-9		Regulations for the SHEWBREAD.
			$24^{10-14.\,23}$	Stoning of a BLASPHEMER.
24^{15-22}				Stoning for blasphemy; *lex talionis*, etc. etc.
25^{1-7}				The SABBATICAL YEAR.
8-18 mainly				The year of liberty in 50th year.
			$25^{8b.\,9b.}$ 10b. 11a. 12a. 13	The year of JUBILE.
19-22				The sabbatical year (continued).
			25^{23}	Land inalienable.
24-27. 28*r*				Provision for REDEMPTION OF LAND.
			25^{29-31}	Rule as to HOUSE property.
			$+^{32-34}$	Houses of Levites inalienable.
$25^{35-40a.}$ 43				Usury, and hired SERVICE.
			25^{40b-42}	Termination of service.
44-46*r*				Bond servants foreigners only.
47-49. 53. 55b				Service with strangers, with redemption.

P^h		P^g	P^s	
(1)	(2)			
			$25^{50-52.}$ $^{54-55a}$	Redemption of Heb. slave.
$26^{1f.}$				Commands as to worship.
$^{3-45}$				Concluding Exhortation.
^{46}				Colophon to the Law of Holiness.
			27^{1-25}	On Vows : persons, cattle, houses, fields.
			$+^{26-29}$	Firstlings and devoted things excepted.
			$^{30-33'}$	Appendix on tithes.
			^{34}	Colophon to Leviticus.

B. Critical Notes.

For a general account of the Law of Holiness, and of the criteria which distinguish it from the rest of P, see art. Hexateuch. Careful lists of peculiar words and phrases are given in Driver, *LOT*; Holzinger, *Einl. in d. Hex.*; and *Oxf. Anal. Hex.* Here we have to do only with the actual use of the criteria in the analysis, and with the internal structure of P^h itself. Any general remarks under the latter head will be found under § 5. It will be enough to point out in advance that traces of more than one series of parallel laws will be found in the present code.

17^{1-7r} : *The place of sacrifice.*—As it stands, this passage requires that no animal shall be slaughtered except as a sacrifice, and at the door of the tent of meeting. In any case this conflicts with Dt 12, which allows slaughtering at home. But the clauses referring to *the camp* and *the* (*door of the*) *tent of meeting* can be excised without loss, as in many other cases where they ill suit the context. When they are removed, the injunction remains that all slaughtering is to take place at *the altar of J″*, which is only reasonable, on the one hand, if many altars are allowable, as is recognized in E's Covenant Book, Gn 20^{24}, and in the pre-Deuteronomic narratives ; or, on the other hand, if a small company of exiles are gathered round the restored temple in Jerusalem after the Exile. The latter alternative is upheld by Baentsch, Addis, etc. The former is maintained by Kittel, Baudissin, W. R. Smith, and Driver.—$17^{8f.}$ is to the same effect, only including *strangers.*—In 17^{10-16} the work of the later editor may be suspected, but cannot be pointed out with precision.

18^{6-19} : *On sex relations.*—This section has a close parallel in 20^{10-21}, but it is not agreed how the two are connected. The latter passage is composed of various elements, not all on the same subject. Its ordinances are in the form of Cases, or *Judgments, the man that* . . . , or *if a man* . . . , whereas in 18 we have the older type of *Words, Thou shalt not.* . . . Only in 20 are penalties stated. Probably we have in 18, nearly intact, the series which, in an altered form, with *Judgments* instead of *Words*, and with penalties attached, underlies 20^{10-21}, where it is combined with other quoted laws.

19 : *Miscellaneous.*—The contents of this chapter are clearly selected from various sources, many of them early, as is shown by the numerous parallels with the most ancient codes (for refs. see *Oxf. Anal. Hex.*). They illustrate both the diversity of form in which ordinances were cast, and the fondness of Hebrew jurists for sets of 5 or 10. An outline of the 14 sections will show this.

$^{2b-4}$ has 5 *commandments* of the type, *ye shall* (*not*) . . .—$^{5-8}$ is a cultus-section like 21-22 below.—$^{9f.}$ has 5 *words* about gleaning.—$^{11f.}$ has 4 *commandments* and 1 *word*, 5 in all, about honesty and reverence.—$^{13f.}$ has 5 *words*, not quite uniform, on kindness.—$^{15f.}$ has 5 *words*, preceded by a *commandment*, on justice.—$^{17f.}$ has 5 *words* on kindness, clinched by the grand positive *word*, *Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.*—^{19} has a general *commandment*, and 3 *words* on mixtures, the last altered.—^{20} is a *Judgment* on seduction, with a supplement by P^s $^{21f.}$.—$^{23-25}$ is an ordinance on young fruit trees, like the law on the Sabbath year in $25^{2b-7\text{ etc.}}$.—$^{26-31}$ has 10 *commandments* against superstition and irreverence, the last 2 in ^{31} being altered, and with supplements using 2nd person sing. in $^{27b.\ 29}$.—^{32} has 3 *words* on reverence.—$^{33f.}$ contains laws of 3 types on *strangers.*—$^{35-37}$ contains 2 *commandments* on weights and measures, and a general conclusion.

The next chapter, 20, is remarkable for the fact that 4 of its 5 sections have a parallel in P^h elsewhere. Thus $^{1-8}$ ∥ 18^{21}, $^{10-24a}$ ∥ $18^{6-20.\ 22-30}$, $^{24b-26}$ ∥ 11^{43-47}, ^{27} ∥ 19^{31}. For $^{10-24a}$ see on 18^{6-19}.

21-22 : *On the priesthood and sacrifices.*—These chapters, while presenting many of the features of P^h, have undergone more revision, it would appear, than 18-20, perhaps because their subject was one which occupied more of the attention of later legislators. Differences of form, changes from 3rd to 2nd pers., and the introduction of fresh superscriptions $11^{1.\ 16}$ $22^{1.\ 17.\ 26}$, all point to diversity of source.

21^{8}, with its *thou shalt*, referring to Israel, may be a fragment from an earlier source.—22^{17-25} appears to be made up of two ordinances, $^{18b-20}$ and $^{21-25}$, with many parallels in detail. Both this section and $22^{29f.}$ have been ascribed to P^t, not P^h, but without sufficient reason. The marks of P^h are not absent, and there is enough difference in the ordinances from those on the same subjects elsewhere (7^{11-18}) to suggest that an earlier stage is reflected here.

23 : *A sacred calendar.*—In this chapter there is prescribed a series of 'holy convocations,' in language largely made up of phrases characteristic of P^g and P^s, with exact dates by numbered days and months. This is ascribed to P^g. But with it is combined another series of holy days, which does not mention 'holy convocations' or use the peculiar phrases of P^g and P^s (except in isolated sentences distinguishable as interpolated), but bears indications of P^h and is marked by a picturesque style. Each of these series has been interpolated or revised.

23^{2b-3} on the Sabbath can hardly be original, for ^{4} is clearly the commencement, and ^{4} also hardly includes the Sabbath under its terms.—$^{9-14}$ has been expanded. The original elements from P^h are clearly seen in $^{10b-11.\ 14a}$. Here a feast of firstfruits is described which is not referred to elsewhere. *The morrow after the Sabbath*, $^{11.\ 15f.}$, requires explanation by some context now missing. But probably it is rightly connected with *Unleavened Bread.*—$^{15-21}$ relates to Pentecost, or Feast of Weeks. ^{21} only is preserved from P^g, but in $^{18f.}$ particulars have been incorrectly added from Nu 28^{27-29}. P^h had *ye shall present with the bread two he-lambs of the first year for a sacrifice of peace-offerings.*—^{22} is repeated from $19^{9f.}$.—$^{23-25}$ institutes the Feast of New Year's Day, with trumpet blasts.—$^{26-32}$ is marked P^s, because on 16 we found that the Day of Atonement as a yearly fast was not original in P^g. ^{26} is a briefer title than $^{1f.\ 23f.\ 33f.}$.—$^{33-36}$ contains P^g's ordinance as to the Feast of Booths complete, and $^{37f.\ 44}$ his conclusion of the calendar. But in $^{39-42}$ the editor has introduced from P^h a graphic account of the manner in which it is to be kept. The stress in this is on the mode of keeping the feast, as above in $^{9-20}$, and the date is left indefinite, *when ye have gathered in the fruits of the land*, ^{39a} being a harmonizing addition by the editor, in accordance with later practice. Similarly ^{39c}, which uses the phraseology of P^g, and mentions an 8th day, is foreign to the context, which like Dt 16^{13-15} only knows 7 days for the feast.

24 : *On oil for the lamps* $^{1-4}$, *shewbread* $^{5-9}$, *and blasphemy* $^{10-23}$. $^{1-4}$ is parallel with Ex $27^{20f.}$ and Nu 8^{1-4}, and it is not easy to determine the order of priority. On the whole, the present passage seems most original. Both it and $^{5-9}$ are regarded as fragments of P^g, put here possibly to replace similar ordinances of P^h, even as in 23 a like process has gone on. In each case the phraseology is purely that of P^g.—$^{10-23}$ is a curious paragraph, in which a central core $^{15b-22}$, containing various ordinances on blasphemy $^{15f.}$, murder $^{17.\ 21b}$, assault $^{19f.}$, killing a beast $^{18.\ 21a}$, is found surrounded by a narrative envelope, which resembles others found in P^s, while the phraseology supports this ascription. The laws are given to P^h, as they contain

several words and phrases characteristic of that code, and follow the same models. Contrast also ^{11a} and ^{16ab}.

25 : *On the Sabbatical and Jubile years.*—$^{2b-7}$ with $^{19-22}$ institutes the Sabbatical year as a general fallow-year for the whole land. The particulars harmonize with the feast regulations of P^h, and the phraseology is also that of P^h. Its ascription to that code is therefore generally allowed. But it is different with regard to the rest of the chapter, where undoubted marks of P^g or P^s are found side by side with words and phrases (Baentsch notes 14 such) characteristic of P^h. These phenomena point to the intermixture of elements, but how to effect a separation is matter of conjecture. The *Analysis* above adopts the view that the term *jubile* and the clauses or passages in which it occurs are P^s. This is thought probable, because—(1) Lv 26, which lays stress on the Sabbath years, does not allude to the jubile; (2) most of these clauses and verses bear other marks of late origin; and (3) general considerations (see art. SABBATICAL AND JUBILE YEARS) support the same conclusion. The linguistic evidence, however, leads to the inference that the main ideas of the institution of the 50th year as a year of release were expressed in legal form by the school of P^h and have survived in a modified shape in this chapter.

$^{8-18}$ is full of redundancies, and when the clauses given to P^s are removed, the remainder is almost complete as an intelligible whole. ^{9b} mentioning the *day of atonement* as an annual fast must be late, and it is conjectured from Ezk 40^{1} that the 10th day of the 7th month was the old New Year's Day. Thus in the original source the incongruity of the trumpet blasts on the solemn fast day is not found, but has been inserted as an interpretation of ^{9a}. ^{14} shows in Heb. a confusion of sing. and plur. persons, and its last clause seems to be altered to lead up to ^{15}, itself modified by P^s, while something which introduced ^{14} is now missing. That $^{8-18}$ breaks the connexion between ^{7} and ^{19} is another proof that it has been the subject of editorial handling.—^{23} is given to P^s for linguistic reasons, cf. ^{30}, and from analogy with ^{41}, a jubile piece. It contains, moreover, the final stage of principle, explicitly stated instead of merely implied.—^{24} states the rule of which ^{25} is a particular case. Like ^{23}, however, it may be P^s, as the plural is less common in P^h.—In $^{26-31}$ the jubile references are so embedded in the material that no analysis is feasible, though an earlier basis is possible. Contrast *and if a man* $^{26.\ 29}$ with $^{25.\ 35}$.—$^{29-31}$ providing for city property has the air of later legal refinement.—$^{32-34}$ is the latest addition of all, with its provision for Levites who have not yet been mentioned themselves, much less their cities; cf. Nu 35$^{1-8}$.—For further particulars about this difficult chapter, see the art. referred to above.

26 : *Concluding exhortation.*—$^{1-3}$ contains brief laws forbidding false worship and commanding the true.—In $^{3-45}$ is found a long discourse, similar to those found at the end of other codes, Ex 23$^{20ff.}$ E, and Dt 24 D. Already hortatory fragments have appeared in 18$^{2-5.\ 24-30}$ 19$^{36f.}$ 20$^{22-26}$ 22$^{31-33}$. In all a common phraseology is used, identical expressions frequently occur, the same stress is laid upon the supreme deity of J", the need for holiness, and the danger of contamination by the Canaanites. There can be no doubt that the last and longest marks the completion of the code known as the Law of Holiness. (See, further, below under § 5).

27 : *On vows and tithes.*—$^{1-25}$ deals with the subject of vows, and employs the fully developed terminology of P^g and P^s. It is assigned above to the latter, because in $^{17-24}$ the year of jubile is so prominent an element.—$^{26-29}$ contains certain supplemental provisions.—$^{30-33}$ is an appendix on tithes which must be pronounced of very late composition. Even in Nu 18$^{21-32}$ tithes seem to be, in accordance with the prescriptions of D, restricted to vegetable produce.

§ 5. AUTHORSHIP AND DATE.—As we have seen, the Book of Leviticus turns out to be made up of many pieces, so distinct from one another in style and contents and tone that they can only be assigned with probability to many writers, none of whom can be identified with Moses. Though, however, we cannot arrive at names of authors, we may approximately reckon up the number of distinct writers whose hands betray themselves in the striking example of well designed literary product, which we call the Book of Leviticus.

a. We begin with that portion of the book which all will admit is the oldest, *i.e.* the Law of Holiness in 17–26.

(1) The *structure* of this section is analogous to that of two other important Hebrew codes, viz. E's combined Words of the Covenant and Judgments in Ex 20^{22}–23, and the Deuteronomic Code in Dt 12–28. In all three cases we have a collection of somewhat miscellaneous enactments, introduced by a law as to sacrifice and the place of worship, and closed by a prophetic discourse. In Lv 26^{46} there is in addition a colophon explicitly marking the termination of a body of Sinaitic legislation.

(2) The *style* and *language* prevailing in these chapters distinguish them from the rest of P. The peculiarities are best seen in 18–20 and in 26. But, after gaining an impression of them there, it is impossible to examine closely 17 or 21–22 or 23–25 without recognizing the presence of the same characteristics. It is true that passages are encountered without these signs, and others in which the phenomena are mixed. But these are sufficiently explained by supposing that the compiler who incorporated P^h in P revised and supplemented his original, as was universally the custom with ancient editors. It agrees with this that the portions which have thus received alteration are those which deal with ritual and the priesthood. Considering the shortness of the whole, it is wonderful how many words and phrases are peculiar to it among the Pentateuchal documents. (See the lists already referred to, p. 106^{a}, § 4 *B* line 3). In the legislation the style is far more concise and direct, and far less technical, than in the rest of P, while the rhetorical mould in which the discourse in 26 is cast has left its impress upon a number of shorter hortatory passages recurring amidst the legislation in a manner equally foreign to P as a whole. But the most marked effect of style is produced by the reiteration of phrases expressing the leading ideas of the collection.

(3) These *leading ideas* are few but great, and they dominate every chapter. i. There is a unique sense of the majesty and presence of God, expressed by the constant recurrence of the 'Divine I' in the phrases *I am J"*, etc. If the more diffusely rhetorical style of Dt is like the varied harmonies of organ music, in the Law of Holiness we rather hear the solemn strokes of a great church bell, proclaiming the dwelling of the Most High God amongst men, and calling them to worship and obey. ii. This effect is enhanced by the isolation of one attribute, the *holiness* of God, which carries with it as a corollary the holiness of His people. iii. The negative to these positives is supplied by the awful peril of profanation from the peoples of the land, with their heathen orgies and abominable customs.—No other section of the Pent. shows the explicit combination of the same elements.

(4) The nature of the *contents* makes for the same conclusion. The entire legislative material of the Pent. may be grouped under the following heads:—1. The Family, 2. Persons and Animals, 3. Property, 4. Judgment and Rule, 5. Idolatry and Superstition, 6. Clean and Unclean, 7. Sacrifice, 8–11. Sacred Dues, Seasons, Places, and Persons. The last six classes thus relate to ceremonial and ritual, the first five to religion and morals generally in social life. Now, while E and D are rela-

tively most copious on these five heads, P^h is practically the only part of the large mass of P which deals with these matters at all, except the law of jubile (certain temporary regulations in Nu are not reckoned). 60 per cent. of the ordinances of P^h belong to these five classes and have no parallel in the rest of P, but, with one doubtful exception, may all be matched from E or D. Only 40 per cent. come under heads where parallels with the rest of P are numerous.

(5) The resemblances with *Ezekiel* have long attracted attention. They are indeed so striking as to have led many critics to argue that the prophet was the author of the code. The similar relation between Dt and Jeremiah was indeed often interpreted in the same way. But if in each case it has been found impossible to sustain the hypothesis of identity of authorship, in each case also it has been demonstrated that a close connexion subsisted between the two. And if it cannot be a mere coincidence that Jeremiah is the first writer to betray indebtedness to Dt, so it is natural to conclude that, if P^h had been long in existence as a literary whole, it would not have been left to Ezekiel to show traces of its peculiar phrases and ideas. Some of the most striking of these parallels may now be enumerated for the examination of the student.

Parallels between Lv 17–26 *and Ezekiel.**

1. *The Laws.*

Lv	Ezk
$17^{3.8.10}$	$14^{4.7}$
17^{10}	14^{8}
17^{13}	24^{7}
17^{16}	14^{10} $44^{10.12}$
18^{12} $20^{10.11.12.17}$	$22^{10.11}$
19^{13}	$18^{7.12.16}$
19^{15}	18^{8} 33^{15}
19^{26}	33^{25}
19^{36}	45^{10}
20^{9}	22^{7}
21^{1b-3}	44^{25}
21^{5}	44^{20}
21^{14}	44^{22}
22^{8}	44^{31}
22^{15}	22^{26}
25^{18}	28^{26}, cf. $34^{25.28}$ $38^{8.11.14}$ $39^{6.26}$
$25^{36f.}$	18^{8}, cf. $^{13.17}$ 22^{12}
25^{43}	34^{4}

2. *The Hortatory Passages.*

Lv	Ezk
18^{2b}	$20^{5.7.19}$, cf. ^{20} 28^{26} $39^{22.28}$ (not in Is or Jer)
18^{3}	20^{7}
$18^{3f.5.26}$ 19^{37} 26^{3}	20^{18-21}, cf. 5^{6} $11^{12.20}$ $18^{9.17}$ $20^{11.13}$ 36^{27}
$18^{24.30}$ $20^{22f.}$	$20^{7.18}$
$18^{25.28}$	36^{17}, cf. ^{18}
18^{26}, cf. $^{27.29}$	8^{6}, cf. $^{9.13.17}$ 9^{4} $18^{13.24}$
20^{24} Heb.	35^{10}
20^{25}, cf. 11^{47}	22^{26} 42^{20} 8^{10}
$36^{4.5}$	34^{25-28} 14^{17}
26^{9} Heb.	$36^{9.10}$ 16^{52}
$26^{11.12}$	$37^{26.27}$ $43^{7.9}$
26^{12b}	37^{27} 36^{28} 11^{20} 37^{23}, cf. 14^{11} 34^{24-30}
26^{13}, cf. 19^{36} etc.	$20^{5b.6}$ 34^{27} etc.

(6) From the above (taken in connexion with the previous critical notes) certain inferences may be drawn: i. There is a substantial unity in Lv 17–26, but it is the unity of a school and not of an individual. ii. It is difficult to say whether the compiler of the code and author of the closing discourse was before or after Ezk, but on the whole it is more probable that he was later, towards the end of the Exile. iii. But no part of the legislation (occasional glosses excepted) need be later than Ezk. iv. The prophet appeals to and rests upon the collections of laws which underlie the present text. v. In their form (cf. their frequent grouping in 10's and 5's) and in their substance (cf. the Anglo-Saxon *Penitentials*, framed also for a rude age) these laws may well be very ancient. Their antiquity is indeed better established than any theory of their origin. An attractive and plausible conjecture, however, is that they represent J's missing legislation. The sympathy of J with the priesthood is repeatedly shown.

b. Enough has been said above under § 1 *B* and § 3 *B* to justify the inference that there was a second school of priestly canonists (P^t), who set themselves to reduce to writing the current religious praxis of the Jerusalem Temple, all of which was apparently accepted as Mosaic. It may be considered doubtful whether their work had been carried very far, even if it was begun, before the destruction of the Temple rendered it necessary, if the whole tradition was not to be lost. 1–3 and 6^8–7 probably represent two collectors, and 11–15 one or more.

c. It may very well have been one of this school who developed its presuppositions yet further, and carried them out more vigorously, embodying them in the great book of History and Law called P^g, of which but little is included in Lv. In it all takes place in and for the camp, and centres round the Tabernacle and its single altar, Aaron the one anointed priest forming with his sons the exclusive priesthood, and the sons of Levi the ministering tribe. The most natural *date* is after the Restoration, as no trace of this system is found till the arrival of Ezra.

d. Last came a long line of scribes (P^s), combining, revising, expanding, and supplementing, until the Pentateuch reached its present form.

§ 6. HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF LEVITICUS.

a. As thus resolved into its component parts, arranged in chronological order, though not all furnished with definite dates, the book becomes a great witness to the Christian doctrine of evolution. As, under the inspiration and prompting of the Spirit of God, the laws for conduct and worship were shaped and modified, their form largely dependent on historical circumstances, so we who have had committed to us the revelation of absolute truth in Christ may expect to have amongst us a presence of the Spirit adequate to enable us to apply that truth for each age till the end comes.

b. Lv is the literary monument of the Hebrew priesthood. Overshadowed in the earlier history by kings and prophets, represented in the pages of written prophecy by the degenerate members of the order, it is in Lv and Ezk that we see how the priests trained Israel to associate a high standard of morality with a stately form of worship, which, though freely using material means, was, in its essence, and still more as compared with contemporary forms of religion, severely spiritual and rich in symbolical significance.

c. The earlier collections in the one case (P^b) carry us back to the earlier years of the monarchy, and in the other (P^t) preserve probably with accuracy the procedure at the Temple during the period after Josiah's reformation, and no doubt partially reflect the praxis of previous centuries, for the continuity of custom and persistency of ritual where no historical revolution has taken place must be remembered.

d. As a whole, Lv is the mirror of the Second Temple and its system. Whenever it or its several parts were written, it is on all hands admitted that its provisions were never fully executed till the time of Ezra.

§ 7. RELIGIOUS VALUE OF LEVITICUS.

a. We still need, side by side with the prophetic, the priestly view of religion. (See § 6 **b**). For all J″ was Israel's God, but for the one His Righteousness, and for the other His Holiness was the dominant attribute. (The earlier prophetic term 'Holy One of Israel' hardly belongs to the same circle of ideas as Lv.)

b. Amid the labyrinth of connected but frequently conflicting ordinances the watchwords of the *Law of Holiness* enable us to thread the maze securely. There are differences in the way by which it is sought to realize the ideal: the ideal is but one, the Holy God amid a Holy People in a Holy Land.

---

* These instances are all taken from the forthcoming *Oxf. Anal. Hex.*, where they will be printed in full in the introduction, which deals fully with the whole question.

c. The *Law of Sacrifice* reminds us of our human need for something visible and outward in our worship, while its particulars happily illustrate, even if they do not teach, the various parts of Christian devotion. Sacrifices are elements in the visible fabric of religion by which the spiritual service of the Holy God was given a protective shell for its growth : eternal moments in the life energy of the worshipping spirit, visualized in temporary form : signposts pointing to the Perfect Sacrifice : earnests of that Sacrament which replaces sacrifice proper by commemoration and communion.

d. The *Law of the Consecration of the Priesthood*, with the multitude of ordinances on the duties and holiness of the priests, must ever remain solemn reading for all those who believe themselves to have been *made priests* unto their God, and especially for them on whom the great High Priest has laid the awful burden of ministering as His commissioned representatives.

e. Lastly, the *Law of Clean and Unclean* enforces one great lesson alike of the Incarnation itself and of the life of the Incarnate, that the body matters intensely. Health helps not happiness only, but holiness. Cleanliness and godliness have their real and close relations. The study of hygiene, the promotion of public health by helping to make or enforce good sanitary laws and bye-laws, the provision of baths and wash-houses or of a water supply, simple living, good housewifery, the stamping out of infectious diseases, the treatment of the poor and sick,—if Lv only furnished texts for the commendation of these things, could we say that its religious value was insignificant ?

LITERATURE.—(See art. HEXATEUCH). Kalisch's *Comm.* is the best in Eng.; cf. also Driver and White in *Polychrome Bible* (brief comments); Kellogg in *Expos. Bible* (for application); *Hexapla in Leviticum*, 1631 (older views fully given); see also arts. PRIESTS AND LEVITES, SACRIFICE, TYPE, UNCLEANNESS.

G. HARFORD-BATTERSBY.

LEWD, LEWDNESS.—The Anglo-Saxon *laéwed* (or *geléwed*) was the past ptcp. of *laéwan*, to enfeeble; in middle Eng. it appeared as *lewed*, which was afterwards contracted to *lewd*. Thus the earliest meaning is 'enfeebled,' 'useless,' as in *Piers Plowman*, ii. 186—

> 'Chastite with-oute charite worth cheynid in helle;
> Hit is as lewede as a lampe that no lyght ys ynne.'

Next we find the meaning of 'ignorant,' which was the usual sense of the word down to Shakespeare. Thus Chaucer, (?) *Romaunt*, Frag. C. l. 6217—

> 'Lered or lewd, lord or lady';

Spenser, *Shepheards Calendar*, ii. 10—

> 'Lewdly complainest thou, laesie ladde,
> Of winters wracke for making thee sadde';

and Ascham, *Scholemaster*, p. 45 : 'This lewde and learned, by common experience, know to be most trewe.' From this arose a special use of the word to designate the *laity*, who are the lewd inasmuch as they are the unlearned, and so are distinguished from the 'clergy' or 'clerks,' the learned.* Wyclif (1382) translates 1 S 21⁴ 'And answerynge the preest to David seith to hym, I haue not leeuyd loouys at hoond (1388, 'Y haue not lewid, *that is comyn*, looues at hoond'), but oonli hooli breed.' Again, in the Wycliffite tr. of 1388, Ac 4¹³ is rendered, 'And thei siyen the stidfastnesse of Petre and of Joon, for it was foundun that thei weren men unlettrid, and lewid men, and thei wondriden, and knowen hem that thei weren with Jhesu'; which in 1380 had been 'founden that thei weren men with oute lettris, and idiotis' (Gr. ἰδιῶται=private persons, 'laymen'; Vulg. idiotæ; Tind. 'laye people'; Cran. 'laye men'; Rhem. 'of the vulgar sort'). The two meanings of 'ignorant' and 'lay' are closely combined in Ascham, *Works*, (ed. 1815), p. 206, 'Hereby is plainly seen, how learning is robbed of the best wits; first, by the great beating, and after, the ill choosing of scholars to go to the universities : whereof cometh partly that lewd and spiteful proverb, sounding to the just hurt of learning, and shame of learned men, that the greatest clerks be not the wisest men'; and in Sir John Davies, *The Soul*, st. 13—

> 'Thus these great clerks their little wisedome shew,
> While with their doctrines they at hazard play;
> Tossing their light opinions to and fro,
> To mocke the lewde, as learnd in this as they.'

From this developed next the sense of 'wicked' by an easily understood transition. Sir John Davies, *Discoverie of the State of Ireland* (ed. 1613), p. 181, says the followers of the Irish chieftains 'were borne out and countenanced in all their lewde and wicked actions'; North (*Plutarch*, 'Cicero,' p. 862) has 'This Verres had been Praetor of Cicilia, and had committed many lewd parts there'; and this is the meaning in Milton, *PL* iv. 193—

> 'So clomb this first grand thief into God's fold :
> So since into his Church lewd hirelings climb.'

And then, finally, came the meaning of 'lustful,' the special wickedness to which the ignorant were prone, and the only meaning that has remained to the word. This is as old as Chaucer; cf. also Spenser, *FQ* II. i. 10—

> 'O would it so had chaunst,
> That you, most noble Sir, had present beene
> When that lewd ribauld, with vile lust advaunst,
> Laid first his filthy hands on virgin cleene';

Milton, *PL* i. 490—

> 'Belial came last, than whom a Spirit more lewd
> Fell not from Heaven, or more gross to love
> Vice for itself';

and *Comus*, 465—

> 'But, when lust,
> By unchaste looks, loose gestures, and foul talk,
> But most by lewd and lavish act of sin,
> Lets in defilement to the inward parts,
> The soul grows clotted by contagion.'

In AV *lewd*, *lewdly*, and *lewdness* are found in both the meanings last noted, and there is no sharp distinction between them. The special sense of 'lustful,' while usual in OT, does not occur in Apocr. or NT.

The Heb. words are (1) זִמָּה *zimmah*, which is trᵈ 'lewdness' in Jg 20⁶ (Moore, 'abomination,' which is the Geneva word), Jer 13²⁷, Hos 6⁹ (Cheyne, 'outrages'), and often in Ezk (16^{43. 58} 22⁹ 23^{21. 27. 29. 35. 48 *bis*. 49} 24¹³ : see Davidson on 16⁴³). This word has a range of meaning from the colourless 'plan' or 'purpose' (only Job 17¹¹) to the special sin of unchastity. Besides the above, it is rendered in AV 'purpose' (Job 17¹¹), 'thought' (Pr 24⁹, so RV, but *OHL* 'evil device'), 'wicked device' (Is 32⁷), 'wickedness' (Lv 18¹⁷ 19²⁹ 20^{14 *bis*}, RVm 'enormity'), 'mischief' (Ps 26¹⁰ 119¹⁵⁰, Pr 10²³, RV in last two 'wickedness'), 'heinous crime' (Job 31¹¹); in Ezk 16²⁷ the Heb. 'way of lewdness' is trᵈ 'lewd way,' so 'women of lewdness' in 23⁴⁴ 'lewd women'; in Pr 21²⁷ Heb. 'in lewdness' is 'with a wicked mind,' RVm 'to atone for wickedness'; and in Ezk 22¹¹ it is 'lewdly.' (2) The derivative מְזִמָּה is once (Jer 11¹⁵) rendered 'lewdness'; and (3) נַבְלוּת *nabhlûth*, in its only occurrence (Hos 2¹⁰) is so translated, AVm 'folly or villany,' RVm 'shame.'

In Apocr. the adj. occurs in Ad. Est 16⁴ 'lifted up with the glorious words of lewd persons that were never good' (*τοῖς τῶν ἀπειραγαθῶν κόμποις παρελθόντες*, RV 'lifted up with the boastful words of them that were never good'); 16⁶ 'lewd disposition'

---

* Trench and Skeat hold that the sense of 'lay' came first, and that 'ignorant' developed out of it, the laity being seen to be 'the ignorant party.' But the other order seems proved by the examples we have gathered.

(κακοπιστία); Sir 30^{13} 'lewd behaviour' (ἀσχημοσύνη, RV 'shameless behaviour'); and Sir 16^{heading} 'It is better to have none, than many lewd children'; the adv. in Wis 15^{8} 'employing his labours lewdly' (κακόμοχθος, RV 'labouring to an evil end'); and the subst. in To 4^{13} 'in lewdness is decay and great want' (ἐν τῇ ἀχρειότητι, RV 'in naughtiness'). In NT the adj. occurs but once, Ac 17^{5} 'certain lewd fellows of the baser sort' (τῶν ἀγοραίων τινὰς ἄνδρας πονηρούς, RV 'certain vile fellows of the rabble'); and the subst. once, Ac 18^{14} 'If it were a matter of wrong or wicked lewdness' (ῥαδιούργημα πονηρόν, RV 'wicked villany').

J. HASTINGS.

LIBANUS (Λίβανος, *Libanus*).—The (Greek) form of the (Heb.) name LEBANON (wh. see), 1 Es 4^{48} 5^{55}, 2 Es 15^{20}, Jth 1^{7}, Sir 24^{13} 50^{12} [all].

LIBERTINES.—In Ac 6^{9} we read that 'there arose certain of them that were of the synagogue called (the synagogue) of the Libertines, and of the Cyrenians, and of the Alexandrians, and of them of Cilicia and Asia, disputing with Stephen.' In close relation to the question who the Libertines were, stands the question as to the number of synagogues here indicated. It has been held that only one synagogue is implied (Calvin, Wieseler; cf. Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, 50); that there were two synagogues—the one consisting of Libertines and Cyrenians and Alexandrians, the other of Cilicians and Asiatics (Winer, Holtzmann, Wendt); that each of the five parties had a separate synagogue (Schürer, Hausrath). The last view is supported by the fact that in Jerus. the synagogues —though they did not number 480, as affirmed in rabbinical traditions—were very numerous, and by the consideration that even if the inhabitants of all the places mentioned could have been accommodated in one synagogue—a supposition which the largeness of the Jewish population in Cyrene and Alexandria renders very improbable—there was no common bond to bring together men from towns or districts so widely separated.

If this view be sound, it helps to determine the question whether by the L. we are to understand the inhabitants of some town or the designation of a class. The association of the Libertines with the Cyrenians, etc., would naturally suggest the inhabitants of some town in Proconsular Africa, and conjectural emendations of the text (Λιβυστίνων (Wetstein, Blass) or Λιβύων τῶν κατὰ Κυρήνην) based on this assumption have been made (see Blass, *Philology of Gospels*, 69f.). It is argued by Gerdes ('de synagoga Libertinorum,' *Exercit. Acad.* 1738, who at the same time furnishes a complete statement and discussion of other views) that if Luke had meant *Libertini* in the Roman sense, he would have used a Gr., not a Lat. word; that Suidas mentions a town named *Libertum*; and that among those present at the Council of Carthage in 411 was Victor Episcopus *Ecclesiæ Catholicæ Libertinensis*, between whom and the rival Donatist bishop a sharp recrimination took place (Mansi, iv. 91, 92). But the statement of Suidas is probably derived from the passage in Ac; and, moreover, it is altogether improbable that the Jewish contingent from a town so obscure could have maintained a separate synagogue at Jerusalem. Moreover, the addition by Luke of τῆς λεγομένης seems intended to guard against the possibility of our misconceiving that the Libertines, like the others mentioned, were inhabitants of a place.

Setting aside the fantastic conjectures that the Libertines were a philosophical sect, or the adherents of the school of one Libertus, and the suggestion of Lightfoot (*Hor. Heb. et Talm.*) that they were Pal. Jews who had been enslaved and subsequently set free, we conclude that the Libertines were *freedmen in the Roman sense of the term.* They were mainly descendants of those Jews who had been taken as prisoners to Rome by Pompey in B.C. 63, and there sold as slaves. We learn from Philo (*Leg. ad Gaium*, c. 23, ii. 568 (Mang.)) that the majority of the Roman Jews belonged to the class of freedmen (cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 85; Suet. *Tib.* c. 36). Their enslaved condition lasted but a short time, and they soon became an important factor in the community. Whether they were manumitted by their masters because their value as slaves was greatly lessened by their tenacious adherence to their national customs (Hausrath), or because their fidelity as slaves suggested to their masters that as freemen they would be of still greater service (Berliner), or whether they were ransomed by their own countrymen (Grätz), we do not know; but the language of Philo seems to indicate that the first-mentioned cause was the most influential. The fear of the Jews expressed by Cicero (*pro Flacco*, c. 28) is no doubt rhetorical; but rhetorically it would have been pointless if the Jews had been a feeble folk (cf. Hor. *Sat.* i. 4. 143). By such of them as returned to settle in Jerus. or were temporarily resident there, a synagogue was built. According to Hausrath the building of a separate synagogue was a necessity, as from a theocratic point of view they were subject to certain disabilities. Among the inscriptions quoted by Schürer (*Die Gemeindeverfassung der Juden in Rom*, p. 15) is one referring to a synagogue τῶν Αὐγυστησίων; and if, as is probable, this refers to freedmen or slaves in the house of Augustus, it seems to show that at Rome was reproduced the type of distinctions that existed in Jerusalem. Like the other Hel. Jews, the Libertines were keenly opposed to the new faith, and the very inferiority of their social and theocratic standing may have caused them to emphasize the distinctiveness of their religious position (cf. Gerdes, *op. cit.*; Schürer, *op. cit.*, *HJP* II. ii. 56 f., 276; Hausrath in Schenkel, *Bibel-Lexicon*; Meyer on Ac 6^{9}; *Expositor*, July, 1895, p. 35).

JOHN PATRICK.

LIBERTY.—The only passage in which this word needs verbal attention is 1 Mac 10^{43} 'And whosoever they be that flee unto the temple at Jerusalem, or be within the liberties thereof, being indebted unto the king, or for any other matter, let them be at liberty, and all that they have in my realm.' The 'liberties' of the temple are its precincts, the parts within which its inmates have liberty of action. The Gr. is ὅρια, borders, bounds. Scrivener gives this as one of the colloquialisms peculiar to the Apocr., which the AV translators accepted with slovenliness from the Bishops' Bible. It is also the tr. of Coverdale and the Geneva Bible. Wyclif's word is 'coasts' = boundaries, and so Douay, after Vulg. *fines*.

J. HASTINGS.

LIBERTY.—This idea forms one of the characteristic differences between OT and NT conceptions of religion. In OT the idea is almost entirely absent. 'The fear of the Lord' is the distinctive name for religion (Ps 34^{11} etc.), 'servant' is the distinctive title of the good (Ps 19^{11}, He 3^{5} etc.). God is thought of chiefly as the supreme, universal sovereign and ruler, Is 33^{22}. Obedience is the central virtue of religious character, to which all blessings are promised, 1 S 15^{22}. To illustrate this position fully, it would be necessary to quote a large part of the OT. We do not mean that there are no indications of more intimate relations between God and man. The freer, gentler side of religion is undoubtedly known. The law of love for God and man is promulgated. Many of the psalmists and prophets rise to lofty heights of divine joy and fellowship. But the ground-tone of OT piety is reverential fear. This order of development in revelation was fitting and indeed inevitable. The OT age was the age of childhood in revealed religion, and children are trained for independence by a course of obedience and subjection to authority (Gal $4^{1f.}$). 'The law hath been our tutor to bring us unto Christ' (Gal 3^{24}). The patriarchal age certainly seems to breathe a freer spirit than the age of the law proper. Still, even then religious thought and feeling can only have been elementary; and this is the impression made by the narrative. Of later days St. Paul uses strong, even harsh, language, 'weak and beggarly rudiments' (Gal 4^{9}). The prevailing spirit was a 'spirit of bondage to fear' (Ro 8^{15}). At the same time the emphasis laid on God's work of redemption must have given rise to thoughts of spiritual freedom (Ex 13^{14}, Dt 7^{8}, 1 Ch 17^{21} etc.), and in Is 61^{1} this truth finds glorious expression. It is perhaps worth while to notice that, while in the political system of Israel there is no trace of the idea of liberty in the modern sense, that system is distinguished from the despotisms of the day by many humane regulations unknown elsewhere, such as those with regard to slavery (Ex 21^{2}) and land (Lv $25^{10.\,23}$).

Christianity brought, first of all, freedom from the ceremonial restrictions and conditions of OT religion. The Mosaic law is described as 'a yoke which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear' (Ac 15^{10}). To all attempts to continue or reimpose the yoke on Christian believers, St. Paul offered unflinching and successful resistance (Gal 3^{24} $5^{1ff.}$), and so won the victory of Christian freedom for all time. The teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews throughout supports St. Paul (9^{23} 10^{1}). The NT condemns beforehand all attempts to reduce Christianity to a mere system of ritual. The Lord Jesus, St. Paul, and St. John are at one in their insistence on spiritual religion.

But the chief NT doctrine on this subject is that of inward freedom as the privilege of all believers. Sin brings into bondage (Jn 8^{34}, Ro $6^{16f.}$); but from this bondage believers are saved both negatively and positively. This is the profound meaning of redemption in the NT sense—deliverance from that sense of guilt and fear and condemnation which oppresses and fetters the soul (Ro 8^{2}, Tit 2^{14} etc.). 'Ye were servants of sin, ye became servants of righteousness' (Ro $6^{17f.}$). Knowledge of the truth is the means (Jn 8^{32}), Christ Himself the source (Jn 8^{36}, 2 Co 3^{17}), of this highest freedom. The 'spirit of bondage' gives place to the 'spirit of adoption' (Ro 8^{15}, Gal 4^{6}). Sin, death, the world, are conquered enemies (1 Co $15^{55ff.}$, Ro 8^{37-39}, 1 Jn 5^{4}). The exultant sense of power, of present and future triumph, enjoyed by the believer, is vividly expressed in passages like Ro $5^{2.\,10}$ $6^{12.\,22}$ 8^{38}. Spiritual freedom culminates in the relation of children in which believers stand to God. In our Lord's teaching, in St. Paul's and St. John's, this is always represented as the distinctive privilege of the saved, so profound and far-reaching is the NT revelation of the divine Fatherhood in the fullest sense: 'your Father in heaven' (Mt 5^{48} 7^{11}, Jn $1^{12.\,13}$, Ro 8^{16}, 1 Jn $3^{1f.}$). St. Paul expressly contrasts the state of the servant and the son: 'Thou art no more a servant, but a son' (Gal 4^{7}). God is thought of as Father, no longer as Ruler merely. The most signal exercise of the liberty of children of God is the boldness with which believers draw near to God (He 4^{16} 10^{19}). Christians are invested with the full privileges of the priesthood (1 P 2^{9}). Liberty is not to pass into licence (Gal 5^{13}, 1 P 2^{16}). St. James speaks of a 'law of liberty' (1^{25} 2^{12}).

On the thorny questions which have arisen in connexion with liberty and necessity, Scripture says nothing, but implies much. By always appealing to man as responsible, by calling upon him to repent and believe, by holding him accountable for the results of his action, it assumes that he is free, and in the most definite way refutes the doctrine of moral fatalism. Man may become the slave of sin, sinking into spiritual paralysis; but it is his own act, and recovery is always possible in this life. Only so far as his action is voluntary, and his slavery self-induced, is he guilty. Pharaoh who hardened his heart repeatedly, Ahab who 'did evil above all that were before him,' Jeroboam 'who made Israel to sin,' are terrible examples of the hardening effects of sin; but their ruin was their own work; they 'sold themselves to work evil' (1 K 21^{20}). Otherwise, they could not have been punished by God as they were. Whatever speculative difficulties may be raised on the ground of the divine omniscience, or the law of heredity, or the principle of cause and effect, they vanish before man's invincible consciousness of moral responsibility and the Scripture declarations of God's righteousness and man's freedom (Gn 18^{25}, Ezk $33^{11f.}$, Jn 3^{19} 5^{40}).

J. S. BANKS.

LIBNAH (לִבְנָה).—**1.** The third of the 12 stations following Hazeroth, mentioned only in Nu $33^{20.\,21}$ (see EXODUS, IV.), unless it is the same place that is called in Dt 1^{1} Laban. Its position is not known.

2. A city taken by Joshua (Jos $10^{29.\,30}$), and, from the context, situate between Makkedah and Lachish. The name occurs in the list of con-

	B.	A.	F.	Luc.		
Nu 33^{20}	Λεμωνά	Λεβωνά	as A.	Λεβωνά		
33^{21}	...	Λεβωνά	as A.	...		
Jos 10^{29}	Λεβνά (*bis*)	Λεβμνά (*bis*)	def.	Λεβνά		
10^{31}	...	Λαβμνά (*bis*)	def.	...		
10^{32}	...	...	def.	...		
12^{15}	...	Λεβμνά	def.	...		
15^{42}	Λεμνά	Λεβνά	def.	...		
21^{13}	...	...	def.	...		
2 K 8^{22}	Σεννά	Λομνά	def.	Λοβνά		
19^{8}	Λομνά	Λοβνά	def.	...		
23^{31}	Λημνά	Λοβενά	def.	Λοβεννά		
24^{18}	om.	Λομνά				
Is 37^{8}	Λοβνάν	Λοβνά	ℵ Λομνάν		OQ Λομνά	Q^{mg} οἱ γ' Λαβανά
1 Ch 6^{57} [Heb. ^{42}]	Λοβνά	Λοβνά	...	Λοβνάν		
2 K 8^{22}=2 Ch 21^{10}	Λομνά	Λοβνά	...	Λοβνά		

quered kings (12^{15}) between Arad and Adullam, in a group of 9 cities of the Shephçlah (15^{42}) and in the lists of priestly cities (21^{13}, 1 Ch 6^{42} [v.^{57} LXX and Eng.]). The MT in Ch describes it as a city of refuge, but the text requires emendation, and the renderings of AV and RV give the probable sense. The city revolted at the same time as Edom from under the hand of Judah in the time of Joram [Jehoram] (2 K 8^{22}, 2 Ch 21^{10}). It appears to have been a stronghold, for the king of Assyria attacked it in the time of Hezekiah (2 K 19^{8}, Is 37^{8}). In the last days of the kingdom of Judah it was inhabited by Jewish families, for Josiah took to wife a daughter of Jeremiah of Libnah (2 K 23^{31} 24^{18}). This is the last biblical notice of the place, and no reference to it occurs in later times. It was probably in the neighbourhood of Beit Jibrin, and a site 4 miles to N.W. has been proposed, and (*PEFSt*, Jan. 1897) another, 10 miles S.E. of Tell el-Hesy.

The LXX renderings are very varied, *Λεβνά* or *Λοβνά* occurring most frequently; for *β* is substituted *μ* in some places, and *λεβμνά* occurs in A. The first vowel is often varied, but generally no vowel is found between *β* and *ν*, and in this respect the renderings are distinguished from those of Libnah (1), which introduce *ω* between *β* and *ν*; *Λεβωνά*, with *μ* for *β* in B. The first syllable of the rendering *Σεννά* in 2 K 8^{22} may be a duplication of the last syllable of the preceding word. On the previous page is a list of the LXX variations.

A. T. CHAPMAN.

LIBNI (לִבְנִי, *Λοβεν(ε)ί*).—The eldest son of Gershon, that is to say, the eponym of a principal family of Gershonite Levites, Ex 6^{17}, Nu 3^{18}, 1 Ch $6^{17.\,20}$ [Heb. $^{2.\,5}$]. In 1 Ch 6^{29} [Heb. ^{14}], perhaps owing to some dislocation of the text, the name appears as that of the eponym of a family of Merarites. The patronymic **Libnites** (הַלִּבְנִי) occurs in Nu 3^{21} 26^{58}.

LIBRARY.—See WRITING.

LIBYA, LIBYANS.—See LUBIM.

LICE (כִּנִּם, כִּנִּים *kinnîm*, כִּנָּם *kinnām*, *σκνῖφες*, *κνῖπες*, *sciniphes*, *cinifes*).—The usual meaning of *σκνίψ*=*κνίψ* is *plant-louse*. It is also used for various species of gnats. Some have supposed it to designate a species of worm. Whether it can be understood of the louse also is not clear. The tr. in the text of EV (Ex 8^{16} RVm 'sandflies' or 'fleas,' $^{17.\,18}$, Ps 105^{31}) 'lice' is based upon the authority of the Talmud; on the fact that the insects alluded to sprang from the *dust*, not from the *water*; that the lice were *in*, not *on* men and beasts, *i.e. in their hair*; that the Targum, Syriac, and Arabic VSS tr. the word by one which appears to mean *lice* rather than *gnats*. Scholars are still divided on the subject (see MEDICINE, p. 330), but the weight of evidence seems to be in favour of *lice* as the third of the plagues of Egypt. Lice swarm on the persons of uncleanly people in the East. The better classes of the ancient Egyptians, however, were scrupulously clean; and Herodotus says that the priests shaved all the hair from their heads and bodies every third day, lest they should harbour any of these unclean insects, and so defile the temples. Such a pest, therefore, would be peculiarly abhorrent to them. See, on the whole subject, Dillm. on Ex 8^{13}.

G. E. POST.

LICENCE is simply 'permission' in all its occurrences in AV, where its spelling is indifferently 'licence' (1 Mac 1^{13}, 2 Mac 4^{9}, Ac 21^{40} 25^{16}), or 'license' (Jth 11^{14}, Sir 15^{20}), and the verb does not occur. RV retains 'licence' (spelling so always), except in 2 Mac 4^{9}, AV 'if he might have licence to set him up a place for exercise' (*ἐὰν συγχωρηθῇ διὰ τῆς ἐξουσίας αὐτοῦ*, RV 'if it might be allowed him through the king's authority'); Ac 21^{40} AV 'And when he had given him licence' (*ἐπιτρέψαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ*, RV 'And when he had given him leave'); and 25^{16} AV 'have licence to answer' (*τόπον ἀπολογίας*, RV 'have had opportunity to make his defence'). AV had already changed 'licence' of earlier versions into 'leave,' as Jn 19^{38} Tind. 'And Pylate gave him licence.' The verb was once common in the same sense, as Ac 22^{heading} Rhem. 'Being licensed by the Tribune to speake to the people'; Elyot, *Governour*, ii. 294, 'he licenced Plato to departe without damage.' Milton uses both subst. and vb. in their modern meaning in *Areopagitica* (Clar. Press ed. p. 6), 'But lest I should be condemn'd of introducing licence, while I oppose Licencing.'

J. HASTINGS.

LIDEBIR (לִדְבִר).—Proposed in RVm of Jos 13^{26} as alternative rendering to *of Debir* (text). See DEBIR No. 2 and LODEBAR.

LIE, LYING, and the many other words of the group, describe various forms of the sin against truth, and serve to illustrate an important element of the biblical morality.

The principal Heb. and Greek terms are the following:—
1. שָׁקַר 'lie' (*Qal* and *Pi.*). שֶׁקֶר 'falsehood' (Jer 10^{14}), 'a lie' (Ps 119^{69}), frequently preceded by דבר, also used adverbially = 'falsely' (2 S 18^{13}).

2. כָּזַב (root meaning quite uncertain) 'to speak falsely,' esp. in *Pi.* (with לְ or בְּ pointing to the person addressed); *Niph.* 'to be found *or* show oneself a liar' (Pr 30^{6}), *Hiph.* 'make *or* make out a liar' (Job 24^{25}). כָּזָב 'a lie'; אִישׁ כָּ׳ 'a liar' (Pr 19^{22}); cf. אַכְזָב Jer 15^{18} (of failing, deceptive brook, cf. vb. in Is 57^{11}), Mic 1^{14}.

3. כָּחַשׁ 'to be lean,' 'become emaciated' (Ps 109^{24}); *Pi.* with לְ or בְּ 'to lie to one' (1 K 13^{18}, Jer 5^{12}); *Niph.* 'to feign obedience' (Dt 33^{29}). כַּחַשׁ 'leanness' (Job 16^{8}), usually 'a lie,' 'a calumny' (Hos 10^{13}). כֶּחָשׁ 'deceitful' (Is 30^{9}). The root meaning is uncertain, possibly that of *failing*.

4. בַּד, only in plur. בַּדִּים (root בדד, *i.e.* ברא 'to invent') 'empty *or* boastful talk' (Job 11^{3}), thence applied to utterers of such, as liars, diviners (Is 44^{25}, Jer 50^{36}).

5. שָׁוְא 'emptiness,' 'vanity' (Ps 60^{11}), thence applied to things of no substance or injurious, as the falsehood, the idol, the wicked or criminal act (Pr 30^{8}, Ps 24^{4} 26^{4}, Job 11^{11}); cf. עֵד שָׁוְא 'a hollow, insincere witness' (Dt 5^{20}) with עֵד שֶׁקֶר 'a false witness' (Ex 20^{16}).

6. In NT the subject is handled by the use of the group of words connected with *ψεύδω*, here used only in the middle voice. *ψεύδεσθαι* is used abs. (Mt 5^{11}, 2 Co 11^{31} etc.); with acc. of person lied to (Ac 5^{3}); with dat. (Ac 5^{4}); *εἰς τινά* (Col 3^{9}); *κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας* (Ja 3^{14}). The list includes *ψεύστης* 'a deceiver' (Jn 8^{44} etc.), 'a false teacher' (1 Jn 2^{22}); *ψευδής* 'false,' 'wicked' (Ac 6^{13}, Rev 21^{8}); *ψεῦδος* 'lying,' 'a lie,' esp. of false religion (Jn 8^{44}, Ro 1^{25}); *ψεῦσμα* 'a falsehood' (Ro 3^{7}); *ἀψευδής* of God 'that cannot lie' (Tit 1^{2}); *ψευδολόγος* 'teaching falsely' (1 Ti 4^{2}); and various compounds descriptive of enemies of the faith, as *ψευδάδελφος* (Gal 2^{4}), *ψευδαπόστολος* (2 Co 11^{13}), *ψευδοπροφήτης* (Mt 7^{15} etc.), *ψευδοδιδάσκαλος* (2 P 2^{1}), *ψευδόχριστος* (Mt 24^{24}, Mk 13^{22}).

1. The biblical writers describe various *types of lying*. In its most general aspect—the saying what we know to be false with intent to deceive—it is clear that it was reprobated by the common conscience of Israel (cf. Pr 19^{22} 30^{6}), and it is expressly condemned in the ancient Law of Holiness (Lv $19^{11.\,12}$). Usually, however, in the legislation, including the Decalogue, special cognizance is taken of lying of the criminal kind—consisting either in the perjured testimony which procures an unjust sentence (Dt 19^{15-21}, cf. Ex 20^{16}), or in the false statement which is the instrument of fraudulent dealing (Lv $6^{1\text{ff.}}$). In the prophetical writings lying is conceived, not merely as a principal kind, but almost as the soul, of wickedness, and so sometimes appears as the symbol of all moral evil (Hos 12^{1}, cf. Is 6^{5}). At a later period 'lie' is a favourite description of the message of the false prophets (Jer 27^{10}), and of the utterances of soothsayers (Is 44^{25}), and the same idea is often expressed in the designation of idols and idolatry.

In NT, in which the duty of truthfulness is strongly insisted on in contrast to Oriental deceitfulness, it is suggested that there are three lies *par excellence*—heathen religion (Ro 1[25]), the claim of the false apostle (Rev 2[2]), and the denial 'that Jesus is the Christ' (1 Jn 2[22]).

2. *The heinousness of lying* appears in various particulars—that it is utterly inconsistent with the holiness which is of the essence of the divine nature, and gives a law to the people (Lv 19[11]), and more particularly with the commandments of a God who Himself is absolutely true (Ps 89[35]); and also that it has anti-social effects of a ruinous and far-reaching kind (Prophets, *passim*; cf. Pr 26[28]). In NT its sinfulness is further emphasized by tracing it to the example and inspiration of Satan (Jn 8[44], Ac 5[3]), or to the old man which is put off in conversion (Col 3[9]).

3. *The penalties of lying* are set forth in an ascending scale. Various saws in Pr point to the heritage of contempt which is the portion of the habitual liar. The judicial punishment of the false witness is the recoil upon himself of the evil 'he had thought to do unto his brother' (Dt 19[19]). In the history of Gehazi (2 K 5), and of Ananias and Sapphira (Ac 5), the aggravated lie is punished by a special judgment of appalling severity. In Ps 24[4] lying is numbered with the sins which disqualify from the worship of, and so exclude from communion with, God. And as a consistent development of this stern judgment we find it in the NT as one of the list of sins by which the essence of character is tested, and which, become habitual, entail the forfeiture of eternal salvation (Rev 21[27] 22[15]).

Two problems arising out of the subject may be briefly referred to. The first is connected with the passages which seem to represent God as using deceitful means—esp. 1 K 22[23], where He is said to have lured Ahab to destruction by 'putting a lying spirit in the mouth of the prophets,' and in a lesser degree 1 S 16[2], where He instructs Samuel to conceal his real purpose from Saul by offering a sacrifice. As regards the first of these cases it may, however, be fairly held, as is indeed required by the general tenor of OT religion, that the sense is satisfied by regarding God, not as the author of sin, but as overruling wickedness to the working out of His righteous purposes. 'All that is meant is that, in carrying out God's decree of condemnation, he (the lying spirit) becomes a means of leading the king on to his doom through the fawning guile of these false prophets' (W. S. Bruce, *Ethics of OT*, p. 269). It should be added that the difficulty of this class of passages is less keenly felt when the mechanical theory of inspiration is abandoned.*

A second problem concerns the attitude of the Bible in its moral teaching towards the casuistical controversy over the lie of exigency. In other words: when we have said of a statement that it is wittingly false, or intended to deceive, is it thereby condemned as having the character of guilt? or does it lose this character if it can be shown that the false statement was required in self-defence, or by the law of love? Of such lies we have examples in the lives of Abraham (Gn 20[2]) and of David (1 S 21[13]), although obviously it does not follow, any more than in the case of the graver failings of OT saints, that they are recorded for example and guidance. On the whole, the rigorous doctrine must be judged more in harmony with the spirit of the biblical morality, the common scriptural ground being that it is ours to obey the commands of the moral law, and that God may be trusted for the consequences. For a full discussion of the lie of exigency in the light of Christian principles, see Martensen's *Christian Ethics* (Eng. tr. [4]), vol. ii. p. 216 ff., also Newman Smyth's *Christian Ethics*, p. 392 ff. W. P. PATERSON.

LIE.—The verb to lie was formerly used in the sense of pass the night, lodge, sleep. We find an example of this in Is 14[18] 'All the kings of the nations, even all of them, lie in glory, every one in his own house' (שָׁכְבוּ; RV 'sleep,' as Gen. Bible): cf. Jos 2[1] AVm 'and lay there,' for text 'and lodged there' (וַיִּשְׁכְּבוּ־שָׁמָּה). So North, *Plutarch*, 'Demetrius,' p. 895, 'For they ordained that the place behind the Temple of Minerva called Parthenon (as who would say, the temple of the Virgin) should be prepared for his house to lye in'; and Bunyan, *PP* (Clar. Press ed. p. 240), 'Then they called for the Master of the House, and he came to them. So they asked if they might lie there that night?' On which Venables remarks, 'To *lie* continued in familiar use till the end of the last century for to *stop the night* at a place. This is the hinge of Walton's witty translation of Sir Henry Wotton's definition of an ambassador—"an honest man sent to lie abroad for the good of his country."'

The following phrases should be noticed: **1.** *Lie along*. See ALONG. **2.** *Lie on* or *Lie upon*. This phrase occurs in the figurative sense of 'oppress,' 'annoy,' as Dt 29[20] 'all the curses that are written in this book shall lie upon him' (רָבְצָה בּוֹ; Driver remarks that רָבַץ is 'to lie down as an animal' [Gn 49[9]], and thinks the metaphor forced, preferring the Sept. κολληθήσονται, 'shall cleave to him'); Jg 14[17] 'and it came to pass on the seventh day that he told her, because she lay sore upon him' (הֱצִיקַתְהוּ, RV 'she pressed him sore,' Moore 'she besieged him'; the same verb is tr[d] in 16[16] 'she pressed him,' AV and RV); Ps 88[7] 'Thy wrath lieth hard upon me' (עָלַי סָמְכָה, Driver 'presseth upon me'); Sir 6[21] 'She will lie upon him as a mighty stone of trial' (ἰσχυρὸς ἔσται ἐπ' αὐτῷ, RV 'shall she rest upon him'); Ac 27[20] 'no small tempest lay on us' (χειμῶνος . . . ἐπικειμένου): RV accepts this very literal and old-fashioned tr. here, as well as in 1 Co 9[16] 'lie upon' for the same verb, but elsewhere ἐπίκειμαι is tr[d] 'press upon' (Lk 5[1]), 'be instant' (23[23]), 'impose on' (He 9[10]); but where the meaning is literal, 'lie upon' (Jn 11[38] AV, but RV 'lie against,' with m. 'upon') or 'lie on' (21[9]) is of course used. Tindale (*Expos.* p. 100) says, 'Covetousness made the Pharisees to lie on Christ, to persecute Him, and falsely to accuse Him'; and again (p. 119), 'Thou wouldest not that men should do thee wrong and oppress thee; thou wouldest not that men should do thee shame and rebuke, lie on thee, kill thee,' where the editor of the Parker Soc. ed. explains '*on* is used for *of* or *against*,' apparently taking 'lie' to mean 'tell lies.' In Jg 19[20] the phrase has a somewhat milder but very similar meaning, 'let all thy wants lie upon me' (the Heb. is simply 'be all thy wants upon me'). In Nu 21[15] the meaning is 'touch.' 'And at the stream of the brooks that goeth down to the dwelling of Ar, and lieth upon the border of Moab' (נִשְׁעָן, RV as AVm 'leaneth upon'). **3.** *Lie out* = project, Neh 3[25. 26. 27] of the tower which projected from the king's palace (RV 'standeth out'). The phrase appears not to be English, but a literal rendering by Coverdale (who in v.[27] has 'lieth outwarde') of the Heb. הַיּוֹצֵא, LXX ὁ ἐξέχων, Vulg. *quæ prominebat*.

The old past ptcp. *lien* occurs in Gn 26[10], Ps 68[13],

---

* Under the same category reference may be made to the passage (Jn 7[8. 10. 14]) where our Lord said, 'I go not up to this feast'; then 'went he also up, not openly.' But, with the reading of BL (οὐκ . . . οὔπω), or even without it, if the sentence is continued (ὁ ἐμὸς καιρὸς οὔπω πεπλήρωται), the difficulty almost disappears. What is quite certain is that the author of the Fourth Gospel cannot have thought that any unveracity was implied. See Meyer, *in loc.*

Jer 3^{2}, and RV retains (except in Ps 68^{13}, where a different tr. dispenses with it), but Amer. RV changes to 'lain.' Cf. Job 3^{13} Cov. 'Then shulde I now have lyen still, I shulde have slepte, and bene at rest'; Fuller, *Holy Warre*, p. 137, 'And it was good plowing up of that ground which had long lien fallow.' J. HASTINGS.

LIEUTENANT, RV SATRAP, Ezr 8^{36}, Est 3^{12} 8^{9} 9^{3}; also Dn $3^{2.\,3.\,27}$ $6^{1\text{ff.}}$, where AV 'Prince.'—The Heb. אֲחַשְׁדַּרְפְּנִים (*'ăḥashdarpĕnîm*) represents the Pers. *khshatrapâvan* (=protectors of the realm), a title found on Persian inscriptions, *e.g.* that of Behistun (cf. Lagarde, *Ges. Abh.* 68, 14; Spiegel, *Altpers. Keilinsch.* 215). In Gr. the word became ἐξατράπης or σατράπης; in the LXX we find a considerable variety of rendering, διοικηταί Ezr, οἰκονόμοι 1 Es 8^{67}, στρατηγοί, ἄρχοντες τῶν σατραπῶν Est, σατράπαι Dn, ὕπατοι Dn (Theod.); in Vulg. *satrapes, principes.* The satrap was the governor of a whole province (cf. Dn 6^{1} [but see Bevan, *ad loc.*], Herod. iii. 89), and he held the position of a vassal king. His power, however, was checked by the presence of a royal scribe, whose duty it was to report to the 'great king' on the administration of the province. Also, the troops were for the most part under the command of an independent general. Under the satraps were the 'peḥahs,' or governors of smaller districts. In Ezr 8^{36} the term *satrap* seems to be used somewhat loosely, or the historian has unduly extended the scope of Ezra's commission; the only satrap whom it would really concern was the ruler of the district west of the Euphrates, 'the governor beyond the river' (Ezr 5^{3}). H. A. WHITE.

LIFE AND DEATH.—

- i. The Terms.
- ii. Examination of the Biblical Teaching.
  - *A.* Old Test. teaching: (1) the early narratives of Gn; (2) the Pentateuch; (3) the Prophets; (4) the Poetical books; (5) the Wisdom literature.
  - *B.* Apocryphal and Apocalyptic teaching.
  - *C.* New Test. teaching: (1) the Synoptics; (2) the Johannine writings, (*a*) the Gospel, (*b*) the First Epistle, (*c*) the Apocalypse; (3) the Pauline Epistles; (4) the rest of the New Testament.
- iii. Conclusions to be drawn from the Scriptural use of the terms.
  - (*a*) Doctrinal.
  - (*b*) Ethical.

i. THE TERMS.—(1) In the OT the regular word for 'to live' is חיה from the older root חוה (so Phœn.; Aram. חיא) with the same signification, and similar forms occur in Arab., Syr., and allied tongues. It occurs in the sense of 'having life,' *e.g.* Ex 33^{20} 'man shall not see me and *live*'; Gn 5^{3} etc. 'Adam *lived* an hundred and thirty years'; of 'continuing in life' when death threatens, *e.g.* Gn 20^{7} 'he shall pray for thee, and thou shalt *live*'; or specially of the soul as source of life, as in Gn 12^{13} 'that my soul may *live* because of thee.' It is also used with preps. = 'to live *upon* or *by*,' as Gn 27^{40} 'by thy sword shalt thou *live*,' Dt 8^{3} 'man doth not *live* by bread only, but by everything that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord doth man *live*.' So the life of man is spoken of as consisting in obedience to the divine statutes (as in Ezk 20^{11} etc. 'if a man do, he shall live in (by) them'). To live is used absolutely in the sense of 'to prosper,' as in 1 S 10^{24} 'Let the king live' (RVm). It also has the signification of returning to life from sickness, weariness, or death, as 2 K 8^{8} 'shall I *recover* of this sickness?' Jg 15^{19} 'his spirit came again, and he *revived*'; Is 26^{19} 'Thy dead shall *live*.' In its causative forms it signifies 'to give life,' 'to preserve alive,' 'to quicken,' 'to restore,' as Job 33^{4} 'the breath of the Almighty giveth me life'; Ezk 13^{18} 'will ye save souls alive?' Is 38^{16} 'make me to live'; 2 K 8^{1} etc. 'whose son he had restored to life.'

The adjective חַי 'living' is used of God as the source of all life, as Jos 3^{10} 'the living God is among you'; and most commonly in the formula of the oath 'as the Lord liveth,' *e.g.* Ru 3^{13}. It is the ordinary word for 'living' of men or animals.

The word for 'life' most generally is a plural emphatic form (חַיִּים) from the same root. This is used to denote not only physical life, but also welfare or happiness, as Pr 16^{15} 'in the light of the king's countenance is life'; Dt 30^{20} 'to love the Lord thy God . . . for he is thy life and the length of thy days'; Ps 30^{5} 'in his favour is life.' Once (in late Hebrew) it is used of *eternal life*, viz. Dn 12^{2} 'many shall awake, some to everlasting life' (חַיֵּי עוֹלָם). It bears also the signification of means of life, sustenance, as in Pr 27^{27} 'maintenance for thy maidens,' though the general word in this latter sense is מִחְיָה. There is also the form חַיָּה, which denotes 'a living being,' 'an animal,' and more particularly 'wild animals,' but it is used occasionally in later poetical writings in the sense of 'life,' as Ps 143^{3} 'he hath smitten my life down to the ground'; Job 33^{18} 'he keepeth back his life from perishing.'

It is noteworthy that the Hebrew name for 'Eve' (חַוָּה) is traced in Gn 3^{20} to this root, though it has been otherwise interpreted (see EVE).

A very important word is נֶפֶשׁ, *lit.* 'breath,' signifying the *soul* as the principle of life. We find it in its literal sense in such passages as Job 41^{13} [Eng.^{21}] 'his breath kindleth coals,' and Is 3^{20}. As *life*, its seat was supposed to be in the blood, cf. Lv 17^{11} 'For the *life* of the flesh is in the blood.' It is a general term for *life* in many senses, as 1 K 2^{23} 'at the peril of his life'; Pr 10^{3} one's life 'hungers.' A special combination is נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה 'living creatures,' as in Gn 1^{24} etc.; so it is used by synecdoche for a 'man,' as Lv 5^{1} etc. 'if any man sin'; Gn 46^{18} 'even sixteen souls, *i.e.* persons' (cf. corresponding Eng. usage), and even for the emphatic personal pronoun, as Is 46^{2} 'themselves are gone into captivity'; Ps 11^{1} 'why say ye to me?' Curiously it is sometimes = 'a dead body,' cf. Nu 5^{2}. לֵבָב 'the heart' is occasionally used as = נֶפֶשׁ, see Ps 102^{4}, Jer 4^{18}. See, further, art. SOUL.

In the LXX the usual equivalent of חַיִּים is ζωή, though once (Pr 31^{12}) βίος is used, and the latter frequently has the signification of the *period or course of life* in the NT, *e.g.* Lk 8^{14} 'pleasures of this life'; as also of *resources*, as Mk 12^{44} 'even all her living.' The special NT ideas covered by ζωή are discussed below. For נֶפֶשׁ and also לֵב, ψυχή is the equivalent; and this word also plays an important part in the language of the NT, as also does its derived adj. ψυχικός.

(2) The most ordinary Hebrew verb signifying 'to die' is מות, and this is used in the most general sense of man, beast, and even of trees and land. Cf. Job 14^{8} 'the stock thereof die in the ground,' and Gn 47^{19} 'wherefore should we die, both we and our land?' From this is derived the word מָוֶת 'death,' sometimes personified, as in Ps 49^{14} 'Death shall be their shepherd'; cf. Is 38^{18}. It is used as = the *abode of the dead*, as in Ps 9^{13} 'the gates of death,' and Pr 7^{27} 'the chambers of death' (though these might be understood in the former sense as a person). There is the derived form תְּמוּתָה, only found in the phrase בְּנֵי־ת״, as Ps 79^{11} 'the sons of death' = 'those that are appointed to death' (EV). (For Sheol and Abaddon, see arts. on these words, and also ESCHATOLOGY OF THE OT in vol. i. p. 740). For death in the special aspect of a destructive plague on men, as Ex 5^{3} 'lest he fall upon us with pestilence,' or on cattle Ex 9^{3}, there is the word דֶּבֶר (LXX θάνατος).

The most general word in the LXX as equivalent to the Hebrew terms above noted is θάνατος. In the NT it is used in the same signification, and is also found personified, as in 1 Co 15^{55} 'O death, where is thy victory?' Rev 1^{18} 'I have the keys of death and of Hades.' It is frequently used of spiritual death, either during earthly life, as in Ro 7^{13} 'Did then that which is good become death unto me?' 1 Jn 3^{14} 'He that loveth not abideth in death,' or in the world to come, as specially 'the second death' (ὁ δεύτερος θάνατος), as Rev 2^{11} 'he shall not be hurt of the second death.'

For ᾅδης see art. HADES, *sub voc.*, and also ESCHATOLOGY OF THE NT in vol. i. p. 752.

ii. EXAMINATION OF THE BIBLICAL TEACHING ON THESE IDEAS.—A. *OLD TESTAMENT TEACHING.*—(1) *In the Early Narratives of Genesis.*—At the very opening of Scripture, in both accounts of the Creation, we find definite teaching on life and death. God created every living creature. Gn 1^{20} 'And God said, Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life.' Again we read in Gn 1^{30} of 'every beast of the earth, and every fowl of the air, and everything that creepeth upon the earth, wherein there is life.' The second account is more definite in its teaching as to the creation of man; thus Gn 2^{7} describes how 'the LORD God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul.' Next we read of the 'tree of life,' which is common to the traditions of other Semitic peoples, and of the punishment attached to the eating of the 'tree of the knowledge of good and evil'; Gn 2^{17} 'in the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die.' The literal and metaphorical senses of the word 'die' constitute the force and subtlety of the serpent's temptation in Gn 3^{4} 'Ye shall not surely die.' To prevent man gaining the gift of immortality he is driven out of the garden, and the tree of life guarded, Gn 3^{22-24}.

(2) *In the Pentateuch.*—The ordinary word for 'life' is נֶפֶשׁ (LXX ψυχή), as in Gn 9^{4} 'but flesh with the life (נֶפֶשׁ) thereof, which is the blood thereof, shall ye not eat.' This recurs repeatedly throughout the whole of the legal writings, and the narrative that is coloured by the priestly tradition (see, *e.g.*, Lv 17^{11} 24^{18}, Dt 12^{23}). Life is used in the familiar absolute sense in Dt $30^{15f.}$ 'See, I have set before you this day life and good, and death and evil' (cf. Sir 15^{17}).

(3) *In the Prophets.*—The main prophetic teaching on this subject is found in Isaiah and Ezekiel. In a poetical (probably late) passage of the former we read, Is 25^{8} 'He hath swallowed up death for ever' (cf. 2 Ti 1^{10}), and in Is 26^{19} 'Thy dead shall live, thy dead bodies shall arise . . . and the earth shall cast forth the dead (lit. the Rephaim, *i.e.* shades).' In another poetic passage, the psalm of Hezekiah, recorded in Is 38^{10-20}, there is much important material, but it is probably late, and should be classed with the teaching of the poetic books (see below). The passage speaks of 'the gates of Sheol' (v.^{10}). Death is presented as the end of all communion with God and men, 'I shall not see the Lord, even the Lord, in the land of the living: I shall behold man no more with the inhabitants of the world' (v.^{11}). But God speaks to him, and he cries, 'O Lord, by these things men live, and wholly therein is the life of my spirit.' And again, 'Sheol cannot praise thee, death cannot celebrate thee; they that go down into the pit cannot hope for thy truth. The living, the living he shall praise thee as I do this day' (vv.$^{18.\ 19}$).

In the teaching of Ezekiel there is frequent reference to life in the pregnant sense of enjoying God's favour, and the accompanying earthly prosperity that is its sign. Thus Ezk 33^{10-20}, the teaching of which is summarized in vv.$^{18.\ 19}$ as follows: 'When the righteous turneth from his righteousness, and committeth iniquity, he shall even die therein. But if the wicked turn from his wickedness and do that which is lawful and right, he shall live thereby' (cf. 3^{18-20} 18^{24-27} 20^{11}). In the prophetic portion of the Bk. of Daniel there is one reference, though probably of very late date, to 'eternal life' in 12^{2} 'many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life.'

(4) *In the Poetical Books.*—References are much more numerous in the Psalms and in Job. Thus in various passages of the Bk. of Job we have presented the popular conception of the existence of the dead, *e.g.* 3^{12-19}, where the 'wicked cease from troubling, and the weary be at rest,' where 'the prisoners are at ease together, and the servant is free from his master'; or 10^{20-22}, where that world is described as being 'of the shadow of death, without any order, and where the light is as darkness'; yet the writer rises to the vision of something much higher and brighter, as in 14^{13-15}, where he asks, 'If a man die, shall he live again? All the days of my appointed time would I wait till my release should come.' Cf. 33^{28} 'He hath redeemed my soul from going into the pit, and my life shall behold the light.' His 'blood' is used for his wrongful death (see legal idea of identity of the blood and the life, below) in 16^{18} 'O earth, cover not thou my blood, and let my cry have no resting-place' (cf. Gn 4^{10}, Ezk $24^{7.\ 8}$, Is 26^{21}). As to the great passage 19^{23-27}, and in what sense it denotes personal immortality, see A. B. Davidson's commentary on Job, *in loco*, and Appendix.

In the Psalms we read of 'the path of life' in an ethical and spiritual sense as the way of obedience to God (cf. Ps 16^{11}); of God as the 'fountain of life,' Ps 36^{9} (cf. Jer 2^{13}); Ps 30^{5} 'in his favour'; Ps 21^{4} 'he asked life of thee, and thou gavest it him'; Ps 27^{2} 'the Lord is the strength of my life'; Ps 34^{12} 'What man is he that desireth life, and loveth many days, that he may see good?' 42^{8} 'the God of my life'; 66^{9} 'God . . . which holdeth our soul in life.'

Death has all the gloom and disappointment it had in Job, *e.g.* Ps 6^{5} 'In death there is no remembrance of thee: in Sheol who shall give thee thanks?' In 49^{14} death is personified.

(5) *In the Wisdom Literature.*—(*a*) In the Bk. of Proverbs the same poetic figures of life frequently occur, *e.g.* 'the paths of life,' 2^{19} 5^{6}; 'tree of life,' 3^{18} 11^{30} 13^{12}; 'well or fountain of life,' 10^{11} 13^{14} 14^{27}. In the absolute sense the word occurs, *e.g.* 3^{22} 'so shall they be life unto thy soul'; 8^{35} 'whoso findeth me findeth life.' Contrast the use of 'death' in 8^{36} 'all they that hate me love death.'

By a figure 'light and darkness' are used for 'life and death' in Ec $11^{7.\ 8}$.

B. *TEACHING OF THE APOCRYPHA AND THE APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE.*—These words occur most frequently and with most special significance in the two books of the Wisdom Literature in the Apocrypha, viz. those of *Wisdom* and *Sirach.* In the former ζωή occurs in several interesting connexions, cf. Wis 1^{12} 'Court not death in the error of your life' (cf. Pr 8^{36} and 21^{6}); 13^{18} 'for life he beseecheth that which is dead,' where reference is made to idolatry; cf. also 14^{12} 'the invention of them (*i.e.* idols) was the corruption of life'; 16^{13} 'for thou hast authority over life and death, and thou leadest down to the gates of Hades, and leadest up again.'

In the Book of Sirach ζωή occasionally means sustenance, *e.g.* 4^{1} 'My son, deprive not the poor of his living,' 34^{21} 'The bread of the needy is the life of the poor.' The general use is that of the figurative and absolute sense we have found in Pr and elsewhere, *e.g.* 4^{12} 'He that loveth her (*i.e.* Wisdom) loveth life,' cf. Pr 3^{18}; 6^{16} 'a faithful friend is a medicine of life,' 15^{17} 'before men is life and death' (cf. Dt 30^{19}). For the special phrase *πηγὴ ζωῆς*, see 21^{13} 'The knowledge of a wise man shall be made to abound as a flood, and his counsel as a fountain of life' (cf. Pr 13^{14} and 14^{27}). An instructive contrast is found in 40^{29} 'A man that looketh unto the table of another, his life is not to be counted for a life.' *ψυχή* has also one or two usages that may be noted here. It is, of course, ordinarily translated soul in the general sense of that word, as in Wis 3^{1} 'the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God,' but frequently comes near to its NT significance, *e.g.* Wis 9^{15} 'a corruptible body weigheth down the soul' (cf. 2 Co 5^{1-4}), cf. 15^{8} 'when he is required to render back the soul (life) which was lent him.' Two verses bring the several terms into close conjunction, Wis $15^{11.\,12}$ 'He was ignorant of him that inspired into him an active soul (*ψυχή*), and breathed into him a vital spirit (*πνεῦμα ζωτικόν*). But he accounted our very life (*ζωή*) to be a plaything, and our lifetime (*βίος*) a gainful fair'; cf. also 16^{14}.

In Sirach we may note two passages: 10^{29} 'Who will justify him that sinneth against his own soul (*ψυχή*)? and who will glorify him that dishonoureth his own life (*ζωή*)?' and 16^{30} 'the soul of every living thing' (*ψυχὴν παντὸς ζῴου*).

In 2 *Esdras*, ch. 7, there is a very important passage, mainly contained in the portion recovered by Bensly, a translation of which is to be found in the RV. It is a vision of the last judgment, which is to be preceded by seven days of such silence as was before the Creation; then follows the general resurrection, and the seating of the Most High in majesty as judge. The seer understands how few can stand in the judgment, and exclaims, 'An evil heart hath grown up in us, which hath led us astray from these statutes, and hath brought us into corruption and into the ways of death, hath showed us the paths of perdition, and removed us far from life; and that not a few only, but well-nigh all that have been created' ($7^{[48]}$). Thereafter follows a vision of the various stages through which the wicked and the righteous pass after death. The day of judgment is declared to be 'the end of this time and the beginning of immortality' (though *et initium* is omitted in the Lat. MS) ($7^{43\ [113]}$). Again, in the 8th chapter the Most High declares to the seer, 'Unto you is paradise opened, the tree of life is planted, the time to come is prepared . . . weakness is done away for you, and [death] is hidden; hell and corruption are fled into forgetfulness . . . and in the end is showed the treasure of immortality' ($8^{52.\,53}$).

In the *Psalms of Solomon* a few passages deal with the resurrection, *e.g.* 3^{16} 'They that fear the Lord shall rise again to life everlasting. And their life shall be in the light of the Lord, and shall fail no more'; 13^{10} 'The life of the righteous is for ever, but sinners shall be taken away for destruction'; $14^{2.\,6}$ 'The holy of the Lord shall live in him for ever; the paradise of the Lord, the trees of life, are his holy ones. The holy of the Lord shall inherit life in gladness.' For sinners the lot is also appointed in accordance with their deeds; thus 3^{13} 'He fell, because evil was his fall, and he shall not rise again; the destruction of the sinner is for everlasting'; and 15^{13-15} 'Sinners shall perish in the day of the Lord's judgment for ever, when God shall visit the earth in His judgment, to repay sinners for everlasting.'

In the *Book of Enoch* (chs. 38–44) occurs a passage resembling the one quoted above from 2 *Esdras*, in which are seen in vision the celestial abodes prepared for the righteous, where they bless and magnify the Lord for ever and ever. Similar passages on the judgment are found in chs. 51. 61. 92. 103. and 108, from which we learn that the resurrection of the body pertains only to the righteous.

In the *Apocalypse of Baruch* we have the universal resurrection foretold, and the punishment of the wicked, as, *e.g.*, in ch. 30 'And the secret places shall be opened wherein have been kept the souls of the righteous, and they shall come forth . . . but the souls of sinners shall languish the more, for they know that their punishment has come.'

C. *NT Teaching.*—(1) *The Synoptics.*—In the first three Gospels these words are used with considerable fulness and variety of meaning. We have 'life' (*ζωή*) used absolutely as an equivalent for salvation in its fullest sense, as in Mt 7^{14} 'For narrow is the gate and straitened the way that leadeth unto life, and few be they that find it'; and in the repeated phrase 'to enter into life,' Mt 18^{8} etc., Mk 9^{43} etc.; once (Lk 16^{25}) the word is used of 'lifetime on earth.' 'Eternal life' (*ζωὴ αἰώνιος*) occurs a few times, cf. Mt $19^{16.\,29}$, Mk 10^{30}. *ψυχή* is frequently used for the natural physical life in the body, as in Mt 2^{20} 'the young child's life,' Mt 6^{25} 'Be not anxious for your life.' Yet these are separable, and are commonly spoken of as 'body' and 'soul.' Thus Mt 10^{28} 'Be not afraid of them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in Gehenna.' This double sense of the word, as denoting the higher and lower life,—that inherent in the earthly body, and that which remains when the union is broken,—lends itself to what may be almost called a play upon the word, as in the recurring thought, *e.g.* Mt 10^{39} 'He that findeth his life shall lose it; and he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it,' cf. Mt 16^{25} and the parallels. In the same sense is life used in such passages as 'rest unto your lives' (EV 'souls'), Mt 11^{29}; 'In your patience ye shall gain possession of your lives' (EV 'souls'), Lk 21^{19}. In one case *ζωή* is used with a similar meaning, viz. Lk 12^{15} 'a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth.' *ψυχή* is also used of our Lord's offering of Himself, as in Mk 10^{45} 'to give his life a ransom for many.'

βίος is used of 'living' in the sense of maintenance, and only occurs once outside of Luke, and that in a parallel passage quoting our Lord's own words, viz. 'all her living,' Mk 12^{44}, cf. Lk 21^{4}. See also Lk $15^{12.\,30}$ and 8^{43}. In one case it denotes the earthly existence, viz. Lk 8^{14} 'cares and riches and pleasures of this life.' *θάνατος* in the Synoptics denotes death as the termination of this earthly life, as Mt 16^{28} 'shall not taste of death,' Mk 10^{33} 'condemn him to death,' Lk 22^{33} 'I am ready to go to death,' etc.

(2) *The Johannine Writings.*—(*a*) The Gospel.—The idea of life (*ζωή*) is a favourite one with the writer of the Fourth Gospel, and has a special significance. 'Life' in the absolute sense (with or without the epithet 'eternal') in which he uses it is the special possession of God, of which He makes men sharers when they believe in Him through His Son. Thus Jn 1^{4} 'In him was life, and the life was the light of men'; 3^{15} 'that whosoever believeth may in him have eternal life'; 3^{36} 'he that believeth not the Son shall not see life'; 5^{26} 'as the Father hath life in himself, even so gave he to the Son also to have life in himself'; 17^{3} 'This is life eternal, that they should know thee the only true God, and him whom thou didst send, even Jesus Christ'; 10^{10} 'I came that they may have life,' etc. Specially noteworthy are the phrases Christ uses to describe Himself and His mission. 'The bread of life,' 6^{35}; 'the words that I have spoken unto you are spirit and are life,' 6^{63}; 'he

that followeth me shall have the light of life,' 8[12]; 'I am the life,' 11[25] 14[6]; cf. also 4[14].

ψυχή is used in similar senses as above noted, but of special value is the form of our Lord's word in 12[25] 'He that loveth his life loseth it; and he that hateth his life in this world shall keep it unto life eternal.'

θάνατος in this Gospel forms a distinct contrast to ζωή, as above illustrated, *e.g.* 5[24] 'He that heareth my word and believeth him that sent me . . . hath passed out of death unto life' (cf. Pauline use below); but it is also frequently used in the ordinary signification.

(*b*) The First Epistle.—The special signification of ζωή and θάνατος that we have noted in the Gospel recurs in the first Epistle, and receives new applications. Thus 1 Jn 1[1. 2] 'That which was from the beginning, that which we have heard . . . concerning the Word of life (and the life was manifested . . . and we declare unto you the life, the eternal life, which was with the Father)'; 'we know that we have passed out of death into life,' 3[14]; 'God gave unto us eternal life, and this life is in his Son,' 5[11]. Special note must be taken of the verses (5[16. 17]) that deal with 'sin unto death' (ἁμαρτία πρὸς θάνατον), probably 'tending towards' death (see Westcott's Commentary, *in loco*, and Add. Note, p. 209).

(*c*) The Apocalypse.—This mystical book has many references to life, particularly in figurative phrases, such as 'the tree of life,' 2[7] 22[2] (in which return is made to the imagery of the early traditions of Genesis, cf. Ezk 47[12]); 'the crown of life,' 2[10]; 'the book of life,' 3[5] 13[8]; 'waters of life,' 7[17] 21[6] 22[17]. ψυχή is used of the life separated from the body, hence rendered 'souls' in our version in 6[9] and 20[4]. Very Hebraic are its uses in 8[9] and 16[3], being an obvious imitation of the language of Gn 1 (נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה). A striking use is that in 18[13], where ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων are reckoned among the merchandise of the traders, probably meaning slaves (cf. Ezk 27[13]; also Nu 31[35. 40. 46] [Heb]).

(3) *The Epistles of St. Paul.*—In addition to uses of ψυχή similar to those already given, the following are noteworthy: 'doing the will of God ἐκ ψυχῆς ('from the heart,' EV),' Eph 6[6]; obviously it means 'putting all the power of one's life into it'; cf. Col 3[23]. The threefold partition of human nature is given in 1 Th 5[23] 'may your spirit and soul and body be preserved entire.'

St. Paul's use of ζωή in the absolute sense is very much akin to St. John's. The phrase 'eternal life' is common, cf. Ro 2[7] 5[21] 6[23], Gal 6[8], 1 Ti 1[16] etc. Illustrations of the use of ζωή as fully expressing the highest possible life are found in Ro 5[17] 'they . . . reign in life through the one, even Jesus Christ'; Ro 6[4] 'we also might walk in newness of life'; Ro 7[10] 'the commandment which was unto life'; Ro 8[10] 'the Spirit is life because of righteousness'; 2 Co 2[16] 'a savour from life unto life'; 2 Co 4[10] 'that the life also of Jesus may be manifested in our body'; 2 Co 5[4] 'swallowed up of life.' In the same way he frequently uses the verb ζῆν, *e.g.* 2 Co 6[9] 'as dying, and, behold, we live'; Ph 1[21] 'to me to live is Christ'; 1 Th 3[8] 'for now we live if ye stand fast in the Lord.' The Heb. form אֵל חַי, in its LXX equivalent, θεὸς ζῶν, is frequent, not only in direct quotations, but in St. Paul's own writing, *e.g.* Ro 9[26] (from LXX), 2 Co 3[3] 6[16], 1 Th 1[9], 1 Ti 3[15] 4[10].

In the case of the word θάνατος, while frequently used in its common signification, as, *e.g.*, Ro 8[38], 1 Co 15[21], Ph 2[8] etc., it bears in the Pauline writings very deep and wide-reaching meanings. Sometimes it is personified (as in the OT), *e.g.* Ro 5[14] 'Death reigned from Adam until Moses'; 1 Co 15[26] 'the last enemy that shall be abolished is death.' It is frequently used in a figurative sense to describe the putting away of sin, as in Ro 6[4-9], where we read of being 'baptized into Christ's death,' of 'him that hath died' being 'justified from sin,' and so on; or, on the contrary, Ro 7[10] speaks of the commandment being 'found unto death,' for 'sin, finding occasion through it, slew' Paul. The sinful flesh is called 'this body of death' (Ro 7[24]). 'The mind of the flesh is death; but the mind of the Spirit is life' (Ro 8[6]). 'Death' in its figurative sense is further illustrated in 2 Co 1[9. 10] 'we ourselves have had the answer of death within ourselves . . . God who delivered us out of so great a death.' The messengers of the Cross are 'in them that are perishing a savour from death unto death' (2[15f.]). The law is 'the ministration of death' (2 Co 3[7], cf. 7[10]). Death as a dissolution is spoken of as a present power in 2 Co 4[11. 12] 'we which live are alway delivered unto death for Jesus' sake . . . so then death worketh in us, but life in you.'

In 2 Ti 1[10] we read of Christ 'who abolished death, and brought life and incorruption to light through the gospel.'

(4) *The Rest of the NT.*—In He 7[16] we read of 'the power of an endless life (ζωῆς ἀκαταλύτου= indissoluble).' In Ja 1[12] we have the figure of the 'crown of life.' In 1 P 3[7] we read of 'the grace of life,' and in 2 P 1[3] of 'all things that pertain unto life,' obviously in the absolute sense. In Jude [21] there is the striking phrase 'looking unto the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life.' In 1 P ψυχή is of frequent occurrence in Hebraic senses, and might sometimes be rendered 'life,' as in 4[19] 'commit their souls in welldoing unto a faithful Creator'; cf. He 10[39] 12[3] 13[17].

The most important passages on 'death' are in He 2[9. 14. 15], which tells of 'Jesus, because of the suffering of death, crowned with glory and honour; that by the grace of God he should taste death for every man . . . that through death he might bring to nought him that had the power of death, and might deliver all them who through fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage'; and He 9[15. 16]. See also Ja 1[15] 'Sin, when it is full-grown, bringeth forth death'; and 1 P 3[18] of Christ 'being put to death in the flesh, but quickened in the Spirit.'

iii. CONCLUSIONS TO BE DRAWN FROM SCRIPTURAL USE OF THESE WORDS.—(*a*) *Doctrinal.*—God is in Himself the source of all life, physical, moral, and spiritual. He has not only called it into being, but sustains it. Life is God's gift, and can have no other origin. It is therefore a direct offence against God to destroy even physical life. This sentient life is, in the OT, represented as inhering in, and inseparable from, the blood of the animal. Hence blood becomes sacred. It is a symbol of the mystery of life with which it is identified. Blood thus becomes the most sacred and solemn sacrificial offering.

Sin is rebellion against God, and so involves separation from Him, which culminates in death. Thus death is the final punishment of sin. By death, then, can it alone be destroyed. Therefore sacrifice was necessary; and in the sacrifice the victim and offerer become identified, so that the latter's sin is cleansed through the acceptance of the offered life of the victim. Not only so, but this sacrifice must be continual, in order to maintain the fellowship that is being daily broken. Life is possible only through sacrifice. Yet 'death is common to the race.' What then? Death in the OT means a land of gloom and shadow, where intercourse with God is impossible. The inhabitants of that realm can neither pray nor praise. Their life is joyless and colourless. That this could not be the end for all gradually became clear, so there arose a doctrine of a double meaning both in 'life' and 'death.' True life meant conscious and purposed fellowship with God; true death was not the dissolution of body and soul, but the separation of sin persisted in. Thus we find Job and the Psalmists rising to the conception of escape from Hades, and to the assurance of an endless life in God's presence. The way to ensure this is to walk in God's statutes, and love and honour Him with all one's heart. He will vindicate His chosen against all enemies.

Thus, through the more definite teaching on immortality of later Judaism, was paved the way for the doctrine of the New Testament. Our Lord did not have to explain the meaning of 'eternal life' and its opposite, but to show how they were respectively to be avoided and won. Fellowship is once more the prominent and central idea. All words point to it. To 'know,' to 'love,' to 'eat,' to 'drink,' to 'keep words and commandments,' to 'have'—these constitute the language of the eternal life. The intimacy of union with God through Christ becomes its one essential condition; and, on the contrary, the lack of that union entails eternal death.

In the teaching of St. Paul we find that the lower life is purified and transformed into the higher. All that is sensual, sinful, earthly, dies, and only the spiritual elements remain. But life is one and undivided, so that even the body has its spiritual protoplasm (so to say), like the germ within the seed, which develops into the spiritual body, and so gives reality to the resurrection. It is the resurrection that crowns the work of faith, 'if in this life only we have hoped in Christ, we are of all men most pitiable.' It is no unreal, shadowy, or partial life that lies beyond the grave, but life in all its fulness and perfection—'the life that is life indeed.'

The NT is consistent in presenting Christ as the sole mediator of life. His life inheres in God, and the life He is enabled to communicate to men inheres in Him. Even the life of the physical universe is possible only in Him—'all things have been created through him and unto him' (Col 1$^{15-18}$, 1 Co 8^{6}). In St. Paul and in St. John we find the fullest presentation of these teachings, but all agree in the primary conceptions. St. John's teaching on the eternal life is very full and varied, and is thus admirably summed up by Dr. Westcott: 'It is a life which, with all its fulness and all its potencies, is *now*: a life which extends beyond the limits of the individual, and preserves, completes, crowns individuality by placing the part in connexion with the whole: a life which satisfies while it quickens aspiration . . . a life which gives unity to the constituent parts and to the complex whole, which brings together heaven and earth, which offers the sum of existence in one thought' (*Comm. on Epp. of John*, pp. 217, 218).

(*b*) *Ethical*.—Because life is God's unique gift, it is held to be sacred. Hence all crimes against life, that lessen its value by maiming the body's physical powers or purity, by rendering life burdensome through oppression, or still more by destroying it altogether in the act of murder, are reckoned as amongst the most heinous. The sacredness of life in all these forms is safeguarded in the commandments of the Decalogue, and in the various elaborate provisions of the Jewish legislation. The ethical value of life is distinctly felt by all the prophets, so that their most severe denunciations are levelled against those who oppress or debauch the poor, and by acts of injustice render life hard and bitter. In this same thought the OT finds its strongest arguments for immortality. Life is too great to be destroyed, therefore God will either save His servants from Sheol altogether, or will rescue them eventually from its thraldom. God is interested that men shall live and not die;—this makes the great basis of Ezekiel's appeal. One of the greatest lessons of the Book of Jonah is to enforce the value of life in the eyes of God. He had pity on the great city of Nineveh because it had within it 'sixscore thousand persons . . . and also much cattle.' Life, even that of animals, is precious in His eyes, and all that is possible must be done to save it.

Life must be guided by moral precepts, and these are clearly set forth as the condition of a long and honoured career, *e.g.* Ps 15, which states the characteristics of the man 'that shall never be moved'; Ps 16, which contains the assurance of fellowship with God, continued after Sheol has been passed through; Ps 91$^{14-16}$ 119, Pr *passim*, but specially 8$^{32-36}$ 10$^{16-25}$ 19$^{8.16.20-23}$.

When we turn to the NT we find these ideas much more clearly emphasized and enforced by additional considerations. Jesus in His teaching re-sets the moral law, and renders it more stringent by His interpretation. Murder is no longer confined to an outward act, but is an attitude of the soul; lust is in thought as well as in deed. And these standards are to be the guide of the new life He bestows. A man can live only by obeying these statutes in their spirit. To be an inheritor of the kingdom of God one need only keep the first and second commandments,—love God and love one's neighbour; but their interpretation and outreach is very wide; they are not to be understood in the letter but in the spirit. If His conditions are understood, then His command gives the promise, 'This do, and thou shalt live' (Lk 10^{28}). 'Eternal life' is not only the gift of God, but the condition of maintaining it is to be in constant communion with God. 'He that eateth me, he also shall live because of me,' are Christ's mystical words in Jn 6^{57}. And again, in Jn 10^{10} we read, 'I came that they may have life, and may have it abundantly (*καὶ περισσὸν ἔχωσιν*).' This links our Lord's teaching closely with that of St. Paul, who is very clear on the ethical side of the doctrine of the divine life. Thus in Ro 5^{10} he argues that 'if we were reconciled to God through the death of his son, much more, being reconciled, shall we be saved by his life.' From this thought springs the whole conception of the new life in Christ, with its powers, privileges, and responsibilities. It is not the man himself who lives, but Christ who lives in him. The controlling force is Christ. 'To me to live is Christ,' says the apostle. A new code of ethical conduct therefore emerges, 'We are debtors, not to the flesh, to live after the flesh; for if ye live after the flesh, ye must die; but if by the spirit ye mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live' (Ro 8$^{12.13}$). Hence there is a mortal conflict in the man who is 'alive unto God' between the fleshly law and the spiritual. The tragedy of Calvary is re-enacted in each individual soul, which has both to be crucified with Christ and to rise with Him. The evidence of this new life is in the production of the 'fruits of the Spirit,' of which we have a list, as contrasted with the 'works of the flesh' in Gal 5$^{19-24}$. Thus the great doctrine of the resurrection becomes the central power in daily Christian living, and affords not only the assurance of a life beyond the grave, but renders possible the advance in 'holiness,' without which no man can see the Lord.

LITERATURE.—Laidlaw, *Bible Doctrine of Man*^{2}, 233 ff.; Delitzsch, *Biblical Psychology*, Eng. tr., Index, *s.vv.*; Cave, *Scriptural Doctrine of Sacrifice*, 312 f.; Findlay, *Christian Doctrine and Morals* (Fernley Lect.), 180 ff.; Deane, *Pseudepigrapha* (*passim*); Montefiore, *Hibbert Lect.*, Index; E. White, *Life in Christ*; Petavel-Olliff, *Le Problème de l'Immortalité* (Paris, 1891–2); Farrar, *Eternal Hope*, and *Mercy and Judgment*; Salmond, *Christian Doctrine of Immortality*^{3}, 1897; Beet, *The Last Things*, 142 ff.; Hort, *The Way, the Truth, and the Life*, 1893 (Hulsean Lect. for 1871); Sanday-Headlam, *Com. on Romans* (on 6^{8} 7^{9} 8^{6} 10^{5} 12^{1}); Stevens, *Johannine Theology*,

312 ff.; Hyde, *Social Theology*, 149 ff.; Dahle, *Life after Death*; Macpherson, art. 'The New Test. View of Life' in *Expos.* 1st Ser. v. 72 ff.; Massie, art. 'Two New Test. Words denoting Life' in *Expos.* 2nd Ser. iv. 380 ff.; Matheson, art. 'Pauline View of Death' in *Expos.* 2nd Ser. v. 40 ff. See also the authorities cited under the three articles on ESCHATOLOGY in vol. i.; the *Oxford Concordance to the LXX*; and the comm. on the books quoted.

G. C. MARTIN.

LIGHT (Heb. אוֹר, מָאוֹר, the latter of the sun and moon as the abode of light, Gn 1^{14-16}, Gr. *φῶς*).*—i. With the Jews, as among other Oriental peoples, there was a feeling of sanctity connected with the idea of light. It was, according to Gn 1^{3}, the first thing shaped by God out of chaos, and afterwards located in the sun and moon. In Job 38^{19} the original source of light is a mystery known only to God.

ii. By very natural processes of thought many secondary ideas became attached to the word. (1) In Job 3^{20} it is a synonym of life, contrasted in 3^{16} with the darkness of the womb, and in 10^{22} with the shadow of death. (2) It is associated very frequently with joy and prosperity, as in Est 8^{16}, Job $18^{5.6}$, where the light of the wicked is to be put out, whereas in Job 22^{28} the light shines on the ways of the righteous. In Is 9^{2} the joy of Israel under the government of the 'Prince of Peace' is to be like the shining of a great light in contrast to the preceding misery (cf. 2 S 23^{4}). (3) It is used as a symbol of moral excellence, as in Pr 4^{18}, where progress in goodness is compared with the dawning 'that shineth more and more unto the perfect day.' This use is very frequent in NT, as in Mt $6^{22.23}$ (Lk 11^{34-36}), often with the collateral thought of the influence which the light has upon others, as in Mt 5^{14-16} (Lk 8^{16} 11^{33}); so of Christianity in contrast with the darkness of heathendom, as in Eph $5^{8.13}$, Col $1^{12.13}$, 1 P 2^{9}. In Ro 13^{11-14}, 1 Th 5^{4-8}, in connexion with this thought there is a contrast between the active duty of a soldier's life by day and the debauchery of night. (4) The term is also applied to spiritual knowledge. Thus in Lk 16^{8} the 'sons of light' are contrasted with the 'sons of this world' in point of wisdom. In 2 Co 4^{4-6} the glory of Christ's revelation illumining the hearts of Christians is beautifully compared with the light on Moses' face in Ex 34^{29-35}. See also iii. (3) (*a*) below. (5) In a more intellectual sense the word is used of the occult wisdom of the sage in Dn 2^{22} $5^{11.14}$.

iii. By far the most important uses of the word are those connected more definitely with theology. That the Hebrews, like other Sem. peoples, originally worshipped the sun and moon may perhaps be considered probable, but cannot be proved from OT. In the earliest historical records they appear, on the contrary, as believing in an intensely personal God, as in Gn 3^{8} 8^{21}, Ex 4^{24}. At the same time the idea of God was frequently associated with light. How far such conceptions of the Deity were the expression of definite theological belief, how far they were merely the language of poetic metaphor, cannot always be determined with anything like certainty. In all probability the one passed into the other by imperceptible gradations, the thought of an earlier becoming gradually the poetry of a later age. (1) In Ex 24^{10} the place under God's feet was like 'a paved work of sapphire stone, and as it were the very heaven for clearness.' In Ezk 1^{13} the heavenly beings who bear the throne of J″ are 'like burning coals of fire,' and in 1^{28} 'the appearance of the likeness of the glory of J″' is like 'the bow that is in the cloud in the day of rain.' In Ps 104^{2} He is described as at the Creation covering Himself 'with light as with a garment,' and in 1 Ti 6^{16} as dwelling 'in light unapproachable.' In Is 60^{1-5} the presence of J″ when He comes to visit His people is described as a glorious sunrise in contrast to the darkness which covered the earth as a whole; and in $60^{19.20}$ His perpetual presence is as a sun which never sets, so that His people have no need of the sun and moon, cf. Rev 21^{23} 22^{5}. (2) In other passages God is described as Himself Light. In Is 10^{17} He is called the 'light of Israel,' the main thought of the passage being that He who is properly the glory of Israel becomes a consuming fire burning up the ungodly, cf. Hos 6^{5} (RVm). In Is 51^{4}, on the contrary, God's judgment of Israel, in the sense of His *merciful* acts of justice, is a beacon light to the Gentiles, cf. 60^{3}. In the words 'God is light, and in him is no darkness at all' (1 Jn 1^{5}), the intention is to express the 'awful purity' of God, which makes it impossible to have fellowship with God and walk in darkness. (3) In NT the word 'light' is frequently applied to Christ, a usage suggested by such passages as Is $9^{1.2}$, as in Lk 2^{32}, Jn $1^{4.5.9}$ 3^{19} 9^{5} 12^{46}, especially (*a*) with the idea of imparting light, in the sense of spiritual and moral knowledge, to others, as in Jn 1^{9} 3^{19-21}. (*b*) As a source of safety to Himself (Jn $11^{9.10}$) and others (8^{12} $12^{35.36}$), the light making it possible to walk in what would be otherwise darkness, and therefore dangerous. (*c*) On the analogy of ii. (1) it is associated with spiritual life, as in Jn 1^{4} 8^{12}; cf. Eph 5^{14} 'Awake . . . and Christ shall give thee light.' (*d*) Although St. John speaks both of the Father (1 Jn 1^{5}) and of the Son as Light, there is nothing to show that he himself conceived of Light as suggesting the relation of the Son to the Father; on the contrary, Jn $1^{1.18}$ would seem to imply a leaning towards a more anthropomorphic conception of the Divine Persons. But a step in the direction of the Nicene conception of 'Light out of Light' had already been made by the writer of the Wisdom of Solomon, who speaks of wisdom as an *ἀπαύγασμα φωτὸς ἀϊδίου, καὶ εἴσοπτρον ἀκηλίδωτον τῆς τ. θεοῦ ἐνεργείας*, 'An effulgence of everlasting Light, and an unspotted mirror of the energy of God' (Wis 7^{26}). The writer of the Ep. to the Heb. boldly applies this thought to Christ, whom he calls the *ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης καὶ χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ* (*θεοῦ*), 'the effulgence of (God's) glory, and the impress of his substance' (He 1^{3}), and thus introduces the familiar thought of Catholic theology, made all the more natural and easy by the language of St. John. (4) The word was applied also in a less degree to others: as John the Baptist, who lighted up the way to Christ (Jn $1^{7.8}$ 5^{35}), and St. Paul, who carried out Christ's work among the Gentiles (cf. Lk 2^{32} with Ac 13^{47}).

It is needless, perhaps, to add that the ideas of light derived from the Bible have in all ages been reflected in the prayers and hymns, as well as in the creeds, of Christendom. We have familiar illustrations of them in the collect 'Lighten our darkness,' and the hymn 'Lead, kindly light.'

F. H. WOODS.

LIGHT, LIGHTNESS.—The adj. 'light,' the opposite of 'heavy,' was formerly used as we now use *easy*. Thus in Lord Berner's *Froissart*, xxiii., 'who gave light credence to them'; Hall's *Works*, ii. 94, 'the God of mercy is light of hearing, yet He loves a loud and vehement solicitation, not to make Himselfe inclinable to graunt, but to make us capable to receive blessings.' This passed into the meaning of *careless*, which we find, for example, in Tindale's *Pent.* 'Prologe,' p. 12, 'Then marke the grevous fall of Adam and of us all in him, thorow the lightregardinge of the commaundement of god.' From which the step to *worthless* was short. This is the meaning of the word in AV: Nu 21^{5} 'our soul loatheth this light bread' (נַפְשֵׁנוּ קָצָה בַּלֶּחֶם הַקְּלֹקֵל, LXX *ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ ἡμῶν προσώχθισεν ἐν τῷ ἄρτῳ τῷ διακένῳ* [*τούτῳ*], Vulg. 'anima nostra jam nauseat super cibo isto levissimo,' Wyc. 'oure soule now wlatith upon this moost light meet,' Tind. 'oure soules lothe this lyghte bred,' Matt. [Rog.] 'oure soules lothe thys lyghte breade' with marg. 'that is so litle worth,' RVm 'this vile bread'); Jg 9^{4} 'Abimelech hired vain and light persons, which followed him' (אֲנָשִׁים רֵיקִים וּפֹחֲזִים; LXX *ἄνδρας κενοὺς καὶ δειλούς* [A *θαμβουμένους*]; Vulg. 'viros inopes et vagos,' Wyc. 'nedi men and vagaunt'; Cov. 'men that were vagabundes and of light condicions'; Gen. 'vaine and light fellowes,' so RV); Zeph 3^{4} 'Her prophets are light and treacherous persons' (פֹּחֲזִים אַנְשֵׁי בֹּגְדוֹת; Cov. 'light personnes and unfaithfull men'). In Sir 7^{26} the meaning is more definite and more disgraceful, 'Hast thou a wife after thy mind? forsake her not: but give not thyself over to a light woman,' *i.e.* 'wanton': the Gr. is *μισουμένῃ*, AVm and RV 'hateful,' RVm 'hated': 'light' here is peculiar to AV, earlier VSS having 'hateful,' and is rather a paraphrase than a translation. For its meaning cf. Shaks. *Meas.* V. i. 280, 'Women are light at midnight.' Shaks. often uses the word in a double sense, as *Merch. of Ven.* II. vi. 42, 'A light wife doth make a heavy husband.'

---

* See under art. LANTERN.

Lightminded occurs in Sir 19^{4} 'He that is hasty to give credit is lightminded' (*κοῦφος καρδίᾳ*; Vulg. 'levis corde est,' whence Erasmus, *Of the Commune Crede*, fol. 32, 'And a certayne wise man of the Hebrues doth name those persones leves corde, lyghte mynded whiche doo easilye and soon geve credence').

The adv. **lightly** is used in AV with the various meanings of the adj. (1) *Quickly* or *easily*: Gn 26^{10} 'one of the people might lightly have lien with thy wife' (מְעַט, LXX *μικροῦ*, Gen. 'had almost lien'); Is 9^{1} 'at the first he lightly afflicted the land . . . and afterward did more grievously afflict her' (הֵקַל, RV 'he brought into contempt'); Jer 4^{24} 'I beheld the mountains, and, lo, they trembled, and all the hills moved lightly' (הִתְקַלְקָלוּ, RV 'moved to and fro,' RVm as AV); Mk 9^{39} 'for there is no man which shall do a miracle in my name, that can lightly speak evil of me' (*ταχύ*, Vulg. 'cito,' Wyc. 'soone,' Tind. 'lightlyge,' RV 'quickly'). Cf. Tind. *Expos.* p. 61, 'there is none so great an enemy to thee in this world, but thou shalt lightly love him, if thou look well on the love that God showed thee in Christ'; Rhem. NT on Jn 4^{20} 'Afterward the said Schismatikes (which is lightly the end of al Schismes) revolted quite from the Jewes religion, and dedicated their temple in Garizim to Iupiter Olympius, as Calvin's supper and his bread and wine is like at length to come to the sacrifice of Ceres and Bacchus'; and Malory, *Morte d'Arthur*, iii. 336, 'But now goe againe lightly, for thy long tarying putteth me in jeopardie of my life.' (2) *Poorly, worthlessly*, always with 'esteem,' Dt 32^{15}, 1 S 2^{30} 18^{23}.

Lightness is frivolity, passing into wantonness. Jer 3^{9} 'And it came to pass, through the lightness of her whoredom, that the land was polluted'; 23^{32} 'that . . . cause my people to err by their lies, and by their lightness' (RV 'vain boasting'); 2 Co 1^{17} 'did I use lightness?' (*ἐλαφρίᾳ*, RV 'fickleness'), cf. Jer 2^{5} Cov. 'What unfaithfulnesse founde youre fathers in me, that they wente so farre awaye fro me, fallinge to lightnesse, and being so vayne?'

The verb to **lighten** means either (1) to *make light, unburden*, 1 S 6^{5} 'peradventure he will lighten his hand from off you'; Jon 1^{5}, Ac 27$^{18.\ 38}$ spoken of ships; or (2) to *give light, enlighten*, as Ezr 9^{8} 'that our God may lighten our eyes'; Ps 13^{3} 'lighten mine eyes, lest I sleep the sleep of death,' Bar 1^{12} 'And the Lord will give us strength, and lighten our eyes' (*φωτίσει*). Cf. Is 35^{5} Cov. 'Then shal the eyes of the blinde be lightned'; Bunyan, *Holy Warre*, p. 116, 'Emmanuel also expounded unto them some of those Riddles himself; but, oh! how they were lightened!'

The phrase to **light on** or **upon** means always to *come down upon*, to *hit upon*: Gn 28^{11}, Dt 19^{5}, Ru 2^{3}, 2 S 17^{12}, 2 K 10^{15}, Mt 3^{16}, Rev 7^{16} 'neither shall the sun light on them, nor any heat' (*πέσῃ ἐπ' αὐτούς*, RV 'strike upon them'). Cf. Mt 10^{29} Tind. 'Are not two sparrowes solde for a farthinge? And none of them dothe lyght on the grounde with out youre father.'

J. HASTINGS.

LIGHTNING is a well-known phenomenon accompanying thunderstorms. It consists of brief, vivid flashes, which are caused by electric discharges passing from one cloud to another, or from a cloud to the earth. In the latter case great damage is usually produced at the point where the discharge strikes the earth. Trees and houses are often shattered, holes made in the ground, and life in the vicinity destroyed.

In EV of OT 'lightning' is usually the rendering of בָּרָק; but as this word sometimes refers to the physical phenomenon and sometimes to other appearances resembling it, it is not always literally translated. LXX usually renders it by *ἀστραπή*, but in Nah 3^{3} *ἐξαστράπτειν* is used, in Ezk 21$^{10.\ 15}$ *στίλβωσις*, in Ezk 21^{28} *στίλβειν*, in Job 20^{25} *ἄστρον* (a doubtful reading—*ἄστρα*, A *ἄνδρα*), and in Job 38^{35} *κεραυνός*. In AV בָּרָק is rendered 'glitter' or 'glittering' Dt 32^{41}, Job 20^{25}, Ezk 21$^{10.\ 28}$, Nah 3^{3}, Hab 3^{11}, and 'bright' Ezk 21^{15}. The only places in RV where בָּרָק is not translated 'lightning' are Dt 32^{41} ('glittering' sword), Job 20^{25} ('glittering' point), Nah 3^{3}, Hab 3^{11} ('glittering' spear). The verb בָּרַק occurs once with the cognate noun Ps 144^{6}.

'Lightning' in EV stands once (Job 37^{3}) for אוֹר ('light,' LXX *φῶς*), and once (Ex 20^{18}) for לַפִּיד ('torch,' LXX *λαμπάς*). In Ezk 1^{14} the Heb. is בָּזָק, which is possibly a corruption of בָּרָק (Cornill, Smend). Here LXX (A) has *βεζέκ*, and so Theod.; Symm. has *ἀκτὶς ἀστραπῆς*, and Aq. *ἀπόῤῥοια ἡ ἀστραπή*. In two passages (Job 28^{26} 38^{25}, also RV Zec 10^{1}) 'lightning' is the equivalent of חֲזִיז, a word the meaning of which is uncertain, though it is undoubtedly connected with a thunderstorm. Gesenius-Buhl renders it by *Gewitterwolke*, LXX by *τίναγμα* in Job 28^{26}, *κυδοιμός* in Job 38^{25}, and *φαντασία* in Zec 10^{1}, where AV has 'bright clouds.'

ἐξαστράπτειν occurs in LXX as a rendering of other Heb. words, Ezk 1$^{4.\ 7}$, Dn 10^{6}.

In Apocr. and NT 'lightning' always stands for *ἀστραπή* or *ἀστράπτειν*. These words, however, like בָּרָק, do not always refer to physical lightning, and are not translated quite uniformly. Thus in Wis 11^{18} *ἀστράπτοντες* is 'shooting' (AV) or 'flashing' (RV) sparkles, in Lk 24^{4} *ἀστράπτουσα* is 'shining' (AV) or 'dazzling' (RV), and in Lk 11^{36} *ἀστραπή* is 'bright shining.'

Lightning is mentioned in connexion with thunderstorms, mostly in poetic descriptions, 2 S 22^{15}, Ps 18^{14} 97^{4} 135^{7}, Jer 10^{13} 51^{16}. Its association with thunder is the basis of a comparison in Sir 32^{10}. The Epistle of Jer (v.^{61}) refers to its beauty, and in the LXX Add. to Dn (3^{73}, Song of Three^{51}) it is summoned along with the rest of nature to praise God. God is generally represented as sending it, and the lack of the power to do so is one proof of the weakness of man (Job 38^{35}). Lightning is associated with theophanies as at Sinai (Ex 19^{16} 20^{18}), in Ezekiel's vision (Ezk 1$^{13.\ 14}$), and in various stages of the Apocalypse (Rev 4^{5} 8^{5} 11^{19} 16^{18}). It is regarded as an instrument of God's judgment in Ps 144^{6}, Sir 43^{13}. In Zec 9^{14} God's 'arrows' of destruction are compared to lightning, which seems also to be spoken of as His 'sword' in Dt 32^{41}, and as His 'spear' in Hab 3^{11}. The glitter of weapons is frequently described as 'lightning' in Job 20^{25}, Ezk 21$^{10.\ 15.\ 28}$, Nah 3^{3}. Either the speed or the flashing of chariots is compared to lightning in Nah 2^{4}. Lightning is a figure for brightness of countenance Dn 10^{6}, Mt 28^{3}, and of raiment Lk 24^{4}, for the suddenness of the Second Advent Mt 24^{27}, Lk 17^{24}, and for the swift completeness of Satan's overthrow Lk 10^{18}.

In some passages 'fire' evidently refers to lightning, as when 'fire and hail' are mentioned together (Ex 9^{23}, Ps 105^{32} 148^{8}), and when 'fire from heaven' is spoken of either as an agency of destruction (2 K $1^{10.12.14}$, Job 1^{16}) or as a token of God's acceptance of a sacrifice (1 K 18^{38}, 1 Ch 21^{26}). See FIRE, THUNDER. JAMES PATRICK.

LIGN-ALOES.—See ALOES.

LIGURE (לֶשֶׁם *leshem* ; *λιγύριον* ; *ligurius, ligyrius*).—In Ex 28^{19} 39^{12}, the only places where *leshem* occurs, AV accepts the transliteration of the Vulg. *ligurius*, first introduced by Wyclif (1380 'ligyre,' 1388 'ligurie'). It is one of the stones in the third row of the high priest's breastplate (see BREASTPLATE OF THE HIGH PRIEST, vol. i. p. 319). The Gen. Bible gives 'turkeis'; RV 'jacinth.' See JACINTH and STONES (PRECIOUS).

LIKE, LIKING.—The adj. 'like' is used in AV for modern 'likely,' in Jer 38^{9} 'he is like to die for hunger in the place where he is,' and Jon 1^{4} 'the ship was like to be broken.' Cf. Bacon, *Essays*, p. 48, 'A Christian boy in Constantinople had like to have been stoned, for gagging, in a waggishnesse, a long Billed Fowle'; and Rutherford, *Letters*, No. xxi. 'It is like the bridegroom will be taken from us, and then we shall mourn.' The obsol. expression 'like as' is common. Thus Jer 23^{29} 'Is not my word like as a fire?' Wis 18^{11} 'Like as the king, so suffered the common person.' So are the expressions 'like to' or 'like unto,' as 2 K 17^{14} 'They . . . hardened their necks, like to the neck of their fathers'; Ex 15^{11} 'who is like unto thee, O LORD, among the gods? who is like thee, glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders?' Cf. Udall, *Erasmus' Paraphrase*, vol. ii. fol. 278, 'He once purged us frely from al synne, to make us lyke manered unto himselfe, whiche neyther any law nor any mortal man could be hable to do.' 'Like' is often found with the meaning of equivalent; modern usage would be content with the less expressive 'same,' as Ex 30^{34} 'of each shall there be a like weight' (Tind. 'of etch like moch'); Wis 7^{6} 'all men have one entrance into life, and the like going out'; Ac 14^{15} 'men of like passions with you'; 19^{25} 'the workmen of like occupation'; 1 P 3^{21} 'The like figure whereunto even baptism doth also now save us.' Cf. Preface to AV, 'If we will descend to latter times, we shall finde many the like examples of such kind, or rather unkind acceptance.'

As a subst. 'like' is now only provincial; in AV it occurs a few times: (1) *the like*, 1 K 10^{20} ‖ 2 Ch 9^{19} 'There was not the like made in any kingdom' (כֵּן, LXX *οὕτως*); 2 Ch 1^{12} 'neither shall there any after thee have the like' (כֵּן); Ezk 5^{9} 'I will not do any more the like' (כָּמֹהוּ, LXX *ὅμοια*); 18^{10} 'If he beget a son that is a robber, a shedder of blood, and that doeth the like to any one of these things' (אַח; RV 'that doeth any one of these things,' RVm 'that doeth to a brother any of these things'; see Davidson's note); 45^{25}, Jl 2^{2} 'there hath not been ever the like' (כָּמֹהוּ); Wis 16^{1} 'Therefore by the like were they punished worthily' (*δι' ὁμοίων*); Sir 7^{12} (*τὸ ὅμοιον*): (2) *his like*, Job 41^{33} 'Upon earth there is not his like' (מָשְׁלוֹ, LXX *ὅμοιον αὐτῷ*); Sir 13^{15} 'Every beast loveth his like' (*τὸ ὅμοιον αὐτῷ*): (3) *their like*, Sir 27^{9} 'The birds will resort unto their like' (*τὰ ὅμοια αὐτοῖς*): (4) *such like*, Ezk 18^{14} (כָּהֵן); Gal 5^{21} (*τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις*). Cf. Mk 2^{12} Rhem. 'al marveled, and glorified God, saying, That we never saw the like'; Shaks. *Jul. Cæs.* I. ii. 315—

> ''Tis meet
> That noble minds keep ever with their likes.'

The verb 'to like' is both trans. and intrans. The trans. verb means either to 'be agreeable to,' 'please'; so Sir 15^{17} 'Before man is life and death; and whether him liketh shall be given him' (*ὃ ἐὰν εὐδοκήσῃ* ; RV 'whichsoever he liketh'); cf. Erasmus, *Commune Crede*, fol. 4, 'For so it hath pleased god and hath lyked him to geve his benefites and gyftes to one man, by another man'; fol. 38 'The lorde hethe made all thynges, what so ever it hath liked hym, in heven and in earthe'; *Pr. Bk.* 'Of Ceremonies,' 'Some be so new-fangled, that they would innovate all things, and so despise the old, that nothing can like them, but that is new': or else it means to 'be pleased with,' 'approve of,' so 1 Ch 28^{4} 'among the sons of my father he liked me to make me king over all Israel' (בִּי רָצָה, RV 'he took pleasure in me'). Usually this trans. verb is used impersonally, Dt 23^{16} 'where it liketh him best' (בַּטּוֹב לוֹ, LXX *οὗ ἐὰν ἀρέσῃ αὐτῷ*); Est 8^{8} 'as it liketh you' (כַּטּוֹב בְּעֵינֵיכֶם); Am 4^{5} 'for this liketh you, O ye children of Israel' (כִּי כֵן אֲהַבְתֶּם, LXX *ὅτι ταῦτα ἠγάπησαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραήλ*); Sir 33^{13} 'As the clay is in the potter's hand, to fashion it at his pleasure; so man is in the hand of him that made him, to render to them as liketh him best.' Cf. Gn 16^{6} Wyc. (1388) 'Lo! thi servauntesse is in thin hond; use thou hir as it likith'; Hall, *Works*, ii. 45, 'It likes thee well, that the Kingdom of heaven should suffer violence.'

The intrans. verb occurs twice, Dt 25^{7} 'And if the man like not to take his brother's wife' (לֹא יַחְפֹּץ); and Ro 1^{28} 'And even as they did not like to retain God in their knowledge' (*οὐκ ἐδοκίμασαν*, RV 'they refused').

In 1 Es 4^{39} is found the obsolete form 'like of,' 'all men do well like of her works' (*πάντες εὐδοκοῦσι τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτῆς*), which is retained in RV. So in Preface to AV, 'Solomon was greater than David. . . . But was that his magnificence liked of by all? We doubt of it'; Melvill's *Diary*, p. 362, 'The King had determined to bring ham the Papist Lords again, and lyked of nan that wald nocht wag as the bus waggit'; Defoe, *Crusoe*, p. 274, 'Upon the Captain's coming to me, I told him my Project for seizing the Ship, which he lik'd of wonderfully well.'

The verb to liken is of frequent occurrence, and means to compare, as Is 40^{18} 'To whom then will ye liken God?' Cf. Tindale, *Works*, i. 107, 'On this wise Paul also (Ro 5) likeneth Adam and Christ together, saying that Adam was a figure of Christ.'

For **likeness** see IMAGE.

Likewise is sometimes a mere conj., *also*, as Dt 12^{30} 'even so will I do likewise' (גַּם, LXX *ποιήσω κἀγώ*), especially in NT as tr. of *καί*. But more frequently it is an adverb, *in the same way*; thus, Jg 7^{17} 'Look on me, and do likewise' (כֵּן); Est 4^{16} 'I also and my maidens will fast likewise' (כֵּן); Lk 22^{20} 'Likewise also the cup after supper' (*ὡσαύτως*); Rev 8^{12} (*ὁμοίως*). In Mt 21^{24} we have the expression 'in like wise,' but the meaning is simply *also*, 'I in like wise will tell you by what authority I do these things' (*κἀγώ*, RV 'I likewise'). Cf. Jn 5^{21} Tind. 'For lykwyse as the father rayseth up the deed'; and Lever, *Sermons*, p. 108, 'Excepte ye spedelye repente and amende, ye shall everye one be lykewyse served.'

The subst. **liking** was at one time in use in the sense of outward appearance, and then such an adj. as 'good' or 'ill' qualified it. It occurs once in AV, Job 39^{4} 'Their young ones are in good liking' (יַחְלְמוּ). In the same sense 'liking' is used as an adj. in Dn 1^{10} 'why should he see your faces worse liking (זֹעֲפִים) than the children which are of your sort?' Wyclif (1388) uses the subst. in Gn 2^{10} in the sense of delight, 'And a ryver yede out fro the place of likyng to moyste paradis' (1380, 'the place of delice'). For the adj. cf. Ps 92^{13} Pr. Bk. 'They also shall bring forth more fruit in their age, and shall be fat and well-liking' (in 1539, 'well lykenge').*

J. HASTINGS.

LIKHI (לִקְחִי, B *Λακεείμ*, A *Λακειά*).—The eponym of a Manassite family, 1 Ch 7^{19}. See GENEALOGY, VII.ª 5.

LILITH (לִילִית; LXX *ὀνοκένταυροι*; Symm. *λάμια* [? *λαμία*]; Vulg. *lamia*).—Is 34^{14} RVm (only); AV 'screech owl'; AVm and RV 'night monster'; Cheyne 'night fairy' (in *PB* 'Lilith').' The Heb. word occurs in a description of the scene of desolation among Edom's ruined fortresses, where 'the wild beasts of the desert (צִיִּים) meet with the wolves (אִיִּים), and the satyr (שָׂעִיר) cries to his fellow, and *Lilith* takes up her abode.' The reference is not to an animal, but to a female demon of popular superstition, analogous to the '*alûḳah* or vampire of Pr 30^{15}. The Jewish belief in Lilith probably grew up during the Exile; the name was unquestionably borrowed from Babylonia (cf. the Assyr. *lil* and *lilît*). Lilith was a demon (שֵׁדָה) regarded by the Jews as specially hostile to children, although grown-up persons were also in danger from her (cf. the Ἔμπουσα of the Greeks, the *Strix* and *Lamia* of the Romans, and the *ghûls* of the Arabs).

The name *Lilith* is generally derived from the root meaning 'night' (Bab.-Semitic *lilâtu*, Eth. *lêlît*, Heb. לַיִל), night being the special season of this demon's power and activity. Baudissin, however (*op. cit.* below), doubts whether this derivation be correct, although it may have been assumed as the basis of some later Jewish conceptions. He quotes Jensen to the effect that the Sumerian *lila* (=Assyr. *lilû*) means 'wind' (cf. Del. *Assyr. HWB*, *s.v.* 'lilû'), and that 'the handmaid of Lila' is brought into relation to 'the house of the wind.' Baudissin suggests that even in Zec 5^{9} there may be a thought of Lilith in the prophet's mind, when he describes the two women with stork-like wings in which was the *wind* (רוּחַ).

The belief in Lilith existed among the Jews of Mesopotamia, where a species of Lilith-worship prevailed as late as the 7th cent. A.D. In the Rabbinical literature Lilith figures largely (see Buxtorf, *Lex. Talm. s.v.*). She was said to have been the first wife of Adam, and to have flown away from him and become a demon. The Targ. on Job 1^{15} apparently identifies the queen of Sheba with Lilith (see Grätz's *Monatschrift*, 1870, pp. 187 ff., cited by Cheyne in commenting on Is 34^{14}).

See, further, arts. DEMON in vol. i. p. 590 f., and NIGHT MONSTER.

LITERATURE.—The commentaries of Cheyne, Delitzsch, and Dillmann, on Isaiah, *ad loc.*; Whitehouse, *COT* ii. 311; Levy in *ZDMG*, ix. 470, 484 f.; Schrader, *JPTh* i. 128; Lenormant, *Chaldæan Magic* [Eng. tr.], p. 38; Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, ii. 413 ff.; W. R. Smith, *RS* 113; Wellhausen, *Reste*², 148 ff.; Baudissin, art. 'Feldgeister, Feldteufel' in Herzog's *RE*³ vi. 5 f.; Weber, *Jüd. Theologie*, 255 ff.; Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1887, pp. 145 ff.; Hommel, *Vorsemit. Kult.* 367.

J. A. SELBIE.

LILY.—There are three questions to be settled in reference to the lily: (1) What was meant by שׁוּשַׁן *shûshan*, שֹׁשַׁן *shôshan*, and שֹׁשַׁנָּה *shôshannāh*? (2) Are *shûshan* and *shôshannāh* the same as *κρίνον* (Mt $6^{28.\,29}$)? (3) What is meant by 'lilies of the field'?

(1) The word *shûshan* or *shôshan* is still preserved in *sûsan* or *sôsan*, a word of Persian origin, but adopted in this form into the Arabic. It is possible that it entered the Heb. from the same source. The capital of Persia was called in Heb. Shushan (Neh 1^{1}, Est 2^{8} etc., Dn 8^{2}). Athenodorus (xii. 513) says that this name was derived from the abundance of the lilies (*shûshānîm*) in its neighbourhood. *Sûsan* in Arab. is a general term for lily-like flowers, as the lily, iris, pancratium, gladiolus, etc., but more particularly the iris. It is as general as the English term lily, which is applied to flowers of the genera Lilium, Gladiolus, Convallaria, Hemerocallis, of the botanical order *Liliaceæ*, and to Nymphæa, Nuphar, Funkia, etc., not of that order. The Heb. *shûshan* must be taken in the same general sense. This makes it easy to explain all the references to the flower in the OT. Some of the lilies grow in 'the valleys' (Ca 2^{1}, not our 'lily of the valley,' Convallaria, which does not grow in the East), such as several species of Iris; others 'among thorns' (Ca 2^{2}), as other species of Iris; others in pastures, as still other species of Iris and Gladiolus (2^{1} 4^{5} 6^{3}). Its flowers were typical of luxuriance (Hos 14^{5}), as are those of all the Irises, Gladioli, and Pancratia. The comparison of lips to lilies (Ca 5^{13}) may refer to fragrance, not to colour. The allusion to lilies as features of architectural ornament doubtless refers to the recurved leaves of various flowers of the lily type, imitations of which were wrought in stone for capitals of columns (1 K 7^{19}), and bronze for the lip of the molten laver (2 Ch 4^{5}), as they have been in similar works of art in other lands, from ancient times to our day. The meaning of the term *shōshannîm* in the title of Pss 45. 69 (cf. *Shûshan-'ēdûth*. Ps 60, and *Shôshannîm-'ēdûth*, 80) is obscure. See PSALMS.

(2) Is *shûshan* the same as *κρίνον* (Mt $6^{28.\,29}$)? The Chaldee Targum and most of the Rabbis render it by 'rose.' Kimchi and ben-Melech render it in one place (1 K 7^{19}) 'violet.' The LXX, however, tr. it always by *κρίνον*. This is probably correct for several reasons. (*a*) Wherever there are not urgent reasons to the contrary, a LXX tr. has the preference. (*b*) *Κρίνον* has in Greek the same general application to lily-like plants as *shûshan* in Hebrew and *lily* in English. (*c*) There is no reason for translating *shûshan* differently in different places, as in the above mentioned authorities and in the Judæo-Spanish VS, which tr. *shûshan* in Ca by 'rose,' and in Hos by 'lirio'=Lilium candidum. Admitting, then, the correctness of the LXX tr. *κρίνον*, we may assume that Mt used this Greek word to express the Aramaic word used by our Saviour, which was doubtless a modification of *shûshan*.

(3) What is meant by 'lilies of the field'? It is plain that our Saviour spoke in a way that His hearers would understand. Therefore (*a*) there could not have been included in His allusion any plant unknown to His audience. This would exclude *Lilium Chalcedonicum*, L., and *Lilium Martagon*, L., which have been assumed by some as the species intended, on account of their beauty, but neither of which is found in Palestine. *Lilium candidum*, L., is also not a plant of Palestine, and being white would not suit the comparison with Solomon's royal garments. Furthermore, if this species had been intended, *λίριον*=*white lily*, would probably have been used, instead of *κρίνον*, which is general. (*b*) None of the *water lilies* could have

---

* In a note on this passage in his edition of the Psalter of 1539 (p. 321), Earle says, 'The old verb *lician* was first impersonal, and in that condition it produced this adjective, and the substantive liking as in the sense of looking well and in good condition, as in Shaks. *I Henry IV.* III. iii. 6—"I'll repent . . . while I am in some liking." When it became personal and transitive, it produced liking=approval, as in *The Epistle Dedicatorie* (1611), "who runne their owne wayes, and give liking unto nothing but what is framed by themselves, and hammered on their Anville."' From the last came the modern meaning, of which there is an example in AV, Wis 16^{21} 'to every man's liking' (*πρὸς ὃ τις ἐβούλετο*, Vulg. ad quod quisquam volebat, RV 'according to every man's choice').

been intended, as the lilies were 'of the field.' (*c*) It is not likely that they were *anemones* or *poppies* or *artichokes*. All these flowers had their own names, and would not have been suggested to the popular mind by the term lily. (*d*) It must therefore have been some plant of the modern order *Liliaceæ*, *Iridaceæ*, or *Amaryllidaceæ*. Any of these would have been called κρίνον, and most would now be called popularly *lilies* in English. (*e*) It was not only a lily-like plant of the field, but had a stem, which, when dried, would be useful as fuel (Mt 6^{30}). This would exclude the *crocuses* and *colchicums*, *Anemone Coronaria*, L. (which, however, has the support of Tristram), and other stemless plants. (*f*) It was a flower of rich colours. The plants which realize all these conditions are the various species of *Gladiolus*, which are indigenous in Palestine, *G. Illyricus*, Koch, *G. segetum*, Gawl, *G. atroviolaceus*, Boiss., and *Ixiolirion montanum*, Lab. All these grow among the grain, often overtopping it, and illuminating the broad fields with their various shades of pinkish purple to deep violet-purple and blue, truly royal colours. Any one who has stood among the wheat fields of Galilee, and seen the beautiful racemes of these flowers, peering up in every direction above the standing corn, will see at once the appropriateness of our Saviour's allusion. They all have a reedy stem, which, when dry, would make such fuel as is used in the ovens (Arab. *tannûr*). These stems are constantly plucked up with the other wild plants from among the wheat, to feed cattle or to burn. The beautiful Irises, *I. Sari*, Schott, *I. Palestina*, Baker, *I. Lorteti*, Barb., and *I. Helenæ*, Barb., have gorgeous flowers, and would suit our Saviour's comparison even better than the above. But they are plants of pasture grounds and swamps, seldom found in grain fields. If, however, we understand by 'lilies of the field' simply *wild lilies*, these would also be included in the expression. Our Saviour's comparison would then be like a 'composite photograph,' a reference to all the splendid colours and beautiful shapes of the numerous wild plants comprehended under the name lily. This seems to us the most simple and natural interpretation, and meets every requirement of the passage.

G. E. POST.

LIME (שִׂיד, κονία) is the commonest of the so-called 'alkaline earths,' its basis being the metal calcium. The various forms of limestone, some of which are very abundant in Palestine, are composed of carbonate of lime. When this is strongly heated, it is converted into oxide of lime or 'quicklime,' and becomes soft and crumbling. Quicklime combines readily and even violently with water to form 'slaked lime,' which is one of the chief ingredients of mortar (wh. see). As the mortar 'sets,' the slaked lime absorbs carbonic acid gas from the air, and is reconverted slowly into carbonate of lime.

Lime is mentioned only twice in EV. In Is 33^{12} it is predicted that the Assyrian oppressor shall be 'as the burnings of lime' (מִשְׂרְפוֹת שִׂיד)—a figure for destruction. (Similarly in Is 27^{9} the stones of idolatrous altars are to be 'as chalkstones [אַבְנֵי־גִר, LXX κονία λεπτή] that are beaten in sunder,' probably after being 'burnt.' See CHALK-STONES). In Am 2^{1} the Moabites are denounced because they 'burned the bones of the king of Edom into lime' (see Driver's note). Phosphate of lime is the chief mineral constituent of bones, and is unchanged by burning. Both in their appearance and in their composition, therefore, bone ashes have something in common with calcined limestone, and are naturally described by the same term. Besides these two passages, שִׂיד occurs in Dt 27$^{2.4}$ both as noun and as verb, and is translated 'plaister' (wh. see).

In Mt 23^{27} our Lord, in denouncing the scribes and Pharisees for their hypocrisy, compares them to τάφοι κεκονιαμένοι. It was the custom of the Jews to whiten the outside of their tombs with lime every year on the 15th of Adar, the object being to make the tombs conspicuous, that passers-by might avoid defilement (see Meyer, Holtzmann, *in loc.*). In our Lord's saying, the whiteness is viewed chiefly as a deceptive outward embellishment, contrasting with the corruption within. Similarly in Ac 23^{3} St. Paul calls Ananias the high priest τοῖχος κεκονιαμένος.

JAMES PATRICK.

LIMIT.—The subst. occurs only in Ezk 43^{12} 'Upon the top of the mountain the whole limit thereof shall be most holy,' where it means a region or space within certain limits or bounds (Heb. גְּבוּל, LXX τὰ ὅρια : the Heb. word is common in this sense, but it is usually rendered by 'border' or 'coast': Wyc. [1388] has 'coostes' here, [1382] 'eendis'; Cov. 'corners'; Geneva gives 'limits'). For the Eng. word cf. Shaks. *I Henry IV.* III. i. 73—

> 'The archdeacon hath divided it
> Into three limits very equally.'

The verb occurs twice: In Ps 78^{41} it means to set limits to, restrict, 'they turned back and tempted God, and limited the Holy One of Israel' (הִתְווּ, LXX παρώξυναν, RV 'provoked,' RVm 'limited').

The tr. 'limited' comes from the Gen. Bible, which explains its meaning in the marg., 'As thei all do that measure the power of God by their capacitie.' But it is usually taken in another sense: thus in *JQR* iv. 441, Dr. Friedländer says, 'My conception of God is based on the teaching of the Scriptures, God is the Creator and the Ruler of the Universe, and by His decree phenomena appear and events occur which are contrary to human expectation, *i.e.* miracles are wrought by Him. According to the idea of Mr. Montefiore, the Divine Being is bound to act according to certain laws established by human reason. This is by no means a new theory. Asaph in Ps 78^{41}, speaking of the Israelites in the wilderness, says, Yea, they turned back and tempted God, and limited the Holy One of Israel.' The translation is due to the fact that the same Heb. form occurs in Ezk 9^{4} along with the word *tâw* (which is the name of the last letter of the Heb. alphabet, and was originally in the shape of a cross), where it is tr^{d} 'set a mark.' But most follow the LXX παρώξυναν, Syr. ܐܡܪܘ, Vulg. *exacerbaverunt*, and Jerome *concitaverunt*, and translate 'grieved,' or as RV 'provoked,' Kautzsch *kränkten*.*

The Amer. RV introduces 'limit' in this sense into Job 15^{8}. Cf. Adams, *Works*, i. 26, 'being an infinite and illimited God.'

The other occurrence of the verb is He 4^{7} 'Again, he limiteth a certain day,' where the meaning is 'fix as a limit' (ὁρίζει, RV 'defineth'). So Berners' *Froissart*, xxiv. 'It was not long after but that the king came to his palace of Westminster and all his council was commanded to be there at a certain day limited'; Bradford, *Plym. Plant.* p. 82, 'Their time limited them being expired, they returned to the ship.'

J. HASTINGS.

LINE.—1. The word most freq. translated 'line' in AV is קָו *ḳāw* or קַו *ḳaw*. The *ḳaw* is a marking off or measuring line, as it is fully defined in Jer 31^{39}, but is usually called simply the 'line.' It is especially the builder's measuring line, as Zec 1^{16} 'I am returned to Jerusalem with mercies: my house shall be built in it, saith the Lord of hosts, and a line shall be stretched forth upon Jerusalem'; and so it comes to be used of the line that marks off the part that is to be *taken down* and destroyed, as 2 K 21^{13} 'And I will stretch over Jerusalem the line of Samaria, and the plummet of the house of Ahab,'

---

* Burgess (*Notes on Heb. Pss*) adopts the tr. 'set a mark,' and has the interesting suggestion that the Israelites proposed to put God *to the test*: if He provides flesh in the wilderness, then we shall acknowledge Him; somewhat after the manner of Caliban—'That's a brave god, and bears celestial liquor; I will kneel to him.'

i.e. the line that marked them off for their destruction; Is 28^{17} 'Judgment also will I lay to the line, and righteousness to the plummet' (RV 'And I will make judgement the line'); Is 34^{11} 'the line of confusion.' Then the word comes into use metaphorically for whatever goes by line or measurement, a rule of life: thus in Is 28^{10} the drunkards of Ephraim mock Isaiah's teaching as 'precept upon precept, precept upon precept, line upon line, line upon line, here a little, and there a little,' showing by their use of a series of monosyllables (*ẓaw la-ẓaw, ẓaw la-ẓaw, ḳaw la-ḳaw, ḳaw la-ḳaw, zĕ'êr shām, zĕ'êr shām*) both their drunkenness and their disgust. For the Eng. word here cf. Archbp. Hamilton's *Catechism* (Mitchell's ed. fol. v), 'For as ane biggare [=builder] can nocht make ane evin up wal without direction of his lyne, a mason can nocht heu ane evin aislair staine without directioun of his rewill, ane skyppar can nocht gyde his schip to gud hevin without direction of his compas, sa a man or a woman can nocht ordour or gyd his lyif evin and strecht to the plesour of GOD without direction of his commandis.'

The only passage of difficulty is Ps 19^{4} 'Their line is gone out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world.' AVm suggests as alternative translations 'their rule' or 'direction'; RV accepts the tr. of AV (which comes from the Gen.) without margin. The same verb is found with the measuring line in Ezk 47^{3}, and perhaps the majority of mod. expositors accept this tr., the meaning then being that the heavens send out their line to mark off and take possession of the whole earth, an idea suggested by the line of the horizon running round the earth. So Del., Per., De Witt, Kirkp., Kautzsch. But the oldest translators thought of the line as perhaps a bowstring that gives forth a *sound*. So LXX φθόγγος, Symm. ἦχος, Jer. and Vulg. *sonus*, Wyc. 'soun,' Cov. 'sounde,' Dou. 'sound,' Segond *retentissement*, King 'strain.' Practically the same meaning is got by Cheyne and Wellh. in another way. They read קוֹלָם for קַוָּם, and trans. 'their voice.' They are not influenced, as some of the older expositors perhaps were, by Ro 10^{18}, where St. Paul quotes the LXX and applies the words to the world-wide proclamation of the gospel.

The only places in AV where *ḳaw* is not tr^{d} 'line' are Is 44^{13} '[carpenter's] rule,' where, however, RV gives 'line'; and $18^{2.7}$, where the Heb. גּוֹי קַו־קָו is translated in AV 'a nation meted out' (lit. as AVm 'a nation of line line'); the context demands rather the active meaning 'that meteth out,' as RV (which, however, retains AV in marg.). Cheyne (*Expos.* 3rd ser. vi. 455) criticizes AV as impossible and RV as barely possible. His own rendering is 'the strong strong nation' (in *SBOT* 'a nation of sinewy strength'), which is got by changing the MT into קַוְקַו, a subst. formed after Arab. *ḳuwwa*, 'strength'; and with that Skinner agrees. Ges. (*Thes. s.v.*) had suggested a distinct subst. קַו, and tr^{d} '*gens robustissima*, pr. roboris roboris,' after the Arab.; Buhl in the latest ed. (1899) of the *Handwörterbuch* adopts קַוְקַו *sehnige Kraft* with some hesitation.

2. For חֶבֶל, see CORD. In Ps 16^{6} 'The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places,' the reference is to the portion marked off by the line or measuring cord. In Jos 17^{5} the word is tr. 'portions,' 'And there fell ten portions to Manasseh' (RV 'parts,' RVm 'lines'). 3. חוּט is tr. 'line' only in 1 K 7^{15}, 'a line of twelve cubits did compass either of them [the pillars] about.' See BAND. 4. For פָּתִיל (only Ezk 40^{3}) see LACE. 5. תִּקְוָה Jos $2^{18.21}$ the *line* of scarlet thread which Rahab bound in the window. It is Coverdale's word here, who has 'excepte thou knyttest in the wyndowe the lyne of this rosecoloured rope' . . . 'And she knyt the rose coloured lyne in the wyndowe.' 6. שֶׂרֶד, in Is 44^{13} *sered*, is in AV mistranslated 'line,' RV gives 'pencil,' RVm 'red ochre.' See PENCIL.

In NT we have only 2 Co 10^{16} 'not to boast in another man's line of things made ready to our hand' (ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ κανόνι, AVm 'rule,' RV 'in another's province,' RVm 'Or *limit*, Gr. *measuring rod*'). The AV tr. is from the Gen. Bible, which explains it by saying, 'God gave the whole worlde to the Apostles to preache in, so that Paul here meaneth by the line his porcion of the countre is where he preached.' J. HASTINGS.

LINEAGE.—Lk 2^{4} only, 'he was of the house and lineage of David' (ἐξ οἴκου καὶ πατριᾶς, RV 'of the house and family'). Spenser uses the word in the same sense, *FQ* I. i. 5—

> 'So pure and innocent, as that same lambe,
> She was in life and every vertuous lore,
> And by descent from royall lynage came.'

Cf. also *Nut-Brown Maid* (in Skeat's *Specimens*, p. 107)—

> 'Ye shal not nede further to drede, I wyl not disparage
> You, god defende, sith ye descende of so grete a lynage.'

Wyclif uses the word in the wider sense of kindred or tribe, as Ps 72^{17} 'And all the lynagis of earthe schulen be blessid in hym'; $78^{67.68}$ 'he chees not the lynage of Effraym. But he chees the lynage of Juda'; Rev 5^{5} 'a lioun of the lynage of Juda.' J. HASTINGS.

LINEN.—The manufacture of linen is an extremely ancient art. The Egyptians attained proficiency in it at a very early time. To them Pliny ascribes the invention of weaving (vii. 56), and the honour is given by Athenæus to Pathymias the Egyptian (*lib.* ii.). Linen-weaving became a profitable calling, providing occupation for large numbers. Strabo (xvii. 41, p. 813) says that Panopolis, or Chemmis, was inhabited by linen-weavers. Judging by the representations that have been preserved, the implements used must have been comparatively rude; but cloth of very fine quality was produced with them. So delicate indeed were certain fabrics that they were described as 'woven air.' Specimens of Egyptian work in the form of corselets are mentioned by Herodotus (ii. 182, iii. 47), one dedicated by Amasis to Minerva in Lindus, the other sent by him to the Lacedæmonians, 'made of linen, with many figures of animals inwrought and adorned with gold and cotton wool'; and he notes that 'each thread, though very fine, contained 360 threads all distinct.' Egyptian fine linen, yarn, and embroidered work were widely prized, and reckoned superior to those of any other country. Four qualities of Egyptian linen are specified by Pliny (xix. c. 1), viz. Tanitic, Pelusiac, Butine, and Tentyritic. A large export trade was carried on to Arabia and India.

The Egyptian priests wore linen clothes, and according to Herodotus (ii. 37) were not allowed to wear anything else. But Pliny (xix. 8) says that although they used linen they preferred cotton robes; and the Rosetta Stone mentions 'cotton garments' provided for the use of the temples. It is most probable that the undergarments were always of linen, while robes of cotton worn over them would have to be left outside the temples. Linen was regarded as fresh and cool in a hot climate, with a tendency to keep the body clean. This, with the religious prejudice requiring linen only to be worn in the temples, may account for the belief that the priests were prohibited from ever wearing anything else. When the worship of Isis was introduced into Greece and Rome (Plut. *de Is.* v. 3) the same customs as to priestly dress were adopted (Wilk. *Anc. Egyp.* iii. 117).

Great quantities of linen were employed in wrapping the mummies of the dead (Herod. ii. 86). The bandages used for this purpose were invariably of linen. This has been demonstrated by a series of careful microscopic examinations well described by Wilkinson (*Anc. Egyp.* iii. 115, 116). Wool was never used in this way, because of a belief that it tended to breed worms which would destroy the body. The poor might wear cotton garments in life, provided their mummies were wrapped in linen after death. Linen was used for both men and animals, and sometimes the bandages were as much as 1000 yards in length (Wilk. *ib.* iii. 484).

The influence of Egypt on Israel is seen perhaps in the prominence given to linen in the furniture of the tabernacle and in the dress of the priests. The trade with Egypt was maintained (Pr 7^{16}), and the material was highly prized by the neighbouring Tyrians (Ezk 27^{7}). Flax was early cultivated in Palestine (Jos 2^{6}), but the native industry in linen, as in other woven stuffs, was chiefly confined to the women of the household. The finer kinds were brought from abroad.

The terms used for 'linen' in Scripture are—

1. 2. שֵׁשׁ, בַּד. As a mark of distinction Pharaoh clothed Joseph in linen garments (שֵׁשׁ), from which we may infer that linen formed part of the ordinary dress of royal, or at least eminent persons (Gn 41^{42}). *Shēsh* corresponds in form with the Arab *shâsh*, a fine muslin, made of cotton, and much used to guard against mosquitoes and sand-flies. Linen is, however, here intended. *Shēsh* is sometimes used as the equivalent of *bad* (בַּד), about which there is no doubt (cf. Ex 28$^{5.\ 42}$ 39^{28}, Lv 16^{4}). *Shēsh* appears to be the more general term. It is used for the offerings brought by the people (Ex 25^{4}); the materials used in the hangings of the tabernacle (Ex 26$^{1\text{ etc.}}$ 27$^{9\text{ etc.}}$ 35. 36. 38); the finery of women (Pr 31^{22}, AV 'silk,' Ezk 16$^{10.\ 13}$) and the cloth of sails (Ezk 27^{7}), as well as for the various garments of the priests (Ex 28$^{5\text{ etc.}}$ 39$^{2.\ 5\text{ etc.}}$). In Ezk 16^{13} we have the peculiar form שֶׁשִׁי; this is probably due to proximity to the similarly sounding מֶשִׁי.

בַּד is used exclusively of articles of dress, and principally of the holy garments of the priests (Ex 28^{42} 39^{28}, Lv 6^{10} 16$^{4\text{ etc.}}$). In 1 S 22^{18} the priests are designated as persons that wear a linen (*bad*) ephod. Samuel, as a child, engaged in religious service, was girded with a linen ephod (1 S 2^{18}). David in his dance before the Lord was similarly girded (2 S 6^{14}, 1 Ch 15^{27}). The man wearing linen garments is chosen for special work (Ezk 9$^{2.\ 3.\ 11}$ 10$^{2.\ 6.\ 7}$); and the great figure in the vision by the river Hiddekel wears similar attire (Dn 10^{5} 12$^{6.\ 7}$). It appears therefore that *bad* is restricted to uses that are of a religious character.

The distinction between *shēsh* and *bad* cannot be indicated with certainty. In the phrase '*bad* of fine twined *shēsh*' (Ex 39^{28}), the latter term evidently means the thread of which the cloth is woven. This suggests that while *bad* is used only for the cloth, *shēsh* is applied indifferently, now to the thread and now to the woven stuff. Abarbanel (on Ex 25) says that *bad* was a single thread, and *shēsh* (Heb. = 6) was formed by twisting together six single threads. But this seems in contradiction to the above.

3. בּוּץ, LXX *βύσσος*, is from the root בּוּץ, to be white, still heard in the Arab *bûṣ* used for native linen. Of Aramæan origin, it was used specially for the Syrian *byssus* (Gesenius). In Ezk 27^{16} it is distinguished from Egyptian *shēsh* (cf. v.^{7}), but elsewhere the distinction is ignored (cf. 2 Ch 3^{14}, Ex 26^{31}). Targum Onkelos gives *bûẓ* as the equivalent of *shēsh*. *Bûẓ* is the name given to linen, in which the house of Ashbea attained eminence as workers (1 Ch 4^{21}, cf. 2 Ch 2^{14}), of which David's robe was made (1 Ch 15^{27}), of which the veil of the temple was woven (2 Ch 3^{14}), and with which the Levite singers in the temple were clothed (2 Ch 5^{12}). Of this were also the cords which fastened the hangings in the king's gardens at Shushan the palace (Est 1^{6}). Mordecai's dress when he went out from the king was of fine linen (*bûẓ*) and purple (Est 8^{15}, cf. Lk 16^{19}). The Syrian trade with Tyre included 'purple and embroidered work and *bûẓ*' (Ezk 27^{16}). Josephus takes *byssus* as the equivalent of both *shēsh* and *bad*, describing the offerings of the Israelites in the wilderness for the tabernacle as *byssus* of flax (*Ant.* vi. 1), the hangings for the tabernacle as sindon of *byssus* (*ib.* 2), and the priests' drawers and vestments as *byssus*. The vestment, he says, was called *chethone* (כְּתֹנֶת), which denotes linen (*ib.* VII. i. 2). This corresponds closely with the Arab *kittân*, the common name for linen stuffs. The presumption of the mystic Babylon is shown by her arraying herself in fine linen (*byssus*), the fitting dress of the Lamb's wife, since it symbolizes 'the righteousness of the saints' (Rev 18^{16} 19^{8}). Such raiment also is congruous with the character of those who follow him who is called the Faithful and True (*ib.* 19^{14}).

4. פִּשְׁתָּה (or פֵּשֶׁת) is a general term; applied to the plant (Jos 2^{6}), to the raw material (Jg 15^{14}, Pr 31^{13}), to heckled flax (Is 19^{9}), to threads in a mixed web (Dt 22^{11}), to cloth (Lv 13$^{47\text{ etc.}}$), to the prophet's girdle (Jer 13^{1}), to a measuring-line (Ezk 40^{3}), and to the sacred garments of the priests (Ezk 44$^{17.\ 18}$). See FLAX.

5. סָדִין, an article of fine stuff, of domestic manufacture (Pr 31^{24}), and highly esteemed as a luxury (Is 3^{23}). The סְדִינִים of Samson's challenge to the Philistines (Jg 14$^{12.\ 13}$) were wrappers 'worn as an outer garment,' or 'as a night wrapper on the naked body.' They were sometimes used as curtains (Mishna, *Joma* iii. 4), and also as shrouds (Talm. Jerus., *Kilaim* ix. fol. 32^{6}). For these purposes sheets of considerable size would be necessary (Moore, *Judges, in loc.*). With this the Greek *σινδών* corresponds. It is the linen cloth or dress in which the young man wrapped himself (Mk 14^{51}), and again it is a winding-sheet (Mt 27^{59}, Mk 15^{46}, Lk 23^{53}).

6. אֵטוּן (AV 'fine linen,' RV 'yarn,' Pr 7^{16}), by a Syriacism for אֱטוּן from an unused root אָטַן 'to bind together' (Gesenius). With this may be compared the Arab *'uṣun*, 'tent ropes.' The fine *thread* or yarn of Egypt was most probably linen. That the ornamentation of coverings or tapestry for which it was used is here intended, is supported by the renderings of LXX and the Vulgate, which are *ἀμφίταποι* and *pictæ tapetes* respectively.

7. *ὀθόνη* (Ac 10^{11} 11^{5}) is the sheet let down from heaven in St. Peter's vision; while *ὀθόνια* (Jn 19^{40} 20$^{5.\ 6.\ 7}$) are the strips of cloth with which the body was bound, after being wrapped in the *σινδών*.

8. A coarse cloth made of unbleached flax, *ὠμόλινον*, was worn by the poorer classes (Sir 40^{4}).

A combination of animal and vegetable products in dress was prohibited to the Israelites. A kind of cloth was sometimes made of which the woof was cotton and the warp linen (Julius Pollux, *Onom.* vii. 17. Quoted by Wilk. *Anc. Egyp.* iii. 118). Such may have been שַׁעַטְנֵז (LXX *κίβδηλον*), a word of obscure origin, but denoting a mixed stuff of wool and linen (Lv 19^{19}, cf. Dt 22^{11}).

Linen Yarn.—מִקְוֶה, מִקְוֵא (1 K 10^{28}, 2 Ch 1^{16}). For *miḳweh* Buxtorf gives *netum filatim quod in Ægypto magni usus et pretii.* He notes, however, that on 1 K 10^{28} *R. Sal. ibi accipit* מִקְוֶה *pro* אסיפה, *collectione, congregatione vectigalis.* RV renders in each case 'drove.' Perhaps the text is corrupt. LXX B has for מִקְוֶה *ἐκ Θεκουὲ*, 'from Tekoa,' Luc. *ἐκ Κωά*, Vulg. *de Coa.* Winckler (*Alttest. Untersuch.* 168 ff., cf. *Altorient. Forsch.* i. 28), followed by Hommel and others, finds here a reference to *Kuĕ* (*i.e.* Cilicia).

LITERATURE.—Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyptians*, iii. 115–128, 484; Herodotus, ii. 36, 86, 182, iii. 47; Josephus, *Ant.* III. vi. 1, vii. 1, 2; Schroeder, *de Vest. Mul.* pp. 339, 361, etc.; Hartmann, *Hebräerin*, ii. p. 346, etc.

W. EWING.

LINTEL.—See HOUSE in vol. ii. p. 434^a.

LINUS (Λῖνος).—One of the Christians who joined with Eubulus, Pudens, and Claudia in a salutation at the end of 2 Ti. This Epistle was written from Rome, and it is generally allowed that this Linus is identical with one of the first bishops of Rome. The identification goes back to Irenæus (*c. Hær.* III. iii. 3). It is considered that he was, if we omit St. Peter's name, the first bishop of Rome, though Tertullian (*de Præscr.* 32) implies that Clement was the first. Nothing is really known of his life and episcopate, which Eus. (*HE* iii. 13) says lasted twelve years. Many questions have been raised about him: for instance, as to whether he was bishop before St. Peter's death or not, and whether he may not have been contemporary with Clement, and have exercised his office as bishop of the Gentile Christians only, whilst perhaps Clement was bishop of the Jewish Christians. The date of his episcopate has been variously given, the extreme limits being A.D. 56–67 and A.D. 68–80. Harnack, in his latest work, dates the episcopate of Linus A.D. 64–76. It is asserted in the Greek *Menæa* that he was one of the Seventy. Various works are ascribed to him, but without foundation: (1) the acts of St. Peter and St. Paul; (2) an account of St. Peter's controversy with Simon Magus; and (3) certain decrees in which he ordered women to appear in church with covered heads. He is commemorated in the Roman Service books on Sept. 23, where the following account is given of him:—

> 'The pontiff Linus, who was born at Volterra, in Etruria, was the first ruler of the Church after Peter. His faith and holiness were so great that he not only cast out devils, but also restored the dead to life. He wrote the history of St. Peter, and in particular of his opposition to Simon Magus. He ordered that no women should appear in church unveiled. He was beheaded, because of his adherence to the Christian faith, by the order of Saturninus, whose daughter he had set free from demoniacal possession. He was buried in the Vatican, near the Prince of the Apostles, on Sept. 23. He was bishop for eleven years, two months, and twenty-three days, during which he consecrated or ordained (on two occasions in December) fifteen bishops and eighteen priests' (Brev. Rom.).

LITERATURE.—Pearson, *De serie et successione primorum Romæ Episcoporum* (1688); Lightfoot, *St. Clement of Rome* (1890); Harnack, *Die Chronologie der Altchristlichen Litteratur* (1897); Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, i. (1884–86).

H. A. REDPATH.

LION.—**1.** The generic name for lion is אֲרִי *'ărî* or אַרְיֵה *'aryēh*, pl. אֲרָיִים *'ărāyîm* and אֲרָיוֹת *'ărāyôth*. This word is used *literally* (Jg $14^{5.8}$ etc.), of *figures* (1 K 7^{29} etc.), in *comparison* (Gn 49^9, Nu 23^{24} etc.), *metaphorically* (Gn 49^9, Nah 2^{12} etc.). **2.** כְּפִיר *kĕphîr*, is the *young lion* (Jg 14^5 etc.). **3.** גּוּר *gûr*, גּוֹר *gôr*, signifies *whelp* or *cub* in general. It is applied to the young of תַּנִּין *tannîn* (La 4^3, AV 'sea monsters,' RV 'jackals'; preferably, in our opinion, *wolves*. See DRAGON, 4). It is usually applied to *lions' cubs* (Gn 49^9, Ezk $19^{2.3}$ etc. In the latter passage the distinction between *gûr* and *kĕphîr* is clearly brought out). It is used *metaphorically*, for the Babylonians (Jer 51^{38}) and the Assyrians (Nah $2^{11.12}$), for Judah (Gn 49^9), for Dan (Dt 33^{22}), and for the Israelites (Ezk 19^2 etc.). **4.** לָבִיא *lābî'* and לְבִיָּא *lĕbîyyāh*, cognate with the Arab. *labwah*, *labuäh*, *labiah*, or *labaäh*. They are poetic forms in Heb. (Gn 49^9 etc.). The masculine ending is paralleled by *'āthôn=she-ass*, *rāḥēl=ewe*, and *'ēz=she-goat*. There are numerous parallels in the Arab. **5.** לַיִשׁ *layîsh*, is a poetical word for the lion, possibly derived from the idea of his courage and strength (Is 30^6 etc.). Its Arab. equivalent is *laith*, evidently the same as the Aram. לֵיתָ and the Greek λῖς (Hom. *Il.* xi. 239, xv. 275). **6.** שַׁחַל *shaḥal*, is another poetical epithet of the lion, derived from his roaring (Job 4^{10} etc.). **7.** בְּנֵי־שַׁחַץ *bĕné-shaḥaẓ*, is tr. 'lion's whelps' (Job 28^8, RV 'proud beasts,' m. 'sons of pride'). The same word is tr^d (RV Job 41^{34}) 'sons [AV 'children'] of pride.' Undoubtedly this is the correct tr., being figurative for the more noble beasts of prey. In the first passage, after the general expression 'sons of pride,' comes the specification of the lion as one of the noble beasts. There are about four hundred words in Arab. for the lion. Most of them are attributives. It is very common to give the name *Asad*='lion' to boys, as a prophecy of their prowess. This name and that of other strong animals, as the *leopard* and the *wolf*, are given to some boys, born after the death of an older brother, in the hope that the strength of the animal will inhere in him, and so his life may be preserved. As there is abundant evidence that lions were common in Greece as late as the times of Xerxes, so we learn from the OT that they were numerous in Palestine in ancient times. They made their dens in the *thickets* (Jer 4^7 etc.), *forests* (Jer 5^6 etc.), *mountains* (Ca 4^8, Ezk 19^9). The 'swelling of the Jordan,' *i.e.* the fringe of thickets between its upper and lower banks, was among the favourite haunts of the lion (Jer 49^{19} 50^{44}, Zec 11^3). Reland (*Pal.* i. 274) says that they were found here as late as the end of the 12th cent. They are met with even now in Mesopotamia. The lion of Palestine was probably the one described by Pliny (viii. 18); 'the body is shorter and more compact, and the mane more crisp and curly.' This sort is the same as that found in Persia and Mesopotamia, and figured on the Assyrian monuments. Layard, however, says that he has seen lions in Mesopotamia with long black manes (*Nin. and Bab.* 487). It would seem that the lions of Palestine were less formidable beasts than those of Africa, as shepherds sometimes attacked them single-handed (1 S 17^{34-36}). Samson rent one in twain (Jg 14^6). Amos says, 'as the shepherd taketh out of the mouth of the lion two legs or a piece of an ear' (3^{12}). Lions were sometimes sent as a scourge to the people (2 K 17^{25} etc.). They often attacked and devoured men (1 K 13^{24} etc.; cf. Ps 22^{17} (?), where Aquila is now known to have read כָּאֲרִי). They were hunted by driving them with loud shouts into pits or nets (Is 31^4, Ezk $19^{4.8}$). The passage telling of the exploit of Benaiah (2 S 23^{20}) reads הִכָּה אֵת־שְׁנֵי אֲרִאֵל מוֹאָב. AV text tr. 'slew two lionlike men (m. 'lions of God,' RV [supplying בְּנֵי, after LXX] 'the *two sons* of Ariel') of Moab.' We read also that 'he slew a lion in the midst of a pit in time of snow.' Oriental monarchs had pits of lions (Dn 6^7), the animals being used as executioners, but not for combats with other animals or with gladiators, as among the Romans.

The qualities of the lion alluded to in Scripture are (1) his *royal power* and strength (Gn 49^9, Pr 30^{30}). In this respect he was the type of Christ, 'the Lion of the Tribe of Judah' (Rev 5^5). Lions were sculptured on the temple and king's house (1 K 7^{29-36} $10^{19.20}$). The castle of 'Irakel-Amîr in Gilead has lions carved on its face. (2) His *courage* (Pr 28^1 etc.). (3) His *cruelty* (Ps 22^{13} etc.), compared with the malignity of Satan (1 P 5^8).

Four words express the *voice* of the lion. **1.** שָׁאַג *shā'ag* (Jg 14^5 etc.), the true *roar* of the roaming lion seeking its prey (1 P 5^8). This is also used of the thunder (Job 37^4). **2.** נָהַם *nāham*, the savage *yell* with which he lays hold of his victim (Is 5^{29}).* **3.** הָגָה *hāgāh*, the angry *growl*, when an attempt is made to dispossess him of his prey (Is 31^4). **4.** נָעַר *nā'ar*, the imperfect *roar* or *growl* of the whelps (Jer 51^{38}). This term is used in Syriac to express the *braying* of asses and the *gurgling* of camels.

There are six words employed to denote the attitudes and movements of the lion. **1.** רָבַץ *rābaẓ* = Arab. *rabaḍ*, signifies to *crouch* (Ezk 19[2]), awaiting his victim. So sin is represented as *lying* (רֹבֵץ) at the door, *i.e. crouching* (as in RV) as a wild beast, ready to spring (Gn 4[7]). **2. 3. 4.** In Job 38[40] it is said כִּי־יָשֹׁחוּ בַמְּעוֹנוֹת יֵשְׁבוּ בַסֻּכָּה לְמוֹ־אָרֶב. The three roots שָׁחַח *shāḥah*, יָשַׁב *yāshab*, and אָרַב *'ārab*, may all indicate the same act, the ambush of a beast of prey. But as *wathab*, which is the Arab. cognate of *yāshab*, means to *spring*, as well as to *crouch* or *sit*, perhaps the passage may refer to a habit of the lion, which is to *crouch*, then to *spring*, and, if he fails to reach his prey by one or two bounds, to *crouch* again. *Yāshōḥû* would express the lying in covert, *yēshĕbû* the spring, and *'āreb* the disappointed crouch, awaiting another victim. **5.** רָמַשׂ *rāmas* expresses the *prowling* (lit. *creeping*: see CREEPING THINGS) of wild beasts in search of their prey (Ps 104[20]). **6.** זִנֵּק *zinnēḳ* expresses the *fatal leap* by which the lion bears down his victim (Dt 33[22] only). G. E. POST.

---

* W. R. Smith (*Prophets*^{1}, 129, 243) reckons *shā'ag* the roar at the moment of the spring, *nāham* the growl with which the lion devours his prey.

LIP (שָׂפָה, χεῖλος).—In addition to its literal sense, the word שָׂפָה means 'language' (Gn 11[1], Ps 81[5]), 'bank,' 'shore,' 'edge,' 'side,' etc. (Gn 41[3], Ex 2[3] 14[30] etc.). In the Bible, the 'opening of the lips' is so constantly used as the equivalent of speech that the lips come to be regarded as an originating independent centre of life and conduct. Thus we have the 'lip of truth' Pr 12[19], 'lying lips' Ps 31[18], 'burning lips' Pr 26[23]; and this figurative use of 'lips' is associated with other figures belonging to ceremonial and sacrifices, such as 'uncircumcised lips' Ex 6[12. 30], 'unclean lips' Is 6[5], 'calves of the lips' Hos 14[2]. For 'fruit of the lips' see FRUIT.

Orientalisms.—In the intolerable and incurable sorrow referred to in Ezk 24[17. 22], the lips are not to be covered as in the time of ordinary bereavement. The word tr^{d} 'lips' here means the moustache and beard, that is, the lower part of the face. It is still the Oriental custom in the house of mourning for the bereaved father or husband to put the hand or part of the head-dress or cloak over the mouth, to indicate that he is stricken of God, and has not a word to say.[*] Also after telling about some hard experience of sickness and privation in the family, often brought on by dirt and indolence, it is customary to lay the hand on the mouth and look up, as much as to say, 'God's will be done' (cf. Ps 39[7], Is 47[5], Mic 3[7]).

'Grace is poured *into thy lips*' (Ps 45[2]). This is illustrated by the Oriental way of drinking water from the mouth or short spout of the hand-jar without touching it with the lips. The head is thrown back, and the jar held from 6 in. to a foot above the face, while the water is poured gently into the open mouth and swallowed in a continuous stream.

'This people with their lips do honour me' (Is 29[13], Mt 15[8]). In addition to the ordinary meaning of empty words, there may be a reference to the Jewish custom of putting the tassel of the *ṭallith* to the lips during worship as a sign that the law is accepted, not merely as a duty of obedience, but as an enthusiastic preference of the heart. Putting the hand to the lips was also an act in astral worship (Job 31[27]), and is seen in the ordinary form of Oriental salutations.

G. M. MACKIE.

LIST.—To 'list' (from Anglo-Sax. *lust* = pleasure) is to desire, to choose. The earliest use was impers., as Piers Plowman, 165—'With posternes in pryvytie to pasen when hem liste'; so Mt 20[15] Tind. 'Ys it not lawfull for me to do as me listeth with myne awne?' and Tind. *Works*, i. 106, 'For where riches are, there goeth it after the common proverb, He that hath money hath what him listeth.' The word is used once in AV as tr. of βούλομαι (Ja 3[4]), and thrice of θέλω (Mt 17[12], Mk 9[13], Jn 3[8]), always personally. Cf. Fuller, *Holy State*, 'The Good Wife,' 'Her children, though many in number, are none in noyse, steering them with a look whither she listeth'; and Knox, *Hist.* 374, 'You forget your selfe (said one) you are not in the Pulpit. I am in the place (said the other) where I am commanded in my conscience to speake the truth: and therefore the truth I speak, impugne it who so lists.' The subst. was also in common use till later than 1611. North, *Plutarch*, p. 876 ('Cicero'), has 'He would ever be fleering and gibing at those that tooke Pompeys part, though he had no list himselfe to be merrie'; and often in Bunyan, as *HW*, p. 154, 'for your Cordial I have no list thereto.' The word still survives in *listless*. J. HASTINGS.

LITTER (צָב Nu 7[3], pl. צַבִּים Is 66[20] [all]).[*]—This was probably a wooden construction resembling a small ambulance waggon, having, instead of wheels, two shafts projecting at each end, between which a mule was yoked before and behind. The frame was furnished with a mattress and pillows, and four posts at the corners supported an awning with a movable screen around the sides, for protection against the sun and dust. Solomon's chariot (RV 'palanquin'), Ca 3[9] (אַפִּרְיוֹן *'appiryōn*, perhaps the Gr. φορεῖον; see Driver, *LOT*^{6} 449), would be of the same form, but with silver pillars supporting the awning of silk or fine linen. The Arabs use a word of Persian origin, *takht-rawân*, meaning a movable bed or couch for the journey. See HORSE-LITTER.

G. M. MACKIE.

LIVELY.—**1.** The mod. meaning *full of life, brisk*, is found in Ex 1[19], Ps 38[19], Wis 7[22]. Cf. Adams on 2 P 1[4] 'Paul calls it [sin] an old man —Put off the old man, Eph 4[22]—above 5000 years old, and yet it is not only alive, but lively and lusty to this day'; and Rhem. NT, p. 215, 'Tertullian also reporteth, that at Rome being cast into a barrel of hote boiling oile he came forth more pure and fresher or livelier, then he went in.' **2.** But 'lively' once was a synonym for 'living.' In 1 P 2[4] Christ is described as 'a living stone,' and in the next verse the translators of AV speak of Christians as 'lively stones,' the Gr. being the same, carrying out their rule to introduce variety into the language. The occurrences of 'lively' = *living* in AV are Ac 7[38] 'the lively oracles,' 1 P 1[3] 'a lively hope,' 2[5] 'lively stones.' The Greek is always the pres. ptcp. of ζάω to live, and RV gives always 'living.' Cf. Ja 1[23] Gen. (1557), 'he is like unto a man, that beholdeth his lyvely face in a glasse' (changed in 1560 to 'his natural face'); He 4[12] Rhem. 'The word of God is lively and forcible, and more persing than any two-edged sword'; *XXXIX Articles*, 1571, Art. xii. 'Albeit that good workes, which are the fruites of fayth, and folowe after iustification, can not put away our sinnes, and endure the severitie of God's iudgement: yet are they pleasing and acceptable to God in Christe, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively fayth, in so muche that by them, a lively fayth may be as evidently knowen, as a tree discerned by the fruit.' So Knox speaks of Christ as 'the lively bread' (*Works*, iii. 73, 266), and as 'the fountain of lively water' (iii. 441). Still more clearly, *Judgement of Synode at Dort*, p. 38, 'as for the will, hee infuseth new qualities into it, and maketh it of a dead heart lively, and of an evill good, of a nilling willing, of a stubborne buxome.' Fuller has a surprising example in *Holy Warre*, iii. 19—'About the year 1160, Peter Waldo, a merchant of Lyons, rich in substance and learning (for a lay man), was walking and talking with his friends, when one of them suddenly fell down dead, which lively spectacle of man's mortality so impressed the soul of this Waldo, that instantly he resolved on a strict reformation of his life.'

---

[*] Schwally (*Leben nach dem Tode*, p. 16) thinks that the covering of the beard in mourning was originally a milder substitute for cutting it off.

[*] The etymology of the word צָב, which is found also in the Targ., is uncertain. Six עֶגְלֹת צָב (EV 'covered waggons') formed part of the offering of the 'princes' (Nu 7[3]). צַבִּים are named as one of the means of conveyance by which the dispersed Israelites are to be brought back (Is 66[20]). In the first passage LXX has ἁμάξας λαμπηνικάς, Vulg. *plaustra tecta*; in the second, LXX ἐν λαμπήναις, Vulg. *in lecticis*. Kautzsch translates in Nu by *überdeckte Wagen* (Siegfried-Stade, *Kutschwagen*), and in Is by *Sänfte* (so also Siegfried-Stade).

J. HASTINGS.

LIVER (כָּבֵד *kābēd*, prob. 'the *heavy* organ of the body *par excellence*,' see Gesenius, *Thes. s.v.*; LXX *ἧπαρ*).—1. In the case of every animal offered in sacrifice a special sacredness attached to certain fatty parts of the viscera, among which we find, in eleven passages of the Priests' Code, 'the *yôthereth* (יֹותֶרֶת, EV 'caul') of (מִן) the liver' or 'which is upon (עַל) the liver' (Ex $29^{13. 22}$, Lv $3^{4. 10. 15}$ 4^9 etc.). The evident sense of the words prevents us from following the LXX and Josephus (*Ant.* III. ix. 2 [ed. Niese, 228], *σὺν τῷ λοβῷ τοῦ ἥπατος*) in regarding the *yôthereth* as one of the lobes of the liver itself. Etymologically the word denotes 'that which remains over,' 'excess,' hence excrescence or appendage (cf. Kautzsch-Socin's rendering *Anhängsel*). It most probably, therefore, is the technical name for 'the fatty mass at the opening of the liver, which reaches to the kidneys and becomes visible upon the removal of the "lesser omentum" or membrane extending from the fissures of the liver to the curve of the stomach' (Driver and White's *Leviticus*, p. 65, in Haupt's 'Polychrome Bible'; see also illustr. facing p. 4, and cf. the technical exposition by Professor Reichert in Dillmann, *apud* Lv 3^4). This peculiar sanctity of the visceral fat is to be explained by the fact that the liver and kidneys, with the fat surrounding them, were regarded by the Semitic races as being, with the blood, the seat of life (for fuller exposition and reff. see art. KIDNEYS, and W. R. Smith, *RS*^{2} 379 f.). Hence to have an arrow pierce the liver (Pr 7^{23}) or the reins (Job 16^{13}), is to receive one's death-wound.

2. Like the kidneys, the liver was also regarded as an important seat of emotion (cf. Assyr. *kabittu*, 'liver,' 'disposition,' 'feeling.' Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*). Hence a Hebrew poet could thus express the bitterness of his sorrow: 'Mine eyes do fail with tears, my bowels are troubled, *my liver* (כְּבֵדִי)* *is poured upon the earth*; for the destruction of the daughter of my people' (La 2^{11}).

3. The prophet Ezekiel represents Nebuchadnezzar as standing 'at the parting of the ways' that led to Jerusalem and to 'Rabbah of the children of Ammon,' and having recourse to three forms of divination: 'He shook the arrows to and fro (so RV improving on AV), he consulted the teraphim, he looked in the liver' (Ezk 21^{21} [Heb. 26]).† The last-named, the inspection of the liver of the sacrificial victims, was a mode of divination much affected by the Chaldæan seers—by whom a complete set of rules of interpretation was drawn up (see Lenormant, *La Divination, etc., chez les Chaldéens*)—as also by the Greeks of the post-Homeric age (Gardner and Jevons, *Manual of Greek Antiqs.* p. 259) and the Etrurians, from whom the practice passed to the Romans (cf. art. DIVINATION in this Dictionary, vol. i. p. 621^b). Another magical use of the liver (in this case that of a fish) is found in the well-known incident in the story of Tobit ($6^{4ff.}$ 8^2).

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

LIVING.—In NT *βίος* means either* (1) this present existence, when AV and RV translate by 'life,' or else (2) the means by which this present existence is sustained, when, with one exception, AV and RV translate by 'living.' Thus (1) Lk 8^{14} 'pleasures of this life'; 1 Ti 2^2 'that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life' (RV 'a tranquil and quiet life'); 2 Ti 2^4 'the affairs of this life'; and 1 Jn 2^{16} 'the pride of life' (RV 'the vainglory of life'). (2) Mk 12^{44} (‖ Lk 21^4) 'she of her want did cast in all that she had, even all her living'; Lk 8^{43} 'which had spent all her living upon physicians'; 15^{12} 'he divided unto them his living'; 15^{30} 'which hath devoured thy living with harlots.' The exception is 1 Jn 3^{17} 'whoso hath this world's good' (*τὸν βίον τοῦ κόσμου*, RV 'the world's goods'): see GOOD, vol. ii. p. 229^a. Once the subst. 'living' occurs in the Apocr., when it is the tr. of *ζωή*, Sir 4^1 'Defraud not the poor of his living' (*τὴν ζωὴν τοῦ πτωχοῦ μὴ ἀποστερήσῃς*).

For 'living' in the sense of 'livelihood' cf. Pr. Bk. Catechism, 'My duty toward my neighbour is . . . to learn and labour truly to get mine own living'; and Shaks. *As You Like It*, II. iii. 33—

> 'What! wouldst thou have me go and beg my food,
> Or with a base and boisterous sword enforce
> A thievish living on the common road?'

J. HASTINGS.

LIVING CREATURE.—The translation (AV and RV) of חַיָּה *ḥayyah*, in Ezk† (chs. 1. 3. 10) and of *ζῷον* (the LXX equivalent in Ezk) in Rev (chs. 4. 5. 6. 7. 14. 15. 19) according to RV (AV 'beast'). *Ḥayyah* is in LXX most commonly rendered by *θηρίον*, with emphasis on the wild or the bestial; when it is rendered by *ζῷον* (never in LXX used of man) the emphasis is on life, but not reasoning life, see *ἄλογα*, Wis 11^{15}: it is thus, like *animal*, contrasted with man. In NT the same distinctions obtain: Rev 6^8 'to kill . . . by means of the beasts' (*θηρίων*); 13^1 'the beast' (*θηρίον*); He 13^{11} the sacrificial *ζῷα*, and 2 P 2^{12} (Jude ^{10}) *τὰ ἄλογα ζῷα*, the unreasoning living creatures.

The *ḥayyah* of Ezk and the *ζῷον* of Rev are of that composite creature form known as cherubic (Ezk 10^{20}), partly human, partly animal, and always with wings. (See the representations of cherubic forms in Riehm's *Handwörterbuch*, i. 267, including a hypothetical construction of the Ezekiel cherub-chariot; see also the figures given at the end of the article 'Cherubim' in Kitto's *Biblical Cyclopædia*). Such forms were 'deeply rooted in ancient religious symbolism,' and belong to the 'common cycle of Oriental tradition.' They were conceived as symbols of the divine attributes rather than as representations of actual beings. The idea seems to have been a combination of the intellect of man with the physical force and alertness of the animal for the purpose of bearing up or attending upon deity or guarding what was sacred. (See CHERUBIM). The winged human-headed bulls of the Assyrian monuments may be regarded as the staple of these composite formations; but, whether or not the 'apparent correspondences in non-Semitic mythologies are perhaps deceptive' (Cheyne), it is difficult to class in an entirely different category the sphinxes of Egypt and of Greece and the gryphons of Teutonic fable.

---

* But the Gr. and Syr. Versions read כְּבֹדִי 'my glory'='my soul' (cf. Ps 16^9 etc.). Conversely the LXX read כְּבֵדַי *τὰ ἥπατά μου* for כְּבֹדִי in Gn 49^6. They also make David's wife put a goat's liver (reading כָּבֵד for כְּבִיר of MT) in his bed in the incident recorded in 1 S $19^{13ff.}$!

† On this passage see, further, Wellhausen, *Reste Arab. Heidentums*^{2}, 133 f., and W. R. Smith, *Journ. of Philol.* xiii. 278. Wellh. maintains that there are not *three* forms of divination referred to, the meaning of the passage being simply that the king casts lots before the image of a god and couples with this an act of sacrifice. But why the special allusion to the *liver*? Cf. Bertholet and Davidson, *ad loc.*

* Omitting with edd. 1 P 4^3.

† On 'living creature' as the tr^n of נֶפֶשׁ הַחַיָּה etc., see art. CREATURE, *ad init.*

While the representations of the nature and functions of the 'living creatures' in Ezk and Rev are closely allied, there are marked differences. In Ezk the four creatures have each four heads, looking four different ways, the face of a man being in front, and the faces of animals on the three remaining sides: in Rev three creatures out of the four are like animals, and only one has the face of a man (4^7). In both (whether *μόσχος* must be a calf or may be an ox) the animals are the same, and in both therefore we have the intelligence of the man, the sovereignty of the lion, the strength of the ox, and the swiftness of the eagle. (Cf. Schultz, *OT Theology*, ii. 236). In Ezk each has four wings, in Rev six wings. In Ezk 1 the wheel accompanying each creature and containing its spirit has its felloes full of eyes (1^{18}): in Rev the creatures themselves are full of eyes (as apparently in Ezk 10^{12}, where the wheels and the bodies are confused). In Ezk their function is that of unitedly bearing in one direction or another the firmament and, above that, the throne, with the manifestation of Jehovah upon it: in Rev the throne is immovable, and the function of the four living creatures is that of choregi leading and concluding the various portions of the unceasing hymn of adoration (4^9 $5^{9.\,14}$); their position being somewhat enigmatically described as *ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου* (4^6), 'in the midst of the throne and around the throne,' the first part of which may possibly mean that they supported the throne on each of its sides, or may be some original confusion or early corruption due to the retention or insertion of the simple *καὶ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ* of Ezk 1^5.

The symbolic, imaginary, and variable (cf. Ezk 41^{18} *two* faces) figures of Ezk became, by easy transference, before the date of the Book of Enoch, simply an order of angels, as did the wheels likewise. In that book we read (61^{10}) of the 'host of God, the Cherubim, Seraphim (perhaps=princes), and Ophanim (wheels), and all the angels of power,' etc. At ch. 40 we are introduced to 'four presences' (*i.e.* four angels of the Presence), different from (*i.e.* higher than) those that sleep not (*i.e.* those that unceasingly bless the Lord of spirits, saying 'Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of spirits: He filleth the earth with spirits'): and these four presences, 'angels of the Lord of spirits,' are Michael, the merciful; Raphael, the healer; Gabriel, the mighty; and Phanuel, the spirit of repentance and hope: these 'gave glory before the Lord of glory.' The function of the seraphs, each with six wings, in Is 6^3, is similar: 'One cried to another, Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Hosts: the whole earth is full of his glory.'

We can now see the syncretic character of the nature and functions of the 'living creatures' in Rev. We can see how the composite, symbolic creature-forms of the throne-bearers in Ezk—of which storm and lightning clouds had probably been the prototype—had been assimilated in nature and in function to the seraphs of Isaiah, and to the four angelic 'presences' and 'voices' of Enoch, and had thus finally taken up their position as the highest angels, standing immediately before the throne, and leading the heavenly choir. And so we can understand how, in the later Psalms, He who is said to be 'enthroned upon the cherubim' (Ps 80^1 99^1) can also be spoken of (22^3) as 'enthroned upon the praises of Israel.' If we take note of the diversifications in the symbol as displayed in the history of its use (even by one and the same writer), we shall not be hasty to define rigidly the ideas its several attributes embody. The notion that the living creatures in Rev $4^{6ff.}$ represent 'the quintessence of creation' will scarcely be maintained in face of the fact that in 5^{13} creation is viewed as something quite distinct from them. But if we regard them as standing for the noblest of God's creatures, the most honoured and efficient of His servants, the most devout and constant of His worshippers, then the numerical symbol of all pervasiveness, the human and animal symbols of intelligence, of sovereignty, of strength, and of swiftness, the eyes-symbol of ubiquitous watchfulness and penetration, and the sanctus-symbol of unceasing praise and adoration, will all readily and easily fall into their proper place. For early Christian interpretations see Zahn, *Forsch.* ii. 257 ff.; Swete, *St. Mark*, xxxi ff.

J. MASSIE.

LIZARD (לְטָאָה *lĕṭâ'āh*, *καλαβώτης*, *stellio*).—The word *lizard* occurs but once in AV (Lv 11^{30}). It is one of the following six names of unclean animals (Lv $11^{29.\,30}$), which we give with their Heb. originals and AV and RV equivalents:—

			AV	RV	
1.	צָב	*ẓâb*	tortoise	great lizard.	See CHAMELEON.
2.	אֲנָקָה	*'ănâkâh*	ferret	gecko.	,, GECKO.
3.	כֹּחַ	*kōăh*	chameleon	land crocodile.	,, CHAMELEON.
4.	לְטָאָה	*lĕṭâ'āh*	lizard	lizard.	
5.	חֹמֶט	*ḥōmeṭ*	snail	sand lizard.	,, SNAIL.
6.	תִּנְשֶׁמֶת	*tinshemeth*	mole	chameleon.	,, CHAMELEON.

It will be seen from this list that the RV regards all these creatures as lizards. In our opinion, 1, 3, 4 are pretty certainly *lizards*, 2 probably so, 5 dubious, and 6 perhaps the *mole-rat*, but possibly the *chameleon*. RVm says of 2, 3, 4, 5, 'words of uncertain meaning, but probably denoting four kinds of lizards.' What species of lizard is intended by *lĕṭâ'āh* we have no means of determining. The commonest species are *Lacerta viridis*, L., the *green lizard*; *Lacerta agilis*, L., the *sand lizard* (RV equivalent of AV *snail*, Heb. *ḥômeṭ*); *Zootica muralis*, Laur.; *Ophiops elegans*, Menetr.; *Gongylus ocellatus*, Forsk.

In Pr 30^{28}, where AV has 'the spider taketh hold with her hands,' RV gives 'the lizard taketh,' etc., RVm 'the lizard thou canst seize with thy hands.' The Heb. word is שְׂמָמִית. The trⁿ 'lizard' is supported by the LXX *καλαβώτης*, Vulg. *stellio*, and is adopted by Reuss, Kamphausen, etc., although Delitzsch and some others still defend 'spider.' See further, Bochart, *Hieroz.* ii. 1084.

G. E. POST.

LOAF.—See BREAD, vol. i. p. 318^a.

LO-AMMI (לֹא־עַמִּי 'not my people,' LXX *οὐ λαός μου*).—The second son and third child of Gomer, the wife of the prophet Hosea. Whether or not we infer from Hos $1^{2f.}$ that Lo-ammi was the offspring of an unlawful union, he was recognized by Hosea as his child, and from him received his name. He was born three or four years after his sister Lo-ruhamah, as we may infer from the reference to the weaning of the latter (Hos 1^8), and the fact that weaning took place at two or three years from birth (2 Mac 7^{27}, cf. Gn 21^8, 1 S 1^{23}). The detail is of importance against the purely allegorical interpretation of the chapter, since it is to the point only in a narrative of fact. The *name* is symbolical, embodying Hosea's conviction that Israel had forfeited its claim to J"'s protection: 'call his name Lo-ammi; for ye (the Israelites) are *lō-'ammî'* (*i.e.* 'not my people,' cf. Hos 1^{11} RV), Hos 1^9. For symbolical names given to other actual children, cf. MAHER-SHALAL-HASH-BAZ, SHEAR-JASHUB. Nothing further is known of the person Lo-ammi. The name occurs again in Hos 2^{23} [Heb. ^{25}] RVm, and also in the Hebrew in

2^1 [Eng. 1^{10}]; but in both these cases the name or phrase refers to the people of Israel. Thus 2^1 [Eng. 1^{10}] may be translated, ‘And instead of that which was said to them, Ye are Lo-ammi (*i.e.* ‘not my people’), it shall be said unto them (ye are) sons of the living God’; and similarly 2^{25} [Eng. 2^{23}] ‘And I will say unto Lo-ammi, Thou art Ammi (*i.e.* ‘my people’).’ Both these passages in which the name of Hosea's son is actually applied to the people of Israel have been regarded by certain writers as later additions to the Bk. of Hosea; on 1^{10}–2^1 [Heb. 2^{1-3}] cf. Wellh., Nowack, *ad loc.*, and Cheyne in W. R. Smith's *Prophets*^{2}, p. xviii; and on 2^{18-23} [Heb. 2^{20-25}] Nowack, *ad loc.* Zec 13^9 is an interesting and suggestive parallel passage.

G. B. GRAY.

LOAN.—See DEBT, vol. i. p. 579.

LOCK.—See KEY, vol. ii. p. 836.

LOCUST.—The following words in the Heb. refer to various species of the *Orthoptera*, viz.:—

1. אַרְבֶּה *'arbeh.* This is usually the generic name for locusts, and the one most frequently used in the OT (Ex 10^{4-15} etc.). It is probably derived from רָבָה *râbâh*, signifying to *multiply*, and is highly descriptive of the fecundity of these insects. It is limited by the description (Lv 11^{21}), which makes it one of the ‘flying creeping things that go upon all four, which have legs above their feet, to leap withal upon the earth.’ It shares these characteristics with the סָלְעָם *sol'âm, bald locust*, חַרְגֹּל *ḥargôl*, AV *beetle* (impossible, as the beetle does not leap; it may be, as in RV, ‘cricket’), and חָגָב *ḥâgâb, grasshopper.* In four places only AV tr. it ‘grasshopper’ (Jg 6^5 7^{12}, Job 39^{20}, Jer 46^{23}). In all these RV has ‘locust.’ Wherever *'arbeh* is used, reference is made either to its numbers or its destructiveness. It is evident that the word refers to the migratory species, which are such a terrible plague in the East. The two which do the greatest damage are *Œdipoda migratoria* and *Acridium peregrinum.* These species are endemic in the deserts south-east and south of Palestine, and at irregular intervals spread northward and eastward.

2. סָלְעָם *sol'âm*, ἀττάκης, *attacus* (Lv 11^{22}). This is one of the edible leapers defined in the previous verse. The obsolete root signifies to *swallow* or *devour*. The Talmud, which is the authority for the EV *bald locust*, says that it has a smooth head. Tristram suggests the species of *Truxalis*, which are common in Palestine.

3. חַרְגֹּל *ḥargôl*, perhaps ‘galloper,’ ὀφιομάχης, *ophiomachus* (Lv 11^{22}), tr. AV ‘beetle’ [quite inedible], RV ‘cricket,’ is another of the edible species, distinguishable from the others in the list. But, as there is no hint of the qualities of this kind, we must be content to confess our ignorance. The LXX guess of a *serpent killer* has no foundation.

4. חָגָב *ḥâgâb*, perh. ‘concealer (*sc.* of the sun),’ ἀκρίς, *locusta.* It is evidently one of the devouring species, and is tr. in one place AV and RV ‘locust’ (2 Ch 7^{13}), while in the others (Lv 11^{22}, Nu 13^{33}, Ec 12^5, Is 40^{22}) it is translated ‘grasshopper.’ What species it is we have no means of knowing. Its occurrence in the list with *'arbeh, sol'âm*, and *ḥargôl* makes it sure that it was known to the Israelites, and distinguishable from the other edible insects mentioned.

5. צְלָצַל (pausal form) *ẓĕlâẓal* (Dt 28^{42}), is tr. by the LXX ἐρυσίβη, and Vulg. *rubigo* = *blight* or *mildew.* But it is much more probable that this is a word referring to the *whizzing, whirring*, or *rushing* of the wings of the locusts (cf. Is 18^1), or the stridulation (of legs against sheath of wing).

6. [גֵּב] *gêb*, only in pl. גֵּבִים (Is 33^4); גֹּבַי *gôbai* (Am 7^1, AV ‘grasshoppers,’ m. ‘green worms,’ RV ‘locusts’); גּוֹב *gôb*, גּוֹבַי *gôbai* (Nah 3^{17}), AV ‘great grasshoppers,’ RV ‘swarms of grasshoppers.’ The LXX tr. all these ἀκρίς. Some have supposed (see Driver on Am 7^1) this word to refer to the larval state of the locust, but there is no certain proof of it.

7. גָּזָם *gāzām*, ‘lopper’ or ‘shearer.’ The two lists of four devourers (Jl 1^4 2^{25}) have perplexed commentators. *'Arbeh*, which is second in the first list and first in the second, is, as seen above, the most generic name for locust. In the first list it is said that that which the *gāzām*, ‘palmerworm,’ hath left hath the *'arbeh*, ‘locust,’ eaten; that which the *'arbeh* hath left hath the *yeleḳ*, ‘cankerworm,’ eaten; and that which the *yeleḳ* hath left hath the *ḥāsîl*, ‘caterpillar,’ eaten. In the second list it is said, ‘I will restore to you the years which the *'arbeh* hath eaten, the *yeleḳ*, and the *ḥāsîl*, and the *gāzām.*’ This discrepancy in the order in lists found in successive passages of the same author, creates an insuperable difficulty in determining with certainty the destroyers intended. The attempt to identify them as successive steps in the development of the locust is defeated by the want of accord between the two passages. (See PALMERWORM).

8. יֶלֶק *yeleḳ*, prob. ‘lopper,’ ἀκρίς, βροῦχος, *bruchus, cankerworm, caterpillar.* The expression (Nah $3^{15.16}$), ‘the sword shall devour thee like the *yeleḳ*; make thyself many as the *yeleḳ*; make thyself many as the *'arbeh* . . . the *yeleḳ* spoileth (m. spreadeth himself) and flieth away,’ has been supposed to imply that the *yeleḳ* is the larval stage of the locust up to the time of the evolution of its wings. But as it is said that the *yeleḳ* flies away, the passage is not decisive. The *yeleḳ* is spoken of as coming after the *'arbeh* (Ps 105^{34}), before and after (Jl 1^4 2^{25}). In the passage in Ps, AV has ‘caterpillar,’ RV ‘cankerworm.’ In Joel both VSS have ‘cankerworm.’ In Jer $51^{14.27}$ AV has ‘caterpillars,’ RV ‘cankerworm.’ In the latter verse the creature is said to be ‘rough.’

9. חָסִיל *ḥāṣîl*, ‘finisher,’ ἀκρίς, βροῦχος, ἐρυσίβη, *rubigo, ærugo, caterpillar.* This discrepancy of tr. in the VSS makes the meaning of this word uncertain. It occurs after *'arbeh* (1 K 8^{37}, 2 Ch 6^{28}), before it (Ps 78^{46}, Is 33^4), after *yeleḳ* (Jl 1^4 2^{25}). In all the passages the context seems to point to the destroying locust in some of its forms.

The destructiveness of locusts is often referred to in Scripture. It is compared with that of a mighty army (Jl 2^{2-9}). They are perhaps the most terrible of all the scourges of Bible lands. Their swarms fill the air, darkening the sky, and the noise of their wings resembles the pattering of a heavy rain. They fly with great rapidity, and towards nightfall they light wherever they may happen to be; and such are their numbers that they often break the branches of the trees to which they cling. The flying locust eats comparatively little, but will not disdain any green thing that may be in his way. But as the swarm invariably resumes its flight as soon as the sun has warmed it a little (Nah 3^{17}), and does not return, it has not time to destroy all the vegetation. Often a swarm comes and goes away without having done much harm. But such of the females as are ready to lay their eggs begin as soon as they alight to moisten the spot of earth with a secretion from their tails, and excavate in the softened soil holes in which they deposit the ovisac, which often contains as many as a hundred eggs. The next morning the swarm flies away, and at night other females deposit their eggs at their new resting-places. It is the larvæ of these eggs which work the devastation which makes the locust so great a scourge. When a swarm of locusts appears, the first care of the owners of lands and gardens is to prevent them from alighting on their grounds. For this purpose they beat pans, and shout, and fire guns, and make all manner of noise. The locusts, which are easily frightened, may thus be compelled to seek another resting-place. But finally the vast swarm alights. The people then pour out into the fields and gardens, and catch as many as possible, and place them in sacks, in which they are either pounded to death or drowned. The same hunt is repeated the next morning, before the sun is up, while the locusts, chilled by the night air, and weighted with the dew, are still unable to fly (Nah 3^{17}). As soon as they are gone the search for their eggs begins. The government either enforces a *per capita* contribution of these eggs, or offers a price for them by weight. With all the exertions of many hundreds of persons, however, vast numbers of the eggs escape their search, and in about fifteen to twenty days hatch out. The black larvæ now spread like a pall over the land, eating every green thing, even stripping the bark off the trees. As they cannot fly, they convert the district around which they were hatched into a desert, until, after a month to forty days, their wings are grown, and they fly away to begin in other places their round of devastation. The Arab. name for them is *jerâd*, from a root signifying *to strip*. The march of these destroyers is arrested in various ways. The people dig trenches in their pathway, and, when these are full of the creatures, turn back the earth and bury them, or turn water into the trenches and drown them. They often kindle fires in their pathway, and drive them into the flames. Besides the damage done by locusts in their various stages of development in devouring vegetation, they choke the wells and streams, which are often filled by their innumerable carcases, and so defiled that their waters are no longer drinkable. When driven by strong winds into the sea or rivers, their bodies are piled in prodigious heaps along the shore or bank, and breed pestilence by their intolerable effluvia.

Locusts are unable to fly against the wind. Their wings become entangled, and they are 'tossed up and down' (Ps 109^{23}), and fall to the ground. They are certainly used as food, and were doubtless part of the diet of John the Baptist (Mt 3^4). The writer has seen them toasted and eaten. The Arabs stew them with clarified butter, after tearing off the head, legs, and wings. They are said to be dried and ground to meal in some places.

Locusts are mentioned once in the NT (Rev 9^{3-11}) as monsters, in the likeness of war horses, with hair like women, teeth like lions, breastplates like iron, tails with stings like scorpions, their king being Abaddon or Apollyon, the angel of the abyss.

See on the whole subject of this article the elaborate 'Excursus on Locusts' in Driver's *Joel and Amos*, 82 ff., and the literature there cited.

G. E. POST.

LOD, LYDDA (לֹד; LXX Λόδ in 1 Ch 8^{12} [A; B om.], Ezr 2^{33}, Neh 7^{37}; Λύδδα in Neh 11^{35} [ABℵ* om.], 1 Mac 11^{34}; NT Λύδδα) is identified as the Arabic *Ludd*, a village in the plain of Sharon about 10 miles S.E. of Joppa on the way to Jerusalem. From a distance its appearance is pleasant and picturesque, occupying a fertile hollow in the great undulating plain, surrounded by gardens of olive and various fruit trees, and situated near a valley that leads into the river 'Aujeh. The village itself is very dilapidated, a haunt of dirt diseases, the effect of modern squalor being intensified by the presence of noble ruins testifying to former prosperity.

1. *Bible references*.—Lod is alluded to in 1 Ch 8^{12} as having been built along with Ono by Shemed of the tribe of Benjamin. The inhabitants of these villages shared in the tribulations of the Babylonian captivity, and a considerable number of them returned under Zerubbabel, Ezra, and Nehemiah (Ezr 2^{33}, Neh 7^{37} 11^{35}).

The most interesting allusion to Lydda is in the NT, where it is recorded that St. Peter visited the saints there, and healed Æneas, and when there received the urgent request to go to Joppa on behalf of Dorcas (Ac 9^{32-38}).

2. *General history*.—Besides being close to the road from Joppa leading eastward to Jerusalem, Lydda was also on the great caravan route between Babylon and Egypt. Camels laden with rich merchandise from Baghdad, Aleppo, Damascus, and the region beyond Galilee, and protected by armed attendants, were constantly defiling through Shechem, resting at Lydda and Ono, and passing on through Gaza to Egypt. Joseph would be taken by the Ishmaelites along this route. The manufacture and repair of such requisites for the journey as sacks, saddles, and strappings, would create the skilled labour in cloth, leather, wood, and metal that made the neighbouring Ono 'the valley of craftsmen' (Neh 11^{35}). During the Jewish wars of independence, the frequent sieges, change of ownership, and general lawlessness of Jaffa would encourage the transit of goods by land until, under more settled government, commerce naturally chose the cheaper mode of conveyance by sea. In this way, by a peaceful necessity of trade, apart from the devastations of war, Lydda, like Aleppo and other towns of the caravan route, fell into insignificance and silent decay.

3. *Non-biblical references*.—Lydda is mentioned by Josephus as one of the eleven toparchies or chief sections of the kingdom of Judæa over which Jerusalem presided (*BJ* III. iii. 5). Along with Aphærema and Ramathaim it was taken from Samaria and restored to Jerusalem by Demetrius Nikator, B.C. 152 (1 Mac 10^{30} 11^{34}; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. iv. 9). Its inhabitants were wantonly sold into slavery by Cassius, and restored to freedom by Antony (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. xi. 2, xii. 2–5). Cestius Gallus, who inflicted such loss upon Joppa, also burnt Lydda and killed about fifty of its inhabitants, the majority being absent attending the Feast of Tabernacles at Jerusalem (Jos. *BJ* II. xix. 1). Soon afterwards it was rebuilt, and was a town of considerable wealth and importance when it surrendered to Vespasian on his way to the siege of Jerusalem (Jos. *BJ* IV. viii. 1). About this period Lydda was famous as a seat of Rabbinical learning. In the early Christian centuries it was of sufficient importance to be made the seat of a bishop. Its bishop took part in the Council of Nicæa, and, later on, Pelagius appeared before an ecclesiastical assembly there on a charge of heresy, and, amid considerable tumult, was acquitted.

Lydda and St. George.—The celebrated St. George, called by the Moslems *el-Khudr*, 'the ever-green *or* undying,' was born at Lydda in the 3rd cent., and is said to have died there. The beautiful cathedral church of St. George was built over his reputed tomb. On account of its fortress-like appearance, it was destroyed by the Moslems when they invaded the land. After being rebuilt with much magnificence by the Crusaders, it was demolished by Saladin in 1191, after the disaster of Ḳurn Ḥattin, where a disorderly rabble, bearing the name and mission of the Cross, was annihilated on the reputed Mount of Beatitudes.

After so many years of conflict, the church now enjoys a truce of dilapidation, with a mosque in one end of the ruin and a Greek church in the other.

From the 2nd cent. onwards Lydda was called *Diospolis*, but the old name was never quite superseded, and in the Arabic *Ludd* survives to the present day.

LITERATURE.—Robinson, *BRP*^{2} ii. 244–248; Guérin, *Judée*, i. 322 ff.; Thomson, *Land and Book*, *Southern Pal.* 103–107; Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* 76 ff.; Schürer, *HJP* (Index, s. 'Lydda'); Buhl, *GAP* 197. G. M. MACKIE.

LODDEUS (B *Λααδαῖος* v.^{44}, *Λοδαῖος* v.^{45}, A *Δολδαῖος*; AV Saddeus, Daddeus; 1 Es $8^{45.\ 46}$ [$^{44.\ 45}$ LXX]).—The 'captain in the place of the treasury' (or 'at the place Casiphia,' Ezr 8^{17}), to whom Ezra sent, while encamped on the river Theras, for Levites to accompany him on the return. He is called IDDO in Ezr 8^{17}. The form *Λοδαῖος* appears to have arisen from repeating the ל in אֶל־אִדּוֹ 'to Iddo.' H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

LO-DEBAR (in 2 S $9^{4.\ 5}$ לוֹ דְבָר, B *Λαδαβάρ*, A *Λαβαδαρί*; in 17^{27} לֹא דְבָר, BA *Λωδαβάρ*, Luc. *Λαδαβάρ*).—A place in Gilead, near to, and apparently east from, Mahanaim. It was the retreat of Mephibosheth till he was summoned to court by David, 2 S $9^{4.\ 5}$. It is mentioned also upon the occasion of David's flight to the east of the Jordan, 17^{27}. The site has not been recovered.

Wellhausen and Nowack (in their *Comm. ad loc.*) and Buhl (*GAP* 71), following Grätz, find the proper name Lo-debar also in Am 6^{13}, where EVV (followed by Driver) read and tr. לֹא דָבָר 'a thing of nought.' Lo-debar is perhaps intended in the לִדְבִר of Jos 13^{26}. See DEBIR, No. 2. J. A. SELBIE.

LODGE.—To lodge is in AV nearly always to spend the night, as Jos 8^9 'Joshua lodged that night among the people'; Ru 1^{16} 'where thou lodgest, I will lodge'; Job 31^{32} 'the stranger did not lodge in the street: but I opened my doors to the traveller'; Zeph 2^{14} 'both the cormorant and the bittern shall lodge in the upper lintels of it.' In OT that is always the meaning. The verb is some part of לוּן or לִין, except in Jos 2^1 'And they went, and came into an harlot's house, named Rahab, and lodged there' (וַיִּשְׁכְּבוּ־שָׁמָּה, RV 'and lay there'); and 4^3 'the place where they lodged,' Heb. מָלוֹן, elsewhere translated 'lodging' (2 K 19^{23}, Is 10^{29}), 'lodging place' (Jos 4^3, Jer 9^2), 'inn,' with RV 'lodging place' (Gn 42^{27} 43^{21}, Ex 4^{24}). In Apocr. and NT we find 'lodge' as the tr. of (1) *αὐλίζομαι*, To $6^{1.\ 10}$ 9^6, Sir 14^{26}, Mt 21^{17}; (2) *καταλύω*, Sir $14^{24.\ 25}$, Lk 9^{12}; (3) *κοιμάομαι*, 1 Mac 11^6; (4) *κατασκηνόω*, Mt 13^{32}, Mk 4^{32}, Lk 13^{19}. In all these places the meaning of 'lodge' is 'spend the night.' But we also find *ξενίζω* so translated in Ac $10^{6.\ 18.\ 23.\ 32}$ 21^{16} 28^7, and *ἐπιξενόομαι* in Sir 29^{27}, and then the meaning is, if trans., 'receive as a guest,' 'entertain,' or if intrans. 'be entertained,' 'be a guest.' Thus the only meanings that the verb to lodge has in AV and RV are (1) pass the night in a place, and (2) entertain one or be entertained by one as a guest. For the meaning 'pass the night' see Shaks. *II Henry VI.* I. i. 80—

> 'Did he so often lodge in open field,
> In winter's cold, and summer's parching heat,
> To conquer France, his true inheritance?'

Rom. and Jul. II. iii. 36—

> 'And where care lodges, sleep will never lie.'

Macbeth, II. ii. 26—

> 'There are two lodged together.
> One cried, "God bless us!" and "Amen" the other.'

And for the sense of 'entertain' or 'be entertained,' He 13^2 Tind. 'Be not forgetfull to lodge straungers'; *Taming of Shrew*, IV. ii. 107—

> 'And in my house you shall be friendly lodged.'

Lodge as a subst. occurs but twice: (1) Is 1^8 'And the daughter of Zion is left as a cottage in a vineyard, as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers' (מְלוּנָה found elsewhere only Is 24^{20}, AV 'cottage,' RV 'hut'; it is the watch-tower [Mt 21^{33}, Mk 12^1] or hut in which the caretaker of the vineyard dwells while the crop is ripening until it is gathered in: see Wetzstein in Delitzsch's *Job*, ii. 74 f., and art. BOOTH, with illustration under CUCUMBER); (2) Jth 3^3 'Behold, our houses, and all our places, and all our fields of wheat, and flocks, and herds, and all the lodges of our tents, lie before thy face' (*αἱ μάνδραι τῶν σκηνῶν ἡμῶν*; RV 'the sheepcotes of our tents,' as AV in 2^{26} for the same word; 'lodges' is from the Geneva Bible, which has 'lodge' also in 2^{26}).

Lodging or lodging place is found in both meanings belonging to the verb lodge: (1) a place to spend the night in, as Jer 9^2 'Oh that I had in the wilderness a lodging place of wayfaring men' (מָלוֹן); Sir 14^{25} 'He shall lodge in a lodging where good things are' (*κατάλυμα*); (2) a place of entertainment, only Ac 28^{23} and Philem ^{22} (*ξενία*).

J. HASTINGS.

LOFT (from the Scand., but the same as Anglo-Saxon *lyft*, the sky) is used twice in AV. In 1 K 17^{19} it means an upper room in a house, 'And he took him out of her bosom, and carried him up into a loft, where he abode, and laid him upon his own bed' (אֶל־הָעֲלִיָּה, RV 'into the chamber'). Elsewhere עֲלִיָּה is tr. 'chamber,' 'upper chamber,' 'parlour,' etc. (but see Moore on Jg 3^{30}). LXX has *ὑπερῷον*, its usual word for עֲלִיָּה; Vulg. cœnaculum, whence Wyc. 1382, 'sowping place,' *i.e.* supper room, but 1388 'soter,' *i.e.* upper room; Dou. 'upper chamber'; 'loft' is the Bishops' word. In Ac 20^9 it means one of the storeys of a house, 'Eutychus . . . fell down from the third loft' (*ἀπὸ τοῦ τριστέγου*, RV 'from the third storey'; Vulg. de tertio cænaculo; Wyc. 'from the third stage *or souping place*'; Tind. 'from the thyrde lofte,' followed by the rest of the versions). Cf. Gn 6^{16} Tind. 'And the dore of the areke shalt thou sette in the syde of it: and thou shalt make it with three loftes one above an other.' In Scots a 'lofted' house was a house of more than one storey. Jamieson quotes from Scott, *Waverley*, i. 298, 'Ian nan Chaistel's mansion, a high rude-looking square tower, with the addition of a lofted house, that is, a building of two stories.' J. HASTINGS.

LOFTINESS.—The adj. 'lofty' is used literally as in Is 57^7 'upon a lofty and high mountain'; and also metaphorically when it means 'haughty,' as Is 2^{11} 'The lofty looks of man shall be humbled'; so the adv. which occurs only in Ps 73^8 'They speak loftily' (מִמָּרוֹם, RVm 'from on high'). Loftiness is only metaphorical, haughtiness, Is 2^{17} 'the loftiness of man shall be bowed down' (גַּבְהוּת הָאָדָם), and Jer 48^{29} 'his loftiness' (גָּבְהוֹ). Cf. Shaks. *Love's Labour's Lost*, V. i. 11—'His humour is lofty, his discourse peremptory'; Sandys, *Sermons*, 107, 'Another exposition is, to make this a proper mean to keep and conserve unity, rather than a way only to diminish loftiness and pride.' J. HASTINGS.

LOG.—See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

LOGOS (*ὁ λόγος*) signified in classical Greek both Word (*verbum*, *sermo*, *oratio*) and Reason (*ratio*), but in biblical Greek is used only in the former sense, except in a few passages where it means 'account' (*e.g.* Mt 18^{23}, Ro 14^{12}, Ac 20^{24}), and a few brief phrases in which the sense of 'reason' more plainly appears (Ac 10^{29} *τίνι λόγῳ*, 'for what reason'; 18^{14} 'reason would' *κατὰ λόγον*; 2 Mac 4^{36}, 3 Mac 7^8 *παρὰ λόγον*). By the LXX it is used to tr. דָּבָר (*word*) and its poetic synonyms אֹמֶר and מִלָּה. In NT it signifies a verbal utterance, then discourse, speech, instruction, narrative, and, when applied to God, either a specific divine utterance, or revelation in general, or the Scriptures as the communication of God's mind and will. Finally, it is employed by St. John to denominate the Son of God, both before and after His incarnation. This latter use gives the doctrine of the Logos which the present article is to describe.

St. John's peculiar use of Logos is found six times, namely, Gospel 1^{1} (three times) and ^{14}, where we read simply 'the Word,' 1 Jn 1^{1} 'the Word of life,' Rev 19^{13} 'the Word of God.' [1 Jn 5^{7} of TR and AV is spurious]. In Rev 19^{13} the term is applied to the conquering Christ, since His progress is the triumph of the divine revelation, of which He is both agent and substance. The title naturally associates itself with the author's Logos doctrine, either exhibiting an approach to it or an application of it, according to the dates we assign to the Gospel and the Apoc.; for in the Gospel the Logos is identified with the historical Christ (1^{14}), and in the Apoc. Christ is affirmed to be the divine agent of revelation and redemption (*e.g.* $1^{5.\,6.\,17}$ 5^{6} 21^{23} 22^{13}). The reference of 1 Jn 1^{1} to the personal Logos is disputed (*e.g.* Westcott, *Comm.*); but the verbs used, the parallelism with the prologue of the Gospel, and the clear reference of v.^{2} to the incarnation, indicate that here also Logos means the personal Word (so Haupt, Schmid, Weiss, etc.), although the subject of the Epistle is not the person of the Logos, but the life which He possesses and has manifested. It is, however, from the prologue of the Gospel that we must derive St. John's doctrine of the Logos. Yet the prologue is illuminated by many passages of both the Gospel and the first Ep.; for, though with historical fidelity St. John does not impute to Christ his own Logos terminology, the latter was evidently meant to be supported by Christ's self-testimony which the Gospel records and the Epistle implies. Nowhere else in NT is the term Logos certainly applied to Christ. He 4^{12} has often been so understood, while others (*e.g.* Köstlin, Bleek, Delitzsch) see in it, at least, an approach to the Johannean usage;[*] but the context and adjectives used have led most commentators to refer the phrase to revelation, written or unwritten. Neither should 1 P 1^{23} nor 2 P 3^{5} be understood of the personal Logos.

We shall first state St. John's doctrine, and then discuss the reason for his peculiar terminology.

I. ST. JOHN'S DOCTRINE is that Jesus Christ is the real incarnation of an eternally divine person (elsewhere called by him 'the only-begotten Son' of God, Jn $1^{14.\,18}$ $3^{16.\,18}$, 1 Jn 4^{9}; a term which declares His Sonship to be unique; in Jn 1^{18} Tregelles and WH with much force prefer the reading 'only-begotten God'), who has ever been the medium through whom God (called *ὁ θεός* in antithesis to the Logos, and 'Father' in antithesis to the 'Son') has exercised His activity in relation to the finite universe, and who, as the perfect manifestation of God's nature and will, is called the Word (Logos). In vv.$^{1.\,2}$ of the prologue the relation of the Logos to God is stated. 'In the beginning' of all finite, temporal existence—a phrase suggested doubtless by Gn 1^{1}—the Logos *was*. He belongs, therefore, to the superfinite category of being, and is an eternal person. His existence is then more specifically defined as to both His personality and essential Deity. 'The Logos was with (*πρός*, towards) God (*τὸν θεόν*),' *i.e.* eternally in relation to God, and, therefore, a distinct personality from *ὁ θεός*, but in intimate communion with Him (*πρός*). 'The Logos was God (*θεός*),' *i.e.* in His essential nature He was Deity. The formality of these condensed statements, as well as the emphatic repetition, 'the same was in the beginning with God,' forbid the idea that they are not to be taken literally (against Beyschlag, *Bib. Theol. of NT*). In vv.$^{3-5}$ the activity of the Logos in relation to the universe is stated. 'All things were made (came into existence, *ἐγένετο*) through him, and without him was not anything made that hath been made'; a phrase which describes the Logos as the medium of the entire creative activity of God, and which excludes, at least by implication, the notion that creation was the formation of the cosmos from existing matter.[*] 'In' the Logos, moreover, 'was life,' *i.e.* He possessed the divine fulness of physical, rational, and ethical energy, with the implication that all the manifestations of life in the universe are due to His activity[†] (cf. Col 1^{17}. Note here also 1 Jn 1^{1-3}). Hence to men, endowed with intelligence, the life possessed by the Logos and manifested in creation was originally the illuminating truth ('the light') by which they apprehended God and duty; but when man became immersed in darkness (by sin), the divine light, though still continuing to shine, was not comprehended. This divine person crowned His manifestation of God by becoming flesh,—an expression which includes the reality and totality of Christ's human nature, the identity of His personality with that of the divine Logos, and, when taken with the context, the voluntariness of the incarnation,—and in the flesh manifested to His disciples, like the Shechinah in the tabernacle, His glory, such as became God's 'only-begotten One,' being 'full of grace and truth.' Attested by the Baptist (vv.$^{6-9.\,15}$) and the apostles (vv.$^{14.\,16}$), He surpassed the earlier revelation through Moses (vv.$^{16.\,17}$), though after, as before, His incarnation He was rejected by the world, and even by the Jews (v.^{11}), and was received only by the true children of God (vv.$^{12.\,13}$). He, however, is the only, but perfect, medium through whom God is known (v.^{18}).

From this summary it appears (1) that *ὁ λόγος* is not equivalent to *ὁ λέγων*, 'he who speaks,' as if the term were used because Christ was the teacher of whom St. John wrote; nor to *ὁ λεγόμενος*, 'the promised one'; but is a designation of the divine Son in His everlasting function of revealer of God. (2) That Logos means 'Word,' not 'Reason,' since it represents Him as the personal manifestation, not of a part of the Divine Nature, but of the whole of Deity (cf. $14^{9.\,10}$). (3) That the purpose of the prologue was to summarily express the teaching of the gospel (see 20^{31}) by representing Jesus as the real incarnation of God (cf. 1 Jn $5^{20.\,21}$), His spoken message (Christianity) as the expression of His inmost and eternal nature, and His historical activity in the flesh as the crown of all other manifestations of God, since these were mediated by the same divine person. For this purpose the term Word was an appropriate means of describing the Son as the perfect medium of God's self-revelation.

II. ST. JOHN'S TERMINOLOGY.—In discussing the *historical origin* of St. John's teaching, it is fair to distinguish between the source of the doctrine and of the phraseology in which he clothed it. Writers who regard the doctrine as an offshoot of the Alexandrian philosophy (see, *e.g.*, among more recent writers, Holtzmann, *Einleit. in das N.T.* p. 430, and, still more uncompromisingly, Réville, *La Doct. du Logos dans le quat. Évang. et dans les œuvres de Philon*) fail to do justice to the testimony of the Fourth Gospel itself, to the teaching concerning Christ's person found in earlier apostolic literature, and to the profound differences between Philo's doctrine and St. John's. Thus the Fourth Gospel itself indicates that the historical personality and teaching of Jesus was the primary source from which the writer drew his belief in the Lord's divinity and mediatorial function (see, *e.g.*, Jn 1^{30} $3^{13-21.\,35.\,36}$ 5^{19-30} $6^{57.\,62}$ $7^{28.\,29}$ $8^{14.\,23.\,38.\,42.\,54.\,58}$ 10^{29-38} 12^{44-50} 14^{6-11} $16^{15.\,28}$ $17^{2.\,5.\,8.\,21}$ 18^{37} $20^{28.\,30.\,31}$). As the author appeals to historical testimony (*e.g.* 1^{14} 2^{11} 14^{26} $20^{30.\,31}$) for his narrative, so the prologue cannot be separated from the narrative which follows it, but, while evincing the writer's reflection upon the nature of Christ, evidently appeals to Christ Himself for proof of the doctrine. Moreover, St. Paul and the Ep. to the Heb. had already set forth the person of Christ in terms which include every element of St. John's doctrine, though in different phraseology (see esp. Col 1^{13-20} 2^{9}, Ph 2^{5-11}, He 1^{1-4}). The doctrine of Christ's eternal divine Sonship, and His function as revealer of God (note *εἰκών*, *ἀπαύγασμα*, etc.), was therefore, long before St. John wrote, an explicit belief of the Christians, so that there is no need to go beyond the sphere of apostolic testimony and teaching to account for the substance of his doctrine.

---

[*] Grimm (*Clavis*: followed by Thayer, *Lex.*) gives this as a solitary instance of the use of Logos in the sense of the divine mind or reason; but for this there is neither necessity in the context nor warrant in NT usages.

[*] Philo's phrase, *λόγος δὲ ἐστιν εἰκὼν θεοῦ, δι' οὗ σύμπας ὁ κόσμος ἐδημιουργεῖτο* (*de Monarch.* c. 5), or *κατεσκευάσθη* (*de Cherub.* c. 35), is quite different from St. John's.

[†] Many MSS and the earliest Fathers and Versions punctuate, 'That which hath been made in him was life,' and WH prefer this; but the perfect would then seem to require 'is,' not 'was,' a reading not sufficiently supported (see Meyer, *Comm. in loc.*)

The difference between St. John and Philo will appear later. St. John's doctrine therefore is not to be regarded as a philosophical speculation, nor may it be rationalized into the idea that intelligence originated the universe, or that Christianity is the realization of God's eternal thought. It is rather the careful and complete statement, in peculiar and significant phraseology, of a belief which already existed in the apostolic Church, and which was based on Christ's own testimony as well as on later revelations and reflections.

But what led St. John to use his peculiar phraseology?

(*a*) Its source has been found by many in the OT and in post-canon. Jewish literature.

In Gn creation is attributed to the command or word of God, and this led to a quasi-personification of the divine word in later poetical descriptions of creation (Ps 33^{6}) and providence (Ps 107^{20} $147^{15.\,18}$ 148^{8}). Still more emphatically was revelation called 'the word of the Lord,' and hence such phrases occur as 'the word of the Lord came,' or even 'the word which Isaiah saw' (Is 2^{1}, so Mic 1^{1}, Am 1^{1}), which tended to represent the divine utterance as a separate and continuous object, distinguishable from the spoken and written word. With this are to be joined the OT representations of 'the angel of J″,' or 'of God,' or 'of the covenant' (Gn 16^{7-13} 21^{17} 18^{13} compared with ^{2} 22^{11} 24^{7} $31^{11.\,13}$ $32^{24.\,30}$ (Hos 12^{3-5}) 48^{16}, Ex 3^{2-6} 14^{19} $23^{20.\,23}$ 32^{34}, Jos $5^{14.\,15}$ with 6^{2}, Jg 2^{1} 5^{23} $6^{11.\,21.\,22}$, Zec 1^{12} 3^{1}, Mal 3^{1}), who appears now identical with and now distinguished from God; as well as the apparent personifications of the divine 'name' (Ex 23^{21}, 1 K 8^{29}, Is 30^{27}, Ps 54^{1}, Jer 10^{6}, and perhaps Dt $12^{5.\,11.\,21}$ etc.) and 'presence' (Ex 33^{14}, Dt 4^{37} [RV], Is 63^{9}) and 'glory' (Ex 33^{18} [cf. v.^{20}] 40^{34}, 1 K 8^{11}). Certainly, some of these passages represent J″ as revealing Himself through a special personal organ, whether that be identified with a divine person or regarded as a created agent employed by such (see Oehler, *OT Theol.* § 60). That Heb. thought tended to conceive of the medium of revelation as personal is also shown by the description of 'wisdom' (חָכְמָה) in some of the later books (Job 28^{12-28}, and especially Pr 8^{22-31}), though it is doubtful if the language amounts to more than poetical personification. Heb. belief in a living God, in immediate relation to the world and to Israel, certainly called for no intermediate being in the interest of philosophy, and the approaches made in OT toward the idea of a second divine person appear chiefly in the special theophanies and other manifestations of God recorded in the history; yet the description of 'wisdom,' even in the canon. books, may fairly be regarded as constituting a phase in the development of the idea. The post-canon. writings carry the tendency further. In Sir (1. 24) wisdom is still more boldly personified and described as premundane, though created, and manifested in the world, especially in Israel and in the law. Other expressions, however ($24^{14.\,23}$), show that the description is still partly poetical. The 'Wisdom of Solomon' approaches more nearly to attributing hypostatical existence to wisdom (see 7^{25-27} 'For she is a breath of the power of God and a pure effluence from the glory of the Almighty: therefore no defiled thing falls into her. For she is an outshining of the eternal light (*ἀπαύγασμα φωτὸς ἀϊδίου*), and an unspotted mirror of the efficiency of God and image (*εἰκών*) of His goodness,' etc., 8^{3-5} $9^{4.\,9\text{-}11}$), and also speaks of God's Word (Logos) as His agent in creation (9^{1} 'who didst make all things *ἐν λόγῳ σου*') and in judgment (18^{15} 'Thine almighty word leaped down from heaven from thy royal throne, as a fierce man of war in a land devoted to destruction, bearing thine unfeigned commandment as a sharp sword'). The influence of Alexandrianism on this book is probable, and its conceptions move in a different direction from St. John's; but in the Targums a similar tendency appears in phraseology more akin to the apostle's. This is shown in their frequent use of 'Word' מֵימְרָא in connexion with the name of God to express His agency (*e.g.* Onkelos, Gn 3^{8} וּשְׁמַעוּ יַת־קָל מֵימְרָא־דַיְיָ אֱלֹהִים מִתְהַלֵּךְ בְּגִנְּתָא 'They heard the voice of the Word of the LORD God walking in the garden'); Targum on Ps 2^{4} מֵימְרָא דַיְיָ יִדְחַךְ לְהוֹן ('The Word of the Lord shall have them in derision'). Other like expressions are also used,—שְׁכִנְתָּא דַיְיָ, יְקָרָא דַיְיָ, דִּבּוּרָא דַיְיָ,—the last of which was commonly applied to the visible presence of J″ in the tabernacle (*e.g.* Onkelos, Ex 25^{8} 'I will make my Shechinah to dwell among them'). The Targums do not appear to have applied these epithets to the Messiah, though the application did not lie far distant (*e.g.* Jerus. Targ. explains Gn 49^{18} of deliverance, 'not through Samson or Gideon, but of the redemption through thy Word'). Their usage perhaps arose from an unwillingness, which the canon. writers did not feel, to bring the *holy* God into immediate contact with men, and, therefore, easily allied itself with the felt need of a Mediator; while the terms employed lent themselves more readily to Johannean doctrine than those of the Wisdom literature did.*

Thus Heb. thought tended to represent God's self-manifestation as mediated by an agent, more or less conceived as personal and yet blending with the divine personality itself. Of the descriptive terms used, one of the commonest, and the one which seemed to rest directly on biblical language, was the 'Word'; and many consider this the probable source of St. John's phraseology. In favour of this may be urged the fact that St. John was a Pal. Jew; that his familiarity with current Jewish religious ideas is abundantly shown in his Gospel; that in Rev 19^{13} the title 'the word of God' is certainly drawn from Jewish, not Alex., habits of thought; that his writings evince loyalty to OT teaching (cf. Jn 1^{17} $3^{10.\,14}$ $4^{22.\,38}$ $5^{39.\,46}$ 10^{35} 12^{38-40} $19^{36.\,37}$); and that some expressions in the Gospel indicate his belief that Jesus was the full realization of the typical divine manifestations recorded in Heb. history (1^{14} *ἐσκήνωσεν*, *δόξαν*, $^{29.\,51}$ 2^{19} 3^{14} $6^{32.\,33.\,48-50}$ 8^{58}, perhaps $10^{35.\,36}$, 12^{41}). The description also of revelation as the word of God, common to Jews and Christians (cf. Jn 10^{35}), together with St. John's view of Christ as the living embodiment of the Truth (cf. 1^{16} 6^{48} 8^{12} 11^{25} 14^{6}, 1 Jn 1^{1-3} etc.), would furnish additional reason for the application of this current term to Him whom he wished to set forth as the personal divine organ through whom God ever has revealed Himself.

(*b*) The other source from which St. John might have derived his phraseology was the Alexandrian philosophy, chiefly represented by Philo. Since the time of Heraclitus, a Logos doctrine had been developing in Greek thought for the purpose of explaining how Deity came into relation with the world. By the Logos, however, in this connexion, the Greeks meant *reason*. With Heraclitus the Logos was merely the universal law in accordance with which the evolution of the universe from primordial fire proceeds. When later thinkers had risen to a clear distinction of mind from matter, and had perceived its formative and pervasive presence in nature, the Logos came to denote the distinctively rational principle manifested in the cosmos. Plato, indeed, commonly employed for this the term *νοῦς*; but he occasionally used *λόγος* as descriptive of the divine force from which the world has arisen (*e.g. Tim.* 38 C), and his doctrine of 'ideas' prepared the way for Philo. It was, however, the Stoics who formally developed the Logos idea. Interested mainly in the ethical problems of life, yet reverting to the earlier monism, they saw in the universe a rational principle (the Logos), in one aspect divine and in another finite, at once the divine reason and governor of the cosmos and, as the 'seminal Logos,' distributed in the rational germs from which all separate realities emerge. Finally, in the Jewish philosophy of Alexandria, Judaism united with Platonism and Stoicism for the purpose of showing that the OT taught the true philosophy, and expounded the Scriptures in this interest by allegorical interpretations. Philo adopted, after others, the term Logos, probably because it was familiar to both Judaism and Hellenism, to denote the total manifestation of divine powers and ideas in the universe. God is abstract being, without qualities, but from Him has proceeded the Logos, His rational thought, which first existed, as the ideal world, in the divine mind, and then formed and inhabited the actual cosmos. The Logos is thus the former of the world out of amorphous matter, and the one through whom God may be rationally known. Eternally in God, it has been implanted and made active in the world, and has especially disclosed itself to the Hebrews and in the Scriptures; and Philo describes the Logos in terms which often bear striking resemblance to NT descriptions of Christ.* The influence of this or similar speculation must have been felt among the Christians, and especially in Asia Minor; for the tendency to unite Christianity with philosophy appears as early as the Epistle to the Colossians, and is combated in St. John's first Epistle; Cerinthus, John's contemporary, was probably affected by the Alex. philosophy itself (see Neander, *Ch. Hist.* vol. i. p. 396); and from the middle of the 2nd cent. the influence of Philo can be clearly traced within the Church. Hence it is not improbable that St. John's phraseology was partly determined by the prevalence of this philosophic use of the term.

---

* In the Book of Enoch the term 'Word' also occurs, and once (90^{38}) is applied to Messiah; but most critics, after Dillm., consider this latter passage a gloss.

Yet it is clear that Alexandrian philosophy did not enter constructively into St. John's doctrine. Philo's conception of the Logos was radically different from St. John's, as was the philosophy which underlay it. His Logos was the divine Reason, only attaining existence objective to God for the purpose of creation. It cannot be regarded as really personal, though constantly personified, and, if identical with divine thought, was in another aspect identical with the rationality possessed by creation, being the totality of the many *logoi* (ideas) that exist in the world. God, moreover, according to Philo, may be known, by ecstatic intuition, more immediately than through the Logos, and Philo's notion of the whole relation of God and the world was dominated by his abstract conception of Deity and the impossibility of the latter's contact with matter. Philo's Logos, moreover, was not identified with Messiah, nor was there a place in his philosophy for an incarnation, nor in his theology for redemption in the biblical sense.

It is, therefore, perhaps the most probable view that St. John adopted his Logos phraseology because, in *both* Jewish and Gentile circles, the term was familiar. It was a leading term by which religious thought was striving to express the idea, though with much misconception, of an all-comprehensive, all-wise, and directly active revelation of God to the world. Its current uses, among the Jews, rested ultimately on biblical language, and suggested an intimate relation, amounting in some aspects to identity, between the substance and the agent of revelation, as well as between the latter and God Himself. It was, moreover, among Christians as well as Jews, the constant phrase for revelation itself, whether oral or written. Hence, as employed by St. John, it formed a synthesis of several elements of truth. It set forth the Divine Christ as sustaining a central and vital relation to Christianity; the latter being, on the one hand, the didactic statement of the significance for men of His person and mission, and, on the other hand, the participation of the life with God which He possessed and mediated for believers. As Christianity is the revealed Word of God, so He, out of whose being and mission it has emerged (cf. 1 Jn 1^{1-4}), may be called emphatically the Word of God. The term further set forth Christianity as the final and perfect revelation of God to His creatures, since it represents it as the highest manifestation of the same Divine Person who has ever been the medium through whom God has been manifested in the creation and maintenance of the universe. Finally, this term, thus applied to the Divine Son in the whole series of His activities, represented Him as the immediate expression and vehicle of God's mind and will, while the careful statements of the prologue prevent the term from obscuring the Son's essential deity and eternal personality, as well as His true humanity after the incarnation. St. John's doctrine of the Logos therefore may be said to sum up the biblical teaching concerning the person of Christ, and, in doing so, to represent Christianity itself as the final, absolute, and universal religion.

Among post-apost. Christian writers the doctrine of the Logos is prominent, but was often affected by philosophical speculation. Gnosticism was an effort to unite Christianity with philosophy, and indicates a direction which post-apostolic thought and controversy largely took. In the Gnostic systems, however, the Logos terminology is not conspicuous. But, beginning with Justin Martyr, it is constantly met with in the writings of the Church Fathers. In Justin the biblical idea of God struggled with that of Absolute Being, and the Logos, represented as begotten by the Father before creation, unites the biblical conception of Word with the Hellenic one of Reason; a result which further tended to obscure the apostolic doctrine of salvation. In Theophilus of Antioch also the procession of the Logos from God appears as dependent on the Father's will, though his eternal relation to the latter is expressed more clearly than by Justin. With Tatian the Logos was the eternal world-principle, ideal in God and hypostatized at creation. In Athenagoras there appears a firmer grasp of the biblical doctrine which, at the close of the 2nd cent., was still more adequately expounded by Irenæus. The doctrine of the Logos in the post-apost. age was the natural meeting-point of Christianity with the best elements in the old religions. It seemed to many to furnish proof that the new religion was in reality the full expression of truths taught by philosophy. Hence its prominence in the apologists. But it was also easy for them to lose the biblical conception of Word in the Hellenic one of Reason; so that the doctrine became also a point of divergence between different schemes of theology according to the view taken of the term. The subsequent history of the doctrine lies beyond the limits of this article.

---

* The Logos is called εἰκὼν θεοῦ (*de Mundi Opif.* c. 8, Mang. i. 6; *de Confus. Ling.* c. 20, Mang. i. 419; *de Profugis*, c. 19, Mang. i. 561; *de Somniis*, c. 41, Mang. i. 656; *de Monarch.* c. 5, Mang. ii. 225); ὁ πρεσβύτερος υἱός, the cosmos being ὁ νεώτερος υἱός (*Quod Deus immut.* c. 6, Mang. i. 277); πρεσβύτατος υἱός and πρωτόγονος (*de Confus. Ling.* c. 14, Mang. i. 414; *ibid.* c. 28, Mang. i. 427; *de Agricult.* c. 12, Mang. i. 305; *de Somniis*, c. 37, Mang. i. 653). God is its Father, and Wisdom its mother; it is the eldest of things that have had birth, and puts on the cosmos as a garment (*de Profug.* c. 20, Mang. i. 562). By it God made the world [*Leg. Allegor.* c. 31, Mang. i. 106; *de Migrat. Abr.* c. 1, Mang. i. 437; especially *de Cherub.* c. 35, Mang. i. 162, where Philo distinguishes God as the cause by which (τὸ αἴτιον ὑφ' οὗ), matter as that from which (ἐξ οὗ), the Logos as that through which (δι' οὗ), and divine goodness as the end on account of which (δι' ὅ), the cosmos originated]. The eternal Logos (ἀΐδιος λόγος) is ὁ χαρακτήρ of God (*de Plantat.* c. 5, Mang. i. 332); ἀρχάγγελος, μεθόριος (intermediary), ἱκέτης (intercessor) (*Quis Rer. Div. Her.* c. 42, Mang. i. 501); ἑρμηνεύς θεοῦ (*Leg. Alleg.* c. 73, Mang. i. 128); the high priest (ἀρχιερεύς) of the universe (*de Somniis*, c. 37, Mang. i. 653), and, as such, free from sins (*de Profug.* c. 20, Mang. i. 562), and probably the human priest's παράκλητος (*de Vita Mos.* c. 14, Mang. ii. 155). It is God's vicegerent (ὕπαρχος, *de Agricul.* c. 12, Mang. i. 308; *de Somniis*, c. 41, Mang. i. 656), and even θεός in a subordinate sense (*Leg. Allegor.* c. 73, Mang. i. 128; *de Somniis*, c. 39, Mang. i. 655). Eusebius (*Præparat. Evang.* vii. 13, Mang. ii. 625) states that Philo called the Logos ὁ δεύτερος θεός. He constantly describes it as ὁ θεῖος λόγος, and, in one place (*de Profugis*, c. 18, Mang. i. 560), as σοφίας πηγή, from which drawing water one may find eternal life instead of death.

LITERATURE.—Out of the large literature bearing on this subject, the following works may be mentioned as useful and representative :—(*A*) On St. John's doctrine, the Comm. of Lücke, Meyer, Meyer-Weiss, Godet, Westcott, and Luthardt; Lightfoot, *Horæ Heb.*, *Exercitatio* on Jn 1; Liddon, *Bampt. Lectt.* (1866) on The Divinity of our Lord, Lect. v.; Watkins, *Bampt. Lectt.* (1890) on Mod. Criticism and the Fourth Gospel, Lect. viii.; Gloag, *Introd. to Johan. Writings* (1891), p. 167 ff.; Stevens, *Johan. Theol.* (1894), ch. iv.; *Bib. Theologies of NT* of Weiss and Beyschlag, as representative of different views; Lias, *Doctrinal Syst. of St. John* (1875).—(*B*) On the Jewish doctrine of the Word, Oehler, *OT Theol.* (1873), §§ 55 ff., 237 ff.; Schultz, *OT Theol.* ii. 165 ff.; Nicolas, *Les Doct. Relig. des Juifs* (1860); Langen, *Das Judenthum in Paläst. fur Zeit Christi* (1866), p. 248 ff.; Weber, *System der Altsynag. Palästin. Theol.* (1880), § 38; Schürer, *HJP* (1885) II. iii. 374 ff.—(*C*) On the history of Gr. philosophy bearing on the growth of the Logos idea, the Histories of Philos. by Zeller, Ueberweg, Ritter; Heinze, *Die Lehre vom Logos in der Gr. Philos.* (1872); Aall, *Gesch. der Logoslehre in der Gr. Philos.* (1896).—(*D*) On Alexandrianism and Philo, P. Allix, *Judgment of the Ancient Jew. Ch. against the Unitarians* (1699); Gfrörer, *Philo und die Alex. Theosophie* (1831); Dähne, *Gesch. Darstel. der Jüd.-Alex. Religions-Philos.* (1834); Siegfried, *Philo von Alex.* (1875); Drummond, *Philo Judæus* (1888); Réville, *La Doct. du Logos dans le quatr. évang. et dans les œuvres de Philon* (1881); Bigg, *Christian Platonists of Alexandria* (1886), ch. i.; Edersheim, art. 'Philo' in Smith's *Dict. of Christ. Biog.*—(*E*) On the doctrine of the Logos in the apost. and post-apost. Church, Dorner, *Hist. of Doctr. of Pers. of Christ*, div. I. vol. i.; Hagenbach, *Hist. of Doctr.* period i. div. 2; Harnack, *Dogmengesch.* pp. 93–110, 413 ff.; Loofs, *Leitfaden zum Stud. der Dogmengesch.* (1st Hauptteil).

G. T. PURVES.

LOIS (Λωίς, apparently a Greek name, akin to λῴων, λῷστος; 'die Liebe, Angenehme' [Pape, *Handwörterbuch der griech. Eigennamen*], but not found elsewhere except as the name of an island off the Thessalian coast—Steph. Byz. *s.v.*).—The grandmother of Timothy, and probably mother of Eunice (2 Ti 1^{5}). She was a lady of Lystra (but see Blass on Ac 16^{1}), probably, as the Greek names of all the family suggest, Hellenistic by birth, but a devout and sincere Jewess of 'unfeigned faith,' who trained her family in the Jewish scriptures (2 Ti 3^{15}), and was probably converted to Christianity on St. Paul's first visit to Lystra.

W. LOCK.

LONGSUFFERING.—This fine word is both an adj. and a substantive. As an adj. it is thrice used of God in OT (Ex 34^{6}, Nu 14^{18}, Ps 86^{15}) as the translation of אֶרֶךְ אַפַּיִם, elsewhere translated 'slow to anger,' and so translated in these passages by RV. In Apocr. the adj. occurs thrice again of God as tr. of *μακρόθυμος* (Wis 15^{1}, Sir 2^{11} 5^{4}). And in NT it occurs once, 2 P 3^{9} 'The Lord is not slack concerning his promise, as some men count slackness; but is longsuffering to us-ward' (*μακροθυμεῖ*). The adj. *μακρόθυμος* does not occur in NT, and the adv. *μακροθύμως* only once, Ac 26^{3}, where it is rendered 'patiently'; but the verb *μακροθυμέω* occurs often. In 1 Th 5^{14} for AV 'be patient toward all men' (*μακροθυμεῖτε πρὸς πάντας*) RV prefers 'be longsuffering toward all'; in Lk 18^{7} for AV 'though he bear long with them' (*καὶ μακροθυμῶν* [edd. *μακροθυμεῖ*] *ἐπ' αὐτοῖς*) RV gives 'and he is longsuffering over them' (Amer. RV 'and yet he is,' etc.).

The subst. is found but once in OT, Jer 15^{15} 'take me not away in thy longsuffering' (לְאֶרֶךְ אַפְּךָ, LXX *εἰς μακροθυμίαν*; Vulg. in patientia tua, whence Wyc. 'in thi pacience'; Cov. 'in thy longe wrath'; Gen. 'in the continuance of thine angre'; Bish. 'in the time of thine anger.' Cheyne interprets, 'suffer not my persecutors to destroy me through the longsuffering which thou displayest towards them'; so Streane; but Orelli translates, 'According to thy longsuffering, carry me not away'). In NT 'longsuffering' is the tr. of *μακροθυμία* in all its occurrences except two (viz. He 6^{12} and Ja 5^{10}, where AV and RV have 'patience'). The Gr. word is the opposite of *ὀξυθυμία* = 'quick temper,' 'irascibility': it is distinguished from *ὑπομονή*, *μακ.* being the temper which does not hastily avenge a wrong, *ὑπ.* the temper which does not easily succumb under suffering. See Lightfoot on Col 1^{11} and Ro 2^{4} (in *Notes on Epistles of St. Paul*, p. 259), Sanday-Headlam on Ro 2^{4}, Abbott on Eph 4^{2} and Col 1^{11}, and Trench, *NT Synonyms*, 188, 359. In his 'Prologe' to Exodus, Tindale says, 'Marke the longesoferinge and softe pacience of Moses and how he loveth the people and is ever betwene the wrath of god and them and is readye to lyve and dye with them and to be put out of the boke that god had written for their sakes (as Paule for his brothren Roma. ix.) and how he taketh his awne wronges pacientlie and never avengeth him silf.' Cf. also Tindale's tr. of Nu 14^{18} 'the Lorde is longe yer he be angrye, and full of mercy, and suffereth synne and trespace, and leaveth no man innocent.' See FORBEARANCE, vol. ii. p. 47.

J. HASTINGS.

LOOK.—The simple verb to look was formerly used in the sense of 'look for,' 'expect,' as Hall, *Works*, ii. 107, 'Little did Zacheus looke that Jesus would have cast up his eyes to him'; Rutherford, *Letters*, No. LI., 'Our Lord, that great Master of the feast, send us one hearty and heartsome supper, for I look it shall be the last.' There are three examples in AV, Is 5^{2} 'he looked that it should bring forth grapes, and it brought forth wild grapes'; Sir 20^{14} 'he looketh to receive many things for one' (RV 'his eyes are many instead of one'); Ac 28^{6} 'they looked when he should have swollen' (RV 'they expected that he would have swollen').

Driver in his *Parallel Psalter* (p. 448) draws attention to the specially biblical phrase *look on* or *look upon*. This has sometimes a good sense, sometimes a bad, but generally denotes satisfaction, and is occasionally paraphrased by 'see one's desire on.' Thus Ex 5^{21} 'The Lord look upon you, and judge'; Dt 26^{7} 'the Lord heard our voice, and looked on our affliction'; 2 S 9^{8} 'what is thy servant, that thou shouldest look upon such a dead dog as I am?'; 1 Ch 12^{17} 'the God of our fathers look thereon, and rebuke it'; 2 Ch 24^{22} 'The Lord look upon it, and require it'; Lk 1^{25} 'Thus hath the Lord dealt with me in the days when he looked on me, to take away my reproach among men.' But 'look unto' in Dt 9^{27} 'look not unto the stubbornness of this people,' means 'regard'; cf. Lv $19^{4.\,31}$, Dt $31^{18.\,20}$ etc. Driver's examples (in all of which Heb. is רָאָה בְּ) are Ps 22^{17} 27^{4} ('gaze upon') ^{13} 37^{34} 50^{23} 54^{7} 59^{10} 91^{16} 92^{12} 106^{5} 112^{8} 118^{7} 128^{5}. The same phrase occurs in line 4 of Mesha's inscription, הִרְאַנִי בְּכָל־שֹׂנְאָי 'he made me to look upon [*i.e.* let me see my pleasure on] all my enemies.'

The phrase *look upon* is used occasionally in another sense, Gn 24^{16} 'the damsel was very fair to look upon'; 2 S 11^{2} 'the woman was very beautiful to look upon'; Rev 4^{3} 'he that sat was to look upon like a jasper and a sardine stone.' So to *look on*, Est 1^{11} 'she was fair to look on.' And to *look to*, 1 S 16^{12} 'Now he was ruddy, and withal of a beautiful countenance, and goodly to look to'; Ezk 23^{15} 'all of them princes to look to.'

To look to a person or thing in the sense of 'give attention to' it, is also occasionally found, Ex 10^{10} 'look to it; for evil is before you'; Pr 14^{15} 'the prudent man looketh well to his going,' so 31^{27}; Jer 39^{12} 'Take him, and look well to him, and do him no harm,' so 40^{4}; Ac 18^{15} 'But if it be a question of words and names, and of your law, look ye to it.' Cf. Cranmer, *Works*, i. 160, 'My chaplains and divers other learned men have reasoned with him, but no man can bring him in other opinion, but that he, like unto Esau, was created unto damnation; and hath divers times and sundry ways attempted to kill himself, but by diligent looking unto he hath hitherto been preserved.'

In 2 K 14$^{8.11}$ occurs the phrase 'to look one another in the face,' of which the meaning is apparently 'to join battle.' The Heb. phrase occurs nowhere else (though 2 K 23^{29} is very like it, 'he slew him at Megiddo, when he had seen him'), and the Eng. is a literal translation. But see Barnes in vol. ii. p. 513^{b}, and in *Expos. Times*, ix. 464, 521.

Look! as an exclamation, having no corresponding word in Heb. or Gr., is common in Coverdale: thus Ru 1$^{16.17}$ 'Loke where thou abydest, there wil I abide also . . . Loke where thou diest, there wil I dye.' One example of this 'graphic and picturesque pleonasm,' as Driver calls it, has been introduced by the AV translators (it does not seem to occur in any earlier version) at 1 Mac 4^{54} 'Look, at what time and what day the heathen had profaned it, even in that was it dedicated with songs, and citherns, and harps, and cymbals.' RV omits.

J. HASTINGS.

LOOKING-GLASS.—See GLASS, vol. ii. p. 181^{a}.

LOOPS (לֻלָאֹת, ἀγκύλαι).—Ex 26$^{4f.\,10f.}$ 36$^{11f.\,17}$ only. The term is used in connexion with the curtains of the Tabernacle, and the arrangement for coupling these together. Full details will be found under art. TABERNACLE.

LORD.—Both AV and RV print this word in three different ways, LORD, Lord, and lord. (1) LORD. This form represents יהוה, the proper name of the God of Israel. It is a substitution adopted by the Hebrews themselves, who shrank from pronouncing a name so sacred, and directed that אֲדֹנָי should be read instead, except in the cases where that word itself precedes the holy name, for which אֱלֹהִים was then substituted. When the vowel points were invented, those belonging to these words were respectively attached to the consonants יהוה.

When this feeling first asserted itself cannot be accurately ascertained. It prevailed before the date of LXX, where Κύριος always represents the divine name. The Jews justify the custom by an appeal to Lv 24^{16}, but this passage is rather an indication of the strength of the feeling than a justification of it. It was a grand opportunity missed when RV followed AV in this practice, especially in such passages as 1 K 18^{39}, where the whole meaning depends on the contrast of the names J″ and Baal. On the other hand, the gradual suppression of the proper name was an undoubted gain to religion. Had it, for instance, appeared in the NT, the spread of Christianity might have been seriously impeded.* The faith that is to embrace the world must have no special name for its God. J″, Molech, Chemosh were divinities of tribes or nations. The God of Christianity is universal, the God of the human race.

(2) Lord. This term in OT is used to translate —**1.** אֲדֹנָי when applied to the Divine Being. The word is in form a *plur. majestatis* (see *e.g.* Gn 39^{20}), with suffix of 1st person with ָי instead of ַי, presumably for the sake of distinction (meaning, therefore, properly, '*my* Lord'). It is of infrequent use in the historical books, and in some cases it is uncertain whether it is a divine or a human appellative (Gn 18^{3} 19^{18}). The MT sometimes decides this by a note distinguishing between the word when 'holy' or only 'excellent,' sometimes by a variation in the pointing (נִ, נַ, or נָ). 'Lord' appears in combinations: O Lord my God (Ps 38^{15}), Lord God (Gn 15$^{2.8}$), the Lord God (Is 25^{8}). In the two latter 'God' is a substitute for the proper name. **2.** אָדוֹן in its regular forms, when used of the Divine Being (Ex 23^{17}). This rule has not, however, been observed with strict uniformity. In Neh 3^{5} 8^{10} copies of 1611 printed LORD. **3.** מָרֵא, an Aram. word (Dn 2^{47} 5^{23}). The same word is represented by 'lord' (Dn 4^{24}).

In NT, 'Lord' renders Κύριος when it refers directly to God or Christ, or appears in the vocative case. (This rule is more consistently followed in RV than in AV. Comp. them in Mk 2^{28}, Rev 17^{14}). It also renders δεσπότης five times, Lk 2^{29}, Ac 4^{24}, 2 P 2^{1}, Jude ^{4}, Rev 6^{10}. In the last three of these RV prefers 'master.'

(3) lord. This form represents ten Heb. words. The most common of them all is אָדוֹן (Phœn. inscriptions often show אדן. The name *Adonis* is of Phœn. origin.), which is used to denote eminence or superiority in every domain of life, of kings (Jer 22^{18}), governors (Gn 42^{10}), prophets (1 K 18^{7}), fathers (Gn 31^{35}), masters (Gn 45^{9}). In the vocative it is especially frequent. Joseph is so addressed (Gn 42^{10}), Moses (Nu 11^{28}), Elijah (1 K 18^{7}), the theophanic angel (Jos 5^{14}), a captain (2 S 11^{11}), a priest (1 S 1^{15}). In Jg 5^{25} a bowl *fit for lords* is סֵפֶל אַדִּירִים. In Nu 21^{28} (cf. Is 16^{8}) 'the lords of the high places of Arnon' tr. the plural of בַּעַל, which generally appears as 'the Baalim.' Baal means '*master*' or '*owner*.' In Gn 27$^{29.37}$ 'lord' tr. גְּבִיר 'a strong man.'

Lords of the Philistines (Jos 13^{3} etc.) no doubt represents some title peculiar to that people. The Heb. is סְרָנִים (const. סַרְנֵי) 'axles,' always applied to the heads of the five chief cities, except in 1 S 18^{30}, where they are called שָׂרִים. In consequence of this, Ewald would connect סֶרֶן with שַׂר. But an Arab. word meaning 'axle' is also used as a designation of a chief, and, till a better origin of the name is found, this analogy cannot be disregarded (see Gesen. *Thes.* under סֶרֶן, and Keil on Jos 13^{3}). The LXX employ σατραπεία or ἄρχων, Vulg. *satrapes* or *princeps*.

In Jer 2^{31} 'we are lords' (AVm 'have dominion') tr. the verb רוד. RV has 'we are broken loose.' The proper sense of the word is 'to roam at large' (see vol. ii. p. 527^{b} note *). In Ezr 8^{25} שַׂר is more properly by RV tr. 'prince.' In Dn 2^{10} the adjective רַב 'great' is tr. 'lord' (see RVm), and in the same book רַבְרְבָן, LXX μεγιστᾶνες. The word שָׁלִישׁ tr. 'lord' in 2 K 7$^{2.16.19}$ (τριστάτης), and Ezk 23^{23} (ἡγεμών, RV 'princes'), apparently means a captain of a chariot or of charioteers.

A. S. AGLEN.

LORD OF HOSTS (יהוה צְבָאוֹת).—This divine title has been explained briefly under GOD (vol. ii. 203^{b}): the object of the present article is to mention a few further particulars respecting it. The usual form of the title is 'J″ of Hosts,'—sometimes with 'the Lord' (אֲדֹנָי Am 9^{5}*, Is 3^{15} 10^{23} *al.*, or הָאָדוֹן † Is 1^{24} 19^{4}) prefixed; there occur however, besides, the forms 'J″, the God of Hosts' (יהוה אלהי צבאות), Am 3^{13}* 4^{13} 5$^{14.15.16}$ (followed by אֲדֹנָי) 6$^{8.14}$*, Hos 12$^{5\,(6)}$*, 2 S 5^{10}, 1 K 19$^{10.14}$, Jer 5^{14} 15^{16} 35^{17} 38^{17} 44^{7}, Ps 89$^{8\,(9)}$, and with the strange אלהים for אלהי—originally, no doubt (see Cheyne or Baethgen on Ps 59^{6}) a correction, made mechanically, for יהוה, which, however, afterwards regained its place beside it—Ps 59$^{5\,(6)}$ 80$^{4\,(5).\,19\,(20)}$ 84$^{8\,(9)}$; 'the Lord J″, the God of Hosts,' Am 3^{13}*; 'the God of Hosts' (without J″) Am 5^{27}, and, as before, with אלהים for אלהי, Ps 80$^{7\,(8).\,14\,(15)}$. So far as usage is concerned, it is preeminently the *prophetical* title of God. It occurs with great frequency in the prophets[*] (except Ob, Joel, Jonah, Dn, and, somewhat remarkably, Ezk; three other prophets, however, use it once only, viz. Hos $12^{5\ (6)}$, Mic 4^{4}, Hab 2^{13}, and two only twice, Nah 2^{13} 3^{5}, Zeph $2^{9.\ 10}$); in the hist. books it is found only 1 S $1^{3.\ 11}$ 4^{4} 15^{2} 17^{45}, 2 S 5^{10} (=1 Ch 11^{9}) $6^{2.\ 18}$ $7^{8.\ 26}$ (=1 Ch $17^{7.\ 24}$) ^{27}, 1 K 18^{15} $19^{10.\ 14}$, 2 K 3^{14} 19^{31} (=Is 37^{32}), several of these occurrences being in the mouth of prophets: it occurs also in 8 Psalms (24^{10} $46^{7.\ 11}$ 48^{8} 59^{5} 69^{6} $80^{4.\ 7.\ 14.\ 19}$ $84^{1.\ 3.\ 8.\ 12}$ 89^{8}), but not in any other part of the Hagiographa (except 1 Ch 11. 17, from 2 S, just quoted).

---

* Neither AV nor RV of NT print LORD in quotations, preserving in this way the change made by the LXX.

* הצבאות (with the art.) in these passages.

The fuller and seemingly more original form, 'J", *the God of hosts*,' used by Amos[†] and Hosea, might suggest—though the inference is not a necessary one—that the expression was in their days of comparatively recent origin. The *origin* of the title is matter of conjecture. צָבָא ('host') is used in Heb. in the sense of an army of men, as in the common expression 'captain of the host': the angels, and stars, were, however, also pictured by the Hebrews as constituting a 'host,' and are spoken of as the 'HOST OF HEAVEN' (which see). The title thus signifies 'J" of *armies*'; and the question is, What armies are intended? One opinion is that the armies are those of Israel—the supposition upon this view being that the title originally denoted J" as a warrior, the triumphant leader of Israel's forces against its heathen foes (cf. Ex 15^{3}, Nu 21^{14} [the 'Book of J"'s wars'], Jg 5^{23}, 1 S $17^{26.\ 36.\ 45}$ 18^{17} 25^{28}, 2 S 5^{24}, Ps 24^{8} 44^{9} 60^{10}, Dt 23^{14}, Is 13^{4} 31^{4} [where the word for 'fight' is cognate with that for 'hosts'] 42^{13}); but, as it occurs in many passages where a distinctively martial sense would be inappropriate, and as, moreover, it is used often when God is represented as *judging* Israel, that the sense expressed by it was gradually enlarged under the influence of the other applications of the word 'host' just mentioned, so that it came to denote Him as the God who had also other 'hosts,' or agencies, at His command, and could employ, for instance, the armies of heaven (cf. Jg 5^{20}, 2 K 6^{17}) on His people's behalf, and even the powers and forces of nature in general. This is substantially the view of Herder (*Geist der Ebr. Poesie*, ed. 1825, ii. 81 f.); it has been developed most fully by Kautzsch in Herzog's *Real-Encyk.*^{2} *s.v.* 'Zebaoth,' and *ZAW*, 1886, p. 17 ff.; it is also that of G. A. Smith, *XII Proph.* i. 57 f., Riehm, *HWB*, *s.v.* 'Zebaoth,' and Dillm. *AT Theol.* 220 f. In support of it Kautzsch points to the association of the title, in the first passages in which it occurs in the hist. books, with the *ark* (1 S $1^{3.\ 11}$ [the ark was now at Shiloh, 4^{3}] 4^{4}, 2 S 6^{2}), the significance of which in time of war is very evident (Nu $10^{35\mathrm{f.}}$, Jos $6^{4\mathrm{ff.}}$, 1 S $4^{3\mathrm{ff.}}$, 2 S 11^{11}). The larger ideas associated with the title afterwards are apparent from the solemnity and emphasis with which the prophets habitually use it (observe, *e.g.*, the climax in Am 4^{13} 5^{27}, Jer 31^{35}, Is 48^{2} 54^{5}), and from such passages as Am 4^{13}, Is 51^{15} 54^{5}, Jer 10^{16} 31^{35}, where it is applied to J" as Creator and Ruler of the world; these ideas, it may be noted, appear already in Hos and Am. Another opinion is that the armies intended were originally the hosts of angels. Thus Ewald (*Hist.* iii. 62, *Lehre der Bibel von Gott*, II. i. 339 f.), adopting this view, made the clever and original conjecture that the title may have arisen first on occasion of some victory under the Judges, when it seemed as if J" descended (cf. Jg 5^{13}) with His celestial hosts to the help of the armies of Israel: 'born' thus 'in the shout of victory,' it fixed itself on the memory of the people, and implying, as it did, that J" was the commander and organizer of the hosts of heaven (including stars as well as angels), it was suggestive of His omnipotence, and became in the prophets 'the loftiest and most majestic title' of Israel's God. Oehler, *OT Theol.* § 196 *end*, and Schultz, *OT Theol.* ii. 141, also think that the expression was used originally with reference to the hosts of angels. A third view is that of Smend (*AT Rel.-gesch.* 185 ff.), according to whom the title was used probably first by Amos, the 'hosts' intended by him being the forces and elements of nature (cf. $9^{2\mathrm{ff.}}$). Such a sense is, however, too abstract to stand at the origin of the expression; nor is it borne out by the usage of צבא in independent passages (not even by Gn 2^{1}, Ps 103^{21}, cited by Smend).

Borchert, in *SK*, 1896, p. 619 ff., argues forcibly in support of the view that angels were originally denoted by the expression. He points out, as against the first view mentioned above, (1) that צבאות 'hosts' is hardly used of the armies of Israel except in three Psalms (44^{9} 60^{10}=108^{11}) of uncertain date, and in the late source P (Ex 6^{26} 7^{4} $12^{17.\ 41.\ 51}$, Nu $1^{3.\ 52}$ $2^{3.\ 9\mathrm{ff.}}$ $10^{14\mathrm{ff.}}$ 33^{1}),[*] where it forms part of the unhistorical conception of the nation at the Exodus as consisting of a vast organized army; (2) that the passages in which the title is brought into connexion with the ark are, relatively, few, and that the connexion itself is no specific or distinctive one; and (3) that the books which principally use the title 'J" of hosts' do not speak of the 'hosts' of Israel (and conversely), and that, in general, it is very rarely used in a connexion which suggests them. On the other hand, passages such as Gn 28^{12}, 1 K 22^{19}, Is $6^{2\mathrm{f.}}$, Ps 29^{1}, show that J" was habitually pictured as attended by angels,—the objection that, where angels are intended, 'host' (not 'hosts') 'of heaven' is used, being met by the consideration that such beings are not necessarily conceived as a single definite host, but might, from their numbers, be with equal justice conceived as forming 'hosts': they attend Him naturally as *King*; the title thus gives expression to J"'s *royal state* (cf. Is 6^{5}, Jer 46^{18} 48^{15}, Ps 24^{10}), and consequently, without any change in the meaning of 'hosts,' such as is postulated in the other explanation, it is at once adapted to express those ideas of sovereign majesty and power which are undoubtedly associated with it by the prophets.

Upon the whole, this seems to be the most probable explanation of the title. Though other 'armies' might not be entirely excluded, the idea which would most naturally suggest itself, when the term was used absolutely in connexion with J", would, it seems, be the armies of heaven. But, whatever uncertainty may rest on the *origin* of the expression, all agree that as used by the prophets it is J"'s most significant and sublimest title: it designates Him, namely, as One who is supreme over untold 'hosts' of spiritual or other agencies, whom He can employ to give effect to His purposes (Ps $103^{20.\ 21}$),—in a word, as the *Omnipotent*. It is accordingly in the LXX often[†] very appropriately represented by κύριος παντοκράτωρ, 'Lord Omnipotent'—or, more exactly (in contrast to the more abstract παντοδύναμος), 'Lord *all-sovereign*' (see Westcott, *The Historic Faith*, p. 21 ff.).[‡] S. R. DRIVER.

LORD'S DAY (ἡ Κυριακὴ ἡμέρα).—This term has from the very earliest times been applied in Greek and Latin Christian literature to the first day of the week in its religious aspect. The scope of this article is necessarily limited; we can here discuss only (i.) the term 'Lord's Day' itself, (ii.) The connexion of the Lord's Day with the Sabbath, (iii.) the origin of the institution, (iv.) the nature of Lord's Day worship in NT times.

---

[*] Am 9 t., Is 1–39 (incl. $13^{4.\ 13}$ 24^{23} 25^{6}) 56 t., Is 40-66. 6 t., Jer 82 t., Hag 14 t., Zec 1–8. 44 t., Zec 9–14. 9 t., Mal 24 t.

[†] In LXX also ('the Lord J", the God of Hosts') in Am 9^{5}.

[*] The isolated passages Dt 20^{9}, 1 K 2^{5}, 1 Ch 27^{3} (even if they are not to be explained, with Borchert, by Ges.-Kautzsch, § 124. 2*b*) do not detract from the force of the remark.

[†] 2 S and Minor Prophets (usually), Jer (12 times). Elsewhere κύριος Σαβαώθ is generally used (so Ro 9^{29}, Ja 5^{4}: see SABAOTH): in Ps, however, and occasionally also in other books, κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων (*i.e.* of *forces, armies*: see the use of δύναμις for צבא in Nu 1. 2. $10^{14\mathrm{ff.}}$ *passim*, and in other similar passages).

[‡] So in NT, 2 Co 6^{18} (a reminiscence of the usage of the LXX, but not an exact quotation); comp. κ. ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, Rev 1^{8} 4^{8} 11^{17} 15^{3} 16^{7} 19^{6} 21^{22} (as Am 3^{13} 4^{13} *al.*); ὁ θεὸς ὁ π., Rev 16^{14} 19^{15} (as Am 5^{27}).

A title borne by Nebo, 'Overseer or ruler (*pakid*) of the multitudes of heaven and earth' (*KAT*^{2} 413, cited by Cheyne, *Orig. of Psalter*, 323, cf. *Isaiah*^{3}, i. p. 13; *KIB* iii. 2, 53 Delitzsch, *Assyr. HWB* 360 f.), is perhaps worth comparing.

i. The scriptural authority for the term 'Lord's Day' is Rev 1^{10} 'I was in the Spirit on the Lord's Day,' *ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ.* Few will agree with Eichhorn in referring this to Easter Day. The opinion of Wetstein and others, who interpret it of the day of Judgment, seems plausible, but is open to two formidable objections. (1) A writer so impregnated with OT phraseology as is the author of the Apocalypse would surely have used, in this sense, the familiar *ἡμέρα τοῦ Κυρίου* (*κυριακός* is not in LXX). (2) Such a use of the term is quite unknown to the Greek Fathers. From the *Didaché* and Ignatius onwards they use *ἡ κυριακὴ ἡμέρα*, or simply *ἡ κυριακή*, only in the sense of Sunday. Such an unbroken and unquestioned Church usage must be regarded as decisive on this point. To this may be added that as in v.^{9} Patmos gives the *place* of the vision, so here 'the Lord's Day' naturally seems to fix the *time*. It would, however, be a mistake to conclude that Rev 1^{10} is the origin of the term. It is merely the first extant example of its use (*Didaché* 14, Ignat. *Ep. Magn.* 9 are certainly later). The phrase might have arisen as early as A.D. 57, for in 1 Co 11^{20} we find *κυριακὸν δεῖπνον.* This is the first occurrence of *κυριακός* in extant Greek literature. The absolute use of *Κύριος*, which indicates an identification of Christ with the J″ of the OT, naturally led to the formation of a corresponding adjective. However, *ἡ κυριακὴ ἡμέρα* was not yet in current use, for in this same Epistle (1 Co 16^{2}) St. Paul uses 'the first day of the week,' *μία σαββάτου*; and a little later, Ac 20^{7}, we find the similar *ἡ μία τῶν σαββάτων*, St. Luke with his usual historical accuracy using, doubtless, the phrase current at the time of which he was writing. Contrast the inexactness of the Gospel of Peter, where *ἡ κυριακή* is twice used of the actual day of Christ's resurrection, and betrays at once by the anachronism a 2nd cent. writer. At some time, then, between A.D. 57 and A.D. 96 the term 'Lord's Day' arose, and it was probably first used in Churches which had to contend with Judaism.

ii. It has been reckoned a pious opinion (Bramhall, *Works*, vol. v. pp. 41, 58) that the observance of the Lord's Day was one of 'the things concerning the kingdom of God' of which the risen Lord spoke during the forty days preceding the Ascension. This idea is probably due to the instinctive desire to base on a direct divine sanction an institution so universal and so binding on all Christians. But the assumption is quite unnecessary. Whether the first day of the week was 'blessed and hallowed' by Christ Himself with His own lips, or by the Church, His body, His visible representative, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, in any case the Lord's Day was certainly sanctioned by inspired apostles, and thus confessedly stands on a level with ordination, and perhaps one or two other ordinances, as an institution as much beyond the power of the Church to alter or to abrogate as it would be for her to change the number of the Gospels.

The claim of the Lord's Day to this pre-eminence has been unfortunately prejudiced by controversies on its relation to the Sabbath. This question has been thought to be of much practical interest, especially by that large class of persons who think that they require guidance in details, and who feel that a general direction to keep a day holy is too vague, and leaves too much to their individual responsibility. On the one hand, those who incline to a severe observance of the day identify the Lord's Day with the Sabbath, regarding it as the same institution with a Christian reference added, the change of day being regarded as immaterial. They combine with this assumption a theory of scriptural Sabbath observance, for which there is but slender evidence from ancient or modern Jewish life. On the other hand, some of those who revolt from this rigidity feel constrained to justify themselves by a denial of any relation whatever between the two days; and then, in the default of any divinely ordained rules for its observance, they are in danger of not observing it at all. The truth will be found to lie midway between these two extremes. The Lord's Day is, and is not, the Sabbath, much as John the Baptist was, and was not, Elijah.

When Jesus uttered the cry, 'It is finished,' the Mosaic dispensation virtually passed away. His Resurrection, Ascension, and Outpouring of the Holy Spirit were successive affirmations of the great fact, and the destruction of the temple made it plain to all but the blindest. But in the meantime nothing is more striking than the tender way in which the apostles and Christians of Jewish birth were weaned from the old religion. The dead leaves of Judaism fell off gradually, they were not rudely torn off by man. The new facts, the new dogmas, the new ordinances first established themselves, and then little by little the incompatibility of the old and the new was realized, which necessarily issued in the casting out of the old. The old things of Judaism were made new in Christianity. This, however, was not accomplished by a deliberate substitution of one ordinance for another; but first the old ordinances were simply antiquated, and then experience matured under the influence of the Holy Spirit proved that the positive institutions of the new religion more than fulfilled those of the old. This was realized, first of all, in the case of the sacramental ordinances. Baptism was soon seen to be analogous to circumcision (Col 2^{11}), and also to the legal ablutions (He 10^{22}); while the Eucharist corresponded to the peace-offerings (1 Co 10$^{16-21}$, He 13^{10}). But the realization of the fulfilment of the Sabbath in the Lord's Day does not find expression in the NT. This silence is especially marked in the Epistle to the Hebrews. In that Epistle the writer is addressing some who were in danger of relapsing into Judaism, who could scarcely bear to forego all the associations of the old religion, its antiquity, authority, splendour, variety. His design therefore is to adduce all that Christianity had analogous to the cherished rites of Judaism. The priesthood, sacrifice, the temple, the solemn services, are all shown to have their more than parallels in the gospel. But when he touches on the Sabbath, it is as a type of the state of salvation on which believers have entered, a Sabbath rest to be consummated in the world to come (4$^{3.\,11}$). Hessey (*Bampton Lectures*, 1860) proves by copious quotations that up to the end of the 5th century, and even later, the two days were not considered to have any relation to each other. But a believer in the perpetual guidance of the Church by the Holy Spirit will scarcely accept this as conclusive that the Church of later ages was not right in seeing a close analogy between the Lord's Day and the Sabbath; an analogy expressed by the retention of the Fourth Commandment by all Christian Churches, as part of the Decalogue considered as a convenient summary of the Moral Law. Assuming that public worship is a moral duty, it is absolutely necessary that a day of rest from ordinary labours be set apart for that purpose, and for the cognate duties of religious instruction and special private devotion. As regards the proportion of our time which should be given to such duties, we may well follow the apostles in accepting unquestioningly that laid down in the Mosaic Law. This is the moral element in the Fourth Commandment. Experience has shown that the excessive multiplication of holy days regarded as in any degree co-ordinate with the Lord's Day is fatal to the maintenance of those objects for which the Lord's Day was designed. The antiquation of the Sabbath equally with circumcision, etc., was gradually realized as the sequence of events led up to it. The key to a right understanding of the revolution is found in the first description of the public worship of the apostolic Church: 'continuing steadfastly with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread at home' (Ac 2^{46}). To the customary Jewish devotions was added the one distinctive Christian service. The Church professed to be a divine development of Judaism (Ac 24^{14} etc.). All that was eternally true in the Law is with us still, and that which was essentially transitory was tolerated until it became positively hurtful. At Jerusalem an inconsistent allegiance both to the old and the new was maintained probably until the destruction of the temple, but even there we early find traces of the antiquation of the Sabbath. Considering the prominence assigned to it in Pharisaic Judaism, there can be little doubt that it is one of 'the customs which Moses delivered,' the changing of which by Jesus of Nazareth was announced by St. Stephen (Ac 6^{14}, cf. 21^{21}). The falsity of the witnesses lay in the malicious spirit which prompted the accusation rather than in the charge itself. Thirteen years later, Sabbath keeping is not one of the 'necessary things' enjoined on Gentiles by the apostolic council (Ac 15^{29}). This decision amounted to an acknowledgment that the Sabbath as well as circumcision, etc., was no longer binding on Gentiles, though James, as we should expect, seems to contemplate the continuance of the ordinance for Jews (v.^{21}). No valid objection can be drawn from the frequent references in Ac to the apostles preaching in synagogues, or in Jewish places of prayer, on the Sabbath day ($13^{14.42.44}$ 16^{13} 17^{2} 18^{4}). Their mission was to the Jews *first*, and, apart from the natural desire on their own part to join in the only public worship available, common-sense would lead them to go where they could address large bodies of Jews assembled with minds disposed to receive religious truth. About A.D. 58 St. Paul in Gal $4^{9.10}$ reckons 'the observation of days' as one of the 'weak and beggarly rudiments.' Now, as we may gather from 1 Co $16^{1.2}$ that St. Paul had himself bidden the Galatians observe in a certain way the first day of the week, it is plain that he is not here condemning the principle of religious distinction of days; and the fact that in this Epistle he is combating Judaistic teachers forces us to the conclusion that the *compulsory* observance of a specially Jewish day, *i.e.* the Sabbath, is what is meant. On the other hand, in Ro $14^{5.6}$, written a little later, to a Church where the controversy may not have reached such a height, the regarding or not regarding of such days is a matter of indifference. Finally, in Col 2^{16} the Sabbath is distinctly mentioned as one of the ordinances 'which are a shadow of things to come.'

iii. The necessary separation of Christians from Jews, in Jerusalem, for a part of public worship (Ac 2^{46}), naturally led to a total separation elsewhere, as in successive cities the Jews rejected the gospel altogether (Ac 13^{46} $14^{2.3.23}$ 18^{7} 19^{9}). Besides these passages, assemblies consisting exclusively of Christians are implied wherever we find directions for the reading of apostolic epistles (Ac 15^{30}, 1 Th 5^{27}, 2 Th 3^{14}, Col 4^{16}, cf. He 10^{25}). Assemblies of a whole Church, of course, imply fixed days for meeting. The antagonism already marked by different places for worship, coupled with the confessed antiquation of the Sabbath, would naturally find further expression in the observance of a holy day different from that of the Jews. The origin of the Lord's Day must not indeed be traced to mere opposition to Judaism, such as that naïvely confessed in the *Didaché* (8), 'Let not your fastings be with the hypocrites, for they fast on Monday and Thursday; but do ye keep your fast on Wednesday and Friday'; but this motive must have commended the observance of the first day of the week to a considerable number of Christians; and if the argument from silence could be pressed,—an argument especially precarious in the case of an ordinance presumably so much a matter of course,—it would be significant that the distinct notices of the Lord's Day in the NT are in connexion with Churches outside Palestine, *i.e.* Corinth, and by implication, Galatia (1 Co $16^{1.2}$), Troas (Ac 20^{6}), and Asia (Rev 1^{4}), while *Κυριακός* seems to have been applied to a specially Christian service before it was applied to a specially Christian day. Be that as it may, the first day of the week was certainly selected because the Lord Himself had sanctified it by His resurrection (Mt 28^{1}, Mk $16^{2.19}$, Lk 24^{1}, Jn $20^{1.19}$), and had further emphasized it by a second appearance to the disciples (Jn 20^{26}), and again by the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost, which that year was also the first day of the week. We cannot cite as instances of the observance of this day the fact that on these three occasions the disciples were assembled together as if for a religious purpose. In those days of fear and excitement they would naturally come together every day. The Lord's Day is therefore, in an especial sense, the feast of life. The resurrection of Jesus Christ was not merely the raising to life of an individual man, but of human nature. On that first Lord's Day our nature entered on a new life: actually, as regards the first-fruits of it; potentially, as regards every Christian in succeeding ages. But besides the life of the individual members, there is also the life of the body, and this sprang into birth on the day of Pentecost. Thus, without having recourse to the more or less fanciful analogies of some of the Fathers, we may, on sure grounds, contrast the remembrance on the Sabbath of the repose of the Creator of the physical world with the commemoration on the Lord's Day of the beginning of the activity of the new spiritual creation.

iv. Much reflex light is thrown on the apostolic Lord's Day worship by the well-known passage (1 *Apol.* c. 67) where Justin Martyr, A.D. 150, describes the Sunday service. It consisted of the reading of the memoirs of the apostles and the writings of the prophets, followed by an exhortation on the lessons read, common prayer, the Eucharist, and a collection for the orphans, etc. This service was probably modelled on that of the synagogue, with the necessary additions, the chief being the Eucharist, as in Ac 2^{46}. If the passage in Ac be rightly understood to mean a daily service, it must be noted that the daily Eucharist of the early Jerusalem Church belongs to the same order of things as its community of goods; an ideal which is practicable only under very special circumstances. It may reasonably be conjectured that experience which speedily led to the abandonment of the experiment in socialism, showed the wisdom of restricting the Eucharist to the Lord's Day. This use, which is distinctly expressed in Justin and Pliny ('stato die,' lib. x. epist. 97), is implied in Ac 20^{7}. The Eucharist is especially connected with the Lord's Day, not only as the perpetual memorial of the great sin-offering (1 Co 11^{26}), but also as a means of renewing in us the divine life communicated in the first instance by the power of Christ's resurrection, and as an anticipation of the consummation of this divine life at His coming (He 10^{25}, Mt 26^{29}, Mk 14^{25}, Lk

22^{18}). Justin does not mention the *agape*. It had probably been temporarily dropped in obedience to the law of Trajan against clubs (Ramsay, *Ch. in the Roman Empire*, p. 219). In 1 Co 11 the *agape* seems to precede the Eucharist, in Ac 20^{11} it follows (γευσάμενος, 'having made a meal'). This change in the order of service was possibly made by St. Paul himself (1 Co 11^{34}). In Ac, as in Justin, the sermon precedes the Eucharist. The preaching of Jesus necessitated the telling of His deeds and words either from personal knowledge or from the written accounts of eye-witnesses, and this must have been from the beginning; on the other hand, the reading of apostolic Epistles, at first occasional, could become constant only after the Canon was closed. The collection mentioned by Justin is founded on 1 Co 16^{2}, where EV 'lay by him in store' conceals the fact that it must have been made at the weekly meeting; otherwise, collections would have been necessary on St. Paul's arrival, the very thing he was anxious to avoid. παρ' ἑαυτῷ τιθέτω θησαυρίζων means 'let him assign a certain sum as he is disposed, and put it into the Church treasury.' In Corinth and elsewhere the exercise of extraordinary gifts formed part of the Sunday service (1 Co 14^{16}), but this soon died out. Contrast the brief list of charismata in Eph 4^{11} with that in 1 Co 12^{28}.

See further, art. CHURCH, vol. i. p. 427$^{\text{a}}$, and SABBATH.

LITERATURE.—Hessey, *Sunday: its origin, history, and present obligation*, *BL*, 1860, 5th ed. 1889; Beet in *Expositor*, 2nd ser. viii. 338–350; and the Literature under SABBATH.

N. J. D. WHITE.

LORD'S PRAYER.—This prayer is so called, not because the Lord used it, which He could not do, for some of the petitions would be meaningless for Him (and cf. Jn 20^{17}), but because He taught it to His disciples and us. It is given us by two evangelists (Mt 6^{9-13}, Lk 11^{2-5}), in different forms, and in totally different connexions. The form given by St. Luke is not only much shorter, but differs somewhat in wording; and whereas St. Matthew represents Christ as giving this form of prayer spontaneously in the Sermon on the Mount, St. Luke places the delivery of the prayer after the close of the Galilæan ministry, and in answer to a request from one of His disciples, 'Lord, teach us to pray, even as John also taught his disciples.' But St. Luke gives no note either of time or place, probably because his source gave none. And it is quite possible that the incident which he here records took place very much earlier than the point in Christ's ministry at which he places it.

There can be no doubt that if the prayer was delivered only once, then it is St. Luke who has preserved the true historical occasion. His narrative has every appearance of originality, and one sees no motive for invention, whereas it is quite credible that St. Matthew, in recording Christ's injunctions about prayer, might emphasize and illustrate these by adding to them the form of prayer which He had enjoined. Accordingly, a large number of the best critics (Baumgarten-Crusius, Neander, de Wette, Ewald, Bleek, Holtzmann, Weiss, Godet, Oosterzee, etc.) regard the position of the prayer in Mt as unhistorical. But it must be remembered that there is no proof that the prayer was taught on one occasion only. The argument that, if the prayer was delivered in the Sermon on the Mount, then a disciple cannot afterwards have asked for a form of prayer; and that if he asked for one, then it cannot have been previously delivered, holds good only if we suppose that Christ's followers remained always the same. There is nothing to show that 'one of his disciples' (Lk 11^{1}) means one of the Twelve. Different groups of disciples might at different times require teaching as to a form of prayer; and at one time Christ might give such instruction unasked, at another because He was requested to do so. In either case it is remarkable that the prayer is not directly alluded to elsewhere in the Gospels (cf. Mk 14^{38}), nor in the Acts (cf. 2^{42}), nor in the Epistles (cf. Ro 12^{12}, Col 4^{2}). There may be indirect allusions to the last petition, Jn 17^{15}, 2 Th 3^{3}, and possibly 2 Ti 4^{18}. See Lightfoot on 2 Th 3^{3}.

But if we admit that the prayer was delivered only once, and that St. Luke gives the actual occasion, it by no means follows that he gives the original form of the prayer, as Meyer, Kamphausen, and others suppose. In one sense neither form is original, for the original would be in Aramaic; and it is quite evident that both Mt and Lk used a Gr. source, as the large amount of agreement in wording, and, above all, their common use of the unique word ἐπιούσιος, shows. Their versions cannot be independent tr$^{\text{ns}}$ of the same Aram. original. Much more probably they had the same Gr. original; and Mt, although he puts it in the wrong place, yet reproduces it more exactly. Of course, if the prayer was delivered more than once, then both forms may be original, in the sense that both represent in Greek a form which Christ used in His instructions. It is conceivable that one form was suitable for one group of disciples, another for the whole body of them.*

Accepting, however, the hypothesis that Mt more accurately gives us the original form, it may be asked whether the variations in Lk are due to himself or to the source which he used. There are good reasons for believing that some of them are due to himself. This is most apparent in the fourth petition. For δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον (Mt) Lk has δίδου ἡμῖν τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν. Seeing that τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν occurs in NT in St. Luke's writings only (19^{47}, Ac 17^{11}), we may feel confident that it is he who has changed σήμερον into τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν rather than St. Matthew who has done the reverse. This change of σήμερον into τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν involved the change from the aorist to the present imperative; and thus 'Give us this day' became 'Continually give us day by day.' In Lk the petition is made more comprehensive. That the aorist rather than the present was the original form, is shown by the fact that in all the other petitions the aorist is used. Again, when we find ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα in Mt, and ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰς ἁμαρτίας in Lk, we conjecture that it is Lk who has changed the expression in order to make the meaning clearer to Gentile readers. The insertion of παντί with ὀφείλοντι is also very characteristic of St. Luke, and certainly ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀφίομεν is more likely to be a modification of ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν than *vice versâ*; all the more so, as Lk is specially fond of the combination καὶ αὐτός, καὶ αὐτοί, κ.τ.λ.

The differences which are the result of the presence in Mt of clauses that are wanting in the best texts of Lk require more detailed discussion. These clauses are: (1) ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, (2) γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, (3) ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ. Tisch., Treg., WH, RV, Alford, Weiss, Godet, Scrivener, Hammond, and many others, reject these passages as insertions in Lk from the text of Mt. 'If one of the Gospels contained the Lord's Prayer in a shorter form than the other, nothing was so likely as that a scribe in perfect innocence would supply what he considered an undoubted defect' (Scriv.

---

* F. H. Chase supposes that the disciples themselves adapted the prayer to special occasions, both altering and adding, and that ἐπιούσιος is one of the subsequent changes made for liturgical purposes (*Texts and Studies*, i. 3, Camb. 1891).

Introd. ii. p. 280). The evidence is not quite the same in all three cases, but in all it is conclusive against the clauses.

(1) *For* this clause entire we have ACDPXΓΔΛΠ and nine inferior uncials, nearly all cursives, b e f l g of Vet. Lat. (a c ff$_2$ i have *sancte* for *noster*), three Syriac Versions (Cur. Pesh. Harcl.), Boheiric, and Ethiopic. *Against* the whole clause, ℵB, 1, 22, 57, 130, 346, nearly all the chief MSS of the Vulg., and the recently discovered Sinaitic Syriac. Against all but ἡμῶν, L and one cursive, one early MS of the Vulg. and the Armenian. Origen expressly states that the words are wanting in Lk. Tertullian and Cyril of Alexandria support the omission.

(2) *For* the clause, ℵACD and many inferior uncials, nearly all cursives, most MSS of Vet. Lat. Syrr. (Pesh. Harcl.), Boh. Eth. *Against* it, BL, 1, 22, 130, 346; ff$_2$ of Vet. Lat., best MSS of Vulg. Syrr. (Cur. Sin.) and Arm. Orig. Tert. and Aug. give express testimony against, and are supported by Cyr. Alex.

(3) *For* the clause, ACD and many inferior uncials, nearly all cursives; Vet. Lat. Syrr. (Cur. Pesh. Harcl.) Boh. Eth. *Against* it, ℵ*BL, 1, 22, 57, and six other cursives, most MSS of Vulg. Syr-Sin. and Arm. Orig. Aug. and Cyr. Alex. give express testimony against, and are supported by Tert.

The evidence for the clauses may look imposing, but the explanation of it given by Scrivener is simple and adequate; whereas neither accident nor intention can explain the early and widespread omission of all three, if they were found in the original text of Lk. In such a case the temptation to insert would be at a maximum, the temptation to omit at a minimum. A scribe might insert the missing words almost mechanically, being so familiar with them.

Convinced, therefore, that the clauses are not genuine in Lk, we return to the question, What can have induced Lk to omit them, if he and Mt had the same Gr. version of the prayer? His verbal alterations in the fourth and fifth petitions are intelligible; but why should he, with his love of completeness, omit? He does sometimes abbreviate; but would he have abbreviated here? The difficulty of finding an adequate motive for his curtailing such words is in favour of the view that Christ Himself on one occasion gave this shorter form to some disciples. To suppose that Lk 'contented himself with words just sufficient to remind his hearers of the fuller form,' is quite inadequate. In that case he would have left out nearly the whole of the prayer. And to point out that the five petitions in Lk correspond to the five fingers, is grotesque.

The sources of the prayer have been often discussed, and rabbinical parallels to the different petitions have been pointed out by John Lightfoot, Schoettgen, Vitringa, Wetstein, and others. *Tota haec oratio ex formulis Hebraeorum concinnata est tam apte, ut omnia contineat quæ a Deo peti possunt* (Wetst. on Mt 6^9). But the parallels do not carry us very far. The use of 'Father' [אבינו שבשמים is a very common later Jewish title, Dalm. 151 ff.] to designate God, and the petition, 'Hallowed be thy name through our works,' are perhaps the strongest instances [cf. also ויתקדש שמיה and ימלוך מלכותיה of the *Ḳaddish*, Dalm. 305]. Others are similarities of wording rather than of meaning, and some of these are not at all close. And in most cases the date of the Jewish prayers in which these expressions occur is either late or uncertain; so that the borrowing, if there is any, is on the side of the Jews, or may be so. But no borrowing is needed to explain such a petition as 'Forgive us our sins' (Ex 32^{32}, 1 K $8^{34.36.39.50}$, Dn 9^{19}), which is perhaps as common in Jewish as in Christian prayers. Not that there is anything derogatory to Christ in supposing that He took the best Jewish aspirations and combined them in one prayer. He probably took the Messianic title 'Son of man' from the Bk. of Enoch, and applied it to Himself with a fulness of meaning unknown before. He might have done the same in the Lord's Prayer; but He does not appear to have done so. Indeed, the prayer is free from anything that can be called purely Jewish. (1) Its symmetry and progressive development of thought, and (2) its inexhaustible adaptability, are characteristics which do not harmonize well with the hypothesis that it is a compilation (Edersheim, *Life and Times of the Messiah*, i. p. 536. Cf. Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, p. 138 ff.). Let us examine these characteristics.

(1) The Lord's Prayer is commonly regarded as consisting of seven petitions.* The frequent occurrence of the number seven in the Apoc. and elsewhere renders this arrangement attractive. But there are really only six; for 'Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil one,' should be regarded as the negative and positive expression of one and the same petition.† These six are found to correspond to the Decalogue and the Two Great Commandments (Mt 22^{40}, Mk 12^{31}), in that the first half has reference to God, the second half to man. In the first three petitions we seek the glory of our heavenly Father; in the last three the advantage of ourselves and our fellow-men. But these two are closely connected. What is to God's glory benefits His children; and what is to the advantage of men glorifies their heavenly Father. Thus the first half shows the end which man must have in view—the accomplishment of God's glory, kingdom, and will; the second half shows the means—daily provision, forgiveness, and protection. And the parts correspond with one another in each triplet. The first petition is addressed to God as our Father, the second as our King, the third as our Master. It is to our Father that we look for sustenance; to our King for pardon; to our Master for guidance and guardianship. Moreover, the transition from heaven to earth is beautifully made in the third petition, which raises earth to heaven. And in each of the triplets we can observe progression. The hallowing of God's name leads to the coming of the kingdom; and when the kingdom is come God's will shall be fulfilled on earth as in heaven. In the second half we have first the obtaining of good, and then the removal of evil, past, present, and future. Or, if we take the six petitions consecutively, we shall find that they begin with the glories of heaven, pass on to life on earth, and end with the powers of hell.‡ Such exquisite proportion and development (of which only specimens have been given) are strong evidence that, *if* this marvellous prayer was constructed out of fragments of other prayers, it was composed in the spirit and power of Him who said, 'Behold, I make all things new' (Rev 21^5).

(2) We are not to suppose that the disciple who asked Christ to teach him and his fellows to pray had never prayed, and did not know how to do so. He had no doubt often performed this duty. But he had just witnessed Christ's devotions; and His manner showed him the difference between Christ's prayers and his own. There was a more excellent way than he knew, and he desired to learn it. Moreover, the Baptist had taught his disciples a distinctive form of prayer; and this suppliant thought that Jesus also should give a similar distinctive mark to His followers. As so often, Christ grants the substance rather than the letter of the request. Just as a Christian mystery is a divine secret revealed to all the world, so the distinctive

---

* So Augustine, Luther, Tholuck, Bleek, Hilgenfeld, Keil, Köstlin, Nösgen, Wordsworth, etc.

† This is Tertullian's view (*de Orat.* viii.). In his form of the prayer *fiat voluntas tua in cœlis et in terra* preceded *veniat regnum tuum.* Origen, Chrysostom, Calvin, Keim, Weiss, and others, make six petitions. But an allusion to the Trinity is very doubtful. To make the second petition refer to the Son, and the third to the Spirit, is very forced and fanciful.

‡ All this is lost in Lk; and this is strong evidence that, if only one form is original, his form is not the original one.

prayer of a Christian is one which every human being who believes in God can use. There are no other limits to its unique adaptability. Any one, of any race or age or condition, who believes in God, can use the Lord's Prayer, and use it just in proportion to his belief. A peasant child can understand enough of it to make it the expression of his daily needs. The ripest scholar, philosopher, and saint cannot exhaust all its possibilities of meaning. In a few minutes it may be committed to memory; but it is the work of a lifetime to learn it by heart. A Christian's knowledge of the import of it grows with his spiritual experience.

The prayer is at once a form, a summary, and a pattern.

It is a *form* which every one can use, and be certain that in using it he is expressing his needs in a becoming manner. This advantage is possessed by forms of prayer which have been composed by saintly men, and which have been tested in use by generations of Christians. How much more, then, does it belong to a form prescribed by Christ Himself. *Quæ enim potest esse spiritalis oratio quam quæ a Christo nobis data est . . . agnoscat pater filii sui verba, cum precem facimus* (Cypr. *de Domin. Orat.* ii. iii.). Not that one form of words affects God more than another, so long as the language of the heart is according to His will; but that the form of words that we use reacts on our hearts, and if the words are unseemly our hearts may become less subdued. And in prayers that are to be used in common, the effect of the words upon others must be considered. In giving this prayer, Christ has both sanctioned the principle of forms of prayer and has also provided us with a form which is always safe.

The Lord's Prayer is also a *summary* of all other prayers. As Latimer says, 'Like as the law of love is the sum and abridgment of the other laws, so this prayer is the sum and abridgment of all other prayers.' It covers all earthly and spiritual needs and all heavenly aspirations. It is not meant to supersede all other forms of supplication. When Christ gave us this, He did not forbid others. But this one rightly accompanies all other prayers, either following them to sum them up and prevent grave omissions, or preceding them as a guide or model: *præmissa legitima et ordinaria oratione quasi fundamento, accedentium desideriorum jus est superstruendi extrinsecus petitiones* (Tert. *de Orat.*). It is *breviarium totius evangelii* (*ib.* i.).

For the prayer is also a *pattern*. It shows in what manner and spirit our other supplications are to be made. We may pray only for those things which tend to the glory of God and the good of man; and the glory of God comes first. The final end of prayer is not that our will should be done by Him, but that His will may be done in us. In the beautiful image used by Clement of Alexandria, 'Just as men at sea attached to an anchor by a taut rope, when they pull at the anchor, draw not it to themselves, but themselves to the anchor; so in the gnostic life those who (as they mean it) draw God to themselves are unawares bringing themselves towards God' (*Strom.* IV. xxiii. p. 633, ed. Potter).

A consideration of the petitions one by one belongs to commentaries and homiletics rather than to a dictionary; but some notice must here be taken of three details in the prayer, (*a*) the opening address, (*b*) the central word ἐπιούσιος, and (*c*) the last clause.

(*a*) The address Πάτερ ἡμῶν has no parallel in OT. There God is spoken of as the Father of the Jewish nation (Dt 32^{6}, Is 63^{16}, Jer $3^{4.\,19}$ 31^{9}, Mal 1^{6} 2^{10}); but He is nowhere called the Father of individuals. This step is taken in the Apocr. (Wis 2^{16} 14^{3}, Sir $23^{1.\,4}$ 51^{10}, To 13^{4}, 3 Mac 6^{3}). But it is only in NT that we are told that men have received the '*right* to become children of God' (Jn 1^{12}, cf. Ro 8^{23}, Gal 4^{5}). Every Christian, and indeed every human being, is justified in regarding himself as the offspring of God (Ac $17^{28.\,29}$), and in addressing Him with reference to his fellow-men as 'Our Father.' The address is at once a claim to be heard, and to be heard for others as well as for oneself. *Quid enim jam non det filiis petentibus, cum hoc ipsum ante dederit, ut filii essent* (Aug.). See vol. ii. p. 618.

(*b*) It is not likely that we shall ever know with certainty either the origin or the exact meaning of the adjective ἐπιούσιος, the only adjective in the prayer. Nowhere in Gr. literature is the word found until the Gospels gave it currency. To derive it from ἐπεῖναι, ἐπών, or ἐπί and οὐσία, is precarious; for in that case we should expect ἐπούσιος, and not ἐπιούσιος.* Most ancient versions support the derivation from ἐπιέναι, by giving the epithet a temporal rather than a qualitative rendering; *e.g.* 'of to-morrow,' or 'for the coming day,' or 'that cometh,' or 'continual,' or 'daily.' Jerome changed *quotidianum* in Mt to *supersubstantialem*, but made no change in Lk; so that in the West there was a general belief that the two evangelists had used different words. It is possible, as Chase suggests, that there was no epithet in the Aram. original, and that its insertion comes from liturgical use. But that hypothesis, if true, is not decisive as to meaning, although it supports the temporal rather than the qualitative interpretation. For the temporal meaning see Grotius, Wetstein, Fritzsche, Meyer, and, above all, Lightfoot, *On a Fresh Revision of the NT*, App. I. For other views see Suicer, Tholuck, Alford, Wordsworth, and, above all, M'Clellan, *The NT*, i. pp. 632–647. RV retains 'daily' in the text, and puts 'for the coming day' in the margin. The American Committee would add 'needful' in the margin. It is a strange phenomenon that the meaning of this unique word in the model prayer should, almost from the earliest times, have been doubtful. The *Didaché*, which has the earliest quotation of the prayer (viii.), throws no light on this point.

(*c*) Does ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ mean 'Deliver us from (the) evil,' or 'Deliver us from the evil one'? Have we here τὸ πονηρόν, as in Lk 6^{45}, Ro 12^{9}; or ὁ πονηρός, as in Mt $13^{19.\,38}$, Eph 6^{16}, 1 Jn $2^{13.\,14}$ 3^{12} 5^{18}, and also probably Mt $5^{37.\,39}$, Jn 17^{15}, 2 Th 3^{3}, 1 Jn 5^{19}? The latter is almost certainly correct. (*α*) The references just given show that in *NT itself* there is abundant justification for this meaning. (*β*) The *context* suggests the masculine, 'Bring us not into temptation, *but* deliver us from *the tempter*.' If evil in general, including pain and sorrow, were meant, we should have '*and* deliver us from evil.' Some Fathers explain Luke's omission of the clause by saying that it is really contained in 'Bring us not into temptation.' (*γ*) Of the *earliest versions*, 'the Syr. and Sahidic point to the masculine,' the Lat. is as ambiguous as the Greek. (*δ*) The *liturgies* of St. James, of St. Mark, and of Addæus, which are each of them representatives of a group, all explicitly support the masculine. See Hammond, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, pp. 47, 48, 188, 189, 279, 280. (*ε*) The *Greek Fathers*, who in such a matter have great weight, are unanimous for the masculine. (*ζ*) So also the *earliest Latin Fathers*, Tertullian and Cyprian. See Lightfoot, *On a Fresh Revision*, App. II., from which these six heads are taken; also Lightfoot on 2 Th 3^{3}. Erasmus, Beza, Maldonatus, Fritzsche, Meyer, Ebrard, Wordsworth, support the mascu-

---

[*] But this is not conclusive; for the word may have been coined in contrast to περιούσιος (Ex 19^{5}, Dt 7^{6} 14^{2} 26^{18}); and in that way the ι of the ἐπί might be retained contrary to usage (Jannaris, Tholuck).

line; Luther, Tholuck, Keil, Nösgen, Alford, M'Clellan, follow Augustine in accepting the neuter. Canon Cook's defence of this view in the *Guardian*, Sept. 1881, should be consulted.

That the doxology in St. Matthew is an interpolation due to liturgical use is admitted by all competent critics on the authority of ℵBDZ, five cursives, Latt. Boh. Orig. Tert. Cypr. Aug. Those authorities which contain it vary as to the wording, and as to the addition or omission of 'Amen'; while some have 'Amen' without the doxology. Even Wordsworth surrenders it, although 'with hesitation.' Perhaps its original source is the Heb. of 1 Ch 29^{11}; and not until Chrysostom does its wording become in general stereotyped. But as it is found in the Syr-Cur. and in the Sahidic, it must have been added to the Lord's Prayer in some places as early as the 2nd cent. Comp. 2 Ti 4^{18}, where we have an ascription of glory to Christ, which is erroneously supposed to favour the genuineness of the doxology in Mt 6^{13}.

From Tertullian (*adv. Marcion.* IV. xxvi.), from Gregory of Nyssa (*de Orat. Dom.* p. 60, ed. Krabinger), and from the cursive 604 (Hoskier, 1890), we see that in Lk some texts had a petition for the gift of the Spirit instead of either 'Thy kingdom come' or 'Hallowed be Thy name.' The fullest text of this petition reads thus: Ἐλθέτω τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ καθαρισάτω ἡμᾶς. Comp. the ἐφ' ἡμᾶς in D, which has ἁγιασθήτω ὄνομά σου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, ἐλθέτω σου ἡ βασιλεία, *sanctificetur nomen tuum super nos, veniat regnum tuum.* Against all reasonable probability Keim holds this petition for the Spirit to be 'really original in Luke,' and points to 11^{13} as evidence (*Jesus of Nazara*, iii. p. 338 n.).

There is evidence also of an early Latin gloss on *Ne nos inducas in temptationem* which was sometimes admitted into the prayer. Both Cyprian (*de Dom. Orat.* xxv.) and Augustine (*de Serm. Dom.* ix. 30) have *ne* patiaris *induci nos*,—obviously in order to lessen the difficulty of supposing that God brings us into temptation. This difficulty produced another Latin gloss: *ne inducas nos in temptationem* quam ferre non possumus (Jerome, *in Ezek.* xlviii. 16). And these two glosses are sometimes found combined. Each of them is found in writers of different ages and countries, and of liturgies of different families; they must therefore be of early origin. Comp. Hilary, *in Ps.* cxviii.

LITERATURE.—This is very abundant. Among the most important: Origen, περὶ εὐχῆς; Chrysost. *Hom. xix. in Matt.* and *Hom. de inst. secundum Deum vita*; Greg. Nyss. *de Orat.* II.; Tertul. *de Orat.*; Cypr. *de Orat. Dom.*; August. *de Serm. Dom. in Mon.*; Jerome, *Dial. c. Pelagianos*, III. xv.; Luther, *Small Catechism*, and other writings; Gebser, *de Orat. Dom.*, Regiom. 1830; Tholuck, *Bergpredigt*, 1833, 1844 [translation by Brown, Edinburgh, 1869]; Kamphausen, *Das Gebet des Herrn*, 1866; Chase, *Lord's Prayer in Early Church*, 1891; Wünsche, *Erläuterung der Evangg.* p. 84 ff.

A. PLUMMER.

LORD'S SUPPER.—

I. TERMINOLOGY.
II. OT TYPES.
    (*a*) The Manna.
    (*b*) Melchizedek's gifts to Abraham.
    (*c*) The Shewbread.
III. PARTIAL ANTICIPATIONS.
    (*a*) The Passover.
    (*b*) Sacrificial Feasts.
IV. HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN RITE.
    (*a*) The Institution.
    (*b*) The Recipients.
    (*c*) The Minister.
    (*d*) The Rite.
V. THE DOCTRINE OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

I. TERMINOLOGY.—A discussion of the language used in Scripture respecting the Lord's Supper is of necessity confined to the NT. But only once in NT is the Lord's Supper so called, Κυριακὸν δεῖπνον (1 Co xi. 20); for we may safely follow the consensus of ancient and modern commentators in interpreting this unique expression of the Eucharist (see, however, Maldonatus on Mt 26^{26}). The emphasis is on Κυριακόν: 'it is not (possible) to eat a *Lord's* Supper,' for the unseemly conduct turns it into ἰδιωτικὸν δεῖπνον (Chrys.). And we may possibly infer from the use of an adjective rather than a genitive that the name Κυριακὸν δεῖπνον was already in use when St. Paul wrote. Cf. Κυριακὴ ἡμέρα (Rev 1^{10}).

There are, however, other expressions in NT which certainly or possibly mean the Lord's Supper. 'The cup of blessing,' τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας (1 Co 10^{16}), *i.e.* the cup over which the blessing has been pronounced, unquestionably refers to the eucharistic cup, as the context shows. It is that ὃ εὐλογοῦμεν, which we consecrate by εὐλογία, by the expression in words of our εὐχαριστία. We might tr. 'the cup of thanksgiving over which we give thanks,' or 'which we give thanks for' (Crem. *Lex.* p. 767). But the use of εὐλογία rather than εὐχαριστία is evidence that the latter word has not yet gained its special meaning. The expression is borrowed from Judaism, being the name of the most sacred of the cups handed round at the paschal meal, of which cups it is commonly identified with the third (Edersh. *Life and Times*, ii. 511). Nor is there any doubt that ποτήριον Κυρίου (1 Co 10^{21}) and τράπεζα Κυρίου (1 Co 10^{21}, cf. Mal 1$^{7.12}$) refer to the eucharistic cup and the eucharistic table with the food thereon. Here we have the genitive and not an adjective; and the context shows that the dominant idea is union between the recipients and Christ, rather than union of the recipients with one another. About ἡ κλάσις τοῦ ἄρτου and κλᾶν ἄρτον there is more doubt. In Scripture 'bread' is a common name for any food, and includes drink also. 'Eating bread' (Mk 3^{20}) and 'breaking bread' (Ac 2^{46}) may be the same as 'taking food' (Ac 9^{19} 27^{36}); but 'eating bread' is the common general term, whereas 'breaking bread' is rare (Jer 16^{7}, La 4^{4}; cf. Lv 2^{6}, Is 58^{7}, Xen. *Anab.* VII. iii. 22). St. Luke is the only writer who uses ἡ κλάσις τοῦ ἄρτου (24^{35}, Ac 2^{42}). The former passage probably does not refer to the Eucharist; for the meal at Emmaus (Lk 24^{30}) most probably was not such. The context and the imperf. ἐπεδίδου are against it. Nowhere is the imperf. used of the distribution of the Eucharist (Mt 26^{26}, Mk 14^{22}, Lk 22^{19}, 1 Co 11^{23}); whereas it is used of the distribution of ordinary food, *e.g.* at the feeding of the 5000 (Mk 6^{41}, Lk 9^{16}) and of the 4000 (Mk 8^{6}, Mt 15^{36}). But in Ac 2^{42} the context favours the eucharistic interpretation, which the Lat. version of Cod. Bezæ, followed by Vulg., enforces with *in communicatione fractionis panis* (cf. *Clem. Recog.* vi. 15). The four elements of the common Christian life are given in two pairs; and the combination τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ ταῖς προσευχαῖς indicates that 'the breaking of the bread' means something more than an ordinary meal; and the context here and in 20$^{7.11}$ 27^{35} forbids us to interpret it of distributing food to the poor (Is 58^{7}). Yet even here the explanation must not be confined to the Eucharist. In Scripture there is no trace of the Eucharist being separated from the joint evening meal or ἀγάπη; and 'the breaking of the bread' covers the whole. We must not lose sight of the *family* character of the life of the first Christians. 'The breaking of the bread' took place in their own homes; 'the prayers' may refer to their constant devotions in the temple (Lk 24^{53}, Ac 2^{46} 3^{1}). It is doubtful whether the Eucharist is included in κλῶντες κατ' οἶκον ἄρτον (Ac 2^{46})* or in κλάσας ἤρξατο ἐσθίειν (27^{35}). The latter is specially improbable; and here the Western interpolation ἐπιδιδοὺς καὶ ἡμῖν was added to suggest a Eucharist, an interpretation which Tertullian adopts (*de Orat.* 24). On the other hand, both the Eucharist and the common meal are perhaps indicated in Ac $20^{7.11}$. The mention of the first day of the week points to religious observance: and γευσάμενος seems to refer to the common meal after the κλάσας τὸν ἄρτον in the Eucharistic rite. Only in 1 Co 14^{16} is it supposed that ἡ εὐχαριστία is used in the specific sense of Eucharist rather than in that of thanksgiving generally. Yet it is not probable that St. Paul is here deviating from his use of the word elsewhere (2 Co 4^{15} 9^{11}, Eph 5^4, Ph 4^6, Col 2^7 4^2, 1 Th 3^9, 1 Ti $4^{3.4}$, and in the plur. 2 Co 9^{12}, 1 Ti 2^1), which is also the common use both in NT (Ac 24^3, Rev 4^9 7^{12}) and in LXX (Wis 16^{28}, Sir 37^{11}, 2 Mac 2^{27}). The use of εὐχαριστεῖν in the next two verses ($^{17.18}$) shows that thanksgiving generally is meant. And this is confirmed by the use of εὐχαριστεῖν in Clem. Rom. *Cor.* 41. But the use of εὐχαριστία in the specific sense begins very early. We find it in the Ignatian Epistles (*Philad.* 4; *Smyrn.* 7) side by side with the general meaning (*Eph.* 13). The same double use is found in Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 64–66, *Try.* 116, 117). The specific sense is common in Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and Cyprian. But it is remarkable that neither Justin, nor Cyprian (*Ep.* 63), nor Firmilian in his letter to Cyprian (*Ep.* 65), nor Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech.* 19, 22, 23), say anything about either the εὐλογία or the κλάσις, both of which are so prominent in NT. Other terms which in course of time became names for the Lord's Supper are κοινωνία, τῶν μυστηρίων κοινωνία, προσφορά, λειτουργία, μυστήριον συνάξεως, μετάληψις ἁγιασμάτων, ἁγία μετάληψις, *communio*, *communicatio*, *perceptio corporis et sanguinis*, etc. Words which originally designated one part of the rite were used to express the whole.

---

* If Ac 2^{46} does not refer to the Eucharist, then the supposition that the Eucharist was celebrated daily in the earliest age has no foundation. Ac 20$^{7-11}$ points to Sunday as the usual day.

II. OT TYPES.—(*a*) We have the authority both of Christ and of St. Paul for regarding the manna as a type of the Eucharist. The great discourse on the Bread of Life, no doubt, covers all those means of grace by which Christ is imparted to believers. But a special reference to the Lord's Supper is clear from the words used about eating the flesh of the Son of Man and drinking His blood, and from the fact that just a year after this discourse Christ instituted the Eucharist. It is incredible that this momentous act in the work of redemption had not yet been thought of by Him when He spoke at Capernaum. The references to the manna in the discourse are frequent, and the correspondence between the language used (Jn $6^{51.53-58}$) and the accounts of the institution cannot be fortuitous. The πνευματικὸν βρῶμα of 1 Co 10^3 refers to the manna regarded as supernatural food. The apostle takes this supernatural food as a type of the Eucharistic bread; and it is possible that the epithet πνευματικόν is selected with reference to the Eucharist rather than to the manna. The exact meaning of what is said about the πνευματικὸν πόμα is doubtful; but evidently the water supernaturally supplied to the Israelites is regarded by St. Paul as a type of the blood of Christ received in the Eucharistic cup.

(*b*) Patristic writers find types of the Lord's Supper in the gifts made by Melchizedek, in the shewbread, and in other offerings. With regard to Melchizedek, it is remarkable that the author of the Ep. to the Heb., who is the only NT writer who mentions him ($5^{6.10}$ 6^{20} 7^{1-17}), passes over the fact that Melchizedek 'brought forth bread and wine' (Gn 14^{18}). As we are immediately afterwards told that 'he was priest of God most High,' it is not surprising that patristic writers treat this bread and wine as a sacrifice offered by the priest-king, and as a type of the Eucharist: τὴν ἡγιασμένην τροφὴν εἰς τύπον εὐχαριστίας (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 25, p. 637, ed. Potter); *imago sacrificii in pane et vino constituta* (Cypr. *Ep.* 63). Jerome goes further, and says that this sacrifice of bread and wine was offered for Abraham (*ad Matt.* 22^{41}). See Westcott on He 7^1.

(*c*) It is obvious that, as the Lord's Supper commemorates the sacrifice made by Christ on the Cross, whatever was a type of that sacrifice may be called a type also of the rite which commemorates it; and, where the offering was bread, the inducement to treat it in this way would be the greater. Cyril of Jerusalem thus uses the shewbread (*Catech.* 22). In a similar manner Justin treats Is 33^{16} (*Try.* 70), and Irenæus treats Mal 1^{11} (IV. xvii. 5, 6) as a prediction of the Eucharist.

III. PARTIAL ANTICIPATIONS.—(*a*) Just as the chief type, viz. the manna, is indicated by Christ Himself, so also is the chief anticipatory rite, viz. the Passover. It appears to have been [but see JESUS CHRIST, vol. ii. p. 634] while celebrating the paschal supper that He instituted the rite which was to supersede it, and be known as the Lord's Supper. And here a remarkable parallel with the institution of Christian baptism exists. The original rite for admission to Judaism was circumcision. This was supplemented by baptism, which in later times became the only rite of initiation applicable to both sexes. In the original ritual of the Passover, the lamb, unleavened bread, and bitter herbs were the essentials (Ex 12^8). The wine and the solemn 'cup of blessing' were later accessories. Just as in the one rite Christ abandoned the circumcision and retained the baptism, so in the other He abandoned the lamb and retained the wine. In both cases the rite was made unbloody and painless; and from the treasure-house were brought forth things new and old. There is a new departure; but also a clear connexion with the past; for Providence, even in its revolutions, is conservative.

(*b*) By speaking of 'my blood of the covenant,' or 'the new covenant in my blood,' Christ seems to have connected this new feast with those sacrificial feasts in which the worshippers, by partaking of the sacrifice, partook of the blessing which the sacrifice was to win. This was an idea with which the disciples were quite familiar. That there was any idea of a death-feast, or of an adoption-feast, is much less probable. We know little about death-feasts among the Jews. And although some Semitic peoples had rites in which the partaking of the tribal animal was supposed to put the blood of the tribe into the partaker's veins (W. R. Smith, *RS* pp. 317, 318), yet there is no trace of this idea in the Lord's Supper. It is by baptism that aliens are admitted to the Christian family.

IV. HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN RITE.—This can be conveniently treated under four heads: (*a*) the Institution, (*b*) the Recipients, (*c*) the Minister, (*d*) the Rite.

(*a*) The *Institution*, according to the universal testimony of Scripture and of tradition, dates from the act and command of Christ at 'the last supper,'—the last meal of which He partook before His death. An attempt has been made to show that He must have instituted the Eucharist earlier in His ministry: (1) because 'St. John in his sixth chapter represents our Lord as using Eucharistic language which would have been absolutely without meaning, if the Eucharist had not been already in common use'; and (2) because 'the two disciples journeying to Emmaus recognized our Lord in the Breaking of Bread (Lk $24^{30.35}$). They had not been present at the Last Supper. The rite, if it was really then instituted for the first time, would have had no significance for them' (Wright, *Synopsis*, p. xiii).

This is very unconvincing. (1) It was Christ's way, even with the disciples, to utter about future events words which they did not, and in some cases could not, understand at the time, but which they did understand when the events had taken place. He knew that the discourse on the Bread of Life would acquire fresh and fuller meaning when the rite which He intended to found was instituted. But it is an exaggeration to say that it was 'absolutely without meaning' and an 'insoluble enigma' until the Eucharist was instituted. Had it no meaning for the large majority of the audience, who, upon any hypothesis, did not know, and never would know, anything of the Eucharistic rite? (2) The two disciples at Emmaus may have been present when Christ broke bread and gave thanks at ordinary meals, or at the feeding of the 4000 and of the 5000. It was something in His way of doing this at Emmaus that enabled them to recognize Him at the supper there, which was probably not a Eucharist. We may safely follow the clear and strong evidence of the Synoptists and of St. Paul, that the Eucharist was instituted at the last supper. St. Paul's reference to it, τὸ Κυριακὸν δεῖπνον, which is older than any of the Gospels, could hardly have been made in this form, if the Lord's Supper, on the night of His betrayal, had not been the time when it originated. See vol. ii. p. 636.

Of the institution we have four accounts; and it will be worth while to place them side by side in two pairs, to facilitate an estimate of their substantial agreement.* Brandt's assault on their trustworthiness has been answered by Schultzen, *Das Abendmahl im NT*, 1895, p. 67 ff. They are neither intrinsically incredible, nor inconsistent with other statements in the Gospels, nor contradicted by early evidence outside the NT.

Mt 26$^{26-29}$.	Mk 14$^{22-25}$.
ἐσθιόντων δὲ αὐτῶν λαβὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς **ἄρτον** καὶ **εὐλογήσας ἔκλασεν** καὶ δοὺς τοῖς μαθηταῖς εἶπεν, Λάβετε φάγετε, **τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου.** καὶ λαβὼν **ποτήριον** καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων, Πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες, τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς διαθήκης τὸ περὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυννόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν· λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν, οὐ μὴ πίω ἀπ' ἄρτι ἐκ τούτου τοῦ γενήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ὅταν αὐτὸ πίνω μεθ' ὑμῶν καινὸν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ πατρός μου.	καὶ ἐσθιόντων αὐτῶν λαβὼν **ἄρτον εὐλογήσας ἔκλασεν** καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς καὶ εἶπεν Λάβετε, **τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου.** καὶ λαβὼν **ποτήριον** εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἔπιον ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς διαθήκης τὸ ἐκχυννόμενον ὑπὲρ πολλῶν· ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐκέτι οὐ μὴ πίω ἐκ τοῦ γενήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ὅταν αὐτὸ πίνω καινὸν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ.

Lk 22$^{17-20}$.	1 Co 11$^{23-25}$.
καὶ δεξάμενος **ποτήριον** εὐχαριστήσας εἶπεν Λάβετε τοῦτο καὶ διαμερίσατε εἰς ἑαυτούς· λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν, οὐ μὴ πίω ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ γενήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου ἕως οὗ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔλθῃ. καὶ **λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν** καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων **Τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου** [τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὡσαύτως μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι, λέγων Τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον].	ἐγὼ γὰρ παρέλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, ὃ καὶ παρέδωκα ὑμῖν, ὅτι ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ᾗ παρεδίδετο ἔλαβεν **ἄρτον** καὶ **εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν** καὶ εἶπεν **Τοῦτό μού ἐστιν τὸ σῶμα** τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ **ποτήριον** μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι, λέγων Τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ αἵματι· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε, ὁσάκις ἐὰν πίνητε, εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.

There is strong reason for believing that the latter part of the passage in the Third Gospel is not original, but a very early interpolation from 1 Co. D a d ff$_2$ i l omit from τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν to ἐκχυννόμενον, while b e Syr-Cur. omit and put vv.$^{17.\,18}$ in the place of the omitted passage, so as to harmonize with Mt and Mk and relieve the difficulty of the two cups. Syr-Cur., like Syr-Sin., retains the whole of v.^{19}, b e only the first half. According to this arrangement the verses run $^{16.\,19.\,17.\,18.\,21.\,22}$ etc. Syr-Sin. exhibits a more elaborate rearrangement with considerable changes of wording;—$^{16.\,19.\,20a.\,17.\,20b.\,18.\,21.\,22}$ etc. In *Internat. Crit. Comm. on St. Luke*, pp. 567, 568, these attempts at avoiding difficulties by transposing parts of the text are shown in full. WH consider that there is 'no moral doubt that the words in question were absent from the original text in Lk' (ii. App. p. 64; see Introd. § 240). With this Brandt, Grafe, Grass, Haupt, Schürer, J. Weiss, and Wendt agree. Spitta rejects v.^{20} only, and accepts as original the whole of v.^{19}, the second half of which has the support of Syr-Cur., Syr-Sin., and Justin. Scrivener, Schultzen (*op. cit.* pp. 5-19), R. A. Hoffmann (*Abendmahlsgedanken Jesu Christi*, 1896, pp. 5-25), and others defend the genuineness of the whole passage. But in a discussion of the accounts of the institution the whole passage should be treated as at least doubtful. It does not support the Pauline account, if it is (as is probable) borrowed from it.

The primary account is that given by St. Paul. Those in Mt and Mk are virtually one and the same; an account written later than his and independent of it. Among the features which are found in both Mt and Mk but not in 1 Co are the change from εὐλογήσας of the bread to εὐχαριστήσας of the cup, the Λάβετε of the bread, the λαβὼν εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκεν of the cup, their all drinking of it, the blood being 'shed for many,' and the declaration about not drinking of the fruit of the vine. This last, and εὐχαριστήσας of the cup, are common to Lk also. The features which are common to all four are the taking bread, giving thanks or blessing, breaking, the words 'This is my body,' and the mention of the cup.

In four points St. Paul differs from the Synoptists. (1) He gives no indication that the meal was a paschal one, and thus seems to agree with St. John: it is the new covenant, rather than the connexion with the old rite, which interests him (Baur, *Ch. Hist.* i. pp. 161, 162). But 1 Co 5^7 must be remembered. (2) While Mt and Mk place the taking of the bread during the meal (ἐσθιόντων αὐτῶν), he places the taking of the cup after the supper (μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι). If both are right, there was a considerable interval between the distribution of the bread and the circulation of the cup. Lk gives no intimation. (3) While St. Paul has 'This *cup* is the *new* covenant in my blood,' Mt and Mk have 'This is my blood of the covenant,' where 'new' may have been dropped for the sake of closer resemblance with Ex 24^8. In any case, Rückert's proposal to take μου with διαθήκης—'the blood of my covenant,' and Bousset's to reject the words about the covenant, because Justin omits them, are inadmissible. (4) St. Paul gives twice, Mk and Mt not at all, and Lk probably not at all, the important charge, τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. The explanation perhaps is, that the evangelists treat the repetition as a matter of course, and as involved in the word 'covenant,' which implies permanence: whereas, in order to convince the Corinthians of the enormity of their misconduct, it was necessary to point out that irreverence to either bread or cup was a violation of what Christ Himself had prescribed. It follows from this that the divine injunction to the Church to continue the Eucharistic celebration in memory of its Founder rests solely upon the testimony of St. Paul. Let us admit that this is so. We do not thereby render probable the hypothesis that Jesus gave no such charge. The apostle could not have invented such an injunction, if it had not been in harmony with Christian practice already established. And how could such a rite have been established without the authority of the Twelve, who knew well whether Christ had commanded it or not?

---

* The elements common to all four are in thick type; those common to the three Gospels are in spaced type. The text followed is that of Westcott and Hort.

Paulus was perhaps the first to deny that Christ said τοῦτο ποιεῖτε. But Briggs, P. Gardner,* Grafe, Immer, Jülicher, Mensinga, Pfleiderer, Spitta, Titius, and Wittichen are disposed to think that the earliest tradition, represented by Mk and Mt, knew nothing of an institution by Jesus, on the night of His betrayal, of a sacrament to be observed continually.† And the earliest Christian observance of the Lord's Supper as a permanent institution is explained by the hypothesis that Christ gave this command after His resurrection (Briggs, *The Messiah of the Gospels*, p. 123).

In what sense is the tradition represented by Mk and Mt 'the earliest'? That given by St. Paul was written earlier, and is the earliest written record of any words of Christ. It had been previously communicated to the Corinthians. And St. Paul had derived it direct from the Lord Himself (1 Co 11^{23}). His words can mean no less. Had he merely been told by apostles, he would have had no stronger claim to be heard than hundreds of other Christians. The silence of Mt and Mk does not warrant us in contradicting such explicit testimony, which would be sufficient, even if it were unsupported, for the unvarying belief of the Church from the earliest ages, that it was on the night in which He was betrayed that Christ instituted the Eucharist and gave the command 'continue to do this (pres. imperat.) in remembrance of me.' The proposal to place the institution of the Eucharist as a permanent rite later than the last supper, is as unnecessary as the proposal to place it earlier. The Pauline account fully explains the connexion of the new rite with the Passover and the Passion. If the command, τοῦτο ποιεῖτε, κ.τ.λ., was given on some other occasion, how did the new rite become so universally connected with these two facts? Any internal or doctrinal connexion between the Lord's Supper and the Passover is denied by Haupt, Hoffmann, Jülicher, Spitta, and others. Their reasons differ; but the fact that the Passover was celebrated only once a year, and the Lord's Supper frequently, is no argument. The Passover celebrated a deliverance effected with blood; and the Lord's Supper celebrated a deliverance effected with blood. This is a real and natural connexion.

But it is possible that there were sources for the conviction that Jesus gave this command on the night of His betrayal which were independent of St. Paul. Justin Martyr states that 'the apostles, in the memoirs produced by them which are called Gospels, related that Jesus, having taken bread and given thanks, thus commanded them and said, *Do this for a remembrance of Me, this is My body*; and that in like manner, having taken the cup and given thanks, He said, *This is My blood*; and distributed to them alone' (*Apol.* i. 66). Although Justin omits the reference to the covenant, yet he regards the τοῦτο ποιεῖτε as part of the evangelistic record.

(*b*) The *Recipients* of the Lord's Supper were required to 'prove themselves,' lest they should 'eat the bread or drink the cup of the Lord unworthily,' and thus 'be guilty of (profaning) the body and the blood of the Lord. . . . For he that eateth and drinketh without rightly judging (διακρίνων) the body, eateth and drinketh judgment (κρίμα) to himself,'—a judgment which involves the gravest consequences, as the experience of many in Corinth proved. 'But if we were in the habit of rightly judging ourselves (διεκρίνομεν) we should not be judged (οὐκ ἂν ἐκρινόμεθα).' Throughout the passage (1 Co 11^{27-31}) the repeated contrast between διακρίνειν and κρίνειν is to be noted; also the use of κρινόμενοι and κατακριθῶμεν immediately afterwards.

No definition of ἀναξίως is given. The context shows that what is primarily meant is disorderly irreverence in receiving either the bread or the cup (ἤ, not καί). This external irreverence is proof of internal contempt. It could not occur, if the nature of the body were rightly judged; *i.e.* if the partaker devoutly realized that to which his eating and drinking referred, viz. the death of Christ: just as a loyal subject could not insult the king's effigy, if he knew that it was the king's. The context also shows that selfishness and greediness are included in ἀναξίως. Surfeiting at the common meal, while others are made to wait famished, renders a worthy partaking of the Lord's Supper impossible; for love of the brethren is indispensable. This irreverence and selfishness spring from a wrong estimate of one's own condition. Therefore a man must prove himself and acquire a right judgment as to his spiritual state. Reverence towards God, His Church, and His sacraments; charity towards the brethren; a humble estimate of self,—these are among the requirements for a worthy reception of the Lord's Supper. Fasting could not be required so long as the Eucharist was united with the *agape*, which it often followed, as at the last supper, although it sometimes preceded it.

(*c*) The *Minister* in the Eucharist is not determined by Scripture any more than the minister in baptism. The primary charge to continue the rite (1 Co $11^{24.25}$) was made to the apostles, and, on the only occasion when the minister is named, the celebrant is the apostle St. Paul (Ac 20^{11}). Yet, assuming that 'the breaking of the bread,' which habitually took place among the first Christians (Ac 2^{42}), includes the Lord's Supper, we need not suppose that the celebrant was invariably one of the Twelve. But this much may be asserted with confidence. The NT tells us that from the first there was a distinction between clergy and laity, *i.e.* the Church had officers who discharged spiritual functions which were not discharged by ordinary Christians. This distinction appears in various writings from the earliest to the latest (1 Th $5^{12.13}$, 1 Co 12^{28}, Eph 4^{11}, Ph 1^{1}, Past. Epp. *passim*, He 13^{17}, 3 Jn $^{9.10}$), and is abundantly confirmed by evidence outside the NT which is almost if not quite contemporaneous with the last of these (Clem. Rom. and the *Didaché*). These witnesses do not define the functions of the ministers whom they name. But the clergy, whether missionary (as apostles, prophets, and evangelists) or stationary (as bishops or presbyters, and deacons), discharge spiritual duties. They deal with men's souls rather than their bodies; and they have to do with religious service. It is reasonable to suppose that one of the first things that was reserved to the clergy was the right of presiding at the Eucharist. This reservation is found clearly enough in the first half of the 2nd cent. (Ign. *Smyrn.* 8, cf. *Trall.* 2. 7, *Philad.* 7; Tert. *de Bapt.* 17; *Apost. Const.* ii. 27).

---

* Gardner argues, moreover, that the whole account in 1 Co $11^{23ff.}$ is the record of an *ecstatic* revelation experienced by St. Paul, and has no historical objective foundation. He supposes an influence to have been exerted on St. Paul during his stay at Corinth by the proximity of the Eleusinian mysteries.

† The view that Christ gave no command, but merely permission, to continue the ordinance, is found in Luther, who regards ὁσάκις ἐὰν πίνητε as making τοῦτο ποιεῖτε purely permissive (*De capt. Bab. eccles. præludium*, ed. Pfizer, p. 195). Strauss, Kaiser, and Stephani have urged that Jesus was too humble to give such a command, and have been answered by Hase (*Gesch. Jesu*, p. 691).

(*d*) The *Rite* is nowhere described in Scripture with so much detail as in the accounts of the institution; and the small amount of detail given there is strong evidence of the authenticity of the accounts. A fiction of a later age would have represented Christ as using the ceremonial which was customary in that age, as is seen clearly in the *Apost. Const.* ii. 57, viii. 12. The taking a loaf or cake, giving thanks, breaking and distributing, and then the taking a cup, giving thanks, and distributing, are the external acts of the Founder, accompanied by the words, 'This is my body,' 'This is my blood.' We know too little about the ritual of the Passover at this time to say how much, if any, of the new Eucharistic rite was part of the paschal meal. Later Jewish writers have described how the Passover was celebrated in their time, with four (and sometimes five) cups circulating at intervals, *one* of which *may* have been the Eucharistic cup.* But we do not know that this ritual was in existence in the time of Christ. And if it was, we do not know that Christ, in this highly exceptional celebration,—which anticipated (?) that year's Passover in order to supersede it for ever,—followed the existing ritual. In none of the reports is there any mention of the lamb, or of the 'passing over' of the destroying angel, or of a deliverance from bondage; whereas the idea of a covenant, which of necessity is a new covenant, is very conspicuous. It need not be doubted that 'my blood of the covenant' (Mt, Mk) is essentially identical with 'the new covenant in my blood' (1 Co). In either case the blood is treated as the vehicle of the covenant, which the disciples appropriate by partaking of the cup. And this idea of a covenant is not conspicuous in the ritual of the Passover.† The three fundamental acts seem to be, (1) the breaking and pouring, (2) the distribution to the disciples, (3) their eating and drinking; which represent (1) the death of Christ, (2) for the disciples' salvation, (3) which they must appropriate.

As regards subsequent Christian usage, we know that in the apostolic age the breaking of the bread was preserved (see above); and we may feel sure that most of the other external acts of the Lord were preserved also. Moreover, the Eucharist, which at the institution was part of the paschal supper, is in the apostolic age always part of the common meal or ἀγάπη (1 Co 11^{17}, Ac 20$^{7.\ 11}$), a practice which continued down to the time of Ignatius (see Lightfoot on *Smyrn.* 8). But whether there was as yet any fixed form of words either for the thanksgiving or blessing, or to accompany the distribution, is uncertain. The differences in the four reports of Christ's words seem to show that exactness of wording was not regarded as essential. In the *Didaché* 9, 10 we find three forms of thanksgiving: one for the cup, one for the broken bread, and a third which apparently is to be used after both ἀγάπη and Eucharist are over (μετὰ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι). But it is expressly stated that 'the prophets' are not tied to these forms (τοῖς δὲ προφήταις ἐπιτρέπετε εὐχαριστεῖν ὅσα θέλουσιν). A similar feature is found in Justin Martyr, who states that the presiding minister (ὁ προεστώς), after general prayer is ended, and bread and wine mixed with water have been brought, offers prayers and thanksgivings according to his ability (ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ), to which the congregation respond with the Amen (*Apol.* i. 67). It would seem, then, that this is the second stage in the development of liturgies. First there was no form, but the minister used what words he pleased. He would, however, be influenced by the words of institution as well as by Jewish forms; and perhaps he commonly included the Lord's Prayer. Basil asks, 'Which of the saints has left us in writing the words of the invocation at the displaying (ἀνάδειξις) of the bread of the Eucharist and the cup of blessing? For *we are not content with what the Apostle or the Gospel has recorded*, but both in preface and conclusion we add other words' (*de Spiritu*, 27). And Gregory the Great seems to have believed that the apostles used the Lord's Prayer, and that only* (ix. *Ep.* 12; Migne, lxxvii. 956). But the meaning of the passage is not clear; and Gregory is very late authority for apostolic usage (Maskell, *The Ancient Liturgy of the Ch. of England*, 3rd ed. p. xviii). At the next stage forms were drawn up, but some ministers were allowed discretion as to the use of them. Finally, all ministers were restricted to prescribed forms. In NT we seem to be at the first stage. In the *Didaché* the omissions are remarkable, and power to supplement would seem to be almost necessary. Among the gifts for which thanks are given (ζωή, γνῶσις, πίστις, ἀθανασία, ζωὴ αἰώνιος) there is no mention of ἄφεσις ἁμαρτιῶν. And although these gifts come διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου, there is no mention of the *death* of Christ.

Harnack's theory, that until the 3rd cent. the use of wine in the Eucharist was neither obligatory nor universal, has been opposed by Zahn (*Brot und Wein im Abendmahl der alten Kirche*, Erlangen, 1892) and Jülicher (*Theolog. Abhandlungen*, Freiburg, 1892, pp. 217–231), and need not be discussed here. Christ took the two simplest and most universal representatives of sustaining food, bread that strengtheneth man's heart, and wine that maketh glad the heart of man, and employed them as the universal representatives of spiritual food, of His body broken and His blood poured out. His loyal followers have from the first retained these.

V. THE DOCTRINE OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.—There are few things more tragic in the history of Christ's Church than the fact that its central act of worship has for centuries been, and still continues to be, a subject for the keenest controversy, and that Christians have cruelly persecuted, and even put to cruel deaths, other Christians, for not holding doctrines respecting the Lord's Supper which cannot be proved, and which are possibly not true. The Sacrament of Love and of Life has been made an instrument of hate and of destruction, because men have insisted upon possessing knowledge which cannot be possessed, and upon explaining what cannot be explained. In the first centuries the Church was content to enjoy and to use without explaining, and it would be our wisdom to do the same.

1. The chief point of controversy has been *the meaning of the 'is'* in 'This is my body' (Mt, Mk, Lk, 1 Co) and 'This is my blood of the covenant' (Mt, Mk), or 'This cup is the new covenant in my blood' ([Lk] 1 Co). The suggestion that at the institution our Lord spoke in Aramaic, and that

---

* Those who assume that the disputed passage at Lk 22$^{19.\ 20}$ is genuine, commonly regard the two cups (vv.$^{17.\ 20}$) as two of the four or five Jewish cups.

† But see Trumbull, *Threshold Covenant*, p. 208 ff.

* *Orationem dominicam idcirco mox post precem dicimus, quia mos apostolorum fuit, ut ad ipsam solummodo orationem, oblationis hostiam consecrarent.* Cf. Amalarius, *de Eccles. Off.* iv. 26; Migne, cv. 1210. What is the exact meaning of the *ad*?

in Aramaic the 'is' would not be expressed, renders no help. It is not *quite* certain that He spoke in Aramaic then, or that it was in Aramaic that He made the special revelation to St. Paul. But we may assume that He did so. Nevertheless, the 'is' *must* be supplied; and, as soon as it is there, inquiry will arise as to its meaning. Moreover, not in Aramaic, but in Greek, has Christ handed down these words of His to His Church. All four accounts have the ἐστιν of the bread; and, excepting the disputed words in Lk, all have the ἐστιν of the cup. The fact that Christ probably used a language in which the copula was not expressed is no good reason for giving the minimum of meaning to the ἐστιν, which is conspicuous in the Scriptures given to us by Him.

Perhaps the nearest approach to an explanation that can be found in Scripture is that given by St. Paul: 'The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not κοινωνία of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not κοινωνία of the body of Christ?' Here κοινωνία is more than 'a partaking of,' which would be μετοχή or μετάλημψις rather than κοινωνία. The latter is 'fellowship with.' Just as the bread is made up of many particles, gathered together in one loaf, so those who partake of the bread that is broken are gathered together in one body. 'The bread which we break is fellowship with the body of Christ.' [See COMMUNION]. What, then, is the meaning of the 'is'? Probably that common use of the copula which identifies cause and effect is part of the meaning (Hooker, *Ec. Pol.* V. lxvii. 5, 6). J. H. Newman once warned a friend who was visiting Rome for the first time, and in the summer, 'Beware of a chill in Rome. A chill is a fever; and a fever is a shattered constitution for life,' which meant that a chill causes a fever, and that a fever causes a shattered constitution. By the same usage St. Paul may mean that the cup, when drunk, is a cause of fellowship with Christ's blood, and the bread, when eaten, is a cause of fellowship with Christ's body; or (as in the words of institution) this bread is a cause of the body. 'The bread and wine after their benediction or consecration are not indeed changed in their nature, but become, in their use and in their effects, the very body and blood of Christ' (T. S. Evans on 1 Co 10^{16}). This meaning is in harmony with the context. The union with the Lord Himself, which those who partake of the Lord's Supper have, is compared with the union which those who partake of a sacrifice have with the deity to whom the altar is devoted;—in the case of the Israelites with God, of the heathen with demons. This idea, that to partake of a sacrifice is to devote one's self to the deity, lies at the root of the ancient idea of worship, whether Jewish or heathen; and St. Paul uses it as being readily understood. In this connexion the symbol is never a mere symbol, but a means of real union; and in the Lord's Supper the symbol is very significant. It is a means of union with Christ in that character which is indicated by the broken body and the shed blood; *i.e.* union with the crucified Redeemer (Pfleiderer, *Paulinismus*, ch. vi. p. 240, Eng. tr.).

Those who insist on the literal meaning of the 'is' as expressing identity, must be prepared to accept the literal meaning of the subject also; and this in the case of the cup produces great difficulty. '*This cup* (not its contents) *actually is* (not is an instrument or a symbol of) *the covenant.*'

'The fellowship with the body of Christ' is twofold. It is fellowship of each recipient with Christ by faith, and of all recipients with one another in Christ by love. It is in Christ that the union of all mankind subsists. There is communion in a nature which is common to Him and to them; ὅτι εἷς ἄρτος, ἓν σῶμα οἱ πολλοί ἐσμεν, 'because one bread, one body, we the many are.' The act of eating and drinking together proclaims the union of Christians in Christ. And this union and communion is symbolized in the composite unity of the bread and of the wine. '*As this broken bread* (κλάσμα), *scattered upon the mountains and gathered together became one*, so let Thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into Thy Kingdom' (*Didaché*, ix. 4).

A Bible Dictionary is not the place in which to discuss late developments of Eucharistic doctrine; but it may point out scriptural tests for judging some of these.

(1) Christ placed the new rite in close connexion with the Passover. Even if He had not done so, the apostles would inevitably have been influenced by Jewish ideas, and especially by paschal observances, in interpreting the new rite. This fact seems to exclude all doctrines which teach that the consecrated elements become or contain the physical body of Christ which was 'born of the Virgin,' with 'bones and nerves and all that pertains to the true idea of a body.'* To partake of the blood of an animal was abomination to a Jew. In the paschal ritual it was expressly provided that the blood should be separated from the flesh that was to be eaten. The idea of eating human flesh and drinking human blood would have inspired the apostles with unspeakable horror; and it is incredible that Christ can have intended to shock them with any such doctrine. He had warned them beforehand (Jn 6^{63}) against any such carnal notion—σωματικὴ ἔννοια (Athan. *ad Serapion.* iv. 19). (2) The words εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν exclude a corporal presence; for a memorial of what is bodily present would be meaningless. (3) St. Paul repeatedly calls the consecrated bread, not 'body' or 'flesh,' but 'bread' (1 Co 11^{26-28}). Can we believe that the celebrant now distributes more than Christ distributed then; or that what He held in His hands and distributed to His disciples was nothing less than His own Person, Body, Soul, and Godhead? (See Thirlwall, *Charges*, ii. p. 251; Schultzen, *Das Abendmahl*, p. 48.)

2. Another aspect of the Lord's Supper is pointed out by St. Paul; and again it is an explanation of the words of Christ. The Lord said, 'This do ye, for the remembrance of me,' to which the apostle adds, 'For (confirmatory) as often as ye eat this bread (bread thus blessed and broken) and drink the cup, ye *proclaim the Lord's death till he come*' (ἄχρι οὗ ἔλθῃ without ἄν, because the coming is certain). As the Passover was for a memorial of the deliverance wrought by J", to be kept 'throughout your generations' (Ex 12^{14}), so the Eucharist is a memorial of the deliverance wrought by Christ's death, to be kept 'till he come.' Commemoration ceases when He who is commemorated returns. Meanwhile the Eucharist is the Church's consolation for the Lord's withdrawal from sight. It links the second Advent to the first by keeping both in mind. Like the dramatic actions of the Hebrew prophets, it illustrates, and emphasizes, and impresses on the memory a special proof of God's care for His people. It is Christ's last and supreme parable; a parable not merely told but acted by Himself. He sets forth His own death, and shows that those who would profit by it must make it their own by faith and love. As Chrysostom says, 'We do not then offer a different sacrifice, as the high priest formerly did, but always the same: or rather, *we celebrate a*

---

* Verum Christi Domini Corpus, illud idem, *quod natum ex Virgine*, in cælis sedat ad dexteram Patris, hoc Sacramento contineri (*Catechismus Romanus, Pars* II. *cap.* iv. *Quæst.* 22).

Hoc loco etiam explicandum est, non solum veri Christi Corpus, et *quicquid ad veram corporis rationem pertinet, veluti, ossa et nervos*, sed etiam totum Christum in hoc Sacramento contineri (*ibid. Quæst.* 27).

memorial of a sacrifice' (on Hebrews, *Hom.* xvii. 3). This leads on to another aspect.

3. Christ's death was a *sacrifice*: and to proclaim His death, and appropriate His body and blood offered in that sacrifice, is to realize the sacrifice and to appropriate its effects. The ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν of the body (1 Co) and the ὑπὲρ or περὶ πολλῶν of the blood (Mk, Mt) point to this. And they mean much the same; for it is unreasonable to restrict ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν to the disciples then present. It was in our behalf that the body was broken and the blood shed. The sacrificial idea appears in He 13^{10}, where θυσιαστήριον probably refers indirectly to the Eucharist. But the altar on which Christ offered His sacrifice is the Cross; and the altar on which we offer is Christ Himself. The θυσιαστήριον is not the holy table. And it may be doubted if there is a sacrificial meaning in the double τοῦτο ποιεῖτε (1 Co $11^{24.\ 25}$). For (i.) in LXX the frequent Heb. words which mean 'offer' or 'sacrifice' are not translated by ποιεῖν, but by προσφέρειν, ἀναφέρειν, θύειν, θυσιάζειν, and the like. (ii.) The ordinary meaning of ποιεῖν in LXX, in NT, and elsewhere, is the natural meaning here. (iii.) The Gr. Fathers adopt this ordinary meaning and interpret, 'Perform this action.' (iv.) Syr-Sin. has, '*Thus* do in remembrance of me.' (v.) The ancient liturgies do not use ποιεῖν or *facere* of the bread and wine, but προσφέρειν or *offerre*. (vi.) The sacrificial meaning might easily have been made clear by the use of προσφέρειν. Moreover, we have τοῦτο, not τοῦτον: not 'Do this *bread*,' but 'Do this *thing*.' (See *Expositor*, 3rd series, vii. p. 441; T. K. Abbott, *Essays on the Texts of the OT and NT*, 1891, p. 110; J. R. Milne, *The Doctrine of the Eucharist*, 1895, p. 19). The use of ποιεῖν here is exactly analogous to that in Ex 12^{28} of the Passover: ἐποίησαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ καθὰ ἐνετείλατο Κύριος τῷ Μωσῇ, οὕτως ἐποίησαν. Comp. πάντα ὅσα ἐλάλησεν Κύριος ποιήσομεν (Ex 24^{7}).

4. In the Lord's Supper we receive *spiritual food*, which continues and strengthens the spiritual life begun in baptism. The soul is nourished by the body and blood of Christ as the body is by the bread and wine. His flesh is meat indeed, and His blood drink indeed (Jn 6^{55}), and to partake of Him who is the Life (Jn 14^{6}) is to have eternal life (Jn $6^{50.\ 54.\ 58}$). Comp. Ign. *Eph.* 20, *Rom.* 7; Clem. Alex. *Pæd.* ii. 2; Cypr. *de Dom. Orat.* 18.

5. By Christ's example this rite includes an act of *thanksgiving*. In all four accounts we have εὐχαριστήσας either of the bread or of the cup; and Mt and Mk have a blessing or thanksgiving with both elements. The very early use of ἡ εὐχαριστία as a name for the whole service shows that it was regarded as the highest form of thanksgiving.

With regard to all Eucharistic controversy we may wish, with Hooker, 'that men would more give themselves to meditate with silence what we have by the sacrament, and less to dispute of the manner how.' There have been those who 'because they enjoyed not disputed,' and others who 'disputed not because they enjoyed' (*Ec. Pol.* v. lxvii. 3). *Jam missa, quanto vicinior et similior primæ omnium missæ, quam Christus in cœna fecit, tanto Christianior* (Luther).

LITERATURE.—This is overwhelming. The following works may be selected: Smith, *Dict. of Chr. Biog.* ii. p. 254; Schaff-Herzog, *Encycl.*³ ii. p. 1352; Herzog, *RE*² pp. 47, 61; *Encycl. Britan.*⁹ viii. p. 654; *La Grande Encycl.* xvi. p. 721; Schaff, *Ch. Hist., Apos. Christianity*, ii. p. 472. Add to these, for the subject in general, the articles 'Eucharist' in Smith, *Dict. of Chr. Biog.* and 'Communion' in *Dict. of Chr. Ant.*; 'Abendmahl' and 'Altarssacrament' in Hergenröther, *Kirchenlexicon*; comm. on the accounts of the Last Supper, esp. Chrysostom on Mt. 26, *Hom.* 82; Ellicott and T. S. Evans on 1 Co; also Westcott on Jn 6 and 13; Lobstein, *La doctrine de la sainte cène*, Lausanne, 1889; Jülicher in *Theologische Abhandlungen*, Freiburg, i. B. 1892, pp. 215-250; Spitta, *Urchristentum*, Göttingen, 1893; Percy Gardner, *The Origin of the Lord's Supper*, Lond. 1893; Schultzen, *Das Abendmahl im NT*, Göttingen, 1895; R. A. Hoffmann, *Die Abendmahlsgedanken Jesu Christi*, Königsberg, i. Pr. 1896: for the archæology, the art. 'Eucharistie' in Kraus, *Real-Encykl. d. Christ. Altert.*; the art. 'Liturgy' in *Dict. of Chr. Ant.*, with literature quoted, pp. 1036–38: for the philosophical argument respecting Transubstantiation, Gore, *Dissertations*, Murray, 1895.

A. PLUMMER.

LO-RUHAMAH.—See HOSEA, vol. ii. p. 421ᵃ, and LO-AMMI.

LOT (לוֹט; Λωτ).—The son of Haran, the brother of Abraham, and consequently Abraham's nephew (Gn $11^{27.\ 31}$ [both P]). Particulars of his life are found in parts of Gn 11–14. 19: the circumstantial narrative belongs to J (except ch. 14, which comes from an independent source), P giving only a brief summary ($11^{27.\ 31\text{-}32}$ $12^{4b\text{-}5}$ $13^{6.\ 11b\text{-}12a}$ [to *Plain*] 19^{29}). Lot's father Haran died before the migration of Abraham into Canaan—according to J, in 'the land of his nativity' (*i.e.* Haran in Mesopotamia), accordingto P, in 'Ur of the Kasdim'; and when Abraham left Ḥaran for Canaan, he took Lot with him (12^{4a} J; $12^{4b\text{-}5}$ P). Lot, it may be inferred, was with his uncle when he rested at Shechem, and again on the mountain between Bethel and Ai, as well as afterwards, when he journeyed through the Negeb, or 'South' of Judah ($12^{6.\ 8.\ 9}$). Whether, in the view of the narrator, Lot accompanied Abraham into Egypt ($12^{10\text{-}20}$), is less certain: the complete silence respecting him in the somewhat circumstantial narrative of $12^{10\text{-}20}$ is noticeable; and it is possible that the words 'and Lot with him' in 13^{1} are a gloss (see, further, Dillm. 226, 229). However that may be, Lot is with Abraham when he revisits the hill between Bethel and Ai, which now becomes the scene of Lot's memorable choice ($13^{1\text{-}13}$). Both Abraham and Lot, we are told, had numerous herds: the land 'was not able to bear them, that they might dwell together, for their substance was great' (P: cf. 36^{7}), *i.e.* it could not supply pasture for both of them; strifes arose between their respective herdmen (J), viz. about wells and watering-places (cf. 21^{25} $26^{20f.}$), which appear to Abraham to be unseemly between 'brethren,' *i.e.* relatives (cf. 14^{16} 24^{27} 29^{15}), and he proposed accordingly a separation. Though the elder, he generously offers his nephew the first choice: 'is not the whole land before thee? . . . if thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right; or if thou take the right hand, then I will go to the left.' The soil about Bethel is stony and bare; but a little to the S.E. there is 'a conspicuous hill; its topmost summit resting, as it were, on the rocky slopes below, and distinguished from them by the olive-grove which clusters over its broad surface above' (*S. and P.* 218); and here, it seems, the narrator must have pictured Lot and Abraham as standing. 'To the east there rises in the foreground the jagged range of the hills above Jericho; in the distance the dark wall of Moab; between them lies the wide valley of the Jordan, its course marked by the track of tropical forest growth [the 'pride of Jordan' of Jer 12^{5} $49^{19}=50^{44}$, Zec 11^{3}] in which its rushing stream is enveloped; and down to this valley runs a long and deep ravine,' through which, it seems, parts of the plain across the river can be descried, with long lines of verdure fringing the numerous streams which descend from the mountains beyond into the Jordan: on the S. and W. appear the bleak hills of Judah. The 'Kikkār,'—the 'round,' or 'oval,' of Jordan, *i.e.* (cf. Buhl, *Geogr.* 112) the middle, broader part of the Jordan Valley beginning about 25 miles N. of the Dead Sea, and including (probably) the Dead Sea itself, and the small plain at its S. end,—though in parts the soil, once a sea-bottom, is desolate and barren, is in other parts extremely fertile, and produces an exuberant vegetation (see *HGHL* 483 f., 487, 489); and the writer, it seems, pictured it as having been yet more fertile, before Sodom and Gomorrah * had been destroyed—'well-watered everywhere,' like the garden of Eden, or the valley of the Nile. A region so blessed by nature proved to Lot an irresistible temptation: heedless of his uncle, heedless of the wickedness of its inhabitants—significantly emphasized by the narrator in v.^{13}—he made his choice; he left his uncle on the bare hills of Bethel, while he himself descended into the fertile valley, 'and moved his tent (ויאהל) as far as Sodom.' 'By thus voluntarily quitting Canaan, Lot resigns his claims to it, and the later territorial relations of Moab and Ammon [see below], and of Israel, are prefigured' (Dillm.).

The next incident in Lot's life which is mentioned is his rescue by his uncle after he had been taken captive by the expedition headed by Chedorlaomer (Gn 14). After the defeat of the king of Sodom and his allies in the 'Vale of Siddim,' Lot, who now 'dwelt in Sodom,' is, amongst others (v.^{16}), taken prisoner by the victorious kings from the East, and carried off by them. Abraham, who was now at Hebron, hears of what has happened, and immediately, with 318 followers, starts in pursuit. All through Canaan, as far as Dan, near the foot of Hermon, he follows the retreating hosts: there he surprises them by a night attack, pursues them as far as Hobah, probably some 80 miles N. of Damascus, recovers Lot and his possessions, and brings him back (it is implied) to Sodom (vv.$^{12\text{-}16}$).

The next time that we hear of Lot is in the familiar narrative of Gn 19. The two angels, whose mission it is to destroy the guilty cities of the 'Kikkār,' arrive at Sodom at even. Lot, sitting in the gateway of the city,—the common place of resort in the East, whether for conversation or business (cf. Ru 4^{1}),—rises up, with the same ready courtesy which Abraham had shown before (18$^{2\text{-}6}$), and which is still usual among the Arabs, to offer them hospitality: at first, wishing, it may be, to test his sincerity, they decline the invitation, but being pressed by him they yield, and are entertained by him sumptuously, at a 'feast' (משתה; cf. 21^{8} 26^{30} 29^{22}). Lot's hospitality on this occasion is alluded to (probably), in conjunction with that of Abraham (ch. 18), in the well-known words (He 13^{2}), which have passed into a proverb, 'Be not forgetful to entertain strangers (τῆς φιλοξενίας μὴ ἐπιλανθάνεσθε); for some have thereby entertained angels unawares.' The character of the men of Sodom soon discloses itself (cf. Is 3^{9}); and Lot, obliged to act quickly in a trying situation, made the mistake of placing his duties as a host (which, as is well known, are regarded in the East as peculiarly sacred) above his duties as a father. 'The words of Lot ('I have two daughters,' etc.) have been much canvassed in all times. St. Chrysostom thought it virtuous in him not to spare his own daughters, rather than sacrifice the duties of hospitality, and expose his guests to the wickedness of the men of Sodom (*Hom. xxiii. in Gen.*). So St. Ambrose (*de Abrah.* i. 6), speaking as if a smaller sin were to be preferred to a greater. But St. Augustine justly observes, that we should open the way for sin to reign far and wide if we allowed ourselves to commit smaller sins, lest others should commit greater (*Lib. contr. Mend.* c. 9. See also *Quæst. in Gen.* 42). We see in all this conduct of Lot the same mixed character. He intended to do rightly, but did it timidly and imperfectly.' In fact, Lot 'brought his troubles upon himself by the home he had chosen. He was bound to defend his guests at the risk of his own life, but not by the sacrifice of his daughters' (*Speaker's Comm.* on v.^{8}). The profligate multitude, resenting Lot's interference, and the assumption of moral superiority which it implied, essay to lay hands upon him; and are only prevented from carrying out their purpose by the intervention of the two angels, who forcibly bring Lot into the house, and strike his would-be assailants with a dazzling (סַנְוֵרִים, only besides 2 K 6^{18}), preventing them from being able to find the door. The angels, satisfied now that even 'ten' righteous men (18^{32}) are not to be found in Sodom, urge Lot to quit betimes the doomed city, taking with him all those belonging to him. But his 'sons-in-law' mocked at his warnings; and even Lot himself, though hastened by the angels as soon as morning broke (v.^{15}), 'lingered' (v.^{16}), reluctant to leave his 'house' (v.^{3} etc.), and the city which he had made his home. But the angels are tender to his weakness, J″ being desirous to 'spare' him; they accordingly take hold of his hand, and lead him, together with his wife and daughters, outside the city. There they bid him escape for his life, neither looking behind him—whether to be tempted back, or to watch with curious eye the fate of the city—nor tarrying even for a moment in any part of the coveted (13^{10}) 'Kikkār': 'escape to the mountain,'—or 'mountainous country,' viz. of the later Moab (v.^{30} 14^{10}),—'lest thou be swept away' (v.^{17}). But the mountains are too distant for Lot's faith, or strength of purpose: fearing he will not be able to reach them in time, he asks to be allowed to take refuge in a city nearer at hand, which, being a 'little one,' might have been less guilty than the other cities, and more easily spared. His request is granted, and he escapes to Zoar. The aim of this part of the narrative is evidently to explain the origin of this name. Zoar is in all probability the *Zōara*, or *Zoōr*, of Josephus, and the *Ẓughar* of the Arab. geographers; * and this, as Wetzstein has shown (in Del. *Gen.*^{4} 564 ff.), lay in the plain at the S.E. extremity of the Dead Sea, now called the Ghôr eṣ-Ṣâfieh,† which, in striking contrast to the salt and marshy plain opposite (S.W. of the Sea), at the foot of the Jebel Usdum (see p. 152), is well-watered, and 'covered with shrubs and verdure, like the Plain of Jericho' (Grove in Smith, *DB* iii. 1182; *HGHL* 508 n.). Lot reached Zoar soon after sunrise (v.^{23}); and the destruction of the other cities of the 'Kikkār' then took place. His wife, disregarding the injunction of v.^{17}, looked back from behind him, and became 'a pillar of salt' (v.^{26}).‡

After these events, Lot, dreading lest, after all, a similar fate should overtake Zoar, 'went up' out of it into the 'mountain,' *i.e.*, as in vv.$^{17.\ 19}$, the hill-country on the E. of the Dead Sea; and dwelt there 'in a cave' (19^{30}), according to a custom which appears still to prevail in this neighbourhood.§ The only other incident in his life which is mentioned is the story which now follows (19$^{31\text{-}38}$) of the origin of the nations of Moab and Ammon from his incestuous intercourse with his two daughters. Naturally, this narrative is not to be understood as a record of actual fact. The story is based in part upon a popular etymology of the two names; but this does not explain it entirely. There was much rivalry and hostility between Israel and its trans-Jordanic neighbours, Moab and Ammon; it is also, as Dillm. has remarked, a probable inference from the present narrative, that incestuous marriages, such as were viewed in

---

* On the difficult question of the site of these cities, see *HGHL* 505 ff., and App. 678. To the present writer, the arguments in favour of a site at the S. end of the Dead Sea appear to preponderate: cf. the note below on Zoar. It is not necessary to suppose that Lot saw the exact part of the Kikkār in which the cities were; in any case, the word 'all' in Gn 13^{10} must be an exaggeration.

* See *HGHL* 506-7 n.

† So also Keil, Del., Dillm., Socin (*ZDPV*, 1880, p. 81), Buhl (*Geogr.* 271 f.), Blanckenhorn (*ZDPV* xix. 1896, 53 f.).

‡ V.^{29} is a summary account, from P, of what has been described at length, in vv.$^{1\text{-}28}$, by J.

§ Buckingham, *Travels in Syria* (1825), pp. 61–3, 87.

Israel with abhorrence, were not uncommon among these two nations; and these feelings are reflected in the discreditable story of their origin, which the narrator has here preserved. 'It was the coarse humour of the people which put into words its aversion to Moab and Ammon by means of this narrative' (Dillm.).

The only other mention of Lot in the OT is in the expression 'children of Lot,' applied to Moab in Dt 2^{9}, and to the Ammonites in Dt 2^{19}; and to both peoples indiscriminately in Ps 83^{8}.

Lot is in character a strong contrast to Abraham. He is selfish, weak, and worldly: he thinks of himself before his uncle, and chooses, for the sake of luxury and ease, to dwell in the midst of temptation. Relatively, indeed, he was 'righteous' (2 P $2^{7.8}$); his personal character was without reproach; and he was deemed worthy by God of a special deliverance.[*] His 'righteous soul' was, moreover, 'vexed (*ἐβασανίζετο*) from day to day' by the 'lawless deeds' which he saw around him; but he had not strength of purpose to quit his evil surroundings, and even betrothed his daughters to natives of the sinful city. When ultimately he left Sodom, it was with manifest reluctance, and only after his daughters had become (if we may follow the representation of the narrator) depraved by contact with vice. He brought temptations, and also troubles, upon himself,—and the man who once was rich in 'flocks and herds and tents' (13^{5}) was, as the result of his own actions, stripped of his possessions, and reduced to living penuriously in a cave. Lot is one of the many *τύποι ἡμῶν* in the OT; and his history is a lesson of the danger of thinking too exclusively of worldly advantage and present ease.

The historical character of Lot must be judged by the same principles as that of ISHMAEL and JACOB (vol. ii. 533 f.): no doubt tribal relations and characteristics are, to a certain degree, reflected in him. Cf. Dillm. *AT Theol.* p. 79. On Jewish traditions about Lot, see the *B'reshith Rabbā* (tr. Wünsche), and the *Pirkê R. Eliezer*, c. 25 (where his wife is called עדית *Edith*, and one of his daughters פלוטית *Pelotith*). In Fabricius, *Cod. Pseudepigr. VT*, i. 428–431, there is a Greek legend of a tree planted by him, which afterwards provided wood for the cross. Irenæus (iv. 31; 33. 9) interprets typically some of the incidents of his history. In the Qor'an, Lot is often alluded to as a preacher of righteousness to the people among whom he dwelt, Qor. 7^{78-82} 11^{72-84} $15^{58ff.}$ 21^{74-75} 22^{43} $26^{160-175}$ 27^{55-59} 29^{27-34} 54^{33-38}: in these passages (as well as elsewhere) the men of Sodom are called the 'people of Lot,' as the Dead Sea is still called by the Arabs *Baḥr Lûṭ*, the 'Sea of Lot.'

Lot's Wife.—Gn 19^{26} 'But his wife looked back from behind him, and she became a pillar of salt.' At the S.W. end of the Dead Sea is the singular formation called *Jebel Usdum*, 'the mountain of Sodom,' a range of cliffs, some 6 miles long and 600 ft. high, consisting of crystallized rock-salt—once part of the bed of the ancient Salt Sea—'covered with a capping of chalky limestone and gypsum. . . . It has a strangely dislocated, shattered look, and is all furrowed and worn into huge angular buttresses and ridges, from the face of which great fragments are occasionally detached by the action of the rains, and appear as "pillars of salt" advanced in front of the general mass. At the foot the ground is strewed with lumps and masses of salt.'[†] Such pillars, or pinnacles, of salt have been often noticed by travellers. Lieut. Lynch, for instance,[‡] describes one which was about 40 ft. high, cylindrical in form, and rested on a kind of oval pedestal, some 50 ft. above the level of the sea. It is probable that some such pillar, conspicuous in antiquity, gave rise to the story. Writers of a later age often felt satisfied that they could identify the pillar in question. In Wis 10^{7} mention is made of a *στήλη ἁλός*, near the Dead Sea, standing as a *μνημεῖον ἀπιστούσης ψυχῆς*. Josephus (*Ant.* I. xi. 4) says, *ἱστόρησα δ' αὐτήν· ἔτι γὰρ καὶ νῦν διαμένει.* Clem. Rom. (1 *Cor.* 11^{2}), Irenæus (*Hær.* iv. 31. 3), and the unknown author of a poem on Sodom (*ap.* Tertull., ed. Oehler, ii. 771 ff., l. 121 f.), speak of it, though not apparently from personal knowledge, as still remaining. Whether, however, the pillar referred to by all these writers is the same one, must remain uncertain; as Robinson (ii. 108) remarks, during the rainy season such pillars are constantly in the process of formation and destruction, so that it is doubtful how far any particular one would be permanent (cf. Grove in Smith, DB^{1} ii. 145^{a}).

Lot's wife 'looked back' with regretful longings for the possessions and enjoyments which she was leaving behind her, and so proved herself unworthy of the salvation offered to her. Our Lord (Lk 17^{32}) refers accordingly to the narrative about her, when inculcating indifference to all worldly interests, as the attitude with which the advent of the Son of man should be met. 'Note that Christ says, "Remember," not "Behold." *Nothing that is in existence is appealed to, but only what has been told*' (Plummer, *ad loc.*, in the 'International Crit. Comm.'). S. R. DRIVER.

LOTAN (לוֹטָן, *Λωτάν*).—The eponym of a Horite clan, Gn $36^{20.22.29}$=1 Ch $1^{38.39}$. Ewald (*Gesch.*³ i. 448 [Eng. tr. i. 313]), followed by Dillmann (*Genesis, ad loc.*), identifies with Lot, the father of Moab-Ammon, who appears in Gn 19^{30} as a חֹרִי 'cave dweller.' See LOT.

LOTHASUBUS (*Λωθάσουβος*), 1 Es 9^{44}.—A corruption of HASHUM in Neh 8^{4}; וחשם was perhaps read לוחשב.

LOTS (גּוֹרָל. In Est 3^{7} $9^{24.26}$ we have the problematic word פּוּר, the plur. of which is trd by LXX in 9^{26} *φρουραί* [see PURIM, FEAST OF]. The ordinary rendering in LXX for גּוֹרָל is *κλῆρος*, which is the NT term also).—The lot was employed in ancient Israel as a mode of deciding important issues in cases when they were not decided by other mechanical modes, or were not left to the expressed arbitrament of a priest, prophet, elder, judge (שׁוֹפֵט), or king. The use of lots was governed by the presupposition that divine influence controlled their employment, and that the result coincided with God's will. We have, in fact, here only one of a large cycle of modes of divination practised by Israel and other nations of antiquity. Some of these, as Urim and Thummim, were sanctioned by the Jewish Torah as legitimate (see art. URIM AND THUMMIM), and were at all events tolerated (as the use of the ephod) in pre-exilian Israel (see art. EPHOD, No. 2). Others, on the contrary, were regarded as illegitimate, as the pieces of stick (*ῥαβδομαντία*, Hos 4^{12}) or arrows (*βελομαντία*, Ezk 21^{26} [Heb.]). See Davidson on Ezk 21^{21} in *Camb. Bible for Schools*; and for the usage among ancient Arabs, Wellhausen, *Reste Arab. Heidentums*² p. 132. For Assyr. parallels see Lehmann, *Aberglaube u. Zauberei*, p. 40.

The religious aspect in the employment of lots is expressed in the phrase לִפְנֵי יהוה (Jos $18^{6.8}$), and still more explicitly in Pr 16^{33}—

> 'The lot is cast into the lap,
> But all its decision cometh from Jehovah.'

The verb used here for casting the lot is the *Hiph.* of טוּל. In Jos 18^{8} it is הִשְׁלִיךְ, in v.^{6} it is יָרָה. In Jl 3^{3}, Ob ^{11}, and Nah 3^{10} the verb יָדַד is employed, while in Jon 1^{7} and many other passages we have הִפִּיל. When the word for 'lot' stands as subject, the intransitive verb עָלָה (Lv 16^{9}) or יָצָא (Nu 33^{54}, Jos 19$^{1\text{f.}}$) is employed. To *take* by lot is לָכַד.

---

[*] Cf. Clem. Rom. *Ep.* 1 *ad Cor.* xi. 1, διὰ φιλοξενίαν καὶ εὐσέβειαν Λωτ ἐσώθη, κ.τ.λ.

[†] Sir G. Grove in Smith, *DB* iii. 1180; see also Rob. *BR* ii. 107–9; Hull, *Mount Seir, Sinai, and W. Pal.* (1889) 129–132.

[‡] *Narrative of U.S. Exped. to the Jordan and Dead Sea*, ed. 1849, p. 307 f. (with a view), ed. 1852 (condensed), p. 201 f.

The occasions on which decisions were determined by lot may be classified as follows :—

(1) In *criminal* cases, in order to discover the culprit. The earliest recorded instance is that of Achan (Jos 7^{14}). Next comes that of Jonathan (1 S 14^{42}). In Jon 1^{7} we read that the lot was used as a means of fixing on the guilty source of the continued stormy weather. This example is instructive, as it exhibits the common and identical tradition as existing among ancient Hebrews and the Phœnician sailors, as we may assume them to have been, who accompanied Jonah (cf. Josephus, *BJ* III. viii. 7).

(2) In *appointing* to office, *e.g.* to that of king (1 S 10$^{20\text{ff.}}$, where the choice of Saul as the first king of Israel is recorded). We have another example in the NT, when the vacancy occasioned by the death of Judas is supplied by the election by lot of Matthias (Ac 1^{26}). Similarly, priestly functions in the temple-worship were apportioned among the sixteen sons of Eleazar and eight sons of Ithamar (1 Ch 24$^{4.\,5}$; cf. Lk 1^{9}); so also in the service of song (1 Ch 25$^{8\text{ff.}}$) and in the delivery of wood for the altar (Neh 10^{35}; cf. 11^{1}).

(3) In the *division of property*. The most notable instance of this is in the assignment of territory among the tribes of Israel (Nu 26$^{55\text{ff.}}$ 33^{54} 34^{13} 36^{2}, Jos 13^{6} 14^{2} 16^{1} etc., Ps 105^{3}, Ac 13^{19}). Thus by a natural transition the land itself, when divided, came to be designated by this word גּוֹרָל (Jos 15^{1} 17$^{14\text{ff.}}$, Jg 1^{3}, Is 57^{6}). Hence we frequently find this term metaphorically applied to express the destiny which is awarded by God, whether favourable or the reverse (Ps 16^{5}, Is 17^{14} 34^{17}, Jer 13^{25}, Dn 12^{13}). The division of the booty taken in war, or of the property of prisoners or criminals, was often carried out by means of the lot (Jl 3^{3}, Nah 3^{10}, Ob ^{11}, Ps 22^{18}, Mt 27^{35}, Jn 19^{24}).

(4) The lot was also employed on the great Day of Atonement in the selection of the he-goat for Jehovah and for Azazel respectively (Lv 16$^{7\text{-}10}$). See arts. AZAZEL and ATONEMENT (DAY OF). According to the Mishna Tractate *Joma* (iii. 9) these lots were made at first of boxwood and afterwards of gold, and shaken in an urn.

We have no clear indications as to the actual nature of the lots used by ancient Israel. Probably they were small tablets of stone or wood, and were inscribed with the name of the person or tribe; or, in cases of criminal trial, they may have been of different colours, one (to express guilt) differing from all the others. Probably in many cases (as in the assignments of property) there was a second vessel containing lots inscribed with the name of the property (as land or slaves). But it is not necessary to suppose this. The name of the property might be called out and a lot containing the name of the tribe or person would be drawn from the vessel, or *vice versâ*. All this belongs to the uncertain realm of conjecture. We do know, however, that the lots were sometimes held in the fold of the outer garment (Pr 16^{33}).

Another point which is obscure is whether the function of deciding by lot was predominantly exercised by priests or not. From Neh 11^{1} we are led to infer that, unlike the use of the ephod and Urim and Thummim in pre-exilian times, the employment of the lot, in the times both before and after the Exile, was open equally to priests and laity.

Last of all, we have to consider the obscure derivation of the name of the feast of Purim from the supposed Persian word *pûr*, meaning 'lot' (Est 9$^{24.\,26}$; cf. 3^{7}). Lagarde has shown that no such Persian word exists. Pers. *pâre* = 'portion,' not 'lot.' Zimmern's combination of the name with the Babyl. *puḫru*, 'assembly' (*ZATW*, 1890, p. 158 ff.), is far more probable. Comp. the Mand. פוחרא, Syr. ܦܘܚܪܐ 'meal,' 'feast.' The interesting Babylonian parallels with the Esther narrative, suggested by him and by Jensen, will be found in Nowack's *Heb. Archäol.* ii. pp. 194–200, and in Wildeboer's 'Esther' in the *Kurzer Hand-Commentar*, p. 172 ff. See, further, PURIM (FEAST OF).

On the use of the lot in classical antiquity consult Warre Cornish's *Concise Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiquities, sub voce* 'Sortes.'

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

LOVE (אַהֲבָה, ἀγάπη).—Love to God and love to man are primary principles of the NT religion. But Jesus declares that on these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets (Mt 22^{40}; cf. 7^{12}, Mk 12$^{21\text{-}34}$). They are therefore primary principles of the OT religion as well. They are not, however, independent or co-ordinate, but are so related that the second springs from, or is conditioned by, the first. The love to man, in the biblical sense, springs from a heart renewed, and possessed with the love of God (1 Jn 4^{21}; cf. 2$^{7\text{-}11}$ 3^{10} 4$^{11.\,12}$); for only by such a heart will the view be taken of man's essential worth and dignity, of the true ends of his life, and of the possibilities of his recovery from sin, that makes love possible (cf. Lk 15^{10}); only in such a heart is the egoistic impulse conquered which leads us to regard other men as rivals to ourselves, to seek our own good in preference to theirs, to use them as means to our own ends, to treat them with indifference and neglect, or, if they come into collision with our interests, with envy, irritation, and resentment; only in such a heart is there the disposition and a sufficiently powerful motive, to a sustained, holy, spiritual, ungrudging, truly disinterested love to our fellow-men, even to those who have no claims upon us, or who may have injured us, or may be personally unworthy (Mt 5$^{43\text{-}48}$, Ro 12$^{19\text{-}21}$, 1 Jn 3$^{16.\,17}$ 4^{11}).* On the other hand, it is vain for us to profess to love God if we do not love our brethren (1 Ju 2$^{9\text{-}11}$ 3^{10} 4^{20}). But this love to God, again, which is the spring of love to man, has its source in the knowledge we have of the love which God has to us (1 Jn 4$^{7.\,19}$). It is the loving character of God as revealed in His words and acts to men (Ps 114^{1} etc.), peculiarly in His grace in Christ, culminating in the sacrifice of the Cross (Eph 5$^{1.\,2}$, 1 Jn 4$^{9.\,10}$ etc.), in conjunction with the love which Christ Himself has manifested to us (Jn 13^{34} 15^{12}, Gal 2^{20}, Eph 5^{25} etc.), which begets responsive love, and leads to the entire surrender of ourselves to the service of God, and of our fellow-men for God's sake. Alike in OT and in NT, love to God and love to man lead up as their last source to love in God Himself, and it is from this highest point of view, accordingly, that our proper study of the subject must begin.

i. LOVE OF GOD.—(*A*) *The OT Doctrine.*—Love, generally, is that principle which leads one moral being to desire and delight in another, and reaches its highest form in that personal fellowship in which each lives in the life of the other, and finds his joy in imparting himself to the other, and in receiving back the outflow of that other's affection into himself. The quality and degree of love vary with the relation in which the persons loving and loved stand to each other, the highest examples of human love—those, therefore, which are peculiarly taken as the images of the divine in its tenderest relations (Is 54^5, Ezk 23, Hos 11^1)—being the love of husband to wife, and of parent to child. Love, therefore, in God, is in general that principle which leads Him to desire and seek the good of all His moral creatures; to impart benefits to them in every scale and degree of blessing; to establish relations of fellowship with them, that He may bless them more fully; to recover and restore them when they have turned aside from their true end, and lost themselves through sin (Hos 13^9); highest of all, to admit them to participation in His own holy, blessed life (1 Jn 1^3), in which He and they become one, as the Father and Son are one (Jn 17^{21}). As the central principle of the divine character—for 'God is love' (1 Jn 4^8)—every other attribute stands in relation and subordination to this, though they are not on this account (as by Ritschl and others) to be immediately identified with it. 'All the divine attributes are combined in love, as in their centre and vital principle. Wisdom is its intelligence; might its productivity; the entire natural creation and the entire revelation of righteousness in history are means by which it attains its teleological aims' (Martensen). (For an exhaustive examination of the idea of the divine love in its theological and ethical relations, see Dorner's *System of Christian Ethics*, pp. 58–96, 374–382).

---

* Trench accordingly remarks that ἀγάπη 'is a word born within the bosom of revealed religion. It occurs in the LXX, but there is no example of its use in any heathen writer whatever; the utmost they attained to here was φιλανθρωπία and φιλαδελφία, and the last, indeed, never in any sense but as the love between brethren in blood' (Trench, *Synonyms*, p. 42). It has, indeed, been argued by Deissmann (but his grounds are very weak) that ἀγάπη was a word in use in the Egyptian vernacular, from which it was adopted both by Jews and Christians. See *Expos. Times*, ix. (1898) pp. 272, 501, 567.

When, with this general conception of love as an attribute of God, we turn to the OT, we are apt to feel disappointment. Holiness is in the foreground; love seems in the background. The term 'love' (vb. אָהֵב, noun אַהֲבָה), used of God's love to His people, is not found, if Dt be late, till the time of the prophets. Hosea is the first who develops the idea (under the images of marriage and sonship, Hos 3^1 11^1 14^4). In Dt, Is, Jer, etc., it occurs repeatedly (Dt 4^{37} 7^{13} 10^{15} etc., Is 48^{14} 63^9, Jer 31^3, Zeph 3^{17}). Moreover, the love thus spoken of is a love only to the covenant people. 'The particular word love,' says Schultz, 'is hardly ever applied to God; and where it does occur in a late writer (Mal 1^2), it denotes God's special covenant love for Israel; and the reverse side of this is, of course, hatred of the hostile peoples' (*Alttest. Theol.* p. 547). This first impression, however, regarding the OT religion, gives way to a different one on narrower inspection. As respects the mere word, we shall find that a quite analogous phenomenon meets us in the NT. Singular as it may appear, it is the case that the terms ἀγάπη and ἀγαπᾷν are never once applied to God in the Synoptic Gospels. The nearest approach is ἀγαπητός as a designation of the well-beloved Son (Mt 3^{17} 12^{18} etc.). The Synoptics are full of a Father who loves, yet the word is never once used. In the Acts the words ἀγάπη and ἀγαπᾷν never once occur as applied either to God or man. In the Gospel of St. John, apart from the (evangelist's) statement, 'God so loved the world' (Jn 3^{16}), it is, as in the Synoptics, the Son who is primarily the object of the Father's love (Jn 3^{35} 17^{26}); and this love of the Father is extended to the disciples in union with Him (Jn 14^{21} $17^{23.\,26}$). But after the earthly manifestation of Christ had been summed up in His death and resurrection, and reflection had begun on the completed revelation, there was no difficulty in speaking of the love of God (Ro $5^{5.\,8}$ $8^{35.\,39}$, 2 Co 13^{14}, 1 Jn 3^1 $4^{8\text{-}12}$ etc.). In a similar way God's acts of love in OT precede the use of the term. As Dillmann remarks of the term 'righteousness' (צֶדֶק), which likewise is not found in the Mosaic books, 'The ethical norm, the will of God, must first be revealed according to its content, before there could be mention of an agreement of the acts of God with this norm' (*Alttest. Theol.* p. 271; see his whole excellent treatment of the love of God, pp. 258–283).

When Dt and the prophets speak of the love of God, they carry back that love to the beginning of God's dealings with Israel as a nation, and find the proof of it in His acts towards that people, and the covenant He made with them (Hos 11^1, Is 63^9, Ezk 16). Dt carries the love further back still, to the time of the patriarchs, for whose sake this kindness was shown to their descendants (Dt 4^{37}, cf. Is 51^1). And the biblical history has only to be studied in its entirety to see that it is a revelation of the love of God to Israel throughout. The word itself may not be employed,—in the psalms we find it used with such objects as 'righteousness,' 'judgment,' 'Zion,' 'the gates of Zion,' etc. (Ps 11^7 33^5 78^{68} 82^2),—but there is a rich vocabulary of terms to denote the particular manifestations of love: as חֶסֶד, mercy, loving-kindness; חֵן, grace, favour; טוֹב, טוּב, goodness, long-suffering, etc., and these are constantly in use. The wrath of God also is not a blind impulse, but springs from an ethical ground, and is tempered and restrained by His long-suffering and mercy (Ex 34^6, Nu 14^{18}, Is 48^9, Jer 15^{15}, Nah $1^{3.\,7}$, Ps 78^{38} etc.). It is no doubt true, as alleged, that the special object of this love of God is the covenant people Israel—a fact which has again its exact analogue in the use of ἀγάπη in NT (see below); but it is to be borne in mind that this particularism is with a view to an ultimate wider blessing (Gn $12^{1\text{-}3}$, Ps 67. 87 RV); and the term 'hate' in Mal 1^3 is not to be more rigidly interpreted than Christ's own use of the same term (Lk 14^{26}). Schultz observes, 'Passages like Gn 29^{31} and Pr 30^{23} show that the expression "hatred" is taken from the idioms of polygamy, and denotes, not hostility, but neglect' (*Alttest. Theol.* p. 547). As against the idea that the love of God was that of the narrow partiality of a tribal deity for his *protégés* many facts speak. The original creation was evidently an outcome of goodness (Ps $136^{1\text{-}9}$), and God 'blesses' the original representatives of mankind, and richly dowers them with dominion over the creatures (Gn $1^{27\text{-}29}$). The patience of God bears with the antediluvian world (Gn 6^3); and after the flood His covenant is made with Noah for all flesh (Gn $9^{8\text{-}17}$). The Abrahamic covenant has, as shown, an aspect of blessing to the world. It is repeatedly declared that the whole earth is full of God's goodness, and that His mercies are over all His works (Ps 33^5 119^{64} $145^{7\text{-}9}$ etc.). When it is declared that God desireth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he turn from his wickedness and live (Ezk 18^{32} 33^{11}), this cannot be held to apply exclusively to Israel; and the Bk. of Jonah furnishes a proof that the pity of God extends to heathen nations as well as to His own people (Jon $4^{10.\,11}$). The classical passage on the divine character in OT is that in the Mosaic history in which J" proclaims His name, 'The Lord, the Lord, a God full of compassion and gracious, slow to anger,' etc. (Ex $34^{6.\,7}$); and it is also that in which the graciousness of this character is brought to fullest expression. If the sins of the fathers are visited on the third and fourth generation of those that hate Him, mercy is kept for thousands of those that love Him (cf. Ex $20^{5.\,6}$).

It is, however, doubtless, in the special relation of God to Israel that, in OT, His love is distinctively manifested, for this people He has bound in covenant with Himself, and set them apart, that He might be glorified through them. This relation of love is already implied in the term 'son' which He applies to the nation (Ex $4^{22.\,23}$); but comes out with peculiar distinctness in the glowing language in which the covenant is proposed to the people at Sinai (Ex $19^{3\text{-}6}$). This relation springs in no sense from desert, but is a result of God's free electing grace (Dt 7^7); and, so far from placing Israel in a position of favouritism in which their offences are lightly condoned, it lays on them an increased responsibility and subjects them to special chastisements in case of unfaithfulness (Am 3^{2}). But the same love secures that God will not cast His people off, but will work on them by judgment and mercy till He has finally subdued them to Himself (Hos 2, 14 etc.).

An interesting point of inquiry relates to the relation of this 'love' of God in OT to His other ethical attributes of 'righteousness,' 'truth,' 'zeal,' 'wrath,' holiness,' etc. On the relation to 'wrath' (with 'zeal,' 'holiness'), see ANGER; but a word may be here said on the relation to 'righteousness' (with 'truth,' 'faithfulness,' etc.). These two ('righteousness' and 'love') are not to be identified (as with Ritschl, etc.), yet they stand in the closest relation, and God's 'righteousness' is manifest in His saving acts (Ps 31^{1} $48^{10.11}$ $103^{6.7}$, Hos 2^{19} etc.). Righteousness, with Ritschl, is identical with grace; it is the consistency of God in carrying out the ends of His love (*Recht. und Ver.* ii. pp. 102–113). But ethical norms are implied alike in the determination of these ends, and in the choice of the means by which they are accomplished, and it is these ethical norms with which 'righteousness' has to do. 'Righteousness' is that which answers to the ethically right norm or standard. So far as 'love' is involved in ethical perfection, or is demanded by that, it falls under the category of 'righteousness,' and, so far as God has bound Himself by covenant obligations to His people, His 'righteousness' requires that He be faithful to His pledges (cf. 1 Jn 1^{9}). 'Righteousness' thus interposes for their salvation, help, protection, etc. But it has other and more general functions in the upholding of the moral order and judgment of the world, and the punishment of the obstinately wicked (*e.g.* Ps 94. 96^{13} 98^{9}). Its highest satisfaction, nevertheless, is not the infliction of judgment, but the conversion and salvation of the sinner and the production of righteousness in the earth (Ezk 33^{11}, Ps 11^{7}, Is 45^{8} 61^{11} etc. Dorner has an original investigation of the relation of love to righteousness in his *System of Christian Ethics*, pp. 68–93). We may add that it is of the essence of love in God as in man that it does not remain a mere self-enclosed or inoperative principle, but reveals itself in *acts* for the benefit of the beloved object. It is impossible to believe in a God of love who, as Carlyle said, 'does nothing.' The religion of the Old Testament, therefore, and of the New as well, is pre-eminently that of a God who reveals His gracious purposes in history, and acts for man's salvation (Ps $103^{6.7}$, Ro 5^{8} etc.).

(*B*) *The NT Doctrine* of the love of God presupposes that of OT, and stands in no essential contradiction with it (as Marcion supposed), but perfects and completes it in the full revelation of the character of God in His Son, and in the discovery of His plan of love for man's salvation,—in the gospel. It is certainly a striking fact—especially for those who would have us find the whole revelation of Christ in the Synoptics—that, as remarked above, Jesus in no single saying in these Gospels speaks directly of the 'love' (ἀγάπη) of the Father, or uses the corresponding verb (ἀγαπᾶν). The impartial beneficence of the Father is indeed urged as an example (Mt 5^{45}); and the Father is set before us as rewarding, hearing prayer, giving good gifts, forgiving trespasses, caring for His children, as for the lilies and the fowls, revealing Himself to babes, avenging injuries to His little ones, etc. (*e.g.*, Mt $6^{1-4.6.8.25-32}$ 10^{29-31} 11^{25} $18^{6.10.14}$). But perhaps even these determinations do not carry us essentially beyond the bounds of OT. Yet there is a new significance in the very name 'Father,' the depth and tenderness of which are revealed in the relation of the Father to the 'beloved' Son (ἀγαπητός); and the whole spirit, character, and gracious words and deeds of Jesus are a revelation of the *meaning* of love in God which is altogether new. It is in the Gospel of St. John that we have the assurances that those who are in union with the Son are loved with the same infinite and tender love with which the Son Himself is loved by the Father (Jn $14^{21.23}$ $17^{23.26}$). In Ac the word 'love' is not used of God's attitude to men, though God's acts of grace (χάρις frequently) in the sending of His Son, raising Him from the dead, exalting Him to heaven, sending the Spirit, granting forgiveness of sins, salvation, and healing through His name, are abundantly extolled (Ac 2. 3. 4^{1-12} 10^{34-43} 13^{23-39} etc.). It is, however, in the Pauline and Johannine Epistles that this doctrine of the marvellous love of God, as revealed in the gift, incarnation, life, death, resurrection, and glorification of the Son, and in the salvation and eternal life that have come to men through Him, with unspeakable spiritual blessings and privileges here, and everlasting glory hereafter, is discovered in its full-orbed splendour (Ro $5^{5.8}$ 8^{35-39}, 1 Jn 3^{1} 4^{8-12} etc.). In so far as God desires the salvation of all (1 Ti 1^{15} 2^{4} 4^{10}), and has provided in the mission and sacrifice of His Son for the salvation of all (1 Ti 2^{6}, 1 Jn 2^{2} 4^{10}), His love embraces the whole world (Jn 3^{16}),—this extension of the blessings of salvation to the Gentiles on equal terms with the Jews being the peculiar 'mystery' of God, which had been hid from earlier ages, and which St. Paul was commissioned to reveal (Eph 3^{1-11}; in this sense the NT doctrine is a transcending of the 'particularism' of the OT, Gal 5^{6}, Col 3^{11} etc.). Nevertheless, the love of God is not in NT, any more than in OT, a vaguely diffusive, indiscriminating affection, but has for its peculiar objects those in union with Christ, who, as chosen in Him (*the* elect one, Is 42^{1}, Mt 12^{18}) before the foundation of the world, and foreordained to the adoption of children, and all spiritual blessings, according to the good pleasure (εὐδοκία) of His will — 'the purpose of Him who worketh all things after the counsel of His will' (Eph 1^{4-12})—are conducted by God ('foreknown,' 'foreordained,' 'called,' 'justified,' 'glorified') to the glory destined for them (Ro 8^{28-39}, cf. Jn 6^{37-40} etc.). The highest form of love, alike in God and man, is not a matter of vague impulse, but involves intelligent choice (*diligo*), the grounds of choice lying sometimes in the objects loved, but in the case of God, in dealing with the unworthy, lying solely in His own good, wise, and holy will (χάρις, Eph 2^{8} etc.). The exponent of this love of God to us is Jesus Christ, whose own love is joined with God's as part of the same manifestation of the divine character (Jn 10^{7-18}, Ro 5^{9-11}, Eph 3^{19} 5^{2}, 1 Jn 4^{10}, Rev 1^{5} etc.). In the compassion, tenderness, devotion, grace of Jesus in His earthly life; in His hope for the vilest, and yearning desire to bring them back to God; in His self-sacrifice and surrender of Himself for His sheep (Jn $10^{11.14}$), we have the 'interpretation' (ἐξηγήσατο, Jn 1^{18}) of the Father's heart to us. Love, as thus exhibited, is not simply complacency in the good; it unites itself also with the bad, yearns over them with inexpressible tenderness and sorrow (Mt 23^{37}), identifies itself so closely with them that their sin and shame and sorrow are felt and shared as if they belonged to the loving One Himself,—love, in other words, becomes *substitutionary*, and in the case of Christ *propitiatory* (Mt 8^{17} 9^{36}, Lk 15, Jn 10^{10-18}, 1 Jn 4^{9-14}). The last and all-comprehensive word on this subject is spoken by the Apostle of Love when he sums up the whole significance of the gospel revelation in the saying — 'GOD IS LOVE' (1 Jn 4^{8}).

It lies beyond our province to discuss the more properly theological questions which arise out of this scriptural doctrine of the love of God—its bearings, *e.g.*, on the doctrine of the Trinity (cf. Sartorius, *Doctrine of the Divine Love*, p. 8 ff., Eng. tr.); or its relation to Creation, and the supreme ethical end (cf. Ritschl, *Recht. und Ver.* iii.^{3} pp. 263–266). It is a tempting, and not baseless, speculation, that, as love in its essential nature has relation to another, and involves, in its fulness, surrender and self-communication to another, so, if love and fatherhood are to be predicated eternally of God, there must be self-distinction and sonship also *within* the divine essence (for the world and human spirits, as non-eternal, contingent, and finite, cannot be adequate objects of this eternally complete, and infinite, and active love of God). It is a speculation, however, which lies, *in this form*, beyond Scripture, though the NT doctrine of the Trinity throws back light on it, and it has a point of relation to the recognition of the Son in the Gospels as the peculiar object of the Father's knowledge and love (Mt 3^{17} 11^{27} 12^{18}, Jn 5^{20} etc.).

ii. LOVE IN MAN.—The primary and unalterable duty of man, in both OT and NT, is to love God with all his mind, and heart, and soul, and strength (Dt 6^{5}, Mt $22^{37.\,38}$, Mk 12^{29-33}). This obligation is based in part on the natural relation of man to God as created and dependent (Dt $8^{17.\,18}$, Ps $95^{6.\,7}$ 100^{3}, Is 1^{3}); but specially on the morally perfect character of God (Mt 5^{48}, Mk 10^{18}); and, above all, on the fact that God is Himself a Being of Love—this, too, not simply in a general respect, but as having manifested His love in gracious relations to ourselves. 'Thou shalt love the Lord *thy God*,' etc. (Dt 6^{5}). In OT it is the superabounding grace of God in His relations to Israel in the covenant (Dt $4^{1-14\ 32-40}$ $11^{1.\,13.\,22}$ 19^{9} 32^{1-14}, Ps 5^{11} 31^{23} 116^{1}, Is 54, Hos 11^{1-4} 14, etc.); in NT it is the love of God in Christ (Ro $8^{35.\,39}$ 12^{1}, 1 Co 2^{9}, Eph 2^{4-10}, 1 Jn 4^{19}) which is the ground of obligation. It is evident how far we are here from the abstract grounds of natural theology. This love, moreover, is no mere sentiment, or excitement of feeling, but is connected in both OT and NT with an obedient will and the keeping of God's commandments (Dt 6, Jos 22^{5}, Is 1^{10-18}, Mt 7^{21-23}, Jn 14^{15} 15^{9-14} etc.). 'This is the love of God,' St. John says emphatically, 'that we keep his commandments' (1 Jn 5^{3}). The scriptural love to God is thus entirely practical, it is also intelligent, and fed through growing knowledge ('thy mind'; cf. Eph $1^{17.\,18}$ $3^{17.\,18}$ etc.). It will specially manifest itself in the intelligent adoption of the ends of God's kingdom as our own (Mt 6^{33}). The love of God thus enspheres the being of the true child of God; it is shed abroad in the heart (Ro 5^{5}); the soul dwells in love, *i.e.* dwells in God and God in it (1 Jn 4^{16}). But this feeling and enlargement of the heart in love *to* God, and experience of the love *of* God, cannot remain self-contained. It spontaneously overflows in love to others, and yearns with the desire to bring them within the same circle of blessing. Specially will it feel a peculiar delight in those who are within the same sphere of love as itself. The love of God thus necessarily issues in love to our brother; and so imperative is this connexion, that where the latter does not exist, we are warranted in declaring that the former is absent also (1 Jn 3^{14-17} $4^{7.\,8}$).

Love to man has thus its spring and principle in love to God, and here a wider and a narrower sphere is recognized—the one, the entire human family; the other, the peculiar brotherhood in Christ (Gal 6^{10}, 1 P 2^{10}). The grounds on which this duty of love is based are entirely different from those of philosophical ethics. The stoical ideal of a brotherhood of reason remained an unrealized dream. The ethics of Jesus laid the foundations of a true love to man in spiritual relation to God, and the destination to sonship in His kingdom. A brotherhood arises out of the Fatherhood. If we inquire more narrowly into the biblical development of this great duty of the gospel, we find the principle in which the whole is involved already enunciated in OT, though its full scope and bearing were not apparent under the Old Covenant. It is from Leviticus (19^{18}) that Jesus quotes the precept, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,' as one of the two 'great' commandments on which hang all the law and the prophets (Mt $22^{39.\,40}$, Mk 12^{31}); even as He declares of His enunciation of 'The Golden Rule'—'for this is the law and the prophets.' The question was as to the breadth of the signification of the term 'neighbour'; and while here also the correct principle was already involved in the doctrine of the oneness of the human family as made in the image of God (Gn 1^{27}), and in the truth of one God of the spirits of all flesh (Nu 16^{22}), it was alien to the modes of thought of antiquity, and perhaps was impossible to the Hebrews under the peculiar limitations of their national economy, to give to this pregnant term 'neighbour' a universal application. (How few do so even now under Christian teaching!) It is certain in any case that they did not give it this wider scope; and it was reserved for Jesus to correct 'particularism' here also, and, in the light of His broad, universal doctrine of God and man, to lift this duty to its proper level of unlimited obligation. Our 'neighbour,' He teaches in the parable of the Good Samaritan, is *every* man without distinction of nationality (Lk 10^{29-37}); and the obligation of love is extended to embrace even enemies (Mt 5^{43-48}), the pattern in this case being the example of the Father in heaven. (The germ is found here also in OT both in precept and example, Lv $19^{17.\,18}$, 1 S 24. 26, Ps 7^{5}). This principle, then, becomes in Christian morality the single principle in which all duty to our fellow-men is summed up, for it requires, comprehensively, that we do our neighbour no injury (Ro 13^{10}), but do him all the good we can; it requires even that we overlook his wrongs to us, and strive to overcome his evil with our good (Ro 12^{19-21}); and it furnishes the only, but all-powerful motive, through which this discharge of duty can be accomplished. He who loves his neighbour as himself will not, *e.g.*, kill him, will not steal from him, will not bear false witness against him, will not covet his possessions (Ro 13^{9}). But this love will further change these negative precepts into positive ones, and lead him to seek his neighbour's highest well-being in soul and body. In this one word, therefore, as it is repeatedly said, the whole law is fulfilled (Ro $13^{8.\,10}$, Gal 5^{14}, Ja 2^{8}). The example of Jesus in His earthly life is again the interpretation to us of the depth and range of this precept, alike in its practical beneficence, its compassion for the lost, its forgiveness of injuries, and its voluntary self-sacrifice, even unto death, for others (Ac 10^{38}, Ro 15^{3}, He $12^{2.\,3}$, 1 P 2^{21-24}, 1 Jn 4^{16} etc.). How high and wide-reaching the spiritual requirements of this law of love are—how love is patient and kind; excludes envy; is humble; not easily provoked; does not impute motives; mourns over iniquity, and rejoices in truth; endures wrong; believes the best; where it cannot believe, hopes; where it cannot even hope, suffers—is magnificently brought out in that incomparable hymn of love chanted by St. Paul in 1 Co 13. In this principle of love, as we are further taught by Christ's example, and by apostolic teaching, there lies, not only the fulfilling of the law, but a great, nay, the chiefest, part of practical religion (Ja 1^{27} 2^{14-18}, 1 Jn 4^{14-17}). And we are reminded that it is precisely these deeds of love which the King is represented as inquiring into at the great last day of account, and it is by their presence or absence that men's everlasting destinies are adjudged (Mt 25[34-46]).

LITERATURE.—*OT Theologies* of Oehler, Schultz, Dillmann; Sartorius, *The Doctrine of Divine Love*; Wendt, *Die Lehre Jesu*, vol. ii.; Weiss, *NT Theology*; Ritschl, *Recht. und Versöhnung*, vols. ii. iii.; *Christian Ethics* of Martensen (vol. i.) and Dorner.

J. ORR.

LOVE (BROTHERLY).—See BROTHERLY LOVE.

LOVE, LOVELY, LOVER.—In 1 Es 4[24] we find 'love' used in the concrete, one that is loved, 'when he hath stolen, spoiled, and robbed, he bringeth it to his love' (τῇ ἐρωμένῃ; Vulg. amabili suae; Wyc. 'leef' [=loved one]; Cov. 'his love'). Cf. Shaks. *Venus and Adonis*, 867—

> 'She hears no tidings of her love.'

The adj. **lovely** has come to be used somewhat carelessly, and now means scarcely more than attractive; but in AV it always carries a distinct sense of its origin. It has two meanings, however. **1.** *Worthy of being loved*, Ezk 33[32] 'thou art unto them as a very lovely song of one that hath a pleasant voice' (שִׁיר עֲגָבִים, lit. as AVm 'a song of loves,' RVm 'a love song'); Ca 5[16] 'he is altogether lovely' (כֻּלּוֹ מַחֲמַדִּים, lit. 'all of him is loveablenesses'); Ph 4[8] 'whatsoever things are lovely' (ὅσα προσφιλῆ). Cf. Preface to AV, 'A man may be counted . . . a comely man and lovely, though he have some warts upon his hand'; Tindale, *Expositions*, p. 26, 'If thou believe in Christ, that he is thy Saviour, that faith will lead thee in immediately, and show thee God with a lovely and amiable countenance'; Fletcher, *Wildgoose Chase*, i. 3—

> '*Mir.* Can you love a man?
> *Lil.* Yes, if the man be lovely,
> That is, be honest, modest.'

Milton, *PL* ix. 232—

> 'Nothing lovelier can be found
> In woman than to study household good.'

2. *Loving*, 2 S 1[23] 'Saul and Jonathan were lovely and pleasant in their lives' (הַנֶּאֱהָבִים, lit. 'the loved,' LXX οἱ ἠγαπημένοι). Cf. Chaucer, *Miller's Tale*, i. 156—

> 'Many a lovely look on hem he caste.'

Shaks. *Taming of Shrew*, III. ii. 125—

> 'I should bid good-morrow to my bride,
> And seal the title with a lovely kiss.'

Lover has become restricted in meaning. Its wider application formerly may be seen in Tindale's tr. of Lk 6[32] 'For the very synners love their lovers'; 15[9] 'And when she hath founde it she calleth her lovers and her neighbours'; 15[29] 'and yet gavest thou me never soo moche as a kyd to make mery with my lovers'; 3 Jn [14] 'The lovers salute the. Grete the lovers by name.' So in AV, 1 K 5[1] 'Hiram was ever a lover of David'; Ps 38[11] 'My lovers and my friends stand aloof from my sore.' But if it was wider, it was also darker in meaning sometimes and definite enough, as in Hos 2[5] 'For their mother hath played the harlot: she that conceived them hath done shamefully; for she said, I will go after my lovers.' Cf. Knox, *Works*, iii. 196, 'And Jeremie lykewyse in mokage of thame, sayis, Lat thy loveris delyver thee; call upon thame, and lat tham heir thee! Thow hast committed fornicatioun with thame, and hes committit huredome with stoke and stone.'

J. HASTINGS.

LOVE-FEASTS (ἀγάπαι, Jude [12] and some MSS of 2 P 2[13]; δοχή, *Apost. Const.* ii. 28; ὑποδοχή or διακονία τραπεζῶν, Julian, *Frag. Epist.* p. 305 [ed. Spanheim, 1696]; δημώδης ἑστίασις, Clem. Alex. *Pæd.* II. i. 12; cf. συνευωχεῖσθαι, Jude, 2 P, *ll.cc.*; Latin, *epulæ*, Jude [12], Vulg. *convivium*, 2 P 2[13] *ib.*, but, technically, *agape* from the 2nd cent. onwards [cf. Tert. *Apol.* 39, 'cœna nostra . . . id vocatur quod dilectio apud Græcos est'; *Acta Perpet. et Fel.* 17; Aug. *c. Faustum*, xx. 20]; Eng. RV 'feasts of charity').—These feasts sprang out of the common meals of the early Christian Church, in which all the members of the local church shared, and which served at once as a token of brotherhood (Ac 2[46]) and as a method of helping the poor (Ac 6[1. 2]; cf. Chrys. *ad* 1 Co 11[17] καὶ γὰρ ἀγάπης ὑπόθεσις ἦν καὶ πενίας παραμυθία καὶ πλούτου σωφρονισμὸς καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἀφορμὴ τῆς μεγίστης καὶ ταπεινοφροσύνης διδασκαλία). They probably originated in an imitation of the private meal of a Jewish household, widened out by the Christian conception of brotherhood, and consciously reproducing the last Supper which the Lord had kept at Jerusalem; but their wide dissemination among the Gentile Christians would have been facilitated by the similar common meals which were usual in the pagan religious brotherhoods (Hatch, *BL* ii. p. 31 note). The fullest account of a love-feast in the NT is to be found in 1 Co 11[17-34]; in subsequent writers, in Tert. *Apol.* 39.

The feast was an afternoon meal at which rich and poor met together in one common building. Formal prayers of benediction, based upon the Jewish benedictions, were said over the food; the prayers preserved in *Didaché*, c. 9, are possibly specimens of those used at the Agape. The 'Kiss of Charity' (φίλημα ἀγάπης, 1 P 5[14]) perhaps concluded the meal. After the meal, hands were washed, lights were lit (cf. Ac 20[7]), and there followed singing and prayer under the leadership of a prophet (*Did.* c. 14) or some other minister. The Agape stood in close connexion with the Eucharist, which possibly preceded it (so Chrys. *loc. cit.*), but more probably followed it; and hence the phrase ἀγάπην ποιεῖν seems to include the Eucharist in Ign. *ad Smyrn.* c. 8 (where see Lightfoot), and εὐχαριστία is applied to Christian meals in Clement of Alexandria (*Pæd.* ii. 10).

But the NT itself bears witness to the dangers which such a meal ran of degenerating into licence. St. Paul had to check this at Corinth, and perhaps also at Ephesus (Eph 5[18. 19]). St. Peter mentions the presence of immoral men degrading the feast into a banquet (συνευωχούμενοι). The heathen were not slow to exaggerate this, and to accuse the Christians of wild licence and immorality. Hence in the course of the 2nd cent., throughout many parts of the Christian Church, the Agape was separated from the Eucharist, the former being celebrated in the evening, the latter in the morning. This was already the case in Bithynia at the time of Pliny's letter to Trajan (*Ep.* 96), and the Agape was dropped there owing to Trajan's edict against *sodalitates*. Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 67) describes the Eucharist without any reference to the Agape; Tertullian (*Apol.* 39) describes the Agape without any reference to the Eucharist, and speaks of the Eucharist as celebrated before daylight (*de Corona*, c. 3). At Alexandria the connexion of the two, at any rate on some occasions, is found much later (cf. Socrates, *HE* v. 22), and the Agape took two forms there: either it retained the old idea of a common meal in the church, and tended at Alexandria to become an elaborate banquet; or it took the form of a dinner for the poor given by a richer brother at his own house, and apparently it was then called δοχή rather than Agape (Bigg, *Christian Platonists*, pp. 102–105). By the time of St. Augustine it was little more than a dole for the poor (*c. Faustum*, xx. 20; cf. *Canons* of Hippolytus, xxxi.–xxxv.). The changes in the observance of the Agape may be compared with those in the Roman 'sportula.' For the later history in which the meal was first banished from the churches and then entirely disused, the reader is referred to Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*. The institution has left its permanent mark in two ways upon the Christian Church: first, in all acts of charity that take the form of entertainment of the poor; and, secondly, in certain points of ritual connected with the Eucharist, such as the offertory, the washing of hands, the kiss of peace, and in the Oriental Church the distribution among the poor of bread which had been blessed but not consecrated. The Methodist 'Love-feasts' were a deliberate attempt on Wesley's part to revive the apostolic practice.

LITERATURE.—Lightfoot, *Ignatius*, i. 52 note, 400 ff., ii. 87, 227, 312, 313, iii. 457 f.; S. Chrysostom on 1 Co 11; Suicer, *Thesaurus*, *s.v.*; Bingham, *Christian Antiquities*, xv. 7; Bp. John Wordsworth, *The Holy Communion*, pp. 44–46, 57–60; Uhlhorn, *Christian Charity in the Ancient Church*; Spitta, *Zur Geschichte u. Litt. des Urchristenthums*, i. (Göttingen, 1893); Zahn in Herzog's *RE*^{3}, *s.v.* 'Agapen'; Brightman, *Liturgies, Eastern and Western*.

W. LOCK.

LOVINGKINDNESS.—We owe this beautiful word to Coverdale. His use of it is somewhat capricious, and in that respect he has been imitated by all subsequent versions until we come to the American Revised Version. The Heb. word so translated (חֶסֶד *ḥeṣed*) is used of God's love to man, and less frequently of man's love to man. It is disputed whether it also denotes man's love to God. The passages relied on for the last meaning are Jer 2^2, Hos $6^{4.6}$, together with Is 57^1 men of piety, and 2 Ch 32^{32} 35^{26}, Neh 13^{14} pious acts. The *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* favours the sense of piety to God in all these places. It is only when the word means God's love to man that it was translated by Coverdale (followed by AV) 'lovingkindness,' and that was well, for, as Driver says, that term is too strong to be used generally of men. But unfortunately it is only some of the passages with that meaning that have been so translated, chiefly in the Psalter, the other renderings in AV being 'mercy' (Gn 19^{19} 24^{27} 32^{10}, Ex 15^{13} 20^6 34^7, Nu 14^{18}, Dt 5^{10} $7^{9.12}$, 2 S 7^{15} 22^{51}, 1 K 8^{23}, 1 Ch $16^{34.41}$ 17^{13}, 2 Ch 5^{13} $6^{14.42}$ $7^{3.6}$ 20^{21}, Ezr 3^{11} 7^{28} 9^9, Neh 1^5 9^{32} 13^{22}, Ps 5^7 6^4 13^5 18^{50} 21^7 23^6 $25^{7.10}$ $31^{7.16}$ 32^{10} $33^{5.18.22}$ 36^5 44^{26} 52^8 $57^{3.10}$ $59^{10.16.17}$ 61^7 62^{12} 66^{20} 69^{13} 77^8 $85^{7.10}$ $86^{5.13.15}$ $89^{1.2.14.24.28}$ 90^{14} 94^{18} 98^3 100^5 101^1 $103^{8.11.17}$ $106^{1.7.45}$ 107^1 108^4 $109^{21.26}$ 115^1 $118^{1.2.3.4.29}$ $119^{41.64.124}$ 130^7 $136^{1.2.3.4.5.6.7.8.9.10.11.12.13.14.15.16.17.18.19.20.21.22.23.24.25.26}$ 138^8 143^{13} 145^8 147^{11}, Pr 16^6, Is 55^3, Jer 33^{11}, La $3^{22.32}$, Dn 9^4, Mic $7^{18.20}$); 'goodness' (Ex 34^6, Ps 33^5 52^1 $107^{8.15.21.31}$ 144^2); 'kindness' (Ps 31^{21}, Jon 4^2); 'merciful kindness' (Ps 117^2 119^{76}). The RV has made but few changes. It has preferred 'lovingkindness' to 'mercy' in 2 S 22^{51}, Ps 5^7 6^4 18^{50} 21^7 $25^{7.10}$ 31^{16} 36^5 44^{26} 61^7 143^{12}, to 'goodness' in Ps 33^5, to 'kindness' in Ps 31^{21}, to 'merciful kindness' in Ps 119^{76}, and once it goes the other way, changing 'lovingkindnesses' in Ps 89^{49} into 'mercies.' But the Amer. Revisers have chosen 'lovingkindness' for all the passages in which the meaning is God's love to man, and for these only. See their note on this word under 'Classes of Passages' in the Appendix to the English RV.

The best statement of the meanings of *ḥeṣed* in the OT will be found in the *Oxf. Heb. Lexicon*. Cheyne has much to say of the word, see esp. his *Origin of the Psalter*, p. 378 (where he happily distinguishes אַהֲבָה from חֶסֶד in reference to man, the former being 'right feeling towards J" as the root of right action,' the latter 'right action as the flower of right feeling'); see also W. R. Smith, *Prophets*^{2}, pp. 160 f., 408 f.; Driver on Dt 7^9; Kirkpatrick, *Psalms*, i. 220; Girdlestone, *Synonyms of OT*^{2}, p. 111 f.; and the art. HASIDÆANS. The English word is purely biblical.

J. HASTINGS.

LOW COUNTRY.—See SHEPHELAH.

LOZON (Λοζών), 1 Es 5^{33} = Darkon, Ezr 2^{56}, Neh 7^{58}.

LUBIM (לוּבִים, in Dn 11^{43} לֻבִים, Λίβυες LXX, *Libyes* Vulg.).—They are mentioned as auxiliaries and neighbours of the Egyptians: 2 Ch 12^3 as the chief auxiliaries of Shishak, 16^8 with the Ethiopian Zerah, Nah 3^9 as helpers of Thebes at the side of Put, Dn 11^{43} together with the Ethiopians as neighbours of Egypt. Most probably the Lehabim of Gn 10^{13}, 1 Ch 1^{11} are the same nation (see LEHABIM); the identification with the LUDIM (which see), attempted by some, has many difficulties to contend against. The name appears in Arabic as Lûbî لُوبِىّ = the singular לובי (occurring in the Talmud) 'Libyan' (on the Egyptian form, see below).

The Greeks first used **Libya** of the whole country W. of Egypt which was reckoned as a part of Asia; consequently Libya was equivalent to Africa. Later, Libya was used only of the part between Egypt and the Roman province of Africa, consisting of Marmarica in the E. (*Libya Inferior* as a Roman province) and Cyrenaïca (*Libya Superior*, modern Barka) in the W. (*Libya Interior* was S. of both). The Libyan Nomos (*i.e.* country) of Egypt extended from Marea to Apis (W.) and, along the frontier of Egypt, to Memphis (S.), a strip of borderland always visited by Libyans with their flocks.

The **Libyans** appear on Egyptian monuments from the earliest period, but more frequently from about B.C. 1600. They are depicted (earliest example in Newberry, *Benihasan*, I. pl. 45, 47) as tall, well-built, of whiter complexion even than the Syrians and Europeans, with blue eyes, blond hair and beard. These pictures agree closely with the type of the modern Kabyles in Algeria, in whom many travellers have sought descendants of strayed Germans, *e.g.* Vandals (very erroneously, as the Egyptian pictures show). Their hair, ornamented with ostrich feathers, was worn tied in a long pig-tail hanging over the ear, while it was cut half-length at the back part of the head; the beard was pointed. Blue tatoo-marks, varying according to the tribe, ornamented the body. The dress consisted of a girdle and a long mantle. They were chiefly a pastoral people, wandering with their leather-tents and their flocks of goats and sheep over their sandy country. Frequently they appeared at the W. frontier of Egypt as invaders, especially under the 19th and 20th dynasties, *i.e.* after 1350. Seti I., Ramses II. and III. record invasions warded off with great difficulty. Merenptah, the successor of Ramses II., defeated an army of Libyans allied with pirates from Asia Minor and Europe, after they had nearly reached Memphis, slaying almost 10,000 of them. They fought with arrows and long swords, the chiefs from chariots. Being very brave, they were employed as mercenaries by the Pharaohs, more and more frequently after B.C. 1100. Finally they became the privileged soldiers of Egypt; and their leaders, as Egyptian generals, grew so influential that several dynasties of Egyptian princes, as well as the great Bubastide (22) and Saïtic (24, 26) dynasties, which include most of the Pharaohs mentioned by name in the Bible, were of Libyan descent. *E.g.* Shishak (more correctly *Shoshaḳ* for *Shoshanḳ*) is a name of Libyan etymology. In their own country the Libyans assumed a few elements of Egyptian culture, *e.g.* the worship of the god Am(m)on (whose principal temple was in the oasis of Amon, now Siwah), circumcision, etc., but always remained at a low stage of civilization. Their strange and rude system of writing, still employed by the desert tribes S. of Algeria, and now called *Tifinaghen*, was borrowed from Southern Arabia, it would appear, about the Persian period. Also the introduction of the camel, and several customs, possibly also elements of their language, point to later connexions with this country—a strange fact, and not yet sufficiently understood. Their difficult language is, however, witnessed to by Egyptian monuments from about 1400, so that only a small part of the people can have consisted of immigrating Easterners. Under Greek (in Cyrene) and Carthaginian influence, and still more under Roman dominion, the Libyans were only superficially civilized in the cities; a large part of them, especially in the interior, always remained barbarous shepherds. They extended from Egypt to Timbuctoo and the Senegal river until the invasion of the Arabs; the subsequent adoption of Arab religion made a great part of them give up their language and nationality. Their language (the Tamasheg), which recently has been studied very zealously (in England especially by the late Prof. Newman), is at present much mixed with Arabic. Grammatically, however, it shows the purest Hamitic type. It is not so closely related to ancient Egyptian as we should expect, and betrays more affinity with the Hamitic languages on the coast of the Red Sea. The national name of this great race (at present pronounced Imushagh, Imuhag, etc.) is of obscure etymology. The Egyptians called them *Themḥeu* (plural, perhaps the same word), later *Phaiat*, and the easternmost part *Theḥnu* (or *Theḥnyu*, plural) and distinguished various tribes. Of these the Mashauasha (Μάξυες of Herodotus?) and *Lob* (written *Ra-bu*, plur. *Ra-bu-y*) were most prominent in the wars of Dyn. 19 and 20 (minor tribes Kahak, Qaiqasha, Shaïtep, etc.), and we can observe how the name *Lob* gradually became general, as we find it among the Greeks and all Semites. It is probable that in Gn 10 it already includes the whole of the white Africans W. of Egypt, although the Egyptians (and through these the Hebrews) hardly knew any tribes W. of Cyrene; the dominion of the conquering Pharaohs did not extend even so far. W. MAX MÜLLER.

LUCAS, Philem ^{24} (AV only) for LUKE (wh. see).

LUCIFER (הֵילֵל 'shining one,' *i.e.* the morning star, as explained by the following words בֶּן־שָׁחַר 'son of dawn,' Is 14^{12}).—The word is applied by the writer of the prophecy to the king of Babylon, partly in reference to the astrology for which Chaldæa was famous in ancient times, partly to the prevailing belief in the deification of heroes. The king of Babylon had complacently looked forward to the time when he would ascend into heaven and exalt his throne above the stars of God. But in reality his dead body would be treated with the utmost contempt, 'a carcase trodden under foot'; while his soul would descend into Sheol, and there receive but an empty honour from the shades, astounded that the great and mighty king could become like one of themselves.

From a supposed reference to this passage in our Lord's words, 'I beheld Satan fallen as lightning from heaven' (Lk 10^{18}), in connexion with Rev 9^{1-11} (the language of 9^1 being in part probably derived from this passage), Lucifer came in the Middle Ages to be a common appellation of Satan. The star of Rev 9^{1-11} is a fallen angel who has given to him the key of the abyss, from which he sets loose upon the earth horribly formed locusts with scorpions' tails, who have, however, power to hurt only such men as have not the seal of God on their foreheads. But this angel is not actually identified with Satan by the writer of the Apocalypse. The imagery in Is was no doubt suggested by a meteor, and possibly it was so in Rev also.

F. H. WOODS.

LUCIUS (Λεύκιος) is described in 1 Mac $15^{16\text{ff.}}$ as the 'consul of the Romans' (ὕπατος Ῥωμαίων), who, in consequence of the embassy sent to Rome by the high-priest Simon, wrote to Ptolemy VII. Euergetes, king of Egypt, to inform him that the Jews were under the protection of Rome. He sent copies of the same decree to other Eastern sovereigns, and to several small independent states. The title of this decree of the Senate is clearly imperfect, and it is not certain who is intended by this consul, whose prænomen is alone given. His date is approximately determined by the fact that Numenius and his fellow-ambassadors returned to Palestine in B.C. 139–138 (1 Mac 15^{10-15}). Three possible identifications may be mentioned.

1. Lucius Cæcilius Metellus Calvus was consul in B.C. 142. This, however, seems too early, though the historian places the despatch of the embassy to Rome before the decree of the Jews in favour of Simon, made on the 18th Elul, B.C. 141 (1 Mac 14^{24-28}).

2. Josephus mentions a decree of the Senate, passed under similar circumstances, and couched in similar terms, which he assigns to the 9th year of Hyrcanus II. (*Ant.* XIV. viii. 5). Most moderns, however, except Mommsen, consider that Josephus is in error with regard to the date, and identify this *senatus-consultum* with that passed in the time of Simon. In Josephus the prætor Lucius Valerius is named as presiding in the Senate; it is possible that he is the 'consul Lucius' of 1 Mac 15^{16} (cf. Schürer, *HJP* I. i. 266 ff.).

3. Most probably the reference is to L. Calpurnius Piso, who was consul B.C. 139. His prænomen is often given as Cneius, but Lucius is the best authenticated reading in Valerius Maximus i. 3. 2 (see Westcott in *Smith's DB* 'Lucius'; Schürer, *l.c.*). H. A. WHITE.

LUCIUS (Λούκιος).—**1.** Of Cyrene (ὁ Κυρηναῖος). In Ac 13^1 we are told that certain prophets and teachers were at Antioch, and amongst them is mentioned Lucius of Cyrene. He comes third in the list, and is supposed to have been one of the prophets. Nothing further is known about him. The suggestion that he was the same as St. Luke (Λουκᾶς) has nothing in its favour. Such evidence as there is points the other way. For the difference between the descriptions of scenes at Antioch and those at places which the author of Acts must have visited is striking, and makes it clear that the writer had no intimate knowledge of the place, and doubtful if he had ever been there. It is probable, however, that it was this mistaken identification which first caused the tradition that St. Luke was an Antiochene by birth, which appears in Eus. *HE* iii. 4, and in many subsequent writers, and which is also without foundation.

2. In Ro 16^{21} a certain Lucius is introduced as sending greetings with Timothy and others. Whether he was the same person as Lucius of Cyrene we have no means of judging.

A. C. HEADLAM.

LUCRE (from Lat. *lucrum* through Fr. *lucre*, gain) had not always the bad sense which belongs to it in AV and in modern use. Erasmus, *On the Crede* (1533), fol. 70, says 'God is very greatlye to be thanked, whose goodness hath tourned the malyce and wickednes of other men unto his servauntes, into the lucre and encreace of godlynesse.' In 1 S 8^{3} בֶּצַע, which means gain obtained by violent or dishonest means, is rendered 'lucre,' 'And his sons walked not in his ways, but turned aside after lucre, and took bribes, and perverted judgment' (LXX ἐξέκλιναν ὀπίσω τῆς συντελείας, Vulg. declinaverunt post avariciam, Wyc. 'boweden aside after averyee,' Cov. 'enclyned unto covetousnes,' Gen. 'turned aside after lucre'). The word is not again used in OT, but occurs five times in NT, always qualified by the adj. 'filthy.' In 1 Ti $3^{3.8}$, Tit 1^{7} the adj. αἰσχροκερδής is tr^{d} 'greedy of filthy lucre' (RV after edd. omits from 1 Ti 3^{3}); in 1 P 5^{2} the adv. αἰσχροκερδῶς is translated 'for filthy lucre'; and in Tit 1^{11} the phrase αἰσχροῦ κέρδους χάριν is rendered 'for filthy lucre's sake.' All these expressions we owe to Tindale. Except in language coloured by biblical recollection the word is no longer used. Bacon (*Essays*, 'Of Superstition,' Gold. Treas. ed. p. 69) shows the ordinary use in his day: 'The Strategems of Prelates for their owne Ambition and Lucre.' Shaks. uses the word twice (*I Henry VI.* v. iv. 141, *Cymb.* IV. ii. 324), both in the same sense.

J. HASTINGS.

LUD, LUDIM (לוּד, plur. לוּדִים, לוּדִיִּים, Λούδ, Λουδιείμ, *Lud*, *Ludim*).—In Gn 10^{22} Lud appears as fourth 'son' of Shem, in Gn 10^{13} we are told that Mizraim 'begat' Ludim. Here two very different races are indicated, a Semitic Lud and an Egyptian Ludim. Both names are, however, used by the prophets in such a way as to prevent any distinction between the words Lud and Ludim. In 1 Ch 1^{17} and 1^{11} the statements of Genesis are simply repeated. In Is 66^{19} Lud is named with Tarshish, Pul (which is generally considered to be an error for Put, *i.e.* Phut), as among the far-off nations. In Jer 46^{9} the Ludim are mentioned with Cush and Phut as auxiliaries of Egypt. In Ezk 27^{10} Lud appears with Persia and Phut as soldiers of Tyre; and in 30^{5} Lud occurs with Cush, Phut, and others as allies of Egypt.

The many difficulties that arise from these references are due to two causes—the difficulty of recognizing the people referred to, and doubts as to the integrity of the text. Since the time of Josephus (*Ant.* I. vi. 4) a prevailing opinion has been that the Semitic Lud denotes the Lydians of Asia Minor; and would then correspond with their mythical ancestor Lydus, mentioned by Herodotus, i. 7. Herodotus (*l.c.*) also describes their first king Agron as a descendant of Ninus and Belos, which may be taken to imply an Assyrian (or Babylonian?) origin. To support this opinion, the many affinities of Lydian worship with Syrian, and the marked similarity of their art to Assyrian types, have been pressed. Against the Semitic origin of the Lydians is the evidence of the remains of their language embodied in place names and preserved in native personal names. It is not too much to say that in the earliest times of which we have evidence Lydia was not Semitic, but peopled by a race that everywhere preceded the Greeks and spread wide into Europe. Lydia admitted several successive overlying strata of population, Greeks and Persians, not to mention Kimmerians and Scythians. These were not Semitic. It is difficult to see in what sense the classical Lydia was ever Semitic. That Josephus meant that country seems certain, not only from his own words, but from the fact that Lydia was known by name to the Jews (1 Mac 8^{8}). To the author of Gn 10^{22} Lud may not, however, have meant Lydia at all, but some more southerly folk. The direction of the geographical distribution of the sons of Shem runs from S.E. to N.W., then apparently W. and no farther S. than Aram. Stress cannot be laid on this till we are sure which way Arphaxad lay from Asshur. But as the genius of Winckler has compelled us to admit the Syrian land of Muṣri in passages where Egypt had always been seen before (see *Expos. Times*, vii. p. 405 f.), and as even Cush may be the land *Kusu* in the same horse-producing Cilician direction, so it may be that cuneiform evidence will yet locate a Lud in some North Syrian land. To the early Greeks Lydia was unknown by that name, they called it *Mæonia*; its later name does not appear till the 7th cent. B.C. What if the founder of the Lydian name were, after all, a Semitic Lydus bringing with him Assyrian culture? He need not have made Lydia Semitic, but he might have left a Semitic Lud behind him. When Gyges, king of Lydia (about B.C. 660), sent an embassy to Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, to seek alliance against the Kimmerians, it is stated that the Lydian tongue was not understood by the king's interpreters, and that only with difficulty was an interpreter found (G. Smith's *Assurbanipal*, p. 79). This seems decisive against Lydian being then a Semitic tongue. We are further told that the name *Lu-ud-di* had not been known before in Assyria (*KIB* ii. p. 172). Whether this means that no intercourse had ever taken place between the countries is open to question; perhaps it only means that the name was fresh. The mere absence of any Assyrian mention of a Semitic Lud may be pressed too far.

On the other hand, the theory of a widespread Semitic nation, Lud, including (according to Knobel) Amalek, the Amorites, the Philistines, the Egyptian Ludim, and the Lydians of Asia Minor, seems out of the question.

If it is difficult as yet to locate a Semitic Lud, the Egyptian Ludim are quite as difficult to locate. No satisfactory identification from native Egyptian sources has yet been given. The *Rutu* or *Retu*, suggested by some, appear not to be a nation at all; the word even is now read *Romet* (see Dillm. on Gn 10^{13}). It has been suggested to read *Lybians*,[*] which is simply cutting the knot. Movers would identify with the great Berber tribe of the Lewâta, inhabiting the shores of the Syrtes; but these people do not appear in history till the 6th cent. A.D.

According to the direction of the geographical distribution of Mizraim's offspring, perhaps we should find them W. of Phut, and so somewhere S. or even W. of the Syrtes. This can hardly be separated from the localization of Phut near Egypt.

When we turn to the prophetical passages, we find some marked characteristics. The Ludim are warriors and bowmen. Nowhere in antiquity do we find the Lydians famous as warriors or bowmen. This, however, is not of much weight against the fact that the Carians and Ionians were mercenaries of Egypt from the time of Psammetichus I. (B.C. 663–610). The biblical Ludim may cover these. Winckler has pointed out that in an inscription of the 37th year of Nebuchadnezzar, a fragmentary account of his wars with Amasis, king of Egypt, we have mention of the people *Puṭ-Iaman*. As *Iaman* (Ionians) is the regular Assyrian term for Greeks, we are forced to conclude that Puṭ, the biblical Phut, was, if not exactly Greek in race and language, at least indistinguishable from them for political purposes in Egypt. The prophets may have had better knowledge of the racial affinities of these Egyptian mercenaries, and kept the term *Phut* for one, *Ludim* for another.

The versions, whether influenced by Josephus and Herodotus or independently preserving a historical tradition, frequently render Ludim by *Lydians*. The various commentators on the books of the OT resort to all kinds of devices to bring the text into accord with the facts known to them.

---

[*] For instance, by Stade (*Javan*, 5 f.), who proposes to read in Gn 10^{13} and Jer 46^{9} לוּבִים (Libyans) for לוּדִים.

Many of these difficulties will doubtless disappear with greater knowledge of the ancient inhabitants of Egypt and Syria. They cannot be discussed here. See also art. LYDIA.

LITERATURE.—Dillmann and Holzinger on *Genesis*; Cheyne on *Isaiah*; Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache*, p. 284 f. (for Lydian race, Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, must also be taken into account); Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, series i. p. 513; Frd. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 257, 310; Schrader, *KAT*^{2} 114 [*COT* ii. 98 ff.]; Movers, *Phönizier*, ii. 1, 377 ff.; Ebers, *Ægypten u. die Bücher Mose's*, i. 96 ff.

C. H. W. JOHNS.

LUHITH (מַעֲלֵה הַלּוּחִית Is 15^5, מַעֲלֵה הַלֻּחוֹת Jer 48^5 [*Kethîbh*]; LXX in Is Λουειθ, in Jer B Ἀλώθ, A Ἀλαώθ).—A place which practically is only once mentioned in OT. It occurs, as 'the ascent of' or 'to Luhith,' in Is 15^5 and in the corresponding section of Jer (48 [LXX 31]^5). The refugees from ruined Moab are there represented as fleeing to Zoar, by the ascent of L. and in the way of Horonaim, names which may be selected as local asylum sanctuaries where fugitives would be secure, or as merely different roads for escape out of the wasted country. The 'ascent' may then mean either the hill on which the sanctuary stood (cf. מַעֲלֵה הַזֵּיתִים = mount of olives, 2 S 15^{30}), or the pass which led to safety (cf. מַעֲלֵה עַקְרַבִּים = the scorpion ascent, Nu 34^4).

The derivation of the name must at present remain uncertain. Gesenius (*Thes.*) translates it 'made of boards, *i.e.* probably having houses made of boards'; but this derivation ignores the fact that Luhith must be a more or less exact transliteration into Heb. of an originally Moabite word. In that connexion the variation between Is and Jer (*Kethîbh*) is noteworthy.

Eusebius still knew a village which bore the name. The *Onomasticon* (*s.v.* Luith, Λουιθ) states 'there is to-day a village between Areopolis (*i.e.* Rabbath-moab) and Zoar which is named Luitha.' See, further, RABBAH and ZOAR.

A. C. WELCH.

LUKE, THE EVANGELIST.—The *name* Λουκᾶς does not seem to occur before the time of the NT (Zahn, *Einl.* ii. 336). As a Greek name, it is found without any variation in spelling, unless Λουκουᾶς (Eus. *HE* iv. 2) is to be regarded as such. It is, no doubt, a contracted form of Lucanus, a Latin name which occurs frequently in inscriptions (Lightfoot on Col 4^{14}), and is found in one Vulgate MS at the head of St. Luke's Gospel (as well as in *b f g*^{2} *i*), the other MSS quoted by Wordsworth and White giving only a Latinized form of the Greek name, '*secundum Lucan* or *Lucam*.' The identification of the *name* with Λούκιος or Λούκειος (Ac 13^1, Ro 16^{21}) is not philologically impossible, but is unlikely. As to the *person*, see LUCIUS and below.

A person of this name is mentioned three times in the NT, viz. Col 4^{14}, 2 Ti 4^{11}, Philem ^{24}. From these passages we infer that he was with St. Paul at Rome when these Epistles were written, and was alone with him at the date of the latest. In the first passage he is spoken of as ὁ ἰατρὸς ὁ ἀγαπητός,* and as he sends a greeting to the Colossians, he must have been known to that Church. He is, in this passage, distinguished from οἱ ὄντες ἐκ περιτομῆς (Col 4^{11}), and so was a Gentile by birth. This makes the identification with Λούκιος of Ro 16^{21} (see Orig. *ad. loc.*) impossible,—for the latter was a kinsman of St. Paul,—and disproves the view of Tiele and others that St. Luke was a Jew. Jerome (*Quæst. in Gen.*) refers to a tradition that he was a proselyte (and as such ignorant of Hebrew), but it is more probable that he became a Christian without becoming a Jew, and the Western reading of Ac 11^{20} (D) would require that his conversion to Christianity took place before St. Paul met him (but cf. Tert. *c. Marc.* iv. 2). In the other passage, Philem ^{24}, St. Luke sends greeting to Philemon, and is spoken of as one of St. Paul's συνεργοί. We know then that he was with St. Paul in *both* his imprisonments at Rome, but, from our finding no mention of him in Ph, Lightfoot (*Phil.* p. 35) argues that he was not there continuously. If we may assume (see ACTS for the arguments to justify this assumption) that St. Luke was the writer of the Acts, and refers to himself in the 'we-sections,' then we may note the connexion with Antioch in Syria,* implied by the Western reading of Ac 11^{28}, mentioned by Eus. (*HE* iii. 4) and others, but perhaps based on a supposed identification with Lucius of Ac 13^1 (Wetstein, Bengel). More certain is the inference that he joined St. Paul at Troas (Ac 16^{10}) about the year 50 A.D. (see CHRONOLOGY OF NT, vol. i. p. 422), and was with him until his arrival at Rome about A.D. 59, except during the period which elapsed between St. Paul's departure from Philippi on the Second Missionary Journey (17^1), and his arrival again there on the Third (Ac 20^5). If we may anticipate here the proofs (given in next art.) that St. Luke was the writer of the third Gospel, then, from the preface to that book, we may add that he did not belong to those who could claim to be οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται. The references to St. Luke in NT may be completed by a mention of the tradition, first found in Orig. (*Hom.* i. *in Luc.*), that he is the 'brother whose praise is in the Churches' (2 Co 8^{18}), sent by St. Paul with Titus to carry the letter. He is also mentioned in the subscription to that Epistle as one of the bearers.†

When we pass outside the NT we find a number of assertions made about him, some of which are contradicted by the statements already noticed in the NT. Thus the late tradition that he was one of the Seventy (Epiphanius), or the unnamed companion of Cleophas, mentioned in Lk 24$^{13ff.}$ (Theophyl.; *Gr. Menol.* etc.), are both untenable in face of Lk 1^2. The tradition that he was a painter is also late, though not so late as it used to be thought.‡ What its origin was we cannot say. It is first mentioned by Theodore the Reader, whose date may be assigned to the 6th century. Zahn suggests (*Einl.* ii. 337) that the tradition may be due to a misinterpretation placed on the word καθιστορεῖν in Theodore's statement as to τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς θεοτόκου, ἣν ὁ ἀπόστολος Λουκᾶς καθιστόρησεν. A much earlier authority—the *Præfatio Lucæ*, given in Wordsworth's Vulgate, p. 269, and ascribed by Harnack (*Chronologie*, p. 653) to the 3rd cent. at latest—gives us many additional facts about St. Luke: 'Luke, by nation a Syrian of Antioch, a disciple of the apostles, and afterwards a follower of St. Paul, served his Master blamelessly till his confession. For having neither wife nor children he died in Bithynia at the age of seventy-four, filled with the Holy Ghost.' To Eusebius (*HE* iii. 4) we are indebted for some facts, and he has been followed by Jerome (*de Vir. Illustr.* 7). Probably, though not certainly, Eusebius' words—τὸ μὲν γένος ὢν τῶν ἀπ' Ἀντιοχείας—imply that St. Luke came himself from Antioch,§ though some scholars regard this belief as resting on nothing more substantial than the identification of St. Luke with Λούκιος of Ac 13^1 mentioned above. His special sphere of work is said to have been

---

* See next art. under 'Style.'

* Not Antioch in Pisidia, as Rendall argues on the ground of the ἡμᾶς in Ac 14^{23}.

† For the various forms of the tradition connecting him with the Epistle to the Hebrews, see HEBREWS in vol. ii. p. 338^a.

‡ Plummer, *Commentary on St. Luke*, pp. xxi, xxii.

§ Ramsay (*St. Paul the Trav.* 200 ff., 389 f.) regards St. Luke as a Macedonian, who 'belonged to a family that had a connexion with Antioch,' and thinks Eusebius' phrase was intended to preclude the belief that St. Luke himself belonged to Antioch

Achaia, but (*Const. Apost.* vii. 46) another tradition connects him with Alexandria, where he is said to have consecrated the second bishop. In Achaia or in Bithynia (*Rom. Martyr.*, etc.) he died. As to the mode of his death there are two traditions, one of which (*Menol. Basil.*) says that he died a peaceful death, the other (Greg. Naz., *ap.* Migne, *Pat. Gr.* xxxv. 589) that he was martyred under Domitian. His bones are said to have been carried from Achaia to Constantinople, and buried there in the twentieth year of Constantius.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the patristic references given above, see Zahn, *Einleitung in das NT* ii. 333 ff.; Plummer, *Commentary on St. Luke*; Nilles, *Calend. Utr. Eccles.*; Baring Gould, *Lives of the Saints*; *Acta Sanctorum.*

LL. J. M. BEBB.

LUKE, GOSPEL OF.—

1. Authorship and Canonicity.
2. Date and Place of Writing.
3. Transmission of the Text.
4. Sources used.
5. St. Luke and St. Paul.
6. St. Luke and Josephus.
7. St. Luke and Marcion.
8. St. Luke's Style.
9. St. Luke's Preface.
10. Purpose and Arrangement of the Gospel.
11. General Characteristics of the Gospel.

1. AUTHORSHIP AND CANONICITY.—(*a*) *Authorship.*—The proof that St. Luke was the writer of the Third Gospel depends partly on internal, partly on external, evidence.

The *internal* evidence consists in the connexion between the Gospel and the Acts which is seen in the style, and also in the common dedication of the two books to Theophilus, and the reference in Ac 1^{1} to a 'former treatise,' which was no doubt the Gospel. It is here assumed (see ACTS for the arguments to support this view) that St. Luke was the writer of the Acts, and on this assumption it is impossible not to accept the Lucan authorship of the third Gospel. The argument from style (see below) is quite conclusive. Again, there are many points of connexion between the Gospel and Acts other than those of style, as, for instance, the reference to the Holy Spirit as 'the promise of the Father' (Ac 1^{4}; cf. Lk 24^{49}), the idea of apostolic 'witness' (Lk 24^{48}, Ac *passim*), the common explanation of Simon as ὁ ζηλωτής in Lk 6^{15} and Ac 1^{13}, but not in the other lists.

The *external* evidence * is to be found in the references which mention St. Luke by name as the writer of one of the four Gospels. It is well known that the earliest allusions to the Gospels do not give the names of the writers, but so soon as this mode of reference begins we find St. Luke's name connected with one of the Gospels. The earliest of these is in the Muratorian Fragment, which opens with the words *tertio evangelii librum secundum Lucan Lucas . . . conscripsit.* Irenæus repeatedly refers to St. Luke by name, the strongest passage being perhaps *Hær.* III. xiv. 3, where he mentions *multa quæ inveniri possunt a solo Luca dicta esse, quibus et Marcion et Valentinus utuntur*, and earlier in the same section a rejection of St. Luke is spoken of as tantamount to a rejection of 'the Gospel of which he claims to be a disciple.' In very many other passages Irenæus definitely quotes St. Luke (*e.g.* 3^{1} 3^{22} etc.), and nowhere is his authorship called in question. Another passage which gives unquestionable support to St. Luke's authorship is to be found in Tert. *c. Marc.* iv. 2—cf. *ib.* iv. 5, *id evangelium quod Lucæ refertur penes nos.* So Clem. Alex. (*Strom.* i. 21) quotes the Gospel often as by St. Luke.

It is unnecessary to multiply the evidence of later authorities, for the passages quoted show that writers of a comparatively early date and coming from all parts of the Christian Church unhesitatingly ascribe the authorship of one of the Gospels to St. Luke. 'It is manifest that in all parts of the Christian world the third Gospel . . . was universally believed to be the work of St. Luke. No one speaks doubtfully on this point' (Plummer, *St. Luke*, p. 16).

(*b*) *Canonicity.*—Though the references which connect Luke by name with the Gospel are, from the nature of the case, comparatively late, those which prove its use as an authoritative writing carry us back very much further. We find, it is true, no certain trace of its use in the Apostolic Fathers. 'We must be content to leave it doubtful whether Clement of Rome knew our Gospel according to Luke, and the same must be said of Polycarp and of Ignatius' (Plummer, *l.c.* p. xxv); but when we come on to Justin Martyr and to Tatian, the evidence of a use of this Gospel is abundant and unquestionable. Justin refers to a number of details which are found only in this Gospel: thus he mentions particulars given only in Lk 1. 2, such as the message of Gabriel (1^{35}) and the journey to Bethlehem in consequence of the enrolment; he also alludes to other incidents from later chapters, such as our Lord's being sent to Herod (23^{7}), or the last word from the Cross (23^{46}), or the explanation of the Scriptures to the disciples on the way to Emmaus (24^{45}). The use of St. Luke's Gospel by Tatian, who was a scholar of Justin, is equally clear from the *Diatessaron*, the second section of which (as given by Hemphill) contains Lk 1^{5-80}.

These writers sufficiently prove the use of the Gospel within the Church, but perhaps more striking testimony is to be found in the fact of its use by those outside the Church. Thus it formed the basis of the narrative which Marcion drew up (see below), it was used by the Valentinians in their system of chronology (Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, p. 57), and was the subject of a commentary by Heracleon (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 9).

It was then, from the first, fully recognized and used in the Church, and is omitted in no lists of the canonical books.

Its *position in the New Testament Canon* among the Gospels varies. It must be remembered that the order in which the books succeed each other would not tend to be fixed until the Codex began to take the place of the Roll, that is, in the beginning of the 3rd century. Origen (*ap.* Eus. *HE* vi. 25) mentions as traditional that order with which we are familiar, Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, and this order is found in most of our authorities, beginning with the Muratori Canon. After this the order most frequently found is the so-called Western order, Matthew, John, Luke, Mark. The object of this—which is met with in D, many MSS of the Old Latin, the Gothic version, and elsewhere—was, no doubt, to bring together the two apostles and place them first, and afterwards the 'apostolic men.' The Curetonian Syriac puts St. Luke's Gospel last, *k* and X (a Munich MS of the 9th cent.) have the order John, Luke, Mark, Matthew, while in two cursives the order is John, Luke, Matthew. The order in which the Gospels come in the MSS *may* have been affected, moreover, by their supposed chronological order, or by the symbols assigned to them. We may perhaps notice here Blass's view (*Philol. of the Gosp.* p. 77) that there is evidence in the spelling adopted by D of 'a time when there was a closer connexion between Luke's first and second parts than between Luke's Gospel and the other Gospels.'

2. DATE AND PLACE OF WRITING.—(*a*) *Date.*—Various dates have been assigned to the Gospel,

---

* The title κατὰ Λουκᾶν cannot be taken to prove much, though the forms *cata Lucam*, etc., in MSS of the old Latin, in Cyprian, and elsewhere, show that the *Greek* MSS on which they were based had the titles in 2nd or 3rd cent. (Zahn, *Einl.* ii. 178).

ranging from A.D. 56–60 (Blass, *Philol. of Gospels*, pp. 53, 54) to some date after A.D. 130. The main argument in favour of the latest date, which was that accepted by Baur, Zeller, and others, was the supposed dependence of the Gospel on that of Marcion; but this argument has been proved to be valueless by the almost universal agreement of critics that Marcion is really dependent on St. Luke. A comparatively late date for the Gospel has also been urged on the ground of a similar dependence on Josephus. This, if proved, would make the date about A.D. 100; but here, again, the hypothesis must be regarded as unproven. Nor can any definite and certain conclusion be reached by comparing St. Luke's Gospel with those of St. Matthew and St. Mark, for the dates of these two books are uncertain. It is true we have a tradition which Clement of Alexandria received from *οἱ ἀνέκαθεν πρεσβύτεροι* (Eus. *HE* vi. 14) that the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke —*τὰ περιέχοντα τὰς γενεαλογίας*—were the first written. The statement of Irenæus (iii. 1. 1) need not be taken as giving the chronological order of the Gospels (as Zahn, *Einl.* ii. 181), for the *ἔπειτα*, on which Zahn lays stress to prove this, only implies that St. John's Gospel was written later than the other three, and though dates are by him assigned to St. Matthew and St. Mark, none is given for St. Luke. External evidence of any value as to the relative dates of the three Synoptic Gospels is therefore not forthcoming; nor does a comparison of them show very clear results, as will be seen below.

The first definite piece of evidence to be considered is that afforded by Ac 1^1, where reference is made to a *πρῶτος λόγος*, which, on the assumption that the Acts and the Gospel were both St. Luke's writings, is the Gospel, the date of which we are discussing. The Gospel is therefore prior to the Acts, but the date of the latter book cannot be regarded as fixed; and the question is further complicated, if we attach any weight to Blass's view that there were two separate editions of the Gospel and the Acts. In any case the date of the Gospel must depend on that of the Acts, and from a careful comparison of the style of these two books Sir John Hawkins (*Horæ Synopticæ*, pp. 143–146) draws the conclusion that 'a considerable time must have elapsed between the writing of the two books,' and that there is 'some internal evidence in favour of placing the Gospel at a considerably earlier date than Acts.'

Another class of arguments is concerned with data afforded by the Gospel itself. (1) Ramsay (*St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 387) argues that St. Luke's dating of Tiberius' reign in 3^1 requires us to reckon it from the time when he was associated by Augustus in the empire. Such a method of reckoning, he implies, is so unusual, that 'there can be hardly any other reason' for it 'than that the calculation was made under an emperor whose years were reckoned from his association as colleague.' This was the case with Titus, who began to reign in association with his father in A.D. 71, and therefore Ramsay dates the writing of St. Luke's Gospel about that time, the 'finishing touches' being given while Titus was reigning as sole emperor, A.D. 79–81. This argument, as the writer allows, 'taken by itself would be insufficient.'

(2) The preface to the Gospel (1^{1-4}) states that there had been 'many' previous attempts to draw up a narrative of our Lord's life, and this requires us to assume the lapse of some time after our Lord's death. The length of the interval will depend on whether St. Luke's words are taken to imply *written* narratives. 'The process described in the preface implies a longer period than would fall within the year A.D. 63: it is probable that the common basis of our three Synoptic Gospels was not committed to writing so early' (Sanday, *Inspiration*, p. 278).

(3) It is argued that we find in St. Luke's Gospel language so definite and precise in regard to the circumstances of the destruction of Jerusalem, as to suggest to us to date the writing of the Gospel after that event. The three chief passages adduced are $19^{43.\,44}$ 21^{20} 21^{24}. The first of these passages occurs in the account of our Lord's triumphal entry, on His first coming in sight of the city of Jerusalem. The words are *ἥξουσιν ἡμέραι ἐπὶ σέ, καὶ παρεμβαλοῦσιν οἱ ἐχθροί σου χάρακά σοι καὶ περικυκλώσουσίν σε, καὶ συνέξουσίν σε πάντοθεν καὶ ἐδαφιοῦσίν σε καὶ τὰ τέκνα σου ἐν σοί, ἀνθ' ὧν οὐκ ἔγνως τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς σου.* Here the concluding words imply that the whole passage is a comment on the verse which precedes, and which contains a statement of our Lord's grief over Jerusalem for her failure to forecast the consequences of her conduct. The whole incident is recorded by St. Luke only, which is a sufficient explanation as to why the words in question should not be found in Mt or Mk, and they form an integral part of the incident. Nor is there anything suspiciously definite in the words, for if our Lord could foretell (Mt 24^2, Mk 13^2, Lk 21^6) such a destruction of Jerusalem that 'not one stone should be left on another,' there is nothing so precise in the words quoted above—which refer to the process by which that destruction was to be effected—as to require that St. Luke has inserted these words—and not only these words, but the whole incident of which they form a part—after the event. In the next passage, 21^{20}, the reference made by St. Matthew and St. Mark to Dn 9^{27} has been dropped, and, instead of the words *ὅταν οὖν ἴδητε τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως, κ.τ.λ.*, we find the phrase *ὅταν ἴδητε κυκλουμένην ὑπὸ στρατοπέδων Ἰερουσαλήμ, κ.τ.λ.* The fact of our having here a *substitution* for words found in St. Matthew and St. Mark, and not, as in the last case, an *addition*, is at first sight more suspicious. But one very reasonable view is that St. Luke is giving here an explanation of the words quoted from Daniel, the exact meaning of which is uncertain even now, while they would probably have been quite unintelligible to St. Luke's Gentile readers. Some support is to be found for this view in St. Luke's use of the word *ἐρήμωσις* at the end of the verse, which may be an allusion to the words *τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως.* Another equally possible explanation of St. Luke's divergence from St. Matthew and St. Mark here is that he is drawing from a different source from that used by the other two Gospels, and this is borne out by numerous other passages in this chapter, where St. Luke's independence is clear. The suggestion, therefore, that the words were inserted after the destruction of Jerusalem is only one of three possible explanations of the facts, and is not required by the words themselves, which, like those in $19^{43.\,44}$, are not, after all, particularly definite. The last passage mentioned above, viz. 21^{24}, is also peculiar to St. Luke—*πεσοῦνται στόματι μαχαίρης καὶ αἰχμαλωτισθήσονται εἰς τὰ ἔθνη πάντα, καὶ Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἔσται πατουμένη ὑπὸ ἐθνῶν, ἄχρι οὗ πληρωθῶσιν καιροὶ ἐθνῶν.* But these words only state the destruction of Jerusalem by the Gentiles, and the further thought of a *terminus ad quem* for the punishment of the Jews is found in Ro 11^{25}, an Epistle earlier than the earliest date assigned to the Gospel.

Not one of the passages just examined seems to the writer to contain anything incompatible with the reference of the Gospel to an early date, and all the arguments appear to rest on a very precarious basis. Another passage ($21^{31.\,32}$) has been thought to imply that, by leaving out the words *ἐπὶ θύραις* found in the parallel passages of St. Matthew and St. Mark,—*ὅταν ἴδητε ταῦτα γιγνόμενα, γινώσκετε ὅτι ἔγγυς ἐστιν ἐπὶ θύραις*,—St. Luke has emphasized a distinction between the fall of Jerusalem and the end of the world which they have not, and is therefore later. The next verse, stating that 'this generation shall not pass away till all these things be fulfilled,' has, on the other hand, been used (*e.g.* by Weiss, *Introduction to the NT*, ii. 313) as a proof that because it is implied that the 'second coming of Christ was still expected by the first generation of Christians,' therefore the words would not have been allowed to stand in this form after about A.D. 80.

More weight may perhaps be attached to the evidence afforded by the theological terms used in this Gospel—as, for example, the expression *ὁ κύριος* of our Lord (cf. *Ev. Pet.*—some of which point to a date later than that of St. Matthew or St. Mark. Another proof of a similar kind is to be found in the points of contact which have been noticed between this Gospel and that of St. John (see below, p. 167).

These arguments, and that based on the lapse of time required by the circumstances presupposed in the preface, seem to preclude a very early date, and there is little or no evidence to require a late date. We may accept, perhaps, some date about the year 80, that is, the beginning rather than the end of the period (A.D. 78–93) within which it is placed by Harnack (*Chronologie*, p. 246 ff.).

(*b*) *Place.*—In regard to the place at which the Gospel was written, the data are too vague or too late to give a certain conclusion. We have seen above (p. 162) that St. Luke's sphere of preaching was associated with Greece, and so Jerome tells us that '*in Achaiæ Bœothiæque* (*var. lec.* Bithyniæ) *partibus volumen condidit*' (Vulgate, ed. Wordsworth, i. p. 12), and within this district Godet selects Corinth. Another tradition connects St. Luke with Egypt, and accordingly a catalogue of NT books ascribed to Ebed Jesu (14th cent.) assigns the writing of the Gospel to Alexandria. The address to Theophilus, and the mention of St. Luke as St. Paul's companion at Rome, have led Keim, Holtzmann, and others to place it at Rome, but we have no evidence to prove this. Other scholars (as Michaelis, Thiersch, and Blass) have fixed on Cæsarea, others again (*e.g.* Hilgenfeld) have suggested Asia Minor. Many of these places and also others will be found mentioned in the subscriptions to the Gospel found in MSS of the Greek and of the versions (Tischendorf, *NT*, i. 738). We cannot attempt, in the absence of data, to decide finally between the many various alternative suggestions just mentioned, and may agree with Weiss (*Introduction*, Eng. tr. ii. 314) that 'all conjectures as to the place of composition are quite visionary, and have no value whatever.'

3. TRANSMISSION OF THE TEXT.—It is necessary to devote a separate section to this point, because of the questions suggested by the 'Western' readings in St. Luke's Gospel. Blass began by basing on the 'Western' readings in the Acts (which see) a theory that they preserve for us another and earlier edition than that with which we are familiar, and in his *Acta Apostolorum secundum formam quæ videtur Romanam* (Leipzig, 1896) he attempted a reproduction of this. Since then he has extended his theory to the Gospel (Leipzig, 1897), but with this important difference, that while the Western text of the Acts gives us the *earlier* of the two editions, the same text of the Gospel is in his opinion the *later* and revised edition. Some explanation is necessary of the difference between the characteristics of the Western text in the two books, for in the Acts these consist largely of additions to the ordinary text, while in the Gospel they are, for the most part, omissions, and Blass's view (*Philol. of the Gospels*, pp. 103, 104) is that the second edition would in each case be shorter, for the author would be naturally 'disposed to omit many unessential circumstances and details.' This is one of several '*a priori* arguments,' as Blass himself calls them (*l.c.* p. 102), for a theory, which is an extension of a view tenable and accepted by many in regard to the Acts, but in the Gospel not established by the facts.

As far as the Acts is concerned, the theory of two editions goes back to J. le Clerc (Clericus), *i.e.* to the middle of the 17th cent. Lightfoot (*Fresh Revision*, p. 29) seems not unfavourable to the view that in the Gospel also 'the evangelist may have issued two separate editions.' It is only within the last few years, however, that this theory has seriously challenged the attention of textual critics. What, then, are the facts as far as the Gospel is concerned? The most striking are the series of omissions which we meet with chiefly in the later, but also more sparsely in the earlier, chapters. In these cases the omissions are made by the same authorities for the most part, sometimes with the support of a MS or version not necessarily 'Western.' As illustrations of such omissions may be quoted, the leaving out in 24^{36} of the words *καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς Εἰρήνη ὑμῖν*, in 24^{40} of the words *καὶ τοῦτο εἰπὼν ἔδειξεν αὐτοῖς τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας*, and in 24^{51} of the words *καὶ ἀνεφέρετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν*. From other parts of the Gospel we may quote 10^{41}, where *μεριμνᾷς καὶ θορυβάζῃ περὶ πολλά* is shortened into *θορυβάζῃ*, and the first part of the next verse is omitted, or 12^{19} where (in the parable of the Rich Fool) the words *ἔχεις πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ κείμενα εἰς ἔτη πολλά, ἀναπαύου, φάγε, πίε, εὐφραίνου*, are reduced to *ἔχεις πολλὰ ἀγαθά, ἀναπαύου*. These passages sufficiently illustrate the nature of the omissions. We find also some *additions*, but they are very few. As an instance may be quoted the long addition in regard to the man working on the Sabbath day, which we find in D after 6^4. Of course Blass has to give some explanation as to why in a second draft these omissions or additions were made. Thus, of the insertion at 6^4, he says (*l.c.* p. 154) that it was probably omitted by St. Luke as likely to give offence to Christian or other Jews who would form a 'considerable part' of the Oriental congregations. Of the omission of the account of the Ascension in 24^{51} the explanation given is that it was (*l.c.* p. 140) 'to fit the close of the Gospel (Western text) to the beginning of the Acts (Western text),' or that it 'might be not without some degree of probability ascribed to some reader of Luke who was offended by the repetition in Ac 1' (*l.c.* p. 142). These will illustrate the explanations by which the position is maintained, and in regard to the last it will be noticed that the theory of revision by St. Luke is so far modified that it is referred to 'some reader.'

What are we to say in regard to this theory as an explanation of the facts? We may admit that this Gospel, as having been addressed firstly to an individual, and afterwards to a wider circle, may have had a different textual history from the others, and we may make all allowance for the greater difficulty of establishing the theory in the Gospel than in the Acts, because the Western text in the Gospel differs almost entirely by its omissions, and because the early history of the Synoptic text must be obscure. Further, we may allow that the term 'Western non-interpolations' given to these omitted passages by Westcott and Hort is not applicable, inasmuch as there is, as a rule, little besides the suggestion of 'assimilation' to show that they are interpolations. And yet we must demand further proof before we can accept Blass's view, for the arguments on which it rests are inconclusive.

In the first place, the distribution of the phenomena is at once too wide and too narrow. Similar omissions are found in the same group of authorities, or in some members of the group, in the other Gospels, and elsewhere in the NT. We might quote, for example, the omission of all reference to the Pharisees in Mk 10^2 and other similar instances, but two illustrations from Mt 19^9 and 19^{29} will serve to show not only that the omissions are widely distributed, but also that they are capable of being explained by a divergence in the oral tradition. In the first passage, a number of Western authorities (here with ℵ and other Greek MSS) omit the words *καὶ ὁ ἀπολελυμένην γαμήσας μοιχᾶται*, and in the second many of the same authorities (here with B) omit the words *ἢ γυναῖκα*. The distribution of the instances of omission in Western texts is therefore too wide. It is also too narrow, for the most important of the cases come in the last few chapters of the Gospel, and are sufficiently explained by 'the natural variations between the reports given by two different hearers of a story orally delivered in the presence of both' (Salmon, *Text. Criticism*, p. 148).

Again, it may reasonably be objected that 'if there had been a definite Western written text we should have been able to reproduce it in a way we cannot now' (Salmon, *l.c.* p. 148). There is certainly very early support for many of the readings, so that we may well believe that many of them 'express the form in which the Gospel was read in the Church of Rome in apostolic or sub-apostolic times,' yet still the distribution of the support can not be regarded as indicating two editions, one Eastern and one Western, and to meet this difficulty Blass has to fall back upon the position that in none of our authorities have we 'the Western text while still in its pure form.' Blass, indeed, states that 'besides conflations with the other Gospels, which began at a very early date, conflations [of the Western] with the Oriental text must have been more inevitable than in the case of the Acts.' As instances of such 'conflation,' by which we suppose he means corruption of the Western text by the Eastern, he would, presumably, regard cases where the authorities on which he relies are divided, as, for example, the insertion of *δευτεροπρώτῳ* (6^1), or the word from the Cross (23^{34}). We cannot deny the very early and varied character of the attestation which is found for the Western readings, when we meet with them in Justin, Tatian, and Marcion. We can say that the evidence of these authorities does not allow us to rest on their evidence an edition such as that of Blass.

Again, it is urged by Corssen, whose view is endorsed by Bousset (*Theol. Rundschau*, July 1898), that the language of the Western text, as Blass has constructed it, often shows an absence of marked characteristics of St. Luke's style, and therefore is not the work of St. Luke himself, but 'a revision by another hand.'

Finally, it has to be urged, if not against the theory as a whole, at any rate against Blass's presentation of it, that the selection of one reading in preference to another is often very arbitrary, and that readings are adopted which have only very slight support, or may be shown to be inferior to the ordinary text, and less original. Some of these are collected by Zahn (*Einl.* ii. 354 ff.).

The theory, then, of two editions has been rejected by most scholars, even by those who have accepted it in regard to the Acts, and we must say that it is at any rate unproved. The phenomena on which it rests point at most (Harnack, *Chronologie*, p. 700 n.) to a correction of St. Luke's Gospel, not to two editions of it; they are not peculiar to the third Gospel, and, though they often preserve an original reading, they are far from representing always the best text, and they are sufficiently explained by a consideration of the circumstances under which the Gospels were first circulated and took written shape.

4. THE SOURCES OF THE GOSPEL.—The determination of the sources used by St. Luke must depend partly upon external, partly upon internal, evidence. Under the first head fall the assertions of the preface, and the statements made by early writers as to St. Luke's connexion with St. Paul. Both these are dealt with below. Under internal evidence will be included arguments based on points of style, subject-matter, and arrangement, which involve the question of St. Luke's relation to the other Gospels, and bring us face to face with the Synoptic problem. This problem, which is one of 'extraordinary difficulty and complexity' (Sanday, *Inspiration*, p. 281), need be discussed here only so far as it concerns St. Luke.

The first point to consider is the amount of matter which is peculiar to St. Luke, and this may be estimated in different ways.[*]

'According to one calculation, if the contents of the Synoptic Gospels are divided into 172 sections, of these 172 Luke has 127, Matthew 114, and Mark 84: and of these 172 Luke has 48 which are peculiar to himself, Matthew has 22, and Mark has 5. According to another calculation [that of Reuss], if the total be divided into 124 sections, of these Luke has 93, Matthew 78, and Mark 67, and of these 124 Luke has 38 peculiar to himself, Matthew 17, and Mark 2' (Plummer, *St. Luke*, p. xxxv).—Or we may consider the kind, as well as the quantity, of peculiar matter, and then we find that of the recorded miracles 6 are peculiar to St. Luke, 3 to St. Matthew, and 2 to St. Mark; while of the parables, 18 are peculiar to St. Luke, 10 to St. Matthew, and 1 to St. Mark. Or we may take the more mechanical method of reckoning by the number of verses, and we find that St. Matthew (RV) has 1068 verses, of which 337 are not found in St. Mark or St. Luke; St. Mark (RV) has 674, of which 50 are peculiar to this Gospel; while St. Luke (RV) has 1149, of which 612 are only found there. These figures show roughly the state of the case, and we may say that the peculiar matter in St. Luke is rather more than half of the whole Gospel. The following is a list of the more important longer sections found only in St. Luke:—

1–2.
3^{10-14} the questions asked of John the Baptist by 'the multitudes,' 'publicans,' and soldiers.
3^{23-38} the genealogy of our Lord.
4^{16-30} at Nazareth in the synagogue [this may be the narrative of Mt $13^{54\text{ff.}}$ and Mk $6^{1\text{ff.}}$, but is quite independent].
5^{1-11} the miraculous draught of fishes, and call of the disciples.
6^{24-26} the denunciations on the rich, and on those well spoken of.
7^{11-17} the raising of the widow's son at Nain.
7^{36-50} the anointing by the sinner, and parable of the Two Debtors.
8^{1-3} the attendant women, the wife of Chuza.
9^{51-56} the rejection at the Samaritan village.
$9^{61.\ 62}$ a would-be follower.
10^1 the mission of the Seventy [our Lord's address has much in common with the address to the Twelve, Mt $10^{1\text{ff.}}$, Mk $6^{7\text{ff.}}$].
10^{17-20} the return of the Seventy—Satan fallen from heaven.
10^{28-42} parable of the Good Samaritan.

---

[*] See, *e.g.*, Westcott, *Introduction to Study of Gospels*^{5}, p. 191 ff.; Plummer, *St. Luke*, p. xxxv ff.; Reuss, *Hist. of Scr.*, Eng. tr. p. 176 ff.; Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticæ* (from which the calculation by verses is taken).

11^{5-8} parable of the Importunate Friend.
$11^{27. 28}$ the comment of the woman on our Lord's teaching.
12^{13-21} the avaricious brother, leading to the parable of the Rich Fool.
12^{47-50}.
13^{1-17} the Galilæans slain by Pilate, the falling of the tower in Siloam, the parable of the Barren Fig-tree, healing of the woman with the spirit of infirmity.
13^{31-33} the message to Herod Antipas.
14^{1-14} healing of the man with the dropsy.
14^{15-24} parable of the Supper [cf. Mt 22^{2}].
14^{28-33} conditions of discipleship—the man building a tower—the king going to war.
15^{8-32} parables of Lost Piece of Silver, and Prodigal Son.
16^{1-12} parable of Unjust Steward.
$16^{14. 15}$ the Pharisees' comment, and our Lord's rebuke.
16^{19-31} parable of Rich Man and Lazarus.
17^{7-19} the nature of service—the Healing of the Ten Lepers.
$17^{28. 29. 32}$ references to Lot.
18^{1-14} the Unrighteous Judge—the Pharisee and the Publican.
19^{1-10} Zacchæus.
19^{11-27} the parable of the Pounds [but cf. Mt $25^{14\mathrm{ff.}}$, the parable of the Talents].
19^{39-44} the Lament over Jerusalem.
$22^{15. 27-32. 35-38}$ at the Last Supper.
23^{7-12} Jesus sent to Herod.
23^{27-31} the daughters of Jerusalem.
23^{39-43} the penitent thief.
23^{48} the word from the Cross.
24^{13-53} the walk to Emmaus; the appearance to the Eleven, and final instructions; the Ascension (?).

Besides these longer sections there are a number of shorter passages of varying length and importance, which are peculiar to St. Luke, but are embedded in material common to St. Luke and one or both of the other Synoptic narratives. These amount to about 113 verses out of the 612 mentioned above as peculiar to St. Luke, and will be found collected in Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticæ*, p. 158 ff. In his 'tentative and to a large extent speculative attempt' Sir John Hawkins classifies these variations as follows:—(1) Cases where Luke may have retained while Matthew omits the occasions of sayings, which they drew from a common source, *e.g.* 11^{1} $13^{22. 23}$ etc.; (2) cases where Luke may have retained while Matthew, after his manner, shortens, *e.g.* 7^{4-6}; (3) later insertions from other sources, *e.g.* $22^{43. 44}$; (4) independent traditions, or variants of traditions, preserved also elsewhere, *e.g.* 12^{35-38} [cf. Mt 25^{6}, Mk 13^{34}]; (5) additions which may be editorial, bringing out the prayerfulness of Jesus, *e.g.* 6^{12b}, or the right use of wealth, *e.g.* $6^{33. 34}$, or heightening the effect of the narrative, *e.g.* 3^{18} 9^{43}; (6) Pauline expressions, *e.g.* 21^{34}; (7) other various additions, probably editorial.

Finally, we have to mention cases where the general agreement of St. Luke with the other Synoptic narratives is clear, but where we find changes of expression or of order made by him in going over common ground. Such will be in part editorial and due to preference for a particular word or to the need of explanation, in part due no doubt to oral transmission. Special mention must also be made of the evidence afforded by 'doublets,' *i.e.* passages of similar content occurring in two different places in the same Gospel, and possibly introduced from different 'sources.' These are carefully examined in Hawkins (*Hor. Syn.* p. 64 ff.), who sums up the evidence as pointing in three directions—(1) to a use of two sources, probably Marcan and Logian; (2) to a freedom of the editors in using their own phraseology; (3) to divergencies between Matthew and Luke which may perhaps imply the use of a special source by the latter.

Such are the data we have to discuss, and in dealing with them in relation to St. Luke's sources two general considerations are clear—(1) that St. Luke must have had some source or sources not used by St. Matthew and St. Mark, and that, as the above references show, not merely for one part of our Lord's ministry, but affecting the whole of it. It is clear also that this source preserved both narrative and teaching: (2) that 'both St. Matthew and St. Luke, and especially St. Luke, have so "worked over" the sources they employed that they frequently represent to us the substance rather than the words of the original documents' (Hawkins, *l.c.* p. 92). This fact obviously increases the difficulty of tracing the sources.

It will only be possible here to state, in a very summary way, the relation of St. Luke (*a*) to St. Mark, (*b*) to St. Matthew, (*c*) to St. John, and then (*d*) to consider this special source or sources.

(*a*) *St. Mark and St. Luke* are mentioned as at Rome together (Col 4^{10-14}, Philem^{24}, cf. 2 Ti 4^{11}), and, moreover, it is generally agreed that St. Mark's Gospel represents, in the main, the earliest form of the Gospel narrative, and may, therefore, have existed in substance before St. Luke. Weiss, in his *Markus-Evangelium*, established the fact of a relationship between them; and now 'it is unnecessary to prove anew that Luke used Mark' (Harnack, *Chronologie*, p. 652), for 'the use of Mark as one of Luke's sources is a generally-established fact of Gospel criticism' (Feine, *Eine vorcanonische Ueberlieferung*, etc. p. 4). At the same time, the following points require explanation. Things are omitted by St. Matthew and St. Luke which are recorded by St. Mark, *e.g.* Mk $4^{26\mathrm{ff.}}$ $8^{22\mathrm{ff.}}$, or omitted by St. Luke which are recorded by St. Matthew and St. Mark, *e.g.* $6^{45\mathrm{ff.}}$, and we ask, why, if St. Mark was used by St. Luke, were these omitted? Again, we find instances in which St. Matthew and St. Luke agree against St. Mark, and frequent cases where St. Mark and St. Luke are independent in regard to details. A sufficient explanation of these facts would be that St. Luke used not St. Mark as we have it, but the source which underlies St. Mark, an *Ur-markus*, which, by additions and alterations made after St. Luke used it, became our canonical St. Mark. Weiss, however, maintains strongly that it was our St. Mark which St. Luke used, and Sir J. Hawkins explains away the difficulties which have just been urged (1) by showing that many of the omissions from St. Mark, which St. Matthew and St. Luke make (generally independently), may well have been made by them with St. Mark before them, and that 'the results are largely in favour of the view that the Petrine source used by the two later Synoptists was not an *Ur-markus*, but St. Mark's Gospel almost as we have it now' (*l.c.* p. 122); (2) by suggesting that the agreements of St. Matthew and St. Luke against St. Mark, so far as they imply a common source, were first made in one of these two later Gospels, and then were carried across, intentionally or unconsciously, to the other, either by scribes or more probably in the course of oral transmission (*l.c.* p. 176).

(*b*) *St. Matthew and St. Luke* have a great deal in common which is not found in St. Mark, and of this very much is occupied with our Lord's discourses. This general resemblance in material not found in St. Mark may be explained on the hypothesis of Simons, Holtzmann, Wendt, and others, that St. Luke used the Gospel of St. Matthew, or by supposing that both used a common written source, such as the Λόγια might have been, or a common oral tradition. It is difficult to believe that St. Luke had St. Matthew's Gospel before him, when we consider their great independence, amounting sometimes to divergence, as in regard to chs. 1 and 2, and the genealogy, or in reference to details of fact as in 18^{35} 24^{4}. We may accept Weiss' statement (*Introduction to the NT*, ii. 294) that 'Luke's acquaintance with and use of the apostolic source of the first Gospel is just as certain as his want of acquaintance with the Gospel itself.' Zahn, indeed, maintains (*Einl.* ii. 402 ff.) not only that St Luke did not use St.

Matthew, but also that their resemblances in parts where they are not both dependent on St. Mark are sufficiently explained by the use of a common oral tradition. But such close verbal agreement as we find in Mt 6^{24}=Lk 16^{13} and Mt 6^{27}=Lk 12^{25} seems to require the use of a common written Greek source (Feine, *l.c.* pp. 10, 11) and not (as Resch) different Greek translations of an Aramaic original. It is probable that they had collections of our Lord's sayings in several forms and in different connexions. The use of some such sources will explain on the one hand how it is that the peculiarities of St. Luke's style are most rare in reports of discourses common to him and St. Matthew, showing the fidelity with which he has reproduced them, while on the other hand it will explain the differences both in expression and context which exist in the two Gospels. We see how it may have been possible for St. Matthew to bring together all the sayings, as in the Sermon on the Mount, which St. Luke has scattered over many parts of his Gospel. We get also on this hypothesis an explanation of the 'doublets,' and see why 'the original form is preserved sometimes in the first, sometimes in the third Gospel' (Weiss), while the original context also seems to be kept sometimes in St. Luke, sometimes in St. Matthew (Weiss, *l.c.* p. 292 ff.).

(*c*) *St. Luke and St. John.*—We have already noticed (above, p. 164) that St. Luke has more points in common with St. John than either St. Matthew or St. Mark has, but they are not enough to establish any literary relation. Among such points of contact may be noted the allusions to a ministry in Judæa (4^{44} 13^{34}); the Galilæan journey before the death of John the Baptist (wh. see), implied by the term ὑπέστρεψεν (4^{14}), 22^{50} (=Jn 18^{10} τὸ δεξιόν); the visit of Peter to the sepulchre, 24^{12} (=Jn 20^{3}). Others may be seen by a reference to the ninth of the groups marked in the Ammonian sections, or in Weiss (*l.c.* p. 297 n.) or in Holtzmann (*Joh. Evang.* p. 6 ff.). The result of a comparison does not 'establish a literary relation,' but indicates some common points in the oral tradition used by both.

(*d*) *St. Luke's special source or sources.*—In face of the large amount (see above, p. 165) peculiar to St. Luke, we are justified in *assuming* that St. Luke had access to some source or sources not used by St. Matthew or St. Mark. Our object here must be to try and determine the extent and nature of these sources. This we might expect to do, partly from the *style*, partly from the *subject-matter*. (1) In regard to the first we do not get much help, because St. Luke has so worked over the sources that they are permeated by his own style; nor do the Hebraisms really help us much, if at all, because on one theory (see below, p. 169) they are artificially distributed by St. Luke to suit his subject-matter, while according to another, and, as it seems to the present writer, much truer, view they are not due to the sources but are characteristic of St. Luke's style, and therefore appear in the connecting links between the narratives. It is possible that in such summaries of history or teaching as we get in $4^{14.\ 15}$ 4^{44} etc., we may find, as in Ac, the marks of the beginning or end of documents used. Other expressions, like εἶπεν δέ (4^{24} 6^{39} etc.) or ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, may point in the same direction, but they occur too frequently to be safely used in this way.

(2) The subject-matter has to be considered under the two main divisions of *narrative* and *discourse*. The additions in the narrative begin with the first two chapters, and are scattered over the whole Gospel. Some of these are sufficiently explained by oral tradition, such as the additional references which St. Luke makes to Herod (*e.g.* 3^{1} 9^{9} 13^{31} 23^{7}), which it is not fanciful to connect with Chuza. To the same sort of tradition may be due the additions which we find in the narratives of the Passion and Resurrection (*e.g.* $22^{24\text{ff.}\ 51}$ $23^{4\text{-}12.\ 27\text{-}31}$ etc.), or the little differences of detail either by way of addition or correction which we find in the material which St. Luke has in common with the other Gospels (see p. 165). This would explain also points of difference in the order in which the material is arranged (*e.g.* $22^{33.\ 34}$). We have also, finally, to take into account cases where a narrative is preserved in St. Luke, but in a form quite independent of the other Gospels, *e.g.* those of $4^{16\text{ff.}}$ $5^{1\text{ff.}}$ 7^{36}.

In regard to the discourses we find very puzzling phenomena. A large amount of them is common to St. Matthew and St. Luke and not found in St. Mark. These are no doubt due to some such source as the *Λόγια*, and Sir J. Hawkins (*l.c.* pp. 88, 89) in a 'tentative' list ascribes some 72 passages to this source, apart from the passages derived through St. Mark. These amount to some 185 verses, or about one-sixth of the whole Gospel. The special point which requires notice is that more than two-thirds of this material appears in quite a different connexion in St. Matthew and St. Luke. There is nothing impossible in the supposition that some of this teaching was repeated by our Lord on more than one occasion, and so preserved in both places. Thus the teaching about anxiety occurs in the Sermon on the Mount (Mt 6^{25}) and also as a corollary to the parable of the Rich Fool (Lk 12^{22}). The warning against serving two masters occurs in the Sermon on the Mount (Mt 6^{24}) and also as an addition to the parable of the Unjust Steward (Lk 16^{13}). As a rule, St. Matthew has collected together (*e.g.* ch. 10) what St. Luke has preserved in connexion with separate incidents; but sometimes the reverse has happened, as in the passage beginning Lk 12^{22}. The 'doublets' already referred to (see p. 166), which occur chiefly in the discourses, are another perplexing factor. These have been most fully dealt with by Sir J. Hawkins (*l.c.* pp. 64–92), and his conclusions have been already given.

These differences in regard to the discourses may or may not have been due to the use of a special source by St. Luke. There can be no doubt as to some special source for a large part of the material found in the long section from 9^{51} onwards, most of which is recorded with only the vaguest references to time and place, and some of which seems obviously out of place, *e.g.* the lament over Jerusalem 13^{34}, while in other places there are marks of a grouping which regards the subject dealt with, such as prayer or the responsibility of riches.

The most elaborate attempt to reproduce the special source used by St. Luke is that of Feine. He regards this special source as an enlarged edition of the collection of discourses common to St. Luke with St. Matthew. To this had been added (1) a number of discourses and parables, (2) a series of narratives. Following Lipsius, he regards it as a Jewish-Christian source, perhaps (*l.c.* p. 154) originating from the Jerusalem community, written in Greek, not after A.D. 70, and later than the common groundwork of the Synoptic Gospels.

A summary of the results of this section would show that the sources which St. Luke used were as follows:—*Firstly*, he follows, over a large part of the narrative, the Gospel of St. Mark, and that probably in the form in which we have it, and not merely some underlying document.—*Secondly*, the matter common to St. Luke and St. Matthew, not found in St. Mark, implies a common written source, and that requirement is to be satisfied by the hypothesis, not of a direct use of St. Matthew by St. Luke, but by the supposition that both have used some one collection, or more, of our Lord's discourses.—*Besides these*, St. Luke seems to have had access to oral tradition, by which he corrects, or supplements, the narratives common to him and the others.—*Lastly*, he used, especially for chs. 1 and 2 and the section beginning with 9^{51}, some special written sources, which do not supply much information as to Galilee, and may have been connected in origin with Jerusalem. This would suit Feine's view that the special source of St. Luke is that used in Ac 1–12, and would explain the points of contact with St. John noticed above. There is nothing to warrant the view that this source was Ebionitic in character, or prejudiced in favour of any peculiar and one-sided presentation of the history and teaching of our Lord.

5. St. Luke and St. Paul.—The passages already quoted (Col 4^{14}, 2 Ti 4^{11}, Philem ^{24}) are evidence of a close connexion of St. Luke with St. Paul at Rome, and if we add to these the 'we-sections' of Ac, St. Luke will be seen to have been with St. Paul for long periods together between the date of Ac 16^{10} and that of 2 Ti 4^{11}. To describe this intimate relationship many different expressions are used by early writers. The Muratorian Fragment (as emended by Westcott) says: *Lucas iste medicus post ascensum Christi cum eum Paulus quasi ut juris studiosum secundum adsumsisset nomine suo ex opinione conscripsit*; Irenæus (*Hær.* iii. 1) says: *ὁ ἀκόλουθος Παύλου τὸ ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου κηρυσσόμενον εὐαγγέλιον ἐν βιβλίῳ κατέθετο*, and more generally describes St. Luke (*Hær.* iii. 10. 1, 14. 12) as *sectator et discipulus apostolorum*, and *inseparabilis a Paulo et cooperarius eius in evangelio*; Tertullian (*c. Marc.* iv. 2) describes St. Paul as St. Luke's *illuminator*, and (*ib.* iv. 5) says: *Lucæ digestum Paulo adscribere solent.* Jerome (*de Vir. Illustr.* § 7) says St. Luke was *sectator apostoli Pauli.* None of these terms seems to imply as close a relationship as that between St. Peter and St. Mark in regard to the writing of the Gospel. They do not support the view mentioned by Origen (*ap.* Eus. *HE* iii. 4, vi. 25) that the expression 'according to my Gospel' (Ro 2^{16} 16^{25}, 2 Ti 2^{8}) refers to that of St. Luke. Nor do they lead us to believe that St. Luke derived all or most of his information from St. Paul, for that would be contrary to his own words in his preface. Nor is there any reason, apart from the 'strong personal affection and enthusiastic admiration for Paul' manifest in Ac, to regard the third Gospel as Pauline, in the sense of its being a polemic in favour of Pauline doctrine, or a 'revision of a hypothetical one-sided Pauline primitive Luke, written with a conciliatory aim' (Baur, Scholten, etc.). On the other hand, it is difficult to maintain (as Jüngst, *SK*, 1896, p. 215 ff.) that there are no traces of Pauline influence. The points in which this influence are indicated are firstly in the actual Greek words and expressions used, secondly in the mode in which the teaching is presented. Thus, in regard to the first point, while the vocabularies of the Gospels give 32 words found only in St. Mt and St. Paul, 22 found only in St. Mark and St. Paul, and 21 found only in St. John and St. Paul, we get as many as 101 found only in St. Luke and St. Paul. Again, of the 'characteristic words and phrases' which mark the three Synoptists, the proportion common to St. Paul and St. Matthew is rather above, and to St. Paul and St. Mark rather below one-half, while nearly two-thirds are common to St. Luke's Gospel and St. Paul. These details are taken from Hawkins (*l.c.* p. 154 ff.), but the points of language common to St. Paul and St. Luke have been often collected, and are clearly and most fully tabulated in Plummer (*Commentary on St. Luke*, p. liv ff.). In regard to the actual teaching conveyed in the Gospel, there is evidence that many leading ideas of St. Paul's are to be found in St. Luke. Thus both agree in laying stress on the *universality* of the Gospel, on the need of *πίστις*, on the *χάρις* shown by God to men, on the importance of the work of the Holy Spirit. Thus there are many points of contact between St. Luke and St. Paul, both in the language they use and in the teaching which they emphasize. Many passages have been set side by side to show the close relation of St. Luke to St. Paul (Resch, *Aussercanonische Paralleltexte*, p. 121; Plummer, *l.c.* p. xliv; Weiss, *l.c.* p. 312); from among them the following may be selected, 1 Th 5^{6}=Lk 21^{34}, 1 Co 11^{23-26}=Lk $22^{19ff.}$, 1 Co 15^{5}=Lk 24^{34}, 1 Ti 5^{18}=Lk 10^{7}, 1 Co 10^{27}=Lk 10^{8}, Eph 6^{14}=Lk 12^{35}.

6. St. Luke and Josephus.—The relation of St. Luke to Josephus has been discussed in regard to Acts (see vol. i. p. 30), and for the Gospel it is equally true that the differences 'are only conceivable on the supposition of independence.' Belser, in two articles in the *Theologische Quartalschrift* for 1895 and 1896, shows that the arguments of Krenkel (*Josephus und Lucas*, Leipzig, 1894) to establish a connexion, are based partly on resemblances which prove nothing, such as the use of words like *πορεύεσθαι* and *αὐξάνειν*, partly on expressions used certainly by both writers, but in different senses. The literary points in common are sufficiently explained in other ways, as, for instance, by the influence of the LXX on both, while many of the alleged instances are 'the common material of various Greek writers.' When we pass from the language used to the facts referred to by the two authors, their connexion is equally unproved. Zahn (*Einl.* ii. 394 ff.) shows this in regard to their references to the Census. Both writers mention it, but the area which it concerned is limited in Josephus to the territory of Archelaus (*Ant.* XVIII. i. 1, ii. 1; *BJ* VII. viii. 1), or at most extends to Syria (*Ant.* XVII. xiii. 5), and is not, as in Lk 2^{1-3}, an event of world-wide importance. Again, Josephus seems to know nothing of the official position of Quirinius in Syria, or at most only vaguely implies it. 'No single historical fact of Luke finds its explanation by means of the hypothesis that he has read Josephus. On the contrary, he often shows a knowledge clearly independent of Josephus in regard to historical events of the time, and in regard to persons more or less prominent' (Zahn, *l.c.* p. 397). As instances may be quoted the facts mentioned in Lk 8^{3} 13^{1} 23^{12}. These, however, only show that, independently of Josephus, St. Luke had detailed information; they do not disprove a use of Josephus. The arguments dealing with the question are summed up by Clemen in his *Chronologie d. Paul. Briefe*, Halle, 1893. We must suppose (with Schürer) either that St. Luke did not use Josephus at all, or that if he did he forthwith forgot what he had learnt from him. As maintaining a connexion between the two writers may be quoted Holtzmann, Krenkel, Keim, Hausrath, and others; while their independence is upheld by such authorities as Schürer, Harnack, and Zahn. In the words of the last-named we need not use further argument to support the view that 'Luke could have followed Josephus as an authority neither in historical matters nor in his Greek style' (*l.c.* p. 397).

7. St. Luke and Marcion.—It is generally admitted by all scholars at the present day that the Gospel of St. Luke was the foundation of Marcion's Gospel, and that Marcion's work was not enlarged so as to become our third Gospel. Such was the unanimous opinion of early and independent witnesses. Thus Irenæus (*Hær.* I. xxvii. 2) speaks of Marcion as *circumcidens id quod est secundum Lucam evangelium*, and (*ib.* III. xii. 12) describes Marcion and others as *decurtantes secun-*

dum Lucam evangelium; Tertullian (*c. Marc.* i. 10. 1) speaks of Marcion as one *qui evangelia corrosit*. The same is true of Epiphanius. It is only in quite recent times, and partly on grounds of textual criticism, that it has been maintained, as by Baur and Ritschl, that Marcion's was the earlier form; but subsequent investigations have established, beyond a possibility of doubt, that the statements of Irenæus, quoted above, give the true state of the case. It is possible to reconstruct, almost in its entirety, from the quotations of Tertullian and others, the form of Marcion's Gospel. This has been done most recently by Zahn (*Geschichte des Kanons*, i. 674 ff., ii. 409 ff.). Omitting all the first three chapters except the chronological data in 3^{1}, Marcion begins with 4^{14}, and, except for one or two small omissions, *e.g.* 7^{29-35}, goes on to 11^{28}. Then, 11^{29-32} (the reference to Jonah), 11^{49-51} (ref. to OT history), 13^{1-9} (the massacre of the Galilæans), 13^{29-35} 15^{11-32} (prodigal son), 17^{5-10} 18^{31-34} (announcement of the Passion), 19^{29-48} (triumphal entry), 20^{9-18} (wicked husbandmen), $20^{37.\ 38}$ (refs. to OT), $21^{1-4.\ 18.\ 21.\ 22}$ $22^{16-18.\ 28-30.\ 35-38.\ 49-51}$ 24^{47-53}, are all omitted. It is to be noticed that Marcion's Gospel differs from that of St. Luke almost entirely by omission, and that many of the omissions are sufficiently explained by Marcion's dogmatic views. Such minor changes as 'all the righteous' for 'Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and all the prophets' (13^{28}) are also explicable in the same way. The omissions amount in all to some 309 verses. Another point to notice is that St. Luke's Gospel and Marcion's agree so closely that not only has Marcion preserved almost all the sections peculiar to St. Luke, but he has kept the same order. In settling the question which of the two documents was prior, the question of style is decisive. This has been carefully worked out by Sanday (*Gospels in the Second Century*, ch. viii.), and he comes to the conclusion that there is a unity of style, both in regard to words and syntax, so that 'the verified peculiarities of St. Luke's style are found in the portions omitted by Marcion in a proportion of more than one to each verse' (*l.c.* p. 229).

But while there can be no doubt that Marcion's work is only an abridgment of St. Luke's Gospel, made with a doctrinal object, the text preserved in it often contains readings of great interest, which cannot be regarded as arbitrary changes, for they are supported by other early authorities. The assertions of Epiphanius (*Hær.* xlii.) and Tertullian, that Marcion altered the text of his authorities to suit his views, must be qualified by the fact that, in many of the instances mentioned, Marcion's reading finds other support, and represents (according to Blass) one of the two early recensions of St. Luke's Gospel (see above), though not always 'in its pure form.' Blass, in his edition of St. Luke (see p. xliii ff.) has collected together the passages where Marcion departs from D and other authorities. On the ground of the readings they contain, the fragments of Marcion may have an importance; but they throw no suspicion on the integrity of St. Luke's Gospel, from which they are extracted.

8. St. Luke's Style.—The verdict of Jerome (Migne, *Pat. Lat.* xxiv. 100) in regard to St. Luke's style is *sermo comptior est et secularem redolet eloquentiam*, and Renan (*Les Évangiles*, ch. xiii.) says of it that St. Luke's 'is the most literary of the Gospels.' The opening verses, 1^{1-4}, arrest our attention at once on account of their classical character, and offer a strong contrast to the verses which follow, which are marked by a number of Hebraisms. This combination of characteristics is traceable in varying degrees throughout the Gospel, but it seems a little fanciful to suggest that St. Luke 'has in places allowed his style to be Hebraistic because he felt that such a style was appropriate to the subject-matter.' It will be necessary to say something as to St. Luke's characteristics of style in regard to vocabulary and syntax, and then to notice some points connected with the Hebraistic usages.

(*a*) An examination of St. Luke's *vocabulary* shows that he uses a very large number of words not found in any other NT writer. Sir John Hawkins[*] (*l.c.* p. 162 ff.) gives the number of words peculiar to the Gospel as 261, which number is increased by 471 if we add words used only in the Gospel and the Acts. If we further analyze the character of these peculiar words, we find that not quite three-fourths of them occur in the LXX, St. Luke showing himself more familiar with the vocabulary of the LXX than St. Matthew or St. Mark. Out of the same total of peculiar words 38 are marked as non-classical, *i.e.* 'not occurring in Greek writers earlier than the Christian era'; the proportion of non-classical words is therefore about one-seventh, which is the same as that in St. Matthew, and very much smaller than that in St. Mark. But these figures do not adequately represent the classical colouring of St. Luke's style, which may be illustrated in almost every narrative which he has in common with St. Matthew and St. Mark, by his rejection of a non-classical word or expression in favour of one which is classical. Thus, to take a few illustrations, *κατακείμενοι ἦσαν* (5^{29}) is preferred to the *συνανέκειντο* of Mt 9^{10} and Mk 2^{15}: twice (4^{33} 8^{27}) a more classical expression is adopted for St. Mark's expression *ἄνθρωπος ἐν πνεύματι ἀκαθάρτῳ*; St. Luke avoids (with St. Matthew) the unclassical word *κράββατος* (Mk $2^{4.\ 11}$); *παραλελυμένος* is preferred to *παραλυτικός*. Other instances will be found in Plummer (*l.c.* p. li) or Zahn (*l.c.* ii. 419). A very striking, because obviously unpremeditated, illustration of the classical character of St. Luke's vocabulary will be found by examining in a concordance the distribution of the use of *τε* in the books of the NT. Besides the greater purity in choice of words, as compared with those used by St. Matthew and St. Mark, another characteristic of St. Luke's vocabulary is his use of medical terms. This point has been carefully examined by Hobart (*The Medical Language of St. Luke*, London, 1882), who has made a long list of words which in the NT occur chiefly or solely in St. Luke, and are also found in Greek medical writers. Plummer (*l.c.* p. lxiv) points out that a very large proportion of these words occur in the LXX, and may have come to St. Luke through that channel, while he allows a large *residuum*, which, taken together, point to a familiarity with medical terms which would be natural in 'the beloved physician.' As illustrations may be quoted *συνεχομένη πυρετῷ μεγαλῷ*, 4^{38}; *ἡμιθανής*, 10^{30}; *ἔστη ἡ ῥύσις τοῦ αἵματος*, 8^{44}; *κραιπάλη*, 21^{34}. Another point in regard to St. Luke's vocabulary is the amount common to him and St. Paul, which has been alluded to above (see p. 168). The last characteristic which need here be noticed is St. Luke's fondness for compound words, *e.g.* *προσαναβαίνειν*, *ἐπεισέρχεσθαι*, etc.

(*b*) In regard to St. Luke's *syntax*, a number of usages recur so frequently that they may be regarded as characteristic. Thus *πρός* with the accusative is preferred to the simple dative after verbs of saying. This construction occurs 151 times in the Gospel and Acts, and 25 times in the rest of the NT. Another noteworthy usage is that of *γίνομαι* followed by *καί*, a finite verb, or an infinitive; these are almost confined to St. Luke, in whose writings they are found more than 50 times. His use of the optative, a mood comparatively rare in the NT, is also remarkable. In regard to conjunctions, his fondness for τε, especially in Ac, has been already noticed; he shares with St. Paul a fondness for the expression δὲ καί. These may be taken as illustrations of points in St. Luke's syntax. Complete lists will be found in Plummer's *Commentary*, which is particularly good and full on the linguistic side, and in the work of Sir John Hawkins already quoted, as well as in the older books of Gersdorf, Vogel, and Holtzmann.

---

[*] Plummer (*l.c.* p. lii), following Thayer's *Lexicon*, p. 703, gives the number rather differently.

(*c*) The *Hebraisms* have attracted especial attention in St. Luke because of the purity of his own style. Their distribution is not altogether explained by saying that St. Luke has preserved them as he found them in his sources, for if they had offended his ear he would no doubt have removed them, with the same freedom which he has shown generally in regard to the use of his authorities. It is pointed out by Zahn (*l.c.* ii. 400) that these Hebraistic turns of expression are used in the editorial links between the narratives, and in these places must be due to St. Luke himself. This is especially true of the expression καὶ ἐγένετο καὶ . . . or ἐγένετο δέ. This seems to indicate that, though St. Luke, no doubt, did preserve the Aramaic expressions of his sources, or may even (as in the first two chapters) have directly imitated the style of the LXX, yet his Hebraisms are in the main to be attributed to the fact that he was thoroughly imbued with the style of the LXX, and not only (as we have already seen) with its vocabulary. Whatever the cause, the number of Hebraistic usages is very large in St. Luke, and they are scattered over the whole Gospel. Besides the uses of γίνομαι, already mentioned, we may notice his periphrastic use of the participle, his use of ἰδού and καὶ ἰδού, such genitives as ὁ κριτὴς τῆς ἀδικίας (18^6), or ὁ οἰκονόμος τῆς ἀδικίας (16^8), and circumlocutions by means of words like πρόσωπον, χείρ, στόμα, etc., as in the expression πρὸ προσώπου (7^{27} 9^{52}).

9. St. Luke's Preface.—This is so unique in character as to claim separate special notice. Lagarde, in his *Psalterium iuxta Hebræos Hieronymi*, tried to show that St. Luke's is modelled on that of Dioscorides in his *Materia Medica*. There does not seem, however, to be much more resemblance than would be natural in two cases where the writers were referring to the work of their predecessors in the same field, and therefore used a number of similar words. The dedication, though unique in form, as far as the NT is concerned, is in itself only an instance, as Zahn tells us, of a custom which prevailed widely at that time among Greeks and Romans.

What is of more importance for us is the evidence afforded by the preface in regard to the early narratives of our Lord's life, in reference to St. Luke's use of his materials, and other similar questions. The exact meaning of each of the more important words has been closely investigated, as well as the inferences which may be drawn from them. This has been done most recently by Blass in his *Philology of the Gospels*. The following points deserve attention: (1) Many had before St. Luke attempted to 'restore from memory' (Blass) a continuous narrative, not necessarily written (διήγησις, see Liddell and Scott). The word ἐπεχείρησαν does not necessarily imply (as Origen) an unfavourable criticism of these 'attempts,' and in the καὶ ἐμοί of v.[3] St. Luke puts himself on the same footing as these predecessors. (2) These accounts were all second-hand, and handed down orally (so Zahn argues from παρέδοσαν), but based on the evidence of those who had been eye-witnesses from the beginning (*i.e.* of our Lord's public ministry). Are we precluded by these words from supposing that amongst the διηγήσεις of v.[1] was any apostolic narrative? (3) St. Luke, inasmuch as he had at some earlier date carefully investigated all the facts to the very beginning (ἄνωθεν perhaps goes further back than ἀπ' ἀρχῆς), ventures to write, and that (4) καθεξῆς, *i.e.* either a continuous narrative in contrast with a number of narratives of separate events, or a complete account in contrast with accounts marked by omissions. The word does not necessarily, or probably, imply an order of time. (5) St. Luke's purpose in writing was to supply Theophilus, as yet, perhaps, not a Christian, with a convincing account of the things in which he had been instructed.

The exact meaning of almost every word has been pressed in one direction or another, and correspondingly divergent inferences have been made.

10. Purpose and Arrangement of the Gospel.—The primary *purpose* of the Gospel (as well as of the Acts) is stated in the preface, namely, that Theophilus may have *full* knowledge in regard to the truth of the accounts given to him in the teaching which had been imparted orally—ἵνα ἐπιγνῷς περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης λόγων τὴν ἀσφάλειαν. What was intended for a single person was adapted for others in similar circumstances, and so St. Luke may have sent out the Gospel in a second form (as Blass holds), though it has been said above that this is unlikely, and not required by the facts of the case, so far as the Gospel is concerned. The principle of *arrangement* is also stated in the preface, in the word καθεξῆς, but the interpretation to be put upon the word is doubtful, and has to be gathered from the Gospel itself.

(*a*) *Purpose.*—The first point which may be regarded as significant of St. Luke's purpose is the way in which the facts are definitely brought into connexion with secular history. He alone among the NT writers mentions a Roman emperor by name (2^1 3^1, Ac 11^{28} 18^2), and in Ac other Roman officials, whose names would fix the dates, to some extent at any rate. Another point which would help to carry conviction (Zahn, *l.c.* ii. 375, 391) is the relatively large number of personal names, not only of prominent actors, but also of those of secondary importance (*e.g.* $2^{1.2}$ $3^{1.2}$ 7^{40} 8^3 19^1 24^{18}). Again, it is a noteworthy characteristic of St. Luke that, while St. Matthew seems to collect our Lord's teaching together, he keeps the sayings in what must have been their original setting, and emphasizes the circumstances which called them forth. This may best be illustrated from the way in which the Sermon on the Mount in St. Matthew is scattered over St. Luke's Gospel. This greater definiteness of circumstance could not fail to impress Theophilus, and from the point of view of conviction is more important than definiteness of place or time, which St. Luke, in the Gospel, as in the Acts, often cannot give. In these ways Theophilus would see the work of 'the critic who has had diligent inquiry made in regard to the external facts of the history, and the historian who makes every effort to bring his figures out of the gloom of vague tradition into the clear light of reality.' Another point which St. Luke emphasizes is the impression which our Lord's teaching and acts made on those who were present; and just as St. John, in order to instil 'the belief that Jesus was the Christ the Son of God,' is careful to record the impression made by our Lord's work, so St. Luke lays stress on the way in which our Lord's hearers were affected (*e.g.* 4^{15} 9^{43} 18^{43} 19^{37} etc.), where these points are not mentioned by St. Matthew and St. Mark. Again, there can be no doubt that St. Luke, all through the Gospel, has in mind the points on which a Gentile reader would want further information or would feel greater or less interest, or would be more or less impressed, and so we meet with explanations, we find teaching of special Jewish interest ignored or curtailed, and methods of argument such as appeal to the OT dropped. These are all illustrated in the next section of this article.

We see, then, how the expressed purpose of the Gospel seems to be carried out as the narrative proceeds, and we may add that probably St. Luke endeavoured to make his work as complete as possible, and did not omit facts or sayings as irrelevant to his immediate object of convincing Theophilus.

Other objects have been assigned to St. Luke of a polemical or conciliatory character, but the features of the Gospel referred to below show that it will be difficult to make a completely consistent theory on these hypotheses.

(*b*) In considering St. Luke's *arrangement* of his Gospel, we may suppose him to have followed in the main the sources which he used, unless he had any occasion to think these were incorrect, or unless his special purpose required him to deviate from them for the sake of clearness. And so we find that over large stretches of the narrative the order of events follows exactly that of St. Mark. (1) After the first two chapters comes the narrative of our Lord's baptism and temptation. Here St. Luke's independence of arrangement is seen in the way in which he finishes the history of John the Baptist before beginning the account of our Lord's ministry. The most important deviation at this period of the narrative is to be found in the previous journey through Galilee, implied in the word ὑπέστρεψεν, 4^{14}. The next point to notice is the visit to Nazareth, 4^{16-30}. In this account the reference to miracles at Capernaum (4^{23}) seems to indicate that it is inserted out of chronological order, unless we suppose these miracles to have happened on the circuit in Galilee just mentioned. In 4^{31} Capernaum is introduced as if it had not been mentioned before, which supports what has just been said. (2) 4^{31}–6^{19}—St. Luke's order follows St. Mark's (1^{21}–3^{19}) exactly, save for the section 5^{1-11} which records the call of the disciples and the miraculous draught of fishes. But there are marks of independence: thus St. Luke assigns no time or place to the healing of the paralytic ($5^{17\text{ff.}}$), unless the connexion with the call of Levi (5^{27}) fixes it. St. Mark and St. Matthew definitely fix it at Capernaum. Again, the two cases which touch Sabbath observance (6^{1} and 6^{6}) St. Luke assigns definitely to two different Sabbaths, St. Mark apparently to the same. (3) 6^{20}–8^{3}—the record seems to agree generally with St. Matthew. Thus in both the discourse on the Mount (or Plain), 6^{20-49} is followed by, and in both definitely connected with, the healing of the centurion's servant (omitted by St. Mark). St. Luke adds the incident at Nain on the next day (? ; *var. lec.* 7^{11}), and then in both St. Luke and St. Matthew the message of John the Baptist follows, but with no reference as to time. The incident at the house of Simon the Pharisee follows (7^{36}), but with no note of time. The section closes (8^{1-3}) with a circuit of Galilee, ἐν τῷ καθεξῆς. (4) 8^{4}–9^{17}—St. Luke and St. Mark (4^{1}–6^{44}) agree, but St. Luke leaves out Mk 3^{20-27}, and inserts later Mk 3^{28-30}. Here St. Matthew seems to support St. Luke's order. As to Mk 3^{31-35}, the visit of our Lord's mother, St. Matthew and St. Luke put it on the same day as the parable of the Sower, but St. Matthew records it before, St. Luke after, the parable. They all agree in inserting here the parable of the Sower, but St. Matthew records the 'other parables' and the private explanation to His disciples, which are only mentioned in St. Mark ($4^{33.\,34}$). The narratives here diverge, because the crossing of the lake, the storm, the events in Gadara are put much earlier in St. Matthew ($8^{18\text{ff.}}$), in connexion perhaps with the *first* visit to Capernaum. St. Mark, however, connects these definitely (4^{35}) with the parable, while St. Luke, perhaps having St. Mark and also the order of St. Matthew before him, records this in the same place as St. Mark, but (8^{22}) with a vague reference to 'one of the days.' It is possible that St. Luke has acted in exactly the same way with regard to the events which follow in St. Matthew (the healing of the paralytic, the call of Levi, the discourse on fasting, Mt 9^{1-17}) after the return from Gadara, but are in St. Luke and St. Mark given earlier. Here, again (5^{17}), St. Luke avoids the need of reconciling the accounts by taking refuge in the phrase 'on one of the days.' The narratives then proceed together (but St. Matthew 8^{18} definitely adheres to his order, for he connects what follows with the call of Levi), but St. Matthew adds to the healing of Jairus' daughter and of the woman with the issue of blood two miracles, 9^{27-34}, which he assigns to the same day. Then follows a departure from Capernaum (Mk 6^{1-6}) to Nazareth, and a circular journey through Galilee mentioned by St. Matthew and St. Mark, though the reason for it is to be found in the miracle recorded only by St. Matthew (9^{31}) requiring his withdrawal. In this connexion (though St. Luke does not state the time) occurs the mission of the Twelve, followed by Herod's comments on the result of that mission. St. Luke omits the account of John's death (which St. Matthew and St. Mark here insert). With the withdrawal to Bethsaida (which St. Matthew attributes to the news of John the Baptist's death) and the feeding of the five thousand this section closes (9^{17}). (5) Here St. Matthew and St. Mark give in general agreement a long section (Mt 14^{22}–16^{12}, Mk 6^{45}–8^{26}), narrating a return to Gennesaret, a visit to Phœnicia, a return through Decapolis to the Sea of Galilee, the feeding of the four thousand, a crossing by ship and back, and (Mk only) a visit to Bethsaida. *All this is practically omitted by St. Luke*, except for one or two sayings which he records in another connexion. (6) At 9^{18-50} the three narratives proceed together in recording, exactly in the same order, the confession of St. Peter (the scene of which St. Luke does not mention), the announcement of the Passion, the Transfiguration, the lunatic boy, another announcement of His death, and the dispute as to who should be greatest (the scene of which St. Luke again does not mention). With this St. Matthew and St. Mark connect a discussion as to offences which St. Luke puts much later, and distributes ($17^{1.\,2}$ 14^{34} 15^{3-7}). (7) The section beginning with 9^{51} is independent of the other accounts, as far as 18^{14}. All the narratives (Mt 19^{1}, Mk 10^{1}, Lk 9^{51}) agree in making our Lord leave Galilee at this stage, and St. Matthew and St. Mark add 'for Peræa.' St. Luke mentions a journeying to Jerusalem several times during the section, *e.g.* $9^{51.\,53}$ $13^{22.\,23}$ 17^{11}, and St. John (7^{2} 10^{40} $11^{7.\,54}$) tells us of visits to Jerusalem and its neighbourhood and withdrawals again; and so some, *e.g.* Wieseler and Ellicott, have supposed that St. Luke here gives us the narrative of three definite journeys to Jerusalem. But St. Luke in this section impresses upon us so often his uncertainty as to time and place, that a chronological sequence seems out of the question; and in certain chapters it is obvious that the subject of prayer, or riches, or something similar, is the link which holds the narrative together. The proposal of Mr. Halcombe (*The Displaced Section of St. Luke*, Cambridge, 1886) to remove bodily a small part of this section, namely 11^{14}–13^{21}, and to insert it after 8^{22}, involves an impossible act of violence to textual evidence with a very slight improvement from the point of view of harmonizing the narratives. (8) At 17^{15} the narratives unite again, and go on to the end of 18^{43}; but St. Matthew and St. Mark are independent in details, and St. Luke adds the incident of Zacchæus, and the parable of the Pounds (19$^{1-28}$). (9) At 19^{29} the account of the triumphal entry begins, and from here on to the end of the Gospel the question of arrangement does not need to be considered, though even in the events of the last week we may notice (*e.g.* 20^{1}) the same indefiniteness as to time, and resort to summaries (*e.g.* 19^{47} 21^{37}). The main facts recorded are the same in all, though there are, of course, additions and omissions in St. Luke's account as in the others. Blass (*Philology of the Gospels*) and Reuss assume that a different source has been used here also, and certainly St. Luke is independent of St. Matthew and St. Mark in the form in which he gives the eschatological discourses. The general order of events is, however, the same, as must necessarily have been the case. Here and there St. Luke seems to have intentionally put together events separate in time and place. Thus St. Peter's denials are placed together in order 'to add force to the episode' (Lightfoot), and in the account of the appearances after the resurrection St. Luke seems to have summarized and put them all on the day of the resurrection, though he cannot from his acquaintance with St. Paul have been ignorant of the events of 1 Co 15$^{5-7}$.

We have seen that in the main St. Luke follows the order of the framework found in St. Mark.

Are we in a position now to say, looking back over the Gospel, what St. Luke meant when he purposed to write καθεξῆς? Various theories as to St. Luke's principle of arrangement have been put forward. Plummer (*l.c.* p. xxxvi ff.) says, 'we may assert with some confidence that Luke generally aims at chronological order.' Weiss (*l.c.* p. 301) says the evangelist 'has attempted to divide Jesus' public ministry into work in Galilee, outside Galilee, and in Jerusalem.' Another aspect is represented by Godet and Westcott. The former (*Biblical Studies*, p. 43) regards the Gospel as giving an account of the 'organic growth of the person and of the work,' and Westcott (*Introd. to the Study of the Gospels*, ch. vii. note G) gives an elaborate analysis based on a general development of ideas such as 'marks of the future Church,' 'the universal Church,' etc. Zahn (*l.c.* ii. 366) thinks that 'the chronological exactness is not a clearly marked principle in the representation,' but that, 'in contrast with the disconnected narratives of single incidents,' St. Luke's object is to give Theophilus 'a continuous representation of the history, in which the earlier prepares the way for the later, and makes it intelligible.'

11. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GOSPEL.—These must depend in this, as in any other work, partly on the nature and extent of the sources to which the writer alludes in his preface and the use he makes of them, partly on his consideration of the readers for whom the Gospel was intended, partly on his own personality. It is not always easy to say to which of these causes the different characteristics are to be assigned: thus the selection of particular incidents may be due to the personal interest of St. Luke, or to consideration for the readers he wished to interest, or it may be explained by the fact of his finding them in the sources he used. The following are among the most important characteristics which have attracted attention in the Gospel. Some of them have been alluded to already.

That *St. Luke wrote for Gentiles* is clear. A number of technical terms are explained. Thus we find νομικός (7^{30} 10^{25} etc.) instead of γραμματεύς, ἐπιστάτης where the other evangelists have some other word (*e.g.* 8^{24}). Hebrew names are translated: *e.g.* Γολγοθά (23^{33}) and Καναναῖος (6^{15}). The position of places, especially in Palestine, is often defined, *e.g.* 4^{31} 8^{26} 23^{51}. Expressions which might be misunderstood by Gentile readers are modified or added to: thus (9^{29}) in the account of the Transfiguration μετεμορφώθη (Mt, Mk) becomes ἐγένετο . . . ἕτερον. The appeals to the OT are very few, and the quotations from it are found for the most part in the sayings of our Lord (*e.g.* 4$^{4.\,8}$ 7^{27} etc.), which are reproduced by St. Luke from his authorities, or are reminiscences of the LXX, with which, as we have seen, he was very familiar. There are only five references to prophecy, and of these only one (3^{4}) occurs in the narrative of St. Luke. Points in our Lord's teaching which would have no interest for Gentile readers are altogether passed over or curtailed. Thus the teaching, in the Sermon on the Mount, as to the relation of the new to the old Law is omitted; so also is the denunciation of the Jews for observing the 'tradition' at the expense of the Law (Mt 15^{1}, Mk 7^{1}); the rebuke of the scribes and Pharisees (Mt 23$^{1\text{ff.}}$) is very much shortened. The frequent allusions to the *universality of the Gospel* are to be explained by the same reference to Gentile readers. St. Luke alone quotes in full (3$^{5.\,6}$) the prophecy of Is 40^{5}—'All flesh shall see the salvation of God'—a prophecy which all the evangelists connect with John the Baptist. Our Lord's first recorded teaching (4$^{24\text{ff.}}$) emphasizes the admission of Gentiles to privileges at the hands of Elijah and Elisha, while His last explanation of the Scriptures at Emmaus (24^{47}) showed that 'repentance and forgiveness of sins were to be preached to all nations, beginning at Jerusalem.' Between these limits a number of passages and incidents might be quoted to establish this characteristic of the Gospel, *e.g.* 10$^{25\text{ff.}}$ 13^{29} etc. In accordance with this, we find a 'marked antipathy to exclusiveness and intolerance' (Plummer), and stress laid on those qualifications for entrance to the kingdom, which it is open to all without distinction of birth to attain. On the other hand, the Gospel *is not anti-Jewish*, though the Jews are strongly condemned directly or indirectly, and that in parts of the Gospel peculiar to St. Luke, *e.g.* 10$^{31.\,32}$ 16^{15} etc. Jewish expressions are often kept in parables or teaching found only in St. Luke, and the regard for temple worship and observance of the law is not depreciated. All the rites of the law are fulfilled in our Lord's case (2^{21} etc.): He is the 'Son of David' (18^{38} etc.): The commands of the Jewish law are to be observed (5^{14} 17^{14} etc.), and are of lasting importance (16^{29} 18^{20} etc.). In all these and similar cases St. Luke may have been preserving only the language of his sources, but, if his purpose had been to depreciate Judaism, he would no doubt have acted as Marcion did towards the allusions to the OT which he found in St. Luke's Gospel, and removed them.

In regard to the way in which he uses his sources, it has been suggested that St. Luke '*avoids duplicates on principle*' (Weiss, *Introduction*, Eng. tr. ii. 300), and thus gives no account of the cursing of the barren fig tree (Mk 11^{13}, Mt 21^{18}) because he has already narrated a similar event in 13$^{6\text{ff.}}$, does not mention the anointing of Mk 14^{3}, Mt 26^{6} because of the narrative of 7$^{36\text{ff.}}$, and so on. But this supposed characteristic of 'Sparsamkeit' (as Storr calls it), which may be illustrated by many other omissions of St. Luke (such as the passing over of the miracle of the 4000), has to be taken in connexion with the numerous cases where St. Luke does not show this tendency. Thus we have a twofold dispute as to who should be the greatest 9^{46} 22^{24}; in regard to the miracles and parables we find similar cases of repetition;

and the so-called 'doublets' (*e.g.* $8^{16}=11^{33}$; $14^{11}=18^{14}$) show that not only in the narratives, but in our Lord's words, the same characteristic of repetition is found. Other instances may be found in Plummer, *l.c.* p. xxviii, and Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticæ*, pp. 64 ff. Another characteristic of the Gospel is *a vagueness as to time and place*, even in cases where the other narratives are more definite. This vagueness may be illustrated from $5^{12.\,17}$ etc., is perhaps most marked in the section $9^{51\mathrm{ff.}}$, and extends even to the account of the passion, *e.g.* 20^{1}. On the other hand, it must be noted that St. Luke very frequently *connects sayings of our Lord with the occasion which called them forth*, which in the other Gospels are collected together with no such reference, as for instance in the Sermon on the Mount, *e.g.* $12^{22\mathrm{ff.}}$ $14^{25\mathrm{ff.}}$. Mention has already been made of *the stress St. Luke lays on the effect of our Lord's words*, of his *preference for more literary Greek*, of his *fondness for medical expressions*, of his *close connexion in thought, and often in language, with St. Paul.*

In the account of Jesus' life and teaching the symbol of the ox (with which this Gospel is almost universally associated) may perhaps, as the sacrificial animal, represent St. Luke's Gospel as especially that which emphasizes *our Lord's 'gentleness' to the sinner and the outcast.* This may be illustrated from the parables peculiar to St. Luke, *e.g.* the Prodigal Son; or from such incidents as that of the sinner in the house of Simon ($7^{36\mathrm{ff.}}$), or that of the penitent robber ($23^{39\mathrm{ff.}}$). Most marked, again, are the repeated references to *prayer*, both in the narrative of our Lord's life—in which he records many instances of our Lord praying which are not found in the other narratives (*e.g.* 3^{21} 5^{16} 6^{12} etc.)—and also in parables which he alone records (*e.g.* 11^{5} $18^{1\text{-}14}$). Again, it is noticeable how much of the teaching preserved for us only by St. Luke deals with *the use of riches*. This is to be regarded rather as proclaiming him as the 'Evangelist of Philanthropy' (Herder), than as proving that St. Luke made use of an Ebionitic source. This characteristic appears in much of our Lord's teaching as recorded by St. Luke, as well as in a large number of the parables peculiar to him, *e.g.* those of Dives and Lazarus, the Rich Fool, the Unjust Steward. It may have had a special appropriateness for a rich man like Theophilus (Zahn, *l.c.* ii. 379), or may have been the outcome of St. Luke's 'great sympathy with the suffering poor, and a great horror of the temptations which beset all the rich.' It does not (as Weiss, *Introd.*, Eng. tr. ii. 309) 'rest on the idea that wealth is pernicious in itself and poverty salutary in itself.' There is no sufficient evidence of St. Luke's *use of an Ebionitic source or sympathy with Ebionitism*, for many of the expressions on which this theory is based are found in the other Gospels; and the latter contain many things not found in St. Luke which have as good a claim to be regarded as Ebionitic: thus they (Mt 13^{22}, Mk 4^{19}), and they alone, speak of 'the *deceitfulness* of riches,' where St. Luke simply says 'riches.' 'There is no evidence that the protest against worldliness is due to some particular source from which he drew and from which the others did not draw' (Plummer).

For a discussion of many difficulties connected with special points in St. Luke, such as the Genealogy, Census, etc., readers are referred to the articles GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST, JESUS CHRIST, vol. ii. p. 645 f., and QUIRINIUS. The present article has aimed at dealing with the main headings of the general topics connected with the Gospel, and giving sufficient illustrations to explain the allusions. The literature given below will enable students to follow out the points more in detail.

LITERATURE.—Besides general books of Introduction to the New Testament, and works on the Canon, the following may be mentioned: (*A*) Commentaries.—A list of these, complete for all practical purposes, may be found in Plummer's volume on the Gospel in the *International Critical Commentary*. This may itself be recommended as the best English Commentary, especially on the linguistic side, in regard to which it is very full and scholarly. Besides these, reference may be made to Schanz, *Das Evangelium des heiligen Lucas*; Godet, *Commentaire sur l'Évangile de St. Luc*; Knabenbauer (in the *Cursus Scripturæ Sacræ*); Meyer, *Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar* (last edition of St. Luke by B. and J. Weiss).

(*B*) St. Luke and Josephus.—Clemen, *Die Chronologie der Paul. Briefe*, p. 66 ff., discusses the literature of the question, etc.; see also Zahn, *Einl.* ii. 394, 414. A connexion between St. Luke and Josephus is maintained by Krenkel (*Josephus und Lucas*), Keim (*Aus dem Urchristenthum*), and others, and is denied by Nösgen (*SK*, 1879), Belser (*Theol. Quartalschrift*, 1895, 1896), etc.

(*C*) St. Luke's Style. — Besides grammars of the NT, like Winer, Schmiedel, and Blass, books on NT writers like that of Simcox, and lexicons like that of Thayer (in which a list of words peculiar to St. Luke is given), may be mentioned especially Plummer, Holtzmann, Gersdorf (*Beiträge zur Sprachcharacteristik, etc.*), Vogel (*Zur Characteristik des Lucas nach Sprache und Stil*).

(*D*) St. Luke and Marcion.—The most recent discussion of Marcion's Gospel is in Zahn, *Geschichte des Kanons*, i. 680 ff., ii. 411 ff.; see also Sanday, *Gospels in the Second Century*, ch. viii.; Westcott, *The Canon*, p. 314 ff.

(*E*) The Text of St. Luke's Gospel, with reference to the readings in the later chapters, has been examined by Graefe in articles in *SK*, 1888, 1896, 1898. The theory of a double edition is stated by Blass in his edition of St. Luke's Gospel, and also in his *Philology of the Gospels*.

Amongst other more recent literature of importance for the study of points connected with St. Luke may also be included Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticæ*; Resch, *Das Kindheits-evangelium nach Lucas und Matthäus* ('Texte und Untersuchungen,' x. 5); and Ramsay, *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?*

LL. J. M. BEBB.

LUNATICK.—The Greek vb. σεληνιάζομαι (from σελήνη, the moon) occurs in Mt 4^{24} 17^{15} and nowhere else in class. or bibl. Greek. Its lit. meaning is 'to be moonstruck'; the Vulg. has *lunaticus* and (17^{15}) *lunaticus est*, and Wyc. followed with 'is lunatik.' The other versions chose the same expression (except Tindale's 'is franticke' in 17^{15}),* which also means literally 'is moonstruck.' RV prefers 'is epileptic,' for which it is taken to task by Beckett (*Revised NT*, p. 99). See MEDICINE.

J. HASTINGS.

LUST (Anglo-Sax. *lust*=Ger. *Lust*, 'pleasure,' 'delight') is now restricted to sexual desire, and that special meaning is found also in AV. But the word has a wider application in most passages, and signifies any gross appetite. Thus Ex 15^{9} 'The enemy said, I will pursue . . . my lust shall be satisfied upon them' (נַפְשִׁי, lit. 'my soul,' Amer. RV 'my desire'); Ps 78^{18} 'And they tempted God in their heart by asking meat for their lust' (לְנַפְשָׁם); 78^{30} 'They were not estranged from their lust' (מִתַּאֲוָתָם); 81^{12} 'So I gave them up unto their own hearts' lust' (בִּשְׁרִירוּת לִבָּם). These are all the examples of the subst. in OT. In NT the word most frequently tr. 'lust' is ἐπιθυμία, 'strong desire' of any kind, the special kind being sometimes designated by an adj., 'worldly' Tit 2^{12}, 'fleshly' 1 P 2^{11}. In 1 Th 4^{5} we have the still more general word πάθος; in Ro 1^{27} ὄρεξις, a strong word, but capable of a good or a bad sense; and in Ja $4^{1\text{-}3}$ ἡδονή, in itself no more than 'pleasure.'

In his Com. on 2 P 1^{4}, Thomas Adams says, 'Lust, concupiscence in itself, as it is a faculty of the soul, and gift of God, is not sin; but may be the hand of virtue, or the instrument whereby she works. Keep her at home, and set her on work, to light the candle, and sweep the house; let her be under the correction of grace, and she may prove a chaste virgin, fit to meet the Bridegroom at his coming. Lust is in itself as they write of the planet Mercury in the horoscope of man's nativity; if it be joined with a good planet it makes it better; if with a bad one, it makes it worse. There is a lusting of the Spirit; for "the Spirit lusteth against the flesh," Gal 5^{17}. But it is most commonly taken in the worse sense.' And he proceeds to say that, taken in the worse sense, it may be either 'a particular effect of that grand beldam concupiscence,' *i.e.* uncleanness; or stand 'for the whole general corruption of our nature, prone to all sin.' And on the same verse he comments: 'Ambrose saith of Samson, he could choke a lion, not his lust. Another of Hercules—

---

* Sir John Cheke, however (1550), in his preference for Saxon words, chose 'is moond.'

> Lenam non potuit, potuit superare leænam;
> Quem fera non valuit vincere, vicit Hera,

He found the lioness weaker than his lust, and no beast so savage as his harlot.' Whittingham's *New Test.* of 1557 is distinguished from all other versions by translating Jn 1^{13} 'Which are borne not of bloud, nor of the lust of the fleshe, nor of the lust of man, but of God.' The word is no doubt used in the indifferent sense of desire. Cf. Tindale's renderings of Gn 3^{16} 'And thy lustes shall pertayne unto thy husbond, and he shall rule the'; 19^{5} 'Bringe them out unto us that we may do oure lust with them'; 27^{46} 'Yf Iacob take a wife of the doughters of Heth, soch one as these are, or of the doughters of the lande, what lust shuld I have to lyve.' But the difference between the old and the new use of the word is more clearly seen in his tr. of Nu 14^{8} 'Yf the Lorde have lust to us, he will bring us in to this londe'; or of He 10^{6} 'In sacrifices and synneofferynges thou hast no lust'; or in Coverdale's tr. of Is 53^{2} 'When we loke upon him, there shal be no fayrnesse: we shal have no lust unto him.' Again, in his 'Parable of the Wicked Mammon' (*Works*, i. 115) Tindale translates Mt 5^{6} 'Blessed are they which hunger and thirst for righteousness' sake (that is, to fulfil the law), for their lust shall be fulfilled'; and still more striking is the use in *Expositions*, p. 168, 'God hath no rod in his hand, nor looketh sour, but merrily, that it is a lust to behold his cheerful countenance.'

The verb to 'lust' or 'lust after' has the same meanings as the subst., to desire or crave in general, as 1 Co 10^{6} 'Now these things were our examples, to the intent we should not lust after evil things (εἰς τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἐπιθυμητὰς κακῶν), as they also lusted' (ἐπεθύμησαν); passing into the special sense of sexual desire, in Mt 5^{28} 'Whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart' (πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτὴν [αὐτῆς]). Tindale has the verb in a distinctly bad sense in Dt 5^{21} 'Thou shalt not luste after thi neighbours wife,' though not in the sense of sexual desire; it is more colourless in Mt 17^{12} 'but have done unto him what soever they lusted' (so most VSS until AV 'listed,' Gr. ὅσα ἠθέλησαν, Rhem. 'whatsoever they would'); and the better meaning is clearly seen in Tindale, *Works*, i. 103, 'For if we were of God we should cleave to God, and lust after the will of God.' Cf. Archbp. Hamilton, *Catechism*, 'The tabil'—'That the special faith suld be loiffit and lustit for mony excellent operations, quhilk it workis in Christen men and wemen'; and Rutherford, *Letters*, No. ccxxvi. 'What heaven can be there liker to hell, than to lust, and green, and dwine, and fall a swoon for Christ's love, and to want it?'

Lusty, meaning stout and vigorous, is perhaps still in good use. It occurs in AV but once, Jg 3^{29} 'all lusty, and all men of valour.' Heb. שָׁמֵן is originally 'fat,' as AVm, and some take the meaning here to be 'wealthy,' but AV is better.* Cf. Ps 73^{4} 103^{5} [Pr. Bk.] and *As You Like It*, II. iii. 47—

> 'Though I look old, yet am I strong and lusty;
> For in my youth I never did apply
> Hot and rebellious liquors in my blood.'

J. HASTINGS.

LUSTRATION.—See PURIFICATION.

LUTE.—See MUSIC.

LUZ (לוז 'almond' or 'bone'; Οὐλαμμαύς Gn 28^{19}, Λοῦζα 35^{6} etc.; Sam. לוזה, *Luzah* Gn 28^{19} 48^{3}).—**1.** An old Canaanite city, afterwards known as Bethel, Gn 28^{19} 35^{6} 48^{3}, Jos 18^{13} (P or R), Jos 16^{2} (E), Jg 1^{23}. See art. BETHEL. **2.** A place in 'the land of the Hittites,' founded by a man of Bethel, Jg 1^{26}. The mention of the ancient name of Bethel in P is in accordance with the writer's fondness for such archæological details; cf. Gn 23^{2} 35^{27}, Jos 15^{54} 21^{11} (Kiriath-arba), Gn 35^{19} 48^{7} (Ephrath). The meaning of Luz is 'almond,' Gn 30^{37}, as in Arabic; hence in the Talmud the mystical characteristics of the almond are ascribed to Luz, see art. BETHEL, vol. i. p. 277 and n. Another meaning is 'bone'; in particular, a bone of the spine. So in the Midrash *Beresh. Rabba*, § 28, fol. 31b, *lûz* is the bone of the spine out of which man is to be re-fashioned in the world to come; similarly *Meẓora'*, § 18, fol. 14b, Midrash *Ḳoheleth*, fol. 24a. Levy, *NHWB*, *s.v.*, takes this meaning as secondary, 'a bone shaped like an almond'; but Lagarde (*Bildung d. Nomina*, p. 157 f. n.) prefers 'bone' as the original meaning, and supposes that the place was called *Luz* from its resemblance to a backbone. Identifications have been suggested for the Luz in 'the land of the Hittites,' *e.g.* Lizan in Kurdistan (see Neubauer, *Géogr. du Talmud*, p. 394), and Shaizar (לוז=שדרא=שוזרא, see refs. to Midrash above) in Cœle-Syria on the Orontes (Lagarde, *l.c.*); but these identifications are very doubtful. The place must have been outside Israelite territory and in the north, somewhere in Cœle-Syria or the Lebanon.

G. A. COOKE.

LYCAONIA (Λυκαονία), the land of the Lycaones, was a large country in the centre and south of the great plateau of Asia Minor. It is almost entirely a vast level plain, in the centre of which, like an island in the sea, the lofty Kara-Dagh has been thrown up by volcanic action. On the edge of Kara-Dagh are the remarkable ruins called Bin-Bir-Kilisse (Thousand and One Churches), probably the site of the ancient Barata. The great Lycaonian plain is merged on the north and east in the plains of Galatia and Cappadocia; on the west and south it is limited by hills. The soil has little value except for pasturage; but the immense flocks which grazed on it were a source of revenue to king Amyntas (Strabo, p. 568), and are still a feature that strikes the travellers. Many of the wells supply a brackish water, unfit for human use, but said to have a good effect on the wool of sheep, which drink it freely.

Lycaonia was bounded on the north by Galatia proper, on the west by Phrygia and Pisidia, on the south by the mountainous country that stretches back to the great ridge of Mount Taurus (a country generally summed up in earlier time as Cilicia Tracheia, of which Isauria was part, and in later time as Isauria in its wider acceptation), and on the east by Cappadocia. The exact boundaries varied at different times. On the north a large district, which had originally been part of Lycaonia, was at some uncertain date (perhaps about B.C. 164, see GALATIA, vol. ii. p. 83; *Stud. Bibl.* iv. p. 46 ff.) transferred to Galatia as one of the twelve tetrarchies into which that state was divided (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* v. 95); this district contained fourteen cities, of which Iconium was politically the capital (though ethnographically and in the feeling of its inhabitants it was a Phrygian city).* The fact that Iconium was the last city of Phrygia towards Lycaonia (Xen. *Anab.* i. 2. 19), and that the frontier must have been in the hill-ridge fringing the vale of Lystra on the north, gives a fixed point in earlier time; but politically and in the estimation of external nations Iconium regularly, and even Laodicea Combusta, and sometimes Tyriaion, were reckoned to Lycaonia. The hilly country west of Iconium was added to Lycaonia when it was constituted a province of the Empire in A.D. 372; but previously that country was Pisidian. The southern boundary ran through the hilly country between Lystra and Isaura (Zengibar Kalessi) and south of Laranda (Karaman). On the east the limit passed near the lake Ak Göl, west of Kybistra (Eregli), and touched Karadja Dagh, thus making Hyde (Kara Bunar, probably) the frontier city of Lycaonia towards Cappadocia on the east and the enlarged Galatia on the north.[*]

---

* RV adds Is 59^{10} 'among them that are lusty we are as dead men,' for AV 'we are in desolate places as dead men.' The passage is difficult, perhaps corrupt.

* To the authorities quoted under ICONIUM add the words in *Vita S. Artemii* (ascribed to *Joan. Damasc.*), διελθὼν τοίνυν ἅπασαν τὴν Φρυγίαν, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐσχάτην αὐτῆς πόλιν τὸ καλούμενον

Lycaonia was part of the great Seleucid Empire until B.C. 190. Thereafter it was assigned to the Pergamenian kingdom (Livy, xxxvii.); it was so remote that there is little probability that the sovereignty could ever have been made a reality.[†] The northern part was probably seized by the Gauls. The southern part, after being probably disputed between native and Galatian chiefs, was given by Aquillius to Cappadocia in 129, temporarily overrun by Pontus in 74, and finally set free by Pompey's victories over Mithridates. At the settlement of the East by Pompey in 64, Lycaonia seems to have been divided into three parts: the north was added to Galatia (Ptol. v. 4, 10); the south-east to Cappadocia, forming an eleventh *strategia* of that country;[‡] the west was attached to the Roman Empire, and administered by the governor of Cilicia. The Romans evidently retained a right of way through eastern Lycaonia, for the only practicable road for an army between Iconium the Lycaonian capital and Tarsus the Cilician metropolis passed across it by Kybistra and the Cilician Gates; and Cicero's movements during his governorship of Cilicia show that he could go back and forward at will, and yet that Kybistra was part of Cappadocia. Thus Cicero was brought into close and friendly relations with the Cappadocian royal family, which was practically dependent on Rome, and half subject to it.

The eastern part of Lycaonia long continued subject, at least in name, to the weak Cappadocian rule; but Antipater of Derbe, a friend of Cicero, profited by the troubles of the Civil Wars to make himself an independent chief; and Laranda also was perhaps subject to him (see DERBE). Antony gave the western part (certainly including Lystra and Iconium)[§] to king Polemon in B.C. 39; but in 36 it was transferred to Amyntas, king of Pisidia, who also received all Galatia proper. Amyntas conquered also Derbe and Laranda, which then were incorporated in the Roman Empire, when Amyntas' kingdom was made into the province Galatia in B.C. 25. Roman soldiers from Laranda were serving in the seventh legion not long after this (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* iii. 2709, 2818). In A.D. 37 eastern Lycaonia was placed under Antiochus of Commagene along with most of Cilicia Tracheia, and acquired the name Lycaonia Antiochiana or (χώρα) Ἀντιοχιανή, which is applied to it by Ptolemy, v. 6. 17, in a Latin inscription, *Corpus*, x. 8660, and probably in a Greek inscription.[*] In 41 Claudius confirmed this arrangement. It is probable that Laranda was at this time reunited to eastern Lycaonia, for the policy of Antiochus (a far more active king than the Cappadocian monarchs) was carried out along lines of road radiating from Laranda;[†] and his coins reading ΛΥΚΑΟΝΕC were certainly struck at an important city, and Laranda is the only important Lycaonian city that could be within his kingdom. Ptolemy, indeed, mentions even Derbe in Antiochiana; but the name Claudio-Derbe (like Claud-Iconium) proves that it was in the province under Claudius (A.D. 41–54), and Ptolemy has probably fallen into error owing to the fact that Derbe had been originally attached to the eastern or Cappadocian half of Lycaonia at the settlement of Pompey in B.C. 64.

Under Claudius and Nero, when St. Paul visited the churches of South Galatia, Lycaonia included the two parts, the Roman and the Antiochian. The former contained two cities, Lystra and Derbe, and a number of villages and small towns, chiefly towards the north-east, and it is correctly described (Ac 14^6) as 'the cities of Lycaonia, Lystra and Derbe, and the region round about'; in other words, the apostles, when driven out of Iconium, crossed the frontier of Phrygia into Roman Lycaonia. Moreover, the regions of which the vast province Galatia was composed (see vol. ii. p. 87) were called χῶραι, 'Territories'; and, as we have seen, the part of Lycaonia not governed by the Romans was called the Antiochian Territory, or Lycaonia Antiochiana.[‡] In distinction therefrom the Roman part would naturally be called by an adjective derived from the provincial name (for a country became part of the Roman Empire in virtue of being included in a province), *i.e.* it would be styled either the Galatic Territory (Ac 18^{23}) or Lycaonia Galatica, a name which does not occur, but is proved by the similar names Galatic Pontus (as distinguished from Polemoniac Pontus, ruled by king Polemon) and Galatic Phrygia (as distinguished from Asian Phrygia in the province Asia). In place of the bare title Λυκαονίαν τὴν Γαλατικήν, the more descriptive and complete appellation τὰς πόλεις τῆς Λυκαονίας, Λύστραν καὶ Δέρβην, καὶ τὴν περίχωρον is used in Ac 14^6; and this is practically equivalent to τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν τῆς Λυκαονίας, ἔχουσαν τὰς πόλεις Λύστραν καὶ Δέρβην καὶ περικειμένας κώμας. In Ac 16^{1-4} this Territory is not formally named, but merely its two cities are mentioned in succession. In Ac 18^{23} the expression τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν is explained by Asterius[§] (bishop of Amaseia in Pontus in A.D. 401) as τὴν Λυκαονίαν καὶ τὰς τῆς Φρυγίας πόλεις.

Both parts of Lycaonia were included in the united province of Cappadocia-Galatia under the Flavian emperors. When they were again divided about 106 by Trajan, it is probable that eastern Lycaonia continued to be connected with Cappadocia. But about A.D. 137 a new province was formed, commonly called the Triple Eparchy, con-

---

Ἰκόνιον καταντήσας. The other thirteen cities of the Tetrarchy were Savatra or Soatra, and the towns on the west side of Lake Tatta, probably Laodicea and Lystra, but not Derbe (which was in the eleventh Strategia, attached to Cappadocia; see below and Strab. p. 569).

[*] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* v. 95, *Ipsius Lycaoniæ . . . Hyde in confinio Galatiæ atque Cappadociæ.*

[†] Especially as Pisidian Antioch was free (see ANTIOCH).

[‡] See Strabo, pp. 535, 537, 569; Ramsay, *Histor. Geogr. of Asia Min.* pp. 336 f., 310 n., 369. It included Derbe (Strabo, p. 569), but certainly not Lystra.

[§] Lycaonia is not formally mentioned in this transaction; but it is evidently summed up at this time under the general title of Cilicia, for Strabo, p. 568, mentions that Iconium was ruled by Polemon, while Polemon's kingdom is described simply as μέρος τι Κιλικίας by Appian, *Bell. Civ.* v. 75, and it was owing to this connexion that Iconium is several times called a city of Cilicia (see ICONIUM).

[*] Fränkel, *Inschriften Pergam.* ii. 451, about A.D. 90, Φρυγίας [Λυκαονίας Ἀντι]οχίας, where Fränkel wrongly restores [Πισιδίας Ἀντι]οχίας, understanding that the district round Pisidian Antioch was under a special administration. But that was not so, and Antioch is included in the preceding term Φρυγίας. Ἀντιοχίας is here equivalent to Ἀντιοχιανῆς (χώρας).

[†] On his foundations see Ramsay in *Revue Numismat.* 1894, p. 169 ff.

[‡] *Lycaonia ipsa* in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* v. 95.

[§] *Homil.* viii. (Migne, *Patrol. Gr.* tom. xl.).

sisting of Cilicia, Lycaonia, and Isauria. The Lycaonian cities were formed into a union called Κοινὸν Λυκαονίας, meeting in the worship of the Emperors: the cities composing it struck coins in the name of the Koinon. If Ptolemy is correct, neither Lystra nor Iconium was included in the Triple Eparchy, but both continued to be in Galatia; and, certainly, neither struck coins as member of the Koinon. Derbe, on the other hand, was a member of the Koinon and included in the Triple Eparchy.

The name of the Lycaonians (Λυκάονες) is not used in the Bible, but the adverb Λυκαονιστί, 'in the speech of the Lycaonians,' occurs in Ac 14^{11} (see LYSTRA). While the villages and small towns probably retained the native language and manners of Lycaonia, the cities such as Iconium and Derbe were likely to have been Grecized between A.D. 334 and 190, and probably had a Seleucid tone in municipal law and customs (see Ramsay, *Historical Comm. on Galatians*, 1899).

A Jewish element was likely to spread in Lycaonia while it formed part of the Seleucid Empire (see LAODICEA); on the traces of it see GALATIA, vol. ii. p. 88, and ICONIUM. A strong Christian influence is perceptible in the epigraphy of Western and Northern Lycaonia (*v. ibidem*).

Another people called the Inner Lycaones (Λυκάονες πρὸς ἔνδον), who lived in Phrygia, must be distinguished. It was probably this Phrygian people to whom Bartholomew went as an apostle. Their country was probably Cutchuk Sitchanli Ova, north from Sandykli Ova. Their history is treated in *Cities and Bishops of Phrygia*, pt. ii. pp. 664, 693 ff.

LITERATURE.—Lycaonia is treated by Ramsay, *Hist. Geog. of Asia Minor*, pp. 330–346, 350, 355, 357–360 (in that work, sect. 17 on Castabala should be deleted; there was no Castabala north of Taurus), and better in *Hist. Com. on Galatians*. Many Lycaonian inscriptions are given by Sterrett (who discovered Lystra, and approximately located Derbe) in his *Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor*. See also the admirable Hamilton and other travellers.
W. M. RAMSAY.

LYCIA (Λυκία) was the country that occupied the south-eastern part of Asia Minor. Though it is a land that presents great interest, as regards antiquities, and history, and physical features, yet it is of singularly little importance in the story of early Christianity.

The country consists to a great extent of lofty mountain masses, rising in many parts, especially in the eastern half, almost direct from the seashore. But in the fertile valleys of the Xanthos and other smaller streams, which break the mountains, or at their mouths, were situated many great cities, such as Patara, Ac 21^{1} (a famous seat of the worship of Apollo), and Myra of Lycia, Ac 27^{5}* (whose important harbour was a common starting-point or finish of the run across sea between Alexandria and the Asia Minor coast). The number of separate glens, by which Lycia is broken up, prevented it from ever becoming a powerful country. It derived its unity only from foreign conquest. It was ruled by the Persians, and conquered by Alexander the Great; it formed part of the Seleucid Empire, and was disputed between the Seleucid and Ptolemaic kings; it was taken from Antiochus the Great by the Romans in B.C. 188 and given at first to Rhodes, but soon afterwards in 168 it was set free, and for many years it was very prosperous. It is mentioned as one of the self-governing states to which the Romans sent letters in favour of the Jews in B.C. 138–7, 1 Mac 15^{23} (see CARIA, DELOS). This implies that there were Jewish residents; and the ships carrying pilgrims to and from Jerusalem would touch at Lycian harbours. The numerous cities of Lycia were united in an association called τὸ Λυκιακὸν Σύστημα. Nearly 100 places in Lycia are known to have struck coins, and Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* v. 28, says there were formerly 70 cities, and in his time only 36; but only 23 had votes in the Assembly, called τὸ κοινὸν συνέδριον (six cities of the first rank had three votes each, those of the second class two votes, of the third one). In reward for their fidelity to Rome in the Mithridatic war, the freedom of the Lycians was confirmed by Sulla. They suffered exactions occasionally, especially from Cassius in B.C. 43; but their freedom was again confirmed by Antony. Lycia was formed into a Roman province by Claudius in A.D. 43 on account of the dissensions between the cities; and in 74 was formed into a double province along with Pamphylia (see Mommsen on *Corp. Inscr. Latin.* III. *Suppl.* No. 6737). From 43 onwards the governor was a prætorian *legatus Augusti pro prætore*; and the old *Systema* was transformed into a union called Κοινὸν Λυκίων, meeting in the worship of the Emperors under the presidency of a Lykiarch.

Christianity does not appear to have spread very rapidly in Lycia; and perhaps to this is due the petition against the Christians addressed by the joint province to the Emperor Maximin in A.D. 312 (similar to many petitions from cities of the Empire, replies to which were returned in identical terms, quoted by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* ix. 7). Part of the petition, with a scrap of Maximin's reply, has been found at Arykanda, and is published by Mommsen in *Arch. Epigr. Mittheil. aus Œst.* 1893, p. 93 ff.

An important Jewish inscription of Tlos in Lycia is published in *Eranos Vindobonensis*, p. 99.

LITERATURE.—See the series of Austrian publications, the result of numerous recent Austrian explorations and excavations, especially Benndorf-Niemann, *Lykia*, in two folio vols., Heberdey, *Opramoas*, etc.; also Pinder-Friedländer, *Beiträge zur ält. Münzkunde*, i. 93–122; Hill, *Catalogue of the Coins of Lycia*, etc.; Fougéres, *de communi Lyciorum*; Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsalt.* i. 375 ff.; and the older travellers, especially Fellows and Spratt.
W. M. RAMSAY.

LYDDA.—See LOD.

LYDIA (Λυδία).—A purple-seller from Thyatira (Ac $16^{14. 15. 40}$). It is probable that Lydia was her proper name, as we know that it was a name commonly borne by women (Hor. *Od.* i. 8, iii. 9, vi. 20); but (see p. 177^{b}) it may have been a designation derived from the district of Lydia, in which Thyatira was situated. The account of Lydia's occupation is confirmed by what we learn from other sources of the purple dyes of this district (cf. Hom. *Il.* iv. 141; Claud. *Rapt. Proserp.* i. 270); and the whole incident in Acts points to her having been a woman of some position and means (cf. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 214). She had made her home apparently at Philippi, and, having become a Jewish proselyte, was in the habit of resorting to a place of prayer which was located by a riverside, according to a common practice among the Jews for the facility of the frequent ablutions which their worship required (Farrar, *St. Paul*, i. p. 487). There she was found along with certain other women by St. Paul and his companions on their first Sabbath in Philippi; and in her, at any rate, the apostle found a ready listener. The Lord opened her heart, and along with her 'household' she was baptized, the first Christian convert, so far as we know, whom St. Paul made in Europe. (For the significance of her conversion, taken in connexion with those subsequently mentioned in this chap., see Lightfoot, *Philipp.* p. 52 ff.). Lydia's gratitude showed itself in the eager desire (παρεβιάσατο, v.^{15}, cf. Lk 24^{29}) that the apostle and his companions should take up their abode in her house; and it was thither that they again returned after their imprisonment (v.^{40}). To the Church which grew out of this little company St. Paul afterwards addressed the most jubilant of all his Epistles; though the fact that Lydia herself is not mentioned in it by name makes it probable that she had either died or left Philippi in the interval. G. MILLIGAN.

---

* Myra is mentioned also in the Bezan text of Ac 21^{1}.

LYDIA (Λυδία).—A large country on the west of Asia Minor, bounded on the north by Mysia (called in later times Hellespontus), on the east by Phrygia, on the south by Caria, and on the west by the Ægean Sea. It contained the valleys of the Cayster, the lower Hermus with its tributary the Cogamos, and the Caicus, also as much of the lower Mæander valley as lay north of that river. Several of the great Ionian cities, Smyrna, Colophon, Ephesus, etc., were situated on its western coast. The ancient Lydian kingdom, once great and powerful, was conquered by the Persians about 546.[*] It passed under the rule of Alexander the Great in 334; and it was disputed by his successors after his death, especially between the Pergamenian and Seleucid kings, until the victory of the allied Roman and Pergamenian armies in B.C. 190 near Magnesia, in the Hermus valley, brought it entirely into the Pergamenian kingdom of Eumenes (as is mentioned in 1 Mac 8^{8}). In B.C. 133 Lydia, according to the will of Attalus III., the last Pergamenian king, passed into the Roman Empire, and formed part of the province Asia. The name Lydia henceforth had no political, but only a geographical, ethnological, and antiquarian existence. The generic name Asia alone was employed by the Romans; and Lydia was merged in that great province, which embraced also Caria, Mysia, and Phrygia. Geographers and historians wrote about Lydia; coins (*e.g.* of Tralleis and Kidramos) and inscriptions (*e.g. CIG* 5852, 5984, 6855*d*) mention facts of old Lydian religion or mythology; but those who had regard to existing facts of society and government had no reason to use the name.

The avoidance of the name Lydia in the NT to designate the country, though the action often lies in its cities, is due to the fact that the early Church accepted from the first the Roman political divisions (*i.e.* the provinces), and classified accordingly. St. Paul, St. John, and St. Peter always speak of the Roman provinces Achaia, Macedonia, Illyricum, Asia, etc.[†] So does St. Luke, except that he sometimes uses the Greek instead of the Roman name for each province in the cases where there was a difference, as Hellas for Achaia, Ac 20^{1}. Hence Ephesus, Smyrna, Sardis, etc., are summed up, not as 'cities of Lydia,' but as 'cities of Asia.'

It has, however, been maintained recently by Blass (*Acta Apostolor.* p. 176) and Zahn (*Einleitung in d. NT*, i. p. 132) that Luke uses the name Asia to indicate only the western part of the province. According to Zahn, Luke's Asia is restricted to Lydia, excluding Caria,[‡] Phrygia, and Mysia (which were all included in the Roman province Asia). Blass maintains that Luke's Asia included Mysia, Lydia, and Caria, and excluded only Phrygia: the province had that extent from 133 to 84 B.C., and Ramsay, *Church in Rom. Emp.* p. 150, wrongly admitted that sense in Ac 2^{9}. But there is no example of the name Asia being used in either of these senses at this time.[*] Towards A.D. 295 the province Asia was restricted to the country Lydia, and thereafter Asia bore the meaning which Zahn attributes to it in Luke's writings. But in earlier writers Asia has only two senses: (1) the entire continent, (2) the Roman province distinguished by Ptolemy as *ἡ Ἀσία ἰδίως λεγομένη*. Some Greek antiquaries, indeed, maintained that Lydia had once, in very early times, been called Asia; but this was a mere theory; not a single example can be quoted in its favour; and, according to Strabo (p. 627), these antiquaries qualified their theory with a 'perhaps' (*τάχα γὰρ ἡ Μῃονία Ἀσία ἐλέγετο*). There appears in Aristides about A.D. 150 a single example (to which no parallel is known) of a third sense, in which, by popular conversational usage, the name Asia is restricted to the greatest and most civilized part of the province, *i.e.* Asia *par excellence*; but even in this narrow sense it includes a considerable part of Phrygia, the Mæander valley from its source, with the rich and important cities, Apameia, Eumeneia, Laodicea, Hierapolis (λέγω δὲ (1) *οὐχὶ τὴν μέχρι Μαιάνδρου πηγῶν* [Asia *par excellence*],[†] (2) *οὐδ' ὅσην ὁ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ὑμῶν κλῆρος ὁρίζεται* [province], (3) *ἀλλ' ἣν ἐξ ἀρχῆς οἱ Ἕλληνες προσεῖπον Ἀσίαν* [continent], xxii. p. 475 C, Dind. vol. i. p. 441), so that it justifies neither Zahn nor Blass. Moreover, it would be unjustifiable to suppose that Luke uses the term in a sense which is not found before Aristides, and is in him indicated as a mere conversational expression. Again, in the letter of the Church of Lugudunum, addressed *τοῖς ἐπ' Ἀσίας καὶ Φρυγίας ἀδελφοῖς* (imitated by Tertullian, *adv. Prax.* 1, *ecclesiis Asiæ et Phrygiæ*), we are not to understand a formal distinction between Asia and Phrygia, as two mutually exclusive divisions. Phrygia was divided between the provinces Asia and Galatia; and Galatic Phrygia, with the Churches of Iconium, Antioch, Apollonia, etc., was closely connected with Asian Phrygia, and is classed along with it as a recipient of the Lugudunensian letter. The name Ἀσία occurs very often in inscriptions and coins, both within and beyond the province: usually it means the province, sometimes it has a wider sense (*e.g. CIG* 5127, 5913, a coin of Nicomedia boasting itself *πρώτη Ἀσίας*), never a narrower sense. It is used in many inscriptions of Phrygia to include that country, in such cities as Apameia, Laodicea, Eumeneia, etc. (*Cit. and Bish. of Phr.*, No. 8, 292; *CIG* 3957, 3902*b*, etc.). The ordinary usage of the word Ἀσία in the province is beyond doubt.

The feminine of the adj. **Lydian** (Λυδία) probably occurs in Ac $16^{14.\,40}$. The Thyatiran hostess of the apostle in Philippi was familiarly known in the town by the ethnic that showed her origin. To every one who considers how common the custom was of using a familiar name (a nickname even) in place of the formal name, this opinion will seem practically certain. Even in honorary inscriptions, and on the bases of statues, the familiar name is often added to the formal name, and is sometimes even expressed in a line by itself and in larger letters,[‡] to bring home to the minds of citizens their peculiar and intimate relations to the person honoured. But apparently Paul, who is more formal and distantly courteous than Luke in his allusions to individuals, uses the formal personal name (possibly either Euodias or Syntyche, Ph 4^{2}), just as he speaks of Silvanus (whom Luke calls Silas), and once of Prisca (Ro 16^{3}, though he elsewhere, like Luke, employs the familiar diminutive Priscilla; see Ramsay, *Church in Rom. Emp.* p. 151 f.).

---

[*] Lydia in Ezk 30^{5} AV is corrected to Lud in RV. See LUD.

[†] Scholars who hold the North-Galatian theory maintain that in the single case of Galatia St. Paul made an exception to his usual practice, and used that name to indicate, not the Roman province, but the country inhabited by the Asiatic Gauls.

[‡] He does not state his view about Caria explicitly; some of his words would place the Carian coast-lands in Asia, and exclude upper Caria; others would exclude all Caria.

[*] Blass quotes Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* v. xxviii. 102) as an example of the sense which he advocates for Asia, but the passage does not justify him, see *Studia Biblica*, iv. p. 45 f. Zahn quotes it as supporting himself, equally unjustifiably.

[†] This is much the same as *ἡ κάτω Ἀσία* (Pausan. I. iv. 6; Irenæus, *ap.* Euseb. *HE* V. xx. 5), *i.e.* lower Asia as distinguished from upper Asia (compare *ἡ ἐντὸς τοῦ Ταύρου Ἀσία*, Cis-Tauran Asia, as distinguished from Trans-Tauran, a common phrase); but such expressions imply one part taken out of the whole.

[‡] See Marquardt, *Röm. Privatalt.* p. 27; Borghesi, *Œuvres*, iii. p. 503 ff.; Orelli-Henzen, No. 6252; Examples in Asia Minor, Sterrett, *Wolfe Exped.* No. 419 (where read gen. or dat., not accus.); Ramsay, *Amer. Journ. Arch.* 1888, p. 283.

The wealth, the ancient renown, and the high civilization of Lydia (including the central Ionian cities), gave it a specially important influence on the development of Christianity during the first three centuries. The evangelization of Lydia dates from the long residence of St. Paul at Ephesus, Ac $19^{1ff.}$. The apostle had aimed at evangelizing Asia on his second journey, but was forbidden to preach the word there. Accordingly, he did not touch Lydian soil till he landed at Ephesus while going back to Jerusalem from his second journey (Ac 18^{20}), when he made a promise to return shortly. On this subject see the special articles PERGAMUS, SMYRNA, EPHESUS, SARDIS, THYATIRA, PHILADELPHIA. W. M. RAMSAY.

LYE (Jer 2^{22} RV).—See NITRE.

LYING.—See LIE.

LYSANIAS.—The L. mentioned in Lk 3^{1} as being tetrarch of Abilene at the beginning of John the Baptist's ministry is not expressly mentioned elsewhere. Jos. (*Ant.* XV. iv. 1, and *BJ* I. xiii. 1) relates that Lysanias succeeded to the government on the death of his father Ptolemy, the son of Mennæus, and was killed by Antony at the instigation of Cleopatra, on the charge of being in league with the Parthians. This was about B.C. 34. In A.D. 42 (Jos. *BJ* II. xi. 5) the emperor Claudius bestowed on Agrippa, besides the territories given by Augustus to Herod, another kingdom, called that of L. (see also *BJ* II. xii. 8). In *Ant.* XIX. v. 1, Abila of Lysanias is said to have been given by Claudius to Agrippa, and in *Ant.* XX. vii. 1 occur the words Ἀβίλᾳ, Λυσανία δὲ αὕτη γεγόνει τετραρχία. St. Luke has been accused of inaccuracy in stating that the victim of Antony was tetrarch of Abilene some sixty years after his death. The facts may, however, be set forth as follows:—On the murder of L. the son of Ptolemy, his 'house' (*Ant.* XV. x. 1), was farmed by Zenodorus, and after the latter's death was given by Augustus to Herod (*Ant.* XV. x. 3) B.C. 23. Abila is not mentioned among the districts that passed to the latter, and is, in fact, expressly distinguished from the possessions of Herod (*Ant.* XIX. v. 1). It may well be that Augustus gave this town, with its neighbouring district Abilene, to Lysanias, a descendant of the former possessor. He is known to have acted in a similar way, in at least one instance, when Jamblichus was restored to his father's dominion of Emesa in Parthia, the latter having been killed by Antony. Abila was afterwards called A. of L., and was given by the emperor Claudius to Herod Agrippa I. The title A. of L. seems to point to a restoration of a part of the kingdom of L. to a namesake (probably a descendant) of the original ruler under the name of tetrarch. In defence of this view it may be noticed that the original L. only reigned about five years, scarcely long enough for his name to attach to the district in perpetuity. Again, a medal was found by Pococke in the 17th cent., alluding to a L., both tetrarch and high priest, who could not have been identical with the king. Two inscriptions, also, of the time of Tiberius prove that there was a tetrarch L., a freedman of whom executed some work to which one inscription refers, while the other implies from the mention of L.'s sons that the tetrarch was a descendant of the king. L. was, no doubt, a family name attached to the district of Abilene. The L. mentioned in Lk 3^{1} was probably a descendant, possibly a son of the L. killed by Antony, and may have been identical with, or the father of, the L. in the time of Claudius.

LITERATURE.—Godet on Lk 3^{1}; S. Davidson, *Introd. to NT*, i. 214–220; Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 335–339, and literature there referred to. C. H. PRICHARD.

LYSIAS (Λυσίας).—1. A Syrian general. After the victory of Judas Maccabæus at Bethhoron (B.C. 166), Antiochus Epiphanes, in departing for Persia, appointed 'Lysias, an honourable man, and one of the seed royal, to be over the affairs of the king from the river Euphrates unto the borders of Egypt, and to bring up his son Antiochus until he came again' (1 Mac $3^{32f.}$).* His orders were to carry on a war of extermination against the Jews ($v.^{35f.}$). In fulfilment of this commission, Lysias assembled a great army, which was placed under the command of three generals, Ptolemy, Nicanor, and Gorgias. Gorgias (or, according to 2 Mac $8^{23ff.}$, Nicanor) was defeated by Judas at Emmaus (1 Mac $4^{14ff.}$), and Lysias himself sustained a crushing defeat the following year (B.C. 165) at Bethsura ($v.^{34ff.}$, Jos. *Ant.* XII. vii. 5). Upon the death of Epiphanes (B.C. 164) Lysias as regent-guardian of the youthful Antiochus Eupator (wh. see) prosecuted the war against the Jews, captured Bethsura, and was besieging Jerusalem, when he had to turn his attention to a rival in the person of Philip, another of the generals of Epiphanes, to whom the latter, before his death, had transferred the care of his son (1 Mac $6^{14ff.}$). Although he defeated Philip (1 Mac 6^{63}), he was unable to maintain the cause of the youthful king against another claimant to the throne, a nephew of Epiphanes, who afterwards reigned under the title of Demetrius Soter (wh. see). Both Lysias and Eupator, having fallen into the hands of the latter (B.C. 162), were by his orders put to death (1 Mac 7^{2-4}, 2 Mac 14^{2}, Jos. *Ant.* XII. x. 1).

2. See CLAUDIUS LYSIAS. J. A. SELBIE.

LYSIMACHUS (Λυσίμαχος).—1. L., the son of Ptolemy, of Jerus., is named in the subscription to the Greek edition of Esther (Ad. Est 11^{1}) as the translator of that book into Greek. This statement may imply that the additional sections, for which no Heb. original existed, are also to be ascribed to Lysimachus. We are told that the tr. was brought to Egypt in the 4th year of Ptolemy and Cleopatra; but as four Ptolemies had wives named Cleopatra, this information gives hardly any clue to the date.

2. The brother of the high-priest Menelaus, whom he left as his deputy (διάδοχος) in Jerus. when summoned to appear before Antiochus (2 Mac 4^{29}). L. excited the hatred of the populace by his systematic plundering of the temple treasures; and seeing that an insurrection was imminent, he took the precaution of arming 3000 men, and letting them loose upon the people. Many were injured in the riot which took place, and L. himself was killed beside the treasury (*ib.* 4^{39-42}).

H. A. WHITE.

LYSTRA was founded as a Roman Colony by Augustus, probably about B.C. 6, when an effort was made to tame and regulate the mountain tribes on the southern frontier of the province Galatia by a system of military roads and garrison cities (Antioch, Lystra, Parlais, Cremna, Comama, Olbasa). These colonies all used the Latin language officially, a rare and noteworthy fact in the eastern provinces, where, as a rule, Rome acquiesced in the use of Greek, and made no attempt to naturalize Latin. The use of the Roman tongue implies that these colonies felt a special pride in their Roman character. Lystra was about 18 miles S.S.W. from Iconium, and a frontier line passed between them (see ICONIUM, LYCAONIA). It was situated in a vale at the northern extremity of the hills which fringe the Lycaonian plain on the south, and which grow higher and higher as one proceeds south, till they rise to the main mass of Mount Taurus. A stream, which flows eastward between gentle hills through the smiling vale, about a mile in breadth, loses itself after some miles in the great plain. On the north of the stream, about a mile north-west from the village of Khatyn Seraï, is situated a hillock of considerable extent, on which stood the fortified Colonia; but the buildings of the city certainly extended to east and south, over the lower ground at least, where a large basis bearing an inscription in honour of Augustus stands probably in its original position, and perhaps indicates the site of a sacred place, *Augusteum*, dedicated to the worship of the Emperor and of Rome. The city stood about 3780 ft. above sea-level, and about 430 ft. above Iconium.

---

* Cf. 2 Mac 10^{11} $11^{1ff.}$, where, however, the order of events is less correctly given, the appointment of Lysias to be 'chancellor' and his defeat at Betbsura being placed under Eupator instead of Epiphanes.

The history of Lystra is quite unknown; and even the fact that it was a Roman colony was unknown until 1885, when the inscription just mentioned was discovered by the American Sterrett, and Waddington published a coin with Latin legend of COLONIA · IULIA · FELIX · GEMINA · LUSTRA (the Latin form Lustra, instead of the Grecizing Lystra, is usual on coins and inscriptions). Leake guessed the site in 1820; Sterrett proved it in 1885, after intermediate travellers had rejected Leake's view.

Hardly any remains of the old city are now visible above ground. There is an Ayasma (as the Turks call a fountain held sacred by Christians, *ἁγίασμα*) in the low ground south of the hill. Not a trace has been found of the temple of Zeus Propoleos, Ac 14^{13}; but it is possible that the Augusteum was in the precinct of the temple; it was very common to unite the worship of the Emperor to that of the chief god of a city. The Bezan reading, *τοῦ ὄντος Διὸς πρὸ πόλεως*, is perhaps the original Lukan text, and is certainly excellent. The epithet Propoleos was a sort of technical term, often given to gods whose temple stood outside the city; and it is characteristic of Luke's style to use the participle *ὤν* (much in the same way as *καλούμενος*) before a name or technical term; compare Ac 5^{17} 13^{1} 28^{17}. No inscription has yet been found relating to the worship of this god; but the analogy of other great native *hiera* in Asia Minor[*] makes it practically certain that there was a college of priests attached to it; hence the Bezan text *ἱερεῖς* is true to fact, though this reading is rejected by all editors, even including Blass, the special champion of the Western text.

The sacrifice to Paul and Barnabas, in celebration of the Epiphany of the gods, Ac 14^{13}, was probably made at the entrance to the sacred precinct (*πυλών*), and the apostles hearing of it as they were teaching in a public place in the city, ran forth and stopped it.

Lystra, standing in a retired situation some miles away from the high road, was not likely to participate strongly in the diffusion of Greek civilization, when Lycaonia was ruled by the Seleucid kings; but its neighbourhood to Iconium, the capital, would give it some opportunity of sharing in the Grecizing tendency which was such a powerful influence in the Seleucid and Pergamenian cities of Asia Minor. A town doubtless existed there before the Roman colony was founded; but it was only through that event that Lystra became important. The population of the colony would consist of (1) the Latin-speaking colonists, a local aristocracy of soldiers; (2) the native population (*incolæ*), some of whom were doubtless educated in Greek, and strong supporters of the Roman imperial policy; while the majority were evidently uneducated, not well acquainted with Greek, but more naturally expressing themselves in the Lycaonian tongue, and much under the influence of the native superstition, Ac $14^{13\text{ff.}}$.

While the presence of Jewish residents in Lystra is clear, Ac 16^{1}, no synagogue is mentioned there; and the general tone of Ac 14^{8-19} suggests surroundings more thoroughly pagan and less permeated by Jewish influence than in Iconium and Pisidian Antioch. That is natural, for the Jews would be found most in cities which lay on the main trade road, and which had been important in Seleucid times (when the large settlements of Jews were formed).

When Paul at Lystra healed the lame man, in whom he discerned the signs of a capacity for faith, the multitude concluded that the two apostles were the gods Hermes and Zeus, who had visited the abodes of men according to a widespread ancient belief. The same two gods are mentioned in a legend, localized[*] in these regions, as visiting the old couple, Philemon and Baucis, who lived on the Phrygian hills. But afterwards, when hostile Jews from Iconium and Pisidian Antioch came to Lystra (probably in pursuance of the trade which must have existed between those cities and Lystra), they exerted such influence on the weak and changeable superstition of the people that a riot was aroused, and Paul was stoned and thrown out of the city for dead. From 2 Ti $3^{10.\,11}$ it is clear that Timothy, son of a Jewess Eunice, wife of a Greek, and brought up in the Jewish faith by his mother and his grandmother Lois, saw this occurrence. Certainly he was converted at this time, and doubtless helped to consolidate the newly founded Church in Lystra, which Paul revisited three times, Ac 14^{21} 16^{1} 18^{23}.

In Ac 14^{6} Lystra is named before Derbe, in 16^{1} after it, corresponding to the geographical order necessitated by the direction of the journey in each case.

The connexion between Colonia Lustra and its Roman metropolis Antioch, the military centre of Southern Galatia (which is well illustrated by the dedication of a statue of Concord at Antioch by Lystra, Sterrett, *Wolfe Expedition in Asia Minor*, p. 219), was maintained by an imperial road, which is called in the *Acta Pauli et Theclæ* *βασιλικὴ ὁδός*, 'the road made by the *βασιλεύς*,' *i.e.* the Roman emperor. According to that document (which goes back to a very early original, though much corrupted by interpolation), Paul, when expelled from Antioch, Ac 13^{50}, went along the 'royal road' that leads south to Lystra until he came to a place where a cross-road diverged eastwards to Iconium: here Onesiphorus of Iconium was waiting for him, being warned in a vision, and induced him to go to Iconium with him.[†]

Little is known about the post-biblical history of Christianity in Lystra. Artemas, one of the Seventy disciples, is said to have been bishop there according to a late and untrustworthy tradition. Eustochius of Vasada settled at Lystra and was arrested there and carried to Ancyra, where he was executed. The tradition may be good, for it preserves the memory that Lystra was under Ancyra, the metropolis of the province Galatia, until about A.D. 295. Tiberius was bishop of Lystra in A.D. 325 (for a list of later bishops see Gams, *Series episcoporum*, p. 45). See also LYCAONIA, ANTIOCH, ICONIUM. W. M. RAMSAY.

---

[*] Good examples are found in inscriptions of Pessinus (Körte in *Athen. Mittheil.* 1897, pp. 16, 39) and of the Milyadic Zeus-Sabazios (Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, pt. i. p. 288).

[*] The name is corrupted in Ovid, *Metam.* viii. 719, our only authority. MSS. have trineius, fineius, thineyus, Ocineius, chineius, tirinthius, tyreneus, thyrneius, etc. These point to Tyrieius or Tyriaius, belonging to Tyriaion, though the editors almost all give the impossible Tyaneius. Tyana was not in Phrygia, and could not give an adj. of this form.

[†] The term royal road, denoting imperial highways as distinguished from common country roads, occurs also in an inscription of Termessos, Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyliens*, ii. p. 203, and *regalis via* is mentioned at Colonia Comama, *Corp. Inscr. Latin.* iii. *Suppl.* No. 6974.

M

MAACAH (מַעֲכָה 'oppression'). —1. Father of Achish, king of Gath in the beginning of Solomon's reign, 1 K 2^{39}. It is just possible that he is identical with Maoch מָעוֹךְ of 1 S 27^{2}; but as there is an interval of about fifty years between the events recorded in these two references, we may suppose that Maacah was grandson of Maoch. Jerome (*Qu. Heb.* on 2 S 10^{2}) maintains the identity, but says that M. was *mother* of Achish. 2. One of David's wives, daughter of Talmai, king of Geshur, and mother of Absalom (2 S 3^{3}, 1 Ch 3^{2}). Jerome (*Qu. Heb.* on 2 S 13^{37}) quotes a Jewish tradition that she had been captured in war by David, who used to raid the Geshurites while he was at Ziklag (1 S 27^{8}). Possibly David's marriage with M. was the ratification of a treaty with her father. 3. Favourite wife of Rehoboam and mother of Abijam or Abijah (2 Ch 11^{20}). Probably she was named after No. 2. In 1 K $15^{2.10}$ she is called the daughter of Abishalom (Absalom, 2 Ch $11^{20.21}$). But Absalom's only daughter was Tamar; accordingly the LXX of 2 S 14^{27} adds of Tamar that 'she became wife of Rehoboam' (γίνεται γυνὴ τῷ Ῥοβοάμ). This is followed by Josephus twice (*Ant.* VII. viii. 5, VII. x. 3). However, in 2 Ch 13^{2} she appears as 'Micaiah, the daughter of Uriel of Gibeah' (LXX and Syriac, Maacah). It is commonly supposed that Uriel married Tamar, and so Maacah was really Absalom's granddaughter (so Josephus once, *Ant.* VIII. x. 1). 'Daughter' is sometimes used in this way, *e.g.* 2 K 8^{26}. Jerome, however (*Qu. Heb.*), distinguishes her father from David's son. M. retained the position of queen-mother (*gĕbîrah*, ἡγουμένη) until the reign of her grandson Asa. He in his reforming zeal deposed her 'because she had made an abominable image (*simulacrum Priapi*) for an Asherah' (1 K 15^{13}, 2 Ch 15^{16}). She was apparently shielded from the extreme penalties resolved on by the people according to 2 Ch 15^{13}. 4. Son of Nahor by his concubine Reumah (Gn 22^{24}). 5. One of the concubines of Caleb, son of Hezron (1 Ch 2^{48}). 6. Wife of Machir, daughter of Benjamin, and whole sister of Huppim and Shuppim (1 Ch $7^{15.16}$). RVm supposes another Maacah, sister of Machir. The text is corrupt according to *QPB*. 7. Wife of Jeiel the father of Gibeon (1 Ch 8^{29} 9^{35}). 8. Father of Hanan, who was one of David's heroes (1 Ch 11^{43}). 9. Father of Shephatiah, who was captain of the tribe of Simeon in David's reign (1 Ch 27^{16}).

N. J. D. WHITE.

MAACAH. —A small Aramæan kingdom in Gaulanitis, the modern *Jaulân*, east of the Sea of Galilee (G. A. Smith, *HGHL* p. 553; Ewald, *HI* ii. 302). In Dt 3^{14}, Jos 12^{5} the territory in Bashan assigned to Manasseh extends 'unto the border of the Geshurites and the Maacathites.' But in Jos 13^{11} 'the border' of these peoples is included in Manasseh. The discrepancy is explained by the fact that they maintained their independence (Jos 13^{13}, 1 Ch 2^{23}). Accordingly in 2 S 10^{6} the Ammonites hire 'the king of Maacah' (B Ἀμαλήκ) to aid them against David. Here and in v.^{8} Maacah and Tob seem to be distinguished from the other mercenaries, who were Syrians, but in the account of the battle all are alike called Syrians. This is confirmed by the parallel narrative (1 Ch 19^{6}), where their country is called Aram-maacah. It is evident that they were a small community, from a comparison of the numbers furnished by the other allies. Abel-beth-maacah in Naphtali (2 S $20^{14.15}$, 1 K 15^{20}, 2 K 15^{29}) was probably a colony that went north-west. The names of some **Maacathites** are recorded. Eshtemoa (1 Ch 4^{19}), who occurs in the genealogy of Judah; Ahasbai, father of Eliphelet, one of David's heroes (see *QPB* on 2 S 23^{34} and 1 Ch $11^{35.36}$, where MT, perh. by textual error, has **Mecherathite**); and Hoshaiah, father of Jezaniah, who was one of the captains of the forces who joined Gedaliah (Jer 40^{8} 42^{1}). See, further, Dillm. on Gn 22^{24}, Dt 3^{14}, Jos 13^{13}, and Driver on Dt 3^{14}.

N. J. D. WHITE.

MAACATHITE.—See preceding article.

MAADAI (מַעֲדַי; B Μοδεδειά, A Μοοδειά, Luc. Μοουδειά). —One of the sons of Bani, who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10^{34}; called in 1 Es 9^{34} **Momdis.**

MAADIAH (מַעַדְיָה; A Μααδιάς, Luc. Μαασιάς, B om.).—A priestly family which returned with Zerubbabel, Neh 12^{5}; called in v.^{17} **Moadiah** (מוֹעַדְיָה, A ἐν καιροῖς [apparently through a confusion with מוֹעֲדִים 'sacred seasons'], Luc. Μασαί).

MAAI (מָעַי; A Μααί, Luc. Μαιά, B om.).—One of the sons of Asaph who took part in the ceremony of the dedication of the walls, Neh 12^{36}.

MAALEH-ACRABBIM.—Jos 15^{3} AV ('ascent of Akrabbim,' RV). See AKRABBIM, and DEAD SEA in vol. i. p. 575^{b}.

MAANI (A Μαανί, B Μανεί, AV Meani), 1 Es 5^{31} =MEUNIM, Esr 2^{50}, Neh 7^{52}.

MAARATH (מַעֲרָת; B Μαγαρώθ, A Μαρώθ, Luc. Μααρώθ).—A town of Judah, in the mountains, noticed with Beth-anoth, Jos 15^{59}. The site is uncertain. Possibly the name survives corrupted at Beit 'Ummâr, in the Hebron hills west of Tekoa. See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xxi.

C. R. CONDER.

MAAREH-GEBA (מַעֲרֵה גֶבַע; B Μαρααγάβε, A δυσμῶν τῆς Γαβαά [cf. Vulg. *ab occidentali urbis parte*]; AV 'the meadows of Gibeah,' RVm 'the meadow of Geba').—The place from which the men placed in ambush rushed forth to attack the Benjamites (Jg 20^{33}). There can be little doubt that Bertheau, upon the authority of LXX (A) and Vulg., rightly emends MT to מִמַּעֲרַב לְגֶבַע '*to the west of* Geba' (better *Gibeah*; see GIBEAH, No. 2). This is accepted by Moore (who, however, reads *Gibeah*), Budde, etc. Studer, following the Peshitta, reads מִמְּעָרַת ג׳ '*from the cave* which is in Gibeah.' J. A. SELBIE.

MAASAI (מַעְשַׂי; B Μαασαιά, A Μασαί, Luc. Μαασεί).—The name of a priestly family, 1 Ch 9^{12}.

MAASEAS (Μαασαίας).—The grandfather of Baruch (Bar 1^{1}) = MAHSEIAH (which see) of Jer 32^{12} 51^{59}.

MAASEIAH (מַעֲשֵׂיָה and מַעֲשֵׂיָהוּ 'work of J″'; on the distribution of this name in different periods of Israel's history and the inferences to be drawn therefrom, see Gray, *Heb. Proper Names*, 181, 293).—**1.** A priest of the sons of Jeshua, who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10^{18}, called in 1 Es 9^{19} **Mathelas.** **2.** A priest, of the sons of Harim, who had committed the same offence, Ezr 10^{21}. Foreign wives had been taken also by **3, 4.** a priest, of the sons of Pashhur, Ezr 10^{22}, called in 1 Es 9^{22} **Massias,** and a layman, of the sons of Pahath-moab, v.^{30}. **5.** The father of Azariah who helped to rebuild the wall, Neh 3^{23}. **6.** One of those who stood upon the right hand of Ezra at the reading of the law, Neh 8^{4}, called in 1 Es 9^{43} **Baalsamus.** **7.** One of those who expounded the law to the people, Neh 8^{7}, called in 1 Es 9^{48} **Maiannas.** He is perhaps the same as the preceding. **8.** One of those who sealed the covenant, Neh 10^{25}. **9.** A Judahite family name, Neh 11^{5}, in 1 Ch 9^{5} **Asaiah.** **10.** A Benjamite family name, Neh 11^{7}. **11, 12.** Two priests (B om.), Neh $12^{41f.}$. **13.** A priest in the time of Zedekiah, Jer 21^{1} 29^{25} 35^{4} 37^{3}. **14.** The father of the false prophet Zedekiah, Jer 29^{21}. **15.** A Levitical singer mentioned upon the occasion of David's bringing up the ark from the house of Obed-edom, 1 Ch $15^{18.20}$. **16.** One of the captains who assisted Jehoiada in the overthrow of Athaliah, 2 Ch 23^{1}. **17.** An officer (שֹׁטֵר) of Uzziah, 2 Ch 26^{11}. **18.** A son of Ahaz slain by Zichri the Ephraimite, 2 Ch 28^{7}. **19.** Governor of Jerusalem under Josiah, 2 Ch 34^{8}. **20.** In 1 Ch 6^{40} **Baaseiah** (בַּעֲשֵׂיָה) appears to be a textual error for Maaseiah (מַעֲשֵׂיָה), by a not infrequent confusion between ב and מ. J. A. SELBIE.

MAASMAS (Μαασμᾶς, AV Masman), 1 Es 8^{43}.—Corresponds to SHEMAIAH, Ezr 8^{16}. But the text is corrupt, Σαμαίας the Gr. equivalent of *Shemaiah* being inserted later in the verse.

MAATH (Μαάθ).—An ancestor of Jesus, Lk 3^{26}.

MAAZ (מַעַץ, Μαάς).—A Jewish family name, 1 Ch 2^{27}.

MAAZIAH (מַעַזְיָה, מַעַזְיָהוּ).—The name of a priestly family which constituted the 24th course, Neh 10^{8} (B Ναδειά, A Μααζειά), 1 Ch 24^{18} (B Μαασαί).

MACALON (οἱ ἐκ Μακαλῶν), 1 Es 5^{21}.—The same as MICHMASH; cf. Ezr 2^{27} (Μαχμάς). The second syllable is perhaps due to reading M as ΑΛ.

MACCABÆUS (Μακκαβαῖος).—The surname of Judas, the third son of Mattathias (1 Mac 2^{4} 3^{1} etc., 2 Mac 5^{27} etc.). See next article.

MACCABEES, THE (οἱ Μακκαβαῖοι).—

i. THE NATIONAL RISING UNDER MATTATHIAS. In B.C. 175 Antiochus IV. (Epiphanes) began to reign over Syria. It was the ill-starred attempt of this monarch to Hellenize the Jews by force that caused the Maccabæan revolt. At the time of his accession to the throne the Greek influences which everywhere followed in the wake of the conquests of Alexander the Great were fast penetrating the life of Palestine; the more aristocratic section of the population were, in particular, affected by them. The advance of Hellenism was, indeed, partially checkmated by the organized resistance of the Hasidæans (Heb. *Ḥăsîdîm* = the 'pious'), who were the champions of the law. But only partially. The leader of the Hellenistic faction in Judæa was Joshua, a younger brother of the noble-minded high priest Onias III. He Grecized his own name into *Jason*, and apparently imagined that the name Jahweh might similarly be converted into Zeus. At Antioch he bargained with Epiphanes that the priesthood should be transferred from Onias to himself, and that he should be authorized to start an active pagan propaganda in Judæa. A gymnasium was accordingly built at Jerusalem, and Greek sports were practised quite close to the temple; even the priests forsook the altar to join in the games (2 Mac 4^{11-14}). After holding office for three years (174–171), Jason was supplanted by Menelaus, a Hellenistic Benjamite, who became a complete renegade from Judaism, and obtained the help of Syrian troops against the unyielding Jason. An unfounded rumour that Antiochus had died in Egypt led Jason to attack Jerusalem, and Menelaus had to secure himself in the fortress. The Syrian despot viewed these disturbances as a Jewish rebellion (2 Mac 5^{11}), and his arrival at Jerus. in 170 was signalized not only by the flight of Jason, but also by the profanation and robbery of the temple, and by the slaughter of many of the inhabitants. At this time Philip the Phrygian, a man of low *morale*, seems to have been appointed governor of Jerus. so as to assist Menelaus in the task of reducing the Jewish people to a proper degree of subserviency to the king.

Two years later, the Holy City was laid waste by Antiochus' general Apollonius, and Syrian soldiers were placed in the Acra, a stronghold overlooking the temple. The tyrant next gave orders that Jewish rites should cease and heathen customs be observed, under pain of death. An idol altar ('*the abomination of desolation*' [see art. ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION], Dn 9^{27}) was set up in the temple, and sacrifices offered to Jupiter; copies of the law were searched for and destroyed; women with the babes they had circumcised were hurled headlong from the city wall. But Antiochus had overshot the mark. Hitherto under the Ptolemies as well as the Seleucidæ religious freedom had been expressly guaranteed to the Jews, and, before the province could be completely Hellenized, the stolid conservatism with which they clung to the observances of the Mosaic law required to be overcome. Experience showed that it could not be overcome. The extreme measures of Antiochus alienated many whose sympathies were largely with the Greek party. In consequence of his avowed intention to extirpate the Jewish religion the whole situation in Palestine was changed, and an invincible spirit of earnest religious patriotism was evoked. Many saved their lives by acquiescing in the king's measures, but others chose rather to die. It soon became clear that nothing would induce Israel to abandon her ancestral worship, and the moral force of her leaders enabled her to withstand the oppressive cruelty of the Syrians, and to achieve what might well have been considered impossible.

The ruthless policy of Epiphanes, adopted at the instigation of some apostate Jews who assured him that the whole country could be Hellenized, speedily brought matters to a crisis. Every village in Palestine was required to set up its heathen altar, and imperial officers were told off to see that heathen sacrifices were duly offered by all the citizens. A brave stand was made by **Mattathias**, an aged priest whom the persecution had driven to live at Modin, a little country town between Joppa and Jerusalem. When ordered to offer the first heathen sacrifice, he refused; and when a base Jew was about to do the unholy deed, Mattathias slew both him and the king's commissioner (Apelles), and pulled down the altar. Calling on all the faithful to follow him, he then with his five sons—John, Simon, Judas, Eleazar, and Jonathan—fled into the mountains and raised the standard of rebellion. Many who shared his feelings took refuge in the wilderness, but were pursued by the Syrian officers, who bade them yield or die. Rather than profane the Sabbath by fighting, 1000 fugitives allowed themselves to be slaughtered. But after this, to avoid extermination, Mattathias and his friends resolved to defend themselves from attack even upon the Sabbath. Approving of this spirited policy, a large army of Jews who loved their country and their religion now came forward in their support, and openly began to put down heathenism throughout the land. Mattathias died in B.C. 166 after blessing his sons and solemnly charging them to be zealous for the law, and to give their lives for the covenant of their fathers. The leadership he bequeathed to Judas, who was (? even then, cf. 1 Mac 2^{66}, or only afterwards) surnamed *Maccabaeus*, and whose followers consequently came to be known as the *Maccabees*.

ii. THE NAME MACCABEE.—As already indicated, **Maccabæus** (Gr. Μακκαβαῖος, ? Heb. מַקָּבִי) is properly the distinctive surname of Judas, third son of Mattathias, and after him leader of the heroic struggle against the Seleucidæ (1 Mac 2^{66} 3^{1} etc.). For long it was held that *Maccabee* was formed from the initials of the opening words of Ex 15^{11}: *mî kh*āmōkhah *b*ā'ēlîm *J*ahweh ('who is like thee among the gods, Jahweh?'), which were further conjectured to have been inscribed by the party upon their banners. But (1) the custom of forming new words in this fashion, although common among the Jews at a later date, does not appear to have as yet come into vogue; (2) the Gr. form as written with κκ cannot upon this theory be accounted for; (3) this interpretation of the name is too vague to fit in with the facts of the history, for in the first instance it was not the watchword of the party, but the individual surname of Judas (ὁ Μακκαβαῖος). In a treatise upon *The Name Machabee* (Leipzig, 1876), S. J. Curtiss contends that the word is derived from *kābāh* and means 'the extinguisher' (of his enemies), after Is 43^{17}; but this derivation also rests on precarious grounds. The original Heb. form having been lost, it is impossible to say with certainty whether it was written with *k* (כ) or with *ḳ* (ק), and in fact the Rabbinical texts use both letters indifferently. Curtiss argues that Jerome's spelling of the word (*Machabaeus*) points to his acquaintance with a Heb. form מכבי, whereas he probably adopted the Latin orthography current in his time. But as the Old Latin version is derived from the Gr. text of 1 Mac, we are thrown back upon the Gr. form of the name as the nearest indication of the original, and this leaves the matter uncertain, as Μακκαβαῖος might come either from a word with *k* or from one with *ḳ*. There remains what must be regarded as the most probable derivation, viz., that from *maḳḳābāh* (מַקָּבָה) = 'hammer.' If, as Ewald supposes, the surnames of the sons of Mattathias were intended merely as distinctive titles, that of 'hammerer' appears to be natural enough; while, on the theory that they were symbolical, the idea conveyed will be that of 'vigorous, sharp-beating warrior,' or 'chivalrous hero.' The case of Charles *Martel* is not strictly analogous, as he derived the title directly from his battle-axe. A better parallel is afforded by the designation of Edward I. as 'Scotorum *malleus*.' Curtiss may be right in his assertion that in the OT (Jg 4^{21}, 1 K 6^{7}, Is 44^{12}, Jer 10^{4}) *maḳḳābāh* denotes an ordinary hammer, and not the heavy sledge-hammer which would more adequately symbolize the impetuosity of Judas; but this circumstance can scarcely be considered decisive. See, further, Kautzsch (*Apocr. u. Pseudepigr. d. AT*, 24, where the interpretation 'hammerer' is adopted).

The name *Maccabee* was gradually widened in scope so as to embrace not only the brothers of Judas and all who were his blood relations, but also all his followers and coadjutors in the desperate struggle against the tyranny of the Syrian kings. It became in a special manner connected with the seven martyred brethren whose story is (rhetorically) told in 2 Mac 6^{18}–7^{42}, and whose moral bravery is reckoned worthy to stand alongside of that shown by those who fell in battle for the same sacred cause. Ultimately the name came to have a purely ideal significance, as, *e.g.*, in the titles of the so-called Third and Fourth Books of Maccabees. At present, however, it is used to designate only the sons and descendants of Mattathias. Although even in this limited sense the term *Maccabees* has established itself in general usage, the proper name of the family is that of **Hasmonæans** (or Asmonæans), derived from *Ḥashmon* (*i.e.* 'fat,' 'rich' = *magnate*; cf. Ps $68^{31\,[32]}$), Gr. Ἀσαμωναῖος (Jos. *Ant.* XII. vi. 1), the great-grandfather of Mattathias. Jewish writers accordingly use this name in preference to that of Maccabees, and among the Jews 1 and 2 Mac are known as 'Books of the Hasmonæans' (ספרי החשמונאים; see Winer, *Realwörterb.* under 'Makkabäer').

iii. THE JEWISH WAR OF INDEPENDENCE LED BY THE MACCABEES.

(i.) **Campaigns of Judas Maccabæus (166–161).**—The prescience of Mattathias in nominating Judas as his successor was fully justified by events. Judas soon proved himself a born general. He united in his own person the faith of Abraham, the zeal of Elijah, the stature of Saul, and the courage of David. He was at once the terror of his enemies and the pride of his nation. 'He angered many kings, and made Jacob glad with his acts, and his memorial is blessed for ever' (1 Mac 3^{7}). In the very first year of his leadership he rose to fame by defeating the Syrian generals Apollonius and Seron: 'Every nation told of the battles of Judas' (1 Mac 3^{26}). Enraged at the defeat of his forces, Antiochus sent his kinsman Lysias with half of his whole army to root out the Jewish nation and divide their land among strangers, while he himself with the rest of the troops crossed the Euphrates to exact tribute and collect money. Lysias at once sent against Judæa a large army under three trusted generals, Ptolemy, Nicanor, and Gorgias. The Syrians made so sure of victory that they had arranged for the attendance of slave-dealers to buy up Israelitish prisoners, but Judas and his brethren met them fearlessly. Gathering at Mizpeh, they observed a day of fasting and prayer, and further prepared for battle by organizing their troops into a regular army. With a detachment of 6000 men Gorgias planned a night attack on the Jewish camp; but Judas cleverly removed his forces, smote the main army under Nicanor, set fire to the Syrian camp, and waited for the disappointed Gorgias, whose troops fled on sighting the smoke of the burning tents. Thus 'Israel had a great deliverance that day' (1 Mac 4^{25}). The next year (165–164) Lysias himself led a still larger army against Judæa, but was heavily defeated by Judas at Bethzur, between Hebron and Jerusalem. He then retired to Antioch with the view of enlisting the services of mercenary troops to suppress the rebellion in Judæa. Meanwhile Judas took occasion to restore the temple worship. The shrubs that were growing wild in the courts were cleared away; the idol-altar was destroyed, and a new altar erected; and in general the sacred furniture which had been removed by Antiochus Epiphanes was replaced. On the 25th Chislev (Dec.) 165, just three years after its first defilement, the temple was purified by the offering of the legal sacrifice upon the new altar, and the Feast of the Dedication or Renewal (Jn 10^{22}), which continued to be observed until the destruction of the temple by the Romans, was joyfully celebrated for eight days (1 Mac 4^{56}). Thereafter Judas went on to fortify the temple mount and the city of Bethzur. These measures conclude the first stage in the history of the wars of the Maccabees. As yet they had never experienced defeat.

The brilliant exploits of Judas and his brethren excited the latent hostility of the neighbouring heathen tribes, who formed a fresh coalition against 'the race of Jacob' (1 Mac 5^{2}). Among other and less known parties to the league, Edom and Ammon, both old hereditary enemies of Israel, were routed by Judas. In response to appeals made to them, the Maccabees then busied themselves for a time in delivering from their enemies and lodging safely in Jerus. many Jews who were shut up in the fortresses of Gilead and Galilee. No fewer than 11,000 men were employed in these expeditions—3000 in Galilee under Simon, and the rest in Gilead under Judas and Jonathan. At the fortress of Ephron, which lay in a deep and narrow pass W. of Irbid, the inhabitants tried to obstruct the Jewish caravan, with the result that a way was forced over their dead bodies and through the ruins of their city. In the meantime Joseph and Azarias, who had been left in command at Jerus., foolishly risked an engagement with Gorgias, and were repulsed with the loss of 2000 men. This disaster, however, was counterbalanced by some fresh successes of Judas against the Edomites and Philistines.

No longer under the immediate necessity of defending the Jewish religion, the Maccabees had now begun to act upon the aggressive, and even to aim at the restoration of Jewish independence. Their ambition in this direction must have been stimulated by the unexpected tidings that Antiochus Epiphanes had died in the far East (164). He had appointed Philip, one of his 'Friends,' to act as regent and guardian to the minor Antiochus V., but Lysias had the latter crowned as king with the surname of Eupator. In the year following, by making a determined attack upon the citadel of Jerus. (Acra), Judas forced the Syrian garrison to seek help from Antioch. With a great army, including 32 fighting elephants, Lysias laid siege to Bethzur, and Judas pitched his camp at Bethzacharias, 8 miles nearer Jerusalem. Although in the battle that followed 600 Syrians were slain, the Jews were defeated. This first check to the victorious career of Judas was aggravated by the loss of his brother Eleazar, who, seeing a superbly caparisoned elephant on which he supposed the king to be riding, stabbed the animal from beneath, but was himself crushed by its fall. The Syrians had already got possession of Bethzur, and were on the point of taking the temple mount —it was a Sabbatic year, and the Jews were scarce of food—when Lysias was obliged to hasten to Antioch, where Philip, who had returned from the East, was trying to assert his title to the regency. Lysias therefore quickly made peace with the Jews, and granted them by treaty the religious liberty for which they had fought so well (1 Mac 6^{60}). As the formal abandonment of the attempt to abolish the Jewish religion by force, this concession marks the second important stage in the Maccabæan struggle. Hitherto it had been a war for religious freedom; henceforth it became a war for political independence.

Lysias soon got the better of Philip, but was himself, along with his ward, put to death by Demetrius I., the rightful heir to the Syrian throne, who had until now been kept as a hostage at Rome. The Greek party in Judæa induced Demetrius to send an army under Bacchides to install the ungodly Alcimus as high priest. Content to have 'a priest of the seed of Aaron,' the Hasidæans no longer opposed the Syrian rule, but sixty of them were treacherously slain in one day. After Bacchides had returned to Antioch without being able to entrap Judas, the latter speedily got the upper hand in Judæa, and Alcimus had once more to solicit help from Syria. In consequence, Judas again met Nicanor in battle. The Syrian general was beaten, and fell back upon Mount Zion, where he insulted the priests and threatened to burn the temple. But in a further battle at Adasa (161), near the pass of Beth-horon, he was himself slain, whereupon his army fled. The head and hand of the insolent blasphemer were hung up in front of one of the temple gates (Gorionides, iii. 22. 12; cf. 2 Mac $15^{31ff.}$), and the 13th Adar—the day of the battle—was afterwards kept as 'Nicanor's day' (1 Mac 7^{49}). At this stage Judas, despairing of being long able to continue the unequal contest with the imperial armies, sent ambassadors to the Roman Senate to invoke their protection against the Syrians. But although a treaty was concluded, nothing came of it beyond a warning to Demetrius that further interference with the Jews would mean war with Rome. Before the Roman rescript could have reached Antioch, the contingency dreaded by Judas had actually occurred. About six weeks after the defeat of Nicanor, Demetrius sent a fresh army into Judæa under Bacchides. Only 3000 men were with Judas at Elasa, and most of these deserted him on seeing the vastly superior strength of the Syrian host. Even the noble 800 who stood by him vainly tried to dissuade him from risking a battle, and Elasa became 'the Jewish Thermopylæ.' In spite of all they could do, Judas and his little band were overcome by sheer weight of numbers. 'Judas fell, and the rest fled' (1 Mac 9^{18}). His body was carried off by his brothers and laid in the sepulchre of his fathers at Modin (161).

In the long roll of Israelitish worthies we meet with no more striking personality than that of Judas Maccabæus. His piety was manifest to all; his motives were pure and unselfish; he fought for God's glory and his country's good. His unselfish devotion was equalled by his military genius. For seven years, with an enthusiasm that never flagged, and a generalship which has never been surpassed, he led the Jews to victory, and died only when even the noblest heroism could not conquer.

(ii.) **The leadership and high-priesthood of Jonathan (161-143).**—The friends of Judas, now openly persecuted by the Hellenizers, chose as their leader his brother Jonathan, surnamed *Apphus* (Gr. Ἀπφοῦς, Ἀφφοῦς, Σαπφοῦς, Σαφφοῦς; Syr. *Ḥappūs* =? *cunning*), who filled the post with much shrewdness and success. Wishing as yet to avoid Bacchides, Jonathan withdrew to the wilderness of Tekoah, and sent his eldest brother John to deposit the baggage with the friendly Nabathæans. But his plans miscarried, and John fell a prey to a robber clan at Medaba. Jonathan crossed the Jordan and avenged his brother's death, but meanwhile Bacchides seized the fords and lay in wait for him. The Jews thus found themselves in a situation of extreme peril; they saved their lives, however, by swimming across the river. The return of Bacchides to Antioch on the death of Alcimus (160) so strengthened the Maccabæan party, that within two years their opponents had once more to call in his aid. Although they had given Bacchides the assurance that Jonathan should be made his prisoner, the vigilance of the Maccabees made them cognizant of the plot, and, after slaying about fifty of the conspirators, Jonathan and his followers entrenched themselves at Bethbasi. This stronghold Bacchides could not reduce; he was repulsed with loss by Simon, while Jonathan at the head of a detached squadron overran the adjacent territory. Stung by these reverses, Bacchides slew many of the Hellenizers, accepted Jonathan's proposals for peace, and departed into Syria vowing that nevermore would he interfere in Judæa (*c.* 156). 'And the sword ceased from Israel' (1 Mac 9^{73}). For four years Jonathan dwelt at Michmash, 'judging' the people and restraining the Hellenizers.

Unbroken peace prevailed until Alexander Balas entered upon a contest with Demetrius I. for the Syrian crown (153). Happily for Jonathan, who coveted the power and prestige belonging to the high-priesthood, the office was vacant, and this dispute over the succession to the throne of Syria paved the way for his appointment. The rival claimants looked upon him as a valuable ally, and he knew how to exploit them. While availing himself of certain privileges granted in a letter from Demetrius, he unhesitatingly threw in his lot with Alexander Balas, who appointed him high priest, invested him with the order of 'King's Friend,' and sent him a purple robe and a diadem, the emblems of royalty. The same year, at the Feast of Tabernacles, Jonathan assumed the sacred vestments, and showed himself zealous in support of the pretender Balas. Demetrius now, in turn, offered the most tempting inducements (including the abolition of taxes, the cession of Acra, the release of Jewish prisoners, the enlargement of Judæan territory, the payment of Jewish soldiers, and liberal allowances for the temple and the building of the city walls) by way of outbidding his rival; but Jonathan, sceptical as to the sincerity of Demetrius, and aware that the claims of Balas were favoured at Rome, wisely adhered to his former choice. In a pitched battle which ensued, Demetrius was defeated and slain. By the distinguished reception given to Jonathan at Ptolemais, where in B.C. 150 Alexander Balas married the Egyptian princess Cleopatra, and the rebuff given to certain apostates from Mosaism who would fain have impeached him in the royal presence, the triumphant Balas showed his gratitude to his Jewish ally. He also 'wrote him among his Chief Friends, and made him a captain and governor of a province' (1 Mac 10^{65}). Subject to the suzerainty of Syria, this gave him both the civil and military command in addition to his spiritual supremacy as high priest. When, three years later, Demetrius II. came from Crete as the avenger of his father, his cause was espoused by Apollonius, governor of Cœle-Syria. But though Balas had proved a worthless king, and had forfeited the esteem of his subjects, Jonathan stood loyally by him. Taking the field against Apollonius, he captured Joppa, won a battle at Ashdod (where he destroyed the temple of Dagon), and received the submission of Ascalon. In gratitude for these services Alexander presented Jonathan with the gold buckle worn by princes of the blood, and with the city of Ekron. But no effort on the part of Jonathan could save Balas from ruin after his father-in-law Ptolemy Philometor turned against him. In a pitched battle Balas suffered defeat, and fled into Arabia; but a sheikh of that country 'took off Alexander's head and sent it to Ptolemy' (1 Mac 11^{17}). Within three days thereafter the latter died of wounds received in the battle, and Demetrius II. became king (145).

At this juncture Jonathan boldly laid siege to the Acra, and as boldly appeared to answer for himself before the king at Ptolemais. The result was a triumph of diplomacy. He carried costly gifts to the king; and the latter, instead of treating him as a rebel, 'gave him pre-eminence among his Chief Friends' (1 Mac 11^{27}), besides confirming him in the high-priesthood, and conceding to the Jews several of the benefits vainly offered by his father as the price of their adherence. Shortly afterwards Jonathan rendered useful service by sending 3000 men to Antioch to aid in putting down an insurrection which had broken out there against Demetrius. The latter promised on his part to withdraw the Syrian garrisons from Jewish strongholds, but as he failed to keep this promise Jonathan went over to the side of Tryphon, a former officer of Alexander Balas, who took advantage of the unpopularity of Demetrius to bring forward Antiochus, the son of Balas, as a claimant for the throne, and who was careful to confirm Jonathan in all his dignities. Jonathan lost no time in bringing the entire territory between Gaza and Damascus into subjection. Proceeding to Galilee he met the generals of Demetrius, whom, after a threatened reverse, he routed on the plain of Hazor (*c.* 144). At Hamath the Syrians rallied once more with a view to invade Palestine, but Jonathan marched beyond Lebanon and dispersed them.* He afterwards subdued the Arab tribe of the Zabadæans on the Antilibanus, returned home by way of Damascus, and set himself, in concert with the elders, to strengthen the defences of the country. The walls of Jerus. were heightened, and an effort made to isolate the Acra. Meanwhile Simon had not been idle in his new capacity of commander (*στρατηγός*) of the Palestinian seaboard (1 Mac 11^{59}). Besides capturing Bethzur, he reduced and garrisoned Joppa, and fortified Adida.

Tryphon now began to distrust the Maccabees, who had certainly not been unmindful of their own interests while 'they fought for one king against the other, and in the name of the Syrians drove the Syrians out of Judæa and the adjacent regions.' Surmising that the Jewish high priest would probably oppose his plans for usurping the throne, he suddenly marched into Palestine and encamped at Bethshan (Scythopolis), where Jonathan prepared to give him battle. But by dint of artful flattery Tryphon induced even this wary Jewish prince to walk into a trap. Having entered Ptolemais, accompanied by only 1000 men, Jonathan found himself a prisoner and had his escort slain. Thus ended his period of active service. Although a high priest of Israel, he was in no sense a religious man; it was merely as a ladder to power that the priest's office had attractions for him. He was essentially a worldly ecclesiastic. And if he was less disinterested in his aims than his brother Judas, he was also less scrupulous in his methods of realizing them. But few men in his circumstances could have achieved more, either for themselves or for their party. By the adroitness with which he turned to account the mistakes of his enemies, he more than made up for the lack of strength in his adherents.

---

* According to 1 Mac 12^{1-23} Jonathan at this juncture sent ambassadors to Rome, Sparta, etc., to conclude or renew friendly treaties, and they were favourably received by the Romans. Nothing is said regarding their reception at Sparta, but the writer gives what purports to be a 'copy' of Jonathan's letter, and also—apparently as a precedent—one of a letter formerly written by the Spartan king Arius I. to the Jewish high priest Onias I. (B.C. 323-300). Wellhausen (*IJG*^{3} p. 266, n. 3) rejects the whole passage as unhistorical. Unquestionably, it interrupts the main narrative in a very awkward manner; but if Jonathan, who was at the time a Syrian officer, *did* send such an embassy, it must have been because he had no faith in the stability of the Syrian kingdom.

(iii.) **The administration of Simon, ethnarch and high priest** (143–135).—Simon (Gr. Συμεών, Σίμων), surnamed Thassi (*i.e.*, probably, 'the zealous'), the sole surviving son of Mattathias, now gallantly stepped into the breach and was chosen leader (ἡγούμενος) at a public assembly in Jerusalem. He had already justified the epithet, 'man of counsel' (ἀνὴρ βουλῆς, 1 Mac 2^{65}), and had also distinguished himself as commander of the Mediterranean coast from Tyre to Egypt. Tryphon soon marched against Judæa, but found himself intercepted by Simon at Adida. He thereupon offered to release Jonathan for 100 talents of silver and the custody of two of his sons as hostages; but although Simon judged it best to accede to these terms, Tryphon neither set Jonathan at liberty nor relaxed his hostile attitude. All his efforts to reach Jerus., however, were rendered futile by the sleepless vigilance of Simon. Even a projected night expedition with supplies for the famished garrison in the Acra was wrecked by a heavy fall of snow. Soured and baffled, he marched into Gilead and gave vent to his spleen by putting Jonathan to death at Bascama (143). The body of Jonathan was afterwards interred at Modin, where Simon erected a magnificent family monument, which appears to have been a landmark for sailors on the Levant (1 Mac 13^{29}). See MODIN.

Now that the war was over, Simon applied himself with increased vigour to the task of strengthening the defences of Judæa. Having made Joppa a Jewish port, he laid siege to the fortress of Gazara, and expelled the heathen inhabitants. Shortly afterwards he appointed his son John commander-in-chief of his forces, with a residence at Gazara. He achieved another noteworthy triumph in the reduction of the Acra, the garrison being at length starved into surrender, and instituted an annual festival in commemoration of the day of his entry into this last outpost of the Syrians—the 23rd Iyyar (May) 142. Meanwhile Tryphon had murdered the puppet-king Antiochus VI. and seized the Syrian crown. Demetrius II. was also embroiled in difficulties with the Parthians, who were invading his north-eastern provinces, and Simon took occasion to demand complete exemption from taxes. This Demetrius consented to grant, along with an amnesty for all political offences. Thus was 'the yoke of the heathen' removed, and the wished-for goal of Jewish independence actually reached (1 Mac 13^{41}).

Simon was the founder of the high-priestly dynasty of the Hasmonæans. In B.C. 141, in recognition of his great services to the nation, he was formally appointed leader, high priest, and governor (ἐθνάρχης); and these offices were declared to be hereditary in his family until 'a faithful prophet' should otherwise direct (1 Mac 14^{41}). The popular decree embodying these honours was engraven on a memorial tablet placed in the temple. The first year of Simon's reign was made the beginning of a new era, according to which Jewish legal documents were dated. He also renewed the friendship and treaty with Rome and Sparta, and struck his own coins like any other independent sovereign. The beautiful picture of 1 Mac 14^{4-15} shows how well Simon utilized the years of peace that followed, in building up the prosperity of Judæa. In peace he was even greater than in war. He possessed the administrative genius. Under his wise and beneficent sway the country enjoyed a period of moral and material well-being for which there is no post-exilic parallel. He was the patron of trade and agriculture; the friend of liberty, justice, and religion; a brave soldier, a worthy priest, and a gifted statesman.

After four or five years, during which 'Israel rejoiced with great joy' (1 Mac 14^{11}), Simon was once more caught in the meshes of Syrian politics. Although Demetrius II. was a prisoner in Parthia, his younger brother Antiochus VII. (Sidetes) took up arms against Tryphon, and wrote to solicit the friendship of Simon. But after defeating Tryphon he reversed his policy. While he was besieging his rival in Dor, Simon sent him gifts and auxiliaries. These were haughtily declined, and a demand made for 1000 talents, failing the surrender of Joppa, Gazara, and the Acra. This was equivalent to a declaration of war, and very soon the Syrian general Cendebæus invaded Judæa. Now an old man, Simon left his two sons Judas and John to prosecute the campaign. Near Modin they gained a decisive victory.

For two or three years more Simon laboured at his favourite task of developing the internal resources of his kingdom. Then came the tragic end. In the castle of Dôk, near Jericho, at a banquet ostensibly held in their honour, he and two of his sons fell victims to the murderous ambition of his son-in-law Ptolemy, the son of Abubus, who aimed at the supreme power (135). Ptolemy's designs were frustrated, however, owing to the miscarriage of his plans for the assassination of Simon's third son, John, governor of Gazara. The latter, warned in time, slew the emissaries of Ptolemy, and forthwith assumed the government and the high-priesthood.

More than thirty years had passed since Mattathias openly resisted the religious persecution of his nation. In the faithful and skilful hands of his sons the crusade inaugurated by him had been singularly successful. One by one they had fallen in the sacred cause which he had committed to them (1 Mac 6^{46} 9^{18} $9^{36.42}$ 13^{23} 16^{16}). But they had not shed their blood in vain. The valour of the Maccabees had rehabilitated the Jewish nation. Not only was the old spirit of independence thoroughly aroused, but there was also developed a new consciousness of the worth of their revealed religion. As the most thrilling epoch in Jewish history, and that which shaped the last phases of Jewish belief prior to the advent of our Lord, the age of the Maccabees has a peculiar interest for the student of Christianity.

iv. THE HASMONÆAN DYNASTY.—The relationship of the various scions of the Hasmonæan house is exhibited in the subjoined genealogical table.

The reign of **John Hyrcanus** (135–105) was bright and prosperous. After the flight of Ptolemy, his brother-in-law, he encountered the hostility of Antiochus VII. (Sidetes), to whom he agreed to pay tribute. But in B.C. 128 Antiochus met his death in fighting against the Parthians, and Hyrcanus availed himself of the opportunity afforded by the dispute which arose about the succession to the throne of Syria to make the Jewish kingdom territorially as extensive as it had ever been. The country E. of the Jordan, Samaria, and Edom were in turn brought under his sway, and no further tribute was paid to the Syrian kings. He further added to the defences of the country, and during his reign the old fortress of Baris (later Antonia) was rebuilt. Hyrcanus also concluded a treaty with the Romans, and was the first Jewish prince whose name was inscribed on the coins. Men liked to flatter themselves that the prophetic gift had been restored in his person (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. x. 7). Outwardly brilliant, however, as his reign was, it was marked by a strong development of internal discord. It was at this time that the sects of the Pharisees and Sadducees first took definite shape

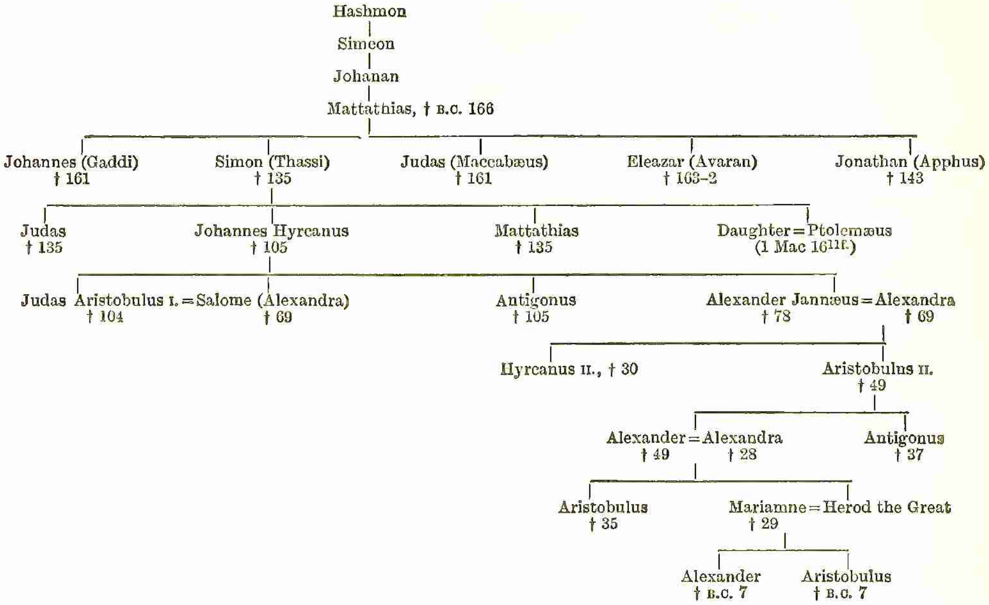

as political and religious parties. The Maccabæan party was originally Pharisaic, but Hyrcanus now went over to the Sadducees, who attached more value to political supremacy.

Of the five sons left by Hyrcanus, three rose to power. Their names were originally Judas, Mattathias, and Jonathan, but in accordance with their father's new-born Hellenistic proclivities they were now designated Aristobulus, Antigonus, and Alexander Jannæus.

Hyrcanus bequeathed the civil power to his wife, and the high-priesthood to his eldest son **Aristobulus.** But the latter shut up all his relatives in prison except **Antigonus,** and openly assumed the title *King of the Jews,* 'a name previously unknown to Heb. history, but destined to carry with it a sacred and enduring significance' (Mt 27^{11}, Mk 15^{2} etc.). Antigonus also fell a victim to his jealousy, owing to suspicions awakened in him by 'his evil spirit' Salome Alexandra. In other respects he appears to have deserved well of his country, whose boundaries he enlarged by the subjugation of the Ituræans; but remorse for the murder of his brother is said to have brought on his death, which occurred in B.C. 104, after a reign of only one year.

The next king was **Alexander Jannæus** (104–78), the eldest surviving brother of Aristobulus. Of warlike disposition, he set himself to complete the conquest of Palestine, which his father had begun, and after varying fortunes succeeded in bringing under his sway most of the important towns on the Philistine coast, as well as the regions E. of the Jordan. But Jannæus had other battles to fight. His reign was marked by civil dissension and internal revolt. A supporter of Hellenism, and a dissolute high priest whose hands reeked with blood, he came into acute collision with the Pharisees, and took the most savage revenge on his opponents.

Before his death Jannæus handed over the government to his wife **Salome Alexandra,** who soon proved her fitness to rule. Shrewdly enough, she at once threw herself into the arms of the Pharisaic party, allowing them practically to regulate the inner life of the nation, but reserving to herself the control of external affairs. Her elder son Hyrcanus II., as a pliable weakling, was invested with the office of high priest, while her younger son Aristobulus, who had energy and ability enough to render him dangerous, was kept strictly aloof from public affairs. The latter, who disliked the Pharisees and the docility with which his mother gave effect to their wishes, particularly as regards an ill-advised attempt to take vengeance on those who had counselled the crucifixion of 800 rebels during the reign of his father Jannæus, ultimately seized several fortresses, and contrived to raise an army, with which he bore down upon Jerusalem. At this stage Alexandra, who had on the whole ruled happily and with discretion, died after reigning for nine years (69).

Aristobulus soon got the better of Hyrcanus II., who agreed to retire in his favour and reside in Jerusalem as a private citizen. But the abdication of Hyrcanus was distasteful to some, and especially to one whose name we now meet with for the first time—the Idumæan **Antipater,** father of Herod the Great. Working upon the fears of Hyrcanus, this man persuaded him to flee for protection against his brother to the Arabian king Aretas, from whom he extracted a promise to re-establish Hyrcanus in his dominions, provided the latter gave up all claim to twelve cities unjustly wrested from the Arabians by Alexander Jannæus. Defeated in battle, and deserted by many of his troops, Aristobulus retreated to the temple mount, where he was besieged by a coalition army of Arabs and Pharisees.

At this juncture (B.C. 65) the shadow of Rome first fell upon the land. Scaurus, the legate of Pompey in Syria, having been appealed to by both parties, went to Jerusalem and decided in favour of Aristobulus. Aretas had accordingly to withdraw. But in the spring of 63 ambassadors from both parties appeared before Pompey himself at Damascus, while the representatives of a neutral party pled for the abolition of the monarchy and the re-establishment of the ancient constitution. Pompey delayed his decision, and Aristobulus, feeling insecure, at once occupied the stronghold of Alexandrium. Pompey advanced to attack him, whereupon Aristobulus surrendered all the fortresses, but fell back upon Jerus. and prepared for resistance. His vacillating policy was further illustrated when Pompey approached the city. Aristobulus sued for peace, and offered to open the gates and make a money payment; but when Gabinius was sent for the money, the gates were closed against him, and Pompey advanced against Jerusalem. The party of Hyrcanus, to which fear of the Romans brought many accessions, opened the city gates, but the supporters of Aristobulus entrenched themselves in the temple mount. After a three months' siege, however, the walls were scaled, and 12,000 Jews were slain. Apparently from curiosity, and to the lasting horror of the Jews, Pompey entered the Holy of Holies, but subsequently ordered the sanctuary to be purified, and the usual sacrifices to be continued. The ringleaders in the war were executed; Aristobulus and his family he took with him as prisoners; Hyrcanus was designated high priest and ethnarch, but not king. The boundaries of Judæa were also greatly contracted, and Jerus. was garrisoned by the Romans. Not even yet had the Jews learned to avoid calling in the interference of foreigners, but Rome knew how to profit by their internal strifes and factions.

As the star of the Hasmonæan dynasty set, that of the Herodian rose. Hyrcanus was only a puppet in the hands of Antipater and the Romans. The division of Palestine by Gabinius into five districts (*συνέδρια*) did not, as was hoped, weaken the feeling of national unity. The Hasmonæans made several abortive efforts to regain power. Revolts were led in the year 57 by Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, in 56 by Aristobulus himself and his son Antigonus, and again in 55 by Alexander. Once more, in B.C. 54, after the defeat of the Romans at Carrhæ, the Jews rose in rebellion, but were routed by Cassius. These attempts would have succeeded as against Antipater, but they could not do so as against Antipater and the Romans, who always came to his aid. In B.C. 49 Cæsar set Aristobulus at liberty in order to send him with an army against Antipater; but while he was yet in Rome Aristobulus was poisoned by the adherents of Pompey, who also contrived to have Alexander put to death at Antioch.

While Antipater continued to curry favour with the Romans, the Jews became jealous of his growing power. This feeling was intensified through the appointment of his eldest son Phasael as governor of Jerus., and of his second son **Herod** as governor of Galilee. The latter soon felt himself strong enough to defy the Sanhedrin, and even to menace Jerusalem. In spite of the accusations of the Sadducæan dignitaries, the two brothers secured the friendship of Antony. Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus II., made yet another desperate effort to obtain the kingdom. Although defeated by Herod, he was actually set up as king by the Parthians, and Herod's fortunes sank to the lowest ebb. Phasael made away with himself in prison, and Herod escaped to Rome, where he was recognized as king of Judæa (B.C. 40). A year later Herod landed at Ptolemais, and, after a war extending over two years, he at length, with the help of the legions of Sosius, captured Jerus. and mercilessly slaughtered his opponents. Antigonus was carried a prisoner to Antioch and there put to death. Herod now assumed the kingdom, and the Hasmonæan dynasty was at an end. Shortly before Jerus. fell into his hands he had married Mariamne, who, as granddaughter to both Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, represented the two opposing sections of the Hasmonæan house. But within the first decade of his reign this brilliant and resourceful but cruelly jealous man murdered all its still surviving members, to make sure that none of them should ever supplant him in the government. So perished in succession the youthful high priest Aristobulus, the aged Hyrcanus II., Herod's own wife Mariamne, and last of all Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcanus II. For these crimes Herod was to suffer a poetic retribution. In his closing years the murderer of the Hasmonæans became the murderer of his own sons, having about the year B.C. 7 ordered Alexander and Aristobulus to be done to death at Sebaste, where their mother Mariamne had become his bride. With them the history of the Maccabees comes to a close.

LITERATURE.—The chief sources for the Maccabæan history are 1 and 2 Mac (see next article), and Jos. *Ant.* XII. v. 1 onwards. Several Psalms, notably 44. 74. 79. and 83 are probably Maccabæan; some scholars, *e.g.* Reuss and Cheyne, ascribe many more to this period, but their conclusions are to be accepted with caution. For passing references in Greek and Roman authors, see Schürer, *HJP* I. i. p. 110 ff. Of modern works, besides shorter articles in the best Bible Dictionaries, the student may consult Derenbourg, *Histoire de la Palestine*, 1867; Ewald, *Hist. of Israel*, vol. v. [Eng. tr.] 1874; Stanley, *Jewish Church*, vol. iii. 1876; Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 1881; Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 1888; Schürer, *HJP* (Index); Wellhausen, *Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte*, 1894 (^{3}1898); Fairweather, *From the Exile to the Advent*, 1895; H. Weiss, *Judas Makkabaeus*, 1897; Streane, *The Age of the Maccabees*, 1898.

W. FAIRWEATHER.

MACCABEES, BOOKS OF (Μακκαβαίων, α′, β′, etc.).—Some important MSS of the LXX contain four books so entitled.* Of these the first two were incorporated in the Vulgate from the Old Latin translation, and accepted as canonical by the Council of Trent (1546). The Churches of the Reformation, on the other hand, adhering more strictly to the Heb. Canon, placed them among the OT Apocrypha, which were originally included in the Geneva Bible (1560) and in all the English Versions. The remaining books, which are only very remotely connected with the story of the Maccabees, have found, as they deserve, much less recognition in the Church. The order in which these books exist in the MSS, while not chronological as regards their subject-matter, accurately reflects the date of their composition as well as their comparative worth.

A. I MACCABEES.
  1. Contents and Style.
  2. Unity.
  3. Language of the original book.
  4. Author.
  5. Date.
  6. Sources.
  7. Historicity.
  8. Religious character.
  9. Use in the Christian Church.
  10. The MSS.
  11. Versions.

B. II MACCABEES.
  1. Contents and Historicity.
  2. Author.
  3. Language.
  4. Sources and Date.
  5. Relation to 1 Mac.
  6. Religious character.
  7. Use by Jews and Christians.
  8. MSS and Versions.

C. III MACCABEES.
  1. Contents.
  2. Historicity.
  3. Integrity.
  4. Language.
  5. Use by Jews and Christians.
  6. MSS and Versions.

D. IV MACCABEES.
  1. Contents.
  2. Language and Style.
  3. Authorship.
  4. Aim and Standpoint.
  5. MSS and Versions.

E. V MACCABEES.
  Literature.

A. I MACCABEES is the main source we possess for the history of the period with which it deals. This period covers the forty years (B.C. 175–135) from the accession of the Syrian king Antiochus IV. (Epiphanes) to the death of Simon.

1. *Contents and Style.*—After a brief introductory allusion to the conquests of Alexander the Great and the partition of his empire among his

---

* A and Cod. Venetus contain all four books, ℵ contains (apart from *lacunæ*) the first and the fourth. (See below).

successors, by way of tracing back to its commencement the history of the Greek supremacy in Judæa (1^{1-9}), the author goes on to give a detailed description of the attempt made by Epiphanes, in concert with a Hellenizing party among the Jews themselves, forcibly to introduce into Palestine foreign customs and pagan rites, and to destroy the Jewish religion root and branch (1^{10-64}). He then narrates the action taken by Mattathias the priest, who in his native town of Modin openly resisted the persecuting measures of Antiochus, and placed himself at the head of a band of faithful Israelites who first betook themselves to the mountains, but who, as their numbers increased, began to traverse the land and enforce the observance of Jewish rites (ch. 2). Almost before the movement had been well started, Mattathias died (2^{69}), and the remainder of the book deals with the splendid struggle for faith and freedom under the leadership of his sons, who ultimately succeeded in securing for their country, not only the religious liberty for which they first took up arms (6^{60}), but civil independence as well (13^{41}). After graphically describing the course of events under the successive leadership of the three brothers Judas (3^1–9^{22}), Jonathan (9^{23}–12^{53}), and Simon (13^1–16^{18}), the book closes with the record of the escape of Simon's son, John Hyrcanus, from the fate which overtook his father and his two brothers, and with a reassuring reference to the chronicles of his high-priesthood (16^{19-24}).

The hero of the book is undoubtedly Judas Maccabæus, and its most detailed section is naturally that which narrates his achievements and fortunes. It is written for the most part in the simple narrative style of the OT historical books, and in the phraseology it is easy to detect many reminiscences of both the prose and the poetry of the older canonical writings ($1^{28.\,37}$ $9^{21.\,23}$ 14^9 etc.). At times the language throbs with passion (1^{25-28}), becomes eloquently descriptive (14^{8-15}), or rises into poetry (3^{3-9}). But the work is in no sense that of a skilful literary artist who groups his facts with a view to scenic effect. The writer is a plain and honest chronicler who sets down the facts in their historical sequence, with scarcely an attempt to theorize upon them or to point out their significance.

2. *Unity.*—Previous to the 19th cent. no attempt was made to impugn the unity of the book. In view of the striking absence of the Divine Name from first to last, the careful chronology of the work as a whole, and the uniformity of the style throughout, there has been a very general disposition to ascribe the entire composition to a single author. Some modern scholars, however (*e.g.* Whiston, Destinon, and Wellhausen), regard chs. 14–16 as a later addition unknown to Josephus. The singularly brief manner in which that historian deals with the reign of Simon may perhaps lend some colour to this theory, but can scarcely be said to prove it. At the opposite pole from this view, and still more improbable, is that of Ewald, who thinks these concluding chapters are the main portion of the book, to which chs. 1–13 are merely introductory.

3. *The Language of the Original Book.*—The Greek text of 1 Mac is beyond doubt a translation; the work was written originally in Hebrew. On this point we have the express testimony of Origen and Jerome. The former, at the close of his list of the canonical books (in Euseb. *HE* vi. 25) says, 'But outside the number of these is the Maccabæan history (τὰ Μακκαβαϊκά), entitled *Sarbeth Sabanaiel*' (Σαρβὴθ Σαβαναιέλ). The work here referred to as known to Origen in its Heb. form is unquestionably the First Book of Maccabees.* Jerome († 420) states explicitly: 'The first book of Maccabees I found in Hebrew; the second is Greek, as can be proved from its very style' (*Prol. Gal. ad lib. Reg.*). The *internal* evidence for a Heb. original is also sufficiently conclusive. Although the book has many points of resemblance to the LXX, upon which its Greek seems to be largely modelled, and from which it even directly quotes (cf. 7^{17} with Ps $79^{2.\,3}$), the constant use of Heb. idioms and OT phrases (1^{29} 2^{48} etc.), as well as the whole structure of the sentences, precludes the idea of its having been written originally in Greek. There are also in the Greek text many obscurities, due in all probability to mistaken renderings from the Hebrew (2^8 6^1 11^8 14^5). Moreover, at this period no Palestinian Jew seems to have written in Greek. A more plausible case might be made out in favour of an Aramaic original, although it is practically certain that the author wrote in classical Hebrew, which was still the language of the learned, and above all of sacred literature.

4. *The Author.*—The name of the author is unknown. It is, however, quite clear from his warm sympathy with the Maccabæan movement, as well as from his minute knowledge of Palestine, that he was an orthodox Jew of that country. Nor can we tell who was the translator. In spite of its Hebraistic character, his Greek is not difficult to read, and is marked even by a certain fluency. His translation was probably executed somewhere about the middle of the 1st cent. B.C., and certainly not later than the time of Josephus, who seems to have been acquainted with it.

5. *The Date.*—As to the date of the original work, it is clear from $16^{23\text{f.}}$ that it was not composed until after the death of John Hyrcanus (B.C. 105). Ewald's opinion, however, that our author wrote *immediately* thereafter, is not borne out by the nature of the reference to the annals of that prince as an already well-known work. On the other hand, in view of the writer's friendly tone towards the Romans (ch. 8), the time of composition cannot have been later than B.C. 64, the year prior to Pompey's entrance into Jerusalem. At some point between these two limits the work must have been produced, but the exact year cannot be determined. The likelihood is, however, that it belongs to the first or second decade of the 1st cent. B.C., for as there is no allusion to anything later than the death of Hyrcanus, it seems best not to separate the composition of the book by too long an interval from that event.

6. *Sources.*—There can be little doubt that the author drew to a certain extent upon existing written sources. Even if an old man at the beginning of the 1st cent. B.C., his own recollections could extend to only a part of the period with which he deals. There is, of course, to be kept in mind the possibility of his having gathered information from older men, as well as the fact that he had doubtless at command a body of tradition singularly fresh, living, and distinct. But the narrative is so well informed, includes such a mass of detail, and is in general so accurate and precise, that we must suppose him to have had access to certain written notices of the Maccabæan struggle, and of the three brothers with whose names it is specially identified. Otherwise, no one living in the second generation after could

---

* The meaning of the Semitic title given by Origen has been much disputed. Most of the conjectures advanced (see Grimm, *Kurzgef. Exeget. Handb.* p. xvii; Keil, *Comm.* p. 22; Bissell in Lange-Schaff's *Comm.* p. 475) are based upon the reading *Sarbeth Sarbane El* (Σαρβὴθ Σαρβανὲ Ἔλ), adopted by Stephanus, and accepted even by Fritzsche (Schenkel's *Bib.-Lex.* under 'Makkabäer'), although by far the best attested reading, and according to Schürer (*HJP* II. iii. 9) 'the only reading that can claim to be recognized,' is that given above. It may possibly be transcribed שַׂר בַּיִת שֶׁבָּנָה אֵל (*sar bayith shebbūnāh el*), *i.e.* 'the prince of the house which God hath built up.' In any case the title is Semitic, and points to a Heb. original of our book.

have produced such a work. The use of written sources seems to be implied in 9^{22}, but the passage throws no light upon their origin or nature.

Some of the official documents which, as in the Book of Ezra, are incorporated with the narrative, the author states to be 'copies' (8^{22} $12^{5.\ 19}$ $14^{20.\ 27}$), and these may perhaps for the most part be accepted as genuine,—or at least as fairly accurate Heb. translations,—as may also some of the letters from the Syrian kings. Yet in not a few cases (cf. esp. 10^{51} $12^{20\text{ff.}}$ $14^{20\text{-}23}$ $15^{16\text{ff.}}$) we have probably only an attempt on the part of the writer or his authority to give a free version of the lost originals.* He evidently did not hesitate to deal in a free and easy manner with such documentary materials as lay to his hand. In substance, however, these ostensibly official records are quite apposite to the historical relations of the period.

7. *Historicity.*—In spite of the clever attempt made by the brothers E. F. and G. Wernsdorf about the middle of the 18th cent. to discredit 1 Mac as a historical work, there is but one verdict among modern critics with regard to its general trustworthiness. The writer's habit of dating the chief events according to a fixed era (the Seleucid era of B.C. 312), the general agreement of his chronology with that of Greek and Roman authors, and with the data furnished by extant coins of the period, the frankness and self-restraint shown by him in chronicling victory or defeat on the part of the Jews, and in speaking of their adversaries, the absence from his pages of tawdry ornamentation and weak supernaturalism,—all combine to give to his work the stamp of authentic history. Occasional errors occur, as in 1^6, which represents Alexander the Great as dividing his kingdom among his generals; in 8^6, where the author overstates the number of elephants employed at the battle of Magnesia (cf. Livy, xxxvii. 39); in $8^{1\text{ff.}}$, where mistakes are made in several particulars regarding the Romans; in 12^6, where he speaks of the Spartans as racially akin to the Jews; and in 14^1, where he is at variance with other writers as to the time when Tryphon murdered Antiochus VI. But these are mostly blemishes due to his limited knowledge of the world outside of Judæa, and do not seriously affect the value of the book as a contribution to Jewish history. The one criticism which may with justice be offered in this connexion is that the writer sometimes undoubtedly exaggerates in point of numbers (5^{54} $6^{30.\ 37}$ 11^{47}), but even this fault is to some extent condoned by the prevailing custom of that age.

8. *Religious Character.*—The religious character of the book corresponds to its trustworthiness as history. It breathes a spirit of genuine piety. The standpoint of the author is that of orthodox devotion to 'the law and the ordinances' (2^{21}), and unqualified abhorrence of heathen presumption (1^{25}), blasphemies (7^{38}), and enormities ($1^{55\text{f.}}$). In presence of the direst disasters he retains his faith in an overruling Providence (1^{64}), and does not forget that a righteous cause is more essential than a great army (2^{61} 3^{18}). But, in spite of the intense theocratic feeling that underlies the book, there is a remarkable reserve shown in the expression of it. The Maccabees are pious ($4^{8\text{ff.}}$ 12^{15} 16^3) and devoted men ($2^{21\text{f.}}$ $3^{59\text{f.}}$ etc.), but their triumphs are represented as due to their soldierly skill and diplomatic wisdom, and not to any special intervention of God. In this we detect a deviation from the mode of statement adopted in the older canonical histories. Yet the religious spirit of the book is such that Luther felt it might with advantage have been included in the Canon of Scripture, and altogether it stands on a higher plane than the other 'Books of Maccabees.' Devout Israelite as he is, however, the writer avoids the mention of the Divine Name, which (according to the true text) does not once occur in his narrative. Prayer is directed to the remote heaven, not to a present encompassing Jehovah (3^{50} 4^{10}). Except in the diluted form of a pathetic forward look towards 'a faithful prophet' who should announce the divine will with regard to pressing problems in Church and State (4^{46} 14^{41}), the Messianic hope is absent from the book. Nor is there any reference to the doctrine of the resurrection.

9. *Use in the Christian Church.*—Although not extensively, 1 Mac would seem to have been used in the Christian Church from an early date. Tertullian († 220), *adv. Judæos*, c. 4, says: 'Nam et temporibus Maccabæorum sabbatis pugnando fortiter fecerunt' (cf. 1 Mac $2^{41\text{ff.}}$); Cyprian (*c.* A.D. 250) quotes the book in his *Testimonia* (iii. 4. 15, 53), each time with the formula *in Machabaeis*; Clement of Alexandria († 220) speaks of τὸ (βιβλίον) τῶν Μακκαβαϊκῶν, and also of ἡ τῶν Μακκαβαϊκῶν ἐπιτομή, *Strom.* i. 123, v. 98; Hippolytus († 235) in his *Comm. in Daniel*, chs. 31–32, draws largely on 1 Mac, quoting almost *verbatim* $2^{33\text{ff.}}$; Origen († 254) also, in his *Com. in Ep. ad Rom.* (bk. viii. ch. i.), says: 'Sicut Mattathias, de quo in primo libro Machabæorum scriptum est quia "zelatus est in lege Dei,"' etc. (1 Mac 2^{24}). References to our book as the First Book of Maccabees also occur in the *Demonstr. Evang.* of Eusebius († 338), and in the writings of Augustine († 430). On the other hand, the Maccabæan books are placed outside the Canon by Origen, and omitted from the lists of OT Scriptures given by Athanasius († 373), Gregory of Nazianzus († 390), and Cyril of Jerusalem († 386), and until the Council of Trent enjoyed only 'ecclesiastical,' not canonical rank.

10. *The MSS.* — The Greek Text of 1 Mac, although not contained in the Codex Vaticanus (B), has a place in both the Codex Sinaiticus (א) and the Codex Alexandrinus (A)—MSS dating respectively from the 4th and 5th centuries. Next to these in age and importance comes the (8th or 9th cent.) Codex Venetus (V.). All the other (16) MSS are later than the 11th century. The best modern editions are those of Fritzsche (*Lib. Apoc. Vet. Test. Græce*, 1871) and Swete (*Old Test. in Greek*, Cambridge, 1894, 2nd ed. 1899).

11. *Versions.*—Only two old versions of 1 Mac are extant: (1) The Latin, which exists in two recensions, (*a*) the common text embodied in the Vulgate, and (*b*) another containing chs. 1–13, printed in Sabatier's *Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinæ Versiones Antiquæ*, ii. p. 1017 ff., and more recently discovered in a complete form in a MS now at Madrid. The latter appears to be the older recension. (2) The Syriac. This version, like the Latin, was evidently derived from the Greek. The translator's mode of giving the names of places, however, seems to point to his acquaintance with them in their Semitic form, and this circumstance, while rendering the version exegetically serviceable, is also a testimony to its antiquity.

B. II MACCABEES covers the history from the close of the reign of the Syrian king Seleucus IV. Philopator (B.C. 176) to the death of Nicanor (B.C. 161), a period of little more than 15 years. This takes us back one year further than 1 Mac does; but, on the other hand, the narrative stops short by a quarter of a century of the point reached in that work. Except that it deals with a relatively smaller section of the history, the Second Book thus virtually runs parallel with the First. For the opening year (or rather more) of the period which it covers, *i.e.* for the events narrated from 3^1—where, properly speaking, the book begins—to 4^6, it remains the chief authority, but for the rest of this period it ranks only as an independent supplement to the First Book.

---

* Fritzsche accepts as genuine all the documents called 'copies,' and regards all the rest as free reproductions by the author. But this seems too artistic.

1. *Contents and Historicity.*—In its present form 2 Mac begins with two letters in which the Palestinian Jews urgently invite their kinsmen in Egypt to take part in the Feast of the Dedication (1–2^{18}), whether in Egypt or in Jerusalem is not quite clear, although the latter supposition has the greater probability. Then follows the writer's own preface, in which he remarks upon the source, scope, and design of his work (2^{19-32}). After this comes the main narrative (3–15), which is an abridgment (ἐπιτομή, $2^{26.\ 28}$) of a larger history in five books by one Jason of Cyrene, a Hellenistic Jew. The first part of the abridgment (3^1–4^6) tells of a futile attempt by Heliodorus, prime minister of Seleucus IV., to rob the temple, and of the traitorous and slanderous policy pursued by a certain Simon against the good high-priest Onias. From 4^7–7^{42} the narrative is practically an expanded version of 1 Mac 1^{10-64}, setting forth with great fulness of detail the religious persecution under Antiochus IV. (Epiphanes), and exhibiting at once the lamentable apostasy of one section of the Jews and the immovable faithfulness of others, even to the point of martyrdom. The remainder of the work (8–15) corresponds broadly to 1 Mac 3–7, and describes the rise and progress of the Maccabæan insurrection down to the crushing defeat of the Syrian general Nicanor by Judas.* The epitomizer concludes with some characteristic remarks regarding his own work (15^{37-39}).

The first letter (1^{1-9}), which is dated from the year 188 of the Seleucid era (B.C. 124), refers to a letter written by the Palestinian Jews to their brethren in Egypt during 'the tribulation and extremity' induced by the apostasy of Jason the high priest under Demetrius II., and asks them to repeat the sympathy apparently shown to them then by keeping 'the feast of tabernacles of the month Chislev' (*i.e.* the Feast of the Dedication) now that the temple service was happily restored. The second letter (1^{10}–2^{18}), which bears no date, purports to be addressed by the Jews of Palestine, the senate (γερουσία), and Judas to the priest Aristobulus, king Ptolemy's teacher (διδάσκαλος), and to the Egyptian Jews. After telling how their oppressor Antiochus IV. (Epiphanes) had perished while attempting to rob the temple of Nanæa (1^{11-17}), and intimating their intention of celebrating the Feast of the Dedication and commemorating the recovery of the sacred fire under Nehemiah, they invite their kinsmen in Egypt to take part in the festival (1^{18}). There follow legendary stories of the manner in which the holy fire was preserved and found again (1^{19-36}), and of the hiding by the prophet Jeremiah, in a cave-dwelling, of the tabernacle, the ark, and the altar of incense until God should again smile upon His people (2^{1-8}). A miracle similar to that associated with Nehemiah had already taken place at the dedication of the temple by Solomon, who 'kept the eight days' (2^{9-12}). Judas Maccabæus is also represented as having meritoriously followed the example of Nehemiah in making a collection of national records and sacred books (2^{13-15}). The letter closes with another invitation to keep the feast, and with the hope that God may speedily gather the dispersed Israelites into the holy land (2^{16-18}).

The two letters prefixed to the book have in reality no connexion either with it or with one another, except in so far as they both aim at commending to the Egyptian Jews the Feast of the Dedication. The particle (δέ) by which they are linked on to the 'epitome' does not necessarily imply any prior narrative. Schürer correctly holds that 'they are evidently originally independent pieces of writing, afterwards combined by a later hand, but not that of the epitomizer, with this Second Book of Maccabees' (*HJP* II. iii. p. 213). The glaring contradictions of 1^7, which represents the climax of affliction as having been experienced under Demetrius II. Nikator, and 15^{37} which states that from the time of Nicanor's death (B.C. 161) the Holy City had been held by the Hebrews, and of 1^{11-16} and ch. 9 with respect to the death of Epiphanes, render impossible the view that these letters were indited by the epitomizer. Besides, they are written in a simpler and less rhetorical style than the main narrative, their proper chronological position in which would be after 10^{1-9}.* Both letters are palpable forgeries. In B.C. 144, when the first was written, 'the extremity' (1^7) was certainly past, and it seems incredible that the second, which, among other blunders, ascribes to Nehemiah the rebuilding of the temple and the altar (1^{18}), should have emanated from the Jewish senate. Such blemishes unmistakably stamp both epistles as apocryphal products of a later time.

Of Jason or of his history nothing is known beyond what is conveyed in 2 Mac. That he was identical with the ambassador of 1 Mac 8^{17} is a pure conjecture. Although a Jew 'of Cyrene' he shows more acquaintance with Syria than with Egypt and Palestine. In all that relates to the former kingdom his knowledge is extensive and minute. The names and rank of Syrian officers (4^{27} 5^{24} 12^2 14^{12}), as well as the identity of minor personages (4^{30} 8^{32} 10^{32}), are familiar to him. On the other hand, his knowledge of Palestine and even of Egypt is geographically defective, and is limited to outstanding events and personages. All this points, perhaps, to his having been no longer resident at Cyrene when his work was written.

2. *Author.*—The personality of the epitomizer is unknown. He was perhaps an Alexandrian Jew, although his work bears no trace of the Jewish-Alexandrian philosophy of religion, and contains nothing alien to the orthodox Palestinian Judaism of the period. His relation to Jason's history is made quite clear by himself (2^{19-32}); he expressly informs us that his work is only a condensed version of Jason's. From the 'painful labour' involved, it is natural to suppose that his epitome covers the whole of the ground embraced in the five books of Jason. The latter was probably also the sole literary source from which he drew. It is unwarrantable to infer from the fact that in his general digest of the contents of Jason's work he fails to mention that it included events within the reigns of both Seleucus IV. and Demetrius I., that it was therefore confined to the period during which Antiochus IV. (Epiphanes) and his son Eupator held the throne, and that he must have used other sources for those parts of his narrative which deal with events prior and subsequent to that period. According to Grotius only chs. 3–11, according to Bertholdt only chs. 4–11, are based upon Jason's history. But it was enough that in his summary of contents the epitomizer should name the two kings with whom the narrative is chiefly concerned. Moreover, the way in which he disclaims originality and even responsibility for the historical accuracy of the facts embodied in his work (2^{28}) seems to

---

* Some prefer to divide the book into five sections, of which the respective endings (3^{40} 7^{42} 10^9 13^{26} 15^{37}) are supposed to be coincident with the close of the several volumes of Jason.

* Fritzsche (in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexicon*), while agreeing that the epitomizer did not write these letters, thinks that he prefixed them to the book because they were consonant to his purpose. But even this is to rate his intelligence very low.

imply that had he made use of any other documentary material he would certainly have specified it. No doubt he has given a certain colouring of his own to the book as we possess it. The exaggerations and florid rhetoric which characterize it are probably due to him, but 'the manifestations that came from heaven' on behalf of Judaism are mentioned as being treated of in the original work, to which also are undoubtedly to be attributed not a few of the inconsistencies found in the 'epitome' (cf. 9^{29} with 13^{23} etc.). And it is to be remembered that the latter is probably quite as much of a *selection* from the original as a digest of it. To judge from the sample of ability and literary taste exhibited in the epitomizer's prefatory and closing words, his share in the subject-matter must in any case have been slight.

3. *Language.* —Both Jason and his epitomizer must have originally written in Greek. As a Jew of Cyrene, Jason would naturally make use of that language. That he did so is also suggested by the remarkably pure Greek of the epitome. The Hebraisms which might have been looked for in a translation from Hebrew or Aramaic are in general conspicuous by their absence. Jerusalem is always written Ἱεροσόλυμα according to the Greek, never Ἰερουσαλήμ according to the Heb. form. That the Greek text of the epitome is the original can be proved, as Jerome says, from its very style: 'Secundus (Machabæorum) Græcus est, quod ex ipsa quoque φράσει probari potest.' In this remark we have at once external evidence for a Gr. original, and the recognition of internal evidence pointing in the same direction. The style of the present work, although at times bald and rough (as *e.g.* in 13^{19-26}), is on the whole fluent and unrestrained, and not seldom highly ornate. There is a certain straining after rare words and expressions, as: φιλοφρονεῖν εἴς τι, 2^{25}; ἀλλοφυλισμός, 4^{13} 6^{24}; διεμπίμπλημι, 4^{40}; θωρακισμός, 5^{3}; ὁπλολογεῖν τινά, $8^{27.31}$; κατευθικτεῖν, 14^{43}. Some words are employed in an unusual sense, *e.g.* εἰσκυκλεῖσθαι, 2^{24}; φροντίζειν τί, 2^{25}; ψυχικῶς, 4^{37} 14^{24}; δευτερολογεῖν, 13^{22}. Several ἅπαξ λεγόμενα appear also to occur, *e.g.* δυσπέτημα, 5^{20}; ἀπευθανατίζειν, 6^{28}; δοξικός, 8^{35}; πολεμοτροφεῖν, $10^{14.15}$; διάσταλσις, 13^{25}. The writer is fond of the alliterative use of words from the same root, *e.g.* ἄγειν ἀγῶνα, 4^{18}; ἀποδεχθεὶς . . . εἰσεδέχθη, 4^{22}; δεξιασθεὶς . . . δεξιάν, 4^{34}; εὐημερίαν δυσημερίαν, 5^{6}; ἀποξενώσας ἐπὶ ξένης, 5^{9} etc. He is also partial to the use of ποιεῖσθαι with the accusative of the substantive necessary to complete the verbal idea, as in 2^{30} etc. Clearly he had a large vocabulary at command, and could write the Greek language with ease and mastery.

4. *Sources and Date.*—If, as is probable, Jason based his narrative on the oral accounts of contemporaries who recited from memory the stirring events of those fifteen years, he must have written soon after B.C. 160. The mythical strain of chs. 6–7, which relate the martyrdom of Eleazar and the seven brethren, and of other parts of the narrative, does not preclude this view, as such myths require no long time for their formation, especially at some distance from the theatre of events. But the exact date of writing cannot be determined. The same is the case as regards the epitome. The curious statement of 15^{37} might seem to suggest the period immediately subsequent to Nicanor, but this is clearly out of the question. All that can be said with safety is that the work must have been written before the destruction of Jerus. in A.D. 70, since the existence of the city and the temple worship are presupposed. This is further apparent from the fact that 4 Mac, which is based on 2 Mac, was written prior to that event. That our book was composed later than 1 Mac may be inferred from the changed tone of the references to the Romans. If 2 Mac was known to Philo (see below), this would fix the inferior limit of its composition at about A.D. 40.

5. *Relation to* 1 *Mac.*—2 Mac contains much that is special to itself, but where it evidently covers the same ground as 1 Mac it does so with many divergences of detail. It is not, of course, surprising that between two independent narratives dealing with the same events there should be many points of difference. Our two books are, however, so different in genius, form, and contents, that strict comparison is impossible. In historical credibility and value 2 Mac is admittedly inferior to the First Book, the authority of which must therefore be preferred in the case of irreconcilable discrepancies. Of such it may suffice to enumerate the following:—(1) The campaign of Lysias, ascribed in 1 Mac 4^{26-35} to the year before the death of Antiochus IV. (Epiphanes), is transferred in 2 Mac 11 to the reign of Antiochus V. (Eupator); (2) the Jewish raids on neighbouring tribes, and campaigns in Gilead and Galilee, represented in 1 Mac 5 as carried on in rapid succession between the rededication of the altar and the concession of religious liberty, are separately placed in different historical settings (8^{30} 10^{15-38} 12^{2-45}); (3) the account given in ch. 9 differs in several particulars from that of 1 Mac 6 regarding the death of Antiochus IV. (Epiphanes), who it is falsely declared wrote a letter to the Jews; (4) the statement in 9^{29} that after the death of Antiochus, Philip fled to Egypt, is at variance with that of 1 Mac $6^{55.63}$; (5) in 14^{1} Demetrius I. is said to have landed in Syria 'with a mighty host and a fleet,' in 1 Mac 7^{1} 'with a few men'; (6) Nicanor's personal liking for Judas, 14^{24}, is an incredible circumstance, and contrary to the whole trend of 1 Mac; (7) according to 15^{37} the Acra was in the possession of the Jews at the time of Nicanor's death, whereas according to 1 Mac 13^{51} it was captured by Simon only in B.C. 142. Other blemishes disfigure the work, *e.g.* the absurd exaggerations in the numbers of the slain ($8^{24.30}$ $10^{23.31}$ 11^{11}); the highly coloured picture of the martyrdoms in 6^{18}–7^{42}, and the representation that Epiphanes witnessed them in person; the erroneous particulars as to the place and manner of death of that monarch (9); and the extraordinary details respecting the suicide of Razis ($14^{37ff.}$). Yet with all its defects 2 Mac is by no means historically worthless. The earlier portion of the narrative (3^{1}–4^{2}) is of the greatest value, and there is no reason to doubt its substantial truthfulness. There are indeed many important particulars in which the book agrees with 1 Mac (cf. 4–6^{10} with 1 Mac 1^{10-64}). It is also in accord with Josephus, who was unacquainted with it, in regard to several events about which 1 Mac is silent (cf. 4. 6^{2} 13^{3-8} 14^{1} with Jos. *Ant.* XII. v. 1, v. 5, ix. 7, x. 1). Vain attempts have been made to reconcile discrepancies between 1 and 2 Mac on the theory that the writers followed a different chronology. In all probability both adopted the Seleucid era, which began in Oct. B.C. 312. On the relation of this era to dates B.C., see Schürer, *HJP* I. i. p. 36 ff., I. ii. Appendix v. p. 393.

6. *Religious Character.* — As to its religious character, 2 Mac presents a strong contrast to the First Book. In 1 Mac the name of God remains unuttered, in 2 Mac it is freely used; in the former frequent reference is made to the OT, here it is but seldom alluded to (7^{6} 8^{19} 15^{22}); in the one, great reserve is shown in the expression of theocratic feeling, in the other the reverse is the case. Again, instead of a simple objective narrative in which the facts are allowed to make their own impression, we have a highly coloured rhetorical composition with a running commentary upon the

events recorded ($4^{16f.}$ $5^{9f. 17f.}$ $6^{12f.}$ $9^{6. 18}$ etc.). The writer aims at the glorification of Judaism, and selects and modifies his historical material with a view to homiletic ends. In particular, it seems to have been the chief design of the compilation in its present form — and in this respect the two introductory letters are certainly significant—to magnify the temple (2^{19} 3^{2} 9^{16} 13^{23}), to exalt the importance of the two national festivals connected with the re-establishment of the legal worship and the death of Nicanor, and to encourage, admonish, and edify the Jews of the Dispersion. The work can scarcely be termed a history in the ordinary sense, its whole material being grouped around the temple and the two great festivals, without regard to strict chronological sequence. *E.g.* the institution of the Feast of the Dedication is placed *after* the account of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes (cf. $10^{6ff.}$ with 1 Mac 4^{56}) for the sake of effect, and the circumstances connected with the death of Judas are passed over, apparently in order that the previous engagement in which Nicanor lost his life, and its commemorative festival, might stand out in bolder relief. Owing perhaps to an inclination on the part of the Egyptian Jews to set increasing store by their own temple at Leontopolis, the writer seems to represent the temple at Jerus. as the only legitimate sanctuary. It is the headquarters of the Jewish worship (2^{19} 5^{15} 14^{31} etc.), and honoured even by heathen kings (3^{2} 13^{23}). The Almighty had often interposed to protect it, and had severely punished its desecrators (3^{24} 13^{6-8} 14^{32} 15^{32}). There are constant references to heavenly manifestations (*ἐπιφάνειαι*, 2^{21}) on behalf of the defenders of Judaism ($3^{24ff.}$ $10^{29f.}$ $11^{6ff.}$ 12^{22}). The history is only seen as it were through a coloured spectrum of portents (5^{4}), dreams (15^{11}), and visions (3^{33}). The Lord is conceived as the wonder-worker (*τερατοποιός*) who in answer to prayer sends 'a good angel to save Israel' (11^{6} $15^{21ff.}$).

Israel is 'God's people' (1^{26}), His 'portion' (*ἡ μερὶς αὐτοῦ*, 14^{15}); their calamities are His loving chastisement for their sins (5^{18} 6^{12}); and from them He will never withdraw His mercy (6^{16}). The heathen, on the other hand, are allowed to fill up their cup of iniquity prior to their destruction (6^{14}). Foreign kings and their Jewish supporters are the unconscious instruments of the divine punitive righteousness with respect to Israel, but their insolence does not go unpunished (7^{36}), and their punishment exactly corresponds to their guilt (4^{38} 5^{9} 13^{8} $15^{32f.}$). The view taken of providential rewards and punishments is thus distinctly mechanical and external. 'Providence appears no longer as God's providence, but man's shaped by his wishes and governed by his caprices.'* God will one day gather the dispersed Israelites into Palestine (2^{18}); than this there is no nearer approach to the Messianic hope. The doctrine of the resurrection, on the other hand, finds the clearest expression (7^{36}), and the offering of prayers for the dead seems to have the sanction of $12^{42ff.}$.

According to Geiger, 1 and 2 Mac are partisan writings, the work, respectively, of a Sadducee who espoused the cause of the Hasmonæan house, and of a Pharisee who bore it a distinct grudge. As regards 2 Mac at all events, his theory seems to have much in its favour. Of the genealogy of the Maccabees, the death of Judas, the family sepulchre, no account is taken in the narrative. The priestly order, as represented by Jason and Menelaus, appears in the darkest light. Among the martyrs spoken of there is no priest, whereas one of 'the principal scribes' ($6^{18ff.}$) was the first to defy imperial cruelty. The Pharisaic bias of the work is seen also from its rigid Sabbatarianism (5^{25} 6^{11} etc.), its partiality for wonders and visions, and its teaching concerning the resurrection (7). Even the action of Judas himself is ascribed to his mindfulness of the resurrection (12^{43}).

7. *Use by Jews and Christians.*—Among the Jews 2 Mac was never received as canonical. In the Rabbinical writings, however, some use is made of it, and in Philo's treatise, *Quod omnis probus liber* (Mang. ii. 459), the descriptions of tyrannical persecutions of the pious appear to be based upon it. The earliest *Christian* reference to it is supposed to be in the Ep. to the Heb. (cf. He $11^{35ff.}$ with 2 Mac $6^{19. 28}$). The first *quotation* from the book is found in the writings of Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* v. 14. 97). Frequent reference is made to it by Origen (*Exhortatio ad martyrium*, c. 22–27, *de Oratione*, c. 11, *contra Celsum*, viii. 46, etc.). The history of the Maccabæan martyrs was a favourite subject with the early Fathers generally (Cyprian, *Test.* iii. 17; Jerome, *Prol. Galeat.*; Augustine, *de Doctr. Christ.* ii. 8, *de Civitate Dei*, xviii. 36). That the estimation in which the Books of the Maccabees were held by Augustine exceeded that accorded to them by Jerome, who recognized them as ecclesiastical but not as canonical, appears from the passage last referred to: 'Maccabæorum libri, quos non Judæi, sed ecclesia pro canonica habet propter quorundam martyrum passiones.'

8. *MSS and Versions.*—What has been said above on 1 Mac with reference to MSS and versions applies for the most part to 2 Mac also. But (1) 2 Mac is omitted in ℵ; (2) besides the Old Lat. version which is adopted in the Vulg., and which is not, as in the case of 1 Mac, supplemented in Sabatier by an older text, there is a Cod. Ambrosianus published by Peyron in 1824. The Syriac version is very inexact.

C. III MACCABEES.—1. *Contents.*—This book relates how Ptolemy IV. Philopator, after defeating Antiochus the Great at Raphia (B.C. 217), visited Jerusalem, and 'conceived the purpose of entering the sanctuary' (1^{10}). Everything was done to dissuade him from this act of desecration, but in vain. Great excitement consequently arose among the Jews, who were with difficulty prevented from taking to arms (1^{11-29}). At the critical moment the calm and reverend figure of Simon the high priest was seen kneeling in front of the temple, and in answer to his earnest prayers God smote the king with paralysis, and he was borne helpless from the sacred precincts (2^{1-24}). On coming to himself Ptolemy returned to Egypt, but vowing vengeance. This took the form of subjecting the Jews of Alexandria to certain religious disabilities, depriving them of the equal civic rights which they enjoyed with the Macedonian founders of the city, and branding them with an ivy-leaf as worshippers of Bacchus. Only those who voluntarily embraced the worship of this deity were to retain their privileges (2^{25-30}). Enraged at the steadfastness with which the great majority adhered to their ancestral faith, the king commanded the entire Jewish population of the country to be brought in chains to Alexandria (2^{31}–3^{1}). In spite of attempts made to represent them as disloyal citizens, the Jews had so won the good opinion of all, that some of their Gentile associates interested themselves on their behalf (3^{2-10}). Notwithstanding the stringent terms of the royal edict,—which caused as much grief to the Jews as it did joy among the heathen,—and the equally harsh manner in which it was carried out, the majority succeeded in evading arrest (3^{11}–4^{10}). As a preliminary to the intended massacre, the names of all were ordered to be taken down. But, at the end of forty days' continuous work, the clerks reported that, owing to the vast number of Jews to be dealt with, their writing materials were exhausted (4^{14-21}). Ptolemy next commanded that 500 elephants should be intoxicated with wine and incense and let loose upon the Jews in the racecourse. Although all was in readiness for it, the execution of the order was delayed for another day because the king had slept until it was past the hour fixed for his principal daily meal (5^{1-22}). Next morning, however, Ptolemy was providentially made to forget the orders he had given, and recollected nothing but the loyalty of the Jews to himself and his ancestors (5^{23-25}). Yet the same evening he summoned the keeper of the elephants and renewed his order for the destruction of the Jews; and in reply to the higher officials, who expressed amazement at his instability of purpose, he swore that he would send the Jews to Hades, and that he would invade Judæa and destroy the temple (5^{36-43}). When, accordingly, on the third day at dawn an enormous crowd had collected, and the king rushed forth to see his commands executed, the Jews called upon the Lord to show them mercy (5^{44-50}). At the prayer of the venerable priest Eleazar, 'two angels, glorious and terrible,' appeared from heaven, to the consternation of the king and his army. The elephants also turned upon and trampled down the royal forces (6^{1-22}). The king now directed his wrath against his counsellors, ordered the Jews to be released from their fetters, and feasted them for seven days at the imperial expense. They resolved on their part to observe these days in all time coming as a festival to commemorate their deliverance. The king also provided them with a letter to the provincial authorities securing them against injury and reproach (6^{23}–7^{9}). They were further empowered to put to death more than 300 of their kinsmen who had apostatized from the law of God, and, after duly availing themselves of this concession, they joyfully set out for their homes. At Ptolemais they celebrated their deliverance for another seven days, and erected a house of prayer. On arriving at their several destinations they had all their property restored to them, and were held in higher esteem than ever by the Egyptians (7^{10-23}).

---

* Bissell, p. 555.

2. *Historicity*.—That the narrative has to some extent a historical background is clear from the opening sketch of the war between Philopator and Antiochus. The details given agree broadly with the statements of Livy, Justin, and Polybius. At Raphia the scale was turned in favour of Philopator, through the appeal made to the soldiers by his sister Arsinoe ($1^{1.4}$), whom, however, Livy (xxxvii. 4) names Cleopatra, and Justin (xxx. 1. 7) Eurydice. According to Polybius (v. 87), Philopator remained for three months in Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia. His Bacchanalian proclivities ($2^{25f.}$) are also mentioned by Justin (xxx. 1) and Strabo (xvii. 796). Theodotus (1^{2}) is a historical personage; Polybius (v. 40, etc.) speaks of him as an Ætolian who was Ptolemy's commander-in-chief over Cœle-Syria, but who in B.C. 219 went over to the side of Antiochus. Grimm (*Introd.* § 3) further regards the observance of the two annual festivals (6^{36} 7^{19}), and the existence of the synagogue at Ptolemais (7^{20}), when the author wrote, as the witness of tradition to some great deliverance; but there is force in the remark of Fritzsche ('Makkabäer' in Schenkel's *Bib.-Lex.*), that among the Jewish writers of that period it had become an almost stereotyped custom to link on a festival to every event of importance.

Certainly, in spite of the historical allusions which it contains, and the manifest intention that it should pass for real history, the work must be regarded as a fiction, and that not of the highest order. It abounds in incredible situations (4^{20}, cf. with 5^{6} $6^{1.30}$ 7^{18}) and psychological absurdities ($5^{27ff.}$); it is characterized by false statements (5^{2} 7^{2}) and inconsistencies (4^{18}); it shows, too, great zest in the interpretation of providence (4^{21} 5^{30} etc.). In short, it bears every mark of being a mythical tale founded perhaps on some no longer definitely ascertainable historical occurrence. There is nowhere else any mention of Philopator having either visited Jerus. or persecuted the Jews. But in Jos. (*c. Ap.* ii. 5) there is a story of a somewhat similar character connected with the reign of Ptolemy VII. Physcon. That monarch, it is said, punished the Alexandrian Jews for their loyalty to Cleopatra by putting them in fetters and throwing them to intoxicated elephants. As the animals, however, turned against Physcon's friends and killed many of them, and as the king saw a terrible visage which forbade him to injure the Jews, he abandoned his intention, and the Jews kept a feast in commemoration of the event. This appears to be the older as it is also a simpler version of the same floating tradition, which may have been based upon an actual but unsuccessful attempt on the part of some monarch to enter the temple at Jerus. by force—an attempt which was followed up by an effort to be avenged on the Jews. But in 3 Mac, which was apparently unknown to Josephus, the reference of the story to an earlier king of Egypt, and the addition of other embellishments, already mark a deviation from the older tradition. According to many scholars (Ewald, Reuss, etc.), the legend is founded upon the attempt of the emperor Caligula to erect his statue in the temple at Jerus. (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. viii. 2), and his subsequent persecution of the Jews, the transference of the event to the reign of Ptolemy IV. Philopator being due to prudential reasons. But there is nothing in the work which definitely points to Caligula's time, and our author does not represent Ptolemy as aspiring to the honours of deity. The one significant parallel to the times of Caligula is the circumstance, vouched for by Philo, that the Roman governor Flaccus Avillius deprived the Jews of the rights of citizenship. On the other hand, if the work be referred to this period (*c.* A.D. 40), the confinement of the Jews in the hippodrome of Alexandria ($4^{11ff.}$) might have been suggested by Herod's command that his leading opponents should be so dealt with at Jericho (Jos. *Ant.* XVII. vi. 5; *BJ* I. xxxiii. 6). But the exact date of writing remains uncertain. The Greek additions to Daniel are known to the author, who cannot therefore have written earlier than the 1st cent. B.C., but he very possibly lived as late as the 1st cent. A.D. His design was evidently to cheer and console his co-religionists in a time of persecution at Alexandria.

3. *Integrity*.—In its present form 3 Mac appears to be incomplete. It begins abruptly (ὁ δὲ Φιλοπάτωρ); in 1^{2} there is a reference to 'the plot' (τὴν ἐπιβουλήν) of which no previous mention has been made; and in 2^{25} allusion is made to the king's 'before-mentioned' companions, although the foregoing part of the work is silent regarding them. But it is unnecessary (with Dähne, Ewald, Fritzsche) to suppose that it is a mere fragment; the loss of an introductory chapter would explain all (Grimm). Fritzsche thinks the title of the book indicates that we have in the extant fragment a sort of *prolegomena* to a complete history of the Maccabees. Certainly 'Book of Maccabees' is a misnomer as applied to the existing work, which professes to deal with a situation considerably anterior to the Maccabæan rising.

4. *Language*.—Our book bears every evidence of having been written in Greek by an Alexandrian Jew. The vocabulary is exceptionally rich. Hebraisms are comparatively rare, and never harsh (*e.g.* 'thy glorious name,' 2^{14}; 'the heaven of heavens,' 2^{15} etc.). The style, however, is 'bom-

bastic and involved,' and even further removed from the category of ordinary prose narrative than is that of 2 Mac, with which it has many points of affinity, such as, *e.g.*, the use of *τόπος* to designate the temple at Jerus., and of *ἐπιφάνεια* to denote the special miraculous interposition of God, and the love of rhetorical word-painting ($1^{16\text{ff.}}$ $4^{3\text{ff.}}$ $5^{48\text{f.}}$). It exceeds that work, however, in obscure expressions ($1^{9.\,14.\,17}$ 2^{31} 4^{11}), and in straining after poetic effect (1^{18} 4^{8} 5^{26} $6^{4.\,8}$). The opening words of 5^{31} (*ὅσοι γονεῖς παρῆσαν ἢ παίδων γόνοι*) form an iambic trimeter, and seem to be a quotation from some Greek dramatist. Some words bear an unusual meaning, *e.g.* *διάγειν* (1^{3}), *ἀπρόπτωτος* (3^{14}), *καταχρᾶσθαι* (4^{5}); others do not occur elsewhere, *e.g.* *ἀνεπιστρέπτως* (1^{20}), *λαογραφία* (2^{29}), *προσυστέλλεσθαι* (2^{29}), *χαρτηρία* (4^{20}); and others are very rare, or are used only in late Gr. writings, *e.g.* *ἔνθεσμος* (2^{21}), *φρικασμός* (3^{17}), *ἀλογιστία* (5^{42}), *μεγαλομερῶ* (6^{33}). The work appears to be more or less coloured by the influence of the Alexandrian philosophy; compare in this connexion the names (*μέγιστος*, $1^{9.\,16}$ 4^{16} 7^{22}; *ὕψιστος*, 6^{2} 7^{9}) applied to the Supreme Being, and the distinction made between God and His glory ($2^{9\text{ff.}}$).

5. *Use by Jews and Christians.*—The book seems to have been practically neglected by the Jews, while the first *Christian* reference to it occurs in the *Canones Apostolorum*, c. 85 (Μακκαβαίων τρία). It is mentioned (*ad* Dan. 11^{7}) by Theodoret of Antioch († *c.* A.D. 457); in the catalogue of Nicephorus (Μακκαβαϊκὰ γʹ), and in the *Synopsis Athanasii* apparently as Πτολεμαϊκά.* The work found no acceptance with the Latin Church, and is not included in the Vulg.; but in the Syrian Church it met with considerable favour, as is shown by the existence of an ancient Syriac version, by the respectful allusions of Theodoret, and by the fact that in all probability the catalogue of Nicephorus had its origin in the Syrian Church.

6. *MSS and Versions.*—3 Mac is found in most MSS and editions of the LXX. A Latin translation was first made for the Complutensian Polyglott, and has since been followed by several others. Many German versions also now exist, among which may be mentioned those of the *Züricher Bibel*, *Berlenburger Bibel*, Bunsen's *Bibelwerk*, and Kautzsch's *Apocryphen u. Pseudepigraphen*. According to Cotton (*The Five Books of Maccabees in English*, Oxford, 1832, *Introd.* p. xx), the first English version (by Walter Lynne) appeared in 1550, and was with some modifications embodied in a folio Bible issued by John Daye in 1551.

D. IV MACCABEES.—1. *Contents.*—This, as a philosophical treatise, occupies a unique position among apocryphal books. The writer's theme is 'the supremacy of pious reason (=religious principle) over the passions,'† and the Judaism which he advocates is distinctly coloured by the Stoic philosophy. Although the composition takes the form of a discourse in which the direct mode of address is adopted ($1^{1.\,7}$ 2^{14} 13^{19} 18^{1}), we are not therefore warranted in supposing (with Freudenthal) that we have here an actual specimen of a Jewish sermon. The style is too abstruse for an ordinary congregation, and it never became the habit to base discourses upon philosophical propositions instead of Scripture texts. At the same time, the work is not a mere academical thesis. If it suggests an artificial spirituality rather than the natural outflow of a heart deeply under the power of religion (Grimm), the writer undoubtedly handles his subject with vigour, moral earnestness, and a desire to edify his readers (or hearers). These were apparently confined to his co-religionists (18^{1} *Ὦ τῶν Ἀβραμιαίων σπερμάτων ἀπόγονοι παῖδες Ἰσραηλεῖται*), whom he assures that in order to lead a pious life they have only to follow the dictates of 'pious reason.'

After an introduction ($1^{1\text{-}12}$), the author lays down his thesis that pious reason is perfect master of the passions, and expounds this proposition not without dialectic skill. Reason he defines as 'intelligence combined with an upright life, and holding in honour the word of wisdom' (1^{15}),* and wisdom as 'the knowledge of affairs divine and human, and of their causes' (1^{16}). Wisdom is attained through 'the instruction of the law' (1^{17}), and is manifested in four cardinal virtues, viz. *φρόνησις*, *δικαιοσύνη*, *ἀνδρεία*,† *σωφροσύνη* (1^{18}). A description and classification of the affections, with special reference to the antagonism offered by them to the four cardinal virtues, is also given, and it is shown by examples taken from Jewish history that pious reason is lord of all the affections except forgetfulness (*λήθη*) and ignorance (*ἄγνοια*). With this ends the first and more strictly philosophical part of the book (1^{13}–3^{18}). In the second part (3^{19}–18^{2}), after a historical review of the tyrannical treatment of the Jews under the Syrian king Seleucus and his son (*sic*) Antiochus Epiphanes (3^{19}–4^{26}), the conquering power of reason is further represented as most brilliantly illustrated in the martyrdom of Eleazar (5–7) and of the seven brethren (8–14^{10}) and their mother (14^{11}–16^{25}). The writer accompanies his account of the martyrdom of these heroic defenders of the faith with frequent and copious remarks of a religious and edifying nature, and introduces occasionally philosophical reflexions (*e.g.* $5^{22\text{ff.}}$) which would have been more in place in the first part of his work. In 17–18^{2} the author sets down his final impressions regarding the character and significance of the martyrdoms described by him. The closing section ($18^{3\text{-}23}$) appears to be an appendix by a later hand, but the nature of it indicates that it must have been added at no great interval from the composition of the book itself. Fritzsche and Freudenthal regard the spurious addition as limited to $18^{6\text{-}19}$.

4 Mac possesses no value as history. The writer merely appropriates certain incidents from 2 Mac 6^{18}–7^{42} by way of illustrating his fundamental proposition regarding the supremacy of pious reason. His delineation of the tortures to which the 'Maccabæan martyrs' were subjected is even more gruesomely realistic than that of 2 Mac, although the detailed description of the inhumanity of the persecutors serves, of course, to bring out more emphatically the steadfast patience of their victims. He may have had sources of information other than 2 Mac, but there is no evidence that he used as an authority the five books of Jason of Cyrene (2 Mac 2^{23}). While the work does not aim at being a history, it has nevertheless an importance of its own as a unique example of the way in which Jewish history was turned to account for didactic and homiletic purposes.

2. *Language and Style.*—The Greek of 4 Mac, although rather laboured, is not so involved or so rhetorical as that of 3 Mac. Owing to the uniformity of the style, which is clear, correct, and genuinely Greek, the work has more of real individuality about it than either 2 or 3 Mac. Lavish use is made of metaphor and declamation, yet the writer can deftly change his style to

---

* The text reads Μακκαβαϊκὰ βιβλία δʹ Πτολεμαϊκά, but Credner is probably right in substituting καὶ for δʹ.

† 1^{1} εἰ αὐτοδέσποτός ἐστιν τῶν παθῶν ὁ εὐσεβὴς λογισμός; 1^{13} εἰ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐστὶν τῶν παθῶν ὁ λογισμός; 18^{1} τῶν παθῶν δεσπότης ἐστὶν ὁ εὐσεβὴς λογισμός.

* So the Alexandrian MSS. ℵ and V read: 'intelligence accompanied by accurate insight (and) choosing the life of wisdom.'

† A has the later form ἀνδρία.

suit his subject. Considerable fondness is shown for words and expressions of a rare, novel, or poetical description. Frequent use is also made of prepositional compounds, *e.g.* ἐπιρωγολογεῖσθαι (2^{9}), ἀντιπολιτεύομαι (4^{1}), ἐξευμενίζειν (4^{11}); and compounds with πᾶν, *e.g.* πάνσοφος (1^{12}), πανγέωργος (1^{29}), πάνδεινος (3^{15}), πανάγιος (7^{4} 14^{7}). Short as it is, quite a number of words seem to be peculiar to the book, *e.g.* αὐτοδέσποτος (1^{1}), μονοφαγία (1^{27}), ἀρχιερᾶσθαι (4^{18}), ἀποξαίνειν (6^{6}), ἐμπυριστής (7^{11}), μισάρετος (11^{4}), κηρογονία (14^{19}), ἑπταμήτωρ (16^{24}). With the exception of Jerusalem (Ἰεροσόλυμα) and Eleazar (Ἐλεάζαρος), the proper names are written according to the Heb. form, although Hebraistic expressions scarcely occur (cf., however, 1^{12} δόξαν διδόναι). Only in a very few passages ($2^{5.\ 19}$ 17^{19}) is use made of the LXX.

3. *Authorship and Date.*—Eusebius (*HE* III. x. 6) refers to our book under the title περὶ αὐτοκράτορος λογισμοῦ, and ascribes it to Josephus. In this he is followed by Jerome (*de Viris Illustr.* c. xiii., *c. Pelag.* ii. 6), Suidas (*Lex. s.v.* Ἰώσηπος), and others; and indeed for long it seems to have been regarded as settled that Josephus was the author. In the editions of his works it occupies the last place, and is inscribed Φλαβ. Ἰωσήπου εἰς Μακκαβαίους λόγος ἢ περὶ αὐτοκράτορος λογισμοῦ. But it exists also in important Scripture MSS of the LXX, and both A and ℵ call it simply 'the fourth of Maccabees' (Μακκαβαίων δ'). Gregory of Nazianzus quotes from it without naming Josephus or any one as the author. Its ascription to the Jewish historian must either have been a pure guess, or the result of confusion between him and some other Ἰώσηπος, whom tradition named as its author, for the testimony of Eusebius is quite overborne by the internal evidence. The language and style are utterly different from those of Josephus; the latter was unacquainted with 2 Mac, while 4 Mac is almost wholly based upon it; the grossly unhistorical statements of $4^{15.\ 26}$ 5^{1} $17^{23f.}$ are inexplicable on the hypothesis that the work was penned by Josephus; finally, there is about it a flavour of Jewish-Alexandrian philosophy, and an enthusiasm for the heroic, which we do not naturally associate with that writer.

While the exact *date* of the book cannot be determined, it seems certain that it must have been written after 2 Mac, from which it borrows, and before the destruction of Jerus., of which it makes no mention. Grimm would infer from the statement of 4^{1} that Onias was holding the priesthood for life (διὰ βίου) that the author wrote after the overthrow of the Hasmonæan dynasty, when the life-tenure had been abolished, and from the horror-stricken concern of the Egyptian Jews on hearing of the sufferings endured by the Maccabæan martyrs (14^{9}) that the former were themselves at the time exempt from persecution. This would point to a date prior to their experiences under Caligula (A.D. 40). Schürer (*HJP* II. iii. 246), on the other hand, accepts as the date of composition the first century after Christ.

4. *Aim and Standpoint.*—The aim of 4 Mac is by demonstrating the supremacy of pious reason to exhort the Jews steadfastly to adhere to the Mosaic law, and not allow themselves in any particular to depart from it (18^{1}), either through fear of sufferings or through the subtle attractions of Hellenistic culture. As an educated Jew acquainted with the exacting demands of philosophic paganism, the writer seeks to show his countrymen how to maintain their Judaism intact. Taunts about the fatuity of their ceremonial law were levelled at the Jews by the persecutor ($5^{6ff.}$), and doubtless by the philosopher as well; but our author reminds his co-religionists of the essential reasonableness of the law even in regard to ritual commands ($5^{25f.}$), and seeks to show that only through obedience to its precepts can the Stoic ideal of humanity be realized. In the concrete examples of endurance unto death furnished by the Maccabæan martyrs he sees the perfection of piety (12^{14} 15^{17}), and a conclusive proof that in virtue's cause the Hebrews alone are invincible (9^{18}).

The writer's own *standpoint* is formally influenced by Greek philosophy, especially by Stoicism, which placed the passions under the sovereignty of reason, so providing him with his central idea, as well as with the postulate of four cardinal virtues. In his division and description of the affections, however, he does not so much adopt the position of any of the current Greek philosophies as give to his own treatment a philosophic cast. And if he writes from the standpoint of Stoicism, he is none the less true to that of legal Judaism. Wisdom, of which the four cardinal virtues are forms (ἰδέαι), cannot be attained apart from the Mosaic law ($1^{16ff.}$). It is not reason as such, but pious reason (ὁ εὐσεβὴς λογισμός), *i.e.* reason regulating itself by the divine law ($1^{15ff.}$), that he exalts as ruler over the passions. So literal, indeed, is his conception of the Mosaic law, that some * on this account maintain the Palestinian origin of the book. His philosophy certainly resembles Pharisaism in its advocacy of rigorous legalism, and of carrying piety into every relation of life (18^{1}). In his doctrine of the resurrection, however, it is not the Pharisaic but the Alexandrian position that is reflected. The writer believes, not in a bodily resurrection confined to the Jews, but in the immortality of all souls, the pious entering into blessedness (9^{8} 17^{18}), and the wicked into torment (9^{9} 12^{12} etc.), upon the death of the body. It is also noticeable that he regards the sufferings of the martyrs as a vicarious atonement for the sins of the people (6^{29} 17^{22}), and that a Pelagianistic spirit underlies the book in so far as no account is taken of the influence of divine grace upon human reason.

5. *MSS and Versions.*—The Gr. text has come down (1) in some Scripture MSS, including A and ℵ; (2) in MSS of Josephus; and has been printed under both categories. The best recensions are those of Fritzsche in his edition of the *Libri Apoc. Vet. Test. Græce*, 1871, and Swete in the *Camb. Septuagint*, 1894, 2nd ed. 1899. There is an old Syriac version, published by Ceriani in his photo-lithographed facsimile of the Milan Peshiṭta manuscript of the OT (1876-83). An English translation by Cotton (*The Five Books of Maccabees in English*) was published at Oxford in 1832.

Another Fourth Book of Maccabees is mentioned by Sixtus Senensis (*Bibliotheca Sancta*, i. p. 39) as still extant in manuscript when he wrote (1566). He himself saw it at Lyons, in the library of Santes Pagninus, which soon afterwards perished by fire. It was written in Hebraistic Greek, and began with the words, 'After the murder of Simon, John his son became high priest in his stead.' Sixtus thinks it may have been a Greek translation of the 'chronicles' of the reign of John Hyrcanus referred to in 1 Mac 16^{24}; but, in view of the statement he makes as to its contents, it is more likely that the book was 'simply a reproduction of Josephus, the style being changed perhaps for a purpose' (Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. p. 14).

E. V MACCABEES.—This is the title given to an Arabic 'Book of Maccabees' printed in the Paris and London Polyglotts, the Arabic text being in both cases accompanied by the Latin translation of Gabriel Sionita. Cotton's English version is a literal rendering of the Latin. The book purports to be a history of the Jews from the time of Heliodorus (B.C. 186) to the last years of Herod

---

* Langen, *Judenthum in Palästina*, p. 80.

(B.C. 6–4?). It is merely a Hellenistic compilation, not always accurate, from 1 and 2 Mac and the writings of Josephus, and is in no sense an independent history. In ch. 12, the only passage which does not directly depend upon these works, the author shows himself singularly ill-informed with regard to certain well-known facts of Roman history. He evidently wrote after the destruction of the temple in A.D. 70 (cf. 9^5 21^{30} 22^9 53^8). In point of language the book is decidedly Hebraistic, even after being twice translated, although this does not prove that it was originally written in Hebrew. The religious standpoint of the compiler merely reflects that of his authorities.

There is also another so-called 'Fifth Book of Maccabees' in the great Ambrosian Peshiṭta, but it is nothing else than a translation of the sixth book of Josephus' *de Bello Judaico*.

LITERATURE.—The principal authorities upon points of literary and textual criticism have been named in the body of the article. Among older commentaries may be mentioned those of Drusius on 1 Mac, and of Grotius on 1, 2, and 3 Mac in *Critici Sacri*; and that of Michaelis on 1 Mac (*Uebersetzung der 1 Macc.-B.'s mit Anmerk.*, Götting. u. Leipz. 1778). The most complete modern comm. is that of Grimm on 1, 2, 3, and 4 Mac in the *Kurzgef. Exeget. Handb.* series, 1853–57. Since that date there have appeared commentaries by Keil on 1 and 2 Mac, 1875; Bissell on 1, 2, and 3 Mac in *Lange-Schaff's Commentary*, 1880; Rawlinson on 1 and 2 Mac in the *Speaker's Comm.* 1888; Zöckler on 1, 2, and 3 Mac in his *Die Apokryphen des Alten Testaments*, 1891; Fairweather and Black on 1 Mac in the *Cambridge Bible for Schools*, 1897; Kautzsch on 1 and 3 Mac, and Kamphausen on 2 Mac in *Die Apokr. u. Pseudepigr. des AT*, 1898.

W. FAIRWEATHER.

MACEDONIA (Μακεδονία = the land of the Μακεδόνες, who, themselves akin to the Doric branch of the Greeks, formed the core of a mixed nationality, to which Illyrian, Pæonian, and Thracian elements contributed along with numerous Greek colonies) was in antiquity the common name for a region in the centre of the Balkan peninsula, separated for the most part by natural boundaries of mountain-ranges from Thessaly on the south, Illyria on the west, Mœsia on the north, and Thrace on the east. It contained the river-basins of the Haliacmon (*Vistritza*), the Axius (*Vardar*), the Strymon (*Struma*), and the Nestus (*Kara-su*); and it presented along its Ægean shore the three prongs of the great Chalcidian peninsula between the Thermaic and Strymonic gulfs (now named from *Saloniki* and *Rendina*). This region, with its mountainous interior rearing a hardy population, its well-watered and fertile plains, and its extensive fringe of seaboard encouraging colonization and commerce, obtained a political significance and exercised a paramount influence for two centuries over the fortunes of the ancient world, such as could hardly be expected from its earlier history or from its size and apparent resources. The steps of this development, the growth and unifying of its military power—the aggressive policy and gradual ascendency of Philip over the Greek republics—the supremacy of Alexander, whose world-empire reached from the Adriatic to the Indus—its partition after his early death among his leading generals, out of which sprang the Seleucid empire in Syria, the rule of the Ptolemies in Egypt, and a series of violent changes in the occupancy of the throne of the Macedonian motherland—and the final struggles, which, culminating in the battles of Cynoscephalæ (B.C. 197) and Pydna (B.C. 168), brought Macedonia under the power of Rome—hardly fall within the province of this article, except in so far as they helped to shape the Macedonia which confronts us as an Oriental power at the outset of the Maccabæan history, and as a Roman province in NT.

The history of the conflict with Epiphanes and his successors opens (1 Mac 1^{1-9}) with a striking description of the achievements of Alexander the Great, and of the division of his dominions upon his death. There (1^1) he is said to come forth from the land of Chittim (Χεττιείμ), and at 6^2 to have been the first reigning as king over the Greeks; while at 8^5, in the account of the power of the Romans whereof Judas had heard, there is mention of their having discomfited and overcome Philip (V.), and Perseus who is called king of the Chittim (Κιτιέων, see KITTIM). At 2 Mac 8^{20} the term Macedonians seems applied to the Syro-Macedonian warriors in the service of the Seleucid kings. On the application of the epithet to Haman in the LXX Ad. Est 16^{10}, and its use in 16^{14}, see HAMAN.

The Macedonia of NT is the Roman province of that name. For a time after the Roman victory at Pydna (B.C. 168) it was allowed to retain some measure of independence and self-government; but its unity was broken up. It was divided into four districts, in which republican federative leagues were modelled on the system of the Greek confederacies. The first embraced the region between the Strymon and Nestus; the second, that between the Strymon and Axius with the Chalcidian peninsula; the third, that from the Axius to the Thessalian Peneius; and the fourth, the mountain lands towards the north-west. Their capitals were, respectively, Amphipolis, Thessalonica, Pella, and Pelagonia. [For details of the arrangement, see Liv. xlv. 29, 32; Mommsen, *Hist. of Rome*, ii. p. 508 f.]. But in B.C. 146 dependence was exchanged for subjection; the country received a definitive provincial organization; and from that date began the Macedonian era, henceforth used on inscriptions and coins. The new province included portions of Illyria and Thessaly, and Thessalonica became the headquarters of the Roman government, although it and some other towns retained local autonomy. It was administered by a proprætor with the title of proconsul; and there was usually associated with it the province of Achaia or Greece, which was administered by a legate [on the relation of Greece as a Roman province to Macedonia, see Mommsen, *Hist. of Rome*, iii. p. 271, note]. On several occasions in NT we find them mentioned together; but Macedonia takes precedence (Ac 19^{21}, Ro 15^{26}, 2 Co 9^2, 1 Th $1^{7.8}$). It was traversed by the great Roman military road, the *Via Egnatia*, and afforded a fruitful soil for the missionary labours of St. Paul,* who amidst no small opposition and with various success sowed the seeds of the gospel, and founded Churches in some of its chief towns, Philippi, Thessalonica, Berœa (Ac 16^8–17^{15}), and subsequently revisited them on his way to and from Greece (Ac 19^{21} 20^{1-4}), when several of his Macedonian converts accompanied him to Troas (Ac 20^5). His warm interest in the Churches which he had planted bore fruit in the Epistles addressed to Thessalonica and Philippi; and their readiness to receive the word, to love the brethren, and to minister to his personal needs, are heartily acknowledged and commended (1 Th $1^{3.8}$ 3^6 4^9, 2 Th $1^{3.4}$, Ph $4^{10.15.16}$).

WILLIAM P. DICKSON.

MACHAERUS (Μαχαιροῦς, Grecized from מִכְוָר, *Tamid* iii. 8, sometimes מכבא and מכבר) is confidently identified (originally by Seetzen, *Reisen durch Syrien*, ii. 330, iv. 378) with *Mkawr* (but see Jastrow, *s.v.*), an extensive collection of ruins on the spur of a hill overlooking the Dead Sea from the east. It was first fortified by Alexander Jannæus (Jos. *Wars*, VII. vi. 2), but was taken from his grandson by Gabinius and demolished (*ib.* I. viii. 5; *Ant.* XIV. v. 4). Herod the Great fortified it (Jos. *Wars*, VII. vi. 1, 2), and used it as one of his principal residences. On his death it became the property of Antipas, being situated in his tetrarchy. When Antipas divorced his wife, the daughter of Aretas, king of the Nabatæans, she desired to be sent to Machaerus, which is inconsistently described (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. v. 1) as on the borders of the dominions of the two kings, and as subject to Aretas. The inscriptions do not reveal the exact frontier at the time; but there is no evidence in support of the latter statement of Josephus. He is probably in error, especially as the context implies that the queen chose her place of retreat with a view to avail herself of its proximity to her father's dominions for the purpose of escape. Shortly afterwards John the Baptist was imprisoned and put to death in the dungeons of Machaerus (*ib.* XVIII. v. 2; Mk 6^{21} is not against this, as Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, iv. 218, note 1, shows). The fortress, of whose importance Pliny speaks (*Hist. Nat.* v. 16, 72), was garrisoned by the Romans until A.D. 66 (Jos. *Wars*, II. xviii. 6), when they withdrew to avoid its investment. But six years later it was recovered (*ib.* VII. vi. 4), and finally demolished by Lucilius Bassus.

---

* Ramsay (*St. Paul the Trav.* p. 203) suggests that the 'man of Macedonia' who was seen by Paul in a vision (Ac 16^9) is to be identified with Luke himself, who meets the apostle at Troas.

LITERATURE. — Tristram, *Land of Moab*^{2} (1874), 253 ff.; Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.* 317; G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* 569 f.; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xv. i. 577 f.; Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 250 f.; Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, Eng. tr. ii. 329 ff.; Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, i. 120, 658 ff. R. W. MOSS.

MACHBANNAI (מַכְבַּנַּי; B Μελχαβανναί, A Μαχαβαναί). — A Gadite who joined David at Ziklag, 1 Ch 12^{13}.

MACHBENA (מַכְבֵּנָה, van d. H. מַכְבֵּנָא; B Μαχαβηνά, A Μαχαμηνά, Luc. Μαχβανά).—Named in the genealogical list of Judah (see GENEALOGY, IV. 34) as the 'son' of Sheva, 1 Ch 2^{49}. It is clear that a place and not a person is intended. Machbena is probably the same as **Cabbon** (כַּבּוֹן) of Jos 15^{40}, which may perhaps be identified with *el-Kubeibeh*, situated about 3 miles south of *Beit Jibrin* (see Dillm. on Jos 15^{40}). J. A. SELBIE.

MACHI (מָכִי [derivation and meaning uncertain: if the vocalization implied in Μακχί is correct, the word comes from the Hiph. of נכה, and means 'striking']; LXX Μακχί, Μαχί, Μακοσί: F has the more familiar form Μαχείρ, in which it agrees with the Peshiṭta ܡܟܝܪ).—The name occurs only once, in Nu 13^{15}, where P mentions Machi as the father of Geuel, who acted on behalf of the tribe of Gad as one of the twelve men sent to spy out the land of Canaan. J. TAYLOR.

MACHIR (מָכִיר).—**1.** Son of Manasseh (the son of Joseph), Gn 50^{23},—the eldest son, according to J (Jos 17^{1b-2}), the only son, according to P (Nu 26^{29}). Machir has, however, really a tribal significance: he, or his 'sons,' represent the leading branch of the tribe of Manasseh,—usually that warlike part of the tribe (Jos 17^{1b} 'for he was a man of war, and had Gilead and Bashan') which, after Moses had assigned inheritances on the E. of Jordan to Reuben and Gad (Nu 32), went and took possession of (the N. half of) Gilead (v.^{39}; cf. v.^{40}, Dt 3^{15}), to which other passages add Bashan (N. and N.E. of Gilead) as well (Jos 13^{31} 17^{1b}): in Deborah's song, however (Jg 5^{14} 'from Machir came down commanders' [Moore, 'truncheon-bearers'; Heb. מחקקים]), it seems that Machir must denote that part of Manasseh which was settled on the W. of Jordan (so practically all commentators). On account, partly, of this localization of Machir in Deborah's time W. of Jordan, it has been supposed by many modern scholars that the conquest of Gilead was in reality effected, not at the time when Israel first invaded the lands E. of Jordan in the days of Moses, but subsequently, later even than the time of Deborah, by Manassites invading it from W. Palestine (cf. MANASSEH). From the connexion subsisting between Machir and Gilead, he is habitually spoken of as the 'father'[*] of Gilead, Jos 17^1 אבי הגלעד (where the art. shows distinctly that 'Gilead' is the name of a locality), 1 Ch $2^{21.23}$ 7^{14} (cf. Nu 26^{29} P, where it is said that Machir 'begat' Gilead); and, conversely, Gilead is called the 'son' of Machir, Nu 27^1 36^1, Jos 17^3 (all P), 1 Ch 7^{17} (cf. GILEAD 1, above, vol. ii. p. 174). In Nu 26^{29} (P) mention is made of the family of the **Machirites**, who traced their descent from 'Machir.' See, further, MANASSEH, where the genealogies in which Machir is included are printed in tabular form, and where the inferences which seem to be suggested by the differences between them are more fully stated.

2. See next article. S. R. DRIVER.

MACHIR (מָכִיר, Μαχείρ).—The son of Ammiel, described as living at Lo-debar, on the E. of Jordan. The site of this spot is uncertain, but it probably lay on the N. border of Gilead, and is to be identified with Lidebir (Jos 13^{26} RVm). We gather from the biblical narrative that Machir, who was evidently a wealthy and powerful landowner, had remained faithful to the house of Saul during the struggle between David and Ishbaal (or Ishbosheth), and after the latter's death had extended his protection to Meribbaal (or Mephibosheth), the lame son of Jonathan, until assured of the friendly intentions of the reigning monarch (2 S $9^{1ff.}$). His friendly support doubtless contributed in no small measure to Meribbaal's escape from the subsequent destruction of his father's house at the hands of the Gibeonites (21^{1-14}), an event which chronologically must have preceded $9^{1f.}$. At a later date Machir, together with Barzillai of Gilead, and Shobi, an Ammonite prince, came to the assistance of David and his army at Mahanaim when they were pursued by the rebellious Absalom, and furnished them with ample supplies of food and drink (17^{27-29}). According to Josephus (*Ant.* VII. ix. 8), Machir was the principal man of the country of Gilead.

J. F. STENNING.

MACHNADEBAI (מַכְנַדְבַי; B Μαχαδναβού, Μαχναδααβού, ℵ Ἀχαδναβού, Luc. καὶ Ναδαβού).—One of the sons of Bani, who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10^{40}. G. Buchanan Gray (*Expos. Times*, Feb. 1899, p. 232 f.), partly upon the strength of the above readings in B and ℵ, argues that the latter element in the word is the divine name *Nebo*. He thus obtains the form מכדנבו, which he would further change (ד and ר being often confused) into מכרנבו = 'possession of Nebo.' In the same article, which is well worthy of study, Mr. Gray argues that the same species of compound is found in the name *Barnabas*, which would thus be = 'son of Nebo.'

J. A. SELBIE.

MACHPELAH (הַמַּכְפֵּלָה, always with the article).—The name of the spot where was the piece of ground and cave bought by Abraham for a burying-place. The name is not met with outside Genesis; but though the meaning is uncertain, authorities generally concur in one rendering. Gesenius (*Lex.*) gives 'a doubling.' The LXX, Vulgate, Targum of Onkelos, and Pseudo-Jonathan, render it 'double.' The place is mentioned twice (Gn 23^9 25^9) as 'the cave of Machpelah' (מְעָרַת הַמּ׳), once (23^{19}) as the 'cave of the field of Machpelah' (מְעָרַת שְׂדֵה הַמּ׳), once (50^{13}) as 'the field of Machpelah' (שְׂדֵה הַמּ׳), once (49^{30}) as 'the cave which is in the field of Machpelah' (הַמְּעָרָה אֲשֶׁר בִּשְׂדֵה הַמּ׳), and once (23^{17}) as 'the field of Ephron, which was in Machpelah' (שְׂדֵה עֶפְרוֹן אֲשֶׁר בַּמּ׳). In this latter case the LXX render 'Machpelah' as the 'double cave,' and in Gn 49^{30} render 'in the cave which is in the field of Machpelah' by *ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ τῷ διπλῷ*, thus leaving out 'field'; this takes place again in Gn 50^{13}. The Syriac in Gn 50^{13}, on the other hand, leaves out 'cave,' and renders the passage as the 'double field.' It may be noted that all the passages in Genesis belong to P.

---

[*] Cf., on the expression, above, vol. ii. p. 535^a, n. ‡.

Stanley (*Lectures on the Jewish Church*, p. 488) considers the name '*the* Machpelah' to have belonged to the whole district or property, though applied sometimes to the cave and sometimes to the field, and that the ancient versions used it almost always as if applied to the cave. The matter is of some interest, because the traditional cave is supposed to be in two parts. Dillmann on Genesis says, 'We learn from him [A, *i.e.* P] that [Machpelah] was the name of a locality in Hebron in which lay Ephron's land with the cave in it. It and Ephron's field lay *on the front side*, *i.e.* east of Mamre. Mamre was therefore west of it.'

'So Abraham acquired possession of the piece of land in Machpelah, which lies before Mamre, with the cave in it, and all the trees on it' (Gn $23^{17f.}$). This transaction accentuates the fact that Abraham was a stranger and a sojourner in the land promised to his seed, and that the burying-place he bought in Machpelah was his sole landed possession in the land of Canaan. Abraham at this time was dwelling at the oak of Mamre, to the west of Machpelah. In this cave, that is, in the field of Machpelah, which is before Mamre, in the land of Canaan, they buried Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebekah, Jacob and Leah (Gn 49^{30} 50^{13}).

There is nothing further in the Bible concerning the burying-place of the patriarchs, except that in the speech of St. Stephen (Ac 7^{16}), by a singular variation, the tomb at Shechem is substituted for that at Hebron. It is not mentioned in the visit of the spies to Hebron, in Caleb's conquest, or in David's reign there (Nu 13, Jos 15^{13}, 2 S 5^{5}). The only possible allusion is in the account of Absalom's vow of a pilgrimage to Hebron when absent in Geshur (2 S 15^{7}). During the struggles of the Maccabees many battles were fought around Hebron, which had become one of the northern towns of Idumæa, and was taken and burnt by Judas Maccabæus; but no mention is made of the burying-place of the patriarch, or of the monuments erected there (1 Mac 5^{65}).

The priests at the temple, as they looked for break of day, used often to say, 'The face of all the sky is bright even unto Hebron' (Talm. *Joma*, ch. 3). Not a few believed that Adam was buried there in like manner [as Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and their wives]. 'Adam said, After my death they will come, perhaps, and, taking my bones, will worship them; but I will hide my coffin very deep in the earth, in a cave within a cave. It is therefore called the Cave, Macpelah, or the doubled Cave,' *Juchasin*, fol. 63. 1 (Lightfoot, ii. 47). A tradition concerning the death of Esau is noticed in the Talmud (*Sota* i. 13). A quarrel occurred at the burial of Jacob, between his sons and Esau, concerning their right to sepulture in the cave. Huskin, son of Dan, cut off Esau's head, and left it in the cave, his body being buried elsewhere. Jelal ed-Dîn repeats this story, and the grave of Esau is still shown at *Sia'îr*, north of Hebron (*PEFSt*, 1882, 208). Josephus (*Ant.* I. xiv. 1) tells us of the purchase of the field of Ephron at Hebron by Abraham, and that 'both Abraham and his descendants built themselves tombs (*μνημεῖα*) in that place' (*Ant.* I. xxii. 1). In speaking of the death of Isaac he relates his burial at Hebron, 'where they had a monument (*μνημεῖον*) belonging to them from their forefathers.' Josephus states (*BJ* IV. ix. 7) that 'Abraham had a habitation at Hebron, whose monuments (*μνημεῖα*) are to this very time shown in this small city: the fabric of which monuments is of the most excellent marble, and wrought after the most excellent manner.' He makes Hebron, and not Gibeon, the site of the 'high place' where Solomon prayed for wisdom (2 Ch 1^{3}; *Ant.* VIII. ii. 1); and Jerome appears to suggest (*Qu. Heb.* on 2 S 15^{7}) that the ancient sanctuary of J" there was at the ancient sepulchres of the patriarchs. But this altar, built by Abraham at Hebron (Gn 13^{18}), had no connexion with the cave of Machpelah.

The connexion of Adam and Esau (Edom) with Hebron is very interesting, and it is difficult to arrive at any conclusion as to the period when this view first arose. Perhaps it was in later times, when Idumæa extended over the Negeb or South country. Originally the land of Esau (or Edom) was Mount Seir ('rough' or 'hairy' = Esau, with a different pointing), which lay to the east of the Arabah and east and south of Moab (Gn 27^{11}; *Ant.* I. xviii. 1). In process of time, however, when the power of the Edomites increased, the territory west extended to the south of Palestine, so that Josephus (*Ant.* V. i. 22) describes it as taking in the lot of Simeon, and in 1 Mac it includes even the hills north of Hebron, and Hebron itself was an Idumæan city (1 Mac 5^{65}).

Isaac was buried at Hebron by his sons Esau and Jacob (Gn 35^{29}), and after this (?; according to 32^{4} [J] Esau was already resident in Seir when Jacob returned from Mesopotamia) Esau is said to have left the land of Canaan and 'dwelt in Mount Seir: Esau is Edom' (Gn 36^{6}; both P).

Adam and Eve are traditionally (by Moslems) supposed to have been buried at Mecca, and have no *Makâms* in Palestine. On expulsion from Paradise, however, they are supposed to have hidden themselves in, or near, a spring at Hebron, which is now called *'Ain el-Judeidah*. Here, also, the red earth from which Adam was said by the Jews to have been formed, is shown by the Moslems. This tradition is mentioned by several writers in the time of the Crusaders, and may be of Christian origin (*SWP*, S. Pal. 261).

Hebron is also called the City of Arba (Kiriath-arba), 'the greatest man among the Anakim' (Jos 14^{15}), which by later writers was fancifully interpreted as the 'city of four.' Thus a fourth patriarch was required in addition to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and the substitution of Adam for Edom (Esau) may be suggested as the consequence. The view taken by the Jewish writers (from the words of Jos 14^{15}) (*Bereshith rabba*, quoted by Beer, *Leben Abrahams*, 189) is that the 'city of four' refers to Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Adam, who are buried there. See KIRIATH-ARBA. Jerome (*Onomast.* p. 120, *Ep. Paul.* 11) also explains that the 'city of four' refers to the four above mentioned.

The statements of the various historians concerning the sepulchres of the patriarchs are to be found collected together in *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, ii. (1884), 411, and in *Palestine under the Moslems* (1890), 318. The following are the more important. It will be noted that there is no direct allusion to the present Ḥaram enclosure until the 12th cent., and as its construction is considered to be at least as early as the time of Herod the Great, it seems doubtful whether it was ever visited by Christians until the time of the Crusades, the House of Abraham, about two miles north of Hebron, being then probably the Christian traditional site of the tombs of the patriarchs. In the 4th cent. the sepulchres of the patriarchs are spoken of as existing at Hebron, built of marble, and of elegant workmanship, and the Basilica of Constantine close to the great enclosure is called 'Abraham's House' (*Onomast.* art. 'Arboch'). The Bordeaux Pilgrim (A.D. 333) describes the square enclosure within which Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, with their wives, were buried, as built of stones of great beauty. Antoninus Martyr (*c.* A.D. 600) adds Joseph to the three patriarchs, and says that a Basilica was built there 'in quadriporticus' with an interior court open to the sky, in which the Jews and Christians entered from different sides, burning incense as they advanced. Arculf (*c.* A.D. 698) speaks of the double cave and the monuments of the four patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Adam, enclosed by a low square wall; the tomb of Adam lies not far from the others, and the three women, Sarah, Rebekah, and Leah, have smaller monuments, and were buried in the earth. The hill of Mamre is a mile from these monuments, with a church and a stump of the oak of Mamre. Mukaddasi (*c.* A.D. 985) speaks of the strong fortress round the tombs of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and their wives, built of great squared stones, the work of Jinns (*i.e.* of people before the Moslems: the Moslems often attribute old buildings of superior construction to Jinns). The Moslem name at the present day for the enclosure is 'The wall of Solomon.' Saewulf (A.D. 1102) and the Abbot Daniel (1106) are the first Christians who speak of the tombs being surrounded by a very strong castle or high wall. The caves are said to have been discovered and opened in A.D. 1119 (*Archives de l'Orient Latin*, ii. 411). John of Wurzburg (A.D. 1100), Theodoricus (A.D. 1172), Jacques de Vitry (A.D. 1220), Burchardt (A.D. 1230), speak of the fourth tomb being that of Adam, while Saewulf and Daniel make the fourth the tomb of Joseph.

Benjamin of Tudela (1163) states of Hebron: 'Here is the large place of worship called St. Abraham, which during the time of the Mohammedans was a synagogue. The Gentiles have erected six sepulchres in this place, which they pretend to be those of Abraham and Sarah, of Isaac and Rebekah, and of Jacob and Leah; the pilgrims are told that they are the sepulchres of the fathers, and money is extorted from them. But if any Jew come, who gives an additional fee to the keeper of the cave, an iron door is opened, which dates from the time of our forefathers who rest in peace, and with a burning candle in his hand the visitor descends into the first cave, which is empty, traverses a second in the same state, and at last reaches a third, which contains six sepulchres, those of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and of Sarah, Rebekah, and Leah, one opposite the other.' Ali of Herat, writing in 1173 (*PEFSt*, 1897, p. 59), fifteen years before Hebron was retaken by Saladin, states that he was informed that in the year 1119, in the reign of Baldwin II., a certain part over the cave of Abraham had given way and was repaired by the Franks from below. Rabbi Samuel bar Simson in 1210 claims to have visited the cave. 'We descended by 24 steps, very narrow, and without means of turning to the right hand or the left. We saw there the place of the Holy House, and we noticed these monuments. This place has been erected 600 years (*i.e.* about A.D. 600), it is near the cavern' (*PEFSt*, 1882, p. 212). Sir John Maundeville (1322, *Early Travels in Pal.* p. 61) says: 'In Hebron are all the sepulchres of the patriarchs, Adam, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and their wives, Eve, Sarah, Rebekah, and Leah—they suffer no Christian to enter that place except by special grace of the Sultan—and they call that place where they lie Double Spelunk, Double Cave, or Double Ditch, because the one lies above the other.' (The tomb of Joseph had already been added here by the Moslems).

Nasir-I-Khussan (A.D. 1047, *Diary of a Journey through Syria and Palestine*), after describing the tombs of the patriarchs, states, 'It is said that in early times the sanctuary (at Hebron) had no door into it, and hence that no one could come nearer to (the tombs) than the outer porch (*'iwân*), whence from outside they performed their visitation. When, however, the (Fatemeh Khalif) Mahdi came to the throne of Egypt (A.D. 918) he gave orders that a door should be opened (into the sanctuary). The entrance door of the sanctuary is in the middle of the northern wall, and is four ells high from the ground. [*Note.*—This door is usually now said, at the present day, to be on the eastern side: it is actually north-east]. On either side of it are stone steps, one staircase for going up and one for coming down, and the gateway is closed by a small door.'

Jelal ed-Dîn (A.D. 1470) says that the Moslems destroyed the Christian church in the Ḥaram enclosure when Saladin took Hebron; this destruction may have been only partial, as the church still exists. This author's writings are not considered as reliable as those of Mijr ed-Dîn.

Mijr ed-Din (A.D. 1495) speaks of the Mosque of Hebron as the work of the Greeks (*Rûm*), by which term he may mean the Christians, *i.e.* the Crusaders (see *BRP* ii. 78). He gives an account of the 'invention' of the Tomb of Joseph, outside the Ḥaram enclosure, opposite the Tomb of Jacob, in A.D. 908–932, and states that the doorway through the west Ḥaram wall between the two tombs was pierced A.D. 1394 by Yaghmuri, governor of Hebron. Makrisi (followed by Mijr ed-Dîn) relates that a poor idiot boy, having fallen through the hole existing in the floor of the mosque leading down into the cave, some servants descended into the cave and rescued him. They saw a stone staircase of 18 steps which led to the *Minbar*.

David the Reubenite, a Jew (A.D. 1523, *PEFSt*, 1897, p. 47), visited the Ḥaram area at Hebron, and, on being shown the cenotaphs of the patriarchs, said, 'These are not true; the truth is that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are in the cave under ground; and I told them to show me the cave. So I went with them, and they showed me the opening of the door of the cave in the mouth of the pit; and they let down the lamp into the pit by a rope, and from the mouth of the pit I saw the opening of the door about the height of a man, and I was convinced that it was under the cave. Then I said, This is not the opening to the cave, there is another opening; and they answered me, Yes, in ancient times the opening of the cave was in the middle of the Great Church, in which is a cenotaph of Isaac.' They showed him this opening, which was shut with large stones and lead; and they read to him a book in which it was stated that a certain king (the 2nd from Mohammed), after the Moslems had taken the sanctuary from the Christians, had built up the opening to the cave.

Jichus ha-Aboth (1537, a tract) describes the Ḥaram area: 'An admirable and magnificent edifice, attributed to king David on whom be peace. Near the door is a little window in the wall; they pretend that it extends to the cavern: it is here that the Jews pray, as they are not allowed to go into the interior' (*PEFSt*, 1882, p. 212).

The only Europeans who had visited the Ḥaram enclosure during this century before 1867 were the Spaniard Badia (Ali Bey), travelling as a Moslem (1807); Giovanni Finati, the Italian servant of Mr. Bankes (1816); and the servant of Mr. Munro (1833). Ali Bey is said to have entered the cave through an iron door in the north side of the Ḥaram at the bottom of the steps; but this was only the popular account in Hebron in 1867, and cannot be relied on.

In 1834 Ibrahim Pasha was let down into the cavern from the mosque, but was quickly brought up again, he being suddenly smitten with the impropriety of looking on another man's wife. In 1862 the cenotaphs of the patriarchs were visited by the Prince of Wales, accompanied by Dean Stanley (see a full account in *Lectures on the Jewish Church*, p. 483 ff.). In 1864 they were visited by Mr. James Fergusson, who gives additional information in Appendix J, 'The Holy Sepulchre.' In 1867 the present writer was shown the iron door which is said to lead into the caves. It is situated on a level with the street at the bottom of the steps leading up to the mosque at Jâwalîyeh, at the north-west entrance to the Ḥaram. It probably leads to the tomb of Joseph outside the Ḥaram. This door, the guardians of the mosque stated, had not been opened for 600 years (*Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 41). In 1882 they were visited by Princes Albert Victor and George of Wales, Canon Dalton, Sir Charles Wilson, and Captain Conder, and complete information is given about everything except the cave itself (*SWP* iii. 305).

The space containing the traditional caves of Machpelah is enclosed by a magnificent quadrangle of masonry 197 ft. in length and 111 ft. in width, measured externally, called the Ḥaram. The length lies N.W. and S.E., the breadth lies N.E. and S.W. The walls are of one class of masonry throughout, as in the original construction. The stone is of grey limestone, very hard, and akin to marble. The whole character of the masonry is similar to that of the lower portion of the Ḥaram wall at 'the Wailing place,' Jerusalem. The courses of stone average 3 ft. 7 in. in height, the longest stone visible being 24 ft. 8 in. in length. There is a slight *batter* in the walls; that is to say, each course stands back about ½ in. from the course below, as at the Wailing place, Jerusalem.

At the height of about 15 ft. (*i.e.* level with the floor of the mosque or church within) portions of the wall 7 ft. wide are set back about 10 in. by means of a batter, leaving 16 pilasters on the longer faces and 8 on the shorter face. These pilasters are 3 ft. 9 in. wide each; the angle pilasters are each 9 ft. 6 in. wide—the space between the pilasters being 7 ft. This wall, with pilasters, is continued up for about 25 ft., making a height of 40 ft. from the ground on the western side and 25 ft. above the pavement within. The wall and pilasters have a simple projecting cap or coping at the top. These pilasters are similar to two at the N.W. angle of the Ḥaram wall, Jerusalem, which are 4 ft. 6 in. wide, with an interval of 6 ft. and set back of 8 in. The thickness of the Ḥaram wall of Hebron is 8 ft. 6 in., counting from the intervals, or 9 ft. 4 in. from the face of the pilasters. On the top of this old masonry, which is all *in situ*, is an Arabic wall of recent date.

From the west on the north and south of the enclosure (along the shorter faces) steps run up to the level of the floor within, and a passage at this level runs round the eastern and longer face. This passage leads to the mosque *Jâwalîyeh*, situated immediately N.E. of the Ḥaram. There was originally no opening on the eastern face, but a doorway at a distance of 93 ft. 7 in. from the south-east angle has been knocked through the Ḥaram wall. So that the passage on the eastern face now leads on one side to the *Jâwalîyeh* mosque, and on the other side to the interior of the Ḥaram, 15 ft. above the roadway to the west.

There is no positive information as to what there is below the level of the passage to the east of the Ḥaram, but the general impression was that the rocky surface rises to the east, the Ḥaram wall on the eastern side being built on the rock or at the level of the passage. Dr. A. Paterson, in a recent communication to the present writer, entirely confirms this view.

Conder's account, however (*PEFSt*, 1881, p. 267), seems to settle this question. 'We visited the eastern side of the enclosure, and found ourselves on the housetops almost level with the cornice of the old wall. We here found a mosque, called *el-Jâwalîyeh*, with a large dome. There is also a third entrance to the enclosure on this side, and the old wall appears to be almost as high here as on the west, although the mountain called *el-Jâ'abireh* rises very suddenly behind the Ḥaram on the east. It would appear, therefore, that the rock beneath the Ḥaram platform, in which the great cave is said to exist, must be a detached knoll; since on all sides there is lower ground, and a retaining wall 40 ft. high' (*PEFSt*, 1881, p. 267). But Robinson (*BRP* ii. 76) says, 'The buildings stand on the slope of the eastern hill; the rocks having been excavated along the upper side, in order to lay the foundations.' Canon Dalton (*PEFSt*, 1882, note[1], p. 201) suggests that a portion of the interior of the Ḥaram probably represented originally 'the field of Mamre before the cave,' and was then on a level with the exterior.

When the level was artificially, and probably gradually (with débris of Byzantine church, etc.) raised 15 ft., the present approaches round the exterior of the Ḥaram, and at a higher level, were necessitated, and are entirely Moslem. As there is no ancient gateway through the Ḥaram wall above the level of the floor inside, it is apparent that all that is to be seen inside above this level is of a later date than the Ḥaram enclosure.

It has been mentioned that the walls of this enclosure are precisely of the same appearance as the wall of the Jews' Wailing place at the Ḥaram of Jerusalem, and probably of the same date. This unfortunately gives no clue to the date, as views differ as to the age of 'the Wailing place,' between the time of Solomon and king Herod. Wilson and Conder without hesitation consider the wall to be Herodian; de Vogüé and Fergusson appear to have the same view; on the other hand, Grove, Ritter, Stanley, Robinson, and the present writer, consider these walls to be pre-Herodian.

The interior of the Ḥaram enclosure (above the level of 15 ft. above the roadway) is occupied by buildings of Christian and Moslem construction, nothing in it being earlier than the 12th cent. except the *Minbar* or pulpit (completed A.D. 1091), and brought by Saladin from Ascalon.

The southern portion of the enclosure is taken up by a mosque (formerly a church), with length of aisles 70 ft. and breadth across aisles 93 ft. The central aisle is 35 ft. wide, and the two side aisles 30 ft. wide each. The length (70 ft.) is broken up into three bays of unequal space; that to the south is 15 ft. wide, and contains the *Miḥrab* and *Minbar*. The central bay is 30 ft. wide, and contains the cenotaphs of Isaac and Rebekah. The north bay is 25 ft. wide, and contains the *Mehala* or reading-desk. The church is Gothic, closely resembling the Crusading churches of Palestine, and the four pillars supporting the roof are clustered, 12 shafts being carried up the clustering walls and supporting ribbed groins; in this respect it resembles the Church of St. John at Samaria, dating between A.D. 1150 and 1180. The capitals resemble those of the Church of Bîreh, completed A.D. 1146, and the general style resembles the Church of St. John at Gaza, dating about A.D. 1152. Conder considers that the building of this church may be attributed to the latter half of the 12th cent., probably about the year A.D. 1167, when the town became a bishopric. Fergusson's view was that this church most probably was not erected before 1167 nor later than 1262, more nearly approaching the former than the latter period.

All the other buildings in the interior of the enclosure are of Moslem construction, and are attributed to the 14th cent. The Arab historians Makresi and Mijr ed-Dîn state that they were erected in A.H. 732 (A.D. 1331) by the Mameluk Sultan Muhammed Ibn Kelawun. Beyond the church to the north is a porch or narthex, which includes two octagonal chapels, containing the cenotaphs of Abraham and Sarah.

The porch appears to be of later date than the chapels, and there is an inscription on it stating that it was restored in A.H. 1172 (A.D. 1755). Beyond the porch is an open courtyard with a sundial, and beyond this courtyard are chambers occupying the northern portion of the enclosure, and containing the cenotaphs of Jacob and Leah.

On the outside of the Ḥaram enclosure, and adjoining it to the north-west, is a Moslem building, containing the cenotaph of Joseph. According to Mijr ed-Dîn, it was discovered on the traditional site by Khalanji during the reign of the Khalif al-Muḳtadir (A.D. 908–932), and a dome subsequently built over the spot. He speaks of the walls of the Ḥaram as the walls of Solomon's enclosure. He further states that one of the guardians of Hebron (*Jaghmuri*), A.D. 1394, pierced a gate in the western wall of Solomon's enclosure, opposite to the tomb of Joseph.

The outer gates, together with the two flights of steps and passages round the exterior of the Ḥaram, are attributed to the 14th cent., and have the character of the best Arab work; this, however, must have been a reconstruction, as they would have been required, and were probably constructed when the Fatemite Khalif Mahdi caused the door to be pierced through the east wall of the Ḥaram enclosure, A.D. 918 (*Diary of a Journey through Syria and Palestine*, A.D. 1047). It was apparently at this time that the Moslems first used the interior of the Ḥaram area as a mosque or sanctuary.

The cave of Machpelah is the one ancient burying-place which has been handed down with certainty as a genuine site, and the great interest which gathers round it is enhanced by its being the earliest burying-place of the Hebrew race in the Promised Land, and by the impenetrable mystery in which the sanctuary has been involved. This, as Stanley suggests, is a living witness to the unbroken local veneration with which the three religions of Jews, Christians, and Moslems have honoured the great patriarch. But it is to the cave and not to the monuments or building that the great interest attaches, and about which so little has been known even with the researches in modern times. Even now it is uncertain whether the chamber known to be under the floor of the church in the Ḥaram area is of masonry or cut in the rock, and what its extent may be. The following is a brief summary of what is known at present on the subject.

Within the church, adjoining its northern wall, in a line between the tombs of Abraham and Isaac, is a perforated stone (at point E on plan) which rises above the floor of the church. The perforation is a circular hole, a little more than 12 in. in diameter, leading by a shaft into a chamber below, the bottom of which is about level with the roadway outside to west. The chamber (as seen by the light of a lamp lowered down) seems to be square, about 12 ft. either way, with vertical walls covered with plaster. Towards the south-east a square-headed doorway can be seen in one of the chamber walls. The plaster on the walls prevents it being ascertained whether they are of rock or masonry, but the mouth appears to be in part at least of rock, like that of a cave or cistern, while in the south-east corner a piece of rock appears to project across the angle of the chamber. The floor of this chamber is thickly strewed (1882) with sheets of paper (Moslem supplications), and it has been suggested that as they do not seem to be old, and that as the whitewash on the walls of the chamber is white, clean, and apparently of no great age, it may be inferred that the chamber, whence there is an entrance to the cave, is periodically visited and cleaned by the guardians of the mosque, and that entrance can be obtained by removing the perforated stone from the pavement. The sheikh of the mosque describes the cave as being double, in accordance with the tradition.

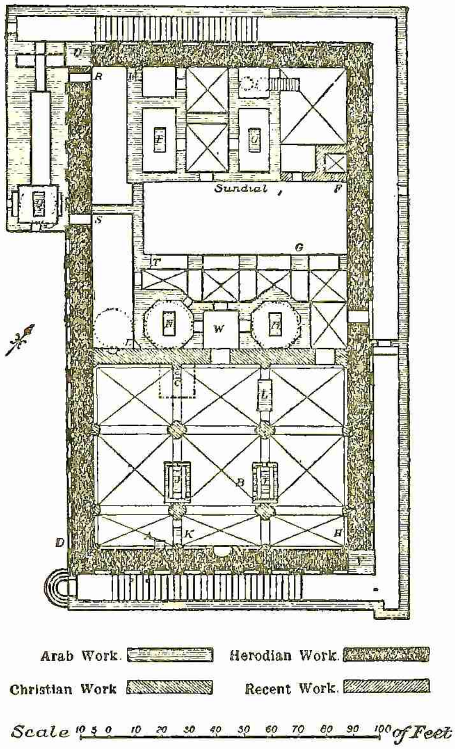

ḤARAM ENCLOSURE, HEBRON.

(By kind permission of P.E. Fund).

There are two other points where there are supposed entrances to the cave as shown by the sheikh of the mosque in the royal visit of 1882. At A (on plan), at the south end of the church close to the pulpit, where there are stone slabs cased with iron, and a small cupola supported on four slender pillars: this entrance is said to lead to the western cave, where, or in the inner cave, the actual tombs of the patriarchs are reputed to exist. At B (on plan), near the tomb of Rebekah, is the supposed entrance to the eastern cave. It is closed with flagging, forming the floor of the church. From these two points A and B it is supposed that staircases lead down into the cave, but practically only the entrance at C (as described) is known for a fact. At the point D, outside the Ḥaram wall, close to the steps of the southern entrance gateway, there is a hole through the lowest course of the masonry, on a level with the street. It extends some distance, and is said to admit of the whole length of a lance being passed through the wall, and probably communicates with the western cave. Through this Jews were allowed to look and to stand and pray, as they were not permitted to enter the Ḥaram enclosure.

All those who have written on the subject appear to concur in supposing that the double cave did not extend beyond the limits of the floor of the church, and that there is no cavity, but made earth, under the floor of the inner court, where are the cenotaphs of Abraham, Sarah, Jacob, and Leah, and that there was originally an entrance on a level with the street to the west, and that the old portal is concealed by the buildings known as Joseph's tomb. Some also think that there was a Byzantine church in the interior before the arrival of the Moslems.

There is another view, however, that may be taken of the matter, viz. :—That originally there was no doorway or entrance to this massive enclosure, and that the first opening through the wall was made by the Moslems in the 10th cent. The Israelites in early days had no reverence for sacred graves or tombs, and the general feeling of the people appears to have been averse to memorials to the dead. There is nothing known of the tombs of Moses, Joshua, Samuel, Elisha, etc., and even the site of the tombs of the kings is lost. Abraham's desire was to 'let me bury my dead out of my sight.' But the cave of Machpelah, being the resting-place of the patriarchs in a well-known position, could not be hidden away : it may seem, then, that the massive wall built round the cave without any entrance or means of ingress was the most effectual method that could be adopted to prevent the place being used as a sanctuary. It is suggested that this continued until the Moslem occupation in the 7th cent., and that as they developed their desire for *Maḳâms* and sacred places, they eventually (in A.D. 918) pierced through the wall and built in the interior, and also opened a door into the cave from the north-west corner, to enable the vestibule of the cave to be cleared of the offerings, etc., put through the opening in the floor of the mosque ; and that the first Christian building inside was erected in the 12th cent.

LITERATURE.—Ritter, *Erdkunde, Palästina*, 209 ; Robinson, *BRP* ii. 75 ; *SWP* iii. 333 ; Stanley, *S. and P.*, and *Lectures on the Jewish Church* ; *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, ii. 411 ; *Pal. Pilgrim Text Soc. Publications* ; *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 218 ; *PEFSt* (1882) 197, (1897) 53. C. WARREN.

MACRON (Μάκρων), the surname of Ptolemy, who was at one time governor of Cyprus under Ptolemy Philometor (2 Mac $10^{12f.}$), and subsequently governor of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia under Antiochus Epiphanes (*ib.* 8^8). He is to be identified with PTOLEMY the son of Dorymenes (1 Mac 3^{38}, 2 Mac 4^{45}).

MADAI.—See MEDES.

MADIAN.—Jth 2^{26}, Ac 7^{29} (both AV). See MIDIAN.

MADMANNAH (מַדְמַנָּה).—A town of Judah in the south, noticed with Ziklag, Jos 15^{31} (B Μαχαρείμ, A Βεδεβηνά), 1 Ch 2^{49} (where Shaaph the 'father' of Madmannah is a son of Caleb by his concubine Maacah ; B Μαρμηνά, A Μαδμηνά). The site is uncertain. There is a ruin called *Umm Demineh* north of Beersheba, but this does not appear to be a suitable site. Dillmann thinks it may be the same place which is called in Jos 19^5, 1 Ch 4^{31} Beth-marcaboth ('place of chariots' ; cf. 1 K 9^{19} 10^{26}, Mic 1^{13}). In the *Onomasticon* (279. 139) Μηδεβηνά (which, however, is confused with מַדְמֵנָה **Madmenah** of Is 10^{31}) is identified with Μηνοεἰς near Gaza, hence it has been proposed by some to find Madmannah in the *el-Minyây* of Robinson (*BRP*² i. 602). This last name is a corruption of the Latin *limcn* = 'shore.' C. R. CONDER.

MADMEN (מַדְמֵן).—A place in Moab, which, if the MT be correct, has not been identified. The name occurs only in Jer 48 [Gr. 31] ², where there is a characteristic word-play גַּם־מַדְמֵן תִּדֹּמִּי 'also, O Madmen, thou shalt be brought to silence' (LXX *καὶ παῦσιν παύσεται*). It is a very natural suggestion that the initial מ of מַדְמֵן has arisen by dittography from the final ם of the preceding word, and that for *Madmen* we should read *Dimon* (cf. Is 15^9), *i.e.* *Dibon* (cf. 48^{18} in Jer). This appears to be favoured by Siegfried-Stade (*s.v.* מַדְמֵן) and Buhl (*GAP* 268). Dillmann thinks it unlikely that in Is 25^{10} the words במי מַדְמֵנָה (*Ḳerê* במו מ׳) 'in the water of a dunghill,' there is an allusion to the name *Madmen* (supposing this reading to be accepted). See, further, Cheyne's note on this passage.

MADMENAH (מַדְמֵנָה, Μαδεβηνά).—A place apparently north of Jerusalem, named only in the ideal description of the Assyrian invasion, Is 10^{31}. The name has not been recovered.

MADNESS.—See MEDICINE.

MADON (מָדוֹן).—A royal Canaanite city, noticed with Hazor of Galilee, Jos 11^1 (B Μαῤῥών, A Μαδών) 12^{19} (B Μαρμώθ, A Μαρών). Ma*d*on has been suspected to be a clerical error for Ma*r*on (by a frequent confusion in Heb. between ר and ד ; cf. the LXX forms above), the reference being to one of the two places in Upper Galilee called *Mirûn* and *Mârûn*. There is a ruin called *el-Medineh* ('the city') on the plateau west of the Sea of Galilee, but this is near the shrine of Nebi Sho'eib (Jethro), and probably connected with the legend of the 'city of the grove' taken from the Korân. The site of Madon (which is noticed in the list of Thothmes III.) is therefore doubtful. See *SWP* vol. i. sheet iii., vol. ii. sheet vi. ; van de Velde, *Mem.* 146.*

C. R. CONDER.

MAELUS (A Μάηλος, B Μίληλος), 1 Es 9^{26} = MIJAMIN, Ezr 10^{25}.

MAGADAN (Μαγαδάν : the reading Μαγδαλά, **Magdala**, of TR and AV has no support).—The name occurs but once in the NT. In Mt 15^{39} it takes the place occupied by **Dalmanutha** in Mk 8^{10}, where Codex Bezæ gives *prop. man.* Μελεγαδά, D¹ Μαγαιδά, and a few cursives Μαγαδά. In each case the indication is general. After the miracle 'he entered into the boat, and came *εἰς τὰ ὅρια Μαγαδάν*' (Mt), '*εἰς τὰ μέρη Δαλμανουθά*' (Mk) ; from this we may justly infer that the two places were in close proximity, so that 'the borders of Magadan' correspond with 'the parts of Dalmanutha.' Brocardus identifies Magadan and Dalmanutha with a place called by the Arabs *Me-Dan*, or *Syala*. He is obviously confused. *Me-Dan* must be the *Leddan*, the stream from *Tell el-Ḳādi* ; while *Syala* is evidently *Phiala*, now called *Birket Rām*, 4 miles east of *Baniâs*. Both sites are alike impossible. Megiddo, on the south edge of Esdraelon, is also out of the question. With the information at present available no certain decision can be reached. The direction taken by the boat is not stated, therefore we cannot say they sailed to the western shore. There is no site with a name at all resembling Magadan round the lake ; and the only place in any degree like Dalmanutha is *ed-Delhemîyeh* on the eastern bank of the Jordan, a little north of its confluence with the Yarmuk. To this town may have belonged the land stretching to the south shore of the lake. The identification is hazardous; but if established would point to the only recorded visit of our Lord to the S. or S.E. of the Sea of Galilee; in which case Magadan would probably have to be sought farther to the east.

---

* On the LXX reading ἀνὴρ Μαδών in 2 S 21^{20} (Heb. אִישׁ מדין *Kethîbh*, א׳ מדון *Ḳerê*) see Driver, *Text of Sam.* p. 273.

Schwarz (quoted by Stanley, *SP* 383) speaks of the cave of *Teliman* or *Talmanutha* in the cliffs overlooking the sea, W. and S.W. of *el-Mejdel*. This lacks corroboration: during years of intercourse with the natives the present writer never heard the name. Should it prove correct, it would be a strong point in favour of placing Dalmanutha at the south end of the cliffs where they sink into the valley which opens on the sea in the fertile plain of *el-Fuliyeh* (see DALMANUTHA). Here are a number of springs, walled round in ancient times, presumably to raise the level of the water for irrigation. It is brackish and slightly tepid. Where it enters the lake great shoals of fish constantly congregate, and may be seen from an elevated rock, closely packed over a wide area. On a rocky eminence south of the valley are extensive ruins which bear the name *Khirbet Ḳuneiṭrîyeh*. If this identification be accepted, then probably *el-Mejdel* represents Magadan, although the change of name remains to be explained. The village stands at the S.W. corner of the plain of Gennesaret; it is a cluster of wretched mud huts, such stones as are used being taken from older buildings. That it occupies a site of antiquity is proved by the remains of ancient walls between the village and the sea. The position may have been chosen for a tower (Heb. מִגְדָּל: the modern Arab name also signifies 'tower' or 'fortress') to guard, as here it could do effectively, the entrance to the plain from the south. A comparatively modern tower, now also ruinous, stands to the north of the village, and hard by a palm-tree rears its solitary form. A large thorn shelters the *wely* by the wayside, and several spreading trees afford shade, in which the village fathers spend most of their days. The inhabitants are of mingled blood, Arab, *fellaḥ*, and gipsy; and they own no high reputation. Part of the plain, farmed by a capitalist in Acre, is cultivated by the peasants for a pittance. Their life is mean and miserable. Behind the village to the west, the mighty gorge of *Wady Ḥamâm*, with the robber caves, and the fortress of *Ibn Ma'ān* in its precipitous cliffs, breaks away towards *Ḳurûn Ḥaṭṭîn*, the traditional Mount of Beatitudes: the clear stream that flows down the vale, waters the south of the plain and enters the sea hard by the village.

El-Mejdel, with a confidence by no means justified by known facts, is often pointed out as the birthplace of Mary Magdalene. This hamlet, and a handful of squalid hovels at *Abu Shusheh* above the stream of *er-Rubadîyeh*, with a few tents of the humbler Arabs, are all the dwellings of men now found in this once densely populated district.

LITERATURE.—Stanley, *SP* p. 383; Thomson, *Land and Book*, ii. 394; Henderson, *Palestine*, 157, 160; Robinson, *BRP* ii. 396; Baedeker, *Pal. and Syr.* 255; Buhl, *GAP* 225 f.; Guérin, *Galilée*, i. 203 ff.; Neubauer, *Géog. du Talmud*, 216 ff.; also Literature cited under DALMANUTHA. W. EWING.

MAGBISH (מַגְבִּישׁ; B Μαγεβώς, A Μαγεβίς, Luc. Μααβείς).—The name of an unknown town, presumably in Benjamin, whose 'children' to the number of 156 are said to have returned from the Exile, Ezr 2^{30}. The name is omitted in MT of the parallel passage Neh 7^{33} and in B of the LXX, but A has Μαγεβώς and Luc. Μαγβείς. See Smend, *Listen*, 15. A name which Ryle (*Ezr. and Neh.* p. 270) considers to be identical with it occurs in Neh 10^{20} in the list of those who sealed the covenant, namely **Magpiash** (מַגְפִּיעָשׁ, B Βαναφής, A Μαιαφής). J. A. SELBIE.

MAGDALA.—See MAGADAN.

MAGDALENE.—See MARY, No. V.

MAGDIEL (מַגְדִּיאֵל).—A 'duke' of Edom, Gn 36^{43} =1 Ch 1^{54} (in Gn A has Μετοδιήλ, in 1 Ch B has Μεδιήλ, A Μαγεδιήλ).

MAGI (μάγοι; AV and RV 'wise men').—In Jer $39^{3.13}$ one of the Chaldæan officers sent by Nebuchadrezzar to Jerus. is called Rab-mag (רַב־מָג; probably a title, like Rab-saris or Rab-shakeh, not a proper name: the title Rab-mag, or 'chief of the Magi' (cf. Dn 2^{48}), may well be that of Nergal-sharezer, whose name immediately precedes it). The traditional account of the Magi is that they were a Median race (Her. i. 101; Amm. Marc. 23. 6; Agathias, 2. 26; see also Parsi tradition in *Sacred Books of the East*, iv. p. xlvii), who acted as priests of the Persians (Her. i. 132; Soz. *HE* ii. 9, etc.), but whose persistence as a race is frequently attested and occasionally causes violent conflicts (*e.g.* Her. i. 120, iii. 65, 73, 79).

This view raises two difficulties—(1) How do the Magi come to occupy an important place (cf. that in Justin, XII. xiii. 3; Q. Curt. V. i. 22) under the Chaldæans? It has been suggested that, as Media reached a high level of civilization before its neighbours (cf. *Sacred Books of the East*, iv. p. l), one effect of this may be seen in the influential part played by Median priests in various countries. It is no more difficult to imagine the Medes as exercising great influence at the court of Nebuchadrezzar, than to find them in Cappadocia (Strabo, xv. 733), in Cilicia (Movers, *Phön.* i. 240), or Persis (Strabo, xv. 727), the introduction of the Magian priesthood in the last case being expressly ascribed to Cyrus the conqueror of the Medes (Xen. *Cyr.* VIII. i. 23).

(2) If the Magi are identified with the Median priests of Zoroastrianism, how are we to account for the fact that the officials of a religion whose sacred books contain strong invective against magic (see J. G. Müller in Herzog's RE^1 viii. 676) should yet come to give their name to magicians in general? For, in classical writers, the Magi appear, not only as performing the duties of a national priesthood, but as occupying themselves with the interpretation of dreams (*e.g.* Her. i. 107, 120, vii. 19: for this other works than the Avesta would have had to be consulted, as is admitted by Spiegel, *Eran. Alterth.* iii. 594), as well as with natural science and medicine (cf. Plin. *HN* xxx. 1), while Zoroaster himself is described as the inventor of astrology (Just. i. 1; Suid. *s.v.* Ζωροάστρης). It is true that μάγος occurs often in an idealizing sense (*e.g.* Philo, *de Spec. Legg.* 792, *Quod omnis probus liber*, 876; Plato, *Alcib.* 1. 122; Aristotle in Diog. Laert. *fr.* 8; Cic. *Div.* 1. 41; Dio Chrysost. *Orat.* 36, etc.), but its use for a magician is to be found already in Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 387. In the Sept. μάγος is the equivalent of אַשָּׁף, a charmer or astrologer (Dn $2^{2.10}$, so Theod. Dn *pass.*); in Aq. it represents אוֹב, a necromancer (the secondary use of this word for the familiar spirit which abides with such a necromancer, produces the strange rendering τὴν ἔχουσαν μάγον in 1 S 28^7); in Symm. it stands for חַרְטֻמִּים, interpreters of signs (see Hatch and Redpath, *Concord. to Sept. s.v.* μάγοι). The expression μαγικὴ τέχνη in Wis 17^7 (of *Egyp.* conjuring) is parallel to Gn 41^8 Symm., Philo *Mos.* 616, etc. (Herzog, RE^1 viii. 682); and shows the transition in the sense of the word, from the practices of a local priesthood to similar actions wherever performed, as completely effected (cf. non-ethnic sense of 'Chaldæans' in Dn *pass.*). Ought we therefore to take advantage of Jer $39^{3.13}$, and assume that

the Magi were either (*a*) a Babylonian, or possibly an Assyrian, race, or (*b*) not a race at all, but that *Magi* is only a general name for a priestly caste of 'magical' tendencies, who corrupted a purer religion in Media and Persia? (*a*) As regards the former supposition, Jer 39, though it gives us the earliest allusion to the Magi, says nothing as to their relation to the Chaldæans. It is true that Ctes. *Pers.* 46 (15), Nicol. Damasc. *fr.* 66, etc., speak of the Chaldæans in such a way as apparently to identify them with the Magi, while the distinctions drawn in Diog. Laert. *fr.* 6, Porphyr. *Vit. Pyth.* 6, do not succeed in removing the impression that the two were frequently confused; but if once a similarity of occupation between Magi and Chaldæans were admitted, this would account for the identification easily enough (Spiegel, iii. 588). (*b*) The second view suggested is tempting (cf. modern view of Druids: Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, 68), but the connexion between Magism and Media is too strongly attested to make it easy. The absence of the name Magi from the Avesta (Spiegel, iii. 585) does not show that they belong to a different religion from the Zoroastrian, since the racial name may have been treated as a title of scorn (*Sacred Books of the East*, iv. p. li). But the full discussion of the question does not belong to this place, where it is merely necessary to indicate the importance of Jer $39^{3.13}$ in the controversy. (See Pauly, *RE*^{1} iv. 1374; Zöckler in Herzog, *RE*^{2} ix. 127; Schrader, *COT*^{2} 110, 114).

It is partly owing to this vagueness in the meaning of the word that so little certainty can be arrived at in regard to the most important allusion to the Magi in the Bible—that in Mt 2. We are told that certain μάγοι came from the east to pay their homage to the king of the Jews, whose star they had seen at its rising (ἐν ἀνατολῇ, AV and RV 'in the east,' which would probably require the plural). They consulted Herod, who procured them the required information by help of the scribes, and, after seeing the star again, they were successful in their search, offered their gifts of gold, frankincense (cf. Holtzmann, *in loc.*), and myrrh, and, in consequence of a divine warning conveyed in a dream, returned home by a different route, without revisiting Herod. The king, who had inquired of them secretly at what time the star first appeared, with a view to ascertaining the age of the child, put to death all the male children in Bethlehem 'from two years old and under,' the Holy Child escaping through the flight of his parents into Egypt.

(1) The Magi came from the east (ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν should probably be taken with μάγοι in spite of the absence of the article, see Alford, *in loc.*; but this makes no difference to the general sense), but no conjectures as to the particular part of the east can pretend to any certainty. Probably most is to be said for Arabia (Just. Martyr, Tertul., Epiphan., to whom it was suggested by Ps $72^{10.15}$, Is 60^6; the view has also modern defenders, *e.g.* Grotius, Wieseler, Holtzmann, Edersheim); but others have favoured Persia, Parthia, Babylon, and even Egypt (see the names in Meyer's and Holtzmann's *Comm.*). The expression is quite vague (cf. Mt 8^{11} 24^{27}, Lk 13^{29}, Rev 21^{13}), and Plumptre has pointed out that 'the language of OT, and therefore probably that of St. Matthew, included under this name countries that lay considerably to the N. as well as to the E. of Palestine' (see *e.g.* Nu 23^7, Is 41^2); while the nature of the gifts presented is not decisive (Weiss, *Life of Christ*, Eng tr. i. 266). It may, however, safely be assumed that they are not Jews (as v. d. Hardt, Münter, Paulus, etc.); the words ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν and the exact terms of their question seem inconsistent with this supposition, while the evidence of Christian tradition is also weighty.

(2) The controversy whether μάγοι is here to be understood in a good or bad sense is really unimportant. It is, no doubt, true that the bad sense predominates in classical writers of the time (*e.g.* Tac. *Ann.* ii. 27, xii. 22, 59; Plin. *HN* xxv. 59, xxvi. 9, xxx. 1, 6; cf. Kleuker, *Anhang zum Zend-Avesta*, ii. 3), that the Magus is frequently denounced in Rabbinical works (Hamburger, *RE s.v.* 'Zauberei'; Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, i. 210), and that the other NT allusions bear an unequivocally bad sense (Ac 8^9 Simon Magus, $13^{6.8}$ Elymas). However, the evangelist lays no stress, either on the value of the religion of the Magi in general or on its falsity, so that the attempt of many ancient commentators (Just., Chrys., Theophyl.; cf. J. Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.* ii. 36) to press the bad sense here, is as irrelevant to the story in the Gospel as the ironical fears of Strauss for the dogmatic consequences of a favourable construction. The newly-born king of the Jews receives homage from Eastern sages; their views (beyond the reference to the star, which does not imply any opinion on astrology in general) are not touched upon, and therefore neither praised nor blamed—a point in which Mt 2 contrasts with Sen. *Ep.* 58, where some critics have endeavoured to find a parallel.

(3) The exact cause of the Magi's coming can apparently only be guessed at. The passages in the Avesta on the three sons of Zoroaster and the triumph of Soshyos would appear, even if their bearing on the present story were more clear, to be too late in date to afford any assistance (*Sacred Books of the East*, iv. p. xxxvii). We must suppose that the Magi, to whatever nationality they themselves belonged, derived their inference that a king of the Jews was born, from Jewish sources. The coming of Messiah seems certainly to have been expected among the Jews at this time (Lk 2^{25}; Ellicott, *Hulsean Lectures*^{6}, 75); and though the widespread feeling in the East, that a Jewish Messiah would conquer the world, is only attested for a later period (Edersheim, *op. cit.* i. 203), Jewish authorities, if consulted on the appearance of an exceptional astronomical phenomenon, might well have explained it of Messiah. Unfortunately, it is difficult to ascertain either (*a*) what the precise Jewish view in regard to the star of Messiah was, or (*b*) what the actual astronomical fact was in which they regarded the expectation as now fulfilled.

(*a*) As regards the former point, in Nu 24^{17} (referred to by Just. *Tryph.* 106; Iren. III. ix. 2; Orig. *Cels.* 1. 59, etc.), the star would most naturally apply to the prince himself, not to a sidereal phenomenon heralding his appearance (cf. Weiss, *op. cit.* i. 266; G. Baur, *Altt. Weissag.* i. 346); the passage in *Aggadoth Mashiach* (quoted by Edersheim, *op. cit.* i. 211), however important in other ways, is quite vague as to the nature of the star; while Abarbanel (1437–1508, a Portuguese Rabbi commenting on Daniel), who attaches special importance to the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in Pisces, is a very late writer, the value of whose evidence for the earlier period is a difficult matter to decide.

(*b*) Various attempts have been made to discover unusual astronomical phenomena at this time, which might have aroused the attention of the Magi. Kepler (*De vero anno*, etc. 1614) calculated that a conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn took place in B.C. 7; Ideler (*Handb. d. Chronol.* ii. 399), and more recently Pritchard, have repeated the calculations, the latter showing (*Memoirs of Royal Ast. Soc.* xxv. 119) that three conjunctions took place between May and December B.C. 7. This conjunction (besides agreeing very well with the hint in Abarbanel, whatever that may be worth) would certainly present a rare and splendid spectacle, and would undoubtedly cause much interest to those engaged in the study of the stars. No difficulty would be caused by the use of ἀστήρ in Mt 2, for (in spite of Suidas, *s.v.* ἀστήρ) the word may apparently be employed for any sidereal appearance (at least in the popular language of NT, *e.g.* Lk 21^{25}, Ac 27^{20}, He 11^{12}; cf. also Schäfer in Brunck's *Ap. Rhod.* ii. p. 206), while Lotz has remarked that, as neither the evangelist nor any authority of his seem to have seen the star, the word used is indifferent. But Pritchard has shown ('Star of the Wise Men,' in Smith's *DB*) that this conjunction cannot be considered to have guided the Magi to Bethlehem or stood over Bethlehem at the time required by the story; possibly also some weight may be attached to his remark that a still closer conjunction took place in B.C. 66, which ought to have aroused similar interest. Wieseler (*Chronol. Synops.* 67) follows a suggestion of Kepler, that a peculiarly coloured evanescent star may have appeared between Jupiter and Saturn, of the same kind as one which appeared at the similar conjunction observed by Kepler in 1604. Wieseler further, adopting a hint supplied by Münter (*Stern der Weisen*, 1827, in which work interest in Kepler's suggestion was again aroused after a long interval), claims the support of Chinese tables for the appearance of such a star in Feb. B.C. 4, and the moderate weight attached by him to this evidence seems (in spite of the ridicule of Strauss) to be justified. Accordingly he regards the evanescent star, not the conjunction, as the star of the Magi; Edersheim (*op. cit.* i. 211), by referring to two passages in the Midrashim which represent the star of Messiah as appearing two years before His birth, is able to suggest further that the conjunction in B.C. 7 may have aroused the attention of the Magi, and the evanescent star of B.C. 4 have seemed (as it apparently well might) to guide them and stand over Bethlehem. On the other hand, the narrative implies that the star guiding the Magi to Bethlehem was believed to be the same star as that seen at its rising before; so we should either have to credit the Magi with a mistake (which seems improbable under the circumstances), or to suppose that the evanescent star appeared twice (which is in conflict with the Chinese records, on which the hypothesis depends).

We must therefore be content to believe that astronomical reasons prompted the Magi's visit, but that it is doubtful whether the exact cause has as yet been ascertained. Considering the number of astronomical possibilities, this fact is not in itself surprising. But there is nothing in the language of Mt 2 to imply that the star is of such a kind as could not be shown to be subject to natural laws. The universal belief in ancient times that stars acted as guides (Winer, *RWB*^{3} ii. 524), would serve to convince the Magi that this had happened in their case; their story, which may have corresponded accurately enough to the apparent facts, is simply adopted without comment in the Gospel. The question is not whether a star can lead men and stand over a place, but whether it can appear to do so; the passage is undoubtedly of 'great poetical beauty' (Holtzmann), but it does not follow that it rests on no historical basis (cf. Weiss, *op. cit.* i. 265). A wooden interpretation of the text is in any case to be deprecated, whether adopted in the supernatural (as Wordsworth, *in loc.*) or anti-supernatural interest.

(4) The attempt to use the date of the Magi's visit for establishing that of Christ's birth, comes to very little. Commentators are unable to agree how soon after the birth the visit is to be placed; the order of Herod would certainly be meant (as Euthymius already pointed out) to be inclusive, and would not show that the child was nearly two years old; the astronomical data are too uncertain to be of any value. [But cf. art. CHRONOLOGY OF NT, vol. i. p. 403; and Ramsay, *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?* p. 215].

(5) Much criticism has been directed against the whole story in Mt 2; but a careful study of the writers who oppose it most strongly, would seem to show the difficulty of explaining it, even from a purely destructive point of view. It has been suggested that the visit of these Eastern sages would, if true, have made a great impression, and that accounts from other quarters would almost necessarily be expected; but the attitude of Herod, which would at once be suspected, would make the utmost secrecy desirable. It is admitted that the murder of the children is in keeping with Herod's character (see Jos. *Ant.* XVII. vi. 5; *BJ* I. xxxiii. 4, 6); the number of children killed would be small ('probably 20 at most,' Edersheim, i. 214; Holtzmann exaggerates it); and those who remember the controversies on the 'silence of Thucydides' and 'the silence of Eusebius' will have no difficulty with 'the silence of Josephus' here. The references in Macrobius, *Sat.* ii. 4. 11 (Holtzmann, *in loc.*, regards this as a certain allusion to our story), and Chalcidius, *Tim.* vii. 126, are too late in date to afford any clearly independent evidence, but the absence of confirmation cannot under the circumstances be regarded as unfavourable to Mt 2 (for the earliest patristic allusions, see Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, ii. 2, 80). Lk follows entirely different sources from Mt in his account of Jesus' childhood, and therefore the omission of any allusion to the Magi in the third Gospel cannot be regarded as surprising. The question how room is to be found for the Magi's visit, so as to make a consistent story of the two narratives, is a difficult one, but the view of Wieseler (*Chron. Synops.* 152) may perhaps be considered satisfactory.

The attempt to discredit Mt 2 by producing close parallels is not successful. The scene at Plato's death in Sen. *Ep.* 58 is more remarkable for its differences than its resemblances; the story of Moses, as given in Jos. *Ant.* II. ix. 2, though more like Mt 2 than the parallel section in Ex, does not deserve the importance which some scholars attach to it (cf. Weiss, *op. cit.* i. 268); the looser illustrations of Strauss carry no conviction. The expectations of the Jews as to their Messiah do not appear to have been of such a kind as would account for the invention of the story in fulfilment of them (Edersheim, *op. cit.* i. 209). It is true that certain parts of OT (esp. Ps 72^{10}, Is 60$^{3.10}$) might lead to a modification of the tradition in the direction indicated by those passages, and the subsequent history of the story shows this to have been the case, but those very points are conspicuously absent from Mt's account. Again, the two places in which Mt adduces OT quotations (2$^{6.18}$) certainly raise difficulties of interpretation (Edersheim, i. 206; Weiss, i. 270), but those very difficulties show that the story has not been invented to fulfil the prophecies. The utterance of Balaam (Nu 24^{17}) would necessarily be regarded as fulfilled in the star of the Magi, but it is hard to see how it could have given rise to the latter; that there should be signs in heaven at the advent of Messiah (Rev 12^{1}) is as natural as that a pretender should subsequently call himself Bar-Cochba ('son of the star'), but that Mt 2 should correspond in any sense to an expected star of Messiah is extremely unnatural. We should rather have to think of the evangelist as deliberately inventing a fulfilment, suggesting a reason why it should not have caused more excitement at the time, and combining it with the gifts of Ps 68^{29} 72^{10}, and the worship of Is 49^{7}. But the connexion with the prophecies is too slight, the combination too inferential, and the style of the whole too simple, to make this supposition satisfactory. To suppose, further, that this very fact is due to the author's ingenuity, is to credit him with almost superhuman cleverness. That Jerus. should be troubled at one moment and should have forgotten the cause at the next, is not inconsistent with the habits of an excitable populace. Nothing need be said of Keim's objection that Herod 'would not have exalted the position of the Sanhedrin' (see Weiss, i. 269), of his somewhat simple suggestion that Herod would probably have put the Magi to death, or of the difficulty found by Holtzmann in the king's secret interview with them. That so long a journey should be undertaken for such a cause is no doubt *a priori* improbable, but it is not impossible. If the story is legendary, the explanation of the legend has certainly not been found yet, and critics ought carefully to consider whether the difficulties involved in rejecting the account are not greater than those of accepting it as historical. But it is impossible to arrive at any definite conclusion, on critical grounds, with regard to the Magi's visit, unless it is taken in connexion with the other incidents related in the Gospels about the childhood of Jesus (see JESUS CHRIST).

(6) Tradition has much to say in regard to the Magi's visit. The influence of Ps 68$^{29.31}$ 72^{10}, Is 49^{7} 60$^{3.10}$, makes itself felt in the belief that they were kings (perhaps already in Tert. *Jud.* 9, *Marc.* 3. 13; but see Patritius, *de Evangel.* ii. 320, where it is contended that there is no clear instance before the 6th cent.). Their number was fixed at three (in spite of an Eastern tradition that they were twelve: Drisler, *Classical Studies*, p. 31; *Op. Imp. in Mt* 2 *ap.* Chrysost. vi. 638), probably from the threefold nature of their gifts, though symbolical meanings were also attached (*e.g.* Orig. *Hom. Gen.* 14. 3; Leo, *Serm.* 31. 1; [Aug.] *Serm. App.* 136. 4; Bede, *Collect.* v. 542). The gifts themselves were explained in symbolical ways (Suicer, *Thes. s.v.* λίβανος), though it is perhaps worth notice that Christian art attached but little importance to the actual gold, frankincense, and myrrh, for which other offerings were generally substituted (Kraus, *RE s.v.* 'Magier'). The star received miraculous additions (Ign. *Eph.* 19, see Lightfoot, *ad loc.*; Chrysost. *Hom. Mt.* 6. 2), as did the whole story (*Op. Imp. l.c.*; Hyde, *Rel. Vet. Pers.* ch. 31). The names of the Magi, and the traditional way of representing them, became fixed (Spanheim, *Dub. Evang.* i. 287; Moroni, *Dizion. s.v.* 'Magi'; Kraus, *l.c.*). Their bodies were discovered in the East in the 4th cent. and removed to Constantinople; thence they travelled to Milan on the consecration of Eustorgius, and to Cologne on the conquest of Milan in 1162. Their festival, combined at first with a commemoration of Christ's baptism, His first miracle, and the feeding of the 5000 (Max. Taur. *Hom. ad Epiph.* 7; [Aug.] *Serm. App.* 134. 1), appears in the 4th cent. (Amm. Marc. 21. 2, Julian; Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 43. 52; Valens); and though rejected by the Donatists as an innovation (Aug. *Serm.* 202. 2), was honoured by the Catholics (Const. Apost. 8. 33; cf. Cod. Theod. xv. t. 5. 5; Cod. Justin. iii. t. 12. 7). Though the 'Epiphany' always retained traces of its origin as a celebration of Christ's baptism (hence its special suitability for the administration of baptism; Augusti, *Handb. d. Christl. Archäol.* ii. 376), the Magi assumed a gradually increasing importance in its solemnities (cf. Binterim, *Denkwürd. d. chr. kath. Kirche*, v. i. 310).

LITERATURE.—The most important works are cited in the course of the article, while further references can be found from them. On traditions as to the Magi and Epiphany see also Smith, *DB*, art. 'MAGI'; Bingham, *Origines*, vol. ix. p. 66; Hone, *Everyday Book*, Jan. 6. P. V. M. BENECKE.

MAGIC, MAGICIAN.—Magic, *ars magica*, is the profession and practice of the *magi* or μάγοι. This is the etymological signification of the word. The name and office are associated by Greek writers with the Persians. 'Among the Persians they who are wise respecting the deity, and are his servants, are called magi,' says Porphyry (*de Abstin. An.* iv. 16). Both Herodotus and Xenophon employ the term in the sense of priest and soothsayer (Her. vii. 37; Xenoph. *Cyr.* VIII. i. 23). Indeed, according to Porphyry, Darius declared himself to be a teacher of magic (μαγικῶν διδάσκαλος). In Sophocles, *Oed. Tyr.* 387, the word is used in an unfavourable connexion; but this cannot be said to be necessary and inevitable. In Dn 1^{20} Theod., 2^{2} LXX and Theod. etc., μάγος occurs with by no means a bad sense attaching to it. Indeed, Daniel himself (5^{11} Theod.) was chief *magus*, and obtained this appointment from Nebuchadnezzar himself (ἄρχων ἐπαοιδῶν, μάγων, Χαλδαίων, רַב חַרְטֻמִּין אָשְׁפִין כַּשְׂדָּאִין). And in the same ethically neutral and official sense the word μάγος occurs in the Matthew narrative (2$^{1.7.16}$).

One passage in Herodotus (i. 101) need not detain us. Here the *magi* are called a 'tribe' of Medes. As Schrader points out (*COT* ii. p. 113), they were rather a class than a tribe, *i.e.* the Median priestly order. We have a close parallel in the Hebrew *Levi*.

The origin of the name and office of Magian (μάγος, Heb. מָג only in foreign name *Rab-mag*) is uncertain. Both Schrader and Delitzsch claim for it a Babylonian origin, and this certainly seems probable. Yet it must be confessed that at present there is no satisfactory derivation of מָג from Assyro-Babylonian forthcoming. Schrader's combination of it with *êmḳu* (*imgu*) 'deep,' 'wise' (עמק), is very hazardous; while Delitzsch in his *Prolegg. eines neuen Heb.-Aram. Wörterb.* p. 138, footn. 1, surrenders, on phonetic grounds, his former combination of the word (propounded in *Heb. in the Light of Assyr. Research*, p. 14) with the Assyr. *maḫḫu*, meaning 'prophet,' 'soothsayer' (=*ašipu*). Nevertheless, the close parallel between the expression רַב מָג (in Jer 39^{3}) and the Assyrian title Rab-šaḳ(ê) (*WAI* ii. pl. 67, line 66),* points decisively to a Babylonian origin.

But our subject is not limited by the original etymologic import of the name. Magic is a term used by us to connote a certain range of acts standing in very close relation to ancient religion, yet hardly forming a normal or essential part of it. A satisfactory definition of the term is by no means easy. In a recently published work by Dr. Alfred Lehmann, entitled *Superstition and Magic*, in which the accompanying beliefs and usages are traced from the earliest times down to the present, the writer defines magic as every act which arises from superstition or may be explained on the assumption of superstitious ideas (p. 7, Germ. ed.). But the definition is too broad; and when we come to the definition of superstition as 'every hypothesis which has either no justification in a given religion or stands in contradiction to the scientific conceptions of a given time' (p. 6), we have too shifting a basis on which to construct an adequate definition of magic. We must therefore endeavour to fix on a more stable connotation for this term. Ludwig Blau, *Das alt-Jüdische Zauberwesen*, defines magic as consisting of those acts 'whereby an event or a condition is conceived of as brought to pass in some supernatural way' (p. 3). We are here standing on firmer ground. Yet even here greater clearness is needed, for the term 'supernatural' requires elucidation. Robertson Smith (*Prophets of Isr.*, Lect. vii. *ad fin.*) has shown that our terms 'natural' and 'supernatural' had no relevancy to ancient Semitic modes of thought. The definition would be clearer if by 'supernatural' we meant 'transcending the normal coexistences and sequences of cause and effect.' Yet even then Blau's definition of magic remains too broad, since it might include sacrifices, augury, and soothsaying. But in its strict sense magic stands outside these, and should be entirely separated from the normal thoughts and acts of religion.

---

* See Schrader, *COT* ii. pp. 3 f., 114. The word *šaḳ* as an Assyrian official term is to be found not only in the annals of Tiglath-pileser III. but also in the Rassam cyl. of Assurbanipal, col. ii. 15, *šu-ut-šaḳ-ja*; see Delitzsch, *Assyr. Lesestücke*^{3}, No. 83 in the *Schrifttafel*.

Magic may, in its historic sense, be best described as the special and abnormal agency, whether through words or acts, whereby certain superhuman personal powers are constrained either to create evil (or good) or to avert baleful effects. Accordingly magic falls into two parts. We have to do with the art with which the Babylonian systems make us familiar, whereby the superior deities or good demons are influenced to exercise their good offices to avert the evil, *i.e.* whereby counter-spells or charms are worked. This art may be called 'sacred magic.' On the other hand, we have to do with the *Black art* * called sorcery (see art. SORCERY), whereby evils are wrought on the unfortunate human victim through the power of the evil eye, etc., by the male sorcerer, or more frequently through the female witch, who is able to summon supernatural powers of darkness to his or her aid. Of this some illustrations will be given below.

In the definition, or rather description, above given we have had chiefly in view the usages and beliefs of the Christian era and the ages that preceded it. In other words, magic is regarded as the outgrowth of demonology, the necessary accompaniment of a belief in demons. To quote once more from Blau's treatise: 'These spirits the magician endeavours by his occult methods to bring under his power, or to compel them to carry out his will. The conceptions respecting the nature and power of these spirits, whom man can make serviceable to himself, differ with the different races. This does not, however, alter the essential fact. Belief in demons and belief in magic are inseparable the one from the other' (p. 7). As it is not the purpose of this article, contributed to a Bible Dictionary, to travel beyond the confines of the subject in its biblical relations, we shall content ourselves with the above conception of magic based on the animistic interpretation of the universe out of which demonology arose † (see article DEMON, DEVIL, vol. i. p. 590). It must be premised, however, that demonology does not wholly explain magic in all its varied forms and ramifications.

Investigation of the historic sources of the magical beliefs and practices of Israel leads us to ancient Egypt and Babylonia—more especially the latter. In both magic was highly developed, and penetrated deeply into the life of the people. In both we fortunately have access to ancient documents in considerable abundance belonging to an age far anterior to the Exile and even the Regal period in Hebrew history.

Erman's instructive work, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, describes vividly the magical conceptions and practices that prevailed in the Nile Valley. As in Babylonia, magic was one of the most potent influences in the intellectual and moral life of ancient Egypt. 'The belief that there were words and actions by which they could produce an effect on the powers of nature, upon every living being, upon animals, and even upon gods, was indissolubly connected with all the actions of the Egyptians' (p. 352). It infected their funeral ceremonies. Wooden figures were supposed to do the work or prepare the food for the deceased. These with stone geese and wooden models of kitchens had been endowed through incantations with magical power. Even gods availed themselves of magic formulæ to constrain each other, or wore amulets. Isis pre-eminently was mistress of magic. Her name was placed on amulets worn by the deceased as a protection, and it was also used in medicines prepared for the living. The underlying conception in many of the formulæ employed was that in the history of one of the gods some good fortune came to the deity. The magician for the time regarded himself as identified with the god, and would repeat the words which the god had spoken on that occasion, and he might even designate himself as the god. Erman cites the example (p. 353)—

> 'Thou art not above me—I am Amon,
> I am Anhor, the beautiful slayer,
> I am the prince, the Lord of the Sword,' etc.,

by which crocodiles were conjured.

In the description of the great trial for high treason—a harem conspiracy against Rameses III. (contained in the judiciary papyrus of Turin, papyrus Lee and papyrus Rollin)—we read that 'the royal superintendent of the cows, a man of high rank, procured a magical book from the Pharaoh's own library, and according to its directions made certain wax figures which were smuggled into the palace, where they were supposed to cause lameness and illness' (Erman, p. 143). Magic and medicine were closely bound up with one another in Egypt as in Babylonia. Our chief authority on this subject is the great papyrus Ebers. In order that a special remedy might be effective, certain incantations were pronounced over it. The following formula, we learn from the above papyrus, was recited in the preparation of all medicines: 'That Isis might make free, make free. That Isis might make Horus free from all evil that his brother Set had done to him when he slew his father Osiris. O Isis, great enchantress, free me, release me from all evil red things, from the fever of the god and the fever of the goddess, from death, and death from pain, and the pain which comes over me; as thou hast freed, as thou hast released thy son Horus, whilst I enter into the fire and go forth from the water,' etc. (Ebers, i. 12 ff.). From the same authority we can readily perceive the dense ignorance of Egyptian doctors respecting the internal organism and its parts. They had a vague conception of the heart as the centre of the circulatory system, as well as some knowledge of the bones and large viscera, but respecting the etiology of disease knew nothing. Diseases they, like other ancients, ascribed to demons. The body was divided into 36 parts, and over each part a demon presided, and in case of disease he was addressed in order that restoration to health might follow. From the Book of the Dead we learn that in the case of a dead body the different parts of the body fell to the care of respective deities. Thus Nu guarded the hair, Râ the face, Hathor took the eyes under her protection, Anubis the lips, while Thoth took oversight over all the limbs. Further interesting details on this subject may be obtained from Dr. A. Wiedemann's *Religion der alten Ægypter*, p. 146 f.

---

* See Lehmann, *ib.* p. 31 f.

† Tylor (*Prim. Culture*, i. p. 116), basing his generalization on a broad survey of savage life, modern superstition and folk-lore, finds the psychology of magic in faulty association of ideas. 'By a vast mass of evidence from savage, barbaric, and civilized life, magic arts, which have resulted from thus mistaking an ideal for a real connexion, may be clearly traced from the lower culture which they are of to the higher culture which they are in. Such are the practices whereby a distant person is to be affected by acting on something closely associated with him, his property, clothes he has worn, and above all cuttings from his hair and nails.' This is, no doubt, largely true. But the following passage in Tylor's work clearly shows that the theory must be supplemented by the assumption of demonology or a belief in the sorcerer, who is a quasi-demon.

In Babylonia demonology and magic were even more prevalent than in ancient Egypt. To the inhabitants of the Euphrates and Tigris lands the existence of a vast host of demons was an ever-present fact. Now demons, as we have already pointed out (art. DEMON, DEVIL), are simply a development of Animism. In the words of Prof. Morris Jastrow (*Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 49), 'the more important and the more uniform of the natural forces became gods, and the inferior ones were, as a general rule, relegated to the secondary position of mere sprites, like the jinns of Arabic belief.' Mere sprites or demons personify the irregular and destructive forces of nature (cf. Chantepie de la Saussaye, i. p. 214). The incantations, of which so large a number has been supplied to us in the 4th vol. of the Cuneiform Inscr. of Western Asia (*WAI*, occasionally designated Rawl.; see Sayce, *Hibbert Lect.* pp. 441–447), usually deal with bodily or mental afflictions, of which evil demons were held to be the cause. These were believed to have obtained power over the human subject owing to the wrath of some deity, or because the victim had been subjected to blighting influence through the instrumentality of some sorcerer or witch. Angry gods made use of demons for the infliction of punishment. Moreover, it was believed that domestic misfortunes, such as jealousy, evil reports, and quarrels, were brought about by these supernatural agents. In magic, forms of words constituted the means by which the demons were constrained to work these mischiefs on the unfortunate victim. Or it might be effectuated by poisonous breath or spittle, and yet more often by **the evil eye.** For in the very earliest times it was a popular superstition that certain beings possessed demonic power, and could exercise it malignantly on human victims of their displeasure. Jastrow thinks that 'this belief may have originated in the abnormal appearance presented by certain individuals in consequence of physical deformities. . . . The uncanny impression made by dwarfs, persons with a strange look in their eyes, and, above all, the insane, would give rise to the view that some people possessed peculiar powers. By the side of such as were distinguished by bodily defects, those who outranked their fellows by virtue of natural gifts, by keenness of intellect or cunning, would also be supposed to have received their power through some demoniac source. There would thus be associated ideas of sorcery and witchcraft. The sorcerers might be either male or female, but, for reasons which are hard to fathom, the preference was given to females.' Thus among the Babylonians, as in mediæval Europe, the witch appears more frequently than the male sorcerer. She possesses the power of demons, and in incantations the two are often conjoined.

The predominance of the sorceress may also be observed in Jewish literature as well as in that of other races, notably in that of Greece and Rome (cf. Horace, *Epod.* xvii., *Sat.* i. 8; Theocritus, *Idyll* ii.). Citations from the Talmud in Blau's *Das alt-Jüdische Zauberwesen*, p. 23 f., show how deep-seated was the belief that sorcery was the work of women. Sorceresses, in fact, abounded; and according to Simon ben Jochai (A.D. 150) they had increased in number in his time, while Rabbi Eliezer declares that Simeon ben Shetach had hanged eighty of them in Ascalon in one day. Popular belief among the Jews even assigned *rabies* among dogs to the agency of women. This predominance of the sorceress meets us in ancient Arabia.*

The witch held close personal relations with the demons, and could control them, being able to invoke them at her will in order to effect her malignant purposes on mankind. Magical potions constituted one of the arts which she employed. But among the most effective was the method which has been termed 'sympathetic magic': 'Under the notion that the symbolical acts of the sorcerers would have their effect upon the one to be bewitched, the male sorcerer or the witch would tie knots in a rope.† Repeating certain formulas with each fresh knot, the witch would in this way symbolically strangle the victim, seal his mouth, rack his limbs, tear his entrails, and the like. Still more popular was the making an image of the desired victim in clay or pitch, honey, fat, or other soft material, and either by burning it to inflict physical tortures upon the person representing it, or by undertaking various symbolical acts with it, such as burying it among the dead . . . to prognosticate in this way a fate corresponding to one of these acts for the unfortunate victim.'

Cuneiform scholars have devoted much attention to this weird branch of Babylonian literature. Since the days, twenty-five years ago, when Lenormant expounded this subject in his *Chaldæan Magic* with much graphic vigour and detail, several scholars, including Sayce and recently L. W. King (*Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*), Tallqvist, and Zimmern, have made notable contributions.

The demons which are mentioned in the incantation texts amount to hundreds. They are of various classes: those which inhabit the field, those which haunt the resting-places of the dead, and the evil demons which inflict physical suffering. It is with the last we are now specially concerned; and the means by which these evil influences were counteracted occupy a vast number of cuneiform tablets. We possess a great collection of incantations directed against these demons, called by a variety of names, and also against the sorcerers. In many cases the interpretations are provisional.

> The *utukku* of the field and the *utukku* of the mountain.
> The *utukku* of the sea, and the one that lurks in graves.
> The evil *shedu*, the shining *alu*.

Beside these we have mention of the *ekimmu*, 'which seizes hold of a man.'‡ These incantations fall into various elaborate series.

---

* Wellh. *Reste Arab. Heidenthums*^{2}, p. 159: 'There were men and women who made this art of magic their profession. The witches, however, were more numerous. They distinguished themselves among the Arabs, as among other races, from the male sorcerers by showing themselves more passive than active. Hence the demons do not serve them, but *vice versâ.* In fact they almost seem incarnations of the demons. In the time of Ibn Munḳidh the witches rode about naked on a stick between the graves of the cemetery of Shaizar. Similarly they still ride by night on palm sticks through the air, having stripped themselves stark naked, smeared their bodies with cow's milk, and abjured Islam in a formula of renunciation.' The witches riding resemble demons in this respect; comp. p. 152. They were credited also with acts of unchastity, drawing the blood from the other sex, changing them into animals, or robbing them of reason. See Doughty's entertaining references, in *Arabia Deserta*, vol. ii. p. 106 f., to the Kheybar witches.

† Comp. the Hebrew חָבַר used of binding and conjuring by the tying of knots, Dt 18^{11}, Ps 58^{6}, and חֶבֶר frequently used in the plur., Is. $47^{9.12}$.

‡ From the root *ekêmu*, 'to take' or 'seize'; see Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handw. s.v.* אכם. Apparently the word properly means the *manes* or shade that wanders by night. We have other demons specially mentioned, viz. *Lilu* and *lilîtu*, the demons of night (see art. DEMON), the *gallu* that attacks the hand, the *rabiṣu* and *labartu*, demons of nightmare, *Namtar* and *ašakku*, plague demons. We find some of them pictured on the boundary stones. These are the demons of the field, who will inflict punishment on the trespasser or any one who will invade proprietary rights, and whose power the owner invokes to defend them. Students of Is $13^{21ff.}$ $34^{13f.}$ should take note of the fact

One series, consisting of sixteen tablets, known by the natural name of *evil demon*, contained protective incantations against various classes of evil spirits. Another is called the series of 'head sickness,' which covered nine tablets. Two others have lately been the subject of careful investigation,—the *Šurpu* series by Zimmern, and the *Maḳlû* series by Tallqvist. Both expressions signify 'burning,' since in both the subject dealt with is the burning of images of sorcerers and the incantations recited when this symbolical act was performed. These incantations were of superior force, intended to countervail and overpower the baleful influence of the spells used by the hostile sorcerer. Symbolical loosening of knots counterworked the symbolic tying of the same. Sometimes we have the symbolical peeling of several skins of an onion. As night was the time chosen by sorcerers and witches for their work, the three divisions of the night, evening, midnight, and dawn, corresponding to the temple watches, were the times chosen for the countervailing incantations and symbolic acts.

The *Šurpu* and *Maḳlû* series formed incantation rituals. Certain formulas were found to be effective, and were therefore preserved for use; but since a certain formula only availed for a particular set of circumstances, it was necessary to preserve as many formulas as possible to meet every case with which the professional exorcizer might be confronted. This exorcizer naturally plays a great part as a controller of the destructive spirits. One citation, modified from M. Jastrow's recent work, may suffice. It is taken from the *Maḳlû* series. First the sufferer describes his troubles (Tallq. ii. col. iii. 148 f.)—

'They have used all kinds of charms
To entwine me as with ropes (?)
To catch me as in a bird's snare,
To tie me as with cords,
To overpower me as in a net,
To throttle me as with a noose,
To tear me as a fabric.'

After which the exorcizer says—

'But I, by the command of Marduk, lord of charms,
By Marduk, the master of bewitchment,
Both the male and the female sorcerer,
As with ropes I will entwine,
As in a bird's snare I will catch,
As in a net I will overpower,
As in a noose I will throttle (*apattil*),
As a fabric I will tear.'

The byplay of action that accompanied each phrase of the incantation must be supplied by the reader's imagination. These acts were symbolically performed by the exorcizer on an image of the witch made of bitumen and pitch, of clay or wax. Sometimes the sufferer had been bewitched by concoctions of herbs. In this case other herbs or potions are concocted by the exorcizing priest as a counter charm.

In the lines repeated by the exorcizer above quoted we notice as significant the appeal to Marduk. The invocation of the greater deities was the leading characteristic of these counter-spells. Demons were related to the gods as inferiors to superiors. Doubtless, in some cases, the dividing line was slight, but that the mastery belonged to the Great Gods is clear. Those invoked were chiefly Šamaš, who, as the rising sun, was supposed to scare away the haunting spectres of the night; Sin, the guardian and illuminator of the darkness; Ištar and her consort Tammuz. But the most important place in these incantations was held by the magical triad Ea, Marduk, and Gibil (as well as Nusku). Here the two points to be noticed are, (1) the appeal to the gods of light, Marduk, Šamaš, and Sin, as opposed to darkness, and the works of sorcery carried on in darkness (cf. Ps $91^{5.13}$). (2) Water and fire, as the two purifying elements, are summoned to the magician's aid through the gods whom he invokes. Observe that it is in fire the images of the witches were burned, while the cleansing and healing properties of water were recognized even in those primitive times. Ea was the Babylonian god of water as well as of wisdom, the city of Eridu being the ancient seat of his cult. He is the lord of all secrets, whose name was awful, ineffable, and disguised in ciphers. His wonder-working name was inscribed on the sacred brazen vessels. But he stood on too lofty an eminence to be practically useful. In his place Marduk,* god of the sun as he rises from the ocean and brings with him the water of purification, is usually invoked by the exorcizing priest. On the other hand, Gibil and Nusku were invoked as representing the sacred element of fire. The following incantation—

'Nusku, great God, counsellor of the Great Gods,
Guarding the sacrificial gifts of all the heavenly spirits,
Founder of cities, renewer of sanctuaries, . . .
I prostrate myself before thee;
Burn the sorcerer and the sorceress;
May the life of my sorcerer and sorceress be destroyed'—

was recited in a whisper before the wax image of the sorcerer or witch. A noticeable feature of these invocations of the fire-deity is the lofty language in which they are expressed. We conclude with the following (Tallq. *Maḳlû*, i. 130 f.)—

'The witch who has charmed me,
Through the charm with which she has charmed me, charm her;
Those who have made images of me, reproducing my features,
Who have taken away my breath, torn my hairs,
Who have rent my clothes, have hindered my feet from treading the dust,
May the fire-god, the strong one, break their charm.'

We have no space to refer to many other interesting features of this great subject of Babylonian magic, more especially to the ethical ideas that occasionally appear in the Šurpu texts. These must be studied in the attractive pages of Morris Jastrow's work from which quotation has been made. The importance of Babylonia in its relation to Greek and Roman culture must not be forgotten, and in the realm of astrology and magic this especially holds true. In the early days of the Roman empire the *mathematici* or 'astrologers' were also called *Chaldæi* (cf. Gell, i. 9). Far more potent was the influence of Babylonia upon Israel. The influence of Egypt over the ancient Hebrews is by no means so definite.† Certainly no inference confirmatory of such influence can be drawn from the post-exilian passage, Ex 7^{10} (P). The Piel partic. of כשף, there used to characterize the magicians and their practices, is connected by Semitic philologists with the Arabic root كسف 'cut off' (used of an eclipse). The Ethpa. of the same root, employed in Syriac in the sense of 'pray' (cf. ܟܘܫܦܐ 'prayer'), is combined in Gesen. *Heb. Lex.*^{12} with 1 K 18^{28}, where reference is made to the self-mutilation of the devotees of Baal. But this is a highly precarious speculation, and we are on a safer path if we go to the ancient Semitic Babylonian for light. *Kašâpu* in Assyrian means 'to bewitch,' and *kišpu* means sorcery.

---

that the demons were always endowed with some animal or human shape. Frequently they are embodied in serpents, scorpions, or other monsters. Comp. *WAI* iv. pl. 5, and Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. of Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, i. pp. 61, 62, ii. p. 81.

* We cannot fail to note the corresponding rôle in comparison with Ea played by Marduk in the cosmogonic legend. See Cosmogony.

† The influence exercised by Egypt was far more definite and powerful from the 3rd cent. B.C. onwards, when Alexandria became a centre where Greek and Oriental culture met. We see this in the later Jewish literature, from which Blau gives copious citations (*Das alt-Jüdische Zauberwesen*, p. 38 f.). Thus in *Kiddushin* 49*b* we read that out of the ten measures (קבין) of sorcery which descended into the world, Egypt claimed for itself as many as nine. In *Menachoth* 85*a* we find an interesting reference to Jannes and Mambres (Joḥana and Mamra), the heads of the Egyptian magicians (cf. 2 Ti 3^8). Blau thinks that the Egyptian potion זיחום המצרי, to which *Pesach.* iii. 1 refers, was a magical healing draught. Among the Greeks and Romans Egypt was regarded as the classical land of magic and medicine. Yet this is more true of the later than of the earlier Greek history, and it is obvious that the Jewish Midrash read the conceptions of its own time into OT passages. Thus in 1 K 4^{30} the 'wisdom of the sons of the east,' which Solomon's wisdom exceeded, is interpreted to mean the wisdom of the Egyptians.

Here, as in the case of אַשָּׁף (Dn 1^{20} $2^{2.27}$ 4^{7} 5^{15}, cf. Assyr. *aśipu*), we have probably Babylonian loan words. We have already indicated (art. DEMON) that the Heb. שֵׁד (with its Aramaic equivalent) was of like origin. In earlier days than the Exile, especially in the 15th and previous centuries, Canaan was largely under Babylonian influence. From Is 2^{6} we are disposed to conclude that Babylonian magic and other foreign superstitions prevailed in Israel in the days of Ahaz, if the reading מִקֶּדֶם (LXX ἀπ' ἀρχῆς) is to be accepted as sound. The validity of this reading most recent commentators, including Dillm. and Duhm, admit, though with the addition of קֶסֶם or קֹסְמֵי before מִקֶּדֶם to make better structure and rhythm: 'They are full of soothsaying from the East.' Similarly Cheyne in *SBOT*. It is true that Balaam came from Pethor (Dt 23^{4} [^{5} Heb.], cf. Nu 22^{5}), the *Pitru* of the Assyrians, on the western bank of the Euphrates, and that he was regarded as a soothsayer (Nu 22^{7}). Yet it must be admitted that the insertion of קסם here is mere hypothesis. How deeply soothsaying and magic had infected Judah a century later is shown by Jer 27^{9}. The prevalence of the magical arts in early pre-exilian times is clearly evidenced in the most primitive code of Hebrew legislation, which strictly prohibited such practices, and regarded them as closely connected with heathen worship. It is, moreover, significant that in Ex 22^{18}, the passage referred to, it is a woman professor of these arts, מְכַשֵּׁפָה or 'sorceress,' who was not to be permitted to live. Similarly in Islam both the witch and the sorcerer were punished with death. The punishment of drowning was inflicted on the witches of Kufa by the Khalif Valid I.; see Wellhausen, *Reste Arab. Heidenth.*^{2} p. 160.

In the list of prohibited practices in Dt 18^{11} the מְכַשֵּׁף or magician is coupled with those who worked spells (חֹבֵר חֶבֶר) by tying knots, whereby the victim was bound by an evil charm. Illustrations of these customs have been already given in the account of Babylonian practice. Closely associated in the Deuteronomic passage with the magician (מְכַשֵּׁף) and the sorcerer who binds the knots, are the soothsayer (מְנַחֵשׁ) and the necromancer, and those who inquire by familiar spirits. On these subjects, nearly allied to magic and sometimes included in it, the reader is referred to the separate articles, DIVINATION, SOOTHSAYING, and SORCERY. In Ps $58^{4.5}$ and Jer 8^{17} we find interesting parallels which show that serpent-charming was practised as a mode of conjuring the demons, which the ancient Hebrews like the Arabs considered to reside in serpents. Illustrations of this popular superstition may be found in Baudissin, *Stud. zur Semit. Relig.* i. p. 279 ff.; W. R. Smith, *RS* p. 120, n. 1, and p. 133. The root לחשׁ used in the Piel of the serpent-charmer (Ps 58^{5}) is probably a mimetic word meaning to hiss or whisper,* and thus to conjure serpents. See W. R. Smith, *Journ. of Phil.* xiv. p. 122 ff. Lagarde, indeed, would be disposed to connect נחשׁ and לחשׁ, and derive the latter from the former. The Assyrian parallel Pael form *luḫḫušu* is obscure as to meaning.

Is 47 is a song (arranged in strophes) concerning the fall of Babylon. Its value for the student of history is the clear evidence it affords that by the Jews of the 6th cent. Babylonia was regarded as the land where magic had been practised from time immemorial (מִנְּעוּרָיִךְ v.^{12}). The prophet utters his warning in the words (vv.$^{9-12}$)—

> 'Yea there shall come over thee both these . . . childlessness and widowhood in their full measure though thy magic arts (כְּשָׁפַיִךְ) be many, though thy spells (חֲבָרַיִךְ) be very potent . . . Abide by thy spells * and thy many incantations whereby thou weariest thyself.—Perhaps ye are able to obtain advantage, perhaps ye scare away [the foes].'

The references to popular magic in the OT are not infrequent. The דּוּדָאִים of Reuben of which Rachel made use (Gn $30^{14ff.}$ J) seem to be a reminiscence of some magic superstitions connected with the worship of the deity דודה, which the Moabite Stone (line 12) would lead us to regard as a deity of love belonging to the tribe of Gad. There can be little doubt that the earrings buried by Jacob as idolatrous were magical amulets inscribed with words or tokens to avert the evil eye or other disasters (Gn 35^{4}). Similarly the 'crescents' or 'little moons,' μηνίσκοι (שַׂהֲרֹנִים), of which Isaiah speaks in 3^{18-23} (Cheyne and Duhm make the passage post-Isaianic), may be compared with the *hilâlât* or crescents adorning a modern Arabian maiden. Similar crescents were worn on the camels' necks (Jg 8^{21}) of the Midianite kings, and were undoubtedly employed as amulets or charms (see Delitzsch on Is 3^{18}). Lane, in his *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, observes that horses often wear appendages consisting of a few verses of the Koran enclosed in cases of metal. That the lady of fashion in Jerusalem, whose attire is described by Isaiah, wore crescents as a charm, is shown by the subsequent mention of the amulets (לְחָשִׁים). See chs. xi. xii. in Lane's work on Ḥejâbs (charms) and Magic.

An obscure reference in the Bk. of Job (3^{8}), in which the speaker, cursing the night of his birth, exclaims—

> 'May those who curse the day, curse it,
> Who understand how to stir up Leviathan,' †—

has been considered to refer to the mythical dragon who was believed to seize upon the sun or moon when eclipsed. The magician's power was supposed capable of compelling the dragon monster Leviathan to seize or give up his victim (cf. Is 27^{1}, Job 26^{13}).‡ On Nu $21^{8f.}$ see SERPENT, and Dillm. *ad loc.*

The prophets habitually associate magic with idolatry (Mic $5^{11ff.}$, cf. 2 K 9^{22}, 2 Ch 33^{6}). Yet the history of Israel constantly reveals the continuance of popular superstition and practice even after legislation had long pronounced them unlawful. In the later days of Judaism learned Rabbis did not forbid the study of magical arts, though the practice of these arts was not permitted. Of one it is even said that he considered the knowledge of magic to be essential to any member of the Sanhedrin in order that he might be capable of pronouncing an opinion upon it (Blau, *Zauberwesen*, p. 20). The fact that the practice of magic was forbidden does not by any means imply that the Jews did not believe in its power. The truth is precisely the reverse. They believed in magic as the inevitable result of their belief in demons, but regarded it, just as St. Paul himself did, as bound up with idolatry and the realm of darkness, and therefore to be shunned. It comes within the circle of the *ἐνέργεια τοῦ Σατανᾶ*.[*]

---

* The presence of the significant sibilant ש in all these words אשף, כשף, לחשׁ, נחשׁ, suggests an ultimate mimetic origin connected with the sound of hissing or whispering. Cf. צִפְצֵף in Is 10^{19} 29^{4}.

* The word חֶבֶר (pl.) 'magic art' or 'spell' probably refers to the binding of the knots. The same root occurs in Assyrian. The Pael of אבר *ubburu* is used of binding under the spell of the sorceress (*WAI* iv. 49, 5*a*; 50, 52*b*; Delitzsch, *Handwört. sub voce*). In v.^{11} we have an interesting word שַׁחְרָהּ ('evil which thou knowest not) *to avert by incantations*,' Piel infin. with suff. of the root which in Arabic (ساحر) is constantly employed in the sense of using magic spells (see Wellhausen, *Reste*^{2}, p. 159).

† Gunkel's reading of יָם for יוֹם in the first line, and rendering 'may those who keep the sea under a spell curse it,' etc. (*Schöpfung u. Chaos*, p. 59), are far-fetched though ingenious. Gunkel holds that ארר and עֹרֵר refer to spell and counter-spell, a view which does not appear to us at all warranted.

‡ There possibly lurks a reference to a demon in the עֲלוּקָה of Pr 30^{15} and some magic ritual connected with it, to which all clue has been lost. See Baudissin's art. 'Feldgeister in *PRE*^{3} vi. p. 6, and Wellh. *Reste Arab. Heidenth.*^{2} p. 149.

As a matter of fact, however, the mass of the people could not be delivered from the influences of their time, and troubled themselves little about the religious scruples of their teachers, and, like the Greeks and Romans, Egyptians and Babylonians, were delivered up to the superstitious tendencies and practices of their age. Hence the Mishna, *Sota* ix. 13, deplores that jealousy and magic were ruining society. Indeed we even hear of distinguished Rabbis practising magic, *e.g.* Eliezer, son of Hyrcanus, who at the request of Akiba was able, through a charm, to fill an entire field with gourds, and by means of another formula to transfer them to a single place (*Sanhedrin* 68*a* in Blau, p. 26). Jesus Christ was regarded by His countrymen as a magician, and was called by them Bal'am, *Sanh.* 106*b*, *Sota* 47*b*. According to the Gospel narrative (Mt 12$^{24f.}$), He was even called a sorcerer who worked His wonders in league with Beelzebub. Tobit, ch. 6, clearly illustrates how thoroughly demonology and magic practices had taken hold of the Jewish people. This tradition even influenced dress (see FRINGES, PHYLACTERIES, and cf. Lk 8^{44}); also dwelling-houses (*mĕzûzôth*, Dt 6$^{8.9}$, see Driver, *ad loc.*).

We have no space to describe with any fulness of detail the great world of Jewish magic and the spells which were employed. These consisted of special formulæ in which certain names were recited (see AMULETS, DEMON, EXORCISM, and Brecher's *Das Transcendentale, Magie u. mag. Heilarten im Talmud*). Certain magical practices were forbidden as heathenish (Brecher, p. 192 ff.); on the other hand, special formulæ, involving the invocation of angels and the pronunciation of words, whereby certain evils were counteracted or diseases healed, were not only permitted but even recommended. The personal names of the celestial hierarchy which are most potent are given on p. 21 ff. of Brecher's treatise. We cite the translation of one formula among the large number given by this writer and Blau. It is a remedy against an ulcerous swelling. The original may be found in Brecher, p. 198 ff.: 'Baz Bazia, Mas Masia, Kas Kassia, Sharlai and Amarlai [cf. p. 38, and *Shabb.* 67*a*], the angels which came from the land of Sodom to heal painful sores. May the colour not become redder, not extend further; may the seed be absorbed in the belly. And as a mule does not propagate itself, so may the evil not propagate itself in the body of N., son of N.'

Against possession by devils: 'Cursed, broken in pieces and conjured be the demon named Bar Ṭîṭ, Bar Tamâ, Bar Tînâ,' etc.

Most potent of all names in these spells was that of God, expressed in every conceivable form, sometimes as הַשֵּׁם, sometimes as the tetragrammaton itself. This subject, as well as the great variety of modes in which the sacred Hebrew name appears in Egyptian magic papyri, will be found fully set forth in Blau's instructive work, pp. 117–144.

The survey of this strange world of abject superstition and triviality enables us to realize in some measure the nature of those methods whereby the Pharisees professed to exorcize demons in the days of our Lord (Mt 12^{27}), and of those arts which Elymas[†] the sorcerer employed (Ac 13^{8}) and Simon Magus (Ac 8^{9}). In Ephesus the Apostle Paul was confronted with this realm of magical superstition in its most aggravated form, for Ephesus was the greatest centre of Græco-Oriental life in Asia Minor. From this city came the famous *Ἐφέσια γράμματα*, frequently employed in conjurations.[*] Probably these and a vast number of other magic formulæ of incantation, resembling those found in recently discovered Egyptian papyri, were recorded in the magic treatises, worth 50,000 drachmas, which were publicly burned in Ephesus through the influence of St. Paul's preaching (Ac 19^{19}). Deissmann in his *Bibelstudien*, p. 26 ff., has published a long inscription of singular interest engraved on a leaden tablet (of which he gives a facsimile) discovered in 1890 in the necropolis of the ancient Hadrumetum, in which a spirit is conjured by Domitiana, daughter of Candida, to cause Urbanus to be united to her in marriage speedily. The most remarkable characteristic of this long document of 47 lines is that we have not a single heathen deity invoked, but only Jehovah under the forms Jao, Aoth, and Abaoth, and many others.[†] The origin of the first form Ιαω as an abbreviation of יהוה can hardly be doubted in this case and in those of the Abraxas[‡] gems and amulets. Aoth and Abaoth are obviously abbreviations taken from the name צְבָאוֹת (see Blau, p. 102 ff.).

Another remarkable feature in this and in other documents is the powerful influence exercised by Judaism and afterwards by Christianity on the Hellenistic and Roman heathen world. In an instructive chapter on this subject in Schürer's *GJV*^{3} iii. p. 297 ff., useful citations may be found (n. 86) from Origen, *c. Cels.* iv. 33, to prove that in the closing years of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd cent. A.D., nearly every one (*σχεδὸν καὶ πάντας*) who used spells and incantations invoked the name of the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in order to avert the power of demons. From Hippolytus, *Philosophumen.* iv. 28, we learn that the magicians made use of Hebrew words as well as Greek, stress being evidently laid on the original form of the name or word, no translation having any efficacy. Further illustrations of this literature will be found in Schürer (see esp. the citation from Kenyon's Greek papyri in the British Museum, and from the Carthage tablets on p. 298, footn. 88). Jewish literature of the Christian era abounded in magical works. In the Book of Jubilees, ch. 10, mention is made of a pseudepigraphic treatise by Noah on healing, and Gaster's recently published magical book, *The Sword of Moses*, is another striking illustration. The name of Solomon is constantly associated with magic prescriptions and formulæ (comp. Kohut, *Jüdische Angelol.* p. 81 ff., and Joseph. *Ant.* VIII. ii. 5), and this tradition survived to the Middle Ages. We find an echo of it in Goethe's drama, in the words addressed to Faust's poodle—

> 'On this mongrel brood of Hell
> The charm of Solomon worketh well.'

Will magic ever die? Lehmann's instructive treatise exhibits its present wide prevalence. Even with the marvellous advance of modern culture, its power does not disappear as rapidly as might be expected. In pre-Christian times the growth of civilization only produced more highly developed forms of magic. Religion and religious philosophy were accompanied by hosts of γοῆτες. Modern spiritualism points to a factor in human life which nothing will eradicate unless man is to become ultimately an acquiescent machine. As long as he continues to live, he will attempt to defy the limitations that surround him. It is this very sense of limitations that stimulates these abnormal endeavours to transcend them in modes that lie beyond the ascertained lines of cause and effect.

---

[*] *φαρμακία* belonged to the *ἔργα τῆς σαρκός* (Gal 5^{20}) Cf. the language of Rev 9^{21} 18^{23} (ref. to Babylon) 21^{8} 22^{15} with 2 Th 2$^{8-10}$.

[†] Probably the Arabic *'alîm* 'knowing.' Moses in Koran, Sur. vii. 106, is called *sâḥirun 'alîmun* 'wise magician.'

[*] See Schürer, *GJV*^{3} iii. 297, n. 83, where citations are given from Plutarch, *Sympos.* vii. 5. 4; and Hesychius, the translation of which is here appended. 'The magi bid those possessed with demons recite to themselves and name the Ephesian formulæ.' Hesych. says respecting these: 'They were once [six] in number, but subsequently others were deceptively added. It is said that these are the names of the first: *ἄσκι, κατάσκι, αἴξ, τετράξ, δαμναμενεύς, αἴσιον*.' Explanations of these names follow, based evidently on etymological guesswork.

[†] The names of the patriarchs occur under the forms *Αβρααν, Ιακου, Ισραμα*.

[‡] This refers to a special series of amulets inscribed with the word *Αβρασαξ* or *Αβραξας*, either alone or in combination with others. On this subject the student should consult Drexler's elaborate article in *PRE*^{3}, vol. i. *s.* 'Abrasax.'

'Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo.'

Literature.—The literature of this subject is very copious, and a full list will be found in the pages of Schürer, pp. 300-304. In addition to the catalogue there given, Morris Jastrow's chapter on Babylonian Magic and Blau's treatise should be consulted. To these we have made frequent reference. See also Lehmann, *Aberglaube u. Zauberei*; Wünsch, *Sethianische Verfluchungstafeln*, and Ramsay, *Expos.* July 1899, p. 22. For further information, see articles Sorcery and Exorcism.

Owen C. Whitehouse.

MAGISTRATE.—This word is used several times in AV, where it represents different words in the original. At Jg 18^{7}, where it is said of Laish, 'there was no magistrate in the land that might put them to shame in anything' (וְאֵין־מַכְלִים דָּבָר בָּאָרֶץ יוֹרֵשׁ עֶצֶר), the meaning of the expression has been much discussed and is confessedly obscure; but it probably denotes, not any particular office, but the more general idea of 'some one possessing power of restraint,' or as in RV 'possessing authority.'[*] At Ezr 7^{25}, where Ezra is directed to appoint 'magistrates and judges,' the first word (שָׁפְטִין) is the Aram. form of what is in Hebrew the usual expression for 'judges' (*shōphĕṭîm*, which reappears in the Carthaginian *sufetes*). At Lk 12^{11} 'magistrates' represents the general word (ἀρχαί) for 'ruling powers,' and is better rendered as in RV 'rulers'; while at Lk 12^{58} the 'magistrate' (ἄρχων) to whom it pertains to receive a complaint appears to denote a local authority of somewhat higher position than the 'judge' (κριτής) to whom he remits the case. At Tit 3^{1} the phrase 'to obey magistrates' represents the compound verb πειθαρχεῖν, which may probably be better rendered as in RV by the simple 'to be obedient.' But the principal use of the word 'magistrates' is in Ac 16, where it denotes the chief authorities of the Roman colony of Philippi. When Paul and Silas were dragged into the market-place before the 'rulers' (ἄρχοντας, *i.e.* the local city-judges), the charge against them resolved itself into one of political disturbance, conflicting with the allegiance due to Roman authority, and the accused were brought unto 'the magistrates' whose duty it was to deal with it (the στρατηγοί, $16^{20.\,22.\,35.\,36.\,38}$). These were the *duumviri* or *prætores*,[†] as they were called in towns which were colonies. They had officers in attendance on them to execute their orders, called 'serjeants' (EV) or 'lictores'; but in this case they exceeded their powers, and when they were made aware that the prisoners whom they had ordered to be scourged were entitled to the privileges of Roman citizens, they were glad in turn to become suppliants that the released captives might leave the city.

William P. Dickson.

MAGNIFICAL.—The old adj. 'magnifical' is retained by AV in 1 Ch 22^{5} from the Geneva version, and it is still kept in RV—'the house that is to be builded for the Lord must be exceeding magnifical'—though the word has long since been displaced by 'magnificent.' The adv. occurs in Rhem. NT, Lk 16^{19} 'There was a certaine riche man, and he was clothed with purple and silke: and he fared every day magnifically.'

J. Hastings.

MAGOG (מָגוֹג, Μαγώγ).—Enumerated among the sons of Japheth between Gomer (the Cimmerians) and Madai (the Medes) in Gn 10^{2}. Ezekiel (38^{2}) calls Gog 'the prince of Rosh, Meshech, and Tubal,' of 'the land of Magog.' In Rev 20^{8}, Gog and Magog are alike made representatives of the northern nations. If Gog is Gyges of Lydia, Magog would be Lydia, and we should have to explain Magog as signifying 'the country of Gog' (but see Dillm. on Gn 10^{2}, where this explanation, which is that of Ed. Meyer [*Gesch.* § 464], is emphatically rejected). It is noteworthy that *mõys* meant 'land' in the Lydian language, and that the Assyr. inscriptions give the name of a district in Armenia as indifferently Ma-Zamua and Zamua. In any case, as Meshech and Tubal were nations of E. Asia Minor, Magog would seem to have been in the same part of the world, and its association with Gomer in Gn 10^{2} would be explained by the Cimmerian settlements in Asia Minor. Cappadocia is even called Gamir by Armenian writers. Josephus (*Ant.* I. vi. 1) identifies Magog with the Scythians; but the term Scythian was used vaguely to denote almost any northern population about which little was known.

The prophecy of Ezk 38^{2}–39^{6} was the source of the constantly recurring notion in Apocalyptic literature that Israel's enemies would be finally destroyed at the advent of the Messiah (see Literature below, and cf. Rev 20^{2}). In the *Assumption of Moses*, where there is no mention of the Messiah, this final destruction is the work of God Himself, as it is also in *Enoch*, where the Messiah appears *after* the judgment. Gog and Magog not only meet us in Rev, but recur constantly in the 'antichrist-Apocalypses' (see Bousset, *Antichrist*, Index, *s.* 'Gog u. Magog').

Literature.—Dillmann on Gn 10^{2}; Davidson and Bertholet on Ezk 38 f.; Bousset on Rev 20^{8}; Schrader, *KAT*² 80, 427 [*COT* i. 62, ii. 123]; Stade, *GVI* ii. 61 f.; Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 165, iii. 279; Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, ii. 732 ff.; Weber, *Jüd. Theologie* (Index, *s.* 'Gog'); Renan, *l'Antichrist*².

A. H. Sayce.

MAGOR-MISSABIB (מָגוֹר מִסָּבִיב; LXX, Theod. μέτοικον (-χον A*); according to Jerome (*ap.* Field), Aq. 1st ed. *circumspicientem* (περιορῶντα), 2nd ed. *peregrinum* (πάροικον, προσήλυτον, μέτοικον or ξένον); Symm. *ablatum* (ἀφῃρημένον), or *congregatum et coactum* (συνηθροισμένον); according to Q^{mg}. Aq., Symm., and Theod. added κυκλόθεν with an asterisk; Vulg. *pavorem undique*; EV 'Magor-missabib,' RVm 'terror on every side.' LXX, Theod., Aq. 2nd ed. connect מָגוֹר with גּוּר *to sojourn*).—Name given by Jeremiah (Jer 20^{3}) to Pashhur ben-Immer, governor of the temple, who had had the prophet beaten and put in the stocks. Jer 20^{4} explains, 'For thus saith J", Behold, I will make thee a terror to thyself and all thy friends.' The phrase occurs also (not as a name) in Ps 31^{13}, Jer 6^{25} 20^{10} 46^{5} 49^{29}, La 2^{22}; where LXX has similar translations to the above, except Jer 49^{29} ἀπώλειαν. See Field, Swete, and Giesebrecht (*Handkommentar zum AT*), *in loco.* W. H. Bennett.

MAGPIASH.—See Magbish.

MAGUS.—See Magi, Magic, and Simon Magus.

MAHALALEEL.—See Mahalalel.

MAHALALEL (מַהֲלַלְאֵל[*] 'praise of God,' cf. the name יְהַלֲלְאֵל *Jehallelel*, 'he shall praise God'; Μαλελεήλ).—**1.** Son of Kenan and great-grandson of Seth, Gn $5^{12.\,13.\,15.\,16.\,17}$ (P)=1 Ch 1^{2}. The name corresponds to **Mehujael** (מְחוּיָאֵל) in J's list, Gn 4^{18}. See Mehujael. In the genealogy of Jesus, Lk

---

[*] The MT appears to be hopelessly corrupt, and the Versions give no help (see Moore, *ad loc.*).

[†] On the application of the term *prætores* to the magistrates at Philippi, see Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 217 f.

[*] Gray (*Heb. Proper Names*, 201 n.) would point מְהֻלַּלְאֵל (so also Nestle, *Marginalien*, p. 7).

3^{37}, RV has **Mahalaleel,** AV (following the Greek, Μαλελεήλ) Maleleel. **2.** The son of Perez, who dwelt at Jerusalem after the Captivity, Neh 11^{4} (B Μαλελήμ).

MAHALATH (מַחֲלַת).—**1.** (Μαελέθ) A daughter of Ishmael, and wife of Esau, Gn 28^{9} (P). In Gn 26^{34} (also P) a 'Hittite' wife of Esau is mentioned whose name was **Basemath,** and in 36^{3} (prob. R) this Basemath is called daughter of Ishmael (Sam. has here and throughout ch. 36 מחלת, which, however, may be a harmonistic correction). The whole subject of Esau's marriages is wrapt in obscurity (see *Comms.* of Dillm. and Holzinger, and art. ESAU in vol. i. of this Dictionary, p. 734^{a}, note). **2.** (Μολ(λ)άθ) Wife of Rehoboam, 2 Ch 11^{18}. She was the daughter of Jerimoth, one of David's sons, and hence a cousin of Rehoboam.

MAHALATH LEANNOTH.—See PSALMS.

MAHANAIM (מַחֲנַיִם 'two camps' or 'hosts' (?); the LXX renders by Παρεμβολαί Gn 32^{2}, 1 K 2^{8}, ἡ παρεμβολή 2 S 2^{29}; in Jos, B has Βαάν (Μαάν), Μαανά, Καμέιν, A Μανάιμ; in 2 S, B A Μανάεμ, Μανάειμ, Μαανάειμ (17^{24} A Μανάειν); 1 K 4^{14} B Μααναιεῖον, A Μαανάιμ; 1 Ch 6^{80} B Μαανάιθ, A Μαανάιμ).—An important city on the E. of Jordan, of which the exact site is unknown. The above explanation of the name is due to J, whose narrative (Gn $32^{3\text{-}13a}$, esp. vv.$^{7\text{-}10}$ 'two companies,' and v.^{13a} 'and he lodged *there* that night') indicates that it originally contained an explanation of the manner in which the place obtained its name: probably this was omitted as inconsistent with v.^{2}. In E, on the other hand, nothing is known of the dual meaning of the word, the forms *Maḥanaim, Maḥaneh* (מַחֲנַיִם, מַחֲנֶה) being used indifferently (32^{2} 'This is God's host' (*maḥaneh*), v.^{21} 'and he himself lodged that night in *Maḥaneh* (not as RV 'in the company')).[*] According to Gn $32^{1f.}$ (vv.$^{1.\,2\ 13b\text{ff.}}$ E, vv.$^{3\text{-}13a}$ J) Jacob was here confronted by a vision of angels after he had parted from Laban on the mountain range of Gilead. No further mention is made of Mahanaim until after the conquest of Palestine by Joshua, when it is described as lying on the border between Gad and Manasseh (Jos $13^{26.\,30}$). According to Jos 21^{38} it was one of the cities of Gad assigned to the priestly family of Merari.

It was, however, more especially during the early period of the monarchy that Mahanaim came into prominence. Owing possibly to the timely assistance which Saul had rendered to the inhabitants of Jabesh-gilead at the commencement of his reign (1 S $11^{1f.}$), the country E. of Jordan long remained faithful to the house of its deliverer. Hence it was that, after the death of Saul, Abner established Ishbaal (Ishbosheth) as king of Israel at Mahanaim, in opposition to David, who reigned over Judah in Hebron (2 S $2^{8f.}$). From Mahanaim Abner started on the expedition to Gibeon, which, resulting in the defeat of the Israelite forces at the hand of Joab and his Benjamite followers, proved to be the turning-point in the struggle between the rival kings. In their flight it is stated that Abner and his men passed through the Arabah along the right side of the Jordan, and thence made their way across Jordan and up the gorge (RV 'Bithron') to Mahanaim. Despite this reverse the war between the house of Saul and David still continued until the murder of Ishbaal, which followed soon after the defection and death of Abner, left David in sole command. Presumably, the tribes on the E. of Jordan joined in the universal recognition of David as king and acknowledged his rule. That they proved faithful to the new monarch is shown by the fact that David, when driven from Jerusalem by the rebellion of Absalom, at once directed his flight to the capital of his former rival and was there royally received by the chief men of the country, among whom was a son of his former ally, Nahash the Ammonite (2 S $17^{24\text{-}27}$). The encounter between the forces of David and those of Absalom took place in the Forest of Ephraim (which see), apparently the wooded district of Gilead which lay opposite to Ephraim on the E. of Jordan.[*] Information of the defeat of Absalom's army was conveyed to the king, who had remained in Mahanaim, by Ahimaaz the son of Zadok, who, running by the way of the plain (הַכִּכָּר=the circle of Jordan, Smith, *HGHL* p. 505), outstripped the previous messenger who had been sent by Joab (2 S 18^{23}). Apart from a possible reference in Ca 6^{13} (RVm 'of two companies,' LXX τῶν παρεμβολῶν), Mahanaim occurs only once more, as the dwelling-place of one of Solomon's twelve commissariat officers (1 K 4^{14}).

From the above sketch of the history of Mahanaim it will be seen that the biblical narrative affords but little assistance in identifying its exact site. From Gn 32 it seems clear that it lay somewhere near the Jordan to the N. of the Jabbok and of the great gorge (or Bithron, 2 S 2^{29}). According to Jos 13 it was situated on the border of Gad and Manasseh, a position which agrees with the history of the monarchy. Conder (*Heth and Moab*, p. 179 ff.) places it near *el-Buḳeiʿa*, to the E. of es-Salt; but this is too far south. More probable is the view of Merrill (*East of the Jordan*, p. 433 ff.), who identifies Mahanaim with *Khurbet Suleikhat*, at the entrance of the *Wady Suleikhat*, 3 miles N. of the *Wady ʿAjlun*. He points out that the present ruins stand some 300 feet above the plain, and command an extensive view across the valley to the W., and down the valley almost to the juncture of *Wady Zerḳa* (Jabbok) with the Jordan. This situation agrees admirably with the details supplied in 2 S 18, according to which the watchman of Mahanaim discerned the Cushite and Ahimaaz from a considerable distance (v.$^{24\text{ff.}}$) It also throws light on the statement of v.^{23} ('Then Ahimaaz ran by the way of the plain'), the point being that Ahimaaz chose the longer but more level route along the plain, and so outstripped the Cushite, who made his way across the intervening hilly country. Earlier travellers (Seetzen, *Reisen*, i. 385; Robinson, *Phys. Geogr.* p. 78 f.) place Mahanaim at the modern *Maḥne*, which according to the old Jewish traveller Parchi (*Benj. of Tudela*, ii. 408) lay about half a day's journey due E. of Bethshean. The latter statement is certainly erroneous, but in any case *Maḥne* is too far from the Jordan, and its position in the midst of the mountains of Gilead does not suit the narrative of 2 S. Buhl, however (*GAP* p. 257), seems to place *Mahne* (or *Mihne*) considerably farther S., slightly to the N. of the *Wady 'Ajlun*; the latter he would then identify with the gorge (or Bithron) of 2 S 2^{29} (*ib.* p. 121). J. F. STENNING.

---

[*] It seems probable that Mahanaim is yet another instance of a place-name with an apparently dual termination which has arisen from a later expansion of the original termination in *-ām* and *-ēm* (or *-ān* and *-ēn*). The most striking instance of this change is יְרוּשָׁלַםִ (Jerusalem), which represents the *Ḳerê perpetuum* for an original יְרוּשָׁלֵם (Aram. יְרוּשְׁלֵם). Similarly in Aramaic we find שָׁמְרַיִן=שָׁמְרָיִן for the Heb. שֹׁמְרוֹן (Samaria), while the Mesha inscription affords several examples of the termination in ָן (*-ān*), which in Hebrew is represented by ַיִם (*-aim*). Other cases in Hebrew are Dothain (דּוֹתַיִן Gn 37^{17}) and Dothan (דֹּתָן 2 K 6^{13}); Ḳartan (קַרְתָּן Jos 21^{32}) and Ḳiriathaim (קִרְיָתַיִם 1 Ch $6^{76\,(61)}$), and Enam (הָעֵינָם Jos 15^{34})=Enaim (עֵינַיִם Gn 38^{21}). For further discussion see especially Strack, *Genesis*, p. 139; Wellhausen, *JDTh* xxi. 443, *Comp.* p. 45 n.; Philippi, *ZDMG* xxxii. 65 f.; Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 319; Ges.-Kautzsch, *Heb. Gram.* p. 256. Against this view, König, *Lehrgebäude*, ii. p. 437.

[*] It is noteworthy that Luc. gives Μαιναν, *i.e.* Maḥanaim instead of Ephraim, but this may be only a correction; see Smith, *HGHL* p. 335^{2}; Buhl, *GAP* p. 121; Budde, *Ri. u. Sam.* p. 34 ff.

MAHANEH-DAN (מַחֲנֵה־דָן, *παρεμβολὴ Δάν*).—The name occurs twice: in Jg 18^{12} of a place 'behind,' *i.e.* W. of Kiriath-jearim, in Jg 13^{25} of a place between Zorah and Eshtaol, where Samson began his work. Whether one identifies Kiriath-jearim (which see) with Khirbet 'Erma or with Abū Ghōsh, it is scarcely possible to take both these references to be to the same place. Nor has the name been found. It is true that Williams (*Holy City*, i. 12, note) had a site pointed out to him, north of Wady Ismail, as bearing the name Beit Mahanem. Both name and situation are tempting, but the statement lacks confirmation. Guérin (*Judée*, i. p. 62 ff.) places the Mahaneh-dan of 18^{12} near 'Abou-Goch,' but he ignores the other. Moore on Jg 13^{25} accepts the position assigned to Mahaneh-dan in 18^{12}, and thinks there is no support for the supposition that there were *two* camps of Dan. It seems probable, however, that the name, since it was never attached to a town, was floating rather loosely in this quarter of Palestine. The author of 13^{25} then understood it to refer to the original war-camp which the Danites occupied at the time of the conquest, before their permanent settlement; the author of the clause in 18^{12} took it to be the name of the first camp which the 600 Danites occupied outside their own territory when they marched northward to attack Laish. (Cf. *ZDPV* x. p. 137 with Guthe's note).
A. C. WELCH.

MAHARAI (מַהֲרַי; B Νοερέ, Νεερέ, Μεηρά; A Μαεραεί, Μοορά, Μοοραί).—A native of Netophah in Judah, the modern *Beit Nettîf* (Buhl, *GAP* p. 194), in the *Wady es-Sunt*, or Vale of Elah, the third of the five valleys which, cutting right through the Shephēlah, connected the Philistine plain with the hill-country of Judæa. Maharai was one of David's thirty heroes (2 S 23^{28}, 1 Ch 11^{30}), and according to 1 Ch 27^{13} was of the family of Zerah, and captain of the temple guard for the tenth monthly course.
J. F. STENNING.

MAHATH (מַחַת).—1. The eponym of a Kohathite family, 1 Ch 6^{35} [Heb.^{20}] (B Μέθ, A Μαάθ), 2 Ch 29^{12} (B Μαάθ, A Μαέθ), perhaps to be identified with **Ahimoth** (אֲחִימוֹת 'my brother is death') of 1 Ch 6^{25} [Heb.^{10}], B 'Αλειμώθ. See Gray, *Heb. Prop. Names*, 281, note 1. 2. A Levite in the time of Hezekiah, 2 Ch 31^{13} (B Μαέθ, A Ναέθ).

MAHAVITE, THE (הַמַּחֲוִים).—The designation in 1 Ch 11^{46} of Eliel, one of David's heroes. The MT is unintelligible and certainly corrupt. Bertheau proposes to emend to הַמַּחֲנַיְמִי 'the Mahanaimite'; Kittel, following the Vulg. *Mahumites*, reads הַמַּחוּמִי. LXX B has Μιεί, A Μαωείν.

MAHAZIOTH (מַחֲזִיאֹת and מַחֲזִיאוֹת 'visions'; B Μελζώθ, A Μααζιώθ).—The Hemanite chief of the 23rd course of singers, 1 Ch 25$^{4.30}$. On the extraordinary conglomeration of names in v.^{4} and the supposition that they are really a fragment of a hymn, see W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} 143, note 1, and art. GENEALOGY, vol. ii. p. 124^b.

MAHER-SHALAL-HASH-BAZ (מַהֵר שָׁלָל חָשׁ בַּז 'spoil speedeth, prey hasteth'; LXX, v.^{1} *τοῦ ὀξέως προνομὴν ποιῆσαι σκύλων*, v.^{3} *ταχέως σκύλευσον ὀξέως προνόμευσον*; Is 8$^{1.3}$).—A symbolical name given to one of Isaiah's sons to signify the speedy destruction of the power of the allied kings Rezin and Pekah by the king of Assyria. The prophecy was fulfilled in the invasion of the North in the following year (734) by Tiglath-pileser, who entirely crushed Rezin, and took many cities of Israel and devastated the country (2 K 15^{29} 16^9), though the actual capture of Samaria did not take place till 13 years later (721). F. H. WOODS.

MAHLAH (מַחְלָה; as a proper name it is thus vocalized in order to distinguish it from the common noun מַחֲלָה 'sickness'; but some of the LXX forms show that this distinction was not observed in the living language, and doubtless the meaning is identical; LXX Μαλά, Μααλά, Μαελά, Μοολά).—1. In Nu 26^{33} 27^1 36^{11}, Jos 17^3, the name of one of the five daughters of the Manassite Zelophehad. Probably she was the eldest, for the MT always puts her at the head; and although B of the LXX reverses the order in Nu 36^{11}, A and F retain the ordinary arrangement. P, to whom all the passages in question belong, states that Zelophehad left no sons, and consequently the daughters came before Moses and claimed their father's inheritance, lest his name should become extinct. By the divine direction their claim was allowed, the only condition being that they were obliged to marry within the limits of their tribe. Accordingly Mahlah and her sisters married their cousins. The narrative illustrates the well-known Israelite law that property was inherited in the male line, and could descend to females only if they married within tribal limits. This has been variously accounted for, by some on the ground that women were incapable of performing one of the duties which property involved, that of offering sacrifice to dead ancestors (Schwally, *Leben nach dem Tode*, Stade, *Geschichte*, i. 388–391), by others in accordance with the Arab maxim that 'none can be heirs who do not take part in battle, drive booty, and protect property' (W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage*). In the Midrash Rabba on Numbers the conduct of Mahlah and her sisters serves as a text for the doctrine that 'the women of that generation builded up what the men broke down,' the two other instances being that the women took no part in making the golden calf, and that they did not share the pusillanimity of the men after the alarming report of the spies had been received.

2. In 1 Ch 7^{18} the RV has *Mahlah*, the AV *Mahalah*. The former is correct, the Heb. being מַחְלָה as above. The Vulg., which has *Maala* for Zelophehad's daughter, here employs *Mohola* or *Moola*. Most likely the Mahlah of this passage is a female name. The Chronicler is dealing with the genealogy of Manasseh's descendants, tracing them, unlike Nu, along the *female* line, and stating that Hammolecheth, granddaughter of Manasseh, bare 'Ishhod and Abiezer and Mahlah.' Ishhod and Abiezer are names of men: for this and other reasons it is impossible to identify the Mahlah of Nu with the same name in Chronicles.
J. TAYLOR.

MAHLI (מַחְלִי 'a sick *or* weak one,' from חלה; LXX Μοολεί, Μοολί, Μολί, Μολεί, Μοολλεί; Vulg. *Moholi, Mooli*).—1. In Ex 6^{19} (AV Mahali), Nu 3^{20}, 1 Ch 24$^{26.28}$, it is the name of a son of Merari, Levi's youngest son. 2. In 1 Ch 23^{23} 24^{30} a son of Mushi, Mahli's brother, bears the same name. Ezr 8^{18} informs us that whilst Ezra was waiting beside the river Ahava, he secured for the service of the house of God, amongst others, 'a man of discretion, of the sons of Mahli, the son of Levi . . . and Sherebiah,' etc. 1 Es 8^{47} drops the 'and,' thus identifying this son of Mahli with Sherebiah. It is more likely, either that the name has dropped out, or that it was something like Ish-sechel (rendered in our versions 'a man of discretion or understanding'). See ISHSECHEL.

Mahlites (הַמַּחְלִי).—In Nu 3^{33} (Vulg. *Moholitæ*) 26^{58} (Vulg. *Moholi*) Mahli's descendants are called 'the family of the Mahlites.' According to 1 Ch

23[22] these Mahlites were descended from the daughters of Eleazar, the elder son of the Mahli mentioned in Ex 6[19]. Eleazar left no male offspring. Their cousins, the sons of Kish, therefore took them in marriage, and prevented the extinction of their father's name. It is a little curious that in the enumeration of the families derived from Levi, Nu 26[58], the LXX omits 'the family of the Mahlites.' J. TAYLOR.

MAHLON.—See CHILION.

MAHOL (מָחוֹל, A Μαούλ, B Μάλ, Luc. Μααλά, Ἡμάων, Jos. *Ant.* VIII. ii. 5).—Named in 1 K 4[31] [Heb. 5[11]] as the father of certain sages with whom Solomon is compared. The expression 'sons of Mahol' has been referred to the four sages, Ethan, Heman, Chalcol, and Darda, as well as to the last three or the last two only. The Midrash to the Bk. of Proverbs gives it an independent application (Wünsche, *Bibl. Rabb.* p. 2). It is improbable that all the typical wise men whose names occur to the writer should be regarded as the sons of one man. The Lucianic Sept. (and B?) reads, 'D. son of Mahol.' But this may not be original. In 1 Ch 2[6] Ethan, Heman, Chalcol, and Darda are sons of Zerah. Unless 'son' be taken in the general sense of descendant (see DARDA), this conflicts with the statement in Kings, whether that be limited to Darda or not. It may be supposed that the Chronicler inferred the ancestry of Zerah (זֶרַח) from the expression Ethan the Ezrahite (הָאֶזְרָחִי), *i.e.* directly or indirectly from this passage. This is, perhaps, evidence that the phrase 'sons of Mahol' was not in his text of the verse. The appellative significance of Mahol suggests an explanation of its appearance. The word is late rather than early, and means 'dance.' St. Jerome's rendering *chorus* (Lag. *Onom. Sac.*^{2} p. 73) should be interpreted in this way, and not in its musical acceptation. The intimate connexion of the temple ritual with the names Ethan and Heman permits a conjecture that the expression 'sons of dance' was originally a note applying to Ethan and Heman. Dancing was part of the worship of J", and מָחוֹל is twice used in the Bk. of Psalms in a ritual sense (149[3] 150[4]). Such a note when inserted in the text might readily be given its present position. W. B. STEVENSON.

MAHSEIAH (מַחְסֵיָה).—A priest, grandfather of Baruch and Seraiah, Jer 32[12] 51[59] (AV Maaseiah). He is called in Bar 1[1] Maaseas (Μαασαίας).

MAIANNAS (Μαιάννας, AV Maianeas), 1 Es 9[48] = MAASEIAH, Neh 8[7].

MAID, MAIDEN.—Several words, easily distinguished in Heb. and Gr., are rendered 'maid' or 'maiden' in AV. **1.** נַעֲרָה *na'ărâh*, a girl, is tr^{d} 'maid' in 2 K 5[2. 4], Est 2[7. 9. 12] 4[4] (all 'maiden' in RV), Am 2[7]; and 'maiden' in Ex 2[5], Ru 2[8. 22. 23] 3[2], 1 S 9[11], Est 2[4. 8. 9 *bis* 13] 4[16], Job 41[5], Pr 9[3] 27[27] 31[15], all retained in RV. **2.** עַלְמָה *'almâh*, a young woman (see under IMMANUEL, vol. ii. p. 454), is rendered 'maid' in Ex 2[8], Pr 30[19]. **3.** בְּתוּלָה *bĕthûlâh*, a virgin, is tr^{d} 'maid' in Ex 22[16] (RV 'virgin'), Job 31[1], Jer 2[32] 51[22], La 5[11] (RV 'maiden'), Ezk 9[6] (RV 'maiden'), Zec 9[17]; and 'maiden' in Jg 19[24], 2 Ch 36[17], Ps 78[63] 148[12], Ezk 44[22] (RV 'virgin'). Also לֹא מָצָאתִי לָהּ בְּתוּלִים is tr^{d} in AV 'I found her not a maid' in Dt 22[14. 17]. **4.** אָמָה *'âmâh*, a maidservant, is often rendered 'handmaid' or 'maidservant,' but also simply 'maid' in Gn 30[3], Ex 2[5] (RV 'handmaid') 21[20. 26], Lv 25[6], Ezr 2[65] (RV 'maidservant'), Job 19[5], Nah 2[7] (RV 'handmaid'). **5.** שִׁפְחָה *shiphḥâh*, a maidservant, female attendant, is tr^{d} 'maid' in Gn 16[2. 3. 5. 6. 8] 29[24. 29] 30[7. 9. 10. 12], Is 24[2]; and 'maiden' in Gn 30[18], Ps 123[2], Ec 2[7]: RV has 'handmaid' for 'maid' in all the passages except Is 24[2], but retains 'maiden' except in Gn 30[18] ('handmaid').

Notice also the obsol. expression 'maid child' for נְקֵבָה in Lv 12[5], retained in RV. It comes from Tindale, who has the similar rendering in Ex 1[16] 'When ye mydwive the women of the Ebrues and se in the byrth tyme that it is a boye, kyll it. But if it be a mayde, let it lyve.'

In Apocr. and NT we find the following words translated maid: **1.** κοράσιον, a girl, To 6[12. 13], Sus [15. 19], Mt 9[24. 25] (both 'damsel' in RV). **2.** παιδίσκη, a young woman, a maidservant, To 3[7] 8[12. 13] (RV all 'maidservant'), Jth 10[10] (RV 'handmaid'), Sir 41[22], Sus [36], Mk 14[66. 69], Lk 22[56]; παιδίσκη is also rendered 'maiden' in Lk 12[45] (RV 'maidservant'). **3.** παῖς, a young person, usually male, also used for a servant or attendant, is tr^{d} 'maid' in Lk 8[54] (RV 'maiden'), and 'maiden' in 8[51]. **4.** παρθένος, a virgin, is tr^{d} 'maid' in Jth 9[2] (RV 'virgin'). **5.** ἄβρα, a maidservant, is tr^{d} 'maid' in Jth 10[2. 5] 13[9] 16[23], Ad. Est 15[7]. **6.** δούλη, a female slave, is rendered 'maid' in Jth 12[19] (RV 'servant').

We thus see that AV, according to its principle, varies the words indefinitely and almost indifferently. RV lays down the principle that as far as possible the same word in Heb. or Gr. should be rendered by the same word in Eng., but the only case in which a serious effort is made to carry it out is in the rendering of *shiphḥâh*. Except in three passages, that word is rendered 'handmaid.' One of the exceptions is Is 24[2], where the assonance between 'mistress' and 'maid' is allowed to stand; the other two are particularly unfortunate, since there is little reason for departing from the rule of uniformity in Ps 123[2] and less in Ec 2[7], and especially since the word 'maiden,' which is retained, is no longer used for a servant. Even Shakespeare, who uses 'maiden' freely in the sense of 'virgin,' never has it in the sense of 'servant.' J. HASTINGS.

MAIL.—See ARMOUR.

MAINSAIL.—See SHIPS AND BOATS.

MAKAZ (מָקַץ, Μαγχάς Luc.; Μαχμάς A and Μαχεμάς B are probably erroneous forms due to confusion with the more familiar name *Michmash*, which the Sept. transliterates by Μαχμάς or Μακμάς).—One of five places (MT four) which compose, or identify, the second of the 12 Solomonic prefectures (1 K 4[9]). The probable identifications of (Shaalbim) Bethshemesh and Elon (= Aijalon) show that it was situated on the western slopes of Judah, but the exact site remains uncertain. Two of the towns in the same group are elsewhere assigned to the territory of Dan. The spellings Μακές (Euseb. in Lag. *Onom.*^{2}) and Macces or Maces (Vulg., Jerome) may be compared with Jerome's derivation (*de fine*) from קֵץ a boundary (Lag. *Onom. Sac.*^{2} p. 73). W. B. STEVENSON.

MAKE.—The verb to 'make' is used in AV both transitively and intransitively, and is so retained in RV, though the intrans. use is now obsolete. In both forms it has some constructions and meanings that need attention.

1. With the meaning of to *cause* it is followed by the infin., sometimes with and sometimes without *to*:* 2 Ch 7[20] 'This house, which I have sanctified for my name, will I cast out of my sight, and will make it to be a proverb and a byword among all nations' (RV 'I will make it a proverb'); 8[8] 'them did Solomon make to pay tribute'; Jer 34[17] 'I will make you to be removed into all the king-

---

* See more fully Craik, *Eng. of Shak.* p. 63 ff.

doms of the earth'; and Dn 7^{4} 'it was lifted up from the earth, and made stand upon the feet as a man' (RV 'made to stand'). Cf. Shaks. *Comedy of Errors*, II. i. 26, 'This servitude makes you to keep unwed'; *Hamlet*, III. iii. 186, 'Make you to ravel all this matter out'; and (without *to*) *Tempest*, I. ii. 172—

> 'Here
> Have I, thy schoolmaster, made thee more profit
> Than other princesses can that have more time
> For vainer hours and tutors not so careful.'

2. 'Make' was once common in the simple sense of 'do.' There is a single example in AV, Jg 18^{3} 'What makest thou in this place?' (מָה־אַתָּה עֹשֶׂה בָּזֶה; RV 'What doest thou in this place?' Wyc. [1382] 'What here dost thow?' [1388] 'What doist thou here?' Cov. 'What makest thou here?'). Cf. Spenser, *FQ* VII. vi. 25—

> 'Whence art thou, and what doost thou here now make?
> What idle errand hast thou earths mansion to forsake?'

3. In Jn 8^{53} 'Whom makest thou thyself?' (*ποιεῖς*), and 19^{7} 'he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God' (*ἐποίησεν*), the meaning is 'claim to be,' almost 'pretend to be.' This meaning of 'pretend' or 'feign' is seen in Jos 8^{15} 'Joshua and all Israel made as if they were beaten'; 9^{4} 'They did work wilily, and went and made as if they had been ambassadors'; and Lk 24^{28} 'He made as though he would have gone further.' But even without 'as if' the verb is once used in this sense, 2 S 13^{5} 'Lay thee down on thy bed, and make thyself sick' (הִתְחָל; LXX *μαλακίσθητι*; Vulg. *languorem simula*; Wyc. 'feyn sijknes'; Cov. 'make the sicke'; RV 'feign thyself sick'; cf. v.^{6} 'So Amnon lay down, and made himself sick,' RV 'and feigned himself sick'). With Lk 24^{28} cf. Ps 28^{1} Cov. 'thinke no scorne of me, lest (yf thou make the as though thou herdest not) I become like them, that go downe in to ye pytte'; and with 2 S 13^{5} cf. Shaks. *Two Gent.* I. ii. 102—

> 'She makes it strange; but she would be best pleased
> To be so anger'd with another letter.'

4. There are some phrases: (1) *Make ado*, Mk 5^{39} 'Why make ye this ado, and weep?' Cf. Nu 16^{7} Tind. 'Ye make ynough to doo ye childern of Levi.' See ADO. (2) *Make away*=destroy, Dn 11^{44} 'he shall go forth with great fury to destroy, and utterly to make away many' (לְהַשְׁמִיד וּלְהַחֲרִים רַבִּים; LXX *ἀφανίσαι καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι πολλούς*; Vulg. *ut conterat et interficiat plurimos*; Wyc. [1382] 'for to breke to gydre, and slea ful manye,' [1388] 'to al to-breke, and to sle ful many men'; Gen. 'to destroy and roote out many'; Dou. 'to destroy and kil very manie'); 1 Mac 16^{22} 'he laid hands on them that were come to destroy him, and slew them; for he knew that they sought to make him away' (*αὐτὸν ἀπολέσαι*; RV 'to destroy him'). Cf. Dt 32^{26} Tind. 'I have determened to scater them therowout the worlde, and to make awaye the remembraunce of them from amonge men'; Mt 27^{20} Rhem. 'But the cheefe Priestes and auncients persuaded the people, that they should aske Barabbas, and make Iesus away'; Spenser, *On Ireland*, 'Clarence . . . soon after, by sinister means, was clean made away'; and Shaks. *As You Like It*, V. i. 58, 'I kill thee, make thee away, translate thy life into death.' (3) *Make for*=help, Ezk 17^{17} 'Neither shall Pharaoh with his mighty army and great company make for him in the war' (יַעֲשֶׂה אוֹתוֹ בַמִּלְחָמָה; LXX *ποιήσει πρὸς αὐτὸν πόλεμον*; Vulg. *faciet contra eum prælium*; Wyc. 'make batayle agens hym'; Cov. 'maynteyne him in the warre,' after whom the correct translation is found, except Dou. 'make battel agaynst him'); Ro 14^{19} 'Let us therefore follow after the things which make for peace' (*τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης*; Vulg. *quæ pacis sunt*; Wyc. 'tho thingis that ben of pees': we owe the idiomatic tr. 'which make for peace' to Tindale). Tind. in a note to Lv 13 says, 'This chapter maketh not for confession in the eare, but is an example of excommunicacion off open sinners.' The phrase is not obsolete, it occurs in M. Arnold's famous definition (*Lit. and Dogma*, i.) 'The not ourselves which is in us and all around us became to them adorable eminently and altogether as a power which makes for righteousness,' but no doubt this is a recollection of Ro 14^{19}. In older Eng. the phrase was often *make to*, as Udal's *Erasmus' NT*, ii. fol. 283, 'those thinges that are availeable to the life of heaven, and make to the glory of Christ'; and Davenant (Fuller's *Life*, 314), 'I shewed no letter or instructions, neither have any but these generall instructions, which King James gave us at our going to Dort, which make little or nothing to this business.' (4) *Make up*=put together, complete, Ezr 5^{3} 'Who hath commanded you to build this house, and to make up this wall?' (RV 'to finish this wall'); Ezk 13^{5} 'Ye have not gone into the gaps, neither made up the hedge'; Mal 3^{17} 'And they shall be mine, saith the LORD of hosts, in that day when I make up my jewels' (וְהָיוּ לִי . . . לַיּוֹם אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי עֹשֶׂה סְגֻלָּה; LXX *Καὶ ἔσονταί μοι . . . εἰς ἡμέραν ἣν ἐγὼ ποιῶ εἰς περιποίησιν*; Vulg. *Et erunt mihi . . . in die qua ego facio, in peculium*, whence Wyc. 'And thei shuln be to me . . . in the day in whiche Y shal make, into a special tresoure,' and Cov. 'And in the daye that I wil make . . . they shalbe myne owne possession,' and that is no doubt the correct rendering; so RV 'And they shall be mine . . . in the day that I do make, even a peculiar treasure,' or more clearly in marg. 'in the day that I do this,' which is the tr. of the Geneva Version *); 2 Co 9^{5} 'and make up beforehand your bounty' (*προκαταρτίσωσι*). Cf. Shaks. *Rich. III.* I. i. 21—

> 'Sent before my time
> Into this breathing world, scarce half made up,
> And that so lamely and unfashionable
> That dogs bark at me as I halt by them';

Timon, V. i. 101—

> 'Remain assured
> That he's a made-up [=perfect] villain';

and in a slightly different sense, Knox, *Hist.* 177, 'oppress the inhabitants thereof, and make up strangers with their lands and goods.'

5. Among the archaic uses of 'make' we find it followed by a subst., the two together expressing no more than a verb formed from the subst. would express, as 'make request'=request, 'make provision'=provide. In almost every instance the Heb. or Gr. is a verb and no more. Thus (1) *make account*, Ps 144^{3} 'Lord, what is man, that thou takest knowledge of him! or the son of man, that thou makest account of him!' (וַתְּחַשְּׁבֵהוּ; LXX *ὅτι λογίζῃ αὐτόν*). So Shaks. *Rich. III.* III. ii. 71—

> 'The princes both make high account of you';

Milton, *PR* ii. 193—

> 'Among the sons of men,
> How many have with a smile made small account
> Of Beauty and her lures, easily scorn'd
> All her assaults, on worthier things intent!'

(2) *Make confession*, as Dn 9^{4} 'And I prayed unto the Lord my God, and made my confession' (אֶתְוַדֶּה, RV 'made confession'). (3) *Make count*, Ex 12^{4} 'Every man according to his eating shall make your count for the lamb' (תָּכֹסּוּ). (4) *Make an end*, Jg 3^{18} 'And when he had made an end to offer (RV 'an end of offering') the present, he sent away the people that bare the present' (כִּלָּה); Is 33^{1} 'When thou shalt make an end to deal treacherously' (כַּהֲתִימְךָ); 38^{12} 'From day even to night wilt thou make an end of me' (תַּשְׁלִימֵנִי); Jer 4^{27} 'Yet will I

---

* The marg. note in Gen. Version is, 'When I shal restore my Church according to my promes, they shalbe as mine owne propre goods.' See, further, art. JEWEL in vol. ii. p. 655^{b}.

not make a full end' (וְכָלָה לֹא אֶעֱשֶׂה). (5) *Make inquisition*, Dt 19^{18} 'And the judges shall make diligent inquisition' (וְדָרְשׁוּ הֵיטֵב). (6) *Make mention*, as Ps 87^{4} 'I will make mention of Rahab and Babylon to them that know me' (אַזְכִּיר). (7) *Make matter*, Gal 2^{6} 'whatsoever they were it maketh no matter to me' (οὐδέν μοι διαφέρει). Cf. Holland's *Livy*, p. 247, 'What makes matter, say they, if a bird sing auke or crow cross?' Tindale, *Expositions*, p. 81, 'Thou wilt say, What matter maketh it if I speak words which I understand not, or if I pray not at all, seeing God knoweth my matter already?' (8) *Make merchandise*, Dt 21^{14} 24^{7} 'If a man be found stealing any of his brethren of the children of Israel, and maketh merchandise of him, or selleth him, then that thief shall die' (הִתְעַמֶּר־בּוֹ; RV 'deal with him as a slave,' RVm 'as a chattel'); 2 P 2^{3} 'And through covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandise of you' (ἐμπορεύσονται). Cf. Shaks. *Merch. of Venice*, III. i. 134, 'Were he out of Venice, I can make what merchandise I will.' (9) *Make provision*, 1 K 4^{7} 'Each man his month in a year made provision' (יְכַלְכֵּל); Ro 13^{14} 'Make not provision for the flesh' (πρόνοιαν μὴ ποιεῖσθε). (10) *Make riddance*, Lv 23^{22} 'thou shalt not make clean riddance of the corners of thy field when thou reapest' (לֹא־תְכַלֶּה; RV 'thou shalt not wholly reap'); Zeph 1^{18} 'he shall make even a speedy riddance of all them that dwell in the land' (כָּלָה; RV 'he shall make an end, yea a terrible end'). (11) *Make a sport*, 1 Es 1^{51} 'they made a sport of his prophets' (ἦσαν ἐκπαίζοντες; RV 'they scoffed at'). Cf. Milton, *PL* vi. 632—

> 'Eternal Might
> To match with their inventions they presumed
> So easy, and of his thunder made a scorn';

and *Samson Agonistes*, 1331—

> 'Do they not seek occasion of new quarrels
> On my refusal, to distress me more,
> Or make a game of my calamities?'

J. HASTINGS.

MAKEBATE.—There was an old Eng. word *bate* (from Old Fr. *batre*, to beat) which signified strife, discord. Thus Shadwell, *Am. Bigot*, i. 1, 'I'll breed no bate nor division between young people.' Sometimes it is a shortened form of 'debate' (from Old Fr. *debatre*), but more often it is a distinct word. 'Makebate' is a compound of this word, and means a maker of strife. It occurs in the plural in AVm of 2 Ti 3^{3}, Tit 2^{3}, as an alternative tr. of διάβολοι, text 'false accusers'; RV 'slanderers,' which is as old as Wyc. (1388) at Tit 2^{3}. The tr. 'false accusers' is from Tindale. Hall (*Works*, ii. 74) says of the Pharisees, 'When these censurers thought the Disciples had offended, they speake not to them but to their Master, Why doe thy Disciples that which is not lawfull? Now, when they thought Christ offended, they speak not to him, but to the Disciples. Thus, like true make-bates, they goe about to make a breach in the family of Christ, by setting off the one from the other.' J. HASTINGS.

MAKED (Μακέβ, Μακέδ).—A 'strong and great' city in Gilead (1 Mac $5^{26.\,36}$). The site is unknown.

MAKHELOTH (מַקְהֵלֹת, Μακηλώθ, Luc. Μακηδώθ, *Maceloth*, Nu $33^{25.\,26}$).—One of the twelve stations in the journeyings of the children of Israel, following Hazeroth, which are mentioned only in Nu 33. Nothing is known about it. The word occurs Ps 68^{27} [Eng. ^{26}], where it is translated 'congregations.' The occurrence of *Ḳehelâthah* (a name of similar meaning) in v.^{22} should be noted.

A. T. CHAPMAN.

MAKKEDAH (מַקֵּדָה; Μακηδά [in Jos $10^{28.\,29}$ 15^{41} B has Μακηδάν]; Syr. *Mokor*; Vulg. *Maceda*).—A royal city of the Canaanites, situated in the Shephēlah or lowland of Judah, mentioned (Jos 15^{41}) with Gederoth, Beth-dagon, and Naamah in the list of cities allotted to Judah. The last three are perhaps to be identified with the modern villages of *Katrah*, *Dajûn*, *Nâ'aneh*, and Maḳḳedah with *el-Mughâr*—all lying in the vicinity of *Ludd* (Lydda, Diospolis) and *Yebnah* (Jabneel). It is mentioned ten times (Jos $10^{10\text{ff.}}$ 12^{16} 15^{41}) in connexion with Joshua's great victory in the day when the Lord fought for Israel. Maḳḳedah is first mentioned (Jos 10^{10}) with Azeḳah as one of the two points to which the allied forces were followed by the victorious host of Israel, and they were not necessarily near each other: in the list of cities allotted to Judah they are both stated to be in the Shephēlah, but Azeḳah is in one group of fourteen cities, while Maḳḳedah is in another group of sixteen cities. Azeḳah is mentioned with Adullam, Socoh, and Jarmuth, which have all been found together about 14 miles S.E. of Maḳḳedah.

When the battle had reached these points, it is related (Jos 10^{15}) that Joshua returned and all Israel with him unto the camp to Gilgal, and then the narrative of the battle is resumed and other victories of Joshua recorded, and then again it is stated (v.^{43}) that Joshua returned to Gilgal in the same words. The LXX omits (vv.$^{15.\,43}$) all mention of the return of Joshua to Gilgal, and some commentators propose that at least v.^{15} should be omitted, or even that it should be treated as part of the quotation from the Bk. of Jashar and not as part of the narrative, so that the action of Joshua after leaving Gilgal until the taking of Maḳḳedah is continuous, and occurred on the great day when the sun stood still in the midst of heaven. It appears clear, however, that the passage is composite, the narrative of JE being interrupted by comments and generalizations of D^{2} (see Driver, *LOT*^{6} 108).

Joshua was in his camp at Gilgal (Jos 10^{6}) in the plains on the east border of Jericho when he received a pressing message from the men of Gibeon, urging him to come up and save them from the kings of the Amorites. Now Gibeon was in the hill-country (present *el-Jeb*), 3400 ft. above Gilgal and 10 miles distant as the crow flies, but by the rugged devious mountain passes a stiff uphill march of 16 to 18 miles. Joshua went up from Gilgal all night, he and all the people of war with him, and all the mighty men of valour, and coming upon the Amorites suddenly and unexpectedly, probably at early dawn while they still slept, he slew them with a great slaughter at Gibeon, and chased them by the way of the pass of the Upper and Lower Beth-horon as far as Azeḳah and Maḳḳedah, over a rough country, a distance of at least 25 miles from Gibeon as the crow flies.

It may have been somewhere in the upper portion of the pass of Beth-horon that Joshua said in the sight of all Israel, 'Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon, and thou moon in the valley of Aijalon.' The expression 'upon (בְּ) Gibeon' rather indicates an early hour when the sun would be rising over the ridge and hills where Gibeon was situated, but Stanley (*S. and P.* 210) considers that the emphatic expression that the sun stayed in the midst of heaven seems intended to indicate noonday. On the other hand, the geographical conditions, Gibeon being to S.E. and Aijalon to S.W. of the Upper Beth-horon, would indicate some hour midway between sunrise and noon, according to the time of year; while the view also is held by many that the account of the miraculous standing still of the sun, being derived from the poetical Bk. of Jashar, is not to be considered as part of the historical narrative of the Bk. of Joshua (*Speaker's Com.* Add. notes on Jos 10^{12-15}, and Dillmann, *in loc.*).

It is evident from our present knowledge of the surrounding country, that if the attack of Joshua took place at early dawn, and the flight of the Amorites immediately followed, consequent on their being taken by surprise, the force of Joshua may have been at Beth-horon two hours after sunrise and at Maḳḳedah from eight to ten hours after sunrise, so that the circumstances related as having taken place on the great day may have occurred within the limits of an ordinary day at any time of the year.

On arrival at Maḳḳedah, Joshua was told that the five kings of the Amorites were hid in *the* cave (בַּמְּעָרָה, so correctly RV) at Maḳḳedah. This cave is mentioned eight times in the Bk. of Joshua always with the article as '*the* cave'; it was evidently a well-known cave close to the city Maḳḳedah, and probably near to a grove of trees (cf. Jos 10^{26}).

Joshua did not stop the battle tide, but, ordering great stones to be rolled to the mouth of the cave and setting a guard there, caused the pursuit to be continued until the children of Israel had made an end of slaying the enemy with great slaughter and returned to the camp at Maḳḳedah. Then the cave was opened, and the kings of the Amorites, after the ceremonial degradation, were smitten by Joshua, and were hanged on five trees until sundown. At sunset (cf. Dt $21^{22f.}$) the five kings were taken down off the trees and cast into the cave wherein they had been hid, and great stones were laid at the cave's mouth.

In the *PEF* survey of Western Palestine the present village of *el-Mughâr* ('the caves') was adopted by the surveyors, who found that at this site alone, of all the possible sites for Maḳḳedah in the Philistine plain, do caves still exist. The following points are in favour of this site. It is on the northern border-line of Judah immediately south-west of Ekron, opposite to *Katrah* (Gederoth) and near to *Dajûn* (Beth-dagon) and *Nâ'aneh* (Nâ'amah). It is an ancient site, as evidenced by the rock-quarrying and the rock-cut tombs with loculi. There are caves of various sizes, in front of which the houses are built, and small caves exist in the cliffs north of the village. It is on the northern side of the valley of Sorek (*Wady Surâr*), in the lowlands about 4 miles from the sandy dunes bordering on the seashore. It is situated on a sort of promontory stretching into the valley of Sorek, divided into three plateaus; on the lower of these to the south is the modern village of *el-Mughâr*, built in front of the caves which are cut out of the sandstone. The city of Maḳḳedah was probably to the north of these caves. The surrounding country is very fertile.

LITERATURE.—Robinson, *BRP*² ii. 251; Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, 210; *SWP* ii. 412; Dillmann, *Jos. ad loc.* (leaves the site doubtful).

C. WARREN.

MAKTESH (הַמַּכְתֵּשׁ 'the mortar' [Pr 27^{22}]; *ἡ κατακεκομμένη*; Aq. *εἰς τὸν ὅλμον*; Theod. *ἐν τῷ βάθει*; Vulg. *Pīla*).—The name of a locality mentioned in Zeph 1^{11} 'Howl, ye inhabitants of the *Maktesh*; for all the people of Canaan (or, the merchant people; cf. Ezk 17^{4}, Pr 31^{24}) are undone, all they that were laden with silver are cut off.' The context shows that it was in Jerusalem; it is also evident that it was a locality in which traders dwelt—perhaps, in particular, that, as Ewald conjectured, it was the 'Phœnician quarter' of the city. From the meaning of the word,—it is used in Jg 15^{19} of the 'hollow place' out of which the spring of Ha-Ḳōrē issued forth,—it may be inferred that it denoted some basin-like hollow or depression. The Targ. understands by it the Kidron valley, which, it is true, forms a deep depression on the E. and S.E. of the city: but it is more probable that some locality within the city itself is intended; and it is a plausible suggestion that it was the name of the upper part of the Tyropœon valley (between the E. and W. hills of Jerusalem). The Maktesh may have been mentioned in particular by Zeph. on account of the omen of the name (Jer. 'quod scilicet, quomodo frumenta feriente desuper vecte, contunduntur').

S. R. DRIVER.

MALACHI (מַלְאָכִי, *Μαλαχίας* in the title only).—The last in the Canon of the OT prophets.

i. NAME OF THE BOOK.—If the title contained in the opening verse be accepted as original, *Malachi* may be taken as the personal name of the prophet. In that case it is generally understood as a contraction of מַלְאָכִיָּה *Malachiyah*, and as meaning 'the messenger of J″.' This translation, however, presents difficulty,* and the word as a personal name does not occur elsewhere. Or the word may be regarded as the official title of the prophet, and be rendered 'my, *i.e.* J″'s messenger.' The LXX so understood it in 1^{1},† but, by using *Μαλαχίας* as the head title, preserved both interpretations. The Targum of Jonathan ben-Uzziel added at 1^{1} 'whose name is called Ezra the scribe'; and Jerome‡ gave this last addition as a current belief among the Jews of his time. If, however, Ezra was the author of the book, it is difficult to understand why his history contains no hint of its existence. And the fact that tradition also attaches the book to the names of Nehemiah and Zerubbabel strengthens the supposition, that, in a period which had forgotten the author's name, the close correspondence between the aims which the prophet desired and which the legislator accomplished led to their identification.

Many modern commentators (*e.g.* Wellhausen, Nowack, Kuenen) regard 1^{1} as a late addition. Emphasizing the similarity of this title to those which precede Zec 9^{1} 12^{1}, and noting the prominence of the word מַלְאָכִי 'my messenger' in 3^{1}, they have concluded that the compiler of the separate volume of the twelve minor prophets found this book without an author's name, and, borrowing a name from the body of the work, prefixed the entire title as it stands at present. The opinion is plausible, and enjoys this advantage, that, as it is not based on facts but on several large suppositions, it is incapable of disproof. Nothing is known of the personal history of the author, for the tradition of pseudo-Epiphanius (*de vitis Proph.*), which calls him a man of Sopha in the tribe of Zebulun, is so late as to be valueless.

ii. DATE.—The general period in which the book was written is easy to determine. The Exile is so far in the past that it is not even mentioned. The temple, to the rebuilding of which Haggai needed to exhort the people, is already restored: the sacrificial ritual is being carried on within it (1^{10} $3^{1.10}$). The offenders whom Malachi rebukes are the laity who do not support the established ritual ($3^{7ff.}$), and the priests who bring it into contempt through their carelessness ($1^{6ff.}$). On the other hand, Judah is still under the civil government of a Persian satrap (פֶּחָתְךָ 'thy governor,' 1^{8}, cf. Hag 1^{1}, Neh 5^{14} 12^{26}), and the title 'great king,' which Malachi applies (1^{14}) to J″, may be borrowed from the official style of that court. A comparison of the abuses which the book attacks, and the reforms which it advocates with those which are mentioned in the histories of Ezra and Nehemiah, clearly proves a very similar condition of affairs in the community. Legislators and prophet have alike to protest against such abuses as neglect of the sacred dues, irregular sacrifices, and intermarriage with foreign women.* So similar is the whole situation that Malachi must have been nearly contemporaneous with those reformers.

---

* For the contraction it is possible and customary to appeal to the fact that the name of the mother of Hezekiah is given as אֲבִי *Abi* in 2 K 18^{2}, and as אֲבִיָּה *Abijah* in 2 Ch 29^{1}. But, since *Abijah* must be translated 'J″ is father,' this by analogy would require that *Malachi* should be rendered, not 'the messenger of J″,' but 'J″ is messenger.'

† Its reading is *ἐν χειρὶ ἀγγέλου αὐτοῦ*, the word of J″ 'by the hand of *His* messenger.'

‡ 'Quem Esdram scribam, legisque doctorem, Hebræi æstimant' (*Præfatio in duodecim prophetas*).

Opinion, however, is still divided as to whether Malachi prepared the way by word for the later legislative acts of Ezra and Nehemiah, or whether he supplemented and enforced the work which these began. In the former case, the book must have been written before B.C. 458, the date of Ezra's arrival in Jerusalem; in the latter, either shortly before or after B.C. 432, when Nehemiah's second visit to that city took place. The question cannot be decided with certainty. But the manner in which intermarriage with foreigners is condemned as a sin, not against the strict letter of the law, but against J″'s relation as Father to His people ($2^{10ff.}$), agrees best with a time before Ezra had legislated on the subject (cf. *OTJC*^{2} p. 427, n. 2). Malachi also connects those foreign marriages with the prevalence of divorce, as though the one caused the other. Such a connexion seems more likely at a time when foreign intermarriage, being novel, was causing many to put away their native wives, than at the period when Ezra found it a settled practice among his people. The terms also in which the governor is alluded to (1^8 ye treat J″ as ye would not treat the Persian satrap) lose half their force if the position was occupied not by a foreigner but by Nehemiah.

A more uncertain means of dating the book is found in its information about the details of ritual. Thus the priests are regarded as the sons of Levi ($2^{4.8}$ 3^3), not of Aaron. This would seem to imply that the book was written from the standpoint of D, and before the Priestly Code had degraded the Levites into a subordinate position towards the sons of Aaron. On the other hand, the command to offer tithes in the temple (3^{10}), presumably for the support of the officiating Levites, agrees more closely with the rule of P (Nu $18^{21ff.}$) than with that of D (Dt $14^{22ff.}$), which commands the giver to share them at home with the Levites and the poor. This may mark the transition from the earlier to the later practice—a transition which was made easier by the fact that, when the community was the city, all the Levites were attached to the temple. The priest is still the exponent of the law (2^7); after the promulgation of P he was only its servant.† Were we less ignorant of the history of Edom at this period, the opening section (1^{2-6}), with its reference to the condition of that people, would furnish the best means of determining the exact date.

iii. CONDITIONS PRESUPPOSED BY THE BOOK.—The condition of the people was enough to cause grave anxiety. They had suffered from drought and locusts ($3^{10f.}$). The revolts of Egypt against Persia, which were quickened by news of Persia's waning strength in Asia Minor, must have entailed heavy military requisitions on Palestine for the support of the armies which were sent against the rebels. Men were losing heart. They had sacrificed something when, at the bidding of their religious leaders, they returned from Babylon. They had expected that the holy land would repay those sacrifices, and instead it was demanding larger. The glowing visions of Deutero-Isaiah, some of which were dangerously material in themselves, and were further materialized in the popular mind, did not correspond with the stern realities of Jerusalem. Haggai had believed ($2^{10ff.}$) the cause of their misery to be their negligence in the restoration of the temple, and had promised J″'s return on the completion of the work. But the temple was rebuilt, and everything remained as before, which, to men who had hoped for so much, must have appeared worse than before. Men were beginning to ask for proofs of that divine love of which they heard so often, but of which they thought that they saw so little (1^{2-6}). They were debating, though not yet openly, whether it were not better, after all, to become like the heathen among whom they lived (3^{13-18}). And, where such ideas were even being debated among the better minds of the nation,* the less religious must have already begun to show their discouragement, and to cast off those distinctive forms which separated Judah from the other nations. The priests, as a rule, were slovenly in their performance of the ritual. That it was a weary form (1^{13}) they expressed by their carelessness of its requirements more eloquently than by words. The laity, miserable, heartless, and copying their religious leaders, were inclined to stint their sacrifices (1^{14}), and to withhold their dues ($3^{7ff.}$). And the increasing practice of intermarriage with foreign women (2^{10-16}), itself both sign and cause of a slackening devotion to the God of Israel, was sapping their family life and helping to merge the people into the surrounding paganism. It is this condition which Malachi faces; and he is prophet enough to see the root from which all the rest springs. Their religious life is weak, their spiritual vision dim. And this weakened religious life is affecting their moral and social condition, as well as their religious practice. It is causing them at once to make light of marriage, and to neglect ritual. The people must return to J″ (3^7). They need a quickened sense of the worth of the divine favour. For that would bring with it a different judgment of life. To be written in God's book of remembrance, to belong to God, would make many ills in life tolerable ($3^{16ff.}$). To return to J″ would make impossible their frequent divorce, which at present is rendering God deaf to their prayers (2^{13}). If the prophet seems to write as though the whole content of repentance consisted in the due payment of Levitical tithes (3^7), and so makes the return to J″ shallow, one must join with that his idea of the priesthood in itself and in its work. The glory of the priests of olden time was in his eyes their moral dignity. His representation of that past may be very far from what the historical books and the earlier prophets show it to have been. But this only makes Malachi's ideal (2^6) the more striking. And he expects that, when J″ has purified the recreant class, the first result will be that they will offer offerings in righteousness (3^3). The priests represent to him a moral and spiritual force in the community. That men starve them by withholding their tithes, is a proof that they are not interested in the ideals which the priests represent. That the clergy in any community are underpaid, does often mean that men are not interested in religion. And a prophet may point to the outward fact as a sign of the inward cause. What redeems Malachi from even the suspicion of formalism in this respect is his high appreciation of the services offered to J″ beyond the limits of Palestine (1^{11}). On any interpretation† that verse implies that temple and priesthood, sacrifice and tithes, are not an *essential* to a spiritual worship. But the prophet has to deal with the facts before him. He is a man to whom the essence of all religion consists in its spiritual and ethical elements. But he not only finds a sacramental system in existence among his people; he also recognizes its power as a factor in the religious life of any people. Such a system both represents and educates their spiritual life. And Malachi is one among the many who have tried to correlate those two truths, instead of denying one in the interests of the other.

---

* Cf. Mal 3^{7-12} with Neh 10^{32-39} 13^{4-14}, and Mal 2^{10-16} with Ezr 9^2 $10^{3.16-44}$, Neh 10^{30} 13^{23-31}.

† For an adequate statement of the relations between Malachi, D and P, cf. W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} 425 ff.

* One must understand the doubts of 3^{13-15} as being those which 'they that feared the LORD' were uttering among themselves.

† Two interpretations are possible. According to one, the verse means that even those sacrifices which the heathen offer to their own deities under the names of Vishnu, Osiris, Jove,

iv. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BOOK; ITS ATTITUDE TO RITUAL, ETC.—Undoubtedly, what characterizes this book as contrasted with the earlier prophetic literature is the high value which it sets upon a correct observance of ritual.

But it has never been sufficiently recognized that Malachi's attitude to the priestly ritual differs from that of the earlier prophets, just because the work of these had not failed to produce some result. It may still be considered a question open for further discussion, how far the rites with which Hosea found himself face to face in Israel were the outcome of a faith which, though once purer, had degenerated through contact with a heathen surrounding, and how far they were the natural expression of the faith of a people which was still at a low stage of religious development. In either case that system, because it embodied and so perpetuated a debasing idea of J″, was abhorrent to the prophet, who himself held a purer faith. And he called on his people before all else 'to take with them words.' He urged them to realize that higher conception of J″ which he himself had won. The first effect of such a thought of their God would be to make impossible some of the grosser elements in their ritual. Men who thought of God as Hosea did, would give up kissing calves as a means of worship. But, as a second effect, whether the prophet recognized it or not, a people who had gained this clearer thought of J″ would embody it in a ceremonial which would be competent to express it. Israel went into exile and so lost the position in which this might have been done. But Judah did in some measure accept the prophetic teaching about J″ and their relation to Him. And in the law and the ritual they sought to embody and perpetuate those ideas. Ezekiel, himself a prophet, formulated a legislation. It may be impossible to determine which forms in the ritual are common to heathenism and to Judaism. What is certain is that all the forms were remoulded and coloured by the spirit of Judah's religion. Now to a law and a ceremonial, which were framed to express, however inadequately, such ideas, a later prophet like Malachi was compelled, by his very vision of the truths which forms express, to assume an attitude different from the attitude which the earlier prophets assumed to the ritual of their time. Any neglect on the part of the people to fulfil the demands of this law, unless that neglect was due to the people finding the law inadequate to express their religious faith, must appear to the prophet a failure to appropriate through obedience to the ritual that understanding of J″'s will which the ritual conveyed to the worshippers. As Malachi is diligent to show, the disobedience of his time was the outcome of a lowered morality, not of a clearer spiritual vision. And he maintained the worth of the temple-service in the interests of the spiritual religion of which that service was the expression.

The prophet, however, is no creator. Satisfied with the ideas in which he had been educated, and their stereotyped expression in the ritual, he models his very style on that of earlier prophets. He is the preserver of the past rather than a creator for the future. By his whole mental attitude he represented what was necessary for the period in which his activity falls. He belongs to an age which had to retain rather than to create, to impress on men, through institutions and ritual, ideas which had been conceived in the sore travail of preceding controversies. Ideals in this world of men need to be expressed in institutions as well as in words, if they are to influence not only a select few but a whole generation, and, above all, if they are to be transmitted to the following generations. And, since men are influenced by unconscious habits as well as by conscious convictions, great religious truths must create forms which touch the whole life of a community. Probably, at that period of the national history, when Judah had been reduced to a community of humble men, and when so many of its purely secular hopes had disappeared, the utmost it could accomplish was to maintain the ground already won, to cling to the ideas already learned, and to continue institutions which were fitted to be the home of souls in the after generations, the birthplace for larger ideals in more fruitful years. To undervalue the law is easy; to appraise it is a much harder task. Yet the law kept a kingless people together through several centuries. The truths it embodied made Judæa almost unique in resisting the disintegrating influence of the Hellenic spirit. The ideals which it represented produced men who were capable of accepting the higher ideals of Jesus Christ, and of becoming the founders of His Church. At the period when his countrymen ran grave risk of losing their hold on this ritual and all it contained for them and their descendants, Malachi lent his whole influence to maintain its power. To him, however, it continued to be valuable because of the expression it gave to spiritual realities and the support it afforded the moral life. And if the Judaism of the silent centuries grew often formal in its reverence for the law as law and for the ritual as ritual, this was due as much to their forgetfulness as to their memory of the message they had received from the prophet. The exhortation which falls near the end of the book, 'to remember the law of Moses,' became dangerous so soon as the minds of men grew unspiritual; but what truth is not dangerous?

This attitude to the law explains in part the high value which Malachi sets on the priesthood. It is no longer the prophets but the priests who are the messengers of J″ (2^{7}). It is they who must first be purified by J″'s visitation, in order that they may then direct the people (3$^{3f.}$). Their office and work are set in an ideal and beautiful light. But the prophetic period is so far behind this teacher, and its fresh creative life so dead, that, when he thinks of the possibility of a new revelation of J″, the medium of that revelation is no longer a man whose lips God should touch with pure fire. It is that one of the prophets of the past who did not die, and whom J″ should restore to His people's necessity (4$^{5f.}$). But this expectation has a deeper root than the higher estimate of ritual and so of priesthood can explain. It is allied to the hope which the prophet cherished for the future, in which he diverged most widely from the early prophets. When Judah became a dependent satrapy, and its royal house fell into insignificance, the Messianic figure of the Davidic king naturally and inevitably disappeared. But the 'suffering servant' has also passed out of sight; the priestly figure has equally gone. Judah has lost confidence in her destiny and her mission.

---

etc., are really offered to the one and only God. According to another, it refers to the already widely scattered Jews of the dispersion, who, in the many lands of their exile, are offering to J″ sacrifices, which are pure though beyond the holy land.

It is not out of the people itself that any deliverer or new spring of life is expected, even by its prophets. Malachi believes that a deliverer shall come, that Judah still has a mission, that J″ has not forsaken His people. But he expects that the messenger of the covenant, who can hardly be distinguished from J″ Himself, shall appear in the temple to renew all things. The Messiah is not thought of as having his roots in the soil, he has lost all essential relation to the people whom he comes to deliver, he is less a gift than an emanation from J″.

This altered hope witnesses to an altered conception of God and of His relation to men. That hard deism, into which Hebrew theology was always liable to degenerate, is showing itself afresh, and now in the minds of the prophets. Persian thought, with its dualism and its idea of the impurity of matter, fostered the tendency. The popular conception of the connexion between guilt and physical calamity ministered to it in a community which was always in distress. J″ was conceived as so far separated from men that any revelation from Him was increasingly thought of as *ab extra*, and not through the inner life of man. He must send His angels or Elijah, if the people's life is to be guided by Him. Such a conception was certain to have further results. So long as prophecy lived with its witness to the God, who is not only beyond all men's thought but who is present with and in their highest thought, so long as prophecy founded the appeal of religion on the moral and spiritual instincts of men, by which they were related to their God, there was little danger from sacerdotalism. The ritual existed, but it was construed as the outward expression and satisfaction of those instincts. But when the people, impotent, conscious of guilt, came to think of J″ as so far removed from them that any message from Him must be an importation from without, and must be guaranteed, when old and long present by tradition, when new by miracle, they were sure to fall into a material idea of divine grace.

It is only the beginning and the first causes of such a state of things which are to be found in Malachi. The conflicting ideas seem to struggle in his mind. He can write of J″ as receiving an acceptable worship beyond the limits of the holy land, and so can forecast the worship 'in spirit and in truth.' But already the people are no longer thought of as the children of J″: only a select class among them dare so to think of themselves ($1^{6\text{f.}}$). And, though that class ought to be moral and spiritual guides to the people, it is not this qualification but their being descendants of Levi which gives them that position. Now the more that idea gained on men's minds, the more also would the ritual be thought of as able of itself to maintain divine favour. The grace of J″ which men need, and the covenant which is life and peace, must be mediated to them through a system which was wholly outside of them, and which based its validity less on its appeal to their spiritual nature, and more on its being an arbitrary regulation from which they did not dare to deviate. Again, it was only when this conception of the relation between God and man formed the medium through which men approached it, that the command to remember the law of Moses ($4^{4\text{f.}}$) grew dangerous. The living word of prophecy, with its underlying conviction of God's presence in and with the soul of man, was delivered from literalism. One great prophet could and did criticize the doctrine of another, and in the interests of the spirit could dare to touch the letter of the word. Micah could urge how the temper of the people of Jerusalem made them grossly abuse Isaiah's promise of the security of Mount Zion. A prophet could base his appeal on the witness of the spirit in those to whom he spoke. But, when the soul of man was thought of as wholly alienated from God, with no essential relation to Him, and only brought into relation with divine truth by an outward mediation, there grew up a hard theory of inspiration. The revelation from God was a deposit of faith and a rule of practice which could not change. The law of Moses became the mediator between God and man; and the prophet was transformed into the scribe. An especial interest must always attach to the Book of Malachi; because both conceptions of God and His dealing with man are there, and the prophet seems hardly conscious of their antagonism. But the less spiritual one was the easier to hold, and was favoured by many circumstances. Despite several protests from Judaism itself, of which the Book of Jonah is the most beautiful example, it triumphed over the higher. And Malachi stands at the beginning of that long and swift decline, which finally separated J″ and His people by so wide a gulf that official Judaism ended by rejecting the very idea of the Incarnation as blasphemy against God.

The literary style of the book is peculiar to itself among the prophetic literature. Malachi does not attempt the rhetorical development of a great principle, in the way which is so characteristic of Deutero-Isaiah. In part this is caused by the difference in subject and in aim. The writer is applying principles to the details of life. But the style is strictly dialectic. The writer states his thesis, a principle or an accusation. Over against that he sets an objection, which he may have heard urged against it, or which from his knowledge of the people he believes to be present in their minds. After this he proves and elaborates the truth of what he began by asserting. If these addresses were ever delivered in public, the audiences must have been very dissimilar to those which faced the herdsman of Tekoa. On the ground that the style seems that of a man who developed his ideas in writing, several editors of the book have concluded that the author from the first circulated his message to his people by writing. A more accurate description would be to name it the style of the schools, and to see in it the beginning of the method of exposition, which afterwards became universal in the schools and synagogues of Judaism.

v. ANALYSIS OF THE CONTENTS.—The book is divided into four chapters in the English version, which in this respect follows the printed editions of the LXX, Peshitta, and Vulgate; the Hebrew text unites the third and fourth chapters into one. According to its subject-matter it falls into the following seven sections:—

(1) $1^{2\text{-}5}$. Men are asking for the proof of the reality of J″'s love toward their nation. Malachi finds the proof in history, and especially in the differing histories of Edom and Judah. Because Jehovah hated Edom, that nation has suffered and will suffer more in the immediate future, so that Judah through seeing their fate will learn to acknowledge the sovereign love of their God.[*]

(2) 1^{6}–2^{9}. J″ had a right to expect a return for His love (1^{6}). Instead, those who were nearest Him among the people, the priests, offer a scant and weary worship, the perfunctoriness of which proves their indifference to His claim ($1^{7\text{-}9.\ 12\text{f.}}$). The result is that the laity are offering their worst at the altar instead of their best (1^{14}). The whole ritual has grown valueless; but, though it should cease, a worship acceptable to J″ will not come to an end ($1^{10\text{f.}}$). For their neglect punishment will fall on the priesthood; it has already begun to fall [†] ($2^{1\text{-}3}$). Their indifference to ritual was at once sign and cause of a moral corruption. The priests were appointed to be examples of righteous life, and so guides to the people. But they have abused their position, to the ruin of many. And their office has already become contemptible ($2^{4\text{-}9}$).

(3) $2^{10\text{-}16}$. The guilt of those who marry foreign women.

---

[*] Contrast Am 3^{2}.

[†] The terms of that punishment are not quite clear in 2^{3}.

Such a marriage is a profaning of J′′'s holiness. It has brought about an increase of divorce, with the misery and moral laxity which that produces. Because of this, their prayers are unheard, though they entreat the favour of Jehovah with tears.

(4) 2^{17}–3^{5}. Men are doubting whether there is any righteous governor of the world (2^{17}). Malachi prophesies the appearance of J′′'s messenger to prepare His way, and of the messenger of the covenant (who may be J″ Himself) (3^{1}). But the coming of the LORD, for which the people long, will be a coming to judgment in Judah (3^{2}). He must begin His sifting work among the temple priesthood ($3^{3f.}$), and from them pass to judge the moral errors of the nation (3^{5}).

(5) $3^{6\text{-}12}$).[*] The people are now more directly addressed. They are suffering from famine, drought, and locusts. These are the judgments of J″ on them for having withheld His dues. If they bring their tithes, He will certainly pour out on them the abundance they have lacked.

(6) 3^{13}–4^{4}. The prophet returns to the root of all other laxity, to the complaint that it is useless to serve J″, because He does not care for His servants. Prosperity is not following devotion. Even the best of the people are beginning to whisper among themselves doubts like these ($3^{13\text{-}16a}$). They need not despair. J″ is regarding them, and before Him the names of those who fear Him are inscribed for eternal remembrance ($3^{16\text{-}18}$). The day of sifting is again promised, though here it is uncertain whether the sifting is within the nation between the righteous remnant and the apostatizing, or whether by the ungodly are meant those who are beyond Judaism ($4^{1\text{-}4}$). The prophet adds a Deuteronomic exhortation to remember the Mosaic law (4^{4}).

(7) $4^{5f.}$. The promise is added that Elijah will reappear on earth to heal the divisions among the people, especially to fill the cleft between the ideals of the old and new generations. By his means the threatened curse will be averted.[†]

The Book of Malachi is directly or indirectly quoted in the NT in the following passages: Mk 1^{2} $9^{11f.}$, Lk 1^{17}, Ro 9^{13}.

LITERATURE.—Driver, *LOT*^{6} 355 ff.; the *Einleitungen* of Cornill, Strack, König; Wildeboer, *Lit. d. AT*, 333, 361; the commentaries of Pocock, 1677; Köhler, 1865; Wellh. (*Kl. Proph.*) 1893; Nowack (in *Handkom.*), 1897; G. A. Smith (*Book of Twelve Prophets* in 'Expositor's Bible'), 1898; cf. also Stade, *GVI* ii. 128 ff.; W. Boehme in *ZATW* vii. 210 ff.; J. Bachmann, *Alttest. Untersuch.* 1894, pp. 109 ff.

A. C. WELCH.

MALACHY.—The form adopted by both AV and RV in 2 Es 1^{40} for the name of the prophet MALACHI.

MALCAM (מַלְכָּם).—**1.** The eponym of a Benjamite family, 1 Ch 8^{9} (B Μελχάς, A Μελχάμ). **2.** 'Malcam' occurs as a proper name in RVm of 2 S 12^{30}, where David 'took the crown of מַלְכָּם (AV and RV 'their king') from off his head.' LXX B has Μελχὸλ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν, A om. Μελχόλ. Wellh. and Driver consider that the true reading is prob. מִלְכֹּם *Milcom*, the suffix םָ 'their' having no proper antecedent in the context (but see Kirkpatrick in *Camb. Bible*, *ad loc.*).

In Zeph 1^{5} ('that swear by the LORD and that swear by מַלְכָּם') AV and RV both give 'Malc(h)am' as a proper name, RVm has 'their king.' Here, again, in all probability, we ought to point מִלְכֹּם (so Wellh. and Nowack, following Luc. Μελχόμ). Davidson, upon the whole, prefers the spelling מַלְכָּם 'their king,' but adds that 'it is possible that Malcham is merely another pronunciation of Milcom, meaning Molech.'

In Am 1^{15} both AV and RV (without any marginal alternative) read 'their king (מַלְכָּם) shall go into captivity' (LXX οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῆς), but Aq., Symm., Theod., Pesh., and Vulg. all imply a reading מִלְכֹּם, which both Driver and Nowack are inclined to adopt. This verse from Amos is borrowed by Jeremiah, practically unaltered, in a prophecy against the Ammonites, Jer 49^{3}, where AV has 'their king,' AVm 'Melcom,' RV 'Malcam,' RVm 'their king.' Here, as well as in v.^{1}, where texts and margins of AV and RV are the same as in v.^{3}, we ought probably to point מִלְכֹּם. In both verses of Jer the reading of B is Μελχόλ, in v.^{3} A has Μελχόμ. See, further, art. MOLECH.

J. A. SELBIE.

MALCHIAH (מַלְכִּיָּה and מַלְכִּיָּהוּ 'J″ is king,' see Gray, *Heb. Prop. Names*, 118 ff.; Μελχίας).—**1.** A priest, the father of Pashhur, Jer 21^{1} 38^{1}, same as **Malchijah** of 1 Ch 9^{12}, Neh 11^{12}. **2.** A member of the royal family, to whom belonged the pit-prison into which Jeremiah was let down, Jer 38^{6}.

MALCHIEL (מַלְכִּיאֵל 'El is king' (?)).—The eponym of an Asherite family, Gn 46^{17}, Nu 26^{45} (Μελχιήλ), 1 Ch 7^{31} (B Μελλειή, A Μελχιήλ). The gentilic name **Malchielites** (הַמַּלְכִּיאֵלִי) occurs in Nu 26^{45}.

G. Buchanan Gray (*Heb. Proper Names*, p. 206) thinks that מַלְכִּיאֵל, judged by the probable history of the similar name מַלְכִּיָּה, was perhaps not created or adopted by the Hebrews earlier than the 7th cent., but notes that it was in very early use (*c.* B.C. 1500) in Canaan, being found repeatedly in the Tel el-Amarna letters. (See 'Milkili' in Petrie, *Syria and Egypt from the Tell El Amarna Letters*, p. 143, and cf. Jastrow, *JBL* xi. 120, and Hommel, *AHT* 231, 233 f. 260 n.).

J. A. SELBIE.

MALCHIJAH is the form preferred by RV as transliteration of מַלְכִּיָּה, although in two instances it has *Malchiah* (wh. see).—**1.** A descendant of Gershom, 1 Ch 6^{40} [Heb.^{25}]. **2.** A priest, the father of Pashhur, 1 Ch 9^{12}, Neh 11^{12}, same as **Malchiah** of Jer 21^{1} 38^{1}. **3.** Head of the 5th course of priests, 1 Ch 24^{9}, perhaps the same as the preceding. **4. 5.** Two of the sons of Parosh who had married foreign wives, Ezr $10^{25\,bis}$, called in 1 Es 9^{26} **Melchias** and **Asibias** respectively. **6.** One of the sons of Harim who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10^{31}. In Neh 3^{11} he is mentioned as taking part in the repairing of the wall. He is called in 1 Es 9^{32} **Melchias**. **7.** Malchijah the son of Rechab repaired the dung-gate, Neh 3^{14}. **8.** One of the guild of the goldsmiths who helped to repair the wall, Neh 3^{31}. **9.** One of those who stood at Ezra's left hand at the reading of the law, Neh 8^{4}. **10.** One of those who sealed the covenant, Neh 10^{3}, probably the same as No. **2.** **11.** A priest who took part in the ceremony of dedicating the wall, Neh 12^{42}. J. A. SELBIE.

MALCHIRAM (מַלְכִּירָם 'Melech is exalted' [?], see Gray, *Heb. Proper Names*, 147; B Μελχειράμ, A Μελχιράμ).—Son of Jeconiah, 1 Ch 3^{18}.

MALCHI-SHUA (מַלְכִּישׁוּעַ 'the king is wealth' or possibly 'Melech is wealth,' Gray, *Heb. Prop. Names*, p. 146 f.; in 1 S, B Μελχεισά, A Μελχισοῦε, Μελχιροῦε, AV Melchi-shua; in 1 Ch, B Μελχεσοῦε, Μελχεισοῦε, A Μελχισοῦε; 1 Ch 10^{2} א Μελχισέδεκ).—The third son of Saul (1 S 14^{49}), who was slain by the Philistines at Mt. Gilboa (1 S 31^{2}, 1 Ch 10^{2}). In the genealogical lists given by the Chronicler Malchi-shua's name occurs in each case immediately after that of Jonathan, but though 1 S $14^{49\text{-}51}$ is clearly the work of a later hand (R^{D}) the balance of evidence seems in favour of its tradition.

J. F. STENNING.

MALCHUS.—The name of the man whose right ear Peter cut off when Jesus was arrested (Jn 18^{10}, cf. Mt 26^{51}, Mk 14^{47}, Lk 22^{50}). He was the personal servant (τὸν δοῦλον) of the high priest (*i.e.* probably of Caiaphas, cf. Jn $18^{13.\,24}$), and had accompanied the soldiers and Jewish officials (v.^{12}) under the lead of Judas. He had a kinsman in the same service (Jn 18^{26}). The fact that St. John alone names Malchus, as well as Peter, accords with the evangelist's apparent claim ($18^{15.\,16}$) to have been known to the high priest, and is one of many minute historical details which appear in his Gospel. Some have thought that prudential motives kept the earlier evangelists from giving the names of the parties, but this explanation is unnecessary and improbable. The servant was evidently eager to carry out his master's wish to secure Jesus, and was therefore struck at by Peter. The stroke missed, and only cut off Malchus' ear (*ὠτίον* (Mt), *ὠτάριον* (Mk, Jn), and *οὖς* (Lk) are synonymous; cf. Lk 22^{50} with ^{51}; and consult Lobeck, *ad Phryn.* p. 211). It could not have been entirely severed, since Jesus 'touched *it* and healed him.' Jesus' words (Lk 22^{51}), 'Suffer ye thus far' (*ἐᾶτε ἕως τούτου*), have been supposed by some to have been addressed to the arresting party as a request not to bind Him until He had repaired the injury. But that they were addressed to Peter appears from the preceding word 'answered,' and from the fuller account in Mt and Jn (see Meyer, *ad loc.*). It has been noted that St. Luke the physician alone records the healing.* The name Malchus (*Μάλχος*, a grecised form from the root מָלַךְ) was common in different forms among the Hebrews and neighbouring peoples. Cf. מַלּוּךְ, 1 Ch 6^{44}, Neh $10^{4.27}$ 12^{2}, Ezr $10^{29.32}$; LXX *Μαλώχ* or *Μαλούχ*. There were Nabatæan kings (Euting, *Nab. Inscr.* 63, 81 ff., 91) of this name, which is written by Josephus *Μάλχος* or *Μάλιχος* (= מַלִּיךְ, Dalman, p. 104). It was the name also of the philosopher Porphyry, a Syrian by birth (cf. Del. *Zeit. f. Luth. Th.* 1876).

---

[*] The uncertainty of meaning in 3^{6} makes it a little doubtful to which section that verse should be assigned.

[†] It is a recent suggestion of Nowack that these last verses are a later addition to the original prophecy.

G. T. PURVES.

MALEFACTOR.—The Gr. word *κακοποιός* occurs in Jn 18^{30} (TR, but edd. *κακὸν ποιῶν*), where it is rendered in AV 'malefactor'; also in 1 P $2^{12.14}$ 4^{15}, where it is 'evil doer.' RV gives 'evil-doer' in all the passages. Again, *κακοῦργος* is in AV rendered 'malefactor' in Lk $23^{32.33.39}$, but in 2 Ti 2^{9} 'evil doer'; RV 'malefactor' everywhere. There is no difference in meaning between *κακοποιός* and *κακοῦργος*, and there is none between 'malefactor' and 'evil-doer,' but this is a good example of the care of the NT Revisers to express the same Gr. word always by the same Eng. word. Fuller, *Holy State*, 203, says, 'Thus Cranmer (who subscribed to Popery) grew valiant afterwards, and thrust his right hand which subscribed first into fire, so that that hand dyed (as it were) a malefactour and all the rest of his body dyed a martyr.'

J. HASTINGS.

MALICE, MALICIOUSNESS. — Both 'malice' and 'maliciousness' have become restricted in meaning since 1611 to a special form of wickedness. In AV of NT the only word they translate is *κακία*, *i.e.* wickedness of any kind, 'the vicious character generally,' as Lightfoot says, or as Wilson (*Christian Dictionary*, 1616) describes it, 'the whole pravity and naughtines of sin.' Other words are translated 'malice' in the Apocr. as *μῆνις* (Sir 27^{30}, RV 'wrath'), *ἔχθρα* (1 Mac 13^{6}, RV 'hatred'), but the same general meaning attaches to the word there also. RV generally retains 'malice' and 'maliciousness,' but prefers 'wickedness' to 'malice' in 1 P 2^{1}, and to 'maliciousness' in 1 P 2^{16}; and wherever in the Apocr. the Gr. is *κακία* (Wis $12^{10.20}$ 16^{14}, 2 Mac 4^{50}) RV has 'wickedness.' The Douay Bible translates Is 40^{2} 'Speake to the hart of Ierusalem, and cal to her; because her malice is accomplished, her iniquitie is forgiven'; and cf. Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.* v., App. 1, 'It hath been ever on all sides confest that the malice of man's own heart doth harden him and nothing else.' Tindale's tr. of Ja 1^{21} is 'Wherfore laye a parte all fylthynes, all superfluite of maliciousnes'; and Hall, *Works*, ii. 17, says, 'Doe thou that in us, which was done to thee for us; cut off the superfluitie of our maliciousnesse, that we may be holy, in, and by thee, which for us wert content to be legally impure.'

The adj. **malicious** occurs in 3 Jn ^{10} 'I will remember his deeds which he doeth, prating against us with malicious words' (*λόγοις πονηροῖς*, RV 'with wicked words'); and a few times in Apocr. (Ad. Est $13^{4.7}$, Wis 1^{4}, 2 Mac 5^{23}). Cf. Hos 6^{8} Cov. 'Galaad is a cite of wicked doers, of malicious people and bloudshedders.' For the adv. 'maliciously,' which is found in Sus $^{43.62}$, 2 Mac 14^{11}, cf. Cotton, *Calvin's Isaiah* on Is 40^{1}, 'Now the Prophet enters upon a new argument, for he lets the people alone, which made no use neither of admonitions nor threatenings whatsoever, in regard they were become maliciously desperate.'

J. HASTINGS.

MALLOTHI (מַלּוֹתִי).—A son of Heman, 1 Ch $25^{4.26}$. There is reason to believe that this and five of the names associated with it are really a fragment of a hymn or prayer (see GENEALOGY, III. 23 n.; and cf. Kittel in *SBOT*, and W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} 143 n.). In v.^{4} LXX B has *Μανδεί*, A *Μεαλωθί*; in v.^{26} B *Μεθαθεί*, A *Μελληθί*.

MALLOWS (מַלּוּחַ *mallûaḥ*, *ἅλιμα*, ℵA *ἅλιμμα*, *herbæ et arborum cortices*).—Two names of plants in Arab. are derived from the same root as *mallûaḥ*: (1) *Melûkhîyeh*, the 'Jews' mallow,' *Corchorus olitorius*, L. This is an annual herb of the order *Tiliaceæ*, with oblong-ovate, serrate leaves, the lower teeth of the leaves tipped with long bristles. It bears pods 3 to 4 in. long. The mature stem furnishes the fibre so well known in commerce as 'jute.' The immature stem and leaves are tender and succulent, and have a mucilaginous juice, which is nutritious like that of the mallow. They are extensively used in the East as a pot-herb. This plant grows only in well-watered ground. As the context of the only passage in which *mallûaḥ* occurs (Job 30^{4}) refers to desert places and plants, and to the food of the very poorest of the people, this is not likely to be the plant intended. (2) *Mallûkh.* This word is identical with *mallûaḥ* in form. In some places the allied form *mûllâḥ* is used. Both are popular names for the Sea Orache or Sea Purslane, *Atriplex Halimus*, L. RV tr. it 'saltwort.' It is a perennial shrub, of the order *Chenopodiaceæ*, with silvery-white, ovate, obtuse leaves, and densely spiked flowers in a thyrsoid-pyramidal panicle. The plant grows in salt marshes along the seacoast and in the interior. The leaves are sour; and Dioscorides says that they were cooked as vegetables. They would certainly be the food of none but the poorest, and well suit the context.

G. E. POST.

MALLUCH (מַלּוּךְ).—**1.** A Merarite, ancestor of Ethan, 1 Ch 6^{44} [Heb.^{29}], LXX *Μαλώχ*. **2.** One of the sons of Bani who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10^{29} (B *Ἀλούμ*, A *Μαλούχ*), called in 1 Es 9^{30} **Mamuchus.** **3.** One of the sons of Harim who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10^{32} (LXX *Μαλούχ*). **4. 5.** Two of those who sealed the covenant, Neh $10^{4.27}$ (LXX *Μαλούχ*). No. **4** is probably identical with Malluch of Neh 12^{2}, called in 12^{14} **Malluchi.**

MALLUCHI (מַלּוּכִי *Kethîbh*; מְלִיכוּ *Ḳerê*, followed by AV Melicu; LXX *Μαλούχ*; Vulg. *Milicho*).—The eponym of a priestly family who returned with Zerubbabel, Neh 12^{14}, probably the same as **Malluch** of Neh 10^{4} 12^{2}.

MALLUS (*Μαλλός*, 2 Mac 4^{30}) rebelled (along with Tarsus) against Antiochus Epiphanes about B.C. 171. According to Heberdey, the latest explorer, the city was situated on the river Pyramos, about 150 stadia from its mouth: at the mouth was situated Magarsa (called Antiocheia in the 3rd and 2nd cents. B.C.). The Pyramos had two mouths in ancient time, of which the principal joined the sea a little to the west of the modern village called Kara-Tash, in which many inscriptions both of Antiocheia and of Mallus have been found; but this branch is now almost completely dried up. Kara-Tash is situated on a low range of hills along the coast between the Pyramos arms: the eastern arm is rapidly filling up the bay of Ayash (into which it flows): in ancient times this branch was quite secondary. According to Heberdey, the site of Mallus was between the fork of the two branches, as coins show the goddess of the city sitting between two river-gods; but the marshy nature of the soil prevents exploration at that point.

---

* On the difficulty of admitting the historicity of Luke's narrative, see *Expos. Times*, x. 139, 188.

The serious difficulties in this theory are—(1) Strabo, our best authority, says that Mallus was situated on a height (p. 675), not in a low marsh; (2) the *Stadiasmus* implies that Mallus was not 150 stadia up the river, but close to the sea 150 stadia east of Antioch-Magarsa; (3) the presence of so many inscriptions of Mallus at Kara-Tash. Perhaps the correct view is that Mallus was beside Kara-Tash, east of the Pyramos, while Magarsa was west of the river, and the distance stated in the *Stadiasmus* is over-estimated like many others. Thus, when Mallus was beside Kara-Tash (probably on its eastern side), while Magarsa lay to the west, inscriptions from both cities should be brought to the modern village: the old bed of the Pyramos, being dry in modern times, would not prevent transport.

Mallus (originally Marlos) was an ancient and wealthy city, with a rich coinage. Magarsa was a comparatively unimportant place, which struck no coins; and probably it was subject to Mallus, serving as its harbour from being closer to the river.

W. M. RAMSAY.

MALOBATHRON (RVm for EV text *Bether*, הָרֵי בָתֶר Ca 2^{17}; AVm 'division'; LXX *ὄρη κοιλωμάτων*; Theod. *θυμιαμάτων*; Aquila and Symm. Βαθήρ, Βαιθήρ).—The leaf of the *Cassia lignea* tree, *Cinnamomum Cassia*, Blume (*Laurus malabathrum*, L.), known in the old *Materia Medica* as *tamalapatra* or 'Indian leaf,' a lofty tree cultivated in China and Java. Its leaves are 10 in. or more long, and 6 to 8 broad. It was formerly used as a stomachic, sudorific, and a remedy for headache, and as an ingredient of *mithredate* and *theriaca*. A macerate in oil, and a vinous tincture, were used by the ancients as a perfume. Notwithstanding the authority of Wellhausen (*Prol.*^{2} 415), it is certain that this spice did not grow wild on any of the mountains of Pal., and therefore no mountains in this land would have been likely to have derived their name from it. Even had it been cultivated in the botanical gardens of Solomon, it is improbable that any mountain, much less 'mountains,' would have taken their name from this circumstance. It seems better, therefore (although the rendering *malobathron* is adopted by Reuss, Baethgen, Budde, Siegfried, and nearly all modern commentators), to retain the proper name *Bether* (wh. see), as in text of both VSS.

G. E. POST.

MALTANNEUS (B Μαλτανναῖος, A Ἀλτ-, AV Altaneus), 1 Es 9^{33}.—A son of Asom or Hashum, one of those who agreed to put away their 'strange' wives. Called MATTENAI (מַתְּנַי, B Μαθανιά, A Μαθθαναί) in Ezr 10^{33}.

MAMDAI (B Μαμδαί, A Μανδ-, AV Mabdai), 1 Es 9^{34}.—The same as BENAIAH, Ezr 10^{35}.

MAMMON (*μαμωνᾶς* [*μαμμωνᾶς* only in cursives]; Vulg. *mammona*; Syr. *måmunå*; AV and RV 'mammon').—A common Aram. word for *riches* (Aram. מָמוֹנָא, rarely מָאמוֹנָא), used in Mt 6^{24} and Lk $16^{9.11.13}$, in the latter case in the parable of the Unjust Steward. LXX translates אֱמוּנָה in Ps 37^3 by *πλούτῳ*, and possibly in Is 33^6 by *θησαυροῖς*; it may have read a Heb. equivalent for מָמוֹנָא in one or both passages. The spelling מָאמוֹנָא suggests a derivation from אמן 'to be firm, steadfast,' Hiph. 'trust,' hence 'that which is trusted in'; but in NT it has simply its Aramaic sense. According to Augustine (*On the Sermon on the Mt.* ii. 14, 47), 'Lucrum Punice mammon dicitur.' ממון occurs in Sir 31^8, מ׳ דִּשְׁקַר 'm. of falsehood' often in Targg., *e.g.* 1 S 8^3, 2 S 14^{14}, Hos 5^{11}, Am 5^{12}, Is 33^{15}; also מ׳ דִּרְשַׁע 'm. of wickedness' in Hab 2^9. The phrase 'mammon of unrighteousness' occurs in the Book of Enoch (lxiii. 10), probably a post-Christian reference to the NT passages. Mammon is personified in Lk 16^{9-13}, but there is no reason to suppose that there was a Syrian deity Mammon in NT times. Such an idea owes its currency to Milton. Ges. (*Thes.*) derives from Heb. *maṭmon*, 'treasure,' and טמן 'to hide'; but no example of the assimilation of *Teth* (ט) is cited. Lagarde thinks ממון is by elision for מעמון, which would be the Aram. form of the Arabic *maḍmun*, 'contents,' *e.g.* of a book.

LITERATURE.—Plummer (*International Crit. Comm.*) on Lk $16^{9.13}$; Thayer-Grimm, *s.v.*; Brockelmann, *Syriac Lex.*, *s.v.*; Lagarde, *Uebersicht*, p. 185, *Mitteil.* i. 229; Arnold Meyer, *Jesu Muttersprache*, p. 51 n.; Jastrow, *Dict. of the Tgg.*, *s.v.*

W. H. BENNETT.

MAMNITANEMUS (A Μαμνιτάναιμος, B Μαμτ-, AV Mamnitanaimus), 1 Es 9^{34}.—Corresponds to the two names Mattaniah, Mattenai in Ezr 10^{37}, of which it is a corruption.

MAMRE (מַמְרֵא; Μαμβρη).—Mentioned (*a*) in the expression 'terebinths of Mamre' (אֵלֹנֵי מ׳) Gn 13^{18} (+ אשר בחברון 'which is [*or* are] in Hebron'), 18^1 (both J), and 14^{13} (+ האמרי 'the Amorite'), from an independent source; (*b*) in P, in the expression 'which is before Mamre,' in descriptions of the cave of Machpelah, or of the field in which it was. Gn $23^{17.19}$ (+ הוא חברון 'that is Hebron') 25^9 49^{30} 50^{13}, and in 35^{27} 'to Mamre, to Kiriath-arba, that is Hebron'; (*c*) in Gn 14^{23} as the name of one of Abram's allies, in his expedition for the recovery of Lot. In (*b*) M. is an old name either of Hebron or of a part of Hebron; in Gn $14^{13.23}$ it is the name of a local sheikh or chief, the owner of the 'terebinths' called after him; in Gn 13^{18} 18^1 it is not clear whether it is the name of a person or of a place. The 'terebinths of M.' are the spot at which Abraham pitched his tent in Hebron.

The site of Mamre is uncertain. 'Before' (על פני) in topographical descriptions generally, though not, it is true, universally, means *to the east of*. The traditional site of Abraham's sepulchre is in the mosque at the S.E. of the modern city: so that Mamre would, in the first instance, be looked for to the W. of this, and at no great distance from it (for it is described as being 'in' Hebron). Sozomen (*HE* ii. 4) says that the oak by which Abraham dwelt still existed in the time of Constantine, 15 stadia N. of Hebron; and Jerome (*Onom.* 114. 17) says that it continued to be shown till the time of his youth. The site where this oak stood would agree with that of *Râmat el-Khalîl* (or, more briefly, *er-Râmeh*), 1¾ mile N. of the mosque (see the plan of the environs in *PEF Mem.* iii., after p. 352); and a spot ¾ mile N. of this, with a fine spring-well, is still called by the Jews *Beit el-Khalîl*, or 'Abraham's House' (Rob. *BRP* i. 216; Thomson, *L. and B.*, S. Pal. 304–6, with view; *PEF Mem.* iii. 316, 322 f., also with view). For some time past, however, perhaps from the 12th cent., a large and beautiful oak (*Sindiân*), 1½ mile W.N.W. of the mosque, has been shown as the oak of Abraham (Rob. ii. 72, 81; Thomson, *l.c.* 282 f., with illustration; *PEF Mem.* iii. 308; Bäd. *Pal.*^{2} 173 f.). Neither of these spots seems sufficiently near to Hebron to be a probable site for Mamre. Dillm. thinks of the height, with accompanying spring, of *Nimre*, 1 mile N.N.W. of the mosque; but this also is more distant than would be expected. Josephus (*BJ* IV. ix. 7) says that a very ancient terebinth was shown in his day only 6 stadia from the city; but he does not indicate in which direction it lay.

Sozomen adds some remarkable particulars respecting the tree, which show that it was venerated as a sanctuary. He says that an annual fair and feast was held at it in the summer, which was largely attended by Jews, heathen, and Christians (cf., more briefly, the *Onom.* 114. 19 f., 249. 29 f.). There was also a well beside it; and the heathen visitors not only offered sacrifices beside the tree (§ 3), but illuminated the well with lamps, and cast into it libations of wine, cakes, coins, myrrh, and incense (§ 5; cf. *RS* 177, 193). These observances were suppressed by Constantine, as superstitious; and a church was built there (§§ 6–8; Euseb. *Vita Const.* iii. 51–53; cf. *SP* 143).

S. R. DRIVER.

MAMUCHUS (Μάμουχος), 1 Es 9^{30}.—The same as MALLUCH, Ezr 10^{29}. The original LXX form was probably Μάλλουχος; ΛΛ would readily be corrupted into Μ.

MAN.—One of the peculiarities of the Hebrew language is the disinclination to form adjectives, or rather the love of placing substantives in such relation as in Western languages would be expressed by a subst. and an adjective. Thus 1 K 20^{31} AV and RV 'merciful kings,' Heb. מַלְכֵי חֶסֶד = 'kings of mercy.' See Davidson, *Heb. Syntax*, p. 32 ff.; Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Heb. Grammar* (Eng. ed. by Collins and Cowley, 1898, p. 437 ff.). This form of expressing attributive ideas is especially common with the words אִישׁ 'man,' בַּעַל 'master,' 'owner,' בֵּן 'son,' and their feminines.

With the first of these words, with which we have to do at present, the Eng. VSS deal variously. (1) Sometimes they ignore the Heb. idiom entirely: 1 S 31^{12} and 2 S 24^{9} Heb. 'man of might,' AV and RV 'valiant man'; 1 K 1^{42} Heb. 'man of might,' AV 'valiant man,' RV 'worthy man'; 1 S 17^{4} Heb. 'man of the space between' (אִישׁ־הַבֵּנַיִם), AV and RV 'champion' (see CHAMPION); 1 K 20^{42} Heb. (אִישׁ חֶרְמִי) 'man of my ban,' AV 'man whom I appointed to utter destruction,' RV 'man whom I had devoted to destruction'; Pr 15^{18} Heb. 'man of wrath,' AV and RV 'wrathful man.' (2) Sometimes the Heb. idiom is recognized in the margin: 2 S $16^{7.8}$ AV 'bloody man,' AVm and RV 'man of blood' (cf. Ps 5^{6} 'The Lord will abhor the bloody and deceitful man,' AVm 'the man of bloods and deceit,' RV 'the blood-thirsty and deceitful man'); 1 K 2^{26} 'thou art worthy of death,' AVm and RVm 'thou art a man of death'; Is 40^{13} 'his counseller,' RV 'his counsellor,' AVm 'man of his counsel'; 2 S 18^{20} 'Thou shalt not bear tidings,' AVm 'be a man of tidings,' RV 'be the bearer of tidings'; Ps 140^{11} 'An evil speaker,' AVm and RVm 'a man of tongue'; Ex 4^{10} 'I am not eloquent,' AVm and RVm 'a man of words'; Job 11^{2} 'a man full of talk,' AVm and RVm 'a man of lips'; Job 22^{8} 'the mighty man,' AVm and RVm 'the man of arm'; Pr 3^{31} 'oppressor,' AVm and RV 'man of violence'; 18^{24} 'A man that hath friends,' RV 'He that maketh many friends,' RVm 'a man of friends.' (3) Sometimes the Heb. idiom is preserved in the Eng. text: Gn 6^{4} 'men of renown'; Pr 24^{5} 'a man of knowledge'; so frequently 'man of Belial' (for which see BELIAL).

Perhaps the most frequent expression of this kind is **man of war**, which occurs 42 times in AV text, and always signifies a soldier or warrior. In Ex 15^{3} J″ is called 'a man of war'; see Montefiore, *Hibbert Lect.* p. 39 f., and art. LORD OF HOSTS.

The expression **man of God** (אִישׁ אֱלֹהִים), to designate one acting under Divine authority and influence, is used in Jg $13^{6.8}$ of an angel; in Dt 33^{1}, Jos 14^{6} *al.* of Moses; in 2 Ch 8^{14} *al.* of David; in 1 S 2^{27} 9^{6-10}, 1 K $13^{1ff.}$ *al.* of prophets, as a title for whom it appears to have come into use in the N. kingdom in the time of Elijah. See, further, OLD PROPHET.

J. HASTINGS.

MAN.—i. WORDS.—**1.** אָדָם. For derivation and original meaning see ADAM (LXX usually ἄνθρωπος, Vulg. *homo*). The most frequent use of this word as a common noun is for mankind generally (Gn 6^{3}), or for any member of the human race (Gn 5^{2}), but occasionally it stands for a man in distinction from a woman (Gn 2^{22}). It is used especially when the sinfulness, frailty, or mortality of the race is referred to (Job 5^{7}). **2.** אִישׁ (LXX mostly ἀνήρ, Vulg. *vir*). Del. compares Assyr. *isanu*, 'strong.' A name for man in his vigour or valour; for a masculine member of the race, thus standing for 'husband' (Gn 3^{6}), and even applied to the male of lower animals (Gn 7^{2}). While אָדָם often refers to the race as a whole, אִישׁ points to the individual. By a common Heb. idiom it is employed for 'any one' (=Gr. τις, Fr. *on*, Ex 21^{14}), and so gives rise to a similar idiom in NT Gr. (1 Co 4^{1}). **3.** אֱנוֹשׁ, simply *man*, with perhaps some reference to his mortality (mostly poetical, 18 times in Job, 13 times in Ps). **4.** גִּבּוֹר (from גָּבַר 'to be strong') 'a mighty man,' 'a warrior.' The cognate גֶּבֶר is used for a man as opposed to the weaker one, woman (Dt 22^{5}). **5.** [מַת] common in Eth., only found in pl. (מְתִים defect. מְתִם), except in compound pr. n. *Methusael*, *Methuselah*. The word stands for *men* as distinguished both from women and from children (Dt 2^{34}).

In NT ἄνθρωπος and ἀνήρ are used with the distinctions of meaning found in classic Greek. ἄνθρωπος stands for a human being, whether male or female, and is sometimes used with the association of weakness or imperfection (1 Co 3^{4}). The twofold nature of man is expressed by ὁ ἔξω ἄνθρωπος and ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος (2 Co 4^{16}). Ἄνθρωπος is employed in the Heb. idiom as the equivalent of τις, for 'anybody' (*e.g.* Mt 17^{14}, Mk 12^{1}, Lk 13^{19}). In AV, however, τις is sometimes rendered 'man' (Mt 8^{28}). Ἀνήρ stands for a man as distinguished from a woman. It is also used in pl. as a title of honour, equivalent to our word 'gentlemen' (Ac 2^{14}). In AV ἄρρην and ἄρσην, 'male,' are translated 'man' (Ro 1^{27}, Rev 12^{5}).

ii. ORIGIN.—According to both accounts of his origin, Gn 1^{27} (P) and Gn 2^{7} (J), man was made by God and through an act of Divine will. P states that God 'created' man; J indicates that he was formed out of previously existing matter ('the dust of the ground'), but that he received his life immediately from God—J″ breathing into him the breath of life. The doctrine of the pre-existence of souls cannot be discovered in OT, although 1 S 2^{6}, Job 1^{21}, and Ps 139^{15} have been thought by some to imply it. The first of these passages refers only to natural birth and death. Whatever the second may mean, it would appear from Job $10^{8ff.}$ that the author of the poem held the genesis of the personality to be contemporary with that of the body in the womb. The expression in Ps 139^{15} 'when I was curiously wrought in the lowest parts of the earth' comes nearer to the idea of pre-existence; but the context points to the embryonic development of the body, and therefore it is reasonable to suppose that the phrase is an imaginative allusion to that process (see Schultz, *OT Theol.* (Eng. tr.) vol. ii. p. 250 ff.). The doctrine of pre-existence appears in Alex. Judaism and is met with in Apocr. (Wis $8^{19ff.}$). It is distinctly set forth by Philo (*de Somn.* i. 22). It is not taught in NT, although it was held by contemporary rabbis (see Lightfoot, ii. p. 569), and the disciples may refer to it with regard to the man born blind (Jn 9^{2}).

iii. NATURE.—In the Bible man is treated as a creature sharing the nature of the world around him. A common Heb. name for mankind is 'flesh,' a term which expresses at once the materiality and the frailty of the race. The latter quality is much insisted on; compared with God, man is but 'dust and ashes' (Gn 2^7 3^{19} 18^{27}). Nevertheless, in both accounts of his creation (P and J), while man is associated with the universe around him he is described with separate statements that indicate a unique nature. According to P, man was made 'in the image of God' (Gn $1^{26.27}$). This phrase, taken in connexion with P's doctrine of the spiritual existence of God, must refer to mental and moral faculties, not to physical form, *i.e.* to intellect, affections, will, moral personality (Delitzsch). In Ps 8^5 man is described as 'made to lack but little of God,' a passage in which, while the high endowments of the race are gratefully acknowledged in daring language, it is to be observed that the word for God is אֱלֹהִים (softened in LXX to ἀγγέλους), not יהוה, and that this is mentioned in the third person though the psalm is addressed to J″ (Schultz, *OT Theol.* vol. ii. p. 254). It has been suggested on the ground of Gn 1^{27} that P teaches that mankind was originally androgynous, and on the ground of Gn 2^{21} that J contains the same idea; but this is more ingenious than reasonable.

iv. UNITY OF THE RACE.—This is implied in the accounts of the Creation, the Deluge, and the tower of Babel, and in the genealogies of Genesis. It has been asserted that Gn $6^{1.2}$ points to two distinct species of mankind (Keil); but elsewhere in OT the expression 'the sons of God' (בְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים) invariably stands for *angels* (Job 1^6 [see Dav.] 2^1 38^7; cf. בְּנֵי אֵלִים Ps 29^1 89^6; בַּר אֱלָהִין 'a son of gods' Dn 3^{25}). So LXX of Gn $6^{1.2}$ and Philo on this passage; also Josephus (*Ant.* I. iii. 1). Moreover, there is nothing to indicate that the phrase 'the daughters of men' could refer to the women of one race to the exclusion of others (Delitzsch, *in loc.*). The development of monotheistic ideas tended to deepen the sense of the unity of mankind, and so to correct any influences in the opposite direction that might arise from the exclusiveness of Jews with regard to Gentiles and that of Greeks in their view of primitive races or even of foreigners generally (βάρβαροι). This unity is distinctly affirmed in St. Paul's speech on the Areopagus with an emphasis which indicates that it might not be fully acknowledged by his audience (Ac 17^{26}). It is taken for granted in the NT statements of the redemption of the world by Jesus Christ (*e.g.* Jn 3^{16}). While it is at the foundation of St. Paul's universalism, it is never contradicted by his Judaizing opponents.

v. DESTINY.—It is the teaching of OT as well as NT that God has a great future in store, first for His elect, and then through them for the race. This is to be preceded by a 'day of the Lord,' in NT the *Parousia*, which ushers in the glory through terrible judgments. The grounds of hope for the future are all found in the mercy and the faithfulness of God, whose own glory is realized in the ultimate well-being of His creatures. While the end of the physical universe is contemplated, that of the race of man is not predicted—whatever may be the fate of individuals. On the contrary, OT points to a boundless future of peace, and NT to the final establishment of the kingdom of God. See ESCHATOLOGY. On the whole subject see, further, under ADAM and COSMOGONY; and for the Psychology of Man see PSYCHOLOGY.

W. F. ADENEY.

MAN OF SIN AND **ANTICHRIST** (*ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀνομίας, ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας, ὁ ἀντίχριστος, ὁ ἀντικείμενος, ὁ ἄνομος*).—There are three principal sources in the NT whence we derive our knowledge of the beliefs of the 1st cent. concerning the Antichrist and Man of Sin, viz. 2 Th, 1 and 2 Jn, and the Apocalypse.

i. The Pauline account (2 Th 2) is this, that the final coming of Christ is to be preceded by (1) the falling-away (*ἡ ἀποστασία*). (2) After this, the revealing of the Man of Sin, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God or that is worshipped, so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, giving himself out that he is God. He has power to do miracles which are lying miracles. The Lord will come and destroy him with the breath of His mouth. There is something, described first as a thing (neuter, *τὸ κατέχον*), then as a person (masc., *ὁ κατέχων*), which prevents the appearance of the Man of Sin for the time being. St. Paul reminds the Thessalonians that he used to tell them these particulars when he was with them (*ἔτι ὢν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ταῦτα ἔλεγον ὑμῖν*, v.^{5}).

ii. In the Epistles of St. John we have little but the name of Antichrist (which occurs nowhere else in NT). In 1 Jn 2^{18} occur these most important words: 'Little children, it is the last hour: and as ye have heard that Antichrist shall come, even now there are many antichrists; whereby we know that it is the last time.' From this we gather, as from 2 Th, that the belief in Antichrist was one familiar to the Christians of the time. The name occurs again in 2^{22} 4^3 ('this is that *matter* of Antichrist'—*τὸ τοῦ ἀντιχρ.*—'whereof ye have heard that it should come'), 2 Jn^7. St. John, then, alludes to a popular belief, and spiritualizes it, applying it to tendencies already at work.

iii. In the Apocalypse a far more complex state of things is found. It is necessary briefly to sketch the characteristics of the various evil powers (Beasts) which appear in it.

(*a*) First in 11^7 we have, suddenly introduced without any previous description, 'the Beast that cometh up out of the abyss.' Of him it is only said that he slays the Two Witnesses, and we gather that his seat is at Jerusalem. In connexion with him we find mention of a period of 42 months or 1260 days (=3½ years), of which more will be said.

(*b*) Next in ch. 12 appears the Great Red Dragon in heaven, who is expressly identified with Satan. He persecutes the woman clothed with the sun, and is cast out of heaven.

(*c*) In ch. 13 a Beast with seven heads and ten horns, crowned, comes up out of the sea. One of his heads is wounded to death and is revived. And the Dragon (cf. 12) gives to him his power.

(*d*) In 13^{11} another Beast comes up out of the earth, which has two horns like a lamb (evidently, therefore, is a rival and counterpart of the Lamb), and speaks like a dragon (being in reality Satanic and not divine). This being is afterwards (19^{20} etc.) called the False Prophet. His function is to support the former Beast by lying miracles, and induce mankind to worship him. The former Beast is accordingly worshipped as God, and sets a mark upon his adherents; and his name is indicated by the mystic number 666 (or 616). The principal Beast and the False Prophet appear again in chs. 19 and 20, where they make a final assault on the saints, and are vanquished by Christ.

(*e*) Lastly, in ch. 17 another Beast, scarlet, with seven heads and ten horns, appears, upon which the woman (Babylon) is seated. This Beast is explained to the seer: it is said that it 'was, and is not, and shall ascend out of the abyss and go into perdition.' Its heads are seven hills, and seemingly also seven kings (five past, one present, one to come), and its horns are ten kings (all future).

Of this exceedingly complicated series of images it would be absurd to attempt to give all the solutions which have been suggested. W. Bousset in his recent commentary on the Apoc. gives a view which commends itself as nearest to the truth of any. It is shortly this:—The Beast of ch. 11 is the Antichrist of current belief, taken over by the author of the Apocalypse together with the other traditional image of the Witnesses. The Beast of ch. 12 is perhaps an ancient mythical personification of some natural force (see below) identified by the Apocalypse with Satan. The Beast of ch. 13 is Rome, and its slain head which is revived is Nero *redivivus*. Certain of its characteristics are derived from the popular conception of Antichrist. Its number 666 is taken to mean Nero Cæsar. It derives its power from Satan. The False Prophet of ch. 13 is in many respects the Antichrist of popular belief, posing as a counterpart of the Lamb, and able to work wonders. But here it is in a subordinate position to Rome: the apocalyptist borrows the figure from the beliefs of his time: by it he probably intends the heathen priesthood, especially in its relation to the worship of the Cæsars. The Beast of ch. 17 is, as we have seen, a complex image. It is partly representative of an individual who was, and is not, etc.—Nero *redivivus*; partly of a polity—that of Rome.

iv. With these notices from the Epistles and Apocalypse we must couple a few of less certain import from the Gospels. (*a*) In Mt 24^{24}, Mk $13^{6.\,22}$, Lk 21^{8} our Lord predicts the coming of false Christs and false prophets. In Mt and Mk there is also mention of the 'abomination of desolation' in the Holy Place, coupled with an injunction that when this appears they that are in Judæa are to flee to the mountains. This is the sequel to a 'great tribulation,' of which the duration will be shortened by God for the sake of the elect. And upon this follow portents in heaven, and the coming of the Son of Man. This 'abomination of desolation' is very plausibly interpreted by many modern critics of the session of Antichrist in the temple as God. And some critics suppose that this portion of our Lord's eschatological discourse has been influenced or interpolated in accordance with current beliefs. See, further, art. ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION. (*b*) Lastly, in Jn 5^{43} our Lord says, 'I am come in my Father's name, and ye receive me not: if another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive.' Many commentators, *e.g.* Chrys., Cyr., Theod. Mops., explain this 'other' to be Antichrist.

Such are the passages of the NT which throw light upon the subject of Antichrist: and we gather from them unmistakably that teaching concerning Antichrist was orally current at a very early time. *Did it originate with Christianity, or is it a pre-Christian Jewish idea?*

In Jewish apocalyptic literature we find undoubted evidence of this belief. In the *Book of Daniel* are certain passages which bear on the question. (*a*) In ch. 7 appear four beasts, the last of which has a 'little horn' which makes war against the saints. This horn, it is explained to the seer, is a king who will war against God and the saints for a period expressed as times, a time and half a time ($3\frac{1}{2}$ years): upon his fall follows the judgment. (*β*) In ch. 8 out of one of the four horns of the he-goat (Greece) comes a little horn which waxes great and casts down some of the stars of heaven, and magnifies himself even to the prince of the host, and takes away the daily sacrifice. In connexion with him is mentioned, but obscurely, the abomination that maketh desolate. This lasts for 2300 half-days, or 1150 days. In the interpretation this horn is said to represent a king of fierce countenance understanding dark sentences, who stands up against the Prince of princes, and is 'broken without hand.' (*γ*) In ch. 9 the daily sacrifice is taken away, and the 'abomination' takes its place for half a week ($3\frac{1}{2}$ years). (*δ*) In chs. 11. 12 is a long prophecy of a king of the north who will oppress Judæa, take away the daily sacrifice, and set up the abomination that maketh desolate. He comes to a sudden end, and then follows the great tribulation, and then a resurrection of the dead.

It is agreed that these predictions, while partly applicable to a historical person, Antiochus Epiphanes, do not apply to him in full. Those who regard the book as written during his persecution, take the view that the seer anticipated the end of all things to happen immediately upon the fall of Antiochus, and that he wrote shortly before that event. It is at least clear that parts of this picture, as of so many others in the Bk. of Daniel, were used by the author of the NT Apocalypse: notably the casting down of the stars from heaven (Rev 12), and the length assigned to the reign of the wicked king (see the 42 months and the 1260 days of Rev $11^{2.\,3}$).

In the *third Book of the Sibylline Oracles* (*c.* B.C. 170) is a prediction that Beliar will come in the last days, ἐκ Σεβαστηνῶν, which according to Bousset means 'of the race of Augustus'; while others, comparing the *Ascension of Isaiah*, interpret it as 'from Samaria.' Note that the final adversary is here no other than Satan, apparently in the form of man. To this *Sib. Orac.* ii., originally a Jewish composition but extensively Christianized, adds that Elias (alone) will come as a witness, and that Beliar will do many signs.

In 4 *Ezra* ($5^{4.\,6}$) are traces, though obscured and corrupted, of the belief. We read, among a list of the signs of the end: 'thou shalt see *the kingdom that is* after the third (*i.e.* the power of Rome) shaken,'* and also 'he shall reign whom they look not for who dwell on the earth.'

In *Apoc. Bar* (ch. 40) is a prediction of the destruction of the last leader of the enemies of Israel by the Messiah on Mount Sion.

In *Asc. Isa.* (ch. 4) are clear predictions of the advent of Antichrist, who is identified with *Nero redivivus*, and of his reign for the traditional period of $3\frac{1}{2}$ years. But this cannot safely be regarded as pre-Christian.

From this evidence, and from an examination of a number of patristic documents, Bousset (*Der Antichrist*, 1895) has concluded, and as it seems to us rightly, that there was among the Jews a fully developed legend of Antichrist—perhaps oral, but more probably written—which was accepted and amplified by Christians; and that this legend diverges from and contradicts in important points the conceptions we find in the Apocalypse. As formulated by Christians of the 1st cent. its main features are—

That Antichrist would not appear before the fall of Rome; that he would then appear among the Jews, proclaim himself as God, and claim to be worshipped in the temple at Jerusalem; that Elias would appear and denounce him, and be slain by him; that he would be born of the tribe of Dan: this idea being due to an interpretation of Gn 49^{17}, Dt 33^{22}, Jer 8^{16}—a tradition known to the apocalyptist, who omits Dan from the list of the tribes; that his reign would last for $3\frac{1}{2}$ years; that the believing Jews (or all the Church) would flee into the wilderness, whither Antichrist would pursue them; that he would then be destroyed by the Lord with the breath of His mouth (a conception derived from Is 11^{4}).

It will be seen that there is here a considerable disagreement with the Apocalypse. In that book the principal beast is Rome, and there are two witnesses, not one. The first point is very important: the Apocalypse is anti-Roman. The current belief expressed by St. Paul regarded the Roman power as a bulwark against Antichrist.

---

* 'Post tertiam turbatam' is taken as the equivalent of an original Greek τὴν μετὰ τὴν τρίτην (sc. βασιλείαν) θορυβουμένην. The old reading was 'post tertiam tubam.'

In later times the mass of conflicting traditions about Antichrist led to the idea of a twofold Antichrist—one for the Jews and one for the world at large. This is seen with the greatest clearness in the writings of the 3rd cent. poet Commodian, especially in his *Carmen Apologeticum*, where Nero *redivivus* appears as the antichrist of the Gentiles ('nobis Nero factus antichristus, ille Judæis'). Of the ultimate source of this belief it is not possible to speak with certainty.

Gunkel, in a recent work (*Schöpfung und Chaos*), has struck out a line of interpretation which has already been fruitful, and promises to be more so in the future. He regards the conceptions of the Apocalyptic beasts as survivals of ancient mythological beliefs to which the Apocalyptic writer gave new life and meaning. The primeval dragon of the deep (*Tiamat* in Babylonian mythology), which opposed the Creator in the beginning, and was overcome and bound by him, would, it was thought, in the last days rear up its head again and break out in a final rebellion, to be vanquished this time for ever. And it is at least a plausible—to the mind of the present writer a more than plausible—theory that beliefs of this kind belonging to the common Semitic stock, and refreshed in the recollection of the Jews during the Exile, should in their later literature once again appear in the guise of 'ancient wisdom,' with a new and loftier spiritual meaning read into them.

Antichrist—the Antichrist believed in by the Jews—passes through several stages. He is perhaps originally a natural force personified, representing Chaos as opposed to order, Darkness as against light. He is then identified with Satan, the great adversary of God in the moral world. The Antichrist of the *Sibylline Oracles* is, as we have seen, Beliar. And, lastly, he is thought of as a man in whom Satan's power is concentrated, as the power of God is concentrated in the Messiah.

In the New Testament St. Paul adopts, and St. John in the Epistles alludes to, a conception of Antichrist which had been coloured largely by the identification (in the Book of Daniel) of Antichrist with a historical person (Antiochus Epiphanes). In the Apocalypse the traditional Antichrist appears for a moment (in ch. 11); and thereafter his characteristics are divided between the Beast of ch. 13, who is Rome, headed by Nero *redivivus*, claiming divine worship, and the False Prophet who parodies the Lamb and performs the lying wonders.

The wish to identify the Antichrist of tradition with definite contemporary personalities (as Antiochus and Nero) is very largely responsible for the confusion which surrounds the whole subject.

A word as to later Jewish beliefs. The destruction of Jerusalem by Rome operated largely upon Jewish minds. Whereas to them Rome had been the bulwark against Antichrist, it now took the place of Antichrist in Jewish thought; and accordingly in such late compositions as the *Book of Zerubbabel* (as well as in the earlier Targums) the name of Antichrist is *Armillus* (=Romulus=Rome). But, in spite of the adverse view of the Apocalypse of John, the Christian Church continued to regard Rome as the protector of the world against Antichrist, and to pray for its preservation accordingly.

The clearest of the utterances of our Lord and of St. John point rather to a plurality of antichrists who are to appear in different ages of the Church's growth—rather to movements and tendencies of a kind hostile to Christianity, than to any one well-defined personality.

LITERATURE.—The most important sources of knowledge on the subject of Antichrist are given in full in Bousset's excellent monograph, *Der Antichrist*, which has been copiously used in the body of this article. Besides those already named, the following may be mentioned here: Hippolytus, *de Antichristo*—sermons attributed to Ephraem Syrus (Latin and Greek); Victorinus Petabionensis on the Apocalypse; Lactantius (a very important authority); the pseudo-Methodius, *de principio et jure sæculi*; the tract of Adso (printed among Anselm's works), *de Antichristo*. Of Apocryphal documents, the following contain interesting details: the Coptic *Apocalypse of Elias* (Christian, in its present form), recently edited by Steindorff in 'Texte und Unters.' (Neue Folge); the Syriac *Book of Clement* or *Testament of the Lord*, coupled with a Latin fragment found by the present writer at Treves; the late Greek *Apocalypses of Esdras* and *of John* (these four will be found collected in *Apocrypha Anecdota*, i.); the various forms of the *Apocalypse of Daniel* (see Bousset, and Vassiliev's *Anecdota Byzantina*, and Klostermann's *Analecta zur LXX*). An Armenian prophecy of St. Nerses, published by F. C. Conybeare (*Academy*, 1895), and an interesting Latin document attributed to St. John in Roger Hoveden's Chronicle (*Rolls Series*), should be added to Bousset's stock of documents.

A principal feature in the later Apocalyptic literature is the description of Antichrist's personal appearance, which is described as very unpleasing. It is curious to note that several traits of this are borrowed in the Greek Acts of St. Christopher (*Analecta Bollandiana*), and attached to that saint before his conversion.

M. R. JAMES.

MANAEN (*Μαναήν*, Gr. form of מְנַחֵם *Menaḥem*, LXX *Μαναήμ*, 'consoler,' 2 K 15^{17}), one of the 'prophets and teachers' in the Church of Antioch at the time of St. Paul's departure on his First Missionary Journey (Ac 13^{1}),[*] and *σύντροφος* of Herod the tetrarch, *i.e.* Herod Antipas, son of Herod the Great (Lk $3^{1.19}$ 9^{7} etc.). *σύντροφος* may mean either *collactaneus*, 'foster-brother,' 'nursed along with' Herod (Walch, Ols., de Wette, Alf., Words.; cf. Xen. *Mem.* ii. 3. 4), or merely *contubernalis*, 'brought up in the same household,' or 'on intimate terms with' him (Eras. Luth. Calv. Grot. Baumg. Ew.; cf. 1 Mac 1^{29}). Walch, recalling that the brothers Antipas and Archelaus were brought up together (Jos. *Ant.* XVII. i. 3), argues for the closer (without excluding the more general) relationship, on account of the tetrarch[†] alone being here mentioned.

It is highly probable that this Manaen was related to an older Manaen referred to by Josephus (*Ant.* XV. x. 5) as a notable Essene who, about B.C. 50, met Herod, afterwards the Great, then a schoolboy, and saluted him as future king of the Jews (Antipater, the father of Herod, was then chief minister of the Hasmonæan prince Hyrcanus). When the anticipation was afterwards realized (B.C. 37), Herod sent for this older Manaen, treated him as a friend (*δεξιωσάμενος*), and thenceforth honoured the whole Essene sect. A Talmudic authority[‡] identifies the same Manaen with a leading Rabbi who entered the household service of the king. When Antipas was born, some years later, Herod may very naturally have selected, as the child's foster-brother and youthful companion, a grandson[§] or grandnephew of the senior Manaen, who would thus be honoured in the person of the boy.[‖] As *σύντροφος* (in either sense) the younger Manaen would receive a place at the royal table, be educated along with Antipas, and probably accompany him and Archelaus when the two princes were sent to complete their education at Rome (Jos. *Ant.* XVII. i. 3). When Antipas became tetrarch (he was called 'king' only by courtesy) on his father's death, Manaen would naturally have some position in the 'royal' household; and, assuming that St. Luke and Manaen afterwards became acquainted at Antioch, with which both were connected,[*] it would most probably be from Manaen that St. Luke derived his knowledge of many facts concerning Antipas, his household, and other members of the Herodian family (Lk $3^{1.19.20}$ 8^3 9^{7-9} $13^{31.32}$ 23^{8-12}, Ac 12).

---

[*] The arrangement of the conjunctive particles suggests that the first three mentioned were prophets, the last two (Manaen and Saul) teachers. See Meyer, *in loc.*; cf. Xen. *Mem.* ii. 3. 19.

[†] Antipas is the only Herod whom St. Luke elsewhere (Lk $3^{1.19}$) calls 'Herod the tetrarch,' although Philip (Lk 3^{1}) and, up till A.D. 52, Agrippa (Ac 25^{13}) might also have been so called. Agrippa, however, was only about seventeen at the time Manaen is designated as a teacher; Antipas would be over sixty.

[‡] Quoted by J. Lightfoot in *Hor. Heb. et Talm.* p. 25.

[§] While stricter Essenes eschewed marriage, a section of them allowed it. See art. ESSENES, vol. i. p. 768.

[‖] Cf. Chimham's reception into the royal household as a token of honour to his father Barzillai (2 S 19^{37}).

The time, occasion, and instrumentality of Manaen's becoming a follower of Christ are unknown. He may have been drawn to the Master simultaneously with Joanna, the wife of Chuza, Herod's steward (Lk 8^3), or with the Herodian nobleman (*βασιλικός*, *i.e.* courtier) whose son was healed by Jesus (Jn $4^{46.53}$). The ministry of the Baptist,[†] which notably influenced Herod himself (Mk 6^{20}), may have been blessed to one whose Essene origin might predispose him towards our Lord's ascetic forerunner. His discipleship need not have involved departure from Herod's court; but the separation must have taken place, if not earlier, in A.D. 39, when the tetrarch, instigated by his ambitious wife, left Palestine for Rome, in order to obtain royal dignity, but was condemned by Caligula to perpetual exile (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. vii. 2). About the time of Antipas' removal, or soon after, the Gentile Church of Antioch was founded by Jewish Christians who had left Judæa after Stephen's martyrdom (Ac 11^{20}). From his subsequent position as a prominent Christian teacher at Antioch, we may assume as highly probable that Manaen was one of these founders. At all events, he had a leading share (1) in building up a mother Church in the third city of the empire, (2) in propagating successfully the pure Christian faith and life in a city whose moral corruption was proverbial, (3) in establishing the great truth, then but dimly discerned even by apostles, that the Gentiles were fellow-heirs, on equal terms with the Jews, of the divine promise of salvation.

LITERATURE.—Walch, 'de Menahemo,' in *Diss. Ac. Ap.*; J. Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.*; Plumptre, 'Manaen' in *Biblical Studies*; Cassell's *Bible Educator*, ii. 29, 82. H. COWAN.

MANAHATH (מָנַחַת, Μαχαναθ(ε)ί, *Manaoth*).—1. Mentioned only in 1 Ch 8^6 as the place to which certain Benjamite clans were carried captive. Targ. adds 'in the land of the House of Esau,' and Syr. and Arab. VSS borrow a word from the next verse and translate 'to the plain of Naaman.' The town is probably identical with that implied in **Manahethites** (wh. see), with the Μανοχώ of the Greek text of Jos 15^{59}, where the LXX preserves a list of towns which had been lost from our Heb. text; and if the text in Jg is correct, with the **Menuhah** (wh. see) of Jg 20^{43} RVm. The site of the city is unknown. Conder (*PEF Mem.* iii. 21, 136) suggests *Mâlha*, 3 miles S.W. of Jerusalem. The text of 1 Ch 8^6 is probably corrupt.

2. (Μαν(ν)αχά(θ), Μαχανάμ, Μαναχάμ, *Manahat(h)*).—Gn 36^{23} (P), 1 Ch 1^{40} 'son of Shobal, son of Seir, the Horite,' *i.e.* eponymous ancestor of a clan of Edom, or of the earlier population conquered and absorbed by Edom. See, further, art. MANAHETHITES. W. H. BENNETT.

MANAHATHITES.—See MANAHETHITES.

MANAHETHITES stands in AV for מְנֻחוֹת (A Ἀμμανίθ, B Μωναιώ, RV **Menuhoth**) in 1 Ch 2^{52} '(These were the sons of Caleb . . . Shobal) And Shobal the father of Kiriath-jearim had sons, Haroeh, half of the Menuhoth'; and also for מָנַחְתִּי (A Μανάθ, B Μαλαθεί, RV **Manahathites**) in 1 Ch 2^{54} '(These were the sons of Caleb . . . Salma) The sons of Salma; Beth-lehem . . . and half of the Manahathites, the Zorites.' The Vulgate translates 'rest' (*dimidium* requietionum (or -is)) in both verses. We should read (with Kittel, *SBOT*) מָנַחְתִּי 'Manahathites' in both verses. The genealogy is to be interpreted as meaning that the city Manahath, occupied by portions of two sections of the Edomite clan Caleb, came to be reckoned to Judah. See art. MANAHATH. W. H. BENNETT.

MANASSEAS (Μανασσῆας), 1 Es 9^{31}=MANASSEH, Ezr 10^{30}.

MANASSEH (מְנַשֶּׁה).—1. A king of Judah. He was the son of Hezekiah and father of Amon. His mother's name was Hephzi-bah (2 K 21^1). He probably came to the throne B.C. 686. He is said to have been twelve years old on his accession. The length of his reign is given as fifty-five years; but this should, it seems, be reduced to forty-five, in which case he died B.C. 641. Of the actual history of this long reign we know very little, the attention of the author of the Book of Kings being fixed on the condition of religion. The reign was probably peaceful and prosperous, at any rate we have no indication to the contrary in our oldest source. But in the matter of religion it was quite otherwise. During the reign of Hezekiah those who attached themselves to the higher teaching of the prophets had formed a powerful party which had great influence over the king, who seems to have done something towards a religious reformation (2 K 18^4). But there was always a strong party which resented reform, and on Hezekiah's death it improved its opportunity by capturing his successor. All the superstitious cults and practices of the time of Ahaz came back, and were established with the royal sanction (2 K 21^3). But they did not come back alone. The most important feature of M.'s reign is its religious syncretism, the blending of foreign worships with the popular religion of Israel. Especially significant is the worship of the host of heaven (v.^{5}), which shows the influence of Assyria and Babylon. The Baal and Asherah cults were probably revivals of old Can. worship. Mention is also made of dealings with familiar spirits and wizards (v.^{6}). It is not unlikely that we should connect with this the shedding of innocent blood (v.^{16}), with which the king is also charged. This points to a systematic religious persecution. The time was, accordingly, one of religious reaction—not of reaction only, however, but of syncretism, of gloomy superstition and cruel fanaticism. Out of it sprang, according to the teaching of the prophets (2 K $23^{26.27}$ 24^{2-4}), the destruction of Jerus. and the Exile, which even the piety of Josiah and the Deuteronomic Reformation were unable to avert.

In Chronicles it is said that, in consequence of his sin, M. was taken by the Assyrians in fetters to Babylon (2 Ch 33^{11}). There he humbled himself before God, and was restored to his kingdom, whereupon he cleansed Jerus. and the temple of idols, and strengthened the fortifications of the city (v.$^{12ff.}$). The silence of Kings is very strong evidence against the story; for if M. had been really taken into captivity, repented, and on his return sought to undo the evil he had wrought, the writer in Kings would not have left the impression of unbroken idolatry and sin. (Contrast the case of Ahab, 1 K 21^{27-29}). That the Assyrians should have taken a prisoner to Babylon is not in itself very suspicious. But the mention of it probably gives a clue to the origin of the story. The Bab. exile was traced by the prophets to the sin of

---

[*] Eus. (*HE* iii. 4) affirms St. Luke's Antiochene parentage, and the numerous references to Antioch in Ac suggest the familiarity of the writer with this city.

[†] From Manaen St. Luke may have obtained the information about the Baptist not given by the other evangelists (Lk 1^{57-80} 3^{7-14}).

M., and the Chronicler would feel it a fit thing that the author of this calamity should himself experience a captivity in Babylon. There was this further reason for the story. The long and peaceful reign of so wicked a king called for explanation. And this was accounted for by the story of his penitence and reformation. It is a characteristic example of the Chronicler's method of rewriting history. See, further, Driver in Hogarth's *Author. and Archæol.* pp. 114–116, where the archæological data bearing on the question are fully discussed, and the conclusion is reached that while the inscriptions do not decide the question, they fail to neutralize the suspicions attaching to the Chronicler's narrative.

2. *Manasseh* in Jg 18^{30} is a correction for *Moses*, since it seemed derogatory to the reputation of the latter that his grandson should have been the first priest at the sanctuary of Dan. The correction was made by inserting the letter נ above the line, thus changing the word into Manasseh (cf. Moore, *ad loc.*). **3. 4.** Two contemporaries of Ezra who had married foreign wives (Ezr $10^{30.\ 33}$). **5.** See next article.

A. S. PEAKE.

MANASSEH (מְנַשֶּׁה,—according to the etymology given in Gn 41^{51}, 'making to forget,' from נָשָׁה 'to forget'; LXX usually Μανασσῆ), the elder son of the patriarch Joseph by his Egyptian wife, Asenath, and also the name of the tribe reputed to be descended from him. Of Manasseh as the son of Joseph, nothing more is stated than what is recorded in Gn 48, where Jacob (1) *blesses* his two grandsons, giving Ephraim, against their father's desire, the first place (vv.$^{1\text{-}2.\ 8\text{-}20}$ JE), and (2) *adopts* them, placing each on the same level with his own sons (vv.$^{3\text{-}7}$ P). Both these transactions have manifestly a *tribal* significance; they are traditional explanations of the relations existing subsequently between the two tribes Manasseh and Ephraim themselves, and between these two and the other tribes. In Gn 50^{23} it is also stated that the children of MACHIR, the son of Manasseh, were 'born upon Joseph's knees,' *i.e.* he survived their birth, and was able to recognize them as his descendants (cf. 30^{3}; *Odyss.* xix. 401; Stade, *ZAW*, 1886, 146 f.).

Manasseh as a *tribe* is, however, more important than Manasseh as an individual. i. *History of the tribe.* All that the oldest tradition of the Exodus (JE) says about the tribe is, that after Moses had allotted inheritances on the E. of Jordan to Reuben and Gad (Nu 32), particular families of Manasseh took possession of districts in the same neighbourhood,—the children of Machir, the (eldest) son of Manasseh, occupying Gilead generally, Jair, 'son' (*i.e.* descendant) of Manasseh, occupying the district in it called afterwards HAVVOTH-JAIR (which see), and Nobaḥ occupying Ḳenath, with its 'daughters,' or dependent villages, vv.$^{39.\ 41.\ 42}$.* The oldest parts of the Hex. thus recognize only two trans-Jordanic tribes as receiving their territories from Moses:† different Manassite clans conquer territories N. of these for themselves. Whether these statements, exactly as they stand, are historical, is doubtful: it is remarkable that in Jg $10^{3\text{-}5}$ the 'tent-villages of Jair' are represented as deriving their name from Jair, a Gileadite, who was one of the Judges: hence it is very probable that the conquest of Jair is ante-dated in Nu 32; and in fact, if v.^{40} (see note * above) be disregarded, we have in vv.$^{39.\ 41.\ 42}$ (Dillm.) 'a good historical account of the gradual advance of Manassites into the territory E. of Jordan, though not under, but *after* Moses.' By the Deut. writers, a large part of the territory E. of Jordan, viz. 'the rest of Gilead (*i.e.* the half of Gilead N. of the Jabbok*), and all Bashan, even all the region of ARGOB' (Dt 3^{13}†), is said to have been given specifically by Moses to 'the half-tribe of Manasseh' (cf. Dt 29^{8}, Jos 12^{6} $13^{8.}$ [LXX, Dillm.] ^{30} 18^{7} 22^{7}:‡ for Bashan, also, as belonging to Manasseh, Dt 4^{43}, Jos 20^{8} $21^{6.\ 27}$). The same half of the tribe is in Jos 1^{12} 4^{12} (D^{2}) also represented as crossing over Jordan, together with Reuben and Gad, to assist the other tribes in the conquest of Canaan:§ Jos $22^{1\text{-}6}$ describes the blessing with which Joshua sent them away to their homes, when they had discharged this task. According to Jos $22^{9\text{-}34}$ (probably from a special source, allied to P), the half-tribe took part with Reuben and Gad in building the altar by Jordan, which so nearly led to a rupture between the E. and W. parts of Israel.

All these statements relate to the part of the tribe settled E. of the Jordan. There was, however, another part settled W. of the Jordan; and J's description of the territory belonging to this, and of the manner in which it enlarged the lot originally assigned to it, is preserved (imperfectly) in Jos $17^{1b.\ 2.\ 8.\ 9a\beta.\ 10b\text{-}18}$ (taken in connexion with $16^{1\text{-}3.\ 9\text{-}10}$). In J's account of the conquest, the two divisions of the tribe, Ephraim and Manasseh, are treated as one (16^{1} 17^{17} 18^{5}, Jg $1^{22.\ 23.\ 35}$, where note the expression 'House of Joseph'); they receive accordingly a single 'lot' (16^{1}; cf. 17^{14}), the borders of which are defined in $16^{1\text{-}3}$: the N. border—which would be the N. border of Manasseh—is now missing. Jos $17^{1b\text{-}2}$ describes how the Manassite clans were distributed: Machir had Gilead and Bashan; the other clans (Abi'ezer, Ḥeleḳ, Asriel, Shechem, Ḥepher, and Shemida') were settled (it is implied) in W. Palestine. Vv.$^{8.\ 9a\beta.\ 10b\text{-}13}$ || are fragments of J's account of the cities of W. Manasseh: all, however, that these fragments state is that Tappuaḥ, on its S. border, belonged to Ephraim, and that on the N. the towns of Beth-shean, Ibleam, Dor, En-dor,¶ Taanach, and Megiddo, though actually in the territories of Issachar and Asher, belonged in fact to Manasseh, but that the Canaanites maintained their ground in them (vv.$^{11\text{-}13}$, with verbal differences, = Jg $1^{27\text{-}28}$). The historical significance of this statement is that on the N. Manasseh was confined to the mountains and 'cut off from the fertile plain of Esdraelon and the tribes which struggled for a foothold beyond it in Galilee by a chain of fortified cities guarding the passes,'—Beth-shean being in the Jordan Valley on the east, Ibleam, Taanach, and Megiddo in the centre, where the central highlands slope down into the plain, and Dor on the seacoast, about 15 miles S. of Carmel. There follows (vv.$^{14\text{-}18}$) the curious narrative describing how the children of Joseph (*i.e.* Ephraim and Manasseh together), finding the hill-country insufficient for them, and being unable to make their way into the plain on the N. on account of the Canaanites, with their 'chariots of iron,' com-

---

* V.^{40} must be a later addition: not only is it out of place after v.^{39}, but '*their* tent-villages' (חוותיהם) in v.^{41}, which can refer only to the 'Amorites' of v.^{39}, shows that once v.^{41} must have immediately followed v.^{39}. The intention of the addition is evidently to legitimize the conquest of Machir, by representing it as sanctioned by Moses.

† V.^{33}, in which, *for the first time* in the chapter, the 'half-tribe of Manasseh' is mentioned, seems plainly to be a later addition, made for the purpose of harmonizing the passage with the representation of Dt and P.

* Cf. Jos $12^{2.\ 15}$ 13^{31}: the other, southern 'half,' belonged to Gad (Dt 3^{12}).

† Vv.$^{14.\ 15}$ are repetitions (in substance) of Nu $32^{41.\ 40}$, and are, indeed, most probably a later insertion in the original text of Dt (see Dillm.).

‡ So also in P, Jos 13^{29} 14^{3}.

§ In Nu 32 the command to do this is laid upon Reuben and Gad; but nothing is said about its being laid upon the half-tribe of Manasseh.

|| On vv.$^{5.\ 6}$ see Dillmann.

¶ The clause relating to En-dor is, however, omitted in LXX and in Jg 1^{27}; and its originality is questioned by Dillm., Budde, *Ri. u. S.* p. 13; Moore, *Judges*, p. 46.

plain to Joshua; and are advised by him in reply, if they are the great people that they claim to be, to go up into the mountains and cut down the forest there—*i.e.*, apparently, augment their available territory by clearing the large thickly wooded areas which it still contained (Stade, *Gesch.* i. 163; Dillm.)—and (v.^{18b}) apply themselves more vigorously to expel the Canaanites. Fragmentary, and in parts obscure, as these notices of JE are, they nevertheless show clearly how imperfectly, for long after the Israelites first entered into Canaan, the W. half of Manasseh—in this respect, indeed, not differing from many of the other tribes (Jg 1)—obtained possession of its territory.

The passage is undouhtedly obscure; and Budde (*ZAW*, 1887, p. 123 ff. = *Ri. u. S.* 1890, pp. 33 ff., 87), questioning this explanation of the 'forest,' and developing further the opinion already expressed by previous scholars (*e.g.* Ewald, *Hist.* ii. 281, 299 f., 307, 321, 322;* Wellh., *Hist.* 445; Stade, *Gesch.* i. 149), that the E. half of Manasseh was really, at least in part (Ewald), a colony thrown out hy the W. hranch of the trihe, after its settlement in Canaan, conjectured that Jos 17^{14-18} referred originally to this undertaking, and that v.^{18} read originally 'hut the hill-country *of Gilead* shall be thine,' urging in support of this view that the children of Joseph could not have complained that they had only 'one lot,' if hesides tbeir W. territory they had already received from Moses a territory E. of Jordan; and afterwards (*ZAW*, 1888, p. 148, *Ri. u. S.* pp. 38 f., 60, 87) adopted the suggestion of Valeton that Nu $32^{39.41.42}$ once followed Jos 17^{14-18}, and descrihed how the permission then given hy Joshua was acted upon. The conjecture is an attractive one, hut too bold, esp. in the transposition assumed for Nu $32^{39.41.42}$, to be accepted with any confidence: had this, moreover, been the original sense of the passage, some allusion to crossing the Jordan ('get thee *over*' rather than 'get thee *up*' in v.^{15}, for instance) might have heen expected (cf. also *HGHL* p. 577 *n.*). Nevertheless, whether Budde's view of these passages be accepted or not, Jg 5^{14} (see the last paragraph of this art.) undouhtedly lends prohability to the opinion that the Manassites on the E. of Jordan were really immigrants from the West.

Of the later history of the tribe little specific is known. It played no prominent or distinctive part in the history of the nation. From the wild and exposed character of the district which the E. half of the tribe occupied, it may be inferred that its members were a brave and hardy race, able to maintain their own in the face of opposition (cf. Jos 17^{1}, Machir a 'man of war,' and 1 Ch 5^{18-22}, the narrative of a successful enterprise in which the E. Manassites took common part with Reuben and Gad against the Hagrites and other neighbouring tribes). Gideon in W. Manasseh (Jg 6^{15}, cf. v.^{35}), and (probably) Jephthah in E. Manasseh (Jg 11^{1}, cf. v.^{29}), were brave and distinguished members of the tribe. The strong Israelitish feeling which characterized 'Gilead' (including E. Manasseh), and the keen sense of common interests which bound it closely together with its brethren W. of Jordan, are well brought out by G. A. Smith (*HGHL* 578 ff.). 'The story of Jephthah throbs with the sense of common interest between Gilead and Ephraim.' Jabesh-gilead, romantically connected with the history of Saul (1 S 11. 31), was in all probability in E. Manasseh (about 20 m. S. of the Sea of Galilee). The tribe is specified by name in the Blessing of Moses, though characterized as less numerous than Ephraim (Dt 33^{17}, the 'ten thousands of Ephraim,' and the 'thousands of Manasseh'). Different districts of Manasseh (both E. and W.) are mentioned in 1 K 4^{11-13} as supplying provision for Solomon's court during three months of the year. One city of refuge, Golan, was in E. Manasseh (Dt 4^{43} *al.*). The tribe suffered severely during the Syrian wars (Am 1^{3}, 2 K 10^{33}; cf. 8^{12} 13^{7}). It is implied in 2 K 15^{29}, and stated expressly in 1 Ch 5^{26}, that the E. Manassites were included among the trans-Jordanic Israelites transported by Tiglath-pileser to different places in the Assyrian empire. The statements in P respecting the numbers of the tribe at the time of the Exodus (32,200 at the first census Nu 1^{35}, and 52,700 at the second census Nu 26^{34}), and (Nu 2^{20}) its position in the camp (W. of the tabernacle, between Ephraim and Benjamin), and on the march (behind the tabernacle), have no historical value; the numbers of the Manassite warriors who, according to 1 Ch $12^{31.38}$, attended at the time of David's coronation at Hebron, are equally unhistorical. For other scattered notices of the tribe, see Is 9^{21}, Ps 60^{7} = 108^{8}, 1 Ch 9^{3} (in the post-exilic community) 26^{32} $27^{20.21}$, 2 Ch 15^{9} $30^{1.10.11.18}$ 31^{1}.

ii. The *borders* of the territory occupied by either the W. or the E. half of Manasseh cannot be fixed with precision. Of the W. half, the N. boundary seems to have been approximately the imperfectly defined line, where the hills slope down into the plain of Esdraelon, touching Asher and Issachar (Jos 17^{10b}); on the W. the border was the sea; on the S. it began (on the W.) with the Wâdy Kanah, perhaps (but see KANAH) a wâdy running up from the W. in the direction of Shechem, at about 32° 8′–10′ N., then, crossing this wâdy to the S., it passed along by Tappuaḥ (unknown) and Michmethath 'in front of (*i.e.* E. of) Shechem' to Asher, according to the *Onom.* (222. 93), a village 15 miles N.E. of Shechem, on the road to Beth-shean, thence (to judge from $16^{6.7}$) it turned back sharply to the S. and passed down by Taanach-shiloh (7 miles S.E. of Shechem) and Naarah (in the Jordan Valley, 5 miles N. of Jericho), as far as Jericho itself; the E. border was the Jordan. The E. half of the tribe possessed, starting from the border city Mahanaim (*ib.* vv.$^{26.30}$, site uncertain; but near the Jordan, and probably not far N. of the Jabbok Gn 32^{2}, cf. vv.$^{10.22}$), 'half-Gilead' (Jos 13^{31}), *i.e.* the half N. of the Jabbok (see above) and all BASHAN —the whole comprising the well-wooded and (especially in its N. part) remarkably fertile tract of country stretching out northwards nearly to Hermon (the kingdom of Og, Jos $12^{1b.5}$; cf. 1 Ch 5^{23}).

iii. *The clans and subdivisions of Manasseh.*—In the enumeration of these there is much diversity; the different schemes will be apprehended most clearly if presented in tabular form.

1. In J, then, we have the following genealogy (Jos 17^{1b-2})—

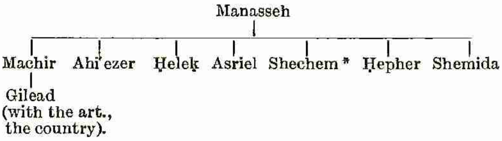

2. But in P the genealogy is as follows (Nu 26^{28-34})—

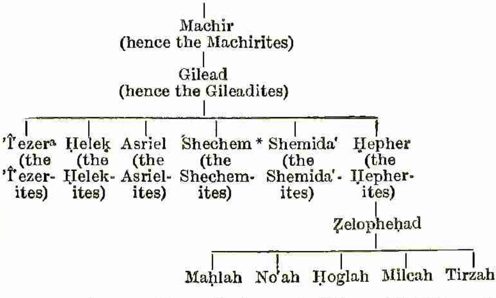

[a] איעזר: in Jos 17^{2}, Jg 6^{34} 8^{2}, called *Abi'ezer* (אביעזר); so Jg $6^{11.24}$ 8^{32} the *Abi'ezrite*.

[b] The same five daughters of Ẓelopheḥad are also mentioned, with the same pedigree, in Nu 27^{1} (cf. $36^{1.11}$), Jos 17^{3} (all P).

---

* Jg 12^{4} is, however, an uncertain passage to rely upon in support of this opinion; see Moore, *ad loc.*

* Pointed שֶׁכֶם, not (like the name of the place) שְׁכֶם.

3. We have also (1 Ch 7[14-19])—

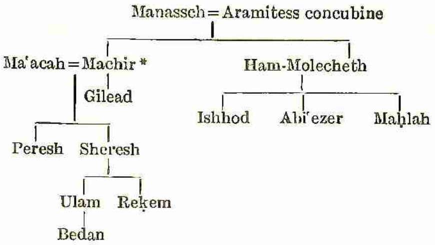

Ẓelophehad is also mentioned as the 'second' son of some one, whose name does not appear, and it is said that he had daughters: the sons of Shemida' are also enumerated, viz. Ahian, Shechem, Likhi, and Ani'am; but the text is evidently either corrupt or defective; and what place Ẓelophehad and Shemida' held in the genealogy is not clear, though Berth. and Kuenen think that Ẓelophehad is meant to be the second son of Manasseh.

4. There is, lastly (1 Ch 2[21-23])—

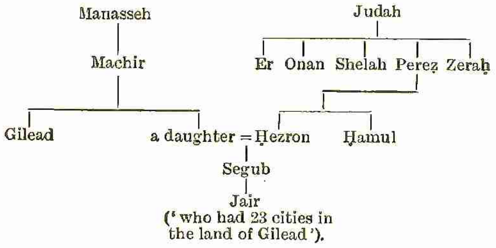

It is impossible to harmonize these conflicting schemes: it is manifest that they are different attempts to correlate and account for the principal clans of Manasseh, or for the names of districts colonized by it.† Gilead is 'son' of Machir, simply because the country was occupied by Machirite clans. Abi'ezer is mentioned in Jg 6[11. 24. 34] 8[2. 32] as the family, or clan, to which Gideon belonged: the other names, Ḥeleḳ, Asriel, etc., do not occur except in the passages cited. The only point on which the schemes all agree is in representing Machir as 'son' of Manasseh, and as 'father' of Gilead. In other respects the conspicuous difference is that, according to J, Machir is the *eldest* son of Manasseh, and the other clans, Abi'ezer etc., are coordinated with him as his *brethren*; whereas in P Machir is Manasseh's *only* son, and the six clans, Abi'ezer, etc., are represented as being his *descendants*, and in fact descended from him through his son 'Gilead.' Thus, as regards Machir, three stages seem to be discernible in the manner in which he was viewed. (1) In Jg 5[14] he represents the *West* half of Manasseh. (2) In J (Jos 17[1b-2], Nu 32[39]) he is the ancestor of the principal part of the *East* half of Manasseh, his brother clans being located, it is implied, on the W. of Jordan. (3) In P (Nu 26[28ff.]) he is the ancestor, through his son 'Gilead,' of *all* the Manassites, Eastern and Western alike.

Accordingly, Jos 13[31b] ('even for,' etc.), restricting what is said in v.[a] of *all* the Machirites to half of them, is (Kuen., Dillm.) a correction of v.[31a], made for the purpose of harmonizing it with the representation of P (according to which, as Machir was Manasseh's only son, the E. half of the tribe could form only a part of his descendants).

It is hardly possible to interpret with confidence the historical significance of these variations; but it is possible that the variation between Jg 5[14] and 1 may point to the fact that between the age of Deborah and that of J Gilead had been conquered by immigrants from the tribe of Manasseh settled on the W. of Jordan;* and that the representation of P may imply that (vol. ii. p. 129[b]), 'holding Gilead to have been first conquered, as represented in the Hex., he regarded the W. Manassites as offshoots of the E. Manassites.' In 3 the statement that Manasseh's concubine was an Aramitess may be an indication that there was an admixture of Aramæan blood in the tribe, especially in its Eastern half; Ma'acah, Machir's 'wife' (1 Ch 7[16]), also suggests some connexion with the Aram. tribe of Ma'acah, in the same neighbourhood (Dt 3[14], Jos 13[13], 2 S 10[6] *al.*). In 4 the connexion with a clan of Judah, assumed for Jair, is remarkable.

LITERATURE.—See, in addition to the authorities quoted (esp. Dillm. on Nu 32[39-42], and Jos 16–17), Kuenen's essay on the tribe of Manasseh, in *ThT*, 1877, p. 478 ff.; and cf. art. GENEALOGY in vol. ii. p. 129 f.

S. R. DRIVER.

MANASSES (Μανασσή B, -ῆς A).—**1.** 1 Es 9[33] = MANASSEH, No. **4.** **2.** Judith's husband, Jth 8[2]. **3.** An unknown person mentioned in the dying words of Tobit as one who 'gave alms and escaped the snare of death' set for him by Aman (To 14[10], AV and RV, following LXX B Μανασσῆς). The text of ℵ, *ἐν τῷ ποιῆσαί με* (*sic*) *ἐλεημοσύνην ἐξῆλθεν, κ.τ.λ.*, where the subject understood is *Achiacharus*, maintains the parallelism with the preceding clause, from which it repeats also the name Ναδάβ instead of Ἀμάν of A, or Ἀδάμ of B (cf. 11[18], where B reads Νασβᾶς, ℵ Ναβάδ, as the name of the ungrateful nephew of Achiacharus). Cosquin in *Rev. Biblique*, Jan. 1899, p. 52 f., argues strenuously in favour of the reading of ℵ in To 14[10], holding that Μανασσῆς is due simply to a scribal error. See, further, NASBAS, TOBIT. **4.** = MANASSEH king of Judah in title of apocr. book. See following article.

J. A. SELBIE.

MANASSES (PRAYER OF).—In place of the remote threats against Manasseh in 2 K 21[11-15] we have in 2 Ch 33[11-13] an account of his just punishment for his sins by captivity, his repentance and restoration; and in vv.[18. 19] the statement that other details of his life and his *prayer* were recorded in the Acts of the Kings of Israel, and in the History of Hozai (*or* the Seers). Does the Greek Prayer of Manasses of our Apocrypha go back to this Prayer in the lost sources (or source) of Ch as its Hebrew original; or is it a free Greek composition suggested by Ch? Budde, after Ewald, argues for the former view (*ZAW*, 1892, p. 39 f.), and Ball (in *Speaker's Com.*) thinks it probable. Fritzsche (*Exeg. Handb. zu d. Apok.* i. 157) favoured the latter view, on the ground that the Greek is not a translation (so Schürer).

The Prayer stands among the Canticles appended to the Psalter in some MSS of LXX. Swete (iii. 802 ff., cf. ii. pp. ix, xi) prints A with variants of T (*Psalterium Turicense*). It is never found in LXX of 2 Ch, and is often missing in Greek Psalters which include the Canticles. It is found in the *Apost. Const.* ii. 22. Nestle (*Septuaginta Studien*, iii. 1899) argues that the text of our MSS A and T comes from the *Apost. Const.* or from its original, the *Didascalia*, and that the Prayer is not, as hitherto supposed, cited in these works from a MS of LXX. It appears in the *Const.* in connexion with the entire story of Manasseh as 'written in 4 K and 2 Ch.'[*] We read that Manasseh was bound with iron in prison, that bread made of bran and water mixed with vinegar were given him in scant measure, and that in such straits he humbled himself before God and prayed. After the Prayer the narrative proceeds: 'And the Lord heard his voice and had compassion upon him. And there came a flame of fire about him, and all the irons which were about him were melted: and the Lord healed Manasseh from his affliction,' etc. Julius Africanus knew that 'while M. was saying a hymn his bonds burst asunder, iron though they were, and he escaped' (John Damasc. *Parall.* ii. 15). He may therefore have read the Prayer in this setting.[†] If it was written in this connexion, its author showed more liturgical sense than historical imagination; for the allusions to Manasseh's situation are hardly more explicit than might be found, for example, in Ps 107^{10-16}.

---

* *Asriel* in v.[14] seems to be a corrupt anticipation of the following words, אשר ילדה (Berth., Kittel, Oettli, *al.*).

† Ẓelophehad and his daughters, who play such an important part in the law of Hebrew inheritance, are, no doubt, historical personages; but among their ancestors there appears, in P, the name of a country (cf. Jg 11[1b]).

* So Ewald, Wellh., Stade, and Budde, as cited above; Moore, *Judges*, pp. 150 f., 274 f.; Kittel, *Gesch.* ii. 69 [Eng. tr. ii. 76 f.]; see also art. HAVVOTH-JAIR.

Jewish traditions show no knowledge of our Prayer, though they add details to the story of Ch. Manasseh was put into an iron mule, beneath which a fire was kindled. He prayed to the idols which he had served, and at last to the God of his fathers. 'Lord of the universe, wilt thou allow the man who has served idolatry and put an idol in the court of the temple to repent?' God answered, 'If I do not receive his repentance that will shut the door to all penitents' (Jerus. *Sanhed.* x. 2. See also *Midr. rab.* Dt 2 and *Midr. rab.* Ru 2^{14}; cf. *Midr. rab.* Lv 30). The story of Manasseh's conversion was rather a problem than a comfort to the Rabbis, and the Mishna (*Sanhed.* x. 2) decides that he was restored only to his kingdom, not to his part in the world to come (but cf. Gemara). So in Apoc. Bar 6^4, where the tradition is already known that 'he was cast into the brazen horse, and the horse was heated'; though 'his prayer was heard,' yet the fire from which God then delivered him was only a sign of the fire with which the same God would afterwards torment him.

Does our Prayer itself contain any evidence which indicates a Hebrew or a Greek original, an early or a late date?

The petitioner calls on the Lord almighty, heavenly (cf. 3 Mac 6^{28}), 'the God of our fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and of their righteous seed,' who created heaven and earth and bound and sealed the ocean (cf. Job 38^{8-11} etc.), whose glory all things fear, and whose anger is toward sinners (vv.$^{1-5}$); who is yet a God of compassion and repents of evils (=Jl 2^{13b}, Jon 4^{2b}). [In his goodness he has appointed to sinners repentance unto salvation (Swete (*AT*) omits)]. But 'the God of the righteous has not appointed repentance to the righteous, to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, who have not sinned,' but 'to me the sinner' (vv.$^{6-8}$). He confesses his sins, for which he is bowed down by many an iron band (cf. Ps 107^{10}), especially his setting up abominations and multiplying offences. With humble confession he prays for forgiveness and salvation from death, since God is 'the God of the penitent,' and can show all His goodness only toward the unworthy (vv.$^{9-15}$).

This is a fine penitential prayer, deserving its ancient place in the Christian Psalter, casting a favourable light on the age and community that produced it. That it is Jewish there can be no doubt [but see Swete in *Expository Times*, xi. (1899) p. 38 f.]. But the Greek nowhere requires a Hebrew original, though it cannot be said to exclude its possibility. The belief that through repentance a sinner can gain forgiveness is contained as clearly in the story of Manasseh in Chron. as in the Prayer, and does not point to a time 'not long before the Christian era' (Westcott in Smith's *DB*). It has, indeed, deep roots in the OT. There the hope for forgiveness and grace sometimes rests on the forgiving nature of God as Ex $34^{6.7}$ proclaims it,[*] sometimes more directly on the merit of the fathers, or God's promises to them.[†] The efficacy for sinners of the merit of the righteous was early disputed (Gn $18^{23ff.}$, Jer 15^1, Ezk $14^{14.20}$), but the tendency of rabbinical Judaism was to put chief stress upon it (cf. Mt 3^9; Weber, *Die Lehren d. Talmud*, § 63; *Ass. Mos.* 3^9 4^{2-5} 11^{17}), while Hellenistic Judaism was less national and more ethical in character.

This suggests a test by which our Prayer may be judged. It is a mistake to find in it an appeal to the merit of the patriarchs. They are simply the righteous, toward whom and toward their *righteous* seed, God is only just. The sinner cannot appeal to them, but only to that quality of the Divine nature, compassion, which has no application to the righteous. It is only as a repentant sinner, not as a Jew, that the petitioner appeals to God. The only distinction recognized is that between the righteous and sinners, but God is believed to be 'the God of the penitent' as well as 'the God of the righteous.' It was Hellenistic Judaism that regarded the patriarchs chiefly as examples of righteousness (4 Mac $2^{2.17-19}$ $3^{6ff.}$ 16^{20-22}; Philo, *de Abra.* etc.; see also contrast between Sir 44–49 and Wis 10–19). The Book of Wisdom bases forgiveness only on the nature of God (11^{23}–$12^{2.10.11.15-19}$); and a book in which rabbinical and Hellenistic elements are united expresses just the thought of our Prayer, 'because of us sinners thou art called merciful,' etc. (2 Es 8^{20-36}). These considerations favour the view that our book is not a translation of the old Hebrew prayer in the source of Chron., but a Hellenistic composition. The date cannot be determined, but the eschatology of the expressions, 'Do not condemn me in the lowest parts of the earth'; 'I will praise thee always in the days of my life,' seems early rather than late.

The Prayer was not revised by Jerome, and is not in the Vulgate canon. According to Nestle, it may be said to owe its rank as a semi-biblical book to Luther, since before him it appears in no list of canonical or apocryphal books. It is not found in many editions of the LXX. Details in regard to texts and editions are given by Nestle. Cf. APOCRYPHA.

LITERATURE.—*Text.*—Fritzsche, *Lib. Apocr. VT*, and Swete, *OT in Greek*. See also Nestle, *Septuaginta Studien*, iii. 1899.

Commentaries.—Fritzsche (1851), C. J. Ball (*Speaker's Com.* 1888). See also V. Ryssel's translation of the Prayer (with critical and exegetical notes) in Kautzsch's *Apocryphen u. Pseudepigraphen d. AT*, 1899.

F. C. PORTER.

MANDRAKE (דּוּדָאִים *dûdâ'îm*, *μῆλα μανδραγορῶν*, *μανδραγοραί*, *mandragoræ*).—The Heb. word (in Gn $30^{14ff.}$, Ca 7^{13}) means 'love-plants.' The ancient VSS agree in translating the word 'mandrake.' Numbers of other plants have been suggested, as brambleberries, *Zizyphus Lotus*, L., the *sidr* of the Arabs, the banana, the lily, the citron, and the fig. But none of these renderings is supported by satisfactory evidence. The mandrake, *Mandragora officinarum*, L., is a plant of the order *Solanaceæ*, called by the Arabs *luffâḥ*, or *beiḍ el-jinn* (*i.e.* 'genie's eggs'). The parsley-shaped root is often branched. The natives mould this root into a rude resemblance to the human figure, by pinching a constriction a little below the top, so as to make a kind of head and neck, and twisting off the upper branches except two, which they leave as arms, and the lower, except two, which they leave as legs. This root gives off at the surface of the ground a rosette of ovate-oblong to ovate, wrinkled, crisp, sinuate-dentate to entire leaves, 6 to 16 in. long, somewhat resembling those of the tobacco-plant. There spring from the neck a number of one-flowered nodding peduncles, bearing whitish-green flowers, nearly 2 in. broad, which produce globular, succulent, orange to red berries, resembling small tomatoes, which ripen in late spring. The ancients used the mandrake as a love philtre (Gn 30^{14-16}). They believed that he who incautiously touched a root of it would certainly die. Josephus (*BJ* VII. vi. 3) gives the following directions for pulling it up. 'A furrow must be dug around the root until its lower part is exposed, then a dog is tied to it, after which the person tying the dog must get away. The dog then endeavours to follow him, and so easily pulls up the root, but dies suddenly instead of his master. After this the root can be handled without fear.' The ancients also believed that this root gave a demoniacal shriek as it was pulled up. The 'smell' of the mandrakes (Ca 7^{13}) is the heavy narcotic odour of the Solanaceous plants. The allusion to it in this connexion doubtless refers to its specific virtues. G. E. POST.

---

[*] The passage is made up about as follows: 2 K 20^{21}–21^{16}, 2 Ch 33^{11}, addition, $33^{12.13a}$, Pr. Man, add., 33^{13b}, add., $33^{15.16.20a.c\,22}$. There follows a Midrashic form of the story of Amon's reign.

[†] Cf. later references in Fabricius, *Biblioth. græc.*, ed. Harles, ii. 732 f.

[*] *e.g.* Hos 5^{15}–6^3, Jer 18^{7-10}, Ezk 18. 33^{10-20}, Is $55^{6.7}$, Jl 2^{12-14}, Jon 3^{5-10}, Ps 32. 51. 86 (5. 15) 103 (8) 130. 145^8, Sir 2^{11} 17^{24-29} 18^{11-14} 28^2.

[†] After Ex 3^{15}, *e.g.* Ex 32^{11-14}, Dt 9^{25-29}, 1 K 8^{46-53} 18^{36}, 2 Ch 20^{7-9}, Ps 105, Neh 9, Lk $1^{54.55.72f.}$ The two appeals are united in Mic 7^{18-20}, Dn 9^{3-19}.

MANEH.—See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

MANES (Μάνης, AV Eanes, due to a misprint Ἠάνης for Μάνης in the Aldine ed.), 1 Es 9^{21}.—One of those who agreed to put away their 'strange' wives. RVm identifies the name with Harim in Ezr 10^{21}; more probably, perhaps, it takes the place of the two names Maaseiah, Elijah.

MANGER.—The NT tr. of *φάτνη* in three places out of the four where the word occurs (Lk $2^{7.12.16}$), and in RVm of the fourth (Lk 13^{15}, where 'stall' is in the text). The chief OT Eng. equivalent is 'crib,' Heb. *'ēbûṣ* (fattening-place), LXX always *φάτνη* (Job 39^{9}, Pr 14^{4}, Is 1^{3}); while *φάτνη* is also the LXX rendering (once in each case) of *'urwah* ('collecting-place' or 'collected herd'), AV and RV 'stall,' 2 Ch 32^{28}; of *repheth* (not occurring except at Hab 3^{17}, but probably=Arabic *raffat*, 'herd' or 'stall'), AV and RV 'stall'; and, possibly, of *bĕlîl* ('food'), AV and RV 'fodder,' Job 6^{5}, if the Heb. be not represented rather by the otherwise superfluous *βρώματα*. It seems clear (from such a parallelism as in 2 Ch 32^{28} '*stalls* for all manner of beasts and *folds* (lit. *treasure-houses*) for flocks,' and likewise from such companionship as in Pr 14^{4} 'where no oxen are, the *crib* is *clean*'), that, like the Latin *præsepe* and our *crib*, *φάτνη* in the LXX signified not only, as in classical Greek, a *manger*, but also, metonymically, the *stall containing the manger*; an extension due immediately, perhaps, to some of its Heb. originals.

This ambiguity in the meaning of *φάτνη* would be of small moment but that it affects the story of the Nativity. Did the mother of our Lord lay her babe in a *manger* or in a *stall*? And is the very early tradition that the birth took place in a cave inconsistent with the NT narrative? These questions cannot be decisively answered either (as has been shown) from the word itself, or from the context, or from our knowledge of the customs of the time. There is an ambiguity about *κατάλυμα*, 'the inn' (AV and RV), as well as about *φάτνη*. This was not an inn in the modern sense of the term, nor apparently even such an approximation to it as the more regularly organized *πανδοχεῖον* of Lk 10^{34}, with its *πανδοχεύς*, *host* or *managing attendant*, who provided necessaries and was paid for them. All that we can be sure of as to *κατάλυμα* is that it was a *resting-place* where animals were relieved of their packs (*καταλύω*, 'I let down'), and where travellers ungirded their garments. But Lk 22^{11}, Mk 14^{14} (cf. Swete), bring the word before us in another sense—that of a *guest-room* ('*My κατάλυμα*,' said Jesus, according to Mk), one of the rooms commonly and hospitably lent, perhaps, for the occasion, to parties of strangers visiting Jerusalem for the passover. For this the 'master of the house' seems to have substituted, in the case of Jesus and His disciples, the more private and fully furnished *ἀνάγαιον*, *upper chamber* (Lk 22^{12}). When, therefore, it is said (Lk 2^{7}), '[She] laid [the babe] in a *φάτνη*, because there was no room for them in the *κατάλυμα*,' our ignorance of the exact meaning of *κατάλυμα* deprives us of its guidance to the exact meaning of the alternative *φάτνη*; while the absence (according to the best documents) of the article with *φάτνη* leaves us at liberty to believe that the *φάτνη* was not connected with the *κατάλυμα*. At first sight the antithesis seems to require that the *φάτνη* should be a kind of room corresponding to the superior *κατάλυμα*, though of course the sentence may be elliptical and the manger may be picked out as the special feature in the corresponding room not itself mentioned.

But, if the *κατάλυμα* was anything like the modern khan, it was a *rest-house* like those existing in the East, outside towns, as unfurnished places of gratuitous lodgment during the night for strangers, and containing (as to the ruder sort) two contiguous portions not very distinctly divided —the one for the travellers, and the other for their animals; and (as to the better sort) a central (usually roofless) court, with cells for travellers opening out upon it, and, beyond these, just within the outside wall, stalled places for the beasts of burden. If this be so, then Joseph and Mary, finding the travellers' portion full, probably abode in one of these stalled places, and the babe was laid either in the stall or in the manger belonging to the stall. Or, as Tristram suggests (*Land of Israel*, p. 73), they took refuge in some poor cottage close by, similar to one wherein he himself had seen a community of shelter for man and beast, the dwelling portion (to which, for one reason or another, Joseph and Mary were not invited) being an upper platform ascended by a few steps; and the lower portion being half granary half stable, and containing a long earthen trough which served for a manger. Tristram's suggestion has this additional element of probability, that, if the rest-house was full, the stalled places attached to it were likely to be full also.

The tradition that Jesus was born in a cave near Bethlehem is at least as early as the first decade of the 2nd cent., and is found in Justin (*Trypho*, 78), in the Arabic *Gospel of the Infancy* (c. 2, p. 181, Tisch.), in Origen (*c. Cels.* i. 51),—who says that the cave and the manger were shown in his day,—in Epiphanius (*Hær.* li. 9) and in Eusebius (*Vita Constant.* iii. 43, *Dem. Ev.* vii. 2). The cave as the place of birth is mentioned also in the *Protevangel of James* (c. 18), but in c. 22 the swaddling and the 'crib for oxen' are referred to the time of the massacre of the Innocents, and the crib (the Babe's hiding-place) is not connected in any way with the cave, while neither here nor in the *Gospel of the Infancy* is the cave connected with an 'inn.' Eus. and Epiphan. (see Nestle, *Vitæ Prophetarum*, p. 8) both affirm that the cave story appears in Luke, while Anastasius of Sinai (*Viæ dux*, c. 1, p. 6) assigns it to 'unwritten tradition. Resch (*Texte*, x. 3) sees in the unanimity of the cave tradition a sign that it belongs to the original source of the Infancy history, and from the varieties of phraseology in the Greek narratives he conjectures that this source was Hebrew. It has been suspected (with what probability it is impossible to say) that the cave story grew out of the prophecy, Is 33^{16} ('He shall dwell in a lofty cave,' LXX), just as the prophecy in regard to Shiloh, Gn 49^{11}, led to the later addition in Lk 19^{30} ('a colt tied *to a vine*'). See Justin, *Apol.* i. 32. Thomson, *Land and the Book* (vol. on *Central Palestine and Phœnicia*, p. 35) says that many inns or khans have caverns below them, where cattle are sheltered, and where, built along the walls, are stone mangers which, 'cleaned out and whitewashed as they often are in summer when not required for the animals, would make suitable cribs in which to lay little babies.' He does not, however, say that he ever saw any little babies in them except his own. Over such a grotto, near Bethlehem, called the Grotto of the Nativity, now stands the Church of St. Mary; and the grotto contains a manger; but (adds Thomson) 'the real manger was transported to Rome.'

LITERATURE.—Petri Horrei, *Miscell. critic. libri duo*, ii. pp. 241-416 (utrum de spelunca an de stabulo), Leovardiæ, 1738; Schleusner, *Lexic. Vet. Test.* φάτνη; Plummer on Lk 2^{7} (*Internat. Comm.*); Meyer-Weiss, *ibid.*; Farrar's *Life of* Christ, p. 12 (illust. ed.); Keim, *Jesus of Nazara* (Eng. tr.), ii. 80; Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus*, i. 185, ii. 483; *Texte und Untersuchungen* (Gebhardt and Harnack), x. 5, pp. 124 ff.; and Thomson's *Land and the Book*, and Tristram's *Land of Israel*, as above quoted. J. MASSIE.

MANI (Μανί), 1 Es 9^{30}=BANI, Ezr 10^{29}, as he is called in 1 Es 5^{12} (Βανεί).

MANIFEST.—The verb to 'manifest' is used actively, passively, and reflexively. The active use is seen in Ec 3^{18} (the only occurrence of the word in OT), 'I said in mine heart concerning the estate of the sons of men, that God might manifest them, and that they might see that they themselves are beasts' (לְבָרָם, RV 'that God may prove them'); and Jn 17^{6} 'I have manifested thy name unto the men which thou gavest me out of the world' (ἐφανέρωσα; RV 'I manifested'). In Jn 2^{11} AV has 'manifest forth' ('manifested forth his glory') for the same verb, RV 'manifested.' It is a favourite verb with St. John, occurring 9 times in the Gospel and 9 times in the First Epistle, which are nearly half its occurrences in NT. The AV usually renders it 'manifest' or 'make manifest,' but also 'appear' (Mk 16$^{12.14}$, 2 Co 5^{10} 7^{12}, Col 3^{4}, He 9^{26}, 1 P 5^{4}, 1 Jn 2^{28} 3^{2}, Rev 3^{18}), 'shew' (Jn 7^{4} 21^{1}), and 'manifestly declare' (2 Co 3^{3}). RV everywhere has either 'manifest' or 'make manifest.' The reflexive use of the verb 'to manifest' is found in Jn 14$^{21.22}$; the passive is more common. The past ptcp. is twice 'manifest' instead of 'manifested,' viz. 1 Ti 3^{16} 'God was manifest in the flesh' (θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί; RV, reading ὅς for θεός, 'He who was manifested in the flesh'); and 1 P 1^{20} 'who verily was foreordained before the foundation of the world, but was manifest in these last times for you' (φανερωθέντος, RV 'was manifested'). The meaning is not exactly the same as now, if indeed we use the verb 'to manifest' at all. It is to uncover, lay bare, reveal. Cf. Cromwell (in Prolegomena to Tindale's *Pent.* by Mombert, p. xlii), 'The Kinge highnes therfor hathe commaunded me to advurtyse you that is plesure ys, that ye should desiste and leve any ferther to persuade or attempte the sayde Tyndalle to cum into this realme; alledging, that he perceyving the malycyous, perverse, uncharytable, and indurate mynde of the sayd Tyndall, ys in man[er] with owt hope of reconsylyacyon in hym, and is veray joyous to have his realme destytute of such a person, then that he should retourne into the same, there to manyfest his errours and sedycyous opynyons.' An earlier meaning—'detect,' 'disclose'—is seen in Rhem. NT, Mt 8 $^{\text{heading}}$ 'beyond the sea he manifesteth the devil's malice agaynst man in an heard of swine.'

The adj. 'manifest' signifies 'open to sight, uncovered' (not 'evident to reason,' as now). Thus Wis 12^{17} 'thou makest their boldness manifest' (τὸ θράσος ἐξελέγχεις; RV 'puttest their boldness to confusion'); He 4^{13} 'Neither is there any creature that is not manifest in his sight' (ἀφανής); 9^{8} 'the way into the holiest of all was not yet made manifest' (μήπω πεφανερῶσθαι); 1 Jn 3^{10} 'In this the children of God are manifest, and the children of the devil' (φανερά ἐστι τὰ τέκνα). Cf. Shaks. *I Henry VI.* I. iii. 33, 'Stand back, thou manifest conspirator.'

The adv. **manifestly** means *openly, visibly*, 2 Es 14^{3} 'In the bush I did manifestly reveal myself unto Moses' (*revelans revelatus sum*); 2 Mac 3^{28} 'manifestly they acknowledged the power of God' (φανερῶς). Cf. Dt 27^{8} Tind. 'And thou shalt write uppon the stones all the wordes of this lawe, manyfestly and well'; and Rhem. NT, Lk 8 $^{\text{heading}}$ 'He preacheth to the Iewes in parables because of their reprobation; but to the Disciples manifestly, because he wil not for the Iewes incredulity have his cumming frustrate.'

Manifestation occurs but rarely, Wis 1^{9} 'the sound of his words shall come unto the Lord for the manifestation of his wicked deeds' (εἰς ἔλεγχον; AVm 'for the reproving,' RV 'to bring to conviction'); Ro 8^{19} 'For the earnest expectation of the creature waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God' (τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν, RV 'the revealing'); 1 Co 12^{7} 'the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal' (ἡ φανέρωσις), and 2 Co 4^{2} 'by manifestation of the truth' (τῇ φανερώσει, RV 'by the manifestation'). So Lk 1^{80} Rhem., 'And the childe grew, and was strengthened in spirit, and was in the deserts until the day of his manifestation to Israel.' J. HASTINGS.

MANIFOLD is properly 'of many kinds,' 'various,' as Howell, *Letters*, iv. 47, 'The Calamities and Confusions which the late Wars did bring upon us were many and manifold.' And so it is used sometimes in AV: Wis 7^{22} 'in her is an understanding spirit, holy, one only, manifold' (πολυμερές, Vulg. *multiplex*); 1 P 1^{6} 'Ye are in heaviness through manifold temptations' (ἐν ποικίλοις πειρασμοῖς);[*] 4^{10} 'as good stewards of the manifold grace of God' (ποικίλης χάριτος); Eph 3^{10} 'the manifold wisdom of God' (ἡ πολυποίκιλος σοφία, the only occurrence of this word in NT. See Abbott, *in loc.*). But elsewhere the word means no more than 'many,' Neh 9$^{19.27}$ 'manifold mercies' (רַבִּים, LXX πολλοί); Am 5^{12} 'manifold transgressions' (רַבִּים, LXX πολλοί); Ps 104^{24} 'How manifold are thy works' (מָה־רַבּוּ; LXX ὡς ἐμεγαλύνθη; Vulg. *quam magnificata*); Sir 51^{3} 'from the manifold afflictions which I had' (ἐκ πλειόνων θλίψεων).

In Lk 18^{30} 'manifold' is an adv., 'There is no man that hath left house . . . who shall not receive manifold more' (πολλαπλασίονα, Vulg. *multo plura*; Wyc. 'many mo thingis'; Tind. 'moche moore,' and all VSS till the Bishops 'manifold more'). The adv. 'manifoldly' is used in Rhem. NT,

---

[*] The adj. attached to these temptations, says Salmond (*Pop. Com. on NT*, iv. 158), is used in the classics to describe the *many-coloured* leopard or peacock, the colour-changing Proteus, the richly-wrought robe or carpet, the changeful months, the intricate oracles. What a picture does this epithet 'manifold,' which is applied by St. Peter also to the grace of God (4^{10}), by St. James again to temptation (1^{2}), and elsewhere to such things as the *divers diseases* healed by Christ (Mt 4^{24}), present of the number, the diversity, and the changefulness of these trials!

Mt 27^{heading} 'The chiefe of the Iewes accuse him to Pilate (his betrayer, and the Iudge, and the Iudge's Wife, testifying in the meane time manifodly (*sic*) his innocencie).' J. HASTINGS.

MANIUS, AV MANLIUS (Μάνιος A and V, Syr.; Μάνλιος al., *Manilius* Vulg.).—According to 2 Mac 11^{34-38} Quintus Memmius and Titus Manius were two Roman legates (*πρεσβῦται*) in the East, who sent a letter to the Jews after the first campaign of Lysias (B.C. 163), confirming the concessions made by the Syrian chancellor. But there are many reasons against accepting as genuine either this letter or the three others contained in the same chapter. From 1 Mac 4^{26-35} it appears that the first expedition of Lysias took place in B.C. 165, before the re-dedication of the temple and the death of Antiochus Epiphanes. No mention is there made of negotiations between the Jews and Lysias, who is simply stated to have returned to Antioch to collect new forces. The supposed concessions seem to rest upon a confusion of this expedition with a second, which took place about three years later. The names given to the Roman commissioners raise further difficulties. Polybius records the names of several Roman *legati* in Asia about this period, but neither Q. Memmius nor T. Manius is to be found among them. Possibly one of the persons intended was Manius Sergius, who, with C. Sulpicius, was sent to Syria shortly before the death of Antiochus Epiphanes (Polyb. XXXI. ix. 6, cf. xii. 9, xxiii. 9). It is, moreover, a suspicious circumstance that the date of the supposed Roman letter should be exactly the same as that of the letter of Eupator (15th of Xanthicus, v.^{33}), and that the year should be given according to the Seleucid era. Finally, we learn from 1 Mac 8 that Judas Maccabæus first entered into communication with the Romans after the landing of Demetrius (B.C. 162) and the death of Nicanor. It is, no doubt, possible that some foundation of fact underlies the correspondence contained in 2 Mac 11, but in their present form and present connexion none of the letters can be regarded as historical. (Cf. Rawlinson and Zöckler, *ad loc.*).

H. A. WHITE.

MANKIND.—In Lv 18^{22} 20^{13} 'mankind' means men as opposed to women, the male sex. Cf. Shaks. *Timon of Athens*, IV. iii. 491—

> 'I love thee,
> Because thou art a woman, and disclaim'st
> Flinty mankind.'

MANLY, MANLINESS.—'Manly' occurs once as an adj. (2 Mac 7^{21} 'with a manly stomach,' *ἄρσενι θυμῷ*, RV 'with manly passion'), and once as an adv. (2 Mac 10^{35} 'Twenty young men . . . assaulted the wall manly,' *ἀῤῥενωδῶς*, RV 'with masculine force'). 'Manliness' is used in 1 Mac 4^{35}, 2 Mac 8^7 14^{18} of the valour of soldiers in battle.

MANNA (מָן *mân*; LXX *μάννα*; Vulg. *man*, *manhu*, *manna*).—A substance which fell along with the dew, or was rained around the Hebrews' camp during their 40 years' wilderness life. It was in flakes or small round grains, like hoarfrost, white, in appearance like coriander seed or bdellium, and in taste was like thin flour-cakes with honey, or like fresh oil (Ex $16^{14.15.31}$, Nu $11^{7.8}$). It was gathered every morning except on Sabbath, and a double portion on Friday morning. If kept overnight it became corrupt, and bred worms, except on the Sabbath day. The supply continued until they came to a land inhabited, to the border of Canaan, Ex 16^{36} (P); or until they reached Gilgal, in the plain of Jericho, and ate the old corn of the land, Jos 5^{12} (JE). During this time it was the chief part of their diet, but not their only food (Lv $8^{2.26.31}$ 9^4 10^{12} 24^5, Nu $7^{13.19ff.}$, Dt 2^6, Jos 1^{11}). It is said to owe its name to the question מָן הוּא *mān hū*, 'what * is it?' v.^{15} (E), asked by the people when it fell. For Egyptian affinities of the word, see Brugsch, *HWB* vi. 606; Ebers, *Gosen*, 236. As a perpetual memorial of this provision, Aaron was told to place a *ẓinẓeneth* (pot or basket) full of it before the Testimony (Ex 16^{33}), which was in the ark (25^{16}). This vessel was of gold, He 9^4, but was not itself in the ark as there stated (see 1 K 8^9). The manna is mentioned also in Neh 9^{20}, and in Ps 78^{24}, where it is called the 'corn of heaven' and the 'bread of the mighty.'

Our Lord speaks of the manna as typical of Himself, the true bread from heaven, conferring immortality on those who spiritually become partakers of His grace, Jn $6^{31.33-63}$. St. Paul calls it 'spiritual meat,' and seems to regard it and the stream from the smitten rock as a type of the Eucharist (1 Co $10^{3f.}$). The 'hidden manna' is one of the rewards of 'him that overcometh,' Rev 2^{17}.

A sweet, semifluid substance called *mann* or *mann es-samâ* ('heavenly manna') exudes in drops from the *tārfâ* tree (*Tamarix mannifera*, Ehr.), the אשל of the Hebrews, when it is punctured by an insect, *Gossyparia mannipara* (Hardwicke, *Asiat. Research*, xiv. 182, also Ehrenberg, but doubted by Ritter). This is collected in the desert by Arabs, and sold to pilgrims. A second kind, the *terengabina* of Ibn Sina, is yielded by a thorny leguminous shrub, *Alhagi Camelorum*, Fisch., and other allied species in Arabia and neighbouring countries. A third sort, the *Sirachosta* of the Arabians, is yielded by *Cotoneaster nummularia* in Herat (Haussknecht). Niebuhr describes a kind found on oaks, called *'afs* or *ballôt*, at Mardîn in Digarbekr. This oak-honey is mentioned by Hesiod, *Op. et Di.* v. 230 f., and Ovid, *Met.* i. 112. For stories of manna found on the ground in open places, not dropping from plants, see Athenæus, *Deipnos.* xi. 102, and Wellsted, *Arabia*, ii. 409.

The manna of commerce (not now in the Pharmacopœia) is a sickly-smelling, sweet, laxative exudation from the flowering ash *Fraxinus Ornus*, L., and *F. rotundifolia*, and mostly comes from Calabria. None of these could be the manna of Exodus, which was a miraculous substance. These only flow in small quantities, and all the tamarisks in the desert could not have yielded the daily provision of more than 300 tons. They only flow at special seasons—May to August (Burckhardt), or August and September (Breydenbach, *Reissbuch*, i. 193). They are physiologically insufficient as food, can keep indefinitely, and could not be cooked as the manna was. The Sabbatic intermission and final cessation likewise show that it was not a natural substance; besides, while it could be ground in mills, beaten in mortars, seethed in pots, or baked by artificial heat into cakes, yet, if not gathered, it volatilized in the heat of the sun.

LITERATURE.—The old authors are quoted and summarized in Fabri, *Historia Mannæ*, in Fabri and Reiske's *Opusc. Med. Arab.* 1776, p. 83, and Reinke, *Beiträge zur Erklärung d. Alt. Test.* v. 305. See also Rosenmüller, *Alterthumskunde*, iv. 316, and Curmann's account given by Oedmann, *Vermischte Sammlungen aus der Naturkunde*, vi. 7; cf. also Wellsted, Burckhardt, Ehrenberg (who figures the *tarfâ*), and Forskål.

A. MACALISTER.

MANNER.—The word 'manner,' to be traced back to Lat. *manus*, the hand, may be said to be originally the way of handling or managing a thing. Its uses in AV are sometimes obsolete, more often archaic and misleading.

---

* Properly 'who'?, as is pointed out by Dillm.-Ryssel, *Ex-Lv*, p. 189, and Hommel, *AHT* 276a. The argument of the latter, that *mān* (Arab. مَنْ) *hū* proves that the early Hebrews spoke a pure Arabian dialect, is dealt with in *Expos. Times*, ix. p. 478, by Ed. König, who doubts whether *mān hū* was originally meant to be a question. It might be an imitation of an Egyp. word *mannu* (so Ebers, *Durch Gosen zum Sinai*^{2}, 236 f.).

1. *Method of action, way*, as Mt 6^{9} ‘After this manner therefore pray ye’ (οὕτως); Lk 6^{23} ‘In the like manner did their fathers unto the prophets’ (κατὰ ταῦτα, edd. κατὰ τὰ αὐτά); He 1^{1} ‘in divers manners’ (πολυτρόπως).

2. *Habitual method of action, custom*, as Ru 4^{7} ‘This was the manner in former time in Israel concerning redeeming’ (RV ‘custom’); Am 8^{14} ‘They that swear by the sin of Samaria, and say, Thy god, O Dan, liveth; and, The manner of Beer-sheba liveth’ (דֶּרֶךְ בְּאֵר־שָׁבַע; RV ‘the way of Beersheba,’ RVm ‘the manner’);* 2 Mac 4^{13} ‘Such was the height of Greek fashions, and increase of heathenish manners’ (πρόσβασις ἀλλοφυλισμοῦ, RV ‘an advance of an alien religion’); 6^{9} ‘Whoso would not conform themselves to the manners of the Gentiles should be put to death’ (μεταβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὰ Ἑλληνικά; RV ‘go over to the Greek rites’).

3. Sometimes it is custom in its origin, the regulation, or ordinance that afterwards becomes fixed as habit. Thus מִשְׁפָּט is often tr. ‘manner,’ when RV prefers ‘ordinance’ in Lv 5^{10} 7^{23} 9^{16}, Nu 9^{14} $15^{16.\ 24}$ $29^{6.\ 18.\ 21.\ 24.\ 27.\ 30.\ 33.\ 37}$, 1 Ch 24^{19}, 2 Ch 4^{20}, Neh 8^{18}; ‘order’ in 2 Ch 30^{16}; ‘judgement’ in Ezk $23^{45\ bis}$; and leaves the rest unchanged (Gn 40^{13}, Ex 21^{9}, Lv 24^{22}, Jos 6^{15}, Jg 18^{7}, 1 S $8^{9.\ 11}$ 10^{25}, 1 K 18^{28}, 2 K 1^{7} 11^{14} $17^{26\ bis.\ 27.\ 33.\ 40}$, Jer 30^{18}). See also 2 S 7^{19} ‘And is this the manner of man, O Lord God?’ (תּוֹרַת הָאָדָם, AVm ‘the law of man,’ RV ‘and this too after the manner of men,’ RVm ‘and is this the law of man?’)†; Est 2^{12} ‘according to the manner of the women’ (כְּדָת הַנָּשִׁים, RV ‘according to the law for the women’); Ac 22^{3} ‘Taught according to the perfect manner of the law of the fathers’ (κατὰ ἀκρίβειαν τοῦ πατρῴου νόμου, RV ‘according to the strict manner of the law,’ lit. ‘the strictness of the law’; it is the only occurrence of ἀκρίβεια in NT). Cf. Tindale’s tr. of Nu 15^{24} ‘All the multitude shall offer a calfe for a burntofferynge to be a swete savoure unto the Lorde, and the meatofferynge and the drynkofferynge there to, accordynge to the maner’; and of 19^{10} ‘And this shalbe unto the childern of Israel and unto the straunger that dwelleth amonge them, a maner for ever.’

4. *Personal behaviour, conduct*, as Sir 31^{17} ‘Leave off first for manner’s sake’ (χάριν παιδείας); 2 Mac 5^{22} ‘He left governors . . . at Jerusalem, Philip . . . for manners more barbarous, than he that set him there’ (τὸν δὲ τρόπον, RV ‘in character’); Ac 13^{18} ‘And about the time of forty years suffered he their manners in the wilderness’ (AVm ‘Gr. ἐτροποφόρησεν, perhaps for ἐτροφοφόρησεν [*bore* or *fed them*] *as a nurse beareth* or *feedeth her child*, Dt 1^{31}’; RVm ‘many ancient authorities read *bare he them as a nursing-father in the wilderness*, see Dt 1^{31}’)*; 26^{4} ‘My manner of life from my youth . . . know all the Jews’ (βίωσις); 2 Ti 3^{10} ‘But thou hast fully known my doctrine, manner of life’ (ἀγωγή, RV ‘conduct’). In this sense RV uses ‘manner of life’ as the tr. of ἀναστροφή in most of its occurrences for AV ‘conversation’ or the like. Cf. Jg 13^{12} Cov. ‘What shal be the maner and worke of the childe?’

5. There are two passages in which the meaning is more clearly *ethical conduct, morals*, 2 Es 9^{19} ‘Now the manners of them which are created in this world that is made are corrupted’ (*corrupti sunt mores eorum*); 1 Co 15^{33} ‘Evil communications corrupt good manners’ (ἤθη χρήσθ’ [χρηστά]). Cf. Knox, *Hist.* 318, ‘And wonder not, Madame, that I call Rome an Harlot; for that Church is altogether polluted with all kinde of Spiritual Fornication, as well in Doctrine, as in manners’; and Calderwood, *Hist.* 107, ‘Their [the Elders’] office is as well severally, as conjunctly, to watch diligently over the flock committed to their charge, both publickly and privately, that no corruption of Religion or manners enter therein.’

6. A thing which is done in a certain way is of a certain kind, and the commonest meaning of ‘manner’ in AV is *sort* or *kind*, as Gn 25^{23} ‘Two manner of people shall be separated from thy bowels’; Ex 22^{9} ‘For all manner of trespass . . . or for any manner of lost thing . . . he shall pay double unto his neighbour’; Jg 8^{18} ‘What manner of men were they whom ye slew at Tabor?’ Dn 6^{23} ‘no manner of hurt was found upon him’; Sir 37^{18} ‘Four manner of things appear: good and evil, life and death’; 2 Co 7^{9} ‘ye were made sorry after a godly manner’ (RV ‘after a godly sort’); 1 P 1^{11} ‘Searching what, or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ which was in them did signify’; 2 P 3^{11} ‘what manner of persons ought ye to be’; 1 Jn 3^{1} ‘what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us.’ So Berners’ *Froissart*, xviii., ‘The king gave licence to all manner of people, every man to draw homeward to their own countries’; Tindale, *Pent.* (Prologe to Lv) ‘The popettes and xx maner of tryfles which mothers permitte unto their yonge children be not all in vayne’; Elyot, *Governour*, ii. 383, ‘Experience whereof commeth wysedome is in two maner of wise.’ In all these examples ‘manner’ is sing., being used as the words ‘kind’ and ‘sort’ are used still. Cf. Shaks. *Lear*, II. ii. 96, ‘These kind of knaves.’ For there is a doubt in the mind whether the word is a subst. or an adj. Hence the connecting word ‘of’ was frequently omitted, as in Tindale’s tr. of Gn 2^{19}, ‘And after that the Lorde God had make of the erth all maner beastes of the felde and all maner foules of the ayre, he brought them unto Adam to see what he wold call them’; and of Lk 4^{36} ‘And feare came on them all, and they spake amonge them selves sayinge: what manner a thinge is this’; and on 1 Jn 4^{18} he says, ‘John speaketh not generally of all manner fear, but of that only

---

* This passage is obscure. The Heb. word is the usual one for a way or path, and so Driver takes it here, quoting from G. A. Smith and Doughty as to the Arabic custom of swearing by the way to a place. This is apparently the tr. of Vulg. *Vivit Deus tuus Dan et vivit via Bersabee*, and of Wyc. ‘the waye of Bersabe lyveth,’ and of Douay. Coverdale and the Bishops follow the LXX (καὶ ζῇ ὁ θεός σου, Βηρσάβεε), thus Cov. ‘as truly as thy God lyveth at Bersaba.’ The AV tr. is from the Gen. version, which has the marg. ‘That is, the commune maner of worshiping and the service or religion there used.’ Thus the meaning of AV is ‘manner of worship,’ ‘cult,’ and that meaning W. R. Smith favours, though doubtfully (*RS*² 182), ‘In Am 8^{14} there is mention of an oath by the way (ritual?) of Beersheba.’ See BEERSHEBA. The Heb. word *derek* is frequently trd ‘manner’ in AV, in the sense of *custom*, once in Amos (4^{10} ‘I have sent among you the pestilence after the manner of Egypt’).

† Kirkpatrick (*Expos.* iii. [1886] 358 f.) explains the AV text, ‘Thou dost condescend to speak familiarly with me, as man speaks to man.’ It is the rendering of Ges. and others. But there is no other passage in which *tôrâh* has the meaning of ‘manner.’ The literal tr. is given in AVm, and is found in Wyc. and Cov. The Gen. and Bish. have ‘Doeth this apperteine to man?’ Driver says that as the text stands the best explanation is that of Hengst. and Keil, ‘to evince such regard for me is in accordance with the law prescribed by God to regulate men’s dealings with one another; displayed by *God* it argues unwonted condescension and affection.’ But he considers the text probably corrupt (*Notes on Sam.* p. 213), and H. P. Smith counts it certainly corrupt (*Intern. Com. on Sam.* p. 302).

* The TR ἐτροποφόρησεν is best attested (ℵBC²DHLP, as against AC¹E for ἐτροφοφόρησεν). In the original passage Dt 1^{31} there is also uncertainty of reading. The decision between the two readings, though they yield such different meanings, must be mainly due to the view taken of the context. Page and Rendall take opposite sides—the former thinking that the apostle is dwelling, not on the *perversity* of Israel, but on the care and affection of God for them, so that ἐτροφ. is clearly required here as well as in Dt 1^{31}; the latter holding that ἐτροπ., correctly rendered ‘suffered their manners,’ agrees entirely with the context and the circumstances, ‘for it exactly describes God’s longsuffering with a perverse and rebellious generation.’ Perhaps the strongest argument against ἐτροφ. is that it is doubtful if τροφοφορεῖν means simply ‘carry.’ It is rather ‘give suck.’ Rendall further urges that in Dt 1^{31} we should expect τέκνον, not υἱόν.

which the conscience of sin putteth a man in.' So Spenser, *FQ* II. xii. 70—

> 'Right hard it was for wight which did it heare
> To read what manner musicke that mote bee.'

In AV 1611 this construction occurs in Lv 7^{23} 'Ye shall eat no maner fat of oxe'; 14^{54} 'This is the law for all manner plague of leprosie and skall'; and Rev 18^{12} 'all maner vessels of Yuorie, and all maner vessels of most precious wood'; but modern editions have retained it only in the last passage.

The phrase 'in a manner' is found in 1 S 21^{5} '*the bread is* in a manner common.' The passage is a particularly difficult one. W. R. Smith (*RS*^{2} 455) translates: 'Nay, but women are forbidden to us as has always been my rule when I go on an expedition, so that the gear (clothes, arms, etc.) of the young men is holy even when it is a common (not a sacred) journey; how much more so when [Pr 21^{27}] to-day they will be consecrated, gear and all.' Driver (*Notes on Samuel*, p. 138 f.), on the whole, favours the rendering of AV, which makes the 'vessels' to be the wallets or utensils in which they carried food, and represents David as saying that these vessels being ceremonially clean could not defile the sacred bread put into them. But he does not regard the interpretation as certain, or the text as free from suspicion. H. P. Smith (*Intern. Com. on Sam.*) is more suspicious of the text. He agrees with others that to David war was sacred, peace secular ('common'), but he sees no occasion David had for saying that now he was on a peaceable expedition. Rather, David says his men and their vessels were consecrated for war, and therefore, even if the bread were common, it would be consecrated by the vessels into which it was to be put. For the Eng. phrase, which means 'in some respect,' 'to a certain extent,' cf. Shaks. *K. John*, v. vii. 89—'Nay, it is in a manner done already'; and Beaumont and Fletcher, *Laws of Candy*, i. 1—

> ''Tis not a time to pity passionate griefs,
> When a whole kingdom in a manner lies
> Upon its death-bed bleeding.'

More obscure is the phrase 'with the manner' found in Nu 5^{13} 'If a man's wife go aside, and commit a trespass against him . . . and there be no witness against her, neither she be taken with the manner' (RV 'in the act'). The RV gives the modern equivalent of the phrase, which is a legal one. In Old Eng. the word is in this phrase spelt *mainour* (from Fr. *manier*, to take with the hand), and for a thief to be 'taken with the manner' is with the stolen goods about him. The phrase in AV comes from Tindale, who also uses it in *Expositions* (Prol. to 1 Jn), p. 142, 'Ye have corrupt the open scripture before our eyes, and are taken with the manner.' So Shaks. *I Henry IV.* II. iv. 347—'O villain, thou stolest a cup of sack eighteen years ago, and wert taken with the manner, and ever since thou hast blushed extempore'; and *Love's Labour's Lost*, I. i. 205, 'The manner of it is, I was taken with the manner.' Sometimes the phrase is 'in the manner,' as Hall, *Works*, ii. 190, 'But, O foolish sinners, all your packing and secrecy cannot so contrive it, but that ye shall be taken in the manner.' J. HASTINGS.

MANOAH (מָנוֹחַ, Μανῶε, Μανώχης [Jos.], *Manue*).—A native of Zorah, of the Danites, whose wife had no children (Jg 13^{2}). When it had been revealed to her by the angel of the LORD that she should have a son, who was to be brought up as a Nazirite, and to be a saviour for Israel from the Philistines, she told her husband of the vision, and of the instructions of the messenger (vv.$^{3-8}$). Upon Manoah's entreaty, God sent the angel again to his wife as she sat in the field. She at once ran and fetched her husband, who received the same instructions about the child as his wife had done. Manoah invites the angel to stay and eat. He declines, but tells them to offer a burnt-offering to the LORD. Manoah did not know that he was an angel of the LORD, and asks him his name, but he will not reveal it, 'seeing it is ineffable' (vv.$^{9-18}$). The offering is offered on the rock, and a wondrous sign is at once given.* The angel ascends in the flame of the sacrifice. Thereupon Manoah and his wife fall on their faces to the ground, and Manoah realizes that he has seen an angel of the LORD. Manoah is greatly alarmed, but his wife comforts him (vv.$^{19-23}$).

Josephus (*Ant.* V. viii. 1-3) decorates the narrative, but adds nothing to our knowledge. When the promised son has grown up, he asks his father as well as his mother to obtain for him as his wife a woman of Timnah, but they are much displeased; still Samson persists in the request to his father, who was the proper person to make the proposal for the marriage (see Gn 34^{4}). Overruled by him, they went down to Timnah, and some time later Manoah accompanied his son to the wedding-feast.

Manoah seems to have died before his son, and 'the burying-place of Manoah' is mentioned as the place of burial of Samson (Jg 16^{31}). It has been questioned whether Manoah really after all took part in the marriage of Samson, and some have looked upon this as an interpolation (see Moore's *Judges*, pp. 329, 330). The 'Menuhoth' and 'Manahathites' of 1 Ch 2^{52-54} are connected with Manoah, the latter being called also Zorites.

H. A. REDPATH.

MANSION (Lat. *maneo* to stay, *mansio* a staying, place of abode, Old Fr. *mansion* a dwelling-place, abode; 'manse' and 'manor' are of the same origin, the one directly from Lat., the other through the Fr. *manoir*).—A mansion is primarily any kind of dwelling-place, as in Milton, *Il Pens.* 92—

> 'To unfold
> What worlds or what vast regions hold
> The immortal mind, that hath forsook
> Her mansion in this fleshly nook.'

Especially a place to abide in permanently, as T. Adams on 2 P 1^{4} 'Worldly things are but a tabernacle, a movable; heaven is a mansion.' Cf. Shaks. *Timon*, V. i. 218—

> 'Timon hath made his everlasting mansion
> Upon the beached verge of the salt flood.'

Later it came to signify a house of some grandeur, which is its modern meaning.

In AV 'mansion' occurs only Jn 14^{2} 'In my Father's house are many mansions' (μοναί, RVm 'abiding places'). The tr. is Tindale's (perhaps suggested by Vulg. *mansiones*; but neither Wyc. nor Rhem. uses the word); Cov. chose 'dwellinges' (which was Wyclif's word), the Gen. and the Bishops' Bible 'dwelling places,' but the rest followed Tindale. It is curious, however, that in 14^{23}, the only other place in NT where μονή is found, no version gives 'mansion'; some tr. by a verb 'dwell,' others use 'dwelling,' Rhem., AV, and RV 'abode.'

What is the μονή? It is clear that in both passages its meaning is the same, and the simplest meaning is the best—an abode or dwelling. In Jn 14^{23} Jesus says, 'If a man love me, he will keep my word: and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him.' Where the man may be is of no account. Wherever he is and loves, there the Father and the Son have their abode παρ' αὐτῷ beside him—in his conscious presence. Cf. Lk 1^{30} 'Fear not, Mary; for thou hast found favour with God' (παρὰ τῷ θεῷ). That after Tindale's tr. the word should be applied to heaven was natural, since that is the meaning that has been almost always given to 'my Father's house.' But there is nothing in the word or in the context to suggest rooms in heaven; still less Westcott's idea of 'stations' or temporary resting-places on a road. For the application of the word 'mansion' to heaven see *Rhem. NT*, note on Lk 16^{9} 'yea and that they be in such favour with God, that they may and doe receive their frendes which were once their benefactors, into their mansions in heaven, no less then the farmers whom the il steward pleasured, might receive their freend into their earthly houses'; and Adams, *Works*, i. 68, 'It is small comfort to the harbourless wretch to pass through a goodly city, and see many glorious buildings, when he cannot say, *Hæc mea domus*, I have a place here. The beauty of that excellent city Jerusalem, . . . affords a soul no comfort, unless he can say, *mea civitas*, I have a mansion in it.' But the word was still free enough to let Milton use it of hell, as in *PL* i. 268—

---

* In v.^{19} the MT וּמַפְלִא לַעֲשׂוֹת, from which it is impossible to obtain the EV tr^{n}, 'and (the angel) did wondrously,' is manifestly corrupt. While B reads καὶ διεχώρισεν ποιῆσαι, A has τῷ θαυμαστὰ ποιοῦντι Κυρίῳ (cf. Vulg. *Domino mirabilia facienti*). Perhaps we ought to restore the text accordingly, לַיהוה הַמַּפְלִיא לַעֲשׂוֹת, 'to J″ who worketh wonderfully' (so Moore).

> 'But wherefore let we then our faithful friends,
> The associates and co-partners of our loss,
> Lie thus astonished on the oblivious pool,
> And call them not to share with us their part
> In tbis unhappy mansion, or once more
> With rallied arms to try what may be yet
> Regained in Heaven, or what more lost in Hell?'

J. HASTINGS.

MANSLAYER.—In Nu $35^{6.12}$ AV uses 'manslayer' for the person who unwittingly causes another's death. Elsewhere for the same Heb. and in this sense (רוֹצֵחַ or רֹצֵחַ, ptcp. of רָצַח to murder) AV gives 'slayer' or 'murderer,' RV always 'manslayer.' The word 'manslayer' is used also in 1 Ti 1^{9} as tr. of ἀνδροφόνος in its only occurrence. The mod. word is 'homicide,' but there was no difference in meaning between 'manslayer' when it was in use and 'murderer.' Thus Jn 8^{44} Wyc. 'ye ben of the fadir, the devel, and ye wolen do the desyris of youre fadir. He was a mansleere fro the bigynnyng'; and Udal, *Erasmus' Paraphrase*, ii. fol. 278, 'Whosoever hateth hys brother is a man slear. And ye knowe that no man slear hath eternal life abiding in hym.' Other forms were *mankiller*, as the Rhem. tr. of Jn 8^{44} 'he was a mankiller from the beginning,' and of Ac 3^{14} 'But you denied the holy and the just one, and asked a mankiller to be given unto you'; and *manqueller*: thus, the marg. note in Matthews' Bible to Dt 19^{4} is, 'Here are shewed ii maner of manquelling, one done wyllyngly and of set purpose, the other unwyllinglye; for even he that kylleth with the hande maye before God be no manquellare: and agayne he that is angrye and envyeth althoughe he kyll not wyth the hande, cannot but be a manslear before God: because he wylleth hys neyghboure evyll.' See GOEL, REFUGE (CITIES OF).

Manslaughter is perhaps more general, but not, as now, carefully distinguished from murder: 2 Es 1^{26} 'ye have defiled your hands with blood, and your feet are swift to commit manslaughter' (*homicidia*); Wis 14^{25} (φόνος, RV 'murder'). Cf. Milton, *PL* xi. 693—

> 'To overcome in battle, and subdue
> Nations, and bring home spoils with infinite
> Man-slaughter, shall be beld the higbest pitch
> Of human glory.'

J. HASTINGS.

MAN-STEALING.—In Ex 21^{16} (Book of the Covenant, JE) the law is laid down, 'he that stealeth a man (גֹּנֵב אִישׁ) and selleth him, or (וְ) if he be found in his hand, shall surely be put to death.' In Dt 24^{7} this enactment is repeated in Deuteronomic language, and the general term אִישׁ is restricted to Israelites (נֶפֶשׁ מֵאֶחָיו מִבְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל), a restriction which is introduced even in Ex by Targ. Onk. and LXX (τινὰ τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ). The penalty of death is to be inflicted in either of two events,—if the kidnapped Israelite is retained as a slave by his fellow-countryman, or if (which would happen more frequently) he is sold into slavery in a foreign land (cf. the story of Joseph, Gn $37^{25b.\,26.\,27.\,28b}$ [J]). The LXX and Vulg., indeed, understand the words וְנִמְצָא בְיָדוֹ in Ex 21^{16} differently from EV, rendering respectively καὶ ἐὰν εὑρεθῇ ἐν αὐτῷ, and *convictus noxæ*, but there can be little doubt that 'if *he* be found in his hand' is the correct sense. This is confirmed by Dt 24^{7} וְהִתְעַמֶּר־בּוֹ, 'if he play the master over him' (Driver); LXX καὶ καταδυναστεύσας.

The aggravated nature of the offence of one Israelite selling another into foreign slavery is insisted upon by Philo (*de Leg. Spec.* ii. 338, ed. Mang.). The facilities afforded for the slave trade (the Edomites, the Philistines, the Phœnicians, the Greeks, etc., were ready purchasers, cf. Ezk 27^{13}, Am 1^{6}, Jl 3^{4-6}), and its lucrative character, necessitated the prohibition of kidnapping a fellow-Israelite on pain of death (inflicted, according to *Sanhed.* xi. 1, by strangulation). A similar law was in force amongst the Athenians (Xen. *Mem.* I. ii. 62: ἐάν τις φανερὸς γένηται ἀνδραποδιζόμενος, τουτῷ θάνατον εἶναι τὴν ζημίαν).

In the list of those for 'whom the law is made' (1 Ti $1^{10f.}$) are specified men-stealers (ἀνδραποδισταί).

J. A. SELBIE.

MANTELET (סֹכֵךְ, AV 'defence'; LXX τὰς προφυλακάς; Vulg. *umbraculum*).—The only occurrence of this word is in Nah 2^{5} [Heb. ^{6}], in the (ideal) description of the siege and fall of Nineveh. The Heb. term comes from the root סכך 'to cover *or* protect' (hence AVm 'covering'). In all probability Nahum refers to some engine of war, such as a siege tower or a *vinea* or *testudo* under cover of which the battering-ram (which see) was worked. The context appears to require that the סֹכֵךְ belong to the assailants, not to the defenders. See Wellh., Nowack, and especially A. B. Davidson, *ad loc.*

The Eng. word is formed by adding the dimin. suffix *et* to the word 'mantel,' which in that spelling is now used for the shelf over a fireplace, but it is really the same word as 'mantle,' a cloak. The origin is unknown, but the meaning is always 'covering.'

J. A. SELBIE.

MANTLE.—1. אַדֶּרֶת* *'addereth*, from a root [אדר] 'to be wide,' wideness being apparently the characteristic feature of this article of attire, which is rarely mentioned, and generally, if not always, as a robe of office or state. On its possible form (which there are not sufficient data in Scripture to determine) see art. DRESS in vol. i. p. 625^{b}. The name is used 5 times (1 K $19^{13.\,19}$, 2 K $2^{8.\,13.\,14}$) of Elijah's 'mantle' (AV, RV), which was probably of hair,† and appears to have been copied by succeeding prophets‡ (cf. Zec 13^{4} [אַדֶּרֶת שֵׂעָר § 'a hairy mantle'; AV 'a rough garment'], and what we are told in Mt 3^{4}, Mk 1^{6} of John the Baptist). A Babylonish mantle (lit. 'mantle of Shinar' אַדֶּ׳ שִׁנְעָר) was one of the articles appropriated by Achan from the spoil of Jericho, Jos $7^{21.\,24}$. See BABYLONISH GARMENT. The king of Nineveh laid aside his אַדֶּרֶת and put on sackcloth when the news of Jonah's proclamation reached him, Jon 3^{6}.

2. מַעֲטָפוֹת once only, Is 3^{22} (where both AV and RV have 'mantles'). The article of dress referred to is probably (Dillm. compares Arab. *'iṭâf, mi'ṭaf*) an upper wide tunic (*kĕthôneth*) with sleeves (so Siegfried-Stade—'*die obere Tunika*').

3. מְעִיל 1 S 15^{27} 28^{14}, Ezr $9^{3.\,5}$, Job 1^{20} 2^{12}, Ps 109^{29}. In all these passages AV has 'mantle'; in the first two RV has 'robe,' which is read in the whole of them by Amer. RV, and is generally given elsewhere by AV as trⁿ of מְעִיל (*e.g.* Ex $28^{4.\,31.\,34}$ and oft., Lv 8^{7}, 1 S 18^{4}, Ezk 26^{16}). This article of dress is fully described in vol. i. p. 625^{a}.

---

* אֶדֶר in Mic 2^{8} may be a textual error for אַדֶּרֶת, the ת having been lost before the following ת (so *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* and Siegfried-Stade). Wellh. and Nowack pronounce the text bopelessly corrupt.

† The LXX has in Kings μηλωτή, 'sheepskin'; in Zec 13^{4} δέῤῥις, 'leathern coat'; in Gn 25^{25}, Mic 2^{8} δορά, 'bide'; in Jos 7^{21} ψιλὴ ποικίλη; in Jon 3^{6} στολή.

‡ In Zec 11^{3} it is uncertain whether אַדֶּרֶת should be taken in the sense of 'glory,' 'magnificence' (cf. its use in Ezk 17^{8}, unless here it is an adjective fem. from אַדִּיר, and the use of אֶדֶר in Zec 11^{13}), or of 'mantle,' tbe shepherds being false propbets. Nowack emends אַדִּרְתָּם to מַרְעִיתָם 'tbeir pasture.'

§ The same Heb. expression is used in Gn 25^{25}, where Esau's appearance is compared to that of a hairy mantle (AV and RV 'garment').

4. שְׂמִיכָה (B ἐπιβόλαιον, A and Luc. δέῤῥις) occurs once only, Jg 4^{18}, of the article with which Jael covered Sisera. AV has 'mantle,' RV 'rug,' AVm 'rug *or* blanket.' Either 'rug' or 'tent-curtain' is probably the meaning. See notes of Moore and Budde, *ad loc.*

In addition to the above, RV introduces 'mantle' in (*a*) Ru 3^{15} (AV 'vail'; AVm 'sheet *or* apron') as trⁿ of מִטְפַּחַת, which in the pl. מִטְפָּחוֹת is rendered by AV 'wimples' and RV 'shawls' in Is 3^{22}, the only other occurrence of the Heb. word. The root [טפח] means 'to extend *or* spread.' Dillm. (on Is 3^{22}) and Bertholet (on Ru 3^{15}) give 'shawl'; *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* 'cloak'; Siegfried-Stade 'plaid'; LXX has in Ru περίζωμα. See also art. DRESS in vol. i. p. 627^{b}.

(*b*) The 'veil' of AV (so also RVm) is changed by RV into 'mantle' in Ca 5^{7}, although it translates the same Heb. word רְדִיד 'veil' in Is 3^{23}, its only other occurrence. LXX has in Ca 5^{7} θέριστρον, which denotes a light kind of veil. Budde and Siegfried (in their *Comm.* on Ca) both think that an '*Ueberwurf*' rather than a veil suits the context. The bride in escaping leaves her רְדִיד in the hands of her captors (cf. Mk $14^{51.52}$). But see art. DRESS in vol. i. p. 627^{b}.

(*c*) In Dn 3^{21} RV tr. כַּרְבְּלָתְהוֹן 'their mantles' (AV 'hats'). See HAT.

(*d*) In He 1^{12}, which is a quotation from Ps 102^{26} [Heb. and Gr. ^{27}], RV substitutes 'mantle' for AV 'vesture' as trⁿ of περιβόλαιον, which in the LXX answers to לְבוּשׁ of MT. The Heb. word is rendered by both AV and RV 'vesture.' The only other NT occurrence of περιβόλαιον is 1 Co 11^{15}, where it is used of the 'covering' or 'veil' which nature supplies to a woman in her hair.

Once more, Amer. RV tr. מְעִיל in Is 59^{17} by 'mantle' (AV and RV 'cloke').

J. A. SELBIE.

MANUSCRIPTS.—See TEXT.

MAOCH (מָעוֹךְ; in 1 S, B Ἀμμάχ (= עמך by transposition for מעך), A Μωάβ; in 1 K, B Ἀμησά, A Μααχά).—The father of Achish king of Gath, under whom David took service when his life was threatened by Saul (1 S 27^{2}). He is probably to be identified with Maacah (wh. see), the father of Achish king of Gath, who is mentioned at the beginning of Solomon's reign (1 K 2^{39}). In favour of this view is the fact that the Peshiṭta reads ܡܥܟܐ (= Maacah) in both passages, while the Targum of Jonathan in each case preserves the shorter form מעוך (= Maoch).

J. F. STENNING.

MAON, MAONITES (מָעוֹן).—Mentioned among the oppressors of Israel before the time of Jephthah in Jg 10^{12}, a late passage, probably due to the post-exilic editor. For *Ma'on* LXX reads *Midian* (Pesh. *Ammon*, Vulg. *Chanaan*, Targ. = MT). Though accepted by many critics, the correction is suspiciously obvious; and it does not materially relieve the anachronisms that remain in the verse. The editor included Maon in his list of representative oppressors as being an enemy familiar to later times. Hommel (*AHT* 251, 272) suggests that the LXX reading is an explanatory gloss on *Ma'on.* In 1 K 11^{18} Thenius reads *Ma'on* for *Midian*; so Stade, *GVI* i. 302, but without sufficient reason, and with no support from the Versions.

The Maonites (Maon) are usually regarded as the same as the Meunim, 1 Ch 4^{41} (*Me'inim* Ḳerê), 2 Ch 20^{1} (for *Ammonites* read *Me'ûnim*, LXX) 26^{7}. Their headquarters have been sought in Ma'ôn (Arab. Ma'ân), 4 hours S.E. of Petra, on the ancient caravan road from Damascus to Mecca; but all that can be gathered from the references above is that they inhabited the Edomite country, and were regarded by the Chronicler as Edomites. 2 Ch $20^{10.23}$ refers to them as 'inhabitants of Mt. Seir': this would favour a connexion with Ma'ân. On the other hand, 1 Ch $4^{40.41}$ rather points to a situation on the western side of Edom, where the country corresponds to the description in v.^{40}. Buhl, *Gesch. der Edomiter*, 42, n. 1, suggests a connexion between the Meunim and Mâyên, a place of wells, on the S.W. corner of the Edomite plateau. The Meunim are met with again among the Nethinim who returned from exile with Zerubbabel, Ezr 2^{50} (LXX 1 Es 5^{31} υἱοὶ Μανεί, A Μααυί) = Neh 7^{52} (LXX 2 Es 17^{52} υἱοὶ Μεσεινώμ, A Μεεινώμ); it has been suggested that these were captives taken from the Meunim after their defeat by Jehoshaphat (2 Ch $20^{1.22}$) or Uzziah (2 Ch 26^{7}), and relegated to menial service in the temple.

In Ch the LXX renders *Meunim* by Μ(ε)ιναῖοι (1 Ch 4^{41} Luc. Κιναῖοι), cf. also Job 2^{11} Σωφὰρ ὁ Μειναίων βασιλεύς. The Alexandrian translators probably intended to identify * the Meunim with the Arab tribe whom Pliny mentions as merchants in spices and incense (*Hist. Nat.* xii. 30), with their principal home in S. Arabia (Ḥaḍramaut). They are mentioned also by Eratosthenes (in Strabo, p. 768,† ed. Casaub.), in whose time they were the most northern of the four nations of Arabia, with their home by the Red Sea. This rendering of the LXX has suggested the theory that the Meunim belonged to the ancient kingdom of the Minæans, or more correctly Mainites, whose chief city was Ma'in in S. Arabia. So Halévy, Glaser (*Gesch. u. Geogr. Arabiens*, ii. 450), Hommel (*Aufsätze u. Abhandl.* 3, 5, and *AHT* 251, 272). See art. ARABIA in vol. i. p. 133. But the great antiquity of the kingdom of Ma'in (B.C. 1000) seems not to agree with the fact that in the OT the Meunim are found only in late writings. It may be that the Meunim were survivors of the kingdom of the Mainites, dwindled to a single tribe; but on the whole it seems safer to regard the Meunim simply as an Edomite tribe, and their connexion with the Mainites as not yet sufficiently established. See Sprenger, *ZDMG* xliv. 505; Buhl, *Gesch. d. Edomiter*, 40 ff.; Kittel, 'Chronicles' in *SBOT* 59.

The name *Maon* was given to several places in S. Palestine. Besides Maon near Petra, there was Maon near Hebron, Jos 15^{55}, 1 S $23^{24f.}$ 25^{2} (Smith, *HGHL* 316), and [Beth]-baal-Meon on S.E. of Jordan, Nu 32^{38} (perhaps מעון for בען Nu 32^{3}), Jos 13^{17}, Jer 48^{23}, Ezk 25^{9}, 1 Ch 5^{8}, Moabite Stone, ll. 9, 30. See Gray, *Heb. Prop. Names*, 126 f. Hommel (*AHT* 273 f.) makes the suggestion that these places were named after the ancient Arabic kingdom of Ma'in, and marked the extent of its northern frontier.

G. A. COOKE.

MAR.—To 'mar' (from Anglo-Sax. *merran*, root *MAR*, seen in Gr. μαραίνω, to waste) is to damage or disfigure. It is the opposite of to 'make,' in opposition to which it is used still and is frequent in Shakespeare. Thus *Timon*, IV. ii. 41—

> 'For bounty, that makes gods, does still mar men.'

It is used in AV of land spoiled by mice (1 S 6^{5}),‡ and by stones (2 K 3^{19}), of a path or road destroyed (Job 30^{13}, RVm 'break up'), and of vine shoots spoilt by trampling down or plucking off (Nah 2^{2}). The potter's clay-vessel was marred in the turning (Jer 18^{4}), and old wine-skins are marred by pouring new wine into them (Mk 2^{22}, ἀπολοῦνται, RV ‘perish’). Jeremiah’s girdle was marred by being put into a damp hole (13^{7}), an illustration of the way in which J″ will disfigure the pride of Judah and Jerusalem (13^{9}). The visage of the servant of the Lord ‘was so marred more than any man.’ Cf. Milton, *PL* iv. 116, ‘Which marred his borrowed visage,’ and better, Shaks. *Jul. Cæsar*, III. ii. 201—

---

* Μιναῖοι can hardly be a transliteration. Gentilic names in -αῖοι are formed from place-names in -α, *e.g.* Σαβαῖοι, Γεῤῥαῖοι. Thus Μιναῖοι presupposes Μινά, which can hardly be a transliteration of *Ma'ôn.*

† κατοικεῖ δὲ τὰ μέγιστα τετταρα ἔθνη τὴν ἐσχάτην λεχθεῖσαν χώραν, Μιναῖοι μὲν ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν μέρει, πόλις δ᾽ αὐτῶν ἡ μεγίστη Κάρνα ἢ Κάρνανα; cf. p. 776.

‡ Cf. Tindale's tr. of Ex 8^{24} 'The londe was marred with flyes.'

> ‘Kind souls, what, weep you when you but behold
> Our Cæsar’s vesture wounded? Look you here,
> Here is himself, marr’d, as you see, with traitors.’

The Israelites were forbidden to mar the corners of their beard (Lv 19^{27}: it is Tindale’s tr. ‘Ye shall not rounde the lockes of youre heedes, nether shalt thou marre the tuftes of thy beerde’). The next of kin was afraid that if he married Ruth he should mar (the same Heb. as of the marring of the land by mice, and the taking down of Judah’s pride) his inheritance (Ru 4^{6}). The full force of the word as used in AV will be seen from Ex 32^{8} Tind. ‘the people which thou broughtest out of the lande of Egipte have marred all’; Jg 2^{19} Cov. ‘Nevertheles, whan the judge dyed, they turned backe, and marred all more then their fathers’; and Rutherford, *Letters*, No. xxx. ‘Madam, many eyes are upon you, and many would be glad your Ladyship should spill a Christian, and mar a good professor. Lord Jesus, mar their godless desires, and keep the conscience whole without a crack.’

J. HASTINGS.

MARA (מָרָא or מָרָה [so corrected by *Ḳerê*]; B Πικρά, A Πικρία).—The name which Naomi claimed for herself: ‘Call me not Naomi (‘pleasant’), call me Mara (*i.e.* bitter): for the Almighty hath dealt very bitterly with me’ (Ru 1^{20}). The Latin is able to retain the play upon the words by the use of *Mara* (*id est amaram*).

H. A. REDPATH.

MARAH (מָרָה).—The first station of the Israelites after crossing the sea, mentioned only Ex 15^{23} and Nu $33^{8.9}$, from which passages it appears that it was distant three days’ journey from the place of crossing. The difficulty of locating the latter has been pointed out under EXODUS, vol. i. p. 803. If we assume that the passage was in the neighbourhood of Suez, then *Wādy Hawarah*, about 15 to 16 hours’ camel-ride from ‘the Wells of Moses’ (nearly opposite Suez on the E. side of the Gulf of Suez) on the route to the convent of St. Katharine (the traditional Sinai), is a suitable identification. *Wādy Amara*, about 1½ hour N. of this, or *Wādy Ghurundel*, about 2 hours to the S., have also been suggested, though the last is generally considered to be Elim. If, on leaving Egypt, the Israelites went by the present *haj* route towards ’Akabah, then Marah must be somewhere on the plateau of the Tih (see EXODUS, ii.). If a more northerly position (near the Bitter Lakes) be assumed for the passage, then the position of Marah would not be far from the ‘Wells of Moses,’ and *’Ain Nâba* or *Gharkadeh*, about 1 hour to the N. of these wells, has been proposed. Brugsch’s theory would place Marah in the neighbourhood of the Bitter Lakes. In the present state of our knowledge no identification can be made with any degree of probability. Descriptions of some of these sites are to be found in Robinson and Palmer.

The LXX gives for Marah in Ex 15^{23} Μερρά twice, but renders the word on its third occurrence by Πικρία, endeavouring to indicate the meaning of the Hebrew word (cf. Thiersch, *de Pent. Vers. Alex.* 31 ff.). In Nu $33^{8.9}$ it adopts the form Πικρίαι. The manner in which the Vulg. employs *amarus* is worth quoting: ‘eo quod essent amara, unde et congruum loco nomen imposuit, vocans illum *Mara*, id est *amaritudinem*.’

A. T. CHAPMAN.

MARALAH (מַרְעֲלָה; B Μαραγελδά, A Μαριλά, Luc. Μαραλά).—A place on the west border of Zebulun, Jos 19^{11}. The Pesh. has *Rāmath-tа̄’le’*, ‘height of the fox.’ The site is quite uncertain. For conjectures see Dillm. *ad loc.*

C. R. CONDER.

MARANATHA.—An expression used by the Apostle Paul in 1 Co 16^{22} ‘If any man loveth not the Lord, let him be anathema maranatha.’ It has somewhat perplexed the interpreters from early times quite down to the present. They have been puzzled to determine its connexion, its composition, and its significance. The early Greek expositors who attempt to explain it (as Chrysost. *Hom.* 44 on 1 Co, Migne, 61, x. col. 377; Theodoret in Migne, 82, iii. 373; John of Damascus, Migne, 95, ii. 705; Theophylact, Migne, 124, ii. 793, etc., down to Euthym. Zig. *ad loc.* vol. i. 369, Athens, 1887), together with the early lexicographers (as Hesychius, ed. Schmidt, iii. 71; Suidas, ed. Gaisford, 2397, etc.), generally agree in translating it ‘The (or ‘our’) Lord came’ or ‘has come.’ This rendering is corroborated by marginal annotations in one or two of the later MSS (see Tisch. *Nov. Test. Gr.*, ed. octava crit. maior, *ad loc.*); and with it agree, though amid some vacillation, the leading Lat. expositors also (as Jerome, *ad loc.*, Migne, 30, xi. 772; August., Migne, 33, vol. ii. 1161; Pseudo-Ambros. *ad loc.*, Migne, 17, iv. 276).

But the association of the expression with ‘*anathema*’ seems to have led gradually to a minatory interpretation of it, so that the phrase thus formed came to be regarded as a kind of reduplicated commination, or a curse reinforced by a prayer. Traces of its official use in this sense may be found as far back at least as the 7th cent. (see F. Kober, *Der Kirchenbann*, Tübingen, 1857, p. 40 f.; du Cange, *Gloss. med. et infim. Lat.*, ed. L. Favre, 1885, vol. v. *s.v.*; compare Tertull. *de Pudicitia*, § 14, where, however, the reading is doubtful); indeed, a still earlier instance of this use is afforded by one of the two or three occurrences of the term which are all that have yet been met with in extra-biblical Greek. A sepulchral inscription, believed to be of the 4th or 5th cent., from the island of Salamis (referred to by Schmiedel in the *Hand-Commentar* on Cor. *l.c.*, 2nd ed. ii. 208 sq., and given in the *CIG* vol. iv. p. 475, inscr. 9303, Berlin, 1877), which marks the ‘eternal home’ of the ‘reader’ Agathon and his wife, for each of whom a separate compartment has been prepared, closes as follows: ‘But if any private man or any other person dare to deposit a body here besides our two, let him give account to God, and be anathema maranathan’ (*sic*). The Pauline order is deviated from here in the Greek, so that maranatha is separated by one word from anathema; but the maledictory import is plain. This imprecatory use of the expression was thought to be substantiated by its assumed correspondence to the third or highest degree of Jewish excommunication, the *Shammatha*. The word Shammatha (variously interpreted, see Buxtorf, *Lex. Chald.* etc. 2466) was held by some to mean ‘The Lord cometh’ (שֵׁם, the *name*, being taken as a substitute for the tetragram), and thus to furnish an analogy which had been followed by the Apostolic Church. For this view the authority of such eminent Jewish scholars as Rabbi Solomon Ha-Levi, known among Christians as Paulus Burgensis (15th cent.), and Elias Levita in his *Tishbi* (16th cent.), has been unwarrantably claimed (cf. *e.g.* Leigh, *Critica Sacra*, *s.v.* Μαραναθά). For Elias makes no mention of *maranatha*, and follows Rab in the Talmud (*Moed Ḳaṭan*, 17*a*; see Buxtorf, *u.s.*) in taking ‘*shammatha*’ as equivalent to *sham metha*, ‘there’s death’; while Paulus Burgensis (in *Lyra*, vi. 61*a*, Basel, 1508) finds in ‘anathema maranatha’ a combination of the three alleged forms or grades of Jewish ecclesiastical censure, *maranatha* being a (post-apostolic) corruption from a mutilated 'macharam' (*maran*) and 'shammatha' (*atha*). Echoes, however, of the Talmudic interpretation of *shammatha* meet us, apparently, in Luther's 'accursed to death' ('maharam motha'), and the 'Let him be had in execration, *yea, excommunicate* to death' of the Genevan version of 1557; while W. Mace, in his *NT Greek and English*, 1729, gives simply 'Let him be accurst' as the rendering of the entire phrase. This imprecatory sense of the Pauline term, which was thus linked to supposed Jewish precedent, though without warrant either in philology or in fact (see John Lightfoot, *Works*, etc., ed. 1684, ii. 796 f., or *Horæ in Acta apost.* etc., Amst. 1679, p. 107 f.; Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 60 ff.), received, nevertheless, the endorsement of such names as Beza, Bibliander, Bullinger, Capito, Calvin (cf. Suicer, *Thesaurus*, etc. i. 604; Pfeiffer, *Dubia Vexata*, etc. 4th ed. 1699, p. 944 sq. for references), and others too numerous to catalogue here. Illustration of its prevalence and persistency is afforded by its adoption in our English Bibles (with the single exception of the Rhemish) from Tindale's to the Authorized Version. Indeed, although a comma seems to have been inserted between 'anathema' and 'maranatha' as early as the Cambridge folio of 1629, it was removed again in Blayney's standard ed. of 1769, and is wanting in not a few modern editions (see Scrivener, *Cambridge Paragraph Bible*, Introd. p. lxxxii, reprinted under the title *The Authorized Edition of the English Bible*, Cambr. 1884, p. 191). Other isolated instances occur of dissent from the prevalent theory that the words should be combined into a malediction. For example, in Robert Stephens' edd. of the Gr. text issued in 1549 and 1551 a colon (or stop) is inserted after anathema, as also in the Elzevir edd. of 1624 and 1633; an English Bible, also, bearing the imprint of Henry Hills, London, 1660, although it puts no stop after anathema, adds at maranatha the marginal note, 'That is, *The Lord is come.*' Nevertheless, the compound imprecatory interpretation has lived on quite to modern times, and has even found its way into popular literature.

This opinion, however, may be said to be at length extinct in scholarly circles. It is not only confessed to be without intrinsic or historic foundation, but it conflicts with the intimations afforded by the independent use of the word in early Christian documents. The earliest is that in *The Teaching of the Apostles*, a document belonging to the early part of the 2nd cent. or possibly even to the 1st. The thanksgiving in connexion with the Eucharist, as there given ch. 10^6, closes as follows: 'May grace come and may this world pass away. Hosanna to the God of David. If any man is holy, let him come; if any man is not, let him repent. Maranatha. Amen.' Plainly, then, the term has an inherent meaning wholly detached from an anathema; and the preceding words here, though permitting this meaning to be admonitory, are remote from any suggestion of imprecation. But in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (vii. 26, p. 209, 26, ed. Lagarde), where the same thanksgiving is substantially reproduced and expanded, any thought of malediction is conspicuously out of place: . . . 'Gather us all together into thy kingdom which thou hast prepared. Maranatha. Hosanna to the Son of David; blessed is he that cometh,' etc.

But the acknowledgment that the term must be taken and interpreted by itself has rather increased than diminished the perplexity respecting its composition and meaning. Passing over attempts to analyze it which have found little favour, we may say that scholars now almost unanimously agree that the first part of the expression is the Aramaic word for 'Lord'; though as to whether the *n* is a formative appendage (cf. *rabban*), or belongs to the pronominal suffix 'our,' they are not so harmonious. That it should be connected with the first half of the word and not the last is supported not only by the earliest MSS that divide the term, but by the use of *marin* by Philo (*in Flaccum*, § 6, ed. Mang. ii. 522, 47) as the current Syrian appellation for 'Lord,' as well as by extant Aram. inscriptions (see Nöldeke in *ZDMG* for 1870, p. 101). The chief problem, accordingly, lies in the last part of the term. If the second half of the compound is held to be *atha*, the Fathers were right in taking it as a past tense (ἦλθεν, ἥκει, etc.: 'the' or 'our Lord *has come*'), and understanding the advent in the flesh as referred to. But the explanations they give of the apostle's reference to this past event are far-fetched and unsatisfying; such as, 'whoever does not love him waits in vain for another,' or 'he has come; hence the folly of opposing him'—the words being assumed to be addressed to Jews: if spoken to Christians, they were thought to be designed to shame them for withholding love from one who has so humbled himself on their behalf, etc.

The obvious inappositeness, however, of an allusion to the past early began to tempt expositors to force the verb into a future reference, viz. to the final coming in judgment. This result has ordinarily been reached, at least in later times, by taking the past tense as 'prophetic,' *i.e.* as an emphatic declaration of the certainty of the future event by representing it as having already occurred: 'has come,' *i.e.* 'most certainly will come.' The incipient stage of this opinion appears in the 'in adventu domini' of certain Latin texts, and the 'donec adveniat' (or 'redeat') of Augustine and some later Fathers. But a prophetic or anticipatory past tense here is more than questionable grammatically; and its inappropriateness is indirectly conceded by modern expositors, who, as with one consent, substitute for it a present or a future in their translations: 'Our Lord cometh,' 'is at hand,' 'will come,' etc. Under these circumstances, certain Aramaic scholars have proposed to restrict the verbal part of the expression to the final syllable '*tha*,' and understand the whole as an ejaculation: 'Our Lord, come!' Compare ἔρχου Κύριε Ἰησοῦ, Rev 22^{20}; and the *Amen bo* of the Jewish liturgies. See C. Taylor, *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, p. 77 ff. One of the first to make this suggestion seems to have been Gustav Bickell of Innsbruck in the *Ztschr. f. Kath. Theol.* for 1884, vol. viii. p. 403, n^3. During the same year, however, this opinion was shown by Halévy in the *Rev. des études Juives*, vol. ix. p. 9, to have the support of sundry inscriptions from Arabia, and was also advocated by Nöldeke in the *GGA* p. 1023 (in a review of Kautzsch's *Grammatik*, u.s.w.), where Wellhausen is cited as making the same suggestion (yet cf. *GGN*, 1895, p. 3, n. 2). Siegfried, also, in reviewing Kautzsch's work in Hilgenfeld's *ZWTh.*, compares the frequent phrases תא חזי 'come and see,' תא שמע 'come and hear,' and proposes to take μαραναθά as equiv. to μαρανθά, signifying 'O (or 'our') Lord, come!' This supplicatory sense has been accepted by G. Wohlenberg (*Die Lehre der Zwölf Apostel*, u.s.w. 1888, p. 82 sq.), Arnold Meyer (*Jesu Muttersprache*, 1896, p. 50), who compares (p. 156 f.) *Marna* or *Marnas* (מרנא 'our lord'), the name of the chief deity of Gaza (cf. the new edition of the deacon Marcus' life of Bp. Porphyrius of Gaza, Leip. 1895; also Stark, *Gaza*, u.s.w. 1852, pp. 576–583); and is sustained by G. Dalman in his *Grammatik des Jüd.-Paläst. Aramäisch*, 1894, pp. 120, 297, cf. 162.* It will doubtless prevail.

---

* Dalman (*Worte Jesu*, i. 269) calls מָרַנָא the earlier and fuller form. See Zahn, *Einl. in das NT*, i. § 18, Anm. 11.

To the question why the apostle deserts the Greek for the Aramaic language here, many conjectural answers have been given: such as, to humble the pride of his Corinthian converts by reminding them that the gospel did not originate with them; to affect the more readily his Jewish opponents by a phrase from their vernacular; to suggest that Christ will judge all nations and tongues, and the like. These may pass for what they are worth. The expression, as embodying the consummation of Christian desire and aspiration, may have become a current ejaculation among the early disciples (cf. 'Abba,' Mk 14^{36}, Ro 8^{15}, Gal 4^{6}), and as such would doubtless be intelligible to the Christians of Corinth. This supposition gains plausibility from the recurrence of the term, in varied connexions, in the *Teaching* and the *Apostolic Constitutions*. Its specific tone it takes from its context: in the Ep. to the Cor. it is admonitory; in the *Apostolic Constitutions* it is jubilant.

Whether it is a fragment of some confession, creed, or hymn (cf. *Het NT . . . op nieuw uit den Grondtekst overgezet*, De Nederlandsche Bijbel-Compagnie, 1868, *ad loc.*), or is a germ of some early liturgical formulary, this is not the place to consider (see Bickell, 'Die Lehre d. Apostel u. d. Liturgie,' in the *Ztschr. f. Kath. Theol.* as above; Weizsäcker, *Apostolic Age*, ii. 286; Spitta, *Zur Gesch. u. Lit. des Urchristentums*, i. 256 f., 1893; Th. Zahn, *Forschungen z. Gesch.* u.s.w. iii. 1884, p. 294 f.).

LITERATURE.—Some of the more extended discussions of the term are by Anthony Leger in Hase and Iken, *Thes. Nov. Theol.-Philol.* (1732), vol. ii. 879–883; A. Klostermann, *Probleme im Aposteltexte* (1883), 220–246; G. Wohlenberg, as above, pp. 78–85; and especially N. Schmidt in the *Journ. Bibl. Lit.* for 1894, pp. 50–60; cf. the same Journ. for 1896, p. 44, n^{14}. Moreover, Schmiedel's note in the *Hand-Commentar*, as above, should not be overlooked.

J. H. THAYER.

MARBLE (שַׁיִשׁ, שֵׁשׁ, *μάρμαρος*) denotes, strictly speaking, limestone (carbonate of lime), which is sufficiently hard and close-grained to be capable of receiving a polish. It is valuable both as an ornamental building stone and as a material for sculpture. The most famous kinds are those associated with classic statuary and architecture, such as the Pentelic and Parian marbles of Greece and the Carrara marble of Italy. The purest marble is white, but many coloured varieties are found, and some of these were highly valued in ancient times. Among them may be mentioned the 'Breccia di Verde,' which varies from all shades of green to a purplish red, the 'onyx' marble, and the so-called 'Oriental alabaster.' All these are Egyptian stones. The last named is quite different from true alabaster (sulphate of lime), being a carbonate of lime of stalagmitic origin and of an amber colour. The famous obelisk of Shalmaneser II., found by Layard at Nimrûd, is of black marble (Hull, *Building and Ornamental Stones*, 148–152).

In 1 Ch 29^{2} 'marble stones in abundance' are mentioned among the materials prepared by David for the building of the temple. The Heb. is שַׁיִשׁ (B *πάριον*, A *πάριος*). According to Josephus, Solomon's temple was built of white stone (*λευκὸς λίθος*, *Ant.* VIII. iii. 2), quarried and prepared in Lebanon (*ib.* VIII. iii. 9). The OT narrative (1 K $5^{17.18}$) does not expressly state the locality from which the stone came. Hard white limestone is found in Lebanon, and has been used in the temples of Baalbek (Robinson, *BRP* iii. 508; Thomson, *Land and Book*, iii. 341, 342). But the stones in the foundation walls of the temple, as seen at the Jews' Wailing Place, appear to have been brought from the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. The limestone found in the quarries under Bezetha is 'hard, compact, and delicately variegated, and is capable of being cut as marble into objects of ornament and use, and of receiving a polished surface' (Hull, *SWP* 59; Warren, *Underground Jerusalem*, 60; King, *Recent Discoveries on Temple Hill*, ch. i.). Josephus (*Wars*, V. v. 2) says that the pillars of Herod's temple were *μονόλιθοι λευκοτάτης μαρμάρου*. Some of the marble used in Roman and post-Roman buildings in Palestine, and found still in their remains, may have been imported from abroad.

In Est 1^{6} the palace of Ahasuerus at Shushan (Susa) is described as having 'pillars of marble' (עַמּוּדֵי שֵׁשׁ, LXX *στύλοι πάρινοι*), while in the same verse the pavement of the palace is said to have been of 'red, blue, white, and black marble' (AV), or 'red, white, yellow, and black marble' (RV). Of the four words thus translated the second is שֵׁשׁ (LXX *πάρινος λίθος*), and this was evidently understood as '*white* marble' in AV as well as in RV, in spite of the transposition which has taken place in the former, since 'marble' is the second word in the alternative rendering in the margin. The other three words are בַּהַט, דַּר, and סֹחָרֶת, and they occur only in this verse. LXX renders the first by *σμάραγδος* or *σμαραγδίτης λίθος*, the second (apparently) by *πίννινος*, and does not translate the third. AVm and RVm give 'porphyre (porphyry), alabaster, and stone of blue colour.' Oettli (*Kurzgef. Comm.*) translates שֵׁשׁ by 'Marmor,' and has for the other three words 'Alabaster und Perlmutterstein und Fleckmarmor.' The LXX rendering of בַּהַט suggests some green stone, and that of דַּר some stone with a pearly lustre. Malachite (a green mineral) is found in Persia, as is also the stone called 'Yezd marble.' The latter is described as a stalagmitic carbonate of lime resembling the Egyptian stone known as 'Oriental alabaster,' except that the colour is greenish-white instead of yellow (Blaneford in *Eastern Persia*, ii. 486). Marble capitals and broken shafts were found in the ruins of Susa by Layard (*Early Adventures*, ii. 296). The palace of the Shah at Ispahan has columns of Tabriz marble, while white and coloured marbles are profusely used in the interior of the building (Hull, *Building and Ornamental Stones*, 152).

In Ca 5^{15} there occurs the simile, 'His legs are as pillars of marble' (עַמּוּדֵי שֵׁשׁ, LXX *στύλοι μαρμάρινοι*).

In Apocr. *μάρμαρος* occurs only once (Ep. Jer ^{72}). Here it is said that the idols of the heathen shall be known to be no gods *ἀπὸ τῆς πορφύρας καὶ τῆς μαρμάρου τῆς ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς σηπομένης*. The context seems to make it necessary to understand *μάρμαρος* here in its root meaning of 'sparkling,' or 'brilliance,' and so both AV and RV render *τῆς πορ. καὶ τῆς μαρ.* by '*bright* purple.'

In NT *μάρμαρος* also occurs once, being named as part of the merchandise of the apocalyptic Babylon (Rev 18^{12}).

JAMES PATRICK.

MARCHESHVAN (מַרְחֶשְׁוָן, Mish. *Taanith*, i. 3, 4; Μαρσουάνης, Jos. *Ant.* I. iii. 3).—See TIME.

MARCUS (Μάρκος, or, perhaps more accurately, Μᾶρκος; see MARK [JOHN], p. 245^{b}).—This form of the name of St. Mark (wh. see) occurs in AV of Col 4^{10}, Philem ^{24}, 1 P 5^{13}. RV has 'Mark' in every instance.

MARDOCHEUS (Μαρδοχαῖος *Mardochæus*).—**1.** The name of MORDECAI, the uncle of Esther, appears in this form in the apocryphal additions to the Book of Esther (Ad. Est 10^{4} $11^{2.12}$ $12^{1.4-6}$ 16^{13}). In 2 Mac 15^{36} the 14th of Adar, that is, the first day of the feast of Purim, is called 'Mardocheus' day' (ἡ Μαρδοχαικὴ ἡμέρα, RV 'the day of Mordecai'). **2.** In 1 Es 5^{8}, for MORDECAI, one of the leaders of the Jews, who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel and Joshua; cf. Ezr 2^{2}, Neh 7^{7}.

H. A. WHITE.

MARESHAH (מָֽרֵאשָׁה and מָֽרֵשָׁה).—1. The 'father' of Hebron, 1 Ch 2^{42} (B Μαρεισά, A Μαρισά). Perhaps we may gather from this passage that Mareshah, which is really the city of Jos 15^{44}, colonized Hebron. 2. A Judahite, 1 Ch 4^{21} (B Μαιχά, A Μαρησά). See next article, and Genealogy, IV. 2. 29.

MARESHAH (מָֽרֵשָׁה, in Jos 15^{44} מָֽרֵאשָׁה).—A city in the Shephēlah of Judah, near Keilah and Achzib (Jos 15^{44}; B Βαθησάρ, A Μαρησά); fortified by Rehoboam (2 Ch 11^{8}; B Μαρεισά, A Μαρισά); the scene of the encounter between Asa and Zerah the Ethiopian (2 Ch $14^{9.10}$; B Μαρισήλ, Μαρείση, A Μαρησά); the birthplace of Dodavah the father of the prophet Eleazar, 2 Ch 20^{37} (B Μαρείση, A Μαρίση); mentioned also in Mic 1^{15} (where see Nowack's note). On 1 Ch 2^{42} 4^{21} see the preceding article. The Valley of Zephathah (*Wâdy es-Sâfieh*) was to the 'north' of Mareshah (κατὰ βοῤῥᾶν M.) according to the LXX version of 2 Ch 14^{10}. In Mic 1^{15} there is a play on the name as if meaning 'inheritance.'

Outside the canonical Scriptures, Mareshah plays an important part. It was plundered by Judas Maccabæus (Jos. *Ant.* XII. viii. 6, after whom we ought certainly to correct Σαμαρίαν of 1 Mac 5^{66} to Μαρίσαν; cf. 2 Mac 12^{35}), subdued by John Hyrcanus (*Ant.* XIII. ix. 1, x. 2), freed by Pompey (*ib.* XIV. iv. 4), and finally destroyed by the Parthians (*ib.* XIV. xiii. 9).

In the 4th cent. A.D. the site was known (*Onomast.* 279. 139) as being 2 Roman miles from Eleutheropolis (*Beit Jibrin*), which is a somewhat overstated distance. The present ruin *Mer'ash*, in spite of its guttural, no doubt represents Mareshah (see *Onomast. s.* 'Marsa'). There are some remarkable rock-chambers, with flights of steps, close by, which seem to have been granaries or reservoirs. See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xx.

C. R. Conder.

MARIMOTH (*Marimoth*), 2 Es 1^{2}=Meraioth, an ancestor of Ezra (Ezr 7^{3}). Also called Meremoth, 1 Es 8^{2}.

MARISA (Μαρίσα, *Maresa*).—The Greek form of the name Mareshah. It occurs only in 2 Mac 12^{35}, but should be read also in 1 Mac 5^{66}, where all Greek MSS wrongly have 'Samaria'; but Old Lat. *Marisan*, Jos. *Ant.* XII. viii. 6 Μαρίσα. The false reading 'Samaria' is found in 2 Mac 12^{33} in four cursives and Syr. H. A. White.

MARISH.—This old form of 'marsh' has been allowed to remain in modern editions of AV. It is still occasionally seen in poetry, as Tennyson, *Dying Swan*—

> 'And far through the marish green and still
> The tangled water-courses slept.'

It occurs in Ezk 47^{11}, 1 Mac $9^{42.45}$. Cf. Berners' *Froissart*, 37, 'True it was that some of the knights of Scotland did ever the annoyance they could to the Englishmen, and kept them in the wild country among marishes and great forests, so that no man could follow them.' The word is also an adj., as Bacon, *Essays*, p. 142, 'in Marish and unwholesome Grounds.' J. Hastings.

MARK.—1. מַטָּרָה 1 S 20^{20}, Job 16^{12}, and מַטָּרָא La 3^{12}, a target, a butt. As 1 S 20^{20} 'I will shoot three arrows on the side thereof, as though I shot at a mark.' Cf. Shaks. *Venus*, 941—

> 'Thy mark is feeble age, but thy false dart
> Mistakes that aim and cleaves an infant's heart.'

2. σκοπός, a mark to keep the eye on, in shooting or running; Wis 5^{12} 'Like as when an arrow is shot at a mark' (ἐπὶ σκοπόν); 5^{21}, Ph 3^{14} 'I press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus' (κατὰ σκοπόν; RV 'towards the goal,' but it is not a technical word in the race-course; in class. Gr. it is a target, here like 1 Co 9^{26} οὐκ ἀδήλως, 'not in the dark,' or as Moule, 'with my goal clear in view'). Cf. Pref. to AV 'We never thought from the beginning that we should need to make a new Translation, nor yet to make of a bad one a good one . . . but to make a good one better, or out of many good ones, one principall good one, not justly to be excepted against; that hath been our indeavour, that our mark'; Shaks. *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV. ii. 115—

> 'If knowledge be the mark, to know thee shall suffice.'

3. מִפְגָּע, place of striking or impinging, *i.e.* a butt or mark: Job 7^{20} 'why hast thou set me as a mark against thee?' RV 'as a mark for thee.' AV understands Job to be a target for the arrow of God's displeasure, RV that he is an object over which God stumbles. 'Job,' says Davidson, 'feels that he is continually in the way of God, an obstacle against which the Almighty is always of set purpose striking Himself. The thought is one of unprecedented boldness.'

4. אוֹת sign, token: Gn 4^{15} 'And the Lord set a mark upon Cain, lest any finding him should kill him,' RV 'appointed a sign for Cain.' 'A mark set upon Cain would have distinguished him, so that all who met him might know him. This would be no pledge of security, no consolation to the guilty man. But when we see that the Lord appointed a sign for Cain, so that, looking upon it, he might be reminded of the divine protection, the words of the passage become easy to understand'—Ryle in *Expos. Times*, iii. 211; and *Early Narratives*, 70; also Sayce in *Expos. Times*, vii. 367.

5. קַעֲקַע a puncture, tattoo: Lv 19^{28} 'Ye shall not make any cuttings in your flesh for the dead, nor print any marks upon you.' Driver and White (in *SBOT*) tr. 'You shall not make any incisions in your skin for the dead; nor shall you tattoo any marks upon you,' and explain that the tattooing here alluded to implied probably dedication to a deity. Cf. W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage*, 212 ff., and *RS* 334; also Stade, *ZATW* xiv. 250 f.

6. תָּו *tâw*, the letter T, the last of the Heb. alphabet, which in the old Phœnician characters had the shape of a cross. See Alphabet. Ezk 9^{4-6}, the mark set on the forehead of those that bewailed the abominations in Jerusalem. The Vulg. tr. of 9^{4} is *signa thau super frontes virorum gementium*, to which Tindale refers when he speaks (*Expositions*, 13) of 'the sign Thau, that defendeth us from the smiting and power of the evil angels.' In Job 31^{35} the word is used of a person's signature: cf. Shaks. *II Henry VI.* IV. ii. 110, 'Dost thou use to write thy name? or hast thou a mark to thyself, like an honest plain-dealing man?'

7. χάραγμα (fr. χαράσσω, to cut, engrave), a stamp or brand. This word is used in Ac 17^{29} of sculptured work, and tr^d in EV by the verb 'graven.' Elsewhere it is found only in Rev ($13^{16.17}$ $14^{9.11}$ 16^{2} 19^{20} 20^{4}; TR and AV add 15^{2}, omitted by edd.) of the brand (EV 'mark') by which the followers of the Beast were known. The brand was on the right hand or on the forehead (13^{16}). See Man of Sin. The *tâw* of Ezk is in the writer's mind.

8. μώλωψ, weal, quoted in 1 P 2^{24} from Is 53^{5} and tr^d 'stripe,' is in Sir 23^{10} rendered in AV 'blue mark,' 'a servant that is continually beaten shall not be without a blue mark' (RV 'shall not lack a bruise').

9. στίγμα (from στίζω, to prick; connected with Eng. 'sting'), brand, scar: Gal 6^{17} only, ἐγὼ γὰρ τὰ στίγματα τοῦ [Κυρίου] Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματί μου βαστάζω (edd. omit Κυρίου of TR after best text); Vulg. 'Ego enim stigmata Domini Iesu in corpore meo porto'; Wyc. 'For I bere in my bodi the

tokenes of oure Lord Jhesu Crist'; Tind. 'For I beare in my bodye the markes of the lorde Jesu,' so succeeding VSS including AV; RV 'for I bear branded on my body the marks of Jesus'). The reference is to the suffering which the apostle had endured in the service of Christ, of which he gives a rapid account in 2 Co 11^{22-27}, and which, whether Jewish whipping, or Roman flogging, or more barbarous mob violence, must have left scars on his person, some of them no doubt visible. But why does he call them the scars or brands of Jesus? Two explanations have been given. (1) The marks which were left in the body of Jesus by the nails and the sword are reproduced figuratively in the apostle's body. Cf. 2 Co 4^{10} 'always bearing about in the body the dying (RVm 'putting to death') of Jesus' (*παντότε τὴν νέκρωσιν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματι περιφέροντες*); also 2 Co 1^{5}, Col 1^{24}; and especially the references to his crucifixion with Christ, Ro 6^{6}, Gal 2^{20}. This interpretation is forcibly illustrated by the *stigmata* of St. Francis of Assisi, to whom the word (left untranslated in the Lat. versions) 'suggested, whether by a more or less distant association, the idea which took so strong a hold upon his mind, that in a moment of extreme spiritual tension the actual marks of the Passion seemed to imprint themselves upon his body'—Sanday, *NT Com. for Eng. Readers*. Among recent commentators Moule (*Camb. Bible*) considers that there is 'something to be said' for this explanation, and Huxtable (*Pul. Com.*) argues ably and at length in its favour. (2) The marks identify the apostle as *belonging to* Jesus. This receives the nearly unanimous consent of modern expositors, and is actually introduced into the translation of the RV, on which Westcott (*Lessons of the RV of NT*, 130) comments, 'the addition of the word *branded*—I bear *branded* on my body the marks of Jesus—points the reference to the slaves who bore the names of the deities to whose service they were consecrated.' (Cf., further, art. CUTTINGS IN THE FLESH, vol. i. p. 538^{b}). But even on this interpretation the question remains, Does St. Paul refer to the custom of marking the devotees of a deity, or to the custom of branding deserters and evil-doers as a sign of degradation? Lightfoot (*Com. on Gal.*) refers the metaphor to the practice of branding slaves and other persons who were devoted to the service of some deity, and considers that 'such a practice at all events cannot have been unknown in a country which was the home of the worship of Cybele.' But the verb used (*βαστάζω*, which implies at least that the thing carried is easily seen, cf. Ac 9^{15} 'a chosen vessel unto me to bear my name before the Gentiles,' *βαστάσαι . . . ἐνώπιον ἐθνῶν*), and the apostle's glorying in being regarded as *περικαθάρματα τοῦ κόσμου, πάντων περίψημα*, 'the filth of the world, the offscouring of all things' (1 Co 4^{13}), make the reference most probable to such *stigmata* as (now also in the modern use of the word) carried punishment and degradation. These are the only marks that would involve at once much suffering at the time of their infliction and much courage to carry afterwards.

J. HASTINGS.

MARK (JOHN).—In this art. the identity of the **John Mark** of the Acts with the Mark of the Pauline Epistles (Col, Philem, 2 Ti), with the Mark of 1 P, and with Mark the Evangelist, mentioned in early Christian literature, is assumed. This identification is confirmed by the link between the Acts and the Pauline Epistles supplied by Col 4^{10} ('cousin of Barnabas'), and by the fact that the name Mark does not appear to have been common among the Jews.

1. NAME.—The Hebrew name of this companion of the apostles was Ἰωάνης; it appears without addition in Ac $13^{5.13}$. To it the Roman *prænomen* Marcus was added (*Ἰωάνου τοῦ ἐπικαλουμένου Μάρκου, Ἰ. τὸν ἐπικληθέντα* M., Ac $12^{12.25}$), just as the Roman *cognomen* Paulus was added to the Hebrew name Saul. The name Marcus was that by which its bearer was commonly known among those for whom the Acts was written (*τὸν Ἰ. τὸν καλούμενον** *Μᾶρκον*, Ac 15^{37}); so Col 4^{10}, Philem ^{24}, 2 Ti 4^{11}, 1 P 5^{13}. For the accentuation *Μᾶρκος*, see Blass, *Gram. NT Greek*, § 4. 2; the form *Μάαρκος* is found in *CIG*, 5644, 6155. For the frequency of such double names among the Jews, see Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, p. 181 ff.; and for the common use of the name Marcus 'among Greek-speaking peoples from the Augustan age onwards,' see the inscriptions quoted by Swete, *St. Mark*, p. ix. There is no evidence, however, that it was common among the Jews; the only Jew of this name mentioned by Josephus is the nephew of Philo (*Ant.* XVIII. viii. 1, XIX. v. 1).

2. FAMILY AND POSITION.—The father of Mark is not mentioned in the NT or by any reliable tradition. His mother bears the common Hebrew name Mary (Ac 12^{12}). She appears as a woman of some wealth, the possessor of a house with a *πυλών* and with a room large enough to contain many (*οὗ ἦσαν ἱκανοὶ συνηθροισμένοι*), the mistress, it would seem, of a household, the duty of one *παιδίσκη*—bearing a Greek name (see Blass on Ac 12^{13})—being to keep the door (cf. Jn 18^{17}). Her house is one of the centres of the life of 'the brethren' at Jerusalem. St. Peter goes there as a matter of course directly he has escaped from prison, and is well known there (v.^{14}). It is a natural conclusion that 'the house of Mary' had become the home of St. Peter, and that the guest was in a sense the head of the household (cf. 1 P 5^{13}). Again, in Col 4^{10} Mark is spoken of as 'the cousin' (*ὁ ἀνεψιός*, see Lightfoot's note) of Barnabas (on the name, see especially Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, p. 175 ff.), the Joseph Barnabas of Ac $4^{36f.}$, of the tribe of Levi, born in Cyprus, a man of substance, and from almost the earliest days a leader among 'the brethren.' It is not improbable, in view of the later history, that Mark too was by birth or previous residence connected with the Jewish colony in Cyprus (Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. p. 221 f.), and, if we may assume that the cousins were the sons of two brothers, we learn that he was a Levite (see below, 4 (i.)). There is every reason to think that he, like Saul, was a 'Hebrew of Hebrews' (Col 4^{11}; cf. Gal 2^{12}, Tit 1^{10}).

In Ac 13^{5} we read of Barnabas and Saul that at Salamis in Cyprus *κατήγγελλον τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς τῶν Ἰουδαίων· εἶχον δὲ καὶ Ἰωάνην ὑπηρέτην*.† All writers, it would seem, take the last clause to mean that the apostles 'had John as minister,' *i.e.* as their assistant in their evangelistic work (cf. 10^{48} *προσέταξεν*). A different interpretation seems to the present writer to be at least possible. The clause stands in close connexion with the mention of 'the synagogues.' Further, if *ὑπηρέτην* were a predicate, the more natural order would have been *ὑπηρέτην δὲ εἶχον καὶ Ἰωάνην*. A Jewish epitaph found at Rome *Φλάβιος Ἰουλιανὸς ὑπηρέτης* (see Schürer, *Gemeindeverfassung der Juden in Rom*, pp. 28, 39; cf. *HJP* II. ii. p. 67) suggests that *ὑπηρέτης* here is John's official title—'And they had with them also John, the synagogue minister' (cf. Lk 4^{20}). The article in such a case would be omitted (cf. *e.g.* *CIG*, 9906, *Ἰουλιανὸς ἱερεὺς ἄρχων . . . υἱὸς Ἰουλιανοῦ ἀρχισυναγώγου* and inscriptions *passim*, also Winer-

---

* The reading *ἐπικαλούμενον*, found in $\aleph^{c}$ (quod vide) CD 61 Gig, seems to be a 'Western' reading due to assimilation.

† 'Western' (paraphrastic) readings are (*a*) Ἰ. *ὑπηρετοῦντα αὐτοῖς*, D 321 syr. hl. mg.; (*b*) *ἔχοντες μεθ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ* Ἰ. *εἰς διακονίαν* (*in ministerium*, lat. vg.), E. Compare Ignat. *Philad.* xi., *Φίλωνος τοῦ διακόνου . . . ὃς καὶ νῦν ἐν λόγῳ θεοῦ ὑπηρετεῖ μοι.*

Moulton, p. 172).* If this interpretation be the true one, we have an important fact about Mark which reveals how close his ties with Judaism were. Among his fellow Jews he was known as Ἰωάνης ὑπηρέτης.

3. Mark in the Apostolic History of the NT.—Mark is one of those minor characters, a careful study of whose movements throws considerable light on the relation to each other of the apostolic leaders. In the NT he stands in close connexion with Barnabas, St. Peter, St. Paul.

(i.) The first notice of Mark in the Acts is at the time of the famine in Judæa, some 15 or 16 years after the day of Pentecost. He is at Jerusalem, and Barnabas and Saul, returning thence to the Syrian Antioch, take him with them as their companion (συνπαραλαβόντες 12^{25}; cf. $15^{37f.}$, Gal 2^{1}). It is important to notice that Barnabas, Mark's cousin, still retains the leading position (Βαρνάβας δὲ καὶ Σαῦλος 12^{25}), that as yet there is no hint of any evangelistic work further afield than Antioch, and that there the Church had not spread beyond the 'Grecian Jews' (11^{20}). Some time—how long we have no means of discovering—after their arrival at Antioch a decisive summons comes. Barnabas and Saul, at the bidding of the Spirit, are solemnly set apart and dismissed to do 'the work,' the scope of which remains still undefined. With Mark they cross to Cyprus. After work among the Jewish settlers at Salamis, they journey westwards till at Paphos they meet the Jewish Magus among the *comites* of the Proconsul, and the encounter ends with the conversion of the Roman magistrate—the firstfruit of St. Paul's Gentile converts. From Paphos they cross to the mainland, and journey inland as far as Perga. Here, perhaps when his leaders were discussing or had already determined upon the plan of crossing the Taurus and penetrating into a wholly new district, Mark separates himself from them and returns to Jerusalem (13^{13}). His conduct, it is clear, made a deep impression on St. Paul. What were Mark's reasons for this act of seeming desertion? The conditions of their common work, it must be remembered, had altered since he left Jerusalem with them, in three important respects. (1) The call at Antioch had inaugurated a new epoch in the history of the Church, and as 'the work' advanced it became clear that it would lead the workers μάκραν (Ac 22^{21}). (2) There were already indications that 'the work' would include the Gentiles; and that this was a new departure appears from 14^{27}. (3) Barnabas is passing into the background, and Paul is taking his place as the acknowledged leader (note the very significant οἱ περὶ Παῦλον in 13^{13}). For these new conditions of service Mark was not prepared.

(ii.) Some three or four years pass before we meet Mark again in the history. The great controversy as to the freedom of the Gentile converts had been closed, outwardly at least, by the decision of 'the Council' at Jerusalem. Paul and Barnabas returned to Antioch. At Antioch (if without further discussion we may assume the identity of the visit to Jerusalem recorded in Ac 15 with that recorded in Gal 2) there took place the events which St. Paul briefly narrates in Gal $2^{11ff.}$. St. Peter followed to Antioch the emissaries of the Church at Jerusalem, and proved himself loyal to the concordat of 'the Council.' But the arrival of 'certain from James' wrought a disastrous change. 'Fearing those of the circumcision,' he withdrew from full fellowship with Gentile believers. His example was the signal for a general revolt. All the Jewish Christians at Antioch (οἱ λοιποὶ Ἰουδαῖοι) joined in his time-serving policy, and the pressure of their opinion seduced even (καί) Barnabas, St. Paul's old and close companion. St. Paul's public rebuke of St. Peter and (by implication) of Barnabas and the rest closes the history, so far as he has chosen to reveal it. It has an obvious bearing on the relations of St. Paul with Mark. We know that Mark was at Antioch shortly *after* these events (Ac 15^{37}). The three leaders with whom he was most intimately associated, St. Peter, St. Paul, Barnabas, were there already. It seems an almost certain inference that Mark had come as the companion of one of them. If so, he was among οἱ λοιποὶ Ἰουδαῖοι, who proved traitors; and his example and opinion must have been conspicuous among the influences which led Barnabas astray. We can understand that to St. Paul's mind his later conduct set its seal upon his earlier. His loyalty to 'the truth of the gospel' was more than questionable, and his influence over Barnabas was harmful. When Barnabas proposed that Mark should again be their companion, an indignant reference to his former desertion of 'the work' (15^{38}) was sufficient answer. If we realize the significance, personal and doctrinal, of the history in Gal 2, we can understand the παροξυσμός which separated Barnabas from Paul. The notice that Mark with Barnabas sailed to Cyprus immediately after these events is the last reference to him in the Acts.

(iii.) After an interval of ten or twelve years we meet with Mark again in St. Paul's letters to the Colossians (4^{10}) and to Philemon (v.^{24}). Mark is at Rome. His presence there is 'a solace' to St. Paul. In both Epistles the apostle speaks of him as one of the few whom he can call 'fellow-workers' (contrast Ph $1^{16f.}$). The happy change in the relations between St. Paul and Mark is an important indication of the triumph of St. Paul's 'catholic' views of Christianity among the higher type of Jewish Christians. It is clear from St. Paul's language that Mark had contemplated, and it appears was still contemplating, a journey to Asia; and the Asiatic Christians had already received from St. Paul a brief message commending him to them.

(iv.) Some three or four years later, St. Paul's last Epistle associates Mark with Timothy. The words (2 Ti 4^{11}) seem to imply that the two were no strangers to each other, and that Timothy was already acquainted with Mark's movements. Timothy, it seems probable, was still at Ephesus (Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, p. 437). He is bidden to come to Rome by the shortest route (v.^{9}), and to execute a commission at Troas on the way (v.^{13}). From Troas he was doubtless to cross to Neapolis, to travel along the Egnatian Road to Dyrrhachium, to cross to Brundisium, and to hasten to Rome by the Via Appia. At some point in the journey he is to 'pick up' Mark (v.^{11}). If that point was in the neighbourhood of Ephesus, the notice is perhaps an indication that Mark had carried out his purpose of visiting Asia (Col 4^{10}). If not, it cannot be a place which is otherwise associated with Mark either by history or by tradition. To this direction St. Paul, remembering the help rendered to him by Mark in his former captivity, adds the reason of it—ἔστιν γάρ μοι εὔχρηστος εἰς διακονίαν. The last three words, as Swete observes (p. xv), 'assign to Mark his precise place in the history of the Apostolic age.'

(v.) One more notice of Mark is found in the apostolic writings. In his First Epistle, written at Rome (see article Babylon in NT), St. Peter sends to the churches of Asia Minor the salutation of 'Marcus my son.' This greeting makes it probable that Mark had visited some of the churches to which the apostle is writing (see above (iii.) (iv.)). It is certain from these words that Mark was with St. Peter at Rome—an important point of contact between the NT and early Christian tradition. The tenderness of the phrase ὁ υἱός μου is explained by St. Peter's early intimacy with Mark in 'the house of Mary.'

---

* With this interpretation, as indeed with the common one (cf. Cod. E), though less conspicuously, εἶχον = εἶχον μεθ' ἑαυτῶν. This sense of ἔχειν is common (especially in the participle) in all Greek, *e.g.* Xen. *Cyr.* iv. 2. 29—'et sæpissime Thucydides ceterique omnes' (Stephanus, *Thes.*, ed. Hase, iii. 2616). Here εἶχον takes up συνπαραλαβόντες, v.^{25}.

4. MARK IN CHRISTIAN TRADITION.*—(i.) *Mark's position by birth.*—The Preface to the Gospel found in MSS of the Vulgate contains the notice: 'sacerdotium in Israhel agens, secundum carnem levita' (Wordsworth-White, p. 171, cf. p. 173)—a mere deduction, it seems probable, from Mark's kinship to Barnabas. The remembrance of a personal deformity survives in an epithet well known at Rome early in the 3rd cent.—οὔτε Παῦλος ὁ ἀπόστολος οὔτε Μᾶρκος ὁ κολοβοδάκτυλος (Hipp. *Philos.* vii. 30).

A reference to this epithet is found in the Latin Prefaces to the Gospel (see below), and with these substantially coincide the notices in one or two later writers (see Lipsius, *Die Apocr. Apostelgesch.* ii. 2, p. 327; Zahn, *Einl.* ii. p. 211). Three explanations of the epithet 'stump-fingered' or 'mutilated in the finger(s)' have been suggested. (i.) Tregelles (*Journal of Class. and Sacred Philol.*, 1855, p. 224 f.) thinks that the epithet stigmatizes Mark as 'pollice truncus,' 'the deserter' (Ac 13^{13}). (ii.) The Pref. to the Vulgate: 'Amputasse sibi post fidem pollicem dicitur ut sacerdotio reprobus haberetur' (so Isidore). (iii.) The Pref. to Cod. Toletanus: 'Colobodactilus est nominatus ideo quod a cetera corporis proceritatem digitos minores habuisset' (Wordsworth-White, p. 171). It is just possible, however, that the word may refer to some mutilation or malformation of the *toes*, resulting in lameness—an infirmity which would be more likely to attract attention than a deformity of the hand.

(ii.) *Mark's relation to the Lord's ministry.*—The words of Papias (*ap.* Eus. *HE* iii. 39), on the authority of 'John the Elder,' are explicit—οὔτε γὰρ ἤκουσεν τοῦ κυρίου οὔτε παρηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ.

Do the words (clearly referring to Mark), with which the Muratorian Canon begins, suggest a qualification of the assertion of Papias? They run thus: quibus tamen interfuit et ita posuit. It is possible that the first word has been mutilated, and that we should restore *aliquibus*; but see below. The Canon is in full accord with Papias if, with, *e.g.*, Lightfoot and Swete, we take the words to refer to Mark's presence *at St. Peter's discourses.* Zahn (*Gesch. Kan.* ii. pp. 17 f., 30, *Einl.* ii. pp. 200, 211), however, maintains that in the previous context of the Fragment it had been said that, *speaking generally*, Mark was not an eye-witness of the Lord's ministry, and that then the qualification is added: 'nevertheless he was present at some (events), and so recorded them.' If the Canon was written at Rome, and still more, if the writer was Hippolytus (Lightfoot, *Clement*, ii. p. 412 f.), it is clear that it might embody an independent and true tradition about Mark preserved by the Roman Church. On the other hand, in the succeeding context dealing with Luke (Lucas . . . cum eum Paulus . . . adsumsisset . . . conscripsit. Dominum tamen nec ipse uidit in carne, et idem prout assequi potuit, ita et a natiuitate Johannis incepit dicere), it is unsatisfactory to take *nec* (*ipse*) as referring to St. Paul, who has been only incidentally mentioned, as Zahn is obliged to do. The writer is clearly throughout (comp. the passages dealing with John and with Acts) comparing the *Evangelists* in regard to the power of giving a personal witness. Accordingly, both *nec ipse* and *idem* (αὐτός) bring out the parallel in reference to this point between Mark and Luke.† Further, in the case of Luke, who was not a personal disciple of Christ, the writer notes that he was a companion of St. Paul. There was clearly still more reason for noting that Mark was a follower of Apostles. We may conjecture, therefore, that the context immediately preceding the first sentence of the Fragment ran substantially thus: 'Mark was not a disciple of Christ. But he was a follower of Paul and also of Peter. He records in his Gospel what Peter preached. But he was not continuously a companion of Peter. Some, therefore, of his discourses he did not himself hear; but at others (οἷς δέ—literally translated by the *quibus tamen* of the Latin Fragment) he was present, and so set them down.' On the whole, therefore, Zahn's interpretation must be rejected, and with it goes any shred of reliable evidence that Mark had part in any events of the Gospel history.

Later traditions, however, give Mark a place in the history of the Lord's ministry. In the *Dial. of Adamantius with the Marcionite*, a work which cannot be placed earlier than the later years of Constantine (Hort in *Dict. of Christ. Biog.* i. p. 39 f.), the orthodox disputant obviously has a controversial reason for asserting that Mark and Luke were among the seventy-two disciples (ed. Wetstein, p. 8). Epiphanius (*Hær.* pp. 50, 428 ed. Petav.) gives the same piece of information, and further tells us that Mark was one of those disciples who turned back (Jn 6^{66}). For other references see Lipsius, p. 328 f. A more interesting tradition, which first appears in a writer of the 6th cent., Theodosius (*de Situ Terræ Sanctæ* 43, p. 20, ed. Gildemeister), identifies the Church *Sancta Sion*, mentioned by earlier writers as the scene of the Last Supper, of the meeting of the apostles (Ac 1^{13}), and of the events of Pentecost, with 'the house of Mark the Evangelist.' Another writer of the same cent. —Alexander (*Laudatio Barnabæ* 13 in *Acta SS.* Jun. ii. p. 440)—repeating the legend about *Sancta Sion*, adds a story learned from 'the aged,' which identifies Mark with the man 'bearing a pitcher of water' (Mk 14^{13}). For these references see Zahn, p. 212 f. The idea that the young man who followed and fled on the night of the betrayal (Mk 14^{51}) was Mark, is a modern but not improbable conjecture.

(iii.) *Mark and St. Peter.*—A constant tradition in the early Church, reaching back to the confines of the apostolic age and harmonizing with the notices of the NT, certifies us that Mark was a companion of St. Peter (*i.e.* in his missionary labours), was with him towards the end of his life, and wrote the Gospel to preserve his Master's teaching. The early authorities are these: (1) *Asiatic and Western:* Papias *ap.* Eus. iii. 39 (on the authority of 'John the Elder'); Iren. iii. l. 1, 10. 6; *Canon Murat.* (see above); Tert. *adv. Marc.* iv. 5. (2) *Alexandrian:* Clem. *ap.* Eus. *HE* vi. 14, *Adumb. in Priorem Petri Ep.* (Migne, *Pat. Gr.* ix. 732); Eus. ii. 15 (on the authority of Clement); Origen *ap.* Eus. *HE* vi. 25. For references to later writers see Lipsius, p. 322; Zahn, p. 216. The above classification of authorities is due to Swete (p. xviii f.), who notices that 'the Asiatic tradition goes behind St. Mark's work as an Evangelist, and describes the nature of his services to St. Peter. He had been the Apostle's interpreter.'

Some scholars maintain that the word ἑρμηνευτής (*interpres*) points rather to Mark as the scholar of St. Peter, through whom his Master's teaching reached a wider circle, with special reference to the composition of the Gospel. This is the view taken by Zahn (*Gesch. Kan.* i. pp. 878 ff., *Einl.* ii. pp. 209, 218 ff.), who urges that Papias uses the word in close connexion with Mark's composition of the Gospel, and that no early writer preserves any detailed notice of Mark as 'dragoman' of the apostle. On the other hand, the following considerations seem conclusive for the strict sense of the word. (1) Such is the usual sense of the word (see Swete, p. xix); the passages which Zahn (*Gesch. Kan.* p. 880 n.) adduces, in which poets and prophets are spoken of as ἑρμηνευταὶ τῶν θεῶν, are really instances of a metaphorical use of the term. (2) Papias himself uses the cognate verb (ἡρμήνευσε δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἦν δυνατὸς ἕκαστος) in the strict sense. (3) Irenæus connects the word, not with the writing of the Gospel, but with Mark's previous relation to St. Peter, iii. l. 1. M., ὁ μαθητὴς κ. ἑρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ ὑπὸ Π. κηρυσσόμενα ἐγγράφως ἡμῖν παραδέδωκεν, *ib.* 10. 6 M. interpres et sectator Petri [note the order] initium evangelicæ conscriptionis fecit sic. Zahn's position is criticized by Link in *Studien u. Kritiken*, 1896, pp. 405–436.

The ten or twelve years which elapsed between the last mention of Mark in the Acts and St. Paul's reference to his co-operation in Rome were probably the period in which Mark accompanied St. Peter. It may well be that the help which he rendered to the apostle when the latter first worked among Greek-speaking people gained for him the title of 'the interpreter of Peter.' There is no reason why we should infer that, at least at the end of his life, St. Peter could not speak Greek, still less that he could not write a Greek letter. Moreover, it must be remembered that the word 'interpreter' may have been used in reference to Latin rather than to Greek (so Lightfoot, *Clement*, ii. p. 494).

---

* Patristic passages dealing with the composition of the Gospel according to St. Mark are not discussed here: see the following article.

† This parallel is still more marked if we adopt Lightfoot's emendation of the words referring to Luke: 'et idem, prout assequi potuit, ita posuit. Ita et a natiuitate . . .' (*Essays on 'Supernat. Relig.'* p. 189 n.); comp. the 'ita posuit' in the account of Mark.

(iv.) *Mark's connexion with Rome and Alexandria.*—(*a*) Rome. For the evidence of the NT see above. The evidence that St. Peter at the close of his life, when Mark was certainly his companion, was at Rome, is overwhelming (Lightfoot, *Clement*, ii. pp. 493 ff.). Moreover, all the early writers who mention the place of its composition speak of the Gospel as written at Rome (Iren., Clem. Alex., Eus. *HE* ii. 15; for other references see Zahn, p. 215), the only exception being Chrysostom (vii. 7 B), who says that it was written in Egypt. (*b*) Alexandria. It is remarkable that the great Alexandrian Fathers, Clement and Origen, make no reference to any sojourn or work of Mark in that city. Their silence cannot but throw some suspicion on the notices of later writers. The earliest witness is Eusebius, *HE* ii. 16 (on ii. 24 see below), who records the tradition (φασὶν) that Mark 'was the first to found churches in Alexandria itself.' After the time of Eusebius, notices of Mark's work in Egypt are frequent in Christian literature—(i.) Greek: Epiph. *Hær.* li. 6 (p. 428 ed. Petav.); Chrysost. *l.c.*; *Constit. Apost.* vii. 46. (ii.) Latin: Jerome, *de Vir. Illustr.* 8, *Prol. ex Comm. in Matth.* (Wordsworth-White, p. 12), *Pref. to MSS of the Vulgate* (Wordsworth-White, p. 173). (iii.) Syriac: *Doctr. Apost.* (Cureton, *Ancient Syriac Documents*, p. 33). For other references see Lipsius, p. 323 ff. To pass to the evidence as to the *date* of Mark's work in Egypt, Eus. *HE* ii. 16 (apparently), Jerome, *de Vir. Illustr.*, and Epiph. place his journey there after the composition of the Gospel. On the other hand, the Chronicle of Eusebius (ed. Schöne, ii. pp. 152 f., 154 f.) places his arrival at Alexandria in the first (Arm.) or the third (Jer.) year of Claudius (A.D. 41-42 or 43-44),* the appointment of Annianus, his successor as bishop, in the eighth year of Nero (A.D. 62-63; so Eus. *HE* ii. 24).† It seems to be impossible to reconcile these dates with the statements of the NT. If we accept the tradition of Mark's work at Alexandria, we must apparently place it *either* in the ten or twelve years to which we have already assigned his journeys as St. Peter's 'interpreter,' *or* in the period after the death of that apostle.‡

The legends of Mark's mission to Aquileia and of the translation of his body to Venice belong to mediæval hagiology, and lie outside the scope of this article. See Lipsius, pp. 346-353.

(v.) *The Acts of Mark.*—The Greek text is given in Migne, *Pat. Gr.* cxv. 164-170. The document has been translated into Latin, Arabic, and Ethiopic. Lipsius (p. 345) assigns it to a date between the middle of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th century. Internal evidence shows that it was written at Alexandria. It is historically worthless, telling the usual story of a successful war against idolatry, a growing Church, persecution, martyrdom. The evangelist expires as he is being dragged through the streets by an infuriated mob, who burn his remains, but are at last dispersed by a tempest. Some forms of the *Acts* give a detailed account of his person, clearly in part a reminiscence of the portrait of St. Paul in the *Acta Theclæ*.

(vi.) Περίοδοι Βαρνάβα.—These Greek *Acts* are printed by Tischendorf in his *Acta Apost. Apocrypha*, pp. 64-74. The author writes in the name of Mark, who is made to describe himself before his conversion as a servant of a high priest of Zeus. The *Acts* are wholly unhistorical. The local colouring shows that the writer was a Cypriot. The aim of the document is, by asserting for the Church of Cyprus an apostolic origin and the possession of the tomb of Barnabas, to support her claim to be independent of the see of Antioch. Hence Lipsius places the date of its composition late in the 5th cent., probably 485-488.

(vii.) *Martyrdom.*—Early writers are silent as to the time and manner of Mark's death. The statement of Jerome, *de Vir. Illustr.* 8 (Mortuus est octauo Neronis anno et sepultus Alexandriæ) is obviously a mere inference from Eusebius' notice of the appointment of Annianus. It would seem that no document earlier than the *Acts of Mark* gives the evangelist the glory of martyrdom. In these *Acts*, as in the *Menologium* of Basil, and as in the later tradition of the Western Church, April 25 is fixed upon as the day of his death. The different texts of the *Martyrium Hieronymianum* mention May 18, Sept. 23, Oct. 3, 7 as Mark's memorial day (Lipsius, p. 326; cf. *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* p. 1089).

LITERATURE.—Swete, *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, 1898, has a full and suggestive chapter on the 'Personal History of St. Mark.' Exhaustive collections and discussions of Patristic and other authorities are to be found in Lipsius, *Die Apocryphen Apostelgesch. u. Apostellegenden*, 1884, ii. 2, pp. 321-353; Zahn, *Einleitung in das NT*, ii. (1899), pp. 199-220. Reference may also be made to Harnack's article 'Mark' (1883) in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

F. H. CHASE.

MARK, GOSPEL OF.—

Introduction.
i. Compass and Contents.
ii. Selection and Arrangement of Matter.
iii. Diction and Style.
iv. Original Language.
v. State of Text and Integrity of the Book.
vi. Genius of the Gospel.
vii. Historical Attestation.
viii. Authorship.
ix. Sources.
x. Relation to Matthew and Luke.
xi. Purpose.
xii. Destination.
xiii. Place and Date.
Literature.

Of the four canonical Gospels the one which has come down to us with the title 'according to Mark' is the simplest, the most pointed and concise. Its brevity was noticed by Jerome in the account which he gave of its composition (*de Vir. Ill.* c. 8); and the peculiarity of its narrative, in respect of things omitted, has been the subject of comment from ancient times. On all that concerns its origin it is resolutely silent. It has no such descriptive statement as is found in the opening paragraph of the third Gospel. It neither names nor indicates its writer. It gives not the remotest hint that could put us on his track, if we had nothing outside itself. All that we know of its authorship rests, in the first instance, on tradition. The question is whether that tradition is historically credible, and whether it tallies with the contents and character of the writing.

In the ancient lists of the New Testament books this Gospel does not always occupy the same place. In a considerable number of MSS, almost entirely Latin and Græco-Latin (D, *a*, *b*, *e*, *f*, *ff*, *q*, *r*), as well as in the Gothic Version, the *Apostolical Constitutions*, and the Latin Stichometry of Codex Claromontanus, it is placed last (with the variation *third*) in the number of Gospels. But in the great majority of Greek MSS, as well as catalogues and lists given in ecclesiastical writers, it has the second place. This second Gospel (see below, vi.) is seen at once to have a character of its own distinguishing it unmistakably from the first and third Gospels, not to speak of the Fourth. In ancient times its special worth and peculiar features were imperfectly recognized. The tendency was to give it a subordinate place, and to attach less value to it than to the other Gospels. Even the great Augustine fell into the mistake of speaking of Mark as the 'follower and abbreviator of Matthew' ('subsecutus tanquam pedisequus et breviator ejus'; cf. *de Cons. Evang.* i. 4). A curious epithet, of obscure origin and uncertain interpretation, Μᾶρκος ὁ κολοβοδάκτυλος, which is applied to the evangelist in the writings of Hippolytus (*Phil.* vii. 30), is supposed by some (*e.g.* Keim) to refer to the cropped, curtailed character of the narrative (but see the preceding article, p. 247^a). The oldest Commentary (not to reckon certain Homilies supposed to belong to Jerome; cf. *Anecdota Maredsolana*, iii. 2, p. 319, etc.) which we possess on this Gospel, one ascribed to Victor of Antioch, is not older than the 5th or the 6th cent. (Harnack, *Gesch. d. altchr. Lit.* i. p. 389; Hort, *Notes*, p. 34; Burgon, *Twelve Last Verses of St. Mark*, p. 272, etc.). The author of that compilation states that he had entirely failed to find any commentary on Mark, although there were many expositions of Matthew and John, and not a few also of Luke (cf. Swete, *Gospel acc. to St. Mark*, p. xxix). And for a considerable period, as various things go to show, this Gospel was less regarded and less used than the others. One reason for this may have been the fact that it did not profess to be the immediate work of an apostle, and was not taken to be such. But there was probably a further reason in the difficulty which seems to have been felt in defining its proper function. How great this difficulty was may be seen perhaps by the variety of the symbols applied to it. In the distribution of the well-known evangelic figures no Gospel had so uncertain a position as this one. Each of the four symbols, the lion, the man, the ox, the eagle, was selected in one quarter or another as the best expression of Mark's distinctive place and purpose. And it may be said that, at least for the first five centuries, less was made of this Gospel than of the others, especially the First and the Fourth.

---

* The *Chronicon Paschale* (Migne, *Pat. Gr.* xcii. 559, cf. 546) places the foundation of the Church of Alexandria by Mark in the same year (A.D. 39) as the foundation of the Church of Antioch by St. Peter, adding that Mark presided over the former 22 years.

† The Armenian version puts Annianus' appointment a year earlier. For the emperors' regnal years see art. CHRONOLOGY OF NT, i. p. 418^{b}.

‡ With the belief that Mark founded the Church at Alexandria is connected the ascription to him of the Liturgy. In the *Acts of Mark* (c. 7) his enemies find him τὰς εὐχὰς τῆς θεϊκῆς ἀναφορᾶς ποιούμενον. According to Swainson (*The Greek Liturgies*, p. xxix), 'the first time that we hear of a Liturgy of St. Mark is in the 11th or 12th cent.' (cf. Brightman, *Liturgies*, p. lxvi).

But all is changed now. The genius of the second Gospel is better understood. Its peculiar value and its particular function in the holy quaternion of the Gospels are better appreciated. It is recognized to be of singular interest for the direct, simple, objective view which it gives of Christ and His ministry in deed and word. The spell of its vivid realism is felt as it never was before. The historical matter enshrined in it, which at first sight seems so limited as to give the book the aspect of an incomplete or abbreviated narrative, is seen to be of the first importance both in amount and in kind. The things which caused it to be less regarded in ancient times are the very things which attract special attention to it now—its shortness, its simplicity, the fact that it looks like a first, unstudied outline rather than a history, the character which belongs to it as the transcript of a disciple's notes rather than the direct work of an apostle. It is seen, too, to be at the basis of the whole problem of the origin and mutual relations of the canonical Gospels, and is believed by many to take us nearest the primitive form of the evangelic narrative. So it has become the subject of a quite peculiar interest, and engages the sedulous attention of students.

i. COMPASS AND CONTENTS.—The 'programme' of the second Gospel (Meyer) is given in Peter's statement of the apostolic preaching in his discourse before Cornelius (Ac 10^{36-40}). Mark keeps within the limits and answers to the character attributed there to the 'word published' by the apostles. He begins with the Forerunner's mission and ends with the Resurrection. The framework of the narrative and the course of events are to a very large extent the same as in Matthew and Luke. He has a brief introductory paragraph dealing with the ministry of John and the preparation of Jesus for His official work by His Baptism and Temptation (1^{1-13}); a large central section containing the main stream of narrative (1^{14}–15^{47}); and a conclusion relating to the Resurrection of Jesus (16^{1-8}). An additional paragraph gives details of His Risen Life, and a brief account of His Ascension (16^{9-20}); see below.

In the body of his Gospel Mark introduces us first to the Galilæan Ministry in the Eastern parts (1^{14}–7^{23}) and in the Northern parts (7^{24}–9^{50}); then to the Ministry in Peræa (10^{1-31}); and finally to the last Journey to Jerusalem and the closing events (10^{32}–15^{47}). The principal divisions of the narrative also have a certain order, and consist of certain distinct sections. The story of the Ministry in Eastern Galilee is given in three parts, viz.: (*a*) from the first announcement of the Kingdom and the call of the first disciples to the beginning of the conflict with the official classes (1^{14}–3^{12}); (*b*) from the call of the apostles to the rejection at Nazareth (3^{13}–6^{6}); (*c*) from the mission of the Twelve to the withdrawal to the borders of Tyre and Sidon (6^{7}–7^{23}). The story of the Ministry in Northern Galilee is given in two sections, viz.: (*a*) from the meeting with the Syrophœnician woman to the cure of the blind man, and the departure to the vicinity of Cæsarea Philippi (7^{24}–8^{26}); (*b*) from Peter's Confession to the second declaration of the Passion, and the words to the apostles on self-denial (8^{27}–9^{50}). The events of the last week of the Ministry are reported as they took place day by day—Sunday (11^{1-11}), Monday (11^{12-19}), Tuesday (11^{20}–13^{37}), Wednesday (14^{1-11}), Thursday (14^{12-52}), Friday (14^{53}–15^{47}).

The whole matter falls at the same time very obviously into two great blocks of narrative—the one occupied with the Galilæan Ministry (1^{14}–9^{50}), the other with the Last Week at Jerusalem (11^{1}–16^{8}). There is a difference also between the two. In the first the narrative, while always vivid and at some points full, is often compressed. In the second it is minute, circumstantial, and more of the nature of a journal. The intervening story, including the journeys in Peræa and Judæa, the words on divorce, reward, and the purpose of Christ's coming, the incidents of the blessing of the children, the question of the rich inquirer, the request of the sons of Zebedee, and the cure of Bartimæus, is rapidly disposed of.

There is more of a scheme in the second Gospel than is at first surmised. But it is a simple, natural scheme, corresponding with the earliest description which we have of this evangelist's method, viz. that given by Papias, which we shall afterwards consider. Christ's work is seen to follow a certain plan, beginning with the preaching of the largest truths of the kingdom, first in the towns in the vicinity of the Sea of Tiberias, and then throughout Galilee generally; moving on through intervals of seclusion and periods of decision; and fulfilling itself in the stated training of the Twelve for their future vocation and the final crisis. Christ's teaching is also seen to proceed by certain stages, first in the way of synagogue addresses and free discourse by the lake side or in the interior parts; then in the specific form of parabolic instruction; and, finally, in the communication to the Twelve of the deeper mysteries of the kingdom, especially those relating to the Passion.

ii. SELECTION AND ARRANGEMENT OF MATTER. —Like the other Synoptists, Mark carries us through the successive periods of our Lord's course and experience—His first popularity, with the shadow of opposition in its train; the formation of a body of apostles; the rising enmity of the ruling classes; the combination of hostile forces, and the result in the crucifixion. But he does this with a difference, which is due partly to his object and partly to his sources. He deals primarily with Christ's public ministry. He passes by, therefore, much that appears in the other Synoptists—the preliminary history, the genealogy, the circumstances of our Lord's birth, infancy, and years of privacy. He omits the greater discourses. He includes, indeed, the eschatological discourse (13^{1-37}), but he has no place even for the Sermon on the Mount, and does little more than mention the denunciations on the scribes and Pharisees. He is equally meagre in his report of the parables. Of the parables proper he records only four—the Sower (4^{3-8}), the Fruit-bearing Earth (4^{26-29}), the Mustard Seed (4^{30-32}), and the Wicked Husbandmen (12^{1-11}). He gives none, therefore, belonging to the intermediate period, and only one belonging to the later. Of the minor or germ parables also he has only about as many—the new patch on the old cloth (2^{21}); the new wine in the old skins (2^{22}); the kingdom and the house divided against themselves (3^{24-26}).

He is concerned with the acts rather than the sayings of Jesus, and especially with those which show Him in His power. He reports, therefore, a considerable number of the miracles. The instances which he gives are those of the demoniac in the synagogue (1^{23-28}), Peter's wife's mother ($1^{30.31}$), the leper (1^{40-45}), the paralytic (2^{3-12}), the man with the withered hand (3^{1-5}), the stilling of the storm (4^{35-41}), the Gadarene demoniac (5^{1-17}), the woman with the issue of blood and the daughter of Jairus (5^{21-43}), the 5000 and the walking on the sea (6^{30-52}), the Syrophœnician woman's daughter and the deaf mute (7^{24-37}), the 4000 and the blind man at Bethsaida ($8^{1-9.22-26}$), the lunatic boy (9^{17-29}), Bartimæus (10^{46-52}), and the withering of the fig-tree (11^{12-14}). Of these eighteen, most are of the class of healing miracles. Most also belong to the period before the Transfiguration.

In the construction of the narrative Mark appears to place some things in bold relief, particularly the crisis of the first intimation of Christ's destined death, and His various periods of retirement: His withdrawals to 'a solitary place' after the early cures (1^{35}), to 'desert places' after the cleansing of the leper (1^{45}), to the lake after the healing of the man with the withered hand (3^{7-13}), to the villages after His rejection at Nazareth (6^{6}), to 'a desert place' after the murder of the Baptist (6^{30-32}), to the borders of Tyre and Sidon after the opposition of the Pharisaic party (7^{24}), to the neighbourhood of Cæsarea Philippi after the cure of the blind man (8^{27}), to the range of Hermon after the first open prediction of His Passion (9^{2}), to Bethany after the triumphal entry (11^{11}), and again after the cleansing of the temple (11^{19}), and yet again after the discourse on the end of things (14^{3}). The added paragraph on the Ascension also reads like the story of the last of His withdrawals (16^{19}).

While the mass of Mark's matter is also found in Matthew and Luke, there are some interesting paragraphs which he has in common with only one of the two. The incidents of the demoniac of the synagogue, the journey through Galilee, the prayer of the Gadarene demoniac, the complaint of John, the women bringing spices to the tomb, are given by Mark and Luke, but not by Matthew (Mk 1^{23-27}, Lk 4^{33-37}; Mk 1^{35-39}, Lk 4^{42-44}; Mk 5^{18}, Lk 8^{38}; Mk 9^{38}, Lk 9^{49}; Mk 16^{1}, Lk 24^{1}). While the peculiarity of Mark as compared with the other Synoptists is mostly in omissions, he has also certain additions. They are not many, but they are of importance. They include one of the parables, the Fruit-bearing Earth (4^{26-29}); two of the miracles, those of the deaf mute (7^{31-37}), and the blind man at Bethsaida (8^{22-26}); and such incidents or circumstances as the three questions about the dulness of the disciples ($8^{17.18}$), the question about the disciples disputing (9^{33}), the young man with the linen cloth ($14^{51.52}$), the smiting of Jesus by the servants of the chief priests (14^{65}), Pilate's wonder and his questioning of the centurion (15^{44}).

Besides these, there is much additional matter in the form of striking detail in the narrative that is common to Mark and the other two, or to Mark and one of the two. This is seen especially in such cases as those of the *paralytic*, the *demoniac boy*, the *departure from Ephraim*, the *purgation of the temple*, etc. In these Mark describes, as the others do not, the *uncovering* and *breaking up* of the roof (2^{4}); the *pining* and miserable condition of the boy, the question of Jesus, and the father's *cry for faith* (9^{17-26}); the walking of Jesus *before* His disciples (10^{33}); the prohibiting of the *carrying of vessels* through the temple courts (11^{16}).

While there are only four paragraphs (together with the opening verse) out of the 106 of which Mark's Gospel may be said to consist, that are not found at all in Matthew or in Luke, the quantity of matter proper to Mark is calculated to amount, when all kinds of additions to the common record are taken into account, to about a sixth of the book. But in the stricter sense of incidents or sayings reported by Mark and not found in any form in either of the other Synoptists the case is different. In this sense the matter peculiar to the second Gospel does not extend to more than from twenty-five to thirty verses.

In the arrangement of the narrative this Gospel follows in some respects a course of its own. As regards the connexion in which it gives the narrative that is common to the three, its two main sections differ widely. In the report of the ministry in Galilee (1^{14}–9^{50}), Mark's order of events diverges largely from Matthew's on to the story of Herod (6^{14}); after this point the disagreement disappears for the most part. In the case of Luke the difference is much less. The second and third Gospels observe much the same order, yet with some notable exceptions. The incident of the blasphemy of the scribes, *e.g.*, is introduced by Mark (3^{22}) before the coming of the mother and the brethren of Jesus, but by Luke (11^{15}) after that; and the parable of the Mustard Seed is given by Mark (4^{30-32}) in connexion with that of the Sower, but by Luke ($13^{18.19}$) after the healing of the woman with the spirit of infirmity. The visit to Nazareth which Mark records (6^{1-6}) would have to be added to these exceptions, if it were necessary to identify it with the visit reported by Luke (4^{16-32}). But, in placing the visit which he has in view at the beginning of the ministry, Luke is so far supported by Matthew (4^{13-16}); and the case recorded by Mark, which appears to be the same as is also given by Matthew at a later stage (13^{54-56}), is possibly different. In the second of the two main sections of his Gospel, from the journey to Jerusalem on to the Resurrection (10^{1}–16^{8}), Mark has generally the same order as the other Synoptists. There are some exceptions indeed, but they are of minor importance. Mark, *e.g.*, reports the blasting of the fig-tree as witnessed the morning after the curse (11^{20}), while Matthew records the effect along with the pronouncement ($21^{18.19}$); and while Luke (22^{21}) gives our Lord's declaration of the traitor as made after the giving of the bread and the cup, Mark (14^{18}) introduces it before that.

iii. DICTION AND STYLE.—As might be expected from the measure of agreement in contents, Mark has much in common with the other Synoptists in *diction.* More than a sixth of his entire vocabulary is found also in Matthew and Luke, or in one of them, and nowhere else in the NT. The affinities with John are more limited. There are only 15 words peculiar to the second Gospel and the Fourth, and of these only a few are of distinct interest (*e.g.* ἀκάνθινος, ἐνταφιασμός, πιστικός, προσαίτης). Nor is the case much altered if we take words peculiar to Mark and John together with one or other of the remaining Gospels. There are only 7 words of all kinds peculiar to Mark with John and Matthew (ἐμβριμᾶσθαι, μοιχεία, ὄψιος, πλέκειν, ῥαββεί, σπόγγος, ὡσαννά), and only 5 peculiar to Mark with John and Luke (ἄρωμα, γαζοφυλάκιον, ἱμάς, κράβαττος, φανερῶς). The similarity between the second Gospel and the Pauline Epistles is somewhat more marked. The number of words peculiar to these writings, together with the Epistle to the Hebrews, is about 23; while the measure of resemblance becomes much greater if words peculiar to Mark and the Pauline Epistles, together with Matthew or with Luke, are taken into account. The linguistic affinity is smallest between Mark and the Apocalypse, and between Mark and the Catholic Epistles, the peculiar words in the former case being only 5 (δρέπανον, λευκαίνειν, μεγιστάν, χλωρός, χοῦς), and in the latter only 2 (δαμάζειν, δωρεῖσθαι).

On the other hand, there is a considerable number of words which occur only in Mark and the LXX. They amount to about 40, and most of them are words which are replaced by others in the parallel passages in Matthew and Luke. To the last-mentioned class belong such terms as ἀγρεύειν, ἀμφιβάλλειν, δύσκολος, ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι, ἐνειλεῖν, καταβαρύνειν, προσάββατον, στίλβειν, τρυμαλιά, etc. There are also some 38 words of various kinds (omitting proper names) which occur only in Mark, and neither in the other NT writers nor in the LXX. Among these are such terms as ἀλεκτοροφωνία, ἀλλαχοῦ, ἀνακυλίειν, ἄναλος, ἀπόδημος, ἀποστεγάζειν, ἀφρίζειν, ἐκπερισσῶς, ἔννυχα, ἐσχάτως, κωμόπολις, νουνεχῶς, παρόμοιος, προαύλιον, προμεριμνᾷν, πυγμῇ, στασιαστής, στιβάς, τηλαυγῶς, τρίζειν, ὑπερπερισσῶς. The number of words of all kinds peculiar to Mark among the NT writers amounts to somewhat less than a seventeenth of his entire vocabulary. Discounting proper names and transliterations like βοανηργές, ἐφφαθά, κορβάν, ταλειθά, κούμ, ῥαββουνεί, the proportion will be about 79 to 1270. The strictly distinctive element in Mark's vocabulary, though of great interest, is not particularly large. It is much smaller than is the case with Luke, who has about 250 ἅπαξ λεγόμενα, and also many words peculiar to himself and St. Paul.

There are certain words and phrases for which Mark has a peculiar fondness, and which are used much more frequently by him than by the other Synoptists. Of this class are these: ἐπερωτᾷν, διαστέλλεσθαι, εἰσπορεύεσθαι, παραπορεύεσθαι, περιβλέπεσθαι, εὐαγγέλιον, πρωΐ, φέρειν, ἐξέρχεσθαι ἐξ. Where Matthew and Luke have προσέχειν ἀπό, Mark has βλέπειν ἀπό; where these have Ἡρώδης ὁ τετράρχης, he has ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡρῴδης; where Matthew has συμβούλιον λαμβάνειν, Mark has συμβούλιον ποιεῖν.

Mark has also a predilection for diminutives, such as θυγάτριον, κοράσιον, κυνάριον, ὠτάριον, πλοιάριον, παιδίον, ἰχθύδιον; and for accumulated negatives, *e.g.* οὐκέτι οὐ μή (14^{25}), μηδενὶ μηδέν (1^{44}), οὐκ οὐδείς (3^{27}), μηκέτι μηδέ (2^{2}), οὐκέτι οὐδείς (5^{3} etc.), μηκέτι μηδείς (11^{14}), μὴ μηδέ (3^{20}), etc. Latinisms, such as δηνάριον, κῆνσος, κεντυρίων, κοδράντης, κράβαττος, λεγίων, ξέστης, σπεκουλάτωρ, ἱκανὸν ποιεῖν, occur in larger measure in his than in the companion Gospels. Old dialectic forms, such as εἶτεν, παιδιόθεν, occasionally reappear in Mark. He has a particular liking for the use of εὐθύς (εὐθέως) in transitions. He has a disposition also to use full or pleonastic forms, especially in statements of time and place, and in the case of prepositions in composition, *e.g.* τότε ἐν ἐκείνῃ ἡμέρᾳ (2^{20} etc.), ἐκ παιδιόθεν (9^{21}), ἀπὸ μακρόθεν (5^{6} 8^{3} etc.), ἐξάγειν ἔξω, ἐκπορεύεσθαι ἔξω, ἐξέρχεσθαι ἔξω.

Further, Mark often adds to the force of his statements by the use of repeated, explanatory, or balanced expressions (*e.g.* 1^{42} 3^{26} 5^{12}). In construction he has a preference for the use of εἶναι and ἐλθεῖν with the participle; *e.g.* ἦν ἐνδεδυμένος . . . καὶ ἔσθων (1^{6}); ἦσαν καθήμενοι καὶ διαλογιζόμενοι (2^{6}); ἦν κράζων καὶ κατακόπτων (5^{5}). He is accustomed to heap participles together (as in $1^{21.41}$ 5^{25} 14^{67} etc.), and to use ἄν with the indicative (ὅταν αὐτὸν . . . ἐθεώρουν, 3^{11}; ὅταν ἐγένετο, 11^{19} etc.). He has a liking also for the use of the article with the infinitive (*e.g.* διὰ τὸ αὐτὸν . . . δεδέσθαι καὶ διεσπάσθαι, 5^{4} etc.). The 'historic present' is frequent (Hawkins, 113 ff.). Broken and irregular constructions are by no means unusual (cf. 2^{22} 3^{16-18} 8^{2} 9^{20} $13^{14.34}$ etc.).

The connexion of the sentences, again, is of the simplest, one being attached to the other usually by a καί or a δέ. There is a marked absence of such particles as οὖν. But there is considerable freedom in the use of prepositions, and there is more in the use of the tenses. The latter vary, often within the same sentence, so as to express changes in circumstance, position, or point of view (*e.g.* ἐγήγερται . . . ἠγέρθη, 6^{14}; ἐλύθη . . . ἐλάλει . . . διεστείλατο . . . διεστέλλετο, $7^{35.36}$; ἐξεθαμβήθησαν . . . ἠσπάζοντο, 9^{15}; cf. 5^{15} etc. 9^{34} etc. 15^{44} etc.).

The *style* has the constant qualities of life and force. When elaboration or repetition is needed in order to make his narrative distinct and vivid, Mark employs a copious phraseology, and adds word to word, *e.g.* 'he went out and began to *publish it much* and to *blaze abroad* the matter' (1^{45}); 'I *know* not neither *understand* I what thou sayest' (14^{68}); 'that *sprung up* and *increased*; and *brought forth*' (4^{8}), etc. But usually Mark's style is terse. It abounds in passages which are remarkable for the large amount of matter compressed within the narrowest limits. Examples of condensed yet singularly distinct narrative are found everywhere. They are particularly frequent in the earlier chapters (cf. 1^{13} 1^{27} 2^{7} etc.), but are by no means strange to the later (cf. 8^{29} 12^{38-40} etc.).

In much Mark's Greek is like that of the LXX, at once in vocabulary and in style. It differs both from that of Matthew and from that of Luke. It has a Hebraistic colouring. But it has less of that than Matthew, though more than Luke. It lacks the flow and the literary quality of the Greek of the third Gospel. It is the Greek of one to whom Greek is not his mother tongue, and who knows the language in its biblical, popular, and colloquial forms, not in its literary usage. The command of words is moderate, and the grasp of idiomatic expression is limited. But there is enough for the purpose—enough for simple, truthful narrative; not enough for a literary composition, but enough for the construction of a collection of notes and reminiscences.

iv. ORIGINAL LANGUAGE.—From the earliest times to the present day the general opinion has been that the second Gospel was written originally in the language in which we now possess it. The testimony of antiquity is entirely in this direction. The Fathers either speak of Mark's Gospel as written in *Greek*, or proceed on the supposition, and betray no knowledge of any other view of it. And in the book itself there is little, if anything, to suggest aught else. It has been held by some, however, that the original language was *Latin*. This view found favour with Roman Catholic scholars of a former age, although it has been generally given up by their successors in our own time. It was upheld by Baronius (*Ad ann.* 45, No. 39) among others, and there were even those who thought that part of the Latin autograph was to be seen in the Library of St. Mark's, Venice. The document in question was found, however, to be simply a part of the Vulgate, and to belong to a Latin MS of the Gospels, another portion of which had found its way to Prague (cf. Dobrowsky, *Fragm. Pragense Ev. St. Marci vulgo autographi*; Simon, *Hist. Crit.* iii. 14; Gregory-Tischendorf, *Proleg.* p. 185).

It is true that the subscriptions of certain manuscripts (*e.g.* 160, 161) speak of this Gospel as written in Latin (ἐγράφη Ῥωμαϊστὶ ἐν Ῥώμῃ). But they are few in number and of relatively late date, not earlier in any case than the 10th century. It is true, too, that the same idea is conveyed in the subscriptions or marginal notes of certain versions — the Peshiṭta and Harcleian Syriac (*Latine Romæ*). But there is probably nothing more in this than a hasty inference that, if the Gospel was written in Rome or for Roman readers, it must have been written in the Roman tongue. There is absolutely nothing in Patristic testimony to support the theory of a Latin original. It is hard to believe that such an original could have perished so completely. It is true that there is the supposed parallel of a Hebrew original for Matthew's Gospel (see art. on latter). But in that case there is an early and considerable tradition at the basis of the theory, whereas in Mark's case the original, if it was in Latin, has disappeared without leaving a trace of itself. And further, if the second Gospel was meant specially for Roman Christians, the probability is all on the side of its being composed in Greek, as St. Paul wrote his Epistle to the Romans in that tongue. Colloquial Greek would be a more natural medium of communication between the evangelist and Roman Christians than Latin.

It has also been held that this Gospel was written originally in *Aramaic*. Blass (cf. his *Philology of the Gospels*, p. 196, etc.) in advocating this view points to the condition of the text, which suggests, he thinks, the existence of a 'plurality of versions of a common Aramaic original.' But the data which he produces, though ingeniously presented, are neither numerous enough nor certain enough for the purpose. His argument in other directions is also mixed up with doubtful speculations. It implies that Papias mistook a translation for the original. It supposes that in the first part of the Bk. of Acts Luke followed an author who had written in Aramaic, and that this author was Mark. To say that Mark's Gospel had Aramaic sources is one thing, to say that it was written in Aramaic is a different thing. The theory in question makes the Mark which we have a translation, and the argument in view fails to account for the many things in the book, in its style and its strong individuality, which give it the character of a primary, not a secondary composition.

v. STATE OF TEXT AND INTEGRITY OF THE BOOK.—The *text* of the second Gospel, like that of the others, is in a satisfactory condition. It is attested by the Primary Uncials (including C, which gives chs. 1^{17}–6^{31} 8^{5}–12^{29} 13^{19}–16^{20}); by most of the later uncials which are of special interest in respect of age, completeness, or character of text, *e.g.* E, K, L, M, N, S, U, V, Δ, Π (complete, but having 16^{18-20} in a later hand), Σ (containing all but 16^{14-20}), Φ, etc.; by the mass of the cursives, among which are 1, 33, the Ferrar group, and others of critical importance; and by the best of the ancient versions—Latin (Old Lat. in its best MSS, and Vulg.), Syriac (Old Syriac, both Curetonian and Sinaitic, Peshiṭta, Harcleian, Palestinian), Egyptian (both Memphitic and Thebaic), Ethiopic, Gothic, Armenian; and by a large body of Patristic evidence.

It presents, nevertheless, not a few problems, of more or less importance, in textual criticism. The chief of these is the one raised by the existence of alternative endings. But there are others of smaller compass which are of interest. They are spread over most parts of the Gospel, and in many cases have a considerable bearing on the exegesis. Instances are found in 1^{1} (the τοῦ θεοῦ); 1^{2} (the reading ἐν τῷ Ἠσαΐᾳ τῷ προφήτῃ); 1^{4} (the point of the description of the Baptist being affected by the retention or omission of ὁ and καί); 1^{27} (the διδαχὴ καινή); 3^{18} (Καναναῖον); 4^{28} (πληρὴς or πληρὴ σῖτον); 5^{1} (Γερασηνῶν); 5^{36} (παρακούσας); 7^{3} (πυγμῇ); 7^{8} and 7^{26} (the omissions); 8^{22} (Βηθανίαν); 8^{24} (the graphic reading βλέπω τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὅτι ὡς δένδρα ὁρῶ περιπατοῦντας); 9^{29} (the omission of καὶ νηστείᾳ); $9^{44.46.49}$ (the omission of the sentences ὅπου σκώληξ, etc., and καὶ πᾶσα θυσία ἁλὶ ἁλισθήσεται); $11^{8.26}$ (the στιβάδας in the former and the omission of the latter); 13^{14} (the omission of τὸ ῥηθέν, etc.); 14^{19} (the omission of καὶ ἄλλος, Μήτι ἐγώ); 14^{35} (προελθών); 15^{28} (its omission). Of special importance are these—the reading ἁμαρτήματος for κρίσεως in 3^{29}; the well attested ὁ τέκτων in 6^{3}; the ἠπόρει for ἐποιεῖ in 6^{20}; the puzzling αὐτοῦ for αὐτῆς, supported by ℵ, B, D, L, Δ, in the description of the damsel in 6^{22}; the καθαρίζων, attested by ℵ, A, B, L, and many cursives in 7^{19}.

The only case affecting the *integrity* of any considerable part of the Gospel is that of the concluding paragraph. It is also the great problem in the textual criticism of the book. The documents show three different forms for the close of the Gospel—(*a*) the longer form as given in TR, embracing 16^{9-20}; (*b*) the shorter form, ending with ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ in 16^{8}; (*c*) an intermediate form which runs (with some variations) thus—*πάντα δὲ τὰ παρηγγελμένα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πετρὸν συντόμως ἐξήγγειλαν· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐφάνη αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς καὶ ἄχρι δύσεως ἐξαπέστειλεν δι' αὐτῶν τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἄφθαρτον κήρυγμα τῆς αἰωνίου σωτηρίας.*

The intermediate form is found in 4 uncials (L, ℸ^{12}, ק, Ψ), the cursive 274 (in a footnote), the margin of the Harcleian Syriac (with a note), the margin of two good MSS of the Memphitic, and certain MSS of the Ethiopic (continuously with 16^{8}, and followed immediately, without note, by 16^{9-20}). In most cases it appears as an alternative to the longer form; but in the Old Latin codex *k* it is given alone. In style it resembles Luke rather than Mark. Neither in whole nor in part has it been found in any of the Patristic writings. It is probably due to a scribe or editor of early date, who found it difficult to believe that the Gospel could have terminated so abruptly as it does at 16^{8}, and there is no reason to suppose that it ever found a very extended acceptance.

The question is as to the comparative claims of the other two forms. The longer conclusion is supported by the vast majority of uncials, including A, C, D, E, F, G, H, K, M (N), S, U, V, X, Γ, Δ, Π, Σ, Ω, ℶ, by the cursives in a body, most of them giving the paragraph 16^{9-20} without note, 20 or more of them stating that it was found in the best manuscripts, though it was wanting in some; by all the Lectionaries for Easter and Ascension Day, by the Old Latin (*c*, *ff*, *g*, *l*, *n*, *o*, *q*) and Vulgate versions, the Curetonian, Peshitta, Harcleian and Jerusalem Syriac, the Memphitic or Bohairic, Gothic (in part), Ethiopic (as a secondary reading), and Armenian (in later MSS); and by many of the Fathers, including Justin (possibly), Hermas (doubtfully), Irenæus, Eusebius or his correspondent Marinus, Macarius as reporting an anonymous heathen writer, Epiphanius, Didymus, Nestorius, Chrysostom (doubtfully), Ambrose, Augustine, and most Latin writers after these, as well as by the *Apostolic Constitutions*, the *Gesta Pilati*, the Syrian Aphraates, etc. It is also urged in its favour that the competing conclusion is inconceivably abrupt.

On the other hand, the shorter ending is given in the two great uncials ℵ and B (the latter leaving a column blank), by L (as one of three endings), by the cursive 22 (with a note and as one of two endings), by *k* of the Old Latin (implicit), the margin of the Harcleian Syriac, the Sinaitic Syriac, the best MSS of the Armenian, and by the Ethiopic in some of its older MSS. It is also favoured by Eusebius (who speaks of vv.$^{9-20}$ as not found 'in all the copies' or 'in the accurate copies'), by Jerome (who probably repeats Eusebius, stating that the passage is found 'in few Gospels, almost all the Greek copies not having it'), by Victor of Antioch, and by the writer of the Oration on the Resurrection, wrongly attributed to Hesychius of Jerusalem or to Severus of Antioch. The lack of all reference to it in writers who might have had occasion to deal with it, such as Cyril of Jerusalem, Cyprian, Tertullian, Athanasius, Basil, Gregory Naz., Gregory Nyss., Cyril of Alexandria, Theodoret, is also significant.

Internal considerations, too, are, on the whole, adverse to the longer conclusion. It is true that *ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ* makes an extremely abrupt termination. But such terminations, even where the last word happens to be a particle, are not unknown in Greek literature. It is true, too, that it seems strange that the evangelist should close his narrative with a single incident of the Lord's risen life, and that one in which we are left with the final impression of terror. But this may be due to the narrative having been left for some reason unfinished, or less probably to the loss of a leaf; while in point of fact the additional statement in 16^{9-20} does not give the harmony and completeness which one expects. But, further, there is a marked difference between the two paragraphs in general character. It is easy indeed to make too much of matters of vocabulary and style where the area of comparison is so limited, and some of the alleged peculiarities of the longer ending may admit of explanation. The fact, however, remains, that in 16^{9-20} there is an unusual number of words and phrases that are strange to Mark, *e.g.* *θεάομαι*, *ἀπιστέω*, *μετὰ ταῦτα*, *πρώτη σαββάτου*, *ὁ κύριος* as applied to Christ, *πορεύεσθαι* (three times in this section, and nowhere else), *πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις*, *τὸν κόσμον ἅπαντα*, *παρακολουθέω*, *ἐπακολουθέω*, *βεβαιόω*, etc.

The style, too, changes. It is less graphic, but more constructive. It drops the simple connexion by *καί*, and runs in terms of *μετὰ ταῦτα*, *ὕστερον δέ*, *ὁ μὲν οὖν*, *ἐκεῖνος δέ*, etc. There are peculiarities also in its matter. Mary Magdalene, who has been introduced in 16^{1}, is mentioned in 16^{9} as if for the first time, and gets a note of identification (*ἀφ' ἧς ἐκβεβλήκει ἑπτὰ δαιμόνια*). The motive of the paragraph seems not to be purely historical. The thing on which all turns in it is the passing of the apostles out of their first hopelessness, unbelief, and weakness into the certitude, the courage, and the power of faith. To exhibit this is perhaps the purpose for which it was written. In any case it is complete within itself. It is 'a condensed fifth narrative of the Forty Days' (Hort), a summary of the appearances of the risen Christ and their effect upon the apostles, concluding with His ascension, and their subsequent work.

The probability, therefore, is that these last twelve verses did not belong to the original form of the Gospel. This probability is strengthened both by the case of the intermediate ending, and by the consideration that there was an inducement to supplement the narrative so as to remove the strangeness of the shorter conclusion. In view of the peculiarities of style and connexion, it is difficult to suppose that it was added by the original hand. It must have been of very early date, however, and it is not the kind of addition that can be readily explained as a work of mere invention. It embodies a true apostolic tradition, and may have been written by some companion or successor of the original author. In an Armenian manuscript of the Gospels, which was discovered in 1891 in the Patriarchal Library of Edschmiatzin, and is stated to be written A.D. 986, the paragraph bears to be the work *Of the Presbyter Ariston.* It is suggested by Mr. F. C. Conybeare, the discoverer of the manuscript, that this Ariston may be the Aristion who is named by Papias (Euseb. *HE* iii. 39) among the disciples of the Lord, and that the question of the authorship of these twelve verses is thus solved (*Expos.* viii. [1894] p. 241, etc., and in Swete's *St. Mark*, p. ciii ff.).

The genuineness of the paragraph has been defended by R. Simon, Mill, Bengel, Wolf, Eichhorn, Storr, Kuinoel, Matthæi, Hug, Scholz, Guericke, de Wette, Olshausen, Bleek, Lange, Ebrard, Bisping, Hilgenfeld (in part), McClellan, Scrivener, Canon Cook, Dean Burgon, Morison, Wordsworth, G. Salmon, E. Miller, etc. It is contested by Michaelis, Fritzsche, Griesbach, Lachmann (although according to their method these two give it a place in their texts), Credner, Ritschl, Meyer, Ewald, Reuss, Holtzmann, Keim, Hofmann, Tischendorf, Zahn, Tregelles, Schaff, Weiss, Westcott and Hort, Alford, Swete, and most English scholars. Some (Scholten, etc.) have solved the difficulty by supposing that the Gospel had originally a different conclusion; and attempts have been made (by Ewald, Holtzmann, Volkmar, and Ritschl) to restore this hypothetical ending. But these have been more venturesome than convincing. (See the great critical editions by Tischendorf, Tregelles, and especially Westcott and Hort (*Appendix*, pp. 28–51); Scrivener's *Introduction to the Criticism of the NT*; Burgon's *The Last Twelve Verses of the Gospel according to S. Mark*, etc.; Weiss, *Das Markusevangelium*; Klostermann, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 298–309; Martin, *Introduction à la critique textuelle du NT*, partie pratique tome ii.; G. Salmon, *Introd. to the NT*, pp. 141–151; Harnack, *Bruchstücke des Ev. u. der Apoc. Pt.*, 2 Aufl. p. 33; Rohrbach, *Der Schluss des Markusevangelium*; Strzygowski, *Byzantinische Denkmäler*, I. (1891); Resch, *Aussercanonische Paralleltexte zu den Evang.* ii. pp. 450–456; Swete, *The Gospel acc. to St. Mark*, pp. xcvi–cv; Zahn, *Geschichte des NT Kanons*, ii. pp. 910–938, and *Einleit. in das NT*, ii. p. 227, etc.).

vi. GENIUS OF THE GOSPEL.—The second Gospel has a noticeable individuality. Qualities which at once catch the eye distinguish it from its companions. One of its most marked characteristics is the simple *objectivity* of its narrative. It is not the product of reflection, nor does it give things coloured by the writer's own ideas. It has been called a 'transcript from life' (Westcott). It is in the main a simple and unqualified transcript. It has been described also as the *realistic* Gospel, and the description is just if it means that Mark brings things before us as they were, simply and entirely as they were, and as if one's own eye were on them. With this, too, it has the charm of a singular *vividness*. It is beyond the others graphic and dramatic, rich in pictorial effects and lifelike touches. This is true in some degree even of the discourses. It is pre-eminently true of the deeds and incidents. Examples are seen in the narratives of the storm (4^{36-41}), the demoniac (5^{1-20}), Herod's feast (6^{21-29}), the feeding of the 5000 (6^{35-39}), the blind man (8^{22-26}), the son with the dumb spirit (9^{14-29}), the rich young ruler (10^{17-22}), Bartimæus (10^{46-52}), etc. Often the effect is produced by a single word or phrase, *e.g.* the *κύψας* in 1^{7}; the *σχιζομένους* in 1^{10}; the *ἐκβάλλει* in 1^{12}, as compared with Matthew's *ἀνήχθη* and Luke's *ἤγετο*; the *εὐθὺς ἄρας τὸν κράβαττον* in 2^{12}; the *ἐπέβαλλεν* and the *γεμίζεσθαι* in 4^{37}; the *περιπατῶν ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης* in 6^{49}; the *προσωρμίσθησαν* in 6^{53}; the *κράξας, σπαράξας*, etc., in 9^{26}; the *θερμαινόμενον* in 14^{67} etc. It belongs to the same quality of vividness that the direct form of speech is so often chosen, *e.g.* 'Peace, be still' (4^{39}); 'Come out of the man, *thou* unclean spirit' (5^{8}); 'Send us into the swine' (5^{12}); 'Come ye yourselves apart' (6^{31}); '*Thou* dumb and deaf spirit, I charge thee, come out of him, and enter no more into him' (9^{25}).

So, too, Mark preserves notable words of Christ in the mother tongue (*Boanerges, Talitha cum, Ephphatha, Corban, Abba*), and delights to record His actual gestures and movements. Thus he tells us how He 'looked round about' on the men in the synagogue (3^{5}); how He 'turned him about in the press' (5^{30}); how He 'looked up to heaven' when He took the loaves and the fishes (6^{41}), and when He cured the deaf-mute (7^{34}); how He 'turned about, and looked on the disciples' (8^{33}); how He 'sat down and called the twelve' (9^{35}); how He took little children 'up into his arms, and put his hands upon them' (9^{36} 10^{16}); how 'beholding' the young ruler He 'loved him,' and 'turned about and looked on his disciples' ($10^{21.23}$); how He 'looked round about upon all things' in the temple profaned (11^{11}).

Akin to this, too, is the quality of peculiar *circumstantiality*. Mark's is the Gospel of greatest detail. As a general rule, it is richer than the other Gospels in the particulars which go to give certainty and distinctness to narrative. It is copious in indications of time, place, number, situation, and the like. It tells us, *e.g.*, that the swine which 'ran violently down a steep place into the sea' were 'about two thousand' (5^{13}); that the disciples were sent forth 'two and two' (6^{7}); that on the occasion of the miracle of the 5000 the people 'sat down in ranks, by hundreds and by fifties' (6^{40}); that Jesus went to pray, rising up 'a great while before day' (1^{35}); that it was 'the third hour' when they crucified Him (15^{25}); that it was 'very early in the morning, the first day of the week, . . . at the rising of the sun,' that the women came to the sepulchre (16^{1}). So, too, Mark explains how Jesus withdrew 'to the sea' (3^{7}); how He 'sat in the sea' (4^{1}); how He was in 'the hinder part of the ship, asleep on a pillow' (4^{38}); how He sat 'over against the treasury' (12^{41}), and on the Mount of Olives 'over against the temple' (13^{3}); and how the healed demoniac preached 'in Decapolis' (5^{20}); how Peter 'went out into the porch' (14^{68}); how the centurion 'stood over against' Jesus (15^{39}); how the young man was seen 'sitting on the right side' in the sepulchre (16^{5}), etc.

'He is an author,' says Keim, 'in a flower-bedecked garment. . . . He makes the narratives more effective by the contrast between rapid progression—marked by the continually repeated "immediately"—and contemplative stillness, painting the scenery with a thousand touches, the house, the sea, the followers, the growing throng, the names of persons, the numbers of the men and of the animals and of the pieces of money, the greenness of the grass, the pillow in the stern of the boat on Gennesareth—all given with a preference for affectionate and familiar diminutives, and in the present tense' (*Jesus of Nazara*, Eng. tr. i. pp. 128, 129.

It belongs also to its genius that it is distinctively the Gospel of *action*. It is this in a twofold sense. Its primary interest is in deed and incident rather than in discourse. It does not limit itself, it is true, wholly to the works of Christ. It gives a considerable place to dialogue, and records not a few of our Lord's briefer sayings. But these seem to be introduced mainly because of their connexion with the events and acts; while the longer discourses, which are characteristic of each of the other three evangelists in different ways, do not appear in Mark. The one great exception is the Eschatological Discourse in ch. 13. It is the Gospel of action, too, in the sense that its narrative of the deeds of our Lord is rapid, energetic, undisturbed by reflection, moving steadily and regularly to its goal. The only passage that is of the nature of an episode is the story of Herod (6^{17-29}). With the briefest possible preface it goes straight to its main subject, the official ministry of Christ; and it proceeds with that subject with a simple and rapid directness, passing from one thing in it to another often by abrupt transitions and without pausing to study form or artistic connexion. The same holds true of it when it goes beyond the function of a chronicle. It does not always confine itself to the simple report of what was done by Christ and others or what befell them. In not a few cases it records the impressions which were produced—the *awe* and *wonder* with which the crowds beheld Christ's works or heard His words ($1^{22.27}$ 2^{12} 6^{2}); the eager anxiety of the multitudes to get near Him as they *thronged* and *pressed* Him, so that there was *scarce room to stand, or sit, or leisure even to eat* (2^{2} $3^{10.20.32}$ 4^{1} $5^{21.31}$ $6^{31.33}$ 8^{1}); the feelings of *fear, sore amazement, astonishment*, and the like, which overcame the disciples (4^{41} 6^{51} $10^{24.26.32}$). At times Mark even *explains* cases that he records, *e.g.* Herod's attitude to the Baptist (6^{19}); the terror of the disciples when they saw Jesus on the sea (6^{52}); the silence of the women (16^{8}), etc. He deals in the same way now and again with things which he reports Christ to have done (*e.g.* the 'knowing in himself that virtue had gone out of him,' 5^{30}; the *καθαρίζων πάντα τὰ βρώματα* 7^{19} etc.). But all is done rapidly and by a few clear strokes. It is in harmony with this that Mark presents Christ so largely in the *energy* of His superhuman power. The prevailing aspect in which the second Gospel sets forth its Subject is not that of the Son of David and Abraham, in whom Matthew sees the fulfilment of OT prophecy; nor that of the Son of Adam, in whom Luke sees the Perfect Man, the Saviour for all mankind, the minister of love and compassion for the worst and most despised; nor the eternal Word, in whom John sees the fulness of the Godhead. It is that of the 'Son of God with power' (Ro 1^{4}), moving among men with His gift of miracle, and making the things of nature the servants of His grace. So Mark gives a large place to His mighty works, and exhibits Him in the majesty of His energy. He shows us how He used His miraculous power; how that power was felt and recognized by different classes; how the multitudes believed in it and made their appeal to it, and brought their sick to Him, confident that if they could secure His notice or even touch Him it would be enough (1^{32} 3^{10} 5^{28} 6^{56} etc.); and how resistless were the effects that were produced alike on people and on disciples by His wonderful works (1^{27} 2^{12} 7^{31} etc.).

Yet this is not due to any neglect of His true humanity. It is a remarkable fact that, while this Gospel depicts the Jesus of history so pre-eminently in His *power*, it records with literal faithfulness things which might seem so far to limit that power. It tells us how the unclean spirits first resisted (1^{24}); and how He could 'do no mighty work' in Nazareth (6^{5}). It describes with precise and vivid circumstance those miracles which were wrought not instantaneously and by word, but with comparative slowness and by the use of means (7$^{31-35}$ 8$^{22-26}$). It is also rich in touches which speak to the identity of Christ's human nature with ours in feeling and in the experience of infirmity, revealing Him not only in His compassion (6^{34} 8^{2}), His love (10^{21}), His majesty and serenity (4$^{37-40}$ 9$^{2-9}$ etc.), but in His sense of hunger (11^{12}), His need of rest (4^{38}), His anger and displeasure (3^{5} 10^{14}), His sighing (7^{34} 8^{12}), His wonder (6^{6}), His grief (3^{5}), His longing for solitude (1^{35} 6$^{30-32}$ etc.).

The peculiar place which the *disciples* have in this Gospel has also been noticed. They have a large place in all the Gospels, and much of each of the Gospels is given to the description of how the apostles were taught and trained by their Lord. But Mark appears to dwell with a special interest on all that belongs to the disciples—their intercourse with Christ, the way in which they became first attached to Him, the deepening of that attachment, the choice of Twelve from among them, the experience of the elect three, the things said and done by Christ with a particular reference to His immediate followers. So much is this the case that some would speak of it as distinctively the 'Disciple Gospel' (Weiss).

It has also been claimed for Mark that his is the *chronological* Gospel. But this is true only in a very qualified sense. His narrative is no more a *history* than are those of the companion Gospels, nor does it give events in strict chronological succession. There is at the same time a difference between Mark and his comrades in this respect as in others. Mark observes a certain order of a large kind in his report of Christ's teaching and in his account of His ministry. While he omits much, he gives what he includes in a certain connexion and sequence. The order which he exhibits, however, seems to be that in which facts came to him in the communications of his chief informant rather than that of actual occurrence. He does not follow the method of grouping words and events to the extent seen in Matthew, nor does he attempt the literary arrangement of the matter, as we observe it so far in Luke. It is by taking Mark's narrative, however, as the framework and adding to it from the other Gospels that we appear to come nearest the actual succession of events. His narrative, though not strictly chronological and by no means devoid of dislocations, is more *continuous* than those of the other Synoptists.

vii. HISTORICAL ATTESTATION.—The historical testimony to the early circulation and acceptance of this Gospel is sufficient. It is scantier, however, at the earliest point than might have been expected. There is scarcely any mention of the second Gospel in the Apostolic Fathers. In Clement of Rome there is one saying which looks like a reminiscence of Mk 4$^{28.29}$ (1 *Cor.* 23), but it may come from another source. There are also two quotations (1 *Cor.* 15. 46) which are much in Mark's style. But they are scarcely sufficient to establish the fact of Clement's acquaintance with this Gospel (cf. Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, pt. i. *in loc.*). Nor is there anything in Ignatius, Polycarp, or Barnabas to point certainly to the existence of the written Gospel, although some find references to Mk 16^{14} in Barnabas, c. xv. 9, and to Mark 9^{35} in Polycarp, *Philipp.* v. Much the same is the case with the Didaché, the Epistle to Diognetus, the Martyrium Polycarpi, the so-called Second Clement. Nor is there any quotation from this Gospel, or reminiscence of it, in the fragments of Papias, although there is much about Mark and his writing (Euseb. *HE* iii. 39, etc.).

It is perhaps somewhat different with Hermas, in whom we have one or two sayings which remind us of expressions peculiar to this Gospel. Thus ἔνοχος ἔσῃ τῆς ἁμαρτίας in *Mand.* ii. 2 recalls Mk 3^{29}; and the sentence τοιοῦτοι οὖν δυσκόλως εἰσελεύσονται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ . . . τοῖς τοιούτοις δύσκολόν ἐστιν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσελθεῖν points to the form in which Christ's declaration on riches appears in Mk (10$^{23.24}$) as distinguished from Mt and Lk. In Justin Martyr, again, there are several passages which have been thought to indicate an acquaintance with the second Gospel, *e.g. Dial.* 88 and *Apol.* i. c. 16, as compared with Mk 6^{3} 12^{30}; *Dial.* 106; also *Apol.* i. cc. 39, 45, 49, 50, and *Dial.* 32 as recalling perhaps Mk 16$^{19.20}$. The most relevant of these are *Dial.* 88, where we have the phrase τέκτονος νομιζομένου applied to Christ, as Mark alone of the evangelists designates Him so; and *Dial.* 106, where mention is made of certain ἀπομνημονεύματα or *Memoirs* apparently of Peter, and the words Βοανεργές, ὅ ἐστιν υἱοὶ βροντῆς are given. These words occur in Mk alone of the Canonical Gospels, and there seems little reason for supposing (*e.g.* with Harnack, *Bruchstücke d. Ev. d. Petrus*, p. 37, etc.) that they are taken from the Apocryphal *Gospel of Peter* rather than from Mark.

We are on much more certain ground when we come to Irenæus. His testimony is as unambiguous as it is ample. He speaks of the 'fourfold Gospel' (τετράμορφον τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, iii. 11. 8). He tells us both about Mark himself and about his Gospel. He quotes the opening words, *Initium Evangelii Jesu Christi filii Dei*, etc., expressly as Mark's (iii. 10. 6); and a number of passages are given by him in exact terms (*e.g.* 1^{24} in iv. 6. 6; 5^{31} in i. 3. 3; 5$^{41.43}$ in v. 13. 1; 8^{31} in iii. 16. 5; 8^{38} in iii. 18. 6; 9^{23} in iv. 37. 5; 9^{44} in ii. 32. 1; 10^{38} in i. 21. 3; 13^{32} in ii. 28. 6. These quotations extend also to the disputed ending, 16^{19} being introduced thus—'in fine autem Evangelii ait Marcus *Et quidem Dominus Jesus, postquam locutus est eis, receptus est in cœlum, et sedet ad dexteram Dei*' (iii. 10. 6). A place in the line of historical witnesses may also be claimed for Athenagoras (*Legatio*, c. 33, though less definitely), the Muratorian Canon (in all probability), Hippolytus (especially Εἰς τὰ ἅγια Θεοφάνεια, Lagarde's *Hippol.* p. 38, where Mk 1$^{7.8}$ is quoted, also Περὶ χαρισμάτων and *contra Hær. Nocti*, Routh's *Opp.* i. 80, 545, as compared with Mk 16$^{17.19}$), Tertullian (on whom see Rönsch, *Das NT Tertullians*, p. 148, etc.), Clement of Alexandria (*Adumbr. in Petr.* p. 1007, Euseb. *HE* ii. 15, vi. 14), the Clementine Homilies (*e.g.* ii. 19, iii. 54, 55, 57, xix. 20), etc.

There is evidence also to show that the second Gospel was known in the earlier heretical circles, especially the Gnostic. Irenæus refers to a sect who separated Jesus from Christ, and preferred Mark's Gospel (iii. 11. 7; the reference, however, is not quite certain), and to a Valentinian School as using Mk 5^{31} (i. 3. 3). Clem. Alex. also (*Strom.* iv. 72, *Exc.* 85) reports Mk 8^{38} as quoted by Heracleon, and the statement about Christ being 'with the wild beasts' as quoted by certain Valentinians (cf. also Sanday, *Gospels in the Second Century*, p. 177, etc.; Zahn, *Gesch. d. NT Kanons*, i. p. 741, etc.). References to our Gospel, especially to its last chapter, some doubtful, others more definite, are found in the *Gospel acc. to Peter* (on these see Zahn, *Einleit. in d. NT*, ii. p. 237, *Das Ev. des Petrus*, p. 53; Lods, *L'évangile de St. Pierre*, p. 64; Harnack, *Bruchstücke des Ev. u. d. Apoc. des Pt.* p. 33; Swete, *Akhmîm Fragment*, p. xl; Rohrbach, *Der Schluss des Markusev.* pp. 27–33, etc.).

To this it must be added that, as far back as we can trace the idea of a fourfold Gospel or the practice of harmonizing the Gospels, Mark forms one of the four. The idea of a fourfold Gospel, however, is probably of older date than Irenæus, some discovering indications of it a generation before the Bishop of Lyons (Taylor, *Witness of Hermas*, 1, etc.); and the practice of harmonizing, of which the first great evidence is Tatian's *Diatessaron*, is probably of earlier date than that work. It appears, therefore, that there is valid evidence to the fact that this Gospel was in circulation by the middle of the 2nd cent.; that by the last quarter of that century it had an established position; and that it became so generally recognized as to find a place in all the early lists of canonical books, whether of the Eastern Church or of the Western, in which the Gospels are given, and in all the great versions of the NT, including the Old Latin, the Egyptian, both Memphitic and Sahidic, and the Syriac in all its forms.

viii. AUTHORSHIP.—Ancient tradition connects the composition of this Gospel with two names—those of Mark and Peter. Much of the historical testimony, from Papias on to Jerome, which attests the early circulation and acceptance of the Gospel, also speaks to Mark as the writer, and this Mark is usually identified with the disciple of that name who appears in the NT in relation both to Paul and to Peter. This identification, indeed, has not been universally accepted. Some have taken the different accounts to point to several Marks. Hippolytus, *e.g.* (Fragment on the *Seventy Apostles*), distinguished between the cousin of Barnabas (bishop of Apollonia), John Mark (bishop of Bibloupolis), and the evangelist (bishop of Alexandria). On the ground that the earliest writers outside the NT do not call the person in question *John*, and represent him as the companion, not of Paul but of Peter, others (Grotius, Calovius, Schleiermacher, Tillemont) have held it necessary to affirm the existence of two Marks, a Pauline and a Petrine, and have ascribed our Gospel to the former (Kienlen). But the case is best satisfied by supposing, as most have done, that all the various references in Scripture and in tradition point to one and the same individual, especially as Barnabas makes the connecting link between Peter and Paul in the story of Mark.

The person to whom the preparation of this Gospel, therefore, is ascribed, is the disciple who in the NT is sometimes called simply Mark or Marcus (Ac 15^{39}, Col 4^{10}, 2 Ti 4^{11}, Philem ^{24}, 1 P 5^{13}), sometimes represented as having Mark for his surname, Ac $12^{12.25}$ 15^{37}, and sometimes called John (Ac $13^{5.13}$); while outside the NT he is spoken of as evangelist and as bishop of Alexandria, and in the later tradition as martyr (Euseb. *HE* ii. 16, iii. 39; Epiph. *Hær.* li. 6; Jer. *de Vir. Ill.* 8; Niceph. ii. 43). In the Gospel itself he does not appear, unless it be in the person of the young man who followed Jesus on the night of the betrayal, 'having a linen cloth cast about his naked body' (Mk $14^{51.52}$), or, as has also been conjectured, in the person of the 'man bearing a pitcher of water' whom the disciples were sent to meet in preparing for the passover (Mk 14^{13}). But elsewhere we see that he was a Jew by birth (Col $4^{10.11}$), the son of a certain Mary, a Christian lady apparently of some position and means, whose house in Jerusalem was a gathering point for believers (Ac 12^{12}), and cousin (ἀνεψιός) of Barnabas (Col 4^{10}). See preceding article.

In the NT the traditional author of the second Gospel is associated mostly with Paul. He is mentioned as returning to Antioch with Paul and Barnabas, after their visit to Jerusalem with the contributions of the Antioch Christians (Ac 12^{25}); as going with Paul and Barnabas on their first missionary journey, in the capacity of their ὑπηρέτης (Ac 13^{5}); as breaking away from them at Perga, and returning to Jerusalem (Ac 13^{13}); as causing a 'sharp contention' between the two friends when Paul proposed to revisit the Churches and declined to take him with them (Ac 15^{36-40}). He reappears, however, in Paul's company at the time of his first imprisonment, and sends salutations along with others through Paul (Col 4^{10}, Philem ^{24}). And he is referred to in appreciative terms by the great apostle in his second imprisonment in Rome as a friend whose presence he desired (2 Ti 4^{11}).

In the NT his association with Peter is quite subordinate. It is suggested in the notice of Mary his mother and Peter's reception in her house after his deliverance from prison (Ac 12^{12}), and it is implied in 1 P 5^{13}, where he is spoken of as Peter's convert (υἱός μου, however, not τέκνον μου). But this is all. In the non-canonical literature all is different. There the relation to Paul drops out of sight, and Mark is statedly associated with Peter. The tradition is both very ancient and remarkably continuous, beginning with Papias (reporting the Presbyter John, and giving also explanations of his own), and carried on by Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus, Tertullian, Origen, Eusebius, Epiphanius, Jerome, etc. In these writers it assumes different forms, but as regards the main points it is consistent.

In Papias (Euseb. *HE* iii. 39) the presbyter speaks of Mark as Peter's ἑρμηνευτής, a term which is understood by not a few to mean that Mark acted as *interpreter* or *dragoman*, translating Peter's Aramaic into Greek; some (*e.g.* Bleek) supposing him to have served as *Latin* interpreter. It is better taken, however, to express the fact that he did the part of *amanuensis*, committing to writing, with more or less freedom in the composition, the oral communications of Peter. The Elder further says of him that he wrote down accurately, not, however, in order (ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν, οὐ μέντοι τάξει), all the things that he remembered, both those said and those done by Christ; that he was not himself a hearer of the Lord, but was indebted for his matter to Peter's instructions, which were adapted to the needs of his hearers, and were not designed to give a connected account of the Lord's words (οὐχ ὥσπερ σύνταξιν τῶν κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λόγων); and that he made no mistake, but made one thing his care, namely, neither to omit anything he had heard nor to set down anything false. It is to be noticed also that this statement defines the scope of Mark's work, or, as it is understood by Zahn and others, the extent of his dependence on Peter. What he is said thus to have written down is '*Some* things as he remembered them' (οὐδὲν ἥμαρτε Μᾶρκος, οὕτως ἔνια γράψας ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευσεν).

If Justin's ἀπομνημονεύματα αὐτοῦ (*Dial.* 106) are taken in their most probable sense as *Peter's* memoirs, Justin also is a witness to the belief that Mark's Gospel was substantially Peter's. Irenæus likewise speaks of Mark as the μαθητὴς καὶ ἑρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου, the *interpres et sectator Petri*, who 'committed to writing the things preached by Peter,' but adds that he did this after the decease of Peter and Paul (iii. 1. 1, 10. 6). Clement Alex. (*Hypotyp.*, as in Euseb. *HE* ii. 14) enlarges the tradition, stating that when Peter had preached at Rome many who had heard him urged Mark to write down what had been spoken; that the evangelist did this; and that when Peter came to know it, he 'neither forbade nor encouraged it.' Tertullian (*adv. Marc.* iv. 5) says of the Gospel which Mark published that it 'might be affirmed to be the Gospel of Peter, whose interpreter Mark was'; and Origen (Euseb. *HE* vi. 25) speaks of Mark as having written 'as Peter directed him.' Eusebius himself, who has much to say on the subject, goes beyond Clement's negative position, and gives the report that the apostle confirmed or authorized Mark's writing at the request of the Churches (*κυρῶσαί τε τὴν γραφὴν εἰς ἔντευξιν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις*, *HE* ii. 15). And Jerome, who also speaks of Mark as Peter's *disciple* and *interpreter* (*de Vir. Ill.* c. 1), states in one passage that Mark wrote a short Gospel at the request of the brethren at Rome, and that Peter approved of it and authorized it to be read in the Churches (*de Vir. Ill.* c. 8), while in another (*Ep. ad. Hedib.* c. 2) he describes the Gospel as composed by Peter *narrating* and Mark *writing* ('habebat ergo Titum interpretem sicut et beatus Petrus Marcum, cujus Evangelium Petro narrante et illo scribente compositum est').

There are variations, therefore, in the traditions, particularly as to the time when the Gospel was written and the measure of its dependence on the apostle. In some forms it is represented as written during Peter's lifetime; in others, as composed after his decease. As time goes on, too, the tendency is to make Peter more and more responsible for it, until in Eusebius it is described as authorized by the apostle to be read in the churches, and in Jerome it is said to have been dictated as well as sanctioned and authorized by Peter. But the tradition is consistent all through in referring the authorship of the Gospel in one sense to Mark and in another to Peter. And the general view which it gives us of the Gospel is that of a composition embodying Peter's recollections of Christ's words and deeds, written by Mark from his notes of the apostle's discourses, and giving the substance of these discourses exactly as he heard them. The tradition is so ancient, so consistent in its main affirmations, and so widely extended, that only internal considerations of exceptional weight could justify its rejection. Does the Gospel as we have it, then, tally with it or not?

It has been contended by some that the second Gospel as we have it does not correspond with Papias' description, and cannot be the work which he ascribes to Mark (Schleiermacher, Weiffenbach, Beyschlag, S. Davidson, etc.). It is asserted that our Gospel is the composition of some unknown writer, who worked up into order and arrangement the unconnected notes which the evangelist had prepared. Mark's own work, it is held, cannot have been anything like a 'Gospel in the sense now understood, but something in the style of the Clementine Homilies—a *κήρυγμα Πέτρου*, in which Mark wrote down sayings, narratives, and teachings of the apostle Peter' (S. Davidson). Some (*e.g.* Wendt) have supposed that what Papias had in view was only a series of narratives, which are embodied in our present Gospel, and can be critically separated from it. And the hypothesis of an *Urmarkus*, a primitive pre-canonical writing, has been advocated in various forms (*e.g.* by Baur, Köstlin, S. Davidson, Jacobsen, etc.).

But there is no trace in ancient literature of this supposed *Urmarkus*. It has been thought, indeed, that we have a glimpse of it in a reference in Justin to a passage in Peter's *ἀπομνημονεύματα*, which is found only in the second Gospel (*Dial. c. Tryph.* c. 106; cf. S. Davidson's *Introd. to the NT*, i. p. 408). But this is utterly insufficient. There is no suggestion anywhere in early Christian literature of a substitution of a later writing for an earlier, or a transference of the name and authority of a preceding composition to our present Gospel. Nor is it easy to understand how a primitive writing by the evangelist Mark, giving an apostle's account of Christ's words and deeds, if it ever existed, could have been so absolutely lost and forgotten. And with regard to the evidence which is thought to be furnished by the Gospel itself as it exists, it is enough to say that it is of the most slender kind. It is urged, *e.g.*, that a series of older narratives is presupposed in 'the account of the replies of Jesus to objections and questions, given in the two groups, Mk 2^{1}–3^{6} and 12^{13-37}' (Wendt, *The Teaching of Jesus*, i. p. 21, Wilson's tr., cf. *Lehre Jesu*, i. pp. 9 ff., 25 ff.), and that in 12^{13} we have the narrative of 3^{6} resumed. This is perhaps the strongest case, but it is not sufficient to take us back to an *Urmarkus*. The things, indeed, which are held by some to indicate that the book as we have it is the product of a process of compilation or literary remodelling are few in number, and can all be otherwise explained.

Neither can it be said that the reasons advanced for the contention that our Mark does not correspond with the writing described by Papias, are of sufficient weight to discredit the tradition. The statement that Mark wrote 'not in order' is not inconsistent with the kind or measure of arrangement which may be discovered in our Gospel. For Mark comes short at any rate of recording things in each case in the succession in which they actually took place, and attempts no literary form. Nor can it be allowed that the occurrence of certain repetitions (such are alleged, *e.g.*, in 6^{14} etc. 8^{28}; 4^{37-41} 6^{47-51}), or the omission of some particulars bearing specially on Peter (*e.g.* the want of the word *bitterly*, which is given by Mt and Lk in their account of his repentance, and the fact that he is not *named* as one of the two sent to prepare for the Supper), are of much weight. Most of the reasons, indeed, which are urged in support of the position are highly arbitrary or hypothetical. The fact, *e.g.*, that this Gospel gives the two distinct narratives of miraculous feedings is turned into an argument against its having derived its matter from an eye-witness. Much is made, too, of certain statements (*e.g.* 10^{2-8} 15^{38} as compared with 2 Co $3^{7-11.\ 18}$), which are declared to have 'passed through the mind of a Paulinist' (S. Davidson, *Introd. to the NT*, i. pp. 463–484).

On the other hand, the lifelike character of the narrative, its vividness and circumstantiality, and the peculiar fulness and certainty of knowledge which show themselves often in minute details, suggest that it is due, directly or indirectly, to an eye-witness. The difference between it and the apocryphal *Gospel according to Peter* in these and other respects is significant. There is much in it also to connect it with the apostle, as indicated by Papias and others. The great bulk of its narrative consists of things of which Peter might have personal knowledge. Peter's call, Peter's confession, the message of the risen Christ to Peter, are great turning-points in the story. There are many touches in the narrative (*e.g.* in 1^{16-20} 1^{29} 9^{5} $14^{54.\ 72}$ 16^{7}) which indicate first-hand knowledge, and that on the part of one like Peter. There are some things noticed in the other Synoptists which are unexpectedly omitted by Mark, *e.g.* Peter's walking on the water (Mt 14^{29}), his appearance in the incident of the tribute money (Mt 17^{24-27}), Christ's statement that He prayed for him individually (Lk 22^{32}), the great word addressed to him as the Rock (Mt 16^{18}). On some occasions, too, his name is not given where it is introduced by Mt or by Lk (*e.g.* 7^{17}, cf. Mt 15^{15}; 14^{13}, cf. Lk 22^{8}).

The silence of this Gospel in matters honourable to Peter has been commented on from the time of Eusebius (*Dem. Evang.* iii. 5) onwards, and explanations of most of these cases of suppression may be suggested. On the other hand, there are reports of incidents which would come most naturally from Peter, and there are suggestive occasions on which Peter is introduced in this Gospel, and only in it. It is only Mark who records, *e.g.*, that 'Simon and they that were with him followed after' Jesus when He departed into a solitary place at the beginning of His ministry (1^{36}); that he called Christ's attention to the withered fig-tree (11^{21}); that with his brother and the sons of Zebedee he questioned Jesus on the Mount of Olives about the destruction of the temple (13^{3}). It may be added that a comparison of the narratives which we have of the three scenes at which only Peter and James and John were present, the raising of the daughter of Jairus, the Transfiguration, and the Agony, will show that the versions given in the second Gospel have peculiar details and distinctive features which suggest not only that the writer had more immediate knowledge than Matthew and Luke, but that he had it from Peter. A certain likeness has also been observed between Mark and Peter in respect of style. Peter's First Epistle has at certain points a vividness that recalls Mark's way. His discourses as given in Acts show still more of the realistic faculty that is characteristic of Mark. It is noticed, *e.g.*, that there is much the same wealth of picturesque detail in the account of the cripple healed by Peter (Ac 3^{1-11}) as in one of Mark's narratives (see Farrar, *The Messages of the Books*, p. 61).

The phenomena of the Gospel, therefore, are not inconsistent with its Marco-Petrine origin. Of themselves they are quite insufficient to lead us to definite conclusions as to the authorship. But they are in harmony, on the whole, with the account of the composition of the second Gospel, which has come down to us from the 2nd century.

ix. SOURCES.—The chief source of the second Gospel is those discourses of Peter of which tradition speaks. Most of its matter looks like the apostle's reminiscences as transcribed and put together in a connected but unstudied way. This is most evidently and continuously the case with the first great section of the Gospel,—the narrative of the Galilæan ministry. It is the case also with the short intermediate section dealing with the Judæan and Peræan journeys, though the indications of particular acquaintance with dates, localities, and circumstances are somewhat fewer. And in the second main section, the narrative of the Passion, we have much the same features as in the first, with a greater fulness of statement, and with more of the element of discourse.

These Petrine reminiscences, however, will not account for all that is in the Gospel. The difference between the two main divisions in style and proportion, the more compressed character of the narrative in the former, the greater fulness and variety in the latter, the different treatment of discourse and the like, can scarcely be accounted for simply by the difference in the subjects. They seem to point to the employment now and again of other sources. There are some things which are due probably to Mark himself, such as the explanations about the Jewish washings ($7^{3.\,4}$), the comment on Christ's word regarding defilement—'*This he said*, making all meats clean' (7^{19}), and the incident of the young man ($14^{51.\,52}$). The long eschatological discourse in ch. 13 seems to require for its explanation a written source (cf. especially 13^{14}). There are some paragraphs, too, which are of so distinct a style as to point to dependence on another source, perhaps a written document. To these belong in particular the episode of Herod in ch. 6 and the opening of ch. 14.

It is difficult to say whether the Gospel owes any part of its matter to an editorial hand. It is most difficult to determine whether the *Logia* must be reckoned among its sources. Some, especially Weiss and Titius (the latter in the *Theologische Studien Herrn Prof. D. Bernhard Weiss zu seinem* 70 *Geburtstage dargebracht*), are of opinion that its contents cannot be explained without the assumption of some written source such as the *Logia*. There are passages occupied with discourse or conversation, it is held, which cannot be referred to independent oral tradition (*e.g.* 3^{23-29} 6^{7-11} $10^{29-31.\,42-45}$). The opening quotations ($1^{2.\,3}$), the secondary form of the voice from heaven at Christ's baptism (1^{11}), the account of the Temptation ($1^{12.\,13}$), and other things of a similar kind, it is argued by Weiss, indicate acquaintance with an earlier writing, and that writing can only have been the original apostolic source to which the other Synoptists are indebted. On the other hand, it is to be noticed that Mark, who is usually sparing in his report of Christ's sayings, is now and again fuller than Mt and Lk in the matter of Christ's private instructions to the Twelve, and that in Mk there is only one instance of a doublet proper (9^{35} with $10^{43.\,44}$; cf. Hawkins' *Horæ Synopticæ*, pp. 73, 81, 178). These things rather tell against the idea of a written source additional to Mark's notes of Peter's reminiscences. At the most, the debt to the *Logia* can only be very limited, and the influence of such a source very occasional. But in a few passages, and especially in ch. 13, these may be recognized.

x. RELATION TO MATTHEW AND LUKE.—While the three Synoptical Gospels cover for the most part the same field, and have also a considerable measure of agreement, especially in their latter portions, in the arrangement of events, they have also notable differences in the amount, distribution, and connexion of their matter. Mk wants much that is found either in Mt or in Lk. Such sections, *e.g.*, of Mt as chs. 1–2. 5–7, and of Lk such parts as chs. 1–2. 9^{51}–18^{14}, are entirely, or almost entirely, unrepresented in Mk. On the other hand, Mk has a small proportion of matter not found either in Mt or in Lk—amounting to about fifty verses. He has also a certain proportion of matter which is found either in Mt and not in Lk, or in Lk and not in Mt. Omitting the opening verse and the disputed conclusion, reckoning the second Gospel to consist of 106 sections, and deducting 5 as wholly peculiar to Mk, the result is that 93 are common to Mk and Mt and 8 not found in Lk, while 81 are common to Mk and Lk and 10 not found in Mt (Swete, *Gospel acc. to St. Mark*, p. lxiii).

Tried, again, by the test of characteristic words and phrases, and defining these as words and phrases which occur at least three times in Mk, and are not found at all in Mt and Lk, or occur in Mk oftener than in Mt and Lk together, Mk is seen to contain a comparatively small proportion of such—only some 37 in all; while in Mt the number is about 140, and in Lk about 86 (Hawkins, *Horæ Synop.* pp. 1–12). In arrangement, too, Mk differs considerably, as we have seen, from Mt and Lk—more especially from Lk—in the arrangement of the common matter on to the end of the ninth chapter; while from this point onwards there is general agreement, the main departures being in the cases of the withering of the fig-tree and the exposure of Judas.

But it has also to be noticed that in not a few passages, some brief and others of greater length, the second Gospel shows remarkable coincidences in word and phrase with Mt or with Lk. These are seen, *e.g.*, in Mk $4^{3.4}$, Mt $13^{3.4}$; Mk $4^{5-9.19}$, Mt $13^{5-9.22}$; Mk 8^{27}–9^{1}, Mt 16^{13-28}; Mk 9^{2-9}, Mt 17^{1-10}; Mk $1^{24.25}$, Lk $4^{34.35}$; Mk $3^{4.5}$, Lk $6^{9.10}$; Mk 10^{14-19}, Lk 18^{16-20}. There are certain parts, again, in which Mk exhibits verbal agreement partly with Mt and partly with Lk, as, *e.g.*, Mk 1^{40-44}, Mt 8^{2-4}, Lk 5^{12-16}; Mk 2^{13-22}, Mt 9^{9-17}, Lk 5^{27-39}. In what relation, therefore, does the second Gospel stand to these others? Is it *independent* of both and *prior* to them? Or does it occupy an intermediate position? Or is it dependent on both and posterior to them?

Ancient tradition is not in favour of the priority of Mk. It generally regards Mt as the first of the Gospels. Clement Alex. (Euseb. *HE* vi. 14) gives the tradition regarding the order of the Gospels. He reports it, according to Eusebius, as 'derived from the oldest presbyters,' and as being to the effect that the Gospels which contain the genealogies were written first. Augustine regarded Mk as dependent on Mt (*de Cons. Evang.* i. 2). And many in modern times have held Mk to be later than Mt, or than both Mt and Lk. Griesbach (*Opusc. Acad.* ii. p. 358, etc.) propounded the hypothesis that the second Gospel was derived from the first and third, partly by combination, and in larger measure by abridgment. In this he has been followed, with minor modifications, by Fritzsche, de Wette, Baur, Bleek, Delitzsch, Köstlin, Kahnis, and many more. In some cases Griesbach's view is followed, but with the additional supposition of a third written source, a *proto*-Mark (S. Davidson, etc.).

The arguments in support of the theory of Mk's dependence and posteriority are taken so far from the witness of tradition already referred to; from general considerations, such as the improbability that a Roman Gospel would precede a Palestinian; and from the evidence of quotations in ancient Christian literature, the attempt being made (but with doubtful success) to show that the earliest citations from the Gospels, particularly in writings like the *Gospel acc. to the Hebrews*, presuppose Mt and Lk, but not Mk. But the main arguments are based upon an analysis of the Gospel itself. It is held to be improbable that a Gospel which contains so little of the *discourses* of our Lord should be the earliest, and this improbability is thought to be confirmed by an examination of the contents of Mk, which discovers, it is held, many evidences of dependence, condensation, and alteration. Cases of incompleteness, obscurity, incongruous combination, and the like, are said to exist, which are explained, it is asserted, by haste, inattention, or lack of discernment in drawing from Mt and Lk. But surely incongruities of that kind are more likely to disappear than to persist when a writer is not first in the field and has the opportunity of consulting previous authorities.

Most of the instances, too, come to little. Why should it be necessary to suppose, *e.g.*, that when Mk (5^{15}) speaks of the demoniac as 'clothed,' he must have Lk's statement in view that 'he ware no clothes' (Lk 8^{27})? Or why should the centurion's cry, 'Truly this was a Son of God,' in Mark's record (15^{39}), presuppose that the evangelist had before him Matthew's statement about the earthquake, the rending of the rocks, and the opening of the graves? Those peculiarly graphic descriptions, which are usually taken to indicate Mark's originality, are in many cases (*e.g.* 5^{1-17} 7^{24} etc.) strangely interpreted as due to pragmatism, design, reflectiveness,—things suggestive of dependence and comparative lateness. For reasons which are not easy to grasp, the historical, geographical, and archæological explanations in such passages as 2^{26} 7^{26} 8^{10} etc., are supposed to betray the secondary character of Mark. But it is entirely to misunderstand these to speak of them as 'unimportant, prosaic, unsuitable, and trifling' (S. Davidson, *Intr. to NT*, i. 494).

Opinion, however, has gone more and more in the other direction. The independence and priority of Mk have been accepted by some (*e.g.* Ritschl) who originally held the other view; and scholars of different tendencies (Weisse, Wilke, Lachmann, Reuss, Thiersch, Ewald, Volkmar, Holtzmann, Schenkel, Weizsäcker, Weiss, Meyer, etc., and most English authorities) have been led, though not always in the same way, to the common conclusion that Mk is the most primitive of the Gospels. It is also very generally held that our second Gospel, or a source corresponding substantially to it, forms the basis of the first and third Gospels.

Many considerations, not a few of them of great force, support this conclusion. The peculiar freshness and realism of the second Gospel, the vividness of its descriptions, its liveliness even in dialogue, its precision and circumstantiality in its notices of time, place, custom, situation, and the like, and the simple objectivity of its narrative, are not consistent with the idea that it is the laboured work of an epitomizer (as Augustine supposed), or of a compiler who produces his composition by selecting, curtailing, and combining. These are characteristics that speak of originality and priority. Nor is it easy to understand why a writer should have set himself to the task of constructing out of two larger Gospels, which nevertheless were neither of them very large, a smaller Gospel, following much the same plan, and having very little new matter by which to justify itself.

Further, if Mark had Mt and Lk before him, the use he has made of them is strange. His selection of matter is puzzling. An epitomist or a constructor of abstracts is expected to cultivate brevity. But Mk does not always do that. In many cases where he reports the same incidents as Mt or Lk his narrative gets enrichments peculiar to itself. Sometimes, too, we should have to suppose him preferring the fuller version of Lk to the briefer version of Mt. And why should he omit such passages as Mt 9^{27-31} 12^{22} etc., or 14^{28-32} 17^{24-37}, where Peter is introduced, and so much of the richest matter of Lk, while he takes over short and less significant sections, such as $6^{12.13}$, cf. Lk 9^{6}; 6^{30} etc., cf. Lk 9^{10} etc.; 9^{38-41}, cf. Lk $9^{49.50}$ etc.?

It is to be noted, also, that Mk preserves his distinctive character all through, and does not owe anything that is peculiar either to Mt or to Lk. Nor do the cases in which Mk is held to give the clearest evidence of dependence on the other Synoptists stand the test of a careful examination. Much is made, *e.g.*, of Mk's tendency to adopt at points a copious narration and a twofold method of expression. This is explained by supposing him to have borrowed now from the one and now from the other. But it is found that these ways of writing are not confined to passages which might be regarded as extracts, but are generally characteristic of Mk. Not a few cases of agreement with Mt or with Lk, again, are thought to be best explained as the results of the carrying out of Mk's purpose to omit the longer discourses. But there are cases (*e.g.* 6^{56} 9^{40}) where Mk quotes Lk without the occasion created by a discourse; and there are paragraphs, such as those where the Sermon on the Mount (1^{21} etc.) and certain parables (4^{35} etc.) might come in, where the selection of verses cannot be explained by the mere wish to pass over these discourses. In short, the procedure which Mk must be supposed to have followed in these passages and in great parts of his narrative becomes incredible. He is made to leap from Mt to Lk and from Lk to Mt, taking a verse now from one and now from the other, and mixing up his borrowings in a way that can only discredit the hypothesis.

xi. PURPOSE.—The second Gospel gives no such declaration of its aim and intention as is found in the third and the fourth (Lk 1^{1-3}, Jn 20^{31}). But that its object was a simple, practical one, appears to be borne on its face. More subtle meanings, however, have been read into its story. That it was composed with a specifically dogmatic purpose, and that in the choice and presentation of its material it was ruled by that purpose throughout, was the contention of Baur and his school. The Tübingen critics dealt with it as a Tendency-writing constructed with the view of mediating between two antagonistic parties in the Church, and effecting their reconciliation. In harmony with their idea of the rise of the Catholic Church and the relation of the NT writings to that event, they explained the second Gospel as a neutral composition, prepared on the principle of taking over from Mt nothing that would offend Gentile or Pauline Christians, and from Lk nothing that would offend Jewish or Petrine Christians (so, too, Schwegler, Köstlin, etc.). Even the choice of the name given to the professed author was supposed to point to this, *Mark* being associated in the earliest literature both with Peter and with Paul. The same general idea was put by Hilgenfeld in the particular form of a purpose to mediate between the Jewish-Christian Matthew and the Pauline Luke.

Pfleiderer, again, takes this Gospel to be the product of Pauline influences adapted to mediating uses. He thinks the opening sentence which speaks of the 'Gospel,' the summary of the preaching of Jesus in terms of repentance and belief (1^{15}, cf. Gal 3^{26} 5^{6}), and other things in what follows, run in terms of Pauline ideas and expressions; that the recital of the wonderful works and the polemical discourses of Jesus is so put as vividly to contrast the free spirit of the Gospel with the narrow legalism of Judaism; and that the accounts given of the lack of spiritual discernment on the part of the disciples (Mk $9^{12.\,32}$, cf. 2 Co 4^{4} $5^{16.\,17}$, Gal 6^{12}), the lack of power on their side to expel evil spirits, while it was possessed by one who did not follow in their company (Mk $9^{18.\,19.\,38.\,39}$, cf. 1 Co 12^{3} $15^{9.\,10}$, 2 Co $12^{11.\,12}$, Gal 2^{6} 3^{5}), and similar things which appear prominently in Mk's record, are the 'Pauline reply to the glorification of the Twelve in the Apocalypse at the cost of the Apostle to the Heathen' (*Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 170–177). Thus the second Gospel is made a Pauline writing, connected with the Roman Church, and the product of the movement in behalf of a reconciliation between Paulinism and Jewish Christianity in which that Church took an early and leading part.

In the hands of Baur himself and his original followers, the purpose ascribed to Mk was connected with the place given to Mk as dependent on Mt and Lk. With the disproof of the latter position the situation is materially altered, and important members of the Tübingen school have broken away from Baur's presentation of the case. Hilgenfeld and Holsten deny that Mk can be later than Lk. Volkmar admitted that it cannot be later than Mt any more than Lk. Hilgenfeld finds in it a mild Jewish Christianity; Holsten and Volkmar discover in it a sharp Paulinism. Pfleiderer, too, who attempts to put a new complexion on the mediating purpose, has respect for the ancient tradition, but reads Mk through Paul. Apart, however, from these differences, the Tübingen theory in all its forms involves an interpretation of many passages of the Gospel which is in a high degree fanciful and artificial. It allegorizes freely in dealing with the narrative. Even in the hands of Pfleiderer Mk's reports of Christ's announcements of His death and resurrection become a 'strong hyperbole,' and his account of the transfiguration is regarded as a 'hieroglyphic'; while Peter's words about the building of three tabernacles (Mk 9^{5} etc.) are an expression of the 'desire to see the transient and the permanent, the old and the new, the letter and the spirit associated for all time' (*Hibbert Lect.* p. 176). The theory reads into the narrative references to divisions in the Church, and allusions to the condition of things in the post-apostolic age, which the common eye cannot see there. It does violence to the simple, natural, descriptive, reporting character of the record, and puts a strained meaning on Christ's words regarding the Law, His Messiahship, His Mission, the Sabbath, and much else.

A didactic purpose of another kind has also been attributed to the Gospel. It is understood to have been written with a view to the effect which the delay of Christ's Second Coming might have on the primitive Church. The hope of that event was waning. It was necessary to reawaken it, and to secure Christians against the loss of faith and courage. With this object the second Gospel was composed, Christ's life on earth being so set forth as to show that in it, 'apart from His glorious Return, Jesus has sufficiently attested the Messianic character of His Mission' (so Weiss, *Man. of Introd. to the NT*, § 46, 7). But even this is to ascribe too much art and didactic design to Mk. To give witness to Christ as the Messiah, no doubt, was in the purpose of Mk as in that of the other Synoptists. But beyond this Mk has no other object than to tell a simple story of things as they happened, and for the most part as Peter reported them to have been seen and heard.

xii. DESTINATION.—So far as historical testimony bears on the *destination* of the Gospel, it points to Gentile readers. That is the inference from the terms in which Mk is spoken of by Irenæus (*adv. Hær.* iii.), Clement Alex. (Euseb. *HE* vi. 14), Jerome (*de Vir. Ill.* c. 8), etc. The way in which Rome is connected by some of the Fathers (*e.g.* Clement Alex. and Jerome) with the request that Mk should write a Gospel, implies that it was also understood to have been written for Roman Christians in particular. The internal evidence amply sustains the former position, but leaves the latter uncertain. The existence of a number of Latinisms in Mk is not enough to prove Roman readers to have been specially in view. For while Latinisms occur in larger measure in Mk than in the others, they are not absolutely peculiar to it. Far less can this definite destination be inferred from such alleged peculiarities of its narrative as the reduction of coins to the Roman quadrans (12^{42}), its reference to the Roman practice of divorce, or the fact that it takes it for granted that the readers knew Pilate.

The locality of those addressed is not definitely indicated. But that they were Gentile Christians appears from the fact that Aramaic terms, which would be strange to Gentiles, are interpreted, and that Jewish customs, localities, seasons, etc., with which Gentiles could not be presumed to be familiar, are explained. Instances of the former are seen in *βοανηργές* (3^{17}), *ταλιθὰ κούμ* (5^{41}), *κορβάν* (7^{11}), *ἐφφαθά* (7^{34}), *ἀββά* (14^{36}), *ἐλωΐ, ἐλωΐ, λαμὰ σαβαχθανεί* (15^{34}), as also in Βαρτιμαῖος (10^{46}). To the latter class belong the statements on the Jewish washings ($7^{3.\,4}$) and on what was done on 'the first day of unleavened bread' (14^{2}); the interpretation of ‘defiled’ or ‘common’ as ‘unwashen’ (7^{2}); the explanation of the λεπτὰ δυό (12^{42}); and the descriptions of the Mount of Olives as κατέναντι τοῦ ἱεροῦ (13^{3}), of the παρασκευή or ‘Preparation’ as ‘the day before the Sabbath’ (προσάββατον, 15^{42}), etc.

Certain suggestive omissions and insertions may also form part of the same case, *e.g.* the omission of the genealogies, the passing over of the limitations put upon the mission of the apostles according to Mt 10^{5}, and the insertion (only in Mk) of the πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν in 11^{17}. The way in which the Jewish law passes into the background and the limited use of the OT have also their significance. Mk himself never quotes the OT, except once in the introductory paragraph ($1^{2.3}$; the passage in 15^{28} being of doubtful authority, as not found in ℵ, A, B, C, D, X, etc.). The entire number of references of all kinds to the OT is 67. Of these, only 7 are peculiar to Mk. The quotations amount to 23. They are generally in agreement with the LXX, with a few exceptions (those giving Is 29^{13} 40^{3}, Zec 13^{7}, Mal 3^{1}). With the one exception mentioned, all the references to OT in this Gospel and all the citations from it occur in reports of sayings of Christ or of those who spoke with Him.

xiii. PLACE AND DATE. — So far as historical testimony pronounces on the question of the *place* in which this Gospel was written, it is in favour of Rome. To this effect are the statements made by Clement Alex., Eusebius, Jerome, Epiphanius, and others. These statements have been suspected. But there is nothing to show that they were made under the influence of the belief that Mark wrote under Peter's superintendence; and they have nothing against them in ancient tradition, except that Chrysostom named Alexandria as the place. But in this he stood alone, his statement having no support even on the part of Alexandrian writers. The only other place which has been suggested is Antioch (so Storr). But the suggestion is founded on an uncertain inference from Mk 15^{21} and Ac 11^{20}.

The idea has been mooted that there may have been a publication of the Gospel both in Rome and in Alexandria (R. Simon, Lardner, Eichhorn). There are, it is true, one or two passages in the Fathers which bring the composition of the Gospel and a mission of the evangelist to Egypt or to Alexandria in particular together. Eusebius, *e.g.*, expresses himself thus: τοῦτον δὲ Μᾶρκον, πρῶτον φασὶν ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου στειλάμενον τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ δὴ καὶ συνεγράψατο κηρύξαι, ἐκκλησίαις τε πρῶτον ἐπὶ αὐτῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας συστήσασθαι (*HE* ii. 16); and Jerome gives it even more explicitly, thus: ‘assumto itaque evangelio quod ipse confecerat perrexit Ægyptum, et primus Alexandriæ Christum annuntians, constituit ecclesiam,’ etc. (*de Vir. Ill.* c. 8; cf. also Epiph. *Hær.* ii. c. 1). But the passages do not imply that the Gospel was written or published at Alexandria. Rome, therefore, remains the only place with any claim on our attention so far as ancient tradition goes, and that Mk was in Rome with Paul appears from the NT itself (Col 4^{10}, Philem ^{24}). Whether it can be said that the NT represents Mk as in Rome also along with Peter, depends on the interpretation of ἐν Βαβυλῶνι in 1 P 5^{13}.

As the Gospel itself gives no certain indication of its *date*, opinions have differed greatly on the subject. They have been largely influenced by the views which scholars have taken of the purpose of the Gospel and of Mk's relation to the other Gospels. Those who have seen in it a Tendency-writing composed with a view to the harmonizing of two opposite parties in the Church, have naturally placed it very late. Baur himself put it far within the 2nd cent., our present Gospels having been assigned by him to somewhere between A.D. 130 and A.D. 170.

Those, too, who deny that Papias' statements refer to our Mk, and believe in the existence of an earlier and simpler Mk, naturally assign our Gospel to a comparatively late date. Dr. Samuel Davidson, *e.g.*, thinks A.D. 120 is as near the true time as we can get. Those who hold it posterior to Mt and Lk (Griesbach, etc.), or posterior at least to Mt (Hilgenfeld, etc.), put it at various dates after the destruction of Jerusalem. Volkmar referred it to A.D. 73. Hilgenfeld himself ascribes it to Domitian's time; Keim brings it down to about A.D. 115–120; Köstlin, distinguishing between two Marks, refers the earlier one to A.D. 65–70, and our present Gospel to the first decade of the 2nd cent. On the other hand, some have attributed to it a very early date. Theophylact, *e.g.*, and others place it some 10 years after Christ's death. The subscriptions of many manuscripts, both uncial and cursive, assign it to 10 or 12 years after the Ascension (cf. Harnack, *Chronologie*, pp. 70, 124). Schenkel refers it to A.D. 45–58; Hitzig, to A.D. 55–57.

The *data* available for the determination of the time of composition are limited and uncertain. The Paschal Chronicle places the Gospel at A.D. 40, and Eusebius in his *Chronicon* puts it in the third year of Claudius (A.D. 43). Irenæus and Clement Alex. both represent it as written after Peter's arrival in Rome, which might be early in A.D. 63. But they differ in that Clement speaks of it as composed while Peter was alive, whereas Irenæus describes it as published after the death of Peter and Paul.

Of the various historical testimonies, that of Irenæus appears to be both the most definite and the most credible. Doubt has been cast upon it. Some allow it to be nothing more than an inference from the statement made by the author of the Second Epistle of Peter (1^{15}) regarding his purpose to ‘have these things in remembrance’ after his decease (Fritzsche, Hug, Eichhorn). Others suspect it as if it were more doctrinal than historical (Weizsäcker). But these objections are not of serious weight, and the difference between Irenæus and Clement on the one point is neither sufficient to discredit the whole tradition, nor large enough to affect by more than a few years the indication of date which we get from tradition.

The internal evidence points on the whole to the same approximate period. There are things indeed in the Gospel which are thought to point to a later date than that suggested by Irenæus. The references to the coming of the Son of Man, and the final tribulation in 9^{1} 13^{24}, are said, when compared with their parallels in the first Gospel, to betray the disposition to put these events further forward than is the case in Mt. But it is precarious, to say the least, to build much upon the phrase ‘till they see the kingdom of God coming with power,’ as if it meant that the mighty effects of that kingdom must first be seen at large on earth. Nor can much be made of the change from ‘immediately after the affliction of those days’ in Mt 24^{29} to ‘in those days after that affliction’ in Mk 13^{24}. The use of the word εὐαγγέλιον in 1^{1} is taken to be another sign of a late date, the term being supposed to mean there ‘gospel history.’ But it may mean simply the ‘glad tidings’ or announcement of the promised Messiah. Internal considerations of this kind are altogether uncertain and inadequate. Nor do they gain much when it is urged in addition that it is antecedently improbable that any Gospel in the form of a regular, finished, written record could have been produced before the destruction of Jerusalem.

Much turns upon the view taken of the eschatological passages. The parable of the fruit-bearing earth (4^{26-29}) has been placed alongside these, and has been strangely regarded (by Weizsäcker) as an indication that the Gospel was composed after the destruction of Jerusalem. But the impression produced by the words on the *end* in ch. 13 (especially vv.$^{13. 14. 24. 30. 33}$) is different. They naturally suggest that the end as yet was only in prospect, and there is no passage which clearly means or certainly suggests that the fall of Jerusalem and the temple was an accomplished event. It is reasonable to suppose that, if so great a catastrophe in Jewish history had taken place within a recent or a comparatively recent period, there would have been indications of it in less obscure forms in the earliest of the Gospels. There are also occasional expressions, such as the reference to the presentation of the shewbread as if it were an existing custom (2^{26}), which imply rather that the city and temple were still standing. And there are others which are difficult to harmonize with a late date. It is admitted, *e.g.*, that 'the recollection implied in the notice that Simon was the father of Alexander and Rufus prevents the Gospel from being put too late into the 2nd cent.' (S. Davidson, *Intr. to the NT*, i. p. 508).

The period which seems to be made most probable, both by historical testimony and by internal considerations, is that between Irenæus' date and the year A.D. 70. Weiss proposes the close of the seventh decade, or about A.D. 67. A date only a little before the destruction of Jerusalem, perhaps early in A.D. 70, is as near as we can get. But where facts are so scanty and the indications given in the writing itself are of such uncertain interpretation, it remains a question only of greater or less probability.

LITERATURE.—Of the Comm. those especially by Victor, Theophylact, Maldonatus, Cornelius a Lapide, Bengel, Wetstein, Fritzsche, Morison, Schanz, Knabenbauer, Lange, Alford, Michelsen, Meyer, Cook (*Speaker's Commentary*), Holtzmann (*Hand-Commentar*), Plumptre (*Cassell's Commentary*), Riddle (Schaff's *Popular Commentary*), Maclear (*Cambr. Series*), Bruce (*Expos. Gr. Test.*), Gould (*Intern. Crit. Com.*), Swete.

Of the treatises on NT Introduction, those especially by B. Weiss, Th. Zahn, Hilgenfeld, Bleek, Reuss, Holtzmann, G. Salmon, S. Davidson, Jülicher, Godet. Also the following: Weiss, *Das Marcusevangelium*; Klostermann, *Das Marcusevangelium*; A. B. Bruce, *The Synoptic Gospels*; Charteris, *Canonicity*; Westcott, *Canon of the NT*, and *Introduction to the Study of the Four Gospels*; Kenrick, *Biblical Essays*; Pfleiderer, *Hibbert Lectures*, and *Urchristenthum*; Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristl. Literatur*; Grau, *Entwickelungsgeschichte des NT Schriftthums*; F. C. Baur, *Das Marcusevangelium nach seinem Ursprung u. Charakter*; F. C. Baur, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die Kan. Evang.*, and *Christenthum u. Kirche der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*; Schwegler, *Nachapost. Zeitalter*; Hilgenfeld, *Die Evangelien nach ihrer Entstehung u. ges. Bedeutung, Kanon u. Tradition*, and *Das Marcusevangelium*; Weisse, *Die Evang. Geschichte krit. u. phil. bearbeitet*; Holtzmann, *Die Synopt. Ev., ihr Ursprung u. gesch. Charakter*; Weizsäcker, *Untersuchungen über die Evang. Geschichte*; Credner, *Einleitung in das NT*; Credner, *Zur Geschichte des Kanons*; Griesbach, *Opuscula*; Ewald, *Die drei ersten Evangelien*; Hofmann, *Die heilige Schrift NT zusammenhängend untersucht*; Reinhard, *Observationes phil. et exeg. üb. Evangel. Marci*; Scholten, *Het oudste Evangelie*, etc.; Hitzig, *Ueber Johannes Markus u. seine Schriften*; Thiersch, *Kirche im apost. Zeitalt.*; Delitzsch, *Neue Untersuchungen üb. die Entsteh. u. Anl. d. Kanon. Evangel.*; Weiffenbach, *Die Papias-Fragmente über Marcus und Matthäus*; Ritschl, *Theol. Jahrb.* 1851; Huidekoper, *Indirect Testimony of History to the Genuineness of the Gospels*; Volkmar, *Die Evangelien, oder Marcus u. die Synopsis*; Holsten, *Die drei ersten noch ungeschr. Evangel.*; Gieseler, *Historisch-krit. Versuch*, etc.; Keim, *History of Jesus of Nazara*; Wilke, *Der Urevangelist, oder exeg.-krit. Unters. über das Verwandschaftsverhältnis der drei ersten Evang.*; Koppe, *Marcus non Epitomator Matthæi*; Gürike, *De fontibus Ev. Marci*; Knobel, *De Ev. Marci Origine*; Schultze, *Der schriftstellerische Charakter u. Werth des Ev. Marcus*; Schenkel, *Charakterbild Jesu*; B. Bauer, *Kritik der Ev. Geschichte*; Kienlen in *SK*, 1843; Bäumlein, *ib.* 1863; Badham, *St. Mark's Indebtedness to St. Matthew*; Titius, *Das Verhältnis der Herrnworte in Markusevangelium zu den Logia des Matthäus*; Hadorn, *Die Entstehung des Markus-evangelium*; Wright, *Some New Testament Problems*; Blass, *Philology of the Gospels*; Chajes, *Markus-Studien*; du Buisson, *Origin, etc., of Gospel of St. Mark*; Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticæ*.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

MARKET-PLACE is in RV the fuller and better rendering for the Gr. ἀγορά, oftener represented in AV by the more general term 'market.' Its primary and comprehensive sense is that of a place of assembly, which may as such be associated with various uses. We find it mentioned accordingly in connexion with the holding of trials (at Philippi, Ac 16^{19}), with public resort and discussion (at Athens, Ac 17^{17}), with business dealings and traffic, such as the hiring of labourers (Mt 20^{3}) or the buying and selling of goods, which implies risk of pollution (Mk 7^{4}), with the sports of children in its open space (Mt 11^{16}, Lk 7^{32}), and with the passing exchange of formal greetings in its thoroughfare (Mt 23^{7}, Lk 11^{43}). It always conveys the suggestion of openness and publicity, and forms a contrast to what takes place in private or within doors. The like associations of a place of counsel, of traffic, and of idling gathered round the Latin word *forum* (see APPIUS, MARKET OF). The ἀγορά was probably at first simply an open space; but it subsequently in the more important towns became marked off by colonnades, embellished by statues, and surrounded by public buildings for judicial and other business.

WILLIAM P. DICKSON.

MARMOTH (B Μαρμωθί, A Μαρμαθί), 1 Es 8^{62} (^{61} LXX) = MEREMOTH, Ezr 8^{33}.

MAROTH (מָרוֹת).—A town named only in Mic 1^{12}. There is a play upon the name of this town, which means 'bitternesses' (LXX tr. יֹשֶׁבֶת מָרוֹת by κατοικοῦσα ὀδύνας), but there is much that is obscure both in this and in the preceding verse (see Wellhausen, Nowack, and esp. Ryssel, 32 f.). The site is unknown; but as Maroth is noticed with Saphir and other places in Philistia, as attacked by the Hebrews, it is probably to be sought in the plain between Lachish and Joppa. C. R. CONDER.

MARRIAGE.—

i. Form and Duties of Marriage.
ii. The Sphere of Lawful Marriage.
  1. Conditions and Bars of Marriage.
  2. The Levirate Custom.
iii. Marriage Procedure.
  1. Betrothal.
  2. Nuptial Rites and Customs.
iv. The Moral Subversion of Marriage (Adultery).
v. The Legal Dissolution of Marriage (Divorce).
vi. Marriage as a Symbol of Spiritual Truths.

Marriage (with Fr. *mariage*, Ital. *maritaggio*, and transitional forms *maridatge*, *mariatge*, from Low Lat. *maritaticum*) is used to describe—(1) the legal relationship of husband and wife; (2) the act, ceremony, or process by which this relationship is constituted. In the former case it is equivalent to wedlock or the estate of matrimony (*Ehestand*, cf. Old Eng. *aéw* or *aé*, custom, marriage); in the latter it corresponds to the marriage ceremony (Germ. *Eheschliessung*), or, by an easy transition, to the whole of the proceedings of which that ceremony is the essential part (wedding, *Hochzeit*). For the estate of matrimony the OT has no name: where 'marriage' appears in our versions the translation is a circumlocution (Gn 34^{9}, Ex 21^{10}, Ps 78^{63}), and the want was only supplied at a late date by the Talmudic אישות and זווג. The function by which a union was constituted is also indirectly referred to by some verb indicating that one takes, or gives, or becomes a wife (see Note on *Nuptial Rites*). The idea of the rite is apparently conveyed by the word 'espousals,' but in Jer 2^{2} כְּלוּלֹת which is so translated really refers to the period of betrothal, while in Ca 3^{11} חֲתֻנָּה includes the whole marriage proceedings or wedding. The later word for the ceremony is נשואין or חופה. In NT 'marriage' translates γάμος, which, like the Eng. word, means both the estate of marriage (He 13^{4}) and the ceremony with its attendant proceedings (Jn $2^{1.2}$), and also stands for the marriage feast (RV of Mt 22^{2}).

i. THE FORM AND DUTIES OF MARRIAGE AS DEVELOPED UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF REVELATION.—The history of marriage, in the extent which here concerns us, is the history of a Semitic institution which by natural development had reached a comparatively excellent form, and which, under the successive influences of Judaism and Christianity, was gradually improved and perfected. The fresher problem relates to the evolution of Hebrew marriage anterior to its contact with OT revelation; and the difficulty is to do justice, neither more nor less, to the theories which have been propounded as to the early history of marriage, and which at certain points claim biblical support.

1. *OT VESTIGES OF PRIMITIVE MARRIAGE.*—The scriptural account of the origin and history of marriage cannot satisfy the thorough evolutionist. According to the biblical representation, its perfect type was exhibited in the union of the first pair, upon this followed a declension to imperfect forms and sexual licence, and finally Christianity summoned mankind to realize the ideal by reverting to the divinely instituted original. But on evolutionary principles the ideal is to be found, not at the beginning but at the end—if anywhere; and the problem is to show from what base beginnings, under what impulses, and by what stages, marriage as we understand it came to be, and to be entrenched behind the laws. The theory which has served as the basis of the discussion (M'Lennan, *Prim. Mar.*) distinguishes four stages in the development—(1) a state in which the unions of the sexes were 'loose, transitory, and in some degree promiscuous'; (2) the system of polyandry, of which the lowest form is a kind of communal marriage, the highest the union of a woman with a band of brothers; (3) the reversal of polyandry in the system of polygyny; and (4) as the result of prolonged experience, and also of changed conditions, an exclusive monogamy. For a time this scheme was generally accepted as an assured result of anthropological science, but during the last decade it has been subjected to searching criticism, esp. by Starcke and Westermarck, and has been discredited in various important points. In particular, there is growing incredulity as to the alleged original promiscuity. Though the poverty of primitive languages in words expressive of relationships lends it some support, the counter-argument is stronger: human nature was sufficiently armed with jealousy, if not otherwise, to fight for and secure a better order from the first. As regards polyandry, it is not open to doubt that this form of union has played a part in human history of an importance which was till lately not even suspected. Still met with in widely remote parts of the globe, the custom of polyandrous marriage was yet more extensively prevalent in antiquity. The recollection of it is preserved in traditions and usages of the progressive nations of the old world, as well as in their notices of the manners of barbarians. It was doubtless at least one of the roots of the remarkable system of the Matriarchate, of which there are so many traces in ancient law, and which is still maintained by 'some score of peoples representative of all the great regions of the barbaric world.' But, important as this discovery is, there is a growing conviction that M'Lennan exaggerated. Even if it be admitted (and it is not admitted by all competent authorities) that the matriarchal system was exclusively the outgrowth of polyandrous marriage, the proof would still be far from complete that polyandry had been a universal and necessary phase in the evolution of the institution of marriage.

By the Matriarchate, maternal system or 'mother-right' is not to be understood a system in which women actually rule (gynækocracy), but only one in which they are regarded as constituting the family bond. They determine the recognized relationships, so that maternal relatives are treated as kin, while the paternal are ignored; and names and property are consequently transmitted through the offspring of the female members of the group. Such a system, M'Lennan contends, points to a time when paternity was usually, or in a great proportion of cases, uncertain. 'The connexion between these two things—uncertain paternity and kinship through females only—seems so necessary—that of cause and effect—that we may confidently infer the one where we find the other' (*Prim. Mar.*² 126). This theory as to the origin of the maternal system is doubtless much more plausible than that of Bachofen, the pioneer in the field (*Das Mutterrecht*, 1861), who supposed that women, disgusted with the licentious primitive customs, rose in rebellion, procured the benefit of a marriage-law, and by their victory won an influence by which they reorganized the whole social life in their own favour. Starcke, however, denies that female descent necessarily points to uncertain paternity. 'The reckoning of kinship through the father only is a fact, yet no one has ever asserted that this is due to uncertainty with respect to the mother' (*Prim. Fam.* p. 18).

While Hebrew society in OT times represents an advanced stage in the evolutionary scheme, viz. that in which polygyny and paternal government are the dominant forms, the OT literature has nevertheless been largely drawn upon in the discussion, on the ground that it embodies survivals from the diverse customs of prehistoric times.

The evidence for a prehistoric stage of polyandrous marriage among the ancestors of the Hebrew stock is of no great weight. Most stress has been laid on the peculiar custom of the levirate marriage, which M'Lennan seeks to interpret as a right of succession derived from the special form of polyandry in which a family of brothers have a wife in common (*Prim. Mar.*² 163), but this explanation is viewed with growing disfavour. Some use has also been made of the observation that the Hebrew words for brother, sister, and father occur with considerable latitude of meaning (cf. especially אָב with root-meaning 'nurturer,' thence 'progenitor' and even 'husband,' Jer 3⁴; W. R. Smith, *Kin. and Mar.* p. 118)—the suggestion being that this points back to a time when paternal relationships were not distinguished because not ascertainable. It may, however, be safely said that these arguments would carry no conviction were it not for the assertion that an early stage of polyandry is proved to have been traversed by the kindred stock of the Arabs (*ib.*). And even the assertion that Tibetan polyandry prevailed among the early Arabs is only made in the modest form that it meets all the conditions of a legitimate hypothesis, and that the conditions under which this type of sexual relationship arises were actually present in Arabia (p. 124).

The evidence for the operation of the so-called matriarchate or 'mother-right' is of much greater weight, though some of the arguments are far-fetched and weak. (*a*) The custom of tracing descent through the female line may have survived in the distinction which long continued to be drawn between paternal and maternal relatives, with the consequence that marriage was allowed with a sister-german, a father's sister, a brother's daughter, etc. (see *Bars of Marriage*). From the same point of view Abimelech seeks assistance against his brothers from 'the family of the house of his mother's father,' and urges the plea, 'Remember that I am your bone and your flesh' (Jg 9$^{1-5}$). Agreeably to the same system, under which the uterine brothers have special duties of guardianship, we find that Laban is prominent in the negotiations about Rebekah's marriage (Gn 24^{29}), and that Simeon and Levi avenge the wrongs of Dinah (34^{25}). In the patriarchal history the family-tree of the two allied families in Syria and Palestine is worked out with reference to Milcah and Sarah (Fenton, *Early Heb. Life*, p. 7).[*] The force of much of this is indeed weakened by the obvious consideration that under a system of polygyny it is absolutely necessary for purposes of distinction to give prominence to the mother, and in case of domestic troubles to seek help of her kindred; but enough remains, especially in the matter of permitted degrees, to justify the belief that the Hebrew history contains fossil remains of the matriarchate. (*b*) The allegation that among these vestiges we are to reckon the so-called *beena* marriage, made simultaneously by M'Lennan and W. R. Smith, and since repeated with the utmost confidence, really rests on a most precarious foundation. 'In *beena* marriage,' to quote the former (*Patr. Theory*, p. 42), 'the young husband leaves the family of his birth and passes into the family of his wife, and to that he belongs as long as the marriage subsists. The children born to him belong not to him, but to the family of their mother. . . . His marriage involves usually a change of village; nearly always (where the tribal system is in force) a change of tribe.' Of this custom an example is furnished, it is said, in Jacob's marriage (Gn 29 ff.). He becomes a member of his wives' group, he buys his place by service, and Laban claims the wives and children as his own (31[43]). What has been overlooked is that Jacob is represented as a fugitive from vengeance, who was not in a position to bring his wife into his own family, and that there is a design to exhibit Laban as a grasping and churlish person; and in the light of these facts Jacob's marriage appears to be merely an exceptional arrangement with a hard man, to which he was driven by stress of circumstances. A further proof is discovered by W. R. Smith in the phrase 'go into'—a relic, as he thinks, of the time when the husband literally left his home to join his wife, while the same practice had its visible monument in the long-continued custom of pitching a special tent for the consummation of marriage (*Kin. and Mar.* pp. 176, 291). More impressive is the M'Lennan-Smith suggestion, widely accepted by later writers, that it is *beena* marriage which is indicated in Gn 2[24] in the words (of Adam [Del.]; of the narrator [Keil, Dillm.]): 'therefore shall (doth) a man leave his father and his mother, and shall (doth) cleave unto his wife; and they shall be (are) one flesh.' What is here contemplated, it is said, is that the man leaves the household, the family, of his birth and is adopted into his wife's kin. Now in interpreting the verse the first question which we have to ask is, What was the sense which the narrator intended to convey? And what seems quite certain is that it cannot have been the intention of a writer standing on the confines of the prophetical period to give his sanction, if not that of Adam, to a form of marriage which was obsolescent if not obsolete. If it be admitted that in the historical period 'the man is the head of the family, and of the wife, who is transferred from her family to that of the man' (Nowack, *Arch.* i. p. 153), it cannot be supposed that the purpose of J was to revive the abandoned and discredited type of family life. Much more likely is it that the command to leave father and mother and cleave to one's wife was directed against some loose form of marriage which does not involve the founding of a home, *e.g.* the so-called *mota* type, in which the husband's association with his wife is limited to occasional and clandestine visits (cf. Samson's marriage). There remains, indeed, the possibility that the saying 'therefore shall a man,' etc., while employed by the narrator as suitable to express his own idea, was an ancient form of words, and that as first coined it sanctioned and commended *beena* marriage. But it is rather unlikely that the characteristic formula of one system should have been cherished by the rival system which displaced it. In general it must be granted that in prehistoric times *beena* marriage may well have existed; but it must also be said that no direct conclusive evidence of such marriage can be drawn from OT sources.

2. *FORM AND DUTIES OF MARRIAGE IN OT TIMES.*—(1) *The Form of Marriage.*—The typical, though, of course, not the exclusive form of Hebrew marriage in historical times was polygyny. It emerges as an early and firmly established institution; and the interest centres in the attitude taken up towards it by the OT religion, which as Law regulated it, and as Prophecy began to undermine it.

The practice of polygyny is vouched for throughout the whole of the period in question. It appears as patriarchal usage: Abraham has a principal wife and two secondary wives (Gn 16[3] 25[1]), Jacob has two wives of each class (29[23-30] 30[4-9]). It was practised by at least some of the Judges (Jg 8[30] 9[2]), and in the cases of David and Solomon it comes in to account for their personal backslidings, and for the troubles and calamities of their reigns (2 S 5[13], 1 K 11[1-3]). From these examples it is clear that it was customary for exalted persons to take several wives—whether from a desire for a numerous progeny, or with a view to strengthen themselves by influential connexions, or even to satisfy what were deemed the requirements of their position. But it might still be open to question whether the practice was at all general. Great importance accordingly attaches to the mention of Elkanah (1 S 1[1]), who was doubtless representative of a large class. We are also justified in supposing that the peasant and the shepherd usually supplied themselves with two wives, or with a wife and a concubine. And this is confirmed by the implication of bigamy in Dt, which gives us a glimpse of the strained relations within the bigamous family (21[15ff.]; cf. Nowack, *Arch.* i. p. 158 f.).

The wide prevalence of polygyny and bigamy becomes a certainty when we reflect upon the position of the female slaves in the Hebrew family. These were the property of the man, in the full sense of the word; and unless his establishment was on the scale permitting of the inter-marriage of slaves, they naturally became the concubines either of himself or of his sons. The recognized limitation of this right which is indicated, is that he could not appropriate a slave belonging to his wife except on the initiative of the latter or at least with her consent (Gn 16[2. 3]). These slave-concubines were supplied from various sources—especially in sale by impoverished Israelitish parents, or as booty of war. The foreign origin of one name (פִּלֶגֶשׁ, cf. πάλλαξ) has been supposed to point to an extensive traffic, through the medium of the Phœnicians, in this class of slaves (Nowack, i. p. 159; cf. on the name and position of the concubine, art. FAMILY).

The measures taken for the legal regulation of polygyny pursued two main objects. In the first place, there is some evidence of a purpose to confine the practice within narrower limits. The Deut. code, voicing the sense of the calamities it brought upon royalty and the nation, forbids kings to 'multiply wives' (Dt 17[17]). With this censure of royal licence is closely connected, as has been acutely pointed out (art. 'Marriage' in Smith's *DB*), the contumelious treatment of the eunuch-state, which is a presupposition of the system. But the purpose to which the law addresses itself with most earnestness and particularity is the protection of the interests of the several wives, and the amelioration of the condition of the slave-wives. The oldest code deals with the case of the Israelitish woman who has been purchased for a slave-wife, asserts her title to the three conjugal rights, and provides that if these are withheld she must be set free (Ex $21^{7ff.}$). Incidentally it refers to the wife of the Hebrew slave, and humanely enacts that the two must not be compulsorily separated: when the time of emancipation arrives, the wife in one instance follows the husband, in the other he may elect to remain with her in slavery ($21^{2ff.}$). The cause of the foreign slave captured in war is maintained by Dt. She is to be allowed a month of mourning, and her master, after living with her as his wife, is forbidden to sell her ($21^{10ff.}$). A fourth case would be that in which there were two wives of equal standing; and in this instance Dt interposes in the interest of the wife who may have lost her husband's affection, and insists that her son, if the first-born, shall receive his due portion * (vv.$^{15-17}$). The same spirit inspired, and to some extent the same end was accomplished by, certain provisions restricting the right of divorce (see below). To those enactments little was added by the later legislation, except that the ritualistic requirements may have militated against polygyny by enforcing a rule of continence within the pale of marriage (Lv 15^{16}).

---

[*] In the name of Eve, which he connects with *ḥayy* (a group based on female kinship), W. R. Smith finds a recognition of the fact that female descent had been the original system (*Kin. and Mar.* p. 177); while, according to Stade, the older tradition was that the twelve tribes were descended from twelve wives of Jacob (*GVI*).

A spirit of protest against the whole system, and the promise of more drastic reforms, is discoverable within the prophetic school. In opposition to existing practice, J sounds the significant note that in the beginning it was not so. According to the antique mode of thought, to say that the first man had one wife only, was as much as to say that monogamy was the ideal system; and it is no accident that according to the same narrative, which is deeply conscious of the disturbance and corruption introduced by the Fall, polygyny first makes its appearance in the lawless line of the Cainites (Gn 4^{23}). It is, further, not without significance that Noah, the second father of the human race, also represents monogamy (Gn 7^{7}). And it is noticeable that there is an apologetic strain in the references to patriarchal polygyny: the bigamy of Abraham is explained by Sarah's desire for children (Gn $16^{1ff.}$), of Jacob by the deceit of Laban (29^{23}). Of still greater importance than this class of incidents is the circumstance that monogamous marriage was extensively used in the prophetic teaching as the symbol of the union of God with Israel (Hos 2, Is 50^{1} etc., see below), while polygyny had its counterpart in idolatry. The imagery shows that monogamous marriage was felt to be the highest form, and on the other hand the detestation of idolatry naturally strengthened the dislike of the form of marriage by which it was so eloquently typified (Hamburger, art. 'Vielweiberei').

(2) *The Wifely Status and Conjugal Duties.*—In OT times various circumstances tended to depress the status of the wife—the logic of the patriarchal system, the custom of the 'dowry,' which suggested property, and the institution of polygyny, which divided her legitimate influence among several claimants. In theory she was the 'owned one' (בְּעוּלָה), while the husband was the 'owner' (בַּעַל, אָדוֹן, see FAMILY), and in the Decalogue she is numbered with his possessions (Ex 20^{17}). And in certain strata of the population the practice doubtless largely corresponded to the theory—the wife being little more than chattel and overdriven drudge. But among the wealthier classes the wife had no small liberty of action (1 S 25^{18}, 2 K 4^{22}). And where a woman possessed exceptional capacity, or knew how to increase her husband's affection, she asserted her title to a very different status. The wives of the patriarchs are not only consulted in matters of importance, but often impress us as accomplishing their purpose by their superior force of character (Gn 21^{10} $27^{13.46}$). In the period of the Judges the interest centres more than once in a strong woman ($4^{4.17}$); and in the history of the monarchy there are times when the queen or the queen-mother is the real power behind the throne. From the description of the virtuous woman in Pr 31 we learn how much influence could be acquired by a wise and energetic wife of the middle rank, and how much she might do to advance her husband's fortunes and to enhance his reputation.

Reference has already been made to the sympathetic attitude of the Law towards the wife, and we have to note in addition the bearing of the J narrative of Creation on the wifely status. It acknowledges that the subject and even servile position actually occupied by the wife is the appropriate one, but suggests that it is the punishment of her initiative in the original transgression (Gn 3^{16}), and thus contrasts it with the position of a 'helpmeet' which was designed by God in creation (2^{18}).

The duties of the husband were generally recognized to include all that is involved in the support of the home. Incidentally Ex 21^{10} enumerates as the minimum of obligation the provision of food and raiment, and cohabitation. As regards sexual morality the OT theory as well as frequent practice fell far short of the standard of equality of treatment. The chastity of the wife was jealously guarded by the heaviest penalties, but custom and law recognized no parallel obligation of conjugal fidelity as resting on the husband—provided always he respected the rights of other men. At the same time conjugal fidelity was naturally involved in the loving relations of the husband towards his wife, depicted in more than one touching instance (2 S $3^{14ff.}$). And there is evidence that the Hebrew intelligence, as tutored by experience, came to realize the folly, and through it the iniquity, of all sexual licence (Pr 2). Still more clear is it that the prophetic conscience was possessed by a deep sense of the abomination of whoredom; and finally a principle which claimed absolute marital fidelity was laid down by Malachi when he taught that neglect and inconstancy have God for their witness and avenger ($2^{14.15}$). The duties of the wife are not so specifically stated. The fundamental ones were chastity and submission (Gn 3^{16}), with devotion to the husband's family and interests. And by general consent the standard maintained by the Hebrew wives was high. Many daughters have done virtuously (Pr 31^{29}), and the invectives of Amos and Isaiah only illustrate the principle—'corruptio optimi pessima.'

3. *THE LEAVENING BY CHRISTIANITY.*—With Christianity begins a new epoch in the history of marriage. The changes which it introduced were due, partly to express enactment of Christ and His apostles, partly to the obvious implications of fundamental Christian principles.

(1) The Christian system involved the adoption of monogamy, and the prohibition of polygyny and bigamy. It is true that there is no direct condemnation of the latter. And the omission cannot be explained by saying it would have been superfluous, for, although in NT times monogamy was the rule, polygamy was certainly practised to some extent (Jos. *Ant.* XVII. i. 3).* As in the case of slavery, Christianity, without directly

---

* Favouritism was also discouraged by historical examples, which suggested that childlessness was ordinarily the judgment upon the preferred wife (Gn 30^{1}, 1 S 1^{2}).

* In opposition to the usual view (Selden, *Ux. Heb.* i. 9), it is contended by Abrahams that monogamy had become the settled Jewish custom in Roman times apart from imperial or Christian influence, and that the theory was only tardily brought into harmony with the established practice by Rabbi Gershom, c. 1000 A.D. (*Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, ch. vii.).

attacking the custom, inevitably discredited and destroyed it. Our Lord's emphasis on the intimacy of the union between husband and wife (Mt $19^{4.5}$) at least suggested that no second woman could be admitted to the sphere. Above all, the golden rule was incompatible with polygyny, for under this system other men are robbed and wives are degraded.

(2) The duties of the married state were also revised in the spirit of Christianity. (*a*) The husband's duties, the minimum of which were promulgated as the demand of the law, were comprehended by St. Paul in the manner of His master under the requirement of *love*—a love which has self-love, and also Christ's love for His Church, for its standard (Eph 5^{28}, cf. 5^{25}, Col 3^{19}).* (*b*) The silence of the OT legislation in regard to licence outside the marriage bond was broken, and *faithfulness* was made strictly obligatory. The latter was evidently not taken for granted, from the first at least, among the Gentile Christians, and it was necessary for the Council of Jerusalem to educate their conscience by making it clear that fornication did not belong to the class of things indifferent (Ac 15^{29}). In various passages of the Pauline Epistles the imperative obligation of chastity is enforced with the menaces of excommunication (1 Co $5^{11ff.}$) and of eternal judgment (1 Th 4^{3}, Gal 5^{19}, cf. He 13^{4}), while the loose state of Corinthian opinion on the subject may be gathered from the careful argument by which the apostle demonstrates from the doctrine of the body as an integral and abiding element of personality, the incompatibility of sexual licence with an interest in Christ (1 Co 6^{13}). (*c*) Yet again the range of the husband's duty is extended to include *constancy* in love, which has its practical expression in the recognition of the perpetuity of the marriage tie (see below, *Divorce*).

The duties of the wife, in spite of the improvement of the status of woman which Christianity carried with it, continued to be developed from the presupposition of her subordination, and were summed up, not in love, but in obedience (Eph 5^{22}, Col 3^{18}, cf. 1 P 3^{1}). The new religion included various elements which tended to elevate and indeed revolutionize her position—especially the fact that in the spiritual sphere she was on the same platform as the man, redeemed by the same Saviour, saved by the same faith, destined to the same everlasting inheritance (cf. 1 P 3^{7}). In view of this stupendous fact, which St. Paul refers to in Gal 3^{28}, she could no longer be treated as an appanage to another, but was in herself an end. But the apostle did not hold it to be a consequence of this equality within the Kingdom that husband and wife were henceforth to be regarded as coequal partners in their union, or that women were to engage on equal terms with men in the varied work of the Church and of the world. The subjection of the wife to the husband, according to the apostle, was founded upon the original purpose and decree of God in creation, which could not be annulled (1 Co 11^{9}), and upon her constitution, which was modelled upon that of the man, and not, like his, an immediate reproduction of the image of God (v.^{5}). The question which arises at this point is whether the apostle has consistently argued from his Christian premises—whether the teaching of the OT on the relation of man and wife is the last word of Christianity. Expositors by whom his self-consistency is doubted might find in the teaching one of the Pauline antinomies—an old garment showing around the piece of new cloth; and it is certainly surprising that St. Paul, who elsewhere trusted to Christian love to fulfil all righteousness, should not have been satisfied with requiring of the wife true and constant conjugal love. His summarizing of wifely duty in obedience, however, had its firm supports, not only in his reverence for the religious tradition, but also in the monitions of his strong practical sense, which made it clear that in marriage, as in every other association of human beings, there must be at least in reserve a supreme court of appeal.

The incompleteness of the Pauline treatment of marriage is more conspicuous in relation to the ethical dignity of the institution, and the ends which it subserves. There were, it is to be remembered, two conflicting views in relation to which the Christian teaching had to be developed —the traditional Jewish view, according to which marriage was at once a duty and a privilege,* and the ascetic view maintained in Essene circles, according to which it was to be avoided as polluting and evil. The teaching of our Lord avoided both extremes: against the dominant opinion He affirmed the possibility of a duty arising under certain circumstances to abstain from marriage (Mt 19^{12}); against the ascetics He by word and countenance showed His estimate of marriage as a divine institution (Jn 3, Mt 19^{9}). The teaching of St. Paul inclines more to the ascetic side. He allows, as he could not but allow, the lawfulness of marriage (1 Th 4^{4}, cf. 1 Ti 4^{3}), but declares the celibate condition to be preferable. 'It is good for a man,' he says, 'not to touch a woman' (1 Co 7^{1}), and again he would have all men even as himself (v.^{7}). Where he allows it, it is from a point of view which discloses a relatively low view of the ends of marriage—as a preservative from immorality (1 Co $7^{9.35}$, 1 Th $4^{3.4}$); and to the same purpose he discusses the marriage of virgins (1 Co 7^{37}). In extenuation of these views it is usual to refer, and legitimately enough, to two facts—the first, that in an age of missionary hardship and impending persecution, celibacy was expedient (v.^{26}); and the second, that when the end of all things was believed to be at hand (v.^{31}), the importance of the family as an ethical sphere could not be taken at the same estimate as by those who look back upon and forward to a long development of Church and civilization. But St. Paul gives another reason in commendation of celibacy which is independent of temporary conditions and unfounded expectations, viz. that the married state brings with it cares and temptations which tend to weaken the heavenly affections and to cripple for Christian service (vv.$^{32-34}$). It may therefore be said with justice that his teaching on the subject is not quite on a level with the ethics of Protestantism. But, in taking up a more positive and sanguine attitude towards marriage, Protestantism has started from his own principle of 'all things are yours,' and in his spirit has conceived it to be a truer Christian achievement to bring the full circle of human experience into the obedience of Christ than to shun spiritual danger by the evasion of natural responsibilities. It may be added that the ideal view of marriage owes much to the apostle who compared it to the union between Christ and the Church.

ii. THE SPHERE OF LAWFUL MARRIAGE.—1. *CONDITIONS AND BARS OF MARRIAGE.*—In fixing the limits within which marriage is permissible, custom has varied widely, and it has not even been uniform among peoples occupying the same stage of civilization. In the phase in which the family is the most important social unit, it is common to prohibit a man from marrying within his own family group, or at least within that from which his mother sprang (Exogamy). Usually at an earlier but sometimes at a later period of the social history there is found the opposite custom, which forbids marriage outside the group (Endogamy). When the family comes to be superseded in important functions by the State, both obligations are naturally relaxed: a man may marry either within or without his ancestral stock, and only near relationships continue to be recognized as bars to union (Post, *Stud.* p. 79 ff.).

---

* While summing up the husband's duties in love, St. Paul's reverence for OT leads him also to re-emphasize the particular heads of marital duty which it had specified, *e.g.* in 1 Co 7^{3-8} where he asserts the law of conjugal rights *sensu angustiori*, and in 1 Ti 5^{8} where stress is laid on the husband's fundamental duty of providing for his household.

* According to Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*^{2} p. 234, a youth was expected to marry between 14 and 20. But the zealots of the Law did not deem themselves to be so bound. Rabbi Asai took no wife. 'My soul,' he said, 'cleaves to the Law: let others see to the upbuilding of the world' (p. 30).

(*a*) *Racial Bars to Marriage.*—When the Hebrews emerge into the light of history, exogamy (if it ever prevailed among them) has disappeared, and endogamous marriage is strongly favoured. That a lively prejudice of this kind existed in early times is shown in the patriarchal histories, in which great anxiety is shown to procure wives from the original stock—marriages with cousins being most favoured, while loud protests are heard against marriage with aliens. In the period subsequent to the settlement in Canaan, racial intermixture was inevitable, and the old sentiment was in danger of being crushed out. Not only did the kings contract foreign alliances (David 2 S 3^{3}, Solomon 1 K 3^{1} 11^{1}, Ahab 1 K 16^{31}), but there is reason to believe that national distinctions were lightly regarded by the common people (Ru 1^{4}, 2 Ch 24^{26}). Israelitish women also married aliens (1 K 7^{14}), but usually, as it would seem, under the condition that their husbands settled in Israel (2 S 11^{3}, 1 Ch 2^{17}). In this matter, however, religious interests were at stake, a halt was called, and the reaction gradually carried the people back to the primitive position. In Dt marriage was expressly forbidden with the original inhabitants of Canaan (7^{3}, cf. Ex 34^{16}) as the race most likely to debase the religion and morals of the people; but an exception seems to be intended in the case of Edomites and Egyptians (23^{7}). During the Exile and for some time subsequent to it the law had again fallen into abeyance, only to be revived in greater stringency under Ezra (9^{2} 10^{3}) and Nehemiah (13^{23}). The exclusive spirit was fostered by historical examples of the low type of character that sprang from such mixed marriages (Lv 24^{10}).

(*b*) *Forbidden Degrees of Kinship.*—The older custom, which confined marriage within the limits of the family group, had its natural counterpart in lax views as to the bars arising from consanguinity and affinity. Unions tolerated among other nations were indeed regarded as incestuous, viz. with a daughter, or with a uterine sister, but, at least as regards relatives on the paternal side, the utmost latitude was allowed. Thus, Abraham is represented as marrying a half-sister, the daughter of his father (Gn 20^{12}), and the words of Tamar imply that this was recognized as lawful down to the time of the Monarchy (2 S 13^{13}). As late as the age of Ezekiel, marriage with a stepmother must still have been common (22^{10}). Moses himself seems to have been the offspring of a marriage between a nephew and his paternal aunt (Nu 26^{59}, cf. v.^{57}). Of these cases the more obnoxious were prohibited in Dt, viz. marriage with a stepmother (27^{20}), a half-sister (v.^{22}), and a mother-in-law (v.^{23}).

The list of forbidden degrees is extended in Lv (18$^{7-17}$, cf. 20$^{11ff.}$), and largely on the basis of the general principle that paternal relationships rank equally with maternal for purposes of marriage. The following table gives a conspectus of the code—the names of the prohibited relatives being printed in italics, while those about whose identification or otherwise some doubt exists are marked with a ? (cf. Selden, *Ux. Heb.* p. 5).

TABLE OF FORBIDDEN DEGREES.

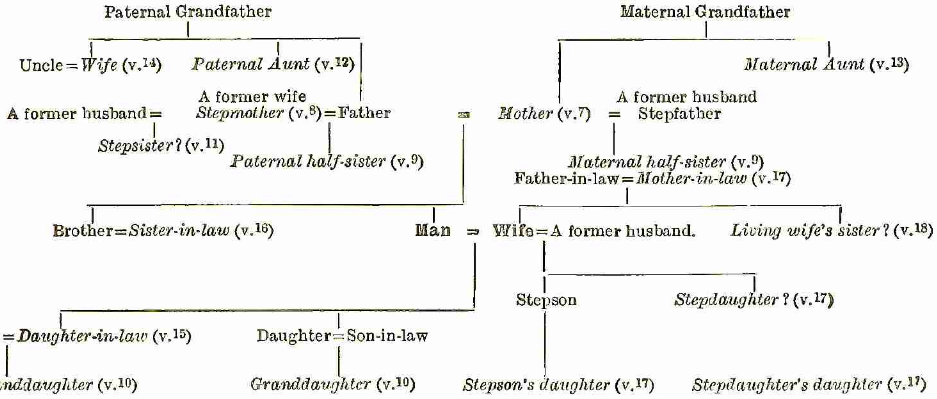
Paternal Grandfather
Maternal Grandfather
Uncle = *Wife* (v.^{14})
Paternal Aunt (v.^{12})
Maternal Aunt (v.^{13})
A former wife
A former husband = *Stepmother* (v.^{8}) = Father
= *Mother* (v.^{7})
A former husband
= Stepfather
Stepsister ? (v.^{11})
Paternal half-sister (v.^{9})
Maternal half-sister (v.^{9})
Father-in-law = *Mother-in-law* (v.^{17})
Brother = *Sister-in-law* (v.^{16})
Man = Wife = A former husband.
Living wife's sister ? (v.^{18})
Stepson
Stepdaughter ? (v.^{17})
Son = *Daughter-in-law* (v.^{15})
Daughter = Son-in-law
Granddaughter (v.^{10})
Granddaughter (v.^{10})
Stepson's daughter (v.^{17})
Stepdaughter's daughter (v.^{17})

Various problems arise out of the table of prohibited degrees.

(1) The prohibitions of *marriage with sisters* are somewhat obscure. The obvious sense of v.^{9} is that it forbids marriage with a half-sister, whether on the father's or the mother's side, and v.^{11}, which prohibits 'the father's wife's daughter, begotten of thy father,' simply repeats the prohibition of a half-sister on the father's side. While the prevalence of the custom (sanctioned as it was by Abraham's example) and the gravity of the evil might justify the repetition, the interposition of different matter in v.^{10} makes it probable that a fresh case is contemplated. The most plausible interpretation of v.^{11} is that, in addition to the half-sister of v.^{9}, it prohibits the daughter of a man's stepmother by a previous husband. This result has been got in two ways—either by regarding the phrase 'begotten of thy father' as an interpolation, or by (illegitimately) treating the participle מוֹלֶדֶת as active, with the meaning 'who hath borne children to thy father' (Bohl, *Contra Matr. Comprivignorum*; cf. Michaelis, ii. 107). Another view is that v.^{11} is to be taken as withholding the half-sister, and that v.^{9} (where read not 'or' but 'and' the daughter of thy mother) would point to the full sister. Keil (*Comm. in loc.*) finds in the text as it stands a distinction—that in v.^{11} the prohibition refers to a son by a first marriage, whereas v.^{9} treats of the son by a second marriage. This, however, involves no difference of relationship, though possibly some difference of status on the part of the half-brother. It is unfortunate that the most satisfactory explanation which connects v.^{11} with the stepmother's daughter by another husband requires alteration of the text.

(2) A second difficulty arises from a group of *three ambiguous prohibitions* which might be regarded as referring either to polygamous or monogamous marriages. Marriage is prohibited (*a*) with a stepdaughter (v.^{17}), (*b*) with the daughter of a stepson or stepdaughter (*ib.*), and (*c*) with a wife's sister (v.^{18}); but is the decease presupposed in (*a*) of the wife who is the girl's mother, in (*b*) of the wife who is the girl's grandmother, in (*c*) of the wife whose sister is mentioned? In case (*b*) it is possible that the original wife is dead, and the same may fairly be held in case (*a*); but in case (*c*) it is certain that the wife is alive, and that what is forbidden is a special type of bigamy. The discussion of this brings us to the more famous problem.

(3) *Marriage with a deceased wife's sister* is certainly not directly forbidden. The actual words are, 'thou shalt not take a woman to her sister, to be a rival to her, to uncover her nakedness, beside the other in her lifetime' (v.^{18}). The AVm suggests translating 'one wife to (*i.e.* in addition to) another' instead of 'to her sister'—in which case we should have a direct

prohibition of bigamy; but modern scholarship has not been able to sustain this. The Mosaic law was not anciently understood to preclude marriage with the sister of a deceased wife. It was declared lawful by the Talmudists, and it was even encouraged by removing or mitigating in this special case the conditions governing the remarriage of a widower. The opposition to it began among the Jewish sect of the Karaites, whose origin is traced to the 8th cent. of our era, and whose leading principle was the Protestant one of going behind the accumulated traditions and decisions of the Rabbis to the written word, with the accompanying proviso that Scripture was to be interpreted by Scripture. In the case before us the plain sense of Scripture is that no objection is raised to marriage with a wife's sister if the former is deceased, and the argument against it is consequently constructive. The argument may be summarized as follows: (1) Marriage is interdicted with those that are near of kin (Lv 18^{6}); (2) 'near of kin' are shown in the legislation to include, along with mother, daughter, etc., sisters and half-sisters; (3) the wife's 'near of kin' are to be regarded as standing in the same relationship to the husband, and that because (*a*) it was declared in the primordial decree that the twain shall be one flesh (Gn 2^{24}), and (*b*) the principle is conceded and exemplified in other instances—*e.g.* in the prohibition of marriage with a deceased wife's granddaughter (v.^{17}) (Selden, *Ux. Heb.* i. 3 ff., where are set forth the various arguments of the different Karaite teachers, who, however, agreed in the conclusion, 'Uxoris soror, tam ea demortua quam superstite, in vetitis habenda'). But the argument is unsound. If the question be to determine whether the Mosaic law sanctions marriage with a deceased wife's sister, we must adhere as closely as possible to the statute, and, as we have seen, the object of the relevant clause is something quite different—the regulation of bigamy. If we fall back on the principle underlying the prohibitions we do not settle the matter, for it is not clear that the principle is theoretically adopted of treating the wife's near of kin as if they were the husband's; rather it would seem that this guidance is followed only in so far as it was necessary on grounds of expediency—*e.g.* in the case of the stepdaughter or granddaughter who would be living (unlike the sister) in the man's family, and who would thus, as a possible wife, be in an obnoxious position. Various other extensions of the forbidden degrees specified in Lv have been made—notably in barring marriage of an uncle with a niece, and of the nephew with the widow of his maternal uncle; and, as in these instances, the problem of the deceased's wife's sister falls to be settled in accordance with the circumstances of a given age and the teaching of experience.

(4) *The rationale of the forbidden degrees* has been variously interpreted. The following is a summary of the older explanations (cf. J. D. Michaelis, *Mos. Recht* (Eng. tr.) ii. p. 53 ff.). The cases in which marriage is disallowed in the Mosaic law have been supposed to be proscribed as those (*a*) which are repugnant to the natural sentiments of mankind (*horror naturalis*), or (*b*) which lead to the physical degeneration of a stock, or (*c*) which tend to the aggrandizement of particular families by the concentration of wealth and power, or (*d*) which are subversive of natural rights—*e.g.* degrading an aunt from her due rank, and elevating a stepdaughter above her proper position. Without denying a certain influence from these considerations, Michaelis himself argues with great force that the real reason of the prohibition of marriages among near of kin is, that, 'considering the free intercourse that such persons have with one another, some of whom, besides, live from their infancy in the same house, it would be impossible to prevent the presence of whoredom in families, or to guard against the effects of very early corruption among young persons if they could entertain the least hope of throwing a veil over past impurity by subsequent marriage' (ii. p. 68). In recent times the whole subject has been re-examined from the evolutionary point of view, with the result of showing that every system of forbidden degrees has been a growth to which something has been contributed by successive forms of social organization, and which has been dominated at different periods by different ideas. Of the Levitical system we may say that it has as its nucleus a list of prohibitions inherited from the maternal type of family organization, and that it has extended these in general (though not doctrinaire) accordance with the demands of the patriarchal system, and with a keen instinct for the interests of domestic and social purity.

The penalties for violation of the forbidden degrees were proportioned to the gravity of the case. In Dt those forming the three types of incestuous union there specified (27$^{20. 22. 23}$) have a curse laid upon them. In Lv 20 capital punishment is decreed against the partners in three cases of incestuous intercourse or marriage, viz. with a stepmother (v.^{11}), a daughter-in-law (v.^{12}), and with a woman whose daughter has already been taken by the man as his wife (v.^{14}). The same may be assumed in the possible cases of still deeper guilt. The mode of death was probably stoning, and in the case of the last group of offenders it is provided that their corpses shall be burned. The penalty for marriage with a half-sister was excommunication (v.^{17}). In another group of cases, viz. intercourse or marriage with an aunt (v.^{19}), an uncle's wife (v.^{20}), and a sister-in-law (v.^{21}), the culprits are left to the vengeance of Heaven, with the added menace in the last two cases that 'they shall be childless.'

(*c*) *Official Restrictions.*—In OT certain restrictions are imposed upon the sacerdotal class. A priest was forbidden to marry a harlot, or a fallen woman, or a divorced person (Lv 21^{7}); the high priest was not even allowed to marry a widow (v.^{14}). It was not, however, held by the Talmudists that the latter enactment required a high priest, on his elevation, to divorce a widow whom he might have previously married or betrothed (Selden, *Ux. Heb.* p. 46).

To this closer fencing of married life in the case of the OT priesthood there is a certain analogy in the NT provision that the bishop shall be the husband of one wife (1 Ti 3^{2}), and likewise the deacons (v.^{12}). The interpretations of this much disputed enactment are as follows: (1) It provides that the bishops and deacons shall be monogamists. But, even if it be assumed that polygyny was still practised among the Jews, it is unlikely that it was represented among the Jewish Christians; and 1 Ti 5^{9} is decisive, as, similarly interpreted, it would mean that no woman living in polyandry was to be enrolled among the widows. (2) It disqualifies for office a man who has been more than once married, and prohibits him after his appointment from contracting a second marriage. This view derives strong support from the fact that it was embodied in the current opinion of the patristic Church, and was reinforced by the decision of Councils (Plummer, *Cath. Epp.* in 'Expos. Bible'), and it would doubtless have been more generally adopted but for the prejudice created by existing practice. At the same time it is right to observe that the admission of this interpretation does not involve the permanent condemnation of second marriage on the part of the clergy, as the reason for the apostolic prohibition might be peculiar to the apostolic age. (3) The regulation disqualifies for office those who had availed themselves of the rights of divorce which Christ sought to curtail, or (according to some authorities) who had in another way (concubinage, licentiousness) sinned against the marriage law. The suggestion that it was designed to support our Lord's condemnation of capricious divorce has lately grown in favour, and must be regarded as at least a possible interpretation.

(*d*) *Natal Disability.*—On the score of a taint of birth, a class of person known as מַמְזֵר was debarred from marriage with Israelites. 'A bastard shall not enter into the assembly of the Lord, even unto the tenth generation' (Dt 23^{2}). By 'bastard' is to be understood, not a person born out of wedlock,—illegitimacy did not entail any serious penalties under Jewish law,—but one born of an unlawful marriage (Driver, *in loc.*). Such at least is the plausible interpretation given in the Mishna in a passage which determines the status of children (*Kiddushin* iii. 12). In a lawful marriage, it is held, the child follows the father; in an unlawful marriage, *e.g.* of a high priest with a widow, or of an Israelitish woman with one of the Nethinim, the child follows the party by whom the marriage is vitiated. The offspring of such illegal marriage, it is added, is מַמְזֵר.

(*e*) Additional marriage-bars that fall to be noted are (1) the *physical* disqualification of certain mutilated or injured persons (Dt 23^{1}); (2) the *hereditary* disqualification of the heiress who was not allowed to marry into another tribe (Nu 36$^{5-9}$); (3) the *retributive* disqualification, which disallowed remarriage under certain circumstances with a wife who had previously been divorced (see below, *Divorce*).

2. The Levirate Marriage of the OT (*levir*, brother-in-law, יָבָם husband's brother; יִבֵּם to perform the marriage obligation of a husband's brother; Talm. יבום the type of marriage; Gr. *ἐπιγαμβρεύω*, Mt 22^{24}), formerly treated as a curious anomaly, has been shown by modern research to be widely prevalent at certain stages of civilization.* 'The fundamental character of this type of marriage,' says Post (*Studien*, p. 248), 'is that a widow is inherited in accordance with the system of kinship dominant among a people, and is married by the heir—whence there then arises the obligation to provide for her and her children.' In the narrower sense it is defined (as by Starcke, *Prim. Fam.* p. 141) as 'the custom which enjoins a man to marry the widow of his brother, if he die childless, in order to raise up children to the dead man, to whom the children produced by such a marriage were supposed to belong.' Obviously, the custom is one which is capable of large modification in detail, and it would seem that even within the limits of OT times there was some shifting of view as to the object of the levirate marriage, and the range of the obligation.

What is virtually an enactment of the levirate law, and that the oldest, is given in narrative form in the story of Tamar and Judah (Gn 38). Here the object of the marriage is 'to raise up seed' to the deceased (v.^{8}); the person upon whom the obligation rests is the younger brother, failing whom the next in age (v.^{26}); the issue of the marriage becomes the head of the family (v.^{29}; cf. Mt 1^{3}); and the sanction of the law, the binding character of which is generally admitted, is in the last resort a special retributive judgment (v.^{10}).

In the formal enactment of the Deut. code (25^{5-10}) the ancient custom is similarly motived and as earnestly supported, if with some relaxation in detail. The obligation rested on a brother only if he had 'dwelt together' (*i.e.* 'on the same family estate,' Driver) with the deceased (v.^{5}), and only the eldest son of the new marriage was to be reckoned as the son of the deceased (v.^{6}). On the other hand, the obligation was not superseded if the deceased left daughters (v.^{5} 'no *son*,' as against the Sadducean interpretation in Mt 22^{24}, Mk 12^{19}, Lk 20^{28}). The duty was not legally enforced, but was supported by the resources of public opinion. A brother evading it publicly forfeited his right—symbolized by drawing off his sandal—and was to be openly insulted by the widow, and condemned to perpetual obloquy (v.^{9}).

The Book of Ruth, while certainly referring to the custom, is by no means faithful to the Deut. model. As judged by Dt, Boaz was under no obligation to wed Ruth unless it should be argued that as Elimelech's brother (4^{3}) he was bound to marry Naomi, and that as the latter was past child-bearing he married instead her widowed daughter-in-law. As a fact, the view taken is that the next of kin, who may be quite remote, is in duty bound to redeem a dead man's estate and marry his childless widow. Further, as Ruth's son by Boaz ranks as the son of the latter (v.^{21}), not of Ruth's former husband, it would seem that the earlier intention of the law is abandoned (Nowack, *Arch.* i. p. 347, who even argues that in the writer's view the sole object is the welfare of the widow). It is also noticeable that the repudiation, with the ceremony of the drawing off of the shoe, no longer has the ancient stigma attached to it (v.^{7}). On the whole, it must be said that the book reveals a state of things when the strict law had been found impracticable, but when its principle continued to be in a wider way operative, and was favoured as fostering humane dealing and averting the pathetic event of the extinction of a line.

The attitude of the later legislation towards the custom is matter of dispute. Certainly Lv (18^{16} 20^{21}) forbids marriage with a deceased brother's wife without any qualification; and it is therefore held by many modern critics that P designed to abolish this type of marriage as incestuous in the minor degree (Nowack, *Arch.* i. 346; Benzinger, art. 'Ehe,' *Real-Encycl.*^{3}). In confirmation of this it is pointed out that in this code the estate, failing a son, descends to the daughters (Nu $27^{1ff.}$). By others the traditional view is still maintained that P lays down the general rule against marriage with a deceased brother's wife, while Dt specifies the exceptional case (Driver, *Deut. in loc.*). It has also been held that the collision of the codes is only apparent, as Lev prohibits illicit intercourse with a brother's wife, and is not legislating in the passage in question about marriage (Bertholet, *Com. on Deut.*, but erroneously). Whether P intended to repeal the special law is a question likely to be determined by subjective considerations. The famous disputation with the Sadducees clearly implies that the levirate law was regarded as binding in the time of our Lord, while it was perhaps even acted on (*ἦσαν δὲ παρ' ἡμῖν ἑπτὰ ἀδελφοί*, Mt $22^{25ff.}$).

In the later period, however, its observance was exceptional: in the language of the Mishna, the dispensation (חליצה) was preferred to the observance (*Bechoroth* 13*a*). Theoretical opposition accompanied, and the opinions of the Rabbis of the first four Christian centuries were divided as to its lawfulness—Rabbi Jose declaring it unpermissible even when desired by both parties concerned. The same division of opinion ran through the Middle Ages, though the preponderance of opinion favoured the dispensation (Mishna, treatise *Yebamoth*; Surenhusius, ii.; Hamburger, *Real-Encyk.* art. 'Schwagerehe').

Of the origin and primitive purpose of the levirate marriage various explanations have been propounded. (1) The first group of theories accepts the biblical statement that the object was the procreation of a son or sons who were regarded as the children of the deceased. But on this assumption the further question arises, What was the object of the fiction by which the line was continued? To this the principal answers which have been given are (*a*) that it was regarded as a calamity (where personal immortality was not realized, a calamity tantamount to annihilation) that one's line should become extinct (Dt 25^{6}); (*b*) that the custom was connected with a system of ancestor-worship, under which failure of offspring entailed deprivation of cherished rites and service.* Popular, however, as the latter theory is, it assumes the influence of a form of religion, for the existence of which in Israel the evidence is of the scantiest. (2) A second theory, propounded by M'Lennan and supported by W. R. Smith, pushes the question further back and discovers in it a survival from polyandry. 'It could more easily be feigned,' says the former, 'that the children belonged to the deceased brother if already, at a prior stage, the children of the brotherhood had been accounted the children of the eldest brother' (*Prim. Mar.* p. 164). And in regard to this view it must be admitted that polyandry may well have left behind such a custom as its legacy. As Starcke observes (*Prim. Fam.* p. 150), 'the Levir-child was ascribed to the dead man in virtue of the same ideas according to which, in Tibet, the eldest brother and ruler of the house was held to be the father of all the children of the household.' This proves that a system of polyandry may sometimes have had as an offshoot the levirate marriage, but does not preclude the possibility of its development in other quarters from other primitive practices and modes of thought—*e.g.* the exercise of paternal authority in setting aside in certain cases the direct fatherhood (Starcke, p. 151). (3) Yet again it has been suggested that in conditions where marriage was associated with purchase, and the wife was treated as a chattel, it was natural that she should be claimed by the next of kin as part of the inheritance (Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*). Well, however, as this practice is vouched for, the inheritance of a wife by a surviving brother is widely removed from the biblical theory, for the essence of the latter is the concession that the younger brother, instead of himself heiring, raises up heirs to the deceased. (4) Yet again the object of the custom has been found in an agrarian motive, the law being designed to keep together under the levirate husband the property which would otherwise have been divided among all the brothers (Meilziner, quoted by Starcke, p. 150). But, though at a late date (Ru 4^{5}) the custom was utilized in connexion with the conservation of lands, the evidence points to its having reached back into the nomadic stage of civilization.

---

* The parallel in the Laws of Manu (ch. ix. 59-64) has been often cited. Instances of the custom among other races have been collected by Post, *Einleitung in das Stud. d. ethnolog. Jurisprud.* 1866, and Westermarck, *Hist. of Hum. Marriage.*

* An expression of this idea is quoted from the Mahâbhârata (Muir's tr.) by Max Müller, *Anthrop. Rel.* p. 31—

> 'That stage completed, seek a wife
> And gain the fruit of wedded life,
> A race of sons, by rites to seal,
> When thou art gone, thy spirit's weal.'

On the whole, the question of origin is, and probably will remain, matter of controversy. Widespread as the custom is, it may well have sprung from various roots—according as in one region an ancestor-cult prevailed, in another a system of polyandry had developed, etc. Where it meets us in Hebrew history it clearly connects itself with the natural desire for survival in posterity, later with the endeavour to perpetuate family property; and if in spite of the benediction of early tradition and law it gradually fell into abeyance, the cause is to be sought in the growth of the self-consciousness and of the claims of the individual with the progress of society.

iii. MARRIAGE PROCEDURE.—1. *The System of Betrothal.*—The **betrothal**, as the first stage in the formation of a marriage union, had a prominent position among the Hebrews, as among other peoples at the same stage of social development.

The act of betrothing is described by three Heb. verbs:—אֵרֵשׂ (Pi. of [אָרַשׂ] 'pay the price,' Dt 20^{7}, Hos $2^{19.20}$), יָעַד ('designate') Ex $21^{8.9}$, [קָנָה] ('acquire') Lv 19^{20}; and by one Greek verb —*μνηστεύειν* (Mt 1^{18}, Lk 1^{27} 2^{5}). In AV the Hebrew verbs are usually rendered by 'betroth,' occasionally by 'espouse' (2 S 3^{14}): the Greek verb is translated by 'espouse.' In RV 'betroth' is exclusively used where the reference is to the initial stage (2 S 3^{14}, Mt 1^{18} etc.), while 'espouse' is restricted to the passages which imply completed marriage (Ex $21^{8.9}$). The ceremony of betrothal has no name in OT. The Talmudists refer to it under the names of קרושין (consecration), אירושין (betrothal), and שרוכין (compact) or תנאים (conditions).

The custom of allowing the individuals concerned to arrange a marriage according to inclination is a late and exceptional concession. In societies in which the family organization is strong and stable the betrothal is treated as a concern of the family group or of the tribe. The powers are vested in the head of the tribe, or they may be devolved upon particular members of a family group—under the patriarchal system upon the father or nearest paternal relative, under the matriarchal upon the maternal uncle or the eldest uterine brother (Post, *Studien*, pp. 163, 164). From this standpoint the betrothal is viewed in OT. In the exercise of his patriarchal function Abraham through a servant negotiates with Bethuel for the hand of Rebekah, and Laban as her brother is taken into council (Gn 24); Hamor endeavours in treaty with Jacob and his sons to arrange a marriage on behalf of his son Shechem (Gn $34^{6ff.}$); even the lawless Samson requests his father to procure for him to wife a woman in Timnah (Jg 14^{2}). The advances, further, were made by the house of the bridegroom, except in cases where the superior rank of the bride's family justified them in taking the first step (Ex 2^{21}, Jos 15^{17}, 1 S 18^{27}). Resentment was expressed when a man repudiated the rights of the natural guardians and took the matter into his own hands (Gn 26^{34})—a feeling strongly shared by the Arabs, who held it sufficient ground for withholding a bride (Wellhausen, *Die Ehe bei den Arabern*, p. 432); and the protests were not unreasonable in view of the interest of the family in the alliance that might be formed, and of the women in the bride with whom in a patriarchal society they were to be so closely associated (Gn 27^{46}). Yet, while the system required that the machinery of the family should be employed, it might easily happen, as the cases of Shechem and Samson show, that it might be set in motion by a lover, and the more so that in ancient Israel the association of the sexes was comparatively unrestrained, and naturally led to personal attachments which sought satisfaction in marriage (Gn 24^{15} 29^{10}; cf. 1 S 18^{20}). Among the Hebrews, in any case, the tyranny of family rule does not appear to have dispensed with the consent of the parties (Gn 24^{8}), which under this regime is often treated as matter of indifference, at least as respects the bride (Post, *Studien*, p. 166 ff.).

The first important stage in the betrothal procedure was the settlement of the amount of the so-called dowry, and the payment or part payment of the same.

The **dowry** of the OT (מֹהַר Gn 34^{12}, Ex 22^{17}, 1 S 18^{25}; cf. Ex 22^{16}, where RV has 'pay a dowry') was not a portion brought by the bride into the husband's family, but a price or ransom paid to the father or brothers of the bride. That this was its original significance is not open to doubt. In primitive conditions it was naturally claimed as compensation for the loss to a family of a valuable member. Recent research has shown that it was so regarded in ancient times in Arabia (*Kinship and Marriage*, 68, 78 ff.; *Die Ehe bei den Arabern*, 433 ff.); and among the same stock it retains this character. 'An Arab father,' says Tristram, 'regards his daughters much as he would his sheep or cattle, selling them for a greater or less price, according to his rank and fortune and their beauty' (*Eastern Customs*, p. 92). And so it appears in OT: Hamor offers to pay for Dinah 'never so much dowry' (Gn 34^{12}); in Ex 22^{17} it is referred to as a settled custom. Dt 22^{29} assesses the damages for seduction, which are payable to the father, and thus fixes the amount in one particular case. For the common people the sum to be paid was doubtless settled by custom, while in the case of important alliances it was matter of negotiation (Gn 34^{12}). The 'dowry' was not necessarily paid in money or kind, but might take the form of service, as in the case of Jacob (Gn 29) and David (1 S 18^{25}; cf. 17^{25}).

With the advance of families in dignity and wealth the 'dowry' easily passed into a new stage. It was natural that a portion, if not the whole, should be appropriated to ensure the comfort and security of the bride. A hint of the custom of so diverting a part is given in the complaint made by the daughters of Laban, when they declare that he 'hath sold us, and hath quite devoured our money' (Gn 31^{15}). In later times the appropriation of the 'dowry' to the wife became customary; it was conserved as capital; and in the event of the death of the husband, or an arbitrary divorce, it furnished a useful provision. A parallel development took place to some extent among the Arabs, as the Koran assumes that the 'dowry' falls to the wife (Wellhausen, *Die Ehe bei den Arabern*, p. 435).

The dowry in the modern sense was not customary, but was occasionally met with. The daughters of wealthy houses at least received handsome gifts: Rebekah brings female slaves with her to her new home (Gn 24^{61}), Laban makes a similar present to Leah (29^{24}). As a special instance of liberality, doubtless also with some reference to proprietary rights, mention is made of Caleb's gift to his daughter of a field of springs (Jg 1^{15}). The alliances of the kings with foreign princes furnish examples of the dowry—in one case a princess brings with her a city as her portion (1 K 9^{16}).*

In addition to the *mohar*, there is mention of other gifts which, naturally prompted by the occasion of a betrothal, might be distributed more or less lavishly as a means of conciliation or a token of goodwill (מַתָּן, Gn 34^{12}). The gift to the bride, which came under this category, was significant of the wealth of the wooer (24^{53}). The latter had its counterpart in the *sadâk* of the Arabs; and as the bestowal of the *sadâk* came to be treated as part of the marriage ceremony, it is possible that among the Hebrews also it was incorporated in the formal procedure either of the betrothal or of the marriage.

While the settlement and payment (in whole or in part) of the 'dowry' was the decisive act in the betrothal, there was probably also an additional ceremony of a more or less formal kind. Of the procedure various elements appear to be preserved in the narrative of Rebekah's betrothal (Gn 24). The terms in which she is asked, and gives her consent, in all likelihood preserve an ancient and familiar formula ('Wilt thou go with this man?' 'I will go,' v.^{58}); and the same applies to the blessing which is pronounced upon her when she is handed over or 'sent away' (v.^{60}). The conjecture that a ring was given to the bride has no support in the passages referred to (Ex 35^{22}, Is 3^{21}), yet the use of the ring, which plays an important part in the Talmudic formalities, may well have been of considerable antiquity.

In the procedure sanctioned by the Talmudic authorities the bridegroom handed to the bride an article of value, such as a ring, or a written document, adding: 'By this ring, etc., may she be consecrated (or betrothed) to me.' The presence of two male witnesses was required, so that the appropriate benedictions might be pronounced on the union. According to the Mishna (treatise *Kiddushin*), there were three modes of betrothal—by the payment of money, by the conveyance of a contract, and by coition; but the third was prohibited by the later Rabbis under penalties (Hamburger, arts. 'Trauung,' 'Verlöbniss').

After the betrothal the bride was under the same restrictions as a wife. If unfaithful she ranked and was punished as an adulteress (Dt $22^{23.\,24}$); and on the other hand the bridegroom, if he wished to break the contract, had the same privileges, and had also to observe the same formalities as in the case of divorce. The situation is illustrated in the history of Joseph and Mary, who were on the footing of betrothal (Mt 1^{19}).

2. *Nuptial Rites and Customs.*—Upon the betrothal followed, after a longer or shorter period, the marriage proper or wedding, the features of which may be collected partly from incidental allusions in Scripture, partly from survivals of ancient custom in Talmudic literature and in the life of the East.

The Heb. terms translated 'marry' are לָקַח 'to take' (Gn 19^{14} etc.), in *late* Heb. נָשָׂא (2 Ch 13^{21} *al.*)—both with a probable reference to ancient marriage by capture, הָיְתָה לְאִישׁ 'to be married' (Hos 3^{3} *al.*), and הָיְתָה לִפ׳ לְאִשָּׁה 'to become a wife' (Nu $36^{3.\,6.\,11}$), בָּעַל to 'become master of,' expressive of the husband's authority (Dt 22^{22} etc.); later הוֹשִׁיב, lit. 'make to dwell,' 'give a dwelling to' (cf. Ps 113^{9}), Ezr $10^{2.\,10.\,14.\,17.\,18}$, Neh $13^{23.\,27}$ [*al.*]. 'To form marriage alliance with' (lit. 'to make oneself daughter's husband') is הִתְחַתֵּן (Gn 34^{9} etc.). AV 'given to marriage' in Ps 78^{63} is merely a paraphrase; Heb. is lit. 'were not praised.' In NT γαμεῖν is used of either sex (Mt 5^{32} $19^{9.\,10}$ etc.); also γίνεσθαί τινι (Ro 7^{3}), used of a woman, means to be married to a man (RV to be 'joined to a man'), γαμίσκεσθαι, to be given in marriage (Mk 12^{25}), γαμίζειν, to give in marriage (1 Co 7^{38}). The word translated 'espousals' (Ca 3^{11}) comes nearest to describing the subject here discussed.

It is probable that in the early period the principal if not the only ceremonies were connected with the betrothal, and that when these were completed the consummation of the marriage might follow at the option of the parties concerned (Nowack, *Arch.* i. p. 162). In the case of Isaac and Rebekah the formalities were over with the betrothal, and on the bride's arrival at her new home she was simply conducted to her tent (Gn 24^{63-67}). Similarly, whenever David has fulfilled the conditions imposed by Saul, he receives Michal to wife (1 S 18^{27}). That this was, however, not universal appears from Gn 29^{27}. The later practice was to draw a clear distinction between betrothal and marriage (Dt 20^{7} 28^{30}), to magnify the final function, and to invest this increasingly with characters of publicity and pomp. And in the celebration of Hebrew marriage the most noteworthy point is the retreat of the distinctively Hebrew element. We seem to be in the atmosphere of Hellas rather than of the Holy Land. There is no evidence that, in the older period, the proceedings were regulated from the theocratic point of view, or even that they included a religious ceremony: rather is there a temporary abandonment to the cult of mere happiness, with its unconsecrated ritual of feasting and song.

In the biblical references to the marriage celebrations two functions stand out prominently—the wedding procession and the wedding feast or marriage supper. As regards the nature and place of the ceremony by which the woman was transferred to the husband (the counterpart of our marriage service), the biblical notices leave us uninformed.

The wedding procession naturally fell into two parts. First the bridegroom and his friends may be supposed to have marched to the home of the bride, then in a return procession the festal company, reinforced by the bride's friends, conducted the pair to their future home. Of the movement and colour of this picturesque drama graphic touches are preserved in Scripture. We catch a glimpse of the garlanded bridegroom in his splendid attire (Is 61^{10}), and of his veiled bride surrounded by the friends of her youth (Ps $45^{14.\,15}$); the attendant throng gives vent to its jubilant feelings in dancing and shouting, and songs are struck up (some perhaps preserved in the Song called Solomon's) which sound the praise of wedded love and of the newly-wedded pair.

The relation of the wedding procession to the situation presupposed in the parable of the Ten Virgins requires elucidation. 'More rarely it happened,' says Nowack (i. p. 163), 'that a procession conducted the bride to meet the bridegroom as he approached with his friends (1 Mac $9^{37\text{ff.}}$); in the evening such a procession sometimes took place by lamp and torchlight.' The explanation here suggested is that the marriage took place late at night, and that the bride's company was preparing to sally forth to meet the bridegroom on his first appearance. It is, however, plausibly argued by Mackie (*Bibl. Manners and Customs*) that the parable presupposes that this stage is past. The bride, he infers from existing custom, has already been conducted to her future home, the bridegroom has subsequently withdrawn to the house of a relative, where he is to stay with his companions till a late hour; meanwhile the bride and her companions grow weary, and sleep falls upon them; until at last a clamour in the street heralds the approach of the torch-illumined party, and within all are roused to life and excitement. 'Before he arrives the maidens in waiting come forth with lamps and candles a short distance to light up the entrance and do honour to the bridegroom and the group of relatives and intimate friends around him. These pass in to the final rejoicing and the marriage supper; the others, who have discharged their duty in accompanying him to the door, immediately disperse and the door is shut' (p. 126).

---

* Among the Greeks the dowry had a similar origin and a parallel development. In the Homeric age it was customary for the father to receive a purchase-price from his future son-in-law (*Il.* xi. 244)—hence the expression παρθένος ἀλφεσίβοια, the oxen-bringing virgin; and if it was rare for a father to give his daughter gratuitously (ἀνάεδνον), it was reckoned an act of the most signal generosity to offer presents (ἐπιμείλια), as was done by Agamemnon (ix. 146) along with the daughter. The ancient custom gradually disappeared, and was referred to by Aristotle as barbarous (*Pol.* ii. 5. 11), but Euripides voices a complaint of the women of a later day that it had become the custom that women had to purchase their husbands at a great price (*Med.* 232; Derenberg, *Dict. des Antiq. Grecq. et Rom.*, Paris, 1892, art. 'Dot'). In Rome from an early period the wife who did not bring with her a dowry was regarded as a concubine rather than as a wife (Plaut. *Trinum.* iii. 2, v. 73, 5), and it was a duty of clients to make up a dowry for the daughter of a poor patron (*ib.*).

The marriage supper, which took place in the house of the husband, was the great social event in the life of a family, and, where the standing and means allowed it, might be planned on the most lavish scale. In the parable of the Marriage of the King's Son we have an example of boundless hospitality, and also an indication of the resentment felt when the invitation was slighted (Mt 22^{1-14}). A difficulty in the parable has been met by the conjecture that persons of high rank further showed their magnificence by furnishing the invited guests with festal robes (*ἔνδυμα γάμου*). The wedding at Cana of Galilee gives us a glimpse of the way in which the spirit of hospitality was exhibited in humbler homes (Jn $2^{1ff.}$). But, while the same spirit prevailed throughout Hebrew society, it is to be remembered that among the poorer classes the marriage feast must have been very different from the picture which at the name naturally rises before the imagination.[*]

The scene at the marriage supper is depicted with some fulness of detail. Now (probably not in the procession) the high-born bride appeared in the full splendour of her bridal array, in a robe embroidered with gold (Ps $45^{13.14}$, Jer 2^{32}), which was gathered up by a peculiar girdle adorned with jewels (Is 49^{18}), and on her head a crown. Prominent in honour, as they had been in service, were the male friends of the bridegroom (*υἱοὶ τοῦ νυμφῶνος*, Mt 9^{15}), one of whom was charged with the duties of a master of ceremonies (Jn 2^{8}, cf. Jn 3^{29}). From descriptions of later times we can fill out other spaces with panegyric and blessing uttered by the company in song and speech. At the close the bride was conducted by her parents to the nuptial chamber (cf. Jg 15^{1}). Throughout the whole proceedings it may be noted, as explaining the deception practised upon Jacob, the bride had remained veiled (Gn 29^{23}). The duty of preserving evidence of the bride's antenuptial chastity, which was enforced in Dt $22^{13ff.}$, was attended to as a safeguard against the slanders of a malicious or inconstant husband.

A marriage ceremony, to which proceedings like those described are mere adjuncts, is naturally assumed by us, but the idea is not to be summarily imported into early Hebrew marriage. We are doubtless nearer the mark in regarding the marriage supper as being in early times itself the marriage ceremony. Among primitive peoples the public meal has a quasi-sacramental character; and it was quite in harmony with this mode of thought to look on the feast of which bridegroom and bride partook in company with their friends as the rite by which they were definitely placed upon the conjugal footing. The view is supported by the fact that at a late period the feast was still treated as so essential a part of the proceedings that *γάμος* stands equally for the marriage and the supper (Mt 22^{4}). Its original significance would thus have been similar to that of the *confarreatio* —a mode of contracting marriage through a sacrificial use of bread anciently practised in Rome. It was, however, inevitable that in course of time a more definite rite should be instituted. The most natural occasion might seem to be the point at which the bridegroom came to fetch the bride from her parents, but the evidence goes to show that the matter was still in suspense so long as her parents, who accompanied her to the feast, were at her side. The act upon which attention would readily fasten as the decisive and uniting act was the leading of the bride to her 'chamber,' which in the old period was a tent specially erected for the wedded pair. The central importance of this act is further attested by the circumstance that the chamber (חֻפָּה) supplied a name for marriage—marriage being described, as it were, as 'the tenting' (Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 444). Out of this other acts would as naturally develop to form a kind of ritual. From a hint in Mal 2 it is supposed that the pair entered into a solemn covenant, and it is also probable that the good wishes of the company came to be crystallized into definite benedictions craving prosperity and posterity. After the Exile the 'covenant' was embodied in a written contract (To 7^{13} *συγγραφή*, כְּתוּבָּה).

This somewhat conjectural account of the ancient marriage ceremony would have an important addition could we follow Mackie in interpreting Ps 19^{6} in the light of modern custom. 'At a Jewish wedding,' he says, 'the most interesting feature is the canopy under which the bridegroom and bride sit or stand during the ceremony. It is erected in the court or large room of the house where the guests are assembled, and it is made of palm branches and embroidered cloth. It is suggestive of the dome sometimes seen above pulpits, and gives to the wedding the appearance of a coronation. . . . The sight of the robed bridegroom issuing from the canopy (tabernacle) and receiving the congratulations of his friends suggested the simile of the sunrise in Ps 19^{5}' (p. 123). But in early times the *ḥuppah* would seem to have been an actual tent (cf. Jl 2^{16}), and the canopy described by Mackie (a picture of which is given in Bodenschatz, *Kirch. Verfas.* iv. p. 126) is doubtless a late ornamental erection evolved from the old bridal tent.

The wedding festivities which followed were long drawn out. In ancient times, as still among the fellaheen of Syria, the usual period for the rejoicings was a week (Jg 7). Feasting, music, and dancing, such as celebrated the return of the Prodigal Son, were the staple of the festivities of the season, and we hear of the exercise of the wits by riddles and wagers (*ib.*). The expense must have pressed somewhat heavily on the humbler folk—the more so that a marriage seems to have been treated as a festival for the community, and more than one thrifty saw in Pr may well have been suggested by an extravagance that injured the guest with the host. It is probable that then as now some contribution towards the cost was made in the case of peasant marriages by the guests themselves (Tristram, p. 93).

One of the most important contributions to this subject is the description of the marriage rejoicings of the Palestinian fellaheen in an article on the Syrian threshing-sledge by Dr. J. G. Wetzstein (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Bd. v. 1873, p. 287 ff.). The following are the principal points. During the seven days following the wedding the young couple are treated by the villagers as king and queen; the threshing-floor, where they are married, is their court; and the threshing-sledge is their throne. March is the favourite month. The most prominent incidents of the wedding-day are the sword-dance of the bride, and the great feast. On the following day they hold a reception, being greeted first by the best-man (*wezîr*), then by the friends of the bridegroom (*sebâb el-'arîs*). Then the sledge is transported on stalwart shoulders, with singing of martial or erotic songs, to the threshing-floor. Here a stage or scaffolding some two ells high is erected, and on this the sledge is placed and covered over with a gaily-coloured carpet on which two embroidered cushions are planted. On this with all pomp the husband and wife are enthroned. A tribunal is then set up, whose business is to ascertain that the marriage has been consummated (Dt 22^{13-21}). The tribunal being satisfied, there follow dancing and singing, the staple of the song being praise of the graces of the newly wedded pair (cf. Ca 4–7). Games follow, which begin on the first day in the morning, on the succeeding days shortly before noon, and last late into the night. During the whole week their majesties wear their festal clothes, do not work, and merely look on at the games—except that now and again the queen joins in a dance. The expenses are borne by the friends of the bridegroom eked out by fines. The proceedings end with a supper, and the degradation of the king to his proper rank. 'The festal regulations are annulled, the jokes become rougher, and scarcely is the meal over when a pair of hands smear the king's face from a dung-heap' (p. 293).

---

[*] The following realistic description by a modern traveller is of use in this connexion: 'He found that the villagers of Schwat-el-Blat were engaged in the wedding festivities of one of the young men of the family. After the reception, etc., a huge platter, 6 feet in diameter, made of tinned copper, was brought in, on which was piled a mountain of boiled crushed wheat mingled with morsels of boiled meat. When this had been set in place, a dish of melted, clarified butter was poured over the wheat until it was quite saturated. Loaves of bread in the form of cakes were placed by the side of the platter, and the guests, rolling up their sleeves, proceeded to help themselves with their fingers, and consumed the provisions, as is usual, in silence. Water and soap were then passed around to the guests, who washed off the remains of their greasy meal, after which coffee and pipes were served' (*Pal. Expl. Fund Quart. St.* 1888, p. 204).

iv. THE MORAL SUBVERSION OF MARRIAGE.—**Adultery** falls to be considered here as the practice subversive of the institution of marriage (Old Eng. *aéw-bryce*, Germ. *Ehebruch*).

נִאֻפִים 'adultery' (Jer 13^{27}, Ezk 23^{43}), verb נָאַף Qal and Pi. (Ex 20^{14}, Dt 5^{18} etc.); *μοιχεία* (Jn 8^{3}), and of the same group *μοιχός* (Lk 18^{11}), *μοιχεύειν* (Mt 5^{27}), *μοιχᾶσθαι* (Mt 5^{32}), *μοιχαλίς* (2 P 2^{14}).

The biblical conception of adultery is often expressed by saying that, as in Roman law, a woman could violate only her own marriage, a man only that of another. In other words, an unchaste bride was guilty of adultery, an unchaste husband was guilty of it only if he sinned along with the bride of another. If in certain cases the law took cognizance of a husband's licentiousness, it was because it involved infringement of property rights, and gave rise to a claim for damages (Ex 22^{16}, Dt 22^{29}).

At a certain stage of social evolution, adultery is commonly regarded as an injury which a husband is entitled to avenge by slaying the culprits; and when important powers of the family come to be taken over by the nation, it often happens that the death-penalty continues to be attached, at least in theory, to the capital sexual crime (Post, *Studien*, p. 353 ff.). To this generalization of the sociologist the history of adultery among the Hebrews closely corresponds. According to the tradition the unfaithful wife was in old times put to death (by burning, Gn 38^{24}), and, alike from the character of the people and the duties anciently assigned to the Goel, it may be assumed that the wrong was one which was held to invite and justify the extreme of vengeance. The legislation confirmed the estimate of its enormity—the Decalogue condemns both the overt act and the lawless desire in which it originates (Ex $20^{14.17}$), and the prohibition is solemnly repeated in the later legislation, and supported by the sanction of capital punishment. The mode of execution varied with the standing of the woman: a guilty wife was to be put to death, *i.e.* strangled, along with her paramour (Dt 22^{22}; cf. Lv 20^{10}), while a betrothed woman who should be seduced was to be stoned (v.^{24}). If, however, the betrothed woman was seduced in circumstances suggesting that she had been violated, the man only was to be executed: she received the benefit of the doubt (v.$^{25ff.}$); if she was a bondmaid, the culprit escaped with a guilt-offering (Lv $19^{20ff.}$)). In the case of a priest's daughter, the punishment of sexual immorality was death by burning (Lv 21^{9}). The same high ground is taken by Ezekiel, who threatens the adulterer with death (18^{11}).

It must be added that there is no evidence that the capital penalty was actually inflicted in historical times. In late Jewish practice the penalties were merely divorce, with the wife's forfeiture of her dowry (Bodenschatz, *Kirch. Verfass.* iv. p. 164); and a long tract of earlier practice is disposed of by Lightfoot, who remarks: 'I do not remember that I have anywhere, in the Jewish Pandect, met with an example of a wife punished for adultery with death' (*Hor. Heb. ad Mat.* 19^{8}). The NT evidence is to the same effect. In His references to the subject (Mt 5^{32} etc.) Jesus implies that it simply entailed divorce. The reason given for Joseph's purpose to put away his betrothed wife privily is that he was a just man—a reason which could hardly have been given if he had been frustrating the recognized operation of the law, and saving Mary from the usual death by stoning (Mt 1^{19}). The weightiest evidence on the other side is derived from the narrative of the woman taken in adultery (Jn 8^{3-11}). From the reference to stoning it might be inferred that her status was that of a betrothed woman, and the implication of the narrative seems to be that there was but a step between her and death. It is, however, to be remembered that Jesus was surrounded by enemies who laboured to entangle Him in His talk—esp. to bring Him into collision with Moses; and the plot in this instance doubtless was to 'put Him in the dilemma of either declaring for the revival of a practice which had already become obsolete, or of giving His sanction to the apparent infraction of the law which the substitution of divorce involved' (art. 'Adultery,' Kitto, *Bib. Cycl.*). At all events, the reply of Jesus supported the abrogation of the law: until judges were found, themselves innocent as tried by His own heart-searching test, the title was wanting to execute the law of Moses (v.^{7}). Nor do the historical records of the pre-Christian period supply any evidence of the operation of the law in the exaction of the death-penalty. On the contrary, the prophetical writings imply that there was widespread guilt and widespread immunity. If the story of Hosea be accepted, as by most moderns, as a real history, and as implying the post-nuptial fall of the prophet's wife, it would follow that in the 8th cent. the law not only did not inflict capital punishment, but did not even (as later) insist on divorce. In spite of the legal enactments, then, it may be assumed that death was not actually inflicted, and that it was deemed that the husband was sufficiently protected by his right of divorce, the woman sufficiently punished by loss of status and property, while the adulterer might be mulcted in damages.

In OT it is sought to intensify the moral sentiment on the subject by picturing the miserable disguises and subterfuges of the adulterer, and by dwelling on the risks to which he was exposed—as degradation (Pr 2^{18}), poverty (6^{26}), and the strokes of unbridled vengeance (5^{8-10}). In NT (1 Co 6^{9}) the sin is declared to be utterly inconsistent with a Christian standing, and to entail exclusion from the eternal kingdom (1 Co 6^{9}).

A charge of adultery was ordinarily substantiated at a formal trial. The reason for this, when the death-penalty was no longer inflicted, was at least partly connected with money. A husband could divorce his wife on suspicion, but if he did not prove his case she retained the 'dowry.' It lay, however, in the character of the crime that it was often impossible to prove guilt according to the ordinary canons of evidence, and to meet this difficulty P provides that a suspected woman shall submit to **trial by ordeal** (Nu 5^{11-31}).

The particulars of the remarkable enactment of the ordeal of the waters of bitterness are as follows:—

(1) The trial takes place when a husband forms a suspicion, founded or unfounded, of his wife's chastity (vv.$^{12-14}$).

(2) The procedure is that he brings his wife to the priest, along with a sacrificial gift of barley-meal (v.^{15}); the priest sets her 'before the Lord' (v.^{16}), loosens her hair (v.^{18}), places in her hand the meal-offering (v.^{18}), and stands before her holding an earthen vessel which contains a potion of holy water sprinkled with dust from the floor of the tabernacle (v.^{17}). He then sets apart the potion to its judicial use—declaring that if she be innocent it will not injure her, if guilty it will cause her belly to swell and her thigh to shrink (v.^{22}). The woman having acquiesced with an 'Amen,' the priest writes down the curses, washes them off, adds the rinsings as a new ingredient to the potion (v.^{23}), and after some ritualistic observances gives her the water to drink (v.^{26}).

(3) The issue is a judgment of condemnation or acquittal. If guilty, she is smitten with the threatened diseases (usually sup-

posed to include dropsy, Jos. *Ant.* III. xi. 6), and is shunned as accursed (v.^{27}); if innocent, she has the compensation of again becoming a mother (v.^{28}).

In the ordeal of the bitter waters (so called as the instrument of a curse) we have doubtless an ancient custom surviving in a modified form, and amended in the interests of good sense and humanity. Similar practices have been discovered among other peoples, *e.g.* in Sierra Leone and Upper Guinea, and, according to various authorities, in the African practice it is common to employ a deadly poison, when the accused may hope to escape only by the accident of vomiting, or by the surreptitious use of an antidote. In the OT legislation, on the other hand, the case was not prejudged against the accused; the ingredients of the potion were innocuous, and reliance was placed on exposure through divine intervention. That the ordeal was at least occasionally efficacious in revealing guilt through the workings of fear and an accusing conscience, need not be doubted.

From the long persistence in Christendom of the *judicium Dei* in various forms (judicium ignis, aquæ, panis adjurati, etc.), the last trace of which only disappeared in the 18th century, it may be surmised that the ordeal appeals strongly to human nature. But among the Jews as among the Christians, experience bred doubts as to its trustworthiness. Sometimes the curse failed to operate, and that although the guilt was morally certain, or was established by later discoveries. Of such miscarriages of justice two explanations were offered. God, it might be said, stayed His hand because adultery had become so common among the accusing husbands that they had lost all claim to justice as against their wives.* Another reason was discovered in the doctrine of 'merits,' and it was suggested that, on the ground of other good deeds, the woman might, if not altogether escape, at least have the punishment deferred. But at all events it was no longer relied upon, and so naturally fell into disuse.

v. THE LEGAL DISSOLUTION OF MARRIAGE.—**Divorce** (Old Eng. *hiw-gedales, forlaeton*, Germ. *Ehescheidung*) is expressed in Heb. and Gr. by a number of words embodying the idea of dismissal or separation. The usual Heb. verb is שִׁלַּח 'to send away,' LXX ἐξαποστέλλειν (Dt 22^{19}, Jer 3^{1}), and for the practice of divorce שַׁלַּח is once used (Mal 2^{16}); in the later books יָצָא occurs in Hiph. ('make to go forth,' Ezr $10^{3.\ 19}$). A divorced woman is אִשָּׁה גְרוּשָׁה (Lv 21^{7}, Ezk 44^{22}). The bill of divorce (Old Eng. *hiw-gedales bôk*, later 'book of forsaking') is סֵפֶר כְּרִיתֻת (Dt 24^{1}). In classical Greek the legal terms are ἀποπέμπεσθαι, ἀποπομπή (of the man), ἀπόλειψις (usually of the woman). In the Greek of NT their place is taken by three verbs: (1) ἀπολύειν, used throughout the Synopt. (Mt 1^{19} $5^{31.\ 32}$, Mk $10^{2.\ 4}$, Lk 16^{18}); (2) ἀφιέναι, which with St. Paul describes the action either of husband or wife in promoting divorce (1 Co $7^{11.\ 12.\ 13}$, cf. Rev 2^{4}), but in Synopt. has the meaning of 'leaving' a wife at death to another (Mt 22^{25}); (3) χωρίζειν, χωρίζεσθαι, 'to separate, depart,' then (cf. *scheiden*) to terminate a marriage union (1 Co $7^{10.\ 11.\ 15}$). In the translation of those terms, both AV and RV are timid about using 'divorce,' and prefer the vaguer phrases of 'putting away' (ἀπολύειν) and 'depart' (χωρίζειν), the explanation of which is to be sought in a desire partly to mark the fact that ancient and modern divorce are on a different legal footing, partly to avoid prejudicing the much disputed question as to the dissolubility of marriage.

The Jewish law of divorce has a long history, beginning with the early period in which the right of 'putting away' a wife appears as the traditional prerogative of the husband, then passing into the stage in which the exercise of the right was at least impeded by prophetic protest and legislative enactment, and ending with the effective protection of the wife's position, alike by the Talmudic jurisprudence and the ethics of the Gospel.

That the power of divorce should have been anciently regarded as a traditional right was in harmony with the general ideas and practice of the time in regard to woman's status. When compensation was given to the wife's relatives it was natural to regard her under the point of view of property, and the notion of property involves liberty to alienate it. In heathen Arabia the continuance of a marriage depended on the husband's pleasure, and Mohammed was content to leave matters on the old footing (Wellhausen, *Gött. Nach.* 1893, p. 452 ff.). The old Hebrew practice, perhaps also the very procedure, is exemplified in Abraham's dismissal of Hagar (Gn 21^{14}). From the action of Saul (1 S 25^{44}) it might be supposed that the wife's father had also power to dissolve a marriage, but the transference of Michal to another husband by paternal authority evidently has the aspect of an outrage.

The Deut. code acknowledged the husband's right of divorce, but guarded against its abuse. To prevent so important a step being taken in the heat of passion, it required him deliberately to write her 'a bill of divorcement' (24^{1}). Another check was imposed upon impulsive action by the provision that, under certain conditions, the separation should be final—if, that is, the divorced woman should marry a second time, and should later on be again free to marry (vv.$^{3.\ 4}$). That this was an innovation may be inferred from the story of Hosea (Nowack, *Arch.* i. p. 347). The purely arbitrary exercise of the prerogative was discouraged by assuming that there was some solid ground of resentment—'that she finds no favour in his eyes because he hath found some unseemly thing in her' (v.^{1}, see below). In certain cases, again, the right of divorce was forfeited by misconduct. The husband who falsely charged his wife with antenuptial fornication (22^{13-19}), and the ravisher of a betrothed virgin ($22^{28.\ 29}$), were bound in perpetuity by the marriage tie. In the school of the prophets the higher conception of woman's claims, which has some expression in Dt, found more definite utterance. The germ of the Deut. reforms, and of greater than these, was contained in J (Gn 2^{18-25}), which in the narrative of the Creation had described the husband as knit to the wife in the most intimate union. It is, however, in Mal that the prophetic spirit definitely breaks with established custom, and declares without qualification that God hateth divorce (2^{16}). God's disregard of the sacrifices is due, he teaches, to His wrath at men's treacherous dealing with the wife of their youth (v.^{14}). In the period following the Exile it would seem that divorce had become very common; doubtless the divorce of strange women required by Ezra (9. 10) had reacted upon the general practice, and had retarded and even set back the movement carried forward by the prophets.

In the succeeding period interest centred in the question of the precise nature of the Deut. condition justifying divorce, and the vagueness of the language in which the wife's offence was described gave rise to one of the most famous of rabbinical controversies: What was the 'unseemly thing' (עֶרְוַת דָּבָר, lit. 'nakedness of a thing,' LXX ἄσχημον πρᾶγμα)? The account of the dispute is given as follows in the Mishna (*Giṭṭin* ix. 10):—

'The school of Shammai says, "No one shall divorce his wife unless there shall have been found in her some unchastity (דבר ערוה ‘a thing *or* matter of nakedness’), since it is written, Because he hath found the *nakedness* of a thing (ערות דבר) in her”; the school of Hillel says, “Even if she shall have burned his food in cooking, since it is written, Because he hath found in her the nakedness of *a thing*” (*i.e.* anything); R. Akiba says, “Even if he find another fairer than she, as it is written, If she find no favour in his eyes.”’ As indicated in this passage, the latitudinarian view was adopted on the ground that the governing principle is laid down in the opening clause ‘if she find no favour in his eyes,’ and it was also supported by reference to v.^{3}, where it is implied that a second husband will also divorce the woman if he hate her. The emphasis was also laid on ‘matter’ rather than on ‘unseemly,’ thereby suggesting that the unseemliness might appear in various matters. The school of Shammai treated the second clause as the significant one, and emphasized ‘unseemly,’ which they interpreted as meaning immoral or at least indecent conduct. The opinion of Hillel was generally adopted as the true representation of the state of the law (‘decisio juxta scholam Hillelis,’ Maimon. *in loc.*), although it is to be remembered that many who endorsed the position as jurists condemned it as moralists. ‘Over him who divorces the wife of his youth,’ said R. Eleazar, ‘even the altar of God sheds tears’ (Amram, *Jewish Law of Divorce*, p. 37). That ‘the unseemly thing’ was not a euphemism for unchastity may be confidently assumed in view of the fact that Dt prescribes the capital punishment for adultery. But recent scholarship at least agrees with Shammai in confining it to the region of immodest or indecent behaviour (Driver, *in loc.*).

---

* 'After that adulterers multiplied, the bitter waters ceased, and R. Jochanan Saccai abolished their use according to Hos 4^{14} I will not punish your daughters when they commit whoredom, for they themselves go apart,' etc.—Mishna, *Sota*, cap. 9, Surenhusius. iii. p. 291.

Upon this vexed question of the schools the judgment of Jesus was eagerly sought (Mt 19^{3-9}, Mk 10^{1-12}), and in view of the great practical importance of the subject it was even spontaneously given (Mt $5^{31.32}$, Lk 16^{18}). Our Lord decreed in favour of the rigorous view, and indeed disallowed any ground of divorce, with the probable exception of adultery. He does not, it is true, base this on His interpretation of ‘the unseemly thing’; on the contrary, He grants that the Mosaic law gave some latitude in the matter of divorce, and goes on to reform the law so as to bring it into conformity with the older ideal (Gn 2^{24}), or the original purpose of God. But did Jesus allow even adultery to be a valid ground of divorce? A negative answer is given from opposite quarters. The Rom. Cath. Church, as is well known, is committed to the position that adultery does not justify the total dissolution of a marriage (quoad vinculum) between two Christians, but only separation from ‘bed and board,’ * and some modern German critics have supported this contention as at least corresponding to the teaching and intention of Christ. This view, it must be admitted, is not without foundation, while yet regard for the accepted canons of NT criticism precludes the claim that it has been established.

A presumption that Jesus intended to prohibit divorce in all cases is created by the following considerations:—(1) In two passages of the Gospels it is stated without reservation that ‘he who putteth away his wife and marrieth another committeth adultery’ (Lk 16^{18}, cf. Mk 10^{11}), and the Pauline report of our Lord's teaching on the subject (1 Co $7^{10.11}$) is similarly unqualified; (2) it is in harmony with the spirit of Christ's general teaching to suppose that He inculcated towards the erring one utter constancy in love and forgiveness unto seventy times seven. The Book of Hosea, it may be added, shows the possibility of a love which feels that the bond which binds a husband to even a faithless wife is indissoluble. But the force of this seems to be dissipated by the fact that Jesus actually admitted the exception in the proviso, ‘saving for the cause of fornication’ † (Mt 5^{32} 19^{9}). The objection is met in two ways. (1) The Rom. Cath. theologians deny that the punishment contemplated was more than a separation, and urge in proof that the woman who is put away commits adultery if she marries another. If the union was really dissolved, it is argued, there could be no allegation of adultery. But these statements rest on erroneous exegesis. The verb ἀπολύειν was a recognized Hellenistic term for divorce, and could not convey to the early Christians the modified conception of a separation. Further, it is not certain that according to this passage Christ taught that a man committed adultery by marrying a divorced guilty wife, and consequently it may be held that in her case at least the marriage was regarded as annulled by divorce.* (2) Instead of explaining away the exception, Bleek, Keim, and others have denied the genuineness of the clause specifying it, and this on the ground that the original unqualified statement of Jesus was felt to be a stumbling-block, and that the exception (‘saving for the cause of fornication’) crept into the traditional report as a concession to the realities of social life. In support of the genuineness it is pointed out that the MSS indicate no uncertainty as to the reliability of the text in Mt; while the absence of the exception from the parallel passages in Mk and Lk is explained either by saying that it was taken for granted (Meyer), or by recalling that the law already provided for the punishment of adultery (Schegg). Yet another suggestion is that the teaching of Jesus, which was originally comparatively lenient, eventually withdrew the single concession which had been made (Hug, quoted in Weiss-Meyer, *in loc.*). The question at issue must eventually be settled in the light of a general theory as to the trustworthiness of the Synoptic report of our Lord's sayings, and the explanation of the Synoptic divergencies; and it must be added that this particular instance does not materially strengthen the evidence that the oral tradition seriously modified the sayings of our Lord (on this subject cf. Bruce, *Kingdom of God*, Crit. Introd.).

Among Protestant writers the more urgent question has been whether, consistently with the teaching of Christ and His apostles, divorce may be sought on other grounds than adultery; and the laxer modern practice has usually been justified as an extended application of the principle embodied in the words ascribed to Jesus.

The *prima facie* sense of the relative passages in the Gospels (Mt 5^{32} 19^{9}) certainly is that Jesus permitted divorce on one ground only, though the precise bearing of His references to remarriage presents considerable difficulties.† Are we then to describe a system of law which has multiplied grounds of divorce as openly defiant of the mind of Christ? To this it is replied in the first place that the apostolic teaching sanctioned further extension. The reference is to what Roman Catholics call ‘the Pauline privilege’ (1 Co $7^{15.16}$), according to which if a Christian husband or wife is deserted by his or her consort—being an unbeliever, the former is declared to be no longer under bondage, *i.e.* free to marry again. In the second place, it is contended that in this case Jesus, as in so many other cases, states a principle under the form of a particular instance, and that other instances are to be allowed which can be shown to embody the same principle.‡ And certainly it must be granted in general that the Christian morality does not consist of a cast-iron system of laws, but rather of germinal principles which entail the labour and responsibility of thinking out their inmost significance and judging as to their proper application. In the evangelical precept the spirit counts for more than the letter. If, therefore, we assume that Jesus allowed divorce at all, which is the most doubtful point in the argument, it is quite legitimate to extend the exception to cases involving a real moral subversion of marriage under the proviso that the verification of such be taken out of private hands and vested in a public tribunal. Nor can it be said that, at least in Great Britain, the occasions of legal dissolution allowed by law amount to less than a moral subversion.

---

* ‘If any one saith that the Church has erred in that she hath taught and doth teach, in accordance with the evangelical and apostolical doctrine, that the bond of matrimony cannot be dissolved on account of the adultery of one of the married parties; and that both, or even the innocent one who gave not occasion to the adultery, can not contract another marriage during the lifetime of the other'; and that he is guilty of adultery who, having put away the adulteress, shall take another wife, as also she who, having put away the adulterer, shall take another husband, let him be anathema’ (*Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, De Sacr. Matri., Can. VII.).

† It has been held by some critics that as the word used is πορνεία, the justification of divorce here admitted was antenuptial fornication; but cf. Weiss-Meyer, *in loc.*

* The weakness of the exegetical argument is obviously felt by a recent Rom. Cath. writer, who, after admitting the reality of the difficulty, and pleading that the passage be interpreted in the light of the clearer Scriptures, remarks that the matter affords a good instance of the impossibility of arriving at any assured interpretation of Scripture except in the light of the traditional teaching of the Catholic Church (Hunter, *Dogm. Theology*, § 815).

† As regards remarriage, the main exegetical difficulty is to know whether the phrase, ‘whosoever marrieth her that is put away committeth adultery’ (Mt 5^{32}), prohibits the remarriage of every divorced woman, or only that of a woman who has been unlawfully divorced. The latter view, supported by Weiss-Meyer and Alford (who translates ‘her when put away’), is the natural one, though it has the curious consequence that an innocent wife is, but a guilty wife is not, prohibited from forming a second marriage. The husband of a guilty wife, as is clearly implied in Mt 19^{9}, may marry again; and by parity of reasoning, in a case which could not lawfully occur in the Jewish Church, a woman who has divorced her husband on the ground of his immorality should be free to take another husband. On the other hand, it does not follow that a legal dissolution of marriage justifies remarriage. The legal decision gives rise, for the Christian conscience, to the further question whether the marriage has been broken in the sense intended by Christ.

‡ This argument is suggestively stated by Newman Smyth (*Christian Ethics*, p. 410 ff.): ‘There is no other legitimate principle for divorce than that presented by the nature of the sin of adultery. If, however, we can say with a good conscience that some other sin (some sin which possibly in Christ's day had not reached its full measure of iniquity—a sin, for instance, like drunkenness, which may utterly destroy the spiritual unity of a home and threaten even the physical security of one of the persons bound by the vows of marriage) is the moral equivalent of the cause which our Lord had immediately before Him for pronouncing divorce, we shall be justified in admitting it to be likewise a proper Christian ground for divorce?’ Martensen argues to a similar purpose (*Christian Ethics, Social*, p. 41 ff.).

While Christianity broke down the husband's right of divorce along one line, on another the Talmudic law was developed with the purpose of impeding its exercise.

The most important provisions making in this direction may be thus distinguished: (1) Inculcation of the doctrine that the right was not absolute by the statement of grounds justifying it—viz. suspicion of adultery, violation of decency and of Jewish customs, obstruction of religious service, refusal of conjugal rights; (2) enforcement of penalty in the restoration of the 'dowry'; (3) complication of procedure in carrying out the divorce; (4) deprivation of the right in cases where the husband had come under some incapacity, *e.g.* as insane, or as a deaf-mute, or where the wife—as insane, or a captive, or a minor—was specially entitled to protection (cf. Amram, *Jewish Law of Div.* c. 4, 'Laws of the Mishna restricting the husband's right to divorce'). On the other hand, circumstances were specified in which the husband was compelled to divorce his wife, viz. cases of adultery, clandestine intercourse, leprosy, childlessness, etc. (Hamburger, art. 'Scheiden'). The abolition of the man's theoretical right to divorce was decreed in 11th cent. by Rabbi Gershom, who enacted that 'as the man does not put away his wife except of his own free will, so shall the woman not be put away except by her own consent' (Amram, *op. cit.* p. 52). The decree, however, was not universally accepted as law by the Jews, and is ignored by Maimonides (*ib.*).

The right of the wife to divorce her husband, which was conceded at least under later Greek and Roman law, was an idea repugnant to Hebrew custom and enactment. The only trace of such an idea is the legal provision that if a bondwoman become a wife, and if she be denied conjugal rights, she shall go out free without money (Ex 21[7-11]). This, however, was not a concession to the woman of power to divorce; in any such case the theory was that the husband was called upon, in the exercise of his exclusive prerogative, to put away his wife (Amram, *op. cit.* p. 60). Under the influence of alien customs, and with the support of Roman law, the practice came into vogue in NT times, whereby the wife directly repudiated the husband by sending him a 'bill of divorce.' The innovation was opposed by Jos. (*Ant.* XV. vii. 11, XVIII. v. 5), and was expressly condemned by our Lord in the words, 'if a woman shall put away her husband and marry another, she committeth adultery' (Mk 10[12]). The Talmudists upheld the old theory, allowing the wife to demand divorce in certain cases—*e.g.* leprosy, apostasy, cruelty, impotence (Amram, *op. cit.* c. 5).

The writing or bill of divorcement (סֵפֶר כְּרִיתֻת, Talm. גֵּט, Gr. *βιβλίον ἀποστασίου*), which figures so largely in this subject, was of great antiquity (Dt 24[1], Is 50[1], Jer 3[8]). In earlier times no great ceremony was used (Gn 21[14]), and the form of words would doubtless be similar to those in use among the Arabs.* While necessary to make a divorce legal, it would appear that in the time of our Lord the 'bill' could be granted without bringing the matter under the cognizance of the authorities (Mt 1[19]). From the Mishna, a treatise of which takes its name from the 'bill' (*Giṭṭin*), it appears that most elaborate regulations were enforced in regard to the judiciary, clerk, witnesses, time and place, and also the medium and mode of the delivery of the document. The following is given by Maimonides as an ancient and model form of the *geṭ* or bill: 'On the —— day of the week and —— day of the month of —— in the year —— since the creation of the world (or of the era of the Seleucidæ), the era according to which we are accustomed to reckon in this place, to wit, the town of —— do I —— the son of —— of the town of —— (and by whatever other name or surname I or my father may be known, and my town and his town), thus determine, being of sound mind and under no constraint; and I do release and send away and put aside thee —— daughter of —— of the town of —— (and by whatever other name or surname thou and thy father are known and thy town and his town), who hast been my wife from time past hitherto, and hereby I do release thee and send thee away and put thee aside that thou mayest have permission and control over thyself to go to be married to any man whom thou desirest, and no man shall hinder thee (in my name) from this day forever. And thou art permitted (to be married) to any man. And these presents shall be unto thee from me a bill of dismissal, a document of release and a letter of freedom, according to the law of Moses and Israel.

—— the son of —— a witness.
—— the son of —— a witness.'

(Amram, pp. 157–158, with which cf. original text and Latin rendering in Surenhusius, *Mishnah*, iii. p. 323, and commentary, *ib.* p. 325).

vi. MARRIAGE AS A SYMBOL OF SPIRITUAL TRUTHS.—Although modern exegesis has given up the idea that in Canticles divine love is set forth under the image of human love, it is a familiar biblical thought that the marriage relationship is typical of the union and communion of God with His people. After Hosea, whose domestic life is reasonably supposed to have impressed him with the suitableness of the imagery, it became a commonplace of prophecy that God was to Israel as a husband, and Israel to God as a bride (Hos 2[19], Jer 3[14] 31[32], Is 54[5]).* The conception passed over into NT, but with modifications agreeable to the nature of Christianity—the bridegroom being now God in Christ (Mt 9[15], Jn 3[29]), the bride the spiritual Israel elect out of every nation (2 Co 11[2], Rev 19[7]).

Now, this conception of God as the husband, though it has been little utilized in theology, cannot be said to be less apt or important than the two other conceptions of God which have been made the basis of systems. These are the idea of God as King, which lays the main stress on the divine sovereignty, and the idea of God as Father, which lays the main stress on the divine love. And as the weakness of the system built upon the principle of the divine sovereignty has been widely felt to be that it does less than justice to the ethical being of God; and as, on the other hand, the theology based on the divine fatherhood has been in danger of obscuring the divine might and majesty, there is certainly something to be said for putting in the forefront the thought of Hosea, which, representing God as husband, equally emphasizes to our minds His sovereignty and His goodness.

How large a portion of the body of Christian doctrine may be set forth, and with the sanction of Scripture, under the category of the marriage relation, may be briefly indicated.

(1) Under *the doctrine of God* this representation, besides embodying as its fundamental principles the divine sovereignty and love, lays special stress on the attributes of clemency and long-suffering, while it safeguards the holiness of God by showing Him grieved and provoked to anger by contumacy and unfaithfulness (Hos *passim*). As husband God also provides for His people (2[8]).

(2) *The doctrine of sin* is, from this point of view, characterized as adultery (Hos 2[2], Jer 3[9] 13[27];

---

* Two formulæ are given by W. R. Smith (*Kinship*, pp. 94, 163: 'Begone, for I will no longer drive thy flocks to the pasture.' 'Thou art to me as the back of my mother'; cf. the Latin formula: 'Tuas res tibi habeto, tuas res tibi agito.'

* The germ of the conception, according to W. R. Smith, was found in Semitic heathenism; and the service of Hosea was to purify the gross physical conception of the god as the husband of the motherland, and to apply it to describe moral relations of Jehovah with His people (*Prophets of Israel*, new ed. p. 170 ff.).

on אַחֲרֵי זוֹנָה see Driver on Dt 31[16])—a designation which, as regards (*a*) *the nature of sin*, indicates that its essence consists in indifference or even hatred toward God, and the giving of the affections to other objects (Hos 2[5], Jer 2[20], Ezk 20[30]); (*b*) *the heinousness of sin*, draws attention to its aggravation as unfaithfulness to solemn obligation and ingratitude for high favours (Jer 5[7]); and (*c*) *the punishment of sin*, teaches that persistence in it entails a casting-off, of which human divorce is a pale emblem (Hos 2[12ff.], Jer 2[35ff.]).

(3) In the Christological doctrine the points which are chiefly emphasized by the conception are the love of Christ, His kingly office as exercised in His headship over the Church, and His intimate union with it through the indwelling Spirit (2 Co 11[2], Eph 5[23-32]).

(4) In close relation to the last the doctrine of the Church is elucidated and enriched by the assertion of its mystical union with and dependence upon Christ (Eph. *loc. cit.*), and of its essential note of sanctity—the latter, which includes all the graces included in sanctification, being beautifully portrayed as the bridal adornment (Rev 19[8]).

(5) Finally, as regards eschatology, the figure concentrates attention on the momentous event of the Second Coming, which is sudden as the coming of the bridegroom (Mt 25[1-13]), and places in a clear light the bliss, the security, and unutterable glory of the everlasting kingdom (Rev 19[7] 21[2. 9]).

LITERATURE.—Next to the Scriptures the chief source is the division of the Mishna סדר נשים (*Liber de re uxoria*), containing, with two others, the treatises יבמות (*de levirorum in fratrias officio*), כתובות (*de dote literisque matrimonialibus*), סוטה (*de uxore adulterii suspecta*), גטין (*de divortiis*), and קדושין (*de sponsalibus*)—pt. 3 in the ed. of Surenhusius, Amsterdam, 1700. The best of the above material is collected in Selden, *Uxor Hebraica*, London, 1546, and Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopædie für Bibel und Talmud*, Breslau, 1870. Of the older articles, that in Kitto's *Biblical Cyclopædia* is distinguished by Talmudic erudition. The recent German manuals which cover the ground are Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.*, Freiburg, 1894, cf. his 'Familie u. Ehe' in Hauck=Herzog³; Nowack, *Lehrb. der Heb. Arch.*, Bd. i., Freiburg, 1894, with which may be mentioned Stade, *GVI*, Berlin, 1887, i. pp. 371-395. On primitive marriage the chief works from the general standpoint are M'Lennan, *Primitive Marriage*, reprinted in *Studies in Ancient History*, London, 1876; Starcke, *The Primitive Family*, London, 1889; Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, London, 1891; Post, *Studien zur Entwickelungsgeschichte des Familienrechts*, Leipzig, 1889; while the theories are tested in the Semitic field with special knowledge by W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, Cambridge, 1895, and Wellhausen, 'Die Ehe bei den Arabern' in the *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1893, p. 431 ff., following Wilken, *Das Matriarchat bei den alten Arabern*, 1884. For the interpretation of the laws there is much to be learned from Michaelis, *Mosaisches Recht*, Eng. tr. 'Commentaries on the Laws of Moses,' London, 1814. Amram, *Jewish Law of Divorce according to Bible and Talmud*, London, 1897, is an important discussion by a legal expert. See also Fenton, *Early Hebrew Life*, London, 1880; Jacobs, *Studies in Bibl. Arch.*, London, 1894; Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, London, 1896; Tristram, *Eastern Customs*, London, 1894; Mackie, *Bible Manners and Customs*, London, 1898.

W. P. PATERSON.

MARSENA (מַרְסְנָא; Μαλησεάρ AB, Μαλισεάρ, Μαρσανά; *Marsana*).—One of the seven princes of Media and Persia, who 'sat first in the kingdom,' and had the right of access to the royal presence (Est 1[14], cf. ADMATHA). The name is doubtless Persian, but the derivation is uncertain.

MARSHAL.—The word does not occur in AV, but in RV it represents two Heb. words. (1) סֹפֵר *ṣōphēr* (Jg 5[14]) in the difficult phrase מֹשְׁכִים בְּשֵׁבֶט סֹפֵר '[out of Zebulun] they that handle the marshal's staff' (RV). The usual meaning of סֹפֵר is 'scribe' or 'writer,' and so AV, agreeing with Syr.* ܕܟܬܒܝܢ ܒܩܢܝܐ ܕܣܦܪܐ and Targ. כתבין בקולמוס דספר, gives 'They that handle the pen of the writer.' None of the Greek versions, however, give 'pen,' in A בשבט=ἐν σκήπτρῳ, in B and Theod. ἐν ῥάβδῳ, in Symm. μετὰ ῥάβδου. Therefore we may take Greek authority to be on the side of 'marshal' as against 'scribe,' 'writer,' though an abstract noun, acc. to A ἡγήσεως, acc. to B (and Theod.) διηγήσεως (error for ἡγήσεως?), seems to be the original Septuagint rendering. B offers γραμματέως as a second rendering, and Symm. has γραμματέως only, the meaning of which is 'marshal' as appears from 1 Mac 5[42], ἔστησεν (*sc.* Judas) τοὺς γραμματεῖς τοῦ λαοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ χειμάρρου. The office of a marshal was to help the general to maintain discipline. His wand of office (σκῆπτρον or ῥάβδος) could be used, if necessary, for inflicting chastisement.

(2) טִפְסָר *ṭiphṣār* (Jer 51[27]) or טַפְסֵר *ṭaphṣēr* (Nah 3[17]). The meaning of this word—a loan-word in Heb.—is not certainly known, but Lenormant (followed by most scholars) compares the Bab.-Assyr. *dupsarru* [*dupšarru*, Delitzsch], 'tablet-writer'; so RVm to Nah 3[17] 'thy scribes.' The title 'scribe' might very well be given to a provost-marshal; cf. γραμματεύς in 1 Mac 5[42] (cited above). The VSS give no help, and the meaning of the word was evidently lost in early times. LXX has βελοστάσεις ('batteries of warlike engines') in Jer, but leaves the word untranslated in Nah. Symm. has ἐκλεκτούς in Jer (so Field). Syr.* has ܚܒܠܐ 'destruction' in Jer, but in Nah ܟܠ ܡܬܥܝܪܝܟܝ 'thy aroused ones' or (possibly) 'thy warriors.' Targ. gives עבדי קרבא 'warriors' in Jer, but leaves the word untranslated in Nah. All these renderings of the VSS are founded on guesses from the context, rather than on real knowledge.

W. EMERY BARNES.

MAR'S HILL.—See AREOPAGUS.

MARTHA (Μάρθα, an Aramaic form [מָרְתָא, fem. of מָרָא 'lord'], not found in Heb., meaning 'mistress' or 'lady.' Compare Κυρίᾳ in 2 Jn [1], which some interpret as a proper name, and some identify with the Martha of the Gospels).—The name does not occur in OT. Only one person called Martha appears in NT, mentioned in Lk 10[38. 42], Jn 11[1. 5. 19-39] 12[2]. It is not possible to doubt the identity of the Martha of the Fourth Gospel with the Martha of the Third. In both cases there is a sister Mary, and similar traits in the characters of the two women appear in each of the narratives. But the course of events in Lk would suggest that the village where the sisters lived was situated in Galilee; according to Jn it was Bethany. The harmonistic suggestion, that they may have changed their place of abode previous to the events with which they are connected in the Fourth Gospel, is evidently a device invented to meet a difficulty; it has no probability. St. John is so exact in his topography that it is not reasonable to suppose he was mistaken in this instance. Bethany is one of the centres round which the history in the Fourth Gospel moves. It would seem, therefore, that the order of the narrative is dislocated in Lk, so that a Judæan incident is inserted in the course of events that transpired in the north. Martha here appears actively engaged in serving Jesus and His disciples at a hospitable feast. In this case, and in the Johannine incidents, she takes the lead in a way that implies that she is the elder sister. According to the Synoptic account, it was in the house of Simon the leper that a woman, pouring precious ointment over Jesus, was rebuked by the disciples for her wastefulness (Mt 26[7], Mk 14[3]); according to Jn, this occurred at the house of Martha and Mary, the latter being the woman who testified her devotion to Jesus by the costly gift (Jn 12^{1-8}). Therefore it has been suggested that Martha may have been Simon's wife or widow. In St. Luke's narrative Martha is gently corrected for her excessive anxiety and the impatience with which she complains of her sister. Thus she is seen to be one who, while truly devoted to Christ, and commendably energetic in the service of hospitality, does not possess her soul in quietness; sets too high a value on the material sumptuousness of the feast for which she is responsible; fails to understand how best to entertain her divine Guest by best pleasing Him; and hastily blames the gentler Mary. According to the oldest MSS and some VSS and Fathers,[*] Jesus said to her, 'There is need of but a few things or one'—the 'few' pointing to simplicity in the provisions at table (compare Lk 10^{42}), the 'one' perhaps carrying her thought to what alone He supremely cared for, the kingdom of God (see Mt 6^{33}), to show profound interest in which was to receive Jesus in the way most acceptable to Him. In the narrative of the death and raising of Lazarus, Martha and Mary are true sisters, echoing one another's thoughts, both trusting in Jesus as their one friend who could help them in the greatest need. In Jn 12^{2}, as in the Lk narrative, Martha is found 'serving.' See, further, under MARY, No. iv.

---

* We have verified the Syr. from MSS, viz. the Ambrosian, the Buchanan Bible (Jacobite of cent. xii.), and Camb. Univ. Add. 1964 (Nestorian of cent. xiii.) for Jg 5[14], and from the first two of these MSS together with Camb. Univ. Add. 1965 (Nestorian of cent. xv.) for Jer 51[27] and Nah 3[17].

A tradition, which cannot be traced earlier than the Middle Ages, is cherished all over the south of France, to the effect that during a persecution of the Christians by the Jews, Lazarus and his two sisters, having been sent to sea in a boat without rudder, oars, or provisions, drifted to land near Marseilles, founded many churches in Provence, in particular those at Marseilles, Aix, and Avignon, and finally lived in retreat at Tarascon (see Guettée, *Histoire de l'Église de France*, i. 402, n. 5; Guérin, *Les Petits Bollandistes*, etc. x. 91–105, where many childish but picturesque legends of Martha are recorded; cf. also Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*, i. 325 ff.).

W. F. ADENEY.

MARTYR.—The Gr. word μάρτυς (from a root signifying to 'remember,' connected with 'memory' and μέριμνα, 'care,' therefore primarily 'one who testifies to what he remembers'), which in AV is frequently translated 'witness,' is rendered 'martyr' in Ac 22^{20}, Rev 2^{13} 17^{6}. The Vulg. has *martyr* in the last passage only, in the other two the usual *testis*, and Wyc. and Rhem. follow. Tind., Cov., Cran. have 'witness' in all; Gen. and Bish. 'witness' in Ac, but 'martyr' in Rev. The Versions, even the earliest, seem to have used 'martyr' in its modern sense, one who seals his testimony with his blood, not merely a witness, but a witness who suffers. But the Gr. word does not appear to have acquired that meaning within the NT, though it is common in early Christian writings. In Ac 22^{20} the tr. 'martyr' loses the reference to the preceding 'witness' (μαρτυρία, 22^{18}). RV gives 'witness' in Ac 22^{20} and Rev 2^{13}, but retains 'martyr' in Rev 17^{6}, m. 'witness.'

J. HASTINGS.

MARVELLOUS is an adverb in Wis 19^{8}, 'seeing thy marvellous strange wonders' (θαυμαστὰ τέρατα, RV 'strange marvels'). Cf. Ps 31^{23}, Pr. Bk. 'Thanks be to the Lord: for he hath showed me marvellous great kindness in a strong city'; and Ps 145^{3} 'Great is the Lord, and marvellous worthy to be praised' (but mod. edd. wrongly print 'Great is the Lord, and marvellous, worthy to be praised'). Cf. also Jer 30^{6} Cov. 'Yee all their faces are marvellous pale.' Tindale uses 'marvellously,' as Mt 2^{10} 'When they sawe the starre, they were marvelously glad.' So also often in Shakespeare.

J. HASTINGS.

MARY (Heb. מִרְיָם *Miriam*; LXX and NT Μαριάμ or Μαρία; Josephus Μαριάμμη or Μαριάμη or Μαριάμνη).[*]—The name, as Stanley says, probably owes its frequent recurrence in the narratives, alike of the Evangelists and of Josephus, not to the memory of Miriam the sister of Moses, but to the sympathy felt for the beautiful Hasmonæan princess, the high-souled and ill-fated wife of Herod (*Jewish Church*, iii. 429). We find it used as follows in the NT—

i. Mary the mother of James.
ii. The other Mary.
iii. Mary of Clopas.
iv. Mary the sister of Martha.
v. Mary Magdalene.
vi. Mary the mother of Mark.
vii. Mary saluted by St. Paul.
viii. Mary the mother of the Lord.

i. ii. iii. Of the above, the first three are generally identified. The first is mentioned in the three Synoptic Gospels as one of those who were present at the crucifixion. In Mt $27^{55.\,56}$ we read, 'many women were there beholding from afar, which had followed Jesus from Galilee, ministering unto him: among whom were Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother[†] of James and Joses, and the mother of the sons of Zebedee.' In v.^{61} we are told that the same evening, after Joseph of Arimathæa had buried the body in his own new tomb hewn out of the rock, 'Mary Magdalene, and *the other Mary* (evidently the before-mentioned mother of James), were sitting over against the sepulchre.' Next day, 'as the sabbath began to dawn towards the first day of the week,' the other Mary again appears with Mary Magdalene (28^{1}). It is to them that the angel at the sepulchre speaks words of comfort after rolling away the stone, 'Fear not ye: for I know that ye seek Jesus, which hath been crucified. He is not here; for he is risen, as he said. Come, see the place where the Lord lay. And go quickly, and tell his disciples.' In fear and joy they ran to carry the message; and as they went, 'Jesus met them, saying, All hail. And they came and took hold of his feet, and worshipped him. Then said Jesus unto them, Fear not: go tell my brethren that they depart into Galilee, and there shall they see me.'

Mark (15^{40}) gives some further details. Mary is called the mother of James the Little and Joses, and Salome is mentioned as one of her companions along with Mary Magdalene. In v.^{47} she (now called M. ἡ Ἰωσῆτος) is watching where He was laid. In 16^{1} 'Mary of James' is joined with Salome and the Magdalene, as buying spices and bringing them to the tomb at sunrise on the first day. As they go they wonder how they shall get the stone rolled away; but this is already done when they arrive, and they find in the tomb a young man in white raiment, who bids them not be amazed, but carry word to the disciples to meet the Lord in Galilee. 'But they said nothing to any one; for they were afraid' (v.^{8}).

---

[*] ℵ B C^{2} L 1. 33, Syr.$^{\text{hcl mg}}$ Memph. Eth., Origen$^{\text{cat}}$ Bas.

[*] It has been asserted that the form Μαριάμ is used exclusively for the Virgin, and Μαρία for the others; but, though the Hebraic form is in general used of the former (in the nominative), perhaps as being the more dignified, it is by no means confined to her, nor is the Hellenic form confined to the latter. Thus, where the Virgin is spoken of, WH read Μαρία with Codd. BD in Lk 2^{19}, and though they follow B in calling her Μαριάμ elsewhere, yet it is only in Lk 1^{27} that this form has the support of all the MSS. In Mt 13^{55} Μαρία is read by C, in Lk $1^{36.\,39.\,56}$ and 2^{5} by D, in Lk $1^{34.\,38.\,46}$ by both. On the other hand, the best text has Μαριάμ of the Magdalene in Mt 27^{61}, Mk 15^{40}, Jn $20^{16.\,18}$, and this reading has the support of C and L in several other passages. Μαριάμ is not used of the mother of James in the best MSS, though C has it in Mt 27^{56} and Lk 28^{1}. Μαριάμ is used of the sister of Martha in the best text of Lk $10^{39.\,42}$, Jn $11^{2.\,20.\,32}$ 12^{3}.

In the other cases the Hebraic and Hellenic forms are used indiscriminately. Thus the best text has the acc. Μαρίαν of the Virgin in Mt 1^{20} and of St. Paul's friend in Ro 16^{6}, but Μαριάμ of the Virgin in Lk $2^{16.\,34}$, of Martha's sister in Jn $11^{19.\,28.\,31.\,45}$. The gen. Μαρίας is the only form used as well of the Virgin as of Martha's sister and the mother of Mark. The dat. Μαριάμ is used of the Virgin in Lk 2^{5}, Ac 1^{14}, but Μαρίᾳ of the Magdalene in 'Mk' 16^{9}.

[†] Here and in Mk 15^{40} Syr. Sin. has 'daughter' instead of 'mother.'

In Lk 23^{49-56} we are told generally that the women which came from Galilee stood afar off at the crucifixion and followed Joseph to the tomb to see how the body was laid, and prepared spices and ointments, which they brought at early dawn on the first day. Entering into the tomb they saw two men in dazzling apparel, who asked them why they sought the living among the dead. 'Remember the words he spake unto you in Galilee, saying that the Son of Man must be crucified, and the third day rise from the dead. And they remembered his words, and told all these things to the eleven and to all the rest.' From 24^{10} we learn that Mary Magdalene, and Joanna, and Mary of James were among the number of these women.

John (19^{25}) tells us that there were standing by the cross, His mother and His mother's sister (identified with Salome, see article on BRETHREN OF THE LORD), Mary of Clopas, and Mary Magdalene. Comparing this with Mk 15^{40}, we naturally conclude that Mary of Clopas must be the same as Mary of James. All we know of Clopas is derived from Hegesippus (*ap.* Euseb. *HE* iii. 11), who tells us that he was brother of the reputed father of our Lord, and that Symeon the second bishop of Jerusalem was his son. Whether ἡ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ means *wife* or (as Jerome suggests) *daughter* of Clopas is uncertain. Lightfoot (cited in the above-named article) holds that there is no ground for identifying the name Clopas with Alphæus, and that the Peshitta version and Jerome may be right in regarding it as another form of Cleopas. If Mary was daughter of Clopas, she may have been wife of Alphæus, and her son James may be the apostle known as the son of Alphæus. Jerome, however, maintains that Mary of Cleophas, the aunt of the Lord, is a different person from the mother of James (see *Ep. ad Hedibiam* cited by Lightfoot, *Gal.* p. 260). John of Thessalonica and other Fathers (quoted by Faillon, i. p. 150) strangely identify the mother of James with the mother of the Lord, thinking that her presence at the crucifixion could not have been passed over without mention by the Synoptists.

iv. MARY, SISTER OF MARTHA.—It is only in the last two Gospels that her name occurs. Luke (10^{38-42}), after narrating the return of the Seventy, says vaguely that, 'as they went on their way, Jesus entered into a certain village: and a certain woman, named Martha, received him into her house. And she had a sister called Mary, which also sat at Jesus' feet, and heard his word.' When Martha complained that she was left to serve alone, Jesus answered that, whereas she was anxious and troubled about many things, her sister had chosen the good part, which should not be taken from her. In Jn 11 we find the two sisters living with their brother Lazarus in a village named Bethany; and all three are said to have been beloved by the Lord. Jesus, on His last journey to Jerusalem, receives tidings of the sickness of Lazarus, and, when He reaches Bethany, finds that he had been dead four days. The behaviour of the sisters is such as we might expect from Luke's narrative. Martha goes out to meet Him; but Mary sits still in the house, till she receives a message that the Master called for her. Then rising quickly, she came where He was, and fell down at His feet. Both meet Him, however, with the same words of sorrowful reproach: 'If thou hadst been here, my brother had not died.' It would seem that, though Martha was apparently the elder sister, Mary was for some reason held in greater consideration. In v.^{19} we are told that many of the Jews had come to comfort Martha and Mary; but, while nothing is said of their accompanying Martha, we read in v.^{31} that the Jews, who were in the house with Mary, when they saw that she rose up quickly and went out, followed her, thinking that she was going to the grave to weep there; and in v.^{45} it is said that many of the Jews that *came to Mary* believed on Jesus.

In the chapter which follows we have the story of the anointing of the feet of Jesus. Each evangelist tells us of an anointing of the Lord by a woman, whilst He was reclining as a guest at a hospitable entertainment; and there has been much discussion as to how often He was anointed, and (supposing Him to have been anointed more than once) whether the anointing was by one and the same woman. Speaking generally, it will be seen from the conspectus given on next page that Matthew and Mark are in agreement, and that Luke's account differs widely from theirs, whilst John's is independent of either, yet presenting points of contact, now with the one, now with the other. We will consider these differences in order.

(1) As to *time and place*: if we may judge from the context, the anointing described by Luke took place in Galilee while the Baptist was in prison; that described by the other evangelists took place in Bethany shortly before the crucifixion. (2) As to the *host*: Luke names Simon the Pharisee, the other Synoptists Simon the leper, while John is indefinite, merely stating that after the raising of Lazarus 'they made him a feast, at which Lazarus sat at meat, and Martha served.' (3) As to the *action*: whilst the first two Gospels speak of the head being anointed with precious ointment, Luke says that the feet of Christ were first wet with the tears of the woman standing behind Him, and then wiped with her hair and anointed; John says nothing of her tears, but agrees in the statement that it was the feet which she anointed and wiped with her hair. (4) As to who or what *the woman* was, the first two Gospels tell us nothing beyond the fact of her pouring the ointment on the head of Jesus; Luke says that she was a sinner in the city, and that Jesus said of her, 'her sins which are many are forgiven, for she loved much'; John tells us that she was the beloved and honoured sister of Martha and Lazarus. (5) As to the *criticism passed upon the action*: Mark speaks vaguely of *some* who were indignant at the waste of money, saying to themselves, 'this ointment might have been sold for more than 300 denarii and given to the poor'; Matthew puts this censure in the mouth of the *disciples*; John ascribes it to *Judas*, who bore the bag; while Luke reports quite a different criticism made by a different person, Simon the Pharisee, who becomes suspicious of Christ's pretensions as a prophet, on the ground that He had failed to read the character of the woman who touched Him. (6) As to *our Lord's justification of the woman*: this, of course, is different in the two cases, since it has to meet two distinct charges. The *Pharisee* is answered by the parable of the Two Debtors; and a contrast is drawn between *his* neglect of the ordinary forms of hospitality and the humble devotion of the penitent woman, who is bidden to go in peace. In the other Gospels the *disciples* are reminded that the poor would be always with them, while their Master would shortly leave them; that the woman had done a good work in anointing His body for the impending burial; nay, that this action of hers would be reported in her praise throughout the world, wherever the gospel was preached.

Such being the diversity of the narratives, it is evident that there are many difficulties in the way of any one who would regard them as all speaking

Conspectus of the Anointings.

[The thick type is used in the Synoptic Gospels to mark their mutual differences: in Jn for the opposite purpose of marking his resemblances to one or other of the Synoptists].

Mt 26⁶.	Mk 14³.	Lk 7³⁶.	Jn 11² 12¹⁻⁸.
Τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ γενομένου ἐν Βηθανίᾳ ἐν οἰκίᾳ Σίμωνος τοῦ λεπροῦ, προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ γυνὴ ἔχουσα ἀλάβαστρον μύρου **βαρυτίμου**, καὶ κατέχεεν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ἀνακειμένου. ἰδόντες δὲ **οἱ μαθηταὶ** ἠγανάκτησαν, λέγοντες, Εἰς τί ἡ ἀπώλεια αὕτη; ἐδύνατο γὰρ τοῦτο πραθῆναι **πολλοῦ**, καὶ δοθῆναι πτωχοῖς. γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, Τί κόπους παρέχετε τῇ γυναικί; ἔργον γὰρ καλὸν ἠργάσατο εἰς ἐμέ· πάντοτε γὰρ τοὺς πτωχοὺς ἔχετε μεθ' ἑαυτῶν, ἐμὲ δὲ οὐ πάντοτε ἔχετε· βαλοῦσα γὰρ αὕτη τὸ μύρον τοῦτο ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματός μου, πρὸς τὸ ἐνταφιάσαι με ἐποίησεν. ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅπου ἐὰν κηρυχθῇ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦτο ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ, λαληθήσεται καὶ ὃ ἐποίησεν αὕτη, εἰς μνημόσυνον αὐτῆς. τότε πορευθεὶς . . . Ἰούδας.	Καὶ ὄντος αὐτοῦ ἐν Βηθανίᾳ, ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ Σίμωνος τοῦ λεπροῦ, κατακειμένου αὐτοῦ, ἦλθεν γυνὴ ἔχουσα ἀλάβαστρον μύρου **νάρδου πιστικῆς** πολυτελοῦς· **συντρίψασα τὴν ἀλάβαστρον**, κατέχεεν αὐτοῦ τῆς κεφαλῆς. ἦσαν δέ **τινες** ἀγανακτοῦντες **πρὸς ἑαυτούς**, Εἰς τί ἡ ἀπώλεια αὕτη τοῦ μύρου γέγονεν; ἠδύνατο γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ μύρον πραθῆναι **ἐπάνω δηναρίων τριακοσίων**, καὶ δοθῆναι τοῖς πτωχοῖς· καὶ **ἐνεβριμῶντο αὐτῇ**. Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν, **Ἄφετε αὐτήν**· τί αὐτῇ κόπους παρέχετε; καλὸν ἔργον ἠργάσατο ἐν ἐμοί. πάντοτε γὰρ τοὺς πτωχοὺς ἔχετε μεθ' ἑαυτῶν, **καὶ ὅταν θέλητε δύνασθε αὐτοῖς πάντοτε εὖ ποιῆσαι**, ἐμὲ δὲ οὐ πάντοτε ἔχετε· **ὃ ἔσχεν ἐποίησεν, προέλαβεν μυρίσαι τὸ σῶμά μου εἰς τὸν** ἐνταφιασμόν. ἀμὴν δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅπου ἐὰν κηρυχθῇ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον εἰς ὅλον τὸν κόσμον, καὶ ὃ ἐποίησεν αὕτη λαληθήσεται εἰς μνημόσυνον αὐτῆς. Καὶ Ἰούδας . . . ἀπῆλθεν.	Ἠρώτα δέ τις αὐτὸν τῶν Φαρισαίων, ἵνα φάγῃ μετ' αὐτοῦ· καὶ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Φαρισαίου κατεκλίθη. Καὶ ἰδού, γυνὴ ἥτις ἦν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἁμαρτωλός, καὶ ἐπιγνοῦσα ὅτι κατάκειται ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦ Φαρισαίου, κομίσασα ἀλάβαστρον μύρου, **καὶ στᾶσα ὀπίσω παρὰ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ κλαίουσα, τοῖς δάκρυσιν ἤρξατο βρέχειν τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῖς θριξὶν τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς ἐξέμασσεν, καὶ κατεφίλει τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ** καὶ ἤλειφεν τῷ μύρῳ. **ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Φαρισαῖος ὁ καλέσας αὐτὸν εἶπεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ, λέγων, Οὗτος εἰ ἦν προφήτης, ἐγίνωσκεν ἂν τίς καὶ ποταπὴ ἡ γυνή, ἥτις ἅπτεται αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἁμαρτωλός ἐστιν.** Καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, κ.τ.λ.	Ην δὲ Μαριὰμ ἡ **ἀλείψασα** τὸν Κύριον μύρῳ, καὶ **ἐκμάξασα τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ταῖς θριξὶν αὐτῆς**. . . . Ἦλθεν εἰς Βηθανίαν . . . ἐποίησαν οὖν αὐτῷ δεῖπνον ἐκεῖ καὶ ἡ Μάρθα διηκόνει, ὁ δὲ Λάζαρος εἷς ἦν τῶν ἀνακειμένων σὺν αὐτῷ. ἡ οὖν Μαριὰμ λαβοῦσα λίτραν μύρου **νάρδου πιστικῆς πολυτίμου**, ἤλειψεν **τοὺς πόδας** Ἰησοῦ, καὶ **ἐξέμαξεν ταῖς θριξὶν αὐτῆς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ**· ἡ δὲ οἰκία ἐπληρώθη ἐκ τῆς ὀσμῆς τοῦ μύρου. λέγει Ἰούδας ὁ Ἰσκαριώτης εἷς τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ, ὁ μέλλων αὐτὸν παραδιδόναι, **Διὰ τί τοῦτο τὸ μύρον οὐκ ἐπράθη τριακοσίων δηναρίων** καὶ **ἐδόθη πτωχοῖς;** εἶπεν δὲ τοῦτο, οὐχ ὅτι περὶ τῶν πτωχῶν ἔμελεν αὐτῷ ἀλλ' ὅτι κλέπτης ἦν, καὶ τὸ γλωσσόκομον ἔχων τὰ βαλλόμενα ἐβάσταζεν. εἶπεν οὖν ὁ Ἰησοῦς **Ἄφες αὐτήν, ἵνα εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ ἐνταφιασμοῦ τηρήσῃ αὐτό. τοὺς πτωχοὺς γὰρ πάντοτε ἔχετε μεθ' ἑαυτῶν, ἐμὲ δὲ οὐ πάντοτε ἔχετε.**

of one person and recording one scene.* And yet it is almost as difficult to suppose that such an action could have been repeated. Is it likely that our Lord would have uttered such a high encomium upon Mary's act if she were only following the example already set by the sinful woman of Galilee; or (taking the other view) if she herself were only repeating under more favourable circumstances the act of loving devotion for which she had already received His commendation? Is it likely, again, that St. John would have distinguished Mary as 'her who anointed the Lord with ointment and wiped his feet with her hair' if he had known that in this she was only doing what had been done by another before her? Taking a more general view, is it likely that so rare an act, the beauty of which lay in its instinctive spontaneity and freedom from self-consciousness, could have been imitated or reproduced without losing all its savour?

Perhaps it may be answered that the act was not really unusual, since the context in Luke implies that not to anoint the head of a guest is to be wanting in ordinary courtesy.† It is true we have no other reference to the anointing of the *feet* in the Bible, but that this was not unprecedented may be seen from Arist. (*Vesp.* 605, *ὁ δέ γ' ἥδιστον τούτων ἐστὶν πάντων . . . ὅταν οἴκαδ' ἴω τὸν μισθὸν ἔχων . . . καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἡ θυγάτηρ με ἀπονίζῃ καὶ τὼ πόδ' ἀλείφῃ καὶ προσκύψασα φιλήσῃ*), where the daughter is represented as washing, anointing, and kissing the feet of her father, when he comes home from his day's work. Still this does not furnish a precedent for the hair being used to wipe the feet; and it must be remembered, on the other side, that in proportion as we diminish the rarity of the act, we find it more difficult to account for the value set upon it by our Lord, and the importance ascribed to it by St. John.

We turn now to consider how it has been attempted to harmonize the different narratives by those who believe that only one event is recorded. The most elaborate attempt is that made by Hengstenberg,* who replies to (1) the first difficulty above stated, that Luke's context is determined here, not by the order of events, but by the connexion of thought; since the contrast between the Pharisees and the publicans, in vv.[29. 30], and the description of Christ as the Friend of publicans and sinners, in v.[34], naturally lead on to the story of the sinful woman at the house of the Pharisee. This, we think, must be conceded. As to (2), if we are to identify Simon the Pharisee with Simon 'the leper,' we must understand the latter title to refer not to his present condition; for in that case he could not himself have entertained guests, as he does in Luke. Some have thought that he may have been previously healed of his leprosy by Jesus. But this is not at all suggested by the words addressed to him in Luke, nor does it seem consistent with his ungracious behaviour. There is less force in the argument that the injurious title 'leper' would not have been retained in the case of one who had been cured of his leprosy.

---

* This view is taken by Ephraem Syrus, Paulinus, Victor of Capua in his *Diatessaron* (see quotations in Faillon, i. 37, 146), Grotius, Strauss, and the rationalistic interpreters generally, and also by Hengstenberg.

† See art. on Anointing, where reference is made to Egyptian monuments, as bearing witness to the practice of anointing the head of the guest at a feast, cf. also Ps 23⁵ 45⁷.

* *Comm. on St. John*, Eng. tr. pp. 1–33, 78–89.

Lastly, is it likely that so pronounced a Pharisee as the Simon of Luke would have entertained Jesus at so late a period in His career, when the Pharisees had already resolved upon His death? or, on the other hand, that one who was so much impressed with the raising of Lazarus as to preside at a banquet given in honour of the occasion, should have shown so little respect for the prophet whom he professed to be honouring?

The other incidents of the supper may be treated together. It is said that the discrepancies in the two accounts are due merely to the different points of view taken by the narrators. The anointing gave rise to both conversations—that with Simon and that with the disciples. Luke seizes the point of her repentance, the other evangelists that of her lavish expenditure. But surely this is psychologically impossible.

Let us examine a little more closely the story in Luke. A notorious sinner, learning that Jesus is sitting at meat in the house of a certain Pharisee, makes up her mind to follow Him there. She enters the house, and immediately takes up her stand behind the Lord.* It is evident that something must have happened to make her loathe the life she had been living, and feel that her only hope of escaping from it was to take refuge with Him whose words, spoken to the scornful Pharisees, may have been brought to her ears: 'I am not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.' As she stands behind Him she wipes away with her hair the penitential tears which fall fast upon His feet. Then, as the agony of shame is gradually conquered by the sense of the Saviour's forgiving love, she kneels and kisses His feet and anoints them with the ointment she had brought with her. She has no thought, no eye, for anything but Him. For a while no notice is taken, but at last words of comfort come, addressed first to another, 'Her sins, her many sins are forgiven, for she loved much'; and then directly to herself, 'Thy faith hath saved thee. Go in peace.' How would it be possible for her after this to have stayed on and listened to the reproaches of Judas and the others, or how could they have ventured to find fault where their Lord had already given His blessing? Turn now to the other side of the story, if we are to piece it out from what we read of Mary. Is it possible that she who had long ago made the good choice, who was now living quietly with her brother and sister, all three noted as especially dear to Christ; she whose house had been chosen by Him for His temporary home before the end came, and who had lately been brought into such intimate contact with Him when He raised her brother from the dead,—is it possible that she should be spoken of as a notorious sinner, who was forcing herself into His company? No! If we want to make one consistent story out of the four narratives, our only course is to suppose with Strauss that the underlying fact has been much falsified by tradition, especially in the case of Luke, who has, he thinks, mixed up with it the story of the woman taken in adultery.

Before examining other explanations, we will just mention the attempts which have been made to get over two minor difficulties: (1) the discrepancy as to the anointing of feet or head; (2) the nature of the locality where the sinful woman lived. As to (1), some have compared Ps 133^2, where the precious ointment is said to have run from Aaron's head down to the skirts of his clothing; but (even if the correct tr^n is 'collar' instead of 'skirts'), this could only happen in the case of one who was standing and not reclining at table. Others have assumed two anointings, first of the head and then of the feet, the former of which they think may have been omitted by John as being generally known. This does not seem probable. The writer's own view of the matter is given below. As to (2), the ἁμαρτωλός is said to have been 'in the city' (πόλει, Lk 7^{37}), but Bethany is described as a κώμη (Lk 10^{38}, Jn 11^1). To this it is replied that there is no reason why Bethany should not be regarded as a suburb of Jerusalem.

We will now examine the view which has been most generally held in the Latin Church, viz. that Luke describes a different scene from that in the other Gospels, but that the woman is the same. This gets rid of some difficulties, but is open to the objections stated above, as to multiplying what appears to be a unique occurrence. According to it, we are to suppose that the sister of Martha had at one time lived a vicious life, but had been conscience-stricken by some word of the Saviour, and, hearing that He was in Simon's house, had felt herself constrained to seek Him there, and received from His lips the word of forgiveness and blessing. If we allow an interval of two years, it is, of course, not such a flagrant impossibility for the sinner to have changed into the saint; and the quiet weeping of the one is not unlike the quiet sitting of the other at the feet of Jesus. Some have thought, too, that the remarkable reticence as regards the family at Bethany, which characterizes the Synoptic Gospels, might be explained by the wish not to call attention to a history which would bring discredit on the early life of a leading member of the Church. But if this danger of scandal still existed when the Gospels were written, how much more strongly must it have been felt some 30 years before, when the memory of the past was still fresh, and the Jews were on the watch for anything which might raise a prejudice against the prophet whom they sought to kill. Is it possible that they could have crowded to Bethany to express their sympathy and esteem for one who had so lately done such dishonour to the name of Israel? The difficulty as to the recurrence of the name Simon is perhaps fairly met by calling to mind its frequency at the time: we find no fewer than 9 different Simons in the NT. This led to its often having some distinctive appellation attached, *e.g.* Simon 'Zelotes,' Simon 'Peter,' and here Simon 'the Leper.'

The third view is that most generally entertained among Protestant divines, viz. that there were two anointings—one of the feet by the penitent sinner of Galilee, the other of the head and feet by a totally different person, the saintly Mary of Bethany. It has been objected to this that the way in which the latter is described in Jn 11^2 'Mary was she who anointed the Lord with ointment, and wiped his feet with her hair,' must refer to some previous occurrence; but the object of the evangelist is simply to introduce Mary to his readers by referring to an action which was in itself famous, though it had not been connected with her name in the earlier Gospels. Just in the same way Judas Iscariot is distinguished, in the earliest list of the apostles, by the addition 'which also betrayed him.' There remains the serious objection already stated: Could John have used these words to describe Mary, if he knew that they were equally true of another woman? Could our Lord have promised world-wide fame to her action, if the same thing had been already done by another in much more trying circumstances?

---

* The reading of the best MSS, ἀφ' ἧς εἰσῆλθον, in Lk 7^{45}, seems to contradict the words ἐπιγνοῦσα ὅτι κατάκειται in v.^{37}, which imply that it was the knowledge of His being seated at table which led her to seek the house herself. This is an argument in favour of the reading εἰσῆλθεν, which is witnessed to by several of the most ancient versions. The reading εἰσῆλθον is perhaps a repetition from v.^{44}.

It appears to the present writer that the easiest way in which we can escape these difficulties is by supposing that the story told by St. Luke cannot, in its original form, have contained any reference to anointing. In that case the final words of v.^{38} *καὶ ἤλειφεν τῷ μύρῳ* and the whole of v.^{46} must be regarded as later developments. It is easy to understand their being added under the idea that the words recorded by Matthew and Mark, 'wheresoever this gospel is preached in the whole world, there shall also this that she hath done be told for a memorial of her,' required that the act of anointing should appear in each separate Gospel. If we do not feel ourselves at liberty to make such a supposition, we must find some other means of accounting for the high commendation bestowed on Mary. It cannot have been simply for anointing, but for anointing with the precious spikenard in the prospect of the Lord's death. In any case it seems probable that the anointing with the common ointment, of which Luke speaks, was something of an afterthought. It is hardly likely that one in such extreme agitation of mind would have planned such an action beforehand. How could she know that she might not be forestalled by Simon? It will be noticed, too, that the anointing follows, not, as in John, precedes the wiping of the feet with her hair. If the details are correctly given, we may conjecture that she happened to be carrying a flask of myrrh, and, finding that the Lord's feet had been unwashed and left unanointed, had been seized by a sudden impulse to anoint them.

Prof. W. M. Ramsay[*] favours this third view, but considers that 'the attempts to harmonize John with Mark and Matthew fail completely. John, who says that "they made him a supper there, and Martha served," obviously places the meal in Martha's house: it seems quite absurd to suppose that she would be serving in the house of Simon.' He thinks Mark fell into error from putting together two separate incidents, one of which was connected with the name Bethany, the other with the name Simon; whom he identifies with a 'Simon who lived at Bethany and was or had been a leper.' It does not, however, seem likely that Mark, whose mother was at this time living in Jerusalem, and whose house was a centre of the early disciples, could have been ignorant of the facts connected with the anointing at Bethany. We must therefore accept the fact that it took place in the house of Simon, just as we accept the fact that Martha had the chief ordering of the feast. The two facts are not necessarily opposed. It may be, as Nicephorus says (*HE* i. 27), that Simon was the father of Martha, though living apart from his family. But we need not even suppose any such connexion. John's description, from its vagueness, 'they made him a feast,' rather implies a public entertainment given in His honour by the inhabitants of Bethany, probably in the largest or most convenient house in the village, which might be the property of a leper named Simon.[†]

The fourth view is that there were three distinct anointings by either two or three distinct persons. This view was first propounded by Origen in order to meet the discrepancies between the account given in John and in the first two Gospels. The latter appear to fix the date of the supper two days (Mt 26^{2}, Mk 14^{1}), the former six days (Jn 12^{1}), before the Passover. The latter represent the ointment as poured upon the head, the former speaks of the feet as anointed and then wiped by Mary with her hair. The latter state that the supper was held in the house of Simon the Leper, the former appears to imply that it was in the house of Martha (this difficulty has been already discussed). Hence it has been supposed that there were two different anointings in the same week; that on each occasion the same objection was made by the bystanders, and the same answer returned by Jesus. Such a repetition, we may at once say, is impossible; but what are we to make of the discrepancies? Shall we say that they are of no importance, and only such as must be expected in different reports made several years after the occurrence? We may be quite prepared to allow this; but it appears to be possible to get a little nearer to explaining them, when we observe that the dates given in the different Gospels do not refer directly to the supper. John's 'six days before the passover' is the date on which Jesus came to Bethany, where, as we learn from the other Gospels, He was lodging during the week before the crucifixion.[*] On the other hand, the two days of Matthew and Mark refer to the close of His discourses in Jerusalem: 'when he had finished all these words he said to his disciples, Ye know that after two days is the passover.'[†] Thus both dates may be literally exact, and yet neither may be the precise date of the supper. As to the other discrepancies, it is possible that the narrative in John, which seems to have been edited by the elders of Ephesus (see 21^{24}), has been to some extent affected by that in Luke. It is remarkable that the *feet* are thrice referred to (in 11^{2} 12^{3}) as if the writer wished to lay stress on this by way of correcting a current misapprehension. Such a correction seems strange to us in the present day, to whom the written Gospels are the ultimate authority; but in the first century the appeal was still to oral tradition, as we may see from the Preface to Luke, and it seems not improbable that the predominant tradition may have laid hold on the anointing of the feet as testifying to a higher degree of humility and reverence than that of the head. If, then, the original narrative of John spoke only in general terms of the anointing of Jesus, we may conceive that the elders might have taken the opportunity to correct what they deemed to be an erroneous report in Mark. Our present feeling would probably be that, where honour is intended by anointing, the head rather than the feet should be anointed. On the other hand, it was natural that the penitent, standing behind the Lord, should wipe away with her hair the tears that fell upon His feet, but less natural that it should be used to wipe away the ointment, which would simply have the effect of anointing her own hair.

It may be interesting to add a brief sketch of the history of opinion on this question. The treatment of Scripture by early Christian writers is, as a rule, uncritical. Difficulties are not felt. They are much more anxious to extract a useful moral from their text by means of some forced allegory, than to ascertain the precise meaning of the words as they were understood by the speaker and hearers, or to get a clear conception of the actual facts referred to. Hence they are often careless of distinctions, and, like children, apt to mistake resemblance for identity. It is only when there is some special call for the attention of the writer, as when he is engaged on a commentary or a harmony of the Gospels, that we can attach much weight to any critical judgment. This is seen in the references to the present question. Clement of Alexandria speaks of the woman who was still a sinner bringing the alabaster box of ointment, which she thought the best of her possessions, to anoint the feet of the Lord, and then wiping away with her hair the superfluous ointment, whilst she poured on His feet the libation of her tears. These things, he says, symbolize both the preaching of the gospel and the passion of the Lord (*Pæd.* ii. 61, p. 205). Tertullian more distinctly identifies the two anointings in the words, 'Peccatrici feminæ etiam corporis sui contactum permittit, lavanti lacrimis pedes ejus et crinibus detergenti et unguento sepulturam ipsius inauguranti' (*Pudic.* xi.). On the other hand, Tatian, towards the end of the 2nd cent., in his *Diatessaron*,* which was for many years the only form of the Gospel known in Mesopotamia, separates the story in Lk from that in the other evangelists, and shows that he distinguishes the sinner from Mary by placing the visit to Martha and Mary before the anointing. Victor of Capua, who published a Latin revised version of the *Diatessaron* some 300 years later, mixed up Luke's anointing with that which took place at Bethany, to suit the view which had then become popular in the Western Church.† Origen is the first distinctly to grapple with the difficulties of the question. In his commentary on Mt (§ 77), after stating the points of agreement in the four accounts, he proceeds to argue against the prevailing view that the actor was in every case the same, on the ground (1) that according to Matthew and Mark it was the head of Jesus which was anointed with precious *ointment*, while, according to the *other evangelists*,‡ His feet were anointed with *myrrh*(!); (2) that it is incredible that Mary the sister of Martha, who chose the better part and was beloved by Jesus, could be spoken of as a sinner; (3) that the sinner in Luke does not venture to approach the head of Jesus, but waters His feet with penitential tears, whereas there are no tears and no sinner in John. He then goes on to say that some will perhaps argue that the actor in each Gospel is different; but he thinks it enough to distinguish three different actors; and he adds further reasons for holding that the nameless woman in the first two Gospels is not the same as the sister of Martha, the supper being at a different time and a different place. He meets the objection that the disciples could not have repeated their complaint of the waste of so much valuable ointment, by making a distinction between the honest indignation of the others and the veiled covetousness of Judas; and concludes with an allegorical interpretation of the three anointings. Elsewhere he seems to accept the view that there were only two anointings (cf. *Hom. in Ca* 1^{12} 'scio Lucam de peccatrice, Matthæum vero et Johannem et Marcum non de peccatrice illa dixisse . . . cujus nomen quoque Johannes inseruit,' also on Ca 1^3 'si quid peccatrix habuit, ad pedes referendum est; si quid ea quæ non erat peccatrix, ad caput'). Chrysostom also makes only two anointings, but, strangely enough, he holds that one of these is narrated only by John, the other by the three Synoptists. Accordingly, he considers that the indignation of the disciples and the comforting words of the Lord have reference to the πόρνη γυνή of Luke, who is encouraged to come to Jesus by the thought that he did not disdain to eat in the house of a leper (*Comm. in Matt.* 80). In his 62nd homily on John he says that the sister of Martha is not ἡ πόρνη ἡ ἐν τῷ Ματθαίῳ οὐδὲ ἡ ἐν τῷ Λουκᾷ . . . ἐκεῖναι μὲν γὰρ πόρναι . . . πολλῶν γέμουσαι κακῶν· αὕτη δὲ καὶ σεμνὴ καὶ σπουδαία. Ambrose (*Exp. in Luc.* 6) is inclined to think that one woman only was concerned in the anointing, but in the end leaves it an open question: 'potest non eadem esse, ne sibi contrarium evangelistæ dixisse videantur: potest etiam quæstio meriti temporis diversitate dissolvi, ut adhuc illa peccatrix sit, jam ista perfectior.' So Augustine, speaking of the anointing in Matthew (*de Cons. Evang.* 2. 154), says, 'Lucas quamvis simile factum commemoret, nomenque conveniat ejus apud quem convivabatur dominus . . . tamen potius credibile est alium fuisse illum Simonem, non leprosum in cujus domo hoc in Bethania gerebatur. Nam nec Lucas in Bethania rem gestam dicit. . . . Nihil itaque aliud intellegendum arbitror nisi non quidem aliam fuisse mulierem quæ peccatrix tunc accessit ad pedes Jesu et osculata est et lavit lacrimis . . . sed eandem Mariam bis hoc fecisse' (so too *Tract. in Joh.* 49). Jerome, on the other hand, distinguishes between the two women (*Comm. in Matt.* 26^2), 'Nemo putet eandem esse quæ super caput effudit unguentum et quæ super pedes. Illa enim et lacrimis lavat et crinibus tergit et manifesto meretrix appellatur. De hac autem nihil tale scriptum est.' Gregory the Great finally decided the question for the Latin Church by identifying the *peccatrix* first with the sister of Martha, and then with the Magdalene § (*Hom.* 33 *in Evang.*), 'hanc, quam Lucas peccatricem, Johannes Mariam nominat, illam esse Mariam credimus de qua Marcus septem dæmonia ejecta fuisse testatur. Et quid per septem dæmonia nisi universa vitia designantur?' *Hom.* 8, 'venit Maria Magdalene post multas maculas culpæ ad pedes Redemptoris nostri,' *ib.* 25. This was the generally accepted opinion in the West from the beginning of the 7th to the 16th cent. as testified to by the office in the Breviary for July 22.

---

[*] In the work entitled, *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* p. 91.

[†] Dr. E. A. Abbott suggests that the appellation Λάζαρος may represent *lazzārûa'* (לַצָּרוּעַ), 'belonging to the leper.'

[*] Mt 21^{17}, Mk 11$^{1.11}$, Lk 21^{37}.

[†] There is no reason to suppose that the date given in Mk 14^{1} extends to the following verses. The phrase *καὶ ὄντος αὐτοῦ* of the third verse is well explained by Dr. Abbott as meaning, 'And here let me state something which happened while Jesus was still in Bethany, which should be mentioned here to prepare the reader for the betrayal which follows.' So in Mk 14^{66} *καὶ ὄντος* means, 'And here let me say that Peter had been some time ago in the court exposed to temptation, and this must be mentioned here, because now comes his fall.'

Discussion recommenced with the rise of the Reformation in the treatise of Faber Stapulensis *de Maria Magdalena*, which was somewhat feebly answered by Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and condemned by the Sorbonne in 1521, on the ground that Faber departed 'ab universali Ecclesiæ ritu unicam Magdalenam in suo officio asserentis,' and that he deprived the Church of her chief type of the penitent sinner; also that there would be no certain truth, if each, at his own caprice, might reject accepted tradition. Later Roman Catholics, however, have not been unanimous: Estius, Tillemont, and others denying the identity, while Maldonatus,* Lamy,† and the Bollandists‡ have argued with reason and moderation in its favour. Indeed, the reaction against the old view prevailed more in France than in England, going so far that, in a whole series of dioceses with Paris at their head, new editions of the Breviary were issued in the 17th cent. without those portions of the office of St. Mary Magdalene which referred to Lk 7 and to the sister of Lazarus.§ Dupin, Mabillon, Bossuet, and Fleury are mentioned as favouring the newer view.

Meanwhile the Menology of the Greek Church assigns three distinct days for celebrating the memory of the sister of Martha, the Magdalene, and the ἁμαρτωλός. And Theophylact, writing in the 11th cent., says in his comment on Mt 26 that some hold that there were three, others that there were two only, who anointed the Lord; that Simon the leper was father of Lazarus, and that he is the man who showed the disciples a room ready furnished for the last supper. In his commentary on Mk 14 and Lk 7 he declares himself in favour of the view that there were three anointings—one by the πόρνη of Lk, one by the sister of Lazarus six days before the passover, one in the house of Simon the leper two days before the passover.

It has been already stated that the view most commonly entertained in the Reformed Churches has been that the sinner of Lk is distinct from the sister of Lazarus, and both distinct from the Magdalene. The two former are, however, confused by Grotius and by many of the recent German theologians, as Schleiermacher, Ewald, Bleek, Baur, Hilgenfeld, Weisse, Keim, as well as by the orthodox Hengstenberg. In the Anglican Church the mediæval view was followed by Bishop Andrews, who speaks of 'Mary Magdalene anointing Christ three several times one after the other,' and being permitted to see two angels, one at the head the other at the feet where the body of Jesus had lain, because she had herself anointed His head and anointed His feet; by Donne, who identifies the sister of Lazarus with the Magdalene (*Sermons*, 25 and 80); by Jer. Taylor (iii. 248, Heb.), 'Mary Magdalene having been reproved by Judas for spending ointment upon Jesus' feet, it being so unaccustomed and large profusion, thought now to speak her love once more and trouble nobody, and therefore she poured ointment on His sacred head'; and in late years by Dr. Pusey.‖

Having thus examined the general question of the anointings of Jesus, it remains for us to consider more particularly the motive ascribed by our Lord Himself for the anointing by the sister of Lazarus. This is given with slight variations: in Mt 26^{12} 'In that she poured this ointment on my body, she did it to prepare me for burial' (πρὸς τὸ ἐνταφιάσαι με), Mk 14^8 'She hath done what she could: she hath anointed my body aforehand for the burying' (προέλαβεν μυρίσαι τὸ σῶμά μου εἰς τὸν ἐνταφιασμόν); Jn 12^7 'Suffer her to keep it against the day of my burying,' or (marg.) 'Let her alone: it was that she might keep it' (ἄφες αὐτὴν ¶ ἵνα εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ ἐνταφιασμοῦ μου τηρήσῃ αὐτό; several MSS, including A, read τετήρηκεν, omitting ἵνα). The meaning of the word ἐνταφιασμός is explained in Jn $19^{39.40}$, where we are told that Nicodemus brought 'a mixture of myrrh and aloes about 100 pound weight, and wound the body in linen cloths with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury' (ἐνταφιάζειν). The general sense seems to be given most simply in Mark's words. 'She hath done what she could' is an answer to the assertion that she ought to have spent her money otherwise, viz. in distributing to the poor. We are to understand, apparently, that this was not the work for which she was fitted: she probably did not possess the practical business habits which would enable her to decide as to the best way of helping the poor. But wisdom is justified of all her children. What she had, what the grace of

---

* See the translation in vol. of *Ante-Nicene Library* pub. 1897, and Hemphill's *Diatessaron*, 1888, also Lightfoot on *Supernatural Religion*, Essay ix., and articles on Tatian and Victor of Capua in *Dict. Christian Biography*.

† This version by Victor is wrongly described by Faillon and Migne (*Patrologia*, vol. 64) as the *Diatessaron* of Ammonius.

‡ But John speaks of νάρδος πιστική, and the word μύρον seems to be used generally of any sort of ointment.

§ On this identification see No. v. below.

* *Comment. in Evang. Matt.* 26.

† 'De unica Maria' in *Harmon. Evang.* p. 636 ff.

‡ *Acta Sanctorum*, July 22.

§ See Hengstenberg, *l.c.* p. 2.

‖ See his sermon on 'Our Risen Lord's Love for Penitents,' in which he refers to his note at the end of *Sermons preached at St. Saviour's* proving the identity of the sister of Martha, the penitent who anointed the Lord's feet, and St. Mary Magdalene.

¶ Dr. E. A. Abbott suggests that ἤ may have been lost after αὐτῇ, and that the words are a reproach to Judas, 'or is it your wish that she should keep it for my embalming?' *i.e.* 'do you grudge it the living, that she may bestow it on the dead?'

God working in her enabled her to do, was to call forth generous emotion in others by being herself an example of the highest and noblest of all emotions, the impassioned devotion of a pure and loving heart to Him who is absolute Purity and Love. The genuine simplicity of a beautiful soul, however liable to misconception for the moment, yet in the end appeals more strongly to what is best in man, and is at the same time a more acceptable offering to God than any outward manifestation of human activity, however useful or charitable.

Then how are we to understand what follows: 'she hath anointed my body aforetime for the burying'? From the phrase in Jn, 'suffer her to keep it,' we gather that the spikenard had not been bought on purpose, but was applied to this use after being some time in her possession. Some have supposed that she had bought it for her personal adornment, but such a supposition is unworthy of Mary; and as our Lord associates it with the thought of death, it seems more probable that it had been purchased for the burial of her brother, and perhaps left unused from some faint hope that the coming of Christ might still render such a use superfluous. Compare Martha's words, 'Even now I know that whatsoever thou shalt ask of God, God will give it thee.' Destined for the tomb, the precious ointment now becomes a thankoffering to Him who called Lazarus from the tomb; but it is only in anticipation—was this Mary's own foreboding, or did she learn it first from the Lord?—of a mightier death to come. The words in Jn must, we think, be taken to mean, 'Allow her to have kept it for my burial,' *i.e.* 'do not find fault with her for doing so.'

History tells us nothing more of Mary. Her name is not mentioned among the women who were present at the crucifixion, or who brought spices to lay in the grave. This strange silence was, no doubt, one of the reasons for identifying her with the Magdalene. It seemed so natural that she who had been specially honoured and beloved by the Lord, who had been conspicuous beyond all others in doing honour to Him during His life, should have been also the last to watch by His cross and the first to whom He would appear on His resurrection. A late legend reports that Lazarus with his two sisters and Maximin, one of the Seventy, fled from Palestine in the persecution described in Ac 8 and took refuge in Massilia, and that Mary (confounded with the Magdalene) retired to a cave near Arles and died there.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the books mentioned in the course of this article, see Abbé Faillon's *Monuments inédits sur l'Apostolat de S. Marie Madeleine en Provence*, 2 vols. 4to, 1859.

v. MARY MAGDALENE (ἡ Μαγδαληνή) is probably named from the town of Magdala or Magadan (wh. see), now *Medjdel*, which is said to mean 'a tower.' It was situated at a short distance from Tiberias, and is mentioned (Mt 15^{39}) in connexion with the miracle of the seven loaves. An ancient watchtower still marks the site. According to Jewish authorities it was famous for its wealth, and for the moral corruption of its inhabitants (Edersheim, vol. i. p. 571). Lightfoot (*Hor. Heb.* on Mt 27^{56}), following some of the rabbinical writers, gives a different derivation, according to which the name would mean a plaiter of hair, a phrase sometimes used of a woman of light character.

The first notice we have of the Magdalene is in Lk 8^2, where we read that certain women which had been healed of evil spirits and infirmities accompanied Jesus and the Twelve in their missionary journeys, and ministered to them of their substance. Among these are mentioned 'Mary that was called Magdalene, from whom seven demons had gone out (cf. 'Mk' 16^9), and Joanna the wife of Chuza, Herod's steward, and Susanna.'

The question has been raised whether this possession implies moral as well as physical disease or infirmity. Those who affirm this have found in it a ground for upholding the identity of the Magdalene with the 'sinner' of Luke. Others hold that the phrase implies nothing more than that 'the wretchedness of despair, the divided consciousness, the preternatural frenzy, the long-continued fits of silence,' which we read of in other demoniacs, were exhibited here in their most aggravated form; that such a state is 'all but absolutely incompatible with the life implied in ἁμαρτωλός,' and that to speak of 'seven demons' as equivalent to 'many sins' is 'to identify two things which are separated in the whole tenor of the NT by the clearest line of demarcation.'* But surely this is going too far. We are told of some who were 'vexed with unclean spirits,' and the parable speaks of an 'unclean spirit' taking with him 'seven other spirits more wicked than himself' and dwelling within a man. It would seem, therefore, that wickedness may be a sign or effect of possession. But this possibility goes a very little way towards proving what is wanted. If St. Luke knew that the Magdalene of ch. 8 was the same as the sinner of ch. 7, would he not have given some hint to this effect? Should we not have been told before, that the sinner had been under a Satanic influence, and had been delivered from this by the Saviour previously to her entrance into Simon's house? Then is it likely that she who had been known as the 'sinner' would have been allowed to accompany the Lord and His disciples in their journeys? Would this have been in accordance with the oft-repeated principle that we have to 'provide things honest,' not only in the sight of God, but also 'of men'? Would it not have been putting an additional stumbling-block in the way of the weak, if one of notorious character were known to be habitually in the company of the new Prophet? There would seem to be at least as much ground for the identification of the Magdalene with the daughter of the Syro-phœnician woman, proposed by Nicephorus (*HE* i. 33).

No further mention of the Magdalene is made till the crucifixion, where she appears with the other women who had accompanied Jesus from Galilee. See above under 'Mary the mother of James.' We confine ourselves here to her experience, apart from the others, which is recorded by John alone, excepting for the brief note in 'Mark' 16^9 'He appeared first to Mary Magdalene.' If we are to reconcile this account with what we read in the other Gospels, it would seem from a comparison of all the accounts that, after setting out for the tomb with the other women, she must have hurried on, found the stone rolled away, and hastened at once to tell Peter and John. She returns with them, and waits outside after they have gone (Jn 20^{11}). While weeping there, she stoops and looks into the tomb, and sees two angels sitting, one at the head and the other at the feet, where the body of Jesus had lain. To their question, 'Why weepest thou?' she repeats what she had said to Peter and John, 'They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him.' Turning round, she sees behind her one whom she supposes to be the gardener, who also asks, 'Why weepest thou? Whom seekest thou?' In answer, she begs him, if it is he who has borne Him hence, to tell her where He was laid, that she might take Him away. 'The one thought that fills her mind is still that . . . she has been robbed of that task of reverential love on which she had set her heart. . . . The utter stupor of grief is shown in her want of power to recognize at first either the voice or the form of the Lord. . . . At last her own name uttered by that voice, as she had heard it uttered, it may be, in the hour of her deepest misery, recalls her to consciousness; and then follows the cry of recognition, and the rush forward to cling to His feet.'[*] The title *Rabboni,* however, by which she addresses the risen Saviour, falls very far short of the address of Thomas, and shows that she had not yet realized the change which had come over her relation to Him, whom she had known as her earthly master and teacher. And therefore the first lesson which she receives is a warning against supposing that the familiarities of earth are any longer possible. A higher and closer communion will be open to her when He has ascended to the Father, but it will be that of spirit with spirit. She must cease to clasp His feet, must rise and carry to the disciples His message, 'I ascend to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God.'

---

* E. H. Plumptre in Smith's *DB*.

This is all that the Bible tells us of the Magdalene. Before going on to inquire what has been built up on this foundation by the later legends, it may be well to consider whether the facts as given above lend any probability to the mediæval belief that she was the same as the sinful woman or the sister of Lazarus. It may be granted that something of the same type of character is visible in them all. All show an impassioned devotion, a generosity of feeling, which lifts them far out of the common groove. But may it not be said that this is partly a national trait, Jewish history abounding in high deeds of female heroism, and is partly due to the overpowering spiritual influences of the time? Anyhow, the similarity was sufficient to suggest to the interested hearer or reader of the three stories, whose imagination was already at work to fill in the picture from the slight outline given in each case, that this result might be most easily obtained by combining them into one. She who had been possessed by seven demons and came from Magdala must have been a sinner: she brought spices to the tomb, she clasped the Lord's feet, she was the most faithful and loving of all the women that followed Him from Galilee: must it not have been she who anointed His feet during His life, and whose faith and love had been specially commended by Him? And the same would apply to Mary of Bethany. She, too, ministered to Jesus of her substance, she fell at His feet, she anointed Him beforehand for His burial, she, too, was loving and beloved—she cannot have deserted her Lord in His last struggle, she cannot have left it to others to pay Him the last token of respect. It is she, and not another, who performed these pious offices under the name of Mary Magdalene. Yet the improbability is even greater on the other side. We have seen this already in the case of the sinful woman, and it is equally impossible that John should either have been ignorant of the identity of Mary of Bethany and the Magdalene, or knowing it should have given no hint of it to the reader. Nor can it be said that the characters are quite the same. The Magdalene could not be selected as a type of contemplation like the sister of Martha; and we can hardly believe that the latter, who had so lately witnessed the triumph over death in the raising of her brother, could have been so slow to believe in the rising again of Him whom she knew to be the Resurrection and the Life.

It may seem strange that while the general tendency was to combine the three of whom we have spoken into one, others were led to make two different Magdalenes, owing to the difficulty of reconciling the narratives of the crucifixion. Thus Eusebius (*ad Marinum,* ii. 7) says there may have been two Marys, each belonging to Magdala, one of whom is the subject of Matthew's narrative, the other of John's. The first goes to the tomb with the other Mary; they see the angel sitting on the stone; they receive his message for the disciples, and depart quickly in fear and great joy. As they are on their way Jesus meets them, and they come and hold Him by the feet, and worship Him. The second goes alone to the sepulchre, stands weeping outside, is forbidden to touch the feet of Jesus when He appears to her. Some identified the former, the rejoicing Magdalene, with the sister of Martha; the latter, the weeping Magdalene, with the sinner.

Nothing is really known to us of the subsequent history of the Magdalene. The Greek Church believed that she died at Ephesus, whither she had followed St. John,[*] and that her relics were removed from thence to Constantinople by the Emperor Leo VI. The story, however, which took root in the West was very different. It was said that she belonged to a wealthy family possessed of great estates at Magdala and Bethany; that she abused all her admirable gifts to tempt others to sin; that after the Ascension she remained at Bethany till the disciples were scattered by the persecution which followed the martyrdom of Stephen. The two sisters and others were placed in a boat by their persecutors, and were providentially carried without oars or sails to Massilia, where, by their preaching and miracles, they converted the heathen, and Lazarus was made bishop, while Mary retired to the wilderness and lived a life of extreme asceticism for thirty years. Finally, she was carried up to heaven in the arms of ascending angels.

Apparently the earliest document which gives the legend is the *Life* by Rabanus Maurus, a pupil of Alcuin, who flourished at the beginning of the 9th cent. This was greatly amplified by Vincent of Beauvais in the 13th cent. The story was not known to Gregory the Great, or to Gregory of Tours in the 6th cent., as he mentions the death of the Magdalene at Ephesus (*Mirac.* i. 30), nor, if we may believe Launoi,[†] is there any allusion to it in the writings of Bernard or Peter of Cluny or Peter Damianus, all of whom took the Magdalene as the subject of panegyric. It is treated as unworthy of examination by the Bollandists, and is probably due to misapprehension arising from the great place occupied in the traditions of Provence by Marius, who defeated the Ambrons and Teutons in the battle of Aix, B.C. 102. Marius was accompanied, as we learn from Plutarch, by a Syrian prophetess of the name of Martha, and it is suggested by Baring-Gould, after Gilles, that the connexion of these two names may have been the starting-point of the whole legend. At Les Baux, where Marius was encamped, there are some ancient sculptures on a limestone block, one, known as the *Trémaié,* containing three standing figures, which tradition holds to be the three Marys, but Gilles is of opinion that they represent Marius with his wife Julia and the prophetess Martha. The *Trois Maries* here are said to be Martha with her attendant Marcella and the Magdalene. It is curious that at another *Trois Maries* in the Camargue, the landing-place, according to the legend, of the whole party from Palestine, the three Marys are said to be the mother of James, Salome, and the attendant Sara. As there is really only one or, at most, two Marys in either case, we naturally ask how the number three came in, and it may not be irrelevant to remember that the famous *Fossæ Marianæ* from Arles to Massilia were constructed by Marius in his third consulship, while he was preparing for his campaign against the Ambrons, and would no doubt be commemorated by inscriptions which might run something as follows: *C. Marius C. F. cos III. fossas faciendas curavit*; and these, as they got defaced with age, might easily be supposed to bear witness to *Trois Maries*. The tradition had pretty well established itself by the 11th cent., though it was a matter of hot dispute whether Aix or Vezelay possessed the true relics of the Magdalene. Fortunately, in 1279 Charles the nephew of Louis IX. (who had himself made a pilgrimage to her cell at St. Baume) discovered her body in St. Maximin's Church at Aix, and since then the cult of the Magdalene has had hardly less vogue than that of the Virgin. The romantic character of her story and the feeling of a common frailty endeared her to all classes, and even reformers were loth to disturb a belief which on the whole worked for good. For an account of her place in art the reader is referred to Mrs. Jameson's *Sacred and Legendary Art*, vol. ii. p. 343 ff.

---

[*] E. H. Plumptre in Smith's *DB.*

[*] Modestus *ap.* Phot. cod. 275, speaks of her as *παρθένος διὰ βίου*, and says she was martyred at Ephesus.

[†] See Faillon, i. 1368.

LITERATURE.—*Acta Sanctorum* for July 22; Faillon, *Monuments inédits sur l'Apostolat de S. Marie Madeleine*, 1859; Gilles, *Campagne de Marius dans la Gaule*, 1870; Baring-Gould, *In Troubadour Land*, p. 130 ff.

vi. MARY THE MOTHER OF MARK.—The only place in which she appears in the NT is Ac 12^{12}, where we read that many were gathered together and praying in her house when Peter knocked at the door after his escape from prison. As Mark is called cousin (ἀνεψιός) of Barnabas (Col 4^{10}), she would be aunt of the latter. Later writers believed that her house was situated on Mt. Zion, and that it was the place of meeting for the disciples from the Ascension to the day of Pentecost. It was said to have escaped the destruction of the city by Titus, and to have been used as a church at a later period (Epiphanius, *de Pond. et Mens.* c. 14; Cyril Jerus. *Catech.* 16).

vii. MARY SALUTED BY ST. PAUL.—Nothing is known of her except that her name appears after Priscilla, Aquila, and Epænetus in the list of 24 persons to whom St. Paul sends greetings in the 16th chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. She, like the other women (Tryphæna, Tryphosa, and Persis) mentioned in v.^{12}, is said to have 'laboured much' for the Church, and may possibly have held the position of deaconess or 'widow' at Rome.

viii. See next article. J. B. MAYOR.

MARY (THE VIRGIN).—This subject may be considered under four heads: (*A*) the story of her life as it is given (1) in the NT, (2) in the Apocryphal Gospels and elsewhere; (*B*) the history of opinion respecting her; (*C*) her place in Liturgiology; (*D*) her place in Art.

A. 1. What we are told in the Bible about Mary falls naturally into two portions—that which precedes, and that which follows the baptism of our Lord. (*a*) All that we know of the former is included in the earlier chapters of St. Matthew and St. Luke. These agree in the main facts, that Jesus was 'conceived of the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary,' that His mother was espoused to Joseph, that the birth took place at Bethlehem towards the end of the reign of Herod the Great, that Nazareth was the subsequent home of the Holy Family, that previous intimation of the supernatural birth had been given through the instrumentality of angels, that Jesus was descended from David, as shown in the appended genealogies. To these facts St. Matthew adds that the marriage of Joseph and Mary was carried out after the doubts of the former had been set at rest by an angelic vision; that wise men from the East, under the guidance of a star, came to offer their gifts at the cradle of the infant Saviour; that the children at Bethlehem were massacred owing to Herod's jealousy, Jesus and His parents having previously taken refuge in Egypt, from whence they returned on the death of Herod, and settled at Nazareth in consequence of a divine warning. St. Luke adds the story of the birth of John, the Forerunner; the statement that Mary was already living at Nazareth when the angel Gabriel announced to her that she should be the mother of the Messiah; the visit of Mary to her cousin Elisabeth, and her reception by the latter as the destined mother of the Lord; Mary's song of praise; the journey of Joseph and Mary to Bethlehem to be enrolled there as belonging to the family of David; the birth in the stable; the announcement to the shepherds; the circumcision; the purification in the temple; the blessing of Simeon and Anna; the return to Nazareth; the visit to the temple when Jesus was twelve years old; His questioning of the doctors; His answer to Mary's complaint ('Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us? behold, thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing'), in the words, 'How is it that ye sought me? Wist ye not that I must be in my Father's house?' and lastly, the general statement as to the Son's humility and the thoughtful pondering of the mother.[*]

It is a significant fact that the story of the Infancy is confined to these two Gospels. We may explain its omission in the Fourth Gospel by the consideration that this, being evidently supplementary to the others, often omits details which were assumed to be already familiar to the reader. But in the case of St. Mark we are forced to the conclusion, either that he was unacquainted with the details of our Lord's life previous to the preaching of John, or that, knowing them, he did not regard them as an essential part of the Gospel message. The general impression left by all the Gospels certainly is that during our Lord's life the secret of His miraculous birth had been communicated to very few. Thus we read in Mt 13^{55} 'Is not this the carpenter's son?' Lk 4^{22} 'Is not this Joseph's son?' Jn 6^{42} 'Is not this Jesus the son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know?' And so in Jn 1^{45} Philip says to Nathanael, 'We have found him of whom Moses in the law and the prophets did write, Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph'; and both the genealogies of our Lord are traced to David through Joseph 'the son of David.'[†] Nor have we any evidence that the mysterious truth was generally known during the apostolic age. No allusion is made to it in the Acts or the Epistles,[‡] and the 'woman clothed with the sun' in Rev 12, though interpreted by some of the Virgin, is plainly intended to symbolize the Church. St. Paul, St.

---

[*] Resch thinks (*Kindheitsevangelium*, Leipzig, 1895) that both evangelists borrowed from the same source, the Βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ mentioned by St. Matthew (1^{1}), which we may suppose to have been published after the Virgin's death, about A.D. 60. He accounts for the differences between them by supposing that St. Luke purposely omitted those incidents which had been already selected by St. Matthew as showing the fulfilment of Hebrew prophecy, while he preferred himself to dwell on that part of the story which possessed the widest human interest. Prof. W. M. Ramsay, on the other hand, thinks that Luke's account is directly due to Mary herself (*Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* pp. 73–88).

[†] Mt 1^{20}.

[‡] It is true that Gal 4^{4} 'When the fulness of time was come God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law,' has been cited as such an allusion; but the phrase there used γενόμενον ἐκ γυναικός may be merely an equivalent of γεννητοὶ γυναικῶν found in Joh 14^{1} 15^{14} 25^{4}, Mt 11^{11}, Lk 7^{28}, or at most it may refer to the promise of Gn 3^{15}.

Peter, and St. John are alike emphatic in insisting on the fact of the Incarnation as the central truth of the Christian religion, and alike silent as to the way in which it was brought about.

The ancient Syriac Gospel discovered at Mt. Sinai, and published in 1894, of which a translation was published by Mrs. Lewis in 1896, has some remarkable variants in Mt $1^{16\text{ff.}}$. It runs thus: 'Jacob begat Joseph; Joseph, to whom was betrothed Mary the Virgin, begat Jesus who is called Christ'; again in v.^{21} the reading is 'she shall bear to thee a son'; and in v.^{25} 'she bore to him a son.' The publication gave rise to much discussion in the *Academy* * and elsewhere: among other theories it was suggested that this might be an Ebionite revision of our Gospel; but this seemed inconsistent with the word 'Virgin' which appears in v.^{16}, as well as with vv.$^{18-20}$. Others supposed that the Syriac version represents an earlier form of the genealogy, which may have been taken from a Jewish register and incorporated in the Gospel. This view received a certain amount of support from some of the old Latin versions, which have *Joseph cui desponsata virgo Maria genuit Jesum*, where the use of *genuit* instead of *peperit* has been thought to betoken an earlier form, in which *desponsata* was followed by *erat.*† See, further, art. JESUS CHRIST in vol. ii. p. 644.

However this may be, there can be no doubt that the miraculous conception was denied by several of the early heretics, who either maintained (with Cerinthus) the naturalistic birth of the Lord, followed by the bestowal of supernatural powers through the descent of the Spirit at His baptism, or held (with Marcion) that He was without earthly parentage, but descended from heaven in the 15th year of Tiberius and showed Himself in the synagogue of Capernaum.

On the other hand, stress is laid on the supernatural birth of the Lord by Ignatius, who in opposing the phantom theory of the Docetæ uses such phrases as *καὶ ἐκ Μαρίας καὶ ἐκ θεοῦ*, *Eph.* 7; *ὁ γὰρ θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐκυοφορήθη ὑπὸ Μαρίας κατ' οἰκονομίαν ἐκ σπέρματος μὲν Δαυεὶδ πνεύματος δὲ ἁγίου*, *ib.* 18; *ἔλαθεν τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἡ παρθενία Μαρίας καὶ ὁ τοκετὸς αὐτῆς, ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ θάνατος τοῦ Κυρίου*, *ib.* 19: these, he says, are *τρία μυστήρια κραυγῆς*, three mysteries wrought in the silence of God, though destined to be proclaimed aloud.‡

(*b*) Proceeding now to the second part of Mary's life, we find her, after the death of her husband (who is introduced for the last time in the visit to the temple), residing, as it would seem, with the Lord and His brethren [see BRETHREN OF THE LORD], partly at Nazareth (Mk $6^{1\text{ff.}}$, Lk 4^{16}, Jn 1^{45} 19^{19}) and partly at Capernaum (Mt 4^{13} 9^{1}, Mk 2^{1}, Jn 2^{12}). We are not told that she accompanied our Lord in His missionary journeys, like Mary Magdalene and Susanna (Mk 15^{40}, Lk 8^{3}). The first mention of her in this period is at the marriage at Cana in Galilee (Jn 2), where her direction to the servants, 'Whatsoever he saith unto you, do it,' seems to show that her relation to the bridegroom was such as to justify the exercise of authority on her part. Her previous appeal to her Son to provide for the deficiency of wine had drawn forth from Him the same sort of correction as her complaint at His disappearance on the occasion of the visit to the temple, *τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί, γύναι*; 'Woman, what hast thou to do with me?' Though there was nothing of harshness in the appellation *γύναι*, as we may see from its use in the last tender commendation of His mother to the beloved disciple (Jn 19^{26}), yet the choice of a word applying alike to all women is not without its significance, and the clause which follows undoubtedly contains a warning that it was not for her or for any human being to determine His course of action.* The next mention of Mary is in Mk 3^{20-37}, where we are told that the people pressed upon Jesus to such an extent that He had not even time to eat; and that His friends hearing this, 'went out to lay hold on him: for they said, He is beside himself.' Accordingly in the 31st verse we read that 'his mother and brethren came where he was, and, standing without, sent unto him, calling him. . . . And they say unto him, Behold, thy mother and thy brethren without seek for thee. And he answereth them, and saith, Who is my mother and my brethren? And looking round on them which sat round about him (in Mt 12^{49} 'stretching forth his hand towards his disciples'), he saith, Behold my mother and my brethren! For whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother.' Here, too, the same lesson is taught, viz. that the knowledge of Christ after the flesh conveys no special privilege, no right of interference or control, not even any exclusive or peculiar blessedness, for in Lk 11^{27} the exclamation, 'Blessed is the womb that bare thee, and the paps which thou didst suck,' calls forth the correction that His mother's true blessedness consisted, not in the fact of a physical connexion, but in those moral and spiritual qualifications which were open to all, 'Yea, rather (*μενοῦν*),† blessed are they that hear the word of God and keep it.' The next occasion on which we meet with Mary is at the foot of the Cross. She had come up with other women from Galilee to be present at the passover. As she stood watching the dying agony of her Son, she received His latest charge, entrusting her to the guardianship of the beloved disciple, who from that hour took her to his own home (Jn 19^{26}). The only remaining notice of her in the NT is contained in Ac 1^{14}, where she is mentioned as continuing in prayer and supplication with the apostles and the other women and the brethren of the Lord.

2. The brief but exquisite sketch of our Lord's early years contained in the NT provided a natural stimulant to imagination and curiosity, and the craving for further particulars was supplied by the writers of the Apocryphal Gospels, sometimes with the ulterior aim of magnifying asceticism or inculcating some special doctrine of their own. Hence in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (vi. 16) these works are spoken of as 'poisonous apocryphal books in which the wicked heretics reproach the creation, marriage, the providential government of the world,' etc. Their popularity, however, was so great, that Catholic writers found it necessary either to imitate or to revise them. We will give here a general sketch of the further story of the Infancy, derived from a comparison of these apocryphal sources, disregarding minor discrepancies.

---

* See letters by Conybeare, Sanday, Charles, Badham, and others in the *Academy* for 1894 and 1895; also Blass, *Philology of the Gospels*, p. 86 f.

† The verse occurs in 'a (recently discovered) fragment of the oldest known MS of any part of the NT,' which has just been edited by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt in the 1st part of the Oxyrhynchus Papiri. It appears there in its ordinary form, Ἰακὼβ δὲ ἐγέννησεν Ἰωσὴφ τὸν ἄνδρα Μαρίας, ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός.

‡ See Lightfoot, *Ignatius*, vol. ii. p. 76.

* Blass (*l.c.* p. 238) quotes Nonnus' paraphrase τί ἐμοί, γύναι, ἢὲ σοὶ αὐτῇ, as implying that ἤ must have been read instead of καί in a contemporary MS of the Fourth Gospel, and argues that we should replace ἤ in the text. Prof. Ramsay thinks that we may understand the existing text in the same general sense, 'how does that concern *us*' (*l.c.* p. 84). The objection to this is (1) the constant use of the phrase in the other sense; (2) the consensus of the ancient commentators; (3) the almost certainty that the other meaning would have been expressed by τί πρὸς ἡμᾶς as in Mt 27^{4}, Jn 21^{22}; (4) the inappropriateness of the supposed language in the mouth of Jesus under the actual circumstances. Surely it is every man's 'concern' to save his friend from inconvenience or discredit. And what, on this supposition, is the force of the words which follow 'mine hour has not yet come'? —words which give a natural reason for the τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί;

† TR reads μενοῦνγε with B^{2}CD, but the γε is rightly dropped by WH, Nestle, *et al.*

The first development is concerned with the period preceding the betrothal of Mary. Her parents are said to have been Joachim of Nazareth and Anna of Bethlehem, both of the family of David. When they had been married twenty years without children, Joachim, going up to make his offering at the temple, was repelled as coming under the curse pronounced in Scripture against those who had not raised up seed to Israel. Being ashamed to return home, he retired to the wilderness and fasted there forty days, and received an assurance that a child should be born to him. Meanwhile his wife was bewailing her barrenness and her husband's desertion, envying even the sparrows which had their nest in her garden. An angel comforted her by the news that Joachim was returning, and that she should bear him a child, whom she at once vowed to dedicate to the service of the temple. At the age of three, the child of promise was accordingly taken by her parents to the temple, where she charmed all the beholders by dancing on the steps of the altar. She remained in the temple, ministered to by angels, till she had completed her twelfth year, when the high priest was directed to summon all the widowers of Israel to bring each his rod to present before the altar, in order that it might be made known by a miraculous sign to whose care the Virgin was to be committed. When Joseph's rod was returned to him, a dove issued from it and hovered over his head: to him therefore Mary was entrusted in spite of his protests. Seven virgins were appointed to be her companions, and to work with her at a new veil for the temple, while Joseph left his home to follow his calling as a shipwright. One day Mary, going out to draw water, heard a voice saying, 'Hail! thou that art highly favoured.' Being alarmed at seeing no one, she left her vessel and returned to work at the veil, when an angel appeared and addressed her in the words, 'Fear not, Mary, thou hast found favour with God by thy vow of chastity, and shalt conceive by His word. . . . A virgin thou shalt conceive, a virgin bring forth, a virgin rear thy Son.' Shortly afterwards Mary appeared before the high priest with the veil, and received his blessing. Then come the visit to Elisabeth, the return home, the meeting with Joseph, the quieting of his suspicions by a vision, a summons from the priests, directing both Mary and Joseph to attend at the temple and reply to the charge brought against them; the proof of their innocence by the ordeal of the water of bitterness (Nu 5^{18}).

In the apocryphal account of the visit to Bethlehem the following points are noticeable. Mary rides on an ass, and is accompanied by Joseph and two of his sons; as they approach Bethlehem they stop before a cave,* into which Joseph carried her. As soon as she entered it the darkness was lit up by a glory brighter than the sun, which continued as long as she remained there. Meanwhile Joseph had gone to seek for a midwife. As he went, he looked up and saw all movement brought to a sudden pause, both in heaven and earth. When the pause was over, he beheld a woman coming down from the mountain, who told him she was a midwife, and went with him to the cave, on which a bright cloud was resting. Going in they found Mary with her Child at her breast, but no other sign of her delivery. Salome, who had followed them, would not believe in the miraculous birth without further examination,† and was punished for her impiety by the withering of her hand, which was, however, restored on her repentance. On the third day after the birth, Mary moved from the cave to a stable, and placed the Child in a manger, where the ox and the ass worshipped Him, thus fulfilling the word of the prophet, 'the ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib.'

The adoration of the Magi and the subsequent massacre of the Innocents are taken with little alteration from the Bible. But many fanciful additions are made in narrating the journey to Egypt. Wild beasts play around the infant Saviour; trees bend down their branches to offer their fruit to Mary; springs burst forth at her need; the idols fall from their bases to the earth; the journey is miraculously shortened; lepers and demoniacs and sick people of all sorts are healed by being sprinkled with the water in which Mary had washed her Child, or by handkerchiefs which He had touched. One of the most remarkable stories is that of the healing of a young man who had been turned by enchantment into a mule. His sisters having besought the Virgin's help, she placed her Son on the mule, and at her prayer He restored the youth to his original shape. Another story relates to the two robbers who were afterwards crucified with Jesus. The one, called Titus,* had with difficulty prevented his fellow from giving the alarm as the Holy Family passed by. Mary thanked him, and prayed that he might receive forgiveness of his sins; whereupon Jesus answered, 'After thirty years he shall be crucified on my right hand, and shall precede Me to Paradise.' At the end of the third year they returned from Egypt to Nazareth. It is unnecessary to relate the miracles, trivial or even malicious, said to have been wrought there by the child Jesus. Joseph died when Jesus was eighteen years of age.

No further particulars of interest are added to the life of Mary, as recorded in the Bible, till after the resurrection, when Jesus is said to have appeared to her, first of all, accompanied by the patriarchs and prophets whom He had released from Hades.† Two years later (other versions give 22 or 24 years) she was warned by an angel that her death was approaching, and the apostles were all miraculously conveyed from various parts of the earth to be present at her bedside. Jesus Himself received her soul, and after three days her body was carried up by angels to heaven. St. Thomas, who had come too late for her death, was privileged to behold her ascension, and to receive her girdle as a sign of blessing.‡

In his note on Jn 19^{27} Westcott says, 'Nothing is known with reasonable certainty of the later life of the mother of the Lord. Epiphanius was evidently unacquainted with any accepted tradition on the subject (*Hær.* 78). He leaves it in doubt whether she accompanied St. John to Asia Minor or not. But in the course of time surmises were converted into facts; and Nicephorus Callisti († *c.* 1350), *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 3, relates that she lived with St. John at Jerusalem for eleven years after the death of the Lord, and died there in her 59th year. The site of the Tomb of the Virgin, just to the north of the Garden of Gethsemane, is not mentioned by any traveller of the first six centuries, and the later tradition that the church there was built by Helena is certainly false. See Quaresmius, ii. 240 ff.; Williams, *Holy City*, ii. 434 ff. From a passage in a synodical letter of the Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431, *Conc.* iii. 573, Labbe) it appears that, according to another tradition, the mother of the Lord accompanied St. John to Ephesus, and was buried there.' See, further, art. 'Le lieu de la dormition de la Très Sainte Vierge,' by Père Séjourné in *Revue Biblique*, Jan. 1899, p. 141 ff. The traditional site of the *Dormitio Mariæ* in Jerusalem was made over to the Emperor of Germany in 1898.

---

* The tradition of the cave is found in some of the earliest Christian writers, *e.g.* Justin, *Dial.* 78; Orig. *c. Cels.* i. 51. It is supposed to have been derived from Is 33^{16} οὗτος οἰκήσει ἐν ὑψηλῷ σπηλαίῳ πέτρας ἰσχυρᾶς. See Blass, *l.c.* p. 165.

† This is referred to by Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 889, μετὰ τὸ τεκεῖν αὐτὴν μαιωθεῖσάν φασί τινες παρθένον εὑρεθῆναι; cf. Jerome, *adv. Pelag.* 2, 'Solus Christus clausas portas vulvæ virginalis aperuit, quæ tamen clausæ jugiter permanserunt'; and, on the other side, Tertull. *de Carne Christi*, 23; Orig. *Hom.* 14 *in Luc.*; Epiphan. *Hær.* p. 1051.

* *Evang. Infant.* c. 23, elsewhere called Dysmas.

† Pseudo-Ambrose, *de Virginitate*, i. 3.

‡ For the story of the death and Assumption, see the apocryphal treatises *de Transitu Mariæ*, ascribed to St. John and to Melito. The earliest hint of such a belief among orthodox writers is to be found in Epiphanius (d. 403), who, while strongly censuring the heretical sect of the Collyridians for their worship of Mary (*Panar.* p. 1061), believes that some extraordinary mystery about her death is implied in the words of Rev (12^{14}), 'there were given to her eagle's wings.' Melito's *de Transitu* was condemned as heretical in the decree *de Libris Canonicis*, attributed to Pope Gelasius, A.D. 494. The most recent statement of the Roman Catholic belief on this point will be found in Wilhelm and Scannel, vol. ii. p. 220: 'Mary's corporeal assumption into heaven is so thoroughly implied in the notion of her personality as given by Bible and dogma, that the Church can dispense with strict historical evidence of the fact.' Cf. also Livius, *Blessed Virgin*, pp. 338-378.

For Jewish and Mohammedan traditions with regard to Mary, see Canon Meyrick's article 'Mary the Virgin,' in Smith's *DB*. The only point which need be mentioned here is the Jewish slander reported by Celsus,[*] to the effect that Jesus was the illegitimate son of Mary and a soldier Pandera.

B. As early as the 2nd cent. we find Eve made a type of Mary, as Adam was of our Lord. As Eve had brought about the curse by listening to the Serpent, so Mary the blessing by listening to the Angel.[†] Still she shared man's fallen nature, and was guilty of actual sin. So Irenæus (iii. 16. 7), 'Dominus repellens ejus intempestivam festinationem dixit: Quid mihi et tibi est, mulier?' So Origen (*Hom. in Luc.* 17) interprets the prophecy of Simeon, 'A sword shall pierce through thine own soul also,' of the doubts felt by Mary, in common with the apostles, at the crucifixion: 'Si omnes peccaverunt et egent gloria Dei, justificati gratia ejus et redempti, utique et Maria illo tempore scandalizata est';[‡] and still more strongly Tertullian (*de Carne Christi*, 7), and Chrysostom, commenting on Mt $12^{47ff.}$ (*Hom. in Matt.* 44), where he says Mary called down her Son's rebuke by her presumption (*ἀπόνοια*).[§]

Augustine[‖] was among the earliest of the Fathers who thought it possible that she might be an exception to the rule that all have committed actual sins; though he allows that she shared the common corruption of humanity,[¶] and quotes Lk 11^{27} as showing that even the mother of Jesus was blessed, not because in her the Word was made flesh, but because she kept the word of God.

It does not appear that we have any direct evidence of prayer being made, or worship offered, to Mary during the first four centuries,[**] except by the obscure sect of the Collyridians already mentioned, against whom Epiphanius lays down the rule, *ἐν τιμῇ ἔστω Μαρία, ὁ δὲ Πατὴρ καὶ Υἱὸς καὶ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα προσκυνείσθω· τὴν Μαρίαν μηδεὶς προσκυνείτω.* But the cultus and invocation of the martyrs, and belief in their miraculous power, had been growing up as early as the 3rd cent.,[*] and the gradual paganizing of the Church, which followed the establishment of Christianity as the religion of the empire, led, in many places, to the substitution of Christian saints for the old local divinities.[†] Indeed the continued use of the old temples and ceremonies and images under new names might seem to be countenanced by St. Paul's words in reference to the Athenian altar 'whom ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you.' Then the worship of the Lares, the apotheosis of the dead, the almost blasphemous homage paid to the living emperor in the East, prepared the way for the worship of saints. The votaries of Demeter and Persephone and of other female deities found it easier to transfer their allegiance to the Christian Church, when they were permitted to make their vows there to Mary as the Mother of God and the Queen of Heaven;[‡] while at the same time these titles were demanded by the more fanatical Christians, who claimed divine honours for the ideal and prototype of virginity, which they held to be the highest of all virtues. The movement in this direction was especially favoured by the reaction against the Nestorian heresy, condemned at the Council of Ephesus in A.D. 431—a reaction shown in the multiplication of pictures of the Virgin, and in a readiness to accept, as authentic, any supposed tradition or revelation which tended to her glory. On the other hand, the Divinity of Christ tended to obscure his Humanity. The loving sympathy of one who could be touched with the feeling of our infirmities was transferred to Mary, whose mediation with her Son, the stern and terrible Judge, was every day felt to be more necessary to weak and erring mortals. Add to this the chivalrous sentiments and the respect for woman among the northern nations of Europe, and we shall not be surprised at the subsequent developments of Mariolatry. The language of the Bible, especially in the Vulgate, was strained to support this: the name 'Mariam' itself received various interpretations, of which the most popular was *Stella Maris*: the promise to the seed of the woman in Gn 3^{16} was transferred to the woman herself in accordance with the Vulgate mistranslation, 'ipsa conteret caput tuum': the greeting in Lk 1^{28} *χαῖρε κεχαριτωμένη* (Vulg. 'ave gratia plena') was a proof that Mary was herself a fountain of grace: her reply to the angel (*οὐ γινώσκω ἄνδρα*) is taken to be a vow: the words by which she was entrusted to the care of the beloved disciple, *ἰδοὺ ὁ υἱός σου*, describe her relation to all true members of the Church. She is the Bride of the Canticles, the Woman persecuted by the dragon in the Apocalypse, the Wisdom of whom Solomon speaks, whom the Lord possessed in the beginning as His daily delight, rejoicing always before Him. Christian orators, beginning with Proclus, patriarch of Constantinople in the middle of the 5th cent. (who spoke of the Mother of God, *ἡ θεοτόκος*,[§] as 'the only bridge between man and God'), vied with one another in devising new phrases in her honour; and the glowing hyperboles of an earlier generation were fixed in the dogma or ritual of a later generation, which again quickly gathered to itself a new halo of sentiment, to be followed by a yet further advance both in theory and practice. We may consider this development under three heads: (1) the personal holiness of the Virgin; (2) her power and dignity; (3) the nature of the worship due to her.

---

[*] Orig. *c. Cels.* i. 32. This calumny is denounced in the Koran (iv. 155) as one of the sins of the Jewish people.

[†] Justin M., *Dial.* 100; Iren. iii. 22. 4, v. 19. 1, 'si ea inobedierat Deo, sed hæc suasa est obedire Deo, uti virginis Evæ virgo Maria fieret advocata. Et quemadmodum adstrictum est morti genus humanum per virginem, salvatur per virginem'; cf. also Tert. *de Carne Christi*, 17.

[‡] So Basil, *Epist.* 260, and others; cf. Hilary, *Ps.* 118^{20}, where it is said that even Mary has to pass through the purgatorial fire.

[§] Stephanus cites other instances from Chrysostom.

[‖] *De Nat. et Grat.* c. 36, where in answer to Pelagius, who had given a list of sinless saints from the OT, concluding with the names of Elisabeth and Mary, 'quam dicit sine peccato confiteri necesse esse pietati,' Augustine maintains that all had sinned 'excepta sancta virgine Maria de qua propter honorem Domini nullam prorsus, cum de peccatis agitur, haberi volo quæstionem.' Ephraem Syrus and Ambrose are quoted to the same effect.

[¶] See *c. Julian.* v. 15, quoted in Livius, p. 246 f.

[**] Smith's *DB*, *s.v.* MARY THE VIRGIN, vol. ii. p. 267; Tyler's *Roman Worship of the Virgin.*

[*] *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, *s.v.* MARTYRS, RELICS, WONDERS, LIGHTS.

[†] See Gieseler, *E.H.* ii. p. 24 ff.; Bede, *H.E. Angl.* i. 30; Augusti, *Denkw.* iii. 9 ff.; Maitland, *Dark Ages*, p. 149 ff., Homily on *Idolatry*, parts 2 and 3; J. J. Blunt, *Vestiges of Ancient Customs in Modern Italy*.

[‡] 'The fact that some ancient heretics actually did maintain the Holy Ghost to be a female (Iren. i. 38; Gospel of the Hebrews, *ap.* Orig. *Comm. in Joan.* ii. 6), only serves to show the reluctance with which mankind bade adieu to that sex as objects of worship.' Blunt, *l.c.* ch. 3.

[§] This phrase, condemned by Coleridge (*Eng. Div.* i. 45), though accepted by most Anglican divines (*e.g.* Pearson, *Creed*, p. 177), is open to the objection contained in Augustine's words (*de Fide et Symbolo*, 9), 'nec nos ad negandam Christi matrem cogit quod ab eo dictum est *Quid mihi et tibi est mulier?* . . . sed admonet potius ut intelligamus *secundum Deum non habuisse matrem*.'

(1) We have seen that Augustine thought Mary might be exempt from actual sin, though sharing the general corruption of man's nature. Pelagius and his disciple Julian denied this hereditary sinfulness.[*] Paschasius Radbertus (*c.* 830), in his controversy with Ratramnus, maintained that Mary was sanctified in the womb; and this was the doctrine of Bernard (b. 1091), who, however, protested strongly against the institution of the feast of the Conception by the Canons of Lyons, Dec. 8, 1140, as sanctioning the belief in the Immaculate Conception, which he regarded as superstitious and opposed to the tradition of the Church. Bernard was followed by the greatest schoolmen, including Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274); but about the year 1300 Duns Scotus maintained that, since it was as much in the power of God to blot out sin in the moment of conception as at a later period, it was more congruous to attribute to the Virgin the higher perfection. This view was adopted by the Franciscans and supported by the visions of St. Brigitta, while the older view was maintained by the Dominicans and supported by the visions of St. Catharine of Sienna. Pope Sixtus IV. (1476) declared it an open question, but gave his sanction to the festival. Finally, the dogma of the Immaculate Conception was proclaimed by Pius IX., Dec. 1854.[†]

(2) By the end of the 7th cent. the belief in wonder-working pictures, icons, and the honouring of these with osculation, lights, and incense, together with the invocation of the Virgin and other saints, had become so common in the Eastern Church, that Christians were regarded as idolaters by the Mohammedans. Leo the Isaurian, who became emperor in 716, tried to avert this charge by forbidding the use of images altogether; and his prohibition was confirmed by the Synod of Constantinople in 754. The chief opponents of the Iconoclasts were Germanus of Constantinople and John of Damascus, who, in their writings, assign to Mary the highest place in heaven next to the Blessed Trinity, though they guard themselves against the imputation of deifying her, as the pagans did their *Mater Deorum* (see Damasc. *Hom I. in Dorm. Mariæ*, §§ 11, 15). John addresses her as 'the rest of the weary, comfort of the sorrowful, healing to the sick, pardon to the sinful, a ready help to all.' In the 11th cent. Damiani speaks of her as 'non solum rogans sed imperans, domina non ancilla.' In the 12th cent. Bernard, in the 13th Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventura, carry their adoration to a still higher pitch. Thomas is cited as saying that 'in Mary is all our hope of salvation,' and that she has obtained half the kingdom of God, '*ut ipsa sit Regina misericordiæ, ut Christus est Rex justitiæ*'; Bonaventura speaks of her as the 'porta cæli, quia nullus potest jam cælum intrare nisi per Mariam transeat tanquam per portam,' and to him are ascribed the contemporary adaptation of the Psalter and *Te Deum* to the worship of the Virgin, as a specimen of which may be quoted the versicles of the latter—'All the earth doth worship Thee, Spouse of the Eternal Father'; 'Vouchsafe, O sweet Mary, to keep us now and ever without sin.' What is perhaps even more remarkable is that, in an early sermon of Wyclif's[*] (d. 1384), we read: 'It seems to me impossible that we should obtain the reward without the help of Mary. There is no sex or age, no rank or position, of any one in the whole human race, which has no need to call for the help of the Holy Virgin.'[†]

It must not be supposed, however, that there was no protest against the constantly advancing tide of Mariolatry. Beside the Nestorians and the Eastern Iconoclasts, who were to a certain extent supported by the Frankish Church under Charlemagne, there were various sects, Paulicians,[‡] Cathari, and later the Waldenses and Moravians, which condemned the Invocation of Saints; and at least two eminent Churchmen in the 9th cent. wrote against it, viz. Agobard, archbishop of Lyons, and Claudius, bishop of Turin.[§] Wyclif gradually came to the same conclusion, and some of his followers, *e.g.* Lord Cobham, were condemned to death for contradicting the teaching of the Church as to the worship of saints. The desire for reform in the practice and teaching of the Church was strongly reinforced by the reaction from the mediæval system, which came in with the Renaissance: and by the end of the 15th cent. there were many signs that the old ideas as to the Virgin were becoming untenable. This may be seen from the reference made to her in Dean Colet's *Preceptes of Livinge*, 'Byleve and trust in chryst Jesu. Worship hym and his moder Mary,' especially when viewed in the light of his favourite principle, 'Keep to the Bible and the Apostles' Creed, and let divines dispute about the rest'; as well as from the charge brought against him (1512), that he denied the worship of images.[‖] The opinion of Erasmus is known from the *Encomium Mariæ* and *Peregrinatio*, in which he ridicules pilgrimages to the shrine of St. Mary of Walsingham, the prayers offered to her, and generally the speculations of the schoolmen as to her virginity and sinlessness. Even Sir Thomas More condemns image-worship in his *Utopia*, and in a letter to Erasmus expresses his disgust at the Mariolatry which he witnessed at Coventry, where a Franciscan was preaching that 'whoever made daily use of the Psalter of the Blessed Virgin could never be damned,' while the parish priest, seeing that men became emboldened to crime through trust in their devotions to the Virgin, made a vain protest, which only drew on him the charge of impiety. In another letter to a monk in defence of Erasmus, More mentions that he had himself known of a band of assassins, who used to kneel before the Virgin, and then proceed 'piously to perpetrate their crime.' He adds that he does not say this 'to condemn those who occasionally salute the Holy Virgin, than which nothing is more beneficial.' While all the Reformed Churches condemned the doctrine of Rome on this point, the Lutherans were less prominent in opposing it than the Swiss and the French, who often drew upon themselves persecution by their violence in destroying images. Berquin, the first Protestant martyr in France, was charged with asserting that it was wrong to invoke the Virgin Mary in place of the Holy Spirit, and to call her the source of all grace, or assign to her such titles as 'Our hope' and 'Our life,' which belong only to Christ. The doctrine of the Church of England is given in the 15th Art., *Of Christ alone without sin*, and in the 22nd, where it is said, 'The Romish doctrine concerning Purgatory, Pardons, Worshipping, and Adoration, as well of Images as of Reliques, and also Invocation of Saints, is a fond thing vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the word of God.' Both articles are unaltered from the form in which they were originally put forth in 1553, except that the phrase 'Romish doctrine' was substituted in 1562 for 'doctrine of the school-authors' in the earlier form.

---

[*] Cf. Aug. *de Nat. et Grat.* c. 36, and the words of Julian quoted by Aug. *contra Jul.* iv. 122, 'ipsam Mariam diabolo nascendi conditione transcribis.'

[†] See the very careful catena of earlier declarations on this subject, contained in Pusey's *Letter to Newman*, 1869.

[*] See Lechler's *Wyclif*, p. 299, Eng. tr.

[†] Compare, too, Luther's favourite, Tauler, in Hagenbach's *Hist. of Doctrines*, vol. ii. p. 317, Eng. tr.

[‡] See Conybeare's *Key of Truth*, 1898.

[§] Neander, Eng. tr. vi. 210.

[‖] See Lupton's *Influence of Dean Colet on the Reformation* 1893.

Even the Council of Trent (1545–1563) gives evidence of this change of feeling in the guarded language used in Sess. xxv.: *De invocatione, veneratione, et reliquiis Sanctorum et sacris imaginibus*, where it is enjoined that 'the people be taught that the Saints reigning with Christ offer their prayers for men to God, and that it is good and useful to invoke them as suppliants, and to have recourse to their prayers for the sake of obtaining benefit from God, through Jesus Christ our Lord, who is our only Redeemer and Saviour.' This is followed by a warning against superstition in such worship, and the caution that no innovation should be made except with the approbation of the bishop. The Roman Catechism speaks more particularly of the Virgin: 'Rightly are we taught to pray to the most blessed Mother of God, *ut nobis peccatoribus sua intercessione conciliaret Deum, bonaque tum ad hanc tum ad æternam vitam necessaria impetraret*.'

The check on superstition was, however, only temporary. Mainly owing to the efforts of the Jesuits, Mariolatry is probably now more prevalent in the Church of Rome than at any former time, if we may judge from the Decree of 8th Dec. 1854, the enormous crowds of pilgrims who flock to Lourdes, and the popularity of such books as the *Glories of Mary*, brought out in 1784 by St. Alphonsus de Liguori, of which the English translation is 'heartily commended to the faithful' by the late Cardinals Wiseman and Manning. Even Cardinal Newman does not shrink from using the phrase 'deification' in reference to the Romish doctrine of the Virgin and the Saints (*Essay on Development*, ch. 8).[*]

(3) As early as the 5th cent. Augustine gives a warning against the worship of saints in the words, 'Honorandi sunt propter imitationem, non adorandi propter religionem' (*de Vera Religione*, 55); 'Colimus martyres eo cultu dilectionis et societatis quo in hac vita coluntur sancti homines Dei . . . illo cultu qui Græce "Latria" dicitur, cum sit quædam proprie divinitati debita servitus, nec colimus, nec colendum docemus nisi unum Deum' (*c. Faustum*, xx. 21). In the 2nd Council of Nicæa (786) it was decreed that the Cross of Christ, the Virgin, Angels, and Saints were entitled to religious reverence, τιμητικὴ προσκύνησις, but not to divine worship, λατρεία. Peter Lombard (*Sent.* III. *Dist.* 9. 1) uses the word '*dulia*' for the former, but he says that there is a special *dulia* due to the humanity of Christ, 'est quædam dulia soli humanitati Christi exhibenda, non alii creaturæ.' Thomas Aquinas gives this higher *dulia* the name of *hyper-dulia*, but transfers it to the worship of Mary, not to that of the humanity of Christ, which he identifies with *latria* (*Summa*, Pars. 3, Qu. 25). He cites Augustine for the distinguishing feature of *latria*: 'aliquid est quod soli Deo exhibetur, scilicet *sacrificium*'; and later writers have maintained that, as the Mass is never offered to the Virgin, her worship never oversteps the limit of *dulia*. If, however, we understand *sacrificium*, as Augustine does (*Civ. Dei*, x. c. 1, §§ 2, 3; c. 3, 4, 5, 6), in a spiritual sense of fervent love and devotion, it is difficult to see how the worship inculcated in such a book as the *Glories of Mary* differs from this; and Pusey quotes passages from Corn. a Lapide, Faber, and others, in which it is actually maintained that Mary is present and received in the Eucharist, and feeds the worshippers there with her own flesh.[*]

C. By far the commonest form of devotion to the Virgin is the *Ave Maria*, consisting of two parts: the salutation—'Hail, Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee; blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb'; and the prayer—'Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for us sinners, now, and at the hour of death.' The former part was first ordered to be used as a church formula by Odo, bishop of Paris, in 1196; the latter part first appears in the 15th cent., and was directed to be used daily at the seven canonical hours by Pius V. in 1568. The 'Angelus' (said to have been introduced in 1287) consists of three recitations of the Ave Maria at the sound of the Angelus bell, at morning, midday, and night, the first recitation on each occasion being introduced by the words, 'The Angel of the Lord announced to Mary, and she conceived of the Holy Ghost.' The 'Rosary' is the string of beads introduced by St. Dominic in 1210 to facilitate the repetition of 150 Ave Marias and 15 Pater Nosters. The name is also used for this particular kind of devotion.[†]

The oldest festival connected with the name of Mary is the *Purification*,[‡] observed on 2nd Feb., thus consecrating, as Bede observes, the old lustral month of the Romans to a higher purpose. It was probably instituted by Justinian in 542. Its name of 'Candlemas' was derived from the custom of consecrating candles and marching in procession with them on that day, in remembrance of the 'light to lighten the Gentiles.' The *Annunciation*[‡] (Lady Day), of which St. Bernard spoke as the 'radix omnium festorum,' was instituted about the end of the 6th cent. The pagan feast of the *Hilaria Matris Deum* was held on the same day (25th March). The *Assumption* (15th Aug.), instituted by the emperor Maurice about the beginning of the 7th cent., was introduced into the West by Charlemagne. The *Nativity*[§] (8th Sept.) was probably instituted in Italy in the 10th cent. The *Presentation* (21st Nov.) commemorates the dedication of Mary by her parents in her 3rd year. This festival was known in the East in 1150, but not till 1375 in the West. We have already spoken of the *Conception*[§] (Dec. 8). The *Visitation*[§] (2nd July) was instituted in 1389 to commemorate the visit of Mary to Elisabeth. It may be worth while to mention two other festivals: that of *Mount Carmel*, instituted in 1587 to commemorate the appearance of the Virgin to the general of the Carmelites in the year 1251, when she is said to have presented him with a scapular of the order, telling him that whoever died wearing this would escape the flames of hell. The other is the *Translation of the House of Loretto*, instituted in 1669 to commemorate the miraculous removal to Italy in 1294 of the house at Nazareth in which the angel appeared to Mary.

Saturday was appropriated to the worship of the Virgin in 1096, so far as the clergy were concerned, and this rule was extended to the laity in 1229. The month of *May* is also dedicated to her honour.

---

[*] See also W. Palmer, *Letter to Dr. Wiseman*; Burgon, *Letters from Rome*. In the latest scientific exposition of Roman doctrine recommended by Card. Manning it is maintained that the Intercession of Mary is an ordinary and necessary means of salvation; and the dictum of certain theologians, that 'God grants no grace except on the intercession of Mary,' is defended (Wilhelm and Scannel, ii. pp. 223, 224).

[*] *Eirenicon*, pp. 168–172.

[†] See articles HAIL MARY and ROSARY in *Dict. of Christian Antiquities*.

[‡] The festivals thus denoted are marked with red letters in the Church of England calendar.

[§] The festivals thus denoted, as well as that of St. Anne, the mother of the Virgin (July 26), are marked as black-letter feasts in the Church of England calendar.

D. Development in opinion is illustrated by development in art. During the first five centuries there is nothing to show that the Virgin was in any way raised above other saints. She appears simply in scenes taken from Scripture, *e.g.* the Annunciation, the Adoration of the Magi, the Mother and Child (of frequent occurrence after the Nestorian controversy), or possibly as a single figure in the attitude of prayer. In an Adoration dated A.D. 435, Christ is seated alone on a throne with angels above Him, while His mother occupies a subordinate position on one side near two of the Magi. The *nimbus* is given to Christ, the angels, and king Herod, not to Mary.* It is not till the 6th cent. that we find evidence of pre-eminent dignity ascribed to her in the painting of an Ascension, contained in a Syriac MS dated 586, where she stands in the centre of the apostles beneath the ascending figure of Christ. In this picture she, as well as our Lord and the angels, has the *nimbus*, but the apostles are without it. With one remarkable exception, it is not till the 9th cent. that we find her enthroned as Queen of Heaven in the centre of the apse†—a position formerly reserved for Christ. The exception referred to is 'the mosaic of the apse of the cathedral of Parenzo in Istria, the work of Bishop Euphrasius, A.D. 535-543. She is throned and nimbed and supported by angels, holding her Son in her lap.'‡ The climax is reached in the 12th cent., when we find the Virgin enthroned with Christ, as His equal, in a mosaic of the Church of St. Maria in Trastevère.

Mrs. Jameson, in her *Legends of the Madonna*, distinguishes between representations of real or supposed historical scenes, and purely ideal or devotional paintings. Among the latter may be noted those which exhibit the Virgin as *Virgo Sapientiæ, Sponsa Dei*, the *Pietà* (Madonna with dead Christ), *Mater Dolorosa, Regina Cœli, Mater Misericordiæ*, in which character she is sometimes represented as endeavouring to shield mankind from the wrath of her Son.

The most famous of the ancient portraits of the Virgin was that attributed to St. Luke, which was sent to Pulcheria from Jerusalem in 438. This was subsequently regarded as a kind of palladium, and accompanied the emperor to the battlefield, till the capture of Constantinople in 1453.

From what has been said, it appears that no kind of justification for the worship of Mary is to be found in the Bible, or in the theory or practice of the Early Church. Indeed the silences no less than the utterances of Scripture might seem providentially ordered so as to forbid any such development in after-ages. It may be argued, however, that there is an *a posteriori* justification in history. The idolatry of the Canaanites, against which the Mosaic law was primarily directed, was the deification of cruelty and vice, a true worship of devils. The idolatry of Greece at its best was the deification of beauty and intellect, sometimes favourable to virtue, as we may see in Herodotus, but more frequently to vice, if we may trust the witness of Plato. The worship of the Virgin is the deification of beauty and goodness. Regarding this from the historical point of view, who can dispute the immense gain to humanity of the substitution of such worship for any pre-existing idolatry? Contrasting it even with some other forms of Christianity, say with the more rigid Calvinistic school, we can see reasons why the continued existence and prevalence of Mariolatry should have been permitted 'for the hardness of men's hearts' by Divine Providence. Tenderness, gentleness, reverence, sympathy; enthusiastic devotion to high objects; a deepened sense of the gracious dignity of motherhood; joy in all beauty, whether of art or nature, as the outward manifestation of the Supreme Beauty; a kindly natural piety breathing trust and hope; some faint reflexion of the modest meekness, the resigned submission, the pure unruffled calm of the maiden of Nazareth,—such we might anticipate would be some of the effects of the contemplation of so noble an ideal. And such, no doubt, have been its effects in thousands of simple believers to whom Mary has been the authorized representation of the Divine goodness. But even so, there are certain qualities of mind and character, such as veracity, justice, fairness, honesty, an open eye, robust common-sense, large-minded considerateness, which are liable to fall into the background, when the feminine ideal, often coloured by mediæval modes of thought, bulks so large in the foreground. And if the only acceptable worship is that in spirit and in truth, must we not expect that a worship, founded in mere human invention and the capricious movements of an unchastened piety, would give proof of its unsoundness by its fruits? We shall not therefore be surprised to find that, where the sovereignty of Mary has tended to eclipse the sovereignty of God, the idea of goodness has been exchanged for that of mere weak indulgence, while the thought of the All-Holy and All-Just has been first shrunk from and then forgotten. If Christ has entrusted to His mother the whole treasury of grace, what need is there to look beyond her? The repetition of a few prayers, the offering of a few candles, even the presence of a picture of the Virgin, acts as a sort of charm to win her favour, even for the vicious and criminal.* The sense of personal responsibility, of the inexorable claims of duty, of the heinousness of sin, has been perilously weakened by the fatal error which led to the separation of the spheres of mercy and justice, assigning the former to the Madonna, the latter to her Son. The God of love, the meek and lowly Saviour, are robbed of their highest prerogatives, while the Virgin and the Saints, whose perfection on earth consisted in conforming their wills to the Divine will, are too often represented in popular Catholicism as seeking to resist and control that will.

That the above view of the dangers of Mariolatry is no mere delusion of the Protestant mind, but is shared more or less by many Anglicans who claim to adopt the Catholic position, as well as by some of highest authority among Roman Catholics themselves, is shown by Pusey's *Eirenicon* and *Letter to Newman*, and by Newman's reply to the former, in which he says (p. 108), 'Now at length coming to the statements . . . which offend you in works written in her (Mary's) honour, I will frankly say that I read some of them with grief and almost anger. . . . And if *I* hate those perverse sayings so much, how much more must *she* in proportion to her love of him?' Again he says (p. 119), 'They (these statements) seem to me like a bad dream. I could not have conceived them to be said. I know not to what authority to go for them, to Scripture, or to the Fathers, or to the decrees of Councils, or to the consent of schools, or to the tradition of the faithful, or to the Holy See, or to reason.' And he refers to Gerson, and Petavius, and others, who condemn the 'prurience of innovation,' and the frivolous and sophistical reasonings 'in which so many indulge in order to assign any sort of grace they please, however unusual, to the Blessed Virgin.' The motive of this is, according to Petavius, a 'kind of idolatry, lurking, as Augustine says, nay, implanted in human hearts, which is greatly abhorrent from theology, that is, from the gravity of heavenly wisdom.'

---

* See Marriott, *Testimony of the Catacombs*, p. 40.

† This is seen in two churches built by Pope Paschal I.

‡ *Dict. of Christian Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. 1154.

* Many instances will be found in Liguori's *Glories of Mary*.

LITERATURE.—Hofmann, R., *Leben Jesu nach den Apokryphen erzählt*, 1851; *Protevangelium Jacobi, Evang. Thomæ, Evang. de Nativitate Mariæ*, the Latin *Historia de Nativitate Mariæ et de Infantia Salvatoris*, the Arabic *Historia Josephi* and *Evangelium Infantiæ, de Dormitione*, and *de Transitu Mariæ*. All these are translated in Clark's Ante-Nicene Christian Library, vol. 16. Marriott, *Testimony of the Catacombs*; Mrs. Jameson, *Legends of the Madonna*; K. Hase, *Handbuch d. Protestantischen Polemik gegen die römisch-katholischen Kirche*, ed. 4, 1878; Lehner, *Die Marienverehrung in den ersten Jahrhunderten*, 1881; V. Schulte, *Archäologische Studien über altchristlichen Monumente*, 1880; *Review of Mariolatry, Liturgical, Devotional, Doctrinal* (Anon.), Rivington, 1869; Tyler, *Romish Worship of the Virgin*; Augusti, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus d. christlichen Archäologie*, vol. iii. 1–124; Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, vol. i. pp. 108–128; Lechler, *John Wyclif*, Eng. tr.; Seebohm, *Oxford Reformers*; Burgon, *Letters from Rome*; Pusey, *Eirenicon*, 1865, pp. 101–190, *Letter to Newman on the Immaculate Conception*, 1869; Gore, *Dissertations*, London, 1895; Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie f. protestantische Theologie*, *s.v.* 'Maria.'

Rom. Cath.—Newman, *Essay on Development*, 1846, pp. 376–388, 398–409, *Letter to Pusey on his Eirenicon*, 1866, pp. 28–159; Liguori, *Glories of Mary*, Eng. tr. 1868; Rohault de Fleury, *La Sainte Vierge*, 2 vols. 1878; Livius, *The B. V. in the Fathers of the First Six Centuries*, 1893; Wilhelm and Scannel, *Manual of Catholic Theology*, based on Scheeben's *Dogmatik*, 1890, vol. ii. pp. 122–126, 208–224; Addis and Arnold, *Catholic Dictionary*, ed. 4, 1893 (under headings 'Mary,' 'Loretto,' 'Immaculate Conception,' 'Saints,' 'Assumption'); Wetzer and Welte's *Kirchenlexikon*, vol. viii. ed. 2, 1893 (under headings 'Maria,' 'Marienfeste,' Marienlegenden,' 'Marienwallfahrtsorte'), where a full bibliography will be found.

J. B. MAYOR.

MASCHIL.—See PSALMS.

MASH (מַשׁ).—A son of Aram, Gn 10^{23}. The parallel passage 1 Ch 1^{17} substitutes **Meshech**; the LXX in both has Μόσοχ. A name corresponding with Mash is found in Assyrian inscriptions, especially the cylinder R^m of Assurbanipal, who, in describing his Arabian campaign, says he marched through the desert of Mash, 'a place of thirst and fainting, whither comes no bird of the heaven, neither do asses nor gazelles feed there' (S. A. Smith's edition, i. pp. 67, 68). Frd. Delitzsch (*Paradies*, 242, 243) interprets this to mean the Syrian desert; Glaser (*Skizze*, ii. 419), as 'the interior of Western Arabia'; and the word, according to Delitzsch, is foreign, and means 'wilderness.'

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

MASHAL (מָשָׁל, *Μαασά*).—1 Ch 6^{74} [Heb. ^{59}]. See MISHAL.

MASIAS (A *Μασίας*, B *Μεισαίας*), 1 Es 5^{34}.—One of Solomon's servants (RVm **Misaias**). The name is absent from the parallel list in Ezra.

MASON.—In Syria masons both hew and build. In hewing they use the different kinds of hammers mentioned under art. HAMMER. In Ezr 3^7, 1 Ch 22^2, hewers (חֹצְבִים) are mentioned; the word in Arab. VS is *naḥātîn*, those who smoothed the stones. Masons use several instruments in building—the plumb line, a line wound on a reel for laying the courses of stone, a long rod of wood about 6 ft. in length, and a very curious kind of trowel. The trowel is of iron, about a foot long, fully an inch broad in the widest part, and tapers to a point; it is about half an inch thick. It is used as a lever for putting the stone exactly into its place, as well as for spreading the mortar.

The masons of Lebanon seem still to be the skilled builders of Palestine and Syria, as they were in ancient times (as we read in 2 S 5^{11} that Hiram, king of Tyre, sent masons [חָרָשֵׁי אֶבֶן] to David to build him a house), for they travel all over Syria, Palestine, and the Ḥauran, building houses for the people, and forts for the government.

W. CARSLAW.

MASREKAH (מַשְׂרֵקָה, *Μασέκκα*).—Mentioned in connexion with the list of 'the kings that reigned in the land of Edom before there reigned any king over the children of Israel,' Gn 36^{31}. When one of these kings, named Hadad, died, Samlah of Masrekah reigned in his stead (v.^{36}=1 Ch 1^{47}). The locality has not been identified. The *Onomasticon* defines it thus: *Μαρσικὰ πόλις βασιλείας Ἐδὼμ περὶ τὴν Γεβαληνήν*. The name מַשְׂרֵקָה may signify 'place of Soreḳ (שֹׂרֵק) vines' (Del. on Gn 36^{36}).

J. A. SELBIE.

MASSA (מַשָּׂא).—Name of a son of Ishmael (Gn 25^{14} [A *Μασσή*]=1 Ch 1^{30} [B *Μανασσή*, A *Μασσή*]).—The correct translation of Pr 31^1, where Lemuel is described as 'king of Massa,' is due to Hitzig (Zeller's *Theol. Jahrb.* 1844, 269–305), and it is probable that the sense of the words following the name 'Agur' in Pr 30^1 is similar, though they cannot be rendered with certainty. Delitzsch (*Paradies*, 301) called attention to the occurrence of the name *Ma-as-'a-ai* immediately before Taymæans and Sabæans in a list of States which brought presents to Tiglath-pileser II. (*WAI* iii. 10. 1, 38), and justly identified these people with the Ishmaelite tribe. He also (*ib.* 302) thought there might be a reference to them in a tablet published in *WAI* iv. 56. 1, and further edited by G. Smith (*History of Assurbanipal*, 296–298), and most recently by S. A. Smith (*Keilschrifttexte Asurbanipals*, ii. 36–38). In that tablet a certain Nebo-sum-esir, who has been told to send the king anything that he may hear about the Arabs, states that Ākamaru, son of Ammē'tā of Mash (*Mash-'a-ai*), made a raid on the people of Nebaioth, and killed all the troops except one man, who is despatched to the king to give him personal information. It is more probable that a tribe of moderate size is referred to than a vast region like MASH; and the difference in spelling between this tablet and the former may be due to the popular pronunciation which is represented in the letters (S. A. Smith, p. 38). The scene described in the tablet resembles that of Job 1^{17} (as Delitzsch observes), and it is probable that we have in these chapters a specimen of the famous wisdom of the 'children of the East.' From none of these passages can any data be got for the localization of Massa, and the conjectures of Hitzig (repeated by him in his comm. on Pr 30) scarcely deserve mention. See, further, art. SIMEON (TRIBE). Such portions of chs. 30 and 31 as really come from Massa are probably translated; but the first verse of ch. 30, which is unintelligible, may be partly in the original dialect. Of the proper names, *Lemuel* or *Lemoel* might be Hebrew or Arabic (compare *Lishemesh*, Lidzbarsky, *Handbuch der nordsem. Epig.* 304), *Yaḳeh* seems to be old Hebrew, while *Agur* is uncertain. On the other hand, the names given in Nebo-sum-esir's letter are very clearly old Arabic, and he certainly implies that the 'Mash-'a-ai' are Arabs.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

MASSAH (מַסָּה, *i.e.* 'proving,' 'trial'; (*ὁ*) *πειρασμός*, in Dt 33^8 *πεῖρα*).—The name given to the place, near Rephidim, at which, according to Ex 17^{1-7}, the Israelites 'tempted' J" (*i.e.* in the old sense of the word, *tried* Him, put Him to the proof), doubting (v.^{2}) His power to save them in their thirst, and saying (v.^{7}) 'Is J" among us, or not?' This incident at Massah is alluded to in Dt 6^{16} 'Ye shall not "tempt" J" (put J" to the proof), as ye "tempted" Him (put Him to the proof) at *Massah*' (cf. Driver), 9^{22}, and Ps 95^8 'Harden not your heart as at Meribah, as in the day of *Massah* in the wilderness, when your fathers tempted (*i.e.* tried) me, tested me, but also saw my work (*sc.* of judgment).' In Dt 33^8 the name is either played upon differently, or there is an allusion to a different version of the incident at Massah: 'Thy Thummim and thy Urim be for the man, thy godly one, whom thou didst *prove* at *Massah*, with whom (or, according to others, for whom) thou contendedst at the waters of Meribah.' The words have reference to the tribe of Levi; and the idea expressed by them may be that at Massah J" either 'proved' the tribe in Moses' person, or (Dillm.) 'proved' Moses himself, by observing how he would behave under the provocation of the people's complaints. However, this explanation is not perfectly satisfactory; and it becomes less so when the attempt is made to adjust the Meribah clause to it: so that the opinion cannot be excluded that the allusion is to some different account of what happened at 'Massah,' according to which the fidelity of the tribe was tested directly by J". The Arabs point to a rock called Ḥesy el-Ḥaṭṭâtîn, in the arid N.W. part of the Wady Feiran, as the one struck by Moses at 'Massah' (Palmer, *Desert of Exodus*, 159). See, further, REPHIDIM. S. R. DRIVER.

MASSIAS (A Μασσίας, B 'Ασσείας), 1 Es 9^{22}= MAASEIAH, Ezr 10^{22}.

MASSORAH, MASSORETES.—See TEXT OF OLD TESTAMENT.

MASTER.—See LORD. Like the Lat. *magister* from which it comes, 'master' was formerly used for 'teacher,' as Mal 2^{12} 'The Lord will cut off the man that doeth this, the master and the scholar.' Cf. He 5^{12} Rhem. 'For whereas you ought to be maisters for your time, you neede to be taught againe your selves what be the elements of the beginning of the wordes of God.' Especially was it used for the head of a school (as it is still in use in the rural parts of Scotland), as Goldsmith, *Des. Village*, 196—

> 'There in his noisy mansion skilled to rule,
> The village master taught his little school.'

The Gr. διδάσκαλος, *teacher*, is in AV rendered 'master' in 2 Mac 1^{10}, Ja 3^{1}, and in all its occurrences in the Gospels, except Lk 2^{46} 'doctor' (RVm 'teacher') and Jn 3^{2} 'teacher.' But elsewhere it is tr^{d} 'teacher' in both AV and RV (Ac 13^{1}, Ro 2^{20}, 1 Co 12^{28}, Eph 4^{11}, 1 Ti 2^{7}, 2 Ti 1^{11} 4^{3}, He 5^{12}). So also ῥαββεί, though it is transliterated 'Rabbi' in Mt $23^{7.8}$, Jn $1^{38.49}$ $3^{2.26}$ 6^{25}, and is tr^{d} 'Lord' in Mk 10^{51} (after TR, but edd. mostly ῥαββουνεί, whence RV 'Rabboni'), is elsewhere rendered 'master' (Mt $26^{25.49}$, Mk 9^{5} 11^{21} 14^{45}, Jn 4^{31} 9^{2} 11^{8}); RV has Rabbi throughout. See RABBI.

Mastery is four times used for mod. 'victory': Ex 32^{18} 'It is not the voice of them that shout for mastery'; Dn 6^{24} 'the lions had the mastery of them'; 1 Co 9^{25} 'Every man that striveth for the mastery is temperate in all things' (ὁ ἀγωνιζόμενος, RV 'that striveth in the games'); 2 Ti 2^{5} 'If a man also strive for masteries' (ἀθλῇ; RV 'contend in the games'). Cf. Milton, *PL* ii. 899—

> 'For hot, cold, moist, and dry, four champions fierce
> Strive here for mast'ry.'

The verb to 'master' in the sense of 'control' occurs in Wis 12^{18} 'But thou, mastering thy power, judgest with equity' (δεσπόζων ἰσχύος, RV 'being sovereign over thy strength'). RV has the word in the mod. sense of 'overcome' in Ac 19^{16} 'the man in whom the evil spirit was leaped on them, and mastered both of them.' J. HASTINGS.

MASTICK (σχῖνος,* *lentiscus*).—A diœcious tree, *Pistacia Lentiscus*, L., of the order *Anacardiaceæ*, of a spreading growth, 10 to 12 ft. high and broad. The leaves are persistent, with 3 to 5 pairs of oblong lanceolate to obovate, leathery, mucronulate leaflets, 1 to 1½ in. long, on a winged rachis. The fruits are dry, globular-obovate, somewhat flattened drupes, ⅙th of an in. in diameter, borne on short stiff panicles. It grows in thickets, in rocky places, along the coast and on hills to a height of 2500 feet, all around the Mediterranean. The gum is obtained from incisions in the bark, made in August. The juice exudes in the form of tears, which harden into spherical, flattened or irregular, pale-yellow masses, covered with a bloom, caused by their mutual attrition. They have a mild terebinthine odour and taste. Mastick is known in Arab. by the name *mistaki*. It is in universal use by women and girls as a chewing-gum, partly because of its pleasant taste and the agreeable odour it gives to the breath, and its reputed virtues as a preservative to the teeth and gums, and partly for the amusement of chewing it. It is also used as a temporary stopping for cavities in the teeth. It is an astringent, used to check discharges from the mucous membranes. A sweetmeat is made of it in Chio, and forms a considerable article of export. The tree is mentioned once only, in Apocrypha (Sus ^{54}). G. E. POST.

MATHELAS (A Μαθήλας, B Μαεήλας, AV Matthelas), 1 Es 9^{19}=MAASEIAH, Ezr 10^{18}. The LXX forms are due to confusion of c with θ or ε.

MATRED (מַטְרֵד, Ball compares the Arab. *miṭrad*, 'a short spear').—The mother-in-law (?) of Hadar (Gn) or Hadad (Ch), one of the kings of Edom, Gn 36^{39} (A Ματραίθ)=1 Ch 1^{50} (A Ματράδ). In Gn the LXX and Pesh. make Matred the *son* not the *daughter* of Me-zahab, which is accepted by Ball, who reads בן instead of MT בת. Kittel is not indisposed to accept the same reading in Ch, thus making *Matred* a masculine name. J. A. SELBIE.

MATRITES (הַמַּטְרִי=the Matrite; B Ματταρεί, A Ματταρεί and Ματταρείτ).—A family of the tribe of Benjamin to which Saul belonged (1 S 10^{21}). The readings of the LXX point rather to a form מַטְּרִי (Mattarite). Klostermann would substitute 'of the family of M.' for 'the son of a Benjamite' in 1 S 9^{1}. J. F. STENNING.

MATTAN (מַתָּן 'a gift'; more usually, with explicit addition of the divine name, in the form Mattaniah).—**1.** (Ματθάν Luc., Μαγθάν B, Μαχάν A; in Ch Ματθάν without variation). Priest of the temple of Baal in Jerusalem during the reign of Athaliah. He lost his life with the queen, when she was deposed (2 K 11^{18}, 2 Ch 23^{17}). Ahab, presumably at the instigation of his Phœnician wife Jezebel, built a temple for the worship of Baal in Samaria (1 K 16^{32}). Their daughter Athaliah was probably founder of this temple in Jerusalem. Possibly, therefore, Mattan was not a Judæan. The name is known as Phœnician (Gesenius, *HWB* ^{12}).

2. (Ναθάν B, Μαθθάν Q^{mg}). Named only as the father of Shephatiah, a contemporary of the prophet Jeremiah (Jer 38^{1}). W. B. STEVENSON.

MATTANAH (מַתָּנָה; LXX Μανθαναείν B, -νίν A, -νέν F*; Eus. Μαθθανέμ).—A station mentioned only Nu $21^{18.19}$. It was on the route from the Arnon to the plains of Moab, and would therefore be to the E. of the Dead Sea and N. of the Arnon. No satisfactory identification has been made; but if the position assigned to it by Eusebius (*Onom.* p. 169 and p. 274, ed. Lagarde), 12 Roman miles to the E. of Medeba, be correct, the course taken by the Israelites must have been farther to the E. than is generally supposed.* A. T. CHAPMAN.

---

* Note the word-play in the σχίσει of the following verse (Sus ^{55}), and cf. African. *Ep. ad Orig.* (Lommatzsch, xvii. p. 18).

* In an article on the 'Song of the Well' in the *New World*

MATTANIAH (מַתַּנְיָה).—**1.** The original name of king Zedekiah, 2 K 24^{17} (B *Μαθθάν*, A *Μεθθανίας*). **2.** An Asaphite, 1 Ch 9^{15} (B *Μανθανίας*, A *Ματθανίας*), leader of the temple choir, Neh 11^{17} (B *Μαθανιά*, A *Μαθθανίας*) 12^{8} (B *Μαχανιά*, A *Μαθανιά*), door-keeper $12^{25.35}$ (B *Ναθανιά*, A *Μαθθανιά*). **3.** Mattaniah, a descendant of Asaph, was, according to 2 Ch 20^{14} (B *Μανθανίας*, A *Ματθανίας*), contemporary with Jehoshaphat, but this name should probably be identified with the preceding. **4. 5. 6. 7.** Four of those who had married foreign wives, Ezr 10^{26} (B *Μαθανιά*, A *Μαθθανιά*, called in 1 Es 9^{27} **Matthanias**), v.^{27} (B *Ἀλαθανιά*, A *Μαθθανιά*, called in 1 Es 9^{28} **Othonias**), v.^{30} (B *Μαθανιά*, A *Μαθθανιά*, called in 1 Es 9^{31} **Matthanias**), v.^{37} (B *Μαθανιά*, A *Μαθθανιά*, combined in 1 Es 9^{34} with the following Mattenai into **Mamnitanemus**). **8.** A Levite who had charge of the offerings, Neh 13^{13} (B *Ναθανιά*, A *Μαθθανίας*). **9.** (מַתַּנְיָהוּ) A Hemanite, 1 Ch $25^{4.16}$ (B *Μανθανίας*, A *Ματθανίας*). **10.** (מַתַּנְיָהוּ) An Asaphite, 2 Ch 29^{13} (B *Μαθθανίας*, A *Ματθανίας*).

MATTATHA (*Ματταθά*).—Son of Nathan and grandson of David, according to the genealogy of Lk 3^{31}.

MATTATHIAS (*Ματταθίας*), the equivalent of the Heb. Mattithiah (מַתִּתְיָהוּ מַתִּתְיָה). **1.** AV Matthias, a Jew, who had married a foreign wife in the days of Ezra (1 Es 9^{33}). In Ezr 10^{33} the name is given as Mattattah, AV Mattathah (מַתַּתָּה). See GENEALOGY. **2.** One of the men who stood at the right hand of Ezra during the reading of the law (1 Es 9^{43}); in Neh 8^{4} **Mattithiah.** See GENEALOGY. **3.** The father of the five Maccabæan brothers (1 Mac $2^{1.14.16\text{f}.19.24.27.39.45.49}$ 14^{29}). See MACCABEES. **4.** The son of Absalom, a captain in the army of Jonathan the Maccabæan, who, together with Judas the son of Chalpi, stood by his commander during the flight of the Jews at the battle of Hazor, and helped to turn the fortunes of the day (1 Mac 11^{70}). **5.** A son of Simon the high priest, who was murdered, together with his father and brother Judas, at a banquet at Dok, by Ptolemy the son of Abubus (1 Mac 16^{14-16}). **6.** One of three envoys sent by Nicanor to treat with Judas Maccabæus when he invaded Palestine in B.C. 161 (2 Mac 14^{19}). Negotiations on the part of Nicanor are mentioned also in 1 Mac 7^{27-31}, but it is there stated that they were immediately broken off by Judas, who discovered that they were only a treacherous device for getting possession of his person. **7.** The son of Amos in the genealogy of Jesus Christ (Lk 3^{25}). **8.** The son of Semein (AV Semei) in the same genealogy (Lk 3^{26}). H. A. WHITE.

MATTATTAH (מַתַּתָּה).—One of the sons of Hashum, who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10^{33} (B *Ἀθά*, A *Μαθθαθά*), called in 1 Es 9^{33} **Mattathias.**

MATTENAI (מַתְּנַי).—**1. 2.** Two of those who had married foreign wives, Ezr 10^{33} (B *Μαθανιά*, A *Μαθθαναί*, called in 1 Es 9^{33} **Maltanneus**), v.^{37} (B *Μαθανάν*, A *Μαθθαναί*, combined in 1 Es 9^{34} with the preceding Mattaniah into **Mamnitanemus**). **3.** Representative of the priestly house of Joiarib in the days of Joiakim, Neh 12^{19} (B ℵ* A om., ℵ$^{\text{c.a mg inf}}$ *Μαθθαναί*).

MATTER.—In Sir 28^{10} 'matter' is used where we should now use 'material' instead, 'As the matter of the fire is, so it burneth' (*κατὰ τὴν ὕλην τοῦ πυρός*, RV 'As is the fuel of the fire'). Cf. Chaucer, *Persones Tale*, § 8, 'But for your sinne ye been woxen thral and foul, and members of the feend, hate of aungels, sclaundre of holy chirche, and fode of the false serpent, perpetuel matere of the fyr of helle'; and Bacon's *Essays* (Gold. Treas. ed. p. 57), 'The surest way to prevent Seditions, (if the Times doe beare it,) is to take away the Matter of them. For if there be Fuell prepared, it is hard to tell, whence the Spark shall come, that shall set it on fire.' In Ja 3^{5} the same Gr. word (*ὕλη*) is tr^{d} 'matter,' 'Behold how great a matter a little fire kindleth,' but it is clear from previous versions that the Eng. word means here 'affair.' Coverdale's tr. is 'Beholde how gret a thinge a lyttell fyre kyndleth'; the Gen. Bible has the same with 'matter' in the marg., and the Bishops place 'matter' in the text. RV renders 'Behold, how much wood is kindled by how small a fire!' marg. 'how great a forest is kindled'; this is very near Wyclif's 'Lo! hou miche fijr kyndlith hou greete a wode,' after Vulg. *Ecce quantus ignis quam magnam sylvam incendit.*

For the phrase 'Make matter' see under MAKE; and add this illustration from Tindale (*Works*, i. 169), 'Let this little flock be bold therefore: for if God be on our side, what matter maketh it who be against us?' J. HASTINGS.

MATTHAN (*Μαθθάν*).—Grandfather of Joseph the husband of Mary, Mt 1^{15}, perhaps to be identified with **Matthat,** who occupies the same place in St. Luke's genealogy of our Lord (Lk 3^{24}).

MATTHANIAS.—**1.** (A *Ματθανίας*, B *Ματάν*), 1 Es 9^{27} = MATTANIAH, Ezr 10^{26}. **2.** (A *Ματθανίας*, B *Βεσκασπασμύς*, AV Mathanias), 1 Es 9^{31} = MATTANIAH, Ezr 10^{30}.

MATTHAT (*Μαθθάτ*).—**1.** Grandfather of Joseph the husband of Mary, Lk 3^{24}, perhaps to be identified with **Matthan,** who occupies the same place in St. Matthew's genealogy of our Lord (Mt 1^{15}). **2.** Another ancestor of Jesus, Lk 3^{29}.

MATTHEW, APOSTLE (*Μαθθαῖος*, Lachm. Tisch. Treg. WH; *Ματθαῖος* TR).—Matthew's place in the Apostolic list is not quite constant, varying between seventh and eighth, and so affecting the station assigned to Thomas (in the Synoptics; in Ac 1^{13} Bartholomew). His position in Mk, Mt, and Lk, viz. seventh, must give his standing in the original apostolic circle, as reflected in St. Peter's mind. He is called in Mt 10^{3} 'the customs-officer' (*ὁ τελώνης*), and is thus identified with the Matthew of 9^{9} (cf. Mk 2^{14}, Lk 5^{27}), called while sitting 'at the toll-office' near Capernaum, on the Great West Road from Damascus to the Mediterranean. St. Mark styles this servant of the tetrarch Herod, '**Levi** the son of Alphæus'; but that does not bar the identification. For there is analogy for even two Hebraic names, both outside (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. ii. 2, *Ἰωσὴφ ὁ καὶ Καϊάφας*) and within the apostolic circle. And it is likely that, as with Simon Cephas, *Matthew* was the later name, given after his call. This fits its probable meaning, 'Jehovah's gift.' *Matthew*, then, was the name by which this apostle became known in Christian circles; and by it even St. Mark indicates him in his official list, while giving his call with strict historic fidelity. So Thomas is 'Judas Thomas' in *Acta Thomæ*; and Bartholomew was perhaps Nathanael's usual Christian name. On the forms and meaning of the name *Matthew* see, further, Dalman, p. 142.

Several things seem implied in this call of Matthew. He must already have been familiar with Jesus and His gospel as preached in Caper-

---

(March 1895, p. 136 ff.) Budde argues that *Mattanah* is not a proper name at all, but that the song should end—

> 'With the sceptre, with their staves,
> Out of the desert a gift';

and then v.^{19} resume 'and from Beer (LXX *ἀπὸ φρέατος*) to Nahaliel.' See also *Expos. Times*, vi. (1895) p. 481 f.

naum (for there is no sign that he, like the first six apostles, had been an adherent of the Baptist); and the feast which he gave in honour of Jesus (Mk $2^{14\text{ff.}}$) probably marked the new relationship. Finally, while we cannot date his call with precision, Pharisaic suspicion was already awake; so that his call and consequent experience of his Master's ministry can hardly go back to the very earliest days (this bears on the next art.).

The only other facts related of Matthew on good authority concern him as evangelist. Eusebius (*HE* iii. 24) says that he, like John, wrote only under the stress of necessity. 'For Matthew, after preaching to Hebrews, when about to go also to others, committed to writing in his native tongue the Gospel that bears his name; and so by his writing supplied, to those whom he was leaving, the loss of his presence.' The value of this tradition can be decided only after considering the Gospel itself. No historical use can be made of the artificial story in *Sanhedr.* 43^a, that Matthew was condemned to death by a Jewish court (see Laible, *Christ in the Talmud*, ed. Streane, 71 ff.); especially in face of Heracleon's explicit denial of martyrdom in his case (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 9). References to him in apocryphal sources are specially doubtful on account of the easy confusion between Matthew and Matthias, to whom gnostic *Paradoseis* were attributed (*e.g.* Clem. *Pæd.* ii. 16). See, further, the following article.

J. V. BARTLET.

MATTHEW, GOSPEL OF.—

i. External Evidence of Authorship, etc.
ii. Internal Data and Characteristics.
  (*a*) OT Quotations.
  (*b*) Chs. 1–2.
  (*c*) The Sources:
    (1) The *Logia*: (α) Sermon on the Mount; (β) the Disciple Discourse, ch. 10; (γ) the Parables of ch. 13; (δ) the Discourse in ch. 18; (ε) the later Parables.
    (2) Mt's relation to Mk.
  (*d*) The setting of the Sermon on the Mount.
  (*e*) Artificial grouping in chs. 8–9.
  (*f*) Modifications in the narrative of the Passion and the Resurrection.
  (*g*) Eschatological standpoint and date.
  (*h*) The Genealogy.
iii. Conclusions:
  (1) Mt used the Petrine memoirs written by Mk.
  (2) Mt and Lk probably did not use in common a *Logia* document.
  (3) The *Logia* as found in our Mt are largely coloured by the life of the Palestinian Church.
  (4) Their nucleus is the common Apostolic didactic tradition, but with the special impress of Matthew.
  (5) Matthew is only indirectly the author of our Mt.
  (6) Mt was written to establish a true Messianic ideal.
  (7) It was probably written in S. Syria, and certainly by a Jew: its standpoint.
  (8) Concluding remarks.
Literature.

i. EXTERNAL EVIDENCE OF AUTHORSHIP, ETC.—Referring the reader to the article GOSPELS for the outlines of the Synoptic problem, we have here to investigate the specific features and origin of the Gospel which bears the name of Matthew. Even were the title in our oldest authorities, 'According to Matthew' (κατὰ Μαθθαῖον), to be held original, it need not imply more than that this written Gospel contains the substance of the oral Gospel as taught by Matthew. Nor is the matter carried much further by the words of Papias (Eus. *HE* iii. 39), that 'Matthew, then, in Hebrew speech compiled the Logia; while they were interpreted by each man according to his ability.' For (1) it may be taken as proved that our Mt is not a translation from Hebrew or Aramaic; (2) it is improbable that the *Logia* or 'Oracles' of the Lord, giving all due latitude to the term *logion*, included anything like as much narrative as does our Mt; (3) tradition is apt to transform indirect into direct authorship. Matthew's connexion, then, even with the first collection of Christ's sayings (*Logia*) may have been simply that of their guarantor in the region in which they were reduced to writing, just as Mark's Gospel might have been called 'according to Peter,' or 'Peter's memoirs' (ἀπομνημονεύματα)—to use the actual words of Justin. If it was a disciple of Matthew, corresponding to John Mark, who actually redacted the oral instruction in question, it would best fit what we know of the literary habits of the first generation; and the difference would be little more than formal.

The external evidence as to a written Gospel by Matthew resolves itself into the witness of Papias (*c.* 110–125);* for upon him later writers depend for all save traditions too vague to be trusted in such a case. Various views, however, are taken of Papias' meaning. The only safe mode of approach is through a careful study of his motive in referring to Matthew at all. Eusebius, to whom we owe our quotations, begins by saying that Papias compiled five books of 'Exposition of Sayings of the Lord' (λογίων Κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεως). He then challenges Irenæus' statement that Papias had been a hearer of John the apostle; and to prove his point quotes Papias' preface to his work. From this we gather that, in order to vouch for the truth of his expositions of the above Sayings (διαβεβαιούμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀλήθειαν), he subjoined to his own interpretations (ταῖς ἑρμηνείαις) a number of primitive traditions, carefully gathered from 'the Elders,' and of which he had taken special note (ὅσα ποτὲ παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων [*i.e.* men of the former, here the first, generation] καλῶς ἔμαθον κ. καλῶς ἐμνημόνευσα). He was anxious, that is, to show that his views of the Gospel, unlike those of many who were glib in giving their opinions on the subject, were formed under the influence of first-hand traditions, running back, as he believed, to the Lord Himself. These, moreover, were supplemented by the best sort of second-hand inquiry, made of companions of the first witnesses, *i.e.* certain apostles now dead, but also of two apostolic men, Aristion and John the Elder, personal disciples of the Lord still alive in his youth. From these sources he had got his best understanding of the Lord's deep sayings, namely, from oral tradition continued in living men, and not from books (*i.e.* probably written gospels, rather than exegetical writings of any kind).

His whole interest, then, is in the true interpretation of certain sayings of the Lord, embodying the genuine Gospel. But he wishes also to make clear to his readers the source whence came the *Logia* or Sayings themselves on which he commented.† He has found, he seems to say, Matthew's collection of these *Logia* preferable to any other. For as an ordered body (σύνταξις) of the Lord's Sayings,—with which alone his comments had to do,—Mark's Gospel was not its equal. But, after all, Matthew had compiled these Sayings in Aramaic before Papias' own day; and at that time each man had had to interpret them as best he could, *i.e.* for the most part without the rare advantages to which Papias could appeal in his own case.‡ In a word, his call to write his 'Expositions' lay in the absence of any written body of authorized interpretations of the *Logia* in detail (αὐτά). So had it been at first, so was it still; while the need, in an age of wild speculation, was greater than ever.

---

* A later date for Papias' work is too readily assumed. Eusebius (*HE* iii. 37) reckons him in 'the first line of succession (διαδοχήν) from the apostles,' through whose writings the tradition of apostolic teaching lived on. He then names Ignatius and Clement as cases, and proceeds at once to Papias. The next book opens with Trajan's latter years, later than which Eus. does not seem to place Papias' work; while Polycarp he names after Justin.

† Euseb. does not necessarily give us the extracts in the order in which they came in Papias' preface. The statement, 'M., then, in Hebrew speech compiled the Logia: but as for their interpretation, each did as best he could,' may well have led up to the reference to his own 'interpretations.'

‡ Comp. Irenæus, *Præf.*, of men in his own day, ῥᾳδιουργοῦντες τὰ λόγια Κυρίου, ἐξηγηταὶ κακοὶ τῶν καλῶς εἰρημένων γινόμενοι.

Zahn and others find Papias' emphasis to lie on the Semitic form of Matthew's work. But then we should expect this to be brought out by a contrast, 'in Greek,' in the antithetical clause. In its absence the quotation seems motived by Papias' main idea of right 'interpretation' (ἡρμήνευσε follows immediately on συνεγράψατο). Further, for Papias' use of 'interpret,' his reference to his own 'interpretations' (ἑρμηνεῖαι) outweighs his use of ἑρμηνευτής in another context, where he is citing another's words. Finally, according to Zahn's view, Papias should go on to say *how* a Greek edition of the Aramaic Mt finally arose. But, to judge by Eus.'s silence, he did nothing of the kind. He knew a Greek Mt; he knew of Aramaic *Logia* current in Matthew's name; and he assumed the Greek Gospel to be a version of an original Aramaic writing by the apostle.

Thus, according to Papias' own personal belief, Matthew had indeed written down the *Logia*. But he had left no written interpretation of their meaning. The result was a divergence of views as to the Lord's teachings which Papias deplores, and which he seeks to rectify by aid of traditions which had reached him from Matthew and other disciples of the Lord.

So far, then, external evidence to the connexion of Matthew with our Greek Gospel is slender. Papias *implies*, no doubt, that the apostle wrote, and that in Aramaic. But what he is asserting is neither the one nor the other, but rather the fact that the Matthæan *Logia* were at first left to chance interpretation. As to Papias' implication that Matthew actually wrote out in Aramaic the Sayings of the Lord, its worth is doubtful. Against it stands the weighty witness of St. Luke ($1^{1\text{ff.}}$), who seems to know of no narrative of the matters on which Christian faith had assured hold drawn up by an eye-witness. The force of this can hardly be turned by saying that his word διήγησις suggests narrative, rather than a collection of Sayings.[*] To say the least, St. Luke would surely have constructed his careful paragraph otherwise had he known of—much more intended to use—a writing by an apostle embodying Christ's own sayings.

The strange divergence of the Logian elements in Mt and Lk respectively seems inconsistent with a common written basis. Thus, if one still suspects positive tradition to lie behind Papias' reference to Matthew as having written the Logia, it must be conceded that Lk at least had not access to it. And even as to our Mt, it seems easier to suppose that it incorporates the composite *catechesis* of a locality, than that it blends so much pure local tradition with the written *Logia* of Matthew (see iii. (2) etc. below). The meagreness of the historic setting of the *Logia* common to Mt and Lk may be gauged from Mt $11^{2\text{-}25}$=Lk $7^{18\text{-}35}$ $10^{12\text{-}16.\ 21}$.

Before leaving St. Luke, however, one may remark that he also uses much matter which, as found also in Mt, may well go back to the Apostle Matthew in some form; only, he seems to have found it for the most part already in its present historical setting (*e.g.* in Lk 9^{51}–18^{14}). This setting differs widely from that in which the like sayings occur in Mt. But no early work, such as Luke's 'special source,' would have departed far from a setting provided in an apostle's work. Hence the Apostle Matthew did not give the *Logia* such a setting: and it has to be seen whether even the *Logia* themselves as used by our first evangelist owed their exact form to an apostle at all, rather than to oral tradition starting from Matthew's teaching. For that Matthew had some hand in shaping the *Logia* in question seems certain from the mere fact that to him, quite an obscure apostle, tradition uniformly and in all circles assigns our first Gospel. On the other hand, the variety of Gospels which in the 2nd cent. claimed to represent the Apostle Matthew—our Mt and the two forms of the 'Gospel according to the Hebrews'[*]—along with the lack of any trace of a common Matthæan document in Aramaic or Greek, suggests that all that really belonged to the apostle was a type of oral teaching. In that case our Mt would be related to the apostle much as Mk is related to St. Peter; and the difference in their titles may simply mean that Mark was a well-known apostolic disciple, whereas the name of the author of the Matthæan Gospel was early forgotten. Then posterity, fixing instead on the ultimate source of its tradition, would call the work 'κατὰ Μαθθαῖον.'

ii. INTERNAL DATA AND CHARACTERISTICS—

General ground-plan—
i. Messiah's person, 1–2.
ii. Preparation for Messianic ministry, 3–4^{11}.
iii. Ministry in Galilee, 4^{12}–16^{20}.
(Introductory, $4^{12\text{-}25}$; typical words, 5–7; typical deeds, 8–9^{34}; expansion by delegation, 9^{35}–10; Messiah's own estimate of His ministry, 11; attitude of different classes and typical persons, 12–16^{20}).
iv. Moving towards crisis at Jerusalem, 16^{21}–28 (=Mk 8^{31}–16).

(*a*) *OT Quotations.*—In this inquiry welcome aid would seem to offer itself in the phenomena of biblical quotation. This has two aspects—a formal and a material. The *formal* relates to the text used, whether Hebrew or Greek (or even that of the vernacular paraphrase or Targum accompanying the reading of the Hebrew OT in the synagogue); and, if Greek, to the local variety of LXX text implied. The *material* aspect concerns the mode of thought reflected in the formula of citation, and the degree to which the evangelist's purpose shines through his use of the words or even modifies what he remembers and writes.[†]

Formally, then, the quotations in passages peculiar to Mt diverge from the LXX far more than those in parts common to it with Mk or Lk or both. This is specially the case with quotations introduced by the evangelist himself in comments signalizing 'fulfilment' (πληρωθῆναι) of prophecy. These are ten in number (1^{23} $2^{15.\ 18.\ 23}$ $4^{15\text{f.}}$ 8^{17} $12^{18\text{-}21}$ 13^{35} 21^{5} $27^{9\text{f.}}$); and of the words composing the citations nearly half do not occur in the LXX equivalents. The significance of this is indubitable, when we observe that in nineteen quotations common to Mt with at least one Synoptic, less than a sixth of the words diverge from the LXX. In other words, the homogeneity of our Mt, and so any claim to be a simple version of an Aramaic Mt, is at once disproved.

(*b*) *Chapters* 1–2.—Zahn maintains that the first verse of Mt is a title for the whole book, arguing that βίβλος γενέσεως cannot linguistically and by LXX usage mean 'genealogy' or even 'nativity,' but only 'history' or 'career.' But as Irenæus evidently thought otherwise (*adv. Hær.* III. xi. 11, cf. frag. 27, *ap.* Harvey, ii. 493, *Dial. Tim. et Aq.* [see below, p. 303], where γενέσεις=γενεαλογίας, fol. 93 r° et v°), one has only to prove the fitness of an introductory section, to which v.^{1} may serve as opening. Thus it might refer to the nativity (cf. Lk 1^{14}) and its attendant circumstances, including the antecedents of the seed royal, arranged so as to indicate three great moments in Israel's fortunes—climax in David, anti-climax in the Exile, and the moment of restored Davidic glory in Messiah. This would be paralleled, not only in the three prefatory chapters of Hosea, especially in the LXX (1^{2} ἀρχὴ λόγου Κυρίου ἐν Ὡσῆε . . . 4^{1} ἀκούσατε λόγον Κυρίου, υἱοὶ Ἰσραήλ), but also in Mk 1^{1}, taken as the first verse of a prefatory account of the Forerunner's ministry

---

[*] In Sir 6^{35} διήγησις θεία is parallel to παροιμίαι συνέσεως; and in 9^{15} we get πᾶσα διήγ. σου ἐν νόμῳ Ὑψίστου. Cf. Eus. *HE* iii. 39. 12–14.

[*] The idea that this in either form was an enlarged edition of the 'Ur-Matthäus' rests only on the assumption that the Apostle Matthew was a Judaizer—an assumption improbable in the case of any of the primitive apostles, who saw the Gospel in its continuity with the prophets.

[†] In this section, as in some others, the 'Statistics and Observations' collected with scholarly care by Rev. Sir J. C. Hawkins in his *Horæ Synopticæ* (1899), have been of great service.

(cf. Hosea, above). Further, since 1^{18}, 'Now the birth (γένεσις) of the Christ[*] was on this wise,' seems to follow closely on the last clause of 1^{17}, 'until the Christ, fourteen generations,' and 1^{17} sums up the gist of 1^{2-16}, the whole of ch. 1 might easily be subsumed under 1^{1}. But it is better to take βίβλος γενέσεως as 'birth-roll,' and see in 1^{18} a fresh section; so also with ch. 2, which sets forth certain prophesied corollaries of the birth of Messiah (on the genealogy itself see below (*h*), p. 302).

(*c*) *The Sources.* — (1) *The Logia.* — Here two things must be borne in mind. In early days the tradition of Jesus' Sayings 'did not remain merely personal reminiscence and communication, but served the Church as law and doctrine, and was accordingly put into the form of didactic pieces.' 'Again, this was done in a spirit and amid associations that prevented the rise of a binding letter': and hence we must be ready to recognize among the *Logia*, along with the voice of the Church's Lord, echoes awakened in the Church's experience. These conditions have been stated, and applied to the forms in which the *Logia* meet us in Mt and Lk respectively, by Weizsäcker in particular, in his *Apostolic Age* (Eng. tr. ii. 32 ff.); and his views are largely utilized in what follows. The difference in style and standpoint between the *Logia* groups in Mt and Lk is due to the differing history of the *Logian* tradition in the apostolic Church. The preoccupation amid which our Mt's type of *Logia* took proximate shape was 'the secession of the Church from Judaism and its authorities. Thus did Jesus Himself oppose the Pharisaism and the scribes of His time.' So, too, the main lines of our first Gospel reflect the practical wants of the early days—'the doctrines of righteousness, the disciples' vocation, the kingdom of God, the duties of the society, the false system of the Jews and Pharisees, the future of the kingdom of God.' These answer to chs. 5–7. 10. 13. 18. 23–25, sections in which the unity of the parts is didactic rather than historical, kindred matter having gravitated to each considerable nucleus by the exigencies of *memoriter* instruction. That our evangelist was already familiar with these sections as more or less connected wholes, is probable from the formula which he appends to each of them: καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοὺς λόγους τούτους (7^{28} 19^{1} 26^{1}), or τὰς παραβολὰς ταύτας (13^{53}), or διατάσσων τοῖς δώδεκα μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ (11^{1}). We take, then, these didactic sections of our Mt in order.

(*α*) *The Sermon on the Mount, Mt* 5–7.—Weizsäcker subjects this sermon, 'a kind of catechism' set in the forefront of this Gospel, to an analysis which reveals its true nature as 'a kind of code, such as originated in and was designed for the Church.' This transformation of Christ's teaching into forms adapted to the religious use of disciples was inevitable so long as the evangelic tradition was a matter of *catechesis*, with a view to edification. Indeed this fact witnesses to its vital hold on Christians at a time when the Spirit was everything and the letter little thought of, and so when fresh applications of a principle laid down by the Master could not in oral teaching be kept apart from the germinal saying which had given them birth in the Church's mind. The question, then, is here not so much one of the Lord's *ipsissima verba*, lying behind the *Logia* used in our Gospel, as touching the nucleus of a sermon formed out of such *Logia* which Mt expands.

Weizsäcker makes it consist of three sections originally independent, as is seen from Lk: viz. the new Christian law in contrast to the existent legal usage of the scribes (5^{21-48}); Christ's estimate of the pious usages then in honour (alms, prayers, fastings); and His reformation of them (6^{1-18}) and His exposition of the higher life in contrast to division of heart and care for the worldly life (6^{19-34}). Secondary to these, even as combined, he regards not only ch. 7—an appendix of seven short sections supplementing and partly repeating the foregoing (7^{15}, with its 'false prophets which come to you in sheep's clothing,' being clearly a late touch)—but also the twofold introduction in $5^{3-12.\ 13-16}$. Now, that 5^{13-16} is out of place one may justly infer from Lk $14^{34f.}$ 8^{16} 11^{33}. But Lk also makes the Sermon open with beatitudes, though less than half Mt's number (which seems filled out with OT phrases), and otherwise contradicts Weizsäcker's analysis. For this among other reasons, the reconstruction of the *Logian* Sermon favoured by Weiss and Wendt (with some divergences) is to be preferred. Yet even so, one must not assume that the Sermon was known to Mt and Lk in the same recension. Thus, while it is probable that Lk's four beatitudes (apart from the parallel woes, a secondary feature) best represent the original apostolic *Logian* tradition (not necessarily as Matthew taught it), it is clear that Luke knew the Lord's Prayer in another form from Mt's, and that not as part of the Sermon at all.

Allowing, then, for the different history of the *Logian* tradition before it reached our Mt or Luke, we may regard the following as 'Matthæan' in substance:—Four beatitudes parallel to Lk ($5^{3.\ 4.\ 6.\ 11f.}$); four revised readings of Mosaic morality as understood by the scribes—about murder, adultery, retaliation, hatred of enemies ($5^{21.\ 22.\ (24).\ 27f.\ 38-40.\ 43-48}$); three corrections of the Jewish ideal of piety—alms, prayer, fasting (6^{1-18});[*] four dangers of the higher life—earthly-mindedness, insincerity, a divided heart, carefulness for things bodily—the remedy being absorption in the Father's kingdom (6^{19-34});[†] some more miscellaneous counsels (7^{1-27}). These last, most of all, owe their combination to our evangelist, as they repeat a good deal; and in one case (7^{12}), the Golden Rule of duty towards one's neighbour, a verse comes more naturally in Lk (6^{31}), earlier in the Sermon. Yet the words on criticism and self-criticism (7^{1-5}, Lk $6^{37f.\ 41f.}$), on fruit as the test of goodness (7^{16-21}, Lk 6^{43-46}), and the similitude which clinches the whole Sermon (7^{24-27}, Lk 6^{47-49}), come in fitly.[‡] Probably even this reconstruction leaves too much in the Sermon for it really to have been spoken at one time: it expects far more of men's hearing capacity than Jesus ever demanded. But it may stand as representing the Matthæan didactic catechism for the citizen of the Father's kingdom, and as suggesting the processes of further accretion in later use, and of final compilation, which lie between it and Mt 5–7.

(*β*) *The Disciple Discourse, ch.* 10.—The action of local Church usage upon the tradition is also implied in the specific disciple-discourse. This in practical use must early have lost much of its original restrictions, as intended for the guidance of the Twelve in their first preaching by the side of their Master's own ministry (cf. Mk 3^{13-15}). Thus in Lk it refers to the conduct of a large circle of disciples who assisted Jesus in a similar way; and in either form it doubtless embodies rules taught in the churches for the guidance of all who acted as missionaries ('apostles' in the larger sense, for which 'evangelists' became a synonym). The words in Mt 10^{23} cannot have been used of the original temporary mission: 'When they persecute you in the one city, flee to the other: for verily I say to you, ye shall not finish the cities of Israel before the Son of Man come.' This must rather represent an early stage of the Church's echoed counsels to the Messianic missionaries in general, on the lines laid down by Jesus for His first disciples. Weizsäcker sees in Mt $10^{5-15\,(16)}$ the original tradition as to the apostolic mission, once current as an independent piece (cf. Mk 6^{7-13}, Lk 9^{1-6} 10^{2-11}), and here given in a form retaining the restricted scope of Christ's own earthly ministry—the form in which the Matthæan *Logia* were current in our evangelist's region. A secondary formation follows in the section on persecution, which reflects the experience of the Apostolic age at least as late as St. Paul's trials before Roman courts at Cæsarea. Its originally detached character is shown by its appearing in the eschatological discourse in Mk $13^{9ff.}$, Lk $21^{12ff.}$, where Mt faintly echoes Mk. Here, however, Mt seems independent of Mk's form, having points in common with Lk's 'doublet' ($12^{11f.}$), and being the more original in its basis (apart from the evangelist's own colouring). These two sections Weizsäcker calls 'the fundamental law for the missionary activity of the Church.' He adds that they were naturally extended by analogous sayings, like Mt10^{24-42} (many of which are clearly misplaced, see Lk $12^{3-9.\,51-53}$ 14^{25-27}), either by Mt or in the traditional form under which he was wont to teach the Matthæan *Logia*.

---

[*] The diverse orders, 'Jesus Christ' (ℵCEKL *al.* Pap. Oxyr. (*sæc.* iii.) ægypt. syr. $^{\text{utr.}}$ arm. æth. Or.) and 'Christ Jesus' (B), point to the originality of 'the Christ' (D 71, it. vg. syr. $^{\text{sin. cur.}}$ Iren); cf. 1^{17b}.

[*] Each of these sections admits of further analysis: note particularly the change from 'ye' to 'thou' (? of catechesis) in each case. We cannot, of course, by such rough tests distinguish the teaching as original and derivative. But certainly the Lord's Prayer did not come originally in the Sermon (see Lk $11^{1ff.}$). The backbone of Mt's form of this section consists of $6^{1.\ 5.\ 16}$.

[†] Here, too, there may be later or editorial elements, v.^{34} in particular. But Lk's divergent arrangement by no means proves that these subjects were no part of the Matthæan *Logia*.

[‡] On the other hand, $7^{6.\ (7-11).\ 22f.}$ are out of place.

(γ) *The Parables of ch.* 13.—As to these parables, where Mt's love of the number seven (cf. the double sevens of the genealogy) attracts our attention, it appears that all three evangelists possessed collections of parables, beginning with 'the fundamental parable,' the Sower. To this main parable there were two types of sequel: one as in Mk and Lk, where it is combined with the simile of the Lamp, whereby Jesus explained to the disciples (in the actual course of events) the function of parable as a test of hearers' receptivity; the other, as in Mt, where it is followed didactically by other parables more or less related in thought. These appear to come from different sources. The pendent parable (to the Sower) of the Wheat and Tares has a peculiar opening, ὡμοιώθη ἡ βασ., which recurs in parables in 18^{23} 22^{2}, and may point to the three having been once a didactic whole, representing a late stage of *Logian* teaching. On the other hand, the remaining five begin with ὁμοία ἐστὶν ἡ βασ., probably the usual opening in parabolic collections.*

Weizsäcker's 'reflexions' deserve attention. Viewing the Wheat and Tares as a later supplement to the Sower, he says: 'From the very nature of this form of instruction, the discussion of one parable leads naturally to the invention of others: interpretations develop into fresh parabolic material.' Thus this parable reflects 'an experience from the life of the Church,' which may be the case also with the Drag-net and some others. But 'in any case the collection gives us an insight, not only into the way in which the tradition operated, but also into the method of editing passages for definite didactic purposes.' Its object is to set forth not so much distinct commands, as 'the fruits of the teaching received, the perfection and divine nature of the cause.' It is, in any case, characteristic of Mt's standpoint that his first special parables—the Tares and the Leaven—'carry us involuntarily into the primitive Church. They found their most direct use in the relations of that Church to the nation.'

(δ) *The Discourse in ch.* 18.—In the discourse on the 'little ones' and fraternal treatment of all brethren, even the least, Weizsäcker thinks $18^{6ff.}$ is an organic unity. 'The whole refers to the conduct of the disciples to each other: the sayings teach the nature of their communion,' even if some took shape rather later than others. It seems a proof of the general justice of these remarks that the parable of the Lost Sheep, which Lk gives as an apology for Jesus' own attitude to outcasts, came to Mt as a lesson for believers, in relation apparently to converts from among such 'little ones' of society. It had lost its original application and gained another in the Church's life. Moreover, already in 18^{3-6} Mt has made humility the note of the kingdom, in place of the spirit which thinks of 'greater' and 'lesser' among brethren. Each must be ready to sink all 'superiority,' to receive even a young child on the ground of Christ's name, and to avoid wounding the feelings of the humblest believer—one of no more account than a child (cf. Mk $9^{41f.}$). Hence, however much our Mt may be influenced in the wording of $18^{1-5.\,6.\,8f.}$ by Mk $9^{33-37.\,42-47}$, yet his mind is already filled with a *Logian* piece of didactic which asserts itself both in idea and in phrasing, as well as in $18^{3f.}$ as a whole: 'The intention of its original form' shines through; and 'the apostles are thought of as patterns for the Church.'

(ε) *The later Parables.*—Similarly the three parables of 21^{28}–22^{14}, centring in that of the Vineyard common to the Synoptics, define the Church's relations to Judaism. In the first two of these parables we get the phrase ἡ βασ. τοῦ θεοῦ, so rare in Mt, and perhaps a mark of the later stratum in its Logia.

In 12^{28b} the phrase may be due to parallelism with ἐν πνεύματι θεοῦ in 28^{a}; and in 19^{24} it seems to come from Mk 10^{24}. In $21^{31.\,43}$, however, we can only suppose that this Hellenistic or un-Hebraic expression (so Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, 155) marks the secondary, rather than Matthæan, element in the tradition reflected in Mt, to whose own usage ἡ βασ. τῶν οὐρανῶν can by no means be exclusively traced.

The parable of the Marriage Feast is partly paralleled by Lk 14^{15-24}, and is an old *Logian* element which has undergone change in two lines of tradition. Mt seems to have it in a late form; for it has gained an appendix, on the Wedding-garment and the fewness of those who respond and are elect. And even the part parallel to Lk adds the feature of insult and death visited on the king's messengers, resulting in vengeance on the murderers and their city—surely an echo of the experiences and expectations of the later apostolic age, though not necessarily after, rather than just before A.D. 70 (cf. Mk $12^{9.\,10}$, Lk 20^{16-18}, Mt 21^{41-44} for the like as already foretold in prophecy). We shall return to the subject in discussing Mt's date. Meantime this impression of the absolute rejection of the national religious system is confirmed by the great anti-Pharisaic discourse in ch. 23—an excellent case of didactic compilation, the bulk at least of which our Mt found ready to his hand, though the seven distinct Woes may betray his schematism. We must now turn aside, for the moment, to consider the other chief factor of Mt, the narrative sections parallel to Mk.

(2) *Mt's relation to Mk.*—To begin with a simple case, namely one which involves no other connected source like the Logia, Christ's walking on the sea may be taken (Mt $14^{22ff.}$, Mk $6^{45ff.}$). Here we observe slight omissions—αὐτοῦ (followed by addition of αὐτόν), τὸ πέραν πρὸς Βηθσαιδάν, αὐτός; insertions—κατ' ἰδίαν, μαθηταί (to compensate for αὐτούς in a clause omitted), ἀπὸ τοῦ φόβου ἔκραξαν in place of ἀνέκραξαν, [ὁ Ἰησοῦς]; use of favourite forms of a word—τοὺς ὄχλους for τὸν ὄχλον, ἀνέβη for ἀπῆλθεν; changes in construction—*i.e.* ἕως οὗ ἀπολύσῃ for ἕως . . . ἀπολύει, ὑπὸ τ. κυμάτων for ἐν τῷ ἐλαύνειν, τετάρτῃ φυλακῇ for περὶ τετ. φυλακήν, ἦλθεν for ἔρχεται, περιπατῶν ἐπὶ τήν (cf. ^{29}, only Mt) for ἐπὶ τῆς, λέγων for κ. λέγει—sometimes involving transposition of a word, like ἐταράχθησαν (λέγοντες, κ.τ.λ.) in ^{26}; paraphrase—ἤδη σταδίους πολλοὺς ἀπὸ γῆς ἀπεῖχεν for ἐν μέσῳ τ. θαλάσσης; omission of a clause—κ. ἤθελεν παρελθεῖν αὐτούς, Mk 6^{48b}, πάντες γὰρ αὐτὸν εἶδον, ^{50a}.

In the general result Mt's Greek is smoother and better than Mk's, though less vivid; also the changes appear for the most part involuntary, due to *memoriter* rewriting of section by section after perusal, rather than to line for line copying.* This less mechanical conception of the process by which Mk passes into Mt is not only most likely, but helps to explain much elsewhere. In fact it secures the advantages claimed for the purely oral theory, without sacrificing what gives to the documentary theory its strength. The section affords other lessons. Peter's walking on the water ($^{28-31}$) is an insertion from tradition,† and points to a factor which must be reckoned with throughout, *e.g.* in 27^{62-66} 28^{11-15}, as also in relation to the parables peculiar to Mt. And, finally, the description of the effect upon the disciples' minds is put in a different form from Mk—one reflecting less upon their slowness of heart and pointing more directly the moral of this Gospel (v.^{33}, cf. 16^{16} 27^{54}). The phrase full of adoration, 'Truly thou art Son of God,' is here anachronistic in view of $16^{15f.}$, Mk 8^{29}. These various points might be illustrated from the next few sections. But space forbids: and so we turn to apply our principles to the parts where *Logia* and Mk may be thought to blend.

---

* Weizsäcker thinks ἄλλην παραβολήν ($13^{24.\,31.\,33}$) and πάλιν ($^{45.\,47}$) original parts of special collections. But they rather show Mt's compiling hand. He also thinks that the reflexions in $13^{34f.}$, coming in the middle of things, must be due to a source used. But against this must be set Mt's favourite formula in v.^{35a}. He inserts them from Mk and practically where Mk has them. Then he returns to explain the Wheat and Tares, and adds other parables.

(*d*) *Setting of the Sermon on the Mount.*—Mt 4^{23}–5^{1} is crucial for the evangelist's methods. Is his relation to Mk here determined by other narrative material, oral or written, or simply by his own plan for the use of his didactic or *Logian* matter?

Historically arbitrary as the latter hypothesis would argue Mt's eclectic use of Mk to be, it is yet probably correct. For in fact all close study of Mt shows its historic interest to be quite subordinate to the interpretative, the setting forth in orderly fashion of the salient features of Messiah's activity and teaching. Here, then, Mt's prime care is to find a fit point of contact with the traditional narrative—of which Mk is the form before him—for the general Sermon on the kingdom. As it stood in the forefront of the *Logian* tradition, so should it stand in a full written Gospel as Mt conceived it. Starting from Mk 1^{22} (Mt $7^{28f.}$), he readapted Mk 3^{13}, where Jesus 'ascends the mountain' in order to associate with Himself an inner circle of disciples; assuming that such a call would imply a prior formal exposition of the nature of the new kingdom. And so far he may have followed tradition—a tradition, too, which knew of a discourse on a mountain. But, this identification once adopted, Mt carried out his use of Mk with great freedom.

The whole of Mk 3^{13} influences Mt 5^{1}. Not only does Jesus ascend '*the* mountain,' though no special locality is in question; but the reference to disciples as coming to Him creates some obscurity touching the persons addressed in the Sermon. Mt has just referred to 'the crowds'; and at the end we hear of its effect, not on disciples, but on these same crowds. Hence, apart from the form in which the Sermon is cast (perhaps mainly that of current *Logian* catechesis; contrast Lk 6^{20}, where the disciples are first addressed, and then hearers in general, ^{27}), we have the blending of Mk's context with that which Mt has just created for himself. For with the hint supplied by Mt 5^{1} in relation to Mk 3^{13}, we can hardly fail to see in Mt 4^{23-25} a mosaic of Marcan situations and expressions, generalized in order to set forth the earlier activity of Jesus in word and deed—the presupposition of 'the crowds' present at the Sermon. Similarly, the call of disciples had been hinted at by the typical cases borrowed from Mk in $^{18-22}$. The artificial nature of $^{24f.}$ is clear from the fact that no little lapse of time is implied in the going forth of Jesus' fame 'into the whole of Syria' and the gathering of crowds from Decapolis and Judæa and beyond Jordan—features natural in Mk's later context (3^{7}, Lk 6^{17}), but not in Mt, if it were meant to be chronological. Similarly 4^{23} is based on Mk 1^{39} 6^{6a}, with 1^{23} for starting-point (just as 1^{22} is used at the end of the Sermon in 7^{28}); and 9^{35} repeats the borrowing when Mt gets really parallel to Mk 6^{6}.

The fact that both in 4^{23} and ^{24} there are echoes of more than one passage in Mk, suggests that our Mt was so familiar with the latter as to combine his phrases in memory without a full sense of their actual position in Mk's narrative. And this is confirmed by the fact that these verses appear quite in Mt's style. But in any case Mt's generalizing use of Mk seems clear (so 8^{16} $15^{30.31}$), and is illustrated by our next paragraph.

(*e*) *Artificial grouping in* 8–9.—In 5–7 Mt has been drawing on his prime *Logian* source. In 7^{28b} he returns to Mk (1^{22}) with ἐξεπλήσσοντο (οἱ ὄχλοι) ἐπὶ τῇ διδαχῇ αὐτοῦ· ἦν γὰρ διδάσκων αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐξουσίαν ἔχων καὶ οὐχ ὡς οἱ γραμματεῖς (αὐτῶν). He thus draws attention to the authority of Jesus' manner of teaching, and then proceeds to show how this Messianic mien extended to His action and attitude towards men. In fact the series of works and words of power which follow, fulfils the second part of the forecast in 4^{23}. Once more we get the broad, vague background of ὄχλοι πολλοί (cf. 4^{25}); and then the cleansing of the leper (Mk $1^{40ff.}$) is introduced with an abrupt καὶ ἰδού.

Thus he passes over the deliverance of the man with an unclean spirit (Mk 1^{23-28}), since he has already used the impression produced by it, ἡ ἀκοή (φήμη is Mt's own word 9^{26}), in his general description in 4^{24a}. This omission was the easier that the story has much in common with the fuller Gadarene incident which he is about to use shortly ($8^{28ff.}$ = Mk $5^{1ff.}$). But why does he take Mk $1^{40ff.}$ before $^{29ff.}$? Partly perhaps because it contains words of respect for Moses in keeping with 5^{17}, and partly because in Mk the healing of the leper comes between a reference to a general ministry in Galilee (1^{39}), in which Mt sees the continuation of his own 4^{25}, and an entry into Capernaum.

Mt is not concerned with temporal sequence, but tries to preserve local conditions. Hence he goes on with something which had come to him connected with Capernaum (8^{5}, cf. Lk 7^{1}). In the healing of the centurion's servant (παῖς, Lk δοῦλος) the interest centres in the dialogue: and the story may have come in the Logia just after the Sermon (as in Lk [or his special source, cf. $9^{51ff.}$], who has already used Mk's material right up to the withdrawal with disciples to the mountain).

To Mt it had special value here as introducing the idea of authority (ἐξουσία), which the centurion implicitly recognizes as on the side of Jesus (8^{9}). Vv.$^{11.12}$ are attached by logical affinity (?already so in Logia tradition in Mt's region, against Lk $13^{28ff.}$), and serve to justify Gentile faith in Mt's day. Then, at last, he returns to the thread of Mk 1^{29-34} ($^{35-38}$ illustrates nothing that is to his purpose). The healing of Peter's mother-in-law becomes a mere typical case, one of a class, like the many referred to in v.^{16}. This verse summarizes Mk 1^{32-34} with some characteristic changes (*e.g.* demoniacal possession is put first as marking authority), and is followed by the citation of prophecy with Mt's usual formula of 'fulfilment.'

The next step is more obscure; but the link seems to be a similarity of occasion (to which time is subordinated). As the last event was ὀψίας γενομένης (^{16} = Mk 1^{32}), so he subjoins another evening scene (Mk 4^{35} ὀψίας γεν., Jesus saith Διέλθωμεν εἰς τὸ πέραν· κ. ἀφέντες τὸν ὄχλον . . .). The motive of departure, too, comes from Mk's context,* ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Ἰ. ὄχλον περὶ αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὸ πέραν. The episode of the two aspirants to discipleship, which intervenes, needs some special reason for its position; it comes in very abruptly. It is otherwise placed in Lk ($9^{57ff.}$), at a later part of the ministry, and rightly. But this does not hinder its having stood in local *catechesis* after the Sermon, as logically akin, viz. as affording a typical case of response to the Master's call to discipleship: and that Mt forces it in here suggests that it so stood. It illustrates the authority, even in isolation, that marked the Son of Man (esp. ^{22}). From v.^{23} to the end of ch. 8 Mt follows Mk $5^{1ff.}$, the only points calling for note being the softening down of the disciples' alarm and surprise in the storm (*ὀλιγόπιστοι* and *οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι*), the substitution of the more familiar Gadarene region for the obscure Gerasene (*i.e.* of Kersa, a village on the lake's edge), and the fresh reading of the demoniac incident by which Mt follows the plurals in the dialogue (*e.g.* Mk's *παρεκάλεσαν αὐτὸν λέγοντες*) to the ignoring of the sing. of Mk's narrative. It is possible that this reading had already in oral tradition generated the *δύο δαιμονιζόμενοι*, and that Mt uses Mk in the light of the story as known to him orally. Yet Mt's general tendency to duality (cf. 20^{30}) is to be noted; particularly the clear case in 21^{2-7}, where his narrative is warped by words of prophecy which he himself introduces with his own formula. The divergences from Mk seem to be quite in Mt's own style.* The words with which he returns to Mk $2^{1ff.}$ are still coloured by Mk 5, *καὶ ἐμβὰς εἰς πλοῖον* (Mk 5^{18}) *διεπέρασεν* † (*ib.* ^{21}, the verse after which Mt resumes this section of Mk in 9^{18}). Capernaum is called *τὴν ἰδίαν πόλιν* in terms of 4^{13}. Once more, in the healing of the paralytic, the note of authority is struck in both Gospels. In 9^{9} Mt seems to show that his aim is to present a series of typical scenes in their logical rather than strict historical connexion; for adopting Mk's *παράγων*, appropriate to progress along the lake's margin, he uses it as a mere verb of motion by inserting *ἐκεῖθεν*, ignoring the teaching on the shore which comes in between. In the incident itself it is interesting that he substitutes 'Matthew' (with *λεγόμενον*, a favourite phrase), Levi's disciple-name, for that by which he was known at the time of his call: *i.e.* his standpoint is less purely historical than Mk's. If in $9^{14ff.}$ Mt were not following Mk, he would hardly have inserted the defence against criticism at this point, but rather reserved it for the later section devoted to the topic ($12^{1ff.}$). For the very next paragraph shows that he is still dominated by the idea of the mighty deeds of Jesus. He goes back, that is, to Mk $5^{21ff.}$: but having already used the link of circumstance in v.^{21}, he uses one belonging to a later stage of the incident (v.^{35} *ἔτι αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος*) and compresses the whole.

---

* That renewed reference was sometimes made, seems proved by Mt's reversion to Mk's περιπατεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης, in 26^{a}, after writing automatically περ. ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, his own construction (cf. ἐπὶ τὰ ὕδατα in $^{28f.}$). For a parallel, compare the freer parts of Codex Bezæ.

† As such it gives a good specimen of Mt's style when free to follow its own literary form. Note ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν [Mk 5 times, generally ἀποκ. λέγει; common in Lk, and in Mt 14–28 (34 times), where rewriting Mk, but rare in 3–13 (7 or 8 times), where using *Logia*: hence not a *Logian* phrase: Jn ἀπεκρίθη], ἀπὸ τοῦ πλοίου (cf. 3^{16}, Mk prefers ἐκ), καταποντίζεσθαι (Mt 18^{6}) ὀλιγόπιστος (8^{26} 16^{8}), διστάζειν (28^{17}), and κύριε in later religious sense (cf. Lk). It shows also the easy way in which an insertion may blend with the Marcan context, *i.e.* ἀναβάντων αὐτῶν for ἀνέβη (πρὸς αὐτούς). Note κελεύειν (14^{28}, cf. 9. 19), never in Mk, once only in Lk (18^{40}).

* This is a crucial case of Mt's use of Mk. For whereas the sing. ὄχλος is Mk's regular form (33 to 1), Mt prefers ὄχλοι (25 times, ὄχλοι πολλοί 5, ὄχλος 19, generally parallel to Mk): and the foregoing context would suggest ὄχλοι (cf. v.^{1}) or at any rate τὸν ὄχλον.

That Mt is here using Mk rather than a shorter source is shown by (1) the mention of the duration of the woman's malady, (2) the coincidence in *ὄπισθεν*, (3) the rather otiose *καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ* in v.^{19} (seeing that they play no part in what follows in Mt) due to Mk (vv.$^{37. 40}$), (4) the fact that neither Mt nor Lk really adds any fresh matter, so that their deviations in form are to be put down to their style and aim.‡ Mt's *ἄρτι ἐτελεύτησεν* is a result of compression; and the other turns of phrase and additions are in Mt's special manner.

The last two incidents of the section are compilations of Mt completing the cycle of typical healings. They have distinct echoes of Mk, as also marks of Mt's own style; but possibly they have also a traditional basis, particularly in the case of the dumb demoniac, $9^{32f.}$. For though Lk $11^{14f.}$ has the same in substance, yet the form differs, especially if we omit v.^{34} as a later gloss, as do O.L., Syr-Sin., Tat. (see 12^{24}).

Another view is possible, namely, that Lk $11^{14f.}$ shows the story of the possessed mute in its right place, so introducing the dialogue with Pharisees as to exorcism originally in the *Logia*. In that case Mt may use the incident twice: first, among the works of power in 9, where the people's comment comes from Mk 2^{12}; and next in $12^{22ff.}$, where the two incidents in 9^{27-33} appear fused into one case as occasion of the people's wonder, which elicits the Pharisees' retort.

The cycle of typical Messianic deeds is now complete: and Mt wishes to present Jesus in the further aspect of authority shown in commissioning others to aid in gathering in the harvest of the Kingdom. In so doing he omits for the present (but see $13^{53ff.}$) a few verses in Mk, and takes the first words of his introduction to the Mission of the Twelve from Mk 6^{6b}, *i.e.* καὶ περιῆγεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὰς πόλεις πάσας κ. τὰς κώμας, διδάσκων, repeating also the bulk of 4^{23}, his earlier programme of Messianic ministry. Then he takes part of Mk 6^{34} (where Mt omits half the verse) and generalizes the statement of Christ's compassionate perception of the people's shepherdless condition. In $9^{37f.}$ he probably employs the opening words of the *Logia* at this point (cf. Lk 10^{2}), and then follows Mk once more in 10^{1}, repeating words used already in 4^{23b} 9^{35b} (*θεραπεύειν πᾶσαν νόσον κ. πᾶσαν μαλακίαν*). The names of the Twelve are next given, without any interest in the circumstances of their original call (Mk $3^{13ff.}$). Indeed it is assumed that they are already known.*

(*f*) *Modifications in the Passion and Resurrection narratives.*—Most will agree with Dr. Salmon that Mt 27 'copied the narrative as we find it in St. Mark, interpolating in it different passages founded on knowledge derived from some other source.' A word or two on such a source, or rather sources. In the Institution of the Supper it is likely that the slight differences in Mt are due mainly to local Eucharistic use, the cause of Lk's inversion of the Bread and Cup (so the *Didaché*). In the Crucifixion, on the other hand, the slight divergences are due to the subtle reaction of certain details of OT prophecy—now seen to be Messianic, since suffering was included in Messiah's lot. The influence of Ps 22 (whence came Jesus' great cry) is especially marked (as also in He $2^{11f.}$; cf. $^{6-9}$). Thus—

Mk *ἐδίδουν αὐτῷ ἐσμυρνισμένον οἶνον.*

Mt 27^{34} *ἔδωκαν αὐτῷ πιεῖν οἶνον μετὰ χολῆς μεμιγμένον.*

Ps 69 (68)^{21} *ἔδωκαν . . . χολήν, κ. εἰς τὴν δίψαν μου ἐπότισάν με ὄξος.*

Then, after the casting of the lots, Mt adds—

καὶ καθήμενοι ἐτήρουν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ.

Cf. Ps 22 (21)^{18} *αὐτοὶ δὲ κατενόησαν καὶ ἐπεῖδόν με.*†

And once more—

Mt 27^{43} (only) *πέποιθεν ἐπὶ τὸν Θεόν, ῥυσάσθω νῦν εἰ θέλει αὐτόν.*

Ps 22^{9} *ἤλπισεν ἐπὶ Κύριον, ῥυσάσθω αὐτὸν . . . ὅτι θέλει αὐτόν.*

Such apologetic use of prophecy is yet more obvious in 8^{17} $12^{17ff.}$, and it may have helped the evangelist to his own faith in Jesus' Messiahship; while the elaborative influence of the OT is seen in Mt's Beatitudes as compared with Lk's.

Probably the modifications of the Passion story were already part of Mt's way of telling it, before he sat down to write, and spontaneously reasserted themselves, sometimes more, sometimes less decisively, as he freely reproduced Mk. And this may afford us a fresh analogy for the way in which the general tradition of the Lord's ministry, already living in memory, modified the impressions left by his perusal of Mk.

---

* Mt's *ἰσχύειν* seems due to Mk's *ἴσχυεν*, his *ἦλθες* to Mk 1^{24}; even *μακρὰν ἀπ' αὐτῶν* may gloss *πρὸς τῷ ὄρει*. As the case is a crucial one for the use of narratives assumed to exist in written Logia, one may refer also to the case of the demoniac boy ($17^{14ff.}$, Mk $9^{14ff.}$, Lk $9^{37ff.}$). What there seems to exclude such Logia as causing Mt's abbreviation of Mk, is the sudden emergence of *τὸ δαιμόνιον* (v.^{18}), easily explained by his knowledge of Mk, but not a natural sequel of the description of the lad's symptoms in v.^{15}. If this be so, then that section affords cases of pure transposition by Mt (^{15b}, cf. Mk ^{22}); recurrent comment (^{18c}); a favourite idea (*διὰ τὴν ὀλιγοπιστίαν*, ^{20a}); and a favourite word, *θεραπεύειν* ($^{16. 18}$).

† The other case of this rare word, 14^{34}, is also in Mk's wake.

‡ The *προσ(ελθοῦσα) . . . τοῦ κρασπέδου* common to Mt and Lk might seem to need a literary link. But both regularly prefer *προσελθεῖν* for 'approach' (see Mt 8^{25}=Lk 8^{24}, cf. Lk 7^{14}); while the addition of *τοῦ κρ.* is a quite natural (cf. Mt 14^{36}) explanatory touch, which may even come from oral tradition.

* Similar analysis of 12–16^{20} may be seen in the second of W. C. Allen's 'Critical Studies in Mt's Gospel' (*Expos. Times*, March 1900).

† Following on reference to the sufferer's deadly thirst, and the fact that many 'dogs' or wicked ones encompass him and pierce his hands and feet; while the next words are *διεμερίσαντο τὰ ἱμάτιά μου ἑαυτοῖς*. Here Mk's language may already have been coloured by this Ps, as also in the use of *κινοῦντες τὰς κεφαλάς*; cf. Ps 22^{7} *πάντες οἱ θεωροῦντές με ἐξεμυκτήρισάν με, ἐλάλησαν ἐν χείλεσιν, ἐκίνησαν κεφαλήν.*

A good instance of this is the Resurrection, where Mt's narrative is modified by the story of the Guard in the tradition known to him. Hence the women come, not to anoint the body, but only 'to behold the tomb'; and the influence of Mk, if present at all, is very slight. There is no consciousness that the women entered the sepulchre, as in Mk; the fulfilment of Jesus' word in his resurrection is emphasized (καθὼς εἶπεν, cf. 27^{63}); and so the element of fear is overshadowed by joy. The great fear, which is the note of Mk, has been toned down in tradition by later feelings on the subject. The rather indistinct account of the promised Christophany to 'the eleven disciples' is part of the generalizing style of oral tradition, where the original facts are set in the light of their abiding bearing on the Church's life. The 'authority' which was largely veiled in Messiah's earthly ministry is now His chief note, shown in the extension of the Kingdom to the Gentiles, and in His abiding presence with His own during the days between the Resurrection and the Parousia (note silence as to Israel and the Law, in contrast to Mt $10^{5f.}$).

(*g*) *Eschatological Standpoint and Date.*—Here the concluding Woes on the scribes and Pharisees lead up to the Last Things.

23^{34-36}. The blood of the Prophets will come on them. This is fuller than Lk of colour from Palestinian experiences, and of presage of the reckoning imminent. The addition of 'son of Barachiah' (not in Lk) quite possibly shows that Mt took certain words in v.^{35} as referring to events early in A.D. 68 (found in Jos. *BJ* IV. v. 4).

23^{37-39}. Their house is deserted by the Divine presence till they repent. This implicit reference to the Parousia is here arbitrarily connected (against Lk $11^{49ff.}$ $13^{34f.}$) with the judgment on Jerusalem (see Charles, *Eschatology, Hebrew, Jewish, and Christian*, p. 328).

$24^{1.2}$. Destruction of the temple (cf. Mk $13^{1f.}$, Ac 6^{14}).

24^{3}. Tokens of this and the Parousia.

The specification of the 'Parousia' (only in this chapter in the Gospels) and the phrase συντέλεια τ. αἰῶνος, found only in Mt (cf. $13^{39.40.49}$ 28^{20}), point to this being a special form in which this discourse was quoted in Mt's circle (see note below).

24^{4-8}. The preliminary troubles * (ἀρχὴ ὠδίνων).

Clearly Lk is not entirely dependent on Mk. Nor does Mt seem to be so in all parts of this discourse.

24^{9-13}. Trial (θλίψις) for Christians—

Vv.$^{10-12}$ are peculiar in form (see below on $^{23.24}$ for affinity with *Did.* $16^{3.4}$); and in their light v.^{9} may also be recognized as not altogether dependent on Mk, ^{9a} referring to Jewish hatred, ^{9b} to Gentile. What Mk has here, is partly in different order, and partly occurs in the Commission to the Twelve in Mt (10^{17-22}); cf. Lk $12^{11.12}$. Vv.$^{9-12}$ seem very significant for Mt's date in virtue of their special phrasing (cf. the Christian section of *Ascensio Isaiæ*, *c.* 65–68, or else 80–90 A.D.).

24^{14}. The witness to the Gentiles.

In Mt's form, preaching 'in all the inhabited world' is, in contrast to Mk's 'unto all the Gentiles,' as 'witness to the Gentiles.' Here we probably get the idea of the Gospel in relation to the Gentiles current among Jews in S. Syria. In 10^{23} we had the corresponding idea touching Israel: the two are combined in 10^{18}. 'And then shall come the end' (in contrast to v.^{6}), *i.e.* the συντέλεια or final climax—a unique clause in Mt and one going far to date the first Gospel at a period just before the final catastrophe of 'the holy city,' the crisis of whose fortunes is seen to be approaching, as appears from the *nota bene* in v.^{15}; cf. 10^{23}.

24^{15-25}. The final Crisis of Distress (θλίψις).

The forecast in ^{15} is still on the vague lines of consummate evil in Daniel (a reference made explicit by Mt), of which Caligula's purpose of setting up his image in the temple must have seemed the foreshadowing (cf. Mt's ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ, again making more explicit what is implied in Mk, ὅπου οὐ δεῖ). Lk's deviation, in terms of the actual events of 70, is instructive as showing that these were not yet in view in Mt and Mk; cf. also Lk 21^{22}. (See further the article ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION). Vv.$^{16-25}$ are in the main in terms of current Apocalyptic notions, including Dn 12^{1}; Lk 21^{23b-24} again presents a somewhat more developed form of the tradition. The specifically Christian touches, *e.g.* $^{23.24}$, parallel features found in two documents of *c.* 64–68 A.D., viz. *Didaché* 16, and the Christian section of the *Ascensio Isaiæ*. The former, which echoes its own local tradition rather than the words of any of our Gospels, has, ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις πληθυνθήσονται οἱ ψευδοπροφῆται καὶ οἱ φθορεῖς, κ. στραφήσονται τὰ πρόβατα εἰς λύκους, κ. ἡ ἀγάπη στραφήσεται εἰς μῖσος. αὐξανομένης γὰρ τῆς ἀνομίας (cf. Mt ^{12}) μισήσουσιν ἀλλήλους κ. διώξουσι κ. παραδώσουσι (Mt ^{11}), καὶ τότε φανήσεται ὁ κοσμοπλάνος ὡς υἱὸς θεοῦ κ. ποιήσει σημεῖα κ. τέρατα. Here the false wonders are attributed summarily to a supreme Antichrist: yet his action may include that of many subordinate agents, as in *Asc. Isaiæ* (4), where Nero is expected to develop into or reappear as the incarnation of Berial, and along with Berial's hosts of evil spirits to parody Beloved's (Messiah's) works of power.

$24^{27.28}$. The Son of Man comes like the lightning.

Mt (Lk elsewhere, $17^{23f.}$) repeats the warning against being led away by rumours of Messiah's having been seen in various retired places (cf. Apoc. Bar 48^{34})—so showing the topic of the hour when he wrote. The comparison of Messiah's Coming to lightning is found in Apoc. Bar $53^{8f.}$, cf. $72^{1ff.}$ (Apoc. A^{3}, not long before 70), being suggested apparently by the imagery of Dn 7^{13}.

24^{29-31}. The Coming of the Son of Man.

Here εὐθέως points to an early date for Mt, *i.e.* before A.D. 70. The signs of v.^{29} are the conventional ones derived from prophecies like Is 13^{10}, 34^{4}, and appear in varying forms in the three Synoptics. V.^{30a} καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὸ σημεῖον τ. υἱοῦ τ. ἀνθρ. ἐν οὐρανῷ, κ. τότε κόψονται πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς is peculiar to Mt. The former half is akin to *Did.* 16^{6} καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀληθείας· πρῶτον σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως ἐν οὐρανῷ: the latter comes from Zec $12^{10ff.}$ (cf. Rev 1^{7}). In v.^{30b}, where it is parallel to Mk and Lk, Mt has τοῦ οὐρανοῦ after τῶν νεφελῶν, as in Dn 7^{13}, whence all derive their language. In ^{31} Mt, as distinct from Mk, speaks of the angels sent forth, as Messiah's (αὐτοῦ); of their agency in gathering the elect (ἐπισυνάξουσιν); and of the 'great trumpet' which summons these. This last Jewish trait appears not only in 1 Th 4^{16}, 1 Co 15^{52}, Rev 8^{6}–9^{14} 10^{7} 11^{15}, but also in *Did.* 16^{6} in the same position, πρῶτον σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως ἐν οὐρανῷ (Mt ^{30}), εἶτα σημεῖον φωνῆς σάλπιγγος (Mt ^{31}), καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν (see Mt 25^{32}); cf. its Prayers for the Gathering of the Church ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς or ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων (see Zec 2^{6}, Dt 30^{4}) into God's Kingdom (9^{4} 10^{5}).

$24^{32.33}$. The parable of the Fig-tree.

24^{34-42}. The exact time of the Coming unknown.

Mt, like Lk, goes its own way after v.^{36}, citing the Noachic Deluge for the way in which the Parousia will surprise men (cf. Lk $17^{26f.\,30}$), and intimating how it will separate neighbours (cf. Lk $17^{34f.}$). Here the independence of Mt's tradition is specially evident. At v.^{42} the three are once more parallel in thought. But each ends the solemn call to vigilance in its own way, Mt being fullest. Its form seems to reflect the dangers of its day, viz. bad stewardship of the sacred charge of fellow-servants, and fellowship with the worldlings (v.^{48}), men being thrown off guard by their Lord's long delay. This is just the state of things in the Christian section of *Asc. Isaiæ* 3, where the faithless shepherds are spoken of. Such shall share the lot of the 'hypocrites,' the term by which Pharisaic Jews were spoken of in the circle whose tradition Mt inherited ($6^{2.5.16}$ 7^{5} 15^{7} 22^{18} $23^{13ff.}$)—another link with the *Didaché* ($8^{1.2}$ 'Let not your fasts be μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν').

(*h*) *The Genealogy.*—This is of importance for our Evangelist's scope and method. As Zahn says (*The Apostles' Creed*, 126 ff., cf. *Einleitung in das NT*, ii. 271 ff.), this Gospel is 'a carefully arranged account of events of which a superficial knowledge is for the most part assumed.' We find 'not the simple confession that Jesus is the promised Messiah. The point kept strictly in view from the first page to the last is much more apologetic, and, so far as it is unavoidable, polemic.' In spite of all so bitterly urged against Jesus' claim to be the Messiah, that claim is absolutely true. Thus, though the Jews scoff at His obscure origin, He fulfils the prophecy of the Messiah. It is from this point of view that we must read ch. 1 and, as Zahn well shows, much in ch. 2 likewise. Mt lays before his readers a genealogy artificially constructed in terms of the throne-succession in the Davidic line, and not that of the actual progenitors of Joseph (as in Lk). But why, we ask, should he go out of his way to make certain additions, needless to a bare genealogy, including four women's names? Above all, why choose 'women whose characters are highly offensive to Jewish, and in three cases out of four to every human, feeling'? Zahn alleges 'the same apologetic purpose which governs his account of the Conception and Birth of Jesus'; and even argues that the well-known Jewish slander that Jesus was a son of shame (cf. Laible, *Jesus Christ in the Talmud*, p. 7 ff.), is itself presupposed by Mt's genealogy, just as 28^{11-15} presupposes the Jewish story that the disciples stole the body of Jesus. This is going too far, even were the direction followed the right one. But this is doubtful. There was another Jewish objection to be met. Granting Joseph's paternity,—which the Jews always assume in the Gospels,—was Joseph of Davidic descent? And further, was God likely to send Messiah as the son of a carpenter, even though of Davidic stock? To this twofold query Mt's genealogy is a reply; and to the latter phase of it the additions already alluded to are an implicit rebuke.* The God who chose from various brethren the younger son's line, and who overruled unlikely unions to continue the chosen seed,—this God of Israel ever worketh according to His own good pleasure, and His ways of sovereign elective freedom are often marvellous in men's eyes. Thus it is in the home of the humble, yet Davidic, carpenter Joseph, that Messiah Jesus has really been born. How, it is Mt's next step to show in $1^{18ff.}$.

---

* These reproduce in general conception the 12 divisions or elements in the Last Times as given in an Apocalypse embedded in Apoc. Bar (27–30^{1}), and dating *c.* 50–65 A.D., *i.e.* before the Jewish War. They are in this order—(1) The beginning of commotions; (2) slayings of the great ones; (3) the fall of many by death; (4) the sending of desolation (or 'the sword'); (5) famine; (6) earthquakes; [(7) terrors]; (8) portents and incursion of the Shedim or demons; (9) the fall of fire; (10) rapine and much oppression; (11) wickedness and unchastity; (12) confusion from the mingling together of all these. There follows a reference to 'the consummation of the times.' In our Gospels we find these elements of popular Jewish Messianic expectation, blended with features drawn from the experiences of the Palestinian Church in particular, viz. the appearance of pseudo-Messiahs, and persecutions. Mt's order keeps close to the above list, including (11) alluded to in v.^{12} (ἀνομία); while Lk's puts (6) before (5), as in another kindred place in Apoc. Bar (70^{8}), and also alludes to (7)–(9). Charles (*op. cit.* 325 ff.) thinks that an independent apocalypse (cf. Eus. *HE* III. v. 3) underlies Mt $24^{6-8.\,15-22.\,29-31.\,34f.}$).

Since the discovery of the Sinaitic codex of the Old Syriac version of the Gospels, it has been argued that our text of Mt 1^{16} is not original, but secondary. Not only is this refuted by study of the various forms in which divergence from our oldest Gr. MSS occurs in certain groups of authorities (see, *e.g.*, Zahn's *Einleitung*, ii. 291-293); but even the view that Mt used a source in which Joseph's full paternity was assumed, is itself unlikely. For the way in which Mt calls attention to the numerical symmetry of the three divisions in the pedigree, each fourteen ending with a great crisis in Israel's fortunes, suggests that he has himself so constructed it.† Further, the four women cannot have stood in an earlier source, and yet here they seem integral. The pedigree is through and through didactic: and the fact that it was from the first compiled by the aid of 1 Ch 1–3, shows that it was never other than in Greek, the language of our evangelist (cf. W. C. Allen, *Expos. Times*, Dec. 1899). Hence it seems best to conclude that Mt did not use a pre-existing genealogy (see GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST for another view: yet cf. also ii. 645^{b}).

A fresh witness for 1^{16} has just come to light in the ancient basis of the *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila* (itself of the 5th cent. at least). This basis is carried back by its editor, F. C. Conybeare, to the *Dial. Jasonis et Papisci*, *c.* 135. The Christian cites Mt's genealogy, and gives 1^{16} first in the form, Ἰακὼβ δὲ τὸν Ἰωσήφ, ᾧ μνηστευθεῖσα Μαρία, ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγ. Χ.; and next as Ἰακὼβ δὲ ἐγέννησεν τ. Ἰωσὴφ τὸν μνηστευσάμενον Μαριάμ, ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη ὁ Χ. ὁ υἱὸς τ. θεοῦ. These passages seem to cast light on the real origin of the readings unsupported by our oldest Gr. MSS (for the evidence in full see art. JESUS CHRIST, vol. ii. p. 644). They are in fact explanatory glosses, such as the Dialogue presents us with in reply to the hostile gloss of the Jew, Ἰακὼβ ἐγέννησεν τ. Ἰωσήφ, τὸν ἄνδρα Μαρίας, ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγ. Χ., καὶ Ἰωσὴφ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν λεγ. Χ., περὶ οὗ νῦν ὁ λόγος, φησίν, ἐγέννησεν ἐκ τῆς Μ. The Jews glossed τὸν ἄνδρα Μ. one way, in the teeth of the narrative; the Christians glossed it another, in harmony with the narrative. And this crept into some MSS.

SUPPLEMENTAL NOTES.—This Dialogue quotes the parable of the Husbandmen *in extenso*; and in so doing shows the way in which materials derived from similar sources tended to blend in the memory of an early Christian. The case is the more instructive that the writer has just quoted Isaiah's parable-germ of Jehovah's vineyard ($5^{1ff.}$), to which the Gospel parable was probably meant to point back: and we see how Isaiah's language affects the form at the beginning of Christ's parable. It runs ᾠκοδόμησεν αὐτῷ τεῖχος καὶ πύργον κ. ἐποίησεν ἐν αὐτῷ ληνὸν κ. ὑπολήνιον, omitting φραγμὸν περιέθηκεν and changing the position of ληνὸν (Mt) or ὑπολήνιον (Mk), as well as uniting the two—which were in fact both integral—to a wine-press. Here the writer quotes freely, but is quite possessed by his sources, of which Mt counts for most. Thus he reproduces almost every syllable and letter of the triple tradition, while the result is a wonderfully eclectic composition, produced not mechanically, but by the subtle tricks of memory. We may be prepared, then, for the recurrence of similar phenomena in Mt.

The Fayyûm papyrus fragment parallel to Mt $26^{31.\ 33f.}$, Mk $14^{27.\ 29f.}$, is too scanty and mutilated to justify much inference. But it omits a verse common to Mt and Mk; while it combines features of both (ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτί with Mt, τὰ πρόβ. διασκορπ., καὶ εἰ πάντες ο[ὐκ ἐγὼ], δὶς κοκ[κύξει], with Mk). It may, then, represent oral tradition; but more likely a free *memoriter* use of Mt and Mk in some manual of catechesis or edification like the Oxyrhynchus *Logia*.

[και εν τω απαλ]
λαγειν ωσαυτως πα[ντες εν ταυτη]
τη νυκτι σκανδαλισθησονται κατα
το γραφεν παταξω τον [ποιμενα και τα]
προβατα διασκορπισθησ[ονται ειποντος]
[το]υ πετ και ει παντες ο[υκ εγω λεγει]
[ις] ο αλεκτρυων δις κοκ[κυξει και συ]
[πρωτον τρις α]παρνη[ση με]

Here ὡσαύτως is to be noted as pointing to a series of detached sayings rather than a gospel.

iii. CONCLUSIONS.—On the whole, then, the following results emerge as the most probable. (1) The order of narration common to the latter parts of Mt and Mk in particular, the closeness of which is made the more striking by the deviation of their earlier parts, points to the use by Mt of the Petrine memoirs written by Mk. (2) Conversely, the notable deviation of Mt and Lk in the order of the Discourses and Sayings (*Logia* element) common to them, combined with their textual variations, goes strongly against common use of a *Logia* document, as distinct from an oral Greek tradition which reached them in detached portions and in somewhat different forms.* (3) The *Logia* familiar to Mt, who had long taught them catechetically,—so that their vocabulary and his own were virtually one and the same,—reflected in epitome the whole experience of church life in certain Palestinian apostolic circles. They were rooted in the memories of the germinal Christian society, the apostles who had companied with their Master. But they contained also echoes of the first missionary commission as repeated for the guidance of others in the early days of Palestinian evangelization; of the persecution that had been their lot all along; of the forms in which the Master's principles of fellowship among brethren took actual shape as the life became more organized; and not least of the terms in which the polemic against their religious environment of Pharisaic Judaism was conducted in ever-growing volume and detail. That is, these *Logia*, far more than the Lucan, are memorials of the life of the Palestinian Church as well as of its Messiah. (4) The Matthæan *Logia* have as their nucleus the common apostolic didactic tradition, which took shape in the early Jerusalem days under the lead of Peter—a tradition which passed into Mk in its later Petrine form. At some stage which we cannot now trace they took on the special impress of the Apostle Matthew,[*] probably in a ministry of which Galilee, rather than Judæa, was the scene. In this form they passed, as Jewish unrest became more acute, to the neighbouring parts of Syria, in the person of our evangelist among others, still receiving fresh elements in the course of oral teaching.[†] And it was at this stage that they took written shape, as the main constituent in the mixed gospel composed with the aid of the Marcan memoirs of Peter. The freedom with which the writer has accommodated Mk's narrative to massed *Logian* discourses, suggests that these discourses already existed orally much in this massed form, and were not then first thrown into it by Mt. That Mk should early reach S. Syria is the more probable that St. Peter was evidently held in high honour there, witness the special references to Peter in 14^{28} 15^{15} 16^{18} 17^{24} 18^{21}; cf. 10^{2}, '*First*, Simon who is called Peter.' Indeed it seems likely that Peter had left a strong oral tradition behind him in those parts, so that Mt knew the substance of Mk before it came into his hands. This may help to explain certain phenomena in his use of it. (5) The fact that the Matthæan cycle of *Logia* was taken up into our Mt, gave it its distinctive status and acceptance; and the actual facts of its origin were soon forgotten—probably never known outside a narrow circle. Thus the indirect sense in which Matthew was its author and guarantor dropped out of tradition, and Papias could simply take for granted that the Gospel *κατὰ Μαθθαῖον* was from the apostle's pen. (6) The actual conditions giving its author the stimulus to compose his artistic and reflective Gospel, must be gauged from the perspective in which he places the central Figure. He is set forth as the full blossoming of Israel's prophetic ideal of the King ruling in righteousness, and in wondrous gentleness too. The picture is the implicit corrective of the false Messianic ideal which had made the nation as a whole reject Jesus, and had already led it yet further astray in the path of earthly force. Thus, as we have seen, the urgency of the warnings against going after false Messiahs on the felt approach of the great national crisis (conceived on the lines of Daniel's prophecy of Jerusalem's last trial and in terms of current apocalyptic based thereon), points to the actual crisis of 68–70 as to the specific occasion which gave it birth. It is an appeal to waverers of all sorts to trust the true King, whose reign is of heaven, and depends on the action of God, not of men; and not to become involved in the current of the false national ideal. It is meant to do the same work as the Epistle to the Hebrews, only in another fashion and at a rather later date. And, like it, it is at once apologetic and polemical: it is a dissuasive in the form of a positive presentation. Jesus is God's Messiah in spite of all superficial appearances, and that by realizing the essence of Moses and the Prophets. It is hard to see which of the alternative dates, shortly before or after A.D. 70, makes the Gospel the more pertinent as a book for the times—and so satisfies the law of all early Christian writings. On the whole, Mt 24 adheres so closely to Mk's standpoint, in contrast to Luke's modifications and omissions, after 70—notably in counsels practical before 70, but not after (*e.g.* $^{15b.\ 16a.\ 20}$, esp. *μηδὲ σαββάτῳ*, ^{23})—that *c.* 68–69 seems the best date.

---

* Similarly the enigmatic, 'He shall be called a Nazarene,' seems an implicit reply to criticism. The flinging at Jesus of the epithet 'Nazarene'—a term of contempt on lofty lips—really fulfils the substance of 'the prophets' as a whole, touching Messiah's humble and even despised lot (*e.g.* as the faithful 'Servant of Jehovah,' Is $53^{1ff.}$).

† This will be the more convincing if even some of the other numerical arrangements which Sir J. Hawkins suggests as intended by Mt, hold good (*Horæ Synopt.* 131 ff.). We cannot, however, see that the number of the 'formula' verses, 7^{28} 11^{1} 13^{53} 19^{1} 26^{1}, is intentional. They are far apart, and no attention is drawn to their number any more than in the case of the recurring formulæ in Jg 2^{6}–16^{31}.

* Lk probably had in his 'special source' a mixed gospel embodying the bulk of his *Logian* element as it now stands in our Lk.

In 24^{15b} *ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ* follows Dn's forecast of Temple-desecration and not the facts of 70. Some, however, doubt whether Mt 28^{19} can have been written before 70, since it implies use of the triune baptismal name. But, if a similar clause be an original part of *Didaché* 7, its evidence may be cited. For the work as a whole, and not the 'Two Ways' only, seems to be implied by the Christian interpolation in *Ascensio Isaiæ*, which perhaps falls before Nero's death (*i.e. c.* 65–68). Hence there is nothing decisive against *c.* 68–69 A.D.; while the statement in 27^{8}, 'that field is called the Field of Blood until this day,' and casual references to 'the holy city' and the temple-worship, are more natural at that date than after the utter ruin and change of 70. So with the reference to 'going over the cities of Israel,' 10^{23}. Perhaps, then, $22^{6b.\ 7b}$ are additions after 70: contrast Lk 14^{21}.

(7) The evangelist writes, however, with a sort of detachment hard to imagine in one living in Palestine about 70. Thus it is best, and most in keeping with the Greek form and with internal evidence, to locate him in S. Syria, say Phœnicia (4^{24a} $15^{21ff.}$ alongside Mk 1^{28} $7^{24ff.}$, cf. Ac 11^{19} 15^{3}). That the author was a Jew, is clear from the text and manner of his special OT quotations, which so colour his work. But his was a spiritual Israel, new while old, inclusive not exclusive, conceived on prophetic lines after the manner of Peter and the Apocalypse of John—with the latter of which its affinities are most marked. Jesus of Nazareth is really the Christ, since in His person, teaching, work, and even His tragic end, all has been as prophecy had intimated. While as to the scope of Messiah's *Ecclesia*, the elect Israel, it was but a little thing that God should through Him raise up Jacob: the nations, too, were to be His inheritance, by the incorporation into the Kingdom of *all* who were of faith [cf. Kübel (as below), Introductory Remarks, trans. in *Bibl. World*, i. 194 ff., 263 ff.].

(8) All theories of Mt must be both problematic and complex. Zahn's theory of an 'apologetic' Aramaic[*] Gospel by the Apostle Matthew, *c.* 62 A.D., turned into Greek, *c.* 85, is too simple for the phenomena. The prevalent 'two document' hypothesis, with the use of special oral traditions, comes far nearer the truth. But it may be doubted whether the second or *Logian* document is needed to account for Mt's divergences from Mk; and whether the differences as well as similarities of the *Logian* element in Mt and Lk are not best explained by a common Gr. *Logian* type of catechesis[†] behind both. In favour of such a 'one document' hypothesis may be alleged the *Logian* quotations in the *Didaché*, perhaps also in the first Ep. of Clement and the Oxyrhynchan fragment, as seeming to reflect local catechesis rather than either Mt or Lk. It would be some time before a written gospel superseded traditional local usage as the prime factor in forming the *Logian* equipment of Christians. It is in Ignatius, then, that we seem first to have good evidence of Mt as an influence at work (*e.g. ad Eph.* 19^{2}). But not even then did oral tradition cease to operate. To its reaction on the written text we owe in large part early secondary readings, such as those misnamed 'Western': and from it, especially in its later stages, come those *Logia* known as *Agrapha*.

LITERATURE.—The following aims at indicating only the more representative works of earlier times, with a rather fuller citation of those since 1880.

TEXT.—In checking the witness of the MSS and VSS, we have, besides the fragments of Tatian's *Diatessaron* (in Hamlyn Hill, *The Earliest Life of Christ*, pp. 333–377), which are common to the four Gospels, a special aid in the 3rd cent. papyrus of Mt $1^{1\text{-}20}$ (Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, i. pp. 4–7). This supports not only the usual reading in 1^{16} but also the 'Neutral' type of text resting on אB.

---

[*] Similarly, the Epistle of James echoes in its own way not a few of the precepts of the great Sermon, esp. those on Swearing (otherwise peculiar to Mt) and on Censoriousness towards brethren (=towards 'Law,' 4^{11}, perhaps that of Mt 7^{1}, Lk 6^{37}).

[†] This kind of expansive and explanatory activity of the Christian 'scribe instructed in the kingdom of heaven' seems taken for granted in 13^{52}: cf. 23^{34} for the catechist.

[*] We can merely note the weighty witness of Dalman (*Die Worte Jesu*, 1898) against the directly Aramaic antecedents of our Gospel-material. The Hebraisms of our Gospels he traces chiefly to LXX influence on their writers.

[†] The absence of all historical trace of such a revered writing as an *Ur-Matthäus* would have been, is rendered doubly inexplicable if it be granted that it was ever current in Greek. Here is the one strong point of Zahn's theory over against the 'two document' theory of Weiss and others.

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE.—There is a special treatise by Gla, *Die Originalsprache des Mt*, Paderborn, 1887. But the most authoritative discussion in relation to the whole subject of the Semitic basis of the Synoptics is that in Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, Bd. i., Leipzig, 1898. There, as also in Zahn's *Einleitung in d. NT*, Bd. ii., will be found the earlier history of the subject.

RELATION TO THE GOSPEL OF THE HEBREWS.—Hilgenfeld, *NT extra Canon. receptum*², 1884; Nicholson, *Gospel according to the Hebrews* (1879); Handmann, *Hebräerevangelium* (1888), in *TU* v. 3 (with good *Geschichte der Kritik*); Resch, *Agrapha* (1889), in *TU* v. 4, p. 322 ff.; Zahn, *Gesch. des NT Kanons*, ii. 642 ff.; Harnack, *Chronologie*, Bd. i. 625 ff. Hilgenfeld's thesis, that in the original Nazarene *Heb. Ev.* [=the Heb. *Matt.*, *i.e.* Papias' *Logia*] is to be sought the Archimedean point of the whole Gospel problem, has met with little support (yet see McGiffert's note on Eusebius, iii. 27). It is largely another case of *ignotum per ignotius*. Thus Nicholson falls back on the rather effete view that Mt wrote both in Greek and Hebrew (=the *Heb. Ev.*). Handmann and Resch agree in denying the identity of the *Heb. Ev.* with the supposed Hebrew *Matt.* The former makes it a second source of our Synoptics, alongside 'Ur-Markus,' and perhaps even what Papias meant by the *Logia*; the latter emphasizes its apocryphal features (even in its original form), and makes it dependent on our *Matthew*. Harnack, here in principle agreeing with Zahn, takes a middle position, making it originally a sort of cousin of our *Matt.*, each being an enlarged edition of the Matthæan *Logia*. Only Harnack differs from Zahn in making both recensions of about the same date (not long after 70). Finally, J. Armitage Robinson, in *Expos.* 5th Ser. v. (1897) 194–200, discusses three of the fragments of the *Heb. Ev.* in such a way as to traverse the main conclusion of these two scholars.

COMMENTARIES.—*Patristic and Mediæval:* Origen (in Greek for 13^{36}–22^{33}, in Latin to 27), Chrysostom (91 *Homilies*, ed. Field, 3 vols. 1839), Hilary of Poitiers (ed. Oberthür, tom. vii.), Jerome, Augustine (on parts), Bede, Theophylact, Euthymius Zigabenus (ed. C. F. Matthæi, 1792, a valuable work), Thomas Aquinas. To these may be added Cramer's *Catenæ græc. patrum in NT*, tom. i. 1844.

Reformation and Post-Reformation.—Erasmus, Luther, Calvin, Beza; the Roman Catholics Maldonatus (1596; Eng. tr. Hodges, 1894), Jansen and Cornelius a Lapide; Grotius, Calovius, Hammond, le Clerc, Olearius (1713), J. C. Wolf (*Curæ Philolog. et Crit.* 1733), Bengel, J. J. Wetstein (*NT græc.* 1751), H. E. G. Paulus (1800), Campbell (1807^3), Kuinoel, Fritzsche (1826), Bland (Cambridge, 1828), Olshausen, Baumgarten-Crusius, de Wette, Ewald, Meyer, Alford, Patritius (R.C.), Bleek, Morison, M'Clellan, Keil, Lange, Schaff and Riddle, Schanz (R.C., 1879), Nicholson, Knabenbauer (R.C.), Nösgen (1886, 1897^2), Broadus (Philad. 1887), Holtzmann (*Handkom.* 1889, 1892^2), Kübel (*Exeg.-Hom. Handb.* 1889), Meyer-Weiss (1890^8, 1898^9), Maclaren (1892), A. B. Bruce (*Expos. Greek Test.* vol. i.).

ILLUSTRATIONS.—Hebrew and Talmudic parallels are collected chiefly in the *Horæ Heb. et Talm.* of Lightfoot and Schöttgen, and in Gerh. Meuschen, *NT ex Talmude et antiquit. Ebræorum illustr.* 1736; Weber's *Jüd. Theologie* and Dalman's *Worte Jesu* also contribute thereto. In the enormous accumulation of Greek parallels to word or phrase, the following have done good service: Price, *Comm. in Varios NT Libros* (1660); Raphel, *Annot. Philolog. in NT ex Xenophonte, Polybio, Arriano et Herodoto* (1709–31); Elsner, *Observ. sacræ in NT libros* (1720); J. Alberti, *Observ. Philolog. in Sacros NT Libros* (1725), Palairet (French pastor in London, 1752); Kypke (1755); Krebs (esp. from Josephus, 1755), and Loesner (esp. from Philo, 1777); Campbell, *Dissertations*, 1788; Grinfield, *Scholia Hellenistica in NT* (1848); and Field, *Otium Norvicense*, *Pars* iii.^2 (1899).

DISCUSSIONS ON SPECIAL SECTIONS.—Lutteroth, *Essai d'interprétation de quelques parties de l'Évangile selon S. Matt.*, 1864–76. *Nativity:* Resch, *Kindheitsevangelium*, *TU* x. 5 (where further references will be found). *Sermon on the Mount:* Trench (1844), Tholuck (translation, 1869^2), H. Weiss (Freiburg, 1893). *The Lord's Prayer:* Chase, *Lord's Prayer in the Early Church* (Camb. Texts and Studies, i. 3, 1891). *Parables:* Trench, Arnot, Bruce *Parabolic Teaching of Christ* (1889^3), and Jülicher *Gleichnisreden Jesu* (1888, 1899^2, review in *Expos. Times*, Sept. 1899, and in *JTS*, Jan. 1900). *Eschatological Discourse:* Hoelemann, *Bibelstudien* (Leipzig, 1860), 129–186; cf. Weiffenbach, *Der Wiederkunftsgedanke Jesu* (Leipzig, 1873); Schwartzkopff, *Die Weissagungen Jesu Christi* (1896, Eng. tr. 1897).

ORIGIN, CHARACTERISTICS, SYNOPTIC RELATIONS.—Hilgenfeld, *ZWTh* ix. 303 ff., 366 ff.; Scholten, *Das älteste Evangelium* (Elberfeld, 1869), valuable for data; Renan, *Les Evangiles* (1877); Schanz, 'Matt. u. Lukas,' *ThQ*, 1882, pp. 517–560; Massebieau, *Examen des citations de l'ancien Test. dans l'Évang. selon S. Matt.*, Paris, 1885; Th. Naville, *Essai sur l'évang. selon S. Matt.*, Lausanne, 1893; A. Réville, *Jésus de Nazareth*, 1897; Roehrich, *La Composition des Évangiles*, Paris, 1897; Bruce, *With Open Face* (1896), pp. 1–24; F. P. Badham, *St. Mark's Indebtedness to St. Matt.* (1897); Sir J. C. Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticæ* (1899); Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu* (1898); P. Wernle, *Die Synopt. Frage* (1899). Also the Introductions of Hilgenfeld, Davidson, Bleek-Mangold, Westcott, Salmon, Weiss (also *Life of Christ*, trans., i. 25 ff., 55 ff.), Holtzmann, Jülicher, Godet (part on Matt., 1898), Zahn; as well as articles in Bible Dictionaries and Encyclopædias.

SUPPOSED SOURCES.—Weiffenbach, *Die Papiasfragmente*, 1878; also Jacobsen and Lipsius in *JPTh* for 1885, pp. 167–176; see, further, *ap.* Zahn, *Einleitung*, Bd. ii.; Resch, *Agrapha* (1889), and *Aussercanonische Paralleltexte* (1893–94), in *TU* v. 4, x. 1, 2; and Ropes, *Die Sprüche Jesu* (a critical sifting of Resch's material), *TU* xiv. 2 (1896).

J. V. BARTLET.

MATTHIAS (Ματθίας [Tisch. Treg. WH Μαθθίας], abbreviated from Ματταθίας, the Gr. form of מַתִּתְיָה 'gift of J″'; cf. the name *Theodorus*).—The disciple selected along with Barsabbas, after the Ascension, from those followers of Christ who were deemed qualified for appointment to the apostleship vacant through the death of Judas (Ac 1^{15-26}). The procedure was adopted on the initiative of St. Peter, who applied Ps 109^8 to the circumstances; and the selection appears to have been made by the assembled Christian brotherhood.[*] The general qualification required was to have 'companied with us (the apostles) all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us.' Barsabbas and Matthias had also, presumably, special graces of character and gifts of teaching and administration. After prayer, addressed probably to Christ,[†] and a solemn appeal to the lot,[‡] Matthias was elected.

This is the sole instance of the lot being employed in the history of the Apostolic Church, and it occurs significantly between the Ascension and Pentecost, when the disciples were 'orphans' (Jn 14^{18}). Stier (*Words of the Apostles, in loc.*) regards this election as premature and unwarranted, the outcome of St. Peter's officious impetuosity. 'The lot fell: not the Lord chose.' He holds that St. Paul was the true successor of Judas, chosen, like the other apostles, by the Lord Himself. It may be granted that the appointment of Matthias stands on a somewhat lower level than that of the original Twelve and of St. Paul; but, in the absence of any direction to the contrary, the procedure was a legitimate exercise of human wisdom in dependence upon divine guidance; and St. Luke, the 'beloved' friend of St. Paul, appears to endorse the election (representing, doubtless, the general opinion of the Apostolic Church); for after speaking of the eleven apostles (Ac 1^{26}) he refers (Ac 6^2) to the 'Twelve.'[§]

The historical character of Matthias' election has been impugned by Zeller (*Acts of Apost.*, Eng. tr. i. 168) on account of (1) the assumption that the apostles remained in Jerusalem; (2) the close connexion of the narrative with Pentecost. But the departure of the apostles to Galilee after the Resurrection did not preclude their early return to Jerusalem; and the second objection can have weight only with those who reject entirely the supernatural in primitive Church history.

According to Eus. (*HE* i. 12, ii. 1) and Epiphan. (*Hær.* i. 22), Matthias was one of the 'Seventy' (Lk 10^1).[‖] Hilgenfeld identifies him with Natha-

---

[*] So Beng., Stier, Mey., Alf., Baumg., etc. on the ground that the subj. in v.^{23} must be the same as in $\text{vv.}^{24.26}$. Some (Mosh. Ham. Jacobson, etc.), assign the selection to the apostles, taking the subj. from v.^{17}.

[†] So Beng., Ols., Baumg., Alf., Words., Hows., and most commentators, on the ground that the choice of apostles is always referred to Christ (Lk 6^{13}, Jn 6^{70} 15^{16}, Ac 1^2), the same Greek word being used. Meyer, Holtz., Zöck. refer 1^{24} to God (Ac 4^{29} 15^8).

[‡] The lot, presumably, would be taken in the usual way, the names of the two men being written on tablets, and shaken in a vessel, and he whose tablet first leapt out being regarded as divinely designated (Lv 16^8, Nu 26^{55}, Pr 16^{33}). So late as 1731 the Moravians decided by lot the question whether they should retain their own organization, or be incorporated with the Lutherans (Gloag, *in loc.*). Wesley also had a predilection for sortilege (Southey, *Life of Wesley*, i. 136, 187). Mosh. (*Comm. Sæc.* i. 14) and others (Gagneius [doubtfully] Salmeron) maintain, chiefly on the ground of ἔδωκαν instead of ἔβαλον in v.^{26}, that the election was by ballot. But this view harmonizes neither with Jewish usage nor with the context ('show of these two the one whom Thou hast chosen'); and while αὐτοῖς in v.^{26} is the correct reading, the rendering 'for them' is legitimate.

[§] The objection of Stier, that St. Luke here avoids the expression 'Twelve *Apostles*,' is hypercritical.

[‖] It is noteworthy that the ancient Syriac translation of Eus. substitutes *Tolmai* and the ancient Armenian version *Bartolmai* (Bartholomew) for *Matthias* (when referring to him as one of the Seventy), embodying probably a very early local tradition that Matthias bore this additional name. See Nestle in *Expos. Times*, ix. 568 (Sept. 1898). This Tolmai or Bartholomew may have been a brother or other relative of Bartholomew the Apostle, to avoid confusion with whom the other name Matthias would commonly be used. Or perhaps this Syriac nael, owing to the two names having nearly the same meaning.* A tradition preserved by Niceph. Call. (*HE* ii. 40) represents Matthias as labouring in Ethiopia; and in the apocryphal *Acts of Andrew and Matthias* † (assigned to the 2nd cent.), Matthias evangelizes the Ethiopian man-eaters, from whom he is delivered by St. Andrew. See ANDREW. Another ancient tradition assigns to Matthias Jerusalem as scene of ministry and place of burial (Pseudo-Hipp. in Combesis, *Auct. Nov.*).

The Gnosticism of Basilides, or of his followers, was professedly based on the παραδόσεις of Matthias, which the Basilidians held to embody instruction secretly received by Matthias from our Lord (*Philosophoumena*, vii. 20). This work is probably identical with a Gospel of Matthias referred to by Origen (*Hom. in Luc.* i.) and by Eus. (*HE* iii. 25), who includes it among spurious works cited by heretics under names of the apostles.‡

LITERATURE.—The commentaries on Acts quoted above; Lipsius, *Apocr. Apos.*; Seufert, *Zwölfapost.*; Bp. Beveridge, *Works*, vol. i.; *Theolog. Repos.* i.; *Congreg. Mag.* xxvi.; J. Cochrane, *Difficult Texts*, 1851 (regards Matthias' election as unwarranted).

H. COWAN.

MATTITHIAH (מַתִּתְיָה).—**1.** One of the sons of Nebo who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10^{43} (B Θαμαθιά, A Μαθθαθίας, called in 1 Es 9^{35} Mazitias). **2.** A Korahite Levite who had 'the set office over the things that were baked in pans,' 1 Ch 9^{31} (LXX Ματταθίας). **3.** A Levite of the guild of Jeduthun, who ministered before the ark with harps, etc., 1 Ch $15^{18.21}$ $25^{3.21}$ (in all these the Heb. form is מַתִּתְיָהוּ; B has in the first two respectively 'Ιμματαθιά, Μετταθίας, and in the last two Ματταθίας; A has in the first three Ματταθίας, and in the last Ματθίας). **4.** An Asaphite Levite, 1 Ch 16^{5} (Ματταθίας). **5.** One of those who stood at Ezra's right hand at the reading of the law, Neh 8^{4} (Ματταθίας), called in 1 Es 9^{43} Mattathias).

J. A. SELBIE.

MATTOCK (מַחֲרֵשָׁה, δρέπανον, 1 S $13^{20.21}$, מַעְדֵּר, ἄροτρον, Is 7^{25}; Arab. *ma'wil*, a pickaxe).—The pickaxe used in Syria is of different shapes, but the most common has a long arm for breaking up the ground, and a short broad one, like a small axe, for cutting roots. In ploughing, the plough is always followed by one or two men with pickaxes, breaking the large clods of earth turned up by the ploughshare, or digging up the ground which cannot be reached by the plough. The hoe (Arab. *mijrăfăt*) is also used both for digging and for filling baskets with earth for removal. The shovel (*rufsh* or *mirfăshĕt*) is sometimes used. The RVm of 1 S 13^{21} is the same as the Arab. Version.

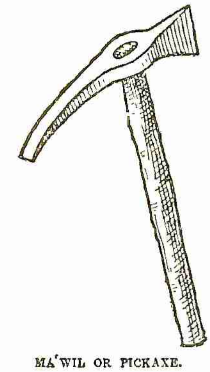

MA'WIL OR PICKAXE.

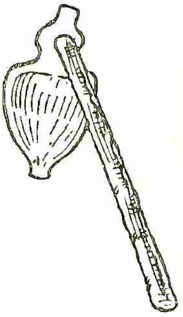

MIJRĂFĂT OR HOE.

W. CARSLAW.

MAUL.—In Pr 25^{18} the Arab. Version gives *miḳma'at* for maul (מֵפִיץ). It is a stick for striking a person on the head as a mark of disgrace, but it may also mean a club. Clubs are always carried by the shepherds of Lebanon, slung from the wrist by a thong or cord. The head of the club is round and heavy, and is sometimes studded with iron spikes. The common name for it in Lebanon is *dabûs*; in Egypt, *nabût*. In Jer 51^{20} the Heb. מַפֵּץ is tr. in RV 'battle-axe,' and in the marg. 'maul.' In the Arab. VS it is *fa's*, an axe, not very unlike מַפֵּץ in sound.

W. CARSLAW.

MAUZZIM.—The text of the AV of Dn 11^{38} contains the title 'the God of forces': the marg. has 'Heb. *Mauzzim*, or Gods protectors.' The same Heb. word מָעֻזִּים occurs in the beginning of the next verse. Our marg. note may be traced to Theodotion's rendering, θεὸν μαωζείν, which, however, he does not repeat in v.^{39}. The Vulg. is more consistent: 'Deum autem Maozim . . . et faciet ut muniat Maozim.' The LXX has no trace of this inclination to find a proper name here: in v.^{38} the present reading is ἔθνη ἰσχυρά, and in v.^{39} ὀχύρωμα ἰσχυρόν; but Jerome, in his Commentary on Daniel, states that its rendering in v.^{38} was *deum fortissimum* [Is ἔθνη, a corruption of θεόν?]. Aquila has θεὸν ἰσχύων. The Rhemish Version follows the Vulg.: 'But he shall worship the god Maozim. . . . And he shall do this to fortify Maozim,' etc. Luther's Bible is under the same influence, 'seinen Gott Mäuzim . . . stärken Mäuzim,' as is also the Authorized Dutch Version, but not quite to the same extent, 'den god Maüzzim . . . vastigheden der sterkten.' The Pesh. has 'strong god . . . strong fortress.'

It is now universally agreed that *Mauzzim* is not a proper name. Hitzig proposed to divide the word into two, reading מָעוֹז יָם (which at Is 23^{4} is the designation of Tyre), and taking אֱלֹהַּ מָעוֹז יָם to be Melḳart, the god of Tyre. But this seems unnecessary. 'The god of fortresses,' v.^{38}, and 'the strongest fortresses,' v.^{39}, of our RV are an adequate rendering. The only remaining dispute is as to who was meant by 'the god of fortresses.' Livy (xli. 20) states that Antiochus Epiphanes—whose deeds Daniel here depicts—began to build a splendid temple at Antioch in honour of Jupiter Capitolinus. Hence it has been inferred that this

---

tradition originated in a confusion occasioned by a possible early anticipation of the double later identification (1) of Bartholomew with Nathanael, and (2) of Nathanael with Matthias—a confusion which might lead to Matthias being identified with *a* Bartholomew.

* John Lightfoot had previously (*Com. on Ac, in loc.*) regarded this identification as tenable, but preferred on the whole to identify Nathanael with the Apostle Bartholomew.

† So the oldest MS, which Tisch. follows; some later MSS substitute *Matthew* for *Matthias*. Lipsius, however (*Apocr. Apos.* iii. 258), regards these Ethiopian traditions as really referring to Matthew.

‡ Some fragments of the παραδόσεις are preserved by Clem. Alex., and indicate a high moral tone: 'When the neighbour of an elect person falls into sin, the elect one sins himself' (*Strom.* vii. 13). 'We must contend with the flesh, and in our treatment of it yield nothing in the way of wantonness to its craving' (*ib.* iii. 4). The reference in the *Philos.*, however, indicates that the work countenanced Gnostic speculations.

is 'the god of fortresses.' Again, 2 Mac 6^{2} informs us that he re-dedicated the temple at Jerusalem to Jupiter Olympius. And this has given rise to the conjecture that the Olympian Jupiter is the one referred to. With equal reason might the same verse induce us to fix on Jupiter Hospitalis. A yet more doubtful conjecture is that Mars was intended. And, on all grounds, Layard's suggestion must be put aside. He was inclined towards the Assyrian Venus, who is represented as 'standing erect on a lion, and crowned with a tower or mural coronet.' Perhaps the choice, if a choice must be made, lies between Jupiter Capitolinus and Ζεὺς Πολιεύς, 'the guardian of the city,' the family god of the Seleucids, to whom there was an altar on the Acropolis at Athens, whose claims are strenuously maintained by G. Hoffmann and Behrmann. In point of fact the evidence is not sufficient to justify a decision.

As curiosities of exegesis may be mentioned the view of Sir Isaac Newton and others, that the *Mauzzim* of Dn 11^{38} are protectors or guardians, the verse being a prediction that the doctrine of guardian angels should be introduced by the Roman Antichrist, and Pfeiffer's view that 'the idol of the Mass' is intended. J. TAYLOR.

MAW (Anglo-Sax. *maga*, the stomach).—This old name for the stomach is used in Dt 18^{3} as the tr. of קֵבָה in its only occurrence. RV uses the same word in Jer 51^{34} for AV 'belly' as tr. of כָּרֵשׂ in its only occurrence also. The tr. in Dt 18^{3} is from Tindale, who uses the word also in his exposition of Mt 7^{15} 'Your prayer is but pattering without all affection; your singing is but roaring to stretch out your maws (as do your other gestures and rising at midnight), to make the meat sink to the bottom of the stomach, that he may have perfect digestion, and be ready to devour afresh against the next refection'; and Coverdale uses it in translating 1 K 22^{34}, 'A certayne man bended his bowe harde, and shott the kynge of Israel betwene the mawe and the longes.' J. HASTINGS.

MAZITIAS (A Μαζιτίας, B Ζειτίας), 1 Es 9^{35}= MATTITHIAH, Ezr 10^{43}.

MAZZAROTH (מַזָּרוֹת).—This word occurs only in Job 38^{32}, and seems early to have been regarded by commentators as being connected with the מַזָּלוֹת (*mazzālôth*) of 2 K 23^{5}, as is indicated also by the LXX, which has Μαζουρώθ in both passages. In the AVm *Mazzārôth* is rendered by 'the twelve signs,' and in the RV by 'the signs of the Zodiac,' both of which may be regarded as the true significations of the word. Ges., who proposes the latter rendering, and suggests its identity with *mazzālôth* ('lodgings'), compares the Chaldee *mazzālayā*. *Mazzālôth* would therefore be the plural of the Hebrew equivalent of this Chaldee form, given in late Jewish works as מַזָּל (*mazzāl*), which was used to denote not only the single signs and the planets, but also their influence on the fate of men (Selden, *de Dîs Syr.*, Synt. i. c. 1). If the etymology of *Mazzārôth* (=*mazzālôth*) be, as Ges. suggests, the same as that of the Arab. *manzil*, 'lodging-place,' the root would be *nāzal*, one of the meanings of which is 'to descend,' *i.e.* 'to alight at a place in order to sojourn there.' Another etymology, however, has been revived by Jensen, who compares *Mazzārôth* (=*mazzālôth*) with the Assyr. *manzalti*.* This comparison, however, is not without its difficulties, as the Assyr. word is for *manzazti*, from *nazāzu*, 'to stand,' whence also *manzazu*, 'station,' 'resting-place.' This, of course, would disconnect *mazzārôth* and *mazzālôth* from the late singular form *mazzal*.* Other renderings of *mazzārôth* that may be noted are the Syriac (Peshiṭta) *agalta*, 'the wain,' or 'the great bear'; 'Lucifer, the morning star' (Procopius of Gaza); 'stars' generally, and 'a northern constellation' (Aben Ezra and R. Levi ben Gershon), etc.

The Babylonian names of the twelve signs of the Zodiac are given in vol. i. p. 192 (footnote), and the inhabitants of that country were accustomed to observe them and to note the dates when the moon and the planets entered them, for the purpose of forecasting events, drawing up horoscopes, etc. These people were therefore wont to see Mazzaroth 'led forth in their season,' and the passage in Job where this word occurs would seem to point to the author of the book being as well acquainted as they with the wonders of the starry heavens. T. G. PINCHES.

MAZZEBAH.—See PILLAR.

MAZZOTH.—See PASSOVER.

MEADOW.—This purely English word (Anglo-Saxon, *Mædu*, *Mædewe*) occurs in the AV only in Gn $41^{2.18}$ and Jg 20^{33}.

1. In Gn $41^{2.18}$ אָחוּ (LXX ἄχει), the word tr^d 'meadow' is of Egyptian (demotic *αχu*) origin (cf. Jerome on Is 19^{7}; Wiedemann, *Sammlung altägyptischer Wörter*, p. 16; Ebers, *Ægypten und die Bücher Mose's*, p. 338), and believed to mean the reed-grass (so RV) which in Lower Egypt borders the Nile and its branches, together with the marsh-lands, during floods.† As suggested, also, in the art. MEADOW in Smith's *DB*, the word may denote the pasturage afforded by the growing crops during high Nile. But the pasturage of cattle was carried on extensively in Lower Egypt under the Old Empire. In modern Egypt cattle are fed in cultivated clover fields, for there are but few natural meadows of wild grass; but in ancient Egypt it was otherwise. As we know from numerous Egyptian tablets, cattle were fed on the stretches of marshy land in the Delta, whether beds of old rivers or water-courses, or such extensive shallows as that of Lake Menzaleh, now covered by brackish water, but once forming to a large extent one of the most productive tracts in Egypt.‡ The dream of Pharaoh, therefore, in which the fat cattle were seen to feed in the reed-grass by the river side was the natural suggestion to the mind during sleep of a custom which he may often have witnessed.

2. Jg 20^{33} (MT מַעֲרֵה גָּבַע; B Μαρααγάβε, A δυσμῶν τῆς Γαβαά; Vulg. *ab occidentali urbis parte*; AV

---

* The original text of the Assyr. inscr. here referred to is as follows:—

'(If) the planet Jupiter approach,' etc. etc. etc.,
ilāni ina šamê ina manzalti-šunu izzazzūni
parakke-šunu *daḫdu inammaru*,
'the gods in the heavens in their station remain,
their shrines will see plenty.' (*WAI* iii. 59, 35–36).

* It is worthy of note that the Assyr. intermediate form *mazzarti* has not yet been found, and that, if found, it would be singular, like *manzalti*. On the other hand, the plural, if regular, would be *manzazāti* (*l* or *r* changing back to *z* before a vowel), and ought to have been borrowed by the Hebrews, not as *mazzārôth* or *mazzālôth*, but as *mazzāzôth*. Both Heb. forms, therefore, if borrowed from Assyr., must have come from the Assyr. singular without regard to the original root of the word.

† אָחוּ occurs also in Job 8^{11} (LXX πάπυρος; AV, RV 'rush,' RVm 'papyrus'), and should be restored in Hos 13^{15} (אָחִים for אַחִים [*Oxf. Heb. Lex.*], or read כְּבֵין מַיִם אָחוּ [Wellh. and Nowack]).

'Meadows' is introduced by RV also in Is 19^{7} (AV 'paper reeds'). The Heb. is עָרוֹת, a ἅπ. λεγ.; LXX (so also Syr.) has ἄχι. It is just possible that they may have read or misread אחות for עָרוֹת. The LXX reads ἄχει also in Sir 40^{16} (AV 'weed,' RV 'sedge'). The recently recovered Heb. text has קרדמות, which is prob. a corruption (see König in *Expos. Times*, Aug. 1899, p. 513 f.).

‡ Adolf Erman, *Ægypten*, translated as *Life in Ancient Egypt* by H. M. Tirard, pp. 438–444 (1894).

'meadows of Gibeah,' RVm 'meadow of Geba,' RV Maareh-geba). Much uncertainty attaches to the correct tr^{n} of this passage. By alteration of the vowel-points adopted in MT, the word signifies 'a cave' (מְעָרָה). So Studer, following the Peshiṭta. This is a probable enough translation, as the position of Gibeah (which is the correct reading, not *Geba*), high up amongst the hills of Central Palestine, puts the idea of meadows in connexion therewith out of the question. On the other hand, caves amongst the limestone rocks are not infrequent in Palestine. Of Gibeah (*Tuleil el-Fûl*) Tristram says: 'Dreary and desolate, scarce any ruins, save a confused mass of stones, which form a sort of cairn on the top [of the hill]. As we recall also the hideous deed of the men of Gibeah, the blighting doom seems to have settled over the spot' (*Land of Israel*^{2}, p. 171).

Another probable emendation, in the line of LXX (A) and Vulg., is מִמַּעֲרַב לַגּ׳ 'to the west of Gibeah.' See MAAREH-GEBA. E. HULL.

MEAH.—See HAMMEAH.

MEAL.—**1.** A repast, the portion of food eaten at one time. The word is used only in the compound 'Mealtime' (Ru 2^{14}), where it is the tr. of עֵת הָאֹכֶל, literally 'the time of eating.' See FOOD in vol. ii. p. 41 f.

2. The substance of grain ground but not sifted. Our English word is from the Anglo-Saxon *melu*, which is connected with the Gothic *malan*, 'to grind.' The word is used as the tr. of קֶמַח *ḳemaḥ*, which signifies meal in general, sometimes used with the genitive of the kind of grain from which it is made, as of the $\frac{1}{10}$th ephah presented by the husband for his wife in the Jealousy Offering, Nu 5^{15}. In this case, the homely nature of the material is supposed to typify the humiliation of the woman accused. When used to represent fine flour it is combined with סֹלֶת as in Gn 18^{6}. Three *ṣeahs* of this fine meal (probably about 4 pecks) were used by Sarah to make cakes for the angelic visitors at Mamre. The mention of the same quantity, ἀλεύρου σάτα τρία, in the parable of the leaven, Mt 13^{33}, Lk 13^{21}, seems to show that this was the ordinary quantity to prepare at one time. *Ḳemaḥ* and *ṣôleth* are sometimes contrasted, as in the account of Solomon's daily provision, which consisted of 60 *kors* (=622½ bushels) of meal and 30 *kors* of *ṣôleth* (1 K 4^{22}). Meal was the breadstuff used by the poor. The widow of Zarephath had only a handful of *ḳemaḥ* in her meal-tub, 1 K 17^{12}. It was with *ḳemaḥ* that Elisha healed the poisonous pottage, 2 K 4^{41}. Meal was brought as part of the tribute to David on his becoming king in Hebron, 1 Ch 12^{40}.

In the prophetic writings 'meal' is used in several figures. The humbling of the Daughter of Babylon was to be shown by her being reduced to the work of grinding meal as a sign of servitude, Is 47^{2}. Hosea represents the unprofitableness of the evil works of Israel as sowing the wind, reaping the whirlwind whose bud (צֶמַח) makes no meal (Hos 8^{7}). There is a peculiar force here in the assonance *'ên lō ẓémaḥ bĕlî ya'ăseh ḳémaḥ*. For other particulars see BREAD and FOOD.

In the RV the word occurs very much more frequently in connexion with the *minḥāh* or meal offering, Lv $2^{1ff.}$ and many other passages. This is called 'meat offering' in the AV. See OFFERING and SACRIFICE.

The Israelites seem to have employed mills from a very early period, but it is remarkable that they were apparently unknown in Egypt until a comparatively late time. There is no word which unequivocally signifies 'mill' in the language of the Old or Middle Empire, as far as we know. Their grain seems to have been pounded or brayed. The word *ḳemḥ* occurs in a list of offerings at Denderah as a kind of flour. In Ethiopic *k'amiḥi* is used for 'pulse.' The word *ke-me* is used for meal in several cuneiform texts (see Strassmaier, *Inschr. v. Nabonidus*, Leipzig, 1889).

A. MACALISTER.

MEAL-OFFERING is the rendering substituted by the OT revision for AV 'meat-offering' (מִנְחָה). The American Revisers further record their preference for 'meal-offering' in Jer 14^{12} 17^{26} 33^{18} 41^{5}. In these passages our RV reads 'oblation' with 'meal-offering' in the margin. For details see general article SACRIFICE.

MEAN.—The verb to 'mean' (from Anglo-Sax. *maenan* to intend, tell, and connected with 'mind,' the root being *man* to think) signifies sometimes to intend, purpose: Gn 50^{20} 'But as for you, ye thought evil against me; but God meant it unto good'; Is 3^{15} 'What mean ye that ye beat my people to pieces, and grind the faces of the poor?'; 10^{7} 'Howbeit he meaneth not so, neither doth his heart think so'; Ac 21^{13} 'What mean ye to weep and to break mine heart?'; Ac 27^{2} 'We launched, meaning to sail by the coasts of Asia'; 2 Co 8^{13} 'For I mean not that other men be eased and ye burdened.' Cf. Shaks. *Merry Wives*, v. ii. 15, 'No man means evil but the devil, and we shall know him by his horns.'

The subst. **meaning**, which in Dn 8^{15}, 1 Co 14^{11} signifies 'understanding,' 'sense,' as in its modern use, expresses 'purpose,' 'intention,' in 1 Mac 15^{4} 'My meaning also being to go through the country' (βούλομαι δὲ ἐκβῆναι κατὰ τὴν χώραν; RV 'I am minded to land in the country'). Cf. Jer 44^{25} Cov. 'Purposly have ye set up youre owne good meanynges, and hastely have ye fulfilled youre owne intente'; Hall, *Works* ii. 103, 'Good meanings have oft-times proved injurious.'

The subst. 'mean' (from Old Fr. *meien, moien*; Lat. *medius*) signified originally something that was in the middle. Thus Tymme's *Calvin's Genesis* (1578), p. 678 '[Moses] was a meane betweene the Patriarches and the Apostles'; Elyot, *Governour*, ii. 334, 'He that punissheth whyle he is angry, shall never kepe that meane which is betwene to moche and to lyttell'; Barlowe, *Dialoge*, 103, 'God loved the people so entyerly, that of theym he chose bysshoppes, preistes, and deacons, to offer speciall sacrifices for the clensynge of theyr synnes, and to be as meanes betwene hym and them'; and Knox, *Works*, iii. 98, 'Is he who discendit from heaven and vouchsaffit to be conversant with synneris, commanding all soir vexit and seik to cum unto him (who, hanging upon the Cross, prayit first for his enemyis), becum now so untractable, that he will not heir us without a person to be a meane?' From this arose easily the sense of *instrument*, which is often sing., 'a mean,' in the Eng. of that day, though in AV itself it is always plu., 'means.' Thus Lever, *Sermons*, 79, 'Of God surely thou hast received it, by what messenger or meane so ever thou came unto it,' and Knox, *Works*, iii. 299, 'The instrumente and meane wherwith Christe Jesus used to remove and put awaye the horrible feare and anguysshe of his Disciples, is his only worde'; and in AV, Wis 8^{13} 'By the means of her I shall obtain immortality' (RV 'because of her'); 2 Co 1^{11} 'the gift bestowed upon us by the means of many persons' (RV 'by means of many'); Rev 13^{14} 'by the means of those miracles' (RV 'by reason of the signs'). This word is sometimes also an adj., of which we have such examples in AV as *in the mean while*, 1 K 18^{45}, Jn 4^{31}, Ro 2^{15}; *in the mean time*, 1 Mac 11^{41}, Lk 12^{1}; and *in the mean season*, 1 Mac 11^{14} 15^{15}. Cf. Pr. Bk. 'The

Communion,' 'My duty is to exhort you in the mean season'; Jer 32^{25} Cov. 'In the meane season the cite is delyvered in to the power of the Caldees.'

There is another adj. 'mean,' which is traced to the Anglo-Sax. *gemaene*, 'common,' 'general,' and is possibly connected with Lat. *communis*, though Skeat counts that very doubtful. This word was early confused with the distinct Anglo-Sax. word *maene*, 'false,' 'wicked,' with the result, that from signifying merely peasant-born, of common origin, it came to express 'low-minded,' 'base' (the word 'base' has a parallel history, see BASE), and again 'niggardly,' 'penurious.' In AV the word is used only in the sense of 'low-born,' 'common': Pr 22^{29} 'Seest thou a man diligent in his business? he shall stand before kings; he shall not stand before mean men' (לִפְנֵי חֲשֻׁכִּים, lit. 'before obscure *persons*' as AVm and RVm); Is 2^{9} 'And the mean man is bowed down, and the great man humbleth himself,' Heb. אָדָם opp. to אִישׁ, so 5^{15} 31^{8}; Ac 21^{39} 'a citizen of no mean city' (*οὐκ ἀσήμου πόλεως*). Cf. Pref. to AV 1611, 'If any man conceit, that this is the lot and portion of the meaner sort onely, and that Princes are priviledged by their high estate, he is deceived'; Elyot, *Governour*, i. 25, 'It is expedient and also nedefull that under the capitall governour be sondry meane authorities'; Knox, *Hist.* 392, 'When scarcely could be found ten in a Country that rightly knew God, it had been foolishnesse to have craved, either of the Nobilitie or of the mean Subjects, the suppressing of Idolatry.'

The adv. meanly is found in 2 Mac 15^{38} 'If I have done well and as is fitting the story, it is that which I desired; but if slenderly and meanly, it is that which I could attain unto.' The meaning is 'moderately' (*μετρίως*). Cf. Spenser, *Mother Hubberds Tale*, 297—

> 'The Husbandman was meanly well content
> Triall to make of his endevourment';

and Shaks. *Com. of Errors*, I. i. 59—

> 'Thy wife, not meanly proud of two such boys,
> Made daily motions for our home return.'

J. HASTINGS.

MEARAH (מְעָרָה 'cave' [cf. AVm]; LXX seems to follow another reading).—Mentioned amongst the districts of Palestine that had yet to be possessed, Jos 13^{4}. The text is doubtful (see Dillm. *ad loc.*, and Bennett in *SBOT*, the latter of whom emends מֵאַרְוַד 'from Arvad'); but if we accept the MT, then Mearah, 'which belongeth to the Zidonians,' may be *Mogheirîyeh* ('small cave'), a village near Zidon; cf. Aquila, *καὶ σπήλαιον ὅ ἐστι τῶν Σιδωνίων*.

C. R. CONDER.

MEASURES.—See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

MEAT (Anglo-Sax. *mete*, perhaps from *mete* to measure, but more probably connected with Lat. *mandere* to chew) is in AV food in general, not, as now, flesh food only. Thus 2 Es 12^{51} 'But I remained still in the field seven days, as the angel commanded me; and did eat only in those days of the flowers of the field, and had my meat (*esca*) of the herbs.' The 'meat-offering' contained no flesh, but was composed of meal and oil. Fuller, *Holy State*, 185, says, 'A rich man told a poore man that he walked to get a stomach for his meat: *And I*, said the poore man, *walk to get meat for my stomach*'; cf. Adams on 2 P 1^{4} 'He feeds the ravens, and the young lions seek their meat at him.' In their Preface the AV translators say of the Scripture, 'It is not a pot of manna, or a cruse of oyl, which were for memory onely, or for a meals meat or two, but as it were a shower of heavenly bread, sufficient for a whole host, be it never so great.' So Hall, *Works*, i. 806, 'There was never any meat, except the forbidden fruit, so deare bought as this broth of Jacob.' As the word signifies whatever is eaten, it may be applied to flesh, as in Fuller, *Holy Warre*, 212, 'Where he giveth away the meat he selleth the sauce'; so in Gn $27^{4.7.31}$ of the venison Esau prepared for Isaac, and $27^{9.14}$ of the goat's flesh which Rebekah prepared.

The plu. 'meats' for 'kinds or portions of food' occurs some ten times in the Apocr., also in Pr 23^{6} 'neither desire thou his dainty meats,' where the Heb. is simply 'his dainties,' as RV; Ac 15^{29} 'meats offered to idols,' where the Gr. is 'offerings to idols' (*εἰδωλόθυτα*, RV 'things sacrificed to idols'); and in Mk 7^{19}, 1 Co $6^{13\,bis}$, 1 Ti 4^{3}, He 9^{10} 13^{9}, where the Gr. is always *βρώματα*, things to eat. Cf. Rhem. N.T. Preface, 'When we are litle ones, let us not covet the meates of the elder sort,' and the Rhem. tr. of Lk 9^{12} 'Dimisse the multitudes, that going into townes and villages here about, they may have lodging, and finde meates,' Jn 4^{8} 'For his Disciples were gone into the citie to bie meates.'

J. HASTINGS.

MEAT-OFFERING.—See MEAL-OFFERING, MEAT, OFFERING, and SACRIFICE.

MEBUNNAI (מְבֻנַּי, *ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν* (*i.e.* מִבְּנֵי), many MSS *Σαβουχαί*, Luc. *Σαβενί*).—According to 2 S 23^{27} a Hushathite (wh. see), one of David's thirty heroes. The name here given, however, is clearly a mistake for **Sibbecai**, the form which has been preserved in the parallel lists, 1 Ch 11^{29} 27^{11} (*Σοβοχαί*), and also 2 S 21^{18} (B *Ὀεβοχά*, A *Σεβοχαεί*) = 1 Ch 20^{4}.

J. F. STENNING.

MECHERATHITE.—See MAACAH.

MEDABA (*Μηδαβά*).—The form of the name MEDEBA, which appears in 1 Mac 9^{36}.

MEDAD.—See ELDAD.

MEDAN (מְדָן).—Name of a son of Abraham and Keturah, Gn 25^{2} (B *Μαδαίμ*, A *Μαδάν*) = 1 Ch 1^{32} (B *Μαδιάμ*, A *Μαδάν*). The word is probably to be identified with *Madān*, the god of some Arab tribe, best known through the proper name *'Abd-Al-Madān*, 'worshipper of Al-Madān'; the tribe or family called *Banū 'Abd-Al-Madān* was proverbial for various sorts of excellence in the earliest Arabic known to us (*Kāmil* of Al-Mubarrad, i. 56, 72). Unlike most of the names of the Arabic deities, the word appears to have an appropriate etymology, and to mean simply 'object of worship'; and with this sense the employment of the article accords, as well as the alternative vocalization, *Al-Mudān* (*Saḳṭ Al-Zand* of Abu 'l-'Alā, ed. Boulak, i. 47). The occurrence of the name of this god in a context in which we expect the name of a tribe, implies that the word was used as a national name also; and the word *Ḳais* is precisely parallel to *Madān* as being used for both a nation and a god, and as taking the article in the latter application. The seat of the worship of Al-Madān appears to have been Yemen (*Tāj Al-'Arūs*, *s.v.*), whereas the descendants of Keturah appear to be far away from S. Arabia; but this may be due to the migration of a tribe; and indeed the word occurs as a geographical name in N. Arabia (Yāḳūt and Al-Bekri).

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

MEDEBA (מֵידְבָא 'gently flowing waters,' Nu 21^{30}, Jos $13^{9.16}$, 1 Ch 19^{7}, Is 15^{2}).—A town in the Mishor,* east of Jordan, about 1½ hour S. of

---

* *Mishor* (מִישׁוֹר Dt 3^{10} 4^{43}, Jos $13^{9.16.17.21}$ 20^{8}, Jer $48^{8.21}$; translated by AV 'plain,' or 'plain country,' by RV 'plain,' m. 'tableland') is the name given to one of the divisions of Eastern Palestine, comprising the country between Heshbon and the Arnon, assigned to Reuben. It is a treeless plateau

Heshbon on the Roman road from that place to Kerak. It originally belonged to Moab, but was taken from them by Sihon, who was in his turn dispossessed by the children of Israel (Nu 21[24-26]). It was assigned to Reuben (Jos 13[9-16], where v.[9] should be translated 'all the tableland—Medeba to Dibon,' and v.[16] 'all the tableland as far as Medeba'). The Syrians who came to assist the children of Ammon pitched at Medeba, and, from the account of Joab's battle with them, it would seem that the city was then in the hands of the children of Ammon (1 Ch 19[6-15]). Since David's time (2 S 8[2]) Moab must have regained possession of the city and territory around, for, according to the Moabite Stone (line 8), Omri took possession of [the land of] Mehedeba, and Israel dwelt therein during his days and half his son's days, forty years; but Mesha recovered the territory, and rebuilt the cities which had been held by Omri and his son Ahab. Medeba is (perhaps) named in line 30, but the stone is here defaced, and the reading not quite certain. Joram's attempt in company with Jehoshaphat to recover these cities (2 K 3) was but partially successful, and the Moabites remained in them unchallenged until the prosperous reign of Jeroboam II., when they were driven to the south of the Arnon. Medeba is mentioned as belonging to Moab in Is 15[2], but not in Jer 48—an omission which is the more remarkable, as the list of Moabite cities in Jer is more full than that in Isaiah. Where by comparison with Isaiah we might expect to find it, occurs *Madmen* (Jer 48[2]), a name occurring only in that verse. See MADMEN. The LXX renderings are Jos 13[9] Δαιδαβάν B*, Μαιδαβάν B^a?, Μαιδαβά A. The word is omitted in v.[16]. 1 Ch 19[7] Μαιδαβά B, Μηδαβά A, Βαιδαβά ℵ. The text of Nu 21[30] is uncertain; for the last clause LXX has πῦρ ἐπὶ Μωάβ, Pesh. דמדברא. The ר of אשר, which has been marked with a point by the Massoretes, is not regarded by the LXX, and neither they nor Pesh. read Medeba. In Is 15[2] τῆς Μωαβείτιδος (B) represents the Medeba of MT.

In Maccabæan times John, the eldest son of Mattathias, was killed by a robber clan which lived at Medeba. The name of this clan was Jambri or Ambri. How Jonathan avenged the death of his brother is related in 1 Mac 9[36-42] and Jos. *Ant.* XIII. i. 2, 4. John Hyrcanus laid siege to Medeba, and took it with difficulty (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. ix. 1). Alexander Jannæus afterwards took it along with others from the Arabians, and Hyrcanus II. promised to restore them to Aretas (*ib.* XIII. xv. 4, XIV. i. 4).

The city appears to have been a flourishing Christian centre during the Byzantine period. It was the seat of a bishopric, and was represented at the Council of Chalcedon. After remaining desolate for centuries it was occupied in 1880 by a colony of Christians from Kerak, and some Latin fathers have established a mission there. In digging for foundations of houses many ancient remains have been brought to light. Besides the large pool with solid walls mentioned by several travellers, the remains of gates, towers, and four churches, besides some beautiful mosaics, have been discovered. An interesting account of a visit to these ruins is contained in *PEFSt* for July 1895, and Père Séjourné has written a full article on Medeba in the *Revue Biblique* for Oct. 1892. A remarkable mosaic map of Christian Palestine and Egypt has also been discovered, a description of which appears in *PEFSt* for July 1897, being a translation from Clermont-Ganneau's *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, tom. xi. p. 161, 1897. Further communications with reference to this mosaic are to be found on p. 239 of *PEFSt* for July 1897, p. 85 of April 1898, p. 177 of July 1898, p. 251 of Oct. 1898. A. T. CHAPMAN.

MEDES (מָדַי, Μῆδοι).—In Gn 10[2] Madai is a son of Japheth, and is associated with Gomer and Javan. The Assyr. form of the name is Madâ, but when we first meet with it in the annals of Shalmaneser II. (*c.* B.C. 840) it is written Amadâ. Hadad-nirari III. (*c.* B.C. 800) overthrew Khanaziruka, king of the Matâ, who inhabited Matiênê, S.W. of the Caspian; W. of the Matâ was Parsuas (perhaps Parthia), with its 27 kings, on the shores of Lake Urumiyeh. It is doubtful whether we should identify Matâ and Madâ as variant forms of the same name, or regard the Matâ as a division of the Madâ; at all events, Hadad-nirari III. also employs the name Madâ, and it is the only form of the name henceforth found in the cuneiform inscriptions. Tiglath-pileser III. overran the Median states E. of Zagruti or the Zagros, sending one of his generals against 'the Medes at the rising of the sun' (B.C. 743); and Sargon in B.C. 713 subdued a number of Median chieftains, one of whom was the chief of Partakanu. Esarhaddon divides Partakanu into the two provinces of Partakka and Partukka, and describes it as 'remote.' In the early part of his reign Assyria was threatened by a combined attack on the part of the Medes, Kimmerians, Sapardâ (Sepharad), and 'Kaztarit, king of Karu-Kassi'; but the Assyr. king carried the war into the enemy's country, and the defeat of the Median 'city-lords' in the far east relieved him of all danger from the Median tribes. A portion of the Kimmerians, however, took possession of the old kingdom of Ellipi, north of Elam, where a new power arose, with its capital in Ecbatana (Pers. *Hangmatâna*). In the cuneiform inscriptions the Kimmerians are called Umman Manda or nomad 'Barbarians' (Goiim in OT), and the resemblance of Manda to Madâ caused the two words to be confused together by the classical writers.

The Medes, like the Kimmerians, belonged to the Iranian branch of the Aryan race, the Persians being a kindred tribe, which pushed farther south towards the Persian Gulf. According to Herodotus (vii. 62, i. 101), they were called Arians by their neighbours, and were divided into six tribes: the Busæ, Paretakêni (Assyr. Partakanu), Struchates, Arizanti, Budii, and Magi. The Magi, however, seem rather to have been a priestly caste. The Assyr. inscriptions show that the Medes obeyed no central authority, but were divided, like the Greeks, into a number of small states, each under the rule of its own 'city-lord.' Consequently the classical belief in a 'Median empire' was groundless, and was really due to the confusion between the names Madâ and Manda.

A recently discovered inscription of Nabonidos has informed us that the destruction of Nineveh (B.C. 606) was brought about by the Manda, not by the Madâ or Medes. We have also learned from the cuneiform texts that it was the Manda who devastated Mesopotamia, destroying Harran and its temple of the Moon-god; that Astyages (Istuvigu in cuneiform) was king of the Manda; and that the revolt of Cyrus was against the Manda, and not against the Medes. Medes may have been included among the Manda or 'Barbarians,' but the term was primarily applied to the northern hordes who had swarmed across the Caucasus into W. Asia, and were called Kimmerians (see GOMER) and Scythians by the Greeks. The kingdom of Ecbatana was founded by these

---

affording pasture for flocks, and at one time suited for the culture of the vine (Is 16[8]). The number and extent of the ruins in this district show that it was once thickly inhabited. The Bedawin in their black tents are now the chief inhabitants; see G. A. Smith, *HGHL* pp. 535, 548.

Manda, who had conquered the ancient kingdom of Ellipi.

The 'Median' kings of Herodotus and Ctesias are alike artificial creations. Herodotus makes the Median monarchy begin with Dêiokes, B.C. 710, at a time when the Assyr. empire was at the height of its power, and Sargon was punishing the 'city-lords' of the Medes. Dêiokes is the Daiukku of the Assyr. inscriptions, a vassal-chief under the king of the Mannâ (Minni), who was carried captive to Hamath by Sargon in B.C. 715. Phraortes, who is said to have succeeded Dêiokes, is Frawartish, who carried on wars against the Persians and the Assyrians, and called himself Xathrites (Kaztarit). His successor Cyaxares may be Kaztarit, or he may have been a genuine king of Ecbatana, and the actual predecessor of Astyages. At all events Astyages was a king of the Manda, and his conquest by his rebel vassal Cyrus took place in B.C. 549. On Arphaxad king of the Medes (Jth 1[1]), see ARPHAXAD.

The list of Median kings given by Ctesias probably comes from a Persian source, and the chronological arrangement of it is even more artificial than that of the list of Herodotus. Lenormant seems to have been right in suggesting that two of the kings in it, Artæus and Astibaras, are the kings of Ellipi, Rita (Dalta) and Ispabara, who were contemporaries of Sargon and Sennacherib.

After the capture of Samaria by Sargon in B.C. 722, some of the Israelites were transported to 'the cities of the Medes' (2 K 17[6] 18[11]). This probably took place after Sargon's campaign against the Medes (B.C. 713), when he penetrated as far as the distant land of Bikni. Isaiah (13[17] 21[2]) calls on the Medes and Elamites to overthrow Babylon (cf. Jer 25[25]); and Jeremiah (51[11. 28]) speaks of the 'kings' of the Medes combining with Ararat, Minni, and Ashkenaz to destroy the Bab. empire. At this time it would seem, therefore, that the Medes were still governed by a number of different chiefs. In Elam we must see Anzan, the ancestral kingdom of Cyrus, which an Assyr. tablet states was equivalent to 'Elam'; the invasion of Babylonia, referred to by Jeremiah, may have been one which took place in the reign of Nergal-sharezer, not that of Cyrus. Cyrus, however, united the Medes and Persians under his sway; Gobryas, the governor of Kurdistan, whom he made the first governor of Babylonia after its conquest, was a Mede, according to the classical writers; and Mazares and Harpagos, who conquered Ionia for Cyrus, were both of Medic descent. Hence the Ionian Greeks spoke of 'Medes' rather than of 'Persians.' Gomates, who pretended to be Bardes (Smerdis), the son of Cyrus, and usurped the throne of Cambyses, was a Magian, and therefore also of Median origin; and, in the troubles which followed his murder, Media endeavoured to secure her independence under Frawartish or Phraortes. Frawartish, however, was at length defeated in a pitched battle, and, after being taken prisoner near Rhages, was impaled at Ecbatana. After the destruction of the Persian empire, Media was divided into Media Atropatênê (so named from the satrap Atropates), which corresponded with the modern Azerbijan, and included the Parsuas of the Assyr. monuments, and Media Magna to the south and east of it. Here were Ecbatana (now Hamadan), and Bagistana (now Behistun) in the ancient territory of Ellipi. Bagistana is probably the place called Bit-ili or Bethel by Sargon. Media had thus come to extend widely beyond its limits in the Assyr. age, when the Medes inhabited little more than Matiênê and the district to the E. of it, and S. of the Caspian, in which Raga or Rhages (now Ra) was situated. They were, in fact, mountaineers, and hence had the reputation of being brave and warlike, delighting in arms, in brilliant clothing, and in carrying off booty from their more settled neighbours. From the Persian monuments we gather that they let the beard grow, and wore caps, long robes with full sleeves, and shoes. Their religion was a form of Zoroastrian fire-worship, and they left the bodies of the dead to be devoured by wild beasts or birds of prey. (See J. V. Prášek, *Medien und das Haus des Kyaxares*, 1890).

A. H. SAYCE.

MEDIA.—See MEDES.

MEDIATOR, MEDIATION.—

INTRODUCTION.
- 1. Meaning and use of the term 'Mediator.'
- 2. The idea of mediation in religion.

i. IN PAGANISM.
- 1. Savage notions.
- 2. Civilized ideas.

ii. IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.
- 1. In OT history.
- 2. Priestly mediation.
- 3. Prophetic mediation.
- 4. Mediation in the Wisdom Literature.
- 5. The mediation of angels.

iii. IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.
- 1. Christ as Mediator.
- 2. The teaching of Jesus on mediation.
  - a. In the Synoptics.
  - b. In the Fourth Gospel.
- 3. Apostolic teaching.
  - a. Speeches in Acts.
  - b. St. Paul and 1 Peter.
  - c. Epistle to the Hebrews.
  - d. St. John (α) in the Gospel and the Epistles; (β) in the Apocalypse.

Literature.

INTRODUCTION.—1. *Meaning and use of the term 'Mediator.'*—The word 'mediator' (Gr. μεσίτης) is found only in NT, namely at Gal 3[19. 20], 1 Ti 2[5], He 8[6] 9[15] 12[24].* The verbal form (μεσιτεύω) occurs once, in He 6[17]. The derivation from the adjective μέσος 'in the middle' merely suggests the idea of one who is found in the midst, or who enters into the middle. But usage gives a more specific meaning to the term. Thus we always find it standing for a person who in some way intervenes between two. This intervention is of two kinds: (1) in order to bring about a reconciliation where there has been division or enmity—the thought in Job, and in St. Paul's use of the word; (2) quite apart from any notion of a previous quarrel, with the idea of drawing two together into a compact or covenant—the meaning in Hebrews in each of the three cases where it occurs. Moses was regarded as a mediator in a general sense, as coming between God and Israel, both to shield the people from the Divine severity, and to introduce God's law to their notice and effect their union with Him as a covenant people. The first of these ideas appears in Dt 5[5], where, while the word 'mediator' is not used, the idea is suggested by a cognate adverbial form (ἀνὰ μέσον, Heb. בֵּין). Philo uses the word 'mediator' (μεσίτης) for Moses in the same connexion (*Vit. Moys.* iii. 19). Elsewhere Philo refers to speech as a 'mediator and intercessor' (*de Somn.* i. 22). Josephus writes of Agrippa being a mediator between the people of Ilium (*Ant.* XVI. ii. 2).

2. *The idea of mediation in religion.*—While the word 'mediator' is rarely met with, the idea contained in it is one of the most vital and influential thoughts in religion. Nearly every religion bears witness to it. Both priesthood and prophecy rest upon the conception of mediation—priesthood in the selection of certain men for approach to God and the reconciliation of the people with Him by means of sacrifice; prophecy in the sending of Divine messengers who are to deliver to the people the oracles they have received from heaven. The

---

* The LXX employs μεσίτης in Job 9[33] as rendering of מוֹכִיחַ, which AV and RV tr. 'daysman' (wh. see).

idea emerges in the lowest grades of civilization under the form of the medicine man, the rain-maker, the sorcerer, whose function, however, is rather to coerce than to conciliate inimical powers. While the purification of religion eliminates degraded, distorted, and superstitious forms of mediation, it does not destroy the essential idea, which is found more clearly and forcibly expressed in Christianity than in any other type of religion. So prominent and characteristic is the idea that we might define Christianity in the abstract as Theism plus Mediation—understanding the latter term to include all that is taught concerning the person and mission of Christ, for it is this idea that most distinguishes the religion of the NT from pure Theism. But Butler pointed out that the specially Christian idea of 'the appointment of a Mediator, and the redemption of the world by him, was analogous to many things in the constitution and course of nature' (*Analogy*, pt. ii. ch. v.).

i. MEDIATION IN PAGANISM.—Space will not permit of more than the briefest notice of this branch of the subject; and yet it is impossible to do justice to the great biblical doctrine of mediation without giving at least some attention to its position in the light of comparative religion.

1. *Savage notions of mediation.*—It has been pointed out that as in course of time the individual faculties in men were seen to be differentiated, some were held to be specially gifted with occult powers. These men came to be regarded with awe; they were not as other men. To them it was given to penetrate the unseen world, read the secrets of futurity, influence the supernatural powers with which primitive man in a dim way felt himself to be surrounded. In so low a race as the Australian aborigines, the medicine men are credited with the power of controlling all occult influences. This mysterious power is claimed among the Andaman Okopaids and the Peaimen of Guiana. In Melanesia it is known as *mana*, and is said to be imparted by cannibalism. This *mana* is conveyed by the medicine man to the charms he uses. A similar power was recognized among the N. American Indians. In the lowest condition, while the medicine man uses charms and spells, he does not invoke spirits. A higher stage is attained when he calls in the aid of ghosts, the totem animal belonging to an intermediate condition. In some savage communities demoniacal possession is supposed to confer priestly or mediatorial powers. Thus we learn from Tylor (*Prim. Cult.* ii. p. 121) that among the Patagonians persons afflicted with St. Vitus' dance were selected as magicians, and that among the Liberian tribes the Shamans brought up children liable to convulsions for the profession of magic (see King, *The Supernatural*, bk. ii. ch. iv.). The medium of modern spiritualism may be compared with the medicine man who has dealings with ghosts, the special gift with which the medium is credited leading him to be consulted by others as though he were a kind of mediator between ordinary mortals and the spirit world.

2. *Civilized pagan notions of mediation.*—All religions that contain a priesthood with functions not shared by the main body of the community predicate some form of mediation in connexion with that office. The priest sacrifices to, or intercedes with, the god to whom he is attached, on behalf of the people. But the two greatest faiths of the East have peculiar relations to this subject. The distinction between the priesthood and the laity is more pronounced and rigorous in Hinduism than it is in any other religion the world has ever known. This is owing to the institution of caste. Of the four great classes recognized in the Hindu system, Brāhmans, soldiers, agriculturists, and servants, the first consists of priests, and an important part of the Veda, the Brāhmanahs, is devoted to the ritual they are required to follow. Inasmuch as the observance of this ritual is regarded with favour by the gods, all classes of society benefit by the Divine complacency thus secured; but the hopeless inferiority of the other castes destroys one important element in the mediatorial idea, the community of nature between the priest and the people which is essential to the NT idea of mediation set out in the Epistle to the Hebrews. On the other hand, the Brāhmanahs contain the idea of gods sacrificing, and so bring in the notion of mediation from another point of view. Thus in the *Tāndya-brāhmanahs* it is stated that 'the Lord of creatures (*prajā-pati*) offered himself a sacrifice for the gods.' The same idea emerges in the sacrifice of 'the primeval male.' Thus it is stated in the *sāta-putha-brāhmanah*, 'He who, knowing this, sacrifices with the *Purusha-Medha*, the sacrifice of the primeval male, becomes everything.' Monier-Williams regarded this as a witness to 'the original institution of sacrifice,' and 'typical of the one great voluntary sacrifice,' etc. (*Hinduism*, p. 36). On the other hand, it must be observed that the oldest Hindu sacrifices are not piacular, but simply consist of food offered to the gods. The idea of expiation came later, and with it the notion of mediation. But about the time of the rise of Buddhism, *i.e.* *c.* 500 B.C., the development of Hindu philosophy removed all belief in vicarious sacrifice and mediation from the mind of the speculative Brahman by developing a system of Pantheism. If man is one with God, there can be no room for mediation between man and God. And yet, again, the evolution of gods as forms or manifestations of Brahm introduces another form of mediation, the merits of an inferior god availing with one above him, that god's merits with one still higher, and so on in the ascending scale up to the highest.

When we turn to Buddhism it would seem reasonable to regard the Buddha himself as a mediator, since he is seen sacrificing himself for others, even for animals. In former states of existence, it is said, he often gave himself as a substituted victim in place of doves and other innocent creatures, to satisfy hawks and beasts of prey. Then, having freed himself from the five great passions, he will help others to a like freedom by his teaching. Still, there are two features of Buddhism that render it inherently inconsistent with the idea of mediation. One is its protest against the Hindu caste system. Holding the equality of all men, it teaches that every one must suffer the consequences of his own deeds, either in the present life or in a future condition, and repudiates the possibility of a transference of responsibility or of an atoning sacrifice. The other feature is its virtual denial of God. But in practice the Buddha is deified, and then the Buddhist monk becomes a sort of priest, so that the notion of mediation comes round again from another quarter.

We may look for antecedents to the biblical doctrine of mediation in the religion of ancient Egypt, which was associated with a richly developed hierarchical system, the priests enjoying high rank above the common people, and occupying themselves with elaborate sacrificial performances; in the religion of Babylon, which, owing to the very early connexion between the Babylonians and Palestine (evidenced by the Tel el-Amarna tablets), must have been known in the latter country in primitive times; and in the Semitic religions of Canaan and Phœnicia, where, though, as Robertson Smith showed, the primitive notion of sacrifice suggested a common feast with the god, a communion, the piacular idea appeared later. Thus the prophets of Baal, in the time of Elijah, act as mediators, performing sacrificial functions on behalf of king and people.

ii. MEDIATION IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.—Mediation appears in various forms during the course of the OT history, in the specific regulations of the law, and in the teachings of the prophets.

1. *Mediation in OT history.*—In the oldest parts of the patriarchal history (JE) the head of the household officiates as the family priest, sacrificing and entering into covenants on behalf of his people, *e.g.* Abraham (Gn $12^{7.8}$ 15^{9-21}), Isaac (Gn 25^{23-25}), Jacob (Gn 33^{18-20}). It is to be observed that the later narrative (P) does not describe patriarchal altars and sacrifices. Although the earlier narrative in its written form is assigned to the period of the monarchy, this primitive style of religious observances speaks for its own antiquity, and for the probability that traditions embodying old customs are here preserved. Two incidents in particular, connected with the patriarchal narratives, bear especially on ancient views of mediation. Melchizedek, king of Salem, is introduced as a priest of God Most High (Gn 14^{18}). He blesses Abraham, and receives a tenth of the spoil after the battle of the kings. This kingly priesthood of Melchizedek laid hold of the Jewish imagination, and reappeared in the Messianic ideal of Ps 110, to be recognized and elaborately discussed in its application to Jesus Christ by the author of He (6^{20}–7). Then Abraham's pleading for the cities of the plain shows us the patriarch as a typical mediator. In this wonderful picture of earnest prayer we see mediation in the form of intercession. No sacrifice is offered, but the patriarch pleads on behalf of the doomed cities with singular persistence, and yet with profound humility. The promise of deliverance if a sufficient number of righteous men can be found, introduces another element of mediation, what we might call the passive mediation of the goodness of one, on account of which favour is shown to others,—in this case corresponding to our Lord's idea of His disciples as the salt of the earth (Mt 5^{13}). Moses appears as a mediator in various relations. First, as the deliverer of his people he comes from Jehovah with a mandate to Pharaoh (Ex 3). This is an instance of the descending mediation, in which the mediator comes from God with a divine message. In the same way Moses appears as the lawgiver, receiving the law from Jehovah and giving it to the people. Kuenen maintains that the tradition about Moses as a lawgiver shows that, even if not a single one of his laws are extant, he was prominent as a revealer of God's will (*Religion of Israel*, i. 273). Moses appears repeatedly as the prophet through whom God communicates with Israel. Thus it is said (in the JE narrative), 'And the Lord spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend' (Ex 33^{11}, see also Nu 12^{6-8}). Then Moses also appears most conspicuously as the mediator in the other form of mediatorial work, the ascending mediation, representing the people to God in intercession. A striking instance of this mediation occurs in relation to the molten calf, when Moses beseeches God on behalf of the people (Ex 32^{7-14}), and even expresses a willingness to be himself blotted out of God's book if only the people may be forgiven their sin (Ex 32^{32}), appealing to the favour he has found with God as a ground for pleading the cause of the people he represents (Ex 33^{13}, see Schultz, *OT Theol.* i. 138). A special form of mediation comes in with the idea of the theocratic king, who is both the representative of Jehovah to Israel and the representative of the people before God. David officiates in priestly apparel,—'girded with a linen ephod,' offering burnt-offerings and peace-offerings, and blessing the people in the name of Jehovah (2 S 6^{14-18}). A mediating position between God and the people appears in the Messianic Psalms, 2, 21, 72, 45 (where perhaps the king is called 'Elohim'), 110. The Chronicler, reflecting on the history from the Greek period, regards David's throne as divine; it is 'the throne of Jehovah' (1 Ch 29^{23}). Thus a preparation is made for regarding the Messiah of the future as a Mediator, standing between God and man, exalted above the common human standpoint, and brought near to God, but with a view to the benefit of the people He represents.

2. *Priestly mediation.*—The conception of a priesthood separate from the rest of the community implies mediatorial functions on the part of the priests for the benefit of the laity. In itself the idea of priesthood may be regarded absolutely, the priest being the man who has a right of approach to God, and on whom devolves the duty of sacrificing, etc., quite apart from any consideration for others. In this sense Israel as a whole nation is 'holy' (Lv 11^{45} 19^{2}, Nu 15^{40}), and is named a 'kingdom of priests' (Ex $19^{5.6}$). Similarly in late poetry the nation as a whole is said to consist of 'prophets' (Ps 105^{5}). But this is exceptional. As a rule, the function of the priest is vicarious and mediatorial. In early times, however, this was not confined to any family or tribe. Gideon (Jg 6^{19-24}), Samuel (1 S 16^{2}), and Elijah (1 K $18^{30ff.}$) performed the priestly function of offering sacrifices, and, in a mediatorial way, for the benefit of the people. When a priestly order was first recognized this was not necessarily of one tribe or family, as in the later system. Thus David made priests of his own sons and of the chief men of the kingdom (2 S 8^{18} RV).[*] Zabud the son of the prophet Nathan is also described as a priest (1 K 4^{5}). In the oldest stratum of the law, the 'Book of the Covenant,' it is assumed that the Israelite offers his own sacrifices in primitive patriarchal style. Thus, in the directions Moses is to give to 'the children of Israel,' we read, 'If thou make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stones,' etc., and 'neither shalt thou go up by steps unto mine altar' (Ex $20^{25.26}$), where no priestly order is referred to. In the story of Micah (Jg 17. 18, assigned to JE) a certain Levite appears as a priest, but in a most primitive fashion, consecrated or installed by Micah in his own house, and serving as a domestic chaplain. The whole narrative reveals a condition of superstitious faith in the mediatorial efficacy of the mere presence of a priest. In the narrative of Eli and his sons (1 S 1. 2^{11}–3, assigned by Budde to E^{2} and by Kittel to SS, *i.e.* an Ephraimite history of Samuel and Saul compiled from various sources about the time of Hosea) we have a recognized priesthood at Shiloh, so completely accepted that the priests are resorted to in spite of their tyrannical and immoral behaviour. In Dt the priesthood of the Levites is regulated by law, and a complete system of priestly mediation by means of sacrifices, etc., elaborated. Jeremiah (?) enforces this by dwelling on the importance of the priesthood (Jer 33^{18-26}). Ezekiel, in pronouncing the degradation of the Levites who had been the priests of the various high places, and confining the priesthood to the house of Zadok, *i.e.* the Jerusalem order, concentrated the mediatorial work in this body. Ezra's great reform carried Ezekiel's ideas out in practice, and advanced them still further in the development of the hier-

---

[*] See Driver, *Notes on Heb. Text of Samuel*, p. 220; H. P. Smith, *Comm. ad loc.*; and, for a different view, Cheyne in *Expositor*, June 1899, p. 453 ff.

archy. After the Exile, P and the complete Pentateuch established the mediatorial functions of the sons of Aaron, with the high priest at their head (Nu $3^{10.38}$ $4^{15.19.20}$ 17^3 18^1). Now the priesthood becomes the official representative of the people before God, only the priest being permitted to approach Jehovah. This approach depends on ceremonial purity; and the priest must be free from bodily blemish (Lv $21^{18ff.}$); but his function, unlike that of the prophet, does not depend on personal worth. As the mediator between Israel and Jehovah, the priest expiates guilt by prayer and sacrifice, and secures blessings for the people. Aaron the high priest is to 'bear the iniquity of the holy things which the children of Israel shall hallow in all their holy gifts' (Ex 28^{38})—a regulation which Schultz interprets as meaning that his surrender to God is a compensation for whatever duties towards God the actual Israel has unwittingly failed to perform. Similarly, the priests eat the flesh of the sin-offering 'to bear the iniquity of the congregation, and to make atonement for them' (Lv 10^{17}).

The specific mediatorial functions of the priests and of the high priest are kept quite distinct. While apparently the high priest, being *a fortiori* a priest, is at liberty to undertake any sacerdotal function if he chooses to do so, he cannot delegate the specific duties of his own office to any members of the ordinary priesthood, nor may any of them usurp his functions. For the purpose of representing the people before God, the priests are permitted a nearer approach than is allowed to the laity, they only being allowed to enter 'the sacred place,' *i.e.* the first and larger portion of the sanctuary, while the high priest, and he only, can enter the inner chamber, 'the most sacred place.' The priests perform a multitude of services for the benefit of the community; but the chief of these is sacrificing, and it is at the altar that they appear most conspicuously as mediators between God and man. The old custom of private sacrificing by individuals is now entirely abandoned, and all sacrifices must be presented by the priests. The first act, indeed, still rests with the lay worshipper. It is he who procures the victim, brings it up to the temple, and in some cases kills it. Then it is taken over by the priests and their officers. In the case of the *zebaḥ* (AV 'peace-offering,' RVm 'thank-offering'), the priests lay part, chiefly the fat, on the altar, and the rest is eaten, partly by the offerers, partly by the priests, so that the idea of communion is still preserved. The *'ōlah* ('burnt-offering') being wholly consumed on the altar, and representing complete surrender to God, though not directly aimed at effecting an atonement, points in that way more effectually. The rite would express any intense feeling, as of gratitude, devotion, or the craving for propitiation (Lv 1^4). The *ḥaṭṭāth* ('sin-offering,' Lv 4. 5. 6^{24-30}, Nu 15^{22}) and the *'āshām* (AV 'trespass-offering,' RV 'guilt-offering,' Lv 5-7. 14. 19) were directly aimed at the removal of uncleanness and atonement for breaches of Divine commands. In the case of the sin-offering, while the offerer brought the victim, the priests were to kill it, sprinkle part of the blood before the veil, and pour out the rest at the base of the altar of burnt-offering. The fat was to be burnt on that altar and the rest burnt 'without the camp, in a clean place, where the ashes were poured out.' There was this difference in the case of the trespass-offering, that the rest of the flesh was to be eaten by the priests in a sacred place (Lv 7^6).

In the daily service of the temple two lambs were offered as burnt-offerings—one in the morning, the other in the evening. The sin- and trespass-offerings were more occasional, as offences called for them, and of a more private character. It is in relation to these offerings that the priest stands more especially as a mediator between the offender and Jehovah, whose wrath he has occasioned, in whose eye he is unclean, though perhaps owing to some unintentional or ignorant act. But on the great Day of Atonement the daily sacrifice was supplemented with other burnt-offerings, and also a sin-offering, which in this case was of a public character, for the faults of the people generally. In these matters the priest mediates in the God-ward action, presenting the people's sacrifices, and seeking the Divine grace; but at times he also acts as mediator from God to the people, when he pronounces people clean, as in the cure of lepers. See, further, arts. PRIESTS AND LEVITES, and SACRIFICE.

The high priest appears still more specifically as the mediator between the whole nation and Jehovah. This is suggested by the fact that when clothed with the ephod he bears the names of the twelve tribes on his heart and shoulders as their representative before God. On the Day of Atonement he enters the most sacred place and sprinkles blood on the mercy-seat, thus bringing the vital part of the sacrifice into the Divine Presence to make atonement for the sins of the nation. Whether the idea embodied in this ceremony was that expressed by the primary meaning of *kipper*, as a covering over of sin, or a covering of the offender from the wrath of God (Cave, Schultz); or whether, neglecting the primary signification, it was suggestive of a ransom or an atoning payment (Bennett, Smend),—in either case the action that secured pardon was performed by the high priest on behalf of the people. [For details of the laws and processes here referred to, see ATONEMENT (DAY OF)].

3. *Prophetic mediation.*—Side by side with the differentiation of the priest from the rest of the community grows up the corresponding differentiation of the prophet, who also has assigned to him specific mediatorial functions. While the priest comes between God and man chiefly at the altar, and for the offering of sacrifice, *i.e.* in ascending mediation, the prophet represents the descending mediation, speaking for God, and revealing the Divine will. This specific prophetic function has been acknowledged in other nations besides Israel. Thus among the Greeks from the earliest times prophecy was hereditary in many families—among the Jannidæ, the Clytiadæ, the Telliadæ, etc. In later ages there were two classes of soothsayers,—in one the enlightenment not being acquired by art or study (*ἄτεχνον καὶ ἀδίδακτον γένος*), the soul being either illuminated awake or thrown into a trance or ecstasy; in the other, the faculty being obtained by study, as an art (*τὸ τεχνικὸν γένος*). See Schömann, *Griechisches Alterthum*^{4}, vol. i. Plato distinguishes between the *μάντις*, who has direct communication with God, and the *προφήτης*, who merely interprets (*Timæus*, 71 ff.). In Israel necromancy was sharply distinguished from prophecy, and considered wicked, as inconsistent with faith in God. Soothsayers are not to be sought after (Dt $18^{9ff.}$), nevertheless they are credited with real power. The witch of Endor summons the shade of Samuel, and thus obtains information for Saul (1 S $28^{3ff.}$—a late narrative, but so lifelike as to point to a historical tradition). Then the true prophets are marked off from lying prophets, who, however, might be inspired by an evil spirit from Jehovah (*e.g.* 1 K $22^{5ff.}$). The prophets who cry, 'Peace, peace,' to flatter the people, are mere tricksters. Still, in early times, the higher prophets were not above doing in their Divine power what soothsayers aimed at by sorcery (*e.g.* 1 S $9^{7ff.}$ $10^{2ff.}$). But it is in the loftier functions of prophecy that its media-

torial power is developed. The prophet may have been trained in one of the brotherhoods of the 'sons of the prophets,' in which case he corresponds to the second class of the Greek prophets; but he may have been called without any such preparation, and quite apart from professional associations, as in the case of Amos the herdman (Am 7^{14}). Yet in any case he must have a Divine call and commission (*e.g.* Is 6). Then he comes forth with a Divine message, frequently asserted in the phrase 'Thus saith the Lord.' Such a man mediates in the region of revelation. Prophets also mediate with God on behalf of Israel. Thus Jeremiah intercedes in prayer for Jerusalem (Jer $32^{16ff.}$), and Ezekiel for his people (Ezk $13^{11ff.}$). But prophetic mediation of the ascending kind is most explicitly described in the classical passage Is 53. Whoever the 'servant of the Lord' may represent,—whether Israel, the spiritual Israel, the ideal Israel, Jeremiah, Zerubbabel, the Messiah, or some unknown prophet or martyr,—it is equally clear that the passage assigns to him lofty mediatorial functions in giving his life as an offering for sins.

4. *Mediation in the Wisdom Literature.*—The famous passage in Job where, according to AV, the sufferer exclaims, 'I know that my Redeemer liveth,' etc. (Job 19^{25-27}), formerly appealed to as an OT anticipation of the mediation of Jesus Christ, cannot be so employed on any principle of sound exegesis. The 'redeemer' is the *gôēl* (גֹּאֵל), *i.e.* the next of kin whose duty it is to serve as the avenger of blood; and the context shows that this can only be God, who is described as the great Deliverer in an earlier passage (5^{13-21}); see Davidson, 'Job,' in *Camb. Bible*, 143 ff., 291 ff. We must look for this doctrine of mediation in a totally different quarter. It emerges in the personification of Wisdom. That is seen in a purely imaginative and metaphorical form in the Bk. of Proverbs, where Wisdom appears exhorting her son to receive her words (*e.g.* Pr $1^{20ff.}$). Thus Wisdom says what, if it appeared in the Prophets, would assume the form of a message from God. Wisdom is now the prophetic mediator. In the Books of Wisdom and Sirach the personification is carried still further, and yet it must be regarded as wholly ideal. Philo consummates the process in his doctrine of the Logos, repeatedly described in personal language, and even mentioned as *τὸν δεύτερον θεόν* (in a fragment preserved by Eusebius; see Drummond, *Philo*, ii. p. 197). He is the mediator of creation, of the law, of all the OT theophanies and revelations. And yet it is a mistake to regard Philo's Logos as an actual person. Strong as his language is in this direction, it is only the language of allegory, and in the exact interpretation of it we cannot take the Logos to be other than the Divine Reason, or, when regarded more objectively, God's ideas and plans concerning the universe (see *Leg. Allegor.* I. 19). Still less can we admit that Philo identifies the Logos with the Messiah. Any Messianic mediation is entirely foreign to his philosophy. See, further, art. LOGOS, p. 135.

5. *The mediation of angels.*—Closely associated with this subject, the Wisdom mediation, is that of angels—the one representing the trend of Alexandrian Jewish thought, and the other the speculations of the Jerusalem Rabbis. In both cases the same cause is behind. Both Alexandrian and Palestinian Judaism were profoundly influenced in their conceptions of the Divine nature by the dread of anthropomorphism, and by the consequent tendency to widen the interval between God and man. The result is an immense enlargement of the necessity for mediation. God does not come into direct contact with man and the universe; creation is carried out by means of angels; the law is given by angels; the OT theophanies are angel appearances. Preparation is made for these ideas in the OT itself, where we have not merely angels communicating between earth and heaven, as on Jacob's ladder (Gn 28^{12}), but one—'the angel of Jehovah' (J; *e.g.* Gn $16^{7ff.}$), or 'the angel of God' (E; *e.g.* Gn $21^{17ff.}$)—in direct dealings with men. But the mediation of angels is all in one direction—the descending. The OT nowhere teaches the intercessory mediation of angels (see ANGEL).

iii. MEDIATION IN THE NT.—The doctrine of mediation in the NT is wholly centred in Jesus Christ. Intercessory prayer is recognized as a means of securing blessing when offered by Christians on behalf of their brethren (*e.g.* 1 Th 5^{25}, 2 Th 3^{1}, Ja 5^{16}); but this is quite secondary to the mediation of Christ, and may be regarded as dependent on it, since Christian prayer is in the name of Christ (*e.g.* Jn 15^{16}). Similarly, gifts of healing being limited to certain persons, the exercise of them on behalf of others may be regarded as a kind of mediation; but here, too, the power is through Christ and exerted in His name, as that of the real Mediator (*e.g.* Ac 3^{6} 9^{34}).

1. *Christ as Mediator.*—The very Messianic conception essentially involves the idea of mediation. From the thought of God coming to deliver Israel and judge the oppressors in His own Person, in a theophany, the later Jews came to look for deliverance and judgment in the advent of the Messiah, who was to execute the Divine will and realize the blessings of Divine grace for Israel. At first regarded as an exalted king of the line of David restoring the throne of his ancestor, the Messiah came in course of time to be invested with superhuman powers. In the Psalms of Solomon the hope is very vivid. Sinless himself, he will come as a king both to purify and to liberate Israel (Ps.-Sol $17^{35f.\ 38.\ 47}$ $18^{6.\ 18}$). As the son of David, he will feed Israel like a shepherd ($17^{5.\ 23}$). A Jewish Sibyl hopes for the Holy Ruler who will come to his everlasting kingdom. In the Apocalypse of Enoch the Messiah is the righteous one who reveals all the treasures of that which is hidden (38^{2} 53^{6} 46^{3}). He will come to be both Ruler and Judge (45^{3} $46^{5ff.}$). There is some doubt as to the date of these passages. But Charles has successfully vindicated the pre-Christian origin of the greater part of the Messianic references (see *The Book of Enoch*, Append. B, pp. 312–317). In all this we have only the kingly rank and influence. There is no indication of the priestly sacrifice of mediation.

In the Synoptic Gospels we have accounts of the realization of the essential elements of these expectations, though with a complete conversion of them into spiritual facts and a great elevation of them in character and aim. In Mt's account of the angel's announcement to Joseph, Mary's child is to be called Jesus because 'it is he that shall save his people from their sins' (Mt 1^{21}), and the prophecy about Immanuel in Isaiah is applied to Him (1^{23}). Thus, since in Him God's presence on earth will be realized, He will be the connecting link between God and man, and by being this accomplish salvation. In Lk's account of the Annunciation it is promised that He shall be 'great,' 'called the Son of the Most High,' and receive 'the throne of his father David.' Here the Messiahship is distinctly affirmed of Him, and this is connected with a Divine Sonship. We cannot take the latter attribute in its full Christian import—it is used as a title of the Messiah by Caiaphas (according to Mt 26^{63} and Mk 14^{61}), perhaps traceable ultimately to Ps 2^{7}. Still it intimates at least a very close connexion with God, and so helps the idea of the mediation of Christ The life of Christ opens out in the Gospels in accordance with these anticipations, though doubtless not as they would be interpreted by Jews of the first century. In particular, the following facts may be noticed as indicative of our Lord's mediatorial character and work. (α) *His teaching.* As a teacher, Jesus Christ realized the idea of prophetic mediation in the highest degree. The originality, the lofty tone, the spiritual force, the self-evidencing truthfulness of His utterances proclaim their Divine origin, and show the speaker to be the medium through which the will of God is revealed on earth. (β) *His works.* Here also Jesus realizes a form of the descending mediation, bringing down Divine power to effect the cure of disease, etc. Thus He claims to work His miracles by 'the finger of God' (Lk 11^{20}). (γ) *His prayers.* Jesus carries on the mediation of intercession (*e.g.* Jn 17). (δ) *His death.* As we are concerned only with the facts of the history at this point, and should not import the subsequent reflexions springing from apostolic teaching and later speculations, we must not yet bring in any 'doctrine of the atonement.' But, merely contemplating the historical situation, we have in it a vivid picture of mediation. Starting with our Lord's self-evidencing Messiahship in His life, teaching, and work, we see Him facing death and enduring the horrors of the Passion and the Cross, when He might easily have avoided them. Had He remained in Galilee, or had He continued in retirement such as for a time He sought at Cæsarea, in Peræa, and at Ephraim, still more had He abandoned Palestine and gone to Alexandria or Athens, where His teaching would have been welcomed, at all events superficially, for its novelty, He might have eluded the pursuit of His enemies. But any such course would have shattered His aims as the Redeemer of Israel and the Founder of the kingdom of heaven. Accordingly, Jesus is seen sacrificing His life for no personal object, but wholly on behalf of His people; and this we may accept as a fact of history quite independent of specific apostolic teaching and later theological speculation.

2. *The teaching of Jesus on mediation.* — a. *The teaching in the Synoptics.*—The descending mediation of one who comes from God is not only apparent throughout our Lord's life on earth; it is distinctly claimed by Him in His utterances about His own mission. Thus it is implied in His acceptance of the Messianic title (Mk 8^{29}), and His prophetic statements concerning His future action in His second advent (Mk 8^{38}). He has come now on behalf of God to establish the kingdom of heaven; He will come in the future with the glory of His Father and the holy angels to judge the world. Then He is the revealer of God, and no one can know the Father but he to whom the Son is willing to reveal Him (Mt 11^{27}). In the parable of the Vineyard He is the Son sent by the owner to collect the revenue—a mediator in the form of an agent (Mt 21^{37}). When declaring that He will own before His Father every one who confesses Him on earth, and deny before His Father every one who denies Him on earth, He approaches the other form of mediation in which His words and actions are efficacious with God on our behalf (Mt 10^{32}). There are two passages in the Synoptic narratives that connect this mediation with the death of Christ. The first is the declaration that He came 'to give his life a ransom for many' (Mk 10^{45}, Mt 20^{28}). The following points should be observed:—(1) This phrase must be approached from the context, where we find our Lord is teaching the duty of humble service by His own example, as coming to minister and not to be ministered unto, so that the primary intention of the passage is not to teach any specific doctrine concerning His mediatorial work, and therefore must not be pressed as though that were its aim. Still He could not have spoken these words without meaning that some such work was to be accomplished by Him. (2) The expression 'give his life' (*δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ*) cannot mean spend His life in service, but must signify surrender it in death as all parallels show (*e.g.* Mk 3^{4} 8^{35}, Lk 9^{56} 12^{20}, Jn 10^{11} 13^{37} 15^{13}). (3) This is voluntary ('give'—not 'lose' His life as in Mk 8^{35}), and emphatically the surrender of His own life (*αὐτοῦ*) in distinction from the familiar Jewish notion of the giving some payment or the offering some sacrifice distinct from the person performing the act. (4) The life of Christ thus surrendered is given as a ransom (*λύτρον*). The Greek word occurs in LXX as a translation of several Heb. terms (גְּאֻלָּה Lv 25$^{24.51}$; פְּדוּיֵ Nu 3$^{46.51}$; פִּדְיֹן Ex 21^{30}; פִּדְיוֹם Nu 3^{49}) which signify 'ransom,' *i.e.* a payment to effect liberation or to release from penalty. It also appears in the LXX as a rendering of the Heb. כֹּפֶר, which means literally a *covering*, i.e. *a propitiatory gift* (Ex 21^{30} 30^{12}, Nu 35$^{31ff.}$, Pr 6^{35} 13^{8}), but 'is restricted by usage to a gift offered as an equivalent for a life that is claimed, the *wergild*' (Driver, *Deut.* 425 f.). This second sense, though accepted by some here (Ritschl, *Lehre v. der Rechtfertigung u. Vers.*^{3} ii. p. 68 ff.), is not so appropriate as the primary meaning of the word, since, though the LXX writers give it in place of the Heb. word for 'atonement,' there is no evidence that the meaning 'atonement' was ever given to the Greek word. Its usage follows its derivation, and wherever it can be tested gives the idea of that which effects release by being paid for that purpose (so Wendt, *Lehre Jesu*, p. 512 ff.). (5) This ransom is to effect the liberation of many. It is *for* (*ἀντί*) many. The exact sense of this word will depend on the meaning given to *λύτρον*. If this could mean 'atonement,' the Gr. *ἀντί* would = 'instead of'; but if it means 'ransom,' *ἀντί* must = 'in exchange for'; *i.e.* Christ pays His life as the price in exchange for which many are given up or set at liberty. Two further points are left undetermined. First, as to *what that is from which the many are set free.* The close analogy of the ideas of the passage would suggest death, or we may say a state of slavery (see Lk 4^{18} 'deliverance to the captives . . . to set at liberty'), especially that of sin (cf. Jn 8$^{33.34}$). Second, as to *the person to whom payment is made.* The widest differences of opinion have prevailed on this point, patristic opinion being for the devil (Origen, Gregory of Nyssa), scholastic and later for God (Anselm). Considering that the purpose of the *logion* is not to expound the doctrine of the atonement but to enforce an example of service, it is probable that both of these points are left out of account, so that the teaching goes no further than the idea of deliverance at the cost of Christ's life voluntarily given up for the purpose.

The other passage in which Jesus Christ ascribes a mediatorial character to His death occurs in the institution of the Lord's Supper. The Eucharist itself reveals Christ as a mediator, the elements representing His body and blood as the media through which His people are nourished with Divine life. Lk reports Christ as saying of the bread, 'This is my body *which is given for you*' (*τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον*, Lk 22^{19}), and St. Paul the shorter phrase, 'which is for you' (*τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν—κλώμενον* being omitted from the best MSS, 1 Co 11^{24}), words which describe the giving of His body on behalf of or for the benefit of His people. And a specific connexion with His death occurs in the words about the cup. (1) In all four accounts the blood of Christ is connected with the New Covenant (Mk 14^{24}, Mt 26^{28}, Lk 22^{20}, 1 Co 11^{25}), and in the three accounts of the Gospels it is said to be 'shed' (*ἐκχυννόμενον*). This must point to death. The connexion of the blood with a covenant is based on a familiar Jewish idea—that of confirming a covenant by a sacrifice, the blood of which is thrown on the parties to it. Thus in the sealing of the covenant of the law victims are sacrificed, and Moses sprinkles (literally 'throws') half the blood on the altar and half on the people (Ex 24^{6-8}), as though to express the union of Jehovah and Israel in the covenant by means of the blood, the sacrificed life of the victim, shared by both. This rite, being familiar to Jews who knew the law, must have been suggested to their minds by our Lord's words concerning the cup and His blood. He teaches that His blood, *i.e.* His sacrificed life, confirms the New Covenant (Jer $31^{31\text{ff.}}$), making it effectual and binding. (2) In one of the four accounts it is added that this shedding of our Lord's blood is 'for remission of sins' (*εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν*, Mt 26^{28}). Jesus had claimed the right to forgive sins much earlier in His ministry (Mk $2^{5\text{ff.}}$). Now for the first and only time He connects this with His death. The second evangelist uses just the same phrase of John's baptism of repentance (*βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν*), where the language does not determine whether it is baptism, or repentance, or the two together that are connected with forgiveness. Further, in neither case does the language declare that the result is certainly attained, the preposition (*εἰς*) indicating the end aimed at, not the result reached. But in the case of its association with Christ other teachings and the whole tenor of His work indicate that it is effectual, that the end is reached—a result which the sequel shows was not always the case with John's baptism. The baptism of John pointed towards what Jesus Christ actually effected. Now the connexion of this forgiveness with the shedding of His blood draws our thoughts again to the Jewish sacrificial system, where animals were slain and their blood poured out as atoning offerings. Thus the blood of the sin-offering was placed on the altar (Lv 4^{18}). Jews hearing Christ's words must have understood Him to mean that He was to die as a sacrifice for sin. Wendt considers this phrase to be an addition of the evangelist, but springing out of the consciousness of the Church as a true interpretation of the significance of the Lord's Supper (*Lehre Jesu*, p. 521). Though a Pauline thought, it is in Mt, not Lk.

b. *The teaching in the Fourth Gospel.*—This introduces both aspects of our Lord's mediatorial work more clearly than the Synoptics, but here it is not so easy to discriminate between Christ's original teaching and the form in which it is cast by the writer. Jesus comes claiming Divine Sonship and union with His Father (Jn 10^{30}), and dispensing the Water of Life (4^{14} 7^{37}). He is the Bread of Life (6^{48-58}), the Light of the world (8^{12}), the Good Shepherd (10^{11}), the True Vine (15^{1-7}); in all these aspects He is the medium for bringing to us the life and blessedness that God confers. Then, on the other hand, He also appears as the Mediator through whom men attain to God. He is the Door of the sheepfold (10^{9}), the only Way to the Father (14^{6}), and to see Him is to see the Father (14^{9}). Further, He intercedes on behalf of His disciples (17^{9}). He teaches that the raising of Lazarus was in answer to His prayer (11^{41}). In regard to His death, Jesus does not here use the sacrificial language found in the Synoptics, but He describes it as voluntarily accepted, for He has authority to lay down His life and to take it again (10^{18}), and also as being on behalf of His people. He is the Good Shepherd laying down His life for (*ὑπέρ*, 'on behalf of'—John never uses *ἀντί*, 'instead of,' in this connexion) His sheep (10^{11}). The metaphor in its connexion suggests the shepherd facing the wolves in defence of his flock; and the first historical application of it may be found in the scene in the garden, where Jesus, instead of escaping,—like the hireling who 'fleeth' when he sees the wolf coming (10^{12}),—came forward and surrendered, with the stipulation that His disciples should not be touched (18^{4-8}). But it is not possible to see the full meaning of our Lord's words realized in this incident or in any external event. His solemn reference to His authority to lay down His life, combined with the assertion that He does so for the benefit of His people, points to a deeper purpose, though one that is not here at all explained. Wendt holds that Jesus was pointing to His whole saving work, which would be ruined if He deserted His people and relinquished His task; and also that Jesus thus set His disciples a great example, and in doing that died for their benefit—a somewhat gratuitous limitation where nothing but the great purpose is defined. Wendt points out that as the author himself is more explicit on the relation of the death of Christ to the forgiveness of sins (1 Jn 2^{2} 4^{10}), and ascribes to John the Baptist sayings on the subject (Jn $1^{29.\,36}$), the reticence of Christ is an indication that so far our Lord's teaching has been correctly rendered (*Lehre Jesu*, p. 539).

3. *The teaching of the apostles on mediation.*—a. *The speeches in Acts.*—In St. Peter's speeches redemption is offered through Jesus Christ, who is described as God's servant (*ὁ παῖς*), a title reminding us of Is 53 (*e.g.* Ac $3^{13.\,26}$), and therefore as bringing His gift of redemption in obedience to the will of God. The name 'Son of God' is not here given to Him; but He is called 'Lord' (*κύριος*), though in distinction from Jehovah in an OT passage applied to Him (Ac 2^{34}). The primary point to be made out is that He is the Messiah. In treating of this, St. Peter has to encounter the fact of our Lord's crucifixion. He does not here connect it with the mediatorial work by introducing any doctrine of the Atonement. He has to face the great objection arising in Jewish minds from the fact that He who is affirmed to be the Christ had been executed in ignominy. This he does (1) by correcting popular conceptions of the Messiahship, in calling attention to other titles than that of the victorious king, viz. that of Prophet (Ac 3^{22}), and that of God's servant (3^{13} 4^{27}); (2) by pointing to predictions of the death of the Christ (*e.g.* Ac 2^{23}), so that this should have been expected; (3) by appearing as a witness of the Resurrection, and appealing to the like testimony of the other apostles. This was the clinching proof that death had not annulled the Messianic claims of Jesus, since He had received the greatest mark of God's recognition. Having thus met the reproach of the Cross and also given the positive proof of the Messiahship of Jesus afforded by the Resurrection, St. Peter proceeds to urge His claims (2^{36}); to lay the charge of their guilt against His murderers (3^{14}); and to invite them to repentance with the promise of future 'seasons of refreshing' in the return of Christ ($3^{19.\,20}$), but also with the gospel declarations that God had raised up His servant to be a means of blessing to the people in turning them from their sins (3^{26}), that in Him and in Him alone is salvation ($4^{11.\,12}$). He was described earlier as the 'Prince' or 'Author of life' (*τὸν δὲ ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ζωῆς*, 3^{15}), and later as exalted by God to be 'a Prince and a Saviour.' Thus these speeches distinctly set forth the idea of the descending mediation with the presentation of Jesus Christ as the Divinely-appointed intermediary through whom salvation is brought to men. They do not set forth any doctrine on the Godward aspect of mediation, though the choice of the title 'the Servant,' pointing to Is 53, brings in the germ of it for reflecting minds.

b. *St. Paul and* 1 *Peter.*—When we come to St. Paul's Epistles we reach a fuller expression of the Christian doctrine of mediation in both its aspects. He is the first NT writer to use the term mediator (μεσίτης), viz. where he says the law 'was ordained through angels by the hand of a *mediator*,' and adds, 'now a mediator is not of one; but God is one' (Gal $3^{19.\ 20}$). Winer states that the number of interpretations of this passage mount up to 250 or 300. Origen and commentators who have followed him are plainly wrong in understanding Christ to be the mediator St. Paul here mentions. Undoubtedly he means Moses, who received the law, according to the rabbinical doctrine, not directly from God, but through the angels, and communicated it to the people (see Lv 26^{46} LXX). Lightfoot's view of the second part of the passage is as follows: 'The very idea of mediation implies two persons at least, between whom the mediation is carried on. The law, then, is of the nature of a contract between two parties, God on the one hand, and the Jewish people on the other. It is only valid so long as both parties fulfil the terms.' But it is different with God's promise. God is one, and no other person is concerned with the promise; therefore it is absolute and unconditional (Lightfoot, *Gal. in loc.*). This interpretation is substantially that of Schleiermacher, Winer, Herrmann; it is supported by Lipsius (*Hand-Com. in loc.*). Hausrath treats the 'of one' (ἑνός) as neuter (in spite of the εἷς), and takes it not numerically, but quantitatively, as signifying that the mediator is not a unit, but admits two distinctions of will—a difficult and improbable position. If, then, we follow Lightfoot here, we not only see that the passage has no direct reference to Christ's mediation, but that it even excludes this from view for the time being by contrasting God's direct promise in the Gospel with the mediation of Moses in the law. Still it is only one form of mediation that is thus excluded, for the idea of mediation is prominent in the apostle's writings. In 1 Ti 2^{15} Jesus Christ is distinctly called a mediator between God and men. Both aspects of mediation are set forth in St. Paul's writings. (1) Christ is the Mediator in bringing Divine grace to man. St. Paul carefully distinguishes the Son from the Father. The Father sends His Son to effect redemption (*e.g.* Gal 4^4, Ro 8^3). Throughout, St. Paul teaches that this blessing originates in the love of God, who therefore does not require to be rendered gracious by the offices of a mediator, but, on the contrary, out of His own grace provides the mediator (*e.g.* Ro $3^{24.\ 25}$ 5^8). To effect the great purpose of redemption, Christ communicates to us the knowledge of God (2 Co 4^6), the grace of God (Ro 5^{15}), remission of sins together with 'the righteousness of God' (Ro 3^{22}, Ph 3^9), God's free gift of eternal life which is 'in Christ Jesus our Lord' (Ro 6^{23}), and all the blessings of the Christian gospel. St. Paul, writing out of his own experience, describes the Christian life as a condition of union with Jesus Christ (*e.g.* Ph 2^{21}). (2) Christ is also the Mediator in bringing about reconciliation with God. There is a point where these two kinds of mediation coincide or work together. Thus St. Paul writes of 'God reconciling us to Himself through Christ' (2 Co 5^{18}), and describes God as thus reconciling the world to Himself, with the addition 'not reckoning unto them their trespasses' (v.^{19}). This clause suggests that, while the passage as a whole points to the overcoming of man's enmity to God, there was also the removal of God's charge of guilt against man, and therefore a certain Godward aspect of the mediation, although even this originated with God. That the Greek word for 'reconcile' has this twofold bearing is suggested by other instances of the use of it, *e.g.* Ro 5^{10}, where the 'reconciled' (καταλλαγέντες) appear as those restored to the Divine favour and not merely turned from their own enmity, and 1 Co 7^{11}, where the wife's being reconciled to her husband includes a kindly reception on his part. St. Paul sets out his ideas on this subject very explicitly in Ro 3^{24-26}, in which passage the following points may be noted: (α) The redemption originated in God who 'set forth publicly' (προέθετο, *proposuit*; Vulg., Sanday-Headlam, though RVm follows Pesh. and Origen with the meaning 'purposed'), showed His righteousness in regard to His previous forbearance, and now acts as 'the Justifier.' (β) It is mediated by Christ. The redemption is 'in Christ Jesus.' God set Him forth to effect this end. It is enjoyed through faith in Him. (γ) This is accomplished by Christ becoming a 'propitiation,' and by means of 'His blood.' The word rendered 'propitiation' (ἱλαστήριον) is literally 'a place or vehicle of propitiation' (Sanday-Headlam), and is used in LXX and He 9^5 for the lid of the ark, the 'mercy-seat'; but it cannot be so employed here. Either it is a neuter adjective, or a masc. accus. adjective used predicatively of Christ (Sanday-Headlam). As a neuter it is often taken to be equivalent to a 'propitiatory sacrifice' (Luther, Thol., Phil., Delitzsch, Ritschl, Lipsius, etc.), or indefinitely as a 'means of propitiation' (Hofmann, Weiss, etc.). Whichever interpretation we accept shows that the ordinary pagan thought of propitiating an offended divinity cannot be intended; besides, it is to be observed that the word ἱλάσκομαι is never used in LXX or NT in the middle form, as with the classics, for propitiating God, but always in the passive, for God's being gracious. Therefore we must understand the propitiation, even if sacrificial, as a means by which God acts graciously to man. Then the statement that this is by means of Christ's blood, points to the death of Christ as a sacrifice; but with the distinctive thought that His life was given, that the value of this life, surrendered in death, might be the propitiation, or means of bringing God's grace to man. Elsewhere St. Paul emphasizes the importance of the death of Christ in this connexion. The message he preaches is 'the word of the cross' (1 Co 1^{18}), 'Christ died for (ὑπέρ) our sins' (1 Co 15^3). This, St. Paul gives as part of what he had 'received from the Lord,' adding that it was 'according to the Scriptures.' Here we have two sources of the apostle's doctrine of the atonement—tradition of Christ's teaching (*e.g.* 1 Co 11^{25}, and such a *logion* as Mk 10^{45}), and inferences from Scripture (*e.g.* Is $53^{8.\ 10}$, cf. Lk $24^{26.\ 27}$; Ac 9^{32-35}). St. Paul writes of Christ as dying 'on behalf of' (ὑπέρ) and 'concerning' (περί, the LXX word for sin-offerings) our sins; but he never uses the expression 'instead of' (ἀντί), dying in our stead. He says that Christ was 'made to be sin on our behalf' (2 Co 5^{21}), a powerful expression for being treated as a sinner, and so 'a curse for us' (Gal 3^{13}). He does not explain how it comes about that this suffering and sacrificial death of Christ effect our redemption. He seems to have the analogy of the Jewish sacrifices in mind, though he does not directly cite it (as the author of He) in explanation of his doctrine. He also points to the obedience of Christ as a ground of justification (Ro 5^{19}). It is impossible to read St. Paul's words on this subject without seeing that he very closely connects the death of Christ with the salvation of souls, that he regards this death as sacrificial—*i.e.* as an offering to God—while at the same time he never regards it as inducing God's grace, but, on the contrary, treats it as springing from the love of God to mankind. St. Paul does not confine his teaching on the mediatorial work of Christ to His death. The Resurrection is also for our benefit; our Lord was both 'delivered for our trespasses' and 'raised for our justification' (Ro 4^{25}). In His risen life He is 'the first-fruits of them that are asleep' (1 Co 15^{20}). Lastly, His intercession, now carried on in heaven, is an important part of His work as Mediator (Ro 8^{34}). In St. Paul's later Epistles the more advanced Christology necessarily affects the doctrine of mediation. In *Colossians* we seem to have a Christian alternative to the Jewish doctrine of the mediation of angels in the administration of the universe, and perhaps to Philo's specific teaching concerning the Logos as the mediator of creation, for there we read concerning Christ that 'in him were all things created' (Col 1^{16}), and the mediator of providential government, for 'in him all things consist' (v.^{17}). Referring to his teaching on the death of Christ who had 'made peace through the blood of his cross,' St. Paul enlarges the application of it to a future 'reconciliation of all things . . . whether things upon the earth, or things in the heavens' (v.^{20}), thus representing Christ as the great mediator and peacemaker for the whole universe.

1 P closely follows the Pauline teaching. Christ redeems us with His 'blood as of a lamb without blemish' (1^{19}), this reference to the lamb making the shedding of the blood evidently sacrificial. Similarly St. Peter writes of His bearing our sins in His body upon the tree (2^{24}), and suffering 'for sins once, the righteous for (ὑπέρ, on behalf of) the unrighteous, that he might bring us to God' (3^{18}). The only addition to the Pauline thought is the greater stress laid on the sufferings of Christ—while St. Paul usually confines our attention to His death. The idea of bringing us to God suggests reconciliation, and Christ, through His sufferings, coming as the Mediator who effects this reconciliation. In one mysterious passage the source of which, or subject alluded to, cannot be traced, St. Peter enlarges the idea of the mediation of Christ in an entirely new direction, assigning part of its operation to the state of the dead; for such is the simplest and most generally accepted interpretation of the statement that 'he went and preached unto the spirits in prison' ($3^{19.\,20}$). That this was only a brief episode, confined to the time between the death and the resurrection of Christ, is suggested by other passages in the Epistle indicating that He was raised from the dead (1^{3}), and that He passed into the heavens, there to exercise exalted powers of government (3^{22}).

c. *Epistle to the Hebrews.*—The main topic of Hebrews is to exhibit the mediatorial status and functions of Jesus Christ in contrast with the various forms of mediation recognized in Judaism. The Epistle opens with a contrast of the unity and exalted character of the new revelation in a Son with the broken and varied nature of the OT revelation by means of prophets. Christ there appears as the agent of creation, the sustainer of all things, who has also made purification for sins (1^{1-3}). Then, taking up the contents of this revelation, it proceeds to work out the contrast in several regions. First, we have the mediation of angels in giving the law; the writer contrasts the higher status of the Son, who is honoured with Divine titles, though addressed by God as another person to whom is committed the government of His kingdom (1^{4}–2^{18}). Here Jesus is named 'the Apostle and High Priest of our confession,' in contrast with Moses, who was only a servant in God's house, while Christ is both the Builder of the house and the Son set over it (3^{1-6}). The idea of our Lord's High-priesthood thus introduced is enlarged. He has passed into the heavens, and therefore we are encouraged to draw near with boldness to the throne of grace (4^{16}). This leads on to specific teaching concerning our Lord's priestly office. Two general considerations arise—the priesthood is of Divine appointment; yet it requires human sympathies on the part of the priest. Both of these conditions are fulfilled in Christ's priesthood. In taking the two together we see that His office is related both to God and to man, so that He stands in the intermediate position of a priestly mediator (5^{1-10}). A reference to Melchizedek in Ps 110 leads to a comparison of the Messianic priesthood 'after the order of Melchizedek,' with the priesthood of Aaron to the advantage of the former, since Abraham, the ancestor of Levi, did homage to Melchizedek, and since the priest of the Melchizedek order is declared by the Psalmist to be perpetual. After alluding to the sacrifices—a subject to be developed later—the writer returns to the idea of Sonship as the crowning proof of the superiority of Christ as a priest (ch. 7). Then he passes to a fresh consideration. It must be admitted that Christ is not a priest under the law, and therefore not in accordance with the OT covenant. But a new covenant is introduced—that predicted by Jeremiah, concerning the law written in the heart. It is under this covenant that Christ's priesthood is exercised. It is through Him that the covenant itself is brought into effect. Here we come to another instance of the use of the word 'mediator' in the NT: Christ is described as the 'Mediator' of this new and better covenant, 'that is, the Agent by whom it is established' (Bruce, *Hebrews*, p. 296). This use of the word is parallel to St. Paul's in Gal $3^{19.\,20}$, where the apostle applies it to Moses as the agent through whom the covenant of the law was introduced. In both cases we have only the descending mediation, the mediator representing and executing God's will among men. But though the author does not use the title for the other aspect of mediation, he is most explicit in teaching the truth that represents in effect the Godward side of mediation. This is implied in the priestly work of Christ. Like the Levitical priests, Christ approaches God on our behalf; but with these important differences, that He not only effects much more than Aaron effected for Israel, but also brings His people directly into the Divine Presence. Subsequently the argument proceeds to develop the idea of the sacrifice of Christ in contrast with the Jewish sacrifices, and here it directly deals with the Godward aspect of mediation. Christ offers the sacrifice of Himself to God (9^{14}). Later, contrasting this sacrifice of Christ's with the Jewish rites, the author quotes Ps 40, where God says He has no pleasure in burnt-offerings and sacrifices for sin, and where the Psalmist promises instead of such oblations the offer of his own service to do the will of God. That surrender of obedience is taken over by the author of Hebrews and applied to Christ as the essence of His sacrifice. By this will, *i.e.* by Christ thus doing God's will, we are sanctified. But such obedience involves dying, it is carried out to the very end and consummated in death (cf. Ph 2^{8} 'becoming *obedient* unto death'); and thus it is offered as a 'sacrifice for sins.' This is so effectual that it needs to be offered but once, while the Jewish sacrifices were repeated (He 10^{1-19}). Here we have most distinctly set forth the Godward aspect of mediation. It is impossible to understand the writer's doctrine of Christ's sacrifice merely as God sacrificing Himself in the person of His Son in the sense of giving Himself to us, for he distinctly says that the sacrifice is offered by Christ 'unto God' (τῷ θεῷ, 9^{14}). The efficacy of this is widespread. It is to cleanse the conscience from dead works to serve the living God (9^{14}), for 'the redemption of transgressions' (v.^{15}), 'to put away sin’ (v.^{26}), a ‘sacrifice for sins’ (ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν, 10^{12}), and so leading to ‘remission of sins’ (10^{18}). At the same time it is for the confirmation of the new covenant. The author connects the death of Christ with this result in two ways: reading the word for covenant (διαθήκη) in the classical Gr. sense as a *will* [but see Westcott, *ad loc.*], he argues that for the will to take effect there must be death (9^{17}); then, returning to the idea of *covenant*, he compares the blood of Christ to that of the sacrifice which confirms a covenant (Ex 24^{3-8}).

d. *St. John.*—(*a*) The Johannine theology as represented in *the Fourth Gospel and the Epistles.*—The Prologue to the Gospel introduces the Logos as the mediator of creation and revelation, the title probably coming from Philo and Stoic usage, but the idea from Hebrew conceptions of the ‘Memra’ [see JOHN, vol. ii. p. 685]. God’s revelation in nature (Jn 1^{1-5}), in prophecy (vv.$^{6-8}$), in consciousness (vv.$^{9.10}$), and in the incarnation (vv.$^{11-16}$), is in every case mediated by the Logos, who is a Divine Being, in intimate relations with God, and Himself essentially God, yet with a certain personal distinction from God (1^{1}). God gives eternal life to the world through Christ (3^{16}). To have the Son is to have the life, and not to have the Son is not to have the life (1 Jn 5^{12}). It is through Him that we receive the knowledge of truth and God (v.^{20}). Other ideas of the same character are contained in St. John’s accounts of the teachings of Christ, referred to above. Then the apostle distinctly sets out the other aspect of mediation, in the atonement for sin offered by our Lord. Christ was ‘manifested to take away sins’ (or ‘bear sins,’ RVm; Gr. ἵνα τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἄρῃ, 1 Jn 3^{5}). Compare St. John’s report of John the Baptist’s words about ‘the Lamb of God which taketh away (RVm ‘beareth,’ Gr. αἴρων) the sin of the world’ (Jn 1^{29}). More specifically St. John describes Jesus Christ as ‘an advocate’ (παράκλητον) with the Father (1 Jn 2^{1}), *i.e.* as a pleader who mediates on our behalf, and represents our case to God; and as a ‘propitiation for our sins’ (ἱλασμός ἐστιν περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, 2^{2}). It is to be observed that the word rendered ‘propitiation’ is not the same as that employed by St. Paul in Ro 3^{25} (ἱλαστήριον), and signifies distinctly either an act of propitiation, or, in Alexandrine usage, a means of propitiating (*e.g.* Nu 5^{8}, Lv 25^{9}). In 2 Mac 3^{33} ποιεῖσθαι ἱλασμόν is used of a priest making a propitiatory sacrifice (see Thayer-Grimm). Accordingly St. John seems to mean that Christ is the propitiatory sacrifice. He had said earlier that ‘the blood of Jesus His Son cleanseth us from all sin’ (1 Jn 1^{7}); where, as usual, the word *blood*, written by a Jew with reference to cleansing from sin, must refer to a sacrificial idea. Thus by His death Christ becomes the sacrifice which removes the guilt of sin, and secures forgiveness for the penitent. In common with other NT writers, St. John does not explain the *rationale* of the process.

(*β*) The idea of mediation in *the Apocalypse.*—Both aspects of mediation are here presented to us. On the one hand, Jesus has come from God with truth and grace, and will come again to execute judgment. He is the *Logos*, ‘The Word of God’ (ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ, 19^{13}), and so the source of revelation. He is the ‘Living One’ (ὁ ζῶν, $4^{9.10}$ 10^{6}), and therefore the source of life. He appears as the mediator of creation, like the Logos in the Gospel, for He is ‘the beginning of the creation of God’ (ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ θεοῦ, 3^{14}). Beyschlag understands this to mean the first being created (*NT Theol.* ii. 381); but most interpreters regard the ἀρχή as independent of creation, its determining principle (so Weiss, Gebhardt, Lechler, Bousset, Briggs, Stevens, etc.). Further, he holds the keys of Hades and of death (1^{18}), *i.e.* determines who shall enter and who shall leave the region of the dead. He sits on the throne with God (3^{21} 7^{17} 12^{5}), and will be the assessor of God in the judgment ($6^{16.17}$). In all these respects God acts through Him. On the other hand, we see in Christ the Godward aspect of mediation in which He represents us to God. As in Hebrews, though less explicitly, Christ is both priest and sacrifice. The opening description of Him as ‘clothed with a garment down to the foot, and girt about at the breasts with a golden girdle’ (1^{13}), plainly points to priestly robes. But He is also the sacrifice. The most characteristic designation of our Lord in this book is ‘the Lamb of God,’ a title which occurs 29 times: He ‘loosed (RV λύσαντι, following best MSS, instead of ‘washed,’ λούσαντι, AV) us from our sins by his blood’ (1^{5}); the saints ‘have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb’ (7^{14}). Such language in a book that has many features of Judaism cannot but contain a sacrificial allusion. At the same time, here and elsewhere in NT, while the explanation of ideas of ‘blood’ and ‘sacrifice’ must take account of the OT, the advance of the Christian revelation to higher and more spiritual conceptions of religion forbids us to limit the meaning to Jewish ideas. The spiritual essence of sacrifice, the surrender of will, is the specially Christian thought.

Conclusion.—All through the Bible the idea of mediation in both its aspects is continually appearing. In the OT we find it distributed among a number of persons and functions—in the patriarch, the king, the prophet, the priest, the sacrifice, the ‘servant of the Lord.’ In the NT all these distinctions are merged in the sole mediation of Jesus Christ, both aspects of which are seen in His life and teaching, and in the apostolic writings. Our Lord appears throughout as one sent by God to reveal Divine truth, to execute the Divine will, to bring deliverance to mankind from sin and ruin, to confer the gift of eternal life, and to establish the kingdom of heaven on earth. On the other hand, His action, to some extent His teaching, more explicitly the apostolic teaching (represented by St. Paul, St. Peter, St. John, and Ep. to Heb.), present Him as the Mediator with God on behalf of mankind, making intercession in His prayers on earth and in His heavenly life after the resurrection, but chiefly giving His life as a ransom, shedding His blood for the remission of sin, acting as a means of propitiation, doing God’s will, and dying as the perfecting of obedience to please God for the benefit of mankind, confirming the new covenant by His death. The images of ‘blood’ and ‘sacrifice’ are drawn from the OT, and can be understood only when their origin and allusion are recognized. At the same time, since our Lord liberated religion from the external and material limitations of Judaism, this process must be acknowledged with regard to the priestly and sacrificial functions. The revelation of the Fatherhood of God necessarily modifies the idea of intercession and priestly mediation. The revelation of His spirituality, and of the spiritual character of religion, carries with it freedom from material conceptions of sacrifice. The OT priest killed animals and sprinkled actual blood. Christ gave His life on the cross; but the reference to His blood has no such material connexion. We must take it metaphorically for His life surrendered in death. Similarly, since He was not, like the Jewish sacrifices, an oblation laid by a priest on an altar, His sacrifice must be interpreted spiritually, and its reality found in the spiritual act of giving Himself to God in death.

Explanatory theories, as that the ransom was paid to Satan (Origen, Gregory of Nyssa), that the atonement was offered to the rights of God, whose suzerainty had been outraged (Anselm), that it was for the satisfaction of law and abstract justice (Protestant theologians, especially), that it consisted in our Lord's repenting on our behalf (M'Leod Campbell), etc., do not come within the scope of this inquiry, as they appear only in later speculations; and though all of them appeal to the Bible for the justification of their positions, none of them can claim to be results of pure exegesis, or even contents of strictly biblical theology.

LITERATURE.—The place of mediation in foreign religions may be gathered from the Introduction to *The Sacred Books of the East*; the *Hibbert Lectures*; Monier Williams' works on *Hinduism* and *Buddhism*; and *Non-Christian Religious Systems* (S.P.C.K). For treatment of the OT teaching see works of OT theology by Oehler, Schultz, Smend, Piepenbring, Bennett; Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*; Trumbull, *The Threshold Covenant*. For the NT teaching see *The Teaching of Jesus* by Wendt; do. by Horton; works on NT theology by Beyschlag, Holtzmann, Bovon, Weiss, Stevens, Adeney; Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*; Ritschl, *Die Lehre v. d. Rechtfertigung u. Versöhnung*, 3 vols. (Eng. tr. of vol. i.). M'Leod Campbell, *On the Nature of the Atonement*; R. W. Dale, *The Doctrine of the Atonement*; H. N. Oxenham, *The Catholic Doctrine of the Atonement*; Bruce, *The Humiliation of Christ*; Simon, *The Redemption of Man*, and *Reconciliation by Incarnation*; Dorner, *System of Christian Doctrine*; Cave, *Script. Doct. of Sacrifice*; Pryce, 'The Atonement,' in *Old Faith in New Light*.

W. F. ADENEY.

MEDICINE.—Compared with other countries in the same latitude, Palestine is, and probably was in Bible days, a fairly healthy land. It has few sluggish streams, and most of its valleys are windswept; except in some few localities malarious diseases are not very rife, and owing to its want of harbours, and consequently of maritime commerce, imported epidemics are not as common as they are in Egypt, which in the Old Testament is regarded as very much more unhealthy (cf. Dt 7^{15} 28^{60}, Am 4^{10}). In addition to these natural advantages, if at any time the sanitary legislation of the Priestly Code were strictly observed, this must have been instrumental in preventing and checking the spread of disease. Under the social system set forth in the law, if it could have been carried out, there would not have been any very poor class, subject to the diseases fostered by destitution; and it is probable that until a comparatively late period there was no permanent overcrowding in the larger towns. It is difficult to estimate the density of the population in ancient times, but, considering the frequent checks it received from wars internal and external, it is not probable that even in the most prosperous days it ever exceeded 300 to the square mile. (The numbers in 1 Ch 21^{5} or 2 S 24^{9} are obviously unreliable). The conditions of life contemplated in the Priestly Code are those of a community of agricultural freeholders; and the social and moral enactments of the law provide for the maintenance of a healthy discipline, and for the repression of excesses injurious to health.

Health, the state in which the bodily functions are perfectly discharged, is, according to Sirach, the greatest of earthly blessings ($30^{14.16}$). The word occurs 15 times in the OT (AV), but in different connotations. It is used twice as the tr. of שָׁלוֹם *shālôm*, referring to material prosperity (Gn 43^{28}, 2 S 20^{9}), but here it is replaced by 'well' in the RV. Thrice in Ps 'health' in the old sense of welfare is the rendering of יְשׁוּעָה *yĕshû'āh* (42^{11} 43^{5} 67^{2}; in the first two places RVm substitutes 'help'). Four times אֲרֻכָה *'ărûkāh* (prop. the *new flesh* that forms on a wound), is tr. 'health,' but 'healing' is better (so RV, as in Is 58^{8}, and RVm in Jer 30^{17} 33^{6}). In Pr 3^{8} 'health' in the ordinary sense of the word is the tr. of רִפְאוּת *riph'ûth*; but in Pr 4^{22} 12^{18} 13^{17} 16^{24} and Jer 8^{15}, in which 'health' is used metaphorically, the Heb. is מַרְפֵּא *marpê'* (in the last ref. RV renders 'healing'). In the NT 'health' occurs twice: Ac 27^{34}, where it is the tr. of σωτηρία, and is better rendered in RV 'safety'; and 3 Jn ^{2}, in the sense of bodily welfare, to 'be in health' being the tr. of ὑγιαίνειν.

The blessing of health was regarded as a reward of service (Is 58^{8}), or withheld on account of sin (Jer $8^{15.22}$). In both OT and NT the popular belief is referred to, that diseases are penal in their origin, inflicted by God on account of sin either personal or parental (Jn 9^{2}); and coming sometimes directly from Him (Ex 4^{11}, Dt 32^{39}), or from Satan when permitted (Job 2^{7}), or by the agencies of other spirits, as those of dumbness (Mk 9^{17}) or foulness (Mk 9^{25}). Diseases might also be caused by envy on the part of others (Job 5^{2}), and the power of the evil eye is referred to in 1 S 18^{9} as well as in the Talmud (*Shabbath* 67, *Pesachim* 112, etc.). They might also come as consequences of gluttony, of drunkenness, of vicious or self-indulgent practices (Sir $37^{30.31}$), but even in these cases they were regarded as coming by God's direct interposition. Therefore healing was a divine token of forgiveness: God was the physician of His people (Ex 15^{26}), and it was their duty to look to Him for relief; hence Asa's sin in seeking to the physicians (2 Ch 16^{2}).

Physicians. — The medical knowledge of the biblical peoples was small in amount and crude in character. In Egypt there were schools of medicine in the 15th cent. B.C. (*Papyrus Ebers* i, ciii); but there are no traces of any system of medical education in Palestine in Bible times, and allusions to physicians are few. Egyptian physicians, who are called Joseph's servants, embalmed Jacob (Gn 50^{2}). These were probably *hr-ḥbu*, the class of priests whom the Greeks called *paraschistes* and *tarieheutæ*, whose long misunderstood relations have been cleared up by Revillout (*Æg. Zeitschr.* 1879, 1880). The existence of physicians in the days of the compilation of the Book of Judgments (Ex 21^{19}) has been inferred from the order that the assailant of his neighbour is to cause him to be thoroughly healed. The רֹפֵא *rōphê'*, of Jer 8^{22}, was a healer of wounds, a bandager (cf. Ec 3^{3}). While in Asa's time to seek the physician was to depart from God, Sirach in later days regards him as God's servant, 'for from the Most High cometh healing' (38^{2}). At the same time repentance and a memorial offering on the part of the sick man are to precede the visit of the physician, who is to be priest as well as healer (v.^{14}). In the newly discovered Heb. the passage in v.^{15}, which, in the Greek, seems to speak slightingly of him, says, 'He that sinneth against God will behave arrogantly before his physician' (יתנבר לפני רופא).

In early Egypt also the physicians were priests, and *Papyrus Ebers* gives several formulæ to be used as prayers while compounding medicaments (for later Egyptian physicians see Herod. ii. 84). The Hebrew priests had charge of certain branches of public health, *e.g.* leprosy, but it was to the prophets that those requiring medical aid chiefly applied: Nathan (2 S 12^{14}), Ahijah (1 K 14^{2}), Elijah (1 K 17^{18}), Elisha (2 K 4^{22}), and Isaiah (2 K 20^{7}) are examples. In post-biblical times Jewish physicians were famous throughout the East, and the sayings of many of these are preserved in the Talmud and other rabbinical writings. According to *Sanhedrin* 17*b* there was a physician in every town, and there was also in the temple a physician for the priests (*Sheḳalim* 5. 1, 2). At the same time it was not unlawful to employ a Gentile, even to perform circumcision, if no qualified Jew was available (*Menaḥoth* 42*a*); but Gentile medicine was to be taken with caution, as it might contain blood. At first these physicians and surgeons were mostly priests possessed of a certain amount of traditional and empirical knowledge, as, for example, in connexion with the diagnosis of leprosy. Doubtless many of them were, like Job's friends, רֹפְאֵי אֱלִל Job 13^{4}, that is, having the same relation to real physicians as that which an insignificant idol bears to the true God. Men of this kind probably gave rise to the proverb in *Kiddushin* 4. 14, that the best of physicians was deserving of hell. In the NT we have Luke, 'the beloved physician' (Col 4^{14}), in whose writings the influence of a medical training has been recognized by Lagarde (*Psalterium juxta Heb. Hieron.* 165), Hobart (*Medical Language of St. Luke,* 1882); see also Blass, *Philol. of the Gospels,* 1898. The reference to physicians in Mk 5^{26} is not very appreciative (cf. with Lk 8^{43}).

Until a comparatively late period, the objections to touching the dead, and the ceremonial uncleanness associated with such contact, prevented the Jewish physicians from obtaining any practical acquaintance with the interior of the human body, as dissection was regarded as dishonouring the dead (*Chullin* 11*b*). The famous Rabbi Ishmael (A.D. 100), of whose anatomical knowledge many stories are told, broke down this prejudice to some degree, and obtained the body of a condemned criminal for anatomical purposes (*Bechoroth* 45*a*); see also *Nazir* 32*b*, for stories of Theudas recognizing bones. Something of the structure of animals must have been known from the priestly experiences in sacrifices, in which the operator had the opportunity of inspecting the viscera of the slain beasts. The method employed in the slaughter of the animals whose carcases were used as food, in order to drain the body of its blood, must also have given to the *shehet* (butcher) and to the *shômēr* (inspector), whose duty is to certify the meat as *kôshēr* or clean, a certain amount of empirical knowledge of the anatomy and pathology of animals (*Chullin* 9*a*). In the *Sepher Zabahi* of Rabbi Meir Cohen (Leghorn, 1832) the ritual for this examination is given at length, and from it the stringency of the rules for the recognition of clean flesh can be estimated. This code is of considerable antiquity, and must have been of great benefit to the public health (Buxtorf, *Syn. Jud.* xxvii.).

There are very few biblical references to the facts of anatomy or physiology. 'The blood is the life,' and therefore tabooed as food (Gn 9^{4}, Lv 17^{11}). This in itself was an important sanitary precaution, considering the highly metabolic nature of blood, which is of all the materials in the body the most likely to carry the microbes of disease, as well as parasites of larger size. In Job 10^{10} and Ps 139$^{15.\,16}$ the current notion of embryology, which was one of epigenesis, is set forth; but the details were considered as beyond human knowledge (Ec 11^{5}); see also *Nidda* 25. In *Aruch* the embryo is said to appear at first like a grasshopper. שֹׁר, tr. 'navel,' appears in Pr 3^{8} as the seat of health, perhaps as being the mid-point of the body, but the word is perhaps a slip for בָּשָׂר 'flesh,' in contradistinction to bones, as LXX reads it (τῷ σώματί σου). The heart (wh. see) was, to the Jews, as to all the peoples of antiquity, the seat of emotion, thought, and wisdom: the reins or kidneys (wh. see) were the seats of feeling, passion, and determination: the bowels (wh. see) were supposed to be the organs of affection and sympathy (see Job 30^{27}). In Zohar (*Bemidbar* 128) there is a remarkable account of the anatomy of the brain.

There were many *proverbial sayings* current among the Jews referring to physicians. Our Lord quotes one of these: 'Physician, heal thyself' (Lk 4^{23}). A similar saying, אס״א אסי חגירתך, occurs in Jalkut on *Bereshith* 38, and in Midrash Rabbah (*Beresh.* 23). The same idea is expressed in a saying ascribed to R. Levi (Midrash on Lv 5): 'It is a shame on the country whose surgeon is gouty and whose oculist is blind.' See Burckhardt's *Arab. Prov.* No. 404. A proverb, the parallel of our Lord's parable of the Mote and the Beam, occurs in *Baba Bathra* 15*b*, 'Say not, Take the straw out of thine eye, when thou hast a stick in thine own.' Another of His sayings, 'They that are whole have no need of a physician; but they that are sick,' is nearly alike in sense to a sentence in *Baba Kamma* 46*b*, 'They who suffer pain should seek the physician.' Other medical proverbs are, 'God determines the healing before the disease' (*Megillah* 13); 'A wise man will not live in a town where there is no physician' (*Sanhedrin* 17*b*); and, on the other hand, 'Do not live in a town of which the chief officer is a physician' (*Pesachim* 113. 1); 'Honour the physician before thou hast need of him' (*Tanhuma*, see also Sir 38^{1} Hebrew version).

Visitation of the sick, although not enjoined in the Mosaic books, is urged as a duty in the Talmud (*Shabbath* 127 B), and several paragraphs in the *Shulhan Aruch* (*Jôre De'ah* 335 ff.) are devoted to this subject. Several cases are excepted, such as ophthalmic or abdominal diseases, and headache, as these may be aggravated by disturbance. Rabbi Johanan says, 'He who visits the sick lengthens his life, and he who refrains shortens it' (*Nedarim* 39). Our Lord's enforcement of this duty in Mt 25$^{36.\,43}$ is noteworthy.

Of the general terms referring to disease in the Bible the word in commonest use is **sick.** This occurs 38 times in OT and 50 in NT. In the former it is usually the tr. of חָלָה *hālāh*, but in Lv 15^{33} (cf. 20^{18}) it represents דָּוָה *dāvāh*, in the sense of temporary periodic sickness: a cognate word (דַּוָּי) in Is 1^{5} is tr. 'faint,' and another (דְּוַי) in Ps 41^{3} 'languishing' (subst.). In 2 S 12^{15} the word is אָנַשׁ *'ānash* (in imperf. Niph.). The ptcp. pass. Qal is used in Job 34^{6} of an arrow wound, but tr. 'desperate' in Is 17^{11}, 'incurable' in Jer 30^{12}, and 'desperately wicked' in Jer 17^{9}. 'Sick' in Is 1^{5} is לָחֳלִי *lohŏlî*, the word חֳלִי being usually tr. 'disease.' In Jer 14^{18} ('sick with famine') it is תַּחֲלוּאִים *tahălû'îm*, lit. 'sicknesses' (cf. RVm). This word is tr. 'diseases' in Ps 103^{3} and 2 Ch 21^{19}. 'Sickness' in OT is in 12 cases the rendering of *hŏlî*, and thrice of מַחֲלָה *mahălāh*, Ex 23^{25}, 1 K 8^{37}, 2 Ch 6^{28}. 'Sicknesses' in the plural occurs in the OT only in Dt 28^{59} (חֳלָיִם) 29^{22} (תַּחֲלֻאִים).

Disease occurs 10 times in OT, 8 times as the rendering of *hŏlî*; once in Ps 41^{8} in the phrase 'an evil disease' (AV, RV; Heb. דְּבַר בְּלִיַּעַל, RVm 'some wicked thing'), and once as tr. of *mahălāh* in 2 Ch 21^{15}. 'Diseased' represents *nahlôth* (Niph. ptcp. of חָלָה) in Ezk 34$^{4.\,21}$, and *hālāh* (Qal) in 1 K 15^{23} and 2 Ch 16^{12}. 'Diseases' in the plural is the tr. of *tahălû'îm* in 2 Ch 21^{19} and Ps 103^{3}, of *mahălāh* in Ex 15^{26}, of מַדְוֶה *madveh* in Dt 7^{15} and 28^{60}, and of *mahălûyim* in 2 Ch 24^{25}.

Infirmity is used thrice in the OT, each time in a different sense, and representing a different word, *dāvāh* in Lv 12^{2} (in infin. con. with suffix דְּוֹתָהּ), referring to periodic sickness; *hālāh* (in infin. Piel) in Ps 77^{10}, in the sense of infirmity from sickness; and *mahălch* in Pr 18^{14}, in the sense of weakness in general. **Plague** is used sometimes as the name of a specific epidemic and sometimes in the sense of sickness in general, and is the tr. of *maggēphāh, makkāh, nega'.* In other places it refers to other forms of affliction or to the judgments of God (1 K 8^{37}, Rv 16^{21}). See PLAGUE.

The RV has changed 'sick' in Pr 23^{35} into 'hurt,' and in Mic 6^{13} 'will I make thee sick in smiting thee' has been altered to 'I have smitten thee with a grievous wound.' 'Loathsome disease' in Ps 38^{7} has been properly altered into 'burning,' as the reference is to the heat of fever. 'Pining sickness' דַּלָּה in Hezekiah's prayer, Is 38[12], has been also altered into 'from the loom.' Literally it means 'from the thrums' whereby the web is fastened to the weaver's beam, the idea being that as the web is cut off from the loom, so his life was separated from its surroundings. The 'evil disease' of Ps 41[8] is rendered in RVm 'some wicked thing' (see above).

The words for 'sickness' are often qualified by some expression or phrase. 'Sickness unto death' of 2 Ch 32[24], 1 K 14[1], and Is 38[1] is contrasted with 'sickness and recovery,' Is 39[1]. R. Ḥanina ben Dosa used to say of his patients, 'This one is sick unto death, this will recover' (*Berachoth* 5. 5). 'Sore [sickness]' is the tr. of *ḥāzāḳ*, 'violent,' in 1 K 17[17]. The prefix in 'sore diseases' of 2 Ch 21[19] is the tr. of *ra'*. An 'evil disease' in Ps 41[8] is literally a 'thing (דבר) of Belial.' The diseases of Egypt are referred to as especially severe in Ex 15[26], Dt 7[15] 28[27] 28[60]. 'Incurable disease' used literally in 2 Ch 21[18] is a phrase used figuratively in Job 34[6], Jer 15[18], Mic 1[9]. 'Sickness of long continuance' is mentioned in Dt 28[59].

Figurative expressions referring to disease are not uncommon. It is a 'scourge' in Job 9[23]; a 'pestilence walking in darkness,' Ps 91[6]. The Jewish idea of disease and death being inflicted by a special angel is referred to in 2 S 24[16], 1 Ch 21[12-18. 27], 2 K 19[35], Rev 6[8]. In the second of these passages he appears with a sword in his hand. Diseases are also spoken of as God's arrows, Dt 32[23. 42], Job 6[4], Ps 64[7] 91[5] 144[6], La 3[12], Zec 9[14] etc. The Arabian proverb says that the pestilence is God's arrow which always hits its mark.

In the NT 'sick' and 'sickness' occur 58 times, 'diseases' and 'diseased' 15 times, and 'infirmities' 19 times. These are tr. of various words: ἀσθένεια, meaning primarily weakness and usually tr. 'infirmities,' sometimes 'sick' as in Ac 28[9] (ἔχοντες ἀσθενείας); μαλακία, meaning softness or effeminacy, as well as sickness, is used in Mt 4[23] 9[35] 10[1], probably referring to wasting chronic diseases, and contrasted in some passages with νόσος, which indicates more acute violent seizures. Homer (*Od.* xv. 408) compares the hateful sickness (νοῦσος) falling on wretched mortals with the visitation of the gentle shafts of Artemis and Apollo, whereby the old are slain; and Hesiod assigns the origin of diseases of this kind to the box of Pandora (*Op. et Di.* i. 101). νόσημα occurs in Jn 5[4]. The unfaithful use of ordinances is said to cause those who transgress to become weak and ἄρρωστοι (1 Co 11[30]). Jerome on this passage says, 'There are three causes from which infirmities arise, either from temptation as Job and Tobiah, from sin as Asaph the king and those referred to here by the apostle, or from some intemperance as Timothy,' etc. Chrysostom interprets this as referring to bodily ailments, great diseases, and premature deaths. The reference is, however, possibly to mental and spiritual weakness, as in Xenophon (*Œconom.* iv. 17: καὶ αἱ ψυχαὶ πολὺ ἀρρωστότεραι γίγνονται). Hippocrates uses the word for disease either of mind or body. In Mt 14[35] τοὺς κακῶς ἔχοντας is used for 'those that were sick'; and in Ro 15[1] ἀσθενήματα means weaknesses or infirmities of conscience, as in Aristotle (*de Gener. Animal.* i. 18, where it is used as the parallel of ἀρρωστήμα).

Some sicknesses, such as leprosy, rendered the patients unclean, and caused their exclusion from cities (see LEPROSY); but in general the sick were treated at home. In later times hospitals were established, generally near the city gates. These were called בתי חפשית, and were like the *Kaati* of the present day.

In the earlier days of Jewish medicine it is probable that bleeding, the universal panacea in the dominant classical medical schools, was not used, on account of the tribal belief concerning the blood. In this the Jews were in accord with Pythagoras and Erasistratus. It has been thought that they were acquainted with the use of leeches from the words of Agur (Pr 30[15]); but if 'horseleech' is the correct rendering (cf. HORSELEECH, *ad fin.*), this only implies their knowledge of the bloodthirsty habits of the leech, and does not refer to its medicinal use. Targ. on Ps 12 paraphrases כְּרֻם זֻלֻּת as the 'leeches which suck blood.' See on this point *Aboda Zara* 13*b*. In later days, however, the Jewish physicians conformed to the universal practice.

Biblical references to *specific diseases* are of two kinds, either so very general that they are indefinite, or concrete in connexion with individual cases. The former class for the most part consists of names alone which are as vague as the folk-names of disease usually are. Several of these disease-names are grouped together in Dt 28[22] as forming a class, which, on account of being sudden, severe, epidemic, and often fatal, appear as if judgments directly from God. Most of these are febrile diseases, and although it is not possible precisely to identify the disease expressed by each name, yet, from the experience which residents in the East have acquired of the most prevalent forms of disease, it is most probable that the diseases referred to are malarial fevers of different kinds with, perhaps, tropical typhoid, and Mediterranean fever.

The first name on the list is שַׁחֶפֶת *shaḥepheth*, from a root signifying 'leanness *or* wasting,' hence it is rendered 'consumption' both in RV and AV (LXX ἀπορία). This may be phthisis, but, from the connexion in which it occurs, is more likely a febrile disease of long duration and attended with wasting, something of the type of Mediterranean or Malta fever, which may last for months, and whose most prominent characteristics are the weakness, anæmia, and wasting with which it is accompanied. The same word occurs in Lv 26[16]. In both RV and AV the word 'consumption' is used in Is 10[22] as the tr. of כִּלָּיוֹן *killâyôn*, meaning a wasting or destruction in general. The RV, however, distinguishes in Is 10[22] and 28[22] between this and *kālāh*, translating the latter as 'consummation,' whereas the two are confounded in the AV. In neither case, however, does it seem to be a specific disease. Phthisis is not a characteristic disease either in Syria or in Egypt, although it does occasionally occur in the former country. See Tobler, *Med. Topographie von Jerus.* 42, and Wittman, p. 92.

The three names that follow in Dt are קַדַּחַת *ḳaddaḥath*, 'fever' (RV and AV; LXX πυρετός); דַּלֶּקֶת *dalleḳeth*, 'inflammation' (LXX ῥῖγος, 'ague'); and חַרְחֻר *ḥarḥûr* (AV 'extreme burning'; RV 'fiery heat'; LXX ἐρεθισμός, 'irritation'). That these three describe different kinds of fever is plain, as all three words imply burning or heat. The *ḳaddaḥath* is called in AV of Lv 26[16] 'burning ague,' and is said to 'consume the eyes and make the soul to pine away' (LXX calls this disease ἴκτερος, 'jaundice'). It may be the malarial fever which occurs in the Jordan Valley and the Lebanon valleys, in Jerusalem and in the Shephēlah, as well as around the Sea of Galilee. This disease is occasionally accompanied by jaundice. πυρετός was the disease of the nobleman's son at Capernaum (Jn 4[26]) and of Simon's mother-in-law (Lk 4[38] 'a great fever') at the same place (see Hippocr. *Epidem.* iii.). The word in Mt 8[14] and Mk 1[30] is πυρέσσουσα.

Dalleḳeth was considered by some Jewish writers as a burning fever, but by the LXX as an intermittent fever. It may possibly have been some form of ague, which often occurs in the same localities as the other forms of malarial fever, perhaps indeed typhoid, which is now, and probably was in former times, one of the commonest fevers in Palestine. Typhus was probably rare, and is so still except in crowded places. Burckhardt mentions its occurrence under the name of putrid fever at Djiddah (*Arabia*, i. 495), but says that most of the fevers elsewhere are intermitting in type, ii. 290. For typhus in Palestine see Rafalowitsch in *Ausland*, 1847, p. 1084.

Ḥarḥûr must be something characterized by irritation and heat, such as erysipelas, only that this is not at all common as an epidemic, indeed is not very common in Palestine. It might be one of the exanthemata. The Hebrew name refers to its heat, the Greek to the local irritation caused by it. Of all these fevers the Rabbinic physicians recognized four stages: incubation, beginning, augmentation, and decline or convalescence. For erysipelas in Egypt see Pruner, p. 118; see also Brayer, *Neuf années à Constantinople*, p. 46.

Following these in the Dt passage MT has חֶרֶב *ḥereb*, 'sword'; but probably we should read חֹרֶב (as in margin of AV, RV) = 'drought,' either a disease attended with dryness, or else simply drought of the earth. The latter is more probable, as it is followed by the words *shiddāphôn* and *yērāḳôn*, tr. here as in Am 4^{9} and Hag 2^{17} by 'blasting and mildew,' penal destruction of the fruits of the earth. For חרב as a disease see Zec 11^{17}. It is tr. 'a sword' both in AV and RV; but from the effects given in the passage, wasting of the arm and shrivelling of the eye, it is plainly such a condition as the wasting paralysis described below under diseases of the nervous system (but see Nowack, *Comm. ad loc.*).

Two other words are used to describe wasting diseases. Man chastened by God for his iniquity has his attractiveness consumed (מָסָה *māṣāh*, 'melt away') as by a moth (Ps 39^{11} [Heb. ^{12}]). The same condition is named מָקַק (*māḳaḳ*, 'fester') in Zec 14^{12}. This disease is threatened against the enemies of Jerusalem, and is to consume their flesh, their eyes, and their tongues. This is the 'pining away' to which sinful Israel is condemned (Lv 26^{39}, Ez 24^{23} 33^{10}), and the same term is applied to festering wounds in Ps 38^{5}, where it is associated with burning pain in the loins, weakness, violent action of the heart, etc. Much of the description is plainly figurative of mental and spiritual disquiet; but the imagery might well be taken from an attack of confluent smallpox, with its disfiguring and blinding effects, causing the repulsion even of lovers and friends. There is little reason to doubt the antiquity of smallpox. Philo in his life of Moses (ed. Turnebus, 622 A.B.) describes the sixth plague of Egypt as beginning with a red eruption whose spots became swollen and pustular, appearing as if they had been boiled with the sudden heat. The sufferers were worn down with anguish from these inflammations and ulcers. 'For to one looking upon one of these cases in which the pustules, confluent into a mass, were spread over the body and limbs, it appeared as if they formed a continuous ulcer from head to foot.' Mas'udi (in the *Meadows of Gold*, ed. Meynard, iii.) states that in A.D. 370 smallpox broke out among the Arabs for the first time, but that the disease had been known among the Jews before that time. (See also Hirsch, *Sydenham Soc. Tr.* i. 125).

The word כָּלָה (*kālāh*, 'to come to an end,' 'to vanish away') is used in Ps 71^{9} of strength failing in old age, and in Job 19^{27} 33^{21} of flesh becoming emaciated through illness (see *Comm. ad loc.*).

Pestilence or **plague** is also used as descriptive of a violent disease, extremely fatal, and sent as a punishment on large masses of people. Pestilence is the tr. of דֶּבֶר *deber*. 'Plague,' as far as it refers to these epidemics, is the rendering of several words: מַגֵּפָה *maggēphāh*, in Nu 14^{37} 16$^{48.\ 49.\ 60}$ 25$^{8.\ 9.\ 18}$ 26^{1} 31^{16}, 1 Ch 21^{32}, 2 Ch 21^{14}, Ps 106$^{29.\ 30}$, Zec 14^{12}; מַכָּה *makkāh*, in Lv 26^{21}, Nu 11^{33}, Dt 28^{59}; נֶגֶף *negeph*, in Nu 16$^{46.\ 47}$, Jos 22^{17}; it is נֶגַע *nega'*, in Ex 11^{1}, 1 S 6^{4}, Ps 91^{10}. The fear of this *deber* was used as an argument by Moses to Pharaoh to induce him to let Israel go (Ex 9^{14}). With this disease God threatens rebellious Israel repeatedly, Nu 14^{12}, Dt 28^{21}; and there were at least four outbreaks during the wanderings in the wilderness, just as in later years it has appeared among the hordes of Mohammedan pilgrims on their way to Mecca. At Kibroth-hattaavah (Nu 11^{33}) it broke out suddenly while the Israelites were consuming the quails; it is quite conceivable that these birds may have come from some plague-stricken Arabian district and conveyed the infection, as rats, oxen, deer, and others animals have done in later times (see Rocher, *Chinese Imp. Cust. Gaz. Med. Rep.* 15).

There was a second outbreak after the rebellion of Korah (Nu 16^{46}), stayed by the intercession of Aaron; and a third to punish the discontent consequent on the evil report of the spies (Nu 14^{37}). Here it is called *maggēphāh*. The fourth epidemic followed the iniquity of Baal-peor, and probably the infection was communicated by the Moabites (Nu 25$^{8.\ 9.\ 18}$). The judgment which followed David's sin of numbering the people was of the same nature (2 S 24^{13}, 1 Ch 21^{12}; Jos. *Ant.* VII. xiii. 3). Plague was threatened on account of the sin of Jehoram (2 Ch 21^{14}). It is called 'noisome' in Ps 91^{3} (דֶּבֶר הַוּוֹת), and characterized as walking in darkness (v.^{6}), as its attacks often begin at night. It was often threatened by the prophets, especially Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Amos, and Habakkuk, and appears to have broken out in Jerusalem during the siege (Jer 21^{9}), and also among the fugitives from Jerusalem to Egypt (Jer 42^{17}). The destruction of the army of Sennacherib was most probably effected by a sudden outburst of this disease (2 K 19^{35}), and it is noteworthy that presumably about the same time, or at least shortly after it, Hezekiah was seized with an illness, supposed to be mortal, in the course of which a 'boil' developed which may well have been the bubo of the plague (Is 38^{1}). The destroying angel is mentioned as inflicting the plague in 2 S 24^{17}, 1 Ch 21$^{15.\ 16}$, and 2 K 19^{35}, 2 Ch 32^{21} (cf. Jos. *Ant.* X. i. 5).

The bubonic plague has been from time immemorial the periodic scourge of Bible lands. It is mentioned in the oldest medical literature (Hippoc. *Aph.* iv. 52, *Epid.* iii. 55). Ruffus mentions a visitation of plague in Syria about B.C. 300; and the dreadful epidemic in the reign of Justinian, about A.D. 544, is graphically recorded by the historians as leaving whole districts depopulated. Its outbreaks are sudden, it spreads rapidly, and simultaneously affects large bodies of people. At its onset it is remarkably fatal: in the last visitation in this country (1664–1669) 4000 died in London within the first week, and during the period of the epidemic 70,000 died in that city, about 1 in 5 of the population. It has a short incubation period; 'in highly malignant epidemics the disease may show itself within three or four hours of exposure to infection' (Manson, *Trop. Diseases*, 156; see also cases cited by Pruner, p. 396). The bubo or glandular swelling in the groin or axilla often develops within a few hours. Death generally ensues (in more than 60 per cent. of those attacked) within the first three days (Colvill). In the type called *pestis siderans*, death often occurs within twelve to twenty-four hours. In one village, out of 534 inhabitants 311 died within three days (see Hirsch, *op. cit.* i. 495, and Allbutt's *Syst. of Med.* i. 917).

There are in the Levitical code no sanitary precautions given to prevent its spreading. This is probably due to the belief that it was a divine judgment supernaturally inflicted, and to be stayed only by prayer and repentance. Had the Israelites kept themselves, as they were bidden, from intercourse with their neighbours, it is probable that they would have remained tolerably free from it, as it is not endemic anywhere in Palestine, and is always propagated along trade routes. In this respect it was really a punishment for breaches of their law. In *Taanith* 3. 4, the inhabitants of a district visited by a plague are directed to fast, and to blow trumpets, while their neighbours are to fast without blowing trumpets. *Baba Kamma* recommends staying at home and fleeing the society of others in time of plague (60. 2).

Emerods.—In the account of the Philistine plague, after the capture of the ark (1 S 5$^{6-12}$) it is said that the people of Ashdod and the other cities were smitten with emerods (AV). The word is עֳפָלִים *'ŏphālîm*, for which *Ḳĕrê* substitutes טְחֹרִים *ṭĕḥōrîm* (the latter is used in the text in 1 S 6$^{11.17}$). These words mean 'swellings *or* rounded eminences.' Aquila renders *φαγεδαίνης ἕλκος*; LXX B has in 1 S 5^{6} *ἐξέζεσεν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὰς ναῦς* [A *ἕδρας*; cf. BA in v.^{9} *καὶ ἐπάταξεν . . . εἰς τὰς ἕδρας αὐτῶν*, and Vulg. *in secretiori parte natium*, v.^{6}]. From comparison with Ps 78^{66}, where God is said to have smitten His enemies on the hinder part (RV 'backwards'), it was supposed that the tumours were on the buttocks, and they were therefore identified with hæmorrhoids. There is, however, nothing in the narrative to bear out this exegesis, and RV translates 'tumours.' The disease was epidemic, infectious, often fatal; was attended with tumours somewhere about the lower part of the abdomen, and these were so definite that they could be represented by models. It is certain, therefore, that it was no kind of hæmorrhoid, and the probability is great that this also was the plague whose buboes were the tumours. This view is advocated by Hitzig (*Urgesch. d. Philist.* 201) and Wellhausen (*Samuel*, 64), and it satisfies all the conditions, this being of all the diseases of the East the most likely to have set in with the fatal suddenness described in the text. The same word occurs in Dt 28^{27}, and from the analogy of the Syriac word used in the passage, ܛܚܘܪܐ, which is akin to ܛܘܚܪ̈ܐ, meaning *tenesmus*, Driver suggests that the reference may be to dysenteric tumours (*Comm. on Deut.* 1895, xx and 310); but there are very seldom any tumours in dysentery, while *tenesmus* and evacuations of blood are common in the plague. The images of the emerods are called in Vulg. *quinque anos aureos*.

Disorders involving *the digestive organs* mentioned in the Bible are either due to malaria or are the results of intemperance. The case of the father of Publius was one of **acute dysentery.** The disease is called in AV Ac 28^{8} **bloody flux**; in Gr. *πυρετὸς καὶ δυσεντερία*. Sir W. Aitken gives Malta as one of the six districts in which this disease is most prevalent and most fatal (ii. 841). The presence of hæmorrhage shows that the disease in this instance was of the ulcerative or gangrenous type, either of which is a most dangerous form. The germs of this disease are water-borne, so it is common in swampy, moist localities, as by riversides. In Egypt its mortality is said by Griesinger to be about 36 per cent.

The description of the disease of which Jehoram died (2 Ch 21^{19}), which began at a period of a general epidemic, lasted two years, and was incurable, as in its course the bowels were shed or fell out, tallies with the condition met with in some forms of chronic dysentery with sloughing of the intestine, 'one of the most hopeless and intractable forms of disease which the physician has to treat' (Aitken, ii. 859). Dutrouleau records an example of this kind in which about 13 inches of the mucous and submucous coats of the colon were evacuated. In certain forms, also, there is a diphtheritic exudation on the mucous membrane, which may be detached in larger or smaller masses. In *Papyrus Ebers* xlii there is an account of a disease of this kind, with swelling of the abdomen, and pain, pale face, aching head, the abdomen hot to the touch, and with a discharge of a black or white material. This was called the *sḥn* disease.

Digestive and other disorders from intemperance are graphically enumerated in Pr 23^{29}; interjectional cries of distress, accident, redness of eyes, strange visions, bitings as sharp as those of the serpent. In Is 19^{14} the drunkard is represented as staggering or falling in his vomit; in Is 28^{8} they defile all that they touch (see Jer 25^{27}), being ultimately drugged to sleep (Jer 51$^{39.57}$). Disease is also associated with riotous eaters of flesh (Pr 23^{20}).

Disorders of the Liver.—The Heb. physicians regarded many diseases as due to an alteration in the bile, and in this respect they agreed with the dogmatic school of Humoralists, such as Plato and Praxagoras. This is expressed in *Baba Kamma* 92, *Baba mezia* 107, *Chagigah* 26. There is an allusion to this belief in Job 16^{13}, where the patriarch complains that the disease, God's arrow, had compassed him about, and poured out his gall upon the ground. The gall in La 3^{5} and Dt 29^{18} is, however, not the bile, but a poisonous plant. Celsius regards *rōsh* here as perhaps a poppy. See, further, art. GALL. In La 2^{11} the same expression is used of the כָּבֵד or liver, the pouring out of which is regarded as a fatal condition. Hence the dissolute fool is punished by a dart striking through his liver, Pr 7^{23}. Of the true functions of the liver the Jewish physicians were as ignorant as were the Egyptians. In *Papyrus Ebers* xxxvi, c, ciii, it is said that the vessels brought air as well as blood to the organ.

The *πυκναὶ ἀσθένειαι* of Timothy (1 Ti 5^{23}) were probably digestive troubles, flatulent atonic dyspepsia, whose most urgent symptoms are temporarily relieved by alcohol. This disease seemed to have produced in him a disposition to slackness, concerning which St. Paul repeatedly warns him (1 Ti 4$^{13-16}$). In such cases, however, while alcohol allays the morbid functional sensibility, it does not really remove the cause of the disease.

Mental emotions of a lowering nature, such as grief or anxiety, produce important physical effects on the alimentary canal, checking certain secretions; hence in Ps 69^{3} the **dryness of the throat** in such cases is mentioned. In Is 16^{11} and Jer 4^{19} 31^{20} there are references to the suddenly arising flatulent distension of the colon, which is often to be noticed under the same conditions. These borborygmi are referred to the heart in Jer 48^{36}.

The effects of the water in the **jealousy ordeal** (Nu 5^{17}) may here be referred to. The 'bitter water which causeth the curse' consisted of holy water, consecrated by the priest, into which dust from the floor of the sanctuary was put, and with which the curses pronounced against unfaithfulness written out by the priest were washed off the parchment on which they had been written. This is a kind of ordeal of which examples are not uncommon in primitive religions. The meaning of the dust is given by R. Menahem in *Siphre* x., that as the dust is regarded as defiling the holy place, so the suspicion of unfaithfulness defiles the person suspected. In the same place the priest is recommended to write the curses out on tablets, not on paper, but on prepared skins, and not with gum or copperas, but with black ink. The ordeal was a direct appeal to God, and the water was supposed, in cases of guilt, to cause wasting of the buttock (dislocation of the right thigh, Jos. *Ant.* III. xi. 6) and swelling of the abdomen, possibly ovarian dropsy; see Dillmann, *in loc.*

The effects of eating that on which prophetic writings were inscribed as a preparation for discharging the prophetic office are referred to in Ezk 3^{1}, Rev 10^{9}. This is also an action of which examples are known in several folk-religions (see Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, i. 347), and even in British folk-lore. Our Lord promised His disciples protection if they were subjected to the ordeal of poisonous drinks (Mk 16^{18}).

The **heart**, mentioned more frequently (716 times in OT and 105 in NT) in Scripture than any other of the bodily organs, on account of its supposed connexion with the intellectual as well as the moral and spiritual life, was, as far as its physiological action is concerned, so little known that there are few references to physical disease affecting it (see HEART, vol. ii. 317). The pericardium or caul over the heart is mentioned in Hos 13^{8}. 'A sound heart is the life of the flesh' (Pr 14^{30}), which is parallel to Juvenal's *mens sana in corpore sano* (x. 356), may have a physical as well as a psychological reference. The curious proverb, 'A wise man's heart is at his right hand, but a fool's heart at his left' (Ec 10^{2}), has its parallel in the ancient Egyptian aphorism, 'The breath of life passes to the right side, the breath of death to the left' (*Pap. Ebers* c).

Syncope, or failure of the heart's action, causing fainting, is described in several instances. Jacob's heart fainted at the news of Joseph's exaltation in Egypt (Gn 45^{26}). Eli had a sudden attack of syncope, leading to a fatal fall, from the shock of the news that the Philistines had taken the ark (1 S $4^{13ff.}$). Saul fainted with hunger and fear on the reception of Samuel's message through the witch of Endor (1 S 28^{20}). Daniel also fainted and was sick for several days on receiving Gabriel's message (8^{27}). See FAINT, vol. i. 826. Heart palpitation is given in *Pap. Ebers* xlv as a symptom of the '*i*' disease or chlorosis.

'A broken heart' is mentioned 11 times in Scripture, but always in its metaphorical sense of repentance and sorrow for sin. The condition literally expressed by the term has acquired a special interest on account of Dr. Stroud's hypothesis that rupture of the heart was the condition to which our Lord's death was due (see Stroud, *Physical Causes of the Death of Christ*, 1847, also Bennett's *Diseases of the Bible*, p. 117).

Although it is only in Daniel that the functions of the *nervous centres* are recognized (see 1^{10} 2^{28} $4^{2-7.10}$ 7^{1-15}), yet diseases affecting this system are often mentioned:—

Paralysis or **Palsy.**—These words are used to express loss of the power of motion, a common symptom in diseases of the central nervous system. This condition is usually serious, often intractable, and is generally fairly rapid in its onset, but slow in disappearing. In the NT there are several accounts of the miraculous cures of paralysis by our Lord, as in Mt 4^{24}; here as in Ac 8^{7} these are recorded in general terms. In the case of the man at Capernaum, borne of four, whose friends let him down through the tiling into the presence of Christ, Matthew (9^{6}) uses the word παραλυτικός, as also does Mark (2^{3}). Luke (5^{18}) uses the term παραλελυμένος. The man seems to have suffered from *paraplegia*, *i.e.* complete loss of power in his lower limbs. The prognosis in this disease, due as it generally is to an organic change in the spinal cord from myelitis, is generally unfavourable, and even in the best cases progress is slow. Our Lord calls this man 'son,' which may be intended as a mark of age; but both this and the conjecture that the paralysis was a judgment on him for immorality, on account of our Lord's having prefaced his cure by declaring the forgiveness of his sins, are deductions not warranted by the very slender data from which they are drawn.

The example of Æneas, healed by St. Peter (Ac 9^{33}), that of a man eight years bedridden, was probably one of the same kind.

The centurion's servant (Mt 8^{6}) was 'grievously tormented' (δεινῶς βασανιζόμενος). This is descriptive of the pain which he suffered, as the phrase is used in classical Greek of torture to extort confession (see the case of Gylippus in Thucyd. vii. 86, and the Argive in viii. 29). It was probably an acute case, possibly of spinal meningitis. Bennett conjectures 'progressive paralysis with muscular spasms involving the respiratory movements' (p. 92), but the former seems to fit the description better, as in it the 'torment' is the more grievous.

The man with the **withered hand** (Mt 12^{9-13}, Mk 3^{1-5}, Lk 6^{6-10}) was probably a sufferer in his early years from *anterior poliomyelitis*, causing infantile paralysis. In such a case the bones as well as the muscles atrophy, and the limb becomes reduced to a mere stick. To the same category probably belonged the lame man healed by Peter and John at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple (Ac 3^{2}), although this may have been congenital want of development of the lower limbs; but from the narrative it would appear that the limbs were well formed, although for forty years deprived of strength.

Cases like these were probably included in the general term 'withered' (ξηροί), applied to a group of the expectant waiters at the Pool of Bethesda (Jn 5^{3}). The word is used of shrivelled parts (as in Æsch. *Orestes*, 387), or of a generally wasted frame (*Electra*, 239). The man who is called ὁ ἀσθενῶν (Jn 5^{7}) was probably thus affected. The thirty-eight years' duration of the case is against its having been an example of *locomotor ataxia*. Moreover, the diseased condition to which *locomotor ataxia* is generally due was probably unknown at that time. He was able to move himself, although slowly, for he says, 'while I am coming,' meaning by his unaided exertion (*ib.*). There appears to be an OT reference to this condition under the name *ḥōreb*, elsewhere translated 'drought,' and in this passage (Zec 11^{17}) tr. 'the sword' (*i.e. ḥereb*); but the context shows that it is really the diseased condition of hemiplegic shrivelling in this wasting disease that is referred to—'his arm shall be clean dried up, and his right eye shall be utterly darkened.' See above, p. 324^{a}.

The sudden paralysis of Jeroboam's hand (1 K 13^{4}) was a case of the condition technically known as *brachial monoplegia*, probably due to a sudden hæmorrhage affecting a certain area of the posterior central convolution of the brain or of the part of the corona radiata or genu of the internal capsule connected with that area. Decaisne has collected and analyzed a large number of cases of this kind. When the sudden supervention of the paralysis depends on a clot plugging the vessels which nourish this area, it may prove only a temporary paralysis, as in the case of Jeroboam (v.^{6}).

The word 'palsy' is a corruption of the French *paralysie*, and came into use in English at any rate about the year 1500, for it is used in the English tr. of Mandeville's *Travels*.

The case of Nabal (1 S 25^{38}) seems to have been a typical example of an **apoplectic seizure**, a condition closely allied to paralysis, in that it is usually produced by hæmorrhage or effusion of serum on or into the brain. When in the disturbed condition of brain which followed his drunken bout the churl was excited to passion by the story of his wife's generosity, some vessel probably gave way in his brain, and he became comatose (v.^{37} 'as a stone'), lingering in that state for ten days until he died. The death of Alcimus (1 Mac 9^{55}) was a typical case of apoplexy (see Jos. *Ant.* XII. x. 6).

The arteries of the brain in a man addicted to drink, and in other conditions of weakness or senile decay, are liable to atheromatous disease, which diminishes their resisting power; and if in this condition the heart's action be increased in force, as by a fit of passion, rupture of one of these vessels is not unlikely to occur. It has even been conjectured that the sudden deaths of Uzzah (2 S 6^{7}) and of Ananias and Sapphira (Ac $5^{5\text{-}10}$) may have been apoplectic in their nature also. The great surgeon John Hunter died suddenly of an apoplectic attack, the result of severe mental emotion.

There are several terms used to describe varying forms of abnormal psychical conditions, of insanity and allied mental diseases. The state of **trance** or deep profound sleep is described in connexion with the tradition of the making of Eve (Gn 2^{21}). A similar sleep fell on Abraham (15^{12}), and Saul in the cave (1 S 26^{12}). In this last case it was the profound sleep of exhaustion; the phrase 'deep sleep from the Lord' is merely a Hebrew superlative. Sisera's deep sleep of fatigue was of the same nature (Jg 4^{21}), and other examples are those of Jonah (1^{5}), and our Lord in the boat during the storm (Mt 8^{24}, Mk 4^{38}). The ecstatic condition of the prophet described by Balaam (Nu $24^{3.\,4}$) was a condition of mental exaltation believed to be due to possession by the Divine Spirit, a state in which individual will becomes paralyzed, and the person becomes subject to more or less violent emotion by suggestion. Hence prophets were called [not necessarily disrespectfully, see vol. ii. p. 564^{b} note *] 'mad fellows' (2 K 9^{11}), and Isaiah speaks of the false prophets as those that peep and mutter (8^{19}). See also the use of the word מְשֻׁגָּע *mĕshuggā'* or 'raving,' for the utterances of prophets (Jer 29^{26}, Hos 9^{7}). Saul is a singular study in mental pathology; naturally a shy, self-conscious man (1 S $9^{5\text{-}8}$ 10^{22}), easily exalted into the condition of ecstasy (10^{10}), and by his exaltation puffed up to tyrannical self-satisfaction ($15^{12.\,13}$), then filled with an irresistible impulse towards homicide (18^{11}), turning even against his own son ($20^{30\text{-}33}$); but liable, under conditions suggesting it, to return to the ecstatic state (19^{24}), then falling into despondency (28^{20}), and dying by suicide (31^{5}). To such a one of weak judgment, violent passions, and great susceptibility, the influence of music is a powerful agency to calm and soothe. The cause of his madness is ascribed to an evil spirit from God (18^{10}), and the raving consequent on it is called 'prophesying' in AV and RV (יִתְנַבֵּא, imperf. Hithpael of *nābā'*). His case is a typical one of recurrent paroxysmal mania rather than of melancholia. Perhaps it was the object-lesson of Saul's insanity which prompted David to feign madness before Achish (1 S 21^{13}), the lunatic being a sacred person in the eyes of the Oriental (Stanley's *Lect.* ii. 52). The symptoms he imitated were change of behaviour, raging to and fro, as they tried to hold him with their hands, like a man in acute mania. He scratched or made marks on the doors (וַיְתָו; but the LXX and Vulgate have ἐτυμπάνιζεν and *impingebat*, as if the Heb. were וַיְתֹף 'and he beat on'), and he defiled his beard by letting his saliva fall upon it. This in itself showed loss of all self-respect, as to spit on the beard of an enemy would be a deadly insult (see Dt 25^{9}, Job 30^{10}). The malingering was so successful that the king regarded him as genuinely affected with שִׁגָּעוֹן or 'frenzy.' Madness was one of the plagues threatened for disobedience to the law (Dt 28^{28}).

Another striking instance of insanity is presented by the (? Haggadic) story of Nebuchadnezzar (Dn 4). Puffed up by an overweening self-conceit, he was smitten with mania, cherishing the delusion that he was a beast, and so was driven from his throne until his recovery at the end of seven years. Instances of a monomania in which the chief delusion is that one is an animal have been often recorded, and most alienist physicians of experience have met with such cases. Virgil (*Ecl.* vi. 48) describes the daughters of Proetus as believing themselves to be cattle, and while each of them *collo timuisset aratrum, et sæpe in levi quassisset cornua fronte*, they filled the fields with counterfeit lowings. From monomaniacs of this kind have probably arisen the legends of lycanthropy or were-wolves (see Hertz, *Der Werwolf*, 1862). There is no need to invoke totemism to account for them, nor to believe with some of the Rabbins that Nebuchadnezzar was miraculously transformed into an ox. According to Ader (p. 32) the Gadarene demoniacs were of this kind.

In the NT there are probably several cases of insanity and of allied diseases of the nervous system included among those who are said to have been possessed with devils. This is especially the case with regard to those spirits called dumb in Lk 11^{14}, or blind and dumb in Mt 12^{22}. Stammering (μογιλάλος, adj.) is in Mk 7^{32} associated with deafness. LXX uses this word in Is 35^{6} as the tr. of אִלֵּם 'dumb.' The Heb. word has in it the idea of binding (see Gn 37^{7}), as though dumbness were due to the constraint of the tongue by bands, the idea embodied in the account of the case of the stammerer in Mk, ἐλύθη ὁ δεσμὸς τῆς γλώσσης. Stammering, לַעַג, as in Is 28^{11} (cf. 33^{19}), means rather babbling, speaking gibberish, than actual stuttering from defect (LXX φαυλισμός, 'contempt'). The same meaning is conveyed by עִלֵּג in Is 32^{4}, but LXX has here αἱ γλῶσσαι αἱ ψελλίζουσαι, the word used of Demosthenes (*Libanius*, iv. 319. 4) for inarticulate or infantile speech. Moses in Ex 4^{10} (J) is said to have been כְּבַד־פֶּה וּכְבַד לָשׁוֹן 'heavy of speech and heavy of tongue,' LXX ἰσχνόφωνος καὶ βραδύγλωσσος, 'lame in speech and slow in tongue,' not necessarily 'stammering.' Temporary *aphasia* has been often observed in cases of sudden terror or other emotion, as in the case of Zacharias (Lk 1^{22}), and St. Paul's companions (Ac 9^{7}). The speechlessness of the man without the wedding garment (Mt 22^{12}) was not *aphasia*, but due to the fact that he had no excuse to offer.

Epilepsy is mentioned in Mt 17^{15} (RV) as the cause of the convulsive seizures of the boy described there and in Lk 9^{38}. The account of the fit, beginning with a cry, followed by his falling down and becoming convulsed, foaming at the mouth, grinding his teeth, bruising himself sorely, sometimes falling into the fire and sometimes into the water, is exactly in accord with a typical epileptic fit. He had been subject to these from childhood; about one-fourth of epileptics have their first fit within the first decade of life, 12 per cent. within the first three years. The 'pining away' mentioned in Mk 9^{18} is characteristic of one form of the disease, in which the fits are frequently recurring. The record of the last attack, in which he 'wallowed foaming,' is very graphic. The verb used to describe the attack in Mt is σεληνιάζομαι, literally 'to be moon-struck,' but thereby is meant epilepsy, not lunacy as in AV. The connexion between epilepsy and the phases of the moon was believed in down to a comparatively late period. Vicary, the surgeon to Henry VIII., writing in

1577, says of the brain that 'it moueth and followeth the mouing of the Moone: for in the waxing of the Moone, the Brayne followeth upwardes: and in the wane of the Moone the brayne discendeth downwardes, and vanishes in substance of vertue: for the Brayne shrinketh together in itselfe and is not so fully obedient to the spirit of feeling. And this is proved in menne that be lunatike or madde, and also in men that be epulentike [=epileptic] or having the falling sickness, that be moste greeved in the beginning of the new moone,' etc. The moon-struck are distinguished in Mt 4^{24} from the paralytic and from those possessed by devils. Moonstroke is also mentioned in Ps 121^{6}. Among the later Jews epilepsy was treated by means of amulets called קמיעת עקרין, and by the application of certain insects named שרץ העיף. See *Shabbath* 61, and *Tosefta Shabbath, in loc.*

Sunstroke in Ps 121^{6}, coupled with moonstroke, is also mentioned in Is 49^{10}. It was the cause of the death of the Shunammite's son, stricken in the harvest field (2 K 4^{19}), and of Manasseh, Judith's husband, as he stood overseeing the binders of sheaves in the field (Jth 8^{3}). In the former case the child was suddenly affected with sharp pain in his head, and, on being carried to his mother, lay on her knees till noon, and then died. There are several diseases which are confounded under the name of heat-stroke or sun-stroke,—sun-syncope, sun-traumatism, sometimes meningitis; but this seems to have been a genuine example of *siriasis*. This disease has been described by Sambon (*Brit. Med. Journ.* 1898, March 19, p. 744) as a rapidly fatal, febrile condition, beginning with high temperature, violent pains in the head, and passing rapidly into coma, death taking place 'within a few hours or even minutes of the onset of insensibility' (Manson, 210). The Shunammite's child was laid, after his death, on the prophet's bed until his mother had brought Elisha back from Mount Carmel. By the time Gehazi arrived the body had become cold; and the subsequent restoration to life was plainly miraculous, as the mere stretching of the prophet on the body could not have brought back the life. Syria is one of the countries in which this disease occurs.

The case of Jonah, on the other hand, was one of **heat syncope**; he fainted from the heat, and suffered the severe headache which always supervenes in such cases after the recovery of consciousness. In these cases, unlike true *siriasis*, the temperature of the body falls, and the surface feels cold and appears pale; 'usually after a short time the patient gradually recovers, very likely with a splitting headache and a feeling of intense prostration' (Manson, 202). It was in this condition that the prophet said 'it is better for me to die than to live' (Jon 4^{8}).

Dropsy.—In Lk 14^{2} the cure of a case of dropsy is recorded. The patient had been able to enter into the house of one of the rulers of the Pharisees at Jerusalem, where Jesus was being entertained. The man is called ὑδρωπικός, the word used by the Greek physicians for dropsy in general. The disease may have been a universal *anasarca*, due to disease of the kidneys or heart, or else abdominal dropsy, usually dependent on disease of the liver. In all cases this is a dangerous symptom, and it usually indicates a comparatively large amount of organic disease. In *Shabbath* 33. 1, dropsy is said to be the punishment of transgression. It is common in Jerusalem; see Macgowan in *Jewish Intelligence*, 1842, p. 319.

Pulmonary disease, as such, is not referred to in Scripture. It is said of the widow's son at Zarephath that his sickness was so sore there was no breath left in him (1 K 17); but this simply means that he died. The modern Jewish authorities, in their directions for the slaughter of animals for purposes of food, regard the state of the lungs as of the utmost importance, and minute instructions are given for the recognition of pathological conditions which rendered the carcase unfit for food.

The nature of the disease from which Asa suffered in his *feet* is not mentioned (1 K 15^{23}, 2 Ch 16^{11}). The former writer says that it affected him in his old age, the latter in the 39th year of his reign; and adds that he sought not to the Lord, but to the physicians. This may have been suggested by the king's name (אָסָא), which probably means 'healer.' Josephus apparently knows nothing of the disease, and describes Asa as dying happily after he had attained a long and blessed old age (*Ant.* VIII. xii. 6). The Rabbinical belief was that the malady was **gout** (*Sota* 10*a*, *Sanhedrin*). Rashi has conjectured from the wording of v.^{12} that the disease mounted to his head. Others have supposed that this infliction was a punishment because he had not exempted the children of the wise from the labour of carrying away the stones of Ramah (1 K 15^{22}). There is no clue in the passage to the nature of the disease. Hippocrates says truly that gout, although it may be long and laborious, yet is seldom mortal (*peri Pathōn*, ed. Kuhn, 407). As Asa's disease began in old age, it may have been a case of senile gangrene. Gout is very rare among natives of Palestine. Kamphausen suggests that it may have been articular leprosy (see Riehm's *HWB*, art. 'Krankheiten').

A few references to *surgical disease and accident* occur in the Bible. Among primitive peoples, as a rule, surgery preceded medicine, as the conditions of their life expose the body to violence. The following are cases of surgical disease:—

The woman **bound by the spirit of infirmity**, and unable to lift herself (Lk 13^{11-17}), was yet able to attend the synagogue. This was probably a case of senile *kyphosis*, due to chronic osteitis of the vertebræ, a condition not infrequent among aged women whose lives have been spent in agricultural labour: in these the vertebræ become gradually distorted and modified to the new position, so that by nothing short of miracle can the spine be straightened without violence. Why this deformity was regarded as of specially Satanic origin is not apparent, but some Rabbinic authorities regard every disease which produces distortion as due to demons.

Crook-backedness rendered a man unfit for the priesthood. This condition, called גִּבֵּן in Lv 21^{20} (LXX κυρτός), differs from the last in that it occurs in the young, and is due to caries of the vertebræ. It must have been fairly common in Egypt, as the present writer has found a considerable number of spinal curvatures of this kind in collections of Egyptian bones. The Jerus. Targ. renders *gibbēn*, 'very dark coloured,' but this meaning is improbable.

In a metonymic or metaphorical sense the **bones** in many poetical passages stand for the whole human frame as affected by mental emotion. Rottenness or caries (רָקָב *rāḳāb*) of the bones is compared with envy (Pr 14^{30}), with a wife that causes shame (Pr 12^{4}), and with the emotion of terror (Hab 3^{16}): LXX, however, puts σής, σκώληξ, and τρόμος respectively for caries in these three places, but there is no suggestion of worms in the Hebrew. The bones are said to shake with fear (Job 4^{14}) or with grief (Jer 23^{9}). The bones are burnt with heat in Job's disease (30^{30}), with grief (Ps 102^{3}, La 1^{13}), with the fire of suppressed emotion (Jer 20^{9}). They are said to wax old (Ps 32^{3}), to be pierced (Job 30^{17}), vexed (Ps 6^{2}), out of joint (Ps 22^{14}), consumed (Ps 31^{10}), or broken (La 3^{4}). A bandage (חִתּוּל) for broken bones is mentioned in Ezk 30^{21}; cf. use in same verse of verb חָבַשׁ 'bind up.'

Fracture of the skull without immediate insensibility, showing the absence of compression of the brain, was produced by the fall of the millstone on the head of Abimelech (Jg 9^{53}). In the case of Eutychus the fall produced fatal compression and most probably a broken neck (Ac 20^{9}). Goliath is said to have fallen on his face when struck by the slingstone, as if his fall was due to flexor spasm (1 S 17^{50}). Ahaziah died ultimately of the injuries sustained from his fall through the lattice (2 K 1^{2}). It is difficult to understand the parenthetic account of Judas' suicide in Ac 1^{16}; see art. JUDAS ISCARIOT.

Mephibosheth's **lameness** in both his feet (2 S 4^{4} 9^{13}), due to a fall from his nurse's arms, seems to have been some kind of injury which produced bone disease, for when he hastened to meet David on his return he did not delay to 'dress' his feet (19^{24}). LXX tr. עָשָׂה by ἐθεράπευσεν. Both these words, however, may simply mean 'to wash,' parallel to the trimming of his beard in the context. In spite of his friendship for Mephibosheth, it was proverbial that the lame were among the hated of David's soul (2 S 5^{6}). This curious passage appears to be corrupt (see Driver, *Heb. Text of Sam.* 199; Smith, *Comm. on Sam.* [1899], 288). Lameness incapacitated a descendant of Aaron from the priesthood (Lv 21^{18}), but did not prevent the access of such into the temple, for many lame persons were healed by Christ there (Mt 21^{14}; for other lame men healed see Mt 11^{5} 15^{31}, Lk 7^{22}; they are called 'halt' in Mt 18^{8}, Mk 9^{45}, Lk 14^{21}, Jn 5^{3}. See HALT in vol. ii. p. 288). Jacob's lameness has been referred to in connexion with the sinew that shrank (see FOOD, vol. ii. p. 39). The Jewish butchers now extract the great sciatic nerve as the *gîd*. See Meir's *Sepher Zabaḥi*, 63.

Of **congenital malformations** the giant with six fingers and six toes on each side is the most remarkable (2 S 21^{20}, 1 Ch 20^{6}). Persons with such superfluous parts were disqualified for the priesthood, Lv 21^{18}, where שָׂרוּעַ may mean 'having members of unequal length' (LXX renders it ὠτότμητος, 'crop-eared'). חָרֻם in Lv 21^{18}, tr. 'flat-nosed' (LXX κολοβόριν, 'snub-nosed'), may refer to the deformity in hare-lip (RVm 'slit-nose'). Dwarfishness also disqualified a son of Aaron from the priesthood (Lv 21^{20}): this, however, has by some been supposed to refer to emaciation from wasting disease. See art. DWARF.

Skin diseases, using the term in the widest sense, were and still are common in the East. They are frequently referred to in their relation to leprosy and the allied conditions, which are carefully described on account of their causing the uncleanness of the sufferers from it. See LEPROSY. The words referring to these diseases are baldness (treated of in vol. i. p. 234 f.), itch, scab, scurvy, blemishes, wen, blains, boils, botch, scall, and spot:—

Itch (חֶרֶס *ḥereṣ*, LXX κνήφη), Dt 28^{27}, is probably the parasitic disease of this name now known to be due to a small mite, *Sarcoptes scabiei*, which burrows in the skin. In some cases, when neglected, it spreads over the whole body, which becomes covered with a rough crust adhering to the surface. It is very easily communicated from person to person, and cannot be healed unless the parasite be destroyed. It disqualified its victims from the priesthood (Lv 21^{20}). The Heb. word is derived from a root which means to scratch, hence the Vulgate uses *prurigo*. It is not at all uncommon in Syria at the present day.

Scurvy (RV), **scab** (AV) (Dt 28^{27} גָּרָב *gārāb*) is the ψώρα ἀγρία of LXX, *scabies* of the Vulgate. In Lv 21^{20} it is called 'scurvy' in AV. This disease has nothing to do with the true scurvy, but is also an itchy disease in which a thick crust forms on the skin; it is most rebellious to treatment, and technically known as *favus*. It is commonest on the head, where it is called 'scald head,' and is due to a fungus, the *Achorion Schonleinii*. This is the *garabu* of *WAI* ii. 44. 13. It sometimes spreads over the entire body, and, in neglected, exaggerated cases, covers the entire face as with a mask. Sometimes it causes ulceration of the subjacent skin, and Alibert describes it as, in some cases, affecting even the cranial bones. It also is not uncommon in Syria.

Scab in Lv 21^{20} is the tr. of יַלֶּפֶת *yallepheth*, meaning 'an itching,' 'scab' (LXX λειχήν). It is probably another form of the disease just described. The infliction of this scab on the head is described in Is 3^{17} by the verb שִׂפַּח *sippaḥ* (LXX ταπεινώσει); see *Giṭṭin* 70*a*.

The **scall** or scurf of the head and beard of Lv 13^{30} is נֶתֶק *netheḳ*, probably *tinea tonsurans* or *mentagra*, another parasitic disease of somewhat similar character; בֹּהַק, the **freckled spot** of Lv 13^{39}, may be *psoriasis*, a non-contagious scaly eruption. See LEPROSY, p. 96.

The **botch of Egypt** of Dt 28$^{27.35}$ is called שְׁחִין, an inflamed or ulcerated spot. The same word is used to describe Job's malady (Job 2^{7}), the boils of the Egyptian plague (Ex 9$^{9ff.}$), and Hezekiah's boil (2 K 20^{7}=Is 38^{21}). It is probably a general term for a sore swelling of the skin. Those in Ex 9^{10} are distinguished from the others because they were accompanied with אֲבַעְבֻּעֹת or 'blains,' explained by the Talm. as בורה or בַּעְבּוּעַ, pustules containing fluid (LXX ἕλκη, φλυκτίδες ἀναζέουσαι). If, as already surmised, this disease was smallpox, this character would distinguish it from the others; and if the last example was a plague spot, it would account for its reputedly fatal character. The botch of Dt 28^{35} especially affected the knees and legs (see Pruner's *Krankheiten des Orients*, 167). Job's disease, however, was not a fatal one, and instead of a single tumour he was covered with sore spots from head to foot, and these were attended with an intolerable itching. The Egyptian word *sḥn* means an abscess, and is used in *Pap. Ebers* xxxviii. It was common in that country, and is therefore called the botch of Egypt (Dt 28^{27}). It is called in Coptic *shash*, and possibly the *'ăba'bū'ôth* may be connected with a Coptic root meaning *to be rounded* or *to boil up*. In *Papyrus Ebers* cv it is said, 'If thou findest a swelling that is connected with the beginning of *uḥetu* it is as a bean, a sore boil on his skin, not very large, containing pus; say thou, He has *ḥunḥunt* which suppurates. I shall treat this disease; make thou a remedy that shall remove the swelling and set free the matter.' A poultice is recommended of wax, suet, bean-flour, and certain plants. For the *peculiare Ægypti malum* see Lucretius, vi. 1113, and Pliny, xxvi. 5.

Job's body was covered with irritating ulcers (ἕλκει πονηρῷ), whose itching he endeavoured to allay by scraping himself with the rough but soft edge of a piece of unglazed earthenware. The disease disfigured his face (2^{7}), so that he could not easily be recognized by his friends; his pains led him to groan continually without relief (3^{24}), and he felt as though burnt by a fiery poison (6^{4}), shattering his nervous system (3^{25}); the loathsome sores made his breath fœtid (19^{17}), and were infested with maggots (7^{5}). He was so helpless that he required aid to rise, and he sat among the ashes (2^{8}; LXX ἐπὶ τῆς κοπρίας, 'on a dunghill') to mitigate the itching. See Carey, 178; Magnus, 311. 161; Keil, *Archäol.* ii. 94. The malady is called (18^{13}) בְּכוֹר מָוֶת 'the firstborn of death,' and it has been supposed to have been elephantiasis (Kimchi), leprosy (Origen), smallpox (Shapter, 169), guinea-worm, which is credited, but falsely, by one writer with being called Job's disease in Bokhara (but see Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara*, ii. 181, where no mention is made of Job), malignant pustule, or frambœsia (see Pruner, 174), etc. The characters given, however, agree better with those of the Biskra button or Oriental sore, endemic along the southern shore of the Mediterranean and in Mesopotamia. This begins in the form of papular spots, which ulcerate and become covered with crusts, under which are itchy, burning sores, slow in granulation and often multiple: as many as forty have been found on one patient. It is probably due to a parasite, is communicable by inoculation, and very intractable even under modern treatment. It is sometimes called 'Aleppo sore' or 'Bagdad sore.'

Lazarus in Lk 16^{20} was probably afflicted, like many of his class, with old varicose ulcers of the leg. Burckhardt says that sores on the legs are very common at Djiddah (i. 448).

Spot in Job 11^{15}, Ca 4^{7}, Dt 32^{5}, **blemish** in Lv 21^{17}, Dn 1^{4}, are apparently general terms for any skin disease. **Wen** in Lv 22^{22}, used as the name of a disease of cattle, means a gall or suppurating sore.

Among affections of the skin may be considered the **bloody sweat** of our Lord in the garden (Lk 22^{44}). The passage (on the question of whose genuineness see Westcott-Hort) says that His sweat was *ὡσεὶ θρόμβοι αἵματος καταβαίνοντες ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν*. Theophylact, Michaelis, Olshausen, and others take this to mean that His sweat dropped, as clots of blood drop from a wound. The word *ὡσεὶ* is frequently used to express a mere comparison, as in Mt 28^{3} *λευκὸν ὡσεὶ χιών*. There are no modern trustworthy cases of genuine bloody sweat; and although in some older writings comparable instances are quoted, none of them are properly authenticated. Tissot (*Traité des Nerfs*, 279) records one such, and others are given in connexion with legends of stigmatization, etc., as in the cases of Catharine of Raconizio (1446), and Stephano Quinzani in Soncino (1467). Bleeding took place from the stigmatic wounds in the case of Louise Lateau in 1870 (see also Schenck, *Obs. Med.* iii. 458, for ancient examples, and refs. in art. 'Stigmatization,' *Encyc. Brit.* xxii. 550). It is significant that the word used is *θρόμβοι*, 'clots,' not *σταγών* used of blood-drops by Æschylus (*Agam.* 1122), or *σταλαγμός* used both of blood (Eurip. *Ion.* 351, 1003) and sweat (Hippoc. *Aph.* 1261). Bourrut and Burot have described a red-coloured sweat in a hystero-epileptic, but the conditions were equivocal.

Poisonous serpents are mentioned in Nu 21^{6}, Dt 32^{33}, Job $20^{14.\,16}$, Is 11^{8} 14^{29} 59^{5}, Jer 8^{17}, Mt 3^{7} 12^{34} 23^{33}, Mk 16^{18}, Lk 3^{7} 10^{19}, Ac 28^{3-6}. The fiery serpents of the plague in the wilderness are not called *flying*: that word is imported into their description from Is 14^{29} and 30^{6}. There are several poisonous serpents in the Desert of the Exodus, the sand-viper *Echis carinata*, and the horned viper *Cerastes Ægyptiacus* and *Hasselquistii*, which are sometimes found in great numbers in favourable localities, and whose bites are burning and often fatal (see Strabo, xvi. 2. 30). *Naia Haje*, the asp, has also been found there. One or other of these was most likely the fiery serpent, the brazen model of which miraculously healed the bitten people. Küchenmeister (*Sydenham Soc. Tr.* i. 391) suggested that these fiery serpents were guinea-worms, *Filaria Medinensis*, parasitic worms which burrow under the skin and set up local inflammation: these are not uncommon in this region, and he supposes that they are the same as the *δρακόντια μικρά* of Plutarch (*Symposiakon* viii., Question 9), which are said by Agatharchides of Cnidus to eat away the flesh of the peoples near the Red Sea (see for other refs. Bennett, *Diseases of Bible*, 134). The story of Moses and the serpents given by Josephus (*Ant.* II. x. 2) is interesting in this connexion. Scorpion bites are not very common and rarely fatal in Palestine, but are common and often fatal to children in Egypt; see Pruner, p. 430.

The disease of Herod Agrippa I., recorded in Ac $12^{21\text{ff.}}$, was a sudden and fatal seizure of some abdominal complaint, accompanied with intense agony, and in some way connected with **worms.** Sir J. R. Bennett has surmised that it was acute peritonitis set up by the perforation of the bowel by an intestinal worm. This is a rare but not an impossible condition. The term employed is *σκωληκόβρωτος*, used here, as also in Theophrastus (*de Causis Plantarum*, v. 10), to signify 'eaten of worms.' Vulg. has *a vermibus erosus*. The mistaken idea that it was a case of *phthiriasis* has no support in the passage, and still less from the narrative in Josephus, which does not mention worms, but says that Herod was seized with a violent abdominal pain which lasted for five days (Eusebius says four) and proved fatal (XIX. viii. 2). The death of Pheretime (Herod. iv. 205) took place not from this disease, but from some exhausting disorder with superficial ulceration; the *εὐλαί* or maggots which were fatal to her were probably blow-fly larvæ. Antiochus Epiphanes, fatally injured by a fall, had probably compound fractures in which blow-flies laid their eggs and maggots were hatched. In former times cases of this sort were not rare when the injuries were neglected (2 Mac 9^{9}). See also Jos. *Ant.* XVII. vi. 5.

The third Egyp. plague was one of insects which are called *kinnām* (LXX *σκνῖφες*); and as the root כנן probably means 'to pierce *or* cut into,' it is likely that they were mosquitoes or sand-fleas, or some pest of that nature, which would be a much more serious plague in the East than one of lice. It was only the priests, Herodotus tells us, that were defiled by these (ii. 37). RVm renders 'sand-flies *or* fleas.' The argument that they must have been lice, because coming from the dust, is not of much force, for sand-fleas live in the same material, and lice are not generated in dust any more than gnats. It is therefore improbable that this plague was *phthiriasis*.

Among the causes of ceremonial impurity were certain **discharges** (Lv 15^{2-25}), some natural (Dt 23^{10}), others probably the result of evil practices. How far the diseases consequent on vice were known among the ancients is a doubtful point. The passages in Ps $107^{17.\,18}$, Pr 2^{18} 5^{11-22} $7^{23.\,26}$ (see tract *Zebaim*, and Maimonides' commentary thereon) seem to refer to such, but this group of diseases was not known in Europe until A.D. 1495.

Blindness was, and is, one of the commonest afflictions of the natives of Palestine; the blear-eyes, often crusted round with dried secretion, and fly-infested, make some of the most sickening sights in a Syrian village crowd. The words 'blindness' or 'blind' occur 87 times in the Bible; 41 times in a metaphorical sense, and 39 in reference to literal want of sight. The OT uses the words 'blind' or 'blindness' 35 times: in 28 the word is עור (Pi. 'to blind') or *'ivvēr* (adj.), 19 times literal, 9 figurative; in 3 it is *'ivvārôn* or *'avvereth*, 'blindness,' always literal; in 2 it is סַנְוֵרִים *sanvērîm*, 'a dazzling,' Gn 19^{11}, 2 K 6^{18}; once it is העלים 'to hide' (*sc.* my eyes, 1 S 12^{3}, but the text here is probably corrupt, cf. the LXX). In Is 29^{9} RV has 'be blind,' where AV has 'cry' as tr. of שׁעו. In the NT, in which 'blind' or 'blindness' is used 52 times, 36 literally and 16 metaphorically, the word is *τυφλός* or (verbal) *τυφλόω*. In four places where the word is *πώρωσις* or *πωρόω* RV has replaced 'blindness' or 'blinded' by 'hardening' or 'hardened' (Ro $11^{7.25}$, 2 Co 3^{14}, Eph 4^{18}); cf. confusion in MSS between *πηροῦν* and *πωροῦν* in Job 17^{7}.

Apparently but two forms of blindness were recognized: (1) that due to the prevalent ophthalmia. It is a highly infectious disease, and is aggravated by sand, sun-glare, and dirt, so that it almost always leaves the organs damaged, and often renders them useless, causing opacity of the cornea or closure of the pupil; (2) that due to age: Eli at the age of 98 was blind, his eyes waxed dim (1 S 3^{2}). David's eyes were 'set' at an earlier age (1 K 4^{15}). Ahijah was blind from age (1 K 14^{4}). Isaac was also blind (Gn 27^{1}); and it is noted of Moses that in spite of his age his eye was not dim. Like other plagues, blindness was believed to be a visitation from God, and curable only by Him (Ex 4^{11}). It incapacitated for the priesthood (Lv 21^{18}); but by law compassion for the blind was enacted (Lv 19^{14}), and offences against them were accursed (Dt 27^{18}). The minor form of ophthalmia caused redness of the lids and loss of the eyelashes. Leah was thus 'tender' or weak-eyed (Gn 29^{17}). Blindness from birth arises from *ophthalmia neonatorum*, which is often severe enough to cause permanent opacity of the cornea. Sometimes ophthalmia accompanies malarial fever (Lv 26^{16}). Smiting with blindness as a punishment occurred in the case of Elymas (Ac 13^{11}). This was only temporary, and may have been hypnotic. The Syrian soldiers seeking Elisha were also affected, probably in the same way (2 K 6^{18}). It was also probably subjugation to His overmastering power that caused the inhibition of the angry manifestations of the Nazarenes towards our Lord (Lk 4^{30}).

Of the blind men cured by our Lord the cases of interest were (1) the man congenitally blind (Jn 9^{1}), and (2) the man whose progress in vision was gradual (Mk 8^{22}). Probably the latter also was blind from birth, and the intermediate stage was that before he had learned to interpret the new sensation, although, on the other hand, the use of the word ἀποκατεστάθη would seem to imply that he had at one time possessed sight which was restored to him. Cases are on record of men to whom sight was suddenly given by operation, being unable to understand visual appearances until verified by touch (see discussion of this in Locke's *Essay*, ii. 9. 8). Our Lord in His miracles used different methods to restore sight, all of them inadequate without His divine power, but doubtless suited to the condition of faith on the person healed; a word, a touch, anointing with saliva, with clay, or testing his faith by sending him to wash his eyes. Maimonides refers to the use of fasting spittle as an application to sore eyes, but expressly forbids its use on the Sabbath.

The blindness of St. Paul (Ac $9^{8f.}$) was doubtless a temporary amaurosis, such as that which has been caused by injudiciously looking at the sun. The 'scales' which fell from his eyes were probably not material, but vision was restored as if scales had fallen; the word used is *ὡσεί*, for which see p. 330^{a}. It is not improbable that this left a weakness of eye, which may have been the 'thorn in the flesh' which rendered his bodily presence weak (see Gal 4^{15}). Tobit's blindness from the irritation of the sparrow's dung (To 2^{10}) was cured by the gall of the fish caught by his son ($11^{4ff.}$). Pliny recommends the bile of *Callionymus Lyra* as a cure for blindness (xxxii. 24). There is a reference to eye-salve in Rev 3^{18}. Magical means for curing eye diseases are referred to in Rawlinson, *WAI* ii. 47. Many eye-washes are mentioned in *Papyrus Ebers* lv ff.

The poetical description of the failure of the powers of nature in old age, in Ec 12, has been commented upon by many authors, and the details are carefully reviewed by Sir J. R. Bennett (*op. cit.* p. 106). The Rabbins recognized 903 modes of death; and, commenting on Ps 90, said that death at 70 is old age, at 80 is strength (*Moed Ḳatan* 28. 1). On account of the impurity of a dead body, the older Jewish physicians did not make post-mortem examinations (*Aboda Zara* 29; *Baba Bathra* 155*a*), but at a later date these were permitted (see Willstädler in *Allg. Zeitung des Judenthums*, viii. 568). Burial with or without the external application of antiseptics was the common method.

The process of child-birth is mentioned in Scripture: (*α*) in individual cases, (*β*) in legislative enactments, and (*γ*) in metaphor. Leaving on one side the narrative of the birth of Eve (see *Midrash Rabbah* on Nu 14, where Adam is described as androgynous), there are details of a number of births, most of which are illustrations of the primal curse of Gn 3^{16}. Two of these are cases of twins (Gn $25^{21ff.}$ and 38^{28}). The latter was a case of spontaneous evolution with perineal laceration, probably fatal to the mother (although a Rabbinic tradition in *Zohar ḥadash* says that she lived long after); Rachel's was a case of fatal *dystocia*, probably on account of some delicacy or unhealthiness of long standing (31^{35}); and Phinehas' wife was an example of premature labour (Jos. *Ant.* V. xi. 4), brought on by shock, and proving fatal (1 S 4^{19}).

The cases of Sarah, Manoah's wife, Hannah, the Shunammite, and Elisabeth, are instances of *uniparæ* at a late period. Barrenness was regarded as a divine judgment (Gn 20^{18} 30^{2}), and was a cause of much unhappiness (Gn 30^{1}, Pr 30^{16}), for the removal of which the forked root of the mandrake was used as a charm (Gn 30^{16}). A multitude of children was believed to be a signal proof of the favour of God (1 S 2^{5}, Ps 113^{9} 127^{3} 128^{3}). Hence miscarrying was regarded also as a sign of God's displeasure (Hos 9^{14}). The attendants on child-bed were women, מְיַלְּדֹת (Gn 35^{17}, Ex 1^{15}), of whom two were enough for the Israelitish women in Egypt, indicating a small number in a circumscribed locality. *Midrash Rabbah* credits Puah with being the inventor of artificial respiration by insufflation. The mother was placed in a kneeling posture, leaning on some one's knees (Gn 30^{3}) or on a labour-stool. There is some obscurity as to the nature of the אָבְנַיִם of Ex 1^{16}. Sa'adya and the Targ. believe it to have been a seat on which the midwife made the patient to kneel,* others a bathing-tub. Ibn G'anach considers it a name for the uterus, others believe that the dual refers to the two sexes of the children which they were to see and note (see Dillmann-Ryssel on this passage, pp. 14, 15). Difficult labour from weakness of the mother is mentioned metaphorically in 2 K 19^{3}.

According to the law of Lv $12^{2ff.}$ the mother was regarded as unclean or taboo for 7 days, until the date of circumcision in case of a male, or for 14 days if the child was a female. After this there was a second period of separation, during which she was not permitted to appear in the temple. This period for the mother of a boy was 33 days, of a girl 66 days, after which the offering for purification was made. The difference of period in the case of the two sexes was due to the belief that the lochia lasted longer after the birth of a female child. Nursing was continued for 2 or 3 years (2 Mac 7^{27}), and the child was taken by a relative to wean (1 K 11^{20}).

The legislation for the catamenia and for menorrhagia was characterized by a rigid system of purification, and the cleansing of everything that was defiled thereby (Lv $15^{19\text{ff.}}$). The sufferer from this disease in Mt 9^{20}, Mk 5^{25}, and Lk 8^{43} had suffered many things of many physicians and only grew worse; so much was this condition considered as beyond treatment that it was recommended to treat it magically and by amulet (*Baba Shab.* 110, *Giṭṭin* 69). According to the early legend, the votive figure at Bânîas, supposed to be that of Christ, was put up by her (v. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, p. 197). Amulets of the *lapis resurrectionis* were used to prevent miscarriage (*Shabb.* 66). To this day, charms, usually in the form of verses or incantations from the Bible, are used in the interval between birth and circumcision to keep away Lilith: these are called קמיעות (*Shebuoth* 15, *Chullin* 77, *Shabbath* 57, *Sanhedrin* 90). Cæsarean section (implied in the expression יוצא דופן) is mentioned in *Sanhedrin* 45. There is a description of a newborn infant given in Ezk 16^4 with undivided umbilical cord, unwashed and undressed. Salt was rubbed on the skin of infants to make it firm, and to remove the *vernix caseosa.*

---

* For particulars of this מַשְׁבֵּר or labour-stool see Rashi on 2 K 19^{3}, *Kelim* 23. 4.

In the prophetic writings labour pains, pangs, and travail are frequent images, representing (1) the affrighting of God's enemies, Ps 48^6, Is 13^8 etc.; (2) God's declaration of judgment, Is 42^{14}; (3) the sorrows of God's people under chastisement, Is 26^{17}; (4) claim of spiritual parentage, Gal 4^{19} etc.

Infantile diseases seem to have been exceptionally severe in Palestine, and at the present day mortality in the early years of life is exceptionally high. The Rabbinical writers speak of the צער גדול בנים, or pain of bringing up children, and in *Bereshith Rabbah* it is written that it is easier to rear a forest of young olive-trees than one child. Biblical references to sick children are not a few: Bathsheba's infant (2 S 12^{15}), the Shunammite's son (2 K 4), the widow's son at Zarephath (1 K 17). Christ healed many children, among whom were the fever-stricken son of the nobleman of Capernaum (Jn 4^{49}), and Jairus' daughter (Mt 9^{18}, Mk 5^{22}, Lk 8^{41}), who was 12 years old. No particulars are given of their diseases.

Several general references to sicknesses whose characters are not specified occur. We do not know the maladies of Abijah (1 K 14^1); Benhadad (2 K 8^7), whose disease was not mortal, but who was too weak to struggle with Hazael; Elisha (2 K 13^{14}), Joash ('afflicted with great diseases,' 2 Ch 24^{25}), Lazarus of Bethany (Jn 11^1), Dorcas (Ac 9^{37}), Epaphroditus (Ph 2^{27}), or Trophimus (2 Ti 4^{20}).

Similarly, the metaphorical allusions to sickness are numerous, as typical of the weakness brought on by sin and neglect of God's commandments. This moral sickness is especially compared to the severe pains in the back from fever and exposure: anguish in loins (Is 21^3), pains in loins (Nah 2^{10}), smitten in loins (Dt 33^{11}), disease in loins (Ps 38^7), affliction laid on loins (Ps 66^{11}), breaking of loins (Ezk 23^{15}); see for other images Is 1^5, Ps 55^4, Jer 4^{19}.

There are very few references to *methods of treatment* in the Bible. External applications, such as bathing or washing (2 K 5^{10}); diet (Lk 8^{55}); the application of saliva (Jn 9^6; see Maimon. on *Shabb.* 21); anointing with oil (Ja 5^{14}); binding of sores and mollifying them with ointment (Is 1^6); pouring in oil and wine (Lk 10^{34}); Hezekiah's plaster of figs prescribed by Isaiah (Is 38^{21}); animal heat by contact (1 K 17^{19}, 2 K 4^{34}), especially with those failing from old age (1 K 1^2). Claudius Hermippus is said to have prolonged his life to 115 years by breathing the breath of young girls.

Of actual medicines few are mentioned; possibly the **balm of Gilead** was one, Gn 37^{25}, 43^{11}, Jer 8^{22} 46^{11} 51^8 (from this last passage it appears to have been used as a local sedative, Ezk 27^{17}). This material was probably the resin of *Pistacia lentiscus*, the mastic tree; as the plant now called Balm of Gilead (*Balsamodendron Gileadense*) is a native of Somali-land and S. Arabia, and it is doubtful if it ever extended as far north as Palestine. The צרי may, however, have been the resin of *Balanites Ægyptiaca*, still used as an application to sores. See, further, art. BALM. **Mandrakes** (*dûdâ'îm*) were used as a stimulant to conception, the forked root as a charm, and the sweetish fruit as a medicine. The plant is *Mandragora officinalis* (for ancient views on this see Deusing, *de Mandragora*, Groningen, 1659; Celsius, *Hierobot. s.v.* 'Dudaim'). Of other plants, mint, anise, and cummin, mentioned under FOOD (vol. ii. p. 38^b), are used as carminatives. The last was used for the wound in circumcision, *Shabbath* 133*b*. Myrrh, lign-aloes, onycha, stacte, frankincense, spikenard, are odorous materials, but scarcely remedial; salt was used for hardening the skin and as a preservative; nitre, native sodic carbonate, not saltpetre (Pr 25^{20}, Jer 2^{22}), was used as a cleansing agent to remove the fatty secretions of the skin. The caper-berry (*Capparis spinosa*) had a considerable reputation as an aphrodisiac (Ec 12^5). Narcotics were used to abate pain (*Baba mezia* 83*b*). The wine given to our Lord at His crucifixion was probably for this purpose.

As in Egypt, the most of the remedies in common use were dietary: meal, milk, vinegar, wine, water, almonds, figs, raisins, pomegranates, honey, dibs, and butter, made up a large part of the Egyptian as of the Jewish pharmacopœia. Some few remedies were of a less agreeable nature, such as the heart, liver, and gall of Tobiah's fish (To 6^7). The Talmud adds to this list radishes, mustard, ginger, dog's dung, wormwood, calamus, cinnamon, ladanum, galbanum, storax; and of poisons, *ḥemah* (supposed to be some hemlock-like plant), *rosh* (probably poppy), and *bashaḥ* or aconite. Many of the medicines given in the Egyptian medical writings, and almost all in the Babylonian and Assyrian plant lists, cannot be identified.

The art of the apothecary is mentioned in Ex $30^{25\text{-}35}$ 37^{29}, as well as in Ec 10^1. The רוֹקֵחַ was, however, rather a maker of perfumes (2 Ch 16^{14}) than a compounder of medicines. They seem to have formed a kind of guild (see Neh 3^8). RV has replaced the word by 'perfumer' except in Neh, 1 Ch, and Sir 38^8 and 49^1. Probably, as in Egypt, the physician compounded his own medicines. In *Pap. Ebers* there is an invocation given to be used by the physician when thus engaged: 'May Isis heal me as she healed Horus from all pain which his brother Set hath inflicted on him when he slew his father Osiris. Oh Isis! great wonder-worker, heal me and set me free from all evil, destructive, and demoniacal inflictions, from fatal diseases and uncleanness of every kind which befall me,' etc.

It is probable that charms of this kind were in use among the later Jews. Neck-chains like serpents, such as those mentioned in Is 3^{20}, protected against diseases produced by envy and the evil eye (see *Berachoth* 55, *Shabbath* 57, *Chullin* 77, *Shebuoth* 17, and Elworthy's *Evil Eye*, 1898). The לְחָשִׁים of Is 3^{20} and the נְזָמִים or ear-rings of Gn 35^4 are supposed to have been charms.

The Levitical code contains a large number of **Hygienic enactments** with regard to food, sanitation, and the recognition of infectious diseases. It prescribes as sources of food, animals of the herbivorous and ruminant group, excludes all birds which live upon animal food, and permits the use of all true fishes; and, among invertebrates, permits only the use of locusts. Of food-animals, the fat and the blood are prohibited; and special rules were laid down for the slaughter and inspection of the animals, that the meat may be clean from the taint of infectious disease. Among fruits, those produced by trees in the first three years of their life are 'uncircumcised' and not to be eaten; that of the fourth year is 'devoted'; and that of the fifth and later years may be used as food (Lv 19^{25}). The provision of the periodic cleaning out and destruction of leaven, that even the breadstuffs may be kept wholesome, is also an important law for the maintenance of a pure food (Ex 12^{19} 13^{7}, Dt 16^{3}).

The agricultural sanitary laws forbid the mixture of seeds in a field at the same time, the sowing of crops in a vineyard, the cross grafting of fruit-trees, the cross-breeding and even the yoking together of dissimilar cattle, and enforces the complete rest of man and beast on the Sabbath days, as well as on the great religious and national festivals (Ex 23^{12}). To ensure the perfect purification of garments, no mixture of linen and woollen materials was permitted (Lv 19^{19}, Dt 22^{11}), as they cannot be so thoroughly or easily cleansed as pure garments of one material (see *Kilayim*). Such compound fabrics, however, might, according to *Nidda*, be used as shrouds.

In domestic sanitation the covering with earth of excreta and of blood are prescribed, and the expansion of these rules in the Mishna (*Baba Kamma*) forbids dung-heaps, and gardens requiring manure within the city, and intramural interments. The fires of the valley of Hinnom perhaps consumed the city offal (but see Robinson, *BRP* i. 274). Houses were built with parapets to prevent accidents (Dt 22^{8}), and persons suspected of having infectious diseases in the stage of incubation were isolated (Lv 13^{4}). Those who had to touch corpses or things unclean were themselves rendered unclean, and had to wash their clothes (Nu 19^{11}).

In the Talmudic code of uncleanness there were five or, according to some, six grades recognized. Decomposition, death, or leprosy, or certain other diseases, were the central causes of all impurity, and hence were called 'fathers of fathers of uncleanness.' That which was affected by these became the 'father of uncleanness,' and could not be purified: for example, a corpse, or carcase except such as was killed in the proper way, certain issues, a leprous man, an idol, the water of purification (Nu 19), the propitiatory parts of sacrificed animals. Whatever was defiled by contact with these was the first son of uncleanness, to be cleansed by sacrifice, by a period of isolation and a process of purification by water or fire; whatever was defiled by contact with a first son of uncleanness was a second son of uncleanness, to be purified by seven days' isolation and washing; and whatever was rendered impure by one of these was a third son, to be purified by a day's isolation and washing of the clothes and person. By these lustrations and by the careful isolation of cases of suspected contagious disease, the chances of the propagation of infection were much diminished.

Of **surgical instruments** a flint knife called צוֹר was used for circumcision (see vol. i. p. 443), but later, steel knives, מַאֲכָלוֹת, called also סכין, were used (*Chullin*). An awl or מרצע was used for boring the servant's ear (Ex 21^{6}). Other knives called *pigîon 'izmel, kesilta'* are mentioned in different Talmudic tracts—*Kelim* 13. 1; *Shabbath* 130; *Moed Ḳatan* and *Aboda Zara* 276.

Of **surgical operations**, circumcision has been already dealt with. The exclusion of eunuchs from the service of God under the theocracy was probably a protest against either of these operations referred to in Dt 23^{1} as performed among heathen nations in the service of their gods (see Driver, *Deut.* p. 259). Under the kingdom, however, they became important officials as Samuel predicted, 1 S 8^{15} (AV and RVm), 1 K 22^{9}, 2 K 8^{6} 9^{32} 24^{12-15}, Jer 29^{2} 34^{19} 38^{7} 41^{16}, and no spiritual disability attached to their state, Is 56^{4}; see our Lord's words in Mt 19^{12}, and also Ac $8^{27ff.}$.

LITERATURE.—Few of the books on the subject written before this century (which number at least 150) are of any value. The only works worth consulting are: Ader, *de Ægrotis in Evangelio*, Toulouse, 1626; Bartholinus, *de Morbis biblicis Miscellanea Medica*, Hafniæ, 1671; Lundt, *Die alten Jüdischen Heyligthümer*, Hamburg, 1695; Cremont, *Dissert. de Ebræorum veterum Arte Medica*, Viteborg, 1688; Moles, *Pathologia morborum quorum in Sac. Scrip. mentio fit*, Madrid, 1642; Calmet, *de re Medica Hebræi*, Paris, 1714; Colmar, *über die Ärzneigelehrheit der Juden*, Gera, 1729; Mead, *Medica Sacra*, London, 1749; Reinhard, *Bibelkrankheiten*, 1767; Sprengel, *de Medic. Ebræorum*, Halle, 1789, and his *Geschichte d. Arztneykunde*, vol. i.

Of later works: Pruner, *Krankheiten des Orients*, Erlangen, 1847; Macgowan in *Jewish Intelligence*, and *Journal of Missionary Labours in Jerusalem*, London, 1846; Röser, *Krankheiten des Orients*, Augsburg, 1837; Wittman, *Einem Artzte Reisen nach Syrien*, etc., Weimar, 1805; Töbler, *Beitrag zur medizinischen Topographie von Jerusalem*, 1855; Nowack, *Heb. Archäol.*, Freiburg, 1894, i. p. 52 ff.; Bennett, *Diseases of the Bible*, London, 1887. For Jewish Physicians, see Carmoly, *Histoire des médecins Juifs*, Brussels, 1844. For Talmudic Medicine, Joseph Salomo's לבב חכמה; Cohn's *de Med. Talmudica*; Wunderbar, *Biblisch-Talmudische Medicin*, Riga and Leipzig, 1850-60.

A. MACALISTER.

MEEDDA (A Μεεδδά, B Δεδδά, AV MEEDA), 1 Es 5^{32} = MEHIDA, Ezr 2^{52}, Neh 7^{54}.

MEEKNESS must not be considered alone, but in connexion with the group of virtues of which it is one, and which are especially characteristic of the Christian temper. Meekness goes along with poverty of spirit, humility, mercy, etc., Mt $5^{3ff.}$ (πρᾷος, πρᾳότης; but in the best uncials both in LXX and NT, πραΰς, πραΰτης). The grace is found in similar company in the Epistles, 'With all lowliness and meekness, with long-suffering, forbearing one another in love' (Eph 4^{2}, Col 3^{12}, Gal 5^{23}). This association best illustrates the meaning of the word; it connotes gentleness, kindness, forbearance, and is the direct opposite of a proud, harsh, unforgiving spirit. The high place given to this virtue in the beatitudes (Mt 5^{3-12}), which represent the higher Christian law, its special prominence in the character as well as in the teaching of the Lord Jesus ('I am meek and lowly in heart,' Mt 11^{29}), its frequent mention in the Epistles (Gal 6^{1}, Tit 3^{2}, 1 Ti 6^{11}, 2 Ti 2^{25}, Ja 1^{21} $3^{13.17b}$, 1 P $3^{4.15}$), all indicate the determining influence assigned to this class of virtues in the NT ideal of character. The insistence upon the duty of forgiveness (Mt $6^{14f.}$ 18^{35}, Eph 4^{32}) is another striking illustration. Our Lord prayed for His murderers (Lk 23^{34}). His meekness deeply impressed His followers (2 Co 10^{1}, 1 P 2^{23}). 'The Lord's servant' must possess the same spirit (2 Ti $2^{24f.}$; cf. what is said of Moses in Nu 12^{3}, that he was meek [עָנָו] above all men upon earth). Row justly calls attention to the fact that Christianity transfers supremacy from the stronger to the milder virtues (*Bampton Lect.* p. 154). The result in the growth of the spirit of sympathy and love in the world amply justifies the change. The improvement would have been still greater if Christians had better understood and followed the Christian ideal as set forth in passages like Mt $5^{39f.}$, Ro $12^{19f.}$ Too often they have preferred the heathen worship of the stronger virtues to the Christian ideal. Hence the slow fulfilment of prophecies like the one in Is 2^{4}.

The NT teaching on this subject, while going beyond the OT teaching, is rooted in it (see Ps 9^{12} 10^{12} 22^{26} 72^{4} 76^{9} 82^{3} 147^{6}, Is 11^{4} 61^{1}). The Heb. word (עָנִי, עָנָו) * denotes, first of all, a distressed, helpless state in the literal sense, and then acquires a moral meaning, just as there is a close connexion between literal and spiritual poverty (cf. Mt 5^{3} and Lk 6^{20}). The Christian beatitude (Mt 5^{5}) almost literally translates Ps 37^{11}. It is no less striking a fact that the possession of the earth is promised to the meek in both passages.

---

* See Rahlfs, עָנִי *und* עָנָו *in den Psalmen*; and cf. Driver, *Par. Psalt.* 445f. (*s.v.* 'humble'), 451 f. (*s.v.* (1) 'poor').

J. S. Banks.

MEET (Anglo-Sax. *gemet* 'suitable,' from *metan* to measure, whence Eng. 'mete,' thus 'according to the proper measure or standard'). The Heb. and Gr. words rendered 'meet' in AV are numerous, but the meaning is either 'fit' or 'fitting.' 1. *Fit, suitable,* 2 K 10[3] 'Look even out the best and meetest of your master's sons, and set him on his father's throne'; Wis 13[11] 'He hath sawn down a tree meet for the purpose'; Mt 3[8] 'Bring forth therefore fruits meet for repentance' (TR καρποὺς ἀξίους τῆς μετανοίας, edd. καρπὸν ἄξιον, RV 'fruit worthy of repentance'); 1 Co 15[9] 'I am the least of the apostles, that am not meet to be called an apostle' (ἱκανός); Col 1[12] 'Giving thanks unto the Father, which hath made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light' (τῷ πατρὶ τῷ ἱκανώσαντι ἡμᾶς). Cf. Erasmus, *Commune Crede*, fol. 79, 'It is not in the mete place.' So Tindale's tr. of Nu 1[22] 'whatsoever was mete for the warre' (so 1[30. 42], but 1[26] 'all that were able to warre,' and 1[28] 'what soever was apte for warre'), and of Mt 10[37. 38] 'He that lovith hys father or mother more then me, is not mete for me.' Also 1 S 14[52] Cov., 'And where Saul sawe a man that was stronge and mete for warre, he toke him to him'; Hall, *Works*, ii. 30, 'Piety and diligence must keepe meet changes with each other; neither doth God lesse accept of our returne to Nazareth, then our going up to Jerusalem'; and Shaks. *Lear*, I. ii. 200—

> 'Let me, if not hy hirth, have lands by wit,
> All with me's meet that I can fashion fit.'

2. *Fitting, proper,* as 2 Mac 9[12] 'It is meet to be subject unto God' (δίκαιον, RV 'It is right'); Mt 15[26] 'It is not meet to take the children's bread, and to cast it to dogs' (οὐκ ἔστιν καλόν). Cf. Shaks. *Rich. II.* v. iii. 118—

> 'No word like "pardon," for kings' mouths so meet.'

J. Hastings.

MEGIDDO (מְגִדּוֹ, מְגִדּוֹן Megiddon in Zec 12[11]; Μαγεδδώ or Μαγεδδών, Μαγδώ in 1 K 9[15] A [om. in B]) was an old Canaanite capital (Jos 12[21], B om.) situated in Issachar but assigned to Manasseh (Jos 17[11], 1 Ch 7[29]). The Can. inhabitants were, however, 'put to tribute' and not driven out (Jos 17[12. 13], Jg 1[27. 28]). The town was in the district from which Baana, one of Solomon's twelve commissariat officers, drew supplies for the royal household (1 K 4[12]), and Solomon restored the fortifications (1 K 9[15]), which were of very ancient date (Inscr. of Thothmes III.). According to 2 K 9[27] Ahaziah died at M.; but elsewhere (2 Ch 22[9]) it is said that he was found in Samaria, taken to Jehu, and slain. Barak fought Sisera 'in Taanach by the waters of M.,' and the Canaanites were swept away by the suddenly swollen Kishon (Jg 5[19-21]). Pharaoh-necho, whilst on the march from Egypt to Carchemish and the Euphrates, defeated and slew Josiah 'in the valley' or 'plain' of M. (2 K 23[29. 30], 2 Ch 35[22], 1 Es 1[29]); and the 'mourning of Hadadrimmon in the valley (LXX plain) of Megiddon' may refer to the same event (Zec 12[11]). Possibly this was the battle at Magdolum mentioned by Herodotus (ii. 159). M. is frequently mentioned in close connexion with Taanach (Jos 12[21] 17[11], Jg 5[19], 1 K 4[12], 1 Ch 7[29]), which was certainly at *Ta'annuk*—a small village, on a large isolated mound, or *Tell,* near the edge of the plain of Esdraelon, and about 6½ m. N.W. of *Jenin.* M. was taken by Thothmes III. after a great battle, in which he defeated the confederated kings and princes of Palestine. Leaving his camp at Aruna (a place identified by Maspero with *Umm el-Fahm,* but which is more probably *Ararah*), he marched through a defile (*Wady Arah*) in which he expected to be attacked, and in seven hours reached the south side of M. (*RP*, 1st ser. ii. 35-47). The town is noticed in the 'Travels of an Egyptian,' apparently in connexion with the Jordan (*ib.* ii. 112); but Max Müller has shown (*Asien u. Europa*, 195) that Jordan is probably an error for Kishon. M. is also mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions. At Armageddon (RV Har-magedon), that is, 'the fortified city or mountain of M.,' according to Rev 16[16], the final conflict between the hosts of good and evil will take place; see ii. 304f.

About 4½ m. N.W. of Taanach are two ancient sites. One, *Tell el-Mutasellim,* is at the end of a spur that runs out from the ridge of Carmel into the plain, and is a conspicuous feature in the landscape. This is Megiddo. The other, close to it, is *Lejjun,* the Roman *Legio,* which took the place of the earlier Can. town, and gave its name, *Campus Legionis,* to the great plain of Esdraelon, which is called by Jerome 'the plain of Megiddo.' Lejjun is identified with Megiddo by Robinson (*BRP*^{2} ii. 329), Dillm. (on Jos 12[21]), Moore (*Judges*, 45, 47), G. A. Smith (*HGHL* 386 f.), Buhl (*GAP* 209). Moore (p. 47) thinks *Tell el-Mutasellim* may have been the citadel of Megiddo. The ruins of Legio cover a wide area on both sides of a perennial stream, which is one of the principal feeders of the Kishon, and sometimes called its head (*PEF Mem.* ii. 39). This stream is apparently 'the waters of Megiddo.' Legio was a centre from which Eusebius and Jerome measured the distances of other places, and probably a military station. It occupied an important position on the road from Bethshean and Jezreel to the coast, and guarded the northern end of the pass over the ridge of Carmel, which forms the easiest line of communication between the plain of Sharon and that of Esdraelon. Through this pass ran the great road from Egypt to the north, along which invading armies have marched from the time of Thothmes III. to that of Napoleon. It was apparently during the passage of the defile that Josiah's hillmen attacked the army of Necho, hoping to obtain an easy victory over soldiers trained on the plains of Egypt. A large ruined *khan* shows that, even in the Middle Ages, commerce followed the same route. There would seem to be a trace of the name Megiddo in the Arab name of the Kishon, *Nahr el-Muḳuṭṭa'.* (See Smith, *HGHL* 386, 387, whose view, however, is strongly opposed by Moore, *Judges*, 158). Conder (*PEF Mem.* ii. 90-99) identifies Megiddo with *Mujedda'* in the Jordan Valley near Bethshean. This site has in its favour similarity of name, and a doubtful reference in the description of the journey of an Egyptian traveller in the 14th cent. B.C. It is, however, far removed from the Kishon; is a long way from any road by which an army would march from Egypt to Carchemish and the Euphrates; the flight of Ahaziah would not have been towards Bethshean, whence Jehu had come; and the expression 'Taanach by the waters of M.' cannot apply to any site beyond the limits of Esdraelon. (See the criticism of G. A. Smith, p. 387f.).

C. W. Wilson.

MEGILLOTH.—See Text of OT.

MEHETABEL, AV **Mehetabeel** (מֵיטִבְאֵל=מְהֵיטַבְאֵל 'God benefits').—**1.** The grandfather or ancestor of Shemaiah, the son of Delaiah, the false prophet, who was hired by Tobiah and Sanballat against Nehemiah (Neh 6[10]). **2.** The wife of Hadar or Hadad, king of Edom (Gn 36[39], 1 Ch 1[50]).

MEHIDA (מְחִידָא).—The eponym of a family of Nethinim who returned with Zerubbabel, Ezr 2[52] (Μαουδά) = Neh 7[54] (Μεειδά), called in 1 Es 5[32] Meeda.

MEHIR (מְחִיר).—A Judahite, 1 Ch 4[11] (LXX Μαχείρ).

MEHOLATHITE (הַמְּחֹלָתִי; in 1 S B omits, 2 S B ὁ Μωουλαθεί, A ὁ Μοουλαθείτης).—Probably an inhabitant of Abel-meholah, the birthplace of Elisha, which is usually placed in the Jordan Valley, 10 miles S. of Beth-shean (G. A. Smith, *HGHL* p. 581 n.), in accordance with the identification of Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.*^{2} 227, 35). Conder (*SWP Memoirs*, p. 221) identifies it with *'Ain Ḥelweh* in the same neighbourhood; but Moore (*Judges*, p. 212) rejects both these conjectures (cf. Buhl, *Geogr.* p. 206 n.). Possibly we should look for Abel-meholah or Meholah on the east of Jordan, in which case Barzillai, the father of Adriel, who is described as an inhabitant of this place (1 S 18^{19}, 2 S 21^{8}), is to be identified with the wealthy Gileadite of that name (2 S 17^{27}). In favour of this view is the close connexion which existed between the house of Saul and the inhabitants of the trans-Jordanic country.

J. F. STENNING.

MEHUJAEL (מְחוּיָאֵל or מְחִיָּיאֵל [*Ḳĕrê* מְחִיָּאֵל]; A Μαιήλ).—A Cainite, Gn 4^{18} (J), corresponding to Mahalalel of P's genealogy (Gn $5^{12ff.}$). Dillmann remarks that the name may mean 'destroyed of God,' or (Jewish-Aramaic) 'smitten of God' (so Holzinger), or 'God gives (to me) life' (so Budde [*Urgeschichte*, 128], who points מְחִיֵּיאֵל or מְחַיֵּיאֵל; cf. Philo's interpretation, ἀπὸ ζωῆς θεοῦ).

Ball (in *SBOT*) agrees with Hommel (*PSBA*, March 1893) in holding not only that the two lists of the antediluvian patriarchs are identical, but that the Heb. names are either adaptations or translations of the Babylonian as found in Berosus and cuneiform sources. Ball considers that the form מַהֲלַלְאֵל of Gn $5^{12ff.}$ is more original than either מְחוּיָאֵל or מְחִיָּיאֵל [the *Ḳĕrê* מְחִיָּאֵל he calls 'a triumph of absurdity'], as is shown by Berosus' Μεγάλαρος, a phonetic improvement of Μελάλαρος=*Amel-Aruru*, 'Aruru's man' (Hommel), ׳ and ל being sometimes confused. See, further, Nestle, *Marginalien*, 7, and Sayce, *Expos. Times*, May 1899, p. 353.

J. A. SELBIE.

MEHUMAN (מְהוּמָן).—One of the seven eunuchs in attendance upon king Ahasuerus (Est 1^{10}, LXX Ἀμάν). The name has been explained from the Persian *Mehhum-van*, 'belonging to the great Hum' (cf. Berth.-Ryss.); the former has perhaps been assimilated to the Aram. ܡܗܝܡܢܐ =*faithful*.

H. A. WHITE.

ME-JARKON (מֵי הַיַּרְקוֹן).—An unknown place in the neighbourhood of Joppa, Jos 19^{46}. The text is doubtful, the following Rakkon (הָרַקּוֹן) being in any case almost certainly due to dittography from the second part of *Me-jarkon*, while the latter name itself is not beyond suspicion. The LXX reads καὶ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης Ἱερακὼν ὅριον πλησίον Ἰόππης, which Dillm. points out implies a reading וּמִיָּם הַיַּרְקוֹן גְּבוּל וג׳, *i.e.* 'and westward, Jarkon the boundary over against Joppa.'

J. A. SELBIE.

MEKONAH (מְכֹנָה; BA om., ℵ$^{\text{c. a mg inf}}$ Μαχνά).—A town noticed, with Ziklag, as inhabited after the Captivity, Neh 11^{28}. The site has not been identified.

MELATIAH (מְלַטְיָה 'J" hath delivered,' Μαλτίας, but ℵA om.), a Gibeonite, who, with the men of Gibeon and of Mizpah, repaired a portion of the walls of Jerus. in the days of Nehemiah (Neh 3^{7}).

MELCHI (Μελχί TR, but Μελχεί Tisch. Treg. WH).—**1. 2.** Two ancestors of our Lord bear this name in St Luke's genealogy ($3^{24.\,28}$).

MELCHIAS (B Μελχείας, A -χίας).—**1.** 1 Es 9^{26}=MALCHIJAH, Ezr 10^{25}. **2.** 1 Es 9^{32}=MALCHIJAH, Ezr 10^{31}. **3.** 1 Es 9^{44}=MALCHIJAH, Neh 8^{4}.

MELCHIEL (B Μελχειήλ, A Μελχιήλ; Vulg. om.).—The father of Charmis, one of the three governors of Bethulia, Jth 6^{15} (cf. the name מַלְכִּיאֵל, *Malchiel*).

MELCHIZEDEK (מַלְכִּי־צֶדֶק, Μελχισεδέκ).—King of Salem and priest of the Most High God, who, after Abram's defeat of Chedorlaomer and his Bab. allies, met the patriarch on his return, offered him bread and wine, blessed him, and received tithes from him of the spoil (Gn 14^{17-20}). Salem is Jerusalem, which appears already in the Tel el-Amarna tablets (B.C. 1400) as one of the most important cities of Canaan, and is called Uru-salim. An Assyr. lexical tablet (*WAI* II. ii. 393) states that *uru* is the equivalent of the Assyr. *alu*, 'city'; and in the hieroglyphic inscriptions of the Egyp. kings Ramses II. and Ramses III. (19th and 20th dynasties) Jerus. is called simply Shalam or Salem. Several of the Tel el-Amarna tablets are letters written to the Pharaoh by Ebed-tob (or, as read by Hommel, Abdi-khiba), the king of Uru-Salim, who begs for help against his enemies. He tells the Pharaoh that he was not like the other Egyptian governors in Palestine, nor had he received his crown by inheritance from his father or mother; it had been conferred on him by 'the Mighty King.'* In another letter he speaks of 'the city of the mountain of Uru-Salim, by name Bit-Ninip,' becoming disaffected; and we may perhaps infer from this that the 'Most High God' of Jerusalem was identified with Ninip, the warrior Sun-god of Babylonia. In a letter from Phœnicia we hear of a second Bit-Ninip in the N. of Palestine. 'The Mighty King' is distinguished from the 'great king' of Egypt; and in one passage Ebed-tob declares that, although the Pharaoh sends no troops, 'the arm of the Mighty King shall reach the lands of Naharaim and Babylonia.' Ebed-tob would therefore appear to have been a priest-king, and thus to offer a striking parallel to Melchizedek. Moreover, Ebed-tob's words, that he had received his royal dignity neither from his 'father' nor from his 'mother,' are a curious commentary on He 7^{3}. As Uru-Salim probably (but see JERUSALEM, vol. ii. p. 584^{a}; *ZA*, 1891, p. 263; *JBL* xi. (1892) p. 105) signifies 'the city of the god Salim,' the god of peace and safety (Heb. *shâlôm*) (though the Babylonians seem to have interpreted the name the 'city of alliance,' *salim* having that meaning in their own language), the action of M. in welcoming the peaceful return of Abram is easily explained. The offering of the *esrâ* or tithe to the priests and temples was a long-established Bab. custom, and the formula used by M. in blessing the patriarch is met with in Aram. inscriptions found in Egypt. (See a series of papers on 'Melchizedek' by Sayce, Driver, Hommel, and others in the *Expos. Times*, vols. vii. and viii., and cf. art. EL ELYON).

For NT references see art. HEBREWS, vol. ii. 331 f., and MEDIATION, pp. 313^{a}, 319^{b}.

A. H. SAYCE.

MELEA (Μελεᾶ TR, but Μελεά Tisch. Treg. WH).—An ancestor of Jesus, Lk 3^{31}.

MELECH (מֶלֶךְ 'king'; cf. Nabatæan מלכו, the name of several kings in 1st cent. B.C.–1st cent. A.D. [Gray, *Heb. Proper Names*, 116]).—The name of a grandson of Merib-baal (Mephibosheth), 1 Ch 8^{35} (B Μελχήλ, A Μαλώθ) 9^{41} (B Μαλάχ, A Μαλώχ).

---

* Acc. to Hommel (*Expos. Times*, viii. 95), the 'Mighty King' is in Abdi-khiba's letter the king of the *Hittites*, but he considers it probable that this was an applied reference, the original sense of *sarru dannu* ('mighty king') having been a religious one, parallel to the אֵל עֶלְיוֹן ('Most High God') of Gn 14^{18}.

Siegfried-Stade compare, further, the names Μάλχος (Jn 18[10]) and Μάλιχος (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. v. 2).

J. A. SELBIE.

MELITA (Μελίτη; but B*, the Arm. VS, a Greek corrector of the Philoxenian Syr., the Bohairic, some good MSS of Vulg., and other authorities read Μελιτήνη, a natural and probably very early error in transcription).—The island upon which St. Paul was shipwrecked (Ac 28[1]). The ship had drifted thither from Cauda, a small island off the coast of Crete (Ac 27[16]). The violent wind Euraquilo (which see), the 'Gregalia' or 'Levanter,' blowing from E.N.E., would have drifted the vessel to the Syrtis (which see) had not its course been changed. St. Luke gives a partial account of the steps taken with this object; but, writing as a landsman, he omits the one essential point, viz. the setting of storm-sails, without which 'way' could not have been kept on the ship, and she would have drifted straight on the Syrtis. It has been shown that a ship of the kind in question, close-hauled on the starboard tack, before an E.N.E. gale, would make a course about W. by N. This would bring her to Malta within about the time stated (v.[27]) to have elapsed. It could not possibly have carried her to the Dalmatian coast. This fact, as well as the fact that the party proceeded from Melita to Rome by Syracuse and Rhegium, is conclusive against the claim of Melita in the Adriatic, in spite of the identification of our Melita with the latter island by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*de Admin. Imper.* 36, apparently the only express allusion to the question in early literature; he gives no reasons). The mention of Adria (which see) proves nothing. Malta was recognized as marking the point where the Tyrrhenian Sea ceases and the Adriatic (in the wider sense) begins (Procop. l. 372).

To Malta, then, the apostle and his fellow-voyagers quite indisputably came. At night the watch were convinced that 'land was getting near' (προσάγειν—προσαχεῖν is an attempt to replace a curious phrase by an explanatory one, Ac 27[27]). As the soundings confirmed this, they threw anchors out from the stern (to avoid the risk of 'swinging' on to a lee shore), and 'prayed for day.' The dawn revealed a bay, with a shelving bit of beach. Upon this they decide to run the vessel. Simultaneously they cut the cables, let the 'rudders' down (they had been braced up for safety), hoist the foresail, thus getting way on to enable them to steer, and head for the beach. What happened next is in dispute. The beach is not coextensive with the bay. There is a beach at the head of it, and apparently at one or two other points at the foot of the cliffs. But before they reach the beach they meet unexpectedly a τόπος διθάλασσος, and the ship grounds in water too deep for wading. Accordingly swimmers were bidden to save themselves, the rest make use of boards, spars, etc., and all are saved. The natives* receive the party kindly, and light a fire. As St. Paul warms himself, a snake, roused by the heat, darts at him from a faggot he has piled on the fire, and hangs by its teeth on to his hand. The apostle shakes off the animal into the fire, and, to the amazement of the natives, suffers no injury. Escorted to the house of Publius (which see), the πρῶτος† or Princeps of the island, St. Paul heals his father of dysentery. This miracle is followed by others. The party are honourably treated, and after three months proceed to Italy by a ship which has wintered at the island.

Malta lies 60 miles from Pachynum (Cape Passaro), the southern headland of Sicily, and nearly 200 from Cape Bon, the nearest point of Africa, in lat. 35° 53′ N., long. 14° 30′ E. It is separated by a channel of geologically recent formation, 4½ miles wide, from the Isle of Gozo on the west. The length of Malta is 17 miles, its greatest breadth 9, its circumference 60, its area 95 square miles. Its population is very dense, 2000 per (productive) square mile. The Greeks seem to have colonized it at an early date. It is said (Diod. V. xii.) that the older inhabitants were Phœnician. It was long held by Carthage; in B.C. 218 it was taken by the Romans, under whom it became part of the province of Sicily (Cicero, *in Verr.* II. iv. 18, 46). In A.D. 399 it became part of the Eastern Empire; Belisarius recovered it in 533 from the Vandals; but in 870 it passed under the power of the Abbasside Caliphs. In 1090 it was reunited by the Normans to Sicily. In 1530 Charles V. gave it to the Knights of St. John, who had just lost Rhodes. The Turks attempted to seize it in 1551, 1563, and 1565, but were gallantly repulsed. On the last occasion, one of the great sieges of history, the Turks lost 30,000 men out of 40,000, and the 9000 defenders were reduced to 600. In 1798 the island was seized by Bonaparte; but the harsh rule of the French led the inhabitants to revolt, and in 1800 the island was taken by the English, to whom it was confirmed by the Treaty of Paris in 1814.

The narrative of the Acts, summarized above, fits well with the topography of 'St. Paul's Bay,' some 8 miles in a direct line from Valetta, and hardly 5 from the old capital, Melita, now Medina, Notabile, or Città-Vecchia. The tradition identifying the bay is of great antiquity (see below), and its correctness is practically certain. In 1530 tradition coupled the events with the *east* side of the bay, where stood the old church of S. Paulo *ad mare*, and the 'Ayin tal Razzul (*fons Apostoli*), and where Quintinus (1533) identifies the 'locus bimaris' with the 'Chersonesus' of Ptolemy (Koura Head) projecting into the sea. This can hardly be correct, as the ship would more probably, as Smith and all modern investigators assume, be stranded on the west side of the bay; it may be noticed, moreover, that the oldest map (reproduced below) shows the serpents, etc., on the west side, opposite the islet of Selmun, though the church of St. Paul is shown on the E. side. If the modern view is correct, the 'locus bimaris' will be a spit of mud projecting under the sea with deep water on either side—possibly, as Ramsay

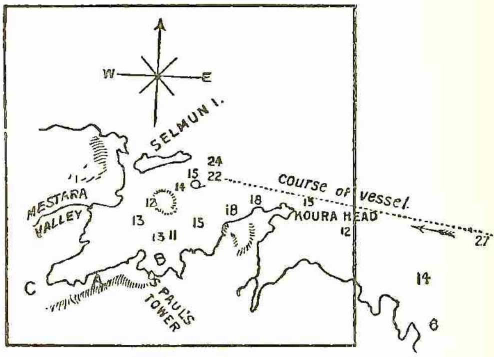

MAP A.

(After Con. and Howson). A, 'Ayin tal Razzul; B, St. Paul *ad mare*; C, the Wied tal Puales. Valetta is about 8 miles E.S.E.

---

* Βάρβαροι. The language was probably Punic (Bilingual Punic and Gr. insc. *CIG* 5753). The modern Maltese is a corrupt Arabic with words from Italian, etc.

† The title is confirmed by Boeckh, *CIG* 5754, Λούκιος Κλαυδίου υἱὸς . . . προύδηνς ἱππεὺς Ῥωμαίων πρῶτος Μελεταίων καὶ πατρῶν, and by an earlier inscr. published by Caruana.

etc., suggest, between the islet of Selmun and the mainland.

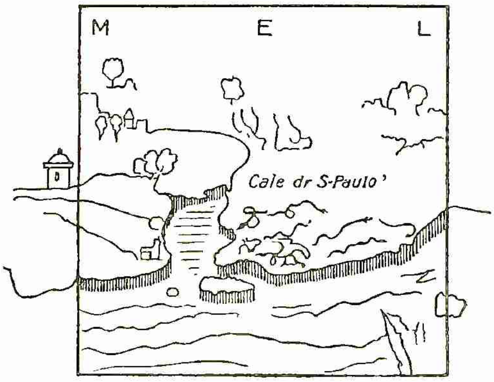

MAP B.

Venetian map soon after 1530. The church on the left of the bay is St. Paul *ad mare*. Città-Vecchia is beyond the letter M at the corner.

Three points require final consideration: (1) The title and position of 'Publius.' If Malta was by this time enfranchized, the πρῶτος may have been a semi-official position corresponding to that of the *princeps coloniæ* at Pisæ (see Woolsey, quoted by Hackett, *in loc.*). Otherwise he might be the legate of the proprætor of Sicily (Cicero, *in Verr.* IV. xviii.). Tradition, supported by excavations, puts the Rom. governor's house at Città-Vecchia. But Playfair mentions the ruins of an important house, now covered up for protection, apparently near the Church of St. Paul *ad mare*, certainly on the east side of St. Paul's Bay.

(2) Malta has now no venomous snakes; but the increase of population and cultivation may well have killed them out. Venomous snakes, again, do not hang on after biting. The smooth snake (*Coronella lævis*) is said to do so (Tristram), but it is not venomous. But to peasant-folk all reptiles, even lizards, are venomous.

(3) A question of more far-reaching interest is the history of the local tradition, which modern research so remarkably confirms, of the site of St. Paul's shipwreck. Apart from the variation above mentioned as to the *side* of the bay, the general accuracy of the tradition is remarkable. How did it originate? Have we here a unique instance of local tradition remounting to the actual landing of St. Paul, or the happy conjecture of a later date, which fixed upon a likely spot near at hand to the capital? The matter cannot be settled with our present knowledge. All one can say is, that the tradition was clearly old when the first maps of Malta were made (after 1530). Before that time no writer appears to allude to the place; but Quintinus (see above) and Fazelli (about 1555) both take its identity for granted. The Church of St. Paul *ad mare* was rebuilt in 1610 by the Grand Master Vignacourt, who also built the neighbouring Torre di S. Paulo. The statue of St. Paul which crowns the isle of Selmun is modern (1845).

The first known bishop of Malta (the Episcopate of Publius is assumed in the Roman Martyrology with no known evidence) is Acacius, at the Council of Chalcedon in 451. But Caruana claims the existence of Christian monograms and inscriptions as early as the 2nd cent. This makes it just credible that there may have been a continuous Christian tradition in Malta since St. Paul's days. But if the gospel were reintroduced at a later date, the mention of Melita (Ac 28¹) would lead to the establishment of some local tradition. Città-Vecchia abounds with sites traditionally associated with St. Paul, including the cave where he lodged during his sojourn. And the foundation of a Church of St. Paul *ad mare* in the neighbourhood of the capital, the original centre of tradition, would be natural.

LITERATURE.—The ancient commentaries on the Acts contain nothing bearing on the question. Oecumenius in his summary of St. Paul's journeys (Migne, *Pat. Gr.* cxviii. 312 D) does not mention Melita by name. The ancient map reproduced above was published at Venice by 'D. B.' Another by Battista Agnese (Ven. 1554) is similar in treatment, but marks 'Cala de S. Paulo' at Koura Head. A similar map was published at Rome in 1551. Other maps published (at Rome and Nürnberg) in 1565 have also been consulted. Quintinus' *Descriptio Melitæ* (1533) is printed in P. Burmann's *Thesaurus*, xv. 110. Fazelli, *de rebus Siculis*, ed. by D. Vito e Statella (Catan. 1749), 1, 16, 27 (sensible refutation of Dalmatian theory. Refers to virtue of stone from St. Paul's cave against snake-bite, immunity of persons born in any country on Conversion of St. Paul, Jan. 25, etc.); *Descripçao da Famoza Ilha de Malta* (Lisbon, 1761), Part I. based on Fazelli; *Historisch-Geographische Beschreibung M.'s* (Frankf. 1782), unimportant; [O. Bres] *Recherches Historiques*, etc., *sur Malte* (Paris, An. vü., *i.e.* 1798), anonymously; Onorato Bres, *Malta Antica Illustrata* (Rome, 1816, dedicated to the Prince Regent) refutes Const. Porphyr. (*supra*) and Don Ignazio Georgi, the Benedictine of Ragusa, the chief modern advocate of the Dalmatian theory (1730). Bres is worth consulting. Miège, *Histoire de Malte* (Paris, 1840), 2, 15 ff., formerly French consul at Malta, no topographical references, but argues against continuous Christian Church in M. from time of St. Paul. *Neueste Gemählde von Malta* (Ronneburg and Leipzig, 1800); Playfair (Sir R. L.) [Murray's], *Mediterranean*³ (Lond. 1890), very useful; Porter, *Hist. of the Knights of M.* (Lond. 1858), for the later history. See also *Sicilia Sacra*, ii. 900–928; Ferres, *Descriz. storica delle Chiese di M. e Gozzo*; Saint Pres, *M. par un Voyageur Français*; W. M. Ramsay, *Expositor* (5th Ser.), vi. 154, *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 314 ff.; Caruana, *Reports on Phœn. and Rom. Antiquities in M.* (1881 and 1882); James Smith, *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul* (1866), very important; Con. and Howson, *St. Paul*, vol. ii. (most useful). 'Malta' in *Ency. Brit.*⁹ by Miss L. Toulmin Smith; also Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geog.*, both with fuller reff. to Literature.

A. ROBERTSON.

MELONS (אֲבַטִּחִים *'ăbaṭṭiḥîm*, πέπονες, *pepones*).—The cognate name *boṭṭîkh* in Arab.=melon, with the testimony of the ancient VSS, leaves no reason to doubt the identity of the fruit mentioned (Nu 11⁵) along with cucumbers, leeks, onions, and garlic. The term in Arab. is generic. It includes all the varieties of cucurbitaceous fruits known as water-melons, *boṭṭîkh akhdar*='green melon,' and cantelopes or muskmelons, *boṭṭîkh asfar*='yellow melon.' Melons of excellent quality (under the name of *baṭṭîkh* or *biṭṭîkh*) are still produced in Egypt, and their succulent pulp was remembered with great regret by the Israelites in the burning sands of the Desert of the Wandering. Had their faith or their knowledge been greater, they needed not to sin by their impatient expressions of longing, for Palestine and Syria produce melons no less renowned for their excellence than those of Egypt. The water-melons of Jaffa are specially prized for their luscious pulp. Those of Ḥemṣ and Lattakia, where the fruit is called *jabas*, are also of very fine quality. Melon patches are to be seen everywhere, often on the driest of hillsides. The vine has the power of extracting moisture from a soil which appears entirely parched and barren. The fruit is very cheap, and forms an important part of the diet of the poorer classes, but is equally enjoyed by the rich in Bible lands. During the season long trains of camels and donkeys transport melons from place to place, and boat-loads are constantly entering the seaports.

G. E. POST.

MELZAR (הַמֶּלְצַר Dn 1¹¹· ¹⁶).—The LXX (Ἀβιεσδρί), Theodotion (Ἀμελσάδ or Ἀμερσάρ), the Vulg. (*Malasar*), all regard it as a proper name, and have been followed in this by our AV and other modern versions. This is now universally admitted to be a mistake. The article precedes the noun, and the two together must be rendered 'the steward' (RV), or 'the cupbearer' (Kautzsch's *AT*), or 'the overseer' (Nowack's *Handkommentar*). The last is best. It expresses fairly well the functions with which the man in question was charged. The prince of the eunuchs bade him superintend the diet, training, and conduct of Daniel and his three faithful companions, until the time when they should be fit to enter on the king's service. It has been well said that he thus combined the duties of the παιδαγωγός and τροφεύς, and attention has been called to the inscription on the Bellino cylinder which mentions the son of one 'who was governor over the young men educated in my [the king of Assyria's] palace.' This was hardly the *cup-bearer's* work. And the title *steward* leads our thought to the superintendence of property rather than of persons.

The derivation of the word *melẓar* has been very variously given. Hitzig, in his Commentary, compared with it Μολοσσός, Laconian Μολοσσόρ, and connected this with κολοσσός. Halévy compares μυλωθρός, 'miller': Grätz, coming a little nearer the meaning, μελέτωρ. The Pers. *mul-ser*, 'keeper of the cellar,' has met with much favour, but the duties of that official do not square with those assigned to *ham-melẓar*. Lenormant thought of the Assyr. *amil uṣṣur*, 'treasurer.' Other suggested Assyr. origins are *mul*, 'a star,' and *Mulal-Assur*. But the most probable is that of Frd. Delitzsch and Schrader, who point out the frequent interchange of ל and נ in Semitic, and hold that our word may be the same as the Assyr. *maṣṣaru*, 'guardian,' from the root נצר. Schrader compares *maṣṣar babi*, 'gatekeeper.' As to the *l*, Delitzsch points to βάλσαμον, from בָּשָׂם. In the Pesh. and Arab. of the two Daniel passages we find the *n*, ܡܢܨܘܪ, مَنَاصِر. J. TAYLOR.

MEM (מ).—The thirteenth letter of the Hebrew alphabet, and as such employed in the 119th Psalm to designate the 13th part, each verse of which begins with this letter. It is transliterated in this Dictionary by *m*.

MEMEROTH (A Μαρερώθ, B om., AV Meremoth), 1 Es 8^2=MERAIOTH, an ancestor of Ezra (Ezr 7^3). Also called MARIMOTH, 2 Es 1^2.

MEMMIUS, QUINTUS (Κόϊντος Μέμμιος), a Roman legate (2 Mac 11^{34}), but no Memmius with this prænomen is mentioned elsewhere. The Memmii were members of a plebeian gens which first appears in history in B.C. 173, and more frequently from the time of the Jugurthine war (B.C. 111). In 170 T. Memmius was sent by the Senate to Macedonia and Achaia (Livy, xliii. 5). See MANIUS. H. A. WHITE.

MEMORIAL, MEMORY.—A *memorial* is that which preserves alive the *memory* of some person or event; but in earlier English the words were not carefully distinguished, so that in AV we find 'memorial' where we should now use 'memory,' and 'memory' where we should use 'memorial.'

MEMORIAL: Est 9^{28} 'The Jews ordained . . . that these days of Purim should not fail among the Jews, nor the memorial of them perish from their seed'; Ps 9^6 'Thou hast destroyed cities; their memorial is perished with them'; 135^{13}; Wis 4^1 'Better it is to have no children, and to have virtue; for the memorial thereof is immortal' (ἀθανασία γάρ ἐστιν ἐν μνήμῃ αὐτῆς, RV 'in the memory of virtue is immortality'); 4^{19} 'their memorial shall perish' (μνήμη, RV 'memory'); Sir 45^1 'Moses, beloved of God and men, whose memorial is blessed' (μνημόσυνον; so 49^{10}, 1 Mac 3^7 12^{53}; elsewhere μ. is rendered 'remembrance,' 'renown,' etc., RV prefers 'memorial'). Cf. Pr 10^7 Cov. 'The memorial of the iust shall have a good reporte, but the name of the ungodly shall stynke'; Ps 145^7, Pr. Bk. 'The memorial of thyne aboundant kyndnes shal be shewed, and men shall synge of thy righteousness.'

MEMORY: 1 Mac 13^{29} 'Upon the pillars he made all their armour for a perpetual memory' (εἰς ὄνομα αἰώνιον). Cf. Mt 26^{13}, Rhem. 'Wheresoever this Gospel shal be preached in the whole world, that also which she hath done, shal be reported for a memorie of her'; Shaks. *Jul. Cæs.* III. ii. 139—

> 'And they would go and kiss dead Cæsar's wounds,
> And dip their napkins in his sacred blood,
> Yea, beg a hair of him for memory.'

But 'memory' is also used for remembrance, the retaining of the past in memory, 2 Mac 7^{20} 'But the mother was marvellous above all, and worthy of honourable memory.' Cf. the Rhem. tr. of Ac 10^{31} 'thy almesdeedes are in memorie in the sight of God'; Ro 1^9 'I make a memorie of you alwaies in my praiers.' J. HASTINGS.

MEMPHIS, the capital of Egypt, is, in the Heb. text, only once (Hos 9^6) written correctly מֹף **Moph.** In the other passages (Is 19^{13}, Jer 2^{16} 44^1 $46^{14.19}$, Ezk $30^{13.16}$) it is corrupted to נֹף **Noph.** EV is correct and in agreement with the ancient versions in rendering *Moph*, 'Memphis'; *Noph*, which likewise all ancient versions render 'Memphis,' is merely transliterated. The name Memphis was in ancient Egyp. *Men-nofer* (=later *Men-nufe*), *i.e.* 'the good (or fine) abode.' Plutarch's translations (*de Iside et Osiride*, 20), ὅρμος ἀγαθῶν, 'landing-place of the good,' and 'tomb of the good god' (*i.e.* Osiris), are erroneous, betraying little knowledge of Egyptian. The vernacular shortening was *Mennefe*, *Menfe*, in the Coptic period *Menbe*, *Membe*, *Memfi*, but more frequently *Mefe* (Arab. *Māfe*, more commonly *Menf*). These shortened forms passed over into many languages: Assyrian, *Mempi*, *Mimpi*; Greek-Latin, *Memphis* (hence Targumic *Mēphis*), etc. The Heb. renders the most abridged form *Meph*(*e*). The corruption *Noph* is, perhaps, due to an attempt at taking מף for נף, and, subsequently, shortening this.—The sacred name of Memphis, preferred especially in the religious texts of the Egyptians, was *Ḥa*(*t*)-*ka-ptaḥ*, 'the abode (or temple) of the likeness of god Ptaḥ,' whence the designation of all Egypt as Αἴ-γυ-πτος, *E-gy-pt*, seems to have arisen.

Memphis was one of the most ancient cities of Egypt, at least near it was the earliest residence of those Pharaohs who ruled over both Upper and Lower Egypt. Herodotus (ii. 99) reports that the earliest historical king Menes (before 3000 B.C., an accurate determination of the date will never be found) built M. after winning the ground from the Nile by an immense dyke, still existing in Herodotus' time, 100 stadia (*i.e.* almost 12 miles) south of M., and completely changing the course of the river (?). Menes, Herodotus says, built the temple of Hephæstus (*i.e.* Ptaḥ). This tradition is now supported by hieroglyphic inscriptions as old as the 14th cent. B.C., claiming indeed king Mena, Meni, as founder of that most ancient and most important temple, the *Ḥa*(*t*)-*ka-ptaḥ* or 'sanctuary of Ptaḥ.' Diodorus attributes the foundation of M. to a king Uchoreus, a name admitting of no certain identification. The name Memphis originated from a new suburb which grew up to the west of the original city, around the pyramid of king *Pepi* (*Apopi*) I. of Dynasty 6 (*c.* 2700 B.C.?), that pyramid being called *Mennofer*, 'good abode' (see above).

We can observe that before this time the city, or at least a large part of it, was shifted repeatedly over a space of several miles. Most kings liked to build a new palace, and around it their 'own city.'

Consequently it might be disputed if this changing series of cities and suburbs can properly be called Memphis. But if the name is not old, and the situation was as unstable as that of many Oriental cities, the religious centre, the temple of Ptaḥ, always remained the same.

The city extended on the western bank of the Nile over an area of 150 stadia (more than 17 miles) from N. to S., according to Diodorus. From E. to W. the diameter cannot have been more than 3 miles. The names of several quarters are known: the quarter of Sòkari(s) (now Sakkara), near the desert in the west, touching the necropolis, a part of which was called *Ko-kome* ('of the black bull'). The 'White wall' was the chief part of the city, with the citadel, always occupied by a strong garrison. Another quarter was *Makhatoui*, 'the balance of both countries.' *Ankh-toui*, 'the life of both countries,' in the E. was on the bank of the Nile, a quarter rich in temples, but also in pleasure-places, a temple of the Syrian goddess Astarte combining both functions. This part was inhabited by a mixed population. The classical writers (above all Herodotus, about 450 B.C., and Strabo, 24 B.C.) give very impressive descriptions of the several large temples, especially of the old 'sanctuary of Ptaḥ-Hephæstus,' remarkable for immense statues (75 feet) standing before it. Almost every king had built here; the largest part of the various constructions seems to have been due to the greatest builder of ancient Egypt, Ramses II., the Sesostris of the Greeks. Canals crossed the city; an artificial lake was in the western part.

The chief local god of Memphis was Ptaḥ, the former of the world, whose high priest had therefore the name 'the great workman.' Other divinities were, *e.g.*, the lion-headed goddess *Sokhmet*, the Egyp. Asclepius Imouthes (*I-m-ḥotep*), *Nefer-Atum*, etc. The western suburb had its own local god *Sokari*, a hawk sitting in a kind of sledge, later assimilated to Osiris, the god of the dead. The Serapeum, described by Strabo (p. 807), was in this quarter. The worship of Apis (Ḥap), the sacred animal of Osiris-Sokaris—according to popular belief the incarnation of this god himself—had its own temple opposite the great temple of Ptaḥ. The Apis was a black bull with certain white spots and other marks—the description of which, by the classical writers, *e.g.* Herod. ii. 153, does not agree with the monumental evidence. Also the cow, which had been mother of an Apis, was adored in a special temple. Sometimes all Egypt was searched for a new Apis for a long time. The discovery, the bringing to Memphis, and the solemn enthronization were public festivals of the highest rank, immense sums being frequently contributed by the kings for the celebration. Likewise the death of the Apis was followed by public mourning and a splendid burial in the large crypt at Sakkara. Mariette found there, in 1859, sixty-four embalmed bodies of sacred bulls and cows. The goddess Isis had a remarkable temple, finished by king Amasis (*c.* 550 B.C.)

Memphis owed its importance chiefly to its situation near the southern angle of the Delta, where the Libyan mountain-ridge in the W. almost meets with the Arabian mountains in the E. It thus commanded all Egypt, just as Cairo does at present. Dynasties 3, 4, 6, 7, 8 are reported to have been Memphitic. The city continued to be the unrivalled metropolis down to Dynasty 18 (beginning about 1650 B.C.) Dynasties from Upper Egypt, as, *e.g.*, 11 and 12 (from Thebes), could not disregard it; also the foreign invaders, called Hyksos or 'shepherd kings,' seem to have resided here. Only during Dyn. 18 to 20 (to *c.* 1100 B.C.) Thebes, as residence of the kings, rivalled successfully Memphis for splendid buildings. Yet M. continued to be the most populous city, and became again the residence of the Pharaohs until the end of Egypt's independence (525 B.C.), although it was frequently ravaged by war, *e.g.* when the Ethiopian conqueror P(i)'ankhi (about 750) took it by storm. It experienced the woes threatened by the prophets of Israel repeatedly at the hands of the Assyrians under Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, last and worst in 525 B.C. at the hands of the Persian king Cambyses. Under the Persian rule it was the stronghold of a powerful Persian garrison, and proved to be the key of Egypt in the various rebellions against the Persians, suffering especially from the Persian king Ochus after the last revolution. The foundation of Alexandria made M. the second city of Egypt, but the Ptolemies and the governors of the Roman and Byzantine lords used it as a second capital. The deathblow was dealt to it by the Arab conquest and the foundation of Old Cairo (Fostat) in 638 A.D. The Arabs employed the stones of the ruins (which are described by Abulfeda in the 14th cent. as still being very extensive) for building up the new city, and, later, Cairo. Therefore the present site does not indicate the former size (marked by *Kum el-Azizyeh* in the N., Bedrashen in the S.) and splendour. That the poor modern village of Mitrahineh occupies the centre of M. and the site of the celebrated temple of Hephæstus, is indicated only by the fallen stone colossus of Ramses II. (originally 43 feet high). Mariette's excavations produced only insignificant fragments of this temple, and showed that the destruction of the whole city has been very complete. But the immense necropolis at the west of M., on the borders of the Libyan desert, still extends from Abu-Rosh in the N. to Dashur in the S. The gigantic royal tombs, the pyramids, attract numerous visitors from the whole world. Usually, only the most remarkable group of pyramids (those of *Khufu*, *Khafrē*, and *Menkarē* of Dyn. 4 [in Herodotus, *Cheops*, *Chephren*, and *Mycerinus*]) at Gizeh are visited; about 50 other pyramids of smaller size or still more dilapidated are less known (those at Sakkara, belonging to Dyn. 6, and of Dashur of Dyn. 4, being most remarkable). The immense sphinx at Gizeh (prob. a work of *Khafrē*-Chephren, although recently some scholars place it in Dyn. 12), and many private tombs, the latter much destroyed, contribute to make the site of ancient M. still remarkable.

W. MAX MÜLLER.

MEMPHITIC VERSION.—See EGYPTIAN VERSIONS.

MEMUCAN (Est $1^{14.16.21}$ מְמוּכָן, מומכן v.^{16} *Kethîbh*; in vv.$^{16.21}$ BA have Μουχαῖος; in v.^{16} ℵ$^{c.a}$ Μαμουχαῖος; in v.^{21} ℵ* has εὐνοῦχος, ℵ$^{c.a}$ Μούχεος, ℵ$^{c.b}$ Μαμούχεος; in v.^{14} LXX om.; *Mamuchan*).—One of the seven princes of Persia who held the highest rank in the kingdom, and had access to the royal presence (see ADMATHA). These men, who formed the king's council, are represented both as astrologers ('wise men, who knew the times') and as authorities on all questions of law and custom. When Ahasuerus consulted his counsellors with regard to the conduct of Vashti in refusing to come to the banquet at his bidding, Memucan was the first to speak. He represented that the queen's example was likely to be followed by all the princesses of Media and Persia, and recommended that she should be deposed from her royal dignity, and that a decree should forthwith be published enjoining upon all wives to give due honour to their own husbands. This advice pleased the king, and was at once carried into effect (Est 1^{13-22}). H. A. WHITE.

MENAHEM (מְנַחֵם = 'consoler'; Μαναήμ, A Μαναήν, the latter form being the same as is found Ac 13^{1}).—The history of Menahem is recorded 2 K 15$^{13-22}$. He is there called 'son of Gadi' (Heb. גָּדִי, LXX Γαδδεί). *Gadi* is most likely the name of his father, but it is possible that 'son of Gadi' may mean that he was a member of the tribe of Gad, many of whom had become regular soldiers in consequence of the harrying of the East Jordan land in the long course of the Syrian wars (see 2 K 15^{25}, and cf. Stade, *Gesch. des V. Isr.* i. 576). During the six months' reign of Zechariah, the last king of the house of Jehu, Menahem seems to have been one of the foremost generals; and when Shallum conspired against and murdered Zechariah, Menahem was in command at Tirzah, once the capital of the northern kingdom and still an important military post. Menahem did not acquiesce in Shallum's usurpation. He marched from Tirzah to Samaria, defeated and slew his rival, and mounted the throne. According to the MT of v.^{16} his next move was against Tiphsah, which refused to admit him. He took it by storm, slaughtered the inhabitants, and treated the unhappy women with the atrocious cruelty too common in those days. In several particulars the text of this sixteenth verse is corrupt, and there can be little doubt that it is so in respect of the town-name. The only city of this name mentioned in the Bible is the well-known Thapsacus, on the Euphrates (1 K 4^{24} [Heb 5^{4}]). Rawlinson's suggestion (*Speaker's Comm. in loc.*) that an expedition thither by Menahem would be the natural sequel to Jeroboam II.'s occupation of Hamath, is condemned by the fact that Menahem's position at home was too insecure for him to venture far afield. On the other hand, we need not assume the existence of a Tiphsah in the land of Israel, unmentioned in any other passage. The LXX, which has Θαρσειλά in v.^{14}, here reads Θερσά (A Θαιρά). It is not difficult to believe that in those disturbed times, when no one knew who would ultimately come out at the top, Tirzah closed its gates behind Menahem as soon as he marched out against Shallum, and was therefore visited with bloody vengeance when he forced them open again. On this view we should read תִּרְצָה instead of תִּפְסַח, and omit מִתִּרְצָה as a clerical error. The other alternative is to adopt Thenius' conjecture, and, with the minimum of alteration, read תַּפּוּחַ for תִּפְסַח; the town thus named, Tappuaḥ, being on the boundary between Ephraim and Manasseh, Jos 16^{8} 17$^{7.8}$ (cf. Benzinger, *Könige*, in Marti's Handkomm.). A keen sense of the evil and misery of these days of internal strife is best gained from such writings as Hos 7^{7} 8^{4}, Is 9$^{19-21}$.

It was in the short and troubled reign of Menahem that the Assyrian invader first set foot in the Holy Land. 'There came against the land Pul the king of Assyria' (2 K 15^{19}). Schrader (*COT*^{2} i. 222, 230) has shown that this Pul, the Πῶρος of the Ptolemaic Canon, and Tiglath-pileser III. of the cuneiform records, are identical, that probably 'when he became ruler he exchanged the name Pûlu, which belonged to him as a subject, . . . for the other name Tuklat-abal-íšarra. Yet the earlier and original name was perhaps the most popular one. It was that under which he first became known to the Israelites.' The books of Hosea and Isaiah exhibit a deep and abiding division between an Egyptian and an Assyrian party in Israel. It is possible that at this crisis the king and his faction actually solicited the interposition of Assyria. Tiglath-pileser's own account would look as though he came unsolicited, sweeping Israel, along with the other states of Western Syria, into his net. In III R 9, No. 3, lines 50–57, he enumerates 'the tribute of Kushtashpi of Kummuch, Rezin of Damascus, Menahem of Samaria (Mí-ni-ḫi-im-mí Sa-mí-ri-na-ai), Hiram of Tyre,' and many other petty kings (see Winckler, *Keilinsch. Textbuch*, pp. 17, 18; cf. Schrader, *COT*^{2} i. 284). In any case, Menahem succeeded in inducing Tiglath-pileser to accept him as a vassal, and it may well have been his policy on this occasion that evoked the prophet's reproaches, Hos 5^{13} (cf. 7^{11}) 8^{9} 10^{6} (cf. 12^{4}) 14^{3}.

The method by which Menahem met his suzerain's demand for money has thrown light on the economic condition of the kingdom. 'Menahem gave Pul a thousand talents of silver that his hand might be with him. . . . And Menahem exacted the money of Israel, even of all the mighty men of wealth, of each man fifty shekels of silver' (2 K 15$^{19.20}$). That is to say, there were 60,000 'men of means' in the land.

The mention of Menahem on Tiglath-pileser's list of tributaries enables us to fix his date with a fair degree of precision, and compels us to correct the number of years assigned to him in v.^{17}. The Assyrian list is of the year B.C. 738. Pekah, who succeeded Menahem's son, Pekahiah, after the latter had reigned two years, occupied the throne in 734. The Assyrian invasion must have occurred not very long after Menahem had seized the reins; otherwise he would not have been so eager to utilize it for the confirmation of his authority. Hence the dates given for Menahem in the art. CHRONOLOGY, vol. i. p. 401 of this Dictionary, are more probable than Wellhausen's (*IJG*^{2} p. 80) view that Menahem seized the kingdom in 745, or even than that of Kautzsch (*Hist. of OT Lit.*, Eng. trans., p. 185), who gives 743–737. Three or four years, not ten years, must have been the extent of his reign. And that was quite long enough. He was a military adventurer, who reigned for himself, not for his people, and did nothing to heal the sores of the land. The prophecies of Hosea present us with an all too vivid picture of the drunkenness, debauchery, injustice, oppression, superstition, as well as of the confused and fluctuating politics of the time. And if it is unsafe to fix on individual traits as belonging specifically to Menahem's reign, we are at all events quite justified in forming our general idea of the character of the reign from the dark picture which the prophet paints. Menahem seems to have died a natural death. He was the last king of Israel who was succeeded on the throne by his son.

One of the best sketches of Menahem and his rule is that given by Kittel (*Hist. of the Hebrews*, ii. 332–337), although it is difficult to understand the reason for the assertion (p. 332), 'Of the few kings of the kingdom of Ephraim who died a natural death, Jeroboam II. is the last.' Benzinger (*Könige*, 167, 168) is excellent; and Stade (*Gesch. des V. Isr.* i. 576) is still worth reading. See also his discussion of the text of v.^{16}, *ZAW*, 1886, p. 160.

J. TAYLOR.

MENE MENE TEKEL UPHARSIN (מְנֵא מְנֵא תְּקֵל וּפַרְסִין; Theod. Μανή, θεκέλ, φαρές; LXX tr. in Dn 5^{17} Ἠρίθμηται, κατελογίσθη, ἐξῆρται).—The words of the famous handwriting on the wall at Belshazzar's feast (Dn 5^{25}). The construction of the enigma in this chapter is similar to that in ch. 2: by performing one part of it Daniel certifies the correctness of his performance of the other part. Here, by deciphering what no one else can read, he gains credit for his explanation and application of the words. The author does not state wherein lay the difficulty of reading the words on the wall, and none of the many guesses on this subject made in ancient and modern times is worthy of attention. Clearly, however, the writing must have been, in the author's intention, of a kind with which the king and his wise men were familiar, though in this particular case they were unable to read it. It requires no flight of the imagination to conceive such a case. The *CIS* contains numerous specimens of Phœnician and Neo-Punic texts, which, owing to careless writing or ignorant transcription, still baffle the ingenuity of decipherers; and the same is the case sometimes with Greek cursive. Yet these alphabets are not more liable to become unintelligible than that Aramaic cursive which was probably in 'Daniel's' mind, and of which we have specimens in the Blacassian papyri. When such texts are read, those who are familiar with both script and language can easily see whether the readings are right or wrong. The test of Daniel's ability, though not equal to that given in ch. 2, was therefore still considerable.

Daniel's interpretation and application of the words occupy vv.$^{26-28}$, where it is noticeable that the readings differ slightly from those given in v.^{25}. *Mĕnē* appears only once, and the singular *pĕrēṣ* is substituted for the plural *parṣin*. The texts of Theodotion and Jerome bring v.^{25} into agreement with vv.$^{26, 28}$, in the opinion of many critics (cf. Peters in *JBL* xv. 116) rightly. The general principle of Daniel's interpretation is to render each word twice (as Hitzig observes). This appears most clearly in the case of the last word, which is made to mean 'thy kingdom is broken up and given to Media and Persia,' a rendering which suits *parṣin* if interpreted (1) as 'fragments' (Ewald and others) or 'they break' (Hitzig and others); (2) as 'the Persias.' The Persias, according to the writer, stands for Media and Persia, just as with the Arabs 'the Euphrateses' [dual] means the Tigris and the Euphrates, 'the Basras' [dual] means Basra and Kufa (Vennier, *Grammaire Arabe*, § 288). The second word means 'weighed' (from *tḳl*) and 'thou art light' (from *ḳll*). The first word is apparently made to mean 'counted' and 'handed over' (השלמה), the second sense being perhaps given it on the authority of Is 65^{12} (where for מָנִיתִי the Targ. has אמסר, a synonym of אשלם). Hitzig suggests that the second sense of *mĕnē*, 'completed,' is got from the similar *mĕlê*, 'full.' The grammar of the second word suffers somewhat in this interpretation, since תקל should be תקיל in the first sense.

It might seem that this explanation of the words must be certainly right, since either the whole narrative is the author's invention, or, if it be historical, Daniel's explanation was found satisfactory by those likely to know. There is, however, a third possibility, viz. that an actual inscription found on the walls of the palace at Babylon, or at any rate found somewhere, was worked by the author of Daniel into this dramatic scene, and arbitrarily explained. Somewhat similarly Epiphanius (*adv. Hær.* xix. 4) produces the saying of the Arabic prophet Elxai and interprets it quite wrongly; it was left to M. A. Levy to interpret the words correctly in 1858 (*ZDMG* xii. 712). In the case of the words in Daniel there is something in favour of such a supposition. Besides the grammatical difficulty in the case of the second word, the uncertainty as to signification in the case of the first, and its actual repetition, make the principle of rendering each word twice resemble the artifice of an interpreter rather than what was actually intended by the author of the inscription. But if that principle be abandoned, the words 'counted, weighed, and fragments' are not sufficient to justify the gloss; for the word 'weighed' by no means implies that the weight is deficient, any more than 'counted' implies that the number is complete. Moreover, if the author was composing a suitable death-warrant for Babylon, it is probable that he would have given a sentence which would be clear, or a quotation which would be appropriate. But if he is not the author of the inscription, these difficulties may conceivably be got rid of by a better interpretation.

A suggestion for a fresh rendering of the words in Dn was made by Clermont-Ganneau in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1886 (Sér. viii. vol. i. 36; translated in *Hebraica*, 1887), which was followed up by T. Nöldeke (*ZA* i. 414–418), G. Hoffmann (*ib.* ii. 45–48), P. Haupt (*John Hopkins Univ. Circ.* No. 58, p. 104), Bevan (*Dan.* 106 f.), and J. D. Prince (*Journ. of the American Oriental Society*, xv. clxxxii–clxxxix). He regarded the words in the text as the names of *weights*, 'a Mina, a Mina, a Shekel, and [two] Peras.' The word *peraṣ* is used in Jewish writings for 'a half,' especially 'a half mina.' This discovery seemed to shed some light on the difficulty of reading the words, which could all be represented by ideographs; though it is not clear why the wise men of Babylon should have been puzzled by such common signs. It also seemed to give an explanation of *tĕḳēl* which did not violate grammar (though this is not certain). Otherwise this discovery seems to give little help. For, besides the improbable character of the sum (which would be like £1, 1s., some £½), how came it to be connected with the fall of Babylon? Clermont-Ganneau therefore practically abandoned his discovery as soon as made, and offered a variety of renderings, of which 'Mina by Mina weigh the Peras' may be given as an example. Haupt, who adopted the rendering 'there have been counted a Mina, a Shekel, and Perases,' thought these weights stood symbolically for Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, and the Medes and Persians. But it is incredible that this, if correct, could have escaped the author of Dn 2; and for a death-warrant it is by no means dramatic.

We are driven back therefore to Daniel's explanation of the first two words as *verbs*, which, if we had the inscription on stone, we should probably render 'he has counted, counted, weighed.' It is curious that the third word פרס has in the Targum a sense which is very similar to that of the preceding two, *i.e.* 'to assess' (for the Heb. העריך in Lv). The reading of vv.$^{26-28}$ would therefore be naturally rendered 'he has counted, weighed, assessed,' and that of v.^{25} 'he has counted, counted, weighed, and they assess.' The first of these reads like a commercial formula with which goods might be labelled, implying that they were ready for immediate delivery; while the second might be a description in technical language of a sale in which the salesman gives an accurate description of the goods, for which the buyers offer a price. The interpretation given in vv.$^{26-28}$ would in either case err in assigning a separate application to each of the words of a formula which as a whole was a symbolical description of the occasion.

If the inscription given in Dn 5 be historical, it is probable that some euhemeristic explanation of its appearance, such as Prince suggests, should be adopted. The historical character of the name Belshazzar leads us to seek for more elements of fact in this chapter than in the rest of the Aramaic portion of the book; and if it could be made out that the inscription had been misunderstood by the writer, there would be some probability in favour of its authenticity. It must be confessed, however, that the assumption that the inscription is by a different hand from that of the rest of the book opens a wide field for conjecture.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

MENELAUS (Μενέλαος).—A usurping high priest in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. According to Josephus (*Ant.* XII. v. 1) he was originally named Onias, and was a brother of Onias III. and Jason; but the account in 2 Mac, which is probably more trustworthy, states that he was a Benjamite, a brother of Simon, the guardian of the temple, who had instigated the attempt of Heliodorus to plunder the treasury (2 Mac 4^{23}, cf. 3^{4}). In B.C. 171 Menelaus was sent by Jason to convey his promised tribute to Antiochus, and by offering the king a still larger bribe secured the high priesthood for himself. When Menelaus was established in Jerusalem this money still remained unpaid, and, a dispute on this matter having arisen between him and Sostratus, the Syrian commandant, they were both summoned to appear before Antiochus (2 Mac $4^{23.\ 24}$). When they arrived in Antioch, the king was absent in Cilicia. Menelaus therefore took the opportunity to secure the support of the vicegerent Andronicus by means of rich presents, which were commonly supposed to have been stolen from the temples. He also persuaded Andronicus to murder treacherously the ex-high priest Onias III., who had taken refuge in the sanctuary at Daphne (vv.$^{31-36}$). Meanwhile the misconduct of Lysimachus (wh. see), the deputy left by Menelaus, had led to a serious riot at Jerusalem, and the Jews sent a deputation to meet the king at Tyre, and to make formal complaints against the high priest. Menelaus, who seems to have remained in Syria, again had recourse to bribery, and having won over an influential courtier, Ptolemy the son of Dorymenes, he secured both his own acquittal and the execution of his accusers (vv.$^{39-50}$). During the Egyptian expedition of Antiochus (B.C. 170), Jason attempted to regain his former position, and, suddenly attacking Jerusalem, forced his rival to take refuge in the citadel. Antiochus treated this attack as an act of open rebellion. He marched on Jerusalem, gave orders for a terrible massacre, and plundered the temple of its most sacred treasures, receiving (it is said) in this sacrilege the assistance of Menelaus himself (*ib.* $5^{5-16.\ 22f.}$, cf. 1 Mac 1^{20-24}). Menelaus was confirmed in power, but after the second attack of the Syrians on Jerusalem (1 Mac 1^{29-34}, 2 Mac 5^{23-26}) we hear no more of him till the next reign. We do not know who exercised the office of high priest after the victories of Judas. But in B.C. 162, either before (2 Mac 13^{3-8}) or after (Jos. *Ant.* XII. ix. 7) the campaign of Lysias and Eupator, Menelaus met his death. He had incurred the anger of the Syrian chancellor, who represented him as the cause of all the troubles in Judæa. He was accordingly sent by the king to Berœa, a town between Hierapolis and Antioch, and there executed. According to 2 Mac *l.c.* he was carried to a certain tower, and thrown down into the ashes with which it was filled—a fitting retribution for one who had so grievously desecrated the holy altar at Jerusalem (cf. Rawlinson on 2 Mac in *Speaker's Comm.*; Schürer, *HJP* I. i. 204 f., 225 f.).

H. A. WHITE.

MENESTHEUS (Μενεσθεύς B and prob. A; *Mnestheus*).—The father of Apollonius, a general of Antiochus Epiphanes and chief collector of tribute (2 Mac 4^{21}, cf. 5^{24}, 1 Mac 1^{29}). In the RV of 2 Mac 4^{4}, on the strength of a conjecture of Hort's in a difficult passage, mention is again made of *Apollonius* the son of *Menestheus* (reading Μενεσθέως for μαίνεσθαι ἕως), but the person there intended seems rather to be Apollonius the son of Thrasæus (cf. 3^{5}). See, further, under APOLLONIUS.

H. A. WHITE.

MENI (מְנִי; ἡ τύχη [but in some MSS, the renderings of מני and גד being interchanged, ὁ δαίμων or τὸ δαιμόνιον]; Aq. Theod. μεινει; Vulg. omits; Targ. רחלתהון *their object of fear* [*i.e.* their false god]; Syr. combining both clauses, גדّא *fortunes*).—In Is 65^{11} the name of a divinity, worshipped by the Israelites, 'But ye . . . that prepare a table for Gad (Fortune), and that fill up mingled wine unto Mĕnī (Destiny); ^{12} I will *destine* (וּמָנִיתִי) you to the sword,' etc. The root מָנָה means in Heb. *to number*, in Arab. *to assign, apportion* (cf. Heb. מָנָה a *portion*); and there is little doubt that Mĕnī (properly, *that which is apportioned* or *destined*) was a personification of destiny, and was a male deity corresponding to *Manât*, one of the 'daughters of Allah,' a great stone worshipped by the old heathen Arabians (see particulars from Ibn Kalbi and others in Wellh. *Reste Arab. Heid.* 22–25 [^{2}, 25–29]), and mentioned in Ḳoran 53^{20}, and also to *maniyya* (plur. *manâya, manâ*), an expression for *fate* (*fates*) used by Arabic poets. *Manôt*—or rather (Nöld. *ZDMG*, 1887, p. 709) its plural *Manawât*, 'the fates'—occurs also in the Nabatæan inscriptions of Ḥigr, at about the period of the Christian era, as the name of one of the gods worshipped by the Nabatæans (Euting, *Nab. Inschr.* 2^{5} $3^{4.\ 8}$ 9^{8} 20^{8} 27^{12} [=*CIS* II. i. 197^{2}, $198^{4.\ 8}$ etc.; add also 320 F, and 271 the n. pr. עבדמנות]: מנותו). The name *Meni* itself has been supposed to occur in the pr. n. עבדמני found on some of the coins of the Achæmenidæ (Rödiger, in the app. to Ges. *Thes.* p. 97); and also in the inscription on an altar at Vaison in Provence (Orelli Henzen, 5862), 'Belus Fortunæ rector, *Meni*sque magister' (where Belus, as the parallel Greek inscription shows, is the Bel of Apamea in Syria), quoted by Mordtmann, *ZDMG* xxxix. (1885) p. 44.* As Jewish tradition identified Gad with the planet Jupiter, and Arab. astrology called Jupiter *the greater fortune*, and Venus *the lesser fortune*, it has been conjectured (Ges., Del., Cheyne) that Meni denoted Venus.

S. R. DRIVER.

MENNA (Μεννά, Tisch. Treg. WH; Μαϊνάν TR, hence AV Menan).—An ancestor of Jesus, Lk 3^{31}.

MENUHAH (מְנוּחָה).—In Jg 20^{43} 'They enclosed the Benjamites . . . (מְנוּחָה הִדְרִיכֻהוּ *menûhâh hidrikhuhû*)'; AV 'trode them down with ease' (AVm 'from Menuchah'), RV 'trode them down (RVm 'overtook them') at their resting-place' (RVm 'at Menuhah'); B ἀπὸ Νουὰ κατὰ πόδα; Vulg. *nec erat ulla requies morientium.* We should perhaps read מָנַחַת, **Manahath** (which see), or better מִנּוֹחָה 'from *Nohah.*' In 1 Ch 8^{2} **Nohah** (which see) is a clan of Benjamin. Cf. Moore, 'Judges' in *Internat. Crit. Comm.*; Kittel in *SBOT*; Budde, *Kurzer Hand-Comm. zum AT.*

W. H. BENNETT.

MENUHOTH.—See MANAHETHITES.

MEONENIM, OAK OF (RVm 'The augurs' oak *or* terebinth,' AV [wrongly] PLAIN OF M., AVm '(Plain of) the regarders of times' [cf. Dt 18^{14}]; Heb. אֵלוֹן מְעוֹנְנִים; A δρυὸς ἀποβλεπόντων, B Ἡλωνμαωνεμείν; Vulg. *quæ respicit quercum*).—Only in Jg 9^{37}, where Gaal tells Zebul that he sees troops approaching, 'and one company cometh by the way of the oak of Meonenim.' *Mĕʿōnĕnîm* is masc. pl. participle *Polel* (possibly a denominative from *ʿānān*, 'cloud'), which occurs as a common noun, Dt $18^{10.\ 14}$, Mic $5^{12\ (\text{Heb. }11)}$, AV 'diviners,' 'soothsayers,' RV 'them that practise augury,' 'soothsayers.' Other forms of the verb occur Lv 19^{26}, 2 K 21^{6}, 2 Ch 33^{6}, Is 2^{6} 57^{3}, Jer 27^{9}. *Mĕʿōnĕnîm* were a class of diviners, whose character is uncertain, the connexion with *ʿānān* being perhaps only an accidental resemblance (see SOOTHSAYER).

Sacred trees at or near Shechem are mentioned: Gn 12^{6} JE 'Abram passed through the land unto the place of Shechem, unto the oak (אֵלוֹן) of Moreh' (see MOREH); Gn 35^{4} E, Jacob buries the family images under the oak (אֵלָה) which was by (עִם) Shechem; Jos 24^{26} E, 'the oak (אֵלָה) that was in the sanctuary of J″,' under which Joshua set up a stone, *i.e.* a *mazzēbhāh*; Jg 9^{6} 'the oak of the pillar (RVm 'garrison,' אֵלוֹן מֻצָּב) that was in Shechem.' Instead of מֻצָּב read מַצֵּבָה, so that this oak is the same as the preceding. Generally, some or all of these five references may be to the same tree; the use of different terms is no objection, as אֵלוֹן and אֵלָה are used loosely for trees of the same kind, and אֵלֹה is mistaken pointing for אֵלָה; the trees in Gn 35^{4}, Jg 9^{37} seem to stand outside Shechem; and if so, the references are not to the tree '*in* Shechem' in the other passages. But (Moore, *Internat. Crit. Comm.*, *ad loc.*) 'there is no reason why there may not have been three, or a half-dozen, well-known sacred trees in the vicinity of Shechem.' There is nothing to indicate the exact position of the *Oak of the Mĕ'ōnĕnîm.*

---

* On the possible occurrence of the name in Assyrian, see Johns in the *Exp. Times*, June 1899, p. 423 (the Egyptian-looking proper name *Puti-mani*), and Aug. p. 526 f. (a deity, 'Manu the great,' worshipped in the city of Asshur, III R. 66 2, 3), and Hommel, *ib.* Sept. p. 566 f. (*Manawât* also Minæan).

W. H. BENNETT.

MEONOTHAI (מְעוֹנֹתַי; B Μαναθεί, A Μαναθί).—Son of Othniel, 1 Ch 4^{14}. See GENEALOGY, IV. 48.

MEPHAATH.—A city of Reuben, Jos 13^{18} (מֵפַעַת; B Μαιφάαθ, A Μηφάαθ); assigned to the Levites, Jos 21^{37} (מֵיפַעַת; B Μαφά, A Μασφά), 1 Ch 6^{79} (Heb. ^{64}, מֵפַעַת; B Μαέφλα, A Φαάθ); a Moabite city in Jer 48^{21} (*Kethîbh* מוֹפַעַת, *Ḳĕrê* מֵיפַעַת; LXX [31^{21}] B Μωφάς, A Μωφάθ). On the name see D. H. Müller, *ZDMG*, 1876, p. 679; 1883, p. 362. Mephaath is noticed with Kedemoth and Jahaz, and lay apparently to the south of Reuben. In the 4th cent. A.D. (*Onomast. s.v.*) it is said to have been the station of a Roman garrison near the desert.

C. R. CONDER.

MEPHIBOSHETH (מְפִיבֹשֶׁת, B Μεμφιβόσθε, A -αι).—**1.** A son of Jonathan (2 S 4^{4} *al.*). As the real name of *Ishbosheth* was *Eshbaal* (man of Baal), so *Mephibosheth* is a transformation of the original name *Meri-Baal* or *Merib-Baal*, which has been variously rendered 'Baal's man,' 'Baal contends,' or 'Baal's warrior.'[*] As in the case of Ishbosheth, it is the Chronicler who has preserved the true name (1 Ch 8^{34} [B Μεριβάαλ, A Μεφριβάαλ] and 9^{40} [B Μαρειβάαλ, A Μεχριβάαλ]). The reason why *Baal* was thus transformed into *Bosheth* has been already explained. See ISHBOSHETH.

Upon David's accession to the throne, it would have been quite in accordance with Oriental custom if he had exterminated the family of Saul. (Compare the conduct of Athaliah in 2 K 11^{1}). His friendship for Jonathan led him, however, to follow a different course. With Ishbosheth had perished the last of Saul's sons by wives of the first rank, and with the exception of Jonathan none of them seem to have left any issue, although we read in 2 S 21^{8} of sons of Saul by his concubine Rizpah, and also of grandsons, the children of his daughter Merab. Once David was firmly established upon the throne, he ascertained by inquiry of Ziba, who had been the steward of Saul, that a son of Jonathan named Merib-baal (Mephibosheth) still survived (2 S $9^{1ff.}$). This son of his most intimate friend could all the more safely be spared by David, as his bodily condition made him of little account in a warlike age, and precluded the possibility of his proving a dangerous rival. From 2 S 4^{4} we learn that in the hurried flight of Saul's household, when tidings came of the defeat at Gilboa, M., who was then five years old, sustained such injuries through a fall, that he became permanently lame. Since his uncle Ishbosheth's death, he had been living in concealment at Lo-debar to the E. of the Jordan. It was probably not without trepidation that he obeyed the summons to court, and, in answer to David's promises of protection and favour, he could only reply with true Oriental self-depreciation, 'What is thy servant that thou shouldest look upon such a dead dog as I am?' (2 S 9^{8}). As a pledge of the sincerity of his promises, the king restored to Jonathan's son all the personal estates of Saul, Ziba being appointed to administer these for the benefit of M., who was himself maintained as a permanent guest at the king's table (2 S 9^{13}). This latter arrangement commended itself from the point of view both of friendship and of policy.

The next mention of M. is during the troublous period when, in consequence of Absalom's rebellion, David had to abandon Jerusalem. At the Mount of Olives the king was met by Ziba, who brought a couple of asses laden with bread, bunches of raisins, cakes of dried fruit, and wine, which he offered for the use of the royal household. In answer to the question, 'Where is thy master?' Ziba declared that M. had preferred to remain in Jerus. in the hope that the kingdom of Saul would be restored to him. It was an unlikely story, for M. had surely less to expect from Absalom than from David; yet it served its purpose, and the crafty Ziba had the satisfaction of hearing David say, 'Behold, thine is all that pertaineth to M.' (2 S 16^{4}). When David returned to Jerus. after the defeat and death of Absalom, M. came to congratulate him; and being met with the stern question, 'Wherefore wentest thou not with me, M.?' proceeded to exculpate himself and to accuse Ziba of fraud. David's flight, he alleged, had occasioned him the acutest grief, and in token of mourning he had not trimmed his beard nor washed his feet or his clothes from the time the king left his capital till he returned to it. Nay, he had intended to accompany his benefactor, but Ziba had taken advantage of his helplessness, and, instead of saddling an ass for him to ride after David, had gone and basely calumniated him to the king. David's answer seems a strange one, 'Why speakest thou any more of thy matters? I say, thou and Ziba divide the land.' It would seem as if he only half believed M., or at least despaired of reaching the truth. Ziba might have been faithful to David, simply because he felt sure of being on the winning side; but at all events he had been faithful, and the king felt in no mood to reproach him. The easiest way was to compromise the matter, leaving the steward and the master each in possession of half the profits of Saul's estates. A strange way of doing justice from a European but not from an Oriental point of view! M., who always makes a favourable impression upon us, and who seems to have inherited the warm heart and generous disposition of his father Jonathan, replied, 'Yea, let him take all, forasmuch as my lord the king is come in peace unto his own house' (2 S 19^{30}).

According to 2 S 9^{12} Mephibosheth had a son named Mica (מִיכָא), from whom seems to have sprung a family afterwards well known in Israel (1 Ch 8^{35} 9^{41} [מִיכָה, Micah]).

2. One of the sons of Rizpah handed over by David to the Gibeonites for execution (2 S 21^{8}).

J. A. SELBIE.

MERAB (מֵרַב; 1 S 14^{49} B Μερόβ, A omits; 1 S $18^{17.19}$ B omits, A Μερόβ).—The elder daughter of Saul. According to the later of the two documents in 1 S, Saul promised his daughter to the slayer of Goliath (1 S 17^{25}). This promise, however, was afterwards ignored, and Saul is represented as trying to bring about David's destruction by offering him Merab's hand as a reward for his military services against the Philistines (1 S 18^{17}). But, though David successfully carried out the task which the king had set him, Saul failed to keep his promise, and Merab became the wife of Adriel the Meholathite. In the earlier document nothing is known of this incident in connexion with Merab, but only of the affection of Michal, Saul's second daughter, for David. In 2 S 21^{8} *Michal* is clearly a mistake for *Merab*, whose five sons were delivered by David into the hands of the Gibeonites, by whom they were slain and 'hanged before the Lord.' See, further, art. MICHAL. J. F. STENNING.

---

[*] See Gray, *Heb. Proper Names*, p. 200, n. 3, and Kittel (in *SBOT*) on 1 Ch 8^{34}, who both hold that מְרִי בַעַל ('man *or* hero of Baal') is the original form, Kittel offering as an alternative rendering 'my lord is Baal' (cf. *CIS* i. 111). On the other hand, Nestle (*Eigennamen*, p. 120 f.) adopts the form מְרִיב בַּעַל. The change of מְרִי into מְפִי (besides that of בַּעַל into בֹּשֶׁת) was probably intended still further to disguise the original form of the name, מְפִיבֹשֶׁת being probably taken to mean 'one who scatters *or* disperses shame' (Driver, *Heb. Text of Sam.* p. 195).

MERAIAH (מְרָיָה; B Μαρεά, A Μαριά).—The representative of the priestly house of Seraiah in the days of Joiakim, Neh 12^{12}.

MERAIOTH (מְרָיוֹת).—**1.** Son of Ahitub and father of Zadok, 1 Ch 9^{11} (B Μαρμώθ, A Μαριώθ), Neh 11^{11} (AB Μαριώθ). **2.** A Levite, or a Levitical family name, 1 Ch $6^{6f.}$ [Heb. $5^{32f.}$] ^{52} [Heb. ^{37}], Ezr 7^{3}. In the first two of these passages B has Μαρειήλ, A Μαραιώθ and Μεραώθ, in the third B has Μαρερώθ, A Μαραιώθ. This Meraioth is called in 1 Es 8^{2} **Memeroth** and in 2 Es 1^{2} **Marimoth**. **3.** A priestly house which was represented by Helkai in the days of Joiakim, Neh 12^{15} (B ℵ* A om.; $ℵ^{c.a}$ Μαριώθ) = **Meremoth** (which see) of v.^{3}.

MERARI (מְרָרִי, Μεραρ(ε)ί) **1.** is known to us only from P and the Chronicler. According to these writers he was the third of the three sons of Levi (Ex 6^{16}, Nu 3^{17}, 1 Ch $6^{1.16}$ 23^{6}), and accompanied Jacob into Egypt (Gn 46^{11}). He had two sons, Mahli and Mushi (Ex 6^{19}, Nu 3^{20}, 1 Ch $6^{19.29}$). Nothing further is related of Merari personally, but of the fortunes of his descendants we have fuller particulars. Their history falls into three periods—(1) the wilderness wanderings, and the settlement in Canaan; (2) the monarchy; (3) after the Exile.

(1) At the time of the census taken by Moses in the wilderness of Sinai the Merarites were divided into two families, the Mahlites and the Mushites (Nu 3^{33}). The whole number of males from a month old was 6200 (3^{34}), and between 30 and 50 years of age 3200 (4^{42-45}). Their position in the camp was on the side of the tabernacle northward, and their chief at this time was Zuriel the son of Abihail (3^{35}). The office assigned to them was the carrying of the less important parts of the tabernacle —boards, pins, cords, etc. ($3^{36.37}$ $4^{31.32}$ 10^{17}). In this they were to be superintended by Ithamar the son of Aaron (4^{33}), and four waggons and eight oxen were given to them for transit purposes (7^{8}). The two families of Merarites are mentioned in the account of the second census taken by Moses and Eleazar in the plains of Moab by the Jordan, when the whole number of the Levites was 23,000 ($26^{57.58}$). After the settlement in Pal., 12 cities out of the territories of Reuben, Gad, and Zebulun were assigned to them (Jos $21^{7.34-40}$ [P] = 1 Ch $6^{63.77-81}$).

(2) In the reign of David, as narrated by the Chronicler, we have several references to the Merarites. The Merarite family of Jeduthun (= Ethan, 1 Ch 6^{44} 15^{17}), together with the Kohathite family of Heman and the Gershonite family of Asaph, were, according to this writer, specially set apart to administer the temple music (cf. 1 Ch 6^{31-47} $16^{41.42}$ 25^{1-7}; and see ETHAN, JEDUTHUN). Consequently at the bringing up of the ark from the house of Obed-edom into Jerus. we find that, of the 220 Merarites who are said to have been present under the leadership of Asaiah (1 Ch 15^{6}), Ethan and certain others took part in the music ($15^{17.19}$). Descendants of the two families of Mahli and Mushi are mentioned as 'heads of the fathers' houses' when David divided the Levites into courses, 1 Ch 23^{26-30}, and in 1 Ch 26^{10-19} certain Merarites are specified as doorkeepers (cf. 9^{14-23} 23^{5}). Further, in the reign of Hezekiah, Merarites are mentioned as taking part in the cleansing of the temple (2 Ch $29^{12.14}$).

(3) For the period after the Exile we have a few scattered notices of members of the family of Merarites. 1 Ch 9 = Neh 11 seems to contain a list of those who were known to be dwelling in Judæa during the period immediately after the return from captivity. In these lists occur the names of 'Shemaiah . . . of the sons of Merari' (1 Ch 9^{14} = Neh 11^{15}), and 'Obadiah or Abda . . . son of Jeduthun' (1 Ch 9^{16} = Neh 11^{17}). Lastly, when Ezra went up to Jerus. in B.C. 454 it is expressly stated that certain Merarites accompanied him (Ezr $8^{18.19}$).

The **Merarites** (הַמְּרָרִי) occur Nu 26^{57}, elsewhere called 'the sons of Merari,' Ex 6^{19}, Nu 3^{20} $4^{29.33.42.45}$ 7^{8} 10^{17}, 1 Ch $6^{19.29.44.63.77}$ 9^{14} $15^{6.17}$ 23^{21} 24^{27} 26^{19}, 2 Ch 29^{12}, Ezr 8^{19}; or 'the children of Merari,' Jos $21^{7.34.40}$. For their history see above.

2. The father of Judith (Jth 8^{1} 16^{7}).

W. C. ALLEN.

MERATHAIM (מְרָתַיִם) is given as a proper name by both AV and RV in Jer 50^{21} 'Go up against the land of Merathaim' (AVm '*or* of the rebels,' RVm '*i.e.* double rebellion'). The term is an enigmatical one, possibly suggested (Del. *Parad.* 182) by Bab. *Marrâtim*, the land by the *nar Marrâtu*, or 'bitter river' (Persian Gulf) = S. Babylonia, and adapted so as to recall to a Heb. ear either 'double rebellion' (מְרִיָתַיִם) or 'double bitterness' (מְרָתַיִם). The LXX (B) πικρῶς ἐπίβηθι ἐπ' αὐτήν (27^{21}) connects מְרָתַיִם with the root meaning 'bitter.'

J. A. SELBIE.

MERCHANDISE, MERCHANTMAN.—The word merchandise (from Old Fr. *marchandise*, a merchant's wares), somewhat archaic now, is used in AV in two senses, one of which is quite obsolete. 1. The first meaning is goods, wares, any object of commerce, as Rev 18^{11} 'The merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn over her; for no man buyeth their merchandise any more' (τὸν γόμον αὐτῶν, RVm 'their cargo'). Defoe, *Crusoe*, p. 535 'He confess'd, he said, it was not a Place for Merchants, except that at some certain Times they had a kind of a Fair there, when the merchants from Japan came over to buy the Chinese Merchandizes.' 2. But the word was also used for 'traffic' in goods, and even for 'gain' from such traffic: so Pr 3^{14} 'The merchandise of it [wisdom] is better than the merchandise of silver, and the gain thereof than fine gold' (טוֹב סַחְרָהּ מִסְּחַר־כָּסֶף). Cf. Shaks. *Merch. of Venice*, III. i. 134—'Were he out of Venice, I can make what merchandise I will.'

Merchantman is in AV simply 'merchant,' Gn 37^{28}, 1 K 10^{15}, Mt 13^{45}. Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 500, says, 'The craftsman or merchantman teacheth his prentice to lie, and to utter his wares with lying and forswearing.' J. HASTINGS.

MERCURY.—The trⁿ of Ἑρμῆς, Ac 14^{12}, for which the rendering 'Hermes' of RVm is preferable. The Romans in many cases transferred the attributes and functions of the Greek deities to their own. Thus Mercury (from *merx* = merchandise), the god of commerce and profit, was identified with the Greek Hermes, the patron of good luck. One of the many functions of the latter was that of messenger and spokesman of the gods. Hence the word ἑρμηνεύς = an interpreter ('interpres Divom,' Verg. *Æn.* iv. 356). He was also regarded as the inventor of speech and the god of eloquence. When Paul and Barnabas had healed the cripple at Lystra, the inhabitants in their gratitude wished to sacrifice to them as gods, and they called the former Hermes because he took the lead in speaking. C. H. PRICHARD.

MERCY, MERCIFUL.—These words have somewhat changed in meaning since 1611. As the next article will show, they do not in AV express pardon, they denote compassion. Thus He 2^{17} 'Wherefore in all things it behoved him to be made like unto his brethren, that he might be a merciful and faithful high priest in things pertaining to God, to make reconciliation for the sins of the people' (ἐλεήμων = pitiful, Vulg. *misericors*); Mt 5^7 'Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy' (οἱ ἐλεήμονες . . . ἐλεηθήσονται, Vulg. *misericordes . . . misericordiam consequentur*); Lk 10^{37} 'which now of these three, thinkest thou, was neighbour unto him that felle among the thieves? And he said, He that shewed mercy on him' (Ὁ ποιήσας τὸ ἔλεος μετ' αὐτοῦ); Sir 29^1 'He that is merciful will lend unto his neighbour' (ὁ ποιῶν ἔλεος). Cf. Shaks. *Othello*, V. ii. 86—

> 'Not dead? not yet quite dead?
> I that am cruel am yet merciful;
> I would not have thee linger in thy pain.'

Merch. of Venice, IV. i. 6—

> 'Uncapable of pity, void and empty,
> From any dram of mercy.'

Pity is the oldest meaning of the word, which, it is now generally allowed, comes from Lat. *mercedem*, 'pay,' 'reward.' In Low Latin *mercedem* meant 'pity'; in French it expressed the 'thanks' of one who receives reward or consideration; taken into English, it seems to have been associated with 'amerce' and to have denoted the pay or penalty due for transgression, as 'to be in grievous mercie of the king' (Statute of Henry VI.), *i.e.* 'to be in hazard of a great penaltie,' as Minshew explains. Then to 'cry mercy' is to beg off a penalty, and, that being granted, the sense of pardon and of the grace that pardons successively developed. Thus 'pity,' found in the word as it came from Low Latin, was obscured through the association with 'amerce,' and restored by the natural use of the word.

In Ps 117^2 119^{76} חֶסֶד is translated 'merciful kindness.' The translation comes from Coverdale. RV gives 'mercy' in the first passage, 'lovingkindness' in the second; Amer. RV prefers 'lovingkindness' in both.

'Tender mercies' is a frequent tr., esp. in the Psalter, of רַחֲמִים 'bowels' (as the seat of compassion), 'pity.' This tr. is from the Gen. Bible, and is retained in RV. In Ph 1^8 2^1 RV turns 'bowels' of AV into 'tender mercies' (Gr. σπλάγχνα, which is the LXX tr. of רַחֲמִים in Pr 12^{10}). See BOWELS.

The form **mercifulness** occurs in Sir 40^{17} 'Mercifulness endureth for ever' (ἐλεημοσύνη, RV 'almsgiving'). Cf. Matt. Bible, Notes to Dt 22 'This law wyll no more but that in dealyng mercifullye with beastes we shoulde lerne mercifulnesse unto oure neighboures.' J. HASTINGS.

MERCY.—I. OLD TESTAMENT.—'Mercy' is used in AV to translate the following:—**1.** חֶסֶד *ḥeṣedh*, LXX usually ἔλεος (see below on NT), Vulg. usually *misericordia*; the translation 'mercy' is sometimes retained by RV, sometimes replaced by 'lovingkindness'; also AV 'merciful-kindness' (Ps 117^2), and often 'loving-kindness.' The Hithpael of the cognate verb is rendered by LXX ὁσιωθήσῃ, Vulg. *sanctus eris*, EV 'show thyself merciful'; the adj. חָסִיד *ḥāṣîdh*, by LXX usually ὅσιος, Vulg. *sanctus*, EV 'saint,' 'holy (one),' 'godly,' and RV of Ps 145^{17} 'gracious.' There are no English words to which *ḥeṣedh* and *ḥāṣîdh* are exactly equivalent. *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* renders *ḥeṣedh* by 'goodness,' 'kindness'; and *ḥāṣîdh*, 'as denoting active practice of חֶסֶד,' by 'kind,' 'pious.' G. A. Smith renders חֶסֶד by 'leal love,' and explains that it 'means always not merely an affection, "loving-kindness" . . . but a relation loyally observed' (*Book of the Twelve Prophets*, i. 243 n.). That *ḥeṣedh* includes these two qualities of *kindly affection* and of *loyalty* is shown by the fact that it is coupled with and used as a parallel to *raḥămîm* (see below), Ps 77^9 103^4, on the one hand, and to *'ĕmeth*, 'fidelity,' Ps 25^{10} 26^3, and *bĕrîth*, 'covenant,' Dt 7^9, on the other. *Ḥeṣedh* is used of man towards man, *e.g.* between David and Jonathan and his house, 1 S $20^{14\text{f.}}$; of Israel towards Jehovah, Hos $6^{4.\,6}$; but chiefly of Jehovah towards His people. *Ḥāṣîdh* is almost always—only two exceptions, Jer 3^{12}, Ps 145^{17}, of God—used of men, probably as exercising *ḥeṣedh* (so *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*). Its application to God is in favour of this view rather than that of 'object of God's *ḥeṣedh*.' *Ḥāṣîdh* became specialized in the sense of pious towards God, hence the versions.

2. רַחֲמִים *raḥămîm*, lit. 'bowels,' so fig. 'tender affection,' 'compassion'; LXX ἔλεος, οἰκτιρμοί, etc.; Vulg. *misericordia(æ)*, *miseratio*, etc.; also translated in EV 'compassion.' The adj. רַחוּם *raḥûm* is rendered: LXX οἰκτίρμων, etc.; Vulg. *misericors*, etc.; EV 'merciful,' 'full of compassion.' Corresponding translations are given of the Piel of the verb רחם. These are used of man towards man, and of God towards man.

3. The verb חנן *ḥnn*, 'to show favour,' 'do kindness,' of man towards man, and of God towards man, and the adj. חַנּוּן *ḥannûn*, only of God towards man, are rendered by EV 'be merciful *or* gracious,' 'show mercy,' 'have pity,' 'merciful'; by LXX ἐλεέω, οἰκτείρω, etc.; ἐλεήμων, οἰκτίρμων; by Vulg. *misereor*, etc.; *clemens*, *misericors*, etc.

4. In Gn 19^{16} 'the Lord being merciful unto him' is EV trⁿ of בְּחֶמְלַת יהוה עָלָיו. חמל here rendered 'be merciful' is 'spare,' 'have compassion' (*Oxf. Heb. Lex.*); LXX usually ἐλεέω, φείδομαι; Vulg. *misereor*, *parco*; elsewhere in EV 'have pity.' It is often parallel to חוס 'pity,' 'look upon with compassion,' *e.g.* Ezk $7^{4.\,9}$.

5. In Dt 21^8 32^{43} 'be merciful' is the translation of כִּפֶּר, here = 'clear,' 'treat as forgiven, and therefore as enjoying full favour.' In these two passages LXX has ἵλεως γενοῦ (cf. below), ἐκκαθαριεῖ, 'purge'; Vulg. *propitius esto, erit*; RV 'forgive,' 'make expiation.'

II. NEW TESTAMENT.—'Mercy, merciful, to be merciful, to show mercy,' etc., are used in EV to translate the following:—**1.** ἔλεος, ἐλεήμων, ἐλεέω, 'to be pitiful, compassionate.' These terms are used both of God and man, and are not applied with any special frequency to God; so that in NT ἔλεος is a divine attribute, but no special emphasis is laid upon it. Its most common use with reference to God is in the salutation χάρις, ἔλεος, εἰρήνη in the Pastoral Epistles (1 Ti 1^2, 2 Ti 1^2, Tit 1^4) and in 2 Jn ^{3}; cf. Jude ^{2}.

2. οἰκτιρμοί, οἰκτίρμων, 'compassion, -ate,' not common, but chiefly applied to God, Ro 12^1, 2 Co 1^3, Lk 6^{36}, Ja 5^{11}.

3. ἵλεως, 'forgiving,' He 8^{12}; ἱλάσκομαι, 'be propitiated, forgive'; ἀνίλεως, 'not forgiving' (AV 'without mercy'), Ja 2^{13}.

Thus the chief OT terms which AV, and in a measure RV, translate most unsuitably by 'mercy,' ascribe to God the following attributes: (*a*) tender compassion, *raḥămîm*, etc., for man's misery and helplessness; (*b*) a disposition to deal kindly and generously with man, *ḥanan*, etc.; (*c*) the divine affection and fidelity to man, on which man may confidently rely, as he would on the loyalty of his tribe or family, *ḥeṣedh*. Though these terms may include the ordinary sense of 'mercy,' the 'sparing of a wrongdoer,' and the context sometimes shows that they do include this meaning, the terms themselves do not suggest it. Hence the use of the word 'mercy' to translate them, represents

God in the OT as occupied with the position of man as a criminal, a rebel, and an enemy, to an extent entirely unwarranted by the original. Cf. Driver, *Sermons on OT*, 220 ff., also *Par. Psalt.* 443 f., 447, and see preceding article.

The NT use of the corresponding terms is neither frequent nor characteristic, and is only a faint reflexion of OT teaching. The great ideas represented in OT by *raḥămîm*, *ḥanan*, *ḥeṣedh*, and their cognates, are mostly expressed in NT by other terms than ἔλεος, οἰκτιρμοί, etc. One might almost say that *ḥeṣedh* covers the whole ground of χάρις, ἔλεος, εἰρήνη (but see Hort on 1 P 1^{2}), and implies the NT doctrine of the Divine Fatherhood.

The subject of 'mercy,' in its usual sense of 'That benevolence, mildness, or tenderness of heart which disposes a person to overlook injuries or to treat an offender better than he deserves,' is treated under ATONEMENT and FORGIVENESS. The qualities dealt with here are those which moved God to provide an atonement, but they describe God's attitude to man, as man, and do not, except OT, 5, of themselves call attention to man's sin.

W. H. BENNETT.

MERCY-SEAT.—See TABERNACLE.

MERED (מֶרֶד; B Πῶραδ, A Μῶραδ, Luc. Βάραδ).—A Judahite, 1 Ch 4^{17}. See BITHIAH.

MERES (מֶרֶס *Mares*, LXX om.).—One of the seven princes and counsellors of Ahasuerus (Est 1^{14}); cf. ADMATHA. With this name and with Marsena, Benfey (see Ges. *Thes.*) compares Sansk. *mârsha*, Zend. *meresh*='writing.'

MERIBAH (מְרִיבָה 'strife').—The word occurs by itself Ex 17^{7}, Ps 95^{8}, and in both places Massah (which see) is also mentioned. Massah is rendered by LXX Πειρασμός, Vulg. *Tentatio*, in both; Meribah of Ex 17^{7} by LXX Λοιδόρησις, but omitted in Vulg.; Meribah of Ps 95^{7} by LXX παραπικρασμῷ, Vulg. *irritatione*, RV 'as at Meribah as in the day of Massah,' AV 'in the provocation as in the day of temptation' [these are the only two places where Massah and Meribah occur. Massah occurs with 'waters of Meribah' Dt 33^{8}, and by itself twice Dt 6^{16} 9^{22}]. The expression 'waters of Meribah' is more common, occurring Nu $20^{13.24}$, Dt 33^{8}, Ps 81^{7} [Heb. 8] 106^{32}. Meribah is in LXX ἀντιλογίας in all these places except Nu 20^{24}, which has λοιδορίας; Vulg. has *Contradictionis* in all; RV has in these passages uniformly 'waters of Meribah,' while AV has 'waters of strife' in Ps 106^{32}.

A fuller expression is מֵי מְרִיבַת קָדֵשׁ in Nu 27^{14}, Dt 32^{51}. LXX and Vulg. render as in Nu 20^{13}, RV has 'waters of Meribah of Kadesh,' while AV has 'Meribah in Kadesh' in Nu and 'Meribah-kadesh' in Dt. Besides these passages in which reference is made by name to the waters which flowed from the rock when smitten by Moses, many others mention the providing water from the stony rock without detail of name or place, *e.g.* Dt 8^{15}, Ps $78^{15.20}$ 105^{41} 114^{8}, Is 48^{21}.

According to Nu 20^{2-13} the children of Israel, finding no water at Kadesh, in the desert of Zin, *strove* with Moses (both in v.^{3} and v.^{13} RV has 'strove,' while AV by putting 'chode' in v.^{3} obscures the double reference to *strife* which exists in the original). The LORD commands Moses, 'Take the rod . . . and speak ye unto the rock before their eyes, that it give forth its water'; but Moses struck the rock with his rod, and water came forth abundantly. Then follows the sentence of prohibition: 'ye shall not bring this assembly into the land which I have given them.' The carrying out of this sentence in the case of Aaron is related in Nu 20^{23-29}, in the case of Moses in Nu 27^{12-14}, Dt 32^{49-52} (see above for the words employed in these passages).

Another account is also given (Ex 17^{1-7}) of water flowing from the rock when smitten by Moses. The language is very similar to that of Nu 20, and in points of detail there is a marked resemblance between the two narratives. In this account stress is laid (v.^{2}) on 'tempting' (*i.e.*, in the old sense of the word, *proving*) as well as 'striving,' and in v.^{7} two names are given to the place, MASSAH ('temptation,' *i.e. proving*) because the children of Israel 'tempted' the Lord, and Meribah ('chiding *or* strife') because of the 'striving' of the children of Israel (in both verses AV has 'chide' for 'strive' as in Nu 20^{3}). Other passages referring to these events are given at the beginning of this article, from which it appears that Massah by itself is mentioned twice, Massah with Meribah twice, and in Dt 33^{8} mention is made of Massah and the waters of Meribah in connexion with Levi, and the verse apparently refers to an incident not recorded in Ex 17 or Nu 20.

A comparison of these two narratives (those in Ex 17 and Nu 20) suggests many difficult questions. Kuenen was not prepared with an answer, and abstained from expressing a decisive opinion (*Hexateuch*, § 6 n. 42, p. 101, Wicksteed's translation). Cornill (in *ZATW*, 1891, p. 20 ff.) discusses these narratives at length, and submits them to a searching analysis, arriving at results which are in the main adopted by Bacon (*Triple Tradition*) in his notes on these passages.

There appear to be two alternatives: (*a*) the narratives in question are different versions of the same occurrence which has been assigned to different periods in the journeyings of the children of Israel; or (*b*) an account of occurrences at a place to which the name of Massah was given (mainly preserved in Ex 17^{1-7} and there called Rephidim), and another account of occurrences at Meribah (preserved but with considerable modifications in Nu 20^{1-13}, and these connected with Kadesh) existed at one time as independent narratives; but details have been transferred from the one account to the other in the process of compilation, perhaps the addition of Meribah and the idea of strife to the narrative of Ex 17.

From Nu 20 it is difficult to understand clearly wherein the sin of Moses and Aaron is supposed to have consisted. According to 20^{24} 27^{14} it is described as *rebelling* against the word of the LORD. The waters of Meribah receive their name because the children of Israel *strove* with the LORD, and on this occasion the words assigned to Moses are 'Hear now, ye *rebels*.' May Moses and Aaron on this occasion have shown themselves unworthy of their position as leaders, and in some way joined in the strife? Then a reason for their heavy punishment would be apparent, while reverence for the great leader may suggest a further reason why the narrative appears in its present form.

In art. EXODUS, ROUTE OF (§ iv.), some reasons have been given for ascribing to the events recorded in Nu 20^{1-21} an earlier date than that usually given to them. They may be noted here, as (whatever weight they may have) they reduce the interval between Massah and Meribah.

A note on Dt 33^{2} should find a place here. According to RV, 'He shined forth from Paran, and came *from the ten thousands of holy ones* [m. holiness].' AV has 'with' for 'from,' which is not defensible. The rendering in italics arouses suspicion. After mention of Seir, Paran, we might expect the name of some place; and as the words which follow ('At his right hand was a fiery law') are certainly corrupt, it is probable that emendation is needed here also. A slight modification of the text would give 'and came *to Meribath-kadesh*,' an emendation which has found much favour.

The manner in which the words 'strife' and 'temptation' and the corresponding verbs are used in the passages already quoted, invites comment. In Ex 17^{2}, Nu 20^{3} the people strove with Moses, but in Nu 20^{13} they strove with the LORD, in Ex $17^{2.7}$ they 'tempt' the LORD. But in Dt 33^{8} another view of the relation between God and His people is represented: 'whom thou didst *prove* at Massah, and with whom thou didst *strive* at the waters of Meribah.' The word *prove* is the same word as that rendered *tempt*, and occurs in Gn 22^1 ('God did *tempt* [RV prove] Abraham'). The same thought is found in Ex 15^{25} ('there he made for them a statute and an ordinance, and there he *proved* them'). Whether in the first part of this passage there is any connexion between *mishpat* and Meribah-Kadesh may be questioned (but note that a cause in judgment is רִיב, and Kadesh is En-mishpat), but that the latter clause contains the idea underlying Massah is clear.

This double view of the wilderness history is found also in the Psalms. Ps 81^7 has '*I tried thee* at the waters of Meribah,' Ps 95^9 has 'when *your fathers proved me, tried me*' . . . In these two places the Heb. for *try* is בחן. The above may serve to illustrate the fulness of the religious teaching which may be derived from the Pentateuchal narrative.

Meriboth-kadesh.—'The waters of Meriboth-kadesh' are given in Ezk 47^{19}, and 'the waters of Meribath-kadesh' in 48^{28}, as a southern limit to the land. The difference between the singular and plural in the two passages seems strange, and the LXX renderings Μαριμὼθ Καδήμ (47^{19}), Βαριμὼθ Καδῆς (48^{28}), which suggest the plural in both verses, are to be preferred. Note the interchange of β and μ. In 48^{28} QΓ have Μαριμώθ. AV has 'the waters of strife in Kadesh' in both places.

Here is a clear reference to the events recorded in the Pentateuch, but it is doubtful whether the inference may be drawn that a place bearing the name of Meriboth-kadesh was known to the prophet or his contemporaries. A. T. CHAPMAN.

MERIBBAAL.—See MEPHIBOSHETH.

MERIBOTH-KADESH.—See MERIBAH.

MERODACH (מְרֹדָךְ).—A Bab.-Assyr. deity mentioned as a separate name but once in OT (Jer 50 [Gr. $27]^2$), B Μαιωδάχ, ℵAQ Μεωδάχ. The Bab. pronunciation of the name was *Mar-u-duk*. Its signification is still uncertain, though its Bab. origin is strongly maintained (cf. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 228; Jensen, *Kosmologie der Babylonier*, 242 ff.). On the side of astronomy M. is identified with Jupiter, of the Romans. In the earlier Bab. history he occupies a seat on the same platform with Anu, Bel, Ea, Nergal, etc. But in later times he occupied a position of pre-eminence, particularly as the patron deity of the city of Babylon. In Jeremiah's reference he seems to be one of the two chief gods of Babylon. In his inscriptions, Nebuchadrezzar speaks of Merodach (*Mar-duk*) as 'the great lord,' 'the exalted governor,' 'king of the heavens and the earth,' 'the supreme god'; Assurbanipal speaks of him as 'king of gods'; Nabonidus (Cyl.) calls him 'Lord of the gods'; and (Stele) speaks of the king of Assyria as having wrought the ruin of the land by M.'s wrath. The many hints in later Bab. literature of his importance show that he was held to be the supreme god, the source of power, and of all the blessings which showered upon mankind. At the fall of Babylon, Merodach receives the profoundest reverence from Cyrus, the victor. For his relation to Nebo see the art. NEBO. Under the name Bêl he was worshipped among the Mandæans. His name forms an important element in many late proper names of Babylonia, *e.g.* Merodach-baladan and Evil-Merodach, as well as in some of an earlier date, *e.g.* *Marduk-adin-aḫi* of 17th cent. B.C. For his possible connexion with the story of Esther see art. MORDECAI.

LITERATURE (additional).—Schrader, *COT* ii. 115 ff., *Assyr.-Bab. Keilinschrif.* p. 129; Hommel, *Gesch. Bab.-Assyr.* p. 778, n. 1; Tiele, *Bab.-Assyr. Geschichte*, p. 531 f.; Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 88; Winckler, *Geschichte Bab.-Assyr.* p. 34 f.; Baudissin, *PRE* ii. 35 ff.; Jeremias, Alf., art. 'Marduk' in Roscher's *Ausfuhr. Lex. der Gr. u. Röm. Myth.*; Jastrow, *Religion of Bab. and Assyria.* IRA M. PRICE.

MERODACH-BALADAN (מְראֹדַךְ בַּלְאֲדָן, Μαρωδὰχ Βαλαδάν), Is 39^1; misspelt (in MT, but not in LXX, BA having Μαρωδάχ [Βαλαδάν]) **Berodach-b.** in 2 K 20^{12}.—In Assyr. the name is written Marduk-bal-iddina, and means 'Merodach has given a son.' Merodach-baladan was the hereditary prince of the Kaldâ or Chaldæans, who inhabited the marshes at the mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates. The inscriptions call him the son of Yagina; but this may signify that Yagina was a more remote ancestor. In 2 K he is made the son of Baladan: this would be the abbreviated form of some name, the first element of which was the name of a deity. In the troublous period which followed the death of Shalmaneser IV. before Samaria, B.C. 722, M. possessed himself of Babylonia, and was crowned king at Babylon (B.C. 721). After a few years, however, Sargon of Assyria found himself sufficiently strong to think of reconquering Babylonia, which had been annexed to Assyria by Tiglath-pileser III. M. accordingly looked for allies, and in B.C. 711 sent an embassy to the West, where the vassal-princes were disposed to throw off their allegiance to the Assyrian king. Judah with the Philistine cities, and Edom and Moab, entered into the alliance, and Egypt promised help. It was on this occasion that Hezekiah boastfully showed the Bab. envoys the material resources which he could bring to the alliance (2 K 20^{12-19}, Is 39).* Before the allies were ready to move, however, the army of Sargon had descended on Palestine, and severely punished Ashdod, which had been the centre of disaffection. Judah, Edom, and Moab thereupon submitted, and the Assyr. king was free to turn to Babylonia. M. vainly sought aid from the Elamites, who were defeated by the Assyrians before they could come to his help, and he accordingly fled from Babylon, which was entered by Sargon, B.C. 709. After being proclaimed king there, Sargon pursued M. to Bit-Yakin, the capital of the Kaldâ in the marshes, which he captured along with its prince.

M. afterwards recovered his freedom, and in B.C. 702, after the death of Sargon, he returned to Babylon, and reigned there a second time for about six months; though the Annalistic Tablet seems to imply that this M. was not identical with the Kaldâ prince (as it calls him 'an Assyrian soldier'). At any rate, the usurper was overthrown by Sennacherib at Kish, and Bel-ibni was made king of Babylon by the Assyrians. For some time M. defended himself in the marshes; but after a time, growing weary of the struggle, he embarked for the eastern shore of the Persian Gulf, with his followers and gods, and settled in the Elamite city of Nagitu. To this retreat, in B.C. 695, he was pursued by Sennacherib, who stormed the Chaldæan colony. M. himself seems to have been already dead, but at a subsequent date we hear of his son Nebo-sum-iskun assisting the Elamites in a war against the Assyrians.

A. H. SAYCE.

MEROM, THE WATERS OF (מֵי־מֵרוֹם, τὸ ὕδωρ Μαρρών or Μερρών), where Joshua overthrew the confederation of the northern kings, are commonly identified with the highest of the three lakes in the Jordan Valley, now called *Baḥeiret el-Ḥuleh*, 'the little lake of *el-Ḥuleh.*' The *height* of the waters here relatively to those of the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea possibly accounts for the name מֵי־מֵרוֹם used by the ancient historian (Jos $11^{5.7}$). Several of the places mentioned in the chapter have been identified with tolerable certainty, *e.g.* Hazor and Achshaph; while Mizpah, from the position assigned to it, must have lain immediately to the north of *el-Ḥuleh.* The open land in the neighbourhood of *'Ain el-Mellâḥa* would therefore afford an excellent rallying-ground for the hosts assembling for one supreme effort to stay the progress of the victorious invaders.

---

* So Driver, *Isaiah*^{2}, 14, 45, 49; Skinner, *Isaiah*, vol. i. p. 283; Tiele, *Bab.-Assyr. Gesch.* (1888), p. 349; *et al.* On the other hand, Schrader, *KAT*^{2} p. 344 [*COT* ii. 28], prefers to date the visit of Merodach-baladan's envoys *c.* 704 B.C.; so also W. R. Smith, *Proph. of Isr.* p. 318—at a time, however, when he was *not* king of Babylonia.

No absolute proof of this identification can be offered, and certain objections have been raised, none of which, however, is insuperable. (1) The word *mê* [constr. of *mayîm*, 'waters'] is nowhere else applied to such a large body of standing water; in such cases the term *yām* ('sea') is commonly employed. Too much may easily be made of this objection, which, being only of a negative character, must give way to more positive considerations. (2) Josephus places the camp of the kings at *Beroth* in Upper Galilee, and makes no mention of waters. Here, therefore, we are told the scene of the battle must be sought, and not in the Jordan lowlands (Socin's note in Schumacher's *Jaulân*, 102). Josephus says (*Ant.* V. i. 18) that Beroth was 'not far from Kadesh': this fixes the locality, Kadesh lying on the heights west of the valley. But the battle was not necessarily fought at the spot where the camp stood. Long afterwards, in this same district, Demetrius pitched his camp at Kadesh, and fought Jonathan in the plain below (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. v. 7). Why should not the kings have followed a similar course? (3) By giving battle in this plain the kings would have exposed themselves to grave peril in the event of defeat, since it is so hemmed in by hills and marshes as to make escape extremely difficult; immense natural barriers lying especially between it and great Zidon, towards which a great part of the routed army fled (Jos 11^8). In reply to this, it may be pointed out that for the evolutions of the chariots on which the Canaanites so much relied, there was no ground anywhere near so suitable as the comparatively easy downs south of *'Ain el-Mellâḥa.* To secure this advantage, they were doubtless willing to take some risk. It should also be remembered that the Canaanites were at home amid the intricacies of mountain and marsh, of which their pursuers were largely ignorant. In their flight to great Zidon, the fugitives would probably follow the course of the ordinary route from *Baniâs* to the sea, and familiarity with these wild uplands would greatly facilitate their efforts to escape.

Baḥeiret el-Ḥuleh is a pear-shaped basin, pointing southward, and having a distinct bulge to the north-west. It lies 7 ft. above the level of the Mediterranean, and is from 10 ft. to 16 ft. in depth. Its greatest breadth is about 3 miles, and its length from the edge of the marshes to the exit of the Jordan is 3½ to 4 miles. Measurements vary somewhat with the amount of rainfall and the condition of the muddy banks. The N. limit is especially ill defined, as the waters of the upper Jordan, forcing their way in different channels through the swamp, are constantly changing the line. Owing to the formation at the southern end, the lake might be drained or enlarged with almost equal ease. Probably it was once much larger than it is now (*HGHL* p. 481, note). To the means taken for this extension, possibly Muḳaddasi (A.D. 985) refers in the following sentence: 'In order to form the lake they have built a wonderful embankment of masonry along the river, confining its waters to its bed' (Le Strange, *Pal. under the Moslems*, 68). The floor of the valley northward is one vast morass, varying in breadth from 2 to 3 miles. From the chief source of the Jordan at *Tell el-Ḳâḍi* to the lake, a distance of 11 miles, there is a fall of 498 ft. Towards the lower end the marshes are covered with papyrus-reeds (Arab. *babîr*), and through them in dark sluggish lanes the waters from the north make their way into the lake. The whole place is literally alive with wild fowl, ranging in size from the pelican to the tiny but gay-plumaged kingfisher; and the water is plentifully stocked with fish (see JORDAN). All the waters from the S.W. of Hermon, and as far north as *Hasbeiyeh*, from *Merj A'yûn*, and from the western slopes south of the *Litâny*, are carried down into *el-Ḥuleh.* A few miles above the lake on the west side of the valley there is a copious spring, *'Ain el-Balāṭa.* Almost due west is the much larger *'Ain el-Mellâḥa*, which turns a mill and sends a broad stream across the plain. Possibly misled by this name, Burckhardt gave currency to the statement that the S.W. shore of the lake was covered by a saline (Arab. *mallâḥah*) crust (*Travels*, 316). There is no trace of salt here or elsewhere in the valley.

The uplands of Naphtali drop almost precipitously on the west edge of the plain. On the east the mountains descend from a greater height, but much more gradually, approaching almost to the water's edge. From the lake northward the land is called *Arḍ el-Ḥuleh*; southward it is known as *Arḍ el-Khaiṭ.*

The Waters of Merom appear no more in history under that name; but of the lake and the district under different appellations we have frequent notices. It figures as the lake of Semechonitis in Jos. *Ant.* V. v. 1 (cf. Jg 4^2). Here, in the 'plain of Hazor,' or 'Asor,' Jonathan defeated Demetrius (*Ant.* XIII. v. 7; 1 Mac 11^{67}). When Zenodorus died, Cæsar bestowed his country, lying between Trachon and Galilee, upon Herod. It contained Ulatha and Paneas, and the country round about (*Ant.* XV. x. 3; *BJ* I. xx. 4). Οὐλάθα here is evidently equivalent to *Ḥuleh*, and to ימא דחולתא of the Talmud (Neubauer, *Géog. du Talmud*, 24, 27 ff.; *HGHL* 481^1, note), and it is applied in accordance with subsequent usage to the district as well as the lake. Josephus gives a brief description of the place in *BJ* III. x. 7, IV. i. 1. Seleucia, which he mentions, is *Selûkîyeh*, about 9 miles S.E. of the lake, while Daphne corresponds with *Difneh*, near *Tell el-Ḳâḍi.* The Arab geographers speak of the lake now as *Baḥairah Ḳadas* and anon as *Baḥairah Bâniyas*, from its proximity to each of these strongholds; but the name *el-Ḥuleh* constantly asserts itself as applying to both lake and district (Le Strange, *Pal. under the Moslems*, 52, 68, 32, etc.). To the district also Bohâ ed-Dîn refers (*Life of Saladîn*, *PEF* tr., p. 155).

The highway from the south and from the west by way of Safed keeps close to the hills on the western edge of the plain, to escape the marshes. It crosses the vale in the north past *Tell el-Ḳâḍi* to *Baniâs*, and thence to Damascus.

The land is occupied to-day by the *Ghawârineh* Arabs, 'the dwellers in the *Ghôr.*' The herds of buffaloes that find congenial haunts in the marshes are their chief care. They also till the soil, which still justifies its ancient reputation for fertility (Muḳaddasi, A.D. 985; Yakût, A.D. 1225). Their other occupations are hunting and fishing, and making mats, etc., of the reeds from the marshes. Of these also many of their fragile houses are built. The women, however, do the most of this work.

LITERATURE.—Stanley, *SP* 390 ff.; Thomson, *Land and Book*, ii. 450 ff.; Smith, *HGHL* 481; Schumacher, *The Jaulân*, 102;

Macgregor, *Rob Roy on the Jordan*; Guy Le Strange, *Pal. under the Moslems*, 32, 34, 39, 52, 68, 455; Robinson, *BRP* ii. 435, iii. 392–395; *SWP Mem.* i. 205, Map Sheet iv.; Buhl, *GAP* 113, 234 (doubts the identification with *el-Ḥuleh*); Dillm. on Jos 11^{5}.

W. Ewing.

MERONOTHITE.—1. Jehdeiah 'the Meronothite' (הַמֵּרֹנֹתִי) was over the asses of king David, 1 Ch 27^{30} (B ὁ ἐκ Μεραθών, A —Μαραθών). 2. Jadon 'the Meronothite' assisted in repairing the wall of Jerusalem, Neh 3^{7}. No place of the name of *Meronoth* is mentioned in OT, but from the context of Neh 3^{7} it would appear to have been in the neighbourhood of Gibeon and Mizpah.

MEROZ (מֵרוֹז; B Μηρώζ, A Μαζώρ, Luc. Μαρώρ; Vulg. *Meroz*) is nowhere mentioned in Scripture except in the Song of Deborah (Jg 5^{23}), whose curse, like that of the Saviour on Chorazin, has alone preserved it from oblivion. The bitterness of the curse against Meroz can be accounted for only by some special aggravation of its offence. Of Reuben, Dan, and Asher, who also played an ignoble part, the language of the song, although satirical, is restrained. But with what impetuous fury it bursts forth—

> 'Curse ye Meroz, said the angel of the Lord,
> Curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof;
> Because they came not to the help of the Lord,
> To the help of the Lord against the mighty.'

This may have been because of their nearness to the field of battle, while the others were far away. If the surrounding country were in a fever of excitement because of the presence of the hostile forces, and the grave issues depending on the coming conflict, the appeal to their patriotism was strengthened unspeakably. If, within sound of the strife when their heroic kinsmen of Zebulun and Naphtali closed in deadly struggle with the oppressor, the men of Meroz skulked, sullen and craven, behind their walls, we can understand why the hot heart of the prophetess overflowed upon them in a flood of corrosive rhetoric.

There is but one site in the neighbourhood with any reminiscence of the ancient name to which these conditions could apply. This is *el-Murussus*, about 5 miles N.W. of *Beisân*, and 9 miles E. of Jezreel, on the northern slopes of the vale which runs down from Esdraelon to the Jordan, between Little Hermon and Gilboa. Built entirely of mud, the modern village stands on rising ground, in the midst of plough land. For water it is dependent on the stream below, in *Wady Yebla*.

Another suggestion (Moore, *Judges*, pp. 135, 163) is that Meroz was a hamlet in the line of Sisera's flight, 'whose Israelitish inhabitants suffered him to escape,' thus proving traitors to their country's cause, and earning the fierce reproaches of Deborah. Sisera fled 'to the tent of Jael the wife of Heber the Kenite' (Jg 4^{17}), who had pitched his tent by the terebinth of Betsa'anim by Kedesh. Identifying Kedesh with the ruined *Ḳadish* W. of the Sea of Galilee, and Betsa'anim with *Khirbet Bessûm* (Conder, *Tent-Work in Pal.* 69; Smith, *HGHL*^{1} 396), the direct road from the battlefield would have been round the base of Tabor, and across the head of *Wādy esh-Sherrâr*. But as this way was probably barred by the Israelites, whose army descended from Tabor, Sisera would most likely rush down the valley of Jezreel, skirting the southern terraces of Little Hermon. In his endeavours to elude pursuit he may easily have approached *el-Murussus* before turning northward. This site, therefore, meets the requirements of either case; and Moore is not justified in saying that all proposed identifications 'may safely be dismissed' (*Judges*, p. 162).

Literature.—Guérin, *Galilée*, i. 127; Smith, *HGHL*^{1} pp. 395, 396; Conder, *Tent-Work in Pal.* pp. 58, 59; Robinson, *BRP* ii. 356; *SWP Mem.* ii. 85; Moore, *Judges*, pp. 135, 162; Henderson, *Palestine*, p. 107; Douglas, *Judges*, p. 38.

W. Ewing.

MERRAN (Μερράν, Syr. מורת, Vet. Lat. b. *Myrrhœ*).—Found only in Bar 3^{23} 'the merchants of Merran and Teman.' Grotius identified it with מְעָרָה, a town of Sidonia, Jos 13^{4}; Hävernick, with Moarrah, a Syrian city; Fritzsche, with the sterile Arabian desert Mahrah; and Keil, with Maranc, a city placed by Pliny near the Red Sea, in the country of the Sabæans. It is decidedly preferable with Kneucker and Ball to suppose that there has been a misreading of ר for ד in the Semitic original from which our Greek text was taken, and that we should read 'the merchants of *Medan* (or *Midian*) and Teman.' The doubled ρ is no obstacle to this, since we have Σαρρά for שָׂרָה. In favour of it we may cite Gn 37^{28}, where Midianites are called 'merchants,' and Hab 3$^{3.7}$, where Teman and Midian are named in connexion.

J. T. Marshall.

MESALOTH (Μεσσαλώθ, Μαισαλώθ), 1 Mac 9^{2}.—Probably representing מְסִלּוֹת 'steps' or 'ascents' (?), referring to the plateau near Arbela, W. of the Sea of Galilee.

C. R. Conder.

MESHA.—1. (מֵישָׁא) Son of Shaharaim, a Benjaminite, whom his wife Hodesh bare in the land of Moab (1 Ch 8^{9}). LXX reads, A Μωσά, B Μισά; Vulg. *Mosa*. The two latter readings seem to have been based on an original מוֹשָׁא. 2. (מֵישַׁע) Firstborn of Caleb (1 Ch 2^{42}). He became the father of Ziph, possibly the founder of the Ziphites. LXX reads Μαρισά, and the Vulg. *Mesa*; Kittel (in Haupt's *OT*) follows the LXX, reading מָרֵשָׁה, which he thinks is to be expected from the context.

3. Mesha (מֵישַׁע, Μωσά), a king of Moab, who was a sheep-master, and was tributary to Ahab, king of Israel. Upon the death of the latter and the accession of his son Ahaziah, Mesha rebelled and refused to pay his annual tax of 'an hundred thousand lambs and an hundred thousand rams *with* the wool' (2 K 3$^{4.5}$). The people of Mesha had fallen before the arms of David (2 S 8^{2}), and in all probability remained subjects of Solomon till the division of the kingdom. The infection of rebellion at that period probably seized the Moabites, and they, in common with other extra-Israelitish subjects of the united kingdom, struck for independence and secured it. The tenor of the record on the Moabite Stone (wh. see) favours this supposition. It also informs us that the subjection of Moab, which Mesha threw off, was due to the prowess and power of Omri, the founder of the 4th Dynasty of Israel. After forty years of yoke-bearing, Mesha's god, Chemosh, delivered him from Israel, in the middle of the reign of Omri's son. This appears to imply that the secession (2 K 1^{1}) occurred, not at the death of Ahab, but in the middle of his reign (see 'Moabite Stone' in art. Moab). At any rate this rebellion cut off valuable revenues from Israel's exchequer, and Jehoram, Ahab's son, who came to the throne after the two years' reign of his brother Ahaziah (1 K 22^{51}, 2 K 1^{17}), aspired to re-conquer the rebels. With Jehoshaphat of Judah and his army, and the Edomites of Mt. Seir, Jehoram and Israel marched against the seceders. Upon the counsel of the prophet Elisha, the encamped armies dug trenches to catch the water necessary to slake thirst. Led on by an illusion (2 K 3$^{22-24}$), the Moabite army recklessly rushed into the enemies' camp, only to be routed, cut to pieces, trodden down, and dismayed. The few escaped ones entered Kir-hareseth, and the combined armies destroyed the land with stones, stopped cisterns and fountains, felled the forests, and beleaguered the fortress. With 700 warriors the king of Moab attempted to break through

the ranks of the besiegers. But utterly failing in this he went to the top of the wall, and, in full view of the armies of Judah, Israel, and Edom, he propitiated the wrath of Chemosh by offering up as a burnt-offering his firstborn, the heir-apparent to the throne. Thereupon the three armies withdrew, leaving Mesha master of the situation, though routed, and his land greatly damaged (2 K 3^{27}).

4. Mesha (מֵשָׁא) was the name of one of the limit-points of the territory ascribed to the descendants of Joktan in Gn 10^{30}. 'And their dwelling was from מֵשָׁא as thou goest toward Sephar, the mountain of the East.' It is plain that it must be sought for in the Arabian peninsula. The earlier views are amply presented by Gesenius (*Thesaurus*, p. 823), who concludes by finding the location at the E. boundary of *Mesene*, not far from the mouth of the Tigris river. Pliny, Ptolemy, Arrian, and others mention a seaport Μοῦσα or Μοῦζα, a celebrated place in classic times, which is now in ruins. Pullen, in his surveys in the Admiralty chart of the Red Sea, cites, at 13° 40′ N. lat., 43° 20′ E. long., a mountain called *Jebel Mousa*. Delitzsch (*Paradies*, p. 242 f.) identifies מֵשָׁא with the Bab.-Assyr. term *Maš*, which is the name attached to the district of the Syrian-Arabian desert touching the Lower Euphrates on the S.W. (LXX reads, A Μασσηε, E Μανασσή). The territory of the Joktanites is fairly well determined, from the language and monuments of S. Arabia, to be in the S.W. portion of that peninsula, extending from modern Yemen on the W. to Ḥaḍramaut on the E. The latest and perhaps the most authoritative statements on the location of this hard-to-find locality are made by that successful explorer of Arabia, Eduard Glaser. In vol. ii. of his recent work (*Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, Berlin, 1890, pp. 336 ff., 420 f., 437) we find his results presented. In W. Central Arabia he found a *Maciya* near Jebel Samar, which he identifies with the biblical Massa. He even goes further and asserts (p. 420) that the biblical Mash, מַשׁ (Gn 10^{23}), Mesha מֵשָׁא (Gn 10^{30}), and Massa מַשָּׂא (Gn 25^{14}) are found in one and the same territory, the difference in spelling being due merely to the different sources or times from which the names reach us. Sephar he locates only in the S. part of Arabia, hence he looks for Mesha at the other limit (Gn 10^{30}) in the north. The most northern Joktanide group (*Ôphîr*, *Ḥawîlah*, *Jôbab*, *Uzal*, and *Diḳlah*) is bounded by a line drawn obliquely from the northern end of the Persian Gulf across Arabia to Medina. Such a line would touch the territory of *Djebel Šamar* (p. 437), and in particular the district of Massâ. Thus, in a word, Glaser concludes that *Jebel Šamar* and its Westland, already identified with Maš, and inclusive of Massâ, also encloses within it the biblical Mesha of Gn 10^{30}.

IRA M. PRICE.

MESHACH (מֵישַׁךְ; LXX and Theod. Μ(ε)ισάχ; Vulg. *Misach*).—The name Mishael, by which one of Daniel's three companions, of the children of Judah, was originally called, was changed by the prince of the eunuchs into *Meshach* (Dn 1^{7} and ch. 3). Such changes of name were not uncommon: they marked the fact that a new state of life had now begun. In the present instance there is no idea of dishonour or humiliation.

Many conjectures have been put forward with respect to the origin of the word. Fuerst dragged in the Sansk. *mêshah*='a ram,' and afterwards the name of the sun-god of the Chaldæans. Ges. was favourably inclined towards the Pers. *miz shah*='friend of the king.' Another suggestion connected it with the Accadian *mas*, a protecting genius, who stood at the head of the demi-gods, and is described in the old magical books as having his abode on the top of the mountains, and protecting all who seek refuge with him. Frd. Delitzsch's proposal to consider it identical with *Mi-sha-Aku* is rightly rejected by Schrader (*COT* ii. 126), who points out that the correct form would have been *Mannu-ki-Aku*. The fact is that no name such as this has been found in the inscriptions; and when we look at the word itself, it gives us the impression that it was formed partly by imitation of the first part of Mishael, and partly out of the companion name Shadrach.

J. TAYLOR.

MESHECH (מֶשֶׁךְ, Sam. מושך, Μοσόχ).—Son of Japheth, Gn 10^{2}=1 Ch 1^{5}. This nation is regularly mentioned in company with Tubal (Ps 120^{5} is the only exception), and in the two names the Moschi and Tibareni 'are scarcely to be mistaken' (Lagarde, *Ges. Abh.* 254). The vocalization of the LXX agrees with that of the Assyrian inscriptions, in which a country called *Muski* or *Mushki* is of frequent occurrence. The passages in those inscriptions which treat of the inhabitants of that country are collected by Frd. Delitzsch (*Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 250), and these, with the other notices of them to be found in ancient writers, are discussed by Lenormant (*Les Origines de l'Histoire*, II. ii. pp. 181–249). An individual named Meshak is known only to Moses of Khorene (Venice, 1865, p. 32), according to whom such a person was left by Aram as governor of the region called Armenia I., who built there a city called by his own name, but mispronounced *Mazhak* by the people of the country. The first mention of the nation is in an inscription of Tiglath-pileser I. (*c.* 1100 B.C.; *WAI* i. pl. 9, 60 ff., translated by Lotz, *Die Inschriften Tiglath-pilesers*, p. 16, and Winckler, *KIB* i. p. 19), where it is stated that in the first year of that monarch's reign 20,000 Moschians with their five kings, after having occupied the lands of Alzi and Purukuzzu for 50 years, came down and took possession of Kummukhu. The last place has been identified with Commagene; and Alzi with Anzitene, mentioned by Ptolemy (v. 13. 18) as a district between the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates. Tiglath-pileser went out to meet them, traversed a region called Kashuyara, and defeated them with great slaughter. They are next mentioned in an inscription of king Asshur-nasir-abal (*WAI* i. 18; translated in *KIB* i. 65) about 220 years later, who professes to have received tribute of the Moschi and Commagenians, consisting of 'bowls of brass, sheep, and wine,' in which the first item agrees curiously with the 'vessels of brass' which, according to Ezk 27^{13}, were supplied by 'Tubal and Meshech' to Tyre. Their power had become formidable by the time of Sargon (B.C. 722–705), in whose annals the Moschian king Mita plays an important part (Winckler, *Die Keilschriftexte Sargons*, pp. xxiv–xxxix); from 715 this king appears as a formidable enemy of Assyria, who makes common cause with Rusa of Urartu, seizes cities in Cilicia, and otherwise supports Sargon's enemies. The fortresses of Usi, Usilu, and Uargin are built in 712 to protect the new province of Kammanu against him (*ib.* p. 33, l. 192). Not till 709 is Mita forced to make peace with the Assyrian king, owing to an invasion of his territory by one of the latter's lieutenants (*ib.* p. 128, ll. 151–153). The Moschi do not, however, appear in the lists of tributaries of the later Assyrian kings, though in Persian times they figure in the 19th Satrapy of Darius (Herod. iii. 94). In chs. 37 and 38 Ezekiel mentions them among the allies of Gog, king of Magog, but in $32^{26.\ 27}$ he reckons them among the great departed. It is probable, therefore, that the Israelites knew of their fame only at second-hand, and hence Ezekiel would not be clear as to whether the nation still existed or not. It is not, however, known at whose hands they lost their independence.

Their geographical position probably varied somewhat with the vicissitudes of their fortune, but can be generally fixed by the historical references in the inscriptions, where it is approached through Kummukh, and has for its neighbours Tubal to the south and Kammanu to the west, and where it is reduced by the governor of Kui (Cilicia). In Græco-Roman times the nation that bore their name is represented as much farther north, between the Cyrus and the Phasis (cf. Strabo, xi. 2. §§ 14, 16); Hecatæus placed them next to the Matieni (Steph. Byz. *s.v.*). Too little is known of their language and customs to make it possible to locate them ethnographically.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

MESHELEMIAH (מְשֶׁלֶמְיָה and מְשֶׁלֶמְיָהוּ). — The eponym of a family of Korahite doorkeepers, 1 Ch 9^{21} (B Μασαλαμί, A Μοσολλάμ), 26^{1} (B Μοσολαήλ, A Μοσολλάμ), ^{2} (B Μοσαλημά, A Μασελλαμιά), ^{9} (B Μοσομαμειδ, A Μεσολλεμιά) = **Shelemiah** of 26^{14}, **Shallum** of 9$^{17.\,19.\,31}$, and **Meshullam** of Neh 12^{25}.

MESHEZABEL (מְשֵׁיזַבְאֵל).—**1.** One of those who assisted to repair the wall, Neh 3^{4} (B om. ; ℵ Μασεζεβηά, A Μασεζειήλ). **2.** One of those who sealed the covenant, Neh 10^{21} (B Μεσωζεβήλ). **3.** The father of Pethahiah, who was at the king's hand in all matters concerning the people, Neh 11^{24} (B Βασηζά, ℵ$^{c.a}$ Βασηζαβεήλ). It is quite probable that all three references are to the same individual or family.

MESHILLEMITH (מְשִׁלֵּמִית).—A priest, 1 Ch 9^{12} (B Μασελμώθ, A Μοσολλαμώθ), called in Neh 11^{13} **Meshillemoth** (wh. see).

MESHILLEMOTH (מְשִׁלֵּמוֹת).—**1.** An Ephraimite, 2 Ch 28^{12} (Μοσολαμώθ). **2.** A priest, Neh 11^{13} (AB om. ; ℵ$^{c.a}$ Μασαλαμίθ), called in 1 Ch 9^{12} **Meshillemith** (wh. see).

MESHULLAM (מְשֻׁלָּם perh. 'the devoted one,' cognate with Arab. *Muslim*, cf. Del. and G. A. Smith on Is 42^{19}, LXX Μοσολλάμ, Μοσολάομος, Μεσουλάμ, etc.).—A common OT pr. name. **1. 2. 3.** Three Benjamites (1 Ch 8^{17} 9$^{7.\,8}$). **4.** A Gadite (1 Ch 5^{13}). **5.** The grandfather of Shaphan the scribe (2 K 22^{3}). **6.** The father of Hilkiah the priest (1 Ch 9^{11}). **7.** Another priest of the same family as the preceding (1 Ch 9^{12}). **8.** A Kohathite, one of the superintendents appointed by Josiah to direct the repairs on the temple (2 Ch 34^{12}). **9.** A son of Zerubbabel (1 Ch 3^{19}). **10.** One of the 'chief men' whose services were enlisted by Ezra to procure Levites to accompany him to Jerusalem (Ezr 8^{16}). **11.** A Levite who opposed Ezra's proceedings in connexion with the foreign marriages (Ezr 10^{15}). **12.** One of those who had married foreign wives (Ezr 10^{29}). **13.** Son of Berechiah, one of those who helped to repair the walls of Jerusalem (Neh 3$^{4.\,30}$). His daughter was married to Tobiah (6^{18}). **14.** Son of Besodeiah. He helped to repair the old gate (Neh 3^{6}). **15.** One of the company that stood at Ezra's left hand during the reading of the law (Neh 8^{4}). **16. 17.** A priest and a chief of the people who sealed the covenant (Neh 10$^{7.\,20}$). **18.** One of the princes of Judah who marched in procession at the dedication of the walls of Jerusalem (Neh 12^{33}). **19. 20. 21.** Two heads of priestly houses and a porter in the time of the high priest Joiakim (Neh 12$^{13.\,16.\,25}$).

MESHULLEMETH (מְשֻׁלֶּמֶת, Luc. and B Μεσολλάμ, A Μασσαλαμείθ, Vulg. *Messalemeth*, Jer. *de interpr. Messalem*).—Wife of king Manasseh and mother of Amon (2 K 21^{19}). Her father's name (Haruz) and her birthplace (Jotbah) are both given. Similarly in the case of all the queen-mothers who follow, but of none who precede, Meshullemeth. If the formula 'daughter of X from (the locality) Z' is due to a preference of the compiler, it may be an indication of the farthest point of time to which he was independent of his main source, in virtue of oral tradition, etc. But the change of style may have occurred in the main source itself. The name is a feminine form of the frequent masculine Meshullam (cf. LXX B and Luc). It is a passive in MT, but Jerome (Lag. *Onom. Sac.*^{2} p. 77) gives the active meaning *reddens* as an alternative to the passive *reddita* (cf. the spellings of LXX A and Vulg.).

W. B. STEVENSON.

MESOPOTAMIA.—See ARAM.

MESS.—A mess is a viand, a dish, properly a dish of food *sent* to the table. It comes from Old Fr. *mes* (of which the mod. form *mets* is due, says Skeat, to a wish to show the connexion with *mettre*), which is formed from Lat. *missum* 'sent.' Cf. More, *Richard III.* p. 46, 'My Lord you have very good strawberries at your gardayne in Holberne, I require you let us have a messe of them.' Shaks. uses the word often, thus *Lear*, I. i. 119—

> 'He that makes his generation messes
> To gorge his appetite.'

Fuller, *Holy State*, p. 283, says, 'How often did reverend Whitgift (knowing he had the farre better cheere) send a messe of meat from his own table to the Ministers of Geneva?'

The word מַשְׂאֵת *mas'êth* (from נָשָׂא to 'lift up') is translated 'mess' in Gn 43$^{34 bis}$, 2 S 11^{8}. Mess occurs also in Sir 30^{18} 'Delicates poured upon a mouth shut up are as messes of meat set upon a grave' (Gr. θέματα [from τίθημι to place] βρωμάτων). And RV introduces the word into He 12^{16} 'Esau, who for one mess of meat sold his own birthright' (ἀντὶ βρώσεως μιᾶς, lit. 'for one eating,' *i.e.* one meal: 'mease of meat' is the tr. of the Great [Cranmer's] Bible; it is echoed by Shaks. in *Merry Wives*, III. i. 63—'I had as lief you would tell me of a mess of porridge.' The tr. of the Rhem. NT is 'a dish of meate'; the AV 'morsel of meat' comes from the Bishops' Bible). J. HASTINGS.

MESSENGER.—The Heb. word מַלְאָךְ *mal'āk* means a messenger, and is so translated about 100 times in AV. It is used of messengers both public and private, both Satanic and Divine. But so frequently does the word designate a messenger from God that it assumes the special meaning of 'angel.' In LXX it is nearly always translated by ἄγγελος (exceptions are, *e.g.*, Nu 21^{21} 22^{5}, Dt 2^{26}, all in plu. πρέσβεις; Jos 6^{25} οἱ κατασκοπεύσαντες; 1 S 25^{42} παῖδες); but this word ἄγγελος is rendered 'messenger' in AV in Mt 11^{10}, Mk 1^{2}, Lk 7$^{24.\,27}$ 9^{52}, 2 Co 12^{7}, Ja 2^{25}, where it is evident that human messengers are spoken of; in 2 Co 12^{7} St. Paul calls his thorn in the flesh 'a messenger of Satan to buffet me' (ἄγγελος σατανᾶ ἵνα με κολαφίζῃ). It is rarely doubtful whether the meaning is 'messenger' in the original sense, or 'angel' in the derived or restricted sense. Only once does RV change 'messenger' into 'angel,' Job 33^{23}, and *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* says that there the 'angel' of RV is too specific; the reference is to 'a messenger from God acting as an interpreter and declaring what is right' (RVm has 'messenger'). Only once * is a prophet directly called a messenger of God (מַלְאָךְ, ἄγγελος), Haggai (1^{13}), but the name MALACHI (wh. see) is 'my messenger,' and Malachi uses the title not only of himself, of the priest as God's messenger carrying the law of the LORD to the people (2^{7}), of the Forerunner of the Messiah (3^{1}), but even of the Messiah Himself (3^{1}, AV and RV 'messenger,' RVm 'angel'). See art. ANGEL.

---

* Unless Nu 20^{16} refers to Moses, which is not probable; RV keeps AV tr. 'angel.'

Other words tr^{d} 'messenger' are self-evident, but it may be pointed out that in NT ἀπόστολος 'apostle,' lit. 'one sent out,' is twice rendered 'messenger,' 2 Co 8^{23}, Ph 2^{25}. See APOSTLE.

J. HASTINGS.

MESSIAH.—

Introduction.
- i. Jewish Messianic belief.
  - 1. Outlines of its history.
    - (*a*) 'Messianic' expectations prior to or independent of the notion of a unique personal Deliverer.
    - (*b*) Hopes attached to the House of David.
    - (*c*) Early Evidence of Expectation of Messiah.
    - (*d*) Jewish beliefs as reflected in the Gospels.
    - (*e*) Evidence of Apocalyptic literature.
  - 2. Discussion of special points.
    - (*a*) The Messiah as Prophet.
    - (*b*) The Suffering Messiah.
    - (*c*) The 'Son of Man'—Dn 7—Messiah's pre-existence.
- ii. The Christian transformation.
  - Jesus the true Prophet—the Servant of Jehovah—suffering and death the way to triumph—the kingly office of Jesus—His heavenly priesthood—His relationship to God.
  - The argument from prophecy still valid.

Literature.

In approaching this subject, it seems important to distinguish between the *historical* and the *theological* points of view from which it may be regarded, and to vindicate the rights of both. There is a danger that a sense, derived from Christian faith, of the purpose and the fulfilment of the hope of the Messiah may somewhat interfere with the accuracy of our view of the course of its history. The Messianic expectation was formed under the influence of the fundamental beliefs and the national experiences of the Israelite people, interpreted first by the prophets and subsequently by more ordinary religious reflexion and speculation. In a historical study we must be careful not to attribute greater distinctness or scope to the expectation at any epoch than had then been attained. The actual genesis and connexion of ideas must, so far as possible, be observed; and elements of the final conception, which existed first as separate thoughts and did not affect the process of development during its earlier stages, must be treated as separate till the time when they were in reality combined with the main body of doctrine. On the other hand, in the endeavour to appreciate the true lessons of the history, to understand aright the meaning of the facts, considerations are in place and are necessary, which are, properly speaking, theological—such, namely, as furnish the ground for, or are connected with, our belief in the Moral Government of the world and the Divine plan for man's Redemption, and determine our estimate both of the Christian Faith and of the OT dispensation, and of their relation to one another.

It will be our aim in this art. (i.) to trace the origin and growth of the Messianic beliefs of the Jews, and then more briefly (ii.) to mark the character and extent of the change which these beliefs underwent in the Christian Church, and its results as to the interpretation of OT prophecy.

i. JEWISH MESSIANIC BELIEF.—1. *Outlines of its history.*—(*a*) We shall be mainly concerned with the expectation of a personal deliverer. But it is impossible to place this in a right light, if we do not view it in connexion with the belief, as a whole, which the Jews had in the future blessings assured to them. From the conviction that they were the chosen people of Jehovah, and that He would be faithful to His covenant made with them, there arose in times of common distress and of exile the confidence taught by the prophets, and which sustained the most pious and best part of the nation, that their national life, after it had been purified by the punishment of sinners and the discipline of the godly, would be restored, that they would obtain complete victory over their enemies, and that God would bestow upon them such glory and peace and well-being as would surpass all that had been realized in the happiest preceding times, and would satisfy perfectly all the longings of their hearts. These hopes existed before the expectation of a unique person who was to come—the Messiah—had been formed. This is exemplified by the Book of Zephaniah, the whole of which is occupied with a vision of the great day of the Lord's vengeance on the sinners in Israel and destruction of the surrounding nations, and the subsequent happiness of Zion, while yet the figure of Messiah does not appear at all. Again, there were periods in which, or portions of the Jewish world where, the expectation of a coming King seems to have fallen into abeyance, though the more comprehensive hope for Israel and Zion was still vigorous. This is exemplified by the Apocrypha and the writings of Philo. Nevertheless, these different forms of expectation had their roots in beliefs which were closely connected. This whole body of expectation may therefore not unfitly be, as it often is, called 'Messianic.' The importance of those originally simple anticipations, to which we have referred, will further appear when it is observed that out of them, and out of the imagery in which they were expressed, grew in time the elaborate and mysterious doctrines concerning the millennium, the final judgment, the world to come, and other last things (cf. ESCHATOLOGY in vol. i.).

(*b*) We come now more definitely to the history of the idea of the Messiah. God had not only made a special covenant with Israel, but with David and his descendants as its royal house (2 S 7^{8-17}, Ps 89^{19-37}). To the days of David and Solomon, especially, after-generations looked back as furnishing a pledge for the future. It is the renewed glory of the house of David, and the reunion of all the tribes under it, that Amos, for instance ($9^{11ff.}$), and Hosea (3^{5}) foretell, not the coming of the Messiah. Again, it is on the restoration of a succession of kings, not on one pre-eminent king, of David's line, that Jeremiah dwells (17^{25} 22^{4} $33^{15.17}$). In some prophecies, however (Is 7^{14-16} $9^{6.7}$ 11, Mic 4. 5), attention is concentrated upon a single descendant of David; and the language used respecting him, taken by itself, would seem clearly to imply the conception of the Messiah, strictly so called. Any remaining doubt whether it did so is suggested by the absence of confirmatory language, and even the contrary representations, in other nearly contemporary, or later, prophets. Unquestionably, however, the image of the king who, in accordance with God's covenant with David, stood in a peculiar relation to Jehovah ('I will be his father, and he shall be my son'), who reigned by His appointment, in His name, and by His power, who would do all God's will, whose rule should be one of absolute righteousness, who would compel all men to honour the God of Israel and bestow on His people perfect peace and happiness for ever, contained the essential characteristics of the idea of the Messiah, as that name came to be commonly understood among Jews. At most it was only necessary besides that the conception should be firmly apprehended, that it should be fixed in language, and become clearly recognizable.

(*c*) We proceed to examine the early evidence of the expectation of the Messiah as a unique personality, and in particular of the use of the title 'the Messiah' ('the Christ') as the distinctive name for such a one.

In order to understand the significance of the application of the name Messiah in the special manner which has become so familiar, we must glance at the use of the word in OT. The ceremony of anointing was used in making priests and prophets, as well as kings, and מָשִׁיחַ (LXX χριστός), 'anointed,' is a few times applied to the first of these as an adjective (Lv $4^{5.16}$ 6^{22}, 2 Mac 1^{10}). But as a substantive, 'the Lord's anointed,' 'Mine anointed,' 'Thine anointed,' it is used only of kings. A possible exception to this is the use of the plural to designate the Jewish people as a whole (?), at Ps 105^{15} (1 Ch 16^{22}), Hab 3^{13}, although even in these passages the reference may be to the king. It is employed of the king, in contrast with the priest, even at 1 S 2^{35}. The title is repeatedly given to Saul (1 S 12^{3} etc.); but it acquired a far fuller meaning when used of David and his descendants, by reason of God's covenant with him (Ps 2^{2} 18^{50} etc.). Its transference to Cyrus (Is 45^{1}) does but illustrate its primary force. See, further, art. ANOINTING.

At Dn 9^{24-26} we possibly have the word used in that which has come to be its distinctive sense. If so, it is the earliest instance of this.

In the next oldest works which have to be noticed, as probably giving indications of the expectation of the Messiah, the title is not used; but this is explicable from the oracular, apocalyptic character of the writings in question, which favours an allusive or symbolical mode of speech. In the most ancient portion of the *Sibylline Oracles* (iii. l. 97 to l. 807, or according to some critics a little more), composed about B.C. 140, we have (l. 652 ff.) a description of a king whom God should send, who can hardly be other than the Messiah. Again, in one of the older sections of the Book of Enoch, the *Vision of Seventy Shepherds*, which probably belongs to the reign of John Hyrcanus (B.C. 135–106) [in art. ENOCH, vol. i. p. 707, it is placed somewhat earlier], and in which the history and destiny of the Chosen People are symbolically represented, the white bullock, it is generally allowed, denotes the Messiah. Another portion of the Book of Enoch, the so-called *Book of Parables*, should be considered at this point, if the period assigned for its composition in art. ENOCH, *ib.*, is adopted, and if the chronological order ought to be strictly adhered to. But critics differ widely in respect to its date. The supposed historical allusions in it are of very uncertain import. Even on this ground it would be well to reserve it for separate treatment, when the course of the history of the Messianic Hope, so far as it may be determined by means of evidence of more unquestionable character, has been reviewed as a whole. But there is still stronger reason for doing this. The Messianic doctrine of this book is, by common admission, unlike in important particulars to that found in any other Jewish document. Whatever, therefore, the time and circumstances of its origin may have been, it seems certain that it did not exercise any general influence.

We pass to the *Psalms of Solomon*, which contain full and clear evidence of the idea of the Messiah and also (Ps-Sol 17^{36} $18^{6.8}$) of the use of the title. These psalms were most probably written by one author, and within no very wide limits of time. They contain allusions which can best be explained if the taking of Jerusalem by Pompey (B.C. 63) was still recent when some of them were composed. Though we possess them only in Greek, they were evidently written originally in Hebrew, and there is every reason to regard them as Palestinian. Pss 17 and 18 are some of the most important passages in all Jewish literature in connexion with the history of the Messianic Hope. Their thought and language are moulded on the portions of OT which celebrate God's covenant with David. Another fragment of the *Sibylline Oracles*, which is probably of a little later date than the *Psalms of Solomon*, contains an allusion to the Messiah (*Or. Sib.* iii. 46–50).

The comparative scantiness of the indications which we possess of the expectation of the Messiah in the last two or three centuries B.C. cannot be wholly explained by our want of knowledge of the period. The silence of the Apocrypha has already been referred to. The truth would seem to be that, in part owing to changed political circumstances, in part also to a deeper cause, a movement of religious feeling, the hope of the restoration of the Davidic monarchy, after it had slumbered for a while, re-awoke gradually, and in some parts of the Jewish world more decidedly than in others, and especially so in Palestine, during the last cent. and a half B.C., and that as it did so, a unique and ideal character was attributed to the person and mission of the expected king, such as had not before been, commonly at least, associated with any looked-for occupant of the throne. The fact itself that he would be separated by so long an interval of time from all his predecessors contributed to this, and in addition a deepened sense of the magnitude of the events in connexion with which he would appear, and in which he would bear a part, had begun to enhance the idea of his greatness.

The chief elements in this early conception of the Messiah have become apparent in tracing its history, but it will be well to mark them carefully before proceeding further. He will be a descendant of David; Son of David comes to be used of him as a special appellation (first in Ps-Sol 17^{23}, in the Gospels Mt 9^{27} etc., and commonly in Rabbinic literature). He will be the ideal king, whose mind and action shall be in entire accord with the will of God, who will be God's true representative upon earth, in whose days and through whom God will make good all His promises, and who will lead all men to honour the God of Israel and to respect Israel as God's people. The relation of the Messiah to the actual inauguration of this happy state of things cannot be precisely determined. It is clearly an exaggeration to say with Castelli (*Il Messia secondo gli Ebrei*, p. 164) and Dalman (*Worte Jesu*, p. 242) that the Messiah is never according to the original conception himself the deliverer, but only the king of the people after God has wrought deliverance. The writer of Ps 2, and those who took their ideas from it (*e.g.* Ps-Sol 17^{24}), manifestly attributed the subjugation of the enemies of God to the agency of the Messiah. It was also evidently possible for writers who contemplated this to use language implying that the deliverance was God's work. The part taken by supernatural and by human agency would be, no doubt, somewhat variously conceived by different minds; but the language of the documents is not full enough to justify us in defining the views of the several writers with exactness. At the period we are considering, thought upon this subject would be vague. Only through a process of reflexion, and when it came to be a question of harmonizing diverse representations in the prophets, would the place in the succession of events at which the Messiah would appear be determined.

(*d*) The evidence so far considered brings us down approximately to the middle of the last cent. B.C. *The Gospels* are our next important source of information. They supply us with a lifelike picture of Jewish beliefs in Palestine at the time of our Lord's ministry. We gather that the expectation of One who should come—the Messiah—was an article of faith with the masses of the Jewish people, and with the Pharisees there. In the main, their conception of him is that which has already been before us. But one or two additional traits appear. The Jews, whose discussions are reported in Jn 7^{27}, assumed that the coming of the Messiah would be unexpected and mysterious. The same idea is met with in the Talmud and Targum of the prophets, and in the mouth of Trypho in Justin (*Dial.* chs. 8 and 110). Again, we have a feature in the rôle of the Messiah corresponding rather to what is recorded of some of the greatest prophets than of the kings of old, when it is expected that he will work mighty miracles. That this was the common anticipation is implied in the answer of Jesus to John (Mt $11^{2ff.}$), and in the questionings of the Jews (Jn 7^{31}). In Rabbinic literature we find evidence to the same effect.

(*e*) The development of eschatological doctrine, which may be traced especially in *the Apocalyptic literature* (see ESCHATOLOGY in vol. i. p. 741 ff.), necessarily affected the conception of the Messiah and his office. As the order of events at the end of the world came to be more clearly defined, his work was marked out with greater precision. A more unearthly character was also imparted to him. The *Apocalypse of Baruch* and *Fourth Ezra* (see ESDRAS, SECOND BOOK OF) are important for illustrating the change. They may with confidence be pronounced to be Jewish, and there is a large amount of agreement among critics that their composition should be placed between A.D. 70 and the beginning of the 2nd cent. A.D. The calamities that are to come upon the earth are described in dark colours. In the midst of them the Messiah appears. He is said to be preserved by the Most High to the end of the days. In 4 Ezr $13^{1f.}$ he is seen as a man coming from the sea, flying with the clouds of heaven. Nevertheless just before, at 12^{32} he is referred to as 'the Anointed One of the seed of David.' We must suppose, therefore, that the author had the notion which is met with in the Rabbinic literature, that one born of David's line had been caught away from the earth and was being kept in heaven, or in Paradise, till the time should have arrived for his Advent. When he has executed vengeance on all the enemies of God, and the dispersed of Israel have been gathered together, he will reign for a long period (400 years according to 4 Ezr) in a state of peace and plenty, such as that imagined in what Christians came to call the Millennium. Then the Messiah himself and all flesh would die. After this there would be a general resurrection and judgment by the Most High, and a new world. The Messianic doctrine of the Talmud and Targum agrees as to its main outlines and character with that attained at the time we have now reached. The additional point of most interest to be considered in connexion with them is the extent to which they bear testimony to the belief that the Messiah would participate for a time in the sufferings of men. Further reference will be made to this presently.

It has sometimes been held that there existed even in pre-Christian times various types of Messianic expectation. Gfrörer (in *Jahrh. d. Heils*, 1838) formulated this theory, distinguishing them as 'the common-prophetic,' 'the Danielic,' 'the Mosaic,' and 'the Mystical-Mosaic'; and Westcott (*Introd. to Study of Gospels*, ch. ii.) countenances this idea. But it does not fairly represent the evidence of our documents. In the Enochic *Book of Parables*, indeed, to which reference has already been made, and to the doctrine of which we shall recur under the next head, we do find a different type. But, putting this on one side, the evidence, when arranged according to the times that the different portions of it most probably illustrate, sets before us a single line of orderly development. There is one root-conception which in process of time is elaborated, and in some respects changed, yet so that its original features remain recognizable throughout.

2. *Discussion of Special Points.*—There are some questions which need to be more particularly considered on account of their intrinsic importance, or the diversity of views held in regard to them, or their connexion with Christian doctrine. The first relates to an ideal other than the kingly one which was combined with it in Christian faith, but which seems in Jewish belief, at least before the Christian era, and in the main throughout, to have been kept separate.

(*a*) *The Prophet.*—In Dt 18^{15} the promise is given of 'a prophet like unto Moses'; yet if the whole context be taken into account the meaning seems to be, not so much that one supereminent prophet should be sent, but that God's people should not be left destitute of prophetic guidance. When prophecy had for a time ceased, and at a period when the expectation of a king of David's line does not seem to have flourished, religious hope was fixed upon the rise of a true prophet (1 Mac 14^{41}; cf. 4^{46} and 9^{27}). Among the Jews of the time of our Lord's ministry the return of one of the famous prophets of old (Mk $8^{27f.}$ and parallels, Mk 6^{15}), or the coming of one who was defined as 'the prophet' (Jn $1^{21.\ 25}$ 6^{14}), was awaited. But in all these passages, except Jn $6^{14ff.}$, it is evident that 'the prophet' is distinct from the Messiah; and in that place, also, there is no need to suppose an identification of, or confusion between, the two ideas. Nevertheless, some traits taken from the prophetic character seem to have found a place in the conception of the Messiah's work and office. One, the working of miracles, has been referred to already. Again, the Messiah, according to the woman of Samaria, is to be the revealer of all truth that men need to know (Jn 4^{25}). This view of the Messiah agrees with the special complexion of Messianic doctrine among the Samaritans at a later time.

(*b*) *The doctrine of a suffering Messiah.*—There are passages in the OT which teach deep lessons as to the Divine purposes that are accomplished through the sufferings of the righteous, and foreshadowings even of one pre-eminent vicarious sufferer. But, so far as we can trace the connexion of ideas in these passages and their contexts, there does not seem to have been any clear reference to the Messiah and his atoning work in the thought of the writers. The suggestion for their prophecies seems to have come either through individual experience, or (as notably in the latter half of Isaiah) from the belief that, through the afflictions which the better part of the Israelite nation was undergoing, its purification and restoration were being effected.

We desire, however, to know what the influence of these prophecies was upon Jewish Messianic belief. The true answer appears to be that for a long time they did not affect it at all, and that they never did so to any considerable degree. There is no trace of the idea that the Messiah would undergo suffering, in the extra-canonical pre-Christian literature which we have been reviewing. And the evidence supplied by the Gospels seems to show conclusively that no such belief existed among the Jews at the time of our Lord's ministry. His own disciples were totally unprepared for His announcements on the subject. And yet, if such a belief was to be found anywhere, it might be expected to be among those who were attracted by the character and teaching of

Jesus. There were differences in the spirit in which the Messiah and his times were thought of and desired. The mass of men thought chiefly of victory over their enemies and the bringing in of great material prosperity, while the truly pious dwelt on the remission of sins (Lk 1^{77}). But there is no sign of this remission being connected with the vicarious sufferings of the Messiah except in the Baptist's words (Jn $1^{29.35}$); and plainly this inspired utterance cannot be taken as evidence of Jewish belief: those who heard it do not seem to have understood it at the time. Some have held that in our Lord's time there had, through devotion to earthly ideals, been a decline, esp. in regard to the point under consideration, from a conception of the Messiah prevalent in an earlier age which had been more truly in accord with prophetic teaching (cf. Liddon, *Divinity of our Lord*, II. ii.). It would be strange if this fuller and higher doctrine had been so completely lost, as it must in that case have been. Moreover, as we have seen, this theory has no documentary support.

We pass to writings subsequent to the Christian era. The view of 4 Ezr that Messiah would die after a long and prosperous reign, at the end of this world, has evidently nothing to do with atoning suffering. Christian controversialists appear to have been equally mistaken in the meaning they have often attributed to the doctrine of two Messiahs—Ben-Joseph and Ben-David. The former is the Messiah of the ten tribes, a warlike deliverer and king. He was, it is true, to die, but only in order to make way for the union of the whole nation under Messiah Ben-David.

In the Targum of Jonathan much of Is 52^{13}–53^{12} is applied to the Messiah, but those verses which speak of the sufferings of the Servant of Jehovah are referred to the Israelite nation. And the general current of Jewish interpretation is to the same effect. There are some traces in the Talmud of the belief that the Messiah would suffer with the sufferings of his people, and that he is the subject of the whole of this prophecy; but they are rare, and are not found in the earlier portions.

A good deal of stress has been laid on the fact that Justin Martyr in his *Dialogue with Trypho* represents his Jewish interlocutor as forced to allow that the Scriptures foretell a Messiah destined to suffer (chs. 68. 89. 90). But this cannot rightly be pressed, since Justin may attribute this admission to his, perhaps partly imaginary, opponent, as a literary device for setting forth his own argument. If accepted as evidence of Jewish opinion, it could only show that some Jews a little before A.D. 150 did not feel able to resist this interpretation of prophecy when it was urged upon them by Christians.

We may observe, in taking leave of this subject, that before the historical realization in Jesus Christ, and apart from belief in Him, it must have been extremely difficult to combine the idea of suffering with the conception of the promised king derived from the representations of OT prophecy generally. It can have been possible at all only for men of unusual depth of spiritual insight and sympathy with the sorrows of their people.

(*c*) *The use of the name 'the Son of Man,' the Messianic interpretation of the vision in Dn* 7, *and the doctrine of the Messiah's pre-existence.*—The Messiah was certainly not called **'the Son of Man'** by Jews with that fulness of signification which Jesus gave to the name. The use of this title for the Messiah among Jews, if it was used by them at all, is closely associated with the interpretation of Dn 7, and the discussion of the two points may conveniently be connected.

From Jn 12^{34} it appears that the Jews were puzzled by the designation 'the Son of Man,' and that it was not with them a recognized title for the Messiah. Indeed, if it had been, the use of it by Jesus could hardly be reconciled with His course of action as a whole. We gather from the records generally, that He refrained till the very end of His ministry from claiming before the multitude to be the Messiah, and till within a few months of the close from making this claim before even the innermost circle of His disciples. Yet He repeatedly and openly designated Himself from an early period by the name 'the Son of Man.' It is true that, in connexion with this early and public use of it, He does not introduce imagery taken from, or similar to, that of the vision in Dn 7, as He does in later sayings addressed to His disciples which contain this title. From the first, however, His use of it was marked and emphatic, and such as would not have been consistent with the rest of His conduct, if it already commonly denoted the Messiah.

With respect to the vision in Dn 7 it has to be observed that he who is brought to the Ancient of Days is described not as '*the* Son of Man,' but as 'one like unto *a* son of man.' Further, the vision is accompanied by an interpretation, from which it appears that this human form represents 'the saints of the Most High' (vv.$^{18.22.27}$) in contrast with the earthly kingdoms represented by forms of beasts. Nevertheless, from the relation between the form of the vision in 4 Ezr, to which allusion has already been made, and that in Dn 7, we may clearly infer that the writer of the later Apocalypse saw a reference to the Messiah in the language of his prototype. But it should be noted that he described the Messiah not as 'the Son of Man' or as 'like unto a son of man,' but as 'like unto a man.' In Rabbinic literature, from the 2nd cent. onwards, indications of the Messianic interpretation of the vision in Dn 7 are not wanting, but they are not prominent. There is nothing in this literature to lead us to suppose that 'the Son of Man' was ever in common use as a name for the Messiah.

The employment of imagery such as that of Daniel's vision in describing the advent of the Messiah implies *his existence before his appearing*, in some extra-terrestrial region. But this view could, as we have seen, be harmonized with the belief that he would be of David's line, by supposing that a descendant of David had been first caught up from the earth, or that David himself or one of the kings of his house would reappear. And as the Davidic lineage of the Messiah was a thoroughly established dogma, and there is no reason to suppose that any doubt on the point was entertained, or would have been tolerated, in the Rabbinic schools, we must conclude that any pre-existence of the Messiah before his manifestation to men which they thought of, was only such as was consistent with a previous human birth.

Harnack indeed (*Dogmengesch.* i. 755) asserts that, as a way of representing to themselves the Divine foreknowledge, the Jews were in the habit of supposing that every important person or thing which has successively appeared or is to appear on earth has first existed in heaven, and that such a heavenly pre-existence was assumed in the case of the Messiah in accordance with this mode of thought. But G. Dalman, the chief expert in Jewish literature among recent writers, emphatically denies that this was a Jewish, or at all events a Palestinian, principle. He does not allow that the familiar instances of the heavenly prototypes of the holy city and the temple establish it (*Worte Jesu*, p. 245). We may at least say that it must be difficult for us to understand exactly and fully what such a notion imported, even where we seem to find it, and that consequently it must be rash for us to imagine it in the case of persons and objects with which it was not plainly associated. The older Rabbinism at least seems to have contented itself with the idea of the pre-existence of *the Name* of Messiah (Ps 72^{17}). (See Dalman, *ib.* p. 247).

One work there is, apparently Jewish, which is an exception in Jewish literature in regard to more than one of the points which we have been discussing—the Enochic *Book of Parables*, to which reference has been made, but the consideration of which was deferred. The present is a suitable opportunity for making a few remarks upon it. In this document the Messiah is repeatedly called 'the Son of Man,' and described as surrounded with majesty in the presence of the Lord of Spirits, and reserved for a future manifestation. Furthermore, he is to be the Judge in the Universal Judgment—a function never assigned to the Messiah, but always ascribed to the Most High in other Jewish writings. Yet, in spite of the various points of contact with Christian ideas and language, there is nothing (save one phrase, which is probably to be otherwise explained) to connect this Son of Man with the Christ of Christian faith, who has been crucified and has since ascended to His throne, and is waiting to return in glory. It is very unlikely that a Christian writer would have so concealed his own belief, or that a Christian interpolator, while introducing those passages and expressions which correspond with Christian rather than with Jewish ideas, would have done his work with so much reserve. The traits in question may however, for all that, be due to Christian influence. To any one who considers how Christian teaching affected the thought of many pagans in the early centuries, even sometimes of such as remained most hostile to Christianity, or who is at all familiar with the many instances of the same kind which there are among educated Hindus at the present day, this will seem a not improbable hypothesis. And in the relations which existed during the 1st cent. A.D. between Jewish Christianity and Judaism there were the conditions which would make such effects natural. It is to be added, that even if it is a mistake to trace the peculiarities of the Enochic *Book of Three Parables* to Christian influence, it may still be post-Christian. It is true that 'the figure of the Messiah is here drawn specially in dependence upon the Bk. of Daniel.' But it would not be justifiable to regard this as making an early date more credible. For between the original vision and this rendering of its imagery there lies a difference in the definiteness and fulness of the Messianic ideas implied, which was only by degrees approached and never elsewhere attained among Jews.

ii. THE CHRISTIAN TRANSFORMATION.—The fact that Jesus claimed to be the Christ, and the significance of this fact, the manner in which and the time when He did so, and the part which the temper of the prevalent Jewish expectation had in determining His course of action, need not here be considered. It must suffice to note that He gave a new character to the conception of the Christ when to His acceptance of His disciples' faith in Him, as such, He linked the distinct announcement of His approaching sufferings (Mk $8^{27ff.}$ and parallels, Mk 10^{35-45}=Mt 20^{20-28}). In the minds of the first members of the Christian Church, the experiences of the Cross, the Resurrection, and Pentecost, together with the impression which the character and work, the life and teaching of Jesus had made upon them, led to a rapid transformation, pregnant with important consequences, of the idea of the Messiah which they had held as Jews. They turned again, as Jesus had taught them to do (Mk $12^{10.24}$=Mt 21^{42} 22^{29}, Mk 14^{49}=Mt 26^{54}, Lk 4^{17}, Jn 5^{39} etc.), to their ancient Scriptures, and read them with new eyes. They found scattered there the elements of a relatively complete ideal, which had been perfectly fulfilled in Jesus. The process by which they combined them was uncritical, and was to a large extent performed unconsciously, but the result was in harmony with essential truth.

By the very character which Jesus had assumed in His mode of life and ministry, attention was directed to the promise of *a true prophet*, and we are not surprised to find that special stress is laid on it in the early preaching in the Acts (Ac 3^{22} 7^{37}).

The references in the same part of NT to '*the servant of Jehovah*,' though they have not perhaps been commonly noticed, can hardly be questioned when they have been pointed out (Ac $4^{27.30}$, where παῖς should, in view of the manifest allusions to Is, and the use of this term in the LXX, be rendered —not with AV 'child'—but with RV 'servant,' as also at Ac $3^{13.26}$). His 'anointing' (Ac 4^{27}, cf. Is 61^{1}) with the Spirit served as a link to connect Him with the king of David's line. It may be permissible to see an allusion to the same figure of prophecy in the parable Lk $14^{16f.}$, though δοῦλος is the word there employed.

But the question upon which the whole controversy between believers in Jesus as the Christ and the Jews necessarily turned was as to the Divine intention, foreshown in the prophets, that He should pass *through suffering and death to His triumph* (Ac 3^{18} $8^{32f.}$ 17^{3} 26^{23}). Stress was also laid upon those spiritual blessings, the expectation of which had already been associated with the Messianic times—the call to repentance, the remission of sins, peace, the outpouring of the Spirit (Ac 2^{17-21} 5^{31} 10^{36}).

Two comings of the Messiah, first in humiliation, then in glory, were now distinguished, and this distinction became a characteristic article of the Christian faith; for the withdrawal from the earth of one who had not in any way discharged the office of Messiah, though destined to do so hereafter, according to the Jewish notion referred to above, can hardly be regarded as equivalent. Further, even from the very necessities of the case, the *kingship* of the Messiah could no longer be conceived as primarily an earthly one. He had been exalted to a throne in heaven at God's right hand, whence He was expected to return in glory. Some, and for a time many, Christians supposed that He would then reign upon earth for a certain period. But to thoughtful believers this must always have seemed a very subordinate part of His discharge of His kingly office. It scarcely appears in the NT (Rev 20^{6} is the only passage that can be regarded as a distinct indication of it). The predominant thought was that of a heavenly king. Moreover, He was to be the Judge in the final universal judgment (Ac 10^{42} $17^{30.31}$, Ro 2^{16}, 2 Co 5^{10}, Mt $25^{31ff.}$).

Meanwhile He exercises a *heavenly priesthood*. This aspect, too, of Messiahship was first clearly brought out in Christian teaching. That this was so, appears from the fact that Christian believers did not at once perceive it. The title of 'priest' is in NT given to Jesus Christ only in Ep. to Heb.; and His right to it is founded primarily upon a passage in which a psalmist had once recognized the priestly character belonging to Israel's king (Ps 110^{4}, He 5^{6} 7. 8^{4}). Lastly, a meaning so much loftier than before was given to *His relationship to God*, that the title 'the Son of God' lost, or almost so, the associations with specifically Messianic ideas which it once might have had.

To some the view of OT prophecy suggested in this article may be disappointing. For the purpose of the argument from prophecy in support of the Christian faith as it has been ordinarily used, the strictly miraculous character of the prophecies should be as plain as possible. Predictions are therefore demanded, the reference of which is guaranteed by their circumstantial accuracy, and by their having been more or less clearly intelligible before the time of fulfilment came. Modern inquiry has rendered it doubtful how far the predictions satisfied these requirements. But, on the other hand, the history which we have been tracing is full of the signs of Divine Providence. The whole religious history of Israel down to the time of Him whom Christians believe in as the Christ, and in a special manner the teaching of the prophets, formed a most remarkable preparation for His coming. It remains true as ever, and criticism and historical investigation only confirm it, that the Scriptures were in reality full of Him, and that, in proportion as men had entered into their spirit, they must have been able to receive Him (Jn 5^{38. 39}). It is still legitimate as ever to regard types and ideals which were first fully realized in Him as divinely intended to foreshadow Him. And if the method in which Israel was trained in its great hope, even while in many respects unique, was more analogous to that in which truth has ordinarily been unfolded to mankind, permitting a larger amount of illusion and error on their part than has sometimes been supposed, it may for this very reason be the more instructive.

LITERATURE.—Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah: A critical history of the Messianic idea among the Jews from the rise of the Maccabees to the closing of the Talmud*; Castelli, *Il Messia secondo gli Ebrei*; Schürer, *GJV*^{3} ii. 496 ff. [*HJP* II. ii. 126 ff.]; Dalman, *Der leidende und der sterbende Messias*, and *Die Worte Jesu*; Driver and Neubauer, *The Jewish Interpreters of Isaiah liii.*; Stanton, *The Jewish and the Christian Messiah*.

For the literature connected with the Jewish documents referred to, see the arts. upon those works.

V. H. STANTON.

METE, METEYARD.—To 'mete' (from Anglo-Sax. *metan*, and radically connected with Gr. *μέτρον*, Lat. *metiri*, Eng. 'measure'; and even with Gr. *μέδειν* to rule, Lat. *modus*, measure, moderation, Eng. 'mode,' 'modest,' etc.) is to measure. Thus Ex 16^{18} 'And when they did mete it with an omer, he that gathered much had nothing over, and he that gathered little had no lack'; Mt 7^2 'With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again.' Cf. Knox, *Hist.* 97, 'But bee yee assured, my Lord, with such measure as ye mete to others, with the same measure it shall be met to you againe.' Tind. uses the word in Dt 21^2 'Then let thine elders and thi judges come forth and meet unto the cities that are rounde aboute the slayne,' and Cov. in Ru 3^{15} 'And he meet her sixe measures of barlye.' Sir John Cheke, in his determination to use Anglo-Saxon at all hazards, turns Tindale's 'cubite' in Mt 6^{27} into 'half yard mete.' Chapman uses the verb in *Iliads*, iii. 327—

> 'Then Hector, Priam's martial son, stepp'd forth, and met
> the ground.'

Meteyard is used by Tindale in Lv 19^{35} as the tr. of מִדָּה, a measure, and it is retained in AV and RV. The word occurs also in Pref. to AV, 'neither is it the plain-dealing Merchant that is unwilling to have the weights or the meteyard brought in place, but he that useth deceit.' Coverdale has the similar forms 'meteline' (Jos 17$^{5. 14}$) and 'meterod' (Ezk 40$^{3. 5}$ 41^8).

J. HASTINGS.

METHEG-AMMAH.—AV and RVm in 2 S 8^1 'David took Metheg-ammah (מֶתֶג הָאַמָּה) out of the hand of the Philistines.' AVm has 'the bridle of Ammah,' RV text 'the bridle of the mother city.' This last rendering is pronounced to be 'probable' by Driver (*Text of Sam.*), who points out (see his references) that אם has the sense of *mother city* or *capital* in Phœnician. 'The bridle of the mother city' would mean the authority of the metropolis or capital of the Philistines, namely Gath (so Ges., Keil, Stade). Budde [in *SBOT*] makes various objections to this, and leaves the expression blank in his Heb. text as irrecoverably corrupt. The LXX reads *τὴν ἀφωρισμένην*, which *may*, according to Wellhausen, imply a reading מתגרשה. Wellh. himself (*Sam.* 174) emends to גַּת הָאַמָּה 'Gath the mother city,' comparing 1 Ch 18^1 גַּת וּבְנוֹתֶיהָ ('Gath and her daughter towns'), which he argues may have arisen from the text he postulates in Samuel. Klostermann attempts to obtain from the two texts (of S and Ch) אֶת־גַּת וְאֶת־גְּבוּלָהּ יָמָּה 'Gath and her border to the west.' Thenius emends to מֶתֶג הַמִּדָּה 'bridle of tribute,' *i.e.* 'David laid the Philistines under tribute.' Löhr despairs of recovering either the meaning or the text. Cheyne (*Expos. Times*, Oct. 1899, p. 48) emends to אֶת־אַשְׁדּוֹד מְחוֹז הַיָּם, 'Ashdod, the city of the sea.' Sayce (*EHH* 414 n.) suggests that מֶתֶג הָאַמָּה is the Heb. transcription of the Bab. *métég ammati* (for *mêtêq ammati*) = 'the highroad of the mainland' of Palestine. The reference would thus be to the command of the highroad of trade which passed through Canaan from Asia to Egypt and Arabia; but the appearance of such distinctively Babylonian words in Hebrew of this date is extremely improbable.

J. A. SELBIE.

METHUSELAH (מְתוּשֶׁלַח).—A Sethite, the father of Lamech, Gn 5$^{21\text{ff.}}$, P (A Μαθουσάλα), 1 Ch 1^3 (B Μαθθουσάλα, A Μαθουσάλα), Lk 3^{37} (Μαθουσάλα) = METHUSHAEL (which see) in J's genealogy, 4^{18}. The name מְתוּשֶׁלַח is interpreted by Holzinger as 'man of the javelin' (*Mann des Geschosses*), a fitting name for a time when the earth was full of violence. Ball (in *SBOT*), following Hommel (*PSBA*, March 1893), makes the name = 'man of Selaḥ,' where *Selaḥ* may be a modification of Bab. *Šarraḫu*, a title of *Sin*, the god of Ur Casdim. *Methuselah* would thus answer to Berosus' *Ἀμέμψινος* = *Amel-Sin*, 'Sin's man.' While Ball remarks that the form *Methushael*, 'man of El,' is less original than *Methuselaḥ* 'man of Selaḥ,' Sayce (in *Expos. Times*, May 1896, p. 367) suggests that *Methushael*, an exact transcription of the Bab. *Mutu-ša-ili*, has been in 'the Sethite genealogy corrupted into *Methuselaḥ* (perhaps for *Mutu-ša-ilati*, 'man *or* husband of the goddess'), which does not admit of an etymology.'

J. A. SELBIE.

METHUSHAEL (מְתוּשָׁאֵל).—A Cainite, the father of Lamech, Gn 4^{18} (J); LXX (A) Μαθουσαλά, which is read also for **Methuselah** (מְתוּשֶׁלַח) in P's genealogy, 5$^{21\text{ff.}}$. The interpretations of the name are various. Dillm. remarks that מְתוּשָׁאֵל may have meant 'suppliant *or* man of God' (Ges. *Thes.*; = Mutu-ša-ili according to Lenormant, *Origines de l'histoire*^{2}, 262 f., cf. Sayce in *Expos. Times*, May 1896, p. 367, May 1899, p. 353; Hommel, *ZDMG* xxxii. 714), or 'one who has been obtained by asking' (Budde), but not 'man of Sheol' (Redslob). See, further, Spurrell, *Notes on Genesis*, *ad loc.*; Gray, *Heb. Proper Names*, 164 f.; Budde, *Urgeschichte*, 129.

J. A. SELBIE.

METRE.—See POETRY.

MEUNIM.—See MAON.

MEUZAL.—Ezk 27^{19} AVm. See UZAL.

ME-ZAHAB (מֵי זָהָב 'waters of gold').—Father of Matred and grandfather of Mehetabel the wife of Hadar (Hadad), one of the kings of Edom, Gn 36^{39} (A Μεζοόβ) = 1 Ch 1^{50} (LXX om.). The name *Mê-zahab* (cf. *Mê-deba*) is certainly, as Hommel (*AHT* 264 n.) remarks, much more like that of a place than of a person. Holzinger (*Gen. ad loc.*) suggests that it is the same name which appears in a corrupted form in Dt 1^1 as דִּי זָהָב *Di-zahab*. Hommel (*l.c.*) makes the radical suggestion that 'it is a question whether we ought not to restore Gn 36^{39} as follows: "and his (Hadar's) cities were *Pa'ish* (in MT *Pa'û*, var. *Pa'î*, LXX Φογώρ), *Me'eshet*, *Mehêtab-el*, *Bath-Matred*, and *Mê-zahab*."'

MEZOBAITE.—One of David's heroes is called in 1 Ch 11^{47} 'Jaasiel the Mezobaite' (הַמְּצֹבָיָה). As Kittel (in *SBOT*) remarks, the MT is 'certainly incorrect, but totally obscure.' B has Μειναβειά, A Μεσωβιά, Luc. Μασαβιά.

MIBHAR.—In 1 Ch 11^{38} one of David's heroes appears as 'Mibhar the son of Hagri' (מִבְחָר בֶּן־הַגְרִי). The parallel passage 2 S 23^{36} reads, 'of Zobah, Bani the Gadite' (מִצֹּבָה בָּנִי הַגָּדִי), which is probably the correct text. While the LXX has, in 1 Ch 11^{38}, B Μεβαὰλ υἱὸς Ἀγαρεί, A Μαβὰρ υἱὸς Ἀταραί, it reads in 2 S 23^{36} ἀπὸ δυνάμεως [*i.e.* מִצְּבָא instead of מִצֹּבָה] υἱὸς Γαλααδδεί (B; A . . . Γαδδί). See Driver (*Text of Sam.* 284) and Kittel (*SBOT* on 1 Ch 11^{38}).

MIBSAM (מִבְשָׂם).—**1.** A son of Ishmael, Gn 25^{13} (A Μασσάμ)=1 Ch 1^{29} (B Μασσά, A Μαβσάν). **2.** A Simeonite, 1 Ch 4^{25} (B Μαβασάμ, A Μαβασάν).

MIBZAR (מִבְצָר 'fortification'). — A 'duke' of Edom, Gn 36^{42} (Μαζάρ)=1 Ch 1^{53} (B Μαζάρ, A Μαβσάρ). If we take Mibẓar as a place-name, Dillm. rejects decidedly Knobel's identification with Sela or Petra, and, while pronouncing Hitzig's view 'more possible' that Mibẓar is the same as Boẓrah of v.^{33}, he thinks it 'most probable,' in view of the words of the *Onomasticon* (ἔτι καὶ νῦν κώμη μεγίστη Μαβσαρὰ ἐπὶ τῆς Γαβαληνῆς, ὑπακούουσα τῇ Πέτρᾳ), that this identification must also be given up.

MICA (מִיכָא). — **1.** Son of Merib-baal (Mephibosheth), 2 S 9^{12} (B Μειχά, A Μιχά), called in 1 Ch 8$^{34f.}$ 9$^{40f.}$ **Micah** (מִיכָה). See MICAH, No. 2. **2.** Son of Zichri, 1 Ch 9^{15} (B Μειχά, A Μιχά), Neh 11^{17} (B Μαχά, A Μιχά), where he is called son of Zabdi, v.^{22} (B Μειχά, A Μιχά)=**Micaiah** (מִיכָיָה) of Neh 12^{35}. See MICAIAH, No. 7. **3.** One of those who sealed the covenant, Neh 10^{11} (A Μιχά, B om.).

MICAH.—**1.** (מִיכָה, but מִיכָיְהוּ in Jg 17$^{1.\,4}$; see Gray, *HPN* 157, B Μειχαίας, A Μιχί). A resident in the highlands of Ephraim, whose story is related in a supplement (chs. 17. 18) to the Bk. of Judges, with a view to explain the origin of the sanctuary of Dan. There is no need to doubt the historicity of the narrative, though it contains signs of revision, if not of composite authorship. That two accounts were woven into one, is the conjecture of some critics, whilst others try to explain the phenomena of the text on the supposition of redaction by a reviser who was indignant at the pretensions of the Danite priests. For a full and fair statement of the different opinions, see Moore, *Judges*, xxix. xxx. 366–369. The nucleus of the story is evidently of great age, and the events it describes may be assigned with some confidence to the generation after the invasion by Joshua.

Micah stole 1100 shekels of silver from his mother, but restored the money on hearing the curses with which she threatened the unknown thief. His mother thereupon had part of the silver made into 'a graven image and a molten image'; but as the context speaks of but a single image, and the former term is sometimes used (Is 40^{19} 44^{10}) generically for an idol though cast, the latter term is probably an editorial explanatory addition of subsequent date to that of the earliest form of the story. This image of J" was given to Micah, who placed it in his private chapel, together with an 'ephod,' which was some portable object used in divining (Jg 8^{27}, 1 S 23$^{6.\,9}$ 30^{7}) and not necessarily a part of a priestly dress, and 'teraphim' or idols, possibly household gods. There is no evidence that these were the busts or images of ancestors; but they were used at least in later times in some unknown way for the purposes of divination (2 K 23^{24}, Ezk 21^{21}, Zec 10^{2}). See EPHOD. One of Micah's sons was formally invested with the office of priest.

In the course of time a Levite in search of a livelihood migrated from Bethlehem to Mount Ephraim, and settled there. He is described as of the family of Judah (17^{7}), and as a grandson of Moses (18^{30}, where MT has *Manasseh*, written, however, with נ *suspensum*). The most likely explanations of the former phrase are that Levite here means merely a descendant of Leah, or that, the tribe having been broken up, the man in question had attached himself to that of Judah (Gn 49$^{5.\,7}$), or that the word Levite is not used here technically of a clan but of a profession, and denotes that the man was an expert in religious lore and in the art of divination; but no explanation is entirely free from difficulty. In the latter phrase the change of Moses to Manasseh in some of the texts was possibly due to an attempt to detract from the dignity of the priesthoods of the early northern sanctuaries, for whose officials a Mosaic lineage seems to have been justly claimed; see JONATHAN, No. 1. This young Levite was welcomed by Micah, who attached him to his household (17^{11}), and transferred to him the duties at first assigned to his own son. But soon afterwards the Danites, finding their quiet establishment in the district allotted them by Joshua impossible on account of the resistance of the Philistines and the Amorites (Jg 1^{34}, Jos 19^{41}), sent five of their tribe to find a suitable place for settlement elsewhere; and these, while passing through the highlands of Ephraim, stayed for a night at the house of Micah. There they recognized the Levite by his voice, as, if he were actually a descendant from Moses and a recent resident in their own neighbourhood, they may well have done; though, according to a less natural explanation, the southern dialect that he used was the cause of the recognition. At their request he consulted the oracle for them, and promised them success in their expedition. At Laish (or Leshem, Jos 19^{47}), the northern limit of the settlement of Israel, identified by name and ancient authority with Tell el-Ḳadi (less probably with Bânîas; see G. A. Smith, *HGHL*, 473–481), they found an attractive locality and an unwarlike people, and returned with the tidings to the temporary centre of their tribe in the district made famous by Samson's exploits. Six hundred of the Danites, with their families and cattle (18^{21}), determined to migrate to Laish. On approaching the village in which Micah lived, the main body halted at its entrance, whilst the five were detailed to secure the idols. They proceeded to the house of Micah, and, after greeting the Levite, seized the idols; and when the Levite expostulated, they persuaded him to keep quiet and even to accompany them as the priest of their tribe. Hastily rejoining their comrades, they sent forward their families and flocks, placed the Levite and his apparatus in their midst, and marched with the majority of the 600 in the rear to guard against attack by pursuers. Micah collected a few of his neighbours, and overtook the column at some distance from the village; but his remonstrances were received with contemptuous menace, and, as the employment of force by his little band was out of the question, he was obliged to return home and leave his idols in the hands of the Danites. They continued their march to

Laish, which they took without difficulty; and in a new town built on the site of the old they set up a temple of their own in charge of Micah's Levite, who thus became the ancestor of the Danite priesthood.

How long this priesthood lasted is not known. The note of time (18^{31}) is of little help. If 'the day of the captivity of the land' (18^{30}) is not a late editorial addition, it will probably denote the times of the Philistine wars under Eli; but if it is, the conquest of Galilee (2 K 15^{29}) by Tiglath-pileser in B.C. 734. See art. JUDGES (BOOK OF), in vol. ii. p. 818 f.

2. (מִיכָה in 1 Ch $8^{34.35}$ [B Μεχιά, A Μιχά] $9^{40.41}$ [B Μειχά, A Μιχά]; מִיכָא, RV Mica, in 2 S 9^{12}) A son of Merib-baal (or Mephibosheth), and grandson of Jonathan. The name occurs alike in the general Benjamite genealogy (1 Ch $8^{34.35}$), and in the specific one of the house of Saul (1 Ch $9^{40.41}$). The allusion in 2 S 9^{12} (B Μειχά, A Μιχά) is probably a late genealogical gloss to remind the reader of the line of descent notwithstanding such passages as 2 S 21^{5-9}. **3.** The name and head of the chief family of the Uzziel branch of the Kohathite Levites, according to the arrangement for public service attributed to David in 1 Ch 23^{20} (B Μειχάς, A Μιχά). The name is repeated in 1 Ch $24^{24.25}$ (B Μειχά, A Μιχά) in the classification of the Levites according to their duties. **4.** A name occurring in the genealogy of Reuben (1 Ch 5^{5}) as that of an ancestor of Beerah, the chief of the Reubenites carried into captivity by Tiglath-pileser. **5.** A contemporary of Josiah and the father of Abdon, 2 Ch 34^{20} (B Μειχαίας, A Μιχαίας), who is called Achbor son of Micaiah in 2 K 22^{12}. **6.** A Simeonite, father of Ozias, one of the three rulers of Bethulia in the story of Judith (Jth 6^{15}). To the same tribe belonged Judith herself (9^{2}) (B Μειχά, A Μιχά), and probably the other rulers, with the majority of the population of the district; and warrant for confidence in the antiquarian accuracy of the author of Jth, and for the assumption of a Simeonite settlement in the north, may be found in Gn 49^{7}, 2 Ch 15^{9} 34^{6}. **7.** See next article.

R. W. MOSS.

MICAH (מִיכָיְהוּ Jg $17^{1.4}$; in pause מִיכָיְהוּ 2 Ch 17^{7}; shortened מִכָיָה Jer 26^{18} and מִיכָה Mic 1^{1}; = 'who is like J″?' [cf. Ex 15^{11}, and מִיכָאֵל in Nu 13^{13}]).—A proper name of very frequent occurrence in the OT (see preceding article). The best-known men who bore this name are—**1.** Micah of Mt. Ephraim, who appointed a Levite to minister as priest before the image (אֵפוֹד) which his mother had caused to be made from 1100 shekels of silver. See the preceding article, No. 1. **2.** Mica(ia)h ben-Imlah, a man of kindred spirit with Elijah, who, at the moment when Ahab of Israel desired to secure the alliance of Jehoshaphat of Judah against the Syrians, predicted, in opposition to the prophet Zedekiah, the unfortunate issue of the campaign and the death of Ahab, and ranged himself as a true prophet of J″ over against the lying prophets (1 K 22). One will hardly be wrong in tracing the attitude of Mica(ia)h ben-Imlah to the circumstance that Ahab favoured the worship of the Tyrian Baal in Israel—a practice which appeared to Mica(ia)h irreconcilable with Israel's belonging to J″. On the reference probably intended in 1 K 22^{28} שִׁמְעוּ עַמִּים כֻּלָּם to the opening words of Mic, see König, *Einleit. in d. AT*, p. 330. See, further, MICAIAH, No. 3.

3. MICAH (B Μειχαίας, A Μιχαιάς) THE PROPHET,—of Moresheth (wh. see), the younger contemporary of Isaiah, after whom one of the writings in the *Dodekapropheton* is named, the 6th in the Heb. order but the 3rd in the Greek.

i. *The Contents and Unity of the Book.*—There can be no doubt that the prophecies collected in the book which bears his name proceed only in part from Micah, for alike in contents and style they are totally diverse in character.

(*a*) The first three chapters, apart from $2^{12f.}$, present no difficulty. The prophet begins with announcing the Divine judgment, which accomplishes itself in two acts, namely, upon Samaria and upon Judah, although, of course, the judgment upon Judah forms the central point of his message. Then chs. 2 and 3 state the reasons for the judgment denounced upon Judah in $1^{9ff.}$, and it is especially against the ruling classes in Jerusalem that Micah utters his reproaches. The verses $2^{12f.}$ are quite foreign to this line of thought, for they presuppose the Exile, and occupy themselves with the restoration of the people.*

(*b*) To these denunciations of judgment in chs. 1–3 we have the counterpart in chs. 4–5, which open a glimpse into the Messianic time. Against their composition by Micah there are the following objections: (1) The strange conjunction of the Messianic hopes of $4^{1ff.}$ with the threatenings of 3^{12}; (2) the circumstance that mutually exclusive views present themselves (cf. 4^{6-8} with v.$^{9f.}$, 4^{11-13} with v.^{14}, 5^{1-3} with v.$^{4f.}$), and that frequently a connexion can be established only by very artificial methods (cf. 4^{4} with v.^{5}, 4^{8} with v.$^{9f.}$, 4^{11-13} with v.^{14} 5^{1-3}); (3) the dependence upon trains of ideas which did not become current till after the time of Micah (cf. 4^{11-13} with Ezk 38 f.), as well as the presupposing of relations which were strange to Micah's era (cf. 4^{6-8} [$2^{12f.}$] $5^{1ff.}$) If there are any words of Micah at all in chs. 4–5, these can include no more than $4^{9f.14}$ 5^{9-13}.

(*c*) 6^{1}–7^{6}, which consist of three short addresses (6^{1-8} 6^{9-16} 7^{1-6}), whose original context, however, is doubtful, might, so far as their contents are concerned, proceed from Micah. They present J″'s controversy with His ungrateful people, the prophet's denunciation of the people for the unrighteousness which marked their whole manner of life, and finally Zion's lament over the decay of her children. This lament is intelligible in the time of Manasseh, when the sacrifice of children (Mic 6^{7}) was a flourishing custom; but not only the tenderness of feeling exhibited in $6^{1ff.}$, but also the dramatic and exceedingly animated descriptions, make the composition of this section by Micah very improbable.

(*d*) $7^{7ff.}$ cannot possibly be attributed to Micah,† for what in 6^{1}–7^{6} is yet in prospect is in $7^{7ff.}$ actually come to pass—Zion suffers for her sins, and the prophet looks to a better time, when J″ will again interest Himself on behalf of His people, and build the walls of Jerusalem.

ii. *The Activity of the Prophet.*—It follows from the above investigation, that if we are to form an idea of the characteristics of Micah and the method of his activity, we must base our conclusions only upon 1^{2}–2^{11} 3 ($4^{9f.14}$ 5^{9-13}). It results from these data that the title in 1^{1} rightly represents the prophetic activity of Micah as having begun as early as the reign of Ahaz, for according to $1^{2ff.}$ he predicted the fall of Samaria. Since of the two contradictory dates given in 2 K 18^{1} (cf. 17^{6}) and in 18^{13} the latter is clearly the better entitled to credit—*i.e.* Hezekiah probably ascended the throne B.C. 715—it follows that at the time of the destruction of Samaria the occupant of the throne of the Southern kingdom was not Hezekiah (as in 2 K 18^{1}, cf. 17^{6}) but Ahaz, who would have begun to reign *c.* 734. Whether Micah had entered upon his prophetic activity before 734, *i.e.* in the time of Jotham, as the title asserts, we have no certain data to enable us to decide, for the threatening of 3^{12} was, according to the express testimony of Jer $26^{18ff.}$, uttered under Hezekiah, and probably after the accession of Sennacherib in 705—an event which appears to have determined Hezekiah to a change of policy towards the Assyrians. Since ch. 3 stands in close connexion with ch. 2, and the latter as the foundation for the threatenings of $1^{9ff.}$ is not to be separated from ch. 1, we can only assume that the threatenings once uttered and meanwhile realized against Samaria were taken by Micah into a written discourse against the Southern kingdom (cf. Is 28 ff.)—a happy thought whereby this denunciation, calculated to strike terror into all, acquired special weight against Jerusalem.

---

* Cf. Driver (*LOT*^{6} 327 f.), who, though he questions the necessity of attributing the verses to an exilic (Stade, Kuen.) or post-exilic (Wellh.) hand, agrees that they do not now stand in their proper context.

† So Wellhausen, Stade, Kuenen, Cornill, Giesebrecht. For the reasons on the other side, we may refer to the discussion in Driver, *LOT*^{6}, 33 f.

iii. *Style and Message of Micah.*—It has rightly been remarked that in his rhetoric Micah is sharply distinguished from the simplicity of Amos and the originality of Hosea. He begins with the violent hiatus of 1^2 and the imposing description of Jahweh's descent in storm from heaven to earth (v.$^{3f.}$), to which the denunciation of judgment upon Samaria attaches itself, in order finally to introduce the burden of his discourse—the judgment upon Judah,—a discourse, however, which runs off into mere puns attached to local and personal names. It is possible that this, as Wellhausen suggests, was the ancient scholastic model of prophetic style, which elsewhere has maintained itself especially in prophecies regarding foreign nations. Apart from this peculiarity, Micah has close points of contact with Amos. Like the latter, he displays a deep moral earnestness which does not shrink from drawing the last conclusions, and which, in opposition to his great contemporary Isaiah, who looked with confidence to J″ the holy God to preserve Jerusalem, leads him to predict the destruction of the city as a punishment for the treading under foot of righteousness. Whether we are justified in concluding from 3^{12} that Micah anticipated the destruction of the whole kingdom, has been rightly called in question and denied by W. R. Smith (*Prophets of Israel*, 287 ff.), for Micah in assigning the ground for judgment—and in this likewise he agrees with Amos—has specially to do with the aristocracy of Jerusalem, against whom his whole anger is turned on account of the injustice perpetrated by them ('Jerusalem is Judah's sin,' cf. 1^5 LXX). What a powerful impression this message of judgment produced upon Micah's contemporaries we may infer from Jer $26^{18ff.}$, where we find that 100 years after its utterance this denunciation of judgment, which stood in such glaring contradiction to the preaching of Isaiah, is not yet forgotten.

Whether Micah had a glimpse of better days and committed his anticipations to writing, must, in view of what has been said above, remain uncertain; the verses which alone could come into consideration as from his pen, contain scarcely anything more than a reference to a future deliverance and a removal by J″ of things displeasing (cf. $4^{9f.}$ 5^{9-13}). In any case, our prophet, even if he never gave expression to such hopes, would in this respect also have a predecessor in Amos, for the Messianic hopes expressed in Am $9^{8ff.}$ are a later addition to that book.

A brief reference may further be made to Mic $6^{7f.}$, which are not only marked by a depth and a moral earnestness, but also interpenetrated by an intensity of genuine feeling such as are scarcely paralleled elsewhere. These verses likewise have a point of contact with Amos, in so far as in them the thought is emphasized that moral goodness coincides with humanity ('Das Sittlich-Gute ist auch das Natürlich-Menschliche'); but in another point they go far beyond Amos—in fact, scarcely anywhere in the OT is the essence of true worship expressed so briefly and appropriately as in 6^8 'It is said to thee, O man, what is good and what J″ requires of thee: to do justice, to love kindness, and to walk humbly before thy God.'

LITERATURE.—Driver, *LOT*^{6} 325 ff.; Cornill, *Einleit.*^{2} 182 ff.; Wildeboer, *Lit. d. AT*, 148 ff.; Strack, *Einleit.* 104 ff.; Stade, *ZATW*, 1881, p. 161 ff., 1883, p. 1 ff., 1884, p. 291 ff.; Nowack, *ib.* 1884, p. 277 ff.; Kuenen, *Études dédiées à Mr. le Dr. Leemanns*, 116 ff.; Pont, 'Micha-Studiën' in *Theol. Stud.* 1888, p. 235 ff., 1889, p. 436 ff., 1892, p. 329 ff.; Kosters, 'De samenstelling v. het boek Micha' in *ThT*, 1893, p. 249 ff.; V. Ryssel, *Untersuch. über die Textgestalt u. die Echtheit d. Buches Micha*, Leipzig, 1887; J. Taylor, *The Massoretic text and the ancient versions of Micah*, 1891; Elhorst, *De profetie van Micha*, Arnhem, 1891; W. R. Smith, *Prophets of Israel*, 287 ff.

Of commentaries the following may be consulted:—Pocock, *Comm. on Micah*, 1677; Caspari, *Ueber Micha den Morashthiten u. seine prophet. Schrift*, 1851–52; Roorda, *Comm. in Vaticin. Michæ*, Leiden, 1869; L. Reinke, *Der Prophet Micha*, Munster, 1874; Cheyne, *Micah* (in 'Camb. Bible'), 1882, 2nd ed. 1895; Pusey, *The Minor Prophets*, 1860; Wellhausen, *Die Kl. Propheten*, pp. 22 ff., 131 ff.; G. A. Smith, *Book of the Twelve Prophets*, vol. i. (1896), 355 ff.; Nowack (in the *Handkommentar*), 1898, p. 185 ff.

W. NOWACK.

MICAIAH.—The Heb. name מִיכָיְהוּ ('who is like J″?') and its abbreviations מִכָיְהוּ, מִיכָיָה, מִיכָה, מִיכָא are variously rendered in AV; but, with the exception of one instance, the first three words appear in RV as Micaiah. The exception is in Jg $17^{1.4}$. Here the name מִיכָה, which occurs frequently in Jg 17. 18, is found in the longer form מִיכָיְהוּ, and is rendered *Micah* for the sake of the unity of the narrative. The LXX equivalents of Micaiah have in every case the alternative spellings Μιχ. and Μειχ., the latter being found uniformly in B.

1. Micaiah (מִיכָיָהוּ, Μααχά, AV Michaiah) is the name given in 2 Ch 13^2 to the mother of Abijah. It is evident from 1 K 15^2, 2 Ch 11^{20}, and from LXX, that this is a corruption of Maacah (wh. see). **2.** One of the princes of Judah (2 Ch 17^7) appointed by Jehoshaphat to superintend religious instruction throughout the kingdom, was called Micaiah (מִיכָיָהוּ, Μιχαίας, AV Michaiah).

3. Micaiah (מִיכָיְהוּ, Μ(ε)ιχαίας) the son of Imlah was a prophet of J″ in Israel in the days of Ahab. His name is once (2 Ch 18^{14}) spelt מִיכָה (RVm Micah). In Scripture history he appears only on the great occasion described in the almost identical narratives of 1 K 22^{4-28}, 2 Ch 18^{3-27}. It is evident, however, from 1 K 22^8 ‖ that this was not the beginning of his prophetic activity, and that his former messages had not been favourable to the king. Josephus (*Ant.* VIII. xiv. 5) identifies Micaiah with the prophet who disguised himself after the victory over the Syrians at Aphek, and reproved Ahab for allowing the king of Syria to escape (1 K 20^{35-43}); and adds that Ahab, in his displeasure at this, put Micaiah in prison. These statements at least harmonize with the Scripture account, and the identification is not in itself unlikely.

In LXX 1 K 22 follows 20, and both chapters are derived from a special source (see KINGS I. and II., vol. ii. pp. 867, 868) in which Elijah is not mentioned, but which has several references to unnamed prophets. In so far as any prophet is mentioned by name, Micaiah may be said in this section to take Elijah's place (Kittel, *Hist. Heb.*, Eng. tr. ii. 275).

On the occasion recorded in Scripture, Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, was on a visit to Samaria, when Ahab asked his co-operation in recovering Ramoth-gilead, which the Syrians had formerly captured, and which they were now retaining, contrary to the conditions of the latest peace (1 K 20^{34} 22^3). Jehoshaphat declared his willingness to join in the expedition, but suggested that at the outset they should 'inquire at the word of J″'. The prophets of Israel, to the number of 400, were accordingly assembled where the two kings sat in royal state at the gate of Samaria. They prophesied unanimously that the undertaking would be successful, and one of them, Zedekiah the son of Chenaanah, emphasized the prophecy by producing horns of iron as symbols of the conquering might of Ahab and Jehoshaphat. These Israelite prophets posed as prophets of J″, and spoke in His name (2 Ch 18^{5} has 'God' instead of 'J‴'); but Jehoshaphat was doubtful of their true character, and asked anxiously if there was not besides a prophet of J″ whom they might consult (cf. 2 K 3^{11}). Ahab then mentioned Micaiah for the first time, but added that he hated him, as he was always a prophet of evil—a remark which Jehoshaphat courteously deprecated. A eunuch was sent to fetch Micaiah (who, according to Josephus, was already in prison), and this officer told him of the favourable reply which the 400 prophets had given to the inquiry of the kings, counselling him in a friendly way to answer in the same strain. Micaiah, however, replied boldly that he would speak only what J″ should say to him. When he appeared before the kings, and when Ahab asked his counsel, he at first echoed ironically the advice of the 400. But Ahab detected the irony; and Micaiah, when pressed for his true opinion, answered in words of solemn imagery, which boded nothing but disaster. He had seen all Israel scattered upon the mountains as sheep that had no shepherd: and J″ had said, 'These have no master, let them return every man to his house in peace.' Besides replying thus to Ahab's immediate question, he went on to pronounce a verdict on the whole situation and on the prophets who were opposed to him. This he did in an account of a remarkable vision. J″ sat on a throne, attended by all the host of heaven. He asked who would entice Ahab that he might go and fall at Ramoth-gilead. A spirit volunteered to do so by being a 'lying spirit' (רוּחַ שֶׁקֶר) in the mouth of Ahab's prophets. J″ accepted the offer, and sent the spirit forth with a promise of success. Micaiah's concluding message to Ahab, therefore, was that his prophets were false prophets, and that J″ had spoken evil concerning him. Zedekiah the son of Chenaanah replied to Micaiah by an insulting blow and a mocking question. The account of Jos. (*Ant.* VIII. xv. 4) adds that Zedekiah sought to refute Micaiah's prophecy by appealing to the prediction of Elijah (1 K 21^{19}), who had foretold that the dogs should lick Ahab's blood in Jezreel; and that Zedekiah also challenged Micaiah to wither the hand that smote him, as had been done in the case of Jeroboam (1 K 13^{4}). Micaiah warned Zedekiah of the future perils that awaited him, and, when he was carried off by Ahab's orders to suffer rigorous imprisonment, he contented himself by appealing confidently to the issue of events for proof that his prophecy had been true. At this point his history, which may have been continued in the source (Ewald, *HI*, Eng. tr. iv. 76), breaks off abruptly, and is not resumed. The exordium, 'Hear, ye peoples, all of you,' is apparently an interpolation, taken from Mic 1^{2}, and due to a confusion of Micaiah the son of Imlah with the canonical Micah.

Much interest attaches to Micaiah's vision. It is not to be taken, of course, as a literal description of an objective scene, but a question may be raised as to how far it shows us the form in which the truths proclaimed by the prophet were first presented to his own mind, and how far he consciously cast these truths into this dramatic shape in order to convey them to others. In regard to such visions it seems best, while allowing for a possible element of literary embellishment, to hold with Davidson (*Ezekiel* xxix.), that they are 'not mere literary invention,' but that the spontaneous working of a prophet's inspired imagination threw truths 'into a physical form, making them stand out before the eye of his phantasy as if presented to him from without.' The vision, with its picture of a scene in heaven, is strikingly similar to the Prologue of Job (1^{6-12} 2^{1-6}). Another parallel may be found in Zec 3, and the idea of a heavenly assembly is present also in Ps $89^{6.7}$. The account of Micaiah's vision embodies theological conceptions which are strange and even perplexing to the Christian mind. In opposing the 400 prophets Micaiah did not question their claim to have J‴'s inspiration, but simply asserted that this was in their case an inspiration of falsehood. The explanation of this (to us) apparently self-contradictory conception is to be found in the strength of the OT idea that J″ is supreme, and that nothing happens independently of Him. The problems raised by the varied moral quality of events in relation to the holiness of J″ were as yet in the background. A 'spirit from J″,' such as the 'lying spirit' of Micaiah's vision, signified simply a real Divine influence directing actual events. In this OT view, to use the words of Schultz, 'the Spirit of God is in itself only a wonderful power by which the life of man is regulated . . . but in itself there is no direct moral element' (*Theology of OT*, Eng. tr., ii. 205–208. See also Dillmann, *Alt.-Test. Theol.* 304–5; Stanley, *Jewish Church*, ii. 270). Schultz goes so far as to say (i. 257) that Micaiah 'had at first, in accordance with the Divine will, to say what was untrue, because he was aware that God intended to beguile the king.' This, however, seems an exaggeration. If Micaiah's first reply had been anything but ironical, it would have been inconsistent with his position as a true prophet of J″, as well as with his declaration to the eunuch. In connexion with Micaiah's standing as a true prophet, Zedekiah's mocking remark deserves to be noticed. Whether we take it as in EV following MT, or in the sense of the LXX reading (ποῖον πνεῦμα κυρίου τὸ λαλῆσαν ἐν σοί;), the implication of the question is the same. Zedekiah did not deny the charge of false inspiration, but insinuated that Micaiah's own inspiration was of the same kind. Had Micaiah been under any compulsion even temporarily to speak what was untrue, there would have been a measure of truth in Zedekiah's taunt. We can only reconcile Micaiah's conception of the 'lying spirit from J″' with the reality of his own inspiration, by regarding him as a messenger sent to declare the unqualified truth upon the situation. Stripped of all figurative dress, the facts which Micaiah proclaimed were these: that Ahab's prophets were false prophets, that in spite of warning Ahab would believe them, and would go to Ramoth-gilead to meet his doom.

The whole history of Micaiah presents impressively the contrast between true and false prophecy which became so marked afterwards in Jeremiah's time. We see in it already some of the features by which, apart from the decisive test of the event, the false could be distinguished from the true. The false prophets relied on the consent of numbers; their message fell in with the royal wishes; and, whatever truth there may be in Josephus' account of Zedekiah's argument from Elijah, it at least illustrates the method of mechanical and mistaken inference from predictions already accredited which Jeremiah denounced in the false prophets who were his contemporaries (Jer 7^{4} 23^{30}). Micaiah, on the other hand, was independent, conscious of J‴'s inspiration, resolute to speak only what J″ said to him, indifferent to the anger which his message might excite, and to the personal hardships and dangers he might incur by delivering it. He stands out in this single scene which has been recorded of his life as a solitary and heroic figure, in whom are embodied many of the noblest characteristics of the true prophet, the instrument of God's genuine revelation to men.

4. Micaiah (מִיכָיָה [*Keth.*], M(ε)ιχαίας or Μιχέας; AV, RVm Micah) the Morashtite in Jer 26^{18} is the same as the canonical prophet MICAH (wh. see).

5. Micaiah (מִיכָיָהוּ, M(ε)ιχαίας or Μιχέας, AV Michaiah) the son of Gemariah (Jer $36^{11.13}$) was one of the nobles of Judah in the days of Jeremiah. In the fifth year of Jehoiakim he heard Baruch reading the roll of Jeremiah's prophecies in the ears of the people from the chamber of his father Gemariah in the Temple. He then told what he had heard to the other nobles who were gathered in the 'scribe's chamber' in the royal palace, and it was his report which led to the subsequent reading of the roll first to the nobles and then to the king.

6. In 2 K 22^{12} mention is made of Achbor the son of Micaiah (מִיכָיָה M(ε)ιχαίας, AV Michaiah, AVm Micah) among the messengers whom Josiah sent to consult Huldah after the discovery of the book of the Law (see ACHBOR). This Micaiah may very possibly have been the same as the son of Gemariah referred to in 5 above. In 2 Ch 34^{20} 'Achbor the son of Micaiah' appears as 'Abdon the son of Micah.'

7. Micaiah (מִיכָיָה, M(ε)ιχαιά, AV Michaiah) the son of Zaccur is named (Neh 12^{35}) in the Asaphite genealogy of Zechariah the son of Jonathan, one of the priests of Nehemiah's time, who took part in the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem. In the parallel genealogy of 1 Ch 9^{15} this Micaiah is called 'Mica (AV Micah) the son of Zichri,' and in those of Neh 11$^{17.22}$ he appears as 'Mica (AV Micha) the son of Zabdi.' All the lists mention that he had a son called Mattaniah.

8. There was a Micaiah (מִיכָיָה AV Michaiah) among Nehemiah's priests themselves (Neh 12^{41}). He took part in the dedication of the wall, and is not to be confounded with the ancestor of Zechariah (7 above) mentioned in the same chapter. Neh 12^{41} is omitted in the chief MSS of LXX. Those that have it give this name as Μιχαίας.

JAMES PATRICK.

MICE.—See MOUSE.

MICHAEL (מִיכָאֵל 'who is like God?'; on the name see Gray, *Heb. Prop. Names*, 157, 165, 181, 210, 221; LXX Μειχαήλ, Μιχαήλ).—**1.** Father of the Asherite spy, Nu 13^{13}. **2. 3.** Two Gadites, 1 Ch 5$^{13f.}$. **4.** The eponym of a Levitical guild of singers, 1 Ch 6^{40} [Heb.^{25}]. **5.** Name of a family in Issachar, 1 Ch 7^{3} 27^{18} (B Μεισαήλ, A Μιχαήλ). **6.** Eponym of a family of Benjamites, 1 Ch 8^{16}. **7.** A Manassite chief who joined David at Ziklag, 1 Ch 12^{20}. **8.** A son of king Jehoshaphat, 2 Ch 21^{2} (B Μεισαήλ, A Μισαήλ). **9.** The father of Zebadiah, an exile who returned, Ezr 8^{8}, 1 Es 8^{34} (in the latter M(ε)ιχάηλος). **10.** The archangel. See next article.

MICHAEL (מִיכָאֵל = 'who is like unto God?'; in the LXX and NT M(ε)ιχαήλ) holds a very lofty rôle in Judaism from B.C. 200 onwards. He is one of the seven archangels who execute the commands of God at the final judgment (Eth. Enoch 90$^{20-21}$), or present the prayers of the saints before God (To 12^{15}), or who stand in the immediate presence (Rev 1^{1} 4^{5} 8^{2}). Michael appears as fourth in the oldest list of the seven: Uriel, Raphael, Raguel, Michael, Suriel, Gabriel, and Remiel (Eth. En. 20). In this list the order is no key to the relative dignity of the angels mentioned; for according to other authorities Michael stands at the head of the four great archangels, who apparently form a class apart, though three of them are members of the sacred seven. These four angels are Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, and Phanuel (Eth. En. 40^{9} 71), or Michael, Uriel, Raphael, and Gabriel (Eth. En. 9^{1} Gizeh and Syncellus Greek).

We must now consider the various functions assigned to Michael in Judaism and the NT. Thus he appears variously as Israel's angelic patron and warrior, their mediator and likewise lawgiver. With these and other functions of Michael we shall now deal.

i. Michael is first mentioned as the angelic patron of Israel. Thus he is called 'your prince,' *i.e.* the prince of Israel, Dn 10^{21}. In 10^{13} he is described as 'one of the chief princes.' All nations have their angelic patrons or guardians (see art. ANGEL, vol. i. p. 96), and the destinies of the former are determined by the relations of the latter in heaven. As the end draws nigh the strife grows fiercer, and Michael, Israel's angelic guardian, becomes the great hero of the last days. 'And at that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince which protecteth the children of thy people,' Dn 12^{1}. According to Eth. En. 20^{5} he 'is set over the best part of mankind, over the people,' *i.e.* Israel. As Israel's champion, he is appointed to avenge Israel on their enemies at the close of the world (Assumption of Moses 10^{2}). It is not improbable also that he is referred to in Dn 8^{11} [LXX and Theod.] under the phrase 'prince of the host' (ἀρχιστράτηγος). The same idea reappears in the Slav. Enoch 22^{6}, where he is termed 'the chief captain,' and in 33^{10} 'the great captain.'

ii. Another hardly less ancient conception is that which regards Michael as the heavenly scribe who entered in the heavenly books the deeds of the angelic patrons of the nations. That the angel who discharges this function is Michael in Eth. En. 90 we infer from two facts: first, this angel is one of the seven archangels (90^{22}); and, secondly, he is the archangel who helps Israel (90^{14}). No further record of this function is found till the 1st cent. A.D. According to the Ascension of Isaiah 9$^{22.23}$ (Latin), Michael records the deeds of all men in the heavenly books.

iii. Michael seems also to have been regarded as the medium through whom the Law was given. This is clearly stated in the late Apocalypse of Moses I: *Διήγησις . . . ἀποκαλυφθεῖσα . . . Μωϋσῇ . . . ὅτε τὰς πλάκας τοῦ νόμου τῆς διαθήκης ἐκ χειρὸς Κυρίου ἐδέξατο, διδαχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου Μιχαήλ.* Most probably, therefore, the angel of the presence, who in Jubilees 1^{27} 2^{1} instructs Moses on Mount Sinai, and delivers to him the tables of the Law, is to be taken as Michael, and the same identification should no doubt be made in the case of the angel in Ac 7^{38}.[*]

iv. A very notable extension of the attributes and offices of Michael is attested in the Similitudes and the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs. Thus he is described as 'the merciful and the long-suffering,' Eth. Enoch 40^{9} (cf. 68$^{2.3}$), and as 'the angel who intercedeth for the race of Israel and of all the just' (*τὸν ἄγγελον τὸν παραιτούμενον κ.τ.λ.*), Levi 5, and 'the mediator of God and man for the peace of Israel' (*μεσίτης θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων κ.τ.λ.*), Dan 6. The same view of Michael appears in the Ascension of Isaiah 9^{23} (Latin) 'Magnus angelus Michael deprecans semper pro humanitate.'

In the NT Michael is mentioned twice by name, Jude^{9} Rev 12^{7}. In both these passages the conception of Michael belongs to division i. above. Thus what is more fitting than that the angelic patron of Israel should protect the body of Israel's great lawgiver against Satan? Jude^{9}, as we are aware, is derived from the Assumption of Moses (see Charles' *Assumption of Moses*, pp. 105-110). We find elsewhere the burial of Moses attributed to the agency of angels, particularly of Michael, in the Targum of Jonathan on Dt 34^{6}.

In the second NT passage (Rev 12$^{7-9}$) Michael and his hosts go forth to war against the dragon, 'the old serpent' that is called the Devil and Satan. Here the figure of Michael thrusts aside that of the Messiah; for it is Michael and not the Child that overthrows Satan when storming the heavens—a fact which speaks strongly for the Jewish origin of most of Rev 12.

Under division iii. above we have already noticed a possible reference to Michael in Ac 7^{38}.

With the Talmudic conceptions of Michael we have not here to deal. For these the following books may be consulted: Lueken's monograph, *Michael*, 1898; Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*^{2}, 167–172, 205, 253; Schoettgen, *Hor. Heb.* i. 1079, 1119, ii. 8, 15 (ed. Dresden, 1742); Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopædie für Bibel und Talmud*, 1892, pp. 753,

---

[*] In Eth. En. 69$^{13-17}$ (a fragment of the Book of Noah) Michael is said to be the guardian of the mysterious magical formula wherewith the heavens and earth were founded.

754. On later Christian conceptions see Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, 227–231.

R. H. CHARLES.

MICHAL (מִיכַל contracted from מִיכָאֵל 'who is like unto God?').—The younger of Saul's two daughters (1 S 14^{49}, Μελχόλ). Saul, who was wavering between desire to destroy David and reluctance to promote him to be the king's son-in-law, suddenly gave Merab his eldest daughter to Adriel (1 S 18^{19}). It now transpired that Michal had fallen in love with David. For a woman to take the initiative in such matters is without a parallel in the Bible, but it suited Saul's designs, and David, on his part, lost no time in providing double (not LXX) the dowry demanded. It should be noted that the LXX (B), followed by Josephus (*Ant.* VI. x. 2), simplifies the story by omitting the incident about Merab (1 S $18^{17\text{-}19.\ 26b}$); and Josephus here, and again in *Ant.* VII. i. 4, misses the point of Saul's savage mockery of 'the uncircumcised Philistines' by representing the conditions imposed on David as six hundred heads of Philistines. David was soon to owe his life to the wife whom Saul had designed to 'be a snare to him.' When the emissaries of Saul 'watched the house to kill him' (1 S $19^{11\text{-}17}$, Ps 59 title), Michal baffled them by letting David down by the window, and delayed pursuit by a clever ruse. Placing the household god in the bed, she covered the supposed sick man's head with a mosquito net (RVm), and finally disarmed Saul's jealous anger by a plausible lie. In this passage the rare word in v.^{13} 'pillow' כְּבִיר (on which see Driver's note) was read כְּבַד (constr. of כָּבֵד) 'liver' by the LXX. Josephus (*Ant.* VI. xi. 4) seems not to have understood the LXX translation of 'teraphim,' *τὰ κενοτάφια*, for he says that Michal placed in the bed a goat's liver, which, as it palpitated and shook the bedclothes, might suggest that David was gasping for breath.

The last scene in which Michal figures (2 S $6^{16\text{-}23}$) presents a startling contrast to the time when, for love of David, she had flung aside conventionalities and braved her father's fury. That love was now all changed into coldness and dislike. When from a window in the palace on Mt. Zion Michal looked down on David leaping and dancing before the ark, it was not merely her woman's impatience of the absurd that made her 'despise him in her heart,' or that prompted the sarcasm in which that contempt found utterance later on. To appreciate her daring mockery, and the cold anger of David's rejoinder, we must read them in the light of the years that had passed. It is probable that Michal had been happy with Palti, or Paltiel, to whom she had been married on David's banishment (1 S 25^{44}). From that home she had been torn (2 S 3^{15}) merely that David might be enabled to claim a sort of hereditary right to the throne, and have by him a living memorial of his early prowess. Now she was but one of many wives, equalled with mere 'handmaids,' probably neglected. What wonder if the bitter reflexion that she had indirectly facilitated the humiliation of her own family was coupled with a suspicion that David had from the first regarded her merely as a means of self-aggrandisement? It is difficult not to feel some sympathy with Michal; though the historian characteristically sees in her childlessness a punishment for that ill-omened outburst of spleen on the most glorious day of David's life. The Chronicler omits, as usual, the painful incident, except 2 S 6^{16}.

It remains to add that in 2 S 21^{8} 'Michal' is an ancient but obvious mistake for 'Merab' (which is read by Luc. and Pesh.). Josephus (*Ant.* VII. iv. 3) says that Michal returned to her former husband (Palti), whom he does not name, and bore five children. The AV explanation 'brought up' for 'bare' is that of the Targum and Jerome (*Qu. Heb.*); and the Targ. on Ru 3^{8} mentions 'the pious Paltiel, who placed a sword between himself and Michal . . . because he had refused to go in unto her.' Similarly Jerome (*Qu. Heb.* on 1 S 25^{44}) explains that Paltiel wept for joy because the Lord had kept him from knowing her. He also (*Qu. Heb.* on 2 S 3^{5} 6^{23}) mentions a Jewish tradition that Michal is the same as Eglah, who is emphatically styled 'David's wife' because she was his first wife, and that she died when giving birth to a child.

N. J. D. WHITE.

MICHEAS (*Micheas*), 2 Es 1^{39}.—The prophet Micah.

MICHMAS (מִכְמָס).—The form in Ezr 2^{27} (B Μαχμάς, A Χαμμάς) = Neh 7^{31} (A B Μαχεμάς) of the name which appears elsewhere (1 S $13^{2.\ 5.\ 11.\ 16.\ 23}$ $14^{5.\ 31}$, Is 10^{28}, Neh 11^{31}) as **Michmash** (מִכְמָשׂ). See next article.

MICHMASH (מִכְמָשׂ; in Ezr 2^{27}, Neh 7^{31} מִכְמָס; LXX Μαχ(ε)μάς; Josephus Μαχμά; Vulg. *Machmas*).—A town in the tribe of Benjamin east of Bethel and Beth-aven (1 S 13^{5}, cf. Jos 7^{2}). In OT it is called nine times Michmash (1 S $13^{2\text{ff.}}$ $14^{5.\ 31}$, Is 10^{28}, Neh 11^{31}) and twice **Michmas** (Ezr 2^{27}, Neh 7^{31}). In 1 Mac 9^{73} AV has Machmas, RV Michmash. Michmash is mentioned only in connexion with the war of Saul and Jonathan with the Philistines, the (ideal) invasion of Judah by the Assyrians described by Isaiah, and as the seat of government of Jonathan Maccabæus.

It still bears the name *Mukhmâs*, and stands in the mountains of Judah about 7 miles north of Jerusalem on the eastern slopes at an altitude of 2000 ft. above the Mediterranean Sea, about 900 ft. below Bethel, which is situated on the backbone of the country. Though located in the midst of the tribe of Benjamin, it is not mentioned in the list of the towns of that tribe.

Michmash is first mentioned as the headquarters of Saul, who, on being made king over Israel, came up from Gilgal, and with two thousand men occupied the mountains of Bethel, while Jonathan with a thousand men occupied Gibeah of Benjamin, a stronghold about 4 to 5 miles north of Jerusalem; between them lay a strong mountain fortress, Geba, occupied as an outpost by the Philistines. Jonathan, with his characteristic intrepidity and impulsiveness, smote the Philistine garrison (? נְצִיב) at Geba. On hearing of this, the Philistines of the Shephēlah got ready for battle, and, coming up with great multitudes of chariots and horsemen and swarms of footmen, drove the badly armed Hebrews out of the hill-country about Bethel, and pitched their camp at Michmash, east of Beth-aven, opposite to Geba, which was occupied by Jonathan.

The Hebrews were greatly perturbed at this invasion of their lands, and some fled beyond Jordan, while others hid in caves and cisterns, and many assembled at Gilgal with Saul in fear and trembling. Saul, fearing that the Philistines would pursue him even to Gilgal, disobeyed the directions given to him by Samuel, and, after a very unsatisfactory interview with the prophet, abode with Jonathan at Geba (13^{16} RV, not Gibeah as AV; but see vol. ii. 116^{b}, 169^{a}) of Benjamin with only six hundred badly armed men.

The Philistines sent out three companies east, west, and north to spoil the lands of the Hebrews, much to the distress of Saul and Jonathan, who were not strong enough to prevent it. Jonathan now secretly devised a scheme ($14^{1\text{ff.}}$) for dividing the Philistines against themselves and securing their arms for the defenceless Hebrews, and with this intent he left the camp at Gibeah (v.^{2}) during the night, unknown to Saul and the garrison, and in company with only his armour-bearer set out on a very perilous and heroic enterprise.

They descended the rocky crag called Seneh, protecting Geba to the north, and, arriving at the bottom of a deep valley, found the precipitous cliff of Bozez terminating Michmash, facing them to the north. Here Jonathan, having ascertained that the young man with him would be faithful to death, disclosed his plans, an expanded account of which is given by Josephus (*Ant.* VI. vi. 2). The camp of the Philistines was on the spur of a hill, with three plateaus shelving down, one below the other, with precipitous sides and terminating in the rocky crag of Bozez; and at this point the outposts of the enemy were neglectful of their watch, because they thought it impossible that any one would ascend this crag. Jonathan therefore discovered himself just after daybreak to some other Philistine outposts, who called out to the Hebrews to come up and receive the chastisement due to them. This invitation Jonathan considered to be a favourable omen, and retiring out of their sight, with the aid of his comrade, by great labour and difficulty, scaled the heights of Bozez and fell upon its outpost (while they slept ?), slaying about twenty of them. The Philistines, waking up in the dim light of dawn, could not imagine that there were only two Hebrews at work; but supposing they were surprised by a strong force, and being of different tribes, and suspecting each other to be the enemy, fought against one another, as so often happened on other occasions, and some of them died in battle, while others threw away their armour and fled, many of them being thrown down the rocks headlong. When the watchmen of Geba saw that the multitude of the Philistines melted away from Michmash they reported it to Saul, who went out to battle with his six hundred. The Hebrews that were in hiding in the rocks came out, and those who were with the Philistines also turned from them, so that Saul found himself suddenly in command of a large force (Josephus says ten thousand men), all fully equipped with the arms of the slaughtered or fleeing Philistines; and they smote the Philistines that day from Michmash to Aijalon.

Benjamin was now in peaceful possession of Michmash, and there is no further record of it until the time of the Assyrians' threatened march on Jerusalem in the reign of king Hezekiah, spoken of by Isaiah (10^{28}). Sennacherib is depicted as coming along the northern road from Samaria against Jerusalem, along the backbone of the mountain chain; but instead of passing south from Bethel to Beeroth he turns aside to the eastern slopes towards Ai, and passing Migron (the precipice) lays up his baggage (AV carriages) at Michmash, because they could go no farther in a southerly direction. See, further, MIGRON. The Philistines, when they brought their chariots to Michmash, came from the west. The host of Sennacherib then go on foot to Geba, where they make a lodgment. They arrive here over the passage or pass of Michmash, mentioned as the place where the Philistine garrison was encamped before Geba when Jonathan scaled the crag Bozez (1 S 13^{23} 14^4). The town **Makaz** (1 K 4^9) is given by the LXX as Μαχ(ε)μάς. See MAKAZ.

Ezra relates (2^{27}, Neh 7^{31}) that one hundred and twenty-two men of Michmas came with Zerubbabel out of the Captivity unto Jerusalem and Judah.

When Bacchides returned to Antioch with his army from Judæa, after having been so rudely repulsed by Jonathan Maccabæus, Michmash was made the seat of government, and Jonathan dwelt there, 1 Mac 9^{73}.

Eusebius and Jerome describe Machmas as a large village 9 miles distant from Jerusalem and not far from Ramah (*Onomast. s.* 'Machmas'). In the Middle Ages the site of Michmash was removed to *el-Bîreh* (Beeroth). Cf. Brocardus, c. 7; Quaresmius, ii. p. 786; Maundrell.

The Mishna describes Michmash as famous for its barley, giving rise to the Talmudic proverb 'to bring barley to Michmash' (Reland, *Pal.* 897).

The great valley west of Ai, which runs to Jericho as the *Wady Ḳelt*, becomes a narrow gorge, a great crack or fissure in the country. On the south side of this great chasm stands *Jeba* (Geba of Benjamin) on a rocky knoll, with caverns beneath the town and arable land to the east. Looking across the valley, the stony hills and white chalky slopes present a desolate appearance; and on the opposite side, considerably lower than Jeba, is the little village of *Mukhmâs* (Michmash), on a sort of saddle backed by an open and fertile corn valley (Conder, *Tent-Work in Palestine*, ii. 112). With regard to the description of Michmash by Josephus, Conder states, 'Exactly such a natural fortress exists immediately east of the village of Michmash, and it is still called the fort by the peasantry. It is a ridge rising in thin rounded knolls above a perpendicular crag, ending in a narrow tongue to the east with cliffs below, and having an open valley behind it, and a saddle towards the west on which Michmash itself is situated. Opposite this fortress to the south there is a crag of equal height, and seemingly impassable: thus the description of the Old Testament is fully borne out' (1 S 14^4). 'The picture is unchanged since the days when Jonathan looked over the white camping-ground of the Philistines, and Bozez must then have shone as brightly as it does now, in the full light of an Eastern sun. To any one looking over the valley it seems a most difficult feat to cross it, and, in the words of Josephus, "it was considered impossible not only to ascend to the camp on that quarter, but even to come near it"' (*Tent-Work in Pal.* ii. 113). Mukhmâs is a small stone village. The water supply is from cisterns, with a well to each. On the north are rock-cut tombs. There are foundations and remains of former buildings in the village, and the masonry of what appears to have been a church (*SWP* vol. iii.).

LITERATURE.—Josephus, *Ant.* VI. vi. 2; Robinson, *BRP*², i. 440 ff.; Tristram, *Land of Israel* (Index); Conder, *Tent-Work in Palestine* (Index); Buhl, *GAP* 176; Guérin, *Judée*, iii. 63 ff.; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 178 n. 1, 250, 291. C. WARREN.

MICHMETHAH (הַמִּכְמְתָה with art.).—The name of a place on the north border of Ephraim, to the east of Shechem, Jos 16^6 (B Ἰκασμών, A Μαχθώθ, Luc. εἰς Ἀχθώθ) 17^7 (where 'הַמִּ מֵאָשֵׁר of MT is represented in B by Δηλανάθ, A and Luc. ἀπὸ Ἀσὴρ Μαχθώθ). From the circumstance that the art. is prefixed, Siegfried-Stade suggest that 'הַמִּ may not be a proper name, but an appellative. If so, its meaning must remain obscure, as the meaning of the root [כמת] is quite unknown. The name may perhaps exist in a corrupt form as *Mukhnah*, applying to the plain east of Shechem. The change may be compared with that which has certainly taken place in the case of Michmash (mod. *Mukhmâs*), and the change of *n* for *m* is not infrequent in Aramaic as compared with Hebrew. But *Mukhnah* may also stand for *maḥaneh* 'camp,' a term applied in two cases (Mahanaim and Mahaneh-dan) to plains. Buhl (*GAP* 202) conjectures that Michmethah may be *Khirbet kefr beita*, between *Sichem* and *Ta'na*.

C. R. CONDER.

MICHRI (מִכְרִי).—Eponym of a Benjamite family, 1 Ch 9^8 (B Μαχείρ, A Μοχορέ, Luc. Μαχειρί).

MICHTAM.—See PSALMS.

MIDDIN (מִדִּין; B apparently Αἰνών, A Μαδών, Luc. Μαδδείν).—A town in the wilderness (*midbar*) of Judah, Jos 15^{61}. The site has not been recovered. If we might suppose מדין to be an early clerical error for מרד, the site of *Mird* on the plateau S.W. of Jericho would be a likely one. This was at one time occupied by a monastery. See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xviii. C. R. CONDER.

MIDDLEMOST, MIDLAND.—The Heb. word תִּיכוֹן *tīkhōn*, usually translated 'middle,' is rendered 'middlemost' in Ezk $42^{5.6}$. The tr. comes from Cov., and RV retains it. Cf. Jer. Taylor, *Works*, ii. 65, 'Truth hath a mysterious name, . . . it consists of three letters [*i.e.* אמת], the first and the last and the middlemost of the Hebrew letters.'

Midland is still in use as an adj., and as a subst. in the pl. 'the Midlands.' As a sing. subst. it occurs in 2 Mac 8^{35} 'he came like a fugitive servant through the midland (1611 'mid land') unto Antioch' (διὰ τῆς μεσογείου). RV retains the word, but mod. Eng. is 'interior.'

The form **middest** for 'midst' often occurs in the early editions of AV. Mod. editions spell 'midst.' Cf. Fuller, *Holy State*, 260, 'Two eyes see more then one, though it be never so big, and set (as in Polyphemus) in the middest of the forehead.' Other forms are, besides 'midst' itself, 'midest' (Jth 6^{11}), 'middes' (Ps 116^{19}, Ac 27^{21}, Ph 2^{15}), and 'mids' (Jer 37^{12}, Three $^{27.66}$, Sus $^{34.48}$). J. HASTINGS.

MIDIAN, MIDIANITES (מִדְיָן).—A son of Abraham by Keturah (Gn 25^{1-4}, 1 Ch $1^{32.33}$), and the name of the nation of which he is reckoned the progenitor. The plural מִדְיָנִים occurs Gn 37^{28}, Nu 25^{17} 31^{2} only. In Gn 37^{36} מְדָנִים is probably a variant of מִדְיָנִים, and refers to the same people as in v.^{28}. The LXX have the same rendering in both verses. מִדְיָנִי occurs Nu 10^{29}, but elsewhere the nation or the country is called מִדְיָן, LXX Μαδιάμ (but B has Μαδιάν in Nu), Vulg. *Madian*, and in Jth 2^{26}, Ac 7^{29}, AV has **Madian.** Other renderings of LXX are Μαδιηναῖοι Gn $37^{28.36}$, Nu 25^{17} Μαδιανεῖται, Nu 10^{29} 31^{2}. Both AV and RV have Midian or Midianites in OT.

In connexion with the genealogies of Gn 25, three points may be noted.

(*a*) The name Keturah. The meaning of the word is either *incense* or *the perfumed one* (cf. Ca 3^{6} *perfumed* with myrrh or frankincense), and may imply that the tribes descended from her were occupied in the production of incense and spices, or were traders in these articles. It will be remembered that the merchantmen (described as Midianites in Gn 37) who carried Joseph into Egypt are represented as bearing 'spicery and balm and myrrh' (v.^{25}), and that the dromedaries of Midian and Ephah are mentioned as bringing gold and incense (Is 60^{6}).

(*b*) The relationship between Midian and the Israelites. The genealogy, by tracing the descent of both nations from Abraham, acknowledges kinship, but assigns separate territory to each (Gn 25^{6}). But among the descendants of Midian are Ephah, Epher, and Hanoch. Ephah is mentioned twice in genealogies connected with Judah 1 Ch $2^{46.47}$, Epher in connexion with Judah 1 Ch 4^{17}, and with the half-tribe of Manasseh on E. of Jordan 1 Ch 5^{24}. Hanoch is the name of Reuben's eldest son. This similarity of names (note that they belong to *frontier* tribes) may point to further alliances between the Midianites and Israel. The marriage of Moses with a Midianite woman is recorded without disapproval, and it may be but one of many similar unions of which no record has been preserved.

(*c*) The distinction between the Midianites and the descendants of Ishmael. This distinction, clearly indicated in the genealogy of Gn 25 (cf. v.^{6} with v.^{9}), is not so marked elsewhere, for in Gn 37 the merchantmen who carried Joseph into Egypt are described both as Ishmaelites and Midianites (cf. v.^{25} with v.^{28} and v.^{36}), and in Jg 8^{24} the same interchange of names occurs.

The Midianites appear in Gn as traders moving about in companies with camels. In the earlier chapters of Ex they are described as a pastoral people tending their flocks. Moses flees from the face of Pharaoh to Midian, is hospitably received by Jethro the priest, and marries his daughter Zipporah. While Israel is at Sinai, Jethro visits his son-in-law, and at their departure from Sinai Moses begs him to accompany them, but he declines. The descendants of Jethro continued their friendly relations with the children of Israel, for in the time of the Judges they are found dwelling in the land (Jg 1^{16} $4^{11.17}$), and Saul shows favour to them because of the services which they rendered to the Israelites in the wilderness (1 S 15^{6}). In these passages they are called Kenites. Towards the end of the journeyings, when Israel is on the E. side of the Jordan, Midianites are acting in concert with Moab in procuring the services of Balaam; they tempt Israel to idolatry and lewdness, and are defeated with great slaughter [Nu 22, 25^{6-18} 31, with ref. in Jos $13^{21.22}$].

The character of the Midianites as here portrayed is very different from that presented in the earlier chapters of Exodus. Instead of a friendly people, with Jethro their priest acknowledging and praising the God of Abraham (Ex 18^{9-12}), the children of Israel are now confronted with a nation of idolaters, on whom they are bidden to take vengeance. These varied aspects under which Midian is presented to us may be accounted for by supposing that the name of Midian was applied to a number of clans spreading over a large area, some of whom settled down peacefully, tending their flocks, while others were of a roving and warlike character.

Due regard must also be had to the fact that the accounts of the Midianites are derived from different sources. The chapters which refer to Jethro are assigned to JE, and Nu 25^{6-18} and 31 to P. Nu 31^{16} states that the action of the Midianites described in 25^{6-18} was prompted by the counsel of Balaam. In the account of Balaam (Nu 22–24) the elders of Midian are mentioned twice at the commencement (Nu $22^{4.7}$), but throughout the rest of the section Balak and the princes of Moab are represented as treating with Balaam, and there is no further reference to Midian. Some commentators are of opinion that this cursory mention of Midian implies the existence of a document which gave further details about the conduct of Midian on this occasion, some of which are preserved in Nu 25 and 31 (cf. Jos. *Ant.* IV. vi. 6–13). Another view is that Midian is inserted in Nu 22 on harmonistic grounds.

The account of Gideon is also a composite one, and it is generally allowed that Jg 6^{1}–8^{3} and Jg 8^{4-21} are from different sources, though the contrast between the two sections has been exaggerated (see Moore, *Judges, in loc.*, and art. GIDEON). As the Midianites disappear from history after their defeat by Gideon, it is possible that later writers may have employed the name of Midian in a less exact manner, as a general designation of ancient foes of Israel. The peculiar character of Nu 31 will not escape the notice of the thoughtful reader. The *ideal* picture of a holy war there portrayed may remind him of that symbolical treatment of Midian as the spiritual enemy which is to be found both in Jewish and Christian writers.

Yet another characteristic of Midian, which distinguishes nomad tribes even to the present day, appears prominently in the Book of Judges: they made raids upon their neighbours at harvest time and stripped the land bare, coming as grasshoppers for multitude with their tents and camels as far as Gaza. The story of their defeat by Gideon is told in Jg 6–8. He not only drives them out of Western Palestine, but pursues them on the east side of the Jordan, captures their two chiefs Zebah and Zalmunna, and takes vengeance on them for their slaughter of his brethren by putting them to death (Jg 8^{18-21}) (see GIDEON).

The memory of this great deliverance was cherished by the people. Isaiah uses the phrase 'day of Midian' to describe the joy of Israel when the rod of his oppressor is broken (Is 9^4 10^{26}), and the Psalmist prays that the enemies of his nation may be put to shame and perish, as were the Midianites and their chiefs Zebah and Zalmunna (Ps $83^{9.11}$). A victory over Midian by Edom in the field of Moab is recorded (Gn 36^{35}, 1 Ch 1^{46}), but its date cannot be determined. The only other references to Midian are 1 K 11^{18}, and in the 'prayer of Habakkuk,' Hab 3^7.

Extent and position of territory.—The accounts given in Nu and Jg imply that the Midianites occupied country to the E. and S.E. of Palestine. In the genealogy (Gn 25^6) Midian and the sons of Abraham other than Isaac are sent away into the east country, and in Jg 6^3 Midian is associated with the children of the East. This is the only *direct* evidence of position afforded in the OT, and it indicates a territory E. of the Jordan and of the Arabah. Moab and Edom occupied the country on the E. and S.E. of Palestine from the river Arnon to the head of the Gulf of Aḳabah. There would remain, therefore, for Midian a tract of country to the N. of Arabia, and on the E. shore of the Gulf of Aḳabah, with freedom to roam northwards along the E. boundary of Edom and Moab. In this region Ptolemy mentions (vi. 7) a city *Μοδίανα* on the E. shore of the Red Sea (*i.e.* the Gulf of Aḳabah), and another *Μαδίαμα* situated inland. The former of these corresponds in position with the Madian of *Onom. Sac.* (136. 31, p. 168, ed. Lagarde) and with the Medyen of Arab writers, who locate there the well of Moses from which he watered the flocks of his father-in law. Classical writers give no information about Midian. Josephus says that Moses in his flight came to a city of Midian, lying on the Red Sea, so called from one of Abraham's sons by Keturah (*Ant.* II. i. 1). Philo considers Midianites to be an ancient name of the Arabians (*de Fortitudine*, ii. 381. 7, ed. Mangey). In recent times the country on the E. shore of the Gulf of Aḳabah has been explored by Sir R. Burton. The account of his first journey is given in *The Gold Mines of Midian*, 1878, and of his second in *The Land of Midian Revisited*, 1879. In the first book he gives a *résumé* of Jewish tradition with reference to Midian (c. vii.), and, in the second, extracts from Egyptian papyri and Arabic writers are collected (c. iv.).

No reference has been made in the geographical part of this article to passages in Exodus. The only geographical detail which these passages supply is relative, viz. that Mt. Sinai or Horeb was in or in close proximity to Midian. If from other considerations the position of Sinai be determined, then an additional fact is known concerning the territory of Midian. If the traditional situation of Sinai be accepted, then Midianites must have moved westwards into the peninsula between the Gulf of Suez and the Gulf of Aḳabah. Remembering the wide area over which the Midianites roved, such a migration is not improbable. But this proximity of Sinai to Midian may be urged in favour of assigning to Sinai a position E. of the Arabah, thereby assigning a uniform geographical position to Midian and rendering the hypothesis of migration unnecessary.

Other considerations in support of this view may be briefly indicated:—

(1) The poetical references to Sinai, Dt 33^2, Jg $5^{4.5}$, Hab 3^3, imply that the writers regarded Sinai and Seir as contiguous.

(2) The geographical note (Dt 1^2) and the account of Elijah's visit to Horeb (1 K 19—the only visit recorded in the OT outside the Pentateuch) supply no definite data for assigning a position to Sinai. The same may be said of Josephus' account of Elijah (*Ant.* VIII. xiii. 7) and of his other references to Sinai (II. xii. 1, III. v. 1).

(3) The peninsula at the time of the Exodus was part of Egypt, or inhabited by Egyptian settlers. A journey due east (in the direction of the modern *hajj* route) would lead the Israelites most quickly to safety, whereas that to the traditional Sinai would bring them again into contact with their Egyptian enemies.

(4) Elim may be a variant of Elath or Eloth, and a place of this name is on the Gulf of Aḳabah. The encampment by the sea following suits this position very well.

(5) The absence of satisfactory identification of any of the stations on the road to or from Sinai. Cf. EXODUS AND JOURNEY TO CANAAN, §§ ii. iii., and separate articles.

The question as to the position of Sinai is discussed by Sayce, *HCM* p. 264 ff. St. Paul's reference, Gal 4^{25}, to Sinai in Arabia is not conclusive as to the position of Sinai, for the boundary of Arabia towards the W., according to Herodotus, reaches to the canal dug by Necho and Darius, and includes part of the coastline of the Mediterranean to the S. of Gaza (Herod. iii. 5, iv. 39). The LXX speak of Goshen as Γέσεμ Ἀραβίας. Arabia may then include territory as far west as the modern canal. See ARABIA, GOSHEN, SINAI.

A. T. CHAPMAN.

MIDIANITISH WOMAN (הַמִּדְיָנִית), Nu 25^{6-18}, by name Cozbi, the daughter of Zur, was brought into the camp of Israel by Zimri the son of Salu. The parents of both were persons in high station. The people were weeping before the door of the tent of meeting (v.^{6}, and from vv.$^{8.9}$ it appears that a plague was raging among Israel at the time); and Phinehas, enraged at this profanation of the camp, thrust both of them through with a spear ('javelin' AV). His zeal was rewarded by the promise of an everlasting priesthood to him and to his seed after him (vv.$^{10-13}$). The plague was stayed after 24,000 had been slain.

This account (vv.$^{6-15}$) belongs to P. According to Wellhausen (*Comp. d. Hex.* p. 114), it is placed here after the Balaam section because it was originally connected with an account of Balaam, in which he appears as the counsellor of Midian, advising them to tempt Israel by means of their daughters. This part of the narrative has been replaced by the account in vv.$^{1-5}$ of Israel's connexion with Moab, and joining themselves to Baal-peor (JE). Here the daughters of *Moab* make Israel to sin, stress is laid on sacrifice and worship to strange gods, and the 'judges' carry out the sentence. But Kuenen doubts whether, in joining the two accounts together, so interesting a detail would have been entirely suppressed, and is disposed to think that Balaam's name did not occur in the original introduction to the story of the Midianitish woman. This is certain, that the two accounts in Nu 25 are from different sources, that they are incomplete, and that emendation must be conjectural. It is probable that vv.$^{16-18}$ have been added by way of introduction to the account of Nu 31. For further details the writers above mentioned may be consulted, and Dillmann's commentary on the chapter.

A. T. CHAPMAN.

MIDRASH.—See COMMENTARY.

MIDWIFE (מְיַלֶּדֶת, *μαῖα*, *obstetrix.*—Midwives must have been employed among the Hebrews from a comparatively early period (Gn 35^{17} 38^{28}, Ex $1^{15ff.}$); but it would appear that Hebrew women usually had little difficulty in childbirth, and that such assistance was not always required (Ex 1^{19}). In some cases the necessary service was rendered by friends or relatives (1 S 4^{20}), as is still the custom in many parts of the East. From the fact that in Ex 1 only two Hebrew midwives are spoken of, it may perhaps be inferred that they were not a numerous class.

A word used in the narrative of Exodus has given rise to some difficulty. אָבְנַיִם *'obnayim*—a dual form meaning apparently 'the double stone'—occurs again only in Jer 18^{3}, where it is applied to the 'potter's wheel.' In Ex 1^{16} it can hardly denote anything but a special kind of stool used by women in labour. Gesenius (*Thesaurus*, p. 17) doubted the early invention of such a contrivance, and interpreted the word of a stone bath in which the child was washed; but the study of medicine had made considerable progress in Egypt in very early times; birth-stools of various patterns have been employed in many parts of the world (Ploss, *Das Weib* ^{2}, ii. 35, 179 ff.); and at the present day in Egypt a chair of peculiar form, called the *Kursee elwiládeh*, is still in common use (Lane, *Modern Egyptians* ^{5} (1871), ii. 241).

The meaning of the names Shiphrah and Puah is quite uncertain; also whether they are of Hebrew or of Egyptian origin. The statement that 'God made for these women houses' (Ex 1^{21}) must refer to their numerous or prosperous families, which were regarded as a reward for their upright and courageous conduct towards their Hebrew patients. H. A. WHITE.

MIGDAL-EDER.—See EDER, No. 1.

MIGDAL-EL (מִגְדַּל־אֵל; B Μεγαλααρείμ, A Μαγδαλιηωράμ, the following name Horem being incorporated).—'The Tower of God,' a town of Naphtali (Jos 19^{38}) between Iron and Horem. The exact site is uncertain, though Eusebius (*Onom. s.v.*) places it between Dora (*Tantûra*) and Ptolemais (*Acre*), and 9 miles from the first. In this case it would correspond with *Athlît*. But the territory of Naphtali did not extend so far, and the site must rather be looked for in one of the numerous *Mejdels* of N. Palestine. See, further, Dillm. *Jos. ad loc.* A. H. SAYCE.

MIGDAL-GAD (מִגְדַּל־גָּד 'tower of Gad'; B Μαγαδὰ Γάδ, A Μαγδὰλ Γ.; Vulg. *Magdal-Gad*).—Mentioned only (Jos 15^{37}) in the list of the cities of the lot of Judah, together with Zenan and Hadashah, neither of which has been identified. It is one of the group of sixteen cities which are found in various parts of the Shephēlah, so that there is no clue as to the position. Of the same group, Makkedah, Gederoth, Beth-dagon, and Naamah have been found to the north, Lachish and Eglon to the south, and Socoh, Adullam, Azekah, and Jarmuth to the east of the Shephēlah. The name, the 'Tower of Gad' ('Fortune'), may refer to the ancient worship of Gad (good luck or fortune) among the Canaanites. Gesenius conjectures that Gad was the planet Jupiter. In the north of Palestine the modern representation of Baal-gad is conjectured (*BRP* iii. 409) to be *Bânîas*, which is known to have been the sanctuary of Pan; but there is nothing whatever at present known of the remains in the Shephēlah to allow of any conjectures concerning Migdal-gad.

There is a town named *Mejdel* about 2½ miles north-east of Ashkelon (*'Askalân*) which is suggested as possibly the site of Migdal-gad, solely from the resemblance of the first portion of the name. It is the most important modern town of the district (*Nâhiet el-Mejdel*), has a good weekly market, and a population of about 1500 inhabitants. There is a bazaar in the town; rope-making is carried on outside; the inhabitants are traders, rich and prosperous, and there is a bustle and activity about the place contrasting with most towns in Palestine. There is a mosque with a very conspicuous minaret, seen for a long distance inland. The houses are of mud, the water supply from wells and a pond to the east, where there is also a grove of palms. To the north are olive groves with large trees, and it is a rich corn country. The sandy dunes are encroaching on the west close on to the town.

Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.*) mention *Magdala*, but give no information. This town may be the Magdolon (Μάγδολον) mentioned by Herodotus (ii. 159) where Pharaoh-necho conquered the Syrians (B.C. 608). As the conquest of Cadytis (Jerusalem?) follows, it is usually conjectured that the Magdolon of Herodotus is the Migdol of the Old Testament (Ex 14^{2}, Nu 33^{7}), situated in Lower Egypt (Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.* ix. 15).

LITERATURE.—Dillmann, *Jos. ad loc.*; Guérin, *Judée*, ii. 131; Buhl, *GAP* 189; Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.*^{2} 210.

C. WARREN.

MIGDOL (מִגְדּוֹל, מִגְדֹּל, Μάγδωλον), the name of one or more places on the frontier of Egypt. The word is Semitic, and means 'tower'; it is commonly found in composition, as in the names Migdal-el, Migdal-eder, Migdal-gad. Similarly in Egyp. inscriptions of the 19th and 20th Dynasties, at a time when many Semitic words were adopted into the hieroglyphic vocabulary, the word occurs compounded with the names of different Pharaohs, etc., to designate what appear to have been fortresses on the eastern frontier. In OT, however, the simple form Migdol is always found whenever the place in question is in Egypt.

In Ex 14^{2}, Nu 33^{7} 'Migdol' refers to a place situated between Goshen and the Red Sea, and near the spot where the Israelites crossed the latter. According to a papyrus, there was in this region, near Succoth, a Migdol of the Pharaoh Seti I.

In Jer 44^{1} and 46^{14} Migdol, Noph (Memphis), and Tahpanhes (Daphnae) are named as the cities in which the Jews dwelt in Egypt, together with the country of Pathros (the south country, or Upper Egypt). Ezekiel twice mentions Migdol as the N.E. extremity of the country, the other extremity being Syene ('from Migdol to Syene,' the marginal rendering in Ezk 29^{10} 30^{6}, preferable to AV and RV). One of the principal routes from Palestine passed along the Wady Tumîlat; it is possible that the Migdol of Ex was the first station in Egypt on this route from Syria, and was thus considered as marking the N.E. frontier. But a Roman Itinerary mentions a Magdolo nearer the coast, only 12 miles south of Pelusium, and this situation (perhaps at the modern Tell el-Hêr) agrees still better with the biblical indications. Mashtûl, the present form in which the name Migdol occurs in Egypt, is derived through the Coptic; it is found as a village-name three times—twice in the eastern Delta, and once in Middle Egypt. But none of these Mashtûls can be identified with a biblical Migdol. F. LL. GRIFFITH.

MIGRON (מִגְרוֹן; B Μαγών, Luc. Μαγεδδώ).—**1.** A place in Benjamin, in the neighbourhood of Gibeah (1 S 14^{2}). There are reasons for suspecting that the vocalization of the MT is incorrect, and that a proper name should not be read here at all. The Syr. read בְּגֹרֶן 'by the threshing-floor,' and Wellh. (*Sam. ad loc.*) proposes בַּמִּגְרָן, with the same meaning. This is accepted by Budde (in *SBOT*), who objects to Klostermann's emendation בַּמִּגְרָשׁ 'in the common-land,' that this is hardly an old enough word to be used here. If מגרון be taken as a proper name, it is a question whether it is to be identified with—**2.** Migron of Is 10^{28} (B Μαγεδώ, A Μαγεδδώ, *i.e.* Megiddo, which of course is out of the question). The prophet, in his (ideal) description of the Assyrian invasion, mentions Migron as one of the stages in the march of the enemy, and appears to place it north of Michmash, and thus at a considerable distance from Gibeah (cf. v.^{29}). W. R. Smith, indeed, proposes (*Journ. of*

Philol. 13, 62 ff.) to identify with the Migron of 1 S 14^{2}, *south* of the *Wâdy Suweinît*, by supposing that the Assyrian, before marching through the pass, is pictured as seizing by a *coup-de-main* this position at its southern end. This is accepted by Driver (*Isaiah*^{2}, p. 72), but Dillmann and Buhl both object to it as too artificial, and agree in locating Isaiah's Migron at the modern *Makrun*, about ½ mile S.E. of the village of Burka (cf. Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.*^{2} 121). J. A. SELBIE.

MIJAMIN (מִיָּמִן and מִיָּמִין).—**1.** One of those who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10^{25} (B Ἀμαμείν, A Μεαμίμ, called in 1 Es 9^{26} **Maelus**). **2.** Eponym of the 6th of the priestly courses, 1 Ch 24^{9} (B Βενιαμείν, A Μειαμείν). This family returned with Zerubbabel, Neh 12^{5} (ℵ$^{c.a}$ Μειμίν), and was represented at the sealing of the covenant 10^{7} (B Μιαμείμ, A Μιαμείν) = **Miniamin** of Neh 12^{17}.

MIKLOTH (מִקְלוֹת).—**1.** A son of Jeiel, 1 Ch 8^{32} = $9^{37f.}$. The words 'and Mikloth' (וּמִקְלוֹת) have probably been dropped at the end of 8^{31} (B καὶ Μακαλώθ). In 9^{37} they are found both in MT and LXX (B Μακελλώθ, A Μακεδώθ). **2.** An officer of David, 1 Ch 27^{4}. There is a strong suspicion that the MT is corrupt. The name is wanting in LXX (BA).

MIKNEIAH (מִקְנֵיָהוּ).—A gate-keeper of the ark, 1 Ch 15^{18} (B Μακελλειά, A Μακενιά, ℵ Μακκελλά) ^{21} (B Μακενιά, A Μακενίας).

MILALAI (מִלֲלַי, LXX om.).—The eponym of a priestly family, Neh 12^{36}.

MILCAH (מִלְכָּה, Μελχά).—**1.** Daughter of Haran, and wife of Nahor who was her uncle,* Gn 11^{29}. The names of her children are given in $22^{20ff.}$. Rebekah was her granddaughter, $24^{15.\,24.\,47}$. All these passages proceed from J. Nöldeke (*ZDMG* xlii. 484) conjectures that *Milcah* may be the same name as מְלֶכֶת, the goddess worshipped by the Phœnicians. Ball (*SBOT*) thinks it possible that מִלְכָּה and יִסְכָּה (also Gn 11^{29}) may be phonetic or dialectic variants of the same (tribal or local) name; cf. כַּשְׂדִּים = Assyr. *Kaldu*. 'The weakening and disappearance of *m* is a well-known feature of Babylonian.' This, however, appears somewhat precarious. See, further, art. ISCAH.

2. Daughter of Zelophehad, Nu 26^{33} 27^{1} 36^{11}, Jos 17^{3} (all P). There can be little doubt that Kuenen is right in pronouncing Zelophehad's 'daughters' to be really towns, and, if the above conjecture of Nöldeke be correct, *Milcah* may be an abbreviated form of Beth-milcah (see Gray, *Heb. Prop. Names*, p. 116). J. A. SELBIE.

MILCOM.—See MOLECH.

MILDEW (יֵרָקוֹן *yĕrāḳôn*, ὤχρα, *rubigo*).—This word occurs with שִׁדָּפוֹן *shiddāphôn*, ἀνεμοφθορία, *aëre corruptus* (Dt 28^{22}, 1 K 8^{37}, 2 Ch 6^{28}, Am 4^{9}, Hag 2^{17}). *Yērāḳôn* signifies 'yellowness' or 'pallor' (cf. Arab. *yeraḳân* = 'jaundice'). It is in contrast with *shiddāphôn*, which signifies the drying up or scorching of the grain or fruit by heat, during the siroccos or *khamsîn* winds. Mildew consists of various species of parasitic fungi, which grow at the expense of their host, and suck out the juices of the grain or fruit, and so destroy them. As *shiddāphôn* is due to excessive drought, *yērāḳôn* is due to excessive moisture. They are both peculiarly liable to occur in a climate marked by long periods of uninterrupted heat, followed by a winter season, during which most of the rainfall of the year takes place within two or three months. G. E. POST.

MILE.—See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

MILETUS (Μίλητος) was in very early times the most famous and important of the Ionian cities, an ancient Greek colony on the coast of Caria. It was situated at the southern end of the sea entrance to the gulf into which the river Mæander formerly emptied itself. But the silt which the river carries with it has entirely filled up the gulf, and forced the coastline far out to sea. Hence the modern Palatia, which marks the site of Miletus, is about 5 or 6 miles from the sea, and Lade, which in the time of Strabo (A.D. 19) was an island in front of the harbour of Miletus, is now a small hill in the low alluvial plain. Once the greatest Greek city in Asia, Miletus was a second-rate town under the Romans, and now is, and is likely always to continue, an obscure village or a ruin. Our ignorance of the exact truth as to the situation of Miletus in relation to the coastline about the middle of the 1st cent. makes the circumstances narrated in Ac 20^{15}–21^{1} rather obscure. The present coastline extends nearly direct northwards on the west side of the site of Miletus. But in A.D. 19 Miletus was situated on the south coast of a gulf of irregular shape (Λατμικὸς Κόλπος), which extended far into the country eastwards. The south-eastern extremity of this gulf is now a lake. The rest of the gulf is now land, often swampy, through which the Mæander flows in two arms—one keeping near the north side of the low alluvial plain, and one near the south side. The southern arm in its upper part seems to be the channel of the ancient river. The two arms unite close on the north-west side of the site of Miletus, and flow into the sea by one mouth. We do not know the exact line of the coast about A.D. 50; but Strabo gives a rough idea of its situation 30 years earlier.

Thus, in modern times, a messenger could easily be sent by land straight north from Miletus to Ephesus. But in ancient times a foot-messenger would have to make an immense circuit: for example, he would have to traverse about 110 stadia from Miletus to Heracleia, and 100 from Heracleia to Pyrrha, whereas the sea-crossing from Miletus to Pyrrha was only 30 stadia. Pyrrha was 50 stadia south of the mouth of the Mæander, which joined the sea between Pyrrha and Priene. At the present day Priene is 12 miles from the coast. The coastline on to Priene is not stated by Strabo, but it must have been more than 100 stadia. Hence the foot-messenger would have a journey of over 360 stadia from Miletus to Priene (45 miles), whereas the straight line across the gulf is barely 100 stadia (12½ miles). From Priene to Ephesus, the land road across the mountains cannot be less than 25 miles, though the air line is under 20. St. Paul's messenger, then, probably sailed to Priene and walked or rode thence to Ephesus. The vague statement often made, that Ephesus was by land only about 20 or 30 miles distant from Miletus, is, as we now see, very misleading.

If we accept as true * the Bezan and Western addition to Ac 20^{15} *μείναντες ἐν Τρωγυλλίῳ*, we see that the ship on which were St. Paul and the delegates, bearing the contributions of the Churches of the four provinces, Achaia, Macedonia, Asia, and Galatia, after sailing from Assos on a Monday morning,* must have spent Wednesday night at Trogyllion, the extreme promontory of Mount Mykale on the north side of the Mæander valley, projecting far out towards the west and towards Samos. On Thursday a voyage of only about 23 miles with the morning breeze from the north would bring them to Miletus. A messenger was then found, and sent to Ephesus. He would probably reach Ephesus during the course of Thursday night, and the assembling of the elders and their journey (some being doubtless comparatively elderly men) would take time. The morning of Saturday, then, is the earliest possible date for the arrival of the elders in Miletus; and we must suppose that St. Paul spent the day with them; and probably the early morning of Sunday † was the time when the ship proceeded on its voyage to Jerusalem, reaching Cos that day.

---

* For other instances of marriages of relatives in the family of Terah, Dillmann cites Gn 20^{12} $24^{3ff.}$ 29^{19}, pointing out at the same time that 'such marriages are only a short way of expressing the amalgamation of fair-sized communities into one whole.'

* True, whether as a correct tradition added by a reviser, or as a part of the original text written by St. Luke, which dropped out either in the transmission of the text, or through the act of the author (according to Prof. Blass's theory).

According to 2 Ti 4[20] St. Paul visited Miletus (AV *Miletum*) on some later occasion, and there left Trophimus sick. This visit is quite inconsistent with the narrative of Ac, and must be referred to a later period, after St. Paul was released from his Roman imprisonment, and returned to the Ægean lands and churches.

The famous temple of Apollo Didymeus at Branchidæ was about 20 miles south of Miletus, in the territory subject to that city. It stood about 2 miles back from the coast, overlooking the harbour Panormus. The best account of Miletus and Branchidæ is given in Sir C. T. Newton's works, and in Radet's *Milet et le Golfe Latonique*.

Miletus is mentioned as a bishopric in all the *Notitiæ Episcopatuum*; but, although it is given first in the list of Hierocles' *Synekdemos*, the common statement that its bishop occupied the first rank among the bishops of Caria is wrong: that rank belonged to Aphrodisias, for the coast cities of Caria lost and the inner cities gained importance in the late Roman and Byzantine times. But during the 5th cent. Miletus became an archbishopric ‡ independent of the control of Aphrodisias (αὐτοκέφαλος), but without subject bishoprics.

Few traces of the influence of Christianity in Miletus have been discovered. It is apparent that in the coast towns of Asia, which were less thoroughly Christianized and also more closely under the eye of the imperial officials than those of Phrygia, hardly any public memorials of the new religion can have been erected before the time of Constantine. An official inscription of the time of Justinian is published in *Byzant. Zeitschrift*, 1894, p. 21. Another late inscription mentions the saint and martyr Onesippos (*CIG* 8847). A strange example of popular superstition and angelolatry, invoking the seven archangels to guard the city, was found in the theatre (*CIG* 2895); it perhaps belongs to the 4th cent.: on the kind of practices connected with this class of superstition see Wünsch, *Sethianische Verfluchungstafeln*, 1898.

Miletus is mentioned in LXX of Ezk 27[18] (see Field, *Hexapla*). W. M. RAMSAY.

MILK.—See FOOD in vol. ii. p. 36ᵃ.

MILL, MILLSTONE (רֵחַיִם, Arab. *raḥa*).—The hand-mill is in constant use in many parts of Syria at the present time. It consists of two circular stones, one of which is placed on the top of the other, and the upper and lower surfaces of each of them are flat. From the centre of the lower stone a strong pin of wood passes through a funnel-shaped hole in the upper stone. Into this hole the grain to be ground is thrown, and it escapes as flour between the two stones at the circumference, and falls on a smooth sheepskin which is placed under the lower stone. On the surface of the upper stone, near its circumference, the handle is inserted, which may be of any length, according to the number of hands used in turning it. Small stones are generally turned by one woman, but larger ones may be turned by two, three, or four women.

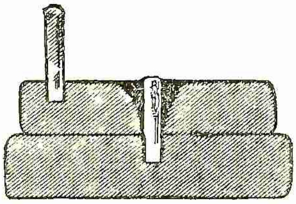

SECTION OF HAND-MILL.

In ancient times, turning the mill was a work deemed fit only for women and slaves. In Jg 16[21] Samson was set to grind in the prison. In La 5[13], rendered in RV 'the young men bare the mill, and the children stumbled under the wood,' it should probably be, as in the Arab., 'They caused the young men to grind, and the boys stumbled under the wood.' The poet laments that the young men should be put to so degrading an employment, and that the boys should be put to a work for which they were not able, such as carrying the wood to the oven for firing the bread which was made from the flour ground by the young men. Hand-mills have no wood about them except the handle and the central pin, which are fixed so that they cannot be taken out. In Lebanon and those parts of Syria where a fall of water can be obtained, large millstones are turned by a horizontal water-wheel. The water falls through a pipe formed of large stones perforated, and at the lower end of this pipe a wooden channel directs the stream against the floats of the wheel. The water-wheel is enclosed in a vault, the roof of which forms the floor of the room in which the millstones are placed. The wooden axle of the wheel passes through the roof of the vault, through the lower millstone, and is fixed to the upper millstone, which it turns round. When the wheat is ground into flour it is gathered in the same way as when the hand-mill is used. This kind of mill is called *ṭâḥoon*. Cf. the Heb. *ṭĕḥōn*. There is another kind of mill turned by animals, which is called *ṭăḥânet*. In Mt 18[6], Mk 9[42] we have μύλος ὀνικός, a millstone turned by an ass. Usually the stones of the mill are of a dark-brown sandstone, and when the stone is soft the flour is full of sand. The upper stone has frequently to be taken off to have its under surface roughened; but when the porous Ḥauran stone is used, that is not necessary, as the stone in wearing presents new holes, and, consequently, new cutting edges.

The hand-mill being an implement absolutely necessary in a household, it was forbidden to take the upper millstone (רֶכֶב, Arab. *mirdât*) as security for debt, as that would render the mill useless (Dt 24[6]).

Mills are used not only for grinding wheat into flour, they are used also for making crushed wheat (*burghal*). The wheat is first boiled and then dried in the sun, and when put into the mill water is sprinkled upon it to prevent its being ground into flour. The mill is turned slowly. Crushed wheat is used to make a kind of food which is a great favourite with the mountaineers of Lebanon; it is called *kibby*. It is a mixture of crushed wheat (RV 'bruised corn,' Pr 27[22]) and raw mutton beaten together in a mortar for hours, and is generally eaten cooked, but often raw. The grinding of the *burghal*, or bruised wheat, was a season of rejoicing in Lebanon some years ago. The young men gathered together, and, while the grinding was going on, songs were sung to the accompaniment of musical instruments and a kind of small drum. W. CARSLAW.

---

* In the year A.D. 57 it would be Monday 25th April.

† Sunday 1st May, A.D. 57.

‡ See Gelzer's articles in *Jahrb. f. protest. Theol.* xii., and Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 423. Gelzer fixes the date between 459 and 536, but it may be earlier.

MILLENNIUM.—A name suggested by the period of 1000 years described in Rev $20^{2.\ 4-7}$ during which Satan is confined in the abyss, and the martyr saints reign with Christ. Hence variously understood, according to the interpretation put upon the passage, either as (1) the period, present or future, definite or indefinite, 'during which the kingdom of Christ will be established upon earth, and will dominate over all other authority' (*Cent. Dict.*); or more specially (2) as the period in which 'Christ will reign in bodily presence on earth for a thousand years' (*Oxf. Eng. Dict. s.* 'Chiliasm'). In this latter sense it is associated with pre-millenarian views of Christ's Second Coming, the word Chiliast or Millenarian being usually applied in the pre-millenarian sense (*Oxf. Eng. Dict. l.c.; Cent. Dict.* 'Millenarian').

That which is characteristic of the doctrine in all its forms is the belief in a period of triumph and blessedness for the saints on earth, preceding and distinct from the final blessedness of the world to come. Such a belief meets us not only in the early Christian eschatology, but also in that of the later Jews, where it was probably due to a combination of the simpler eschatology whose horizon is bounded by this world and the hope of earthly triumph, and a more developed eschatology which distinguishes two worlds or æons, and places the true salvation in the latter (Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 178). While the term is often used loosely to describe carnal ideals of the future, whether limited in duration or not (as when reference is made to the chiliastic views of the Jews in Christ's time), it should properly be restricted to those opinions which, making the above distinction between the two æons, hold to a preliminary period of blessedness in the former. Hence those modern millenarians (like Seiss, *The Last Times*, 211) who identify the Millennium with the world to come, use the term in a sense altogether different from that which we are now discussing.

As thus defined, the doctrine of the Millennium is not found in OT. The prophets look forward to a state of blessedness and glory for Israel, to be introduced, either by the advent of J" Himself (Is 40^{9-11} 52^{7-12}), or of the Messiah (Is 9^{6}, Zec $9^{9.\ 10}$). This state is variously described—sometimes in language which requires no more than the establishment of the redeemed Israel in the first place among the nations; at others, in words which imply a change of nature itself, and the creation of a new heavens and a new earth (Is $65^{17ff.}$. Yet note that even this picture does not represent the individual members of the redeemed Israel as immortal. Cf. Enoch 5^{9} 10^{17} 25^{6}, Apoc. Bar 73^{3}). But, however conceived, this blessed state bounds the horizon of prophecy (cf. Jer 33^{17-22}, Ezk 37^{25}, Jl 4^{20}). Especially in Daniel is the eternity of the Messianic kingdom emphasized. 'And in the days of those kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed' (2^{44}). 'And the kingdom and the dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High. His kingdom is an everlasting kingdom' (7^{27}, cf. 7^{14}).

In much of the Pseudepigraphical literature we find the same point of view. So Sibyll 3^{46-50}, Jub 32 (quoted by Drummond, 314), Ps-Sol 17^{4}, Sibyll 3^{766} 'And then will he raise up a kingdom for all time for all men'; Enoch 62^{14} 'And the Lord of spirits will abide over them, and with that Son of Man will they eat and lie down and rise up for ever and ever.' Doubtless it is true, as Drummond remarks (314), that these expressions do not necessarily imply strict eternity (cf. Bar 73^{1} with 40^{3}; and see Enoch 10^{10}), although, in the case of Enoch 62^{14} as of Daniel, this seems required by the context. But in any case the ideal which is set forth in these passages is final. The same view appears (Jn 12^{34}) in the objection to Christ's prophecy concerning His lifting up. 'We have heard out of the law that the Christ abideth for ever.' So in the Targ. Jon. (on 1 K 4^{33}) the Messianic time and the world to come are identified. (Cf. Mishna, *Berachoth* i. 5, and the literature cited by Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 177).

Side by side with this view, we find in the Pseudepigraphical books another, which distinguishes between the Messianic kingdom, which it regards as belonging to this present age, and the final consummation of all things in the world to come. Perhaps the first trace of this doctrine is in Enoch 91^{12-17}, a fragment assigned by Charles to B.C. 104–95, and by Dillmann to the time of John Hyrcanus. The seer has described the seven weeks into which he conceives the past history of the world to be divided (93^{3-10}). 'And after that there will be another week, the eighth, that of righteousness, and a sword will be given to it that judgment and righteousness may be executed on those who commit oppression, and sinners will be delivered into the hands of the righteous. And at its close they will acquire houses through their righteousness. And the house of the Great King will be built in glory for ever more. And after that, in the ninth week, the righteous judgment will be revealed to the whole world, and all the works of the godless will vanish from the whole earth, and the world will be written down for destruction, and all mankind will look to the path of uprightness. And after this, in the tenth week, in the seventh part, there will be the great eternal judgment, in which he will execute vengeance amongst the angels. And the first heaven will depart and pass away, and a new heaven will appear, and all the powers of the heavens will shine sevenfold for ever. And after that there will be many weeks without number for ever, in goodness and righteousness, and sin will no more be mentioned for ever' (Charles' tr. p. 268 ff.). Here we have a period of righteousness, in which the temple is to be rebuilt, and a missionary week resulting in the conversion of the world, preceding the final judgment, which introduces the new heaven. There is, however, no mention of a personal Messiah. Briggs (*Mess. Gosp.* 15, 16; cf. *Mess. Apost.* 9), calls attention to the parallel between this passage and the later Persian eschatology, which regards the final resurrection and judgment as preceded by two preparatory millenniums, in which the prophets Ukhshyat-ereta, or Aūshētar, and Ukhshyat-nemah, or Aūshētar-māh, of the Avesta and the Pehlevī literature of Zoroastrianism, prepare the way for the coming of the final redeemer Saoshyant or Sōshāns. It is, of course, possible that in this, as in the allied doctrine of the resurrection, Jewish thought may have been affected by Persian ideas. But our sources for the Persian eschatology are so late (the Bundahis, in their present form, dating not earlier than the 7th cent. A.D.; cf. West in *Sac. Books of East*, v. p. xli, cf. also vols. xxiv. xxxvii. and xlvii.) that we must use great caution in drawing conclusions.*

---

* On Persian eschatology, cf. Hübschmann, 'Die parsische Lehre von Jenseits,' *Jahrb. Prot. Theol.* 1879, ii.; Fr. Spiegel, art. 'Parsismus,' in Herzog, *RE*²; Jackson, 'The Ancient Persian Doctrine of a Future Life,' in *Biblical World*, 1896, pp. 149–163. For

In the later Jewish Apocalypses, as in Talm., we find the limitation of Messiah's kingdom clearly set forth: thus Apoc. Bar distinctly limits its duration to this present world. *Et erit principatus ejus stans in sæculum, donec finiatur mundus corruptionis et donec impleantur tempora prædicta* (40^{3}). The character of this kingdom is set forth in extravagant language (women bearing children without pain, the vine yielding 1000 branches, each branch 1000 clusters, each cluster 1000 grapes, each grape a cor of wine, etc., cc. 29. 73), which occurs also in Papias, and is applied to the Christian Millennium. Still more striking is 2 Es $7^{28.\,29}$ 'For my Son the Messiah (so Syr. Æth. Arab. over ag. Lat. 'Iesus') shall be revealed with those that are with him, and shall rejoice with those that remain 400 years. And it shall come to pass after these years that my Son the Christ and all men who have breath shall die. And the world (*sæculum*) shall be changed into the ancient silence seven days as in the first beginnings, so that no one shall be left. And it shall come to pass after the seven days that the world which does not now wake shall be aroused, and the corruptible shall die. And the earth shall give up them that sleep in her, and the dust them that dwell in that silence, and the store-houses (*promptuaria*) shall give up the souls entrusted to them. And the Most High shall be revealed upon the seat of judgment,' etc. (cf. 12^{34}). Here, unlike Baruch, where the Messianic age forms a transition between this world and that which is to come ($74^{2.\,3}$, cf. Schürer, II. ii. 178), the contrast between the Messianic age and the world to come is emphasized in the sharpest way. The Messiah and all flesh die, and remain dead for seven days. The length of the Messianic kingdom is expressly limited to 400 years—a number explained in the Talmud as due to the combination of Gn 15^{13} (the sojourn in Egypt) with Ps 90^{15} 'Make us glad according to the days wherein thou hast afflicted us' (*Sanh.* 99*a*). Another passage cites Mic 7^{15} 'As in the days of thy coming forth out of the land of Egypt will I show unto him marvellous things' (*Tanchuma, Ekeb* 7, quoted Weber^{2}, 372). In the later Jewish theology the view of the Messiah's kingdom as limited became the prevailing one (Schürer, as above; cf. Weber, 373). Its duration was a favourite subject of speculation. The classical passages are *Sanh.* 97, 99*a*, where the following reckonings are given: three generations, 40 years (corresponding to the 40 years in the wilderness), 70 years, 100 years, 365 years, 400 years, 600 years, 1000 years, 2000 years, 7000 years (see the passages quoted at length in Gfrörer, ii. 252 ff.; also Weber, 371 ff.; Drummond, 315 ff.). The determining principle seems to have been either 'the analogy between the first and the last redemption, therefore 40 or 400 years,' or 'the symmetry of the final period with those which precede,' hence 2000 years, corresponding to the 2000 before and the 2000 under the law; or finally, 'the thought that the Messianic time is a time of joy, Israel's marriage—hence 1000 or 7000 years' (Weber, 373). Still another reckoning is based upon the idea of a Sabbatical week, in which six millenniums of work are followed by one of rest. This view, perhaps first found in Secrets of Enoch $33^{1.\,2}$ (see Charles' note at the passage, and Index ii., *s.* 'Millennium'; also art. ENOCH in vol. i. p. 711^{a}), rests upon Ps 90^{4} (cf. Jub 4, *Sanh.* 97*a*) and meets us in the Christian Epist. of Barnabas (c. 15).

In early Christian eschatology we find a like difference of view. On the one hand, we find passages in which the horizon of prophecy is bounded by the second advent of Christ, which, like the day of J″ of OT, is regarded as closing the present age, and introducing the world to come. In many passages it is expressly associated with the general resurrection and the judgment (Mt 13^{39}, parable of the Tares; Mt 25^{31-46}, the great judgment scene; Jn 5^{29} 6^{44}, Ac 17^{31}, cf. 10^{42}). It results, for the wicked, in 'eternal destruction from the face of the Lord and from the glory of his might' (2 Th 1^{6-10}), while it introduces the saints into 'an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled, and that fadeth not away' (1 P 1^{4-8}, cf. 2 P 1^{11}). On the other hand, we find a view which distinguishes between the Coming of Christ and the end of the world, and inserts between the two a period of millennial reign, in which Christ will dwell with the saints upon the renewed earth, and in which the OT prophecies concerning the glory of Jerus. and the victory of Israel over the nations will find their fulfilment. This period is variously described in language more or less gross or spiritual. But its essential features are these: a preliminary victory of Christ over the forces of evil at the advent (the destruction of Antichrist); a double resurrection, first of the saints at the beginning of the millennial period, then of all men at the last day; an earthly kingdom, in which the saints reign with Christ on the renewed earth, and the OT prophecies find literal fulfilment; a last brief outbreak of the forces of evil, followed by the universal resurrection and final judgment.

The doctrine of the Millennium is set forth in NT in clear terms only in Rev, where it constitutes 'the most easily recognizable dogmatic peculiarity' (Holtzmann, *Hdcom.* iv. 319). It is here taught that after the victory of the Messiah and His army over the beast and his army, and the destruction of the latter with the false prophet and all his followers (ch. 19), Satan himself will be cast into the abyss, and confined there for 1000 years, 'that he should deceive the nations no more until the 1000 years should be finished' (20^{3}). This triumph is followed by the resurrection of martyr saints, who reign with Christ as kings and priests 1000 years (20^{4}, cf. 5^{10}). This is expressly called the first resurrection, it being stated that 'the rest of the dead lived not until the 1000 years should be finished' (v.^{5}). At the close of the 1000 years Satan is loosed for a little while. Then follows a last world-conflict of the powers of evil, at the close of which takes place the final resurrection and judgment, ending in the destruction of all evil, Death and Hades themselves being cast into the lake of fire. This is the second death (20^{14}, cf. 2^{11}). This passage is most naturally understood as teaching a pre-millennial advent of Christ, and an earthly reign (so most recently by Salmond, *Christian Doctrine of Immortality*, 2nd ed. p. 442). It is to be noted, however, that the reference is only to a reign of the martyrs, not, as the later theory represented, of all Christians. Those who reject this interpretation are obliged either to break the connexion between chs. 19 and 20 (so Briggs, who regards the two chs. as belonging to two different Apocalypses, *Mess. Apost.* 305), or else to deny to ch. 19 any reference to the second advent, seeing in it only such a preliminary advent for judgment as is referred to in $2^{5.\,16}$ $3^{3.\,10}$ (so Moses Stuart, who sees in it no more than a reference to the approaching destruction of heathenism, ii. 352). The most serious difficulty in the way of this interpretation is the reference to the resurrection of the martyrs. In NT the resurrection of the saints is always associated with the advent of Christ. The older interpretations of a symbolic resurrection (as that of Israel in Ezk), or of a spiritual resurrection (as

---

a discussion of Persian influence on OT eschatology, Cheyne in *Expos. Times*, ii. (1890) pp. 202, 224, 248, and *Bampton Lectures for* 1880, p. 381 ff.; Moulton in *Expos. Times*, ix. 352 ff.; Stave, *Einfluss des Parsismus auf das Judentum*, 1898, p. 145 ff.; on the eschatology of the Talmud, Kohut, *ZDMG*, 1867, p. 552 ff.

in regeneration), are rendered untenable by the explicit reference to the martyrs (cf. 6^{9-11} 19^{9}). Those who reject the idea of a physical resurrection are obliged, therefore, to think of a resurrection from Hades to heaven, taking place at the close of the martyr age, and introducing those who are thus specially honoured into a state of heavenly blessedness which continues till the close of human history. (So Briggs, *Mess. Apost.* 357, who quotes Mt $27^{52.53}$, Eph 4^{8}, 1 P 3^{19} 4^{6}, Jn 5^{25}; Moses Stuart, ii. 478. The case of Moses and Elijah might also be cited. Cf. Schürer, II. ii. 180, for similar ideas among the Jews). From this point of view, the significance of the Millennium, while introduced indeed in time by the martyr age, and corresponding in general 'with the duration of the Church as the triumphing institution of the world in the last complete period of human history' (Briggs, 357), is not earthly but heavenly.

Outside of Rev many interpreters find reference to a millennial kingdom in 1 Co $15^{23.24}$, where St. Paul seems to distinguish between the Parousia of Christ with the resurrection of the saints, and the end when He shall deliver up the kingdom to the Father. Between these two events they conceive to lie that reign referred to in v.^{25}, which they identify with the period of 1000 years described in Rev 20 (so Olshausen, de Wette, Moses Stuart; Godet, *Com.* 1 *Cor.* Eng. tr. ii. 377 ff. *et al.*). Meyer distinguishes the two events in time, but rejects the identification of the intervening period with the Millennium of Rev 20. So Schmiedel, *Hdcomm.* ii. 161. On the other side, Heinrici, 1 *Kor.* 503 ff.; Weiss, *Bib. Theol.* 401; Harnack (art. 'Millennium,' *Enc. Brit.* xvi. 315); Briggs, *Mess. Apost.* 114, and the majority of modern interpreters. Those who find a pre-millenarian meaning in 1 Co $15^{23\text{ff.}}$ interpret in like sense Ph 3^{11} (St. Paul's hope of attaining the resurrection), 1 Th 4^{14-17} (which clearly refers, however, not to two resurrections, but to a resurrection of the faithful dead, to be followed immediately by the transformation of the 'quick'), Lk 14^{14} (the resurrection of the just), 20^{35} ('they that are accounted worthy to attain to that world, and the resurrection from the dead'), and Mt 19^{28} (the regeneration, when the apostles shall sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel). Premillenarian interpreters also refer to the period between the advent and the end, the promises in Mt 5^{5} (the meek shall inherit the earth), Mt $20^{8\text{ff.}}$ (the reward of the labourers), and Mk 10^{30}, Lk 18^{30} (the reward given to the disciples in this world, which is distinguished from that in the world to come; yet cf. Lk 20^{35}, where the resurrection introduces the world to come). For a temperate statement of the exegetical argument for premillenarianism, cf. H. Schultz in *JDTh*, 1867, pp. 120–127. On the other side, Salmond, *op. cit.* pp. 520, 561 ff., and the authorities cited above. See, further, under PAROUSIA.

Millenarian views were common, though by no means universal, in the early Church. They meet us in gross form in Papias, who quotes as a genuine word of Christ a prediction, generally agreeing with Apoc. Bar, concerning the remarkable fertility of the vine in the millennial kingdom (Iren. *adv. Hær.* v. 33; cf. Euseb. iii. 39); in more spiritual form in Barnabas, who, combining Gn 2^{2} with Ps 90^{4}, looks for a Millennium of Sabbath rest, following the present six millenniums of work, and introduced by the coming of the Messiah 'to put an end to the time of the wicked one, and to judge the ungodly, and to change sun, moon, and stars' (15^{5}). This he declares to be the true Sabbath rest for which Christians look—a time when, having been themselves justified, and having received the promise, lawlessness no longer existing, but all things having been made new by the Lord, they will be able to keep holy the Sabbath, having first been sanctified themselves (v.^{7}). At the close of this millennial period follows the beginning of the eighth day, which is the beginning of another world (v.^{8}). Hermas and 2nd Ep. Clement are also claimed as pre-millenarian, but without sufficient reason. There is no trace of the doctrine in either I Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, or the Epistle to Diognetus. The *Didaché*, indeed, restricts the resurrection at the Advent to those who are Christ's, but is silent as to what follows thereafter. 'And then shall appear the signs of the truth: first the sign of the outspreading in heaven, then the sign of the voice of the trumpet, thirdly the resurrection of the dead, yet not of all; but as it was said, The Lord shall come, and all his saints with him. Then the world shall see the Lord coming upon the clouds of heaven.'

The prevalence of millenarian views in the later Church was due partly to the Jewish Apocalypses, which were read and highly esteemed in the Christian Church (Papias, cf. Harnack, art. 'Millennium,' 315), partly to the explicit statement of the Apoc. of St. John (Justin, *Trypho*, 81). Hence we find later opponents of Chiliasm denying the authenticity of Rev (Dionysius *ap.* Euseb. vii. 25). While most common among the Jewish Christians, to whom their origin was attributed by later opponents (Cerinthus *ap.* Euseb. iii. 28; cf. *Test. XII. Pat.* [Jud. c. 25; Benj. c. 10]; Ebionites *ap.* Jerome, *Com. on Is.* lx. 1, lxvi. 20), such views early meet us among the Gentile Christians. Justin, while in certain passages apparently ignoring them (*Apol.* 52, *Trypho*, 45, 49, 113; cf. Briggs in *Luth. Quar.* 1879), elsewhere explicitly recognizes them. When asked by Trypho whether he really admits that Jerus. will be rebuilt, and expects that his people will be gathered together and made joyful 'with Christ together with the patriarchs and the prophets, and the men of our nation and proselytes who joined them before your Christ came,' Justin answers in the affirmative. While admitting that 'many who belong to the pure and pious faith, and are true Christians, think otherwise,' he declares that he and others 'who are right-minded Christians on all points, are assured that there will be a resurrection of the dead, and 1000 years in Jerus., which will then be built, adorned and enlarged as the prophets Ezekiel, Isaiah, and others declare' (80). For this view he cites Rev as follows: 'There was a certain man with us whose name was John, one of the apostles of Christ, who prophesied by a revelation which was made to him that those who believed in our Christ would dwell 1000 years in Jerus., and that thereafter the general and in short the eternal resurrection and judgment for all men would likewise take place' (81). With the exception of Justin, the Apologists show no trace of Chiliasm. The anti-Gnostic Fathers of the close of the 2nd cent., on the other hand, were pronounced Millenarians. Irenæus (*adv. Hær.* v. 32–35), Tertullian (*adv. Marc.* iii. 25), and later Hippolytus (*Com. in Dan.* 1772, p. 99) give us in their writings full descriptions of the millennial kingdom. Tertullian wrote an entire work on the subject (*de Spe Fidelium*), which has unfortunately perished. Doubtless the views of these Fathers were influenced by their opposition to the Gnostics, who with Chiliasm rejected also the entire Christian eschatology. But the adoption of chiliastic views by the Montanists, who looked for the speedy setting up of the millennial kingdom at Pepuza in Phrygia, soon brought them into disrepute. They were opposed in Rome by the Presbyter Caius, who attributed their origin to the arch-heretic Cerinthus (Euseb. iii. 28). In the East they were attacked by the Alexandrines, who, following the example set by the Gnostics, interpreted the passages cited by the Chiliasts allegorically (cf. Origen, *de Prin.* ii. 11). The attempt of the Egyptian bishop Nepos to enforce a literal interpretation was unsuccessful. Especially effective was the opposition of Dionysius of Alexandria, who wrote a book 'On the Promises,' in which he advocated the allegorical exegesis, and denied the Johannine authorship of the Apocalypse. Later Chiliasts, like Methodius of Olympus (*Banquets of the Ten Virgins*, ix. 5) and Apollinaris of Laodicea (Basil, *Ep.* 263), were unable to stem the tide.

In the West, Chiliasm was longer lived. Here the doubts as to the authenticity of the Apoc. found little hearing. Commodian (*Inst. adv. Gent. deos*, 43, 44) and Lactantius (*Inst.* vii. 24) were pronounced Chiliasts. Victorinus of Petau is so claimed by Jerome, although his commentary on the Apocalypse shows no trace of such views (yet cf. Briggs, *Luth. Quart.* p. 234). Jerome himself, while often speaking contemptuously of the Chiliasts as 'our half-Jews (*semi-Judæi*), who look for a Jerus. of gold and precious stones from heaven, and a future kingdom of 1000 years, in which all nations shall serve Israel' (*Com. on Is.* lx. 1, lxvi. 20), elsewhere (*Com. on Jer.* xix. 10) speaks of them with more respect, as holding views 'which, although we may not hold, we cannot condemn, because many ecclesiastical men and martyrs have taught the same.' Even Augustine, the strongest of all opponents of Chiliasm in the West, distinguishes between a gross and a more spiritual form, and admits that in his early days he himself had been an advocate of the latter (*de Civ. Dei*, xx. 7).

The final defeat of Chiliasm in the West was due to Augustine, who, in his *City of God*, identified the Millennium with the history of the Church on earth, and declared that, for those who belonged to the true Church, the first resurrection was passed already (*de Civ. Dei*, xx. 7–9). With the acceptance of this identification by the Roman Church, the power of Chiliasm was permanently broken.

Pre-millenarian views have, indeed, been revived from time to time, now in grosser, now in more spiritual form, and have never been without their advocates in the Church; but they have failed to win general acceptance. The Church as a whole, Protestant as well as Catholic, has either adopted Augustine's identification of the Millennium with the Church militant, or else looks for a future period of prosperity, preceding the second advent of Christ. The history of later Millenarianism lies beyond the scope of the present article.

LITERATURE.—The article 'Chiliasmus' by Semisch-Bratke, in Herzog, *RE*^{3}; Harnack, 'Millennium,' in *Enc. Brit.*; Fisher, 'Millennium,' in M'Clintock and Strong; Kellogg, 'Pre-millenarianism,' in Schaff-Herzog, in which last the later literature is given; Corrodi, *Krit. Gesch. d. Chiliasmus* (1781); Münscher, 'Entwickelung der Lehre vom Tausendjähr. Reich. in d. drei erst. Jahrhund.,' in Henke's *Magazin*, iv. 233. Specially for the Jewish Chiliasm, Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 178 ff.; Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah*; Gfrörer, *Das Jahrhundert des Heils*; Weber, *System der altsyn. Theol.* [2nd ed., under title *Jüdische Theologie auf Grund des Talm.*, etc. 1897]. Much information concerning Jewish eschatology may also be obtained from Charles' ed. of Enoch (Oxford, 1893). For the biblical doctrine, cf. the Comm. on Rev, esp. Moses Stuart, ii. p. 355 ff., Exc. vi. p. 474 ff., on the Millennium; Düsterdieck in Meyer^4, 545 ff. [new edition by Bousset, 1896]; D. Brown, *Christ's Second Advent*, 1846–53; Schultz, *JDTh* (1867) pp. 121–127; Briggs, *The Messiah of the Apostles*, 341–358, where much information is given as to the history of interpretation; Salmond, *Christian Doctrine of Immortality*, 437 ff. For the early history of Millenarianism in the Christian Church, cf. Dorner, *Person Christi*, i. 240 ff.; Nitzsch, *Dogmengesch.* i. 400 ff.; Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, i. 167 note, ii. 294 ff.; Briggs in *Luth. Quart.* (1879), an answer to Seiss, *The Last Times* (Phil. 78), which latter gives a full statement of the literature from a pre-millenarian point of view; Terry, *Bibl. Apocalyptics* (N.Y., 1898).

W. ADAMS BROWN.

MILLET (דֹּחַן *dōḥan*, *κέγχρος*, *milium*).—The testimony of the ancient VSS, and the identity of the cognate Arab. *dukhn*=*Panicum miliaceum*, L., leave no reasonable room for doubt as to the grain mentioned once as an ingredient of the very complex bread made by Ezekiel (4^9). It has a seed not much larger than mustard, much used for feeding the smaller kinds of birds. It is also sometimes used, mixed with wheat and barley, to make bread. *Setaria Italica*, Kth., is also cultivated in the East, under the name of *dukhn*. Its seed closely resembles that of *Panicum miliaceum*. In addition to the above, *Sorghum vulgare*, L., has been proposed as the equivalent of *dōḥan*. This is a tall Gramen, with broad leaves, and a compact panicle, often a foot long, and 6 to 8 in. broad. The seeds are white, and larger than hemp seeds. They are extensively raised in the East as a cheap bread-stuff for the poorer classes. The Arab. name of this, *dhurah*, usually given in Eng. books *dourra*, seems to be ancient, and is never confounded with *dukhn*. The Arabs call the sorghum *dhurah beiḍâ*='white dhurah,' and *dh. ṣaifi* or *dh. ḳaiẓi*='summer dh.,' in distinction from *maize*, which is known as *dh. ṣafrâ*='yellow dh.,' or *dh. shâmîyyah*='Syrian dh.,' or *dh. kîzân*='dh. of *Kîzân*.' The sorghum is cultivated in the great central plains of Syria, and ripens in midsummer, having had no water since the cessation of the spring rains.

G. E. POST.

MILLO.—1. (הַמִּלּוֹא, always with the definite article, probably [but see below] 'the fill' [of earth]: 2 S and 1 K 11^{27} ἡ ἄκρα; 1 K 9^{15} [Aq. ?] τὴν Μελὼ καὶ τὴν ἄκραν, v.^{24} τὴν Μελώ; 2 Ch τὸ ἀνάλημμα). According to the brief notice in 2 S 5^9 (=1 Ch 11^8) 'and David built round about from (the) Millo and inward,' the Millo formed part of the original defences of the old Jebusite city, situated on the easternmost of the two hills on which Jerusalem stands: most probably it was an outwork or rampart of earth, which protected the northern entrance of the Jebusite fort. After the capture of the city and its subsequent extension by David, it became necessary to fill up that part of the Tyropœon valley, which separated the new from the old city at this point, in order to connect the two. To this end David built a new and larger Millo, of which traces remain to the present day (Schick, *ZDPV*, 1894, p. 68). With this agrees the statement of Josephus (*Ant.* VII. iii. 1, 2), that David, having crossed the ravine and seized the citadel (τὴν Ἄκραν), rebuilt the city and called it by his own name. He further states that David, 'having also surrounded the lower city (τὴν κάτω πόλιν), and joined the citadel to it, made them one body.' It would seem, however, that this important work was only planned or, at most, only begun by David; for we learn from 1 K $9^{15.\ 24}$ (and especially 11^{27} 'Solomon built [the] Millo and shut in the ravine [RV 'repaired the breach'] of the city of David'), that the actual building was carried out by his successor. The Millo is mentioned again as forming an important part of the defences of Jerusalem in 701 B.C., when Hezekiah prepared to resist the attack of Sennacherib (2 Ch 32^5).

The above explanation is quite consistent with the old derivation of the word given by the Targums (מְלִיתָא* 'a filling up'), and adopted by Gesenius (*Thes.* 787 f.), Schick, and others. The Millo would, on this view, be connected with the Hebrew root מָלֵא, but, as Grove (Smith, *DB*^{2} ii. p. 367) and Moore (Jg 9^6) have pointed out, its occurrence in connexion with the old Canaanite town Shechem (see below) makes it probable that it is an archaic, possibly Jebusite, form borrowed by the Israelites. See JEBUS and JERUSALEM.

2. **The House of Millo** (בֵּית מִלּוֹא=**Beth-millo**;

---

* Elsewhere in the Targums מליתא corresponds to the Hebrew סֹלְלָה=the mound raised *against* a city by the besieging force.

B *οἶκος Βηθμααλών* [*Βηθμααλλών*]; A *οἶκος Μααλλών*). (*a*) Most probably the name of a place (Beth-millo) in the neighbourhood of Shechem (Jg 9$^{6.20}$). Some identify it with the tower of Shechem (vv.$^{46-49}$), but this view lacks support, as apparently the latter verses do not belong to the same narrative as the rest of the chapter. (See Moore, *ad loc.*). If we accept the rendering of the RV, we must take 'the house of Millo' as the name of a family or clan.

(*b*) (*οἶκος Μααλώ*; *domus Mello*), the place where Joash was slain by his servants (2 K 12^{20}), apparently in Jerusalem. See above, under 1, and art. SILLA. J. F. STENNING.

MILLSTONE.—See MILL.

MINCE (derived by Skeat from Anglo-Sax. *minsian* to grow small, fail, but clearly connected with Old Fr. *mincer* to shred) is found in AV only in Is 3^{16} 'Because the daughters of Zion are haughty, and walk with stretched forth necks and wanton eyes, walking and mincing as they go,' where the meaning is 'taking short steps.' Cf. Shaks. *Merch. of Venice*, III. iv. 67—

> 'And turn two mincing steps
> Into a manly stride.'

J. HASTINGS.

MIND.—This aspect of the human soul, or of man's inner life, is not distinguished in the OT by any radical term, but only by derivatives such as בִּינָה, which has the meaning of 'prudence' or 'good sense' rather than 'knowledge' or 'understanding.' The term לֵבָב or לֵב, and its equivalent *καρδία* in the NT, include the intellectual as well as all other inward movements. (See HEART). The greater analytic precision of Greek thought and its closer attention to the intellectual element in our nature brought into the language of the NT such words as *νοῦς* with its congeners *διάνοια*, *ἔννοια*, *νόημα*; also *σύνεσις*, *διαλογισμός*, etc. But even there, they are not used with any psychological refinement or exactitude. It is quite impossible, for example, to follow Olshausen (*Opuscula Theologica*, p. 156) when he attempts to show that *νοῦς* and *σύνεσις*, with their corresponding verbs, as used in the NT, represent the Kantian distinction between *Vernunft* and *Verstand*, familiarized to us in English by Coleridge as that between *Reason* and *Understanding*—the former, the higher intuitive perception; the latter, the lower or dialectic judgment. It is plain that the terms are really interchangeable (Mk 8^{17}, Mt 13$^{14.15}$, 2 Ti 2^{7}). Some more abstract terms, such as 'thought,' 'minding,' 'thinking,' are used in the NT, almost indiscriminately, to represent the contents or products of the inward life, or what the OT calls 'the imagination of the thoughts of the heart' (Gn 6^{5}).

Of the two Greek words most frequently representing the notion, *νοῦς* may be held to denote the faculty of reflective consciousness, the organ of moral thinking and knowing; *σύνεσις* a peculiar force or acuteness in the exercise of that faculty. The leading word (*νοῦς*) occurs very seldom in the Septuagint. In the few places where it does, it represents לֵבָב or לֵב. In Is 40^{13} *νοῦν Κυρίου* stands for רוּחַ יהוה, and the rendering is retained in 1 Co 2^{16}. The OT Apocryphal writers have used it a few times and in a sense more distinctively Greek. In the NT its almost entire absence from the Gospels and from the writings of the older apostles (it occurs there only in Lk 24^{45}, Rev 13^{18} 17^{9}) shows how closely they adhered to OT phraseology from which the special notion represented by *νοῦς* was absent. To note its frequent use by St. Paul and that almost delicate antithesis in which he contrasts it with *σάρξ* in one connexion and with *πνεῦμα* in another, completes its history.

St. Paul uses *πνεῦμα* for the divine or spiritual power coming to the renewed man: for man's own highest sense of right or faculty of knowledge he uses *νοῦς*, as do the best classical writers. Accordingly, in sharp contrast with the 'flesh,' in which evil dwells, he calls the divine commandment 'the law of his mind' (Ro 7^{23}), and declares that 'with the mind' (v.^{25}) he serves it. This same faculty, when perverted or enthralled by inherent evil, becomes 'the fleshly mind' (Col 2^{18}), 'a reprobate mind' (Ro 1^{28}), 'corrupted mind' (1 Ti 6^{5}, 2 Ti 3^{8}).

The other antithesis is when the apostle takes *νοῦς* for deliberate, reflective consciousness—its proper sense—and contrasts it with *πνεῦμα* in the sense of *afflatus* or unconscious impulse coming from without or above (1 Co 14$^{14.15.19}$). See, further, next art. and PSYCHOLOGY.

J. LAIDLAW.

MIND.—The verb to 'mind' is both trans. and intrans. As a trans. verb it means to 'give attention to,' Ro 8^{5} 'They that are after the flesh do mind the things of the flesh' (*φρονοῦσιν*); 12^{16} 'Mind not high things' (*μὴ τὰ ὑψηλὰ φρονοῦντες*, RV 'Set not your mind on high things'); Ph 3^{16} 'Let us mind the same thing' (*τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν*); 3^{19} 'Who mind earthly things' (*οἱ τὰ ἐπίγεια φρονοῦντες*). Intransitively it means to purpose, intend, Ac 20^{13} 'for so had he appointed, minding himself to go afoot' (*μέλλων*). Cf. Pr. Bk. 'Ye that mind to come to the holy Communion'; Golding's *Calvin's Job*, 562, 'Althoughe they protest that they minde to justifie him . . . yet neverthelesse they condemne him'; and Lk 14^{28} Rhem. 'For, which of you minding to build a toure, doth not first sit downe and recken the charges that are necessarie?'

The phrase 'to be minded' has the same meaning as the intrans. verb 'to mind,' as Ru 1^{18} 'When she saw that she was stedfastly minded to go with her'; 2 Ch 24^{4} 'And it came to pass after this that Joash was minded to repair the house of the LORD'; Ac 27^{39} 'They discovered a certain creek with a shore, into the which they were minded, if it were possible, to thrust in the ship' (TR *ἐβουλεύσαντο*, edd. *ἐβουλεύοντο*, RV 'they took counsel'); Ph 3^{15} 'Let us therefore, as many as be perfect, be thus minded: and if in anything ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you' (*φρονῶμεν, καὶ εἴ τι ἑτέρως φρονεῖτε*).

There are many phrases of which the ptcp. 'minded' forms a part: 'carnally minded' (*τὸ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκός*, RV 'the mind of the flesh') Ro 8^{6}, and in the same verse 'spiritually minded' (*τὸ φρόνημα τοῦ πνεύματος*, RV 'the mind of the spirit'); 'double minded' (*δίψυχος*) Ja 1^{8} 4^{8}; 'feeble minded' (*ὀλιγόψυχος*, RV 'fainthearted') 1 Th 5^{14}; 'highminded' (*ὑψηλοφρονεῖν*, edd. *ὑψηλὰ φρονεῖν*, 'be highminded') Ro 11^{20}, 1 Ti 6^{17} (*τετυφωμένος*, RV 'puffed up'), 2 Ti 3^{4}; 'light minded' (*κοῦφος καρδίᾳ*) Sir 19^{4}; 'likeminded' (*τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν*, RV 'to be of the same mind') Ro 15^{5}, Ph 2^{2} (*ἰσόψυχος*), Ph 2^{20}; 'sober minded' (*σωφρονεῖν*) Tit 2^{6}.

J. HASTINGS.

MINES, MINING.—We are here concerned with this subject only so far as it relates to Bible history and Bible lands. Mines are but once referred to in OT, and for the reason that in Palestine proper they are unknown. In the Sinaitic peninsula it is otherwise. The remarkable passage in the Bk of Job (28$^{1-11}$), in which the process of mining and the miner's life are graphically described, must have been written by one who had a personal knowledge of the subject. Egypt and Arabia Petræa probably furnished to the writer the details on which the poem is founded. We shall take the passage as given in RV, with some notes from the *Speaker's Commentary*—

1. 'Surely there is a mine (vein AV) for the silver, and a place

for gold which they refine.' Two processes were known to the ancients—one by washing, described by Diodorus (iv. 2), as practised in Egypt; the other by smelting. The word here denotes the former.

2. 'Iron is taken out of the earth, and brass (copper) is molten out of the stone.'

3. 'Man setteth an end to darkness, and searcheth out to the furthest bound the stones of thick darkness and of the shadow of death.' The miner lets in light to the very abode of darkness (in the mine or shaft) by means of the lantern.

4. 'He breaketh open a shaft away from where men sojourn; they are forgotten of the foot that passeth by: they hang afar; they swing (or flit) to and fro.' This passage is also rendered in the margin, 'the flood breaketh out from where men sojourn,' suggestive of the sudden outburst of pent-up waters in the mine when a fissure is broken open: and after the waters are escaped 'they are minished, and gone away from man.' . . .

7. 'That path no bird of prey knoweth, neither hath the falcon's eye seen it; the proud beasts have not trodden it, nor hath the fierce lion passed thereby.' The mine is a path which none but man can discern. The ingenuity of man is contrasted with the instinctive sagacity of animals.

9. 'He putteth forth his hand upon the flinty rock: he overturneth the mountains by the roots'; apparently referring to blasting. Pliny describes various processes (*NH* xxxiii. 21).

10. 'He cutteth out channels' (*corrugi*, Pliny) 'among the rocks; and his eye seeth every precious thing.' Channels to drain the mine, while he carefully scans the mineral vein for traces of ore.

11. 'He bindeth the streams that they trickle not, and the thing that is hid bringeth he forth to light.' Descriptive of the alternative process to that in v.^{10} of damming up the waters in the river while the miner digs out the auriferous alluvial gravel—a process described by Pliny (*NH* xxxiii. 21).

The whole passage, though couched in poetic language, shows us that the processes of mining nearly 2500 years ago were not dissimilar to those practised in the time of Pliny, and even down to the present day, except in the use of machinery and of powerful explosives.

We shall now describe some localities where mining operations were carried on, and consider them under the head of the minerals produced.

Gold (זָהָב).—This was one of the earliest metals discovered by man, as may be gathered from its occurrence in the sepulchres of the most ancient races, worked into ornaments. Mining for gold was carried on in many countries in ancient times by the Egyptians, Phœnicians, and Babylonians. In Upper Egypt it was worked in the country of the Bishareéh Arabs, and between Coptos and Kossayr (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyptians*, i. 232, iii. 227). The gold occurs in quartz-veins amongst the Archæan rocks, from which it was extracted by breaking, grinding, and washing; criminals being employed and compelled to work under overseers taken from tribes speaking a different tongue. Gold was also worked by Ramses II. at Akita (Wady Ollagi) by means of shafts, but the mines had to be abandoned owing to want of water (Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, 287). The gold which was so abundant in Palestine in the reign of Solomon (1 K $10^{14\text{ff.}}$) came from various countries—Spain, India, Arabia, and probably South Africa. The Phœnicians, according to Herodotus (vi. 47), worked mines for gold in the island of Thasos, but Spain was the country which yielded to these navigators the most abundant wealth in metals. Gold, according to Pliny, was found in the bed of the Tagus, and there were mines of it in Galicia, Asturias, and elsewhere (*NH* xxxiii. 4). The produce of Asturias formed the major part. The process of mining gold from shafts and galleries, as well as by washing the alluvia from the bed of streams, is described in what must be considered highly exaggerated language by Pliny (*NH* xxxiii. ch. 21); but in the *auri sacra fames* (Verg. *Aen.* iii. 57) human life was little accounted of, and both in Egypt and elsewhere the hardships and cruelties endured by those employed in mining must have been great indeed. The gold of Ophir may have come from India; but it is not improbable that some of the ancient workings visited by the late Mr. Theodore Bent in S. Africa may date back to the time of Solomon (J. Th. Bent, 'Ruins of Mashonaland,' *Rep. Brit. Assoc.* 1892, p. 543). See, also, art. GOLD.

Silver (כֶּסֶף), which Pliny calls 'the next folly of mankind' (after gold), was mined by means of shafts 'sunk deep in the ground,' and smelted in combination with lead ore or *galena* (Pliny, *NH* xxxiii. 31). Most of our silver comes from argentiferous *galena*. The finest ores were worked in Spain. In Upper Egypt silver mines were worked in the mountains bordering the Red Sea (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* i. 235). See, further, art. SILVER.

Copper (נְחֹשֶׁת, **brass** [which see], which in Old Eng. means *copper*).—Copper mines were worked in very ancient times in Arabia Petræa. The earliest mining operations of which we have any record were those carried on by the Egyptian kings of the 4th, 5th, and 12th Dynasties in the Sinaitic mountains. In the Wady Magharah and at Sarabit el-Khadim copper ore was extracted from veins in the ancient rocks by means of shafts, under the auspices of the early Pharaohs (Brugsch, *Ancient Egypt*, i. 65; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, 64). It must have been this part of the Promised Land that is referred to in Dt $8^{7.9}$, for in Palestine proper copper is unknown. The ore also occurs in the Wadis Nasb and Khalig (in the latter somewhat extensively) in company with those of iron and manganese; while the smelting of the ores was carried on in the Wady Nasb near to the springs, where extensive slag-heaps may still be seen (Bauerman, *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.* xxv. 27). Similar mines and slag-heaps occur in Wadis el-Marká and Sened, where a dyke rich in copper ore traverses syenite for a distance of nearly 2 miles (Holland, in *Ord. Survey of Sinai*, 224). The ore was extensively worked by the Phœnicians in Cyprus, where, according to Pliny, it was first discovered, and from which the island derives its name.

Tin.—This metal, which, when used as an alloy of copper, produces bronze, was wrought in very early times in Egypt, as bronze implements have been discovered in Thebes. Tin (בְּדִיל) is mentioned in Nu 31^{22} P, and also in Is 1^{25}; in the latter in a sense indicating its use as an alloy (cf. also Ezk $22^{18.20}$ 27^{12}, Zec 4^{10}). The word used by Homer (*Il.* xviii. 474 and 613), *κασσίτερος*, is the same as the Arabic *kasdecr*, probably derived from ancient Phœnician. Certain it is that these mariners brought tin from the Cassiterides, which embraced the Scilly Isles and the coast of Cornwall (Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iii.). One of the most remarkable facts connected with the early races in Europe and Asia was the extensive use of weapons and implements of bronze; and Sir John Evans shows that the use of bronze preceded that of iron in Egypt (*Ancient Bronze Implements*, pp. 7, 8). See, further, under TIN.

Iron (בַּרְזֶל).—Though iron ore is more extensively diffused in the rocks than any other, it seems to have come into general use later than copper, bronze, and tin. Iron ores are unknown in Palestine, except at the southern base of the Lebanon (Porter in Smith's *DB* ii. 87) and near Beirût; perhaps it was from these deposits that the celebrated Damascus steel was manufactured. The ore is scarce in Egypt, but one mine of rich hæmatite, discovered by Burton in 1822, was worked in ancient times in the eastern desert at Hammámi (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyptians*, iii. 246). Iron ores were mined, also, in the Wadis Nasb and Khalig, and in the mountain of Sarabit el-Khadim, associated with manganese and copper; also in Jebel Hadíd, all in the Sinaitic region (Holland, *Ord. Surv. Sinai*, p. 230). It is probable that these mining operations were carried on at the same time as those in search of turquoise stones during the early Pharaonic occupation—about B.C. 2500. Cf. also art. IRON.

Turquoise Mines.—Of all the ancient mines of which we have any knowledge in the countries we are dealing with, the most remarkable are those of Jebel Sarabit el-Khadim, and Wadis Sidreh and Magharah in the Sinaitic peninsula, from which turquoises were extracted by the early Egyptians. Amongst the lofty and precipitous cliffs of the Nubian sandstone, extensive galleries were opened out by colonies of slaves presided over by taskmasters, in the time of Sneferu of the 4th Dynasty of Manetho, and of Amenemhat II. of the 12th Dynasty, and his successor. The numerous inscriptions and cartouches on the walls of the mines, the steles and ruined buildings scattered over a considerable area of this mountainous region, indicate extensive mining operations at this early period, *c.* B.C. 2500. From recent examinations of these galleries, it appears that the turquoise stone ('mafka') occurs in thin threads and pockets in an ochreous matrix. But, notwithstanding the extent of these ancient works, the turquoise is a gem almost unknown amongst the Pharaonic ornaments in the tombs of Egypt, from which it is inferred that the stones have decomposed and crumbled away to powder. These old mines were reopened a few years ago by Major Macdonald, who employed Arab labour. The ruins of a church indicate inhabitants in early Christian times.* E. HULL.

MINIAMIN (מִנְיָמִין).—**1.** A Levite, 2 Ch 31^{15} (*Βενιαμείν*).—**2.** Neh 12^{17} (B $\aleph^{*}$ A om.; $\aleph^{c.a}$ *Βενιαμείν*)= Mijamin of 1 Ch 24^{9}, Neh 10^{7} 12^{5}. **3.** A priest who took part in the ceremony of the dedication of the walls, Neh 12^{41} (B $\aleph^{*}$ A om.; $\aleph^{c.a}$ *Βενιαμείν*).

MINISH (from Low Lat. *minutiare* and Lat. *minutia* smallness, through Fr. *ménuiser* to make small, extenuate) has been displaced in mod. English by its derivative 'diminish.' It occurs twice in AV: Ex 5^{19} 'Ye shall not minish ought from your bricks of your daily task' (לֹא־תִגְרְעוּ), and Ps 107^{39} 'They are minished and brought low through oppression, affliction, and sorrow' (וַיִּמְעֲטוּ). Further examples from the older versions are: Wyclif, 1 K 17^{14} 'The stene of mele shal noght fayle, ne the vessel of oyle shal not be mynushid, unto the day in the which the Lord is to gyue reyn upon the face of the erthe' (1388 'schal not be abatid'); Tindale, Ex 5^{8} 'the noumbre of bricke which they were wont to make in tyme passed, laye unto their charges also, and minysh nothinge therof'; Cov., Ezk 5^{16} 'I will encrease hunger, and mynish all the provysion off bred amonge you'; Great Bible, Ps 12^{1} 'For the faythfull are mynisshed from amonge the children of men'; Rhem., He 2^{7} 'Thou didst minish him litle lesse then Angels.' As the same Heb. verbs are frequently translated 'diminish,' it does not seem that the Revisers were justified in retaining this obsolete form in the two passages quoted. The Amer. Revisers prefer 'diminish' in both passages. But RV further introduces 'minish' into Is 19^{6}, Hos 8^{10}.

J. HASTINGS.

MINISTER.—In modern English this word is applied either ecclesiastically to the servant of God, or else politically to the servant of the crown or state. The eccles. use has come from the practice in the early Church of translating *διάκονος* by Lat. *minister*, and then making the title apply to all under the order of the presbyter.* See Smith and Cheetham's *Dict. of Ant. s.v.* But in AV, though the translation of *διάκονος* as well as of other words, 'minister' has always the primitive sense of 'servant,' 'attendant,' or 'officer,' as in classical Lat. *minister* had.

Thus Joshua is called Moses' minister (Ex 24^{13}, Jos 1^{1}), being first of all his personal attendant; and John Mark is called (Ac 13^{5}) the minister of Barnabas and Paul. The ministers of Solomon, at whose 'attendance' the queen of Sheba marvelled (1 K 10^{5}, 2 Ch 9^{4}), were not officers of state, but household servants; and the minister to whom Jesus handed the book (Lk 4^{20}) was the *ḥazzan* or attendant in the synagogue. St. Paul speaks of Christ as 'a minister of the circumcision' (Ro 15^{8}), in conformity with the Lord's own words that He was sent to be a servant to the lost sheep of the house of Israel; he also asks if Christ can be the minister of sin (Gal 2^{17}), by which he means its agent; and when he speaks of being himself a minister of Christ (Ro 15^{16}, 2 Co 11^{23}, Eph 3^{7}) or of the gospel (1 Col 1^{23-25}), he does not use the word in any other sense than the absolute sense of servant. The word 'servant' in AV means commonly modern 'slave,' and so 'minister' is modern 'servant.' The minister in biblical language is always a 'waiter on,' as Sir John Cheke translates the word in Mt 20^{26} 'Whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister.'

Elyot (*Governour*, i. 13) says that 'in the message to kynge Pharo, Aaron rather as a ministre than a companyon wente with Moses.' Tindale's tr. of Mt 5^{25} is 'Agre with thyne adversary quicklye . . . lest . . . the judge delivre the to the minister.' Wyclif, who has 'minister' very often for 'officer,' as Jn $2^{5.9}$ 7^{32} 18^{18}, has 'domesman' here; the Geneva Bible has 'sargeant'; the 'officer' of AV is from the Rhemish. Cf. Udall, *Erasmus' Paraphrase*, i. fol. c., 'Finally entring in he satte emong the ministers warming him at the coles.' See next article.

J. HASTINGS.

MINISTER, MINISTRY.—**1.** IN OLD TESTAMENT.—These words are still employed by RV as the tr^{n} almost exclusively of *shērēth* and its correlates, which again are translated in the LXX almost exclusively by *λειτουργεῖν* and its correlates. The exceptions in the LXX are so rare as to be almost negligible; and yet the exclusiveness and some of the exceptions, when examined, are striking and suggestive. *Shērēth* is the word chosen to express ministration towards a higher being for the common weal; hence it expresses the ministration of the priests and Levites as a high function, for the common weal, in relation to God (*e.g.* Ex 29^{30}; and, ironically, the ministration to gods of wood and stone, Ezk 20^{32}): it stands also for the ministration Godward of the elemental angels as the forces of nature (Ps 103^{21} 104^{4}); and likewise of one human being to another of higher rank, again most frequently for some public good, as of Joshua to Moses (Jos 1^{1}).

To represent ministration looked at in this light—a high function for the common weal—the LXX most fitly chose *λειτουργεῖν* (*-ία, -ημα, -ός, -ικός, -ήσιμος*), derived, as it was, from *ἔργον* and the Attic λεῖτος (Ionic λήϊτος, Doric λάϊτος, 'pertaining to the λαός,' *the people*), and carrying with it, as it did, the remembrance of public duty discharged for the state by richer citizens at their own expense. That the idea of priestly ministration, though strange to the word in classical literature, was not strange to it in Alexandrian Greek, is proved by Egyptian papyri of the 2nd cent. B.C. (see Deissmann, *Beiträge aus den Papyri*, p. 137 f.); and it is found later on in the use of the word by Diodorus Siculus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Plutarch (see Deissmann, *ibid.*, and Cremer, *Lexicon*, Eng. tr. p. 764). Λατρεύειν (only twice for *shērēth*, Nu 16^9, Ezk 20^{32}, and each time of the priestly function) is mostly in LXX the representative of *'ābhad*, and differs from λειτουργεῖν in being not so much priestly service as the religious service of the entire congregation (Ex 3^{12}) or of the individual worshipper (2 S 15^8; cf. Ph 3^3, Ro 1^9). (It is true, on the other hand, that, almost in every case where the subst. λειτουργία appears, the original is *'ăbhōdāh*; but this may be because no abstract subst. had been formed from *shērēth*). When θεράπων stands for *shērēth* (ptcp.), as it once does, Ex 33^{11} 'his minister (RV) Joshua,' the idea present is *non-servile* attendance, like that of a squire in the Middle Ages. (Cf. Hom. *Il.* xvi. 244, the relation of Patroclus to Achilles; and Nu 12^7, He 3^5, the relation of Moses to God). Twice only does λειτουργεῖν represent the rare Aramaic *pĕlaḥ*, Ezr 7^{24} (-ος), 7^{19} (-ία), and in both cases in regard to the service of the sanctuary. Here the idea in the Aram. appears to be that of labour, as though it were the labour of ploughing. Διακονεῖν (-ία, -ος) as the rendering of *shērēth* is entirely confined to Esther, and occurs but two or three times even there. The idea in this word will be dealt with below. Not one of the instances in Esther touches the priestly function.

---

* For a description of these mines, see *Ordnance Survey of Sinai* by Wilson and Palmer (1869), with notes by S. Birch and F. W. Holland; Lepsius, *Briefe aus Ægypten*, p. 336 (1852); Bauerman, *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.* xxv. 31, 32; Maspero, *Dawn of Civiliz.* 354 ff., 473 ff. Bauerman believes that flint implements were used in cutting the rock.

* For the practice in the Scotch Reformed Church, cf. Calderwood, *The True History of the Church of Scotland*, 105—'Pastors, Bishops, or Ministers are they who are appointed to particular congregations, which they rule by the word of God, and over the which they watch. In respect whereof, sometime they are called Pastors, because they feed their Congregation; sometime *Episcopi*, or Bishops, because they watch over their Flock; sometimes Ministers, by reason of their service and office; and sometimes also Presbyters or Seniors, for the gravity in manners, which they ought to have, in taking care of the spiritual government, which ought to be most deare unto them.'

These remarks on the variations in the Heb. and LXX will suffice to show how *shērēth* and λειτουργεῖν have practically the monopoly of expression when the subject is priestly ministration, whether narrowly or widely interpreted.

2. IN NT.—While λειτουργεῖν is the word for ministration in the LXX, the word in NT is διακονεῖν. The exception in the OT is the rule in the NT. And this is a suggestive fact. The NT ministry is not one of the priest as distinct from the people: the exclusive class becomes a universal priesthood. Λειτουργεῖν and its correlates occur (in St. Paul, St. Luke, and He, and nowhere else) only about fifteen times in all, and not in any single case can they be made to apply to a literal priestly function on the part of the Christian ministry. Sometimes there is a literal reference to the Jewish ritual (Lk 1^{23}, He 9^{21} 10^{11}). Once Christ is spoken of in the same region in the light of fulfilment as 'minister, λειτουργός, of the sanctuary (in the heavens) and of the true tabernacle.' Once the word is used of prophets and teachers at Antioch, Ac 13^2, with reference, perhaps, to the offering of prayer in the face of the congregation. Twice there is, in connexion with St. Paul, the thought of sacrifice; but in Ph 2^{17} 'the Philippians are the priests, their faith is the sacrifice, St. Paul's life-blood is the accompanying libation' (Lightfoot, *in loco*); and in Ro 15^{16}, though St. Paul is the sacrificing priest, he is so only figuratively: his priestly function is preaching the gospel, and the sacrifice is the believing Gentiles. Its uses elsewhere concern the ministration to the wants of the poor saints, 2 Co 9^{12}, or of St. Paul himself, Ph $2^{25.\ 30}$—the sacrifice of charity; or the service rendered to God by state officials, Ro 13^6, or by the angels of wind and fire, He $1^{7.\ 14}$. The fact seems clear that the NT writers prefer διακονεῖν (-ία, -ος) because it connotes two things: the first, which λειτουργεῖν also connotes, *ministration Godward in the service of others*; the second, which λειτουργεῖν does not connote, *lowliness* in that ministration. In both these senses it is in the line of succession from classical usage. To the Greek the practically dominant connotation was a service relatively low and even menial. That διάκονος and δοῦλος breathed in classical Greek the same air is obvious from Plato's junction of διακονικάς with δουλοπρεπεῖς and ἀνελευθέρους (*Gorg.* 518 A), and from his identification of διακονεῖν and the work of δοῦλοι in tending cattle and tilling the soil (*Laws*, vii. 805 E). In NT the use is in no wise different. St. Paul employs both δοῦλος and διάκονος to define his relation to his Master (Ph 1^1, 2 Co 11^{23}) and to his converts δι' Ἰησοῦν (2 Co 4^5, 1 Co 3^5); and he tells how Christ Himself both took the form of a δοῦλος (Ph 2^7) and became a διάκονος of the circumcision (Ro 15^8), as though his Lord's own description of His position had impressed him with the parallel (Mt 20^{26-28}). And though, in the parable of the Wedding Garment, it is δοῦλοι that invite and διάκονοι that cast out, Mt $22^{3.\ 8.\ 10.\ 13}$, the latter word appears to be preferred in v.^{13} because attendants at table are there spoken of, such attendants being either bond or free, Lk $12^{37f.}$, Mt 8^{15}. This menial service of waiting at table (διακονεῖν) is cited by Christ, Lk 17^8 22^{27}, as the characteristic sign of the contrast between the relative positions of master and servant, and furnishes Him with a parabolic picture both of His own position among His disciples, Lk 22^{27}, and of the striking way in which the Great Master shall reward His servants' continued watchfulness, Lk 12^{37}. Even in secular Greek there was an inkling of the dignity of this menial humbleness in relation to the gods. Aristeides (*Orat.* 46, p. 198 f., quoted by Hort, *Christian Ecclesia*, p. 203 f.) 'refuses to call [Athenian statesmen who had saved their country] διάκονοι of the state, but will gladly call them διάκονοι of the Saviour Gods who had used their instrumentality'; and Epictetus (Hort, p. 204) 'in several remarkable passages (*Diss.* iii. 22. 69; 24. 65; iv. 7. 20; cf. iii. 26. 28) makes it the dignity of a man to be a διάκονος of God. The Gospel gave the word a still higher consecration of the same kind . . . For [a Lord who had taken on Himself the form of a servant] every grade and pattern of service was lifted into a higher sphere. . . . Ministration (διακονία) thus became one of the primary aims of all Christian actions' (*e.g.* Eph 4^{12}, where 'the work of διακονία' is parallel with 'the edification of the body of Christ'), whether for apostles, 2 Co 4^1, or for evangelists, 2 Ti 4^5, or for the presbyter or episcopus, Col 4^{17}, or for the 'deacon' himself: whether the emphasis was (Ph 1^1) on government (ἐπισκοπή) or on service (διακονία), διακονία was 'the badge of all the tribe'; whether the service was to God, 2 Co 6^4, or to Christ, Col 1^7, 1 Ti 4^6, or to the gospel, Eph 3^7, or to the Church, Ro 12^7, or to the material wants of the poor saints, Ac $6^{1.\ 2}$, 2 Co 9^1, He 6^{10}, or to St. Paul himself, officially Ac 19^{22}, Col 1^7, 2 Ti 4^{11}, or materially Philem ^{13}, 2 Ti 1^{18} (cf. Lk 8^3, women διηκόνουν to Christ and His disciples of their substance). In all cases there was διακονία to the Master for the benefit of others, Col 1^7. And so also in the technical sense of the word, the definite office, διάκονος (see DEACON). This office did not exclude teaching: such exclusion, in the presence of capacity, 'would have been contrary to the spirit of the Apostolic age' (Hort, p. 202). Stephen, one of the Seven, was a powerful preacher (Ac 6. 7); and whether the Seven (cf. Ac 6^2 διακονεῖν τραπέζαις) were technically *deacons* or not, they must surely have suggested the office in the several churches later on: 'analogous wants might well lead to analogous

institutions' (Hort, p. 209). That teaching, however, was 'no part of the official duty' of a deacon, is suggested by a comparison of the qualifications required for a deacon at Ephesus and those required for a presbyter or episcopus (1 Ti $3^{2ff.\ 8ff.}$); while the injunction against talebearing in the men-deacons and backbiting in the women suggest a frequent contact with individual Christians and Christian families, a going in and out among them, a visitation from house to house. Thus they appear to have been 'the main instruments for giving practical effect to the mutual sympathy of the members of the body'; and the efficiency of the office was sensibly increased by being divided between the sexes (1 Ti 3^{11} compared with Ro 16^{1}).

Besides *λειτουργός* and *διάκονος* there is in NT a third word still (RV) occasionally translated 'minister,' viz. *ὑπηρέτης* (*-εῖν*), lit. an 'under-rower' in a galley, but used simply as 'servant,' and retaining no special connotation from its derivation, unless it be that of *subordination.* The verb is used of David's service of God, Ac 13^{36}, and Moses is called by Josephus God's *ὑπηρέτης* (*Ant.* III. i. 4). The subst. is found only twice in the canonical LXX, and *-εῖν* and *-εσία* once each, and all in the various senses of ordinary service. But in Wis the words occur eight times, and once (6^{4}) in a lofty sense,—kings the *ὑπηρέται* of God's kingdom. In this word the subordination comes out more distinctly than in the other two (cf. Xenoph. *Cyr.* vi. 2. 13=the orderly of a commander), but *διάκονος* and *ὑπηρέτης* are continually running into one another (1 Co 4^{1}, 2 Co 11^{23}). Of the five places where AV translated the subst. by 'minister,' three remain in RV: Lk 1^{2} ('m. of the word': cf. Ae 6^{4} '*διακονία* of the word'), Ac 26^{16} ('m. and eye-witness' for Christ), 1 Co 4^{1} ('m. of Christ': cf. 2 Co 11^{23} '*διάκονοι* of Christ'). RV appropriately gives 'attendant' or 'servant' elsewhere: so John Mark (Ac 13^{5}) is now the 'attendant' on Paul and Barnabas; possibly, as Blass suggests, for the secondary work of baptizing; and, as Ramsay suggests (*St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 71), 'the curiously incidental way' in which he is brought before the reader's notice (and, we may add, the word of subordination, chosen to describe his position) may serve 'to emphasize the secondary character of John Mark, in view of what was to happen in Pamphylia: he was not essential to the expedition: he had not been formally delegated by the Church of Antioch: he was an extra hand, taken by Paul and Barnabas on their own responsibility.' So also the 'minister' in Lk 4^{20} is now the 'attendant': he was the *ḥazzān* of the temple,—'a kind of verger,' see DEACON in vol. i. p. 575,—'whose office it was (Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 66 f.) to bring out the Holy Scriptures at public worship and to put them by again.' He was no Jewish anticipation of *deacon*, but was in every respect the servant of the congregation, having, *e.g.*, to execute upon those condemned to it the punishment of scourging (*Makkoth* iii. 12), and also to instruct the children in reading (*Shabbath* i. 3; but see EDUCATION in vol. i. p. 650^{a}). A similar use of the word occurs in Mt 5^{25} 'deliver thee to the *officer*,' *i.e.* one of the attendants or officials of the Sanhedrin, like lictors or sergeants-at-arms (Schürer, *HJP* II. 1. 187), the temple police, a special feature in the Fourth Gospel (Jn 18^{18} *e.g.*), from whom Jesus doubtless takes His parallel when in Jn 18^{36} He says, 'my *ὑπηρέται* would now be striving.' For Mt's *ὑπηρέτης* (5^{25}) Lk (12^{58}) gives *πράκτωρ*, the *avenger* of the ṭragedians (Æsch. *Eum.* 319), the *taxgatherer* of Demosthenes (778. 18), the *public accountant* of the papyri (3rd cent. B.C., see Deissmann, *Beiträge*, p. 152), who has now become an under-officer of justice. J. MASSIE.

MINNI (מִנִּי, LXX *παρ' ἐμοῦ*, Aq. Symm. *Μενεί*).—Name of a country mentioned in Jer 51^{27} between Ararat and Ash-kenaz, and summoned to make war on Babylon. It is evidently equivalent to *Mann*, which figures frequently in Assyrian inscriptions in close connexion with *Urarṭu* (Ararat); and which the authors of the maps appended to *KIB* i. and ii. place somewhere between Lake Van and the Araxes, while Sayce (*JRAS*, 1882, p. 389) infers from the line of march of the Assyrian kings that this people must have lived on the S.W. shores of Lake Urmia. The Assyrian texts supply us with several names, both local and personal, connected with Mann. Their chief city was called Zirtu or Izirtu, and their chief fortress Ishtat (Assurbanipal, ed. S. A. Smith, i. 21); other cities were Izibia, Armed, Shuandakhul, and Zurzukka (Sargon, ed. Winckler, pp. 105, 107); tribes included in Mann were Umildish, Zikirtu, and Misianda (*ib.*). Shalmaneser II. in the year 830 A.D. attacked king Udaki of Mann (*KIB* i. 147), and his successor Shamsi-Ramman received tribute from this country (*ib.* 179). In Sargon's history the kings of Mann play an important part. He relates how, after the death of their king Iranzu, he put on the throne Iranzu's son Aza. Aza was shortly afterwards murdered by insurgents, who at the instigation of king Ursa of Urarṭu put Aza's brother Ullusunu on the throne. Sargon marched against the insurgents and defeated them, but on Ullusunu's submission received him into favour. Presently, however, Ullusunu again revolted, but the inscription is defective at the point where it originally recorded his fate (Winckler, *l.c.* and 89). Assurbanipal in his fourth campaign attacked Akhsheri king of Mann, seized his capital Izirtu, and laid waste 15 days' extent of country. After Akhsheri had been betrayed by his subjects, the Assyrian king set Akhsheri's son Ualli on the throne, but increased the tribute of Mann by 15 horses, and took Ualli's son Erishinni and his daughter to Nineveh (S. A. Smith, *l.c.* 23).—In the Vanic inscription of the kings Minuas and Argistis, whose dates can be approximately fixed for the last decade of the 9th and the first decade of the 8th cent. B.C., there are repeatedly allusions to the country *Ma-na-a*, and even to a king named Haza, probably a namesake of, though not identical with, Sargon's contemporary (Sayce, *l.c.* 607). These inscriptions imply with certainty that the country of Mann was raided by the kings of Van (=Urarṭu), but the language in which they are composed is perhaps still too obscure to give us much more information. Both sets of documents lead us to suppose that Mann was a province of considerable extent, and thickly populated; that it was alternately under Assyrian and Vanic domination, and suffered severely from the rivalry of these powers. The words that have been quoted have no obvious linguistic affinities, and it does not appear that any of the local names have been maintained. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

MINNITH (מִנִּית).—1. Jephthah smote the Ammonites 'from Aroer until thou come to Minnith,' Jg 11^{33} (B *ἄχρις Ἀρνών*, A *εἰς Σεμωείθ*, Luc. *Σεμενείθ*). According to the *Onomasticon* (*s.v.* 'Mennith') it was shown 4 Roman miles from Heshbon on the road to Philadelphia, but the name has not been recovered in this direction, which, as Moore points out, does not suit the requirement of the text that Minnith should be in Ammonite territory beyond Aroer, not in the immediate vicinity of Heshbon. A site called *Minyeh* is found south of Nebo, but this may be derived from another root, and in any case is much too far south. Tristram (*Land of Moab*, p. 140) could find no trace of Buckingham's *Menjah*, which was alleged to exist 7 miles east of Heshbon. 2. In Ezk 27^{17} 'wheat of Minnith' is specified amongst the merchandise of Tyre which she traded in with Israel and Judah. Davidson (*Comm. ad loc.*) thinks there is something unnatural in the latter bringing an Ammonitish product to Tyre (but see Bertholet, *ad loc.*, who appositely refers to 2 Ch 27^{5}). Cornill emends חִטֵּי מִנִּית to חִטִּים נְכֹאת 'wheat, tragacanth' (cf. Gn 37^{25} 43^{11}). This corresponds with the LXX *σίτου . . . καὶ μύρων*.

C. R. Conder.

MINT (*ἡδύοσμον, mentha*).—Mint is not mentioned in the OT, and only once in NT (Mt 23^{23} ‖ Lk 11^{42}) along with dill, rue, and cummin, as a tithable product. The ancient Greeks employed in medicine a plant called *μίνθος* or *μίνθη*, which likewise bore the name *ἡδύοσμον* = 'the sweet-smelling,' on account of its pleasant odour. It is believed by some to have been the peppermint, *Mentha piperita*, L. It is more probable that it was generic, and included *M. sativa*, L., the garden mint; *M. viridis*, L., the spear mint; *M. sylvestris*, L., the horse mint; and *M. aquatica*, L., the water mint; and perhaps *M. Pulegium*, L., the pennyroyal. A patch of garden mint is cultivated near almost every house in Bible lands, and the fragrant leaves enter into many of their salads and cooked dishes. It is known in Arab. as *na'na'*. It is the only species now cultivated and eaten. *M. sylvestris* grows wild everywhere by ditches and banks. *M. aquatica* grows in water. It is less common than the other. *M. Pulegium* is not uncommon in wet places. For illustrations from Rabbinical sources of the tithing of mint, see Wünsche, *Neue Beiträge*, 291, 443.

G. E. Post.

MIPHKAD, The Gate (שַׁעַר הַמִּפְקָד; RV **Hammiphkad**; *πύλη τοῦ Μαφεκάδ*; *porta judicialis*).—A gate near the east wall of Jerusalem during the rebuilding of the city walls on the return from the Captivity (Neh 3^{31}). Its position was somewhere between the northern portion of the Ophel wall and the Sheep Gate, *i.e.* somewhere east of the temple buildings and adjoining palaces. It can be deduced as follows:—

On the dedication of the city walls on their completion (Neh 12$^{31ff.}$), two great companies issued from the temple to the centre of the western wall of the city, and, separating near the Valley Gate, proceeded along the walls to the temple—one by the northern defences, and the other by the southern defences. The principal gates and towers they passed during their progress are enumerated. By the north they traversed the whole way along the wall, and, passing the towers of Hananel and Meah, and the sheep-gate, stood still in the prison-gate, *i.e.* to the north of the temple. The other company traversed the southern wall, and, passing the dung-gate and the fountain-gate (near Siloam), came down from the wall, and went up by the stairs of the city of David, even unto the water-gate eastward, *i.e.* to the south of the temple.

In the account of the rebuilding of the walls (Neh 3) the same gates and towers are enumerated, and, in addition, all that portion of the wall to the east of Jerusalem, from the fountain-gate, the pool of Siloam, the armoury, to the court of the prison; and another portion along the Ophel wall to the place over against the water-gate (of the temple) towards the east, and thence by the horse-gate and the east to the place over against the gate Miphḳad, to the going up of the corner, unto the sheep-gate. This apparently indicates that the gate Miphḳad, if not actually in the eastern city wall, was very near it, to the north-east of the temple.

The following passage seems to indicate that it was the place where the sin-offering was burnt outside the sanctuary, but inside the city walls: Ezk 43^{21} 'Thou shalt take the bullock also of the sin-offering, and he shall burn it in the appointed place (*miphḳad*) of the house, without the sanctuary.'

Miphḳad has three meanings (Ges. *Lex.*): (1) A number, or numbers; (2) a commandment or mandate; (3) an appointed place. It is used in connexion with the chambers of the house of the Lord, and the oblations and tithes: *e.g.* by the commandment (*miphḳad*) of Hezekiah the king and Azariah the ruler of God's house, certain men are appointed overseers (2 Ch 31^{13}). It is used in connexion with David's numbering of the people of Israel (2 S 24^{9}, 1 Ch 21^{5}).

Lightfoot (ii. 27) points out that the Vulgate renders the gate Miphḳad as the gate of judgment: this may perhaps refer to the hall of judgment in the Prætorium, situated in later days in the Antonia, to the north of the temple, or it may refer to the east gate of the temple (Ezk 35-39, Jl 2, Mic 4^{3}) overlooking the Valley of Jehoshaphat: both Moslems and Jews believe that the last judgment is to take place there. Brocardus speaks of a *Porta Judiciaria* over against the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

The general opinion is that Miphḳad was situated to the north-east of the temple (*PEFSt*, 1879, 176; 1883, 215; 1885, 61; 1889, 90; 1890, 47).

C. Warren.

MIRACLE.—

i. The objective possibility of miracles.
ii. Their subjective credibility.
iii. Their evidential value.
iv. The miracles of the Gospels, their characteristics and their attestation.
v. Other Bible miracles:
  (*a*) In the Acts of the Apostles.
  (*b*) In the Old Testament.
vi. Christian miracles after the apostolic age.

i. The Objective Possibility of Miracles.—**1.** It is a remarkable circumstance that the great stumbling-block at the present day to many persons who are anxious to accept the Christian creeds should be the statement of the very fact which was put forward in the apostolic age as the one convincing proof of their truth, viz. the fact of the Resurrection of Christ. The Christian miracles were once an 'aid to faith'; they are now regarded by many as a grave hindrance to the acceptance of Christianity. It is not hard to account for this. With the development of physical science, and with the largely increased knowledge of what we are accustomed to call the laws of nature, and still more with the growth of the conviction which is at the root of all science that nothing happens abnormally, but that in the physical world every effect has its cause, and that the same causes under the same circumstances will always produce the same effects, men have come to think that there is something about a 'miracle' which no scientifically educated person can believe. So it has come to pass that the argument based on the miracles with which Christianity was ushered into the world, has been more vehemently attacked than any other of the 'evidences' which are usually marshalled: so strenuous, indeed, has been the attack, that not a few theologians, in deference to the spirit of the age, while not conceding in so many words the impossibility of miracles, have relegated the miraculous to some obscure corner of the religious system which they profess and teach. And the *impossibility* of miracles is avowedly the foundation of much of the negative criticism to which the Christian documents have been subjected. The spirit in which Goethe said to Lavater, 'A voice from heaven would not convince me that water burned or a dead man rose again,' often finds expression in literature. Renan prefaces his *Vie de Jésus* by saying of the Gospels, 'C'est parce qu'ils racontent des miracles que je dis, Les Évangiles sont des légendes; ils peuvent contenir de l'histoire, mais certainement tout n'y est pas historique.' And Strauss is careful to distinguish the 'supernatural' element in the Gospels from 'the natural element *which alone is historically available*,' criticism of the documents being thus prejudiced at the outset by the assumption that no account which involves the miraculous can possibly be historical.

2. What then is a 'miracle,' and wherein consists the difficulty of believing that it has taken place? It is evident that precise definition is necessary, if we are to arrive at any conclusion of value in respect of a question like this. Let us start with the definition given by J. S. Mill: 'To constitute a miracle, a phenomenon must take place without having been preceded by any antecedent phenomenal conditions sufficient again to reproduce it. . . . The test of a miracle is, Were there present in the case such external conditions, such second causes we may call them, that whenever these conditions or causes reappear the event will be reproduced? If there were, it is not a miracle; if there were not, it is.'* Now from this definition it is apparent that to one who holds that there is nothing to be known save the sequences and coexistences of phenomena, that 'nature' is only a name for the sum-total of the mechanical and chemical forces of the universe (see NATURE), that there is, in short, no other mode of existence than that which can be perceived by the bodily senses, the occurrence of a miracle would be a violation of the law of causation, which demands a cause for each observed effect. No causes other than material can come within the cognizance of man, and therefore, since a 'miracle' has no material cause, it cannot be considered as within the field of possibility. To consistent and thoroughgoing materialism miracles are impossible. If, by any chance, some anomalous and extraordinary phenomenon were attested on unimpeachable testimony, which satisfied the definition that has been quoted from Mill of a 'miracle,' the conclusion that the materialist would be forced to adopt would be that the phenomenon in question was due to some hitherto unobserved combination of physical forces. It could not be a miracle, for a miracle, *ex hypothesi*, is a perturbation of the normal sequence of physical causation, and the materialist does not admit the existence or the possibility of any force adequate to produce such perturbation.

3. Materialism, however, is not the last word of philosophy. It is inconsistent with any form of religion, and need not be elaborately discussed here. All Theists recognize that the operation of spiritual forces is just as real, just as familiar, an experience as the operation of material forces. An obvious illustration of the intervention of spiritual force in the phenomenal world is afforded by the consequences which ensue in the visible order every time we exert our free will. Mind is not a mere function of the bodily organism, and thought is something distinct from those movements of the grey matter of the brain which seem to accompany it perpetually in our present experience. But mind, *νοῦς*, reason, is a *vera causa*—a cause which produces effects in the physical order, effects which are often far-reaching and important. The action of man's free will, of which the outward effect is the motion of his limbs, is not a violation of the law of causation: that law is true only of physical causes, and the physical sequence is perfectly observed, so far as we know. But the originating impulse comes from a region other than physical, even from the domain of spirit, where man lives his highest life and from which he catches his highest inspirations. We shall see presently that there is no complete analogy between such intervention of human will in the physical order, and that intervention of the Divine volition which we shall find to be the characteristic of a 'miracle'; but, although the analogy is incomplete, it is important to recognize that we have experience of an intrusion into the physical by the moral order every time that we exert our wills to move our bodies. There are forces other than physical to be reckoned with.

4. Thus among the agents which can produce effects in the physical order spiritual agents must be counted; and of these the highest is God. Our conception of the universe is partial and inadequate unless we realize that a great Spiritual Being is the ultimate source of all the manifold activities which it daily and hourly presents to our view. (See NATURE). And if, with this in our minds, we approach an anomalous phenomenon which seems to us to interrupt the continuity of physical sequence, we shall have to enumerate among possible explanations this other, that it is due to the direct volition of the Deity. If we are satisfied that this *is* its explanation, we call it a miracle, and Mill's definition of a miracle may be replaced by words of a thinker of a very different school. 'Miraculum,' said St. Thomas Aquinas, 'est præter ordinem totius naturæ creatæ; Deus igitur cum solus sit non creatura, solus etiam virtute propria miracula facere potest.'* It would not be easy to express oneself more succinctly than this. And it is important to observe that the very idea of a miracle, in this view, presupposes the existence of a supreme spiritual agent. To attempt to *prove* the existence of God by the aid of well-attested occurrences of 'miracle' is idle, because we have not any conception of the possibility of miracle apart from His existence and providence.

5. The possibility of miracle involves the existence of God; it does not at once follow that the converse is true, and that the existence of God implies the possibility of miracle. And we have now to consider whether, granting the existence of a Supreme Being who stands to nature in the relation of Author and Governor, its Creator and its Life, at once immanent in it and transcending it, there are any grounds in reason for denying the possibility of His miraculous intervention in the universe which He has made. The argument by which Spinoza attempted to subvert this possibility has become famous, and, inasmuch as almost all *a priori* arguments on the negative side are but variations of it, a summary of it is essential to the present discussion. In the article NATURE, Spinoza's view of the relation of God to the world is briefly explained. It was a kind of Pantheism, according to which the processes of the universe were the manifestations of its Spiritual Life, the exhibition, as it were, of the *natura naturans* unfolding itself in the *natura naturata*. Thus no place is left for free acts of the Divine volition. And Spinoza lays down as a thesis that 'nothing happens in nature which is in contradiction with its universal laws.' Proceeding, then, to define a miracle as an event in contradiction with the universal laws of nature, he has no difficulty in establishing the impossibility of any event of the miraculous order. The whole force of the argument, and at the same time its whole fallacy, is found in the ambiguity of the word *nature*. Spinoza's thesis that 'nothing happens in nature which is in contradiction with its universal laws' is true only if *nature* includes all that is, if it is understood as embracing the sum of all existence and of all force, material and spiritual, as including

---

* *Essays*, p. 224.

* *Summa*, I. cx. 4.

not only physical movements but the energy of man and of God. But if nature be taken in this large sense, it is quite unjustifiable to assert without proof that 'miracles are in contradiction with the universal laws of nature.' They are only, as Aquinas has it, 'præter ordinem totius naturæ *creatæ*'; miracles are contrary to the order of nature, only if nature be regarded as exclusive and independent of God.[*] The distinction is as old as Augustine, and must be carefully borne in mind: 'Portentum fit, non contra *naturam*, sed contra quam est *nota natura*' (*de Civ. Dei.* xxi. 8). Nature *as we know it* is not to be identified with nature *as God knows it*, with the 'nature' of which He is a part; and it is only of the latter that we can say that its laws are universally valid.

6. There is, however, a form of Spinoza's argument which has more plausibility than that just considered, based as the latter is on a palpable logical fallacy. For it may be argued that miracles are contrary to the very conception of God as the All-Wise. A miracle would be an introduction of disorder into that creation of which the only idea worthy of God is that of an unchangeable order. It would be a contradiction of God by Himself, for the law which is at variance with the miracle is as much the reflexion of the Divine will and purpose as the miracle itself.[†] God 'is not a man that he should repent' (1 S 15^{29}). His eternal decrees are unchangeable, and they are dictated by perfect wisdom. But a miracle is an *intervention* which can only be demanded by an imperfection in the existing order; and thus we have to suppose that the creation is, after all, but an imperfect expression of the Divine will. Here, it is urged, is something inconsistent with the infinite wisdom and power of Him who pronounced all, at the beginning, to be 'very good.' In a perfect system, any interference with the normal course of things could only be for the worse.

The answer is not far to seek, when we express our difficulty in such words as these last. For this world is not, however much we may desire it, the best of all possible, or even of all imaginable, worlds. At some remote epoch in man's history his progress was violently interrupted; his career was checked in its progress 'from strength to strength.' The free will, which was his greatest gift, became the source of his greatest misery. And his fall has left permanent traces on the fair universe of God. How evil could ever have entered into the world we do not know (see FALL); but as things are, man has not fulfilled the Divine intention for him. From the consequences of his sin he cannot be saved by the mere normal operations of natural law, by the orderly development of his own nature. That redemption can be brought about only by an act of Divine mercy, which may involve—which perhaps necessitates—a perturbation of the established order. But the real marvel is not the intervention of grace, but the sin which demanded it. For sin is ἀνομία, lawlessness (1 Jn 3^{4}); it is a violation of moral law, which may be—and we can see reasons which suggest that it *is*—a far greater anomaly than any apparent violation of physical law could possibly be. There *is* an incongruity which we cannot reconcile (see FALL) between our conceptions of an All-Wise and All-Good God and the existence of sin; but that incongruity being frankly recognized, there is no further difficulty in conceiving of God as intervening, in an exceptional way, at an exceptional moment, to save man from the consequences of his own rash acts.

7. There is, indeed, a point of view from which it would be impossible to conceive of such intervention taking place, without doing violence to our best notions of the Supreme. We are not to conceive of the relation between God and nature as that merely which subsists between an architect and his work (see NATURE), between a mechanic and the machine which he has made, and which, once made, is left to its own devices, unless it gets out of order.

> 'The reason why, among men, an artificer is justly esteemed so much the more skilful as the machine of his composing will continue to move regularly without any further interposition of the workman, is, because the skill of all *human* artificers consists only in composing, adjusting, or putting together certain movements, the principles of whose motion are altogether dependent upon the artificer. . . . But with regard to *God*, the case is quite different; because He not only composes or puts things together, but is Himself the Author and continual Preserver of their original forces or moving powers. And consequently it is not a diminution, but the true glory of His workmanship, that *nothing* is done without His *continual government* and *inspection*.'[*]

On the mechanical theory of nature, the word 'intervention' might seem to suggest imperfect workmanship or foresight on the part of the Creator; but that is not a theory with which, as Christians, we are concerned. One who upholds 'all things by the word of His power' (He 1^{3}) cannot be spoken of as *intruding*, either in nature or in grace. And thus, despite the associations which cling to the word 'intervention,' it is hard to get a better word to express a special and extraordinary manifestation of purpose on the part of Him who is ever immanent in nature. We do not imply by its use that God stands aloof from the affairs of the world, save on those few occasions which we call miraculous, but we mean that, at certain critical moments in the history of the human race, the uniformity of His rule has been departed from, 'lest one good custom should corrupt the world.' 'When,' says Augustine,[†] 'things happen in a continuous kind of river of ever-flowing succession, passing from the hidden to the visible, and from the visible to the hidden, by a regular and beaten track, they are called *natural*; when, for the admonition of men, they are thrust in by an unusual changeableness, then they are called miracles.'

8. There prevails, however, at the present day a widespread dislike to any conception which involves a break in the continuity of the physical order, and thus various hypotheses have been proposed, according to which miracles may be made to appear more or less 'natural.' Indeed, 'natural law in the spiritual world' has been accepted by some as the principle of the much desired *eirenicon* between science and religion. It will be instructive to consider in detail some of these hypotheses.

(*a*) In the discussion of the miraculous, stress has at times been laid on the principle that God works by means. 'Miracles,' says the Duke of Argyll, 'may be wrought by the selection and use of laws of which man knows and can know nothing, and which, if he did know, he could not employ.'[‡] And he suggests that much of the difficulty attendant on belief in supernatural agency is due to neglect of this truth. Most people seem to understand by supernatural power, power independent of the use of means, and the scientific mind cannot bring itself to believe in this. It is doubtful if this helps us much. The difficulty of accepting an alleged miracle as real would not be much lessened, if it were shown that natural means had been used for its accomplishment. For example, in several of the 'miracles' of the OT, it is distinctly asserted that natural forces were employed as means. Thus the dividing of the Red Sea and the supply of quails are asserted to have been brought about through the agency of a wind blowing in a particular direction (Ex 14[21], Nu 11[31]). Now, if any incredibility attach to these events, it does not seem that the introduction of machinery renders them any more credible. For the introduction of this machinery does not remove the direct intervention of God; it merely shifts it back to an earlier stage. The wind brought the quails, but what brought the wind?

---

[*] See Spinoza, *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, c. 6, and Mozley, *Miracles*, p. 215 ff.

[†] See Trench, *Miracles*, p. 73.

[*] Clarke, *First Reply to Leibnitz*, p. 15.

[†] *De Trin.* iii. 6.

[‡] *Reign of Law*, p. 16.

> 'It is as real a miracle that the wind should come at the direct command of God, as that the quails should come without the wind. And so in every case. The immediate consequent of the special exertion of the Divine will is a miracle. Between the immediate consequent and the final result any number of "means" may be interposed; but this does not alter the miraculous character of the event—it only disguises it. A miracle is not the less a miracle because in the series of phenomena which we call an event there are present in addition to the one miraculous element a hundred elements which are not miraculous.'*

(*b*) Such events, however, as the dividing of the Red Sea and the supply of quails are not in themselves extraordinary; they can be classed as 'miracles' only because of the circumstances under which they happened, and should perhaps be rather described as 'special providences,' to use a common phrase whose meaning is discussed below. But can we conceive any way in which events which seem to be an interruption of the physical order may be brought under law? An ingenious illustration was put forward in this connexion by Babbage in his Ninth Bridgewater Treatise. He supposed the case of a complicated machine, so constructed that by turning the handle the first 100,000 natural numbers appear consecutively at regular intervals on a dial plate, but such that the next number is 100,100 instead of 100,001; after which apparent miracle the series goes on as before in arithmetical progression. Now, the exceptional numbers are not miracles or even anomalies; they were all provided for in the original construction of the machine; they are examples of law, unknown to the unscientific public, but known to the wise artificer. Peabody gave a similar illustration. He told a story of a church clock, so contrived that at the close of a century it strikes the years as it ordinarily strikes the hours. 'As 100 years come to a close, suddenly in the immense mass of complicated mechanism a little wheel turns, a pin slides into the appointed place, and in the shadows of the night the bell tolls a requiem over the generations which during a century have lived and laboured and been buried around it. One of these generations might live and die and witness nothing peculiar.' The anomalous striking of the clock at the close of the century would seem a miracle to the uninstructed public; and yet it was not *abnormal* in any true sense. Such analogies are obviously not apt in certain particulars. Not to speak of the comparison of nature to a machine, which, as we have already seen, is misleading, it is plain that the exceptional phenomena described above would react at regular intervals, however long. We cannot suppose that there is any such *periodic* law in the case of miracles, which, as *signs*, are in their very nature *unique*. And so the only service which such analogies render is to remind us of our unfathomable ignorance of the inner constitution of nature, and so to guard us from hasty dogmatic negations of the possibility of this or that alleged event.

(*c*) A better illustration, perhaps, than either of the above is the following, which was (like that of the numerical machine) suggested by Babbage. The science of mathematics teaches us that there are many curves made up of isolated points, in addition to a continuous curved line. To a non-mathematical mind it seems an absurd paradox to maintain that a single outlying point can be treated as lying on a continuous curve in its neighbourhood. But, in spite of the apparent absurdity, nothing is more certain than that it can be so treated. A curve, which to the eye appears to be discontinuous and broken, is known by the mathematician to follow an unvarying law. Now, it is not extravagant to suppose that our knowledge is at least as inferior to that of the Divine mind as the knowledge of geometry possessed by the beginner is inferior to the knowledge of the skilled mathematician. In short, apparent discontinuity may not involve any real breach of law, the whole progress of science tending as it does to bring what were formerly anomalous facts under the protection of general principles. And thus a 'miracle' may really be explicable by Supreme Intelligence as an illustration of law. These considerations do not *prove* that miracles are reducible to law, but show that there is nothing incongruous with daily experience in supposing that they may be so reduced.

9. The law of continuity, which is often appealed to as putting out of court the possibility of miracles, is—it must ever be remembered—nothing more than a convenient principle for the direction of scientific investigation. It may often deceive us; we may imagine that phenomena exhibit discontinuity, when a larger experience shows us that continuity has been most strictly observed. But it is even more important to recognize that it has no claim at all to be regarded as a constitutive principle of nature; it is not a fetish before which we must bow down, and which we must worship. The gap between the inorganic and the organic, between death and living matter, between animal life and human thought,—all these are chasms which cannot be bridged, so far as we know. In each case there is a *μετάβασις εἰς ἄλλο γένος.* The most evident breach of continuity that can be imagined is the Creation itself: to conceive an Infinite Creator calling into existence a finite world, is to conceive discontinuous action. And other points of singularity on the curve of development of life are to be found at the points where man became conscious of his powers and of himself, and, lastly, when, in the fulness of time, God became Man. Stupendous miracles, indeed! 'Tria mirabilia,' said Descartes, 'fecit Dominus; res ex nihilo, liberum arbitrium, et hominem Deum.'

10. We may put the case in another way. Conceive for the moment the existence of beings confined to two dimensions of space. Length and breadth they understand; of height they can have no conception whatever. They live their lives in a plane; that space has other possibilities in store would be to them the maddest of dreams. To move northward or southward, eastward or westward, would be within their power; but the terms 'upward' or 'downward' could have no meaning at all. To such beings the advent of a visitor from the third dimension of space would be a true 'miracle'; it would be a violation of all the laws by which their universe has been ordered in the past. For such visitation could be reduced by them to no law; the appearance or disappearance of the vision (which would be simply brought about by descending upon or rising from the plane of their being) would be inexplicable. The movements of a visitor who could thus intrude into their universe would remain for ever anomalous and extraordinary, inasmuch as the third dimension of space is for them inconceivable. *Mutato nomine, de te fabula narratur.* By what right do we, the inhabitants of this solid earth, assume that space is necessarily limited to *three* dimensions, and three only? Why not four or five? Indeed mathematical research does not get very far before it begins to suggest that the possibilities of space are infinite, though inconceivable. We cannot, in short, assert the *impossibility* of miracle unless we are prepared to assume that the laws of space which fetter and confine us in every region of outward experience are laws for the whole universe. It does not need a study of the Kantian philosophy to perceive that such an assumption is entirely unwarranted. But—it is only a possiblility, yet one worth pondering—if the existence of a world where space has *four* dimensions be credible (though not imaginable), it may well be that what we call miracles are to the inhabitants of that world the ordinary manifestations of 'natural' forces.*

---

* Jellett, *Efficacy of Prayer*, p. 166.

11. Such considerations as these lead to a conclusion of considerable importance. They teach that the *wonderful* or *anomalous* or *extraordinary* character of any phenomenon is quite insufficient, *by itself*, to justify us in asserting that it must be due to the intervention of supreme spiritual powers. For there is always the possibility, not to be ignored, that it is due to unknown combinations of known natural forces, or to a natural force hitherto undetected. A remarkable verse in the Bk. of Wis (19^{18}) illustrates the anomalous combination of natural forces in a miracle, by likening it to the transposing of the melody played on a musical instrument to a different key: 'As the notes of a psaltery vary the character of the rhythm, even so did the elements, changing their order one with another, continuing always the same, each in its several sound.' And (as is pointed out in art. NATURAL) it is inevitable that what seems extraordinary to one man will not seem so to another. Cortes seemed a superhuman person to the Mexicans when he predicted an eclipse. To a dog, the actions of his master must repeatedly seem 'extraordinary,' *i.e.* anomalous and inexplicable to his faculties. Thus Locke† defines a miracle as 'a sensible operation, which, being above the comprehension of the spectator and *in his opinion* contrary to the established course of nature, is *taken by him* to be divine.' The definition is not entirely satisfactory, for it loses sight of the important consideration which has been under discussion, viz. that the anomalous character of the alleged occurrence does not by itself establish the operation of spiritual force; but it is valuable as bringing out clearly the inadequacy of any such criterion to serve as an objective or universal test of 'miracle.' To class all 'extraordinary' or 'abnormal' occurences as 'miracles,' is to make an unwarrantable assumption. In short, to use the technical language of scholastic theology, we must not include among *miracles* 'ea quæ natura facit nobis tamen vel alicui occulta,' viz. the effects of physical forces as yet unknown.

12. Further, the wholesome consciousness of the limitations of our knowledge will prevent us from describing miracles as 'violations of law,' a phrase too commonly used, without any clear conception of the meaning of the words employed. If law here means 'law of the universe,' of that sum of existence which includes God Himself, it is plain that such a phrase is self-contradictory; the *laws* of the Cosmos, in this view, are the general principles of wisdom according to which the world is ruled, and these are, strictly, inviolable. Thus, when Butler suggests that 'God's miraculous interpositions may have been all along by general laws of wisdom,'‡ and that we shall be able to see this in a future state of wider knowledge, he means by 'laws of wisdom,' not physical sequences which have been observed to be invariable in our experience, but the reasons by which the Divine Being is guided in the action of His Providence. And his observation amounts to this, that although miracles, produced as they are by the direct intervention of the Divine volition, do not obey the ordinary rule that every physical effect may be accounted for by an antecedent physical cause, yet they are not, on that account, *lawless*. They are wrought for a worthy end, and in accordance with a wise plan. And Butler explains elsewhere* that there may be an inherent limit in the nature of things to the utility of miracles, beyond which they would produce injury and disadvantage; the general bad result of the interposition being greater than the particular benefit produced by it. Thus one of the 'general laws' which might be supposed to govern miraculous interposition would be a Law of Economy, that it should take place only at exceptional crises in the history of man or of the universe.

13. But, no doubt, when miracles are described as 'violations of law,' what is generally meant by law is *physical* law, the kind of law which is ascertained in the laboratory, and whose operation comes within the sphere of the bodily senses to observe. Such a law might be conceived as violated without any violence being done to our reason, for the sum of physical forces is not the entire Cosmos, or its most essential factor. But, as a matter of fact, observation could never demonstrate a violation of law in this sense, save to a being who was omniscient. For (see NATURAL) we have no title to assert that we know and can infallibly predict the outcome of a hitherto unobserved combination of physical forces; we cannot tell what is *above* nature, unless we know all that is *within* it.† As Huxley tersely wrote: 'If a dead man did come to life, the fact would be evidence, not that any law of nature had been violated, but that those laws, even when they express the results of a very long and uniform experience, are necessarily based on incomplete knowledge, and are to be held only on grounds of more or less justifiable expectation.'‡ With our imperfect knowledge of the conditions of life, we are not justified in saying with confidence that the dead could not be restored to life by some, to us, unknown combination of physical forces. And thus the mere *marvellousness* of our Lord's miracles by no means justifies us in ascribing them to supernatural agency. All that the evidence in respect of their extraordinary character would justify would be that they were what He Himself called them, 'the works *which none other did*' (Jn 15^{24}). In this regard, suggestions have often been made to the effect that those phenomena which we now call miraculous may be all scientifically accounted for in the future, and shown to be the action of obscure natural causes, with whose action we are only partially acquainted. Archbishop Temple hints that 'the miraculous healing of the sick may be no miracle in the strictest sense at all. It may be but an instance of the power of mind over body—a power which is undeniably not yet brought within the range of science, and which, nevertheless, may be really within its domain. In other words, what seems to be miraculous, may be simply unusual.'§ And so all that the anomalous character of these recorded events would prove would be, that Christ's healing acts were at least *relative miracles*, in Schleiermacher's well-known phrase, 'miracles if not for the purpose of science, at least for the purpose of revelation, arresting attention on the Agent, accrediting Him as God's messenger, singling Him out from other men and proving Him to be in possession of credentials deserving serious consideration; miracles for Christ's own time if not for ours, and having for that time the function and value of genuine miraculous deeds.'

---

* The argument suggested in this paragraph was developed in an ingenious essay, published anonymously in 1884, under the title *Flatland*.

† *Discourse on Miracles*.

‡ *Analogy*, ii. 4.

* *Analogy*, i. 7.

† Augustine suggested that the miracle at Cana of Galilee is only the acceleration of a natural process: 'Ipse fecit vinum in nuptiis qui omni modo hoc facit in vitibus.' It is the *rate* of the process which is extraordinary.

‡ *Hume*, p. 135.

§ *The Relation between Religion and Science*, p. 195.

14. We are thus led round again to the conclusion that the true miracle, which shall enable us to see the finger of God in the matter, must be more than a *wonder*. The word τέρας is *never* used in the NT of a miracle, save in connexion with another word, viz. σημεῖον.[*] The miracles of Christ are not only *wonders*; that would not guarantee their quality: they are *signs* (see SIGN). They must not be separated from their context and viewed as the prodigies of a thaumaturgist; for they are capable of being interpreted as the manifestations of supreme spiritual force, only when the attendant circumstances are considered. Mozley puts the case thus:

> 'To say that the material fact which takes place *in* a miracle admits of being referred to an unknown natural cause, is not to say that the miracle itself does. A miracle is the material fact *as* coinciding with an express announcement, or with express supernatural pretensions in the agent. It is this correspondence of two facts which constitutes a miracle. If a person says to a blind man, 'see,' and he sees, it is not the sudden return of sight alone that we have to account for, but its return at that particular moment. For it is morally impossible that this exact agreement of an event with a command or notification could have been by a mere chance, or, as we should say, been an extraordinary coincidence, especially if it is repeated in other cases.'

Thus, then, in the case of an alleged event which would seem to satisfy the definition of a miracle given above by Mill, we have two possible explanations. One is that it is the result of unknown natural law; the other is that it is due to the intervention of supreme spiritual power. And the latter explanation is the one which we feel compelled to adopt, when the extraordinary event presents distinct evidence of *purpose*. A miracle, then, may be described as an event manifesting purpose, occurring in the physical world, which cannot be accounted for by any of its known forces, and which, therefore, we ascribe to a spiritual cause. It is an interference with the ordinary action of the forces of nature on the part of the Author of Nature—an event brought about, not by any observed combination of physical forces, but by a direct Divine volition. It is thus at once a τέρας and a σημεῖον.

15. These two characteristics enable us to distinguish miracles, so called, from other phenomena which resemble them in certain respects. For instance, as has been already said, an interference with the physical order on the part of the spiritual takes place every time we exert our free will. On every occasion of such exertion we demonstrate the possibility of material phenomena being influenced by a personal, conscious, free agent. The resulting action is a σημεῖον of the Intelligent Will which started the series of physical movements with a view to the fulfilment of foreseen purpose. We do not, however, call this a τέρας, a wonder, although it is truly a very wonderful thing. But there is no *sensible* interruption of the physical sequence; the continuity *seems* to be unbroken; and, so far as the powers of observation reach, it *is* unbroken. Once the initial impulse has been given, the power of the muscles is subject to physical laws, like any other physical force. An act of free will is not, strictly, comparable to a *miracle*, but to the action of Divine Providence in relation to mankind. All 'special providences,' or —to use a better phrase—all answers to prayer, are strictly due to the intervention of the spiritual in the physical order. We do not call these *miracles*, because there is no *apparent* interruption of the ordinary course of nature; but yet at some point in the physical series there has been the intervention of the Divine will. Our conception of God (see NATURE) is not that He stands aloof from the world save on those rare occasions where we speak of miraculous interposition, but that He perpetually directs and controls the forces of nature in accordance with His purposes. But these forces are not His *masters*; they are His *servants*. And we have no ground for assuming that He cannot, for a special purpose, combine, counteract, paralyze their energy as He wills. Here we have reached the point beyond which the analogy of man's free will does not carry us. For man's free will is subject to strict limitations in its exercise. One obvious limitation is that man's influence over foreign bodies is possible only through the instrumentality of his own body. Despite some recorded phenomena, it seems to be true that man's will can enter the physical series only through the medium of the grey matter of his own brain. We have no warrant whatever for extending any such limiting law to the action of the Divine will, nor indeed would it be consistent with the conception of a Supreme Agent who is immanent in nature, while transcending it. This is a fundamental difference, indicating, as it does, that the Divine volition is related to the forces of nature in a fashion very diverse from that in which the human volition is related to those forces. The result of the exercise of human will is a σημεῖον; it is not a τέρας.

16. It may be asked at this point (and the question demands an answer), If miracles are not impossible, can it be said that anything is impossible? Has the word *impossibility* any meaning, if the possibility of interruptions of the ordinary course of nature, of breaches of the law of physical continuity, be admitted? It has a meaning. There are certain permanent impossibilities which can neither be conceived nor believed, of which we cannot assert in any intelligible sense that they could become possible by the act of Omnipotence, viz. *logical* impossibilities, violations of the laws described by logicians as the laws of thought, the laws of identity, contradiction, and excluded middle. That A should be the same as not-A, that a thing should possess two directly contradictory attributes at the same time,—these are permanent impossibilities; their truth is inconceivable for any rational being. Such axioms are not like the axioms of mathematics, which depend for their validity upon the constitution of space, and which therefore may not be true in regions where the conditions of space are not the same as they are with us. We cannot impose the laws of space upon Him 'whose kingdom is where space and time are not.' But it is quite otherwise with the laws of thought, of that reason in virtue of which it is written that man was made 'in the image of God.' These laws we must consider to be of universal and permanent validity, unless we are prepared to surrender ourselves to intellectual chaos; and a violation of them must be counted by us as strictly *impossible*. It is evident that such violation is not *ejusdem generis* with those anomalies in the ordinary course of nature which we call miracles. There is no miracle recorded in the Bible or anywhere else which is in the least like a violation of the laws of thought: if there were, we could not believe it, no matter what the authority on which it were presented to us, for we should be prevented from doing so by the constitution of our own minds. Far from being violations of the laws of thought, miracles cannot (as has been shown) be accurately and with confidence described as violations of the laws of nature; they are not violations, for instance, of the law of causation, that every effect must have an adequate cause, because in each case, *ex hypothesi*, the cause that is assigned is the direct action of the Divine will. It is doubtful, even, if any of the Gospel miracles could be described as violations of the laws of space and time. But however that may be, the point necessary to emphasize is, that in asserting the possibility of miracles on the hypothesis of Theism, we are far from denying the impossibility of any such contradiction as a violation of the fundamental laws of thought would involve. Such a violation would be contradictory to reason; it is a misuse of language to say that the miracles of the Gospel are so.

---

[*] Ac 2^{19}, an apparent exception, is a *quotation* from Jl 2^{30}.

17. The problem of the abstract possibility of miracles cannot be considered further here. Nothing has yet been said as to their probability, or credibility, or utility; but, before this section of the subject is closed, it may be worth while to remark that representative thinkers of many schools of thought have expressed their conviction that thus far the argument is impregnable. Thus Kant, the apostle of criticism, while allowing no value to miracles as credentials of a *moral* religion, distinctly concedes their possibility, and indeed their utility, under certain circumstances.* So, in like manner, Rousseau declared: 'This question, whether God can work miracles, seriously treated, would be impious, if it were not absurd; and it would be doing too much honour to him who would answer it in the negative to punish him; it would be sufficient to keep him in custody.'† And, once more, Huxley wrote: 'Denying the possibility of miracles seems to me quite as unjustifiable as speculative Atheism.'‡ There is, indeed, a growing conviction among Christians and non-Christians alike that *a priori* speculation in theology, as in science, is worth very little; that the one hope of arriving at truth is to keep an open mind, and to welcome evidence from any and every quarter, without previous decision as to its value or worthlessness. It is in this spirit that an investigation into the evidence of the Christian miracles must be approached.

ii. THE SUBJECTIVE CREDIBILITY OF MIRACLES.—**1.** It would seem, from the preceding discussion, that the question whether miracles have ever happened or not is a mere question of fact. This question, like all similar ones, must be determined by evidence—the evidence of the senses if the 'miracle' is within the range of our own personal experience, the evidence of credible and sufficient testimony if it belongs to an age other than our own. In the case of the miracles which accompanied the dawn of Christianity, the former kind of evidence is not now to be had; we must have recourse to the testimony of others. And so it might be thought that the only problem for the scientific inquirer is to investigate the nature of the evidence which is forthcoming, its amount, its date, and its consistency, and to determine, if it may be, the character and veracity of the witnesses. A preliminary difficulty, however, was raised by the ingenuity of David Hume, which still remains to be dealt with.

In his famous essay on *Miracles*, Hume took up the remarkable position, that even if miracles happened, their occurrence could not be established by testimony; for, without troubling ourselves with any metaphysical discussion about their objective possibility, they may be seen to be *subjectively incredible*. Hume's case has often been argued since his day, but it is doubtful if any writer has ever presented it in a more plausible form than its original advocate; and it will therefore be best to take it in his own words:

> 'A miracle,' he says, 'is a violation of the laws of nature; and as a firm and unalterable experience has established these laws, the proof against a miracle, from the very nature of the fact, is as entire as any argument from experience can possibly be imagined. . . . It is no miracle that a man, seemingly in good health, should die on a sudden; because such a kind of death, though more unusual than any other, has yet been frequently observed to happen. But it is a miracle that a dead man should come to life; because that has never been observed in any age or country. . . . The consequence is that no testimony is sufficient to establish a miracle, *unless the testimony be of such a kind that its falsehood would be more miraculous than the fact which it endeavours to establish*. Or, briefly, it is contrary to experience that a miracle should be true, but not contrary to experience that testimony should be false.'

2. In this argument a careful observer will not fail to observe that the point to be proved is assumed at the outset. 'A firm and *unalterable* experience has established these laws . . . that has *never* been observed in any age or country.' Why, this is the very question at issue. (i.) The very thing that the believers in miracle assert is that experience has *not* always given negative testimony on the point. All the evidence (whatever it be worth) that has ever been produced to guarantee the occurrence of miracles must be reckoned as counter evidence in refutation of the ground on which it is asserted that miracles must be disbelieved. It is in the highest degree unscientific to sweep away all the positive evidence for any alleged fact in such a fashion. In matters of science a new trial must always be granted whenever there is any reasonable ground to suppose that new evidence has turned up, or that any fault can be found with the processes by which, from ascertained facts, inferences have been drawn. 'The question can only be stated fairly as depending on a balance of evidence; a certain amount of positive evidence in favour of miracles, and a negative presumption from the general course of human experience against them'*; it being always borne in mind that negative evidence is never so conclusive as positive, since facts of which there had been no previous experience are often discovered and proved by positive experience to be true. (ii.) Next, Paley's familiar criticism must not be forgotten. Paley points out† that Hume's argument turns on an ambiguity in the phrase 'contrary to experience.' The miracles of the Gospel are not contrary to experience in the sense that they contradict our own present experience, the witness of our own senses; they can only be said to be contrary to experience in the sense that we have never experienced anything like them. This unusualness is, of course, a distinguishing feature of miracles, a mark of their *signal* character (see SIGN); if they were ordinary occurrences, they would cease to be miracles, but the fact that they are thus unusual or extraordinary does not *in itself* make them incredible. These two considerations may be thus summarized. Hume says that miracles are contrary to experience. Now, if by experience he means *all* experience, his maxim is a plain *petitio principii*; and if he only means general experience, it sinks into the platitude that miracles are uncommon.‡

3. We refuse, therefore, to allow that Hume's argument is complete in logic. Viewed as an attempt to eliminate the *credibility* of miracles on the ground of the fallibility of human testimony, it is a failure. But we cannot fail to recognize the element of truth which has given the argument its plausibility. It is this. The course of nature is, as a rule, uniform. What is disturbed by the assertion that a miracle has taken place is the mechanical expectation of a recurrence, and we find it hard to get out of our scientific groove, in which everything does recur mechanically, because we so often regard nature as a mere machine—self-acting, whether self-created or no.* If nature were such a machine, the *improbability* (we are not justified in speaking of *incredibility*) of a miracle would be enormous, although even then there would be no reason why that improbability should not be overcome by adequate testimony. But the question as to the probability or improbability of miracle assumes quite a different aspect when we recognize that nature is the exhibition of the Divine will and purpose.

---

* *Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft*, p. 99, ed. Rosenkranz.

† *Lettres de la Montagne*, iii.

‡ *Spectator*, Feb. 10, 1866.

* Mill, *Essays on Religion*, p. 221, where the illogical character of Hume's argument is plainly exhibited.

† Paley, *Evidences*, Introduction.

‡ An ingenious practical illustration of the fallibility of Hume's principles as to the value of human testimony will be found in Whately's once famous pamphlet, *Historic Doubts concerning Napoleon Buonaparte*.

> 'Hume's argument is far from being conclusive when the existence of a Being who created the present order of nature, and therefore may well be thought to have power to modify it, is accepted as a fact, or even as a probability resting on independent evidence. Once admit a God, and the production by His direct volition of an effect which in any case owed its origin to His creative will is no longer a purely arbitrary hypothesis to account for the fact, but must be reckoned with as a serious possibility.' †

The question *is* one of balancing improbabilities, as Hume said, but we must now take into consideration, on the positive side, not only the mere evidence of the witnesses, but also whatever there is of *a priori* probability that the Supreme would intervene in such fashion. Such *a priori* probability undoubtedly exists in the case of a miracle like the Incarnation. There is, on the one hand, if you will, the improbability that an event thus anomalous and out of the established order should take place. There is, on the other hand, not only the witness of the Gospels and of the Church to the claims of the Christ, not only the striking fact that thus all the hopes and expectations of ages found their realization, but this other serious consideration as well. If God made man in His own image, and intended him at the first for holiness, there is an *a priori* improbability in the supposition that such Divine purpose would be for ever frustrate and in vain. The Fall demands the Incarnation and the Atonement; it demands a fresh act of Divine grace, which shall raise man out of the slough in which he is struggling. And so we can perceive a reason why, in the interests of morality and goodness, some such miracle as that of the Word who became flesh should appear in 'the fulness of time.' In other words, if we adopt Hume's way of looking at the question, though our belief in a miraculous occurrence depend ultimately on our regarding the testimony to it as so strong that its falsity would be more miraculous than the truth of the miracle in question, yet when thus balancing probabilities we must not forget to give due weight to the *moral* probability that the Author of Creation may desire at certain epochs to give a special manifestation of Himself, of His will, of His grace, to the creatures whom He has made.

4. It must be frankly conceded that such considerations have been at times made too much of. *A priori* speculation in theology, as we said above, is often misleading; and if we committed ourselves altogether to its guidance we might be led to conclusions which should forbid us to regard as reconcilable the benevolence of God and the misery and sin and sorrow with which this earth is afflicted. If it be regarded as *a priori* probable that a remedy should be provided for sin, why, it has been asked,* is it not also *a priori* probable that a remedy should be provided for disease? Why should not sin be just as permanent an inheritance of man as death? And to that the only answer is that we do not rely solely on *a priori* probabilities in religion; if they were contradicted at every turn by experience, we could not trust them. But when, as in the case of the miracle of the Incarnation, the *a posteriori* witness falls in with the *a priori* suggestion of reason, then the two kinds of evidence, derived respectively from abstract and concrete considerations, mutually corroborate and support each other. *A priori* reasoning may lead us astray, but that is no reason for believing that it never points to the truth. Indeed, to profess that there is *no* scope for moral and rational probabilities in God's government of the world, is to accept a creed more gloomy and more irrational than any which has yet been proposed to man.

5. It is not too much to say that the occurrence of miracle can hardly be certified to the intellect in a quiet hour of after-reflection, unless there be a convergence of both lines of evidence—the *a posteriori* of testimony, the *a priori* of antecedent probability. This is to say, that more and higher evidence is required to substantiate a miracle than is required to substantiate ordinary matters of fact. As the course of nature is generally uniform, we must grant that there is *some* special improbability attaching to the allegation that an event of the miraculous order has been witnessed. To overcome this special improbability it is needful, first, to adduce some seemingly adequate reason why the Creator should deviate from that observed course of action which (save in the specific cases of alleged miracles) prior experience proves to have been His rule; and secondly, that we should have stronger and more unimpeachable direct evidence than that which is required for an ordinary event. Certainly 'le vrai n'est pas toujours le vraisemblable'; we must never reject any statement merely because it sounds improbable. We must try to discover if its falsity would be more or less improbable than its truth. But, granting the force of this proviso, we must also admit that *more* evidence is required for a miracle than for ordinary matters of fact.

Butler takes a different view, and his position is worthy of scrutiny. His words are as follows †:—

> 'There is a very strong presumption against common speculative truths and against the most ordinary facts, before the proof of them, which yet is overcome by almost any proof. There is a presumption of millions to one, against the story of Cæsar, or of any other man. For suppose a number of common facts so and so circumstanced, of which one had no kind of proof, should happen to come into one's thoughts, every one would, without any possible doubt, conclude them to be false. And the like may be said of a single common fact. And from hence it appears, that the question of importance, as to the matter before us, is, concerning the *degree* of the peculiar presumption supposed against miracles; not whether there be any peculiar presumption at all against them. For, if there be the presumption of millions to one against the most common facts, what can a small presumption, additional to this, amount to, though it be peculiar? It cannot be estimated, and is as nothing. The only material question is, whether there be any such presumption against miracles as to render them in any sort incredible.'

Now, Mill pointed out very clearly ‡ the confusion of which Butler is here guilty: it is that Butler does not distinguish between two different kinds of improbability, which may be called respectively improbability *before* the fact and improbability *after* the fact. The antecedent presumption against any ordinary occurrence taking place, which it comes into my head to *imagine* taking place, is immense; but if a credible witness asserts that it *has* taken place, that improbability becomes as nothing. This is the improbability before the fact. In fact, that any ordinary event should take place is improbable *before* testimony has been given, but not a whit improbable *after* testimony. But the case of miracles is quite different: the presumption against a miracle is not merely a presumption against a specific event, but against that *kind* of event taking place. And this presumption remains, and must be allowed for even after testimony has been given. Butler really compares the improbability of miracles (which remains *after* testimony to their occurrence has been given) with the improbability of the truth of a random guess (which vanishes after testimony to its accuracy has been brought forward); and this is to compare two things not fairly comparable at all.

---

* See Temple, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 216.

† Mill, *l.c.* p. 232.

* *e.g.* by Mill, *l.c.* p. 235 ff.

† *Analogy*, ii. 2.

‡ *System of Logic*, ii. 178.

6. The truth is, that when estimating the difference between miracles and ordinary facts as matters of credit, we must not lose sight of our fundamental assumption of the existence and activity of supreme spiritual powers.

> 'A miracle,' says Mozley, 'is on one side of it not a fact of this world, but of the invisible world; the Divine interposition in it being a supernatural and mysterious act: and so the evidence for a miracle does not stand exactly on the same ground as the evidence of the witness-box, which only appeals to our common-sense as men of the world and actors in ordinary life, but it requires a great religious assumption in our minds to begin with, without which no testimony in the case can avail; and consequently the acceptance of a miracle exercises more than the ordinary qualities of candour and fairness used in estimating historical evidence generally, having, in the previous admission of a Supernatural Power, first tried our faith.'[*]

As we conceive the case, then, there must be, to certify the miracle—(*a*) *a posteriori* evidence greater in degree than would be required for ordinary matters of fact; (*b*) an *a priori* conviction of the Divine power, and an *a priori* faith in the Divine will to intervene. And this conclusion (to which we have been led on grounds of reason alone) receives remarkable confirmation from the circumstances of our Lord's miracles as recorded in the Gospels. The great miracle of the Resurrection was only witnessed by believers; there was no manifestation of the Risen Christ to the soldiers, to the priests, to Pilate (cf. Ac 10^{41}). It is a question, indeed, which may fairly be raised, whether the recognition of the Risen Lord would have been possible for the faithless, and whether unbelievers would have perceived any exceptional appearance at all in the Garden, in the Upper Room, or on the Galilæan mountain.[†] It is a question whether we have not here the supreme illustration of that strange limitation to the powers of the Incarnate Word described in the words, 'He could do there no mighty work' (Mk 6^5): 'He did there no mighty works because of their unbelief' (Mt 13^{58}). But, without entering into so difficult and sacred a field of inquiry, it is at least certain that miracles are not regarded in the Gospels as sufficient objectively in themselves to generate faith. 'If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded if one rise from the dead' (Lk 16^{31}), is the general teaching of the Synoptics.

iii. THE EVIDENTIAL VALUE OF MIRACLES.—**1.** We pass to the consideration of the evidential value of miracles. It is an 'acknowledged historical fact,' as Butler says, 'that Christianity offered itself to the world and demanded to be received upon the allegation . . . of miracles publicly wrought to attest the truth of it in such an age.' The Christian Church was founded on the basis of belief in a stupendous miracle, the resurrection of Christ: this was continually put forward by the early Christian apologists as chief among the credentials of the Gospel. Whether the reasoning of Nicodemus was logically valid or not, it unquestionably was accepted by thousands. 'We know that thou art a teacher come from God; for no man can do these signs that thou doest except God be with him,' Jn 3^2. (See SIGN). And it was largely due to the miracles which (it was alleged) accompanied the advent of Christianity, that Christian missionaries were able in the early ages to get a hearing for their message. But it has been urged that, granting the historical fact that this line of argument was once very attractive, it ought now to be set aside, for it is quite fallacious and inadequate. Miracles *as credentials* seem now to be at a discount, and the reaction against the exclusive attention to this aspect of their purpose which prevailed in the last century in English theology has perhaps gone too far. We have already said above that we do not claim for miracles that testimony to their occurrence is by itself sufficient to prove the existence of Divine power. The possibility of a miracle implies the existence of God, and no testimony would be sufficient to convince one who did not recognize the Divine existence that a miracle had ever occurred (see ii. § **6**).[*] But a difficulty emerges, even in the case of a believer in spiritual force, which must now be considered.

2. A miracle, *i.e.* an anomalous intervention of spiritual force indicating purpose, supposed to be established by testimony, would merely prove the energy of superhuman *power*; it bears no necessary witness to superhuman *goodness*. It might be of Satanic origin, not of Divine, and it is not a credential which ought, by itself, to inspire belief, for it may be a delusion of the Prince of lies, rather than a manifestation of Him who is the Truth. Indeed the advent of antichrist is to be ushered in 'with signs and lying wonders' (2 Th 2^9). It is here that the context, so to speak, of the miracle is all-important. *Miracula sine doctrina nihil valent* is the principle which will resolve our difficulty. Certainly miracles, regarded merely as tokens of power, do not establish the goodness of the agent who works them; but if we are able to recognize this latter characteristic from the doctrines which he teaches, then the miracle will pronounce that those doctrines proceed directly from the Author of goodness. If the doctrine commends itself to the conscience as good, then the miracle seals it as Divine. As Pascal has it, 'Les miracles discernent la doctrine, et la doctrine discerne les miracles.'[†] And Pascal points out that this twofold test of power and of goodness, which must be applied to a miracle, is like the twofold test by which a prophet was to be tried according to the Pentateuchal Law. A prophet was not to be regarded as speaking in the name of Jehovah if (*a*) his prophecy was falsified by the event (Dt 18^{22}), or (*b*) if his teaching led the people into the ways of idolatry (Dt 13^3). He was to be tried by his doctrine no less than by the superhuman prescience which he exhibited. And so a miracle is not only to be regarded in the light of a *wonder*; it is also a *sign*—a sign of the character of the agent from whom it proceeds, not only in itself but in all the circumstances which lead up to and result from it. So the reply to the frequent query, 'Do the miracles prove the doctrine, or does the doctrine prove the miracles?' is strictly this: Miracles are a proof of the Divine origin of a doctrine, provided the doctrine be in itself worthy of a Divine author. No miracle could justify us in acting or teaching contradictory to conscience, or in referring such teaching to God. But if the moral teaching of one who professes himself to be a messenger from God be of surpassing excellence, then His possession of superhuman power corroborates His authority and justifies His claim. If it be historically true, *e.g.* that Jesus Christ rose from the dead, then this fact 'identifies the Lord of physical life and death with the legislator of the Sermon on the Mount. Miracle is the certificate of identity between the Lord of Nature and the Lord of Conscience—the proof that He is really a moral being who subordinates physical to moral interests.'[*]

---

[*] *Miracles*, p. 102. It is especially the fault of the apologetic writers of the 18th cent. that they neglected this consideration. It is a fault from which Paley is not entirely free, but it appears most plainly in books like Sherlock's *Trial of the Witnesses*, which once had a wide vogue.

[†] See Westcott, *Gospel of the Resurrection*, p. 155.

[*] This is the contention of Spinoza: 'Porro quamvis ex miraculis aliquid concludere possumus, nullo tamen modo Dei existentia inde possit concludi.' As we agree with his conclusion here, it is unnecessary to quarrel with the argument by which he reaches it, but we do not regard it as convincing.

[†] *Pensées* 'Des Miracles,' a few pages in which there is perhaps more wisdom than in anything else ever written on the subject.

3. A miracle is not only a display of thaumaturgic power. This enables us to answer an objection raised by Matthew Arnold, who asked what possible evidence of authority would be shown by a man's turning a pen into a penwiper before our eyes.[†] And truly the answer is, None whatever! But then this applies only to miracles which are *τέρατα*, without being *σημεῖα*; whereas, in the view we have adopted, the true miracle is a vehicle of revelation, as well as an evidential adjunct.

'This guarantees the standing of miracles, gives them a secure position in connexion with revelation; and also it guarantees their quality; it requires them to possess characteristics congruous to the nature of the revelation with which they are associated. If it be a revelation of grace, the miracles also must be gracious. Any kind of miracle will not do; a definite ethical character is indispensable. They must tend directly to advance the interests of the Divine kingdom.'[‡]

When miracles are regarded as credentials, their inward meaning no less than their outward form must receive attention. Thus Augustine likens the man who sees the outward side of the miracle to one who, being unable to read, admires the fair writing of a manuscript which the student values rather for the message it brings him: 'est oculis laudator, mente non cognitor.'[§] No amount of evidence to the occurrence of a miracle, in short, is sufficient to justify us in inferring the intervention of Divine power, unless the miracle be one which our conscience assures us is not unworthy of God.

4. It hardly needs illustrations to explain that this is a test, which, though necessary to apply with all care and reverence, may yet be applied with some confidence. Many of the miracles recorded in the Apocryphal Gospels and in the *Acta Sanctorum* when submitted to this moral test are found at once to be lacking in the qualities which alone would justify their claim to be *credentials.* They are grotesque and absurd; they teach no definite lesson; they are associated with no word of wisdom; they are *signs* of nothing, save the poverty of imagination possessed by the romancers who invented them.

The alleged miracles of the infancy of Christ are purposeless and wanton, even when they are not deliberately cruel. There is an absence of dignity about them, for they are worked without any great or worthy object. And, speaking generally, if a recorded miracle does not serve any moral purpose, if it be unfruitful in any good result, if the teaching by which it is accompanied be not spiritually elevating, then it stands self-condemned, 'the story,' as Butler would say, 'being rightly proved false from internal evidence.' On the other hand, the miracles of the Gospel are not mere freaks of power; they have a definite moral purpose. They are examples and acted parables of the love of Christ; they are the works of Him 'who declares His almighty power most chiefly by showing mercy and pity.' 'As nature is an image of grace, so,' says Pascal, 'the visible miracles are but the images of those invisible which God wills to accomplish'; they are, as it were, sacraments of the Divine operation. Thus, then, if a miracle be looked upon merely as an act of power beyond the power of man, it would not prove that the revelation which it accompanies is from God; but if it bear marks of wisdom in regard to the time and circumstances of its introduction, and of goodness as regards its moral character and its fruits, there can be no further doubt about the matter. And when we so look at the Christian miracles, we see that the supposed alternative that they might be due to superhuman malevolence rather than to benevolence is only ingenious but not serious. For Christianity so completely opposes evil and is so identified with God's providential working both before and since its promulgation, that to say that its miracles might have been worked by Satanic agency is simply absurd.

It is not contended that the Gospel miracles are all alike the *evident* work of supreme wisdom and goodness. The blasting of the fig-tree (Mt $21^{19f.}$ ‖ Mk $11^{20f.}$) has often been described as being rather like a freak of power than a sign of love. But, not to speak of the many explanations of the purpose of such an act at such a moment which have been suggested, and passing by the lesson which it surely conveyed to the observers, that the Divine judgment on unfruitfulness is stern and final, it may be said at once that *this* miracle must not be detached from the others which were wrought by Christ. *Noscitur a sociis* is a maxim of prudence; and a miracle like this of the fig-tree is guaranteed, so to speak, by the company in which it is found, and by the character, otherwise known, of Him who worked it. Viewed as an isolated marvel, it would *not* serve as a sufficient credential of the claims of the Christ; viewed as one of the incidents of His Passion, as one of His *ἔργα*, it has a meaning full of instruction. And the same may be said of any other cases in which a similar objection might be raised.

5. It has been already pointed out (ii. § 6) that miracles are not represented in the Gospels as sufficient of themselves in all cases to generate conviction. 'Though he had done so many signs before them, yet they believed not on him' (Jn 12^{37}). *All* the spectators at the Raising of Lazarus were not persuaded of the claims of Christ (Jn 11^{46}). Yet the miracles of Jesus are repeatedly said to have arrested the attention and quickened the faith of those who witnessed them (Mt 8^{27}, Lk 5^{8}, Jn 2^{11}). Not only the disciples, but the populace were impressed (Jn 6^{14}, Lk 7^{16}). 'Many believed on his name, beholding his signs which he did' (Jn 2^{23}), is a typical statement. And this aspect of His miracles, their witness to the truth of His claims, is emphatically asserted by Christ Himself. 'The very works that I do bear witness of me' (Jn 5^{36}). 'That ye may know that the Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins, I say unto thee, Arise, take up thy bed, and go unto thy house' (Mk 2^{10}): the cure of the paralytic was a credential of His claim to be the pardoner of sin. When the tidings reached the disciples that Lazarus was dead, He said that it was well, for the miracle of his recovery would be the greater 'sign' (Jn 11^{15}). He rebuked the greedy multitudes, because they followed Him for what they might get, and *not* because of His signs (Jn 6^{26}). He upbraided Chorazin and Bethsaida because His mighty works had not drawn them to repentance (Mt 11^{20}). And St. John expressly states that the signs of Jesus were recorded 'that ye may believe' (Jn 20^{31}): the evidential function of miracles was not merely an accidental result, due to the credulity of the contemporaries of Jesus; it was a function, according to the Fourth Gospel, which miracles and the record of them were in some measure to fulfil throughout the Christian centuries (see, however, iv. § 7).

---

[*] Liddon, *Elements of Religion*, p. 73; see Trench, *Miracles*, p. 29 ff.

[†] *Literature and Dogma*, p. 95.

[‡] Bruce, *Miraculous Element in the Gospels*, p. 290.

[§] Serm. xcviii. 3.

But it is also to be observed that Christ more than once refused to work 'signs,' and that He often kept secret those which had been wrought. 'Tell no man,' He said to the leprous, the blind, the deaf, who had been healed (Mt 8^4 9^{30}, Mk 7^{36}). Herod 'hoped to see some sign done by him' (Lk 23^8), but no sign was forthcoming. The scribes and Pharisees who sought a sign were sternly refused (Mt 12^{38}). The faith which would be enkindled by signs, though it may be true faith, is not the highest. To believe Him 'for the very works' sake' is the lower stage of discipleship (Jn 14^{11}); though it, too, may find its reward (Jn 4^{48}). The highest faith is not that of Thomas, who believed when he saw the wound-prints, but that which can believe without seeing any sign (Jn 20^{29}).

In brief, miracles are represented in the Gospels as of considerable evidential importance, although they will not convince an unwilling heart (Lk 16^{31}), nor is the faith which they enkindle the purest form of spiritual allegiance.

iv. THE MIRACLES OF THE GOSPELS.—*Their Characteristics.*—1. A somewhat closer examination of the miraculous element in the Gospels must now be made. We have seen that miracles are *possible* objectively and in the abstract; that it is unreasonable to declare that no testimony can make them credible, albeit testimony of a high order may fairly be demanded; and that, when put forward as credentials, a scrutiny of their internal character is necessary as well as a scrutiny of the evidence by which they are substantiated. The miracles of the Gospel come well out of this last test; and we go on to ask, Are there any other leading characteristics which they present to our view besides this, that they are morally sublime?

2. A second characteristic is probably that they are *certain*, not *tentative* or doubtful. Many alleged cases of thaumaturgic power profess to be no more than this. Out of many trials there are a few successes. Such, doubtless, were the supposed cures wrought by the relics and at the tombs of martyrs. Nothing is alleged concerning them which is not alleged of various quack medicines, namely, that out of the thousands who use them a few will be found to assert that they have derived benefit. But the phenomenon presented by Christ's miracles as recorded by the evangelists is quite different. There is nothing in the narratives which in any way suggests that the Lord attempted cures in many instances and succeeded only in a few; we seem to be told of a 'standing miraculous power lodged in a person.'[*]

Here, however, we must speak with great caution. To assert that the miracles of the Lord were wrought without effort, as it were, and that they are to be ascribed to the exercise of His Divine nature rather than to the operation of His human nature enriched and glorified by His indissoluble union with the Father, is perhaps to go beyond the evidence. The power, the δύναμις which He put forth as He 'went about doing good,' is not spoken of as always present in the same fulness or as bearing no relation to the faith of those for whose sakes it was exercised. He said once that power had 'gone forth' from Him (Lk 8^{46}); He 'sighed' as He restored hearing to the deaf (Mk 7^{34}); and a mysterious limitation to His power to heal seems to be hinted at in passages such as Mt 13^{50}, Mk 6^5, of which something has been said above.[†] The truth is, that we so little understand the conditions of the Incarnation that we find ourselves at fault when we attempt to define closely the laws (if we may so speak) of Christ's miraculous activity. Considerations such as have been suggested hardly touch the miracles which He wrought upon *nature*, as distinct from those which He wrought upon *man*; and all that can be gathered on this subject with confidence from the Gospels resolves itself into this, that while there was a 'standing miraculous power' in Him, there was also a remarkable economy in its exercise, the reasons for which we cannot fully comprehend.

3. There is, indeed, an intimate connexion between the several miracles of Christ, arising from the fact that the greatest miracle of all is the Person of Christ Himself. Sin is the true ἀνομία, the true violation of law; and this finds its remedy in a corresponding miracle of grace, even the Incarnation. It is quite misleading to compare the evidence, say, for the raising of Lazarus with that for a miracle in the life of a mediæval saint; for the heart of the Christian position is that the circumstances were quite dissimilar. Christians assert, at the outset, that the Person of Christ is supernatural, or rather that the perfectly 'natural' humanity which He took upon Him was associated with the unearthly spiritual powers of the Godhead; and, that being so, it is natural, *i.e.* congruous, that His advent and ministry should be attended with works 'such as none other man did.' All through the Fourth Gospel, Christ's miracles are described as His ἔργα; they did not stand, as it were, in a class by themselves, but they constituted a part of that Divine manifestation which dwelt in Him. We say that His life being greater and larger than that of a mere man like ourselves, was irradiated by the awful light of His superhuman origin, and that therefore (as might have been expected) that superhuman origin betrayed itself by a superhuman energy of action, that, after a public life of superhuman works of mercy, He suffered, died, was buried, but rose again, appeared on several occasions to His followers, and finally in their presence ascended into heaven. This is not like the allegation of a single isolated miracle. The whole advent of Jesus Christ was miraculous, and therefore we refuse to isolate any one of His works from His life. 'Isolated events,' it has been profoundly said, 'are often incredible,' but the crowning miracle of Christianity is the Incarnation. If Christ were altogether an exceptional personage, there is nothing to stumble at in the miracles recorded of Him, which indeed then are seen at once in their true character as σημεῖα, or ἔργα,—His *signs* or His *works*,—but which refuse to rank themselves as θαύματα or prodigies which amaze and perplex. They are not *specimens* of His power, but *manifestations* of His Person.[*]

4. Another consequence of importance follows from these considerations. The miracles, the σημεῖα of Jesus Christ, are *essential* to the Gospel history. And this does not mean merely that Christianity is a 'supernatural religion,' and that it is impossible to retain its consoling and strengthening power over mankind if we reject the supernatural element, true and deeply important as this is. But it means that we cannot construct a consistent picture of the life of Jesus Christ from the Gospels, if we do not take account of His miraculous powers, however those 'miraculous' powers are to be explained. His miracles are not like the miracles in Livy or in the history of many of the mediæval saints, detached pieces that do not disturb the history, which goes on very well without them; but the whole history is grounded in them and presupposes them. Without making any assumption as to the date and manner of composition of the Synoptic Gospels, this fact stands out. We cannot contrive any theory by which we may entirely eliminate the miraculous, and yet save the historicity, in any intelligible sense, of those wonderful narratives. It is vain to say, as some have done, that possibly the original nucleus of the Gospels contained no miraculous stories. For what is the fact? Even if we attempt to reconstruct the original document which the Synoptic evangelists had before them when compiling their

---

[*] Cf. Mozley, *l.c.* p. 168.

[†] This train of thought is carefully worked out in Mason's *Conditions of our Lord's Life on Earth*, pp. 95 ff., 108 ff.; cf. Gore, *Dissertations*, pp. 80, 140, 165; and Westcott, *Hebrews*, p. 66.

[*] So Augustine: 'Mirum non esse debet a Deo factum miraculum . . . magis gaudere quam mirari debemus' (*in Joan.* Tract. xvii. 1).

Gospels, by the simple (though unscientific) process of rejecting everything as added which is not common to all three, and so arrive at the 'triple tradition,' we shall find that it still teems with miracle. The Feeding of the Five Thousand, the Raising of Jairus' daughter, the Stilling of the Storm, besides half a dozen miracles of healing, are still left.* We cannot, in short, by any artifice reach a primitive gospel which is not to a greater or less extent a miracle gospel, and so we cannot treat off-hand the Gospel history in the matter of rejecting miracles as we would treat the *Acta Sanctorum*. But if we admit *one* miracle, there is little intellectual hindrance to admitting twenty. There is no aid to faith in the mere reduction of the number of miracles. Matthew Arnold compared this modern tendency to saying that while it is extravagant to suppose Cinderella's fairy godmother to have actually changed the pumpkin into a coach-and-six, we may believe that she did change it into a one-horse cab.† The illustration is flippant, but it is just. There is nothing to be gained by the attempt to minimize the supernatural in the Gospel history. It is there, do what we will. 'Miracles play so important a part in Christ's scheme, that any theory which would represent them as due entirely to the imagination of His followers or of a later age, destroys the credibility of the documents not partially but wholly, and leaves Christ a personage as mythical as Hercules.'‡ We have, indeed, no warrant for insisting that any particular explanation or theory of the miraculous shall be accepted by a believer in the Gospels; but the *fact* of the miraculous, however we define it, remains. And a miracle reduced to its lowest terms, remains a miracle still.

5. Classifications, more or less instructive, of the miracles of Christ, have often been drawn up.§ We can here only briefly indicate their general character in respect of their claim to be regarded as due to power other than that of the ordinary forces of nature, as known or as conceivable to us. (*a*) There are, first, the miracles worked upon *man*, the miracles of healing. Some of these present no peculiar difficulty of credence to any one who is familiar with the remarkable phenomena of hypnotism, or more generally with the influence of a strong will over a weak one, though it would be rash to assert, and (in view of all the facts) is in itself improbable, that this is the whole secret in any case. Such, for instance, are the cures of the demoniacs (Mt 8^{28} 15^{21} 17^{14}, Mk 1^{23}), of the impotent man at the Pool of Bethesda (Jn 5^{9}), of the man with the withered hand (Mt 12^{10}), of the woman with the spirit of infirmity (Lk 13^{11}), of the dumb man with a devil (Mt 9^{32}), and of the man 'possessed with a devil, blind and dumb' (Mt 12^{22}). We find it increasingly difficult to accept any such explanations in the cases of the healing of the paralytics (Mt 8^{5} 9^{2}), of the deaf man (Mk 7^{32}), of the blind (Mt 9^{27} 20^{30}, Mk 8^{22}, Jn 9^{1}, the last of which is specially remarkable, and was so regarded at the time), of the dropsical man (Lk 14^{2}), of the fever patient healed with a touch (Mt 8^{14}), of the woman with the issue (Mt 9^{20}), of the lepers (Mt 8^{2}, Lk 17^{11}, the healing in the former case being brought about by a *touch*, in the latter case by a mere *word* of power), of Malchus' servant (Lk 22^{50}). And more wonderful (to our eyes) than any of these was the raising of the dead, the daughter of Jairus (Mt 9^{23}, though here it is noteworthy that the statement that the child was really dead was not made by Christ Himself), the widow of Nain's son (Lk 7^{11}), and Lazarus (Jn 11^{43}), in the last of which cases, at least, all doubt as to the fact of death is excluded by the attendant circumstances.

(*b*) We have, secondly, the *cosmic* miracles, as they have been called—those which were wrought upon nature. The Blasting of the Fig-tree (Mt 21^{18}), the Stilling of the Storm (Mt 8^{26}), and the Walking on the Sea (Mt 14^{25}), betray the energy of One who had power not only over man, but over the unintelligent forces of the universe. Certainly these cannot be explained, or explained away, by any hypothesis such as that which has been resorted to in the case of the healing of demoniacs or the like. And a controlling force of a quite extraordinary character seems to have manifested itself in the Feeding of the Four Thousand (Mt 15^{32}) and of the Five Thousand (Mt 14^{19}), as well as in that first 'sign' of all, the Transformation of water into wine at the marriage feast (Jn 2^{1}).

(*c*) Four cases have been left out of consideration, inasmuch as *if they stood alone* they might be explained as coincidences, the like of which happens in every one's experience. The great draughts of fish (Lk 5^{1} and Jn 21^{6}) and the finding of the stater in the fish's mouth (Mt 17^{24}, although here it is noteworthy that we are not told that the coin was actually found), as well as the recovery of the nobleman's son at Capernaum (Jn 4^{46}), are not in themselves *prœter naturam*; but they receive their significance from their connexion with prophetic words of the Christ. They are (to take the lowest view) σημεῖα of His superhuman wisdom.

6. Thus, on a review of all the miracles of the Ministry of Jesus as recorded in the Gospels, although no doubt this or that isolated event might be plausibly referred to natural causes, yet undoubtedly there are some among the number which cannot be reasonably thus explained; and all, taken together, if they have been correctly reported to us, present a phenomenon for which we are driven to seek a cause other than the physical forces of the universe can provide.

7. *The Evidence.*—What is the value of the evidence for these phenomena? The Gospels received their present form, let us assume, between the years 60 and 90 A.D. That is to say, we have written testimony to the facts set down within half a century of their alleged occurrence. Is this testimony strong enough to outweigh the admitted improbability, *a posteriori*, of such anomalous and extraordinary events? The question about the Gospel miracles is often put in this form, but it is not the form in which it will be put by any one who appreciates what is the real problem at issue. For nothing has been said in the foregoing summary of the alleged resurrection of Christ Himself. It was *this* upon which the controversy as to His claims hinged in the early days of Christianity, and it was a true instinct which led the first preachers of the gospel to place it in the foreground. If He really rose from the dead, then it is plain that He cannot be judged by the standards which we rightly apply to the alleged doings of men like ourselves.* The miracles of the ministry, with rare exceptions, were not worked under circumstances which should fit them to be absolutely convincing credentials to the world of the Divine mission of Jesus. They were, speaking in general terms and with reservations which have been already explained (see iii. § 5), rather sacramental signs of His grace than proofs that He had the power to bestow it. But it was otherwise with the resurrection on the first Easter Day. *This* was a credential to which the Church continually appealed (Ro 1^{4} 4^{24}, 1 P 1^{20}), although it, too, was a σημεῖον of spiritual truth. And the evidence for this is not confined to the Gospels. It is presupposed in all the apostolic Epistles, as it is the burden of the apostolic sermons recorded in the *Acts* (cf. Ac 2^{32} 3^{15} 10^{40} 13^{34} 17$^{3, 31}$ 26^{23}); and not only is this the case, but the whole history shows that belief in the resurrection was the one source of the continued faith of believers after their hopes had been shattered by the crucifixion, and was, as a matter of fact, the foundation on which the edifice of the Christian Church was raised. Examine the evidence of the four 'undisputed' Epistles of St. Paul. These were all written before the year 58, *i.e.* about a quarter of a century after the crucifixion. St. Paul bears *direct* testimony to the fact of the resurrection, as believed in by all Christians of the day. 'To this end Christ died and lived again, that he might be Lord of both the dead and the living' (Ro 14^{9}); 'I delivered unto you . . . that which also I received . . . how that he hath been raised on the third day, according to the Scriptures; and that he appeared to Cephas; then to the Twelve; then he appeared to above five hundred brethren at once, of whom the greater part remain until now . . . ; then he appeared to James; then to all the apostles' (1 Co 15$^{3-7}$). For circumstantiality, it would be difficult to surpass this last statement (cf. also Ro 1^{4} 8^{34}, 2 Co 5^{15}, 1 Th 4^{14}). Again, St. Paul is so confident of the fact of the resurrection of Christ that he uses it as a proof that we too shall live after death: 'if there is no resurrection of the dead, neither hath Christ been raised' (1 Co 15^{13}); he does not consider it necessary to add anything to this *reductio ad absurdum*. And, finally, the fact is so familiar that it is repeatedly appealed to in its symbolic and spiritual significance: 'that like as Christ was raised from the dead through the glory of the Father, so we also might walk in newness of life' (Ro 6^{4}; cf. Ph 3^{10}, Col 3^{1}).

---

* This question has been carefully examined by Bruce, *l.c.* p. 101.

† *God and the Bible*, p. 23.

‡ *Ecce Homo*, p. 41.

§ See especially Westcott, *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, p. 480 ff.

* All through, however, we must bear in mind that it is not the *anomalousness* of the resurrection of Christ which is the significant matter. 'It is quite possible that our Lord's resurrection may be found hereafter to be no miracle at all in the scientific sense. It foreshadows and begins the general resurrection; and when that general resurrection comes we may find that it was, after all, the natural issue of physical laws always at work' (Temple, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 196).

8. This was the confident belief of St. Paul and of his correspondents years before the Gospels assumed their present forms, and (although we cannot here enter fully into the question) all attempted 'naturalistic' explanations of that belief are entirely inadequate. This is good evidence; it is quite different in degree from the evidence which might be brought for any of the Lord's miracles of healing, taken singly; indeed it is not too much to say that had not the evidence been entirely satisfactory to those who had the best means of judging, the Christian Church would not have lived for a year after the crucifixion. Thus it is the Church itself that is the abiding witness to the resurrection; otherwise we should have to believe a more 'incredible' thing than any 'miracle,' viz. that the greatest and most blessed institution in this world is based on the delusions of a few credulous and superstitious fanatics. The question to be answered is, *not*, Is the evidence of the Gospels for the miracles of the ministry sufficient by itself to inspire belief—*not*, Is the documentary evidence for the resurrection of Jesus provided in the Gospels and Epistles sufficient by itself to command our acceptance of it—*but*, How are we to account for the origin of the Christian Church on the basis of belief in the resurrection of Jesus Christ, supposing that belief to have had no foundation in fact? And to that question there is no satisfactory answer. We are driven back on the hypothesis that the belief grew out of the fact, and with that hypothesis all the existing evidence is in entire agreement. Leslie in his once famous tract, *A Short Method with the Deists*, may have laid too much stress on the evidence viewed in a purely juristic aspect, but there is real force in his argument that the four tests which may be applied to the testimony to the fact of the resurrection of Christ are tests which would satisfy a reasonable court of inquiry. The alleged fact was (1) one which could be judged of by men's senses; (2) it was public; (3) it was verified by a monument set up in observance of it, *i.e.* the Christian Church; and (4) this was set up immediately after the event.

9. We may now turn back to the miracles of the Gospel. They fall into line at once, if the miracle of the resurrection is a fact; they become σημεῖα and ἔργα (as they are represented by St. John to be) of the Christ. The evidence for *it* is, *prima facie*, evidence for *them*. True it is that St. Paul does not mention them at all in his letters, but it did not come within his purpose to do so. It was the permanent results, not the temporary incidents, as it were, of the Divine life on earth with which he and his correspondents were concerned. And yet it is worth observing that, so far is St. Paul from thinking that miracles are foreign to the Christian dispensation, that he claims the power of working them himself, and that in letters addressed both to strangers who did not know him and to friends who did. Christ wrought by him, he says, 'in the power of signs and wonders' (Ro 15^{18}); 'truly,' he writes to the Corinthians, 'the signs of an apostle were wrought among you in all patience, by signs and wonders and mighty works' (2 Co 12^{12}); among the Divine gifts of the Church are 'miracles (δυνάμεις), gifts of healings, divers kinds of tongues' (1 Co 12^{28}); and he asks the Galatians, 'he therefore that worketh miracles (δυνάμεις) among you, doeth he it by the works of the law?' (Gal 3^{5}). If it had not been a matter of acknowledged fact that some such Divine powers had attended his apostolic ministry, it would have been truly extraordinary that he should have claimed them. And, further, it is plain that he would never have claimed powers for himself of which he believed his Master to have been destitute, so that his omission of any mention of the Lord's miracles of healing cannot have any significance as regards St. Paul's belief in the supernatural character of Christianity.

10. To this mass of evidence, *a priori* and *a posteriori*, in favour of the miracles of the NT, the answer that is usually returned in our time is not that of Spinoza (though his presuppositions are more widely accepted than is always recognized), nor of Hume, but of Matthew Arnold, who, while declining metaphysical disquisitions as to their possibility or credibility, attempted to settle the controversy by declaring that at any rate 'miracles *do not happen*,'* and that the vast number of admittedly fabulous miracles recorded in ecclesiastical literature dispenses us from formal inquiry into the excellence of the evidence for those of one particular period. It is plain that the mere dictum, 'miracles do not happen,' has no application whatever in logic, unless the propounder of it is prepared to accept the principles either of Spinoza or of Hume; and these we have already examined. The force of the statement resides in this, that the modern world is very chary in receiving the report of any alleged miracle, because we know of so many cases in which like reports have proved untrue. But that 'miracles do not happen' within a certain area of experience, does not prove that they have never happened outside that area. The rule 'all or none' is a very unsafe rule for common life. Every case that arises ought to be judged on its own merits. And the first question to be asked about the evidence for the NT miracles is, Were the witnesses predisposed to believe such things of Jesus Christ? In particular, was there any preconception in favour of His resurrection? Were it so, there might be considerable room for hesitation in accepting report of it, and the rapid dissemination of belief in it might be set down to a widespread credulity. Now (*a*) it is true that belief in the supernatural was quite common in the first century of our era, nor could men and women then have had the same intellectual difficulty in trusting the evidence for an alleged miracle that we, with our larger knowledge of the laws of nature, now experience. In particular, the lower classes of Roman society, though not ready to accept miraculous stories which interfered with their traditional beliefs, were steeped in an atmosphere of magic and superstition. But it was not so with the higher classes. The first century could not be called an 'age of faith.' Stoics and Epicureans alike were disinclined to believe in any irruption of the spiritual into the established physical order. (*b*) And when we turn from Gentile to Jew, when we consider the national prejudices alike of the first preachers as of the first hearers of the gospel, we see that nothing could have been more opposed to preconceived ideas than the doctrine of the Incarnation, with the resurrection as its appropriate and (so to speak) inevitable sequel (Mt $27^{64f.}$, Lk 24^{26}, Jn 5^{18} 8^{58} 10^{33} etc.). *This* once recognized, there would, no doubt, have been no difficulty in believing that the 'works' of One like Christ should be superhuman, but this was not recognized at the first even by the faithful apostles. Prejudice in favour of the Incarnation, of the Resurrection, of the Ascension, there was none. The evidence cannot be set aside on the score that it grew up in the course of years as the outcome of presuppositions as to what the Messiah should be and do.

---

* *God and the Bible*, p. 232.

11. This was the theory of Strauss; but it is not tenable, for this reason, among others, that the interval of time which elapsed between the death of Christ and the composition of the records which described Him as a superhuman personage is not long enough to account for such legendary developments. The evidence is not like that for the miracles attributed to St. Anthony or to Ignatius Loyola, which are found only in the later and not in the earlier biographies. It is as nearly contemporary as we could expect. It does not *grow* as we advance from decade to decade in the history of the Church. The belief in a superhuman Christ is as deep-rooted in the letters of St. Paul written before the year 58 as it is in the Gospel according to St. John written at least thirty years later, although it is not expressed in the same way. The evidence is as good in degree and in kind as we could expect it to be, without the intervention of a special miracle by which scientific testings, not in the least necessary for the faith of the first century, should have been provided to satisfy the cravings for certitude of the nineteenth. It is fully detailed, delivered in transparent good faith, and under circumstances which would forbid a careless assent.*

v. OTHER BIBLE MIRACLES.—**1.** *The Acts of the Apostles.*—The miracles ascribed to the apostles in Acts stand on a somewhat different platform. Standing alone, the evidence for them would hardly be sufficient to compel their reception. But they must be considered in their relation to the advent of Christianity, and to the superhuman powers of the Founder of the Christian Church. The commission to the apostles (Mt 10^{8}) included the direction: 'Heal the sick, raise the dead, cleanse the lepers, cast out devils.' This does not suggest, it will be observed, that what we have called *cosmic* miracles came within the powers with which they were entrusted by the Lord, and we find no trace of such miracles in Acts. In the appendix to St. Mark (Mk 16^{17}) the remarkable promise is recorded: 'These signs shall follow them that believe: In my name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick and they shall recover.' With the exception of immunity from poison, instances are given in Ac of all these powers being enjoyed, not only by the original eleven and by St. Paul, but by many other disciples. Thus the gift of tongues found its fulfilment at Pentecost, and is alluded to by St. Paul in his Epistles. Prophecy, which was akin to this, is frequently spoken of as a 'sign' of an apostle. Agabus not only predicted a famine (Ac 11^{28}), but also warned St. Paul of what would happen to him at Jerusalem (Ac 21^{10}). Twelve unnamed Ephesian disciples on whom St. Paul laid his hands were endued with this gift (Ac 19^{6}), as were also the four daughters of Philip the Evangelist (Ac 21^{9}). And that 'wonders and signs' were wrought by the apostles is repeatedly asserted (Ac 2^{43} 5^{12} 6^{8} 8^{13}), and it is in entire harmony with St. Paul's own claims (see iv. § 9). Among these were the expulsion of demons (Ac 5^{16} 16^{18}), the healing of the lame (Ac 3^{7} 14^{8}), of a paralytic (Ac 9^{34}), and of the sick (Ac 5^{15} 28^{9} 19^{12}, the cures in the last case being described as δυνάμεις οὐ τὰς τυχούσας, which operated through the medium of St. Paul's clothing). Two cases of raising the dead are recorded (Dorcas, Ac 9^{37}, and Eutychus, Ac 20^{9}). Visions and voices from heaven are spoken of (Ac $9^{3.10}$ $10^{3.11}$ 12^{6}), and the intervention of angels is mentioned (Ac 5^{19} 8^{26}). Two visitations of judgment, upon Elymas (Ac 13^{11}) and upon Ananias and Sapphira (Ac $5^{5.10}$), are brought about by St. Paul and St. Peter respectively. It is not necessary to discuss the healing virtue ascribed to St. Peter's shadow (Ac 5^{15}), or the deliverance of St. Paul from the viper (Ac 28^{3}); for in the former case nothing is said as to the success of the attempted remedy, and in the latter case no miracle is necessarily involved (but cf. Mk 16^{18}). But, on the whole, it is impossible to evade the consequence that the ministry of the apostles, according to the only records which we have got, was sustained by powers which are beyond the power of man or of nature as known to us. They fall into their place immediately if Christ was what He claimed to be, and the Church which He founded the minister of His grace; but on any other hypothesis they cannot be explained.

2. *The Miracles of the OT.*—Similar observations may be made about the miracles of the OT. It is evident that we cannot speak with the same confidence about these that we can feel when describing the miracles of Him who showed in His own person His superiority to death, of Him who is the Prince of Life. For they are narrated in ancient books, the origin of which in many instances is wrapped in obscurity. We cannot claim to have *contemporary* evidence for the miracles of the OT as we have for those of the NT. And so to one approaching the OT literature without any appreciation of its fulfilment in the Christ, some of the miracles therein recorded, while always possible to a believer in God, may perhaps seem to be guaranteed by no sufficient testimony to compel belief in occurrences so improbable in themselves. But for us 'Vetus Testamentum in Novo patet.' The obscurities of the older revelation find their explanation in the fuller light of the later. And if it be a fact that the law was a παιδαγωγὸς εἰς Χριστόν, and that Israel was chosen by the Almighty as His instrument for the teaching of the world, then it ceases to be *a priori* improbable that, at exceptional crises in the history of the Hebrews, special manifestations of Divine power might be vouchsafed, which should enable men to say with boldness, 'This is the finger of God.' And, again, it is not to be forgotten that the use of the OT by Christ and His apostles sufficiently proves to Christians that the literature therein contained was a *unique* literature, and was produced under quite unique conditions of inspiration. Thus the records must, at the least, be treated with respect greater than that which we bestow upon books like the *Acta Sanctorum*, and we are entitled to place fuller reliance on the accuracy of the writers than would be justifiable in a history which came to us without any such lofty guarantee and claim. It is in such a spirit that we approach their accounts of miracles.

---

* This is all worked out by Paley, *Evidences*, pt. i. ch. 2.

The OT miracles are chiefly grouped round two epochs—the Deliverance from Egypt, and the Reformation of Elijah and Elisha. It is true that these periods are described in greater detail than any other periods in the history, but nevertheless it can hardly be without significance that it is at these two great crises in the fortunes of Israel that the tokens of God's providence were most apparent to pious observers. Of the former cycle it should be observed that very few of the so-called miracles are difficult of credence, inasmuch as the majority of them are not (seemingly) in themselves out of the order of nature. The Ten Plagues (Ex 8–12), the Parting of the Red Sea (Ex 14^{21-31}), and of the Jordan (Jos 3^{14}, cf. 2 K $2^{7.\,14}$), the Water from the Rock at Rephidim (Ex 17^{5}), and at Kadesh (Nu 20^{7}), the Curing of the Waters of Marah (Ex 15^{23}, cf. 2 K 2^{21}), the Budding of Aaron's rod (Nu 17^{8}), the deaths of Nadab and Abihu (Lv 10^{1}), as of Korah and his company (Nu 16^{31}), did not involve any apparent breach in the continuity of the physical order. We can readily conceive how similar occurrences might be brought about through the operation of the ordinary forces of nature. None of these events, considered singly, would seem a prodigy to an impartial observer. It is the concurrence of so many circumstances of the kind which forbids us to deny their *signal* character, and conveys to us the conviction that here was the finger of God. And it is even more important to observe that these remarkable events were associated in many cases with a word of power from God's ministers. The *predictive* element, which we have spoken of above (see i. § 14) as characteristic of so many of our Lord's miracles, is here conspicuous. The plagues are foretold; so was the dreadful death of the rebels in Korah's rebellion; and the division of the waters of the Red Sea is described as having been connected with prayer and invocation on the part of Moses. Here we come upon the most prominent aspect of miracle in the OT, viz. the element of *prophecy*, which includes *prediction*. However this feature may have been exaggerated in Christian apologetics in the past, and however we may try to reduce it to lower dimensions, it is impossible to eliminate it from the Hebrew literature. The function of a prophet was not confined to prediction, but this was certainly within his powers, as indicated from time to time in the history of Israel. And true prediction is essentially miraculous; it is beyond human powers, and it is a sign of a special revelation of God to man over and above that which is continually offered in His providence (see PROPHECY). Prophecy being admitted as possible, and the actual prophecies of the OT seers being certified, the 'wonders and signs' with which their ministry was accredited are deprived of much of that antecedent improbability which (as we have admitted) attaches itself to miraculous stories in general.

The miracles of Elijah and Elisha may be viewed in this light. They are, as it were, their credentials. Other prophets, both of OT and of NT, worked no signs indeed (Jn 10^{41}), and this shows that it was not the habit of the Hebrews to surround the figure of every prophetical personage with a halo of miraculous glory. But Elijah and Elisha lived in an age of spiritual upheaval: great wickedness and deep piety came into conflict. 'Let it be known this day that thou art God in Israel' (1 K 18^{36}) was the perpetual burden of Elijah's prayers. And perhaps nothing short of a miraculous sign would have satisfied the Israel of his day that the Lord was God. At the same time it may be freely conceded that the accounts of these two great prophets, Elijah and Elisha, stand somewhat apart from the general history of Israel. The miracles of Elisha are never alluded to in the OT after the story of their occurrence, and they are only once mentioned in the Apocr. (Sir 48^{14}). It cannot be said that the miracles ascribed to these prophets are *essential* to the history, nor can it be maintained that all of their miracles are on the lofty moral level which we have found to be conspicuously the case with the miracles of Christ. It is an hypothesis with a good deal of *prima facie* evidence in its favour that the miracle-stories of 1 K 17. 18, 2 K 1–6 are rather of the nature of Jewish Haggadoth than of sober history.* With even greater probability may this be said of the stories of Daniel and the den of lions, and the Three Children in the furnace of Nebuchadnezzar (Dn $3^{19\text{f.}}$ $6^{16\text{f.}}$). In the rest of the OT the miraculous element (if we exclude prophecy) is remarkably small. The song of the Bk. of Jashar, which speaks of the sun standing still at Gibeon (Jos 10^{12}), can hardly be taken as a scientific statement of fact; it is poetry, not prose. The somewhat similar story of the shadow moving backward on the sundial of Ahaz (2 K 20^{11}), is related in prose and interwoven with the history of Hezekiah, and cannot be dismissed so easily. But in the absence of fuller knowledge of the circumstances it would be impossible to be sure that in this there was anything 'supernatural,' beyond the foreknowledge which Isaiah seems to have had that this 'sign' would take place. The story of Balaam's ass speaking has been referred to its parallels, *s.v.* BALAAM;† and the episode of Jonah and the whale seems to be of a similar class. In the latter case, it has been urged, indeed, that our Lord's application of the story (Mt 12^{39}) forecloses all inquiry into its literal truth. But this is not the judgment of the most careful and devout scholars of our own time.‡

On the whole, then, while we maintain that the history of the Jews cannot be truly interpreted unless the special intervention of Providence in many a crisis of their national life be discerned, and while we distinctly recognize the miraculous nature of the Messianic prophecies of the OT, and are not slow to accept the allegation that *miracles* may have accompanied their progress, we cannot think that the evidence for several recorded miracles, such as Elisha making the axe-head to swim (2 K 6^{5}), the speaking of Balaam's ass (Nu 22^{28}), and the staying of the sun and moon at Gibeon (Jos 10^{12}), is at all sufficient to compel implicit credence in their literal truth.

vi. CHRISTIAN MIRACLES AFTER THE APOSTOLIC AGE.—1. The last section of this article must be far too brief for its subject, but something ought to be said of miracles recorded elsewhere than in the OT and NT, if our discussion of miracles in general is to be in any way complete. We have seen that the infant Church is described in Ac as having been favoured with miracles as well as with other gifts of the Spirit. When did these miracles cease in Christian history? Many different opinions have been held, one branch at least of the Church believing that there has been no cessation and that miraculous powers are still in her possession, it being often urged, on the other hand, that they died with the apostolic company. The chief reason alleged for this latter opinion is apparently based on the assumption that miracles are given only for evidential purposes, that their sole function is to certify the Divine character of revelation, and that when this has been sufficiently established their work is done, and that they may not be expected to continue. And, curiously enough but most unreasonably, it has been assumed that the apostles could not have worked any miracle save those recorded in Scripture, or at least that no record of such could be trustworthy. Between these extreme views are to be ranked the great body of old English divines, *e.g.* Dodwell and Tillotson, who held that miracles were occasional in the Christian Church until the time of Constantine, when, Christianity being established by the civil power, it no longer needed such supernatural assistance. Thus Fuller explains that 'miracles are the swaddling clothes of the infant Churches'; and yet another view has commended itself to many, viz. that the power of working miracles extended to but not beyond the disciples upon whom the apostles conferred it by imposition of their hands.*

---

* See above, vol. i. p. 696^{b}, art. ELISHA.

† See vol. i. p. 234^{a}.

‡ See Sanday, *Inspiration*, p. 414 f., and Gore, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 195 f., and cf. art. JONAH, above, vol. ii. p. 751.

2. According to Acts, the Divine powers promised by Christ to His Church were at least occasionally exercised, not only by the apostolic company but by other persons as well. It would not be surprising, therefore, if we found in the literature of the early 2nd cent. many references to miracles like those in Acts. And yet such references are few and scanty. Our records of the period are fragmentary, to be sure, but it is remarkable that they tell so little on the subject. With a few notable exceptions, of which something is said further on, there is no trace up to the end of the 2nd cent. of any miraculous gift still existing in the primitive Church save those of *prophecy* and *healing*, including *exorcism*, both of which are frequently mentioned.

(*a*) In Hermas (*Mand.* xi.) and in the *Didaché* the abuse of the grace of prophecy is spoken of, and a little later Justin (*Dial.* § 82) has the statement παρὰ γὰρ ἡμῖν καὶ μέχρι νῦν προφητικὰ χαρίσματά ἐστιν. We observe here that the earliest notices of the power of prophecy imply also the presence of its counterfeit, and indeed prophecy is, of all the Divine 'gifts,' that which would most easily lend itself to imposture. And Justin's statement seems to imply his surprise that prophecy should have continued so long, for he says '*even up to the present*,' from which we might gather that instances of genuine prophecy in his day and in his neighbourhood were not very numerous.

(*b*) The gift of *healing* is also noted by Justin (*Dial.* § 39), though he does not give any instances within his own observation. Origen goes further (*contra Celsum*, iii. 24), and says that he has seen many persons rescued from delirium. But the commonest exemplification of this gift was displayed in the expulsion of demons; exorcism is regarded quite as a thing of course by the 2nd cent. Fathers. Justin (*Apol.* ii. § 6, *Dial.* §§ 30, 76) and Tertullian (*Apol.* 23, 37, 43, *de Idolol.* 11, etc.) speak in extravagant terms as to the certainty with which demons could be expelled by the prayers of the faithful. They allege these powers to be the common property of all Christian people, and to be susceptible of exercise at any moment and on any occasion. This is going far beyond the language of the Gospels and Acts, but it is here sufficient to observe that phenomena of this sort are often explicable without any recourse to supernatural agency (see above, iv. § 5).

3. Next, it is important to note that the early Fathers, although seeing the miraculous in the incidents of their daily life, place the miracles of the apostolic age on a pinnacle quite above the miracles of their own time. When we go to the 4th cent., we find Chrysostom saying that 'all the men of his time together' could not do as much as St. Paul's handkerchief (*de Sacerdot.* iv. 6), and he implies that in his day there were no raisings from the dead (cf. *Hom. in 1 Cor.* vi. 2). But, much earlier than this, Tertullian, after saying that the apostles had spiritual powers peculiar to themselves, adds 'nam et mortuos suscitaverunt quod Deus solus; et debiles redintegraverunt, quod nemo nisi Christus' (*de Pud.* c. 21)—language which would be strange if such occurrences were even occasional in his day. And of the miracles of the apostolic age, Origen only says that *traces* (ἴχνη) remain in his time (*contra Celsum*, i. 2). We find then (i.) that by the end of the 2nd cent. there is a growing suspicion that miracles are dying out, (ii.) that such miracles as are recorded are generally regarded as different in kind from those of the apostolic age, and (iii.) that in the earliest age of post-apostolic Christianity the 'miracles' are almost, without exception, of *prophecy*, *healing*, and *exorcism*.

4. The exceptional cases remain to be mentioned. (*a*) Eusebius records (*HE* iii. 39) that Papias related that in his time a man rose from the dead, as he had heard from the daughters of Philip the Evangelist, and that Justus Barsabbas was once delivered from the effects of drinking poison. The former of these occurrences may relate to some such occurrence as the raising of Dorcas (Ac 9^{37}), which the daughters of Philip may have witnessed, and the latter is not related in sufficient detail to enable us to draw any conclusion from it (cf. Mk 16^{18}). But it is significant that Papias' account seems to have been silent as to miracles which came within his own observation. The occurrences he mentioned were in the apostolic age, and he does not profess to speak as an eye-witness.

(*b*) The often quoted statement of Irenæus is more difficult to explain or to explain away. He speaks of prophecy, healing, and exorcism as impossible in heretical circles, but as common in the Church, and he adds, 'Yea, *even the dead were raised and abode with us many years*' (ἠγέρθησαν καὶ παρέμειναν σὺν ἡμῖν ἱκανοῖς ἔτεσι, *adv. Hær.* II. xxxii.). All that can be said about this is that no specific instance is produced; the language is rhetorical, and the statement occurs in the middle of a polemic against heretics. Nor are we furnished with details. Further, when Irenæus passes from the mention of the more common *miracula* to speak of raising the dead, the *tense* is suddenly and unexpectedly changed. Healing, exorcism, and prophecy, these are matters of present experience for him; but he speaks of resurrections from the dead in the *past* tense. Even the words quoted hardly mean more than that such events happened within living memory. Now Irenæus was a disciple of Polycarp, who was himself a disciple of St. John, so that if we view his statement thus it will not appear so extraordinary. The inference, in short, from the whole passage is that the *major* miracles no longer happened—an inference which is confirmed by all the available evidence.*

---

* See Kaye's *Tertullian*, p. 49.

* See further, Mozley, *Miracles*, p. 295.

5. But if the miraculous powers of the Church seem to have grown less and less as the 2nd cent. went on, it must also be remembered that miracles of the most astounding character abound in the records of ecclesiastical history from the 4th cent. onward. On what grounds, it may be asked, do we reject these? Or *must* we reject them? Is there any reason why *these* should be rejected and those of the NT accepted? and on what principles is such differentiation to be made?

6. It is plain, at the outset, that miracles are always possible to the believer in God, and again that there is always a presumption against them to one who believes that God governs the world by general laws. This fact, that His rule is uniform for the most part, is what gives to miracles their *signal* character, their character as signs, and so forbids us to see 'miracle' in the ordinary activities of Providence. They are σημεῖα, and are therefore *a priori* unlikely to be of everyday occurrence. And the remarkable economy in the use of miracle displayed both in the OT and in the NT confirms us in the conviction that there is an antecedent probability against them as a general rule. This antecedent improbability may be overcome by the special circumstances of the case (as we have pointed out is true of the miracles of Christ), or by the strength of the evidence which may be adduced; but normally it has considerable force. Further, supposing true miracles occur, nothing is more certain than that they will provoke imitation and imposture, and will encounter the rivalry of a host of false ones. Pascal goes so far as to say that the existence of the false necessarily points to the existence of the true as their antecedent cause, without which they would never have gained a footing.[*] We need not accept this dictum in its integrity, but there is this of truth in it, that it shows on the one hand how unscientific it is summarily to reject the evidence for a given occurrence, merely because somewhat similar evidence has proved misleading in other cases; and, on the other hand, that we must always allow for a readiness to believe in miracle arising from previous (real or imaginary) experience of such interpositions of Divine favour. We say then, first, that while we do not in the least feel bound to reject mediæval or modern miracles, we start with a determination to test the evidence for them very severely. If we draw conclusions as to the history of the Christian Church from what we read in the OT of the history of the Jewish Church, we shall expect to find miraculous interposition very rarely exhibited, and then only at great national crises, and not merely for the warning and instruction of individual souls.

7. This same law of Divine economy will bid us also to exclude from the category of miracles such events as may reasonably be referred to natural causes. Visions or voices which may be resolved into false perceptions or deceptions of the senses must be so classed. The extraordinary phenomena which are recorded as having accompanied the martyrdoms of Polycarp,[†] of Savonarola, of Hooper, may readily enough be explained as the operation of physical forces, a little exaggerated perhaps by pious enthusiasm. Stories like that of the Thundering Legion and the rain which followed the prayers of the Christian host may be true in the main, although the events of which they tell are not necessarily miracles in any other sense than that in which every answer to prayer is a miracle (see above, i. § 15). In other cases the recorded phenomena are too like the tricks of a thaumaturgist for sober piety to recognize in them the finger of God; and in many the alleged miracles are grotesquely absurd and utterly devoid of that character of σημεῖα which all true miracles have as revelations of the Divine will and purpose.

8. Next, in an overwhelmingly large number of the cases which remain, both of mediæval and modern miracles, the evidence is entirely insufficient. There is no *a priori* probability in their favour, and very inadequate *a posteriori* testimony. In how few cases, outside the NT, have we got the evidence of the agent who is supposed to have worked the miracles! And it is to be feared that many stories of miracles worked by saints may be accounted for by the misguided piety of their biographers. All too soon in the Church's history a false criterion of sanctity grew up. It was supposed that the measure of a man's goodness was the amount of miraculous power by which his preaching was aided.[*] Now from the belief that the man who works miracles must be a good man, the transition is easy to the converse inference. This man was a good man, hence he must have worked miracles, and so it can be no harm to write down a few in his biography. He must have worked, if not these particular wonders, at least others very like them.[†] We thus find that the further removed in time the saint is from his biographer, the more is his life embellished with legend and glorified with miracle. We distrust the mediæval records on these grounds. *Falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus,* we say. No criticism of this sort can be applied to the miracles of the NT; for here we have contemporary testimony of the principal persons concerned, and the miraculous is as prominent in the earlier as in the later canonical writings.

9. It is a suspicious circumstance that many of these mediæval miracles happened so opportunely for the triumph of a particular party or the glorification of a particular individual. In one sense, indeed, it is very far from suspicious to read that a miracle came at the right moment, *i.e.* for the support of God's truth, but in another sense it *is* suspicious. If men are anxiously expecting a sign from heaven to guarantee the piety of a doubtful undertaking or the success of a hazardous cause, it is very likely that they will see the finger of God in what is really only the operation of His ordinary laws, and it is not improbable that they may be the dupes of unscrupulous persons who play upon their prejudices.

10. All these qualifications being made, a residuum of recorded cases is left, which it is difficult to explain. Men will view them differently, according to their predispositions. But it is not too much to say that no recorded occurrences in recent centuries seem to bear the character of σημεῖα in at all the same degree as the miracles of the Gospel, whether we have regard to the general circumstances under which they were worked, or the results, moral and spiritual, which were consequent upon men's belief in them. Quite apart from the adequacy or inadequacy of the evidence brought forward in their favour, or the possibility of 'natural' explanations, alleged miracles such as the apparition of the Blessed Virgin at La Salette, and the cures of pilgrims at the shrine which has been built at the spot, are lacking in the dignity and moral grandeur of the miracles of the Gospel. Whatever may be thought about them, it is plain that even if these and their like are really to be traced to the intervention of the Divine mercy which loves to reward a simple faith (and it does not seem to us that the evidence is sufficient to establish such a conclusion), yet they do not serve as vehicles of revelation as the miracles of the Gospel did. They may be θαύματα, δυνάμεις, τέρατα, but they are not σημεῖα of a new spiritual message to mankind, which it sorely needed to learn. And this is the essential characteristic of the miracles of the Christ.

---

[*] *Pensées*, ii. 235 (ed. Faugères).

[†] See Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, II. i. 516.

[*] See Mozley, *Miracles*, p. 180.

[†] Newman lays down a principle very like this (*University Sermons*, p. 345).

On the whole subject of this article cf. JESUS CHRIST, in vol. ii. p. 624–628; and see NATURAL, NATURE, PROPHECY, SIGN.

LITERATURE.—The subject has been treated by innumerable writers, but the following books are among the most important, and are easily accessible: Origen, *contra Celsum*; St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, I. cx.; Spinoza, *Tractatus Theologico-politicus, de miraculis* (on the negative side); Pascal, *Pensées*; Butler, *Analogy*; Hume, *Enquiry concerning the Human Understanding*, x. (on the negative side); Paley, *Evidences*; Babbage, *Ninth Bridgewater Treatise*; Trench, *Notes on the Miracles*; J. B. Mozley, *Bampton Lectures*; Lange, *Life of Christ*, ii. pp. 96-172 (Eng. tr.); J. S. Mill, *Three Essays on Religion* (negative); Duke of Argyll, *The Reign of Law*; Matthew Arnold, *Literature and Dogma* and *God and the Bible* (on the negative side); *Supernatural Religion* (negative); Temple, *Bampton Lectures*; Westcott, *Introduction to Study of Gospels, The Gospel of the Resurrection*, and *The Gospel of Life*; Bruce, *The Chief End of Revelation*, and *The Miraculous Element in the Gospels*; Newman, *Two Essays on Miracles*; E. A. Abbott, *Philomythus* (a reply to the last); Boedder, *Natural Theology*; Illingworth, *Divine Immanence*; A. T. Lyttelton, *Hulsean Lectures*.

J. H. BERNARD.

MIRIAM (מִרְיָם; LXX and NT Μαριάμ, Josephus Μαριάμνη). — 1. The daughter of Amram and Jochebed, and sister of Aaron and Moses, being probably the eldest of the three. Though not mentioned by name, she was the sister who watched from a distance what would happen to Moses in the ark of bulrushes, and went and fetched her mother to act as nurse to her brother for Pharaoh's daughter (Ex $2^{4ff.}$ (E)). She took a leading part in the Exodus with her two brothers. She is called 'the prophetess, the sister of Aaron,' and she led the women in their chant of victory after the passage of the Red Sea (Ex $15^{20f.}$ (E)). We find her during the wanderings combining with Aaron against Moses at Hazeroth because of his marriage with a Cushite woman. They claimed to have the power of prophecy equally with him, though Moses stood upon a higher plane in the world of revelation, which ought to have made them afraid to rebel. Miriam and Aaron were both severely rebuked, but the chief punishment fell upon Miriam. 'The cloud removed from over the tent; and, behold, Miriam was leprous as white as snow.' Aaron at once confessed their sin, and begged Moses' forgiveness; whereupon Moses obtained Miriam's healing from God. She was, however, sentenced to exclusion from the camp for seven days, and the camp remained unmoved for that time (Nu 12^{1-16}). Towards the end of the wanderings Miriam died at Kadesh, and was buried there (Nu 20^{1}). Two allusions are made to Miriam in other books of the OT. As an incitement to the strict observance of the law of leprosy in Dt 24^{8} the people are bidden to remember her case: 'Remember what the Lord thy God did unto Miriam, by the way as ye came forth out of Egypt' (Dt 24^{9}). In Mic 6^{4} she is mentioned with Moses and Aaron as a leader with them of the people. Josephus asserts (*Ant.* III. ii. 4) that she was the wife of Hur, and grandmother of Bezalel. Jerome (*de Loc. Heb.* 108) says that her tomb was shown close to Petra in Arabia in his day. Josephus adds other details, which we need not trouble ourselves with; and the Koran identifies her with the Virgin Mary. The name 'Miriam' is of great interest to Christians as being the name by which the Virgin Mother of Christ was known.

2. A second Miriam is mentioned in 1 Ch 4^{17} (Heb.). It has been supposed by Bertheau that the last clause of 1 Ch 4^{18} should come before the three names of which this is one. If so, they would be the children of a daughter of Pharaoh.

H. A. REDPATH.

MIRMAH (מִרְמָה). — Eponym of a Benjamite family, 1 Ch 8^{10} (B Ἰμαμά, A Μαρμά, Luc. Μαρμιά).

MIRROR (מַרְאָה, רְאִי, גִּלָּיוֹן, κάτοπτρον, ἔσοπτρον).—Any surface so smooth and regular as to reflect uniformly the rays of light, produces, by the operation of simple optical laws, images of objects in front of or above it, which appear to the eye as if they were behind or beneath it. This property has been valued and applied as an aid to the toilet from very early times. The surface of a transparent substance like glass or still water may thus act as a mirror (Pr 27^{19}), and even a black surface if highly polished may do the same. The higher the reflecting power of a substance, however, the brighter and clearer the image which it gives. A flat mirror produces images of the same size as the objects, a convex mirror diminishes the images, while a concave one (if sufficiently near) gives magnified images, which are erect or inverted according to circumstances. Modern mirrors are commonly made of glass coated on the *back* with an amalgam of mercury and tin. Mirrors for scientific purposes, however, are either of polished 'speculum metal' (a special alloy of copper and tin) or of glass silvered in *front*. The words 'glass' (in the sense of mirror) and 'looking glass' occur in AV (see the places below); but as all mirrors used in biblical times were metallic, so far as we can judge, RV substitutes for these terms the more general one 'mirror' (see GLASS, 2).

Our knowledge of ancient mirrors is derived (*a*) from literary notices, and (*b*) from actual specimens that have been preserved.

(*a*) Under the first head we note only references to material, manufacture, and the like. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 26) describes what seems to have been an attempt to make glass mirrors at Sidon, but nothing is said as to the success of the experiment. Alexander of Aphrodisias, a writer of the 3rd cent. A.D., refers (*Problem.* i. 132) to glass mirrors coated with tin (Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*, p. 737, n. 2), and an Egyptian mirror made of glass is said to be in the museum at Turin (*ib.* n. 1). In Pliny's day, however, only metallic mirrors were in use. The ordinary material for them was an alloy of copper and tin, and the best of this kind were made at Brundusium. Silver mirrors were the finest, and were first made by one Pasiteles in the time of Pompey. The effects of the various kinds of curvature in mirrors were also known (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxiii. 45, xxxiv. 48). Seneca describes the phenomena of reflexion in a concave mirror (*Nat. Quæst.* I. iv. 3), and speaks of gold and silver mirrors large enough to give an image of a whole human figure (*ib.* I. xvii. 8).

(*b*) The ancient mirrors still existing may be classified as—

(1) *Egyptian.* These are made of an alloy of copper, highly polished, and are nearly circular with ornamental handles of wood, stone, or metal. They are described and figured in Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, ii. 350 ff. (2) *Etruscan.* These have been found in great numbers in the ruins of Præneste and in other Etrurian burial-places. They are round or pear-shaped, with handles attached, and are remarkable for the elaborate engravings of mythological scenes on their backs. See Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, i. 78 ff., and the plates in the other 4 vols. (3) *Roman.* The mirrors of this class are mostly circular. Some have handles and some are without them. The term for the latter variety was *orbis* (Mart. IX. xvii. 5). Among those found at Pompeii some are square (Overbeck-Mau, *Pompeii*^{4}, p. 453). (4) *Greek.* Specimens of these were unknown till 1867. They are of two kinds: circular discs with handles in the form of

statuettes, and box mirrors consisting of two discs which fit into one another and are sometimes hinged together, the outer surface of the polished disc being ornamented in low relief and the inner surface of the other being engraved.

LITERATURE.—De Witte, *Les miroirs chez les anciens*; Bauermeister, *Denkmäler des Classischen Alterthums*, iii. 1690–3; Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*, p. 669 ff.; Collignon, *Manuel d'Archéologie Grecque*, 346 ff.; Mylonas, *Ελληνικὰ κάτοπτρα*; Seyffert, *Dictionary of Classical Antiquities*, by Nettleship and Sandys, *s.v.* 'Mirror'; Guhl and Köner, *Life of the Greeks and Romans*, 184, 499.

The following are the Scripture allusions to mirrors. In Ex 38^{8} the laver of the tabernacle is said to have been made of 'the mirrors' (AV 'looking glasses,' AVm 'brasen glasses') of the serving women.* This implies that they were made of metal (see BRASS). The Heb. is מַרְאָה (LXX *κάτοπτρον*), a word which is elsewhere rendered 'vision.' In Job 37^{18} the sky is compared for strength to a molten 'mirror' (רְאִי, LXX *ὅρασις ἐπιχύσεως*, AV 'looking glass'). The whole verse embodies the ancient conception of the sky as a hard metal-like solid. The verb at the beginning ('spread out' AV and RV) is רָקַע 'to beat, beat out,' from which comes the term רָקִיעַ ('firmament') applied to the sky (see COSMOGONY). In Is 3^{23} 'hand mirrors' (AV 'glasses') are named among the articles of female luxury denounced by the prophet. The Heb. is גִּלָּיוֹן, and the general idea of the word appears to be that of a smooth flat surface. It occurs again in Is 8^{1}, where it is rendered 'tablet' in RV and 'roll' in AV. In late Heb. it came to mean the blank margin of a book. In the former passage, however, LXX understands by גִּלְיֹנִים garments of some thin transparent material, and renders by *διαφανῆ Λακωνικά*.

In Apocr. and NT *ἔσοπτρον* takes the place of the usual classical word for mirror, *κάτοπτρον*. In Wis 7^{26} wisdom is called the unspotted 'mirror' of the working of God. In Sir 12^{11} the persistent malice of an enemy is compared to the rust on a 'mirror' (AV 'looking glass'), which it is difficult to wipe away completely—a metallic mirror being clearly referred to. In 1 Co 13^{12} the spiritual knowledge of the present life is likened to the dim perception of images in a 'mirror' (AV 'glass'). In Ja $1^{23\text{ff.}}$ the Christian law of liberty is described figuratively as a 'mirror' (AV 'glass'). The careless hearer of the law, who does not obey it, is compared to one who looks at himself in the mirror and forgets the reflected image as soon as he has turned away from it, while the obedient disciple is likened to one who keeps gazing steadfastly into the mirror, and who thus has the image of what he ought to be always before the eye of his soul.

The verb *κατοπτρίζεσθαι* occurs once (2 Co 3^{18}). Here AV has 'beholding as in a glass' the glory of the Lord, RV 'reflecting as a mirror,' and RVm 'beholding as in a mirror.' The translation of the word is closely connected with the interpretation of the context, and the two renderings in RV mark the wide divergence which exists among scholars and commentators with regard to the passage. For the new translation 'reflecting' there may be quoted Chrysostom, Theodoret, Luther, Bengel, Billroth, Olshausen, and, more recently, Schmiedel, and Mayor (on Ja 1^{23}). The old rendering 'beholding' is supported by Grimm, Winer, Meyer, Heinrici, Beet, and Denney, and should, we think, be preferred. The idea of 'reflexion' does not accord well either with the context or with the usage of *κατοπτρίζεσθαι* in other writers. The simple physical fact that *one who beholds a bright light reflected in a mirror has his own face illumined by it at the same time* is taken as an illustration of the transformation of the Christian's character, which comes about through beholding the glory of God reflected in Christ, or the glory of Christ reflected in the gospel. JAMES PATRICK.

MISAEL (B Μεισαήλ, A Μισ-).—**1.** 1 Es 9^{44}= MISHAEL, Neh 8^{4}. **2.** Thr ^{66} (LXX, Dn 3^{88}), elsewhere MISHAEL, the Heb. name of one of Daniel's three companions in captivity; called MESHACH in Babylon (Dn $1^{6\text{ff.}}$).

MISAIAS.—See MASIAS.

MISGAB (הַמִּשְׂגָּב with art.; B Ἀμάθ, Aא τὸ *κραταίωμα*).—Mentioned along with Nebo and Kiriathaim in the oracle against Moab, Jer 48 [Gr. 31]^{1}. Perhaps it is not intended as a proper name. The same Heb. term occurs in Is 25^{12}, where both AV and RV tr. 'high fort' (cf. 2 S 22^{3}, Ps $9^{9\,\textit{bis}}$ 18^{2} $46^{7.\,11}$ 48^{3} $59^{9.\,16.\,17}$ $62^{2.\,6}$ 94^{22} 144^{2}, Is 33^{16}). C. R. CONDER.

MISHAEL (מִישָׁאֵל [the derivation is disputed. It comes either from מִי אֲשֶׁר אֵל = מִי שֶׁ אֵל 'Who is what God is?' or from מִי שָׁוֶה אֵל 'Who is like God?' In either case it is sufficiently near such Assyrian forms as *Mannu-ki-ilurabu*, *Manum-ki-Ashur*]; LXX Μισαήλ, Μεισαήλ, and [Lv 10^{14}] Μισαδαί).—**1.** According to Ex 6^{22} Mishael belonged to the Kohathites, and stood fourth in descent from Levi. At Lv 10^{4} he and his brother Elzaphan are ordered to carry from before the sanctuary out of the camp the dead bodies of Nadab and Abihu, who have perished because of their presumption. Both of the passages in which Mishael is mentioned are attributed to P. **2.** A man named Mishael was one of Ezra's supporters in his great work of reform. He was amongst those who stood at the scribe's left hand on the great pulpit of wood from which the law was read aloud to the people, Neh 8^{4}. These men, twelve in number, one for each tribe (as Ryle appears to think), or thirteen (MT and LXX), or fourteen (Guthe on 1 Es), have been supposed to be the chief priests of the course which was at that time performing the temple service. But there is nothing in the text to support this. Almost certainly they were either Levites or laymen. **3.** One of Daniel's three companions, Dn $1^{6\text{f.}\,11.\,19}$ 2^{17}. See MESHACH. J. TAYLOR.

MISHAL (מִשְׁאָל).—A town of Asher, Jos 19^{26} (Μαασά), given to the Gershonite Levites, 21^{30} (B Βασσελλάν, A Μασαάλ) = 1 Ch 6^{74} [Heb. ^{59}], where, perhaps by a clerical error, it is called מָשָׁל Mashal. In this last instance B has Μαασά, A^{a} Μασάλ. The site is unknown. It is only an inference from the context when Eusebius (*Onomast.* 280. 139) says *Μασὰν συνάπτει τῷ Καρμήλῳ κατὰ θάλασσαν.*

C. R. CONDER.

MISHAM (מִשְׁעָם).—Eponym of a Benjamite family, 1 Ch 8^{12} (B Μεσσαάμ, A Μισαάλ, Luc. Μεσοάμ).

MISHMA (מִשְׁמָע; in Gn 25^{14} Michaelis points מִשְׁמַע).—**1.** A son of Ishmael, Gn 25^{14} (A Μασμά, Luc. Μασμάν) = 1 Ch 1^{30} (B Μαμά, A Μασμά). The tribe of which Mishma is the eponym has not been identified. The name has no connexion, according to Dillmann, either with the Μαισαιμανεῖς of Ptolemy (VI. vii. 21), or with the place called *el-Mismîye* in the Lejjâh, south of Damascus. He thinks that a trace of the name may remain in one or other of the two places—*Jebel Misma'*, south-east of *Kâf*, east of the *Wâdy Sirḥân*, in the latitude of Idumæa, or another *Jebel Misma'* farther south, towards *Teimâ*, where inscriptions have been found. **2.** The eponym of a Simeonite family, 1 Ch 4^{25} (B A Μασμά). J. A. SELBIE.

MISHMANNAH (מִשְׁמַנָּה).—A Gadite chief who joined David at Ziklag, 1 Ch 12^{10} (B Μασεμανή, A Μασμάν).

---

* On this passage see Ismar Peritz in *JBL*, 1898, Pt. ii. p. 145 f.

MISHNA.—See Talmud.

MISHNEH (מִשְׁנֶה), 2 K 22^{14}, 2 Ch 34^{22}, Zeph 1^{10} RVm.—See College.

MISHRAITES (הַמִּשְׁרָעִי). — A family of Kiriath-jearim, 1 Ch 2^{53} (B Ἡμασαραείμ, A —είν). No place of the name of *Mishra'* is mentioned in OT, and the MT of the closing verses of 1 Ch 2 is involved in considerable uncertainty. See Kittel in *SBOT, ad loc.*

MISPAR (מִסְפָּר).—One of the exiles who returned with Zerubbabel, Ezr 2^{2} (B Μαλσάρ, A Μασφάρ), called in Neh 7^{7} Mispereth (מִסְפֶּרֶת, B Μασφεράν, A Μαασφαράθ, ℵ Μασφαράδ).

MISPERETH.—See preceding article.

MISREPHOTH-MAIM (מִשְׂרְפוֹת מַיִם, Μασερών, Μασρεφωθμάειμ, Μασερεθμεμφωμάιμ).—One of the places to which Joshua (11^{8}) chased the Northern Canaanites after their defeat near Lake Merom. The older explanation, following the Jewish commentators, was to translate the words 'burning of waters,' and to refer them to local hot springs or smelting-works (cf. Ges. *Thes.*). This ignored the fact that the words are Canaanite in origin, probably assimilated to like-sounding Hebrew words.

Others gave the site as Zarephath (1 K 17^{9}) on the ground of the similarity of name, and because 'Zarephath belongeth to Zidon,' which place occurs in the verse from Joshua.

Most probably we should revert to a suggestion of Thomson (*Land and Book*, ch. xv.), who identified it with Musheirifeh or 'Ain Meserfi, a site on the coast, S. of Ras en-Nakhurah or the Ladder of Tyre (Seetzen, ii. 109; Scholz, *Reise*, 154).

This position would agree much better than Zarephath with the only other passage in which the name occurs (Jos 13^{6}). There the Zidonians, who are not yet dispossessed, are said to extend from Lebanon to Misrephoth-maim. We should scarcely expect Zarephath, a place which lay between Tyre and Zidon, to be given as the S. point of the dominion of Zidon, while the Ladder of Tyre might well be so named. A. C. Welch.

MITE.—See Money.

MITHKAH (מִתְקָה, Ματεκκά B, Μαθεκκά AF, Methca Vulg.).—One of the 12 stations following Hazeroth, Nu $33^{28.29}$. See Exodus and Journey to Canaan, vol. i. p. 805*a*, § iii.

MITHNITE (הַמִּתְנִי). — 'Joshaphat the Mithnite' appears in the catalogue of David's officers in 1 Ch 11^{43} (B ὁ Βαιθανεί, A ὁ Μαθθανί). This gentilic name would imply the existence of a place called מתן (however we may vocalize that word), which, however, is nowhere mentioned in OT. Kittel (in *SBOT, ad loc.*) suggests that the LXX (A) and Vulg. (the latter has *Mathanites*) readings appear to have מֶתֶן in mind, in which case the gentilic name would be vocalized הַמִּתְנִי.

MITHRADATES.—**1.** (A Μιθραδδάτης, B -ριδ-, AV Mithridates), 1 Es 2^{11} (LXX ^{10}) = Mithredath, Ezr 1^{8}, the treasurer of Cyrus king of Persia. 1 Es, by translating his title גִּזְבָּר correctly with γαζοφύλαξ, shows itself independent of the LXX of Ezr, which renders it as a proper name Γασβαρηνός. **2.** (BA^{a} Μιθραδ-, A^{*vid} B^{ab} Μιθριδ-, AV Mithridates), 1 Es 2^{16} (LXX ^{15}) = Mithredath, Ezr 4^{7}, a Persian officer stationed in Samaria under Artaxerxes.

MITHREDATH (מִתְרְדָת, Pers. = 'given by Mithra, *or* the sun'; Μιθραδάτης; 1 Es 2^{11} Μιθριδάτης B, v.^{16} B^{ab} A*; *Mithridates*).—**1.** The Persian treasurer, whom Cyrus commanded to deliver to Sheshbazzar, the prince of Judah, the sacred vessels taken from the temple by Nebuchadrezzar (Ezr 1^{8}).

2. Apparently a Persian officer stationed in Samaria. Together with his colleagues he wrote to Artaxerxes (Longimanus) to hinder the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem (Ezr 4^{7}). The correspondence between the Samaritans and the Persian court probably took place in the interval between the missions of Ezra and of Nehemiah.

MITRE.—**1.** The word used in AV for מִצְנֶפֶת (LXX μίτρα or κίδαρις), the official head-dress of the Heb. high priest (Ex $28^{4.37.39}$ 29^{6} $39^{28.31}$, Lv 8^{9} 16^{4}; cf. also Ezk 21^{26}). RVm has 'turban,' except in Ezk 21^{26}, where AV has 'diadem' and RV 'mitre,' without marginal note. The head-dress of the ordinary priest was מִגְבָּעָה (AV bonnet, RV headtire). The mitre of the high priest was, like the headtire of the subordinate priests, of fine linen, and was made from a piece, said by the Rabbins to have been sixteen cubits long, rolled into a sort of turban. Hence its name, from צָנַף 'to wind.' On the front of the mitre, just above the high priest's forehead, was the sacred crown (see Crown, 2). The precise shape of the mitre is, however, disputed. It is frequently represented as lower, rounder, fuller at the sides, and resting more lightly on the head than the headtire of the ordinary priests, which was shaped somewhat like a helmet (so Braunius, *de Vest. Sacerd. Heb.* lib. ii. cap. 21). On the other hand, Bähr (*Symb.* ii. p. 110) maintains that it was higher and longer, though perhaps, as Maimonides seems to imply, with the top bending over. The description of Josephus (*Ant.* III. vii. 6, 'The (high priest's) hat was similar to that used by all the priests, but above it was sewn another embroidered with blue') has given trouble to archæologists; and Philo (*de Vit. Mos.* iii. 11) seems to speak of a third part of the head-dress, besides mitre and crown, which he calls κίδαρις or diadem. The language of OT is, in fact, quite indefinite as to the shape of the mitre, and Philo and Josephus may either have misinterpreted its expressions, or have had in mind later embellishments. The mitre was as representative of the priestly dignity as the crown or diadem was of the royal. Hence in Ezk 21^{26} 'Remove the mitre; and take off the crown' (RV), may signify the desolation of both priesthood and monarchy.

2. Another word (צָנִיף) from the same root is in Zec 3^{5} tr^{d} 'mitre' in AV and RV (RVm 'turban or diadem'), and is applied, apparently as a synonym of the technical word described above, to the head-dress which the prophet saw placed on Joshua the high priest. It is also found in Job 29^{14} (AV 'diadem,' RVm 'turban') in a figurative description of a righteous man arrayed in the garments of nobility; in Is 3^{23} (AV 'hoods,' RV 'turbans') as an article of elaborate female attire (cf. μίτρα in Jth 16^{8}, Bar 5^{2}); and in Is 62^{3} Ḳerê (AV and RV 'diadem') as a symbol of the honour which J″ will place upon His people. See Head-dress.

G. T. Purves.

MITYLENE (Μιτυλήνη), or Mytilene (as usually spelt on coins, cf. Blass on Ac 11^{14}), the chief town of Lesbos, lies on the E. side of that island, about 10 or 12 miles from the coast of Asia. M. itself was originally built on a small island, and perhaps joined to Lesbos by a causeway which formed two excellent natural harbours, one on the N. and the other on the S. St. Paul on his return from his

Third Missionary Journey had arrived at Troas from Philippi, and, after a week's stay at the former place, had preferred travelling by land to Assos, while the ship rounded the promontory of Lectum and picked him up on its S. voyage. His motive for going by land may have been to remain longer with the disciples at Troas, or to be assured of the complete recovery of Eutychus. After St. Paul was taken on board at Assos, the ship sailed to Mitylene (Ac 20^{14}) and stayed there for the night. This was the usual practice for vessels in the Ægean Sea, where, during the summer, the N. wind blows during the day but falls in the afternoon. An early start would be made each morning before sunrise, so as to get the full benefit of the wind. After leaving Mitylene (Ac 20^{15}) the travellers sailed to a point opposite Chios, probably near Cape Argennum.

M., which has in later times given its name to the whole island of Lesbos, was a town of some importance in early history. It joined the Athenians in the Peloponnesian war, revolted from them, and was punished by almost complete annihilation. It made an alliance with the Macedonians under Alexander the Great, it offered a stubborn resistance to the Romans in the Mithridatic war, and was afterwards made a free city by Pompey. There is no record of any Christian church existing in the island at the time of St. Paul's visit. M. formed part of the eastern half of the Roman empire, and was conquered in A.D. 1462 by the Turks, under whose power it has since remained.

LITERATURE.—Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 291 ff.; Bouillet, *Dict. Univ.*, *s.v.*; on the present town see Tozer, *Islands of the Ægean*, 121, 134 f., and on the ancient city, *ib.* 136.

C. H. PRICHARD.

MIXED MULTITUDE, an expression used to describe certain people who accompanied the children of Israel out of Egypt Ex 12^{38}, and 'fell a lusting' at Kibroth-hattaavah Nu 11^4. It is also used of those who were separated from among the Israelites after their return from captivity Neh 13^3. In Ex 12^{38} the Heb. is עֵרֶב רַב, LXX ἐπίμικτος πολύς, Vulg. *vulgus promiscuum innumerabile*, Targ. Onk. 'many strangers,' Syr. ערובא סגיאא. The VSS agree in giving to ערב the sense of a mingled people, as it is rendered in other passages (see further on), and to רב its common meaning of 'many,' so that 'mixed multitude' represents adequately the original in this passage. But in Nu 11^4 Heb. has a different word, הָאסַפְסֻף (the א being quiescent) occurring only in this passage. It is probably a contemptuous term for a gathering together of the people, and there is no further indication of multitude than that implied in any gathering. The LXX and Vulg. omit the adjectives πολύς and *innumerabile*, but otherwise render as in Exodus. The earlier English translations indicate the difference in the original. Wyclif has in Ex 12^{38} 'the comoun of either sex unnoumbrable' (where the influence of the Vulg. is evident), and Nu 11^4 'the comoun forsothe of either kynde.' Tindale in Ex has 'moch comon people,' and also Coverdale; but in Nu Tindale's 'the rascall people' was perhaps a little too forcible, and Coverdale has 'comon sorte of people.' The rendering of AV puts out of sight a variation in the original indicated in the earlier translations, and RV has not (as in some similar cases) brought it back into view.

A similar criticism of AV and RV applies to Neh 13^3. There the Heb. is כָּל־עֵרֶב, the LXX renders the noun as before, but Vulg. has *omnem alienigenam*, which Wyclif renders by 'alien,' and the early English versions 'every one that had mixte himself therin,' a fair rendering of the Hebrew.

The same Heb. word occurs, but with the def. art. (הָעֶרֶב), Jer 50^{37} (σύμμικτος), Ezk 30^5, where it prob. means 'mercenaries,' and (the ע being pointed with Seghol) Jer $25^{20, 24}$ (σύμμικτος). Both AV and RV translate 'the mingled people' in these passages, in 25^{20} the people are in or near Egypt, in 25^{24} they are to the S.E. of Palestine on the borders of Arabia. The same Heb. consonants (differently pointed) denote Arabia; and for the parallel passages 1 K 10^{15}, 2 Ch 9^{14}, where both punctuations occur, see ARABIANS. The meaning of the Heb. word in the account given in Neh is evident. The strangers with whom Israel had contracted alliances, and the children of such alliances, formed the 'mixed multitude' or the 'mingled people.' The verb (in Hithpael) is used, Ezr 9^2, of these marriages, and Ps 106^{35} of 'mingling with the heathen.' A similar condition of affairs existed when the Israelites came out of their bondage in Egypt. The intercourse between Egypt and Israel continued, Solomon allied himself with Pharaoh's daughter, and the special permission for the children both of Edomite and Egyptian parents to enter into the congregation (Dt 23^8) shows that alliances between Israel and these nations were recognized. After the return from captivity a strict rule of severance from surrounding nations was enforced.

A. T. CHAPMAN.

MIZAR.—Ps 42^6 [Heb.^{7}] reads, following the MT, 'O my God, my soul upon me* is cast down; therefore do I remember thee from the land of Jordan and the Hermons, from the mountain of Mizar' (so Driver, *Parallel Psalter*, and [substantially] AV and RV; AVm and RVm suggest as an alternative tr^n of the last expression מֵהַר מִצְעָר 'from the little hill [*or* mountain],' cf. LXX ἀπὸ ὄρους μικροῦ, and Vulg. *a monte modico*). The question is whether *miẓ'ar* is an appellative or a proper name. If the latter, Mt. Mizar must have been in the vicinity of (or perhaps a part of)† Hermon, but it cannot be identified. In the former sense (='a little thing,' 'a trifle') *miẓ'ar* occurs in Gn 19^{20-22}, where by one of J's characteristic etymologies the substitution of the name *Zō'ar* for the earlier *Bela'* is accounted for by Lot's plea, 'O let me escape thither, is it not a little one (מִצְעָר)? . . . therefore the name of the city was called *Zō'ar*' (צֹעַר, *i.e.* 'pettiness,' 'petty town,' see Dillm. *ad loc.*). Cf. 2 Ch 24^{24} מִצְעַר אֲנָשִׁים 'a small company of men'; Job 8^7 רֵאשִׁיתְךָ מִצְעָר 'thy beginning was small'; Is 63^{18} לַמִּצְעָר 'for a little while'‡ [all].

It is possible that we ought to understand the word in this second sense in Ps 42^6, the reference being to Zion, 'the *little* mountain,' in contrast to the giant Hermon (so Smend, Wellhausen, Siegfried-Stade).§ The Psalm may be the expression of the feelings of an Israelite, who, when he has reached the northern boundary of the Holy Land on his way to exile, sends back his sighs to the temple-hill and its services. Of course this involves an alteration of the MT, but all that is necessary is to drop the מ in מהר, which may easily have crept into the text by accidental repetition of the final letter of חֶרְמוֹנִים. This would give the rendering, 'I remember thee, thou little mountain, from the land of Jordan and the Hermons.' Wellhausen-Furness (in *PB*), reading, as above, הַר instead of מֵהַר, tr. 'Therefore on thee do I think, thou diminutive mountain, above all the land of Jordan and of Hermon,' *i.e.* Zion is the one spot in all Palestine ('the land of the Jordan and of Hermon') which is ever present to the Psalmist's mind. Wellh. (in *SBOT*) remarks that the expression הַר מִצְעָר 'little mountain,' for הַר צָעִיר, is very strange.

---

* See note in Driver, *Parallel Psalter*, p. 464.

† In which case 'the little hill of Hermon' of the Pr. Bk. may be *materially* correct, although as a *translation* of חֶרְמוֹנִים מֵהַר מִצְעָר it is, of course, quite inaccurate.

‡ 'Isaiah' elsewhere (10^{25} 29^{17}) uses מִזְעָר (a word confined to Book of Is) in this sense.

§ Cf. Ps $68^{15f.}$, where the *high* mountains look askance at 'the mountain which God hath desired for his abode' (הָהָר חָמַד אֱלֹהִים לְשִׁבְתּוֹ).

J. A. SELBIE.

MIZPAH and **MIZPEH**.—A name of several places and towns in Palestine. In most cases it is spelt (in AV) Mizp*a*h, but in several instances Mizp*e*h. The same variety of reading, מִצְפָּה or מִצְפֶּה, occurs in the original. In three cases only is Mizpeh used with the definite article, viz. Mizpeh a town of Judah (Jos 15^{38}), Mizpeh a town of Benjamin (Jos 18^{26}), and 'the watch-tower of the wilderness' (2 Ch 20^{24}). In the other cases the article is omitted, viz. 'the Valley (*biḳ'ah*) of Mizpeh' (Jos 11^{8}), Mizpeh of Gilead (Jg $11^{29\, bis}$), Mizpeh of Moab (1 S 22^{3}); but in these last two instances it would in any case be without the article, as it is followed by a word in the genitive.

Mizpeh (מִצְפֶּה) is derived from צָפָה *to look out, to view*; from the same root are derived the proper names Zephath (Jg 1^{17}), Zephathah (2 Ch 14^{10}), Ramathaim-zophim (1 S 1^{1}; an impossible name),* the field of Zophim (Nu 23^{14}). The Targum translates both Mizpeh and Zophim by סכותא 'place of view,' 'watch-tower' (?).† Mizp*e*h is used to denote either a town (Jos 15^{38} 18^{26}, Jg 11^{29}, 1 S 22^{8}) or a watch-tower (2 Ch 20^{24}, Is 21^{8}). In the two cases where it is used to denote a watch-tower, it is translated so both in AV and RV, and by LXX τὴν σκοπιάν; in the other cases the AV and RV render it as a proper name.

Mizpah is always used with the article except in Hos 5^{1}. It is used only in connexion with the land of Mizpah, near Mount Hermon (Jos 11^{3}), the site of the heap of stones of witness on Mount Gilead, and the sanctuaries of J″ in Benjamin and near Shiloh. It is possible, then, that Mizpah represents an aboriginal name connected with a sanctuary, and hence the play upon the word *Mizpah*, and its root *ẓāphāh* ('to look out *or* view'), between Laban and Jacob (Gn 31^{48}).

The LXX gives a variety of readings for Mizpeh and Mizpah.

(1) Mizpeh—
- (*a*) B Μασσώχ, A Μασσηφά. The valley of Mizpeh in the Lebanon (Jos 11^{8}).
- (*b*) Μασφά. Town of Benjamin (Jos 15^{38}).
- (*c*) B Μασσημά, A Μασφά. Town of Benjamin (Jos 18^{26}).
- (*d*) Μα(σ)σηφά. Town of Moab (1 S 22^{3}).
- (*e*) B τὴν σκοπιάν, A τῆς σκοπιᾶς. Mizpeh of Gilead (Jg 11^{29}).
- (*f*) τὴν σκοπιάν. The watch-tower (2 Ch 20^{24}, Is 21^{8}).

(2) Mizpah—
- (*a*) ἡ ὅρασις ('that which is seen,' 'a vision'). The scene of the covenant hetween Jacob and Lahan in Gilead (Gn 31^{48}).
- (*b*) B Μασσευμάν, A Μασσηφάθ. The land of Mizpah under Hermon (Jos 11^{3}).
- (c_1) Μασσηφά. The Mizpah of Gilead, where Jephthah spoke hefore the LORD, and where Jephthah's house was (Jg $11^{11.\,34}$). Mizpah near Shiloh, where Israel met hefore the LORD (Jg $20^{1.\,3}$). Mizpah of Benjamin, where Gedaliah ruled Israel (2 K 25^{25} [B Μασσηφάθ], Jer $40^{6\text{-}15}$ $41^{1.\,10}$ [Gr. $47^{6\text{-}15}$ $48^{1.\,10}$]). Mizpah near Shiloh (Jg $21^{1.\,5.\,8}$).
- (c_2) B Μασσηφάθ, A Μασηφάτ, Μασσηφά. Mizpah of Benjamin, where Israel met before the LORD (1 S $7^{5\text{-}16}$). Mizpah of Benjamin, where Gedaliah ruled Israel (2 K 25^{23}).
- (*d*) Μασφέ. Mizpah of Benjamin, where Gedaliah had ruled Israel (Neh 3^{19}).
- (*e*) Μασφά. Mizpah of Benjamin in time of Asa (2 Ch 16^{6}).
- (*f*) ἡ σκοπιά. Mizpah of Gilead (Jg 10^{17}). Mizpah of Benjamin in time of king Asa (1 K 15^{22}).

Josephus gives Μασφά (*Ant.* VI. iv. 3, VIII. xii. 4) for Mizpah of Benjamin, Μασφαθή (*Ant.* V. vii. 9) and Μασαφθά (X. ix. 2) for Mizpah both of Benjamin and Gilead; see also *Ant.* VI. ii. 1.

These differences of name may give some indication of the views held by the LXX as to the location of the various Mizpehs and Mizpahs. The two in the Lebanon and the town of Judah have special names; the remainder, viz. Mizpah or Mizpeh of Gilead, Shiloh, Benjamin, and Moab, are given under the names of Μασφά, Μασσηφά, and Μασσηφάθ. But Mizpah of Gilead is once translated as 'the watch-tower,' and Mizpah of Benjamin is given (in 2 Ch 16^{6}) as Μασφά, and in an identical passage (in 1 K 15^{22}) as 'the watch-tower.' The inference may be drawn that, according to the view of the LXX, there was a Mizpeh or 'watch-tower' in Gilead, not far from the meeting-place of Jacob and Laban, and this may have given rise to the play upon the word in naming 'the heap of witness' Mizpah. As Mizpeh was a watch-tower over the land of Gilead, so the Lord was 'the watch-tower' or 'witness' to the covenant at Mizpah; and thus the two names would be bound together; and when the ark of the covenant in after-ages was stationed at Shiloh, Gibeah, the meeting-place of the people before the Lord, would be the Mizpah, while the nearest high place or 'watch-tower' which for military purposes they would constantly have in use would be Mizpeh. The Rabbins took a similar view as to the word 'Ramathaim-zophim,' to which they gave the impossible translation 'Ramotha of the scholars of the prophets,' regarding the prophets as watchmen.

There are at least seven distinct places alluded to under the names of Mizpeh and Mizpah, namely—

1. Mizpah (הַמִּצְפָּה, Samar. המצבה, *i.e. maẓẓēbāh* = the pillar). — One of the names of the pillar (*maẓẓēbāh*) and heap of stones (*gal*) put up by Jacob and his brethren in the mountain of Gilead in token of God being a witness to the covenant made that day between Jacob and Laban (Gn $31^{46\text{-}52}$).* The other names were Jegar-sahadutha (which see) and Galeed, the former being the western Aramaic for the 'heap of the testimony,' the latter being the Hebrew equivalent of the same (see GALEED, GILEAD).

The name Mizpah, if it had the sense of a place where the Lord watched between two parties to a covenant, may have come to be applied to the places where the people held solemn assembly for deliberation in time of difficulty near the sanctuary of Jehovah, and it thus would be likely to be found near every place where the ark of the covenant or tabernacle remained for any time in addition to its original position in Gilead. It appears in connexion with the battles between all Israel and the Benjamites a few years after the death of Joshua, and is then evidently near Bethel and Shiloh, and again it appears in its original position some 150 years after in the time of Jephthah.

There is no record showing to what extent this ancient sanctuary in Gilead was used during the times of the Judges, when the ark and tabernacle were at Gilgal and Shiloh, but at the time that the children of Israel were oppressed by the children of Ammon, and in their misery put away their false gods, the Ammonites were encamped in Gilead and all Israel at Mizpah (Jg 10^{17}). It is apparent from the context that this was the original Mizpah of Gilead and not that of Shiloh or Benjamin, and from the expression 'before the Lord in Mizpah' it is surmised that the ark was present with the host of Israel (*Speaker's Comm.* on Jg 11^{11}). If this were so, it was sent over without the consent of the tribes of Israel on the western side of Jordan (Jg 12^{1}), as Jephthah's action in fighting the Ammonites without the assistance of western Israel was called in question by them. The whole account would lead to the inference that the eastern tribes assembled as a solemn conclave at the ancient scene of the covenant between Jacob and Laban at Mizpah, and then elected Jephthah as their captain-general to lead them to victory against the Ammonites, without any recourse to Shiloh. He then in the spirit of the Lord passed over Gilead and Manasseh, and over Mizpah of Gilead, and from Mizpah of Gilead to the children of Ammon (Jg 11^{29}). The LXX give the term 'watch-tower' both for the Mizpah where the eastern tribes of Israel encamped (Jg 10^{17}) and for the Mizpah over which Jephthah passed. On Jephthah's return from his victory over the Ammonites he came to his house at Mizpah, which the LXX render Μασσηφά, as they name the spot near the sanctuary where the tribes gathered before the Lord. There would thus appear, in the view of the LXX, to have been the Mizpah adjoining the sanctuary where the tribes gathered before the Lord and where Jephthah dwelt, and the Mizpeh on high ground near where the tribes encamped and where Jephthah passed over with them.

---

* See Comm. *ad loc.* and art. RAMATHAIM-ZOPHIM.

† Neither סכותא nor מצפה is necessarily a watch-*tower*; מ׳ = 'place of watching,' which may have heen merely a hill.

* On this passage see Dillmann's note. The name 'Mizpeh' comes in very strangely. It is plain that there is an allusion to the *maẓẓēbāh* of the preceding context, as well as a desire to explain the origin of a Watch-Tower in the neighbourhood. See art. JACOB, vol. ii. p. 529.

The topographical indications as to the position of Mizpah of Gilead are meagre. It was in the mountains of Gilead (Gn 31^{23}), and it was north of the *Jabbôk*, because Jacob crossed that torrent after parting with Laban. It was a well-indicated boundary, to be used in succeeding ages between the Hebrews and the Aramæans (Gn 31^{52}). It was in the vicinity of a Mizpeh, watch-tower, or commanding situation (Jg 11^{29}). Beyond this there can be little but conjecture. There is one indication, however, which seems to limit the line of Jacob's journey east and west: he was coming from Padan-aram in the north-east, and with his herds and flocks would naturally travel along the level tableland to the east of the broken country falling towards the Jordan Valley, near the line of the present *Derb el-Hajj*, which avoids crossing the *Jabbôk* by making a little detour to the east. Whether he came by Damascus or by Bozrah, he would arrive north of the *Jabbôk* by passing through the vale in which *Jerash* is situated. It is suggested that this is the site of the meeting of Jacob and Laban. From the abundance of its waters, enough for an enormous city, this site must from the earliest times have been a resting-place for herds and flocks on their travels. Near to these waters (1960 ft.) are the commanding situations or Mizpehs, *Neby Hûd* (2400 ft.) and *Jebel Hakârt* (3480 ft.), and to the west are dolmens near the village of *Sûf*. Sir George Grove has suggested that the site of Mizpah at *Jerash* is also identical with those of Ramath-mizpah and Ramath-gilead (which see); and this seems to be the most satisfactory identification.

2. Mizpah (הַמִּצְפָּה).—The events related in Jg 19 to 21 concerning the extermination of all the Benjamites save 600 by united Israel, though placed chronologically after the time of the Judges, are, from the mention of Phinehas, the grandson of Aaron (20^{28}), usually considered (so far as the account is historical) to have occurred about 20 years after the death of Joshua, at a time when there were no Judges in the land and the Israelites forsook the Lord and served Baal and Astarte (2^{13}). Josephus also places these events at the commencement of his account of the Judges (*Ant.* v.).

The tabernacle with the ark had been set up at Shiloh in Ephraim, 10 miles north of Bethel, before the death of Joshua, and remained there as its chief and permanent residence until the death of Eli; but it would appear from the account here given (Jg 20. 21) that the ark of the covenant was carried about from place to place in time of war to the spot where the people assembled, and in later years to where the Judge resided (*Speaker's Comm.* on Jg 20). The positions of the places mentioned, so far as they are at present identified, are: Gibeah (*Tell el-Fûl*?), 4 miles north of Jerusalem; Bethel (*Beitîn*), 6 miles north of Gibeah; and Shiloh (*Seilûn*), some 10 miles north of Bethel. A Levite was on his way to the house of the Lord, probably at Shiloh (Jg 18^{31} 9^{18}), possibly at Bethel, when he turned aside to spend the night at Gibeah of Benjamin close to Ramah (*er-Râm*), and here his concubine was outraged to death by Benjamites of that city. This deed united all Israel against Benjamin, and they gathered together as one man unto the Lord at Mizpah (in AV it is given as Mizpeh throughout), Jg 20^{1}.

In order to understand the account, the question 'where was Mizpah?' requires to be answered. It has usually been understood[*] that the Mizpah here spoken of and that where Samuel gathered the people together (1 S 7) were identical. But there is no necessity for this conclusion: and the confusion of the two places renders the accounts of the occurrences unintelligible. The Mizpah of Samuel was in the heart of Benjamin near to Jerusalem, and it would have been impracticable for all Israel to have gathered together on this occasion before the Lord, at such a crisis, in the midst of the people with whom they were about to wage a war of extermination (but see Budde, 'Richter,' in *Kurzer Hdcomm. ad loc.*). The two Mizpahs may have been quite distinct: they were the places of assembly of the people in solemn conclave near a sanctuary or where the tabernacle and ark were, and in this particular case Mizpah would appear to have been some place of assembly between Shiloh and Bethel, probably close to Shiloh, where the tabernacle was. This is accentuated by the statement (20^{3}) that the children of Benjamin heard that the children of Israel had gone up to Mizpah: suggesting certainly that Mizpah was outside the boundaries of Benjamin.

3. The Mizpeh (Jos 18^{26}), elsewhere the Mizpah.—Mizpah of Benjamin is first (?) mentioned in the early days of Samuel (1 S 7^{5}). At this time Shiloh had fallen from its position as the sanctuary of J″ (1 S 4^{4}, Jer 7^{12} 26^{9}) on account of the wickedness of Israel, the ark of the covenant had been captured by the Philistines, had been released by them, and abode in Kiriath-jearim twenty years (1 S 7^{2}), during which time the children of Israel had fallen into idolatry and suffered severely at the hands of the Philistines, and then repented, and at the exhortation of Samuel put away the baals and Ashtaroth, and served the Lord only. Then Samuel with all the authority of judge and prophet gathered all the children of Israel to Mizpah to pray for them unto the Lord, as Joshua had gathered the tribes together to Shechem (Jos 24^{1}).

The question again arises, Where was this Mizpah where the tribes gathered together before the Lord, and drew water and poured it out before the Lord, and fasted and confessed their sins? There is diversity of opinion as to the position of Samuel's residence, Ramah or Ramathaim-zophim (?); but that which lends itself most readily to the account of Samuel's life is a few miles north of Jerusalem, either *Nebī Samīl* or some point on the high ridge north of *Sháfât* (so van de Velde, Dillm., Tristram, G. A. Smith, etc.); and here Samuel built an altar, which may have been in connexion with the tabernacle, and this Mizpah may have been in close proximity to Samuel's residence. If this were so, the position near *Sháfât* is most suitable, as it will be shown that in after-years Mizpah appears to have been located not very far north of Jerusalem and overlooking it.

[*] *e.g.* by Moore (*Judges*, p. 423), Budde (*op. cit. supra*), Buhl (*GAP* 168), and the majority of recent scholars.

We can now follow the changes which, upon the views adopted in this article, took place in the position of the Mizpah. First, it named the spot of the covenant between Jacob and Laban in Gilead; secondly, we find it attached to the place of gathering of the people before the Lord in Shiloh, where the tabernacle was; then again we find the people gathering together before the Lord at the original 'heap of witness' in Gilead in the time of Jephthah; and, lastly, it names the spot where Samuel gathered Israel before the recently-erected tabernacle near Ramah to serve God and resist the Philistines, and subsequently to choose the first king over Israel. Here the tabernacle remained for about fifty-seven years, until the dedication of the temple of Jerusalem; and in process of time the name Mizpah appears to have clung to this spot, for we find that king Asa built Geba and Mizpah (2 Ch 16^6); and it is to be noted that the LXX call it in one case Μασφά and in the other *τὴν σκοπιάν* (1 K 15^{22}). During the days of the temple of Jerusalem the sanctuary at Mizpah would lose prestige; but it must have retained the affection of the people, for during the Captivity, when Jerusalem lay desolate, Mizpah became the seat of government of the ruler of Judæa (Gedaliah) under the king of Babylon, 2 K 25^{23}, Jer $40^{6\text{ff.}}$ 41^1.

At the time of the rebuilding of the temple the district of Mizpah and men of Mizpah are spoken of, and it is alluded to as 'the seat of the governor on this side the river' (Neh 3^7). The account (in Jer 41^8) of the pilgrims who were met by Ishmael out of Mizpah on their way southward from Shechem, Shiloh, and Samaria with offerings to the house of the Lord, shows that Mizpah was on the high road from Shiloh to Jerusalem.

In the time of the Maccabees, Mizpah (Μασσηφά) appears again as a place of solemn conclave, 'where the Israelites assembled themselves together and came to Mizpeh over against Jerusalem, for in Mizpeh was there aforetimes a place of prayer of Israel' (1 Mac 3^{46}). The expression 'over against Jerusalem,' taken in conjunction with the fact stated in Jer 41^5 that Mizpah was on the north road leading from Shiloh to Jerusalem, seems absolutely to fix Mizpah to a spot immediately north of and close to Jerusalem, as will be seen also to have been the view taken by Josephus. For the relation of Mizpah to Nob, and the view held by some that the two places are identical, see art. NOB.

4. 5. The land of Mizpah (אֶרֶץ הַמִּצְפָּה, *τὴν Μασεύμα*, *terra Mispha*, Jos 11^3). The valley of Mizpeh (בִּקְעַת מִצְפֶּה, A *τῶν πεδίων Μασσηφά*, *campus Masphe*), Jos 11^8.—These two places, which, according to Dillm. (*Jos. ad loc.*) and Buhl (*GAP* 240), should perhaps be regarded as one and the same, are mentioned in connexion with the battle which took place at the waters of Merom, when Joshua led Israel against Jabin king of Hazor and the northern tribes. Joshua chased them (Jos 11^8) unto great Zidon, and unto Misrephoth-maim, and unto the valley of Mizpeh eastward. On his return he burnt Hazor, which, though not identified, is generally supposed to have been situated somewhat to the north of the waters of Merom (Lake *Huleh*). Joshua would thus, on going eastward from Zidon, have gone into the valley between the two Lebanons and have arrived at the *buḳa'* or valley (*biḳ'ah*) of Lebanon under Hermon. We read (Jos 11^{17} 12^7), and the Hivite lived under Hermon in the land of Mizpah (Jos 11^3). At the present time the only *biḳ'ah* or *buḳa'* (Arabic) of any extent in the neighbourhood is the great plain between the two Lebanons, reaching from the foot of Hermon to Baalbek. It would therefore appear that, whether these two places are identical or not, they are both near to Hermon. If the land of Mizpah may be taken to be all the country around Hermon, then the valley (*biḳ'ah*) of Mizpeh may be the southern portion of the valley of the Lebanon. For other conjectures see Dillm., *Jos. ad loc.*

6. Mizpeh (הַמִּצְפֶּה, *Μασφά*, *Mispha*), a city of Judah (Jos 15^{38}) in the Shephēlah or lowlands, in a group of sixteen, some of which have been identified both in the north and south of the Shephēlah. It is given together with Dilean and Joktheel, neither of which has been identified; and there is no clue to its position, and no account is given. *Tell es-Sâfieh*, the *Blanche Guarde* or *Alba Specula* of the Middle Ages, has a name equivalent to Scopos or Mizpeh, but it has been suggested that this is Gath (so G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 227). Robinson (*BRP* ii. 31) suggests that the valley of Zephathah, 2 Ch 14^{10} (same root as Mizpeh), may have been near *Tell es-Sâfieh*.

7. Mizpeh Moab (מִצְפֵּה מוֹאָב, Μασσηφὰ τῆς Μωάβ, *Maspha quæ est Moab*) is mentioned only once (1 S 22^3), as the place where the king of Moab was staying when David consigned his parents to his care. At this time the territories of Moab did not extend north of the river Arnon, the whole of the old Moabite country beyond having been allotted to Reuben. As Mizpeh means a lofty place where one can see far and wide (Gesenius, *Lex.*), the only suitable position in Moab appears to be the fortress of Moab (Kir of Moab), which commands the passes going down to the Dead Sea (Luhith and Horonaim). David probably brought his parents from Adullam down by the pass of Ziz to En-gedi, and thence round by the southern end of the Dead Sea up the pass of Horonaim to Kir of Moab (now Kerak). There can, however, in the absence of further information, be no certain clue to the situation of Mizpeh Moab.

LITERATURE.—*BRP* i. ii.; Stanley, *S. and P.*; *SWP* ii.; *PEFSt*, 1875-1877; Schwarz; Lightfoot, *Syrian Stone Lore*; Conder, *Heth and Moab*, 175; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 120, 586, 589; Buhl, *GAP* (Index); Poels, *Hist. du sanctuaire de l'Arche*, 1897; the Commentaries of Dillm. on *Genesis* and *Josua*, of Moore and Budde on *Judges*, and of H. P. Smith on *Samuel*, *ad ll.citt.*

C. WARREN.

MIZPEH.—See preceding article.

MIZRAIM.—See EGYPT in vol. i. pp. 653ᵃ, 655ᵇ.

MIZZAH (מִזָּה).—A 'duke' of Edom, descended from Esau and Basemath the daughter of Ishmael, Gn $36^{13.\ 17}$ (A Μοζέ) = 1 Ch 1^{37} (B 'Ομοζέ, A Μοχέ). The clan of which he is the eponym has not been identified.

MNASON (Μνάσων [? Cypr. spelling of Attic Μνήσων—Blass]; ℵ 'Ιάσων), of Cyprus, with whom St. Paul and his companions lodged on the occasion of the apostle's last visit to Jerusalem (Ac 21^{16}). He is described as an 'early' (ἀρχαῖος) disciple, by which we may perhaps understand one who had been a disciple from the time of Pentecost (cf. ἐν ἀρχῇ, 11^{15}). Nothing further is known of him, though from his Greek name he was probably, if not a Gentile Christian, at any rate an Hellenist, with whom it would be natural and prudent for St. Paul to lodge, looking to the feelings which existed among the Jewish Christians against him (vv.$^{20.\ 21}$, and see Meyer). For an interesting address on Mnason, in which the utmost is made of these scanty notices, see M'Laren, *Week-Day Addresses*.

G. MILLIGAN.

MOAB, MOABITES (in MT 'Moab' is מוֹאָב; on Moabite Stone מאב; LXX Μωάβ, ἡ Μωαβεῖτις, -βῖτις; Josephus, Μώαβος; Vulg. *Moab*; 'Moabite(s)' is

בְּנֵי מוֹאָב, מֹאָבִי, מוֹאָבִי; LXX Μωαβείτης, -βίτης; Vulg. *Moabita*; Assyr. *Ma'aba, Ma'bu, Mu'âba*).—

i. The Name.
ii. The Territory.
iii. The Language.
  (*A*) Proper Names.
  (*B*) The Moabite Stone. (*a*) Notes on the Text; (*b*) Translation; (*c*) Notes on the Translation; (*d*) Features in which the language of the Moabite Stone differs from the Hebrew of OT.
iv. The Religion.
v. People and History.
Literature.

i. NAME.—The MT gives no etymology, but in Gn 19^{37} (J) LXX adds after 'she called his name Moab,' λέγουσα, Ἐκ τοῦ πατρός μου, *i.e.* מֵאָבִי 'from my father.' The presence of an etymology of Ammon in the following verse favours the LXX text, which is adopted by Jos. *Ant.* I. xi. 5, Jerome, de Wette, and Ball, *SBOT*. Other etymologies suggested are מֵי אָב=מוֹ אָב 'seed of a father' (Ges. *Thes.*; Fuerst, *HWB*); or from יאב 'to wish for' (Maurer, *Cursus*, p. 130), referring to the attractive character of the land. The last is the only one that is possible, and it is scarcely probable. 'Moab' serves indifferently as the name of the land or the people, the Moabites occupying Moab throughout the whole period during which they are known to history. Probably 'Moab' was first the name of the land and then of the people.

ii. TERRITORY.—'Moab' was the high tableland east of the Dead Sea and the southernmost section of the Jordan. Its western frontier is clearly defined by these natural boundaries: to the south lay Edom and the desert; to the east, Ammon and the desert; to the north, before the conquest by the Israelites, probably Ammon, after the conquest Israel. Towards the desert there could be no clearly-defined boundary, and the frontiers between Moab, Edom, Ammon, and Israel shifted with the balance of power; but, roughly speaking, the territory inhabited by Moabites, and forming the Moabite state when not encroached upon by foreign aggression, was the cultivated plateau (specially known as *ham-Mîshôr*, 'the Level' or 'Plateau,' *HGHL* 53; or *Mîshôr* of Medeba, Jos 13$^{9.16}$; or *Sharon*, 1 Ch 5^{16}, *HGHL* 548) from the southern end of the Dead Sea to a line some miles beyond its northern extremity. Kir of Moab is nearly as far south as the southern end, and Heshbon and Jazer (wh. see) are some distance beyond the northern end of the Dead Sea. This plateau is divided by the deep chasm of the Arnon. The northern part of this territory is claimed by some documents for Reuben or Gad, and was at times under the dominion of Israel (cf. below, *History*). The extreme area of Moab might be reckoned at 50 miles long by 30 broad, 1500 sq. miles, about as large as Hampshire, but the cultivated plateau is only about 10 or 12 miles broad.

Conder (*Heth and Moab*, p. 124) describes Moab as 'a plateau about 3000 feet above the Mediterranean level, or 4300 feet above the Dead Sea. The western slopes are generally steep. The lower formation is the Nubian sandstone . . . above this a dolomitic limestone, with bold precipices in some places, forms the upper part of the hills, and is capped by a soft marl full of flints . . . the general aspect of the Moabite mountains rising to the plateau is barren in the extreme. The sandstone varies from purple to a light tawny colour, and the ridges are divided by deep narrow ravines. . . . In spring the rounded, shapeless hills are covered with grass and wild flowers, and parts of the plateau are now sown with corn; but the number of trees in Moab might be counted with the fingers of one hand. . . . Moab is a land of streams.' According to *HGHL* (p. 535) the plateau is broken by 'deep, wide, warm valleys,' with springs and brooks; and 'eastward the plateau is separated from the desert by low rolling hills.' Conder states that gazelles, wild oxen, wolves, jackals, hyænas, vultures, and eagles are found on the plateau. But the appearance of the country to-day must be very different from that which it presented when it was the seat of a powerful and prosperous state. The prophets dwell upon the 'cities of Moab'; and in their days this land of streams was carefully cultivated, dotted here and there with fortified towns and villages. Its roads and ruins still witness to ancient fertility and populousness. Although the existing remains are largely Greek and Roman, they show the former capabilities of the country, and fairly represent the prosperity of Moab in OT times.

The population must have been considerable. Conder estimates the present population of the *Belka*, of which Moab is a part, at about 19,000. Hampshire in 1891 had 666,250 inhabitants. Perhaps 500,000 would be the highest possible estimate of the population of Moab in its most flourishing days. One remarkable feature of the country is its great wealth of cairns, stone-circles, dolmens, and menhirs. Conder states that 700 of these rude stone monuments were found by the *Palestine Exploration Fund* surveyors in 1881: he is doubtful whether as many similar monuments exist in all the rest of Palestine.

In addition to the plateau itself, Moab comprised the southern corner of the eastern part of the Arabah or valley of the Jordan, the *'arbôth Môab*, the low hills skirting the plateau east and south, and pasture land beyond these hills out into the deserts. The climate, natural products, etc., are those of Eastern Palestine, in which part of Moab is usually included.

The following cities, etc., are mentioned as at one time or another Moabite; the names in italics are probably variants of those in ordinary type, which respectively precede them; they are sometimes placed slightly out of alphabetical order to show the connexion. Names in capitals are found only on the Moabite Stone. For details see the separate articles on these names.

Ar-of-Moab, Arnon, Aroer, Ataroth, Bayith, Beer-elim, Beser, Beth-bamoth, *Bamoth*, *Bamoth-baal*, Beth-baal-meon, *Beth-meon*, Beth-diblathaim, Beth-gamul, Beth-jeshimoth, Beth-peor, Bozrah, Dibon, *Dimon*, Eglaim, Eglath-shelishiyah, Elealeh, Heshbon, Holon, Horonaim, Jabaz, *Jahzah*, Jazer, Kerioth, Kir-of-Moab, Kir-heres, *Kir-hareseth*, Kiriathaim, Kiriath-huzoth, KRḤH (? Ḳorḥah), Luhith, Madmen, Medeba, Mephaath, Misgab, MḤRT (? Moharath), Nebo, Nimrim (waters of), *Nimrah*, Nophah, *Nobah* (?), Peor, Pisgah, Sela, Sibmah, ŠRN (? Sharon), Zoar, Zophim.

iii. LANGUAGE (Proper Names and Moabite Stone).—Our knowledge of the language is derived from the Moabite proper names in OT, etc., and from the Moabite Stone. Both show that Moabite is 'simply a dialect of Heb.' (Stade, i. 113). Where it differs from biblical Hebrew it agrees either with Phœnician or Canaanite, which is also very closely allied with Hebrew; or with Arabic, the language of the eastern neighbours of Moab. According to Hommel (*AHT* 275), the spelling on the Stone has a strong affinity with that of the Minæan inscriptions; *e.g.* the Moabite *Mehdeba'*, *Neboh*, are more akin to Minæan than to Heb., which writes *Mêdebâ*, *Nebô*.

The close connexion with Heb. is shown by the following resemblances—the details of differences are given below. The forms of almost all the proper names are consistent with their being of Hebrew origin. This might be partly accounted for by the fact that, for the most part, they are known to us only from Heb. sources. But the Stone is undoubtedly a Moabite document, and almost all its words, inflexions, and idioms occur in OT. For instance, it has two characteristic Heb. idioms—

1 אנך · משע · בן · כמש * * * · מלך · מאב · הד
2 יבני | אבי · מלך · על · מאב · שלשן · שת · ואנך · מלכ
3 תי · אחר · אבי | ואעש · הבמת · זאת · לכמש · בקרחה | במ * ·
4 שע · כי · השעני · מכל · ה*לכן · וכי · הראני · בכל · שנאי | עמר
5 י · מלך · ישראל · ויענו · את · מאב · ימן · רבן · כי · * אנף · כמש · באר
6 צה | ויחלפה · בנה · ויאמר · גם · הא · אענו · את · מאב | בימי · אמר · * * * *
7 וארא · בה · ובבתה | וישראל · אבד · אבד · עלם · וירש · עמרי · את * * * *
8 * · מהדבא | וישב · בה · ימ* · וחצי · ימי · בנה · ארבען · שת · * * *
9 בה · כמש · בימי | ואבן · את · בעלמען · ואעש · בה · האשוח · וא * *
10 את · קריתן | ואש · גד · ישב · בארץ · * * *ת · מעלם · ויבן · לה · מלך · *
11 שראל · את · עטרת | ואלתחם · בקר · ואחזה | ואהרג · את · כל · ה * * *
12 הקר · רית · לכמש · ולמאב | ואשב · משם · את · אראל · דודה · וא *
13 חבה · לפני · כמש · בקרית | ואשב · בה · את · אש · שרן · ואת · א * * *
14 מחרת | ויאמר · לי · כמש · לך · אחז · את · נבה · על · ישראל | ו *
15 הלך · בללה · ואלתחם · בה · מבקע · השחרת · עד · הצהרם | וא *
16 זה · ואהרג · כל * · שבעת · אלף * * * * * * * * * * | וגברת · ו * *
17 ת · ורחמת | כי · לעשתר · כמש · החרמתה | ואקח · משם · א * *
18 לי · יהוה · ואסחב*הם · לפני · כמש | ומלך · ישראל · בנה * *
19 יהץ · וישב · בה · בהלתחמה · בי | ויגרשה · כמש · מפנ * *
20 אקח · ממאב · מאתן · אש · כל · רשה | ואשאה · ביהץ · ואחזה ·
21 לספת · על · דיבן | אנך · בנתי · קרחה · חמת · היערן · וחמת
22 העפל | ואנך · בנתי · שעריה · ואנך · בנתי · מגדלתה | וא
23 נך · בנתי · בת · מלך · ואנך · עשתי · כלאי · האש* ין · בקר *
24 הקר | ובר · אן · בקרב · הקר · בקרחה · ואמר · לכל · העם · עשו · *
25 כם · אש · בר · בביתה | ואנך · כרתי · המכרתת · לקרחה · באסר
26 * * * ישראל | אנך · בנתי · ערער · ואנך · עשתי · המסלת · בארנ * *
27 אנך · בנתי · בת · במת · כי · הרס · הא | אנך · בנתי · בצר · כי · ע * *
28 ש · דיבן · חמשן · כי · כל · דיבן · משמעת | ואנך · מל *
29 * * מאת · בקרן · אשר · יספתי · על · הארץ | ואנך · בנ *
30 י · * *ד א · ובת · דבלתן | ובת · בעלמען · ואשא · שם · את · * * *
31 צאן · הארץ | וחורנן · ישב · בה · ב* * * וד * * א * *
32 אמר · לי · כמש · רד · הלתחם · בחורנן | ואר * * *
33 * * בה · כמש · בימי · ועל * * * משם · עש |
34 *ת · שדק | ואנ

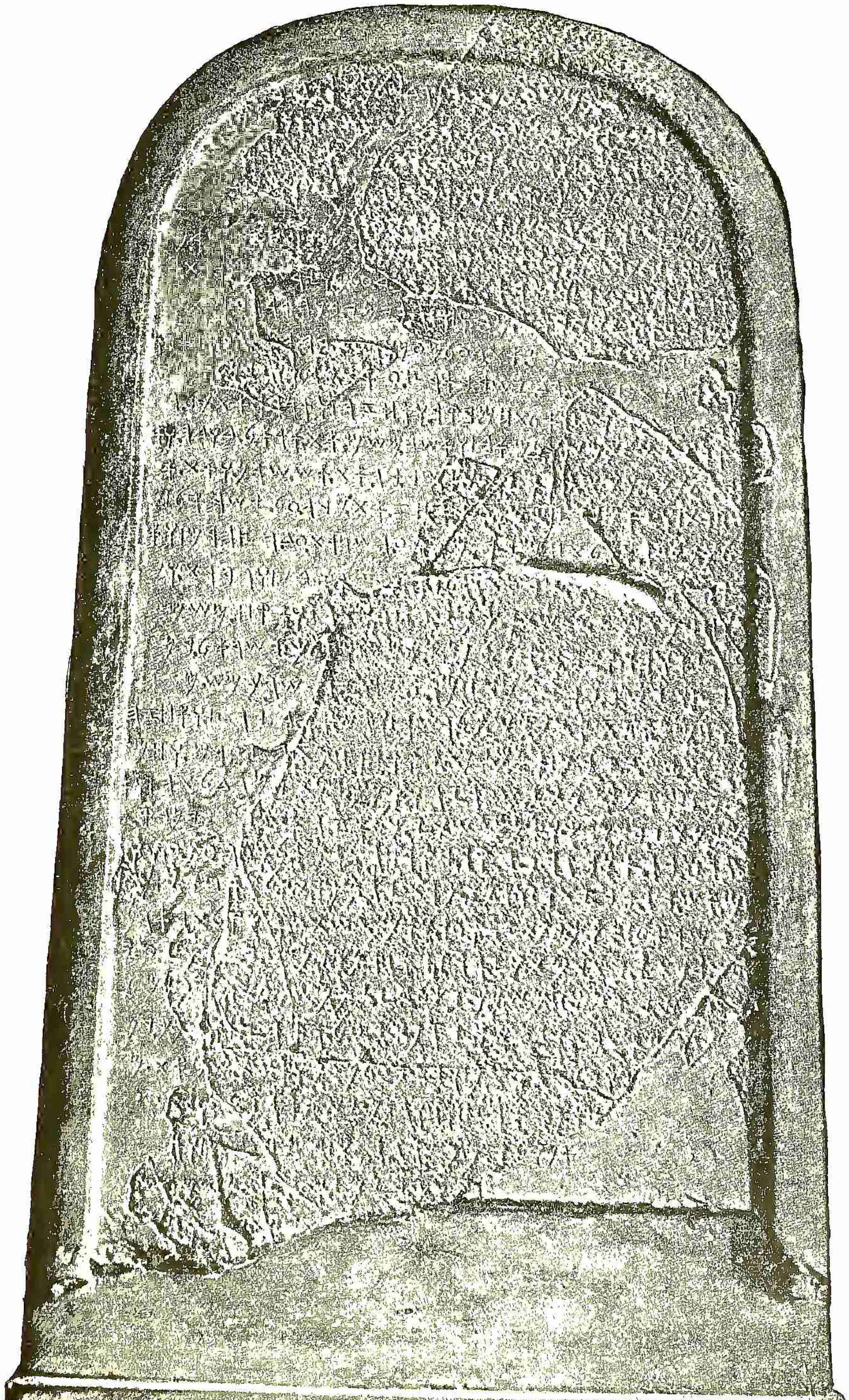

THE MOABITE STONE.

the *waw consecutive* with Impf., only certainly elsewhere in Phœnician (*Ges.-Kautzsch*, Eng. tr., 136 n.; cf. König, *Syntax*, 510 f.); and the use of the Inf. Abs. to emphasize a finite tense (אבר אבר in l. 7),—not, however, peculiar to Hebrew. The characters on the Stone are very similar to those of the Siloam inscription.

(*A*) *Proper Names.*—In addition to the names of cities given at the end of the section on *Territory*, the following proper names are found in OT and Moabite Stone (the latter in italics). (1) *PERSONS:*—Balak, *Chemosh-melek* or *Chemosh-gad*, Eglon, Ithmah, Mesha, Orpah, Ruth, Sanballat (?), Shomer or Shimrith, Siḥon (?), Zippor; also in inscriptions (see *History*), Kammusu (Chemosh)-nadab, Kmshyḥy (Chemoshyehi = 'Chemosh gives life,' Baethgen, p. 13), Mutsuri, Salmanu. (2) *DEITIES:*—Chemosh, *Ashtar-Chemosh.* (3) the *RIVER* Arnon.

(*B*) *Moabite Stone.*—This Stone was a monument erected by Mesha king of Moab, *c.* 850, to commemorate his victories over Israel. In 1868 a Prussian traveller, the Rev. F. A. Klein, discovered the upper portion of it, about 3½ ft. high, by 2 ft. broad and 2 ft. thick, with rounded top, amongst the ruins of Dibon (*Dibân*). In 1869 a rough squeeze was taken by an Arab for M. Clermont-Ganneau. There is also a copy of ll. 13-20 made for him by another Arab. Then the Stone was broken up by the Arabs in the hope of making more profit out of the fragments. Two large fragments and 18 small ones were recovered. From these, with the addition of reconstructions from the squeeze of the missing portions, a restoration of the Stone has been made, and placed in the Jewish Court of the Louvre at Paris. There is a facsimile of this restored Stone in the British Museum. The text is printed on p. 404.

Moabite Alphabet—

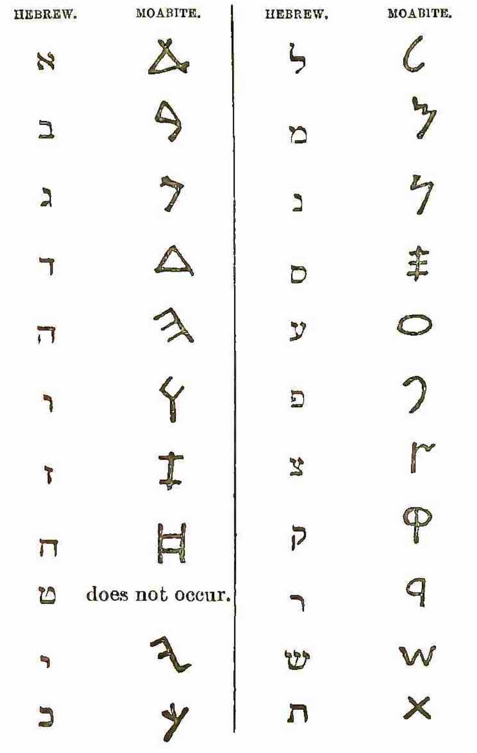
HEBREW.
MOABITE.
HEBREW.
MOABITE.
א
ב
ג
ד
ה
ו
ז
ח
ט does not occur.
י
כ
ל
מ
נ
ס
ע
פ
צ
ק
ר
ש
ת

(*a*) *Notes on the Text.*—The following abbreviations are used in what follows:—

Cl = Clermont-Ganneau, *La Stèle de Mésa*, 1887 (a review of *SS*).
G = Ginsburg, *Moabite Stone*, 1871.
L = Lidzbarski, *Nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, 1898, p. 415, etc.
N = Nordländer, *Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa von Moab*, 1896, apud *SH*, only referred to when differing from *SS*.
SH = Socin (with Holzinger), *Zur Mesainschrift, Berichte der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1897, only referred to when differing from *SS*.
SS = Smend and Socin, *Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa von Moab*, 1886.

The differences of opinion given here relate to what and how much can be actually seen on the fragments, squeeze, etc., of the Stone. Conjectures as to letters entirely missing or quite illegible will be referred to under the translation. Dots over letters signify that, in the opinion of the authority quoted, they are indistinct. As *G* had not access to the squeeze or any reproduction of it, *G* cannot be cited for its readings.

1. After כמש—*SS*, מלך; *Cl*, *G*, נד; *Cl* suggests as alternatives שלך or שלם from Phœnician parallels; *L*, מלך.

3. After במ—*SS*, מ · שע; *Cl*, nothing distinct; *L*, מ · שע.

4. In לבן * ה—*SS*, מ; *Cl*, *G*, *N*, ש; *L*, מ.

5. In אנך*—*SS*, *L*, י; *Cl*, *G*, ת; *N*, נ.

6. After אמר—*SS*, ברבר; *Cl*, only part of a ב visible; *L*, ברבר.

7. After את—*SS*, כלאר; *Cl*, *G*, only אר; *L*, בל א[ר].

8. At the beginning—*SS*, *Cl*, *G*, *L*, ץ.

In *ימ—*SS*, *G*, *L*, ה; *Cl*, ד or ר, possibly *ימ should be joined with חצי, and the combination read as a proper name.

After · שת—*SS*, *L*, ויש.

9. After ויא—*SS*, בן; *Cl*, nothing distinct; *L*, *N*, *SH*, בן.

10. In ת * * *—*SS*, *L*, עטר; *Cl*, nothing distinct.

After · מלך—*SS*, י; *Cl*, not visible; *L*, *N*, *SH*, י.

11. In * * * ה—*SS*, עם · מ; *Cl*, not visible; *L*, *SH*, עם · מ.

12. In * וא—*SS*, *L*, ס; *Cl*, not distinct.

13. In * * * א—*SS*, נשי; *Cl*, *N*, nothing distinct; *L*, [?י] גש.

14. In * ו—*SS*, *L*, א; *Cl*, *N*, not visible.

15. In * וא—*SS*, *Cl*, *L*, ח.

16. In * בל—*SS*, ם; *Cl*, ה; *G*, ה; *L*, ם; *N*, nothing distinct.

After אלף—*SS*, ומבנן · מנברן · [אלף]; *Cl*, נברן ן[אלפ], nothing else distinct, nothing on squeeze where *SS*, see the ן after ומבנ, neither can there be a מ in this word; *G*, ן[אלפ]; *L*, ן * * ו · נברן ן[אלפ].

In * * ו—*SS*, בנ; *Cl*, *L*, nothing distinct.

17. In * * א—*SS*, רא; *Cl*, nothing distinct; *L*, ר[א].

18. In ואסחב* הם—*SS*, י; *Cl*, *G*, *L*, *N*, *H* (in *SH*) only a dot. Note size of Moabite *yod*.

After בנה—*SS*, *L*, את.

19. After * * מפנ—*SS*, י ו; *Cl*, nothing distinct; *L*, י ו *N*, ? י.

23. In * האש—*SS*, ו; *Cl*, not distinct; *L*, ו.

In * בקר—*SS*, ב; *Cl*, *L*, *N*, *SH*, ב.

24. In * · עשו—*SS*, *L*, ל; *Cl*, only visible with the eyes of faith. *G* does not give ל in facsimile, but prints it in Heb. Text, without any indication that it is restored and not read.

26. At the beginning—*SS*, מ · ן; *Cl*, neither visible nor consistent with the amount of space or the traces visible; *L*, *; *N*, י.

In * * בארנ—*SS*, *L*, ו ן; *Cl*, ו ן; *G*, ן.

27. In * * ע—*SS*, *L*, ין; *Cl*, nothing distinct; *G*, z in facsimile, צ in Heb. Text.

28. In * מל—*SS*, *L*, ב; *Cl*, *N*, not visible.

29. At beginning—*SS*, חי; *Cl*, חי; *L*, * ח.

In * בנ—*SS*, *L*, ח.

30. At beginning—*SS*, א . . . מהר · י ; *L*, א [ב]ר[מה] · י.

At end—*SS*, *L*, נקר ; *Cl*, *H* (in *SH*), ... נ ; *G*, מ.

31. After בה—*SS*, בן · דדן · ודדן · אמר ; *Cl*, אנך ? ור ? * ? ? * ב ; *L*, ב * * בנ · ; וך * * אמר ; *N*, בני · חור[י].

32. In * * * ואר—*SS*, ר · ואלת ; *Cl*, not visible, and too much for the available space ; *L*, * * ר · י.

33. In בה * *—*SS*, ש׳ apparently by some misunderstanding, as, according to *Cl*, no portion of either fragment or squeeze exists before the ב ; *L*, * *.

In * * * ועל—*SS*, ארה ; *Cl*, [ת]׳ ; *L*, רה *.

34. In ת *; *SS*, *Cl*, ש ; *SS* suggest tbat possibly מ may be represented and not ש ; they discover before this letter traces of a י ; Socin thinks that the letter in שרק read as ר may be ב ; *G*, ש ; *L*, *.

(*b*) *Translation.*

Words in ( ) represent Moabite words, some or all the letters of which are not clear enough to make it certain what they are. Words in [ ] represent conjectural restorations where the text has entirely, or almost entirely, disappeared. Words in [( )] represent conjectural restorations of words, in which one or more, but not all the letters, can be distinctly read. OT names are given in AV spelling ; in other cases the consonants are given, without supplying vowels. Words required by English idiom but not by Hebrew are in italics. Symbols as in Notes on Text. In some cases the Hebrew order has been preserved, and the English order is shown by subscript numerals.

1. I *am* Mesha, son of Chemosh (-melech, *SS*, *L*, *or* -gad, *Cl*, *G*), king of Moab, the D-

2. ibonite | My father was king over Moab thirty years and I became ki-

3. ng after my father | And I made this high-place of Chemosh in ḲRḤH | *as a token of gratitude* for (the deliverance *wrought* for M-, *SS*, *L*)[a]

4. esha, because He saved me from all the (king, *SS*, *L*, or 'despoiler,' *Cl*, *G*) s, and because He caused me to see *my desire* upon all that hated me—Omr-

5. i, king of Israel, and[b] he oppressed Moab many days, because Chemosh (was) angry with lan—$_2$

6. d$_3$ his$_1$ | And his son succeeded him, and he also said, I will oppress Moab | In my days, he spoke (thus, *SS*, *L*) [Let us go, *G*]

7. But I saw *my desire* upon him and upon his house, and Israel perished for ever[c]. Now Omri annexed (all the lan-

8. d) of Medeba, and *Israel* occupied it, his days and half his son's days, forty years, and (resto-$_2$

9. red)$_3$ it$_4$ Chemosh$_1$ in my days | And I built[d] Baal-meon, and I made in it the 'ShWḤ[e], and I (built)

10. Kirjathaim[f] | And the men of Gad occupied the land of (Ataro)th from of old, and built$_6$ for$_7$ himself$_8$ the$_1$ king$_2$ of$_3$ (I-)$_4$

11. srael$_5$ Ataroth | And I fought against the town[g] and took it | and put to death all the (people of, *SS*, *L*)

12. the town, a *pleasing* spectacle for Chemosh and for Moab | and I removed thence 'R'L[h] of DWDH[i], and I

13. [?][j] it, before Chemosh in Kerioth | and I settled in it—*Ataroth*—the men of ShRN, and the (men of)

14. MḤRTh | And Chemosh said to me, Take Nebo[k] against Israel | and I (w-)

15. ent by night, and fought against it from break of dawn till noon | and I (t-)

16. ook it, and put them[l] all to death, seven thousand (men, *SS*, *Cl*, *G*, *L*) (and boys, *SS* ;...... *Cl* ; and......s, *L*) | and women, and (girl, *SS*,...... *Cl*, *L*)

17. s and female slaves[m] | for I had made it taboo[n] to 'ShTR[o] Chemosh | and I took thence (?

18. ?)[p] s of YHWH and I (?)[q] them before Chemosh | And the king of Israel built ([r])

19. Jahaz, and occupied it while he fought against me | And Chemosh drove him out before (me and, *SS*, *L*)

20. I took from Moab two hundred men, of all its clans[s], and led them[t] against Jahaz, and took it

21. to add *it* to Dibon | I built QRḤH, the walls of the forests[u], and the walls of

22. the 'PhL[v] | And I built its gates, and I built its towers | And I[w]

23. built the house of *the* king,[x] and I made sluices[y] [(for the reservoirs for the water, *SS*)] in the (midst) of

24. the city | And there was no cistern in the midst of the city in ḲRḤH, and I said to all the people, Make (for)

25. you, each *of you*, a cistern in his house | And I hewed the MKhRThTh[z] for ḲRḤH by means of the prisoners

26. *taken from* Israel | I built Aroer, and I made the road by the Arnon, (and, *SS*, *L*, *Cl*)

27. I built Beth-bamoth, for it had been destroyed | I built Bezer, for (it was in ruins),[aa]

28. ....[bb] (men) of Dibon, fifty, for all Dibon was loyal | And I (reign-

29. ed)......... a hundred in the cities[cc] which I added to the land | And I bui(lt)

30. [(Medeba)] and Beth-diblathaim | And *as for*[dd] Beth-baal-meon, there I placed (flocks)[ee]

31. .... sheep of the land | and Horonaim, wherein dwelt (the Son of Dedan, and Dedan said, *SS*).[ff]

32. .... Chemosh said to me, Go down, fight against Horonaim, and I went (down and[gg])......

33. .... ? Chemosh in my days and ? ......[hh] from thence ? | ......

34. .... ? ?—and (I)............

(*c*) *Notes on Translation.*

3. *a*. The Moabite of 'the deliverance *wrought* for Mesha' is MSh' MSh'.

5. *b*. More idiomatically, 'Omri, king of Israel, who oppressed' ; cf. Ges.-Kautzsch, Eng. tr. p. 341 n.

7. *c*. So *SS*, Nöldeke (1870).

G, 'In my days' he [the king of Israel] said, '(*Let us go*) and I will see my desire on him and his house' ; and Israel said, 'I shall destroy it for ever.'

9. *d*. *i.e.* 'extended and fortified.'

9. *e*. 'ShWḤ only occurs here and perhaps line 23, which, with 24 f., deals with the water supply of ḲRḤH ; perhaps= reservoir ; *SS*, 'Teich.'

10. *f*. *Kirjathaim* and *Diblathaim*, 30 end in *N* in the Moabite text.

11. *g*. 'town,' *SS*. 'Wall,' *G*, Nöldeke.

12. *h*. 'R'L, perhaps also in 17 f., probably=Heb. אֲרִאֵיל Is 29¹ (AV, *Ariel*) *Kethibh* of Ezk 43¹⁵·¹⁶, *Ḳerê* אֲרִיאֵל, not found elsewhere, usually rendered 'altar-hearth' (*Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*).

12. *i*. DWDH, apparently the name of a deity worshipped by the Israelites of Ataroth ; not mentioned elsewhere, unless the same as the sun-god *Dodo* ; cf. the proper name *Dudu* in the Amarna tablets. All these names, as well as *David*='Beloved.' It is curious that, of the three or four places in which 'R'L occurs, it is connected with the City of David in Is 29¹ and with DWDH here. Cf. ARIEL and DAVID.

12 f. *j*. Read ואסחבה ; cf. l. 18. In 2 S 17¹³ סחב='drag,' so here *SS*, *L*, 'schleppen' ; in Jer 15³='tear,' so here Neubauer. *G* translates 'offered.'

14. *k*. *Nebo*, spelt NBH.

16. *l*. The sense is the same, whether we read כלם 'all of them,' or כלה, *lit.* 'all of it.'

17. *m*. *female slaves*, רחמת, so *SS*, *L* ; cf. Jg 5³⁰ רַחַם רַחֲמָתַיִם 'a damsel, two damsels.'

17. *n*. *made it taboo*, החרמתה, חרם='devote' to a deity, usually by slaying men or animals ; cf. Jos 6¹⁷.

17. *o*. 'ShTR=Babylonian *Ishtar* ; cf. on Religion.

17 f. *p*. How much is visible is doubtful, but we may restore 'R'LY ; cf. *h*, 'altar-hearths of.'

18. *q.* 'dragged' or 'tore'; cf. *j*.
18. *r. built*; cf. *d*.
20. *s. its clans*, רשה.

Either רש is for ראש *head*, so *L*, which may be interpreted 'chiefs,' Nöldeke, *i.e.* *SS*, chiefs and their followers, 'clans'; cf. רוֹשׁ for רֹאשׁ *poppy*, Dt 32^{32}.

Or for רָשׁ *poor*, Ps 82^{3}, also written רָאשׁ Pr 10^{4}, so *G*.

20. *t. led*, lit. *carried*.

21. *u. walls of the forests*, perhaps enclosing wooded hills, or gardens; or the walls on the side towards the forests.

22. *v.* 'PhL=Heb. עֹפֶל either *hill*, *SS*, *L*, RV of Is 32^{14}, 2 K 5^{24}, or *citadel*, Neubauer, in Neh 3$^{26f.}$=a quarter of Jerusalem.

22. *w.* '*I*.' The letters of this word are partly in 23.

23. *x.* Neubauer, 'house of Moloch.' *y. sluices*, כלא׳, so *SS* (?), *L* (?), a sense suggested by the use of כלא in Heb. for 'shut in'; or *L* (?), Driver, construct of כִּלְאַיִם 'both'; *G*, 'prisons,' from Heb. בֵּית כֶּלֶא='prison.'

25. *z. I hewed* (KRTY) *the* MKhRThTh, *i.e.* a 'cutting' of some kind; *SS*, 'ich schnitt ein (?) die Einschnitte (?)'; *L*, 'I hewed timber'; *G*, 'I dug the ditch.'

27. *aa. ruins* reading עין, plural of עי 'heap.'

28. *bb.* The beginning of l. 28 is lost; the ש is probably the lost letter of איש (collective) 'men.'

29. *cc. in the cities*, so *SS*, *L*, Neubauer; but *G*, 'Bikran'; Nöldeke, 'cattle.'

30. *dd. And as for Beth-baal-meon*, so, *SS*, the | is probably equivalent to a stop; moreover, *Beth-baal-meon* is probably the same as *Baal-meon*, which was built in l. 9. But *G* and Neubauer neglect the |, and make *Beth-baal-meon* the last of the list of towns beginning with *Medeba*.

30. *ee.* (*flocks*), so *SS*, *L*, translating the reading נקד, Neubauer 'shepherds,' as Heb. נֹקֵד, 2 K 3^{4}, RV 'sheepmaster,' of Mesha, and Am 1^{1}.

31. *ff.* (*the Son of Dedan*, etc.), so *SS*, translating their reading; the text as seen by *Cl* and *L* is too fragmentary to admit of probable restoration.

32. *gg. and I went* (*down and*), translating *SS*, *L*'s ואדר ו; if with *SS* we further read אלת, we should restore with them אלתחם 'fought,' so Neubauer [and made war].

33. *hh.* The readings of *SS*, עלארה; *L*, על*רה, point to a place-name 'L'DhH ('Eleadeh).

(*d*) *Features in which the language of the Moabite Stone differs from the Hebrew of OT.*

(*a*) אנך 'NK for 'I' without the final י Y of the Heb. אנכי. As elsewhere the Stone always expresses the silent consonant of final vowels, אנך can scarcely be אנכי written defectively. The same form is found in Phœn., *L*, *s.v.*

(*β*) The feminine singular ends in ת instead of ה as in Hebrew.

(*γ*) The plural is formed by *Nun*, as in Aramaic and Arabic, instead of by *Mem*, as in OT Heb. שלשן 2, מלכן 4, ימן 5, רבן 5, ארבען 8. So occasionally in OT.

(*δ*) The form שת 2, 8, ShTh for Heb. שנת 'year,' as in Neopunic inscriptions (*L*, p. 379).

(*ε*) In ויענו 5, 'and he humiliated,' and אענו 6, 'and I humiliated,' the last radical is apparently a Waw with full consonantal force, whereas the corresponding radical in Heb. is a silent He.

(*ζ*) The affix for 'his,' 'him,' is ה. ארצה 6, ויחלפה 6, בנה 6, 8, בה 7, ובבתה 7, ימה 8, etc., as occasionally in Heb., *e.g.* אהלה 'his tent,' Gn 9^{21} (see Ges.-Kautzsch, § 91 *e*).

(*η*) Line 8, מהדבא MHDB', for Heb. מידבא MYDB', Medeba.

(*θ*) The form אלתחם 'fight against,' line 11.

Heb. uses the Niph. (in three cases the Qal) in the sense of 'fight.'

אלתחם, if parsed as Heb., must be taken as Hithpa'el, the ת of the prefix and the first radical ל being transposed, a transposition only occurring in Heb. when the first radical is a sibilant. This transposition, however, regularly occurs for all first radicals in the Arabic 8th conj. *iqtatala*, which is equivalent in sense to the Heb. Hithpa'el. See, further, Driver, *Sam.* xciii.

(*ι*) The inscription belongs to the primitive stage of Hebrew writing, in which doubtless most of the OT books were originally written, in which the *scriptio defectiva* was used, and no distinction was made between *medial* and *final* letters of alphabet. Silent consonants, however, are used for final vowels, אבי 'my father,' l. 2; בה=Heb. בו, etc.; in the affixes, יהם (?), l. 18, יה, l. 22; and in דיבן, ריבני.

(*κ*) The following words, in addition to proper names, do not occur in the OT: אשות, l. 9; ריח, l. 12; מכרת, l. 25 from Heb. √כרת; שרק (?), l. 34.

(*λ*) According to the readings of *SS* in ll. 11, 16, 26, the prefixed preposition מ is used to express the genitive.

iv. RELIGION.—Up to a certain point the Moabite religion was henotheistic, and the relation of Chemosh to Moab was exactly that of J″ to Israel (see CHEMOSH). On the strength of a winged sun-disk on the gem containing the name *Chemoshyehi*, Baethgen regards Chemosh as God of the Sunshine, and a manifestation of Molech. The Greeks identified Chemosh with Ares. Sanctuaries to Baalpeor (wh. see), and possibly Nebo (wh. see), and other gods, neither destroy the parallel with Israel, nor prove that Moab failed to pay a special, unique homage to Chemosh. Even the occurrence on the Stone of a deity Ashtar- (or *Ishtar*-) chemosh would not destroy the parallel with Israel. Ashtar-chemosh (see ASHTORETH in vol. i. p. 171^{a}) is usually distinguished from Chemosh; and probably El Shaddai, El Elyon, Jahweh Ẓeba'oth, are not sufficiently similar compounds to be urged against this view. But if inscriptions of Solomon or Ahab were preserved, they might name other deities beside Jahweh. According to Baethgen, *Ashtar-chemosh* is a name which claims for Chemosh the attributes of Ishtar. Chemosh had his temples, priests, sacrifices, and offerings. The inhabitants of conquered cities were 'devoted' to him, *i.e.* massacred in his honour (Stone, ll. 12, 17). Mesha sacrificed his firstborn to Chemosh, as Ahaz offered his son to Molech.

But there is no extant evidence that any Moabites regarded Chemosh as *the* one God, in a monotheistic sense; or that there was any attempt by priestly legislation to purify the ritual from superstition and immorality; or that there was any ethical or spiritual movement parallel to the ministry of the prophets in Israel.

v. PEOPLE AND HISTORY.—The *patriarchal narratives* in Gn preserve a tradition, which may be unhesitatingly accepted as historical, to the effect that Moab was very closely akin to Israel, and that up to a certain point the history of Israel is also the history of Moab. Moab is the son of Lot and the brother of Ammon, Lot is the nephew of Abraham, and accompanies him in the migration first from Ur and then from Ḥaran. In other words, Lot (*i.e.* Moab with Ammon), Ishmael, the Bnê Keturah and Edom, once formed with Israel that loose confederation of kindred tribes which bore the common name *Hebrews*, and followed Abraham from Mesopotamia into Canaan. According to these narratives, Lot shared for a time the nomad life of the other Hebrews in Western Palestine, but was the first of the allied clans to leave the confederacy. Lot settled in Sodom and Gomorrah, but after the calamity which overwhelmed those cities the Bnê Lot betook themselves to the pasture-lands E. of Jordan, and, as the separate political organizations of Moab and Ammon, occupied the territory in which they remained till they disappeared from history. Thus Moab passed from the nomad stage into that of agriculturists and city-dwellers at a much earlier date than Israel. Possibly the *Khabiri* of the Amarna tablets are the Hebrews at their first entry into Palestine before the confederacy began to break up.

We do not know the exact limits of the territory first occupied by Moab, but it probably stretched northward from the Arnon, along the eastern banks of the Dead Sea and the Jordan. We read in Dt 2^{10} 'the Emim dwelt therein "[in the land of Moab]" aforetime, a people great, and many, and tall, as the Anakim: these also are accounted Rephaim, as the Anakim; but the Moabites call them Emim.' J″ gave this land to Moab as He gave the land of the Horites to Edom. In Gn 14^{5} the Emim are at Kiriathaim, a town north of the Arnon, spoken of later on as Moabite. The statement is quite consistent with the position of ch. 14, as the birth of Moab, *i.e.* its first appearance as a distinct tribe, is not related till 19^{37}. If we could trust the synchronisms with Babylonian and Elamite history based on the names in 14^{1}, the incident happened shortly before the restoration of Babylonian supremacy by Hammurabi, B.C. 2200; and Moab made its appearance somewhat later (*HCM* p. 161 ff.). But the archæological relations of Gn 14 are still quite uncertain (cf. L. W. King, *Letters, etc., of Hammurabi*, Introd.). The antiquarian note, Dt $2^{10ff.}$, is a late addition, and, according to Holzinger on Gn 14^{5} and Steuernagel on Dt 2^{10}, the Emim are purely legendary (cf. EMIM).

The OT says nothing more about Moab till the time of the Exodus. From the Amarna tablets and other Egyptian, Babylonian, and Assyrian monuments we gather that Babylonia and the Hittites exercised great influence in Syria before *c.* B.C. 1400; and that for some time before that date Syria was an Egyptian province, but that, apparently, about 1400, Egyptian authority was breaking down throughout Syria. Moab is not mentioned in the Amarna tablets at present published (Winckler, Petrie). It lay rather out of the way of the main routes between Syria and Egypt and the East, and especially was not on the Egyptian line of march into Palestine. Possibly, therefore, both as to politics and culture, the relations of Moab with the great empires were slight and superficial. On the other hand, Moab commanded the great routes from Western Palestine and Northern Syria into Arabia (*HGHL* 430, 597 ff., 626); and probably during this early period and throughout its history Moab remained in touch with its Arab kinsfolk: thus the Mesha inscription shows traces of the influence of Arabic. Yet there is evidence of the connexion of Moab with Egypt. According to Sayce (*Patr. Pal.* 153), Moab was included in the Canaanite province of Egypt at the time when the Amarna tablets were written; but Edom then encroached on what was afterwards Moabite territory. Ramses II. (*c.* 1300) fought several campaigns to restore the Egyptian dominion in Syria. In the list of his conquests on the base of one of six colossal figures at Luxor there occurs the name *Muab* (*Patr. Pal.* p. 21). *Karhu*, in a similar list at Karnak (*Patr. Pal.* p. 237), is probably the ḲRḤH of the Moabite Stone. Other traces of Egyptian influence E. of Jordan are a monolith near the Lake of Tiberias bearing the cartouche of Ramses II., now known as the Stone of Job (see vol. i. p. 166^{b}); and the delineation of a local deity *Akna-zapu*, 'Yokin of the North,' with the full face and crown of Osiris (Sayce, *Egypt of the Hebrews*, p. 81).

We now come to the biblical accounts of the *Exodus*, which include statements as to the fortunes of Moab in the period immediately preceding the appearance of Israel in Eastern Palestine. According to these, Moab, shortly before the advent of Israel, was deprived of its northern territory, at least, by an Amorite king, Sihon; and though Israel occupied the land of Moab, it was conquered, not from the Moabites, but from Sihon. But the historicity of this account is disputed. We will first give the narrative as it stands, and then the criticism of it.

The original authority for the narrative is the section of E, Nu 21^{21-31} (Wellh. J), which contains the account of the defeat of Sihon, and the conquest of his dominions. $\mathrm{V.}^{26}$, sometimes held to be a later gloss, states that 'Sihon, king of the Amorites, had fought against the former king of Moab, and taken all his land out of his hand, even unto Arnon'; and $\mathrm{vv.}^{27-30}$ give, on the authority of 'them that speak in proverbs,' *i.e.* the composers or reciters of 'taunt songs,' celebrating the discomfiture of Israel's enemies, the following poem, probably taken from the Book of the Wars of J″, quoted in $\mathrm{v.}^{14}$:—

'Come ye to Heshbon,
Let the city of Sihon be built and established;
For a fire is gone out of Heshbon,
A flame from the city of Sihon.
It hath devoured Ar of Moab,
The lords of the high places of Arnon.
Woe to thee, Moab!
Thou art undone, O people of Chemosh.
He hath made his sons fugitives,
And his daughters captives
To Sihon, king of the Amorites.
We have shot at them; Heshbon is perished even unto Dibon,
And we have laid waste even unto Nophah,
Which reacheth unto Medeba.'

According to Dillmann, the speakers are Israelites, who, in celebrating their victory over Sihon, describe his recent conquest of Moab. Unless $\mathrm{v.}^{26}$ is a gloss, Sihon's war against Moab, and Israel's against Sihon, rest on substantially the same authority. The latter is frequently referred to by the Deuteronomic writers; it is also alluded to in P's account of the division of Canaan, Jos $13^{21.\,27}$ (unless these verses are P^{3}), in the late passage Jg 11^{12-28} (R^{JE}, Budde, Moore), in Neh 9^{22}, and in Ps 135^{11} 136^{19}. The poem is quoted in Jer 48^{45} (a late addition, Corn., Giesebr.), but there is no reference to Israel's war with Sihon. Thus the tradition is comparatively early, and was continuously recognized; moreover, the narrative is not intrinsically improbable.

On the other hand, neither J nor P mentions the Sihon episode (unless Jos $13^{21.\,27}$ are rightly assigned to P^{2}), and none of the accounts of Moab's relations with Israel suggest that Israel had avenged Moab by conquering its oppressor. Hence, though the narrative is accepted by Dillmann (on Nu 21), Cornill (*Hist. of the People of Israel*, p. 45), etc., it is regarded as unhistorical by Stade (*Gesch. Isr.* 117 f.), Addis (on Nu 21), etc. According to the latter, the poem refers to the conquest of a *Moabite* king, Sihon, by Israel in the 9th cent. (cf. SIHON).

If we accept E's narrative, we may follow Cornill (*Hist.* p. 45) in reconstructing the history somewhat thus: Sihon expelled the Moabites and Ammonites from the most fertile parts of their territory. The conquered either invited the Israelites, then occupying the country about Kadesh, to come to the rescue, or welcomed them as allies when they appeared on the scene. But, after the Israelites had overthrown Sihon, they kept for themselves the territory he had taken from Moab.

Nu 25^{1-5} (JE), according to which the women of Moab led the Israelites into immorality, and the Israelites worshipped Baal-peor as guests at Moabite sacrificial feasts, is entirely in accordance with E. Similarly Dt 2^{2-25}, in stating that J″ forbade Israel to attack Moab, and that Moab allowed the Israelites to pass through its territory, and furnished them with provisions; and Jg 11^{25} (R^{JE}?), in stating that Balak did not fight against Israel, are following either E, possibly in a fuller form than we have it, or some equivalent account. The futile attempt of Balak to induce Balaam to curse Israel occurred, according to current analysis, both in J and E, and seems also to imply that up to that point no hostilities had taken place between Israel and Moab. Possibly, however, the whole Balaam section belongs to E, with the exception of the episode of the speaking ass, which may be J, but may originally have had nothing to do with Balak or Moab (cf. BALAAM and the analysis in NUMBERS). In P, Nu 31[8], Jos 13[22], Balaam is connected with Midian, and P may have followed a lost section of J.

On the other hand, there is a series of passages which suggest hostile relations between Moab and Israel at this time. Ex 15[15] (JE), the Song of Triumph after crossing the Red Sea, speaks of the dismay of the Moabites at that event. Dt 23[3] states that Moab did *not* furnish Israel with provisions; it does not mention any war between them; and, according to Jg 11[17] (R^{JE}?), the Israelites were refused permission to pass through Moab. But, curiously enough, it is in Jos 24[9], the E-speech, that we find the explicit statement, 'Balak ben Zippor, king of Moab, arose and fought against Israel; and he sent and called Balaam ben Beor to curse you.' Perhaps at an earlier stage of the Wanderings, before Sihon attacked Moab, the Moabites feared Israel, and refused to admit them into Moab; after the conquests of Sihon, Moab was glad to obtain the help of Israel, but again became hostile when Israel refused to restore to Moab its former territory.

Whether Israel took the land north of Arnon from Sihon or from Moab, it was always debatable ground, and stimulated and aggravated the quarrels that naturally arose between neighbours. The northern frontier of Moab retired or advanced as the power of Israel waxed or waned. The most important incident narrated as to the relations of Israel and Moab, in the period of the *Judges*, is the occupation of Jericho by the Moabites, the assassination of their king, Eglon, by the Benjamite Ehud, and the consequent slaughter of the Moabites and the recovery of the territory of Jericho for Israel, Jg 3[12-30] (J?, in Dt setting). The occupation of Jericho implies that Moab had reconquered the country north of the Arnon, as far as opposite Jericho (cf. EHUD, EGLON). LXX (not all MSS) and Syr. insert Moab in the post-exilic (Budde, Moore) list of the oppressors from whom Jephthah delivered Israel. The conjecture, though late, was natural, and probably correct. Moab would take advantage of so good an opportunity, and was always closely connected with Ammon. The author of Jg 11[12-28] was certainly under the impression that Moab was concerned in the controversy. The Book of Ruth assigns its story to the period of the Judges, and illustrates the friendly relationships which sometimes existed between the neighbouring peoples. Perhaps the obscure verse 1 Ch 4[22] (a late addition, Kittel, *SBOT*) is intended to refer to this period. The Heb. includes in the list of Judahites 'and Jokim, and the men of Cozeba, and Joash, and Saraph, who had dominion in Moab, and Jashubi-lehem'; LXX and Vulg., followed by Kittel, read for 'Jashubi,' 'and they returned,' *i.e.* probably to Bethlehem when unable to retain power in Moab. Vulg. has the remarkable translation, 'Et qui stare fecit solem, virique mendacii, et Securus, et Incendens, qui principes fuerunt in Moab, et qui reversi sunt in Lahem; hæc autem verba vetera,' apparently on the lines of ancient Jewish exegesis, which sees here a reference to Elimelech, Mahlon, and Chilion of the Book of Ruth (Bertheau). But the original meaning, and intended period, and the value of the verse, are quite uncertain. Another hopelessly corrupt and obscure passage, 1 Ch 8[8] (late addition, Kittel; according to Gray, *Heb. Proper Names*, the names are ancient), seems intended to refer to this period, cf. Ehud, 8[6], and furnishes another statement as to Israelites, here Benjamites, settling in the Field of Moab, whether as part of an Israelite colony or as *gērîm* of Moab, does not appear. Further, the Israelites, Jg 10[6] (R^{D}), worshipped Moabite gods.

Any account which can now be given of Moab is necessarily one-sided. Our information is chiefly from Israelite sources; and our only Moabite document, the Mesha inscription, happens to be wholly taken up with a war with Israel. But the consequent impression that Moab was chiefly occupied with its relations with Israel would obviously be a mistake. Their dealings with other neighbours, *e.g.* Ammon and the nomad Arabs, must have been equally important to them—to say nothing of their own private affairs. Here and there we have a gleam of light on such subjects. In the list of Edomite kings, Gn 36[31-39] (J usually, but Dillm. P), 1 Ch 1[43-51], we read, Gn 36[35], of a Hadad ben Bedad, who defeated Midian in the Field of Moab, which suggests that at some period, probably that of the Judges (Ewald, in the time of Gideon), part of the Moabite territory was occupied by Edom. Two of the capitals of these kings, Avith and Dinhabah, have been identified with sites in Moabite territory; cf. DINHABAH. Whether the Midianites were present in 'the Field of Moab' as invaders (Moore on Jg 6[1]) or allies is not clear. In Nu 21-25, read continuously, Midian appears in about the same district as the ally of Moab; the references to Midian may be P and R^{P}, and yet be based on older documents. It is not clear that Moab and Midian were combined in any of the sources. To this period may also be assigned the capture of ḲRḤH by Ramses III. *c.* 1280, during one of his Syrian campaigns (Sayce, *Patr. Pal.* p. 165).

Passing to the united monarchy, *Saul to Solomon*, in addition to the account of Saul's victory over Nahash king of Ammon (1 S 11), Moab, Ammon, and Edom are mentioned (1 S 14[47]) amongst the enemies against whom Saul fought successfully; he clearly did not conquer Moab, since David's parents found an asylum there (1 S 22[3-5]); according to Ru 4[18-22], Ruth the Moabitess was an ancestress of David. During the civil war between David and Eshbaal, Moab must have been able to hold its ground, or even to aggrandize itself at the expense of Israel. Hence, perhaps, David's war with Moab, in which 'he smote Moab, and measured them with the line, making them to lie down on the ground; and he measured two lines to put to death, and one full line to keep alive. And the Moabites became subject to David, and paid tribute' (2 S 8[2]). Part of the spoil of Moab, as of that from other conquests, David dedicated to J″ (2 S 8[12]). Probably instead of the 'two lion-like men of Moab,' slain by one of David's warriors (2 S 23[20]), we should read with Klostermann and Budde, partly following the LXX, 'two lions in their lair.' In the parallel passage, 1 Ch 11[22], Kittel reads 'two sons of Ariel from Moab.' Bertheau, who adopts a similar reading, understands Ariel as the name of the king of Moab (cf. ARIEL). In 1 Ch 11[46], in a passage which Kittel ascribes to an ancient source, no longer extant, Ithmah the Moabite is mentioned among David's mighty men. Kautzsch and Budde ascribe 2 S 8[2. 12] to late editors. According to 1 K 11[1. 7. 33] (D^{2}, Kautzsch), Solomon had Moabite women in his harem, erected a temple to Chemosh, and worshipped him.

How long Moab remained tributary we do not know. It is next mentioned as rebelling against Ahab; and it has been supposed that it remained subject to Solomon till his death, and was transferred to Israel after the formation of the Northern Kingdom. But the silence of our meagre and fragmentary authorities as to any prior revolt does not prove that Moab remained in subjection till the time of Ahab. The express mention of the revolt of Edom from Solomon is slightly against the supposition that a revolt of Moab at that time has been passed over. Further, the fact that Jeroboam's capital was at first E. of Jordan shows that Israel then was in strong force in the east, and makes it possible to suppose that Jeroboam succeeded in wresting the suzerainty of Moab from Rehoboam. On the whole, it is more likely that Moab recovered its independence at this time; or, if not then, soon after, at some point in the period, after Jeroboam, during which Israel was distracted by foreign and civil wars and frequent changes of dynasty. The disaster which almost blotted out Reuben as a tribe may have been suffered at the hands of Moab, at this or at an earlier date.

2 Ch 20^{1-30} narrates a campaign of Moab, Ammon, and Edom against Jehoshaphat, in which the invaders massacre each other. The passage is probably a Midrashic adaptation of 2 K 3, and in its present form rests on no older authority than the Midrash of Kings used by the Chronicler.

The period of *Omri-Ahab-Jehoram* is specially important, because we can supplement the Bible account by the Moabite Stone, the text and translation of which are given above, in the section on *Language*. In the Moabite Stone (ll. 1–8) Mesha tells us that, in the reign of his father, Chemoshmelek (?) of Dibon, Chemosh was angry with Moab, and Omri and his son oppressed Moab, subjected and occupied it forty years. This brings us to the point at which Kings first refers to Moab. 2 K 1^1 $3^{4.5}$ states that Mesha king of Moab was rich in sheep, and paid to Israel a tribute (? annual) of 100,000 lambs and 100,000 rams (AV), or their wool (RV); and that when Ahab died he rebelled against the king of Israel. According to Mesha (l. 8), the revolt took place in the middle of Ahab's reign. Probably the war of Israel with Syria, which cost Ahab his life, afforded the opportunity for the revolt of Moab. It is not clear how we are to combine the inscription and 2 K 3. We may suppose (Cornill, p. 107; Wellh. *Hist.* etc. Eng. tr. p. 460) that Mesha's victories took place at the time of the revolt, before the events of 2 K 3; or that, at first, Moab simply asserted its independence, and that Mesha's conquests were made after the retreat of Jehoram; or that the inscription is a comprehensive account of Mesha's achievements both before and after Jehoram's campaign, his reverses being ignored, just as Kings makes no mention of the loss of Israelite cities to Moab. In 2 K 3 we read that Jehoram, at the head of a general muster of Israel, and with Jehoshaphat of Judah and the king of Edom as allies, marched round the southern end of the Dead Sea, a route which suggests that Israel was very weak on the east of the Jordan; that the Moabites fell into an ambush, and were defeated; that the allies captured and destroyed the cities and laid waste the land, and at last shut up Mesha in Kir-hareseth. After an unsuccessful sortie, Mesha 'took his eldest son . . . and offered him for a burnt-offering upon the wall. And there was great wrath against (RV), *or* upon (RVm), Israel; and they departed from thence and returned to their own land.' Possibly the Israelite account disguises a defeat as a voluntary withdrawal; but the prophets' accounts of the superstition of their fellow-countrymen show that they may have been afraid to press the siege after what they believed to be an irresistible appeal to Chemosh. But the retreat was a disastrous blow to the prestige of Israel. Probably the retiring army suffered heavy loss; and the Moabites would certainly be emboldened to make further additions to their territory at the expense of the eastern tribes. The relations of Edom and Moab in this narrative suggest the existence of bitter hostility, which must have led to other wars between the two neighbours. Nothing is said of Edom in the inscription, possibly because part of it is lost.

The inscription suggests that the revolt arose (ll. 6, 7) through hostile measures of Ahab.* Mesha recovered the territory occupied by Omri, and fortified Ba'al-meon and Kiriathaim. He then threatened the Gadites—the Reubenites are never mentioned, and had apparently disappeared—in their long-occupied territory of Ataroth. In defence, the king of Israel fortified the city of Ataroth. But Mesha took Ataroth and Nebo, and massacred their inhabitants. The king of Israel fortified Jahaz, but it shared the fate of Ataroth. Mesha seems also to have conquered Horonaim. After his victories he fortified many cities, and provided them with a water supply, and executed other public works, largely, no doubt, by means of Israelite prisoners, as in l. 25.

According to the cities mentioned in the inscription as conquered or held by Moab, its territory stretched along the whole eastern coast of the Dead Sea, from Kir in the south to Horonaim and Nebo in the north. The silence as to Heshbon may possibly be due to the loss of part of the Stone; but as Mesha's father reigned in Dibon on the Arnon, probably Mesha's conquests did not include Heshbon.

According to 2 Ch 24^{26}, one of the assassins of Joash of Judah had a Moabite mother. The story of Elisha (2 K 13^{20}) mentions Moabite raids in Israel.

2 K 14^{25} states that *Jeroboam II.* recovered the border of Israel from the entering in of Hamath to the sea of the Arabah, *i.e.* the Dead Sea. Probably he recovered the suzerainty over Moab (so Cornill, p. 122, 'succeeded . . . in subduing all Moab'). 1 Ch 5^{1-17} seems to imply a tradition of an effective Israelite occupation of territory between Jabbok and Arnon in the time of Jeroboam II. Am 2^{1-3} may refer to Israelite conquests in Moab at this time, though it only refers expressly to the feud between Edom and Moab. Possibly the Israelite victories over Moab in Nu 24^{17} (Balaam's oracles) belong to this period, though they might refer to the wars of Omri or even David.

Another trace of the hostility of Moab to both Israel and Judah, in the period of the two kingdoms, is the unsympathetic attitude of both J and E to Moab; the most striking example being the account of the birth of Ammon and Moab.

In the period from Jeroboam II. to the *Fall of Samaria*, the catastrophes of Israel, especially the deportation of the eastern tribes by Tiglath-pileser, and, in a less degree, that of the inhabitants of the rest of the Northern Kingdom, left Moab free to aggrandize itself. All the evidence seems to show that, in the century and a half after the fall of Samaria, the prosperity of Moab reached its climax. Apparently its rulers were wise enough to observe the essential condition of continuous prosperity, and submitted to the suzerainty of Assyria; cf. *COT* ii. 49. Salmanu the Moabite occurs in the Nimrud Clay Inscription of Tiglath-pileser as one of the tributaries of Assyria; and it is perhaps this Salmanu, and not the Assyrian Shalmaneser, who is to be identified with the Shalman who sacked Beth-arbel in Hos 10^{14} (so Sayce, *HCM* p. 482).

In a fragment, indeed, of Sargon II. (Kellner, *Isaiah*, p. 34), Moab is mentioned as allied with Philistia, Judah, and Edom in a conspiracy against Assyria; but on the great Taylor Prism, which gives Sennacherib's account of his campaign against

---

* The translation of these lines is doubtful, cf. above

Hezekiah and his allies, Kammusu-nadab (Chemosh-nadab) of Moab brings tribute to the Assyrian king, and does homage to him. Mutsuri (probably 'the Egyptian') king of Moab is mentioned as attending the court of two successive kings of Assyria, Esar-haddon and Assurbanipal, in company with twenty-one other subject kings, including Manasseh of Judah (Sayce, *HCM* p. 450 ff.). In the last days of Jerusalem, Moab had transferred its allegiance to Babylon; Moabites fought for Nebuchadnezzar against Jehoiakim, 2 K 24^2. At the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah, according to the original text of Jer 27^3, Moabite envoys came to Jerusalem to arrange a revolt against the Chaldæans; and later on Jewish refugees found an asylum in Moab, Jer 40^{11}; and Ezk 25^{8-11} also implies that the prosperity of Moab continued after the fall of Jerusalem.

Much light is thrown on the condition of Moab in this period by the references to Moab in Am, Is, Mic, Zeph, Jer, and Ezk; although there is much difference of opinion as to the dates of the passages in question. For Am and Ezk, see above; it may be noted also that in Am the ruler of Moab is called שפט 'judge.' Mic 6^5 merely refers to the story of Balaam and Balak, probably in a different form from that in which we now have it. Zeph 2^{8-10}, which threatens Moab and Ammon because they have despised and harassed the Jews, is commonly regarded as exilic (cf. ZEPHANIAH).

The *Is-Jer oracles on Moab* present a very complicated question. Is 15 f. and Jer 48 are two independent editions of an older lament over some ruinous catastrophe which befell Moab. Cheyne ('Isaiah' in *PB* p. 168) thinks the enemy of Moab may have been either Nebuchadnezzar, Assurbanipal, or Jeroboam II. Cheyne, Duhm, Giesebrecht, etc., hold that the later editions of the lament were compiled and inserted in Is and Jer by late post-exilic writers; Duhm refers Jer 48 to the time of Alexander Jannæus and John Hyrcanus. But many critics (*e.g.* Cornill and Driver) regard Is 15 f. as the work of Isaiah, and Jer 48 as that of Jeremiah—substantially. In the lament the territory of Moab has reached its maximum, and extends from Jazer, Sibmah, and Heshbon to the southern end of the Dead Sea. Thus the poem is probably later than Mesha, and does not refer to the conquest of Moab by Omri, or the campaign of Jehoram; the Stone does not mention Heshbon. Hence the disaster to Moab was probably an invasion by Jeroboam II., a view possibly confirmed by Is $16^{1.5}$, which is often interpreted as meaning that the king of Judah was ruling over Edom; while 2 K $14^{7.10}$ suggest that, some time before, Amaziah of Judah had recovered the suzerainty of Edom. The lament shows that, since Mesha, Moab had made steady progress, and advanced its border beyond Heshbon; that it possessed numerous 'cities,' *i.e.* walled towns, and doubtless many villages; that it was fertile, well-cultivated, and, probably, densely populated; and that it had reached a comparatively high level of civilization, not very different from that of Judah. Jeroboam ravaged the country in the same fashion as Jehoram; and perhaps some districts and cities were occupied by Israelites, but Moab as a whole probably remained autonomous under a native ruler appointed by Jeroboam. If Nu 21^{21-30} refers to this invasion (see above), the king of Moab at this time may have been named Sihon. The author of the lament shows marked sympathy for Moab; Israel was generally hostile to the Southern Kingdom after the extinction of the house of Omri, and Moab and Judah were drawn together by a common enmity to Samaria. A token of their mutual good feeling was Solomon's temple to Chemosh, which was not interfered with till the time of Josiah. However severely Moab suffered at the hands of Jeroboam II., it recovered speedily, and became more prosperous than ever, so that Isaiah (?) and Jeremiah (?) do not hesitate to adapt and expand the pictures of the pride and prosperity of Moab, and the lists of its numerous cities, in their descriptions of the doom that threatened Moab at the hands, first of the Assyrians and then of the Chaldæans. The attitude of Is 15 f. is still sympathetic; but Jer expresses the bitter resentment inspired by the alliance of Moab with the besiegers of Jerusalem in 48^{10} 'Cursed be he that doeth the work of J″ negligently, and cursed be he that keepeth back his sword from blood.' Jer also (48^{11}) testifies to the continued prosperity of Moab and its consequent corruption: 'Moab hath been undisturbed from his youth; he hath settled on his lees; he hath not been emptied from vessel to vessel; he hath not gone into captivity: therefore his taste remaineth in him, his scent is not changed.'* Jeremiah, or an editor, has incorporated Nu $21^{28f.}$ as vv.$^{45f.}$.† Cf. Jer 9^{26} 25^{21} 27^3; ISAIAH, BOOK OF; JEREMIAH, BOOK OF.

In Is and Jer we see Moab, at the height of its prosperity, suddenly seized in the grip of an overwhelming calamity: here the curtain falls upon its history. The land is still for some time called Moab, and the name lingered on even into the Christian era; the term Moabite is occasionally applied to cities or people of the district, and doubtless survivors of the old race were still to be found in the land; but there seems no evidence of the existence of Moab as a state, even a dependent state, *after the Exile*, and we know that at the time of the Maccabæan revolt Moab was occupied by the Nabatæan Arabs (1 Mac 9^{32-42}; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. xiii. 3, 5, xvi. 4, XIV. i. 4). A comparison of the last two passages shows that Josephus uses 'Moabites' for the Nabatæan Arabs, which explains the statement in *Ant.* I. xi. 5, that the Moabites were still a very great people in his time. 1 Mac never names the Moabites, even in such passages as 5^{1-8} (cf. Bevan, *Dan.* p. 199; Baethgen, *Ps.* p. 260). The comparative silence of post-exilic literature as to Moab suggests an early date for its disappearance; even in Neh 4^7 the Arabians have taken the place of Moab as the allies of Ammon. Possibly Moab, in its pride, unduly tasked the patience of Nebuchadnezzar and was overthrown, and the bulk of its population deported; then the Arabs may have occupied Moab and absorbed the remnant of the people; or the Nabatæans may have conquered Moab (cf. ARETAS). Then Is 15 f., Jer 48, if late editions of an earlier lament, may have been inspired by the report of this great catastrophe; Ezk 25^{8-11} states that Moab shall be conquered by the children of the East, *i.e.* Arabs.

The post-exilic references to Moab are as follows:—In the apocalyptic Is 24-27, variously dated from the time of the Exile to that of Alexander the Great, Moab is the one Gentile people mentioned by name (25^{10}) as doomed. Unless the section is contemporary with Jer 48,‡ 'Moab,' like 'Edom' and 'Babylon,' in later times is used as a type of the enemies of God (Cheyne, 'Isaiah' in *PB* p. 204). Ezr 9^1, Neh 13^1 are mere references to ancient literature. Sanballat the Horonite (Neh 2^{10} etc.) may have belonged to Beth-horon; even if he belonged to Horonaim, he may have been one of its Arabian conquerors; and if a Moabite, merely an individual who survived the ruin of the state. In Dn 11^{41} Moab may be merely the country, or else combined with Edom and Ammon through the influence of older literature. Similar considerations may explain the occurrence of Moab in the late psalms (60^{8} 83^{6} 108^{9}), unless the lists of peoples in these psalms are fragments from older poems. The references to Moabites in Jth are entirely unhistorical, and due to a use of older literature.

---

* If Bozrah is *Bosrah esh-Sham* in the Ḥauran, the territory of Moab had extended far to the N.E.; but cf. BOZRAH.

† Unless Jer 48^2 'In Heshbon they have devised evil against her,' *i.e.* Moab, is a deliberate modification of the ancient poem, connected with the insertion of Nu $21^{28f.}$; it seems better to read with Giesebrecht, 'Against Heshbon they have devised evil,' omitting עליה 'against her.'

‡ Cf. Jer $48^{43f.}$ with Is $24^{17f.}$.

See also arts. AMMON, EDOM, GAD, ISRAEL, JUDAH, REUBEN.

LITERATURE.—The Commentaries on passages referring to Moab, and the Histories of Israel on the relations of Israel to Moab; Wellhausen, art. MOAB in *Encycl. Brit.*9; Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'Archéol. Orient.* ii. 185–234.

For the Geography—Tristram, *Land of Moab*; Conder, *Heth and Moab*; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 517–573; Stanley, *Sin. and Pal.* 319–334; Buhl, *GAP* 45–50; *Picturesque Pal.* ii. 193 ff.

For the Religion—W. R. Smith, *RS* 376, 460; Baethgen, *Beiträge z. Sem. Religionsgesch.* pp. 13 ff., 79, 89, 210, 238, 256–261.

On Moabite Stone, see above; also in Driver, *Heb. Text of Sam.* lxxxv ff.; and for other literature, in Ginsburg and Lidzbarski.

W. H. BENNETT.

MOADIAH.—See MAADIAH.

MOCHMUR (Μοχμούρ B, Μουχμούρ א*; *Machur* Old Lat., *Peor* Syr.; A omits; Vulg. Jth 7^{10} omits LXX 7^{17-19}).—A wādy (χείμαῤῥος) on which CHUSI, near EKREBEL, was situated, apparently S.E. of Dothan (Jth 7^{18}).

MOCK, MOCKINGSTOCK.—The verb to mock is both trans. and intrans. Used transitively it has two distinct meanings: (1) To *ridicule*, as 1 K 18^{27} 'Elijah mocked them, and said, Cry aloud'; Job 12^{4} 'I am as one mocked of his neighbour' (RV 'one that is a laughing-stock to his neighbour'). (2) To *deceive, beguile*, Jg 16^{10} 'And Delilah said unto Samson, Behold, thou hast mocked me, and told me lies,' Job 13^{9} 'As one man mocketh another, do ye so mock him?' (RV 'as one deceiveth a man, will ye deceive him?'). So Shaks. *Rich. III.* IV. iv. 87—

> 'A mother only mocked with two sweet babes';

and *Macbeth*, I. vii. 81—

> 'Away, and mock the time with fairest show.'

The only meaning of the intrans. verb is to *ridicule*, as Job 21^{3} 'Suffer me that I may speak; and after that I have spoken, mock on' (from Gen. Bible; Cov. 'laugh my wordes to scorne'); Pr 1^{26} 'I will mock when your fear cometh'; Ac 17^{32} 'And when they heard of the resurrection of the dead, some mocked.' The phrase to 'mock at' occurs in Pr 30^{17}, La 1^{7}. Tindale has 'mock out,' *Expositions* 39, 'their sophistical glosses, feigned to mock out the law of God, and to beguile the whole world'; and 'mock with,' *Works*, i. 205, 'So shamefully doth the covetousness and ambition of our prelates mock with the law of God.'

Mock was once common as a subst.: thus in Matt. Bible, marg. note to Gn 3^{22} 'Here thys worde *lo* is taken as a mocke as it is in 1 K 18'; Joy, *Apologye to Tindale*, 14, 'This saith Tindale yroniously in a mok as though it were false that oure soulis as sone as we be dead shulde go to heven'; Shaks. *Henry V.* I. ii. 285—

> 'For many a thousand widows
> Shall this his mock mock out of their dear husbands;
> Mock mothers from their sons, mock castles down;
> And some are yet ungotten and unborn
> That shall have cause to curse the Dauphin's scorn.'

The only example in AV is Pr 14^{9} 'Fools make a mock at sin.' Cf. He 6^{6} Tind. 'For as moche as they have (as concerninge them selves) crucified the soune of God a fresshe, makynge a mocke of him.'

The subst. 'mocking' (=mod. 'mockery,' which also occurs) is found in Ezk 22^{4} 'Therefore have I made thee a reproach unto the heathen, and a mocking to all countries,' and He 11^{36} 'And others had trials of cruel mockings and scourgings.' Cf. Shaks. *Love's Labour's Lost*, V. ii. 59—

> 'We are wise girls to mock our lovers so.
> They are worse fools to purchase mocking so.'

Mockingstock is used in 2 Mac 7^{7} 'to make him a mocking stock' (ἐπὶ τὸν ἐμπαιγμόν, RV 'to the mocking'), and 7^{10} 'After him was the third made a mocking stock' (ἐνεπαίζετο). So Raleigh, *Hist. World*, V. v. 7, 'Philip . . . was taken by the consul; made a mocking stock; and sent away prisoner to Rome.'

J. HASTINGS.

MODERATION.—For moderation in eating and drinking, see TEMPERANCE. The word itself occurs but once in AV, Ph 4^{5} 'Let your moderation be known unto all men.' The Greek is τὸ ἐπιεικὲς ὑμῶν. This adj. ἐπιεικής occurs also in 1 Ti 3^{3}, Tit 3^{2}, Ja 3^{17}, 1 P 2^{18}; in the first passage AV gives 'patient,' RV 'gentle,' in the others both versions give 'gentle.' The neut. form (τὸ ἐπιεικές) does not occur again, but it is common in class. writers as equivalent to ἐπιείκεια. This subst. itself [WH ἐπιεικία] is found in Ac 24^{4} (AV and RV 'clemency'), and in 2 Co 10^{1} (AV and RV 'gentleness'). Both adj. and subst. occur in Apocr., chiefly of the 'gentleness' of God.

But 'gentleness' is not the exact idea. Both τὸ ἐπιεικές and ἐπιείκεια expressed in class. Greek the spirit that declines to exact its legal right. In *Eth.* v. 4 Aristotle points out that *justice* is one thing, *equity* (ἐπιείκεια) another, and in i. 13, 17 f. he gives a full description of ἐπιείκεια as that which looks to the spirit and not the letter, the intention and not the act, the whole and not the part, etc. This is in exact agreement with what is undoubtedly the derivation of the word, εἰκός 'reasonable,' 'becoming,' and the idea in Ph 4^{5} may be expressed in Matthew Arnold's phrase 'sweet reasonableness,' or in a single word 'considerateness.'

In the trans. of the word two mistakes have been made. On the one hand, there was a time when the word degenerated into the expression of respectable behaviour, and respectable behaviour is always the pursuit of a middle course, *in mediis tutissimus*. Hence Thuc. (i. 76) makes τὸ ἐπιεικές equivalent to τὸ μετριάζειν 'moderation.' This idea was seized by the AV translators at Ph 4^{5} (they seem to be alone in thus translating the word), and a modern translation (Ferrar Fenton, *The NT in Current English*) has 'good conduct.'* Cf. Lightfoot on Ph 4^{5}.

On the other hand, there has been an influence on the word (perhaps on the Gr. word itself, certainly on its trans.) of εἴκω to yield. Thus Moule, though he says (*Camb. Bible, in loc.*) that the connexion with τὸ εἰκός 'the equitable' is more probable, allows εἴκω a place, and in his *Philippian Studies*, p. 228, he translates by 'yieldingness,' explaining it to mean 'selflessness, the spirit which will yield in anything that is only of self, for Christ's sake.' This trans. is represented in Tindale's 'softenes' (followed by Cov., Cran., and Matt.), as well as by RVm 'gentleness'; Luther's *Lindigkeit* (followed by Weizsäcker) leans too much in this direction, and even the RV 'forbearance,' which is the favourite rendering since Lightfoot adopted it. 'Gentleness' and 'forbearance' are too passive. The 'considerateness' of the Bible, whether applied to God or man, is an active virtue. It is the spirit of the Messiah Himself, who will not break the bruised reed nor quench the smoking flax, and it is the spirit of every follower who realizes that 'the Lord is at hand.'

---

* Perhaps this is also the idea contained in Vulg. *modestia*, if that word is used in its earliest classical sense of 'sobriety,' 'moderation.' But the Rhemish 'modesty' is a mistranslation (no more than a transliteration, perhaps), for 'modesty' was never used in English in this sense. Sir Thomas Elyot uses it so in *The Governour*, i. 267, but he explains that he is adopting the classical sense of the word: 'In every of these thinges and their semblable is Modestie; whiche worde not beinge knowen in the englisshe tonge, ne of al them which understode latin, except they had radde good autours, they improperly named this vertue discretion.' Wyclif did not adopt 'modesty,' but used 'temperaunce *or pacience*' (*var. lect.* 'tholmoundness').

J. HASTINGS.

MODERN VERSIONS.—See VERSIONS.

MODIN (*Μωδεἰν* or *Μωδεεἰν*; but also *Μωδεεἰμ*, 1 Mac 2^{23} etc., Jos. *Ant.* XII. vi. 1, etc., *Onomast.* Euseb.—rendered by Jerome, *Modeim*; *Μωδαεἰμ*, 1 Mac 16^{4}; *Μωδιεἰμ*, 2 Mac 13^{14}: Talmud מודיעים and מודיעית — Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* 99).—This was the ancestral home of the Maccabæan family (1 Mac $2^{17.70}$), and its interest is derived solely from its connexion with their illustrious history. Unable to endure the outrage upon Jewish faith and feeling perpetrated by Antiochus Epiphanes in Jerusalem, the priest Mattathias retired hither in B.C. 168. But the emissaries of the persecutor followed him; and at last, stung to action alike by the insulting orders of the king's officer and the shameful compliance of a renegade Israelite, he raised his hand on behalf of religion and fatherland. The blow he struck initiated that struggle for freedom which, under the leadership of his heroic sons, forms such a brilliant chapter in the closing history of his people (1 Mac $2^{1.15.23}$; Jos. *Ant.* XII. vi. 1, 2; *BJ* I. i. 3). When Mattathias died he was buried in Modin (1 Mac 2^{70}), and here also each of his sons, with their mother, was finally laid to rest (1 Mac 9^{19} 13^{25-30}; Jos. *Ant.* XII. xi. 2, XIII. vi. 6, etc.). Judas encamped by Modin the evening before his successful night-raid on the army of Antiochus Eupator (2 Mac 13^{14}); and here John and Judas, the sons of Simon, rested overnight before going forth to the defeat of Cendebæus (1 Mac 16^{4}).

Simon, the last of the five brethren, built at Modin a splendid sepulchral monument, to perpetuate the memory of his heroic family. 'It was a square structure, surrounded by colonnades of monolith pillars, of which the front and back were of white polished stone. Seven pyramids were erected by Simon on the summit for the father and mother and the four brothers who now lay there, with the seventh for himself when his time should come. On the faces of the monument were bas-reliefs, representing the accoutrements of sword and spear and shield, "for an eternal memorial" of their many battles. There were also the sculptures of "ships"—no doubt to record their interest in that long seaboard of the Philistine coast, which they were the first to use for their country's good. A monument at once so Jewish in idea, so Gentile in execution, was worthy of the combination of patriotic fervour and philosophic enlargement of soul which raised the Maccabæan heroes so high above their age' (Stanley, *Hist. of Jewish Ch.* iii. 318).

This famous structure continued in a state permitting recognition down to the 4th cent. of the Christian era (Williams, *Holy City*, i. 96), and so long there could be no question as to the site of Modin. Then all trace of the tomb seems to have been lost, and for many centuries the situation of the town was unknown. At different times the home of the Maccabees has been sought at *Latrûn*, at *Soba*, and even away to the S. of Anathoth. It is unnecessary to discuss the arguments in favour of these proposed identifications. The ancient Modin is certainly represented by the modern *el-Medyeh*, a village standing on the E. of *Wady Mulaki*, about 13 miles W. of Bethel, on one of the lower ridges by which the mountain range lets itself down towards Lydda. Struck by the resemblance between the ancient and modern names, and also by the name *Ḳabûr el-Yehûd*, 'Tombs of the Jews,' given to a remarkable series of tombs near by, the late Dr. Sandreczki, of Jerusalem, called attention to the place in 1869; and subsequent investigation has gone to confirm his suggestion. The identification has been opposed by le Camus (*Rev. Biblique*, i. 109 ff.) on insufficient grounds (cf. Buhl, *GAP* 198).

Modin was near the plain (1 Mac $16^{4.5}$); the monument built by Simon was clearly visible from the sea (1 Mac 13^{29}); and we learn from Euseb. and Jerome, that Diospolis (Lydda) was not far distant. *El-Medyeh* itself is hidden from the sea by the slope of the hill; but immediately to the south a rocky eminence, *er-Ras*, with ancient remains, commands a view of the lower hills, the plain of Sharon, and the sea, while Lydda is seen at a distance of not over 6 miles, reposing among her fruitful olives. On the opposite side of the Wâdy, about half a mile west of the village, there are several tombs, one, associated with the name *Sheikh el-Gharbâwi*, claiming special interest on account of its size and construction. At one time it was thought this might prove to be the tomb of the Maccabees; but later investigation revealed its Christian origin. To these tombs Conder gives the name *Ḳabûr el-Yehûd*. Of the ruins ¼ mile to the south, called by Sandreczki *Ḳabûr el-Yehûd*, he speaks as *Khirbet el-Medyeh*. Guérin says an old inhabitant of the village gave the name *Khirbet el-Medyeh* to the whole group of ruins. The tomb of the Maccabees is not yet identified. The place is about 16 miles from the coast. At this distance, to one looking from the sea, towards evening, with the sun behind him, such a monument would stand out with great distinctness, even if the details of the carving could not be plainly traced.

LITERATURE.—*PEF Mem.* iii. 341 ff.; Stanley, *History of Jewish Ch.* iii. 267, 318; G. A. Smith, *HGHL*[1] 212 n.; Conder, *Judas Maccabæus*, 84, 176; Schürer, *HJP* I. i. 209 f.; Guérin, *Samarie*, ii. 55 ff., 404 ff., *Galilée*, i. 46 ff.

W. EWING.

MOETH (*Μωέθ*).—1 Es 8^{63} = **Noadiah** of Ezr 8^{33}. See NOADIAH, No. 1.

MOLADAH (מוֹלָדָה).—A city in the south of Judah, Jos 15^{26} (B *Μωλαδά*, A *Μωδαδά*); reckoned to Simeon in 19^{2} (B *Κωλαδάμ*, A *Μωλαδά*) and 1 Ch 4^{28} (B *Μωαλδά*, A *Μωλαδά*); peopled after the Captivity by Judahites, Neh 11^{26} (BA om., ℵ$^{\text{c a mg}}$ *Μωλαδά*). In the 4th cent. A.D. (*Onomast. s.v.* 'Arad') a place called *Malatha* is located 4 Roman miles from Arad (cf. Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. vi. 2). This site is clearly the present *Tell el-Milḥ*, 'hill of salt,' and is that of an early town, but the modern name has no connexion with the Heb. *Moladah*, the site of which is unknown (cf. Buhl, *GAP* 183, who rightly points out that instead of 4 Roman miles from Arad, as Eusebius states, *Tell el-Milḥ* and Arad are double that distance apart) in spite of the identification with *Tell el-Milḥ* which is adopted by Robinson (*BRP*^{2} ii. 201), Guérin (*Judée*, iii. 184 ff.), and others.

C. R. CONDER.

MOLE.—Two words are tr^{d} in AV 'mole.' **1.** תִּנְשֶׁמֶת *tinshemeth*. This occurs twice in the list of unclean creatures: (*a*) As the name of a *bird* (Lv 11^{18} LXX *πορφυρίων*, AV 'swan,' RV 'horned owl,' m. 'swan'; Dt 14^{16} LXX *ἶβις*, AV 'swan,' RV 'horned owl.' See SWAN, OWL). (*b*) As the name of a 'creeping thing' at the end of a list of lizards (Lv 11^{30} LXX *ἀσπάλαξ*, Vulg. *talpa*, AV 'mole,' RV 'chameleon'). The authority of the LXX and Vulg. favours the rendering 'mole.' No true mole exists now in Palestine. The word ἀσπάλαξ probably refers to the mole-rat *Spalax typhlus*, Pall., a rodent, the appearance and habits of which closely resemble those of the genuine mole. It is about the size and shape of a common brown rat, but with much shorter legs. The forelegs are adapted for digging. The head is flattened from above downwards, with a wedge-shaped snout, which acts as a shovel in perforating the soil, and raising the hillocks which occur every few feet along the burrow. The fur is greyish-brown. The eyes are hardly to be made out at all, being quite rudimentary. The animal is nocturnal in its habits, and seldom seen above the surface. It is called by the Arabs *khuld*, plainly the cognate of *ḥôled*, which EV tr. 'weasel.' See CHAMELEON, WEASEL; and Dillmann on Lv 11^{30}.

2. חֲפֹר פֵּרוֹת *ḥăphôr pêrôth* (to be read חֲפַרְפָּרוֹת *ḥăpharpārôth*, see Dillm. *ad loc.*), *τὰ μάταια*, *talpæ*. This expression is tr^{d} in EV (Is 2^{20}) 'moles.' The LXX *τὰ μάταια*='the vain things,' sheds no light on the meaning. But the root *ḥâphar*= Arab. *ḥafar*, 'to dig *or* burrow,' and *pārôth* recalls Arab. *fâr*, generic for 'rats' and 'mice.' The compound name may be that of some *digging* or *burrowing* animal. There is a large number of such creatures in the Holy Land, of which we note: fam. *Muridæ*, the rats and mice, including numerous species of *Acomys*, the Porcupine mouse; *Mus*, the true rats and mice, of which there are a considerable number; *Cricetus*, the hamster; *Gerbillus* and *Psammomys*, the sand rats; *Spalacidæ*, the mole rats; *Dipopidæ*, the jerboas; *Myrcidæ*, the dormice, etc. It is most probable that the Heb. *ḥăpharpārôth* is generic for all such animals as burrow in waste places, as 'bats,' in the same passage, is generic for the well-known winged tribe of dwellers in caves and ruins.

G. E. POST.

MOLECH, MOLOCH (הַמֹּלֶךְ *ham-Molech*, always with the article except in 1 K 11^{7}, Μολόχ, Vulg. *Moloch*).—The Heb. pointing does not represent the original pronunciation, but is intended to suggest *bōsheth*, 'shame'; just as *-baal* in Ishbaal and Meribaal was changed to *-bosheth* in Ishbosheth and Mephibosheth. Originally the word was simply *ham*-**Melech**, 'the king.' We find also the forms **Milcom** (מִלְכֹּם), **Malcam** (מַלְכָּם, Ἀμελχόμ, *μελχόμ*, *μολχόμ*, *μελχόλ*, *μολχόλ*, *Melcom*), and **Malcan**; see below.

i. *Table of the occurrences of Melech, etc., as divine names.*—(*a*) Cases in which MT uses the pointing *Molech* to show that it regards *Melech* as the name of a false god. Lv 18^{21} $20^{2.\,3.\,4.\,5}$ *ἄρχων*; 1 K 11^{7} A *μελχό*, B *βασιλεύς*, Luc. *μελχόμ*; 2 K 23^{10}, Luc. *μελχόμ*; Jer 32^{35} *τῷ* Μολὸχ *βασιλεῖ*.

(*b*) Cases in which *Melech* is pointed as a common noun 'king' by MT, but is regarded as a divine name by other authorities. Is 30^{33} EV 'the king,' with LXX and Vulg.; Is 57^{9} EV 'the king,' with Vulg.; LXX has entirely different reading. In both, Cheyne, Duhm, Siegfried-Stade (*Lex.*) have *Melech*. In Am 7^{13} EV 'the king's sanctuary,' so LXX and Vulg., it has been suggested that 'king' should be *Melech*, but this is improbable.

(*c*) Cases where MT points MLKM as the divine name, *Milcom*: 1 K $11^{5.\,33}$, *τῷ βασιλεῖ αὐτῶν*; 2 K 23^{13} A *ἀμελχόμ*, B *μολχόλ*.

(*d*) Cases where MT points MLKM as *Malcam*, 'their king'; but other authorities regard it as the divine name, *Milcom*: 2 S 12^{30} (=1 Ch 20^{2}) AV, RV 'their king,' so Vulg.; RVm *Malcam*, *i.e. Milcom*, so LXX; 1 Ch 20^{2} AV, RV 'their king,' RVm *Malcam*, so LXX and Vulg.; Jer $49^{1.\,3}$ (cf. Am 1^{15}) AV, RVm 'their king,' so Targ.; AVm *Melcom*, RV *Malcam*, so LXX *μελχόλ*, and Vulg.; Am 1^{15} (cf. Jer $49^{1.\,3}$) EV 'their king' with LXX; but Aq., Symm., Vulg., and Syr. *Melchom*, etc.; Am 5^{26} RV 'your king,' so Symm. and Theod.; AV 'your Moloch,' with LXX *τοῦ* Μολόχ; Aq. and Syr. *Malchom*; cf. SICCUTH; Zeph 1^{5} AV, RV *Malc(h)am*, so LXX MSS *ap.* Field, *μολόχ*, *μελχόμ*, Vulg. RVm 'their king,' LXX B, etc.

(*e*) **Malcan**, in 2 S 12^{31}, the reading of the Kethîbh, מלכן MLKN, was probably intended to mean 'he passed them through the fire to Melech'; but the reading מַלְבֵּן *malbēn*, 'brick-kiln,' of the *Ḳerê*, *i.e.* as RVm 'made them labour at the brick-kiln,' is probably correct; so Budde, H. P. Smith, LXX *πλινθεῖον*, Vulg. *typo laterum*.

ii. *Relation of the forms Melech, Milcom, etc., to one another.*—Baethgen (*Beiträge*, p. 15) maintains that though Milcom was originally only a dialectic variety of Molech, yet Molech and Milcom were regarded as two distinct deities, and supports his contention by the statement in 2 K $23^{10.\,13}$ that, at Topheth in the valley of the Běnê Hinnom, children were passed through the fire to *Molech*, while, opposite Jerusalem 'on the right hand of the mount of corruption,' the Mount of Olives, there was a high-place for *Milcom*. The argument implies that vv.$^{10.\,13}$ belong to the same source: thus Kamphausen (Kautzsch's *AT*) refers both to the Deuteronomic author of the pre-exilic Book of Kings. Benzinger (*Könige*), however, refers them to different sources, and regards *Melech* (MT *Molech*) in 10 as a title of J" (cf. below). *Melech* and *Milcom* were originally variants of the name of the same deity, they are both applied to the god of Ammon; cf. 1 K 11^{7} (*Melech* here may be a mistake), 2 K 23^{13}; but at different sanctuaries and among different peoples, one or other name may have been specially used, with the natural result that the *Melech* of one sanctuary or one people would be popularly distinguished from the *Milcom* of another. *Malc(h)am* and *Malc(h)an* (if read) are only mistaken pointings of *Milcom*. The deity as worshipped by different peoples would be differentiated through various causes; the sense of the special bond between the national god and the nation would encourage the view that this national god was not the same as any deity worshipped elsewhere; this view would be supported by dialectic differences between the forms of the name, *e.g.* the Phœnician *Milk* and the Ammonite *Milcom*, and by such expansions of the name as the Phœnician *Melḳart* (=מלך קרת *Milk* of the City) and the Palmyrene *Malachbel*; cf. below.

The references to *Milcom* (1 K $11^{5.\,33}$, 2 K 23^{13}; cf. Am 1^{15} above) and *Molech* (1 K 11^{7}) as the 'abomination' or 'god' of the Ammonites, show that *Milcom* or *Molech* was the national god of Ammon, and stood to Ammon in the same special henotheistic relation in which Chemosh stood to Moab, and J" to Israel. The analogy suggests that in practice such a relation by no means excluded the worship of other gods. But the *El* in the name *Pudu-ilu*, king of Ammon, on Sennacherib's 'Taylor Prism' inscription, is merely a general term for 'god,' equivalent to *Milcom*; and the same may be true of the *baal* in *Baalis*, king of Ammon, Jer 40^{14}. Baethgen, indeed (*Beiträge*, p. 16), suggests that *Baalis* is a compound of *Baal* and *Isis*, either as a double name asserting the identity of the two, or with the meaning 'Spouse of Isis,' *Isisgemahl*. But Grätz explains *Baalis* as בֶּן־עֲלִים 'son of delight' (*Oxf. Heb. Lex.*). The reading בעלים *Baalim*, of some MSS, and of Jos. (*Ant.* X. ix. 2), is clearly a mistake. No details of the worship of Milcom are given; Jer 49^{3} 'his priests and his princes' implies that the priesthood was numerous and important. In 2 S 12^{30} the reference to Milcom's crown weighing a talent implies the existence at Rabbah of a great statue of Milcom from which the crown was taken. Perhaps the 'Chemarim' or priests of Zeph 1^{4} were priests of Molech (cf. CHEMARIM). None of the passages which speak of child-sacrifice connect it either with Milcom or the Ammonites, and we do not know how far the Ammonite worship of Milcom resembled the Phœnician worship of Melech.

iii. The worship of Moloch (*Melech*) in Israel and the relation of Moloch to J″ raise difficult questions: the following facts are clear:—

(*a*) There was a high-place for Milcom, the god of Ammon, on the Mount of Olives, 1 K $11^{5.33}$, 2 K 23^{13}, the erection of which was ascribed to Solomon; $11^{5.33}$ are regarded as Deuteronomic, but may embody an authentic tradition.

(*b*) 'Passing children through the fire to ham-Melech' is forbidden in Lv 18^{21} $20^{2.3.4.5}$, Dt 18^{10} (Melech not named). 2 K 16^{3} states that Ahaz 'made his son to pass through the fire,' so 21^{6} of Manasseh.

The Deuteronomic author of 2 K 17^{17} states that the Israelites of the Northern Kingdom passed their children through the fire. From 2 K 23^{10}, Jer 7^{30-32} 19^{1-13} we learn that such sacrifices were offered at Topheth (wh. see), in the valley of Ben Hinnom, outside Jerusalem; cf. Ps $106^{37.38}$, Ezk $16^{20.21}$ 23^{37-39}.

(*c*) From Jer 19^{5}, where the children sacrificed at Topheth are said to be offered to *Baal*, it appears that the deity thus worshipped was known both as *Baal* and *Melech*.

(*d*) In Is 6^{5} J″ Zebaoth is described as *ham-Melech*, 'the king,' and is frequently spoken of as the 'king of Israel,' Is 44^{6}, cf. Jer 8^{19} 'her king,' Mic 2^{13} 'their king.' Further, the occurrence of such names as *Malchiram* 1 Ch 3^{18}, *Malchishua* 1 S 14^{49}, *Ebed-melech* Jer 39^{16}, *Nathan-melech* 2 K 23^{11}, *Regem-melech* Zec 7^{2}, point to the use of *Melech* as a divine name. Ebed-melech, however, was an Ethiopian; Nathan-melech, a eunuch, and therefore probably a foreigner; and Regem-melech was a Babylonian Jew.

These facts are variously explained. (1) Melech and Milcom are regarded as absolutely identical, and the child-sacrifices to Melech as part of the worship of Milcom borrowed from the Ammonites. But Melech is probably to be distinguished from Milcom, cf. above; and in 2 K 16^{3} the practice of child-sacrifice is not said to have been borrowed from the Ammonites, but from the Canaanites, cf. Dt 12^{31}.

(2) The worship of Melech by child-sacrifice was borrowed from the Canaanites, and was distinct from the worship of Milcom. This would be supported by 2 K 16^{3} and by the identification of *Baal* and *Melech* in Jer 19^{5}. Probably the Tyrian Baal, whose worship Jezebel introduced into the Northern Kingdom, was Melech or Melḳarth.

(3) Whichever of the two previous views be accepted, the Melech in question was quite distinct from J″. The use of *Melech* as a title or even name of J″ no more identified Him with the Phœnician *Melech*, than the use of the title or name *Baal* identified J″ with the Tyrian *Baal*. As Schultz says (*OT Theol.*, Eng. tr. i. 233 n.), 'In the oldest sources of the Semitic religion, the god who became J″ for the Israelites may not have been different from the one who became Moloch for the Canaanites. But, since the time when Israel and the Hamites separated, there was at any rate no kinship between J″ and Moloch, not to speak of identity.'

(4) The Melech to whom child-sacrifices were offered was simply J″ under another name (Benzinger on 2 K 23^{10}; Smend, *AT Theol.* 271). When J″ says, Jer 19^{5}, of the child-sacrifices to Baal, 'which I commanded not, nor spake it, neither came it into my mind,' the statement seems to imply that those who offered these sacrifices thought that they were obeying a command of J″, cf. Ezk 23^{37-39}. Similarly, the account of the proposed sacrifice of Isaac points to the existence of a practice of offering firstborn sons to J″, which practice was forbidden by the prophetic revelation; cf. Ex 22^{29} E, and Jephthah's vow, Jg 11^{31}. This view might imply either that J″ and Melech were originally one, and afterwards differentiated by prophetic teaching; or that two distinct deities, J″ and Melech, were popularly identified. It can scarcely be that *Melech* was used as a mere title of J″ in connexion with child-sacrifice, without any reference to the Phœnician Melech.

iv. *Range of Worship.*—Melech is found as a divine name, not only in Ammon and Israel, but in all Semitic peoples of whose religion we have any considerable knowledge. The Assyrians and Babylonians had a god *Malik*; the Sepharvites had *Adram-melech* and *Anam-melech*, 2 K 17^{31}. The Phœnicians worshipped *Melḳarth* = *Melech Ḳiriath*, 'king of the city,' at Tyre, Carthage, etc. The Palmyrenes worshipped *Malach-bel* (Baudissin, *Studien*, p. 193 ff.).

It is generally stated that the Moabite *Chemosh* was a form of *Melech* (Baethgen, *Beiträge*, p. 238; Movers, *Phön.* p. 333 f.). This seems probable on general grounds, on account of the wide extent of the worship of Melech amongst the Semites, and the connexion of Baal and possibly J″ with Melech; and the intimate racial and political relation of Moab and Ammon. But the express testimony is hardly conclusive. In Jg 11^{24} Chemosh is spoken of as the god of the Ammonites, in a passage often ascribed (Budde, Moore) to R^{JE}, who should have been well informed on the subject. But the whole passage hopelessly confuses Ammon and Moab; the reference to Chemosh may be a slip; or the passage may originally have referred to Moab and have been very imperfectly adapted to its present context; or it may be late post-exilic. *Melech* in l. 23 of the Moabite Stone is treated as a divine name, 'Moloch,' by Neubauer and Sayce (*HCM* 367, 373), but is more probably to be translated 'king' with Smend and Socin.

On Sennacherib's 'Taylor Prism' an Edomite king *Malik-rammu* is mentioned, in which *Malik* is doubtless a divine name, showing that Melech was worshipped in Edom.

This widespread worship of *Melech* is regarded as an inheritance of the separated Semitic peoples from the primitive stock; but it can scarcely be assumed that his attributes and worship were the same amongst all the different races. Indeed, as in the case of the Ammonite Milcom and the Phœnician Molech or Melḳarth, different peoples considered that they were worshipping different gods. Amongst the Greeks and Romans 'king' or 'the king' is not a divine name (Baethgen, *Beiträge*, p. 263), though an occasional title of various gods.

v. *Attributes.*—Melech, like *Baal*, *Adon*, *Marna*, implies the recognition of the sovereignty of the god over his people. The offerings by fire, the identity with Baal, and the fact that in Assyria and Babylonia *Malik*, and at Palmyra *Malach-bel*, were sun-gods, suggest that *Melech* was a fire- or sun-god (Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia*, p. 176 f.).

Melḳarth at Tyre was identified with Hercules, at Carthage with Saturn. Such names as *Milk-baal*, *Milk-Astart*, *Milk-Osir*, suggest identification with *Baal* (as shown otherwise), *Astarte*, *Osiris*. As in the case of Baal and other Semitic deities, *Melech* had a feminine counterpart *Milkat*, cf. *Milcah*, Gn 11^{29}.

vi. *Worship.*—Melech was doubtless worshipped in a similar fashion to other Semitic gods. The feature which seems peculiar is the practice of sacrificing children as burnt-offerings, which is found amongst the Israelites, Phœnicians, and

Sepharvites, 2 K 17^{31}; cf. Mesha's offering of his firstborn to Chemosh.

The theory of some Rabbis, that 'passing through the fire' meant merely a ceremonial purification by walking between two fires, is contrary to all the evidence. But the case of Isaac (Gn 22^{10}) seems to show that in Israel the child was slain before the fire was kindled. Diodorus Siculus (xx. 14) describes child-sacrifices at Carthage, at which the victim was placed on the hands of a colossal image, from which it rolled off into a pit of fire. Kimchi's description (on 2 K 23^{10}) of the hollow brazen image of Molech within a sevenfold temple outside Jerusalem, and of the placing of the victim in the hands of Molech, is a mere mediæval conjecture based on Diodorus or on some other record of the Carthaginian sacrifices.

The object of these offerings was probably to propitiate the deity, or show devotion to him, by the gift of the most precious possession. Movers (*Phön.* 328–330), however, holds that the children offered were supposed to be purified from all fleshly corruption and to attain union with the deity.

In the NT, Molech is mentioned only in St. Stephen's quotation, Ac 7^{43}; cf. Am 5^{26}.

See also articles AMMON, BAAL, CHEMOSH, MALCAM.

LITERATURE.—Baethgen, *Beiträge zur Sem. Rel.* pp. 11, 15, 20, 22, 37 ff., 84, 234–238, 254, 263; Baudissin, *Studien zur Sem. Rel.* i. pp. 5, 29–36, ii. 152–215, 246, 'J″ et Moloch'; Dillmann, *AT Theol.* pp. 49, 56, 85, 98, 120, 161; Buchanan Gray, *Studies in Heb. Proper Names*, p. 146 ff.; Kuenen, 'J″ en Moloch,' *Theol. Tijd.* 1868, 539 ff.; Movers, *Die Phönizier*, 1841–56, pp. 322–414; Schultz, *OT Theol.*, Eng. tr. i. 233 f.

W. H. BENNETT.

MOLID (מוֹלִיד).—The name of a Judahite family, 1 Ch 2^{29} (B Μωήλ, A Μωδάδ). Kittel (in *SBOT*) points out that the reading of B, namely ΜΩΗΛ, has originated from ΜΩΗΔ (Λ and Δ being often confused), and that Μωήδ, *i.e.* מוֹעִיד=מוֹלִיד, the two letters ע and ל being similar in the oldest script.

MOLLIFY (from *mollis* 'soft') is used literally 'to soften,' in Is 1^{6} 'mollified with ointment,' and Wis 16^{12} 'mollifying plaister' (*μάλαγμα*). Cf. Purchas, *Pilgrimage*, 213, 'When they have killed a great beast, they cut out all the veines and sinewes . . . and likewise all the Suet: which done, they dive them in water to mollifie them.' The figurative use seems to be quite as old, and was common about 1611, though not found in AV. Thus Tymme, *Calvin upon Genesis*, p. 605 (on ch. 28), 'It may be, that he was thus sent away, that the cruell mind of Esau, by so miserable a sight might be mollified and aswaged' (Lat. *ad mollitiem flecteretur*). So Tindale, *Prol. to 1 Jn*, 'The lusts of the flesh are subdued and killed, and the spirit mollified and made soft.' Cf. Knox, *Works*, iii. 93, 'O! hard ar the hartis whome so manyfold, most sueit, and sure promissis doith not molefie.' And in the Preface to Rhem. NT, 'Moreover, we presume not in hard places to mollifie the speaches or phrases, but religiously keepe them word for word, and point for point, for feare of missing or restraining the sense of the holy Ghost to our phantasie.' J. HASTINGS.

MOLOCH.—See MOLECH.

MOLTEN SEA.—See TEMPLE.

MOMDIS (A Μομδείς, B Μομδεῖος), 1 Es 9^{34}=MAADAI, Ezr 10^{34}.

MONEY.—The nature and origins of money, the importance and principles of the science of Numismatics and kindred topics—for which the student is referred to the authoritative writings of Jevons, Walker, Ridgeway, Babelon (*Les origines de la monnaie*, 1897), Lenormant (*La monnaie dans l'antiquité*, 2nd ed. 1897), Poole (art. 'Numismatics' in *Encycl. Brit.*^{9}), and others—fall without the scope of an article on the money in circulation among the Hebrews in the various periods of their national life. This more limited, but still sufficiently extensive, section of ancient numismatics we propose to study under the following heads:—

A. UNCOINED MONEY BEFORE THE EXILE.

1. Money in Palestine before the Conquest. The principal weight-standards of antiquity.
2. Hebrew money from the Conquest to the Exile. Sterling value of the Shekel.

B. COINED MONEY FROM THE EXILE TO THE REIGN OF NERO.

3. The Coinage of Darius and his successors. The 'Shekel of the Sanctuary.' Coins of the Phœnician cities.
4. The Coinage of the Ptolemies and Seleucids, and of the autonomous cities of Phœnicia, to the death of Simon Maccabæus.
5. The first Jewish Coinage (copper) under John Hyrcanus. The question of the so-called Maccabæan shekels. Bronze (copper) Coins of the Hasmonæan princes.
6. Coins of the Idumæan princes.
7. The Roman Imperial Coinage, including the Coins of the Procurators.
8. Coins of preceding §§ mentioned in the NT.

C. THE COINS OF THE REVOLTS.

9. The Coinage of the First Revolt (A.D. 66–70).
10. The Coinage of the Second Revolt (A.D. 132–135).
11. Appendix. The purchasing power of money in Bible times.

Literature.

A. UNCOINED MONEY FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE EXILE.

§ 1. *Money in Palestine before the Conquest. The principal weight-standards of antiquity.*—The oldest traditions of the Hebrews, as these have come down to us, do not reach back to the time when trade was still carried on by the primitive system of barter. Already in the patriarchal age the existence of a metallic currency is assumed (cf. Gn 17^{13} 'he that is bought with thy money,' כַּסְפֶּךָ, *lit.* 'thy silver,' and 23$^{13\text{ff.}}$ cited below); and rightly so, for, as we now know, the land of Canaan was even at this early period far advanced in the arts of civilization, including the use of the precious metals as media of exchange. For the century immediately preceding the Hebrew conquest we have the contemporary evidence of the Tel el-Amarna letters, which show not only that gold and silver were in daily use as money, that is, as media in terms of which all other merchandise was valued, but also that already the 'narrowing lust of gold' had asserted its empire over men (see Hugo Winckler's or other rendering, *passim*). The value, in other words, the purchasing power of these metals, was determined by their weight—a fact which renders some acquaintance with the metrology of the ancients an indispensable preliminary to the study of their money. Fortunately, the question of the origin and interrelation of the weight-standards of antiquity—one of the most complicated in the whole range of Oriental archæology—will be discussed in the article WEIGHTS AND MEASURES. It will suffice, therefore, in this place to sketch in the barest outline the results of the most recent metrological research, taking as our guide the elaborate treatise of the veteran metrologist, Friedrich Hultsch, *Die Gewichte des Alterthums nach ihrem Zusammenhange dargestellt* (Leipzig, 1898; cf. C. F. Lehmann, *Sitzungsberichte der archäolog. Gesellschaft zu Berlin*, 1888, and esp. the same scholar's *Das altbabylonische Maas- und Gewichtssystem*, Leyden, 1893; also G. F. Hill, *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins*, 1899, p. 26 ff.).

Proceeding from the simpler to the more complex, we begin with the weight-system of *Egypt*, a system characterized by extreme simplicity. Two weights only were in use from very early times—the **ket** (also transliterated kat, kitĕ, qedt, etc.), of 140 grains, and its multiple the **deben** (also transliterated uten, tabnu, etc.), equal to ten ket, or a little over 1400 grains (Hultsch, 1403·5 grs.). The Rhind mathematical papyrus, which dates from the Hyksos period, contains, according to an excellent authority, the earliest reference in Egyptian literature to the metals as standards of value. 'It is not known,' says Mr. Griffith in his important essay, 'Notes on Egyptian Weights and Measures,' in *PSBA* xiv. p. 436 ff., 'how far back into antiquity true money, *i.e.* pieces of definite weight and value, can be traced. About the time of the 18th Dynasty we know that the precious metals were kept in dust, in ingots, and in ornamental forms, but more especially in *rings*, and it is almost certain that the important weight-name *uten* has the root-meaning of a ring or coiled wire. It is well known not only that the metals were bought and sold by weight, but further, that goods of all kinds might be valued at a certain weight of metal in order to be exchanged against each other.' One of the most frequently reproduced of contemporary illustrations of the daily life of the Egyptians is the weigher with his balance * and scales, the stone weights of various animal forms (ox, or ox-head only, gazelle, etc.) in the one scale balancing in the other the rings of precious metal, which appear to have had 'a uniform diameter of about 5 inches' (Erman, *Egypt*, 464).

The Egyptian temple inscriptions contain numerous lists of the amount of tribute paid to successive Pharaohs by the kings and peoples of Syria, the best known being that inscribed on the walls of the great temple of Amon at Karnak by order of Thothmes III. (frequently published; see histories of Brugsch, Petrie, etc., under Thothmes). From the mass of detail in this list three typical entries may be selected as having an important bearing on the topic of this section. (1) The tribute of Naharina in Thothmes' thirty-third year (B.C. 1471 acc. to Mahler's chronology) consisted, *inter alia*, of 45 deben 1 ket of gold; (2) that of 'the great Khita,' or Hittites, comprised among other items 8 silver rings weighing 301 deben; (3) in the thirty-fourth year 'the tribute of the princes of the land of Retennu,' or Palestine, shows, *inter alia*, 55 deben 8 ket of gold. From these and similar fractional weights ($45\frac{1}{10}$ deben, $55\frac{4}{5}$ deben, and, since we know that the gold and silver rings were accurately adjusted to definite weights, the curious number 301 deben) metrologists have long suspected that the tribute here specified had been re-weighed before being entered as above by the Egyptian recorder, *its original weight having been in terms of another system and in whole numbers* (J. Brandis, *Das Münz-, Maas-, und Gewichtswesen in Vorderasien*, 1866, p. 91 ff.; Fr. Hultsch, *Griechische und römische Metrologie*, zweite Bearbeitung, 1882, 374 ff. [this work to be often cited in the sequel as Hultsch, *Metrol.*^{2}]; id. *Gewichte des Alterthums*, 1898, 25 ff.). This second weight-system in use in Syria and Palestine in the 15th cent. B.C., it was inferred, could only be that known as the *Babylonian* system. This inference was raised to a certainty by the discovery of the Tel el-Amarna clay tablets, which conclusively proved the exclusive use of the Babylonian weights by all the peoples of Mesopotamia and Syria at the date in question.† Here we find not only the sovereigns of Babylonia, such as Kallimasin (see Winckler's *Tel-el-Amarna Tablets*, $2^{15.\ 21}$ $5^{24.\ 27.\ 32}$) and Burnaburyash ($7^{11.\ 14}$), reckoning their gold and silver by **shekels**, **minas**, and **talents**, but also the kings of the West, such as Dushratta of Mitanni ($17^{50.\ 51.\ 61}$) and the king of Alashia, which is Cyprus (25^{10} 26^{9} 27^{18} 33^{6}—in three cases the metal is *copper*), employing the same system.*

This system, which is based on the **mina**, with its subdivision ($\frac{1}{60}$th) the **shekel** and its multiple the **talent** (60 minas), was in use in Babylonia from time immemorial. From the evidence of inscribed stone-weights dating from the reigns of Gudea and Dungi, *i.e.* from the first half of the third millennium B.C., Dr. C. F. Lehmann has recently proved in numerous essays (see esp. *Das altbabylonische Maas- und Gewichtssystem*, 1893) that what may be called *the common trade mina* was a weight averaging 491·2 grammes = *circa* 7580 grains. The sixtieth part of this trade mina was the shekel of *c.* 126 grains,† while the talent consisted, as above indicated, of 60 minas, or 3600 shekels. The temple accounts from Tello further show that about B.C. 2000 the shekel was subdivided into 180 *shé* (G. Reissner, 'Altbabylonische Masse u. Gewichte,' in the *Sitzungsb. d. Berliner Akad. d. Wissensch.* 1896, pp. 417–426). Side by side with the above series of trade weights was a parallel series of the same denominations, but of double the weight. The latter are known as the **heavy** shekel (252 grains), mina, and talent respectively, to distinguish them from the **light** shekel (126 grs.), mina, and talent first mentioned. All these were employed for the weighing of ordinary merchandise. For weighing the precious metals, on the other hand, important alterations were made in the scale. Thus, for gold, the shekel of 126 (and 252) grains ‡ was retained, but a new mina of 50, instead of 60, shekels was created, the talent of gold, however, still comprising 60 of these new minas of *c.* 6320 (12,640) grains, and therefore 3000 shekels, as compared with the trade talent of 3600 shekels. For silver, as money, the weights were on a different scale, being to the weights for gold just enumerated in the ratio of 4 : 3; in other words, the light Babylonian silver shekel = 168 grains, the mina of 50 shekels = 8400 grs., and the talent = 60 minas (with, as before, their respective *heavy* denominations of double these weights). It has been customary since Brandis (see *op. cit.*) to account for this double scale for the precious metals by the long-prevailing ratio of gold to silver in early times, viz. 40 : 3, which means that an ingot of gold was worth $13\frac{1}{3}$ times its weight in silver. The extreme awkwardness of this proportion for everyday transactions, if the metals were to be weighed on one and the same standard, scarcely needs to be pointed out. Hence, in order that a given weight of gold might be exchangeable for a whole (not a fractional) number of bars or wedges of silver, the weight of the silver shekel (mina, talent) was raised till it stood to that of the gold shekel in the proportion of 4 : 3. The practical result of this alteration was that a given weight of gold was always equivalent to *ten times the same weight of silver* (1 gold shekel = 10 silver shekels, 2 minas of gold = 20 minas of silver, etc.).§

---

* For the construction of the Egyptian balance, see Flinders Petrie, *A Season in Egypt*, p. 42, and pl. xx.; also art. BALANCE in this Dictionary, by the same authority.

† The importance of this testimony was first noted by C. F. Lehmann, 'Aus dem Funde von Tel-el-Amarna' in the *Zeitsch. f. Assyriologie*, iii. 391–393.

* The statement $8^{19\text{ff.}}$ is noteworthy. Burnaburyash complains that the king of Egypt had sent him nominally 20 minas of gold, but, when tested, this quantity had shrunk to 5 minas of fine gold!

† Throughout this article fractions have been avoided, except where special accuracy seemed to be required.

‡ The reader is reminded that an ounce troy weight contains 480 grains; the light Babylonian gold shekel, therefore, is slightly over $\frac{1}{4}$ oz. troy, and *only three grains heavier than an English sovereign* (see Table, below).

§ The equation of the two metals may be stated more explicitly thus: 1 gold shekel of 126 grs. = 126 × $13\frac{1}{3}$, or 1680 grs.

This extremely convenient ratio between the respective denominations was not, however, universally adopted in the East. The great mercantile cities of the Phœnician coast when, at a later period, they began to strike coins, employed a heavy silver shekel of *circa* 224 grains—hence universally known as the **Phœnician shekel**—with its companion light shekel of 112 grains. This shekel was one of the most widely spread of all the weights of antiquity, being found not only throughout Syria, but in Western Asia Minor, and even in Greece (for further details and discussion as to origin, etc., see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES). It stands, as a glance will show, to the heavy Babylonian silver shekel in the proportion of 2 : 3 ;* consequently with gold to silver in the ratio of 13⅓ : 1, the gold shekel of 252 (126) grains is equivalent to *fifteen* Phœnician silver shekels of 224 (112) grains, since 252 × 13⅓ = 224 × 15. On the Phœnician silver standard, as on the Babylonian, 50 shekels went to the mina, and 60 minas to the talent.

In addition to all the above weights on the **common standard**, we find still another parallel series on the so-called **royal standard**—the origin of which can only be conjectured,—the latter being simply the common weights raised by a certain percentage. Thus the gold shekel on the royal standard weighs 130 (and 260) in place of 126 (and 252) grains. The first of these weights, the light royal shekel of 130 grains, plays an important part in the subsequent history of the gold coinage of Western Asia (see below, § 3).†

The Babylono-Phœnician weight-system, as outlined above, clearly stands in an intimate relation to the Egyptian. Happily, the long-standing feud between Assyriologists and Egyptologists as to the relative antiquity of the two systems does not here concern us, but the fact remains that the Babylonian gold shekel of 126 grains is exactly $\frac{9}{10}$ths, the Babylonian silver shekel of 168 grains $\frac{6}{5}$ths, and the Phœnician silver shekel of 224 grs. $\frac{8}{5}$ths of the Egyptian weight-unit, the ket of 140 grains—results which cannot be the 'accident of an accident.'

§ 2. *Hebrew money from the Conquest to the Exile. Sterling value of the shekel.*—The evidence of the tribute-lists of Thothmes III. and other Egyptian monarchs, confirmed by the more explicit data of the Tel el-Amarna letters, may now be taken as proving beyond a doubt that, in taking possession of the land of Canaan, the Hebrews settled among a people long accustomed to the use of gold and silver as the recognized media of exchange, and to the use of the balance for estimating the amount of each metal to be given or received. We have not yet been fortunate enough to recover inscribed Canaanite weights of this early period, so that one is compelled to admit at the outset that we have no *direct* witness to the weight of the ancient Hebrew shekel.‡ Still the facts adduced in the foregoing section regarding the wide diffusion, in space and time, of the Babylono-Phœnician weight-system, afford at least a strong presumption in favour of our accepting it as the system by which money was reckoned in Old Testament times. This presumption is confirmed by the following testimonies of the historian Josephus. In the fourteenth book of his *Antiquities* he informs us that Crassus robbed the temple of a beam of solid gold 300 minas in weight, and adds the following important sentence: '*ἡ δὲ μνᾶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἰσχύει λίτρας δύο ἥμισυ*' (XIV. vii. 1, ed. Niese, § 106). The Hebrew gold mina, therefore, was equal in weight to 2½ Roman pounds, or 12,630 grains (taking the *libra* [*λίτρα*] according to the best authorities at 5053 grains = 327·45 grammes, see Hultsch, *Metrol.*^{2} 159–161), which gives 50 shekels of 252·6 grains, the exact weight of the heavy Babylonian shekel (§ 1). In another passage of the same work, Josephus informs us that the Hebrew silver shekel is equivalent to 'four Attic drachms' (*'Αττικὰς δέχεται δραχμὰς τέσσαρας*, *Ant.* III. viii. 10, N. § 194), by which is meant, as will be shown in the sequel (§ 7), four Roman denarii of 55–56 grains each. This is in complete agreement with the weights of the best specimens of the extant silver shekels, which weigh 218–220 grains, as near an approximation as ancient silver coins in general show to the theoretical standard (in this case 224 grs.).* These conclusions are summed up in the following table, which gives the scale by which it is assumed, throughout this article, that gold and silver were weighed from the conquest of Canaan to the extinction of Jewish nationality, the weight of the shekel being given to the nearest large fraction:—

GOLD STANDARD.

	HEAVY.	LIGHT.
Shekel . . .	252⅔ grs. troy[1]	126⅓ grs.
Mina = 50 shekels	12,630 ,, ,,	6,315 ,,
Talent = 3000 ,,	758,000[2] ,, ,,	379,000 ,,

SILVER STANDARD.

Shekel . . .	224½ grs. troy[3]	112¼ grs.
Mina = 50 shekels	11,225[4] ,, ,,	5,660 ,,
Talent = 3000 ,,	673,500[5] ,, ,,	336,750 ,,

Notes.

1. The standard weight of the English sovereign (20 shillings) is 123·274 grains troy. The ordinary or heavy gold shekel, therefore, weighed a little more than *two* sovereigns.
2. Since a pound avoirdupois contains 7000 grains, the Hebrew gold talent weighed *c.* 108 lb., *rather less than a hundredweight* (112 lb.).
3. Rather more than the weight of an English half-crown (218 grs.).
4. As the pound troy contains 5760 grs. the silver mina may be taken as = *circa* 2 troy pounds, or more precisely 1⅝ lb. avoirdupois.
5. *Circa* 96⅛ lb. avoir., a heavy load for a man to carry (see 2 K 5^{23}).

At this point the question naturally suggests itself as to the value in sterling money of the Hebrew shekel as gold and silver unit respectively. Since the English sovereign is only eleven parts pure gold to one part alloy, the mere comparison of the respective weights of sovereign and shekel, as in the preceding table, note 1, is not sufficiently accurate for our present purpose. We prefer, therefore, to base our calculations on the price at which the Royal Mint buys its gold, viz. £3, 17s. 10½d. (934·5 pence) per ounce of 480 grains. This gives us as nearly as possible £2, 1s. sterling as the value of the Hebrew gold shekel. The gold mina, accordingly, we value at £102, 10s., and the talent at £6150.

The calculation of the intrinsic value of the silver shekel must be even more carefully set about. By many previous writers the important fact has been overlooked, that the silver currency of this country is but money of account, our only standard being gold. In other words, the coin which we call a shilling, of which the standard weight is

---

of silver, since gold was to silver in the ratio of 13⅓ : 1. Dividing this amount of silver into 10 equal parts, we see that 1 gold shekel of 126 grs. = 10 silver shekels of 168 grs.

* 224 (112) : 336 (168) :: 2 : 3.

† Professor Ridgeway, in his elaborate work, *The Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight-Standards* (1892), has endeavoured with much ingenuity and learning to prove (1) that this light shekel of 130 grains lies at the basis of all the weight-systems of antiquity, and (2) that originally 'it was nothing more than the amount of gold which represented the value of the cow, the unit of barter throughout all Europe, Asia, and Africa.'

‡ Whatever may have been the standard of weight in use among the Hebrews *before* the conquest, there need be no hesitation in affirming that from that epoch onwards the Hebrews adopted the standards of the country in which they settled.

* See also the discussion of 'the shekel of the sanctuary,' § 3.

87·272 grains, is not worth that weight of silver at so much an ounce,* but has its value legally fixed as the twentieth part of the gold unit or sovereign. Hence, in order to arrive at even an approximate valuation in our currency of any weight of silver anciently used as money, whether coined or uncoined, we must know in each case the ratio then existing between gold and silver. In the period of Hebrew history with which we are now dealing, this ratio, as we have already learned, appears to have been fixed as 13·3 : 1, which resulted in the convenient adjustment that one gold shekel of 252 grains was equal in value to fifteen silver shekels of 224 grains (§ 1). This gives us, without further calculation, the value of the Hebrew or Phœnician silver shekel as $\frac{1}{15}$th of 41 shillings, or 2s. 8$\frac{4}{5}$d., say 2s. 9d. The same proportion holds with regard to the silver mina and shekel, which are $\frac{1}{15}$th of the same denominations in gold, viz. £6, 16s. 8d. and £410 respectively. It will be convenient to have these values in tabular form for easy reference.

VALUES OF ANCIENT HEBREW MONEY IN STERLING MONEY.†

	GOLD.			SILVER.			
Shekel . .	£2	1	0	£0	2	9	nearly
Mina . .	102	10	0	6	16	8	
Talent . .	6150	0	0	410	0	0	

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that throughout the whole period ending with the return from the Exile there can be no question of coined money. For every transaction of the least importance the balance had to be employed, and the tale of silver duly determined by weight. Thus, in the incident of Abraham's purchase of the cave of Machpelah, though its present record may be late, we have a lifelike picture of how business was done in pre-exilic times. The price having been fixed in approved Oriental style, 'Abraham,' we read, '*weighed* to Ephron the silver which he had named, four hundred shekels of silver, current (money) with the merchant' (כֶּסֶף עֹבֵר לַסֹּחֵר Gn 23^{16}), *i.e.*, as a late Targum has correctly paraphrased it, in 'good silver passing at every (banker's) table and receivable in all transactions.' The weights employed were of stone, and were kept in a bag (hence Pr 16^{11} אַבְנֵי כִיס 'the weights [lit. stones] of the bag'). From the earliest of the prophetic writings onwards, we find repeated warnings against the use of unjust weights (Am 8^{5}, Mic $6^{10f.}$, Pr 11^{1} $20^{10.\,23}$), and both the Deuteronomic and the Levitical codes find it necessary to issue strict injunctions against the falsification of the balance and its weights (Dt 25^{13-16}, Lv $19^{35.\,36}$; cf. Ezk 45^{12}, to be read in the light of the Gr. text). It is somewhat remarkable, however, that we nowhere find any attempt to regulate the fineness of the silver, which clearly shows that there was as yet no thought of a proper coinage, the essential characteristic of which is the guarantee by the State of the quality as well as the quantity of the metal. It must not be thought, however, that it was necessary to have recourse to the balance for every transaction however small. On the contrary, there is ample evidence that the precious metals circulated in the form of ingots of known weight. Saul's servant, for example, had with him an ingot ‡ of the weight of a quarter of a shekel (1 S 9^{8}). In the case of large sums, and especially in official and legal payments where great accuracy was necessary, as well as in cases where the parties concerned were not well known to each other, the money was invariably weighed. Hence the word *shāḳal* (שׁקל), to 'weigh,' is used as synonymous with 'pay' (Ex 22^{16}, 1 K 10^{39}, Is 55^{2} etc.). In illustration of this extensive use of the balance in the most varied transactions, it will suffice to refer to such additional passages as 2 K $12^{10.\,11}$ RV (where the money is both 'told' and 'weighed out'), Jer $32^{9.\,10}$, Is 46^{6}, Ezr $8^{25.\,26}$.

The custom of wearing ornaments of an accurately determined weight—such were Rebekah's gold nose-ring of half a shekel weight and her bracelets of ten shekels, Gn 24^{22}—would naturally tend to facilitate their use on occasion as money. The 'wedge (lit. tongue) of gold of fifty shekels weight' purloined by Achan was probably an ornament of some sort (Jos 7^{21}). The ring-money so popular in Egypt, to which allusion has already been made (§ 1), does not appear to have been current among the Hebrews.* The nature of the piece of money—for such it surely must have been—called *ḳěsîṭah* (קְשִׂיטָה Gn 33^{19}, Jos 24^{32}, and Job 42^{11} only) is quite unknown. From the fact that the oldest versions render it by 'lamb' or 'sheep,' it is a plausible conjecture, but nothing more, that the *ḳěsîṭah* may have been a piece of precious metal, the value of which was in some way indicated by its having a lamb stamped upon it † (see art. KESITAH, and add to the reff. there given, Hultsch, *Metrol.*^{2} pp. 460–63, who attempts to determine its value from utterly insufficient data, and Ridgeway, *Metal Currency*, pp. 270–72 [with illustrations], who concludes 'that the *qesitah* was an old unit of barter like the Homeric ox, and as the latter was transformed into a gold unit so the former was superseded by an equivalent of silver').

Before we pass from this section, it may be added that the predominant use of the shekel as the monetary unit in ordinary transactions has led to its frequent omission in statements of price in the OT. Joseph, for example, was sold for 'twenty (shekels, AV *pieces*) of silver,' Solomon paid for his Egyptian chariots 'six hundred of silver' apiece (see complete list of such omissions in Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, p. 15). It is worthy of note, finally, that the mina (מָנֶה in Ezk 45^{12} by AV transliterated 'maneh,' elsewhere in OT and NT 'pound') does not occur in any pre-exilic writing.‡ The price of a chariot we have just seen was '600 shekels,' not '12 minas'; Achan's wedge weighed '50 shekels,' not '*one* mina,'—examples might be multiplied indefinitely,—while large sums are quoted by talents and shekels only. From among the latter may be singled out Solomon's annual revenue of 666 talents of gold (1 K 10^{14}, 2 Ch 9^{13}) = £4,095,900, as also the incredible total of David's Temple Fund, which, according to the Chronicler, amounted to the colossal sum of one thousand and twenty-five millions sterling (£1,025,000,000)!§

---

[*] This is the fallacy which vitiates the calculation of the values of the NT silver coins given in the margins of our AV (see below, §§ 7, 8).

[†] These figures give merely the intrinsic value of the metal; its purchasing power, as compared with these sums to-day, was many times greater (see § 11).

[‡] It is an anachronism to speak of it as a coin, as in the *Internat. Crit. Comm.* (1899) *ad loc.*

[*] G. Hoffmann, in *Zeit. f. Assyriol.* ii. (1887) 48 f., has proposed to render the obscure word בֶּצֶר of Job $22^{24.\,25}$ (AV gold, RV treasure, RVm 'Heb. ore') by 'ring-gold,' *i.e.* gold circulating in the form of rings, but on insufficient grounds.

[†] Compare the Assyrian ingots stamped with 'the head of Istar of Nineveh,' to which Babelon refers in *Les Origines de la Monnaie*, p. 58, and those apparently stamped with a plant, to which Mr. Pinches has called our attention. These stamped ingots were the precursors of true coins. (Cf. now, Johns, 'Did the Assyrians coin Money?' *Expos.* Nov. 1899).

[‡] For this and other reasons the MT of 2 Ch 9^{16} giving 'three hundred (מאות) of gold,' viz. shekels, is to be preferred to, and to be substituted for, the text of the parallel passage 1 K 10^{17} 'three minas (מנות) of gold,' and not *vice versa*, as most modern critics. This disposes of the hasty inference which several writers have drawn from these passages, that in the time of the Chronicler the mina was computed to contain 100 light shekels or drachms (cf. below, §§ 3, 4).

[§] 'One hundred thousand talents of gold and a thousand thousand talents of silver' (1 Ch 22^{14}).

B. Coined Money from the Persian Period to the Reign of Nero.

§ 3. *Invention of the art of Coining. Money of Darius and his successors. The 'Shekel of the Sanctuary.'*—Modern research tends to confirm the statement of Herodotus (i. 94), that coins are an invention of the Lydians. To the reign of Gyges [*c.* 700 B.C.] may perhaps be ascribed the earliest essays in the art of coining (Head, *Hist. Numorum*, p. xxxiii; to this work, to Babelon, *Les Origines de la Monnaie*, and the other works mentioned at the head of this article, the student is referred for full discussion of the question as to the invention of coining, the process employed, etc.). Wherein, it may be asked, does a true coin differ from the ingots of gold and silver of specified weight so long in use in the ancient world? We answer that an ingot becomes a coin when it receives the impression of an official mark—called by numismatists the 'type' of the coin—which serves as a public guarantee of its weight and fineness, and hence of its value in the currency of the country. When the last band of Jewish exiles left for the land of their captivity (B.C. 586) true coins had circulated in western Asia Minor and Greece for about a century, but there is no evidence that this economic revolution had affected Palestine. Forty years later (B.C. 546 or 548, acc. to Winckler, *Untersuchungen zur altorient. Gesch.* 131) Cyrus gained his decisive victory over Crœsus king of Lydia, who had reorganized the currency of his kingdom (Head, *Coinage of Lydia and Persia*, 19 f., *Hist. Num.* 546), introducing a gold stater, the famous κροίσειος στατήρ, of the weight of the light Babylonian gold shekel (126 grs.), and a corresponding silver stater or shekel* of 168 grs. Lenormant, Head, and others consider that Cyrus continued the issue of these coins from the mint at Sardis; but Babelon has shown that this view is untenable (*Les Perses Achéménides*, Introd. ii f.), and that the royal coinage of Persia was first issued by Darius Hystaspis (B.C. 522–485). Darius' coins were of two denominations—(1) a stater of pure gold (χρυσίον καθαρώτατον, Herod. iv. 166), weighing 130 grs. and circulating throughout Asia and Europe under the designation στατὴρ δαρεικός or daric;† and (2) a silver coin of almost 87 grs., known as the σίγλος μηδικός or Median shekel.‡ The former was the light Babylonian shekel on the royal standard (see § 1),—otherwise one half of the corresponding heavy shekel (260 grs.) represented at this period by the popular gold coin known as the stater of Phocœa (Babelon, *op. cit.* iv f.; Head, *op. cit.* 506; see also footnote),—while the latter, the *siglos*, was one half of the light Babylonian silver shekel on the same standard. *These were in all probability the first coins to circulate among the Jews.* No 1 of the plate of illustrations shows a gold daric of the Persian kings, the type of which is fairly constant throughout. The obverse represents the king as an archer, bearded, crowned with the *cidaris*, and kneeling right; clad in long robe with left knee bare, he holds a bow in his outstretched left hand, and in his right a spear. The reverse is not occupied by a 'type' but by an irregular oblong 'incuse.' The type of the *siglos* closely resembles that of the daric, but is less constant. In sterling money the daric (130 grs. of pure gold), on the basis of calculation adopted in § 1, was worth £1, 1s. 1d., say *one guinea*, and, since the gold unit was equal to twenty of the silver unit* (on the basis of 13·3 : 1; cf. Xen. *Anab.* i. 7. 18), the *siglos* was worth a fraction more than a shilling.

The daric and siglos, we have said, are the first coins that can possibly have circulated in Palestine, which formed part of the fifth satrapy (Babelon, *op. cit.* xx f.). Is there any reference to either in the Hebrew literature of the period? Our Revisers reply in the affirmative, since in six passages of the historical work Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah (see Driver, *LOT*^{6} 516) they have substituted 'darics' for the 'drams' (*i.e.* drachms) of AV (1 Ch 29^7, Ezr 2^{69} 8^{27}, Neh 7$^{70.71.72}$). The original has דַּרְכְּמוֹן except in 1 Ch 29^7, Ezr 8^{27}, where we find אֲדַרְכֹּן.† The first passage must be set aside as a pure anachronism. Of the remainder, Neh 7$^{70\text{ff.}}$ and its parallel Ezr 2^{69} bring extracts from an earlier document recording the contributions for religious purposes given on the occasion of the return under Cyrus, *i.e. nearly twenty years before the introduction of the daric*, while Ezr 8^{27} refers not to money but to the weight (1000 *'adarkônîm*) ‡ of 'twenty basins of gold.' Since, then, the *darkemon* is clearly a weight and not a coin, it scarcely can be anything but the word δραχμή, the standing designation among the Greeks for the $\frac{1}{100}$th part of the mina. This conclusion is confirmed by the following considerations: (1) Lucian's Greek text has δραχμάς throughout; (2) *darkemon* was the recognized Semitic transcription of δραχμή, as is proved by a Phœnician inscription from the Piræus, in which a colony of Sidonians there (prob. in the 3rd cent. B.C.) vote two sums of twenty *darkemonîm* (דרכמנים) § each to defray the expense of a gold crown and a gilded stele in honour of a countryman, 'Shemabaal, son of Magon.'

In attempting to estimate the value of the *darkemon* or drachm as the weight in terms of which the contributions are entered in Nehemiah's lists, we would lay stress on the fact above indicated, that the drachm is essentially the hundredth part of the mina—in other words, *a half-shekel.* Now if, as we believe, the Hebrew gold shekel *par excellence* was the *heavy* shekel of 252–260 grains, and if, as is most probable, the original entries were made on the Persian or *light* Babylonian royal standard, of which the shekel was 130 grs. (the weight of the later daric), we can understand why a Jewish author—or, it may be, editor—to avoid possible ambiguity, should have altered the original light shekels into the equivalent drachms (either being $\frac{1}{100}$th of the Hebrew gold mina). If this be so, the total amount of gold contributed by 'the Tirshatha (1000 drachms), the chief of the fathers (20,000), and the rest of the people (20,000),' is equal to 41,000 drachms, darics, or guineas.* In the same way the mina (EV pound), by which the silver contributions are reckoned, can hardly be other than the Perso-Babylonic royal mina, of which the later *siglos* was the hundredth part. Since the latter was in value $\frac{1}{20}$th of the daric, its mina was equal to five darics, and the total contributions (4200 minas, Neh $7^{71.\ 72}$) to 21,000 darics, that is, to *circa* as many guineas.

---

* It is of great importance, in view of subsequent discussions, to observe that the word στατήρ, *stater* (from ἵστημι in the sense of 'to weigh'), is the true Gr. equivalent of the Semitic *shekel*, of which σίγλος (see below) is a transliteration.

† The word *daric* (δαρεικός) has probably no etymological connexion with Darius (Old Pers. *Dārayavauš*), but is rather to be traced to the Assyrian *dariku*, applied to a piece of money in the reign of Nabonidus.

‡ The *siglos*, it must be observed, is in reality a half-shekel, being $\frac{1}{100}$th of the Babylonian silver mina. Inasmuch as the term stater, as the equivalent of shekel, represents $\frac{1}{50}$th of the mina, the Greeks applied the term δραχμή, drachm, to the half-stater, or $\frac{1}{100}$th part. From this point of view, the daric—while a stater or shekel on the *light* Babylonian standard—might be regarded as a drachm on the *heavy* standard (see below).

* This proportion of 20 to 1, first adopted by Darius, is still maintained in most currencies at the present day (cf. sovereign and shilling, 'Napoleon' and franc, etc.).

† For the conflicting views of scholars as to the etymology of these words, see *sub* דרכמון in *Oxf. Lex.* (Brown-Briggs-Driver) and reff. there. Also Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 46; Hultsch, *Metrol.*^{2} 485 n. 2.

‡ The interesting corruptions in the Greek text of A and B (ὀδονδραχμωνειν—ὀδονχαμανειμ) seem to prove that the original here was דַּרְכְּמוֹנִים *darkĕmônîm*, as in the other passages just cited.

§ In line 3, owing probably to a slip of the engraver, the word is written דרכנים. On the strength of this, Ed. Meyer in his detailed discussion of Neh 7$^{70\text{ff.}}$ in his *Entstehung d. Judenthums*, 196 ff., takes דרכנים as = gold darics and דרכמנים as = Attic (silver) drachms; but it is much more likely that the same denomination, viz. Attic *gold* drachms, is intended throughout (cf. the interesting parallels from the Greek *Corpus* given by Lidzbarski, *Handb. d. nordsemit. Epigraphik* (1898), pp. 124 and 160. The inscription itself, *ib.* pl. viii. 6, in square characters, p. 425. Other literature *apud* Bloch, *Phön. Glossar.* p. 6).

The shekel (173 grs.) of this mina, of which the siglos is the half-shekel (see above), is perhaps intended in the reference Neh 5^{15} to the table allowances of Nehemiah as a high official of Artaxerxes I. Longimanus (see Babelon, *op. cit.* p. 6 f., for the coins of this sovereign). The satraps of the Great King enjoyed to a limited extent (Lenormant, *La monnaie dans l'antiq.* ii. 16 f., and esp. Babelon, *op. cit.* xxi ff.) the privilege of issuing silver (not gold) coins in their own name. With one of these, Bagoas, satrap of Egypt (*c.* 345–343) under Artaxerxes III. Ochus, is generally identified the Bagoses of Josephus (*Ant.* XI. vii. 1, N. § 297), who under the circumstances there recorded imposed a tax of 50 shekels upon every lamb offered in the daily sacrifice. These must have been either Persian shekels, as above, or, since Bagoas' Egyptian coinage is entirely on the Phœnician standard (see *ap.* Babelon, pp. 52–55), shekels on the Hebrew-Phœnician standard (224 grs.).

Since the document known as the Priests' Code (P) is now universally recognized as having first received public sanction under the governorship of Nehemiah (*c.* 444 B.C.), we have reserved for this section the discussion of the monetary unit adopted therein for various important payments, viz. the so-called **'shekel of the sanctuary'** † (שֶׁקֶל הַקֹּדֶשׁ, more probably 'sacred shekel'), regarding which so much has been written and so many conjectures hazarded. The expression occurs in the following passages of P only: Ex $30^{13.\ 24}$ 38^{24-26}, Lv 5^{15} $27^{3.\ 25}$, Nu $3^{47.\ 50}$ 7^{13-86} (14 times) 18^{16}, and in these it is used not only of silver and gold but of spices (Ex $30^{23\text{f.}}$) and presumably copper (38^{29}). This confirms the impression we derive from Lv 27^{25} ('*all thy estimations* shall be reckoned according to the shekel of the sanctuary') that part of P's aim is to introduce a uniform shekel for all transactions.‡ From the numbers given Ex $38^{25\text{ff.}}$, an easy calculation proves that 3000 'sacred' shekels went to the talent. What, then, is the value of P's shekel? Let us examine (1) *The testimony of the text and the versions.* In four of the passages cited (Ex 30^{13}, Lv 27^{25}, Nu 3^{47} 18^{16}) the 'shekel of the sanctuary' is defined as consisting of 20 gerahs (עֶשְׂרִים גֵּרָה הַשָּׁקֶל), words which Ezekiel had already applied to his shekel (45^{12}).§ Now the gerah—whether its original meaning be a seed-grain generally, or specially the seed of the carob tree (Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, p. 317) or the lupin (Ridgeway, *op. cit.* 217)—was most probably a small Babylonian weight (cf. the *giru* of Nebuchadnezzar's inscriptions, used in connexion with money, see Muss-Arnolt, *Lex. s.v.*), identified by Talmudic writers with the מָעָה or obol, by which it is rendered in the Targum of Onkelos. The same identification is adopted by the LXX (εἴκοσι ὀβολοί).* The obol is, of course, the sixth of the Attic drachm, at this period = *c.* 11·23 grs., twenty of which give us a shekel of 224 grs. (cf. Josephus' statement (*Ant.* III. vi. 7) that the Heb. talent = 100 (Attic) minas, *i.e.* 3000 shekels = 10,000 drachms or 60,000 obols; hence 1 shekel = 20 obols).

(2) *The testimony of the New Testament and Josephus.*—In the 1st cent. the amount of the tax paid by every adult Jew for the maintenance of the temple services had long been fixed at half a shekel, which, since the tax was ultimately based on Ex $30^{13\text{ff.}}$ (see next paragraph), must necessarily have been the 'sacred' shekel. Now, on a well-known occasion in the life of our Lord (Mt $17^{24\text{ff.}}$), the amount due by two persons was paid by a stater, which can only be a tetradrachm of Antioch or of Tyre (see §§ 4, 7, 8), both of them slightly reduced from the standard weight of 224 grs.† Josephus, also, in his references to this tax, uses in one place (*Ant.* XVIII. ix. 1) the same word as the evangelist (τὸ δίδραχμον; cf. Mt 17^{24}), in another (*Wars*, VII. vi. 6) the equivalent δύο δραχμάς, while in a third (*Ant.* III. viii. 2) he writes σίκλου τὸ ἥμισυ, the half-shekel. (3) *The testimony of the Talmud.* The Talmud repeatedly lays down the canon that all sums mentioned in the Pentateuch are to be reckoned in the money of Tyre (כֶּסֶף צוֹרִי, see reff. in Zuckermandel, *Ueber talmudische Gewichte u. Münzen*, pp. 5, 15); and in particular in *Bekhoroth* viii. 7, with reference to the very passages we are discussing, we read that 'all payments according to the sacred shekel are to be made in Tyrian (*i.e.* Phœnician) currency,' in other words, according to the Hebrew-Phœnician shekel of 224 grs. On the strength of this threefold testimony, we are justified in maintaining that 'the shekel of the sanctuary' is nothing but *the ancient silver shekel of the country*, fifteen of which (at 224 grs.) we saw (§ 1) to be equivalent to the gold shekel of 253 grs. It was 'sacred,' not only as having been associated with the payment of the priestly dues from time immemorial, but also as being the specifically *Hebrew* shekel, just as the Hebrew language was distinguished from all others as 'the sacred tongue (לְשׁוֹן הַקֹּדֶשׁ).' Some epithet of the kind was required in early post-exilic times to distinguish this shekel from the Perso-Babylonic shekel of 168–173 grs. (see next paragraph), which may well have been the only shekel then officially recognized in Judæa, a province of the Persian empire.

The date of the institution of the temple tax of half a shekel, above referred to, has been the subject of much discussion. It does not appear to have been contemplated by the original framers of the Priests' Code,‡ since we find the community, immediately after ratifying that code, charging themselves 'yearly with the third part of a shekel for the service of the house' (Neh $10^{32\ \text{Heb.}\ 33}$). Since the Hebrew-Phœnician shekel is never divided otherwise than by halves and quarters, this must be the official Perso-Babylonian shekel (⅓ = 56–58 grs., worth *c.* 8½d.). At a later date, certainly before the time of the Chronicler (*c.* 300 B.C.; cf. 2 Ch 24^{5-9}), the tax was raised by the priestly authorities—appealing, no doubt, to the passage in Exodus—to half the native shekel (112 grs., worth *c.* 1s. 4½d.).

---

* The first being the *weight* of the whole, the second its equivalent in the later coinage of Darius, the third the same in sterling money.

† This rendering probably presupposes that the standard weight was kept in the temple in accordance with a well-attested ancient custom. But this hardly suits the exilic or early post-exilic origin of P.

‡ In this, as in so much else, P continues the policy of Ezekiel, who appears to contemplate a simplification of the standard measures (45^{10-12}).

§ Hence it is possible that the words in question are everywhere in P a gloss introduced from this passage of Ezekiel.

* The LXX gives the same rendering to the obscure אֲגוֹרַת כֶּסֶף 1 S 2^{36} only (AV a piece of silver, LXX ὀβολοῦ ἀργυρίου). This word is probably to be restored in the Marseilles sacrificial tablet (*CIS* i. 165; Lidzbarski, *Nordsem. Epigraphik*, 428), line 12, where Driver (*Authority and Archæology*^{1}, 1899) renders '10 g[erah] each.' (In 2nd ed. '10 a[gōrāhs?],' with note that perhaps same as the gerah). Lenormant (*La monnaie*, i. 107) thought he had discovered the word *giru* in an Egyp. papyrus.

† The effective weight of good specimens of the extant half-shekel lies between 108 and 110 grs.

‡ Were Ex 30^{11-16} a late addition to the code, inserted with a view to legalizing the half-shekel tax, as some modern critics hold, the fact of its being an *annual* contribution would surely have been emphasized.

The daric and siglos, we have said, were the first coins to have legal currency in Judæa. But soon after Nehemiah's time another silver coinage made its appearance. In the second half of the 5th cent. the wealthy commercial cities on the Mediterranean seaboard had begun to issue silver money under their native kings.* Aradus, Sidon, Tyre, and Gaza were among the greatest trade centres of the period. The 'men of Tyre,' we may be sure, were not the only traders that brought 'all manner of ware' to Jerusalem (Neh 13^{16}), and the coins followed the trade. One of the earliest of these is a fine double-shekel of Sidon (423 grs.) in the British Museum (see Plate No. 2).

Rev. A Phœnician galley with mast and sails.

Obv. King of Persia in his chariot, driven by his charioteer. Æ. Wt. 423 grs.

Of no city or sovereign, however, are the coins of such importance to the student of Jewish numismatics as those of Tyre. Have we not seen that all the moneys mentioned in the Pentateuch were to be paid in Tyrian—rather, in a wider sense, Phœnician—currency? The earliest coins of Tyre take us back to near the middle of the 5th cent. B.C., the latest date from the reign of Septimius Severus. No. 3 of our Plate shows an early, not perhaps the earliest, specimen of a tetradrachm of Tyre (a shekel of *c.* 220 grs.), the real 'shekel of the sanctuary.'

Obv. Melkarth (the Tyrian Hercules) holding a bow, and riding over the waves on hippocamp or sea horse; beneath, a dolphin.

Rev. Owl bearing over left shoulder the Egyptian crook and flail (the symbols of Osiris).

The reverse is of great interest as showing the range of the mercantile relations of Tyre and the resulting influence of Athens on the one hand, and of Egypt on the other (cf. Babelon, *op cit.* Introd. clxxxix). The influence of Athens on Palestine at this early period is still more strikingly shown by the coins of Gaza, which not only imitate the type and *legend* of the coins of Athens, but are struck on the Attic standard.

§ 4. *Coinage of the Ptolemies and Seleucids and of the semi-autonomous cities to the time of Simon Maccabæus.*—At the date of his conquest of Asia, Alexander the Great introduced his international currency in the three metals, gold, silver, and bronze.† The principal coins are the gold stater or didrachm of 133 grs. actual weight; for silver the tetradrachm (266 grs.) and the drachm (66½ grs.). These weights introduce us to a new standard, the Euboic-Attic,‡ on which the currency of Athens was based—from this time onwards to the 3rd cent. A.D. the most widely spread of ancient monetary standards. Coins with Alexander's types were struck, even long after his death, by various cities of Syria and Palestine.

After years of varying fortune on the field of battle, Ptolemy I. finally succeeded (B.C. 301) in adding Palestine to his Egyptian dominions. The Jews were still, however, but 'a feeble folk,' content to use the coins that issued in great abundance from the royal mints at Alexandria and the cities of the seacoast. This was all the more practicable, since Ptolemy (from B.C. 305), alone among the successors of Alexander, coined on the light Phœnician standard (see Poole, *The Ptolemies* [Brit. Mus. Cat. of Gr. Coins], 1883, Introd. xxiii f.; Head, *Hist. Num.* 711 ff.; Hultsch, *Metrol.*^{2} 646 ff.). No. 4 of our Plate is a typical coin, a tetradrachm or double-shekel of the Ptolemies.

Obv. Head of Ptolemy I. diademed.

Rev. ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Type, eagle* on thunderbolt. Æ. Wt. 224 grs.

Tyre, which passed into the hands of Ptolemy II. Philadelphus in B.C. 275, still possessed a flourishing mint, its coins bearing as adjunct, in addition to the Ptolemaic types, the monogram of the city with the club of the Tyrian Hercules (see Poole, *op. cit.* Plate IV. 8). Sidon, Acco (named Ptolemais by Philadelphus), Gaza, Joppa, were all Ptolemaic mints,† from which, especially from the three latter, the peaceful Jewish community derived their supply of shekels. The yoke of the Ptolemies pressed lightly, for the greater part of the century (B.C. 300–200) at least, upon the Jews. According to the highly embellished story of Joseph, the nephew of the high priest (Onias II.), told in detail by Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 4), the tribute in the reign of Ptolemy III. Euergetes did not exceed twenty shekels of silver (*ib.* XII. iv. 1, Niese, § 158). To obtain the modern equivalent of a Ptolemaic talent of silver (6000 drachms of 56 grs.), we must, in accordance with the principles laid down in § 2 of this article, first translate the silver into gold, which is our only standard. Now the ratio of gold to silver in the Ptolemaic system is 12½ : 1, eight gold drachms being equivalent to a mina (100 drachms) of silver (cf. Hultsch, *Metrol.*^{2} 646 f.). We thus obtain, at the mint price of gold £3, 17s. 10½d. per oz. of 480 grs., 9s. 1d. as the value of the gold drachm, £45 for the gold mina (3 Mac 1^4), 8¾d. for the silver drachm (*ib.* 3^{28}), and £218 for the silver talent, twenty of which amount to £4360. The total revenue of Ptolemy's Asiatic possession, Cœle-Syria, and Phœnicia, and Judæa, and Samaria amounted—if the figures (*Ant.* XII. iv. 4, N. 175 f.) are to be trusted—to 8000 talents, raised by Joseph to 16,000, almost three and a half million pounds sterling! On the same standard are to be reckoned the numerous other sums mentioned throughout the story.

When we reflect that the Ptolemaic silver shekel is a double-drachm or stater (of 112 grs.)—the latter term, when the didrachm fell into disfavour, the Greeks applied to the tetradrachm—we understand how the Alexandrian translators of the Pentateuch so frequently render the Hebrew shekel, which weighed 224 grs., by δίδραχμον as well as by σίκλος, instead of by the more exact τετράδραχμον (in LXX only Job 42^{11}).‡ Similarly the *beḳa'* (בֶּקַע) or half-shekel is in the two passages where it occurs (Gn 24^{22}, Ex 38^{26}=LXX 39^2) rendered by δραχμή.

In B.C. 198 Antiochus III. succeeded in wresting Palestine from the feeble grasp of the youthful Ptolemy Epiphanes; it now became a province of the Syrian empire. The Seleucids, like all the successors of Alexander save the Ptolemies, continued his coinage on the Attic standard, retaining, for some time at least, even his name and types, to which the anchor was added—the family badge or cognizance of Seleucus, the founder of the dynasty. Gold coins are comparatively rare; the commonest silver coins are the tetradrachm (at this period as high as 265 grs.) and the drachm, to which fall to be added bronze coins of numerous denominations.* For half a century (*c.* 150–100 B.C.) the Phœnician standard appears alongside of the Attic (Babelon, *op. cit.* clxxxiii). The mints are numerous; besides Antioch and other cities of Northern Syria we still have Sidon, Tyre, Ptolemais, Ascalon, and others.†

---

* The brilliant sketch of M. Six, 'Observations sur les monnaies phéniciennes,' in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1877, p. 177 ff., is still of value alongside of the more recent and exhaustive work of M. Babelon, *Les Perses Achéménides, Cypre et Phénicie*, 1893. Cf. Head's résumé in *Hist. Num.* 665–676; and, of older works, Brandis, *Das Münz- Maas- und Gewichtswesen in Vorderasien*, 1866 *passim.*

† The chief authority is still Ludwig Müller's *La Numismatique d'Alexandre le Grand*, 1855 (cf. Head's conspectus, *Hist. Num.* 310 ff.).

‡ For which see Head, *op. cit.* xl–xliii and p. 309 f. Acc. to Hultsch (*Gew. d. Alt.* pp. 66–68), the shekel or stater of this standard was $\frac{1}{50}$th of a mina of 60 light Phœnician shekels = 134·7 (112¼ × 60 ÷ 50) grains, which is found as early as the 12th Dynasty in Egypt, whence, through Phœnician intermediaries, it was carried to Greece and Asia Minor. This gives *c.* 269·5 and 67·36 grs. for the Attic tetradrachm and drachm respectively, and for the mina and talent 6735 and 404,100 grs. respectively.

* The special badge or 'crest' of the Ptolemies, as the anchor was of the Seleucids (see below).

† See Poole, Table III. *Mints and Dates*, p. xcvi ff., for complete list of Phœnician and Palestinian mints to B.C. 198.

‡ The later translators, Aquila and Symmachus, prefer στατήρ (cf. Mt 27^{27}).

Antiochus treated the Jews with great consideration, even with kindness. Taxes were remitted, in some cases permanently, in others for three years, with one-third abatement thereafter; while a grant of 20,000 drachms, in addition to allowances of wheat and salt, was made from the imperial treasury to defray the cost of the temple service (Jos. *Ant.* XII. iii. 3, N. 138 ff.). From this time onwards to the date of the complete rupture with Antioch the taxes and other official payments must have been settled in Attic drachms (see below) from one or other of the coast mints. For ordinary transactions and for the sacred dues, the former Ptolemaic currency, based on the native standard, probably still held the field. We give (No. 5) a tetradrachm of Antiochus IV. Epiphanes, with whose accession, in B.C. 175, we approach a turning-point in the fortunes of the Jews.

Obv. Head of Antiochus Epiphanes (looking) right, diademed, with fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ [king Antiochus, divine, illustrious]. Zeus (looking) left, seated on throne, naked to the waist, and holding a Nike, who crowns him, in right hand, while left rests on sceptre. In exergue a monogram. Wt. 259 grs.

The portrait of Antiochus is considerably idealized;‡ the titles on the reverse show that the coin was struck about the middle of his reign (Babelon, *op. cit.* xxiii.), probably before he had set up 'the abomination that maketh desolate' in the Jewish temple (Dn 11[31] 12[11]).

Several of the more important cities of the Seleucid empire were about this time permitted to issue a series of semi-autonomous bronze coins, distinguished from the royal bronzes of the same minting-places by having, besides the royal portrait on the obverse, the name of the issuing city (ΤΥΡΙΩΝ, לצר אם צדנם) § on the reverse.

To the earlier part of Antiochus Epiphanes' reign belong the intrigues of Jason, brother of the high priest Onias III., who offered Antiochus the large sum of 440 talents for the high-priestly office, with 'a hundred and fifty more, if it might be allowed him . . . to set up a (Greek) place of exercise and (form) a body of youths (to be trained therein), and to register the inhabitants of Jerusalem as citizens of Antioch' (2 Mac 4[9]). Jason in his turn was outbid by Menelaus, who offered the impecunious monarch 'more than Jason by 300 talents of silver' (*ib.* v.[24]). These and the other sums mentioned in 1 and 2 Maccabees (1 Mac 11[28] 13[16. 19] 15[31. 35], all talents; 2 Mac 3[11] 4[19] [read 3300 drachms] etc.) are to be reckoned as Syrian-Attic drachms and talents. In endeavouring to reach an approximate valuation of these sums, it must be remembered that the Syrian currency is on a silver, ours on a gold standard. The gold of the Seleucids, even in the shape of coins, was always bullion, and varied in its ratio to silver between 10 : 1 and 12½ : 1 (see Hultsch, *Metrol.*² §§ 30 f.). Now, if we take the normal weight of the Attic drachm at 67·367 grs. (=4·366 grammes), we have as the sterling value of the gold drachm at the mint price 10s. 11⅛d., and of the talent (6000 drachms) in round numbers £3280. At the ratio of 10 : 1 this gives £328 for the silver talent, at 12½ : 1 £262, the mean value being £295, for the silver drachm 11¾d., which is considerably higher than the estimates of previous writers. The large sums deposited in the temple (400 talents of silver and 200 talents of gold, 2 Mac 3[11]) would thus amount to £118,000 and £656,000 respectively, a total of over three-quarters of a million.

§ 5. *The first native coinage; the problem of the so-called 'Maccabæan shekels'; the bronze coins of the Hasmonæan princes.*—The latter half of the 2nd cent. saw the once powerful empire of the Seleucidæ rent by internal dissensions and hasting to its fall. Already the Jews, under the brave sons of Mattathias the Hasmonæan (חַשְׁמוֹנִי), had taken the field in defence of the national religion, and had proved themselves so dangerous as foes that Demetrius II. (145–139/8 B.C.) recognized them as likely to prove not less valuable as allies (1 Mac 13[36-40]). The privileges then granted by Demetrius, amounting to political autonomy under the suzerainty of Syria,—not, as is often represented, to complete independence,—were confirmed by his brother Antiochus VII. Sidetes (B.C. 138–129) in the famous rescript preserved in 1 Mac 15[5f.]. 'Now therefore,' it runs, according to the best text, 'I confirm unto thee [Simon] all the exactions which the kings that were before me remitted unto thee, and *I give thee leave to coin money for thy country with thine own stamp* (ποιῆσαι κόμμα ἴδιον νόμισμα τῇ χώρᾳ σου),' etc. Did Simon avail himself of the privilege here recorded of issuing money in his own name? This has hitherto been the *quæstio vexatissima* of Jewish numismatics. For some time past, however, the attribution to Simon the Hasmonæan (less correctly, the Maccabee) of the well-known silver shekels and half-shekels with the legends *Shéḳel Yisrāel* and *Yerûshalēm Ḳĕdôshah*, and the dates 'year 1' to 'year 5,' has been an accepted numismatic doctrine, so much so that very convincing reasons will naturally be expected to justify the present writer's rejection of it. These reasons may be stated here in preference to a later section. They are (1) *the principles of the rights of coinage in antiquity.* These cannot be here set forth in detail (see esp. Lenormant's classical work, *La monnaie dans l'antiquité*, ii. § 1, 'Le droit de monnayage,' etc.); it must suffice to emphasize the fact that the right to coin money of the standard metal, whether gold or silver, was the exclusive prerogative of the sovereign power. Just as the Persian kings, for example, guarded most jealously their exclusive right to coin gold, which was their standard, so the Seleucid sovereigns, coining on the silver standard, permitted certain privileged cities to strike bronze coins only (see previous section, and cf. Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, exi, exliv). The resumption of a silver coinage with a special era by the cities of Phœnicia, at a slightly later period, was tantamount to the assertion of their complete

---

* See the standard work of E. Babelon, *Les Rois de Syrie*, 1890; also P. Gardner, *The Seleucid Kings of Syria* (Brit. Mus. Cat. of Gr. Coins), 1878. Cf. Head, *Hist. Num.* 637 ff., where the older literature is given.

† From the royal Seleucid coins struck in the cities just named must be carefully distinguished the coins of these and other cities issued by them on their obtaining a measure of autonomy, which increased as the power of the Seleucids declined (see below).

‡ On the coin-portraits of this famous figure in Jewish history see Babelon, *op. cit.* xcii ff., and Plates XII.–XV.

§ The title here assumed by Tyre is noteworthy, 'mother (city) of the Sidonians,' a reply to the, historically more justifiable, pretensions of Sidon to be the 'mother-city of Tyre.' Similar rivalries were common in the Roman period. Also of interest, in view of the legend on the later Jewish shekels, is that on the bronze coins of Gebal-Byblus, גבל קדשת 'Gebal the holy.'

COINS CURRENT IN PALESTINE *c.* B.C. 500–A.D. 135

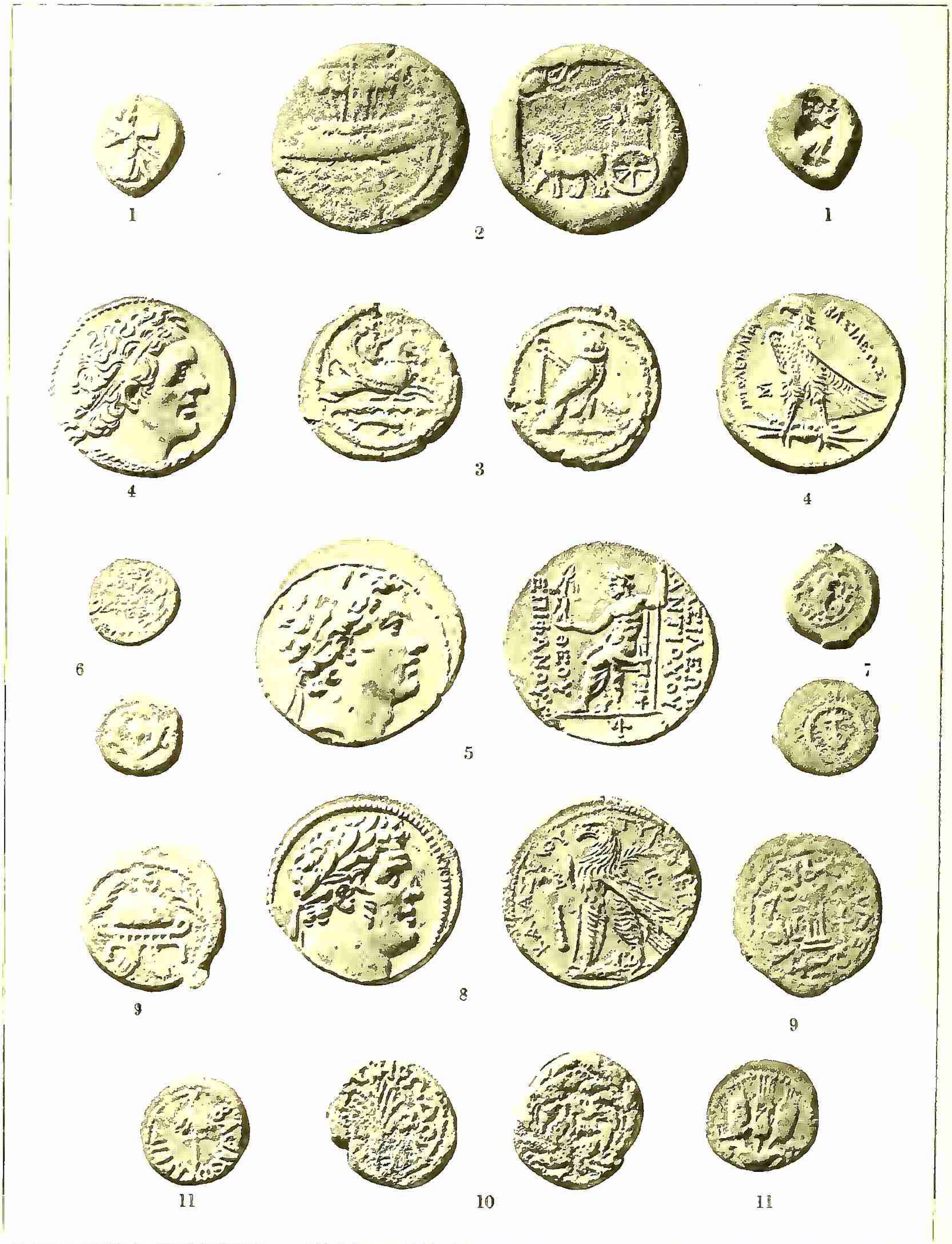

1. Persian gold daric, § 3.
2. Double shekel or octadrachm of Sidon, § 3.
3. Shekel or tetradrachm of Tyre, § 3.
4. Tetradrachm of Ptolemy I., § 4.
5. Tetradrachm of Antiochus Epiphanes, § 4.
6. Small bronze of John Hyrcanus § 5.
7. Small bronze of Alexander Jannæus, § 5.
8. Shekel or tetradrachm of Tyre, § 5.
9. Bronze coin of Herod the Great, § 6.
10. Bronze coin of Herod Antipas, § 6.
11. Bronze coin of Agrippa I., § 6.

COINS CURRENT IN PALESTINE *c.* B.C. 500–A.D. 135

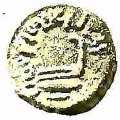
12

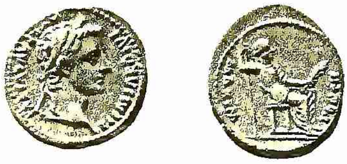
13

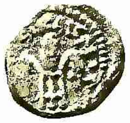
12

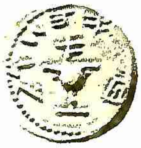
15

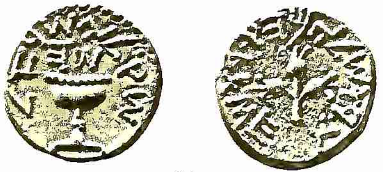
14

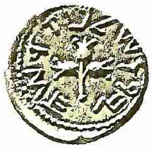
15

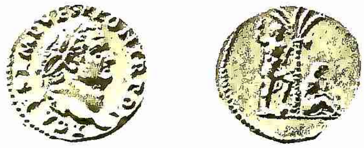
16

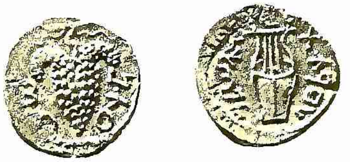
17

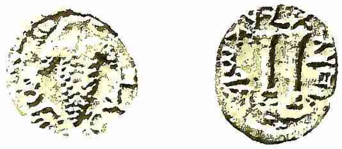
18

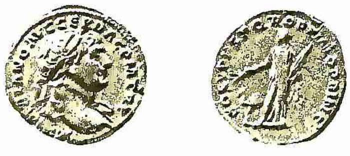
19

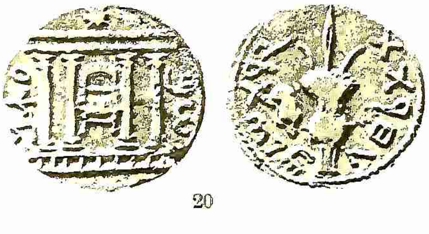
20

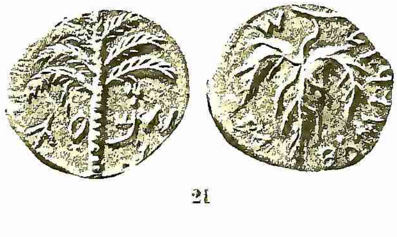
21

12. Small bronze (quadrans?) of Pontius Pilate, § 7.
13. Denarius of Tiberius, § 8.
14. Shekel of year 5 (A.D. 70), § 9.
15. Half-shekel of year 1 (A.D. 66–67), § 9.
16. Aureus of Titus, § 9.
17. Drachm of Cæsarea Cappadociæ, re-struck, § 10.
18. Denarius of Trajan, re-struck, § 10.
19. The original of No. 18, § 10.
20. Tetradrachm of Antioch, re-struck as Jewish shekel, § 10.
21. Bronze coin of second revolt, § 10.

independence. The admitted fact that the only other silver coins of the Jews date from a time of asserted independence, at least suggests a similar date for the shekels in question. (2) *The shekels of years 1 to 5 cannot be fitted into the chronology of this period.* Since Simon died in the year B.C. 135, five years backwards Demetrius II. was still on the throne. Accordingly supporters of the Maccabæan theory are compelled to *assume* that Antiochus Sidetes was merely confirming a right that had already been usurped by Simon. On the other hand, if the dates run from B.C. 142 (see 1 Mac 13^{42}), two years are left without any coins. Whereas on the theory advocated in this article (see, further, § 9), that these coins belong to the first revolt, A.D. 66–70, we understand both why there should be only shekels of five years, and why those of the fifth year should be so rare. (3) *The silver coinage ceases, ex hypothesi, with Simon.* No reason for this can be given on the hypothesis we are combating. Subsequent Hasmonæan princes, such as John Hyrcanus and Alexander Jannæus, were men of greater wealth and power than Simon: why should they have been content to issue only bronze coins, if Simon had already struck in silver? (4) There is, further, the more technical argument from *the size, fabric, and style of the coins in dispute.* They do not resemble the contemporary silver coins of the Seleucidæ nearly so much as they do the imperial coins of the 1st cent. A.D. (see § 9, below), nor do they show any points of contact with the types or legends of the bronze coins of Simon's successors. The palæographic argument from the forms of the old Hebrew characters is of little weight either way; it is almost impossible to distinguish between the genuinely archaic and the intentionally archaistic in Semitic epigraphy. We believe, then, that if Simon availed himself of the right, which was soon withdrawn (1 Mac 15^{27}), of issuing coins, these can only have been of bronze. No such coins, however, can with certainty be ascribed to Simon.

The first native Jewish coinage dates from the reign of Simon's son and successor, John Hyrcanus. The earliest coins, however, that can with any confidence be said to have been struck at Jerusalem are some small bronzes—*hemichalki*,* according to M. Babelon—of Antiochus VII. of dates B.C. 132 and 131 (see Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 76; Babelon, *op. cit.* Nos. 1166–7, pl. xxii. 1; Gardner, *op. cit.* 75, pl. xx. 14). The coins of Hyrcanus are of small size, three specimens in the British Museum averaging 28 grs., and undated. In place of a type the field of the obverse is occupied by an inscription in the old Hebrew character, see plate No. 6.

Obv. יהוחנן הכהן הגדול וחבר היהודים A (*John, the high priest and* (*with*) *the commonwealth* (?) *of the Jews*) within a wreath of olive leaves.

Rev. A double cornucopiæ with a poppy head in the centre. Æ.

The initial A of the obverse is probably the first letter of the name of his suzerain Alexander II. Zebina (B.C. 128–123), who introduced the double cornucopiæ as his monetary badge, and from whose coins it was borrowed by Hyrcanus. The earlier coins of Hyrcanus were issued, as the above example shows, in his own name and that of the *ḥeber* (חֶבֶר) of the Jews; his later issues, however, read: John the high priest, *head of the ḥeber of the Jews* (ראש חבר היהודים). The word חבר, now generally pronounced as above, has been a fruitful subject of speculation among historians and numismatists, since its precise significance is unknown. A summary of the more important of the interpretations proposed is given by Madden (*Coins*, p. 77; cf. Schürer, *HJP* I. i. 284 f.). Only two need be mentioned here.

(1) *Ḥeber* is the Heb. for the γερουσία or senate of the books of Maccabees and Judith, the later Sanhedrin (so Geiger, Levy, Madden, etc., and most recently Wellhausen, *Isr. u. jüd. Gesch.* [1894], 236).

(2) *Ḥeber* denotes the whole body of the people. This view has found an able advocate recently in Prof. Eb. Nestle (*ZATW*, 1895, 288 ff.: חבר=ἔθνος), who seeks to prove the equation stated in the title of his paper, and this other: ראש חבר=ἐθνάρχης, a title frequently given to the Hasmonæan princes in the books of Maccabees. Neither of these views quite commends itself to the present writer. On the one hand, it is difficult to account for the mention of a body like the γερουσία, which our best authorities regard as of little or no importance at this epoch (see Wellh. *loc. cit.*, and Holtzmann-Stade, *Gesch.* ii. 398); on the other hand, it is not less difficult to see why the more familiar words עַם, קָהָל, etc., were passed over if Nestle is right. The LXX, we believe, supplies the key. In Pr 21^9 ($=25^{24}$) the Heb. בֵּית חָבֶר (lit. house of association, *i.e.* one shared with another) is rendered ἐν οἴκῳ κοινῷ, while κοινωνέω and κοινωνός are elsewhere employed to render derivatives of the root חבר. We consider, then, that the חֶבֶר of the coins is the equivalent of the Gr. expression τὸ κοινόν in one of its various significations. Of these the following are the most probable: (*a*) *respublica*, commonwealth, community.* τὸ κοινόν in this sense is synonymous with ἡ πόλις (Aristotle, *ap.* Bonitz, *op. cit.*), and may be illustrated by the expressions τῷ πολιτεύματι τῶν ἐν Βερενίκῃ Ἰουδαίων, *CIG* iii. No. 5361 (date B.C. 13), quoted by Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 246, and τὸ σύμπαν τῶν Ἰοππιτῶν πολίτευμα, 2 Mac 12^7. In favour of this interpretation may be adduced the fact that the contemporary bronze coins of the semi-autonomous cities, as we saw above, combine the royal name with that of the people (ΤΥΡΙΩΝ, etc.; see list in Babelon, ci). (*b*) Public authorities, officers of state (*Staatsbehörden*), perhaps the executive. In support of this rendering we would appeal to the use by Josephus in his *Life* (*passim*) of the expression τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν, apparently in the sense of 'the executive authorities of the people of Jerusalem.' A comparison of § 52 (Niese, 266 f.) with § 60 (N. 309 f.) seems to show conclusively (1) that the κοινόν must have been a body with functions resembling those of an executive of the δῆμος, and (2) that the former is to be taken as synonymous with οἱ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πρῶτοι, by which expression, at the first mention of his appointment as governor-general of Galilee (§ 9), Josephus designates the nominating body, which in all succeeding references he names τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἱερ. (*c*) The meaning 'confederation,' which κοινόν so frequently has in the constitutional history of the Greek states, may also be suggested; but, with our lack of knowledge regarding the constitution of the Jewish State at this period, it is best to leave the solution of the equation חבר =κοινόν an open question.

Aristobulus (B.C. 105–104), in his few extant coins, retains the earlier legend of his father: 'Yĕhûdah high priest and the commonwealth (?) of the Jews.' They were all apparently struck before he assumed—first of the Hasmonæans—the title of king (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. xi. 1). The powerful Alexander Jannæus (Heb. יַנַּאי, contracted from יוֹנָתָן, יְהוֹנָתָן) during his long reign (B.C. 104–78) issued a plentiful supply of bronze coins. Some of these are remarkable (1) for the appearance for the first time of the royal title, and (2) for the introduction of a Greek legend. Thus (No. 7)—

---

* The χαλκοῦς was a copper coin, eight of which were equivalent to a silver obol (⅛ drachm).

* See Liddell and Scott; Schweighäuser, *Herod. Lex.*; Bonitz, *Index Aristot.* s.v.

Obv. יהונתן המלך *Yĕhônāthān ham-mélek*, Jonathan the king. Type: a half-opened flower (another series has the same legend with each letter between the rays of a star, which serves as type).

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Type: an anchor with two cross-timbers within a circle.

Besides these regal coins, Alexander issued a series of pontifical coins with the legend 'Jonathan (written יהונתן and יונתן) the high priest and the commonwealth (?) of the Jews.' On the reverse is the double cornucopiæ with the poppy-head, which, like the anchor on the regal series, shows the continued influence of the Seleucid coinage. For full details of the numerous varieties of Alexander's coins as for those of John Hyrcanus, the student is referred to Madden and the other writers mentioned in the bibliography at the end of this article. The only other Hasmonæan prince whose coins are of sufficient interest to warrant mention in this summary is Antigonus (B.C. 40–37), the protégé of the Parthians and the last of the dynasty. These inform us that Antigonus bore the name of his illustrious ancestor, Mattathias, and they are the first Jewish coins to show a date: שא and שב, *i.e.* 'year (שָׁנָה) one' and 'year two' of his unfortunate reign. 'The Asmonean dynasty commenced with a Mattathias, with the coins of a Mattathias the Asmonean dynasty concludes' (Madden). All these native coins, we must repeat, were from first to last of bronze, and all, with the exception of some of those of Antigonus, of very small size, viz. 2 and 3 of Mionnet's scale, *i.e.* about ·5 and ·6 in. in diameter. Further research, and in particular much patient weighing, of the extant coins will be required before we can pronounce with confidence on the denominations they represent—in other words, on their relation to the standard silver money. The smallest coins, at least, can scarcely be other than the *perûṭah* of later Jewish writings, the *lepton* of the NT (cf. § 8).

The money *par excellence* (כֶּסֶף, ἀργύριον) of the Jews during the greater part of the Maccabæan period was obtained from heathen mints, as, with the decline of the central power, the cities of the coast one after another recovered their autonomy. Tyre, in particular, began in B.C. 126—from which its new era is dated—to issue an important series of silver and bronze coins with considerable variety of types. The principal denominations were the tetradrachm or heavy shekel, and *longo intervallo*, the didrachm or light shekel, which was doubtless in considerable demand among the Jews for the payment of the temple tax. The weights are at first well maintained, at *c.* 220 and 110 grs. respectively. No. 8 illustrates a Tyrian shekel or tetradrachm of the Hasmonæan period.

Obv. Head of the Tyrian Hercules (see 2 Mac 4^{19}), laureate (looking) right.

Rev. ΤΥΡΟΥ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ. Eagle, left, on rudder, and bearing a palm branch over left shoulder. In the field, date and a club (symbol of Tyre).

§ 6. *Bronze coinage of the Idumæan dynasty.*—In the year B.C. 37, with the help of the Roman legions, Herod, the son of Antipater, 'by birth an Idumæan, by profession a Jew, by necessity a Roman, by culture and choice a Greek,' succeeded in securing the throne which Rome had promised him a few years before. Nothing could better show the condition of vassalage under which Herod held his kingdom than the fact that for all his enormous wealth, as evidenced not only by his princely gifts to foreign cities and his lavish expenditure at home, but by the great sums of coined money (ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου) which he bequeathed at his death (*Ant.* XVII. viii. 1), he was restricted by the suzerain power to a coinage exclusively in bronze. The Hebrew of the legends is now displaced by Greek, while, in addition to the familiar Hasmonæan types of the anchor and the cornucopiæ, we have such new types as the tripod,—another favourite Seleucid emblem,—the helmet, the Macedonian shield, the pomegranate, the caduceus, etc. One of the most interesting of Herod's coins is that represented by No. 9.

Obv. Metal helmet with cheek pieces; in the field above, a star; on either side, a palm branch. (Others with the same type have only one branch to left, above).

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ. Type: a tripod; in the field to left LΓ [=year 3],[*] and to right the monogram of ΤΡ. Æ 6. Wt. *c.* 104 grs.

The coins of Archelaus are identified by the title ἐθνάρχης on the reverse, a title borne by Archelaus alone of all the Herodian princes. On the deposition of Archelaus, Judæa and Samaria were placed directly under the Roman government (see § 7 for coins of the Roman procurators). His brother, Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee (Lk 3^1; cf. Lk 23^7), founded the city of Tiberias on the Sea of Galilee, where most, if not all, of his coins were struck, and whose name, given in honour of his patron, Tiberius, he placed on the reverse (see No. 10)—

Obv. ΗΡΩΔΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ. Palm leaf (or branch); in the field right and left, L–ΛΓ (year 33=A.D. 29–30).

Rev. TIBE PIAC within a wreath. Æ 6.

In an article devoted rather to an exposition of the principal varieties of money in circulation among the Jews than to a catalogue of coins, we must be excused from entering into an examination of the coins of Philip the tetrarch (Lk 3^1), and especially of the long and complicated series of Agrippa II., the last of the Herods.[†] A word must suffice even for those struck by Agrippa I. during his short reign (A.D. 41–44) over the reunited territories of the great Herod. According to de Saulcy these all bear the same date, 'year 6,' *i.e.* according to the Jewish method of computation the year A.D. 41–42, reckoning from the first year of Caligula A.D. 37.[‡] (See No. 11.)

Rev. ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΑΓΡΙΠΑ (*sic*). Type, umbrella with tasselled fringe.

Obv. Three ears of corn united on one stalk; to right and left LS (year 6). Æ 4. Wts. 38–47 grs.

These were the last Jewish coins legitimately and constitutionally struck in Jerusalem. In allusion to his alliance with Claudius, Agrippa struck elsewhere coins with the interesting legend ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC ΜΕΓΑC ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑC ΦΙΛΟΚΑΙCΑΡ (friend of Cæsar, cf. Jn 19^{12}). On the death of Agrippa, Judæa was once more, and finally, incorporated with the Roman empire.

§ 7. *Imperial coinage of Rome, including coins of the Procurators, and of the autonomous cities of Palestine.*—When the Romans entered upon their career of conquest in the East, they found, as the universal silver unit, the Attic drachm, now reduced to about 62 grains. The corresponding Roman unit was the denarius, also reduced from $\frac{1}{72}$ to $\frac{1}{84}$ of the Roman pound, *i.e.* to 60 grains. It followed as a matter of course that the two coins were identified, with a slight advantage in favour of the denarius. Henceforward, in Greek and Roman writers, 'Attic drachm'[*] and 'denarius' are convertible terms (see Hultsch, *Metrol.*^{2} 250 f.); a tetradrachm is now, in ordinary speech, the equivalent of four, an Attic talent of 6000 denarii. Since Pompey's conquest of Syria, B.C. 65, the denarius had circulated in Palestine alongside of the tetradrachms of Antioch and Tyre, both tariffed by Pompey at four denarii. In B.C. 15 Augustus carried through his thoroughgoing reform of the currency, retaining the gold and silver coinage in his own hands, while the senate was accorded the exclusive right of striking copper coins, the distinguishing mark of which was the letters S. C. (senatus consulto) on the reverse. The principal coins of the Augustan currency were—in gold, the *aureus*; in silver, the *denarius*; the *sestertius* (=4 asses or $\frac{1}{4}$th denarius) and *dupondius* of fine brass (*orichalcum*); finally, the *as* ($\frac{1}{16}$th denarius) with its half (*semis*) and quarter (*quadrans*), all in copper. All government payments, such as taxes and tolls, fines imposed by a Roman court, and the like, were calculated in this currency throughout the empire. We learn, however, from the Palmyra tariff, regulating the amount of toll or custom to be paid on various articles of merchandise, that while the amounts were *calculated* according to the denarius and as, payment of sums under a denarius was accepted in the native copper currency[†] (see, further, § 8).

---

[*] The symbol L to denote ἔτος (year) is first found in the Ptolemaic papyri. The monogram is probably the initial letters of ΤΡίχαλκον, indicating that the coin is of the value of three chalki, the chalkus, in the Greek system, being a copper coin, eight of which were equivalent to an obol (⅛ drachm). For coins of Antiochus IV. Epiphanes with similar monograms of value, and for details as to the weights of the Seleucid bronzes generally, see Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, clxxxv ff.

[†] 'Unter allen numismatischen Kreuzen sind die Jahreszahlen auf den Münzen Agrippas II. eins der peinlichsten.' So wrote Mommsen in 1871 (*Wiener Num. Zeits.* iii. 451). For the latest attempt to adjust the chronology of this prince, see Carl Erbes 'Das Todesjahr Agrippa's II.' [year of death fixed at 86 instead of 100 A.D.] in *Z. f. wiss. Theol.* 39 (1896), pp. 415–435.

[‡] See, however, for the chronology of Agrippa I. and for the possibility of coins of seventh to ninth years, Unger: 'zu Josephus' in *Sitzb. d. philos.-philolog. Classe d. k. b. Akad. d. Wiss. zu München*, 1896, 394 f.; cf. Reichardt *apud* Madden, *Coins*, 132.

In A.D. 6 Archelaus was deposed by Augustus, and Judæa became a Roman province under an imperial procurator, with headquarters in Cæsarea. Neglecting the copper coins of the Herodian princes, which had merely a local circulation, we may group the principal denominations circulating in Palestine during this period as follows:—

A. Imperial aurei and denarii, with 'superscription' in Latin.

B. Roman provincial silver and copper from the mint of Antioch, to which were added, after A.D. 17, the issues of the mint set up at Cæsarea Cappadociæ.

C. Silver and copper from the mint of Tyre.

D. Copper coins from the procurator's mint at Cæsarea.

A. The aureus and, in particular, the denarius were the standard coins of the empire, circulating everywhere. As first fixed by Julius Cæsar, the aureus[‡] weighed 126·3 grs. ($\frac{1}{40}$th of *libra* or pound) of pure gold. This represents, at the mint price of gold, a sterling value of £1, 0s. 6d. In Augustus' later years, however, and under his successors to the time of Nero, the effective weight of the coins never exceeds $\frac{1}{42}$ pound or 120·3 grs. (see Hultsch, *Metrol.*^{2} 309 ff.), equal to 19s. 6d.[§] Under Nero the weight fell to 115 grs. (18s. 8d.). The pieces of gold swallowed by the wretched fugitives from Jerusalem at the time of the great siege were aurei, the supply of which was so great after the capture of the city that—if we can believe Josephus (*BJ* v. xiii. 4)—the value fell from twenty-five denarii, the legal tariff, to twelve. The **denarius** (δηνάριον, originally the equivalent in silver of ten copper asses,—hence its name) from Augustus to Nero weighed $\frac{1}{84}$ libra or 60 grs., and was now = 4 sestertii or 16 asses. By Nero it was reduced to $\frac{1}{96}$ or 52 grs., still retaining, however, its legal value of $\frac{1}{25}$ of the aureus. The many conflicting estimates of the value of the denarius (the **penny** of our EV) which are to be met with in works of repute, render it imperative to discuss this subject more fully. King James's translators give the value thus: 'The Roman penny is the eighth part of an ounce [which it was not till after A.D. 60], which, after five shillings the ounce, is sevenpence halfpenny' (Mt $18^{28\text{ marg.}}$). This method has two grave defects: (1) it attempts to value the denarius in terms of a constantly fluctuating quantity, the price of silver; and (2) even at the market price of silver at any given date, by this method we should only have the price of the denarius as bullion, not as a coin with a fixed legal currency. In order to express the value of the denarius in terms of our English standard (gold), we must start from its value relative to its own gold unit, viz. as $\frac{1}{25}$th of the aureus. The denarius accordingly varied in value with the aureus from 9·83d. to 9·37d., of which 9½d. may be taken as a sufficiently accurate mean value for ordinary calculations.[*]

B. Throughout the western half of the Roman empire the denarius was the only legal silver coin. In the East, however, the system based on the Greek drachm was continued, the coins on this standard, chiefly tetradrachms and drachms, being issued for Syria and part of Asia Minor from the two imperial mints of Antioch and Cæsarea of Cappadocia. From the former mint[†] were sent forth tetradrachms with Greek legends, which, though actually weighing 220–230 grs., were tariffed by the imperial government at only three denarii (see Mommsen, *Röm. Münzwesen*, 37 f., 715 f.; Hultsch, *Metrol.*^{2} 595). Antioch, moreover, shared with Rome the honour of having a mint for the issue of senatorial copper distinguished by their Latin legends, and, in particular, by the letters S. C., within a wreath, on the obverse. The two denominations issued, which also had legal currency throughout the Syro-Cappadocian monetary province,[‡] are generally identified with the sestertius and the as (Mommsen, *op. cit.* 718; Madden, *Coins*, 301 f.). The coins of Cæsarea[§] (from A.D. 17) are principally drachms and didrachms on the Phœnician standard. Vast numbers of the former must have circulated in Palestine in the 2nd cent. (see below, § 10), but they can scarcely have reached that country in any number in the time of our Lord (see **drachm**, next §).

C. The great mint of Tyre continued to issue silver and bronze, the former mainly tetradrachms,[‖] without interruption down to the eve of Nero's innovations, on the old Phœnician standard (220–224 grs.). In Josephus' day the Tyrian tetradrachm was, at least in popular usage, accepted as equivalent to four denarii (τοῦ Τυρίου νομίσματος δ τέσσαρας Ἀττικὰς δύναται, *BJ* ii. 21. 2, N. 592). It is the stater of the NT (see next §).

D. The procurators who governed the province of Judæa from A.D. 6 to the outbreak of the great rebellion of A.D. 66, of whom Pontius Pilate, Felix, Festus, and Gessius Florus are the best known, issued copper coins in the emperor's name,* probably at Cæsarea. These are of small module, and apparently all of one denomination (the quadrans (?)). Under Augustus they are dated according to the era of Actium, B.C. 31,† but under Tiberius by the years of his reign. Though Roman coins, they avoid all representation of living creatures, in deference to the susceptibilities of the Jews. The legend of the obv. generally runs, KAICAPOC or TIB. KAICAP.; or in full, TIBEPIOY KAICAPOC, as on the coins of Pilate. Thus illustr. No. 12—

---

[*] In Josephus δραχμὴ Ἀττική or Ἀτθίς is everywhere the denarius.

[†] For this important inscription in Greek and Aramaic, discovered in 1881, see de Vogüé, *Jour. Asiat.* 1883; Schroeder, *Sitzb. d. Berl. Akad.* 1884, 417-436; and esp. Dessau in *Hermes*, xix. 486-533 for Greek text, and Reckendorf in *ZDMG* 42, 1888, 370 ff., for the Aramaic text.

[‡] *Scil. nummus*, the χρυσοῦς [στατήρ] of Greek writers, including Josephus; in the Mishna דִּינַר זָהָב (=*denarius aureus*), also דַּרְכּוֹן.

[§] The mean of these two values is a sovereign, at which the aureus may be reckoned for the first half of the 1st cent. A.D.

[*] After Nero it would not exceed 9d.

[†] For the coins of Antioch in detail see Warwick Wroth's [Brit. Mus.] *Catalogue of the Gr. Coins of Galatia, Cappadocia, and Syria*, 1899, pp. lviii and 158–232.

[‡] On the other hand, the *municipal* coins of Antioch had only local currency, and do not concern us here.

[§] For coins in detail see Wroth, *op. cit.* pp. xxxvi f. and 45–93. For some interesting constitutional questions raised by the money of Antioch and Cæsarea, see Pick, *Zeit. f. Numism.* xiv. 1887, p. 294 ff.

[‖] For specimens of those struck B.C. 15–A.D. 57, and therefore in use among the Jews till the destruction of Jerusalem, see Babelon, *Les Perses Achéménides*, No. 2093 ff.

Obv. TIBEPIOY KAICAPOC LIS (year 16=A.D. 29-30). Type, a *simpulum.*

Rev. IOYΛIA KAICAPOC. Three ears of corn bound together. Æ 3. The date shows that this coin was struck by Pontius Pilate.

In order to complete this sketch of coins circulating in Palestine in the first century of our era, a single reference must be made to the money of the numerous cities (*e.g.* Samaria-Sebaste and the cities of the Decapolis) to which Rome had granted the right to strike 'autonomous' bronze coins. The circulation of these, it is true, was local and restricted, yet they are full of interest to the historical student,‡ who is referred to the classical treatise of M. de Saulcy, *La Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, 1874.

§ 8. *Money of the New Testament.*—Under this head it is proposed to bring together the references to money and coins in the NT, at the same time avoiding all unnecessary repetition. In the NT, as in the OT, 'money' is still *par excellence* silver money (ἄργυρος, ἀργύριον), although all three metals are in circulation (cf. Mt 10^{9} χρυσόν—ἄργυρον—χαλκόν). Large sums are expressed in **minas** (μνᾶ, AV **pound**) and **talents** (τάλαντον). The latter is no longer a weight of silver, but the Roman-Attic talent, which comprised 6000 denarii or drachms (Hultsch, *Metrol.*^{2} 252, and Index 'Talent'). It was thus equal to 240 aurei, or £240 (see previous §). The **mina** (Lk 19$^{13-25}$) is the sixtieth part of the talent, 100 denarii, or £4. Of specific coins, the **aureus** is only indirectly referred to in the passage above referred to: 'provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses' (Mt 10^{9}). On the other hand, the denarius (δηνάριον, EV penny) is mentioned sixteen times in all in the NT, and constantly as the *dînar* (דִּינָר) in the Mishna. Its value in our Lord's time may with sufficient accuracy be set down as 9½d., as was shown in the previous section.§ Our Revisers unfortunately have still adhered to the ridiculous rendering 'penny' instead of admitting the more accurate 'shilling,' as proposed by the American translators, and retaining 'penny' for the as‖ and 'farthing' for the quadrans (see below). The Roman taxes were reckoned and paid in denarii (cf. τὸ νόμισμα τοῦ κήνσου, Mt 22^{19}); the 'image and superscription' (Lk 20^{24}) of a contemporary denarius of the emperor Tiberius is given in our plate, No. 13.

Obv. TI. CÆSAR DIVI AVG. F[ilius] AVGVSTVS. Head of Tiberius, right, laureated.

Rev. PONTIF. MAXIM. Livia seated r., holding sceptre and flower.

The Greek **drachm** (δραχμή; in later Hebrew זוּז *zûz*, also זוּזָא, by which Onkelos renders correctly the quarter of the shekel, 1 S 9^{8}) is only once mentioned by name (Lk 15^{8} 'ten pieces of silver'). Its value at this time was neither 7½d. as AVm, nor 8d. as RVm, but was the same as that of the denarius in ordinary transactions. In government payments, however, as we saw above, it was tariffed at ¾ of the denarius. The 50,000 'pieces of silver' (ἀργυρίου, Ac 19^{19}) at which the magical books were valued, are also to be understood as denarius-drachms,* the universal unit of calculation. In a previous section it has been shown that the δίδραχμον, or double-drachm, was the Gr. equivalent of the half-shekel, the whole shekel being a tetradrachm of Tyrian currency. The **didrachm** was very rarely coined at this time, and indeed was at all times much rarer than the tetradrachm. Hence it must have been very common, if not the usual custom, for two persons to unite in paying 'the tribute money' (τὰ δίδραχμα, Mt 17^{24})—the annual contribution of every male adult Jew to the maintenance of the temple services—by means of a Tyrian or other tetradrachm on the Phœnician standard. This last is the **stater** (στατήρ, Mt 17^{27}, AV piece of money, RV shekel †) found in the fish's mouth, which Peter was instructed to pay as 'tribute money' for the Master and himself. The contributions of Jews in foreign lands were collected and changed into gold pieces (דַּרְכּוֹנִים *darkônîm*, *Sheḳalim* ii. 1, which are not darics but aurei; cf. *Bab. bath.* x. 2) for convenience of transport (see, further, Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. ix. 1, N. 312, where τὸ δίδραχμον is used precisely as by St. Matthew for 'half-shekel'). After the destruction of Jerusalem the half-shekel, otherwise two drachms or denarii (δύο δραχμάς, Jos. *BJ* VII. vi. 6), was appropriated by the Roman authorities for the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus (Jos. *l.c.*). The 'thirty pieces of silver' (τριάκοντα ἀργύρια, Mt 26^{15} 27$^{3ff.}$), for which our Lord was betrayed, are in all the circumstances more likely to have been thirty Phœnician tetradrachms—hence=120 denarii (£4, 16s.)—from the temple treasury (cf. Zec 11^{12} in LXX), than thirty denarius-drachms.

We come now to the copper coins of the NT, and find mention of three different denominations. (1) The lowest of these is the **lepton** (λεπτόν, Mk 12^{42} = Lk 21^{2} the widow's 'mite'; Lk 12^{59} 'thou shalt not depart [out of prison] till thou hast paid the very last "mite"' [τὸ ἔσχατον λεπτόν=Mt 5^{26} τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην, 'the uttermost farthing']). The coin mentioned in these three passages can only be the *pĕrûṭah* (פְּרוּטָה), so often spoken of in the Mishna as proverbially the smallest Jewish coin (so Lk 12^{59}). In at least two places (*Ḳiddush.* i. 1, *Ediyy.* iv. 7) it is expressly declared to have been tariffed as ⅛th of the Italian or Roman as (אסר אטלקי *isṣâr* (or *aṣṣâr*) *iṭalḳî*), in other words the half of the Roman quadrans. This agrees precisely with the much discussed note—whether original or marginal—in Mk 12^{42} λεπτὰ δύο ὅ ἐστιν κοδράντης, 'two lepta, which makes a quadrans,' as it accords with 'the unanimous tradition of the Hellenistic metrologists' (Hultsch, *Metrol.*^{2} 605, n. 6). It must be sought for among the minute bronzes of the Hasmonæan and Herodian princes, some of which do not weigh more than 15 to 20 grains. Since it is ⅛th of the as, or $\frac{1}{128}$th part of the denarius, its legal value was about ⅓rd of an English farthing. The two remaining bronzes may best be examined together; they are (2) the **kodrantēs** (κοδράντης, Mt 5^{26}, Mk 12^{42} already cited), and (3) the

---

* The emperor's peculiar relation to the procuratorial provinces explains why this coinage was not issued in the name of the senate in accordance with the agreement of B.C. 15. See, further, Pick, *loc. cit.*

† See for this question Pick, *l.c.* p. 307 f.; Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 80, and cf. Madden's tables.

‡ This is well shown by the use made of these coins by Schürer in his great work. See *HJP* Index under 'Coins.'

§ The real test, however, of the value of this or of any other coin is its purchasing power, for which see the appendix to this article.

‖ 'Let ἀσσάριον (Mt 10^{29}, Lk 12^{6}) be translated "penny," and δηνάριον "shilling," except in Mt 22^{19}, Mk 12^{15}, Lk 20^{24}, where the name of the coin should be given.'

* This use of ἀργυρίον is often met with in Josephus.

† The OT word שֶׁקֶל was in later Hebrew displaced by סֶלַע *sela'*, stater or tetradrachm, which in the Mishna contains four זוּזִים *zûzîm*, or drachms.

assarion (ἀσσάριον, Mt 10^{29} 'are not two sparrows sold for a farthing?'* Lk 12^{6} 'are not five sparrows sold for two farthings?' Cf. Vulg. nonne quinque passeres veneunt *dipondio*?). The kodrantes is undoubtedly the Roman quadrans (the fourth part of the as, value about $\frac{5}{8}$ farthing)—from which, of course, the name is derived—since in the one passage (Mk 12^{42}) the note is clearly intended for Roman readers, and in the other (Mt 5^{26}) the popular perutah-lepton of Lk 12^{59} is replaced by St. Matthew, familiar as a tax-gatherer with the Roman system of accounting, by the lowest denomination in the Roman scale. With regard to the assarion (from the Latin *assarium*, a by-form of *as*) we are on less firm ground, for, in the existing uncertainty as to how the copper of the Hellenistic system was adjusted to that of the Roman system, we must not hastily identify the Hellenistic assarion with the Roman as. The former passed into the contemporary Hebrew as the *iṣṣar* (אִסָּר, see Mishna, *passim*; cf. אסרא of the Palmyra tariff, and the *aṣṣārā* of the Peshiṭta and Palestinian Syriac, Lk 12^{6}), and the authorities of the Mishna repeatedly refer to the dînar or zûz (the denarius-drachm) as containing 6 *maoth* (מָעוֹת obols), and 24 *iṣṣarîm*, from which it is evident that in the 2nd cent. at least the issar-assarion was a different coin from the as. We venture to think that the key to the difficulty is to be found in the distinction between the 'current' and 'tariff' value of a coin, to adopt expressions employed in the East at the present day. In ordinary transactions the drachm and the denarius were equal in value, the former containing 6 obols, 24 dichalki or 48 chalki, and the latter 8 dupondii, 16 asses or 64 quadrantes. Since 24 issarim-assaria also went to the denarius-drachm, we must infer that the Græco-Roman name assarion *was popularly applied to the old dichalkus.* But all government dues and official payments were calculated on the Roman denarius-as system (see the rescript of Germanicus Cæsar, A.D. 17–19, quoted in the Palmyra tariff δεῖ πρὸς ἀσσάριον ἰτα[λικὸν]—elsewhere εἰς δηνάριον—τὰ τέλη λογεύεσθαι, Col. IV^{a} 41 ff.), with the proviso added that small dues amounting to less than a denarius (τὸ δὲ ἐντὸς δηναρίου τέλος) might be defrayed in the native copper † (πρὸς κέρμα = עֲרָקֵן; cf. same word in Peshiṭta Jn 2^{15}). Now the Romans, it will be remembered, tariffed the tetradrachm at 3 denarii (*i.e.* 1 drachm = $\frac{3}{4}$ denarius); accordingly a tax of the latter amount, $\frac{3}{4}$ denarius, might be paid either in Roman copper, if available, *i.e.* by 6 dupondii or 12 asses, or 48 quadrantes, or in native copper on the drachm-system, in this case by 6 obols (a drachm), or 12 tetrachalki (half-obols), or 48 chalki. By government tariff, therefore, the *dupondius was made equal to the obol, the as to the tetrachalkus, and the quadrans to the chalkus.* These equations are confirmed (*a*) by the ancient gloss: ὀβολός hoc duopundium (*Corp. Gloss.* ii. 378, cited by Kubitschek, art. Ἀσσάριον in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyl.* vol. ii.); and (*b*) by the Peshiṭta rendering of κοδράντης, viz. *shamônâ*, which is the Talmudic שָׁמִין *shāmîn*, *Ḳiddush.* 12*c*,‡ *i.e.* the *eighth* part (of the obol), in other words the chalkus.§ We assume, then, that just as in Alexandria at the present day we have the 'piastre tariff' and the 'piastre current,' the former equal to two of the latter; so in NT times there was the current issar-assarion, which was the dichalkus, and the tariff or Roman as—distinguished from the other as the *iṣṣar iṭālḳî* of the Mishna and the Palmyra tariff; cf. ΑΣ(σάριον) ΙΤ(άλικον) on coins of Crete of the 1st cent. (Svoronos, *Num. de la Crète ancienne*),—which was double the value of the former. The quadrans, finally, was always a tariff coin, represented by the imperial coins of the procurators (40–45 grs.), but popularly known by the name of its tariff equivalent, the Greek chalkus (Heb. *shâmîn*).*

C. THE COINS OF THE REVOLTS.

§ 9. *Coins of the First Revolt* (A.D. 66–70).—In the year A.D. 66 began the struggle against the might of imperial Rome, which ended in the destruction of both temple and city, August A.D. 70. To these five years (spring 66–67 to autumn 70–71) of the so-called 'first revolt' must be ascribed the first issue of silver money from a Jewish mint. These are the famous shekels and half-shekels of which we now give the illustration (Nos. 14, 15 of plate) and description.

Obv. שקל ישראל [*shéḳel Yisrāēl*, the shekel of Israel] in old-Heb. characters. Type: a jewelled chalice with knop on stem; above the cup שה [contraction for שנת ה year five]; border of dots.

Rev. ירושלים הקדושה [*Yĕrûshāláyim ha-ḳĕdôshah*, Jerusalem the holy] in same characters. Type: a flowering lily; border of dots.

Obv. חצי השקל [*ḥăẓî ha-shéḳel*, the half-shekel] in old-Heb. characters. Type: a broad-lipped chalice with knop on stem, on either side a pellet (of incense?); above the cup א [= year 1]; border of dots.

Rev. ירושלם קרשה [*Yĕrûshâlēm ḳĕdôshah*]. Type and border as in shekel.

The shekels and half-shekels of the first year are distinguished from those of the following years (1) by the chalice having a broad projecting lip instead of a jewelled rim; (2) by the letter א alone, without ש; and (3) by the *scriptio defectiva* of the reverse legend, the adjective 'holy,' further, being without the article. No Jewish coins have given rise to so much discussion, or have been assigned to so many different periods of Jewish history as these.† The time of Ezra and Nehemiah, the age of Alexander the Great, and the principate of Simon Maccabæus have all been proposed, the last in particular, by almost all recent writers on Jewish history and archæology. The main grounds on which this date must be pronounced untenable have been given in a former section (§ 5). The explicit testimony of the coins themselves, with the uniform legend 'Jerusalem the holy,' proves, according to a well-known numismatic canon, that the authority under whose auspices the coins were struck was that of an independent and autonomous city. Now Jerusalem enjoyed the requisite independence only on two occasions,‡ and on both the independence was not constitutional but usurped. These two occasions coincide with the first and second revolts. The latter is out of the question, since the coins of that period are now known in great detail (see next §). There remains only the period of the first revolt, A.D. 66–70.[*] We maintain, therefore,—and in this contention we claim the support of a growing body of expert opinion (Imhoof-Blumer, Babelon, Reinach, and others),—that the coins in question were struck by the same executive authority (τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν, Jos. *Life, passim*) as was responsible for the defence of the city and the general conduct of the war. This attribution is confirmed by the comparative frequency of coins of the first three years, by the rarity of coins of the fourth year, and by their almost complete absence in the fifth year (April to August A.D. 70), all corresponding in the most complete manner with the success and gradual collapse of the Jewish power in the course of the revolt. Further, the fabric and module of these shekels present a remarkable similarity to those of the tetradrachms of Nero and Vespasian, issued about the same time from the mint of Antioch.[†] It is possible, as Reinach suggests, that the immediate purpose of the new coinage was to supply, for the first time in Jewish history, native 'shekels of the sanctuary' for the various religious dues.[‡]

---

* See above for improved rendering of the American Revisers.

† For this see Dessau's paper cited above (*Hermes*, xx. p. 520); cf. *ZDMG* 42, p. 412.

‡ Where it is added: 'two perûṭahs make a shāmîn,' another confirmation of Mk 12^{42}.

§ This identification of the quadrans with the chalkus has already been suggested on other grounds (see Madden, *Coins*, p. 300 f.).

* This explains how the quadrans does not appear in a Hebraized form in the Mishna, like the as and the dupondius (פּוּנְדְיוֹן), which the Vulgate inserts in Lk 12^{6}. The coins of Herod with a X (χαλκοῦς) on the obverse within a circle (Madden, p. 111), which weigh 43–48 grs., are also probably quadrantes-chalki. For the circulation of the quadrans in the East, see the Blass-Ramsay controversy over Mk 12^{42} in the *Exp. Times*, x. (1898–99) *passim*.

† Besides the discussions in the numismatic works mentioned in the bibliography to this article, see Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 379 ff.

‡ The most recent theory of all, that these shekels were struck by 'the [hypothetical] republic of Jerusalem' set up by Gabinius, B.C. 57/6–53/2 (Unger, 'zu Josephus iv., Die Republik Jerusalem,' *Sitzb. d. philos-philolog. Classe d. Akad. zu München*, 1897, p. 199 ff.), is based on too many hazardous combinations to command our confidence.

The question of the copper coinage of the two revolts is too intricate a subject for detailed discussion here (see Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 383 ff. for the conflicting views of numismatists). Only two sets of bronze coins can now, in all probability, be assigned to the same period as the silver shekels. These are (1) a set of small coins distinguished by the legend חרות ציון (*ḥērûth Ẓiyyôn*, emancipation of Zion) round a vine leaf, and on the obverse, in old-Hebrew characters, 'year two' and 'year three' (illustr. Madden, p. 206). (2) A series of copper coins of three denominations, of which the distinguishing mark is the legend לגאלת ציון (*lig'ullath Ẓiyyôn*, the redemption of Zion) on the reverse; the obverses have the following: (*a*) שנת ארבע חצי (year four—a half), (*b*) שנת ארבע רביע (year four—a quarter), and (*c*) שנת ארבע (year four) alone. The principal types (see Madden, p. 71 ff.) are the *lûlab* (לוּלָב, a sort of bouquet composed of twigs of the myrtle and willow with a palm leaf; see Lv 23^{40}) and *'ethrog* (אֶתְרֹג, a citron), which were carried in either hand at the feast of Booths. The obverse of the third group (*c*), however, is the chalice, which serves to connect the whole series with the shekels of the first revolt. The coins just described are generally known as 'the copper shekels of the year four,' it being *assumed* that they represent ½, ¼, and ⅙ shekels respectively. If this be so—the view is by no means beyond question—these coins will be specimens of 'siege money,' tokens issued by the authorities to be redeemed by silver money after the victory—which never came.

Perhaps no coins of antiquity have been more frequently reproduced in illustrations than the numerous coins struck by Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, and the Roman senate to commemorate the subjugation of Judæa (see Madden, pp. 207–229; de Saulcy, *Numism. de la Terre Sainte*, p. 79 ff.; Pick, *Zeit. f. Numism.* xiv. 1887, 328 ff.). One of these, an aureus of Titus, is shown in No. 16.

Obv. T. CAES. IMP. VESP. PON. TR. POT. Head of Titus, right, laureated.

Rev. No legend (other coins have JUDAEA CAPTA and the like). Palm tree; to left: Titus, with left foot on helmet, holding spear in right hand, with left resting on parazonium;[§] to right: Judæa as a Jewess seated on the ground.

§ 10. *Coins of the Second Revolt*, A.D. 132–135.—The history of the Jewish community in Judæa during the sixty years that followed the destruction of their temple is very imperfectly known; in particular, the antecedents of the shortlived but sanguinary rebellion which broke out in the 16th year of Hadrian's principate.[*] The conflicting and fragmentary evidence seems to warrant either of two alternatives. Either the Jews were goaded to revolt by coercive measures on Hadrian's part, and by the founding of Ælia Capitolina with its heathen temple, on the occasion of his visit to Jerusalem A.D. 130;[†] or on a former visit in A.D. 117 (see for this Dürr, *op. cit.* p. 63, following Epiphanius) the Jews had received permission to rebuild the temple, and were now incited to revolt by Bar Cochba, whose Messianic claims had been approved by R. Akîba, the most respected religious leader of the time. The founding of Ælia Capitolina would thus fall naturally after the suppression of the revolt. The numismatic evidence seems rather favourable to the second alternative.

The distinguishing feature of the silver coins of the 'second revolt' is the fact that they are all, probably *without a single exception*, imperial denarii, drachms, and tetradrachms from the mints of Rome, Cæsarea, and Antioch respectively, which have been re-struck with Jewish types and legends. On most of them some trace, more or less, of the original legend, and even in some cases of the head of the emperor—from Galba to Hadrian inclusive—has survived. Where such is not the case, we may assign as the cause the success of the process of re-striking rather than the use of native flans. Our knowledge of these coins has recently been enlarged by a valuable find a few miles from Hebron, which has enabled a German numismatist to undertake an exhaustive study of all the known specimens (see L. Hamburger, 'Die Silbermünzprägungen während des letzten Aufstandes der Israeliten gegen Rom' in Von Sallet's *Zeitsch. für Numismatik*, xviii. (1892) pp. 240–347).

The activity of the Jewish moneyers during the short period of the revolt is very remarkable, since, according to Hamburger's data, no fewer than twenty-four different classes of silver coins have to be registered (*op. cit.* p. 246). From these we learn that the leaders of the revolt were the secular chief, 'Simeon, Nasi (or Prince) of Israel,' and the religious head of the nation, 'Eleazar the (high) priest.' The latter has been variously identified as Eleazar of Modein, whose priestly descent, however, is uncertain; Eleazar ben Azariah (Hamburger), and most recently Eleazar ben Ḥarsom (Schlatter, *op. cit.* 54 ff.; 'assez plausible' is Bacher's verdict, *REJ*, 1898). The Simeon of the coin-legends can hardly be other than the pseudo-Messiah known as Simon bar Cochba (בַּר כּוֹכְבָא *bar Kôkĕbâ*, 'son of the star,'[‡] in allusion to Nu 24^{17}), whose real name was probably Simeon bar Kozēba, *i.e.* native of Kozēba, a place on the road to Jericho (cf. Buhl, *Geogr.* 176).

The following, apart from graphical details, is substantially Hamburger's arrangement of the silver coins of Eleazar and Simeon, the three larger groups being determined by the *legend of the reverse*.

---

[*] This date was first advocated by Ewald in the *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1855.

[†] Cf. our illustrations with plates xxi. and xxii. of Wroth, *Greek Coins of Galatia*, etc.

[‡] For weights of extant shekels and half-shekels, see Madden, *Coins*, p. 286 *n.* 5.

[§] A short sword attached to a belt round the waist; see Rich, *Dict. of Antiq. s.v.*

[*] Besides the well-known histories of Grätz (vol. iv.), Mommsen (*Provinces*, etc. ii. 223 ff.), Gregorovius (*The Emperor Hadrian*, 1898, unfortunately not brought down to date), and Schürer (*HJP* I. ii. 287 ff., with ample reff.), see Dürr, *Die Reisen Hadrians*, 1881, and Schlatter, *Die Tage Trajans u. Hadrians*, 1897 (an attempt to construct a connected history from the scattered notices in later Jewish literature). For the Roman forces engaged in suppressing the revolt (which were more numerous than has hitherto been supposed), see, besides Pfitzner, *Gesch. d. röm. Kaiserlegionen*, J. Offord in *PSBA*, 1898, pp. 59–69.

[†] This visit is commemorated by the coins of Hadrian with the legend ADVENTVI AUG. IVDAEAE (see Cohen, *Description de monnaies impériales*, ed. 1, p. 176 f.; Madden, p. 251 f.).

[‡] The star on some of the tetradrachms has generally been supposed to refer to this.

I. **Coins** (denarii, drachms, and tetradrachms) **of 'the year one [*] of the redemption of Israel'**—שנת אחת לגאלת ישראל.
  i. Denarius-drachms with the name of 'Eliezer the priest' אלעזר הכהן.
  ii. Tetradrachms with legend 'Jerusalem' round the conventional representation of the 'golden gate' (?) of the temple (see below).

II. **Coins** (as before) **of the 'year 2 of the emancipation of Israel'**—שב לחרות ישראל.
  This group is composed of two main classes of denarius-drachms of Simeon, viz.—
  iii. *A*. D.-d. of Simeon, with his name, contracted (שמע) or in full (שמעון), within a wreath.
    B. D.-d. of Simeon, with his name always in full round a bunch of grapes.
  Each of these may be arranged in four sub-classes, according to *the type of the reverse*, viz.—
    (*a*) *Rev.* Sacrificial flagon, with small palm branch above.
    (*b*) *Rev.* Three-stringed lyre.
    (*c*) *Rev.* Two trumpets.
    (*d*) *Rev.* Palm branch.
  iv. Tetradrachms of the same year with *obv.* legend 'Jerusalem.'
  v. Tetradrachms of the same year with *obv.* legend 'Simeon.'

III. **Undated coins of 'the emancipation of Jerusalem'**—לחרות ירושלם.
  vi. D.-d. of Simeon, falling into two classes (*A* and *B*), each into four sub-classes (*a*)-(*d*) as under division iii. above.[†]
  vii. Undated tetradrachms of Simeon.

From the great variety of coins above represented we have selected three from group III. for illustration—a re-struck drachm, denarius, and tetradrachm (this last showing no traces of the original) from the British Museum collection.

Obv. שמעון round a bunch of grapes.
Rev. לחרות ירושלם round a three-stringed lyre (class vi. *B b* of Hamburger's classification above). Plate No. 17.

This is a re-struck drachm of Trajan from the mint of Cæsarea Cappadociæ; on the *reverse* may be seen AYTOKP. KAIC. of the legend of the original *obverse*, and on the present obverse [ΔΗ]ΜΑΡΧ from the original reverse legend (see Wroth's *Catalogue*, p. 54 ff.).

Obv. As above (Plate No. 18).
Rev. Same legend; type, two trumpets (=Hamburger's vi. *B c*).

A re-struck denarius of Trajan; on the obverse are clear traces of the back of the emperor's head, with the ends of the ribbons with which the wreath was fastened, while the reverse shows the arm of Arabia as a female holding a branch over a camel. No. 19 shows the original denarius of A.D. 105.

Obv. שמעון. Type of uncertain significance (by Madden, 'a conventional figure of the Beautiful Gate of the Temple; below, Solomon's colonnade' [?]); above, a star.
Rev. לחרות ירושלם. Type, a *lûlab* (see previous section) with small *'ethrog* as adjunct. (No. 20).

A tetradrachm of class vii. above; weight of specimen, 213 grs.

Hamburger has not dealt with the copper coins of this period in the same systematic way. The following arrangement is here proposed, and will be found to embrace most of the coins.

I. **Bronze coins of 'the first year of the redemption of Israel.'**
  i. Coins of 'Eleazar the priest,' written in bizarre fashion on either side of the stem of a palm-tree. *Rev.* type a bunch of grapes (see Madden, 198 ff., who refers these coins to an Eleazar of the first revolt). It is now evident that these cannot be separated from the Eleazar silver coins of the second revolt.
  ii. Various denominations of 'Simeon, prince of Israel,' with, as types, palm, vine leaf, *diota* (two-eared jar), lyre, etc. (Madden, 203 ff.).

II. **Bronze coins of 'year 2 of the emancipation of Israel.'**
  iii. *Obv.* שמען (*sic*) and שמע on either side of a palm-tree.
    Types of *Rev.* (*a*) bunch of grapes, (*b*) vine leaf.
  iv. *Obv.* ירושלם arranged as in iii., and with same *rev.* types.

III. **Undated bronzes of 'the emancipation of Jerusalem.'**
  v. *Obv.* שמעון arranged as above, and with same *rev.* types.
  vi. *Obv.* ירושלם arranged as above, and with same *rev.* types.

From the relative sizes (Æ 4 and 6) and weights of the bronzes with the bunch of grapes and the vine leaf respectively as obv. types (see No. 21), it is evident that the former are one half of the latter, perhaps 'current' chalki and dichalki respectively (see § 8). The types of these revolt coins, silver and copper alike, in almost all cases have a reference to some characteristic product of the country (palm, vine, grapes), or to the paraphernalia of the temple-worship (lyre, flagon, trumpets).

The fall of Bethar, the modern Bittir, a few miles S.W. of Jerusalem, where Simeon and his frenzied followers made their last despairing stand, had been preceded by the recapture of Jerusalem, on the site of which Hadrian built his new city of Ælia Capitolina. The coins commemorating its foundation are given by Madden, p. 249 ff., and de Saulcy, *Numism. de la Terre Sainte*, p. 63 ff.

Our task is done. Yet the writer cannot forbear to call attention once more to the most striking feature of Jewish numismatics, and to a reflexion which it suggests. Not once in the whole course of their history did the Jews enjoy, *as a constitutional and legal right*, the privilege of coining money in either silver or gold.—Is not this a remarkable testimony to the fact that the true mission of the Hebrew race lay in another than the temporal sphere, even the spiritual? 'Out of Zion' *went* 'forth the Law, and the Word of the Lord from Jerusalem.'

§ 11. *Appendix. The purchasing power of money in Bible times.*—Throughout this article an approximate estimate in sterling currency has been given of the moneys of the various standards we have met with in the course of the history of the Hebrew race. A much more adequate idea of their real value, however, would be gained if we knew their purchasing power in these ancient times. Considering the compass and variety of our Scriptures, it is somewhat remarkable how few indications are to be found of the prices of the ordinary articles of commerce. The purchase of land is probably more frequently mentioned than any other (Gn $23^{11ff.}$ 33^{19}, 2 S 24^{24}, 1 K 16^{24}, Jer $32^{7ff.}$, Mt 27^{7}), but in no case have we definite information as to the size of the ground acquired. From Is 7^{23} we learn that a good vineyard was valued at the rate of a thousand vines for 'a thousand silverlings' or silver shekels, a sum (*c.* £135) which represents the yearly rent (though this is not certain) of Solomon's vineyard at Baal-hamon (Ca 8^{11}). This monarch paid '600 shekels of silver' (*c.* £80) for an Egyptian chariot, and a quarter of that sum for a horse (2 Ch 1^{17}); in each case, no doubt, a high price. A better indication of the value of money in antiquity is the rate of wages paid. Micah's private chaplain received but ten shekels a year (Jg 17^{10}). He had, however, 'everything found' in addition, as had the angel Raphael when he accepted service with Tobit for a drachm a day (Tob $5^{14 \text{ (Gr. 15)}}$ *δραχμὴν τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τὰ δέοντά σοι*). In NT times a denarius ($9\frac{1}{2}$d.) was a fair day's wages for a labourer (Mt $20^{2\text{ff.}}$). Labourers in Cicero's time got only 12 asses (*c.* 7d.), but soldiers received a denarius. The price of slaves naturally varied not only according to age and capacity, but also according to the supply. The normal value, according to the Priests' Code, was 30 shekels, over £4 (Ex 21^{32}). Joseph was sold for twenty (Gn 37^{28}). The former price differs but little from the average of 120 drachms in the age of the Ptolemies (Jos. *Ant.* XII. ii. 3). A talent was a high price even for an educated slave 'in the flower of his youth' (*Ant.* XII. iv. 9), while ninety slaves for that amount (2 Mac 8^{11}) represent the other extreme. The truest indication of all would be the price of the standard food-stuffs, especially wheat and barley, but unfortunately the biblical data are scanty in the extreme. In 2 K 7^{1} a seah (about $1\frac{1}{2}$ peck) of fine flour was sold for a shekel (2s. 9d.), and two seahs of barley at the same price. This could only be considered cheap in comparison with the previously existing famine prices (2 K 6^{25}).[*] Another 'famine' price is found Rev 6^{6}: a choenix (about a quart) of wheat for a denarius, and three of the same measure of barley at the same price. From these two passages (2 K 7^{1}, Rev 6^{6}) we learn this at least, that in the period of the monarchy flour was twice as dear as barley meal, while in the 1st cent. A.D. the price of wheat was to that of barley as 3 : 1. In any case the prices in Revelation are very high, about twelve times the ordinary prices, to judge from those of the 2nd cent. as given in the Mishna. Thus a seah of wheat is there priced at a denarius (*Erubin* viii. 2), about 16s. a quarter.[†] Little can be learned from the contradictory statements of Josephus (*Wars,* II. xxi. 2, and *Life,* 13) regarding the price of oil, beyond the fact of its extreme cheapness in Galilee during the war with Rome. The low price of the sparrow, finally, is familiar to every reader of the Gospels, two being sold for a 'current' issar-assarion, or a farthing and a half (see § 8), and five for three English farthings.

---

[*] In the sequel, 'year one,' 'year two' denote that the Hebrew words are written in full; 'yr. 1,' 'yr. 2' represent the contractions שא, שב.

[†] This gives in all sixteen possible varieties of denarius-drachms issued in Simeon's name, only fifteen of which have as yet been recovered.

LITERATURE.—Indispensable for the study of Jewish numismatics is F. W. Madden's exhaustive corpus, *Coins of the Jews,* 1881, which has taken the place of his earlier work, *History of Jewish Coinage,* 1864. Hardly less so are B. V. Head's *Historia Numorum,* 1887, which covers the whole field of Greek numismatics, and Fr. Hultsch, *Griechische und Römische Metrologie,* 2te Bearbeitg. 1882. Other standard works are, besides the general works of Eckhel and Mionnet:—F. de Saulcy, *Recherches sur la Numismatique Judaïque,* 1854; Cavedoni, *Biblische Numismatik,* trans. from the Italian by Werlhof, 1855; Levy, *Gesch. d. jüdischen Münzen,* 1862; de Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte,* 1874 (complement of his *Recherches,* dealing only with non-Jewish coins of Palestine); Merzbacher in the *Zeitschrift f. Numismatik,* Bd. iii.–v., 1876–78 (specially on the 'Maccabæan' shekels); Th. Reinach, *Les monnaies juives,* 1887; Hamburger, *Z. f. Numism.* xviii. 1892 (see § 10). The standard works on the Persian, Phœnician, Ptolemaic, Seleucid, and Roman coins respectively are given in the body of the article.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

MONEY-CHANGERS (EXCHANGERS, CHANGERS, BANKERS).—In the preceding article it has been shown how various were the standards according to which money was reckoned in the course of Jewish history. In the 1st cent. of our era, for example (MONEY, § 8), we find coins of the Roman system (*denarius, as,* etc.) side by side with coins of the Greek system (*drachm, tetradrachm,* etc.). The Jews, moreover, according to the testimony of their own Rabbis, were required to pay the sacred dues in coins of still another standard, viz. the Phœnician. When to these facts is added the circumstance that Palestine and Jerusalem, in particular, were visited by vast numbers of Jews 'out of every nation under heaven' (Ac 2^{5}), each of whom required to be furnished with the current coins of the country, it will be admitted that there was great need for 'the tables of the money-changers.' The words denoting this important class of the community in NT are three in number: (1) *κερματιστής* (from *κέρμα*, a small coin, then money generally, Jn 2^{15}), Jn 2^{14} only, AV and RV 'changers of money,' parallel to and synonymous with (2) *κολλυβιστής* (from *κόλλυβος*, originally a small coin, apparently one fourth of the *χαλκοῦς* [Hultzsch, *Metrol.*^{2} p. 228], then the 'commission' or agio paid to the money-changer), Mt 21^{12}, Mk 11^{15}, AV and RV 'money-changers,' Jn 2^{15} 'changers.' According to some we should distinguish the *κερματιστής* who gave small change (*κέρματα*) for the larger coins, copper and silver, etc., from the *κολλυβιστής* who 'changed foreign money at an agio (*καταλλαγή*), or provided gold to be remitted abroad' (Smith's *Dict. of Antiq.*^{3} 'Argentarii'). The Jews, however, expressed both words by the post-biblical שֻׁלְחָנִי *shulḥānî* (from *shulḥān,* table), which is merely the Hebrew equivalent of (3) *τραπεζίτης* (from *τράπεζα*, the table or stand at which the changer sat and on which he ranged his money, Mt 21^{12}, Mk 11^{15}, Jn 2^{15}, AV and RV 'tables,' but Lk 19^{23} 'bank'[*]), only Mt 25^{27}, AV 'exchangers,' RV 'bankers.' The business of the Jewish *shulḥānî* was threefold: (1) he changed the larger denominations (*tetradrachm, denarius, drachm*) into their equivalent in the copper money in which the minor purchases of the average household were made, or, it might be, the gold *aureus* into silver coin, and *vice versa.* (2) He exchanged all money that had not legal currency in Palestine into such as had. (3) The wealthier members of the class received money on deposit for the purpose of investment, on which interest (*τόκος*, Mt 25^{27}, Lk 19^{23} AV 'usury,' RV 'interest') at fixed rates was paid. They also negotiated drafts on correspondents abroad. This third department will be dealt with more in detail under USURY.

The 'money-changers' are introduced in the NT, in respect of the first two departments of their business, in the incident (or incidents) of the clearing of the temple courts (Mt $21^{12\text{ff.}}$, Mk $11^{15\text{ff.}}$, Jn $2^{13\text{ff.}}$). The practice had grown up of allowing the *shulḥānîm* to set up their stands or 'tables' (שֻׁלְחָן) in the outer court or 'court of the Gentiles' for the convenience of the numerous worshippers, especially of those from foreign countries—a practice which evidently led to much unseemly wrangling, and even to acts of downright dishonesty (cf. Mt 21^{13}, Mk 11^{17}, Lk 19^{46}). A special and important branch of the money-changer's work was the providing of the half-shekel or didrachm (MONEY, § 8) required annually of every adult male for the maintenance of the public services of the temple.

---

[*] MT is here corrupt. Cheyne emends: 'A homer (10 bushels) of lentils for 50 shekels, and a quarter of a cor ($2\frac{1}{2}$ bushels) of carob-pods for 5 shekels,' *Expos.* July 1899.

[†] Cf. *Baba Mezia* v. 1, where a kor (30 seahs) of wheat is bought for 25 and sold for 30 denarii, also 16s. a quarter. In Cicero's time wheat was sold at Rome at the rate of 3 sestertii the modius, which is under £1 a quarter.

[*] The Latin *mensa* and *mensarius* afford a complete parallel; cf. our own 'bank' cognate with 'bench.'

From the Mishna treatise *Shĕḳālîm* we learn that one month (15th Adar) before the Passover festival accredited *shulḥānîm* set up their tables in the provinces to receive the contributions of the provincials, removing ten days later to the capital (see, further, TRIBUTE MONEY). While in their ordinary transactions the changers were probably not over-scrupulous as to the amount of commission they charged, in the case of the half-shekel the amount of the agio (קוֹלְבּוֹן, *κόλλυβον*) was fixed at 4 per cent. This seems the natural inference from the data in *Shĕḳālîm* i. 6, 7, which we understand to mean that the price of the Tyrian tetradrachm or stater (Mt 17^{27}), which contained 24 *ma'oth* (מָעוֹת) or obols, was 25 obols, the extra obol (1 in 25, or 4 p.c. = *c.* 1½d.) being the agio. This we saw (MONEY, § 8) was probably the usual method of paying the tax. For a single half-shekel or didrachm of silver apparently only half an obol was charged (see *Shĕḳ*. i. end *). A commission of 4 p.c. seems to have been usual in secular transactions also. In *Mĕ'ilah* vi. 4 we read of an *aureus* (=25 *denarii*) being spent, although the total of the purchases amounts to only 24 *denarii*. Clearly the remaining *denarius* was retained as agio. The changers had always to be on their guard against false money, hence the saying—

אֵין דֶּרֶךְ שׁוּלְחָנִי לִתֵּן אִיסָּר עַד שֶׁיִּטּוֹל דִּינָרוֹ

'it is not the custom of the money-changer to give change (lit. an issar or as) until he receives [and has tested] his denarius!' A. R. S. KENNEDY.

MONSTER.—The only occurrence of this word is in La 4^{3}, where in AV תַּנִּין *tannîn* (LXX *δράκοντες*) is tr^{d} 'sea monsters,' RV 'jackals.' Post prefers *wolves*; see DRAGON, vol. i. p. 621^{a}. Amer. RV prefers 'monster' to 'dragon' in Is 27^{1}, Jer 51^{34}.

The adj. 'monstrous' is applied in Wis 17^{15} to the apparitions which terrified the Egyptians during the plague of darkness,—'were partly vexed with monstrous apparitions (*τέρασιν φαντασμάτων*, Vulg. *monstrorum timore*), and partly fainted.'

A monster (Lat. *monstrum*, a divine omen, from *monere*, to warn) is anything which attracts the attention from being out of the ordinary course of nature. The 'sea monsters' above are so on account of their size, while the adj. 'monstrous' is used of the apparitions, because of their warning or ominous character. Cf. Udall, *Erasmus' Paraphrase*, i. fol. lxvi, 'It semeth a monstreous thing unto them which chaunced to the Prophete Jonas: they shall have a lyke monstre, but more wondreful.'

The tr. of Ps 71^{6} in Pr. Bk. is, 'I am become as it were a monster unto many,' on which Davies (*Bible English*, 183) remarks, 'We might suppose that the Psalmist meant that he was an object of horror and detestation, but he is affirming that his preservation through so great trials and dangers appeared miraculous to many.' Driver (*Parallel Psalter*) translates, 'I am become as it were a portent unto many,' and in a footnote explains, 'Attracting attention on account of my extraordinary sufferings,' comparing Dt 28^{46} ('for a sign and for a portent'). So most commentators. Shakespeare often uses the adj. of that which attracts attention because of its magnitude, as *I Henry IV*. II. iv. 530, 'the sheriff with a most monstrous watch is at the door'; *II Henry VI*. IV. vii. 88, 'O monstrous coward.'

J. HASTINGS.

MONTH.—See TIME.

MONUMENT.—This word occurs in Is 65^{4} 'A rebellious people . . . which remain among the graves, and lodge in the monuments' (וּבַנְּצוּרִים יָלִינוּ, RV 'and lodge in the secret places,' RVm 'vaults'). The EV word 'monuments' means 'tombs.' The Rhemish NT often uses the word in this sense, after the Vulg. *monumentum*. Thus Mt 23^{29} 'You build the Prophets sepulchres, and garnish the moniments of iust men'; Lk 8^{27} 'There mette him a certaine man that had a devil now a very long time, and he did weare no clothes, neither did he tarie in house, but in the monuments.' So John's disciples (Mk 6^{29}) 'tooke his body, and they put it in a monument'; and our Lord's sepulchre is called a 'monument' in Mt 27^{60}, Lk 23^{53}, Jn 19^{42}, Ac 13^{29}. Cf. Shaks. *Tit. Andronicus*, II. iii. 228—

> 'Upon his bloody finger he doth wear
> A precious ring, that lightens all the hole,
> Which like a taper in some monument,
> Doth shine upon the dead man's earthy cheeks,
> And shows the ragged entrails of the pit.'

The translation of Is 65^{4} is uncertain, owing to the uncertainty of the reference. The Heb. word means literally '*guarded* places.' The LXX renders the two clauses in one, *ἐν τοῖς μνήμασιν καὶ ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις κοιμῶνται διὰ ἐνύπνια*; the Syriac follows this interpretation, which is explained by Jerome as a method of obtaining oracles in dreams by what is known as *incubation* (*κοιμῶνται*), *i.e.* spending the night in subterranean sacred places. W. R. Smith (*RS*^{2}, 198 f.) points out that 'the whole N. Semitic area was dotted over with sacred tombs, Memnonia, Semiramis mounds, and the like, and at every such spot a god or demigod had his subterranean abode.' See also A. van Hoonacker's art. on 'Divination by the 'Ôb amongst the Ancient Hebrews' in *Expos. Times*, vol. ix. 1898, p. 157 ff., and the artt. DIVINATION, WITCHCRAFT. J. HASTINGS.

MOOLI (A Mooλί, B -εί, AV Moli), 1 Es 8^{47} (LXX ^{46}) = MAHLI, Ezr 8^{18}, son of Merari and grandson of Levi (see Ex 6$^{16.19}$). The LXX in all places renders מַחְלִי in this way.

MOON.—The most common name used for the second of the great lights of heaven in the OT is יָרֵחַ,* written in Phœnician with the same consonants; in Assyr. *iriḫu*; Eth. *wareḥ*. The meaning of the word is regarded as uncertain, but there can be but little doubt that the root to which it belongs was originally of the class פ״י, as is clearly indicated by the Ethiopic, and also by the Assyrian name for 'month,' which, being transcribed in the month-name Marcheswan with מ replacing the original *w* (*m* and *w* are interchangeable consonants in Assyrian), implies a connexion with the Assyrian word *ûrḫu* 'road,' and confirms the correctness of the suggestion of Ges.-Buhl that יָרֵחַ means 'wanderer,' and is connected with the cognate אָרַח 'to wander,' 'journey.' The less common word לְבָנָה designates the moon as 'the white one,' from the root לָבַן 'to be white.' There is also another word, namely חֹדֶשׁ, which is used to designate the new moon (see NEW MOON, and art. FEASTS in vol. i. p. 859^{b}).

Where first mentioned in the Bible (Gn 1^{16}), neither of the above words is used, the luminary being described as 'the lesser light' (parallel with the description there given of the sun as the 'greater light'). It is described as being placed in the heavens to rule the night, and also 'for signs, and for seasons, and for days and years'; and it was apparently as a time-measurer that it was principally looked on by the Hebrews, and also, to a somewhat less degree, by the Babylonians and Assyrians, to whom the chief character of the moon was a personal one, namely, that of the representative of the moon-god Sin (cf. *Sennacherib* = 'Sin has multiplied the brothers') and the moon-goddess (the moon as the consort of the sun) Aa. A further reference to the moon as the indicator of the (religious) festivals is to be found in Ps 104^{19} 'he appointeth the moon for seasons, and the sun knoweth his going down.'

Notwithstanding that the bright portion of the moon's disc, being always turned towards the sun, implied that it received its light from that body, the moon is represented in Gn 1 as having been created at the same time as the sun, and apparently as shining by its own light. It was also, with the sun, set in the heavens to give light upon the earth, and as the 'lesser light' to rule over the night, and to divide between the light and between the darkness, though this is, with reference to the moon, a very loose phrase, when we take into consideration the imperfect way in which it performs this office.

---

* See this treatise for other details, especially chs. i. and ii. *E.g.* the priests, but not the Levites, were exempt from the payment of commission. Again, 'if one gives [to the changer] a tetradrachm (סֶלַע) and [after paying the half-shekel due] receives back a didrachm (שֶׁקֶל), he has to pay double agio' (הַנּוֹתֵן סֶלַע וְנוֹטֵל שֶׁקֶל חַיָּב שְׁתֵּי קוֹלְבּוֹנוֹת, *ib*. i. 7).

* According to Sayce (*EHH* 250), *Jericho* יר(י)חו means 'city of the moon-god.'

All these statements would, of course, lead one to suppose that the Hebrews had but a very imperfect knowledge of astronomy, and especially of the movements of the luminary in question, though they must have seen and noticed the regularity of its motions, and it apparently became for them, in course of time, a kind of emblem of constancy and everlastingness, hence the expressions 'peace as long as the moon endureth' (Ps 72^{7}), and 'established for ever as the moon' (Ps 89^{37}, likewise Ps 72^{7} 'as long as the sun and moon endure [lit. with the sun and in the presence of the moon] throughout all generations').

The calm, clear light of the moon seems to be noticed in the expressions 'fair as the moon,' parallel to the second member of the verse, 'clear as the sun,' both being comparisons referring to the Shulammite in Ca 6^{10}. Increase of the light of the moon to the equal of that of the sun is foretold for the day when the Lord should bind up His people's hurt, and heal their wound (Is 30^{26}). The influence of the moon on persons is apparently referred to in Ps 121^{6}, in the phrase, 'The sun shall not smite thee by day, nor the moon by night,' where the smiting by the sun being undoubtedly sunstroke, the smiting by the moon may well be regarded as an early instance of the belief that the rays of the moon could exert an influence so baleful as to produce lunacy, or to cause that a person might become 'moon-struck.' That the moon was supposed to have this effect is hardly to be wondered at, as many people believe the same thing at the present time; and in ancient days it was supposed also that its rays could bring on epilepsy, as is illustrated by the Greek text of Mt 4^{24} and 17^{15}, where the original has σεληνιαζομένους and σεληνιάζεται, 'epileptic' (RV).

There is some uncertainty as to what is intended by the 'precious things put forth by the moons' in Dt 33^{14} (AV). The phrase has been supposed to refer to the produce of the months in their order, which is not improbable. An Assyrian tablet exists in which the produce of every month is enumerated in order, and as moon and month are convertible terms it is not unlikely that something of the kind is intended here, rather than omens derived from the moon's motions, such as are so often found among the numerous astrological forecasts of Babylonia and Assyria. In fact we should probably translate 'months,' not 'moons,' although יְרָחִים certainly contains a play upon יָרֵחַ 'moon,' in poetical parallelism with sun (Driver, *ad loc.*).*

With the nations around, the moon was, conjointly with the sun and the other heavenly bodies, regarded as a deity, and divine honours were paid it as such. Among the Babylonians and Assyrians the moon, as a deity, was apparently not called *iriḫu*, but Sin (possibly also pronounced Sen), and it is this word that we meet with as the first element of the name of the well-known Assyrian king Sennacherib.† Besides this, however, he was also called Aku, and it is in all probability this word that we find in the Babylonian royal name Eri-aku (Eri-eaku) or Arioch. Another not uncommon name of the moon-god among the Babylonians was Nannara, under which appellation he was worshipped at Ur (Mugheir or Muḳeyyer), a city probably possessing his oldest and most renowned temple.* The month Sivan was dedicated to the moon-god by the old inhabitants of Babylonia. Reference has already been made to the moon-goddess Aa, who was regarded as the consort of the sun-god Šamaš, and was probably the equivalent of the Ashtaroth-karnaim of the Phœnicians.†

The name of the moon-god seems to have been Sin, not only in Assyria and Babylonia, but in other parts of the ancient East also. Thus we have reference to this deity in the name of Mount Sinai, the peninsula of which, even at the end of the 6th cent. B.C., was devoted to the worship of the moon. Antoninus Martyr relates that, at the time of the worship of the deity in this district, the marble of which the idols were made changed colour, and ultimately became black as pitch, returning when the festival was over to its original hue, at which he wondered greatly. This was, of course, a symbolical festival, typifying the phases of the moon in its monthly journey, the change of the colour of the statues of the god being brought about artificially, but in such a way as to work upon the superstitions of the ignorant. The Phœnicians seem to have worshipped the new moon under the name of חדש *Ḥodesh* (Baethgen, p. 61). See NEW MOON. The moon-god was represented either standing with his attributes, or seated upon a horse. In Palmyra he seems to have been called Yarkhibol (=*Yareaḥ-baal*), and in the name Aglibol we have a reference to the moon as a 'young steer,' by the Assyrian equivalent of which it is designated in the hymn to the moon-god published in *WAI* iv. pl. 9. In an Assyrian inscription the name of an Arab, *Aa-kamaru*, leads one to ask whether we may not have here two old names of the moon-deity: Aa, the Babylonian goddess of the moon as the consort of the sun-god; and *kamaru*, an Assyrian transcription of the Arabic *ḳamar*, 'the moon.'

With the Egyptians there were several moon-deities, all masculine. The principal of these was Thoth, the god of knowledge, an attribute applied to him in consequence of the moon's character as time-measurer (for such is the meaning of its name in the Indo-European languages). Sefekh, a goddess associated with Thoth, in all probability typified the full moon. As the wanderer, the moon was called Khunsu or Khons. Isis, Muth, and Hathor, who wear as their crowns the disc of the moon, were evidently in some manner associated with that luminary.

The worship of the moon and the other heavenly bodies is mentioned and prohibited in Dt 17^{3}. Kissing the hand on seeing the moon (undoubtedly an act of adoration) is referred to in Job 31$^{26f.}$, and sacrifices made 'unto the queen of heaven'‡ are spoken of in Jer 44^{17}. The moon- or crescent-shaped ornaments spoken of as adornments of 'the daughters of Zion' in Is 3^{18} (cf. Jg 8$^{21.26}$), were probably due to the same idolatrous tendency which at the time often led the chosen people astray. See CRESCENTS. T. G. PINCHES.

---

* Steuernagel, who retains 'moons,' thinks the allusion is to the *dew*, which is traced to the moon as *light* is to the sun.

† With regard to the etymology of the word Sin, it has been suggested that this is for Zu-en, 'knowledge-lord' (generally written En-zu-na—*i.e.* so as to be read Zu-en-na), one of his Accadian names.

* This is the Urie (=Uriwa, the Accadian form) of Eupolemus (*ap.* Eusebius, *Præp. Evan.* 9), who says that it also bore the name of Camarina, apparently from the same root as the Arab. *ḳamar* (see below).

† There is also a deity named Laban, mentioned as having been worshipped in the temple of Anu, in the city of Asshur. As the moon-god was the minister of Anu, the question naturally arises whether the word Laban may not, in this passage, be another name of Sin. If this be the case, Laban would be connected with לְבָנָה.

‡ See the elaborate article, 'Die Melecheth des Himmels,' by Kuenen, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, p. 186 ff., and cf. the chapter on Al 'Uzza in Wellhausen's *Reste Arab. Heidentums*², p. 34 ff.

MOOSSIAS (B Μοοσσείας, A Μοός· Σιάς, AV Moosias), 1 Es 9^{31}=MAASEIAH, Ezr 10^{30}.

MOPH.—See MEMPHIS.

MORALITY.—See ETHICS.

MORASHTITE (so correctly in RV, in place of *Morasthite* of AV; Heb. הַמֹּ(ו)רַשְׁתִּי; LXX in Jer ὁ Μωραθείτης, in Mic τὸν τοῦ Μωρασθεί B, . . . Μωραθεί A).—A gentilic adjective used to designate the prophet Micah (Mic 1^{1}, Jer 26 [Gr. 33] ^{18}), probably derived from Moresheth-gath (wh. see).

MORDECAI (מָרְדֳּכַי, Baer מָרְדְּכַי; Μαρδοχαῖος; *Mardochæus*, Ezr 2^{2} *Mardochai*; the name denotes 'belonging to Merodach, *or* Marduk,' a Babylonian deity).—**1.** One of the leaders of the people at the time of the return of the exiles under Zerubbabel and Jeshua (Ezr 2^{2}, Neh 7^{7}, 1 Es 5^{8}). From a comparison of the three lists it appears probable that the leaders were twelve in number.

2. The deliverer of the Jews in the Book of Esther. He is described as a Benjamite, the son of Jair, the son of Shimei, the son of Kish, one of the Jewish captives who had been carried away by Nebuchadnezzar in the days of Jehoiachin (Est 2$^{5.6}$).[*] Mordecai lived in Shushan (Susa), the Persian capital, and brought up as his own daughter his cousin Esther, whose parents were dead (2^{7}). When Esther was taken into the royal harem, Mordecai forbade her to reveal her connexions or her nationality (2^{20}). He was nevertheless able to remain in close communication with her, and for this purpose he was constantly at the gate of the palace. Here he discovered the plot of two eunuchs against the king, and, by informing Esther of it, procured their execution, the only reward which he himself as yet received being the entry of his name in the royal chronicles (2$^{19-23}$). When **Haman** [which see] was exalted to the rank of chief minister, Mordecai aroused his wrath by repeatedly refusing to bow before him; and, to avenge the slight, Haman procured from the king a decree for the destruction of the Jews, Mordecai's fellow-countrymen (3). After Esther, who had heard from her maidens of the distress of Mordecai and the Jews, had sent to inquire the cause, Mordecai, by means of the eunuch Hathach, informed her of the king's decree, and bade her go to the king and seek for protection for her people, reminding her that she also would be one of the victims of the massacre (4). Meanwhile, however, Haman, mortified at the continued disrespect shown to him by Mordecai, determined to anticipate the massacre, and, preparing a high gibbet, went to the palace to obtain permission to hang Mordecai thereon. The king, who during a sleepless night had heard the chronicles read, and thus learnt that Mordecai's services remained unrewarded, consulted Haman, on his appearance, as to a fitting recompense for one whom the king wished to honour. In consequence of his own suggestion the vizier was then bidden to conduct his enemy in honour round the city, while his friends saw in this misfortune an omen of his coming overthrow by Mordecai (5^{9}–6). After the disgrace and death of Haman, Mordecai succeeded to his place, receiving the king's seal, being arrayed in gorgeous attire, and writing letters in the king's name to grant the Jews permission to defend themselves; while the fame of Mordecai throughout the empire led all the Persian officials to assist the Jews (8. 9$^{3f.}$). Finally, Mordecai and Esther wrote two letters to all the Jews, enjoining that the feast of Purim should be everywhere celebrated on the 14th and 15th days of Adar; and that fastings and lamentation should be connected with the observance of the festival (9$^{20-32}$). The Bk. of Esther closes with an account of the fame and dignity of Mordecai, who stood next in rank to the king, and was recognized as the protector of his countrymen (10).

The apocryphal additions to Esther in the Greek version glorify Mordecai still more. In the LXX the book opens with the description of a dream which he had concerning two great dragons, and a great river springing from a little fountain. In the last chapter Mordecai interprets this dream, explaining the river of queen Esther, and the dragons of Haman and himself (Ad. Est 11$^{2-12}$ 10). We find also a few more particulars regarding the conspiracy of the two eunuchs, and a prayer of Mordecai, in which he declares that his refusal to bow before Haman was prompted by zeal for the glory of God, and not by human pride (13$^{8-17}$). In later literature the first reference to the Bk. of Esther is in 2 Mac 15^{36}, where the 14th of Adar is called the Day of Mordecai.

As the general question of the historical character of the Bk. of Esther is discussed elsewhere [ESTHER], it will be sufficient to add here one or two comments on the position assigned to Mordecai. There is a certain inconsistency in the representation that Esther's Jewish descent was unknown (2^{20}), whereas Mordecai was recognized as a Jew (3$^{4ff.}$ 5^{13}), and was in frequent communication with the queen (2^{22} 4), and also in the fact that the king should bestow honour upon Mordecai the Jew after the race had been proscribed. On the other hand, it is a plausible view which regards Kish (2^{5}), not as the great-grandfather of Mordecai, but as his remote ancestor, the father of Saul, and holds Haman to be an Amalekite (so Jos. *Ant.* XI. vi. 5, 12; and Targ.); in this case the descendant of Saul is opposed to the descendant of his ancient enemy Agag. In profane history we hear of no great minister of Xerxes whom we can identify with Mordecai, but it must be admitted that the domestic annals of this reign are scanty. To connect the Jewish vizier with the influential eunuch Matacao, named by Ctesias (so Rawlinson), seems very precarious. During the last years of Xerxes, Artabanus, the commander of the bodyguard, was the chief minister.[*]

In Rabbinical literature Mordecai is a favourite character. The late Targum on Esther traces the descent of the 'righteous' Mordecai from Shimei, who cursed David, and from Jonathan the son of Saul: he knows the seventy languages, he receives supernatural warning of the danger of the Jews, and a long description is given of the pomp and splendour bestowed upon him after he became the king's minister. H. A. WHITE.

---

[*] The interpretation of v.^{6} is disputed, the relative 'who' being referred either to Mordecai himself, or to Kish, his great-grandfather. On chronological grounds it is practically impossible to suppose that any one carried to Babylon in B.C. 597 should be living in the reign of Ahasuerus (Xerxes) 485–465. If, on the other hand, we regard the Book of Esther as being in the main unhistorical, this difficulty ceases to be of weight. Grammatical considerations do not decide the question, for, though certainly it is more natural to refer the pronoun to Mordecai, the other construction cannot be regarded as impossible, if on independent grounds we are unwilling to convict the author of a great anachronism (comp. Bertheau-Ryssel, *ad loc.*; Kuenen refuses to lay any weight on this passage, *Hist.-Krit. Einl.* I. ii. 209).

[*] For a full account of Jensen's attempt to explain Mordecai (*Marduk*), Haman (*Humman*, the national god of the Elamites), and the other principal characters in the Bk. of Esther upon the theory that in that book we have a Judaized form of Babylonian legend, see Wildeboer, 'Esther,' in *Kurzer Hand-Comm.* 172 ff.; cf. *Expos. Times*, Aug. 1898, p. 498, and art. PURIM (FEAST OF) in this Dictionary.

MORE.—In middle English there were two comparatives, 'moe' referring to number, and 'more' referring to size or importance; and the distinction between them was occasionally observed as late as the publication of AV in 1611. Thus Nu 22^{15} in the first ed. of AV reads, 'And Balak sent yet againe Princes, moe, and more honourable then they'; and 33^{54} 'To the moe ye shall give the more inheritance, and to the fewer ye shall give the lesse inheritance.' The Anglo-Saxon word was *mâ*, originally an adv. and connected with Lat. *magis*, Goth. *mais*, Germ. *mehr*. This *mâ* became in Eng. 'mo' with subscript e (whence 'moe' and 'moo') as *bân* became 'bone,' *drân* 'drone,' and the like (Earle, *Philology*, § iii.). The spelling is capricious even in Elizabethan writers. Shaks. varies between 'mo' and 'moe'; Tindale's favourite spelling is 'moo.' Ridley, *A Brefe Declaration*, has 'mo' on p. 163 (Moule's ed.), 'Therfore I wyll rehearse mo places of him than hertofore I have done of the other'; and 'moo' on p. 171, 'it should not nede . . . to bring in for the confyrmation of thys matter anye moo.' In AV 'mo' occurs once 2 S 5^{13}, and 'moe' 34 times.

'More' is really a double comparative, already formed in Anglo-Sax., *mâra*. It is at least probable that it was originally confined to greater bulk or importance, but even early examples show that 'moe' and 'more' were used almost indiscriminately. Wright (on Shaks. *As You Like It*, p. 135) thinks that, as far as Shaks. and AV are concerned, all that can be asserted is that 'moe' is used only with the plural, 'more' with both sing. and plural. Modern editors of Shaks. (chiefly Rowe in 1709) and of AV (chiefly Paris in 1762 and Blayney in 1769) have changed 'moe' into 'more.' Scrivener restored 'moe' in his *Camb. Paragraph Bible*, but nothing seems to be gained by it. In Shaks., on the other hand, the form 'moe' is sometimes required by the verse. Thus in *Much Ado*, II. iii. 72—

> 'Sing no more ditties, sing no moe,
> Of dumps so dull and heavy;
> The fraud of men was ever so,
> Since summer first was leavy.'

Examples of 'more' in the sense of 'greater' are Ac 19^{32} 'the more part knew not wherefore they were come together'; 27^{12} 'the more part advised to depart thence also.' Cf. Mt 11^{11}, Wyc. 'Trewly I say to you, ther roose noon more than Joon Baptist amonge children of wommen; forsothe he that is lesse in the kyngdam of hevenes, is more than he'; Ro 9^{12}, Wyc. 'the more schal serve to the lasse'; Tind. *Expos.* 228, 'Locusts are more than our grasshoppers'; Shaks. *K. John*, II. i. 34—

> 'O, take his mother's thanks, a widow's thanks,
> Till your strong hand shall help to give him strength
> To make a more requital to your love!'

J. HASTINGS.

MOREH.—1. OAK(S) OF, RVm 'Terebinth(s),' AV [wrongly, with Targ. Onk.] PLAIN(S) OF; Gn 12^6 אֵלוֹן מוֹרֶה, *τὴν δρῦν τὴν ὑψηλήν*, *convallem illustrem*; Dt 11^{30} אֵלוֹנֵי מֹרֶה, *τῆς δρυός* (so Sam.) *τῆς ὑψηλῆς*, *vallem tendentem et intrantem procul*; Syr. has the impossible 'oak of Mamre' in both places. A sacred tree near Shechem, mentioned Gn 12^6 as the scene of a theophany to Abraham, in consequence of which he built an altar there (J; but according to Ball, *SBOT*, 'unto the Oak of Moreh' is R^J). In Dt 11^{30} (late R) the Oaks of Moreh are named amongst other landmarks given to fix the position of Ebal and Gerizim.

Moreh is the participle of *hôrāh*, 'to give (divine) direction,' *e.g.* Is 9^{15} *nābî' mōreh sheḳer*, 'a prophet who gives a false direction.' The oak, therefore, was connected with a sanctuary, whose priests gave oracles on questions asked by worshippers. According to Dillm., 'Gilgal' in Dt 11^{30} is to be taken as a common noun, 'a circle of sacred stones' or 'cromlech,' which was another feature of this sanctuary. There is nothing in the context, either in Gn or Dt, to tell us anything more of the position of the Oak of Moreh than that it was in the neighbourhood of Shechem. Buhl (*GAP* 202 f.) identifies 'Gilgal' in Dt with *Jûlejîl*, some little distance to the east of Shechem, and concludes that the Oak(s) of Moreh were not close to Shechem. But, even if the identification be accepted, Gilgal and Moreh in Dt may be independent landmarks for Ebal and Gerizim, and Gilgal not defined by Moreh. Sam. adds in Dt after 'Oak of Moreh,' 'opposite Shechem,' a gloss suggested by Gn 12^6. It is not likely that *Mabortha*, according to Pliny and Josephus (*BJ* IV. viii. 1), the native name for the Greek city Neapolis, which replaced Shechem, has any connexion with Moreh. *Morthia* also occurs on coins as a title of Neapolis (cf. Smith's *DB*, *s.* 'Moreh'), but is probably connected with the Aram. *martha*, 'mistress.' On the suggested identification of Moreh with Moriah, and with the sacred trees in Gn 35^4, Jos 24^{26}, Jg $9^{6.37}$, cf. MEONENIM (OAK OF).

2. HILL OF, Jg 7^1 only (גִּבְעַת הַמּוֹרֶה; A *τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ 'Αβώρ*, B *Γαβααθαμωρά*, Luc. *ἀπὸ βουνοῦ τοῦ 'Αμωρέ*; *collis excelsi*. Targ. for הַמּוֹרֶה gives דִּמְסַתְּכָא 'that faces'). Mentioned in describing the position of the camp of the Midianites on the eve of their defeat by Gideon. RV translates MT of v.^{1b} 'and the camp of Midian was on the north side of them, by the hill of Moreh, in the valley' (RVm 'from the hill of Moreh *onwards* in the valley'). The text is probably corrupt. Moore proposes to read, 'While the camp of Midian was north of Gibeath ha-Moreh,' but suggests as a possible alternative, 'was north of him in Gibeath ha-Moreh.' Budde proposes, 'was beneath him north of Gibeath ha-Moreh.' Neither the well of Harod, mentioned as the site of Gideon's camp, nor the hill of Moreh, can be certainly identified. If 7^1 and 6^{33} are referred to the same source (E; so Kautzsch, Budde), probably the 'valley' in 7^1 is the 'valley of Jezreel' in 6^{33}, and the hill of Moreh is *Jebel Nabî Dahî*, sometimes called the Little Hermon, to the N.W. of the plain of Jezreel (G. A. Smith, *HGHL* p. 397; Buhl, *GAP* p. 202). Moore refers 7^1 to J, and 6^{33} to E, and is inclined to connect the Hill of Moreh with the Oak of Moreh. The LXX seems to have read 'Hill of the Amorites.' See MORIAH. 'Hill of *Moreh*' suggests that the hill was the site of a sanctuary; cf. 1. See HAROD. W. H. BENNETT.

MORESHETH-GATH (מוֹרֶשֶׁת גַּת, *κληρονομίας Γέθ*) is mentioned only in Mic 1^{14}, in a group with Gath, Zaanan, Lachish, Achzib, Mareshah, and other towns of the Judahite-Philistine region. The daughter of Zion is advised to make a bridal speeding-gift (cf. 1 K 9^{16}, Ex 18^2) concerning Moresheth-gath. Micah is himself a Morashtite, that is, a citizen of Moresheth (Mic 1^1, Jer 26^{18}), which may or may not be the same place. Moresheth-gath may signify 'she that takes possession of Gath,' or 'that which Gath possesses,' or simply as a proper name, 'Moresheth of Gath,' with other possible variations. Or the word 'gath' in the combination may be the common noun 'winepress.'

In the *Onomasticon*, and in the Prologue of the Commentary of Jerome on Micah, *Morasthi* is said to be a village east of, and near by, Eleutheropolis. There is no sufficient reason for disputing this, though the site has not been identified. Or again, when we note that the context is full of puns on the proper names that are mentioned ($^{10b\ 13a\ 14b}$ etc.), we find it possible to regard

Moresheth-gath as a play upon the proper name Mareshah, leading up to the statement, 'I will yet bring in to thee him that taketh possession, O lady that inhabitest Mareshah' (^{15}), and so, virtually, as a mere variant of Mareshah. Wellhausen (*Kl. Proph. ad loc.*) takes תְּנִי as vocative, rendering, 'Thou must let go Moresheth, O Gath,' and this is favoured by *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* Nowack (*ad loc.*) thinks that neither this nor the usual construction gives a sense quite apposite to the context. W. J. BEECHER.

MORIAH, the land of (Gn 22^{2}), or the mountain of (2 Ch 3^{1}) (הַמֹּרִיָּה, הַמּוֹרִיָּה: in Gn, LXX *εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν ὑψηλήν* [prob. a paraphr. of *conspicuous*: אֵלוֹן מוֹרֶה in 12^{6}, and אֵלוֹנֵי מוֹרֶה in Dt 11^{30}, are also rendered by LXX *ἡ δρῦς ἡ ὑψηλή*], Aq. *τὴν καταφανῆ* (connecting the word falsely with רָאָה; so Aq. Symm. for מוֹרֶה Dt 11^{30}), Symm. *τῆς ὀπτασίας*,* Vulg. *visionis*, Onk. (paraphrasing) אֲרַע פּוּלְחָנָא 'land of *worship*,'† Pesh. דאמוריא 'of the Amorites': in 2 Ch, LXX *τοῦ Αμορεια*, Luc. *τῷ Αμορια*, Vulg. *in monte Moria*, Pesh. as in Gn, Targ. (late) 'the mountain of Moriah,' but with a long Midrash about its being the place where Abraham and others *worshipped*).—What was originally denoted by this designation is very obscure. It is indeed evident that in 2 Ch 3^{1} the Temple hill is referred to; but this does not settle the sense of the expression 'land of Moriah' in Gn 22^{2}: the Chronicler may, in common with the later Jews, have supposed that that was the scene of the sacrifice of Isaac, and borrowed the expression from Gn 22^{2}—perhaps to suggest (Baudissin, *Studien*, ii. 252) that the spot was chosen already by J″ in the patriarchal age. In Gn, however, even supposing—what certainly seems to be implied from the terms of v.^{14}—that the writer placed the sacrifice of Isaac on the Temple hill, he does not apply the name Moriah to it: 'the land of M.' is the name of the *region* into which Abraham is to go, and he is to offer Isaac on '*one of the mountains*' in it. The mountain on which Isaac is to be offered does not even seem to be mentioned as a central or important one, from which, for instance, the region might have derived its name: it is merely 'one' of the mountains in a region which, so far as the terms of this verse go, might be co-extensive with a large part of Palestine. It is remarkable that, though it is here implied that it is well known to Abraham, the region is not mentioned elsewhere in the OT. It is difficult, under the circumstances, not to doubt the originality of the text; and it must be admitted that—though it has the disadvantage of being the *proclivis lectio*, —the reading of Pesh. 'of the Amorites' (15^{16} 48^{22}, Jos 5^{1} *al.*) has some claims to be considered the original one.

Heb. pr. names, when accompanied by the art., have the presumption of possessing, or at least of having once possessed, an appellative force: but the meaning of מוריה is obscure; and the etymologies that have been proposed are far from satisfactory. It is at least certain that it does not mean 'shewn of Jah' (which—cf. מִקְנֵיָהוּ, מַעֲשֵׂיָה—would be מָרְאִיָּה), or 'vision of Jah' (which would be מַרְאִיָּה), neither of which forms could pass into מוֹרִיָּה. For various 'Midrashic' explanations of the name, see *B'rēshīth Rabbā*, *ad loc.* (p. 263 f. in Wünsche's tr.), or Beer, *Leben Abr. nach der Jüd. Sage*, pp. 59, 177 f.

It is held by the Samaritans (see *ZDPV* vi. 198, vii. 133; and above, *s.v.*), that GERIZIM was the scene of the sacrifice of Isaac; and the same opinion has been advocated by some modern scholars. The grounds for it are stated most fully by Stanley, *SP* pp. 251 f., and Grove in Smith's *DB*, *s.v.* MORIAH: Abraham saw the spot 'afar off,' 'on the third day' (v.^{4}) after leaving 'the land of the Philistines' (21^{34})—a statement which suits the distances much better if the goal of his journey were Gerizim than if it were Jerusalem; Gerizim, moreover, is an elevation which a traveller approaching from the S. might 'lift up his eyes' (22^{4}) and see conspicuously at a distance, which is not the case with Jerusalem. In view of the rivalry which prevailed in later times between the Samaritans and the Jews, the preference of the former for Gerizim does not count for much; and with regard to the other arguments it may be doubted whether, in a narrative which cannot be by an eye-witness or contemporary of the facts recorded, the expressions used are not interpreted with undue strictness. The presumption derived from v.^{14} is strong, that in the view of the narrator the Temple hill was the scene of Abraham's trial (cf. JEHOVAH-JIREH; and *HGHL* p. 334 *n.*). But of course Gerizim might, equally with Jerusalem, have been (so far as we know) within the undefined limits of the 'land of Moriah,' as it certainly would be within the limits of the 'land of the *Amorites*.'

S. R. DRIVER.

MORNING.—See TIME.

MORROW.—Both 'morn' and 'morrow' are formed from Anglo-Sax. *morgen*, the former by contraction, the latter by changing the *g* to *w* and dropping the *n* (whence *morwe*=*morrow*); and 'morning' is the same, with subst. suffix *-ing*. Thus 'morn,' 'morning,' 'morrow,' and 'tomorrow' (with prep. *to*='for' or 'on') are all one and the same word, and have all the same meaning. They mean either early in the day= mod. 'morning,' or next day=mod. 'tomorrow.'

The word 'morrow' about 1611 usually means next day ('tomorrow'), but sometimes it is used for 'morning.' Thus 1 S 30^{17}, Cov. 'And David smote them from the morow tyll the even'; Shaks. *Lucrece*, 1571—

> 'She looks for night, and then she longs for morrow.'

In AV בֹּקֶר *bōḳer* is translated 'morrow' in Lv 22^{30}, Nu 22^{41}, Est 2^{14}, Zeph 3^{3}, and 'tomorrow' in Nu 16^{5}, 1 S 9^{19}, Est 5^{14}. RV changes into 'morning' in Lv 22^{30}, Nu 16^{5} 22^{41}, 1 S 9^{19}, Est 5^{14}, but leaves the other two unchanged. Now *bōḳer* usually means 'morning,' and is mostly rendered so in AV; but the editors of the *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* believe that the meaning is 'tomorrow' in the following places: Ex $16^{19. 20. 23. 24}$ 29^{34} 34^{25}, Lv 7^{15} 22^{30}, Nu 16^{5} 22^{41}, 1 S 9^{19}, Zeph 3^{3}. If they are right, as they appear to be, some passages should have been left 'morrow' or 'tomorrow' by RV, and some that have 'morning' in AV should have been changed to 'tomorrow.' But as regards AV itself, it seems probable that, in every case in which 'morrow' is found, the translators intended to express what we now express by 'tomorrow.' J. HASTINGS.

MORTAR (מְדֹכָה, מַכְתֵּשׁ).—Probably the first kind of mortar may have been, as is generally supposed, two stones, between which the grain was pounded. Mortars in Syria and Palestine were anciently of wood, and the larger ones were cut out of the trunk of a tree, the *sindiyân*, or evergreen oak, being preferred.

The passage in Pr 27^{22} (on which see *Expos. Times*, March and April 1897, pp. 287, 336) does not, of course, refer to any custom in Syria or Palestine of pounding men in a mortar (מַכְתֵּשׁ). The reference seems to be to the custom of making *kibby*, a favourite dish in Syria (see MILL). The more the *kibby* is pounded, the more excellent it becomes. Hours are spent in beating it, and certain women are celebrated for their skill in preparing it. It is very hard work, and requires strong as well as skilful arms to make it.

---

* The same interpretation is expressed by the reading of the Sam. text המוראה, and by the Sam. Targ. חויתה 'of vision' (cf. Dt 11^{30} Sam. text מורא, Sam. Targ. חזבה 'of vision').

† Cf. Onk.'s rendering of v.^{14}: 'And Abraham *worshipped* and prayed there in that place; he said before J″, "Here shall the generations be *worshipping*": therefore it is said at this day, "In this mountain did Abraham *worship* before J″."'

In Syria at the present time there are two kinds of mortars used: small ones are made of wood, and the large ones of stone. The wooden mortars are generally used for pounding coffee or spices. They are often beautifully carved, and the pestle is sometimes 2 ft. long.* The stone mortars are now preferred for making *kibby*; they are large and very heavy, and the pestle is a heavy block of wood.

Lifting a stone mortar with one hand and raising it above the head, was a favourite test of strength among the young men of the villages of Lebanon a few years ago. W. CARSLAW.

MORTAR (AV morter).—In Gn 11³ it is said that the builders of the tower of Babel used slime or bitumen (חֵמָר) instead of mortar (חֹמֶר, Arab. *ḥŭmmăr*, asphalt or bitumen).

Asphalt or BITUMEN (wh. see) is found on the shores of the Dead Sea, and at Hasbeyah near Mt. Hermon, but it is not used in Palestine or Syria in building. The most common material in use for that purpose is clay (wh. see), and the ordinary Arabic word for mortar is *ṭîn*, which properly means clay. Walls of houses are plastered inside with clay, but the clay must be well trodden and mixed with water to a proper consistence, else, if too dry, it will not adhere, but crack and fall off. In Ezk 13¹⁰ the Arab. VS has 'dry clay' (*ṭăfâl*) instead of 'untempered mortar.'

Mortar made with lime is being more frequently used now than formerly. The lime is slaked in a long wooden box, and the liquid portion run off into a pit; when the pit is full, the lime is covered with sand. It is the opinion of the builders in Lebanon that the lime should remain in the pit for several months before being used. The lime in Lebanon is rich, and has no hydraulic properties; and during the rainy season a good deal of the lime in a building is washed away, even when the mortar seems to be hard. In making mortar the lime is usually mixed with ordinary clay, but a reddish clay containing some red oxide of iron is preferred. Sand is used for outside work on account of its colour.

For making plaster for coating the inside walls of houses, lime and sand are generally used now, mixed with straw or hemp cut small, instead of hair, which is never used. A cement for plastering the sides of cisterns is often made with lime, wood ashes, pounded calcareous spar, and sand. Over the coating just mentioned a finer one is put, consisting of lime and *ḥomra*, which is broken pottery ground very fine. All channels for running water are coated with lime and *ḥomra*.

Roofs and floors of houses are often laid with concrete, which is formed of lime, sand, and stones broken small. This has to be beaten constantly day and night till it has hardened. Some of the very old buildings in Lebanon are said to have been built with mortar in which oil took the place of water. W. CARSLAW.

MORTIFY.—To 'mortify' is to put to death. The word was once used literally, as in Erasmus, *Commune Crede*, fol. 81, 'Christ was mortified and killed in dede, as touchynge to his fleshe: but was quickened in spirite.' In AV it is used only figuratively, Ro 8¹³ 'If ye through the Spirit do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live' (εἰ . . . θανατοῦτε, RVm 'make to die,' Amer. RV 'put to death'); Col 3⁵ 'Mortify therefore your members which are upon the earth' (νεκρώσατε, RVm 'make dead,' Amer. RV 'put to death'). The translation in both places comes from Tindale, and is adopted by all the versions; Wyclif's word is 'slay.' Cf. Tindale, *Prologe to Leviticus*, 'Baptism signyfyeth unto us repentaunce and the mortefyinge of oure unruly members and body of synne, to walk in a newe lyffe and so forth.' Fuller (*Holy State*, p. 70) exclaims of the ancient Fathers, 'O the holinesse of their living and painfulnesse of their preaching! how full were they of mortified thoughts, and heavenly meditations'; and (p. 81) he describes St. Anthony the monk as 'having ever (though a most mortified man) a merry countenance.' Hall, *Works*, i. 68, says, 'If we preach plainly, to some it will savour of a carelesse slubbering, to others of a mortified sincerity.' The biblical use of the word is clearly seen in Rogers, *Chief Grounds of Christian Religion*, one of the early Catechisms (1642): 'Q. *What is Sanctification?* A. The purifying of our whole nature. Q. *Which be the parts of it?* A. Mortifying and quickening.' J. HASTINGS.

MOSERAH, MOSEROTH.—Moserah occurs Dt 10⁶ (AB Μεισαδαί, F Μισαδαί, Vulg. *Mosera*), and is noted as the place where Aaron died and was buried. This passage is generally considered as a part of E's narrative of the journeyings. Moseroth occurs Nu 33³⁰· ³¹ (Μασσουρώθ B v.³⁰ and -ρούθ B v.³¹, and A in both vv., Vulg. *Moseroth*) as the first of the 8 stations following Hashmonah, on the route to Mt. Hor. For discussion of these names see EXODUS AND JOURNEY TO CANAAN, vol. i. p. 805, § iii., and Driver's notes on Dt 10⁶ in *Int. Crit. Com.* p. 119 f. Trumbull (*Kadesh Barnea*, p. 128) thinks that *Jebel Madura* is the modern equivalent of Moserah, and would make that the burial-place of Aaron. A. T. CHAPMAN.

MOSES.—

A. Name.
B. Moses in the Old Testament.
  i. The Documents.
  ii. The Narrative in J.
  iii. The Narrative in E.
  iv. The Narrative in P.
  v. Moses in D, etc.
  vi. Moses in the OT outside the Pentateuch.
  vii. Reconstruction of the History.
C. Moses in the New Testament.
D. Moses in Tradition.
  Literature.

A. NAME.—מֹשֶׁה (*Mōsheh*); Josephus, Philo, ℵAB, etc., in LXX and NT generally Μωυσῆς, but occasionally, as in later MSS, Μωσῆς, etc.; *Moyses*; ܡܘܫܐ. The MT form and pointing imply the derivation from משה 'draw,' given in Ex 2¹⁰, which is not accepted. The form Μωυσῆς implies the derivation, given by Josephus (*Ant.* II. ix. 6, *c. Ap.* i. 31) and Philo (*Vita Moys.* i. 4), from the Coptic *mo* 'water' and *ushe* 'saved'; or *moü* 'water' and *se* 'taken,' a view once fashionable, but now mostly set aside in favour of the derivation from the Egyptian *mes*, *mesu*, 'son, child'; see *Oxf. Heb. Lex.**

B. MOSES IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.—i. *The Documents.*—As the OT includes more than one tradition as to the life and work of Moses, these traditions are given separately below. The separation, however, of J from E cannot be effected with absolute certainty; and the division of JE material between J and E and the various editors is, in a measure, provisional. Some of the points as to which there is most doubt are placed in square brackets [ ]. In the main, the analysis of B. W. Bacon in his *Triple Tradition of the Exodus* has been followed here, as in the articles on EXODUS and NUMBERS (wh. see). As in art. EXODUS, corresponding features are marked with the same letter in the different documents. The general features of the character and work of Moses will be seen to be the same in all the documents, and are epitomized at the beginning of vii. The chief difference is in the relation of Moses and Aaron (see ii.–iv. (a)).

---

* Brass mortars are now generally taking the place of the old wooden ones.

* Other derivations are from the Egyptian royal name *Amosis* by way of contraction, favoured by Renan (*Hist.* i. 160); and as act. ptcp. = 'saviour,' favoured by Seinecke (*Gesch.* i. 78). The pointing supports the latter view, but not the usage. See also Gesenius, *Thes. s.v.*

ii. *The Narrative in J.*—(a) It is doubtful whether J, at any rate in its earliest form, mentioned Aaron. Dillmann, indeed, regards the prominent position given to Aaron as a mark of J; and the analysis as given by Bacon, and in the articles AARON, EXODUS, finds Aaron in this source. But Wellhausen and Stade (i. 127) hold that J does not mention Aaron. If this is so, Moses stands alone in J, and some of the passages mentioning Aaron, given here as J, must be referred to other sources, while in other passages the references to Aaron are due to one of the editors (Holzinger, *Hex.* p. 76).

(b) J says nothing as to the parentage of Moses. Even if 'Is not Aaron the Levite thy brother?' in Ex 4^{14} is J, 'Levite' here is probably a title and not a gentilic name. The absence of any information on this subject may be original; or J's statement may have been omitted because of its identity with that of E; or suppressed because it contradicted E.

(c) In J, as we have it, Moses first appears as a fugitive in Midian. As Jacob (Gn 29^{2-10} J) met Rachel at the well, helped her to water her sheep, and was received as a *gēr* into her family; so Moses met the seven daughters of the priest of Midian, helped them to water their sheep, in spite of the shepherds, and became a *gēr* in the priest's family. He married Zipporah, one of the seven daughters, and had *one* son, Gershom, Ex 2^{15b-22}.

(d) After a time the king of Egypt, from whom Moses had fled,[*] died; J″ told Moses to return to Egypt, for all the men who sought his life were dead; Moses set out with his wife and son.[†] (e) At a caravanserai on the way, J″ sought to kill Moses because he was uncircumcised. Zipporah averted His wrath by circumcising their son,[‡] Ex 2^{23a} $4^{19.\ 20a.\ 24-26}$.[§]

(f) On the way, or even after Moses reached Goshen, the angel of J″ appeared to him in a bush which burned without being consumed, and J″[‖] said that He had seen the oppression of His people, and had come down to deliver them, and bring them to Canaan. Moses was to repeat this to the elders of Israel; and was to go with them to request Pharaoh that Israel might go three days' journey into the wilderness to sacrifice to J″. Moses feared they would not believe that J″ had appeared to him. Whereupon J″ gave him three signs to convince them: a rod turned into a serpent, and back again into a rod; his hand made leprous, and then restored as his other flesh; water poured on the ground and turned into blood. At J″'s command, Moses now performed the first two signs in His presence. Then Moses objected that he was not eloquent; and J″ answered, 'I will be with thy mouth, and teach thee what thou shalt say' (Ex $3^{2-4a.\ 5.\ 7.\ 8a.\ 16.\ 17ac.\ 18}$ 4^{1-12}). [Moses still begged J″ to send some other messenger, and J″ in anger gave him Aaron as a spokesman to the people, Ex $4^{13.\ 14a.\ 15.\ 16}$].[*]

(h) Moses [with Aaron] delivered J″'s message to the Israelite elders, and showed them the signs. The Israelites believed. Moses [and Aaron] requested Pharaoh to let the Israelites go into the wilderness to sacrifice; Pharaoh refused, and increased their taskwork, whereupon they turned upon Moses [and Aaron] and reproached them; Moses, in turn, appealed to J″, Ex 4^{29-31} $5^{3.\ 5-23}$.

(i) At the command of J″, Moses inflicted upon the Egyptians *seven* plagues—the turning of the Nile into Blood; Frogs; Gnats (EV 'lice'); Murrain; Hail; Locusts; the Death of the Firstborn (for the last see next paragraph). As regards the first six—in each case Moses[†] asked permission for Israel to go to sacrifice to or serve J″, threatening the plague as the penalty of refusal; after Pharaoh's refusal—implied, not stated—the plague happened—nothing is said of any utterance or action of Moses or J″ as the immediate cause of the plague, except that J″ brings the locusts with an east wind, and removes them by a west wind. In the case of the Frogs, Gnats, Hail, and Locusts, Pharaoh sent for Moses [and Aaron] and begged for his intercession to remove the plagues, promising, after an attempt to obtain better terms, to grant Moses' request. After the cessation of each plague, he hardened his heart and withdrew his promise. In the case of the Locusts, however, Pharaoh was induced by his servants to make concessions on the mere threat, before the plague was actually inflicted; he offered to let the men go, without the women and children. Moses refused, and the plague followed, Ex $7^{14.\ 16.\ 17a.\ 18.\ 21a.\ 24.\ 25}$ $8^{1-4.\ 8-15a.\ 20-32}$ $9^{1-7.\ 13-18.\ 23b.\ 24.\ 25b-29.\ 31-34}$ $10^{1a.\ 3b-11.\ 13b.\ 14b.\ 15a.\ 15c-19}$.

(j) After the removal of the locusts, Pharaoh sent for Moses and offered to let all the Israelites, both old and young, go to sacrifice if they would leave their cattle behind. Moses refused, and Pharaoh, in great anger, bade him go, and declared that he should never see his face again. Moses answered, 'Thou hast spoken well, I will see thy face again no more,' and announced that all the firstborn of the Egyptians should perish, while no Israelite should suffer anything; and that in consequence all Pharaoh's servants should come to Moses, and entreat him and his people to go. After this utterance, Moses, in hot anger, left the presence of Pharaoh, Ex $10^{24-26.\ 28.\ 29}$ 11^{4-8}. [Then Moses directed the elders of Israel to kill the passover-lamb, and to put some of its blood upon their lintels and door-posts, that when J″ was slaying the Egyptians He might spare the Israelites, Ex $12^{21-23.\ 27b}$].[‡] At midnight J″ slew all the firstborn of the Egyptians; and the Egyptians, in a panic, made the Israelites start on their journey to the desert in such haste that they carried their dough with them unbaked. A mixed multitude went with them, Ex $12^{29.\ 30.\ 31b-34.\ 37-39}$.[§]

[Moses gave laws as to the Passover, etc. $13^{3a.\ 4-7.\ 11-13}$].[‖]

(k) Guided by J″ in a pillar, by day a cloud, by night a fire, Moses led the Israelites into the wilderness, towards the sea.[¶] Pharaoh, recovering from his terror, pursued them with his army. At his approach the panic-stricken Israelites turned upon Moses, and upbraided him for bringing them out of Egypt. He replied, 'Fear not, be still, and see how J″ will deliver you to-day. You shall never see again the Egyptians whom you saw to-day. J″ shall fight for you, and you shall hold your peace.' The pillar placed itself between the Israelites and the Egyptians. J″, by means of a strong east wind, drove back the waters, so that the Israelites passed over in the night; while from the pillar He 'discomfited' the Egyptians, so that they turned and fled; but they perished in the returning waters; and, in the morning, 'Israel saw the Egyptians dead upon the seashore,' Ex 13$^{21.22}$ 14$^{5-7.10-14.19b.20b.21b.24.25b.27b.28b.30}$.

---

[*] Probably stated in an omitted portion of J, unless Ex 2^{11-14} belong to J; cf. iii. (b).

[†] MT, sons; but in J Moses has only one son, so that the plural is R (cf. Ex 2^{22}).

[‡] An ancient account of the origin of circumcision; cf., however, CIRCUMCISION in vol. i. p. 443^a and Jos 5^3.

[§] Bacon's analysis, followed here, requires the transposition of the journey from Midian before the Theophany in the Burning Bush; the account of the latter in J gives no direction to leave Midian, and takes for granted that Moses is on his way to Egypt, *i.e.* implies what is given in these verses. Cf. EXODUS in vol. i. 807.

[‖] Here, as elsewhere, 'Angel of J″' and 'J″' are interchangeable.

[*] So Bacon, followed in AARON and EXODUS; Dillmann, Jülicher, and Cornill ascribe these verses to R; cf. (a).

[†] The introduction of Aaron into the J narratives of the plagues is due to R.

[‡] So Dillmann and Bacon; but, according to Addis, Cornill, etc., inserted by R, perhaps from source other than JE.

[§] The 600,000 in v.^{37} is probably R; so Addis, etc.

[‖] So Bacon; but mostly assigned to R. It may be J material, but owes its position to R; *i.e.* in the separate J the giving of laws was not an incident of the hurried flight.

[¶] Cf. art. RED SEA.

[Then Moses and the Israelites sang to J″—

> 'I will sing unto J″, for he hath triumphed gloriously:
> The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea,'

Ex 15^{1}].[*]

(m) From the sea, Moses led Israel on into the wilderness, where they found no water till they came to Marah ('bitter'), where the waters were bitter; and the people murmured against Moses. In answer to his prayer, J″ showed him how to make the waters sweet by using a certain tree. At their next camping-place, Elim, they found 12 springs and 70 palm-trees, Ex 15$^{22-25a.27}$.[†]

(p)[‡] At Massah the people murmured against Moses because they were without water. He reproved them for tempting J″ . . .,[§] hence the place was called Massah ('temptation'), Ex 17^{3} and the references to 'tempting' and 'Massah' in vv.$^{2.7}$.

(q)[‖] Moses brought the Israelites to Sinai, and they encamped before the mount. J″ came down upon Sinai, called Moses to Him, and bade him charge the people and the priests not to 'break through unto J″ to gaze . . . lest he break[¶] forth upon them.' Bounds were to be set round the mount, not to be passed on pain of death, Ex 19$^{2b.20-22.24.11b-13.25}$.

[Moses, Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and 70 elders went up, and beheld J″ afar off, and ate and drank a covenant-meal, Ex 24$^{1.2.9.11}$].[**]

Moses, who alone was allowed to approach J″,[††] received from Him Ten Commandments, 'the words of the covenant' concerning ritual, which he (Moses) wrote on two tables of stone. He remained with J″ forty days and forty nights, and neither ate nor drank, Ex 34$^{1-28}$.[‡‡] [J″ told Moses that the Israelites had corrupted themselves, and that He intended to destroy them; but at Moses' intercession 'J″ repented of the evil which He said He would do unto His people.' When he reached the camp, Moses called to his side those who were faithful to J″; the Levites responded, and at his command massacred 3000 evil-doers, and thus consecrated themselves to J″, Ex 32$^{7.9b-12.14.25-29}$].[§§] J″ bade Moses and Israel go up without Him to Canaan; but, moved by their distress and prayers He relented, and said, 'My presence shall go with thee, and I will give thee rest'; then He permitted Moses to see something of His glory, and proclaimed His name 'J″, J″, a God full of compassion and gracious, slow to anger, and plenteous in mercy and truth,' Ex 31$^{1.8}$, Nu 11$^{10-12.14.15}$, Ex 33$^{12-23}$ 34$^{6-9}$.[*]

(r) Moses' father-in-law, Hobab the son of Reuel the Midianite, having come to visit him,[†] Moses invited him to accompany the Israelites to Canaan. At first he refused. But Moses told him that his local knowledge would enable him to guide Israel through the desert, and promised that he should share in the blessings promised to the Israelites. Whereupon he consented to accompany them,[‡] Nu 10$^{29-32}$.

(n) (o) After the departure from Sinai,[§] the Israelites, lacking food and reduced to manna, apparently a natural product of the desert, hankered after the flesh-pots of Egypt, and 'wept . . . every man at his tent-door.' Moses remonstrated bitterly with J″ for assigning him a task entirely beyond his powers! 'I cannot bear all this people by myself, it is too much for me. If thou deal thus with me, kill me, I pray thee, out of hand, if I have found favour in thy sight; and let me not see my wretchedness.' J″ bade him tell the people that they should have flesh for a month. Moses asked how he should find so much for 600,000 men. J″ bade him wait and see; and sent a wind which brought an immense flight of quails; but while the people were only beginning to eat them, J″ smote them with a plague, Nu 11$^{4-15.18-23.31-35}$.

(y) Perhaps the narrative of Dathan and Abiram given under E, with Kuenen, should be ascribed to J, with Cornill. Bacon analyzes the JE portions of Nu 16 into two narratives, J and E; and this analysis is adopted substantially in NUMBERS; cf. iii.

(aa) At Kadesh the people lacked water, and murmured against Moses, who at J″'s command procured them water by smiting a rock. The water was called 'The water of Meribah' ('striving'). Parts of Nu 20$^{1-13}$.

(bb) Moses sent Caleb and others into the southern highlands of Canaan as far as Hebron, to view the land. They reported that the land was fertile, but the inhabitants powerful. Nevertheless, Caleb encouraged the people to invade the land; but his comrades dissuaded them, and they were panic-stricken and refused to go forward. J″ proposed to destroy them and make Moses the ancestor of a greater nation; but spared them at his intercession. Yet because they had tempted Him ten times, none of the adults of that generation should enter Canaan, except Caleb, Nu 13$^{17b.18b.19.22.27\text{ to }\textit{honey}.28.30.31}$ 14$^{1c.8.9.11-24.31}$. Moses promised Caleb Hebron as his future possession, Jos 14$^{6-14}$.[‖]

(ff) Israel marched along the borders of Edom to Moab, Nu 21$^{16-20}$; (gg) and conquered Heshbon and other Amorite cities, Nu 21$^{24b.25.31.32}$; (hh) Balaam, sent for by Balak of Moab, to curse the Israelites, blessed them. Parts of Nu 22–24; (ii) When the Israelites sinned with Moabite women, Moses, at the command of J″, hung their chiefs before J″, Nu 25$^{1b.2.3b.4}$.

(ll) Moses delivered final laws and exhortations to the Israelites, Nu 31$^{16-22}$ 32$^{1-43}$; (nn) J″ called Moses to the top of Pisgah, whence He showed him all Canaan. After Moses' death, J″ buried him in a valley of Moab, opposite Beth-peor, Dt 34$^{1b\text{ to }\textit{land}.4.6a}$.

iii. *The Narrative in E.*—(a) It is generally agreed that Aaron and Miriam appeared in the original E-story, Miriam being specially conspicuous. But

---

[*] So Bacon and EXODUS; usually assigned to E or R.

[†] So Bacon, Driver, etc.; others, *e.g.* Addis, refer vv.$^{22-25a}$ to E, and v.^{27} to P.

[‡] For (n) and (o) see after (r).

[§] J's account of how water was provided is omitted.

[‖] In the transposition of passages, Bacon is followed; cf. EXODUS in vol. i. 809.

[¶] There is no similarity between the Hebrew words for 'break through' (הרם) and 'break forth' (פרץ).

[**] So Bacon, and similarly Dillmann; most critics give these verses to E.

[††] Ex 24^{2}.

[‡‡] The references to a former set of tables and some other matters are R.

[§§] These verses are often ascribed to R or E.

[*] Ex 33$^{12-23}$ or portions of it are often ascribed to R.

[†] There are probably traces of J's account of Hobab's coming in Ex 18. Bacon, etc., refer vv.$^{7.10.11}$ to J.

[‡] This seems implied by Jg 1^{16} J.

[§] No mention, however, of this in J.

[‖] Nu 21$^{1-3}$, usually given to J, clearly connects with these incidents, but is probably from another stratum of J.

Aaron does not appear in the narrative of the plagues, the references in the present text being due to redactors, and his *rôle* is not clear; he scarcely seems to have been the brother and almost equal partner of Moses, perhaps not even the priest; but is chiefly conspicuous as opposing Moses and leading Israel in sin. He was perhaps represented as a chief amongst the elders.[*]

(b) Moses was born of parents of the house of Levi, at a time when Pharaoh had ordered that all male children born to Israelites should be put to death. He was hidden for three months, and then placed in an ark of bulrushes, amongst the flags by the Nile. His sister[†] watched him, and, when he was found and pitied by Pharaoh's daughter, the sister induced her to employ Moses' mother as his nurse. Later on he was taken into the princess's house and trained as an Egyptian noble, Ex 2^{1-10}. (c) But when he was grown up, and had learnt that he was an Israelite, he went to see how his people fared, slew an Egyptian who was ill-treating an Israelite, and when he found, on attempting the next day to reconcile two Israelites, that his deed was known, he fled to Midian, Ex 2^{11-15a}.[‡]

(e)[§] While Moses was keeping the flock of Jethro, his father-in-law, on Horeb, the mountain of God, God called to him, and announced Himself as the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; 'and Moses hid his face, for he was afraid to look upon God.' God told him that He had heard the cry of the oppressed Israelites, and would send Moses to Pharaoh, that the Israelites might be released. Moses pleaded his unfitness for such a mission; and God promised to be with him, and gave him a sign, that the people, after escaping from Egypt, should worship Him on Horeb, Ex $3^{1.\ 4b.\ 6.\ 9-12}$.[‖]

(f) God revealed to Moses His new name, YAHWEH, which is explained as equivalent to ’EHYEH (EV, 'I am'), in the phrase ’EHYEH ’ASHER ’EHYEH (EV, 'I AM THAT I AM');[¶] warned him that Pharaoh would not release the Israelites till Egypt had been smitten with 'all my wonders,' and directed that, when the Israelites departed, their women should borrow jewels and raiment of their Egyptian neighbours. He gave Moses a rod, with which to work the wonders, Ex $3^{13.\ 14.\ 19-22}$ 4^{17}.

(d) Moses took leave of Jethro, and set out for Egypt 'with the rod of God in his hand,' Ex $4^{18.\ 20b}$.

[(g) At 'the mount of God,' Aaron, sent by J″, met him; and he told Aaron all J″'s words, Ex $4^{27.\ 28}$].[**]

(h) Moses [and Aaron] went to Pharaoh, and in the name of J″ bade him let Israel go; he refused, reproached them with keeping the Israelites from their labour, and bade Moses [and Aaron] get to their burdens, Ex $5^{1a.\ 2.\ 4}$.

(i) At the command of J″, Moses inflicted upon the Egyptians *five* plagues—the turning of the Nile into Blood; Hail; Locusts; Three Days' Darkness; the Death of the Firstborn (for the last see next paragraph). As regards the first four—in each case Moses worked the miracle by lifting up or stretching out the rod;[††] and Pharaoh's heart was hardened. It is stated that after the plagues of Locusts and Darkness J″ hardened Pharaoh's heart.[‡‡] The Hail destroyed both man and beast, Ex 6^{1} $7^{15.\ 17b.\ 20b.\ 23}$ $9^{22.\ 23a.\ 25a.\ 35}$ $10^{12.\ 13a.\ 14a.\ 20-23.\ 27}$.

(j) J″ announced to Moses that, after the infliction of a final plague, Pharaoh would let the people go; He bade him instruct them to borrow jewels of their neighbours. 'J″ made the Egyptians favourably disposed towards the people. Moreover, the man Moses was very great in the land of Egypt, and in the eyes of Pharaoh's servants, and of the people.' . . .[*] Pharaoh sent for Moses [and Aaron] by night, and bade them depart with the Israelites. The latter borrowed jewels and raiment of their Egyptian neighbours, and started on their journey. They were armed, and carried with them the bones of Joseph. God led them to the wilderness of the Red Sea, to avoid the warlike Philistines, Ex 11^{1-3} $12^{31a.\ 35.\ 36}$ 13^{17-19}.

(k) Pharaoh pursued with 600 chosen chariots; the Israelites cried unto J″, who bade them go forward; Moses lifted up his rod: . . . the Angel of God placed himself between Israel and its pursuers . . . and took off their chariot wheels . . . [and when the Israelites saw what had been done they believed J″ and His servant Moses], Ex $14^{3.\ 7\ \text{in part}.\ 10d.\ 15bd.\ 19a.\ 20a.\ 25a.\ 31}$.[†]

(l) Miriam the prophetess [the sister of Aaron][‡] led the women in a triumphal dance, while they sang—

> 'Sing ye to J″, for he hath triumphed gloriously:
> The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea,'

Ex $15^{20.\ 21}$.

(n) J″ gave the Israelites 'bread from heaven,' *i.e.* manna, Ex 16^{4}.[§]

(p) They reached Horeb, where, finding themselves without water in the wilderness, the people strove with Moses, who, by command of J″, smote a rock, and water came from it. Hence the place was called Meribah ('striving'), Ex $17^{1b.\ 4-6}$ and the references to 'striving' and 'Meribah' in vv.$^{2.\ 7}$.

(q) [‖]Moses went up to God, and received instructions for the people to purify themselves in preparation for a Theophany on the third day. This was done, Ex $19^{3.\ 6b-9a.\ 10.\ 11a.\ 14.\ 15}$. On the third day there was a thunderstorm, and God descended on the mountain in a thick cloud, to the sound of a trumpet. Moses brought the people before the mountain to meet with God. Moses spake and God answered, Ex $19^{16.\ 17.\ 19}$. The people, terrified by the storm and the trumpet, fled from the mountain, and begged that they might hear God's words through Moses. Moses reassured them, and 'drew near to the thick darkness where God was.' God spake 'all these words,' *i.e.* the Ten Commandments.[¶] Moses reported them to the elders of Israel; and the people promised to obey them; and Moses told J″ their promise, Ex $20^{18-21.\ 1-17}$ 19^{6b-8}.[**] At J″'s command Moses and Joshua went up to the mountain and remained there forty days and nights, leaving Aaron and Hur in charge of the people. But, meanwhile, Aaron, at the request of the people, made a golden calf as an image of J″; built an altar for it, and celebrated a feast to J″. At the end of the forty days, God gave Moses two tables of stone, written with the finger of God, and probably containing the Ten Commandments. As Moses and Joshua returned, they heard the noise of the feast; and when he came near, Moses saw the calf and the dancing. His anger waxed hot; he threw down the tables of stone, and broke them. He burned the calf, ground it to powder, and made the children of Israel drink water upon which the powder had been strewn; he reproached Aaron with his sin; and Aaron excused himself as having acted under compulsion. Then Moses returned to J″ and interceded for the people: 'This people have sinned a great sin, and have made them a god of gold! Yet now, if thou wilt forgive their sin—; and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book which thou hast written.' And J″ answered: 'Whosoever hath sinned against me, him will I blot out of my book. And now go, lead the people into the place of which I have spoken unto thee. Behold, mine angel shall go before thee: nevertheless, in the day when I visit, I will visit their sin upon them.' At these tidings the people mourned, and put off their ornaments, Ex $24^{12-14.\ 18b}$ 32^{1-6} 31^{18b} $32^{16-24.\ 30-34}$ $33^{4.\ 6}$. . . . Various laws were given by J″ to Moses, Ex 20^{22-26} 23^{10-33} 22^{29-31}.

---

[*] Holzinger, *Hexateuch*, 175.

[†] Her name is not given.

[‡] Vv.$^{11-15}$, sometimes given to J.

[§] For (d) see after (f).

[‖] Omitting the reference to the bush in v.^{4b}

[¶] Cf. GOD in vol. ii. 199.

[**] Often ascribed to R.

[††] Not mentioned, however, in connexion with the Darkness, Ex 10^{21-23}.

[‡‡] Ex $10^{20.\ 27}$.

[*] According to this analysis, E's account of the Death of the Firstborn and the Institution of the Passover have been omitted; but doubtless the final plague of 11^{1} was the Death of the Firstborn, especially if $4^{22.\ 23}$ are E (so Bacon, etc.).

[†] V.^{31}, usually assigned to J or R. E's account of the crossing of the Red Sea has been almost entirely omitted, probably because it was closely parallel to J's.

[‡] Perhaps R.

[§] Usually ascribed to J.

[‖] For transposition of passages see ii. (q).

[¶] Those usually so called.

[**] Bacon's order as in EXODUS is 20^{1-21} 19^{6b-8}; but if so, 'these are the words' in 19^{6b} have nothing to refer to.

Moses repeated these to the people, who promised to obey them; Moses wrote them down. The next day he built an altar and set up twelve *mazzeboth*, one for each tribe. Under his directions, certain young men offered burnt-offerings and peace-offerings. Moses sprinkled half the blood of the victims on the altar; and then read to the people the Book of the Covenant, containing the laws just referred to. The Israelites again promised to obey these laws, and Moses sprinkled the people with blood: 'Behold the blood of the covenant which J″ has made with you concerning all these words,' Ex 24^{3-8}.

(r) Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, hearing what God had done for Moses and Israel, came to visit him at Horeb, and brought to him his wife and his two sons.* Jethro and Moses, together with Aaron and all the elders of Israel, partook of a sacrificial feast before God. Observing the continual concourse of the people to Moses 'to inquire of God,' Jethro advised him to appoint subordinates to deal with lesser matters. Moses accordingly appointed rulers of tens, fifties, hundreds, and thousands. Then Jethro departed to his own land, Ex 18.†

(s) ‡At this point, apparently, some account was given of the construction of the 'Tent of Meeting,' and perhaps of the Ark; for we are now told that Moses used to pitch the tent outside the camp, and worshippers used to go out to it. When Moses went out to the tent, the people stood at their tent-doors to watch him. As he entered, the pillar of God descended, and stood at the door of the tent; and the people prostrated themselves. Meanwhile, within, 'J″ spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend.' When Moses returned to the camp, Joshua, his minister, remained as attendant to the 'Tent of Meeting,' Ex 33^{7-11}.

(t) The Israelites, guided by the Ark, departed from the Mount of J″. When the Ark set forward Moses used to pronounce the blessing—

> 'Rise up, O J″, and let thine enemies be scattered;
> Let them that hate thee flee before thee';

and when it rested—

> 'Return, O J″, unto the ten thousands of the thousands of Israel,'

Nu $10^{33ab\beta.\ 34-36}$. §

(u) At Taberah, a consuming fire from J″, sent to punish the people for murmuring, was quenched at the intercession of Moses, Nu 11^{1-3}.

(v) At the command of J″, Moses went out to the Tent of Meeting with seventy elders; J″ came down in a cloud and spake to him, and 'took of the spirit that was upon him, and gave it unto the elders,' so that they prophesied. Two of the selected seventy, however, Eldad and Medad, had stayed in the camp; nevertheless the spirit came on them, and they prophesied. A young man ran to the Tent of Meeting to tell Moses, whereupon Joshua urged Moses to forbid them; but Moses replied, 'Art thou jealous for my sake? Would that all J″'s people were prophets, and that J″ would put his spirit upon them,' Nu $11^{16.\ 17.\ 24-30}$.*

(w) Miriam and Aaron attacked Moses, saying,† 'Has J″ spoken only by Moses, and not also by us?' J″ suddenly summoned Moses, Miriam, and Aaron to the Tent of Meeting, and declared to them, that while He made Himself known to prophets in visions and dreams, He would speak plainly to Moses face to face, and Moses should behold the form (*tĕmûnāh*) of J″. Miriam was smitten with leprosy, but healed at the intercession of Moses, Nu 12.

(x) At Rephidim, Amalek attacked Israel. Moses committed the direction of the battle to Joshua, while he himself, with Aaron and Hur, went up to the top of a hill, and held aloft the 'rod of God.'‡ When it was held up, Israel prevailed; when it was lowered, Amalek. But when Moses was exhausted, Aaron and Hur made him sit down while they held up his hands till sunset. Then Amalek was completely routed. J″ bade Moses record in a book the victory, and J″'s purpose to war against the Amalekites till they were exterminated. Moses built an altar called *J″-nissi*, 'J″ my banner,' Ex 17^{8-16}.

(y) Two Reubenite chiefs, Dathan and Abiram, rebelled against Moses because he sought to make himself a prince over Israel, and had failed to fulfil his promise to bring them into a land flowing with milk and honey. Summoned to appear before Moses, they declined; whereupon he went to them, bade the other Israelites separate themselves from the rebels, and appealed to J″ to punish them by a hitherto unknown chastisement—the earth should open and swallow them up—as a sign that he had J″'s authority for his leadership of Israel. Whereupon the earth opened, and swallowed them up with their households, and they went down alive into Sheol, Nu $16^{1b.\ 2b\beta.\ 13.\ 14.\ 15b.\ 25.\ 26.\ 27b-32a.\ 33.\ 34}$.§

(z) When the people reached Kadesh, Miriam died and was buried, Nu 20^{1}. (bb) Moses urged the people to invade the land; but, at their request, consented to send 12 men to survey it. These went as far as Eshcol, returned with a gigantic cluster of grapes and other fruit, but reported that the inhabitants were numerous and powerful. Whereupon the people cried out against Moses, and proposed to appoint a new captain, and return to Egypt.‖ . . . Moses bade the people return to the wilderness of the Red Sea; but, in spite of him, they advanced towards Canaan, but were attacked and routed, Dt 1^{19-46} (probably based on E), Nu $13^{18ac.\ 20.\ 23.\ 24.\ 26b.\ 27b.\ 29.\ 33}$ $14^{1b.\ 3.\ 4.\ 25.\ 39-45}$.[*]

---

* Cf. ii. (d); 'after he had sent her back' in v.^{2} is a harmonistic addition to reconcile J and E.

† There are probable traces of J in this chapter.

‡ Cf. P (q).

§ Sometimes given to J.

* Often referred to a later stratum of E than Ex 18. The paragraph is probably an expansion of an older narrative containing only the prophesying of Eldad and Medad, Joshua's protest, and Moses' answer.

† Moses' 'Cushite wife,' v.$^{1a\beta b}$, is never again referred to, either in this chapter or elsewhere; and it is clear from the rest of the chapter that the controversy between Moses on the one hand, and Miriam and Aaron on the other, had nothing to do with any such matter; v.$^{1a\beta b}$ can hardly have been inserted by either R$^{\text{D}}$ or R$^{\text{P}}$, but by R$^{\text{JE}}$ from some older source; it is probably a fragment of an ancient narrative, the rest of which has been omitted because it was not considered edifying.

‡ V.^{9}.

§ *On* in v.^{1} is probably due to textual corruption. Bacon thinks the name occurred in a J version; this view is adopted in NUMBERS; cf. ii. (y).

‖ The immediate sequel is omitted.

(cc) Moses sought permission for Israel to pass peaceably through Edom, but without success, Nu 20^{14-21}. (dd) In the course of the journey from Kadesh, Aaron died, Dt $10^{6 \text{ to } \textit{buried}}$.

(ee) For murmuring at the hardships of their renewed march through the desert, the people were plagued with fiery serpents. Moses prayed for them, and was told to make a brazen serpent, and by looking at this the sufferers were healed, Nu 21^{4b-9}. (ff) Israel marched along the borders of Edom to Moab, Nu 21^{11b-15}; (gg) and conquered the territory of Sihon, Nu $21^{21-24.\ 27-30}$.[†] (hh) Balaam, sent for by Balak of Moab to curse the Israelites, blessed them, parts of Nu 22–24. (ii) Israel worshipped Baal-peor, and Moses bade the judges slay the offenders, Dt $25^{1a.\ 3a.\ 5}$.

(kk) J″ announced to Moses that he was about to die, and Moses appointed Joshua his successor, Nu $31^{14.\ 15.\ 23}$.

(ll) Moses delivered final laws and exhortations to the people. Ex 21^{1}–23^{8}, displaced by R^{D} to make room for D. Dt 1^{1}–4^{40} is probably an R^{D} expansion of E's farewell speech of Moses, parallel to that of Joshua in Jos 24. Dt $27^{1-8.\ 17-19}$.

(mm) Moses died in the land of Moab; his tomb was unknown. 'There hath not arisen a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses, whom J″ knew face to face,' Dt $34^{5.\ 6b.\ 10}$.

iv. *The Narrative in P.*—(a) Aaron is Moses' brother, and Aaron and Moses are constantly coupled together. Miriam is ignored.[‡] (b) Moses and Aaron were the children of Amram and Jochebed; Amram was the son of Kohath, the son of Levi, Ex 6^{14-27}, Nu 26^{58b-61};[§] cf. 1 Ch 6^{1-3}. Moses' wife and children are ignored.[‖]

(e) (f) When Moses was 80 and Aaron 83 years old (Ex 7^{7}), God spoke to Moses in Egypt,[¶] and revealed His new name—J″—thus: 'I am J″: and I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob as El Shaddai, but by my name J″ I was not known to them'—and declared that He had heard the groaning of the Israelites under the oppression of the Egyptians; and that He would now fulfil His covenant with the patriarchs, by giving Canaan to their descendants. Moses told this to the Israelites, but they would not listen because their spirit was broken by their sufferings (Ex 6^{2-9}). (g) When J″ bade him demand from Pharaoh the release of the Israelites, he replied that he had not the gift of speech, and that, as the Israelites had not listened to him, it was not likely that he would make any impression upon Pharaoh. J″ replied: 'I have made thee a god to Pharaoh, and Aaron thy brother shall be thy prophet . . . I will harden Pharaoh's heart . . . Pharaoh will not listen to you . . . so I will bring forth my people by great judgments,' Ex $6^{11.\ 12}$ 7^{1-5}. (i) At the command of J″, conveyed through Moses, Aaron inflicted *six* plagues on the Egyptians—his Rod changed into a Reptile;[**] all the Water in the land turned into Blood; Frogs; Gnats; Boils; the Death of the Firstborn (for which see next paragraph).

The first four wonders were wrought by means of Aaron's rod; but, in the case of the fifth, the Boils were caused by Moses appearing before Pharaoh and throwing soot into the air. In each case Pharaoh's magicians competed with Moses and Aaron; the magicians succeeded in turning Rods into Reptiles, Water into Blood, and in producing Frogs, so that Pharaoh was encouraged in hardening his heart against the request of Moses and Aaron; but the magicians failed to produce Gnats, and said, 'The finger of God is here'; but Pharaoh still hardened his heart. In the case of the Boils, the magicians themselves were smitten and fled from Moses; but J″ hardened Pharaoh's heart, so that he would not listen to Moses and Aaron, Ex $7^{8-13.\ 19.\ 20a.\ 21b.\ 22}$ $8^{5-7.\ 16-19}$.

(j) At the command of J″, Moses and Aaron instituted the Passover, which was observed for the first time[*] . . . The Israelites marched out of Egypt into the wilderness, Ex $12^{1-20.\ 28.\ 43-51}$ $13^{1.\ 2.\ 20}$.

(k) At the command of J″, Israel turned back and encamped by the sea, that J″ might harden Pharaoh's heart, and make him pursue Israel. All of which happened. Still, at the command of J″, Moses stretched out his hand over the sea, the waters were divided, and the Israelites 'went into the midst of the sea upon the dry ground: and the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand and on their left.' The Egyptians pursued into the sea, but Moses again stretched out his hand over the sea, and the waters returned and overwhelmed them; while the Israelites reached the further shore in safety, Ex $14^{1.\ 2.\ 4.\ 8.\ 9.\ 15ac.\ 16-18.\ 21a.\ 21c-23.\ 26.\ 27a.\ 28a.\ 29}$.

(n) (o) In the wilderness the Israelites hankered after the flesh-pots of Egypt, and murmured against Moses and Aaron; J″ sent them manna in the morning, and quails in the evening, Ex $16^{1-4.\ 6.\ 7.\ 9-14.\ 15b.\ 16b.\ 31}$.[†]

(q) After sundry journeys (Ex 17^{1a} $19^{1.\ 2a}$), the Israelites came to the wilderness before Sinai. The glory of J″ dwelt on Sinai, hidden for six days in a cloud, but (apparently) manifested on the seventh like fire glowing through the cloud. On the seventh day J″ called Moses into the cloud (Ex $24^{15b-18a}$), where he received instructions as to the tabernacle and its furniture, and the priests and their vestments and duties, Ex 25^{1}–31^{17b}.[‡]

Moses came down from Sinai with the two Tables; his face shone so that he veiled it[§] when he spoke to Aaron and 'the princes of the congregation.' He gave the Israelites J″'s commands, which they executed with great zeal; the tabernacle was constructed, furnished, and consecrated. The glory of J″ filled it, and the cloud covered it (Ex 34^{9}–40^{38}),[‖] Aaron and his sons were consecrated as priests, and entered upon the work of their office; but two of the sons, Nadab and Abihu, offered before J″ 'strange fire, which He had not commanded; and fire went forth from the presence of J″ and devoured them.' From time to time J″ revealed various laws to Moses at Mt. Sinai, which make up the Book of Leviticus.

Moses and Aaron proceeded to organize the nation and its worship. A census was taken showing the number of the adult males, apart from the Levites, to be 603,505; a census of male

---

[*] Nu 14^{41-45} is sometimes given to J, and probably contains R-additions.

[†] Vv.$^{33-35}$ (Og) are referred to R.

[‡] Miriam in Nu 20^{1} is E, and 26^{59} is R^{P}.

[§] These passages are often referred to late strata of P or to R^{P}; even in that case they would probably be based on P; which throughout implies that Aaron and, therefore, Moses belong to the tribe of Levi.

[‖] This gap is supplied by 1 Ch 24^{14-17}. Aaron's uncles and cousins are mentioned Lv 10^{2}.

[¶] Cf. Ex 6^{28}, R^{P}.

[**] A wonder rather than a plague, but reckoned by P in the same series as the rest.

[*] P's account of the Death of the Firstborn, implied in Ex 12^{12}, has been omitted.

[†] R^{P} adds in vv.$^{17-30.\ 32-34}$ details as to the amount gathered, the observance of the Sabbath, and the placing of a pot of manna before the Testimony, *i.e.* the Tables in the Ark. Unless this chapter originally stood after the narrative of the events at Sinai (so Addis and Bacon), the reference to the tables is an anachronism due to an oversight.

[‡] P contains a large number of laws revealed by J″ to Moses, and promulgated by him to the people. It is not necessary to enumerate these in an article on Moses. See under HEXATEUCH in vol. ii. p. 368.

[§] According to 2 Co 3^{13} Moses veiled his face that the Israelites might not see the glory pass away.

[‖] Part or all of Ex 34^{9}–40^{38} belongs to late strata of P; and Leviticus contains material from various strata; see EXODUS, LEVITICUS.

Levites, young and old, taken later, showed them to amount to 22,000, Nu 1^{1}–10^{10}.[*]

(t) On the 20th day, of the 2nd month, of the 2nd year, the cloud was taken up from over the Tabernacle, and the Israelites left the wilderness of Sinai, according to J″'s commandment given through Moses, Nu 10^{11-28}.

(y) Korah and 250 princes attacked Moses and Aaron for claiming a sanctity superior, *i.e.* an exclusive priesthood, to that of the rest of the congregation. This claim, apparently, was made by Moses and Aaron as Levites (so v.^{7b}, which has been transposed from v.^{3} 'Ye take too much upon you, ye sons of Levi').[†] Moses proposed that Korah and his company should officiate before J″ as priests, that He might show His will in the matter. They did so, and appeared supported by all the congregation. J″ threatened to destroy all Israel, except Moses and Aaron; but, at the intercession of Moses, the congregation were allowed to separate from Korah and his 250 princes, who were devoured by fire from J″. The congregation murmured and were smitten with a plague, which was stayed by an atoning oblation of incense made by Aaron, Nu $16^{1\text{ to Korah}.\ 2-7.\ 18-24.\ 27\text{ to side}.\ 35.\ 41-50}$.[‡] Twelve rods, one for each tribe, being placed before the Ark, Aaron's rod budded to show that the tribe of Levi was chosen for the priesthood. J″ ordered that Aaron's rod should be kept always before the Ark, Nu 17.

(aa) In the wilderness of Zin, the people, lacking water, murmured at Moses and Aaron. J″ bade Moses take Aaron's rod from before the Ark.[§] Moses did so, gathered the congregation together before the rock, saying, 'Hear now, ye rebels; shall we bring you forth water out of this rock?' He smote the rock twice with his rod, and the water gushed forth. But J″ rebuked Moses and Aaron for lack of faith, and told them that they should not be allowed to lead Israel into Canaan. Parts of Nu $20^{1a.\ 2-13}$.[‖]

(bb) At the command of J″, Moses sent from the wilderness of Paran Joshua and Caleb and ten others to survey the land. They went through the whole land, as far as Rehob on the borders of Hamath; and, after forty days, they brought back an evil report, that it was a land which ate up its inhabitants, and that all the people in it were giants. The congregation murmured against Moses and Aaron, who prostrated themselves before them. Joshua and Caleb protested that the land was a good land. But the congregation were about to stone Moses and Aaron, when the glory of J″ appeared in the Tabernacle, and J″ declared that of the grown men only Caleb and Joshua should enter Canaan. The other ten spies died at once by a plague, Nu $13^{1-17a.\ 21.\ 25.\ 26a.\ 32}$ $14^{1a.\ 2.\ 5-7.\ 10.\ 26-30.\ 34-38}$. (dd) When Israel, journeying from Paran, reached Mount Hor, Aaron died, and was succeeded by Eleazar, Nu 20^{22b-29}.

(ff) Israel marched along the borders of Edom to Moab, Nu 20^{22} $21^{4a.\ 10.\ 11a}$.

(ii) An Israelite brought in a Midianite woman; whereupon there came a plague, which was stayed by the execution of the guilty couple by Phinehas the grandson of Aaron. J″ bade Moses promise Phinehas 'an everlasting priesthood,' Nu 25^{6-15}. (jj) Moses and Eleazar took a second census, none of those included in the former census surviving, except Joshua and Caleb, Nu 26. (kk) J″ told Moses he was about to die; and, at J″'s command, Moses appointed Joshua his successor, Nu 27. (ll) Moses delivered final laws, etc., Nu 28–30. The Israelites defeated the Midianites and slew Balaam, Nu 31. (mm) Moses gave the territories of Sihon and Og to Reuben and Gad, Nu 32^{1-38}.[*]

(nn) Moses went up to Mt. Nebo and died there, at the age of 120, in full possession of all his faculties. The Israelites mourned him thirty days; and Joshua succeeded him, 'full of the spirit of wisdom; for Moses had laid his hands upon him,' Dt $34^{1a.\ 7-9}$.

v. *Moses in D*, etc.—The additions made by the Deuteronomic writers and the various editors to the Pentateuch simply expound, interpret, and harmonize the information given by the older sources, and add nothing to our knowledge of the character and work of Moses. The various songs, though probably included in J and E, or JE, etc., are really independent sources. Ex 15^{2-18} (Song at the Red Sea) is doubtless the oldest account of the great deliverance. It states, in accordance with J, that J″, through a mighty wind, which first held back and then let loose the waters, overwhelmed the Egyptians in the Dead Sea. The 'Blessing of Moses,' Dt 33, speaks of a Theophany from Sinai, Seir, Mt. Paran, of a Law given by Moses, who[†] was 'king in Jeshurun,' and connects Levi with Massah and Meribah, either because Levi was regarded as equivalent to Moses, or else following an otherwise unknown tradition.

vi. *Moses in the OT outside the Pentateuch.*—In the pre-exilic prophets, Hos 12^{13}, sometimes regarded as a later addition, states that J″ brought up Israel from Egypt, and preserved him, by a prophet; Mic 6^{4}[‡] refers to Moses, Aaron, and Miriam as the leaders of Israel in the Exodus; Jer 15^{1} couples Moses with Samuel. In the post-exilic prophets Moses is referred to in Is $63^{11.\ 12}$, and the law of Moses in Mal 4^{4}, Dn $9^{11.\ 13}$. In the Psalter, Ps 105. 106 are a lyrical summary of the history of the Exodus; they are based on an edition of the Pentateuch, in which P had already been combined with JED, but which did not contain some of the latest priestly additions. Moses and Aaron are also referred to in 77^{20} as leaders of the people, and in 99^{6}—

> 'Moses and Aaron among his priests,
> And Samuel among them that call upon his name.

In Jos the Deuteronomic editors make frequent reference to the 'law of Moses,' *i.e.* D, which, according to them, was strictly observed by Joshua and the elders of his generation, *e.g.* 8^{30-35}. In Sam.-Kings, the Deuteron. editors seem to hold that this law was ignored till discovered in the temple in the reign of Josiah. In Ch, the priestly edition of the history, the law of Moses, *i.e.* the laws of the Pentateuch, was strictly observed by all good kings from David onwards.

In Jos 24^{1-10} (E) Joshua's farewell speech gives a brief summary of the history of the Exodus, beginning, 'I sent Moses and Aaron.'[§] There is a similar reference to Moses and Aaron in 1 S 12^{6-8} (E ?), Samuel's farewell speech. 1 Ch 23^{14-17} gives the sons and grandsons of 'Moses the man of God,' and states that they were reckoned with (יִקָּרְאוּ על) the tribe of Levi.

vii. *Reconstruction of the History.*—We can take as our starting-point certain facts as to which the ancient sources and most modern critics agree —(*a*) That Moses was the leader under whom Israel was delivered from bondage in Egypt and from peril of annihilation by the Red Sea, and was governed during its sojourn in the wilderness; (*b*) that through him Israel received a revelation, which was a new departure in the national religion, and the foundation of Judaism and Christianity; and (*c*)—practically another aspect of the last point—that he originated or formulated many customs and institutions from which the later national system was developed; that thus (*d*) Israel owed to Moses its existence as a nation; and (*e*) Moses is a unique personality of supreme importance in OT history.

---

[*] From various strata of P.

[†] See NUMBERS, p. 570^{b}.

[‡] Korah, Dathan, and Abiram in vv.$^{24.\ 27a}$=R. A later priestly writer has made additions, according to which Korah and the princes were Levites, who sought the priesthood, and specially attacked Aaron, $16^{1.\ \text{son}\ \ldots\ \text{Levi}.\ 8-11.\ 16.\ 17.\ 32b.\ 37-40}$.

[§] Nu 17^{10}.

[‖] Wherein the sin of Moses and Aaron lay is not clear. The LXX for 'shall we bring forth?' μὴ ἐξάξομεν, may imply that he doubted whether they could. Ps 106^{33} states that Moses 'spake unadvisedly (וַיְבַטֵּא) with his lips.'

[*] Probably R^{P}, but based on JE.

[†] Driver, Steuernagel, etc., prefer to refer 'the king' to Jahweh.

[‡] Perhaps written in the reign of Manasseh.

[§] Omitted by the LXX. In view of the general attitude of E to Aaron, the words 'and Aaron' are probably R, if the clause belongs to the text at all.

The following quotations will show the extent to which the general historicity of the Mosaic narrative is accepted; in (A) are placed those which minimize the historical element; the rest in (B):—

(A) Stade, who in his *GVI* was more sceptical about the sojourn of the people in Egypt than in more recent utterances, accepts Moses as a real person, thus: 'Like all founders of religions, he brought to his people a new, creative idea, which moulded their national life. This new idea was the worship of Yahwe as national God' (*Stammgottes*), p. 130. Cf. *Akad. Reden*, 105 ff.

Renan, *Hist. du Peuple d'Isr.* i. p. 161: 'Mais ce qui est possible aussi, c'est que tous ces récits de l'Exode, où la fable a pénétré pour une si large part, soient plus mythiques encore qu'on ne le suppose d'ordinaire, et qu'il ne faille, de tous ces récits, conserver que le fait même de la sortie d'Israël de l'Égypte et de son entrée dans la péninsule du Sinai.' Of Moses he says: 'La légende a entièrement recouvert Moïse . . . quoique son existence soit très probable,' p. 159.

(B) In Ewald's treatment of this period, *Hist. of Isr.* [Eng. tr.] ii. 15-228, his own view of the history is partly subordinated to an exposition of the narratives in the various sources; but he clearly accepted the historicity of the leading events. Thus, of the passage of the Red Sea, he wrote: 'Whatever may have been the exact course of this event, whose historical certainty is well established, its momentous results, the nearer as well as the more remote, were sure to be experienced, and are even to us most distinctly visible,' p. 75.

Wellhausen, *Hist. of Isr.* pp. 429-438: 'Moses . . . saw a favourable opportunity of deliverance. . . . At a time when Egypt was scourged by a grievous plague, the Hebrews broke up their settlement in Goshen one night in spring . . . on the shore . . . of the Red Sea . . . they were overtaken by Pharaoh's army. . . . A high wind during the night left the shallow sea so low that it became possible to ford it. Moses eagerly accepted the suggestion, and made the venture with success. The Egyptians, rushing after, came up with them on the further shore, and a struggle ensued. But the assailants fought at a disadvantage: the ground being ill suited for their chariots and horsemen, they fell into confusion and attempted a retreat. Meanwhile the wind had changed; the waters returned, and the pursuers were annihilated. After turning to visit Sinai . . . the emigrants settled at Kadesh.' 'A certain inner unity actually subsisted long before it had found any outward political expression; it goes back to the time of Moses, who is to be regarded as its author. The foundation upon which, at all periods, Israel's sense of its national unity rested was religious in its character. It was the faith which may be summed up in the formula, Jehovah is the God of Israel, and Israel is the people of Jehovah. Moses was not the first discoverer of this faith, but it was through him that it came to be the fundamental basis of the national existence and history.' 'From the historical tradition . . . it is certain that Moses was the founder of the Torah.'

The late W. Robertson Smith wrote, *OTJC*^{2}: 'Moses . . . is the father of the priests as well as the father of the prophets,' p. 303. 'He was a prophet as well as a judge. As such, he founded in Israel the great principles of the moral religion of the righteous Jehovah,' p. 305.

Smend, *AT Religionsgeschichte*^{2}, writes: 'The narrative of the Mosaic period contains certain leading features, the historicity of which there is no reason to doubt, viz. the sojourn in Egypt of the Israelites, or at any rate of a part of them; their flight from Egypt; their connexion with the tribes of the Sinaitic peninsula and with the holy mountain; their stay at Kadesh, and finally the conquest of the Amorite kingdom east of the Jordan. . . . Moses was not the lawgiver of Israel, but he was much more than that. By leading the Israelites out of Egypt, by unifying them in the wilderness, by conquering the land E. of Jordan, thus giving the Israelites a settled abode, and enabling them to become agriculturists instead of nomads, he created Israel. . . . Through him Yahwe became the God of Israel,' pp. 15-17.

Kittel, in his *Hist. of the Hebrews* [Eng. tr.], which applies Dillmann's critical views to the history, writes: 'Not only the Song (at the Red Sea), but all three main sources (J E P) have historic ground beneath them. The Passage through the sea is a historical fact, but this is a link of a chain which implies others, earlier as well as later. The abode in Egypt, the Exodus thence, the continued journeying in the Desert towards Sinai, are thereby all made certain,' i. p. 227 f. Similarly he accepts connexion with Midian and the sojourns at Sinai and Kadesh, pp. 229-234, and finds a Mosaic kernel in the Decalogue and the Book of the Covenant. Further: 'If the events of that period are, as a whole, beyond dispute, they demand for their explanation such a personality as the sources give us in Moses,' p. 239.

Cornill, *Hist. of the People of Isr.* pp. 41-43, writes: 'Moses, a Hebrew of the tribe of Levi, had by favourable providence had access to the learning and civilization of Egypt,' and led the Israelites out of Egypt. They were overtaken by the Egyptians at the Red Sea, but 'a mighty north-east wind lays dry the shallow strait, and they go through on the bottom of the sea, into the desert, into freedom.' . . . 'In Sinai . . . tradition locates the capital achievement of Moses, his religious reorganization of the people. It is one of the most remarkable moments in the history of mankind, the birth-hour of the religion of the spirit. In the thunderstorms of Sinai the God of revelation Himself comes down upon the earth: here we have the dawn of the day which was to break upon the whole human race, and among the greatest mortals who ever walked this earth Moses will always remain one of the greatest.'

Passing to details: Moses' connexion with the Levites is vouched for not only by the statements as to his birth, Ex 2^{2} E, 6^{20} P, but also from the fact that the Levites of the sanctuary at Dan claimed to be descended from Moses;* and also by the designation of the Levites in Dt 33^{8} as 'the people of thy holy one,' איש חסִידך,† *i.e.* Moses. Perhaps *Mushi* (Ex 6^{19} [P]), as the name of a division of the Levitical clan Merari, denotes another group of Levites, who at one time claimed descent from Moses. 1 Ch 23^{14-17}, where it is stated that the sons of Moses were reckoned (יִקָּרְאוּ) to the tribe of Levi, is possibly a trace of some arrangement by which the Mosaic Levites were placed on the same level as the other Levites; the genealogical statement of the transaction would be that Gershom was a son of Levi and not of Moses. Cf. LEVI.

The E statement (Ex 2^{10}), that Moses grew up in Egyptian surroundings, is supported by the apparent identity of his name with the Egyptian *mesu*; but it is not likely, as Renan (*Hist. du Peuple d'Isr.* i. 142 ff.) supposes, that he was greatly influenced in his work as the medium of divine revelation to Israel, by any Egyptian training. The pre-prophetic religion of Israel has little in common with that of Egypt. Moreover, the early narratives make it clear that the scene of what we may call his religious education was the desert between Egypt and Palestine. It was at Horeb or in Midian that God appeared to him; and the only human being by whose advice he was guided alike in religious and secular matters was his father-in-law, variously styled Jethro, the priest of Midian, Reuel, Hobab ben-Reuel, the Kenite. See HOBAB, JETHRO. It was at Horeb or Sinai that Moses received his fuller revelation; and throughout the earlier history J″ is specially connected with Sinai. Thus it appears that Moses, as an exile from Egypt, found among the Bedawîn of the wilderness of Sinai‡ the human influences which helped to shape his subsequent teaching,§ cf. art. GOD in vol. ii. p. 200^{a}; there, too, he received the divine inspiration, which sent him back to Egypt to rescue his people. In that rescue and for the rest of his life, Moses was the mediator between J″ and Israel alike in things material and spiritual. Israel, in its better moments, recognized that J″ guided, protected, and championed His people through the leading and governance of Moses, and instructed them through his teaching. The tradition is equally clear that Israel had its evil moods in which it strove to shake itself free from the control of Moses, and that there were times when even he despaired of accomplishing the task which J″ had laid upon him. The repeated offers of J″ to annihilate Israel and make Moses the ancestor of a new nation, are probably a faithful reminiscence of importunate doubts as to whether Israel was worthy to be 'the people of J″,' *i.e.* to receive and entertain the Divine Presence by which Moses felt himself possessed and inspired. For then a nation was a necessary correlative of a religion. Would it not be better to leave Israel to its fate and to gather round himself some new community, just as centuries later Paul turned from the Jews to the Gentiles? But Moses' intense patriotism made such a course impossible. 'If thou wilt forgive their sin —; if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book which thou hast written.' Again and again he returned to the task of keeping the people true to their high vocation, alike by persuasion and chastisement; while he as constantly besought J″ to pardon their sin and bear with their frailty.

---

* Jg 18^{30} (J ?), where the true reading is *Moses*, not Manasseh. The suggestion (Addis, *Hex.* p. 196 n.) that 1 S 2^{27} implies that a similar claim was made by the priesthood of Shiloh is not supported by the general sense of the passage, which, moreover, was probably not written till after the destruction of Shiloh.

† So Dillmann, Addis, etc.; Driver prefers to render, 'the man, thy godly one,' *i.e.* the tribe of Levi.

‡ Cf. the exile of the Egyptian Sanehat amongst the Bedawîn, Petrie, *Egypt*, i. 153.

§ The occurrence of J″ in *Jochebed* suggests that the name J″ was known in the tribe of Levi before the time of Moses; but this name is found only in P.

We may also trust the tradition that Moses led Israel first to Kadesh and then to the plains of Moab, but that he died before the invasion of Palestine. The tradition of some sin, of which exclusion from Canaan was the penalty, is too obscure to be interpreted, far less verified. The important and controlling element of Moses' work for Israel, and through Israel for the religion of the world, was the uniting of the various tribes as 'the people of J″,' and of J″ only, in the faith that J″ could control nature and history to His purposes. The mutual loyalty of the tribes to one another had an immense ethical value, of which their common loyalty to J″ was the bond and symbol. Hence an ethical character necessarily attached to J″ Himself. In a primitive age a new departure necessarily had a concrete embodiment; Moses therefore provided for J″ a sanctuary and a priesthood. The Tent of Meeting is mentioned by E (Nu 11 etc.); and, even apart from P, who has probably expanded ancient material, the Ark was evidently constructed by Moses; it is conspicuous in JE at the crossing of the Jordan, but entirely absent at the Red Sea. As to the priesthood, Moses clearly placed the care of the Ark and the Tent of Meeting in the hands of his own family. Joshua, indeed, was left in charge of the Tent, but only as the deputy of Moses, who was the real priest, or, as Philo says, high priest. Moses appears (see above) to have left the succession in the priesthood to his children; it is not clear how far P's statement that the family of Aaron was entrusted with the priesthood is derived from ancient tradition, but the ordinary analysis supports this view by giving Dt 10^6, Jos 14^{33} to E, but they may belong to R^P; see 'Joshua' in *PB*. Cf. ARK, TABERNACLE, etc.

The Pentateuch also states that Moses committed to writing certain laws and records: 'all the words of J″,' Ex 24^3 (E) — what these 'words' were is not stated; the ritual Ten Commandments, Ex 34^{28} (J); the register of the Stations in the Wilderness, Nu 33^1 (R^P); 'this law,' probably the original Deuteronomic Code, Dt 31^9 (R^D). The articles EXODUS, DEUTERONOMY, NUMBERS explain why even these sections, at any rate in their present form, are not attributed to Moses. Yet these passages warrant us in believing that many of the laws and institutions of the Pentateuch originated with Moses, or received his sanction, or are the natural application to later times of the principles involved in his government of Israel.

It is doubtful whether we can regard Moses as an author in the literary sense. His name is indeed found in the OT in connexion with various poems, viz. Ex 15^{1-18}, the Song of Triumph at the Red Sea; Dt 32^{1-43}, the Song of Moses; Dt 33^{2-29}; and some other poems in Ex–Dt; Ps 90, the Prayer of Moses; and the whole Pentateuch and the Bk. of Job have been attributed to him by rabbinical and other theories. The reasons why this ascription of these books and poems to Moses has been for the most part abandoned will be found in the articles on the several books. It is not impossible that he may have composed narratives and poems, and that portions of such work are preserved in the Pentateuch, but we have no means of identifying them.

It will be obvious that the question, 'What new elements of cult and faith did Moses add to the religion of Israel?' can be only very partially answered. Later times rightly held that, in a sense, they were his debtors for their whole treasure of religious faith and life; they were not careful to distinguish between original Mosaism and its developments; but included both alike under the formula, 'J″ said to Moses.' Modern analysis has not yet succeeded in definitely and certainly separating the one from the other. It has been proposed to determine Mosaism by ascertaining the nature of the pre-prophetic religion of Israel. But our data for this calculation are inadequate; and even if it were successfully performed, we have still to discover the exact state of pre-Mosaic religion, and to establish some principle by which the credit for the advance from that to prophetic religion is to be distributed between Moses and other teachers, such as Samuel and Elijah. Moses' work was rather practical than didactic, the influence of an inspired life rather than the inculcation of abstract dogmas. He made the faith, the sanctuary, the Ark of J″ the rallying-point of a united Israel. This point is rightly emphasized by E and P in their statements that it was through Moses that the name YAHWEH was made known to Israel. What there was new to Israel in this name, as compared with the divine names they had hitherto used, we cannot at present determine. But, in the natural course of things, each of the tribes of Israel would have developed, like Ammon, Moab, and Edom, its own henotheistic religion. The devotion of so great a group of tribes to J″, and J″ only, and the survival of this common devotion when the political unity disappeared, under the Judges and again during the divided monarchy, was a distinct step from henotheism to monotheism. Moreover, the faith that the God whose sanctuary was Sinai could rescue Israel from Egypt, protect and provide for them in the wilderness, and put them in possession of Palestine, emphasized the truth that J″ was not the God of a country, but of a people; and the relation of a deity to a people is far more spiritual than the relation of a deity to a country—J″ is of a higher order than Baal. Hence the Mosaic faith, 'J″ is the God of Israel,' and the realization of that faith in the events of Israel's history during the leadership of Moses, constitute a distinct advance in spiritual monotheism.

Moses' personality cannot be exactly defined, for similar reasons. In the oldest tradition he stands in such isolated grandeur,* is so constantly thought of as the ideal ruler and prophet, that the traits of human, individual life and character are lost. Even points that seem characteristic are soon seen to belong to the Israelite ideal of the saint and prophet. His shrinking from his mission he shared with men like Jeremiah and Ezekiel. When Nu 12^3 (E^2 or perhaps R) states that Moses was meek (*'ānâw*) above all other men, it means that he was unique in his piety, for to be *'ānâw* came to be the characteristic grace of the godly man. On the other hand, his wife and sons vanish silently from the story, which cares nothing about his personal relations, and is interested only in the official successor to his leadership. The picture drawn of him in the Pentateuch is adequately sketched by saying, with Philo, that Moses is portrayed as supremely endowed with the human gifts and divine inspiration of king and lawgiver, priest and prophet.

---

* For Aaron see ii.–iv. (a).

C. MOSES IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.—The NT makes frequent reference to the history of Moses. For the most part, however, it adds nothing to the OT narrative. In some instances it follows a text differing from MT, or a tradition varying from the Pentateuch,* but these differences do not affect the general history of Moses. In other cases, the NT follows tradition in obtaining new features from the interpretation of the OT narrative. The simple טוֹב (EV 'goodly' of Ex 2^{2}) becomes, by a development from the LXX *ἀστεῖος*, the emphatic phrase *ἀστεῖος τῷ θεῷ* (EV 'exceeding fair'), Ac 7^{20}; cf. He 11^{23}. So, again, He 11^{24-26} 'Moses, when he was grown up, refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter; choosing rather to be evil entreated with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season; accounting the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt: for he looked unto the recompense of the reward. By faith he forsook Egypt, not fearing the wrath of the king: for he endured, as seeing him who is invisible.' Similarly, St. Stephen (Ac 7^{25-41}), in stating that Moses 'was instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians,' that he was about forty when he fled from Egypt, that he spent forty years in Midian, etc., follows traditions which are an obvious deduction from the OT statement that Moses was brought up as the 'son of Pharaoh's daughter,' and from the chronology of the Pentateuch.

There are, however, a few statements about Moses in the NT which can scarcely be conjectural expansions of suggestions found in the Pentateuch. They are, for the most part, derived from apocryphal works: 2 Ti $3^{8.9}$ 'Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses,' and 'their folly . . . came to be evident unto all men,' is said by Origen (on Mt 27^{8}) to be taken from an apocryphal Book of Jannes and Jambres; see JANNES AND JAMBRES (BOOK OF). Jude ^{9}, the contention of Michael and Satan over the body of Moses, is from another apocryphal work, the *Assumption of Moses*; see following article.

The NT constantly refers to the law of Moses, and to Moses as the founder of OT religion, and refers to the Pentateuch as 'Moses' (Lk 16^{29}). His prophetical status is recognized by the quotation in Ac 3^{22}. At the Transfiguration, Moses and Elijah appear as the representatives of the OT dispensation, and Christ and they speak of His approaching death as an 'Exodus' (Lk 9^{31}, cf. 2 Pe 1^{15}). While the NT contrasts the law with the gospel, and Moses with Christ (Jn 1^{17} etc.), yet it appeals to the Pentateuch as bearing witness to Christ (Dt 18^{15-19} in Ac 7^{37}), in a way which implies that what Moses was to the old, Christ is to the new dispensation. Similarly, the comparison between Moses and Christ in He $3^{5.6}$ implies that, though Christ was greater than Moses, He was, in a sense, a greater Moses, and that Moses was a forerunner and prototype of Christ.

D. MOSES IN TRADITION.—An immense mass of traditions gathered round Moses. Many of these are collected in Josephus, *Ant.* II.–IV., *c. Apion.*; Philo, *Vita Moysis*; Eusebius, *Præp. Ev.* 9; in the Targums and rabbinical commentaries; and in the pseudepigraphal works ascribed to Moses.† Traditions are also found in the Koran, and in other Arabian works. It is possible that there may be in this wilderness of chaff some grain of fact not otherwise known; but, speaking generally, the student of OT history may set the whole on one side.

So Canon Rawlinson, *Moses, His Life and Times*, Pref. iii: 'Many legends have clustered round the name of Moses, some Jewish, others Mahometan, but these are almost always worthless, and throughout the following pages, excepting in a single instance, no notice has been taken of them. The writer's strong conviction has been that it is from the Scriptures almost entirely, if not entirely, that we must learn the facts of Moses' life and deduce our estimate of his character.'

Hence, with the partial exception of the Manetho traditions preserved by Josephus, to be noticed hereafter, these legends are mostly ignored by historians. The chief exception is Stanley, who, in his *Jewish Church* and the article 'Moses' in Smith's *DB*, interweaves legends with biblical data in his usual picturesque fashion.

Doubtless, however, the ideas which the Jews in the NT period had of Moses were somewhat influenced by such traditions—witness their currency in Philo and Josephus: these traditions, however, would not—and the NT shows that they did not—seriously modify the account given in the OT of the life and work of Moses. They supply details of names and numbers; narrate incidents that fill gaps in the story; and provide facts which explain obscurities. Further, by adding to the marvellous in the history of Moses, they attempt the superfluous task of increasing his unique spiritual importance. We can cite only a few examples. Thus Josephus* (*Ant.* II. ix. x.) gives many details of the childhood and youth of Moses. Pharaoh's daughter's name was Thermuthis; the infant refused to be suckled by Egyptian nurses; he was of divine form (*μορφῃ θεῖον*); the princess induced her father to put his crown on Moses' head, but Moses threw it down and trod on it, etc. etc. An account of a successful campaign against the Ethiopians, in which Moses commanded the Egyptian army, and married Tharbis, the daughter of the Ethiopian king, probably grew out of the reference to his 'Cushite wife' in Nu 12^{1}. The account of Moses' death (IV. viii. 49) concludes: 'As he was embracing Eleazar and Joshua, and was still talking with them, a cloud suddenly stood over him, and he disappeared down a certain valley. But he wrote in the Sacred Books that he died (*αὐτὸν τεθνεῶτα*), fearing lest men should venture to say that he had been deified (*πρὸς τὸ θεῖον αὐτὸν ἀναχωρῆσαι*) on account of his extraordinary virtue.' Elsewhere (*c. Apion.* i. 26) he quotes Manetho to the effect that Moses was born in Heliopolis, and bore the Egyptian name of Osarsiph. Philo (*Vita Moysis*, i. 5) gives the details of his education in the learning of Egypt, Greece, Assyria, and Chaldæa. In i. 39 he has a version of the fight at Rephidim (Ex 17^{8-16}), in which Aaron and Hur are dispensed with, and Moses' hands are miraculously upheld. In iii. 39 he speaks of Moses' prophesying his own death, by divine inspiration, while yet alive, and being buried 'not by mortal hands, but by immortal powers,' and concludes, 'Such was the life, and such the death of Moses, king, lawgiver, high priest, and prophet, as it is recorded in the Sacred Scriptures.'

Although the Manetho traditions belong rather to the general history of the Exodus than to the personal career of Moses, something more may be said about them here. Josephus (*c. Apion.*) gives the traditions as to the Exodus preserved by

---

* 2 Co 3^{13}, He 9^{4} (cf. Nu 17^{10}).

† See MOSES, ASSUMPTION OF.

* The many tedious expansions of the Bible story in Josephus and Philo, especially the speeches, which, after the manner of Thucydides, they put into the mouths of Moses and others, have of course no historical value.

Manetho, an Egyptian priest and historian of Heliopolis, during the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, B.C. 285–246. In i. 26, 27, Manetho is quoted as stating that a priest of Heliopolis, named Osarsiph, afterwards Moses, raised a revolt of persons afflicted by leprosy and other foul diseases, who had been settled on the borders to deliver Egypt from the pollution of their presence. They were defeated and driven out of Egypt into Syria by Amenophis king of Egypt. In ch. 32 a similar story is quoted from Chœremon,[*] the leaders of the Jews being Moüses Tisithen and Joseph Peteseph. In ch. 34, cf. ii. 2, a third version of the story is quoted from Lysimachus.[†] According to i. 14, 15, 26, ii. 2, Manetho stated that Jerusalem was built by the followers of shepherd kings, Hyksos, when they were expelled from Egypt by Tethmosis; and, apparently, regards these Hyksos as the ancestors of the Israelites. It has sometimes been maintained that the story of the expulsion of the lepers is a truer version of the Exodus than that given in the OT; and some who reject Manetho's main story quote his names of persons and places. It is safer to regard his and other narratives as mere perversions of the biblical account (Stade, *Gesch.* i. 128; Seinecke, *Gesch.* i. 80).

The Mussulman legends are partly imaginative but tedious expansions of the Bible narrative, probably known only indirectly; partly pure myths. Thus, when Moses struck the rock, *twelve* streams gushed forth, one for each tribe (Koran, ii.). Sura xviii. gives a story of the journey of Moses with el-Khidr, the Unknown, which reads like a section of the *Arabian Nights*. The numerous legends about Moses illustrate the fact that the Moslems recognize Moses, in common with Jesus and Mohammed, as a prophet and apostle (Koran, xix.).

Cf. CHRONOLOGY OF OT, EXODUS TO CANAAN, ISRAEL (HISTORY OF), HEXATEUCH, EXODUS, LEVITICUS, NUMBERS, DEUTERONOMY, ARK, TABERNACLE, AARON, and articles on the various persons, places, and things mentioned in Ex–Dt; also MOSES (ASSUMPTION OF).

LITERATURE.—*Commentaries* on the Pentateuch, and sections referring to Pent. in the *OT Introductions*. Sections on Mosaic period in the *Histories* and *OT Theologies* cited in Literature under ISRAEL (HISTORY OF); also in the *OT Theologies* of Kayser-Marti, Oehler [Eng. tr.], Piepenbring [Eng. tr.]; W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} pp. 254-430. See also G. Rawlinson, *Moses*; Baker-Greene, *Migration of the Hebrews*.

A list of pseudepigraphal books ascribed to Moses is given in Charles' *Assumption of Moses*, pp. xiv–xvii. For the Jewish and Mohammedan legends see Stanley, *Jewish Church*, i. 86–173, and art. 'Moses' in Smith's *DB*; also *Koran*, Suras ii., vii., x., xviii., xix., xx., xxvi., xxviii., xl.; Gustav Weil, *Biblical Legends of the Mussulmans*, tr^{d} as *The Bible, the Koran, and the Talmud*, and notes to Rodwell's tr^{n} of the Koran; d'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale, Moussa ben-Amram*; P. I. Hershon, *Genesis, with a Talmudical Commentary*, see under 'Moses' in Index iii. For the Egyptian traditions of Manetho, Chœremon, and Lysimachus, and for Artapanus (*ap.* Eus. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 27), etc., see Ewald, *Hist. of Isr.* ii. 76–94. For the Archæology see Driver in *Authority and Archæology* (Hogarth), pp. 54–79.

W. H. BENNETT.

MOSES, ASSUMPTION OF.—The *Assumption of Moses* [Ἀνάληψις Μωυσέως *ap.* Gelasius of Cyzicum (Mansi ii. 844)] is a Jewish writing originally composed in Hebrew or Aramaic early in the 1st cent. A.D. It is extant in a Latin translation preserved in a single palimpsest MS, which was discovered by Ceriani and edited by him in *Monumenta Sacra et Profana*, vol. i. fasc. i. pp. 55–64 (1864). The best edition is that of Dr. R. H. Charles (1897): his division of the text into chapters and verses is here adopted, and his edition quoted by its pages [*e.g.* 'Charles 87'].

i. CONTENTS (Historical allusions not expressly named in the text are given in brackets).—I. In the year 2500 A.M., Moses, being 120 years old, calls Joshua and appoints him to be his successor, at the same time giving him the books, which he is to bury carefully in a safe place. II. Joshua shall give the people their inheritance (1, 2): afterwards they will be ruled by chiefs and kings, and God will fix the place of His sanctuary (3, 4), though the ten tribes will break off (5). But the people will fall into idolatry (6–9). III. Then a king from the East [*Nebuchadnezzar*] will burn their 'colony' [*Jerusalem*] and the temple, and will carry them captive (1–3). The ten tribes and the two tribes will mourn together and pray, and will remember the warnings of Moses (4–13). They will be in bondage about 77 years (14). IV. Then a certain one [*Daniel*] will pray for them (1–5), and some of them will be allowed to return, though the ten tribes will remain among the Gentiles (6–9). V. At a later period the priests, 'slaves, sons of slaves,' will fall into idolatry and iniquity through the wicked kings who are over them [*Antiochus and the Hellenizing Priests, such as Menelaus* (2 Mac 4^{50})]. VI. Then will come kings calling themselves priests [*The Hasmonæans*], who also will work iniquity (1). These in turn are to be followed by a king not of the race of the priests [*Herod*], who will tyrannize over them for 34 years (2–6): his children will reign for shorter periods (7), and a powerful king of the West [*Varus, governor of Syria*, B.C. 4] will conquer them and burn part of the temple (8, 9). VII. Here the history ends and the predictions begin: first will come rulers who will be hypocrites, gluttons, tyrannical, impious, boastful, proud . . . (This chapter is much mutilated in the MS). VIII. Another visitation of wrath will descend upon them, and the 'king of the kings of the earth' will crucify those who confess their circumcision and give their wives to the Gentiles, and will make them carry unclean idols and blaspheme. IX. Then there will be a man of the tribe of Levi whose name will be TAXO [*Eleazar* (see below)], who will take his seven sons into the wilderness to fast for three days and then die, rather than transgress the law of the Lord of lords. X. Then the Lord's kingdom will appear, and the angel [*Michael*] will be commissioned to avenge the enemies of Israel (1, 2). The Most High will arise, while the earth trembles and the sun and moon are darkened, and He will punish the Gentiles; but thou, Israel, wilt be blessed and mount up to the heavens, and thou shalt see thy enemies on the earth,[*] and shalt give thanks to thy Creator (3–10). But now Joshua is to keep these words safe: from the death of Moses to the Advent shall be 250 'times' (11–15). XI. When Joshua hears these words of Moses, he is much grieved. What sepulchre (he says) can be fit for Moses? How can I, Joshua, guide the 600,000 Israelites, or defend them from the Amorites, who will attack them when Moses is gone? XII. Moses then places Joshua in his own seat, and comforts him by reminding him of the providence of God . . . (Here the MS breaks off in the middle of a sentence).

ii. DATE.—It follows from the above analysis that the *Assumption* was written after Herod's death, but before any of his sons had reigned so long as their father, *i.e.* between B.C. 3 and A.D. 30. The most probable date is soon after the deposition of Archelaus in A.D. 6. (So Charles lviii, who also examines the views of other scholars).

iii. STANDPOINT AND TEACHING.—The value of the *Assumption of Moses* for modern students is expressed by the title of J. E. H. Thomson's work,

---

[*] An Alexandrian living shortly before the Christian era (Ewald, *Hist. of Isr.* tr.^{4} ii. 85 n.).

[†] 'Otherwise unknown, but certainly still later than Chœremon.' Ewald, *op. cit.* ii. 86.

[*] Or, according to Charles' conjecture, *in Gehenna*.

'*Books which influenced our Lord and His Apostles*' (see Charles xxvii f.). The author is characterized by Dr. Charles as a Pharisaic Quietist. He was not a Sadducee, for he attacks the priests and expects a theocratic kingdom. He was not a Zealot, for he is significantly silent about the exploits of the Maccabees, and his ideal hero, Taxo [*Eleazar*], is one who will be passively faithful unto death. Nor was he an Essene, for he is keenly interested in the fortunes of the temple. 'He was a Pharisee of a fast-disappearing type, recalling in all respects the Chasid of the early Maccabæan times, and upholding the old traditions of quietude and resignation' (Charles li–liv). Hence he represents that tendency in Jewish thought which was most nearly allied to primitive Christianity.* It is this which gives real interest to the investigation of the many critical difficulties presented by the text of the book.

iv. THE LATIN TEXT.—The Milan Palimpsest (Bibl. Amb. c. 73 *inf.*), our sole witness for the text, appears to date from the 6th cent.† The *Assumption* occupies quire xvii, the preceding quires containing the unique fragments of the Latin translation of the *Book of Jubilees* (wh. see). But, though the whole volume is marked by peculiarities of writing and spelling due to the scribe, the two works were not translated at the same time or place, as is clear from the divergent renderings of Greek words. The Latin vocabulary of the *Assumption* includes *aedes* (ναός), *arbiter* (μεσίτης)‡, *colonia* (='a town')§, *nuntius* (ἄγγελος), *palam facere* (ἀποκαλύπτειν), *Summus* (Ὕψιστος), and transliterations such as *acrobistia* (=ἀκροβυστία), *clibsis* (θλίψις), *scene* (σκηνή). Important for the date is the rare use of *secus* for κατά 'according to,' parallels to which occur in Clem. Rom. *lat* 21^7, and in a non-Christian inscription found at Peschiera (*CIL* v. 4017). ‖

The MS (which is often very hard to read) was transcribed by Ceriani with wonderful accuracy.¶ But the Latin itself is disfigured by many corruptions, mostly due to the carelessness of transcribers, *e.g.* *ex tribus* for *patribus* (i. 8), *sub anulo* for *sub nullo* (xii. 9).** More serious are those which rest on mistakes in the underlying Greek. Dr. Charles has detected a notable instance in ii. 7, where *adcedent ad testamentum Domini et finem polluent* must correspond to προσβήσονται τῇ διαθήκῃ Κυρίου καὶ τὸν ὅρον βεβηλώσουσιν; here by reading παραβήσονται τὴν διαθήκην and ὅρκον (for ὅρον) we get the appropriate sense, 'they will *transgress* the covenant of the Lord and profane the *oath.*' No doubt there are cases of still deeper corruptions which arose in the original Semitic, but these are more difficult to discover and remove.

A full discussion of all the obscurities presented by the text as we have it would be impossible here: one point, however, must be noticed, as it affects the general understanding of the book. This is the interpretation of chs. viii. and ix., describing the 'second tribulation' of the Jews. As it stands, this section comes between the death of Herod and the final judgment, but the details of the persecution notably coincide with that which befell the Jews under Antiochus Epiphanes, a period which is very rapidly passed over in chs. v. and vi. owing to the author's dislike of the Hasmonæans. Dr. Charles, therefore, in his Notes to pp. 28–30, supposes that the section has been misplaced, and that its real place is between chs. v. and vi. But this violent remedy is inadmissible: the final Theophany (ch. x.) comes in well after the story of the ideal saint Taxo (ch. ix.), but very badly after the description of the wicked priests and rulers in ch. vii. In the opinion of the present writer, the difficulty disappears if we regard the author of the *Assumption* as having filled up his picture of the final woes from the stories of the Antiochian martyrs. Dr. Charles himself says of ch. ix. (p. 34): 'Its purpose is to indicate the line of action which the Chasids or Pharisaic party of his own time should pursue. . . . It prescribes the duty our author would enforce on the Pharisaism of his own time. Just as his complete silence as to the Maccabæan uprising forms an emphatic censure of its aims, so his vigorous statement of the opposed and Chasid line of action is designed as a commendation of its character.'

The latter part of the above quotation refers especially to Taxo, who (as Dr. Charles points out, p. 35) has been evolved out of the story of Eleazar (2 Mac $6^{18ff.}$, 4 Mac 5^3). His seven sons correspond to the seven sons of the widow (2 Mac 7), and his cave of refuge corresponds to those of the Chasids (1 Mac 1^{53} 2^{31}). Various unsatisfactory explanations of the origin of the name *Taxo* have been put forward: they are given in Charles 35 f. What has hitherto escaped observation is that '*Taxo*' itself, when put back into the original language of the book, is nothing more than a slightly corrupted cipher for *Eleazar*. All that is necessary is to read *Taxoc* for *Taxo*. The letter may have fallen out in the Latin of the *Assumption*, as in *ore* for *orbe* (xii. 4), or in the underlying Greek, as in ὅρον for ὅρκον (ii. 7). Now TAXOC in the Latin implies ταξωκ in the Greek, and this in turn implies תכסוק in the Semitic original. This word means nothing as it stands, but if we take in each case the next letter of the Semitic alphabet, *e.g.* B for A, M for L, etc., we get אלעזר *Eleazar*, the very name which of all others is most suitable.*

Thus the future anticipated in the *Assumption* is a period of triumphant wickedness and oppression; but just when the saints have given an example of passive endurance, at once most hopeless and most splendid, the Most High will Himself intervene and deliver His people.

v. THE END OF THE WORK.—The Milan Palimpsest breaks off in the middle of a sentence, and the question arises how much is lost. The purely internal evidence would suggest that very little is lacking. Moses has finished his prophecy and is about to die: there is nothing more to be said. With this also goes the fact that all the leaves of the quire containing the fragment of the *Assumption* are preserved. If the missing portion consisted of several whole quires and not merely a single leaf or pair of leaves, it is somewhat strange that the final quire of the extant fragments is intact.†

---

* Comp., for instance, Mk 3^{36} with *Assump.* xi. (*tunc parebit regnum* [*Dei*] . . . *et tunc Zabulus finem habebit*).

† A rough facsimile of a couple of lines is given in Volkmar's edition of the *Assumption*, p. 153.

‡ So d_2 in He 9^{15} (not elsewhere).

§ Cf. Clem. Rom. *lat*, p. 26^{11}.

‖ This use of *secus* must not be confused with the late and vulgar use of *secus* for παρά, *e.g.* *secus mare* Mt 13^1 in latt. omn. (exc. afr.), examples of which are hardly found before the 4th cent. A.D. *Secus* for παρα occurs in *Jubilees* 16^{15} 49^{15} etc.

¶ Only in four places have we found ourselves unable to follow Dr. Ceriani. We read *acrobisam* (not *acrosisam*), MS p. $67a^{12}$; *iam* (not *tam*), p. $100a^7$; *eum* (not *cum*), p. $100a^{13}$; *incut* (not *in eut*), p. $100b^7$. The last word we take to be a mistake in the MS for *sicut*.

** The obscure phrase *in tempore tribum* (iv. 9) seems to the present writer like a corruption of *in tempore retributionis* (or *retribuendi*): cf. Hos 9^7. In the same verse Schmidt-Merx and Charles have already recognized that *natos* is a mistake of the scribe for *nationes*. In the very corrupt clause at the end of viii. 5 *suum* looks like a mistake for *suem*.

* We know from the parable in St. Luke ($16^{20ff.}$) that Eleazar (or, in the Greek form, *Lazarus*) is an appropriate name to give to the representative of the poor but pious Israelite.

† The *Stichometry* of Nicephorus does not greatly help us to discover how much is missing at the end. The number of στίχοι there given for the Ἀνάληψις is ͵αυ´—*i.e.* 1400. If this be correct, about 1000 στίχοι are lost, equivalent to 20 leaves; but as the number assigned to the preceding work on the list (the Διαθήκη Μωυσέως) is on any hypothesis corrupt, too much reliance must not be placed on the figures for the *Assumption*.

But a number of Greek patristic references (collected in Charles 107–110) indicate that the book was in circulation with an Appendix containing the dispute of Michael and Satan over the body of Moses after the latter's death, followed by his triumphant 'assumption' into heaven. A detail of this dispute is alluded to in the canonical Epistle of St. Jude (v.^{9}). Especially clear is a quotation in Gelasius of Cyzicum: 'In the book of the *Assumption of Moses*, Michael the archangel, disputing with the devil, saith, *For from His holy Spirit we all were created.* And again he saith, *From before God went forth His Spirit, and the world was made.*'* The formula of quotation is identical with that used by the same author (*ap.* Mansi ii. 844) for quoting i. 14 of our *Assumption.*

It is difficult to decide whether the Latin of the *Assumption* ever contained the Appendix. On the one hand, it is hard to imagine how the book could have reached a Latin-speaking community without the Appendix having been associated with it. Yet the work could only have been spoiled by the addition, and there is a certain improbability that the accidental loss of a couple of quires from the Milan Palimpsest should improve the artistic unity of the book. The interest of the *Assumption* as we have it is wholly taken up with the fate of the chosen people, present and future, but the Appendix is concerned with the personal fate of Moses.†

LITERATURE.—Full Bibliography in Charles xviii–xxviii. Editions: Ceriani, *Monumenta Sacra et Profana*, vol. i. fasc. i. pp. 55–64 (1864); Hilgenfeld, *NT extra Canonem receptum*, 1st ed. (1866), 2nd ed. (1876); Volkmar, *Mose Prophetie und Himmelfahrt* (1867); Schmidt and Merx, *Die Assumptio Mosis, mit Einleitung* . . . [Merx, *Archiv f. wissen. Erforschung des AT*, I. ii. pp. 111–152] (1868).

See also Rönsch in *Zeitschr. f. Wissen. Theol.* xi. 76–108, 466–468, xii. 213–228, xiv. 89–92, xvii. 542–562, xxviii. 102–104; Schürer, *GJV*^{3} iii. 213 ff. [*HJP* II. iii. 73 ff.]; C. Clemen in Kautzsch's *Apocr. u. Pseudepigr.* (1899).

F. C. BURKITT.

MOSOLLAMUS.—1. (A Μοσόλλαμος, B Μεσολαβώς, AV Mosollamon), 1 Es 8^{44} (LXX ^{43})=MESHULLAM, Ezr 8^{16}. 2. (Μοσόλλαμος, AV Mosollam), 1 Es 9^{14}=MESHULLAM, Ezr 10^{15}.

MOST HIGH (עֶלְיוֹן, properly *upper* Jos 16^{5}, or *uppermost* Gn 40^{17}, Dt 26^{19} ('high'), 28^{1} ('on high'); Aram. עִלָּיָא Kt., עִלָּאָה Ķerê, also in Dn $7^{18.\,22.\,25.\,27}$ עֶלְיוֹנִין the Heb. form, as plur. of majesty: ὕψιστος).—An epithet, or title, of dignity, applied to God, and occurring in the OT as follows:—*God Most High* (אֵל עֶלְיוֹן) Gn $14^{18.\,19.\,20.\,22}$, Ps 78^{35}; (אלהים עליון) Ps 57^{2} 78^{56}; *J″ Most High*, Ps 7^{17}; *the Most High* (עֶלְיוֹן, without the art., only in poetry), Nu 24^{16} (Balaam's prophecy), Dt 32^{8} (Song of Moses), Is 14^{14} (words put into the mouth of the king of Babylon), Ps 18^{13} (=2 S 22^{14}) 21^{7} 46^{4} 50^{14} 77^{10} 78^{17} 82^{6} 87^{5} $91^{1.\,9}$ 92^{1} 107^{11}, La $3^{35.\,38}$; as predicate, Ps 47^{2} 83^{18} 97^{9}.‡ And in Daniel: *God Most High*, 3^{26} 4^{2} $5^{18.\,21}$; *the Most High*, $4^{17.\,24.\,25.\,32.\,34}$ 7^{25}; and in the expression 'saints of *the Most High*' (עֶלְיוֹנִין), $7^{18.\,22.\,25.\,27}$. According to Philo of Byblus (*ap.* Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* i. 10 §§ 11, 12; cf. Lenormant, *Origines*^{2}, i. 540), there was in the Phœnician theogony a god *Eliûn*, father of heaven and earth, who was slain in an encounter with wild beasts, and afterwards divinized (*κατὰ τούτους γίνεταί τις Ἐλιοῦν καλούμενος Ὕψιστος, καὶ θήλεια λεγομένη Βηρούθ, οἳ καὶ κατῴκουν περὶ Βύβλον, ἐξ ὧν γεννᾶται Ἐπίγειος ἢ Αὐτόχθων, ὃν ὕστερον ἐκάλεσαν Οὐρανόν, κ.τ.λ.*). The *'Ēl 'Elyōn* of Gn 14 may stand in some relation to this Phœn. deity. El (God) was often distinguished by different epithets, bringing out different aspects of the divine nature, as in the patriarchal אל שׁדי (Gn 17^{1}), אל עולם (21^{33}), אל אלהי ישׂראל (33^{20}), אל ביתאל (35^{7}), and in the Phœn. אל חמן (*CIS* I. i. 8; Lidzbarski, *Nordsem. Epigraphik*, 419); and so the Canaanite has here his *'Ēl 'Elyōn.* It may have been a deity whom Melchizedek recognized, in opposition to other inferior ones, as the *highest*, and in whose name, tradition told, he had blessed Israel's ancestor: the Israelitish narrator, not unnaturally, identifies him (v.^{22}) with J″. The statement, however, that a deity bearing this name was worshipped at 'Salem' has not, up to the present time (July 1899), received any confirmation or illustration from the inscriptions.*

In the other passages quoted, the title seems simply to give expression to the thought that J″ is the God who is *supreme*,—whether over the earth, as ruler and governor of the world (cf. Ps $47^{2.\,8.\,9d}$ 83^{18} 97^{9a} 99^{2}), or over other gods (95^{3} $96^{4f.}$ 97^{9b}; cf. also Cheyne on Ps 7^{18}; Schultz, *OT Theol.* ii. 129 f.; Smend, *AT Rel.-Gesch.* 470). Like 'God of heaven' (*LOT* 519, ^{6}553), it is a title which was undoubtedly in frequent use in post-exilic times (Cheyne, *OP*, 26,† 27, 41,† 83 f., 164, 314, 464); but it may be questioned how far, except when found in combination with other indications, it can be used as a criterion for the date of a psalm. In its Greek form (see Hatch and Redpath's *Concordance to the LXX*, under ὕψιστος), it occurs in the Apocrypha, 1 Es 2^{3} 6^{31} $8^{19.\,21}$ 9^{46}, To 1^{4}‡ ^{13}‡ 4^{11},‡ Jth 13^{18}, Est 16^{16}, Wis 5^{15}‡ 6^{3}‡, Bar 4^{20} (A), 2 Mac 3^{31},‡ 3 Mac 6^{2} 7^{9}; and with particular frequency in Ecclus.,—much more frequently indeed than the corresponding Heb. form occurs in the recently discovered Heb. text of this book.§ It is also frequent (as a title) in the Book of Enoch (see Charles' note on 99^{3}), the Apoc. of Baruch (see Charles on 17^{1}), and 2 (4) Esdras. In the Assumption of Moses it occurs 10^{7}. In Rabb. literature it is stated by Dalman (*Worte Jesu*, 162 f.) to be exceedingly rare.

In the NT the use of the expression is almost confined to St. Luke, the occurrences being Mk 5^{7} =Lk 8^{28} (*υἱὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψ.*: *τοῦ ὑψ.* om. in Mt 8^{29}), Lk 1^{32}‡ ^{35}‡ ^{76}‡ 6^{35}‡ (cf. Ps 82^{6}: not in the ‖ Mt 5^{45}), Ac 7^{48}‡ 16^{17}, He 7^{1} (from Gn 14^{18}).

S. R. DRIVER.

MOTE.—Mote is the word chosen by Wyclif and Tindale, and accepted by all the subsequent versions as the tr. of Gr. κάρφος in Mt $7^{3.\,4.\,5}$, Lk $6^{41.\,42\,bis}$. The root of κάρφος is κάρφω to dry up, and it signifies a bit of dried stick, straw, or wool, such as, in the illustration, might be flying about and enter the eye. In its minuteness it is contrasted by our Lord with δοκός, the beam that supports (δέχομαι) the roof of a building. The Gr. word does not elsewhere occur in Mt, and in LXX only in Gn 8^{11} as the tr. of טָרָף, the adj. applied to the olive leaf which Noah's dove carried; 'plucked off' is the Eng. translation.

The origin of the Eng. word 'mote' is unknown. It means any small particle, as Hall, *Works*, ii. 136, 'Our mountaines are but moates to God'; especially a particle of dust, as Chaucer, *Wife of Bath's Tale*, 12, 'As thikke as motes in the sonnebeame.' The use of the word by Wyclif and Tindale led to its early application in the same connexion: thus Barlowe, *Dialoge*, 73, 'Woulde

---

* From Mansi, ii. 857: ἐν βιβλίῳ δὲ Ἀναλήψεως Μωυσέως Μιχαὴλ ὁ ἀρχάγγελος διαλεγόμενος τῷ διαβόλῳ λέγει· ἀπὸ γὰρ πνεύματος ἁγίου αὐτοῦ πάντες ἐκτίσθημεν. καὶ πάλιν λέγει· ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξῆλθε τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἐγένετο. The second part of the quotation is not given by Fabricius and Charles.

† Perhaps we may take as a parallel the transmission of the Epistle of Barnabas. The concluding chapters in our Greek MSS (chs. 18–21) are taken from the 'Two Ways' or some such source, and these chapters are wholly wanting in the Latin.

‡ Eight out of these 17 Psalms are Korahite or Asaphite Psalms.

* The combinations in *AHT* 155 ff. are purely hypothetical.

† The title 'high priest of God Most High' given to John Hyrcanus (*Rosh ha-shana*, 18*b*), and Hyrcanus II. (Jos. *Ant.* XVI. vi. 2): see further, Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 33 ff. On the *Assumption of Moses*, vi. 1 [not 17], cited *OP*, p. 27, see, however, Charles, *ad loc.*

‡ In these passages standing as a title, alone.

§ See 6^{37} 40^{1} marg. $41^{4.\,8}$ 42^{2} $44^{2.\,20}$ 49^{4} $50^{14.\,16.\,17}$ (alone); אל עליון $46^{5.\,5}$ $47^{5.\,8}$ 48^{20}.

God they were as prest to remove the balk out of their owne eyes, as they be prompte to aspye a lytle mote in other men's'; and Lever, *Sermons*, 119, 'You of the laytye, when ye see these small motes in the eyes of the clargye, take hede too the greate beames that be in your owne eyes.'

J. HASTINGS.

MOTH (עָשׁ *'âsh*).—The LXX tr. this word in Ps 38 (39)^{12} *ἀράχνη*, in Is 51^{8} *χρόνος*, in Hos 5^{12} *ταραχή*, in all other instances *σής*. There is no reason for these variations. The Arab. *'uth* is the cognate form of the Heb. word. In the NT *σής* only is used (Mt 6$^{19. 20}$, Lk 12^{33}). There are many species of the *Tineidæ*, or 'clothes' moths,' in the Holy Land. They are small lepidopterous insects, which commit immense havoc in clothes, carpets, tapestry, etc. In this warm climate it is almost impossible to guard against their ravages (Is 50^{9}, Ja 5^{2} etc.). 'He buildeth his house as a moth' (Job 27^{18}) alludes to the frail covering which a larval moth constructs out of the substance which he consumes. 'Crushed before the moth' (Job 4^{19}) refers to the way in which woollen stuffs are riddled by the larvæ of moths, until they become so fragile that they break down to powder at a touch (but see Dillm. and Dav. *ad loc.*). Moths are mentioned in Sir 19^{3} 42^{13}.

G. E. POST.

MOTHER.—See FAMILY.

MOTION.—In 2 Es 6^{14} 'motion' is used loosely for 'commotion' (Lat. *commotio*). In Wis 5^{11} the meaning is 'movement': 'As when a bird hath flown through the air, there is no token of her way to be found, but the light air being beaten with the stroke of her wings, and parted with the violent noise and motion of them, is passed through' (*βίᾳ ῥοίζου κινουμένων πτερύγων*; RV 'with the violent rush of the moving wings'). Cf. Bacon, *Essays*, p. 176, 'In Beauty, that of Favour is more then that of Colour, and that of Decent and gracious Motion, more then that of Favour.' In Wis 7^{24} 'For wisdom is more moving than any motion' (*πάσης γὰρ κινήσεως κινητικώτερον σοφία*; RV 'more mobile than any motion,' after Vulg. '*Omnibus enim mobilibus mobilior*'), the reference is to the speed of thought. Farrar aptly quotes Cowper—

'How fleet is the glance of the mind!
Compared with the speed of its flight,
The tempest itself lags behind;
And the swift-winged arrows of light.'

The only other occurrence of the word is in Ro 7^{5} 'For when we were in the flesh, the motions of sins, which were by the law, did work in our members, to bring forth fruit unto death' (*τὰ παθήματα τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν*, RV 'the sinful passions,' RVm '*Gr.* passions of sins': this is Wyclif's tr. 'passiouns of synnes,' so also Rhemish NT; 'motions' comes from the Gen. Bible). The word was often used by writers of the day in this sense of mental or spiritual impulse or agitation. It became almost a technical expression in Scotch Reformed religion. Thus Knox, *Works*, iii. 286, 'When I feele any taste or motion of these promyses, then thinke I myselfe most happy'; Livingstone (in *Select Biographies* of Wodrow Soc., p. 305), 'He [Robert Bruce] did goe on, and celebrated the communion to the rest with such assistance and motion, as had not been seen in that place before'; Melvill, *Diary*, 16, 'Ther first I fand (blysed be my guid God for it!) that Spirit of sanctification beginning to work some motiones in my hart, even about the aught and nynt yeir of my age'; and p. 37, 'Onlie now and then I fand sum sweit and constant motiones of the feir and love of God within me.' Cf. also Bacon, *Essays* (Gold. Treas. ed. p. 38), 'There is in Mans Nature, a secret Inclination, and Motion, towards love of others'; p. 52, 'He that standeth at a stay, when others rise, can hardly avoid Motions of Envy'; and Shaks. *Jul. Cæs.* II. i. 64—

'Between the acting of a dreadful thing
And the first motion, all the interim is
Like a phantasma or a hideous dream.'

In the Preface to AV 'motion' is used in the sense of 'proposal.' So Fuller speaks of Eliezer, Abraham's servant: 'Then concludes he, with desiring a direct answer to his motion.' Cf. Berners, *Froissart*, p. 208 (Globe ed.), 'And then he said to his cardinals: Sirs, make you ready, for I will to Rome. Of that motion his cardinals were sore abashed and displeased, for they loved not the Romans.'

In the Preface to AV occurs the verb to 'motion': 'In some Common-weales it was made a capitall crime, once to motion the making of a new law.' Cf. Milton, *Samson*, 222—

'They knew not
That what I motioned was of God.'

J. HASTINGS.

MOUNT.—The subst. מֻצָּב *muẓẓābh* in its only occurrence (Is 29^{3}, unless Jg 9^{6} is another) is translated 'mount' in AV. The root of the word is [נָצַב] הִצִּיב to set up, and means a mound or intrenchment (Cheyne), palisade (Kay), RV 'fort.'

Another word translated 'mount' is סֹלְלָה *ṣôlĕlāh*, Jer 6^{6} 32^{24} 33^{4}, Ezk 4^{2} 17^{17} 21^{22} 26^{8}, Dn 11^{15}. RV retains the tr. 'mount,' but Amer. RV prefers 'mound' in all these places. Elsewhere this word is rendered 'bank' (2 S 20^{15}, 2 K 19^{32}, Is 37^{33}). See BANK. Its root is סָלַל to cast up, heap up, and it means an earthwork or rampart.

The only other occurrence of 'mount' in the sense of 'mound,' 'intrenchment,' is 1 Mac 12^{36} 'raising a great mount between the tower and the city' (*ὕψος*, RV 'mound').

This Eng. word 'mount' meaning an earthwork is the same as mount = mountain, and comes directly from Lat. *mons, montis*. Its use to describe an earthen defence seems due to confusion with 'mound,' a native word (Anglo-Sax. *mund*), which meant a protection or guard, and was used of a bodyguard of soldiers as well as a defence of earth or the like. The word 'mount' has gone out of use in prose. It has given up its own proper meaning of an elevation (same root as *e-min-ere* to be prominent) to 'mountain' (which came into English from Lat. not directly as 'mount,' but through the Fr. *montaigne, montaine*; Lat. *montanus*, 'hilly'). And it has restored the meaning of earthwork to 'mound,' from which that was borrowed. Its use in AV may be illustrated from Hakluyt, *Voyages*, ii. 122, 'They raised up mounts to plant their artillery upon'; Knox, *Hist.* 246, 'The English men most wisely considering themselves not able to besiege the Town round about, devised to make Mounts at divers quarters of it; in the which they and their Ordnance lay in as good strength, as they did within the Towne'; and Bunyan, *Holy War*, 69, 'Besides, there were Mounts cast up against it. The Mount *Gracious* was on the one side, and Mount *Justice* was on the other. Further, there were several small banks and advance-grounds, as *Plain-Truth-Hill* and *No-Sin-Banks*, where many of the Slings were placed against the Town.'

J. HASTINGS.

MOUNT, MOUNTAIN (Heb. הַר; Gr. *ὄρος*; Celt. *tor*?).—In Dn 2$^{35. 45}$ the Aram. טוּר *ṭûr* is tr^{d} 'mountain.' The word הַר is also pretty frequently tr^{d} in AV 'hill,' as in Ps 2^{6} and 68$^{15. 16}$. In most of these instances RV has with advantage substituted the rendering 'mount' or 'mountain.' See, further, on this subject, and on the distinction between הַר and גִּבְעָה, art. HILL. It is clear that the AV translators used 'mountain,' 'mount,' and 'hill' interchangeably. The distinction between these terms has never been clearly recognized, even down to the present day; and we cannot feel surprise that it was not so recognized by the translators of the AV. Thus, if we take the word 'mountain' to signify a range or group of high elevations, we are met by the same word as applied to Moriah, a single elevated summit amongst the hills of Palestine, the scene of Abraham's intended sacrifice, elsewhere called 'the mount' (cf. Gn 22^{2} and 22^{14}). Yet, upon a general comparison of the passages in which these terms are used, it appears clear that the word 'mount' is more frequently applied to some specialized summit or elevation, such as Carmel (Jos 19^{26}), Hermon (Jos 11^{3}), Sinai (Ex 19^{2} *et passim,* except v.^{8}), and Seir (Dt 1^{2}), while 'mountain' is used to designate an extensive district of elevated ground, such as those of Moab (Gn 19^{30}), South Canaan (Nu 13^{17}), Gilboa (2 S 1^{21}).

Amongst geographers, the terms 'mountain' and 'hill' are generally used as relative terms to designate the higher and lower elevations in special countries. Thus we apply the term 'mountain' to those of North Wales as being the highest elevations in S. Britain, though they are really lower in height than those of the Jura, which are generally called 'hills,' as being of less elevation than the neighbouring Alps. All that can be said on this point is that geographers have not settled the question at what elevation above the sea a 'hill' becomes a 'mountain.'

ORIGIN.—Without entering at any great length into the question of the mode of formation of mountains, which would be here out of place, it may be stated that in the great majority of cases they are referable to three natural modes of formation, namely (1) elevation, (2) erosion, and (3) accumulation: of these three modes we have examples in Palestine and the regions around.

1. *By elevation.*—Many mountain ranges owe their origin to direct elevation *en masse* at various ancient geological periods, above the surface of the ocean, or the general level of the adjoining lands. Some of these have been upraised at successive intervals of time, and from very early periods have preserved their dominant characters. To this class may be referred the Scandinavian and Grampian ranges, that of North Wales, the Bavarian (or Hercynian) Highlands, and the Sinaitic group between the Gulfs of Suez and of 'Aḳabah. This last probably existed as a part of an extensive tract of continental land in Palæozoic times, and has maintained its dominant position down to the present day during the general submergence of the adjoining regions in the Cretaceous and Tertiary periods. The Alps and Pyrenees received their final and probably most important upheaval in late Tertiary times.

2. *By erosion.*—In various parts of the globe mountain groups or ranges have been formed, owing to the erosion of valleys amongst previously existing tablelands. When the floor of the ocean has been upraised into dry land in the form of a plateau, consisting of approximately horizontal (or even inclined) strata, rain and river action sets in, owing to which channels of ever-increasing depth and breadth are eroded, thus carving the plateau into separate and independent mountain masses if the process is sufficiently prolonged. In this manner the great ranges of the Colorado in North America, the lesser group of Central and South Wales, the range of the Jura on the borders of Switzerland; and, in Eastern countries, those of Upper Egypt, Edom and Moab, and of Southern Judæa, have been formed. The Lebanon range owes its predominant position, with its culminating dome-like mass of Hermon (? Mount Hor, Nu $34^{7.\,8}$), which formed the northern limit of the land given to Israel, to direct elevation followed by erosion, by which the deep valleys and ravines have been worn down through an original tableland in late Tertiary and post-Tertiary times. The range of Edom and Moab, stretching from the Gulf of 'Aḳabah to the shore of the Dead Sea, is doubtless originally due to the elevation of the Arabian tableland from the bed of the ocean along one or more lines of fracture (or 'fault') in the crust of the earth, but has subsequently been carved out into many distinct summits by river erosion at a period when the rainfall was more abundant than at present (see ARABAH); and amongst these Mount Hor (*Jebel Haroun*), the scene of Aaron's death, is the most conspicuous example (Nu $20^{25.\,27}$).

3. *By accumulation.*—To this third class of mountains nearly all those of modern volcanic origin may be referred. During eruptions of volcanoes, either upon the surface of the land or upon the floor of the sea, molten lava is poured forth in sheets or streams from the throat of the crater in each case, together with solid blocks of lava, showers of ashes, and *lapilli,* which spread over the flanks of the mountain and adjoining tracts, and ultimately rise in piled-up masses to varying heights in the form of truncated cones or domes. The most familiar examples are the groups of Auvergne in Central France, and the isolated Mounts of Vesuvius and Etna. The regions adjoining Eastern Palestine present numerous examples of volcanic mountains. In the region east of the Upper Jordan, called in the NT Trachonitis, but now known as the Jaulân and Ḥaurân, there are several distinct volcanic cones rising above the general surface of the country;* and still farther eastwards, in the wild region of the Lejah, a grand range of volcanic mountains dominates the wide expanse of lava-fields of Bashan. Similar features are to be observed in parts of Central Arabia, and were little known until brought to our knowledge by a recent traveller.† Here, not far from the cities of Mecca and Medina, a group of volcanic mountains rises above the expanse of the Arabian Desert, from which lava-floes descend to the plain. In all these districts of Arabia volcanic action has long been extinct; perhaps even before the appearance of man.‡

From the above account it will be seen that in strictly Bible lands we have representatives of mountain forms owing their origin to the various modes of natural operations which in past ages have diversified the surface of our globe.

A few special biblical references to mountains may be noted. 'Mountain of God' (הַר אֱלֹהִים) in Ps 68^{16} is general = *a God's mountain,* indicating greatness or majesty. On the other hand, Sinai or Horeb is called 'the mountain of God' in a special sense (Ex 4^{27} 18^{5} 24^{13}, 1 K 19^{8}; cf. הַר יהוה in Nu 10^{33}). The 'mount of congregation' (RV; better, 'mountain of meeting *or* assembly, הַר מוֹעֵד) in Is 14^{13} refers to the dwelling-place of the gods, which the Babylonians located in the far north. See CONGREGATION in vol. i. p. 466^{b}. Mountains are frequently alluded to in connexion with theophanies; they melt at the presence of J″, Jg 5^{5}, Ps 97^{5} etc.; they are called on to cover the guilty from His face, Hos 10^{8}, Lk 23^{30} ‖; they leap in praise of J″, Ps $114^{4.\,6}$; they are called on to witness His dealings with His people, Mic 6^{2} etc. etc. Mountains were resorted to as hiding-places in time of war, Jg 6^{2}, Mt 24^{16} ‖; they were hunting-grounds, 1 S 26^{20}; grazing-places for cattle, Ps 50^{10}

---

* G. Schumacher, 'The Jaulân,' *PEFSt*, 1866–1888.

† C. M. Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, 2 vols. (1888).

‡ The age of these volcanic eruptions is discussed in the present writer's 'Physical Geology of Arabia Petræa and Palestine,' *PEF Mem.* p. 98 (1886).

etc.; places of illicit worship, Is 65^{7}, Ezk 6^{13}; beacon stations, Is 30^{17}; lurking-places for ambuscade, Jg 9$^{25.36}$. Mountains are typical of difficulties, Zec 4^{7}. Their removal is spoken of by our Lord as a type of what is possible to strong faith, Mt 17^{20} ‖.

E. HULL.

MOURNING (אָבַל 'mourn'; אָנָה 'sigh *or* groan'; נָהָה 'lament'; סָפַד 'wail' (*κόπτεσθαι*); *θρηνεῖν, πενθεῖν*) in Scripture is sometimes attributed in a figurative sense to *Nature*,—the withering of the pastures beneath and the blackening of the sky above, the wasting of the fruit-trees, and the destruction of the beasts of the field, of the fowl of the air, of the fish of the sea, being at once the effects of God's judgments upon her for man's sin and the manifestations of her sorrow and grief as the sharer of his punishment and misery (Jer 4^{28}, Hos 4^{3}, Jl 1$^{10-12}$). In a like figurative sense it is attributed to *nations*, and especially to Israel, as when the prophet (Jl 1^{8}) summons the daughter of Zion to repentance, and bids her 'lament like a virgin girded with sackcloth for the husband of her youth'; or when, in a time of famine, Judah is said to mourn (Jer 14^{2}), and the people assembled at the gates are in deep mourning, and sit humbly on the ground; or when, again, it is predicted (Zec 12$^{10-14}$) that, in the day of the outpouring of the Spirit of grace and supplication upon the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, 'they shall look unto me whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for him as one mourneth for his only son, and shall be in bitterness for him as one that is in bitterness for his first-born' (RV). With a moral connotation, too, expressive of sorrow for sin, or distress for the miseries of the nation, it is ascribed to individuals, as to Daniel (10^{2}), to Ezra (10^{6}), and to Nehemiah (1^{4}), while Ahab in penitential mourning rends his clothes and puts sackcloth upon his flesh, and fasts like a man sorrowing for the dead (1 K 21^{27}).

Mourning in the literal sense, as the expression of sorrow for the dead, appears in Scripture not only with all its ordinary natural manifestations, but also with the large body of conventional and formulated grief which usage had gathered round it among the Israelites as among other Oriental peoples. However ready to submit to the will of God without murmur or complaint, the Oriental is demonstrative in the social and public manifestations of his sorrow, and has reduced the expression of his grief for the dead to a system which tends to crush out natural feeling. In Jer 16$^{6-8}$ and Ezk 24$^{16.17}$ together there is a fairly complete list of the mourning customs of Israel.

Weeping is the most general and most strongly marked expression of pain or mental emotion, and is the primary and, indeed, universal expression of mourning for the dead. This, like other manifestations of deep emotion, is more under control among civilized than uncivilized peoples, and more restrained among the staid and unimpassioned people of the West than the lively and excitable children of the East. 'Englishmen,' says Darwin (*The Expression of the Emotions*, p. 155), 'rarely cry except under the pressure of the acutest grief.' 'Egyptian funerals,' says Maspero (*The Struggle of the Nations*, p. 511),—and his description of Egyptian mourning finds frequent parallels among the Hebrews,—'were not like those to which we are accustomed,—mute ceremonies, in which sorrow is barely expressed by a furtive tear: noise, sobbings, and wild gestures were their necessary concomitants. Not only was it customary to hire weeping women, who tore their hair, filled the air with their lamentations, and simulated by skilful actions the depths of despair, but the relatives and friends themselves did not shrink from making an outward show of their grief, nor from disturbing the equanimity of the passers-by by the immoderate expressions of their sorrow.' Of weeping for the dead the books of the Old and New Testament are full. It was considered unnatural not to weep for the dead. 'Weep for the dead,' says the Son of Sirach, 'so as not to be evil spoken of' (Sir 38^{17}). Whatever the position of woman in the ancient Hebrew cult, there is evidence that mourning was performed both for women and by women. In proof that women were mourned for, we have the notices recorded in Genesis of the care and interest taken by the patriarchs in the burial of their wives. Isaac was comforted after his mother's death (Gn 24^{67}); and grief for a mother was always bitter (Ps 35^{14}). We have also Barzillai's words to David, 'Let thy servant, I pray thee, be buried in the grave of my father and *mother*' (2 S 19^{37}). In NT times we have the case of Dorcas, around whose remains, in the short interval before interment, all the widows for whom she had done so much stood weeping (Ac 9^{39}). Abraham, as we have noted, wept for Sarah (Gn 23^{2}); Jacob when deceived by the report of Joseph's death (37^{35}); Joseph for his father (50^{1}); the camp of Israel for Moses (Dt 34^{8}); David and his men for Saul and Jonathan (2 S 1^{12}); David at the grave of Abner, for the child of Bathsheba, for Amnon, for Absalom (3^{32} 12^{21} 13^{36} 18^{33}); the mothers of Bethlehem for their murdered innocents (Mt 2^{18}); Jesus at the grave of Lazarus (Jn 11^{35}), where His weeping was restrained and silent (*ἐδάκρυσε*), and over the coming doom of Jerusalem (Lk 19^{41}), where He wept aloud (*ἔκλαυσε*). **Wailing** is sometimes added to weeping, to express a deeper intensity of grief, as in the case of the mourners gathered in the death-chamber of Jairus' daughter (Mk 5$^{38.39}$). Wailing like the jackals, and mourning as the ostriches (Mic 1^{8}), is expressive of the bitterest sorrow; and groaning like the bear, the dove, or the crane (Is 38^{14} 59^{11}), of a grief more restrained. *Exclamations of grief* were common along with wailing (Jer 22^{18}, Am 5^{16}, 1 K 13^{30}). Vociferous grief, as Maspero points out above, was specially characteristic of the Egyptians. It was heard as a great cry in Egypt that night when all the first-born were stricken (Ex 12^{30}), and it no doubt entered into the 'grievous mourning' which the Egyptians made for Jacob as they escorted the remains of the patriarch to his last resting-place in the cave of Machpelah (Gn 50^{11}). Of such mourning a striking illustration is given (Ball, *Light from the East*, p. 119) from a wall-painting in an Egyptian tomb. In the funeral procession here represented, a master of the ceremonies, followed by eight women, precedes, and four men with long staffs follow the shrine; 'all making gestures of mourning by beating their breasts and their mouths while wailing (the interrupted sound has a peculiarly melancholy effect), or by throwing dust on the head.'

The excitable Eastern temperament, however, was not content with weeping and wailing and exclamations of grief. **Beating the breast** (Is 32^{12}, but text dubious) was one of the commonest forms of lamentation. Beating the breast and the mouth, as we have just seen, was a feature of the mourning of the early Egyptians. The bewailing which accompanied the weeping for the daughter of Jairus (*ἐκόπτοντο*) probably included the beating of the breast (Lk 8^{52}), and so also the lamentation (*κοπετὸν*) made by devout men for Stephen (Ac 8^{2}). Of Joseph it is recorded that he fell upon his dead father's face and *kissed* him (Gn 50^{1}), although this is a solitary instance in Scripture. See art. KISS. Tamar is represented (2 S 13^{19}) as *laying her hand upon her head* and going her way, crying as she went. To *tear the hair and the beard* (Ezr 9^{3}), to *rend the clothes* and *put on sackcloth and filthy* *garments* (2 S $3^{31.\,32}$, Est 4^{3}), to *sit among the ashes* (Job 2^{8}), and to *sprinkle earth or dust or ashes upon the head* (2 S 13^{19}, Rev 18^{19}), were actions in which sorrow and grief more or less naturally or conventionally expressed themselves. To *go bent as under a load* (Ps 35^{14} $38^{6.\,7}$), to *go barefoot and bareheaded* and to *cover the lips* (Ezk $24^{16.\,17}$, Mic 3^{7}), were less demonstrative tokens of mourning. *Mutilation of nose, brow, ears, hands* is mentioned by Herodotus (iv. 17) as being practised by the Scythians in token of mourning for a departed king. Such mutilation was forbidden by the law of Moses (Lv 19^{28}, Dt 14^{1}), although we read of making bald the hair and cutting off the beard (Is 15^{2}), and even of lacerating the body, as a sign of vexation and grief (Jer 41^{5}). Among the Arabs it was customary in mourning, especially for the women, both to scratch their faces till the blood flowed and to shave off the hair; and it looks as if, in spite of the Deuteronomic prohibitions, similar practices had come into vogue among the Israelites (Driver, *Deuteronomy*, p. 136).

Fasting, more or less strict, seems to have been an invariable accompaniment of mourning, and mourners denied themselves recreation and other enjoyments. When it is said that the men of Jabesh-gilead fasted seven days in grief for the death of Saul and Jonathan (1 S 31^{13}), we must suppose the fast to have been less strict than usual among Orientals, and that some food was allowed to the mourning people. From the Talmud (*Baba Bathra*, 16*a*) we learn that lentils were allowed during the period of mourning. It was customary for friends and neighbours after an interval to come and comfort the mourners and urge food upon them (2 S $12^{16.\,17}$), and food was also distributed at funerals (Jer 14^{7} RV, Ezk 24^{17}, Hos 9^{4}), especially to the poor (? Job 4^{17}). 'The bread of mourners,' the bread partaken of by the nearest relatives of the deceased during the period of mourning, was accounted ceremonially unclean and defiling (Hos 9^{4}). It has been discussed whether this mourners' meal of the days of the prophets was not in some way connected with a funeral feast. The subject is obscure, but in Dt (26^{14}) the Israelite, speaking of the tithe, is represented as saying, 'I have not eaten thereof in my mourning, neither have I put away thereof, being unclean, nor given thereof *for the dead.*' If we adopt the rendering 'for the dead,' the passage may be taken as pointing to the custom for the friends of the deceased to testify their sympathy with the mourning relatives by sending bread or other food for their refreshment, as we have just observed. If we render 'to the dead,' the passage would rather point to the widespread custom of placing food in the grave with the dead—a custom common among the Egyptians, and found among the later Jews in 'the messes of meat laid upon a grave' (Sir 30^{18}). See the subject discussed in Driver, *Deuteronomy*, pp. 291, 292. That funeral feasts became an institution of later Judaism is clear, for Josephus (*BJ* II. i. 1) records that the custom of giving funeral feasts 'is an occasion of poverty to many of the Jews, because they are forced to feast the multitude, for if any one omits it he is not esteemed a holy man.' To this day it is a custom among the Jews to dispense alms with a liberal hand during the week of mourning in honour of the departed.

In a time of mourning it was a good custom to send messages of condolence to the bereaved (2 S $10^{1.\,2}$); and friends were wont to gather to comfort them in their sorrow (Jn 11^{19})—a custom which prevails to this day in Syria in the bands of mourners who assemble from neighbouring villages to join in the lamentations. Funeral orations were common in later times. **Elegies**, as we learn from Scripture, were composed to be sung for the dead. David composed his well-known elegy to honour the memory of Saul and Jonathan (2 S 1^{17}), and another for the gallant Abner (2 S 3^{33}). Such an elegy was composed by Jeremiah for king Josiah, and the 'singing men and women' sang dirges for him, continued, as it would appear, through a course of years (2 Ch 35^{25}). Of this character were the Lamentations of Jeremiah, called in the Talmud and elsewhere by the very name (קִינוֹת), 'elegies,' 'dirges,' full of the bitterness of grief, as they were, for Jerusalem destroyed by the Chaldæans. See LAMENTATIONS (BOOK OF), and, on the rhythm of such *ḳînôth*, POETRY. When a young person dies unmarried, modern Syrians make the funeral lamentation more pathetic by first going through some forms of a wedding ceremony.

The chief mourners naturally were the relatives of the deceased,—husband (Gn 23^{2}), widow (Job 27^{15}), father and mother (Mk $5^{38.\,40}$), brother (Lk 7^{13}), sons (Gn 25^{9} *et passim*). Among the well-to-do it was common to hire *professional mourners*. They accompanied the dead body to the grave, moving onwards with formal music (cf. Mt 9^{23}), and singing dirges to the dead. They were both men and women. We have already noted the presence of both in Egyptian funeral processions, and, as has been just observed, they were 'singing men and women' that lamented Josiah. It is men skilful in lamentation whom Amos (5^{16}) summons to pronounce a dirge over the moral ruin of their country. It is men that are spoken of in Ecclesiastes (12^{5}) as the wailers that go about the streets. It was male flute-players that were present lamenting the death of Jairus' daughter (Mt 9^{23}). On the other hand, it is the women whose profession it was (מְקוֹנְנוֹת) to attend at funerals, and by their skilled lamentations to aid the real mourners in giving vent to their grief, whom Jeremiah has in view when he says, 'Call for the women who chant dirges, and send for cunning (Heb. 'wise') women that they may come' (Jer 9^{17}). They are still required for such service, and are skilful in interweaving family references and in improvising poetry in praise of the departed. These professional mourning women are met with both in ancient and modern Arabia (Trumbull's *Studies in Oriental Life*, p. 153 ff.); and Maspero (*Dawn of Civilisation*, p. 684) mentions that among the ancient Chaldæans old women performed the office of mourners, washing the dead body, perfuming it, and clothing it in its best apparel.

The period of mourning for the dead is variously given. The ordinary time, however, as we have already noticed, was seven days. All that was in a house or tent along with a dead body was unclean for seven days, and the bread which the mourners ate was, as we have seen, defiled. The period of mourning prescribed by Jewish authorities for a parent is a year. Of this time the first thirty days are considered the most important, and of these, again, the first seven are most stringently observed. The first seven days after a death are known as the *Shiva*, during which the mourners, as has already been indicated, are not permitted to cook anything for their own use, and are required to avoid all forms of amusement and recreation, not even listening to music. On hearing of the falsely reported death of Joseph, Jacob mourned for him many days (Gn 37^{34}), and he himself in turn was mourned by the Egyptians threescore and ten days (Gn 50^{3}), including, however, forty days of his embalming. Herodotus (ii. 86, 88) tells us that the Egyptians had seventy-two days of mourning for the dead. Joseph's own mourning for his father is said to have lasted seven days (Gn 50^{10}). The children of Israel wept for Moses in the plains of Moab, as they had wept for Aaron when he died upon Mt. Hor (Nu 20^{29}, Dt 34^{8}). Of Judith it is said (Jth 16^{24}) that the house of Israel mourned for her seven days. 'Seven days,' says the Son of Sirach (Sir 22^{12}), 'are the days of mourning for the dead; but for a fool and an ungodly man, all the days of his life.' The prescribed period of mourning for a father and mother expires on the eve of the first anniversary of the death. The anniversary itself is invariably observed with strict solemnity by the Jews. It is said that hundreds of Israelites who profess none of the orthodox beliefs of Judaism, and recognize none of its ceremonial laws as binding upon them, yet keep this anniversary, attending the synagogue for the only time in the year, and distributing money among their poor and afflicted co-religionists. The scriptural instance of commemorating the dead on the anniversary of their death is that of the daughters of Israel who went yearly to lament the daughter of Jephthah the Gileadite, and kept up the celebration four days (Jg 11^{40}).

LITERATURE.—Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* i. p. 193 ff.; Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* p. 163 ff.; art. 'Trauer bei den Hebräern' in Herzog, *RE*², and 'Mourning' in Kitto, *Cycl.*; Thomson, *Land and Book* (S. Pal. and Jerus. See 'Funerals and Mourning' under 'Manners and Customs' in Index); Mackie, *Bible Manners and Customs*; Peritz, 'Woman in the Ancient Hebrew Cult' (reprinted from *JBL*, 1898, Part ii.); continuation of art. in *JQR* on 'Death and Burial Customs among the Jews,' by A. P. Bender. Cf. also W. R. Smith, *RS*² (see 'Mourning' in Index); Schwally, *Leben nach dem Tode*; Well., *Reste*², 177 ff.; Driver on Am $5^{2.16}$ and p. 232 ff.; and Bertholet, *Isr. Vorstell. v. Zustand nach dem Tode.* T. NICOL.

MOUSE (עַכְבָּר *'akbār*, *μῦς*, *mus*).—'The mice that mar the land,' of which the Philistines made golden images (1 S $6^{4.5}$), were probably the short-tailed field mice, or 'voles,' *Arvicola arvalis*, Desm., which are universal in Palestine. The kind of mouse that was eaten (Is 66^{17}) may be the hamster, *Cricetus phœus*, Pall., which is edible. The mouse forbidden as food (Lv 11^{29}) is probably a generic or family name. See, further, Dillm. on Lv 11^{29} and W. R. Smith, *RS*¹ 275. Tristram found 25 species of rats and mice, six of sand rats, three of jerboas, and four of dormice, in Pal. and Syria. Immense numbers of the warrens of these rodents are found even in the deserts. Their food is provided for them by the vast number of bulbs and corms of crocus, iris, squill, asphodel, cyclamen, erodium, etc.

On the question whether the mouse was anciently used as a symbol of pestilence, see J. Meinhold, *Die Jesajaerzählungen*, p. 34 ff. G. E. POST.

MOUTH (פֶּה the commonest term, also חֵךְ 'palate,' 'roof of mouth'; Aram. פֻּם Dn 4^{31}+5 t. in Dn; LXX and NT *στόμα*).—פֶּה *pch*, the ordinary Heb. word for 'mouth,' means also 'language,' 'corner,' 'edge,' 'skirt,' and any opening such as of a well Gn 29^{2}, sack Gn 42^{27}, the earth Nu 16^{30}, a cave Jos 10^{22}, grave Ps 141^{7}. חֵךְ *ḥēk*, 'palate,' is used where the reference is to the sense of taste or to the interior of the mouth, as when the tongue cleaves to the roof of the mouth, Job 12^{11} 20^{13}, Ps 137^{6}, Ca 7^{9}, but in Hos 8^{1} this is the word that is used in connexion with the blowing of the trumpet.

The way in which the Bible constantly uses the organ of speech in the sense of 'language' is a conspicuous instance of its employment of the concrete for the abstract. Thus enforced silence is the laying of the hand upon the mouth, Jg 18^{19}, Job 29^{9} 40^{4}, Mic 7^{16}, Tit 1^{11} (see LIP). So freedom of speech is the enlarged mouth, 1 S 2^{1}, Ps 35^{21}, Is 57^{4}, Eph 6^{19}. Similarly, to receive a message or be instructed as to what to say is to have words put into the mouth, 2 S 14^{3}, Jer 1^{9}. Humiliation is the mouth laid in the dust, La 3^{39}.

In this figurative usage the final form is personification where the mouth is regarded as an independent agent, with feelings, purposes, and actions of its own. Thus it has free-will offerings to give Ps 119^{108}, God is asked to set a watch before it Ps 141^{3}, it selects its food Pr 15^{14}, uses a rod Pr 14^{3}, and has a sword Rev 19^{15}. Such a familiar use of personification with regard to the lips, mouth, and voice would have an influence on the Jewish mind in the discussion of such subjects as 'The angel of the Lord' and 'The voice of the Lord' (*bath-ḳôl*), and would prepare the mind to apprehend the meaning of *the word made flesh.* See art. LOGOS. G. M. MACKIE.

MOWING.—See AGRICULTURE.

MOZA (מוֹצָא).—1. Son of Caleb by his concubine Ephah, 1 Ch 2^{46} (B Ἰωσάν, A Ἰωσά). 2. A descendant of Saul, 1 Ch $8^{36.37}$ (Μαισά) $9^{42.43}$ (B Μασσά, A Μασά, Luc. Μωσά).

MOZAH (הַמֹּצָה with art.; B Ἀμωκή, A Ἀμωσά).—A town of Benjamin, mentioned next to Chephirah, Jos 18^{26}. A possible site is the ruin *Beit Mizzeh*, close to *Kulonieh* (*i.e. Colonia*), west of Jerusalem. The Heb. *Tsade* becomes the Arabic *Zain* in some cases. The modern name means 'house of hard stone.' There is a good spring at this site. (See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvii.; Buhl, *GAP* 167; Guérin, *Judée*, i. 262 f.). C. R. CONDER.

MUCH is used in AV with more freedom than we now permit. It is quite common, for example, with collective nouns. These are nearly always either 'cattle,' as Ex 12^{38} 'And a mixed multitude went up also with them; and flocks, and herds, even very much cattle'; or 'people,' as Nu 20^{20} 'Edom came out against him with much people.' But we also find 'much goods,' Lk 12^{19}, and 'much alms,' Ac 10^{2}. Cf. Rhemish NT, Lk 10^{2} 'The harvest truely is much, but the workemen few.'

Again, 'much' is an adv. and qualifies an adj. in Philem ^{8} 'Though I might be much bold in Christ' (πολλὴν ἐν Χριστῷ παρρησίαν ἔχων), RV 'Though I have all boldness in Christ.' Cf. Pref. to Pr. Bk. 'Here you have an order for prayer . . . much agreeable to the mind and purpose of the Fathers.' So Cranmer in Pref. to Great Bible, 'Concernyng two sundry sortes of people it seemeth much necessarie that some thyng be sayde in the entrie of thys booke by way of a Preface or Prologue'; and Udall's *Erasmus' Paraphrase*, fol. xxxiv. 'This disease [leprosy] emong the Jewes was counted muche abhominable, and is thought to be suche, that no Physician can heale it.'

In the Pref. to AV 'much' occurs in the sense of 'nearly,' 'Much about that time.' The word is often so used by Shaks., as *Meas. for Meas.* III. ii. 242—'Much upon this riddle runs the wisdom of the world,' and IV. i. 17—'Much upon this time have I promised here to meet.' J. HASTINGS.

MUFFLERS.—This term occurs only once in the Bible, as trⁿ in Is 3^{19} (EV) of רְעָלוֹת *rĕ'ālôth*, in the midst of a list of articles of female attire and adornment. The LXX, which, however, does not apparently include all the items enumerated in the Heb. text, perhaps tr. by τὸν κόσμον τοῦ προσώπου αὐτῶν; Vulg. has *mitras*. It is generally agreed that some kind of veil is intended (so Siegfried-Stade, Dillm., Del., Guthe [in Kautzsch's *AT*, 'Kopfschleier']). Delitzsch derives רְעָלוֹת from a root [רָעַל], Aram. רְעַל 'to be loose *or* flaccid,' 'to hang down *or* hang over loosely,' and pronounces the veil spoken of to be more costly and of better quality than the ordinary one worn by maidens, which is called צָעִיף. Dillmann compares the Arab. *ra'l* (see also Mishna, *Zabim*, vi. 6, where רעלה is applied to the veils worn by Arab women), and describes the veil in question as consisting of two pieces, one starting above the eyes and thrown back over the head and neck, the other beginning below the eyes and falling down over the breast. See, also, art. DRESS in vol. i. p. 627^{b}.

J. A. SELBIE.

MULBERRY TREES (בְּכָאִים *bĕkā'îm*, *κλαυθμών*, *ἄπιοι*, *pyri*).—1. The Heb. word is the name of a tree (2 S $5^{23.\,24}$ = 1 Ch $14^{14.\,15}$), to the identity of which we have no clue. From a confusion with the root בָּכָה *bākāh*, 'to weep,' עֵמֶק הַבָּכָא 'the valley of Baca' (Ps 84^{6}) has been often tr^{d} 'the valley of weeping.' Neither of the LXX renderings supports the claim of the *mulberry*, *κλαυθμών* signifying 'a place of mourning,' and *ἄπιοι* 'pear trees.' The tree is supposed by different writers to have been the balsam tree (so *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*), the poplar (Arab. *shajaret el-boḳ*, 'the bed-bug tree'), and the pear. Abu el-Fuḍli mentions a tree, with an Arab. name similar to *bĕkā'îm*, which has been identified with *Amyris* or *Balsamodendron*. But this tree grows only in tropical countries, and could never have flourished in the Plain of Rephaim. There is no support to the tr^{n} 'mulberry' or 'poplar.' We must therefore be content to remain uncertain as to the identity of *bĕkā'îm*, and it would perhaps be best to transliterate it. See, further, BACA (VALLEY OF).

2. Although it is thus probable that the mulberry is not mentioned in the canonical books of OT, the blood (juice) of the fruit of this tree (*μόρον*) is said to have been mingled with that of the grape (1 Mac 6^{34}), and shown to the elephants of Antiochus Eupator, to enrage them and excite them to war against the Jews.

3. The *sycamine* (Lk 17^{6}) is the 'black mulberry' (see SYCAMINE).

G. E. POST.

MULE.—Three Heb. words are tr^{d} 'mule' in AV. **1.** רֶכֶשׁ *rekesh*. This word (which is really a rare synonym of סוּס) is tr^{d} only twice in AV 'mules' (Est $8^{10.\,14}$, RV 'swift steeds'), once 'swift beast' (Mic 1^{13}, RV 'swift steed'), and once 'dromedaries' (1 K 4^{28}, m. 'mules' or 'swift beasts,' RV 'swift steeds'). See DROMEDARY.

2. יֵמִם *yēmîm*. This word occurs only once (Gn 36^{24}), and refers to something which Anah (wh. see) found when feeding his father's asses in the desert of Edom. Mules would not have been a likely find in such a place. The LXX tr. it by *τὸν Ἰαμείν*, a proper name, showing that the signification was not understood. The Vulg. tr. it *aquæ calidæ* = RV 'hot springs.' Such springs exist at Callirrhoë and elsewhere around the Dead Sea. Callirrhoë is called by the Arabs *Ḥamâmîm Suleimân* = 'the hot springs of Solomon.' The springs below *Umm-Ḳeis* (Gadara) are known as *Arḍ el-Ḥamma* = 'land of hot springs.' *Yēmîm* may be a dialectic modification of this local term. The Arabs attach great medicinal value to such hot springs, and such a discovery would be considered well worthy of record.

3. פֶּרֶד *peredh*, *ὁ ἡμίονος*, *mulus*. This is the common word for 'mule' in both AV and RV. It occurs once in the feminine פִּרְדָּה *pirdâh*, *ἡ ἡμίονος*, *mula* (1 K $1^{33.\,38.\,44}$). Mules were forbidden (but see below) in the Levitical law (Lv 19^{19}); but this, like many minor provisions of the law, was not in force in the era of the kings. David seems to have been the first to ride one, as also to introduce the horse (2 S 8^{4}), contrary to the previous practice of the people, and the sentiment reflected in the prohibition of Dt 17^{16} (where see Driver's note). Mules became common during David's reign, and were ridden by his sons (2 S 13^{29}). Absalom rode a mule in war (2 S 18^{9}). Solomon rode one when he was proclaimed king (1 K 1^{33}). He received tribute in mules (1 K 10^{25}). The subsequent monarchs kept them (18^{5}). The Gentiles, riding on mules, are to honour Israel (Is 66^{20}). The Phœnicians imported them from Togarmah = Armenia (Ezk 27^{14}). Mules are mentioned in Jth 15^{11}. They are still used as riding animals by high functionaries. The Governor-General of the province of Beirût often goes to the seraglio on his spirited and sure-footed mule. The late Governor-General of Lebanon, Rustem Pasha, had a very fine riding mule, which he much preferred to a horse. Mules were also used as beasts of burden (1 Ch 12^{40}, 2 K 5^{17}). A good pack-mule brings a much higher price than a pack-horse. He is longer-lived, much surer of foot, and will carry a heavier burden. In the later days of the Heb. State, the law against mules (which may have been interpreted as forbidding the *breeding* but not the *use*; see Dillm. on Lv 19^{19}) seems to have been quite disregarded, as so strict a legalist as Ezra allowed his returning people to bring 245 of them from Babylon (Ezr 2^{66}; see Ryle's note). They are now universally used in Bible lands.

G. E. POST.

MUNITION is used in AV in the orig. sense of the Lat. *munitio* (from *munio*, to fortify), a fortified place of defence, a stronghold or entrenchment. The places are Is 29^{7} 'all that fight against her and her munition' (מְצֹדָתָהּ, RV 'her stronghold,' which is Coverdale's word); 33^{16} 'his place of defence shall be the munitions of rocks' (so RV, Heb. מְצָדוֹת סְלָעִים); Nah 2^{1} 'keep the munition' (so RV, Heb. נָצוֹר מְצֻרָה, Amer. RV 'fortress'); 1 Mac 14^{10} 'He provided victuals for the cities and set in them all manner of munition' (*ἔταξεν αὐτὰς ἐν σκεύεσιν ὀχυρώσεως*; RV 'furnished them with all manner of munition,' RVm '*Gr.* implements of munition'); also marg. of Dn $11^{15.\,38.\,39}$. Cf. South, viii. ser. 5, 'No defence or munition can keep out a judgment, when commissioned by God to enter.' This meaning of the word is retained in AV from the Geneva Version; in 1611 the commoner meaning was that of the Fr. *munition*, *i.e.* military stores, provision for an army or fortress. Thus Shaks., *K. John*, v. ii. 98—

> 'What penny hath Rome borne,
> What men provided, what munition sent,
> To underprop this action?'

J. HASTINGS.

MUPPIM (מֻפִּים).—A son of Benjamin, Gn 46^{21} (*Μαμφείν*), called in 1 Ch $7^{12.\,15}$ 26^{16} **Shuppim** (שֻׁפִּים), in Nu 26^{39} **Shephupham**, and in 1 Ch 8^{5} **Shephuphan**. The proper form of the name can hardly be determined. See Ball and Kittel (on Gn and Ch in *SBOT*) and Dillm. on Nu 26^{39}. See, further, separate articles on the above variant forms.

MURDER.—See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS, vol. i. p. 522^{a}.

MURRAIN.—See PLAGUES.

MUSHI (מוּשִׁי, in 1 Ch 6^{4} מֻשִׁי).—A son of Merari, Ex 6^{19} (*Ὀμουσεί*), Nu 3^{20}, 1 Ch 6^{19} [Heb. ^{4}] (B *Ὀμουσεί*, A *Ὀμουσί*), 6^{47} [Heb. ^{32}] (B *Μοσεί*, A *Ὀμουσί*), 23^{21} (B *Ὀμουσεί*, A *Μουσί*) ^{23} (B *Μουσεί*, A *Μουσί*) 24^{26} (B *Ὀμουσεί*, A *Μουσί*) ^{30} (B *Μοουσεί*, A *Μουσί*). The patronymic **Mushites** (הַמּוּשִׁי) occurs in Nu 3^{33} 26^{58} (B *ὁ Μουσεί*, A *ὁ Ὀμουσί*).

MUSIC.—

i. Occasions when used.
ii. Nature of Hebrew music.
iii. Musical instruments.
    1. Stringed: (*a*) the *kinnōr*; (*b*) the *nebel*;—the terms *gittith*, *'ălāmōth*, *nĕgînōth*; (*c*) the stringed instruments named in Dn.
    2. Wind: (*a*) the *ḥālîl* or flute;—the terms *neḳeb* and *nĕḥîlōth*; (*b*) the *'ugab*; (*c*) the *mashrōḳithā*; (*d*) the *ṣymphōnia*; (*e*) the *shōphār* or *ḳeren*, the horn; (*f*) the *ḥăṣōṣĕrāh* or trumpet.

3. Percussion: (*a*) the *tōph* or tabret; (*b*) the *mĕẓiltaim* or *ẓelẓĕlîm*, cymbals; (*c*) the *mĕnaʻanʻîm*; (*d*) the *shālîshîm*.

Literature.

i. Occasions when used.—The most cursory glance at the books of the OT shows the devotion of the Hebrews to the art of music. It is unlikely that it was so predominantly a sacred art as would at first sight appear from the Bible. The sacred writers look at everything more or less from a religious point of view; but we have quite sufficient evidence that music was loved by all classes of the people, and was practised in the home and in the fields. The favourite instruments had been invented long before the institution of the national religion and its ceremonies (Gn 4[21]); Laban the Syrian was aggrieved that Jacob had stolen away without the usual song of leave-taking (Gn 31[27]); and Job (21[12]) refers to the performance of music as a common feature in an unsophisticated prosperous life (cf. Nu 21[17]). In the headings of some of the psalms we have probably traces of popular secular songs: thus Ps 45 is to be sung to the tune of 'The Lilies,' 60 to that of the 'Lily of the Testimony,' etc. We have references also to vintage songs (Is 65[8]; cf. title of Ps 57. 58. 59. 75), which would not always be as sacred as Isaiah's (Is 5), and to music performed at feasts (Am 6[5]), and at processions (1 S 18[6]). Wherever there was a dance, or wherever two or three joined together in some common occupation, the movement would suggest rhythm, and rhythm melody. Dancing and music emerged spontaneously, and were practised together under all sorts of conditions. The *ḳînāh* or wailing song was also familiar to the Hebrews. See Lamentations (Book of).

But the consecration of music to the service of religion led to its being developed and cultivated with greater zeal and earnestness. Even if we cannot accept all the details in the statements of the historical books, at least as applying to the dates to which they are referred, they are not altogether valueless. We may allow for exaggerations in respect to figures, and we must transfer descriptions of the worship in the first temple to that of the second, but the tradition reveals the fact that sacred music was raised by the Israelites to the dignity of an art, and was treated accordingly.

It is in Chronicles that we have the fullest account of the musical arrangements in the temple service. According to 1 Ch 15[16-24], David organized the Levitical chorus and orchestra. Heman, Asaph, and Ethan (? Jeduthun) were appointed chief conductors (under the king himself), giving the beat with their cymbals; seven Levites played on *nebels* על עלמות, *i.e.* of a high pitch (?; see p. 460[b]), while six accompanied on *kinnōrs*, whose description is quite uncertain (עַל־הַשְּׁמִינִית, lit. 'on the eighth'). The whole of the choristers and players were divided into 24 classes, and are said to have been 4000 in number, with 288 leaders. Even the name of the director of the choral rehearsals is given. Although such minute details must be unhistorical, one feature is probably correct for all periods of the history, *i.e.* the large proportion of experts (מְבִינִים) compared with pupils (תַּלְמִידִים). The whole of these forces were employed to add extraordinary impressiveness to the ceremonies at the consecration of Solomon's Temple (2 Ch 5[12]).

After idolatrous kings had occupied the throne, Hezekiah and Josiah made it an important part of their task to restore 'the instruments and songs of David.' Among the exiles who returned from Babylon, and took part in consecrating the foundations of the second temple and the walls of Jerus., were the descendants of the great Levitical choristers (Neh 12[27]), and in vv.[45-47] we are informed that from that time divine service was regularly performed as instituted by David, the people contributing the necessary support for the singers.

ii. Nature of Hebrew Music.—We know nothing whatever of the nature of the music performed by these singers and players. What ancient instruments have been preserved have either been too frail to admit of being handled, or have refused to emit any sound. Besides, even if we could reproduce the ancient harps and flutes, etc., we should require to know the method of blowing or of tuning them. Nor can we learn anything from the music still performed in the synagogues. It is possible that the trumpet-calls now in use originated at an early date, but that does not take us far. The hymn-tunes are certainly comparatively modern, and their composition shows traces of the country and period in which they have originated. Of a musical notation there is no trace. Much ingenuity has been lavished on the attempt to interpret the accents from a musical point of view. It has been suggested that they were signs of musical phrases, or that they were even a kind of figured bass; but these are only far-fetched guesses. Not only were they of late origin, but their purpose was wholly different. They are guides to the proper recitation or cantillation of the text. Even to this extent they do not furnish any reliable information as to ancient usage: meant to preserve tradition, they are themselves subject to tradition, and are interpreted differently in different synagogues.

Under the circumstances, it is possible to form only a very general and vague idea of the character of Hebrew music. It was evidently of a strident and noisy character. The melody was apparently often reduplicated in octaves. Harmony in our sense of the term was almost certainly unknown, though it does not follow that the accompaniments were wholly unisonous. It is hardly possible to conceive of players on harps and lyres not adding something of the nature of a chord. They could not fail to discover that certain notes produced a pleasing effect when played together or in arpeggios. The psalms show by their construction that they were intended to be sung antiphonally,—in some cases (*e.g.* Ps 13. 20. 38 etc.) by two choirs, in others by a choir and the congregation, the part taken by the latter being limited to the singing of a simple constantly recurring phrase or refrain (*e.g.* Ps 136. 118[1-4]). The leaders would possess the tradition of the music, and would impart it to the general body of the chorus.

The psalms must have been chanted, but it is most unlikely that the chants bore any resemblance to what we understand by the term. Our irrational and exceedingly artificial method of rushing over any number of syllables on a fixed note would hardly commend itself to a people to whom their sacred songs formed a living expression of their deepest feelings. The elaborate provision made for instructing the chorus suggests the existence of a system, which, along with a certain uniformity, admitted of some flexibility in its application. We can quite well imagine a chant which would allow of a greater number of notes being used in the longer verses, and which would vary slightly in character with the changing sentiment of the text. In point of fact, however, this is wholly conjectural, and the vocal method of the Hebrews is a lost and unknown art.

iii. Musical Instruments.—We know a little more about the instruments employed by the Hebrews. It is true that the OT, while it contains numerous references to them, gives us no definite information as to their form or construction, and that this defect is not supplied by the existence on Jewish ground of any sculptures or pictures, such as have been found in Egypt or Assyria. It is also true that the inferences drawn from etymology, the translation of Heb. names in the Greek versions, the statements of the Church Fathers, and the records of ancient nations, fall very far short of affording us definite and precise information, and have given rise to an endless diversity of opinion on almost every detail. Yet in spite of this we can form a general idea of the nature of a Jewish orchestra, and of the construction of the instruments of which it was composed. We consider them under the usual division into String, Wind, and Percussion Instruments.

1. *Stringed Instruments.*—Of these the *kinnōr* and the *nebel* (RV 'harp' and 'psaltery') are the most important, and may be described as the favourite national instruments. The *kinnōr* is indicated as having been the older, and is said to have been invented by Jubal, the second son of Lamech (Gn 4[21]). It is the only stringed instrument mentioned in the Hexateuch. The *nebel* first occurs in 1 S 10[5], where it is found among the instruments played by the prophets who met Saul.

There is now a general consensus of opinion that these were species of the lute or lyre and the harp, but there is no agreement as to which was which, and many scholars have given up the attempt to distinguish between them, contenting themselves with describing the various instruments to which the names may have been applied. In any case, even if we attempt to reach greater precision, we must admit that we come very far short of certainty, and that a considerable proportion of our conclusions is more or less conjectural.

It is clear, however, that the *kinnōr* and the *nebel* were not identical, and that the names were not used indifferently for the same instrument. They seem to be confused in one or two places in the LXX (cf. Ps 149[3]); but in the great majority of instances כִּנּוֹר is rendered by *κιθάρα* or *κινύρα*, and נֶבֶל by *ψαλτήριον*, *νάβλη*, or *νάβλον*. The few cases in which they are identified can be satisfactorily accounted for by supposing that the translators were not musical experts, or felt that in the particular passage the difference was trivial. But the great mass of evidence shows that they were different, and were known to be different.

Before trying to distinguish them, however, we may note certain common features. They were mainly, if not exclusively, used to accompany vocal music. They were *par excellence* the כְּלֵי שִׁיר (Am 6[5]). They are said to have been the sole accompanying instruments in the temple service, though this is doubtful. Their use was associated principally with joyful and exultant strains (the captives hung up their *kinnōrs* in their time of dejection, Ps 137[2]), but it is perhaps straining poetical language unduly to confine it exclusively to those.

In 2 Ch 9[11] it is said that the *nebel* and *kinnōr* under Solomon were constructed of almug or algum, a wood which it is impossible to identify with any certainty, but which was at all events very valuable and much sought after (see art. ALGUM TREES, and Cheyne and Hommel in *Expos. Times*, viii. 470, 525). According to Josephus (*Ant.* VIII. iii. 8), the framework was fitted with electrum, *i.e.* either a mixed metal or amber, which in any case could have served only for decorating the body of the instrument. The strings (מִנִּים) were originally made of twisted grass or plant-fibres, then of gut, and in later times of silk and metal.

(*a*) The *kinnōr* (כִּנּוֹר, a mimetic word derived from the rustling sound of the strings) has been identified with a number of instruments: the *tanbur* or *tinbur*, a kind of guitar; the lute (*al-'ood*), which is closely allied to the guitar; the *trigon*, a small, easily portable triangular harp; a large harp provided with 47 strings; and the lyre. We can at once delete several of these if we remember the hints given in the OT. The *kinnōr* was portable; it was played during marches and processions, and was hung upon the willows by the Babylonian captives. It was therefore not a harp of the larger sort. As against the view that it was a *trigon*, it is urged that the latter could not have been the favourite instrument of a people so musically gifted as the Jews. It was small, and from its construction weak in tone, and would have contrasted unfavourably with the larger and fuller-toned harps and citterns which intercourse with other nations had rendered familiar. The guitar or lute, again, is open to several objections. It is not known to have been current among Semitic nations in early times. We have a representation of one lute-shaped instrument in Nineveh; it has a small oval body and a very long neck, exactly like those depicted in Egypt; but this one example, most probably derived from Egypt, does not furnish adequate support for the theory that the lute was familiar to the Semitic peoples, and may therefore have formed the model of the *kinnōr*. Besides, it is hardly conceivable that such a slim long-necked instrument could have been easily portable, and a favourite for processional music.

But the strongest evidence we have for the nature of the *kinnōr* is to be found in the LXX. The translators, except in a very few cases, render כִּנּוֹר by *κιθάρα*, or by *κινύρα*, which is explained by Greek writers as equivalent to *κιθάρα*. Unless we suppose that the LXX wrote in utter ignorance of the shape of the *kinnōr*, this fact is decisive against either the lute or the harp. It would have been impossible for even the most careless or inexpert writer to confound the lute with its long neck and finger-board, or the harp, with the *kithara* or the lyre. It is probable that the *kinnōr* presented differences from the *kithara*, but it is unnatural to suppose that these should have been so great as to make the rendering of the LXX wholly inappropriate.

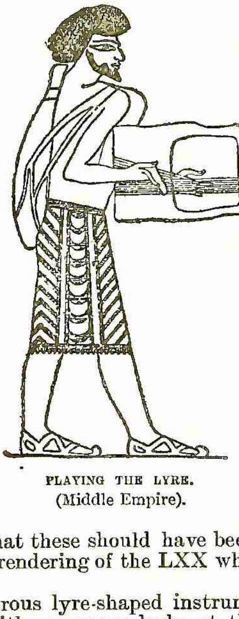

PLAYING THE LYRE.
(Middle Empire).

Now numerous lyre-shaped instruments, *i.e.* instruments with resonance-body at the base, side arms of wood, and cross-bar at the top from which the strings descend to the sound-box, or string-holder resting on it, are found on the monuments.

A very ancient one is depicted in an Egyptian tomb, and dates from the 12th Dynasty. It represents a Semitic immigrant with an eight-stringed *kithara*, which he holds in a horizontal position under his right (?) arm; he plucks the strings with the fingers of the left hand, while he uses a plectrum with the right. The body of the instrument is really a quadrangular-shaped board with the upper half cut out. There is also a picture of a player on the *kithara*, accompanying two harpists, in a grave at Thebes belonging to the period between the 12th and 18th Dynasties. Here, again, we have the ruder form characteristic of the Semitic *kithara*. Later the *kithara* becomes quite common, and is more artistically constructed. It generally has a square, sometimes an urn-shaped sound-box, from which rise arms of various design and thickness, bound together by a wooden cross-bar. These arms are often of different lengths, and the cross-bar therefore slopes downwards, thus serving to give the strings their proper pitch. The strings radiate from the sound-box in the form of a fan, and vary in number from 3 to 12.

The *kithara* was, however, not properly an Egyptian but an Asiatic instrument. We have already seen that the oldest known to be depicted in Egypt was played by a Semitic immigrant. The very earliest representation of a stringed instrument is that discovered at Telloh in Southern Babylonia. It is of a large size, but the frame shows a sound-body beneath, on which are set the two upright posts and the cross-bar of the lyre. The number of the strings is great enough to suggest that a harp was meant, but the model, which is exceedingly rude, is that of the *kithara*. Many specimens have been also found at Khorsabad, Kouyunjik, and Nimrud, which strongly resemble those of the immigrant Semites in Egypt. They are, however, more fully developed and have a larger sound-box at the base. They differ in form and in number of strings at the same period. A twelve-stringed *kithara*, shown on a bas-relief at Khorsabad, is remarkable for its rectangular form and the exceptional fulness of its sound-box.

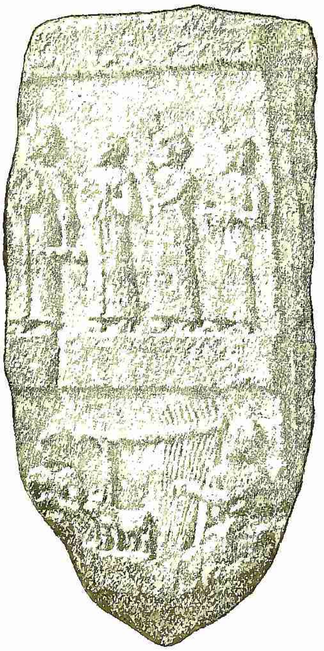

HARPER AND CHOIR.
(c. B.C. 3000).

The evidence of Jewish coins also points to the similarity of the *kinnōr* to the *kithara* or lyre. The representations of instruments found on them are unmistakable. The strings are fixed in a strong oval body resting on a kettle-shaped or vase-like sounding-box; the frame is simple and nearly square. The projecting arms are curved and joined by a cross-bar to which the strings, which vary in number from 3 to 6, are fixed. The figures thus resemble the Greek lyre or *kithara*. It is not likely, however, that they simply depict foreign importations, and that they cannot therefore be relied upon as evidence for the ancient *kinnōr*. Oriental conservatism was at its strongest in matters affecting the cultus of the Israelites, and though the *kinnōr* may have been modified in certain details, it is unlikely to have been wholly supplanted. We may assume with great probability that these coins represent Jewish instruments, and in that case the biblical *kinnōr*.

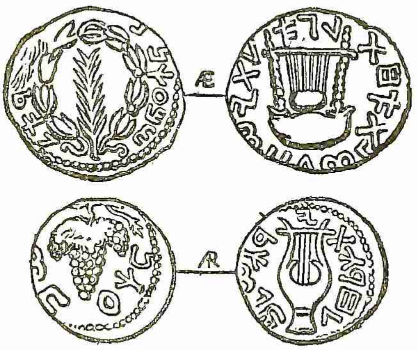

JEWISH LYRES.

We may then sum up, following Weiss. The ancient versions render *kinnōr* by *kithara*: the *kithara* was of Asiatic origin, was introduced by Semites into Egypt, and was in common use in Western Asia; and the representations on Jewish coins of the 2nd cent. before Christ clearly resemble the Greek *kithara*. The view is therefore very credible, that we should regard the ancient Heb. *kinnōr* as a simple and primitive form of the *kithara*.

(*b*) The *nebel*. If we suppose the *kinnōr* to have been a *lyre*, then it almost necessarily follows that the *nebel* was a *harp*. We can hardly imagine this instrument, so familiar to all early nations, to have been absent from the Jewish orchestra. Many other suggestions have been made, mostly based on the etymological meaning of the word (נֵבֶל 'a skin *or* bottle'). It has been identified with the bagpipe, with some sort of wind instrument, and with the lute, guitar, or mandoline; but none of these suppositions is satisfactory. The lute was held to be supported by reference to the Egyptian *nfr*, which denotes a lute with two or three strings and a very long neck; but the identification of *nbl* with *nfr* is now abandoned, and the lute, as has been said, is not known to have been a popular Semitic instrument. A somewhat more likely supposition is that the *nebel* was a kind of dulcimer. This instrument occurs in a monument of the time of Assurbanipal (B.C. 668–626), on which is depicted an Assyrian orchestra of 11 performers. Of these, 7 are harpists, 2 flautists, one a drummer, and one a dulcimer player. This dulcimer is said by some to have been the *nebel*, the chief reason being that its Arabic name, *santir*, is a corruption of the Greek *psalterion*, which in turn is the equivalent of the Heb. *nablion* or *nebel*. But *psalterion* was a general name for several kinds of instruments, and was especially applied to every stringed instrument which was played upon with the fingers of both hands, instead of by one hand and a plectrum held in the other. Therefore the Greek name for a harp was also *psalterion*. The Greek translation does not, therefore, decide in favour of the dulcimer, and the very fact that *psalterion* was a generic term would make it particularly appropriate as a designation of the harp, which varied so much in size and shape. That a corruption or derivative should be applied to a stringed instrument of another kind is quite intelligible. The description of the *nabla* by Ovid (*Ars. Am.* iii. 327), the statement by Josephus (*Ant.* VII. xii. 3) that the *nebel* had 12 strings and was played without plectrum, and, as we shall see, the distinction drawn by the early Fathers between instruments with a sound-body below and those having a resonance-board above the strings, all point to the harp.

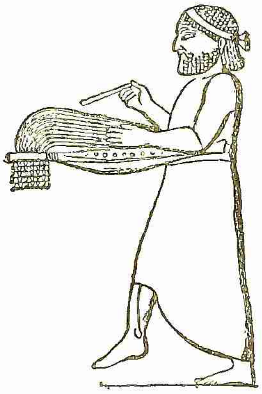

ASSYRIAN DULCIMER.
(*c.* B.C. 640).

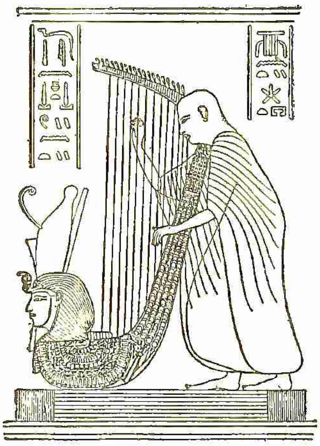

PRIEST PLAYING HARP.
(Tomb of Ramses III.).

The Egyptian monuments present us with a great variety of harps. The earliest form shown is very primitive; it is in the shape of an archer's bow, possesses no sound-box, and has but a limited number of strings. As early as the 5th Dynasty, however, improvements began to be effected; the upper part, to which the strings were affixed with pegs, was broadened and developed into a sound-body, and the frame began to be more or less elaborately ornamented. While playing, the musician knelt, and the frame rested on his shoulder. As time advanced, harps were still further developed. The lower part of the frame was converted into a sound-body, which was broadened at the base so that it could rest on the ground unsupported by the player. Some harps were placed on a stool, or raised upon a stand or limb attached to the lower part. The players of these large instruments stood during the performance. While we cannot deny the possibility or even the probability of the Hebrews having been familiar with such harps, they were not the common or popular *nebels*, which were easily portable.

Now, smaller portable harps did exist in Egypt in a great variety of forms. One is bow-shaped with a transverse string-holder; a second has a quadrangular flat-shaped sound-box pierced with holes, while the strings are stretched from a string-holder resting on the sounding-board to a post rising at right angles from one end of the latter; and a third, ornamented with a bird's head, is quite triangular, the upright post being at once string-holder and sound-box. Another instrument is very common in Upper Egypt. It resembles a mandoline, with the neck bending abruptly upwards from the sound-body; the strings, which are from three to five in number, are not attached to the body of the instrument itself, but to a string-holder attached to its centre. At the upper end of the neck are pins for stretching and tuning the strings.

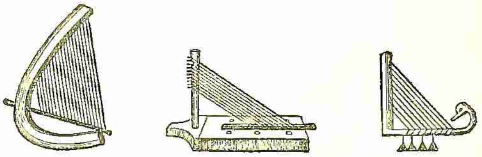

EGYPTIAN HARPS.

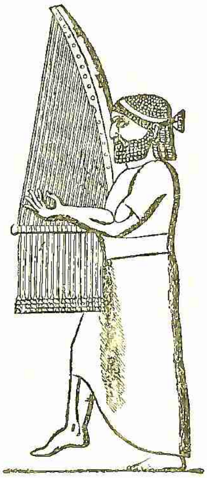

ASSYRIAN HARP.

We might have regarded one or other of these smaller harps as furnishing the model of the *nebel* but for one fact. They all have the sound-box at their base. But we have already come to the conclusion that the *kinnōr* had its resonance-body beneath; and if we are to follow the description given by the Fathers (Augustine on Ps 42, Jerome on Ps 149^3, Isidore *Etym.* III. xxii. 2), who distinguished between instruments with the sound-body beneath and those possessing it above, we must look for a harp that satisfies the latter condition. And this we find, again among a

Semitic people, in Assyria. On the bas-relief at Kouyunjik there are seven of these harps. They are portable, are triangular in shape, and are supported by a belt worn by the player. The resonance-frame slopes upwards and forwards from the player and is pierced by holes, and the strings descend from it to a bridge or string-holder beneath which they fall. The performer plays while marching, using both hands without plectrum. While, of course, certainty is out of the question, this Assyrian harp seems to satisfy the requisite conditions best, and is most likely to have been the biblical *nebel*.

It is highly probable that there were different species of *kinnōrs* and *nebels*, but whether these are designated in the OT or not is unknown. In one case this is almost certain. The נֵבֶל עָשׂוֹר of Ps 33^{2} and 144^{9}, or simply עָשׂוֹר Ps 92^{3}, was in all likelihood a ten-stringed harp.

The meaning of the word גִּתִּית (*Gittith*) in the headings of Ps 8. 81. 84 is wholly obscure. The LXX and Vulg. suggest the rendering 'Song of the vintage'; but it may be derived from Gath, and may refer to a mode, or singers, or instruments named after that town. Ewald understands it to be 'the March of the Gittite guard.'

The meaning 'Gittite instruments' is rendered not improbable if we translate עַל־עֲלָמוֹת (1 Ch 15^{20} and 46 times in Ps) with Wellhausen 'on Elamite instruments.' This term is, however, more generally taken to mean 'with women's voice' (lit. 'on *or* acc. to damsels'; RV 'set to' 'עַל as name of a tune, which is quite possible), *i.e.* soprano, and to refer to instruments of a higher pitch.

Nĕgînōth (נְגִינוֹת) has sometimes been taken to denote a particular kind of instrument, but it is a general term for string music. In Ps 68^{25} we have שָׁרִים contrasted with נֹגְנִים, *i.e.* the singers with the players.

(*c*) This division of the orchestra is supplemented by instruments which occur only in the Book of Daniel ($3^{5ff.}$). These are the *pṣanṭērîn* (פְּסַנְטֵרִין), the *ḳitharis* (קִיתָרֹס), and the *ṣabbekha* (סַבְּכָא). The *pṣantērîn* * is the Greek ψαλτήριον, and that is all we know definitely about it. It has been identified by some with the *magadis*, but this is itself only a general term for an instrument (most commonly, however, a lyre) which could be played in octaves; and with a dulcimer because of the retention of the word in the Arabic *santir*. But *pṣantērîn* may just as well have kept its original force, and have denoted a harp played with both hands. There is nothing to lead us to identify it with the dulcimer represented on Assyrian monuments. The *ḳitharis* † is the Greek κιθάρα.

The *ṣabbekha* ‡ is the Greek σαμβύκη. But the *sambuca* is itself a word of very varied import. Stainer (*Mus. of the Bible*, p. 39) concludes that it was a large and powerful harp of a rich quality of tone, perhaps similar to, if not identical with, the great Egyptian harp. Weiss (*Mus. Inst.* p. 67) goes to the opposite extreme, and holds that it was a small *trigon* characterized by a high shrill tone, and used to accompany female voices. Chappell (*Hist. of Mus.* p. 255) summarizes the various meanings given to the word in Greek writers: it was either a *trigon*, a *barbitos* or many-stringed lyre, a *lyrophœnix* or Phœnician lyre, a Greek lyre, a *magadis*, a pipe, a dulcimer, or a siege-ladder; in short, anything made of elder-wood. It was not, however, a 'sackbut,' *i.e.* a trombone.

2. *Wind Instruments.*—(*a*) Of these the one in most general use was the flute or *ḥālîl* (חָלִיל). It has been denied that it was ever used to accompany sacred song, but this is very doubtful. In 1 S 10^{5} and 1 K 1^{40} it is played in descending from and ascending to the High Place, and its tones accompanied the festal processions of pilgrims from the country (Is 30^{29}). In the second temple it was played before the altar on twelve days: the day of killing the first and that of killing the second Passover, the first day of unleavened bread, Pentecost, and the eight days of the Feast of Tabernacles (*Erachin* ii. 3, *Succah* v. 1). While the singers required to be Levites, other distinguished Israelites might perform on the instruments. The flute was also used at marriage feasts and funerals: in the time of Christ, even the poorest were expected to provide two flautists at a funeral.

Flute-like instruments date from the very earliest times. From the first, two kinds are met with—the long flute, played by blowing in one end and held straight before the player, and the oblique flute, played by blowing in a hole at the side. Both these kinds are depicted on the Egyptian monuments. Double flutes are also shown in the Egyptian and Assyrian monuments; they were probably preferred as giving the performer a greater range or compass. The material of which flutes were made was at first the reed, then wood of various kinds, and lastly bone and ivory.

Wood-winds were of two kinds: those with and those without reeds or vibrating tongues. The former are represented by the oboe and clarinet, the latter by the flute proper. From specimens found in Pompeii and elsewhere it is known that the Greeks were familiar with reed instruments, especially those provided with a single tongue, and therefore of the clarinet class. If we are to trust the evidence of ancient myths (cf. legend of Apollo and Marsyas), the Greeks owed this instrument to the Phrygians, who may have acquired the double flute from the Assyrians.

Whether the *ḥālîl* was a single or double flute, or a flue or reed pipe, we do not know. It is certain that the Hebrews had every opportunity of becoming acquainted with all these kinds, but we have no information on the subject. In any case, the number of notes was limited to those produced by stopping the holes with the fingers, as the keyed flute is entirely a modern invention.

It has been held by some that *neḳeb* (נֶקֶב Ezk 28^{13} AV and RV 'pipes') designates the double flute; but this is inconsistent with the context, and is altogether erroneous. A. B. Davidson renders the word 'grooves.'

Again, *nĕḥîlōth* (נְחִילוֹת) in the heading of Ps 5 is a term of very uncertain meaning.

(*b*) The *'ugab* (עֻגָב or עוּגָב) is a somewhat uncertain term. The LXX renders the word variously, κιθάρα (Gn 4^{21}), ψαλμός (Job 21^{12} 30^{31}), and ὄργανον (Ps 150^{4}). It is not a general term for a musical instrument (ὄργανον), as we can see from the context. Some writers think it to have been a *syrinx* or Pan's pipe, others a bagpipe. But we have really no evidence in support of either view. If עגב means *to blow in* (which, it must be confessed, is pure conjecture), then the noun would denote wind instruments in general, and this gives a good sense in all the above passages. Thus Jubal (Gn 4^{21}) is the inventor of string and wind instruments, and in Ps 150 *minnim* and *'ugab* represent the same divisions of the orchestra.

(*c*) *Mashrōḳîthā* (מַשְׁרוֹקִיתָא) is another of the instruments mentioned in Dn ($3^{5.7.15}$). The name is derived from a verb meaning *to hiss*, and is therefore applicable either to the oblique flute or Pan's pipe. Of course the hissing effect is more pronounced in playing the *syrinx*, and it is most probably the instrument meant.

(*d*) The *symphonia* (סוּמְפֹּנְיָה) is also mentioned in Dn ($3^{5.15}$) alone. The Greek συμφωνία, from which this word is derived, did not originally denote an instrument, but a concordant interval. Tradition applies it to the bagpipe. Originally the form of this instrument may have been developed from the double flute, one of the pipes being shorter and being used for the melody, while the longer furnished a droning bass accompaniment. We are told by Athenæus (Lib. x. p. 439) that Antiochus Epiphanes used to dance to the sound of the *symphonia.* To this day the Italians have a bagpipe called *zampugna* or *sampogna,* and a *chifonie* or *symphonie* was an instrument of the same class used in the Middle Ages. In Rome this instrument was introduced in the time of the Empire under the name of *tibia utricularis* or *chorus,* and soon became highly popular. Seneca (*Ep.* 76) is indignant at the applause bestowed on a bagpipe player.

---

* In Dn $3^{5.10.15}$ the word is spelt פְּסַנְתֵּרִין, in v.^{7} פְּסַנְטֵרִין.

† Dn $3^{5.7.10.15}$, *Kethîbh* קיתרס, *Ḳerê* קַתְרֹס (as in Targums).

‡ Baer reads שַׂבְּכָא.

(*e*) The *horn* (שׁוֹפָר *shōphār,* קֶרֶן *keren* ; AV *trumpet,* and so confused with *ḥăẓōẓĕrah* except where they occur together, when שופר is rendered *cornet* [see Driver, *Joel and Amos,* p. 146]) originally consisted of a ram's horn. It was afterwards sometimes made of metal, but the actual ram's horn was always retained for certain purposes. It had a loud piercing tone, was of limited compass, and was wholly unsuited to concerted music. It was used to summon the people to attention, and for making signals. The first mention of it in the OT is at the giving of the law (Ex 19). Its blasts proclaimed the year of Jubilee (Lv 25^{9}). The 'blowing' (תְּרוּעָה), commanded in Nu 29^{1}, was probably performed on the *shōphār,* as it is still employed at that festival. It was also blown at the feast of the New Year and on fast-days. In time of war the *shōphār* summoned and assembled the army (Jg 3^{27} and often), and the prophet foretold that it should announce the recall of the people from exile (Is 27^{13}).

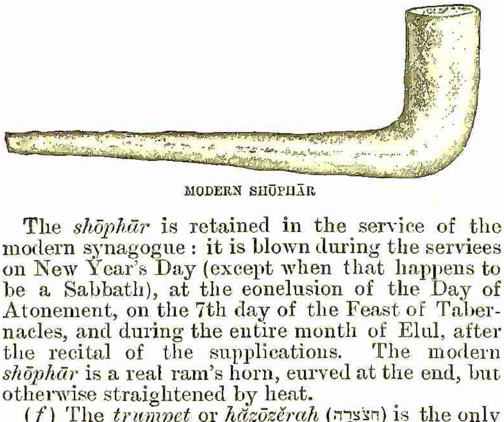

MODERN SHŌPHĀR

The *shōphār* is retained in the service of the modern synagogue : it is blown during the services on New Year's Day (except when that happens to be a Sabbath), at the conclusion of the Day of Atonement, on the 7th day of the Feast of Tabernacles, and during the entire month of Elul, after the recital of the supplications. The modern *shōphār* is a real ram's horn, curved at the end, but otherwise straightened by heat.

(*f*) The *trumpet* or *ḥăẓōẓĕrah* (חֲצֹצְרָה) is the only Heb. instrument of which we have an indubitably authentic representation. On the Arch of Titus two specimens are depicted along with the golden Table of Shewbread. Some little difficulty has been caused by their not tallying perfectly with the description given by Josephus (*Ant.* III. xii. 6). He says that the trumpet (*asósra*) was nearly a yard long, a little wider than a flute, with a slight expansion near the mouthpiece, to catch the breath, and ending in a bell, just as in the war-trumpets. This description corresponds with the form of trumpet shown on a coin of the time of the emperor Hadrian, which bears the inscription לחרות ירושלם 'Deliverance of Jerusalem.' The instruments on the Arch of Titus, of which we do not see the mouthpiece, are very long, being supported by rests, and gradually swell out into a long and not very wide bell. See, further, **TRUMPET.**

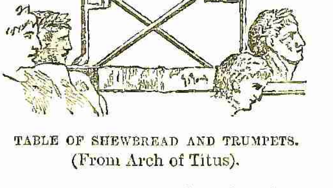

TABLE OF SHEWBREAD AND TRUMPETS.
(From Arch of Titus).

The Silver Trumpets are said to have been made by Moses of beaten silver (Nu 10^{2}); they were blown by priests; and they belonged to the sacred vessels. The nature and meaning of the signals is indicated in Nu 10^{2-10}.

3. *Percussion Instruments.*—(*a*) The *tōph* (תֹּף) or tabret is first mentioned in Gn 31^{27}. The LXX and other Greek versions render this word by *τύμπανον* ; in Arab. we have *duf,* in Spanish *aduffa.* This instrument was a small hand-drum. The *duf* of the Arabs is made of a circle of light wood, over the edge of which is stretched a piece of goat-skin. The wood is pierced with five openings, in which thin metal discs are set, in order to give greater effect to the drum-beat. The *duf* is about 10 in. in diameter, and 2 in. in depth. It is usually played by women to accompany their dances and processions at weddings and public festivals.

The hand-drum is frequently represented both in Egyptian and Assyrian monuments. Sometimes we have an approach to the modern use of the drum. In some cases it is attached to the player by a belt fastened round his waist, while his hands act as drumsticks. One form of this instrument is slightly bulged, like a little barrel. Perhaps the rudeness of the drawing alone accounts for its somewhat square appearance.

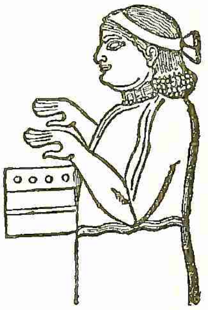

ASSYRIAN HAND-DRUM.

The modern Egyptian *tabls* are of two kinds. The one is like our common military drum, but not so deep; it is hung obliquely. The other is a kind of kettledrum, of tin-copper, with a parchment face; it is generally about 16 in. in diameter, and not more than 4 in depth in the centre, and is beaten with two slender sticks.

(*b*) *Cymbals* are mentioned in the OT under two names, *mĕẓiltaim* (מְצִלְתַּיִם) and *ẓelẓĕlim* (צֶלְצְלִים); the latter only occurs in 2 S 6^{5} and Ps 150. In Zec 14^{20} the RV translates מְצִלּוֹת הַסּוּס by 'the bells of the horses,' but there is no absolute necessity for departing here from the commoner rendering. The Egyptians at the present day decorate the breast-leather and head-stalls of their horses with coins and other ornaments, and a metal disc would be better suited for inscriptions than a bell. The word used elsewhere for a bell is פַּעֲמוֹן. In 1 Ch 15^{19} we are told that cymbals were made of brass.

Two varieties of cymbals have been found in

Egypt and Assyria: the one similar to a modern soup-plate, but having a somewhat larger rim; the other conical in form, with a handle at the peak. The flat cymbals have a hole through which a thong or cord was passed, and were played by clashing the instruments together sideways: of the second kind, the one was brought down on the top of the other. In Egypt, Greece, and Rome, as well as among the Hebrews, the cymbals were used by the conductor to mark the time.

It has been supposed that the צלצלי שמע of Ps 150⁵ (AV 'loud cymbals') were castanets, or metal discs fixed to two fingers of one hand; but this is by no means certain, though such castanets are still used.

(*c*) The *mĕnaʽanʽîm* (מְנַעַנְעִים) are mentioned in 2 S 6⁵, where the RV renders 'castanets,' and in marg. *sistra*. The latter suits the root-meaning, and is supported by the Vulg., where we have *systra*. The *sistrum* consisted of two thin metal plates, bent together at the top, and fitted with a handle at the bottom. The plates were pierced with holes, through which rods were passed having rings at their ends. This instrument was used in Egypt to call attention to the various acts of public worship, or to scare away malign influence.

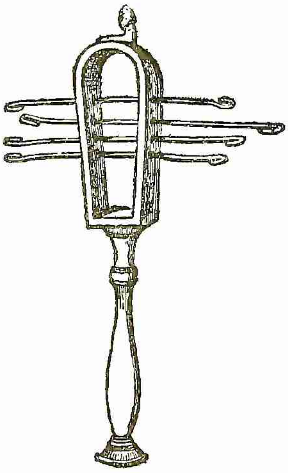

EGYPTIAN SISTRUM.

(*d*) The word *shālîshîm* (שָׁלִישִׁם) occurs, evidently as an instrument of some sort, in 1 S 18⁶. It can hardly mean a *trigon* (but see Wellhausen, 'Psalms' in *PB* 230, and references in Driver, *Joel and Amos*, 236 n.); but what it does mean we do not know. We have no evidence of the existence of the triangle (to which it has been referred) in Assyria or Egypt.

LITERATURE.—Pfeiffer, *Über die Musik der alten Hebräer*; Saalschütz, *Form der heb. Poesie*, etc.; Leyrer, art. 'Musik' in *PRE*²; Riehm's *HWB des bibl. Alterthums*; Ambros, *Gesch. der Musik*; Fetis, *Hist. de la Musique*; Naumann, Rowbotham, and Chappell's *Histories of Music*; Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyp.* (ii. 222 ff.); Wetzstein in Del., *Commentary on Isaiah*; Stainer, *The Music of the Bible*; Edersheim, *The Temple*, etc.; Wellhausen, *The Psalms, with App. on the Music of the Ancient Hebrews* (in the 'Polychrome Bible'); Benzinger, *Heb. Archäologie*, 271 ff.; Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* i. 270 ff.; Köberle, *Die Tempelsänger im AT*; Büchler, 'Zur Gesch. d. Tempelmusik und der Tempelpsalmen' in *ZATW*, 1899-1900. But especially, J. Weiss, *Die musikalischen Instrumente in den heiligen Schriften des Alten Testaments*, 1895.

JAMES MILLAR.

MUSTARD (*σίναπι, sinapis*).—The conditions to be fulfilled by the mustard are that it should be a familiar plant, with a very small seed (Mt 17²⁰, Lk 17⁶), sown in the earth, *i.e. annual*, growing larger than garden herbs (λάχανον, *olus*, Mt 13³¹), having large branches (Mk 4³²), or, in the more exaggerated language of Luke (13¹⁹), becoming a 'great tree,' attractive to passing birds. The wild mustards of the Holy Land, *Sinapis arvensis*, L., the field mustard or charlock, and *S. alba*, L., the white mustard, are familiar weeds, growing in every part of the country. They would have been called σίναπι in the time of Christ, as they are now called *khardal*=*sinapis*. The cultivated mustard is *Sinapis nigra*, L. The seed is well known for its minuteness. The plant grows to a size larger than the garden herbs, with which it is compared. The mustards are annuals, reproduced with extraordinary rapidity wherever the seed finds a lodgment, a particular which seems to be implied in the parable. In fat soil they often attain a height of 10 or 12 ft., and have branches which attract the passing birds. Many plants which attain a far less size than these are called *shajar*='tree' by the Arabs. One of the many examples of this is in the plants of the Borraginaceous genus *Arnebia*, which are only a few inches to a foot in height, but are known as *shajaret el-arneb*='the rabbit tree.' It would not seem at all strange to any native to speak of a mustard plant as *shajaret el-khardal*='mustard tree.' Finally, they are favourites of the birds, which alight upon them to devour their seeds. The Greek word κατεσκήνωσεν does not refer to nesting, but to a temporary rest. We may, then, justly conclude that the traditional and obvious interpretation meets all the reasonable demands of the passage.

Owing to the expression 'great tree' (Lk 13¹⁹), some have sought for an arboreal plant. *Salvadora Persica*, Garcin, has been suggested by Royle, on the authority of Ameuny, who states that this plant is found all along the banks of the Jordan, near Damascus, and is called by the Arabs *khardal* ='mustard.' We unhesitatingly reject this plant for the following reasons. (1) It is not found in the localities mentioned, but only around the Dead Sea. It would have been quite unknown to most of the hearers of the parable, and to them only by chance. (2) We have not heard it called *khardal*, and doubt the fact of its being generally known by this name. But, admitting that it is known locally by this name, as attested by Ameuny, it would not have suggested itself at once to the simple hearers of the parable. (3) Its seed is never sown in gardens, while it is expressly stated that the mustard seed was so planted (Lk 13¹⁹). (4) It is a perennial shrub, and therefore not a plant conspicuous by its rapid propagation from seed, a point of prime importance in the parable. (5) Although a taller plant than the mustard usually is, it would not suit the literal requirements of a 'great tree.' It is a shrub, seldom more than 6 to 8 ft. tall, and grows in thickets. It would require as much exaggeration to call it a 'great tree' as to so designate the mustard. (6) *Salvadora Persica* could, by no stretch of the imagination, be called an *herb*, while of mustard it is expressly said that it is *μεῖζον τῶν λαχάνων*, 'the greatest among herbs' (Mt 13³²). G. E. POST.

MUTH-LABBEN.—See PSALMS.

MUTILATION. — See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS, vol. i. p. 525ᵇ.

MYNDUS (*Μύνδος*) was a city of Caria, situated on the extreme western extremity of the peninsula on whose southern coast lies Halicarnassus. It plays very little part in ancient history; and its only importance seems to have lain in the silver mines beside it, which were worked in ancient and in mediæval times. From them the site derives its modern name, Gumushli. It was one of the places to which letters in favour of the Jews were sent by the Romans about B.C. 139, 1 Mac 15^{23}; cf. DELUS, COS, CNIDUS, HALICARNASSUS. This fact proves that Myndus must have been a self-governing and independent city at that time, and not one of the cities of the Carian confederacy; see CARIA. It also shows that Jews went there, and the silver trade would naturally attract persons with their financial instincts. On the site, see Paton in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1887, p. 66; 1896, p. 204. W. M. RAMSAY.

MYRA (Μύρα or Μύῤῥα), a city of Lycia.—The name is used in neuter plural, Ac 27^5, where, however, many authorities have feminine singular. The same doubt between neuter plural and feminine singular exists in Ac 21^1, where the Western Text adds after Patara καὶ Μύρα, *et deinde Myram*; some MSS Μύραν in *Acta Pauli et Theclæ*, 40 (but ἐν Μύροις, *al.*); the form in Strabo p. 666 and Ptolemy v. 3, 6, is Μύρα, of doubtful gender and number: but Pliny *Nat. Hist.* xxxii. 2, 17, Ptolemy viii. 17, 23, use the plural form; Athenæus ii. 53, p. 59, *CIG* 4288, and Basil *Epist.* 218, have ἐν Μύροις: the Byzantine lists frequently have gen. Μύρων, probably never Μύρας. Many late writers, Theophanes pp. 465, 483 (de Boor), Glykas p. 587, Basil Sel. *Vit. S. Theclæ*, i. p. 272, Cedrenus pp. 511, 512, Zonaras iii. p. 589, use the plural form; and Malalas varies, p. 365 τῇ Μυρᾳ, p. 448 τὰ Μυρα. Constantine Porph. *de Them.* i. p. 36 avoids the name, but says it is called from the sacred μύρα (suggesting thus the reason why the Christian writers preferred the neuter plural form); Stephanus mentions that both the feminine and the neuter forms were in use; but there is hardly any authority for Μύρα fem. sing. in any case except accus.; and even there it is inferior. The literary form therefore was certainly τὰ Μύρα, but there was evidently also a popular form τὴν Μύραν (with which compare Λύστραν - Λύστροις Ac $14^{6.8}$ $16^{1.2}$, *Clupeam-Clupeis* Wölfflin's note on Cæsar *Bell. Afr.* 3, 1), which has given rise to the modern Dembre. In the words where double declension exists, the tendency to acc. sing. fem. and plural in other cases is marked.

Myra was not one of the greatest cities of Lycia in the Greek period, but rose to importance under the Empire, and became the capital of Lycia under the Byzantine Empire and in the ecclesiastical organization. The reason for its growth lay in the development of navigation. In the older system of sailing by hugging the coast from point to point, Myra was merely one out of many coast towns, and had nothing to give it special importance. But as the bolder method became common of running direct between the Lycian and the Egyptian coasts, keeping off Cape Akamas, the western point of Cyprus, the two harbours that were found most convenient were Myra at the north end of the course and Alexandria at the south. There had been an immense development of trade between the East Ægean coasts and Egypt under the Ptolemies (compare Paton-Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos*, p. xxxiii): under the Roman rule Egyptian export trade was diverted towards Italy and Rome (which was to a considerable extent fed on Egyptian grain). As the prevailing wind in the eastern Mediterranean is westerly, the corn-ships for Rome could not make a direct voyage towards the west, but had to use the protection of the irregular coasts of Asia Minor and Crete and the local coast-winds. For that purpose they must either take the long circular course round the Syrian coast, or sail direct across to Lycia; and the steadiness of the western winds tempted to the direct crossing.

Examples of this direct course, showing that it was regarded as quite usual, are—(1) the Alexandrian corn-ship (Ac 27^{38}) for Rome, which St. Paul found in Myra, Ac 27^6; (2) an ideal voyage, founded, of course, on contemporary facts, is described in Lucian's *Navigium s. Vota.*: an Italian corn-ship, sailing from Alexandria, sighted Akamas on the seventh day, but the strength of the west wind prevented it from clearing the cape, and it had to run for the Syrian coast (Cyprus offering no harbours, but only open roadsteads); in ten days from Sidon the ship reached the Khelidonian Islands east from Myra (compare St. Paul's fifteen days, according to the Western Text, from Cæsarea to Myra), and afterwards it failed to keep the proper course in shelter south of Crete * (Ac 27^7), and ultimately on the seventieth day from Alexandria took refuge in the harbour of Piræus, where its great size attracted many visitors, and gave the opportunity for Lucian's Dialogue; (3) Gregory Nazianzen, sailing from Alexandria direct for Greece, ran across the Parthenic Sea (the Levant, defined by Ammianus xxii. 15, 2, as another name for the Issiac Sea), till he came near Cyprus, 'and under Cyprus cut the wave in a straight course for Hellas' (*Carmen de vita sua* 128 ff., *Orat.* xviii. 31); he set sail in November, and apparently took twenty days to Rhodes (*Carmen de rebus suis* 312).

The maritime importance of Myra continued into the Middle Ages. Tomaschek quotes from the pilgrim Sæwulf the description of it as *portus Adriatici* (*i.e.* the eastern half of the Mediterranean, compare Ac 27^{27}) *maris, sicut Constantinopolis est portus Ægæi maris.*† The town by the harbour, strictly speaking, was Andriake, while Myra was 20 stadia or 2½ miles inland; but commonly the port town is called Myra. It was a well-protected harbour; but storms in the neighbourhood are mentioned, such as that which destroyed the Arab fleets in A.D. 807 (Theophanes, p. 483, de Boor); compare others mentioned in *Acta S. Nicolai* (under Constantine), and in Lucian's *Navigium* at the Khelidonian Islands.

As Myra was at one end of an unusually long sea-course, the sailors paid and discharged their vows there to the deity that protected their course. The ancient name of this deity is not known: Tozer, in a note to Finlay's *History of Greece*, i. p. 124, suggests Poseidon. The Christians put in his place St. Nicolas, who was bishop of Myra under Constantine; and that saint became the great sailors' patron for the Levant, as St. Phocas of Sinope was for the Euxine. According to the story, Nicolas was born at Patara and buried at Myra; and the pilgrim Sæwulf touched at these two ports on his return from the Holy Land, just as St. Paul did in the Western Text of Ac 21^1.

See the descriptions in Benndorf *Lykia*, Spratt and Forbes, Beaufort, Fellows, Leake, Texier, etc.; Tomaschek *Historische Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter* (*Wien. Akad. Sitzungsber.* 1891); Ramsay *St. Paul the Trav.* pp. 298, 319.

W. M. RAMSAY.

MYRRH.—Two words in Heb. are rendered in AV 'myrrh.' 1. מֹר *môr*. The LXX tr. it variously: σμύρνα (Ex 30^{23} etc.), κρόκινος (Pr 7^{17} B), στακτή (Ca 1^{13} etc.). The Arabs call it *murr*. It is a gum resin from *Balsamodendron Myrrha*, Nees, a shrubby tree, which grows in Yemen and the adjacent regions of Africa. The leaves are ternate, with obovate, obtuse leaflets, denticulate at tip, and the fruit ovate, smooth, somewhat larger than a pea. *Murr* occurs in pieces of irregular form, composed of more or less agglutinated tears, usually covered with the dust caused by their attrition. The colour varies from pale reddish-yellow to red or reddish-brown. The odour is balsamic, and the taste bitter and acrid. Myrrh is astringent, stimulant, and antiseptic. It is used in medicine as an astringent and emmenagogue, and its powder is an ingredient of many dentifrices. The tincture is used in gargles, and the powder as a stimulant to foul and indolent ulcers. It was one of the gifts of the Magi (Mt 2^{11}). It was used as a perfume (Ps 45^{8}, Pr 7^{17}, Ca 1^{13} 5^{5}), for the purification of women (Est 2^{12}), for embalming (Jn 19^{39}), and as an anodyne (Mk 15^{23}).

---

* ἔδει τὴν Κρήτην δεξιὰν λαβόντας, κ.τ.λ., Lucian, *l.c.*

† The same passage is referred to in vol. ii. p.

2. לֹט *lôṭ*, *στακτή*, *stacte*. This Heb. word is the same as the Arab. *lâdhan* or *ladhân*, and the Gr. *λήδανον* or *λάδανον*, Lat. *ladanum* or *labdanum*. This is a resinous exudation of various species of *Cistus* ('rock rose'), particularly *C. villosus*, L., which grows abundantly along the coast and in the mountains of Syria and Palestine. It is a low shrub, of the order *Cistinæ*, with pink, rose-like flowers, in umbel-like cymes. The leaves are elliptical to obovate-oblong, and more or less wavy. A drink like tea is made from the somewhat aromatic leaves. The exudation is sometimes collected from the beards of goats. In Cyprus men with leathern breeches go through the ladanum thickets, and the resin which adheres to their garments is scraped off and moulded into rolls. It is also collected by a kind of rake or whip, with a double row of leather thongs. It has rubefacient properties, and was formerly a constituent of warming plasters. *Lôṭ* is mentioned only twice (Gn 37^{25} AV and RV text 'myrrh,' RVm 'ladanum,' 43^{11} AV and RV 'myrrh'). *Στακτή* is mentioned in Sir 24^{15}. The Turks still value it as a perfume. G. E. POST.

MYRTLE (הֲדַס *hădaṣ*, hence הֲדַסָּה *Hădaṣṣah*, the Jewish name of Esther).—The Arabic has three words for the myrtle, *rîḥân*, *'âs*, and *hadaṣ*, the last of which is identical with the Hebrew. *Hădaṣ* occurs six times in the OT. In three of these (Neh 8^{15}, Is 41^{19} 55^{13}) the LXX has *μυρσίνη*, in the rest *ὀρέων*='of the hills' (Zec $1^{8.\,10.\,11}$, where the translators must have had the reading הֶהָרִים instead of הַהֲדַסִּים). The myrtle, *Myrtus communis*, L., is an evergreen shrub, usually from 3 to 4 ft. high. Occasionally, in moist soil, it attains a height of 8 ft. It flourishes from the sea-level to an altitude of 4000 ft. The southernmost range of Lebanon is called *Jebel Rîḥân*, from the abundance of this shrub on its flanks. It grows on bare hillsides and by watercourses in beautiful green clumps.

Being so low a shrub, it is quite improper to speak of it as forming groves. A variety is cultivated, especially in Damascus, which often reaches a height of 10 or 12 ft., but never attains the proportions of a tree. The translation 'myrtle *trees*' (Zec $1^{8.\,10.\,11}$) is unwarrantable, as the original has not the word *trees* עֲצֵי (const.), but simply הֲדַסִּים ='myrtles.' The flowers are white, about an inch broad, and of a delicate, pretty structure. The berries are first white, and then turn to a bluish-black. They are sweetish-astringent in taste, and are much liked by the natives, who call them *ḥanblâs*, a corruption of *ḥab el-âs* ('the berry of the myrtle'). The leaves are lanceolate, dark green, and fragrant, especially when pressed and rubbed between the thumb and fingers. The natives use them as follows:—(*a*) The dried leaves are pounded in a mortar, sifted, and the powder mixed with oil is used to anoint the bodies of young infants, or the dry powder is dusted over the surface to toughen the skin, and prevent excoriations from the friction of the clothing. (*b*) The beds of infants are sometimes stuffed with the dried leaves, from a belief in their medicinal virtue. Both the berries and the leaves are sold in the markets, but the writer has never seen the flowers sold, nor has he heard of fragrant water being distilled from them, as alleged by some.

G. E. POST.

MYSIA (Μυσία) was the name customarily used for the north-western part of Asia Minor, bordering on the Hellespont and the Propontis, and bounded east and south by Bithynia, Phrygia, and Lydia. The Troad is sometimes included in it, and sometimes distinguished from it. Under the late Roman empire the name fell into disuse, and Hellespontus was substituted for it as the title of a province in the fourth and following centuries. The boundaries were vague and undeterminable; and the uncertainty led to the proverb *χωρὶς τὰ Μυσῶν καὶ Φρυγῶν*, applied to what cannot be defined. Of places mentioned in the Bible, ASSOS and TROAS were in Mysia, ADRAMYTTIUM on the border between it and Lydia. It formed part of the Roman province Asia.

Mysia is mentioned only in Ac $16^{7.\,8}$. St. Paul, with Silas and Timothy, being prevented by the Spirit from preaching in Asia, turned northward with the intention of entering Bithynia, with its great, populous, and civilized cities, hardly inferior even to Ephesus; but when they came so far north as to be opposite Mysia (*κατὰ τὴν Μυσίαν*: for this use of *κατά* compare Herodotus i. 76, Thucydides vi. 65 and 104, Ac 27^{7}; but see Blass on Ac $16^{7\text{f.}}$), they were ordered not to enter Bithynia; and they then turned towards the west, (passing through but not preaching in Mysia, till they reached the coast at Troas.

A tradition existed that, on this journey through Mysia, Paul and Silas had founded a church at a place named Poketos, between the Rhyndacus and Cyzicus, as is mentioned in the *Acta S. Philetæri* (*Acta Sanctorum*, May 19). This is hardly consistent with Ac 16^{7}, but is not absolutely contradictory, as, though not regularly evangelizing in Mysia, it is clearly possible that Paul and Silas might convert individuals on the way either at Poketos or at Troas. But the tradition is late, for the *Acta Philetæri* profess to be only of the 4th cent., and may be later. An ancient Mysian tradition existed, assigning to a certain Onesiphorus the evangelization of part at least of Mysia: Onesiphorus was martyred at Parium under the proconsulate of Adrian, and this date is a strong proof of trustworthiness, for Adrian was actually proconsul of Asia about A.D. 109–114. It is unlikely that the recollection of so obscure an officer could have been correctly preserved except in a true old tradition: see *Expos. Times*, 1898, p. 495. W. M. RAMSAY.

MYSTERY.—The term 'mystery' opens up a wide and interesting, though somewhat obscure, field of inquiry to the Christian theologian. Much of it is, however, extra-biblical, and must therefore rather be indicated than discussed in this place. We shall consider, first, the NT use of the word *μυστήριον*; second, the chief features of the Greek mysteries; and, third, the question how far the latter influenced the language of the NT.

i. NT USE OF THE TERM *Μυστήριον*.—The meaning of this word in classical Greek was *anything hidden or secret*, especially in the plural *τὰ μυστήρια*, the sacred rites above referred to, from which all who had not passed through a ceremony of initiation were excluded. The root verb *μύω* is formed by that act of closing the lips which it primarily signifies (though it is applied also to the closing of the eyes), and appears alike in the Latin *mutus*, and our own (colloquial) 'mum.' 'Mummery' is a curiously parallel formation to the Greek 'mystery.' They find their point of contact, doubtless, in the mystery-plays of the Middle

Ages. The verb *μυέω*, most frequently met with in the passive, means to initiate into the mysteries, —*οἱ μεμυημένοι* are the initiated, cf. 3 Mac 2^{30},—and then generally to instruct. St. Paul says, Ph 4^{12} *μεμύημαι*, RV 'I have learned the secret.'

That which is hidden or secret may, it is evident, be (1) absolutely so, that is, in its own nature inaccessible or incomprehensible, or (2) completely hidden, that is, as yet unrevealed, or (3) partially or comparatively secret or obscure, due to some want of clearness in the medium of communication, as when the expression is figurative instead of being literal.

The first of these, which is emphatically the modern signification of 'mystery,' as that which *cannot* be known, is practically foreign both to classical and biblical Greek. With regard to it, Cremer (*s.v.*) quotes two remarks of the Scholiast on Aristophanes (*Ran.* 459, *Av.* 1073) bearing out this statement; and though Lightfoot on Col 1^{26} apparently finds this meaning in two passages (1 Co 15^{51}, Eph 5^{32}), of which the one seems to fall under (2) and the other under (3), he admits that the 'idea is quite accidental, and must be gathered from the special circumstances of the case, for it cannot be inferred from the word (*μυστήριον*) itself.' This is not, of course, to say that in religion, in the Christian religion itself, there are no difficulties, nothing transcendental or mysterious in the ordinary sense. On the contrary, such difficulties must ever attach to man's thoughts of the infinite and the divine, but it is not upon these elements that the attention of the biblical writers is concentrated. If they are thought of at all, it is rather as the unrevealed than the incomprehensible, the result of seeing through a glass darkly, until the time when man shall know even as also he is known. In the third of the significations noted above, *μυστήριον*, it has been remarked (Thayer-Grimm, *Lexicon*, *s.v.*), like רָזָא and סוֹד in Rabbinic writers, denotes the mystic or hidden sense, that which is conveyed in a figure, parable, or vision.

'It is plain,' says Principal Campbell (*Dissertations on the Four Gospels*, ix. pt. i.), 'that, in this case, the term *μυστήριον* is used comparatively; for, however clear the meaning intended to be conveyed in the apologue, or parable, may be to the intelligent, it is obscure, compared with the literal sense, which, to the unintelligent, proves a kind of veil. The one is, as it were, open to the senses; the other requires penetration and reflection. Perhaps there was some allusion to this import of the term when our Lord said to his disciples, "To you it is given to know the mystery of the kingdom of God; but to them that are without, all these things are done in parables" (Mk 4^{11}). The apostles were let into the secret, and got the spiritual sense of the similitude, while the multitude amused themselves with the letter, and searched no further.'

Thus we have the 'mystery of the seven stars' (Rev 1^{20}) and the 'mystery of the woman' (Rev 17^{7}). The difficulty or obscurity is here of a subjective character, while that in the case of the second of the three senses which we have distinguished, and which is the most prominent throughout the NT, is objective. In the case of the latter, *μυστήριον* is correlative to *ἀποκάλυψις*, the *secret* to the *discovered* or *revealed*. In so far as revelation has taken place, the 'mystery' is a knowledge of that which had been secret but is so no longer; while yet unrevealed, *ἀποκάλυψις* is a possibility only which awaits the time at which it shall become actual and the hidden pass into knowledge. The latter sense is naturally most conspicuous in the passages of the Apocr. in which the word occurs, whether referring to the secret purpose or will of men (To $12^{7.11}$, Jth 2^{2}, 2 Mac 13^{21}) or of God (Wis 2^{22}), or simply to secrets in general (Sir 22^{22} $27^{16.17.21}$). In the NT the same meaning is perhaps conveyed in 1 Co 13^{2} 14^{2}, while in 1 Co 15^{51} *μυστήριον ὑμῖν λέγω* we see the mystery in the act of passing out of the one stage into the other.

The great 'mystery' of the NT is the Divine plan of salvation, hitherto hidden from the world, but now made known in Christ (cf. Ro 11^{25}, Eph 6^{19}, Col 1^{26}, 1 Ti $3^{9.16}$). In this sense the apostles and ministers of Christ become *οἰκονόμοι μυστηρίων θεοῦ* (1 Co 4^{1}; cf. Col 2^{2} 4^{3}, also [WH] 1 Co 2^{1}). It is the 'mystery of his will' (Eph 1^{9}), the 'mystery of God, even Christ' (Col 2^{2} RV), the 'mystery of Christ,' that is, respecting Christ (Col 4^{3}), the 'mystery of the gospel' (Eph 6^{19}), but everywhere it is the 'dispensation of the mystery which from all ages hath been hid in God who created all things' (Eph 3^{9}). It is noteworthy that, out of 26 (or 27) occurrences of *μυστήριον* in the NT, 10 should be within the comparatively brief compass of Eph and Col. The saving purpose of God, hitherto a mystery because unrevealed, is still such where it is not yet received, as by those destitute of *πίστις* or *εὐσέβεια* (1 Ti $3^{9.16}$), or in so far as it has not been grasped, *e.g.* in its extension so as to include the Gentiles (Eph $3^{3.4}$). Nor is the term confined to Divine secrets. 'It expresses sometimes those of a different and even contrary nature. Thus the apostle, speaking of the antichristian spirit, says, "The mystery of iniquity doth already work" (2 Th 2^{7}). The spirit of antichrist hath begun to operate; but the operation is latent and unperceived' (G. Campbell).

An interesting point, and one full of significance for the history of the Church, is the Vulg. rendering of *μυστήριον* by *sacramentum*. This is found in Dn 2^{18} 4^{6}, To 12^{7}, Wis 2^{22}, Eph 1^{9} $3^{3.9}$ 5^{32}, 1 Ti 3^{16}, Rev 1^{20}. Upon Eph 5^{32} is founded the doctrine that marriage is a sacrament. The association of ideas connecting the two words appears to be the reference to religion and the use of the symbol, whether in word or deed. Solemnity, awe-inspiring quality, marked both the mystery and the sacramental rite, whether we derive the latter from its legal or its military reference. Both came to be used in a very general and indefinite way, until the ecclesiastical signification of *sacramentum* became fixed. Their primary application, however, was obviously the reason why 'sacrament' was first used of baptism and then transferred to the Lord's Supper, while with *μυστήριον* the opposite process took place.

ii. THE GREEK MYSTERIES.—As the higher thought of Greece found expression in its philosophy, so, though all may not be true of them which the later writers report, it may be said that its deeper feelings found expression in the Mysteries. In these there was, first of all, an element of tradition; they gathered up reminiscences of nature-worship,—man's witness to his sense of dependence upon his natural environment,—and particularly those elements of it which still survived in village custom and observance. But they seem also to have fixed attention upon problems of which nature-worship offered no solution—those suggested by the enigma of death, a certain sense of sin, the thought of an offended Deity, the need of purification. It is still a question how much in the development of these institutions was of native growth, how much was derived from foreign sources, and still more what these foreign sources were. Leaving such discussions aside, and also the tempting subject of Orphism, which is 'credited with two great contributions to religion—the belief in immortality, and the idea of personal holiness' (L. Campbell), we note Lobeck's division of the multitude of rites which passed under the name of Mysteries into (1) civic mysteries, (2) fanatical rites, whether public or private, and (3) occasional functions, designed to meet individual and special needs.

Belonging to the first class, and under the patronage of the Athenian state, were maintained two forms of the worship of Demeter, the earth-mother — the *Thesmophoria* and the *Eleusinia.* The former were so called from the ancestral precepts (*θεσμοί*) by which the observances were strictly regulated. They constituted a festival of seed-time, lasted four days, were essentially a country rite; and those who took part in them were married women, the fruitfulness of married life being here, as elsewhere, associated with that of the soil. The most remarkable and elaborate of all the mysteries were, however, those celebrated at Eleusis, certainly in the beginning of the 6th cent. B.C., and perhaps at a much earlier period. They gathered up almost all the elements belonging to such rites which elsewhere are found separately; with the worship of Demeter they combined that of Dionysus; and some of their most profound and interesting features were probably derived from the kindred Orphic Mysteries. The Eleusinia included two annual celebrations — the Lesser Mysteries held at Agræ, a suburb of Athens, in the month Anthesterion (roughly corresponding to February), and the Greater observed at Eleusis in the month Boedromion (September). The latter, therefore, was the autumn festival, the hiding away of the seed; the former, the spring festival, celebrating its reappearance; the interval between the two being mythologically represented as the sojourn of Persephone, the daughter of Demeter, in the under-world. Every one who desired to be initiated at Eleusis had to pass through the ceremonies at Agræ, and probably a cycle of at least four stages, including two visits to each place, had to be observed. This might be spread over several years, so that it was said: *παῖς μύστης καὶ ἐπόπτης ἀνήρ*—it bridged over the passage from youth to manhood. The more important Mysteries (those at Eleusis) were under the control of a body of magistrates, but the active direction was taken by the *ἱεροφάντης*, who must be a descendant of Eumolpus, the Thracian bard, to whom the origin of the Mysteries was traditionally attributed. Candidates for initiation, having already qualified at Agræ, were called *μύσται*, and the leader or instructor of a group of such candidates was the *μυσταγωγός*. The privilege of participation, at first confined to Athenians, was afterwards extended to all, women as well as men, except slaves, Persians (the hereditary enemy, specially excluded), and infamous or criminal persons. They took an oath of secrecy, were subjected to certain ceremonial restrictions in respect of diet and behaviour, and received some sort of instruction which prepared them for the experiences which lay before them. In the ceremonies themselves, which lasted nine days, from the 15th to the 23rd of the month, 'four acts were distinguished: (*a*) *κάθαρσις*, the preliminary purification; (*b*) *σύστασις*, the rites and sacrifices which preceded and prepared the way for the actual celebration; (*c*) *τελετή* or *μύησις*, the initiation properly so called; and (*d*) *ἐποπτεία*, the last and highest grade of initiation' (Gardner and Jevons). Secrecy characterized only the last two stages. One of the most interesting features of the occasion was the sacred truce which was proclaimed at the beginning of the festival, and which was usually observed, though circumstances led to its abandonment during the latter portion of the Peloponnesian war. In the celebrations themselves, only two points can be absolutely fixed—the purification known as *ἅλαδε μύσται* ('To the sea, O *mystæ*'), which took place on the 16th of the month, and the day of Iacchus, the 20th; other features are more or less hypothetically placed (Mommsen, *Feste*, p. 207).

The probable order was as follows: On the first day, called *ἀγυρμός*, the assembling, the *μύσται* joined the group to which they were to be attached, and received the instruction already alluded to. On the second (the 16th) they went in solemn procession to the seacoast and bathed in the purifying waters. The third, fourth, and fifth days were occupied with various sacrifices, processions, and feasts. The last of these was known as 'the day of the torches,' because in the evening, just before sunset, the great procession of the *mystæ*, each group led by its *δᾳδοῦχος*, or torch-bearer, set out for the temple at Eleusis, where they seem to have spent the night in visiting the places associated with the wandering of Demeter in search of her daughter Persephone. This procession divides what may be termed the Athenian from the Eleusinian section of the Mysteries. The sixth day (the 20th) was specially sacred, and bore, as we have seen, the name of Iacchus, who was identified with Bacchus (Dionysus), and represented as the husband or son of Persephone, his statue being borne in the procession. The next two nights were occupied with the higher stages of the symbolical ceremony. These included a further purification, a progress through darkness unrelieved by either moonlight or torchlight, whence the *mystæ* passed into the lighted interior of the Great Hall of Initiation, where they were allowed to see and handle certain sacred objects which none but the *ἐπόπται* (those who had received final initiation, *ἐποπτεία*) ever beheld. It seems certain that there were some representations of a dramatic character illustrating the myths of the deities involved—miracle plays, as we might call them, in which the more profound lessons which those in charge meant to convey were communicated. The return to Athens was made in a jesting mood, both on the part of the *mystæ* themselves and on that of the general population, which may have been due to the reaction from the strain and solemnity of the preceding days. The ninth day was termed *πλημοχόαι* from certain peculiar libations with which the rite was brought to an end. Associated with these libations was one of the mystical formulas which were imparted in the course of the proceedings, were esteemed specially sacred, and throw light upon the original character of the festival. The ninth day formula was *ὕε, κύε*—the first a prayer for rain, the second for fertility; but the most notable of these sayings was that connected with the 'communication of the sacred things' (*παράδοσις τῶν ἱερῶν*)—'I have fasted: I have drunk of the potion: I have taken out of the casket, and after having tasted I have deposited in the basket: I have taken out of the basket again, and have put back into the casket.' The combination of sight and sound, of rhythmic movement, sacred association, mystic formula, and, above all, the obligation of secrecy, must have been deeply impressive, especially after being long looked forward to, and being made the object of careful preparation.

Later writers exaggerated many of the features of the Mysteries, whether as Christians they regarded them with suspicion and detestation, or in a wider interest supplemented by the help of imagination what history had left vague and obscure.

> 'High authorities,' it has been said (L. Campbell, p. 264), 'whose gravity and depth of mind cannot be disputed, bear witness with one voice to the elevating influence of the Eleusinian Mysteries. Sophocles dwells emphatically on the incomparable happiness of the initiated both in life and after death; and Plato, who had a far clearer vision both of God and immortality than any child of Eumolpus, can find no more fitting vehicle for his most transcendent thoughts than the imagery which he borrows from the contemplation of the Mysteries.'

This is not incompatible with the view that little or nothing of positive doctrine was conveyed in the Mysteries, from the symbolism of which each man was left to take what he would, according to the dictum attributed by Synesius to Aristotle—'He is of opinion that the initiated learned nothing precisely, but received impressions, and were put into a certain frame of mind.' Much has been done by excavations and the careful examination of contemporary inscriptions to throw light upon this interesting subject, but much more in this direction must be accomplished before we can claim to tread with confidence in a region the character of which rendered it peculiarly liable to be misunderstood and misrepresented.

iii. THE MYSTERIES AND THE NT.—That the writers of the NT have derived much of their language and imagery from the Greek Mysteries, and that a consideration of the different shades of meaning in which *μυστήριον* is employed in the NT indicates that they have in this reference their unifying element, has been maintained with much ability and ingenuity by A. S. Carman in a paper contributed to the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for October 1893. The allusions which he recognizes in Scripture are to the following features of the Mysteries:—

> 'The word *μυστήριον* and other derivatives of the verb *μύω*; the word *τελετή*, or the allied adjective form *τέλειος* with the idea of maturity or perfection; the word *ἐποπτεία* and its derivatives with the associated idea of a personal experience of the Divine fellowship; certain specific allusions to the contrast of light and darkness with the derived ideas of *enlightenment*, *illumination*, and the like; the term *silence*; the ideas of reservation and revelation of religious truth; ideas associated with the office of hierophant, kerux, mystagogue, and the like; and certain formal uses of the expressions *touch*, *taste*, *handle*, *behold*,—associated with the mystic *paradosis*' (p. 623).

Carman refers to similar allusions in classical writers and the Church Fathers, but especially in the works of Philo Judæus, and then examines the principal passages of the NT, printing in italics the words in which allusion is supposed to be detected, as in the following example: He 6^{1-5} 'Let us *press on unto perfection*. For as touching those who were once *enlightened* and *tasted* of the heavenly gift, and were *made partakers of the Holy Ghost* and *tasted* the good word of God,' etc., where, on this assumption, reference is made to 'the perfective aim of the rites, the characteristic idea of enlightenment, the symbolic tasting, and the participation in the Divine nature' (p. 636).

The attempt thus to trace in the apostolic language direct allusion to the Mysteries is pronounced by Anrich, in his careful and scholarly treatise on the connexion of the Mysteries with Christianity, to be 'wholly unsuccessful' (p. 143 note). This writer regards the approximation of Christianity and the Mysteries, both in idea and usage, as having been introduced by the Gnostics, whose position in this respect Clement of Alexandria and Origen sought to legitimate in a modified form within the Church. For the pre-Gnostic use of *μυστήριον* and allied terms and ideas he turns with Hatch (*Essays in Biblical Greek*, pp. 57–62) to Jewish literature, especially the apocryphal books of the OT. In these 'the plans of a king or general are termed *μυστήρια*; they are his secrets, in so far that no one knows about them until he communicates them to his subordinates or puts them into operation' (Anrich, p. 144). 'This,' says Hatch, 'was a strictly Oriental conception. A king's "counsel" was his "secret," which was known only to himself and his trusted friends. It was natural to extend the conception to the secret plans of God' (p. 58). Hatch applies this conception to the explanation of the various passages in the NT, and finds it sufficient in every case except the two passages in Rev (1^{20} 17^{7}) and Eph 5^{32}, where he has recourse to the 'light which is thrown backwards on the NT by Christian writers of the 2nd cent.' (p. 59), in which light *μυστήριον* is seen to have a certain parallelism to *σύμβολον*, *τύπος*, or *παραβολή*.

It is doubtless an excellent rule to interpret NT language by reference to the LXX wherever possible; it is to adduce a known cause where others, however plausible or probable, have about them more or less of uncertainty. But may not the latter be unduly and unnecessarily ignored? If a writer under 'the constantly deepening impression produced by prolonged study of the subject that such allusions colour a large portion of those writings of the NT which had Gentile environment' is apt to push his theory too far, in accounting, for example, for the allusions in Eph and Col by the association of Ephesus with the impure rites of the predominant Diana-worship and the fact that Philippi was 'built upon the Thracian frontier, in the pathway of the original course of the Mysteries of Dionysus, and probably also of those of Demeter, as they spread throughout Greece' (Carman, p. 634; cf. Anrich, p. 144 note), may not another whose immediate object is to demonstrate the influence of the LXX underestimate indications of other influences? At least a side reference to the heathen Mysteries could scarcely be denied except upon the supposition, in itself somewhat unlikely, that the NT writers, and particularly St. Paul, were so ignorant of the Mysteries that the term had only its LXX association for their minds, or that the Mysteries had altogether failed to colour by imagery drawn from them the language of the time. The cautious words of Kennedy (*Sources of NT Greek*, p. 109) should be borne in mind: 'Several of the biblical meanings, though apparently moulded by the Greek of the OT, may have been common enough in the spoken language as found in Egypt, Asia Minor, and Syria. When it is borne in mind that there are literally almost no remains of the later spoken language except the LXX and the NT, in addition to the Comic writers, the supposition gains colour. At any rate, it shows us that we are not at liberty to make dogmatic assertions even in that sphere of the NT vocabulary where the influence of the LXX appears most powerful, the sphere of religious and theological terms.' That a writer like St. Paul, who alludes to the Greek games, the Greek theatre, the Roman camp, should have passed over a phenomenon which offered so many suggestive points of view as the Mysteries, is almost incredible. Hatch himself, in his *Hibbert Lectures*, ascribes to them great influence upon the language and institutions of the early Church. Clement of Alexandria sees and makes explicit use of the parallelism (*Protrept.* ch. xii.). Lightfoot (on Col 1^{26}) holds that there is a connexion between the language of St. Paul and the Mysteries, though he dwells on the 'intentional paradox,' that while 'the heathen mysteries were strictly confined to a narrow circle, the Christian mysteries are freely communicated to all.'

If Lightfoot were right in finding in Col traces of an incipient Gnosticism, and if, as Anrich says, the relation between the Greek Mysteries and Christianity began with Gnosticism, the special frequency of reference to the Mysteries in Col and Eph, already noted, would acquire a new significance. But it is fair to say that the present trend of opinion is to follow Hort in giving a Judaic rather than a Gnostic interpretation to the heresies referred to in these Epistles. The tendency to regard the Mysteries as ignored in the NT is possibly due in part to a disinclination to find in them any formative influence upon primitive Christian institutions. For such influence at this early stage it is not contended here; later, as Cheetham remarks (*Mysteries*, p. 74), the concern is not with words, but things. But, as he also says, 'when Mysteries were everywhere found, their terminology naturally came to be commonly employed, and to be applied to matters altogether foreign to its original usage.’ The question is whether the analogy between the experiences of Christians and those who had undergone the mystic initiation was sufficiently close and striking to account for the former being expressed to some extent in terms of the latter even in the apostolic age. It must be admitted that the balance of authority on this point is somewhat doubtful; we must wait, as already remarked, for further light from inscriptions and other sources upon the usage of the time before it can be definitely decided. Meanwhile it cannot be called illegitimate, as it certainly is an enrichment of NT language, to surround such words as *μυστήριον*, *τέλειος*, *ἐπόπτης* with associations derived from so important an element of contemporary Greek life as the Mysteries.

LITERATURE.—A great deal has been written upon this subject. Its modern treatment dates from the publication of the *Aglaophamus* of C. A. Lobeck in 1829. One of the most recent books is Canon Cheetham's Hulsean Lectures—*The Mysteries, Pagan and Christian*, in the preface to which a good account of the most important works is given. Special reference may be made here to W. M. Ramsay's article in *Encycl. Brit.*, 9th ed., to the chapters on the Mysteries in Gardner and Jevons' *Manual of Greek Antiquities* (1898); in Jevons' *Introduction to the History of Religion* (1896); and in Professor L. Campbell's *Religion in Greek Literature* (1898). Compare also Mommsen's *Feste der Stadt Athen in Alterthum* (1898), a revision of the same author's *Heortologie*; Anrich's *Das antike Mysterienwesen in seinem Einfluss auf das Christenthum* (1894); and Wobbermin's *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien zur Frage der Beeinflussung des Urchristenthums durch das antike Mysterienwesen* (1896). For the use of *μυστήριον* in the NT see Cremer's *Biblico-theological Lexicon*; Thayer-Grimm's *Lexicon*; Principal G. Campbell's *Dissertations on the Gospels*, ix. pt. i.; Hatch's *Essays in Biblical Greek*; and Carman's article, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. l. pp. 613-639.

A. STEWART.

N

NAAM (נַעַם).—The eponym of a Calebite family, 1 Ch 4^{15} (B Νόομ, A Νάαμ).—See GENEALOGY, IV. 50.

NAAMAH (נַעֲמָה ‘pleasant’; Νοεμά).—1. Sister of Tubal-cain, daughter of Lamech and Zillah (Gn 4^{22}; Josephus, *Ant.* I. ii. 2). 2. One of Solomon's Ammonitish wives, and mother of Rehoboam (1 K 14$^{21.}$ [B* Μααχάμ, A Νααμά]^{31} [Gr. 12^{24a}, B Νααυάν], 2 Ch 12^{13} [Νοομμά]). According to the second Greek narrative, which follows 1 K 12^{24}, she was the daughter of Ana, *i.e.* Hanun, son of Nahash, king of the Ammonites (2 S 10$^{1-4}$, where, however, B reads Ἀννών). If Rehoboam were forty-one at his accession (1 K 14^{21}), and not sixteen as in the second Greek account, Naamah must have been married to Solomon before the death of David.

N. J. D. WHITE.

NAAMAH (נַעֲמָה; Νωμάν; Luc. Νομά; Vulg. *Neema*).—A town of Judah in the lowland or Shephēlah, named in conjunction with Gederoth, Beth-dagon, and Maḳḳedah, and forming one of a group of sixteen (Jos 15$^{37-41}$). There is no notice of it elsewhere. Zophar the **Naamathite** (הַנַּעֲמָתִי) is mentioned in Job (2^{11} etc.), but there is nothing to connect him with this town.

It is proposed to identify Naamah with *Nâ'neh* (*SWP* ii. 408); Gederoth, Beth-dagon, and Maḳḳedah being respectively identified as *Katrah*, *Dejûn*, and *el-Mughâr* (‘the caves’), villages on the northern border of Judah near Ekron and Jabneel. Nâ'neh is a small mud village on low ground 6 miles south of *Ludd* (Lydda).

C. WARREN.

NAAMAN (נַעֲמָן; BA Ναιμάν; Luc. Νεεμάν; NT Νεεμάν (TR), Ναιμάν (WH)=‘pleasantness,’ perhaps the name of the god Adonis [Lagarde, *Sem.* i. 32], cf. נִטְעֵי נַעֲמָנִים ‘plantings of Adonis,’ RVm of Is 17^{10}, where see Dillmann-Kittel's note).*—1. A Syrian warrior known to us only through the remarkable cure of his leprosy by the prophet Elisha, recorded in 2 K 5, and referred to by our Lord as a rebuke to Jewish exclusiveness, and an illustration of the anomalous manifestations of divine mercy (Lk 4^{27}). According to the Midrash, Naaman was the man who at the battle of Ramoth-gilead ‘drew his bow at a venture’ (1 K 22^{34}), and inflicted on Ahab his fatal wound—a tradition apparently accepted by Jos. (*Ant.* VIII. xv. 5), who describes the archer in question as *παῖς δέ τις βασιλικὸς τοῦ Ἀδάδου, Ἀμανὸς ὄνομα.* But this identification may have been a mere conjecture, due to the statement in 2 K 5^{1} that ‘by Naaman J″ had given deliverance (תְּשׁוּעָה) unto Syria,’—an expression which may naturally be held to refer to the battle of Ramoth-gilead, since the issue of that engagement is expressly attributed in 1 K 22$^{30ff.}$ to the counsel of J″ (although G. Rawlinson [in *Speaker's Comm.*] would rather connect it with Syrian successes against Shalmaneser II. [*Anc. Mon.* ii. 344, 361]), on the general principle recognized (nearly a century later) in Am 9^{7}.

With regard to the date of Naaman's visit to Israel as a suppliant for ‘deliverance’ of another sort, the sequence of the narrative would lead us to suppose that Ben-Hadad was king of Syria at the time; but no indication is given of the interval that had elapsed since Ahab's death, to enable us to determine who was king of Israel. Ewald (*HI* 4) prefers the reign of Jehoahaz, and Schenkel (*Bib.-Lex.*) that of Jehu. But the general view that Jehoram was king seems more probable, in view of the recent Syrian raids (2 K 5^{2}), the precarious friendship between the two kings (vv.$^{5-7}$), and the prevalence of paganism and unbelief (v.^{26b}, cf. vv.$^{7f.}$).

The miraculous character of Naaman's cure exposes it in some degree to the objections taken to Elisha's life as too ‘thaumaturgic.’ Nöldeke (Schenkel's *Bib.-Lex.*) comments on the absence of antecedent faith on the part of the sufferer, and sees no sign of spirituality in his conversion; but it is only the outstanding features of the incident that have been preserved to us, and on the whole the miracle must be acknowledged to be one of the most dignified in the life of Elisha. Even assuming that there was an ancient Semitic belief in the efficacy of running waters as a cure for leprosy, we find something analogous to this in the miracles of the NT (Jn 9^{6}, Mk 8^{23}). The narrative is ‘thoroughly in keeping with the state of things in the time of Elisha’ (Kittel, *Hist. of Heb.* ii. 279). Its portrayal of Naaman's character is natural and lifelike. It does not conceal his pride and irritation at the slight offered to himself (2 K 5^{11}) and to his country (v.^{12} Damascus being famous for its noble streams), which was designed doubtless to induce a more humble and reverent spirit in his approach to the God of Israel (cf. vv.$^{5.\ 6.\ 9}$). Yet on the whole it depicts a manly and attractive character, which won for him the sympathy of the little Jewish maid who was the first to suggest his cure at the hands of Elisha, the warm friendship of his sovereign, who spared no expense (the gold and silver sent with Naaman are generally estimated at upwards of £10,000) and lost no time in seeking to obtain the remedy, and the affectionate devotion of his servants, who were anxious for his welfare and knew how to appeal to his better judgment. One of the most striking features of his character is his sense of gratitude (cf. the healing of the ten lepers in Lk 17$^{11-19}$), which led him to retrace his steps from the Jordan to Samaria, a distance of nearly 30 miles, to thank and reward his benefactor, and to devote himself henceforth to the worship of the God of Israel, which he does with a strength and decision of faith that has scarcely any parallel in the language of Gentile converts in the OT. This was a fulfilment of the hope expressed by Elisha (2 K 5^{8}), and justified the lofty attitude which he had assumed towards Naaman when he communicated with him only by messenger, bidding him wash seven times in the Jordan, showing, by this abstention from personal intercourse as well as by his refusal of the gifts customary at heathen oracles (Herod. i. 14. 50) and not forbidden to the prophets of J″ (1 S 9$^{6-9}$, 1 K 14$^{2f.}$, 2 K 4^{42}; ct. Mt 10^{8}, Ac 8^{20}), how little he had in common with the artful and obsequious sorcerers familiar to Naaman and his master (2 K 5$^{6.\,11}$).

---

* Compare further the name נָעֳמִי (Naomi) in the Book of Ruth.

There are two points in which Naaman's conduct has given rise to controversy, viz. (1) his request for two mules' burden of earth to carry away with him for the purpose of offering sacrifice to J″; and (2) the desire to be forgiven when he attended his royal master as heretofore in the temple of Rimmon and bowed down with him. With regard to the first, Naaman simply shared the universal belief of those days, that the god of each land could be served only on his own soil; cf. the complaint of David (1 S 26^{19}) that he was being driven out to serve other gods. Further, the transportation of earth from the Holy Land in the Middle Ages for the Campo Santos of Italy; the erection of a Jewish synagogue (to which Calmet refers in *Comm. Lit.* vol. ii.) at Nahardea in Persia, composed entirely of stones and earth brought from Palestine; and even the preference shown for water from the Jordan in Christian baptism, are instances of a similar feeling in later times. As to the latter point, when we bear in mind that the obeisance in the house of Rimmon, on the part of Naaman (which he wished to be condoned), was purely external, arising out of his official position and his personal relation to the king ('he leaneth on my hand,' cf. 2 K 7$^{2.\,17}$), we see that it does not really imply any attempt to dissemble his convictions, and that his appeal to Elisha may be more reasonably attributed to a sensitive conscience than to a spirit of compromise. There is therefore no warrant for drawing a parallel between Naaman and those who from worldly motives profess a faith and conform to a worship in which they do not believe—a view which has led to much irrelevant discussion. See, further, art. ELISHA in vol. i. p. 695^{a}.

In many respects the story lends itself with singular aptitude to the illustration of evangelical and sacramental doctrine; and the passage has been frequently so employed in homiletical literature.

2. According to Gn 46$^{21.\,26}$ (cf. Nu 26^{41}), one of 'the sons of Benjamin' who came with Jacob into Egypt, but more precisely designated in Nu 26$^{38.\,40}$ and 1 Ch 8$^{3f.}$, cf. ^{7}, as a son of Bela and grandson of Benjamin, and as head of 'the family of the **Naamites**' (Nu 26^{40}, where נַעֲמִי is probably a textual error for נַעֲמָנִי; so Sam., cf. LXX Νοεμανεί). See NAAMITE. J. A. M'CLYMONT.

NAAMATHITE (נַֽעֲמָתִי, ὁ Μ(ε)ιναίων βασιλεύς, ὁ Μ(ε)ιναῖος).—The description of Zophar, Job's friend, in Job 2^{11}, 11^{1} etc. The name is unknown elsewhere, the rendering of the LXX being hypothetical only. The name Na'amah ('pleasant-town'?) is not infrequent in Syria and Palestine of later days. It indicates a town in the Shephēlah in Jos 15^{41}. W. T. DAVISON.

NAAMITE (הַנַּעֲמִי).—The patronymic of a family descended from Naaman, who is represented Nu 26^{40} as a grandson of Benjamin, but in Gn 46^{21} as son, though the LXX agrees with Nu (see NAAMAN, No. 2).

NAARAH (נַעֲרָה 'girl').—1. One of the wives of Ashhur the 'father' of Tekoa, 1 Ch 4$^{5f.}$ (B Θοοδά, A Νοορά, Luc. Νοεράά). 2. A town belonging to the tribe of Ephraim, Jos 16^{7} (נַעֲרָתָה, with ה *locale*; B αἱ κῶμαι αὐτῶν as if for וּבְנֹתֶיהָ, A Naαραθά, Luc. Ἀναιραθά). AV has **Naarath** (so also Dillm. and Buhl). The same place is called in 1 Ch 7^{28} **Naaran** (נַעֲרָן; B Ναρνάν, A Ναρνάν). According to the *Onomasticon* (Lagarde, 283. 142), there was a village Νοοράθ 5 Roman miles from Jericho (cf. the Νεαρά of Jos. *Ant.* XVII. iii. 1). This would suit well the ruin *el-'Auje* situated on the river of the same name. Guérin places the site farther up the river at *es-Sâmie*.

LITERATURE.—Guérin, *Samarie*, i. 210 ff., 226 f.; *PEF Mem.* ii. 392; Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* 163; Buhl, *GAP* 181; Dillm., *Jos. ad loc.* J. A. SELBIE.

NAARAI (נַעֲרַי; B Ναaραί, A Νοορά).—One of David's heroes, 1 Ch 11^{37}, described as the son of Ezbai. In the parallel passage, 2 S 23^{35}, the name is **Paarai**, who is called 'the Arbite' (הָאַרְבִּי). It is impossible to decide with any confidence between the rival readings נַעֲרַי and פַּעֲרַי, or to say what is the relation of בֶּן־אֶזְבָּי to הָאַרְבִּי. See ARBITE, EZBAI, PAARAI, and cf. Kittel's note on 1 Ch 11^{37} in *SBOT*.

NAARAN, NAARATH.—See NAARAH, No. 2.

NAATHUS (A Ναaθός, B Λάθος), 1 Es 9^{31}.—One of the sons of Addi. The name seems to correspond to Adna in Ezr 10^{30}. The form in B is due to confusion of Α and Λ, and to attaching the initial N to the preceding word (Ἀδδείν).

NABAL (נָבָל, Ναβάλ).—S. of Hebron lies one of the few fertile stretches of Judæa, where the soil, less stony than usual, succeeds in covering the limestone skeleton of the country (cf. G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geogr.* p. 305 f.). In this district, which was settled by the clan Caleb, were clustered Maon, Ziph, and Carmel, on the last of which Nabal lived as a sheepmaster. So it can be understood why, according to Jos. (*Ant.* VI. xiii. 6), he was a Ziphite, according to 1 S 25^{5} (LXX) a Carmelite, according to v.^{3} a Calebite. His shepherds drove the flocks (3000 sheep and 1000 goats), at the suitable season, to pasture on the uplands of Carmel. Annually the sheep-shearing was celebrated with a feast 'like the feast of a king,' v.^{36}. The farmer was of considerable wealth, but of a surly and niggardly temper.

In the desert adjoining this district, David, seeking refuge from Saul, arrived. Living in the wilderness of Maon (so read with LXX for Paran, v.^{1}), he and his men subsisted by levying blackmail from the sheepmasters of the richer plateau above them. From these they exacted a certain tribute in return for their services in protecting the grazing flocks against the wandering Bedawin of the desert. Accordingly, at one of the shearing-feasts 10 men appeared from David's camp to require this tribute. But Nabal was 'flown with insolence and wine,' and sent back an insulting taunt about the increase of masterless men in the district. His servants, knowing their master's intractable character too well to interfere directly, appealed to his wife, who had woman's wit enough to see and instantly to set about averting the danger. Abigail, having loaded several asses with (probably) something more than the expected tribute, set off to seek David. She met him already on the way to execute signal vengeance. Her subtle flattery (which suggested that one so 'senseless' [*nābāl*, see Driver, *Par. Psalt.* 457] was not worth his anger), her gifts, perhaps herself, softened the leader, and he returned to his camp gratefully acknowledging that she had saved him from a crime. In the morning the shock of discovering what peril he had run, following on his over-night debauch, frightened Nabal into some kind of fit, from which after a few days he died. Thereupon Abigail became wife to David.

A. C. WELCH.

NABARIAS (B Ναβαρείας, A -ρι-), 1 Es 9^{44}, appears to correspond to Hashbaddanah in Neh 8^{4} (נבריה for השׁבדנה).

NABATHÆANS (*οἱ* Ναβαταῖοι, 1 Mac 5^{25} 9^{35}).—See NEBAIOTH.

NABOTH (נָבוֹת, Ναβουθαί).—A native of Jezreel, who in the time of Ahab owned land near that town. At that period Jezreel was the residence of the kings of Israel (1 K $18^{45f.}$, 2 K 8^{29}), having probably risen into importance through Ahab's policy of allying himself with Phœnicia. Naboth's land, which he cultivated as a vineyard, lay close to the royal palace (1 K 21^{1}, Heb.) or threshing-floor (*ib.* LXX). The statements are compatible, since the palace at Jezreel was near the city wall (2 K 9^{30}). On this piece of ground Ahab cast covetous eyes, since it lay convenient to his own property. Accordingly, he approached Naboth with the offer either to purchase his vineyard or to exchange it for ground of similar value. But, whether he was attached by sentimental ties to his family property, or whether he was governed by an unwritten custom that land should descend in the same tribe and house (cf. Nu 36), Naboth declined the proposal (1 K 21^{3}). Ahab, himself a Hebrew who understood his people's temper, was about to desist, however unwillingly (v.^{4}); but Jezebel, a foreigner with Phœnician ideas of royal authority, overruled him to grasp with the strong hand. She used his authority to have Naboth falsely accused of speaking evil of God and the king, and stoned to death by the local authorities (v.$^{5ff.}$). The deed made a lasting impression upon the popular mind. Elijah pronounced doom upon the tyrant (v.$^{20ff.}$); and the deaths of Joram and Jezebel, which took place at the hands of Jehu near this very spot, were regarded as Divine retribution upon the guilty house (2 K $9^{25f. 36f.}$). In 1 K 22^{38} (R) and by Jos. (*Ant.* VIII. xv. 6) it is even stated that, when Ahab's body was brought home from Ramoth-gilead, his blood was washed from the chariot by the pool of Jezreel.

This incident has many points of interest. It gives a tantalizingly inadequate glimpse into the existence of local tribunals in Israel at that period. It serves to prove the power of local customs, which none but the strongest kings dared override (contrast Josiah's conduct, 2 K 23). It shows how the opposition against Ahab's house arose from social as well as religious feelings, and that prophets like Elijah were influenced by such feelings. It gives, too, one of the sources from which sprang such condemnations of the kingdom as 1 S $8^{10ff.}$

LITERATURE.—Kittel, *Hist. of Heb.* ii. 269; W. R. Smith, *Proph. of Isr.* 77, 87; Cornill, *Isr. Prophetismus*, 32 f.; Wellhausen, *Comp. d. Hex.* 287.

A. C. WELCH.

NABUCHODONOSOR (Ναβουχοδονοσόρ).—The Gr. form of the name Nebuchadrezzar (which see). This form is retained by RV in the following passages in the Apocrypha: 1 Es $1^{40ff.}$, Ad. Est 11^{4}, Bar $1^{9ff.}$. In To 14^{15} and throughout the Bk. of Jth the name is given as Nebuchadnezzar.

NACON.—The threshing-floor of Nacon (גֹּרֶן נָכוֹן; B ἅλω Νωδάβ; B^{b} ἀλῶν (*sic*) Ὠδάβ; A ἀλωμένος Ναχών; Vulg. *area Nachon*) is mentioned as the place where Uzzah the priest was slain for laying hold of the ark, when it was being brought from Kiriath-jearim to the 'city of David': owing to this mishap, the spot was re-named Perez-uzzah by David (2 S 6^{6}). Klostermann, however, comparing the use of the word *Nacon* (אֶל־נָכוֹן RVm^{2} 'to a set place') in 1 S 23^{23}, treats it as an appellative, and renders 'to a fixed threshing-floor'; but this is very improbable. On the analogy of other place-names (see Wellh. and Driver on 2 S 6^{6}), the second word should be a proper name; possibly, the parallel passage (1 Ch 13^{9}) has preserved the more original form, viz. CHIDON (כִּידֹן [גֹּרֶן]; B τῆς ἅλωνος; A adds Χειλών). See CHIDON.

J. F. STENNING.

NADAB (נָדָב).—**1.** (Ναδάβ) the eldest son of Aaron (Ex 6^{23}, Nu 3^{2} 26^{60} [all P], 1 Ch 6^{3} $^{[Heb. 5^{29}]}$ 24^{1}). Along with his father, his brother Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel, he accompanied Moses to Sinai, and 'saw the God of Israel' (Ex $24^{1. 9f.}$ [probably J]); was admitted, along with his three brothers, Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar, and their father Aaron, to the priestly office (Ex 28^{1} [P]); and on the very day of his consecration (Lv $10^{12ff.}$ compared with ch. 9) he and Abihu perished (Lv $10^{1. 2}$, Nu 3^{4} 26^{61} [all P], 1 Ch 24^{2}) for offering 'strange fire' (אֵשׁ זָרָה, LXX πῦρ ἀλλότριον), *i.e.* strange to the requirements of the law. Wherein the transgression of Nadab and Abihu is supposed to have consisted is not clear. It is often suggested that 'strange' fire means fire taken from a common source instead of from the altar (cf. Lv 16^{12}, Nu 17^{11} $^{[Eng. 16^{46}]}$), but, as Dillm. remarks, in that case we should expect in Lv 10^{1} not וַיַּקְרִיבוּ אֵשׁ זָרָה but וַיִּתְּנוּ בָהֵן אֵשׁ ו׳. Perhaps אֵשׁ should be taken in the sense of אִשֶּׁה 'an offering made by fire,' in which case the offence may have lain in presenting an *unauthorized* (cf. אֲשֶׁר לֹא צִוָּה אֹתָם, 'which he commanded them not,' v.^{1}) offering. It is possible at the same time, but not certain (see Dillm.), that the writer may have had in view the prescriptions of Ex $30^{7ff. 34ff.}$ regarding the offering of incense. In v.$^{6f.}$ (which, however, probably belong to a later stratum of P) Aaron and his surviving sons are forbidden to mourn for the victims of the Divine judgment. There is not the slightest warrant for the idea (found in the Midrash and in Aphraates, *Hom.* 14, and repeated even in modern times) that the prohibition (v.$^{8f.}$) against the use of wine or strong drink by priests on duty implies that Nadab and Abihu were intoxicated when they committed their fatal offence. Any superficial plausibility which this notion might derive from the context is entirely taken away by the circumstance that v.$^{8f.}$ are really a fragment, having no connexion with either v.$^{6f.}$ or v.^{5}.

2. A Jerahmeelite family name, 1 Ch $2^{28. 30}$ (Ναδάβ). **3.** A Gibeonite family name, 1 Ch 8^{30} (B Ἀδάδ, A Ναδάβ) = 9^{36} (BA Ναδάβ).

4. A king of Israel, son of Jeroboam, 1 K 14^{20} (A Ναβάτ; the passage is wanting in B). He reigned for two years (*c.* 915–914 B.C.), 15^{25}. While engaged in besieging Gibbethon, which was then in the possession of the Philistines, he was assassinated by Baasha, who seized the throne and extirpated the dynasty of Jeroboam, v.$^{27\text{ff.}}$ In vv.$^{25.\,27}$ B has Ναβάθ, in v.^{31} Ναβάτ, while A has in all these passages Ναδάβ. J. A. SELBIE.

NADABATH (A Ναδαβάθ). — An unidentified town (?), east of the Jordan, in the neighbourhood of which a wedding party of the sons of Jambri was attacked, and many of them slain, by Jonathan and Simon the Maccabees, 1 Mac $9^{37\text{ff.}}$ Josephus (*Ant.* XIII. i. 4) gives the name as Γαβαθά (cf. ℵ Γαβαδάν); Syr. has *Nabath*; Vulg. *Madaba* (*i.e.* Medeba), as in preceding verse.

NAGGAI (Ναγγαί, AV Nagge).—An ancestor of Jesus, Lk 3^{25}. It is the Greek form of the Heb. name נֹגַהּ **Nogah** (which see).

NAHALAL (נַהֲלָל, in Jg 1^{30} נַהֲלֹל **Nahalol**).—A town of Zebulun (Jos 19^{15}), given to the Levites 21^{35}. Its inhabitants were not expelled by the Zebulunites, but were made tributary, Jg 1^{30}. In all these three passages the LXX readings are corrupt (Jos 19^{15} [where AV has incorrectly **Nahallal**]: B Βαιθμάν, A Ναλλώλ; Jos 21^{35}: B Σελλά, A Δαμνά; Jg 1^{30}: B Δωμανά, A Ἐναμμάν). The place seems to have been unknown in the 4th cent. A.D. A suitable site is *'Ain Mâhil*, north of Nazareth, on the hill which formed the limit of Zebulun to the east, above the plateau of Tabor belonging to Naphtali. Another site which has been advocated (*e.g.* by Schwarz, Knobel, van de Velde), is *Ma'lûl*, a village west of Nazareth, and on the south border of Zebulun. The towns of Zebulun are so little known that either site becomes possible. The substitution of *M* for *N* is not uncommon.

LITERATURE.—*SWP* vol. i. sheets v. vi.; Guérin, *Galilée*, i. 387 f.; Dillm. on Jos 19^{30}; Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* 189.

C. R. CONDER.

NAHALIEL (נַחֲלִיאֵל 'torrent-valley of God'; B Μανα(να)ήλ [the letters in brackets are inserted above the line], A Νααλιήλ; the word is imperfect in F; Luc. Ναχαιήλ; Vulg. *Nahaliel*).—A station in the journey from the Arnon to Jericho (Nu 21^{19} [JE] only), either *Wādy Waleh*, a N.E. tributary of the Arnon (see Bliss's map in *PEFSt*, 1895, p. 204, and cf. p. 215), or the *Wādy Zerḳa Ma'in*, farther north, which runs into the Dead Sea (see G. A. Smith, *HGHL* p. 561 f.). The name does not occur in the itinerary of Nu 33.

A. T. CHAPMAN.

NAHALLAL, NAHALOL.—See NAHALAL.

NAHAM (נַחַם). — The father of Keilah the Garmite, 1 Ch 4^{19} (B Ναχέθ, A Ναχέμ, Luc. Ναούμ).

NAHAMANI (נַחֲמָנִי).—One of the twelve heads of the Jewish community, Neh 7^{7} (B Naεμανεί, A Ναεμανί, Luc. Ναιμανί), omitted in the parallel passage Ezr 2^{2}. In 1 Es 5^{8} he is called Eneneus (RVm Enenis; B Ἔνηνις, A Ἐννήνιος, Luc. Νεμανί).

NAHARAI (נַחְרַי; Γελωρέ; *Naaraï*).—The armour-bearer of Joab, a native of Beeroth (2 S 23^{37}). In the parallel list (1 Ch 11^{39}) the name is written Nahari (נַחֲרַי; B Ναχώρ; A Νααραί; AV, RV Naharai), the form given by the AV at 2 S 23^{37}.

NAHASH (נָחָשׁ 'serpent,' Ναάς).—It is probable that all the passages in which this name is found refer to the same individual. He was king of the Ammonites at or before the beginning of Saul's reign, and did not die until David had been some years established at Jerusalem (2 S 10^{1}, 1 Ch 19^{1}). Such a length of reign is quite possible even if we accept the tradition that Saul reigned forty years (Jos. *Ant.* VI. xiv. 9, Ac 13^{21}), but there are many indications that this estimate is excessive. It was 'about a month after' Saul's election by lot at Mizpah (1 S 10^{27} LXX, reading כְּמֵחֹדֶשׁ for כְּמַחֲרִישׁ, so Jos. *Ant.* VI. v. 1) that Nahash made that attack on Jabesh-gilead which called forth all Saul's latent capacities as a leader, and thus vindicated to all Israel the choice of the Lord. The later narrative, on the other hand, implies (1 S 12^{12}) that the attack of Nahash had been the immediate cause of the people's demand for a king. This discrepancy may be solved, of course, by supposing that Samuel refers to Nahash as having been a standing menace to Israel, and that the invasion of 1 S 11^{1} had been preceded by many similar incursions. Josephus (*Ant.* VI. v. 1) takes this view, and says that Nahash was in the habit of putting out the right eyes of all Israelites beyond Jordan that came into his power, 'that when their left eyes were covered by their shields they might be wholly useless in war.' The same writer asserts (*Ant.* VI. v. 3) that Nahash was slain on this occasion; but that is merely his inference from the completeness of the Ammonite defeat. We are not told anything more about Nahash until the notice of his death (2 S $10^{1.\,2}$), where we learn that he had 'shown kindness to David in time past,' probably after he left Achish (1 S 21^{15}), and because they were both Saul's enemies (so Jerome, *Qu. Heb.*, *in loc.*, and 1 Ch 19^{2}). Again, when David was at Mahanaim, 'Shobi the son of Nahash of Rabbah of the children of Ammon' was one of those who befriended him (2 S 17^{27}). There seems no reason why we should suppose with Ewald (*HI* iii. 185) that this Nahash was only a member of the royal house, and not the king himself. These two notices seem to indicate some special connexion of Nahash with David, and lend some confirmation to Stanley's theory that the mother of David and his brothers had been originally wife of Nahash the king, and mother of Abigail and Zeruiah (2 S 17^{25});* see JESSE. It is fair to add that Wellh. (*Text d. BB Sam.* p. 201), followed by Gray (*Heb. Prop. Names*, 91), regards בַּת נָחָשׁ as a textual error introduced from בֶּן־נָחָשׁ of v.^{27}, which itself he thinks probably stood originally in the margin. Budde (*SBOT*, *ad loc.*) is inclined to think that Wellh. may be correct, although he himself emends נָחָשׁ to יִשַׁי (Jesse), which agrees with the facts (cf. 1 Ch 2^{16}) and is supported by Luc. Ἰεσσαί. N. J. D. WHITE.

NAHATH (נַחַת).—**1.** A 'duke' of Edom, Gn $36^{13.}$ (A Νάχομ, D^{sil} E Νάχοθ) ^{17} (A *D* Νάχοθ, E Νάχωρ) = 1 Ch 1^{37} (B Νάχες, A Νάχεθ). The clan of which he is the eponymous head has not been traced. **2.** A Kohathite Levite, 1 Ch $6^{26\,[\text{Heb. }11]}$ (BA Καὶναθ, Luc. Νάαθ), called in v.^{34} **Toah**, and in 1 S 1^{1} **Tohu.** Kittel (on 1 Ch 6^{26} in *SBOT*) holds this last to be most probably the original form of the name (so also Driver, *Text of Sam.* p. 3). As Kittel points out, תֹּחוּ might readily be corrupted into either תּוֹחַ or תַּחַת, and the latter again into נַחַת. **3.** A Levite in the time of Hezekiah, who was one of the overseers, under Conaniah and Shimei, in charge of the oblations and tithes and dedicated things, 2 Ch 31^{13} (B Μάεθ, A Νάεθ). J. A. SELBIE.

NAHBI (נַחְבִּי, B Ναβεί, A Ναβά).—The name of one of the twelve men sent by Moses to spy out the land, Nu 13^{14}. He was the representative of the tribe of Naphtali.

NAHOR (נָחוֹר; LXX and NT Ναχωρ: in AV Jos 24^{2}, Lk 3^{34}, **Nachor**).—**1.** The grandfather of Abraham, son of Serug, and father of Teraḥ (Gn $11^{22\text{-}25}$

---

* Another explanation makes of Nahash a female name, supposing her to be the *mother* of Abigail.

P, 1 Ch 1^{26}, Lk 3^{34}). 2. Grandson of the preceding; son of Teraḥ, and brother of Abraham and Haran (Gn $11^{26.\,27}$ P; cf. Jos 24^{2}). In Gn 11^{29} (J) he is said to have married Milcah, the daughter of his brother Haran; and in $22^{20\text{-}24}$ (J) twelve sons of Naḥor are enumerated, viz. eight by Milcah: Huz,—*i.e.* 'Uz, RV Uz, the people of Job's fatherland,—Buz (the tribe of Elihu, Job 32^{2}), Ḳemuel (the father of Aram), Chesed, Ḥăzo, Pildash, Jidlaph, and Bethuel (father of Laban and Rebekah; cf. Gn $24^{15.\,24.\,47}$ 29^{5}); and four by a concubine Re'umah: Ṭebaḥ, Gaḥam, Taḥash, and Ma'acah. In 24^{10} (J) the city in Aram-naharaim to which Abraham's servant goes to find a wife for Isaac, *i.e.* (27^{43} 29^{4}) Ḥaran, is called the 'city of Naḥor'; and in 31^{53} (JE) Laban, in concluding the covenant with Jacob, on the borders of Gilead, appeals to 'the God of Abraham, and the God of Naḥor,'—the God, that is, or rather, perhaps, the gods,* of their respective ancestors,—to judge between them. These are all the passages in which Naḥor is mentioned. His 'sons' are certainly in several cases (see Buz, 'Uz, Aram, Ḥazo, Ṭebaḥ, Ma'acah, Chesed),† and probably in most, not individuals, but *tribes* (cf. Ishmael, vol. ii. p. 503^{b}, 504^{a}; Jacob, p. 533^{b}–534^{a}): he is thus the unit from which were derived by the Hebrew genealogists a group of Aramæan tribes, resident on the E. or N.E. of Canaan, just as other groups of tribes were derived from Ishmael (Gn $25^{12\text{-}16}$), or from Abraham's concubine Ḳeṭurah ($25^{1\text{-}4}$). Whether or not Naḥor was an historical individual, must remain an open question: his relationship to Abraham, whether real or assumed, served in either case as a measure of the degree of relationship which was held to subsist between the tribes referred to him and the descendants of Abraham (cf. above, *ll.cc.*). If the name be not that of an individual, it will naturally be that of a lost tribe, resident once about Ḥaran in Mesopotamia, of which the 'sons' of Naḥor were regarded as offshoots, and recollections of which were preserved by the Hebrews (cf. Ewald, *Hist.* i. 310 f., 268 f.): in this case, the marriage of Naḥor with his niece Milcah will represent the amalgamation of two kindred tribes (Dillm. on Gn 11^{29}, who compares 16^{1} 21^{1} $36^{2\text{ff.}}$). As contrasted with Abraham, the ancestor of the Israelites (and Edomites), Naḥor appears as the ancestor of a group of *Aramæan* tribes,‡ the most prominent members of which (on account of their connexion with Isaac and Jacob) are Laban and Rebekah. The contrast between the two parallel branches appears plainly in Gn 31^{53} (quoted above), and Jos 24^{2} 'Your fathers dwelt of old time beyond the River, even Teraḥ, *the father of Abraham*, and *the father of Naḥor*: and they served other gods.' The allusion in the last cited passage is to the common home of the ancestors of the Abrahamidæ and Naḥoridæ, 'beyond' the Euphrates, *i.e.* in Aram-naharaim, or 'Mesopotamia,' between the Euphrates in the upper part of its course, and the Ḥabor (now the *Khabour*), in which was the ancient and important 'city of Nahor' (see above), the site of which is well known (see Haran). There seems, it may be added, to be much probability in Dillmann's view (on Gn $11^{28.\,31}$ 12^{1}; cf. $24^{4.\,7}$) that, according to J, Ḥaran was the native and not merely the adopted home of Naḥor and Abraham (cf. above, vol. i. p. 15^{a}).

S. R. Driver.

NAHSHON (נַחְשׁוֹן [meaning doubtful] LXX and NT Ναασ(σ)ών), brother-in-law of Aaron, Ex 6^{23} P, descendant in the 5th generation from Judah, 1 Ch $2^{9\text{f.}}$, and prince of the tribe of Judah, Nu 1^{7} 2^{3} $7^{12.\,17}$ 10^{14} P, is mentioned as one of the ancestors of David, Ru 4^{20}, 1 Ch $2^{10\text{f.}}$, and of Christ, Mt 1^{4}, Lk 3^{32}.

NAHUM.—

i. Name and Place in the Canon.
ii. The Prophet's birthplace.
iii. Contents of the Book of Nahum.
iv. Integrity and Authenticity of the Book.
v. Occasion and date of chs. 2 and 3.
vi. General characteristics of chs. 2 and 3.
Literature.

i. Name and Place in Canon.—The Book of Nahum occupies the seventh place in the list of the so-called 'Minor Prophets' in the second division of the OT Canon. Its twofold title (Nah 1^{1}) at once indicates the subject-matter of the book, 'the oracle* of (concerning) Nineveh (RVm),' and furnishes us with the sum of our knowledge regarding its author, 'the book of the vision of Nahum the Elkoshite.' In our canonical Scriptures Nahum is not elsewhere mentioned; in extra-canonical Jewish writings he is referred to in 2 Es 1^{40} and by Josephus, who gives (*Ant.* IX. xi. 3, Niese, § 239 ff.) a free rendering of Nah $2^{8\text{-}13}$, and assigns to him an impossible date (see below).

Several persons bearing the name Nahum are known to later Jewish history—among them an ancestor of Joseph of Nazareth (Lk 3^{25}), and a well-known teacher of the 2nd cent., 'Nahum the Mede' (for whom see Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, i. p. 359), more than once cited in the Mishna (*Shabb.* ii. 1, etc.). Another Nahum is there described as a scribe or copyist (הַלַּבְלָר=*libellarius*, *Peah*, ii. 6). Traces of still another have been discovered by Clermont-Ganneau ('Épigraphes heb. . . . sur des ossuaires juifs,' in *Rev. Archéol.* Ser. III. t. i. No. 41). The name appears, also, to have been not uncommon among the Phœnicians (see Bœckh, *CIG* ii. 25, 26; *CIS* i. No. $123^{a3.\,b3}$).

Nahum (נַחוּם *naḥḥûm*—in some codices and editions less correctly נָחוּם *nāḥûm*—LXX and NT Ναούμ, in Josephus and *CIG* (above) inflected Ναοῦμος, -μου, Vulg. *Nahum*) signifies primarily 'full of consolation *or* comfort,'† then, perhaps, 'comforter, consoler' (Jerome, *consolator*), and is probably contracted from the fuller form נַחֶמְיָה 'J" is full of consolation' (cf. נְחֶמְיָה *Nehemiah*, and the later Jewish name נחמיהו, Clermont-Ganneau, *Sceaux et cachets israélites*, No. 42 [1883]).

ii. The Prophet's Birthplace.—Of the personality of the prophet, as has been said, nothing whatever is known‡ beyond the description of him in the title of his book as the **Elkoshite** (הָאֶלְקֹשִׁי, LXX 'Ελκεσαῖος, Vulg. *Elcesæus*), that is, in all probability, as a native of Elḳôsh.§ The OT, unfortunately, gives no clue to the situation of Elḳôsh. Four sites have been proposed at various times and with varying degrees of probability. (1) As a product of mediæval fancy, we may dismiss the identification of Elķôsh with the Christian village of *Alķûsh*, about 27 miles (*c.* 43 kilometres)[*] due North of Mosul, where the tomb of the prophet is still shown (see Layard's description in *Nineveh and its Remains* (1849), i. 233). This identification, according to Assemani, does not date beyond the 16th cent. of our era, and is, moreover, easily accounted for by the subject-matter of the prophecy, just as the tomb of Jonah, whose book also deals with Nineveh, is shown at Nebi Yunus to the South of Mosul. (2) Equally inadmissible is the view of Hitzig and Knobel, that Elķôsh was the original name of the town which in the 1st cent. bore the name of Καφαρναούμ (so the best authorities, see CAPERNAUM), *i.e.* probably כְּפַר נַחוּם 'the village of Nahum,' since, apart from the somewhat precarious etymology, there is nothing in the genuine portion of the Book of Nahum (see below) to suggest a Galilæan origin for its author. The objection of the Sanhedrin, moreover, expressed in the words, 'Search and see that out of Galilee ariseth no prophet' (Jn 7^{52} RV), could scarcely have taken so emphatic a form had Capernaum been associated in the popular mind with *our* Nahum. (3) A similar objection applies to the identification, dubious on other grounds, which we owe to Jerome. In the prologue to his commentary on Nahum, he writes: 'Helkesei[†] usque hodie in Galilæa viculus [est], parvus quidem et vix ruinis veterum ædificiorum indicans vestigia; sed tamen notus Judæis, et mihi quoque a circumducente monstratus.' The hamlet which was pointed out to Jerome by his guide as the ancient Elķôsh is generally identified with the modern Elķôzeh in Northern Galilee, a short distance to the north-east of Ramieh. (4) Inasmuch as the date of Nahum's prophecy—long after the fall of the Northern Kingdom (see below)—rather points in the direction of a Judæan origin, the most probable location of Elķôsh is that furnished by a collection of traditions known as the *Lives of the Prophets*, formerly ascribed to Epiphanius, from A.D. 367 bishop of Constantia, the ancient Salamis, in Cyprus.

---

* The verb 'judge' is in the original a plural (though this, in view of Heb. usage, does not absolutely settle the question); cf. also Jos $24^{2\ \textit{end}}$. The words 'the God of their father' (*i.e.* of Teraḥ), which in the Heb. follow awkwardly after 'judge,' are not in LXX, and are very probably a gloss, designed to identify expressly the God of Abraham with the God of Naḥor.

† In the genealogical scheme of P (Gn $11^{22.\,23}$), Aram (the Syrians) and 'Uz are placed differently.

‡ Observe the epithet, 'the Aramæan,' applied to both Bethuel and Laban, Gn 25^{20} 28^{5} $31^{20.\,24}$.

* This rendering of מַשָּׂא 'utterance, oracle' (cf. the common expression נָשָׂא קוֹל 'to lift up the voice') is certainly preferable to the AV and RV rendering 'burden.'

† The form *naḥḥûm* is intensive (see Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Heb. Gram.* 1898, § 84*b*, *g*), from the intensive stem of נחם 'to comfort, console.' The common adjectives חַנּוּן 'full of pity,' רַחוּם 'full of compassion,' support by analogy the rendering given above, in preference to an original substantival signification, 'consolation, comfort' (so Orelli and others). From the same root are derived several other proper names, such as Nehemiah, Menahem, Nachman, etc.

‡ The numerous legends that gathered round his name have been collected by Carpzov in his *Introductio*, iii. 386 ff.

§ The Targum renders מִבֵּית קוֹשִׁי as if Nahum were 'of the family of Ḳôshi.'

This curious work exists in a double form, Greek and Syriac. The former was first published as a genuine work of Epiphanius by Torinus in 1529, in more recent times by Migne (vol. xliii.), Tischendorf (*Anecdota Sacra*, etc., ^{1}1855, ^{2}1861), Hall (*Journ. of Soc. of Bibl. Exegesis*, June 1886, p. 29 ff.), and, from two fresh MSS, Nestle (*Die dem Epiphanius zugeschriebenen* Vitæ Prophetarum *in doppelter Recension*,[‡] pp. 16–35). As to the Syriac form of these traditions, we find them not only appended to the respective prophets in Paul of Tella's Syriac translation (616–617 A.D.) of Origen's Hexaplar text of the Greek OT (see Ceriani's *Codex Syro-hexaplaris Ambrosianus photolithographice editus* in his *Monumenta Sacra*, etc., vol. vii. 1874), but in a more or less independent form in various quarters (see Budge, *The Book of the Bee* [1886], 74 ff.; Nestle, *Syriac Grammar* [1889], Chrestomathy, 86 ff.; translated, Budge, *ibid.* 69 ff.; Hall (from a Philadelphia MS) in *Journ. of the Soc. of Bibl. Exeg.* [1887], 28 ff.).[§]

The portions of the *Vitæ Prophetarum* relating to Nahum have been edited in Greek and Syriac with full critical apparatus by Nestle (*op. cit.* 43 f.). The former, in the oldest MS from 'the 6th or 7th century,' begins thus: Ναοὺμ ἀπὸ Ἐλκεσὶ πέραν τοῦ Ἰσβηγαβαρὶν φυλῆς Συμεών, which corresponds to the Syriac: 'Nahum was from Elķôsh (in the country) beyond Bêth Gabrê (בית גברא) of the tribe of Simeon.'[‖] Now Bêth-Gabrê, the Betogabra of Ptolemy, is beyond question the modern *Beit-Jibrîn*, the ancient Eleutheropolis—about halfway, as the crow flies, between Jerusalem and Gaza—an identification confirmed by the variant בית חורים (=Home of the Free) found in some of the Syriac MSS (Nestle, *op. cit.* 44, and the Chrestomathy, p. 89). Unfortunately, the uncertain authorship of the work in question prevents us from regarding the above statement as a genuine local tradition, as would have been the case had the *Lives of the Prophets* been a genuine work of Epiphanius, who was born near Eleutheropolis, and there ordained a presbyter. Still we do not hesitate to characterize this tradition as the most credible of the four here adduced. Nahum was thus, it is allowable to infer, a fellow-countryman of Micah, whose native place, Moresheth (Mic 1^1), according to Eusebius and Jerome, lay a little to the east of Eleutheropolis.

iii. CONTENTS OF THE BOOK OF NAHUM.—The genuine oracle of Nahum is preceded by a psalm (1^2–$2^{1.3}$) which still bears manifest traces of an original alphabetic or acrostic arrangement (see next section). It begins by asserting the qualities and attributes of J″ as 'a God jealous and avenging' (1^2; cf. RVm), passing into a fine description of the effect on the world of nature when J″ appears for judgment on His enemies (vv.$^{3.6.8}$).[*] To those, however, who truly wait upon Him,[†] J″ is true and faithful (v.^{7}). In the second part of the psalm (v.$^{9\text{ff.}}$), where the original alphabetic arrangement has largely disappeared, and where the present text is in some places extremely corrupt, the poet announces the destruction of the enemies of Judah; the yoke that has pressed so long and so heavily on the necks of God's people shall be broken, the enemies' gods cast down, and they themselves brought to an utter end. Already the bearer of the glad tidings is speeding over the hills of Judah (1^{15} [Heb. 2^1]); the final restoration of J″'s land and people is at hand ($2^{2\,[\text{Heb. }3]}$).[‡]

In chs. $2^{1.3}$–3^{19} we have the genuine 'oracle concerning Nineveh.'[§] It consists of two parts, corresponding to the present division of the chapters. (*a*) The first part may be described as a triptych, in which, with a few bold and effective strokes, the prophet-artist has painted in succession the siege, the capture, and the final overthrow of Nineveh, with its resulting desolation. First of all he portrays the approach of the besiegers in scarlet uniforms and with steel-mounted[‖] chariots ($2^{1.3}$), then the stubborn fights in the outplaces and broadways without the walls (v.^{4}). On this follows[¶] (v.^{5}) the hurried muster of the troops within, the rush to the walls to place in position the engines of defence (?; see MANTELET).[**] But the immediate source of danger is elsewhere, for the protecting dams and sluices are burst open (v.^{6}); the result is panic in the palace, which is immediately stormed, and the queen (?)* captured and carried off amid the lamentations of her maids (v.^{7}). In vain is every effort to rally the panic-stricken defenders (v.^{8}); the city is given over to be looted by the victors (v.^{9}). The final tableau shows the climax of the catastrophe. Nineveh has disappeared! Where stood the queen of cities there is now a 'wild and weary waste' (if thus we may imitate the alliteration (*būḳāh ūmĕbūḳāh ūmĕbullāḳāh*) of the original, v.^{10}); to the prophet's unfeigned delight, the Assyrian, once brave as a lion and as cruel, has passed away for ever (v.$^{11\text{ff.}}$).

---

[*] So, according to the latest map of this district by Colonel Billerbeck, in the joint monograph by Billerbeck and Jeremias on 'The Downfall of Nineveh and the Prophecy of Nahum of Elķosh' (see the Literature at the end of article).

[†] This form of the word is itself suspicious, since it presupposes the LXX form of the *adjective* Ἐλκεσαῖος.

[‡] A separate off-print from his *Marginalien und Materialien*, 1893.

[§] For further details as to the origin and relation of the recensions see the exhaustive investigation of Professor Nestle (cited above), which the author kindly put at the present writer's disposal for the purpose of this article.

[‖] Nestle was the first to call attention to the important bearing of the Syriac reading in the *ZDPV* i. 122 ff. A translation of his communication appeared in the *PEFSt*, 1879, p. 136 ff.

[*] In v.^{8a} in place of the obscure and irrelevant מְקוֹמָהּ (MT) the parallelism requires us to read with most of the VSS בְּקָמָיו (Buhl, *ZATW* v. 181; cf. Davidson, *in loc.*).

[†] Adopting the reading of the LXX τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν = לְקֹוָיו (La 3^{25}; cf. Ps 25^3 69^7).

[‡] The references in the sequel to ch. 2 follow the verse-numeration of the EV, which is *one less* throughout than in the Hebrew.

[§] The words, 'Thus saith J″,' now found at the head of 1^{12}, are probably part of the original introduction to the oracle.

[‖] A conjectural rendering (cf. RV), the meaning of the original פְּלָדוֹת being unknown. The AV rendering 'torches' rests on a mistaken etymology.

[¶] The proposal of Billerbeck and Jeremias to insert ch. $3^{12\text{-}15}$ between 2^4 and 2^5 is quite unnecessary.

[**] Heb. הַסֹּכֵךְ, lit. 'the coverer,' RV 'mantelet,' apparently a military *terminus technicus*. An elaborate and technical account of the Assyrian 'siege artillery,' both for attack and defence, with numerous illustrations, is given in Billerbeck and Jeremias' monograph already cited.

(*b*) In ch. 3 the prophet, enamoured of his theme, returns to fill in certain details of the overthrow of this 'city of blood' (v.^{1}), and furnishes us with a graphic word-picture of the final attack (vv.$^{2.\,3}$)—

> 'Hark! the whip! Hark! the rattle of the wheels;
> And (see!) the prancing steeds and the bounding chariots,
> The horsemen charging (?),
> And the flash of the swords and the glint of the spears,
> And the masses of the slain and the heaps of the dead.'

And why has this fate overtaken Nineveh? Because of her unprincipled diplomacy, her harlotries, and her witchcrafts (v.^{4}). As punishment, she will be exposed like a vulgar adulteress to the gibes and insults of the nations she has so long oppressed (vv.$^{5.\,6}$). The prophet further dwells complacently on the thought that, in Nineveh's hour of doom and shame, there will be none to comfort her or to bewail her (v.^{7}). Let her not think she will fare better than No-amon, the mistress of Upper Egypt (v.$^{8\text{f.}}$). With the measure wherewith she meted out cruelties unspeakable to the Egyptian capital, it shall be measured to Nineveh in her turn (v.^{10}). For her fortified outposts, with their effeminate defenders, already fall before the invader as readily as ripe figs fall into the mouth of one who but shakes the laden fig-tree (v.^{12}). Now is the time to prepare for the siege. 'To the mortar-tub and the brick-mould' is the prophet's sarcastic call (v.^{14})! The countless merchants of the city, a heterogeneous and unpatriotic throng, vanish as locusts vanish with the morning sun. And thus, to the accompaniment of a universal song of joy on the part of all that have suffered at her hands, the city of blood makes her final exit from the stage of history (v.^{19}).

iv. INTEGRITY AND AUTHENTICITY OF THE BOOK.—Until a very few years ago the authenticity of all three chapters of the Book of Nahum was regarded as beyond suspicion, even by scholars so 'advanced' as Kuenen (*Onderzoek*^{2}, ii. § 75), Wellhausen (*Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten*^{2} [1893], p. 155), and Cornill (*Einleit.*^{2} 1892, p. 188). Since 1880, however, in various publications (*ZDMG* xxxiv. 559 ff., *Carmina Vet. Test. metrice*, 212, etc.) Bickell—in this following out indications given by Frohnmeyer and Franz Delitzsch—had maintained that Nah 1$^{2\text{-}6}$ was in reality an alphabetic poem, whose original structure was easily recoverable by means of various slight alterations and transpositions (see esp. *ZDMG*, *ut supra*). In 1893 a more successful attempt was made on the same lines by H. Gunkel in Stade's *ZATW* (xiii. 223 ff.). In this essay Gunkel succeeded, in the present writer's opinion, not only in proving more conclusively than Bickell had done the existence in vv.$^{2\text{-}9}$ of a clearly designed acrostic arrangement for the first half of the Hebrew alphabet (א to ל), but in establishing a strong probability that the same arrangement for the second half (מ to ת) originally appeared in the verses following (1^{9a}–2^{3} of the Hebrew numeration, see footnote above). Bickell has since issued a much improved edition of his restoration (*Beiträge zur Semit. Metrik*, 1894, being an off-print from the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Academy of Sciences), which in its turn has suggested to Gunkel a few emendations, incorporated in a note to his *Schöpfung u. Chaos* (p. 120 f.).* Finally, Nowack in his commentary (see the Literature at end of article) has adopted, and in some points has still further improved upon, the results of his predecessors. As regards the opening verses at least (vv.$^{2\text{-}9}$), the changes which the acrostic scheme demands are not more numerous or more radical than those required in several of the other alphabetic poems of the OT, as we propose to show (see small type below). An alphabetic psalm, however, must by its very nature be complete; hence we do not hesitate to affirm that in Nah 1^{2}–2^{3} we have the remains of an acrostic psalm, of which the first nine verses (א to ט) have suffered little, the next four or five (י to נ) considerably more, and the rest (ס to ת) so much that their restoration 'can never be more than an academic exercise,'—words which A. B. Davidson has applied rashly, as we think, to the whole of ch. 1. Each of the twenty-two verses consisted originally of two lines each, each line containing, as a rule, three or four accented words.

The following brief note will sufficiently indicate the plan of the psalm: the א-verse consists of v.^{2a} of the MT, *i.e.* of two lines of four words each, vv. 2$^{b.\,3a}$ (יהוה) being probably part of the מ and נ verses introduced here by an editor to qualify the general statement in v.^{2a} (Nowack). The ב-verse, two lines of three words each, extends from בסופה to end of v.^{3}; the ג-verse = v.^{4a} also of six accented words. At v.^{4b} a ד is needed, and here the VSS certainly had two different verbs, which renders the first אמלל suspicious; read perhaps דלל (Gray, Cheyne) or דאב (Now.). The ה-verse = v.^{5a}, ו = v.^{5b}; for ז it is only necessary to transpose זעמו to the head of 6^{a} and read לפניו; ח=6^{b}, ט=7^{a}. For י we would propose to read יידע (cf. Ps 138^{6}), or, as hitherto proposed, delete ו of וידע in v.^{7b}. Now in all these ten verses, involving only one serious interference with MT, we have surely something more than chance coincidences, namely, a conscious design which cannot be explained by the 'fact that the author allowed himself *here and there and perhaps half accidentally* to follow the alphabetic order' (Driver, *Expos. Times*, ix. (1897), p. 119—review of Nowack's *Kleine Propheten*).

Regarding the author of this psalm, we can only say that he lived at some period of the post-exilic history,† when the yoke of the heathen pressed heavily on the people of God, whose coming to judge the oppressor and vindicate His own could not be long delayed. The poem, it was felt at a later period, fitly expressed the general principle of God's avenging justice, of which the destruction of Nineveh was the most striking concrete illustration. Accordingly, it was prefixed as an appropriate introduction to the genuine 'vision of Nahum the Elkoshite.'

v. OCCASION AND DATE OF CHS. 2 AND 3.—The prophecy itself provides us with two fixed points between which its date must fall. These are the capture of No-amon (Thebes, $3^{8ff.}$) and the downfall of Nineveh itself. Regarding the former event, our *terminus a quo*, there need be no hesitation in identifying it with the capture and destruction of the capital of Upper Egypt by Assurbanipal in B.C. 664–663 (see Schrader, *COT* ii. 149 ff.; Tiele, *Bab.-Assyr. Geschichte*, ii. 149 ff.). An event of such far-reaching consequences for the Western world would long remain fresh in the minds of men, so that it is quite unnecessary, because of its mention by Nahum, either to assign the prophecy to a date B.C. 660 (so Schrader, *loc. cit.*, and Orelli), or with Wellhausen (*Skizzen*, etc. v. 160) to suggest whether the prophet may not refer to some later capture, regarding which history and tradition are alike silent.

---

* The word of the original, הֻצַּב, is still unexplained (AV, RV as a proper name, Huzzab, but see margins). The Targum has already מלכתא 'queen.' See art. HUZZAB. The following העלתה should perhaps be read העתלה and understood as a loan-word from Assyrian, like טפסר 3^{17} and prob. מנזרים *ib.* = *maṣṣaru*, 'watcher' (see Jensen's review of Billerb. and Jerem. in *Theol. Ltztg.* 1895, p. 507). It would then correspond to the Assyr. *etellitu*, 'a lady (of rank).' See P. Ruben, *Academy*, 1896, p. 202, and more in detail *PSBA* xx. (May 1898) p. 173 ff. 'An Oracle of Nahum'; cf. *Expos. Times*, vii. (1896) p. 568, viii. p. 48.

* The English-speaking student will find a very lucid account of the proposals of these scholars, with some original suggestions, in G. Buchanan Gray's article, 'The Alphabetical Poem in Nahum,' *Expositor*, Sept. 1898.

† The artificiality of the acrostic form is generally supposed to point to a late rather than an early date for the poems which show this construction. If our psalm is really post-exilic, then 1^{15a} (Heb. 2^{1a}) is taken from Is 52^{7}. Other parallels, such as 1^{7} (restored text) = La 3^{25} 1^{15b} (שלם נדרך) = Ps 61^{8}, partake too much of the nature of theological commonplaces to permit of an assertion of borrowing on the one side or the other, while almost all the points of contact adduced by older commentators (see esp. Strauss, *Nahumi Vaticin.*, Prolegom. xv f.) are quite illusory.

With regard, in the next place, to the *terminus ad quem*, we are now in possession, since 1895, of native cuneiform testimony to the manner and date of the final overthrow of Nineveh. In the course of his excavations in a mound near Hillah (Babylon), Father Scheil came upon a semicircular stele of Nabonidus (B.C. 555–538), now in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople (publ. by V. Scheil in Maspero's *Recueil de Travaux*, etc., 1896, livr. 1, 2; L. Messerschmidt, *Die Inschrift der Stele Nabona'ids*, 1896; summary by Johns in *Expos. Times*, vii. (1896), p. 360 f.; also, with illustrations, by C. J. Ball in *Light from the East*, 1899, p. 212 ff.; cf. A. B. Davidson, *Nahum*, etc. 137 f.). In this inscription it is expressly stated that 'the aid of the king of the Umman-manda folk'—that is, either the Medes alone, or a mixed folk of which the Medes were the predominant constituent[*]—was invoked by Marduk, the great god of Babylon, in order to avenge the insults offered to him by the Assyrians in the days of Sennacherib. *The Medes alone* are credited with the destruction of the cities and temples of Assyria (column ii.), which agrees with the well-known statement of Herodotus (i. 103 ff.).

The date of the fall of Nineveh is also, for the first time, fixed for us within narrow limits. In col. x. Nabonidus informs us that the temple of the moon-god Sin at Harran (which had been destroyed by the Medes about the same time as Nineveh) was restored by him fifty-four years after its destruction. This restoration, as we know from another inscription, took place in the third year of Nabonidus' reign (B.C. 553). Hence we obtain 607 as the date of the destruction of Harran and—since Nineveh was doubtless the last to fall before the Medes—B.C. 606 as the nearest approach to the date of the fall of Nineveh.

These, then, are the two fixed points, viz. B.C. 664–663 and B.C. 606, between which the prophecy of Nahum must be placed. The upper limit, it will be seen, is fatal both to the earliest tradition known to us, according to which Nahum prophesied 115 years before the fall of Nineveh (Jos. *Ant.* IX. xi. 3), and to the conclusions of older scholars, such as Pusey, Nägelsbach, etc., who placed the prophecy in the reign of Hezekiah or the earlier years of Manasseh.

Another factor, which was of the greatest moment in former attempts to fix more definitely the date of our prophecy, must now be set aside, namely, the supposed references in ch. 1 to the political and religious condition of Judah under the later Assyrian kings.[†] This chapter, we have seen reason to believe, is no part of the genuine prophecy of Nahum—a conclusion which disposes at once of the views of two groups of scholars—(*a*) those who, like Kuenen (*Onderzoek*^{2}, § 75), Cornill (*Einleit.*^{2} 188), and Wildeboer (*Die Litteratur d. AT*, 1895, pp. 194, 197), lay stress on the fact that the yoke of Assyria was still heavy on the neck of Judah (1^{13}), and are therefore compelled to postulate a date *c.* 624, after which time the power of Assyria rapidly decayed, and Josiah was able to extend his borders at her expense; and (*b*) those who, like Robertson Smith (art. 'Nahum' in *Encyc. Brit.*^{9}), basing too exclusively on ch. 1, consider that the prophet had in his eye no *particular* assailant of Nineveh, but based his prophecy solely on the general principles of the divine moral government. With ch. 1 falls also the hypothesis advanced by the present writer in 1891 ('The Burden of Nineveh' in *Good Words*, 1891, 741 ff.)—and by H. Winckler independently in 1892 (*Altest. Untersuch.* 1892, 124 ff.)—based on a study of the relations between Assyria and Judah during the period in question, that the prophecy is to be placed *c.* 645 B.C., near the close of the rebellion of Samas-sum-ukin, viceroy of Babylon, against his brother Assurbanipal.

If, then, as we believe, chs. 2 and 3 alone constitute the genuine prophecy of Nahum, the task of determining its date is very materially simplified, for the situation portrayed in these chapters is scarcely open to doubt. It is the moment *between the actual invasion of Assyria by a hostile force and the commencement of the attack on its capital.* The 'mauler' or destroyer (adopting with most moderns Michaelis' reading מֵפֵּץ for מֵפִּיץ) is already on the march ($2^{1\,[\text{Heb. }2]}$); the frontier fortresses have opened their gates to the foe (3^{13}, where note the tenses). The latter, it is clear ($3^{14.\,15}$), has not yet begun to invest the city. Such was the situation when Nahum received the prophetic impulse to proclaim to the 'city of blood' (3^1) that the cup of her iniquities was full to overflowing. It is needless to attempt to disentangle the statements of classical historians as to the various attacks which Nineveh had to meet during the last years of her existence. The whole of the genuine prophecy palpitates with the conviction that the 'utter end' of the Assyrian is at hand. The closing verses of the prophecy, in particular, are strangely out of place, if the writer has in view any other but the final attack by the Umman-manda of Nabonidus' stele. B.C. 608–607, therefore, we consider to be the date of the vision of Nahum, an approximation as close as is attainable in the case of any book of the OT.

Nothing in these chapters, we may add, compels us to believe that Nahum was himself an eyewitness of the scenes he so vividly portrays. Communication, easy and frequent, had long existed between Nineveh and the tributary West-land, whose inhabitants were therefore well acquainted with her situation and defences. Such an acquaintance, joined to a poet's intuition and a seer's prophetic insight, is sufficient for all the facts.

vi. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF CHS. 2 and 3.—The most striking characteristics of the poetry of Nahum are its intense force and its picturesqueness. Although, as Dr. Pusey has remarked, it is only in the original that 'the grandeur, energy, power, and vividness of Nahum can be fully felt,' still even in an English dress no one can be insensible to the onward rush of the movement in 2^{1-9}, the graphic word-picture of $3^{2.\,3}$, the aptness and force of the figures of the lion and his cubs ($2^{11ff.}$), and of the locusts' flight (3^{17}), the pathos of 3^{18}, and similar features. 'Of all the minor prophets none seems to reach the sublimity, the fire, and the daring spirit (*audaces spiritus*) of Nahum,—such is the judgment passed on our prophet by Bishop Lowth in his classical work on *Hebrew Poetry*.

---

[*] See Messerschmidt, p. 71 (a general term for northern peoples, *including* the Medes); Del. *HWB* p. 87^b. According to Ball, *op. cit.* p. 208 n., the Umman-manda are the 'Medes' of Astyages, who appear, he adds, 'to have been Iranian Scythians' (?).

[†] Such references were found in vv.$^{9-11}$ (the 'wicked counsellor'), ^{13} (the heavy yoke [of Assyria?]), ^{15} (the religious zeal of the Jews [under Josiah?]), etc., see the commentaries.

‘Of all the prophets,’ writes a more recent authority, ‘he is the one who in dignity and force approaches most nearly to Isaiah’ (Driver, *LOT*^{6} 336; cf. Kirkpatrick, *Doct. of the Prophets*, p. 250). It is unfortunate that in several passages even of the genuine prophecy the text is uncertain. The use by the prophet of so many apparently technical terms (cf. G. A. Smith's list, *The Twelve Prophets*, ii. 89) further helps to obscure his meaning.

The direct teaching of the book is mainly confined to ch. 1. Its leading thought we have already seen to be the attribute of J″ as ‘a God jealous * (cf. Ex 20^{5} 34^{14}, Dt 4^{24}) and avenging,’ who, though He suffer long, will assuredly ‘take vengeance on his adversaries’ (cf. Is 34^{8} 63^{4}, Dt 32^{35}). The elaboration of this aspect of the Divine nature serves to throw into higher relief the assurance that follows—

> ‘The Lord is good to them that wait upon him (LXX).’
> ‘In the day of trouble will He deliver them.’ †
> ‘(Yea) the Lord knoweth them that put their trust in him.’

Passing to chs. 2 and 3, we note one important respect in which Nahum differs from all his predecessors in the prophetic office. His mind is so full of the iniquities and impending punishment of Nineveh, that he has no thought for the shortcomings of his own people. In this he presents a striking contrast to his contemporaries, Zephaniah and Jeremiah. Nahum's heart, it has been said, ‘for all its bigness, holds room only for the bitternesses, the baffled hopes, the unappeased hatreds of a hundred years’ (G. A. Smith, *op. cit.* ii. 90). In ch. 3, especially, the prophet's indignation burns with a white heat as he lays bare the moral gangrene at the heart of the Assyrian nation, the moral atrophy which was the real source of the weakness that made its sudden and complete collapse without a parallel in history (cf. Strabo, xvi. 1. 3: *ἡ μὲν οὖν* Νῖνος *πόλις ἠφανίσθη παραχρῆμα, κ.τ.λ.*). Wanton bloodshed, inhuman cruelty, commercial immorality, bad faith in her political relations,—in his denunciation of these Nahum gave voice less to his own personal conviction than to the outraged conscience of humanity. Assyria in his hands becomes an object-lesson to the empires of the modern world, teaching, as an eternal principle of the divine government of the world, the absolute necessity, for a nation's continued vitality, of that righteousness, personal, civic, and national, which alone ‘exalteth a nation.’

LITERATURE.—The older commentaries are discussed by O. Strauss (see below); list of titles at close of art. ‘Nahum’ in Kitto's *Biblical Cyclop.*^{3} (1866). The chief modern commentaries are those on the Minor Prophets generally by Ewald, Pusey, Keil, Hitzig-Steiner^{4} (1881), Orelli (in Strack and Zöckler's series, Eng. tr., T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh), Wellhausen (translation and critical notes in *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, pt. v. 3rd ed. [1899]); A. B. Davidson, *Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah* (in Cambridge Bible 1896—the best English commentary); Nowack (1897); G. A. Smith, *The Twelve Prophets*, vol. ii. (1898). To these may be added Farrar, *Minor Prophets* (‘Men of the Bible’ series), and Kirkpatrick, *Doctrine of the Prophets* (2nd ed.). A detailed commentary on the military references is supplied by the monograph of Ad. Billerbeck and Alf. Jeremias, ‘Der Untergang Nineveh's und die Weissagungsschrift des Nahum von Elkosch,’ in Delitzsch und Haupt's *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, Bd. iii., 1898, pp. 87-188. A complete monograph, though now largely out of date, is that of Otto Strauss, *Nahumi de Nino Vaticinium* (1853).

For the more purely critical study of Nahum see the essays of Bickell, Gunkel, and G. B. Gray, on ch. 1 cited in the body of the article; also P. Ruben, ‘An Oracle of Nahum’ [1^{12}-2^{14}], in *PSBA* xx., May 1898, pp. 173–185. For the Versions in general, L. Reinke, *Zur Kritik der älteren Versionen des Propheten Nahum*, 1867. For the LXX, Karl Vollers, *Das Dodekapropheton der Alexandriner*, 1880, and Schuurmans-Stekhoven, *De Alexandrijnsche Vertaling van het Dodekapropheton*, 1887. For the Targum of Jonathan, in addition to Reinke, *op. cit.* p. 55 ff., see the critical edition with notes by M. Adler in the *JQR* vii. 1894, pp. 630-657. For the Syriac, M. Sebök, *Die Syr. Uebersetz. d.* 12 *klein. Propheten*, 1887. A. R. S. KENNEDY.

NAIDUS (A Νάειδος, B Νάαιδος), 1 Es 9^{31}, apparently = Benaiah, Ezr 10^{30}.

NAIL.—1. Heb. צִפֹּרֶן, Aram. טְפַר, Arab. *zufr*, a finger nail, Dt 21^{12},* Dn 4^{33}. In Jer 17^{1} the word refers to the diamond point of the graver or stylus. 2. יָתֵד, Arab. *watad*, a pin or peg of wood, a tent peg. In Syria tent pegs are usually of oak, very roughly shaped and pointed. It was with one of these that Jael treacherously murdered Sisera, Jg $4^{21ff.}$ (see Moore, *ad loc.*). In Ex 27^{19} it is said that the pegs of the tabernacle were of copper. In old houses in Lebanon wooden pegs are driven into the walls of rooms, so that articles may be suspended on them. Sometimes the pin is drawn out by the weight of the article hung on it, having been driven into a mass of clay, used as mortar, between the stones of the wall. The ‘nail in a sure place’ (Is $22^{23.25}$) is one wedged firmly between two stones. 3. מַסְמֵר (מַשְׂמְרוֹת Ec 12^{11}), Arab. *mismâr*, a nail, generally of metal. In 1 Ch 22^{3} it is said that ‘David prepared iron in abundance for the nails’; 2 Ch 3^{9} mentions that ‘the weight of the nails was 50 shekels of gold.’ In the NT *ἧλος* is the corresponding word, Jn 20^{25}, see CROSS.

W. CARSLAW.

NAIN (Ναΐν).—This place is mentioned only once in Scripture, in Lk 7^{11}. The site of the ancient village† is well authenticated; it is occupied by the modern *Nein*, a squalid, miserable collection of mud-hovels, situated on the north-western edge of *Jebel ed-Duhy*, or the ‘Little Hermon,’ where the hill slopes down into the plain of Esdraelon. The mountain is called *Jebel ed-Duhy* from an unknown Mohammedan saint, whose *wely* or sacred place is on the summit of its conical peak. Around the village are numerous rubbish heaps and stony ruins, which indicate that at one time it must have been a place of much greater importance. It does not seem to have ever been a walled and fortified place, for no indications of a wall can be seen. But Conder (*Tent-Work*, p. 122) supposes that by the phrase ‘gate of the city,’ in the Gospel narrative, we are to understand merely the ordinary entrance among the houses by the open path, just as we commonly speak of ‘the gate of the valley’ or the ‘gate of the pass,’ where no gate or wall actually exists. Stanley (*SP* p. 357) says that ‘no convent, no tradition, marks the spot.’ But he must have overlooked the rude little mosque so prominent among the houses, strangely enough called the ‘Place of our Lord Jesus Christ,’ which, from the significance of its name, must indicate the previous existence on the spot of a Christian chapel, which disappeared at an early period. The rough steep path leading up to the village is unchanged since that memorable day when our Lord traversed it with weary feet, and met the funeral procession of the widow's only son. And behind it, in the face of the rocks that project from the rugged side of the hill, may still be seen shadowy holes and caves, which doubtless mark the old place of sepulture to which the young man's dead body was being carried on its bier. No grander view can be obtained anywhere in Palestine than that which stretches around Nain, from its green nest on the mountain side, amply justifying its descriptive name, if this is to be derived (with the Talmud) from a Hebrew word נָעִים, signifying 'beauty' or 'pleasantness.' Within the circle of the surrounding hills some of the most stirring events in Old Testament history have occurred. Below is the extensive plain of Jezreel, which was the great battlefield of Palestine from the days of Nebuchadnezzar to those of Napoleon. Right across are the uplands of Nazareth; to the left are the bare limestone ridges of Gilboa; away in the distance is the white range of Carmel, with a blue gleam of the Mediterranean at its foot; while far up in the north is the snowy top of great Hermon, dominating all the wide view.

---

* On the Divine attribute of jealousy see A. B. Davidson's note on 1^{2}.

† Adopting Bickell's restoration יַצִּילֵם.

* ‘The paring of the nails corresponds to one of the acts by which an Arab widow dissolved her widowhood and became free to marry again’ (W. R. Smith, *Kinship*, 178; cf. *OTJC*^{2} 368; Lane, *Arab. Lex.* 2409; Wellhausen, *Reste*^{2}, 171).

† It must be distinguished from the Nain mentioned by Jos. (*BJ* IV. ix. 4), which was on the other side of the Jordan, probably in Idumæa.

The story of Nain has been told in the simplest and most touching manner by the evangelist. Every word is a picture: the desolation of the widowed mother, the compassion of Jesus, the significance of His action in touching the bier, and so becoming ceremonially unclean through this forbidden contact with death, showing that He raised the young man to life not by His absolute power as God, but by the power of His own suffering and death; the pathetic deliverance to the mother of her son, for she needed him most, instead of asking him to forsake all and follow Jesus as His disciple.

LITERATURE.—Robinson, *BRP*² ii. 356, 361; van de Velde, *Syria and Palestine*, ii. 382; Guérin, *Galilée*, i. 115 f.; Buhl, *GAP* 217; Stanley, *SP* 357; Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* 188.

HUGH MACMILLAN.

NAIOTH (נָיוֹת Ḳerê; Kt. נוית, *i.e.* probably נָוְיַת *Nāwᵉyath* [like צָרְפַת *Zarᵉphath*, דָּבְרַת *Dābᵉrath*, etc.: see Driver on 1 S 19^{18}], though נָוִית and נְוִית would both be possible: LXX Αυαθ [5 times after ἐν, a ν having evidently dropped out in transcription, cf. Jg 16^4 ἐν Αλσωρηχ for בנחל שרק], cod. A Ναυιωθ. No root ניה is known: the form *Nāwᵉyath* is thus much more probable than *Naioth*).—The name of a locality in Ramah, mentioned 1 S $19^{18.\,19.\,22.\,23.\,23}$ 20^1, in which David and Samuel took refuge, when the former was pursued by Saul. This is really all that can be said about it: what the nature of the locality was, is entirely uncertain. It is an old explanation, not out of harmony with the context, that the term denotes the *home*, or cœnobium, of the prophets (cf. Targ. בית אולפנא 'house of instruction,' or school): but the philological basis of this interpretation is very insecure; for נָוֶה (of which נָוַת might be a fem. form) does not mean 'habitation' in general, but denotes in particular *an abode of shepherds* or *sheep* (see esp. 2 S 7^8; and cf. Is 65^{10}, Jer 33^{12}), or a *country* habitation, or domain (Job 5^{24}, Is 32^{18}, Jer 10^{25} 25^{30} etc.), and is only applied figuratively to other kinds of abode, in poetry (Ex 15^{13}, Is 33^{20}, Jer 50^7), or elevated prose (2 S 15^{25}): hence it is doubtful whether a word closely allied to this would have been chosen to denote a residence of prophets in a village or town. The absence of the art., not merely in the vocalized text (1 S 19^{18} etc.), but in the consonantal text (20^1), is also an objection to its being supposed to have had an appellative sense. Under the circumstances, we must be satisfied to know that *Nāwᵉyath* was the name of a locality in Ramah: the original signification of the name, and also the nature of the place denoted by it, are both uncertain. (Ewald's attempted justification of the rendering *school*, *Hist.* iii. 49 f., is far too conjectural to be probable: see Driver on 1 S 19^{18}). S. R. DRIVER.

NAME in EV corresponds to the Heb. שֵׁם, Aram. שֻׁם, and Gr. ὄνομα. The Hebrew word is of very ancient and obscure origin. Redslob (*ZDMG*, 1872, pp. 751–756), tracing it to the root *šmw* (= سمى = 'to be high'), argues that its fundamental sense is *height*, and hence (1) a *monument* (Gn 11^4, 2 S 10^{13}, Is 55^{13}) or mausoleum (Is 56^5), (2) *excellence, majesty*, *e.g.* Ps 54^1; and that 'name' in the sense of a mere *token of distinction* represents the last stage in the impoverishment of the original idea. Others (*e.g.* Lagarde, *Bildung der Nomina*, p. 160; W. R. Smith, *Kinship*, p. 213) connect it with the root *wšm*, which gives *sign* or *token* as the original meaning. In view of this uncertainty, it will be wise not to base too much in our discussion of the term on the etymology. The Greek term as used in NT has many meanings that are foreign to classical usage, but are due to the direct or indirect influence of the Hebrew term.

In discussing the present subject we have to consider, firstly, the significance of the term and the ideas expressed by it; and, secondly, the various customs connected with the giving of names.

I. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TERM.—1. In innumerable passages alike in OT and NT the term is used as by ourselves in reference to words by which persons, places, or objects are designated and distinguished from others. It is also by a familiar transference of meaning that it comes to mean *reputation* or *fame*; see *e.g.* 1 S 18^{30}, 2 S 7^9 23^{18}, and in consequence שֵׁם is sometimes translated in EV by 'renown' Gn 6^4, Nu 16^2, or 'famous' 1 Ch 5^{24}, Ru 4^{11} (cf. Job 30^8 'base' = Heb. בְּלִי שֵׁם = lit. nameless); it may even by itself and unqualified mean a good reputation, *e.g.* Pr 22^1, Ec 7^1, Sir 41^{12}; or, on the other hand, a false reputation, Rev 3^1. But the more peculiar senses of the term are due to the close relation that was supposed to exist between the name and the personality. It is a widely-spread belief among primitive and less developed peoples that one who knows a person's name has power over the bearer of the name; hence the reluctance to give a stranger one's name. It was but a modification of such belief that made the Hebrew frequently use 'name' as almost an equivalent of the 'personality' or 'character' or nature of the person or thing named; and consequently, when a writer wishes to express forcibly the nature of a person or place, he says he will be called so-and-so, or his name will be so-and-so. Thus when in the future Jerusalem is purged from injustice she will be called 'the city of righteousness' (Is 1^{26}); when J″ returns to the deserted city after the Exile, its name will be 'J″ is there' (Ezk 48^{35}). The nature of Egypt is summed up in the name that is given her, 'Rahab that sitteth still'; and the meaning of Is 9^6 is that the child will actually be all that the name 'wonderful,' etc., implies; cf. further Pr 21^{24}, Is 63^{16}, and probably Is 62^2 65^{15}. Again, the Greek ὀνόματα is actually rendered by 'persons' in Ac 1^{15}, Rev 11^{13}, where the sense closely resembles that of the original term in Nu 1^2 26^{53}, Rev 3^4, in which cases EV adopts 'names' as its rendering. For instances from Gr. papyri see Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien*, 24 f.

2. It is not difficult to understand how 'name' may express the idea of authority (see *e.g.* Ex 5^{23}, 1 K 21^8, Est 3^{12}, Jn 5^{43}), but it is perhaps through this sense that a phrase arose the meaning of which is much less immediately obvious, especially in the EV. In Hebrew we frequently read of some one's name being called over something (נִקְרָא שֵׁם עַל פ׳); in EV this idiomatic phrase is generally translated so as to confuse it with the entirely distinct phrase 'to be called by some one's name' (נִקְרָא בְשֵׁם פ׳). But the former phrase does not mean that the person or object referred to will bear the name of that person whose 'name is called over it': it means that it will come under his authority, pass into his possession. Thus Joab begs David to be present at the final scene in the siege of Rabbah, lest Joab take the

city, and his name be called over it, *i.e.* lest the city pass under his authority and not David's (2 S 12^{28}). 'All the nations over which J″'s name was called' (Am 9^{12}) are all the nations which had once owned J″'s authority, *i.e.* had once formed part of the dominion of Israel—the people of J″. Israel in its confession (Is 63^{19}) says—We are become as they over whom thou never barest rule; as they over whom thy name was not called, *i.e.* as they who have ceased to be regarded as thy people and subject to thy authority. Women have the name of their husbands called over them, *i.e.* become subject to their authority at marriage, Is 4^{1}. With regard to the precise sense of 'name' in the phrase there may be difference of opinion: thus Driver (*Deuteronomy*, p. 306) interprets Joab's saying thus, 'lest I gain the credit of having captured it [Rabbah], and it be counted as my conquest.' But the meaning of the whole phrase is quite clear: in the further words of Driver, 'the phrase expresses . . . the fact of *ownership*—whether acquired by actual conquest or otherwise (cf. Ps 49$^{12\,(11)}$)—coupled at the same time with the idea of *protection*: and occurs frequently, especially with reference to the people of Israel, Jerusalem, or the temple. The passages are: Am 9^{12}, Jer 7$^{10.\,11.\,14.\,30}$ 14^{9} 15^{16} . . . 25^{29} 32^{34} 34^{15}, 1 K 8^{43} (=2 Ch 6^{33})^{60} (all D^{2}), Is 63^{19}, 2 Ch 7^{14}, Dn 9$^{18.\,19}$.' Cf., in the Apocrypha, Bar 2$^{15.\,26}$, 1 Mac 7^{37}, and in NT Ac 15^{17} (cited by St. James from Am 9^{12}), Ja 2^{7}. We may allude to one other passage where 'name' probably means 'authority,' viz. Is 26^{13} (cf. 63^{19}). The words rendered by EV, 'by thee only will we make mention of thy name,' should contain an antithesis to the first part of the verse, 'O LORD our God, other Lords beside thee have had dominion over us,' and consequently must be translated 'but thee, (to wit) thy name (authority), alone will we (in future) mention (*i.e.* acknowledge)'; for the construction in the Heb. cf. Dillm. *in loc.*

3. We may pass on now to some of the special ideas that are expressed by the phrase 'name of J″' in the OT, 'name of Jesus,' etc., in the NT. The name of J″ as equivalent to the person of J″ is represented as the subject or the object of various actions: thus, for example, it sets men on high (Ps 20^{1}). It is loved (Ps 5^{11}), praised (Ps 7^{17}), sanctified (Is 29^{23}); it is described, *e.g.*, as being glorious, fearful (Dt 28^{28}), holy (1 Ch 29^{16}), everlasting (Ps 135^{13}). But in particular the 'name of J″' is used as a succinct expression for the revealed character of God for all that is known of him. Hence such frequent expressions as to declare (סִפֵּר, *e.g.* Ex 9^{16} 22^{22}), or to know (יָדַע, *e.g.* Is 52^{6}, cf. 64^{2}) the name of J″. J″ acts for his name's sake (*e.g.* Ezk 20^{9}) when he so acts that his hitherto revealed nature is not belied; *e.g.* when he vindicates his power by bringing the people out of Egypt. Wherever J″ records his name, according to the early law book (Ex 20^{24}), there men are to build an altar to him: what was meant by this 'recording of his name' may be seen by examining the various narratives of the building of altars, *i.e.* of the observations of this law (see *e.g.* Gn 12^{7} 22^{9} 26$^{24\text{f.}}$, Jg 6^{24} [in the light of the preceding narrative], 1 S 14^{35}); it was the indication, by a theophany or by some great success or delivery or the like, of the divine presence and favour; in other words, it was a self-revelation of J″ to men. From the time of Deuteronomy onwards Jerusalem became the one special seat of the divine presence in Israel; there, therefore, he is said to cause his name to dwell or abide (Dt 12^{11} and very often); hence the temple is a house for J″'s name, 2 S 7^{13}, 1 K 8$^{17\text{-}20}$ etc.; and even earlier the supremacy of Jerusalem among the shrines of the S. kingdom had become so great that Isaiah (18^{7}) speaks of Zion as the place of J″'s name, unless, with Cheyne (*Introd. to Book of Isaiah*, p. 313), we regard this verse as post-exilic.

4. Of the numerous shades of meaning connected with and probably springing out of the usage just noticed, we may refer to one or two. 'The name of J″' itself becomes a term to express a theophany in Is 30^{27} (also, according to Cheyne, post-exilic), where it is described 'as coming from far, burning with his anger, and in thick rising smoke,' etc.; with this passage we may perhaps compare 59^{19}. In Is 48^{9} the term is probably used in the transferred sense of the praise which the divine self-manifestation calls forth from men; note the parallel clause and a similar transference of meaning in the parallel phrase 'glory of J″' (see GLORY OF J″ 1, *ad fin.*). In Zec 14^{9} (cf. Is 56^{6}) the name of J″ is the manner in which men recognize the divine self-revelation—in other words, the worship of J″; Hitzig rightly interprets 'his name shall be one' as meaning that the unity of J″, which already exists in reality, will then also be acknowledged and recognized on earth.

But in virtue of its most characteristic and frequent usage 'the name of J″' belongs to a series of phrases, to which the 'glory of J″,' 'the face of J″,' 'the angel of J″' also belong, by which the Hebrews endeavoured to distinguish between the Deity in himself and the Deity as manifested to and coming into relation with men; or, in earlier times, between the Deity conceived as local and confined to Sinai, and on the other hand as accompanying his people in their journeyings. In the latter case, however, it is the 'angel of J″' that most frequently figures, and we need call attention only to one peculiar passage (Ex 23^{21}) in which both phrases are combined, and 'the name of J″' is said to be in the angel; the meaning of this appears to be, that though the angel is not J″ in his fulness (cf. v.^{34}), yet J″'s nature is so far in him that what would offend J″ will offend him. To the OT usage of the term 'name of J″' we have a parallel, striking at once in its similarity and its dissimilarity, in Phœnician. In an inscription (*CIS* 3^{18}) from Sidon we find mention of 'Ashtoreth the name of Baal (עשתרת שם בעל),' *i.e.* an Ashtoreth distinguished from other Ashtoreths by the fact that she was regarded as being a manifestation or representative of Baal. In this case, as in the parallel case of 'Tanith the face of Baal (תנת פן בעל),' Phœnician, in striking contrast to Hebrew, has made of the representation or manifestation a new and distinct deity.

5. Finally, in our survey of OT usage we have to notice that in Lv 24$^{11\text{-}16}$ the name (הַשֵּׁם) is used as a substitute for J″ according to a practice which became very customary in post-biblical Hebrew. It is, however, probable that we owe this usage to the scribes and copyists rather than to the author of the section in question (cf. Geiger, *Urschrift*, 273 f.).

6. When we turn to NT we find, as we should expect, that in several instances 'the name of the Lord' occurs in actual quotations from OT (see *e.g.* Mt 12^{21} 23^{39}, Ac 2^{21}, Ro 15^{9}, He 2^{12}), and that in others the phrases are of the same or nearly the same character as those current in OT (*e.g.* Mt 6^{9}, Jn 17$^{6.\,26}$). The question is how far does OT usage serve to explain the NT term where, owing to new circumstances and conditions, it has to express ideas in large part new? Is it necessary to presuppose entirely different modes of thought to explain the NT term; or is it possible to explain its new meanings as the natural development out of the old?

Clearly, phrases which differ from the OT equivalents only by the substitution of 'Jesus' for 'J″' may be similarly interpreted unless cogent reasons for the contrary be forthcoming:

hence, *e.g.*, 'to prophesy in the name of Jesus' corresponds in NT to prophesy or speak in the name of J″ in OT. Such a phrase as 'to believe in the name of Jesus' differs somewhat more from OT usage, and yet is certainly in line with it. It very significantly alternates in the same writer with the phrase 'to believe in Jesus' (see *e.g.* Jn 1^{12} 2^{23} 3^{18}; $3^{16.\ 18}$ 6^{40}); *i.e.* the name of Jesus is a parallel term to the word 'Jesus' itself, and is most appropriately used in the present phrase because 'the name of Jesus' briefly sums up the personality of Jesus as made known; to believe in his name is to believe in and accept his claims.

But a very different mode of interpretation has been recently advocated by Conybeare. Briefly stated, it is an assimilation of 'the use of the name of Jesus Christ to ancient magic' (*JQR* ix. 66); or again, in Conybeare's own words, 'Why did Jesus instruct his disciples to cast out demons in his *name*? Why do we end our prayers with the formula in the *name* of Jesus Christ our Lord? Why did the Christians glory in the *name*? Why were they persecuted for the *name*? The answer to all these questions is furnished by ancient magic' (*ib.* 581). 'In or by the name of Jesus Christ our Lord' is a 'theurgic formula,' and its use was due to the fact that Christians shared the ancient but still prevalent belief that a god or demon must come when his name is correctly pronounced in an invocation.

Conybeare has clearly shown that this magical view of the name was held by several of the early Fathers as well as by non-Christian and pre-Christian Greek and Latin writers; he has also collected much comparative evidence of the general existence of such a belief relative to names. Further, it may be admitted that in some cases and by some people the name of Jesus may have been regarded as possessing magical efficacy—see *e.g.* Mt 7^{22}, Ac 4^{7}; and again that the 'names' referred to in Eph 1^{21} (and, therefore, probably also in Ph 2^{9}) are names of angels, but that the reference is 'to the use in exorcisms of names of angels and patriarchs' is far from obvious. It is impossible here to discuss the very numerous passages concerned in detail; but the general reasons which appear to the present writer cogent against admitting Conybeare's mode of interpretation, except in a few isolated passages, may be briefly stated thus: (1) It is obviously inapplicable in many cases, *e.g.* Mt 18^{5}. (2) A number of the phrases, as we have already seen, are identical with, a number more are closely similar to, those found in the OT. The OT terminology may and probably should be traced back ultimately to the magical view of 'name,' but in itself expresses an immeasurably higher type of ideas. But the influence of the OT on both Jesus and the disciples was obviously so great that we have a right in ambiguous cases to adopt the higher interpretation suggested by OT usage rather than that suggested by popular Jewish and Greek superstition. To take a single instance, the analogy of OT instances would lead us to infer from the fact that Simon was surnamed 'Rock,' and the sons of Zebedee 'sons of thunder,' that the names were given because the persons in question possessed qualities described by these new names; and this is surely far more reasonable than to infer 'that the new names were supposed to impart to them (Simon and the sons of Zebedee) new qualities, or fortify their moral characters.' It is unquestionably a right principle to interpret the NT in the light of contemporary ideas; but it is a wrong application of this principle to neglect the most potent of these ideas—those, namely, of the OT. (3) The magical significance attached to the names by early Christian Fathers, which at first sight most favours the theory, is explicable by a misunderstanding, under the influence of Greek superstition, of a terminology which must have been but half intelligible to Greeks and Latins.

II. CUSTOMS CONNECTED WITH THE GIVING OF NAMES.—1. *Personal.* A child received its name most frequently from the mother (Gn 4^{25} 16^{11} $19^{37f.}$ $29^{32f.\ 36}$[*] $30^{6.\ 8.\ 11.\ 13.\ 18.\ 20.\ 24.\ 29}$ 35^{18} $38^{4f.}$, Jg 13^{24}, 1 S 1^{20}—all the foregoing are early narratives; 1 Ch 4^{9} 7^{16}), but frequently also from the father (see especially Hos $1^{4.\ 6.\ 9}$, Is 6^{3}, and in P Gn 5^{3} 16^{15} 17^{19} 21^{2}, but also in early narratives, Gn 4^{26} 5^{29} 35^{18} $41^{51f.}$, Ex 2^{22}, Jg 8^{31}; cf. further 1 Ch 7^{23}, Job 42^{14}). In Gn 38^{3}, 2 S 12^{24} the text varies (between 'he,' *i.e.* the father, and 'she,' *i.e.* the mother, 'called'). More rarely and under exceptional circumstances the child received its name from others; compare in this connexion the stories of Moses receiving his name from Pharaoh's daughter (Ex 2^{10}), Ruth's child from the mother's women neighbours (Ru 4^{17}), Solomon from a prophet (2 S 12^{25}). In some cases the verb which refers to the naming of the child has an indefinite subject; so certainly in Gn $25^{25f.}$, perhaps also in some of the cases referred to above as instances of naming by the father.[†] In most of the cases just cited 'naming' is immediately connected with birth, and we may perhaps infer that the name was, as a rule, in early times given immediately after birth, as is said to be the case with the modern Arabs (cf. Lane, *Arabian Notes*, ch. iv. n. 4). In later times the name was given at circumcision, *i.e.* on the 8th day after birth (Lk 1^{59} 2^{21}); but of this particular custom we find no trace in OT except in so far as the change of Abraham's name in connexion with the institution of circumcision may point to it (Gn 17 (P)). In the earlier period the name was chosen on account of its significance, and recorded some circumstance connected with the birth, some natural feature of the child, or the parents' wish concerning it, or their gratitude to God for the gift of it. This is clear from the meaning of the names (see following art.) and also from the numerous narratives cited above, which are good evidence as to general custom, though as accounts of particular instances they are mostly legendary rather than historical. The custom which was already frequent in the time of Christ (Lk $1^{6.\ 9}$) of naming children after a kinsman, most generally the grandfather, cannot be traced back with any certainty before the 3rd or 4th cent. B.C. The only early evidence for kinsmen even bearing a common name is 2 S $21^{7f.}$; 2 S 13^{1} 14^{27}; 2 S 3^{3}, 1 K 15^{2}; 1 K 22^{40}, 2 K $8^{16\text{-}18.\ 26}$; 2 K 11^{2} 8^{26}, 1 K 22^{26}. Of these five instances it will hardly be questioned that some are mere coincidences. Further, in only one instance, the third, is the relation of the two persons concerned direct; in others it is lateral, the cases being those of cousin or nephew and uncle. On the other hand, in the numerous early genealogies which we possess, we find no trace of the custom of naming after ancestors: thus no two kings of Judah (21 in number, and all of the family of David), and no two kings of the same Ephraimite dynasty, bear the same name, nor does the same name recur in any other early genealogy (see Zeph 1^{1}; Zec 1^{1}; Jer $41^{1.\ 2}$; 1 S 9^{1} 14^{3}; 2 K 9^{2} 22^{3}; cf. v.^{12} and Jer 41^{2} 22^{14}). On the other hand, from the 4th cent. B.C. and onwards the custom became prevalent, not only among the Jews, but also among the Phœnicians, Nabatæans, and Palmyrenes.

For sake of distinction, the father's name was sometimes added; as in the case of David, the son of Jesse; and occasionally a person was called simply son of so-and-so, often in contempt (*e.g.* Is 7^{4}). But the familiar Arabic custom of making actual proper names out of such combinations as father of so-and-so, or son of so-and-so, did not exist among the Hebrews. Nor, again, have we any evidence that anything strictly corresponding to our family names was in use; though, of course, there were clan names, and a man might be described as being the 'man' or 'son' of such and such a clan (Jg 10^{1}). A woman did not change her name on marriage, though to her own name the description 'wife of so-and-so' was often added (Gn 12^{17}, Jg 4^{4}). Is 4^{1} does not refer to such a custom: for its interpretation see above I. 2. It is not therefore to the family name, but to the memory of a deceased person, that the term 'name' refers in the very frequent phrases 'to blot out' or 'to take away' the name (with reference to childless people; cf. *e.g.* Nu 27^{4}, Dt 25$^{6.7}$, 1 S 24^{21}; cf. in Aramaic, *CIS* ii. 113); it is the memory, not the actual name, of an ancestor that posterity preserves (cf. Is 56^{5}).

---

[*] Also, no doubt, Gn 29^{34}, where we ought to read קָרְאָה = she called (so Ball in *SBOT*).

[†] On the cause of the ambiguity in these cases, cf. Davidson, *Syntax*, § 108*a*.

Several instances are recorded of change of name in mature life. But most of these instances are of a special character, and it is therefore difficult to feel sure that the custom was at all frequent. Thus we find (*a*) three or four instances in the legends of the patriarchs, Gn 32^{28} (J) 17$^{5.15}$ 35^{10}, Nu 13^{16} (P); (*b*) two instances of the names of kings of Judah being changed (by their Babylonian conqueror) on their accession to the throne (2 K 23^{34} 24^{17}); (*c*) instances of Hebrews resident in a foreign country taking names of that country (Gn 41^{45}, Dn 1$^{6f.}$); (*d*) some instances in NT of new names given denoting some striking quality of the person in question (Mk 3$^{16.17}$).

On the other hand, after the contact of the Jews with the Greeks, it became quite common for a man to adopt a Greek as well as a Jewish name; in these cases a Greek name similar in sound or significance to the Jewish was often adopted, *e.g.* Jakim changed his name to Alcimus (Jos. *Ant.* XII. ix. 7; 1 Mac 7^{5}), and Saul to Paul. Peter is the Greek name with the same signification as Cephas in Aramaic. This was one cause of the custom unknown to early times of a man being referred to by two names at the same time, *e.g.* Thomas Didymus, Simon Peter, John Mark. In other cases the second of two names may denote a man's city, *e.g.* Judas Iscariot (=איש־קריות; cf. *Pirke Aboth*, 1$^{3.4.5}$ 3$^{9f.}$ etc.).

2. *Cities.*—Of the customs connected with the naming of cities we know little beyond what can be inferred from the meaning of the names (see following art.). But we must note that certain narratives trace back the names of cities to their founders or captors (Gn 4^{17}, Nu 32^{42}, Dt 3^{14}, Jos 19^{47}). But these are for the most part, if not entirely, name-myths. How far it points to a custom it is difficult to feel sure, because we are ill informed as to the extent to which the place names of the OT originated with the Hebrews. The Shemer after whom Samaria was named was probably a clan rather than an individual (Stade in *ZATW*, 1885, p. 165 ff.). In one instance the new name given by a king of Judah to a conquered town (2 K 14^{7}) was that of an old town of Judah. It cannot be inferred from 1 S 12^{28} that it was customary to name a city after its conqueror (see above, I. 2). In the Greek period, Hebrew (Semitic) names of places as well as of persons gave place to Greek names, *e.g.* Beth-shan became Scythopolis (Jth 3^{11}; cf. Jg 1^{27} LXX); but in this, as in so many similar instances, it is the Semitic name which has subsequently survived (mod. *Beisân*).

LITERATURE.—More especially dealing with the subject of § I. of the article:—Oehler, *OT Theol.* (Eng. tr.) i. pp. 181-185; Schultz, *OT Theol.* ch. xxviii. 2; Smend, *Alttest. Religionsgeschichte*², pp. 28 f., 102; Baethgen, *Beiträge zur semit. Religionsgeschichte*, p. 267 f.; Stade, *GVI* ii. 247 f.; G. Hoffmann, *Ueber einige phön. Inschriften*, pp. 47-52; Driver, *Deuteronomy*, pp. 141, 306; Sayce, *Hibbert Lecture*, p. 302 ff.; Holtzmann, *Neutestamentliche Theologie*, ii. 484 f.; F. C. Conybeare, 'Christian Demonology,' in *JQR* viii. 576-608, ix. 59-114, 447-470, 481-603 (esp. 581-589). More especially dealing with the subject of § II.:—Gray, *Studies in Heb. Prop. Names*, pp. 1-10; Benzinger, *Heb. Archäologie*, 124-131, 150-153; Nowack, *Lehrb. d. Heb. Arch.* 148 f., 165 f.; L. Löw, *Beiträge zur jüd. Alterthumskunde*, ii. pp. 92-110; Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, 181-186.

G. B. GRAY.

NAMES, PROPER.—How much a name meant to the Hebrews is indicated in the article NAME. The importance attached to names makes the study of them a valuable means to appreciating the religious and social ideas of the Hebrews. An historical study of them enables us in some measure to trace the growth of ideas; a comparative study of Hebrew and other Semitic names brings to light many similarities and some dissimilarities in the Hebrews to their Semitic kinsfolk. In the present article it will be unnecessary to examine these names in any exhaustive manner; but, so far as space allows, the attempt will be made to indicate the large classes into which great numbers of names naturally fall, the degree to which the meaning of the names is ambiguous, the points of similarity and dissimilarity in Hebrew and the cognate languages, and the history of ideas and their prevalence, so far as the existing data permit these to be traced in the proper names. The meanings of particular names must be sought for under the several articles.

Proper names fall into two main divisions, according as they are names of *persons* or names of *places*. Of these the names of places are, generally speaking, much more ambiguous and difficult of interpretation. But the place names of the OT are also in all probability—once again speaking generally—more ancient than the personal names. It will be convenient, therefore, to deal with them first. It must not, however, be supposed that, in thus dividing the subject, any assumption is made that place names were always independent of personal names, or that the latter were derivative from the former. As a matter of fact, there are probably instances of both kinds—personal names that were originally names of places; place names that were originally names of persons. But certain broad differences in character between personal and place names do suggest that in the main the two classes grew independently of one another. And this is particularly true with regard to names of individual persons, if certain phenomena are rightly interpreted as pointing to the derivation both of some place names and also of some names of individual persons from clan names. But this is an obscure subject, which cannot be discussed here.

I. PLACE NAMES.—1. Obviously, the name of a place may have been long in existence before its first mention in extant records. All names of places in the Bible may therefore, except in those cases in which we have definite evidence to the contrary, have been in existence before the Israelitish conquest of the country. In other words, they may have originated with the Canaanites or other early inhabitants of the land, and not with the Israelites. In several cases we are not left to mere conjecture on this point. We have direct evidence of the pre-Israelitish existence of many names familiar to us in the OT. Thus the Tel el-Amarna tablets mention Aijalon, Hazor, Jerusalem, Lachish, Megiddo, Zorah, and others; the list (15 cent. B.C.) of Tahutmes III.'s conquests includes Abel, Ain, Gath, Migdal, Mishal; and other early Egyptian lists, Beth-anath, Luz, and Secu. The significance of these lists is not exhausted by the actual number of OT place names which they record, and thus directly prove to be pre-Israelitish. For, in the first place, the mention of Jerusalem proves the biblical writers (Jg 19^{10}, 1 Ch $11^{4ff.}$, Jos 15^{8} $18^{16.28}$) ill informed in believing that name to be of Israelitish origin, and consequently lessens our confidence in their testimony relative to other names. And, secondly, some of the names actually found in these early records are typical of large classes of OT names. The consequence is, that it is only in the case of a very few names indeed that we can feel confident that they were of Israelitish origin. They must not therefore be indiscriminately used as evidence of Hebrew belief or custom. Fortunately, many of the place names refer to abiding features of the place, not to the changing customs of the inhabitants. To some of these we may turn first.

2. Many names refer to the physical features of the town or its surroundings. *Ramah*, the name of several places, means 'height'; *Geba*, *Gibeah*, and *Gibeon* mean 'hill.' Other names of similar significance are *Jogbehah* (√גבה = 'to be high'), *Sela* (= 'the cliff'), *Shechem* (= 'the shoulder of a hill'). A low-lying situation or the neighbourhood of some hollow seems to be referred to in *Beth-emeḳ* ('house of the valley'), *Ḥoronaim* ('the two hollows'), and perhaps *Beṭen* (lit. = 'the belly,' so Arabic بَطْن). The nature of the soil gave rise to other names: *Argob* indicates a rich and earthy soil; *Eḳron*, 'barren'; *Ḥoreb* and *Jabesh*, 'dry'; *Carmel*, 'garden-land'; *Abel* (in several compounds), 'a meadow.' The numerous compounds with *En* (עֵין) and *Beer* (בְּאֵר) imply the presence of a spring; *Ḥammath*, *Ḥammoth-dor*, and *Ḥammon*, of hot springs. The 'white' cliffs of the range are probably commemorated by the name *Lebanon*; the duskiness of its waters by *Ḳidron*; the blackness of the soil by *Ḥauran*. But these and other names (*Ḥachilah*, *Ẓalmon*, *Adummin*, *Mê-jarḳon*) which may refer to colour are more or less ambiguous.

3. A very considerable number of place names are names of plants, or are compounded with such names. The shrubs or trees referred to in such names are the acacia (*Abel-shiṭṭim*, *Beth-shiṭṭah*), the apple-tree (*Beth-tappuaḥ*, *En-tappuaḥ*, and *Tappuaḥ*), the palm-tree (*Tamar*, *Baal-tamar*, *Ḥazazon-tamar*), the terebinth or oak (*El-paran* = *Elath*, *Elah*, *Eloth*, *Elim*, and *Elon*), the pomegranate (the Rock of *Rimmon*, and probably also *En-rimmon*, *Rimmon*, *Rimmon-pereẓ*, and *Gath-rimmon*), the cucumber (*Dilan*), the olive-tree (the Ascent or Mount of *Olives*), the vine (*Abel-cheramim*, *Beth-haccerem*, *Eshcol*, and probably *Soreḳ* and *Masreḳah*), the juniper (*Rithmah*), the gadā-tree (*Eẓion-geber*), the almond-tree (*Luz*), the balsam-tree (valley of *Baca*), the sycamore-tree (*Gimzo*), thorn-bushes (*Aṭad*, *Shamir* and perhaps *Seneh*).

Another large group consists of names of animals, or words derived from animal names, viz. *Aijalon* (the stag), *Lebaoth*, *Laish* (the lion), *Beth-nimrah* (the leopard), *Ophrah* and *Ephron* (the gazelle), *Arad* (the wild-ass), *Ḥazar-shual*, the land of *Shual* and *Shaalbim* (the fox), *Ẓeboim* (the hyæna), *Ṭelaim* and *Beth-car* (the lamb), *Parah* (the cow), *En-eglaim*, *Eglon* (the calf), *Ḥazar-susah* (the horse), *En-gedi* (the kid), *Beth-hoglah* (the partridge), *Eṭam* (birds of prey), *Ir-naḥash* (the serpent), *Ḥumṭah* (the lizard), *Ẓorah* (the hornet), *Aḳrabbim* (scorpions), *Gudgodah* (the cricket). The derivation of a few of these is uncertain, but in most of them it is unmistakable. It is easy to understand how trees which always occupy the same position may have given a name to a place; it is less easy to feel sure that the other places derived their names from the abundance of animals in their vicinity. In recent times several scholars have been inclined to seek the origin of these names in totem clans.

4. Characteristics of a place more liable to change, *e.g.* its size, the occupation or cultus of its inhabitants, have given rise to other names. In these cases we can only be sure that the place corresponded to what the name says about it when the name was given; in other words, we can only be sure, in the case of all names about the date of whose origin we are uncertain, that the name was true to the place in an indefinite past.

The various compounds with *Ḥaẓar* or *Ḥaẓor*, *Ir*, and *Ḳiriath* indicate the character of the city at the time when these names were given, but clearly the Hazor of Jg 4^{17} (cf. Amarna tablets, 154^{41}) had grown into something more than a *Ḥaẓor*, *i.e.* a fixed settlement as contrasted with the mere encampments of nomads, but also as contrasted with the walled cities. Again, the various *Gaths* appear to have derived their names from the existence in them of a wine-press: *Rabbah* from its large, *Ẓoar* from its small size; *En-mishpaṭ* from having been a place for settling disputes.

5. But most important of the names due to characteristics liable to change are those referring to religious belief and practice. Thus several names of places preserve the names of various deities that were at some time worshipped in Canaan. Thus sun-worship has left its mark on *Beth-shemesh* ('temple *or* house of the sun'), *En-shemesh* ('spring of the sun'), *The ascent of Ḥereṣ* (*i.e.* 'the sun'), *Timnath-ḥereṣ* ('portion of the sun'); moon-worship, according to some, on *Jericho* (יְרִיחוֹ, יְרֵחוֹ, cf. יָרֵחַ = 'moon') and *Lebanon* (לְבָנוֹן, cf. לְבָנָה = 'moon'*). We can trace the worship of Babylonian deities not only in the Sinaitic peninsula where *Ṣin* and *Ṣinai* record the worship of the Babylonian moon-god Sin, but also in the land of Israel and its immediate proximity. *Nebo*, the name of a Babylonian deity, is also the name of a town (Nu 32^{3}) and a mountain (Dt 32^{49}) of Moab, and of a town of Judah (Ezr 2^{29}); the worship of Anath, the female double of Anu, is reflected in *Beth-anath*, *Beth-anoth*, and *Anathoth*; the name of the Babylonian Bel is, perhaps, to be found in *Ebal* (*Academy*, June 27, 1896) and Ἀρβηλά (= Heb. רִבְלָה in Nu 34^{11}; *Academy*, July 4, 1896). The name of the goddess Ashtoreth appears in *Ashteroth-ḳarnaim* and *Be-eshterah*; of the god Dagon in *Beth-dagon*. An old divine name (familiar in Arabic) is perhaps to be found in *Ḳishon* and *Elḳosh* (*ZATW*, 1897, p. 349).

A large number of names of places refer to the worship of a god by a general title, especially Baal or El, *e.g.* *Baal-meon*, *Baal-ḥazor*, *Penuel*, *Jezreel*. A peculiar feature of the compounds with Baal is that they are not as they stand properly names of places at all, but titles of deities ('owner of the township Meon,' 'owner of the palm-tree'). They have arisen by *abbreviation*, their original form having been *Beth-baal-meon* (which also actually occurs Jos 13^{17}, Mesha Inscr. l. 30), *Beth-baal-tamar*, etc. In some cases, however, *Baal* was omitted and Beth retained, and thus we find *Beth-meon* (Jer 48^{23}). It is quite possible, therefore, that some of the numerous compounds with *Beth* which are not now of manifestly religious import were so originally. Names of the type *Jezreel*, *Jabneel* are probably to be translated 'Let El sow, build,' El being the genius of the place.

II. PERSONAL NAMES.—1. Personal names are either simple or compound. The latter in Hebrew generally consist of two, and only in a very few

---

* But a more probable etymology of Lebanon has been suggested above, § I. 2.

(probably late) names of three elements. The greater number of the compound personal names —and in this respect these differ from place names —are sentences, *i.e.* they make some statement or express some wish, generally of a religious character. The simple names, many of which are very obscure, and also the compound names which are not sentences, generally refer directly or metaphorically to some personal feature or circumstance attending the birth. Some apparently simple names appear to have arisen by abbreviation from compound names, *e.g. Nathan* (from *Elnathan* or *Nathanel*), *Shama* (=‘he heard,’ from *Elishama*= ‘God heard’). The explanations of names found in the OT (*e.g.* Gn 3^{20} 4^{25} 5^{29} 16^{11} 32^{28}, Jg 6^{32}, 1 S 1^{20}, 1 Ch 4^{9}) do not generally coincide with their true etymological meaning, but arise from some similarity of sound to a word that gave what appeared subsequently a suitable significance to a man's name. Thus *Noaḥ* (נֹחַ) cannot be *derived* from the root beginning with a similar sound which is used in the explanation of it (יְנַחֲמֵנוּ Gn 5^{29}). The value of these narratives lies chiefly in the evidence they afford as to the *kind* of idea which names were generally selected to express. Thus the explanation of *Esau* (Gn 25^{25}) indicates that the personal features of the child, of *Jacob* (Gn 25^{26}) that the circumstances of the birth, of *Ichabod* (1 S 4^{21}) that the state of public affairs at the time of the birth, might suggest the choice of a child's name.

2. In classifying the personal names into their chief groups, it will be convenient to follow as far as possible at the same time a chronological order. As we have seen, simple Israelitish names are comparatively more frequent in earlier than in later times. Their origin, too, for the most part goes back to the early period. Most of the apparently simple names that can be first traced in later periods are really abbreviated compound names.

A. SIMPLE NAMES.—Of 28 names recorded in Jg 2^{6}–16, six or eight only are compound, the rest are simple. Several, though apparently personal, were perhaps really clan names. In 2 S 9–20 (time of David) the compounds number 22, the simple names 23. On the other hand, among the names of Jeremiah's contemporaries (3–4 centuries later than David) the compound are several times as numerous as the simple names. Among the simple names of the time of the Judges and David we find the following:—(*a*) Several *names of animals*—*Deborah* (‘bee’), *Gaal* (probably ‘beetle’), *Tola* (‘worm’), *Caleb* (‘dog’), *Naḥash* (‘serpent’). Names of this class very rarely appear in the later periods, except that at the time of Josiah we find four (*Ḥuldah*=‘the weasel,’ *Achbor* =‘the mouse,’ and *Shaphan* (2 persons)=‘the rock badger’); all of these are names of unclean animals, and may be due to a recrudescence of ancient superstitious practices of which we certainly find traces somewhat later; cf. Is 66^{17} (sacrificial eating of the mouse). In any case strictly *personal* names of this class are not numerous as compared with the clan and place names, and some of them may be indirectly derivative from a totem stage of society. Otherwise we may explain these personal names as the attempt to express metaphorically some characteristic of the child, or the hope that as it grew up it would possess the characteristic of the animal. This would without much difficulty account for *Deborah* (‘bee’), *Ẓibiah* (‘gazelle,’ cf. the comparison Ca 2^{9} 4^{5}), but not very obviously for some others. For names of this type among other Semitic peoples, cf. (for the Arabs) Hammer-Purgstall, *Ueber die Namen der Araber*, pp. 3, 4.

(*b*) *Names of trees.*—*Tamar* (‘the palm-tree’), the name of two women; cf. the comparison in Ca $7^{7\mathrm{ff}.}$. Similar comparisons are to be found in Arabic poetry. *Elah* (2 K 15^{30}, 1 K 1^{6}) and *Elon* (‘the terebinth *or* oak-tree’), *Hadaṣṣah* (Est 2^{7} ‘the myrtle’), *Ḳeẓiah* (‘cassia’), and perhaps *Solomon* (cf. Wellh. *Is. u. jüd. Gesch.*^{3} p. 103, n. 1) are other instances. For Arabic instances, cf. Hammer-Purgstall, *op. cit.* p. 3.

(*c*) Other early simple names are *Baraḳ* (‘lightning’), *Lappidoth* (‘torches’), *Samson* (derived from *shemesh*=‘sun’), *Ẓadoḳ* (‘just’), *Barzillai* (from בַּרְזֶל=‘iron’).

B. COMPOUND NAMES.—The most numerous of these in OT are the compounds with Yah (= Yahweh); but they are not the earliest. The earliest are compounds with *'ab*(*i*) (‘father’), *'aḥ*(*i*) (‘brother’), *'amm*(*i*) (‘kinsman’), *'El*(*i*) (‘god’). Of these classes compounds with *'ab*, *'aḥ*, and *'amm* (=‘kinsman’) are not only early, but they seem to have ceased to be formed soon after the time of David, and fell wholly into disuse before the close of the Exile. On the other hand, compounds with *'El*, though found in the earliest periods of which we have records, for long furnished fresh formations, and were in frequent use after the Exile. Each of these classes requires some separate discussion.

(*a*) **Compounds with ab, ah, and amm.**—Interpretations of particular instances must be sought under the several articles. All that need be attempted here is to indicate the different views that have been held as to the relation of the two elements in the compounds, and as to the more precise significance of the term of kinship. In a name like *Abinadab*, are the two elements related to one another as construct and genitive, or as subject and predicate? In the former case, is the second element the name of the actual son of the person named, or of a quality, so that the whole name is equal to an adjective? In the latter case, is the *i* of *'abi* (ִ of אֲבִי) a binding vowel, or the 1st personal suffix? In other words, does *Abinadab* mean ‘father of Nadab,’ or ‘father of generosity’ (*i.e.* ‘generous’), or ‘the father is generous,’ or ‘my father is generous’? Every possible answer has been given by one or another at one time or another. Against the view that the relation between the two elements is that of construct and genitive, the following objection among others may be urged—(1) *'ab*, *'aḥ*, *'amm* all denote a *male* kinsman, but the names compounded with them are used indifferently of men and women; examples of such names of women—*Abigal*, *Abiṭal*, *Abishag*; (2) in some cases the elements appear in reverse order, *e.g. Aḥijah* and *Joaḥ*, *Eliab* and *Abiel*. There is little doubt that the relation is predicative; the names are sentences. It is a much more nicely balanced question to decide whether the *i* in *'abi*, *'aḥi*, *'ammi* be the binding vowel or the personal suffix; but in the judgment of the present writer the evidence inclines in favour of the former alternative.

A further ambiguity attaches to the names compounded with *'amm*. That element has often been rendered ‘people.’ But the parallelism of several of these names with the compounds with *'ab*, *'aḥ* (*e.g. Ammiel*, *Abiel*, *Ḥiel*), which is even more prominent in Sabæan proper names, the certainty that *'amm* had the sense of ‘kinsman’ in Semitic, and survivals of this meaning in Hebrew, have led most modern investigators to the conclusion that in several compounds (*e.g. Ammiel*, *Eliam*, *Amminadab*) *'amm* means kinsman. Yet a third view is that *'Amm* is the proper name of a deity (cf. *e.g.* Sayce, *RP*, 2nd series, ii. 123 f.).

In the case of all these names there has been some difference of opinion as to whether the term of kinship refers to the human kinsman (father, brother, uncle), or whether it is a divine title. Opinion prevails in favour of the second alternative. It seems not unlikely that names of this very early type, which are widely distributed over the Semitic field, originated in totemistic conceptions. It is remarkable that they disappear in the course of Hebrew history, though they continued in use to a late period among, *e.g.*, the Phœnicians and Aramæans.

(*b*) Before dealing with compounds with *'El*, we may briefly refer to a class of names which appear to have been adopted for a time by the Hebrews from the Canaanites among whom they settled, but to have been again almost entirely discarded soon after the time of David. These are the **compounds with Adon** (*Adoni-bezeḳ, Adoni-ẓedeḳ, Adonijah, Tob-adonijah,* and *Adoniḳam*); **Baal**, which has sometimes been mutilated by the scribes into *Bosheth*='shame' (*e.g. Meribbaal, Eshbaal*); **Melech** (*e.g. Abimelech, Elimelech, Malchiah*). The main question in the case of these names is whether Baal, Melech, Adon are titles applicable to any gods, and therefore to J″, or proper names of distinct deities. The question is of considerable historical importance; for if it be answered in the latter sense, the names are evidence that Saul and David and Jonathan were worshippers of other gods beside J″; since each of these princes gave names of this class to their children (see ISHBOSHETH, BEELIADA, MEPHIBOSHETH). This view was vigorously maintained by Kuenen, and has recently been revived by Hommel and Kerber; but the trend of scholarly judgment has been against it, and, in the opinion of the present writer, with justice. At the same time there can be little question that the ultimate entire disappearance of the Baal names and almost entire disuse of the compounds with Melech was due to the idolatrous significance which became attached to these words (cf. Hos 2^{16} [Heb. ^{18}]).

(*c*) **Compounds with El.**—These names have been found in almost every Semitic language and dialect. They reach back to a remote antiquity; they continue in use to the latest period. It is possible that they were first used as place and clan names; but some of our earliest names of Hebrew individuals are of this type (*e.g. Eliab*, Nu 16^{1b} (J), *Elḳanah*, 1 S 1^{1}). In the case of these and the compounds with *Yah*, it is important to observe certain differences in the formation of the names. Thus, in the earliest times, compounds in which the divine name is the *first* element exceed in numbers those in which it forms the second element; this gradually changes until, from the times of Jeremiah onwards, the names in which the divine name forms the *second* element are many times as numerous as those in which it forms the first. We might perhaps attribute this change, which has the effect of removing the emphasis from the subject to the predicate, to the growth of the monotheistic idea—it being no longer necessary to emphasize what god was referred to when only one was believed in—and the desire to emphasize the activity or quality of God referred to by the predicate. At the same time it must be borne in mind that a similar tendency is (according to Hommel) to be traced in the names of the Sabæans and Babylonians who remained polytheists. In the history of the compounds with *'El*, it is to be remarked that at first they outnumbered the compounds with *Yah*, that from the time of David to the Exile they were quite eclipsed by the compounds of *Yah*, but that after the Exile they regain much in popularity, especially in certain circles [cf. the priestly list in Ezr $10^{18\text{-}22}$; the list of angels in Enoch, ch. 6 (Greek text, ed. Charles, p. 64); the list of princes in Nu $1^{5\text{-}15}$ (P), in which several of the individual names are ancient, but which, as a list, is a late artificial compilation].

(*d*) **Compounds with Yah** before the time of David are very few, and are confined to families more or less closely connected with the worship of J″. In the time of David they grow frequent, and thenceforward never lose their popularity, but gradually drive out almost all other compounds save those compounded with *'El*, so that in the post-exilic period, and indeed as early as Jeremiah, Hebrew names consisted for the most part of (1) compounds with the divine proper name J″, or (2) the divine title *'El*, which had now become a virtual equivalent for J″, since J″ was regarded as the only true God, or (3) truncated names—verbs where the implicit subject was God. Special features of interest in names of this class are their rare occurrence among names of women, their almost invariable use for heirs to the throne, whether of Judah or Israel, their rare use as place names (*Ananiah* and *Jeshua* being almost the only instances).—An important question connected with the class is whether the names were *peculiar* to Israel. We find one or two foreigners with names of this type mentioned in OT. But *Uriah the Hittite* may have adopted this name on taking up his residence among the Hebrews; *Tobiah the Ammonite* lived at a time when the worship of J″ may have passed from Israel to some of the neighbouring peoples (cf. the case of the Samaritans). The decision really rests with the Assyriologists, who are not as yet agreed whether the -ia at the end of a great number of Assyrian proper names be a divine name or not.

It remains to add that many of the individual names can be paralleled in several other languages, especially those which refer to the gift of J″ or God (*El*); the thought that the god worshipped has given (viz. the child) is expressed in many Hebrew names, *e.g. Elnathan, Nethanel, Jonathan, Nethaniah, Jehozabad, Zebadiah*; and also in many names of other peoples, *e.g.* in the Phœnician *Eshmuniathan* ('Eshmun has given'), the Assyrian *Assur-aḫ-iddina* ('Asshur has given a brother'), the Sabæan *Wahabailu* ('God has given'), and the Palmyrene *Zabadnebo* ('Nebo has bestowed'). Nor is this parallelism confined to names so early in use as some of the Hebrew names just cited. Corresponding, for instance, to *Beẓalel* (perhaps='in the shadow of God') we have the Assyrian *Ina-silli-Bêl* ('in Bel's shadow'). But however great this similarity between the class of ideas expressed by the later Jewish names and by other Semitic names may be,—and it is certainly great,—they differ in this very important respect, that the Jewish names refer to one God only, viz. J″, and that by means of the proper name J″ or the one general term *El* only.

Much that has been said on the relative prevalence, at different periods, of different types of names, depends on the conclusion established by the present writer elsewhere, viz. that *lists* of names in P and Chronicles cannot, unless they are independently supported, be cited as evidence of early custom. Hommel's *Ancient Hebrew Tradition* has in no way affected this conclusion, except in so far as it has by certain analogies confirmed it; for it has not addressed itself to the data on which the conclusion rests. To the character of the individual names in these writings it is impossible to refer at length. But the names recorded only by P contain two classes of which no instance is found elsewhere in OT, viz. compounds with the divine name Shaddai and compounds with **Ẓur** ('Rock'), which appears to be a divine title. Hommel has discovered analogous names (*e.g. Ṣuri-addana*, cf. *Jehoaddan*) to the latter class in some South Arabian names of the 8th cent. B.C. or somewhat earlier. The compounds with **Shaddai** (*Ammishaddai, Ẓurishaddai, Shedeur*) still remain absolutely unique. It is a pure hypothesis of Hommel's that an Assyrian name which has been transliterated *Ammisatana*, but by others (*e.g.* Sayce in *PSBA*, Nov. 1897, p. 292) *Ammiditana*, has anything to do with *Ammishaddai*.

LITERATURE.—Nestle, *Die Israel. Eigennamen nach ihrer religionsgeschichtlichen Bedeutung* (1876); Gray, *HPN* (1896). To these two books reference may be made for the earlier literature and for further literature on special points. Grunwald, *Die Eigennamen des AT* (1895); Kerber, *Die religionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung der heb. Eigennamen* (1897). For the names in Gn 1–11 see Budde's *Urgeschichte*; for other important special points, the articles of W. R. Smith on 'Animal and Plant Names,' in *Journal of Phil.* ix. pp. 75–100; Nöldeke in *ZDMG*, 1886, pp. 148–187 (review of Smith), and 1888, pp. 470–487 (review of Baethgen's *Beiträge*); Stade in *ZAW* (1885), pp. 175-185; Jacob, 'Are there Totem Clans in the OT?' in *Studies in Biblical Archæology* (1894); de Jong, 'Over de met ab ach zamengestelde heb. Eigennamen,' in the *Versl. en mededelingen der kon. Akad. van Wetenschappen* (Amsterdam), 1880, pp. 52–68; Renan, 'Des noms théophores apocopées,' in *REJ* v. 161ff.; Jastrow in *Journal of Biblical Lit.*, 1894, pp. 19 ff., 101–127 (on (1) compounds with *Bosheth*=Baal, (2) compounds with *-yah*); Gilbert in *Hebraica* (April–July 1895); Gray in *Expositor*, Sept. 1897, pp. 173–190, and *Expository Times*, Sept. 1897, pp. 555–558 (replies to Hommel's *AHT*); Barton, 'Native Israelitish Deities,' in *Oriental Studies* of the Oriental Club of Philadelphia, 1894, and 'The Kinship of Gods and Men among the early Semites,' in *Journal of Bib. Lit.* xv. pp. 168–182. For comparative purposes, in addition to the recent Hebrew dictionary of Gesenius-Buhl and *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*, the following will be found valuable: the notes in *CIS*; Fried. Delitzsch, *Prolog. eines neuen heb.-aram. Wörterbuch zum AT*, ch. vi. (for Assyrian parallels); Hommel, *AHT*, esp. ch. iii. (for Assyrian and South Arabian parallels); Ledrain, *Dict. des noms propres Palmyréniens*; Bloch, *Phönicisches Glossar*; Hammer-Purgstall, *Ueber die Namen der Araber*; and Wellhausen, *Die Reste des Arabischen Heidenthums*², esp. p. 1 ff.

Of literature that has appeared since the foregoing article was written, there may be mentioned: von Gall, *Altisr. Kultstätten*; Clay, 'Dr. Jastrow: Isr. and Assyr. Prop. Names' (in *The Lutheran Church Review*, xiv. pp. 196–201), containing an extract from a letter of Fried. Delitzsch (11th Mar. 1895) interpreting the -ia at the end of Assyr. names (see above) as a personal suffix; the articles 'Abi' and 'Ammi' in *Encyclopædia Biblica*. This question of *'ammi* has been most recently discussed by Hommel in *Die südarab. Altertümer des wiener Hofmuseums und ihr Herausgeber Prof. D. H. Müller* (Munich, 1899), pp. 21–34; and Glaser, *Punt und die südarab. Reiche* (1899), pp. 20–22, 24–28, 71. On some exilic and post-exilic names see Hilprecht, 'Notes on recently found Nippur Tablets,' in *PEFSt*, 1898, p. 54 f.; Gray, 'Nebo as an element in Hebrew Proper Names,' in *Expos. Times*, Feb. 1899, pp. 232–234.

G. B. GRAY.

NANÆA (Ναναία, 2 Mac $1^{13.15}$).—A goddess worshipped in Syria, Persia, Armenia, and other parts of Asia. Various forms of the name occur, such as *Anaitis* (Strabo, xv. 733), *Anæa* (*ib.* xvi. 738), *Aneitis* (Plut. *Artax.* 27), *Tanais* (Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* p. 19). By the Greeks this goddess was identified sometimes with Artemis (so Plut. *l.c.*; Paus. iii. 16. 8), sometimes with Aphrodite (so Clem. Alex. *l.c.*). She seems to have represented the productive powers of nature, and in many places ἱερόδουλοι of both sexes were consecrated to her worship. In 2 Mac 1^{10-17} we have a legendary account of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, who is said to have attempted to plunder a temple of Nanæa in Persia, and to have been treacherously killed in the temple by the priests. This temple may be identified with the temple of Artemis (Polyb. xxxi. 2; Jos. *Ant.* XII. ix. 1), or Aphrodite (Appian. *Syr.* 66), in the province of Elymais, upon which Antiochus made an unsuccessful attack; but the statement that the king met his death here is certainly untrue (see also 1 Mac 6^{1-4}). The plea alleged to have been made by Antiochus, that he wished to marry the goddess Nanæa, may be illustrated by the conduct of M. Antonius at Athens (cf. Rawlinson, *Speaker's Comm. ad loc.*).

H. A. WHITE.

NAOMI (נָעֳמִי; LXX B Νωεμείν, A Νοεμμεί(ν) and Νοομμεί(ν), Luc. Νοομί).—The wife of Elimelech the Ephrathite, of Beth-lehem-judah, who was driven by famine into the land of Moab. There her husband died, and she was left with her two sons, who married two Moabite women. On the death of her sons, she determined to return to her own country, the land of Judah. On the way she bade her daughters-in-law go back, each to her mother's house, while she expressed a hope that they might each find another husband. Orpah followed her mother-in-law's advice, but Ruth in loving terms declared that she would not be separated from Naomi. The return of Naomi was a matter of surprise to the people of Bethlehem, and they said, 'Is this Naomi?' Her answer included a double play of words on her own name, 'Call me not Naomi ('pleasant'), call me Mara ('bitter'): for the Almighty hath dealt very bitterly with me . . . why call ye me Naomi, seeing the Lord hath testified (*'ānāh*) against me' (Ru 1^{2-21}). For the rest of her history, and how she became the nurse of Ruth's child by Boaz, see under RUTH.

H. A. REDPATH.

NAPHATH-DOR.—RVm of Jos 12^{23}, 1 K 4^{11}. See DOR.

NAPHISH (נָפִישׁ).—A son of Ishmael, Gn 25^{15} (A Ναφές, *D* Ναφέθ)=1 Ch 1^{31} (BA Ναφές) 5^{19} (B Ναφεισαδαῖοι, A Ναφισαῖοι). The clan of which he is the eponymous head has not been traced. In the last cited passage (1 Ch 5^{19}) we are told that along with others of the Hagrites this clan suffered an overwhelming defeat at the hands of the trans-Jordanic tribes (possibly in the time of Saul). In all probability it is their descendants who are mentioned amongst the Nethinim in Ezr 2^{50} as 'the children of **Nephisim**' (RV, following *Kethibh* נְפִיסִים; B Ναφεισών, A Νεφουσείμ) or **Nephusim** (AV and RVm, following *Ḳerê* נְפוּסִים). In the parallel passage (Neh 7^{52}) the reading is **Nephushesim** (RV, following *Kethibh* נְפוּשְׁסִים; B Νεφωσασεί, A -είμ) or **Nephishesim** (AV and RVm, following *Ḳerê* נְפִישְׁסִים). The reading in 1 Es 5^{31} is **Naphisi** (B Ναφεισεί, A Νάφισί). See, further, Wellhausen-Bleek⁵, p. 585.

J. A. SELBIE.

NAPHISI (B Ναφεισεί, A Ναφισί), 1 Es 5^{31}= Nephisim, Ezr 2^{50}; Nephushesim, Neh 7^{52}.

NAPHOTH-DOR.—RVm of Jos 11^{2}. See DOR.

NAPHTALI (נַפְתָּלִי, Νεφθαλείμ) was the fifth son of Jacob, and the second borne to him by Rachel's handmaid Bilhah, Gn $30^{7f.}$. He was thus full brother to Dan, with whose descendants his were afterwards closely associated.

נַפְתּוּלֵי אֱלֹהִים נִפְתַּלְתִּי, exclaimed Rachel at his birth: 'wrestlings of God have I wrestled.' She had prevailed in a great wrestling match with her sister, for the grace and blessing of God (Dillmann on Gn 30^{8}), as evidenced in the birth of sons; therefore she called him Naphtali.

The information regarding Naphtali given in Scrip. is extremely scanty, and it is not greatly augmented by tradition. Targg. Pseudo-Jon. and Jerus. say that he was swift of foot, and that he was the first to tell Jacob that Joseph was alive. This may be due, however, to a certain understanding of Gn 49^{21}. When the family went down into Egypt he had four sons (Gn 46^{24}). The Targg. above cited say that he was one of the five whom Joseph presented to Pharaoh (Gn 47^{2}). According to 'The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,' he died in his 132nd year. Like all his brethren except Joseph, he found sepulture in the land of Egypt.

According to the figures given in Nu 1^{42} 2^{30}, when the people were numbered in the wilderness of Sinai, the tribe of Naphtali occupied the sixth place with 53,400 men over 20 years old, 'able to go forth to war.' Before entering Canaan Naphtali had fallen to the eighth place with 45,400 (Nu 26^{48-50}). The position of Naphtali in the march through the desert was with Dan and Asher, on the north side of the tent of meeting (Nu 2^{29}). These three together formed the 'camp of Dan,' numbering in all 157,600 fighting men.

When the host moved forward, they acted as rearguard, setting forth 'hindmost by their standards' (Nu 2^{31}).

With the probable exception of Barak, Naphtali added no distinguished name to Israel's historic roll. The prince and representative of the tribe in the wilderness of Sinai was Ahîra' ben Enan (Nu 1^{15} 2^{29}). He having perished in the desert, the prince chosen to represent Naphtali in the division of the land was Pedahel ben 'Ammihud (Nu 34^{28}). The Naphtalite Nahbî ben Vophsî went with the spies from the wilderness of Paran (Nu 13^{14}). At the close of David's reign, Jeremoth ben 'Azriel was over the tribe (1 Ch 27^{19}). The mother of Hiram, the cunning artificer in brass, whom Solomon brought from Tyre, is claimed for Naphtali in 1 K 7^{14}, but in 2 Ch 2^{14} is given to Dan. That Barak belonged to Naphtali has been questioned on the ground that Jg 5^{15} seems to associate him with Issachar; but, owing to the confusion of the text (Moore, *Judges, in loc.*), this point is extremely doubtful, and it is natural to infer, from his residence in Kedesh (Jg 4^{6}) and his influence with the mountain tribes (Jg 4^{10}), that he was connected with Naphtali.

Naphtali was the last but one to receive his portion in the land of promise (Jos 19$^{32-39}$). This involved no disadvantage; the district that fell to him included some of the finest land in Palestine, rich and beautifully diversified. On the east it was bounded by the Sea of Galilee and the Upper Jordan. Josephus (*Ant.* v. i. 20) says it reached eastward to Damascus. This is improbable, and lacks corroboration. The northern border coincided with that of Israel's possession; while west, south-west, and south, Naphtali marched with Asher, Zebulun, and Issachar. These marches cannot be traced with certainty; but recent identifications of ancient sites, due chiefly to Col. Conder, make possible an approximation (see names of cities in Naphtali). Beginning at the confluence of *Wâdy el-Bireh* with the Jordan, the line might run westward, following the northern side of the valley, including Adami (*ed-Damieh*, about 10 miles north of *Beisân*), to Tabor, the lower slopes of which are probably indicated by Aznoth-Tabor, 'the ears of Tabor.' It would then run northward by way of Ziddim (*Ḥaṭṭîn*) and Hukkok (*Yaḳûḳ*) to Hannathon (*K̊efr Anân*); thence turning westward, taking in the lands of Ramah (*er-Râmeh*), until it touched the border of Asher, whence, running northward to almost opposite Tyre, it turned eastward, and again northward, dividing with Asher the districts now known as *Belâd Beshârah* and *Belâd esh-shuḳîf*, the larger portion of which fell to Naphtali. These boundaries include the land lying around the springs of Jordan. This, however, soon passed to Dan (Jos 19^{47}) by means of the raid described in Jg 18, which Naphtali does not seem to have either resisted or resented, possibly because of the close kinship of the tribes. Laish, held by its Phœnician inhabitants until attacked by Dan, and Hazor, which is subsequently found in the hands of Jabin, must be added to Beth-shemesh (not yet identified) and Beth-Anath (*'Ainitha*, 6 miles W.N.W. of *Ḳedes*), as cities out of which Naphtali did not drive the Canaanites. Kedesh in Galilee (Jos 20^{7}; see KEDESH-NAPHTALI) was set apart as a city of refuge, and this city, along with Hammoth-dor and Ḳartan, with their suburbs, was given to the Levite family of Gershon (Jos 21^{32}, 1 Ch 6^{76}).

The lofty region to the north-west of the Sea of Galilee formed by far the larger part of the territory of Naphtali. It is in every sense a pleasant land—a country of healthful air and noble scenery. It is plentifully watered, and, compared with the rest of Palestine, well wooded. Olive and lemon trees are specially abundant, while the fig, the mulberry, and the apricot are general. The vine is cultivated on many a sunny slope, and wide reaches of ploughland in the valleys yield fine crops of wheat and barley. The villages which dot the landscape give evidence of all the comfort and prosperity possible under the present government. *Jebel Jermuk*, cut off from the Safed hills by the tremendous gorge of *Wâdy Leimûn*, is the highest mountain in Western Palestine, reaching a height of nearly 4000 ft. To Naphtali also belonged the plain of Ijon, now *Merj A'yûn*, in the valley west of Hermon, and the upper valley of the Jordan, from the springs to the Sea of Galilee, both containing much excellent arable and pasture land. As if this were not enough for one whom the Lord blessed with such goodwill (Driver, *Deut.* p. 413), to Naphtali were assigned the broad fertile terraces by which the land lets itself down from Tabor to the Sea of Galilee, the fruitful level stretches before *Ḥaṭṭîn*, and the Plain of Gennesaret, a tract of unequalled richness and luxuriance on the north-west shore of the lake. To this, doubtless, allusion is made in Dt 33^{23}, where יָם should be rendered 'sea,' not 'west,' and is certainly the Sea of Galilee. The region has always been famous for its productiveness, 'insomuch that it invites the most slothful to take pains in its cultivation' (Jos. *BJ* III. iii. 2). It was one of the districts from which Solomon drew provisions, presided over for this purpose by the king's son-in-law Ahimaaz (1 K 4^{15}). 'To the inhabitants of such a land the more luxuriant vegetation of the hot lands on either side spread its temptations in vain . . . It is luxury where luxury cannot soften. On these broad heights, open to the sunshine and the breeze, life is free and exhilarating.

"Naphtali is a hind let loose."

This beautiful figure (Gn 49^{21}) fully expresses the feelings which are bred by the health, the spaciousness, the high freedom, and glorious outlook of Upper Galilee' (*HGHL*^{1} 420). The reading, 'Naphtali is a stretched out, *i.e.* slender, terebinth,' adopted by Ewald (*Hist. of Israel*, tr. ii. 291), Dillmann (*Genesis*, ii. 472), and others in preference to MT, is rejected by Delitzsch (*Genesis in loc.*), with apparently good reason. The figure of a *slender* tree seems to suit neither the territory nor its inhabitants. The latter appear to have been from the first a robust and numerous people; while neither in shape, nor in the character of its products, is the land at all open to such a description (*HGHL*^{1} 420, note). Delitzsch further points out that שְׁלוּחָה, in the meaning of stretched, slender, is uncorroborated and linguistically improbable. MT is supported by the Targg. and Sam., and is altogether appropriate to people nurtured amid the freedom of the mountains. 'He who giveth goodly words' seems to mark out Naphtali as possessing, in special measure, the gift of eloquence. Of this, however, there is no extant evidence.

His position as a border tribe exposed Naphtali to constant peril from marauding bands, and inroads of hostile neighbours. In conflict with those who sought the spoils of his fair territory, no doubt, was developed that alert, eager, fearless, warlike spirit, which shone so conspicuously under the leadership of Barak and Deborah (Jg 5^{18}), and which made the men of these uplands so formidable in later days. A thousand captains and a contingent of 37,000 men 'with shield and spear' were sent to David at Hebron (1 Ch 12^{34}). In Tiglath-pileser's first raid against Pekah, Naphtali fell into the hands of Assyria, and the people were taken into captivity (2 K 15^{29}; cf. 1 Ch 5^{26}, Is 9^{1}). The heroic zeal and bravery of the inhabitants of this region in the war of independence was worthy of the greatest traditions of the past (see GALILEE). Josephus, whose knowledge was intimate, testifies that they were 'inured to war from their infancy,' 'nor hath the country ever been destitute of men of courage' (*BJ* III. iii. 2). Much of our Lord's ministry was fulfilled within the borders of Naphtali; and of those chosen to be His companions and witnesses, the chief were natives of this soil.

There are but two towns of any consequence in the territory of Naphtali to-day, both 'holy cities' of the Jews: Tiberias, on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee, with about 5000 inhabitants, where the tombs of Maimonides, Rabbi Aḳîba, and other great ones are shown, the ruins of the ancient city stretching 2 miles to the south; and Safed, with over 20,000 inhabitants, crowning the mountain north of the sea, dominated by the 'castle hill.' The castle itself, dating from Crusading times, was finally wrecked in the earthquake of 1837, which wrought such havoc both in Safed and in Tiberias. At *Meirôn*, a few miles north-west of Safed, are the ruins of an ancient synagogue, and the tombs of Hillel and Simeon Bar Yochai. This is a popular Jewish place of pilgrimage. Of the villages representing ancient cities, *er-Rameh* is perhaps the most prosperous; and on the ridge north of *er-Rameh* stands the hamlet of *el-Bukeiʿa*, the highest place of human habitation in Palestine, whose Jewish inhabitants claim to have held it in unbroken possession since Joshua's conquest.

Naphtali, Mount (הַר נַפְתָּלִי, ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ Νεφθαλεί, Jos 20^{7}) was the northmost of the parts into which the central range of Western Palestine was divided, named after the tribes that mainly occupied them—Mount Judah, Mount Ephraim, and Mount Naphtali. It is a mistake in either case to translate 'hill-country' (see, however, Driver in art. HILL-COUNTRY). The rendering 'mount' or 'mountain' is in accordance with immemorial usage in these lands. The modern *Jebel Safed* corresponds generally with the ancient *Har Naphtali*, and *Jebel Nâblus* with *Har Ephraim*: the name in each case is taken from the seat of government in the district. No one thinks of translating *Jebel Libnân* (Mount Lebanon) by 'the hill-country of Lebanon,' although the scenery there is as diversified as in any district in the southern range.

LITERATURE.—Thomson, *Land and Book*, ii. *passim*; Merrill, *Galilee in the Time of Christ*; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* pp. 53, 392, 420; Henderson, *Palestine*, p. 102 f.; Douglas, *Joshua*, 103–105; Ewald, *Hist. of Israel*, tr. ii. 290 ff.; Keil and Delitzsch, *Joshua*; Driver, *Deut.* 413; and art. GALILEE.

W. EWING.

NAPHTUHIM (נַפְתֻּחִים, Νεφθαλ(ι)είμ, *Nephtuim*, *Nephthuim*) is given in Gn 10^{13} and 1 Ch 1^{11} as the fourth 'son' of Mizraim. Nothing definite is known of a place or people bearing this name. One view, as old as Targ. Jon., transposes the first two consonants, reads *Pentaschœnum*, identifies with Νέφθυς, and puts the situation N.E. of Egypt. An attempt to find an Egyptian etymology takes *na* as the plural article and *Ptaḥ* as the god's name, thus yielding *naptaḥ*, with a meaning 'they of Ptaḥ,' an appropriate name for the district about Memphis, the centre of the Ptaḥ cult. This name, however, does not seem to have been in actual use, in native documents, to denote a place or people. The Ethiopian capital, Napata, mentioned by Ptolemy (iv. 7, 19) is a tempting parallel, but would be more likely to be assigned to Cush. The certainty of Pathrusim being the Egyptian *petersï* or 'southern land' led Erman to suggest a corruption from פתמחים for *petemhï* 'northern land.' If we are to admit corruptions, we may compare the Assyrian form *Naṭḫu*, given in Assurbanipal's Annals (Col. i. 94, 99), as a district, probably in Lower Egypt. This seems to represent the Egyptian *n-idhw*, 'the marshes,' and is used in opposition to Patrusi. Herodotus (ii. 165) gives this name as Ναθῶ, and indicates that there were two such districts. The disappearance of *p* may be compensated by the change from *t* to *ṭ* in the Assyrian spelling. For other suggestions see Dillmann and Holzinger on *Gen.* and the references there; Steindorff, *Beitr. zur Assyr.* i. p. 600 f.

C. H. W. JOHNS.

NAPKIN is the EV tr^{n} in Lk 19^{20}, Jn 11^{44} 20^{7} (in Ac 19^{12} [the only other occurrence of the Gr. word] 'handkerchief') of σουδάριον, which is really a Lat. word *sudarium* * (from *sudor*, 'sweat'). The name refers to the use of this article to wipe off perspiration from the hands and face (cf. Quintil. vi. 3). In Lk 19^{20} the man who had received the one pound, wrapped his lord's money in a *sudarium*, which may here mean either a species of head-dress like the Arab. *kûfiyeh*, or a towel or the like (the reader will recall instances in the *Arabian Nights Tales* of the wrapping up of money in a linen cloth and then concealing it, and also of the carrying of it in the folds of one's turban). The same uncertainty attaches to the meaning of the handkerchiefs (σουδάρια) which are said to have been brought in contact with the person of St. Paul and then used for the healing of the sick, Ac 19^{12}. The face of the dead was bound up with a napkin, Jn 11^{44} (Lazarus) 20^{7} (Jesus). See, also, art. DRESS in vol. i. p. 627^{b}.

J. A. SELBIE.

NARCISSUS (Νάρκισσος).—In Ro 16^{11} St. Paul salutes, among other Roman Christians, those 'of the household of Narcissus, which are in the Lord.' The name was common, especially among slaves and freedmen; cf. *CIL* vi. 4123 (in the household of Livia), 4346, 5206 HELICONIS NARCISSI AVGVSTIANI: 22875 NARCISSVS · AVG · LIB.; but it is best known as that of the notorious freedman of Claudius, who had been put to death by Agrippina shortly after the accession of Nero, some three or four years before this letter was written (Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 1; Dio Cass. lx. 34). It was an obvious suggestion that the reference was to members of his household, but the fact that he was already dead when the letter was written seemed to make this impossible. Bishop Lightfoot has, however, suggested that the identification is still possible. When Narcissus was put to death, his property would be confiscated and become the property of the emperor, and his slaves would swell the imperial household, but be distinguished as the *Narcissiani*. We find servants of Livia called *Mæcenatiani*, as having come from the household of Mæcenas (*CIL* vi. 4016, 4032); we find also *Amyntiani* (4035; cf. 8738), *Agrippiani*, *Germaniciani*. The same explanation is given for the household of ARISTOBULUS (wh. see). The form Narcissianus occurs, but apparently not necessarily with this meaning, Murat. p. 1150, 4: TI · CLAVDIO · SP · F · NARCISSIANO. The following inscription is later, *CIL* vi.: D.M | T. FLAVIVS · AVG. LIB | NARCISSVS · FECIT · · ·, and lower down: T. FLAVIVS · AVG · LIB · FIRMVS · NARCISSIANVS · · · REFECIT. It may be possible to work this point out more completely when vol. vi. of the Berlin *Corpus* of Inscriptions is finished. An inscription quoted by Plumptre (*Biblical Studies*, p. 428) is of doubtful genuineness. The later traditions about Narcissus are quite valueless. He is made by Pseudo-Hippolytus (*de LXX Apostolis*, p. 955, ed. Migne), bishop of Athens, and is commemorated on Oct. 31.

LITERATURE.—Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 173; Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*, p. 425; *Acta Sanctorum*, Oct. vol. xiii. p. 687.

A. C. HEADLAM.

NARD.—'Pure nard' is the AVm rendering for

---

* It appears in the Targums as סודרא (Buxtorf, *Lex. Talm.* 1442).

'spikenard' (Mk 14³, RVm 'pistic nard'). See SPIKENARD.

NASBAS (B Νασβᾶς) occurs only in To 11¹⁸ 'And Achiacharus and Nasbas his brother's son came,' namely, to the wedding of Tobias the son of Tobit. The AV gives in the margin the suggestion of Junius: 'Achiacharus, who is also called Nasbas' (*i.e.* Ἀχιαχαρ ὃς καὶ N. for Ἀχιάχαρος καὶ N.). The MSS and Versions offer the following variants (cf. Ball, *Variorum Apocrypha*): ℵ 'A. and *Nabad* his cousins' (but a second hand corrected οἱ ἐξάδελφοι into the singular); cursives 'A. and *Nabas* his cousins'; Itala 'A. and *Nabal* his maternal uncle' (Cod. Sangerm. 15: 'Achiacar in *Navis* soceri illius'); Syr. 'A. and *Laban*, his sister's son' (לבן omitted in the *Thes. Syr.* col. 1886); Vulg. 'Achior and *Nabath* the cousins of Tobias.'

The question whose brother's or sister's son Nasbas was, whether of Tobit (so Vulgate and others) or of Achiacharus, which could not be settled by the data in the Book of Tobit, is now decided in favour of the latter view through the newly published *Story of Aḥiḳar and his Nephew.* For there can be no doubt as to the identity of these personages; and it is now also certain that we must find the same person (Nasbas) in the *Aman* of the received text of To 14¹⁰ (see art. AMAN in vol. i. p. 79 and correct there, that the Syriac spells '*A*ḳab' [עכב] not '*A*ḥab'); cf. further, Ball, *Variorum Apocrypha*, where the Sinaitic Text (ἐν τῷ ποιῆσαί με ἐλεημοσύνην) must be translated: 'because he gave me alms,' not 'because I did alms.'

The original form of the name is most probably *Nadab*, though it is not easy to say on palæographical or other grounds how all the variants could arise, especially the received form *Nasbas.* See J. R. Harris in the Introduction to *The Story of Aḥiḳar* (London, 1898, pp. xxix, xlv).

EB. NESTLE.

NASI (B Νασεί, A Νασίθ, AV Nasith), 1 Es 5³² = Neziah, Ezr 2⁵⁴, Neh 7⁵⁶.

NATHAN (נָתָן '(whom God) gave'; Ναθάν).—1. Successor of Samuel in the line of prophet statesmen (Sir 47¹). When first introduced into the history (2 S 7¹⁻¹⁷, 1 Ch 17¹⁻¹⁵) he is already David's chief spiritual adviser (cf. 1 K 1²⁷ *Ḳerê*). The incident is a remarkable one, whether we regard it as indicative of the prophetic as contrasted with the priestly policy in religious affairs (Ewald, *HI* iii. 131), or as marking an epoch in the development of the Messianic ideal. The transfer of the seat of government from Hebron to Jerusalem was the first step towards the unification of the kingdom. It only remained to centralize the religious system as well, and so render Israel completely homogeneous. The building, therefore, of the temple at Jerusalem was something more than an expression of fervent piety; it was a stroke of far-reaching policy. At first, indeed, it was not altogether successful; but after the fall of the Northern Kingdom the temple became so inextricably associated with the religion of the Hebrews as to involve in its own ruin the system which it was designed to consolidate and preserve. The prophet historian represents Nathan's purely human impulse as favourable to the project. That very night, however, a Divine revelation warned him that the time was not yet ripe for this innovation, and bade him communicate to the king a consolatory promise, which is one of the most important Messianic prophecies in the whole OT. The conception of the Son of David, whose kingdom should have no end, struck the imagination of every subsequent Messianic prophet, and is the most prominent feature in NT retrospect. The significant variations of the Chronicles in this speech need not here be indicated. But Nathan fulfilled the prophet's truest function in that scene in which his idyllic parable awoke the conscience of his friend and master (2 S 12¹⁻¹⁵, Ps 51 title). As we read the words of restrained emotion in which Nathan lays bare the meanness and selfishness of David's sin, we feel that their effect must have been, in great measure, due to the peculiarly intimate relations of the king and the prophet. Doubtless it was a consolation to Nathan to be commissioned subsequently (2 S 12²⁵) to bestow on the first child of the now forgiven union his name 'in religion,' 'Jedidiah, after the meaning of Jah' (Ewald, *HI* iii. 168). The infant thus favoured was afterwards to owe his crown to the prophet's astuteness and promptitude. It was Nathan that first detected the plot of Adonijah, and suggested and carried through the plan of action by which it was baffled, and he took a leading part in the joyous coronation ceremony that followed (1 K 1). One is tempted to suggest that the far-seeing and enlightened statesmanship which marked the early years of Solomon's reign was a result of the teaching of Nathan. It is significant that his son Zabud was selected by Solomon as a special priest and 'king's friend' (1 K 4⁵). The Chronicler ascribes to Nathan histories of David (1 Ch 29²⁹) and of Solomon (2 Ch 9²⁹). It remains to add that Jerome (*Qu. Heb.* on 1 S 17¹², 2 S 21²¹, 1 Ch 20⁷ 27³²) identifies Nathan with David's nephew Jonathan. He says that he is called Nathan as a prophet, but Jonathan as a warrior, and that when called by the former name his father is not mentioned, since he was not a prophet.

2. Son of David, born at Jerusalem (2 S 5¹⁴, 1 Ch 14⁴). According to 1 Ch 3⁵ he was third son of Bathshua (Bathsheba), Solomon being fourth. But we should naturally infer from 2 S 12²⁴ that Solomon was the first son of Bathsheba's that lived for any time. The princely family of Nathan is mentioned in Zec 12¹² as a specific division of the house of David. St. Luke (3³¹) traces the descent of our Lord from David through Nathan rather than through Solomon, as is done by St. Matthew. 3. Father of Igal (2 S 23³⁶), or brother of Joel (1 Ch 11³⁸), who was one of David's heroes. The text of Chronicles is preferred by Rawlinson, but seems a corruption of that of Samuel. 4. A Judahite (1 Ch 2³⁶). 5. One of the deputation sent by Ezra to request Iddo to provide Levites, etc., for the temple (Ezr 8¹⁶, 1 Es 8⁴⁴). 6. One of those who had taken strange wives (Ezr 10³⁹), called in 1 Es 9³⁴ Nathanias.

N. J. D. WHITE.

NATHANAEL.—1. (Ναθαναήλ) one of the 'captains over thousands,' who played a prominent part at Josiah's passover, 1 Es 1⁹. 2. (B Ναθανάηλος, A om.) a priest who had married a foreign wife, 1 Es 9²² = NETHANEL of Ezr 10²². 3. (Ναθαναήλ) an ancestor of Judith, Jth 8¹. 4. See next article.

NATHANAEL (Ναθαναήλ, equivalent to נְתַנְאֵל ['God has given'; cf. the names *Dorotheus, Dositheus, Theodore*], *Nethanel* [which see], Nu 1⁸ etc.).—A man of Cana of Galilee (Jn 21²), whom Philip, after having himself been called by Christ, induced to come into the Master's presence (Jn 1⁴⁵ᶠᶠ·). Our Lord describes him as 'an Israelite indeed,' *i.e.* one who valued the spiritual privileges, and sought to realize the ideal life of an Israelite; and as a man 'in whom there is no guile,' *i.e.* not sinless, but sincere and candid, open-minded, and single-hearted, one who was free from the guile of Jacob before he attained to the nobility of Israel. Nathanael showed his candour (1) by not allowing himself to be deterred from coming to see Jesus through his natural reluctance* to accept Nazareth, an insignificant townlet, mentioned by no prophet, as the place whence the expected Messiah would come forth; (2) by at once surrendering his prejudice when adequate evidence of Christ's supernatural power was received. His eventual faith in the Messiahship of Jesus could hardly have been due to the mere fact that Christ, unseen by Nathanael, had beheld him under the fig-tree, even assuming that he was seen there engaged in devotion or religious meditation. Christ alludes, doubtless, to some recent crisis or special incident in Nathanael's spiritual experience which had taken place while he sat under the fig-tree—an awakening, perhaps, to a higher ideal of life and duty, or a successful struggle with some strong temptation, or a devout longing for the coming of Messiah and His kingdom. He who had then not only seen, but seen into him, must be 'He that should come,' the Son of God (in Messianic sense, cf. Ps 2^{7}), and the (spiritual) king of Israel (Is 9^{7}).

The name of Nathanael occurs only once again in the Gospel history, namely, in Jn 21^{2}, where he is one of the seven to whom the risen Jesus manifested Himself at early dawn after a night of fruitless fishing. One expects to find Nathanael included (like the other disciples who were simultaneously called) among the Twelve apostles. Aug. (Hom. vii. on the *Gosp. of Jn.*) accounts for his non-selection by the assumption that Nathanael was learned in the law, and that Christ 'desired to transform the world through unlearned' apostles. Somewhat similarly, Gregory the Great (*Mor.* 33. 21) represents our Lord as 'passing over Nathanael in order to show, by the choice of apostles who had nothing praiseworthy of their own, that their sufficiency came not from themselves, but from above.' The now widely accepted† identification of Nathanael with **Bartholomew** is not known to have been adopted until the 9th cent., by the Nestorian Elias, of Damascus (*Assem. B. O.* iv. p. v).‡ To the considerations already adduced under BARTHOLOMEW in favour of this suggestion, may be added (1) Nathanael's apparent inclusion (Jn 21^{2}) among the 'disciples,' by whom, in the context (Jn 20$^{24\text{ff.}}$ 21^{14}), the evangelist seems to mean apostles; (2) the fact of most of the other apostles bearing two names, and, in particular, the parallel case of Levi, who is so called in Mk 2^{14}, Lk 5^{27}, and whose other name, *Matthew*, signifies 'gift of Jehovah,' almost equivalent to *Nathanael*. The identification, however, cannot be regarded as more than a plausible conjecture, against which the absence of any hint of the identity in any early writer tells strongly, although not decisively. Nathanael has also been identified with (1) the friend of Cleopas in Lk 24 (Epiph. *Hær.* 23, without reason given); (2) Matthew (Thoma in *Genes. d. Jn. Ev.*), a supposition negatived by the diverse circumstances of Nathanael's call; (3) John himself (Spaeth in Hilg. *Zeitsch.* 1868), Jn 21^{2} being treated as a mistake of the alleged 'supplementer'; (4) Matthias (Hilg. *NT extra Can.* iv., and, doubtfully, Jn. Lightf. *Com. Ac. in. loc.*, who elsewhere, in his *Comm. on Mt. and Jn.*, prefers to identify Nathanael with Bartholomew); (5) Simon the Cananæan, from a misinterpretation of this surname, as if 'of Cana'; and (6) Stephen, owing to Jn 1^{51} and Ac 7^{56} (both the last conjectures mentioned by Chemnitius, *Harm. Evan.* 312; cf. Lipsius, *Apocr. Apos.* iii. 152).

LITERATURE (in addition to works quoted).—Kindler in *Thes. Theol.-Philol.* ii. 370 ff.; Trench, *Studies in the Gospels*; N. Marshall, Three Discourses on Nathanael in *Sermons*, vol. ii.; Newman, *Sermons*, vol. ii.; M'Laren, *Year's Ministry*, ii. 169.

H. COWAN.

NATHANIAS (Ναθανίας), 1 Es 9^{34} = Nathan, Ezr 10^{39}.

NATHAN-MELECH (נְתַן־מֶלֶךְ; Eng. as Vulg.).—An official in the reign of Josiah, whose name is used to designate one of the halls or chambers (לְשָׁכוֹת) of the temple (2 K 23^{11}; see EUNUCH). Gifts and offerings were received in these chambers (Neh 10$^{39\,(40)}$), and they may have been assigned particularly to the control of those whose names are attached to them (Jer 35^{4} 36$^{10.\,11}$). In the 'hall of Nathan-melech' Josiah deposited the horses of the sun (? a group of statuary) which he removed from near the temple entrance (2 K 23^{11}; translate, 'and he removed the horses . . . to the chamber of N.'). The express identification of the chamber suggests that it was a permanent repository for these horses rather than an 'office' to which they were handed over. Regarding its situation in the temple area, see PARBAR. The name נְתַן־מֶלֶךְ 'Melech gave,' is exactly paralleled by נְתַנְיָה and נְתַנְאֵל 'J″ gave,' 'El gave.' It is not necessarily a recognition of an idol god Melech (Molech), for Melech, 'king,' was no doubt a title of J″. But the name may be a trace of the idol-worship of the 7th cent. (Gray, *Heb. Proper Names*, pp. 146–148). In the LXX מֶלֶךְ does not seem to have been taken as part of the proper name (Luc. Ναθὰν εὐνούχου τοῦ βασιλέως; B Ναθὰν βασιλέως τοῦ εὐνούχου). W. B. STEVENSON.

NATIONS.—See GENTILES, GOIIM, RACES.

NATURAL.—Two different Greek words are thus rendered in AV and RV, which it is necessary here to distinguish. 1. φυσικός, 'that which is according to the nature' (φύσις) of any organism, which is the outcome of its constitution. Thus St. Paul contrasts ἡ φυσικὴ χρῆσις with that which is παρὰ φύσιν (Ro 1^{26}); and in like manner the 'natural branches,' οἱ κατὰ φύσιν κλάδοι (Ro 11^{21}), are contrasted with the graft from a foreign stock. It is plain that it is impossible to decide finally whether or not any process is or is not φυσικός, unless we understand thoroughly the constitution of the φύσις. It is only because we assume that we certainly know the true τέλος of sex, that we unhesitatingly condemn as 'unnatural,' abominable practices like those condemned by St. Paul (Ro 1^{26}), despite the fact that they are widely prevalent in various parts of the world. Science assures us that they contradict the 'constitution of human nature,' the φύσις of man, and conscience acquiesces in the decision.

There is, however, little dispute as to what is *unnatural* for man, *i.e.* that which contradicts the whole system of man's nature, and is not merely repugnant to certain elements of it. But when we ask questions about the distinctions between what is *natural* and what is *supernatural* in the universe, difficulties emerge. Certainly (see NATURE, p. 493^{b}), if we understand by φύσις 'the sum of all that is,' nothing is strictly *supernatural*. But science usually employs the word 'nature' (described in art. NATURE, § 1) as equivalent to the complex of phenomena, the sum of material forces. And we have not yet exhausted the meaning of 'nature' in this sense, for we are not omniscient. Many things once considered supernatural are now found to be strictly the results of 'natural' processes, of hitherto undiscovered laws of the physical universe. The progress of science largely consists in enlarging the domain of 'natural' law. Hence of a given event, seemingly anomalous, it may be impossible for the observer to say with confidence that it is not the result of unknown natural law, and that it must be referred to supernatural intervention. The degree of confidence with which this can be asserted in any particular instance must be measured by the completeness of our knowledge of the circumstances and of the agents. And Butler's observation is profound, 'that there may be beings in the universe whose capacities and knowledge and views may be so extensive as that the whole Christian dispensation may to them appear natural, *i.e.* analogous or conformable to God's dealings with other parts of His creation; as natural as the visible known course of things appears to us. For there scarce seems any other possible sense to be put upon the word, but that only [of] similar, stated, or uniform' (*Anal.* I. 1 *sub fin.*). This, however, is only a speculation; the fact remains, that of certain alleged phenomena our knowledge of nature assures us that they are not in accordance with its ordinary laws as known to us, and that they must therefore be classified as *supernatural.* The classification is provisionally necessary, although it may not be scientific *sub specie æternitatis.* See MIRACLE (p. 383) for a fuller discussion of this point.

---

* Some early writers, however (*e.g.* Cyril of Alex. *Comm. in loc.*), interpret Nathanael's words in Jn 1^{46}, not interrogatively, but as an acquiescence in Philip's statement contained in v.^{45}. Augustine (*in loc.*), while giving both interpretations, appears to prefer 'From Nazareth some good might come,' and deduces from the answer that Nathanael was a learned man, who had 'looked well into the prophets,' and perceived a hidden reference to Nazareth in their writings.

† Among others, by Ew., Mey., Lange, Keim, Wesl., Newm., Alf., Tren., Millig., Farrar, Westcott. The Apocr. *Judicium Petri* represents both Bartholomew and Nathanael as apostles.

‡ Elias is followed by Ebedjesu and other Nestorians (*Ass.* iii. 306). In the West the suggestion is found first in Rupertus of Deutz (12th cent., *Com. in loc.*), but did not excite much attention until the 16th cent., when it was approved by C. Jansenius (*Com.* p. 142), and condemned by Baronius as 'levis conjectura' (i. 123).

2. *ψυχικός* is twice rendered by 'natural' in the RV, and twice by 'sensual.' The mind of man is frequently spoken of in the NT as twofold (see PSYCHOLOGY), embracing the *πνεῦμα* or *νοῦς*, the higher faculty which he enjoys as made in the image of God, and the *ψυχή*, the lower element which he shares with the beasts. The wisdom which is 'earthly' and 'devilish' is also *ψυχική* (Ja 3^{15}), and the *ψυχικοί* are described by St. Jude (v.^{19}) as *πνεῦμα μὴ ἔχοντες*. In like manner St. Paul says of the *ψυχικός* that 'he receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God' (1 Co 2^{14}), and he contrasts the *σῶμα ψυχικόν* of this life with the *σῶμα πνευματικόν* of the life to come (1 Co 15^{44}). 'The natural man' and 'the natural body' are alike of the earth, earthy. It is questionable if the Revisers were well advised * in retaining the word 'natural' in these last passages as the rendering of *ψυχικός*; 'sensual' gives the meaning better, and the old rendering suggests to the reader a quite unwarrantable antithesis between the 'natural body' and that which is presumed to be 'supernatural.'

J. H. BERNARD.

NATURAL HISTORY.—In entering on the study of the natural history of the Bible we have to consider—

1. That, with the exception of Solomon † (1 K 4^{33}), the authors of the several books were in no sense naturalists. The allusions by 'Solomon' to objects of nature are so few and general as to give us no idea how far he had reduced his knowledge to a scientific form. There is no evidence in the Scriptures written after his day that he formulated and gave to the world a scientific treatise on these subjects. The imperfect descriptions of natural objects given by the Gr. and Rom. and Arab. naturalists many centuries later, make it quite improbable that any treatises of Solomon on plants and animals were such as, had they been preserved, would have enabled us to identify with accuracy the objects alluded to.

2. Apart from the question of the degree of knowledge of natural history possessed by the writers of the Bible, their allusions to natural objects are, for the most part, incidental and general, not scientific. Even in the lists of clean and unclean animals in Lv and Dt a large proportion of the names refer to classes and genera, such as the 'falcon, after its kind'; 'the raven, after its kind'; 'the hawk, after its kind'; 'the heron, after its kind,' etc. etc. It is clear from this that the class or genus was in the mind of the writer, and not an individual species, except in those cases in which there was but one well-known species in Bible lands, as the camel, the coney, the swine, etc.

3. The Heb. literature is confined to the canonical books. We have no sidelights from other books in that language to aid us in determining the objects referred to. In the case of objects mentioned but once or a few times only, it is often difficult or impossible to be certain as to what was intended. The LXX gives the judgment of its translators as to the Gr. equivalents in their day. This opinion may not be always well founded. And it is still more probable that in many cases they used a text very different from the MT. The cognate Arab. often sheds light, but in the more difficult cases it is of the least value.

4. The books of the Bible were written by numerous authors, in various parts of the East, and through a period of at least 1000 years. Any one who has endeavoured to collect the common names of plants and animals in any country, but especially in Bible lands, has been struck with the fact that a given name refers to different objects in regions not far apart. For example, in Lebanon the word *ḳaiḳob* is used for several species of maple. In Gilead it is used for *Arbutus Andrachne*, L., a tree known in the rest of Pal. and Syria as *ḳoṭlib*. The word *ballûṭ* is properly an acorn, but it is used also for the Portuguese Oak, *Quercus Lusitanica*, Lam., and another species of oak, *Q. Cerris*, L. Again, the same object has often different names in regions within Bible lands. The cedar of Lebanon has three names within the limits of N. Lebanon, *'arz*, *'ibhul*, and *tnûb*. The term *'arz* is also used for the Aleppo Pine. Again, some generic names, as Oak, have no names in Arabic. Some of its species have names, as *sindiân* for *Q. coccifera*, L., *mallûl* for *Q. Lusitanica*, Lam., *look* for *Q. Look*, Ky., *ballûṭ* for *Q. Cerris*, L. It is by no means impossible that the names of plants changed, either by the introduction of foreign terms, or the adoption of local designations into general literature. It may thus happen that a certain name, as *cedar* (Lv 14^{4}), refers to a plant different from that to which it was applied in later times. There may be many such cases.

5. It is certain that the writers of the Bible were not more precise in their designation of objects of natural history than writers in general literature to-day. When speaking of *grass, lilies, mustard, thorns, thistles, owls, bats* and other sorts of natural objects, of which there are numerous species, belonging perhaps to several genera, writers of the Bible must not be understood as having in mind a particular species. An attempt to find for every allusion to natural objects a particular species, results in confusion of thought, and endless and insoluble controversy. In many cases where individual species are intended, decisive evidence is not to be found as to what the species is. In such cases we have adopted the plan of presenting the evidence for one or more interpretations, and making no attempt at a decision. Fortunately, these are usually the less important animals and plants.

6. In some cases popular errors as to species appear in the EV. Such is the application of

---

* They have also retained the rendering 'his natural face' for *τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ* (Ja 1^{23}), although they render the Greek literally in their margin.

† Supposing we have any productions of his pen in the OT, which is denied with practical unanimity by modern scholars.

the term ‘mole’ (Lv 11^{30}) to the mole rat, *Spalax typhlus*. There are no true moles in Pal. and Syria. But the *spalax* has the aspect and habits of a mole. Some imaginary animals, as the *satyr*, are spoken of in the Bible. It is as idle to look for their equivalents in nature as it would be when mentioned in profane literature. But some such monster is a conception well-nigh universal among mankind. In so far as possible it has been the aim of the author in these articles to give the evidences which establish or vitiate the claims of the names adopted in AV and RV, rather than the numerous and conflicting opinions of scholars. Those who may wish to enter into that phase of the question may easily find the topics in the indices of the large number of books on ancient and biblical natural history. Among the principal ancient and mediæval authors who have written on these topics are Pliny, Dioscorides, Theophrastus, Galen, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Herodotus, Abu el-Fuḍlî, Avicenna, and Ibn el-Bîṭâr. Their testimony, as well as that of others, has been summed up in the erudite works of Bochart (*Hierozoicon*), Celsius (*Hierobotanicon*), Rosenmüller (*Natural History of the Bible*), Hiller, Royle, Ursinus (*Arbor. Biblic.*), etc. Many naturalists have written of the Fauna and Flora of Bible lands. Prominent among them are Hasselquist, Russell, Ehrenberg, Hemprich, Michaelis, Schweinfürth, Ascherson, Hooker, Carruthers, Wood, Tristram, Houghton, and Boissier. Allusions to natural objects are frequent in all the standard works of travel, especially in Burckhardt, Robinson, Thomson, and Tristram.

Pal. and Syria are at the meeting-point of three continents, Asia, Africa, and Europe. Their animals and plants connect the Fauna and Flora of all. Furthermore, their surface is greatly diversified. Lebanon is over 10,000 and Hermon over 9000 ft. above the sea. A number of peaks of Amanus and Akher Dagh are nearly as high, as also the higher mountains of Sinai. The Jordan Valley is from a little below to 1294 ft. below the Mediterranean. In the 50,000 square miles between Sinai on the S., Taurus on the N., the sea on the W., and the Syrian desert on the E., are maritime plains, seaward and landward mountain slopes, alpine summits, tropical valleys, the quagmires and marsh thickets of the Ḥûleh, the salt lakes and marshes of Aleppo and Palmyra, the rolling plateaus of Moab, Gilead, and Bashan, the ancient lake bed of Cœle-Syria, and the arid Syrian desert. The natural result of these great diversities of surface and climate is a large number of species and varieties in proportion to the extent of the land.

A. ANIMAL KINGDOM.—i. *MAMMALS*.—Tristram (*Fauna and Flora of Pal.*) gives the number of mammals in the Holy Land at 113. This number, which has been considerably augmented by subsequent discoveries, is very large in proportion to the size of the country. A number of those mentioned in Scripture, as the lion, the unicorn, and the wild ox, are now extinct. The larger carnivora, once so numerous, are now rare. The leopard is found only in lonely retreats, while the bear is confined to alpine Lebanon and Antilebanon. The hart is no longer found in Pal., but still exists in Amanus. The pygarg (*Antilope Addax*, Dt 14^{5}) is now no longer found, or only on the borders of the desert. Others of the Scripture mammals which remain have become very scarce, as the wild goat, the coney, and the roebuck. The last is likely soon to become extinct. The following is a complete list of the scriptural and apocryphal mammals:—Antelope (RV;=Wild Ox, AV), Ape, Ass, Wild Ass, Badger (AV;=Seal or Porpoise, RV), Bat, Bear, Behemoth, Boar, Camel, Cat, Cattle, Chamois (Wild Sheep), Coney, Dog, [Dragon, RV Jackal, La 4^{3}], Dromedary (really young Camel, see DROMEDARY), Elephant, Ewe, Fallow Deer (AV;=Roebuck, RV), Ferret (AV; = Gecko, RV), Fox, Gazelle, Goat, Wild Goat, Greyhound, Hare, Hart, Hind, Horse, Hyæna, Jackal, Lamb, Leopard, Lion, Mole, Mouse, Ox, Wild Ox (AV;=Antelope, RV), Pygarg, Ram, Roe, Roebuck (AV;=Gazelle, RV), [Satyr], Sheep, Swine, Unicorn, Weasel, Whale (AV;=Sea Monster, RV), Wolf. Leaving out the duplications in the two VSS, and animals mentioned under different headings, there are in all 38 different ones, among which, however, are included the dragon and satyr, which are partially or wholly fabulous.

ii. *BIRDS*.—The order of the creation of birds in the Mosaic cosmogony (Gn $1^{20.\ 21.\ 22}$) corresponds with the order of their geological appearance, which is in the cretaceous period, after the reign of the reptiles. The aquatic species were the first to appear.* Birds are generally more highly organized than reptiles and fishes on the one hand, and less so than the higher mammals on the other. They all have feathers, and are oviparous. Hence they are readily distinguished, and seem to have been recognized by ‘Moses’ as a well-marked class. Some have thought that bats were included in OT among the birds, as they are mentioned at the end of a list of birds (Lv $11^{13\text{-}19}$). But it is not clear that the writer so understood the matter, as the bats come between the birds on the one hand, and insects and reptiles on the other. The exclusion of the unclean birds in the lists of Lv 11 and Dt 14 implies that other birds were eaten. Of those that were eaten, however, only one, the *quail*, is mentioned by name. ‘Fatted fowl’ (1 K 4^{23}) is doubtful. It may perhaps be inferred that *doves* were kept for food in later OT times (Is 60^{8}), and *hens* in NT (Mt 23^{37}), also that *sparrows* were sold for food (Mt 10^{29}, Lk 12^{6}). The numerous allusions to fowling imply the use of birds so caught for food. The Bible alludes to the migration and singing of birds (Ca $2^{11.\ 12}$, Ec 12^{4}, Jer 8^{7}), also to their nesting in the temple (? Ps 84^{3}). Pigeons, swallows, sparrows, and other birds find a secure sanctuary now in churches, but esp. in mosques. The Israelites were forbidden to take the mother bird with the young (Dt $22^{6.\ 7}$), perhaps because the mother at such times will not avail herself of her power of concealment and flight. The object of the law was to cultivate a merciful regard for the maternal instinct, not merely to preserve game (another possible explanation is quoted by Driver, *ad loc.*). Allusion is made to the forsaking of the nest (Pr 27^{8}), also to flight (Hos 9^{11}, Ex 19^{4}, Dt $32^{11.\ 12}$). More than 350 species of birds have been collected in the Holy Land. Some of these have brilliant plumage, as the Garrulous Roller, the Bee Eater, the Hoopoe, several Kingfishers, the Sun Bird, the White-throated Robin, Tristram’s Grackle, the African Darter, etc. But the chief ornithological characteristic of the country is the large number of birds of prey, esp. of the larger kinds, as vultures, eagles, falcons, buzzards, and the fishing water fowl, as pelicans, cranes, herons, cormorants, darters, etc. The coast species resemble those of the maritime regions of the Mediterranean basin. The mountain systems of Lebanon and Antilebanon, with their continuations southward, parallel to the coast, divide the maritime region from that of the Syrian and Arabian deserts. The avifauna is nearly identical in both the mountain chains. That of the deep cleft of the

---

* With this statement in the text the reader will do well to compare Driver’s art. ‘The Cosmogony of Genesis,’ in *Expositor*, Jan. 1886. There on p. 28 a table exhibits the order of appearance thus: according to geology, Fishes, Reptiles (in Carbon. period), Birds; according to Gn, Fishes of all kinds and Birds, Reptiles (רֶמֶשׂ).

Jordan and Dead Sea contains a number of Indian and Ethiopian species. The following is a list of Scripture birds:—Bittern (AV;=Porcupine, RV), Cock, Cormorant, Crane (RV; = Swallow, AV), Cuckoo (AV;=Seamew, RV), Dove, Eagle, Fatted Fowl (?), Gier Eagle (AV;=Vulture, RV), Glede, Hawk, Hen, Heron (AV;=Ibis, RVm), Hoopoe, Ibis, Kite (AV; = Falcon, RV), Lapwing, Night Hawk, Osprey, Ossifrage (AV;=Gier Eagle, RV), Ostrich, Owl, Great Owl (AV; = Arrowsnake, RV), Screech Owl (AV;=Night Monster, RV; this refers to a fabulous being, see art. LILITH), Little Owl, Horned Owl (RV), Partridge, Peacock, Pelican, Pigeon, Quail, Raven, Sparrow, Stork, Swallow, Swan (AV;=Horned Owl, RV), Turtle Dove, Vulture,—in all 34, exclusive of duplicates. Many of these are generic or ordinal terms, including a large number of species.

iii. *REPTILES.*—These form a class in Scripture, being mentioned in Gn $7^{14.21}$, 1 K 4^{33}, Hos 2^{18}, and elsewhere, by the side of beasts, birds, and fishes, though naturally not a class in the scientific sense of the term, coextensive with the class of 'Reptiles' of modern naturalists. The four living Orders of Reptiles, *Testudinata* or *Chelonia*, the Turtles; *Loricata* or *Crocodilia*, the Crocodiles; *Sauria*, the Lizards; *Ophidia*, the Serpents,—are all represented in the biblical Fauna. The following reptiles are mentioned in Scripture:—Adder, Arrowsnake (RV; = Great Owl, AV), Asp, Basilisk, Chameleon, Cockatrice, [Dragon, *i.c.* sea monster, or in Ps 91^{13} a land serpent], Gecko, Leviathan, Lizard, Monitor (if this is the meaning of *kōaḥ* in Lv 11^{30}, see CHAMELEON), Serpent, Viper,—only 12; but several of these are generic or ordinal, and include large numbers of species. There are probably not fewer than 100 species of reptiles in Pal. and Syria.

iv. *AMPHIBIANS.*—These include Frogs, Toads, Newts, and Salamanders, all of which are represented in the Holy Land. The Frog, however, is the only member of the class mentioned in Scripture.

v. *FISHES.*—The class of Fishes is recognized in Scripture, but includes cetaceans and many reptiles. They were brought in on the fifth day, with other oviparous creatures, before the viviparous animals of the sixth day. No species of true fish is mentioned by name in the Bible. The only attempt at classification is into clean and unclean, the former having fins and scales, the latter not. The excluded families are the *Siluridæ*, the Sheath fish; *Raiidæ*, the Skates; *Petromyzidæ*, the Lampreys; *Squalidæ*, the Sharks; and *Murænidæ*, the Eels. Solomon 'spake of fishes' (1 K 4^{33}). Fish were especially abundant in the Nile (Nu 11^{5}, Is 19^{8}) and the Sea of Galilee. A number of the species in this lake are identical with those in the Nile, a fact noted by Josephus (*BJ* III. x. 8). They also abound in the Jordan and its affluents, and the streams which empty into the Mediterranean,—in all, 33 fresh-water species. The Mediterranean coast species have not been fully studied. They are, however, very numerous. The Dead Sea has none, a fact noted by Ezekiel (47^{10}), who illustrates the vivifying power of the holy waters descending from the altar by the fact that they can enable even the Dead Sea to swarm with fish. The Arabs have a prejudice against eating fish, hence the immense shoals in the interior waters. On the contrary, the people of the maritime regions are exceedingly fond of them, and the fishing industry is a large one at all the seaports. The government gains a considerable revenue from the tax on fish.

vi. *JOINTED ANIMALS.*—(*a*) *Insects.*—The Holy Land is emphatically a land of insects. They number thousands of species, and have as yet been very imperfectly studied. Those mentioned in Scripture are: Ant, Bee, Beetle (AV; = Cricket, RV), Cankerworm, Caterpillar, Crimson (= Cochineal), Flea, Fly, Gnat, Grasshopper, Hornet, Lice, Locust, Moth, Palmerworm, Scarlet (= Cochineal), Wasp,—in all, excluding duplicates, 16, of which, however, a number are generic or ordinal. (*b*) *Scorpions.*—Of these there are several species, none of which are distinguished by name. (*c*) *Spiders.*—Of these also there are numerous species, and countless individuals.

vii. *MOLLUSKS.*—Of these there are large numbers, both of land and water species. Few of them are mentioned in Scripture. The Snail, *Onycha*, [the operculum of several species of *Strombus*], Pearl [the product of diseased action in some species of *Meleagrina*], and other bivalves, Purple [an extract from a species of *Murex*], make up the meagre list of this immense sub-kingdom.

viii. *WORMS.*—Of these only the Horseleech, an Annelid, and the generic expression Worms, are given. The sub-kingdom is very extensively represented.

ix. *CŒLENTERATA.*—The Mediterranean Sea contains an abundance of species of Sea Anemones, Jelly Fishes, and Corals. Only the latter are mentioned in Scripture, with no intimation of species.

x. *PORIFERA.*—The Sponge is once mentioned (Mt 27^{48}||) in connexion with the crucifixion of our Lord. The allusion is undoubtedly to the common sponge so familiar to all.

B. VEGETABLE KINGDOM: BOTANY.—The Flora of Pal. and Syria is exceedingly rich and varied, owing to the same causes which have been alluded to in connexion with the Fauna. In the region bounded by Akher Dagh on the N., Sinai on the S., the Mediterranean on the W., and the Syro-Arabian desert on the E., are 124 Orders, 850 Genera, and about 3500 Species of Phænogams and Acrogens. The experience of the writer leads him to believe that there are still many new species to be discovered in the mountains of N. Syria, and in the districts E. of the great north and south cleft of the Orontes, Cœle-Syria, the Jordan Valley, and the 'Arabah.

Syria and Pal. may be divided into six botanical regions. (1) The Maritime Plain. Its Flora resembles that of the other coasts of the Levant, but with a few species not elsewhere found. (2) The parallel mountain chains E. and W. of the great cleft, from the level of the Maritime Plain to an altitude of 4000 ft. These chains begin with Amanus, the northernmost peaks of which are divided from Akher Dagh by the valley of the Ak-Su, and the southernmost from Mt. Cassius by the valley of the Orontes. Mt. Cassius is the outlier of the Nusaireh chain, which extends from the valley of the Orontes to that of the Nahr el-Kebir (the ancient Eleutherus), which separates it from Lebanon. Lebanon extends from the Eleutherus to the Leontes. S. of the Leontes the hill-country of Galilee, Samaria, Judæa, and et-Tîh constitutes a more or less continuous chain, separated from Sinai by the sandy plain of Debbet er-Ramleh. A parallel chain, E. of the great cleft, begins with Kurd Dagh, and extends southwards under the names of Jebel Bil'âs, Antilebanon, Hermon, Gilead, Moab, and Edom, to the Red Sea at 'Aḳabah. A break occurs in Jaulân, where a tableland, dotted with extinct volcanoes of no great elevation, divides Antilebanon from Gilead. This plain is terminated on the E. by the range of Jebel ed-Druz (Hill of Bashan). These mountain ranges have a characteristic flora, and each section of them has its peculiar species. It would carry us far beyond the limits of this article to enumerate them. (3) The alpine summits of these ranges, principally those of Akher Dagh, Amanus, Cassius, Lebanon, and Antilebanon, have a flora remarkable for its specialization, and having little of the palæarctic character. (4) The tablelands of Aleppo, Cœle-Syria, Damascus, Ḥaurân, Gilead, and Moab. These have also many distinctly characteristic plants. (5) The deserts bordering these, and extending southward into et-Tîh and Sinai. These have already furnished a notable addition to the Flora, and doubtless contain many undiscovered species. (6) The chasm of the Jordan and Dead Sea, in which a tropical climate prevails, and where a number of Indian and Ethiopian types are found.

The most numerous Orders are *Ranunculaceæ*, 12 genera, 75 species; *Cruciferæ*, 72 gen. 240 sp.; *Sileneæ*, 10 gen. 129 sp.; *Leguminosæ*, 56 gen. 423 sp.; *Umbelliferæ*, 73 gen. 190 sp.; *Compositæ*, 115 gen. 457 sp.; *Boragineæ*, 26 gen. 110 sp.; *Scrophulariaceæ*, 17 gen. 131 sp.; *Labiatæ*, 31 gen. 207 sp.; *Chenopodiaceæ*, 24 gen. 64 sp.; *Liliaceæ*, 22 gen. 124 sp.; and *Gramineæ*, 92 gen. 238 species. Ranunculus has 33 sp., Silene 61, Trigonella 37, Medicago 26, Trifolium 56, Astragalus 124, Vicia 31, Galium 39, Anthemis 28, Verbascum 40, Linaria 24, Scrophularia 19, Veronica 24, Salvia 39, Stachys 25, Euphorbia 41, Allium 42, Cyperus 15, Carex 18. As might have been expected from the dryness of the climate, Ferns are few, being represented by only 15 gen. and 25 species. The Orchids are of the smaller kinds, numbering 11 gen. and 37 species.

The following Scripture plants cannot be determined with certainty, viz.: Algum (almug), bay-tree (not a tree at all), box, cockle, cypress, gall, fir, gopher wood, hemlock, oil-tree, pannag, poplar, sweet cane, and vine of Sodom.

The following are generic or ordinal, viz.: Bramble, brier, bitter herbs, bulrush, bush, flag, grass, hay, herb, lily, melon, nettle, oak, oil-tree, pulse, reed, rush, thistle, thorn, vetches (RVm for nettles), willow.

The plants which may be known with a fair measure of certainty are distributed in 35 Orders, as follows:—*Ranunculaceæ*, fitches; *Cruciferæ*, mustard; *Capparideæ*, caper; *Cistineæ*, ladanum; *Malvaceæ*, cotton; *Linaceæ*, flax; *Vitaceæ*, vine; *Rutaceæ*, rue; *Anacardiaceæ*, balm, balsam, bdellium (?), frankincense, myrrh, nuts (pistachio, Gn 43^{11}), teil-tree, terebinth; *Leguminosæ*, beans, juniper (*retem*), husks (carob), lentils, shittim wood (acacia), rye (*kirsenneh*); *Rosaceæ*, almond, apple, hazel (almond); *Myrtaceæ*, myrtle; *Lythrarieæ*, camphire (henna); *Granateæ*, pomegranate; *Cucurbitaceæ*, cucumbers, gourd; *Umbelliferæ*, anise (dill), coriander, cummin, galbanum; *Valerianaceæ*, spikenard; *Compositæ*, wormwood; *Styraceæ*, styrax; *Oleaceæ*, olive; *Aquilariaceæ*, lign-aloes; *Ebenaceæ*, ebony; *Solanaceæ*, mandrake; *Labiateæ*, hyssop, mint; *Chenopodiaceæ*, mallows (saltwort, RV) (*mallûaḥ*); *Laurineæ*, cassia, cinnamon; *Urticaceæ*, fig, sycamine, sycomore; *Platanaceæ*, chestnut (plane-tree); *Juglandaceæ*, nut (walnut); *Coniferæ*, ash (*oren*), cedar, thyine wood; *Palmeæ*, palm; *Iridaceæ*, saffron; *Amaryllidaceæ*, rose of Sharon (narcissus); *Liliaceæ*, garlic, leeks, onion; *Gramineæ*, barley, millet, spelt, tare, wheat.

Of the above 65 species, 35 are cultivated plants. The foregoing analysis makes it clear that the Hebrews did not study plants as closely as animals, a fact illustrated among the Arabs of the present day.

G. E. POST.

NATURE.—Few words have been the source of so much confusion in theology as the word *nature*, for few words have been employed, as this has been, for a long period in two or three distinct, though related, senses. It will be best to begin our discussion by distinguishing between these different meanings.

1. The word 'nature' is commonly used in scientific investigation to describe the sum-total of physical forces—the whole range of the co-existences and sequences of phenomena. In this view it includes the entire domain of the inorganic and organic, the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms. Thus we speak of 'students of nature,' of 'natural science,' or natural philosophy, meaning thereby to describe those departments of human knowledge which are concerned with the material universe. Nature, in this sense, includes man in respect of that side of his life which he shares with the lower animals. The science which has to do with the diseases of his body is, *par excellence*, 'Physic.' And the progress of physiology suggests that not only the disorders of his body, but some at least of the maladies of his mind, are subject to physical law, and may be made the subject of scientific investigation like any other physical process.

2. Man, however, is possessed of a unique faculty which he does not share with the other inhabitants of this earth—the faculty of self-determining reason and of conscious will. To be able to make a *moral choice* is his supreme prerogative. He is not altogether the victim of breeding and of circumstance; he is a free agent. And this freedom of his enables him, within certain limits, to initiate movements in the visible order, and to control and guide the material forces of the universe. If we are to regard man in this point of view as a part of nature, we must widen our conception of *nature*, which will now include not only the kingdom of law, but the kingdom of freedom. Nature, in this second and enlarged sense, does not exclude the possibility of free will; it takes in the moral world; it recognizes moral no less than 'physical' law.

3. The word is often used in yet a larger sense. Nature is regarded as the sum-total of all that is, or was, or shall be. It is the *All*, the *Universe*. And, so defined, it is not exclusive of God, for (to the believer in Him) He is the *ens realissimum*, the most certain and the most real existence which we can conceive. Nature, in this view, is the kingdom of God, in whom and from whom it draws its life. All its operations are the manifestations of His ceaseless and omnipresent activity. If we use the word consistently in this its largest sense, it is plain that we must abandon the term *supernatural*. Nothing can be supernatural, nothing can be 'beyond' or 'above' nature, if nature is the sum of all that is. See NATURAL.

So far we have only attempted to define the various connotations which the word 'nature' may have. And it is to be observed that in whatever sense the word is used the idea is constantly personified, and attributes and operations are ascribed to nature which strictly are proper to persons. When we speak of 'bountiful' nature, we may be thinking of it in sense (1) or in sense (3), and we may have no intention to include or to exclude the idea of God as the Bountiful One. Thus Christ said, 'the earth beareth fruit *of herself*' (αὐτομάτη, Mk 4^{28}), not meaning thereby to suggest that the harvest is *not* the gift of God. And, on the other hand, it is not to be presumed that every form of words which seems to recognize *providence* or *compassion* in nature is intended to suggest a Personal and Benevolent Will behind it. For example, some recent theological writers have argued as if they held 'God' to be merely a synonym for 'nature,' and have identified 'God' not with the Personal Author and Governor of nature, but with the order of nature itself. This is to introduce a grave ambiguity into our theological nomenclature; but it is here instanced merely to illustrate the point that our idea of *nature* is necessarily affected and coloured by our idea of *God*, and that a definition of nature is hardly complete which does not convey to the mind some clear view concerning its relation to God. Something, therefore, must be said on this head.

Atheism dismisses the question by refusing to admit that it has a meaning. That there is no God, that there exists nothing but the successions and co-existences of phenomena, is the principle of speculative Atheism. Theoretically, there is no reason why Atheism should not recognize the free agency of man, and so admit the idea of nature in the *second* sense above described; but, as a matter of fact, Atheism is usually based on philosophical materialism, which can find no place for free will within its borders. That nature is self-created and self-acting is its fundamental thesis. Such a conception is utterly irreconcilable with religion in any true meaning of that ill-used word, and must not be further dealt with here.

But, granting the existence of a Supreme Person whose mind and purpose the operations of nature reflect, in what relation do we conceive Him to stand to the visible order of the world? The answer suggested by the first page of the Bible and by the first article of the Christian creeds is that He is its *Creator*, the 'Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible'; cf. Gn 1^1, Ex 20^{11}, Is 66^1, Jer 32^{17}, Ac 14^{15}, Rev 4^{11}. The various 'proofs' of the existence of God, in particular that known as the 'cosmological' proof, are concerned with the justification to the intellect of this instinctive belief of mankind, which was present to the Hebrews, as it seems to have been present to every primitive race of men (see GOD). But this conception of God as the Creator of nature is not by itself a satisfying or complete conception of the Supreme. God is not to be regarded, if we are to follow Scripture, only as an Infinite and All-holy Being on whom the world depends for its creation. Reason certainly requires us to believe that the Creator of nature transcends nature; but the heart is not satisfied until it recognizes God not only as the Great Artificer, but as the present source of the world's life, as having entered into history, as never abandoning the universe which He has made. No one really cares to speculate about a Being who is relegated to an ever-receding past, an absentee Creator, pursuing (as it has been said) 'an eternal policy of non-intervention.' And yet such barren Deism is the logical outcome of exclusive attention to that conception of the Supreme which regards Him solely as *transcending* nature. This was the especial fault of most of the English theology of the 18th century, that it did not realize that (as Butler put it) God is no less nature's *Governor* than its *Author*.

It is thus apparent wherein the imperfection in Paley's famous illustration of the watchmaker and the watch consists. An artificer having once constructed a machine and set it going, leaves it to its own devices; the more perfect the machine is, the less will interference be necessary. But that is not a complete account of the relation of God to nature. The analogy breaks down hopelessly in this respect, that nature is not only the *creation* of God; it is also the sphere of His constant and beneficent activity. 'Of him,' but also 'through him and unto him are all things' (Ro 11^{36}). And this conception of God as a Spirit dwelling in nature and manifesting Himself through nature is frequently expressed in Scripture. 'Whither shall I go from thy Spirit, or whither shall I flee from thy presence?' asks the Psalmist. 'If I ascend up into heaven, thou art there; if I make my bed in Sheol, behold thou art there. If I take the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea, even there shall thy hand lead me, and thy right hand shall hold me' (Ps 139^{7-10}). Again, to the Psalmist God is the continual spring of life: 'Thou hidest thy face, they are troubled; thou takest away their breath, they die' (Ps 104^{29}). So also Elihu declares, 'The Spirit of God hath made me, and the breath of the Almighty giveth me life' (Job 33^4). This conception of God, widely different from that taught by the Deism of the last century, is the conception which the progress of natural science and our increased knowledge of the secrets of nature is bringing more and more into prominence. That God is *in* nature as well as *above* nature, that He is at once an Indwelling Spirit and a Transcendent Personality, is the true theistic doctrine of science. Nature does not work independently of Him; all its operations are due to His ceaseless activity. He upholds 'all things by the word of his power' (He 1^3). The course of history is not a blind mechanical process of evolution; 'the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men' (Dn 4^{17}).

This is well said in one of the authorized *Homilies* of the Church of England: 'It is not to be thought that God hath created all this whole universal world as it is; and thus once made, hath given it up to be ruled and used after our own wits and device, and so taketh no more charge thereof; as we see the shipwright, after he hath brought his ship to a perfect end, then delivereth he to the mariners, and taketh no more care thereof. Nay, God hath not so created the world, that He is careless of it; but He still preserveth it by His goodness; He still stayeth it in His creation. For else, without His special goodness, it could not stand long in this condition.'*

Now, the problem which presents itself here is so to guard our language that it shall not be open to the charge of confounding God with nature. It is hard to steer clear of both Scylla and Charybdis, to avoid Deism on the one side, Pantheism on the other. Greek philosophy furnishes us with instructive illustrations of the difficulty of avoiding fatal error in this matter, if we attempt to construct our theology without the aid of revelation. If the Epicureans, with their conception of gods who lived at ease a life of undisturbed and dignified repose, went off in the direction of Deism, the Stoics, with their doctrine of God as the soul of the world, were Pantheistic. And this is really a more serious error than the other, because it effectually banishes all true religion. For religion involves belief in a Person, who not only is in constant and intimate relation to nature, but who also enters into communion with men. This is impossible if God be identified with nature, for with a mere abstraction no fellowship can be sought, and to it no worship can be addressed. Pantheism is as impotent as Deism to satisfy the intellectual and the emotional cravings of mankind.

Pantheism is a vague word, and requires closer examination than we have yet given it. Something has been said above of theories which resolve God into the complex of material forces, which identify God and nature, indeed, but by the elimination from the idea of God of its distinctive features, reason, intelligence, personality, goodness, and the like. Such theories, though from one point of view 'Pantheistic,'—for the only Supreme which they recognize is the Universe of Being,—are, from a truer point of view, 'Atheistic,' for they do not admit the existence of any spiritual being higher than ourselves. But idealist philosophies, such as that which was unfolded in the system of Spinoza, do not thus begin and end with the material forces of the phenomenal world; they begin and end with God, in whom as the Great All-pervading Spirit they find the explanation of all existence. Spinoza does not resolve God into nature, but he exalts nature to God, he treats all the operations of nature as the manifestations of supreme spiritual substance. For him, nature is the development of freedom, or, to use his own remarkable language, the processes of the universe are the exhibition of the *natura naturans* (or God) unfolding itself (or Himself) in the *natura naturata* (or nature). It is plain that, on such a system as this, the 'laws of nature' are absolutely binding on the Divine Life; for the operations of these laws are the manifestations (and the only possible manifestations) of that Life. We have here, indeed, a spiritual interpretation of nature presented to us; every movement in the visible order is, as it were, a sacrament of the Divine Life. But such a doctrine is widely removed from Theism; for while it speaks of a Divine *Life*, it leaves no room for a Divine *Reason*, and *Will*, and *Personality*. The relation of the Supreme to nature is conceived in such systems rather as the relation of the vital principle to the living plant, than as the relation of the directing mind to the field of experience in which it operates. Certainly, this latter analogy is not complete or final. Our minds produce effects in the physical order only through the medium of our bodies, and even thus only within certain limits and under certain conditions; the power of supreme mind over the universe, which is the sphere of its manifestation, cannot be conceived as other than absolute (see MIRACLE). But yet is the analogy true so far as it goes, and it is in harmony with the few hints which Scripture offers on this great subject. The opening verses of St. John's Gospel speak of the creation of all things as the work of the Logos, and of Him as the Life of the world and the Light of men (Jn 1^{1-4}). The Logos is not a mere name for the impersonal order of nature; He is the Directing Intelligence which set in array its forces, and continues to guide and control them in their energy. And of the life of man St. Paul quotes with approval the saying of Cleanthes, 'We are also his offspring,' and declares, 'In him we live, and move, and have our being' (Ac 17^{28}). This is the rational and Christian view of nature and of humanity, and it is as widely divergent from Pantheism on the one hand as it is from Deism on the other. An important conclusion is thus reached. Theology, no less than science, leads to the conception of the *Unity* of nature. It is not a mere aggregate of independent forces; it is a totality, which is conceived as One because of the Unity of the Intelligence which created and governs it. Each part ministers to the welfare of the whole; in its growth only the 'fittest' survive, because, were it not for the elimination of the 'unfit,' nature would be not Cosmos but Chaos. It would be 'without form and void,' as in the days before the Divine Spirit moved upon the face of the waters (Gn 1^2). Nature is One, because of the Unity of its Author; 'I am J" that maketh all things' (Is 44^{24}; cf. Rev 4^{11}). But *unity* does not necessarily involve *uniformity*. The Unity of Nature is an axiom of science and of religion; the Uniformity of Nature, *i.e.* the rule that 'the same physical causes will always produce the same physical effects,' far from being an axiom, is nothing more than an empirical maxim, convenient for scientific investigation, which has been found to hold good in an enormous number of instances, but which has no *a priori* necessity and no rational guarantee of universality. Nature is, indeed, governed by law and not by caprice: that we know and are assured of. But such a formula does not settle the matter. A wise and prudent man's life is also governed by law and not by caprice, and yet the intervention of his moral reason, of his power of choice, disturbs from time to time the semblance of uniformity in his conduct. For him the same physical antecedents do *not* always issue in the same physical consequences, because moral considerations—non-physical motives—may sway him now in this direction, and now in that. Thus in the case of man, who is a part, and an important part, of nature, the rule of uniformity does not hold absolutely. And when we remember that the Divine Will must be, at the least, as independent of physical law as is man's will, we see no ground for regarding the 'Uniformity of Nature' as a constitutive principle of the Cosmos. It is nothing more than a convenient way of saying that God's laws are *general* laws; that He does not depart from the usual methods of His rule, without the gravest reasons for intervention. See MIRACLE.

---

* Homily for Rogation Week, pt. i.

Such conceptions, such problems, are too abstract to occupy the mind of primitive piety. And, as a matter of fact, the word 'nature' does not once occur in the OT. The Hebrews saw the hand of Jehovah everywhere; they recognized that He had made 'the heaven and the earth and the sea, and all that in them is' (Ex 20^{11}), that the thunder was His voice and the lightning-flashes His arrows of destruction (Ps 18^{13}), that fire and hail, snow and vapour, and stormy wind fulfilled His word (Ps 148^8); but they had no thought of nature as a whole, a totality, which might be conceived of as an abstract idea, without any special reference to the particular phenomena which represent it in the concrete. The power of forming abstract ideas comes late in the development of mental life, and it was not until Hebraism came into contact with Hellenism that the idea of *φύσις* was introduced into Hebrew thought. In 4 Mac 5^7 we find Antiochus recommending Eleazar to consent to eat swine's flesh, on the ground that it is given to us by *nature*. And St. Paul argues that '*nature* itself teaches' us that a man's head ought to be uncovered, but a woman's covered (1 Co 11^{14}). In both of these instances nature is spoken of as a unity, and it is personified in a fashion which would have been unintelligible at an earlier period of Jewish thought. Again, the word *φύσις* is used occasionally in the writings of St. Paul and in the Bk. of Wis (as it is still) to describe the sum of the properties or characteristics of a species—the system of its constitution (as Butler would put it). *E.g.*, among the subjects on which *σοφία* is engaged are mentioned *φύσεις ζώων*, 'the natures of living creatures' (Wis 7^{20}), and St. Paul speaks of abominable vices as being *παρὰ φύσιν* (Ro 1^{26}), *i.e.* contrary to the nature of man; and in Ro 11^{24} of a wild olive-tree being grafted into a good olive-tree *παρὰ φύσιν*, *i.e.* contrary to *its* nature. The uncircumcised condition of the Gentiles is described as *ἡ ἐκ φύσεως ἀκροβυστία* (Ro 2^{27}), this being, as we would say, the *natural* state of man. Larger questions are suggested by the apostle's words, 'we were by nature (*φύσει*) children of wrath' (Eph 2^3), which are considered elsewhere. See FALL.

It is easy to understand how such expressions and such a usage of the word *φύσις* should grow up, once the conceptions of the world as a *system*, and of each animal and plant upon it as possessing a *constitution* of its own, became familiar. The word only gives rise to ambiguity when we are using it in reference to questions which touch theology; it then becomes necessary to ask whether he who employs it understands it in sense (1) as the complex of the mechanical and chemical forces of the Cosmos, in sense (2) which reckons man's will and reason as part of his *φύσις*, or in sense (3), the true religious conception, which ultimately refers every operation of phenomenal force to the Agency of Supreme Mind, directing and ordering it in wisdom.

LITERATURE.—Spinoza, *Ethics*; Butler, *Analogy and Sermons*; Kant, *Kritik der Urtheilskraft*; Spencer, *First Principles*; Duke of Argyll, *Reign of Law*; Seeley, *Natural Religion*; Fiske, *The Idea of God*; Illingworth, *Divine Immanence*. See under MIRACLE.

J. H. BERNARD.

NAUGHT, NAUGHTY, NAUGHTINESS.—The Eng. word 'naught' is formed from the Anglo-Saxon *na*, not, and *wiht*, a whit, a thing. At an early stage, perhaps under the influence of the verb 'ought,' the spelling 'nought' came in. Then the word was contracted to 'not.' Thus 'naught,' 'nought,' 'not' are all forms of the same word, and do not differ in meaning. In AV of 1611 the spelling is always *nought*, except in Lk 23^{11} 'Herod, with his men of warre, set him at naught,' and Scrivener (*Camb. Paragraph Bible*, p. xlvii) says that in this passage 'naught' is a mere error.

The meaning of 'naught' was originally 'not anything,' 'worthless.' But it soon came to mean 'bad,' 'vicious,' and this was the usual meaning in the 17th cent. Consequently in the 1638 ed. of AV the word is spelt 'naught' in 2 K 2^{19}, Pr 20^{14}, the Heb. being רַע *ra'*, 'bad'; elsewhere 'nought,' the Heb. being some expression of worthlessness rather than of wickedness. This distinction was preserved by Scrivener, and is found in most mod. editions of AV.

Examples of 'naught' or 'nought' in the sense of 'bad' are Udall's *Erasmus' Paraph.* i. fol. 54, 'Why therfore saye ye that that whiche is good of it selfe cummeth from Beelzebub, who by your owne judgement is al naught?'; Barlowe, *Dialoge*, p. 76, 'Why do ye then dispise the universall churche, because some of them be noughte?'; Mt 20^{16} Rhem. 'Is thine eye naught, because I am good?'

Naughty means 'worthless' in Pr 6^{12}, Heb. אָדָם בְּלִיַּעַל, usually 'a man of Belial,' here 'a naughty person,' RV 'a worthless person.' Cf. Tind. *Expos.* p. 7 'These and all such are naughty arguments.' Elsewhere it means 'bad,' Pr 17^{4} 'A liar giveth ear to a naughty tongue' (לְשׁוֹן הַוֺּת, RV 'a mischievous tongue'); Jer 24^{2} 'The other basket had very naughty figs' (רָעוֹת, RV 'bad'); Wis 12^{10} 'they were a naughty generation' (*πονηρὰ ἡ γένεσις αὐτῶν*, RV 'their nature by birth was evil'). So in Udall's *Erasmus' Paraph.* ii. fol. 284 the devil is called a 'naughtie lord.' Latimer (*Sermons*, p. 115) says, 'The herte of man is naughti, a croked, and a froward pece of worke.' In the Preface to his *Dialoge* (p. 35) Barlowe says, 'Where as is enmyte and contention, there is inconstancy and all noughty doyng.' Cf. also Mt 21^{41} Rhem. 'The naughtie men he wil bring to naught'; and Milton, *Areopagitica*, p. 16, 'Best books to a naughty mind are not unappliable to occasions of evill.'

Naughtiness occurs only in the sense of 'wickedness': 1 S 17^{28} 'I know thy pride, and the naughtiness of thine heart' (רֹעַ לְבָבֶךָ); Pr 11^{6} 'Transgressors shall be taken in their own naughtiness' (הַוָּה, RV 'mischief'); Wis 4^{12} 'The bewitching of naughtiness doth obscure things that are honest' (*βασκανία φαυλότητος*); Ja 1^{21} 'Lay apart all filthiness and superfluity of naughtiness' (*περισσείαν κακίας*, RV 'overflowing of wickedness,' RVm 'malice'). Cf. Udall, *Erasmus' Paraph.* ii. fol. 284, 'The whole world is set altogether on naughtynes'; Mt 22^{18} Rhem. 'Jesus knowing their naughtines, said, what do you tempt me Hypocrites?' and Ac 3^{26} Rhem. 'To you first God raising up his sonne, hath sent him blessing you; that every one should convert him self from his naughtines.' This word 'naughtiness' is effectively made use of by Driver as the rendering of the Heb. word *'āven* in the Psalms and elsewhere (*Parallel Psalter*, at Ps 7^{14} 10^{7} etc., and note on p. 449 f.). See VANITY.

J. HASTINGS.

NAVE.—The centre part of a wheel through which the axle passes. In AV 'nave' is the rendering of גַּב, which is also translated 'boss' of a shield in Job 15^{26}, and 'high place' AV, 'eminent place' RV, in Ezk 16^{31}. The Arabic name is *ḳab*, not unlike גַּב in sound. In RV חִשֻּׁר is tr. 'nave,' the word חִשֻּׁר meaning literally *the gathering* or *binding together*, and when applied to a wheel refers to that part which binds together the spokes, *i.e.* the nave. It is found only in 1 K 7^{33} (חִשֻּׁרֵיהֶם). גַּב is tr. in RV 'fello,' or the rim of the wheel.

W. CARSLAW.

NAVE (*Ναυή*).—The Gr. form of the Heb. name Nun (which see). It occurs only in Sir 46^{1} (AV).

NAVY.—1 K $9^{26\text{-}27}$ $10^{11.\,22\ ter}$, all אֳנִי, a fleet, which elsewhere is found only in Is 33^{21}, אֳנִי־שַׁיִט, EV 'galley with oars.' See GALLEY. Also 1 Mac 1^{17}, 2 Mac 12^{9} 14^{1}, all *στόλος*. See SHIP; and for 'navy of Tarshish' 1 K 10^{22} see also TARSHISH.

NAZARENE (*Ναζαρηνός* from *Ναζαρά*, like *Μαγδαληνή* from *Μαγδαλά* [cf. Dalman's *Aramäische Grammatik*, p. 141, note 7]; *Ναζωραῖος* used exclusively in Mt, Jn, Ac, and probably so in Lk.* The form *Ναζοραῖος* occurs in some MSS).—This term is used in the Gospels, but only by those outside the circle of His intimate friends, to distinguish Jesus of Nazareth from others of the same name. In Ac it is also employed by St. Peter (2^{22} 3^{6} 4^{10}), by St. Paul (26^{9}), and by the risen Lord (22^{8}). In Mt 2^{23} the evangelist says that Jesus went to dwell at Nazareth, that 'it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets, that he should be called a Nazarene' (*Ναζωραῖος*). Many interpretations of this passage have been given, none of them entirely satisfactory. The most important are: (1) that which connects it with the word נֵצֶר in Is 11^{1}; (2) that which assumes a play on the word 'Nazirite'; (3) Hitzig's view that it refers to the word נְצִירֵי in Is 49^{6}; (4) that it has reference to a lost prophecy, or one that was only traditional and never written; (5) that the use of the plural *προφητῶν* precludes any reference to a single word, and that the evangelist alludes to prophecies asserting that the Messiah would be despised. Jerome, in his commentary on Is 11^{1}, objected to the first interpretation on the ground that the *ζ* of *Ναζωραῖος* does not correspond to the צ of נֵצֶר. The same objection applies to Hitzig's view. The objection to (2) is that Jesus was not a Nazirite; and to (4) that it is a counsel of despair. The last explanation (5) is already given by Jerome in his commentary to Mt 2^{23}, and is perhaps the most probable (cf. Weiss in Meyer's *Kommentar*^{9}, *in loc.*). Finally, the word *Ναζαραίων* is used in Ac 24^{5} of the Christians. It is similarly employed by the Jews in the time of Tertullian: 'Unde et ipso nomine nos Judæi Nazaræos appellant per eum' (*adv. Marcionem*, iv. 8). After this, however, it practically disappears from literature in this sense until about A.D. 400, when it appears as the name of a Christian sect.

G. W. THATCHER.

NAZARETH (*Ναζαρέθ*, *Ναζαρέτ*, *Ναζαράτ*, *Ναζαράθ*, *Ναζαρά*, mod. Arab. *en-Nāṣira*; on etymology and meaning of the name see Swete on Mk 1^{9}) was situated in a high valley running from S.S.W. to N.N.E. among the most southerly of the limestone hills of the Lebanon range just before it drops down to the Plain of Esdraelon. The base of the valley is about 1200 feet above the level of the Mediterranean, while the western hill (which is higher than the hills on the N. and E.), on which the town was built, rises to a height of 1600 feet. The floor of the valley is covered in the season with wild flowers, and the olive, fig, mulberry, lemon, pomegranate, almond, and quince flourish. Want of soil, however, causes many bare spots in the landscape, which is further characterized by the long irregular rows of cactus hedges. The climate is moderate on the whole, though it is hot in the summer and snow is not unknown in the winter. Like many other parts of Palestine, it is subject to severe storms. The old town of N. has entirely disappeared, but, judging by the rock-tombs that remain, it probably extended higher up the western hill than the modern village. It seems to have been a place of no importance for the national life (cf. Jn 1^{46}), although it was only a day's journey from the Mediterranean at Carmel, and about the same distance from Capernaum and Tiberias, while it was a three days' journey from Jerusalem. Roads go out from it to Sefurieh, Akka, Kefr Kenna, Tiberias, Mt. Tabor, Jaffa, and the Plain of Esdraelon; but no main line of traffic passes through it. The only permanent water supply comes from the Virgin's Spring (*'Ain es-Sitt Mariam*), which rises near the Greek church of Gabriel and is conducted by a canal of about 120 steps to its present outlet. Attempts have been made to secure a supply from other sources, but without much success. As the outflow from the Virgin's Spring in the summer is only about 170 gallons an hour,—an amount that scarcely suffices for the present population of 7500 people, even with the addition of stored rain-water,—the population of Nazareth could never have been very large. N. is not mentioned in the OT, Josephus, or the Talmud (but cf. Neubauer, *Géog. du Talmud*, p. 190), and derives its importance entirely from its connexion with the life of Jesus. To 'a city of Galilee, named Nazareth,' Gabriel was sent to the Virgin Mary to announce the birth of Jesus (Lk 1^{26}), from Nazareth Joseph went up to be taxed in Bethlehem (Lk 2^{4}), and to it Mary and he returned after the birth of Jesus (Lk 2^{39}). Matthew represents Joseph and Mary as going to live at Nazareth after the birth of Jesus, that a prophecy concerning the Messiah might be fulfilled (Mt 2^{23}; see NAZARENE). At the age of twelve Jesus was still living at Nazareth (Lk 2^{51}), and according to Mark He came from Nazareth of Galilee to be baptized in the Jordan (1^{9}). To Nazareth He returned after the Temptation, only, however, to leave it for Capernaum (Mt 4^{12}). Finally, it was in the synagogue of Nazareth that He declared Himself the fulfilment of prophecy, and so enraged the people that they led Him out to the hill above the city and sought to throw Him down* (Lk 4^{16}, cf. Mk 6^{1}, Mt 13^{54}). From His close association with Nazareth, Jesus was often spoken of as 'the Nazarene' (see article above).

---

* In Westcott and Hort's text *Ναζαρηνός* occurs in Mk 1^{24} 10^{47} 14^{67} 16^{6}, also in Lk 4^{34}, where it is probably copied from Mk or a common source. Apart from these instances it occurs only in Lk 24^{19}, where, however, the MSS A, D, etc., read *Ναζωραῖος*. It thus seems probable that *Ναζαρηνός* was the only form used in the original source of the Synoptic Gospels.

The important features of Nazareth for the life of Jesus are—

1. It was in Galilee, and hence was not so much under the influence of the temple as of the synagogue. It was also free from the extreme aversion to everything foreign so characteristic of Jerusalem, while at the same time the patriotism of the Galilæan was strong and often even turbulent.

2. It was secluded in so far as it was not on any main road of international trade (see above).

3. Yet it was an excellent post of observation, from which might be seen some of the most varied forms of the active life of North Palestine. Attention has of late rightly been drawn to the magnificent view from the hills above Nazareth. Jerusalem pilgrims, Egyptian and Midianite caravans, Roman legions and princes' retinues, all passed within sight. Many phases of Greek and Roman life could be observed from here, both in the town life of such places as Sefurieh and on the main roads of the plains. At the same time national feeling was stirred to its depths by the memories connected with the hill of Carmel, the battlefield of Esdraelon, and the mountains of Gilead.

LITERATURE.—Tobler, 'Nazareth,' in *Palæstina*, 1868; Guérin, *Galilée*, 1880; Robinson, *BRP* iii. 183 ff., 1841; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 432 ff., 1894; Buhl, *GAP* 215 f., 1896; Socin in Baedeker's *Palestine and Syria*, where a full account of the modern town will be found.

G. W. THATCHER.

NAZIRITE (נָזִיר; LXX in Nu $6^{13.21}$ *εὐξάμενος*; in vv.$^{18.19.20}$ *ηὐγμένος*; in Jg 13^{5} B *ναζειρ*, A *ἡγιασμένος ναζιραῖος*; in 13^{7} 16^{17} B *ἅγιος*, A *ναζειραῖος*; in Am 2^{12} *ἡγιασμένος*).—The term *nāzīr* is derived from *nāzar*,* 'to consecrate,' and denotes 'the consecrated one,' the one separated from among the rest of the people. It is used of two classes: Nazirites for life, and Nazirites for a limited period. The law in Nu 6^{1-21}, which is of late origin and is the only part of the law taking notice of Nazirites, refers only to the latter class.

According to this law, the Nazirite is one who consecrates himself (or herself, v.^{2}) to the Lord, and is bound by his vow of consecration (*a*) to abstain all the days of his Naziriteship from the use of wine and all other intoxicating drink, from vinegar formed from wine or strong drink, from any liquor of grapes, from grapes dried or fresh, and indeed from the use of anything produced from the vine (v.$^{3f.}$); (*b*) not to suffer a razor to come upon his head, but to let the locks of the hair of his head grow long (v.^{5}); and (*c*) to avoid all ceremonial defilement from contact with any dead body, even that of his nearest relatives (v.$^{6-8}$, where, however, wife and child are not mentioned). If through the sudden death of any one beside him he becomes defiled, he must observe the usual rites of purification (Nu $19^{11ff.}$); on the seventh day he must shave his head, his hair being cut off, because defilement was specially likely to cling to it, and also perhaps because it was the visible sign of his consecration, which had been rendered invalid; on the eighth day he must offer through the priest, at the door of the sanctuary, two turtle doves or two young pigeons—one for a sin-offering, and the other for a burnt-offering (Lv 5^{7} 12^{8} $14^{30f.}$ $15^{14f.\ 29f.}$); his sin in even unwittingly violating his vow (Lv $4^{2ff.}$, Nu $15^{22ff.}$) being thus atoned for, he must reconsecrate himself to the Lord, and, having offered a he-lamb of the first year for a guilt-offering (Lv $14^{12.21}$), he must hold himself consecrated for the whole period involved in his original vow (v.$^{9-12}$). On the expiry of that period, the law regulated, with equal minuteness, the way in which he was to return to the sphere of ordinary life. He was brought to the door of the sanctuary, where, through the priest, he offered his oblation to the Lord (vv.$^{13-17}$): first (v.^{16}), a ewe-lamb of the first year without blemish as a sin-offering for sins committed unwittingly during the days of his separation; then a he-lamb of the first year without blemish as a burnt-offering, along with the customary meal- and drink-offerings (Nu $15^{3ff.}$); and, last of all, a ram without blemish, along with a basket of unleavened bread (Lv 7^{12}; cf. also Ex $29^{2f.}$, Lv 2^{4} 8^{2}) in addition to the usual meal- and drink-offerings, as a peace-offering or thanksgiving for having been enabled to complete his period of consecration. He then shaved his head at the door of the sanctuary, and put his hair on the fire under the thank-offerings, as a precaution against its profanation, and as a sign that it was surrendered to the Lord (v.^{18}). The priest then took the sodden shoulder of the ram along with an unleavened cake and an unleavened wafer out of the basket, put them on the hands of the Nazirite (cf. Lv 8^{27}), and waved them as a wave-offering before the Lord. These parts of the sacrifice, in addition to the customary wave-breast and heave-thigh (Lv $7^{28\text{ff.}}$), were assigned to the priest (v.$^{19\text{f.}}$); this increase of what was given to the Lord (in the person of the priest) was probably meant to represent that His participation was greater than usual in the sacrificial meal of the Nazirite, whom He thereby specially acknowledged as His own. Having thus performed his vow, the Nazirite was allowed to drink wine (v.^{20}), very likely at this sacrificial meal; and he thereby emerged from the state of consecration into ordinary life. If when he took the vow of a Nazirite he took in addition a vow special to himself, he had also at the same time to perform this latter vow.

---

* The traditional site to the south of Nazareth has now been entirely given up in favour of the western hill. (See commentaries on this passage).

* Not used in Qal; in Niphal, Lv 22^{2}, Ezk $14^{5.7}$, Zec 7^{3} 'to separate oneself from,' 'to abstain from'; Hos 9^{10} 'to consecrate oneself'; in Hiphil, Lv 15^{31} 'to separate,' Nu $6^{2.3.5.6.12}$ 'to separate or consecrate.'

The Nazirites expressly mentioned in the OT (Samson, Samuel,[*] the half-Israelitish Rechabites, and probably also those referred to in Am $2^{11\text{f.}}$) belong to the class of Nazirites for life. What is said of them does not exactly correspond with the law in Nu 6. Apart from the fact that Samson and Samuel were dedicated to the Lord by their parents before their birth, the restrictions laid upon them were not identical with those specified in that law. Of Samson it is merely said that 'no razor shall come upon his head' (Jg 13^{5}); no mention is made of abstinence from wine, though his mother is forbidden, during her pregnancy, to drink wine or strong drink or to eat any unclean thing (vv.^{4} and ^{7}), or anything that cometh of the vine (v.^{14}). Samson came frequently into contact with the dead (Jg $14^{9.19}$ 15^{15}), without his consecration thereby ceasing; and it is assumed by some that he would naturally drink wine at the marriage feast (14^{10}). Of Samuel also it is merely said that 'no razor shall come upon his head' (1 S 1^{11}). The Rechabites (2 K $10^{15\text{ff.}}$, Jer 35) not only abstained from wine, but from everything that was characteristic of a settled life; while Amos (2^{12}) makes mention only of abstinence from wine. The Nazirate was evidently of a much more manifold character, and played a greater part in the religious life of Israel than the law in Nu suggests. That law is simply an attempt, at a late stage of Israel's history, to regulate an institution that had grown up independently of it. Other abstinences than those specified in it were doubtless occasionally practised; but these three had gradually come to be regarded as what was essential.

Whether the lifelong or the temporary Nazirate was the original form, it is impossible to determine. The case of Samson merely proves that tradition was acquainted with Nazirites for life at a comparatively early period. The law in Nu, as already remarked, refers only to the temporary Nazirate; and the hair of a dead person could not be offered to the Lord. The latter fact, however, is not conclusive against the lifelong Nazirate; for the long locks of the Nazirite might, from time to time, have been cut off and offered at the sanctuary, without his thereby ceasing to be a specially consecrated person. Nor can it be said with certainty whether abstinence from wine, etc., or the hair-offering was the original content of the vow. Abstinence from wine is alone mentioned by Amos (2^{12}), while, in the case of Samson, both in the announcement of his birth and in the narrative of his exploits, the emphasis is laid entirely upon his unshorn locks. His mother, it is true, is forbidden the use of wine, etc., during her pregnancy; and from this fact, along with others, opposite inferences have been drawn. By most it has been assumed that the omission in the case of Samson himself is purely accidental: the restriction laid upon his mother already implies that he is to be a specially consecrated one from the very beginning of his existence. By others, however, it is argued that Jg 13, which narrates the circumstances attending Samson's birth, contains two traditions of these circumstances, and belongs to a different period from chs. 14–16, in which everything is opposed to the notion of his leading an ascetic life. In favour of the view that regards the hair-offering as the essential element, reference is also made to Jer 7^{29}, where unshorn hair is called *nézer*, and to Lv $25^{5.11}$, where the vine that was left undressed during the Sabbatic year and the year of Jubilee is called a *nāzīr*; but in view of Am 2^{12} these passages are not decisive. Nazirites are mentioned so seldom in the OT[*] that on such points we must refrain from dogmatic statements; but on the whole it seems probable that the temporary Nazirate was the most common form, and that from the first abstinence from wine was one of the restrictions imposed on them. There is no instance in the OT of a female Nazirite.

Regarding the meaning of the restrictions to which they were subjected there is now very general agreement. (1) *Abstinence from wine*, etc. This was the strictly ascetic element in the vow of the Nazirite. It has often been explained as symbolizing abstinence from all *deliciæ carnis*; but, as Dillmann remarks, if the Nazirite was forbidden all *deliciæ carnis*, he would have had to avoid them, not merely symbolically, but in reality. It finds an analogy in the late law forbidding the priests to drink wine or strong drink, while engaged in the service of the sanctuary (Lv $10^{8\text{ff.}}$); and some have accordingly explained it as meant merely to secure at all times the sobriety of mind becoming in a man specially dedicated to God (cf. Hos 4^{11}). But the prohibition extended not only to wine and strong drink, but to the whole produce of the vine. It is now, therefore, generally explained as 'a reaction in favour of the primitive simplicity of Israel in the days before it came into contact with Canaanite civilization and Canaanite religion,' 'a religious protest against Canaanite civilization in favour of the simple life of ancient times' (W. R. Smith, *The Prophets of Israel*, p. 84 f.). 'All Semitic nomads view wine-growing and wine-drinking as essentially foreign to their traditional mode of life. Canaan, on the contrary, is pre-eminently a land of the grape, and the Canaanite worship was full of Dionysiac elements. Wine was the best gift of the Baalim, and wine-drinking was prominent in their luxurious worship' (*ib.*). This reaction in favour of a simple nomadic life was carried furthest by the Rechabites; but though the Nazirites generally did not carry their protest so far, still, by their abstinence from the use of wine, etc., they sought to exhibit in their manner of living the idea of genuine Israelites.[*]

---

[*] That Samuel was a Nazirite is denied by many moderns (*e.g.* Smend, Nowack). He is nowhere called a Nazirite in the OT; and the special service to which he was dedicated by his mother was that of the sanctuary at Shiloh (1 S $1^{24\text{ff.}}$). It is implied in Ezk 44^{20} that some Semitic priests allowed their hair to grow long. The LXX, which adds to 1 S 1^{11} 'and he shall not drink wine or strong drink,' seems to regard him as a Nazirite. While the Rechabites are held by some to be even the strictest of all the Nazirites, they are held by others to be simply very closely akin to them. 'The only certain historical example of a Nazirite, mentioned in the OT, is Samson' (Driver, *Joel and Amos*, p. 153).

[*] All the passages in which they are mentioned are cited above. In La 4^{7} 'Nazirites' should be 'princes' or 'nobles,' princes as well as priests being among the Hebrews consecrated persons; cf. Gn 49^{26}, Dt 33^{16}, where Joseph is called the *Nāzīr* among his brethren.

(2) The *long hair* of the Nazirite was the visible mark of his consecration; like the high priest's 'mitre' with the inscription 'Holy to the Lord' (Ex $28^{36f.}$ 29^{6} 39^{30}, Lv 8^{9}, where the Heb. word for 'crown' or 'diadem' is the same as that rendered 'consecration' in Nu 6; cf. also Lv 21^{12}, 2 S 1^{10}, 2 K 11^{12}), it was the sign, manifest to all, that he was a God-consecrated man. The law in Nu 6 even calls it his 'consecration' (v.^{19}; see also vv.$^{7.\ 9.\ 11.\ 18}$, Jer 7^{29}), and enacts that, when the period of his vow is over, it must be offered to the Lord along with the peace-offerings (v.^{18}). In Samson's case it is also the seat of his personal strength; as soon as it is cut off, his special relation to Jehovah ceases, and he becomes weak as other men (Jg 16^{17-22}). The general idea underlying this restriction is that whatever is to be, or has been, consecrated to God must be kept inviolate, in the condition in which it has come from its maker's hand (cf. Ex 20^{25}, Lv 22^{24}, Nu 19^{2}, Dt 15^{19} 21^{3}, 1 S 6^{7}). But it is the Nazirite himself, and not merely his hair, that is consecrated to Jehovah: how, then, are we to explain the emphasis laid on the latter? 'The hair,' says W. R. Smith, 'is regarded by primitive peoples as a living and important part of the body . . . it is often regarded as the special seat of life and strength.' 'All over the world the head and hair of persons under taboo are peculiarly sacred and inviolable, and the primitive notions about the hair as a special seat of life are quite sufficient to account for this. . . . It is easy, for example, to understand why, if an important part of the life resides in the hair, a man whose whole life is consecrated—*e.g.* a Maori chief, or the Flamen Dialis, or in the Semitic field such a person as Samuel or Samson—should either be forbidden to cut his hair at all, or should be compelled, when he does so, to use special precautions against the profanation of the holy growth' (*RS*^{2} pp. 324, 483). The inviolability of the Nazirite's hair is thus the manifest token of the consecration of his whole personality to Jehovah.[†]

(3) The requirement to *avoid all uncleanness due to contact with the dead* is simply an enhancement of what is required of every Israelite, and more especially of the priests (Lv $21^{1ff.}$). One that has specially devoted himself to the service of Jehovah must naturally avoid everything ceremonially defiling. He must come into contact with nothing that renders him unfit for the service of the living and holy God. In this respect, so long as his vow lasted, the Nazirite stood on a level with the levitically holiest person among the people, viz. the high priest (Lv $21^{11f.}$, where only father and mother are mentioned). Though Samson does not seem to have been subject to this restriction,[‡] the importance attached to it generally is manifest from what is said in Nu 6 as to the Nazirite who has been accidentally defiled.

The Nazirites are mentioned so seldom in the OT that we cannot trace the history of this peculiar institution. It may be confidently assumed, however, that it grew up spontaneously on Israelitish soil, and that, too, as early as the time of the Judges. Israel had been unable to conquer the Canaanites completely, and, through intercourse with the latter, was gradually losing its distinctive character. If it was to maintain its existence and fulfil its vocation as the people of Jehovah, it must return to the customs which the fathers had brought with them out of the desert. The Nazirites were leading representatives of this reaction; 'they were men, who, when the sensual and self-indulgent habits of the Canaanites threatened to make their way into Israel, endeavoured by a vow of abstinence to set an example of moderation and self-denial, which might help to preserve the old simplicity of Israelitish life' (Driver, *Joel and Amos*, p. 152 f.). They were a class of persons 'holy to the Lord' in a peculiar sense. That which formed the basis of their consecration was neither birth nor office, but a vow of a special kind. In an ordinary vow, a man consecrated some material thing; the Nazirites consecrated themselves (Nu $6^{2.\ 5}$). Occasionally parents dedicated their unborn child to the life of a Nazirite (*e.g.* Samson and Samuel), in which case the mother had, during her pregnancy, also to abstain from the use of wine, etc. (Jg $13^{4.\ 7.\ 14}$). As a rule, however, and probably originally, the Nazirite, following an inner prompting, which he recognized as coming from the Lord (Am 2^{11}), dedicated himself. He thereby devoted himself wholly, for a limited time or for life, to the positive service of Jehovah. Though his vow committed him to certain abstinences, it was not, at least originally, a vow of mere abstinence; the life that he led was not necessarily that of a mere ascetic. As representing to his fellow-countrymen the ideal of a genuine Israelite, he naturally abstained from everything that was out of keeping with that ideal; but these abstinences were simply consequences of his state of positive consecration. Nor did his vow compel him to withdraw from fellowship with his fellow-men; there is nothing in the OT to indicate that the Nazirites generally either lived apart by themselves or in guilds like 'the sons of the prophets.' The Nazirite was originally a zealot for the national religion; he was one that had devoted himself to the service of Jehovah and His people. The service to which his vow called him might be very manifold: now it might possibly be to spend much of his time in prayer or in the service of the sanctuary, or to protest against current evils by a life of asceticism; and now it might be to fight the nation's foes or to rule the nation as judge. Whatever the service might be, he was regarded as a special instrument whereby God worked on behalf of His people. Samson, as being a Nazirite, is to deliver Israel out of the hand of the Philistines (Jg 13^{5}); he achieves his various exploits because the Spirit of the Lord moved him or came mightily upon him (Jg 13^{25} $14^{6.\ 19}$ 15^{14}); and Amos (2^{11}) regards it as a mark of God's grace towards Israel that He not only raised up prophets from among their sons, but also from among their young men Nazirites, who by their abstinence from wine protested against the sensuality that evidently abounded so greatly in the northern kingdom during the reign of Jeroboam II. 'The temporary Nazirate afterwards became a purely private asceticism, which the individual vowed to God in order to secure the fulfilment of this or that desire. Perhaps the early Nazirites also hoped to obtain something for themselves in return for their abstinence. But above everything they served the whole community; they sought to exhibit, both for Israel and for Jehovah, the true nature of Israel. They felt themselves impelled to do so, after the manner of the prophets, by the Spirit of Jehovah. They did not thereby acquire any merit for themselves; it was a mark of the grace of Jehovah to His people, that He raised up Nazirites' (Smend^{2}, p. 95 f.).

---

[*] A similar hostility to the use of wine is found among many ancient peoples. Among the Romans the priest of Jupiter was forbidden even to touch the vine; the Nabatæans of the Syrian desert were forbidden to use wine; among the Arabs also, long before the Koran, there was a strong repugnance to the vine. 'Like all barbarians, the Arabs were fond enough of getting drunk; but wine was a foreign and costly luxury, and the opposition to its use found distinguished advocates before Mohammed' (W. R. Smith, *op. cit.* p. 388).

[†] Among the ancient Arabs we find a similar connexion between the hair and vows; the pilgrim allowed his hair to grow until his vow was paid; he then cut it off and thereby returned to the state of ordinary secular life. He was not even permitted to comb and wash his locks till the pilgrimage was accomplished. This rule was not ascetic; it was simply a consequence of the fact that the hair of his head was inviolable. Pilgrims to Mecca are still forbidden to cut the hair of their head or even to pare their nails during their pilgrimage.

[‡] Schultz remarks (p. 110) that this restriction naturally did not prevent one from engaging in the holy wars of Jehovah.

It must not be assumed that the Nazirites were necessarily saintly men, in the modern sense of that expression. Their consecration to J″ certainly implied a separation in several respects from ordinary secular life; but they might nevertheless be men of a very secular spirit. In speaking of them, we must therefore guard against using exaggerated language. It must not be forgotten, however, that Amos, who had a very ethical conception of J″, says that they were raised up by the Lord (2^{11}), and regards it as a grievous sin on the part of the Israelites that they tempted them to break their vow (v.^{12}). It may safely be inferred from this that the Nazirites known to him personally or from tradition were men of real moral worth, good gifts of God to His sinful but beloved people.

From the circumstance that the restrictions imposed upon the Nazirites were similar to those imposed upon the priests, and especially upon the high priest, it has been often inferred that the former represented the idea of the priestly life. But there is no positive evidence in support of this inference. Amos does not class them along with the priests, but with the prophets; we do not hear of their ever discharging priestly functions;* and the similarity of the restrictions in the two cases is sufficiently explained by the fact that Nazirites and priests were alike specially consecrated persons. The former were men in whom (at least in early times) 'the characteristic spirit of Israel expressed itself most clearly and most uniquely' (Schultz).

The Nazirites were doubtless more numerous than the few notices of them in the OT might lead us to suppose. Am $2^{11f.}$ and the Rechabites show that they were found both in Israel and in Judah down to a late period in the history of both kingdoms. After the Return from the Exile the institution flourished again, and naturally, considering the strictly legal character of post-exilic Judaism, in the form prescribed by the law in Nu 6. They are mentioned in 1 Mac 3^{49} and also in Josephus (*BJ* II. xv. 1, *Ant.* XIX. vi. 1). We also hear of 300 Nazirites being together, and finding difficulty in providing the sacrifices required at the expiry of their period of separation, in the time of Alexander Jannæus. By this time, however, the Nazirate had lost its old significance, and had become a purely private asceticism. The vow was generally taken in times of sickness or other trouble, or when one was making a journey; it was looked on as a means whereby one might secure the fulfilment of some wish, or escape some feared danger. 'I shall become a Nazirite, if such and such a thing happen,' became a common formula of asseveration; and this formula was abused so as to compel some against their will to become Nazirites. The scribes also exercised their ingenuity upon the law in Nu 6, developing it more fully, rendering it more precise, and bringing it into complete harmony with the historical instances. They disallowed a Nazirite vow for a shorter period than 30 days; they distinguished between the lifelong Nazirate in accordance with the law, and that after the manner of Samson; the former permitted the Nazirite to cut his hair from time to time (after the example of Absalom (2 S 14^{26}), whom they regarded as a Nazirite), while the latter permitted him to come into contact with a dead body, without having in consequence to go through the legal process of purification. But even in these days genuine piety was by no means extinct, and there must have been some among the Nazirites who were animated by a genuinely religious spirit. John the Baptist is described as a Nazirite for life (Lk 1^{15}), as was also, according to Eusebius (*HE* II. xxiii. 3, following Hegesippus), James the brother of our Lord. Anna (Lk $2^{36f.}$) also is supposed by some to have been a Nazirite, but this is a mere conjecture.

Ac $21^{17ff.}$ shows that the early Jewish Christians occasionally took the temporary Nazirite vow. It is also an illustration of the custom mentioned by Josephus (*Ant.* XIX. vi. 1), that wealthy Jews paid, in the case of poor Nazirites, the cost of the sacrifices required on the expiry of the period covered by the vow, and thus enabled poorer Israelites to undertake such a vow. Those who were thus 'at charges' for these poorer Nazirites, having themselves been purified for the purpose, might appear along with them in the temple, and had probably to regard themselves as consecrated persons until all the prescribed rites were duly performed. The seven days mentioned in v.^{27} do not imply that in such cases they had also to take a vow for seven days; the expression merely informs us that, in this particular instance, seeing there were four vows to be paid, it required seven days to offer the necessary sacrifices (cf. v.^{26} 'until the offering was offered for every one of them').

In connexion with Ac 18^{18} the question has been raised, whether St. Paul himself had taken a Nazirite vow. According to the rules laid down by the scribes, such a vow might be made outside of Palestine; but it had to be performed, in harmony with Nu 6^{13}, at the temple in Jerusalem. As to this, the only point of difference between the schools of Hillel and Shammai referred to the length of time during which the person who had vowed the vow in a heathen land must reside in Palestine before he was permitted to pay it at the temple. The school of Shammai demanded a residence in Palestine of only thirty days, which was the shortest and most common period of consecration; whereas the school of Hillel insisted that it must be for the whole time to which the vow originally referred. Nor can St. Paul's shearing of his head have been in consequence of levitical defilement contracted during the vow period (Nu 6^{9}); for, according to the scribes, in the case of the defiled Nazirite, the shearing of the head had to take place in the holy land (though not necessarily at the temple); and on the eighth day he had to offer his sacrifice of cleansing at the temple (cf. Nu 6^{10}). The vow in question cannot therefore have been a strictly Nazirite vow. In order, nevertheless, to vindicate its character as a real Nazirite vow, some have supposed that, having been living among Gentiles, the apostle shore his head at the *beginning* of his period of consecration, after the analogy of the Nazirite who had been in any way defiled; while others have supposed that it was a vow of special consecration to God, involving a temporary growth of the hair, and a subsequent cutting of it off, and that such a vow, though simply analogous to the Nazirite vow, and not involving a personal appearance at the temple, or the co-operation of the priests, was allowed to Jews of the Dispersion as a substitute for the strictly legal vow. It is admitted, however, that there is no evidence in support of these suppositions. It was evidently a private vow which the apostle had taken, and which he paid by shearing his head at Cenchreæ.

---

* Samuel, if we rightly regard him as a Nazirite, was also a priest.

LITERATURE.—The art. 'Nasiräat,' in Herzog, *RE*^{2}, by Oehler and v. Orelli; 'Nasiräer,' in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexikon*, by Dillmann, and in Riehm's *HWB*^{2}, by Riehm; Dillmann, *Numeri, Deuteronomium und Josua*, 31 ff.; Budde, *Das Buch der Richter*, 90 ff.; Driver, *The Books of Joel and Amos*, 152 f.; W. R. Smith, *RS*^{2} 323 ff., 481 ff.; Schultz, *Alttest. Theologie*^{5}, 109 ff. [Eng. tr. i. 161 ff.]; Smend, *Lehrbuch der alttest. Religionsgeschichte*^{2}, 93–96; Oehler, *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, § 135 [Eng. tr. ii. 17 ff.]; Ewald, *Die Alterthümer des Volkes Israel*^{3}, 113 ff.; Nowack, *Lehrb. d. Heb. Arch.* ii. 133 ff.; Benzinger, *Heb. Archäologie*, 430 ff.; Vilmar, 'Die symbolische Bedeutung des Naziräergelübdes,' in *SK*, 1864, p. 438 ff.; Grill, 'Ueber Bedeutung und Ursprung des Nasiräergelübdes,' in *Jahrbb. f. protest. Theologie*, 1880, p. 645 ff.; G. B. Gray, 'The Nazirite,' in *Journ. of Theol. Studies*, vol. i. p. 201 ff. (Jan. 1900).

D. EATON.

NEAH.—Named only in Jos 19^{13} רִמּוֹן הַמְּתֹאָר הַנֵּעָה 'Rimmon stretching to the *Nē'ah*' (B Ῥεμμωνὰ Αμαθὰρ Ἀοζά, A Ῥεμμωνάμ· Μαθαρίμ· Ἀννουά). The name has not been recovered. Knobel identifies it with *Neiel* of v.^{27}, comparing the relation of the words *Jabneh* and Jabneel. This does not help us much in any case, for the site of Neiel itself has not been discovered, and it was probably considerably west of Neah. C. R. CONDER.

NEAPOLIS (Νέα Πόλις, 'new city') was the port at which St. Paul landed, when, in accordance with his vision at Troas (Ac 16^9), he sailed thence for Macedonia (Ac 16^{11}) to begin his ministry in Europe. It was the seaport of Philippi, which lay about 10 miles inland. Its position has been generally identified, or at least closely associated, with that of the modern town (of about 5000 inhabitants) called *Kavalla*, in the vicinity of which various remains have been found pointing to an earlier town of some importance, especially a great aqueduct bringing water from some distance, and stones bearing Greek or Latin inscriptions. Cousinéry (*Voyage dans la Macédoine*, ii. p. 119 ff.) and Tafel (*de Via Egnatia*) have argued in favour of a site some 10 miles farther to the west, where there is a deserted harbour called *Eski* or Old Kavalla; but Hackett (see art. 'Neapolis' in Smith's *DB*) appears to have finally settled the matter in favour of the town now bearing the name of *Kavalla*. The latter is situated on the bay which takes its name from it, at a point where, nearly opposite to the island of Thasos, a promontory projects, having a harbour on either side; that one which faced the west, especially, affording so suitable an anchorage that at the time of the battle of Philippi the triremes of Brutus and Cassius were moored in the bay of Neapolis (Appian, *Bell. Civ.* iv. 106). Its earlier name would seem to have been *Daton* or *Datos*, for Strabo designates Neapolis 'a town of the Dateni,' and describes Daton as 'possessing fruitful plains, and a port (λίμνη), and streams, and shipbuilding, and lucrative gold-mines, whence comes the proverb as to the "good things of Daton"' (Strabo, vii. fr. 36). Probably the place received the newer name on becoming the seat of some fresh colony (from Thasos or from Athens?). Pliny (*HN* iv. 18) treats Neapolis as belonging to Thrace; but Strabo (vii. 330) and Ptolemy (iii. 13) connect it with Macedonia. WILLIAM P. DICKSON.

NEARIAH (נְעַרְיָה).—**1.** A descendant of David, 1 Ch 3$^{22f.}$. **2.** A Simeonite, 1 Ch 4^{42}. In both these passages B and A have Νωαδ(ε)ιά, but Luc. has Νεαριού and Νααριάς. The interchange of ד and ר accounts for the difference between MT and BA of LXX. Which has preserved the true reading must remain uncertain.

NEBAIOTH (נְבָיֹת or נְבָיוֹת, Sam. נְבָאוֹת; LXX Ναβαιώθ).—Firstborn of Ishmael, Gn 25^{13} 28^9 36^3, 1 Ch 1^{29}. In Is 60^7 coupled with Kedar as the name of a pastoral tribe. The same tribe is mentioned repeatedly in the Cylinder Rm 1 of Assurbanipal also in company with Kedar; the Assyrian form of the name is Na-ba-ai-te. In col. 8, ll. 15 ff. of that inscription we learn that their king Natnu, who was the first prince of the tribe that paid homage to the Assyrians, joined the revolting Arabs, but was defeated by Assurbanipal's forces. Their country is described as 'very distant' (*asharshu ruuḳu*) in l. 58; Glaser (*Skizze*, ii. 267, etc.) places them in the Arabian provinces Yemamah and Ḳaṣīm, but it may be doubted whether they can be localized so exactly. His opinion, however, that the name has no connexion with the *Nabaṭæans*, is probably to be accepted. In the despatch K. 562 (S. A. Smith, ii. 36) there is a reference to the *Niba'ati*, who probably represent the same tribe; and a king *Nadan* is mentioned in K. 524 (*ib.* 54), who may or may not be the king of Nebaioth. The king's name seems to be the equivalent of the Hebrew Nathan; it may have been altered by the Assyrian transcriber. The etymology of the name Nebaioth is probably to be found in Arabic; according to the *Lisan al-'Arab*, xx. 172, *nabawāt* would mean 'lofty places, eminences.' The name certainly seems to be a feminine plural, which would exclude connexion with the *Nabaṭ*. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

NEBALLAT (נְבַלָּט; BA om., ℵ$^{\text{c. a mg inf}}$ Ναβαλλάτ).—A town mentioned only after the Captivity, along with Lod and Ono, as inhabited by Benjamites, Neh 11^{34}. It is probably the modern *Beît Nebâla*, a village N.E. of Lydda.

NEBAT (נְבָט; Ναβάτ (Ναβάθ)).—Father of Jeroboam I. (1 K 11^{26} and onwards). The constant designation of Jeroboam I. as 'ben-Nebat' is probably the usage of a writer later than Jeroboam ben-Joash. It is intended, doubtless, to distinguish the two kings. On the first occasion of its use (1 K 11^{26}), the formula has been added at the expense of appropriateness, since Jeroboam is further described as the son of a *widow* (B υἱὸς γυναικὸς χήρας). 'Son of Nebat' may have been absent from the earliest form of the narrative. It is wanting in LXX of 1 K 12^{24b} (from B). It is less probable that 'widow woman' is secondary. Nebat was therefore dead before his son's advancement under Solomon. The name perhaps signifies 'brightness.' Its equivalence to נבטאל 'God is splendour' has been suggested (Cheyne, *JQR* xi. 559). That is known as a Sabæan name (Gesenius, *HWB*^{12}). The interpretation 'Nabatæan' conflicts with 1 K 11^{26} ('Nebat, an Ephraimite').

W. B. STEVENSON.

NEBO (נְבוֹ, Ναβώ, Assyr. *Nabium*, contracted *Nabu*, 'the Prophet').—Nebo was the interpreter of the will of Bel-Merodach of Babylon, and consequently had a shrine in Ê-Saggilla, the great temple of Bel, at Babylon. But his own temple was Ê-Zida (now *Birs-i-Nimrûd*) in Borsippa, the suburb of Babylon. He was the son of Merodach and Zarpanit, and the husband of Tasmit 'the hearer.' He presided over literature and science, and the cuneiform system of writing was regarded as his creation. Hence, in the pre-Semitic Sumerian language of Chaldæa, he is termed *dim-sar*, 'the scribe.' Among his titles are those of 'the wise,' 'the intelligent,' 'the creator of the oracle,' 'the maker of writing,' 'the opener,' and 'enlarger of the ear.' Assurbanipal traces to him his zeal for knowledge. 'Nebo and Tasmit had given him broad ears and seeing eyes,' he says, so that he had caused the older literature of the country to be republished, as well as 'the secrets of Nebo, the list of all the characters that exist.' In later days Nebo was identified with Nusku, a solar deity of fire, who was the messenger of Bel of Nippur, just as Nebo was the messenger of Bel-

Merodach of Babylon. In the period of Bab. influence in Western Asia (B.C. 3800–1400) the name and worship of Nebo were carried into Syria with those of other Babylonian deities. Hence we find a Mount Nebo in Moab (Dt 32^{49}, Is 15^{2}), and a town of Nebo in Reuben (Nu 32^{3}); see the following two articles. In Is 46^{1} Bel-Merodach and Nebo represent the city of Babylon, over which they presided. In the days of the later Chaldæan empire, the kings' names were for the most part compounds with *Nebo* (*e.g.* Nabopolassar, Nebuchadrezzar, Nabonid). See, further, Schrader, *KAT*^{2} 412 f. [*COT* ii. 105 f.]; Meyer, *Gesch.* i. 179; Tiele, *Gesch.* 207 ff., 532 f. The name Abed-*nego* (Dn 1^{7} etc.) is for Abed-*nebo*, *i.e.* 'servant of Nebo.'

A. H. SAYCE.

NEBO.—**1.** Town in Moab (נְבוֹ; Moabite Stone נבה; LXX Ναβαύ, Ναβώ; Vulg. *Nabo, Nebo*); mentioned in Nu 32^{3} between Sebam (=Sibmah) and Beon (=Baal-meon), and 32^{38} between Kiriathaim and Baal-meon, as among the cities taken from Sihon and given by Moses to Reuben, and in 1 Ch 5^{8} between Aroer and Baal-meon, in connexion with the Reubenite (clan) Bela, and in Is 15^{2} with Medeba, Jer 48^{1} with Kiriathaim, and Jer 48^{22} between Dibon and Beth-diblathaim, as a Moabite city, which either had been or was to be laid waste. Nu 32 is from P on basis of JE; Is 15 and Jer 48 rest on an ancient oracle on Moab (cf. MOAB, p. 412). On the Moabite Stone, ll. 14–17, Mesha tells us: 'Chemosh said to me, "Take Nebo against Israel," and I went by night and fought against it from break of dawn till noon; and I took it, and put them (the inhabitants) all to death, 7000 men and boys (?), and women (?), and girls (?), and female slaves, for I had made it taboo to Ashtar-Chemosh. And I took thence the altar-hearths (?) of Jehovah and offered (?) them before Chemosh.' Nebo is not mentioned in the catalogue of Reubenite towns in Jos $13^{15\text{-}23}$.

Eusebius (*Onomasticon*, 283, 93, 100) and Jerome (*de Situ et Nom.*) distinguish the town, Ναβώρ, *Nabo*, from the mountain, *Nabau*, *Naban*, and place the town 8 miles south of Heshbon, and identify it with *Chanaath* (Kenath), or Nobah. Buhl (*Geogr.* 266) holds that the site of Nebo is to be looked for amongst the ruins on Mt. Nebo (*Jebel Neba*). Either the mountain received the name Nebo as containing a sanctuary of Nebo (cf. NEBO [god]), and the town was named after it; or the sanctuary was in the town, and the mountain was named after it; or the town and the mountain were so named independently, because each contained a sanctuary of Nebo.

Jerome, on Is 15^{2}, states that there was at Nebo, 'Belphegor,' *i.e.* Baal-peor, the idol of Chemosh.

2. Town in Judah (נְבוֹ; Ναβειά, Ναβιά, Ναβού, Ναβώ; Vulg. *Nebo*); mentioned Ezr 2^{29}, Neh 7^{33} 'the other Nebo,' as giving name to the 'children' or 'men of Nebo' who returned with Zerubbabel. According to Ezr 10^{43}, in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, seven 'children of Nebo' had foreign wives, whom they were compelled to discard.

As Nebo, in Ezr 2, Neh 7, follows Bethel and Ai, it should be represented in the Greek (1 Es 5^{21}) by Νειφεις B, Φινεις A, which follows Betolion. But Lucian has Μακβεις, and the number of the 'children of Niphis,' 156, is that given to Magbish in Ezr-Neh. Hence Νειφεις, etc., is held to represent Magbish (RVm, Meyer, *Entstehung*, 145). This Nebo is often identified with **Nob**, cf. Is 10^{32}, Neh 11^{32}, and the **Nobai** or **Nebai** of Neh 10^{20}, which is probably the clan of Nob, corresponding to the 'children of Nob.' The site of Nebo has been fixed at *Beit Nubâ*, 12 miles N.W. of Jerusalem, and 8 from Lydda, or at *Nuba*, 4 miles south of Adullam (Armstrong, *Names and Places*, etc.; Buhl, *Geogr.* p. 198; Meyer, *Entstehung*, etc. pp. 145, 149, 155 f.). It follows from the passages in Ezr-Neh that families from Nebo (Nob) had remained together in the Exile, and returned together, and thus became a post-exilic clan named after their original home. *Beit Nubâ* is the *Nobe* or *Anob* of Jerome's *Onomasticon*, the *Betenoble* or *Castellum Arnaldi* of the Crusaders (Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, pp. 332–339).

The mention in 1 Ch 8^{8} of Benjamite settlers in Moab suggests the possibility of a Benjamite colony in the Moabite Nebo, which when driven across the Jordan founded the western Nebo.

In 1 S 30^{30} Tisch. prints B as reading ἐν Νομβέ, Swete ἐν Νοό; but the context excludes identification with our Nebo.

W. H. BENNETT.

NEBO, MT. (הַר־נְבוֹ, Ναβαύ).—The mountain from which Moses viewed the promised land before his death. The word Nebo occurs in connexion with Moses only in Dt 32^{49} (the command to ascend) and Dt 34^{1} (account of the ascent) [both P]. It is found in the itinerary, Nu 33^{47} (P). Comparing the command as given in Dt 3^{27} and Nu 27^{12} (closely parallel in substance but not in expression with Dt 3^{27}) with the ascent described Dt $34^{1\text{ff.}}$, and noting the 'mountains of Abarim' of Nu 33^{47}, it follows that (1) Mt. Nebo forms part of the range of Abarim, and (2) the Top (head) of Pisgah (D) and Mt. Nebo (P) are alternative designations of the same spot (cf. Driver on Dt 34^{1} in *Internat. Crit. Comm.*). Its situation may be determined within narrow limits. A ridge runs out west from the plateau of Moab (see note on *Mishor* in art. MEDEBA), sinking gradually; at first a broad brown field of arable land, then a flat top crowned by a ruined cairn (to which the name *Neba* applies), then a narrower ridge ending in the summit called *Siâghah*, whence the slopes fall steeply on all sides (Conder, *Heth and Moab*, p. 129). Neba is 5 miles S.W. of Heshbon and 9½ W. of the north-east end of the Dead Sea. From it Western Palestine is in sight; but the view to the E. is shut out by the higher edge of the Mishor, and to the S. by the ridge running out from el-Maslubiyeh. Passing westward from Neba along the ridge to its western summit Siâghah, a distance of about 1½ mile, the whole of the Jordan Valley opens out to view, and the traveller may see Gilead, Hermon, Tabor, Ebal and Gerizim, Neby Samwil and the Mt. of Olives, Jericho, the Lower Jordan and the Dead Sea as far as En-gedi. Fuller descriptions may be found in Tristram, *Land of Moab*, p. 325; *Bible Places*, p. 360; Conder, *Heth and Moab*, p. 129 f.; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* p. 563; and Driver on Dt 34. The view may well be described as embracing 'all the land.' It has been questioned whether all the places mentioned in Dt $34^{1\text{-}3}$ can be seen from any point of the ridge. Those who wish to pursue this inquiry in detail may be referred to an article in *PEFSt* for April 1898, 'The Prospect from Pisgah,' by W. F. Birch. The 'hinder sea' RV (that is, westward, RVm), 'utmost sea' AV, is generally taken to mean the Mediterranean, as in Dt 11^{24}; and this cannot be seen from any point of the Neba range, though one traveller speaks of 'a faint and distant bluish haze' in the direction of Mt. Carmel. Birch says, 'From no mountain on the east side of the Dead Sea is it possible to see the Mediterranean near Judah. Higher mountains intervene.' He suggests that 'the hinder sea' in this passage means the Dead Sea, as being behind Moses when he began his survey. But the passage need not imply that the Mediterranean is included in the view from Nebo or Pisgah. When rightly translated it runs as follows: 'And J" showed him all the land—(even) Gilead as far as Dan, and all Naphtali, and the land of Ephraim and Manasseh, and all the land of Judah as far as the hinder sea, and the South and the Round [see CICCAR], (even) the plain of Jericho, the city of palm-trees as far as Zoar.' The writer says that God showed Moses all the land (compare the words of Dt 3^{27}), and what follows is *his* description of its extent, in which he states quite correctly that Judah extends as far as the hinder sea or Mediterranean.

Moses parted from the people whom he had led to their inheritance before undertaking that last mysterious journey; and of what he was permitted to see, it may be said, as of his sepulchre, no man knoweth it unto this day. The passage, translated as above, reduces the force of an objection which has been urged. Why should the land of Gilead be shown to Moses after he had already traversed it in the campaigns against Sihon and Og,[*] and allotted it to the 2½ tribes? Josephus (*Ant.* IV. viii. 48) mentions Nebo as a very high mountain opposite Jericho; and Eusebius in the *Onomasticon* puts it 6 Roman miles west of Heshbon. The position seems to have been forgotten, for until recent times *Jebel Attarus*, a mountain about 10 miles to the south of the Neba ridge, has been identified with Nebo.

A. T. CHAPMAN.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR.—See NEBUCHADREZZAR.

NEBUCHADREZZAR (נְבוּכַדְרֶאצַּר, afterwards corrupted into **Nebuchadnezzar**, נְבוּכַדְנֶאצַּר, Ναβουχοδονοσόρ, *Nabuchodonosor*).—The Bab. Nabu-kudurri-uṣur ('O Nebo, defend the landmark'), the eldest son of Nabopolassar, and founder of the Bab. empire, who reigned from B.C. 604 to 561. A younger brother of his, Nebo-sum-lisir, is mentioned in a contract-tablet dated in the reign of Nabopolassar. He seems to have been of Kaldâ or Chaldæan origin, like Merodach-baladan. According to Abydenus (Euseb. *Chron.* i. 9), he married Amuhia the daughter of the 'Median' (*i.e.* Manda) king. In B.C. 605 he defeated Pharaoh-necho in a great battle at Carchemish (now Jerablûs) on the Euphrates (Jer 46^{2-12}), and drove the Egyptians out of W. Asia. Bab. power was now established as far as the frontier of Egypt, and the king of Judah became a Bab. vassal. At this moment Nabopolassar died, and Nebuch. was recalled to Babylon, where he was proclaimed king, B.C. 604. Nebuch. now entered upon an era of wars and building. Of the wars we have hitherto learned but little from the inscriptions, which are filled with accounts of his building operations. Tyre, which had revolted, was besieged from the 7th year of his reign (Jos. *c. Ap.* i. 21) for 13 years, and apparently captured (but see Ezk 29^{18}; art. BABYLONIA in vol. i. p. 229^{a}, also *Expos. Times*, 1899, pp. 378, 475, 520). In the 40th year of Nebuch.'s reign (see contract-tablet in *RP*, new series, iv. 99 f.), it was full of Bab. officials. After the investment of Tyre, Nebuch. marched against Jerus., where Jehoiakim had also rebelled (2 K 24^{1}). Jehoiakim was put to death (according to Jos. *Ant.* X. vi. 3), and his son Jehoiachin placed on the throne. Three months later he was deposed, and carried captive to Babylonia, his uncle Zedekiah being appointed king in his place. Zedekiah, however, intrigued with Apries of Egypt, and threw off the Bab. yoke. For the third time, accordingly, Nebuch. invaded Judah; the Egyp. army was forced to retreat (Jer 37^{5-8}), and Jerus. was closely besieged. At the end of two years (B.C. 586) Jerus. was taken, the palace and temple destroyed, and the upper classes carried into exile (2 K $25^{1ff.}$). Zedekiah, who had escaped from the city, was captured near Jericho, and brought to Nebuch. at Riblah, near Hamath, where his eyes were put out, and his sons and chief nobles put to death. Gedaliah, a Jew, was made governor of Judah, the Babylonian garrison there being placed under the command of Nebuzaradan (2 K $25^{8ff.}$). It is to this period that we should probably assign the inscriptions of Nebuchadrezzar which have been found on the bank of the Nahr el-Kelb, north of Beyrout, and in the Wādy Brissa, on the road to Hamath. A fragment of his annals informs us that in his 37th year (B.C. 567) he made a campaign against Amasis of Egypt, overrunning a portion of the Delta (see Jer 46^{13-26}, Ezk 29^{2-20}), and defeating the soldiers of 'Phut of the Ionians' (*Puṭu Yâvan*). He was succeeded by his son Evil-Merodach in B.C. 561.

Babylon, which had been destroyed by Sennacherib, and rebuilt by Esarhaddon, became one of the wonders of the world under Nebuchadrezzar. He made it practically impregnable with three lines of wall, the two principal of which were called the Imgur-Bel and the Nimitti-Bel. He also surrounded it with a deep moat, and lined the bed of the Euphrates, which passed through the city, with brick, building walls and quays on either side. He lavished an enormous amount of treasure on the temples of Babylonia and the other cities of Chaldæa; built a new palace which was completed in 'fifteen days'; and is said to have erected 'a hanging garden' for his 'Median' wife. Great canals were dug or reopened throughout Babylonia; a huge reservoir was constructed near Sippar for storing the water needed in irrigation; and a port was founded on the shores of the Persian Gulf. Nebuch. gives an account of his architectural works in the India House inscription (translated by Ball, *RP*, new ser. iii. pp. 102–123). We gather from his inscriptions that he was a man of peculiarly devout and religious character (see Sayce, *Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, p. 97). Cf., further, Schrader, *KAT*² 361 ff. [*COT* ii. 47 ff.]; Meyer, *Gesch.* i. 579, 587 ff.; Tiele, *Gesch.* 410, 421 ff.; Jastrow, *Rel. of Bab. and Assyria*, 241 ff.

A. H. SAYCE.

NEBUSHAZBAN (נְבוּשַׁזְבָּן; LXX omits; Theodotion, quoted from the *Hexapla* in Q^{mg}, has Ναβουσαζαβάν. The writing of the final ן small, and the substitution of ז instead in Kennicott's MSS, is probably due to the desire to mutilate names compounded with those of heathen deities, as exemplified in the name of Abed-ne*g*o for Abed-Ne*b*o; compare also *Nimrod* and *Nisroch*).—This official was *rab-ṣārîṣ* (=*rabû-ša-rêšu*, 'chief captain' or 'chief of the captains')[*] at the time of Nebuchadnezzar's capture of Jerusalem (Jer 39^{13}). To all appearance there were among the officials of the Babylonian court many who bore the same title, and there is no reason to suppose, therefore, that Ashpenaz (Dn 1^{3}) succeeded Nebushazban as *rab-ṣārîṣ*—indeed, another official of the same title is mentioned in Jer 39^{3}. The name Nebushazban occurs in the Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions under the form of *Nabû-šuzibanni*, 'Nebo, save me,' the first time in a list of names printed in *WAI* ii. 64, col. i. l. 32, and again in *Inschriften von Nabonidus*, 161, l. 6. This latter text is dated in the 4th year of Nabonidus, that is, 34 years after the capture of Jerusalem; and although it is not by any means impossible that the personage named may be identical with that mentioned in Jer 39^{13}, it must be assumed, in the absence of any confirmation, that he is a different individual. The name is quite Babylonian in its form, the first element, *Nebu*, being the Hebrew reproduction of the divine name Nabû (Nebo, Nebu) found in Nebuchadnezzar and Nebuzaradan (*Nabû-zēr-iddina*). The second element, *šûzib*, is the imperative sing. of the Shaper of *êzēbu*, 'to save,' the third element being the pronominal suffix [*an*]*ni* indicating the 1st person (object). In all probability, proof could easily be found that the Hebrew form approximates very closely to the popular Babylonian pronunciation, in which the *i* of *šûzib* was probably suppressed (cf. *Kurbanni* for *Kurubanni*). T. G. PINCHES.

---

[*] Any one urging the above objection assumes that these campaigns are historical. For a discussion of this point see *HGHL*, App. III. p. 662.

[*] This title, in accordance with the use of *ṣārîṣ* elsewhere in OT, is generally translated 'chief of the *eunuchs*.'

NEBUZARADAN (נְבוּזַרְאֲדָן, Νεβουζαρδάν, Bab. *Nabu-zira-iddina*, 'Nebo has given a seed'), a name which is by no means uncommon in the contract-tablets. He commanded Nebuchadnezzar's body-guard, and, after the fall of Jerus., was entrusted with the work of carrying out the wishes and policy of his master (2 K 25^{8-20}). He selected the captives, and brought the leading supporters of Zedekiah to Nebuchadnezzar at Riblah. Five years later he was again sent to Palestine, and carried away from it into exile 745 persons (Jer 52^{30}). This was after the murder of Gedaliah.

A. H. SAYCE.

NECHO, NECHOH.—See NECO.

NECK (צַוָּאר *ẓavvâr*, עֹרֶף *'ōreph*; τράχηλος).—1. *The neck under the yoke* was a figure borrowed from agriculture, and implied a state of ownership, dependence, and toil. The broken yoke was recovered freedom (Gn 27^{40}, Is 10^{27}, Jer 27^{8}, Ac 15^{10}). Closely connected with this was the stiffness of the neck that refused to recognize God's right to possess, command, and direct (Dt 31^{27}, Jer 7^{26}, Neh 3^{5}). 2. *The foot on the neck* was an emblem of complete subjection, borrowed from military conquest (Jos 10^{24}, Ro 16^{4}, cf. Ps 110^{1}). It is frequently seen on the Egyptian monuments. RV correctly tr. 2 S 22^{41} (=Ps 18^{40}) 'Thou hast made mine enemies turn their backs to me,' for AV 'Thou hast given me the necks of mine enemies' (cf. Ex 23^{27}, 2 Ch 29^{6}, Jer 18^{17} etc.). 3. For the neck adorned with a chain, the words גָּרוֹן *gārôn* and גַּרְגְּרָה *gargārāh* [only in pl. גַּרְגְּרוֹת] 'throat' are also used (Pr 1^{9}, Ezk 16^{11}). 4. *To fall upon the neck* is a form of salutation in the East (Gn 33^{4} 46^{29}, Lk 15^{20}). The head is laid on one shoulder and then on the other close to the cheek. It is still part of the usual act of salutation when a meeting takes place between relatives or intimate friends of the same sex. It is the *brotherly kiss* of the monks and Oriental clergy. With them a custom originating in natural affection has descended to ecclesiastical routine and automatic formality.

For Mt 18^{6} (and parallels) see MILLSTONE.

G. M. MACKIE.

NECO.—The name is written in Hierogl. *Nk'w*;[*] Cuneif. *Niku*; Heb., always preceded by 'Pharaoh,' נְכֹה (2 K $23^{29.\,33\text{ff.}}$, 2 Ch 35^{22} 36^{4}, AV **Nechoh**, RV **Necoh**) or נְכוֹ (Jer 46^{2}, 2 Ch 35^{20}; AV **Necho**, RV **Neco**); Gr. Νεκῶς (Herod.), Νεχαώ (Manetho, LXX). The sources for the history of this Pharaoh, who succeeded his father Psammetichus I. as second king of the 26th Dynasty[†] (B.C. 610–594), are the references to him in the OT and a short notice by Herodotus. No native monuments of historical importance from his reign have come to light. The 26th Dynasty is localized by Manetho at Sais in the Delta. It is, however, possible that, although residing principally there, the family was of Ethiopian descent (see Schäfer in *Æg. Ztschr.* xxxiii. 116). Psammetichus had initiated a policy of larger commercial interests which, unknown to the Egypt of preceding dynasties, had already reached a considerable development in his son's reign. The monarchy relied now, both in foreign wars and against internal revolts, not upon native troops, but upon Ionian and Carian mercenaries. But Neco aimed also at a more extended influence at sea, and set about constructing a canal which should, by joining the waters of the upper Delta and the Bitter Lakes, make navigation between the Mediterranean and Red Sea possible (Herod. ii. 158). But the work was not finished by him: whether owing to discouragement from an oracle or to the pressure of external politics, the canal was abandoned, to be completed eventually by Darius.[*] The fleets of triremes which he built on both seas (*ib.* 159), and the Phœnician expedition which he engaged to circumnavigate Africa (iv. 42), were further results of the same policy.

The information in 2 K $23^{29\text{ff.}}$ as to his Syrian campaign (in 608) corresponds to a shorter account by Herodotus (ii. 159). The desire to regain the lost ascendency in Asia was always in Egypt a sufficient motive for such an undertaking; the immediate inducement may have been the defencelessness of Assyria, but recently overthrown by the onslaught of the new Babylonian monarchy. We are told that, during their northward march, the Egyptians were encountered by the army of Assyria's vassal, Josiah of Judah, at Megiddo (2 K $23^{29\text{ff.}}$, and a mere amplification of this in 2 Ch $35^{20\text{ff.}}$), or, according to Herod. (*l.c.*), at Magdolus (Μαγδωλός); that Josiah was slain, and that Neco pursued his way to the Euphrates; but, on arriving there, returned, capturing on his southward journey the town of Kadytis, and sending in gratitude his armour[†] to the shrine of the Didymæan Apollo at Branchidæ. Certain points in the story are, however, obscure. The locality of the battle is either (1) Megiddo S. of Mt. Carmel, which—though Herodotus' πεζῇ speaks for this—would be outside Josiah's frontier;[‡] or (2) Migdol=Magdolus, in which case there is a choice between several places of the name, that in Egypt, S. of Pelusium, being the least probable.[§] W. Max Müller (in *Mitt. Vorderas. Ges.* 1898, 3. 54) proposes Migdal-Gad (Jos 15^{37}); Winckler (in *Orient. Lit. Z.* 1898, 395, and in Benzinger's *B. d. Könige*, 207) recalls another Migdol, the Turris Stratonis (Cæsarea) S. of Akko. Kadytis again has been taken for Jerusalem, for Kadesh on the Orontes, and—the most probable view—for Gaza (cf. Herod. iii. 5 and Jer 47^{1}).

Neco, pursuing his Asiatic policy, refused to countenance the popular election of Josiah's son, Jehoahaz, to the throne. During a second campaign the newly elected king was seized at Riblah, and taken to end his days in Egypt. He was replaced by his elder brother Eliakim, whose name was changed, perhaps in compliment to the anti-Babylonian party,[‖] to Jehoiakim. Through him Neco was able to exact from the Jews, as earlier Pharaohs had so often done in Syria, a considerable fine—100 talents of silver and a talent of gold (2 K 23^{33}).

Now, however, he found himself forced to face the advancing power that had destroyed Nineveh. Nebuchadrezzar II., son of Nabopolassar, led a Babylonian army against him, and completely routed him at Carchemish (604). All his Syrian provinces were at the disposal of the victors (2 K

---

[*] See vol. i. p. 656, note.

[†] He is sometimes called Neco II., to distinguish him from the prince whom Esarhaddon had set up in Memphis and Sais, and who was probably the father of Psammetichus I.

[*] Augustus subsequently turned his attention to this canal; hence, suggests Lumbroso (*l'Egitto dei Greci*, 23), the name of the eastern province, Augustamnica.

[†] Cauer in Pauly-Wissowa, *RE* 810, 'statue.'

[‡] Maspero still (letter to present writer, 1899) holds this the most probable.

[§] Josephus (*Ant.* x. v. 1), it is true, has Μενδή; but presumably he misread this from Heb. מגדו. (See G. A. Smith, *Hist Geogr.* 405).

[‖] Stade, *Geschichte*, i. 674.

24[7]), and, for some years at any rate, the Egyptians did not venture to interfere in Asiatic politics. In 594 Neco died, and was buried at Sais. The recorded burial of an Apis bull in his 16th year confirms the duration of the reign given by Herodotus. W. E. CRUM.

NECROMANCY.—See SORCERY.

NEDABIAH (נְדַבְיָה).—A descendant of David, 1 Ch 3[18] (B *Δενεθεί*, A[a] *Ναβαδίας*, Luc. *Ναδαβιά*).

NEEDLE'S EYE (*τρῆμα* [*var. lec. τρυπήμα*] *ῥαφίδος*, Mt 19[24]; *τρυμαλιὰ ῥαφίδος*, Mk 10[25]; *τρῆμα βελόνης*, Lk 18[25]).—The impossibility of a camel's passing through the eye of a needle is used by Jesus to emphasize the difficulty of a rich man's entering into the kingdom of God. An attempt is sometimes made to explain the *needle's eye* as a reference to the small door, a little over 2 ft. square, in the large heavy gate of a walled city. This mars the figure without materially altering the meaning, and receives no justification from the language and traditions of Palestine. There is no custom of calling this small opening 'the eye'; it is usually named 'the small door,' 'hole,' or 'window.' If there were such a custom, it would not help the interpretation suggested, because Orientals never speak of the *eye* of a needle; it is simply the *slit* or *hole*, חֻר *ḥur*, Arab. *khurm*. The literal meaning is therefore to be preferred.* See, further, Swete on Mk 10[25], and art. CAMEL in vol. i. p. 345[b]. G. M. MACKIE.

NEEDLEWORK is tr[n] in AV of two Heb. expressions: (*a*) מַעֲשֵׂה רֹקֵם (Ex 26[36] 27[16] 28[39] 36[37] 38[18] 39[29]), the exact rendering of which is 'work of the variegator' (so *QPB* uniformly; RV gives 'work of the embroiderer'); (*b*) רִקְמָה (Jg 5[30 *bis*], Ps 45[14], 1 Ch 29[2], and 8 times in Ezk), a name which also signifies 'variegated work' (Moore, *Judges*, *ad loc.*), and is used of embroidery in which patterns were worked with a needle in various colours (RV in Jg 'embroidery,' in Ps and 7 times in Ezk 'broidered work'; once 'divers colours,' so also 1 Ch 29[2]. Against this being 'embroidery,' see esp. Dillm. on Ex 26[36]).

Needlework is much prized and universally practised in the East. Lace is made of great delicacy and beauty of pattern, and designs in different colours of silk, rendered more lustrous by threads of silver and gold, are sewn upon cotton, linen, silk, and woollen materials. Children devote themselves to it at an early age; among the poorer classes young women earn their marriage portion by patiently and skilfully producing work of considerable market value, and among the secluded women of rich Oriental families the gradual progress of a piece of needlework is a subject of interest and a connecting link in empty hours and aimless days. G. M. MACKIE.

NEESING.—There are in Middle English two distinct verbs *fnese* and *neese*. The former means 'to breathe hard' and is connected with the Gr. *πνέω*; the latter, which is pure Teut., though not found in Anglo-Sax., means 'to sneeze.' 'Sneeze,' which has now replaced 'neese,' is in fact simply a dialectic variety of that word (cf. 'lightly' and 'slightly'). In the 1611 ed. of AV the word 'neese' is accepted from Coverdale in 2 K 4[35] 'the child neesed seven times.' The meaning is evidently 'sneezed' (Heb. זוֹרֵר Po. of [זָרַר], prob. onomatopoetic, cf. *sternuo*), and mod. editors (since 1762) have so spelt it (though Scrivener returns to the older spelling 'neesed'). For the word cf. Chapman, *Odysseys*, xix. 732, 736—

> 'This said, about the house, in echoes round,
> Her son's strange neesings made a horrid sound;
> At which the Queen yet laugh'd, and said, "Go call
> The stranger to me. Heard'st thou not, to all
> My words last utter'd, what a neesing brake
> From my Telemachus?"'

But in Job 41[18] we find in 1611 AV 'By his neesings a light doth shine,' which again comes down from Coverdale. Modern editors have retained the spelling 'neesings' here, perhaps from a feeling that the modern 'sneeze' did not express the meaning, as it certainly does not. The Heb. (עֲטִישָׁה) is a different word from that found in 2 K 4[35], and clearly refers to the crocodile's habit of inflating itself, as it lies basking in the sun, and then forcing the heated breath through its nostrils: this in the sun appears like a stream of light (Dav.). Now this is the meaning not of *neese*, but of *fnese*. Wyclif's word in 1388 ed. is 'fnesynge,' and it is probable that Coverdale, by whose time the verb *fnese* had gone out of use, adopted 'neese' either as the same word or its nearest equivalent. In any case 'neesings' should no longer be retained, still less should it be replaced by 'sneezings' as in Amer. RV; the modern word is 'snortings.' In Jer 8[16] Wyclif has (1382) 'Fro Dan is herd the fnesting of his hors,' and there, though the Heb. word (נַחֲרָה) is different, the meaning is the same, and AV has 'snorting,' after Douay 'snoring (*sic*) noyse.' J. HASTINGS.

NEGEB (הַנֶּגֶב, lit. 'the dry'; LXX *νάγεβ, ἡ ἔρημος*) was a name specially applied to that district south of Judah which in comparison with the rest of Pal. was waterless.* From the fact that this region did lie to the south of Judæa rose the later use of the word to indicate that point of the compass.† This use became so habitual, the original sense of Negeb as a geographical term so obscured, that AV ignored the distinction. Wilton (*The Negeb*, London, 1863) was among the first to call attention to its exact sense, and RV has restored the more accurate tr[n]. About forty passages in OT can be understood only when this is remembered. Thus, *e.g.*, Abraham is represented (Gn 13[1]) as going up from Egypt into the land of the Negeb, while of course the direction of his march was not southwards but northwards.

The hill-country (הָהָר) of Judah near Hebron marks the limit of the Negeb on the north. On the E. its mountains form steep and barren precipices above the Southern Ghor and the Arabah. W. it descends more gradually and with wider wadis toward the sandy tract along the Mediterranean. On the S. the plateau of *Jebel el-Magrah*, 'about 70 miles long and 40 to 50 broad,' marks the natural boundary, though it is probable that, when the inhabitants were able to possess themselves of what are now the mountains of the Azazimeh, the name of Negeb may have extended to these also.

The entire district is mountainous, composed of ridges, which run in general from E. to W. and which rise from el-Magrah towards the 'hill' of Judah in a succession of great terraces. These are drained by a number of wadis, shorter and more abrupt on the E., wider and more gradual on the west. One result of this characteristic of the Negeb was that no great road ever ran through it from north to south. Trade and war flowed between Pal. and Egypt along 'the way of the sea,' the shore-road by Gaza and the Wady el-'Arîsh. The peoples of the N. and N.E. would seek Egypt by what is the modern Hajj road, which leaves the Negeb precipices well to the W. of it. Traders from Gaza to Aḳabah and Arabia could avoid the worst of these mountains by skirting them on the W. and crossing into the Arabah to the southward of Jebel el-Magrah. Only the men of Hebron and S. Judah, in order to reach these points, would probably be forced to climb one of the steep passes of Magrah—Yemen, Sufah, or Fikreh.* The country was always isolated. A further consequence of this character belonging to the district was that the Negeb formed a natural frontier to Judah on the south. No army, especially if it possessed cavalry or chariots, could reach Hebron and Jerus. in this direction. Only once do we read of an invasion entering by this route, when Chedorlaomer (Gn 14), after rounding the S. end of the Dead Sea, led his army across the 'plateau of the Amalekites,' and so fell on Hazazon-tamar.†

---

* On the ingenious but futile proposal to substitute 'cable' (*κάμιλος*) for 'camel' (*κάμηλος*), found as early as Cyril of Alexandria, see Hastings and Nestle in *Expos. Times*, ix. (1898), 388, 474.

* Cf. the modern *Daroma* with the same meaning and applied to part of the same region.

† Cf. the use of יָמָּה (lit. 'seawards,' *i.e.* Mediterraneanwards) in the sense of *west*.

In comparison with Judah the country is barren and waterless, though in comparison with the desert et-Tih it is fertile. 'Almost sudden was the transition to the upland wilderness, the Negeb, a series of rolling hills clad with scanty herbage here and there, especially on their northern faces. Nothing can be barer than the south-country of Judah, neither grand desolation, nor wild, but utter barrenness—not a tree nor shrub, but stunted herbage covered with myriads of white snails which afford food to thousands of birds.' So writes Tristram (*Land of Israel*, p. 360 f.), and he adds that the suddenness of the transition (he was travelling northwards) has a geological cause, because the soft limestone covers on these hills the hard crystalline which makes the south wilderness hopeless. But Palmer (*Desert of Exodus*, vol. ii.) states that there are abundant signs that this region in earlier times was cultivated, and maintained a large population. Toward the S. there are many rude cairns from a prehistoric period, and *ḥăẓērîm* or stone enclosures for folding sheep. Toward the N., and especially the N.W., the ruins of towns are frequent, the hillsides are covered with flint-heaps over which to train vines, many of the wadis show signs of cultivation in terraces and dams which would keep and use the winter torrents that stream through these. This latter feature of the cultivation has largely determined the fate of the Negeb. The artificial character of the irrigation, without which cultivation was impossible, depended for its continuance upon peace and settled order among the population. Whenever this was granted to the Negeb, its towns bloomed into a fitful importance; but, whenever this ceased, the neglected works fell into ruin, the desert reasserted itself, the Bedawin swarmed in from the south, or the people reverted to that earlier condition. And what has always aided that reversion has been that the country when in its natural condition is stated to be the very ground for browsing camels.

Thus the Negeb was the favourite home of the early Israelites, while they were still nomads. Here their forefathers are represented as wandering between the more settled Egypt and Palestine (Abraham Gn 20^{1}, Isaac 24^{62}, Jacob 37^{1} 46^{5}). The original home of the traditional Avvim may be looked for in this district (Jos 13$^{3f.}$), and of them the chief characteristic which is noted (Dt 2^{23}) is that they 'dwelt' in *ḥăẓērîm*, those stone enclosures of a nomad-race which depends on its flocks. But, when Israel approached this border from the wilderness, the spies reported that the Negeb was inhabited, not by Avvim, but by Amalek (Nu 13^{29}, cf. Gn 14^{7}); and this people associated with the Canaanites (Nu 14$^{25.\ 45}$) was strong enough to repel the invaders at Zephath-hormah, the modern Sebaita. It is possible that Amalek held the plateau, while the Canaanites occupied the more cultivated wadis. With Amalek as old inhabitants of the land 1 S 27^{8} associates the Geshurites and the Gizrites or Girzites.

The region was overrun by Simeon when that tribe turned southward with Judah from Jericho; at least the cities assigned to Simeon (Jos 19$^{1-8}$) lie here. Along with them went the Kenites, who, with the natural instinct of a clan which had never known anything except the life of nomads, settled near Amalek (Jg 1^{16}*). But the shock of conquest, where it succeeded, shook down the artificial cultivation; Amalek till the days of Saul was ever on one flank, the Philistines rose into strength upon the other side; Simeon was probably from the beginning the rudest of all the clans (Gn 34, etc.). This tribe, never left in peace, needing peace more than the others, and planted in a district which peculiarly required peace, could not maintain itself, and merged partly into Judah, partly into the Southern Bedawin. The cities of the Negeb are enumerated in Jos 15$^{21-32}$, and assigned there to Judah.

On the edge of this district, at Ziklag, Achish planted David (1 S 27^{6}). One cannot but suspect that by means of this outpost of men, who were already accustomed to border war, he hoped to cover, against the raids of the lawless border tribes, the route down to Egypt, and possibly that to Aḳabah. Incidentally it is noted (1 S 30^{14} 27^{10}) that the south country was divided at this period into the Negeb of the Cherethites, of Jerahmeel, of the Kenites, of Judah and of Caleb, to which Jg 1^{16} may add that of Arad (for details see these names). During the royal period the Negeb was considered a part of Judah, and shared the fortunes of that kingdom. Jeremiah (13^{19}) speaks of it as belonging to Judah, and as suffering, perhaps more than the rest of the country, from the troubles of his time; but in an exhaustive list of the districts which made up the Southern realm (17^{26} 32^{44} 33^{13}) he promises restoration to the Negeb as to the rest. Obadiah (v.$^{19f.}$) anticipates that its cities shall possess Edom, from which some have inferred that Edom, which finally overran this district, was then pressing on the borders of the weakened kingdom. See, further, on this passage, art. OBADIAH, p. 579.

LITERATURE.—See references in the body of the article. Most of the usual books on Pal. geography devote a section to this subject. Of these, Robinson, *BRP*, is here the best. E. Wilton, *The Negeb*, and Trumbull, *Kadesh Barnea*, are devoted to that district, but are popular. The most thorough work is still that of Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, vol. ii.

A. C. WELCH.

NEGINAH, NEGINOTH.—See PSALMS.

NEGO (נְגוֹ [once Dn 3^{29} נְגוֹא]).—Found only in the compound proper name **Abed-nego** (עֲבֵד נְגוֹ 'servant of Nego') given by the prince of the eunuchs to Azariah, one of Daniel's three companions, Dn 1^{7} 2^{49} 3$^{12ff.}$ (LXX and Theod. Ἀβδεναγώ). It is practically certain that נְגוֹ is a corruption, which may be set down to the mistake of a copyist or, more probably, of the author of Dn, from נְבוֹ NEBO (wh. see). Cf. the use of Nebuchad*n*ezzar for the correct form -*r*ezzar. This is the view of Hitzig, Grätz, Schrader (*KAT*^{2} 429 [*COT* ii. 126]), Sayce (*HCM* 532), etc., and is supported by the discovery of the name 'Abed-nebo' on a bilingual Assyr.-Aram. tablet of the 7th cent. (iii. Rawl. 46 col. i. 82) and in two Aramaic inscriptions of the 6th and 5th cents. B.C. discovered, one of them by Flinders Petrie and the other by Sayce, on the sandstone rocks north of Silsilis in Upper Egypt (see *HCM* 177 n.). The same name was borne, long after the Christian era, by heathen Syrians (Bevan, *Daniel*, p. 61). It is possible that the author of Dn purposely changed Ne*b*o into Ne*g*o, in order to obscure the reference to a heathen deity.

---

* Those indomitable road-makers, the Romans, did not shun even these hills, as the Peutinger tables and broken milestones prove.

† Contrast the conduct of Nebuchadnezzar, who on his way to Egypt detailed a force to reduce Jerus., but led his principal army by a route clear of these barren hills.

* Read in the last clause 'went and dwelt with Amalek.'

J. A. SELBIE.

NEHELAMITE, THE (הַנֶּחֱלָמִי).—An epithet applied to Shemaiah, a false prophet who opposed Jeremiah, Jer 29$^{24. 31. 32}$. According to analogy the word should mean an inhabitant of Nehelam, but there is no place of that name mentioned in the Bible. This, however, is not a fatal objection. The Targ. derives the word from a place Helam, LXX Αἰλάμ, which is mentioned in 2 S 10$^{16. 17}$ as apparently near the Euphrates. The LXX in Jer 36 [Heb. 29] has B Αἰλαμείτην, Aℵ Q Ἐλαμίτην. Vulg. agrees with English Versions. 'Nehelamite' might also be related to the personal name *Helem* (1 Ch 7^{35}, Zec 6^{14}). The AVm 'dreamer' is of course incorrect, yet there can be little doubt that a play on the words נֶחֱלָמִי and חלם 'to dream' was in the prophet's mind. This verb and the cognate noun (חֲלוֹם) are used specifically in Jer (23$^{25. 27. 28. 32}$, cf. Dt 13$^{2. 4. 6}$) of the dreams of false prophets. The words elsewhere are scarcely ever used of the higher inspiration, being employed, *e.g.*, of Jacob, Gn 28^{12}; Joseph, 37$^{5\text{ff.}}$; Pharaoh and his servants, 40$^{5\text{ff.}}$ 41$^{1\text{ff.}}$ (all E, not elsewhere in Hex.); of a lower order of prophets than Moses, Nu 12^{6} (cf. Job 33^{15}); of the Midianite, Jg 7$^{13. 15}$; the object of Saul's desire, 1 S 28$^{6. 15}$; of Solomon, 1 K 3^{15}; of old men in latter days, Jl 2^{28}; of Nebuchadnezzar, Dn 2$^{1\text{ff.}}$; of Daniel, Dn 1^{17}.

N. J. D. WHITE.

NEHEMIAH (נְחֶמְיָה).—**1.** One of the twelve heads of the Jewish community, Ezr 2^{2} (B Νεέμιος, A -ας) = Neh 7^{7} (BA Νεεμιά), 1 Es 5^{8} **Nehemias.** **2.** The son of Azbuk, the ruler of half the district of Beth-zur, who helped to repair the wall of Jerusalem, Neh 3^{16} (Νεεμίας). **3.** See the following article.

NEHEMIAH (נְחֶמְיָה).—Nehemiah is a conspicuous instance of the right man in the right place. It was his privilege to render great service to his nation, for which both his character and his position fitted him. He was patriotic, courageous, and God-fearing; he knew how to exercise the inflexible will of an autocrat, as well as to be persuasive when that would best accomplish the good end he had in view. Our reliable information concerning Nehemiah and his times is contained almost wholly in the parts of his memoirs which have come down to us.[*] We may regret that this memoir was not preserved in full, but we cannot but rejoice in what we have; for it affords us a picture of this great patriot which is clear and well-proportioned. It gives us no information, however, about his early life or ancestry, except in the heading that he was the son of Hacaliah (Neh 1^{1}).

The first of Chislev, the ninth month (our Dec.), of the 20th year[†] of Artaxerxes I.[‡] Longimanus, B.C. 445, found Neh. in Susa, the chief city of Elam, and the winter residence of the Persian court (Del. *Paradies*, 326). A company of men, among whom was his brother Hanani, had just returned from Jerusalem. Neh. eagerly questioned them about the condition of the city and of the people who with Ezra had been struggling to rebuild the State. Their report was most depressing to the patriot: 'The remnant which is left from the captivity there in the province are in evil plight and in great reproach; the wall of Jerus. is broken down, and its gates are burned with fire' (1$^{1\text{-}3}$).

Does Hanani refer to the destruction of the city by command of Nebuch. in 586 (2 K 25$^{9\text{ff.}}$), or to a recent catastrophe? In favour of the former view it may be urged that we have no record of either the rebuilding of the walls and the setting up of the gates, or their second destruction. Whatever may be the date of Ezr 4$^{8\text{-}23}$ (see EZR.-NEH., BOOK OF), it is evident that the rebuilding described there was merely begun, not finished. The enemies of the Jews procured an edict to stop the building, but not to destroy the little that was already restored. If such a destruction had taken place, it is singular that it should be mentioned neither by Ezra nor by the compiler. On the other hand, if the destruction reported by Hanani had taken place more than a century before, the report would not be unexpected news, and consequently would not make so great an impression upon Nehemiah. It might be urged that he had hoped that measures had been taken to continue the restoration, and was depressed to learn that nothing was being done. But Neh.'s narrative lends no colour to such an interpretation. See, further, Stade, *GVI* ii. 161; Benjamin, *Persia* (Story of the Nations), 127; Montefiore, *Hibbert Lect.* 1892, 311; Cheyne, *Bamp. Lect.* 1889, 71, 82, 231 f., *JRL* 37 ff.; Grätz, *Hist. of the Jews*, Eng. tr. i. 383.

When Neh. heard the bad news he 'sat down and wept, and mourned for days, fasting and praying before the God of heaven.' His prayer, which is full of Deuteronomic expressions (*OTJC*^{2} 427), acknowledges the sins of the Jewish people, but calls upon God to fulfil His promise in view of the repentance of the people, and to 'grant his servant (Neh.) mercy before this man,' *i.e.* the king (1$^{4\text{-}11}$). The prayer put into Neh.'s mouth by Josephus is somewhat different: 'How long, O Lord, wilt Thou overlook our nation, while it suffers so great miseries, and while we are made the prey and spoil of all men?' (*Ant.* XI. v. 6).

Nehemiah's position as cupbearer[*] to the king ensured him an audience; and as the office was a high one with rich emoluments, he had a point of advantage in preferring a request, and the means to accomplish his purpose. Yet it was four months before his wishes were made known to the king. He was waiting a favourable opportunity; and this came only when he was called to serve the wine when 'no one else was before the king' (2$^{1\text{b}}$ acc. to LXX). His agitation was so great when the decisive moment came that his face betrayed him, and he was sore afraid as the king reprovingly asked him the cause of his dejection. However, he stated his troubles frankly: 'Have I not reason for a dejected countenance, since the city of the graves of my fathers lies in ruins, and its gates are destroyed by fire?' (2^{3}). Encouraged by the king, he asked permission to go to Jerus. to rebuild the city. As Neh. mentions the fact that the queen was sitting by her lord at the time (2^{6}), she may have exerted her influence in his favour.[†] At all events the king granted his officer a limited leave of absence, gave him letters to the governors of the provinces west of the Euphrates, and to Asaph, the keeper of the royal forest, that Neh. might secure timber for the gates of the citadel of the temple, for the wall of the city, and for the temple itself.[‡] Neh. set out with an armed escort furnished by the king, and on the way delivered the letters to the governors, not to apprise them of his plans, as Grätz supposes, but to secure his passage through the country, his letters to them being virtually passports. At the outset he learned of the hostility of Sanballat and Tobiah, who were troubled at the news that a man had come from Persia to seek the welfare of the Israelites (2^{7-10}).

---

[*] See EZRA-NEHEMIAH, BOOK OF. Torrey holds that only chs. 1. 2. 3$^{33\text{-}39}$ [Eng. 4$^{1\text{-}6}$] are genuine memoirs of Nehemiah. The rest of the book he assigns to the Chronicler; and this, with the whole of Ezr as a historical source, he says, 'has no value whatever'—*Comp. and Hist. Value of Ezr.-Neh.* 1896 (*Beihefte zur ZAW*).

[†] If Chislev and Nisan (cf. 1^{1} and 2^{1}) were both in the 20th year of Artaxerxes, Neh. must have reckoned the year from the autumn. Nisan was the first month of the Jewish as well as of the Bab. year. If Neh. reckons in the usual way, his audience with the king (2^{1}) must be placed in the king's 21st year, and so B.C. 444. On the chronology see Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* i. 214 ff.; Berth.-Rys. *Kom.*^{2} 254; Schrader, *KAT*^{2}, *in loc.*

[‡] Torrey says that we do not know which Artaxerxes is referred to in Neh. He is inclined to put the composition of Neh about the year B.C. 372 (?).

[*] On the cupbearer see Rawlinson, *Ezra and Neh.* (Men of the Bible), 86; Ewald, *HI* v. 148; Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 3. 8; and art. CUPBEARER.

[†] From the queen's presence Cheyne and others suppose that Neh. was a eunuch (*Introd. to Is.* 311). Some hold that Ps 127 was directed against Nehemiah.

[‡] On the motives of Artaxerxes see Stanley, *Jewish Ch.* iii. 111.

Neh. waited for three days (2^{11}) to study the situation, then without disclosing his plans to any one ($2^{12ff.}$) he made a night inspection[*] of the walls attended only by his guard, or by Hanani and a few others who had come with him from Susa. ‘A city was in antiquity a city in the full sense of the word only if it preserved its walls’ (Stade). An exilic poet had cried, ‘build thou the walls of Jerusalem’ (Ps 51^{18}), and Neh. was determined now to remove Jerusalem's reproach.[†] Accordingly he assembled the leaders and said to them, ‘You see the evil plight we are in, in that Jerus. is in ruins, and its gates burned with fire’ (2^{17}), at the same time informing them of the powers which the king had conferred upon him, and of his purpose to restore the walls. The people saw the opportunity, and responded readily to the call. Sanballat and Tobiah, joined now by Geshem, or Gosham as Wellhausen says it should be read (*Isr. Gesch.*^{2} 169), insinuated the charge of rebellion against Neh.; but the charge neither intimidated him nor checked the zeal of the people.

It is impossible to tell how extensive the damage to the walls was. The word used by Neh. in 1^3 and 2^{13} (פָּרַץ) implies that there were only breaches to repair; but these were evidently of wide extent. Neh. was fortunate in securing the aid of the whole population of Jerus., and of several companies from other parts of Judah. There were men from Jericho, Tekoa, Gibeon, Mizpah, Zanoah, and Keilah. Men of every class laboured at the walls with their own hands: it is said to the discredit of the nobles of Tekoa, as if it were an exceptional case, that they refused to put their neck to the work (3^5); we find express mention of priests, Levites, goldsmiths, and perfumers (or apothecaries) among the labourers. Neh. divided the work among the various bodies with characteristic insight; we read of five cases in which men were working at the breaches close by their own dwellings ($3^{10.\ 23.\ 28-30}$).

Some serious difficulties had to be met, however, before all the breaches could be closed. Sanballat, finding that his insinuation of rebellion had been ineffective, and that the Jews were evidently serious in their purpose to rebuild, tried to rouse the army stationed in Samaria; Tobiah indulged freely in ridicule, trying to persuade himself that the labour of the Jews could not accomplish Neh.'s purpose. ‘If a fox should go up on their stone wall, he would break it down’ ($3^{33ff.}$ Eng. $4^{1ff.}$). The people did not heed the scoffing, but continued their work with a will. When all the breaches were closed with a wall half its proper height, Sanballat and his allies, augmented now by guerilla bands of Arabians, Ammonites, and Ashdodites, realized that prompt and vigorous action was necessary if the almost incredible progress of the wall was to be stopped. They resolved to march secretly to Jerus. and stop the restoration by force of arms (4^5, Eng. 4^{11}). Meanwhile the working under high pressure was telling upon men unused to such labour as laying a massive stone wall, especially when the clearing away of the rubbish was so difficult and laborious a part of the task. But their burdens could not be lightened yet; in fact, the activity of the enemy now added much to their hardships. Reports came in of the intended attack, and Neh. at once armed his workmen for resistance.[*] He was acting according to the authority vested in him by the king, while his enemies were taking the law into their own hands. The Jews exchanged the trowel for the sword, and were stationed to defend the most unprotected places in the wall. The enemy had counted upon a surprise. When they saw the Jews armed and drawn up for battle, they abandoned their purpose to attack, and the builders resumed their work. But the enemy evidently remained in the neighbourhood waiting a chance to take the Jews at a disadvantage, so that the labourers on the wall kept their swords by their side, and a part of the men were detailed to hold the larger weapons and defensive armour in readiness. Neh. kept a trumpeter by him to give warning of the point of attack (4^{6-17}, Eng. 4^{12-23}). The people were all now obliged to remain in the city at night, for the enemy held possession of the outlying country, and the city could not be left for a single hour without vigilant defenders; so critical was the time, that Neh. and the people alike slept in their clothes. Yet there is no record of an actual battle, and such silence is a pretty sure indication that the Samaritans and their allies never ventured on an open attack, and never found the coveted opportunity for a surprise; but the vigilance and precautions of Neh. show plainly that the danger was for a long time imminent.

Another form of trouble now required the leader's attention. The people who were labouring at the walls had been obliged to abandon their usual occupations, many of them to leave their homes and fields. The enemy overran the country districts at will, and very likely plundered the homes of those who were working at the walls. Supplies were getting scarce for such people, so that they had to mortgage their fields and vineyards and houses, either to get food or to pay the king's tribute. Many had pledged their children for debt, and these were sold as slaves. The wealthier classes had taken advantage of the necessity of the poor. Neh. was justly angry, and promptly summoned the offenders before a public meeting. He reviewed his own generous course, and appealed to them to be liberal, restoring the mortgaged land, and remitting a part of the debt which the people were unable to pay. It is pleasant to know that his request was responded to cordially; and the people took an oath to execute their pledge (ch. 5).

The walls were finished amidst such trying difficulties, and there only remained the doors to be set up in the gates to make the city's defences complete. But Nehemiah's enemies had not yet given up. Having failed to intimidate him by threats, or discourage him by ridicule, or take him unawares by force, they now tried cunning. Four times they invited him to meet them in conference in the valley of Ono in the land of Benjamin; but Neh. replied that he could not leave the great work he was engaged in (6^{1-4}). A fifth messenger came with an open letter[†] from Sanballat saying that it was reported that Neh. aspired to the kingdom of Judah and had appointed prophets to proclaim him, and giving warning that word of this rumour would surely reach the king; Sanballat asked for a conference, as if he wished to aid Neh. in clearing himself of the charge. Neh. knew well that autocratic kings listened eagerly to such imputations, and were not apt to investigate very closely, preferring to err on the (for them) safe side; nevertheless he rested secure in his integrity, and accused Sanballat of feigning the charges out of his own evil mind (6^{5-8}). Sanballat all the while had allies and emissaries in Jerus. (6^{17-19}), and, having failed himself to get within reach of the leader, he set them to work. A prophet named Shemaiah counselled Neh. to shut himself in the temple at night to avoid assassination. Other prophets[*] were also hired to stir up his fears, and induce him to take a step that would lead to his downfall (6^{10-14}). But they reckoned without their host.

---

[*] On Neh.'s night ride see Stanley, *op. cit.* iii. 112; Wright, *JBL*, 1896, 129-134, and *PEFSt*, April 1896. The last two articles give the important light from Bliss's recent excavations.

[†] ‘Accompany Neh. on his lonely ride around the burned walls of Jerus., and listen to Sanballat mocking at the Jews for attempting to revive the stones out of the heaps of rubbish; you will then recognize the occasion of this psalm [102], and sympathize with the plaintive words—

‘For thy servants take pleasure in her stones,
And it pitieth them to see her in the dust’ (102^{14}).

—Cheyne, *Bamp. Lect.* 70 f.

[*] The Heb. text in 4^6 (Eng. 4^{12}) is obscure and confused. The LXX furnishes a clear and satisfactory reading: ‘And it was so that when the Judæans who dwelt by them came, they said to us, They are coming up from all places against us.’ The first news of the intended assault was brought by the workmen who lived at remote parts.

[†] It is said that an open letter was an insult; see Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, iii. 63 f.

By the month Elul (Aug.-Sept.), of what year we do not know, the restoration was complete, having been accomplished, we are told, in the remarkably short time of fifty-two days[†] (6^{15}). Neh. appointed his brother Hanani, who had evidently come with him from Susa (cf. 1^2), and Hananiah the governor of the castle, in charge over Jerus.; he enjoined them strictly to keep the gates shut until the sun was well up in the heavens,[‡] and to keep a guard posted. The latter command was not easy of execution, for the people in Jerus. were few, and the houses for the most part still in ruins. It was apparently difficult to induce people to take up residence in the city.[§] Those who did so voluntarily were commended as patriots, and one of every ten drawn by lot was obliged to move from the country to the city (7^4 $11^{1\text{f.}}$). The completion of the walls was celebrated with a great dedication service.[‖] Walls and gates and people were purified, and two processions formed to move around the circuit of the walls in opposite directions, Ezra[¶] at the head of one company, and Neh. of the other, until they met near the temple, where the ceremonies of thanksgiving and dedication culminated in sacrifices and rejoicings. Appointments were also made for the proper observance of the temple rites ($12^{27\text{ff.}}$). These things being completed, Jerus. being once more a city without reproach, social and religious order being well established, and Neh.'s leave of absence expiring, he returned to the court of Persia (13^6). Rawlinson holds that he was recalled, but there is no evidence for such a theory.

How long Neh. had been in Jerus. is uncertain. The text bears conflicting testimony not easy to reconcile. The memoirs are in this part preserved only in somewhat mutilated fragments. In 5^{14} we appear to have a sufficiently definite statement that the first stay at Jerus. was twelve years: 'From the day when he appointed me to be governor in the land of Judah, from the twentieth year even to the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes the king, twelve years, I and my brothers did not eat the governor's bread.' But in 13^6 Neh. says, 'While all this was going on I was not in Jerus.: for in the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes the king of Babylon, I went unto the king, and asked of the king a leave of absence. And I went to Jerusalem.' This verse is obscure, and its meaning uncertain. 'I went unto the king may refer to Neh.'s return from Jerus., or to his entering the royal presence to prefer his request. The other doubtful clause is literally 'to end of days,' and is generally taken as a reference to the undefined period between Neh.'s return to the king and his second departure. The words favour this interpretation, the context the notion of a limited leave as rendered above. See the commentaries on the passage.

Neh. either returned to the king after twelve years' absence, and then, after a period of a year as Kuenen supposes, or three or four years as Grätz holds, secured a second leave; or else he returned sooner, and in the thirty-second year, B.C. 433, started again for Jerusalem. 5^{14} in the latter case would mean that Neh. was the real governor of Judah even when absent on court duty, ruling by his appointed deputies. On the whole, this view seems more probable than the other; for it seems unlikely that the king, who required Neh. to stipulate a limit to his leave before he would grant it (2^6), would agree to so long a period as twelve years. Neh.'s chief purpose was to rebuild the walls: if this took only fifty-two days, there would be no reason for a long stay. The events narrated might all easily take place in three or four years, and they are described as initial movements. If Neh. had protracted his stay, we should probably be informed of the doings of such an active and zealous man. Then, again, the supposed interval of a year or so does not allow time for the development of the evils which confronted Neh. in his second administration, especially for the appearance of a mixed speech among the children of half-foreign parentage (13^{24}).

During Nehemiah's absence at the Persian court, serious evils had made their appearance in Jerusalem. Sanballat and his allies had been checkmated; Jerus. had been freed from external enemies; but internal disorders had sprung up which affected the life of the people harmfully. Eliashib had housed Tobiah in one of the temple chambers ($13^{4\text{f.}}$); the Levites[*] were not supplied with their lawful portions (see Mal 3^{7-12}), so that they were compelled to seek their living as laymen, or wander about homeless (13^{10}) as in the days of Micah (see Jg 17 f.). On the Sabbath day, work in the fields went on as usual (13^{15}); produce was carried to the market in Jerus.; and the Tyrian merchants sold fish and merchandise on that day (v.^{16}). In spite of Ezra's great effort, marriages with foreign women were common, and the children of such marriages spoke partly the language of their mothers (v.$^{23\text{f.}}$). Even a grandson of Eliashib the high priest had married a daughter of Neh.'s inveterate enemy Sanballat (v.^{28}). It is highly probable that the report of these evils impelled Neh.'s return. When he arrived he set about the necessary reforms with characteristic vigour. Tobiah's belongings were cast out of the temple chamber, and it was restored to its sacred uses ($13^{8\text{f.}}$). The people were compelled to pay the tithe[†] for the support of the Levites and other temple officers (v.^{12}). The city gates were ordered to be closed during the whole of the Sabbath, the vendors who then set up their stalls outside of the gates were threatened so that they were afraid to renew the offence (v.$^{19\text{ff.}}$). The men with foreign wives suffered disgrace and punishment, and the people were put under oath to discontinue this violation of the Law. The arch-offender, Eliashib's grandson, was banished from Jerus. (v.$^{25\text{ff.}}$). According to Jos. (*Ant.* XI. vii. 2, viii. 2), Manasseh, a brother of Jaddua, married Nicaso the daughter of Sanballat, left Jerus. and built the rival temple on Gerizim. Josephus places these events in the time of Alexander, but he was not a master of chronology, *e.g.* he places Neh. in the time of Xerxes; and many hold that this Manasseh was the son of Joiada and grandson of Eliashib (see Kuenen, *Rel. Isr.* ii. 236; Montefiore, *Hib. Lect.* 351; Ryle, *Can.* 92).

In spite of the effort of the author of the beautiful story of Ruth to soften the harsh spirit of the leaders, Ezra and Neh. held the same decided view against foreign marriages, though from different motives. The great offence in Ezra's eyes was the infringement of the sacred law. But Neh., while he was impressed with the dangerous consequences of such alliances, citing the sin of Solomon and the havoc it wrought (13^{26}), held the great evil to be the imperilling of the mother tongue by the introduction of foreign elements. From this it would appear that already the Old Heb. speech was in danger, and the patriotism of the people was appealed to to preserve it from extinction. How long it lasted as a living tongue after this time is uncertain. But the seeds of death must have been apparent.

---

[*] 'The prophets of the time were opposed to Neh. and apparently in league with the hostile neighbours,' Montefiore, 312; see also Wellh. *Gesch.*^{2} 194. But these prophets, inferior as they were to their predecessors of pre-exilic days, felt that Neh., like Ezra, was reconstituting Judaism on lines not in harmony with prophetism; and in a measure they were right. See, for a fuller development of this view, Kuenen, *Rel. of Isr.* ii. 238 ff.

[†] According to Jos. (*Ant.* XI. v. 8) the wall was two years and four months in building; according to Ewald, *Hist.* v. 157, nearly five years. The fifty-two days is not only a very short time for such a great work, but also for the conditions described in ch. 5 to develop. Yet there was every motive for urgent haste. Perhaps only the main part of the work was accomplished in the fifty-two days.

[‡] Sunrise being the usual time for opening the gates.

[§] See Milman, *Hist. of the Jews*, vol. i. p. 437.

[‖] According to Grätz, *Hist.* 394, this celebration took place two years and four months after Neh.'s arrival in Jerus.; according to Rawlinson, *Ezr.-Neh.* 150, not till Neh.'s second visit. There are no good grounds for the latter view.

[¶] On the relation of Ezra and Neh. in their administration, and on the promulgation of the Law (Neh 8-10), see art. EZRA; and Kosters, *Wiederherstellung Israels*, 1895.

[*] Montefiore regards this condition partly as a result of 'the old quarrel between priests and Levites' (*Hib. Lect.* 350).

[†] This was a tithe of corn, wine, and oil, as in Dt $14^{22\text{ff.}}$; see Ryle, *Canon of the OT*, 86.

Tradition was as little silent about Neh. as about Ezra (see Ewald, *Hist.* v. 161 ff.). To these two men 'grateful posterity has attributed all the beneficial institutions, of whose origin it was ignorant.' Among the worthies praised by Jesus the son of Sirach is Neh., whose 'memorial is great, who raised up for us the walls that were fallen, and set up the gates and bars, and raised up our homes again' (Sir 49^{13}). In 2 Mac $1^{18\text{ff.}}$ we read that Neh. purified the sacrifices with the water taken from the pit where the priests had hid the sacred fire. His literary activity was also known: 'The same things were related both in the public archives and in the records that concern Neh., and how he, founding a library, gathered together the books about the kings and prophets, and the books of David and letters of kings about sacred gifts' (2 Mac 2^{13}. See Ryle, *Can.* 102; W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} 170 f. On the character of the letters in which this passage occurs see *ZAW*, 1890, i. 110 ff.).

Neh. rendered a great service to his people, and its effect was more enduring than that of Ezra. He was magnanimous in his generosity towards his subjects. He even purchased the liberty of many Jews held as slaves in strange lands (5^8); he had refused the remuneration which belonged to his office; and he entertained at his own expense 150 of the chief Jews (5^{17}). But he was by no means unconscious of his virtue, nor unhopeful of receiving a suitable reward from God; in 5^{19} (cf. $13^{14.\ 31}$) he records a favourite prayer: 'Remember unto me, O my God, for good, all that I have done for this people' (see Montefiore, *Hib. Lect.* 211). He shows also the vindictive spirit found in some of the psalmists ($3^{36\text{f.}}$, Eng. $4^{4\text{f.}}$ 13^{25}; see also Cheyne, *Bamp. Lect.* 78). But a frank acknowledgment of such weaknesses does not obscure the real greatness of the man. It has been truly said of him that he was 'the only man who had at once the spirit to awaken the old fire of national enthusiasm, and the power both to heal dissensions within and to repel attacks from without' (*The Psalms Chronologically arranged*, by Four Friends, 311). On Neh.'s character and work, see further Wellh. *Gesch.*^{2} 173; Rawlinson, *Ezr. and Neh.* ch. xi.; Renan, *Hist. of the People of Isr.* bk. vii. 82 ff. Josephus says of Neh.: 'He was a man of good and righteous character, and very ambitious to make his own nation happy; and he hath left the walls of Jerus. as an eternal monument of himself' (*Ant.* XI. v. 8).

For other literature, beyond that quoted in the above article, see EZRA-NEHEMIAH, BOOK OF.

L. W. BATTEN.

NEHEMIAH, BOOK OF.—See EZRA-NEHEMIAH, BOOK OF.

NEHEMIAS (Νεεμίας).—**1.** 1 Es 5^8, one of the leaders of the first return from captivity under Zerub. = Nehemiah, Ezr 2^2, Neh 7^7. **2.** (B Ναιμίας) 1 Es 5^{40}, Nehemiah the contemporary of Ezra. The insertion of his name here appears to be due to an incorrect gloss on 'Ατθαρίας or 'the Tirshatha,' Neh. being usually called by that title. In the canonical parallels (Ezr 2^{63}, Neh 7^{65}) the name is absent, and the Tirshatha alluded to is Zerubbabel.

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

NEHILOTH.—See PSALMS.

NEHUM (נְחוּם).—One of the twelve heads of the Jewish community, Neh 7^7. This form of the name is probably due to a scribal error, the parallel passage (Ezr 2^2) having **Rehum** (רְחוּם; A 'Ιρεούμ, Luc. 'Ρεϊούμ). In Neh the LXX supports MT, reading Ναούμ. The name appears in 1 Es 5^8 as **Roimus** (B 'Ρόειμος, A^a 'Ρομέλιος).

NEHUSHTA (נְחֻשְׁתָּא; Luc. Νεεσθάν, B Νεσθά, A Ναισθά).—Wife of king Jehoiakim and mother of Jehoiachin; a native of Jerusalem (2 K 24^8). She was taken a prisoner to Babylon with her son in 597 (2 K 24^{12}), and no doubt died there. Regarding her father, see ELNATHAN. The vowels of MT and the rendering of Jerome, *æs ejus*, connect the word with נְחֹשֶׁת 'bronze.' Barzillai is possibly another example of a proper name derived from the name of a metal. But the stem consonants of the word are those also of נָחָשׁ 'serpent,' and animal names are characteristic of the period (Gray, *Heb. Proper Names*, p. 103 f.). The Lucianic transliteration identifies the name with **Nehushtan** (2 K 18^4).

W. B. STEVENSON.

NEHUSHTAN.—In the received text of 2 K 18^4 we read that Hezekiah, in addition to removing the *bāmôth* (EV 'high places'), with their *mazzēbahs* (RV 'pillars'), throughout the country, carried his zeal for reform so far as to 'cut down *the* Asherah' (so RV; see ASHERAH)—presumably that attached to the Temple at Jerusalem—and to break in pieces 'the brazen serpent that Moses had made: for unto those days the children of Israel did burn incense to it: and he (Hezekiah) called it Nehushtan.' The doubts which so many recent critics have expressed regarding the historicity of the greater part of this verse we need not pause to examine, inasmuch as it must be, and is, admitted that at least the statement with which the verse closes, and which alone concerns us here, is certainly historical. The further question as to the relation of this incident to the Pentateuch narrative, Nu $21^{4\text{ff.}}$ (esp. v.^{9}), also lies without the purview of this article (see SERPENT [BRAZEN]). Two points, however, appear to demand examination, viz.: (1) the signification of the name here applied to the object destroyed, and (2) the reason alleged for its destruction.

(1) *The name of 'Nehushtan.'* Two significations of *Nĕḥushtān* (נְחֻשְׁתָּן) are possible. (*a*) That clearly intended by the Massoretic punctuators, and since generally adopted, viz. 'the brazen thing' [*opus*]*aeneum* κατ' ἐξοχήν. According to this view, *Nĕḥushtān* is a denominative from נְחֹשֶׁת *nĕḥôsheth* by addition of the formative suffix *-ān* (so Ges.-Buhl, Stade, König, *Lehrgeb.* ii. § 60. 9^a, Barth, *Nominalbildg.* § 207^c). The further idea of the Massoretes, reflected in our EV, that this name was given to the venerable object by Hezekiah at the time of its destruction, must, however, be rejected. The context requires rather that we should find in *Nĕḥushtān* the name by which it was popularly known, and this may be got by a slight change in the pointing of the verb (cf. Lucian's text καὶ ἐκάλεσαν αὐτὸν Νεεσθάν, and see the Commentaries). (*b*) The transliteration of the word in the oldest Greek versions (A Νεσθάν, B Νεσθαλεί, and best of all Νεεσθάν, Lucian) suggests affinity with נָחָשׁ *nāḥāsh* 'serpent' rather than with *nĕḥôsheth* 'brass.' For in 2 K 24^8 the name of the queen-mother, who appears in MT as נְחֻשְׁתָּא *Nĕḥushtā*, appears in A as Ναισθά, which is identical with B's Νεσθά, Luc. Νεεσθάν (see NEHUSHTA). But it is far more probable that the personal name *Nehushta* is to be classed with the other 'serpent-names,' NAHASH and NAHSHON (which see), than with the derivatives of *nĕḥôsheth*. Hence it is possible, at least, that the name of this object of the Hebrews' veneration—pronounced with vowels other than those of *Nĕḥushtān*—was also connected in the popular

mind with *nāḥāsh*, perhaps in the signification 'the [sacred] serpent' or 'the serpent' *par excellence* (cf. for form and signification לִוְיָתָן).*

(2) The reason for the destruction of the Neḥushtan is clearly stated. Whatever may have been its origin—to inquire into this would be to anticipate the article SERPENT (BRAZEN) in vol. iv.—it had in recent times become an object of idolatrous worship. Incense was offered to it as to a divine being. Its continued existence, therefore, was incompatible with, and would have been a constant menace to, that purer form of the religion of J" which it was the aim of Hezekiah and his spiritual advisers to introduce.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

NEIEL (נְעִיאֵל; B Ἰναήλ, A Ἀνιήλ).—A place on the borders of Zebulun and Asher, apparently north of Cabul, Jos 19^{27}; possibly the same place as **Neah** of v.^{13}. The site is uncertain.

NEIGHBOUR (שָׁכֵן *shākhên*, Arab. *sâken*, γείτων 'inhabitant'; קָרוֹב *ḳārôbh*, Arab. *ḳarîb*, ὁ πλησίον, περίοικος 'near'; רֵעַ *rēa'*, עָמִית *'āmîth*, φίλος 'friend').—The law of neighbourhood is of great importance and influence in the East. It takes rank after family life with regard to the number and authority of the customs created and regulated by it. Neighbourhood is not an occasional incident, but a constant necessity of Oriental social life, and the latter cannot be understood apart from it.

The importance of neighbourhood is due to the fact that there are no farmhouses scattered over the agricultural districts of Palestine. For purposes of common safety, the population is congregated in the villages, following in this respect the custom of the pastoral tribes in their encampments. From these villages, where the houses are generally built quite close to each other, the peasants go out to their daily labours in the surrounding fields. Domestic life is thus touched at every point by the larger circle of neighbourhood. Originating under circumstances of common danger, this social condition has now passed into a kindly preference of use and wont. Such village life is now regarded as a convenience. The Oriental dislikes silence and solitude; very rarely takes a solitary walk for pleasure; chooses summer lodgings where neighbours are numerous; and, in renting, buying, or building a house, considers first of all the character of the neighbours.

Among the modern inhabitants of Palestine the Arab. *ḳarîb*, 'near,' on account of the surviving similarity of social circumstance, means, like the Heb. *ḳārôbh*, both 'neighbour' and 'relative.' The sense of religious protection and union that enshrined the family life is seen in expanded form in large towns such as Damascus and Jerusalem, where Christians, Jews, and Moslems occupy different parts of the town.

All the Bible references to neighbourhood indicate that it was an institution of high social value, with privileges to be enjoyed and duties to be discharged.

1. Its *helpfulness* is stated in the maxim of Pr 27^{10} 'Better is a neighbour that is near than a brother that is afar off.' The Arabs have a familiar proverb to the same effect, and they further happily indicate the service that can be rendered by a friend or neighbour by saying, 'You cannot clap with one hand.' There are, however, unhelpful friends, who flatter and ruin the man who seeks popularity by lavish entertainment, Pr 18^{24}. With these is contrasted the true friend who 'sticketh closer than a brother.' This is often and becomingly referred to the Heavenly Friend, but the original sense is a comparison between the bond of family life and that of mere neighbourhood, and a declaration that in certain cases the latter is superior. Similarly, an Arab proverb says, 'How many brothers I have had who were not children of my parents!' cf. Pr 17^{17} (RVm).

2. *Intimacy* is another of the leading features of Oriental neighbourhood. Village life is one of the chief fields of Scripture parable. It is easy to understand how in the villages people of an excitable sympathetic temperament, living close to each other, and having so many interests in common, would necessarily have a very intimate knowledge of each other's affairs. This communicativeness accounted for the groups of women around the fountain, and of the elders at the city gate. The shepherd who brought back his sheep in safety and the woman who recovered the lost coin must hasten to tell their friends and neighbours, Lk 15$^{3-10}$. In the declaration 'I have called you friends' (Jn 15^{15}) all the intimacy springing from Oriental neighbourhood is made possible in the believer's communion with Christ.

3. The *sincerity and sanctity* of this relationship are constantly emphasized. One of the commonest forms of neighbourly service was that of borrowing and lending money and valuables, or the keeping of each other's goods in safe custody during a time of absence, Ex 22$^{7.10}$, Pr 6^{1} 17^{18}. Among modern Orientals the giving of bread and flour, and the lending of kitchen and table requisites on emergencies of hospitality, are constantly practised, and it is an everyday occurrence in the bazaars to see an open shop left with a thin netting over the entrance in charge of the merchant in the next shop.

In the Bible, prohibition is frequently uttered against bearing false-witness, making unfounded statements, or framing malicious devices of any kind against a neighbour, Ex 20$^{16.17}$, Dt 5^{20}, Pr 3^{29} 24^{28} 25^{18}. The duties of neighbourhood are not to be evaded by polite words, Pr 3^{28}, nor its courtesies turned to mercenary advantage, Dt 23$^{24.25}$, Jer 22^{13}. Neighbourhood is a part of sainthood, Ps 15^{3}. The great purpose of true religion is the perfecting of social life, Mt 7^{12}. The want of natural feeling in this respect indicated the moral collapse and pointed to the political extinction of Israel, Jer 9^{4}.

The highest expression of neighbourhood, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself' (Lv 19^{18}), is repeated and expanded in Mt 5^{43} 19^{19}, Ro 13$^{9.10}$. In the case of the lawyer's assumed bewilderment (Lk 10$^{25-37}$) as to the limit at which the law of neighbourhood began to come into force, the explanation pointed out rather the greatness of the distance to which it might reach. Neighbourhood was shown to be a creation of the kind heart that would discover opportunities and feel obligations where the nearest in place and kinship might pass by without perceiving anything to do.

In the East, neighbourhood is an important legal claim in the disposal of property. Next to a co-proprietor, the neighbour has the first right of purchase, especially if his land be irrigated from the same source of water-supply. Such a right Ahab would have had if Naboth had wished to sell his vineyard.

Neighbourhood, which by intimacy, equality, and identity of interest gave to social friendship a basis of patience, trust, and sympathy, also furnished the occasion to special temptations. Such close intimacy gave the fullest opportunity to envy, pride, and uncharitableness. According to an Arab proverb, ‘Envy dwells among neighbours, and hatred among relatives.’

---

* It seems to us safer not to hazard any further conjecture as to the form of the word. Both Nöldeke's and Klostermann's attempts in this direction are open to serious objection. The former (*ZDMG* xlii. p. 482, note) suggests that נחשתן may be compounded of נָחָשׁ + תַּן (= תַּנִּין, see the *Lexx.*), while the latter asserts categorically that נחשתן is similarly a compound of נחש and יתן (= אֵיתָן; see this root יתן in *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*), as if denoting the 'everlasting or the primeval serpent' (*Kurzgef. Komm. in loc.*).

It was because neighbourhood was almost exclusively the condition of social contact that the neighbour was specified in connexion with the Mosaic provisions of mercy, truth, and justice. The stranger was guarded by the law of hospitality. For the treatment of strangers entering the circle of neighbourhood, see FAMILY in vol. i. p. 849, and GER. G. M. MACKIE.

NEKEB.—Only in the collocation אֲדָמִי הַנֶּקֶב ‘the pass of Adami’ (?), Jos 19^{33}. The LXX finds here two proper names (B *καὶ ’Αρμὲ καὶ Νάβωκ*, A *καὶ ’Αρμαὶ καὶ Νάκεβ*). Neubauer (*Géog. du Talm.* p. 225) gives *Ẓîyadathah* as a later name for Nekeb, and there is a ruin called *Seiyâdeh* near the village *ed-Dâmieh* on the plateau east of Tabor (see *SWP* vol. i. sheet vi.). The ‘cutting’ or ‘pass’ is probably one leading from the eastern precipices near Tiberias. Nekeb is mentioned in the list of Thothmes III. as a town of Galilee. See, also, ADAMI-NEKEB. C. R. CONDER.

NEKODA (נְקוֹדָא).—**1.** Eponym of a family of Nethinim, Ezr 2^{48} (B Νεχωδά, A Νεκωδάν)=Neh 7^{50} (BA Νεκωδά, ℵ Νεκωδάμ); called in 1 Es 5^{31} **Noeba** (which see). **2.** Name of a family which returned from the Exile, but were unable to prove their Israelitish descent, Ezr 2^{60}=Neh 7^{62} (both Νεκωδά); called in 1 Es 5^{37} **Nekodan** (Νεκωδάν).

NEKODAN (Νεκωδάν, AV Necodan), 1 Es 5^{37}= Nekoda, Ezr 2^{60}, Neh 7^{62}. The name is Noeba in 1 Es 5^{31}.

NEMUEL.—See JEMUEL. Gray, *Heb. Prop. Names*, 307, considers *Jemuel* the corruption and *Nemuel* the original form. ‘Either form is etymologically obscure.’ Nemuelites, the patronymic of the family of Nemuel, occurs in Nu 26^{12}.

NEPHEG (נֶפֶג).—**1.** Son of Izhar and brother of Korah, Ex 6^{21} (Νάφεκ). **2.** One of David's sons, born at Jerusalem, 2 S 5^{15} (Νάφεκ)=1 Ch 3^{7} (B Νάφεκ, A Νάφεγ) 14^{6} (B Νάφαθ, A Νάφαγ).

NEPHEW.—In his *Select Glossary* (p. 146) Trench points out that the Eng. word ‘nephew’ has undergone exactly the same change of meaning that *nepos* in Latin underwent. In the Augustan age *nepos* meant ‘grandson,’ in the post-Augustan age sister's or brother's son. Nephew (which comes from *nepos* through the Fr. *neveu*, the original Anglo-Sax. *nefa* having dropped out) formerly signified grandson or more generally some descendant, and only within a century or more came to be restricted to its present meaning. The meaning of ‘grandson’ is clearly seen in Holland, *Plutarch's Morals*, p. 555, ‘The warts, black moles, spots and freckles of fathers, not appearing at all upon their own children's skin, begin afterwards to put forth and show themselves in their nephews, to wit, the children of their sons and daughters’; and in Tymme's *Calvin's Genesis*, p. 872, ‘Jacob layeth his handes uppon his nephewes. To what end? Namely, to prove that he giveth them place among his sonnes, and that so, Joseph being but one, might make two heads.’

In AV the word occurs four times. In Jg 12^{14} ‘He had forty sons and thirty nephews,’ the Heb. (בְּנֵי בָנִים) is exactly expressed in AVm and RV ‘sons' sons.’ In Job 18^{19} and Is 14^{22} the Heb. (נֶכֶד) is more general, ‘descendant.’ So also in 1 Ti 5^{4} (*ἔκγονος*), though in this place the meaning is clearly ‘grandchild’: ‘If any widow have children or nephews’ (RV ‘grandchildren’).

J. HASTINGS.

NEPHILIM.—This word (נְפִילִים), translated ‘giants’ in the AV, is found in two passages in the OT. The first passage is the note, syntactically separate from its context, in Gn 6^{4} ‘The *Nĕphîlîm* were in the earth in those days, and also afterward, forasmuch as the sons of God used to go in to the daughters of man, and they bare them children; they were the heroes that were of old, the men of name.’ The connective ‘forasmuch as’ articulates the statement better than the word ‘when,’ used in the English versions. It is not explicitly said that the *Nĕphîlîm* were the heroes borne by women to the ‘sons of God,’ and some scholars have held that they were not; but this writer certainly meant that they were, for otherwise it is impossible to account for his mentioning them at all. There is much here not easy to understand; but in these four verses we certainly have an allusion to that region of mythology so copiously treated in the sacred legends of other peoples, the region of demigods and heroes. The *Nĕphîlîm*, whatever else may be true of them, are thought of as beings analogous to the demigods of the nations.

The other passage is most naturally thus translated: ‘And there we saw the *Nĕphîlîm*, sons of Anak of the *Nĕphîlîm*; and we were in our eyes as grasshoppers, and so were we in their eyes’ (Nu 13^{33}). Evidently, the word *Nĕphîlîm* here has exactly the same meaning as in Genesis. These men are trying to find the strongest possible language for expressing the terribleness of the gigantic Anakim; and this they effect by saying that the Anakim are veritable demigods. Perhaps they intended to be understood to imply that the Anakim were descended from the demigods; or perhaps their language is metaphorical. It made the Anakim seem more dreadful thus to suggest that there was something supernatural and uncanny about them.

When we have examined these two passages we have exhausted the direct evidence in regard to the *Nĕphîlîm*. Among the derivations proposed for the name, one makes it to be from *nāphal*, ‘to fall’; either as meaning beings fallen from a previous high estate (cf. Is 14^{12}, Lk 10^{18}), or as fighters who fall upon the enemy fiercely. The latter view has been supposed to be favoured by the Greek versions, the LXX having *γίγαντες*, Aquila *ἐπιπίπτοντες*, and Symmachus *βιαῖοι*, but see Dillm. on Gn 6^{4}.

In former generations the passage in Genesis was voluminously discussed, especially the question as to who the ‘sons of God’ there mentioned were. Some account of these discussions, with references to the literature, may be found in Smith's *DB* under art. ‘Giants’; see also the various commentaries on this passage; Lenormant, *Beginnings of History*; art. GIANT (in vol. ii.) with the literature there mentioned; Budde, *Urgeschichte*, 30 ff.; Wellhausen, *Comp.* 308. W. J. BEECHER.

NEPHISHESIM, NEPHISIM.—See NAPHISH.

NEPHTHAI.—See NEPHTHAR.

NEPHTHAR (Νεφθάρ, AV Naphthar), **Nephthai** (Νεφθαί, AV Nephi).—In 2 Mac 1^{18-36} there is a legendary account of the hiding of the sacred fire of the temple at the Captivity, and of its recovery by Nehemiah. It states that the fire was concealed by the priests at the command of Jeremiah (see 2^{1}) in a dry well or pit. When Nehemiah had built the temple and the altar (*sic*), and was about to offer sacrifice, he sent the descendants of those who had hidden the fire to bring it back. They found in the well only a thick liquid (*ὕδωρ παχύ*), which was drawn up and sprinkled upon the wood and the sacrifice. On the sun shining out from behind a cloud, a great fire was kindled on the altar. When the sacrifice had been consumed, the remainder of the liquid was poured, by Nehemiah's orders, upon great stones. It again ignited, but its flame soon spent itself, while that on the altar continued to burn. The king of Persia, having heard of the matter, surrounded the well with a sacred enclosure, and used to bestow portions of the liquid on those to whom he wished to show special favour (so RV). Nehemiah and his companions called this substance *Nephthar*, but it was generally known as *Nephthai* (v.[36]).

The second word appears in MSS as Νεφθαεί, Νεφθαί, Νεφθά. Cod. A simply repeats Νεφθάρ. Syr. has ܢܘܦܬܪ and ܢܦܬܝ. Vulg., followed by AV, reads *Naphthar* and *Nephi*. The reading of v.[31] is uncertain (καταχεῖν, κατασχεῖν, κατέχειν), and the meaning of v.[32b] and of v.[35] is obscure. The legend is repeated by the Jewish historian Joseph ben-Gorion, who describes the liquid as 'water like thick oil and honey,' and among Christian writers by Macarius (*Hom.* 11). A different legend is given in the Ethiopic *Book of Adam* (Dillmann, 1853; Malan, 1882), which states that Ezra found in the vaults of the temple a censer filled with fire. According to the common Rabbinical tradition, the sacred fire was one of the five things lacking in the second temple (Buxtorf, 'de Igne sacro,' in Ugolino's *Thesaurus*, x. 426).

The names *Nephthar*, *Nephthai*, along with the interpretation of the former as 'cleansing' or 'purification' (καθαρισμός), constitute the chief problem of this passage. They were applied to the substance, and not, as Vulg. (*hunc locum*) suggests, to the place where it was found. Two suppositions are possible—

1. That *Nephthar* was the original word, and *Nephthai* a popular corruption. On this view various attempts have been made, some elaborate, and none very successful, to connect *Nephthar* with the meaning καθαρισμός, or otherwise to explain its derivation. (*a*) According to Benfey and Stern (*Die Monatsnamen einiger alter Völker*, 1836), Νεφθάρ corresponds to the Zend *naptar*. *Naptar apanm* is said to denote the sacred elemental water (*Urwasser*), otherwise known as *arduisur*, to which the highest powers of purification were attributed; (*b*) Lagarde (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 177 f.) finds that the Syr. ܢܘܦܬܪ corresponds to the Bactrian *vidâv[a]tra*, meaning 'purification'; (*c*) Νεφθάρ may originally have been נִטְהָר, from טָהֵר 'to be pure'; (*d*) it may have been נִפְטָר, from פָּטַר 'to set free,' and may mean 'liberation,' *i.e.* of the concealed fire; (*e*) it may be connected with Aram. פְּטִיר 'unleavened' (Ewald).

2. That *Nephthai* is the original, and *Nephthar* the corruption. In this case the form of the word and the circumstances of the narrative combine to suggest that Νεφθαί is the same as *naphtha* (νάφθα), the well-known combustible mineral oil. The inflammable properties of naphtha, as well as its medicinal virtues, were well known in ancient times (Strabo, *Geog.* XVI. i. 15; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ii. 105; Plutarch, *Alexander*, xxxv.; Dioscorides, *Materia Medica*, i. 85), and it was further associated with sacred fires. Strabo (*Geog.* XVI. i. 4) mentions a naphtha well in connexion with the temple of Anæa. The natural flames in the oil region of Baku on the Caspian Sea have long been, and still are, held sacred by a sect of fire-worshippers. The legend in 2 Mac 1 may have had some actual spontaneous ignition of naphtha by the sun's rays as its basis, but it is unlikely that it originated in Palestine. Naphtha is found in the waters of the Dead Sea (Thomson, *Land and Book*, ii. 371), but not in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. The well *Bîr Eyûb*, a little below the junction of the valleys of Jehoshaphat and Hinnom, is known also as the 'well of Nehemiah,' and is connected with this legend, but the tradition does not seem to be older than the 16th cent. (see EN-ROGEL, JERUSALEM, vol. ii. 285ᵇ; Robinson, *BRP* i. 331-3; Pierotti, *Jerusalem Explored* [Eng. tr. 1864], i. 188; Thomson, *Land and Book*, ii. 456; Warren and Conder in *SWP*, Jerus. vol. 371-5). Most probably the story came from Persia or Babylonia, in both of which naphtha is abundant. This supposition is confirmed by the part assigned to the Persian king in vv.[33. 34]. The Jewish writer who transferred the legend to Jerusalem may have invented the form *Nephthar* and its derivation, the latter being perhaps suggested by the idea of 'purification' in vv.[18. 33]. On the whole subject see the commentaries of Grimm (1853), Keil (1875), Bissell (Lange), Rawlinson (*Speaker's Comm.*), Zöckler (*Kurzgef. Komm.* 1891); Kamphausen (in Kautzsch's *Apokr. u. Pseudepigr. d. AT*, 1898); also Ewald, *Hist. of Israel* [Eng. tr.], v. 162-3.

JAMES PATRICK.

NEPHTOAH.—Only in the collocation מַעְיַן מֵי נֶפְתּוֹחַ Jos 15[9] (B πηγὴ ὕδατος Μαφθώ, A . . . Ναφθώ) 18[15] (BA Ναφθώ). It was a place with water, on the boundary of Judah and Benjamin, near the Vale of Rephaim. According to the Talmud (Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* p. 146), Nephtoah was the same as Etam, now *'Ain 'Aṭân*, south of Bethlehem at the so-called Pools of Solomon—Pilate's aqueduct. This position seems to agree with Ephron (which see), being the mountain district west of Bethlehem. Nephtoah has been placed at *Lifta* (so Tobler, Robinson, Sepp, Baedeker-Socin, etc.), about 3 miles N.W. of Jerusalem, but this name does not contain the necessary guttural, and the site appears to be irreconcilable with those of Chesalon and Kiriath-jearim, since the border would run S.W. instead of N. from Kiriath-jearim to Chesalon. See KIRIATH-JEARIM. *Lifta* is more probably Eleph (which see) of Benjamin. It is not remarkable for its water supply (but see Barclay, *City of Great King*, p. 544), whereas *'Ain 'Aṭân* is a fine spring. For both sites see *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvii.; and cf. *ZDPV* iii. 79.

C. R. CONDER.

NEPHUSHESIM, NEPHUSIM.—See NAPHISH.

NER (נֵר; B Νηρεί, Νήρ, A Νήρ).—The son of Abiel and father of Abner, and therefore the uncle of Saul (1 S 14[50. 51]). According to 1 Ch 8[33] = 9[39], Ner was the father of Kish, and therefore the grandfather of Saul: the same authority (9[35f.]) gives *Jeiel* (יְעִיאֵל, AV Jehiel) as the name of Ner's father, but probably both statements are erroneous (cf. Bertheau on 1 Ch 8[33]). The statement of the Chronicler has misled some scholars into treating the words 'Saul's uncle' (1 S 14[50]) as referring to Abner; the more natural construction is to take them as a description of Ner. The view adopted above as to the relationship of Ner and Saul is confirmed by Josephus (*Ant.* VI. vi. 6, Νῆρος δὲ καὶ Κεῖς ὁ Σαούλου πατὴρ ἀδελφοὶ ἦσαν, υἱοὶ δ' Ἀβελίου).

In accordance with this testimony we must read 'sons of' (בְּנֵי) for 'son of [Abiel]' (בֶּן) in 1 S 14[51], and render that verse, 'And Kish the father of Saul, and Ner the father of Abner, were sons of Abiel'; so Driver, Klost., Budde.

J. F. STENNING.

NEREUS (Νηρεύς).—The name of a Roman Christian, greeted, along with his sister and certain others, in Ro 16[15]. The form of expression, 'salute Philologus and Julia, Nereus and his sister, and Olympas, and all the saints that are with them,' suggests that these persons formed a small Christian community by themselves. The name is found in inscriptions of the imperial household (*CIL* vi. 4344), and is well known in the legends of the Roman Church. The *Acts of Nereus and Achilleus*, which are of a late date and composite character, call these saints the eunuch chamberlains of

Domitilla, the virgin niece of Vespasian, and narrate how they persuaded their mistress to refuse to marry a son of the Consul, and to remain a virgin. Later, after other legends of the early Roman Church have been introduced, their death is described. These names are, however, older than the *Acts*. One of the well-known inscriptions of Damasus describes them as two soldiers whose faith compelled them to desert their unchristian profession, and who had to pay the penalty with their lives. There are other archæological remains, and the Church of St. Nereus and Achilleus was very old, dating under the name of *Fasciolae* from the 4th cent. at least. The *Acts* state that Nereus and Achilleus were buried in the cemetery of St. Domitilla in the Via Ardeatina, and probably the origin of the legend in the *Acts* is that these two names appeared somewhat conspicuously in the catacomb near the tomb of Domitilla, and suggested that they might be associated with her in history. The fact that Nereus is combined with Achilleus—a name which does not appear in the Epistle to the Romans—suggests that there was an independent archæological source for the name, and that it belonged to the early history of the Roman Church.

LITERATURE.—*Acta Sanctorum*, May, vol. iii. p. 4; *Texte und Untersuchungen*, xi. 2; Bull, *Arch. Christ.*, 1874, p. 20, 1875, p. 8; Lightfoot, *Clement*, i. p. 51.

A. C. HEADLAM.

NERGAL (נֵרְגַל; B τὴν Ἐργέλ, A om., Luc. τὸν Νιριγέλ, *Nergel*, 2 K 17^{30}; Bab. *Ne-uru-gal*, 'the lord of the great city' of Hades) was worshipped at Cutha (now *Tell Ibrahim*) along with his wife Laz. He presided over the necropolis which lay in the desert near Cutha. In pre-Semitic times he was invoked as U-gur, 'the taskmaster (?),' and in later days was made a son of the Bel of Nippur, and identified with Lugal-banda, the god of the city of Marad. He was addressed as 'the hero of the gods,' 'who marches in front of them' to battle, and among his names (when identified with the planet Mars) are those of Allamu and Almu. The Assyr. kings regarded him as the patron of hunting. See, further, Schrader, *KAT*² 282 f. [*COT* i. 275 f.]; Meyer, *Gesch.* i. 175 ff.; Tiele, *Gesch.* 530. A. H. SAYCE.

NERGAL-SHAREZER (נֵרְגַל־שַׂרְאֶצֶר; B Ναγαργασνασέρ, ℵ*AQ Νασέρ, Q^mg Νηρεὰ Σαρσάρ, Theod. Νηργὲλ Σαρασάρ, *Nergelsereser*, Bab. *Nergal-sar-uzur*, 'O Nergal, defend the king'!).—In Jer $39^{3.13}$ we read that after the capture of Jerusalem the chief Babylonians entered the city and sat in 'the middle gate,' among them being Nergal-sharezer the Rab-mag, and that, subsequently, Nebuzaradan the commander of the body-guard, Nebushasban the Rab-saris (Bab. *Rab-sa-risi*, 'chief of the princes'), and Nergal-sharezer the Rab-mag, released Jeremiah from the prison into which he had been thrown. In v.³ the text has fallen into confusion, and we ought to read 'Samgar-nebo the Sar-sechim, Nebushasban the Rab-saris, and Nergal-sharezer the Rab-mag.' Rab-mag is the Babylonian Rab-mugi or 'chief of the physicians,' and it is hardly doubtful that the Nergal-sharezer who in Jeremiah occupies a place so near Nebuchadrezzar is the Nergal-sharezer who subsequently became king of Babylonia, and is known to classical writers as Neriglissar. We learn from the inscriptions that he married a daughter of Nebuch., and his name appears in several contracts drawn up in the reign of Evil-Merodach the son and successor of Nebuch., more especially in relation to the purchase of house-property. In one of the contracts mention is made of his son Merodach-bal-uzur. Nergal-sharezer was the son of Bel-sum-iskun, to whom, in one of his son's inscriptions, is erroneously given the title of 'king.' In B.C. 559 Evil-Merodach was murdered, and Nergal-sharezer seized the throne, which he held for nearly four years. He built a palace on the right bank of the Euphrates, and was succeeded in B.C. 556 by his son Labasi-Merodach (Laborosoarchod), who was murdered after a reign of nine months. There are grounds for believing that Nergal-sharezer's reign was troubled by invasion. Immediately after his accession he married his daughter to Nebo-sum-yukin the priest of Nebo at Borsippa, who may therefore have had much to do with placing him on the throne. See, further, Schrader, *KAT*² 416 [*COT* ii. 109]; Stade, *Gesch.* i. 646; Tiele, *Gesch.* 430. A. H. SAYCE.

NERI (Νηρεί Tisch. Treg. WH; Νηρί TR).—An ancestor of Jesus, Lk 3^{27}. See next article.

NERIAH (נֵרִיָּה).—The father of Baruch, Jer 32 [Gr. 39]$^{12.16}$ 36 [43]$^{4.8.32}$ 43 [50]$^{3.6}$ 45 [51]^{1} 51 [28]^{59}. In Bar 1¹ the Greek form of the name, **Nerias** (Νηρ(ε)ίας), is retained. The same name appears in another Greek form **Neri** (Νηρ(ε)ί) in St. Luke's genealogy of our Lord, according to which one Neri was the father of Shealtiel, Lk 3^{27}.

NERIAS (Νηρίας).—The Greek form of the name NERIAH (wh. see). It occurs only in Bar 1¹ as the name of the father of Baruch.

NERO (Νέρων).—The name of Nero does not occur in the NT, but he is the 'Cæsar' to whom St. Paul appeals in Ac 25^{11}; before whose tribunal he was twice tried (assuming an earlier acquittal and later reimprisonment); and in whose imperial establishment the apostle had fellow-believers and probably converts (Ph 4^{22}).

Nero's reign covers an important period of NT history, and his attitude towards the early Church had a memorable influence on its fortunes. Born in A.D. 37, of parents—Domitius and Agrippina—who both belonged to the family of the Cæsars,[*] Nero was destined from childhood for the imperial throne by his ambitious mother, who first (A.D. 49) secured her own marriage to the emperor Claudius, her uncle; then the betrothal of Nero and Octavia, the daughter of Claudius and Messalina (the marriage being consummated four years later); finally, in A.D. 50, the adoption of Nero as the emperor's son and designated successor, with the supersession of Claudius' own son, Britannicus. When Claudius died suddenly, in A.D. 54,[†] Nero, mainly through his mother's strategy, was peacefully accepted as emperor by army, senate, and people (Tac. *Ann.* xii. 68, 69).

Trajan is said (Aur. Vict. *Epit. Nero*) to have described the first quinquennium of Nero's reign as far superior to any other period of imperial rule. During those years he was under the guidance of Seneca, the philosopher (his tutor in boyhood), and of Burrus, prefect of the prætorian guard, an honest and virtuous soldier. By these counsellors the influence of Agrippina, originally potent, was at an early stage counteracted, and eventually supplanted.[‡] The emperor's exemplary clemency[§] in the beginning of his reign; his habitual accessibility and liberal provision of spectacles and largesses (Suet. *Nero*, 10, 11); his constitutional recognition of the authority of the senate (Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 45); his laudable endeavours to mitigate taxation and suppress extortion (*ib.* 50, 51); and his vigorous foreign policy against Parthian aggression and British insurrection,[*]—all this secured favour for Nero personally, as well as respect for his government. It caused, also, some toleration to be extended to his excessive vanity, adulterous amours, and scandalous nocturnal escapades, when he roamed in disguise throughout the city, and committed outrages on peaceful citizens (Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 12, 25, 46).

---

[*] Agrippina was a great-granddaughter of Augustus, and Domitius a grandson of Octavia the sister of Augustus.

[†] According to Pliny (*HN* xxii. 22), Tac. (*Ann.* xii. 66), and Suet. (*Claud.* 44), Claudius was poisoned by Agrippina. Suet., however, admits discrepancies in the reports as to occasion, administration of poison, and attendant circumstances.

[‡] Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 2, 5, 6, 21, xiv. 2. At the outset of his reign Nero gave, on one occasion, as military watchword, 'The best of mothers.'

[§] Sen. *de Clem.* i. 1, 11, ii. 1; Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 11; Suet. *Nero*, 10. The assassination of Silanus, soon after Nero's accession, was without his knowledge, and the compulsory suicide of Narcissus against his desire (Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 1); Agrippina being in both cases the responsible agent.

It is difficult to believe that, within the first year of his reign, Nero (without his mother's complicity and against her desire) deliberately poisoned Britannicus, his brother through adoption, a boy of fourteen. The early incidental reference (*c.* 78 A.D.) to the murder by Josephus (*BJ* II. xiii. 1), and the later detailed account of Tacitus (*Ann.* xiii. 15 ff.), followed by Suetonius (*Nero*, 33) and Dio (61. 7. 4), amply prove that the crime was attributed to Nero soon after, if not before, his death. Motives are found in Nero's youthful jealousy and fear of an imperial rival whom even Agrippina might support. But (1) the remark of Tacitus (*Ann.* i. 1) must be kept in mind that the histories of Nero and other early emperors were 'during their reign falsified through fear, and after death fabricated through hatred'; (2) Seneca, writing soon after Britannicus' death (*de Clem.* i. 11), declares that Nero had never shed the blood of a Roman citizen nor of any human being in the world; (3) the details of the alleged murder are not inconsistent with Nero's own allegation that Britannicus died in a fit of epilepsy.[†] Sudden death was frequently ascribed to poison; and the later undoubted crimes of Nero might induce belief in his earlier guilt.

Nero's connexion (from A.D. 58) with Poppæa (the wife of Otho, afterwards emperor), and her fatal ascendency over him, became the chief factor in his thorough demoralization, and a direct or indirect occasion of many of his crimes. Poppæa coveted the position of empress, and determined to secure the divorce and removal of the neglected Octavia. Agrippina's remanent influence stood in the way, and must be destroyed. Nero had already been partially alienated from his mother by her interference with his private habits as well as imperial administration; and her vindictive disposition had raised up enemies against her in the court. Poppæa fostered filial estrangement and encouraged the animosity of courtiers. The issue was Agrippina's tragic death, of which two conflicting accounts have come down, both inherently improbable—(1) Nero's own statement to the senate (Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 11) that Agrippina, foiled in an attempt to compass his death, had atoned for her crime by suicide. An ambitious woman might have conspired against a court-party from which she was excluded; but Nero's death would have destroyed her one hope of regaining power. (2) The account of Tacitus (xiv. 3–8), followed by Suetonius (*Nero*, 34), that Nero was guilty of deliberate and persistent matricide, employing his freedman Anicetus, first to cause Agrippina to be shipwrecked, and then, on her escape, to assassinate her. The details of this record bristle with improbabilities: (*a*) the secret preparation of a vessel which would suddenly fall to pieces, without the majority of the seamen knowing what would happen; (*b*) the hardened emperor caressing the mother whose murder he had arranged, and clinging fondly to her bosom; (*c*) the virtuous Burrus and Seneca joining in the crime with a calculating callousness worse than that ascribed to Nero himself. (*d*) Suetonius adds that Nero had thrice previously tried to poison Agrippina, who had fortified herself *beforehand* with antidotes! It is not improbable that Nero, under Poppæa's influence, believed in his mother's conspiracy against the existing administration; that in the midst of a nocturnal debauch he ordered her violent arrest; and that in the conflict occasioned by her resistance she was killed.

The death of Burrus, in 62 (not without some suspicion of poison, Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 5), relieved Poppæa of another obstacle to her ambition; and the appointment of Tigellinus as prefect of the prætorians in his stead provided her with a willing accomplice and Nero with another evil genius—a fresh instigator to vice as well as crime. Imperial orgies became viler and more shameless. Influential senators were removed from Rome and assassinated (Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 57, 59): Seneca, in despair, withdrew into private life (*ib.* 53–56). Poppæa's time had come. Octavia, through perjured witness pronounced guilty of infidelity, was divorced, banished, and finally murdered (Tac. xiv. 60–64). Poppæa was espoused, and before the close of the year, on the birth of a daughter (who died in infancy), received the title of Augusta. The unbounded extravagance which the empress and Tigellinus encouraged led to financial embarrassments. These were relieved by charges of treason (followed by confiscation) against wealthy citizens, through which the upper classes were exasperated; and by oppressive taxation, which made Nero unpopular even among those who would have tolerated his crimes; while the emperor's exhibition of himself upon the stage, however acceptable to the lowest class, and publicly applauded, excited much private disgust (Tac. xiv. 14, 15).

Before this time Nero's relations with the Christians had begun. St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, with its favourable reference to the 'powers that be' (13^{1-5}), had been written during the first quinquennium, to which also belongs the charge of *superstitio externa* (supposed by some to be Christianity) against Pomponia Græcina, wife of Aulus Plautius (Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 32; de Rossi, *Roma Sotter.* ii. 360 ff.; cf. Lightf. *Clement*, i. 30 ff.). The apostle's arrival in Rome took place, probably, soon after Agrippina's death (see art. CHRONOLOGY OF NT in vol. i. p. 424); his mild imprisonment, tolerated evangelization, and earlier trial, issuing in acquittal (according to the common theory), belong to the period of Poppæa's ascendency. That St. Paul was tried by Nero in person, although not certain, is highly probable; for, amid much carelessness, the emperor was particular in his attention to appeals from the provinces in criminal cases. He received from each of his assessors a written opinion, and pronounced sentence personally from the tribunal on the following day (Suet. *Nero*, 15; cf. Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 4). Poppæa had leanings towards Judaism, is described by Josephus (*Ant.* XX. viii. 11) as *θεοσεβής*, and twice interceded with Nero on behalf of Jews (Jos. *l.c.* and *Vita*, 3). She may not, however, have concerned herself with St. Paul's case; and, in the absence of any powerful antagonistic influence at court, the *elogium* of Festus would tell strongly in the apostle's favour. The intervention of Seneca, the brother of Gallio (indicated in the apocryphal *Passio Pauli*, i.), is no more than possible.[*] Up to the time of Gallio's proconsulship (*i.e.* A.D. 52–3 or 53–4), and probably for some years afterwards, the Roman government regarded Christians, apparently, as only a sect of Jews. The trial at Rome of a Christian who was also *civis Romanus* may have been, as Ramsay suggests (*Expositor*, July 1893), the occasion of a more thorough investigation which enlightened the imperial authorities as to the true relation between Christianity and Judaism.

---

[*] Corbulo and Suetonius Paulinus, the two ablest generals of their day, were sent, the former in 55 to repel the Parthians, the latter in 58 to complete the subjugation of Britain.

[†] Apart from this incident, there is no actual evidence that the ancient Romans were acquainted with any poison which, after double dilution, could have caused instantaneous death or sudden lividness, as related by Tacitus. Undoubtedly, however, a distillation from the leaves of the cherry-laurel, which might then have been obtained from Asia Minor, would have produced the effect desired (Burnett's *Med. Bot.* ii. 117).

In A.D. 64 the tolerant attitude of Nero's government towards Christianity was suddenly transformed into cruel hostility. In July of that year took place the great fire at Rome, which raged for nine days, and through which, out of fourteen civic districts, three were totally, and seven partially, destroyed. Nero was at Antium when the conflagration broke out. The measures taken by the government for the suppression of the fire (Tac. *Ann.* xv. 40); his own fearless supervision of these efforts without a guard (*ib.* 50); and the occurrence of the disaster at a time when the imperial finances were seriously embarrassed, render it highly improbable that Nero either instigated or deliberately extended the conflagration. But he probably gave occasion for the charge of complicity, which was widely believed at the time,[†] by previous sanitation reforms, laudable but keenly opposed (Lanciani, *Anc. Rome*, p. 122), unbecoming admiration of the magnificence of the spectacle, ill-disguised pleasure at the opportunity of rebuilding large portions of the city in a more magnificent style, and the significant annexation of a considerable part of the desolated area for the erection of his 'Golden House.'[‡] The fact, moreover, that the flames, after temporary arrest, broke out afresh in the gardens of Tigellinus, gave some colour to the suspicion that if he had nothing to do with the original fire, he might, nevertheless, have caused the second outbreak (Tac. *Ann.* xv. 40).[§] The common belief in Nero's guilt, and the danger of revolution, owing to bitterness engendered in many thousands of ruined and homeless sufferers, led to the emperor, either spontaneously,[‖] or at the suggestion of Poppæa[¶] or some malignant courtier, imputing the conflagration to the Christians.[**] Some plausibility would be given to the charge by their horror of pagan temples, many of which perished (Tac. *Ann.* xv. 41), by their supposed disloyalty and 'hostility to society' (*ib.* 44), and by their expectation of an impending destruction of the world by fire (2 Th 1^8, 2 P 3^7). According to Tacitus, 'those in the first place were brought to trial who made open profession' (*i.e.* of the Christian faith). 'Thereafter, on information elicited from these, a great multitude were convicted, far less on the charge of incendiarism than of *odium humani generis*.' The injustice of conviction was equalled by the brutality of execution. Some were 'covered with the hides of wild beasts and worried to death by dogs'; and the culmination of inhumanity was reached when others, robed in the *tunica molesta*, covered with pitch, were 'set on fire at nightfall' to illuminate the imperial gardens on the occasion of Circensian games (Tac. *Ann.* xv. 44)—a fiendish exaggeration of the penalty of death by fire inflicted on malignant incendiaries (Juv. viii. 235). Nero does not appear to have organized any persecution of Christians beyond the city of Rome;[*] but the notorious treatment of them there could not fail to influence provincial governors in dealing with other charges made against Christians within their respective territories. In the Neronian persecution we discern a distinct stage in the development of imperial policy regarding Christians out of prosecution for alleged particular crimes into prosecution on account of Christian faith and profession. Whether this development was completed under Nero is disputable. Ramsay, to whom, mainly, is due the abandonment of the old theory that persecution 'for the name' began under Trajan, maintains (*Church in Rom. Emp.* p. 242 ff., and *Expositor*, July 1893) that while the substitution of the charge of 'hostility to society' for that of arson was a notable development, the condemnation of Christians even on the later charge 'was pronounced in respect not of the name, but of serious offences (*flagitia*) connected with the name,' and that 'Christianity had not yet come to be recognized as in itself a crime.' There would have been otherwise no occasion (he argues) for any lengthened second trial of St. Paul as described in 2 Ti 4. Sanday (*Expos.*, June 1893) and Hardy (*Christianity and the Rom. Govt.*) hold that *odium humani generis* is not a definite charge, but an assumed characteristic of Christianity, and that the condemnation of Christians on this account is tantamount to a proscription of the name. They appeal to 1 P 4^{16}; but Ramsay, while not denying the Petrine authorship of the Epistle, dates it *c.* 80 A.D. At some date soon after the horrors of A.D. 64—perhaps in 65 (see art. CHRONOLOGY OF NT in vol. i. p. 420)—occurred St. Paul's second imprisonment and trial, issuing in his martyrdom. By this time the ferocity of persecution had abated; and the apostle, even if confined in the Mamertine prison, appears to have been tried in an orderly manner (2 Ti 4), and would probably be condemned under the charge of 'odium,' or as a disturber of the imperial peace. Regarding St. Peter's alleged arrival in Rome and martyrdom about the same time, see art. PETER.[*] The alleged banishment of St. John under Nero (contrary to Iren. *adv. Hær.* v. 30, and Eus. *HE* iii. 18. 20) rests mainly[†] on what is regarded as strong internal evidence for the composition of Rev in 68–69 (see REVELATION [BOOK OF]). The Neronian persecution was the first of three outstanding events in close succession (the destruction of Jerusalem and the settlement of St. John in Asia being the other two) which paved the way for the consolidation of Jewish and Gentile Christendom. Amid common peril and suffering, the sectional friction noted in Ph 1$^{15ff.}$ would decline and mutual sympathy increase; while the fiery ordeal would rid the Roman Church at once of Judaizing false brethren who alienated Gentile believers from the Jewish Christian community, and also of Gentile professors whose lax morality prejudiced Jewish believers against Gentile Christians as a whole.

---

[*] Seneca, however, who had probably not yet retired, may have been an assessor; and, in any case, to the equitable principles of administration established under his influence, the acquittal of St. Paul was largely due.

[†] It is accepted as a fact by Pliny (*HN* xvii. 1. 1), who wrote about A.D. 77; also by Suetonius (*Nero*, 38) in A.D. 120. Tacitus writes (A.D. 115–117), 'forte an dolo principis incertum,' and indicates that older authorities were divided in opinion (*Ann.* xv. 38).

[‡] Of this Golden House, which reached from the Palatine to the Esquiline, and had triple colonnades a mile in length, Nero declared that 'now at last he was housed like a human being' (Suet. *Nero*, 33; cf. Tac. *Ann.* xv. 42; Middlet. *Anc. Rome*, ii. 146).

[§] The story that 'Nero fiddled while Rome was burning' originated, doubtless, in the report (Tac. *Ann.* xv. 42) that he sang, during the fire, of the ruin of Troy—a report based probably on the fact that, a year after the fire, the emperor, with questionable taste, read in public his '*Troica*,' a poem containing frequent allusions to the recent fire (Renan, *Hibb. Lect.* p. 72 f.).

[‖] Nero might have heard from Jews, at St. Paul's trial, calumnies against the Christians, which, although proved to be baseless in the apostle's case, would now suggest themselves to the emperor as a convenient foundation for his charge.

[¶] Clement of Rome (*Ep. to Cor.* 5, 6) writes that the Christians suffered 'through envy and jealousy.' The reference is indefinite, but may apply (in part) to Jews in Nero's time who employed Poppæa as a medium for fixing the charge of arson on the Christians (Farrar, *Early Days of Christianity*, i. 64).

[**] There seems to be no good reason for questioning the accuracy of Tacitus' reference to Christians as the sole objects of persecution in connexion with the fire. The 'ingens multitudo' of victims (Tac. *Ann.* xv. 44) referring to judicial executions, need not imply more than several hundreds. Gibbon (*Decline and Fall*, ch. xvi.) conjectures that the real victims were Jewish Zealots who had received the name Galilæans from Judas of Galilee (Ac 5^{37}), and thus were afterwards confounded with Christian 'Galilæans'; but there is no evidence that the Zealots were ever so called. Merivale (*Romans under Empire*, ch. liv.) and H. Schiller (*Gesch. d. röm. Kais.* p. 433 ff.) suppose that the persecution assailed both Jews and Christians, to whom the name of 'the Christ' alike belonged, but that the memory of the Christian sufferers alone was preserved. The silence of Josephus, however, who professes (*Ant.* xx. viii. 3) to record accurately all that happened to the Jews under Nero, and especially their calamities, tells heavily against both theories; while the limitation of the persecution to Christians by Tacitus is confirmed, so far, by Suetonius (*Nero*, 16).

[*] The earliest writer who asserts an extension of the imperial persecution to the provinces is Orosius (*Hist.* vii. 7), who wrote *c.* 400 A.D. Regarding a mutilated inscription found at Pompeii, of doubtful interpretation, but supposed to refer to a bloody persecution of Christians there, prior to A.D. 79, see Aubé, *Perséc.* p. 415 ff., and Schaff, *Apostolic Christianity*, p. 384.

In A.D. 65 the widespread discontent aroused by the conflagration and its supposed origin, by the divorce and death of Octavia, and by the emperor's murderous rapacity and extortionate levies, issued in a powerful conspiracy being organized, the object of which was to depose Nero, and to enthrone Calp. Piso, a man of noble birth, great wealth, and general popularity. Many senators, knights, and other influential persons were drawn into the plot, including Fenius Rufus, one of the prefects; Plautius, consul-elect; Lucan the poet, Seneca's nephew; and Senecio, one of Nero's most intimate courtiers. The conspiracy was prematurely disclosed by the imprudence or the treachery of some who were implicated, and the leaders of the movement were put to death. Among others condemned without evidence was Seneca, whom Nero constrained to commit suicide. A reign of terror ensued. 'The city was thronged with funerals, the Capitol with victims' (Tac. *Ann.* xv. 71). On flimsy pretexts, almost every prominent citizen whose virtue rebuked Nero's vices, whose wealth tempted his cupidity, or whose popularity excited his jealous fear, was mercilessly executed. The most notable victims were the senators Thrasca and Sorranus, whose death Tacitus (*Ann.* xv. 21) ascribes to Nero's passionate desire to 'extirpate virtue itself.' Petronius, long a prime favourite, killed himself to avoid execution. The cruelty of the emperor was matched by the callousness of a populace whose hostility he averted by largesses and spectacles; by the servility, also, of a debased senate which condoned the condemnation of its noblest members. It outdid the former deification of deceased emperors by decreeing the erection of a temple to Nero, as to a god, in his lifetime; and it voted divine honours to Poppæa, at the instance of the emperor, for once remorseful, when he had killed her with a kick during pregnancy (Tac. *Ann.* xv. 74, xvi. 21 f.).

Amid his career of shameless debauchery, unnatural self-prostitution, and murderous frenzy, Nero remained a devotee of art. He played on the lyre, and was vain of his voice; he posed as an orator, and wrote tolerable poetry; he attained some proficiency in painting and sculpture; he acted on the public stage, and was an accomplished charioteer (Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 14, 21; Suet. *Nero*, 52, 53). A visit to Greece, long projected, and accomplished in A.D. 66, provided him with the opportunity not only of gratifying his artistic tastes, but of enjoying an apparently greater appreciation of his talents than even a servile Roman crowd could supply. National Greek games, which recurred in successive years, were all crowded into the period of his visit, so that he might be awarded every notable prize for music, acting, and chariot-racing, and attain the coveted distinction of '*periodonikes*,' or universal victor. He rewarded Greek adulation by declaring Achaia 'free'; and endeavoured at once to benefit Greek commerce and to glorify himself by initiating a scheme—soon given up—for piercing the Isthmus of Corinth (Suet. *Nero*, 23 f.; Dio, lxiii. 10–16).

The visit to Greece caused no interruption in the course of imperial bloodshed. Rich victims were to be found in Achaia, as in Italy. Ignoble jealousy and fear prompted Nero to summon from the East the brilliant conqueror Corbulo, only to condemn him to immediate suicide, the general's sole crime being that he had been urged, but had refused, to proclaim himself emperor. In Rome executions and confiscations continued under the delegated authority of Helius, a freedman (Dio, lxiii. 12, 17). Meanwhile, however, disaffection among citizens and armies had developed into an organized conspiracy to place Galba, governor of Hither Spain, on the throne; and when Nero returned to Rome in the spring of 68, loaded with laurels, it was already too late to stem the tide of insurrection. Sycophantic senators and courtiers deserted him; the prætorian guard was seduced by bribes from its mercenary allegiance. Eventually, Nero fled from Rome in disguise to the suburban villa of a faithful freedman; and, after exclaiming *Qualis artifex pereo!* stabbed himself on the approach of emissaries from the senate, to avoid a more painful and ignominious doom (Suet. *Nero*, 42–49). A touching incident lights up the gloom of this closing 'tragedy of the Cæsars.' The last ministries to the dead were performed by two nurses[*] of his innocent childhood, and by an early cast-off mistress (Acte) whom he had once sincerely loved (*ib.* 50).

The obscurity of Nero's death led to the widespread belief that he had not really died, but was in concealment or had escaped to Parthia, and would reappear to re-claim the empire for the Cæsarean dynasty, of which he was the last representative. In spite of his crimes and misrule, which the troubles that followed his death partially overshadowed, a party in the empire remained loyal to his memory, and several pretended Neros arose to take advantage of the belief in his survival (Tac. *Hist.* i. 2, ii. 8; Suet. *Nero*, 57). The belief extended to Jewish and Christian circles. It is embodied in Bk. iv. (vv.$^{119f.\ 137f.}$) of the *Sibylline Oracles*, which is usually dated *c.* 80 A.D. and is probably of purely Jewish origin (Harnack, *Chronol.* p. 582); also in Bk. v. $^{33.\ 91.\ 363}$ by a Christian Sibyllist, who hints (v.$^{216f.}$) at Nero's revival rather than survival. Such revival is more distinctly referred to at the close of the *Carmen Apologeticum* of Commodian (*c.* 250 A.D.); by (Pseudo ?) Victorinus, who writes of Nero as 'to be raised' (*Comm. Apoc.*); and by Augustine (*de Civ. Dei*, xx. 19), who mentions two current notions of his time,—that of pagans, who supposed Nero to be still alive, and that of Christians, who expected him to rise from the dead as Antichrist.

---

[*] Nero occupies a prominent place in apocryphal and legendary 'Acts of Apostles,' particularly in the *Acts of Peter and Paul*. He is there represented as deceived by Simon Magus (through a magic trick) into the belief that Simon after being beheaded had come to life again. Ultimately, when Simon attempts to fly, Peter's invocation causes him to fall into the *Via Sacra* and to be killed. This, however, does not prevent Nero from ordering Peter to be crucified and Paul to be beheaded.

[†] The external evidence includes (1) the title of the Syriac Version of Rev (ascribed to 6th cent.); (2) the Syriac Apocryphal History of John (Wright's Trans. ii. 56); (3) Hieron. *adv. Jov.* i. 26, where (if the reading be correct) Tertullian is inaccurately reported as ascribing to Nero St. John's torture prior to exile.

[*] The tomb of Ecloge, one of these nurses, was recently discovered in the very place where Nero perished (Lanciani, *Pag. and Chr. Rome*, p. 190).

According to some writers, the expectation of Nero's return finds expression even in the Book of Revelation (13^{3} 17$^{10f.}$)—in the description of the beast whose 'deathstroke was healed,' 'which was and is not,' and is 'of or from the seven kings' and 'an eighth.'* That the Apocalypse (even if the date in the end of the reign of Domitian, as attested by Irenæus, *adv. Hær.* v. 30, be upheld) should contain reminiscences of Nero and the Neronian persecution, is only what might have been anticipated. The reference to the beast may have been suggested not merely by Dn 7, but by a designation of Nero in Christian circles as 'mala bestia' (Lact. *de Mor. Pers.* 2, who may there reproduce an epithet handed down from former times), and by his vile habit of covering himself with the skin of a wild beast, and in that disguise assaulting men and women (Suet. *Nero*, 29). The war of the beast with the saints (Rev 13^{7}), the cry of the slain martyrs, 'How long?' (6$^{9f.}$), and the description of 'Babylon' as drunken with their blood (17^{6} 18^{24}), may be reminiscences of the truculent tribulation of A.D. 64. The fact of the number 666 being the equivalent of *Neron Kaisar* written in Hebrew characters may be more than a coincidence.† But the recognition of such Neronian colouring (more or less) appears to the present writer quite compatible (1) with rejection of dubious references to the literal return or revival of Nero (so Zöckler, *Comm. in loc.*), and (2) with the view‡ that the beast is not Nero exceptionally as an individual, nor even the Roman government exclusively, but rather the entire antichristian world-power, represented, in the time of the writer, by the ungodly and persecuting pagan empire, and embodied, throughout the ages, in all that is opposed to the progress of Christ's kingdom.

After every possible allowance is made for exaggerations on the part of those unknown original authorities on whom Tacitus and others relied, Nero remains a moral monstrosity. His fundamental vice appears to have been vanity rather than cruelty. Originally well disposed, even amiable and generous, he became through inordinate vanity the moral prey of base and self-seeking flatterers, and intolerant of all who could not, or would not, pander to his insatiable lust for applause. This morbid vanity made him crave for notoriety not only in what was harmless, but in extravagance, wantonness, reckless exercise of despotic power, and provision of fresh stimulants to the jaded popular appetite for exciting 'pleasure.' Vanity, moreover, constrained him to regard as enemies to be removed all whose character or popularity detracted from his own reputation, and as indispensable victims those whose wealth would be serviceable for the gratification of his cravings. The only possible palliation of his later enormities is the supposition that through vicious indulgence of his passions he had become, at intervals, insane (Wiedemeister and Baring-Gould).

LITERATURE.—Tacitus, *Annales*, esp. the edition of Furneaux, with Introduction and Appendices; Suetonius, *Nero*; Dio Cassius, *Hist. Rom.*; Merivale, *Romans under the Empire*; H. Schiller, *Gesch. d. röm. Kaiserreichs unt. Nero*; Ramsay, *Church in Rom. Emp.*; articles in *Expositor* (1893) by Sanday, Mommsen, and Ramsay; Hardy, *Christianity and Rom. Government*; Arnold, *Neronische Christenverf.*; Salmon's *Intr. NT*; Baring-Gould, *Tragedy of the Cæsars*; Renan, *Antichrist*; Reuss, *Chr. Th. in Ap. Age* (tr.), vol. i.; Farrar, *Early Days of Christianity*; Aubé, *Perséc. de l'Égl.*; G. H. Lewes, 'Was Nero a Monster?' in *Cornhill Mag.*, July 1863; Wiedemeister, *Cäsarenwahnsinn*; Lipsius, *Apocr. Apgesch.*; Bruston in *Revue de Théol.*, Sept. 1898.

H. COWAN.

NEST (קֵן *ḳēn*, *νεοσσιά*, *νοσσιά*).—The receptacle constructed by a bird in which to lay its eggs and rear its young (Dt 22^{6} 32^{11}). Swallows make their nest in the Lord's house (? Ps 84^{3}); eagles, on inaccessible pinnacles of the rocks (Job 39^{27}). Hence a secure fortification, esp. in the mountains, is called a nest (Nu 24^{21}, Jer 49^{16}, Ob ^{4}, Hab 2^{9}). Many birds return, from year to year, to the same nest, and do not wander in search of another (Pr 27^{8}); a forsaken nest is a special type of desolation (Is 16^{2} m). A quiet, assured, permanent home is called a nest (Job 29^{18}). The *ẓippôr* makes its nest in the cedars, and the stork her house (nest) in the fir trees (Ps 104^{17}). Hence the 'inhabitress (Jer 22^{23}) of Lebanon' is said to make her 'nest in the cedars,' and 'all the fowls of heaven made their nests' in the boughs of the emblematic Assyrian cedar tree (Ezk 31^{6}), *i.e.* all nations were under Assyr. protection. The art with which birds conceal their nests is alluded to (Is 10^{14}). Owls choose ruins (Is 34^{15}); doves, holes of the rock (Jer 48^{28}). The 'rooms' in the ark are called *ḳinnîm*, 'nests' (Gn 6^{14} m), perhaps in allusion to the nests of gregarious birds, as martens, rock pigeons, etc.

The nests of the NT (Mt 8^{20}, Lk 9^{58}) are not *νοσσιαί* but *κατασκηνώσεις*='resting places,' or 'roosting perches.' This makes the Saviour's comparison more forcible. He has not merely no home, but not even a *cave* like a fox, or a *lodging place* like a bird. With this corresponds the verb *κατασκηνόω*, which is tr^{d} (Mt 13^{32}, Mk 4^{32}, Lk 13^{19}) 'lodge,' and (Ac 2^{26}) quoted from Ps 16^{9}, where the Heb. is יִשְׁכֹּן *yishkôn* (LXX *κατασκηνώσει*), 'rest.' The word means *camping* or *bivouacking*, not *residing*.

G. E. POST.

NET.—See FISHING.

NETAIM.—AV of 1 Ch 4^{23b} reads, 'Those that dwelt among plants (RVm plantations) and hedges,' but RV gives 'the inhabitants of Netaim and Gederah,' and this is probably the correct tr^{n} of יֹשְׁבֵי נְטָעִים וּגְדֵרָה. The taking of נְטָעִים as a proper name is supported by the LXX (B *Ἀζαείμ*, A *Ἀταείμ*). The site has not been identified, but Netaim, like GEDERAH (wh. see), was probably in the Shephēlah of Judah.

NETHANEL (נְתַנְאֵל 'God has given'; Ναθαναήλ; cf. the NT name *Nathanael*).—**1.** The 'prince' (נָשִׂיא) of Issachar, Nu 1^{8} 2^{5} 7$^{18.\ 23}$ 10^{15}. **2.** One of David's brothers, 1 Ch 2^{14}. **3.** One of the priests who blew trumpets when the ark was brought up from the house of Obed-edom, 1 Ch 15^{24}. **4.** A Levite, father of Shemaiah, 1 Ch 24^{6}. **5.** One of Obed-edom's sons, 1 Ch 26^{4}. **6.** A 'prince' (שַׂר) sent by Jehoshaphat to teach in the cities of Judah, 2 Ch 17^{7}. **7.** A chief of the Levites in the reign of Josiah, 2 Ch 35^{9}. **8.** A priest who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10^{22}=Nathanael of 1 Es 9^{22}. **9.** Representative of the priestly class of Jedaiah, under the high priest Joiakim, Neh 12^{21}. **10.** A Levite musician who took part in the ceremony of dedicating the walls, Neh 12^{36}.

Gray (*Heb. Proper Names*, p. 210 *et passim*) considers that the name נְתַנְאֵל is probably 'of late origin,' and possibly also 'of artificial character.'

J. A. SELBIE.

---

* Bleek, *Intr. NT*, 233; Reuss, *Hist. Th. Chr.* Bk. iv. ch. iv.; Renan, *Antich.* chs. xiii. xvi.; Farrar, *Early Days of Christianity*, chs. xxvii. xxviii.; Bousset, *Offenb. Joh.* The composition of the Apoc. is referred by these writers to the time of Galba or of Vespasian (A.D. 68–69), and the alleged reference to *Nero Redivivus* is associated with the appearance about that time of a pseudo-Nero in the island Cythnus (Tac. *Hist.* ii. 8). The most significant alleged parallel, however, between the Beast and the returning Nero (viz. '*one* of the seven kings' who is 'fallen,' yet to be 'an eighth') depends on a disputable exegesis of ἐκ τῶν ἑπτά ἐστι. This rendering, 'is one of' (instead of 'proceedeth from'), although grammatically tenable (cf. Ac 21^{8}), is not in accord with the usus of Rev, which elsewhere inserts εἷς (7^{13} 15^{7} 17^{1} 21^{9}).

† Fritzsche, *Annal.* iii. 1 (1831); Reuss, *l.c.*; Renan, p. 415 ff.; Farrar, vol. ii. 292 ff.; Zöckler, *Com.* on Apoc. and others. Jewish Christians were familiar with Gematria, the numerical indication of names (Farrar in *Expos.* 1879, v. 369). The non-identification, however, of Nero with the 666 by any early writer is significant.

‡ Hengst., Auberlen, Lange, Alf., Mill, and others.

NETHANIAH (נְתַנְיָה; in Jer 36^{14} 40^{8} 41^{9}, 1 Ch 25^{12}, 2 Ch 17^{8} נְתַנְיָהוּ 'J″ hath given'; cf. *Nethanel* נְתַנְאֵל).—1. The father of Ishmael the murderer of Gedaliah, 2 K 25$^{23. 25}$, Jer 40$^{8. 14. 15}$ 41$^{1f. 6f. 9. 10ff. 15f. 18}$ (LXX Ναθὰνίας, but in 2 K 25^{23} A has Μαθθανίας). 2. An Asaphite, chief of the fifth class of the temple choir, 1 Ch 25$^{2. 12}$ (A in both has Ναθανίας, B in first Ναθαλίας, in second Ναθάν). 3. A Levite who was sent by Jehoshaphat to teach in the cities of Judah, 2 Ch 17^{8} (B Μανθανίας, A Ναθανίας). 4. The father of Jehudi, Jer 36 [Gr. 43]^{14}. B omits τὸν Ἰουδεί, which is read by A between Νηρίου and υἱὸν Ναθανίου.

NETHINIM (AV Nethinims). — The word is always preceded by the article, הַנְּתִינִים, 'the Nethinim.' In one passage, Ezr 8^{20}, the *Ķerê* has the regular participial form הַנְּתוּנִים. The unused sing. נָתִין is a noun of the same class as אָסִיר, מָשִׁיחַ. The LXX usually has οἱ Ναθεινείμ, but in several passages there are obvious clerical errors, such as τῶν Ἀθανείμ, Καθεινείμ; 1 Ch 9^{2} has οἱ δεδομένοι. The Pesh. generally transliterates ܢܬܝ̈ܢܐ, but in some places omits; at 1 Ch 9^{2} it has ܬܘܬܒ̈ܐ (sojourners), at Ezr 8^{20} ܡܢ ܓܒܖ̈ܐ ܕܝܗܒ ܕܘܝܕ (*of the men whom David gave*), at Neh 10^{28} ܥܒ̈ܕܐ (*servants*), and at Neh 11^{21} ܥܒ̈ܕܝܗܘܢ (*their servants*). Josephus (*Ant.* XI. v. 1) calls them ἱερόδουλοι, and this agrees well with the obvious derivation of the word from נָתַן='to give': they were the men given to the temple as its slaves to perform the lowest menial offices there.

Very little is said about the early history of the Nethinim. Nu 31$^{30. 47}$ (R) states that at the close of the campaign against the Midianites 'Moses took one drawn out of every fifty, both of man and of beast, and gave them (נָתַן) unto the Levites.' Jos 9^{27} (R) relates that the Gibeonites were punished for their guile by being made 'hewers of wood and drawers of water for the congregation and for the altar of the Lord.' In the historical books there is no further reference to persons occupying such a position until Ezekiel bitterly denounces the employment of heathens in connexion with the sanctuary: 'Let it suffice you of all your abominations, in that ye have brought in aliens, uncircumcised in heart, and uncircumcised in flesh, to be in my sanctuary,' 44$^{6. 7}$. 'Aliens,' though it may be doubted whether they were allowed to remain uncircumcised, had been unhesitatingly employed by former generations in doing the drudgery of the temple, and the disagreeable tasks requisite to sacrificial worship. Many of them may have continued to be heathen at heart notwithstanding their enforced conformity to the worship of J″. Others certainly became devout worshippers of the God of Israel. And this protest of Ezekiel's was for a long time quite ineffectual: so strict a zealot as Ezra welcomed the services of the Nethinim.

It is in the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles that this class of temple servants comes prominently into view. The list of their family-names contained in Ezr 2$^{43-54}$, Neh 7$^{46-56}$, confirms the generally accepted belief that they were in great part descendants of captives taken in war. The names have quite a foreign air. 'The children of Meunim,' Ezr 2^{50}, were in all probability descended from the Meunim, the people of Maon, whom Uzziah conquered (2 Ch 26^{7}; cf. 2 Ch 20^{1} LXX). 'The children of Nephisim,' Ezr 2^{50}, are doubtless representatives of the race mentioned Gn 25^{15}. 'The children of Solomon's servants,' who, in both lists, immediately follow the Nethinim, are spoken of in such a way as to show that their functions were substantially the same as those performed by the Nethinim, but that they occupied a slightly lower plane. Their ancestors may have been Canaanites given to the temple by Solomon, or captives taken by him in war. Ezr 8^{20} asserts that David and his princes gave the Nethinim 'for the service of the Levites': such a gift would be sure to consist of captives.

It is, however, in the actual accounts of the Return from the Exile that we find ourselves on firm ground. From the two lists already referred to, Ezr 2$^{43-54}$ and Neh 7$^{46-56}$, we learn that 392 Nethinim and children of Solomon's servants formed part of the first company, which returned to Jerusalem under Zerubbabel, B.C. 538. Eighty years later, when Ezra had started on his momentous journey to the Holy City, he discovered that amongst his companions were very few ministers for the house of God. He therefore halted beside 'the river that runneth to Ahava,' and sent to procure a supply of suitable men from a city called Casiphia. We are hardly entitled to argue from the corrupt text of Ezr 8^{17} that the person whose aid he especially invoked was himself a Nathin, although the EV runs, 'I told them what they should say unto Iddo, and his brethren the Nethinim.' The LXX omits the name Iddo: 'I put in their mouth words to say to their brethren.' If this omission does not commend itself to our judgment, we may, with the minimum of textual alteration, read ואחיו והנ״, 'and his brethren, and the Nethinim,' or may omit הנ״ as a gloss on מְשָׁרְתִים. The last-named expedient seems best: the Nethinim in v.^{20} are not senders, but sent; Iddo and his brethren, the former in particular, were Levites who possessed authority over all who were qualified to serve in the temple, including the Nethinim (see vv.$^{15. 18. 19}$). And it appears from v.^{20} that 220 Nethinim were now sent to strengthen Ezra's hands. Thirteen years later, when Nehemiah had joined his dispirited fellow-countrymen in Jerusalem, and had put new life into them by inducing them to rebuild the city walls, 'the Nethinim dwelt in Ophel, unto the place over against the water-gate toward the east, and the tower that standeth out' (Neh 3^{26}). V.^{31} of the same chapter mentions 'the house of the Nethinim.' Hence it would appear that such of them as resided in Jerusalem had a quarter of their own on the southern continuation of the temple hill. From this post they would easily reach the scene of their daily duties, the temple itself. And 'they were thus posted near to the exit which communicated with the Virgin's Spring; and if their duties at the temple at all resembled those of the Gibeonites, we can understand why their residence over against the water-gate is thus carefully noted' (Ryle, *Ezra*, etc. p. lviii). Some of the Nethinim, however, lived in other cities which Ezr 2^{70} designates as specially belonging to the ministers of the temple. Wherever they lived, they, in common with the other religious officials, were freed by the decree of Artaxerxes (Ezr 7^{24}) from 'tribute, custom, or toll.' Those who dwelt in Jerusalem, possibly their brethren in the other towns also, formed a guild under two superintendents. These two, at any rate in Nehemiah's time, were chosen out of their own class, for Ziha, one of the two (Neh 11^{21}), is in the lists at Ezr 2^{43}, Neh 7^{46}.

We hear but little concerning the Nethinim subsequently to this period. It is easy to trace the gradual incorporation of the singers and the doorkeepers with the Levites. It is practically certain that the Nethinim, who are so often mentioned immediately after these two classes, obtained the same privilege. In the post-exilic legislation the Levites alone are mentioned, and almost take the name Nethinim. Nu 3^{9} 18^{6} (both P) state that the Levites were נְתוּנִם נְתוּנִם to Aaron and his sons. And 1 Ch $6^{34. \text{(Heb.)}\ 48\ \text{(Eng.)}}$ declares that the Levites were נְתוּנִים 'for all the service of the tabernacle of the house of God.' Cf. also 1 Es 1^{3} *τοῖς Λευείταις, ἱεροδούλοις τοῦ Ἰσραήλ*. Ezekiel's reform is thus at last carried out in the letter, perhaps in the spirit also. Schürer (*GJV*^{3} ii. 279 [*HJP* II. i. 273]) has shown, that although the Talmudical writers frequently refer to the Nethinim, they exhibit no real sense of the existence and activity of such an order, for they ascribe the performance of the duties which once devolved on this order to another set of men altogether, the חֲנִנִים or the פִּרְחֵי כְהֻנָּה, the young sons of the priests. The name Nethinim supplies an object on which these writers may pour out their bitterness against everything that is not strictly Jewish. 'Ezra removed them as it is said (Neh 11^{21}): *the servants dwell in darkness*, and in the world to come God will put them away from Him, according to the words Ezk 48^{19}: *the servants of the city shall serve Him*' (*Kiddush.* iv. 1); 'a priest is before a Levite, a Levite before an Israelite, an Israelite before a Mamzer, a Mamzer before a Nathin, a Nathin before a proselyte, a proselyte before a manumitted slave' (*Horaj.* iii. 8). At *Jebam.* ii. 4, an Israelite is forbidden to marry a descendant of those devoted to the temple service, and this is grounded on 2 S 21^{2}. Such passages as *Jebam.* vi. 2, vii. 5, viii. 3, *Maccoth* iii. 1, *Kethub.* i. 8, iii. 1, *Kiddush.* iii. 12, may also be consulted.

Similar institutions have existed in other lands, both in ancient and in modern times. Hermann (*Lehrb. der Griech. Antiq.*^{2} Theil 2, p. 107) points out that it was as natural for a temple as for an individual to possess slaves who would perform the lower duties which were necessary daily. In a note he refers to Pausan. x. 32. 8, *τοῦ θεοῦ δοῦλοι*; and v. 13. 2, *ἐστὶ δὲ ὁ ξυλεὺς ἐκ τῶν οἰκετῶν τοῦ Διός, ἔργον δὲ αὐτῷ πρόκειται τὰ ἐς τὰς θυσίας ξύλα τεταγμένου λήμματος καὶ πόλεσι παρέχειν καὶ ἀνδρὶ ἰδιώτῃ*. In proof that these slaves were captives taken in war, or persons bought with money, he points to Pausan. iii. 18. 3, and to Herod. vi. 134: in the latter place an *αἰχμάλωτος γύνη* is called *ὑποζάκωρος τῶν χθονίων θεῶν*. Burckhardt (*Travels in Arabia*, i. 288 ff.) says that the employment of slaves or eunuchs in the mosque at Mecca is of very ancient date, Moawya Ibn Abi Sofyan, a short time after Mohammed, having ordered slaves for the Kaaba. 'The eunuchs perform the duty of police officers in the temple; they prevent disorders, and daily wash and sweep, with large brooms, the pavement round the Kaaba. . . . The number of eunuchs never exceeds forty, and they are supplied by pashas and other grandees, who send them, when young, as presents to the mosque: one hundred dollars are sent with each as an outfit. Mohammed Aly presented ten young eunuchs to the mosque.' See, further, art. PRIESTS AND LEVITES.

LITERATURE.—There is an excellent brief account of the Nethinim in Ryle's *Ezra and Neh.* p. lviii, and in the Notes to that Commentary. The art. GENEALOGY, in vol. ii. of this Dictionary, p. 160, gives the lists of Ezr, Neh, and 1 Es; but the spelling of the names in the leading MSS deserves careful attention. It should also be mentioned that Torrey, who does not stand alone, holds that all the OT passages which mention the Nethinim are from the Chronicler, whom he considers quite unreliable. See his *Composition, etc., of Ezra-Nehemiah*, p. 17. The reader may consult also Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Isr. u. der Juden zu den Fremden*, pp. 52, 133, 342.

J. TAYLOR.

NETOPHAH (נְטֹפָה; in Ezr B *Νετωφά*, A *Νεφωτά*; in Neh B omits, A *Ἀνετωφά*, ℵ *Νετωφά*; in 1 Es B *Νετέβας*, A *Νετωφαέ*; Vulg. *Netupha*).—A town, the name of which first occurs in the list of the exiles who returned under Zerubbabel (Ezr 2^{22}= Neh 7^{26}=1 Es 5^{18}). Owing to its position in this list between Bethlehem and Anathoth, it has been argued that Netophah must have lain somewhere to the south of Jerusalem, between the capital and Bethlehem, and is to be identified with *Khurbet umm-Toba*. More probable is the view that the name Netophah is still preserved in the modern *Beit Nettîf* at the entrance to the *Wady es-Sunt* or Vale of Elah; the valley of Beth Netophah, which is mentioned in the Mishna (*Shebiith* ix. 5), will then correspond to that part of the *Wady en-Najil* which connects the *Wady es-Sunt* and the *Wady es-Surar* (Guérin, *Jud.* ii. 374 ff.; *PEF Mem.* iii. 24; Neubauer, *Géogr.* p. 128; Buhl, *GAP* p. 194).

Netophah was the birthplace of two of David's heroes, Maharai and Heldai (2 S $23^{28. 29}$), and also of Seraiah, one of the captains who supported Gedaliah (2 K 25^{23}, Jer 40^{8} [EPHAI]): according to 1 Ch 9^{16} it was a priestly city, inhabited by singers (Neh 12^{28}). Hence the Gentilic name **the Netophathite(s)** (הַנְּטֹפָתִי; 2 S B *ὁ Ἐντωφατείτης*, A *ὁ Νεπωφαθείτης*; 2 K B *ὁ Νεφφαθιείτης*, A *ὁ Νεθωφαθείτης*; 1 Ch B *ὁ Νεθωφατεί . . . ὁ Νετωφατεί*, A *Νετωφαθί* (*bis*), ℵ *ὁ Νοτωφαθεί . . . Νετωφαθεί*; in Neh 12^{28} B omits, A *Νετωφαθί*). J. F. STENNING.

NETOPHAS (B *Νετέβας*, A *Νετωφαέ*).—1 Es 5^{18}= NETOPHAH of Ezr 2^{22} ‖ Neh 7^{26}.

NETTLE.—Two Heb. words are tr^{d} in AV and RV 'nettle.' (1) חָרוּל *ḥārûl* occurs twice (Job 30^{7}, Zeph 2^{9}), and in the plural form חֲרֻלִּים *ḥărûlîm* once (Pr 24^{31}). (2) קִמּוֹשׂ *ḳimmôsh* (Is 34^{13}), or קִימוֹשׂ *ḳîmôsh* (Hos 9^{6}). The pl. form קִמְּשֹׂנִים *ḳimmĕshônîm* (Pr 24^{31}) is tr^{d} in EV 'thorns.' The sense and context of the first two passages in which *ḳimmôsh* and *ḳîmôsh* occur are well met by the rendering 'nettle,' and this rendering is supported by many versions and scholars. If it be adopted, then *ḳimmĕshônîm* should be also rendered by 'nettles' instead of 'thorns.' In that case *ḥărûlîm* (Pr 24^{31}) cannot be tr^{d} 'nettles.' This has led commentators to seek for another plant which will fulfil all the conditions. The *ḥārûl* must grow in the wilderness, associated with the *mallûaḥ* (mallows AV, saltwort RV), *shîḥ* (bushes), and the *retem*, and must be large enough for the famine-stricken outcasts to gather beneath (Job 30^{3-7}). It must be something that would naturally be associated with *salt pits* as an emblem of desolation (Zeph 2^{9}). It must be something that covers the face of a waste field (Pr 24^{31}). Celsius (*Hierobot.* ii. 165) gives a list of candidates, which he rejects in favour of *Zizyphus Spina-Christi*. Royle thinks that *ḥārûl* is the same as the Arab. *khardal*=mustard. This would require the supposition that ו had been written by mistake for ד. The wild mustards would suit all the conditions, being plants which grow in neglected situations (wildernesses), which cover deserted fields, and which grow large enough to enable several persons to gather under them. Still there is no proof that this is the correct rendering. 'Wild vetches' (RVm in all the passages; cf. 'chick-pea' of *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*) would hardly suit the conditions. The present writer is inclined to look upon the word as generic, and equivalent to *thorn*, *scrub*, or *brush*, either one of which would fulfil all the conditions. Such scrubs are to be found everywhere in the desolate places, and include a considerable number of such plants as the three indigenous species of boxthorn, *Lycium Europæum*, L., *L. Arabicum*, Schweinf., and *L. Barbarum*, L. (all of which are known in Arab. as *'ausaj*), and *Nitraria tridentata*, Desf., the *gharḳad*. All of these are thorny shrubs, growing in waste places and in salty soil, and would furnish a sufficient shade to be welcome to a sun-stricken wretch such as Job describes. The thorny Zizyphus and Acacia scrubs would also suit the generic meaning.

Admitting the soundness of the above considerations, we should confine the rendering 'nettle' to the second of the above Heb. terms.

Of nettles we have *Urtica urens*, L., *U. dioica*, L., *U. pilulifera*, L., and *U. membranacea*, Poir, all of which are known in Arab. as *ḳurreiṣ* or *ḳureiṣ* or *ḳurâṣ*, which mean a stinging plant. These are universal in neglected fields and gardens. In the deserts we find *Forskahlea tenacissima*, L., the *lizzâḳ* of the Arabs, the name of which signifies a plant which *sticks* or *clings*. It belongs to the same Order as *Urtica*. The signification of the Arab names of all these species is similar to that of *ḳimmôsh*. G. E. POST.

NEW, NEWNESS (חָדָשׁ; *καινός, νέος, καινότης*).—In the East many tendencies converge towards the veneration of use and wont. Of these the following are the most noteworthy:—(1) The uniformity with which a certain kind of weather prevails through a certain season of the year, Gn 8^{22}, 1 S 12^{16-18}; (2) the conservative influence of the patriarchal form of government; (3) the transmission of the same handicraft, such as masonry, weaving, etc., from father to son; (4) the fact that when lands are sold, the agricultural labourers continue to occupy the small houses of the village included in the property, and thus become practically serfs upon the estate; (5) the religious conviction that whatever exists, exists by the will of God.

By such influences Orientals come to regard Custom as a regulative power of high authority. One of their Arabic proverbs says, 'Everything follows Custom—even religion,' and another, 'The world is composed of earth, air, fire, water—and Custom.' Hence anything departing from the usual routine affects Orientals with profound surprise, and finds them unprepared to account for it or deal with it. The Indian Mutiny was quelled by quick initiative. In every unexpected situation Orientals have one exclamation, 'What shall I do?' In the presence of anything novel they give themselves up to the simple pleasure of surprise, without much attempt to find the explanation of what is strange in the action of familiar forces. Every phenomenon in nature is referred at once to the First Cause with the exclamation, 'Praise to the Creator'; and on seeing any ingenious mechanism or hearing of any incident of conspicuous veracity or unselfishness, it is enough to say as an expression of the general feeling, 'This is new, we have never seen anything like this!' The mental habit that passes over secondary causes leads Orientals to set a slight value on the patience and precision of thought and statement required for the discovery and application of such causes. The moral forces which adorn conduct and character are also regarded as given rather than cultivated.

The prevalence of routine, and the mystery connected with anything unusual, coupled with the excitable nature of the people, cause everything new to be attractive.

Throughout the Bible there are many instances of the astonishment, attractiveness, and authority connected with strange occurrences and new beginnings. With regard to natural and religious seasons, each day has its light and darkness, week is separated from week. The appearance of the new moon announcing the commencement of the month was also a day of religious festival, 1 S $20^{5.29}$. The Feasts of Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles were connected with the new produce of the year. New Year's Day was reckoned for different purposes five times in the year. The year of Jubilee was a time of recovery and renewal for those who had been crushed by adversity. The Nazirite of days entered upon his vow with head newly shaven.

In matters of personal experience and religious symbolism, the same interest attaches to what is new. In the Bible Abraham and Jacob receive new names; so with Jerusalem Is $62^{2.4}$, the disciples Jn 15^{15}, the saints Rev 2^{17}. Among modern Orientals, the birth of a firstborn son gives a new name to the father; among the Jews, new clothes are always worn at the Feast of Passover; the soul is believed to ascend during sleep to the presence of the Recording Angel and to return anew to the body in the moment of consciousness; so also the seraphim before the throne are thought of as created every day to feel and proclaim the glory of the Divine Presence. As the new rite of Passover announced the creation of Israel as a chosen people, so the new testament in Christ's blood (Mt 26^{28}) created the nationality of world-wide sainthood.

The Christian is a new creature 2 Co 5^{17}, Col 3^{10}, endued with a new spirit Ro 8^{2}, in order to be maintained in perpetual newness of life Ro 6^{4}. See, further, art. REGENERATION.

G. M. MACKIE.

NEW BIRTH.—See REGENERATION.

NEW COMMANDMENT.—See BROTHERLY LOVE.

NEW JERUSALEM.—See REVELATION (BOOK OF).

NEW MAN.—See REGENERATION.

NEW MOON (חֹדֶשׁ, רֹאשׁ הַחֹדֶשׁ; *νεομηνία, νουμηνία*).—The celebration of the New Moon belongs to the most ancient of Hebrew rites. It perhaps goes back to the time when the moon was still an object of worship (Smith, *Internat. Crit. Comm. on Samuel*, p. 185). Lagarde held that the generic Heb. term for 'joyous praise' (הלל) was derived from an old name of the New Moon (see Gesenius-Buhl, *s.v.* הלל, II.). The New Moon was a feast of nomads, but it was carried over to their new agricultural conditions by the Israelite settlers in Canaan (Cobb, *Origines Judaicæ*, p. 138). In the time of the earlier prophets, the New Moon stood in the same line with another lunar observance, the Sabbath (see FEASTS). No work or business was attended to on either day (Am 8^{5}). Hosea (2^{11}) speaks of the feasts, the New Moons, the Sabbaths, and festal assemblies as passing away with the national independence; and a similar connexion between the New Moon and the other solemn days is found in Is 1^{13}.

Just as the New Moon occupies a prominent place with the prophets, so does it with Ezekiel and in the Levitical legislation (P). Ezekiel, who curiously enough frequently dates his prophecies on the New Moon (26^{1} 29^{17} 31^{1} 32^{1}, cf. Hag 1^{1}), describes the gate of the inner court of the temple looking eastwards as kept shut for the six working days, but opened on the Sabbath and New Moon (Ezk 46^{1}). The prince, besides making special arrangements for the great New Moons of the first and seventh months (this is the probable meaning of Ezk 45^{18-20}), was also to provide offerings for ordinary New Moons (Ezk 46^{1-7}). The gate was open till the evening, and while the people stood without the prince was allowed to stand by the threshold. According to Ezekiel (46^{6}), the New Moon offerings consisted of a young bullock, six lambs, and a ram without blemish (the Sabbath burnt-offering was less, v.^{4}), as burnt-offerings; an ephah for the bullock and for each ram, a handful of flour for each lamb, and a hin of oil to an ephah as a meal-offering (vv.$^{7.8}$). In Nu 28^{11} the burnt-offering consisted of two young bullocks, one ram, and seven he-lambs of the first year without blemish; fine flour, oil and wine carefully proportioned (vv.$^{12-14}$), and a he-goat as a sin-offering (v.^{15}). The offerings here, as in Ezekiel, are more important than for the Sabbath (Nu $28^{9.10}$). An additional detail is added in Nu 10^{10}, where the law ordains that 'in the days of your gladness, and in your set feasts, and in the beginnings of your months' the two silver trumpets were to be sounded during the sacrificial rites as a 'memorial before your God.' Some authorities have held that Ps 81^{3} [Heb.^{4}] 'Blow up the trumpet in the New Moon, at the full moon, on our solemn feast day,' refers to the ordinary New Moon. Thus Aquila and Symm. render *ἐν πάσῃ νεομηνίᾳ*; but the LXX, like the EV, omits 'every.' The Targum refers the passage solely to the New Moon of the seventh month (Lv 23^{24}); and this, the traditional Jewish view, has been adopted by modern commentators (see Baethgen and Duhm, *ad loc.*). The subject is further treated in the article TRUMPET.

Some difficulty has been found in explaining the omission of the New Moon in Deuteronomy and in the documents named JE. It has been seen that the New Moon was very ancient, and that it was of great importance after the Exile (see, *e.g.*, Is 66^{23} and other references cited above and below. In Chronicles the New Moon is assumed as an established institution). Dillmann suggests that the omission in the intermediate period is due simply to the fact that the observance was a popular feast that needed no specific legal sanction. It may, however, be (as Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, p. 118, holds) that there was a temporary cessation of the observance of the New Moon, both because heathen elements intruded into the festivities (Isaiah speaks of the 'monthly prognosticators,' 47^{13}), and also because the greater importance attached to the Sabbath must have made the observance of the New Moon (which came, unlike the Sabbath, on irregular days) irksome. After the Exile the New Moon recovered its importance because the great feasts were fixed in accordance with it. (This view is adopted by Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* p. 465, and Nowack, *Lehrbuch der Heb. Arch.* ii. 140). See TIME.

As to the manner in which the New Moon was observed, there were other features besides the sacrifices. There was no 'solemn convocation' on the New Moon, but it is usually inferred from 2 K 4^{23} that visits were paid to the prophets on that day. The servants and asses were available for longer journeys than on the days of labour. Some (*e.g.* Duhm) explain Is 66^{23} as referring to general assemblages in Jerusalem for worship on the New Moon ('*jeden* Monat am Neumond'), and this passage of Isaiah was the text for a fine Rabbinical homily in the *Pesikta Rabbathi* for the New Moon. Ezra publicly read the law on the New Moon of the seventh month (Neh 8^{2}). The New Moon was apparently the time for changing David's officials, according to 1 Ch 27^{1}. It is not easy to gather the full significance of the incident related in 1 S $20^{5ff.}$. David evidently refers to a family feast on the New Moon, but it is not clear that the king had a special feast on that day. It is very probable that this was so, but Wellhausen's remark as cited by Driver (*Notes on the Hebrew Text of Samuel*, p. 127) is evidently weighty. 'David, as appears from v.$^{25ff.}$, was, together with Abner and Jonathan, Saul's daily and regular companion at table: thus the sentence 'ואנכי ישב נ׳ cannot be so related to the preceding one, as though the new moon were the occasion of his being a guest at the king's table; on the contrary, the new moon is rather alleged as the excuse for his absence. Consequently, the rendering, "To-morrow is new moon, and I must sit with the king at meat," is excluded; and the only course remaining open is to read with LXX ישב לא אשב "To-morrow is new moon, and I will *not* sit with the king at meat; but thou shalt let me go,"' etc. No time of day is specified for the king's meal from which David absented himself; but, as Smith points out, from the fact that Jonathan waited till next morning after the second day to carry his news to David, the meal was probably late in the day.

Fasting was avoided on the New Moon (Jth 8^{6}). The observance of the New Moon fell into disuse in the Christian communities (Col 2^{16}). In the mediæval Jewish circles the New Moon, however, retained its importance. Women did not work, fasting was prohibited, and in the synagogue liturgy many special features were introduced. On the Sabbath before the New Moon the event was publicly announced, on the day itself a reading from the law (Nu 28^{1-15}) was introduced, special Psalms (forming part of the *Hallel*, Pss 113–118) were chanted, and other liturgical passages were added. These are retained in the modern synagogue, and are fully described in the *Shulchan Aruch*, *Orach Chayim*, par. 417 ff. See also Maimonides, *Hilchoth Kiddush Ha-Chodesh* (of which there are several Latin translations). The Blessing of the Moon is also retained. This is a collection of passages of varying antiquity, and is recited at night while the moon is visible, a Saturday night in the first week of new month being preferred for the celebration. (The best commentary on these rites is to be found in Landshut's edition of the Hebrew Prayer-Book, *Hegyon Leb*, p. 390 f.). Some of the ceremonies are clearly very ancient, especially the dances, which until quite recently were performed in Jewish communities in the public streets. Others of the rites are at least as old as the Talmud. The modern Arabs of the desert still 'greet the New Moon with devout ejaculations, and the women chant their perpetual refrain of a single verse, and dance for an hour or two' (Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, i. pp. 366, 455, cited in Smith's *Samuel*, p. 185).

We are without information as to the method by which the New Moon was fixed and announced in biblical times. But the Mishna (*Rosh Hashana*) describes the method then prevalent. There was no fixed calendar till the 4th cent. (see TIME), and the New Moon was declared from actual observation. The eye-witnesses were carefully examined on the 30th day of each month (especially of the months Nisan, Ab, Elul, Tishri, Chislev, and Adar), and, if the testimony of the witnesses was accepted, that day was declared 'sanctified' by fiat of the Sanhedrin. If no witnesses were available, then the following day was New Moon, as the Jewish month never contained more than 30 days. The New Moon was announced in Judæa till the year 225, when the declaration was made in Tiberias. The news was conveyed by means of signals, torches being lit on the hills. The Samaritans rendered a change necessary, as they ignited similar bonfires at wrong periods. Messengers were despatched to more distant parts, where it was not unusual for two days to be observed as New Moon, a custom which still prevails at certain months of the Jewish year. After the 4th cent. the New Moon was no longer fixed by observation, but the Karaites restored the older custom. Schwartz (*Der jüdische Kalender*) holds that the New Moons of the first and seventh months (Nisan and Tishri) were fixed by astronomical calculation and not empirically, as early as the time of Ezra. Certainly, the Jews must have had sufficient knowledge of astronomy to make such a calculation possible (but see TIME).

LITERATURE.—Besides the works cited in the course of this article, see Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. Appendix iii.; Dillmann, *Exodus and Leviticus*, p. 577 f.; Pineles, *Darcha shel Torah*, p. 251 ff.; Epstein, *Alterthuemer*; Poznanski, *JQR* x. p. 152 ff. (This writer holds that the New Moon was also fixed empirically by some Rabbanites as late as the 10th cent.). A popular account of the Jewish Calendar and the details as to the New Moons will be found in J. Jacobs' (annual) *Jewish Year Book*.

I. ABRAHAMS.

NEW TESTAMENT.—The name 'testament' is derived from the Latin *testamentum*, which was erroneously adopted in the Old Latin Version as the equivalent for the Gr. word *διαθήκη* employed in the LXX to represent the Heb. בְּרִית 'covenant.' It is in this sense that *διαθήκη* is used in the NT to designate the old or the new Dispensation, and has come to be applied, in accordance with Heb. usage (Ex 24^{7}, 2 K 23^{2}, 1 Mac 1^{57}, Sir 24^{23}), to the literature in which the respective history and principles of the two Dispensations are authoritatively set forth. (Cf. Mt 26^{28}, Lk 22^{20}, 1 Co 11^{25}, 2 Co 3$^{6.\ 14}$, and Gn 17^{4}, Ex 24^{8}, Jer 31^{31} *et supra*). In the OT Jerome usually took care to employ *fœdus* or *pactum* as the Latin equivalent for בְּרִית; but in his revision of the NT tr^{n} he unfortunately adhered to the old expression, the consequence being that the false meaning thus imported into the Latin passed into the EV, whose 'testament' is as misleading as *testamentum*, and has rightly been altered to 'covenant' in the RV, except in one doubtful passage, He 9$^{16.\ 17}$ (see Westcott, *ad loc.*).

i. RELATION OF THE NT TO THE OT AND TO THE APOCRYPHAL LITERATURE OF THE JEWS.—The NT forms the second and concluding portion of the sacred writings which embody the Divine revelation communicated in the line of Jewish history. Before any part of the NT had been written, the Heb. canon had been virtually closed; and the idea of a new collection of sacred writings which should be held in no less veneration than the old was slow to take possession of the Christian Church. Hence the OT Scriptures, to which the apostles constantly appealed for evidence that Jesus was the Messiah, continued to be for many years the only authoritative writings in the Church. But the way had been so far prepared for the association of Christian Scriptures with the OT by the recent inclusion in the LXX of certain apocryphal works which had no place in the Heb. canon. The language of the LXX was also that in which the new religion was to express itself; and the character of the Gr. tongue, so rich and flexible and many-sided, even in its degenerate Hellenistic form, and so worldwide in its use, was itself a token of the freedom from Judaic bonds which Christian thought was to work out for itself, and gave promise of a literature which should be more or less in touch with the intellectual life of the whole civilized world. With the exception of Luke, who seems to have been a Greek (an inference from Col 4$^{11-14}$, which is borne out by the tone and style of his Gospel and the Bk. of Acts), the writers of the NT were of Jewish extraction, and they were all filled with the deepest reverence for the OT. They quote from it nearly 300 times, their quotations being drawn from almost all parts of it; while the instances in which its influence can be traced without any direct quotations from it are still more numerous. The whole NT from first to last reflects the characteristics of the OT in thought as well as in expression; and in the Epistles and Acts and Apocalypse as well as in the Gospels we find constant illustration of Christ's words, 'Think not that I came to destroy the law or the prophets: I came not to destroy, but to fulfil.' The NT fulfils the OT, not by supplementing it but by spiritualizing it, transforming rules into principles, and resolving the outward, temporary, and national into that which is inward, permanent, and universal. In other words, it brings to light and sets free of limitations the essential principles lying at the root of the OT, on which the latter depends for its spiritual life and meaning,—according to the well-known words of Augustine, 'Novum Testamentum in Vetere latet; Vetus Testamentum in Novo patet.' Even in their bodily structure a close analogy has been traced between them, the first portion of each being mainly characterized by the personal manifestation of God, the next by the revelation of His will through the acts and words of His chosen servants, the third and last by prophetic visions of the future.

Yet, notwithstanding this intimate relationship between the two, there is at the same time a strong and essential contrast between them—a contrast as great in their character and contents as in the process of their growth. To some extent the difference in their character may be accounted for by the new conditions of existence to which the Jewish nation was subjected under the Roman Empire, of which we have many tokens in our Lord's parables as well as in other parts of the NT. In some degree, also, it may be traced to the new elements of thought contained in the later Jewish writings already referred to. While the points of contact between the NT and heathen literature are extremely few,[*] the LXX, on the other hand, was familiar to most of the NT writers, their OT quotations being generally derived from it and not from the Heb.; and the influence of several apocr. books contained in it, notably the Bk. of Wisdom, can be discerned in a number of the Epistles, although there is not a single express quotation from any of these books in the NT. In a few instances, also, chiefly in St. Paul's Epistles,[†] a Rabbinical style of argument has been detected; and in the Ep. to the Heb. and the writings of St. John expressions are to be found (such as Λόγος, Παράκλητος, Ἀρχιερεύς, applied to Christ) showing an affinity with the views of Philo, the chief representative of the fresh impulse which Jewish thought received from contact with Greek philosophy at Alexandria and elsewhere. But the most striking signs of transition to a new age are to be found, not in the OT Apocr., properly so-called, or in Rabbinical scholasticism or Hellenistic philosophy, but in the pseudonymous apocalyptic literature (partly recovered within the last century), which was framed on the model of the well-known Book of Daniel, and prepared the way for its Christian counterpart, the Apocalypse of John. Whether this literature was a spirited offshoot from the main stem of Pharisaic thought, or formed part of the esoteric doctrine of the Essenes, whose strange tenets and literature are described by Philo and Josephus, although their name is never even mentioned in the NT, is a question which has not yet been determined. But in Jude we find a direct quotation from one of the most important of these apocalyptic works (*Bk. of Enoch*); and elsewhere there are a few stray quotations and allusions to circumstances not mentioned in the OT for which the writers were probably indebted to a similar source.[‡]

More important than such Haggadic details are certain ideas and expressions in the extant remains of this apocalyptic literature, which appear to be reflected in the thought and language not only of the NT writers but also of our Lord Himself. There are Christian interpolations in these books, and their date of composition is often very uncertain, but, even in those parts of them to which a pre-Christian date may be safely assigned, there are more distinct foreshadowings than any of the OT books contain of a number of truths relating to the spiritual world which hold a more or less prominent place in the NT. Among such elements of Christian thought are the unique personality of the Messiah (of which we have a token in the frequent occurrence in the Bk. of Enoch of the expression, 'the Son of man,' with a Messianic reference that goes far beyond the meaning of the words, 'one like unto a son of man,' in Dn 7[13]), the doctrine of immortality, of the resurrection (cf. Dn 12[2]), of a future judgment with eternal rewards and punishments, of a hierarchy of angels with manifold operations, of the agency of demons, and of predestination, together with enlarged conceptions of Divine providence as embracing universal history, and of the Messianic promise as securing the interests of the individual as well as of the nation: all these developments being due, partly to the foreign elements of thought which the Jews imported from Babylonia and Persia, and partly to the growing hopelessness of their national position (as regarded mere mundane possibilities), which naturally disposed them to the study of eschatology. It was, doubtless, these anticipations of Christianity that gave some of these books so high a place in the estimation of the Church Fathers, who sometimes treated them as if they had been canonical; the Bk. of Enoch, for example, being cited as *γραφή* in the Ep. of Barnabas. In other respects, however, both ethical and theological, this literature comes far short of 'the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ'; and we have still to fall back on the mystery of the Incarnation, with its attendant doctrines of Christ's atoning sacrifice (of which there is scarcely any trace in contemporary Jewish thought, so absorbed was the nation in the formal keeping of the Law as the only means of salvation), of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of men revealed in Christ, of the life and immortality secured by His resurrection from the dead, and of the Holy Spirit imparted by Him to His Church, in order to find an adequate explanation of the majesty of Christ's person and the sublimity of His teaching as depicted in the Gospels, and at the same time to account for the sure and certain hope, the humble and self-renouncing faith, the loving and grateful devotion, the pure, tender, and world-wide morality which are characteristic of the whole NT.

---

[*] There are three quotations from Greek poets by St. Paul (Ac 17^{28}, 1 Co 15^{32}, Tit 1^{12}), and a barely possible allusion to Platonic doctrine by our Lord (Mt 19^{17} RV).

[†] Gal 3^{16} 4$^{22-25}$, 1 Co 9$^{9.\ 10}$ 10$^{1.\ 2}$.

[‡] Lk 4^{25}, cf. Ja 5^{17}; Lk 11^{49}; Jn 7^{38}; Ac 7^{22}, cf. Gal 3^{19}, He 2^{2}; Ac 7^{53}, 1 Co 2^{9} 10^{4}; Eph 5^{14}; 2 Ti 3^{8}; He 11^{37}; Jude ^{9}; 2 P 2^{11}. In the case of several of these passages the sources are mentioned by Church Fathers.

ii. HISTORY OF THE NT, INCLUDING ITS RELATION TO THE CHURCH FATHERS AND THE CHRISTIAN APOCRYPHA.—As already indicated, a New Testament in our sense of the term was something which the apostles never dreamt of. The charge which they had received from their Master was to preach the gospel, and the promise of the Spirit was expressly connected with the bearing of oral testimony. As they had received nothing in writing from their Master's hands, they were not likely to see any necessity for a written word, so long as they were able to fulfil their commission to preach the gospel, especially as they were looking for a speedy return of their Lord, and had no idea that so many centuries were to elapse before the great event should take place. Probably the earliest nucleus of the NT consisted of notes of the apostles' preaching, either drawn up by their hearers for their own use, or intended as an aid to catechists and teachers. Some such notes (probably in Aramaic, of which we have many traces in the Greek text) seem to have formed the basis of our Synoptic Gospels. Although not published in their present form till long after Christ's death, the Gospels narrate events, not in the light shed upon them by subsequent experience, but as they were regarded by the disciples at the time of their occurrence. They also preserve expressions in our Lord's discourses which scarcely ever appear in the phraseology of the early Church, while they are at the same time free from forms of speech which betray the post-apostolic date of apocr. Gospels; and in other respects harmonize with the state of things prior to the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. Before the Gospels assumed their present form, many of the Epistles were already current in the Church. These letters were naturally prized by the Churches to which they were addressed, as well as by other Churches which received copies of them, and they were readily admitted to public reading in the congregation, first of all on special occasions (1 Th 5[17]) and in course of time as a general practice, along with prescribed portions of the OT, after the manner of the Jewish synagogue. As the apostles one after another passed away, their testimony and that of those most closely associated with them was more and more treasured by the Church; and the writings in which that testimony was embodied were felt to be indispensable to the faith and life of the Church. In the Apostolic Fathers we can discern signs of the growing reverence for these writings, not only in their reproduction of the thought and language of a considerable number of the Epistles, representing the leading types of apostolic teaching found in the NT, but also in the terms in which St. Paul's writings are referred to by representative men so far distant from one another as Clement of Rome, Ignatius of Antioch, and Polycarp of Smyrna; while our Gospels are also accredited by the substantial harmony of their contents with the facts assumed by the sub-apostolic writers as the basis of their teaching, although the verbal coincidences are neither numerous nor exact, unless we except the *Didaché* in its quotations from the First and Third Gospels.

But the formal recognition of a new body of Scriptures worthy of being associated with the OT came much later. As the writings composing the NT came into existence only by degrees, in the course of about half a century, to meet the practical needs of the Church, so the collecting of these writings and their setting apart for public use was accomplished only gradually, as the leading representatives of the Church in different parts of the world came to realize the insufficiency and uncertainty of local tradition, and the need for securing the orthodox faith against invasion and corruption. It is not, indeed, till near the close of the 2nd cent. that we find a generally accepted collection of sacred books substantially identical with our NT and equally sacred with the OT. From the nature of its contents, as well as from the language of Patristic writers on the subject, it is evident that the general principle on which the Church proceeded in forming the NT was to admit to it only the writings of apostles, and of those who had written under the influence and direction of apostles. This naturally arose from the fact that the new life of the Church was centred in the person of Jesus Christ, and that the faith of its members depended on the testimony of those who had been brought into close personal contact with Him, or had received a special commission to preach the gospel. But the principle was not always easy of application, and it sometimes led to different conclusions in different parts of the Church, according to the views held as to the authorship of disputed books; while the association of canonical and uncanonical books in the LXX, to which the Fathers were accustomed, tended to make them less rigorous in their judgments than they might have otherwise been. Outside of our NT there were three books which were held in special reverence, being sometimes read in church and occasionally included in great Scripture MSS, viz. the *Epistle of Clement*, the *Epistle of Barnabas*, and the *Shepherd of Hermas*; the authors of these books being supposed by many to be identical with the persons of the same names mentioned in the NT in connexion with the Apostle Paul (Ph 4^3, Ac 12^{25}, Ro 16^{14}). On the other hand, as regards the disputed books contained in our NT (chiefly minor Epistles, with the Ep. to the Heb. and the Book of Rev), it was because their apostolic authorship was more or less distrusted in certain quarters of the Church, owing to the obscurity of their early history or to some dissatisfaction with their contents, that the right of these books to a place in the Canon was more or less called in question, until at length the public opinion of the Church found expression at the 3rd Council of Carthage in A.D. 397, when the very same books as are contained in our NT were acknowledged to be canonical, and declared to be the only books that should be read in church.

This decree (which seems to have reflected the general mind of the Church, and which has been practically acquiesced in ever since,[*] notwithstanding occasional controversies regarding individual books, and amid conflicting theories as to the authority of Scripture) had the effect of excluding from the Canon not only the three writings already referred to, and one or two other productions of the post-apostolic age which were highly esteemed in the Church although they made no claim to apostolic authority, but also another and less worthy class of writings, dating from the 2nd to the end of the 4th cent., which played an important part in the life of the Church, and throw a valuable light on the history of the NT. These are what are known as Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypses, apparently numerous, but of which only a small part have come down to us, a few in their entirety, some in a fragmentary form, and others only in name. They varied greatly in their form and contents, but, apart from the early compositions referred to in St. Luke's Gospel ($1^{1 \cdot 2}$), which soon disappeared (unless our Second Gospel was one of them) in the survival of the fittest, they were either supplementary to the Canonical Scriptures, furnishing information or doctrine on subjects but little dealt with in the NT, or, more frequently, they were composed for the purpose of bolstering up heretical opinions or practices which were seen to have little or no canonical support. Many of the 'Gospels' were mainly derived from those in the NT (the recently recovered 'Gospel of Peter' borrows from all the four), with more or less modification of the original in the interest of some Gnostic or other heresy. The modification was liable to alteration from time to time (as may be seen from the wide variations in the different MSS of the same work) to meet the exigencies of successive teachers, who issued their several recensions under great names—generally those of apostles—after the manner of the pseudonymous Jewish writers already referred to. Very often the same work was known under a variety of names. For example, the 'Gospel of the Hebrews,' which may have been a Judaic recension of the Heb. original of our St. Matthew, has been identified with the 'Gospel of the Nazarenes' and the still more heretical 'Gospel of the Ebionites,' as well as with the Gospels of Bartholomew, Cerinthus, and the Twelve Apostles. In this 'Gosp. of the Hebrews' and some other primitive documents, such as the 'Gosp. of Peter' (*c.* A.D. 125, or, acc. to some, 165) and the 'Gosp. of the Egyptians' (also dating from the 2nd cent.), it may well be that a certain amount of oral tradition was incorporated, which had been preserved by the Jews who resided near the scene of the evangelic history. It in no degree weakens the authority of the NT to find a few grains of such extra-canonical matter appearing in the works of an early Patristic writer, such as Justin Martyr, or even to find an apocr. Gospel quoted by a writer of an eclective turn, like Clement of Alexandria. So far from impairing the credit of the NT writings, these apocr. productions of a later age bear witness to the authority which the written word had already acquired in the Church, and show the necessity under which heretical teachers lay either to manipulate the text of the received books or to adduce other and equally high testimony in favour of their peculiar views. In general, the literature in question is manifestly counterfeit. Much of it is of a character degrading to Christianity, the extravagance and absurdity of its miracles, especially in its pictures of the Saviour's childhood, presenting a sad contrast to the chaste dignity of the canonical records; and there is none of it which, either in respect of outward attestation or intrinsic excellence, can be held to have been unjustly dealt with in being denied admission to the NT. The writings of the Church Fathers show how little influence it exerted in the early Church compared with the NT writings, which formed the general standard of faith and practice, and sometimes even contributed the only element that redeemed Patristic literature from inanity and unprofitableness. The lapse of time, while it exalted the NT Scriptures to honour, brought the apocr. literature into general disrepute.[*] Within a century or two after it had reached the height of its popularity (4th cent.), it lost its place in public esteem and gradually passed out of the notice of the Church, leaving its traces indeed on the productions of Christian art, and influencing by its legends the festivals and preaching of the Church, but deemed of no account by thinkers and theologians, until the rise of modern criticism invested it with a new and scientific interest, when a fresh sense of its immeasurable inferiority to the Canonical Scriptures has impressed itself upon the mind of the Church.

The following are notable features in the history of the NT, from a literary point of view as well as in the interests of criticism. (1) The age and number of its MSS. Some of these date from the 4th or 5th cent.,[†] and the whole number of them exceeds 2000, forming an immense array of witnesses, compared with the few MSS of classical works, which can frequently be counted on the fingers, and in some cases do not reach back to within a thousand years of the age in which the work was produced. (2) The number of its VSS. It has been translated into almost all languages, beginning with the Old Lat. and Syr. VSS, which may have originated in the first half of the 2nd cent., followed a little later by the Egyptian (in three different forms)—the Gothic in the 4th cent., the Ethiopic in the 4th or 5th cent., and the Armenian in the middle of the 5th century. (3) The extent to which it has been reproduced in subsequent writings. It is quoted, echoed, or commented on by the great majority of early Christian writers. The sympathy of the Apostolic Fathers with its contents has been already mentioned. The extant writings of the next half century are mainly defences of Christianity addressed to unbelievers, admitting of fewer quotations from the Scriptures than if they had been intended for members of the Church. But, speaking generally, it may be said that the language, and still more the substance, of the NT is woven into the earliest Christian writings that have come down to us, while the quotations by a single writer in the end of the 2nd and in the 3rd, 4th, and 5th cent. are sometimes so extensive as to amount to a considerable part of the whole NT—more than half of it, for example, being imbedded in the works of Origen.

---

[*] The Vulgate had a good deal to do with this result in the West, just as earlier translations affected the form and extent of the Canon in their several spheres of influence.

[*] We have an early example of this in what Eusebius tells us (*HE* vi. 12) of the obscurity into which the once popular 'Gospel of Peter' (used apparently by Justin as one of his 'Memoirs') had fallen in the time of Serapion, bishop of Antioch (*c.* A.D. 200).

[†] The Oxyrhynchus fragment containing Mt $1^{1-9.\ 12.\ 14-20}$ may date from the end of the 3rd cent. (see Grenfell and Hunt).

These circumstances, while they give the NT a unique place in literature and afford valuable means for proving the antiquity and integrity of its contents, are attended with the disadvantage of causing uncertainty in innumerable passages as to the precise terms of the original. A careful examination of the existing authorities has led to the discovery of about 200,000 'Various Readings,' which are chiefly to be accounted for by the greater liability to error in copying with the hand than in the use of the printing-press. The difference between the various readings, however, is seldom of such a nature as to affect in the slightest degree the substance of the NT. If all the expressions whose accuracy is in question were brought together and printed in a consecutive form, they would not exceed the length of St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, while the disputed verses possessed of any doctrinal significance would not be equal collectively to the shortest Epistle of St. John.

In this connexion it may be well to point out that there is nothing to justify the assumption that we possess all the apostolic writings that were ever in the possession of the primitive Church. So far from this, there are expressions in some of St. Paul's Epistles which suggest that he wrote other letters besides those which have come down to us (1 Co 5^{9}, 2 Th 3^{17}, cf. 2 Co 11^{28}). We can understand how an apostle's letters might be less prized during his lifetime than after his death, when the loss of any of his writings would be seen to be irreparable; and it is no more astonishing that Providence should have suffered such writings to perish, than that so many of our Lord's spoken words, and those of His apostles, should have been allowed to pass away, or that so many of His great deeds should have been allowed to go unrecorded (Jn 21^{25}).

iii. CONTENTS OF THE NT (*Its individual Books and their Writers*).—The NT consists of 27 different books, by 9 different authors, each book having its special characteristics corresponding to the personality of its writer, and the circumstances in which it was written, but all contributing their part to one divine whole centred in the person of the Lord Jesus Christ. As early as the 2nd cent. there was a recognized distinction between 'the Gospel' and 'the Apostle,' just as we find a threefold division of the OT in Lk 24^{44} and elsewhere. The former denoted the four Gospels; the latter, the Epistles of St. Paul, to which were added by degrees the Book of Acts, the Catholic Epistles, and the Apocalypse, under the general name of 'the Apostles.' All these were seldom comprised in one MS, and their arrangement varies in MSS containing more than one section and in canonical lists given by Church Fathers, as is also the case with the arrangement of the several books in each section, showing that the consolidation of the NT was a process still going on.

1. *The Gospels.*—In all cases the Gospels come first. This position has been fitly assigned to them, not only because they were perhaps the first NT Scriptures to be regularly associated with the OT in the public reading of the Church, but also because the history which they record forms the corner-stone of the Christian religion, which bases its doctrines not on speculation but on fact. Drawn up without concert and without the formal sanction of the Church, they contain, in a form suitable for all ages and for all classes, several independent records of Christ's life and teaching, of which it may be said with truth that they are better authenticated and more nearly contemporaneous with the events narrated than any other record we possess in connexion with any other period of ancient history. A comparison of the four Gospels, however, reveals a marked difference between the fourth and the first three. The latter give in one common view the same general outline of the ministry of Christ, but this outline is almost entirely confined to His ministry in Galilee, and includes only one visit to Jerusalem; whereas the Fourth Gospel gives an account of no fewer than five visits to Jerusalem, and lays the scene of the ministry chiefly in Judæa. A still more important distinction between them has been briefly expressed by designating the Synoptic Gospels as the bodily Gospels, and the Fourth as the spiritual Gospel—by which it is meant that the former relate chiefly the outward events connected with the Saviour's visible presence, reported for the most part without note or comment, while the latter is designed to represent the ideal and heavenly side of His personality and work. Akin to this distinction is the fact that the first three report Christ's addresses to the multitude, consisting largely of parables, while the Fourth contains discourses of a more sublime character, frequently expressed in the language of allegory and addressed to the inner circle of His followers. Furthermore, when we enter into a close examination of the Synoptic Gospels and compare them with one another, we find an amount of similarity in detail, extending even to minute expressions and the connexion of individual incidents, combined with a diversity of diction, arrangement, and contents, which it has hitherto baffled the ingenuity of critics fully to explain. While further investigation may shed more light on the historical and literary relations of the Gospels, there is a deep underlying unity amid their diversity which may be best discerned, not by attempting to piece them together so as to form a complete chronological history, but by studying each from its own point of view, and learning from it what it has to teach concerning the many-sided character and life of Jesus Christ. Speaking generally, we may say that, while the First Gospel sets forth Christ's life and teaching with reference to the *past*, as the fulfilment of the OT, the Gospel of St. Mark exhibits that life in the *present*, as a manifestation of the activity and power so congenial to the Roman mind; St. Luke, as a Greek, depicts it in its catholic and comprehensive character, as destined in the *future* to embrace within its saving influence all the kindreds of the Gentiles; while the Fourth Gospel represents it in its absolute perfection, as it is related to the Father in *eternity*.

With regard to the authorship of the Gospels, it is a remarkable fact that two of them do not bear the names of apostles but of companions of apostles (Mark and Luke), and that, of the other two, only one bears the name of an apostle of eminence (John)—which is so far a confirmation of their genuineness. With regard to the First Gospel, there is no reason to doubt the tradition of the ancient Church, beginning with Papias in the first half of the 2nd cent., which assigns it in its original form to St. Matthew. But whether it was originally written in Heb., as stated by Papias, and how far it has been altered by recension, are questions which have not yet been determined. See MATTHEW (GOSPEL OF). With equal unanimity the testimony of the Fathers, beginning with Papias, ascribe the Second Gospel to St. Mark, who is said to have embodied in it the preaching of St. Peter. This view is strongly confirmed by the tone and character of the book, which is generally regarded as containing, in a more or less modified form, the earliest cycle of apostolic teaching. See art. MARK. With regard to the authorship of the Third Gospel, there is substantial unanimity. Tradition has always ascribed it to St. Luke, the friend and companion of the Apostle Paul, at the same time assigning to the latter a part in its production somewhat similar to that which St. Peter is believed to have borne in relation to the Gospel of Mark—a view supported to a certain extent by the character of the Gospel itself, which forms an excellent historic groundwork for the doctrine of salvation by grace that was characteristic of St. Paul's preaching. See art. LUKE. Until the close of the 18th cent. the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel was never seriously challenged. In some respects it has stronger external testimony in its favour than any of the others; and the whole tone of the book gives the impression that it was written by one who was familiar with the inner life of Christ and His apostles, as well as with the topography of Jerusalem and the ideas and customs prevalent among the Jews before the destruction of their capital. Moreover, the spiritual elevation of the book is vastly superior to anything we find in the sub-apostolic age, and the Johannine authorship is attended with fewer difficulties than any other that has been suggested. If it was written in Ephesus about A.D. 85 (which is in accordance with the earliest tradition), an interval of more than half a century had elapsed since the death of Christ, during which Christianity had spread into many lands and furnished subjects for reflexion to many minds. In these circumstances it was inevitable that the truths of the Gospel should be viewed in new lights and assume more speculative forms; and in Ephesus, as the great meeting-place of Oriental mysticism and Greek philosophy, the deeper questions and more theological aspects of the new religion would naturally claim a large measure of attention. See, further, art. JOHN (GOSPEL OF).

2. *The Book of Acts.*—This invaluable document, which is our chief authority on the history of the Church for nearly a generation after Christ's death, is evidently from the same pen as the Gospel of Luke, to which it is intended to be a sequel. The writer conceives of Christ as still carrying on His work in virtue of His resurrection and ascension, and seeks to trace the gradual expansion of the Church from its first beginning, as a seeming phase of Judaism, to its full development as a Catholic communion, free alike to Jew and Gentile. Although the author does not speak in his own name till he reaches the point in his narrative at which he joined St. Paul's company at Troas, and was evidently dependent in the earlier part of his work on a variety of sources, oral and written, yet the book has a natural unity of diction and style, which forbids us to assign it to more than one author; and its several parts are so interlaced by corresponding observations and allusions as to lead to the same conclusion. Recent investigations have enhanced the reputation which the work had previously enjoyed for historical worth and accuracy; and the belief is becoming general that it must have been written by a historian of the first rank. Regarding its date of composition, no conclusion has been reached beyond what may be inferred from the fact that it was written by a contemporary and companion of the Apostle Paul, at some time subsequent to his first imprisonment at Rome (A.D. 63). See art. ACTS.

3. *The Pauline Epistles and the Ep. to the Hebrews.*—One of the characteristics of the NT, as compared with all other sacred books, is the epistolary character of a large part of its contents.* Although most of the Epistles were written at an earlier period than the Gospels in their present form, they represent in general a more advanced stage of Christian theology. They give us the fruits of from twenty to fifty years' reflexion on the cardinal facts and truths contained in the Synoptic Gospels, and are the chief source of Christian doctrine on such subjects as the Trinity, the relation of Christ to the human race and to the Church, the Atonement, Justification by faith, and Sanctification by the Holy Spirit. They contain more explicit claims, in varying modes and forms, to divine inspiration and authority, than the Gospels or the Bk. of Acts; but, while largely doctrinal in character, most of them were written for the purpose of dealing with questions of a practical nature, and are enlivened with many personal allusions.

What has just been said is especially true of the Epistles of St. Paul. While bearing evidence in many passages of being written more or less under the conscious influence of the Holy Spirit, they had their rise in the special needs and circumstances of the various Churches to which they were addressed. They are thirteen in number, and may be divided into four groups, extending over the last fifteen years or more of the apostle's life, and exhibiting, amid many similarities and correlations, a well-marked development of thought: viz. (*a*) 1 and 2 Th, which were written about A.D. 53 [Turner, 50–52], at least sixteen years after the apostle's conversion, and turn largely on questions relating to Christ's Second Coming. (*b*) 1 and 2 Co, Gal, and Ro, which were written during his third missionary journey (A.D. 57–58 [Turner, 55–56 for 1 and 2 Co and Ro, date of Gal he leaves undecided]), and were mainly designed to vindicate his apostolic authority and preserve the gospel from the inroads of Judaism. (*c*) The Epistles of the Imprisonment, viz., Ph, Col, Philem, and Eph (the last named being in all probability a circular-letter, identical with 'the epistle from Laodicea' referred to in Col 4^{16}), which were written from Rome about A.D. 62–63 [Turner, 59–61], and range from the humblest personal details to the loftiest speculations regarding the being and destiny of the Church. (*d*) The Pastoral Epistles to Timothy and Titus, which are distinguished from all the others by their want of historical agreement with any period in St. Paul's life as recorded in the Bk. of Acts, and also by their strongly-marked individuality alike in style and substance. These circumstances have given rise to serious doubt of their genuineness, which is largely obviated, however, by supposing them to have been written after the imprisonment recorded in the closing chapter of the Acts, and in the last year of the apostle's life—say A.D. 67–68. It is worthy of note that the Epistles in the second group are almost universally admitted to be genuine, which is a most important admission from an evidential point of view, as they contain many allusions to detailed matters of fact mentioned in the Gospels, and prove that the story of Christ's death and resurrection as told in the four Gospels was the chief theme of St. Paul's preaching. The evidence is all the more valuable because it is indirect, the letters having manifestly been written without any such object in view, and being addressed to several independent communities far removed from one another. Having regard to the tone of sincerity, tempered with sobriety of judgment, which characterizes these Epistles, as well as to the early association of the writer with the Jewish authorities at Jerusalem, and the opportunities he had for ascertaining the real facts of the evangelic history, we are led inevitably to the conclusion that St. Paul's Gospel had the same historic groundwork of essential and well-attested facts regarding Christ's life and teaching as we find recorded in the four Gospels. See separate arts. on these various Epistles.

---

* It contains twenty-one letters by six different authors. Nine of these are addressed to individual Churches, viz. 1 and 2 Th, 1 and 2 Co, Gal, Ro, Ph, Col, 2 Jn; five to individual persons viz. Philem, 1 and 2 Ti, Tit, 3 Jn; two to Heb. Christians, viz. He and Ja; the remaining five being of a more or less general nature, viz. Eph, 1 and 2 P, 1 Jn, and Jude.

As regards *the Ep. to the Hebrews*, which has always been closely associated with the Pauline Epistles, there is evidence that from the latter half of the 2nd cent. it was assigned by the Eastern Church to the Apostle Paul, although some of the most competent judges were constrained by internal evidence to depart somewhat from the traditional view, their idea being that St. Paul might have written the original, and one of his disciples have translated it into Greek, or that the apostle might have supplied the thoughts, and one of his disciples have put them into words. In the Western Church, on the other hand, opinion was for a long time adverse to the Pauline authorship; and it was not till the close of the 4th cent. that the Ep. was acknowledged to be a writing of St. Paul's. This view has now been generally abandoned, as the result of a closer study of the style and structure of the book; and for the same reason, the idea that it may be a translation of a work by the apostle is also admitted to be untenable. At the same time there seems no reason to doubt that it was written by one of St. Paul's school. Luke, Clement, Apollos, Barnabas, have all been suggested, the latter two being those in whose favour most can be said. As to the destination of the Ep., various allusions show that it was not intended for Heb. Christians in general, but for some definite community. Alexandria, Antioch, Ephesus, Rome, have each had their advocates; but the position of Christians in Jerusalem or in some other part of Palestine seems to answer best to the situation which the writer has in view. Respecting the date of composition, the mention of Timothy's liberation (He 13[23]), which took place presumably at Rome, whither he had been summoned by St. Paul in his last imprisonment, points to a time shortly anterior to the destruction of Jerusalem—an inference which is confirmed by other expressions in the Ep., referring to the decadence of the Jewish Dispensation. The great theme of the Ep. is the superiority of Christianity to Judaism, which it attempts to prove, not so much by minimizing the old covenant (as St. Paul had been obliged to do in vindicating the freedom of his Gentile converts) as by magnifying the new as a fulfilment of the old. See, further, HEBREWS (EPISTLE TO).

4. *The Catholic Epistles.*—There are 7 Epistles which from the 4th cent. have gone under this name, viz. Ja, 1 and 2 P, 1 2 3 Jn, and Jude. They were so called in contradistinction to St. Paul's Epistles, which, with the exception of the Pastoral Epp. and Philem, are addressed to individual Churches, also 7 in number.* In most of the Greek MSS the Cath. Epp. stand next to Acts, although they were much later than the Pauline Epp. in obtaining general recognition in the Church.

(*a*) *The General Ep. of James.*—This is now generally admitted to be a genuine work of 'James, the Lord's brother' (Gal 1[19]), who for many years presided over the Church at Jerusalem. The internal evidence is strongly in its favour, and the rarity of allusions to it in the early Christian writers may be accounted for by its circulation being confined to Jewish Christians, as well as by the narrow sphere of labour in which the writer himself moved, his whole life apparently having been spent in Jerusalem. It is addressed 'To the twelve tribes which are of the Dispersion,' and there is no reason to take the words in any other than a literal sense. The tone of the Ep. is eminently practical, the object of the writer being to inculcate Christian morality as essential to salvation. Hence it partakes largely of the ethical character of the Sermon on the Mount, which it resembles not only in its general tone and sentiment, but in many of its expressions. The marked absence of anything like developed Christian doctrine, as well as the expectation which it exhibits of Christ's speedy coming to judge the world (5[8]), and the application of the term 'synagogue' (2[2]) to an assembly of Christian worshippers, seem to require an early date for the Ep.; and as there is no sign of acquaintance with the sharp controversy regarding the obligations of the Jewish law, which came to a head in the Council of Jerusalem (A.D. 50), there seems good reason to regard this as the oldest book in the NT, dating between A.D. 44 and 49. See, further, JAMES (EPISTLE OF).

(*b*) *The 1st Ep. of Peter.*—There is no reason to doubt that this Ep. was written by the apostle whose name it bears. Hardly any book of the NT is better supported by external evidence, while internally it bears in many of its features the stamp of St. Peter's mind and the traces of his experience, as these are represented to us in the Gospels and the Bk. of Acts. It is addressed 'To the elect who are sojourners of the Dispersion in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia'; but there is a difference of opinion whether these words are to be taken in a literal sense, as denoting Jewish Christians merely, or as embracing 'the Israel of God' in the widest sense. As it appears, however, from a number of passages that the readers of the Ep. were largely Gentiles, the latter supposition seems to accord best with the facts. Similarly, 'Babylon' (5[13]) should probably be understood in a figurative sense as meaning Rome, the writer's point of view being in full harmony with this supposition. There is also some controversy as to the *date* of the Epistle. Some would assign it to the period of the Flavian dynasty, but the probability seems to be that it was written shortly after the outbreak of the Neronian persecution, when the Christians in the provinces were beginning to experience the effects of the imperial example at Rome, about 64–65. The very name of Christian was becoming a term of reproach (4[16]), and the chief object of the writer is to inculcate patience under trial and perseverance in well-doing in a spirit of hope.

(*c*) *The 2nd Ep. of Peter.*—The genuineness of this Ep. has been more questioned than that of any other book in the NT. The external evidence for it is comparatively meagre; but the chief objection to it both in ancient and in modern times has arisen from its differing so greatly in tone and substance from the 1st Epistle. This objection is so far obviated by the fact that while the 1st was designed to encourage and support Christians under persecution, this was evidently intended to warn against false teachers, who were spreading corruption in the Church. Moreover, amid the general difference of style, a close examination of the language and thought in this Epistle brings out many points of resemblance between it and St. Peter's expressions elsewhere; and in several respects it does not tally with the supposition of forgery. The mention of St. Paul's Epp., however ($3^{15.16}$), as if they were already known to the Asiatic Churches, and in the same category as 'the other Scriptures' (τὰς λοιπὰς γραφάς), as well as the marked resemblance of this Ep., in style, to the recently discovered 'Apocalypse of Peter,' seem to imply a post-apostolic date; and there is much to favour the view of Prof. W. M. Ramsay, who regards the Ep. as the work of 'a disciple who was full of the spirit and words of his teacher, and who believed so thoroughly that he was giving the words of his teacher that he attributed it to that teacher.' See, further, PETER (EPISTLES OF).

---

* The symbolism of numbers has an interesting bearing on the proportions of the NT, not only in the use of 7 in the cases above mentioned (cf. Rev 1[4]) and in the case of the Pauline Epp., which (including He)=7×2, but also in the number of the Gospels, to which Irenæus and others, under the influence of a revived Neo-Pythagoreanism, ascribed a mystic virtue.

(*d*) *The Ep. of Jude.*—This Epistle is in the name of 'Judas, a servant of Jesus Christ, and brother of James.' The James whom the writer here claims as his brother was the well-known head of the Church at Jerusalem, one of our Lord's brethren, and the writer of the Ep. that bears his name; and therefore Jude is not to be identified with any of the apostles of the same name mentioned in the Gospels. There is such a striking resemblance between this Ep. (consisting of a single chapter) and the 2nd chapter of 2 P as to justify the belief that the one was borrowed from the other. But as this Ep. has some features of originality about it which the other lacks, we may infer that Peter and not Jude was the borrower—a supposition confirmed by the way in which certain quotations in Jude from non-canonical Jewish Scriptures almost disappear from 2 P, along with one or two references to Levitical uncleanness, as if the writer desired as far as possible to adapt his writing for general use. This Ep. is full of sharp and stern denunciation aimed at practical evils of a most heinous character, founded on a gross abuse of Christian liberty. It probably emanated from Palestine in the period immediately preceding the destruction of Jerusalem. See, further, art. JUDE (EPISTLE OF).

(*e*) *The 1st Ep. of John.*—There is abundance of evidence, both external and internal, to prove that this Ep. was written by the author of the Fourth Gospel, and forms a sequel to it. The readers are not specified, but in all probability it was addressed in the first instance to the Churches of Asia, among whom St. John spent the latter part of his life. The writer speaks in a quiet tone of authority, as if he were well known to his readers and were well acquainted with their dangers and their needs. He insists on the translation into the Christian life of those great truths regarding the fellowship of God with man, which, in the Fourth Gospel, are exhibited in the life and ministry of Jesus Christ.

(*f*) *The 2nd Ep. of John.*—This Ep. has all the appearance of being genuine. It bears a strong resemblance to the 1st, no fewer than 7 of its 13 verses having something parallel in the other. It is addressed 'Unto the elect lady and her children,' by whom we are probably to understand a Church and its members; and the object of the Ep. is to warn them against the insidious and corrupting influence of certain heretical teachers who were going about denying the reality of Christ's humanity. The title of 'the elder,' which the writer assumes, implies that he was a well-known personage in the Church, and is one that could be fitly claimed by St. John as the last of the apostles.

(*g*) *The 3rd Ep. of John.*—This Ep., like the 2nd, is written in the name of 'the elder,' and it has so many expressions in common with the other that they have been fitly termed 'twins.' It gives us a momentary glimpse of Church life in Asia towards the close of the 1st cent., and illustrates the practical difficulties which had to be encountered in the government of the Church. It is addressed 'Unto Gaius the beloved,' a faithful and liberal member of the Church, whose influence and example the writer invokes, in opposition to the intolerant and factious conduct of an ambitious ecclesiastic named Diotrephes, who had gone so far as to close his doors on 'the brethren' who had come in the name of 'the elder,' apparently bearing a letter from him—perhaps our 2nd Epistle. See, further, JOHN (EPISTLES OF).

5. *The Revelation of St. John.*—The Apocalypse has experienced greater vicissitudes as regards its acceptance in the Church than any other book of the NT, owing partly to the Chiliastic views associated with it, and partly to the marked difference in its language and style as compared with the other works ascribed to St. John. It bears to be written by 'John to the seven Churches which are in Asia'; and it is a significant fact that its apostolic authorship was accepted by Justin Martyr (not to mention some earlier apparent witnesses) in the dialogue which he held with Trypho at Ephesus within half a century after St. John's death. Its wide divergence from the Fourth Gospel, both in ideas and in language, may be accounted for in some measure by the difference in the nature and contents of the two books, the one being mainly narrative or colloquial, the other formed on the model of Jewish apocalypse; and there are not wanting some important features of resemblance between them, betokening an identity of authorship. With regard to the date of this book, there is a growing conviction that the theory which connects it with the persecution in the reign of Nero, and puts its composition before the destruction of Jerusalem, must be abandoned, and that the 'tribulation' referred to (1^9) was that which befell Christians in the provinces, especially in Asia Minor, at a later date, when they refused to pay divine honour to the emperor. The main theme of the book is the second coming of Christ, pictorially set forth as the glorious consummation of great struggles and marvellous events. Its unity has recently been assailed, but the attempts to disintegrate it have not met with general acceptance. See, further, art. REVELATION (BOOK OF).

On the whole subject of this article, reference may be made, further, to such articles as BIBLE, CANON, CATHOLIC EPISTLES, GOSPELS, NEW TESTAMENT CANON, PAUL, etc., as well as to the separate articles on the various books of the NT, and the Literature appended to these.

J. A. M'CLYMONT.

NEW TESTAMENT CANON.—

Introduction—general character of the history of the formation of the Canon—considerations to be borne in mind in estimating the facts—the chief periods.

A. From end of apostolic age to *c.* A.D. 220.—Circumstances specially affecting the evidence for the Gospels.

i. The sub-apostolic age.—Its documents—Ep. of Clem. Rom. to the Corinthians—Epp. of Ignatius and Polycarp—evidence as to the use of (1) the Gospels, (2) other NT writings.

ii. The second quarter of the 2nd century.

(1) The use of the Gospels—Ep. of Barnabas—the Didaché—Shepherd of Hermas—Fragments of Papias—the so-called 2nd Ep. of Clement—Justin Martyr—Gnostic heretics—Montanists.

(2) Use of other writings of NT.

iii. Third quarter of 2nd century—Tatian.

iv. Last quarter of 2nd century and beginning of 3rd.—The impugners of St. John's writings—Theophilus—the evidence afforded by works of Irenæus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus. (1) Writings whose place in the Canon was already, at and from this time, fully secured. (*a*) Remarks upon the area from which this evidence comes; (*b*) inferences that may be drawn as to the previous history of the reception of these writings in the Church. (2) Writings whose position continued to be for a time doubtful.

B. From *c.* A.D. 220-323.—The teaching and works of Origen and their influence—judgment of Dionysius of Alexandria on the Apocalypse—evidence of Eusebius as regards the Canon.

C. Concluding period.—Influences favourable to a final settlement—lists of Cyril of Jerusalem, Athanasius, Epiphanius—the Cheltenham Catalogue, Third Council of Carthage—evidence for Rome and other neighbouring Churches—Council of Laodicea, Gregory Nazianzen, Amphilochius—the Canon of the teachers belonging to school of Antioch—the Peshitta—the Quinisext. Council—the effect of the Reformation.

INTRODUCTION.—The subject of this article is the formation of the NT, the gathering, into one, of the collection of books which we so name, to be the sacred books of the New Dispensation. These writings form the Canon of the NT (for the term *Canon*, its idea and history, see art. CANON). It is with the process which resulted in the recognition of a Canon that we are here concerned. The investigation and right conception of this history have proved, and are still, a very hard and complicated task. The evidence is to be gathered from early Christian literature; but the age and authenticity of many of its documents, especially for the two or three generations succeeding the apostles, which form the most important period of all, have been hotly contested; and, even apart from this, the evidence supplied by them is, from special causes (as we shall see), difficult to interpret. Nevertheless, some real progress has been made in the illumination of the subject. A common judgment has been attained, or there is an approximation to one, in regard to some of the most important of the documents concerned and as to the bearing of some portions of the evidence, on the part of many students whose doctrinal points of view are very diverse; and the important questions still at issue have been narrowed and cleared. It would hardly be possible now to maintain views of the formation of the Canon such as those of men so learned as Lardner (supplement to pt. ii. bk. i. of the *Credibility*, ch. iii. 2nd ed. p. 49) and Mosheim (*Eccl. Hist.* bk. i. pt. ii. ch. ii. § 16, i. p. 64 in Eng. tr. of 1863) in former times. It was a more gradual process than they imagined, and it had more than one stage. The student of the history of the Canon must endeavour to mark the stages and the epochs at which they were reached, to determine the greater or less rapidity of the movement towards the establishment of the Canon, to ascertain the causes which promoted or retarded it, and the considerations which were influential in bringing about the acceptance or rejection of different writings.

A certain development of thought and feeling in respect to the books of NT must be acknowledged. But to say this is by no means inconsistent with belief in their authenticity as genuine products of the apostolic age. It required time, and the experience of needs which were not fully felt at once, for the Christian Church to perceive clearly what a treasure she possessed in these writings. And the most important question which has to be decided in regard to the history of the Canon is, Whether the development which can be traced was one which involved a misrepresentation of facts, or only an awakening to the real significance of facts which had long been known.

In judging of the evidence, it will be right to remember the conditions implied in the very supposition of such a growth as has just been indicated. Convictions which are more or less latent, which have not been formulated, exercise far less authority than those which have been definitely put forth and for some time accepted without question. So long as the belief of Christians in regard to the new Scriptures was of the former kind the signs of its existence might be somewhat obscure, and there might be more or less serious departures from it here and there, in spite of its being in reality widely diffused and well founded.

The special circumstances must also be borne in mind, which were of a nature to retard for a time the formation of a Canon of NT, and also to make the recognition accorded to the apostolic writings appear to us less decided than it was in reality. (*a*) The fact that Christians already had a Bible—the OT—must first be noticed. In time, no doubt, this may have facilitated the reception of another body of Scriptures. For the idea of a Bible, a collection of inspired, authoritative writings, had been rendered familiar, and it was necessary only that it should be applied to the books which enshrined the New Revelation. But this could not be at once accomplished. Great as the veneration for the apostles was, there could not be the same feeling for new writings as for those which had long been hallowed. Moreover, in form the apostolic writings were different in many respects from those of the OT, and, in particular, they did not bear so plainly upon their very face a claim to inspiration as its prophetic and legislative books did. Besides all this, the OT itself largely supplied the place of Christian Scriptures in apostolic and sub-apostolic times. To an extent which we find hard to understand, it was used as a source of Christian instruction. The divine truths newly imparted and the actual facts of the life of Christ and founding of His kingdom were read between the lines of the ancient Scriptures (Lk 24[27. 44. 45], Ac 8[35.] 18[28], 2 Ti 3[15], and last fragment of Melito, *ap.* Eus. *HE* iv. 26). The need was thus partially met which the apostolic writings could alone adequately satisfy. (*b*) Again, the gospel message and the new law had first been delivered by word of mouth, and there is good reason to believe that even the memory of the oral teaching of the apostles was for a time, in some measure, a rival of their own written testimony in the regard and affections of Christians.

A just and vivid sense of these peculiar conditions, and some others which will come before us in the course of our survey, is necessary, if we are to understand the phenomena aright, and to refrain from giving undue weight to objections which are founded on paucity of evidence. Proof, however, of a positive kind that, from the confines of the lifetime of the apostles, the writings of NT were known among Christians, can be found only in a full estimate of the facts as a whole, supplied by the documents not only of the one or two earliest but of subsequent generations. When the alleged indications of the use of NT writings at the former time are taken by themselves, they may be far from convincing; they may show little more than that it is a tenable assumption, that our Christian Scriptures, or the chief of them, were already in circulation. But when we advance a few years, we find them clearly occupying a position which they could not have attained at a bound, and which no other writings shared with them. And we are justified in inferring that the earlier signs referred to are—not only possibly but—really traces of acquaintance with them. In this way we reach a highly probable conclusion, even when the facts directly connected with the reception of these writings are alone taken into account. It will be strongly confirmed if the belief (the grounds of which can barely be touched upon in this article) is well founded, that there was substantial continuity of life and organization in the Christian Church from the beginning till its history emerges into full light in the latter part of the 2nd cent., such as would afford a guarantee for the faithful preservation of traditions on important matters.

The history of the Canon of NT may be divided into the following periods:—*A*, the *first*, which is by far the most important, extends from the end of the apostolic age to the early years of the 3rd cent. (for convenience we may say to A.D. 220, which was about the time of the deaths of Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, and Hippolytus). At this latter epoch we see the greater part of the books of NT occupying the position in the Church which they have ever since held. *B*, the *second*, extends, roughly speaking, to the pacification of the empire under Constantine (A.D. 323). It was a time of comparison between the lists of NT Scriptures accepted in different Churches, and discussion of the claims of those not universally received; but there was much uncertainty still in regard to certain books. *C*. From A.D. 323 onwards, the final settlement, though it was attained at various times in different parts of the Church.

A. From the end of the Apostolic Age to the early Years of the Third Century.—In reviewing this period, it will be convenient to subdivide. Further, under each subdivision the evidence as to the use of the Gospels and as to that of other writings of the NT should be separately examined. There is more than one reason for proceeding thus. It is probable that, even before a comprehensive collection of the sacred writings of the new dispensation was thought of, its formation was being advanced through the independent formation of groups of writings which afterwards became important constituent elements of the whole body, as well as by the recognition of the authority of individual writings which might or might not belong to these groups. Two of these minor collections, the making of which must readily have suggested itself, would seem to have been that of the Four Gospels and that of the Epistles of St. Paul. The rolls on which the writings of these two classes were written were commonly kept, we may imagine, each in its own roll-case.

The evidence as to the reception of the Gospels is affected by special circumstances. Owing to the nature of their subject-matter—the occurrence of the same sayings and incidents in different Gospels, the possibility that some of these may have been found also in other documents or orally reported—it may not be open to us to infer with certainty the use of any particular Gospel from parallelisms of statement and of language between them and early Christian writers. On the other hand, when a striking, unusual sentence or phrase found in one of the other writings of NT appears in a work of post-apostolic times, even though it may not be introduced as a quotation, there can generally be little doubt that there is a literary relationship between the two, and that it was not the NT writer who was the borrower.

But this is not all. The facts of the life and death and resurrection of Jesus Christ and His words made up the substance of the Gospel. Owing to the sublimity of the subject, men's eyes were turned at first solely to it, and away from the witnesses and the form of the records. The substance was felt to be everything. For some time little sense is shown of the importance of reproducing accurately the individual testimony of different writers. There was also a very natural disposition to combine various accounts with a view to greater fulness or succinctness. Not a few probable illustrations of this tendency might be given, and a very elaborate effort of the kind was made soon after the middle of the 2nd century.

The manner in which τὸ εὐαγγέλιον is used (sing. and with def. art.) is another illustration of the same or similar habits of thought. It occurs where the existence of the evangelic history in a written form is implied; and some have inferred that those who so expressed themselves knew only of one such document. But there seems to be no ground for this. The mode of speech in question shows only that the characteristics of the several written embodiments of the Gospel were but slightly regarded in comparison with its general contents and purport. Writers who unquestionably were acquainted with several works of the nature of Gospels continued so to express themselves. And there is a survival of it to this day in the titles of our Gospels—τὸ εὐαγγέλιον κατά, '*the* Gospel *according to*,' this or that evangelist.

i. *THE SUB-APOSTOLIC AGE*, *i.e.* the generation immediately following that of the apostles. As belonging to this time, we will take only the *Ep. of Clement to the Corinthians*, the *Seven Epp. of Ignatius*, in the short Greek or Vossian form, and the *Ep. of Polycarp*. Some critics of the highest repute would, besides, assign to it the recently recovered *Didaché* and the *Ep. of Barnabas*, and a few more would also include the *Shepherd of Hermas*. But in an inquiry of this kind it is better to understate than to overstate evidence. Moreover, the present writer is personally inclined to place the composition of these last three writings in the second quarter of the 2nd cent. And it will be very generally admitted now that the case for placing them earlier than this is far less strong than that for the others, and that they do not, by their authorship, create the same kind of link with the apostolic age. Those writings before mentioned may, indeed, with great confidence be declared to be the genuine works of the men with whose names they are connected. Two of the writers at least, and probably all three, had known apostles, and held positions of eminence in the Church at the close of the first and near the beginning of the 2nd cent. There are very strong reasons for believing that the Ep. written to the Church of Corinth in the name of that of Rome, which has from very early times been attributed to Clement, is really his work, and for referring it to the close of the reign of Domitian, *c*. A.D. 95 (see Lightfoot, *Clem. Rom.* i. p. 346 ff., and Harnack, *Chronol.* i. p. 251 ff.). Again, the genuineness of the *Seven Epp. of Ignatius* discovered by Voss in the Medicean MS has been firmly established by the labours of Zahn and Lightfoot. This is fully admitted by Harnack (*Chronol.* i. p. 381 ff.). Their exact date cannot be quite so clearly determined. Lightfoot supposes it to be *c*. A.D. 110. Harnack was a few years ago inclined to place them near to A.D. 140 (see *Expos.* for 1886, pp. 15–22); but he now speaks in a very hesitating manner (*Chronol.* i. p. 395 f.). The only reason for questioning the genuineness of the *Ep. of Polycarp* falls to the ground when that of Epp. of Ignatius is admitted, and its date is fixed by a reference in it as only later by a few weeks than theirs.

(1) *Evidence as to the use of the Gospels.*—Sayings of Christ are cited in the writings now before us, as spoken by Him, but not as from a written source or sources. From the first days of the Church the Lord's Words must have been treasured as Divine Oracles. And as a sense of their authority must have preceded their being committed to writing, so also after this it would naturally be independent of that of the record, and the habit of referring to them directly, without considering the intermediary through whom or which they were delivered, might continue. The facts just noticed in connexion with the writings of the Apostolic Fathers are an illustration of this. Their usage is still that of St. Paul in 1 Co 7^{10}, or in the Address to the Elders at Miletus (Ac 20^{35}). They may, in spite of this, have taken their quotations from documents, and those, too, our Gospels. It is a point not easy to decide. In the *Ep. of Clem.* sayings are quoted as the Lord's closely corresponding, indeed, in substance with such as are recorded in our Gospels, but which differ from them to a greater or less degree in form. It is to be observed, too, that *Polycarp* (c. ii.) quotes in part the same sayings as Clement in the former of these passages, with the same divergences from our

Gospels [*μνημονεύοντες δὲ ὧν εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος διδάσκων· ‘Μὴ κρίνετε, ἵνα μὴ κριθῆτε· ἀφίετε καὶ ἀφεθήσεται ὑμῖν· ἐλεᾶτε, ἵνα ἐλεηθῆτε· ᾧ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε ἀντιμετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν·’ καὶ ὅτι ‘Μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ καὶ οἱ διωκόμενοι ἕνεκεν δικαιοσύνης, ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ’*]; while, to pass for a moment beyond our present period, the whole piece of Christ's teaching which occurs in Clem. Rom. c. xiii. is given in the same form by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* ii. 18). It has been argued that these peculiarities, recurring in more than one writer, point to a documentary source other than our Gospels. If, however, the passages in question are examined, it will be seen that they appear to have the character of summaries, and that their differences from the Gospels may well be accounted for as the effects of compression and of the combination of phrases derived from the parallel passages in our Gospels, or in documents which have been embodied in our Gospels. General considerations which have already occupied us have prepared us for this phenomenon. For such traits as cannot be explained in this way, and which ought not to be regarded as accidental variations, there would seem to be a sufficient explanation in the influence of Oral Tradition, which was doubtless still powerful in the Sub-apostolic Age. Further, the persistence of certain features, which has been noticed, in the quotations of sayings and collections of sayings, may reasonably be traced to catechetical instruction and the impressions left by it. Such compendia of precepts, from the Sermon on the Mount and other parts of our Lord's teaching, may well have been imprinted thus upon the memory of Christians generally, and consequently quoted by writers who were familiar with the Gospels, as Clem. Alex. was. In Polyc. vii. we have a clause of the Lord's Prayer, as given both in Mt and Lk, with the difference only that it is turned into the indirect form; also words spoken by our Lord in Gethsemane, exactly as in Mt and Mk. [*δεήσεσιν αἰτούμενοι τὸν παντεπόπτην θεὸν ‘μὴ εἰσενεγκεῖν ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν,’ καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος· ‘τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα πρόθυμον, ἡ δὲ σὰρξ ἀσθενής’* (cf. Mt 6^{13} or Lk 11^{4}; Mt 26^{41} or Mk 14^{38})].

For further parallelisms with the language of the Gospels and for allusions to incidents in the life of Christ in the two writings so far considered, see among other passages—Clem. Rom. xvi. end (Mt $11^{29.30}$), xxiv. (Mt 13^{3}, Mk 4^{3}, Lk 8^{5}); Polyc. v. (Mk 9^{35}, Mt 20^{28}), xii. (Mt 5^{44}).

Ignatius was led by his controversy with Docetism to dwell upon the facts of our Lord's human life and sufferings rather than upon His teaching; and the only saying of Christ which he expressly quotes is one asserting the verity of His corporeal nature after His resurrection [*ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Πέτρον ἦλθεν, ἔφη αὐτοῖς· ‘Λάβετε, ψηλαφήσατέ με καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον’* (*Smyrn.* iii.)]. The incident referred to seems to be that recorded in Lk 24^{36-39}, where the words of our Lord are similar in substance and partly in form. According to Origen, however (*de Princ.* præf. 8), they were contained in *The Preaching of Peter* in the same form as in Ignatius. Eusebius, on the other hand (*HE* iii. 36), who notes the fact that Ignatius has the saying, declares that he does not know whence it was taken; while Jerome (*de Vir. Illustr.* 16) says that it occurred in the *Gospel acc. to the Hebrews*. It is possible that a writing which contained the saying may have existed in the time of Ignatius, and that he may have obtained it thence; but it is at least an equally probable supposition that he derived it from oral tradition; and that from the same source it passed into one or more Apocryphal Gospels. We shall have occasion to recur to the question of the use made of apocryphal writings in the 2nd century.

There are in the Epp. of Ignatius several allusions to incidents in the life of Christ which are recorded in our Gospels as well as parallelisms of expression with them, and among these, in two places, some remarkable coincidences with the thought and language of Jn. See *Eph.* xiv. (Mt 12^{33}, Lk 6^{44}); *Trall.* xi. (Mt 15^{13}); *Rom.* vii. (Jn 4^{10}); *Philad.* vii. (Jn 3^{8}); *Smyrn.* i. (Mt 3^{15} and other points); *Smyrn.* vi. (Mt 19^{12}); *Polyc.* ii. (Mt 10^{16}). See also *Magn.* xi. and *Trall.* ix. In *Philad.* v. his language suggests the idea that he was thinking of the Gospel as embodied in a written form; for he speaks of it as something to which Christians could as it were turn, and refers in the same context to the prophets. At the same time a passage in c. viii. of the same Ep. seems to show the difference between the position which any written Gospels had so far attained and that of the OT (comp. Lightfoot, *Epp. of Ignat. ad loc.* and also *ib.* vol. i. p. 388).

(2) *The evidence as to the use of other writings of NT* at this time may be treated much more briefly.—St. Paul's first Ep. to the Corinthians is expressly referred to in the Ep. of Clement to the same Church (xlvii.), and St. Paul's Ep. to the Philippians in that of Polycarp (xi.). Thus NT writings are actually mentioned in two of the cases in which it is most natural that they should be; these are exceptions which, if they do not explain, are consistent with, the habit of not quoting by name where there was not the same kind of reason for it. Coincidences of phrase with various NT Epp., so striking from their character or number as to leave no doubt whence they are derived, occur in the three writers under consideration: in *Clem. Rom.* with He (xxxvi. and xliii.); in *Polyc.* with 1 P (i. ii. v. vii. viii. x.) and 1 Jn (vii.); in *Ignat.* with 1 Co (*Ephes.* xvi. xviii.) and with Eph (*Polyc.* v.). Indications more or less clear of a knowledge of other NT writings might be named, *e.g.* of 2 Co, Gal, and 1 and 2 Ti in *Polycarp*. All these facts, while interesting and important as regards the books of NT immediately concerned, also have a bearing on the question of the use of the Gospels. They show that absence of direct citation in this age can have little weight for proving want of knowledge. Further, the sign of acquaintance with 1 Jn in Ep. of Polyc. has significance in regard to the Gospel acc. to Jn also. On internal grounds there is strong reason for attributing these to the same author, and the circulation of the one cannot have been separated by any great interval from that of the other.

The signs of knowledge of the apostolic writings in Polycarp are, it may be observed in conclusion, remarkable, and far greater than in Clement or Ignatius, in spite of his Epistle being far shorter. This may be reasonably accounted for by the consideration that he was in all probability a much younger man, and that he had acquired familiarity with those writings from his youth.

ii. *THE SECOND QUARTER OF THE SECOND CENTURY.*—(1) *Use of the Gospels.*—The so-called *Ep. of Barnabas.*—Critics have referred the composition of this work to various dates between A.D. 70 and 130. Though it contains references to contemporary events, they are obscure. To notice only some of the more recent views, Lightfoot (*Clem. Rom.* ii. p. 505 ff.) has explained the allusions in a way that would bring the time of composition within the reign of Vespasian, *i.e.* before A.D. 79. Ramsay (*Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 307) has adopted Lightfoot's theory with some modification, but not so as to affect the date. Harnack, however, in his recent work, has made a very ingenious suggestion for overcoming some of the chief difficulties; and his view seems, on the whole, the most tenable.

According to him, the little treatise in its present form was produced in A.D. 130 or 131 (*Chronol.* i. p. 427).

This writing affords what appears to be the earliest instance of the citation from a book of NT as *Scripture.* The words *πολλοὶ κλητοὶ ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐκλεκτοὶ* are introduced (iv. end) with the formula *ὡς γέγραπται.* These words are not known to occur except in Mt 22^{14}. There are also several other indications in the Ep. of Barn. of acquaintance with that Gospel. The parallelisms with Mt's account of the Trial and Crucifixion of Our Lord are striking (vii.). Again, words found in Mt 9^{13} (though also in Mk 2^{17}, Lk 5^{32}) are used in v. A saying of Christ is also quoted as such, which bears a resemblance to that in Mt 20^{16}, though it is differently applied (vi. 13).

The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.—Dates ranging from A.D. 90–165 have been assigned for the composition of this work, the recovery of which in our generation has created so much interest. Unhappily, the indications available for forming an opinion as to the date are almost entirely such as are connected with the state of Church organization and life reflected in it, and on the history of these very diverse views prevail. It must further be observed that it may have emanated from some portion of the Church where movement had been slow, or whose customs had always been peculiar. There are expressions in it which betoken the habits of a rural district. On the whole, it may be most prudent to take it as belonging to the period which we are now considering, while at the same time we forbear to treat it as illustrative of the mind and practice of the Church generally within any narrow limits of time. In respect to the use of the Gospels, it seems to represent a slight advance upon the Apostolic Fathers. There is language, more distinct than that of the passage of Ignatius above referred to, which suggests the idea that the Gospel existed in a written form (*Did.* xv. 3, 4—*ὡς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν*, and comp. viii. 2 and xi. 3). The citations are only of words of Christ, and introduced as what the Lord said; but they are more abundant, and, although not given entirely as in our Gospels, they appear on examination to be still more plainly combinations of phrases from both Mt and Lk. Such compilations there are at *Did.* i. 2–5 [Mt $22^{37.\,39}$ (or Mk $12^{30.\,31}$, or Lk 20^{27}); Lk $6^{28.\,32.\,33.\,35}$ (Mt $5^{44.\,46}$); Mt 5^{39-42} and Lk $6^{29.\,30}$; Mt 5^{26}]; and at *Did.* xvi. [Mt 25^{13}, Lk $12^{35.\,40}$, Mt $24^{10.\,11}$ etc. etc.]. The former of these is a collection of precepts on our duty to God and our neighbour, the latter on the duty of watching for the Coming of Christ. There are, besides, other citations or parallels at *Did.* vii. (Mt 28^{19}), viii. 2 (Mt 6^{9-13}), ix. 5 (Mt 7^{6}), xiii. (Mt 10^{10}).

The Shepherd of Hermas.—The Muratorian fragment on the Canon (*c.* A.D. 200, see below) contains a statement that the *Shepherd* was written during the episcopate of Pius (bishop of Rome, A.D. 140–155), by a brother of his named Hermas. Recent investigations have added to the importance of this statement, which could not in any case have been lightly set aside, for they have shown that it may probably have been taken from a list of bishops drawn up *c.* A.D. 170 in the time of Soter (Harnack, *Chronol.* i. p. 192). On the other hand, in the work itself (*Vis.* ii. 4. 3) there is a reference to Clement, which, if understood literally, must imply that he was still alive; and he died long before the beginning of the episcopate of Pius (A.D. 140). Zahn (*Der Hirt des Hermas*, p. 70ff.) and Salmon (art. 'Hermas' in *Dict. of Christian Biography*), on the ground of this passage as well as of features in the work which they think point to an early age, suppose it to have been composed *c.* A.D. 100. While Lightfoot and Westcott treat the allusion to Clement as part of the fictitious setting of the work, and rely on the testimony of the Muratorian fragment, Harnack endeavours to reconcile in a measure the two views. He supposes that the work, though all by one author, was not all composed at one time, and that it was finally put forth A.D. 140 (*Chronol.* i. p. 257 ff.).

As the *Shepherd* is a collection of revelations and instructions given by an angelic guide, it would not have been in character that it should contain express quotations, and there are not any in it from OT any more than from NT. But parallels showing acquaintance with NT writings are not wanting. *Sim.* v. 2 appears to be an adaptation of the parable of the Vineyard (Mk $12^{1\text{ff.}}$). In *Sim.* ix. 12 we are rather forcibly reminded of Jn 10^{1} and 14^{6}, in ix. 16 of Jn 3^{5}, and in ix. 24 of Jn 1^{16}.

The Fragments of Papias.—There cannot be any very serious differences of opinion as to the approximate time at which Papias put forth the work from which some few fragments have been preserved to us. He had conversed with men of an older generation than his own who could give first-hand information as to what the oral teaching of several of the apostles was (Euseb. *HE* iii. 39). Irenæus (*adv. Hær.* v. 33. 4) seems to have been mistaken in supposing that he had himself seen and heard John the Evangelist (Euseb. *l.c.*); but he may have been a contemporary, if not an actual hearer, of Aristion and 'the Elder John,' 'disciples of the Lord' (*ib.*). He must therefore have been born before, most likely some few years before, the end of the 1st cent. The time when he had opportunities of collecting the information referred to may probably have been several years before he wrote the work of which Eusebius has given us an account, largely in Papias' own words. But at latest the publication of this work cannot have fallen much after A.D. 150, and may more reasonably be supposed to have taken place somewhat earlier. When, further, we consider the character of his work, we can have no hesitation in saying that his testimony (so far as its general effect is concerned) is to be connected with the first half of the century.

The title itself of his work, *Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις*, 'Expositions of Dominical Oracles,' is interesting and important. In view of those habits of thought of the time upon which we have already commented, we may best take 'Dominical Oracles' to mean passages of Our Lord's teaching. These, as is clear from his own language in the portion of his prologue preserved to us by Eusebius, Papias took from some documentary source or sources; but for the illustration of them he availed himself of all that he had been able to glean from independent tradition. As Harnack observes, 'he distinguishes the matter orally delivered, even so far as it contained portions of evangelical history, in a marked manner from the matter which he expounds' (*Chronol.* i. 690, n. 1). This fact, then, that written records supplied the basis for his comment, or the pegs on which he hung the more or less trustworthy additional narratives or statements that he had collected, lends special interest to the inquiry whether he knew and used our Gospels or any of them.

We need not hesitate to claim his account, which he gives on the authority of 'the Elder'—apparently, from the context in Eusebius, the Elder John—of the composition of a Gospel by Mark, as referring to a work at least substantially the same as our Second Gospel. It has been urged, indeed, that the observation contained in this fragment, whether it is the Elder's or Papias' own, that Mark did not arrange his matter 'in order,' is not appropriate to our Mark, which is not less orderly in point of arrangement than the other Gospels. But this objection seems clearly unsubstantial, and is now generally admitted to be so. The criticism implied in Papias' words may have been simply a fanciful and mistaken one. Or, again, Mark's arrangement may have been assumed to be wrong wherever it differed from that of either our First or (see below) our Fourth Gospel, which are connected with the names of those who were followers of the Lord during His earthly life, which Mark was not. Some comparison of this kind seems to be implied in the words of Papias' fragment itself. (See, further, art. MARK, p. 244). The questions as to the right interpretation of the fragment of Papias (*ib.*) on a writing by Matthew are more serious. Critics of more than one school have seen in the words, *Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο,* a description of a Collection of Discourses and Sayings which has (it may be) been embodied in our First Gospel, but which was in many respects a different work. Against this view it has been urged that λόγια does not mean 'discourses,' but 'oracles,' and that in the NT itself it is applied to the OT. These arguments, however, somewhat miss their mark. For it does not seem likely that the term should have been applied to a writing of the NT as such, so early as the time of Papias, and still less of his informant, if this, as is probable, was the same 'Elder' whom he reports in the case of Mark's work. Nor could τὰ λόγια in that sense have been suitably used of a single writing, though it would be natural as a description of the Lord's teaching. The statement, however, which we are considering consists only of one brief sentence; we do not know what the context may have been. And whatever inferences it may be fair to draw from Papias' expressions as to the history of the composition of our First Gospel, we may gather that, at least when he wrote, a work existed which was generally recognized as a Greek representative of a Hebrew writing by the Apostle Matthew. And it is hard to imagine that this could have been any other work than that which a generation later, or less, was certainly known in the Church, as it is still, as the Gospel acc. to Mt. A substitution of one book for another could not have been effected in so short a time. (Comp. Harnack, *Chronol.* i. p. 693). See, further, art. MATTHEW (GOSPEL OF).

Eusebius makes the following statement at the end of his section on Papias: 'The same (writer) has made use of testimonies from the former Ep. of Jn and from that of Peter likewise. He has, moreover, also set forth another narrative, concerning a woman charged before the Lord with many sins, which the Gospel acc. to the Hebrews contains.' Use of the First Ep. of Jn indirectly affords evidence, as we have already had occasion to remark, of the existence and circulation of the Gospel according to John. It must not be assumed, indeed, on the ground of this notice, that Papias attributed these works to the apostle; but we may at least feel sure that he said nothing plainly inconsistent with this view of their authorship: if he had done so, Eusebius could not have failed to mention it, more especially as he was not in sympathy with some of this writer's opinions.

Something more as to Papias' use of the Johannine writings may, it would seem, be learned from Irenæus. The latter, in language that recalls Papias' prologue preserved in Eusebius, repeatedly adduces the testimony of 'the elders' who had seen and heard John, the disciple of the Lord, or again, in another place, 'who were disciples of apostles'; and when we examine the passages in which he refers to them and quotes their sayings, we find that their character is just such as we might expect it to be if they were derived from Papias' *Exegeses,* in view, on the one hand, of its aim as described by the author himself, and of his chiliastic predilections [*adv. Hær.* v. 5. 1; 30. 1; 33. 4]. In one of these places (v. 33. 4) Irenæus, after alluding to the elders, proceeds to quote from Papias' book by name. Now, among the passages which may with probability be regarded as extracts, more or less exact, from Papias, there is one in which a saying of the Lord, recorded in Jn 14^{2}, and not in any other Gospel, is quoted and commented on (*adv. Hær.* v. 36. 1); there is another relating to the number of the Beast in the Apocalypse (*ib.* 30. 1).

To conclude: the evidence as to Papias, though it is much more scanty than we should like, and though it is in part obscure, tends to show that he derived the 'Oracles of the Lord,' which he made his starting-point, from our Gospels and not from any other source, and that he knew at least the Gospels acc. to Mt, Mk, and Jn.

The so-called *Second Ep. of Clement.*—This work is of considerable interest in connexion with the history of the Canon, more especially as to the use of Apocryphal Gospels and the position accorded to them in relation to our Gospels. Its date is consequently important. Hilgenfeld (*Nov. Test. extr. Can.* p. xxxviii f.) and Harnack (*Patres Apostolici*, pp. xci, xcii) took the view that it was the Epistle sent by Soter to Corinth, *c.* A.D. 170 (Euseb. *HE* iv. 23). But since the recovery of this work in an unmutilated form, through Bryennios' discovery in 1875, it has become evident that it is not a Letter at all but a Homily, and its identification with the communication of Soter ought no longer to be regarded as tenable (see Lightfoot, *Clem. Rom.* ii. p. 194 ff.; Harnack, however, still adheres to the identification, *Chronol.* i. pp. 440–450). The character of the work in general, it may be added, is favourable to an earlier date. It may most reasonably be taken as illustrating the state of things in respect to the recognition of the New Testament Scriptures, *c.* A.D. 140, or perhaps somewhat before this.

We will next briefly notice the recently recovered *Apology of Aristides,* an example of a class of Christian writings which has even given a name in Church history to an age—that occupying the middle portion of the 2nd cent. This one appears to have been addressed not as Eusebius says (*HE* iv. 3) to Hadrian, but to Antoninus Pius (Emp. 138–161); but it probably belongs to the earlier rather than the latter part of his reign (comp. J. R. Harris, *Texts and Studies,* i. p. 8, and Harnack, *Chronol.* i. pp. 271–273). The special character of compositions of this kind, like that of others, and even more than that of some others, must be remembered in order that the effect of the evidence supplied by them in regard to the Canon may be fairly judged of. The argument and purpose of the greater part of the *Apology* of Aristides did not afford opportunities for quoting from Christian documents. It contains, however, one passage which illustrates in an interesting manner a time of transition when memories of the oral delivery of the Gospel were linked with a growing dependence upon a written form of it. (See tr. of Syriac in *Texts and Studies,* I. i. p. 36).

We pass to the writings of a far greater 'apologist,' *Justin Martyr,* and we may confine our attention to the three extant works bearing his name, which are by common consent admitted to be genuine—his *First* and *Second Apologies* and *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew.* Recent investigations, beginning with those of Volkmar, *Theol. Jahrb. von Baur u. Zeller,* 1855, and of Hort, *Journ. of Philol.,* 1857, have served to show that the *First Apology* should be placed a little later than it commonly used to be, and that the *Second*

Apology was written soon after the *First*. The *Dialogue* was written after the *Apologies*, but how long after cannot be determined. We shall not be far wrong if we say that all three writings were composed *c.* A.D. 150. The *Apologies* were written in Rome, as was also probably the *Dialogue*, though it may be inferred from the latter (c. i.) that Justin was teaching as a Christian philosopher in Ephesus soon after A.D. 135. He was the most eminent Christian of his generation, while he writes, not as one who is putting forward his own views, but who is representing and defending the faith and practice of the Church; and he well knew what they were in at least two of its chief centres.

Now, Justin twice in his *First Apology* and many times in the *Dialogue* describes the main authorities for the Life and Teaching of Christ as 'the Memoirs of the Apostles' or simply 'the Memoirs.' We have to ask whether by this name he intended at least principally our Gospels, whether he recognized all these, and whether they held a place in his estimation which no other accounts of the whole or a portion of the Lord's Life and Teaching shared. His use of the term itself just referred to affords no ground for doubting that he has the Gospels which we acknowledge in his mind. It is probable that the name 'Gospels' was only beginning in that generation to be applied to the writings which contained the Gospel even among Christians, and he was addressing those who were not Christians. It would be natural for him to employ some term which would be to them more easy of comprehension and more expressive. The course he adopts in this case has an exact parallel in his treatment of other Christian terms, *e.g.* Baptism and the Eucharist (*First Apol.* lxi. and lxvi.). In *First Apol.* lxvi., after using the word 'Memoirs,' he adds, 'which are called Gospels.' And this, it may be observed in passing, is the earliest instance of the application of the name 'Gospels' to the *books*. Justin himself commonly writes of 'the Gospel' in the manner which we have observed to be customary in the writings of his predecessors and elder contemporaries. To proceed: in one place he characterizes 'the Memoirs' with special fulness as 'composed by the Apostles *and those who followed them*.' The suitability of this twofold description to our Gospels will be noticed, and it gains in point from the circumstance that in the context he preserves one trait which is peculiar to St. Luke's account of the Agony in the Garden (*Dial.* ciii.). In another place he refers to a fact, mentioned only by St. Mark, as contained in Peter's Memoirs (see, further, below). Again, he speaks of the doctrine of the Person of Christ, which he defines in part in terms peculiar to Jn, as derived from 'the Memoirs.' Further, in five of the cases in which Justin distinctly quotes from evangelic writings, using the formula γέγραπται, he agrees almost verbally with Mt or Lk. (For these and for a discussion of the remaining two, comp. Westcott, *Canon*, p. 130 ff., and Sanday, *Gospels in the Second Century*, p. 88 ff.).

For the most part, however, Justin does not adhere closely to the words of any one evangelist in his accounts of and references to the facts of the Lord's Life and His Teaching. He gives the substance of their narratives, and to a certain extent combines what is found in different Gospels. In doing this he acted in accordance with the very natural tendency of which we have already seen examples in early Christian writings. Moreover, it is quite obviously his purpose in a considerable portion of his *First Apology* to give a summary of the evangelic history and of some chief points in Christ's teaching for the enlightenment of heathen readers. And not less obviously in a large part of the *Dialogue* he is rapidly reviewing the facts, which was all that was required, in connexion with an argument from the fulfilment of prophecy. This being so, it was to be expected that he should avail himself now of one, now of another Gospel, and should be satisfied with giving what he conceived to be their general meaning and purport. With the object he had in view, he would often find it sufficient to rely upon his memory of their narratives. And, indeed, even his quotations from the OT are marked to a considerable extent by the same characteristics of combination and compression, and want of minute accuracy. Nevertheless, the general character of the representation which Justin gives of the evangelic history, and which he derives, as he repeatedly indicates, from records which were acknowledged in the Church to have apostolic authority—its contents, with comparatively slight exceptions, its main outline, the style of the language, and many of the actual words—are those of our Gospels. The features of the Synoptics are, indeed, more fully and directly reproduced than those of the Fourth Gospel, though there are striking coincidences with special points in it also; while it is most natural to suppose that the conception of Christ as the Logos, which holds a prominent place in Justin's works, was derived by him from the same source, although he develops it in part in his own way, in accordance with philosophical ideas that were familiar to him.

In his summaries of or allusions to the Gospel history, Justin introduces a limited amount of matter—a certain number of touches and incidents—not found in our Gospels. From the presence of this element it has been argued that he did not use our Gospels. But to reason thus is to defy every principle of sound criticism. For there is no evidence that any other work or works existed which could have supplied him with the bulk of his facts about the life and teaching of Christ, together with the language in which he relates them, besides our Gospels. Moreover, that these were already in existence, and that he must have had opportunities of becoming acquainted with them, is certain, as will more clearly appear from facts to be considered presently. It is now, indeed, admitted by critics of more than one school that the first three Gospels ranked among Justin's principal authorities, and that the fourth was known to him. The chief questions still *sub lite* are (*a*) to what extent he used other records in addition to our canonical ones, and whether he regarded any of them as possessed of apostolic authority; and (*b*) whether there was a difference between his attitude to the Fourth Gospel and the Synoptics.

(*a*) The question of the source or sources whence Justin drew what we may for convenience briefly call the 'apocryphal' matter in his accounts of the Gospel history has received new and special interest from the recovery, since 1892, of a fragment of the so-called 'Gospel of Peter' (see *The Akhmîm Fragment, or the Apocryphal Gospel of St. Peter*, by H. B. Swete). In some points in which Justin diverges from the canonical Gospels he is found to coincide with 'Peter.' The importance of the inquiry whether Justin used 'Peter' is greatly increased by the fact that, if he did, it must in all probability have been the work which he describes as 'Peter's Memoirs' (*Dial.* cvi.), and he must have given it an equal, if not a pre-eminent, place among the authorities for the Gospel history. The use of 'Peter' by Justin is maintained by Harnack (*Bruchstück des Evangeliums und der Apokalypse des Petrus*, 2nd ed. p. 37 ff.), and is accepted by Sanday (*Inspiration*, pp. 305, 310); but against it, see Swete, *l.c.* pp. xxxiii-xxxv. Swete's argument may also be greatly strengthened by observing the contrasts between Justin and 'Peter.' It is certain that the former has been but slightly influenced by the latter on the whole, and it is difficult to understand how, if he knew the book and regarded it as the work of the chief of the apostles, which it claims to be, his use of it should have been so limited.

In Justin's age information concerning the Gospel history was gleaned not only from tradition, but also from documents other than our Gospels, less unsuspectingly than came to be the case a generation or so later. We have seen an example of this in the so-called *Second Ep. of Clement*; we learn also from Eusebius (*HE* iv. 22) that Hegesippus, the contemporary of Justin, made some quotations from the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*. Justin's practice illustrates the same attitude of mind. With the matter supplied by our Gospels, he weaves in traits which he has probably derived from such sources, though we are unable to say from which of them he obtained most, or whether indeed he made special use of any one. There is, however, no reason to think that any work of the nature of a Gospel, other than ours, held practically the same position as they did for Justin, or for the Church of his time.

(*b*) Some critics who admit the cogency of the evidence that Justin was acquainted with the Fourth Gospel, yet maintain that he clearly did not place it on the same level as the Synoptics (see Keim, *Jesus of Naz.* i. p. 186 ff.; Holtzmann, *Einl.* p. 479). The only ground for supposing this is that he makes more sparing use of it. But there was good reason for this difference. In view of the persons addressed both in the *Apology* and in the *Dialogue*, and also the tenor of the arguments in these works, it was natural that he should have fewer quotations from and parallels with it than the others.

Before leaving this quarter of the century we must touch upon the question of the use of the Gospels by *Gnostic heretics*. In discussing it we shall be taken back even to the earlier part of the time. It has, however, been reserved till this point, both on account of the different relation to the Christian faith of the persons to be considered, and because the evidence is of a more indirect kind.

Basileides had begun to teach at Alexandria in the reign of Hadrian. He was the author of a work in 24 books entitled *Expositions of the Gospel*, from which we have a few extracts in extant works of Clem. Alex. One of these seems like a portion of a comment on a passage of Mt. There are two others, which may be comments on sayings of our Lord taken from Lk and Jn respectively (Zahn, *Kanon*, i. pp. 766, 767). The possibility of coming to any fuller conclusion as to the use of the Gospels by Basileides must depend on the estimate formed of the account of Basileides and his school given by Hippolytus, and of the citations which it includes. Some have supposed Hippolytus to have been misled when he took the work from which he quotes as a product even of the school of Basileides (*e.g.* Zahn, *ib.* 765). But the result of a comparison with the extracts in Clem. Alex. is strongly in favour of the view that the treatise used by Hippolytus gave a genuine exposition of Basileidean doctrine (see Hort's art. 'Basileides' in *Dict. of Christian Biog.*). Whether it was the *Exegetica* or some other work is more questionable. That the quotations are from Basileides himself, at least in some cases, and those the most important for our present purpose, is the most natural view of Hippolytus' language (cf. Westcott, *Canon*, p. 297 n., and Hort, *l.c.*). The theories expounded bear the marks of great metaphysical power; and if the writer from whom they are taken, partly in his own words, was not Basileides himself, he may probably have been Isidore, Basileides' eminent son and disciple, whom Hippolytus names along with his father. Even in this case we should have to do here with a writing composed not much later than, if so late as, the middle of the 2nd cent. It undoubtedly appeals to the Fourth Gospel as to an authority (Hippol. *Hær.* vii. 22).

Valentinus, who was a younger contemporary of Basileides, need not now detain us. We know nothing of the employment he made of books of the NT, except as it may be inferred from the practice of his school in the next generation.

On the other hand, of the treatment of the NT Scriptures by *Marcion*, who flourished *c.* A.D. 140, we know much from Tertullian's *Contra Marcionem*. Beyond all reasonable doubt, the Gospel which he made for himself and his sect was a mutilated form of Lk. And it may be observed that in selecting it, even though he found it necessary thus to adapt it to his own purpose, he did homage to the authority which it had acquired. An examination of the peculiarities of the *text* used by Marcion seems also to show that the text of the Gospel had already in his generation a history (see Sanday, *Gospels in Second Cent.* p. 231 ff.).

From a man and his writings we turn to a movement. *Montanism* arose in Phrygia not long after the middle, and it spread remarkably during the remainder, of the 2nd cent.; it found tendencies and needs favourable to it in various parts of the Church. In the present connexion it is important only from the fact that its insistence on the promise of the coming of the Spirit, designated as the Paraclete, is a sign of the influence of the Gospel according to John.

(2) *Other writings of NT.*—A few points only need be noticed. We learn from Tertullian's treatise against Marcion that this heretic acknowledged 10 Epp. of St. Paul. It was natural, and yet important as a step in the formation of the Canon, that the Epp. of this great apostle should be regarded collectively, and we have in Marcion's case the first clear sign of such a view of them. There is, it may be added, no reason to think that Marcion in rejecting, as he did, the 3 Pastoral Epp. was actuated by any other motive than a dogmatic one.

In a passage of Justin we have a noteworthy instance of another kind—the earliest reference *by name* to a NT writing. The work so cited is the Apocalypse, its authorship by John the Apostle being mentioned (*Dial.* lxxxi.).

For the rest, it will suffice under this head to notice parallelisms which are striking, and which prove the use of writings not otherwise abundantly attested. Those in Hermas with Ep. of James are specially remarkable (Hermas, *Vis.* II. ii. 7, IV. ii. 6; *M.* II. 3. 4, VI. 7, VIII. 10, IX. 4. 11, XII. 5. 2, vi. 3; *Sim.* VI. i. 1, VIII. vi. 4). Again, those with Acts in Justin seem clear (*Apol.* i. 40; *Dial.* xvi. and lii.). The statement, which we have already had occasion to refer to, may also here be recalled, that Papias 'made use of testimonies from the former Ep. of Jn, and likewise from that of Peter' (Eus. *HE* iii. 39).

iii. *THIRD QUARTER OF SECOND CENTURY.*—(1) *Gospels.*—*Tatian.*—Through a succession of remarkable literary discoveries in recent years controversy has practically been closed in respect to the general character of Tatian's *Diatessaron*. We may not fully have recovered its original form, but it can no longer be seriously doubted that substantially it was a harmony of our Four Gospels (see Zahn, *Forsch.* Pt. 1, *Kan.* i. pp. 387–422, ii. 530–556; Lightft., *Essays on Sup. Rel.*, 1889, pp. 272–288;

S. Hemphill, *The Diatessaron of Tatian*; and Hill, *The Earliest Gospel Harmony*).

In more than one respect Tatian is a valuable link between the middle and the last quarter of the century, supplying evidence in regard to the history of the Canon for a period, the remains of which are specially scanty. His *Diatessaron*, while it is an example of the working of that tendency to dwell on the common result of the testimony of different witnesses, which we have seen to be characteristic of the first two or three generations, is also the first distinct indication of the fact, which is so emphatically asserted a little later, that there were *four* records whose authority was unique.

(2) His *Apology* shows traces of acquaintance with *various writings of the NT*, but for the most part there is in it the absence of express citation which is commonly to be observed in works of the same class. In one place, however, some words from the prologue to Jn are introduced as 'that which has been said' (xiii.).

iv. *The Last Quarter of the Second Century and Beginning of the Third.*—The point of transition to the last quarter of the 2nd cent. will be the most convenient opportunity for considering the impugners of St. John's writings, commonly called the *Alogi*. The evidence which has so far come before us, if it is in any respects unfavourable to the authenticity of any NT writings, is so by way of defect. Even such a writer as Marcion appears mainly as a witness for the Canon. We have now, however, to notice a body of persons who are specially characterized by their refusal to acknowledge one group of writings —those attributed to St. John.

Much attention has of late been directed to this phenomenon. It has been discussed in particular from opposite points of view by Zahn (*Kan.* i. pp. 220–262) and Harnack (*NT um d. J. 200*, pp. 58–70, and *Chronol.* i. pp. 670, 671); see also Lightfoot (*Clem. Rom.* ii. p. 394) and Sanday (*Inspiration*, p. 14 f.). The chief documents are Iren. III. xi. 12 (which refers only to the rejection of the Gospel); Epiph. *Hær.* li.; and Philaster, lx. The value of the last two is that in all probability they derive their information from a lost work of Hippolytus. It is not, however, altogether easy to distinguish the conjectures of Epiphanius, and his disquisitions on points that interested him, from the matter which he took from his authority, while Philaster's notice is very brief.

The motive for these opinions was primarily dogmatic, not critical, though those who held them sought to strengthen their case by pointing out differences between the Fourth Gospel and the Synoptics, and by strictures upon the imagery of the Apocalypse (see Epiph. *l.c.*). It was 'in order to frustrate the gifts of the Spirit,' Irenæus tells us, that 'some do not admit that form of the Gospel which is according to John, in which the Lord promised that He would send the Paraclete.' One kind of extravagance begets another. Because the Montanists appealed to Jn 14–16 in urging their wild views and preposterous claims, these others were for denying the authority of that Gospel itself. Again, the Montanists and many other Christians in the 2nd cent. were millenarians, and supported their materialistic notions by a literal interpretation of the Apocalypse. Consequently, those who were repelled by millenarianism were tempted to call the authenticity of that work in question. The theory of the *Alogi*, that Cerinthus was the author of the Johannine writings, must have been suggested first in the case of the Apocalypse, and extended to the Gospel; for while, according to the best information which we possess, Cerinthus was a millenarian, his Christology had nothing in common with that of the Fourth Gospel. Thus the rejection of the one work was, in part at least, associated with that of the other; in part, however, the attack on the Apocalypse was more widely spread, and had more lasting effects (cf. Eus. *HE* iii. 28 and vii. 25).

The name *Alogi* seems to have been Epiphanius' invention. He gave it both as a jest and to betoken their refusal to accept the Gospel which contained the doctrine of the Logos. Whether they in reality objected to this doctrine, or this was simply Epiphanius' inference, is not clear. But if they did, they might here again find a common ground of opposition both to the Fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse.

It should be observed that the Alogi, by their association of the Gospel according to John and the Apocalypse in a common condemnation, and the attribution of them both to Cerinthus, are witnesses to the tradition that both were by the same author, and that, in assigning them to a heretic who was contemporary with St. John, they are also witnesses to their antiquity.

Harnack lays special stress on the fact that the Alogi were not visibly separated from the Church, and apparently did not intend to depart from the Christian faith. *Δοκοῦσι καὶ αὐτοί*, says Epiphanius, *τὰ ἴσα ἡμῖν πιστεύειν* (*l.c.* § 4). Yet the agreement of which he speaks seems to be only relative. He is comparing their position with that of more pronounced heretics, such as the Gnostics. Further, it is to be remembered that the machinery did not exist in the 2nd cent., which there came to be in the Church of after-times, for passing judgment on erroneous opinions. And, moreover, there is no reason to suppose that the number of those who rejected the most important work at least, the Gospel, was considerable, and it is certain that they produced no lasting impression.

At the same time, the instance of the Alogi illustrates a stage in the reception of the NT Scriptures. It shows that beliefs which this party opposed had not yet obtained that firm hold upon the minds of all which only clear definition and a prescription of many generations can give. But that these beliefs were neither of recent growth nor limited to a narrow area, we plainly see from the works of the age we have now reached which have come down to us.

Among the earliest is the treatise of *Theophilus*, bishop of Antioch, which is in the form of a vindication of the Christian faith, addressed to a philosophic heathen friend. He dwells upon the inspiration of the apostles. With the Holy Scriptures, *i.e.* the OT, still best known by this title, he couples 'all the inspired men' (*πνευματοφόροι*), expressly mentioning John. He quotes Jn $1^{1.3}$ as from 'the apostle' (*ad Autol.* ii. 22, and cf. *ib.* ix. 10). In iii. 12 he speaks of 'the Gospels' in the plural, and asserts that the contents of the Prophets and the Gospels are in harmony with the law, 'because all the inspired men spoke by one Spirit of God.' Again (*ib.* 13), after citing a passage of OT he refers to 'the still more urgent injunction of the Evangelic Voice,' and quotes Mt $5^{28.32}$; and he compares the Gospel with Isaiah, quoting Mt 5^{44} (*ib.* 14).

We may here suitably refer to the *Ep. ad Diognetum*, a work of similar aim, the birthplace and date of which cannot be fixed with certainty, but which may with most probability be assigned to about the same time. In c. xi. the writer enumerates 'the fear of the law,' 'the grace of the prophets,' 'the faith of the Gospels,' 'the tradition of the Apostles.'

It is, however, when we pass to writings of a different class, designed for the refutation of heresy or the instruction of the faithful in the Christian life and creed, to Irenæus (*adv. Hær.*, composed before A.D. 190), and the works of Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria, and Hippolytus, composed near the end of the 2nd and beginning of the 3rd cent., that for the first time, in place of the partial gleams afforded by the remains of former generations, we have a flood of light upon the thought and practice of the Church. We must review the evidence as to the position of the writings of the NT in the generation we have now reached, and consider what inferences may be drawn therefrom as to their reception.

(1) *Writings whose place in the Canon was already at and from this time fully secured.*—The express statements of the eminent writers just named, and their ordinary assumptions, leave no doubt as to the inspired authority attributed to by far the larger part of our NT in the important Churches of which they were members, or with which they were well acquainted and maintained active relations. In common they recognize (α) our four Gospels, and none besides; (β) 13 Epp. of Paul, *i.e.* all which bear his name in our NT, except that to Heb.; (γ) the Acts, 1 P, 1 Jn. These form also the class called afterwards by Eusebius 'acknowledged writings.'

(*a*) *Remarks as to the area from which this evidence comes.*—It may have been observed that hitherto we have been almost exclusively concerned with the faith and usage of Greek-speaking Christians, and that we are so mainly still. By the mention of Tertullian the fact is for the first time brought before us of the hold that Christianity had obtained, comparatively recently, at the epoch of which we are speaking, among a Latin-speaking people. In Rome itself, alike in the 1st cent. and throughout the 2nd, the Church was mainly Greek. It may be well here to point out the special advantages belonging to the Greek-speaking Christians of the first few generations, as witnesses in regard to the NT writings. Not only are we best acquainted with the expansion of the Church to the west, north, and north-west of Jerusalem, through Greek-speaking cities, but to all appearance that was by far the greatest expansion in apostolic times. Here lay the scenes of St. Paul's labours, with which his Epistles and the Acts have rendered us familiar. More dimly we see the figures of several of the Twelve, including St. Peter and St. John, moving and working in these same regions, when they voluntarily left or were driven from their home. It was in consequence of the spread of the gospel among populations whose ordinary language was Greek, to meet the needs of converts made from them, that all the writings of the NT came into existence. This is true even of the First Gospel in the form in which we have it.

Here and there some other Christian writing may in early days have won a position similar to that of the books received as canonical. We may have an example of this in the *Gospel according to the Egyptians.* But special circumstances of language and locality so well account for this in an outlying district, that such an instance does not detract from the force of the testimony of other parts of the Church.

It seems strange, however, at first sight that the Christians of Palestine and of the Aramaic-speaking East should have received the NT writings from the West, with one probable exception—the Ep. of James. Yet such was the fact. The Hebrew Christian community at Jerusalem was virtually broken up by the siege and capture of the city, A.D. 69-70. After the suppression of Barcochba's revolt (A.D. 135) a Greek Church arose there. In other parts of Palestine the Hebrew Christian Church had to contend, during the latter part of the 1st and earlier part of the 2nd cent., with a strong Jewish reaction. What progress the gospel made beyond Jordan to the east and north-east, through the labours of any of the Twelve, or the preaching and example of more ordinary Christians who fled from Palestine when Jerusalem fell, and to what extent the Christians of those districts in the 2nd cent. may thus have traced their lineage to the Church of apostolic days, and have cherished its traditions, it may be impossible to discover. But this at least may be said: we hear of no work written in Hebrew or Aramaic by an apostle, or immediate companion and follower of the apostles, except the one attributed to St. Matthew. The Gospel according to the Hebrews may have embodied this work, and doubtless contained traditions that had been current among Hebrew Christians; but it would seem not to have been preserved long in an uncorrupted form, and it is noteworthy that it obtained no enduring authority even in the East.

As regards the history of the Canon of the Syrian Church, it may suffice here to allude to the strange hold which Tatian's *Diatessaron* obtained there. It was popularly used as a substitute for the Gospels, to the neglect of the reading of them in public worship—an abuse which had to be dealt with by authority as late as the 5th cent. But such a fact is of importance as throwing light upon the history of that Church generally, not as bearing on the authenticity of the Gospels. [The subject of the history of the Canon in the Syrian Church is a very obscure one: for discussions of it see especially Zahn, *Kan.* i. c. 8, and Harnack's criticism thereupon in *NT um 200*, § 10].

Primarily, then, in dealing with the history of the Canon of NT, we have to fix our thoughts upon Greek-speaking Christendom, though we may now join thereto the Christians of the Roman province of N. Africa, who were far more closely bound up with it than the Christians of the East were. Tertullian is fully aware that he and the other Christians of his portion of the Church, who were but 'of yesterday,' had simply received the faith and its documents from more ancient Churches. It was probably here that a translation of the NT into Latin was first made, and expressions used by Tertullian have been commonly thought to show that one already existed in his time. But if, as Zahn has argued (*Kan.* i. 48-60), the task was not accomplished till later, though before the middle of the 3rd cent., it was not for want of recognizing the value and authority of the writings held to be apostolic. Tertullian's works certainly prove this. It is not material, therefore, for our present purpose to decide exactly when a Latin version was first made.

Now, although there are some Churches of note as to which we have no direct information for the period in question, even within that portion of Christendom the bounds of which we have indicated, we are justified in assuming that throughout the whole of it there was substantial agreement as to the sacred writings of the New Dispensation, to the extent to which it is found in the writers whose works have come down to us from that time. In view both of the eminence of those men and their wide knowledge of the Church, and the intercourse which existed between different parts of it within the area described, there could hardly have been any considerable divergences on serious points which have remained concealed. It is to be added that, even for those regions within the limits defined—in particular the Greek Churches of Syria and of the central and eastern parts of Asia Minor—as to which evidence is lacking at this epoch, it is forthcoming shortly afterwards, and there is not a trace of any doubts in regard to the books above enumerated.

To the close of the 2nd cent. or first years of the

3rd belongs most likely the earliest actual list of the writings of NT which we possess. It is called after *Muratori*, its discoverer. It has now been rendered highly probable that it was the work of Hippolytus. [On the Muratorian fragment see esp. Zahn, *Kan.* ii. 1–143, and Lightfoot, *Clem. Rom.* ii. 405–413]. Though the earliest list of the kind that has come down to us, it may not have been the earliest made. Melito, bishop of Sardis (*c.* A.D. 170), in a fragment which Eusebius has preserved (*HE* iv. 26), gives a list of 'the books of the *Old* Covenant,' and the phrase seems naturally to suggest by contrast the existence of a list of the books of the New. Further, at the time we have reached, the name of 'Scriptures' is given to the new sacred books equally with the old (see Iren. *adv. Hær.* ii. 58. 2). And a conception has been formed of a NT, as a collection of books which made a companion to the OT, and the name even of 'Testament' is so applied in Clem. Alex. and Tertullian [Clem. *Strom.* v. 85; Tertull. *de Pudic.* 1]. Tertullian also employs the word 'instrumentum,' or in the pl. 'instrumenta,' (*i.e.* 'the document' or 'the documents'), considering it more expressive. It should be observed that such a conception was found possible, although the contents of the collection of writings had not been in all respects certainly determined.

The usage of *heretics* confirms what is known as to that of the Church. The Valentinians were but the most numerous and widely spread Gnostic sect. Valentinus, according to Tertullian, used 'a complete Instrument,' which must be taken to mean all the books of Scripture which Tertullian himself acknowledged (*Præscr. Hær.* c. 38). Whether the remark was true or not of the founder of the school himself, it was so undoubtedly of the Valentinians in the last quarter of the 2nd cent., as may be gathered from Irenæus' treatise, as well as from Tertullian. It answered their purpose best to accept the NT Scriptures acknowledged in the Church, and to make them the vehicle of their own tenets by means of allegorical interpretation.

(*b*) *The inferences that may be drawn as to the previous history of the reception of these writings in the Church.*—In estimating the force of the evidence in this respect, it will be desirable to distinguish between the value of the personal reminiscences of individual writers in regard to traditions about the books of the NT, and the significance of the general belief of the Church. The testimony of individuals, founded on what they themselves remembered, might be of great weight. That of Irenæus is so in particular. Too much stress may sometimes have been laid upon it. Possibly his opportunities for knowing the mind and teaching of Polycarp may have been rather more restricted than they have been assumed to be by some; and he may have known no other man, besides, belonging to the generation which actually overlapped that of the apostles. But he certainly knew other Asiatic Christians older than himself, who must have been acquainted as he was, or better than he was, with the testimony both of Polycarp and of contemporaries of Polycarp, who had passed away before him. With such opportunities for correcting his own impressions, it is hardly possible that he should have been at fault as to simple facts which he believed that he remembered. It is therefore altogether unreasonable to suppose, as Harnack does, that, in spite of his very distinct statement as to Polycarp's reminiscences of John the Apostle, he is in his own memory making a confusion with another John. [Comp. Harn. *Chronol.* i. p. 333 ff., with Gwatkin's answer in *Contemp. Review*, Feb. 1897, and Lightfoot, *Essays on Sup. Rel.* pp. 96 f., 265].

But the position which the greater part of the writings of the NT held in the last two or three decades of the 2nd cent. in the common view of the chief Churches of Christendom, and approximately, at least, of the Church throughout the Roman Empire, *i.e.* of by far the larger part of the Church, is a more remarkable fact than any recollections, however clear, of particular men could be. In certain respects there has come a change in the manner of regarding these writings since the middle, not to say the beginning, of the century. The line of distinction is more sharply drawn than before it was, between the writings which could be rightly reckoned apostolic and all others. Controversy with Gnosticism had had its effect. Writings of more or less decidedly heretical tendencies had been put forth under the names of apostles. The Church was compelled to be watchful. A certain vividness and emphasis may also be noticed in the manner in which Irenæus, for instance, asserts the fourfold completeness of the evangelic testimony. The perception of the uniqueness of the four records has been rendered more precise, and with this there has also come a fuller sense of the distinct value of the contribution made by each, and of the richness of their harmony when combined. And as the notion of a Canon of NT Scriptures is becoming more definite (the name is not used), the authority of those books, which were beyond question and on all hands allowed to have a right to a place in it, is enhanced. But the amount of the change that has taken place may easily be exaggerated. The appearance of abruptness which it has, when we compare earlier documents with the works of this time, is certainly due to our want of information. The voice of the Church at the end of the 2nd cent. in respect to the writings of the NT is simply the full utterance of a conviction which has long been virtually held. Irenæus so evidently believes himself to be defending the immemorial faith and tradition of the Church, that he could not have been conscious of any alteration, within his own experience, in such an important matter as the apostolic authority attributed to the chief NT writings. Moreover, such a hold as they had manifestly obtained could not, in the nature of things, have been acquired recently and at a bound in that generation.

We have seen how large a measure of agreement there was upon the subject on the part of a number of eminent Churches. Putting aside that of N. Africa, which was of later origin than the rest, these were all founded in the Apostolic Age itself, with the possible exception of Alexandria, which must have arisen at least in the generation immediately following. And though these Churches are all situated within the Græco-Roman world, they exhibit widely different characteristics and thorough independence. No one of them could dictate to the rest; no one of them exercised over the rest an influence so dominant that its example would be silently followed. Rome would not have readily yielded to Asia Minor, nor Asia Minor to Rome, on such a matter as the Scriptures which they had been accustomed to acknowledge; nor would either of these have yielded to Antioch or Alexandria. Nor was unanimity brought about through discussions and conferences. Differences on other subjects appear and are debated, but not on this. It should be observed, also, that the authority which the writings of the NT possessed was not based, as we in our day might be inclined to imagine, on a judgment of the Church, either formal or implied, as to their surpassing moral and spiritual power, their inspiration. It rested on the belief that the writings in question were authentic embodiments of the witness and teaching of the apostles. This was the point testified to by a number of independent and mutually confirmatory lines of tradition, maintained in communities which were bound by strong sanctions to be faithful to that which they had received from the past. These communities, too, had a continuous corporate life that reached back to the first age of the Church, or its confines; and at the time we are considering they were still separated from it only by two or three generations. It is difficult to imagine that a belief thus guaranteed could have been substantially erroneous, even though it does not become apparent to us in its full strength for a century after the death of most of the apostles. And the more indirect indications from the intervening generations, though they are, owing to various causes, less distinct than we could wish, make for the same conclusion.

(2) *Writings whose position continued to be for a time doubtful.*—Before this epoch is left, a few words must be said on the amount of recognition then in divers quarters accorded to other writings, besides those above mentioned, which (*a*) were eventually included in the NT, as well as to some which (*b*) did not obtain a place there.

(*a*) And first as to the *Apocalypse*. So far as the sources of evidence which come before us up to the beginning of the 3rd cent. are concerned, there would be no sufficient ground for placing it in a different category from those whose position was already fully assured. Irenæus, Tertullian, Clement, Hippolytus, all regarded it as a genuine work of the Apostle John, and Can. Mur. includes it as such. It continued, moreover, always to be recognized as Scripture in the Western Church, and on the whole this seems to have been the view throughout of the Church of Alexandria. We know, however, that at a later time it was not received as canonical in Syria and Asia Minor, and this so generally as to point to a long-standing difference of usage in those regions, though from what cause the difference arose we do not know. In this respect chiefly the testimony to it differs from that to the writings called 'acknowledged.'

Of two other of the writings which for a time were not reckoned in this class, it may likewise be said that they deserve to be so on the evidence afforded at the period now under review, considered by itself—2 Jn and Ep. of Jude.

Irenæus twice cites words from the former as John's (*adv. Hær.* i. 9. 3; iii. 17. 8), though in one case he seems to confuse the 2nd with the 1st Ep. The Mur. Can. recognizes 2 Epps. of John, and Clem. Al. (*Strom.* ii. 66) speaks of John's 'greater Ep.,' plainly implying that he knows of at least one other. It may seem strange to us that if the 2nd Ep. was acknowledged, the 3rd, which bears marks of the same authorship, should not have been so with equal distinctness. But the address of the former to 'the Elect Lady,' which may have been understood as a symbolical name for the Church, may account for this. We may gather from the language of Mur. Can. respecting the number of the Churches to which St. Paul's Epp. are written, etc., that 'catholicity' of address was a consideration in determining the authority to be attributed to writings by the Church, as well as apostolicity of origin.

The Ep. of Jude is not quoted by Irenæus, but this may be accidental. It is included in Can. Mur., and Clement commented on it. Tertullian also quotes it as apostolic.

We turn now to the interesting subject of the light in which the *Ep. to the Hebrews* was regarded. The signs of its use in Clem. Rom. have been referred to; but its position remained ambiguous owing to uncertainty as to its authorship. This is strikingly illustrated by Tertullian's language (*de Pudicitia*, 20). He attributes it to Barnabas, a companion of apostles, and one who had even borne in a certain sense the title of an apostle. Yet, evidently, even while Tertullian sets a high value upon the Epistle, he does not esteem it in the way that he would have done if he had believed it to be by St. Paul himself. Similar considerations, no doubt, influenced others. They read, and were willing to profit by, the Epistle, but shrank from claiming for it full apostolic authority. Irenæus nowhere appeals to it as Scripture in any writing of his which we possess, and it is not included in the Muratorian list. On the other hand, it would seem to have been very highly appreciated at Alexandria, and Clement of Alexandria asserted its Pauline authorship, while he explained the differences between its style and that of his other Epp., and its similarity to that of the Acts, by conjecturing that Luke translated it (*ap.* Euseb. *HE* vi. 14).

Of use of the *Ep. of James*—if we are to put aside, as it appears we should (see Westcott, *Canon*, pp. 362, 363), a statement of Cassiodorus in regard to Clem. Alex.'s lost *Hypotyposes*—there is no sign till the next period, beyond those parallelisms in Hermas which have been noticed. There are also no clear traces of *2 Peter* or *3 John*.

(*b*) We pass to writings which were for a time candidates, so to speak, for admission, but which were ultimately rejected. With the *Apocalypse of John* the Mur. Can. couples that of *Peter*, though it adds in respect to the latter that some Christians were against having it 'read in church.' In other quarters it would seem the *Ep. of Clem. Rom.*, the *Pastor of Hermas*, and the *Ep. of Barnabas* were read as works of special authority, on the ground, which was true in the case of the first-named only, that they were by companions or personal disciples of the apostles. At some time, also, the *2nd Ep. of Clem.* (so called) was joined with the 1st in the same honour.

But it is difficult to determine exactly the relation of these writings to the Canon, from our want of knowledge as to the principles on which the practice of public reading in the assemblies was regulated. Undoubtedly, the selection of the books which might be read publicly played a part in the formation of the Canon, and in impressing the idea of the sacredness and authority of the books so used upon the minds of Christians. But it is not to be supposed that the significance of the public reading was the same, or that the rules for it were conceived in the same spirit, everywhere and always (see art. CANON in vol. i. p. 349^{b}). From the mere fact, therefore, that a particular work appears to have been read in certain Churches, it is not safe to infer that even in these Churches it was regarded as possessing the fullest inspired authority.

B. SECOND PERIOD, *c.* A.D. 220-323.—The most important fact of this period is the work and the influence of Origen. Their results cannot be measured with precision; but the effect of his labours—alike as a thinker bent on the comprehensive ascertainment of Christian truth and as a textual critic of, and commentator and homilist upon, Holy Scripture, coupled as they were with a wide knowledge of the practice of different parts of the Church—must necessarily have been great in promoting the settlement of the Canon of NT. And his teaching was perpetuated and spread by many scholars, *e.g.* by his successors in the school of Alexandria, by Pamphilus, who preserved it at Cæsarea, and Gregory Thaumaturgus, who carried it into the heart of Asia Minor.

The testimony of Origen confirms the evidence of the preceding period—within which, indeed, half his life fell (A.D. 186-253)—as to the writings about which there was practically universal agreement in the Greek-speaking and Latin-speaking Church. He accepts all that have been enumerated under this head, on the authority of the Church's tradition, and also the Apocalypse (Eus. *HE* vi. 25).

Passing to the remaining writings of NT, we may first note as of special significance his position, which resembles that of Clement, in regard to the Ep. to the Hebrews. He points out the difference of style between it and the unquestioned writings of St. Paul, but adds that 'the thoughts are wonderful and not second to the acknowledged apostolic writings'; and he gives it as his own opinion that 'the thoughts are the apostle's, but the diction and composition that of some one who recorded from memory the apostle's teaching, and as it were illustrated with a brief commentary the sayings of his master' (*ap.* Eus. *ib.*). The history of the reception of this great Epistle shows strikingly what were the conditions which—it was held—must be satisfied in the case of a book included among the NT Scriptures. There must be apostolic authorship, or dependence upon apostolic teaching; and this was a point to be determined by tradition, which did not necessarily involve the employment of tests difficult to apply, such as that of inspiration. Nevertheless a test of authenticity was also found, consciously or unconsciously, in the harmony between the spirit of the books received as apostolic and that of the apostolic doctrine preserved in the Church. Doubts as to the authorship of Ep. to Heb. stood in the way for some time of the recognition of its inspiration. And it may be that if it had not come to be more closely associated with the name of St. Paul than facts warranted, it would never have fully ranked as Scripture. But, on the other hand, those who seem to have done most to secure this result, notably Clement and Origen, were profoundly impressed with its spiritual power and general agreement with St. Paul's teaching.

In Origen's writings we have the earliest references by name to *Ep. of James* (*Comm. in Joan.* t. xix. 6, etc.); he also quotes from *Ep. of Jude* (*Comm. in Matt.* x. 17, etc.) as if he himself received it, but alludes to the doubts existing in regard to both of them. It seems reasonable to suppose that the former of these Epp. was brought to the notice of Origen more particularly through his residence in Palestine. The conjecture that it had for long been treasured in Syria is confirmed by the fact that it was recognized as authentic and canonical at Antioch and in the Syriac-speaking Church, where 2 and 3 Jn and Jude, as well as the Apoc., were refused acknowledgment at the end of the 4th cent. Origen appears to have known the 2nd Ep. of Peter, but not to have regarded it or the two lesser Epp. of John as genuine.

The position of the *Apocalypse* in the 3rd cent. is illustrated by the attitude of one who belonged to the same school as Origen, and outlived him only by a few years, *Dionysius*, the eminent bishop of Alexandria (d. 265). He discussed the question of its authenticity, and declared himself unable to believe that it was by the Apostle John, the author of the Gospel, on account of its style; yet the cautiousness and reverence of his tone in speaking of the work is an indication of the high regard in which it was commonly held (*ap.* Eus. *HE* vii. 25).

Lastly, *Eusebius* in his Ecclesiastical History, when he has arrived nearly at the end of the Apostolic Age, makes important statements as to his own views and the views and practice of his contemporaries in respect to the apostolic writings (*HE* ii. 23. 25; iii. 3; 24. 17, 18; 25). These bring us to the close of our second period in the history of the Canon. For this work of Eusebius—which contains, indeed, most of the information that he supplies on this subject, though he lived to A.D. 340—terminates with, and seems to have been composed shortly after, the pacification of the empire under Constantine. In spite of some want of clearness in his language, he helps us greatly to realize the state of things prevailing. The uncertainty and disagreement which still continued concerning certain books perhaps impress us most. It is from Eusebius that we derive the familiar classification into 'acknowledged' (ὁμολογούμενα) and 'disputed' (ἀντιλεγόμενα) and 'spurious' (νόθα) books. Nevertheless it was a step towards the final decision of the questions at issue, that they should be thus definitely posed. And the notices bearing on the Canon of NT, gleaned from writers of generations earlier than his own, which according to promise he gives in the course of his history, are intended to contribute to the attainment of this object.

Eusebius nowhere includes works which have ultimately been accounted apocryphal or uninspired in his class of 'disputed' writings. These consist, according to his fullest passage on the subject (iii. 25), of the Epp. of James and Jude, 2 and 3 Jn, and 2 P, which, as we gather from ii. 23. 25, were already regarded in many Churches as forming together with 1 P and 1 Jn a collection of 7 Catholic Epistles. With the Apocalypse he deals somewhat curiously. He first enumerates it among the 'acknowledged' books, adding, 'if that should appear to be the right view' (εἰ φανείη—ambiguous like the Eng. trans. given), and then again refers to it among the 'spurious' with a similar saving clause. The mode of treatment adopted by him in this case is to be accounted for by the fact that those who did not admit the Johannine authorship for the most part desired its definite rejection on doctrinal grounds; whereas the claims of the Epp. above named to be regarded as apostolic were for the most part questioned simply on the ground of defect of evidence for their early and widespread use. On the other hand, Eusebius cannot bring himself to name the Ep. to Heb. anywhere except among the 'acknowledged' books, and as one of 14 Epp. of Paul. In so doing he reflects, no doubt, the belief of the greater part of the Greek-speaking Church, in which he was most at home. At the same time, he allows that 'it is not fair to ignore the fact that some have rejected the Ep. to Heb., asserting that it is disputed by the Church of Rome as not being Paul's' (iii. 3).

With the exception of this statement, we know nothing of the Canon of the Church of Rome and the Churches dependent upon her, or of the Church of N. Africa, during the period under consideration.

C. CONCLUDING PERIOD.—In the age ushered in by the victory of Constantine, many causes were at work tending to fix the Canon. The Scriptures were endeared, and the difference between them and all other books was emphasized, by the recollection of the last persecution, in which their destruction had been made a principal aim; and zeal for them found exercise in the multiplication of fresh copies. Now, also, large volumes, comprising the entire Greek Bible, began probably to be made, such as those fifty magnificent ones which Constantine ordered Eusebius to have prepared at the expense of the royal treasury (Eus. *Vit. Const.* iv. 36). The Scriptures were thus vividly presented as a distinct whole, and the question of their limits was raised in a very practical manner. Further, the definition of the Church's creed led naturally to a fuller settlement of her Canon of Scripture. And thus, when the ties between the Latin-speaking Church and Athanasius had first been drawn closer through the conflict with Arianism, and when afterwards the conservatives of the East had embraced the Nicene faith, and East and

West were united in common sympathies, the same Canon came in course of time to be received.

Lists of the NT Scriptures have come down to us from various parts of the 4th cent.; but, in spite of the many Councils that were held during this period, most of these lists rest on the authority of individual Fathers, though representing, no doubt, the faith and practice of the portions of the Church to which they belonged. The earliest Synodical decree on the subject which is of certain date and authenticity belongs to the close, almost, of the century. The Acts of the Synod of Laodicea, according to some MSS, contain a catalogue of the books of Scripture, but it is probably a later addition. The date of this Synod has also been matter of dispute, though it most likely took place A.D. 363 (see Westcott, *Canon*, p. 439 f.).

The Canon of Cyril of Jerusalem in his Catechetical lectures (*c.* A.D. 340) corresponds with our own, with the single exception that he omits the Apocalypse (*Catech.* iv. 33). In the Canon given by Athanasius (*Fest. Ep.* 39, A.D. 367), we meet for the first time with one the same in every respect as our own. So, too, is that of Epiphanius (*Hær.* 76). Turning to the West, the list known as the Cheltenham Catalogue, which appears evidently to be of the 4th cent. and to belong to N. Africa, differs from Athanasius' in omitting the Ep. to Heb., but in that point only. In A.D. 397, however, the 3rd Council of Carthage, in its Canon on the subject of the Scriptures, includes this Ep., and thus gives the contents of NT as at present received; while Ambrose a little earlier is a witness for the Church of Milan, and Rufinus for that of Aquileia, to the same effect.

In Asia Minor, near the close of the 4th cent., the Apocalypse was not received. So we gather from the lists of the Council of Laodicea (Gregory Naz. *Carm.* i. § 1. 12, and Amphilochius, *ad Seleucum* [*ap.* Greg. Naz. ii. § 2. 8]). The latter appears, also, to allow the legitimacy of opposite views on the subject of 2 and 3 Jn, 2 P, and Jude.

The great Greek teachers of Antioch—Chrysostom, Theodore, and Theodoret—seem to have been of the number who did not receive, or who had doubts respecting, these Epp. as well as the Apocalypse, while they accepted Ep. to Heb. and Ep. of James. Their Canon would thus be the same as that of the Peshitta. In process of time, in spite of the influence which this version exercised, the Canon in use even in the more distant parts of the East appears to have become assimilated to a considerable degree to that of the rest of the Church (see, *e.g.*, statements of Junilius in Westcott, p, 451).

The Canon was synodically determined for the Catholic Church of East and West by the Quinisext. Council, A.D. 691, which confirmed the decrees of 3rd Council of Carthage.

The Reformation of the 16th cent. made no change as to the books of NT received as Scripture, opinions of individuals, such as that of Luther in regard to Ep. of James, having met with no general assent. But it tended to throw more stress on the recognition of the inspiration of the sacred books, by comparison with the tradition of apostolic authority, which counted for most in their actual collection by the early Church.

LITERATURE.—J. S. Semler may be said to have given the first impulse to the free critical inquiries of modern times into the history of the Canon of NT, both by his writings in general and in particular by his *Abhandlung von freier Untersuchung des Kanons*, 1771. Among writers who in the early part of the present century sought to investigate the subject systematically in this spirit, C. A. Credner holds the foremost place; see his *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 1836, *Beiträge zur Geschichte d. Kanons*, 1847, and his *Geschichte des NT Kanons*, which was edited with notes by G. Volkmar, and published (1860) after Credner's death. Of the Tübingen school, the rise of which was contemporary with Credner's later life, it would not be too much to say that all their speculations and labours had a bearing on the subject of the Canon of NT. Aiming as they did at a complete reconstruction of Christian history, they subjected the books of NT and the remains generally of early Christian literature to a criticism which was comprehensive and penetrating, though seriously biassed. At the same time, their attack upon opinions commonly received stimulated fresh research on the part of those who were unable to accept their theories. It would be unsuitable to attempt here to enumerate even the principal writings in which during these controversies particular documents, portions of the evidence relating to the books of the NT, or the true conception of the early history of the Church, were discussed. As an important work, however, specifically on the Canon, we must not omit to mention *Die Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften Neuen Testaments*, by E. Reuss, a writer holding a middle position (1st ed. 1842, Eng. tr. from 5th revised and enlarged German edition, 1874, by E. L. Houghton). The most eminent of the later members of the Tübingen school, A. Hilgenfeld, modified in some important respects the views before put forward; see esp. his *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 1875. The views of this school have been represented in England in a comparatively moderate form by S. Davidson in his *Introduction to the Study of the New Testament* of 1868 (^{2}1882, ^{3}1894), and in their most extreme form in the work entitled *Supernatural Religion* (1st ed. 1874, complete ed. 1879). J. B. Lightfoot examined the latter work in a series of Essays (collected and repub. 1889).

The chief recent advances in the subject have been due to the colossal labours of J. B. Lightfoot in his works on *Ignatius of Antioch* (1885) and *Clement of Rome* (2nd ed., pub. 1890, shortly after his death), and of Th. Zahn in his *Geschichte des Neutest. Kanons* (1888), preceded by his *Forschungen zur Geschichte des Neutest. Kanons*, and the brilliant review of the actual state of knowledge in regard to early Christian documents by A. Harnack in his *Chronologie der Altchristlichen Litteratur* (vol. i. 1897), with which his brochure *Das NT um das Jahr 200* (1889), a critique of the first part of Zahn's History of the Canon, may be compared. The last-named writer has made some important concessions to those who, like the two before mentioned, have defended the orthodox position, though he has approached the subject with different prepossessions from theirs. This approximation to a common judgment, at least on certain points, is a sign of solid progress. The weighing of the differences which still remain, with a view to taking account of whatever truth there is in the arguments urged on each side, may be suggested to the student as a path which promises further advance.

To turn to less voluminous works: Westcott's *General Survey of the History of the Canon of the New Testament* (1st ed. 1855, 7th ed. 1896) continues to be the most complete work on the subject, which is at the same time compendious. With it may be read Sanday on *Inspiration* (1893). The various Introductions to the NT deal with the subject; the treatment of it in B. Weiss' *Manual of Introduction* (1886, Eng. tr. 1887) may be specially recommended. V. H. STANTON.

NEW TESTAMENT LANGUAGE.—See LANGUAGE OF NEW TESTAMENT.

NEW TESTAMENT TEXT.—See TEXT OF NEW TESTAMENT.

NEW TESTAMENT TIMES.—See TIMES OF NEW TESTAMENT.

NEW YEAR.—See TIME.

NEZIAH (נְצִיחַ).—The name of a family of Nethinim, Ezr 2^{54} (B Νασούς, A Νεθίε) = Neh 7^{56} (B Ἀσειά, A Νεισειά); called in 1 Es 5^{32} **Nasi** (B Νασεί) or **Nasith** (so AV and RVm, following A Νασίθ).

NEZIB (נְצִיב; B Νασείβ, A Νεσίβ, Luc. Νεσείβ).—A town in the Shephēlah of Judah, noticed next to Keilah, Jos 15^{43}. It is the present *Beît Nusîb*, mentioned in the *Onomasticon* (Lagarde, 283. 142) as 7 Roman miles from Eleutheropolis on the road to Hebron. It lies to the south of Keilah.

LITERATURE.—*SWP* vol. iii. sheet xxi.; Robinson, *BRP*^{2} ii. 17, 54, 221; Buhl, *GAP* 193; Guérin, *Judée*, iii. 343 ff. All these accept of the above identification, against which, however, Dillm. (*Jos. ad loc.*) argues. C. R. CONDER.

NIBHAZ (נִבְחַז, also in some MSS נִבְחָן and נִבְחָז; B Ἐβλαζέρ, A Ἀβααζὲρ καὶ Ναιβάς [a doublet], Luc. Ἐβλαιέζερ).—An idol of the Avvites, which they worshipped with Tartak, and introduced into Samaria, whither they had been transported by the Assyrian king Sargon (2 K 17^{31}). To all appearance, the

Hebrew text is corrupt, Nibhaz being for some such form as *Abahaz* or *Abahazer*, as the Greek variants Ἀβααζέρ, Ναιβάς, and Ἐβλαζέρ show (compare Nimrod for *Amaruduk* and Nisroch for *Aŝur* or *Aŝuraku*), and any identification of this deity under the circumstances is at present hopeless.

T. G. Pinches.

NIBSHAN (הַנִּבְשָׁן; B Ναφλαζών, A Νεβσάν).—A city in the desert (מִדְבָּר) of Judah, noticed next to the City of Salt, Jos 15^{62}. The name has not been recovered. Wellhausen (*Proleg.* 344) proposes to emend to *Kibshan* (הַכִּבְשָׁן 'the kiln'; cf. Gn 19^{28}).

C. R. Conder.

NICANOR (Νικάνωρ), the son of Patroclus (2 Mac 8^{9}), a general of Antiochus Epiphanes, and one of the king's 'friends' (1 Mac 3^{38}). In B.C. 166 Nicanor, together with Gorgias and Ptolemy the son of Dorymenes, was sent by the chancellor Lysias at the head of a large army to crush the rebellion in Palestine. Nicanor, who occupies the chief place in the narrative of 2 Mac, was probably the commander-in-chief of the expedition, while Gorgias, who appears more prominently in 1 Mac, led the army in the field. The invading forces took up their position at Emmaus, where they were defeated by Judas Maccabæus in a night attack, during the absence of Gorgias, and the Syrian commanders fled into the Philistine territory (1 Mac 3$^{38-41}$ 4$^{1-25}$, 2 Mac 8). The statement that Nicanor escaped to Antioch in disguise is doubtless a rhetorical exaggeration (2 Mac 8$^{34-36}$). After the death of Antiochus V. and Lysias, Nicanor, who stood in high favour with Demetrius, and whose hatred for the Jews was well known (1 Mac 7^{26}), was appointed governor of Judæa (2 Mac 14^{12}), and sent there with a large army. At first he attempted to parley with Judas, hoping to get possession of his person, but his treacherous design was discovered, and a battle took place at Capharsalama (site uncertain), in which Nicanor lost 500 men (1 Mac 7$^{31\text{ff.}}$). The result of the engagement was probably indecisive; Josephus, who usually follows 1 Mac, asserts that Judas was defeated (*Ant.* XII. x. 4). A less probable account of these events is given in 2 Mac 14$^{12-30}$. There we are told that Simon, the brother of Judas, received a check at the hands of the invaders, but that afterwards Nicanor made friends with Judas; Alcimus complained to the king, who sent peremptory orders to his general to seize the Jewish leader; but Judas, perceiving the alteration in Nicanor's attitude towards him, withdrew to a place of safety. After the battle at Capharsalama, Nicanor fell back on Jerusalem, and greeted the Jewish priests (who came to meet him peaceably) with threats of vengeance unless they delivered Judas and his army into his hand (1 Mac 7$^{33-38}$, 2 Mac 14$^{31-36}$). He then returned to Beth-horon, where he met with reinforcements, while Judas encamped opposite to him at Adasa. The battle took place on the 13th of Adar, B.C. 161, and ended in the complete rout of the Syrians. Nicanor himself was among the first to fall. His body was found on the battlefield, and his head and right arm were cut off and exposed on the citadel of Jerusalem, while the day of the victory was commemorated annually as a festival under the name of 'Nicanor's day' (1 Mac 7$^{39-50}$, 2 Mac 15, cf. *Meg. Taan.* xii. 30).

H. A. White.

NICANOR (Νικάνωρ).—One of the 'seven' chosen to relieve the apostles of their more secular duties (Ac 6^{5}). The name is Greek, and not uncommon. For later legends, which are valueless, see Baronius, *Annales*, i. 34. cccxix.

A. C. Headlam.

NICODEMUS (Νικόδημος). — The 'ruler of the Jews' who came to Jesus by night. The name *Nicodemus* is found in Josephus (*Ant.* XIV. iii. 2) as that of an ambassador from Aristobulus to Pompey, and is plainly a Greek name which was borrowed by the Jews. We have it in the form נקדימון in the Talmud (*Taanith* 20. 1), where the name is derived from an incident in the life of one Bunai, commonly called Nicodemus ben Gorion (see Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* in Jn 3^{1}). This person has been identified with the Nicodemus of Jn 3. But Bunai lived until the destruction of Jerusalem, and it would seem from Jn 3^{4} that the inquirer who came to Jesus was then an old man (γέρων), so that for this reason, as well as for others, it would be precarious to identify the two.

Nicodemus is not mentioned by any evangelist save St. John; and attempts have been made to represent him as a typical character invented to serve a literary purpose by the author of the Fourth Gospel. Again, it has been suggested (see Schenkel's *Bib.-Lex. s.v.* 'Nikodemus') that he is to be identified with Joseph of Arimathæa, and that John has drawn on Synoptic material for his description of Nicodemus; cf. Mt 27^{57}, Mk 15^{43}, Lk 23^{50} with the notices of Nicodemus in Jn 3$^{1-21}$ 7^{50} 19^{39} (see Joseph of Arimathæa). It is not necessary to suppose any such literary artifices; there are, as might be expected, many points of likeness between Nicodemus and Joseph, as men occupying a somewhat similar position in society; but there is no good reason for refusing to take the episodes about Nicodemus recorded in Jn as historical.

Nicodemus is represented as a Pharisee (Jn 3^{1}) and member of the Sanhedrin (*ib.* 7^{50}), probably a rich man (19^{39}), who came to Jesus at Jerusalem secretly and by night. The various notices of him suggest that although he became a faithful disciple he was a timid man, who dreaded hostile criticism. When the Pharisees would have arrested Jesus, Nicodemus puts in the cautious plea, 'Doth our law judge a man except it first hear from himself what he doeth?' (Jn 7^{51}). He shelters his defence behind a recognized principle of law, and, like most half-hearted advocates, he is treated with scant respect. So again at Jn 19^{38} it is Joseph of Arimathæa who ventures to ask Pilate for the body of Jesus, Nicodemus being ready to aid him in the work of entombment, although he does not take the initiative.

This timidity was characteristic, and seems to have been intellectual no less than physical. All through the conversation in Jn 3$^{1-21}$ (which we take to be historical, although probably rehandled and condensed by the evangelist) his questionings are cautious, and he does not commit himself far. He begins by a half-patronizing recognition of the claims of Jesus to a divine mission, as attested by the signs of which he had heard. This is cut short at once by the startling words, 'Except a man be born anew, he cannot see the kingdom of God' (cf. Mk 10^{17} for the question which was in the mind of the inquirer). Nicodemus answers that such new birth is inconceivable, and is bidden to remember that although 'that which is born of the flesh is flesh,' yet also that 'that which is born of the Spirit is spirit.' A man is not the mere victim of his pedigree and circumstances; the grace of the Spirit is not distributed by the law of heredity; it is like the wind, though not in its caprice yet in its irreducibility to rules which can be foreseen (Jn 3^{8}). Nicodemus is dismayed by so bold a figure, and asks 'How can these things be?' And then the tone of the Christ seems to change to stern rebuke: 'Art thou the teacher of Israel, and understandest not these things?' He who believes not the things of earth, the everyday facts which are patent to observation if he but chooses to open his eyes to them, is not likely to believe 'heavenly things.' The last words of Jesus to Nicodemus may possibly have a side reference to the secrecy of his visit:

'He that doeth the truth cometh to the light, that his works may be made manifest that they have been wrought in God' (Jn 3^{21}). Nicodemus disappears from the NT at Jn 19^{40}; but in an apocryphal narrative of the Passion and Resurrection of Christ, which has come down to us from very early times in different forms (Greek, Latin, Coptic, not to speak of Irish and other secondary versions), and variously entitled the *Gospel of Nicodemus* or the *Acts of Pilate*, his history is carried further. See next article.

Other legends represent Nicodemus as having being baptized by Peter and John, and as being deprived of his office and banished from Jerusalem through the hostility of the Jews. Gamaliel is described as burying him near St. Stephen, and a later story tells of the finding of the bodies of Stephen, Gamaliel, and Nicodemus in a common tomb (3rd August 415, according to the Western Martyrologies). Further Christian legends regarding Nicodemus, particularly his alleged activity as a sculptor, are discussed by von Dobschütz in his *Christusbilder* ('Texte u. Untersuch.' 1899, pp. 280**-292**). J. H. BERNARD.

NICODEMUS, GOSPEL OF.—i. NAME.—*Evangelium Nicodemi* is a title which meets us for the first time in the 13th cent. (Vincentius Bellovacensis, *Spec. hist.* viii. 40 ff. [*c.* 1264], Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, 54, ed. Graesse, p. 241 [*c.* 1275]), and is in general use in manuscripts of the 15th cent. It is there employed to designate an apocryphal writing which in the older manuscripts is entitled *ὑπομνήματα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (πραχθέντα ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου*, or the like), *Gesta Salvatoris* (*quæ invenit Theodosius Magnus imperator in Jerusalem in prætorio Pontii Pilati in codicibus publicis*). From Epiphanius (*Hær.* l. 1) we obtain, as an older abbreviation of this title, the name Ἄκτα Πιλάτου, and from Greg. Turon. (*Hist. Franc.* i. 21, 24) the name *Gesta Pilati*, which, however, in the light of the texts that have come down to us, cannot be intended in the sense that Pilate was the author. All that is attributed to Pilate is the preservation of the work in the archives of the prætorium. On the contrary, the author of the alleged Hebrew original is named from the first as Nicodemus, the translator as Ananias (Aeneas) Protektor.

Besides the above, we find in the manuscripts numerous other titles, such as *ὑπόμνημα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀποκαθήλωσιν αὐτοῦ συγγραφεῖσα παρὰ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ θεολόγου*; *Passio (et resurrectio) Jesu Christi*; *Acta passionis*; *Historia (relatio) de passione*; as well as *Evangelium Nazaræorum*.

ii. CONTENTS.—The writing gives a detailed account of the trial of Jesus before Pilate (chs. 1-11, called below 1^{a}), and of the action of the Sanhedrin subsequent to His death, which leads to the certain proof of His Resurrection and Ascension (chs. 12-16, called below 1^{b}). To this is added by way of appendix an account by two men who had been raised from the dead, Charinus and Leucius, of the *descensus ad inferos* of Jesus (chs. 17-27, called below 2).

1^{a}. After an indication of the date, in the form of an expansion of Lk 3^{1}, the narrative opens with Christ being brought before Pilate on the charges of claiming the title of king, breaking the Sabbath, and abrogating the ancestral law of Israel. The reverence shown to the Lord by Pilate's footman, to which the Jews take exception, is supported by the miracle of the standard lowering itself before Jesus (ch. 1). The proceedings turn, in the first instance, upon the reproach of illegitimacy, which is refuted by twelve witnesses of the marriage of Mary with Joseph (ch. 2). After a paraphrase of Jn 18^{30-38} (chs. 3. 4), Nicodemus (ch. 5; cf Jn 7^{50}) and various persons healed by Jesus (ch. 6), among them Veronica, the woman with the issue of blood (ch. 7), come forward on behalf of Jesus. After all Pilate's endeavours to deliver Jesus and to change the sentiments of the Jews, including a fierce invective against their ingratitude, have proved in vain (chs. 8. 9), Pilate washes his hands in innocence and passes sentence of crucifixion between the two malefactors, Dysmas and Gestas (ch. 10). In the account of the crucifixion, which in the main follows Lk 23, the only noteworthy points are Pilate's contrition, when the centurion makes his report, and the incorrigibility of the Jews, who pronounce the darkening of the sun a natural phenomenon (ch. 11).

1^{b}. Joseph of Arimathæa's care for the burial of Jesus constitutes the transition to the second division: the Jews persecute him and Nicodemus and the others who had given evidence in favour of Jesus. Joseph is put in close custody, but after the Sabbath he is not to be found, in spite of the sealed door (ch. 12). At the same time Pilate's soldiers bring news of the empty tomb, without, indeed, finding their story credited by the Sanhedrin (ch. 13). Scarcely is this testimony silenced by bribery, when three men of Galilee appear, the priest Phinehas, the rabbi Addas, and the Levite Aggai, who had been witnesses of the ascension of Jesus on Mt. Malech (Mamilch). With injunctions of silence they are sent back with all speed to Galilee (ch. 14). But upon the proposal of Nicodemus, and after the example of Elisha, who allowed Elijah to be sought for (2 K 2^{15-18}), a general search is instituted, which lasted for three days, and, although abortive as far as Jesus was concerned, led to the discovery of Joseph of Arimathæa, who, being then brought in state to Jerusalem, relates in what wondrous wise Jesus in person had freed him from prison (ch. 15). Rabbi Levi recalls the words of the aged Symeon about the child Jesus (Lk 2^{34}); the three men of Galilee, who are once more introduced, confirm on oath their former statements; Annas and Caiaphas seek in vain to set up a distinction between the translation of Enoch, Moses, and Elijah, and the disappearance of Jesus.

2. On Joseph's proposal there are now brought forward two men, Charinus and Leucius, sons of that aged Symeon, who had died but had been raised again, and have their dwelling-place at Arimathæa. Being adjured by the Sanhedrin to tell their story, they describe, each for himself, the occurrences in the underworld at the death of Jesus (ch. 17): how a light suddenly illuminating the darkness filled all the fathers with exultation, Isaiah repeated Is 9^{1}, Symeon Lk $2^{30 \mathrm{ff.}}$, John the Baptist Mt 2^{1}, Jn 1^{29} (ch. 18); Adam's son Seth told of the promise made to him at the gate of paradise (ch. 19); then appeared Satan to announce to Hades (personified) the arrival of a new august captive; but Hades grew pale at the thought that this is the same Jesus who had just wrested Lazarus from her grasp (ch. 20); she sought to bar her doors while the fathers recited Messianic passages (Ps 106^{16}, Is 26^{19}, Hos 13^{14}); then resounded twice over Ps 23^{9}, and, without Hades being able to prevent it, the Lord appeared in glory (ch. 21), and at her woeful cries laid hold upon Satan and gave him over to Hades, who then vented her fury upon this deviser of mischief (ch. 23); meanwhile the Lord, who had been joyfully greeted by the fathers, set up the cross as the symbol of triumph, and amid the songs of the redeemed ascended with them from the underworld (ch. 24); the archangel Michael then conducted them to paradise, where they met first Enoch and Elijah (ch. 25), and then the penitent robber (ch. 26). Thus far the narrative of the two risen ones, who make their deposition—one of them to Annas, Caiaphas, and Gamaliel, the other to Nicodemus and Joseph—and then suddenly vanish. The two statements as written down agree word for word, the Jews are shaken in their convictions, Joseph and Nicodemus report everything to Pilate, who causes the narrative to be incorporated in the Acts of his prætorium (ch. 27).

iii. VERSIONS AND MANUSCRIPTS.—The writing is extant (*a*) in a *Greek* text (only chs. 1-16), represented by some 12 MSS of 12th-15th cent., of which Par. gr. 770 (C) may be counted the best; some, like Par. gr. 929 (E) and still more Par. gr. 1021 (D), contain complete transformations and expansions, partly upon the lines of the canonical Gospels, and partly upon those of other apocrypha. Mon. gr. 192 (A), very much overrated by Tischendorf, is re-touched as to style. The so-called *Anaphora* (*et Paradosis*) *Pilati* as well as the so-called *Narratio Josephi* are frequently found appended to the *Evang. Nicodemi.*

(*b*) Nearest to the above text stands a *Coptic* version, edited by Fr. Rossi after a Turin papyrus manuscript, and made known by Tischendorf in a Latin translation by Peyron. This version is supposed to belong to the 5th cent.

(*c*, *d*) Then come two *Armenian* versions published by Conybeare after 3 MSS, in a Greek (Latin) rendering; *d* being a revision of *c* with the aid of Greek texts.

(*e*) Of far more importance is a *Latin* version diffused in numerous MSS (in Bernard's *Bibl. Angliæ et Hiberniæ* alone more than 50 may be counted), and belonging perhaps to the 5th or 6th cent. The oldest MS is a palimpsest, Vind. pal. lat. 565, from the 7th cent., completely deciphered and soon to be edited by Dr. Göldlin of Tiefenau; then come Mus. Brit. Royal 5 E xiii, belonging to the 8th cent., and a large number of MSS from the 9th, 10th, and 11th cents. Of those hitherto used, the purest text is exhibited by Einsiedl. 169 (called D^{b} by Tischendorf), of the 9th or 10th cent. Here, too, we find many different recensions, the most characteristic instance of which, extending back to the 11th cent. and represented, *inter al.*, by the ed. Lips. of 1516, has, in addition, a chronology from Adam to Christ, based upon secret Jewish tradition (ch. 28). A very frequent appendage is the letter of Pilate to the emperor Claudius (ch. 29). In one class of MSS the work is continued by the so-called *Cura sanitatis Tiberii*, the oldest text of the Veronica legend (von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 157**-203**), in another by the so-called *Vindicta Salvatoris*, a narrative of the destruction of Jerusalem (Tischendorf, *Evang. apocr.*^{2} 471-486). This Latin text in course of time gained in the West almost canonical authority, was co-ordinated with the other Gospels as an equally valuable source for the history of the Passion, and was thus taken up, *e.g.*, by Vincentius Bellovacensis almost entire into his *Speculum historiale.* On it are dependent all the numerous translations and recensions in prose and in verse which are met with in Western languages (cf. R. Wülcker, *Das Evangel. Nicodemi in der abendländ. Litteratur*, 1872). This is true also, as it appears, of the Slavonic texts (cf. M. Ssperanskij, 'The Slav. apocr. Gospels' in *Proc. of the viii archæol. Congress at Moscow*, 1890, ii, Moscow, 1895 [Russ.]). Nay, even a late Byzantine recension (cf. *g*) is probably influenced by the above-named Latin text.

(*f*) Beside this Latin 'Vulgate,' which, by the way, does not show in its Bible text any influence from the side of Jerome, stands a second *Latin* version, represented by Tischendorf's manuscripts ABC and some others, which Tischendorf in utterly uncritical fashion has mixed up with the former in chs. 1-16. It is distinguished from the first-named Latin version both by the style of its translation and by the underlying Greek text, to which it adheres closely (most nearly allied are codd. CGI). It sometimes utilizes the text of Jerome. The form of the *Descensus* (see 2, above) is here manifestly more recent than in *e* (above).

(*g*) The latest text, very improperly placed alongside of *a* (above), is a Byzantine recension, which, extant in numerous MSS of 15th-17th cent., still constitutes part of the religious literature of the Gr. Church, and as such has sometimes been printed, *e.g.*, under the title: Ἱστορία ἀκριβὴς περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν σταύρωσιν καὶ ἀνάστασιν τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τελεσθέντων (μετὰ εἰκόνων) συγγραφεῖσα τὸ πρῶτον ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίου τινὸς Αἰνέα, συγχρόνου τοῦ Κυρίου, μεταφρασθεῖσα μὲν εἰς τὴν Λατινίδα γλῶσσαν ὑπὸ Νικοδήμου Τοπάρχου τοῦ ἐκ Ῥώμης, μετενεχθεῖσα δ' εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ὑπὸ Ἀβερκίου ἱερομονάχου Ἁγιορείτου, Athens, 1889. The earlier editors, Thilo and Tischendorf, were led to their overestimate of this text by the circumstance that it is the only one that contains the *Descensus* (chs. 17-27) in Greek; but the latter is in a form decidedly later than either of the two Latin versions. The original Greek text, answering to the Latin *e* (above), emerges still from the *Homilies* of Eusebius of Alexandria (6th cent.). Cf. Augusti, *Eusebii Emeseni quæ supersunt opusc. Græca*, 1829; Thilo, *Ueber die Schriften des Eusebius von Alexandrien*, 1832; Migne, *Patrol. Gr.* lxxxvi. 1.

The Latin text was the first to be printed, and that during the 15th and 16th cents. at various presses, which only to a partial extent stood in relation to one another (see Hain, *Repert. bibl.*, Nos. 11749, 11750, 11751, Leipzig 1516, Venice 1522, Antwerp 1538; Herold's and Grynæus' *Orthodoxographa*, Basel 1555, 1569; J. A. Fabricius, *Cod. apocr. NT*^{2}, 1719, i. 238-300 and oft.). Frequently printed also is a German translation, agreeing with the Leipzig edition of 1516 (Hain, No. 11751 and oft., Marburg 1555, 1561, 1568), and another German translation of the 17th cent., *e.g.* Hamburg [*c.* 1720]. An Anglo-Saxon text was issued by Ed. Thwaites, Oxford, 1698.

The Greek text was first published by A. Birch, *Auctarium codicis apocr.* i., Havniæ 1804; better, J. C. Thilo, *Codex apocr. NT*, i., 1832 (Gr.-Lat., with an extremely valuable and learned commentary; reproduced, without the latter, by Giles, *Codex apocr. NT*, London 1852, i. 150-219). Fuller materials have been drawn from the MSS by Tischendorf (*Evangelia apocr.*, ^{1}1853, ^{2}1876), but are so uncritically used that one does better to adhere to Thilo's text. A new critical edition is in course of preparation by the present writer.

iv. DATE.—*Relation to the ancient 'Acta Pilati.'*—All known texts of *Evangel. Nicod.*, if one may trust the note as to its discovery, which is given in the form of a prologue, go back to a work dating from the time of Theodosius II. (425).

Where the prologue is wanting, this is due to subsequent rejection of it, as, for instance, in the majority of Latin MSS, which have still preserved in the title the reminiscence of Theodosius.

This work must, however, have been only a revision, for as early as 376 Epiphanius (*Hær.* l. 1, cf. Pseudo-Chrysos. *in Pascha hom.* vii. 2, ed. Montfaucon, viii. Spuria 277 d) presupposes the existence of a text similar to what we possess.

According to Lipsius, the older recension differed from the later in wanting not only the prologue but also chs. 17-27 (2 above), and perhaps also chs. 12-16 (1^{b} above), but this cannot be proved; the omission of 2 in *a b c d* indicates merely that their common archetype was shortened as compared with the text of 425. That some MSS of *g* mark a section at ch. 12, that from this point *e* and *f* more clearly part company, that 1^{a} attaches itself more closely to the canonical tradition, whereas 1^{b} like 2 gives a freer rein to fancy,—all this finds its explanation in the nature of the subject.

Eusebius, when in the year 325 he wrote his *Hist. Ecclesiæ*, was not yet acquainted with *our* writing. He mentions a report of Pilate to the emperor Tiberius (*HE* ii. 2, according to Tertull. *Apol.* 21), heathen *Acts of Pilate*, which, in derision of the Christians, were introduced by the emperor Maximin into the schools (*ib.* I. ix. 3, IX. v. 1, vii. 1: Πιλάτου καὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ὑπομνήματα; the so-called Leo source [Leo Gramm., ed. Bonn. 83; Theod. Melit., ed. Tafel, 60; Ekloge Hist., ed. Cramer, Anecdot. Par. ii. 293; Georg. Mon., ed. Muralt 378] names as the forger a *goëta*, Theoteknos, in the time of Maximinian; cf. also *Acta Probi, Tarachi et Andronici*, 37, 'Acta Sanctorum' 11th Oct. v. 579). Eusebius knows nothing, however, of a Christian writing. In face of this, stringent proof is demanded for the existence of our writing prior to the time of Eusebius, more especially as much of it cannot have been composed in its present form before the 4th or 5th century.

This proof has been supposed to be found on one side in the mention of Ἄκτα Πιλάτου in Justin, *Apol.* i. 35, 48 (cf. 38), and of *Acta Pilati* in Tertull. *Apol.* 21. Upon this evidence, Tischendorf does not hesitate to attribute our texts to the first half of the 2nd cent., and thinks that valuable supplements to the canonical account of the trial of Jesus may be derived from them. In opposition to him, Scholten, Lipsius, Lightfoot (*Apostolic Fathers*, i. 55), and Harnack have argued that the existence attributed by Justin to such *Acts of Pilate* is only a hypothetical one. Tertullian either had before him a report of Pilate to the emperor similar to the letter preserved in the *Acta*

Petri et Pauli, ed. Lipsius, i. 135 ff., 196 ff., and in *Evang. Nicod.* ch. 29 (so Lipsius), or, if one prefers to see in this letter an excerpt from Tertullian (so Harnack), Tertullian derived the notion of *Acts of Pilate* from the *Apology* of Justin, with which he was acquainted. As yet it has not been possible to prove the existence of any literary connexion whatever between what Justin and Tertullian, appealing to such *Acts of Pilate*, relate, and what is contained in the *Gospel of Nicodemus.*

The requisite proof appeared, on another side, to be supplied by the discovery of the *Evangel. Petri*, whose contents, in so far as they go beyond the canonical tradition, some, notably H. v. Schubert, would trace back to the ancient *Acta Pilati*, a merely hypothetical *Grundschrift* of our *Evangel. Nicod.*; whereas, on the other hand, Th. Zahn (*Das Evangelium des Petrus*, 1893) holds the later Pilate literature to be influenced by the *Evangelium Petri*. As a matter of fact, the parallels cited from the 'Pilate literature' by no means suffice to prove that the *Evangel. Petri* utilizes traditions that had been committed to writing, and that these coincided with the *Grundschrift* of our *Evangel. Nicodemi*. The points of contact find their complete explanation on the assumption that the fashion of embellishing and interpreting the history of the Passion, as this comes out clearly in Justin, was known both to the author of the *Evangel. Petri* in the 2nd, and of the *Evangel. Nicod.* in the 4th (5th) cent.

Finally, J. Rendel Harris has started the hypothesis that the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, as we possess it, is only the reproduction in prose of a version of the Gospel in Homeric centones, and that it was this last-named work, dating as early as the 2nd cent., that Justin and Tertullian had in view—an ingenious suggestion, which, however, is exposed to the serious objection that the existence of such Christian Homeric centones cannot be proved earlier than the 4th (5th) century.

v. SOURCES.—The author uses, first of all, our four canonical Gospels, for the history of whose text certain passages of the *Evangel. Nicod.* are not without importance. The question as to the source of the other matter has not yet been sufficiently investigated. In details concerning the trial of Jesus, such as the form of summons and that used in pronouncing sentence behind the *velum*, the usage of the 4th (5th) cent. is reflected; the scattered Hebrew words with their Greek rendering appended we should be disposed to trace back to Origen's *Hexapla*. In the miracle of the standard lowering itself before Jesus, Münter has seen a parallel to the mark of honour paid by Pompey to the philosopher Posidonius. The details invented in chs. 12-17 (1^b above) find their explanation for the most part in the motives of the Gospel narrative and the evidence of prophecy. Only for 2 does the external garb, to speak of nothing else, make it probable that we should have recourse to a written source, current presumably under the name of Leucius Charinus, the alleged author of various apocryphal *Acts of the Apostles*. The Gnostic character which has been claimed for the latter by Münter, Lipsius, v. Schubert, and others, is denied by Harnack. The point requires fresh examination in connexion with the whole history of the *Descensus* conceptions.

vi. PURPOSE.—The *Gospel of Nicodemus* in its present form is plainly meant only for religious edification. In this way wide currency was given to two apologetic ideas, which already in the canonical Gospels show themselves with increasing clearness: (1) that the heathen judge, being perfectly convinced, after examination, of the innocence of Jesus, was compelled only by the obstinate wickedness of the Jews to pass sentence of death; and (2) that the resurrection of Jesus was proved on undeniable evidence even to His enemies. If we may assume, with Lipsius, a polemical backward allusion to the heathen *Acts of Pilate* spoken of above, much is explained in the narrative of the trial, which otherwise appears unintelligible: *e.g.* how Pilate examines in full detail the reproach of illegitimacy brought against Jesus (in answer to which, not the miraculous birth but only the marriage of Mary with Joseph is established!), as well as the charge of Sabbath desecration, whereas the accusation of inciting to rebellion hardly obtains a hearing at all. Of *Tendenz* in the sense of any special ecclesiastical or theological shade of opinion one cannot speak; traces of Judaistic Christianity (Brunn, Münter, Hofmann) are wanting equally with echoes of Gnosticism. The writing is rather an interesting document of a general-Christian character, from which definite and sharply formulated theological notions are absent. From the point of view of the history of dogma it is an anomaly, whether one assigns it to the 2nd, the 4th, or the 5th cent. As an offset to this, however, it could be brought under the head of that species of narrative literature, composed for purposes of religious edification, which especially from the 4th cent. onwards obtained favour in Christian circles. The nearest parallel is supplied by the *Acta Martyrum*. As in these, so also in the *Evangel. Nicod.*, a description of the judicial process occupies the foreground (1^a); the usual account of the tortures inflicted upon the martyrs is in this instance, owing to the peculiarity of the subject, replaced by the proofs of our Lord's resurrection (1^b); and, finally, the *Descensus* (2) corresponds to the miracles wrought by the martyrs after their death. An evangelical character in the sense of an equal authority with the canonical Gospels is certainly not claimed by the work itself; such a character was first imposed upon it by the uncritical search for legends in the 13th century.

vii. COMPOSITION AND INFLUENCE.—The composition of the first part (1^a and 1^b) is not particularly happy: the continual leading in and out of the accused, the accumulated testimonies by persons who had been healed, the twice-repeated entrance of the three men from Galilee, all go to show that the author lacked the art of moulding his material aright. On the other hand, the second part (2) is not only in itself well constructed, but it contains here and there—for instance, in the description of the conflict between Satan and Hades—passages of poetic value which have found their parallels in Milton and Klopstock. Here, too, the diction attains a higher level, whereas elsewhere the style is that of dry, at times almost wearisome, narrative, and the language, in imitation of the canonical Gospels, flows on in a series of short sentences without any attempt at a periodic structure. Yet, in spite of — or perhaps just because of—this readily intelligible kind of narration, our *Gospel* exercised from an early period onwards enormous influence. We have already spoken of its wide diffusion in manuscripts and the frequent use made of it in literature, especially subsequent to the 13th cent. The Passion plays of the 15th cent. show that the contents of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* had passed into the popular consciousness as an integral element of the Life of Jesus. Plastic art also has found its motives here: not only are we acquainted with two miniature series illustrating the *Evangel. Nicod.* in a Toledo and a Milan MS of the 13th cent., but already upon the sculptures (probably of the 6th cent.) of the Ciborium of St. Mark's at Venice, the so-called *columnæ cochleatæ* (Garrucci, *Storia dell' arte crist.* vi. tav. 497^2), there is found a scene which formerly was wrongly taken to represent the scourging of Jesus, but is really nothing else than His being led before Pilate, as described in *Evangel. Nicod.*, with the obeisance of the footman and the miracle of the standard. The influence which Ussoff alleges to have been exercised by our *Gospel* upon the miniatures of the Codex Rossannensis is certainly rightly questioned by Haseloff.

See, further, art. PILATE (*ad fin.*).

LITERATURE.—G. L. Brunn, *Disquisitio hist.-crit. de indole, ætate, et usu libri apocr. vulgo inscripti Evangel. Nicod.*, Berlin, 1794; Münter, *Wahrscheinliche Zusätze zu Christi Leidensgeschichte nach Nicod. Evangel.*, 1816; Thilo, *Codex apocr. NT*, i., 1832, cxviii-clx, 487-800; A. Maury, *Nouvelles recherches sur l'époque à laquelle a été composé l'ouvrage connu sous le titre d'évangile Nicodème*, 1850; R. Hofmann, *Das Leben Jesu nach den Apocryphen*, Leipzig, 1851, pp. 334-471 (an abstract in German, with commentary after Thilo), cf. the same writer's art. in Hauck's *PRE*³ i. (1896) 658 ff.; C. Tischendorf, *Pilati circa Christum judicio quid lucis afferatur ex Actis Pilati*, Lips. 1855; Scholten, *De oudste getuigenissen angaande de Schriften des Nieuwen Testaments*, 1866; R. A. Lipsius, *Die Pilatus-Akten kritisch untersucht*, Kiel, 1871 [² 1886]; Fr. Huidekoper, *Indirect testimony of history to the genuineness of the Gospels* (Works, 1887, ii. 105 ff.), *Acts of Pilate from a transcript of the Codex designated by Thilo as Paris D* [the *g* of above article], 1887 (*ib.*); H. v. Schubert, *Die Compos. des pseudopetrin. Evangelien-Fragments*, 1893 [has also appeared in English], p. 175 ff.; Ad. Harnack, *Gesch. d. altchrist. Litt.* I. 21-24, 865, 907, 922, II. i. 603-612; G. Krüger, *Gesch. d. altchrist. Litt.* 36; Ad. Graf zu Erbach-Fürstenau, 'l' Evangelo di Nicodemo' in *Archivio storico dell' arte*, ii. 3 (1896), 225-237; Haseloff, *Codex Rossanensis*, 1898, p. 9 ff.; J. Rendel Harris, *The Homeric Centones and the Acts of Pilate*, London, 1899 (reviewed by the present writer in *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1899, p. 333 ff.).

VON DOBSCHÜTZ.

NICOLAITANS (*Νικολαΐται*).—Twice mentioned in the NT (Rev $2^{6.15}$) as a sect whose works were hated by the ascended Lord and by the Ephesian Church, but whose teaching was upheld by some professed Christians of Pergamum, and apparently tolerated by the Church there. Nicolaitan doctrine is associated with 'the teaching of Balaam, who taught Balak to cast a stumbling-block before the children of Israel, (inducing them) to eat things sacrificed to idols, and to commit fornication' (Rev 2^{14}). As Nicolaitan teaching is said to be held 'similarly' (ὁμοίως), we may conclude that the Nicolaitans were a kindred antinomian sect, who abused the doctrine, emphasized by St. Paul, of Gentile liberty from the Mosaic Law. In defiance of that apostle's warnings (1 Co 6^{13-20} $8^{9.10}$ 10^{28})[*] as well as of the decree of the Council of Jerusalem (Ac 15^{29}), they permitted participation in heathen feasts connected with idolatry and in the fornication which frequently accompanied such feasts. The Nicolaitans represent a more advanced and aggressive stage of antinomianism than that which was found in the Corinthian Church. They are organized into a sect, with a 'doctrine,' and stand in a nearer relationship to the 'false teachers' referred to in Jude $^{4.11.12}$, 2 P $2^{1.2.14.15}$, who 'turned the grace of God into lasciviousness,' 'denied even the Master' (probably through countenancing idolatry), and 'followed the way of Balaam,' 'running riotously in his error.'

It has been doubted by some writers whether any sect actually called Nicolaitans existed. The Bk. of Rev, it is argued, is allegorical, and Νικόλαος, 'conqueror of the people,' may be regarded as a symbolical name, the Greek equivalent of Balaam (בלעם), which is held to signify either 'destroyer of the people' (from עם and בלע) or 'lord of the people' (עם and בל, contr. from בעל).[*] But, apart from the fact that the two names are not quite equivalent, and that the Balaamites and Nicolaitans, although associated, are not identified, the numerous early references to the sect and to its claim to have a real Nicolas as its founder (see next article), indicate that the writer of Rev describes heretics really so called. According to Irenæus, they lived 'lives of unrestrained indulgence,' teaching that 'adultery and eating things sacrificed to idols' are a matter of 'indifference' (*adv. Hær.* i. 26). Clement of Alex. speaks of their souls as 'buried in the mire of vice' (*Strom.* ii. 20). Tertullian stigmatizes them as destroying the happiness of sanctity in their maintenance of lust and luxury (*adv. Marc.* i. 29, cf. *de Pudic.* 19). In the *Apost. Const.* vi. 8, 'those falsely-called Nicolaitans' are characterized as 'impudent in uncleanness.' 'Ignatius' (longer recension) brands them as 'impure lovers of pleasure,' and as 'addicted to calumnious[†] speeches' (*Trall.* 11, *Phil.* 6). So far, we have merely an echo of what we read in Rev; but other early references indicate that, in addition to immorality, the Nicolaitans were tainted with incipient Gnosticism. Irenæus states (*adv. Hær.* iii. 11) that the Cerinthian doctrines of a Demiurge distinct from the Supreme God, and of a Doketic Incarnation, had already, before Cerinthus, been disseminated by the Nicolaitans, whom accordingly he describes as a 'fragment (ἀπόσπασμα) of the Gnosis falsely so-called.' Tertullian (*de Præs. Hær.* 33) writes of the Cainite Gnostics of his time as modern Nicolaitans.[‡] Hippolytus also (*Ref. Hær.* vii. 24) and Philastrius (*de Hær.* 88) include the Nicolaitans among Gnostics.

For the relation between the Nicolaitans and Nicolas of Antioch, see art. NICOLAS. There appears to be no sufficient reason for rejecting the traditionary explanation of the connexion as supplied by Clem. of Alex. (without accepting all details). We know, from other instances, the anxiety of early heretics (*e.g.* the Basilidians and the Valentinians) to father their views upon some apostle or associate of the apostles. At the same time it is possible that a different Nicolas was the real founder of the sect, and was confused afterwards with the better-known 'deacon.' Cassian states (*Collat.* xviii. 16) that some in his time (A.D. 420) held that the founder was some other Nicolas; and in the *Lives of the Prophets, Apostles*, etc., ascribed (erroneously) to Dorotheus, bishop of Tyre, in the end of the 3rd cent., Nicolas of Antioch is identified with a bishop Nicolas of Samaria who is said to have become a heretic in company with

---

[*] The supposition that the reference in Rev to the Nicolaitans embraces a covert attack on St. Paul or Paulinism (Baur, Renan, Volkmar, and others) is foreclosed by the apostle's own testimony, although it is possible that certain Nicolaitans professed to be his followers. St. Paul, while not condemning those who bought in the market, or partook of, at an ordinary friendly meal, food which might have been previously sacrificed to idols, is careful to disallow any such participation as would either involve the countenance of idolatry, or 'cast a stumbling-block' before any Christian brother (see Farrar, *Early Days of Christianity*, ii. 243 ff.).

[*] This view, originally hinted at by Cocceius (*Cogit. in Ap.*), was first enunciated by Heumann (*Acta Erud.* for 1712, p. 179), who adopts the interpretation 'destroyer,' and then by Vitringa (*Anakr. Apoc.*), who interprets Balaam as 'lord of the people.' So also Michaelis, Eichhorn, Ewald, Hengstenberg, Stier. Trench (*Seven Churches*, p. 78 f.), accepting the theory that the name Nicolaitans in Rev is symbolical, supposes that 'one of the innumerable branches of the Gnostic heresy, springing up at a later day, assumed this name which they found ready-made for them in the Apocalypse.' The Gnosticism of the Nicolaitans has been recently used by Voelter, who associates them with the Carpocratians, as an argument in favour of assigning the seven epistles in the Bk. of Rev to about A.D. 140 (*Entst. d. Apok.* pp. 44 f. 191); but the germs of Gnosticism existed admittedly in the Apostolic Age; and it is quite natural for writers of the 2nd and 3rd cents. to apply the name to heretics, who flourished before its adoption as a formal designation. The incipient Gnosticism of the Nicolaitans can be denied (as by McGiffert, *Chr. in Ap. Age*, p. 625) only on the assumption that Iren. Tert. and Hipp. simply inferred its existence from the immoral outcome of Nicolaitan doctrine.

[†] The *Chronicon Paschale* (Ol. 221) speaks of Simon, bishop of Jerus., as διαβληθείς by Nicolaitans, in A.D. 107.

[‡] 'Sunt et nunc alii Nicolaitæ: Caiana hæresis dicitur.' This suggests that by A.D. 200 the N. had ceased to exist as a separate sect, and had been absorbed by other sects of Gnostics. The name was applied by the Synod of Piacenza (1095) to 'incontinent' (including married) priests and deacons (Hefele, *Conciliengesch.* v. 194).

Simon Magus. Ps.-Doroth. (*c.* 6th cent.) is not a trustworthy authority; but the connexion with the 'father of Gnosticism' is suggestive; and since Nicolas of Antioch is nowhere else referred to as a bishop, or as associated with Samaria, the tradition *may* indicate the existence of another Nicolas, with whom the pseudo-Dorotheus confounded Nicolas of Antioch.*

LITERATURE.—Janus, *Dissert. de Nicolait.*; Ittig, *Dissert.*; Mosheim, *Dissert.*; Vitringa, *Anakrisis Apocal.*; Burton, *Heresies of the Apostolic Age*; Trench, *Epistles to the Seven Churches*; Holtzmann, *Neutest. Theol.*; Voelter, *Entstehung der Apoc.*; Weizsäcker, *Apost. Zeitalter*; McGiffert, *Christianity in Ap. Age*; Farrar, *Early Days of Christianity*; the Commentaries of Alford, Lange, Volkmar, Kliefoth, Stern, Wordsworth, Bousset, Zöckler, etc.; Wohlenberg in *Neue kirch. Zeitschrift* for 1895.
H. COWAN.

NICOLAS (Νικόλαος, 'conqueror of the people').—A proselyte † (to Judaism) of Antioch; one of the seven men selected by the Christians of Jerusalem and appointed by the apostles to look after the 'daily ministration' to the poor (Ac 6^{5}).‡ He is nowhere mentioned afterwards in the NT, and is first referred to elsewhere by Irenæus (*adv. Hær.* i. 26), who states that the Nicolaitans of Rev 2 were his followers. Hippolytus (*Ref. Hær.* vii. 24) declares more distinctly that Nicolas was a heretic, who 'departed from correct doctrine' and inculcated 'indifference of life.' Pseudo-Tertullian (*adv. omn. Hær.* 3, probably of 3rd cent.) charges him still more strongly with immoral teaching. On the other hand, in the longer Greek recension of the Ignatian Epistles, mention is twice made of those who are 'falsely called Nicolaitans' (*Trall.* 11, *Phil.* 6; cf. *Ap. Const.* vi. 8); suggesting that the Nicolaitans improperly claimed Nicolas as their founder. Eusebius (*HE* iii. 29) refers to this pretension in a connexion which implies that he regarded it as unfounded. Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iii. 4, quoted by Eus. *l.c.*) relates what would readily explain at once the claim of the Nicolaitans, the testimony of 'Ignatius' and Eusebius, and a probable misconception by Irenæus, Hippolytus, and other subsequent writers. Clement states that Nicolas had a beautiful wife, and that, on 'being reproached by the apostles for his jealousy, he conducted her into the midst of them, and gave her over (ἐπέτρεψεν)'—*i.e.* presumably, offered to do so—to any one who might wish to marry her.§ To this anecdote is appended a saying of Nicolas that 'one ought to abuse' or 'use hardly (παραχρᾶσθαι) the flesh.' Clement is careful, however, to state his own interpretation of that phrase as signifying not indulgence in but abstinence from fleshly lusts; and he adds that Nicolas himself lived a virtuous married life, and that his family also were chaste. The over-complacency of Nicolas regarding his wife is scarcely credible, and is perhaps a misrepresentation of some protest of N. against an imputation of self-indulgence; but the term παραχρᾶσθαι may well have been employed by him (although not very happily, owing to the ambiguity) in the sense of mortifying the flesh through rigid abstinence, and yet have been taken up by others (inclined towards Antinomianism) in the Gnostic sense of mortification through inordinate gratification. If, however, Nicolas became eventually a teacher of immoral heresy, the apostasy of the last-named among the Seven constitutes a striking parallel to that of the last-named among the Twelve. For the Literature see previous article.
H. COWAN.

NICOPOLIS (Νικόπολις) is mentioned by St. Paul in writing to Titus as a place at which he intended to spend the winter, Tit 3^{12}. Of the various cities named Nicopolis, it is nearly certain that Nicopolis in Epirus is meant. That was a city on the promontory which shuts in the gulf of Ambracia (now called Arta) on the north-west; facing the Nicopolitan promontory was that of Actium, shutting in the gulf on the south-west; about half a mile of sea separates the two. In September B.C. 31 Augustus lay encamped on the northern promontory, and Antony on the southern, and the decisive battle was fought in the adjacent waters. Augustus founded in honour of the victory a city on the spot where his land army had encamped on the night before the battle, and called his new foundation 'the city of victory.' The site is now deserted; and the mediæval city Prevesa has taken its place, about 5 miles south on the extreme southern point of the promontory, looking across to Actium. There was a temple of Apollo at Actium, overlooking the scene of the battle; and the sudden storm, which struck the faces of Antony's sailors and contributed not a little to his defeat, was attributed to the direct intervention of the god on the side of his favoured Augustus. Actium had been previously the more important site; but the victor now resolved to make a great city at Nicopolis. He concentrated there the population of many decaying Greek cities of Acarnania and Ætolia, gave the new city the rights and honours of a Roman colony, made it a leading member of the Amphictyonic Council, and instituted a quinquennial festival sacred to Apollo, with musical and athletic sports, and competition of ships and of chariots. This festival was placed on the same rank as the four great Greek games—the Olympian, Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean; and must have attracted crowds to the city every fourth year. The circumstances connected with the foundation and peopling of Nicopolis are very fully discussed by Kuhn, *Entstehung der Städte der Alten*.

Nicopolis was thus the great centre for the west coast of Acarnania and Epirus, and was on that account selected by St. Paul for a residence of some duration, in the course of which he hoped to evangelize the entire province of Epirus and Acarnania: it is indeed not quite certain that that province, which existed in Trajan's reign, had been constituted in St. Paul's time; but the probability is that it had. The selection of Nicopolis as a mission centre proves that the apostle had arranged a methodical scheme of work in order to fill up the gap in his evangelization of the empire: he had founded churches on the eastern or Ægean side of the Epirote-Macedonian peninsula, but the western side was still a blank, and in this he now proposed to commence work.

The circumstances in which St. Paul formed that resolution and communicated it to Titus can only be guessed at. It is even uncertain whether he actually visited Nicopolis. According to the subscription added to the letter, he wrote from Nicopolis to Titus; but that is a late and untrustworthy addition. The most natural (in fact, almost necessary) interpretation is that he wrote from some other place; he mentions his resolve to spend the winter 'there,' not 'here,' and the perfect tense *κέκρικα* shows that he is writing, not from the point of view of the recipient of the letter, but simply as he thinks and feels. A journey, therefore, lay before him to Nicopolis. Taking this in conjunction with the fact that some time later he, from Rome, wrote to Timothy and indicated that he had at no distant time passed through Miletus and Corinth (2 Ti 4^{20}), the conjecture is at least a tempting one that he had had in mind to go by Corinth to Nicopolis. Moreover, as the words of 2 Ti 4^{20} would hardly suggest that he had been arrested in Corinth, the probability is that he reached Nicopolis, and that he was arrested there while prosecuting his work, and sent to Rome to be tried there as a Roman citizen.

---

* In the *Acta Apost. Apoc.* of pseudo-Abdias (embodied in Fabric. *Cod. Apoc.* vol. i. p. 498 ff.), usually ascribed to the 6th cent., there is an account of another Nicolas, who after a life of profligacy is said to have been converted in old age by the Apostle Andrew; but, as he does not appear to have been a teacher, he could hardly have founded a sect.

† It does not follow (though it may be the case) that Nicolas was the only one of the seven who was not a Jew by birth. The designation, 'proselyte of Antioch,' may have been inserted owing to St. Luke's personal acquaintance with Nicolas, both being natives (if Eus., *HE* iii. 4, can be trusted) of that city.

‡ Epiph. (*Hær.* i. 20) and Ps.-Doroth. include N. among the 'Seventy' (Lk 10^{1}); the latter adding that he became bishop of Samaria (see preceding article).

§ Epiph. (*adv. Hær.* i. 25), under the influence of monasticism, transfers to the Apostolic Age the later unscriptural disparagement of married life, and twists the record of Clement into a story of how Nicolas, 'following the counsels of perfection,' separated from his wife, but, 'being unable to persevere in his resolution, returned to her again, as a dog to his vomit, and then justified his conduct by licentious principles. which occasioned the foundation of the sect of the Nicolaitans.

The reference to Nicopolis and to the supposed journey are necessarily connected with the disputed question of the authenticity and trustworthiness of the Pastoral Epistles. Those who deny that those Epistles can be accepted as a rational foundation on which to construct the history of St. Paul's life, will of course take no account of Nicopolis. But those who accept them as recording trustworthy historical statements must date them some years after the first Roman captivity, and conclude that St. Paul was acquitted on his first trial. Some of those even who deny the authenticity of the Pastoral Epistles, admit, like Harnack, that they contain historical information. Then the earliest possible time when St. Paul could have been arrested for preaching Christianity would be after the outbreak of the Neronian persecution. The winter that he proposed to spend at Nicopolis, therefore, must be that of 64-65, or 65-66, or 66-67.

The later history of Nicopolis is short. After falling into decay, it was restored by Julian about 362; and afterwards it was captured by the Goths and destroyed, but again was restored by Justinian, as Procopius, *de Aedif.* iv. 2, describes. It is mentioned as the metropolis of Old Epirus by Hierocles about A.D. 530, and retained that position in the ecclesiastical organization; but a late mediæval list of cities that changed their names mentions Νικόπολις ἡ νῦν Πρέβεζα, implying that Prevesa had taken its place and dignity. There are many remains of the ancient city, on which the guide-books of Murray, Baedeker, etc., may be consulted.

W. M. RAMSAY.

NIGER (Νίγερ).—Among the prophets and teachers that were at Antioch when Barnabas and Paul were sent out on their first missionary journey, was 'Symeon, which is called Niger' (Ac 13^{1}). *Niger* was probably the Gentile name which he had assumed. The name is found as a Roman cognomen, and a certain Niger of Peræa is mentioned in Jos. *BJ* II. xix. 2. Nothing further is known about the Niger of Ac 13^{1}, and there do not appear to be even any legends.

A. C. HEADLAM.

NIGHT (לַיִל, לַיְלָה [the ending הָ— being prob. radical and not ה loc.—*Oxf. Heb. Lex.*], Aram. לֵילְיָא, νύξ).—Besides representing these properly equivalent Heb. and Gr. words, 'night' stands in AV once for חֹשֶׁךְ ('darkness'), Job 26^{10} (RV 'darkness'); thrice for נֶשֶׁף ('twilight'), Is 5^{11} (RV 'night'), 21^{4} 59^{10} (RV 'twilight'); and four times for עֶרֶב ('evening'), Gn 49^{27} (RV 'even'), Lv 6^{20} (RV 'evening'), Job 7^{4} (RV 'night'), Ps 30^{5} (RV 'night,' RVm 'even'). לַיְלָה is tr^{d} 'night season,' Job 30^{17}, and לֵילוֹת 'night seasons,' Ps 16^{7}. The Aram. בִּת ('to pass the night') occurs Dn 6^{18}, and in NT we have *μεσονύκτιον* ('midnight'), Mk 13^{35}, Lk 11^{5}, Ac 16^{25} 20^{7}; *διανυκτερεύειν* ('to continue all night'), Lk 6^{12}; *νυχθήμερον* ('a night and a day'), 2 Co 11^{25}. RV omits 'night' on textual grounds from four passages where the word appears in AV, viz. Mt 27^{64}, Mk 14^{27}, Jn 7^{50}, 2 P 3^{10}.

The simple conception of night as the period of darkness alternating with daylight is embodied in the first creation narrative (Gn 1$^{4.5}$), which describes how the darkness (חֹשֶׁךְ) was divided by God from the light, and was called Night (לַיְלָה). Darkness and night are similarly identified in Ps 104^{20}, and night is a synonym for darkness in Am 5^{8}, Mic 3^{6}, Wis 17$^{2.5.14.21}$. The regular succession of days and nights represents the permanent order of the universe (Gn 8^{22}, Jer 33$^{20.25}$). As the daytime was assigned to the sun, so the night was assigned to the moon and the stars (Gn 1$^{14.16.18}$, Ps 136^{9}, Jer 31^{35}). Night as a part of the creation is God's (Ps 74^{16}), and bears witness to His glory (Ps 19^{2}).

The following usages of *'night' in connexion with 'day'* are noteworthy. (*a*) *Time is measured in terms of both.* Thus we find 'three days and three nights,' 1 S 30^{12}, Jon 1^{17}, Mt 12^{40}; 'seven days and seven nights,' Job 2^{13}; 'forty days and forty nights,' Gn 7$^{4.12}$ (the flood), Ex 24^{18} etc. (Moses on Mt. Sinai), 1 K 19^{8} (Elijah at Horeb), Mt 4^{2} (Christ's temptation). (*b*) 'Day and night' or 'night and day' expresses the *continuousness* of an action or condition either during a definite time (Lv 8^{35}, Est 4^{16}, Ac 20^{31}) or indefinitely, as of work (1 Th 2^{9}, 2 Th 3^{8}); of grief and trouble (Ps 32^{4} 42^{3}, Jer 9^{1} 14^{17}, La 2^{18}); of prayer (Ps 88^{1}, 2 Mac 13^{10}, Lk 2^{37}, 1 Th 3^{10}, 1 Ti 5^{5}, 2 Ti 1^{3}); of meditation in the law (Jos 1^{8}, Ps 1^{2}); of God's service (Jth 11^{17}, Ac 26^{7}). In Rev 20^{10} 'day and night' is followed by 'for ever and ever.' In Mk 4^{27} 'night and day' has the special sense of 'day after day,' 'as time goes on.' (*c*) 'All day and all night' is used of circumstances that are *exceptionally prolonged*, as in Ex 10^{13} (an east wind), Nu 11^{32} (the gathering of quails), 1 S 19^{24} (Saul's ecstasy), 28^{20} (Saul's fast), 1 Mac 5^{50} (the assault on Ephron).

Night is the natural time for daily work to cease (Jn 9^{4}), and for rest and sleep (Sir 40^{5}, 1 Th 5^{7}). Wakefulness at night is abnormal (Est 6^{1}), and is usually due to sickness or to painful excitement (Job 7$^{3.4}$ 30^{17}, Ec 2^{23} 8^{16}). It is at night that excessive grief finds vent (Ps 6^{6} 30^{5}, La 1^{2}, To 10^{7}). On the other hand, not only do wild beasts roam at night (Ps 104^{20}), but some men are called to night duties, as the priests in the temple (Ps 134^{1}), the city watchmen (Is 21^{8}), shepherds (Lk 2^{8}), fishermen (Lk 5^{5}, Jn 21^{3}). The diligence of the virtuous woman is shown by her working at night (Pr 31$^{15.18}$).

Night is also the season of dreams and divine communications. Dreams are called 'visions of the night,' and appear in Scripture not only as significant of the future (Gn 40^{5} etc.), but also as direct means of divine revelation. God speaks in a dream by night to Abimelech (Gn 20^{3}), to Laban (Gn 31^{24}), to Solomon (1 K 3^{5}, 2 Ch 1^{7}); and in visions of the night to Jacob (Gn 46^{2}), and to Paul (Ac 18^{9}). Zechariah 'saw by night' the visions described in his prophecies (Zec 1^{8}), and 'night visions' are repeatedly mentioned as the means of divine revelation to Daniel (Dn 2^{19} 7$^{2.7.13}$). Apart from any special mention of dreams, God speaks at night to Abraham (Gn 26^{24}), to Balaam (Nu 22^{20}), to Gideon (Jg 6^{25}), to Samuel (1 S 3$^{4ff.}$ 15^{16}), to Solomon (2 Ch 7^{12}), to Paul (directly Ac 23^{11}, and by an angel Ac 27^{23}). The 'word of the Lord' came by night to Nathan (2 S 7^{4}, 1 Ch 17^{3}).

The darkness of night is a hindrance to active movement, causing men to stumble (Is 59^{10}, Jn 11^{10}) and grope (Job 5^{14}). On the other hand, it is favourable to secrecy. Hence night was chosen for secret visits (1 S 28^{8}, Jn 3^{2} 19^{39}) and treacheries (Jn 13^{30}). Daring exploits were carried out by night, such as Gideon's destruction of the altar of Baal (Jg 6^{27}), and his visit to the camp of Midian (Jg 7^{9}); David's visit to the camp of Saul (1 S 26^{7}); the rescue of Saul's remains (1 S 31^{12}); Nehemiah's survey of Jerusalem (Neh 2$^{12ff.}$); the murder of Holofernes (Jth 13^{14}). For the same reason in war night was a favourite time for ambushes (Jos 8^{3}, Jg 9$^{32.34}$ 16^{2}, 2 K 6^{14}), and surprises (Gn 14^{15}, Jos 10^{9}, Jg 7$^{19ff.}$, 1 S 14^{36}, 2 S 2^{29} 17^{1}, 2 K 8^{21}, 2 Ch 21^{9}, Jer 6^{5}, 1 Mac 4$^{1.5}$ 5^{29} 12$^{26.27}$ 13^{22}, 2 Mac 8^{7} 12^{9}). It was in the night that Sennacherib's army was destroyed (2 K 19^{35}), and that panic fell on the Syrians (2 K 7^{12}). Night was consequently a time when danger was to be apprehended (Ps 91^{5}, Ca 3^{8}), and when death and sudden destruction might come (Ex 12$^{12.30}$, Job 34^{25} 36^{20}, Hos 4^{5}, Lk 12^{20} 17^{34}). Night was the safest time for flight and escape, as in the cases of Zedekiah at the Captivity (2 K 25^{4}, Jer 39^{4} 52^{7}); Joseph and Mary (Mt 2^{14}); Paul at Damascus (Ac 9^{25}), at Thessalonica (Ac 17^{10}), and at Jerusalem (Ac 23^{23}). The great escape of Israel from Egypt was remembered as having taken place by night (Ex 12$^{31.42}$, Dt 16^{1}), and it was at night that the apostles were repeatedly delivered from prison (Ac 5^{19} 12^{6}). Night was the opportunity of the thief (Gn 31^{39}, Job 24^{14}, Jer 49^{9}, Ob ^{5}, 1 Th 5^{2}. See also Mt 28^{13}). The quietness of night made it a fitting time for prayer and communion with God (1 S 15^{11}, Ps 16^{7} 17^{3} 22^{2} 119^{55}, Jth 6^{21} 11^{17}, Lk 6^{12}).

Night was the season of festive pleasure (Is 21^{4}), which might be innocent and holy (Job 35^{10}, Ps 42^{8} 77^{6}, Is 30^{29}), or might degenerate into drunkenness and sensuality (Gn 19$^{33ff.}$, Jg 19^{25}, Pr 7^{9}, Is 5^{11}, 1 Th 5^{7}).

Besides darkness, the physical features of night include dew (Ca 5^{2}) and frost (Gn 31^{40}, Jer 36^{30}). It was at night that the manna fell in the wilderness (Nu 11^{9}).

The night was divided into **watches** (Ps 90^{4}). Under the Jewish system followed in OT these were three in number. We have 'the beginning of the watches' (La 2^{19}), 'the middle watch' (Jg 7^{19}), and 'the morning watch' (Ex 14^{24}). In NT four stages of the night are distinguished, viz. evening, midnight, cock-crowing, and morning (Mk 13^{35}). These may be taken as corresponding to the four watches into which the night was divided by the Romans. Mention is made of the second and third watches (Lk 12^{38}), and of the fourth watch (Mt 14^{25}).

Midnight is specified as the hour when certain impressive incidents, historical or parabolic, took place, such as the death of the firstborn in Egypt (Ex 11^{4} 12^{29}); the earthquake at Philippi (Ac 16^{25}); the summons to meet the bridegroom (Mt 25^{6}, cf. Mk 13^{35}).

Night is used as a figure for death, which ends life's work (Jn 9^{4}). The present age, to be closed by the coming of Christ, is described as the night which precedes the day (Ro 13^{12}). By another metaphor night represents the sin and ignorance from which Christians have already escaped (1 Th 5^{5}). One of the glories of the new Jerusalem will be the absence of night (Rev 21^{25} 22^{5}).

JAMES PATRICK.

NIGHT HAWK (תַּחְמָס *taḥmāṣ*, γλαύξ, *noctua*).—*Taḥmāṣ* occurs twice (Lv 11^{16}, Dt 14^{15}) in the list of unclean birds. Our view of its meaning will be influenced by that which we take of the signification of the preceding word בַּת־הַיַּעֲנָה *bath-hayya'ănāh*. AV translates this in all the eight passages where it occurs 'owl,' but in four (Job 30^{29}, Is 13^{21} 34^{13} 43^{20}) the margin has 'ostrich.' In all of them RV gives 'ostrich.' The LXX generally renders it *στρουθός*, but sometimes *σειρήνος*. As the latter is a fabulous bird, the weight of the LXX is with RV. Many have thought that *taḥmāṣ* refers to the ostrich, the root *ḥāmaṣ* signifying 'to be *violent* or *unjust*,' and that it corresponds to the Arab *ẓalîm*, which also signifies 'the *unjust bird*' = the ostrich. But if 'ostrich' is the proper rendering for *bath-hayya'ănāh*, it is not likely that another word would be used for the bird in the same context, especially if the expression 'after his kind,' at the end of the passage, refers to all the four birds mentioned. But even admitting, as is most probable, that this expression is limited to the genus immediately after which it occurs, still, if we agree with RV in the rendering 'ostrich' for *bath-hayya'ănāh*, we must seek for another bird to correspond with *taḥmāṣ*. Unfortunately, this is difficult to find. Γλαύξ, for which we have the authority of the LXX, and *noctua* that of the Vulg., signify some sort of owl. But two other words in this context are tr^{d} respectively 'little owl' and 'great owl.' 'Night hawk' would seem to be a mere guess. Perhaps it would be better with RVm to transliterate *taḥmāṣ*.

G. E. POST.

NIGHT MONSTER (לִילִית *lîlîth*, *ὀνοκένταυρος*, *lamia*, Is 34^{14} AVm and RV 'night monster,' AV 'screech owl,' RVm 'Lilith' [wh. see]).—The reference is to a nocturnal spectre, similar to the *ghûl* of the Arabs. All nations have, in their legends, similar apparitions (cf. Wellh. *Reste*^{2}, 148 ff.; W. R. Smith, *RS* 113 f.). The Heb. has two other words of similar import, עֲלוּקָה (see HORSE-LEECH) and שְׂעִירִים (see AZAZEL, SATYR). The mention of such fabulous monsters does not commit Scripture to an endorsement of the fact of their existence. See OWL, 5.

G. E. POST.

NILE.—The word Νεῖλος is of unknown origin. It was the name by which the river was known to the Greeks, Hesiod being the earliest writer to use it; Homer has but one name, Αἴγυπτος, for river and land. It does not occur in MT or LXX. Besides the possible connexion with נָהָר, it has been proposed to refer it to a Demotic form, *ne-il-u*, meaning 'the rivers.'* The so-called canal, *Shaṭṭ en-Nîl*, in Babylonia, is thought by some to have an etymological connexion with the Egyptian river.† Of the many native names, one of the commonest and most ancient‡ was *ḥ'p*, a word in some way implying the idea of covering or hiding. This name, however, is always employed in a sense more or less mythological: that so frequent later on, *itrw*,—the origin of the above Demotic form,—which became the everyday designation of the river, did not grow into popularity until the Middle Kingdom.§

The Semitic languages record no name for the Nile till a comparatively late date; none, at any rate, appears to be met with before the 7th cent. (Assurbanipal), when the Assyrians were making use of the native *itrw* in the modified pronunciation already current in Egypt, *iaru'ū*, the last letter here representing the Egyptian *'o*, 'great,' as it appears eventually in the Coptic *iero*, *iaro*.‖ This same word was as יְאוֹר, יְאֹר most usually employed also by the Hebrews (*e.g.* Gn 41^{1}, Ex 1^{22}), who for other large rivers used נָהָר (*e.g.* Gn 15^{18}, 2 K 5^{12}, Jer 2^{18}). The plur. of יְאֹר generally indicates the canals or subsidiary branches of the Nile.

Another name used by Hebrew writers is שִׁחוֹר, שִׁיחוֹר, Σιώρ,¶ **Shihor** (only Jos 13^{3}, 1 Ch 13^{5}, Is 23^{3}, Jer 2^{18}), of which the etymology is obscure; the word is said to refer to the dark hue of the water; but, in fact, the Nile is anything but dark in colour. No Egyptian derivation for the name has been recognized. Though it may sometimes refer to the Nile (Is 23^3, Jer 2^{18}), שִׁחוֹר elsewhere seems more appropriate to the Wady el-'Arīsh, 'the Brook of Egypt' (Jos 13^3, 1 Ch 13^5). See EGYPT (RIVER OF).

---

* Groff in *Bull. Inst. égypt.* 1892, 165.

† Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 71. Yâḳût (iv. 861) attributes this name merely to a supposed physical resemblance.

‡ In the Pyramid texts, *e.g.* *Wnis* 431, 545.

§ Inscr. of Chnemothes at Beni-Hasan, *Kahun Pap.*, ed. Griffith, ii. 61.

‖ Steindorff in *Beitr. z. Assyr.* i. 612; Erman in *ZDMG* xlvi. 108. Cf. Ptolemy's *ὁ μέγας ποταμός* (*Geogr.* iv. 5).

¶ Gloss in *Cod. March.* (Holmes, xii.; Swete, Q), Jer 2^{18}.

Whether the Nile is to be recognized, as it was by Josephus,[*] in one of the four rivers of Paradise (Gn 2^{10}) is still debated. Of the two not yet identified, Pishon and Gihon, the latter has, owing to its connexion with the land of Cush, been often held to represent the river which flows through Ethiopia as well as Egypt. The LXX in Jer 2^{18} seem, at any rate, to understand it so (cf. Streane, *Double Text of Jer.* 38 f.). This Cush is, however, now less generally held to be Ethiopia than formerly. Delitzsch[†] regards it as a Babylonian province; Hommel[‡] takes it for a district of central Arabia.

The Egyptians fully realized the debt they owed to the river by whose agency their country had been created and was maintained. The Nile was a deity honoured, from the earliest to the latest times, throughout the land,[§] irrespective of local, often antagonistic cults; yet he appears to have had few temples of his own, and his priests are seldom mentioned.[‖] Several deities besides *Ḥ'pï*, the personification of its name, were regarded as connected with the river in one or other of its aspects. For instance, *Ḫnm*-Chnubis, *Inkt*-Anukis, *Stt*-Satis were thought to rule the Cataracts, the point at which the Nile came within the knowledge of the Egyptians; *Sbk*-Souchos, again, was the tutelary god of the Fayyûm lake. It is possible that Osiris himself was originally a Nile deity.[¶] The Nile god is represented as a man with woman's breasts, water-plants on his head, and, for dress, the girdle of a sailor or fisherman. Sometimes he carries an offering of fish and water-fowl. This representation appears to date from the 12th Dynasty. Long hymns are extant in his praise, enumerating his benefits to mankind;[**] he is honoured, too, in many shorter inscriptions. The festivals held in mediæval and modern times to celebrate the Inundation are doubtless survivals of ancient heathen ceremonies, one of which classical authors call the Νειλῶα.[††] The Copts have always used special prayers for the river's rise; so, too, have the Ethiopian Christians.[‡‡] A curious liturgy is extant, containing a sort of harvest service in connexion with the Inundation, which was in use among the mediæval Syriac-speaking community in Egypt.[§§]

The Inundation (which is perhaps referred to in Am 8^8 9^5) was never understood by the Egyptians themselves, who attributed it to some mystic, divine agency, the tears of Isis' yearly sorrow for Osiris being in one view its origin.[‖‖] Herodotus (ii. 22) rejects the one explanation, among those he had heard,—and that from a Greek source,—which approximated to the truth. Subsequently Ptolemy gave this same explanation—that the river rose owing to melted snow. The Christian Fathers[¶¶] had learned the true one, viz. the annual rains in Ethiopia.

The source of the river was equally mysterious. One theory, with which the *Odyssey* seems acquainted (iv. 477), regarded it as a branch of a heavenly Nile, from which it separated to form the earthly stream somewhere in the Cataract district. Two deep springs (*ḳrti*) in that region, or two rocks (cf. Herod. ii. 28), were spoken of as the point whence the waters flowed.[*]

The height of the river's annual rise—a matter of vital importance to all dwellers on its banks—was officially registered from an early period (at Semneh, 12th Dyn.),[†] and recently similar inscriptions of a later age (22nd–26th Dyn.) have been found at Thebes.[‡] The regulation of supplies of water for irrigation was one of the functions of the crown itself. Among the newly discovered remains of the earliest monarchy (1st–2nd Dyn.) at Hieraconpolis is a relief showing the king opening (?) an artificial canal.[§] Of the numerous Nilometers of more recent times, the oldest extant—probably of Ptolemaic origin, and in its modernized form still in use—is at Elephantine, though tradition assigned to that which existed at Memphis a much higher antiquity.[‖] Abu Ṣâliḥ (quoting Ibn 'Abd el-Hakam) attributes it to Joseph.[¶]

The story of the seven years' famine in Gn 41, due to an insufficient inundation, finds a parallel in a text discovered in 1891, which, though written at earliest under the Ptolemies, purports to give an account of a drought of like duration under the 3rd Dynasty.[**]

A curious legend in the Targum describes the burial of Joseph's coffin in the Nile, and its rediscovery by Moses.[††] The Egyptians, of course, never used the river in this way.

See, further, art. EGYPT, in vol. i. p. 653.

W. E. CRUM.

NIMRAH.—See BETH-NIMRAH and NIMRIM.

NIMRIM, THE WATERS OF (מֵי־נִמְרִים; τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς Νεμ(η)ρείμ (Is 15^6), B Νεβρείν, A Ἐβρίμ (Jer 48 [Gr. 31]^{34}); *Aquæ Nemrim*).—Mentioned only in Isaiah (15^6) and Jeremiah (48^{34}). Gesenius (*Lex.*) gives the meaning (the same as of Nimrah or Beth-nimrah) 'limpid or wholesome water,' but the word is more probably held to indicate the place of the *nimr* or leopard (Bochart, *Hieroz.* ii. 107, ed. Rosenmüll.).

Nimrim need not, however, be confounded with **Nimrah** or **Beth-nimrah** (Nu $32^{3.36}$, Jos 13^{27}), which seem to have been located on the northern shore of the Dead Sea. It is mentioned in connexion with Zoar, Luhith, and Horonaim in such a manner as to indicate its location south of the river Arnon at the south-eastern end of the Dead Sea. The Zoar denounced here by the prophets may be quite distinct from the refuge of Lot, which is by many located on the northern shore of the Dead Sea. Josephus, however, states that Zoar (to which Lot fled) existed in his day, and places it together with Sodom and Gomorrah south of the Dead Sea (*Ant.* I. xi. 4, XIV. i. 4; *BJ* IV. viii. 4). Eusebius also places Zoar at the southern end of the Dead Sea, and Jerome appears to endorse this. In the Middle Ages Zoar was identified under the name of Segor in the same locality, and it is now accepted by many as represented by Dra'a at the mouth of the *Wādy Kerak* on the south-east shore of the Dead Sea. The position of Luhith can only be surmised. It appears to have been in the neighbourhood of one of the few passes leading down to the Dead Sea. In the days of Eusebius it was known as *Luith*, and lay between Areopolis (Rabbath Moab) and Zoar. It may therefore have been the name of the pass leading down the *Wādy Beni Hamîd* from Areopolis to Zoar; while Horonaim, 'the two caverns,' may have been the name of the fort or forts commanding the pass leading down from Kir of Moab to Zoar (see KIR OF MOAB).

---

[*] *Ant.* I. i. 3.

[†] *Paradies*, 71.

[‡] *AHT* 314 ff.

[§] Cf. Lucian, *Jup. Trag.* 42.

[‖] He was, however, specially honoured under the New Kingdom at Silsilis. Cf. Lepsius, *Denkm.* iii. 175*a*, 200*a*, *d*, 218*d*, etc.

[¶] Cf. Maspero, *Hist. anc.* i. 98.

[**] The best known in Pap. Sallier, ii.; see Guiesse in *Rec. de Trav.* xiii.

[††] Heliodorus, ix. 9. For later times see Lumbroso, *L'Egitto* ², 1 ff., and Lane, *Mod. Eg.* ii. ch. xiii.

[‡‡] Tuki, *Missale* (S. Basil.), 71; Leyden, *Catal.* 129; Brightman, *Liturgies*, 208. The river's rise is thought to be due to the intercession of St. Michael; see Amélineau, *Contes*, i. 17.

[§§] G. Margoliouth in *JRAS*, 1896.

[‖‖] Pausanias, x. 32; cf. Brugsch, *Thes.* 293.

[¶¶] *e.g.* Athanasius, *Vita Ant.* (*Pat. Gr.* 26, 891).

[*] The most ignorant notions on this question may be still found among the natives; see Lüttke, *Aegyptens neue Zeit.* ii. 356.

[†] Lepsius, *Denkm.* ii. 139, etc

[‡] Legrain in *Æg. Z.* xxxiv

[§] Egyp. Expl. Fund's *Report* for 1897–98, p. 7.

[‖] Diodorus, i. 36.

[¶] Ed. Evetts, f. 18*a*.

[**] Brugsch, *Die bibl. 7 Jahre.* Cf. above, vol. ii. p. 774ᵃ, note †.

[††] Dondi, *Lehnwörter*, 129.

A name resembling Nimrim has been found by de Saulcy, Seetzen, and Tristram in *Borj Nemeirah* and *Wādy N'meirah* about eight miles south of Dra'a (Zoar), in one of the richest and most luxuriant spots in the country. The 'Waters of Nimrim' were found by Klein at a spot higher up, where were the ruins of an old town and irrigated garden bearing the name 'the Springs of N'meirah'; in close proximity was also found the 'brook of the willows,' spoken of in connexion with Nimrim (Is 15^7).

These passages call attention to the abundance begotten by those waters, the grass and herbage and hay; and Tristram relates that the greenness, exuberant fertility, and plenteous fountains are still as marked as ever (*Bible Places*, p. 353).

LITERATURE.—Dillmann, *Jesaja, ad loc.*; Cheyne, *Proph. of Isaiah*^{3}, *ad loc.* (accepts, while Dillm. rejects, identity with Beth-nimrah of Nu); Buhl, *GAP* 124, 272; de Saulcy, i. 283 ff., ii. 52; Seetzen, ii. 354, iii. 18; Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, 465.

C. WARREN.

NIMROD (נִמְרֹד, Νεβρώδ, *Nemrod*).—A son of Cush, who 'began to be a mighty one in the earth,' and a great hunter, and who is described as having had, as the beginning of his kingdom, the cities Babel, Erech, Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar or Babylonia (Gn 10$^{8-10}$). There have been many speculations as to the identity of this ancient hero and the meaning of his name. To all appearance, his greatness rested as much upon his prowess as a hunter as upon his success as a ruler of men; but it is to be noted that the expression 'a mighty hunter before the Lord' is, to all appearance, merely another way of saying 'a very great hunter indeed,' and may perhaps be ironically intended. That violence and insolence are associated with the character of the hero (see Josephus, *Ant.* I. iv. 2) on account of the expression גִּבֹּר *gibbôr*, in no way affects the question of his career and identity. With regard to this, it may be noted that the derivation of Nimrod from the root מָרַד *mārad*, 'to rebel,' rests on a false etymology; and there is also no real ground to connect him with the building of the tower of Babel, to which his name is attached by tradition (see Mirkhond *), though we shall see further on what connexion, if any, he may have had with that erection.

Among the later attempts at identification, the most important is that which made him to be one with Izdubar or Gištubar, as the name was then read, and it was confidently expected that the true reading of this name when found would turn out to be very similar to the Hebrew form Nimrod—an expectation which seemed to be confirmed by the reading of Namrasit as the Semitic form of Gišdubarra, pointed out by Hommel. There is hardly any Assyriologist who would not have liked to welcome this explanation, for it had in it much inherent probability. When, however, the Babylonian pronunciation of the name read as Izdubar or Gištubar appeared, it turned out to be Gilgameš, the Gilgamos of Aelian, as pointed out by Oppert. The supposition that Nimrod was the same as the hero Gilgameš therefore fell to the ground.

There was then no alternative but to fall back upon the suggestion, made by Josef Grivel (*TSBA* iii. 136 ff.) in 1874, that Nimrod is none other than the god Merodach. Little need exists to go through all Grivel's reasons for supposing that the two were identical, many of these being untenable; but it may be noted that his view was based primarily upon the likeness he had noticed between the shorter form of the name of Merodach in Accadian and the biblical Nimrod. Notwithstanding the difference that appears to exist between these two names, it is certain that they are very closely related. The name Merodach is, as is well known, of Accadian origin, the full form being *Amar-utuk* or *Amar-uduk*, and the meaning apparently 'the brightness of day.' From this it will be seen that he was a solar hero, and that his name is compounded with that of the Sungod, one of whose names, in Accadian, was *Utuki*—the same word as the final element, *utuk* or *uduk*. As the syllable *-uk* was, to all intents and purposes, a termination or lengthening, we have in Amaruduk a word containing all the consonants of Nimrod except the initial *n*. The addition of this consonant is apparently due to the same cause as the initial *n* in Nisroch and Nibhaz (see these articles), namely, the desire to disfigure the name of a heathen deity. The vowels of this newly formed word have also been brought more or less into conformity with that of Nisroch and of Nibhaz (cf. *JRAS*, 1899, p. 459).

In Gn 10^8 the expression 'Cush begat Nimrod' apparently means only that he was of Cushite nationality (he is not mentioned among the sons of Cush in v.^{7}), and not a Semite. This would agree with the evidence furnished by the name, for Amaruduk is not Semitic, but Accadian, which is regarded by many as a Cushite language. Amaruduk or Merodach was son of Ea or Aa, whose name is also Accadian.

The question whether Merodach ever was really king of Babylon need not detain us here, as it is of no importance. Suffice it to say that 'the king' (Accad. *lugala*, Bab. *šarru*) *par excellence* was one of his titles. This he apparently bore as 'king of the gods'; but there is no reason to suppose, on that account, that he was not king of men during his life on earth. The second point in this parallel refers to the cities over which he had dominion, and in this connexion it is to be noted that, whilst Gilgameš (Gištubar) seems to have been king of Erech only, Merodach was, first of all, king of Babylon, and remained patron god of the city practically to the last. Besides this, he seems to be mentioned, in the bilingual story of the Creation, as the builder of Niffer (identified by the Rabbins with Calneh), together with its temple Ê-kura, and of Erech, with its temple Ê-ana (cf. ll. 39 and 40 with 6 and 7, *JRAS*, 1891, pp. 394, 395). The building of Babylon is referred to in l. 14 (*l.c.*), and it may be supposed that he was also regarded by the writer as its constructor. If the statement of the Rabbins be correct, which makes Niffer to be the same as Calneh, then we have here Merodach mentioned in close connexion with three of the four cities referred to in Gn 10^{10} as the beginning of the kingdom of Nimrod, and it is not by any means improbable that future discoveries may reveal to us in the same connexion Accad, which would make the fourth.

In addition to this, however, Merodach was regarded by the Babylonians (though they did not look, to all appearance, upon that side of his character as the most important) as a mighty hunter, for it was he who, when all the other gods held back, attacked, and caught with his net, the great dragon of Chaos, as detailed in the Babylonian story of the Creation :—

---

* *Rauzat-us-Safa*, translated by E. Rehatsek (Oriental Translation Fund, vol. i. pt. i. p. 140).

> 'The lord[*] spread wide his net to enclose her,
> The evil wind following behind, he sent on before.
> Tiamtu opened her mouth as wide as she could—
> He caused the evil wind to enter before she closed her lips.
> The evil winds filled out her body,
> Her consciousness was taken away, wide opened she her mouth.
> He seized the weapon, cut open her body,
> Sundered her inner part, tore out her heart.
> He enclosed her, put an end to her life,
> Threw her body prone and stood thereon.'[†]

Merodach was indeed 'a hero in hunting' (*gibbôr ẓayid*), which, as we know from the Assyrian sculptures, was often accomplished with a net,[‡] as in the legend here quoted ; and this circumstance seems to complete the list of parallels needed. A large portion of the Semitic-Babylonian legend of the Creation is devoted to this exploit of the head of the Babylonian pantheon, testifying to the importance with which the early Babylonians regarded it, and it is mentioned in the eulogies pronounced upon him by his father Ea or Aa at the end of the story.

The legends that have been preserved concerning Nimrod would seem to show that his fame in the country of his exploits rests more upon what was known of him there than upon the somewhat meagre account in Genesis, and it is probably for the same reason that so many places there are named after him.[§] Thus we have the Birs Nimroud, the ancient Borsippa, near the ruins of Babylon, Tel Nimroud, near Baghdad, the dam Suhr el-Nimroud, across the Tigris near Mosul, and the mound of Nimroud, the ancient Calah. To all appearance, he was regarded in later times in his native country as a great builder also. As has been pointed out above, he seems to have been looked upon by the Babylonians as the builder of Babylon, and the bilingual Creation story apparently attributes to him the completion of Ê-sagila, the great temple-tower in that city, which was certainly of the type of the Tower of Babel, even if it were not that erection itself. This may account for the connexion of Nimrod with the catastrophe of the confusion of tongues, ascribed to him in the East both in comparatively ancient and in more recent times. T. G. PINCHES.

NIMSHI (נִמְשִׁי).—The grandfather of king Jehu, who is generally designated 'ben-Nimshi,' 1 K 19^{16} (B Ναμεσθει, A om.), 2 K 9^{2} (B Ναμεσσει, A Ἀμεσει) ^{14} (B Ναμεσσει, A^{a} Ναμεσσά) ^{20} (B Ναμεσσειας, A -ιας), 2 Ch 22^{7} (B Ναμεσσει, A -ι).

NINEVEH (נִינְוֵה; LXX Νινευή, NT [Text. Rec.] Νινευΐ, Gr. and Rom. writers Νῖνος, *Ninus*).—In Gn 10^{11} it is stated (according to the better translation) that Nimrod (wh. see) or some other Babylonian 'went forth' out of Chaldæa and founded Nineveh and Rehoboth-'Ir (*Rêbit-uri* in Assyrian, 'the streets *or* public places of the city'). A similar tradition is indicated in Mic 5^{6}. The native monuments show that the tradition is correct, and that Nineveh was once included within the boundaries of the Babylonian empire (cf. art. ASSYRIA in vol. i. p. 180^{a}, and Driver in Hogarth's *Authority and Archæology*, p. 29 f.). In fact it seems to have taken its name from the Babylonian city of Ninâ on the Euphrates, which is mentioned by Diodorus (ii. 3. 7), quoting probably from Ctesias.

The name of Nineveh is written *Ninuâ* and *Ninâ* in the cuneiform inscriptions. A popular etymology connected it with the Assyrian *nunu*, 'fish,' at a very early date, since the name is ideographically represented by the picture of a fish inside the enclosure of a city. But it seems really to have been derived from the title of the Babylonian goddess Ninâ, the daughter of Ea, who was identified with the Semitic Istar. Ninâ is the original of the Greek form Ninos.

The city lay on the eastern side of the Tigris, northward of the Greater Zab, and opposite the modern town of Mosul. As late as the 12th cent. Benjamin of Tudela still knew its ruins under the name of *Niniveh*, although its site had been so completely deserted before the 4th cent. B.C. that when Xenophon passed the spot all recollection of the place had disappeared. The ruins consist chiefly of two great mounds, Kouyunjik and Nebi Yunus, and the remains of the ancient city walls. The latter are of a rectangular shape, running parallel to the river on the western side, and protected on the eastern side by a double earthwork, between which and the walls was a deep ditch. The walls themselves were protected by towers and pierced by gates, and rose to a vast height, and consisted of a basement of stone with a superstructure of crude bricks. They enclosed about 1800 acres, or about half the space enclosed within the Aurelian walls of Rome, and had a circumference of 7½ miles. The moat between them and the eastern outworks was 145 feet wide. It was filled with water from the river Khusur, now called Khoser, which flows in a southward direction from Khorsabad, and, after passing through the centre of the ancient Nineveh, falls into the Tigris on the south side of the mound of Kouyunjik. The Tigris must originally have washed the foot of the western city wall, though at present a bank of silt has been formed between it and the river.

The mound of Kouyunjik lies on the north side of the Khoser, and covers the site of two palaces, —that of Sennacherib to the south and of Assur-bani-pal to the north. Sennacherib levelled the remains of an older palace which stood on the bank of a stream called the Tebilti, and had been so injured by the floods that the sarcophagi of his royal predecessors who had been buried there were exposed to view. In its place he erected a splendid building, partly in the native Assyrian, partly in the Syrian, style of architecture, with a park and garden, stables and storehouses, and special fortifications of its own. Assur-bani-pal's palace was chiefly distinguished by the extent of the *harim* buildings and the establishment of a library.

The southern mound, which lies, like Kouyunjik, against the inner side of the western city wall, rises midway between the Khoser and the southern portion of the city rampart. It is now known as Nebi Yunus, from a supposed tomb of the prophet Jonah, and also represents the site of two palaces, one constructed by Sennacherib and the other by Esarhaddon. Compared, however, with the palaces at Kouyunjik, they were of inferior size and splendour.

Southward of Nineveh, at the corner of land formed by the junction of the Tigris and Greater Zab, was Kalkhu or Calah, whose site is now marked by the mound of Nimrûd. Between it and Nineveh stood the Resen of Gn 10^{12}, the *Res-eni* or 'Fountain-head' of the Bavian inscription of Sennacherib. It is doubtless the Larissa (*Al-Resen* or 'City of Resen') of Xenophon's *Anabasis* (iii. 4. 7), 6 parasangs from Mespila, the Assyrian *Muspalu* or 'low ground' near the mound of Nebi Yunus. To the north of Nineveh, close to the sources of the Khoser and on the hill-slopes of Magganubba, is Khorsabad, still called *Sarghûn* by the Mohammedan writer *Yâḳût* in the 14th cent. Khorsabad is the site of the palace and city founded by Sargon in B.C. 707, the remains of which were excavated by Botta.

---

[*] *i.e.* Merodach.

[†] Fried. Delitzsch, *Weltschöpfungsepos*, pp. 106, 107, lines 95–104, revised by comparison with the original text.

[‡] One of the meanings of the Heb. צוד, the root of *ẓayid*, is 'to lay snares' or 'nets.' Cf. also the name of Zidon.

[§] It is noteworthy that Babylonia is called 'the land of Nimrod' in Mic 5^{6},—whether because he was an early king of the country, or because, as Merodach, he was the chief divinity, is uncertain. If the latter, it would be a parallel to the expression 'people of Chemosh' in Nu 21^{29} and Jer 48^{46}.

The name of Nineveh is perhaps first met with in the inscriptions of Gudea, the high priest of Lagas or Tello in Babylonia (B.C. 2700), who tells us that he had built a temple of Istar at Ninâ, though it is possible that the Ninâ referred to may be the Ninâ of Babylonia. The Assyrian Nineveh, however, which seems to have been a colony from the Babylonian city of the same name, was specially dedicated to Istar, and up to the last 'Istar of Nineveh' continued to be invoked by the side of 'Istar of Arbela.' Gudea, it should be added, calls himself 'the powerful minister of the goddess Ninâ.' An inscription of Dungi of Ur, a contemporary of Gudea, which is now in the Louvre, is said to have been discovered on the site of Nineveh. If this were really the case, we should have direct monumental evidence of Babylonian work in the future Assyrian capital. A letter of the Babylonian king Khammurabi (B.C. 2300) speaks of Assyrian soldiers in the Babylonian army; and as late as B.C. 1400 Burna-buryas still regards the Assyrians as his vassals. Before this latter date, however, the high priests of Assur (the modern *Kal'ah Sherghat*) had become kings, and claimed to be independent of Babylonia. Dusratta of Mitanni, the contemporary of Burna-buryas, sent a golden image of 'Istar of Nineveh' to Egypt, and mentions another that had been already sent there in the reign of his father. Winckler infers from this that Nineveh was subject at the time to Mitanni; but the conclusion does not necessarily follow. At all events, the Assyrian king, Assur-yuballidh writes to the Egyptian Pharaoh as an independent sovereign; and an inscription tells us that he restored Ê-Masmas, the temple of Istar at Nineveh, which had been built by Samas-Hadad, the high priest of Assur, in B.C. 1820. Shalmaneser I. (B.C. 1300) again repaired the temple, by the side of which his father Hadad-nirari I. had erected a chapel to the Babylonian deities Merodach and Nebo. Shalmaneser I., however, was the builder of Calaḥ, and does not seem to have lived in Nineveh itself. Indeed the first king whom we know to have made it his place of residence was Assur-bil-kala, the son of Tiglath-pileser I. (B.C. 1100). From this time onward Nineveh was probably a royal residence until the reign of Assur-naẓir-pal (B.C. 880), when Calaḥ was rebuilt and its palace restored. For nearly two centuries Calaḥ now remained the capital, and it was only under Sennacherib that Nineveh resumed its place as the chief city of the empire. All the spoils of Asia were lavished on its adornment and fortification; pure drinking-water was introduced into it in place of the rain-water on which the inhabitants had hitherto depended; and stately palaces rose in the neighbourhood of the Tigris. It was to Nineveh that captive princes were brought and exposed in iron cages to the gaze of the multitude; here the head of Teumman, the conquered king of Elam, was hung up in the garden of Assur-bani-pal's palace; and out of its gates marched the armies that conquered the Oriental world. Its markets were thronged with merchants and traders, and its library was stored with thousands of clay books.

Nineveh fell in B.C. 607-6, and with it fell also the Assyrian kingdom and empire. According to an inscription of Nabonidos, it was destroyed by the king of the Manda or Scythians, who had settled in Ecbatana and gone to the assistance of Nabopolassar, the Babylonian king. War had broken out between the latter and his suzerain, the king of Assyria, who was supported by several of the Babylonian cities where the Assyrian rule was still obeyed. According to Abydenos, the last king of Assyria was Sarakos, who appears to be the Sin-sar-iskun of the monuments. A tablet dated in the seventh year of the latter king has been found at Erech. But there was another Assyrian king, Sin-sum-lisir, whose name is found on a tablet dated at Nippur in the year of his accession, and it is therefore possible that with him rather than with Sin-sar-iskun Nineveh and Assyria came to an end.

The fall of Nineveh is prophesied by Nahum and Zephaniah (2^{13-15}), and in Nahum more especially there are references to the topography of the Assyrian capital (see Billerbeck and Jeremias, 'Der Untergang Nineveh's und die Weissagungschrift des Nahum,' in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, iii. 1). In 2 K 19^{36} = Is 37^{37}, it is described as the residence of Sennacherib, and the temple of 'Nisroch his god' is referred to. The name of Nisroch, however, is corrupt, and it is impossible to say what was the original reading.

For the story of Jonah's preaching at Nineveh, and our Lord's application of this, see art. JONAH in vol. ii., especially pp. 746-751.

In Jon 4^{11} it is stated that Nineveh contained 'more than sixscore thousand' infants, which would give a population of about 600,000. Captain Jones, who made a trigonometrical survey of the site in 1853, estimates that, allowing 50 square yards to each inhabitant, the population may have amounted to about 174,000 souls. The statement, however, in the Bk. of Jonah, that Nineveh was a city of 'three days' journey,' can be explained only on the supposition that both Calaḥ and Khorsabad (*Dur-Sargon*) were included in its precincts; and even then König (see art. JONAH, vol. ii. p. 748^a) thinks the dimensions impossible. Nineveh is again brought before us in the books of Tobit ($1^{10.17}$ etc.) and Judith (1^1). Tobit is said to have lived there like certain Israelites mentioned in the cuneiform contract tablets, some of whom even held office under the government.

LITERATURE.—Rich, *Narrative of a Residence in Kourdistan and on the Site of Ancient Nineveh* (1836); A. H. Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains* (1848), and *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon* (1853); F. Jones, 'Topography of Nineveh,' with maps, in *JRAS* (1855); J. Fergusson, *Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis* (1851); Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive* (1846–50); V. Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie* (1866–69); cf. also the Literature cited at the end of art. ASSYRIA.

A. H. SAYCE.

NINEVITES (Νινευ(ε)ῖται).—The inhabitants of Nineveh (which see), Lk 11^{30} (only). In the parallel passage, Mt 12^{41}, both AV and RV have 'men of Nineveh' (ἄνδρες Νινευ(ε)ῖται) as well as in Lk 11^{32} (TR ἄνδρες Νινευΐ, Lachm. Treg. WH ἄνδρες Νινευ(ε)ῖται).

NIPHIS (B Νειφείς, A Φινείς, AV Nephis), 1 Es 5^{21}.—'The sons of N., 156,' correspond to 'the children of Magbish, 156,' in Ezr 2^{30}. The corruption may be due to reading מגביש as מגפיש (*from Niphis*).

NISAN (נִיסָן Neh 2^1, Est 3^7, 1 Es 5^6, Ad. Est 11^2).—The first month in the later Jewish calendar. See TIME.

NISROCH (נִסְרֹךְ; in 2 K 19^{37} B has Ἐσδράχ, A Ἐσθράχ, in Is 37^{38} B Νασαράχ, A Ἀσαράχ, Vulg. *Nesroch*).—The Hebrew form of the name of a deity of the Assyrians, in whose temple Sennacherib was worshipping when slain by his sons (see the passages quoted). There has been much speculation as to the identity of this deity, and many wild theories have been put forward concerning him. Jarchi, for instance, explains the word as ‘a beam, or plank, of Noah’s ark,’ from an analysis of the word given by Rabbinical expositors, by which נסרך would be = נסר נוחא. A far more reasonable suggestion was that of Gesenius, who considered that *Nisroch* was a lengthened form of נֶשֶׁר, the Arab *nisr*, ‘an eagle,’ and this etymology was supported by the fact that eagle-headed divine figures actually occur in the Assyrian bas-reliefs. A comparison of the Greek forms, however, shows that the Hebrew writing of the name is corrupt, a נ having been added [as in the case of Nibhaz and Nimrod] and vocalic changes made so as to bring the word practically into the same form as the two words here cited. There is therefore no doubt that, as suggested by Schrader (*COT* ii. 13 f.), Nisroch is a corruption of *Aŝur*, or of a possible by-form *Aŝuraku*, to which the Greek variant Ἐσοράχ is the nearest approach.[*] This identification, it is to be noted, is not only the most probable, but also the most satisfactory, for it is in the temple of the national god of his country that we should expect to find the king of Assyria worshipping, especially if by any means he had received information of his sons’ intention; for to his mind the national god of the land, who had, as he believed, so often helped him to victory, would naturally be the one most likely to save him from his rebellious offspring. With regard to the form, there are two possible explanations. *Nisroch* (=*Esorach*) may be for *Aŝuraku*, a lengthened form of *Aŝur* by the addition of *aku* [the same termination as appears in Amaruduk(u)], the Marduku (a personal name) of the later contract-tablets, in which case the presence of the ending would seem to imply Accadian influence. On the other hand, the name may be really a compound one, *i.e.* the well-known appellation of the god Aŝur with the Accadian name of the moon-god Aku (compare Eri-Aku, ‘servant of the moon-god’ =Arioch) attached to it. In support of this second etymology may be cited the fact that Sennacherib’s name contains the element *Sin*, the common name of the moon-god in Babylonia and Assyria, and the expression ‘*his* god’ may refer to some such compound deity as Ăšur-Aku, whom Sennacherib specially worshipped. T. G. PINCHES.

NITRE (נֶתֶר, *νίτρον*) in its modern usage denotes *saltpetre*, nitrate of potash, but the *νίτρον* or *nitrum* of the ancients was a different substance, *natron*, carbonate of soda. It occurs as an incrustation on the ground in Egypt, Persia, and elsewhere, and is also a constituent in the water of certain saline lakes. The most famous of the latter are the ‘natron lakes’ in Egypt. They lie in the ‘natron valley’ about 60 miles W.N.W. of Cairo. The deposit of these lakes includes an upper layer of common salt and a lower one of natron (Wilkinson, *Modern Egypt*, i. 382 ff.). Strabo mentions these Egyptian lakes (*Geog.* XVII. i. 23), and also a similar lake in Armenia (*ib.* XI. xiv. 8). See also Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxi. 10.

‘Nitre’ occurs twice in AV. In Pr 25^{20}[†] the effect of songs on a heavy heart is compared to the action of vinegar upon ‘nitre’ (RV ‘nitre,’ RVm ‘soda’). Vinegar has no effect upon saltpetre, but with carbonate of soda it produces effervescence. In Jer 2^{23} ‘nitre’ (RV ‘lye’) is referred to as a cleansing agent. Here, again, natron rather than modern nitre suits the connexion. Natron has detergent properties, and is in fact the same substance as ‘washing-soda,’ while saltpetre is useless for cleansing purposes. JAMES PATRICK.

NO (נֹא Jer 46^{25}, Ezk $30^{14.15.16}$), **NO-AMON** (נֹא אָמוֹן Nah 3^8).—These two names, the former associated with Amon also in Jer (RV), represent Egyptian **Thebes.** This city was the centre of Amon-worship, and the capital of Egypt, not only throughout the New Kingdom (17th–20th Dynasty), but also again under the Ethiopian rulers of Egypt in the 25th Dynasty, against whom Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal brought their forces. Nahum refers to the capture and sack of Thebes, probably in Assurbanipal’s last invasion, B.C. 663, which seems to have been the most destructive to the metropolis. The instances in Jer and Ezk show that to the outside world Thebes remained the great city of Egypt for many years after it had fallen to the second or third place in the country.

In the New Kingdom Thebes was commonly called *N.t rs.t* ‘southern city,’ *N.t Ymn* ‘city of Amon,’ or simply *N.t* ‘city.’ In the 21st Dynasty a single individual is named alternatively, *N.t-nekht* and *N.t-Amon-nekht*, each meaning ‘Thebes is victorious’ (Spiegelberg, *Rec. de trav.* xxi. 53). In Demotic *Ne* regularly stands for Thebes, and after the destruction of the city itself by Ptolemy X. the word still appears in the Egypt. name of the Thebaid. The fem. ending *t* was early lost, and the royal name Ψουσέννης gives approximately *νη* as the pronunciation of *n.t.* The Assyrian annals name the city *Ni’*. The punctuation *No’* of the Hebrew is evidently wrong, but the Septuagint (Ezk $30^{14.16}$ Διὸς πόλις, v.^{15} Μέμφις [implying a reading נֹף], Jer 46 [Gr. 26]^{25} *τὸν ’Αμμὼν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς*, Nah 3^8 *μερίδα* [implying a reading מְנָא confused with מָנָה ‘portion’] ’Αμμών) gives no help in correcting it. F. LL. GRIFFITH.

NOADIAH (נוֹעַדְיָה ‘meeting with J″’; Νοαδεί).—**1.** The son of Binnui, a Levite, one of the four persons to whom were committed the silver and gold and sacred vessels brought by Ezra from Babylonia (Ezr 8^{33}). In 1 Es 8^{63} he is called ‘Moeth the son of Sabannus’ (Μωὲθ Σαβάννου, cf. N. ἀπὸ ’Εβανναιά, Ezr *l.c.*).

2. A prophetess, who assisted Tobiah and Sanballat at the time of the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem. Nehemiah denounces her for attempting to intimidate him, but no particulars regarding her are given in the narrative (Neh 6^{14}). H. A. WHITE.

NOAH (נֹחַ ‘rest,’ from נוּחַ; LXX and NT Νῶε, whence AV Noe; Jos. Νῶχος [*var. lec.* Νώεος]. In Gn 5^{29}, probably a fragment of J, the name is derived from the root נחם ‘comfort,’ and is given to Noah by Lamech in the belief that he would comfort[*] men for the toil of their hands ‘from the ground which J″ hath cursed’).—Gn $5^{28.29}$ 6–9. Up to 9^{17} Noah appears as the hero of the Flood, in 9^{20-29} as the first discoverer of the art of making wine. That these two stories come from different sources is probable, because in the earlier Accadian history of the Flood that event is immediately followed by the translation of Ṣîtnapišti (Noah), perhaps referred to in 6^{9b}, cf. 5^{24}, which appears to be a fragment of J misunderstood by P in 5^{22}.

Amongst the Talmudists (*e.g.* *Aboda Zara* 64 *b*, *Sanhedrin* 56*b*) it was customary to speak of ‘the seven precepts of the sons of Noah,’ by which they meant those precepts that were supposed to be already binding upon mankind at large before Abraham and outside of his family. Other enumerations besides seven are also found. For details see Schürer, *GJV*³ iii. 128 [*HJP* II. ii. 218], or Weber, *Jüdische Theologie* (Index, *s.* ‘Gebote’).

See art. FLOOD, vol. ii. 16.

F. H. WOODS.

---

[*] Cf. *JRAS*, 1899, p. 459.

[†] The LXX appears here to have followed a different reading from the MT.

[*] In Haupt’s *OT* the MT יְנַחֲמֵנוּ (‘he will *comfort us*’) is changed to יְנִיחֵנוּ (‘he will *give us rest*’), in harmony with LXX διαναπαύσει ἡμᾶς. See Ball’s note, *ad loc.*, and Nestle in *Expos Times*, viii. 239.

NOAH (נֹעָה, Νουά).—One of the daughters of Zelophehad the Manassite, about whose rights of inheritance a knotty point of law came up for settlement, Nu 26^{33} 27^{1} 36^{11}, Jos 17^{3}.

G. HARFORD-BATTERSBY.

NOAH, BOOK OF.—In the use which was made of this book in the final redaction of the Ethiopic Book of Enoch we have an admirable example of the methods pursued by Jewish editors. Though the Book of Noah has not come down to us independently, it has in large measure been incorporated in the Ethiopic Book of Enoch, and can in part be reconstructed from that book. The Book of Noah is mentioned in Jubilees 10^{13} and 21^{10}. That 60. 65–69^{25} 106–107 belonged originally to it, is obvious even on a cursory examination. Thus in 60^{1}, which runs, 'In the year five hundred, in the seventh month, on the fourteenth day of the month in the life of Enoch,' it is clear that the final editor simply changed the name 'Noah' in the context before him into 'Enoch,' but very ignorantly; for Enoch lived only 365 years, and the statement in the context is based on Gn 5^{32}. Furthermore, the writer speaks of himself as the grandson of Enoch in 65^{9}. Again, 65–69^{25} is allowed to stand by the editor as a confessed constituent of the Book of Noah; for it contains Noah's interview with his grandfather Enoch, and Noah's version of the Deluge and of judgment. Finally, in 106–107 there is an account of the marvellous birth of Noah, in regard to whom Methuselah goes to the ends of the earth to consult Enoch. But besides these indisputable fragments of the book, it is most probable that 54^{7}–55^{2} is borrowed from the same source, and likewise Jubilees 7^{26-39} 10^{1-15}. In the earlier passage in Jubilees it is not only the subject-matter, but also the carelessness of the editor or author of Jubilees, which leads to this identification; for, after an account of the wickedness preceding the Flood given by the angel of God (7^{20-25}), we come suddenly on a passage (7^{26-39}) in which Noah is represented as speaking in the first person, although throughout Jubilees it is the angel that speaks. Finally, it is not improbable that 41^{3-8} 43–44. 59 belonged originally to the Book of Noah.

We shall now attempt a short sketch of this book. According to 106–107, a son was born to Lamech. 'And his body was white as snow and red as a blooming rose, and the hair of his head and his long locks were white as wool, and his eyes beautiful' (106^{2}). And his eyes lighted up the house like a sun, and he opened his mouth and blessed the Lord of righteousness. And Lamech in his fear consulted Methuselah, and Methuselah went off to the ends of the earth to consult Enoch (106^{4-12}). Thereupon Enoch foretells the coming of the Flood in consequence of the wickedness wrought by the angels with the daughters of men, and the saving of this child Noah and his three sons, the fresh growth of sin after the Deluge, and the advent of the Messianic kingdom (106^{13}–107).

And later, when Noah became a man, he had a vision, and he saw the earth sinking down, and its destruction drawing nigh (65^{1}). And, as formerly his grandfather Methuselah, so he too went to consult Enoch at the ends of the earth, $65^{2.3}$. And Enoch tells him that all the dwellers on the earth are doomed because they had learnt the secrets and sorceries of the angels, and the violence and hidden power of the Satans, and the mysterious arts of manufacturing metals, $65^{6.7}$. Here and elsewhere, in the Ethiopic Enoch as in Gn 2–4, the knowledge of such arts is held to transcend the limits of human nature. Civilization in its various aspects is traced to the fallen angels. As man goes forward in knowledge and culture he goes backward in the fear of God, and becomes ever more and more alienated from the highest good. Thus it was one Satan that taught men to make the weapons of war, and another that instructed them to write with ink and paper (69^{6-9}), and a fallen angel that made known the arts of painting the face and beautifying the eyebrows, and working in metals and precious stones, 8^{1}. But to proceed: Enoch declares Noah to be guiltless of reproach concerning these secrets, and foretells his deliverance from the Flood, and the descent of a righteous race of men from him (65^{10-12}). After hearing some further disclosures, Noah leaves the presence of Enoch (66). 'And in those days the word of God came unto me, and He said unto me: "Noah, thy lot has come up before me, a lot without blame, a lot of love and uprightness."' Thereupon God informs Noah that the ark was being prepared by angels, that he and his seed might be saved and be established in the earth (67^{1-3}). But as for the fallen angels, they should be imprisoned in the burning valley amongst the metal mountains in the West. From this place where the angels were punished came the hot springs to which the kings and the mighty resorted for the healing of the body. But later these waters will become the means of their punishment, even as they now are used to torment the angels (67^{4-13}). The severity of this torment is set forth in a dialogue between Michael and Raphael (68). Next, the names of the twenty-one chiefs of the fallen angels are enumerated, followed by those of five Satans (?). The various evils wrought by the latter are then recounted. To Gâdreêl, the third, is attributed the fall of Eve, and to the fourth, Pênêmûe, the instruction of mankind in the art of writing ($69^{8.9}$). Knowledge is the source of perdition (69^{11}). After the mention of certain other Satans or angels, it is told how Michael is the guardian of the mysterious oath or formula whereby heaven and earth were founded and all creation upheld (69^{14-25}).

At a still later date apparently (60) Noah had a vision in the 500th year of his life, on the 14th day of the seventh month, and he beheld the heaven of heavens quake with a mighty quaking, and all the heavenly hosts greatly disquieted. And the Head of Days sat on His throne, and all the angels and the righteous stood round Him ($60^{1.2}$). And Noah was filled with fear. Then Michael sent an angel to raise him up, and told him of the judgment to come, and of the monsters Leviathan and Behemoth, which were placed respectively in the sea and in the wilderness of Dêndâin, on the east of Eden; but refused to answer Noah's further questions regarding them (60^{3-10}). Then the angel accompanying Noah informs him about the angels or spirits which control the thunder and lightning, and the sea, the hoar frost, hail, snow, mist, dew, and rain (60^{11-25}). We shall probably be right if we assign to the same source 41^{3-8}, which treats of the secrets of the lightning and thunder, of the winds, the clouds, and dew, likewise of the chambers of the winds and hail and mist. This passage further mentions the chambers of the sun and moon, and recounts with what regularity they traverse their orbits, and give thanks to God, and rest not by day or night; 'for unto them thanksgiving is rest.' Of a kindred nature undoubtedly are 43–44, which have for their subject the lightning and the stars of heaven, and the mysterious relation of the latter to the righteous, and 59, which treats of the judgments executed by the lightnings, and the luminaries, and the secrets of the thunder.

Heretofore frequent references have been made to the Flood; but in 54^{7}–55^{2} there is a more exact account of this judgment. Thus we are told that the Flood came about through the joining of the waters above the heavens—the male element—with the waters which are below the heavens—

the female element. Thereby all who dwelt on the earth were destroyed. Then after the Flood God promised not to destroy the earth again, and as a pledge thereof set a sign in the heavens.

For Noah's address to his sons after the Flood we must turn to Jubilees 7^{26-39}. This passage is either wholly or in part an excerpt from our book. Noah warns his sons against the seductions of the demons, against the shedding or eating of blood. In Jubilees 10^{1-15} the sons of Noah come to him complaining that the demons are leading their sons astray. Thereupon Noah prays to God for them, and God commands all the demons to be bound and imprisoned, but at the request of Mastêmâ, their chief, God permits one-tenth of the demons to remain at liberty for the trial and temptation of man (10^{1-11}).

The Book of Noah was, according to Jubilees 10^{14}, committed to the care of Shem. This book is described in Syncellus' *Chron.* p. 83 (ed. Bonn) as the Testament of Noah.

There is also a late Hebrew Book of Noah. This is given in Jellinek's *Bet ha-Midrasch*, iii. 155, 156. It is based in part on the Book of Noah discussed above. The portion of this Hebrew work which is derived from the older work is reprinted on p. 179 of Charles' *Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees*, where attention is drawn to the parallels and verbal coincidences. A German translation of the entire book will be found in Rönsch, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, pp. 385–387.

It is impossible to assign any definite date to the various fragments of the older book. We can safely place them within the years B.C. 50 and A.D. 80. R. H. CHARLES.

NO-AMON.—See NO.

NOB (נֹב; LXX B Νομβα, 1 S 22^{11} Νομμα. The etym. of נב is not clear; the idea that it signifies a 'high place' has no philological foundation).—**1.** A locality a little N. of Jerusalem, and apparently within sight of the Temple-hill, mentioned in Is 10^{32} as the spot from which the Assyr. king (Sennacherib), in his (ideal) march against the holy city, should audaciously 'swing his hand against the mount of the daughter of Zion, the hill of Jerusalem.' Nob, it is here implied, was nearer to Jerusalem than 'Anathoth, v.^{30}, now *'Anāta*, 2½ miles N.E. of Jerusalem. The precise site has not been determined with certainty; but a spot on (or a little S. of) the *Ras el-Meshārif*, about 1½ mile S.W. of 'Anāta, the ridge from the brow of which the pilgrim along the N. road still catches his first view of the holy city (*PEF Mem.*, Jerus., p. 411), would suit the conditions admirably. The road from the N. passes over this ridge: immediately on the E. of the road, just S. of the ridge, there is a plateau, some 300 yds. from N. to S., and 800 yds. from E. to W.; at the S. edge of this plateau there is a lower ridge, after which the ground descends rapidly into the Wādy el-Jôz, some 300 ft. below. This plateau is identified plausibly by Conder (*PEFSt*, 1874, p. 111 ff.; cf. Robinson, *BR* i. 276) with the place called Scopus by Josephus (*ἐπὶ τὸν Σκοπὸν καλούμενον*), upon which Titus encamped, when approaching Jerusalem from the N.; Jos. adds that it was 7 stadia from Jerusalem, and that the city was visible from it (*ἔνθεν ἥ τε πόλις ἤδη κατεφαίνετο καὶ τὸ τοῦ ναοῦ μέγεθος ἔκλαμπρον*, *BJ* v. ii. 3, cf. II. xix. 4, and *Ant.* XI. viii. 5, where a place Σαφα [cf. צָפָה *to look out*], explained as meaning *σκοπή*, is evidently the same). The ancient Nob was in all probability on, or very near, the same plateau (cf. Thomson, *Land and Book*, S. Pal. 434 f.; Del. or Dillm. on Is 10^{32}; Buhl, *Geogr.* 96). According to the *ZDMG* xii. (1858) p. 169 f., on one of the ridges just mentioned, at a part now called *el-ṣadr*, the breast, there are remains of ancient cisterns and rock-tombs.

El-'Isawiye, a village 1 mile S.W. of 'Anāta, which has been proposed as the site of Nob, seems to be excluded by the fact that it lies in a valley, and that Jerusalem is not visible from it. *Shaphat*, 2 miles due N. of Jerusalem, which has also been suggested, is not probable, as it is in just the same latitude as 'Anāta, and does not lie between 'Anāta and Jerusalem, as required by Is $10^{30. 32}$. *Nebî Shamwîl* 'and Bîr Nebâla' (Conder), 4½ miles N.W. of Jerusalem, lie in a wrong direction altogether.

The same place is also pretty clearly meant in Neh 11^{32}; it is mentioned there, together with other towns in the same neighbourhood, in close proximity to 'Anathoth and Ramah (2½ miles N.E. and 5 miles N. of Jerus. respectively) just as in Is (see vv.$^{29. 30}$). **2.** An ancient 'city of the priests' (1 S 22^{19}), where David, fleeing from Saul, found refuge with Ahimelech (1 S 21^{1}): Doeg, the Edomite, was present at the time; and afterwards, when Saul's other servants dreaded to fall upon the priests of J″, at the king's instigation attacked the city, and massacred the entire population (including 85 priests), Abiathar alone escaping, 1 S $22^{9. 11. 18-22}$. Unless a settlement of priests in immediate proximity to the Jebusite stronghold of Jerusalem should be deemed improbable, there is no valid reason why this Nob should not be identical with **1**: the situation is suitable; to judge from the narrative of 1 S 21, Nob was not far from Gibeah (of Saul), v.^{4}, which was only a little N. of the Nob of Is 10^{32} (see v.^{29}); and (as H. P. Smith, on 1 S 21^{2}, points out) David, making his way from Gibeah (the probable scene of 1 S $20^{1ff.}$) to Bethlehem (1 S 20^{6}), would pass Nob, and might naturally stop there, if he knew he had friends in it. Jerome, however (*Ep. ad Eustochium*, No. 86 ed. Bened., No. 108 ed. Migne, § 8 [p. 696]), speaks of 'Nobe, urbem quondam sacerdotum,' as in the neighbourhood of Lydda (Diospolis): this is no doubt the modern *Bêt Nūbā*, about 10 m. S.E. of Lydda, and 13 m. W.N.W. from Jerusalem, very near to Aijalon (cf. Robinson, *BR* iii. 145, and ii. 254; Buhl, p. 198); but there does not seem to be any sufficient ground for going so far to the W. to find the Nob of 1 S 21. 22.

S. R. DRIVER.

NOBAH (נֹבַח, Νάβαυ, Νάβεθ), as a *personal* name, occurs only once (Nu 32^{42}), in the older version which relates the settlement of the country on the E. of Jordan by the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh. According to this, the clan of that name belonged to the last-mentioned tribe, and formed a settlement in Kenath (wh. see), on which they succeeded in impressing for a time their own clan name (1 Ch 2^{23}). See next article.

A. C. WELCH.

NOBAH (נֹבַח) is mentioned along with Jogbehah (wh. see) as lying on the route which Gideon followed (Jg 8^{11}) in his pursuit of the routed Midianites. This would place the site about midway between Amman and es-Salt. It is again mentioned (Nu 32^{42}) as the name which a clan of Machir gave to Kenath after they had conquered it.

The connexion between these two passages depends entirely upon the place where we agree to look for Kenath (wh. see). If Kenath be identified (Merrill, *E. of Jordan*, p. 36 ff.; Euseb. *OS* 269. 15) with Ḳanawât on the W. edge of the Ḥauran range, then we shall consider (Dillm. *Nu-Dt-Jos*, p. 201 f.) that the Nobah of Judges was the original settlement of the clan, which, when it took possession of the new abode, for a time at least (1 Ch 2^{23}) succeeded in stamping its own name upon it. If, on the other hand (Bertheau and Moore on *Judges*), this identification be given up, we shall hold that Nu 32^{42} gives the account of how this clan came into possession of its first and only settlement, the town which lies near Jogbehah.

It is possible that the name can be found also in Nu 21^{30} ‘Nobah, which lies on the desert,’ according to the Peshitta; but the text is too corrupt to offer any sure help. A. C. WELCH.

NOBAI (נוֹבָי *Kethîbh*, נֵיבָי *Kerê*, and so AV and RVm Nebai, B Βωναl, A Νωβαl).—One of those who sealed the covenant, Neh 10^{19} [Heb.^{20}]. See, further, art. NEBO (Town).

NOBLEMAN.—This title (*βασιλικός*, ‘royal’ or ‘pertaining to a king’; so Ac 12$^{20.\ 21}$, Ja 2^{8}) is given (Jn 4$^{46.\ 49}$, AVm ‘courtier’ or ‘ruler’; RVm ‘king's officer,’ cf. Vulg. *regulus*) to the man who besought Jesus in Cana to heal his son who was sick at Capernaum. Opinions have always differed as to the meaning of the title (see Chryst. *Hom.* 35 *on Joh.*). It has been taken to mean that he was of the royal (Herodian) family (L. Bos, *Exercit. Philolog.* p. 41, and others); or that he was of the Herodian party (Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.*, *Exercit. on St. J.*); or that he was attached to the service of Antipas, who was popularly called king, either in a military or civil capacity (Meyer, Weiss, Godet, and most). The term was used both of royal persons themselves and of those attached to them as officers, courtiers, or soldiers (see exx. in Wetstein); but the usage of Josephus (see Krebs, *Observat. in NT e Flav. Jos.* p. 144) supports strongly the latter application of it here. Tatian also (*Diatessaron*) translates ‘officer of the king.’ This man therefore was probably an officer of rank and wealth connected with the court or service of Antipas. He has been identified with Chuza, Herod's steward (Lk 8^{3}), and with Manaen, Herod's foster-brother (Ac 13^{1}). These, of course, are mere conjectures. He was presumably a Jew, and is certainly not to be identified, as he has sometimes been, with the centurion whose servant Jesus healed (Mt 8^{5}, Lk 7^{1}).

G. T. PURVES.

NOD (נוֹד; Samar. נד; LXX, Philo, Jos. Ναίδ).—The land to which the fratricide Cain emigrated after the Divine verdict was pronounced on him, Gn 4^{16} (J). It is a play on נָד ‘wanderer’ of v.^{12}. The subst. נֹד ‘wandering’ occurs Ps 56^{8} (regardless of Duhm's unnecessary emendation). But it is a mistake to understand the word merely as an allusion to Cain's punishment. The writer seems to have had a real land of that name in view. Its situation, ‘eastward of Eden,’ is given, and there are not sufficient reasons to take this as a gloss of the author or redactor (Dillmann and Stade), since particular definitions of places are not unusual with Hebrew writers (Gn 10^{10} 12^{6} 25^{18}, Dt 11^{30}). It is called a ‘land’; and the passage is plain prose. To dwell and build a city in ‘wanderland’ is a contradiction in terms. Cain's settlement in Nod was not part of his punishment, but a voluntary emigration, as already Philo (*de Poster. Cain.* 3) remarks, ἐθελοντὴς ἐξέρχεται.

The ‘orientation’ of the land of Nod has been matter of conjecture. Many (see Dillm. *ad loc.*) suggest China, from the similarity of sound between Cain and Chin, Zin, Sin, Tien. Von Bohlen identifies it with India. Sayce sees in it the *Manda* of the cuneiform inscriptions (*HCM* 146). To the Rabbis it was sufficient that it lay somewhere in the east, and away from Eden, whither Adam had been banished. ‘In all parts’ (*sc.* of Scripture), says Rashi, ‘the eastern quarter received the murderer, as it is said (Dt 4^{41}), Then Moses severed three cities, etc., toward the rising of the sun’ (see also *Midrash Agada*, p. 13, ed. Buber, 1894). It must, however, be remembered that the same author (J) knew of a universal cataclysm which obliterated every geographical boundary. The topography of Cain's history was to him as antediluvian as the history was prehistoric. A. E. SUFFRIN.

NODAB (נוֹדָב; LXX ναδαβαῖοι; Vulg. *Nodab*).—Mentioned only 1 Ch 5^{19} in connexion with a war of the trans-Jordanic tribes against the Hagrites. Because it is grouped with Jetur and Naphish, it was supposed by C. J. Ball to be a corruption of Kedemah (Gn 25^{15}), the last of the twelve tribes of Ishmael. But Kedemah is rightly given in 1 Ch 1^{31}, and it is hardly conceivable that the author, or even a copyist, should so shortly after misread it for a name which occurs nowhere else. Delitzsch (*New Com.* on Gn 25^{15}) connects it with Nudébe in the *Wady el-buṭin* of the Ḥauran. But it is more likely that we have here a transcription of Nabatean. It would be strange that a powerful kingdom like Nabatea should not have proved a formidable neighbour to the trans-Jordanic Israelites. And since Nebaioth, which has been by Jos. (*Ant.* I. xii. 4), Jerome, and others identified with Nabatea, has not played any important rôle in the pre-exilic history of the Jews, we are left to conjecture that נודב should be read נבדו. The Nabateans called themselves נבטו. In the Talmud and Midrash we have respectively נבטי, נווטי, נוותי, נוותאה, נפתי, נפתיי, נפתייא, and נפתייה for a Nabatean.

The Nabateans were the *Nabatu* of the Assyrian inscriptions, and Aramean in language, and distinct from the *Nabaâti* (‘Nebaioth’ of the Bible) of Central Arabia. Originally settled east of Assyria, they migrated westward, and founded a kingdom in Arabia Petræa, with Petra for their capital (Glaser, *Skizze*, ii. 418). For the history of the Nabateans see Schürer, *HJP*, Ap. ii., and Euting, *Nab. Inschriften*, Berl. 1885, with historical notes on p. 81 by Gutschmid. A. E. SUFFRIN.

NOE.—See NOAH.

NOEBA (Νοεβά), 1 Es 5^{31} = Nekoda Ezr 2^{48}, Nekodan 1 Es 5^{37}.

NOGAH (נֹגַהּ ‘splendour’).—One of David's sons, born at Jerusalem, 1 Ch 3^{7} (B Νάγαι, A Νάγε) 14^{6} (BA Νάγεθ, ℵ Νάγετ). The name is wanting in the parallel list in 2 S 5, and is viewed with suspicion by Wellhausen (*Bücher Sam.* p. 165) and Kittel (on 1 Ch 3^{7} in *SBOT*). The preceding name, Eliphelet, is certainly due to a scribal error, and Nogah may be a corruption from the following Nepheg. It is apparently the same name, although with a different application, that appears in the genealogy of Lk 3^{25} as **Naggai** (Ναγγαl).

NOHAH (נוֹחָה; B Ἰωά, A Νωά, Luc. Νουαά; Vulg. *Nohaa*).—Fourth ‘son’ or clan of Benjamin (1 Ch 8^{2}). If we read ‘from Nohah’ in Jg 20^{43}, Nohah was also a town, the seat of the clan. Cf. MENUHAH.

NOISE.—This subst. is no longer used of music in a good or neutral sense, as we find it in Ps 33^{3} ‘Play skilfully with a loud noise.’ Cf. Bunyan, *PP*, 206: ‘MERCY. Hark, don't you hear a Noise? CHRIS. Yes, 'tis as I believe, a Noise of Musick, for joy that we are here’; Ps 47^{5}, Pr. Bk. ‘God is gone up with a merry noise’; and Milton, *At a Solemn Music*, line 18—

> ‘That we on earth with undiscording voice
> May rightly answer that melodious noise.’

The verb ‘to noise’ is no longer in use. It occurs five times in AV: Jos 6^{27} ‘His fame was noised throughout all the country’ (RV ‘his fame was in all the land’); Jth 10^{18} ‘Her coming was noised among the tents’; Mk 2^{1} ‘It was noised that he was in the house’; Lk 1^{65} ‘All these sayings were noised abroad’; Ac 2^{6} ‘When this was noised abroad’ (RV ‘when this sound was heard’). Cf. Mt 9^{26} Tind. ‘And this was noysed through out all that lande'; 28^{15} Tind. 'And this sayinge is noysed amonge the Jewes unto this daye'; and Hacket in *Life of Abp. Williams* (referring to Dr. Collins), 'His works in print against Eudaemon and Fitzherbert, sons of Anak among the Jesuits, do noise him far and wide.' J. HASTINGS.

NOISOME is a shortened form of 'annoy-some.' And 'annoy' is regarded by Skeat and Murray (after Diez) as formed (through the Fr.) from the Lat. *in odio*. The phrase *est mihi in odio*, 'it is hateful to me,' became contracted to *inodio*, which was regarded as a subst., 'hate,' 'annoyance.' In AV the word is used of weeds (Job 31^{40m}), pestilence (Ps 91^{3}), beasts (Ezk 14$^{15.\ 21}$), a smell (2 Mac 9^{9}), and a sore (Rev 16^{2}), and the meaning is always troublesome, not as now loathsome.* Trench (*On AV of NT*, p. 47) says that in the beginning of the 17th cent. the word was acquiring its mod. meaning, and on that account Tindale's rendering of 1 Ti 6^{9} 'They that wilbe ryche, faule into temptacion and snares, and into many folysshe and noysome lustes,' which all the versions till 1611 (except the Rhemish) accepted, was changed in AV into 'hurtful lusts.' In the Act of Henry VIII. prohibiting the use of Tindale's version (1543) it is stated to be requisite that the land be purged 'of all such bookes, writinges, sermones, disputacions, argumentes, balades, plaies, rimes, songs, teachinges and instructions, as be pestiferous and noysome.' Tindale speaks of the flies in the Egyptian plague as 'noysom' (Ex 8^{24}). Cranmer's meaning is the same when he writes to Henry VIII. (*Works*, i. 160), 'I was purposed this week according to my duties to have waited upon your Grace, but I am so vexed with a catarrh and a rheum in my head, that not only it should be dangerous unto me, but also noisome unto your Grace, by reason of extreme coughing and excreations which I cannot eschew.' But Fuller (*Holy State*, 305) is more modern: 'When the soul (the best perfume of the body) is departed from it, it becomes so noysome a carcasse, that should I make a description of the lothsomnesse thereof, some dainty dames would hold their noses in reading it.' J. HASTINGS.

NON.—1 Ch 7^{27} AV and RVm. See NUN.

NOOMA (A Νοομά, B Ὀομά, AV Ethma, probably due to confusion of OO and EΘ, 1 Es 9^{35}).—The name is a corruption of Nebo (נְבוֹ, Ναβού) in the parallel list of Ezr 10^{43}.

NOPH (נֹף, Μέμφις, *Memphis*) is named in Is 19^{13} with Zoan, in Jer 2^{16} with Tahpanhes, 44^{1} with Migdol and Tahpanhes, cf. 46$^{14.\ 19}$, and in Ezk 30$^{13.\ 16}$ with other cities as representative of Egypt. Hos 9^{6} gives **Moph** (מֹף, Μέμφις, *Memphis*). It is clear that as early as the LXX it was regarded as the Hebrew name for Memphis. The early Egyptian name for this city was *Mn-nfr*, Stele of P'nhy, 87. This would be heard as *Mĕn-nūfĕr*, and later as *Mĕn-nūfe*, thence *Mĕnfĕ*. The Assyrians in the time of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal already give *Mimpi*, the Babylonian chronicle *Membi* (time of Darius). The Coptic forms *Memfi*, *Menfi*, and the Arabic *Menf* show this pronunciation to have been native. The Hebrew transformation may have arisen from dropping the *men*, the *nūfĕ* is well preserved in *Noph* [for another explanation see art. MEMPHIS], and *Moph* only shows the same change as in *Memfi*. That Memphis took such a prominent position in Egypt is confirmed by Esarhaddon, who calls it the capital of Tirhakah, and later speaks of it as the residence of Necho along with Sais.

Plutarch's derivation of the name (*de Isid.* 20) seems to rest on a confusion of the Egyptian *mn* and *mn'i*. On the other hand, an attempt to identify Noph with Napata, Tirhakah's Ethiopian capital, is hopeless. For the history of Noph see MEMPHIS.

LITERATURE.—Meyer, *Gesch. Ægyp.* p. 336; Steindorff, *Beitr. Assyr.* i. p. 594. C. H. W. JOHNS.

NOPHAH (נֹפַח; Vulg. *Nophe*), mentioned only in Nu 21^{30}, by some identified with **Nobah** of Jg 8^{11} [see NOBAH]. If this be allowed, the remainder of the verse must be translated as Syr. 'which is upon the desert' (*midhbar*), and the Medeba of the MT, AV, RV disappears. Another suggested translation is 'we have laid waste so that fire was kindled unto Medeba.' The LXX [καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ἔτι προσεξέκαυσαν πῦρ ἐπὶ Μωάβ] translates neither Nophah nor Medeba. But the text of the verse is uncertain. See Dillmann on the passage, and G. A. Smith, *HGHL* p. 560 note. Cf. art. MEDEBA. A. T. CHAPMAN.

NORTH COUNTRY, THE (אֶרֶץ צָפוֹן).—An expression, occurring nine times in AV, and used vaguely to denote the distant regions N. and N.E. of Palestine, including at least the N. parts of Babylonia, and sometimes almost idealized as the home of Israel's foes. In Jer 6^{22} it is the quarter from which Jer. expects the foe—whether Scythians or Babylonians (see *LOT* 237 f.)—to advance against Judah; 10^{22}, as also Zec 6$^{6.\ 8.\ 8}$, the reference is most probably to Babylonia; 23^{8} 31^{8} it is the quarter whence the exiled Israelites will be restored; 46^{10} Carchemish (v.^{2}), on the upper course of the Euphrates, nearly N.N.E. of Palestine, is alluded to as 'in the north country'; and 50^{9} the foes of Babylon are to assemble from the 'north country.' In Jer 3^{18} 16^{15}, Zec 2^{6} the Heb. is also the same (AV, RV 'land of the north'). Naturally, the expression cannot be dissociated from 'the north' alone, which, esp. in Jeremiah, is constantly spoken of as the quarter whence evil or invasion arises (Jer 1$^{14.\ 15}$ 4^{6} 6^{1} 13^{20} 15^{12} [prob.], 25^{9} 46$^{20.\ 24}$ 47^{2}; and against Babylon, 50$^{3.\ 41}$ 51^{48}: comp. Is 14^{31}, of the invading Assyrians; and Ezk 26^{7}, where Neb. is brought 'from the north'); Jer 3^{18} (cf. 3^{12}), 16^{15} 23^{8} 31^{8}, Zec 2^{6}, just quoted, show also that it was regarded as the region in which Israel was exiled, and from which it was to be restored. In Zeph 2^{13} the 'north' includes Assyria and Nineveh (actually N.E. of Judah). In point of fact, Babylon is almost in the same latitude as Samaria; but Assyr. and Bab. invaders usually entered Palestine from the north; and hence even the latter were pictured as having their home in that direction. That the foes of Babylon should themselves also come from the N. (Jer 50$^{3.\ 9.\ 41}$ 51^{48}) was naturally no difficulty; the expression was a wide and vague one. In Ezk 38$^{6.\ 15}$ 39^{2} the hosts of 'Gog' (whom the prophet imagines as invading in vast numbers the restored Israel) are brought up from 'the reccsses of the north' (יַרְכְּתֵי צָפוֹן; the same expression in Is 14^{13}, Ps 48^{2}); the thought may have been suggested to Ezekiel by the irruptions of Scythian hordes into Asia, which had recently taken place (Herod. i. 103 ff.).

In Is 41^{25} (spoken in Babylonia), Cyrus is spoken of as 'stirred up from the north'; in Dn 11$^{6.\ 7.\ 8.\ 11.\ 13.\ 15.\ 40.\ 44}$ the 'king of the north' denotes the king for the time being of Antioch (opp. to the 'king of the South,' *i.e.* of Egypt). S. R. DRIVER.

NOSE, NOSTRILS (אַף *'aph*, Arab. *anf*; נְחִירַיִם Job 41^{20} [Heb.^{12}] only; נַחַר, tr^{d} in AV of Job 39^{20} 'nostrils,' is given correctly in RV 'snorting').—The expansion of the nostrils and the forcible ejection of the breath expressed energy and indignation, Job 39^{20}, Ps 18^{15}. On the other hand, the residence of the breath in so small a space taught the insignificance of human life, Is 2^{22}.

---

* Trench (*On AV of NT*, p. 47) distinguishes the earlier and later meanings of the word by saying that a tiger would have been noisome in Old English, a skunk or a polecat would be noisome in modern.

In Ezk 8^{17} allusion is made to the custom in sacrificial Baal-worship of putting the branch to the nose. A somewhat similar practice prevails at Jewish ceremonies of circumcision, where perhaps, on account of the natural repugnance to pain and the sight of blood, those present are supplied with small slips of aromatic myrtle. See, further, art. BRANCH.

In Lv 21^{18} one of the deformities from which the priest must be free was the blemish translated 'flat-nosed' (חָרֻם). So EVV following LXX (*κολοβόρ(ρε)ιν*), Pesh., Vulg., and Jewish commentators. Driver-White ('Leviticus' in *PB*) tr. 'mutilated in the face,' and remark 'the word is more probably a general term, the cognate verb in Arabic meaning to *pierce* or *perforate,* especially to *mutilate* (by slitting) *the nose, ear*, or *lip*.'

G. M. MACKIE.

NOSE-JEWEL.—See AMULET, JEWEL.

NOTABLE. — This word occurs with various meanings in AV, some of which are out of use. 1. *Conspicuous, prominent*, Dn 8^{5} 'the goat had a notable horn between his eyes' (קֶרֶן חָזוּת, lit., as AVm, 'a horn of sight' or 'of conspicuousness.' So 8^{8}, where, as well as in v.^{21}, it is called 'the great horn.'

2. *Clearly seen, illustrious* (*ἐπιφανής*), used of a temple in 2 Mac 14^{33}, and of the Day of the Lord in Ac 2^{20} (following the reading of the Sept.).

3. *Excelling* (*εὐπρεπής*), 2 Mac 3^{26} 'young men . . . notable in strength.'

4. *Notorious* (*ἐπίσημος*), Mt 27^{16} 'And they had then a notable prisoner, called Barabbas.' Cf. Shaks. *All's Well*, III. vi. 10, 'A most notable coward, an infinite and endless liar'; and South, *Sermons*, ii. Ser. 1, 'A notable leading sinner indeed, to wit, the rebel.' In Ro 16^{7} the Gr. word is used in the sense of *important, of mark*, but is translated 'of note' in EV. The adj. 'notable' might have been used, as in *Rom. of Partenay*, line 2741—

> 'Unto this feste cam barons full many,
> Which notable were and ryght ful honeste.'

5. *Unmistakable, well-known* (*γνωστός*), Ac 4^{16} 'a notable miracle.' Cf. Chaucer, *Prioresses Tale*, 233—

> 'O yonge Hugh of Lincoln, slayn also
> With cursed Jewes, as it is notable,
> For it nis but a litel whyle ago.'

6. *Noble, highminded* (*γενναῖος*), 2 Mac 6^{28} 'a notable example to such as be young to die willingly.'

In its only occurrence **notably** has the same meaning as that last given for 'notable,' viz. *nobly*, 2 Mac 14^{31} 'he was notably prevented by Judas' policy' (*γενναίως*, RV 'bravely,' RVm 'nobly'). Cf. Berners, *Froissart*, ch. clii. 'Wherefore they sayd, they wold send and defye the Frenche kyng notably: and so they did.' The meaning is nearly the same in Shaks. *Mids. Night's Dream*, V. i. 368 (his only example of the word)—'a fine tragedy . . . and very notably discharged.'

J. HASTINGS.

NOTHING is sometimes used adverbially in AV, like 'no-way,' 'naught,' and 'not' (='no whit'). We should now say 'as nothing' or 'in no respect,' for 'nothing' has completely lost its adverbial force. Thus 1 K 10^{21} 'it [silver] was nothing accounted of in the days of Solomon' (לֹא נֶחְשָׁב); Job 34^{9} 'It profiteth a man nothing that he should delight himself with God' (לֹא יִסְכָּן־גָּבֶר); 2 Mac 7^{12} 'he nothing regarded the pains' (*ἐν οὐδενί*); 9^{7} 'he nothing at all ceased from his bragging' (*οὐδαμῶς*, RV 'in no wise'); Jn 12^{19} 'Perceive ye how ye prevail nothing?' (*οὐκ ὠφελεῖτε οὐδέν*); 1 Ti 4^{4} 'For every creature of God is good and nothing to be refused' (*οὐδὲν ἀπόβλητον*, RV 'nothing is to be rejected'). Cf. Lk 4^{35} Rhem. 'And when the Devil had throwen him into the middes, he went out of him, and hurted him nothing'; also the Annotation to Luke 19^{8} in Rhem. NT, 'The poore widowes brasse peny was very grateful, because it was al or much of that she had: but the riche man's pound of his superfluitie, though it be good, yet is nothing so grateful.' In *Crusoe*, p. 60, Defoe uses the word almost as if it were 'not': 'I was nothing near so anxious about my own safety.' Abbott (*Shaks. Gram.* p. 46) quotes *Henry VIII*. V. i. 126, 'I fear nothing, what can be said against me,' and points out that 'what' is not put for 'which'; 'nothing' is equivalent to 'not at all.'

In the phrase 'nothing worth' it is probable that 'nothing' is again adverbial, though we have but to transpose the words to find it a substantive. It occurs in Job 24^{25} 'who will make me a liar, and make my speech nothing worth?' (לְאַל); Wis 2^{11} 'That which is feeble is found to be nothing worth' (*ἄχρηστον*, RV 'of no service'); Bar 6$^{17, 26}$. Cf. Jn 8^{54} Tind. 'Jesus answered, Yf I honoure my selfe, myne honoure is nothinge worth' (*οὐδέν ἐστιν*, Wyc. 'is nought,' other VSS 'is nothing').

J. HASTINGS.

NOUGHT.—See NAUGHT.

NOVICE.—The word used in 1 Ti 3^{6} to translate the Greek *νεόφυτος* (neophyte). A bishop is to be 'not a novice, lest being lifted up with pride he fall into the condemnation of the devil.' The literal meaning of the word is 'newly planted.' The word *neophyte* became later a technical term, used to describe those who had been recently baptized, when they wore during the Liturgy their white baptismal robes, were placed near the altar, and received each day. For other details see *Dict. Chr. Ant.* ii. 1385.

A. C. HEADLAM.

NUMBER.—

1. Numbers and Textual Criticism (*figures*).
2. Numbers and Rhetoric (*round* numbers).
3. Numbers and Theology (*holy* numbers, *symbolic* numbers, *Gematria*).

The interpreter of Scripture has to look at the numbers which occur in the sacred texts from other points of view besides those that are usually taken account of in grammar (cf. König, *Syntax*, pp. 310–338). He has to ask whether such numbers do not fall within the sphere of Textual Criticism, of Rhetoric, or even of Philosophy and Theology.

1. NUMBERS AND TEXTUAL CRITICISM.—(*a*) In the only inscription which has been preserved to us from the earlier times of the Hebrews, the Siloam Inscription, which, notwithstanding the objections of Pilcher, is to be dated in all probability from the days of Hezekiah (cf. *Expos. Times*, 1898, p. 292 f.), *the numbers are written in full in words*: שלש and מאתים ואלפ (lines 2, 5). One sees that we have only a very slender basis for conclusions as to the way in which the ancient Hebrews indicated numbers in their writing. Certainly, the dogmatic judgment must not be passed that the above was the only mode. On the one hand, no doubt, this view is supported by the circumstance that upon the Moabite Stone also (cf. Socin, 'zur Meša-Inschrift' in *Verhandlungen der sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1897, ii.) the numbers are written in words: שלשנ, etc. (lines 2, 8, 16, 20, 28 f.). But, on the other hand, it is to be noted that elsewhere, *even at periods when figures were employed, numbers are notwithstanding indicated frequently*

by words. For instance, in the old Aramaic inscriptions of Zinjirli, we read the numbers שבעי (*Panammu*, line 3) and שלשנ (*WZKM*, 1893, p. 119. It may be noted that the inscription of Bar-Rekub, published by Sachau in *Sitzungsb. d. Berl. Akad.* 1896, p. 1051 f., contains no numbers). But in the same inscriptions we find also figures, and the same combination of both methods of indicating numbers recurs also 'on the Assyro-Aramaic lion-weights, where the numbers are expressed first in words and then in symbols' (W. R. Smith, *Academy*, 1893, No. 1124, p. 444^c). Again, in the S. Arabian inscriptions the numbers are partly written in full and partly indicated by figures, *e.g.* שבע וארבעהי, etc., in Halévy, No. 199 (Prätorius, *ZDMG* xxvi. 748). The Phœnicians also employed both words fully written and figures, *e.g.* I III 𐤗 עסר וארבע in the Eshmunazar inscription (*CIS* i. 14); II אשנם, in an inscription of Citium (i. 36), and the same dittography is found in an inscription of Idalium (i. 102, cf. 151), II שנם (p. 183), II III III שמנ, etc. (pp. 109 f., 225). Nay, there are Phœnician inscriptions in which the numbers are written *only* in *words*: שלש (p. 203), חמש מאחם, etc. (in a Spanish inscription, No. 166, p. 245), מאת (twice in one inscription, p. 264). *The Siloam Inscription may be an instance of an inscription of this kind.* This possibility must be conceded all the more that S. Reinach also remarks, in his *Traité d'épigraphie grecque* (1885, p. 219), 'at all periods the inscriptions furnish also instances, rather rare no doubt, of figures [read 'numbers'] expressed at length in words; *e.g.* Ταμίαις ἔσοδος μία ἐνενήκοντα λῖτραι, κ.τ.λ. (*CIG*, No. 5640).'

(*b*) If, then, it is *possible* that the pre-exilic Hebrews also employed *signs* for numbers, what kind of figures had they? Of such *signs* four leading species are known to the present writer:—

(*a*) In *Assyrian* 'one' is represented by a vertical wedge (𒁹), and the other units by combinations of such wedges, but 'ten' by a sign which is quite similar to the sign for u (𒌋, cf. in Delitzsch's *Assyr. Gramm.* p. 18 with p. 40). The other numbers are indicated by combinations of this sign for 'ten' with the vertical and the horizontal wedge. These Assyrian figures might be called purely linear, were it not that the number 'sixty' is expressed by 'I *šušu*, or *soss*'; cf. further, C. Bezold, *Oriental Diplomacy* (London, 1893), p. 120 f., and, above all, Th. Dangin, *Recherches sur l'Origine de l'écriture cunéiforme* (Paris, 1898), pp. 82 ff., where the figures employed in the oldest cuneiform inscriptions are collected with great completeness.

(*β*) In the *hieroglyphic* texts of the Egyptians 'one' is indicated by a vertical line, and the numbers from 'two' to 'nine' by vertical strokes placed side by side (*e.g.* III III). 'In dates the units are indicated also by horizontal strokes (—, =, etc.).' But the sign for 'ten' is ∩, 'hundred' is represented by C, etc. (cf. Erman, *Aegypt. Gramm.* 1894, § 140). Essentially identical is the *Phœnician* system of figures: I to III III III; 'ten' is indicated by 𐤗 or by a similar obliquely drawn and curved line which evidently arose from O, the earlier form of ע, with which the word עסר 'ten' *begins.* Then follows a special sign for 'twenty' and for 'hundred' (cf. Schröder, *Die Phön. Sprache*, p. 186 ff., and *CIS* i. 30, 40, 43, 50, 94, etc.). Only the sign O for 'ten' has been found up till now in the *Zinjirli* inscriptions, namely '$\mathrm{o}_{\mathrm{o}}^{\mathrm{o}} = 30$,' and '$\mathrm{o}_{\mathrm{ooo}}^{\mathrm{ooo}}=70$' (Sachau, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, 1893, p. 71). Upon the same principle the signs for numbers are chosen in *Minæo-Sabæan*, where '"one" is expressed by a vertical stroke' (Prätorius, *ZDMG* xxvi. p. 750), but 'five' by 𐩭, the *initial* letter of ኀ (i) ምስ, if the Minæo-Sabæan letters are transcribed in Ethiopic. The number 'ten' is indicated by the sign O, an older form of ▽ (ע), with which the word for 'ten' *begins* which answers to the Ethiopic ዐሠርቱ. (For the other figures see Prätorius, *l.c.*, and Hommel, *Südarab. Chrestomathie*, 1893, p. 8.). Only slightly modified is the system of figures which one finds employed in the *Palmyrene* inscriptions, namely I to IIII; 'five' = a sign which appears to the present writer to be a simplification of the above S. Arabian 𐩭; 'ten' = a sign which may have arisen from O (ע), etc. (cf. Merx, *Gramm. Syr.* p. 17). This second principle upon which numbers are indicated may be called the **lineo-acrostic.**

(*γ*) In *India* an older system of figures was displaced by that which is adopted in the *Sanskrit texts*: १, २, ३, etc. (cf. *e.g.* Stenzler, *Elementarbuch der Sanskṛit-Sprache*, § 7). This way of indicating numbers is the **pure acrostic.** For the sign १ represents the vowel ए, with which the word एक (*eka*, 'one') *begins*, etc. These figures are employed also by the Arabs (cf. ١, ٢, ٣, etc.), who themselves call this method of indicating numbers *ar-raḳmu-lhindijju* (Caspari-Müller, *Arab. Gramm.*^{5} § 33), while Europeans are accustomed to call it the *Arabic* method.

(*δ*) The fourth leading method of shortening the expression of numbers is the **alphabetic.** The following traces of it have been noted by the present writer: the *Greek* inscriptions of older date show the following figures, I, II, III, IIII, Γ (S. Reinach, *l.c.* p. 217, recalls the Π of ΠΕΝΤΕ), ΓΙ, etc., Δ (cf. ΔΕΚΑ), etc. Similar signs are found in inscriptions from Epidauros belonging to the 4th cent. B.C. According to B. Keil (in *Hermes*, xxv. p. 319), as the present writer's colleague, G. Körte, has pointed out to him, the *latest* specimens of this system are found in *CI Attic.* ii. 2, No. 985 (written *c.* 90 B.C.). But somewhat earlier than B.C. 50 the *alphabetic* system of figures appears to have been introduced, according to B. Keil (in above-cited art. p. 320), and it is found, *e.g.*, in *CI Attic.* iii. 644 (the time of Augustus or Claudius), etc. 'In the oldest system of this class, the letters possess the following values: A=1, B=2, Γ=3, Δ=4, E=5, Ι=6, H=7, Θ=8, I=9, K=10, etc.' (Reinach, *l.c.* p. 220). It is clear from all this that Gow ('The Greek Numeral Alphabet,' in *Journal of Philology*, 1884, p. 278) has rightly rejected the hypothesis of a Phœnician origin for this Greek method of indicating numbers. The *alphabetic* method adopted for Greek figures was copied in Coptic-Arabic and in Ethiopic writings (Prätorius, *Aeth. Gramm.* § 14). Further, in many *Syriac* manuscripts (cf. the Codices Musei Britannici enumerated by Land in his *Anecdota Syriaca*, p. 94) one finds signs for numbers which have a genetic connexion with the above-mentioned figures of the Palmyrene inscriptions (cf. further, on the notation of the Syrians, Gottheil, *ZDMG*, 1889, p. 121 ff.). But these figures, which occur pretty frequently in the Codices of 5th–7th cent., afterwards fell into disuse (Merx, *Gramm. Syr.* p. 16), and the *alphabetic* method of indicating numbers was adopted (*e.g.* ܝ *Jûd*=10; ܟ *Kâph* =20, etc.); cf. further, Nöldeke, *Syr. Gramm.* p. 279. This alphabetic method was, and is still, largely employed by the *Arabs* (Caspari-Müller^5, § 33). It was also partially adopted by the *Nabatæans*, in whose inscriptions one finds 'a mixed system' of figures (Sachau, *ZDMG*, 1884, p. 541: 'ten=Jod, and hundred=Koph'), and the same method is not unexampled even in New Persian (cf. Salemann-Shukowski, *Neupers. Gramm.* p. 4 f.).

The *alphabetic* method of abbreviating the expression of numbers is what is employed in the later *Hebrew* inscriptions and books. On those coins which are with the greatest probability dated from the Maccabæan period we find fully written numbers (*e.g.* ארבע or אחת) and also figures (א, etc.) In the Mishna it is stated that three chests, used in connexion with the cultus of the second temple, were inscribed with אלף, בית, גימל (*Sheḳalim*, iii. 2). This usage grew as time went on, and instead of י״ה or ה״י one wrote ט״ו, to avoid suggesting the name יהוה. Traces of this practice are found in Origen (cf. Strack, *ZATW*, 1884, p. 249; Nestle, *ZDMG*, 1886, p. 429 f.), in the Cambridge MS of the Mishna (ed. Lowe), and in the Jerus. Talmud (Dalman, *Jüd-Pal. Aram.* 1894, p. 99). Other instances are read in inscriptions from Aden, which are now in the British Museum (cf. Chwolson, *CI Heb.* col. 126: שנת כט; col. 129: אחרכח, *i.e.* 1628). But this alphabetic method of indicating numbers *need not have been the only one* employed by the Hebrews in the course of centuries. They *may* have in earlier days employed one of the lineo-acrostic systems which were in use among their eastern or western neighbours, and may have passed from this to the alphabetic method, just as the Greeks and the Syrians did. It is, indeed, almost more probable that the Hebrews copied than that they avoided the practice of their neighbours.

(*c*) From all this it results that the relation of numbers to Textual Criticism is as follows: the possibility is not excluded that the integrity of the numbers of the Old Testament has suffered, seeing that during an earlier or a later period a species of figures was used in the MSS of the biblical text. When, for instance, we read in 2 S 24^{13} 'seven years,' but in the parallel passage, 1 Ch 21^{12} 'three years,' it is natural to suppose that a confusion has taken place between ז and ג. Again, when '15,000 men' is the reading of MT in Jg 8^{10}, but '18,000' in Jos. *Ant.* V. vi. 5, there may be a confusion between יה and יח. Cf. שׁ(י)לה, Gn 49^{10b} (Samar. שלה), with the Vulg. rendering 'qui mittendus est,' as if Jerome had found in his exemplar a form of שׁלח.

2. NUMBERS AND RHETORIC.—In the exegesis of the Bible, numbers come, further, under various view-points, which can be ranged under the wide category of the stylistic or rhetorical.

(*a*) A species of synecdoche consists in *individualizing*, putting forward an example in place of the whole class, *e.g.* לָשׁוֹן 'the tongue,' Ps 12^{4b} [Eng. ^{3b}], or רְשָׁעִים ‖ צַדִּיק Pr 12^{10ab}. A cognate phenomenon is *specializing*, *i.e.* the use of a definite number for a total which, in the mind of the writer, approximates to that number. It is not enough to say with Hirzel (*l.c.* p. 5) that 'the concrete expression is readily preferred to the abstract.'

(*α*) It may be said that this employment of a definite number is already present in the use of אחד or אחת 'one' for 'a' or 'some one'; *e.g.* in Gn 22^{13} אחד is read by some Heb. MSS, and is supported by Sam., LXX, Pesh. (ܚܕ); see other examples from OT and NT, and from Arabic, etc., in König's *Syntax*, § 73, 291*de*. The same tendency to specialize a total of objects led to the use of two definite numbers instead of one indefinite expression. Thus we find '*one* (and, or) *two*' in Dt 32^{30}, Jer 3^{14}, Ps 62^{11}, Job 33^{14} 40^{5}; cf. the coupling of sing. with dual (Ec 21^{21}, Jg 5^{30} 15^{16}), or of sing. with plural (Ec $2^{8b\beta}$); '*two* (and, or) *three*' in 2 K 9^{32}, Is 17^{6a} ('two *or* three berries'), Am 4^{8} (cf. Hos 6^{2}), Job 33^{29}, Sir 23^{16} 26^{19} 50^{25}, Mt 18^{20}; Arab. *jômên telâte*, 'two, three days' (Spitta, *Gramm. des Arab. Vulgärdialects in Ægypten*, § 132^{b}); Syr. 'two, three believers' (Nöldeke, *Syr. Gramm.* § 240 B); 'bis terque' in Cicero, *et al.*; cf. תְּמוֹל שִׁלְשׁוֹם, ἐχθὲς καὶ τρίτην ἡμέραν, Gn $31^{2.5}$, Ex $5^{7f.14}$ $21^{29.36}$, Dt 4^{42} $19^{4.6}$, Jos 3^{4} 4^{18} 20^{5}, 1 S 4^{7} etc., Ru 2^{11}, 1 Ch 11^{2}; '*three* (and, or) *four*' (cf. Ex 20^{5} ‖ Dt 5^{9}), Jer 36^{23}, Am 1^{3}–2^{6}, Pr $30^{15.18.21.29}$, Sir 26^{5}; Arab. *telât arba'e ḫawâgât*, 'three, four merchants' (Spitta, § 132*b*); τρισμάκαρες Δαναοὶ καὶ τετράκις (*Odyss.* v. 306); 'ter et quater' (Hor. *Carm.* I. xxxi. 13); 'O terque quaterque beati' (Verg. *Aen.* i. 94); '*four-five*' Is 17^{6b}, Arab. *telât arba' ḫamas ṭâḳât*, 'three, four, five pieces' (Spitta, *l.c.*); '*five-six*' 2 K 13^{19}, cf. 'he sent five and six times' in the Tel el-Amarna letters (*Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, Bd. v.), $21^{17.20}$ [cf. 87^{44}]; '*six-seven*' Pr 6^{16}, Job 5^{19}; '*seven-eight*' Mic 5^{5}, Ec 11^{2}. In all these instances the addition of a second number calls attention to the fact that the first number is not meant to be an exact sum, but one that in the opinion of the writer is approximately correct. Note especially the replacement of δύο in Mt 18^{19} by δύο ἢ τρεῖς in v.^{20}. Hence such an arrangement of numbers was employed in the so-called *middah*, a kind of riddle: Pr 6^{16-19} $30^{15ff.}$, Sir 23^{16} (δύο εἴδη . . . καὶ τὸ τρίτον, κ.τ.λ.) 25 (cf. v.$^{1f.}$) $^{7f.}$ (ἐννέα . . . καὶ τὸ δέκατον, κ.τ.λ.) $26^{5ff.19}$ $50^{25f.}$

This employment of a definite number as the approximate equivalent of an indefinite sum is found also in the following instances:—

(*β*) '**Two**' replaces the indefinite expression 'a few' (Germ. 'ein paar'='einige'), Nu 9^{22}, Hos 6^{2a}, Dt 32^{30}, 1 S 11^{11b} (cf. the Arab. 'not *two* were of a different opinion'), 1 K 17^{12}, Mt 14^{17} 18^{19}; cf. the principle 'the smallest number that can indicate plurality is two' (A. Berliner, *Beiträge zur Heb. Gramm. aus Talmud u. Midrasch*, p. 42: מיעוט רבים שנים); and it is not altogether without ground that Dathe says in *Glassii Philologia Sacra*, i. p. 1257, 'duplum stat (Is 40^{2b} 61^{7}, Jer 16^{18}, Zec 9^{12}, Rev 18^{6}) pro multo, vel eo quod plus satis est.'

(*γ*) '**Three**' is a still more frequent expression for a small total, cf. Gn 30^{36} $40^{10.12}$ 42^{17}, Ex 2^{2} 3^{18} 5^{3} 8^{27} 10^{22} 15^{22} (cf. 'the third,' 19^{11}), Lv 19^{23}, Jos 1^{11} $2^{16.22}$, 2 S 24^{13}, 1 K 12^{5}, 2 K $11^{5f.}$ 13^{18b} (20^{5}), Is 16^{14} 20^{3}, Jon 1^{17}, Est 4^{16}, Dn 1^{5}, 1 Ch 21^{12}, Sir $25^{1f.}$. The origin of this use of 'three' is not far to seek. Observation of nature and history supplied not a few examples of objects and events made up of *three* main parts: *e.g.* root, trunk, and *corona* of a tree; head, trunk, and legs of a body; source, stream, and *embouchure* of a river; the right, the left, and the middle portion of an article; heaven, earth, and She'ôl (Ex 20^{4} ‖ Dt 5^{8}, Ps 139^{8} etc.); morning, noon, and evening; the beginning, the middle, and the end of a process.

(*δ*) The number '**seven**' is not infrequently employed in an exact sense, as in the case of the seven days of the week (Gn 2^{2}, Ex $20^{9f.}$), or of a wedding-feast (Jg $14^{12.17}$; To 11^{19} ὁ γάμος . . . ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας), for such a feast is called 'the week' (Gn $29^{27a.29a}$) or 'the king's week' (Wetzstein, *Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie*, v. 287 ff.), and a γάμος ἡμερῶν δέκα τεσσάρων (To 8^{19}) is an exception. It is not to be doubted that the exact number '*seven*' is meant also in the following passages: 'seven priests' Jos 6^{4}; 'seven locks' Jg $16^{13.19}$; 1 S 10^{8} 11^{3} 13^{8}, 2 S 21^{6}, 1 K 18^{43}, Ezk $3^{15f.}$, Zec 3^{9}, Pr 9^{1} (cf. 2 Ch $21^{1f.}$); the 'seven princes of Persia and Media' Est 1^{14} (confirmed by Justi, *Gesch. des alten Persiens*, p. 61). But elsewhere 'seven' is merely a round expression for a moderately large number: Gn 4^{15} 7^{4} 31^{23} 33^{3} (or are we to suppose that Jacob counted exactly the number of times he bowed?; cf. 'seven and seven times fell I at the feet of my lord the king' [Tel el-Amarna letters in *KIB* v. $38^{4f.}$ 39^{4-6} 40^{5} 42^{3} etc. 179^{3}]), Ex 7^{25}, Lv $26^{18.}$ (so taken also by Dillmann-Ryssel, *Ex-Lv*, 1897, *ad loc.*) $^{24.28}$, Dt $28^{7.25}$, Jg 16^{7}, 1 S 2^{5}, 2 S 24^{13}, 2 K 4^{35} ('the child sneezed until seven times') 8^{1}, Is 4^{1} ('seven women shall take hold of one man') 11^{15} 30^{26}, Jer 15^{9}, Ezk $39^{9.12}$, Ps 12^{6} 79^{12} 119^{164}, Pr 6^{31a} (cf. v.^{31b}, Ex 21^{36} 22^{1-3}) 24^{16} $26^{16.25}$, Job 2^{13} 5^{19}, Ru 4^{15}, Dn 3^{19b}, 1 Ch 21^{12}, Sir 7^{3} 20^{11} [Eng. ^{12}] 32^{11} (=35^{13}) 37^{14} (=v.^{18}) 40^{8}, To 3^{8} 6^{13} 7^{11} 12^{15}, 2 Mac 7^{1}, 4 Mac 1^{8}, Mt 12^{45} 18^{21} 22^{25}, Mk 16^{9}, Lk 17^{4}, Ac 19^{14}; 'the seventh heaven' in *Ascension of Isaiah* ix. 1; 'seven visions' 4 Ezr 3–14; 'seven days God spoke with Moses in the thorn-bush' (*Seder 'olam rabba*, ch. 5). This characteristic of the number 'seven' is shared by its half (Dn 9^{27b} 12^{7b}, Lk 4^{25}, Ja 5^{17}, Rev 11^{2} etc.) and its double (Gn 46^{22} [?], Lv 12^{5}, Nu 29^{13b}, 1 K 8^{65}, To 8^{19}, Mt 1^{17}), for, at least in this last passage, δεκατέσσαρες is not used in its exact sense. This employment of 'seven' is pretty accurately interpreted in the words of Adrianos (Εἰσαγωγὴ εἰς τὰς θείας γραφάς [cf. König's *Einleitung*, i. 520], § 85): 'τὸν ἑπτὰ ἀριθμὸν ἐπὶ πλεονασμοῦ λέγει (ἡ γραφή) εἴτ' οὖν ἐπὶ τελείου ἀριθμοῦ.' Moreover, the origin of this usage is not difficult to discover. The regular recurrence of the seven days of the week, which again was a reflexion of the phases of the moon (cf. Philo, *Leg. Allegor.* i. 4: τροπαὶ σελήνης ἑβδομάσι γίνονται), impressed 'seven' so deeply on the human mind that one fixed upon this number almost involuntarily when one desired to indicate a sum of moderate size. The use of 'seven' lay all the readier to hand the more clearly this number shone forth from the 'seven' stars of Arcturus (Job 9^{9} 38^{32} 'with his sons'), which frequently supplied the place of the compass to the shepherd and the traveller. Further, an acquaintance with the Pleiades (כִּימָה Am 5^{8}, Job 9^{9} 38^{31}) and the planets (cf. Schrader, *KAT*^{2} 18 ff.) may have favoured the use of the number 'seven.' But there is no ground for the words of Augustine (*de Civitate Dei*, xi. 31), 'totus impar primus numerus ternarius est, totus par quaternarius; ex quibus duobus septenarius constat. Ideo pro universo sæpe ponitur.'

(ε) The number **'seventy'** also bears not infrequently an approximate sense. The following series of passages appear to the present writer to exhibit this characteristic of 'seventy' upon an ascending scale: Gn 46^{27}, Ex 1^{5}, Dt 10^{22}; Ex $24^{1.9}$, Nu $11^{16.24f.}$, Ezk 8^{11}, Lk 10^{1}; Ex 15^{27}, Nu 33^{9}, Jg 1^{7} 8^{30} $9^{2.4f.18.24.58}$ 12^{14}, 2 S 24^{15}, 2 K 10^{1}; Ps 90^{10} (Solon, *ap.* Herod. i. 32, says: ἐς ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτεα οὖρον τῆς ζόης ἀνθρώπῳ προτίθημι), Is 23^{15}, Jer 25^{11} 29^{10}, Zec 1^{12} 7^{5}, Dn $9^{2.24ff.}$; ἑβδομήκοντα (Jth 1^{2}), and in the same way we must explain the reading '170 thousand' (7^{2}) in opposition to '120 thousand' (2^{5}); 'and he slew seventy relations' (Zinjirli, *Pan.* l. 3); cf. the seventy days of the Egyptian mourning (Gn 50^{3b}) or their embalming (Herod. ii. 86, 88). The same round character belongs to the expressions 'seventy and sevenfold' (Gn 4^{24}), and 'seventy times seven' (Mt 18^{22}); cf. 'seven thousand' (1 K 19^{18}, Ro 11^{4}, Rev 11^{13}, Mêsha' inscr. l. 16).

(ζ) **'Twelve'** is used in an approximate sense, when exactly '*twelve* wells of water' are mentioned along with 'seventy palm trees' (Ex 15^{27}). This employment of 'twelve' might be readily enough suggested by the number of the months (1 K 4^{7}, 1 Ch 27^{1}) and the twelve stations (*mazzalôth* or *mazzarôth*) of the zodiac, 2 K 23^{5}, Job 38^{32} (Arab. *al-manâzilu*, 'stationes lunæ'). Philo remarks on the '*twelve* wells of Elim' (Ex 15^{27}): τέλειος δ' ἀριθμὸς ὁ δώδεκα, μάρτυς δὲ ὁ ζωδιακὸς ἐν οὐρανῷ κύκλος, τοσούτοις κατηστερισμένος φωσφόροις ἄστροις. Μάρτυς καὶ ἡ ἡλίου περίοδος· μησὶ γὰρ δώδεκα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ περατοῖ κύκλον, ἰσαρίθμους τε τοῖς ἐνιαυτοῦ μησὶ τὰς ἡμέρας καὶ τὰς νυκτὸς ὥρας ἄγουσιν ἄνθρωποι (*de Profugis*, § 33). Compare the twelve discharges of water (Apoc. Bar chs. 53–68: 'aquæ duodecimæ lucidæ quas vidisti,' etc.); the twelve socles on the tombstone of Cyrus at Persepolis (Justi, *Altpers. Gesch.* p. 46); the 'duodecim tabulæ legum'; 'twelve men' (Tel el-Amarna letters, *l.c.* 81^{8}); and the modern 'dozen.'

(η) That **'forty'** serves as a round number may be gathered from such facts as the following: Isaac and Esau marry at the age of forty (Gn 25^{20} 26^{34}); according to Ex 2^{11} 'Moses went out unto his brethren when he was *grown*,' but according to Ac 7^{23} 'when he was full *forty* years old'; Caleb says (Jos 14^{7}), '*forty* years old was I when Moses sent me,' etc., and Ish-bosheth was *forty* years old when he began to reign (2 S 2^{10}). Again, we meet with 3 times *forty* years in Gn 6^{3}, and in the life of Moses, Ex 7^{7}, Ac $7^{23.30}$, Dt 34^{7}; cf. ἔτεα ἐς ἐείκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων ἀπικνέεσθαι (Herod. iii. 23). Further, reigns and other periods of *forty* years present themselves in Jg 3^{11} $5^{8.31}$ 8^{28} 13^{1}, 1 S 4^{18}, 2 S 5^{4}, 1 K 2^{11} 11^{42} (‖ 1 Ch 29^{27}, 2 Ch 9^{30}) 24^{1}, and a reign of forty years is attributed also to Saul in Ac 13^{21} and Jos. *Ant.* VI. xiv. 9. Then we have the 'forty' years of the wilderness wanderings, Ex 16^{35}, Nu $14^{33f.}$ 32^{13}, Dt 2^{7} 8^{2} 29^{4}, Jos 5^{6}, Am 2^{10} 5^{25}, Ps 95^{10}, Neh 9^{21}. But in other instances than these the number '*forty*' is used with not less surprising frequency, see Ex 24^{18} 26^{19} 34^{28} (cf. Lv 12^{2-5}), Nu 13^{25}, Dt $9^{9.11.18.25}$ 10^{10} 25^{3}, Jg 12^{14}, 1 S 17^{16} (in 2 S 15^{7} 'forty' as a familiar number has certainly been written in place of 'four'; cf. the ܐܪܒܥ of the Pesh. and the τέσσαρες of Jos. *Ant.* VII. ix. 1), 1 K 5^{8} 7^{38} 19^{8}, 2 K 8^{9}, Ezk 4^{6} 29^{11-13} 41^{2} 46^{22}, Jon 3^{4}, Neh 5^{15}, 1 Ch 12^{38}; τεσσεράκοντα Mt 4^{2}, Ac 1^{3} $23^{13.21}$, Jth 1^{4}, Bel (LXX) ^{2}, Apoc. Bar 76^{4}, 2 Es 14^{23}; ארבענ 'forty years,' Mêsha' inscrip. l. 8; cf. the 'forty' days of the *Egyptian* embalming (Gn 50^{3a}; Diod. Sic. [ed. Bekker], i. 91: πλείους τῶν τριάκοντα); Herod. i. 202 (ὁ Ἀράξης στόμασι ἐξερεύγεται τεσσεράκοντα), ii. 29 (ὁδοιπορίην ποιήσεται ἡμερῶν τεσσεράκοντα), iv. 73 (among the Scythians ἡμέρας τεσσεράκοντα οἱ ἰδιῶται περιάγονται, ἔπειτα θάπτονται). Many other instances from Greek and Roman writers have been collected by Hirzel (*l.c.* pp. 6 ff., 57 f.). Further, Brugsch (*Steininschrift*^{2}, etc. p. 313) remarks that 'forty years' means in the Persian language even at the present day nothing more than 'many years.' 'The well-known animal which we call *centipede* [Ger. Tausendfuss] bears amongst the Persians the name *Tschihil-pāi*, *i.e.* "forty foot," and the Turks call the same creature *Kyrk ajakly*, *i.e.* "forty-footed"' (Hirzel, *l.c.* p. 41). Note, also, the 'forty thousand' in Jos 4^{13}, Jg 5^{8}, 2 S $10^{17f.}$, 1 K 4^{25}, 1 Ch 12^{36}, 1 Mac 12^{41}, 2 Mac 5^{14}, Jos. *Ant.* VII. xiii. 1.

The way to understand this use of the number '*forty*' is indicated in the OT itself. A whole generation, with few exceptions, was doomed to die in the wilderness (Nu $14^{22f.}$ 26^{64}), and this sojourn in the wilderness of the Sinaitic Peninsula lasted for (about) 'forty' years (Nu 14^{33} $20^{22ff.}$ 32^{13} $33^{38f.}$, Dt 2^{7} etc.). Consequently *forty* years is the approximate expression for the duration of a generation (called in Heb. דוֹר; Arab. *dârun*, lit. περίοδος). Besides, from the frequent notices that such and such a one married at the age of *forty* or entered upon an office at that age (Gn 25^{20} etc.) and that a somewhat prolonged life consisted of three times forty years, we gather that the notion prevailed that the full development of human life was reached about the *fortieth* year, the so-called ἀκμή. In any case, this thought is expressed in the words 'till he reached his full strength (*'aśuddahu*) and attained the age of *forty* years' (Ḳoran, xlvi. 14)—words which explain the tradition that Mohammed received his call to be a prophet at the age of *forty*, as well as account for the very frequent employment of 'forty' by the Arabs as a round number (Hirzel, *l.c.* p. 39). The idea of the ἀκμή of human life is the source from which Hirzel (*l.c.* p. 62) derives the explanation of the remarkable prevalence of 'forty.' Perhaps, however, it ought to be added that Lepsius (*Chronol. der Ægypter*, p. 15) assumes that the Heb. *'arba'îm* may have found favour on account of its assonance with *rabbîm*, 'many.' But the view of Pott

(*Zählmethode*, p. 99), that 'forty' as the product of 20 × 2 obtained preference because of the earlier predominance of 'twenty,' cannot be established at least for Semitic peoples. Too slender a basis belongs also to the theory of J. Grimm (*Rechtsalterthümer*, p. 219), that 'forty' arose from 3 × 13 + 1 (see, more fully, Hirzel, *l.c.* p. 61), and as little are there clear grounds for the supposition that 'four, as the number of the square, of the quarters of the globe, and of the four parts of the day (?), is the number of completeness' (Bähr, *Symbolik des mos. Cultus*, i. 155 f.).

The approximate sense we have claimed for 'forty' has recently been denied by J. C. A. Kessler (*Chronol. iudicum et primorum regum*, 1882, p. 12) in the words, 'fides historica numeri 40 annorum non dubia est; nam sæpius huius spatii partes commemorantur (Dt 2^{14}, 2 S 5^{5}, 1 K 2^{11}, 1 Ch 29^{27}) et in eo singuli anni vel menses numerantur (Ex 19^{1}, Nu 10^{11} 20^{1}, Dt 1^{3}).' But these data would invalidate the approximate value of the number 'forty' only if the portions of time enumerated made up exactly a duration of forty years; cf. the *τεσσεράκοντα ἔτεα* of the reign of Battos of Cyrene, which, according to Herod. iv. 157–159, were made up of 2 + 6 + 32 years, and which are wrongly regarded by Hirzel (*l.c.* p. 50) as a fictitious number. Would the Hebrews and other peoples have used the number 'forty' so frequently if it had not been a round sum? Julius Oppert, again (*Salomon et ses successeurs*, 1877, p. 11), has adduced many historical parallels in defence of the exactness of the '480 years' of 1 K 6^{1}. He considers that the Roman Republic lasted from 510–30 B.C., and the Parthian Empire from 256 B.C.–225 A.D. Now, let us grant that both these calculations are absolutely certain, although one may cast doubt both on the year B.C. 30 as the last year of the Republic of Rome and on the date assigned for the beginning of the Parthian Empire; nevertheless, doubts are awakened when the statement is read in the Hebrew Scriptures that two events were separated by an exact space of 480 years, for, in view of the series of passages we have cited, it must be evident that 'forty' in Hebrew usage bore an approximate sense, and, besides, twelve generations are counted in 1 Ch 5$^{29-34}$ [Eng. 6$^{3-6}$] from Moses to Solomon.

(*θ*) The number '**five**' also has at times the character of a familiar (Gn 43^{34}, Jg 18^{2}, 1 S 17^{40} 21^{3}) and approximate number: Lv 22^{14} 26^{8}, 1 S 17^{5}, 2 K 7^{13}, Is 19^{18} (against Hitzig, *ad loc.*) 30^{17}, Mt 14$^{17.\,21}$ (‖ Mk 6$^{38.\,44}$, Lk 9^{13}, Jn 6^{9}), 1 Co 14^{19}, 2 Es 14^{24}. Could the number of the fingers fail to give rise to such a usage? (So, too, Hirzel, *l.c.* p. 2, derives this employment of 'five' from 'the constant beholding of the fingers'). Cf. 'five' in the Tel el-Amarna letters (*l.c.*), 9^{16} 10^{12} 16$^{39\text{f.}}$ 26^{9} 85^{17}. It may be noted that analogies to the 'six' fingers of 2 S 21^{20} (‖ 1 Ch 20^{6}) and the 'sedigiti' of Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xi. 43) have been collected, especially by Zöckler in Lange's *Bibelwerk* (on 1 Ch 20^{6}).

(*ι*) To the same source must be traced the frequent use and the round sense of '**ten**,' which one may note in Gn 31^{7}, Lv 26^{26}, Nu 14^{22} (? Jg 6^{27}), 1 S 1^{8} (17^{17}, 2 S 18^{11}, 1 K 14^{3}, 2 K 5^{5}), Is 6^{13}, Am 5^{3}, Zec 8^{23}, Job 19^{3}, Ec 7^{19} (Neh 5^{18}), Mt 25^{1}, Lk 15^{6}, Rev 2^{10}, To 4^{20}, Enoch 93; and the 'ten temptations of Abraham' (Book of Jubilees, ch. xix.) set in their proper light the 'ten' temptations of Nu 14^{22} (J. H. Kurtz, *Gesch. d. Alten Bundes*, ii. 398, has rightly said, 'the attempts to reckon exactly ten historical temptations cannot be carried through *without violence*'). Cf. the 'ten persecutions' in Augustine, *de Civitate Dei*, xviii. 52. It is interesting to note that even in the book *Jeṣîrah* the 'ten' spheres are deduced from the number of the fingers (ch. i. § 3, ed. Rittangel, p. 195: עשר ספירות מספר עשר אצבעות); cf. for 'ten times' the Tel el-Amarna letters, 17$^{33.\,63}$ 20^{22} 21 (obverse)$^{11.}$ (reverse)^{34} 22$^{32.\,46.\,56}$ 23$^{12.\,16}$ etc.

(*κ*) It was no less natural to employ '**fifty**' (5 × 10) as a round number. Examples of its use in this way are found in Gn 6^{15} 7^{24} 8^{3} 18^{24}, Ex 18^{21} etc. 26^{5} etc., Lv 23^{16} 25^{10} etc. 27^{3}, Nu 4$^{3\text{ff.}}$ 16^{2}, Dt 22^{29}, Jos 7^{21}, 1 S 6^{19}, 2 S 24^{24}, 1 K 18^{4}, 2 K 1^{9}, Is 3^{3} etc., Ezr 8^{6} etc.; *πεντήκοντα* in Jth 1^{2}; חמשן in Mêsha' inscrip. l. 28.

(*λ*) Such approximate quantities were naturally also the numbers '**hundred**' (*e.g.* in Lv 26^{6}, 1 S 24^{3}, Pr 17^{10}, Ec 6^{3} 8^{12}, 1 Ch 21^{3}, Mt 19^{29} (TR), Mk 10^{30}, Lk 8^{6}; *ἑκατόν* To 14^{11} (cf. v.^{2}), Jth 10^{17}; מאת Mêsha' inscr. l. 29) and '**thousand**' (Ex 20^{6} 34^{7}, Dt 1^{11} 7^{9} 32^{30}, 1 S 18^{7} 21^{11} 29^{5}, 2 S 18^{12}, Is 30^{17} 60^{22}, Jer 32^{16}, Am 5^{3}, Mic 6^{7}, Ps 50^{10} 84^{10} 90^{4} 91^{7} 105^{8} 119^{72}, Job 9^{3} 33^{23}, Ec 6^{6} 7^{26}, 1 Ch 12^{14} 16^{15}), and אֶלֶף has also, according to its etymology, the general sense of 'union, association.' The remark of Hirzel (*l.c.* p. 2) may, further, be noted: 'the numbers "ten," "hundred," "thousand," each commence a series which in a certain sense is dominated by them.'

(*b*) At least the number 'thousand' has a rhetorical use of a second kind. Numbers of this kind are not infrequently due to the tendency to *hyperbole*, traces of which may be observed in the comparison of Abraham's seed to 'the dust of the earth,' etc. (Gn 13^{16} etc.), as is admitted even by Flacius (*Clavis script. sacræ*, ii. 152, 383 ff.). To the same department of rhetoric belong many larger numbers, *e.g.* 'seven thousand' (1 K 19^{16} etc.), 'ten thousand' (Lv 26^{6}, Dt 32^{30}, 1 S 18^{7} 21^{11} 29^{5}, Ezk 16^{7}, Hos 8^{12}, Mic 6^{7}, Ps 3^{6} 68^{17} 91^{7}, Ca 5^{10}, *μυριότης* Wis 12^{22}), 'seventy thousand' (2 S 24^{15}), 'thousand thousand' (Dn 7^{10}, 1 Ch 21^{5} 22^{14}, 2 Ch 14^{9}), 'thousand myriads' (Gn 24^{60}), 'myriads of thousands' (Nu 10^{36}), 'a myriad of myriads' (Dn 7^{10}), and 'myriads of myriads' (Enoch xxxix.). Cf. *πῶς οὐ δεκάκις, μᾶλλον δὲ μυριάκις δίκαιός ἐστ' ἀπολωλέναι* (quoted from Demosthenes by R. Volkmann, *Rhetorik der Griechen u. Römer*, 1874, p. 374). Other analogies are presented by the Latin phrases '*sexcenti, sexcenties*,' etc., collected especially by Hunziker, *Die Figur der Hyperbel in den Gedichten Vergils* (1896), p. 37 ff. A measure of truth lies also in the remark of Hirzel (*l.c.* p. 3), that the general numbers give requisite scope to the human imagination.

3. NUMBERS AND THEOLOGY. — A special relation of biblical numbers to theology has yet to be considered, in connexion with the question whether many numbers do not possess either a certain *sacredness* or a *symbolical* meaning.

(*a*) The reverence for, or *sacredness* attached to, certain numbers. — The latter quality has its natural sources and degrees. For instance, the connexion of a number with an important element either in the national fortunes or in the religious conceptions, might procure for that number a lower or a higher respect. Traces of this so-called sacredness of numbers are not wholly wanting in the Bible. Let us follow these traces, in order that we may use the possible sources and degrees of this phenomenon as normative.

(*α*) An extremely important feature in the *national* recollections of Israel was the number of the tribes, which *may* have originated substantially as is indicated in the Book of Genesis, in spite of the opinion to the contrary held by many recent commentators (cf. art. by the present writer on 'Israel's Historical Recollections' in *Expos. Times*, 1898, p. 349). Hence we might explain a certain loftiness of character attaching to '**twelve**' as well as the frequent use of this number. The instances we have in view are not those where 'twelve' manifestly stands in direct or indirect relation to the tribes of Israel, as in Ex 24^{4} 28^{21} ('twelve stones in the breastplate of the high priest'), Lv 24^{5}.

Nu $7^{3ff.}$, Jos $4^{2f.}$, 1 K 18^{31}, Ezk 48^{31}, Ezr 6^{17b} 8^{35}, Mt 19^{28}, cf. the 24 classes of the priests (1 Ch 24^{4}) and Levites (25^{31}) and the 24 elders (Rev 4^{4}); the 48 Levitical cities (Nu 35^{7}); the 72 men (Nu $11^{24.26}$); the 144,000 sealed ones (Rev 7^{4}); the twelve baskets (Mt 14^{20}); the twelve legions of angels (26^{53}); the twelve gates of the heavenly Jerusalem (Rev $21^{12ff.}$). Rather have we in view especially the twelve generations that are enumerated from Aaron to Ahimaaz in 1 Ch 5^{29-34} and 6^{35-38} [Eng. 6^{8-8} and $^{50-53}$]. Another important element in the national consciousness of the Israelites was the recollection of the [about] **forty** years of the wilderness wanderings, as is proved by the frequent allusions to these (see the passages cited above in 2, *α*, *η*); and this recollection was of a very serious and mournful character. Hence it is intelligible that the round number 40 should be chosen just in those passages where the duration of a *serious* situation was to be indicated, as, for example, in the 40 days of punishment, of fasting, and of repentance, Gn $7^{4.12.17}$ 8^{6}, Ex 24^{18} 34^{28}, Dt $9^{9.11.18}$ 10^{10}, 1 S 17^{16}, 1 K 19^{8}, Jon 3^{4}, Mt 4^{2}.

(*β*) A fundamental element in the *religious* experience of Israel was the receiving of the **'ten'** commandments (Ex 20^{2-17} ‖ Dt 5^{6-18}), which three times are expressly called 'the *ten* words' (Ex 34^{28}, Dt 4^{13} 10^{4}); cf. also the ten candlesticks in the sanctuary (1 K 7^{49}). It would be no wonder, then, if the sanctity of those fundamental commandments passed over to their *number*, a process which may have been favoured by the circumstance of the ten times repeated 'and God said,' by which the world was made (Gn 1^{3-29}), unless, indeed, the ten repetitions of this formula were themselves due to the significance of the number 'ten.' The present writer feels disposed to adopt this last suggestion, because the combination of those ten וַיֹּאמֶר with the seven 'and God saw that (it was) good' (Gn $1^{4.10.12.18.21.25.31}$), and with the three 'and God blessed' ($1^{22.28}$ 2^{3}), appears too striking to allow the concurrence of those three numbers, 'ten,' 'seven,' and 'three,' to be set down as fortuitous. The same conclusion is specially favoured by the fact that the formula of approval, *καὶ ἴδεν ὁ θεὸς ὅτι καλόν*, is repeated in the LXX *eight* times, the additional instance being 1^{8b}. It is more likely that the number was reduced to seven from an original eight than, conversely, that seven occurrences of the formula were expanded to eight.

(*γ*) If we are right in the above supposition, the position is all the more established that **'seven'** had, in the estimation of the Hebrews, a certain measure of sanctity attached to it. This position is, however, very probable upon other grounds as well. For instance, next to the ark with the ten commandments, which of the fittings of the sanctuary was counted more sacred than the *seven*-branched candlestick (Ex 25^{32}, 1 K 7^{49}, Zec 4^{11})? Was it not this which symbolized the illumination bestowed by the Spirit of God (cf. Is 11^{2})? And how the reverence for the number 'seven' must have been augmented by the circumstance that this number, derived from the revolution of the moon, etc. (see above, 2, *a*, *δ*), was connected with the Sabbath and many of the festal seasons! Finally, what a powerful contribution to the sacredness of 'seven' was supplied by the act of swearing, which, through the ceremonies practised (Gn $21^{28ff.}$) and the name (*nishba'*) applied to it, connected itself with the number 'seven' (*sheba'*), a number which could be read off from the stars! Even if this connexion of 'seven' with holy utensils, seasons, and transactions was itself a secondary one, yet, once it was established, it must have tended greatly to promote the frequent use of the number 'seven,' and it is perhaps to the sacredness of 'seven' that we must attribute its selection in the following instances: the fitting up of the place of worship (1 K 7^{17}, Ezk $40^{22.26}$ 41^{3}, cf. Pr 9^{1}); the detailing of acts of ritual ('the priest shall sprinkle of the blood *seven* times,' etc., Lv $4^{6.17}$ 8^{11} $14^{7ff.}$ 16^{14}, Nu 19^{4}, 2 K 5^{10}), or the specification of the objects required in the cultus ('seven' lambs, etc. Nu $28^{11ff.}$, Ezk 45^{23}, 2 Ch 29^{21}); cf. the seven sons of Saul who were 'hanged before the LORD' (2 S 21^{9}); and the seven locks of the Nazirite Samson (Jg $16^{13.19}$) appear to the present writer to have a necessary connexion with the act of swearing.

Besides, this connexion of 'seven' with religious conceptions was common to the Israelites and those peoples in whose neighbourhood they lived at different times. Note, in the *Bab.-Assyrian* poem 'Die Höllenfahrt der Ištar' (ed. A. Jeremias, 1887), the *seven* gates through which Ishtar descended to the 'land without return' (Obverse l. 63, Reverse ll. 14, 45). Further, note the *seven* altars which Balaam, who was sent for from *Mesopotamia* (*Pitru* on the Euphrates), caused to be erected in Moab (Nu $23^{1.4.14.29}$); the *seven* sacrificial victims directed to be offered by the three friends of Job 'in the land of Uz' (Job 42^{8}); and the circumstance that 'with the *Egyptians* also "seven" was a holy number' (Ebers, *Ægypten und die Bücher Mose's*, p. 339). The combination of this number with the cultus was, therefore, probably an inheritance which the Hebrews brought with them when they migrated from their home in the East. Now, we observe that this combining of 'seven' with religious conceptions shows itself in an augmented measure in the post-exilic period. For instance, 'ox and fatling' of 2 S 6^{13} is replaced in the parallel passage, 1 Ch 15^{26}, by 'seven bullocks and seven rams,' and 'the seven holy angels' are mentioned in To 12^{15}. This may, of course, be the product of a process of development *within* Judaism itself. It is the Esoteric-Priestly source (P) of the Pentateuch that has first to tell us that 70 descendants of Jacob went down to Egypt (Gn 46^{27}; cf. on the 70 or 72 names in Gn 10 König's *Einleitung*, p. 231), and the Chronicler means to enumerate 70 descendants of Noah (1 Ch 1^{5-23}) and of Abraham (vv.$^{29-42}$); cf. the 70 disciples (Lk $10^{1f.}$), the *seven* spirits of God (Rev 1^{4} etc.), the 'seven prophetesses' (*Seder 'olam rabba*, ch. 21). But *if* a *foreign* source is to be sought for the growing disposition to connect 'seven' with religious notions, the influence of Babylonia suggests itself most readily, for we read 'the names of the angels came in their hand from Babylon' (Jerus. *Rosh hashshanah*, i. 4: שמות המלאכים עלו בידן מבבל). Hence, if the notion of 'seven' angels is to be attributed to foreign influence at all, the present writer prefers to trace this influence to Babylonia rather than to Persia, whose claims Riehm (*HWB*^{1} p. 1779*b*) sought to establish. Riehm's view is all the less certain because elsewhere only 'four' supreme angels are mentioned (Enoch ix. 39, Apoc. Bar 6^{4}), and in considering the Persian origin of the 'seven eyes' of Zec 3^{9} 4^{10} one must not leave out of account the language of Is 45^{7} ('I form the light and create darkness,' etc.) and of Zec 8^{23}.

(*δ*) Finally, the *thrice* repeated 'and God blessed' (Gn $1^{22.28}$ 2^{3}) raises the question how far the number **'three'** comes into connexion with the *religious* contents of the Bible. The answer can only be that there are very few traces of 'three' in the cultus and the religious conceptions of the Israelites. All that the OT offers on this point is the following: The sanctuary of Jahweh is composed of *three* main divisions, the Court, the Holy Place, and the Holy of Holies (Ex 26^{33} 27^{9}, 1 K $6^{16f.}$ etc.). In the blessing formula of Nu 6^{22-24} the name Jahweh is *thrice* repeated, and three pairs of actions are predicated of Him. The threefold mention of the Divine name occurs also in Jos 22^{22}, Jer 7^{4}, and Nah 1^{2}. Further, *Jahweh Ẓebaoth* is thrice called holy in Is 6^3. This threefold use of a word is a species of Epizeuxis which is found in other instances as well (Gn $9^{25b.\ 26b.\ 27b.}$, Jer 22^{29}, Ezk 21^{32}), and is a circumlocution for the superlative. (So also in Egyptian, according to Brugsch, *Steininschrift*, etc. p. 310, the use of 'good, good, good' serves as a substitute for the superlative, 'the best'). This relative rarity of a connexion between 'three' and religious notions, which prevails in the OT, should not be made good from other sources. The thunder call, 'Hear, O Israel, Jahweh is our God, Jahweh (the ?) one' (Dt 6^4, cf. Is 41^4 44^6 48^{12}), drowns the voice of those who refer us to the triads of gods that were adored by the Babylonians, Assyrians (Anu, Bel, and Ea, etc. [Tiele, *Bab.-Assyr. Gesch.* pp. 517, 523]), and other nations of antiquity. It was only in the course of the later development of Israel's religion that the Old Test. 'I am that I am' (Ex 3^{14}) was parted into ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος (Rev 1^4 4^8); cf. the evolution of the קָדוֹשׁ קָדוֹשׁ קָדוֹשׁ of Is 6^3 which meets us in the mysterious sentence קדוש שמו בשלושה ספרים בספר וספר וסיפור (*Jeṣîrah*, ch. i. § 1). But the original meaning of the OT text must not be modified to suit either heathen parallels or later stages in its own development.

The question has still to be put why in one series of passages it is 'three' and in another 'seven' or some other of the round (holy) numbers that is chosen. The proper answer appears to be that *seven* was preferred to *three* (*e.g.* 2 K 13^{18b}, Sir $25^{1f.}$, Rev 9^{12} the '*three* woes') when it was desired to indicate a larger quantity. This seems to be the principle at work, *e.g.*, in the first *seven* of the seventy 'weeks' (Dn 9^{24}), or the '*seven* churches of Asia Minor' (Rev 1^4), or the '*seven* golden vials, full of the wrath of God' (15^7).

(*b*) The question of the *symbolical* character of many numbers.—The biblical numbers would be of immense importance for the *material* side of exegesis if it could be established that many of those numbers are used to indicate certain *ideas*.

Now, to cast a glance first of all over *the history of this question*, the Old Testament itself has no positive note as to a secret meaning of the numbers it employs. Such an indication cannot be discovered in the statement that the Tabernacle was constructed after a heavenly pattern (Ex 25^9). Nothing more than an *inquiry* into the meaning of numbers is ascribed to Daniel (9^2; cf. 'the prophets have inquired,' etc., 1 P $1^{10f.}$). Josephus, too, was content to write in the Προοίμιον to his Ἀρχαιολογία (§ 4) that Moses says some things in an enigmatic way (αἰνίττεσθαι). Yet he did not interpret the numbers of Gn 1 in *Ant.* I. i. The same is the case in Midrash *Bereshith rabba*, and a simple counting of the number of occurrences of וַיֹּאמֶר in Gn $1^{3\text{-}29}$ without an explanation of the significance of the number is all that we find in Mishna *Aboth* v. 1. But, among the Hellenistic Jews, Aristobulus had already, according to Eusebius (*Præp. Evang.* xiii. 12, 13 ff.), interpreted the number 'seven,' and Philo followed zealously in his footprints in his work Περὶ τῆς Μωυσέως κοσμοποιίας. Further, the interpretation of numbers was cultivated in the Haggadic portions of the Talmud and other Jewish writings (cf. *e.g.* Schegg, *Bibl. Archäol.* 1888, p. 419), and in *Jeṣîrah* and *Zohar*. Such a reference of biblical numbers to the sphere of *idcas* might have its basis in the primary or in the secondary origin of many numbers. But—

(*α*) The view that certain numbers, *on account of their factors* or coefficients, came to be used to express ideas, is not a plausible one. Yet Philo (*de Plantatione*, § 29) says, ἑβδομὰς ἐκ τριῶν καὶ τεττάρων, while he derived ἐννέα from 'eight' and 'one,' finding the 'eight' ἐν οὐρανῷ and the 'one' ἐν ὕδατι καὶ ἀέρι, τούτων γὰρ μία συγγένεια, τροπὰς καὶ μεταβολὰς παντοίας δεχομένων (*de Congressu*, § 19); cf. ἓν καὶ δύο καὶ τρία καὶ τέτταρα δέκα γεννᾷ (*de Plant.* § 29). Let the reader recall the sentences from Augustine and Bähr quoted above (2, *a*, δ, η). But Philo (*de Profugis*, § 33) did not attempt to derive a symbolical sense of 'twelve' from the possible components of this number, and it is incomprehensible how a reference to the *factors* of twelve could be found in the distribution of the precious stones on the breastplate of the high priest (Ex $28^{21ff.}$ $39^{10ff.}$), or in the arrangement of the twelve tribes of Israel, etc. (Nu $2^{3ff.}$, 1 K 7^{25}, Ezk $48^{31\text{-}34}$, Rev 21^{13}). In any case, an analysis of numbers has nothing to do with their original sense, and such analyses reveal nothing regarding their connexion with the ideas entertained by God and embodied in the universe. Hence it is not clear that certain numbers owe their connexion with the sphere of ideas to the *factors* of which they are composed. But it may be said more readily that the number 80 which occurs in Jg 3^{30} and in Jos. *Ant.* VIII. vii. 8 (Σολομών . . . βασιλεύσας ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτη) was chosen on account of its coefficient '40.' In the same way we may explain the number '35' (5 × 7) which in the traditions about the life of Pythagoras alternates with '40' (Hirzel, *l.c.* p. 47).

(*β*) Still less is it to be supposed that such a simple number as 'three' was *constructed* upon the basis of an idea, for 'three' and 'seven' are both members of the continuous series of numbers which arose by the constant addition of 'one.' But Philo (*de Mundi Opificio*, § 3, 17f., 31, *Leg. Allegor.* i. 4, ii. 1: τέτακται ὁ θεὸς κατὰ τὸ ἓν καὶ τὴν μονάδα) describes the numbers 1–7 in such a way as to give rise to the thought that the relevant ideas were disclosed to man through the numbers, and that the numbers are the archetypes, the first and purest representations of the Divine ideas, nay, the moving principles of the universe, as Aristobulus said, δι' ἑβδομάδων πᾶς ὁ κόσμος κυκλεῖται (Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* XIII. xii. 16). On this path the friends of Haggada and **Ḳabbala** advanced further. 'The Ḳabbala attaches itself to the symbolical seven years of Gn 41^{48}.' Many Ḳabbalists found a connexion between the Heb. word *ṣaphar* 'count' (Gn 41^{49b}) and the term *ṣephira*. 'Seven' of the *Ṣephiroth* were, in their view, analogous to the seven years of plenty, so that *Enṣoph* (אֵין סוֹף), 'the unending,' ceased to produce more *Ṣephiroth*. But there were also ten ספירות, corresponding to the ten words by which God created the world (Gn $1^{3\text{-}29}$), and 'these ten words are ten principles or attributes of God' (Kolb, *Die Offenbarung*, etc., 13, 16 ff.). The right conclusion to draw appears to be, that while it cannot be said with certainty that the number 'ten' in Gn $1^{3\text{-}29}$ is accidental, it may be denied with certainty that this number is meant to express *ideas*.

(*c*) There is yet another trace from which one can clearly see the value attached to numbers during the later stages of Biblical Theology. We refer to the so-called **Gematria** (גימטריא, a Hebraized form of γεωμετρία used in the sense of ἀριθμητική), *i.e.* the art of indicating, by means of numbers, words whose letters by their numerical value (see above, 1, *b*, δ ex.) give the sum named in any passage.

(*α*) This can be best explained by examples; and we may begin with an instance which in all probability occurs in the OT itself, namely Gn 14^{14}, where the number 318 is the equivalent of אליעזר, if the numerical values of the different letters of this name are added together: $1 + 30 + 10 + 70 + 7 + 200 = 318$. It would be a strange coincidence if the number of Abraham's 'trained servants' stood in such a relation to 'Eliezer,' the only name known to us of a trained servant of Abraham. Hence

Rashi (*ad loc.*) said long ago, דבותינו אמרו אליעזר לבדו היה והוא מנין גימטריא של שמו, *i.e.* 'Our fathers said, Eliezer it was, alone, and this (318) is the Gematrical number of his name.' Again, the author of the so-called *Epistle of Barnabas* (ix. 8) saw in the 318 of Gn 14^{14} an allusion to $\tau + \iota\eta$, *i.e.* the crucified Jesus; cf. Clem. Alex., *Strom.* vi. 11, § 84: *φασὶν τοῦτον τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἶναι τοῦ μὲν κυριακοῦ σημείου τύπον.* This way of explaining a word was already recognized in the 29th of the 32 hermeneutical rules of R. Eliezer ben Josc (see König, *Einleitung*, p. 516). Further, on *'Athbash*, etc., cf. especially A. Berliner, *Beiträge zur Heb. Gram. aus Talmud und Midrasch*, pp. 12–14.

(*β*) A slight variation from this method consists in the employment, not of a number but of a *word* in order to indicate *another word* whose letters have the same numerical value. This method is several times attributed to the OT writers by later exegetes. For instance, the numerical value of the letters of יבא שׁילה (Gn 49^{10b}) is 358, and the same numerical value belongs to the letters of משיח 'Messiah' (Buxtorf, *Lex. Heb. s.v.* שׁילה). What follows from this? That the whole passage was devised in order to furnish a test of Gematrical skill? No; but it is possible that the above-named equivalence was the source of the usual spelling of the word 'Shiloh' in the OT (contrast שלה of the Samaritan Pentateuch). Further, the surprising circumstance that Moses married an Ethiopian woman (Nu 12^1) engaged the ingenuity of exegetes till they discovered that the numerical value of כושית ('Ethiopian' f.) is the same as that of יפת מראה 'a fair woman to look upon' (Gn 12^{11} etc.), namely 736, and hence כושית ('Ethiopian') was replaced by Onḳelos by שַׁפִּירְתָּא ('the beautiful'). Then, again, צֶמַח (Zec 3^8), in respect of the numerical value of its letters, is = מְנַחֵם 'comforter' (La 1^{16}, *Sanhedrin* 98*b*). Other examples will be found in Weber, *System der altsynagog. Theol.* p. 118 [*Jüd. Theol. auf. Grund des Talmud*, etc. p. 121 f.], and Döpke, *Hermeneutik der neutest. Schriftsteller*, pp. 135, 179 f.

(*γ*) But the NT also shows a clear trace of this use of the numerical value of letters. We refer to the **number of the Beast** in Rev 13^{18}, where we read *τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ θηρίου —— ἀριθμὸς γὰρ ἀνθρώπου ἐστὶν —— καὶ ὁ ἀριθμὸς αὐτοῦ χξς'*, *i.e.* 666. Long ago Irenæus (*adv. Hær.* v. 30) mentions the explanation of this number as = ΛΑΤΕΙΝΟΣ, a word the numerical value of whose letters is 30 + 1 + 300 + 5 + 10 + 50 + 70 + 200 = 666. But the view is to be preferred that the latter number is a veiled designation of ΝΕRΩΝ ΚΑΙΣΑR, the numerical value of the letters of נרון קסר being = 50 + 200 + 6 + 50 + 100 + 60 + 200 = 666. For fuller details regarding this and other interpretations see art. REVELATION.

(*δ*) It is only an *in*direct analogy to this mysterious use of numbers that is presented to us in *Egyptian* texts. According to Brugsch (*Steininschrift*, etc. p. 314 f.), upon the wall of a temple at Edfu, a notification that the length of the holy place (the middle space in the temple) is 113 yards, is given in the words, 'Why? Because a *child* has *gone* through the *midst* of the sanctuary.' That is to say, the three words we have italicized contain the same letters as are required for writing the number 113. Again, a length of 90 yards in this temple of the sun-god is indicated by the words, 'because he, like a sun, *beaming shines*.'

LITERATURE.—The art. 'Zahlen' in Riehm's *HWB* and in Herzog's *PRE*^{2}; Bredow, *Untersuchungen zur alten Gesch.* i. 108 ff.; Lepsius, *Chronol. der Ægypter*, p. 15; Hirzel, 'Ueber Rundzahlen' in *Bericht. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* 1885 (treats, pp. 6–62 the number 'forty'; p. 63 f. 'four'; p. 64 ff. 'thirty thousand'; but gives as biblical illustrations only 'forty' and 'a hundred and twenty'); Brugsch, *Steininschrift und Bibelwort*^{2} (1891), p. 305 ff.; Franz Kolb, *Die Offenbarung betrachtet vom Standpunkt der Weltanschauung und des Gottesbegriffes der Kabbala* (Leipzig, 1889), p. 12 ff.; S. Rubin, *Heidenthum und Kabbala* (Wien, 1893), p. 62 f.

On 'the number of the Beast' see Bousset (*Die Offenbarung Johannis*, 1896) on Rev 13^{18}, and the Literature cited *ad loc.* and in the *Einleitung* to his Commentary. ED. KÖNIG.

NUMBERING.—See DAVID, in vol. i. p. 568^b.

NUMBERS (so called from the title in the LXX, Ἀριθμοί, cf. Vulg. *Numeri*, given to the book because of the repeated numberings in chapters 1. 3 f. 26; Heb. בְּמִדְבַּר 'in the wilderness,' from the fifth word of 1^1)* is the 'fourth Book of Moses,' and forms one division of the composite work now known as the **Hexateuch** (which see for justification of this statement and for general description of the constituent elements J, E, and P). It falls readily into three main sections: § **1.** The Camp at Sinai, 1–10^{10}; § **2.** The Wanderings, 10^{11}–19; § **3.** The Plains of Moab, 20–36. But the material included in these sections is often very loosely strung on the main thread of narrative, and several chapters are a mosaic made up out of fragments from different sources. The analytical problems are closely analogous to those encountered in Exodus and Leviticus, and will be treated here on the same lines as in those articles. Some remarks will be added on the authorship and date (§ 4), the historical significance (§ 5), and the religious value (§ 6) of the book. (The abbreviations and signs employed are mostly familiar. They will be found explained under EXODUS and LEVITICUS).

§ 1. The Camp at Sinai: 1–10^{10}.

A. Summary.

P^t	P^g	P^s
	1^{1-16} Command to number the adult males—	
	$^{19b. 54}$ Execution of the command (fragments only).	
		1^{17-53} Expanded account of the census—
		2^{1-34} Order of tribes in camp and on the march.
		$+^{4.6.8.9a, 11.13.15.16a, 19.21.23.24a, 26.28.30.31a}$, census notes on the four camps respectively.
		3^{1-4} Aaron's sons and what befell them—
	3^{5-10} The Levites to be set apart as assistants to Aaron.	
3^{11-13} The Levites to be substitutes for the firstborn.		
	$^{14-22. 27f. 33f. 39}$ Census of male Levites of all ages.	
		$^{23-26. 29-32. 35-38}$ Duties and positions of the 3 Levitical clans.
		$^{40-43}$ Census of firstborn males ordered and carried out.
$^{44f.}$ The Levites and their cattle to be for the firstborn and their cattle.		
		$^{46-51}$ Redemption of the surplus of firstborn males.
		$4^{1-3. 21-23. 29f.}$ Census of adult Levites by clans ordered.
		$+^{4-15. 24-28. 31-33}$ Duties repeated in fuller detail.
		$+^{16}$ Particulars as to general duties of Eleazar.
		$+^{17-20}$ Caution as to distinction of priests and Levites.
		$^{34-49}$ Census of adult Levites effected—
5^{1-4r} Lepers to be excluded (from the camp).		
$^{5-8}$ Special case of a guilt-offering.		
$^{9f.}$ Right of the priests to heave-offerings, etc.		
$^{11-31}$ Composite ordinance as to marital jealousy.		
6^{1-21} The law of the Nazirite and of his offerings.		
	6^{22-27} The formula of priestly benediction.	
		7^{1-88} The dedication of the altar, and the gifts.
	7^{89} The Divine Voice from above the mercy-seat.	
		8^{1-4} The candlestick and its seven lamps.
		$^{5-10. 12-15a}$ Moses to consecrate the Levites.
		$+^{11. 15b-22}$ Aaron to consecrate the Levites.
		$+^{23-26}$ Alteration of period of Levitical service.
	9^{1-5} The Passover celebration in the 2nd year.	
		9^{6-14} Supplementary Passover for special cases.
		$^{15-23}$ The cloud and its relations with the camp.
	10^{1-8} The use of trumpets on the march.	
$10^{9f.}$ (P^h) Use of trumpets in war, and for festivals.		

---

* The book is also named by the Jews, from its *opening* word, וַיְדַבֵּר. We find in the Talmud the name חֻמַּשׁ הַפְּקוּדִים = 'book

B. Analysis.

	1						2	3			
Pt										11-13	
Pg	1-16		19b			54			5-10		14-22
Ps		17-19a		20-47	48-53′		1-34	1-4			

	3									4
Pt								44f.		
Pg		27f.		33f.		39				
Ps	23-26		29-32		35-38		40-43		46-51	1-15 16′ 17-20′

	4	5	6		7		8
Pt		1-31	1-21				
Pg				22-27		89	
Ps	21-49				1-88		1-10 11′ 12-15a

	8	9		10	
Pt					Ph 9f.
Pg		1-5		1-8	
Ps	15b-26′		6-23		

C. Critical Notes.

1-4: *The tribes and their encampment.*—These opening chapters relate the numbering of the secular tribes (ch. 1), with their relative positions in the camp (ch. 2), and the numbering of the Levitical clans with their respective duties (ch. 3 f.). All comes from P, but not all from the same stratum. If the account of the ordering of the census in 1^{1-16} be assigned to the great Law and History Book P^g, then the rest of the chapter relating the execution of the order is most naturally attributed to a later stage of the compilation, to which ch. 2 may also belong. Probably P^g had briefer accounts of the census and the camp, which have been independently expanded in 1^{17-53} and 2, just as similar expanded accounts are found in Ex 35-40 and Lv 8 P^s of the fulfilment of commands given in Ex 25-28 and 29 P^g. The remains of P^g's narrative may perhaps be found in $^{19b.\,46.}$ ($\|^{45}$) ^{54}. The main grounds for this analysis are as follow: (1) The extreme elaboration of style, the same formula being 12 times repeated, with slight variations only in ^{20} and ^{22}, contrasted with the account of the Levitical census in ch. 3, which may be taken as a type of P^g. (2) In $1^{17.\,44}$ Aaron is associated with Moses, cf. 4^1. But in ^{19b} (cf. $3^{15f.\,40-42}$) it is Moses who conducts the census. In 3^{39} *Aaron* is a gloss, for *numbered* is sing.; and 1^{3b} is probably the same. (3) The order of tribes is varied, as one writer would hardly have varied it. Six different arrangements are given below for comparison. A adopts the strict genealogical order. B takes Rachel's son after Leah's children and puts Zilpah's last. C omits Levi, gives Joseph's sons in the order Ephraim, Manasseh, to make up 12, and places B's last three in reverse order, Asher, Gad, Naphtali. D puts Gad into Levi's place after Simeon, E moves the group Judah, Issachar, Zebulun to the head of the list, while F sets Manasseh above Ephraim in correspondence with their altered proportion of numbers.

A. Gn 46^8 P^s		B. Ex 1^{2-4} P^g		C. Nu 1^{5-15} P^g		E. Nu 2 & 7 & 10^{13-28} P^s
Reuben Simeon Levi Judah Issachar Zebulun	L	Reuben Simeon Levi Judah Issachar Zebulun	L	Reuben Simeon Judah Issachar Zebulun		Judah Issachar Zebulun
Gad Asher	Z	† Benjamin	R	Ephraim Manasseh	J	Reuben Simeon Gad
				Benjamin		
Joseph * Benjamin	R	Dan Naphtali	B	Dan		Ephraim Manasseh Benjamin
Dan Naphtali	B	Gad Asher	Z	Asher Gad		Dan Asher
				Naphtali		Naphtali

L=Leah's sons, R=Racbel's, Z=Zilpah's, B=Bilhah's, J=Joseph's. * Manasseh, Ephraim. † Joseph's place vacant, since the list is of those who came down to join him in Egypt.

D. Nu 1^{20-43} P^s		F. Nu 26^{1-51} P^s		
Reuben .	46,500	Reuben .	43,730	— 2,770
Simeon .	59,300	Simeon .	22,200	—37,100
Gad . .	45,650	Gad . .	40,500	— 5,150
Judah .	74,600	Judah .	76,500	+ 1,900
Issachar .	54,400	Issachar .	64,300	+ 9,900
Zebulun .	57,400	Zebulun .	60,500	+ 3,100
Ephraim .	40,500	Manasseh .	52,700	+20,500
Manasseh .	32,200	Ephraim .	32,500	+ 8,000
Benjamin .	35,400	Benjamin .	45,600	+10,200
Dan . .	62,700	Dan . .	64,400	+ 1,700
Asher .	41,500	Asher. .	53,400	+11,900
Naphtali .	53,400	Naphtali .	45,400	— 8,000
	603,550		601,730	— 1,820

1^{48-53} looks like a late insertion. The phrase 'Dwelling of the testimony' $^{50.\,53ab}$ is first found in Ex 38^{21} P^s. $^{52f.}$ seems to presuppose the description of the encampment in ch. 2. The prohibition (^{49}) to number Levi should precede and not follow the general account of the numbering. Perhaps this verse has been misplaced.

In ch. 2 we have a further variation of order in the names of the tribes, and the amount of unnecessary repetition is enormous. All the new information, *i.e.* about the position of the tribes in the camp and on the march, could have been put in a single sentence. One or two points of language confirm the assignment to P^s. But the curious series of parenthetical notes of the census results (see conspectus above) may well have been added later still.

Chapter 3 is made up of differing elements. $^{1-4}$ can only be P^s, because it follows the late representation of the anointing of other priests than the high priest. Observe also the order *Aaron and Moses,* and the use of the formula *These are the generations,* though the sons of Moses are not named, and the particulars have all appeared before (cf. Ex 6^{23}, Lv 10^1). $^{5-10}$ on the choice of the Levites for ministry, and the parts of $^{14-39}$ on the Levitical census, contain nothing unsuitable to P^g; and the three inserted paragraphs on the position and duties of the Levites (cf. $^{14ff.}$ and ^{89}) might be also P^g, but that the reference to 'altars' in ^{31}, whereas P^g knows only one altar, and the mention of 'cords' $^{26.\,37}$, alluded to elsewhere only in P^s Ex 35^{18} 39^{40}, indicate a later origin. $^{11-13}$ and $^{44f.}$ recall P^h in their use of 'I am J",' and may rest on an older basis, but do not fit on to P^g here. $^{40-43}$ (observe that the introductory formula is not P^g's, cf. $^{5.\,14}$) and $^{46-51}$ (containing several rare phrases) rest on the idea of the Levites as substitutes for the firstborn, and develop it in the style of P^s.

Chapter 4 combines an account of a fresh census of adult Levites, with a statement as to their duties. By its elaboration, its phraseology, and its reference to *the golden altar* ^{11} (cf. Ex 30 P^s), this chapter is marked as secondary.

5-6: *Various ceremonial laws.*—The first paragraph ($^{1-4}$) on the exclusion of the leper and the unclean person seems to presuppose Lv 13-15, unless indeed it refers to yet earlier codifications. The phrase *in the midst of which I dwell* recalls Lv 15^{31} 26^{11}, and suggests that, if this be not a passage from an earlier source, at least the editor caught the spirit of his older models when he added this supplement to relate their provisions to the camp of Nu 1-3.—$^{5-8}$ supplements Lv 5^{14}–6^7 on the guilt-offering by arranging that, where the injured person is absent or dead and has no kinsman, the compensation shall go to the priest.—$^{9f.}$ mentions other items of priestly revenue.

5^{11-31}, on marital jealousy, is marked as P^t because of its archaic flavour and certain reminiscences of P^h (as in $^{12.\,31}$), with the absence of P^g's terms (except *tabernacle* ^{17}). But after the criticism of Stade (*ZATW*, 1895 ^{1}) it is difficult to accept it as

---

(lit. 'fifth') of the numberings' (*Sota* 36b, *Joma* vii. 1; cf. Ἀμμεσφεκωδείμ of Origen *ap.* Euseb. *HE* vi. 25).

a unity. The view here adopted is that two laws, A providing for a solemn curse on a defiled wife, and B furnishing a test for a wife suspected of defilement, have been woven together. In $^{27f.}$ a real alternative of guilt or innocence is contemplated. With this $^{29f.}$, now a colophon, but, by analogy with other cases, probably originally a title, agrees, and the discriminating use of the water in $^{19f.\ 22}$ corresponds. On the other hand, in the introduction ($^{12f.}$), to which answers a conclusion in ^{31} (observe absence of connexion with ^{30}), the guilt is assumed, and the water is only the means of inflicting the curse. Similarly, A's *jealousy-offering* is B's *memorial-offering.* The analysis which follows rests on the above main grounds, and is effected by aid of the parallels and contrasts tabulated below.

A 11-13a 13c * 15*r* 18*r* 21*r* 23 24*r* 27b 25b-26a *altar* 31
B 29 13b 30a 14b 30b 16f. 19f. 22 25a to *J″* 26b 27a*r* 28

A. *Parallels and Contrasts.* B.

A.	B.
If any man's wife ^{12}	*when a wife* ^{29}
go aside ^{12}	*being under her husband, goeth aside* $^{29.\ 19f.}$
lie with her carnally ^{13}	*lien with thee* $^{19f.}$ ($^{13.\ 19.\ 20}$ diff. in Heb.)
it be hid . . . no witness ^{13ac}	*it be kept close* (diff. gender) ^{13b}
the man shall bring his wife unto the priest ^{15}	*he shall set the woman before J″, and the priest . . .* ^{30}
meal-offering of memorial $^{15.\ 18.\ 26}$; cf. *bringing iniquity to remembrance* ^{15}	*meal-offering of jealousy* $^{25.\ 15r.\ 18r}$; cf. *law of jealousy* ^{29}, *spirit of jealousy* $^{30.\ 14a'}$
the priest shall set the woman before J″ ^{18}	*the priest shall bring her near, and set her before J″* ^{16}
the offering put *on* the woman's *palms* (Heb.) ^{18}	the offering is taken from the woman's *hand* ^{25}
the water of bitterness $^{18.\ 23f.\ 19r}$ taken ^{18} ceremonially used and administered $^{23f.}$	*the water that causeth the curse* $^{19.\ 22.\ 18r.\ 24r}$ prepared ^{17} and administered ^{27}
the priest shall say unto the woman, J″ make thee a curse ^{21b}; cf. ^{27b}, no alternative being given (cf. $^{12.\ 31}$ where her guilt is assumed).	*the priest shall cause her to swear, and say unto the woman* ^{19}; cf. ^{21r}, an alternative being proposed, cf. $^{27f.}$ and $^{29f.}$.
and he shall make the woman drink the water of bitterness ^{24}	*and afterward shall make the woman drink the water* ^{26b}; cf. ^{27a} (om. LXX).
thigh falling away and belly swelling ^{21}	*belly* to *swell and thigh* to *fall away* $^{22.\ 27}$
the offering *brought to the altar* ^{25b} and the memorial burnt ^{26a}.	the offering waved *before J″* ^{25a}.

6$^{1-21}$: *The Law of the Nazirite.*—As a whole this ordinance conforms to the type of Lv 1–7, such allusions as to *the door of the tent of meeting* readily dropping out here as there. $^{2b-8}$ may be even earlier than P^t, as *separation unto his God* ^{7} and other phrases recall P^h, cf. especially Lv 21$^{2.\ 7.\ 11}$.—$^{22-27}$ The formula of benediction is no doubt much older than the setting in which P^g presents it.

7$^{1-88}$: *The dedication of the altar.*—It is agreed that this is a late section. The date given by comparing ^{1} with Ex 40$^{2.\ 17}$ makes the transaction prior to Nu 1, yet the order and position of tribes in 1–4 is presupposed, and the language is more overladen with repetitions than anywhere else, the same formula being 12 times repeated, with only the necessary change of 6 out of 118 English words in the translation.—^{89} Apparently an isolated fragment of P^g.—8$^{1-4}$, like Lv 24$^{1-4}$ and Ex 27$^{20f.}$, relates to the candlestick, and seems to regulate the position and lighting of the lamps. It is probably the latest of the three passages.—$^{5-22}$, providing for a consecration rite in the case of the Levites, can hardly be other than secondary, as this service if original would surely have been ordered in ch. 3, when the selection of the tribe was commanded, just as the consecration in Lv 8 was commanded in Ex 29. Much of the earlier matter is repeated here, and traces may be discerned of a double representation, according as Moses or Aaron is the chief actor, the former being the earlier view.—$^{23-26}$ Alters 4^3 by making the Levites begin work at the age of 25 instead of 30.—9$^{1-5}$, on the passover of the second year, is followed by an ordinance in $^{9-14}$ introduced by a narrative of an illustrative case $^{6-8}$, a type elsewhere found in P^s, to which $^{1-14}$ may perhaps all belong.—$^{15-23}$ is identified as P^s by its relation to Ex 40.—10$^{1-8}$ may well be P^g, and this ascription suits the view that P^g had a briefer account of the camp, now replaced by 2.—$^{9f.}$, with its scene in *your land* (ten parallels in P^h) instead of on the march, is held to be an inserted fragment of P^h, cf. Lv 17^5 23^{40} etc.

§ 2. The Wanderings: 10^{11}–19.

A. Summary.

10$^{11-28}$ ^{Pg}The march from Sinai begun, ^{Ps}in due order of camps, $^{29-36}$ ^{J}with Hobab as guide and the ark in front; ^{J}formula used at start and halt. 11$^{1-3}$ ^{E}Murmurers burnt up at Taberah; $^{4-35}$ ^{J}manna and quails followed by a plague at Kibroth-Hattaavah; ^{E}seventy elders endowed with spirit of prophecy in aid of Moses; jealousy of Joshua over Eldad and Medad. 12 ^{E}Moses' Cushite wife; jealousy of Aaron and Miriam, and leprosy of Miriam. 13 ^{JEP}The mission of the spies; 14 ^{JEP} the people turned back from Canaan in punishment for murmuring and unbelief; ^{J}defeated by Amalekites and Canaanites at Hormah. 15$^{1-31}$ ^{Pt}Ordinances as to drink-, dough-, and sin-offerings; $^{32-36}$ ^{Ps}a Sabbath-breaker stoned; $^{37-41}$ ^{Ph}a blue cord to be worn as a memorial on the hem of the garments. 16 ^{JE}Rebellion ^{J}of On, ^{E}of Dathan and Abiram, who are swallowed up; ^{P}Korah and his company burnt up for sacrilege; ^{Ps}their censers made into a memorial; ^{Pg}a plague sent in punishment of murmuring stopped by the atonement of Aaron. 17 ^{Pg}Aaron's rod that budded. 18 ^{Pg}Duties and revenue of priests and Levites. 19 ^{P}Ordinances affecting those unclean by the dead.

B. Analysis.

	J	E	P^g	P^t	P^s
10	29–33 35f.		11f.		13–28 34
11	4–13 15 18–24a	1–3 14° 16f.° 24b–30°			
11	31–35				
12	16	1–15°			
13	17b to *South* 18b to *weak*	17c–18a to *what it is* 18c	1–17a *Canaan*		
13	19 22 27a to *honey* 28 30f.	20–21a *went up* 23f. 26b^r 27b 29	21b 25–26a *Paran*		
13		33^r	32		
14	1c 3 8 9b 11–24°	1b 4 25	1a 2 5–7 9a *against J″* 10		
14	31 41–45	39b–40	26–30 32–39a		
15				1–31 P^h 37–41	32–36
16	1d	1c 1e–2a 12	1a 2b–7		1b 8–11
16	13–14a *honey* 15 26b *Depart* 27c–31	14b 25 27b to *tents*	18–24 26a 27a to *side*		16f.
16	33a to *pit*	32a *households* 33b to *them* 34	35 41–50		32b 33c 36–40
17			1–13		
18			1–32		
19				14–22	1–13

---

* ^{14} includes only *and she be not defiled.* ^{14a} is given to R, who has inserted many harmonizing touches elsewhere. Obs. its cumbrous Heb., and that *spirit* is masc. here, but fem. in ^{30}.

C. Critical Notes.

$10^{11f.}$ contains the first stage of P^{g}'s itinerary after leaving Sinai. It is followed by an account of the mode of marching, which can only be P^{s} from its relation to 2, ^{34} being probably its close. With $^{29-32}$ the JE thread is resumed from Ex with a fragment of J, whose opening may partly survive in Ex 18 ^{J}, its close being omitted in favour of the view of guidance given in $9^{17ff.}$ Both this paragraph and $^{33.\ 35f.}$ are linguistically connected with J. The poetical refrains in $^{35f.}$ may well have come from the *Book of the Wars of J″*. Contrast the advance of the ark in J with its central place in P. 11^{1-3} is hard to place, and is given to E, because it does not fit the J context, and follows E in speaking of Moses *praying*. Dillmann regards the incident as part of E's manna story, now displaced by J and P; Bacon views it as a sequel to the perilous contest with Amalek Ex 17^{8-16}, which really comes in after the departure from Horeb. In $^{4-35}$ is found a story of the people's discontent with the manna, their demand for flesh, the sending of the quails, and the resulting plague. The language (see below) connects this with J, and the description of the manna as a natural thing, though divinely provided, is agreeable to his general treatment of such incidents. But the story is dislocated by a double set of insertions. (1) There is a series which tells of Moses' burden of responsibility being relieved by the inspiration of seventy prophet-elders. (2) In $^{10b-12.\ 15}$ we find the language of J, but matter incongruous with this context, fitting in well, however, as Bacon suggests, between Ex 33^{3} and ^{12}, a point in JE which must have been quite close to this before P was inserted. Accordingly (1) is ascribed to E, as the emphasis on prophecy and the phraseological features require, but not to its earliest stage. Rather it is a secondary (E^{s}) parallel to the Jethro incident of Ex 18. (2) is regarded as a misplaced portion of J. See EXODUS, *ad loc.* (1) and (2) were probably already united in JE, and transferred hither together. Ch. 12 is given as a whole to E^{s}. Bacon suggests that the Cushite woman is Jethro's daughter, who is nameless in Ex 18 ^{E}.

Minor clues.—J—*mixed multitude* ^{4} cf. Ex 12^{38}; ^{J}*thy servant* ^{J}*found favour* $^{11.\ 15}$; ^{J}*conceived* ^{12}; *sanctify yourselves* ^{18} Ex 19^{22}; *against to-morrow* ^{18} Ex $8^{10.\ 23}$; ^{J}*among you* ^{20} (Heb.); ^{J}*flocks and herds* ^{22}; *went forth a wind from J″* ^{31} cf. Ex 10^{13b} 14^{21b}; ^{J}*yet, ere* ^{33} (Heb.); *the people journeyed . . .* ^{35} 12^{16}; for *say unto me* ^{12} see Ex 33^{1-3}.

E—^{E}*prayed* ^{2}; *bear . . . alone* $^{14.\ 17}$; ^{E}*elders* $^{18.\ 24f.\ 30}$; *the tent of meeting* ^{18} 12^{4} Ex 33^{7}, which was outside the camp ^{26} $12^{4f.}$ Ex 33^{7-11} ct. its central position in P; *the cloud* in connexion with the tent ^{25} 12^{5} Ex 33^{9} ct. Ex 13^{21} 14^{19}; ^{E}*prophet, prophesy* $^{25-29}$ $12^{6f.}$; Joshua as *the minister of Moses* ^{28} Ex 24^{13} 33^{11}; *Miriam* 12^{1} Ex 15^{20}; *the man Moses* 12^{3} Ex 11^{3}; *meek* 12^{3} cf. 11^{29}; *speak against* $12^{1.\ 8}$ $21^{5.\ 7*}$; *vision* 12^{8} Gn 15^{1} 46^{2}, ^{E}*dream* 12^{8}; *heal* 12^{13} Gn 20^{17} Ex 15^{26}.

13–14: *The sending of the spies.*—The numerous duplicates and divergences in this section require explanation, and find it adequately in the hypothesis that J E and P are all represented in combination, while the very phenomena which disprove unity furnish clues to the tracing of the separate threads. The analysis given above is for the most part covered by the evidence collected below.

Parallels and Contrasts.—J—(a) *Caleb* 14^{24} and others *sent* by Moses 13^{27} into the South $^{17b.\ 22}$ (ct. *land of the South* ^{29}) to *see the land* ^{18}; (b) they *come unto Hebron* ^{22} cf. Gn 13^{18}; (c) they report to Moses ^{27}; (d) that *the people are strong* $^{28.\ 31}$ cf. ^{18}, *children of Anak* $^{22.\ 28}$ cf. Jos 15^{14} Jg 1^{10}, ct. *sons of A.* ^{33r}; (e) and that *the land* ^{J}*floweth with milk and honey* ^{27} 14^{8}; (f) *the people* wept 14^{1c} cf. $11^{10.\ 18}$; (g) in fear of *falling by the sword* 14^{3} cf. ^{43*}, their ^{J}*wives and little ones* becoming *a prey* 14^{3} cf. ^{31} Dt 1^{39}; (h) *Caleb stills the people* $^{30f.}$ $14^{8f.}$—*despise* (J″) $14^{11.\ 23}$ 16^{30}; *signs* 14^{11} cf. Ex 4^{30}; ^{J}*the Lord* 14^{17}; $14^{18ff.}$ J^{s} cf. Ex 34^{6-9}.

E—(a) [In Dt $1^{22ff.}$, perh. founded on E, 12 unnamed men are sent at the request of the people] *into the mountains* ^{17c} cf. ^{29} $14^{40.\ 44}$; (b) *they come unto the* valley of Eshcol ^{23} and return *to Kadesh* ^{26b}; (c) *they bring back word to them* (the people) ^{26b}; (d) that 5 peoples occupy all the land ^{29} (ct. geography of $14^{43ff.}$) cf. *few or many* ^{18c}, including *the* (gigantic) *Nephilim* ^{33}; (e) and *showed them the fruit of the land* $^{26b.\ 27b}$ cf. $^{20.\ 23}$; (f) the people *cry* out 14^{1b}; (g) plotting return to Egypt 14^{4}—^{E}*because of* (Heb.) ^{24}; ^{E}*one to another* 14^{4}; *mourned* 14^{39} Gn 37^{34} Ex 33^{4}.

P—(a) Moses, by J″'s command, sends Hoshea (Joshua) and Caleb with ten others to *spy out the land of Canaan* $^{1-16}$ (^{P}*spy out* $^{1.\ 16.\ 17a.\ 21.\ 25.\ 32ab}$ $14^{8.\ 7.\ 34.\ 36.\ 38}$); (b) *they spy out the land from Zin unto Rehob*, *i.e.* from end to end ^{21}, and *return . . . at the end of* 40 *days* (cf. 14^{34}) . . . *unto the wilderness of Paran* ^{26a}; (c) they report (*an evil report* ^{32} 14^{37}) *to Moses and to Aaron, and to all the* ^{P}*congregation* ^{26a} cf. $14^{5.\ 26f.}$; (d) that *all the people* they *saw in it are men of great stature* ^{32b}; (e) and that *the land . . . eateth up the inhabitants thereof* ^{32}; (f) *the* ^{P}*congregation . . .* ^{P}*murmur* (14^{27-29}) *against Moses and against Aaron* $14^{1a.\ 2.\ 5}$; (g) *Joshua* (not named in JE) *and Caleb* expostulate $14^{6f.\ 9a.\ 10}$.—*Would God* (oh that) 14^{2} 20^{3} Gn 17^{18}; ^{P}*stone with stones* (Heb.) and ^{P}*the glory of J″* 14^{10}; ^{P}*bear iniquities* 14^{34}; ^{P}*I the Lord* 14^{35}; ^{P}*plague* 14^{37}.

15: *Sundry laws.*—$^{1-18}$ has received the customary setting from R^{p}, but, at least so far as ^{4}, seems to rest on a basis older than P^{g}. With ^{2b} cf. P^{h} in Lv 19^{22} 23^{10} 25^{2}, and observe *a burnt-offering or a sacrifice* ^{3}, cf. Lv 17^{8} P^{h}. Lv 2 regulates the independent meal-offering; this prescribes it as an adjunct to animal offerings.—$^{5-12}$, in which the person changes from 3rd to 2nd, supplements the preceding by prescribing and regulating the drink-offering; it may be P^{s}, as may $^{13-18}$, which provides for the case of *strangers*, as in Lv 17, where also this element may not be primary.—$^{17-21}$, whose opening words in Heb. differ from ^{2b}, may also rest on an early basis. For the usage cf. Ezk 44^{30}.—$^{22-31}$ in its present form must rank as P^{t}, and its place in the chronological series would seem to be between Lv 5^{1-13} and Lv 4; but in places it recalls P^{h}, *e.g.* in $^{29-31}$, cf. Lv 20 (the penalties) and 24^{22}.—$^{32-36}$ is like the secondary element in Lv $24^{12ff.}$, which see. The closing formula, *as J″ commanded Moses*, is common only in P^{s}.

16: *Korah, Dathan, and Abiram.*—Here we find not only a double JE thread, whose strands are separable on grounds mainly phraseological, but a twofold priestly representation. In JE we have to do with a civil disturbance, ^{J}On and perhaps Korah, or ^{E}Dathan and Abiram, being the ringleaders, but in P with an assertion of ecclesiastical rights. By giving in the same order the connected points in the four variations of the narrative as much will be done as space allows to justify the analysis, and at the same time the characteristics of each will emerge.

Parallels and Contrasts.—J—(a) The leaders, Bacon suggests, were Korah the son of Kenaz, a kinsman of Caleb, cf. 1 Ch 2^{43}, and *On the son of Peleth* ^{1d}; (b) they charge Moses with tyranny and failure as leader $^{13f.}$; (c) Moses protests indignantly ^{15}; (d) isolates the offenders ^{26b}; (e) and prophesies an earthquake $^{27c-30}$ which forthwith takes place ^{31}, and *the* GROUND *cleaves asunder, and they and all that appertain to them go down alive into Sheol* $^{30f.\ 33a}$.—^{J}*flowing . . . honey* $^{13f.}$; *to kill us* ^{13} cf. Ex 14^{11} 17^{3}; ^{J}*tents* ^{26b}; *consumed* ^{26b} Gn $18^{23f.}$ $19^{15.\ 17}$; ^{J}*little ones* ^{27c}; vindication of Moses' commission ^{28} cf. Ex 3^{10} $4^{13.\ 18}$ 5^{22}—*despised* ^{30} 11^{20} $14^{11.\ 23}$.

E—(a) The leaders are Dathan and Abiram, sons of Eliab, sons of Reuben 16^{1ce}; (b) they *rise up before Moses* ^{2a}, refuse to come when summoned $^{12.\ 14b}$, complaining of harshness and failure to enrich them ^{14b}; (c) *Moses and the* ^{E}*elders of Israel* (his judicial colleagues Ex 18) visit the offenders; (d) who *stand at the door of their tents* ^{27b}, *all Israel* being *round about them* ^{34}; (e) *the* EARTH *opens her mouth and swallows up them and their* HOUSEHOLDS (ct. ^{27c} ^{33a}) *and closes upon them* $^{32a.\ 33b}$; (f) *all Israel flee at the cry of them* ^{34}—*fields and vineyards* ^{14b} 20^{17} 21^{22} Ex 22^{5}.

P^{g}—(a) The leader is *Korah* ^{1a}, perhaps borrowed from J, and his associates, who are not Levites, are *the* 250 *princes of the* ^{P}*congregation* (cf. 27^{3}, where it is implied that a Manassite might have been among them $^{2b.\ 6f.\ 18.\ 35}$); (b) they complain of the sacerdotal pretensions of Moses and Aaron, as against the whole congregation ^{3}, ye take too much upon you, ye sons of Levi ^{7b} (transposed now from end of ^{3}); (c) *Moses* ^{P}*falls on his face*, and then announces an ordeal for the morrow by offering incense $^{4-7}$; (d) all the congregation are assembled by Korah *at the door of the tent of meeting*, Moses and Aaron are bidden to escape the coming general ruin, their intercession procures permission to the congregation to depart from the tabernacle, *i.e.* of J″, the words 'of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram' being a gloss, מִשְׁכָּן not being used of a human *dwelling* $^{18.\ 24.\ 26a.\ 27}$; (e) fire then comes forth from J″ (*i.e.* presumably from the tabernacle) and consumes the 250 ^{36}; (f) on the outbreak of murmuring at this a plague immediately visits the congregation, until Aaron by atonement averts its spread $^{41\text{-}50}$.—The language of the priestly writer is unmistakable.

P^{s}—(a) The leader is *Korah, the son . . . of* LEVI ^{1a}, who is supported by *his company* (Heb. *congregation*, used by P^{g} only of the entire assembly, the true reading in $^{5f.}$ probably being *the congregation* for *his company*) $^{11.\,16.\,40}$, *i.e. all* his *brethren the sons of Levi with* him ^{10}; (b) they are *gathered together against J″*, and *murmur against Aaron* ^{11}, for they *seek the priesthood* ^{10}; (c) the test is to be the burning of incense ^{17}; (d) *all that appertained unto Korah* ^{32b} *perished from among the assembly* ^{32c} (observe that P^{g}'s *fire* has still to come ^{35}, so that this is distinct); (e) the censers of *these sinners* are *beaten out for a covering of the altar*, and as a memorial of the rights of the priesthood $^{36\text{-}40}$.

17–18: These chapters are by general agreement assigned to P^{g}. But Carpenter (*Oxf. Hex. ad loc.*) gives reasons for considering this one of the earliest portions of that work, with which it is not quite uniform either in form (*e.g.* the address to Aaron instead of Moses 18$^{1.\,8.\,20}$) or in substance (*e.g.* the ignorance of 3$^{6\text{-}10}$ in 18$^{2\text{-}7}$).—18$^{25\text{-}32}$ on the tithe of the tithe (observe the address to Moses ^{25}) appears to include fresh material.

19, on uncleanness by the dead, fills a serious gap noticeable in Lv 11–15. $^{1\text{-}13}$ prob. rests on old usage, but bears marks of late codification (*e.g. Eleazar the priest* ^{3}, *statute of the law* ^{2} 31^{21}). The opening of $^{14\text{-}22}$ *This is the law of* at once suggests P^{t} (cf. on **Leviticus** 1–7), and nothing seems to be inconsistent with this. Can this section have belonged once to Lv 11–15 and been transferred here where the *water of separation* ^{21}, whose preparation and use are described in $^{17f.}$, is more elaborately regulated?

§ 3. The Plains of Moab: 20–36.

A. Analysis.

	J	E	Pg	Ps
20	3a to *Moses* 5 8^{b} to *water*	1b 14–18	1a to *month* 2 3b–4 6–8a to *brother* 8c–13	
20	19–20 21b	21a to *border* 22a to *Kadesh*	22b–29	
21	1–3	4b–9	4a to *Hor*	
21	16–20 24b–25 26′ 32 33–35″	11b–15 21–24a *Jabbok* 27–31	10–11a *Ije-abarim*	
22	3b–7 11 17 f. 22–36a *Ammon*	2–3a 8–10 12–16 18–21 36b–37a	1	
22	37b 39	38 40 f.		
23	27′ 28 29–30′	1–26*r*		
24	1–19 20–24′ 25			
25	1b–2 3b–4	1a 3a 5	6–15	16–18
26				1–7 8–11′ 12–57 58′ 59–65
27			15–23	1–14
28				1–31
29				1–40
30				1–16
31				1–54
32	39 40′ 41f.			1–38
33				1–56
34				1–29
35				1–34
36				1–13

B. Summary.

20$^{1\text{-}13}$ ^{E}Death of Miriam. ^{JP}Water from the rock. $^{14\text{-}29}$ ^{JE}Failure of the route through Edom; ^{P}death of Aaron. 21 ^{J}Fighting with the Canaanites; ^{E}the brazen serpent; ^{JE}conquest of the Amorites and occupation of their country. 22–24 ^{JE}Story of Balaam. 25 Sin and punishment of Israel ^{E}in the matter of Baal-Peor, ^{JP}in going after the women ^{J}of Moab, ^{P}of Midian. 26–36 all P (except 32$^{39\text{-}42}$ ^{J}Manassite conquests beyond Jordan): for contents see below.

C. Critical Notes.

20–21: ^{1b} on Miriam's death is given to E, cf. 12^{1} Ex 15^{20} and Gn 35^{8}. In ^{3a} (*the people strove*—ct. *the congregation, the assembly, the children of Israel—with Moses*—ct. *with J″* ^{13}, *Moses and Aaron* $^{2.\,6.\,10}$) ^{5} (cf. 16^{14} Ex 17$^{1\text{-}3}$) ^{8b} (*speak unto the rock*, ct. *take the rod*, presumably to smite the rock ^{8a}, unless Cornill's reconstruction be adopted, by which ^{b} is transposed to form the first command in P, disobedience to which constitutes the offence) there are separated elements assigned to J's Meribah story, E's having come in Ex 17. The rest of $^{1\text{-}13}$ (with its sequel in $^{22b\text{-}29}$) is left for P^{g}, though it looks as if the editor had out of tenderness obscured the account of the sin of Moses and Aaron (cf. the stronger expression in ^{24} *rebelled*).—$^{14\text{-}18.\,21a}$ and 21$^{21\text{-}24}$ are obviously from one hand, while $^{19f.\,21b}$ show marks of difference pointing to J, as the other passages are reminiscent of E. Thus with *highway* ct. *king's way* ^{17} 21^{22}, and note that in J a formidable military advance ^{20} causes a retreat ^{21b}, whereas E relates a mere refusal ^{21a}, which leaves the people still at Kadesh to move at leisure ^{22a}.

(Marks of J are:—^{J}*cattle*, ^{J}*much people*, *strong hand* Ex 3^{19} 13^{9} 32^{11}, *turned away*, ct. *turned aside* ^{17} 21^{22}; and of E:—*messengers* ^{14} 21^{21}, *Kadesh* $^{1b.\,14.\,16.\,22}$ 13^{26}, *travail that hath befallen us* ^{14} Ex 18^{8}, *went down into Eg.* ^{15} Jos 24^{5}, *a long time* (Heb. *many days*) ^{15} Gn 21^{34} Jos 24^{7}, *evil entreated* ^{15} Jos 24^{20}, *an angel* ^{16} Ex 14^{19}, *border* $^{16f.\,21}$ 21$^{13.\,22}$, *field . . . vineyard* ^{17} 21^{22} 16^{14}, *by the way to* 21^{4b} 14^{25}, *spake against* 21$^{5\text{-}7}$ 12^{1}, *sinned* 21^{7} 14^{10}, *take away* 21^{7} Ex 23^{25}, ^{E}*prayed*, *standard* (or *banner*) 21^{8} Ex 17^{15}mg.).

21$^{1\text{-}3}$ The fighting between *the Canaanite* (*the king of Arad* being prob. a gloss) and Israel is generally supposed to be told by J, but the phenomena are conflicting, and the ascription to J must be left as doubtful.

21^{4a} follows on 20^{29}, the death of Aaron, but $^{4b\text{-}9}$ continues 20^{22a}, the march from Kadesh, and the story of the serpents is also given to E on the ground of verbal parallels, see above.—$^{10\text{-}11a.\,11b\text{-}15}$ and $^{16\text{-}20}$ consist of extracts from itineraries assigned to P, E, and J. Each opens with a different formula, $^{P10.\,11a}$ 22^{1}, 33, ^{E}20^{2a} 21$^{11b.\,12.\,13}$, cf. Dt 10$^{6ff.}$, a fragment prob. from E, $^{J16.\,18b\text{-}20}$.—^{11b} agrees with Jg 11^{18} (prob. based on E) but not with Nu 33^{44}. Observe that in ^{20} the people are not so far on as in ^{13}, and that in ^{24b} another J fragment begins which has its sequel in ^{32} (Ammon is left out in Jg 11$^{19\text{-}22}$ and ^{25} ‖ ^{31}). J tells of conquest and occupation of *cities* and *towns* $^{25.\,32}$, E of *the land* $^{24.\,31}$.

Some J phrases may be added:—*whereof J″ said* ^{16} 10^{29}, *gather . . . together* ct. ^{P}20^{7} ^{E}11^{16} Heb. form, cf. Ex 3^{16} 4^{29}, *sang Isr. this song* Ex 15^{1}, *field of Moab* ^{20} Gn 36^{35} cf. Gn 32^{3}, *looketh down upon* ^{20} 23^{28}. $^{33\text{-}35}$ from its similarity of matter to Dt 3$^{1ff.}$ is regarded as a gloss, no mention of Og being now found in JE.

22–24: In the art BALAAM will be found a comparison of the accounts in P and JE, and also of the main reasons for the analysis of JE. It will be enough here to subjoin some of the more striking details on which the partition rests.

J—(a) *Moab* is *distressed* ^{3b} Ex 1^{12}, (b) *the elders of Moab* ^{7} (and *of Midian* $^{4.\,7}$) are *sent* as *messengers* ^{5a} 24^{12} (*servants of Balak* ^{18}) *unto Balaam*, (c) *to the land of the children of his people* (*ammô*, perh. read with good auth. *of Ammon*) ^{5c}, (d) with *rewards* ^{7} cf. ^{18} 24^{13} and promise of *promotion to honour* $^{17.\,37b}$ 24^{11}; (e) Balaam sets out innocently ^{34} accompanied only by *his* 2 *servants* ^{22} and is stopped and warned through the ass $^{22\text{-}35a\ (35br)}$, (f) *the* ^{J}*angel of J″* appearing ^{31} by day $^{22\text{-}35}$; (g) in spite of his fame for magic ^{7} 24^{1} Balaam responds solely to *the Spirit of God* 24^{2}, having promised not to *go beyond the word of J″* ^{18} 24^{13}—^{J}*bless . . .* ^{J}*curse* ^{6} 24^{9}, *silver and gold* ^{18} 24^{13} Gn 13^{2} 24$^{35.\,53}$; *ride* $^{22.\,30}$ Gn 24^{61}, *sword drawn in . . .* $^{23.\,31}$ Jos 5^{13}, *turn aside* $^{23.\,26}$ 20^{21}, *these three times* $^{28.\,32}$ 24^{10}*r* cf. 14^{22}, *all thy life long* ^{30} Gn 48$^{15f.}$; ^{J}*thy* (*his*) *place* 24$^{11.\,25}$.

E—(a) Moab is *sore afraid* ^{3a}; (b) *the princes of Moab* are sent for B. $^{8\text{-}16.\,19\text{-}21.\,40}$ 23$^{6.\,17}$; (c) *to Pethor, which is by the River* (*i.e.* Euphrates, in the far East, cf. *Aram* 23^{7}) ^{5b} cf. Gn 31^{21} Ex 23^{31} Jos 24$^{2f.\,14f.}$; (d) urgency being shown by a second more distinguished embassy ^{15} while B. is welcomed with a feast ^{40}; (e)

Balaam is first forbidden to go ^{12}, then let go with a caution ^{20}, (f) *God* speaking to him *at night* $^{8\text{-}12.\ 19\text{f.}}$; (g) Balaam twice with lavish sacrifices tries to win an acceptable message $23^{1\text{f.}\ 14}$, yet will only speak what God speaks to him ^{20} or *puts in his mouth* ^{38} $23^{5.\ 12.\ 16}$—*bring . . . word* ^{8} 13^{26}, *God came unto B.* $^{9.\ 20}$ Gn 20^{3} 31^{24}, *saddled his ass* ^{21} Gn 22^{3}, *utmost part* $^{36\text{b}}$ 20^{16}, *send* ^{37} cf. Jos 24^{9}, *offered* 23^{4} Gn 22^{13}.

$25^{1\text{-}5}$ is almost the last piece of JE in Nu, and contains both elements. J—(a) *the people* $^{1\text{b}}$, (b) *began to commit whoredom with the daughters of Moab* $^{1\text{b}}$, (c) who seduced them to worship *their gods* ^{2} Ex $34^{14\text{f.}}$; (d) *J″* is angry, and bids Moses *take all the chiefs and hang them up before the sun* ^{4}.

E—(a) *Isr.* $^{1\text{a}}$, (b) *abode in Shittim* $^{1\text{a}}$ Jos 2^{1}, (c) *and Isr. joined himself to the Baal of Peor* ^{3}; (d) *Moses* bids *the judges* (cf. Ex 18) *slay every one his men* who had sinned ^{5}.

$25^{6\text{-}15}$ has lost its beginning, but it is clearly P^g, and may have ascribed the temptation by Midianitish women to Balaam (cf. 31^{16} P^s). R^p seems to have preferred $^{1\text{-}5}$ as a commencement, but the plague raging in $^{8\text{b}}$ does not answer either to ^{4} or ^{5}. $^{16\text{-}18}$ interrupts the connexion with 26^{1} and is assigned to P^s, preparing the way for 31.

26 relates the second census of the people after the forty years. It is encumbered with interpolations in $^{9\text{-}10.\ 11.\ 58\text{a}.\ 58\text{b}\text{-}61.\ 64\text{f.}}$, and can hardly be P^g. The order of tribes follows $1^{20\text{-}43}$ P^s (except Manasseh before Ephraim, see table above), and the clans are dependent on Gn $46^{8\text{ff.}}$ P^s. Moreover, the order for the division of the land is given to Moses, who was not to enter it, $27^{12\text{ff.}}$, Dt $32^{49\text{ff.}}$, and without even naming the land or announcing its conquest (contrast $33^{51\text{ff.}}$ $34^{2\text{ff.}}$). The phrase *as J″ commanded Moses* is also late. Thus 26 may be based on P^g but belongs now to P^s.

$27^{1\text{-}11}$, on the case of Zelophehad's daughters, follows on $26^{52\text{-}56}$, and the phraseology is of like character with 26.—$^{12\text{-}14}$ and Dt $32^{48\text{-}52}$ can hardly both be original. The suggestion of Dillmann is a happy one, that the insertion of Dt in P required the announcement of the death of Moses to be placed later, and that this passage, which does not open like P^g, has been inserted by an editor to fill the gap.—$^{15\text{-}23}$ is then supposed to have been orig. preceded by Dt $32^{48\text{-}52}$; probably an account of Moses' death followed (cf. Nu $20^{23\text{-}29}$).

28 f., a detailed list of the offerings prescribed for the full round of sacred seasons, is given to P^s. Its position among other supplements and away from the calendar in Lv 23 dated forty years back, its uniform inclusion of the later elements of Lv 23 and addition of the New Moon festival, the elaboration of $29^{12\text{-}38}$ on the Feast of Booths or Ingathering (observe that both names are dropped), and the phraseological indications, all converge towards the same conclusion.

30, on Vows, may rest on an older, simpler basis, but it is shown by its style to be itself late. It does not attach itself to Lv 27 or Nu 6.

31, on the war with Midian, comes awkwardly after the message about Moses' death. Some phrases (*go to meet* ^{13}, *thy servants* ^{49}) suggest a dependence on J, or a borrowing of his language which is foreign to P^g. The ignoring of Joshua in favour of Phinehas ^{6}, and Eleazar's unique exercise of authority $^{21\text{ff.}}$, point to P^s, and the peculiar phraseology confirms this.

$32^{1\text{-}38}$, on the settlement of the 2½ tribes, has still stronger indications of an underlying J element; but here, too, the whole must be given to P^s. For the complication of evidence see *Oxf. Hex.*—$^{39\text{-}42}$, in which the conquest of Gilead, assumed in $^{1\text{-}4}$, is assigned to a Manassite clan, from its resemblance to Jg 1, is given to J, cf. $21^{25.\ 32}$, but ^{40} is a harmonizing interruption. Cf. also Jg 10^{4}.

$33^{1\text{-}49}$ gives an itinerary, largely based on JE (esp. J), with 40 stations in 40 years. Its position in the book and its mixed contents lead to its being ascribed like 31 f. to P^s.—$^{50\text{-}56}$ seems derived by P^s from 2 sources, (1) a command, belonging to the school of P^h (cf. Lv $26^{1.\ 30}$ 20^{24}), to drive out the Canaanites, destroy images, and possess the land $^{51\text{b}\text{-}53.\ 55\text{f.}}$; (2) an order to divide the land by lot ^{54}, based (in part verbally) on $26^{52\text{-}56}$.—$34^{1\text{-}15}$ describes minutely the future boundaries of the land W. of Jordan which Moses had never seen, but only alludes vaguely to the eastern regions he had seen.—$^{16\text{-}29}$ names the tribal agents for the delimitation. Comparison with analogous passages in P^g and with the account in Jos of the actual division, make it most unlikely that this can be P^g, though it may be an expansion of a briefer section, cf. Jos 14^{2}.

35 combines two orders, about 48 Levitical cities $^{1\text{-}8}$ (contrast $18^{20.\ 24}$, where priests and Levites have no property, only income), and about blood-revenge $^{9\text{-}34}$. The latter has terms foreign to P^g (*e.g. high priest*, *holy oil* $^{25.\ 28}$), and, after a full close ^{29}, resumes the subject and closes with a verse ^{34} borrowed from an earlier source like P^h, cf. 19^{13}, Lv 15^{31} $18^{24\text{f.}}$. ^{6} refers to the cities of refuge, and both sections are best understood as not having formed part of P^g.—36 supplements $27^{1\text{-}11}$ on the rights of heiresses.

§ 4. AUTHORSHIP AND DATE.—Only in a broad sense do these questions arise. We can speak of schools of writing and periods of composition, but we cannot name an individual or dogmatize about a year. In the wider sense the results of criticism as sketched above lead to some definite conclusions. All the strata of literary deposit in the Hex. seem to be laid bare in a section taken through the Book of Numbers. (1) If the earliest and latest elements in J were put in writing between B.C. 850 and 650, as the indications suggest, then the bits of folk-song and the traditions of national life and movement which are associated with them in 20–21 must be dated amongst the oldest. The stories of Hobab (ch. 10), of the manna and quails (ch. 11), of Caleb and the spies (ch. $13^{22\text{-}24}$), of the revolt of (Korah and) On (ch. 16), and the episode of Balaam, take a middle place, while the advanced conceptions and lofty tone of parts of chs. 11 and 14 represent the last contributions of this school. (2) Similarly, E has its archaic fragments of verse, from *the Book of the Wars of J″* or elsewhere, with brief notes of international relations in chs. 20–21, its middle period producing the narratives of Caleb and the spies (ch. 13), of Dathan and Abiram (ch. 16) and of Balaam (ch. 22 f.), and its latest stage illustrated by the account of the seventy elders (ch. 11), and the complaint of Aaron and Miriam (ch. 12). (3) Even D has its echo in one paragraph, $21^{33\text{ff.}}$. (4) The four stages of priestly legislation and historiography are met in turn. The peculiar notes of the Law of Holiness P^h are detected twice, namely, in $10^{9\text{f.}}$ and $15^{37\text{-}41}$, and suspected elsewhere. The careful codifying of priestly teaching (P^t) is preserved in 5 f. 15. 19. The priestly groundwork of law and history (P^g), though probably at many points displaced in favour of an expanded version, is kept in parts of 1. 3. 9. 10, which are occupied with the census of laity and clergy in the holy congregation, the second Passover, and the first moving of the Camp from Sinai; it recounts the story of the spies (ch. 13), the sacrilege of Korah and the congregation (ch. 16), and the budding of Aaron's rod (ch. 17), provides for priests and Levites (ch. 18), and tells of the death of Aaron (ch. 20), the heroism of his grandson Phinehas (ch. 25), and the choice of Joshua (ch. 27).

The remainder, occupying more than half of the whole book, though as far as possible from being homogeneous, must come under the one heading of priestly supplements P^s, some of them little later in time than P^g, others among the latest additions to the Hex. Enough has been said above to enable the student to form his own conclusions about these.

§ 5. HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE.—Again, the distinction must be drawn between the direct witness to the past and the indirect evidence as to the times of the writers. The whole book is abundantly significant in the latter sense, JE illustrating for us how antiquity looked in the palmy days of Israel's national greatness, and P revealing the effect of circumstances in changing the point of view, and so transforming almost beyond recognition the picture of the past. But, except in places where there is independent reason to suppose that P rests on some part of JE which it has displaced, it is impossible here, any more than elsewhere, to accept its testimony as in the modern sense historical. Even the earlier sources can be used only with discrimination as supplying data for historical conclusions. But the general facts of the delay in entering Canaan, the roundabout route, and the conquest of the Amorites, being witnessed by both lines of tradition, and agreeable to the rest of our knowledge, emerge as well established. See, further, separate arts. on MOSES, etc.

§ 6. RELIGIOUS VALUE. — What has been said under this head in the arts. on EXODUS and LEVITICUS is largely applicable to the continuation of those books in Numbers. But a word may be added on that which is distinctive. (1) The fact is well brought out that a nation as well as an individual may have a moral and religious character, and be bound by its acts. Proved to be unprepared for conquest and colonization, Israel is subjected to the discipline of delay. (2) The need of divine guidance is symbolized by the advance of the ark (JE) or the cloud (P). (3) Types of character are presented whose lessons teach us still: Moses with the meekness of a strong nature under restraint, Miriam with the petty jealousy which often disfigures even good women, Caleb honest and whole-hearted, Balaam weak but not worthless; popular movements are described which have their modern parallels—the fickleness of the mob,—'little Israelites' to-day, Chauvinists to-morrow,—their disposition to blame anybody but themselves, the readiness of the laity to assert their rights rather than fulfil their duties,—all these are before us especially in JE. (4) Taking the description of the camp and congregation given in P^g and P^s as an ideal picture of the past whose value is in its symbolism, even as the picture of the future in the Apocalypse is in the same way precious, there is much to be gleaned: —the order and particularity, the distribution of duties, the equalization of burdens, the provisions for unity by co-operation, the elaboration of a stately ceremonial, nothing being left to the spur of the moment, but confusion avoided by fulness of rubrical direction,—in all this there is latent a wealth of suggestion as to the nature, the worship, and the organization, not to say the financial management, of the Church of to-day. (5) Perhaps the highest point is reached in the lofty and yet broad view of prophetic inspiration found in ^{E}11 f.: *Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets!* Accordingly, it only needs that *the Lord* should *put His Spirit upon* the modern readers of Numbers, and they will not fail to find fresh truth breaking forth out of this portion of His word.

LITERATURE.—Apart from the works cited under HEXATEUCH and the general commentaries, there is little to refer to. B. W. Bacon, *Exodus*, 1894, is valuable for JE; the *Oxf. Hex.* 1900 (ed. by J. E. Carpenter and the present writer) has been used largely, and may be consulted for fuller information; the vol. in the *Expos. Bible* is by R. A. Watson; preachers may also refer to Bp. Hall's *Contemplations*; the forthcoming vol. by G. B. Gray in the *Intern. Crit. Com.* has a large gap to fill.

G. HARFORD-BATTERSBY.

NUMENIUS (Νουμήνιος), the son of Antiochus, was one of the ambassadors sent by Jonathan, about B.C. 144, to renew the treaty between the Jews and Romans. He was also charged with letters from the high priest and the Jewish people to the Spartans and others, in order to establish friendly relations with them (1 Mac 12^{1-18}). The ambassadors were well received at Sparta (*ib.* 14^{20-23}) and at Rome (*ib.* $12^{3f.}$), and sent back to Judæa with a safe-conduct. Subsequently, about the time of the popular decree in favour of Simon (B.C. 141), Numenius was sent with another embassy to Rome, taking as a present a golden shield weighing a thousand minas. The Senate passed a decree in favour of the Jews, guaranteeing them the undisturbed possession of their country, and gave to the ambassadors letters to the neighbouring kings and independent States, informing them of the terms of this decree. The embassy returned to Jerusalem in B.C. 139 (1 Mac 15^{15-24}). See art. LUCIUS, and cf. Schürer, *HJP* I. i. 266–268.

H. A. WHITE.

NUN (נ).—The fourteenth letter of the Hebrew alphabet, and as such employed in the 119th Psalm to designate the 14th part, each verse of which begins with this letter. It is transliterated in this Dictionary by *n*.

NUN (נוּן 'fish,' in 1 Ch 7^{27} נוֹן Non, LXX Ναυή [possibly a primitive error in transcription, NATH for NATN], hence **Nave** of Sir 46^{1} AV).—The father of Joshua, the successor of Moses, Ex 33^{11}, Nu 11^{28}, Jos 1^{1} etc. On the probability that *Nun* is a clan rather than a personal name, and on its bearing on totemism, see Gray, *Heb. Prop. Names*, pp. 96, 102; cf. also W. R. Smith, *Kinship*, p. 221 f.

NURSE (מֵינֶקֶת *mêneḳeth*, אֹמֶנֶת *'ōmeneth*, *τροφός*). —1. The term *mêneḳeth* (root [ינק] 'suck') designated a foster-mother. Deborah had been such to Rebekah, and the maternal devotion was maintained throughout her life, Gn 24^{59} 35^{8}. By Miriam's readiness of resource the mother of Moses became his appointed nurse, Ex 2^{7}. The same meaning of 'nurse' occurs in 2 K 11^{2}, Is 49^{23}; cf. the use of *τροφός* in 1 Th 2^{7}, and *τροφοφορεῖν* in Dt 1^{31}. In the East a child is usually nursed till over two years of age. 2. *'Ōmeneth* (root [אמן] 'confirm,' 'support') is a more general term applying to any female attendant in charge of children. Thus Naomi became nurse to Obed (Ru 4^{16}), and Mephibosheth was five years old when he fell from the arms of his nurse (*'ōmeneth*) 2 S 4^{4}.

3. The 'nursing-father' (אֹמֵן Nu 11^{12}, Is 49^{23}) would be found only in families of rank and wealth. Among the Emîrs or leading families of the Lebanon, one of the dependants, usually a poor relative, is appointed to this office. He becomes the constant companion, playmate, and guardian of the heir, carrying him when tired, and giving him later his first lessons in horsemanship and manly sports. In old age his relationship to the family is not forgotten, and care is taken that he shall not suffer want. In Pref. to AV the translators (apparently regardless of the difference between the nursing-father and the nursing-mother) say: 'And lastly, that the Church be sufficiently provided for, is so agreeable to good reason and conscience, that those mothers are holden to be lesse cruell, that kill their children as soone as they are borne, then those noursing fathers and mothers (wheresoever they be) that withdraw from them who hang upon their breasts (and upon whose breasts againe themselves doe hange to receive the spirituall and sincere milke of the word) livelyhood and support fit for their estates.' And Thomas Fuller is yet bolder when he says: 'He set before the King the hainousnesse of sacriledge; how great

a sinne it was when Princes, who should be nursing-fathers and suckle the Church, shall suck from it' (*Holy Warre*, ii. 5, p. 49).

For the *'ōmĕnîm* who acted as tutors (2 K $10^{1.5}$, cf. Est 2^{7}), see EDUCATION, 1. G. M. MACKIE.

NURTURE.—The verb to nurture occurs occasionally in Sirach as the translation of *παιδεύω* (Sir 18^{13} 21^{23} 22^{3} 31^{19} 40^{29}). It is also found in 2 Es 8^{12} 'Thou . . . nurturedst it in thy law' (erudisti eum in lege tua). The subst. is found in Wis 3^{11} and Eph 6^{4} as the tr. of *παιδεία*, as well as in Sir 22^{10} 'want of nurture,' Gr. *ἀπαιδευσία*. Now both in LXX and NT *παιδεία* and *παιδεύω* describe, not 'nurture' in the modern use of that word, but training, especially such training or discipline as involves restraint and even chastisement. Chastise and chastening or chastisement are often the best translation, as in He $12^{5.7.10}$. In Lk $23^{16.22}$ the verb is used of the scourging of a malefactor: it is rendered 'chastise' in EV. In the 16th cent. 'nurture' was an excellent equivalent for *παιδεύω* and *παιδεία*, as it contained the idea of training by means of chastisement or tribulation. Thus Dt 8^{5} Tind. 'As a man nurtereth his sonne, even so the Lorde thy God nurtereth the' (AV and RV 'chasteneth'); Dt 21^{18} Tind. 'Yf any man have a sonne that is stuburne and disobedient that he will not herken unto the voyce of his father and voyce of his mother, and they have taught him nurture'; He 12^{10} Tind. 'And they verely for a feaue dayes nurtred us after their awne pleasure'; 1 K 12^{11} Cov. 'My father correcte you with scourges, but I wyl nourtoure you with scorpions'; Ps 94^{10} Cov. 'He that nurtureth the Heithen, and teacheth a man knowledge, shal not he punysh?' (see Driver's note on this passage in *Paral. Psalter*, p. 477). Rutherford is fond of the word and illustrates its meaning in his day admirably: thus, *Letters*, No. xcviii. 'I get my meat from Christ with nurture, for seven times a-day I am lifted up and casten down'; No. lxx. 'You have had your own large share of troubles, and a double portion; but it saith your Father counteth you not a bastard; full-begotten bairns are nurtured.'

Shaks. uses the word twice, and in both places in the sense of the *result* of training: *Tempest*, IV. i. 189—

> 'A born devil, on whose nature
> Nurture can never stick';

As You Like It, II. vii. 97—

> 'Yet am I inland bred
> And know some nurture.'

This is the meaning in Sir 31^{19} and 40^{29}, where AV has 'well-nurtured,' RV 'well-mannered' and 'well-instructed': the Gr. is *πεπαιδευμένος*.

J. HASTINGS.

NUTS.—The equivalent of two Heb. words—**1.** בָּטְנִים *boṭnîm*, *τερέβινθοι*, *terebinthi*. The (unused) sing., בֹּטֶן *bōṭen*, of this is perhaps the cognate of the Arab. *buṭm*, the *n* being substituted for the *m*. This word in Arab. is generic for *terebinth*. Its generic character seems to have been lost in Heb., in which are several words the signification of which is uncertain as between the terebinth and the oak. (See OAK). Doubtless the form *boṭnîm*, the plural of the assumed בטן, refers, in the only passage in which it occurs (Gn 43^{11}), to *pistachio nuts*. They are the fruit of Pistacia vera, L., a tree of the Order *Anacardiaceæ*, 10–20 ft. high, with 1–2 pair of odd pinnate leaflets 3–5 in. long, or simple ovate leaves. The nut is oblong, apiculate, $\frac{3}{4}$ in. long, $\frac{1}{3}$ in. broad, with green oily cotyledons. It is doubtfully indigenous, but everywhere cultivated in the orchards near cities. The tree and its fruit are known as *fistŭḳ*. The nuts are a favourite luxury of the Orientals. While the Heb. on the one hand thus appropriated the term בטן to one species of the modern genus Pistacia, the Arabs, on the other, have appropriated it to three other species of the same genus, allied to each other, but differing from the pistachio. They are P. Terebinthus, L., P. Palestina, Ehr. (which should be regarded simply as a variety of the foregoing), and P. mutica, F. and M. These are the true terebinths, and probably the trees intended by אֵלָה, and perhaps other Heb. words. (See OAK). They attain a height of 20–25 ft. and a diameter of 30–40. They have pinnate leaves, and small lenticular inedible fruits, from which an oil, used in tanning and other arts, is expressed. Probably both the Hebrews and the Arabs originally recognized the generic connexion between the pistachio and the terebinth. It is clear, from the LXX and Vulg., that those VSS recognized the analogy. RVm gives the gloss, 'that is, pistachio nuts.' It is interesting to note that in Mardîn a terebinth is cultivated, under the name of *fistŭḳ*, which bears fruit of the lenticular shape of the terebinth nutlets, but as large as a cherry stone, and with an edible kernel, resembling in taste pistachio nuts. Some such terebinthine tree must have been the wild stock of the pistachio. The city *Betonîm* in Gad, east of the Jordan (Jos 13^{26}), was doubtless named from trees, either of pistachio or terebinth. It is now called *Boṭneh*, a survival of its Heb. form, but carrying to Arab minds the meaning of the Arab. *boṭn*='belly.'

2. אֱגוֹז *ĕgôz*. This word also occurs but once (Ca 6^{11}). The exact similarity to the Arab. *jauz*='walnut,' and the universal cultivation of this tree in the East, make it practically certain that the walnut is intended. The LXX *κάρυον* and the Vulg. *nux* are generic, but also are often used specifically for the walnut. They are the seeds of the fruit of Juglans regia, L., a noble tree, growing in moist situations. It attains a height of 20–30 ft. and a diameter of 50–60. It is particularly common around the village fountains, and along the mountain torrents. Its foliage is fragrant. The nuts are of excellent quality, and very cheap. One variety measures 2 inches in its long diameter.

G. E. POST.

NYMPHA or **NYMPHAS.**—A prominent member of the Church at Laodicea, at whose house a congregation was accustomed to meet, Col 4^{15}. The question of reading is a difficult one, chiefly because of the ambiguity of the evidence from the Latin and Syriac versions. But the reading '*her* house' in B 67** seems best to explain the origin of the others. Lightfoot's objection, that 'a Doric form of the Greek name here seems in the highest degree improbable,' though endorsed by T. K. Abbott (*Int. Crit. Com. in loc.*), can hardly stand in face of the evidence for similar forms in Jn 11^{5}, Ac 9^{38} (see Hort, *App.* p. 163*a*; Jannaris, *Historical Greek Grammar*, § 270). If this reading be adopted, her name must have been Nympha, and she must have occupied in the Church a position similar to that of Prisca at Rome (Ro 16^{3}), and perhaps of Phœbe at Cenchreæ (Ro 16^{1}), and Lydia at Philippi (Ac 16^{15}). If the reading '*his* house' be adopted from DFGKL, etc., the name must be read Nymphas, and is probably to be regarded as a contraction for Nymphodorus. The reading '*their* house' (ℵACP, etc.) would leave the form of the name uncertain. Nymphas and Eubulus are commemorated together as 'Holy Apostles' on Feb. 28, in the Greek Calendar. There is nothing in NT to account either for the combination of the names or for the title. See *Acta Sanct. Bolland.* Feb. 28, p. 719.

J. O. F. MURRAY.

O

OABDIUS (Ὠαβδ(ε)ῖος).—One of the sons of Ela who had married a foreign wife, 1 Es 9^{27}=ABDI of Ezr 10^{26}.

OAK.—Three of the words trd 'oak' in EV are perhaps derived from the root אול or אִיל 'to be prominent.' They are (1) אַיִל, pl. אֵילִים *'êlîm*; (2) אֵלָה *'ēlāh*; (3) אֵלוֹן *'ēlôn*. The following analysis will show the renderings of LXX, Vulg., EV.

1. אַיִל only in const. אֵיל *'êl*. EV transliterate (Gn 14^6) as part of the proper name El-paran, LXX τερέβινθος, Vulg. *Campestria*. EV render (Is 1^{29}) 'oaks,' RVm 'terebinths,' LXX εἴδωλα, Vulg. *idoli*. AV tr. (Is 57^5) 'idols,' AVm 'oaks,' RV 'oaks,' RVm 'idols,' LXX εἴδωλα, Vulg. *dii*. EV tr. (Is 61^3) 'trees,' LXX γενεαί, Vulg. *fortes*. EV tr. (Ezk 31^{14}) 'height,' AVm 'upon themselves,' LXX ὕψος, Vulg. *sublimitas*.

2. אֵלָה *'ēlâh*, EV tr. (Gn 35^4 LXX τερέβινθος, Vulg. *terebinthus*; Jg $6^{11.\,19}$ LXX τερέμινθος, Vulg. *quercus*; 2 S $18^{9.\,10.\,14}$ LXX δρῦς, Vulg. *quercus*; 1 K 13^{14} LXX δρῦς, Vulg. *terebinthus*; Is 1^{30} LXX τερέβινθος, Vulg. *quercus*; Ezk 6^{13} LXX omitted, Vulg. *quercus*) 'oak,' RVm 'terebinth.' EV transliterate (1 S 17^2 LXX om.; v.^{19} δρῦς, Vulg. *terebinthus*; 21^9 LXX Ἠλᾶ, Vulg. *terebinthus*) 'Elah,' RVm in both 'the terebinth.' AV tr. (Is 6^{13}) 'teil tree,' RV 'terebinth,' LXX τερέβινθος, Vulg. *terebinthus*. AV tr. (Hos 4^{13}) 'elms' (see ELM), RV 'terebinths,' LXX δένδρον συσκιάζον, Vulg. *terebinthus*.

3. אֵלוֹן *'ēlôn*, AV tr. (Gn 12^6 LXX δρῦς, Vulg. *convallis*; 13^{18} LXX δρῦς, Vulg. *vallis*; Dt 11^{30} LXX δρῦς, Vulg. *vallis*; Jg 4^{11} LXX δρῦς, Vulg. *vallis*; 9^6 LXX βάλανος, Vulg. *quercus*; 1 S 10^3 LXX δρῦς, Vulg. *quercus*) 'plain' or 'plains,' RV 'oak' or 'oaks,' m. 'terebinth' or 'terebinths.' AV (Jos 19^{33}) transliterates *Allon* (many edd. read אֵלוֹן), RV 'oak,' m. 'terebinth,' B Μωλά, A Μηλών, Vulg. *Elon*.

Thus it will be seen that the weight of the two Eng. versions for the first two words is 'oak,' and AV for the last 'plain,' RV (certainly correctly) 'oak,' m. 'terebinth.' The great diversity in the LXX and Vulg. in **1** is partly due to the resemblance between the word for 'oak' and that for 'god.'

The other two words trd 'oak' are in appearance derived from an unknown root אָלַל, though they differ from **2** and **3** only in punctuation. They are **4.** אַלָּה *'allāh* (Jos 24^{26}), EV 'oak,' LXX τερέμινθος, Vulg. *quercus*. **5.** אַלּוֹן *'allôn*. This is always trd 'oak' in both Eng. versions. LXX give βάλανος, δρῦς, Vulg. *quercus*. The Arab. affords no clue to the meaning of any of the above terms, as there is no derivative from the cognate roots which refers to a tree. It is thought by many (*e.g.* Dillm., Del., cf. RVm) that **1**, **2**, and **3** denote the terebinth and **4** and **5** the oak (Hos 4^{13}, Is 6^{13} show that אֵלָה and אַלּוֹן are distinct). See, further, articles TEREBINTH, TURPENTINE, and Dillmann's note on Gn 12^6.

There are nine species of oak in Pal. and Syria. (1) Q. Sessiliflora, Sm., a tall tree of subalpine Lebanon, with deciduous, sinuate-pinnate-lobed leaves. (2) Q. Lusitanica, Lam. (Arab. *mellûl* and *ballûṭ*), a large tree, with deciduous, elliptical to oblong and sublanceolate, dentate or crenate leaves. It grows abundantly from the coast to the middle mountain regions. It bears numerous sorts of galls. (3) Q. Ilex, L., a low tree of the Syrian coast. (4) Q. Coccifera, L., the *holm oak*, Arab. *sindiân*, the largest of the oaks of Palestine. It has a flattened globular, very dense comus, often 40-50 ft. in diameter, and 25-35 ft. high. It has evergreen, ovate to oblong, spiny toothed or entire, glossy leaves, usually not over 1-2 in. long. It is generally planted near Moslem, Druze, and Mutawâly welys. A specimen of this tree, with very straggling branches, is the famous Abraham's Oak, a tree, however, which is not more than 300-400 years old. (See HOLM TREE). (5) Q. Cerris, L. (Arab. *ballûṭ* or *likk*). This has an oblong comus, often 50-60 ft. high, with deciduous, oblong, more or less pinnate-lobed leaves. It grows very luxuriantly in the mountainous to subalpine regions, esp. in Cassius and Amanus. (6) Q. Ehrenbergii, Ky., is a medium-sized tree, with deciduous, ovate, pinnatisect or parted leaves. It is found only in the middle zone of Lebanon and Antilebanon. (7) Q. Ægilops, L., the Valonia oak (Arab. *mellûl*), has a rounded comus, and deciduous, ovate to oblong, unequally coarse serrate leaves, often 2-3 in. long. The acorn is the largest belonging to any Syrian species, being often 1-2 in. in diameter. The cupule contains much tannin, hence it is extensively used in tanning, and is a standard article of commerce. This tree flourishes in the lower and middle mountain zones. (8) Q. Look, Ky. (Arab. *likk*), is a medium-sized tree or shrub, with deciduous, oblong, wavy, crenate-dentate leaves. It grows in forests in Lebanon and Antilebanon and *Ḥaurân*. (9) Q. Libani, Oliv., is a low tree or shrub, with lanceolate, glossy, coarsely dentate leaves. It grows in the middle zones of Lebanon, Cassius, Amanus, and northward.

It will thus be seen that the several species of oak are among the most widely disseminated trees of Syria and Palestine. The mountains of *Ḥaurân* (Bashan, Is 2^{13}, Ezk 27^6, Zec 11^2) have many oak trees still, mostly Q. Coccifera, Q. Ægilops, and Q. Lusitanica. Oak trees were planted by tombs (Gn 35^8). Few objects in Pal. or Syria are more striking than the immense oak trees, solitary or grouped near the welys. Oak trees were places of sacrifice (Hos 4^{13}). From oak timber idols were made (Is 44^{14}). The wood of the oak has always been used for fuel, for roofing of houses, and for shipbuilding (Ezk 27^6). G. E. POST.

OAR.—See SHIPS AND BOATS.

OATH.—The leading terms for 'oath,' 'swear,' etc., are **1.** אָלָה noun and verb; Ḳal='swear,' Hiphil 'put under oath.' This word has more especially the sense of 'curse,' LXX ἀρά, Vulg. *maledictio*; cf. the phrase היה לאלה 'become an execration,' Nu 5^{27} (P), Jer 29^{18} 42^{18} 44^{12} (see below). Cf. Ac $23^{12.\,14.\,21}$, where ἀναθεματίζειν is used of the Jews who bound themselves under an oath (curse) to kill St. Paul. **2.** שְׁבוּעָה 'oath,' נִשְׁבַּע (Niph.) 'swear,' הִשְׁבִּיעַ (Hiph.) 'cause to swear,' 'take an oath of one,' 'adjure,' answering respectively to the LXX ὅρκος, ὄμνυμι or ὀμνύω, ὁρκίζω or ἐξορκίζω, and the Vulg. *juramentum* or *jusjurandum*, *jurare*, *adjurare*. The verb שׁבע is derived from שֶׁבַע 'seven.' Seven was regarded as a sacred number by the Semites, and so the verb would mean literally 'to come under the influence of seven things' (W. R. Smith, *RS*, p. 166; cf. above, p. 565). For example, seven animals would be killed or seven witnesses called.

That we may understand the purpose and importance of oaths among the Hebrews in primitive times, the historical situation requires to be borne in mind. Before there was a collective national life, with an accepted code of laws and a strong executive, any convention formed among men had to be of the nature of a mutual understanding; and when the agreement was one of much moment, it was made as binding as the circumstances of the time allowed, by the parties to it subjecting themselves with all due solemnity to an oath. Examples of oaths between men we have in Gn 26$^{28\text{ff.}}$ 50^{25}, Jos 2$^{12\text{ff.}}$ 9$^{15.\,18}$. In conformity with the entire usage, and with the externalism which was its principal feature, strict attention was given to the forms and technicalities employed; a kind of ritual was established in oath-taking. In particular, the custom prevailed of killing an animal in the ceremonial, the symbolism in this case having been both elaborate and impressive. The practice is described in Gn 15 and Jer 34$^{18\text{f.}}$. The victim was divided into two pieces, and the persons concerned walked between the pieces, in testimony of their invocation of the like doom of destruction upon themselves if they proved unfaithful to their oath. The form of walking between the pieces after eating of the sacrifice is held by Robertson Smith to have been further indicative of the belief that the parties were taken within the mystical life of the victim. Among the simpler forms used there is the act of 'putting the hand under the thigh' (Gn 24$^{2\text{ff.}}$ 47^{29}): the underlying idea is discussed by Dillmann, *in loc.* (See also art. THIGH). Or the hand is stretched out to heaven (Gn 14^{22}; cf. Dn 12^{7}, Rev 10$^{5\text{f.}}$), this gesture by its naturalness explaining itself.

The language of **adjuration** varies greatly. Among the commonest expressions are the phrases, 'The LORD do so to me, and more also,' and 'As the LORD liveth,' or there is the extended form, 'As the LORD liveth, and as thy soul liveth.' Jacob swears by the *fear* (פַּחַד, *i.e.* 'the object of his fear'=God; cf. v.^{42}) of his father Isaac (Gn 31^{53}), and Joseph swears by the life of Pharaoh (Gn 42^{15}). In early times the tribal god and an earthly ruler had not been sharply distinguished from each other in men's thoughts: thus the practice of swearing by the prince or by the life of the prince would be accounted for. On the other hand, even when better things were to be expected after the establishment of ethical monotheism, abuses were common among the scribes; there was a declension by easy transitions from the invocation of the Deity to forms of adjuration by some of the familiar objects of earth. Thus one would swear by Heaven, by Jerusalem as the Holy City, by the earth, by his own head (Mt 5$^{34\text{ff.}}$), or again by the temple as the House of God, by the gold of the temple, by the altar, or by the gift on the altar (Mt 23$^{16\text{ff.}}$).

As the Author of the world was invoked in adjuration, the idea prevailed that the oath, once uttered, had objective significance in the sense that it affected the course of nature; a conviction that may be taken to indicate in one aspect of it how even primeval man was feeling after the truth which was afterwards to be revealed, that 'out of the heart are the issues of life.' To take an oath was to come under a specified penalty in case of violation of the oath, to expose one's self to a curse. Accordingly אָלָה='oath *or* curse.' Thus the princes of the congregation of Israel, having sworn to the Gibeonites to be at peace with them and to let them live, find that they must carry out their undertaking, at least in form, even when it was discovered that the Gibeonites had been deceivers, 'lest,' they said, 'wrath be upon us because of the oath which we sware unto them' (Jos 9). And Saul resolved, in fulfilment of an oath he had uttered, to kill his son Jonathan, who was innocent (1 S 14$^{24\text{ff.}}$; cf. Mt 14^{9}). In Nu 5 the oath of cursing, administered with the ritual of the water of bitterness, entails the most terrible consequences on the guilty; and in Zec 5$^{1\text{ff.}}$ the flying roll of the prophetic vision represents a curse 'like a bird of prey' pursuing the wicked person over the face of the whole earth. In view of the far-reaching consequences involved in oath-taking, the law placed careful restrictions on the practice in the case of members of a family other than the head (Nu 30).

Perjury on the part of a witness was punished with the same penalty which his testimony, if true, would have involved for the accused person (Dt 19$^{16\text{ff.}}$).

Oaths as between God and men. At a period when every important compact among men was confirmed by an oath, and when there was no other guarantee for the discharge of their liabilities by each of the parties concerned, the conception formed of God's relation to His people was, and could only be, the conception of His making a promise to them under the sanction of an oath. When God is represented as taking an oath to the fathers, it is meant that those with whom He entered into relation gained the assurance that His fidelity to them and to His promise was unalterable (cf. He 6^{13}). His nature was partly understood through the thoughts and practices of the best men of the time; whereas a presentation of His ways and character by means of ideas which were entirely unconnected with the current life of the age would have been meaningless and void of effect. The oath which God took to Abraham, and which is so often referred to, is given in Gn 22$^{15\text{ff.}}$: 'By myself have I sworn, saith the LORD . . . that in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars,' etc.

When God is regarded as binding Himself by an oath, a period has been reached in the history of Revelation which is comparatively well defined both in respect to the initial and the closing stage of it. There has been an advance when the truth is communicated to man, in such a way as to be believed, that God makes and will without fail keep a promise, that He is spiritual and moral, and has an interest in man. On the other hand, the peculiar externalism of such religious faith is obvious; and it is apparent that only a very limited knowledge of the divine nature is attainable, in the absence of practical proof of God's intervention for good in the exigencies of earthly life. The experience and thought of the period in question are accordingly transcended; trust in God comes to be based on other ground. When the chosen people were formed into a nation, the warrant and motive for obedience, enforced again and again to the better mind of the Israelites, was the *deliverance from Egyptian bondage*, and the known goodness of Jehovah. Not merely because a promise had once been made and confirmed by an oath, but because God had saved the people, loved them, and brought His goodness in the law near to their heart, were they under obligation to serve Him. The old oath is frequently adduced indeed, but the spiritual and moral facts of the nation's history are mainly rehearsed in attestation of the truth that God was faithful to His oath. In the New Covenant (Jer 31$^{33\text{f.}}$), and above all in its completion in Christ, men's knowledge of the Lord, their trust in Him, rests on His forgiveness of their sin, and on His creation of a new and better righteousness.

On the human side in OT religion man took oath to God. An oath was 'a peculiarly solemn confession of faith' (Driver, *Deut.* p. 95). Far from being reprehensible from the religious or moral point of view, the practice was incumbent on the pious, and had the promise of blessing. ('Every one that sweareth by him shall glory,' Ps 63^{11}).

But it is requisite that one shall swear by Jehovah the true God, shall do so in truth and righteousness of spirit, and shall faithfully perform the oath (Jer 4^{2} 12^{16}). It is sinful to swear by them that are no gods, as Baal, and so to acknowledge them, or by images or forms usurping the place of God, as the 'sin of Samaria' or the 'way' (understood to be the 'manner' or 'ritual')* of Beersheba (Jer 12^{16}, Am 8^{14}). Also the double-dealing of those who swear *to* the Lord and swear *by* Malcam is severely condemned (Zeph 1^{5}).

In the time of Christ, minute arbitrary distinctions had been set up by the scribes and Pharisees in adjuration, such as were plainly destructive of the moral sense and amounted to a profanation of the name of God; and the abuse called forth from Christ the severest denunciation (Mt $23^{16\text{ff.}}$). An oath which was to all appearance most solemn and binding was evaded after all by the methods of casuistry, by the tacit reservation that it had no force, that 'it was nothing.' The name of God was invoked to cover deliberate deceit. But our Lord goes further when He lays down the principle in the Sermon on the Mount, 'Swear not at all' (Mt $5^{34.\,37}$; so Ja 5^{12}). Men's speech is to be 'Yea, yea; nay, nay.' All communication between them is to be taken up to the sphere of perfect truthfulness. The introduction of oaths in particular cases implies a claim to some licence in departing from the truth in other cases. The practice which ostensibly promotes morality is thus, in fact, injurious to it.

As the prohibition in Mt 5^{34} seems absolute, the question arises whether Christ would have sanctioned the judicial use of oaths. In this connexion His own example may be pointed to when Caiaphas the high priest adjured Him by the living God that He should tell whether He was the Christ (Mt $26^{63\text{f.}}$). Jesus answered affirmatively without taking exception to the condition imposed. And St. Paul sometimes calls God to witness for the truth of his assertions (2 Co 1^{23}, Gal 1^{20}). The will of Christ is the supreme and absolute standard of conduct, but the will can be ascertained only when regard is had to the conditions of time, place, and circumstance. The new law in Mt 5^{34} is understood in its context. As compared with the old law which is mentioned in the previous verse, it is a concise, pointed expression of a necessary and enduring principle. But error is readily incurred by generalizing or by exalting the letter above the spirit, as in the case of the other injunction, 'give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away' (Mt 5^{42}). In determining whether and in what cases the use of oaths is in accordance with the mind of Christ, people have to ask what conduces to the advancement of Christian righteousness in the particular situations that are contemplated.

LITERATURE.—W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, on oath-taking and kindred practices in primitive Semitic times, esp. pp. 164 ff., 461 f.; art. COVENANT in vol. i. of the present work; the OT Theologies on the subject of Covenant; Wendt, *Teaching of Jesus* (Eng. tr.), i. p. 269 ff.; Smend, *Alttest. Religionsgeschichte*^{2} (see Index, *s.* 'Bund' and 'Schwur'); Benzinger or Nowack, *Heb. Archäologie*, *s.* 'Eid'; Gore, *Serm. on Mount.*

G. FERRIES.

OBADIAH (עֹבַדְיָהוּ and עֹבַדְיָה).—**1.** The 'steward' or major-domo (אֲשֶׁר עַל־הַבָּיִת, *οἰκονόμος*) of Ahab, 1 K 18^{3} (Ἀβδειού). From his youth he had feared the LORD, v.^{12}, and, during a persecution of Jahweh's prophets by Jezebel, Obadiah is recorded to have concealed 100 of them in caves and fed them with bread and water, v.^{4}. While obeying the commission of Ahab to search for pasture for the perishing horses and mules, he was met by Elijah, and after some hesitation agreed to bear the prophet's message to the king, v.$^{7\text{ff.}}$ **2.** A Levite, descended from Jeduthun, 1 Ch 9^{16} (B Ἀβδειά, A Ὀβδιά)=**Abda** of Neh 11^{17}. **3.** A Judahite, 1 Ch 3^{21} (Ἀβδειά). **4.** A chief of the tribe of Issachar, 1 Ch 7^{3} (B Μειβδειά [prob. a scribal error], A Ὀβδιά). **5.** A descendant of Saul, 1 Ch $8^{38}=9^{44}$ (Ἀβδ(ε)ιά). **6.** A Gadite chief who joined David at Ziklag, 1 Ch 12^{9} (Ἀβδ(ε)ιά). **7.** Father of the Zebulunite chief Ishmaiah, 1 Ch 27^{19} (Ἀβδ(ε)ιού). **8.** One of the princes who were sent by Jehoshaphat to teach in the cities of Judah, 2 Ch 17^{7} (B Ἀβιά, A Ἀβδιά). **9.** A Merarite Levite who was one of the overseers of the workmen employed by Josiah to repair the temple, 2 Ch 34^{12} (B Ἀβδειά, A Ἀβδίας). **10.** The head of a family that returned with Ezra, Ezr 8^{9} (B Ἀδειά, A Ἀβαδιά), called in 1 Es 8^{35} **Abadias.** **11.** One of those who sealed the covenant, Neh 10^{5} (Ἀβδ(ε)ιά). **12.** The eponym of a family of doorkeepers, Neh 12^{25} (ℵ$^{\text{c.a}}$ Ὀβδίας, BAℵ* om.). **13.** The prophet. See next article.

OBADIAH, BOOK OF.—

i. Name, and Place in the Canon.
ii. Contents.
iii. Unity and Date.
iv. Condition of Text, Literary Characteristics, etc.
Literature.

This, the shortest of all the prophetical writings, consisting of only twenty-one verses, has an importance out of all proportion to its length, because of the literary and exegetical questions it raises, and the diversity of opinion which still prevails as to the *unity* and the *date* of the book, and the historical allusions it contains.

i. NAME, AND PLACE IN THE CANON.—The name *Obadiah* is not uncommon in the OT (see preceding article), and has been read on an ancient seal, inscribed *'Obadyahu 'ebhed hammelekh* (see figure in Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* p. 258). It occurs, like similar names, in the two forms עֹבַדְיָהוּ and עֹבַדְיָה, of which the latter is used in the case of the prophetical book which forms our subject. The Massoretic pointing עֹבַדְיָה, which is supported by LXX B Ὀβδειού, implies, as is pointed out by G. A. Smith (*Twelve Prophets*, ii. 164 n.), the meaning 'worshipper of J″' (?cf. *Obed-edom*; see the cautious note of Driver, *Text of Sam.* p. 206), but the word might be vocalized עַבְדְּיָה = עֶבֶד־יָה 'servant of J″' (cf. Aℵ Ἀβδ(ε)ιού; עַבְדָּא of Neh 11^{17} ‖ 1 Ch 9^{16}; and the name *Abdiel* in 1 Ch 5^{15}). Of the particular Obadiah whose name the prophecy bears we know nothing, although Delitzsch conjectures that he may have been the prince of that name who, according to 2 Ch 17^{7}, was sent by Jehoshaphat to teach in the cities of Judah. It must, indeed, remain uncertain whether the name is that of the author of the early prophecy contained in vv.$^{1-10}$ (see below), or of the writer who supplemented this and gave the book its present form, or whether (which König suggests as a possibility) both these authors bore the name Obadiah.*

In the Hebrew Bible the Bk. of Obadiah stands fourth amongst the Twelve Minor Prophets, between Amos and Jonah. It has been suggested by König (*Einleit.* 302) that this position may have been given to it by the collectors of the Canon in view of Am 9^{12} ('that they may possess the remnant of Edom'), which finds its echo and its supplement in Ob ^{19} ('they . . . shall possess the mount of Esau'), and of Ob ^{1} ('a messenger is sent among the nations'), which might be supposed to find an illustration in the story of Jonah (cf. art. JONAH, in vol. ii. p. 748^{b}). In the LXX Obadiah alone comes between Joel and Jonah, the order being Hos, Am, Mic, Jl, Ob, Jon, instead of the MT order Hos, Jl, Am, Ob, Jon, Mic.

---

* See, further, art. MANNER, p. 237^{a}, note.

* We assume that עבדיה is a proper name and not merely an appellative, as is probably the case with מַלְאָכִי 'my messenger,' which usage has converted into the familiar name *Malachi.*

Obadiah is one of the OT books that are not quoted in the New Testament.

ii. CONTENTS.—The prophecy is announced as 'concerning Edom.' Jahweh has sent a messenger (צִיר) among the nations to stir up a general rising against her (v.^{1}).

The words כֹּה אָמַר אֲדֹנָי יהוה לֶאֱדוֹם must have been penned by the later writer (see below under 'Unity') to introduce the quotation of the earlier oracle, beginning 'We have heard,' etc.; for it is plain that the latter is a form of expression which could hardly be put directly into the mouth of Jahweh.

Edom is to be brought low in spite of her trust in her rocky fastnesses (vv.$^{2-4}$). The ruin is to be complete, the spoiling beyond that of ordinary thieves (vv.$^{5-6}$). This destruction of Edom is to be wrought by the treachery of her former friends and allies (v.^{7}). The wonted wisdom of Edom shall fail her in this extremity (vv.$^{8.\,9}$). The reason for this chastisement is the unbrotherly conduct of which Edom was guilty towards Judah in the day of its calamity when Jerusalem was sacked by foreigners, and lots cast over it (vv.$^{10.\,11}$). Edom is emphatically charged to desist from such conduct (vv.$^{12-14}$).

The imperatives in vv.$^{12-14}$ appear to be due to the vivid picture which the writer calls up to himself of the conduct of Edom. He is really describing the past, but he speaks of what the Edomites had actually done as of what they ought not to do.

The day of the Lord (on this conception see Driver, *Joel and Amos* [Index]; A. B. Davidson on Zeph 1^{7} and in art. ESCHATOLOGY OF OT in vol. i. of this Dictionary, p. 735 ff.) is near upon *all the nations*, in whose destruction Edom shall share, being exterminated by the united 'house of Jacob' (including both Judah and Ephraim (vv.$^{15-18}$)).

The idea of a reunion of Judah and Ephraim in the last days appears elsewhere, *e.g.* in Jer 31$^{5.\,27}$, Zec 10^{6}.—The 'ye' of v.^{16} cannot be the Edomites, who are addressed throughout in the genuine passages by 'thou.' Moreover, Edom must be included in 'all the nations.' The 'ye' can only be the Jerusalemites. As Judah had once drunk the cup of Jahweh's fury (for the expression cf. Ezk 23^{32}, La 4^{21}, 'Jer' 51$^{17\text{ff.}}$, Hab 2^{16}, Ps 75^{9} [Eng.^{8}]; cf. also Jer 13$^{12-14}$ [? Jehoiachin's time] for a closely allied conception), so must the heathen now drink it.

The house of Jacob shall reinherit their ancient possessions, Judah and Benjamin overflowing into Ephraim and Gilead, which are compensated by receiving the borderland of Phœnicia as far as Zarephath, while the Negeb dispossesses Esau of Mt. Seir, and the captives from Sepharad occupy the cities of the Negeb. 'Saviours' (cf. Jg 2^{16} 3$^{9.\,15}$) shall defend Zion and 'judge' the mount of Esau, and the rule of Jahweh shall be established (vv.$^{15-21}$).

The summary given of this last section is what upon the whole appears to us to be the most probable meaning, but much uncertainty attaches to it. Wellhausen, followed by Nowack, understands vv.$^{19.\,20}$ quite differently. He pronounces them to be an expansion of v.^{17}, and declares that הַנֶּגֶב and הַשְּׁפֵלָה cannot possibly be subjects of יָרְשׁוּ (as AV and RV take them). They must be in apposition with אֶת־הַר עֵשָׂו and אֶת־פְּלִשְׁתִּים respectively (both of which Wellh. pronounces interpolated, because they have אֶת prefixed, while הַנֶּגֶב and הַשְּׁפֵלָה want it). He remarks, further, that 'Benjamin,' if genuine, would reflect the late conception that Jerus. was situated in this tribe. But possibly it is a textual error, we expect rather a verb. שֹׁמְרוֹן, too, he suspects, for the 'fields of Samaria' would surely be included in the 'fields of Ephraim.' See, further, below under 'Date.'

iii. UNITY AND DATE.—Three leading forms of opinion have prevailed regarding these: (1) that the Bk. of Obadiah is a unity and pre-exilic; (2) that it consists of two portions both post-exilic; (3) that it is made up of an early pre-exilic and a late post-exilic passage. We shall presently examine each of these positions, but in the first place it will be well to consider a question whose answer will affect our final conclusion, namely—*What is the relation between Ob $^{1-9}$ and Jer 49$^{7-22}$?* The resemblance between these two passages is so close as to demand explanation. The facts are as follows:—

Ob ^{1}=Jer 49^{14}, except that in Jer the sing. שְׁמַעְתִּי is read instead of the plur. שְׁמַעְנוּ, the pass. ptcp. Qal שָׁלוּחַ replaces the perf. Pu'al שֻׁלַּח for 'is sent,' and the expressions used in summoning the nations have been modified and slightly expanded (Ob having קוּמוּ וְנָקוּמָה עָלֶיהָ לַמִּלְחָמָה, Jer הִתְקַבְּצוּ וּבֹאוּ עָלֶיהָ וְקוּמוּ לַמִּלְחָמָה׃).

Ob ^{2}=Jer 49^{15}, except that in Jer an introductory כִּי is prefixed, that אַתָּה after בָּזוּי is wanting, and that for מְאֹד 'greatly' of Ob we have in Jer בָּאָדָם 'among men' parallel to בַּגּוֹיִם of the preceding clause.

Ob ^{3a}=Jer 49^{16a}, except that Ob wants the תִּפְלַצְתְּךָ 'thy terribleness' of Jer, that for הִשִּׁיאֶךָ of Ob we have in Jer הִשִּׁיא אֹתָךְ, that סֶלַע is anarthrous in Ob, but has the article in Jer, that Jer inserts תֹּפְשִׂי ('holding') before מְרוֹם ('height'), and replaces שִׁבְתּוֹ ('his dwelling') by גִּבְעָה 'hill.' Ob ^{3b} 'that saith in his heart' is wanting in Jer.

Ob ^{4}=Jer 49^{16b}, except that Jer substitutes כִּי for אִם, and omits 'and though thou set [thy nest] among the stars.'

Ob ^{5} closely resembles Jer 49^{9}, but the order is reversed, Jer commencing with 'if grape-gatherers came,' etc., and the interrogative ה is omitted before לֹא, making of the words an assertion instead of a question. The words 'if spoilers' and the exclamation 'How art thou destroyed!' are wanting in Jer, and for יִגְנְבוּ 'steal' we have הִשְׁחִיתוּ 'destroy.'

Ob ^{6} resembles in thought, but only slightly in expression, Jer 49^{10}. Note how חָפַשׂ 'search out' of Ob is replaced by חָשַׂף in Jer.

Ob ^{8} slightly resembles Jer 49^{7}.

Ob ^{9a} resembles Jer 49^{22b}.

It is evident that either Jeremiah borrowed from Obadiah or Obadiah from Jeremiah, or that both borrowed from a common source. The first and the third of these have been the favourite positions maintained, although Hitzig and Vatke have maintained that Jeremiah formed the model for Obadiah. But an examination of the differences between the texts of Obadiah and Jeremiah in the passages common to both has satisfied the great majority of scholars that the more original form of the prophecy is in Obadiah. [Only in vv.$^{9.\,15.\,16}$, the omission of אִם שׁוֹדְדֵי, the reading בָּאָדָם for מְאֹד, and the retaining of תִּפְלַצְתְּךָ, can the superiority be awarded to Jeremiah]. The logical connexion, too, is better in Obadiah. On the other hand, if Jeremiah is held to have borrowed from Obadiah, the following difficulties have to be faced. Not only has Jeremiah occasionally the better text, but Jer 49$^{7-22}$, if it be from the pen of Jeremiah, dates from the fourth year (B.C. 604) of Jehoiakim's reign, whereas Ob $^{11-14}$, as we shall presently find reason to conclude, presupposes the capture of Jerusalem by the Chaldæans and the destruction of the Jewish State. Hence the Bk. of Obadiah could not have lain before Jeremiah in its present form—a conclusion which is strengthened when we note that it is only from the first nine verses of Obadiah that Jeremiah would thus have borrowed, although much of what follows these would have suited his purpose admirably. Wellh. and Nowack make Obadiah the direct model for Jer 49$^{7-22}$, but do not admit the genuineness of this passage, the former holding (with Stade, Smend, Schwally) that the whole of Jer 46-51 is non-genuine and late, the latter (with Giesebrecht, etc.) that many passages in these chapters, including 49$^{7-22}$, must be denied to Jeremiah. Nowack would account for the superiority of Jer 49$^{9.\,15}$ to Ob $^{5.\,2}$ by supposing that in Ob ^{2} we have probably a textual corruption and in v.^{5} an interpolation both introduced subsequent to the use of Obadiah by 'Jeremiah.'

The safest conclusion appears to be that Jeremiah and Obadiah borrowed from a common source, and that Obadiah incorporated this with less alteration than Jeremiah.

To return now to the three views noted above as to the date of the book in its present form. What we have said in comparing Jeremiah and Obadiah would suffice to show the improbability, not to say the impossibility, of (1) the view that the whole of Obadiah is pre-exilic and that the book is a unity (Caspari, v. Hofmann, Delitzsch, Nägelsbach, Keil, v. Orelli, Kirkpatrick, Peters). The objections to the unity and an early date for the whole book are mainly three: (*a*) the nations are in vv.$^{1-7}$ God's instruments of vengeance against Edom, whereas in v.$^{15f.}$ they are all alike (Edom included) the object of Divine chastisement; (*b*) vv.$^{11-14}$ cannot have a satisfactory sense assigned to them except on the view that they refer to the capture of Jerus. and the deportation of the Jews by Nebuchadrezzar (cf. v.^{20} 'the captivity of Jerusalem'); (*c*) there is a difference in style between the two halves of the book, the first being terse, animated, and full of striking figures, while the second is diffuse and marked by poverty of ideas and trite figures. The occasion to which those who make the book a unity generally ascribe it is the capture of Jerusalem by the Philistines and Arabians in the time of Jehoram (*c*. 850 B.C.). But while this occurrence, regarding which, unfortunately, we have no information apart from 2 Ch 21$^{16f.}$, might account for vv.$^{1-10}$, it is quite inadequate to explain vv.$^{11-14}$.

(2) Wellhausen holds that vv.$^{10-14}$ allude to the attitude displayed by Edom at the taking of Jerusalem by the Chaldæans, but he sees no reason for making vv.$^{1-7}$ [he considers vv.$^{8.\,9}$ interpolations] earlier. The attack upon Edom by treacherous friends and allies he cannot refer to any action on the part of Assyria, Babylon, or Persia, or of Moab or Ammon, not to speak of Judah or Israel, but must have in view, he thinks, the small nomadic neighbouring peoples.* The Edomites were, as a matter of fact, expelled from their original settlements by Arab tribes. This took place subsequent to the capture of Jerusalem, so that the main ground for separating vv.$^{10-14}$ from vv.$^{1-7}$ seems to Wellh. to fall away.† The Arabs had begun to press northwards in the beginning of the 6th cent. (perh. Zeph 2^{14}, cf. v.^{7}; Ezk 25$^{4.\,5.\,10}$), and at length we find them in B.C. 312 settled in Petra (Diodor. xix. 94); cf. the Arabic name *Gebal* for *Seir* in Ps 83^{8}, dating perhaps from about the same time. During the intermediate period we hear of Geshem or Gashmu the Arabian in Neh 2^{19} 6$^{1.\,2.\,6}$, and Wellh. thinks that Mal 1$^{1-5}$ (first half of 5th cent.) may refer to the same phase of the expulsion of the Edomites by the Arabians as is represented in Ob $^{1-14}$. Of course he does not contend that all the Edomites were driven into the Negeb (which, he thinks, Ob^{19} designates as the then dwelling-place of Esau). Many may have remained in their original homes, where under Arab rule they would be the special representatives of Nabatæan culture, and this would account for the numerous Hebrew proper names that occur among the Nabatæans. Wellh. does not attempt to fix the date of vv.$^{15-21}$, but simply remarks that v.^{21} might refer to the conquest of Idumæa by John Hyrcanus.

Wellh. is closely followed in the above conclusions by Nowack, who fixes as the *terminus a quo* for vv.$^{1-14}$ the date of the capture of Jerusalem (B.C. 586), but thinks it should probably be brought down to a date shortly after that of Malachi. Vv.$^{15-21}$ are much later, belonging to a time when eschatological hopes filled men's minds, but we are not in a position to fix the date more precisely. Both Wellh. and Nowack insist strongly that vv.$^{1-14}$ describe *what has actually happened*, not *what is going to happen*, to Edom. It is different with vv.$^{15-21}$, where, however, the punishment of Edom is to be simply an episode in the larger scheme of judgment *upon all nations*.*

Hitzig, who makes the whole book post-exilic, seeks to fix the date of Obadiah from the words in v.^{20} גָּלֻת הַחֵל הַזֶּה, which he renders 'the captivity of this fortress,' alluding to the fortress of Egypt to which many Jews were carried captive by Ptolemy Lagi (cf. Jos. *Ant*. XII. i. 1, *c*. *Ap*. ii. 4). In B.C. 312 Antigonus ordered an expedition against Petra, to which Hitzig would refer the words of Ob ^{1} 'We have heard a report,' etc. The chief objection to this is that before 312 (see above) Petra had ceased to belong to Edom and had passed under the rule of the Arabians.

(3) As we have seen above, the view strongly commends itself that vv.$^{1-9\,(\text{or }10)}$ are pre-exilic and borrowed pretty faithfully from an older source, whereas vv.$^{11-21}$ presuppose the capture of Jerusalem and the Exile.

This was the view of Ewald, and is adopted substantially by Kuenen, Cornill, Wildeboer, Driver, etc. According to Ewald (so also G. A. Smith), the later prophet lived in the Captivity (v.^{20}, which Ewald renders 'of this coast'). The occasion of the earlier prophecy Ewald (improbably) supposed to have been when Elath was restored by Rezin to the Edomites (2 K 16^{6} *Ḳerê* and RVm), and its author to have been a contemporary of Isaiah. König, who accepts the view that Obadiah consists of a pre-exilic and an exilic or post-exilic portion, analyzes thus: (*a*) vv.$^{1-10}$ [but v.^{7}, whose concluding words are pleonastic alongside of v.^{8}, is probably an expansion; perhaps also v.^{9} on account of the late קטל] $^{16a.\,18.\,19a\;20b}$; (*b*) vv.$^{11-15.\,16b.\,17.\,19b.\,20a.\,21}$.

It appears, upon the whole, most probable that not only the Exile but the Return belong to the past. Note that there is no prediction of the re-building and re-populating of the capital, Jerusalem. The expressions in the closing verses are best satisfied by a date such as Nowack postulates for vv.$^{1-14}$ (*c*. 432 B.C.), or, perhaps preferably, later still. It is unfortunate that the text and the meaning of these verses are so doubtful.

A good deal has been built on the mention in v.$^{21\,(20)}$ of Sepharad or (see Driver, *LOT*^{6} p. 320) *Sĕphārēd*, for which the LXX has, AB Ἐφραθά, Q^{a} Σαφαράδ, Q* Σφραθά. Targ. Onk. gives אַסְפַּמְיָא, *i.e. Hispania*, Spain; hence the origin of the name *Sephardim* for Spanish as distinguished from German (*Ashkenazim*) Jews. If the MT is correct, the reference will be either to Çparda of the Persian inscriptions, which lay in Bithynia or Galatia—a district conquered by Cyrus and organized into a satrapy by Darius Hystaspis—or Shaparda in S.W. Media, mentioned in inscriptions of Sargon (B.C. 721–705). The latter reference is adopted by Schrader (*Keilinschrift u. Geschichtsforschung*, 116 ff., *KAT*^{2}, 446 f. [*COT* ii. 145 f.]), and is pronounced 'exceedingly probable' by Frd. Delitzsch (*Paradies*, 249). Sayce (*HCM* 482 ff.) and Cheyne (*Founders of OT Criticism*, 311 f.) contend for Çparda [G. A. Smith, who believes the later part of Obadiah to have been written during the Exile, would hold, if Çparda is meant, that the reference to it is a late insertion]. While Sayce is content to postulate a 'comparatively late date' for the prophecy, Cheyne would definitely assign it to the period (*c*. 350 B.C.) when Artaxerxes Ochus deported many Jews who had taken part in the great revolt against the Persian supremacy. Jl 3^{6} ('the children also of Judah and the children of Jerusalem have ye sold unto the Grecians [*Jĕvānîm*], that ye might remove them far from their border') may refer to this. It is noteworthy that in the inscriptions Çparda is always mentioned in immediate connexion with *Jaunâ*,

---

* It may perhaps be not without interest, in view of the use of the term 'thieves' in v.^{5}, to compare the application to the same (?) tribes of the word *daikanu* (in the Tel el-Amarna tablets) which Winckler interprets 'robbers' or 'murderers.'

† G. A. Smith agrees with Wellh. that v.^{7} (which is not found in the parallel passage in Jer) probably refers to the expulsion of the Edomites by the Arabs, but assigns vv.$^{1-6}$ to an earlier date.

* For this conception, cf. Zeph 1$^{2f.}$ 3^{8}, Jer 25$^{32f.}$, Ezk 36–38, Is 45^{20} 63^{6} 66$^{16.\,18f.}$, 'Is' 34$^{1-3}$, Zec 12$^{3.\,4}$ 14$^{2.\,3.\,12\text{-}15}$.

i.e. 'Ionians' or 'Greeks.' See, further, art. SEPHARAD.

Cornill considers that the late prophecies 'Is' 34. 35, in which, as in Obadiah, eschatological hopes are connected with the downfall of Edom, were certainly known to the author of Obadiah.

The following parallels between Obadiah and Joel may be noted: Ob ^{10} and Jl 4 [Eng. 3] ^{19} have מחמס in common; Ob ^{11} and Jl 4 [Eng. 3] ^{3a} both contain the expression יַדּוּ גוֹרָל 'they cast lots,' which is found elsewhere only in Nah 3^{10}; Ob ^{15} and Jl 4 [Eng. 3] $^{4. 14}$; Ob ^{17} and Jl 3^5 [Eng. 2^{32}] 4 [Eng. 3] ^{17b}. In all these instances the probability appears to be that it is Joel who quotes from Obadiah and not *vice versa* (see G. Buchanan Gray in *Expositor*, Sept. 1893, p. 208 ff., and cf. Cheyne, *Founders of OT Criticism*, 312, and Driver, *Joel and Amos*, 19 ff.).

iv. CONDITION OF TEXT, LITERARY CHARACTERISTICS, ETC.—The text of Obadiah is in several instances corrupt, and in not a few cases suspected of being so. It may, indeed, be suggested that Wellhausen and Nowack are unduly suspicious of the MT, and that the former is rather fond of dropping sarcastic remarks such as that on v.^{7}: 'von אֵין תְּבוּנָה בּוֹ selber gilt—es ist kein Sinn darin.' Still the number of blanks which both these scholars leave in their translation of Obadiah and the frequent emendations they propose give a fairly correct impression of the condition of the text. The following may be noted as points connected with the vocabulary and the text that merit attention—

v.^{2}. בָּאָדָם, the original reading, was probably corrupted into מְאֹד first by the loss of its final ם and then by the change of the initial ב into מ.

v.^{3}. תֹּפְשִׂי must be supplied from Jer 49^{16} before מְרוֹם.

v.^{4}. שִׂים must be changed into תָּשִׂים (LXX θῇς).

vv.$^{5-7}$. The exclamation אֵיךְ נִדְמֵיתָה and the whole of v.^{6} (in which Edom is spoken of in the 3rd person instead of being directly addressed, as formerly, by 'thou') are regarded by Wellh. and Nowack as interpolated. There can be little doubt that אִם שׁוֹדְדֵי should be deleted.—Note in v.^{6} the ἅπ. λεγ. מַצְפֻּנָיו 'his treasures.'—v.^{7b} is hopelessly corrupt. מָזוֹר, which in Hos 5^{13}, Is 1^6 means 'running sore,' cannot have the sense of 'snare' established for it. The LXX ἔνεδρα may rest upon a reading מָצוֹר or מְצוֹרָה; Chald. has תקלא, Syr. ܟܡܝܢܐ. Aquila's rendering ἐπίδεσις (cf. his trⁿ of מָזוֹר in Hos 5^{13} by συνδεσμός) implies same text as MT. לחמך, which is wanting in LXX, and to which it is very hard in the context to give a tolerable sense, has probably arisen by dittography from the preceding שלמך. Hitzig and Graetz propose to supply אַנְשֵׁי before it ('the men who ate thy bread'). It may be noted that v.^{7a} is in the *ḳînāh* measure (see LAMENTATIONS [BOOK OF], p. 20^b); cf. Jer 38^{22b}, whose relation to Obadiah is doubtful, but it is clear that one of the two passages must have served as the model for the other (Driver, *LOT*^{6} 320).

v.^{10}. מִקֶּטֶל, if genuine, should be attached to the beginning of v.^{10} (so LXX, Syr. Vulg.), but it may have been originally a marginal gloss to מֵחֲמַס. Ewald, who gives it the same position as MT, takes it as = 'without battle.'

vv.$^{12-14}$. [נָכְרוֹ] נָכְרוֹ in v.^{12} is a ἅπ. λεγ.; cf. נֵכֶר (also ἅπ. λεγ.) in Job 31^3. All these three verses are in the *ḳînāh* measure. It is possible that v.^{12}, if it is genuine, should follow instead of preceding v.^{13} (so Wellh., Nowack). For the thrice repeated אֵידָם (אֵידוֹ) in v.^{13} the LXX has πόνων αὐτῶν, ὀλέθρου αὐτῶν, ἀπωλίας αὐτῶν (this last also in v.^{12} for אֵידָם), which makes the correctness of the monotonous MT all the more suspected. For תִּשְׁלַחְנָה in v.^{13} we ought certainly to read תִּשְׁלַח יָד (so Ewald, followed by Nowack, König and others).—פֶּרֶק in v.^{14} is very doubtful (LXX διεκβολαί, Symm. φυγαδείας). The only other occurrence of the word is in Nah 3^1, where it means 'violence' (LXX ἀδικία; cf. the use of the verb פרק in Ps 7^3 [Eng.^{2}] as applied to a lion tearing his prey in pieces). Graetz conjectures for Ob ^{14} הַפֶּרֶץ 'the breach,' but, as Nowack points out, the fugitives are thought of as already beyond the breach.

v.^{15b}. Wellh. and Nowack transpose the order of the clauses of v.^{15} and make ^{15b} the appropriate conclusion of v.^{14} and of the original prophecy, while ^{15a} introduces the later supplement to this.

v.^{16}. לָעוּ, if genuine, would describe the incoherent or meaningless utterances (cf. Job 6^3, Pr 20^{25}) of an intoxicated man, but we should probably emend (with Wellh. and Nowack) to נָעוּ 'reel *or* stagger.'

v.$^{20f.}$ have suffered a good deal of corruption. A verb to גָּלֻת may have dropped out, and הַחֵל is doubtful. LXX ἡ ἀρχή must have connected the word in some way with הֵחֵל 'begin.' Neither 'host' nor 'fortress' seems to give an appropriate sense, and Ewald's 'coast' is purely conjectural. Possibly for אֲשֶׁר כְּנַעֲנִים we should read אֶרֶץ כְּ׳ 'land of the Canaanites,' *i.e.* Phœnicia. In v.^{21} מוֹשִׁעִים 'saviours' is suspected by Wellhausen and Nowack. Graetz (with LXX, Syr., Aq., Theod.) reads נוֹשָׁעִים 'those who have been saved by Jahweh.' Perhaps he is right in reading מֵהַר for בְּהַר (LXX ἐξ ὄρους).

Like Joel, which is probably later still, Obadiah is written in good Hebrew, and it cannot be said that the *diction* of the post-exilic portion shows any marked signs of lateness as compared with vv.$^{1-10}$. The only Aramaism in the book is קטל of v.^{9b}, and, as we have seen above, this may have been originally a marginal gloss.

The closest parallels to the *spirit* of Obadiah, with its fierce hatred of Edom and its threatenings against the *goyim*, are to be found in Ezk $25^{12ff.}$ 35, Ps 137, La $4^{21f.}$, Is 34 f. (cf. especially Ob ^{15} and Is 34^2) 63^{1-6}.

LITERATURE.—(*A*) Commentaries: Caspari, *Der Prophet Ob. ausgelegt*, 1842; Ewald, *Prophets of OT* [Eng. tr.], ii. 277 ff.; Seydel, *Der Proph. Ob.* 1869; Hitzig-Steiner (in *Kgf. Exeg. Hdbch.*), 1881; Keil^2, 1888; Meyrick (in *Speaker's Comm.*); T. T. Perowne (in *Cambridge Bible*), 1889; von Orelli (in Strack and Zöckler's *Kgf. Kommentar*), 1888; Pusey, *The Minor Prophets*; Wellhausen, *Die kleinen Propheten*, 1893; Nowack, do. 1897; Peters (Rom. Cath.), *Die Prophetie Obadjas*, 1892; Bachmann, *Der Proph. Ob.* 1892. Reference may be made also to Reuss, *AT* ii. 560 ff.; Farrar, *The Minor Prophets* (in 'Men of the Bible' series), 175 ff.; G. A. Smith, *The Book of the Twelve Prophets* (in 'Expositor's Bible'), ii. 163 ff.; Kirkpatrick, *Doctrine of the Prophets*, 33 ff.

(*B*) Works of Introduction: Driver, *LOT*^{6} xviii, 320 f. Add. and Corr. xxii; Wildeboer, *Lit. d. AT*, 216, 303 ff.; the *Einleitungen* of König (p. 360 ff.), Strack (p. 102 ff.), Cornill^2 (p. 178 ff.), Kuenen (§ 72, 3-4).

(*C*) Miscellaneous: Delitzsch in *Zeitschr. f. luth. Theologie*, 1851, p. 91 ff.; Boehme in *ZATW*, vii. (1882), p. 224 ff.; Vaihinger in Merx' *Archiv*, i. 488 ff.; Budde in *ZATW* xii. (1887) p. 40 ff.; Graf on Jer 49; Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*, 315 f.; Cheyne, *Founders of OT Criticism*, 311 f.; Sayce, *HCM* 482 f.; Schrader, *Keilinschrift u. Geschichtsforschung*, 116 ff., *KAT*^{2} 446 f. [*COT* ii. 145 f.]; Frd. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 249.

J. A. SELBIE.

OBAL.—Gn 10^{28}. See EBAL, No. 1.

OBDIA (A Ὀβδία, B Ὀββειά), 1 Es 5^{38}, the same as **Habaiah** (Ὀβαιά), Ezr 2^{61}, or **Hobaiah**, Neh 7^{63}. —The Vat. MS here preserves the more correct form of the name.

OBDURACY.—See HARDENING.

OBED (עוֹבֵד).—**1.** The son of Boaz and Ruth (Ru 4^{17} Ὠβήδ) of whom the women said to Naomi at his birth: 'He shall be unto thee a restorer of life and a nourisher of thine old age' (Ru 4^{15}). He was nursed in his infancy by Naomi, and grew up to become the father of Jesse the father of David, and an ancestor of our Lord (cf. Mt 1^5, Lk 3^{32}). There seems no reason to doubt that David was really the grandson of Obed. **2.** A descendant of a daughter of Sheshan who was married to an Egyptian servant (1 Ch $2^{37f.}$, B Ὠβήδ, A Ἰωβήδ). Obed's father's name was Ephlal. His son's name was Jehu. **3.** One of 'the mighty men of the armies' of David (1 Ch 11^{47}, B א Ἰωβήθ, A Ἰωβήδ). **4.** A son of Shemaiah and grandson of Obed-edom, who belonged apparently to 'the courses of the doorkeepers' (1 Ch 26^{1-7}, B Ὠβήδ, A Ἰωβήδ). **5.** The father of Azariah, who was one of 'the captains of hundreds' who combined with Jehoiada for the deposition of Athaliah and the setting up of Joash as king (2 Ch 23^1, B Ὠβήδ, A Ἰωβήδ).

H. A. REDPATH.

OBED-EDOM (עֹבֵד אֱדֹם. The second part of the name is probably but not certainly that of a god. Cf. the similar names 'Abd-'Ashtart, 'Abd-Melkart, etc., and see Driver, *Heb. Text of Sam.* p. 206 f.; LXX B Ἀβεδδαρά, Ἀβεδδαράμ, Ἀβαεδδόμ, Ἀβδεδδόμ, Ἀβδοδδόμ, Ἰαβδεδδόμ; A shows the additional forms Ἀβεδδαδδόμ, Ἀβεδδαράν, Ἰαβδοδδόμ).—**1.** A Philistine, a native of Gath, who lived in or near Jerusalem. It was in his house that David deposited the ark after the death of Uzzah, and here it remained three months, bringing a blessing by its presence (2 S 6$^{10f.}$). In the parallel narrative, 1 Ch 13^{14}, the Chronicler characteristically writes, 'the ark of God remained *with the family of Obed-edom in his house.*' The last three words here refer not to O. but to the ark. This would have been rendered evident if RV had changed 'his' into 'its.' The Chronicler was unable to conceive of the ark remaining in the house of an uncircumcised Philistine, so he constructs a house for it within the house, or on the property, of Obed-edom. (See Kittel's note, *ad loc.*, in Haupt's *OT*, and Bertholet, *Stellung d. Isr. z. d. Fremden*, p. 182 f.). It is in all probability the same O. that appears as **2.** The eponym of a family of doorkeepers in the temple, 1 Ch 15$^{18.\,24}$ 16^{38} 26$^{4.\,8.\,15}$, 2 Ch 25^{24}. It is easy to understand how the story of O.'s connexion with the ark might transform a Gittite into a Levite (cf. the analogous cases of Samuel, who in 1 S 1^{1} is an Ephraimite, but in 1 Ch 6^{28} a Levite; and the temple-guard, which in 2 K 11 consists of the king's foreign mercenaries, but is converted in 2 Ch 23 into Levitical watchmen). **3.** The eponym of a post-exilic family of singers, 1 Ch 15^{21} 16^{5}.

J. A. SELBIE.

OBEDIENCE, OBEY.—These terms are, with two exceptions (RV Gn 49^{10}, Pr 30^{17}, where they render the rare word יְקָּהָה), the translation in OT of the Hebrew word שָׁמַע *shāmaʻ*, to 'hear' (so RV Jer 11^{3}, where AV has 'obey'), to 'hearken,' by which term it is rendered AV Gn 3^{17}, Lv 26^{14}, Dt 18^{19} etc., and often in RV, where AV translates 'obey' (*e.g.* Ex 5^{2}, Dt 4^{30}, Jos 5^{6} etc.). In NT it has several Greek equivalents. The most frequent is ὑπακούω, lit. to 'hearken,' the LXX tr. of the Heb. שָׁמַע. Other NT words for 'obey' are πείθομαι, lit. to 'be persuaded' (so Ac 5$^{36.\,37}$, Ro 2^{8}, Gal 5^{7} etc. The use of the negative forms ἀπειθέω, ἀπειθής, ἀπείθεια is frequent, to denote disobedience), and πειθαρχέω, a word expressing obedience to rulers (so Ac 5$^{29.\,32}$ 'We ought to obey God rather than men,' Tit 3^{1}). ὑποτάσσομαι, which AV twice renders 'obey,' means properly to 'be subject,' a tr^{n} which RV rightly substitutes in 1 Co 14^{34}, Tit 2$^{5.\,9}$.

While occasionally used to express a relation between man and man (*e.g.* the relation between parents and children, Dt 21$^{18.\,19}$; the case of the children of Jonathan the son of Rechab, Jer 35$^{14.\,18}$; cf. Pr 30^{17}), or between subjects and rulers (2 S 22^{45}, 1 Ch 29^{23}, Is 11^{14}, cf. Gn 49^{10}), the characteristic use of obedience in the Bible is to denote the right relation between man and God. It may be called the fundamental OT virtue. As such it is distinctly contrasted by Samuel with sacrifice in the classical passage, 1 S 15^{22}, 'Hath J″ as great delight in burnt-offerings and sacrifices as in obeying the voice of J″? Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams.' It is the one thing which God requires (Jer 11^{7}), and which from the first determines His attitude to His creatures. It was the cause of the blessing of Abraham (Gn 22^{18} 26^{5}). It is the condition of Israel's receiving the covenant blessing (Ex 19^{5} 'Now, therefore, if ye will obey my voice indeed, and keep my covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me among all peoples.' Cf. Ex 24^{7}, Dt 11$^{27.\,28}$ 30$^{1\text{-}10}$, Jer 11$^{1\text{-}8}$). As such it is made prominent in all later renewals of the covenant (Jos 24^{24}, 1 S 12$^{14.\,15}$; cf. Neh 9$^{16.\,17.\,26}$), and is insisted upon by the prophets as the condition of those future blessings to which they look forward (Is 1^{19}, Zec 6^{15}). Disobedience, on the other hand, is threatened with the severest penalties (Dt 11^{28} 28^{62}, Lv 26$^{14f.}$, Jer 9^{13} 18^{10}, Is 65^{12}), even to utter destruction (Dt 8^{20} 'As the nations which J″ maketh to perish before you, so shall ye perish; because ye would not obey the voice of J″ your God'; cf. Jer 12^{17}). It is the explanation of all Israel's misfortunes, whether in the past or the present (Jos 5^{6}, the wanderings in the wilderness; Jg 2$^{2.\,3}$, the failure to conquer the inhabitants of Canaan; 2 K 18^{12}, the Captivity; cf. Neh 9^{17}, Zeph 3^{2}, Is 42^{24}, Dn 9$^{10.\,11}$, and esp. Jer, who continually emphasizes the disobedience of Israel, 7$^{23.\,24}$ 11^{3} 17^{23} 22^{21} 32^{23} 40^{3} 44^{23}). No matter how plausible the prophet, if he urge to disobedience, his message is to be disregarded (Dt 13$^{1\text{-}5}$). No matter how earnest the prayer, if contradicted by a disobedient life, it can hope for no acceptance (Dt 26$^{14.\,15}$, Jer 3$^{13.\,14}$). Yet, on the other hand, no sin is so great but it shall receive forgiveness, if penitence manifest itself in the fruit of obedience (Dt 4^{30} 30$^{2.\,8}$, Jer 26^{13}).

While the duty of obedience is specially associated in OT with the precepts of the Law (so Dt 30^{10}, Ex 24^{7}, Jer 44^{23}), it is not restricted thereto. No commandment of J″, however delivered, can safely be disregarded (cf. Ex 5^{2}, the case of Pharaoh; 1 S 15$^{19.\,20}$ 28^{18}, Saul, in the case of Amalek; 1 K 20^{36}, the prophet who disobeyed J″; Jer 38^{20} 42$^{13.\,21}$ 44$^{4.\,7}$, the matter of the Egyptian alliance). Hence it is required, not merely in the case of J″ Himself (Job 36$^{11.\,12}$, cf. Ex 23$^{20\text{-}22}$, the *Mal'ak J″*; Pr 5$^{7.\,13}$, the divine Wisdom), but of His human representatives (Joshua, Nu 27^{20}, Jos 1^{17}; the judges, Jg 2^{17}; Samuel, 1 S 8^{19}; the future prophet, Dt 18^{19}; the servant of J″, Is 50^{10}).

In many points the NT usage follows the OT (cf. the references to Israel in Ro 10^{16}, Ac 7^{39}, He 2^{2} 11^{8}). In a few cases obedience is predicated of inanimate objects (the wind and the sea, Mt 8^{27}, Mk 4^{41}, Lk 8^{25}; the mountains, Lk 17^{6}), or of the evil spirits in the presence of Christ (Mk 1^{27}). With these exceptions, it is used of men, either in their human relations (children to parents, Eph 6^{1}, Col 3^{20}; wives to husbands, 1 P 3^{6}; servants to masters, Eph 6^{5}, Col 3^{22}), or more frequently in their relations to God (Ac 5^{29}), to Christ (2 Co 10^{5}), or to their human representatives, as the apostles (Paul, 2 Th 3^{14}, Ph 2^{12}, 2 Co 2^{9}, Philem ^{21}; Titus, 2 Co 7^{15}). Characteristic of the Greek usage is the impersonal use of the object. Men are said to be servants of sin (Ro 6^{12}), unrighteousness (Ro 2^{8}), obedience (Ro 6^{16}), the truth (Ro 2^{8}, Gal 5^{7}), the teaching (Ro 6^{17}), the word (1 P 3^{1}), the gospel (2 Th 1^{8}, 1 P 4^{17}), the heavenly vision (Ac 26^{19}).

The importance of obedience is no less emphasized in NT than in OT. It is at once the cause and the condition of salvation. Through one act of obedience (Ro 5^{19}) Christ became to all His followers the author of an eternal salvation (He 5^{9}). But this salvation is only to be obtained on condition that they also obey (He 5^{9}). In His farewell address to His disciples Christ makes obedience the supreme test of love (Jn 14$^{15.\,23}$, cf. Dt 5^{10}). Paul declares that the obedience of the Christian should extend even to the very thoughts (2 Co 10^{5}). On the other hand, disobedience is the supreme evil. By Adam's act of disobedience sin entered the world (Ro 5^{19}). Israel's troubles in the days of the old covenant were due to the same cause. Still worse is the case of those who disobey under the new covenant (He 2^{2}). Such shall receive dreadful punishment, even eternal destruction at the Parousia of Christ (2 Th $1^{8.9}$).

Since the great duty which God requires under the new covenant is faith in Christ, obedience for the Christian takes the form of faith, as Ro 1^5 16^{26}, where the two words are combined in the expression 'the obedience of faith' (cf. Ac 6^7, He 11^8, the case of Abraham). Hence obedience receives in the Epistles the technical meaning of acceptance of the Christian religion. So without qualifying words Ro 15^{18} 16^{19}, 1 P 1^2 (cf. Ro 6^{17} 'Ye became obedient from the heart to that form of teaching whereunto ye were delivered'); Gal 5^7, Ro 2^8, obedient to the truth; 1 P 3^1, the word; 2 Th 1^8, 1 P 4^{17}, the gospel. The phrase 'children of obedience' is used in 1 P 1^{14} as equivalent to Christians. On the other hand, the expression 'sons of disobedience' is used by St. Paul to denote those who belong to this world (Eph 2^2 5^6, Col 3^6).

The great example of obedience is Christ, who 'humbled himself, becoming obedient unto death, even the death of the cross' (Ph 2^8); who, 'though he was a Son, yet learned obedience by the things which he suffered; and having been made perfect, he became unto all them that obey him the author of eternal salvation' (He 5^9, cf. Ro 5^{19}). Hence it should be the effort of every Christian to bring every thought into captivity to the obedience of Christ (2 Co 10^5).

LITERATURE.—Cremer, *Bib.-Theol. Lex.* sub ὑπακούω, πείθομαι, and cognates; Harless, *Christian Ethics* (Eng. tr.), 115-125; Weiss, *Bibl. Theol. of NT*, Index; Cheyne, *Origin of the Psalter*, 363-380. The subject is treated homiletically by H. P. Liddon, *Some Words of Christ*, 63; P. Brooks, *Light of the World*, 340; F. W. Robertson, *Sermons*, ii. 94; H. E. Manning, *Sermons*, i. 117, 129, 242, 287.

W. ADAMS BROWN.

OBEISANCE.—'Obeisant' and 'obeisance,' coming through the French, have been superseded by 'obedient' and 'obedience' which came directly from the Lat. *obediens*. Maundeville, *Travels*, 155, says, 'In that Lond thei have a Queen, that governethe alle that Lond; and alle thei ben obeyssant to hire.' And Berners, *Froissart*, p. 85 (Globe ed.), has, 'And when the month was expired that they of Segur should give up their town, the earl sent thither, and they of the town gave up and became under the obeisance of the King of England.' The form is already rare in the sixteenth century. When found it is almost always in the phrase 'make obeisance' or 'do obeisance.' Shakespeare has the subst. once (the adj. not at all) in the phrase 'Call him "madam," do him obeisance'—*Tam. Shrew*, Ind. i. 108. But AV has retained from Tindale, as the tr. of שָׁחָה *shāḥāh* (in its Hithpael conj.), 'make obeisance' in Gn $37^{7.9}$ 43^{28}, 2 Ch 24^{17}, and 'do obeisance' in Ex 18^7, 2 S 1^2 14^4 15^5, 1 K 1^{16}. To the examples of 'do obeisance' RV makes some additions, viz., for AV 'do reverence' in 2 S 9^6, 1 K 1^{31}; for AV 'bow oneself' in 1 S 24^8 28^{14}, 2 S 9^8 14^{22}, 1 K 1^{53}; and for AV 'humbly beseech' in 2 S 16^4. The Heb. verb in the form so trᵈ means to prostrate oneself in reverence or worship, and is variously rendered both in AV and RV, though its usual tr. is 'worship.' See WORSHIP. J. HASTINGS.

OBELISK.—Hos 3^4 RVm. See PILLAR.

OBETH (B Οὐβήν, A 'Ωβήθ), 1 Es 8^{32} = Ebed, Ezr 8^6.

OBIL (אוֹבִיל; B 'Αβίας, A Οὐβίας; Luc. 'Ωβίλ).—The overseer of David's camels, 1 Ch 27^{30}. The name is probably Arabic (cf. أَبِلٌ 'able to manage camels'; see *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*).

OBLATION.—See OFFERING and SACRIFICE.

OBJECT.—This verb occurs twice in AV: Wis 2^{12} 'He upbraideth us with our offending the law, and objecteth to our infamy the transgressings of our education' (ἐπιφημίζει ἡμῖν ἁμαρτήματα παιδείας ἡμῶν, Vulg. 'diffamat in nos peccata disciplinæ nostræ,' Gen. 'blameth us as transgressors of discipline'; RV 'layeth to our charge sins against our discipline'); and Ac 24^{19} 'Who ought to have been here before thee, and object, if they had ought against me,' where the verb so translated is κατηγορέω (κατά and ἀγορεύω, to speak against one in open court), which is rendered 'accuse' in Ac 24^2. The verb was also used transitively in the same sense of public accusation, as Mk 14^{60} Rhem., 'Answerest thou nothing to these things that are objected to thee of these?' and Adams on 2 P 1^4, 'The masters of the pythoness objected this against Paul and Silas.' J. HASTINGS.

OBOTH (אֹבֹת; 'Ωβώθ, B has Σωβώθ in Nu $33^{43.44}$).—A station in the journeyings of the children of Israel, mentioned both in the itinerary of Nu 33 and in Nu $21^{10.11}$ as preceding Iye-abarim, and therefore in the neighbourhood of Moab. Nothing definite is known as to its position.

A. T. CHAPMAN.

OBSCURITY.—After the Lat. *obscuritas* and the Fr. *obscurité*, 'obscurity' is used literally in AV for darkness, gloom. There is no difference recognized between the two words 'darkness' and 'obscurity.' Obscurity is the tr. of אֹפֶל *'ōphel*, in Is 29^{18}, and of חֹשֶׁךְ *ḥōshek*, in Is 58^{10} 59^9. When both words occur, RV translates *'ōphel* by 'obscurity' and *ḥōshek* by 'darkness.' The use of 'gloom' (instead of AV 'dimness') for *mû'āph* or *mā'ûph* (Is 8^{22} 9^1) probably prevented the employment of that word. Obscurity also occurs in Ad. Est 11^8 (Gr. γνόφος, RV 'gloominess'). This literal use of the word is rare in English. The adj. occurs only in Pr 20^{20} 'his lamp shall be put out in obscure darkness,' Heb. בֶּאֱשׁוּן חֹשֶׁךְ (*Kĕrê* for בְּאִישׁוֹן, which means 'in the pupil [of the eye] of darkness': cf. 7^9 'in the black and dark night,' lit. 'in the pupil of the night and of darkness,' the pupil being the darkest part of the eye), RV 'in the blackest darkness.' See APPLE OF THE EYE. J. HASTINGS.

OBSERVE, OBSERVATION.—The verb to observe is used throughout the AV in the sense of 'give heed to.' Thus Pr 23^{26} 'My son, give me thine heart, and let thine eyes observe my ways' (RV 'delight in,' the translation of the *Kethibh*); Gn 37^{11} 'his father observed the saying' (RV 'kept the saying in mind'); Hos 14^8 'I have heard him, and observed him' (אֲנִי עָנִיתִי וַאֲשׁוּרֶנּוּ; RV 'I have answered and will regard him'; cf. Shaks. *Hamlet*, III. i. 162, 'the observed of all observers'); Jon 2^8 'They that observe lying vanities forsake their own mercy' (RV 'regard,' as in Ps 31^6 AV and RV); Sir 4^{20} 'Observe the opportunity and beware of evil' (συντήρησον καιρόν); Mk 6^{20} 'For Herod feared John, knowing that he was a just man and an holy, and observed him' (συνετήρει, AVm 'kept him,' or 'saved him'; RV 'kept him safe'). In the last passage 'observed him' means 'gave him reverence,' which is the tr. of Tind. followed by Cran., Gen., and the Bishops; cf. Shaks. *II Henry IV.* IV. iv. 30, 'He is gracious, if he be observed.' But the Greek verb means either *to keep* (laws, etc.) or else *to preserve*, and the latter is plainly the meaning here. See Swete *in loc.* Wyclif and the Rhem. Version have 'kept him' after Vulg. *custodiebat eum*.

'**Observation**' in Lk 17^{20}, 'the kingdom of God cometh not with observation,' means *attentive* *watching* (Gr. *παρατήρησις*), as in Walton, *Compleat Angler*, 99, 'I told you Angling is an art, either by practice or a long observation or both.' The word also occurs in Neh 13^{14} AVm (text 'office,' RV 'observance'), where it means 'ceremony,' 'rite,' or to use the modern word in RV 'observance.' In this sense 'observation' was once common. Thus, *Rhem. NT* on Ac 17^{22}, 'Paul calleth not them superstitious for adoring the true and only God with much devotion . . . or any other Christian observation.'

Observer of Times—See Divination, Soothsaying. J. Hastings.

OBSTINACY.—See Hardening.

OCCUPY.—The verb to occupy has become much restricted in meaning since 1611. Following the Lat. *occupare* (*ob-capere*?) it expresses in AV usually the idea of being 'taken up with' anything. (1) A good example, and not far removed from mod. use, is He 13^9 'meats which have not profited them that have been occupied therein' (TR *οἱ περιπατήσαντες*, edd. *οἱ περιπατοῦντες*, RV 'they that occupied themselves,' RVm 'walked'). Cf. Erasmus, *Commune Crede*, fol. 14, 'The science of physike . . . treateth and is occupied about thynges which do helpe or hurte the helthe of the body'; *Rhem. NT* on Mk 3, 'He so occupieth him selfe for soules, that his kinne thinke him madde.' (2) Still nearer the mod. use is 1 Co 14^{16} 'how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen at thy giving of thanks?' (*ὁ ἀναπληρῶν τὸν τόπον τοῦ ἰδιώτου*, RV 'filleth the place'). Cf. again Erasmus, *Com. Crede*, fol. 17, 'The mystycall body therefore of Christe, occupieth the iiii. parte of the symbole or crede.' (3) But the word sometimes means 'use' or 'employ,' as Ex 38^{24} 'All the gold that was occupied for the work in all the work of the holy place, even the gold of the offering, was twenty and nine talents' (כָּל־הַזָּהָב הֶעָשׂוּי, RV 'that was used'); Jg 16^{11} 'If they bind me fast with new ropes that never were occupied' (אֲשֶׁר לֹא־נַעֲשָׂה בָהֶם מְלָאכָה, lit. as AVm and RV 'wherewith no work hath been done'). Cf. Gosson, *Schoole of Abuse*, p. 72, 'Iron with muche occupiying is worne too naught, with little handeling gathereth rust'; Hamilton, *Catechism*, fol. xvi. 'Thai lufe nocht God with al thair strenth, quhasævir occupyis yair strenth in doing evil deids'; Lv 7^{24} Tind. 'Neverthelater the fatt of the beest that dyeth alone and the fatt of that which is torne with wilde beestes, maye be occupide in all maner uses'; and Skelton in Skeat's *Specimens*, p. 146—

> 'And of this poore vassall
> He made a kynge royall,
> And gave him a realme to rule,
> That occupyed a showell,
> A mattoke and a spade.'

(4) And, lastly, *trade with*, as Ezk 27^9 'all the ships of the sea with their mariners were in thee to occupy thy merchandise'; so 27^{27}, where the Heb. verb is the same (עָרַב); RV retains 'occupy,' but with 'exchange' in margin. In $27^{16.19.22}$ another verb (נָתַן) is translated 'occupy' ('they occupied in thy fairs'); RV has 'traded.' In 27^{21} 'they occupied with thee in lambs,' the Heb. expression (הֵמָּה סֹחֲרֵי יָדֵךְ) is lit. as AVm and RV 'they were the merchants of thy hand.' Another example of the same meaning is Lk 19^{13} 'And he called his ten servants, and delivered them ten pounds, and said unto them, Occupy till I come' (*πραγματεύσασθε*; RV 'Trade ye *herewith*'). The tr. 'occupy' here is from Cranmer, the Bishops, and the Rheims; Wyc. has 1382 'marchaundise ye,' 1388 'chaffare ye'; Tind. 'by and sell,' followed by Geneva. This meaning of 'occupy' may be illustrated from Coverdale, as Is $23^{17.18}$ 'The Lorde shall viset the citie of Tirus, and it shal come agayne to hyr Marchaundyse, and shal occupie with al the Kingdomes that be in the worlde. But all his occupienge and wynnynge shalbe halowed unto the Lorde'; or from the Rhemish Version, as Mt 25^{16} 'And he that had received the five talents, went his way, and occupied with the same, and gained other five.'

J. Hastings.

OCCURRENT.—In 1 K $5^{4\ [\text{Heb. } 18]}$ the Heb. word פֶּגַע *pega'* (which is elsewhere found only in Ec 9^{11} and is rendered in EV 'chance') is translated in AV 'occurrent'; 'there is neither adversary nor evil occurrent' (פֶּגַע רָע). RV retains 'occurrent,' but Amer. RV prefers 'occurrence,' which is the modern form. The LXX tr. is *ἁμάρτημα πονηρόν*, the Vulg. (supposed to have suggested the Eng.) *occursus malus*; Wyclif (1382) has 'yvel agencomynge,' 1388 'yvel asailyng'; Cov. 'evell hynderaunce'; Gen. 'evil to resiste,' followed by the Bishops; Dou. 'il rencounter.' The form 'occurrent' was used both as an adj. and as a subst. As an adj. we find it in Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.* v. 78, 'After gifts of education there follow general abilities to work things above nature, grace to cure men of bodily diseases, supplies against occurrent defects and impediments.' As a subst. it is found in Shaks. (*Hamlet*, v. ii. 341), who also twice uses 'occurrence' (*T. Night*, v. i. 264, *Henry V.* v. Prol. 40). Cf. also Chapman, *Widow's Tears*, iii. 1, 'These are strange occurrents, brother, but pretty and pathetical'; Bacon, *Henry VII.* (Pitt Press ed. p. 68), 'He paid the king large tribute of his gratitude in diligent advertisement of the occurrents of Italy.' Beaumont and Fletcher, *Beggar's Bush*, i. 1—

> 'My five years' absence hath kept me stranger
> So much to all the occurrents of country.'

J. Hastings.

OCHIELUS (B Ὀχίηλος, A Ὀζίηλος, AV Ochiel), 1 Es 1^9=Jeiel, 2 Ch 35^9.

OCHRAN (עָכְרָן, Ἐχράν).—Father of Pagiel, an Asherite prince, Nu 1^{13} 2^{27} $7^{72.77}$ 10^{26}.

OCIDELUS (A Ὠκείδηλος, B Ὠκαίληδος), 1 Es 9^{22}, a corruption of **Jozabad** in Ezr 10^{22}.

OCINA (Ὀκεινά) occurs only in Jth 2^{28}, where it is grouped with Sidon, Tyre, etc., as terror-stricken at the approach of Holofernes. The names of the cities are given in order, proceeding southward along the sea-coast. First come Sidon and Tyre, then follow Sur,* Ocina, and Jemnaan. Sur has been taken for Tyre (Smith's *DB*, art. 'Ocina'), and this (*Ṣûr*) is the modern name of that town. But the name of Tyre is already given in its usual form, and it is more natural to suppose that Sur refers to another place. Tremelius and Junius speak of it as *locus maritimus inter Tyrum et Ptolemaida*, and identify it with Sandalium (Scandalium), the modern *Iskanderûna*. A short distance south of *Iskanderûna* lie the very ancient ruins of *Umm el-'Amûd*, the older name of which seems to have been *Turân* (Baedeker, *Pal.*^{8} 272). This is a more probable identification, and, if accepted, we pass naturally to Acre as the next important city to the south. The mediæval name Acon (see art. Acco) may very well represent the older Ocina, which Ptolemais had failed altogether to supplant. If Jemnaan is found at Jabneel (which see) the distance from Acco is very great; this, however, does not tell against the identification suggested.

W. Ewing.

ODED.—1. (עוֹדֵד) The father of the prophet Azariah who lived in the reign of Asa, 2 Ch 15^{1} (B Ὠδήδ, A Ἀδάδ). In v.^{8} 'Oded' of MT and B (Ἀδάδ) is a mistake (through wrong marginal gloss or otherwise) for 'Azariah' (so A and Pesh.). See AZARIAH, No. 3. 2. (עֹדֵד, Ὠδήδ) A prophet who protested against the proposal to enslave the Judahites who were taken prisoners upon the occasion of Pekah's invasion of the Southern kingdom. Being supported by certain of the heads of Ephraim, Oded succeeded in obtaining for the captives kindly treatment and release, 2 Ch $28^{9ff.}$ J. A. SELBIE.

---

* B Ἀσσούρ, B^{ab} ℵ$^{a? a.b, c.a}$, A Σούρ, ℵ* Τούρ.

ODOLLAM.—2 Mac 12^{38} AV and RVm. See ADULLAM.

ODOMERA (Ὀδομηρά ℵA, Ὀδοαρρής B, *Odares*).—A nomad chief, or possibly a Syrian officer, slain by Jonathan during the war with Bacchides, about B.C. 158 (1 Mac 9^{66}). The form of the name in the AV, Odonarkes, seems to have no authority to support it.

OF.—This is the most frequent preposition in the Eng. language. Probably (says Earle) it occurs as often as all the other prepositions put together. But frequent as it is, its occurrence now is moderate when compared with the usage of the 15th and 16th centuries. By the beginning of the 17th cent. it was getting displaced by other prepositions in some of its most common meanings, as by 'by' when expressing the agent. But the language of AV, being so much older than the current speech of 1611, is full of the word in meanings which were archaic even then, and are now quite obsolete.

The reason of its frequent use is that 'of' represented not only the original Anglo-Saxon *of* but also the French *de*. The Anglo-Sax. *of* had the meaning of 'from' or 'away from' (Goth. *af*, Lat. *ab*, Gr. ἀπό, Sansk. *apa*), as 'Alys us of yfle' = 'Deliver us from evil.' And this must be regarded as the starting-point in any history of the word. But it is impossible to work out the meanings derivatively from this primitive idea, because of the entrance of the French *de* and the demand for 'of' to render its various uses. This first got mixed up with and then drove out the earlier word, so that as now used 'of' is the translation of a French word; its form alone is English.

The following are its chief archaic or obsolete meanings in AV :—

1. *From* or *away from*, especially in the phrase 'forth of,' as Jth 2^{21} 'They went forth of Nineve' (ἀπῆλθον ἐκ, RV 'departed out of'); 2 Mac 4^{34} 'yet persuaded he him to come forth of the sanctuary' (ἐκ τοῦ ἀσύλου προελθεῖν); Mk 11^{8} 'Others cut down branches of the trees' (so 1611, mod. edd. 'off'; Gr. ἐκ, RV 'from'). Cf. Dt 4^{37} Tind. 'And because he loved thy fathers, therfore he chose their seed after them and broughte the out with his presence and with his mightye power of Egipte'; Ac 21^{30} Rhem. 'And apprehending Paul, they drewe him forth of the temple.' See FORTH. This and similar meanings are now generally expressed by 'off,' which is merely another (perhaps a stronger) spelling of 'of' (as 'after' is its comparative). 'Off' now represents the original Anglo-Sax. 'of' better than 'of' itself does. Coverdale scarcely distinguishes 'of' and 'off,' as Job $41^{19.20}$ 'Out of his mouth go torches and fyre brandes, out of his nostrels there goeth a smoke, like as out off an hote seetinge pott'; Zec $13^{1.2}$ 'In that tyme shall the house off David, and the citesyns off Jerusalem have an open well, to wash of synne and unclennesse. And then (sayeth the Lorde of hoostes) I will destroye the names of Idols out off the londe.'

2. The same meaning is found *metaphorically* after verbs of delivering. Thus Jer 30^{17} 'I will heal thee of thy wounds.' So Shaks. *K. John*, III. iv. 56, 'I may be delivered of these woes.'

3. Then 'of' expresses generally the *source* or *origin*, as Gn 2^{7} 'God formed man of the dust of the ground' (עָפָר מִן־הָאֲדָמָה, lit. 'formed man dust from the ground'); Ex 36^{3} 'They received of Moses all the offering' (מִלִּפְנֵי מֹשֶׁה, lit. 'from before Moses'); La 3^{22} '(It is of) the Lord's mercies that we are not consumed' (חַסְדֵי יהוה). So in NT often, as Mk 1^{30} 'sick of a fever' (πυρέσσουσα); Jn 6^{46} 'save he which is of God' (παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, RV 'from God'); Jn 15^{15} 'all things that I have heard of my Father' (παρὰ τοῦ πατρός μου, RV 'from my Father'); 17^{7} 'All things, whatsoever thou hast given me, are of thee' (παρὰ σοῦ, RV 'from thee'); Ac 17^{9} 'When they had taken security of Jason' (παρὰ τοῦ Ἰάσονος, RV 'from Jason'); Ph 1^{15} 'Some indeed preach Christ even of envy and strife; and some also of good-will' (διὰ φθόνον καὶ ἔριν, τινὲς δὲ καὶ δι' εὐδοκίαν); 1 P 5^{2} 'of a ready mind' (ἑκουσίως); especially as tr. of ἀπό, as Mt 7^{16} 'Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?' 16^{21} 'suffer many things of the elders'; $17^{25.26}$ 'Of whom do the kings of the earth take custom or tribute? Of their own children or of strangers? Peter saith unto him, Of strangers' (RV always 'from'); 16^{13} 'He shall not speak of himself' (ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, RV 'from himself'); or as tr. of ἐκ or ἐξ, as Mt 21^{25} 'The baptism of John whence was it, from heaven or of men?' (ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, ἢ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, RV 'from heaven or from men'); 1 Co 1^{30} 'But of him are ye in Christ Jesus'; 2 Co 5^{1} 'We have a building of God'; Ja 4^{1} 'come they not hence, even of your lusts?' There are many clear examples in the older versions and early writers, as Jn 15^{26} Wyc. 'A spirit of truthe, whiche cometh of the fadir'; 1 P 4^{19} Wyc. 'the feithful maker of nought'; Gn 2^{23} Tind. 'This shall be called woman, because she was take of the man'; Gn 44^{5} Tind. 'Is that not the cuppe of which my lorde drynketh?'; He 10^{38} Rhem. 'my just liveth of faith' (ἐκ πίστεως); Erasmus, *Crede*, fol. 59, 'All thynges are, ex ipso et per ipsum (id est) of hym, and by hym'; More, *Utopia*, i. 40 (Lumby's ed.), 'But if the thing be loste or made away, then the value of it is paide of the gooddes of such offenders.'

4. From the last would easily arise the sense of *portion*, something taken *from among* the whole, as Lv 4^{16} 'And the priest that is anointed shall bring of the bullock's blood'; Dn 2^{25} 'I have found a man of the captives of Judah'; 2^{41} 'There shall be in it of the strength of the iron'; Mt 25^{8} 'Give us of your oil'; 26^{27} 'Drink ye all of it'; To 11^{11} 'He strake of the gall on his father's eyes.' Cf. Mt 23^{34} Tind. 'I sende unto you prophetes, wyse men, and scribes; and of them ye shall kyll and crucifie; and of them ye shall scourge in youre synagoges.'

5. *From a point of time*, as Mk 9^{21} 'Of a child' (παιδιόθεν). Then *throughout a certain time*, as Lk 23^{8} 'He was desirous to see him of a long season' (ἐξ ἱκανοῦ; edd. ἐξ ἱκανῶν χρόνων, RV 'of a long time'); Ac 8^{11} 'of long time he had bewitched them' (ἱκανῷ χρόνῳ). Cf. Berners, *Froissart*, i. 10, 'a tempest took them in the sea, that put them so far out of their course that they wist not of two days where they were'; Knox, *Works*, iii. 241, 'They are not permitted of any continuance to blaspheme.'

6. As the link between an act or state and its origin, 'of' was used with great freedom. Thus it is equivalent to: (1) *At* in 2 S 19^{42} 'Have we eaten at all of the king's cost?' (מִן־הַמֶּלֶךְ, lit. 'from the king'; LXX ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως, Vulg. *a rege*). (2) *Concerning*, Dn 7^{19} 'Then I would know the truth of the fourth beast' (RV 'concerning'); 1 Es 3^{9} 'Of whose side the king . . . shall judge that his sentence is the wisest, to him shall the victory be given' (ὃν ἂν κρίνῃ); Jn 12^{16} 'Then remembered

they that these things were written of him' (*ἐπ' αὐτῷ*); Ac 4^{9} 'If we this day be examined of the good deed' (*ἐπὶ εὐεργεσίᾳ*, RV 'concerning'); 5^{24} 'they doubted of them, whereunto this would grow' (*διηπόρουν περὶ αὐτῶν*, RV 'were much perplexed concerning them'); 15^{6} 'came together for to consider of this matter' (*περὶ τοῦ λόγου τούτου*); 1 Co 1^{11} 'It hath been declared unto me of you' (*περὶ ὑμῶν*, RV 'concerning you'). Cf. Gn 42^{9} Tind. 'Joseph remembered his dreams which he dreamed of them'; Mt 2^{8} Rhem. 'Goe, and inquire diligently of the childe'; 11^{7} Rhem. 'Jesus began to say to the multitudes of John'; Knox, *Works*, iii. 301, 'That God was eyther impotente, . . . or else, that he was mutable and unjust of his promyses.' (3) *For*, or *on account of*, as Job 13^{heading} 'Job reproveth his friends of partiality'; Sir 4^{25} 'Be abashed of the error of thine ignorance' (*περὶ τῆς ἀπαιδευσίας σου*, RV 'for thine ignorance'); 43^{22} 'A present remedy of all is a mist coming speedily' (*ἴασις πάντων*, RV 'A mist coming speedily is the healing of all things'); Mt 18^{13} 'he rejoiceth more of that sheep than of the ninety and nine' (*ἐπί*, RV 'over'); Jn 2^{17} 'The zeal of thine house' (*ὁ ζῆλος τοῦ οἴκου σου*); 16^{8} 'He will reprove the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment' (*περὶ*); Ac 21^{20} 'They are all zealous of the law' (*ζηλωταὶ τοῦ νόμου*, RV 'for'); Ro 10^{2} 'They have a zeal of God' (*ζῆλον θεοῦ*, RV 'for'); 2 Co 7^{4} 'Great is my glorying of you' (*πρὸς ὑμᾶς*, RV 'on your behalf'). Cf. Ex 3^{7} Tind. 'I have surely sene the trouble of my people which are in Egipte, and have herde their crye which they have of their taskmasters'; Jn 3^{29} Tind. 'But the frende of the brydegrome which stondeth by and heareth him, rejoyseth greately of the brydgrome's voyce.' So Berners, *Froissart*, p. 8, 'Then the queen of England took leave of the earl of Hainault and of the countess, and thanked them greatly of their honour, feast, and good cheer, that they had made her'; and Milton, *Areopag.* (Hales' ed. p. 46), 'What some lament of, we rather should rejoice at.' (4) *On* or *upon*, as Ps 99^{8} 'Thou tookest vengeance of their inventions'; Lk 18^{3} 'Avenge me of mine adversary' (*ἀπό*); Wis 17^{10} 'which could of no side be avoided' (*μηδαμόθεν*, RV 'on no side'); He 10^{34} 'ye had compassion of me in my bonds' (*τοῖς δεσμοῖς* [edd. *δεσμίοις*] *μου συνεπαθήσατε*, RV 'ye had compassion on them that were in bonds'). Cf. Is 14^{1} Geneva, 'For the Lord wil have compassion of Iaakob.' In the Pr. Bk. of 1559 occurs the phrase 'if ye stand by as gazers and lookers of them that do communicate'; in 1552 it was 'lookers on,' to which the ed. of 1604 returned. Hall has the same use of the word in *Works*, iii. 440, 'The wise and Almighty maker of these earthen mines, esteems the best metals but as thick clay; and why should we set any other price of them than their Creator?' (5) *Over*, 1 Co 7^{4} 'The wife hath not power of her own body' (*τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος οὐκ ἐξουσιάζει*, RV 'hath not power over'). Cf. Job 42^{2} Cov. 'I knowe that thou hast power of all things.' (6) *With*, as 2 S 19^{32} 'He had provided the king of sustenance' (RV 'with'); Ca 2^{5} and 5^{8} 'I am sick of love.'* Wyclif (*Select Works*, iii. 84) says, 'Thou schuldist love thi God of al thin herte, of al thi soule, and of al thi mynde.' Cf. Tindale, *Expos.* p. 109, 'Though they persecute thee from house to house a thousand times, yet shall God provide thee of another'; Rutherford, *Letters*, No. xlv. 'I can be content of shame in that work, if my Lord and Master be honoured'; and Shaks. *Macbeth*, I. ii. 13—

'The merciless Macdonwald
. . . from the western isles
Of kerns and gallowglasses is supplied.'

7. But the most important of all the obsolete uses of 'of' is its employment to introduce the agent, especially after a passive verb. This function was performed both by the Anglo-Sax. 'of' and by the Fr. *de*; it is therefore very common in the English of the 14th to 16th cent. By the beginning of the 17th cent. it was dying out, 'of' being replaced by 'by,' so that (as has been pointed out under BY) we have to do, not only with an idiom that is archaic to us, but also with one that is inconsistently applied. It further increases the difficulty that 'by' was used for the instrument or intermediate agency. Thus Lever, *Sermons* (Arber's ed. p. 77), says, 'We had never feast gyven of hym by his apostles'; and in AV we find, Mt 1^{22} 'which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet' (*τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ κυρίου διὰ τοῦ προφήτου*), RV 'by the Lord through the prophet').

The agent is usually expressed in Greek by *ὑπό* with the gen., and so *ὑπό* with the gen. is in AV usually translated by 'of.' In the following places, however, we find 'by': Mt 22^{31}, Mk 5^{4}, Lk $2^{18.26}$ 3^{19} 13^{17} 16^{22} 21^{16} 23^{8}, Ac 10^{22} $13^{4.45}$ $15^{3.40}$ 25^{14} 27^{11}, Ro 3^{21} 15^{24}, 1 Co 1^{11}, 2 Co 3^{3} $8^{19.20}$, Eph 2^{11} 5^{13}, Ph 1^{28}, Col 2^{18}, 2 Ti 2^{26}, He 2^{3} 3^{4}, 2 P 1^{21} 3^{2}. Of these the foll. are due to Tindale: Lk 13^{17} 16^{22} 23^{8}, Ac 10^{22} 15^{3}, Ro 15^{24}, 1 Co 1^{11}, 2 Co 3^{3} $8^{19.20}$, Eph 2^{11}, 2 P 1^{21}; in the other cases AV has changed Tindale's 'of' into 'by.' RV has always retained 'by' where it is found in AV, and has changed AV 'of' into 'by' in Mt 1^{22} 2^{15} 14^{8} 19^{12} 27^{12}, Mk 8^{31}, Lk 2^{21} $9^{7.8}$ 17^{20}, Ac 16^{14} 22^{12} $23^{10.27}$ $26^{2.7}$, 1 Co 2^{12} $10^{9.10.29}$ 14^{24} *bis*, 2 Co 2^{6} 8^{19}, Gal 1^{11} 3^{17}, Eph 5^{12}, Ph 3^{12}, He 11^{23}, Ja 1^{14} 2^{9} $3^{4.6}$, Jude $^{12.17}$.

The following passages deserve attention: 2 Es 16^{16} 'Like as an arrow which is shot of a mighty archer' (*a sagittario valido*); 16^{30} 'There are left some clusters of them that diligently seek through the vineyard' (*ab his*, RV 'by them'); Wis 18^{7} 'So of thy people was accepted both the salvation of the righteous and destruction of the enemies' (*ὑπὸ λαοῦ σου*, RV 'by thy people'); 1 Mac 5^{16} 'their brethren that were in trouble, and assaulted of them' (*ὑπ' αὐτῶν*); Mt 2^{16} 'He was mocked of the wise men' (*ὑπὸ τῶν μάγων*); 11^{27} 'All things are delivered unto me of my Father' (*ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός μου*); Lk 9^{7} 'Now Herod the tetrarch heard of all that was done by him (*ὑπ' αὐτοῦ*, edd. and RV om.): and he was perplexed, because that it was said of some (*ὑπό τινων*, RV 'by some') that John was risen from the dead'; Ac 15^{4} 'they were received of the church and of the apostles and elders' (*ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας*); 1 Co 14^{24} 'he is convinced of all, he is judged of all' (*ὑπὸ πάντων*, RV 'by all'); 2 Co 8^{19} 'who was also chosen of the churches' (*χειροτονηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν*, RV 'appointed by the churches'); Ph 3^{12} 'I am apprehended of Christ Jesus' (*ὑπὸ [τοῦ] Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ*, RV 'by Christ Jesus'). Examples in early writers are easily found: take Ex 22^{31} Tind. 'therfore shall ye eate no flesh that is torne of beestes in the feld'; and *Booke of Precedence* (E.E.T.S.) i. 76, 'Stody alwaies to be loved of good men, and seeke nat to be hated of the Evell.' The process of change may be illustrated from the history of the Pr. Bk. Thus in 1552 and 1559 we read ('Communion,' Keeling, p. 191), 'being so lovingly called and bidden of God himself'; but in 1604 and 1662 this is changed into 'by God himself.' Cf. Lever, *Sermons*, p. 26, 'For as there is no power of authorithy but of God, so is there none put in subjeccion under theym but by God. Those powers whiche be are ordeyned of God.'

8. Occasionally 'of' is redundant, as Dn 2^{49} 'Then Daniel requested of the king'; Sir 31^{24} 'The testimonies of his niggardness shall not be doubted of'; Ac 15^{6} 'The apostles and elders came together for to consider of this matter' (*ἰδεῖν περί*). Especially after gerunds, as 2 S 2^{21} 'Asahel would not turn aside from following of him'; 8^{13} 'He returned from smiting of the Syrians'; Sir 20^{22} 'There is that . . . by accepting of persons overthroweth himself'; Jn 11^{13} 'They thought that he

---

* Moon (*Eccles. English*, p. 212) urges with some reason that the Revisers should have adopted the modern idiom in Ca 2^{5} and 5^{8}, since to be sick *of* a thing means now to be heartily tired of it.

had spoken of taking of rest in sleep'; Ac 21^{32} 'They left beating of Paul.' It is also sometimes omitted where we should use it, as Rev 18^{12} 'all manner vessels of ivory.'

9. Notice finally the phrases: *Of certainty*, Dn 2^{8} (RV 'of a certainty'); *of force*, He 9^{17} (βέβαιος); *of purpose*, Ru 2^{16}: cf. Bacon, *Essays*, p. 33, 'Wise men will rather doe sacrifice to Envy; in suffering themselves sometimes of purpose to be crost'; *in comparison of*, Jg 8^{2}, Hag 2^{3}; and *of a truth*, Dn 2^{47}, Lk 4^{25} 22^{59}, Ac 4^{27} 10^{34}.

J. HASTINGS.

OFFENCE.—The verb to 'offend' (Lat. *offendere*, 'to strike against') means in AV either intransitively 'to go astray,' or transitively 'to lead one astray.' So 'offence' is either a 'trespass,' or the cause of trespass, a 'stumbling-block.'

Offend. The Heb. words are: (1) *'āsham* or *'āshēm*, to 'trespass' or 'be guilty,' Jer 2^{3} 50^{7}, Ezk 25^{12}, Hos 4^{15} 13^{1}, Hab 1^{11}. Thus Hos 13^{1} 'When he offended in Baal, he died' (RVm 'When he became guilty in Baal'; Cheyne 'But he became guilty through the Baal'). In 2 Ch 28^{13} the Heb. subst. *'ăshāmāh*, which is twice tr. 'trespass' in the same verse, is once rendered 'offend': 'we have offended against the Lord,' RV 'that which will bring upon us a trespass (RVm 'guilt') against the Lord.' RV changes Jer 2^{3} into 'be held guilty,' and Hab 1^{11} into 'be guilty,' leaving the rest unchanged. (2) *ḥāṭā'* 'to miss' (the way), 'err,' 'sin.' Gn 20^{9} ('What have I offended thee?'; RV 'sinned against thee'), 40^{1}, 2 K 18^{14}, Jer 37^{18} ('What have I offended against thee?'; RV 'sinned against thee'). (3) *bāgad* to 'act treacherously,' only Ps 73^{15} 'I should offend against the generation of thy children' (RV 'I had dealt treacherously with'). (4) *ḥābhal* to 'act foolishly,' 'become vain,' only Job 34^{31} 'I will not offend any more.' (5) *pāsha'* to 'rebel,' 'take offence,' Pr 18^{19} 'A brother offended is harder to be won than a strong city,' RVm 'injured.' In NT the two intrans. verbs are (1) ἁμαρτάνω, Ac 25^{8} 'Neither against the temple, nor yet against Cæsar, have I offended anything at all' (τι ἥμαρτον, RV 'have I sinned at all'); and (2) πταίω to stumble, Ja 2^{10} 3^{2} (RV both 'stumble'). The transit. verb is σκανδαλίζω, occurring chiefly in Mt ($5^{29.30}$ 11^{6} $13^{21.57}$ 15^{12} 17^{27} $18^{6.8.9}$ 24^{10} $26^{31.33}$) and Mk (4^{17} 6^{3} $9^{42.43.45\text{-}47}$ $14^{27.29}$); also in Lk 7^{23} 17^{2} and Jn 6^{61} 16^{1}; and elsewhere only Ro 14^{21}, 1 Co 8^{13} *bis*, 2 Co 11^{29}. AV always translates 'offend'; RV always 'cause to stumble,' except Mk 14^{29} where 'All ye shall be offended because of me' is retained in text, with 'caused to stumble' in margin. RV omits the word in Ro 14^{21} with edd.

Offence rarely occurs in OT. The only Heb. words are: (1) *mikhshôl*, 1 S 25^{31} 'That this shall be no grief unto thee, nor offence of heart unto my lord' (AVm 'stumbling'), and Is 8^{14} 'a rock of offence'; also in Ps 119^{165} the same subst. is tr^{d} 'offend,' 'nothing shall offend them,' AVm 'they shall have no stumbling-block,' RV 'they have none occasion of stumbling.' (2) *ḥēṭ'* 'error,' 'sin,' so tr. only Ec 10^{4}. The NT words are: (1) ἁμαρτία 'error,' 'sin,' only 2 Co 11^{7} (RV 'sin'). (2) παράπτωμα a 'transgression,' Ro 4^{25} $5^{15\,bis.\,16.\,17.\,18.\,20}$ (RV always 'trespass,' the usual tr. of the word elsewhere in AV). (3) προσκοπή, lit. 'a striking-against' (προς-κόπτω), in its only occurrence, 2 Co 6^{3}, RV 'occasion of stumbling.' Notice also the adj. ἀπρόσκοπος in Ac 24^{16} 'to have always a conscience void of offence' (ἀπρόσκοπον συνείδησιν); 1 Co 10^{32} 'give none offence' (ἀπρόσκοποι γίνεσθε, RV 'give no occasion of stumbling'); and Ph 1^{10} 'That ye may be sincere and without offence' (ἀπρόσκοποι, RV 'void of offence'). (4) πρόσκομμα, lit. 'a thing to strike against' (προσκόπτω), is tr^{d} 'offence' only in Ro 14^{20} 'It is evil for that man who eateth with offence' (διὰ προσκόμματος). (5) σκάνδαλον, the biblical form of the late word σκανδάληθρον which signifies 'the *bait-stick* in a trap.' In LXX σκάνδαλον occurs as the tr. of *dŏphî* in Ps 50^{20}; of *keṣel* in Ps 49^{13}; of *môkēsh* in Jos 23^{13}, Jg 2^{3} 8^{27}, 1 S 18^{20}, Ps 69^{22} 106^{36} 140^{5} 141^{9}; and of *mikhshôl* in Lv 19^{14}, 1 S 25^{31}, Ps 119^{165}. In NT it is found in Mt 13^{41} (πάντα τὰ σκάνδαλα, AV 'all things that offend,' RV 'all things that cause stumbling'), 16^{23} 18^{7} *ter* (AV always 'offence,' RV 'stumbling-block' in 16^{23}, 'occasion of stumbling' in 18^{7}), Lk 17^{1} (AV 'offences,' RV 'occasions of stumbling'), Ro 9^{33} (both 'offence'), 11^{9} (both 'stumbling-block'), 14^{13} (AV 'occasion to fall,' RV 'occ. of falling'), 16^{17} (AV 'offences,' RV 'occasions of stumbling'), 1 Co 1^{23} (both 'stumbling-block'), Gal 5^{11} (AV 'offence,' RV 'stumbling-block'), 1 P 2^{8} (both 'offence'), 1 Jn 2^{10} (both 'occasion of stumbling'), Rev 2^{14} (both 'stumbling-block').

It is unfortunate that 'offend' and 'offence' have lost their early meanings. As the note above shows, we have no good word to take their place.*

The following quotations from early writers illustrate the use of both words in AV. Barrow, *Sermons*, vol. i. Serm. 1, 'To offend originally signifies to infringe, that is, to stumble or hit dangerously upon somewhat lying across our way'; Rutherford, *Letters*, No. lix. 'He presumed that much on your love that ye would not offend' (='stumble'); Shaks. *Meas. for Meas.* III. ii. 16, 'He hath offended the law'; Milton, *PL* iii. 410—

> 'Regardless of the bliss wherein he sat
> Second to thee, offered himself to die
> For man's offence.'

And in *Areopag.* (Hales' ed. p. 15) the meaning is to lay a stumbling-block in the way, 'A certain Presbyter laid it scrupulously to his conscience, how he durst venture himselfe among those defiling volumes. The worthy man loath to give offence fell into a new debate with himselfe what was to be thought.'

For the theology see next article.

J. HASTINGS.

OFFENCE.—This term is the translation in AV of several Heb. and Gr. words. These may be classified in two categories: 1. *Sin* (חֵטְא Ec 10^{4}; ἁμαρτία, 2 Co 11^{7}, RV 'sin'); also the kindred idea of *a moral fall* (παράπτωμα, *e.g.* Ro 4^{25} 5^{16}, RV 'trespass'). 2. *Stumbling* (מִכְשׁוֹל 1 S 25^{31}, Is 8^{14}), considered as an act, the word being used in a metaphorical sense. Also *a stumbling-block.* In this last sense the term is used as tr^{n} of Gr. words with two different primary meanings: (1) πρόσκομμα (Ro 14^{20}), and προσκοπή (2 Co 6^{3}, RV 'occasion of stumbling'), literally 'a stumbling-block,' *i.e.* some impediment lying on the path, over which one stumbles, and so morally anything that hinders and tends to trip one up in the path of life, or with regard to some particular course of action. (2) σκάνδαλον, a purely biblical word, with its corresponding causative verb σκανδαλίζω, of frequent occurrence both in LXX and in NT. The classic form is σκανδάληθρον. In LXX it stands chiefly for Heb. מוֹקֵשׁ 'bait' (fig. 'snare') and מִכְשׁוֹל 'stumbling-block.' The Gr. word means primarily the trigger of a trap; then the trap itself. In a secondary sense it stands for anything that ensnares or hinders morally. The idea of stumbling appears in the phrase 'rock of offence' (πέτραν σκανδάλου, Ro 9^{33}, a free quotation from Is 8^{14}, where LXX has πέτρας πτώματι), *i.e.* a rock over which people stumble. The word is used of *persons*; as in our Lord's rebuke of St. Peter, 'Thou art an offence (σκάνδαλον) unto me' (Mt 16^{23} AV). RV has 'stumbling-block' here, a needful correction, the idea being, not that St. Peter was 'offensive' to Jesus, nor that Jesus was 'offended' with him, but that the disciple was a snare to his Master, an adversary (Σατανᾶς), one who provoked to stumbling. The word is also used of *things*, as when we read of casting a stumbling-block before anybody (*e.g.* Ro 14^{13}). Again, in the expression 'Whoso shall offend one of these little ones,' etc. (Mt 18^{6} AV), the reference is not to insulting and hurting the feelings, but to tempting and hindering in the way of Christ. Similarly, the directions about an offending member of the body—the eye to be plucked out or the hand to be cut off—refer to causes of stumbling, of moral hindrance. Accordingly, RV substitutes 'cause to stumble' for the misleading word 'offend' in AV. The sin of leading one of Christ's little ones to stumble is set forth as peculiarly heinous. St. Paul's argument on the question of casuistry concerning eating food that has been offered to idols turns on this idea. The apostle's contention is not that the strong are to surrender their liberty in deference to the superstitions of the weak, for fear of offending the latter in the sense of giving them offence, *i.e.* angering and alienating them. The duty we owe to Christian liberty may sometimes involve this painful consequence. St. Paul's position is that liberty must not be so used as to hinder the spiritual life of others, by confounding their consciences and tempting them to imitate conduct the innocence of which they are not sufficiently enlightened to perceive, and which must therefore appear wrong to them. Where the Jews are said to be 'offended at' Jesus (Mt 13^{57}), and where 'the offence of the cross' is referred to (Gal 5^{11}), the stumbling and hindrance are in the way of accepting the claims of Christ. Thus the prophetic description of the stumbling-block is ascribed to Him because His obscure origin and humble appearance, and the method of His ministry, were regarded as reasons for not accepting Him. When He spoke in the synagogue at Nazareth, His trade as a carpenter and His family relations were the stumbling-block (Mk 6^{3}). Here, however, the idea seems to be passing over to that of displeasure—we are instinctively angry at whatever causes us to stumble. This thought appears to be present in Mt 15^{12}, where the disciples say to Jesus, 'Knowest thou that the Pharisees were offended when they heard?' etc. The more serious idea of being hindered morally—as in the case of 'offending' one of Christ's little ones—is evidently out of place here. All that is meant is that the Pharisees were turned against Jesus and His claims, with the implied notion that this was coupled with some irritation. It is the same with St. Paul's reference to 'the offence of the cross' (Gal 5^{11}). The fact that Jesus had suffered the indignity of crucifixion hindered the Jews, with their secular ideas of the Messiahship, from accepting Christianity, and at the same time roused their indignation against the preachers of the gospel.

---

* If we could have used 'scandal' and 'scandalize' as the Vulg. and the Rhem. Version do, much of the force which we lose would have been retained. Thus in Rhem. NT, Mt 11^{6} 'Blessed is he that shall not be scandalized in me'; 13^{41} 'The Sonne of man shal send his Angels, and they shal gather out of his kingdom al scandals'; $18^{7.8}$ 'Wo be to the world for scandals. For it is necessary that scandals do come: but neverthelesse wo to that man by whom the scandall cometh. And if thy hand or thy foote scandalize thee, cut it off, and cast it from thee.' We find also the adj. 'scandalous' in the heading to Lk 9 'He forewarneth againe of his scandalous Passion.' In the notes to Mk 6^{1} 'offence' is given as an alternative to 'scandal,'—'His countrie-folkes . . . did take offence or scandal of him.'

W. F. ADENEY.

OFFER, OFFERING, OBLATION.—These words are used in the English Versions for very different terms in the Hebrew and Greek; and it will be the aim of the present article to distinguish them, and enable the student to understand the meaning and application of the terms used in the original. For the sake of clearness and simplicity, the usage of RV only (which is at least in some respects more consistent than that of AV) will be taken as the basis of the article.

Offering and *oblation*, it need hardly be remarked, are words substantially identical in origin, the only difference between them being that one is formed (through 'offer') from the present tense of the Latin *offero*, and the other from the supine *oblatum.*

1. In *burnt-offering* (עֹלָה), *peace-offering* (שֶׁלֶם, שְׁלָמִים), *thank-offering* (תּוֹדָה), *freewill-offering* (נְדָבָה*), *meal-offering* (מִנְחָה), *sin-offering* (חַטָּאת), *guilt-offering* (אָשָׁם),† *drink-offering* (נֶסֶךְ), 'offering' corresponds to no distinctive element of the Hebrew expression; and the explanation of these terms will therefore be reserved more properly for the art. SACRIFICE.

2. 'Offering (here and there in AV 'sacrifice') made by fire' represents a single word in the Heb., אִשֶּׁה ('firing,' or 'fire-offering'). It occurs very frequently in P (as Lv $1^{9.13.17}$ $2^{2.3.9.10.16}$; elsewhere only Dt 18^{1}, Jos 13^{14}, 1 S 2^{28}); and is a term used generally of any sacrifice, or other offering (Lv $24^{7.9}$), consumed upon the altar.

3. קָרְבָּן *korbân* (AV usually 'offering,' sometimes (cf. *oblatio*, often in the Vulg. for קָרְבָּן) 'oblation,' once 'sacrifice'; RV uniformly 'oblation,' except Ezk 20^{28} 'offering'). This (from קרב 'to come near') means properly something *brought near* (viz. to the altar, or to God); it is the most general term for offering or oblation, being used mostly, it is true, of sacrifices of different kinds, but also sometimes of other sacred gifts (Lv 2^{12}, Nu 7 *passim*, 31^{50}). It is found exclusively in P, and Ezk 20^{28} 40^{43}. The occurrences in P are: Lv $1^{2.2.3.10.14.14}$ $2^{1.1.4.5.7.12.13.13}$ $3^{1.2.6.7.8.12.14}$ $4^{23.28.32}$ 5^{11} $6^{20\,(13)}$ $7^{13.14.15.16.29.38}$ $9^{7.15}$ 17^{4} $22^{18.27}$ 23^{14} $27^{9.11}$, Nu 5^{15} $6^{14.21}$ 7 (28 times) $9^{7.13}$ $15^{4.25}$ 18^{9} 28^{2} 31^{50}. In a slightly different form (*ḳurbān*) it occurs in Neh $10^{34\,(35)}$ 13^{31}, of the wood-offering (not mentioned elsewhere). It is, of course, the familiar 'corban' of Mk 7^{11}.

(*a*) The cognate verb *hiḳrîb*, 'to bring near' (of a secular gift Jg $3^{17.18}$, Ps 72^{10b}, Mal 1^{8} ['present']), is used in a corresponding sense (RV 'present,' 'offer,' 'bring near,' 'bring'); whether of the worshipper bringing up the sacrifice, or of the priest presenting it on the altar. The occurrences are too numerous to quote *in extenso*; for examples, see (1) of the worshipper Lv $1^{2.2.3.3.10.14}$ $2^{1.4.8}$ ('presented') $^{11.12.13.14.14}$ $3^{1.1.3.6.7.7.9.12.14}$ $4^{3.14}$ $7^{11.12.12.13.14.16.18.25.29.38}$; (2) of the priest Lv $1^{5.13.15}$ ('bring'*), 5^{8} $6^{14\,(7).20\,(13).21\,(14)}$ $7^{3.8.8.9.33}$; and outside P (all), Ezk $43^{22.23.24}$ $44^{7.15.27}$ 46^{4}, Hag 2^{14}, Ezr $6^{10.17}$ 7^{17} 8^{35}, 1 Ch 16^{1}, 2 Ch 35^{12}. Like *ḳorbân*, *hiḳrîb*, it will be noticed, is essentially a priestly word; it denotes a formal ceremonial act, and is almost entirely confined to P and Ezk. הֶעֱלָה, another verb also commonly rendered 'to offer' (see below), is a word much more in ordinary use; it is as exceptional in P and Ezk as *hiḳrîb* is constant.

(*b*) The synon. הִגִּישׁ also occurs in the same two applications, but it is less technical, and also much less frequent (RV 'bring,' 'bring hither,' 'present,' 'bring, near'): Ex 32^{6}, Jg 6^{19} 'presented' (if RVm of v.^{18} is right:† see 4), 1 S 13^{9} $14^{34.34}$, Am 5^{25}, Lv 2^{8} ('bring'), 8^{14}, Mal $1^{7.8.8}$ ('offer'), v.^{11} 2^{12} 3^{3}, 2 Ch 29^{23}; cf. of secular gifts, 1 K 4^{21} (5^{1}), also Jg 6^{19} (if RV text of v.^{18} is right).

In LXX הִקְרִיב is generally represented by προσφέρω, and קרבן (not by προσφορά, but) by δῶρον (cf. Mk 7^{11}, Mt 15^{5}); Mt 5^{23}, therefore, if translated consistently with RV of the OT, would read, 'If thou art offering thine *oblation* at the altar' (in Delitzsch's Heb. NT, אִם תַּקְרִיב קָרְבָּנְךָ); cf. Lv $2^{1.4}$ 17^{4} 22^{18} RV and LXX; and observe the same combination of προσφέρω and δῶρον in Mt 5^{24} 8^{4}, He 8^{4}.

4. מִנְחָה *minḥāh*. This does not express the neutral idea of 'gift' (מַתָּן), but denotes a *complimentary present*, or a present made to secure or retain good-will, as Gn $32^{13.18.20.21}$ (to Esau), $43^{11.15.25.26}$ (to Joseph), Jg $3^{15.17.18}$ (to Eglon), 2 K $8^{8.9}$, Ps 45^{12}, offered, as something expected, by a political subject, 2 S $8^{2.6}$, 1 K 4^{21}, 2 K $17^{3.4}$ *al.*; then of a tribute offered to God, both generally (including animals) Gn $4^{3.4.5}$, 1 S 26^{19}, and specifically (as always in P) of the meal- (or cereal) offering (Lv 2: see SACRIFICE). Where *minḥāh* appears to be used in the more general sense of a tribute offered to God, it is represented in RV by 'offering' or 'oblation.' The passages are Gn $4^{3.4.5}$, Nu 16^{15}, Jg 6^{18} (marg.), 1 S $2^{17.29.29}$ 3^{14} 26^{19}, 1 K $18^{29.36}$, 2 K 3^{20}, Ezr $9^{4.5}$, Ps $20^{3\,(4)*}$ $40^{6\,(7)*}$ 96^{8} 141^{2} (marg.), Is 1^{13} 19^{21} 43^{23*} 57^{6*} $66^{3*.20.20}$, Jer 14^{12*} 17^{26*} 33^{18*} 41^{5*}, Dn 2^{46} (to Daniel), $9^{21.27*}$, Am 5^{25*}, Zeph 3^{10}, Mal $1^{10.11.13}$ $2^{12.13}$ $3^{3.4}$ (* with marg. 'Or, *meal-offering*'). However, in several of these passages, esp. in 1 K $18^{29.36}$, 2 K 3^{20}, Ps 141^{2}, Ezr $9^{4.5}$, Dn 9^{21} [in all, 'the evening

---

* In AV occasionally, 'willing, free, or voluntary offering' (as Ex 35^{29} 36^{3}, Lv 7^{16}, Ezk 46^{12}); in RV 'freewill offering,' uniformly.

† In Is 53^{10} rendered, unhappily, 'offering for sin,' suggesting confusion with the very different 'sin-offering'; see, however, RVm.

* But 'bring' elsewhere in these chapters represents הֵבִיא.

† For הִגִּישׁ is used also of 'bringing near' or 'presenting' ordinary food, Gn 27^{25}, 1 S 28^{25}, 2 S 13^{11}.

minḥāh'; see 2 K 16^{15}], perhaps also in many of those with the alternative marginal rendering, and in Is 1^{13} 19^{21}, it is not improbable that 'meal-offering' would be the better rendering.

5. תְּרוּמָה *tĕrūmāh* (AV and RV 'heave-offering,' 'offering,' and 'oblation'). This word (from הֵרִים 'to lift *or* take off') denotes properly what is *lifted off* a larger mass, or separated from it for sacred purposes (LXX in Pent. uses ἀφαίρεμα, in Ezk mostly ἀπαρχή; Targ. in both אפרשותא 'something *separated*'); and is used in particular (cf. Driver on Dt 12^{6}): (1) of gifts taken from the produce of the soil (as tithe, firstfruits, and firstlings); (2) of contributions of money, spoil, etc., offered for sacred purposes, and in Ezk of land reserved for the priests and Levites; (3) in connexion with sacrifices, only of portions 'taken off' the rest, and forming the priest's due, esp. of the 'heave-thigh,' which, with the 'wave-breast,' is (in P) the priest's share of the peace-offering, but also (as Nu 5^{9} 18^{8}) of other priestly dues. The rendering 'heave-offering' implies a rite of 'elevation,' which, however, is very doubtful, and is rejected by modern scholars (*e.g.* Ges., Keil on Lv 2^{9}, Dillm. on Lv 7^{33} etc.). Omitting the passages (as Ex 29$^{27.28}$, Lv 7$^{32.34}$) where *tĕrūmāh* is used of the 'heave-thigh,' it occurs, in the other applications just noted, Ex 25$^{2.2.3}$ 30$^{13.14.15}$ 35$^{5.5.21.24.24}$ 36$^{3.6}$, Lv 7^{14} 22^{12}, Nu 5^{9} 15$^{19.20.21}$ 18$^{8.11.19.24.26.27.28.28.29}$ 31$^{29.41.52}$, Dt 12$^{6.11.17}$, Ezk 20^{40} ('offerings'*) 44$^{30.30}$ 45$^{1.6.7.7.13.16}$ 48$^{8.9.10.12.12.18.18.20.20.21.21.21}$, Mal 3^{8}, 2 Ch 31$^{10.12.14}$, Ezr 8^{25}, Neh 10$^{37 (38).39 (40)}$ 12^{44} 13^{5}; also 2 S 1^{21} (if the reading be correct), Is 40^{20}, and (in a secular sense) Pr 29^{4} (see RVm). (RV in Pent. 2 S, Ezr, Neh, Ezk 20^{40}, Mal, 'heave-offering' or 'offering,' in 2 Ch, Is, and other passages in Ezk, 'oblation'). 'Contribution' is perhaps the English word which, though not entirely satisfactory, nevertheless best suggests the ideas expressed by the Heb. *tĕrūmāh*.

(*a*) The use of the corresponding verb הֵרִים 'to lift *or* take off' (often by the side of the subst. *tĕrūmāh*) should be noted (LXX usually in Pent. ἀφαιρέω, in Ezk ἀφορίζω, in 2 Ch ἀπάρχομαι; Targ. אַפְרֵישׁ 'to separate': RV 'heave up,' 'offer,' 'take up,' 'take off,' 'offer up,' 'heave,' 'levy' Nu 31^{28}, 'give . . . for offerings' 2 Ch 30^{24}, 'give'). This occurs, not only of the 'heave-thigh' Ex 29^{27}, but also in connexion with various other sacred gifts or sacrifices: Ex 35^{24}, Lv 2^{9} (of the 'memorial' *taken off* the meal-offering in order to be burnt on the altar), 4$^{8.10.19}$ (of the fat *lifted* or *taken off* a sacrifice for consumption on the altar), 6$^{15 (8)}$ (as 2^{9}), 22^{15}, Nu 15$^{19.20.20}$ 18$^{19.24.26.28.29.30.32}$ 31$^{28.52}$, Ezk 45$^{1.13}$ 48$^{8.9.20}$, 2 Ch 30$^{24.24}$ 35$^{8.9}$, Ezr 8^{25}. The remarkable inconsistency in the rendering of this word, even in RV, and the confusion with other words occasioned thereby, are much to be regretted; if the instances are examined in detail, the idea in each will be seen to be, as explained above, that of *lifting* or *taking off* from a larger mass for sacred purposes (note esp. the use of both the verb and the subst. in Ezk in connexion with *land*).

6. תְּנוּפָה *tĕnūphāh*, a 'wave-offering' (implying a rite of 'waving'; see SACRIFICE), and usually so rendered in AV, RV; but represented by 'offering' alone in Ex 35^{22} 38$^{24.29}$ (where the term is used peculiarly of materials offered for the construction of the sanctuary), and in Nu 8$^{11.13.15.21}$ (changed here in RV to 'wave-offering'), where it is used of the Levites.

(*a*) The cognate verb הֵנִיף 'to wave,' and usually so rendered, is similarly represented by 'offer' in Ex 35^{22}, Nu 8$^{11.13.15.21}$ (in Nu with the marg. 'Heb. *wave*').

7. 'Whole burnt-offering' (really a *double*, and tautologous, rendering of the Heb., adopted from AV of Ps 51^{19}) stands for the Heb. כָּלִיל (lit. *something whole*) in RV Dt 13$^{16 (17)}$ marg., 33^{10}, 1 S 7^{9} (Heb. עולה כליל), Ps 51$^{19 (21)}$. The Heb. word is a rare syn. of עֹלָה (see SACRIFICE, under 'burnt-offering'); it occurs besides, in a sacrif. sense, of the priest's *minḥāh*, which was to be '*wholly* burnt' (lit. 'burnt (as) *something whole*'), Lv 6$^{22.23 (15.16)}$.

8. 'Passover offerings' stands for פְּסָחִים, only 2 Ch 35$^{7.8.9}$; see PASSOVER.

9. 'Oblation' for מַשְׂאֵת (not a technical word: lit. *something borne along* or *brought*; cf. the verb in v.^{31}, and No. (11), below) in Ezk 20^{40}.

10. 'Offerings' for the obscure and uncertain הַבְהָבִים Hos 8^{13}, generally taken to mean properly 'gifts' (from יָהַב).

'Offering (up)' stands also, in RV of NT, for—

11. προσφορά (LXX for מִנְחָה Ps 40^{6}; otherwise very rare, except in Sir, viz. 14^{11} 31 (34)$^{18.19}$ 32 (35)$^{1.3}$ 38^{11} 46^{16} 50$^{13.14}$): Ac 21^{26} 24^{17}, Ro 15^{16}, Eph 5^{2}, He 10$^{5.8.}$ (from Ps 40^{6}: Heb. *minḥāh*) $^{10.14.18}$ (in all, except He 10$^{5.8}$, in the sense of the Heb. קרבן).

12. ἀνάθημα (a votive offering *set up* in a temple, Herod. ii. 182, etc.): Lk 21^{5}; so Jth 16^{19} ('gift'), 2 Mac 9^{16} (RV).

'Oblation' does not occur in NT (either AV or RV). In Pr. Bk. version of the Psalms it occurs in 27^{7} for זְבָחִים, and in 51^{19} for כָּלִיל. In the Apocr. it represents προσφορά, 1 Es 5$^{52 (51)}$, Sir 50^{13} (AV), Thr^{15}, δῶρον Sir 7^{9} (AV), δόμα 1 Mac 15^{5} (in a secular sense), μάννα (*i.e.* מִנְחָה) Bar 1^{10} RV.

The verb 'to offer,' besides the four usages noted under **3** *a b*, **5** *a*, **6** *a*, stands also in RV for—

(5) זָבַח 'to slaughter' (in sacrifice): Gn 31^{54} 46^{1}, Ex 23^{18}, Lv 19$^{5.5}$, Dt 18^{3} 33^{19} (elsewhere in the Pent. זָבַח is rendered by 'to sacrifice'*), 1 S 1^{21} 2^{13} etc., Ps 4^{5} 27^{6} 50^{14} (Heb. 'slaughter thanksgiving'; so v.^{23}), 116^{17} (Heb. 'slaughter the slaughtering (sacrifice) of thanksgiving'; so 107^{22}, Lv 22^{29}); and elsewhere, esp. when the obj. is the cognate subst. 'sacrifice.'

(6) הֶעֱלָה 'to cause to go up' (viz. on the altar),—very often, esp. with 'burnt-offering' (the Heb. word for which, עֹלָה, is cognate with this verb, and means properly *that which goes up*, viz. on the altar): in P and Ezk, only Ex 30^{9} 40^{29}, Lv 14^{20} 17^{8}, Ezk 43$^{18.24}$; elsewhere, Gn 8^{20} 22$^{2.13}$ (here, and sometimes besides, 'to offer *up*'), Ex 24^{5} 32^{6}, Nu 23$^{2.4.14.30}$, Dt 12$^{13.14}$ 27^{6}, Jos 22^{23} (first time), 1 K 3$^{4.15}$ (first time), Am 5^{22}, Is 57^{6} 66^{3}, Ps 51$^{19 (21)}$ 66^{15a}, and often besides, both in S, K, etc., and also in Ch, Ezr (in the Pent. all the occurrences are cited). So 'the offering of' in 1 K 18$^{29.36}$ and 'offering' in 2 K 3^{20} are both lit. 'the *going up* of.'

(7) עָשָׂה 'to do *or* make' (an idiom. use—cf. ῥέζειν and *facere*—prob. allied to, or developed from, that of the same word in the sense of *to make ready*, *prepare*, or *dress* as food, Gn 18$^{7.8}$, Lv 6$^{21 (14)}$ 7^{9}, Jg 6^{19}, 1 S 25^{18}, 2 S 12$^{4.4}$ 13$^{5.7}$, 1 K 17^{12} (of meal) 18$^{23.25.26}$); in RV usually 'offer,' sometimes 'sacrifice,' and (esp. in Nu 15 and Ezk) 'prepare': Ex 10^{25} 29$^{36.38.39.39.41}$, Lv 5^{10} 6$^{22 (15)}$ 9$^{7.7.16.22}$ 14$^{19.30}$ 15$^{15.30}$ 16$^{9.24}$ 17^{9} 22$^{23.24}$ (RVm) 23$^{12.19}$, Nu 6$^{11.16.17.17}$ 8^{12} 15$^{3.3}$ (prob.: RV 'make'), vv.$^{5.6.8.12.14.24}$ 28$^{4.4.8.8.15.20.21.23.24.31}$ 29$^{2.39}$, Dt 12^{27}, Jos 22^{23} (second time), Jg 13^{15} (?; notice לפניך), v.^{16} ('make ready,' not 'offer' [העלה]), 1 K 3^{15} (second time), 8^{64} (2 Ch 7^{7}), 12^{27}, 2 K 5^{17} 10$^{24.25}$ 17^{32}, Jer 33^{18} ('to do'), Ezk 43$^{25.25.27}$ ('make'), 45$^{17.22.23.24}$ 46$^{2.7.12.12.13.13.14.15}$, Ps 66^{15b}. The word is meant as a summary description of the process of sacrifice: it is never used where there is a *detailed* description of the ritual, with reference to a particular act.

(8) שָׁחַט 'to slay,' Ex 34^{25}.

(9) קִטֵּר 'to make into sweet smoke,' Am 4^{5}, and הִקְטִיר (*id.*) 1 Ch 6$^{49 (34)}$. See INCENSE, SACRIFICE.

(10) הִסִּיךְ 'to pour (out),' and usually so rendered (as Hos 9^{4}, 2 K 16^{13}): Ps 16^{4}, Dn 2^{46} (Aram.).

(11) נָשָׂא 'to bear along,' 'bring' (not a special sacrif. term): Ezk 20^{31} [cf. 2 S 8$^{2.6}$, Ps 96^{8}, Heb.].

---

* For 'oblations' in this verse see below, No. 9.

* Or, naturally, in Dt 12$^{15.21}$ (cf. 1 S 28^{24}) by 'to kill.'

(12) נָתַן 'to give': Ezk 6^{13} (exceptional; cf. 20^{28} Heb. [AV and RV 'presented]).

'To offer for sin' stands for one word in the Heb., חִטֵּא, Lv 6^{26} 9^{15}.

'To offer willingly' stands for הִתְנַדֵּב, prop. *to show oneself liberal* or *forward*: Jg $5^{2.9}$ (in battle), elsewhere only in Ch, Ezr, Neh, in giving gifts, etc., to the sanctuary, 1 Ch $29^{5.6.9.9.14.17.17}$, 2 Ch 17^{16}, Ezr 1^{6} 2^{68} 3^{5} $7^{13.15.16.16}$, Neh 11^{2}. (In Ps 110^{3} RV the Heb. is 'are willingnesses').

'To offer incense' stands for קִטֵּר Jer 11^{17} 32^{29}.

In the RV of NT 'to offer (up)' stands for—

(13) *προσφέρω* (in LXX usu. for הִקְרִיב): Mt 2^{11} $5^{23.24}$ 8^{4} (=Mk 1^{44}, Lk 5^{14}), Jn 9^{2} (*λατρείαν*), Ac 7^{42} (from Am 5^{25}, LXX [הִגִּישׁ]), 21^{26}, He $5^{1.3.7}$ $8^{3.3.4}$ $9^{7.9.14.25.28}$ $10^{1.2.8.11.12}$ $11^{4.17.17}$.

In Mt 2^{11} *προσήνεγκαν αὐτῷ δῶρα* would be in Heb. ויקריבו לו מנחה (so Delitzsch): see Jg $3^{17.18}$ Heb. and LXX. On Mt 5^{23} 8^{4} see above, under **3** *b*.

(14) *ἀναφέρω* (LXX mostly for הֶעֱלָה, also for הקטיר, once or twice for עשׂה): He $7^{27.27}$ (cf. Westcott), 13^{15}, Ja 2^{21}, 1 P 2^{5}.*

(15) *σπένδω* ('to pour out'; in LXX for הִסִּיךְ): Ph 2^{17}, 2 Ti 4^{6} (*σπένδομαι*, fig. of St. Paul himself).

(16) *δίδωμι*: Lk 2^{24}.

'Things offered to idols' (*εἰδωλόθυτα*) has been in RV changed uniformly to 'things sacrificed (un)to idols' (as in AV of Rev $2^{14.20}$), Ac 15^{29} 21^{25}, 1 Co $8^{1.4.7.10}$ 10^{19}: 'offered in sacrifice' in 1 Co 10^{28} represents *ἱερόθυτον*.

From the preceding synopsis of passages, it will be apparent what extremely different terms in the original, esp. in OT, are represented by each of the three English words, 'offer,' 'offering,' and 'oblation'; and that though the Heb. (and Greek) terms might, in particular cases, be interchangeable, in others they are not. In Lv 2^{1}, for example, 'offer' could not be זָבַח or הֵרִים, nor 'oblation' מִנְחָה or תְּרוּמָה: 'offer' in Dt 12^{27}, though it is עשׂה, might also be העלה, but hardly (the writer not being priestly) הקריב, and 'oblation' in Is 19^{21} could not (for the same reason) be קרבן. Conversely, 'offer an oblation' in Ezk 45^{1} represents two Heb. words entirely different from those which it represents in Lv 1^{2}; and 'offer' in Lv 7 is always הקריב, in Nu 18 it is always† הרים, while in Nu 28 it is עשׂה and הקריב. The words in the original are in most cases technical; and the distinctions between them are of importance for those who would properly understand the sacrificial system of the Hebrews. The reader who desires to obtain a practical view of Hebrew or Greek usage is recommended to mark on the margin of his RV the Hebrew or Greek word corresponding in each case to the English. Unless any passages have been accidentally overlooked, the preceding article should enable him to do this for the words here concerned in all their occurrences, except those of הקריב in the Pent., and of זָבַח and העלה out of it.

S. R. DRIVER.

OFFICER.—A word used both in AV and in RV to translate some eight Heb. words in OT and two Gr. words in NT. The Heb. words, according to their derivation, represent five families—(1) *niẓẓâb*, *nĕẓîb*, 'one set up'; the former in 1 K $4^{7\text{ff.}}$ of Solomon's commissariat officers, the latter in the same sense in 4^{19} (as to its meaning in 1 S 10^{5} see Driver, *ad loc.*). (2) *pāḳēd*, *pĕḳuddāh*, *pāḳîd*, 'inspector.' (3) *rab*, 'great one.' (4) *shōṭēr*=(*a*) 'arranger,' (*b*) 'scribe' (see Dillmann on Ex 5^{6}). (5) *ṣārîṣ*, 'eunuch.' (The *'ōsê hammĕlā'kāh* of Est 9^{3}, AV, 'officers,' is in RV now rendered 'they that did the business'). 'Officer' most frequently stands for *shōṭēr* and *ṣārîṣ* (LXX *εὐνοῦχος*, EV in Est always 'chamberlain,' but only once besides, 2 K 23^{11}), and it seems very doubtful whether the meaning of the latter was ever widened into *officer* generally, Potiphar's case being by most critics regarded as no exact exception.

It is noticeable that the idea of subordination which lies in the NT *ὑπηρέτης* (the original for 'officer' in all NT passages except Lk 12^{58} *πράκτωρ*) does not show itself in the Heb. originals. It is noticeable also that *ὑπηρέτης*, the almost sole NT original, is never in the LXX employed to render any of the Heb. words given above, and, though occurring twenty times in NT, occurs but twice in the Gr. canonical OT (Pr 14^{35}, Is 32^{5}), and but twice in the uncanonical (Wis 6^{4}, Three ^{23}). It would seem that, apart from *ṣārîṣ* and perhaps occasionally *shōṭēr* (comp. Dt 16^{18} with Mt 5^{25} 'judge . . . officer'), the Heb. words rendered 'officer' suggest no distinctive function, whereas the NT *ὑπηρέτης* (which has lost all reminiscence of its original meaning of 'under-oarsman'—perhaps one of the lower two out of the three assigned to an oar) in some dozen passages out of the twenty means distinctly bailiffs or police officers of the Sanhedrin or other court of justice, in accordance with one use of the same word at Athens, where *ὑπηρέται* were the subordinates of those important police magistrates called the Eleven (Plato, *Phædo*, 116 B), and one use by Josephus (*Ant.* IV. viii. 14), when, in his account of Moses' judicial arrangements, he gives the same title to the two Levites who were attached as *clerks* to each Jewish court constituted out of the seven chief men of each city. An apparently synonymous term for these clerks, confined, as a translation of *shōṭēr*, to Dt, is the curious and uncertain *γραμματοεισαγωγεύς*, perhaps (as Driver suggests) the title of some law officer at Alexandria.

The duties of 'officers' (*shōṭĕrîm*) as described in OT were various: they made proclamations (Dt $20^{5.8.9}$), they conveyed orders (Jos 1^{10} 3^{2}) to the people in time of war; in 1 and 2 Ch we find them as subordinate officials, sometimes in a military (1 Ch 27^{1}), sometimes in a judicial capacity (1 Ch 23^{4}), and on one occasion superintending the repairs of the temple (2 Ch 34^{13}), much as *shōṭĕrîm* were also Pharaoh's 'taskmasters,' superintending the labour of the Israelites (Ex 5^{6} etc.). See Driver on Dt 1^{15}.

In NT, *ὑπηρέτης*, where it does not mean a *servant* generally ('of Christ,' 1 Co 4^{1}, Ac 26^{16}; 'of the word,' Lk 1^{2}), or an *assistant* for a special purpose (Ac 13^{5}, John Mark, possibly in the main for baptizing), or an *attendant* (Lk 4^{20}, the attendant at the synagogue service; see MINISTER),* is most naturally explained in a sense similar to that of *shōṭēr* in Dt 16^{18} (cf. Mt 5^{25}), though perhaps in a sense somewhat more confined, as a subordinate official in connexion with a court of justice, whose duty it was, as warder or sergeant, to carry into effect the decisions or maintain the dignity and authority of the judges. Thus the *ὑπηρέται* of the Sanhedrin were sent to arrest Jesus (Jn 7^{32}), did finally seize Him in Gethsemane (Jn 18^{3}), 'received him with blows of their hands' (Mk 14^{65}), one *ὑπηρέτης* striking Him for His answer to the high priest (Jn 18^{22}); and similar *ὑπηρέται* under command of a captain of the temple police (*στρατηγός*, cf. Jos. *Ant.* XX. vi. 2; Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 258) were commissioned to arrest Peter and John (Ac 4^{1} $5^{24.26}$). Probably, when Jesus said, 'If my kingdom were of this world, my *ὑπηρέται* would now be striving' (Jn 18^{36}), He drew His analogy from this temple usage. Luke's *πράκτωρ* (12^{58}), the *avenger* of the Tragedians (Æsch. *Eum.* 319), the *tax-gatherer* of Demosthenes (778. 18), the *exactor* of

---

* In He 9^{28}, 1 P 2^{24} rendered 'bear'; see in LXX Is 53^{11} (for סבל), v.^{12} (for נשׂא).

† Except v.^{15} (הקריב; cf. Lv 27^{9}): הרים would not here be suitable.

* Cf. art. MARK (JOHN), p. 245^{b}, where it is suggested that even the *ὑπηρέτης* of Ac 13^{5} is used in this sense—that is to say, John Mark may have been a *ḥazzan*, or 'synagogue minister.'

Isaiah (3^{12} LXX), the *public accountant* of the papyri (3 cent. B.C., see Deissmann, *Beiträge*, p. 152), has now become with him a synonym for the *ὑπηρέτης* of a court of justice. (See MINISTER, *ad fin.*).

J. MASSIE.

OG (עוֹג, Ὤγ).—The king of Bashan at the time of the end of the wanderings of the Israelites in the wilderness. He and his people were conquered at Edrei. That city and Ashtaroth were his capitals (Jos 13^{12}). He was 'of the remnant of the Rephaim' (*loc. cit.*) or giants, and had in all 'threescore cities, all the region of Argob'* (Dt 3^4). These were 'cities fenced with high walls, gates, and bars' (Dt 3^5), so that his kingdom was a powerful one. His territory became the possession of the half-tribe of Manasseh (under Jair the son (*i.e.* descendant) of Manasseh), which remained in the trans-Jordanic territory. The bedstead (? sarcophagus) of the king was a famous one; it seems to have been made of black basalt; and it had found its way, when the Book of Deuteronomy was written, to Rabbah of the children of Ammon (Dt 3^{11}).† Many ancient sarcophagi of black basalt have been found in the districts east of the Jordan. The conquest of Og by Moses was looked upon as one of the great events of Jewish history; we find it referred to by the Gibeonite ambassadors to Joshua (Jos 9^{10}), as also in the making of the covenant in Neh 9^{22} and in Ps 135^{11} 136^{20}. Many legends have gathered about his name. Pope Gelasius, in the 5th cent., issued a decree condemning a book which at that time was current under the name of Og.

LITERATURE.—The latest authority on Og is Driver's *Deuteronomy*, see esp. pp. 7 f., 53 f.; cf. also Porter, *Giant Cities of Bashan*, 12 f., 94; Conder, *Heth and Moab*, 160 f.; G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* 575 f.; Wright, *Palmyra and Zenobia*, 284 ff.

H. A. REDPATH.

OHAD (אֹהַד).—A son of Simeon, Gn 46^{10} (Ἄωδ), Ex 6^{15} (B Ἰώαδ, A Ἰαωαδί, F Ἄωδ). The name is wanting in the parallel passage 1 Ch 4^{24}, as well as in Nu 26^{14}.

OHEL (אֹהֶל 'tent'; B Ὀσά, A Ὀοά; Luc. Ἀθά).—One of Zerubbabel's sons, 1 Ch 3^{20}. The correctness of the MT is open to suspicion.

OHOLAH (אָהֳלָה, B Ὄο(λ)λα, A Ὄλλα) and **OHOLIBAH** (אָהֳלִיבָה, B Ὀόλιβα, A and once [Ezk 23^{36}] B Ὄλιβα) are symbolical names given in Ezk $23^{4f. 11. 22. 36. 44}$ to Samaria and Jerusalem respectively. In this passage the latter are represented as two sisters, both wives of Jahweh (cf. the marriage of Jacob to the sisters Leah and Rachel, a practice afterwards forbidden, Lv 18^{18} [H]), and as having been guilty of adultery, Samaria with Egypt and Assyria, Jerusalem with Egypt, Assyria, and Babylonia (cf. ch. 16). The reference is to those intrigues and alliances with foreign peoples (Hos 7^{11}, 2 K 16^7, Is 7^{17-25}), which had the natural effect of introducing foreign manners and worship (cf. 2 K $23^{11f.}$, Am $5^{26f.}$, Is 2^{14}, Jer 19^{13}), and which, since the days of Hosea, had been represented and censured by the prophets as infidelity to Jahweh.‡

The name אָהֳלָה may be = אָהֳלָהּ 'she who has a tent,' 'tent-woman,' and אָהֳלִיבָה = אָהֳלִיבָהּ (cf. חֶפְצִי־בָהּ, 2 K 21^1, Is 62^4) 'tent in her' (so Smend [whose words 'soll heissen' show, however, that the sense put upon אָהֳלָה is unusual, not to say forced], followed by *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*, Bertholet, etc.), the reference being to the tent-shrines which were found at the *bāmôth* (Ezk 16^{16}, Hos 9^6, 2 K 23^7 [?]; cf. the name *Oholibamah* 'tent [? of the] high place,' Gn 36^2), just as the ark of Jahweh had from the first its tent (2 S 7^6), and as David pitched for it a tent (2 S 6^{17}) at Jerusalem (cf. Smend, *Alttest. Religionsgesch.*², 137). The two names have sometimes been taken as = 'her tent,' and 'My (*sc.* Jahweh's) tent in her,' and it has been supposed that in the first name there is a covert reproach of Samaria's illicit worship at shrines of her own selection, and in the other an implication that Jerusalem is Jahweh's own sanctuary. But, apart from the improbability of Ezekiel's paying what might be taken as a compliment to Jerusalem, the probability is that the ־ִי in אָהֳלִיבָה is simply a 'binding vowel' without either suffixal or construct force (cf. Gray's contention to the same effect in a numerous class of compound personal names—*Heb. Proper Names*, pp. 75 ff.). In this way the first part of the name means simply 'tent,' not '*my* tent,' and *Oholah* and *Oholibah* are practically identical in sense. The most suitable explanation of this similarity of name and meaning appears to be that it was intended to imply that Samaria and Jerusalem had sinned in the same way and incurred the same condemnation. The prophet's purpose was facilitated by the circumstance that it was common in the East to give almost identical names to brothers or sisters (Ewald compares *Hasan* and *Husein*, the names of the two sons of Ali the son-in-law of Mohammed). There may be something, too, in the fact noted by Skinner (*Ezekiel*, p. 191 n.) that אָהֳלָה contains the same number of *consonants* as שֹׁמְרֹן (which, however, as Bertholet points out, is always written in OT שֹׁמְרוֹן), and אָהֳלִיבָה the same number as יְרוּשָׁלַםִ. Though the names in Ezk are purely figurative, they have a resemblance to a formation found in Phœnician (אהלבעל, אהלמלך), Himyaritic (אהלעתתר, אהלאל), the above Edomite (?) name אהליבמה, and the Hebrew (?) name אהליאב (cf. Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 246 n.).

J. A. SELBIE.

OHOLIAB (אָהֳלִיאָב 'father's tent'; Ἐλιάβ; AV Aholiab).—The chief assistant of Bezalel in the construction of the tabernacle, Ex 31^6 35^{34} $36^{1.2}$ 38^{23} (all P). It is possible (cf., for the name, Phœn. אהלבעל, אהלמלך, Himyaritic אהלעתתר, אהלאל, Edomite (?) אהליבמה Gn $36^{2.41}$) that he was of non-Israelitish origin (see Gray, *HPN* 246 n.).

J. A. SELBIE.

OHOLIBAH.—See OHOLAH.

OHOLIBAMAH (אָהֳלִיבָמָה 'tent of the high place').—1. One of Esau's wives, Gn $36^{2.5.14.18.25}$ (Ὀλιβεμά, Ἐλιβέμα, Ὀλιβέμα). All the passages where she bears this name belong to R or to a late stratum of P. Elsewhere (Gn 26^{34} P) Esau's wives have quite different names, and the whole subject of his marriages is wrapped in obscurity (see the *Comm.* of Dillm. and Holzinger, *ll.citt.*). 2. An Edomite 'duke,' Gn 36^{41} (Ἐλιβεμᾶς).

J. A. SELBIE.

OIL (usually שֶׁמֶן *shemen*; 23 t., when coupled with other products of the field in their unmanufactured state [see Driver on Dt 7^{13}], יִצְהָר; in the Aramaic part of Ezr מְשַׁח; LXX and NT ἔλαιον).—One of the most important products of Palestine, mentioned more than 200 times in the Bible. Sometimes it is specifically called 'olive oil,' lit. 'oil of olive,' *shemen zayith*, to indicate its source, as Ex 27^{20} 30^{24}, Lv 24^2, or 'oil olive,' lit. 'olive of oil,' Dt 8^8 (*zêth shemen*), 2 K 18^{32} (*zêth yiẓhār*); but, even when not so expressed, the material referred to is the product of the olive in all cases but one, viz. Est 2^{12}, where oil of myrrh is specially mentioned. The olive tree and its fruit are elsewhere described (see art. OLIVE, and cf. ii. p. 31), and the methods employed in extracting the oil from its fleshy drupes are there given.

---

* This district was afterwards known as Trachonitis (Lk 3^1), and is now called el-Leja (but see art. ARGOB); though this would not include all that is meant by Argob. There is a curious notice of this district in 1 K $4^{13.19}$.

† It is quite possible, however, that Dt 3^{11} is a later insertion.

‡ Similarly, the alliances of the Hasmonæan princes with Rome were condemned from the Pharisaic standpoint as 'a going a whoring after strange gods' (*Assump. Mos.* v. 3, ed. Fritzsche, otherwise Charles, *ad loc.*).

Several kinds of olives were cultivated in Palestine. According to *Menaḥôth*, viii. 3, those of Tekoa were the best, those of Ragab the second best. Three other varieties—that of Netophath, that called Sapheoni, and that named Bisani—are mentioned in *Peah*, vii. 1. The last is said to be so called because it is so prolific that it makes all others to be ashamed. Columella, who calls the olive the first of all trees, mentions 10 varieties whose culture he describes at length (*de Re Rustica*, v. 8, xii. 49–54, and *de Arboribus*, xvii.); and Pliny names 15 kinds, of which the Licinian was the best (xv. 4). Cato (*de Re Rustica*, 64–69) gives the modes in use for purifying the oil, and Palladius (*de Re Rustica*, i. 20; *Mar.* viii, *Oct.* viii, *Nov.* v) describes the oil cellars and many particulars in olive culture. For descriptions of the olive varieties now in cultivation see Barbe, *Études sur les oliviers*; and details of ancient methods of expressing the oil are given in Blumner's *Technologie*, i. 318. St. Paul uses the figure of olive-grafting in Ro 11^{17} in the opposite sense to that referred to by Palladius (*de Insitione*, xiv., 'fecundat sterilis pingues, oleaster olivas'). In *Geoponica*, ix., there is also an account of the culture of the olive, and of the experiments made of grafting olives on vines; this ἐλαιοστάφυλος and the effect produced on the fruit of the graft is mentioned in an epigram (Brunck, iii. 231).

Different kinds of oil were known in Palestine. Pure (RV) or beaten (AV) oil is specified in Ex 27^{20} 29^{40}, Lv 24^{2}, Nu 28^{5} (LXX ἔλαιον ἐξ ἐλαιῶν ἄτρυγον καθαρόν; Vulg. *oleum purissimum piloque contusum*). This is the oil now known in commerce as virgin oil, extracted by simple pressure without heat. In Zec 4^{12} it is called *zāhāb* or golden. The inferior kinds are extracted by more powerful pressure, and the coarse or gorgon oils by the aid of boiling water. These contain fermentible materials, the lees or *Amurca*, a watery bitter liquid, whose use, when separated from the oil, as a sheep-dip is mentioned by Virgil (*Georg.* iii. 448); said by Varro to be valuable for killing weeds, and by Cato to be destructive to ants. The coarsest oil is known now in the market as *huile d'enfer*; it is bitter, and soon becomes rancid. In the present day the cheaper oils are largely adulterated with or replaced by cotton-seed oil, which is, for most purposes, illuminant or dietetic, inferior to pure olive oil; for the latter surpasses all others in consisting, to a much larger extent, of the glycerides of unsaturated acids, and it can be recognized and distinguished from its adulterations by the rapidity with which it consolidates in the presence of nitrous acid (Brannt, *On Oils*, i. 318). For the different kinds of oils in Talmudic times see *Menaḥôth*, viii. 4, 5.

Oil is coupled with corn and must as an element of national wealth in Dt 7^{13} 11^{14} 12^{17} 14^{23} 18^{4} 28^{51}, 2 Ch 32^{28}, Neh 5^{11}, Hos $2^{8.22}$, Jl 2^{19}. With corn, must, and honey in 2 Ch 31^{5} it formed part of the tribute brought to Hezekiah on the restoration of the priesthood. Raisins, figs, wine, and oil were brought by the northern tribes for the feast of rejoicing when David was made king (1 Ch 12^{40}). Must and oil as the typical produce of the land are mentioned in Neh 10^{37} 13^{5-12}, Jer 31^{12}, Jl 2^{24}; must and oil in Neh 10^{39}, Hag 1^{11}; wine, summer fruits, and oil were gathered by the remnant left in the land after the Captivity (Jer 40^{10}). Sennacherib promised Israel that, if they would submit, he would bring them to a land of oil-olive and honey (2 K 18^{32}), meaning probably some region about Gordyæa or S. Kurdistan; it cannot have been Babylonia, as the oil used there, according to Strabo (xvi. 1. 14), is that of sesamum, the *gingili* oil of commerce, extracted from *Sesamum orientale*, a Bignoniaceous plant. Fine flour, oil, and honey were the gifts wherewith God fed His unfaithful people (Ezk 16^{19}); and wine, oil, and fine flour were the types of the luxuries imported by the mystic Babylon (Rev 18^{13}). The priestly stores of these commodities are mentioned in 1 Ch 9^{29} and Ezr 6^{9}; and a similar phrase, victuals, oil, and wine, is used in 2 Ch 11^{11} for the stores accumulated by Rehoboam in his fortified cities. Probably the great system of underground storehouses, such as those found at Tell Zakarîyeh and elsewhere (*PEFSt*, 1899), were for this purpose. The royal cellars of oil in David's day were in charge of Joash (1 Ch 27^{28}). There is a reference to these secret stores of agricultural produce in the petition of the suppliants to Ishmael (Jer 41^{8}).

Oil, wine, and barley were supplied as food by Solomon to Hiram's workpeople (2 Ch 2^{15}). The quantity allowed is given in v.^{10} as 20,000 baths = about 165,000 gallons (see also Jos. *Ant.* VIII. ii. 9); but according to 1 K 5^{11} the annual gift was 20 cors = about 1640 gallons.

Oil was an important Palestinian export. It was sent to Tyre, as stated not only in the passages cited above, but in Ezk 27^{17} In Ezr 3^{7}, meat, drink, and oil are said to have been given to the Tyrian workers occupied in building the second temple. There are allusions to this commerce in *Shebiith*, vi. 5. The trickery of John of Gischala in manipulating this trade is recited by Josephus (*BJ* II. xxi. 2). Much of this oil sent to Tyre was for the Egyptian market, but Israel sometimes sent the oil directly to Egypt (Hos 12^{1}). Though oil was much used in Egypt, very little was produced there. In Strabo's time the olive tree was grown only in the Heracleote nome, but even there the oil produced had a disagreeable smell. Elsewhere in Egypt, he says, there are no olive trees except near Alexandria, but these furnished no oil (XVII. i. 35). In the Anastasi Papyrus (4. xv. 4) 'oil from the harbour' is mentioned. The Egyptians called the olive trees *dgam* (Copt. ϫⲟⲉⲓⲧ) and olive oil *bḳ* or *ḏet*, different varieties of which, called pure oil, white, dry, and red, are mentioned in Papyrus Ebers and the Medical Papyrus of Berlin. In the earlier days of Ramses III. there was a vigorous attempt to introduce olive culture into Egypt. In the great Harris Papyrus (pl. xxvii.) he says, 'I made to thee (Tmu) fields of olives in thy town An; I provided many cultivators to make pure, excellent oil of Egypt to illuminate thy great house'; and in his inventory (pl. xvii.) there are enumerated 2743 jars of Egyptian oil and 1810 of Syrian oil.

The *uses of oil* were numerous. The most ancient and widespread was that of external application (see ANOINTING, in vol. i. p. 101). All the Homeric references to oil are of this nature, and there are none to the use of oil as food. The same is noticeable in the earlier Egyptian literature, from which we learn that the 'oiling of the limbs and hair was as important to them as their clothes' (Erman, *Life in Anc. Egypt*, 229). Most of the references to the secular use of oil in the Bible are also in the same sense of an external application. Such applications were of two kinds: (*a*) as a cosmetic or part of the toilet, it imparts warmth to the body and protects it against the action of cold (Pliny, xv. 4). And, as the inferior oils used for this purpose are apt to become rancid, there was a special advantage in fresh oil (Ps 92^{10}). (*b*) As a medicinal agent. Oil is an ingredient in a very large number of the remedies prescribed in the Papyrus Ebers for the most diverse diseases. Pliny also speaks of its medicinal use (xv. 4. 7, xxiii. 3. 4). Dion Cassius relates that oil and wine were employed both externally and internally for the unknown disease which attacked the army of Aelius Gallus in Arabia (liii. 29), as we read of their being used in the parable of the Good Samaritan (Lk 10^{34}); see also Vegetius, *Ars Veterinaria*, v. 14, 23, and Columella, *de Re Rustica*, vi. 30. 4. Herod the Great was bathed in oil when suffering from the violent abdominal dropsical disease in which he was eaten of worms (Jos. *Ant.* XVII. vi. 5, and *BJ* I. xxxiii. 5). Cf. Ja 5^{14}, and art. ANOINTING, 4.

2. As part of a ceremony of consecration of kings, high priests (Ex 29^{7-21}, Lv 21^{10}, Nu 35^{25}), or sacred things (see vol. i. p. 101). The effect of this anointing was the complete setting apart for the Divine service Lv 10^{7}, called in Lv 21^{12} the 'crown of the anointing oil.' Talmudic writers say that Saul, Jehu, and Joash were anointed with common oil; but for this there is no authority. For the sacred oil see OINTMENT.

3. As part of the ritual of the burial of the dead oil was used. This is referred to by our Lord (Mt 26^{12}, Mk 14^{3-8}, Lk 23^{56}, Jn 19^{40}). In the Rhind Papyrus the use of 206 *ḥn* of oil is prescribed for this purpose, and in the funeral Papyrus of *Ḥtr* the anointing is said to renew the members and to enlarge the heart. The olive tree is described as springing from the eye of Horus, and the oil is said to be 'holy and separated for divine things.'

4. Oil was also used as an illuminating agent in lamps. Pure olive oil burns without soot, but has the disadvantage of being rapidly consumed. In the usual Jewish lamps half a log = a little less than half a pint, was used in a night (*Menaḥôth*, ix. 3). For tabernacle and temple lamps pure oil was used (Ex 27^{20}, Lv 24^{2}), and the charge of the oil in the tabernacle was given to Eleazar (Nu 4^{16}). This lamp oil is also mentioned in Ex 25^{6} $35^{8. 14. 28}$ 39^{37}. The wicks were of flax, as alluded to in Is 42^{3}. Flaxen wicks were also used in Egypt, but in recent times cotton twisted round straws is often employed (Lane, *Mod. Egyp.* i. 201). For the use of oil in NT for this purpose see Mt $25^{3. 4. 8}$. For the Sabbath lamps, R. Zarphon says that none but olive oil should be used; but others allow oil of sesame, of *'anuzim* (nuts), of radishes, fish oil, etc. (*Sabbath*, ii. 2).

5. As food, the use of oil is common in the East, and is referred to by almost all travellers from Ibn Batuta to Robinson and Burckhardt; but references to its dietetic employment are not numerous in the Bible. Cakes made with oil supported the widow of Zarephath's household during the famine (1 K 17^{12}). Oil formed part of the food of the unfaithful wife typical of Israel (Ezk 16^{13}). The tithe of oil was to be eaten before the Lord (Dt 12^{17}). The taste of manna is compared to that of oil (Nu 11^{8}).

6. The employment of oil in the meal-offering was a derivative of its use as food. It formed part of the offering—(1) in the daily sacrifice, Ex 29^{23}; (2) the meal-offering, Lv 7^{10}; (3) the consecration-offering for the priests, Ex 29^{2-23}, Lv $6^{15. 21}$; (4) the consecration-offering of the Levites, Nu 8^{8}; (5) the offering at the expiry of the vow of the Nazirite, Nu 6^{15}; (6) the offering for the purification of the leper, Lv 14; and (7) the special offering at the erection of the tabernacle, Nu 7. No oil was to be used in the sin-offering (Lv 5^{11}), or the jealousy-offering (Nu 5^{15}).

For these ceremonial purposes large quantities of oil were required. The allowance given to Ezra was 100 baths of oil (about 820 gallons), Ezr 7^{22}; the best of the oil was to be given to the priests, Nu 18^{12}. The amount thus offered is called חֹק הַשֶּׁמֶן, the ordinance (AV) or set portion (RV) of oil, Ezk 45^{14}.

The *vessels used for oil* in Bible times were various. Samuel and Zadok used a horn (קֶרֶן *ḳeren*), 1 S 16^{1-10}, 1 K 1^{39}; Samuel also used a vial (פַּךְ *pak*) of oil for anointing Saul, 1 S 10^{1}, as did the prophet who anointed Jehu, 2 K 9^{1} (AV box). The widow's oil was in a cruse (צַפַּחַת *ẓappaḥath*), 1 K 17^{12}. The widow of the prophet, whose oil Elisha multiplied, held it in a pot (אָסוּךְ *'āṣûk*), 2 K 4^{2}. The virgins in the parable carried their oil in a ἀγγεῖον or vessel.

The word 'oil' is used metaphorically in many passages. The pouring of oil out of the rock of flint in Dt 32^{13} and Job 29^{6} is a figure of abundance, the rock being either the stone press by which the olives are squeezed, or more probably the rocky slopes upon which the olives were cultivated. Part of the blessing of Asher (Dt 33^{24}) was that he should dip his foot in oil—a sign of favour and prosperity, a token that oil should be abundant in his territory. Josephus says of Galilee, in which was the lot of Asher, οὔσης ἐλαιοφόρου μάλιστα (*BJ* II. xxi. 2). The foolish use of oil is a token of extravagance and cause of poverty (Pr 21^{17}), while the husbanding of it is a proof of wisdom (Pr 21^{20}). In Job 24^{11}, where the distressful case of the slaves of the oppressor is depicted, one of the labours to which they are condemned is the making of oil within the walls of the euclosed garden of their masters. The word used here (יַצְהִירוּ, Hiph. of a denominative verb from יִצְהָר 'oil') does not occur elsewhere, and was understood by LXX in a different sense, ἐν στενοῖς ἀδίκως ἐνήδρευσαν ὁδὸν δὲ δικαίων οὐκ ᾔδεισαν, and the Vulg. renders it *Inter acervos eorum meridiati sunt qui calcatis torcularibus sitiunt.*

The 'oil of gladness' of Ps 45^{7} = He 1^{9}, and the oil of joy of Is 61^{3}, are marks of joy and festivity. The reproof of the righteous is compared to oil on the head (Ps 141^{5}). AV calls it 'an excellent oil which shall not break my head,' but it is better given in RV, 'oil upon the head, let not my head refuse it.' Words of deceit are said to be softer than oil (Ps 55^{21}, Pr 5^{3}). Cursing permeates the life of the wicked even as oil soaks into bone (Ps 109^{18}). The destruction of the olive-yards in drought is called a languishing of the oil (Jl 1^{10}). A. MACALISTER.

OIL TREE (עֵץ שֶׁמֶן *'ēẓ-shemen*, κυπάρισσος, *lignum olivæ* or *olivarum*, *lignum pulcherrimum*).—This Heb. expression is trd (Is 41^{19}) AV, RV text 'oil tree,' RVm 'oleaster'; (1 K $6^{23. 31-33}$) AV 'olive trees,' m. 'trees of oil' or 'oily trees,' RV 'olive wood'; (Neh 8^{15}) AV 'pine branches,' RV 'branches of wild olive.' It is clear from Neh that the plant iu question is not the olive, as that is mentioned in the same sentence by its own name. The difference between the latter and the wild olive is so small that it is quite unlikely that it would have been mentioned by a separate name in so brief a list of trees used for the same purpose. A candidate for *'ēẓ-shemen* must fulfil the following conditions, suggested by the passages cited above. (1) It must be an oily or fat tree (*shemen* signifies 'fat' as well as 'oil'; its Arab. equivalent *semen* is the word for 'clarified butter'). This would apply to a tree producing a terebinthine oil or resin, such as constitutes what is known in Eng. as *fat wood*, found in pitch pine and other similar trees. The Arab. has the expression *lukṣh* for such fat wood. Faggots of it are sold in the market for torches, and much used at weddings and other festivities. (2) It must be an emblem of fertility and prosperity, fitted to be associated with the myrtle, the acacia, the fir (בְּרוֹשׁ, see FIR), the pine (תִּדְהָר, see PINE), and the box (תְּאַשּׁוּר, see BOX). (3) It must be a tree capable of furnishing a block of wood of the size, beauty, and hardness required for carving an image 10 cubits high, to be placed in the Holy of Holies, and for making doors and doorposts. (4) Its foliage must be sufficiently dense to be suitable for booths. (5) It must grow in the mountains, and be easily accessible from Jerusalem and the other cities of Palestine. The *wild olive* has already been excluded. The *oleaster*, Elæagnus hortensis, M.B., never grows large enough to furnish such a block of wood as was required for the image. It is also never used for house carpentry. Its foliage is not dense, and its branches are usually thorny, and would be unlikely to be selected for a covering for booths. The *zaḳḳûm*, Balanites Ægyptiaca, Del., grows only in the torrid valley of the Lower Jordan, has a small trunk, and very thorny branches, and a sparse foliage. Its fruit yields a sort of balsam, which is its only claim to be called a tree of oil or fatness. The only trees which fulfil all these conditions are the fatwood trees. The genus Pinus furnishes three species, P. Pinea, L., the *stone* or *maritime pine*, P. Halepensis, Mill., the *Aleppo pine*, and P. Bruttia, Ten., which is perhaps only a variety of the last. Any of these would furnish foliage suitable for booths, and all are constantly used for this purpose in the East. Their massive trunks could easily furnish the log required for the carved image, and the doors and doorposts. They are constantly used in house carpentry. Their heartwood is fat enough to entitle them to be called 'trees of fatness.' They are spontaneous, growing in the wilderness (*i.e.* uncultivated places, and so fit to be associated with the other trees mentioned with them, Is *l.c.*). We are inclined with Celsius (*Hierob.* i. 309) to tr. *'ēẓ-shemen*, 'fatwood trees,' and to suppose that the reference is to the pines.

In the article Ash we have argued that *'ōren* probably stands for Pinus Pinea, L. This in no way invalidates the inclusion of the same tree under the general head of *fatwood* or *resinous* trees.

In one of the passages (Is 41^{19}) AV and RV tr. תִּדְהָר *tidhār*, 'pine,' RVm 'plane.' The same word (Is 60^{13}) is tr^{d} AV and RV 'pine,' RVm referring to former passage. It is very doubtful whether *tidhār* refers to the pine (see Pine). G. E. Post.

OINTMENT (מִרְקַחַת *mirḳaḥath*, 1 Ch 9^{30}; in general שֶׁמֶן *shemen*, sometimes coupled with מִשְׁחָה *mishḥāh*, as in Ex 30^{25}; LXX *μύρον* Ex 30^{25}, Ps 133^{2}, Ca $1^{3.5}$, Pr 27^{9}, Am 6^{6}; elsewhere *ἔλαιον*; Vulg. *unguentum*).—Oily, fragrant materials smeared on the surface of the body to allay the irritation caused by the heat in Eastern lands, and to conceal the odour of perspiration. The use of materials of this kind is common in almost every country, and is of ancient date. In Egypt unguents are mentioned even in texts of the Ancient Empire, and in those of the Middle and New Empire they are frequently referred to. There were nine sacred oils used for the purposes of ceremonial anointing: *mt* (probably cedar oil), *htt* or *hti* (a Libyan product), *ḥknnu* (an oil containing 'many spices from Arabia'), *nešnem*, *sfti*, *sgnn* (rose oil), *mrh* (oil of myrrh), *s-ti hb*, and *ṭuau*. Besides these there were other sweet-scented salves and ointments in ordinary use, *aber*, *tpt*, *th-hennu*, etc.

The holy anointing oil made by Bezalel for Moses (Ex $30^{23ff.}$) consisted of 1 hin of olive oil (about 10 lb.), 500 shekels of flowing myrrh (about 15 lb.), 250 shekels of sweet cinnamon (about 7½ lb.), 250 shekels of sweet calamus, and 500 shekels of cassia (or costus). The Jewish authors who regard the 'shekel of the sanctuary' as twice the ordinary shekel, double these weights. This was to be compounded after the art of the perfumer (see art. Confection). Probably these scented substances, or some of them, were brought into the market in powder, as in Ca 3^{6} these spices are called 'the powders of the merchant.' There are different descriptions given by Rabbinical writers of the process whereby the anointing oil was compounded, but most probably it was simple pulverization of the ingredients, and boiling them in the oil; for, as Pliny has remarked, the strength of the ointment is greater when the ingredients are boiled together (xiii. 2); but see Otho's *Lexicon, s.v.* 'Oleum.' The making of ointment in this way was recognized by Hebrew writers (see Job 41^{31}).

As the passage in Ex 30 is assigned to P, the date of the prescription cannot be determined, but it may be late. Pliny says that unguents were not known among the Greeks at the time of the Trojan war; but he has overlooked the *ῥοδόεντι δὲ χρῖεν ἐλαίῳ ἀμβροσίῳ* of *Il.* xxiii. 186 and the *λιπαροὶ κεφαλὰς καὶ καλὰ πρόσωπα* of *Od.* xv. 332, and the several references to *λίπ' ἔλαιον*, *Il.* x. 577, xiv. 171; *Od.* iii. 966, vi. 96, etc. He assigns the invention to the Persians, because a chest of perfumes was among the spoils taken by Alexander; but the Egyptians had unguents much earlier, and probably also the Indians preceded the Persians in this respect. There are references to anointings in the ancient Indian poetry (see, for example, *Hitopadesa*, i. 98. For Egyp. origin see P. Aegineta, vii. 18).

Pliny gives a large number of formulæ for sweet-smelling unguents, including one which resembles the holy anointing oil, containing myrrh, cinnamon, cassia, nard, costus, laurel, lily, and fenugreek. The myrrh, he says, gives consistency and sweetness, the cinnamon strengthens the odour, and the costus (or cassia) makes it more pungent. See Cassia, Cinnamon, Myrrh. RVm substitutes 'costus' for 'cassia' in Ex 30^{24}, and it is probable that this is the material indicated by the word *ḳiddah*. Costus is the dried root of a composite plant *Aplotaxis auriculata*, imported like frankincense through Arabia from India, and is a much esteemed ingredient in hair-unguents. It was formerly supposed to be the root of *Costus Arabicus*, but this is erroneous.

For the uses of these ointments see Anointing in vol. i. p. 100, and Oil, above, p. 591 f. For further references to the classical use of toilet oils, see Athenæus, xii. 78. Unguents are said by Pliny to keep best in boxes of alabaster (xiii. 3), and to improve with age, becoming very precious when old; hence Patroclus's body was anointed with ointment nine years old (*Il.* xviii. 350). The very precious alabaster box of ointment mentioned in Mt 26^{7}, Mk 14^{3}, Lk 7^{37} was thus the best of its kind; and the odorous ingredient in this unguent, spikenard, the root of *Nardostachys Jatamansi*, imported from India, was one of the costliest of perfumes. This perfume is called in Mk 14^{3} and Jn 12^{3} *νάρδος πιστική*, the latter word meaning either 'genuine' or 'liquid,' or else it may be from an Indian name of the plant *pisitâ* (Houghton in *PSBA* x. 144).

The making of the holy oil by unauthorized persons was forbidden, and it has been supposed that it was compounded once for all, on account of the large quantity of ingredients specified, whose weight amounted to about half a hundredweight (see *More Nebhochim*, iii. 45). It was used to anoint the tabernacle, the table, the vessels, the candlestick, the altars, the laver and its base, and Aaron and his sons (but the anointing of the priests was not observed in the second temple; Saubert, *de Sacerd. Ebr.* v.), also David and Solomon, possibly Joash; but the Talmudists say that he, Saul, and Jehu were anointed with common oil.

The consistence of the oil may be inferred from Ps 133^{2}, which says that it trickled down on Aaron's beard, where it lay on the collar (not skirt) of his outer garment. It was therefore of a very thick treacly consistence, becoming probably more fluid when warmed. The act of anointing is figured in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. 76*b*, 230, and is described in Wilkinson, i. 426. In the Gizeh Museum is the stele of a 'keeper of the ointments of the king,' cf. the royal store of Hezekiah, Is 39^{2}.

The passage in Pr 27^{16} where of the person who tries to hide the contentious woman it is said, 'Whoso hideth her hideth the wind, and the ointment of his right hand, which bewrayeth itself,' is very obscure. LXX, regarding it as connected rather with the succeeding than with the preceding verse, renders it, 'The north wind is a harsh wind, but in name it is called "auspicious."' In the RV it is translated, 'his right hand encountereth oil,' which seems to be the literal rendering; but it is not much more intelligible. The Vulgate gives *oleum dexteræ suæ vocabit*. It seems to refer to the difficulty of retaining a slippery, oily material in one's hand. For more fanciful interpretations see Rosenmüller's *Scholia*, ix. 653; Maurer's *Comment.* iii. 505, and esp. Toy, *Proverbs*, p. 488 f.

For older literature see, on the whole subject, Scheidius and Weymar in vol. xii. of Ugolini.

A. MACALISTER.

OLAMUS (Ὤλαμος), 1 Es 9^{30}=Meshullam of the sons of Bani, Ezr 10^{29}.—The name appears elsewhere as **Mosollamus** (1 Es 8^{44} 9^{14}).

OLD GATE.—See JERUSALEM in vol. ii. p. 593^{a}.

OLD LATIN VERSIONS.—See LATIN VERSIONS (THE OLD).

OLD MAN.—See REGENERATION.

OLD PROPHET, THE (נָבִיא אֶחָד זָקֵן; B *πρεσβύτης εἷς προφήτης*, A *προφ. εἷς πρεσβ.*, Luc. *προφ. ἄλλος πρεσβ.*).—This prophet lived in Bethel at the commencement of the reign of Jeroboam I. A single incident in his life is narrated (1 K 13^{11-32}; cf. 13^{1-10} and 2 K 23^{16-18}). He desired to entertain as his guest a certain '**man of God**' from Judah, who had appeared in Bethel to denounce the royal sanctuary (? on the day of its inauguration). The stranger was already departing when the prophet overtook him and offered his hospitality. It was refused on the ground that J″ had forbidden him to take food in the city. The prophet then falsely declared that he gave his invitation in accordance with a message from J″, and the stranger returned and partook of a meal. He never reached his home again. News came to Bethel that a lion had slain him a short distance from the city. The old prophet recognized this as J″'s punishment, saddled his ass, brought in the body, held lamentation over it, and buried it in his own grave. By this he showed his sympathy and respect.

The old prophet is really a secondary figure in this narrative, a factor in the fate of the man of God. His character and motives are not the centre of interest and lack clearness. They appear more vividly after the death of the man of God. What is then prominent is the prophet's sympathy for the stranger, not a sense of guilt or of responsibility for his death (vv.$^{26-32}$; the LXX addition to v.^{31} is taken from 2 K 23^{18}). This is consistent with what seems to be the writer's view, that the man of God was himself to blame for his death (see below). It might be accounted for by a lack of interest in the situation of the prophet as compared with the sad end of the stranger.

The old prophet of Bethel in this narrative is no doubt represented as one of the true prophets of J″. Without taking account of vv.$^{20-22}$, we may infer this from the use of the name 'prophet,' which is applied to him without qualification. What then does the narrative contribute to a conception of the prophetical character? We may infer from v.^{18} that it was not felt to be impossible that one who had received the Divine call to be a prophet should utter a pretended revelation. It is not supposed that a man once a prophet is always a prophet. Vv.$^{20-22}$ go further. The prophet's misuse of his position does not prevent his receiving an actual revelation immediately after. Disobedience is to be rebuked. The prophet had shared in it. He had even prostituted his office to bring it about. He had uttered a lie in the name of J″,* and now without rebuke for himself he is divinely commissioned to rebuke the man he deceived. The absence of rebuke for himself does not indeed imply that he is considered blameless. It may be accounted for by the lack of interest in the prophet displayed by the narrator. It is only what concerns the man of God that is related. Still the prophet is not for a moment disqualified for his office by his pretended revelation. Or, more accurately, J″ uses him again as the medium for conveying His message. The inference from vv.$^{20-22}$ seems then to be that prophets, truly inspired, may sometimes be guilty of fabricating Divine messages. But the verses contain elements of suspicion. Why should J″ not have spoken to the heart of the stranger himself? An utterance in the mouth of the old prophet loses strength, for his own previous statement contradicts it. The last words of v.^{26} almost imply a direct utterance to the stranger. This may, originally, have been the purport of vv.$^{20-22}$. The pronoun of the 3rd person in v.^{23} certainly refers to the man of God (see below), whereas in the present text of the preceding verses it does not. The verses as they stand are very abrupt. Some further explanation from the prophet to the man of God is required. It may be noted, also, that the words 'who came from Judah' (v.^{21}) are superfluous, and that after the first clause of v.^{20} MT has an unusual blank.

The conception of Divine retribution in the narrative offers nothing that is really peculiar to it. The man of God is punished because of his failure to pay strict obedience to J″'s command. It was the same with Lot's wife. The actual significance of the command has no importance attached to it. We are not justified in supposing that he was unavoidably deceived, and sinned in ignorance. The false statement of the old prophet is probably regarded as a temptation which he ought to have cast aside (comp. above). He had been a direct recipient of revelation, and the assertions of another were not on the same plane of certainty. Presumably, also, he is regarded as one who might, if he pleased, have ascertained for himself the Divine will, and so was responsible for his ignorance. Jeremiah in similar circumstances (Jer 28) recognized, indeed, the possibility that another prophet had received a message reversing his own (v.^{6}), but reserved his judgment (v.^{9}) until the word of J″ came to him (v.^{12}). Retribution, therefore, in his case is not inoperative (against Benzinger on 1 K 13); there was no disobedience, and consequently no ground for retribution. The treatment of the false prophet in Jer 28 is more properly a contrast to the treatment of the prophet of Bethel in 1 K. Hananiah dies within a year because of his false prophecy in the name of J″; the prophet of Bethel continues to be a medium of Divine revelation (1 K 13^{20-22}). But vv.$^{20-22}$ may not be in their original form, and it is not certain that the narrative in Kings really condones the offence of the prophet of Bethel (see above). Besides, there is this difference between the cases: the prophet of Bethel is not regarded as a false prophet, Hananiah is represented as a simple impostor. If the difference be not pressed, it remains true that the immunity of a false prophet is not something peculiar to this narrative. The fate of Hananiah was an exceptional one.

---

* The last words of v.^{18} are so abrupt as to suggest interpolation. But there is nothing to support a conjecture that the prophet was simply mistaken, and the tenor of the narrative is against the view that he was inspired by J″ to tempt the man of God.

In estimating the historical value of this narrative the whole chapter must be taken into account. The real theme of the chapter is the message and the death of the man of God from Judah. The message announced the future desecration of the royal altar by a ruler of the house of David, Josiah. It was proclaimed in the king's presence, and only a miracle saved the man of God from the consequences of his act. J″ had commanded him not to linger in the city, and he refused to be the king's guest. It was because he yielded to the invitation of the old prophet that a lion met and killed him on the way home.

The whole fabric of this narrative has been challenged on the ground that it implies such hostility to the worship at Bethel as is inconceivable in the age of Jeroboam. It is supposed to be a product of Deuteronomic opposition to the local worship of J″ (Stade, Benzinger). Such criticism overlooks two further influences capable of explaining contemporary hostility to the sanctuary at Bethel. (1) The worship at this sanctuary was image worship. Whatever the attitude of the majority to such worship, there was doubtless a party of purity strenuously opposed to it (article BETHEL; Kittel, *Hist. Heb.* ii. 253 f.). (2) The sanctuary at Bethel was being made a royal sanctuary. It was the emblem of a new nation, and as such calculated to stir feeling in Judah. It is by no means improbable, in such circumstances, that a prophet, particularly one from Judah, should denounce Jeroboam's double schism on the day he inaugurated his royal sanctuary. The grave of one who did so was shown, it seems, in Bethel (2 K 23^{17}). The cause of his burial there and the manner of his death cannot seriously be pronounced unlikely. The report of his words (1 K 13^2) contains no description of Jeroboam's sin, Deuteronomic or otherwise. The purport of his message simply is that a king of the house of David will undo Jeroboam's work of that day. It admirably fits the situation. The suggestion that the story is pervaded by a confused memory of the appearance of Amos in Bethel ignores too much the fertility of history, and is a treatment of scanty records as if they were complete. The anonymity of the prophet and of the man of God is not evidence of their unhistorical origin. It points rather to a channel of oral transmission, in which the names were lost. Josephus calls the Judæan man of God Ἰάδων (*Ant.* VIII. viii. 5). The name may come from 2 Ch 9^{29}. The writer in the Bk. of Kings avoids confusion by the use of the titles 'prophet' and 'man of God.'* There is no distinction of office in these titles (v.^{18}).

The miraculous features of the story will be estimated, of course, according as we judge all miracle in these histories. The withering of Jeroboam's hand and its restoration (vv.$^{4.5}$), and the lion's quietly remaining beside the ass and the dead body (vv.$^{24.28}$), are not essentials in the narrative. A prophet did not require miraculous protection (comp. Am 7^{10-13}). The sign of the altar (vv.$^{3.5}$) gives the impression of being a later addition. It is not capable of historical proof that the Judæan king Josiah was named in the original prophecy. 1 K 13^2 and 2 K 23^{16} are not independent of each other.

Regarding the date of the narrative in its present form, see article on KINGS. Ewald considers it to have been written down for the first time after the desecration of the altar by Josiah. If it were clear that $13^{33b.34}$ is the original continuation of 12^{31-32}, it might be concluded that ch. 13 was not part of the original Bk. of Kings compiled by R^D, but an addition by R^{D2}. There seems to be no other argument against its inclusion by R^D. The possible difference of date scarcely affects the question of the general historicity of the narrative.

LITERATURE.—Ewald, *History*, iv. 30 ff.; Wellhausen, *Composition*³, 277 f.=*Bleek*⁴, 244; Stade, *Geschichte*, i. 349 f.; Benzinger, *ad loc.* ('Könige' in Marti's *Kurzer Hdcom.*). The possible motives of the old prophet receive special consideration in *The Speaker's Commentary*, and the nature of the guilt of the man of God in *The Expositor's Bible* (Farrar). See also Bähr in *Lange's Commentary*. Josephus (*Ant.* viii. and ix.) expands and adds extensively to the history of the prophet. He represents him as 'a certain wicked old false prophet,' who sought to undo the effect of the miracles and message of the man of God, and pretended friendship and Divine inspiration in order to ruin and discredit him. The revelation of vv.$^{21.22}$ is addressed to the man of God in this account (ὁ θεὸς ἐπιφαίνεται τῷ Ἰάδωνι). But Josephus may be judged capable of ignoring the present text because of prejudice against the 'wicked old prophet.'

W. B. STEVENSON.

OLD TESTAMENT.—

Introduction.

- i. Origin and growth of OT—
  - 1. The Law or Torah.
  - 2. The Prophets.
  - 3. The Writings or Hagiographa.
- ii. The OT in the Jewish Church—
  - 1. Preservation and Transmission: (*a*) pre-Massoretic period; (*b*) Massoretic period, A.D. 600–800.
  - 2. Use or regard and interpretation: (*a*) early Rabbinic and Talmudic period, B.C. 400–A.D. 700; (*b*) later Rabbinic period.
- iii. The OT in the Christian Church—
  - 1. Textual criticism.
  - 2. Use and interpretation: (*a*) in the NT; (*b*) in the early Church,—A.D. 600; (*c*) in the Middle Ages, 600–1500; (*d*) period of the Reformation, 1500–1600; (*e*) post-Reformation period, 1600–1750; (*f*) period of modern Criticism, 1750–1900.
- iv. Permanent religious value of OT.

Literature.

The OT is that portion of the Canon of the Reformed Church which was received as sacred literature from the Jews. (On the name see art. BIBLE in vol. i. p. 286^b). While the Gr. Version of these Scriptures included additional writings, now known as the Apocrypha, and reckoned a part of the OT by the Rom. Cath. Church (see art. APOCRYPHA in vol. i. p. 121^b), the only books recognized by the Pal. Jews as holy, and admitted into their Canon, were those of our present OT. They were arranged as in the present Hebrew Bibles in three groups: the Law (תּוֹרָה *Tôrāh*), Gn, Ex, Lv, Nu, Dt; the Prophets (נְבִיאִים *Nĕbî'îm*), Jos, Jg, 1 and 2 S, 1 and 2 K, Is, Jer, Ezk, and the 12 minor prophets; and the Writings, Hagiographa (כְּתוּבִים *Kĕthûbîm*), Ps, Pr, Job, Ca, Ru, La, Ec, Est, Dn, Ezr, Neh, 1 and 2 Ch.*

The purpose of this article is to describe the origin and growth of these groups as sacred literature, and to give an account of their use and method of interpretation when united into the OT in the Jewish and Christian Churches.

i. ORIGIN AND GROWTH.—1. *The Law or Torah.* A *tôrāh* in ancient Israel was any decision or instruction on matters of law or conduct given by a sacred authority (*OTJC*², p. 299; cf. art. LAW IN OT, p. 64^b). A body of such instruction went by the same name, which was readily transferred to the Scriptures containing this material as its leading element.* Thus arose the name of the first five books of the OT.

---

* In v.^{23}, AV and RV, the word 'prophet' denotes the man of God. But this is due to mistranslation. 'He saddled for himself the ass [which belonged] to the prophet who brought him back' is the correct rendering. Besides, the text is faulty. Read as LXX. B: 'he saddled for himself his ass and departed back again.' The words omitted, לַנָּבִיא אֲשֶׁר [הֱשִׁיבוֹ], are a gloss by a reader who observed that the ass of the man of God is mentioned now for the first time, and from this concluded that it had been lent or given him by the prophet of Bethel.

* The order of the books in the first group was always the same, and also of the Former Prophets, Jos, Jg, 1 and 2 S, 1 and 2 K, but for the Latter Prophets the Babylonian Talmud (*Baba Bathra* 14*b*) and some ancient MSS give Jer, Ezk, Is, and minor prophets, and in the Writings place Ru before the Ps (Ginsburg, *Introd. to the Bible*, pp. 1–8).

The work of providing regulations for worship naturally belonged to the priests, but in addition in early Israel the administration of justice fell partially, at least, likewise to them. They communicated the Divine will by means of the lot, the ephod, and the Urim and Thummim (1 S 14^{18} [LXX] 23^{9}, Dt 33^{8}).

People repaired to the sanctuaries to have judgments rendered (Ex 21^{6} $22^{7f. (8f.)}$, 1 S 2^{25}). Such action was called 'inquiring of God,' and the decisions were, 'the statutes and laws of God' (Ex $18^{15f. 19-22}$; cf. Driver on Dt. 16^{18-20}). Thus the priests became the natural guardians and teachers of Divine instruction or law (Dt 33^{10}, Jer 18^{18}, Hos $4^{6f.}$). They were members of the supreme tribunal of the land (mentioned in 2 Ch 19^{5-11} as established by Jehoshaphat), Dt $17^{8ff.}$ $19^{15ff.}$. Tracing evidently their instruction or law to Moses, to preserve its continuity they issued legislation in his name, acting upon the principle that all law emanated from Jehovah, and that Moses was the medium of its communication. At first their work as lawgivers was probably simply carried on by oral decision and transmission. As Israel advanced in culture, however, laws were naturally reduced to writing. When this began, we have no clear means of determining. Some meagre written legislation may have existed as early as the time of Moses. (See the small type on p. 597^{b}). No great stress was laid upon the original legal form or words. They were modified through change in time and circumstance.† Codes remained open. The earliest written laws which have been preserved are those in Ex 20–23 (the Bk. of the Covenant) 34^{14-28}. They probably owe their preservation to their incorporation into historical writings (E or J) of the 8th cent., but the laws themselves may be much earlier. (The *lex talionis* reveals a primitive state of society, yet an agricultural people is presupposed, and hence a later date than the settlement of Canaan). Other codes more ancient may have existed in Israel in a written form. The earliest written law or book of Divine instruction of whose introduction or enactment an authentic account is given, was Deuteronomy or its main portion, represented as found in the temple in the 18th year of king Josiah (B.C. 621), and proclaimed by the king as the law of the land (2 K 23) (see article DEUTERONOMY in vol. i. p. 602 f.). From that time forward Israel had a written law which the pious believer was commanded to ponder day and night (Jos 1^{8} Ps 1^{2}); and thus the Torah, as sacred literature, formally commenced in Israel. This law aimed at a right application of original Mosaic principles.

The Mosaic period represented that of Israel's faithful relationship to Jehovah (Hos 2^{16} 11^{1}, Jer 2^{2}). As the cry at present is 'Back to Christ,' so the cry then was 'Back to Moses.' At present in going back to Christ to apply His teaching to immediate needs, we re-formulate them *indirectly*, giving thus laws of Christian conduct. But indirect re-formulation of ancient principles is contrary to the genius of the Hebrew mind and language. Intensity is characteristic of Hebrew utterance, as is well illustrated in Christ's use of the words 'hate' (Lk 14^{26}) and 'thank' and 'hide' (Mt 11^{25}). The Hebrew language refuses also to lend itself readily to indirect speech. It shows reluctance to give an address in substance, except in an apparent reproduction of the ipsissima verba. Thus in the OT historical books, whenever a writer wishes to report that one person made a verbal communication to another, he almost invariably says: 'So and so spoke to so and so, saying.' The direct form is used. Hence if in the reign of Josiah the Mosaic law and teaching were to be re-formulated to meet the exigencies of the time, they were naturally placed directly in the mouth of Moses. Indeed, practically no other method was possible to produce the required effect.

Dt is also far more than a code of laws. It is a hortatory exposition of law, appealing on the ground of Divine love and revelation for obedience in Israel. A religious experience formed its real basis, and gave it a position of Divine authority.

The reformation under Josiah was a failure. The good king fell at the battle of Megiddo. The people lapsed into idolatry, and Judah soon went into exile. Something more than Dt seemed necessary for a religious constitution for Israel. With this thought another re-formulation of the laws began. The Bk. of Ezekiel exhibits this movement. Under the form of a vision he drew up a programme for the future (see art. EZEKIEL). He heightened the sanctity of the central sanctuary by placing it within the domain of priests, that it might not, like the old temple, be liable to defilement through proximity to royal residences ($43^{7f.}$). He heightened the sanctity of the priesthood by restricting it to the sons of Zadok, the Levites being degraded from office on account of their ministration at the high places (44^{10-14}). He gave also an elaborate ritual for worship, and described, with the measurements and detail of an architect's plan, a new temple, and apportioned the land among the tribes of Israel with the regularity of a military camp. In accordance with this spirit, which saw no hope for Israel without transforming the State into a church and regulating the whole life of the people through elaborate law and ordinance, supposed Mosaic principles were again restated, and an ideal constitution of Israel in the wilderness was given as a new law for the Jewish people. This was issued in the Priests' Code (see art. HEXATEUCH), and solemnly presented by Ezra to the people, who received it as the law of God (Neh 8–10, B.C. 444 or 443). The reception of the Priests' Code under Ezra marks practically the appearance of the Law, since shortly afterwards Dt, which had previously been united with the historical work JE (see art. HEXATEUCH), and had never been abrogated as a law of Divine authority, was joined with the Priests' Code.

In all this legal literature the historical narrative occupied a prominent place. Laws were thought of not only as expressing abstract principles of justice and worship, but also as having originated in connexion with Divine manifestations. Hence narratives of a progressive revelation of God in the early ages of mankind and Israel formed an integral part of the Priests' Code. An example had already been set in Dt 1–4 and later by combining Dt with the historical work JE.

The enlargement and combination of sacred writings was performed by the *ṣôphĕrîm* or scribes. This class of scholars, of whom Ezra 'the ready scribe in the Law of Moses' (Ezr 7^{6}) was the prototype, grew up during the Exile, or shortly after, probably within priestly circles. The membership was not confined, however, to priests. They became the guardians and students of the Law, which they felt free to annotate and enlarge with some additions. They separated from the Hexateuch the Bk. of Joshua (see below). Thus the Law did not reach its final form until the 3rd cent. B.C. (For revision and gradual compilation of P, see art. HEXATEUCH in vol. ii. p. 374^{a} f.).

2. *The Prophets.*—This division of OT falling into two parts, the Former Prophets Jos, Jg, 1 and 2 S, and 1 and 2 K, and the Latter Prophets Is, Jer, Ezk, and the Twelve, receives its name from the prophetic authorship of these books. The prophets represent the mystical

---

* *Torah* (תּוֹרָה) is used in the OT to denote—1. *Instruction*: (*a*) human: Pr 1^{8} $6^{20. 23}$ *et al.*; (*b*) Divine, Job 22^{22}, Is 30^{9} *et al.*; (*c*) a body of prophetic teaching, Is $42^{21. 24}$, Jer 9^{13} *et al.*; (*d*) instruction in Messianic age, Is 2^{3} 42^{4} *et al.*; (*e*) a body of priestly direction or instruction, Hos 4^{6}, Jer 2^{8} *et al.* 2. *law* (prop. *direction*): (*a*) of special laws, Ex 13^{9} 16^{4} *et al.*; (*b*) of codes of law—(1) as written in the code of the covenant, Ex 24^{12}, Jos 24^{26} *et al.*; (2) the law of the Deuteronomic code, Dt 1^{5} $4^{8. 44}$ *et al.*; (3) the law of the Priests' Code, 2 Ch 23^{18} 30^{16} *et al.* (*Oxf. Heb. Lex.* p. 435 f.).

† Cf. the two records of the ten commandments (Ex 20^{3-17}, Dt 5^{7-21}) and the laws in the different OT codes (see art. HEXATEUCH in vol. ii. 365^{b}).

teachers of religion who gain truth through the emotions or intuitions (see art. PROPHET). Equally with the priests, the prophets unfolded the ancient instruction or law, not, however, in the form of statutes or codes, but as direct revelations of Jehovah expressed in warnings and exhortations. The prophets became thus the conscience of the State and interpreters of history. Handing down their instruction as a living word, they seem not to have taken pains at first to preserve it in writing. Not until the 8th cent. have we indications of a systematic effort in that direction, illustrated in the discourses given in Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah. How far these came directly from the prophets themselves, or represent abstracts or reports furnished by scholars or hearers, we have no means of determining. Isaiah twice commanded that some of his instruction should be preserved as a future testimony to the truth of his doctrine (8^{16} 30^{8}). A century later Jeremiah took pains, according to a command from Jehovah, to have his discourses, covering a period of some twenty-two years, carefully written out (Jer $36^{1ff.\ 32}$). At the time of the Exile, when Ezekiel flourished, a written roll had become the symbol of the prophetic word (Ezk 2^{9}–3^{3}). He probably himself carefully wrote and arranged his prophecies, and from thence onward prophecy often assumed doubtless in the first instance a written as well as a spoken form. The anonymity of the author (or authors) of Is 40–66 suggests that those prophecies may have been circulated in MS without having been first orally delivered. The last of the prophets, whose writings have been preserved, according to Jewish tradition was Malachi (about B.C. 450), and this tradition is probably true as concerning the writings of those who delivered in the first instances oral messages.* Ob, Jl, Jon, Zec 9–14 and Is 24–27 are assigned by many scholars (see separate articles and Driver's *LOT*) to the Greek period, representing an imitation of the earlier prophetic word, and if we accept this assignment they probably represent a literary rather than an oratorical activity.

No record has been left of the manner or special cause of the collection of the 'Latter Prophets.' The sacred authority of most of them clearly dated from the day of their utterance or composition, and they gained nothing in this respect by collection and union with other writings, and yet their value naturally became greater when living prophets no longer appeared, and then an impulse must have arisen for their union and preservation in a sacred canon. This work was probably formally accomplished by the scribes already mentioned in connexion with the Law; and here, again, as in the case of the Law, liberty was doubtless taken in editing old material to introduce new reflections. (We may account in this way partially for the imitations of ancient prophecy already mentioned).

The historical books Jos, Jg, 1 and 2 S, and 1 and 2 K may have been originally classified as 'Prophets' because they contained narratives concerning inspired or prophetic men, or because they were assigned for authorship to such men as Joshua, Samuel, and Jeremiah, a view of Talmudic Judaism; yet the result was in a degree correct, since these books in the main came from authors imbued with the prophetic spirit. They reveal the will and character of Jehovah by relating His dealings with ancient Israel. Narratives of this sort began to be composed quite early. The lost Book of the Wars of Jehovah (Nu 21^{14}) was probably one, and the documents J and E of the Hexateuch and the similar sources (perhaps a continuation of J and E) appearing in Jg, 1 and 2 S, 1 K 1–3, and the prophetic stories of 1 and 2 K were others (see articles JUDGES in vol. ii. p. 807 ff., SAMUEL (BOOKS OF), and KINGS (BOOKS OF)). Next to lyric songs, these narratives containing ancient myths and legends illustrate the earliest literature of Israel. They began, as we have them, to be written not far from the reign of Solomon, and passed probably through many hands, or were preserved in circles of scholars, who copied, edited, and made such combinations of them as are seen in JE.

The subject of the development of literature in Israel is very obscure. It is uncertain whether the art of reading and writing was in vogue among the people before they entered the land of Canaan. After they came in contact with Canaanitish civilization it was clearly known among them. In Jg 8^{14} writing by a boy is mentioned. This, it is true, might be an anachronism only revealing a widespread use of the art in the days of the author of Jg. At the court of David a scribe is mentioned (2 S 8^{17}), and the knowledge of reading and writing from that time onward is assumed (2 S 11^{14}, 1 K 21^{8}, 2 K 5^{5} 10^{1}, Jer 29^{1}). Hence schools for the cultivation of this art necessarily then existed, and a literature of some sort must then have been current. This in its earliest form probably consisted of songs and stories, and possibly some laws. The Song of Deborah is usually regarded as the earliest piece of literature preserved in the Bible. (For a chronological list of the writings of the OT, see article BIBLE in vol. i. p. 290; compare the dates there given with those adopted in the articles on each OT book).

From these prophetic sources and from ancient annals, such as were naturally kept in connexion with the court and the temple (or from works based upon these annals), were composed or compiled in the spirit of Dt, and hence later than B.C. 621, the Deuteronomic parts of Joshua, the middle sections of Jg, 1 and 2 S, and 1 and 2 K. Later, these books suffered revision from priests and scribes, who gave them their present form (separating Jos from the Hexateuch). The time of the union of the Former Prophets with the Latter, or whether the books in either division were separately collected before their final union together, cannot be determined. The historical books from the first clearly held a high and revered place in Israel, as distinctly appears from the union of JE with D. They were regarded as records of Divine revelations given to the patriarchs and prophets and illustrating the principles of Jehovah's rule in the world and care for His people. The earliest testimony to their existence is their use in 1 and 2 Ch, written about B.C. 300. In 2 Mac $2^{13\text{-}15}$ is preserved a tradition that Nehemiah, founding a library, gathered together the things concerning the kings and prophets, and the writings of David, and the letters of the kings about sacred gifts. Although the list of writings enumerated goes beyond the 'Prophets,' yet a true reminiscence of their collection may be here given. The prophets formed a distinct division of Sacred Scriptures at B.C. 130, when the prologue to Sirach was written, and if the mention of twelve prophets in Sir 49^{12} is genuine, then as early as B.C. 180 (see art. OT CANON).

3. *The Writings or Hagiographa.*—This third division of the OT is composed of literature generally later than the Law and the Prophets, and this fact alone is sufficient to account for its separate existence. Dn in character belongs to the Latter Prophets, but was not written until the Maccabæan period (see art. DANIEL). Through the inspiring character of its teachings and revelation it was clearly received on its first appearance as of Divine authority. 1 and 2 Ch, Ezr, Neh, and Est resemble the Former Prophets, and appeared too late to be joined with them. Ezr and Neh bring the history of Israel from a point near that at which the narrative ceases in 1 and 2 K down to the canonization of the Law or the founding of Judaism, and probably

---

* No accredited prophets of Israel are mentioned in OT or elsewhere later than the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, and Josephus held that their line of succession had then ceased (*c. Apion.* i. 8). In Zec $13^{3\text{-}5}$ the prophet is mentioned as though the office had fallen into disrepute (this passage is, however, obscure), and in Ps 74^{9} and 1 Mac 4^{46} 9^{27} 14^{41} prophets are mentioned as having ceased.

thus gained a recognition as Holy Scripture. The same probably is true of Ruth. It was felt to be an integral part of OT history, and through this influence it was sometimes reckoned as a part of Jg (see below). 1 and 2 Ch were originally joined with Ezr and Neh, the four books being the work of one author (see articles); but since 1 and 2 Ch were principally a *midrash* on 1 and 2 S and 1 and 2 K, they were separated from Ezr and Neh, and not so early recognized as sacred. This supposition seems necessary to explain their position *after* Ezr and Neh, and last in the OT Canon. Esther was written to explain the feast of Purim, and received at once, doubtless, a sacred character from this fact and from its inspiring patriotism. Wherever the feast was regarded as a sacred festival, the story of its origin acquired a similar character, and since it commanded the feast, spoke with Divine authority. From this point of view Esther resembles the narratives of the Torah, which explain the origins of religious laws and customs.

Ps, Job, Pr, Ec, Ca, and La represent a different class of literature from the Law and the Prophets, since their contents appear almost entirely as the result of human observation, thought, and aspiration rather than as the product or record of Divine revelation. Hence, although partially of as early a date as some of the prophets, they did not command such immediate attention or force so readily the thought of Divine origin. The main cause leading to their acceptance, clearly seen in Ps, La, Pr, and Job, was their inspiring religious contents. These books are directly akin in their teachings to the Law and the Prophets. To the conscience they spoke with similar authority; they breathed likewise the very spirit of faith and penitence which the Law and the Prophets commanded, and thus they obtained recognition as a Divine word. With Canticles and Ecclesiastes such inspiration is less apparent. The former was probably originally a collection of songs sung at wedding festivities (see, however, article SONG OF SONGS). Highly valued, nevertheless, as a beautiful specimen of Hebrew poetry, and regarded also as a continuous composition, this collection was interpreted as setting forth the love of Jehovah for His people, and thus gained a sacred character, and then probably was assigned to Solomon as its author. Ec was probably received principally on the ground of its supposed Solomonic authorship. As in the case of the prophets, no record has been left of the collection and formal canonization of the Hagiographa. The earliest mention of them is in the Prologue to Sirach (written B.C. 132), where reference is made to 'the law, the prophets, and the other books.' Owing to the indefiniteness of the expression 'the other books,' it is uncertain whether this division was then complete, or whether some books or portions of books were added later. A decision in this regard must be determined by the date of the separate writings.* In 1 Mac 7^{16} (written about B.C. 100) Ps $79^{2f.}$ is formally cited as Scripture. In the NT the three divisions of the OT are recognized, closing with 1 and 2 Ch (Mt 23^{34}, Lk 24^{44}). The second (fourth) Bk. of Esdras as well as Josephus, probably near the close of the 1st cent. A.D., recognize our present OT Canon.

In 2 Es ninety-four divinely-revealed books are mentioned (14^{44}), of which seventy are esoteric (14^{46}). This leaves twenty-four representing the present OT according to a usual Jewish method of reckoning: the law, five; the prophets, eight; the Hagiographa, eleven. All double books, Ezr and Neh, and the minor prophets, are reckoned as one each. This standard way of reckoning the OT books gave rise to the name The Twenty-four (see article BIBLE). Josephus (*c. Apion.* i. 8) mentions twenty-two: five belonging to Moses, thirteen covering the interval from Moses to the reign of Artaxerxes, and four containing hymns to God and precepts for the conduct of human life. This number is obtained by uniting Ru with Jg, and La with Jer, a method of reckoning also adopted by the Jews. Jerome mentions it (*Prologus Galeatus*, passage quoted in Wildeboer's *Origin of the Canon of the OT*, p. 80 f.). It has been questioned whether Josephus did not omit from his Canon the Bks. of Ca and Ec (Briggs' *Introd. to the Study of Holy Scripture*, vi. 4, 1899, p. 127 f.). The canonicity of these two books was under discussion at the Assemblies of Jamnia (OT JABNEH, a Jewish seat of learning after the fall of Jerusalem) about A.D. 90 and A.D. 118, and a decision was rendered in their favour, and this period is frequently given as marking the final close of the OT Canon. This discussion concerning Ca and Ec was probably in regard to their having been rightly received into the Canon, and not their first reception (Buhl, *Canon and Text of the OT*, § 8; Ryle, *Canon of the OT*, p. 187). It is a noteworthy fact, however, that these two books are nowhere quoted or directly referred to in the NT.

The impulse which led to the special setting apart of the writings as Scripture was probably the enhancing of sacred writings through the command of Antiochus Epiphanes for their destruction (1 Mac $1^{56f.}$), and the revival of Jewish patriotism in the Maccabæan period.*

ii. THE OT IN THE JEWISH CHURCH.—1. *Preservation and Transmission.*—(*a*) *Pre-Massoretic period.* The OT Scriptures were originally written upon rolls (cf. Ps $40^{8(7)}$, Jer $36^{14ff.}$ Ezk 2^{9}, Zec 5^{1}) of skin, or possibly in some instances of papyrus paper, and were thus handed down with probably much the same general care or lack of care with which they were preserved before canonization; for the variations of the Sam. and Greek Pentateuchs from the later uniform Heb. consonantal text show that the words and letters of the Scriptures were not at first regarded as especially sacred. Later, however, this idea was developed, and by the 1st cent. A.D. had so far progressed that Philo said that the Jews had never altered a word of what Moses wrote (quoted in Eusebius, *Præp. ad Ev.* viii. 6 *fin.*), and Josephus, that no one had been so bold as to add anything to them [the Scriptures], to take anything from them, or to make any change in them (*c. Apion.* i. 8); and in the Talmud, in the words of a Rabbi held to have lived in the 1st cent., the work of a copyist is called Divine, and a warning is given against dropping or adding a letter (*Erubin* 13*a*, *Sota* [cf. *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. i. p. 128]). Synchronous with this growth of reverence for the letter was necessarily an endeavour to have a uniform text for use in the synagogues and schools. Efforts in this direction culminated not long after the fall of Jerusalem (A.D. 70), when in the refounding of Judaism a single consonantal text of the OT under the influence of Rabbi Akiba and his associates at Jamnia was adopted as authoritative, and all others disappeared. The principle of its adoption is unknown. A tradition relates that the text of the Law witnessed by the largest number of MSS was chosen (Jerus. *Taanith*, iv. 2). Probably the choice was determined by the traditional age or genealogy of a certain MS or school of MSS believed to represent best the original archetype. This finally adopted text cannot be regarded as entirely free from corruptions (slight in the Law but conspicuous, for example, in 1 and 2 S and Ezk). These corruptions arose from the inevitable mistakes of copyists, especially before the words and letters were severely reverenced; from the gradual change of the old Hebrew alphabet to the present square character—a change brought about between the period of Ezra and the 1st cent. B.C., and also from emendations made on dogmatic grounds.

---

* Dn is probably the latest of the Hagiographa. Some, however, place Est and Ec later (see articles), and also certain psalms (see art. PSALMS, and cf. Duhm, 'Die Psalmen,' in *Kurzer Hdcomm. z. AT*, p. xxiff., and Cheyne, *OP*, 24 ff., 50, etc.).

* Budde holds that into the third Canon, that of the Hagiographa, were received all books of a religious character, of which the date was believed to go back as far as the prophetic period, that is, to the time of Ezra (art. 'OT Canon,' *Encycl. Bib.*). Josephus and Talmudic Judaism did believe that all the books received were of such an early date, but possibly the canonicity gave the date.

The substitution of *bosheth* (בשת) for *ba'al* (בעל) in proper names (see article ISHBOSHETH), and of *bless* (ברך) for *curse* (קלל) in 1 K $21^{10.13}$, illustrate these dogmatic changes (few in number) introduced to express an abhorrence of idolatry, or to avoid impious expressions toward God. (Cf. Geiger's *Urschrift der Bibel*, p. 257 ff.; Ginsburg, *op. cit.* p. 363 ff.; Siegfried (*SBOT*), Budde (*Hdkomm.*), Duhm (*Kurzer Hdcomm.*), contra, on Job 1^5). In line with these changes introduced into the text are probably the *neḳudim* (נקודים) or fifteen extraordinary points indicating that some change should be made in the text (Ginsburg, *op. cit.* p. 318 ff.).

Within this period the Scriptures were divided into sections for synagogue usage (the Law and the Prophets, see, further, below), into paragraphs (פרשות) and verses (?).*

(*b*) *Massoretic period*, A.D. 600–800. After the canonization of the official consonantal text the greatest care was taken that it should be transmitted with complete accuracy; hence it was studied in respect to all its peculiarities, and these were noted down in a series of marginal notes called *Massorah* (מסורה). These notes embraced such particulars as calling attention to peculiar letters, giving the number of words or letters in each book, and the middle word or letter, and especially in noting variant readings (the *Ḳerê*), the latter being based upon the testimony of MSS, or required for religious reasons, or demanded by the connexion of the passage. All these features were a continuation and preservation of the work of the scribes. In addition to these notes, with the same end in view, and especially to render the OT readable to the people, vowel points fixing the traditional pronunciation were added to the consonantal text, and a system of punctuation (accents) extending to each word, marking off the verses. Thus finally appeared the present Massoretic text, of which the oldest MSS are of the 9th and 10th cents.† (For a description of the most ancient MSS, cf. Ginsburg, *op. cit.* pp. 469–778). All Hebrew MSS represent essentially this Massoretic text, which was first printed, the Psalms 1477, the Pentateuch 1482, both at Bologna, and the entire Heb. Bible at Soncino 1488. The most important subsequent printed Hebrew Bible is the edition of Jacob ben Chayim, with the Massorah, at the Bomberg Press, Venice, 1524–25. All subsequent editions, so far as they are Massoretic, follow this standard edition (Ginsburg, *op. cit.* p. 976) until we come to two recent attempts to furnish an exact Massoretic text, that of Baer and Delitzsch, Leipzig (not yet complete), and that of Christian D. Ginsburg, London, 1894. (For ancient versions of the OT see articles SEPTUAGINT, SYRIAC VERSIONS, TARGUM, and VULGATE; for modern textual criticism see below). [On printed editions of Hebrew text, cf. Buhl, *Canon and Text of the OT*, § 25; Ginsburg, *op. cit.* pp. 779–976; Weir, *Short Hist. of the Heb. Text*, p. 129 ff.].

2. *Use or Regard and Interpretation.*—(*a*) *Early Rabbinic and Talmudic period*, B.C. 400–A.D. 700.—The Law was always regarded in the Jewish Church as of a higher inspiration than the rest of the OT. It was believed to contain the original revelation of the Divine will, while the Prophets and the Writings only contained the same will further delivered; yet these latter were equally Holy Scriptures with the former, and were cited with the same formula (in the NT they are quoted as the Law, Ro 3^{19}, 1 Co 14^{21}, Jn 10^{34} 12^{34} 15^{25}). The early reverence for the Law is illustrated in Ps 1. 19^{7-14} 119 (Ps 1 may have been written in reference to the Deuteronomic law). Both the Law and the Prophets at the time of Christ, and probably from near the time of their canonization, were read each Sabbath day in the synagogue; the former in lessons arranged to complete the Law once in three years.* The lesson from the Prophets was not prescribed. The Hagiographa were not read regularly, except the five *Megillôth*† on the appropriate feast days. Schools were established (as early as the century before Christ) for the instruction of children in the Scriptures, especially the Law; and such study was finally held to precede every other duty (Weber, *Die Jüdische Theologie*, p. 30). The punctilious observance of the Law became the evidence both of patriotism and piety, and the constant endeavour was to apply the Law to every exigency of life, and to justify every cherished institution or notion by some word of the OT.

Such applications or interpretations or inquiries into the meaning of the Scriptures were called *midrāshîm* (sing. *midrāsh*, מדרש from דרש 'to seek'). In them was sought not what a passage might declare according to the natural tenor of its words (although this method of interpretation was recognized, called *peshaṭ*, פשט), but the inferences that might be drawn by combination with other passages, by suggestion, or by allegory. Thus arose a great body of *midrāshîm* of two sorts, legal and homiletical; the former called *Halākhôth* (sing. *halākhā*, הלכה from הלך 'to go'), the latter *Haggādôth* (sing. *haggādā*, הגדה or אגדה from נגד Hiph. 'to tell'). These *midrāshîm* were handed down orally and not compiled in writing until the 2nd cent. A.D., when they appeared, especially the Halakhoth, in the Mishna (Talmud).‡ This oral tradition or interpretation was held to be necessary for an understanding and keeping of the Law, and was assumed to have been given in great part by Moses, and thus gradually, beginning as early as the time of Christ, if not a century or two before, it usurped the place of the Scriptures, becoming of equal, and, according to some, of superior authority (Weber, *op. cit.* § 22, p. 88 ff.).§ It is frequently referred to in the NT (Mt $15^{2.3.6}$, Mk $7^{3.5.8.9.13}$. Cf. Mt $23^{16ff.}$), and its character is well illustrated in the prohibited labours on the Sabbath. These, which are particularized only in a few instances in the OT, are amplified in the Mishna into thirty-nine prohibited labours, each of which is still further analyzed and discussed.

The prohibited labours were: (1) sowing, (2) ploughing, (3) reaping, (4) binding into sheaves, (5) threshing, (6) winnowing, (7) fruit cleaning, (8) grinding, (9) sifting, (10) kneading, (11) baking, (12) wool shearing, (13) bleaching, (14) combing, (15) dyeing, (16) spinning, (17) warping, (18) making two spindle-trees, (19) weaving two threads, (20) separating two threads (in the warp), (21) tying a knot, (22) untying a knot, (23) sewing on with two stitches, (24) tearing to sew together with two stitches, (25) hunting a deer, (26) killing, (27) skinning, (28) and salting it, (29) preparing its skin, (30) scraping off the hair, (31) cutting up the flesh, (32) writing two letters (characters), (33) erasing to write two letters, (34) building, (35) demolishing, (36) extinguishing (fire), (37) kindling (fire), (38) hammering, (39) carrying from one place to another (Tract *Shabbath* vii. 2). Each of these prohibitions was still further explained. On (21), (22), knots of camel-drivers and sailors are forbidden both to be tied and untied; but knots which may be untied with one hand were lawful. A woman might tie up a slit in her chemise, the bands of her hood, her girdle, her shoes and sandals; also the bands of leather bottles of wine or oil, or of a pot with meat. A rope might be tied in front of cattle that they might not escape; a bucket over a well with a girdle but not a rope. Rabbi Judah permits a rope also (Tract *Shabbath* xv. 2; cf. Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. p. 96 ff.). In the Gemara or Rabbinical comments on the Mishna these refinements are still further refined.

---

* On the point of verses authorities differ. They are mentioned in the Talmud, but may be those of oral tradition (cf. *JQR*, vol. i. p. 224 f.; Briggs, *op. cit.* p. 174; W. H. Green, *Gen. Introd. to the OT Text*, N.Y., 1899, p. 148 f.).

† When a MS became old it was religiously destroyed, lest through its mutilation the sacred word might be violated. This explains the lack of earlier MSS.

* The Babylonian arrangement was for completion in one year, and this, later, came into general use.

† Ca, Ru, La, Ec, Est read respectively at the seasons of the Passover, Pentecost, Destruction of Jerusalem, Tabernacles, and Purim.

‡ Another view is that the Talmud, though compiled in the 2nd cent., continued to be orally transmitted until the 6th cent. (see art. TALMUD).

§ Its development and place is well compared with that of tradition in the Roman Catholic Church.

In the derivation of the Halakhoth were employed seven rules of interpretation laid down by Rabbi Hillel (contemporary of Herod the Great), and afterwards increased to thirteen by Rabbi Ishmael (2nd cent. A.D.).

These rules are: (1) That which is true of the easier or less is true of the greater or more difficult. An example, Nu 12^{14}. If from the sign of a human father's displeasure Miriam should be ashamed (shut up) seven days, then from leprosy, the sign of the Lord's displeasure, she should be shut out of the camp seven days. (2) A parallel passage or word supplements another: Lv 16^{29} enjoins on the Day of Atonement affliction of souls (תענו נפשתיכם 'ye shall afflict your souls') In Dt 8^{3} ענה ('afflict') is used in reference to suffering from hunger, hence the affliction of the Day of Atonement is fasting. (3) A special provision of Scripture is to be generalized or applied in other analogous passages or cases. Dt 24^{6} forbids the mill or upper millstone to be taken as a pledge. This law is generalized by the Rabbis so that everything which is used for preparing food is forbidden to be taken as a pledge. (4-11) 'Eight rules with reference to the relation of genus to species by inclusion, exclusion, contrast, and their relation to a third term in the forms of Rabbinical logic.' (12) A word or passage is to be explained by the context. (13) Conflicting passages are to be reconciled by a third. Gn 1^{1} 'In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth,' and 2^{4} 'In the day that the LORD made the earth and the heavens.' The question now arises, which did He make first? The answer, 'Both at once,' is found in Is 48^{13} 'Mine hand hath laid the foundations of the earth, and my right hand hath spread out the heavens.' For a full discussion and illustrations of these rules, see Mielziner's *Introd. to the Talmud* (1897), pp. 117-187. They are also given in Barclay's *Talmud*, 1878, pp. 40-44; Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, 1897, pp. 108-118; cf. also Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, 1899, p. 430 f.

The fault of Rabbinical exegesis arose not so much from these rules, many of which represent valid forms of reasoning, as from their application, and, indeed, they were not always supposed to be applied: the mere mention or suggestion of anything under discussion was sufficient to constitute a proof text. That a piece of earthenware large enough to stir a fire might be carried on the Sabbath day, was inferred from Is 30^{14b} 'So that there shall not be found among the pieces thereof a sherd to take fire from the hearth.' And that to anoint oneself on the Day of Atonement was equal to drinking, was inferred from Ps 109^{18} 'And it cometh like water on his body and oil into his bones' (Tract *Shabbath* c. viii. and c. ix., Bab. Talmud, Rodkinson, vol. i. pp. 157, 163).

The very language of Scripture was held to be different from ordinary human language, and hence particles of speech, such as adverbs and conjunctions, special constructions of syntax, the position of words, syllables, letters, and even forms of letters, were regarded as capable of a hidden meaning and of giving proof in support of tradition. This method was advocated by the celebrated Rabbi Akiba of the 2nd cent., and, although opposed by some of his contemporaries, yet won a place for itself in the Talmud.

Under this method such particles as אף, את, גם were held to extend a law, and אך and מן, רק to restrict it. את before יהוה in Dt 10^{20} extended the command to fear God, so that it included also wise men (*Pesachim* 22^{b}). אך in Ex 31^{13} showed that the rigorous precepts of the Sabbath did not apply to cases where life was in danger (*Yoma* 85^{b}—Mielziner, *op. cit.* p. 124 f.). Words were even interpreted according to the numerical value of the letters (*Gematriā*). The ways of dying are inferred to be 903 from 'issues of death' (תוצאות) mentioned in Ps 68^{21} (*Berachoth* 8^{a}). Letters might also stand for words (*Notarikon*). From 'father of a multitude' (אב המון Gn 17^{5}) was drawn: 'Father, chosen, lovely, king, distinguished, faithful (אב בחור חביב מלך נתיק נאמן). The words with which Shimei cursed David are drawn from 'grievous' (נמרצת 1 K 2^{8}), 'adulterer, Moabite, murderer, oppressor, abomination' (בואף מואבי רוצח צורר תועבה) (*Shabbath* xii. 5). Another device was change in the order of letters (*Temoorah*). Thus in Ps 21^{2} 'The king shall rejoice,' refers to the Messiah, by transposing ישמח ('he shall rejoice') into משיח ('Messiah'—Farrar, *History of Interpretation*, p. 102). A species of *Temoorah* called *Atbash*, the substitution of the last letter of the alphabet for the first, and so on, appears in Jer 25^{26} 51^{41}, where 'Sheshach' (ששך) is written for 'Babel' (בבל); cf. Jer 51^{1}. These and other similar methods of interpretation were carried to a great excess during the Middle Ages in the Kabbala, a Jewish system of Theosophy or sacred mysteries.

The homiletical *midrāshîm* or *haggādôth* differed from the *Halākhôth* in not being so much inferences from the text of Scripture as additions to the text. Many of the additions in 1 and 2 Ch, compared with the parallel narratives in 1 and 2 S and 1 and 2 K, illustrate their character, which is still further seen in the Targums (see art. TARGUM), and abundantly exemplified in the Jewish legends concerning the patriarchs and other OT worthies in the Talmud and also in later Jewish treatises.* Examples of *Haggādôth* appear in the NT in the names JANNES and JAMBRES (2 Ti 3^{8}), in the rock *that followed them* (1 Co 10^{4}), in the law given *through angels* (Ac 7^{53}, Gal 3^{19}, He 2^{2}), in the *three and a half years* of famine in the days of Elijah (Lk 4^{25}, Ja 5^{17}). These are all additions to the OT narratives. The apocryphal books of Enoch, Judith, and Tobit are all examples of *Haggādôth*. For Haggadic interpretation were given 32 rules, and it shared in all the fancifulness of Halakhic interpretation.

A species of Haggadic interpretation is the allegorical, frequently called the Hellenistic from its use among Greek-speaking Jews. Philo, the Alexandrian philosopher, an early contemporary of Christ, used this method. The OT Scriptures were to him as a believing Jew not simply an authoritative revelation of religious truth, but of all truth, and hence by means of allegory he deduced from them the doctrines of Greek philosophy, which he also ardently held. He excluded the literal sense, and developed his allegorical interpretation on definite principles, regarding the former as the body and the latter as the soul of Scripture.† (For his principles, cf. Siegfried, *Philo von Alexandria*, 1875, pp. 160-197; Briggs, *op. cit.* pp. 434-436). Allegory appears essentially in many Rabbinical interpretations. A New Test. example is Gal 4^{22-26}.

Jewish interpretation during the early Rabbinic and Talmudic period, while not devoid of a certain ethical and spiritual value, is thus seen to have contributed really nothing to an understanding of the historical meaning of the OT. That idea appears almost, if not exclusively, foreign to its purpose. Talmudic tradition claimed the interest of scholars, and had taken in popular estimate the place of the Scriptures.

(*b*) *Later Rabbinical period.*—In the 8th cent. arose a sect of Jews who rejected Talmudic tradition as a sacred authority, and held to the letter of the OT. Hence their views were called *Karaism*, or religion of the text. This movement, however, did not supplant orthodox or Talmudic Judaism, and yet it gave a great impulse to the study of the OT, which resulted eventually in real grammatical and exegetical works, and the period from 900-1500 has been called the golden age of Jewish interpretation. Commentaries were written upon the books of the OT. The pioneer in this movement was Saadia († 942), the Gaon or head of the Jewish school in Babylonia, who, to render the Scriptures accessible to the people, translated them with notes into Arabic, then widely spoken. He aimed to interpret the OT agreeably both to reason and Talmudic tradition, which latter he held to be equally of Divine origin with the Scriptures. In carrying out this aim his interpretations became arbitrary and forced. Followers of Saadia in the Babylonian schools pursued his idea of applying reason to OT interpretation, and one Samuel ben Chofni († 1034) went so far as to endeavour to explain miraculous events of OT as if they were natural (Grätz, *Hist. Jews*, iii. p. 259). Jewish learning, however, fell into decay in the East and became centred in Western Europe, especially in Spain. Here the Hebrew language was cultivated, and OT exegesis along with that of the Talmud. Ibn Janach († 1050) has been called the first rational Biblical critic. Although convinced of the divinity of Holy Writ, he held that it must be interpreted according to the rules of human usage (Grätz, iii. p. 269). Rashi († 1105), whose commentaries, held to be almost as sacred as the text, are printed in Rabbinical Bibles, explained the Scriptures according to the natural meaning of the words, but combined therewith Halakhic and Haggadic fancies. Ibn Ezra († 1167), while paying attention to tradition for the exposition of OT laws, cut loose both from Kabbalistic and Haggadic interpretations and followed the natural sense, and thereby raised OT exegesis to the dignity of a science. (Maimonides († 1204), the Jewish Aristotle and codifier of Biblical and Talmudic law, shows also the activity of the Jewish mind of this period). David Kimchi († 1255) and others followed in the same directions, and Jewish interpretation (save in representing the bias of a Jew compared with a Christian) merges into that of the common stream of Biblical scholarship, represented now in the modern critical movement.[*]

---

* For a list of Haggadic literature, see art. 'Midrash' by S. M. Schiller-Szinnessy in *Encycl. Brit.*^{9}.

† Philo comments thus on Gn 2^{8}: 'Virtue is called a Paradise metaphorically, and the appropriate place for Paradise is Eden; and this means luxury: and the most appropriate field for virtue is peace, and ease, and joy, in which real luxury especially consists. Moreover, the plantation of this Paradise is represented as in the east; for right reason never sets, and is never extinguished, but it is its nature to be always rising. And as I imagine the rising sun fills the darkness of the air with light, so also does virtue when it has arisen in the soul irradiate its mist and dissipate its dense darkness. "And there," says Moses, "he placed the man whom He had formed"; for God being good, and having formed our race for virtue, as His work which was most akin to Himself, places the mind in virtue evidently in order, that it, like a good husband, may cultivate and attend to nothing else except virtue' (*Allegories of the Sacred Laws*, i. 4, C. D. Yonge's transl.).

iii. The OT in the Christian Church.—*Textual Criticism.*—Corresponding to the transmission and preservation of the OT in the Jewish Church, is textual criticism in the Christian Church. For early efforts in this direction, see articles Septuagint and Vulgate. Beyond the interest taken in such criticism by Origen and Jerome and by the Antiochene school, in their indirect manner, none appears until after the Reformation. The Reformers accepted the Massoretic Text of the Jews as infallibly inspired, and the Jewish tradition of its having been kept singularly pure since its origin. This notion in the post-Reformation period was intensified by some on dogmatic grounds into the theory of the Mosaic or Ezraic inspired origin of even the Hebrew vowel points (a view maintained by the elder Buxtorf († 1629) and the younger († 1669), and appearing in the Helvetic Confession (1675). This view was refuted by Cappellus († 1658), who, with Morinus (first a Protestant and then a Roman Catholic, † 1659), showed not only that the Hebrew vowel points were of a relatively late origin, but also that the present Massoretic text is open to emendation by the use of the ancient versions. This laid the foundation of modern textual criticism. Helpful apparatus for such work also then appeared in the polyglott Bibles of the 17th cent., especially Walton's *London Polyglott*. In the next century Hebrew MSS were collated by Kennicott († 1783), and de Rossi († 1831), whose labours showed that all Heb. MSS represent essentially the same text. Textual criticism is now carried forward by a comparison of the Heb. text with the ancient Versions, principally the LXX, and by subjective emendation. In the latter the parallelism of Heb. poetry discovered and thus applied by Lowth († 1787) and the rhythm or tones are of the greatest service. Along these lines scholars have worked slowly and cautiously, assisted by discoveries of the recensions of the LXX text and the work in its revision by Lagarde († 1891) and others (see art. Septuagint), and in some degree by further collation of Hebrew MSS by Strack (see art. Text of OT).

Among the important contributions to OT textual criticism may be mentioned Olshausen's *Emendationen z. AT*, 1826, *Beiträge zur Kritik Gn.* 1870; Wellhausen, *Text der Bücher Samuel.*, 1871; Cornill, *Das Buch. Ezk.* 1886 (almost an epoch-making work); Driver, *Notes on Heb. Text of Samuel.* Cf. also writings of Baethgen (on Ps), Bickell (on Job, Pr), Beer (on Job), Klostermann (on 1 and 2 S, 1 and 2 K), Wellh. (*Kl. Proph.*), Cheyne (*Psalms*, crit. notes), Ryssel (on Mic), and especially the *SBOT*, Heb. Text, the most elaborate and far-reaching attempt hitherto made in OT textual criticism. Cf. also recent OT commentaries of the *International Series*, by Driver on Dt, Moore on Jg, Smith on 1 and 2 S, Toy on Pr, and those of Nowack's *Hdkomm.* and Marti's *Kurzer Hdcomm.*

2. Use and Interpretation.—(*a*) *In the NT.*—Both Christ and the apostles or writers of the NT held the current Jewish notions respecting the Divine authority and revelation of the OT. They refer to it in the words used by the Jews, 'the Scriptures' (Mt 22[29], Jn 5[39]), 'the Holy Scriptures' (Ro 1[2]), and speak of its authors being moved by the Holy Ghost (2 P 1[21]), and appeal constantly to its statements as unquestioned authoritative truth. But at the same time they regarded the OT revelation as partial and incomplete. Christ not only placed His own authority above that of Rabbinic tradition (Mt 5[21. 33. 43]), but likewise speaks of the teaching of the Mosaic law as permitted owing to the hardness of men's hearts (Mt 19[8]); and St. Paul regards the dispensation of the Law as decidedly inferior to that of the gospel: the Law was 'rudiments' (Gal 4[3]), serving to establish a knowledge of sin. The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews found the OT dispensation faulty and defective. But in all these views the disparagement of the OT is only relative. Christ never repudiates its revelation and authority. He puts His emphatic seal upon the OT, saying (according to Jn 10[35], unless our Lord is here arguing *ad hominem*) that its word cannot be broken, and that not one jot or tittle of the law shall pass away until all shall be fulfilled (Mt 5[18]). St. Paul held likewise most strongly to its Divine origin and its nature, holy, just, and good (Ro 7[12. 14]), worthy of all honour, serving to usher in the gospel, a tutor to bring men to Christ (Gal 3[24]). Likewise also the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews recognized the full validity of the OT covenant, but in Christ and in His gospel the OT had a full and perfect realization. Thus the OT had its chief value, since the Ceremonial Law ceased to be binding, in foreshadowing Christ and the gospel. This led to the conception of the OT as a book of prophecy throughout. Wherever words and incidents suggested events in the life of Christ, or of the early Church, or where they seemed to confirm Christian doctrine, they were so applied. This application of the OT in the NT, although it is in the line of Jewish methods of interpretation, finds its justification in the prophetic elements of the OT. These look forward to a special manifestation of Jehovah, to a new relationship established between Jehovah and Israel and mankind, to a series of blessings—all of which may be summed up in the word redemption, and which likewise were coupled with the appearance of a royal person, an offspring of David. These OT outlooks, according to apostolic experience and observation, were realized in and through Christ; hence the NT view of the OT is fully justified; in details (according to historic exegesis) the applications of the OT in the NT may sometimes be unsound, but taken as a whole

---

[*] The Kabbalistic interpretation of OT (see above) was widespread during the Middle Ages.

the NT method is right. The redemption experienced in Christ is a fulfilment of OT promises.

(*b*) *In the Early Church*, to A.D. 600.—The OT of the early Church was the LXX, used also, though not exclusively, by the NT writers. Hence some of the Church Fathers refer to the apocryphal books as though forming a part of the OT Scriptures, and certain of them came to be canonized by the Council of Trent (see art. APOCRYPHA in vol. i. p. 120 ff.). The NT view and treatment of the OT (see above) passed into the Christian Church.

An excess of disparagement of the OT appears in the Epistle of Barnabas (who regarded certain Jewish institutions as of evil origin) and in Gnostic heretical sects and that of Marcion (who entirely rejected the OT): a failure to recognize sufficiently the transient elements of the OT appeared in the views of the Ebionite and other Judaizing Christians.

The restraint exhibited in the NT interpretation of the OT was no longer continued. Jewish methods, especially the allegorical, prevailed to extravagance (although a literal interpretation along with an emphasis upon the authority of tradition, according to the Jewish notion, was advocated by Irenæus [† 202] and Tertullian [† *c.* 220] against allegorizing Gnostics). The OT was regarded not only as a book of prophecy foreshadowing Christ and the gospel, but even as a compendium of Christian doctrine, to be perceived through its spiritual or allegorical meaning. This view and method of interpretation, appearing in the earliest Christian writers (Justin Mart., † 148–165, and the Apost. Fathers generally), prevailed especially through the influence of Origen († *c.* 254), who disparaged the literal sense and held to a threefold meaning of Scripture, corresponding to the body, soul, and spirit (*de Prin.* IV. i. 11): the literal or grammatical meaning, the practical meaning or application, the mystical or spiritual, *i.e.* allegorical (cf. S. Davidson's *Hermeneutics*, p. 98 ff.). By the last he resolved all OT difficulties. Any statements, whether of history or law, appearing absurd, were rejected in their literal meaning, and received only in their spiritual or allegorical interpretation (*de Prin.* IV. i. 15, 16). Even so gifted a scholar as Jerome († 420), while he said in one instance that the allegorical interpreter is insane (*Comm. Jer.* 27, from Davidson), yet used this method, although not to the extent of rejecting the OT history as literally true. Augustine († 430), in spite of the sound rules of exegesis which he laid down in *de Doc. Christ.*, expounded the OT allegorically, although not without reference to the historical meaning, which he defended, and whose difficulties he sought to remove (as, for example, the six days of Creation, which he resolved into æons, *de Civ. Dei.* xi. 6 f.). He also, however, divided interpretation into four kinds, historical, ætiological, analogical, and allegorical. Scriptural interpretation became after him entirely dominated (as it had been in a large degree before) by ecclesiastical tradition or doctrine. An exception to this allegorical treatment of the OT appeared in the school of Antioch, where, especially by Theodore of Mopsuestia († 429), the allegorizing of the OT was rejected, a difference in degree of revelation between the OT and the NT was recognized, and historical interpretations were given. (He exhibited the tendencies of modern Biblical criticism. All the Messianic psalms except three he interpreted as referring to Hezekiah and Zerubbabel. Canticles he rejected from the Canon. He found no Trinity in the OT). Owing to the Nestorian heresy this school of interpreters died out (Basil, † 379, also rejected the allegorical method).

(*c*) *Middle Ages*, 600–1500.—In this dark period the allegorical interpretation continued, assuming a mystical exposition for inner spiritual growth rather than instruction (cf. Bernhard of Clairvaux's [† 1153] sermons on Canticles). Ecclesiastical usages were found typified in the OT. But little original work on the OT appeared. Scholars contented themselves with copying the opinions of Church Fathers ('Catenæ'). Yet the true character of the OT began to be appreciated. Nicolaus de Lyra († 1340) in his Commentaries, from his regard to the literal meaning, although he insisted upon the fourfold meaning, made the beginning in the Christian Church of a new epoch in Bible study and of a school of natural exegesis. He was influenced by the Jewish interpreters of this period, especially Rashi.

(*d*) *Period of the Reformation*, 1500–1600.—The Reformers made an advance (1) in recognizing the Heb. OT as furnishing alone the authoritative inspired text, (2) in insisting upon the natural meaning and discarding the allegorical method of interpretation, and (3) in interpreting Scripture by Scripture instead of by tradition or ecclesiastical authority. They followed the NT writers in recognizing the unity of the OT and the NT, and also the difference between them. Here, however, they failed (Calvin, † 1564, less than others) to do justice to the OT stages of Divine revelation, and the stage separating the OT from the NT. NT beliefs were ascribed to OT persons. Calvin held that the Israelites 'in the land of Canaan beheld as in a mirror the future inheritance reserved for them in heaven' (*Inst.* II. ii. 1). The notion was common (expressed by Melanchthon, † 1560) that the doctrines of the Church began in Paradise, and continued through all time.

(*e*) *Post-Reformation Period*, 1600–1750.—This was the age of scholastic theology and of the rigid doctrine of verbal inspiration, making the OT infallible, not only in religious truth but in all allusions to other matters, such as those of natural science and history. In the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, also, the failure of the previous period to grasp fully the progress of Divine revelation was generally heightened. Proof texts of Christian doctrine were drawn almost as readily from the OT as the NT. The federal theology of Cocceius († 1669), in which were distinguished two covenants, one before the Fall and one after, and three dispensations, one before the Law, one under the Law, and one under the Gospel, marks an advance, furnishing the germ of a Biblical theology; yet the apprehension of the historic process of Divine revelation was so slight that Witsius († 1677), a follower of Cocceius, held in effect that the traditional exposition of the OT was revealed to our first parents and transmitted by them to their posterity (*Œconomia Fœderum*, iv. 1. 26). Such views extensively prevailed, and led to typical interpretations, differing little from the allegorical. An exception to this tendency, however, appeared in a few Arminian scholars, especially Grotius († 1645), who laid stress upon historical exegesis. English Puritan divines excelled also in the practical exposition of the OT during this period, and gave principles leading to a historic understanding of the OT, which unhappily were repressed (see Briggs, *op. cit.* pp. 459–469).

(*f*) *Period of Modern Criticism*, 1750–1900.—The Reformers receiving the Hebrew Scriptures from the Jews, accepted also their tradition concerning their character and authorship. The Pentateuch was written by Moses, the other books by the persons whose names they bear, or when this was excluded by their contents, as in 1 and 2 S, or the *terminus ad quem*, then by other OT persons contemporary with the events described (Jeremiah, for example, was regarded as the author of 1 and 2 K, and Ezra of 1 and 2 Ch). OT narratives were also regarded as entirely historical and without error. Only a slight questioning was heard at this time. Carlstadt († 1541) held that Moses did not write the Pentateuch; and Luther, perhaps in reference to the opinion of Carlstadt, said, 'What difference did it make if Moses had not written the Pentateuch?'. Calvin in his refusal to accept Joshua as the author of the Bk. of Joshua, and in his assignment of Ps 44 and 74 to the Maccabæan period, and the Bk. of Malachi to Ezra, showed the same spirit. But the interest of the Reformers was in other directions, in defending the authority of the Bible against that of ecclesiastical tradition, in framing Christian doctrine, and in developing Christian life. The post-Reformation period, with its high doctrine of inspiration, repressed critical study and freedom of thought within the Lutheran and Reformed Churches. The critical movement commenced among non-Protestant and unbelieving scholars. Peyrere († 1676) a French Catholic, Spinoza († 1677) the Jewish philosopher, and Hobbes († 1679) the English deist, all denied the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch on the ground of passages showing a later date (see art. HEXATEUCH). Masius († 1573), a Roman Catholic, had also recognized these passages as non-Mosaic. Simon († 1712), a Roman Catholic, sometimes called the father of OT Introduction, held to a diversity of authorship within the Pentateuch. The influence of English deists, who rejected the received Christian views respecting the inspiration of the OT and its history, morality, and prophecy, was also felt in Germany. But modern OT study or criticism is really a phase of the intellectual movement of the 18th cent., which has created modern science in all departments of learning. Under this movement the OT began to be studied as literature. Herder († 1803) was a pioneer in this direction, to which also the discoveries of Bishop Lowth in regard to the structure of Hebrew poetry contributed (see above). Semler († 1791) introduced historical interpretation, and Astruc († 1766) in distinguishing the documents in Genesis by their use of the Divine names made a beginning of the scientific investigation of the Pentateuch. But more than all others, Eichhorn († 1827), who, independently of Astruc, discovered the documents in Gn, exerted a wide influence in favour of the literary study of the OT. His results in analysis are remarkably near those received at the present time. He introduced the term 'Higher Criticism,' saying—

> 'I am obliged to give the most pains to a hitherto entirely unworked field, the investigation of the internal condition of the particular writings of the OT by the help of the Higher Criticism (a new name to no humanist).'—*Einl.*², 1787, Preface.

Geddes († 1802), a Scotchman and Rom. Catholic, held that the Pentateuch was a compilation of documents, pre-Mosaic, Mosaic, and post-Mosaic—the *fragmentary* hypothesis, yet a real advance; so also Vater († 1826) and Hartmann († 1838). The Bk. of Joshua was recognized as a part of the Pentateuch, hence the notion of the Hexateuch. The fragmentary hypothesis contradicting the evident unity of the Hexateuch was shown by Ewald († 1875) to be untenable, and the *supplementary* took its place, presented in various forms by de Wette († 1849), Bleek († 1859), Stähelin († 1875), Knobel († 1863), and others. The general agreement was that the Hexateuch was composed of the Elohistic, the oldest document, written by a priest of the 11th or 10th cent. B.C., containing also genuine Mosaic legislation, supplemented by the Jehovistic writer and then again by the author of Dt (of the 7th cent. B.C.), who possibly was the compiler of the Hexateuch. Hupfeld († 1866) showed that the Elohistic source was not a unity, but made up of a priestly legal part P and a narrative prophetic part E (Ilgen, † 1834, had pointed this out, but his discovery had been disregarded). Nöldeke then showed that J and E had existed independently, and had been united later into JE, before their union with P and D. Graf († 1869), Kuenen († 1891), and Wellhausen have especially contributed to the final solution of this problem, showing that the earliest documents of the Hexateuch are the prophetic ones J and E, resembling in certain features the early prophets Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, and that D comes next, belonging to the reign of Josiah, and P, the great priestly document containing most of the Mosaic legislation (Lv and related parts of Ex and Nu), comes last in the exilic or post-exilic period (for details see above, and art. HEXATEUCH). Thus the conception of the order of the development of Israel's religion has been revolutionized: the completed Levitical code coming at the end instead of the beginning of the period extending from Moses to Ezra.

Conclusions, departing almost as widely from previous Jewish and Christian views, have been reached within this same period concerning other books of the OT. The Bk. of Isaiah has been resolved into an anthology of prophecies of various dates (for history of this criticism see article ISAIAH, IV.), that of Daniel placed in the Maccabæan period, Jg and 1 and 2 S shown to be compilations of narratives not always harmonious with each other (see articles on all these books). The conception of the Canon also has very much changed. The post-Reformation view was essentially that of Josephus: each book written by a recognized inspired man, and all collected by Ezra or at his time (*c. Apion.* i. 8). For modern view see above, and article OT CANON.

The conception of the OT history has also been revolutionized. Until the period of modern criticism, the narratives of the OT had generally been received as records of real history. But according to the new view they contain myths and legends, and give a partially erroneous conception of the growth of Israel's religion, whose beginnings are not found in direct Divine communications to primitive mankind and the patriarchs, but in the common primitive religion of the Semitic peoples, whence by revelation through Moses and the prophets, the legal or ecclesiastical stage, represented in the middle books of the Pentateuch, was reached about the time of Ezra. The OT thus can no longer be regarded as an infallible or, indeed, entirely trustworthy guide in science and history. In these particulars it reflects the limitations of its times. (Historical criticism showing the errors of the OT narratives has kept pace with the higher criticism and formed a part of it. Among noteworthy contributors to this were de Wette and Colenso († 1883), and in constructive work Kittel, Stade, and Wellhausen).

A similar limitation appears also in the moral and religious teachings of the OT. (A certain limitation is recognized in the NT, and has always been more or less clearly discerned in the Christian Church. Criticism emphasizes a Pauline conception also in making prophetic religion antecedent to the Law). The new science of OT theology, giving a historical exhibition of the development of the religion contained in the OT, has also arisen, being first clearly presented in 1789 by Gabler († 1826), and carried forward by G. L. Bauer († 1806); de Wette († 1849); von Cölln († 1833); Vatke († 1882), who in a neglected work (1835) put the Prophets and the Law in their true relation, thus anticipating more recent results; Ewald († 1875), Schultz, Smend, and others.

These critical conclusions were controverted from the first by Carpzov († 1767), Michaelis († 1791), Hävernick († 1845), Hengstenberg († 1869), Keil († 1888), and others in Germany, and they received little favour in Great Britain and America until within recent years (especially through the influence of A. B. Davidson, W. R. Smith († 1894), S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs).

iv. The Permanent Religious Value of the OT resides in the simplicity of its revelation and the freshness of its expression of primary and universal religious truths and experiences. (1) God is revealed not as a philosophical abstraction but as a concrete Personality, transcendent and yet thoroughly approachable and ready to enter into the closest fellowship and communion with men, and in loving care, compassion, and forgiveness meeting their deepest religious wants and needs. The OT introduces God 'the Father almighty, maker of heaven and earth,' directly into human life. (2) Man in his true experiential relation to God is likewise described in the careers of the patriarchs and other heroes and worthies of Israel, and in the history of Israel itself. Sin is portrayed, and also return and obedience. Moral precepts and laws of conduct are abundantly given, especially in reference to national and social life. (3) The OT is also a book of hope, containing the triumphant note of redemption which is truly fulfilled in and through Christ, and the NT believer always finds Christ and His gospel organically and potentially enshrined in the OT. Modern criticism has not impaired these permanent elements. Their authority, which is that of truth, still remains, and the OT has been transmuted from a mechanical record of doctrines and of forced Divine manifestations into a book of genuine historic life, an epic of salvation, showing the living process of God's revelation through Israel.

Literature.—Introductions to the OT by Bleek^{6} (revised by Wellhausen, 1893, and tr. by Venables, 1869), Cornill^{4} (1896), S. Davidson (1862), de Wette^{8} (revised by Schrader) (1869) (special), Driver^{6} (1897) (special), Eichhorn^{4} (1823–24), Holzinger (1893) (Hexateuch), Keil^{3} (1869), König (1893), Kuenen^{2} (1885–89) (special), Kautzsch (tr. 1899) (History of Growth), Reuss^{2} (1890), Riehm^{2} (Brandt) (1890), Strack^{5} (1898), Wildeboer (Germ. tr.) (1894) (special), Wright (1890). For works on the Canon and Text see literature under OT Canon, and on OT History see literature under Israel.

For OT Theology see Dillmann (Kittel) 1895, Marti^{3} 1899, Schultz^{5} 1896 [Eng. tr. 1895], Smend^{3} 1899.

History of Interpretation and Criticism. Briggs, *General Introduction to a Study of the Holy Scripture*, N.Y., 1899; Diestel, *Geschichte des Alten Testamentes in der Christlichen Kirche*, Jena, 1869; Farrar, *History of Interpretation* (Bampton Lecture), 1885; Samuel Davidson, *Sacred Hermeneutics*, Edin. 1843; Terry, *Biblical Hermeneutics* (pt. iii.), N.Y. 1885; Ladd, *Doctrine of the Sacred Scripture*, 2 vols. N.Y. 1883; W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2}, 1892; Cheyne, *Founders of OT Criticism*, London, 1893.

With reference to the OT (Inspiration, etc.), in the light of Modern Criticism, cf. Bruce, *Apologetics* (1892), Bk. ii. pp. 164–336; Horton, *Revelation and the Bible*, 1892; Kirkpatrick, *The Divine Library of the OT*, 1891; Ottley, *Aspects of the OT* (Bampton Lecture), 1897; Sanday, *Oracles of God*, 1891, and *Inspiration* (Bampton Lecture), 1893; Simon, *The Bible an Outgrowth of Theocratic Life*, 1896; A. B. Davidson, 'The Uses of the OT for Edification,' in *Expositor*, Jan. 1900.

E. L. Curtis.

OLD TESTAMENT CANON.—

i. Definition of the term 'Canon.'
ii. Scope of the subject.
iii. Canon of the Reformed Churches and the Roman Catholic Church compared.
iv. Jewish origin of OT Canon.
v. Divisions of Hebrew Bible—their significance.
vi. Evidence for the Jewish Canon—
  (*a*) Baba Bathra.
  (*b*) Talmudic extracts concerning disputed books.
  (*c*) Council of Jamnia.
  (*d*) The Second Book of Esdras.
  (*e*) Josephus.
  (*f*) The New Testament: (1) the way in which the OT was regarded by our Lord and His disciples; (2) books of Scripture quoted or referred to in NT; (3) NT evidence to extra-canonical books; (4) general estimate of NT evidence.
  (*g*) Philo.
  (*h*) Prologue to Sirach.
  (*i*) Sirach.
  (*j*) Ezra and Nehemiah: (*α*) promulgation of the Hexateuch; (*β*) influence of the Hexateuch on the formation of the Canon.
vii. Canonicity of the different divisions of the OT—
  (*a*) Preparatory stage, culminating in the canonization of the Hexateuch by Ezra-Nehemiah.
  (*b*) The prophetico-historical Canon.
  (*c*) The canonicity of the Hagiographa.
viii. Summary of results obtained.
ix. Claims of the Apocrypha to canonicity.
x. Some peculiarities in the evidence of the NT and Fathers.
xi. The influence of our present knowledge of the OT Canon upon religion.
Literature.

i. Definition of the term 'Canon.'—The word 'Canon' may be roughly defined as the list of books *authoritatively declared* to be Holy Scripture. Speaking *a priori*, the authority by which they are so declared may differ in degree and even in kind. It may be, for example, that of a Church Council having power to lay down the law for the whole Church, or it may be the expression of an enlightened public opinion, or, again, the opinion of a few leading scholars, whose views have gradually found general acceptance. For *authoritatively declared* it might therefore be deemed sufficient to substitute *universally received*; but it is preferable to start with a wider definition, leaving the nature of the authority to be decided in each case by the evidence. The term Holy Scripture suggests—(1) in some peculiar sense a Divine origin, (2) in connexion with this a special sanctity distinguishing Scripture from all other books, (3) reading for devotion or edification in public worship, (4) quotations for the purpose of establishing doctrine or argument. But only the first, or perhaps we should say the first two, and even these with some necessary modification, can be considered as belonging to the necessary connotation of the idea; the second, third, and fourth are obviously the result of the first, and all are to some extent questions of degree. In the Jewish Church several of the books which are unquestionably canonical are not read even now, and have never been read, in public worship, namely Chronicles, Job, Proverbs, Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah. On the other hand, in the English Church, not to mention the Protestant communities, parts of several books are read in public worship, such as Wisdom, Sirach, and Baruch, which are not received as canonical; whereas the canonical Song of Songs is altogether omitted. Again, a difference of degree, and even to some extent of kind, in the inspiration of the various books has been generally admitted; while, on the other hand, many writers have recognized that we have no right to deny inspiration altogether to books outside the Canon. This was admitted even by Jewish writers, as we may see from the following quotation from the Talmud: 'According to R. Judah, Samuel said, "Esther does not defile the hands" [*i.e.* is not canonical; see below]. Could Samuel have meant by this that the Bk. of Esther was not the work of the Holy Spirit? No, he meant that it was produced by the Holy Spirit, but only for reading, not as Holy Scripture' (Bab. *Meg.* 7*a*, quoted by Buhl, Eng. tr. p. 31). Here we see that it might be supposed that a Jewish Rabbi regarded a book as inspired in the highest sense, and yet as not a part of Holy Scripture. The subject of Inspiration goes far beyond our present inquiry; it will be enough here to state that from the earliest times, among both Jews and Christians, it entered quite as largely as it does now into the idea of Holy Scripture; whereas the holiness of Scripture was felt even more keenly by the Jews of the early Christian era than among the Christians of the present day.

With the Jews, as we might have expected, the thought of the holiness of Scripture took a very material form. We see this in the jealousy with which they regarded the slightest alteration in the text, and in the highly fanciful symbolical meanings that came to be attached to what were originally (many of them) the purely accidental idiosyncrasies of a single Hebrew MS. The formal establishment of this as the authorized text is probably the work of the school of Jamnia in the early part of the 2nd cent. A.D. But the spirit which gave rise to it was certainly much older, and is probably referred to by our Lord in Mt 5^{18}. The words 'one jot or one tittle' have much more point if they express the spiritual counterpart to the exact literalism of the Rabbis of His day, which made the alteration of the smallest letter or particle of a letter a sin. This materialistic view of the sanctity of Scripture appears even more curiously in the definition of what we should call canonical books as those which 'defile the hands,' the idea being that the desecration of a holy thing, as by touch, required expiation much in the same manner as material defilement. To avoid this 'defilement' the books which were read in the synagogue were covered. Thus we hear that at a certain period, before the canonicity of Esther was fairly established, wrappings of the rolls of that book were declared by certain teachers to be unnecessary (Bab. *Sanh.* 100*a*, referred to by Buhl, p. 31).

ii. Scope of the Subject.—We have, then, to consider what books belong or should belong to the Canon of the OT in the sense already explained, and if possible when and how they received ecclesiastical sanction. The plan proposed is first to trace the evidence backwards, and afterwards to reconstruct, as far as the evidence allows, a connected history of the Canon.

iii. Canon of the Reformed Churches and the Roman Catholic Church compared.—There is at the outset this difficulty, that Christians are not at the present day agreed, at least technically, as to the extent of the Canon. In the Western Church we meet with this broad distinction, that, while all Reformed Churches accept as strictly canonical only the books found in our ordinary English Bibles, the Roman Catholic Church includes in its Canon those also which are commonly known as the Apocryphal Books. Not only so, but at the Council of Trent she laid special stress on the fact that all the canonical books, as she considered them, were equally inspired: 'Sacrosancta Oecumenica et Generalis Tridentina Synodus . . . orthodoxorum Patrum exempla secuta, omnes libros tam veteris quam novi Testamenti, cum utriusque unus Deus sit auctor . . . pari pietatis affectu ac reverentiâ suscipit ac veneratur.' Then follows a list of books, including the Apocrypha of OT, and, finally, an anathema levelled against those who refuse to accept all those books in their integrity as they were contained in the Vulgate (*Concil. Trident.* Sess. iv. Decr. 8). The Roman Catholic writers of the day did, however, recognize some sort of difference in fact between Apocryphal and other books, and sometimes called the former deutero-canonical. But this term has been understood as intended to express the fact that the canonicity of these books was fully accepted at a later time than the proto-canonical in spite of some doubt and hesitation about them, not to imply a smaller degree of authority or inspiration (see authorities quoted in Sanday, *Inspiration*, v. note B). The English Church, in common with other of the Reformed Churches, gives a sort of formal but limited sanction to the Apocrypha, 'and the other bookes (as Hierome sayth) the Churche doth read for example of life and instruction of manners; but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine' (Art. vi.). The Belgic Confession makes a somewhat similar statement: 'Differentiam porro constituimus inter libros istos sacros et eos quos Apocryphos vocant: utpote quod Apocryphi legi quidem in Ecclesiâ possint, et fas sit ex illis eatenus etiam sumere documenta, quatenus cum libris canonicis consonant; at nequaquam ea est ipsorum auctoritas et firmitas ut ex illorum testimonio aliquod dogma de fide et religione Christianâ certo constitui possit' [Art. vi., quoted in Harold Browne, *Expos. Artt.*, Art. vi. sec. iii.; see also, on the relation of the Reformed Churches to the Apocrypha, Buhl, pp. 69, 70]. On the other hand, the Westminster Confession, (i. 3) would have none of the Apocrypha, but declared emphatically that they were 'of no authority to the Church of God, nor to be otherwise proved or made use of than any other human writings.'

The grounds upon which the Reformed Churches differed from the Roman Catholic Church in the value attached to the Apocrypha, were partly historical and literary and partly doctrinal. It seemed right to limit the books of the OT to those which had been accepted by the Jews and formed part of the Hebrew Bible, and had also been accepted by some of the greatest of the Fathers, notably Origen, Athanasius, and Jerome; whereas the Apocrypha had been clearly distinguished by them from the Canon, and placed upon a lower level. The Reformers were also influenced undoubtedly by the fact that quotations from the Apocrypha were frequently used by Roman Catholic writers in support of the peculiar doctrines of their Church, such as Purgatory (Wis $3^{5.6}$), and the meritorious value of good works (To 4^{10} 12^{9}, Sir 3^{30} $29^{11.12}$).

We have, then, to take account of what may be called a larger and a smaller Canon. The larger included most of those books which were comprised in the Greek LXX and afterwards the Latin Vulgate, and became the Bible of the Mediæval Church; the latter was confined to the Books of the Hebrew Bible, and was equivalent to our Old Testament. It is with the latter that we have directly most to do.

iv. Jewish Origin of OT Canon.—The early Christians derived their OT from the Jewish Church. By this is not meant that when the first Christians broke off from Judaism they took with them a well-defined Bible, but that questions of canonicity were referred, as a matter of course, to Jewish opinion. So little idea had the early Christian Church of deciding for itself what books were or were not canonical, that we actually find a bishop (Melito of Sardis, *c.* 170 A.D.) unable to specify the contents of the OT until he had travelled to the country where the sacred books had originated, and there made special inquiries (see Euseb. *HE* iv. 26). Even so his list is not absolutely complete, as it omits Esther. Whether this is merely a slip on his own or his informer's part, or is intentional, it is difficult to say. It is not, of course, to be supposed that Melito was unacquainted with the OT books which he enumerates. They were all to be found in the LXX, and Melito gives them their familiar Greek names as found in that version. The important fact is, that among the Bible books, in this wider sense of the Bible, he considered those to be of special value, or as we should say canonical, which he ascertained to be received among the Jews. That the early Christian Church fully recognized that their OT Canon was thus derived, is shown even more explicitly by the language of Origen nearly a century later, *c.* 250, in which he speaks of 'the Books of the Covenant, as the Hebrews have handed them down' (*τὰς ἐνδιαθήκους βίβλους ὡς Ἑβραῖοι παραδιδόασιν*); and after giving the Canon, only accidentally incomplete,* speaks of 'the Maccabees' as *outside*

---

* The omission of the Minor Prophets is inconceivable on any other hypothesis, and is, in fact, required to make up the given number of 22.

of them (ἔξω δὲ τούτων ἐστὶ τὰ Μακκαβαϊκὰ ἅπερ ἐπιγέγραπται Σαρβὴθ Σαβαναιέλ, Euseb. *HE* vi. 25). That 'the Maccabees' are, like the other books, given their Hebrew title, meaning probably 'Prince of the House of the Sons of God,'* is important as showing that the first book at least was still extant in Hebrew, and that Origen did not accept as canonical all sacred books in that language. The word ἐνδιαθήκους suggests that διαθήκη, 'covenant' (our 'Testament'), was already beginning to be applied technically to the OT collection. This testimony is all the more remarkable because Origen not only made use of the 'external books' himself, but defended the Greek additions to Daniel against Julius Africanus. Similarly Jerome speaks of the books recognized among the Hebrews (*apud Hebræos*) and of those outside as having their proper place among the Apocrypha: 'Ut scire valeamus quicquid extra hos est, inter ἀπόκρυφα esse ponendum' (*Præfat. in libr. Sam. et Mal.*, quoted by Ryle, *Canon*, Exc. D. xiii. etc.).

v. DIVISIONS OF HEBREW BIBLE—THEIR SIGNIFICANCE.—The inquiry therefore resolves itself into that concerning the reception of the sacred books by the Jewish Church. *When and how were certain of the sacred books of the Jews received as canonical and the rest excluded?* One fact is of great importance if we would understand aright the history of the Canon, that we have to deal not with one, but with three groups of books. These are not the result of a later subdivision of the larger 'Divine Library' for convenience' sake into three smaller parts, but, with the probable exception of one book (Joshua), they were with the Jews always distinct, and were regarded with some difference of feeling. In Talmudic Literature they are compared respectively, in point of sanctity, with the Holy of Holies, the Holy Place, and the Temple Court. The three divisions are—(1) The Law (תּוֹרָה Torah), comprising the Pentateuch or so called 'Five Books of Moses.' (2) The Prophets (נְבִיאִים), comprising both the historical books, Joshua, Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel, and 1 and 2 Kings —called 'the Former Prophets'; and the prophetical books, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the book of the twelve Minor Prophets—called 'the Latter Prophets.† (3) The Writings (כְּתוּבִים *Kĕthûbhîm* = Gr. ἁγιόγραφα, *Hagiographa* = Holy Writings), by which is probably meant the rest of the Scriptures, those which do not come under either of the other heads. The Historical books were included under the Prophets, probably not under the belief that they were necessarily all written by well-known prophets, Samuel, Nathan, Isaiah, etc., but as written under prophetic inspiration. In this article the groups will be called the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa. It will be obvious at once that they are not the result of a division according to subject-matter. The Prophetico-historical books do not include Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah. The prophet Daniel (so expressly called in NT, Mt 24^{15}) is placed not in the second, but in the third group. This last contains, in fact, books of the most heterogeneous sorts, poetry, ethics, philosophy, prophecy, etc., and its name is of the most general character. It would, strictly speaking, apply to all the groups, and its application to this exclusively can be explained only by the history of its inclusion in the Canon.

vi. EVIDENCE FOR THE JEWISH CANON.—At what period was the Canon of OT completed? or can we indeed settle upon any exact date by which we can say that it was absolutely fixed?

(*a*) *The Baba Bathra.*—The difficulty in answering this question is in part the difficulty of assigning an exact date to a literary document, and in part that of determining what degree of objection or hesitation about a book should prevent our considering it as at the time part of the Canon. The facts are these: In the Talmudic treatise called *Baba Bathra* there is an extract (*baraitha*) from the Mishna which gives a virtually complete list of the books of the OT as we now know it.* The Mishna was committed to writing, so it is believed, not long before A.D. 200. On the other hand, Buhl (p. 25) refers to a Talmudic passage to prove that even after this a scholar was found to deny the canonicity of the Bk. of Esther. Whether the omission of this book, or doubts expressed about it by certain Fathers, Melito, Athanasius, Gregory Nazianzen, Cyril of Jerusalem, and Amphilochius, were derived from Jewish objectors, or were the result of an independent judgment, cannot be positively determined. The omission by Melito may well be a slip (see Buhl, p. 58).

(*b*) *Talmudic extracts concerning disputed books, mainly 2nd cent.* The evidence so far shows that by the end of the 2nd cent. at latest the Canon was virtually settled, but that it was even then no unheard of thing to doubt the canonicity of a canonical book. As we go back through the 2nd cent., we find such doubts becoming more frequent. There are several references in the Talmud to rabbinical teachers who rejected or disputed certain books. With the exception of Ezekiel, and perhaps Jonah also (see Ryle, pp. 193, 194), what Ryle has happily called the ἀντιλεγόμενα of OT seem to have been confined to the Hagiographa, and included Proverbs, Ruth, Esther, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Songs, but especially the last two. The position taken up by these early Biblical critics is in many respects very interesting. They never appeal to an ancient tradition either for or against a book; nor do they, with probably a few exceptions, discuss the question of authorship. And yet it is almost certain that both these considerations must have influenced the formation of the Canon. The objections raised suggest rather that the canonicity of the books was generally admitted—but that in the opinion of the Rabbis quoted it was liable to objection. These objections were usually based on the ground of some supposed defects in the books themselves. They depended, in short, on internal, never on external, evidence. Thus Ec 8^{15} seemed to contradict 2^2, and 4^2 seemed to contradict 9^4. Proverbs was by some withdrawn, in common with the Song of Songs, because they spoke in parables, —an interesting proof of the interpretation put upon the latter, and, in point of fact, probably the cause of its recognition as canonical. The far more serious objection was raised to Ecclesiastes, that it betrayed an Epicurean tinge, and tended to favour the Sadducean scepticism. Thus 1^3 seemed to suggest a denial of the future state; 11^7 encouraged worldly pleasure, and, moreover, it contradicted the stern precepts of Nu 15^{39}. On this book we learn that there was, or had been, a difference of opinion between the rival schools of Hillel and Shammai, the former accepting, the latter rejecting, the book. Even Ezekiel was at one time objected to on the ground that some of the provisions of the concluding chapters were contrary to those of the Levitical law. Some of these objections and discussions, interesting as showing the extreme views of inspiration then

---

[*] Seven other interpretations are given by Ryle, *Canon of OT*, p. 185.

[†] These phrases probably refer to their position in the Hebrew Bible, not to a supposed priority or posteriority of date.

[*] *Baba Bathra*, fol. 14*b*-15*a*, quoted in Ryle, Exc. B. The separate books of the Pentateuch are not mentioned, nor more than four of the Minor Prophets; but the former are, of course, implied by the 'Torah' and the latter by 'the Twelve.'

current, belong probably to an earlier date than the 2nd cent. A.D., but we must discount to some extent the common tendency of tradition to ascribe stories and sayings to well-known men, especially those of an earlier period. There is sufficient evidence to show that such discussions were by no means uncommon after the Council of Jamnia, to which we must next refer. They show that during the 2nd cent. A.D. several books, of the Hagiographa especially, were still the subject of free and frequent discussion. This was not inconsistent with their being in a general way recognized as canonical. But such a qualified canonicity, if we may call it so, is hardly the same conception as we find at a later date. It was at this time neither irreverent nor disloyal to dispute a canonical book (see Ryle, ch. x.).

(*c*) *Council of Jamnia.*—It may be asked, *When was this qualified canonicity conferred?* Both the Midrash and the Talmud point very definitely to the close of the 1st cent. A.D. In the former a saying of R. Simeon ben-Azai is quoted: 'I have heard from the 72 elders, on the day when they gave R. Eleazar the presidency of the school (of Jamnia), that the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes defile the hands. R. Akiba [Grätz, R. Jacob] said, "God forbid that any one in Israel should doubt that the Song of Songs defiles the hands; the whole world does not outweigh the day in which Israel received the Song of Songs. All the Kethubhim are holy, but the Song of Songs is the holiest. If they have contested, it was with reference to Ecclesiastes." But R. Johanan ben-Jeshua, R. Akiba's brother-in-law, said, "As R. Simeon ben-Azai has laid it down, so they disputed, and so they decided"' (*Meg. Jadaim* iii. 5, quoted in Buhl, p. 29). The same tradition with some variety of detail is given also in Bab. *Meg.* *7a*. These extracts refer to a council, or perhaps we should call it a debate, at Jamnia, held, it is said, about A.D. 90. As the discussion from which the above quotation is taken is prefaced by the statement, 'All holy scriptures defile the hands, even Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes defile them,' we may naturally infer that all the disputed books, either tacitly or expressly, received the *imprimatur* of the council. After the fall of Jerusalem, Jamnia became the centre of Palestinian Judaism. The zeal and enthusiasm which had been shown by the Jews in their sacrificial system now seems to have found a new focus in sacred literature (see Grätz, *Hist. Jews*, II. ch. xiii.). The decisions of this school, if not considered absolutely binding, must at least have had a very strong and far-reaching influence on Jewish opinion. If it is an exaggeration to say that the Canon of the OT was finally settled at the Council of Jamnia, it certainly goes a long way towards the truth.

(*d*) *The Second Book of Esdras*, c. 90 A.D.—This tradition, in itself so probable, is confirmed, as far as it goes, by a passage in the Apocalyptic Fourth Book of Esdras (2 Es 14^{44-46}), in which, according to the text of the Oriental versions,* of the 94 sacred books miraculously written out at Ezra's quotation, 70 were to be kept secret, the remaining 24 divulged. The number 24 corresponds to that of the canonical books as ordinarily reckoned by the Jews. The writer of this apocryphal work must be understood, therefore, as claiming that all the 24 canonical books were written out at Ezra's dictation. This book is, on internal evidence, ascribed to the age of Domitian, and would therefore be about contemporary with the Council of Jamnia. The writer's object in setting down what is probably a pure fiction of his own, is to give credit to his work, as one of the 70 secret books; as far as the canonical books are concerned, it may be regarded as merely the echo of received opinion.

(*e*) *Josephus*, c. 90 A.D.—Of still greater importance is the practically contemporary evidence of Josephus: 'For there are not with us myriads of books discordant and discrepant, but only two and twenty, comprising the history of all time, which are justly accredited (om. *θεῖα*, Heinichen in Euseb. III. x.). And of these, five are the books of Moses, which comprise the laws and the tradition of man's origin up to the time of Moses' death. This period is little less than 300 years. From the death of Moses until that of Artaxerxes, who was king of the Persians after Xerxes, the prophets who succeeded Moses wrote the events of their times in 13 books. The remaining 4 books contain hymns to God and counsels of life for men. From the time of Artaxerxes up to our own everything has been recorded, but the records have not been accounted equally worthy of credit with those written before them, because the exact succession of prophets ceased' (*c. Ap.* i. 8, quoted in Euseb. *HE* III. x.). Here we find not only a description of books, but a theory of canonicity. Those books could alone be accounted Scripture which preceded the death of Artaxerxes (*i.e.* Xerxes, see Ryle, pp. 161, 162 n.), at which time the prophetic gift ceased. Later books were, therefore, of less esteem, though they might, as, *e.g.*, 1 Mac, have a historical value. The very existence of such a theory seems to imply that the fact of canonicity itself was regarded by Josephus as indisputable, and this is confirmed by his further statement: 'And we give plain proof of our attitude towards our own Scriptures: for though so long a time has passed, no one has dared either to add or change anything, but all Jews are naturally disposed from their very birth to consider them the decrees of God, to abide by them, and gladly to die, if need be, on their behalf' (*ib.*). This cannot, of course, in the face of the literary criticism of the Bible, be accepted as a historical statement of fact; but did it express the current opinion among the Jews of the time of Josephus, and, if so, how is it to be reconciled with the traditions of the Council of Jamnia, and still more with the disputations of certain Rabbis mentioned above?

But there are two other questions which it may be well to answer first. How comes Josephus to speak of 22 books instead of 24? and what are the books which he means? Three explanations of the number 22 have been given. (1) That of Grätz, that Josephus did not include Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs, the two books which, according to the account preserved in *Jadaim*, were the chief subject of dispute at the Council of Jamnia. Grätz maintains that both these books were accepted by the school of Hillel, and rejected by that of Shammai, and that the main object of the council was to reconcile the two schools, so that the question of the Canon was really a secondary consideration. But, had this been the case, Josephus as a Pharisee would almost certainly have followed the school of Hillel and accepted these books. In any case it is not easy to understand why he should so unhesitatingly have rejected books which were soon afterwards, if indeed it was afterwards, accepted by the majority. (2) A more common hypothesis is that Josephus included Ruth in the Bk. of Judges, and Lamentations in that of Jeremiah, with the express intention of making the number of the books agree for symbolical reasons with that of the Hebrew alphabet. The symbolical treatment of the number is in fact common enough, but Josephus himself makes no such use of it, and it seems, as far as we know, to be confined to Christian writers. Conspicuous instances are found in Origen (in Euseb. *HE* vi. 25) and Jerome (*Præf. Sam. et Mal.*). The latter, curiously enough, finds alternative symbolisms for the more ordinary number 24, and even for 27, the latter number being got by dividing the 5 double books—Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah, Jeremiah-Lamentations—and comparing the whole with the numbers of the alphabet plus the 5 final consonants. In this arrangement it is to be noticed, as Ryle very justly points out (*Canon*, p. 220), that Jerome conveniently ignores the fact that Judges-Ruth was also a double book, and follows the Greek arrangement in dividing the first three books. Their division in the Hebrew Bible is of much later date. It is clear, therefore, that this, at any rate, was no traditional Jewish explanation, but merely the play of Jerome's own fancy. (3) A third explanation is that Josephus in including Ruth in Judges and Lamentations in Jeremiah was so far following the arrangement of the books in the LXX, as we know it. In any case his arrangement of books appears to be peculiar, and is based entirely upon the subject-matter. Apart from any question arising from the inclusion or exclusion of Ecclesiastes and Song of Songs, it is evident that Daniel must be included among the prophetico-historical books, an arrangement quite at variance with Hebrew custom. The descriptions, too, are somewhat vague. Even if Song of Songs is not to be included among 'hymns to God and counsels of life for men,' it is clear that the Bk. of Isaiah must be intended as among the prophets who wrote the history of their own times. What makes it impossible to decide this question absolutely is that we really do not know with any certainty what was the arrangement of the LXX at this date, nor do we even know whether the books were united as yet in one complete collection. It is at least as probable that it existed in the form of separate collections. Again there is some reason to suppose that the LXX did not stand alone in the combination of Ruth with Judges and Lamentations with Jeremiah. In this connexion hardly sufficient weight seems to have been generally given to the express statements of Origen. In his enumeration of Scripture, he describes Judges as Κριταί, Ῥούθ, παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐν ἑνί, Σαφατείμ, and Jeremiah as Ἱερεμίας σὺν Θρήνοις καὶ τῇ ἐπιστολῇ ἐν ἑνί, Ἱερεμία (in Euseb. vi. 25). This may possibly mean that in his Hebrew copy of the Bible the name 'Judges' included Ruth, and the name 'Jeremiah' both Lamentations and the Epistle (Bar 6).* Such a rearrangement of the Hebrew books is of importance as showing that in the view of Josephus, and those who followed the same arrangement, the Hagiographa were quite as definitely Scripture as the rest.

---

* The Latin MSS have 204, 84, 974. 904 being, according to Ryle, the best attested reading, but the Oriental VSS agree in 94 (see Ryle, p. 285). This latter reading has also intrinsic probability in its favour, yet not so obviously as to have been a cause of corruption.

When we compare the strong statements made by Josephus as to a Canon long and unalterably fixed with the doubts concerning certain books prevalent during the 1st and 2nd cents. A.D., it seems that we have before us utterly irreconcilable evidence, and that we have no choice but to accept one alternative and reject the other. And this is what writers upon the Canon seem very frequently to have done. But studying the question quite impartially, it is difficult to see what ground there should be for absolute falsification on either side. In fact the evidence of the Council of Jamnia, as far as it goes, is too circumstantial to admit of such a supposition. On the other hand, when we examine the language of Josephus critically, there are two facts that we feel compelled to bear in mind: (1) That he was fond of rhetorical statements, which have an evident flavour of Oriental hyperbole. He could not resist the temptation to make the most of what he thought would interest his readers. We should hardly think, for instance, of treating his account of the events connected with the last siege of Jerusalem as the language of a scientific historian. (2) His object in speaking of the Canon afforded in this particular instance a special temptation to make the most of it, his intention being to show the incomparable superiority of the select Jewish writings to the 'myriads' (the word is itself a gross exaggeration) of Greek books whose accounts of their mythology differed so widely from each other. In fact such an argument helps us to understand why it was that the Jewish doctors of that day were so sensitive about seeming discrepancies in Bible books. A clever heathen disputant might have turned the tables and said, 'Why, your own sacred books often contain like contradictions.' After all, the temptation to inaccuracy and exaggeration is one which some of our greatest historians, even in this scientific age, —Macaulay, for example,—have not been wholly free from. We may, however, reasonably enough accept the statement of Josephus as evidence of the books commonly accepted by the most orthodox of the Jews of his day, without binding ourselves to believe that he was unacquainted with the objections raised in certain quarters. But that statement can hardly be accepted as a positive proof that the Canon had been fixed long before his time. It has its value as making it probable that at that period the objections to certain books were confined to a few persons, whose opinions Josephus felt justified in ignoring.

(*f*) *The New Testament.*—So considered, the evidence of Josephus carries us a step further, showing us that the decision of the Council of Jamnia practically endorsed what may be regarded as the public opinion of the time on the subject of the Canon. Going farther back, we come to the evidence of the NT. From a Christian point of view this is of very special importance. There is a natural desire to prove that the OT Canon has the *imprimatur* of our Lord. For this very reason it is important to be on our guard against even the suspicion of prejudice.

(1) *The way in which the OT was regarded by our Lord and His disciples.*—This is perhaps the most important feature of NT evidence for the OT Canon. It shows unmistakably that the Christians inherited from the Jews the unquestioned belief in a body of literature of a specially sacred and Divine character. The expressions, 'the Scripture,' 'the Scriptures,' ἡ γραφή, αἱ γραφαί, are used, much as we use them now, as well-known terms which required no further explanation, as, for example, in Mt 21^{42}, Mk 14^{49}, Jn 7^{42} 20^{9}. The phrase 'it has been written,' γέγραπται, Mt $4^{4.\,6.\,10}$, Ro 1^{17}, Gal 3^{13} etc., is equivalent to saying 'it is found in Scripture.' It is true that words signifying 'holy' are only twice applied to Scripture (γραφαῖς ἁγίαις Ro 1^{2}, ἱερὰ γράμματα 2 Ti 3^{15}), but Divine influence is asserted even more emphatically in such phrases as πᾶσα γραφὴ θεόπνευστος (2 Ti 3^{16}), Δαυεὶδ ἐν πνεύματι κύριον αὐτὸν καλεῖ (Mt 22^{43}; cf. Ac 4^{25}). Moreover, the authority of Scripture is appealed to very frequently as sufficient evidence of truth, as in Mt 21^{42}, Lk 24^{27}, Ro 11^{2} etc. etc., and esp. Jn 10^{35} (οὐ δύναται λυθῆναι ἡ γραφή, unless our Lord is here arguing *ad hominem*). That authority is equally implied in such expressions as λέγει, εἴρηκε, etc., used in introducing Scripture

---

* The inclusion of this Epistle is certainly a difficulty; but in the face of the definite reference throughout to the Hebrew titles of the several books, it seems hardly satisfactory to say, with Ryle (p. 107), that Origen is merely following the LXX version. It appears more probable that at this date some Hebrew MSS did actually contain this Epistle, which was regarded by some as a genuine part of Jeremiah.

quotations. Sometimes, no doubt, the true subject is God, not so much as speaking through the writer, but as the actual speaker in the passage quoted, *e.g.* in Ac 13^{34}, He 13^{5}. It is also possible to explain the verb as strictly impersonal, and as practically equivalent to a passive. This view is supported by such a phrase as *διεμαρτύρατο δέ πού τις λέγων* (He 2^{6}); but the very indefiniteness is significant. It is as though the writer were so impressed with the Divine sanctity of the words that it was of little moment to him through whom or how they were first used. In fact, he conceived of them in certain cases as being continued to be spoken, as in He $3^{7.8}$. This use, though specially frequent in Hebrews, is by no means confined to that book. We have a remarkable example of it in Ac 2^{16} *τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ εἰρημένον διὰ τ. προφήτου Ἰωήλ*, where Joel is merely the channel of Divine communication. So, too, *ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ Ὠσηὲ λέγει* (Ro 9^{25}). Indeed, phrases of this kind occur so frequently, and with so much variety, that it seems most probable that the writers really thought of God or the Holy Spirit as the true subject, even though grammatically, perhaps, *τις* should be supplied. In He 3^{7} $10^{15.16}$ the subject *τὸ Πνεῦμα* is actually given. See, further, *Expos. Times*, Sept. 1899, p. 533 f.

(2) *Books of Scripture quoted or referred to in NT.*—When we come to inquire what books were comprised in the connotation of 'Scripture' as used in NT, we may feel sure from Mt 5^{17}, Lk $24^{27.44}$, Jn 1^{45}, Ac 13^{15} 24^{14} 28^{23}, Ro 3^{21}, that it included, at least, the Pentateuch and the Prophetico-Historical Books, as well as the Psalms.[*] From Ac 13^{15} we learn that the first two groups were regularly read in the synagogue. This is confirmed by quotations in the NT from practically all these books.[†]

The evidence of Lk 24^{44} cannot be urged against the books of the Hagiographa other than the Psalms. Our Lord is referring to Scripture with special reference to the prophecies of the Messiah. A mention of books which contained no Messianic prophecies could not have been expected. In point of fact, some of the Hagiographa are introduced with what are most naturally understood as formulæ of Scripture quotation, *e.g.* Pr 3^{34} with *διὸ λέγει* in Ja 4^{6}; cf. also Ro $12^{19.20}$, where a quotation from Pr $25^{21.22}$ is connected with another from Dt 32^{35}, which is introduced with the words *γέγραπται γάρ*. The same formula is used in 1 Co 3^{19} to introduce a quotation from Job 5^{13}. More remarkable is the mixture of Ec 7^{20} with Ps 14^{1} in Ro 3^{10} prefaced by *καθὼς γέγραπται* (see QUOTATIONS, F). The reference in Mt 23^{35} to 2 Ch $24^{20.21}$ at least proves that that book was a recognized source of Jewish history. It can hardly prove its canonicity, unless He 11^{34-38} proves the canonicity of 1 Mac.[‡]

But the absence of quotations in NT is not enough to prove that the rest of the Hagiographa were not at this time regarded as Scripture, when we take into account that of the first two groups there are no quotations from Judges, Obadiah, Nahum, and Zephaniah, and very few from some others (1 from Nu, 1 from Jos, 2 from 1 and 2 S, 2 from 1 and 2 K, 1 from Job), and, above all, that the contents of some of the books would not readily lend themselves to quotation.

(3) *NT evidence to extra-canonical books.*—On the other hand, it may be questioned whether the argument from the quotations in NT does not prove too much. Attention has already been called to the use made of 1 Mac in He 11^{34-38}. The quotation from the Book of Enoch in Jude ^{14} is still more remarkable, showing that the writer of the Epistle accepted as a genuine prophecy of the patriarch an extract from a late book which never had a claim to be considered part of the Jewish Canon. To this we should add v.^{9}, evidently taken also from some such extra-canonical source. It is almost certain that the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews adapted the phrase *ἀπαύγασμα τ. δόξης . . . αὐτοῦ* in 1^{3} from Wis 7^{26}; but such an adaptation, in view of the sacredness and importance of the subject—the Divine nature of the Son of God—would seem to imply a recognition of the authority of this book. Taken in connexion with the reference to 1 Mac in ch. 11, it suggests that this Alexandrian writer accepted the whole collection of the Alexandrian LXX as Scripture. To these should perhaps be added the quotations in Jn $7^{38.42}$, Eph 5^{14}, which, though not found *in their present form* in any canonical books, are definitely quoted as Scripture (see QUOTATIONS, G).

(4) *General estimate of NT evidence.*—Speaking generally, it may be said that while there was in the early Church a very strong feeling of both the sanctity and authority of Holy Scripture, and Holy Scripture connoted at least the majority of the books of OT, there was, on the other hand, by no means a very definite *universally* accepted idea of the exact contents or limits of Holy Scripture, at any rate *among the Christians* of the 1st century. With the learned Jews of Palestine it may have been, and probably was, different. This attitude on the part of Christian writers towards so important a question may seem improbable and illogical. It would be so in modern times. But it is necessary to bear in mind the paucity of MSS in that age, the 'illiterateness' of 'the masses,' and, to some extent, of the writers themselves, and the difference of literary methods and standards then prevalent. Even the learned St. Paul himself hardly ever quotes accurately except from the Law and the Psalms, and mixes up quotations from different books to a most extraordinary extent (see QUOTATIONS, F). It has already been noticed how at a later time a distinguished bishop of the Church actually found it necessary to go and inquire among the Jews what the books of the OT really were. Taking all this into account, it is satisfactory to know that the early Church from the very first accepted very nearly, if not quite, all of the OT books as Scripture. Moreover, there is no indication that the Hagiographa were looked upon as inferior to the rest of Scripture.

(*g*) *Philo*, *c.* 40 A.D.—Going back to the earlier part of the 1st cent. we find the evidence of Philo somewhat confusing. He appears to have been influenced by four more or less conflicting principles. (1) He recognized, above all, the supreme inspiration of Moses, beside which all other inspiration was comparatively insignificant. (2) He was influenced in his allegorical treatment of Scripture by the methods of the Palestinian Halakha, and quoted the canonical books[*] as if of greater authority than the rest. (3) He acknowledged the inspiration of the LXX translators, and says that the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures should be reverenced and admired 'as sisters, or rather as one and the same both in the facts and in the words' (*Vita Mos.* ii. 5–7). (4) He advanced the theory that inspiration had a still wider sphere, and embraced the great Greek philosophers, and it would seem even himself (see Drummond, *Philo*, vol. i. 15, 16; Buhl, § 6. 12). We might perhaps best represent and reconcile his different theories by supposing concentric circles corresponding to different degrees of inspiration, the innermost containing the Law of Moses, the next the whole Palestinian Canon, the third the LXX books, the fourth including all inspired books in the very widest sense. But it seems hardly probable that Philo himself ever conceived so definite a system. All that his evidence really seems to prove is that on the whole he was inclined to regard the Palestinian Canon with greater favour than the wider collection of the LXX. In a general way it confirms what we know from other sources, but hardly adds anything definite.

---

[*] Curiously enough, the Psalms are quoted in St. John as the Law in 10^{34} and as the Prophets in 6^{45}.

[†] Judges, though not actually quoted, is referred to in He 11^{32}. As the 12 Minor Prophets had long before formed one book (Sir 49^{10}), it is sufficient to find quotations as we do from several of them.

[‡] The same objection might be urged against the reference to Judges in He 11^{32}, were it not practically certain that it was included in 'the Prophets,' so often referred to in NT.

[*] Excepting Ezekiel, Daniel, Ruth, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, and Esther.

(*h*) *Prologue to Sirach, c.* 130 B.C.—It is different when we get back to the evidence provided by the Prologue to the Bk. of Sirach: 'Whereas many and great things have been delivered unto us by *the Law and the Prophets, and by others that have followed in their steps*, for the which things Israel ought to be commended for learning and wisdom; . . . my grandfather, Jesus, when he had much given himself to the reading of the Law and the Prophets and other books of our Fathers, and had gotten therein good judgment, was drawn on also himself to write something pertaining to learning and wisdom.' Further on the translator takes occasion once more to speak of 'the Law itself and the Prophets, and the rest of the books,' as being superior in their original Hebrew to the translation of them (LXX). We gather from these statements that at this time the first two groups, the Law and the Prophets, were at least well-known collections of books of recognized authority; that there were, besides these, other books which were highly esteemed for their wisdom and moral worth. But no very definite distinction is drawn between the spirit of this third group and the work of his grandfather, except that one is the imitation of the other. Both were actuated by *παιδεία* and *σοφία*. Such language is clearly inconsistent with the notion of a closed Canon, as we find it in Josephus. The translator lived, it appears, in an age of transition, when the canonicity of the first two groups was practically established (whether a theory or a term expressive of canonicity had yet been formulated matters little), and that of the third was still in the making. It was natural to mention the third also in speaking of the sacred literature of the Jews, but not quite in the same spirit. Such language of commendation would have been quite out of place, almost impertinent, in speaking of the Law and the Prophets. A writer of his own day, Thomas Ellwood, could speak of Milton as 'a gentleman of great note for learning throughout the learned world for the accurate pieces he had written on various subjects and occasions.' Such language would be absurd now.

We may be practically certain from other considerations that this third group of books included Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Ezra, Nehemiah, 1 and 2 Chronicles, and others, but we cannot use the passage quoted as an independent argument for the canonicity of any single disputed book, such as the Song of Songs or Ecclesiastes.

(*i*) *Sirach, c.* 180 B.C.; especially chs. 44–50 (Praise of Famous Men).—Of even greater importance is the praise of famous men in chs. 44–50 of the Bk. of Sirach itself. From these chapters we get a very fair idea of the view of sacred literature taken by a learned Jew of that time. His descriptions are evidently taken from the Law, the Prophets, and the historical books of the Hagiographa (Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah). There are specific references to every one of them. His conception of David is largely derived from the Chronicler, the appointment of singers, the use of psalms in the temple worship, and probably the Psalter itself being ascribed to him. 'In all his works he praised the Holy One most high with words of glory; with his whole heart he sang songs, and loved Him that made him. He set singers also before the altar, that by their voices they might make sweet melody, and daily sing praises in their songs' ($47^{8, 9}$, cf. 1 Ch 25 and Ps 149^{2}). A similar acquaintance with Ezra and Nehemiah seems implied by what is said of Zerubbabel, Joshua, and Nehemiah (49^{11-13}). What is said of the first of these might possibly, however, have been taken from Hag 1^{12-15} 2^{23}, and certainly bears reference to the latter; and the absence of all mention of Ezra is singular. This shows that the author had no knowledge of those legends which connected the Canon so closely with the great founder of later Judaism (2 Es 14; see also Ryle, Exc. D), and probably is to be explained on the supposition that in his eyes Ezra was overshadowed by Nehemiah. It is not improbable that at this time the Bks. of Ezra and Nehemiah were still parts of Chronicles. The separation of these books would have helped to bring out the personality of Ezra. Some of the other books of the Hagiographa seem also recognized. Sir 47^{8}, already quoted, implies the existence of a psalm-book ascribed to David; not necessarily the whole Psalter, but including apparently Ps 149 (see v.^{2}), or at least Ps 100 (see v.^{3}), and therefore probably the whole.* A similar passage, 47^{17}, speaks of the admiration which Solomon elicited by his 'songs, and proverbs, and parables, and interpretations [obviously a mistranslation of מליצות 'figures'; cf. Pr 1^{6}, where מליצה has the sense of 'figure']. This passage might be merely an adaptation of 1 K $4^{32, 33}$, but it would receive a special point if Proverbs, Song of Songs, and perhaps even Ecclesiastes, formed part of the writer's religious library. That Proverbs was well known to him is obvious from many passages in the book, which were evidently written in imitation of it; cf. Sir 24^{9} with Pr 8^{22}, Sir 1^{14} with Pr 1^{7} 9^{10} etc. etc. In $48^{24, 25}$ he makes reference to Is 40–66. 'He saw by an excellent spirit what should come to pass at the last, and he comforted them that mourned in Zion' (cf. esp. Is $40^{1, 2}$ 61^{3}). This shows that in his time these last chapters had long formed part of Isaiah, and implies that a thorough revision of the sacred books had taken place. He would seem to have lived at the end of a literary age, such as was hardly possible in the troublous times of the Maccabees. The absence of any reference in Sir 44–50 to the Bk. of Job is best explained on the supposition either that the latter was regarded as an allegory, or that Job did not belong to the type of those commemorated by Ben Sira, perhaps as not being of the Jewish community. Neither of these suppositions accounts for Daniel being ignored. Had the writer known the book, he could hardly have failed to include among his famous men one who combined the wisdom of Solomon with the courage of David.

Thus the evidence of the Bk. of Sirach points to the general conclusion that at the beginning of the 2nd cent. B.C. the whole of the Law and the Prophets, and a considerable number of the Hagiographa, were among the accepted components of sacred literature. But how far the idea of a definite list of sacred books, such as we find in later times, had been formulated, or whether the sacred character of such books was *officially sanctioned by any public authority*, are questions which the evidence at present available seems insufficient to determine; and it appears somewhat rash to assume, as many writers on the Canon have done, the existence of such an authority without more definite proof. It seems most likely that official sanction, when given, confirmed rather than created public opinion.

---

* The fact that these psalms are not separately ascribed to David, and do not belong to smaller Davidic groups, makes this all the more likely.

Between the date of Sirach and the promulgation of the Hexateuch in 444 there is a complete dearth of evidence, and yet there is reason to believe that this period was the most fruitful in the literary activity to which the Canon of OT is due.

(*j*) *Ezra and Nehemiah.*—(*a*) *Promulgation of the Hexateuch,* B.C. 444.—When we go back to the times of Ezra and Nehemiah we are upon firmer ground. That the later or Priestly Code was officially sanctioned is made evident by Neh 8. 9, where there are several references to what criticism has proved to be exilic or post-exilic laws [HEXATEUCH] as distinct from the ancient code of Ex 20–23 and that of Deuteronomy. These chapters of Nehemiah are also important as showing the origin of the conception of a Canon. A Divine law binding the people, and publicly read before them that they might understand its provisions, is a very intelligible idea. Had we only the account of Nehemiah to go by, we should have imagined that it was the Law proper that was so sanctioned and publicly enforced. But the construction of the Hexateuch, *i.e.* the Pentateuch and Joshua, points indisputably to the conclusion that the narratives are an integral part of the book. Even supposing that at this time the Priestly Code had not been actually joined to the earlier strata of the Hexateuch (in itself an improbable assumption), yet in all these strata we find law and history intimately associated. The people had long been familiarized with the thought of a Divine purpose in the lives of their ancient fathers. Thus the authority of Ezra and Nehemiah would have sanctioned the conception of a sacred book, giving the early history of man and especially the Jews, associated especially with the great names of Abraham and Moses, and containing in many different forms the rules of a religious life. It would be hardly too much to say that the Hexateuch was the Bible of the Jews of Ezra's time.

(*β*) *Influence of the Hexateuch on the formation of the Canon.*—That the same reverence should have come to be felt for the books of the later history and the works of the great teachers, as they were collected and compiled, is only the natural process of evolution. That in process of time a harvest of more miscellaneous, but all more or less religious, literature of different ages should have been gathered in and prized in its turn with at least something like the same degree of reverence, is equally natural. But, it may be asked, Why did this Canon-making process stop? The true answer seems to be that the literary tendencies of the period following the fall of Jerusalem, though vigorous after their kind, were intensely conservative. The learned of that day aimed at reproducing and fixing what they already had, whether written or oral, rather than at producing. The same influences which caused the publication, to use a modern phrase, of the Mishna, closed the OT Canon. The reverence which the Jews had felt for the sanctuary was now monopolized by the sacred writings. It was, even more than the preceding ages, an age of scribes, not of authors. If a few did write such original works as 4 Ezra (the 2 Es of the Eng. Apocrypha), no Jew, in spite of the writer's own transparent artifice, dreamed of placing such a work with books long sanctified by age. It is almost inconceivable that Ecclesiastes would have been so soon after accepted as canonical had it, as Grätz would have us believe, been written about this time.

For the part attributed by Elias Levita (d. 1549) to 'the Great Synagogue' in the process of Canon-forming, see art. SYNAGOGUE (THE GREAT).

vii. CANONICITY OF THE DIFFERENT DIVISIONS OF THE OT.—From what has already been said, it will be seen that it is very nearly correct to say that the OT was the result of a gradual process which began with the sanction of the Hexateuch by Ezra and Nehemiah, and practically closed with the decisions of the Council of Jamnia. It is now proposed to trace out as far as possible, for the separate parts of the Bible, the history of this process, partly by the help of the evidence already given, and partly by the light of biblical criticism. It may be premised that without a full appreciation of the latter a clear view of the history of the Canon is unattainable. Though, properly speaking, the writing of a book or any part of a book is a distinct thing from its authoritative reception, it will be seen that there is often, in fact, a close connexion between the two.

And it should also be remarked that the scattered pieces of evidence, though serving as convenient landmarks, must not be regarded as necessarily marking distinct epochs in the history of the Canon.

(*a*) *Preparatory Stages culminating in the Canonization of the Hexateuch by Ezra and Nehemiah.*—Even before the authorization of the Hexateuch, the idea of a Canon was not entirely new. In the first place, the earlier strata of the Hexateuch, JE and D, were probably well known, and received with various degrees of reverence. This was true also of some other parts of the Bible, several of the psalms, most of the historical books and of the prophets. But more important than this, the various codes of the Law had been from time to time formally enforced. The Decalogue had, according to E, been sanctioned directly by God Himself (Ex 20^1). At any rate, nothing could exceed the awful reverence with which the Ark and its contents were regarded. The ancient codes preserved by JE, Ex 20–23 and 34^{10-26}, had certainly been sanctioned at a very early date. The former had, according to E, been inaugurated by a solemn act of sacrifice, Ex 24^{3-8},—a passage of great importance as showing how what was originally, as clearly seen from its contents, a sort of common law, came to be sanctioned and enforced by religious authority.* It is well known how, at obviously a much later date, the provisions of D were enforced by the authority of Josiah (2 K 23). What was really new in the promulgation of the Hexateuch in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah was that now we find, as it would appear, not merely a law, but a sacred book authoritatively put forward for the acceptance of the people.

(*b*) *The Prophetico-Historical Canon.*—It is obvious that the canonization of Scripture is not likely to have stopped with the Hexateuch. The increased or fresh-awakened interest in their ancient history must have supplied the Jews with a fresh impulse to historical study. The feelings with which the earlier history was regarded would have insensibly extended to the later history, written in the same spirit and already bearing the impress of a bygone age. In these writings, as well as in those containing the teachings of the Prophets, men realized that they heard the inspired voice of the true successors of Moses, the first of prophets (Dt 18^{15-19}). It is easy to see that it would not have been long before the second group of writings came to be regarded with much the same reverence as the first. This feeling was certainly heightened by the cessation of the power of prophecy. Ever since the Captivity the prophetical office had been becoming more and more priestly in its character, as we see from the Bks. of Haggai, Zechariah, and especially Malachi, and was finally absorbed in the priesthood. It is to be noticed that the writer of Sirach speaks of Aaron as vested with authority to teach (Sir 45^{17}), and that according to the Chronicler it was the Levites especially who taught the people in the time of Jehoshaphat (2 Ch 17$^{8.9}$). But we have to mark not only the growth of a certain feeling towards Holy Scripture, but also a literary process, which is likely to have taken some time. This consisted of the collection of scattered books and leaflets, and the revision of books, and certainly began long before the time of Ezra. The editorial frame-work of the Bk. of Kings is the work of the Deuteronomic school, and probably belongs to the time of the Exile. But, on the other hand, there are marks of a later revision, and in certain passages, such as 1 K 8$^{1-11}$, we are reminded of P, if not of the Chronicler. The last five chapters of Judges *in their present form* have close affinities with P. The collections of prophecies of different prophets and different dates under the names of Isaiah and Zechariah, whatever their original cause, would not have found acceptance while the memories of Deutero-Isaiah and Zechariah were still fresh. We may say then that the literary process was probably completed not many years after the time of Ezra, say about B.C. 400, and that this second group had canonical acceptance, *at latest*, before the time when Sirach was written, and certainly *long before* that work was translated. If we put the canonicity about B.C. 300–250, we shall probably be not far wrong, provided that we remember that there is *no proof of official recognition by authority at such an early date*. It should be borne in mind that the Chronicler (*c.* 300) treated the history in a way difficult to explain, had he been possessed with our ideas of canonicity. On the other hand, the separation of Joshua from the Law, and its combination with the other historical books of the second group, suggests that at the time when made—long before B.C. 130 (Prologue to Sirach)—there was no very marked difference of estimation between the first and second groups. But we must not, again, make the assumption that all books of this second group were necessarily regarded with the same degree of reverence and authority.

---

* It is quite impossible to fix with certainty the date of the ceremonies described in this passage, but the laws themselves reflect the state of society as we find it in 1 Samuel, which probably continued long after in the north. The code itself is, however, very complex.

(*c*) *The canonicity of the Hagiographa.*—This is more difficult to trace, and more complicated. The very name reminds us that we are dealing with a heterogeneous collection, which could not, like the two other groups, be classed under a really descriptive name. It would be a great mistake to take it for granted that their canonicity began to be deliberately considered after the canonicity of these other groups had been completely recognized. In the case of Psalms and Proverbs this was almost certainly not the case.

Psalms.—The composition of the Psalter shows it to be evidently a compilation from several earlier collections differing very much in character and age. The order suggests that the Psalms were generally placed in the same relative position in the complete Psalter which they had already occupied in these earlier collections. Thus we find together the Psalms of 'the sons of Korah' 42 (+43)–49. 84. 85. 87. 88, the Psalms of Asaph 73–83, 'songs of degrees (? steps)' 120–134, and other cases where similarity of titles or refrains connects consecutive Psalms, showing that such groups of Psalms were taken *en bloc* from collections entitled 'The Psalm-book of Korah,' 'The psalms, *maschils*, and songs of Asaph,' 'The songs of degrees,' etc. So far from critical were the compilers of the Psalter that they did not venture in certain cases to decide whether a poem was more correctly described as a psalm or a song (see titles of 75. 76, etc.). Still more curious is the leaving of the note, 'The prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended,' after the Doxology which closes Ps 72, although, as the Psalter now stands, the preceding Psalm is as a fact ascribed to Solomon, and several later Psalms are ascribed to David. The arrangement of Psalms 'to David' makes it likely that at least two independent earlier collections were originally so entitled. All this tends to show that there was a wide interval of time between the composition of the majority of the Psalms and their final compilation in one complete Psalter.

The character of the Psalms themselves is very various. Some are comparatively crude, both in conception and language, and with sometimes a corrupt text, and appear as though a wide interval lay between their composition and the literary tendencies of later Judaism, as, *e.g.*, Ps 10$^{2-11}$ 14. (cf. 53) 16, etc. There is a very fair probability that these at least are pre-exilic. Some bear a striking resemblance to Jeremiah, and have been frequently regarded as having been written either by him or writers of his school (esp. 31. 35. 69. 79). Many are of a personal character, as 4. 12. 13. 139, etc.; others were obviously composed for public worship, to which they have a distinct reference, as 95. 96. 98. 99. 100, etc. etc. Others, again, suggest that, originally personal, they have afterwards been adapted for liturgical use, as 69. 77. 102. This leads many to suspect that in some cases a national interpretation has been placed on Psalms originally designed to express the writer's own feelings and experience. In some Psalms, as in Ps 118, the national interpretation of the 1st person is obvious, and, of course, original.

Unfortunately it is impossible to fix a date for the use of Psalms in religious worship with absolute certainty. It appears almost certain that psalmody did not form a regular part of the temple worship before the Exile. The Bk. of Kings, at any rate, says nothing of it. In the face of this, the constant mention of psalm-singing by the Chronicler, as at the Dedication of the temple, 2 Ch 5$^{12.13}$, is of no historical value for the time of which it treats. It is of a piece with the ascription to David of the founding of the singing guilds, 1 Ch 25. The value of the statements in Ezra and Nehemiah are more difficult to estimate. We certainly find singers mentioned, not only in the editorial introduction to the account of Ezra's work (Ezr 7^{7}), but, what is far more important, in the letter of Artaxerxes himself (7^{24}). They are spoken of in a way which implies that they are part of a definitely organized system. But the question arises whether that system was actually at work in Jerusalem, or had been organized by Ezra and his school in Babylon. What is known of the Priestly Code in relation to the Hexateuch makes it extremely probable that a new and highly developed ritual had been so formulated. It is also of some significance that in P only we find the ritual use of trumpets (Lv 23^{24}, Nu 10^{10}). On the other hand we do find, in the list preserved of those who came up from Babylon, the mention of 148 (128, Ezr) singers, 'sons of Asaph' (Neh 7^{44}, Ezr 2^{41}). It is not easy to reconcile this statement with Neh 7^{67}, Ezr 2^{65}, where singing men and singing women are mentioned apparently as among the slaves of the exiles. Is it that these were menials who had no connexion with the sacred guild, or that the guild itself was a creation out of what had been a menial office? Singers are also mentioned by Nehemiah as having been appointed by himself, Neh 7^{1}. In his account of the dedication of the wall, 12^{27-43}, the singers and players of instruments take a very prominent part. It is said that they had established themselves in villages, etc., round Jerusalem, whence they were gathered by Nehemiah, $12^{28.29}$. The statement in $v.^{46}$ that the singers had performed their office 'in the days of David and Asaph,' is made, not by Nehemiah, but by the editor. The account of the music and psalmody in the service connected with the foundation of the temple in Ezr $3^{10.11}$ is also editorial, and is too much like the accounts of similar services given by the Chronicler (1 Ch 16, 2 Ch 5. $20^{21.22}$ etc.) to be free from suspicion. It is sufficiently evident that on all such occasions he read into the narrative the religious customs of his own day, which were then believed to have originated with David. But, on the other hand, it must be borne in mind that in this case he was describing events much nearer to his own day, and some time must be allowed for such traditions to have grown up.

Putting all the facts together, it would probably be near the truth to say that music was first introduced into religious worship to some small extent with the second temple, but was first thoroughly organized and greatly developed under the reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah. This use of Psalms, under the control of the Priestly guilds, would have given authority not only to those specially composed for the purpose, but to those adapted to liturgical use, and they would have required no further sanction. See, further, artt. PRAISE IN OT, and PSALMS.

Proverbs.—It was different with the Bk. of Proverbs. It belongs to a class of literature the sanction of which is by no means so obvious. If required to place in order of time the Prophetic, the Priestly, and the Ethical spirit among the Jews, we should certainly give them in this order. The last of the three is most closely connected with modern Judaism. The destruction of Jerusalem and the abolition of its sacrificial system must have gone far to give it strength and permanence, but in its inception the ethical spirit is of much earlier date, as we see from Sirach. But, as we see from the Prologue, Sirach itself was an imitation of earlier books, among which we must obviously reckon Proverbs; and these earlier books are spoken of as already ancient, 'the other books of our fathers,' and yet are not so ancient as the prophets, unless indeed the phrase 'others that have followed in their steps' points especially to Chronicles, which was in a sense an imitation of the prophetic Bk. of Kings. The fact, too, that Solomon came to be looked upon as the fountain of proverbial philosophy, is at once a proof of the relative antiquity of the germ and the sanction of what came to be ascribed to him. When once Solomon had gained this reputation, it became customary to ascribe proverbs to him. That many of these were originally popular sayings, handed down as ancient saws, hardly needs saying. That they were gathered together into small collections first, and that such collections were afterwards put together so as to form our present Bk. of Proverbs, is evident to any one who carefully studies the book. See PROVERBS.

With regard to the canonicity of this book, all that we can positively say is, that it is extremely unlikely that a specially sacred character should have begun to be attached to such proverbs only when the whole collection had been finally completed. The words at the beginning of Pr 25^{1} 'These also are Proverbs of Solomon, which the men of Hezekiah, king of Judah, copied out,' make it probable that, when what is believed to be the earliest collection was made, the proverbs which composed it were already believed to be Solomon's. It proves at the least that, when the final compilation was complete, this earlier collection was headed by a title which the compilers did not venture to disturb. The case is parallel to that of Ps 72^{20}. We may, then, safely say that the canonicity of the whole Bk. of Proverbs was firmly established long before B.C. 180, and that of parts of it, certainly chs. 25–29 were recognized long before, possibly as early as the reign of Hezekiah.

Ecclesiastes.—In point of canonicity Ecclesiastes stands on quite a different footing from Proverbs. It was neither a collection of sayings traditionally ascribed to Solomon, nor was it a collection of booklets which bore his name. Ecclesiastes was apparently ascribed to Solomon neither by ancient tradition nor by literary criticism; but the person of Solomon is assumed by the writer. As the authorship of Solomon is precluded on literary grounds, there are no alternatives except either a deliberate fraud or a mere literary device designed to give force to his subject. The latter alternative seems by far the most probable. It was written in a literary age (see 12^{12}), when a modern book would not easily be mistaken for one of ancient date, by a writer, probably an old sage, who had observed much and studied much, and felt that he had a right to speak (12^{9-12}), and was giving such advice as Solomon himself might have given had he lived in his day. That in a less critical age this literary device should have been misunderstood, and that, if so, it should have done much for the reception of this book, is not surprising. How soon this was so, or the exact date of its composition, must be largely matter of conjecture. We cannot be certain that it was known to the writer of Sirach. On the other hand, it is said to have been quoted by one Simon, son of Shetach, in the first half of the century before Christ (see Buhl, pp. 15, 17). It probably belongs to the literary age which terminated in the disturbed period of the Maccabees, and was certainly authoritatively recognized by the Council of Jamnia at the end of the 1st cent. A.D. See, further, art. ECCLESIASTES.

Song of Songs.—The Song of Songs is so far like Ecclesiastes that the subject of the poem is connected with the person of Solomon, not obviously as the assumed writer, but as one of the principal characters. The poem, or group of poems, is, however, probably ancient, and originally, there can be no serious doubt, quite secular in character. According to 1 K 4^{32} Solomon was traditionally known as a writer of poetry, and it is quite possible that this work was ascribed to him at a comparatively early date, before the Exile. The allegorical interpretation of the book would have naturally followed. He who was believed to have drawn lessons of morality from plants and animals (cf. 1 K 4^{33} with Pr 6^{5-8} $26^{2.3}$ etc.), might easily be supposed to have intended some deep mystic meaning in this simple story of pure and natural love. In this case the reception of the book was probably slow and gradual, and naturally enough met with considerable opposition. Had it not been for its allegorical interpretation, it is unlikely that it would have gained a place in the Canon. The Christians accepted the book, but gave it a new allegorical interpretation of their own.

Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah.—The Bks. of 1 and 2 Chronicles, with Ezra and Nehemiah, the four originally one book, were probably received as a trustworthy record before the beginning of the 2nd cent. B.C. As already shown, at least Chronicles and Nehemiah are referred to in the praise of famous men in Sir 44–50. Probably they were not written much more than a century earlier, about B.C. 330 (see Kent, *Hist. Heb. People*, ii. 8), and their character suggests that they were compiled *by authority*. If so, the dates of authorship and canonicity are the same. In any case their composition and reception belong to a time not long after the *final revision* of the Bk. of Kings, though possibly a much longer time after the general recognition of *an earlier edition*, so to speak, of that book. The two books present an instructive contrast. The Chronicles are, unlike Kings, not so much a *compilation* as a *composition*. It is only exceptionally that fragments of ancient documents appear in their original shape. For the most part the whole has been recast in its relatively modern form, with its characteristically modern spirit. It shows the marks of a definitely literary effort in a literary age. Its treatment of ancient history may be compared in some respects with that of the later Targums and Midrashim. In fact, the word *midrash* already occurs in 2 Ch 13^{22} 24^{27} (AV 'story'), though hardly in its later technical sense. The book was probably intended to preserve in a permanent form the methods of teaching common in the Jewish schools. That such a literary school should spring into existence after the period of Ezra and Nehemiah is highly probable. It would have been the natural result of the impulse given by them to the study of Scripture.

Job.—Of Job it is difficult to speak very positively. The allusion in Ezk $14^{14.20}$ may prove nothing more than that the story of Job, or something like it, was current in the prophet's day. The mention after Daniel (in this case certainly it is the person, not the book, we have to think of) may suggest that the story had only recently become known. In any case the point of the allusion does not make it necessary to suppose that Ezekiel necessarily regarded Job as a historical person. The book bears traces of the kind of religious feelings which were quickened by Deuteronomy, and betrays a still closer relationship to Deutero-Isaiah. Indeed the suffering Servant of J" forms a striking parallel to the leading thought of the book. Yet the relation between the two appears to be collateral rather than of direct ancestry. This resemblance, taken with the allusions to astronomy in Job 9^{9} 26^{13}, suggest that Job was written in Babylon about the same period. This would be all but a certainty if we could be sure that Job's sufferings are meant to be an allegory of those of the exiled Israel.

Ruth and Lamentations.—The Bks. of Ruth and Lamentations, especially if the latter was believed to be the work of Jeremiah, could hardly have received general recognition when the historico-prophetic group was completed, as they would certainly have found a place in it, the former as a historical, the latter as a prophetic work. Apart from a very possible reference in Sir 49^{6} to La 1^{1-4} etc., we have no evidence to show whether they were known or not to the writer of Sirach, and the internal evidence is too uncertain in this case to give us any real help. All that we can positively say is that both were thoroughly recognized by the end of the 1st cent. A.D., as seen by the testimony of Josephus and the Council of Jamnia, and no doubt is expressed of their genuineness. They must have been received long before; but how long we can only guess. This is, however, just one of those cases in which the evidence of silence is of very little value against a book. The Bk. of Ruth would hardly have suited the purpose of the writer of Sirach, who includes no women among his worthies.

Daniel and Esther.—The Bks. of Daniel and Esther stand on a very different footing. Had they been known, Daniel and Mordecai would certainly have found a place in Sir 44-50 among the 'famous men.' It is true that Ezekiel ($14^{14.20}$) knows of Daniel as one whose purity of life might be supposed to have secured the land from Divine wrath, but not necessarily as the great hero of the Babylonian and Persian courts. How could Sirach have failed to commemorate him who combined all the courage of a David with the wisdom of a Solomon? The book bears obvious internal evidence in chs. 7-9 of a date subsequent to the Maccabæan era. From the similarity of subject it seems not unlikely that both Daniel and Esther were derived from the same Eastern source. But it could hardly have been earlier than the beginning of the 1st cent. B.C. The history of the reception of the books forms a rather marked contrast. The Bk. of Daniel, as might have been expected from its contents, appears to have gained favour without opposition, and Daniel is spoken of in the NT as a prophet (Mt 24^{15}). Esther, on the other hand, was received with considerable hesitation, and whether on this ground or otherwise there is less evidence in its favour. It is not quoted in the NT, which may be only accidental; and it is at least possible that the feast of Jn 5^{1} is that of Purim, which would prove the recognition of the book. Several Rabbis objected to the book about the 1st and 2nd cents. A.D., and one at least in the 3rd (see Buhl, p. 25); several Fathers, Melito (perhaps by error), Athanasius, Gregory Nazianzen, omit it from their lists; and it was not regarded as canonical by Theodore of Mopsuestia. Some objections or suspicions arose, among the Jews at any rate, from its secular character; others, in the opinion of some writers, merely from the fact that the fast of 13th Adar, in connexion with Haman's plot (ch. 9^{1}), conflicted with the feast of the same day commemorating the victory of Judas Maccabæus over Nicanor (1 Mac 7^{49}; see Ryle, p. 139).

viii. SUMMARY OF RESULTS OBTAINED.—In the foregoing inquiry the following facts seem clearly established:—

(1) Canonicity was, like the composition of the books itself, a gradual process. The Council of Jamnia, for example, gave a formal sanction to what had already become, more or less definitely, the public opinion of Jewish writers.

(2) Such sanction appears to have been, in fact, accidental, that is to say, not by any means essential to the idea of canonicity. All the OT books, with a few possible exceptions, would have won their way into the Canon had no such council decided the matter, just as the NT became canonical without the sanction of a general council.

(3) The history of canonicity cannot be completely separated from the history of the books themselves. The separate parts of a book may have been, and in some cases certainly were, accepted authoritatively before the whole was written. This was especially the case with the Pentateuch, Psalms, and Proverbs.

(4) This consideration, among others, points to the conclusion that canonicity was, in its earliest stages, a question of degree, and even, to some extent, of kind. One book, the Pentateuch, for example, was accepted because formally sanctioned by authority; another acquired its authority from its long acceptance by students and writers; a third, from its liturgical use. Again, various factors contributed to the idea of canonicity; among them, certainly, real or supposed antiquity, and also, to some extent, authorship by some famous person, such as David or Solomon.

(5) Lastly, while the beginnings of canonicity lie in the misty period of ancient Jewish history, it may be said to have reached its final stage at the Council of Jamnia, where all our OT books were sanctioned; though, on the one hand, the great bulk, at any rate, were practically recognized as canonical long before; and, on the other, some hesitation in isolated cases was not uncommon

even after the council. Since then, time, habit, and experience have continued to give strength to its decisions.

ix. Claims of the Apocrypha to Canonicity.—So far, the investigation has concerned itself almost exclusively with the Canon accepted by the Jews and by the Reformed Churches of modern times. A few words are necessary concerning the claims of the Apocrypha to canonicity. In the Roman Catholic Church it depends upon the supposed inspiration of the Vulgate. There is, however, some truth in the canonicity of the Apocrypha. The LXX contained these books very nearly as we have them now in our English Apocrypha. The earliest extant LXX texts are certainly Christian, but the references in Hebrews to Wisdom and Maccabees, to which attention has been already called, suggest the probability that the Greek Bible of NT times was the LXX as we know it. It would thus appear that the Alexandrian Jews were accustomed to group together in their sacred literature a larger collection of books than those contained in the Palestinian Canon and sanctioned at Jamnia. It is, then, a common practice to speak of the Alexandrian Canon as distinct from the Palestinian, and it is at least a significant fact that the only book of the NT (if we make the possible exception of the Fourth Gospel) which has distinct affinities with Alexandrian thought, contains the two striking references just mentioned to the Apocryphal books. The term is convenient, no doubt, but it is misleading if it is intended to imply that the Alexandrians placed all their sacred books, whether belonging to the Palestinian Canon or not, on the same footing. It is satisfactory enough if merely intended to mean that they made no definite distinction between the Canon and the Apocrypha. The statement (see above) that Philo, *e.g.*, never quotes the Apocryphal books as canonical, is to some extent outweighed, as already suggested, by his peculiar views of inspiration. His theory of an extended, if graduated, inspiration tended to weaken the conception of a special Canon. The fact that rather a large number of OT books[*] are not quoted by Philo at all, perhaps points in the same direction. Dr. Sanday sees in the distinction between the so-called Palestinian and Alexandrian Canons the difference between the more strictly religious school and those who welcomed a wider, if more secular, culture (*Inspiration*, p. 93). With reference to the quotation of the Apocrypha by Christian Fathers, it may be enough to observe that even the ultra-Alexandrian Origen very definitely recognized that the books of the Palestinian Canon were in a special sense those of the Covenant (testament).

The sporadic inclusion, so to speak, of altogether uncanonical books as Scripture in the NT or elsewhere, such as the quotation from the Bk. of Enoch in Jude,[†] shows that, while a small body of learned Jewish experts in Palestine had formulated a fixed Canon, there were others whose critical knowledge was less exact, and who therefore included within their conception of Scripture a far wider circle of books.

x. Some Peculiarities in the Evidence of the NT and Fathers.—It is hardly necessary to do more than mention the curious omission by some Eastern Christian writers of well-established OT books, such as the omission of Chronicles (with Ezra and Nehemiah) and Job by Theodore of Mopsuestia and the Nestorian Canon (see Buhl, p. 53). Such omissions must be regarded as eccentricities outside the general current of canonical history. The omission of Esther stands on a differ-footing, and is, moreover, more common.

xi. The influence of our present knowledge of OT Canon upon Religion.—Hitherto the subject has been investigated on its purely historical side. The question has been—What books were in point of fact received as Scripture at different times? not—What is the intrinsic value of the books of Scripture, or of particular books of Scripture, as sanctions for religious belief and religious conduct? The latter question belongs rather to the subject of inspiration than to that of the Canon. But it comes within the limit of the present inquiry in so far as the spiritual authority and value of Bible books depend upon canonicity. Except for this, the history of the Canon has nothing more than a purely literary and archæological value. The question may be put thus—Does the scientific method as applied to the history of the Canon—and no other method is really permissible—increase or diminish the practical value of the Bible as a whole or in part? Theoretically, it would appear that it diminishes it. It is one thing to say that the OT was authoritatively fixed by Ezra or a religious school founded by him; another, that it was, as far as the evidence really proves, first officially sanctioned in its completeness by the Council of Jamnia. Christians would far rather believe that the Bks. of Esther and Canticles formed part of the Bible of Christ and His apostles, than that they were sanctioned by a Jewish council held some 70 years after Christ's ascension. A devout Protestant may be somewhat shocked to find that many of the earlier Christians practically included several Apocryphal books in their Bible. The modern study of the subject does certainly tend in some measure to obscure the lines drawn between canonical and Apocryphal books, and to depreciate relatively some of the former and appreciate some of the latter. It affects, in some degree, both the conditions of canonicity and the question to what extent certain books within or without the recognized Canon fulfil those conditions. But what practical bearing has all this as concerns the influence of the Bible upon faith and life? We feel that the books of whose claim to canonicity there is some degree of doubt are just those which, from a purely religious point of view, are the least important. There are those who feel that if Ecclesiastes, Esther, and Canticles had never been included in the Canon, and Sirach and Wisdom had been included, it would have made little real difference. We might still in Ecclesiastes have reverenced the outspoken honesty of a pious Israelite struggling according to his limited light with perhaps the greatest problems of life. We should have been thankful that in Esther we had illustrated for us a phase of character belonging to the most interesting, and once the most religious, nation of the world. We should have found in Canticles at least a pretty love-lyric, and possibly a good deal more. The old questionings and doubts about these books make it easier for us to have some such ideas about them now without shocking our religious sense. We feel that the standard by which all Bible or quasi-Bible books must eventually be appraised is not merely the *ipse dixit* of an infallible Church, Jewish or Christian, which rules all on one side of a line holy and all on the other secular, but an enlightened intelligence which sees in the sacred books, including even some not generally accounted canonical, various degrees of inspiration and spiritual power. By enlightened intelligence is here meant, not the mere private opinion of the individual, but the growing consent of spiritually-minded, right-thinking, honest, and devout Christians. In a word, the study of the formation of the Canon makes it possible to think that the same influences which resulted in the fixed Canon of OT in ancient times, may at a future time lead to some more defined modification in our conception of a sacred Canon.

---

[*] Ezekiel, Daniel, Ruth, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, Esther (Buhl, tr. p. 15; cf. Ryle, *Philo and Holy Scripture*).

[†] For quotations from or references to extra-canonical books in NT, see Buhl, p. 14.

LITERATURE.—H. E. Ryle, *The Canon of the Old Testament*, London, Macmillan, 1892, also *Philo and Holy Scripture*, 1895; Fr. Buhl, *Kanon u. Text des AT*, Leipzig, 1890 [Eng. tr., Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1892]; Julius Fürst, *Der Kanon des AT*, Leipzig, 1868; J. S. Bloch, *Studien zur Gesch. der Sammlung der altheb. Literatur*, Breslau, 1876; Ed. Reuss, *Gesch. der heil. Schriften AT*^{2}, 1890, *Hist. du canon des saintes écritures dans l'église chrétienne*^{2}, Strassburg, 1864 [Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1884]; G. Wildeboer, *Het ontstaan van den Kanon des Ouden Verbonds*, Groningen, 1889 [Germ. tr., Gotha, 1891; Eng. tr. (by B. W. Bacon) 1895]; Schürer, *GJV*^{3}, 1899, ii. 305–312 [*HJP*, II. i. 306–312]; Driver, *LOT*^{6}, pp. i–xi; B. F. Westcott, *The Bible in the Church*, London, 1865–66; W. Sanday, *Inspiration*, London, 1893. Cf. also the articles 'Canon of OT' (by Budde) in the *Encyc. Biblica*, 'Kanon des AT's' (by Strack) in *PRE*^{2}, and 'Kanon' (by Schmiedel) in Ersch and Gruber's *Allgem. Encyk.*; and see the authorities cited under the articles on the several books of the OT in the present work.

F. H. WOODS.

OLD TESTAMENT LANGUAGE.—See LANGUAGE OF OLD TESTAMENT.

OLD TESTAMENT TEXT.—See TEXT OF OLD TESTAMENT.

OLD TESTAMENT TIMES.—See ISRAEL.

OLIVE (זַיִת *zayith*, *ἐλαία*, *oliva*, Arab. *zeitûn*).—A well-known tree, one of the most characteristic of Syria and Palestine. It belongs to the order *Oleaceæ*, which also includes the ash. It is a tree with gnarled and, when large, usually hollow trunk, and straggling branches. It loves rich soil, but flourishes without irrigation. The small white flowers form axillary clusters. When their function is over, they fall in showers to the ground (Job 15^{33}), and their place is taken by small oblong fruits, at first green, but becoming almost black when ripe. From these comes the fatness of the olive, its rich nutritious oil. The leaves are oblong to lanceolate, of the characteristic dull olive-green at their upper surface, and a frosted silver colour below. This arrangement of colours makes an olive tree at a little distance appear as if covered by a filmy veil of silver gauze, which gives a soft dreamy sheen to the landscape. There are groves of olives near all the cities and villages of Pal. and Syria, and several of them are very extensive. That near Beirût is nearly 5 miles square. That near Tripoli is about as large. There are fine groves near Nablûs, and on the western slopes of Lebanon. The ground in which olive trees grow is ploughed twice or more a year, and enriched with inorganic and organic fertilizers. A favourite dressing is a marl, known as *ḥuwwârah*, which is found everywhere in pockets of the cretaceous rocks of Syria. The first olives begin to fall in September. These are usually left until the time when the owner or his agent, and the lessee, can together pick them up and measure them. In November comes the harvest. The trees are beaten with a long pole (Dt 24^{20}). The 'shakings' (Is 24^{13}) of the olive tree refer to the few olives left after the first beating. These were to be left for the poor; see art. GLEANING. The olive harvest is usually carried home in baskets, on the backs of men or donkeys. 'Olive berries' (Ja 3^{12}), in reality a kind of *drupe*, are used for food in two stages. (1) When green they are pickled in brine, until the bitter taste is somewhat overcome, a result which is hastened by slightly bruising the drupe, so that the brine may more readily penetrate its pulp. They are eaten with bread, and, especially during the fasts, constitute a notable portion of the diet of the people. (2) When quite ripe they are sometimes packed down in salt, or immersed in brine, and at other times preserved in their own oil. The yield varies much in different years. If it is large one year it is usually small the next. The drupes are often beaten in a mortar, as in Bible times (Ex 27^{20} etc.). In this case the marc is placed in a vessel filled with hot water. The oil floats to the surface, and is skimmed off. The more usual way of obtaining the oil, however, is to bruise the ripe berries in a shallow circular basin, excavated in a stone shaped like the nether millstone, or in the solid rock. The bruising is sometimes done with the foot (Dt 33^{24}, Mic 6^{15}), but more commonly by an upright millstone, with a long pole passed through its centre. The short end of this pole is fastened to an upright fixed in the centre of the basin, and the other pushed or pulled round by a man or animal, so that the stone revolves just within the outer edge of the basin. This reduces the berries to a pulp. Part of the oil flows out through a spout in the rim of the basin into a vat (Jl 2^{24} 3^{13}, Hag 2^{16}). After the oil which flows of itself has been drawn away, the marc is packed in soft reed baskets. These are subjected to pressure by piling them one over the other between two stone pillars, with an upright groove at the inner face of each. In these grooves slides a horizontal bar, which is heavily weighted with stones or iron. Under this primitive but powerful press the oil flows down in streams, and is collected in a vat at the foot of the pile. At first it has much extraneous matter and water mixed with it. These gradually separate, leaving the pure sweet oil. This is kept in jars, or in large reservoirs hewn out of the rock or built with great exactness, and well pointed at the joints, or plastered within. The oil is used extensively as food, and large quantities of soap of most excellent quality are made by boiling it with crude soda.

The Scripture allusions to the olive are very numerous. It is the first tree, of those now known, mentioned in the Bible (Gn 8^{11}). Its wealth of nourishment made it a natural candidate for the position of king of trees (Jg $9^{8.\,9}$). It is an emblem of peace and prosperity (Ps 52^{8} 128^{3}) and beauty (Jer 11^{16}, Hos 14^{6}). The two olive trees in Zec $4^{3.\,11\text{-}14}$ were emblems of fruitfulness. RV well translates (v.^{14}) 'two sons of oil,' instead of AV 'two anointed ones.' Standing by 'the Lord of the whole earth,' they denote His abundant, overflowing provision for the spiritual wants of mankind. Oil is frequently alluded to as food (2 Ch 2^{10}), medicine (Lk 10^{34}, Ja 5^{14}), unguent (Ps 23^{5}, Mt 6^{17}), illuminator (Mt 25^{3} etc.). The temple oil was beaten (Ex 27^{20}). The name 'Mount of Olives' indicates the importance attached to this tree, and associates it with many of the most interesting incidents in the life of our Lord.

G. E. POST.

OLIVES, MOUNT OF (הַר הַזֵּיתִים; LXX *τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν*; Vulg. *Mons Olivarum*).—In the OT the term 'Mount of Olives' occurs only in Zec 14^{4}. It is described as the 'ascent of the Olives' (מַעֲלֵה הַזּ״) in 2 S 15^{30} (AV 'ascent of Mount Olivet,' RV 'ascent of the *Mount of* Olives'), as 'the mount' (Neh 8^{15}), 'the mount that is before Jerusalem' (1 K 11^{7}), 'the mountain which is on the east side of the city' (Ezk 11^{23}), and as 'the mount of corruption (or destruction)' (2 K 23^{13}). In the NT it is usually called 'the mount of Olives' (*τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν*), Mt 21^{1} 24^{3} 26^{30}, Mk 13^{3} 14^{26}, Lk 22^{39} 19^{37}, Jn 8^{1}, but St. Luke twice uses the term 'the mount that is called [the mount] of Olives' (*τὸ ὄρος τὸ καλούμενον ἐλαιῶν*), Lk 19^{29} 21^{37}; and once the term 'the mount called Olivet' (*τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ καλ. Ἐλαιῶνος*), Ac 1^{12}, cf. *τὸ ὄρος τὸ Ἐλαιών* Mk 11^{1} (B).

There is no doubt as to the identity of the Mount of Olives. The name is applied to the range of hills facing Jerusalem on the east and lying round about from north-east to south-east, and separated from the Holy City by the Valley of Jehoshaphat or Kidron. The only question that may arise in this respect is as to the precise extent of the range which may be included under the expression 'Mount of Olives.'

The range detaches itself from the backbone of the country about two miles north of Jerusalem, south of the village of *Sha'fât* (2824 ft.), and, trending in a south-easterly direction, extends as far as the 'prospect' (*Scopus*), where it runs nearly due south till opposite (or east of) the temple site; it then runs in a south-westerly direction until it is over against the Pool of Siloam. The ridge of the range is generally at a level of about 2600 ft. above the Mediterranean, but it culminates in four, or rather three (see below) somewhat pronounced summits, to which modern tradition has given the names of (1) Galilee, (2) the Ascension, (3) the Prophets, (4) the Mount of Offence.

(1) 'Galilee' (*Scopus*) is due north-east of the temple site, and about a mile distant.

(2) 'The Ascension' is the summit due east of the temple site, and distant about ¾ mile; on it stand the church of the Ascension and the village and mosque of *Jebel et-Ṭur* (the modern Arabic name for the Mount of Olives).

(3) 'The Prophets' is south of and, properly speaking, only a spur of No. 2, and derives its name from some catacombs ascribed to the prophets. It is not really a distinct summit.

(4) 'The Mount of Offence' is about 5⁄4 mile south-east of Ophel, and is the terminating outlier of the range to the south.

To the east this range falls rapidly towards the Jordan Valley; to the west and south it is bounded by the valley called Kidron or Jehoshaphat, which, commencing north of Jerusalem on a level with the high ground of the Holy City, falls rapidly until it becomes a deep ravine dividing the temple site from Olivet, and near the Pool of Siloam is 400 ft. below the summit of Olivet. It is called by the Arabs the *Wâdy en-Nâr* (valley of fire).

The summit of the Mount of Offence is on the same level as the temple site (2440 ft.), but from the church of the Ascension northward the range is in few places less than 2600 ft. in height, and thus commanded a view down upon the temple courts, and stood round about the city to the eastward.

The ancient road leading up from Jericho by *Wâdy Ḳelt* bifurcates at about six miles from Jerusalem (at level 654 ft.); the northern branch running up *Wâdy Rawâbeh* and over Scopus into the city, the southern branch passing through Bethany and crossing the Olivet range between the church of the Ascension and the Mount of Offence; the southern branch appears to have been the main road to Jericho since the Roman occupation.

There are three roads or paths leading to the summit of Olivet, where the church of the Ascension stands; the central path leading straight up the ascent, those to the north and south making a detour to lessen the steepness. These roads all join together near the bridge over the Kidron close to the Garden of Gethsemane, and go to St. Stephen's gate, immediately north of the temple site. It is probable that over this bridge was the road into Jerusalem from the east from the earliest times, as the rocky sides of Olivet lower down the valley are too steep and precipitous to admit of anything more than a rugged footpath.

When Absalom's rebellion broke out, David fled from Jerusalem over the brook Kidron by way of the Mount of Olives to the wilderness (2 S $15^{14.30}$). Probably he crossed the Kidron by the road where the bridge now spans the ravine, and went up the ascent by the north-easterly road already mentioned. There is no reason for supposing that he went up to the summit where now stands the church of the Ascension—this would not lie in his route. He probably went up nearly due north-east from the Kidron ravine, and ascended to the top of the mountain, and thence he went down the eastern slope till he arrived at the *Wâdy Rawâbeh* near Bahurim. If a line be drawn from the Kidron bridge north-east it will be found to go over Mount Scopus into *Wâdy Rawâbeh*.

Bahurim is rendered in the Targum of Jonathan (on 2 S 16^5) as Alimoth or Almon, a city of Benjamin given to the priests, and is identified by Schwarz, Furrer, and Robinson (*BRP* iii. 287) as *'Almit*, north of *'Anâta* (Anathoth), about three miles N.N.E. of Jerusalem. Barclay (p. 563) also conjectures that Bahurim lay on the north side of *Wâdy Rawâbeh*, not far from *'Anâta*, but south of it, probably near *el-'Isâwîyeh*. Lightfoot considers Bahurim as close to Nob (*Prospect*, i. 42), and Josephus (*Ant.* VII. ix. 7) mentions that it was off the main road from Jericho to Jerusalem. It would appear, then, that king David took the northern of the two roads to Jericho, went over Scopus and down the *Wâdy Rawâbeh*, south of Bahurim, from whence Shimei issued, keeping along the hillside above the road, and casting down stones and dust at the king.

Modern tradition has fixed on the southern summit or Mount of Offence as the locality of the high places which Solomon dedicated to Chemosh and Molech, in the hill that is before (or east of) Jerusalem (1 K 11^7). There is no indication where these high places are to be found except in the account of their destruction by Joash (2 K 23^{13}), where they are described as before (or east of) Jerusalem, on the right hand of the הַר הַמַּשְׁחִית 'mount of corruption (*or* destruction)'; and if the latter may be accepted as the name of the summit due east of the temple site, then the high places on the right or south of the Mount of Corruption would be on the Mount of Offence where modern tradition locates them. The Arabic name of this mountain is *Baten el-Howa*, 'the bag of wind.'

There seems to have been considerable variety of opinion as to the position of these high places in early Christian times, but the majority of authorities, including the Jewish writers, do not mention the subject. Burckhardt places them over Siloam on the Mount of Offence, while Brocardus places the altar of Chemosh on the northern summit.

On the southern slope of the Mount of Offence is the village of Siloam (*Silwân*) clinging to the steep hillside, and down below are the fertile fields which are supposed to have formed the king's garden between the Pool of Siloam and the well of Joab (SILOAM). Somewhere here it was that, in the days of Uzziah, about the time that the leprosy fell upon him, an earthquake is said to have rent a part of the mountain on the west at a place called Eroge (En-rogel?), and rolled it four furlongs till it stood still at the east mountain (Olivet), blocking up the roads and the king's garden (*Ant.* IX. x. 4; cf. Am 1^1, Zec 14^5, 2 Ch 26^{16}).

Josephus does not add materially to our knowledge of the Mount of Olives. He relates that in the time of the procurator Felix, in the reign of Nero, the country was full of robbers and impostors who deluded the people, and that among them was one from Egypt who came to Jerusalem and called himself a prophet, and advised the multitude of the common people to go along with him to the Mount of Olives, which lay over against the city, and at the distance of 5 furlongs. He got together 30,000 men and led them round about by the wilderness to the Mount of Olives, and was ready to break into Jerusalem by force from that place

(*Ant.* XX. viii. 6, *BJ* II. xiii. 5; Ac 21[38]). Josephus also states that at the investment of Jerusalem by Titus two legions had orders to encamp at the distance of six furlongs from Jerusalem at the Mount of Olives, which lies over against the city on the east side, and is parted from it by a deep valley interposed between them, which is called Cedron. He further mentions that during the siege of Jerusalem the Jews made an attack on the Roman guard on the Mount of Olives, and that the wall of circumvallation, built round the city to keep the Jews in, began from the camp of the Assyrians, where Titus' camp was pitched, extended to the lower part of Cenopolis, thence along the valley of Cedron to the Mount of Olives, and then bent towards the south and encompassed the mountain as far as the rock called Peristerion (dovecote) and that other hill which lies next to it, and is over the valley which reaches to Siloam (*BJ* V. ii. 3, iii. 5, xii. 2; VI. ii. 8). It was at this period that the Mount of Olives became denuded of the olives, pines, myrtles, and palms which formerly covered its sides, as mentioned in Neh 8[15] 'Go forth unto the mount, and fetch olive branches, and pine branches, and myrtle branches, and palm branches, and branches of thick trees, to make booths, as it is written.'

The Mount of Olives was particularly connected in the minds of the worshippers at the temple of Jerusalem with many of the most important ceremonies, such as the proclamation of the new moons, the waters of purification and burning of the red heifer, and the scapegoat. The Talmudical writings are full of references to the Mount of Olives in connexion with these matters.

The Mount of Olives was called the mountain of Three Lights, on account of—(1) the fire from the altar lighting it up at night; (2) from the first beams of the sun lighting up the summit; (3) from the olive oil which it produced for lighting the lamps of the temple.

The Mount of Olives was the starting-point for the signals by means of fire beacons sent throughout the land when the appearance of the new moon was considered satisfactorily proved. On the 30th day of certain months watchmen were stationed on the commanding heights around Jerusalem, and as soon as any one of them detected the new moon he hastened before the president of the Sanhedrin to apprise him of it. When its appearance was finally approved, a beacon fire was lighted on the Mount of Olives, and torches were moved to and fro in the night until answered from *Ḳurn Surtabeh*, a conical mountain projecting into the Jordan Valley; the signal was carried on to Gryphena, thence to the Ḥaurân, Beth Balten (Biram), and thence to the far east, until the whole land of the Captivity was waving in flames. It is related (*Rosh-hashshanah*, ii. 2) that the Cuthæans of Samaria spoiled this system of signalling by putting up false lights, and that it was found necessary to send messengers instead. See, further, art. NEW MOON.

The Mount of Olives has also a rôle to play in the future (Targum upon Ca 8[1]). When the dead shall live again, Mount Olivet is to be rent in twain (Zec 14[4]), and all the dead of Israel shall come out thence; and those righteous persons who died in captivity shall be rolled under ground and shall come forth under the Mount of Olives. The Jews also believe (Midrash, *Tehillim*) that the Messiah will converse much on this mountain.

In connexion with the statement (Ezk 11[23]) that the glory of the Lord went up from the midst of the city, and stood upon the mountain, which is on the east side of the city, Rabbi Janna says the Divine majesty (*shekinah*) stood 3½ years on Olivet and preached, saying, 'Seek ye the Lord while He may be found; call upon Him while He is near' (Midrash, *Tehillim*), and then, when all was in vain, returned to its own place. Whether or not this story has a direct allusion to the ministrations of Christ, it is a true expression of His relation respectively to Jerusalem and to Olivet. It is useless to seek for traces of His presence in the streets of the ten times since captured city. It is impossible not to find them in the free space of the Mount of Olives (Stanley, *SP* 189).

Stanley (*op. citat.* p. 189) truly points out with regard to the Mount of Olives 'that its lasting glory belongs not to the Old Dispensation, but to the New. Its very barrenness of interest in earlier times sets forth the abundance of those associations which it derives from the closing scenes of the Sacred History. Nothing, perhaps, brings before us more strikingly the contrast of Jewish and Christian feeling, the abrupt and inharmonious termination of the Jewish dispensation,—if we exclude the culminating point of the Gospel History,—than to contrast the blank which Olivet presents to the Jewish pilgrims of the Middle Ages, only dignified by the sacrifice of "the red heifer"; and the vision, too great for words, which it offers to the Christian traveller of all times, as the most detailed and the most authentic abiding-place of Jesus Christ.'

'No name in Scripture calls up associations at once so sacred and so pleasing as that of Olivet. The "mount" is so intimately connected with the private life of our Lord, that we read of it and look at it with feelings of deepest interest and affection. Here He sat with His disciples, telling them of the wondrous events yet to come; of the destruction of the Holy City, of the sufferings, the persecutions, and the final triumph of His followers' (Porter's *Handbook to Pal.*). Here He was wont to retire for meditation and prayer. Here He was met by a concourse of people from Jerusalem when He made His triumphal entry into the Holy City. Here He came on the night of His betrayal, and past this mount He led His disciples on the day He ascended to heaven.

There are many traditional *sites* on the Mount of Olives, but there are some that more particularly claim our attention.

The **Garden of Gethsemane** is to be looked for beyond the Kidron and at the foot of Olivet (Jn 18[1], Lk 22[39]), and the modern traditional site seems to be a likely locality, though both Robinson (i. 347) and Thomson (*Land and Book*, p. 634) suggest it was higher up the hill. This site is probably the same as that alluded to by Eusebius, Jerome, and the Bordeaux Pilgrim, but there is no earlier tradition. The balance of opinion appears to be in favour of its being near the true site. It is situated on the Olivet bank of the Kidron, not far from the bridge, and immediately south of the road leading from the bridge to the summit of Olivet. On the other side of the road are the 'Grotto of the Agony' and the 'Tomb of the Virgin' (el-Jesmânîyeh of the Arabs, *i.e.* Gethsemane). There are continuous links of tradition uniting these chapels with the traditional spot early in the 4th cent., where the site may possibly have been fixed by the empress Helena, A.D. 326. See, further, art. GETHSEMANE.

Theodorus (A.D. 530) states, 'and there is the Basilica of St. Mary the Lord's Mother and her sepulchre'; and St. John of Damascus writing in the 8th cent. states that it existed then. A church was erected over it in the time of the empress Pulcheria (A.D. 390–450); since the 8th cent. there has been an unbroken chain of tradition concerning the tomb. Bernard (A.D. 867) found it in ruins; it had been a round church. It was rebuilt by Godfrey, and is described by Sæwulf and William of Tyre as it now exists. The Moslems handed it over to the Christians, A.D. 1363, but they still visit it on a certain day in the year. Eusebius (A.D. 833) states that Gethsemane was at the Mount of Olives, and was then a place of prayer for the faithful, and that the rock where Judas betrayed Christ was in the valley of Jehoshaphat (*Itin. Hieros*). The Bordeaux Pilgrim also places the same rock in the valley of Jehoshaphat. St. Silvia (A.D. 379-388) describes the service at Gethsemane. Jerome (A.D. 393) says that Gethsemane was at the foot of the mountain, and that a church had been built over it. Eucherius (A.D. 427-448) alludes to the two famous churches where our Lord is said to have had discourse with His disciples, and that of the Ascension. Theodorus (A.D. 530) speaks of a Basilica on the spot where Christ taught His disciples. The presumption is, then, that the Grotto of the Agony was the original site of Gethsemane. The olive trees of Gethsemane are not mentioned by any of the earlier pilgrims, and there is no tradition connecting the very old trees now in the garden with the past.

Modern tradition makes **the triumphal entry of our Lord** into Jerusalem over the summit of the Mount of Olives, and the scene of the lamentation over Jerusalem about half-way down the hill; but Stanley has shown conclusively that His journey lay by the southern road through Bethany—that by which mounted travellers at the present day approach Jerusalem, over the southern shoulder of Olivet, between the summit which contains the tombs of the Prophets and the Mount of Offence. 'There can be no doubt that this is the route of the triumphal entry, not only because, as just stated, it is and must always have been the usual approach for horsemen and for large caravans, such as then were concerned, but also because this is the only one of the three approaches which meets the requirements of the narrative' (Stanley, *SP* 191). The road on leaving Bethany passes over a spur of Olivet which runs out to the south-east; from here a view is obtained of the southern part of the Holy City, then the road descends into a hollow, and mounting again by a rugged ascent it reaches a ledge of smooth rock from which the whole city bursts into view. This point is opposite to the south-east angle of the temple enclosure and considerably above it. 'Nowhere else on the Mount of Olives is there a view like this. By the two other approaches, one being over the summit and one over the northern shoulder of the hill, the city reveals itself gradually; there is no partial glimpse, like that which has just been described as agreeing so well with the first outbreak of popular acclamation, still less is there any point where, as here, the city and temple would suddenly burst into view, producing the sudden and affecting impression described in the Gospel narrative' (*SP* 193).

The last interview of our Lord with His disciples before He ascended into heaven is stated to have taken place on the eastern slopes of Olivet, for 'He led them out as far as to Bethany' (Lk 24[50]); and it is further stated that 'they returned to Jerusalem from the mount called Olivet, which is from Jerusalem a Sabbath day's journey.' The traditional site, however, from very early times, has been the middle summit of Olivet, at the church of the Ascension; and there are those who consider that this is quite in keeping with the account in St. Luke's Gospel (see report of Schick, *PEFSt*, p. 317, 1896). The church of the Ascension is a small octagonal structure within an enclosure of irregular polygonal form, measuring about 40 ft. north and south, by 30 ft. east and west. It is in possession of the Moslems, and a minaret is close beside the west entrance, and is a very conspicuous feature in the landscape. Christian sects are permitted on certain days to perform mass in the chapel. The chapel was built in 1834 on the plan of one built by the Moslems in 1617 on the ruins of the Crusading Church built 1130 and destroyed 1187. The latter was built on the ruins of the Basilica of Constantine. Dr. Schick (*PEFSt* p. 319, 1896) has carefully traced the indications of the original building from the existing remains, and has proposed a restoration of the place, showing a round church open at the centre to the sky, with the entrance to west and altar to east. This church was built in the 4th cent., and a plan is given by Arculf, A.D. 680, of its restoration in the 7th cent. by the Patriarch Modestus.

The footprints of Christ have experienced various and strange vicissitudes. One is impressed on the pavement of the courtyard; the other has been transferred to the chapel at the south end of the main aisle of the Aksa Mosque in the temple enclosure (see Tobler, *Siloahquelle u. Oelberg*). Willibald (A.D. 922) and other writers speak of two columns within the church in memory of the two men who said, 'Men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven?' This site has now been transferred to the northern hill of Olivet, near Scopus, and is called 'Galilee.'

The Pater Noster Chapel, south of the church of the Ascension, was erected in 1865 by the Princess de la Tour d'Auvergne, and is supposed to stand on an old traditional site of the Middle Ages. The intention of the Princess was to have within 24 small chambers, in which the 'Lord's Prayer' should be written up in 24 different languages, so that pilgrims of all nationalities and all creeds might unite there in repeating the Lord's Prayer.

Within recent years the Russians have erected a high tower and church on the commanding spur north-east of the church of the Ascension, overlooking the eastern slopes of Olivet.

'From the Temple Mount to the western base of Olivet it was not more than 100 or 200 yards straight across, though of course the distance to the summit was much greater, say about half a mile. By the nearest pathway it was only 918 yards from the city gate to the principal summit. Olivet was always fresh and green, even in earliest spring or during parched summer—the coolest, the pleasantest, the most sheltered walk about Jerusalem. Far across this road the temple and its mountain flung their broad shadows and luxuriant foliage, spreading a leafy canopy overhead. They were not gardens in the ordinary Western sense, through which one passed, far less orchards; but something peculiar to those climes, where Nature everywhere strews with lavish hand her flowers, and makes her gardens—where the garden bursts into orchard, and the orchard stretches into field, till, high up, olive and fig mingle with the darker cypress and pine. The stony road up Olivet wound along terraces covered with olives, whose silver and dark-green leaves rustled in the breeze. Here gigantic gnarled fig trees twisted themselves out of rocky soil; there clusters of palms raised their knotty stems high up into waving plumed tufts, or spread, bush like, from the ground, the rich coloured fruit bursting in clusters from the pod. Then there were groves of myrtles, pines, tall stately cypresses, and on the summit itself the gigantic cedars. To these shady retreats the inhabitants would often come from Jerusalem to take pleasure or to meditate, and there one of their most celebrated Rabbis (R. Jochanan ben Saccai) was at one time wont in preference to teach. Thither, also, Jesus with His disciples often resorted' (Edersheim, *The Temple*, p. 8).

LITERATURE.—J. Tobler, *Siloahquelle und Oelberg*, 1882; Stanley, *SP* 185 ff., 452 ff.; Robinson, *BRP* i. 274 ff.; *SWP*, 'Jerusalem' vol.; *PEFSt*, 1889, p. 174 ff.; Barclay, *City of the Great King*, Index; Porter, *Handbook to Syria*, *s.v.*; Thomson, *Land and Book*, i. 415 ff.; and for the traditions, Quaresmius, *Elucidatio Terræ Sanctæ*, ii. 277 ff. (with Robinson's note, *BRP* ii. 604 f.), together with the vols. of the Pal. Pilgrim Text Society. See also under JERUSALEM. C. WARREN.

OLIVET (from Lat. *olivetum*, an oliveyard).—This form has been given to the name of the Mount of Olives in AV at 2 S 15^{30} and Ac 1^{12}. It was taken from the Vulg. at the latter passage ('a Monte qui vocatur olìueti') by Wyclif, who has been followed by all the Eng. versions (including RV) except the Geneva ('the mount that is called the Olive hil'). In 2 S 15^{30} the Vulg. has 'David ascendebat Cliuum oliuarum'; it is Cov. who introduces 'Olivet' here, and it is also the form in the Douay version. RV changes into Olives. Amer. RV prefers Olivet to AV and RV 'the Mount of Olives' in Lk 19^{29} 21^{37}. See OLIVES, MOUNT OF.

OLYMPAS ('Ολυμπᾶς).—The name of a member of the Roman Church greeted by St. Paul in Ro 16^{15}. It is an abbreviated form, like several others in the chapter, being apparently shortened for *Olympiodorus*. He was commemorated Nov. 10.

OLYMPIUS ('Ολύμπιος).—An epithet of Zeus, derived from Mt. Olympus in Thessaly, the abode of the gods. Antiochus Epiphanes, who was occupied in building the magnificent temple of Zeus Olympius (whom he specially honoured, see art. JUPITER) at Athens (Polyb. xxvi. 10, 12), caused the temple at Jerusalem to be dedicated to the same divinity in December, B.C. 168 (2 Mac 6^2, cf. 1 Mac 1^{54-59}).

OMAR (אוֹמָר, perhaps = 'eloquent').—A grandson of Esau, Gn 36^{11} ('Ωμάν); one of the 'dukes' of Edom, v.^{15} ('Ωμάρ). Cf. the parallel passage 1 Ch 1^{36} ('Ωμάρ). The clan of which he is the eponym has not been identified.

OMEGA.—See ALPHA AND OMEGA.

OMER.—See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

OMRI (עָמְרִי).—**1.** A king of Israel. See following article. **2.** A descendant of Benjamin, 1 Ch 7^8 (B 'Αμερειά, A 'Αμαριά). **3.** One of the ancestors of a Judahite family living at Jerusalem, 1 Ch 9^4 (B 'Αμρεί, A 'Αμρί). **4.** A prince of Issachar in the time of David, 1 Ch 27^{18} (B 'Αμβρεί, A 'Αμαρί).

OMRI (עָמְרִי, LXX 'Αμβρ(ε)ί, Assyr. *Ḥumri* or *Ḥumria* *) was the first king of a dynasty which reigned nearly sixty years, and consisted of four successive rulers (B.C. 900–842). Omri first appears in biblical history as the general of Elah's army, at that time engaged in conducting siege operations against the Philistine town Gibbethon (1 K $16^{16ff.}$). On the other hand, at this very moment another military commander, Zimri, was carrying on a plot against the besotted and helpless Israelite king, Elah, who suffered assassination in his royal residence in Tirzah. This conspiracy, however, was only partially successful, as it never succeeded in gathering Israel under its standard. The nation preferred to rally round the more powerful as well as more loyal military rival, Omri, at Gibbethon, and made him king. Under that capable leader Tirzah was besieged and captured, Zimri was compelled to seek refuge in the fortress-citadel of the royal palace, and perished amid the flames kindled either by his own hands or by those of his foes. Omri, however, was not even now left without a competitor for the vacant throne. Yet the opposition of Tibni was probably soon crushed, and Omri commenced a reign not only longer but certainly of far greater importance than the brief narrative 1 K 16^{23-28} would lead us to suppose. Even in that short section the military character of the monarch is clearly revealed to us by the reference to his erection of the fortress-city Samaria as a royal residence and capital of the Northern kingdom, to take the place of the less defensible town of Tirzah. The superior strategic position of Samaria, a conical hill standing 400 ft. above the base of the broad valley, is evidenced by the long siege which it endured and the stout resistance which it offered to the armies of Sargon (B.C. 722), as well as to the Syrian hosts in the preceding century (1 K 20, 2 K $6^{24ff.}$). Its picturesque appearance is described by Isaiah (28^1) as 'Ephraim's proud crown on the summit of a fertile valley.' This place is said to have been purchased by Omri from Shemer (so also LXX) for two silver talents (or about £800).

Respecting the wars waged by Omri scarcely anything is stated in the biblical narrative. From 1 K 20^{34} we derive a valuable hint. Syria, the formidable foe of David, had remained quiescent since that monarch had inflicted upon it a series of overwhelming defeats. But in the days of the divided kingdom Syria became aggressive, and aggrandized itself at the expense of its weakened Southern neighbour. From 1 K 20^{34} we learn that Omri must have sustained some reverses in his war with Syria, and was compelled to cede some streets or quarters in Samaria to the Aramæan residents. But these reverses may have been—probably were—only temporary. In any case, they are wholly insufficient to warrant us in following Wellhausen in supposing that Israel became thereby reduced to vassalage by Aram * (see art. AHAB). Kittel is probably right in considering it fairly certain that Omri made heroic efforts to rid himself of the pressure of his Northern foe which he had inherited from his predecessors, but without complete success.† It is quite evident, however, that the struggle did not leave him in the least degree crippled. Otherwise he would not have been in a position to conduct a war of conquest against his South-eastern neighbour Chemosh-Melech, king of Moab (see below).

Moab, which had been subjugated by David, began to throw off its allegiance to Israel in the troubled years which followed the disruption. But the energetic military rule of Omri put an end to this independence. These facts we learn from the Stone of Dibân, erected by Mesha', son of Chemosh-Melech. We quote (on next page) from the original, which may be found in Smend and Socin's copy, with notes (*Inschrift des Königs Mesa*), in Driver's *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, Appendix to Introduction, p. lxxxvi ff., and in the art. MOAB, above, p. 404.

From this passage we can infer the importance of Omri's military operations in Moab. He acquired the district around Mehedeba; and so thoroughly was Moab subdued that it was compelled to pay an enormous tribute of wool (2 K 3^4. See Driver, *l.c.* p. lxxxix).

---

* The equivalence of Hebrew-Canaanite ע with Assyr. *ḥ* is illustrated in Schrader, *COT*^{2} i. p. 179. Thus עַזָּה is in Assyr. *Ḥaziti*, צָעִיר *ṣaḥru*, כְּנַעַן is *Kinaḥḥi* (Tel el-Amarna Inscr.), עִבְרִי probably = *Ḥabiri*, Ammî-rabi (Amraphel) = *Ḥammu-rabi*.

* *Jahrb. für deutsche Theol.* xx. p. 27, *Skizzen u. Vorarb.* i. p. 31. The view adopted above and also in the art. AHAB is also sustained by McCurdy, *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, i. p. 278.

† *Gesch. der Hebräer*, ii. p. 223 [Eng. tr. ii. 261].

4 עמר 4

5 י · מלך · ישראל · ויענו · את · מאב · ימן · רבן · כי יאנף · כמש · באר 5

6 צה | ויחלפה · בנה · ויאמר · גם · הא · אענו · את · מאב · בימי · אמר · כ 6

7 וארא · בה · ובבתה · וישראל · אבד · אבד · עלם · וירש · עמרי · את [אר] 7

8 ץ · מהדבא | וישב · בה · ימה · וחצי · ימי · בנה · ארבען · שת 8

'Omri was king of Israel and oppressed Moab a long time [lit. many days], for Chemosh was wroth with his land. And his son succeeded him [*i.e.* Omri], and he too said [=thought אָמַר בִלְבָבוֹ] "I will oppress Moab." In my time [*i.e.* of Mesha] he said thu[s]. But I saw [my desire] on him and his house, and Israel perished with an everlasting destruction.[*] So Omri obtained possession of the land of Mehēdeba, and (one) dwelt therein during his days and half the days of his son, forty years' . . .

The inscription also sheds a valuable light on the chronology of Omri's reign, since it shows that the period of his occupation of Moabite territory and of the occupation by his son Ahab covered the remainder of his own reign and half of his son Ahab's reign, making 40 years in all. It is of course not necessary to take חצי in a strict mathematical sense. On the other hand it is quite clear that the biblical chronology is at fault, since it ascribes to Omri a reign of only 12 years, and to Ahab's entire reign 22 years, making the *total* length of *both* reigns only 34 years. From these data of the Moabite Stone it is evident that we must extend considerably the reign of Omri. In the scheme set forth in Schrader's COT^2 ii. p. 322 ff., Omri's reign is reckoned to be 25 years (B.C. 900–875), ten years being deducted from the reign of Baasha. These dates harmonize better with (*a*) the results of Assyriology, (*b*) with the deep impression which Omri had produced in Western Asia by his military prowess. This impression was no fleeting one, but extended over a very long period. We have clear indication of this in the fact that Palestine was called (*mât*) *Bît Ḫumri*, or 'land of the house of Omri,' from the time of Shalmaneser II. (860) to that of Sargon (722–705). The usurper Jehu is called on Shalmaneser's black obelisk *Ja'ua abal Ḫumri*, 'Jehu son of Omri.' And no less deep was the impression produced in Israel and Judah. The reference to the 'statutes of Omri' in Mic 6^{16} is an indication of this, his name being coupled with that of his son Ahab. What is meant by this expression, and what forms of practice it is intended to cover, we do not know. Combining it with the phrase that 'he did evil more than all that were before him' (1 K 16^{25}), we are led to infer not only that he is judged in an unfavourable light, like Jeroboam and his successors, in accordance with later and stricter canons of Deuteronomic legalism, but also that in all probability the beginnings of Phœnician influence in religion, for which Ahab's reign became notorious, were already infecting the cultus of Israel in Samaria. To this the passage in Micah seems to point.

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

ON (אוֹן; B Αὖν, A Αὐνάν; Luc. Ἀμνάν).—A Reubenite associated with Dathan and Abiram in a rebellion against Moses, Nu 16^1 (JE).[†] There is reason to believe that the mention of On is due to textual corruption, for no such personage appears in the subsequent narrative, and the name is found nowhere else in the Old Testament. For the probable restoration of the text see KORAH, p. 12^b.

ON (אוֹן, אֹן, Ὤν).—A city in Lower Egypt, Gn $41^{45.50}$ 46^{20} (Potiphera, priest of On). In Ezk 30^{17} it occurs again, but punctuated אָוֶן AVEN (which see). On is the hieroglyphic *Anu*, the name of Heliopolis. In Jer 43^{13} the city is called Beth-shemesh, 'House of the Sun,' the hieroglyphic *Per Ra*, its sacred name. The name On seems gradually to have fallen into disuse; the Greeks called the place Ἡλιούπολις, from which the Coptic name is also derived. In the Bible, however, both Gr. and Copt. VSS retained the name On. LXX gives in Jer 43 [Gr. $50]^{13}$ τοὺς στύλους Ἡλίου πόλεως τοὺς ἐν Ὤν, and in Ex 1^{11} curiously adds to Pithom and Raamses Ὤν ἥ ἐστιν Ἡλίου πόλις as another city built by the children of Israel. The ruins of Heliopolis lie on the E. edge of the Delta, but outside the Delta proper, touching the edge of the desert, not far below the forking of the Nile. The city was built partly on the desert, partly on alluvium. Its site is now marked by a considerable mound surrounded by a massive crude brick wall. In the area occupied anciently by the temple there still stands an obelisk, erected by Usertesen I. of the 12th Dynasty, the base hardly above the level of the water that percolates from the canals; and though blocks from the ancient temple are still lying in numbers under the soil, the rise of the water-level makes it extremely difficult to recover them. On the fall of paganism the site was plundered of its building materials for the adornment of Alexandria, Cairo, and other towns in Lower Egypt. Entire obelisks had previously been removed to Alexandria (by Augustus), to Rome, and to Constantinople, and, with the exception of some monuments in museums and of the obelisk mentioned above as being still *in situ*, the chief monuments of Heliopolis now existing are the obelisks of Rome, Constantinople, London, and New York.

Anu was the capital of the 13th nome of Lower Egypt (which nome was probably bounded by the desert on the E., the Pelusiac branch of the Nile on the N., the Memphitic nome on the S., and the nome of Phacusa [20th] on the N.E.), but its great importance was sacerdotal, and due to its chief temple of Ra, the centre of Sun worship in Egypt, and the most important seat of learning in the country. Like other sacred centres, this city is found mentioned in some of the earliest inscriptions, dating from the 4th Dynasty. It is recorded of Usertesen I. (about B.C. 2500) that he built, *i.e.* rebuilt, the temple. Perhaps the greatest event in its early history was the temporary suppression of Ra worship and the substitution for it of Set worship by the Hyksos, as recorded in a papyrus of the Ramesside period, now in the British Museum. A contemporary papyrus (also in the British Museum), known in science as the Mathematical papyrus, and written in the reign of Apepa I., indicates that the Hyksos court sojourned sometimes at Heliopolis, sometimes at Zaru (Avaris?). These two documents show the great importance of Heliopolis at the time of the Hyksos, when Lower Egypt was a separate kingdom. Memphis apparently was less favoured by the Hyksos, though probably it was completely in their power, while Upper Egypt seems only to have acknowledged their suzerainty. On the expulsion of the Hyksos by the first king of the 18th Dynasty, Ra worship was restored, and the temple of Ra at Heliopolis was rebuilt or re-adorned long before any other temple in or near the Delta. Monuments of Tahutmes III. have been found here, while elsewhere in Lower Egypt outside Memphis nothing is found of the New Kingdom earlier than Amenhotep III., whose cartouche occurs at Bubastis and Athribis. Like many of his predecessors, Ramses III. made great gifts to this temple, and the pious Ethiopian invader, Piankhi, in his great inscription from Gebel Barkal, dwells on the ceremonies that he performed here. In Roman times it fell rapidly from its high estate; even Strabo notes its partial desertion. It lay on the road from Syria to Memphis, and thus was peculiarly exposed to attack from the most formidable quarter: important battles have been fought on this site again and again, and even in modern times.

---

[*] This implies that Ahab, son of Omri, was compelled to relinquish his hold of Moab. This probably took place during his wars with Syria. Nevertheless he did not lose all. To identify the 'son' (lines 6 and 8) with Jehoram, thus ignoring the two intervening reigns of Ahab and Ahaziah (cf. CHRONOLOGY, vol. i. p. 402), is highly improbable. The campaign of 2 K 3 against Moab was an attempt to retain the slight remnant of power which Mesha now threw off. Comp. McCurdy, vol. i. p. 282.

[†] B. W. Bacon, who seeks here, as in many other instances, to break up JE into its constituents, suggests that, according to J, On the son of Peleth (v.^{1d}) and Korah (not a descendant of Levi, as P makes him in v.^{1a}, but) a kinsman of Caleb (cf. 1 Ch 2^{43}), were the leaders of the *lay* revolt against Moses, while the leaders in E are Dathan and Abiram (v.$^{1c\alpha}$). See, further, NUMBERS, p. 570^b.

It is difficult to say to what period the priest **Potiphera**, the father-in-law of Joseph, belonged. His name being compounded with that of Ra, shows that it does not date from Hyksos times, 15-16th Dynasties, when Set overshadowed everything. But the form of the name was very common from the 23rd Dynasty onward (*c.* B.C. 800), though hardly known as early even as the 20th. Zaphenath-paneah (Gn 41^{45}) is also a form of name belonging almost solely to the same late period (see PHARAOH).

The Sun-god was worshipped at Heliopolis first in the form of Ra; secondly, as Tum, the setting sun; thirdly, as Harakhti, the hawk of the horizon, called by the Greeks Harmakhis; fourthly, as Khepera, figured by a scarabæus, and symbolizing the vivifying and reproductive force of the sun. Of sacred animals here the bull Mnevis was the most important; and the heron, called *bnw*, was the original of the famous phœnix. From the earliest times obelisks were connected with the Sun worship (cf. Jer 43^{13} [Beth-shemesh]). There was also a sacred pool or spring, mentioned especially by Piankhi, 'in which Ra was wont to wash his face'; hence the Arab. name for this locality is *'Ain esh-shems*, 'spring of the sun.' In Christian story this is the spring in which the Virgin washed her son while resting in the shade of an acacia tree on her journey into Egypt. The latest successor to the tree is still shown in an enclosure at *Matarîyeh*. See AVEN, BETH-SHEMESH.
F. LL. GRIFFITH.

ONAM (אוֹנָם).—1. The eponym of a Horite clan, Gn 36^{23} ('Ωμάν) = 1 Ch 1^{40} (B 'Ωνάν, A 'Ωνάμ). 2. A son of Jerahmeel, 1 Ch 2$^{26.28}$ (B 'Ωζόμ, A Οὐνομά). See ONAN, footnote.

ONAN (אוֹנָן, Αὐνάν).—A son of Judah, Gn 38^{4} 46^{12}, Nu 26^{19}, 1 Ch 2^{3}. After the decease of his elder brother, Er, he was instructed by his father to contract a levirate marriage with Tamar. The device by which he evaded the object of this marriage 'was evil in the sight of the LORD, and He slew him,' Gn 38$^{8-10}$ (J). It is impossible to disentangle from this narrative what was the action of certain individuals and what is tribal history. Probably Er and Onan both stand for Judahite clans which at an early period, from what cause we know not, became extinct.* The present form of the narrative discloses a desire to impress the duty of marriage with a deceased brother's wife (see Dillm. and Holzinger, *ad loc.*).
J. A. SELBIE.

ONESIMUS ('Ονήσιμος) of Colossæ (Col 4^{9}), a slave of Philemon (Philem ^{16}), probably a Phrygian by race, but bearing a Greek name which from its signification 'helpful' was often bestowed upon slaves (cf. Zahn, *Einl.* i. p. 324; Lightfoot, *Philemon*, p. 376 note). 'Helpful' had, however, proved unprofitable (ἄχρηστος, Philem ^{11}); he wronged his master, perhaps misusing money intrusted to him (cf. Lk 16^{2}), perhaps stealing from him, and ran away from Colossæ either to Cæsarea or, more probably, to Rome. There he gained access to St. Paul in his imprisonment; who 'begat' him in Christ and made him profitable (εὔχρηστος, Philem ^{11}) once more. With such goodwill, indeed, did he do service that St. Paul would fain have kept him to minister to himself; but, feeling it a duty to return him to his master, he wrote the Epistle to Philemon, appealing to him to receive his slave, now become a brother worthy of love and trust, and himself undertaking to refund any money which Philemon had lost through the action of Onesimus (Philem $^{8-20}$). This letter was probably intrusted to Tychicus, who was bearing the Colossian letter, and a special word of commendation of Onesimus was sent to the whole Church (Col 4^{9}).

The result of St. Paul's appeal is unknown, but subsequent tradition treated Onesimus as a prominent and active member of the Church. These traditions are very various: he was identified with a bishop of Berœa (*Apost. Constit.* vii. 46), with the bishop of Ephesus in the time of Ignatius (*Eph.* i.); he was said to have preached in Spain, and the apocryphal Acts of the Spanish sisters Xanthippe and Polyxena are written in his name (c. 38; *Texts and Studies*, ii. 3, 'Apocrypha Anecdota'): he was said to have been martyred either at Puteoli (Euthalius) or at Rome ('Mart. Ign.' *Roman Acts*, c. 10). But the name was so common, not only in classical times for slaves, but also in later Christian use (Smith, *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, *s.v.*), that various Onesimi have probably been confused, and it is impossible to extricate any certain fact. His memory was observed by the Latin Church on Feb. 16, by the Greek Church on Feb. 15, and also in conjunction with Philemon, Appia, and Archippus, on Nov. 22: the various traditions will be found in the *Acta Sanctorum* (ii. 855-859) and the Greek *Menæa* (pp. 89-92) for those days. A most interesting modern romance of his life will be found in *Onesimus*, by the author of *Philochristus* (London, 1882).
W. LOCK.

ONESIPHORUS ('Ονησίφορος, 'profit-bringer').—A friend of St. Paul at Rome, mentioned twice only in the NT, 2 Ti 1$^{16-18}$ 4^{19}. From the former of these passages it appears that Onesiphorus when he arrived in Rome and learnt that St. Paul was in captivity, sought him out diligently, and 'refreshed' him, not with bodily nourishment only, but with every token of friendship. Of this friendship St. Paul retained a very lively recollection, the more so that others, the Asiatics Phygelus and Hermogenes, had deserted him (2 Ti 1[15]); and in writing to Timothy recalled further the many good offices which Onesiphorus had performed at Ephesus, of which Timothy from his residence there would know 'better' (βέλτιον) than St. Paul or any one else could tell him. It should be noted that these offices are not represented as extended specially to St. Paul himself, as the AV, by the insertion of 'unto me,' implies; nor is the use of the verb διακονέω sufficient warrant for the belief that Onesiphorus occupied the office of a *deacon* at Ephesus (see Wieseler, *Chronol.* p. 463).

---

* Or at least seriously weakened. Er appears in 1 Ch 4^{21} as a sub-clan of Shelah, and Onan is perhaps = Onam of 1 Ch 2^{26}, a sub-clan of Jerahmeel.

It is not perfectly clear whether, at the time when St. Paul wrote, Onesiphorus was alive or dead; but the references to his 'house' rather than to himself in 2 Ti 1[16] 4[19], and still more the words of the prayer in 2 Ti 1[18] 'The Lord grant unto him to find mercy of the Lord in that day,' make it most probable that he was now dead (so de Wette, Huther, Alford, Ellicott, Fairbairn, v. Soden). If so, the passage gains an additional interest from the use that has been made of it in connexion with the argument for prayers for the dead. Thus it is appealed to in support of such a practice by Bishop Archibald Campbell in his anonymously published book on *The Intermediate or Middle State of Departed Souls*, 1713, p. 72; and amongst more recent writers by Plumptre (*The Spirits in Prison*, pp. 128, 266) and Luckock (*After Death*, p. 77, *The Intermediate State*, p. 211). Others, as Barrett (*The Intermediate State*, p. 113), find in the words no more than 'a pious wish.' On the whole question it may be sufficient to quote the carefully weighed words of Hammond (*Paraphrase and Annot. on the NT, in loco*): 'How far it may be fit to pray for them that are departed this life, needs not to be disputed here. 'Tis certain that some measure of bliss, which shall at the day of judgment be vouchsafed the Saints, when their bodies and souls shall be reunited, is not till then enjoyed by them, and therefore may safely and fitly be prayed for them (in the same manner as *Christ* prays to his *Father, to glorifie him with that glory which he had before the world was*). And this is a very distant thing from that prayer which is now used in the Romish Church for deliverance from temporal pains, founded in their doctrine of *Purgatory*, which would no way be conclusible from hence, though *Onesiphorus*, for whom Saint *Paul* here prays for *mercy*, had been now dead.'

Winer (*RWB* ii. 175) quotes a tradition from Fabricius (*Lux. Evang.* p. 117) that Onesiphorus became bishop of Corone in Messenia.

G. MILLIGAN.

ONIARES.—1 Mac 12[19] (AV). See ARIUS.

ONIAS ('Ονίας, of which Jastrow suggests a correspondence with אֲנִיָּא 'a man of Oni' [אוֹנִי = אוֹנוֹ Neh 7[37]], though he appears to prefer the better derivation from חוּנְיָא or חוֹנְיוֹ, *Menach.* xiii. 10, an abbrev. of נְחוּנְיָא). 1. ONIAS I. was the son of Jaddua (Jos. *Ant.* XI. viii. 7), and father of Simon the Just (*ib.* XII. ii. 4; Sir 50[1]; see, however, Herzfeld, *Gesch.* ii. 189 ff.; Zunz, *Vorträge*², 38). In 1 Mac 12[7] he is said to have received a friendly letter from the Spartan king Arius ("Αρειος, more correctly 'Αρεύς; see *Corp. Inscript. Attic.* ii. 352). He must therefore have been a contemporary of Areus I., who reigned from B.C. 309 to 365 (Diod. xx. 29). Areus II. died at the age of eight in B.C. 255 (Pausanias, iii. 6. 6), and, as no other Areus is known, the evidence is strongly against Josephus, who represents the communication as having been made to Onias III. The alleged letter is given in two forms in Jos. *Ant.* XII. iv. 10 and in 1 Mac 12[20-23].

2. ONIAS II. was the son of Simon the Just (Jos. *Ant.* XII. iv. 1). On the death of his father he was disqualified by youth for immediate succession to the high priesthood, which, however, he afterwards held during the greater part of the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes. He is not mentioned in the Apocr., but Josephus (*Ant.* XII. iv. 1–5) describes how advantage was taken of his imprudence by his nephew to found a family whose civil influence exceeded for a time that of the titular high priest.

3. ONIAS III. was the son of Simon II. (*ib.* XII. iv. 10), whom he succeeded in B.C. 198 or 195. His loyalty to the Syrian over-rule was such that Seleucus Philopator bore the cost of 'the services of the sacrifices' (2 Mac 3[3]). But he was soon involved in a quarrel with Simon the Benjamite, who held in the temple a high office, similar in part to that of the ædileship. Simon became impatient of the priest's control, and in despite informed the Syrian military governor that the temple was full of treasures, which lay at the mercy of any despoiler. Seleucus quickly despatched Heliodorus to seize this money, but the latter is said (2 Mac 3[24]) to have been deterred by an apparition, and to have returned to Antioch in dismay. Simon ascribed the failure to the high priest's trickery (2 Mac 4[1]), and the quarrel became so bitter that the latter decided at length to proceed in person to the king. Scarcely had he reached Antioch when Seleucus was assassinated; and, in the confusion that followed, the high priesthood was secured by purchase by Jason, the brother of Onias, and Onias himself was detained at Antioch. Jason proceeded at once to redeem his promise to thoroughly Hellenize Judæa (2 Mac 4[9-15]); but in B.C. 171 he was deposed by Antiochus, whose favour had been won by the larger gifts of Menelaus (2 Mac 4[24]), the brother of Jason (Jos. *Ant.* XII. v. 1), or more probably of Simon (2 Mac 4[23]). Menelaus was rebuked by Onias for sacrilege in stealing some of the vessels of the temple (2 Mac 4[32f.]), and in revenge had him decoyed from his refuge in the sanctuary at Daphne and put to death (2 Mac 4[34]). The account of Onias' murder is regarded by some as apocryphal; see Willrich, *Juden u. Griechen vor d. makkab. Erhebung*, 1895, p. 71 ff., Wellh. *GGA*, 1895, p. 950 f., *IJG*³, 1897, p. 244 ff., cf. Baethgen, *ZAW*, 1886, p. 278 ff.; but see, on the other side, Büchler, *Die Tobiaden u. Oniaden*, 1899, pp. 106 ff., 240 f., 275 f., 353 ff. Josephus simply states (*Ant.* XII. v. 1) that Jason succeeded to the high priesthood on the death of Onias.

4. ONIAS, generally reckoned as IV. though it is not likely that he ever acted as high priest in Jerusalem. On the death of his father Onias III., he was too young for the succession; and, afterwards finding no means of securing the rights of his birth, he took refuge with Ptolemy Philometor in Egypt (Jos. *Ant.* XII. ix. 7). About B.C. 154 (Grätz, iii. 34) he obtained from the king, who wished to conciliate the Jews and use them in his wars with Syria, the gift of a disused temple of Bubastis Agria (the cat-headed goddess Bast or Bastet; see Herod. ii. 137, and *Egypt. Exp. Fund*, Eighth Memoir, 3 f.) in Leontopolis, and reconstructed it after the model of the temple in Jerus. (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. iii. 1–3). The foundation was defended as a fulfilment of the prophecy of Is 19[18f.]; and a complete temple service was instituted, which was continued until A.D. 73, when the temple was closed by the Romans (Jos. *Wars*, VII. x. 2–4). From *Menachoth* xiii. 10 it appears that only partial sanction was given to the services of this temple by the Jewish authorities at home, whilst in the opinion even of the Egyp. Jews it never entirely superseded the temple at Jerusalem

(Jos. *c. Ap.* i. 7; Phil. *Opp.* ed. Mang. ii. 646). Onias was afterwards appointed civil governor of the district in which his temple was situated, and two of his sons received high commands in the Egyp. army (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. x. 4).

R. W. Moss.

ONIAS, REGION OF (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. viii. 1; *BJ* I. ix. 4, VII. x. 2), used loosely of the part of Lower Egypt that contained Jewish settlements, but strictly of the district in which was the temple built by Onias IV. Its position is variously described by Josephus, as in the nome or province of Heliopolis (*Ant.* XII. ix. 7; Ptol. IV. 5. 3); as at Leontopolis in the said nome (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. iii. 2); and as 180 stadia from Memphis (*BJ* VII. x. 3). The reference consequently cannot be to the nome of Leontopolis, but to a district of the same name within that of Heliopolis. The name itself was not uncommon, though there is no evidence of its application to any site within the nome in question. From Memphis to the city of Heliopolis the distance approximates closely to that given by Josephus; but his language is vague, and allows the assumption that he was not calculating the distance to the temple of Onias, but to the chief town of the province within which the latter was situated. North-east of Heliopolis, at a distance of 24 miles, is the town of Belbeis, which has been suggested as the site of the temple, because it was a place of the worship of the goddess Sekhet, who has been identified with Bubastis Agria (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. iii. 2; *Egypt. Exp. Fund,* Seventh Memoir, p. 20); but Belbeis is both in another nome, and at too great a distance from Memphis. Less than 10 miles north of Heliopolis, and within that province, is a mound, Tell el-Yahudiyeh, in the neighbourhood of which the remains of a great Jewish cemetery have been found (*Egypt. Exp. Fund,* Seventh Memoir, 51–53, where, however, F. Ll. Griffith pronounces against the identification with the site of the city of Onias on the ground of the general character of the antiquities met with, though on p. 19 Naville strongly supports it). The district is full of traditions of a powerful Jewish settlement; and within its limits, if not on this particular mound, it is almost certain that Onias built his temple.

R. W. Moss.

ONIONS (בְּצָלִים *bĕẓālîm,* κρόμμυον, *cæpe,* Arab. *baṣal*).—This word occurs only once in the Bible (Nu 11^{5}) in connexion with fish, cucumbers, melons, leeks, and garlic. The latter two are species of the same genus, Allium. The onion is A. Cepa, L. It is universally cultivated in the East, and enters into many cooked dishes and salads. The onions of Syria and Palestine have a very sweet taste, and, when cooked, do not impart to the breath the strong odour which so often forbids the use of the onion as an article of diet elsewhere. Working men often make their midday meal from a loaf or two of bread and a couple of raw onions. It is customary to skewer bits of meat alternating with segments of onion and tomato, and broil them over glowing coals. With fresh native bread they make a most savoury and appetizing meal to persons accustomed to them.

G. E. Post.

ONO (אוֹנוֹ, once Neh 7^{37} אֹנוֹ).—This city is said in 1 Ch 8^{12} (B Ὠνάν, A Ὠνώ) to have been built by the sons of Benjamin at an early period, and the Talmud (Mishna, *Erakhin,* ix. 6) states that it was fortified by Joshua. There is no mention of it, however, in the OT except in books written after the Captivity, when it was inhabited by Benjamites, Ezr 2^{33} (B Ὠνών, A Ὠνώ), Neh 6^{2} ('the plain of Ono' בִּקְעַת א׳, B πεδίον Ἐνώ, A π. Ὠνά), 7^{37} (B Ὠνώ, A Ὠνών), 11^{35} (א$^{c.a.}$ Ὠνώ, BAא* om.). It is noticed with Lod (which see), and in the Talmud the two towns with their adjoining territory are included in the designation גיא החרשים 'valley of the craftsmen' (Jerus. *Megillah,* i. 1; cf. 1 Ch 4^{14}, Neh 11^{35}). Ono is the modern *Kefr 'Ânâ,* north of *Ludd* (the ancient Lod or Lydda). Its antiquity is shown by its being noticed, along with the last-named place, in the lists of Tahutmes III. *c.* B.C. 1600.

LITERATURE.—*SWP* vol. ii. sheet xiii.; van de Velde, *Mem.* 337; Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* 86; Guérin, *Judée,* i. 319 ff.; W. Max Müller, *Asien u. Europa,* 83; Buhl, *GAP* 196 f.; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 160 f.

C. R. Conder.

ONUS (Ὠνούς), the form in which the name Ono (wh. see), a town of Benjamin, appears in 1 Es 5^{22}.

ONYCHA (שְׁחֵלֶת *shĕḥēleth,* ὄνυξ, *onyx*).—The operculum of a shell-fish, called by the Gr. and Lat. writers ὄνυξ, *onyx,* from its resemblance to a nail. When burned it emits a pungent, aromatic odour, from the combustion of the animal matter which it contains. The name, doubtless, applied to the opercula of many species of the shells of the Strombus tribe in the Mediterranean and Red Seas. Onycha* is mentioned as one of the components of the sacred perfume (Ex 30^{34}).

G. E. Post.

ONYX.—This is the rendering of the Heb. שֹׁהַם *shōham,* in AV and RV text (see below), but it is impossible to be certain of its correctness. There are no cognate words in Heb. literature to throw light on the inquiry. The attempts to find an etymology in other languages of the same family fail absolutely or fall short at the critical point. The Arab. سخم is, indeed, used in the sense 'to be pale,' which would suit the onyx fairly well; but that meaning is only the secondary, not the radical one. The district سخيم, *Socheim,* in Yemen, produced a specially fine onyx; but there are two weighty objections against the derivation thus suggested, namely, the almost invariable use of the article with the Heb. word (הַשֹּׁהַם), and the impossibility of ה representing خ. Schrader's conjecture, so far as it goes, is decidedly the most helpful. He proposes (*COT*^{2} i. p. 30) to identify the *shōham* with the Assyro-Babylonian *sâmtu,* which means 'dark,' and is used as the name of a valuable stone from Melukhkha in Upper Babylonia. Sayce (*Expos. Times,* vii. [1896] p. 306) accepts the connexion of the two words, and boldly adds, 'a blue-green stone, probably the turquoise.' In this last particular he is too hasty. Fried. Delitzsch (*Assyr. Handwb.* p. 488*b*) holds that the adj. *sâmtu* means 'dark coloured': it is used of clouds, and of a fruit which is neither white nor black. If this is so,—and Pinches agrees with Schrader and Delitzsch,—*sâmtu* would not be the right word for the turquoise.

The Versions are distinctly unhelpful. The Pesh. and Targ. have 'beryl.' The LXX is altogether inconsistent with itself: Gn 2^{12} πράσινος; Ex 28^{20} βηρύλλιον; Ex 25^{7} 35^{9} σάρδιος; 28^{9} 35^{27} 39^{13} σμάραγδος; Ezk 28^{13} σάπφειρος; Job 28^{16} ὄνυξ; 1 Ch 29^{2} σόομ. Aq. uses σαρδόνυξ at Gn 2^{12} and ὄνυξ in Ex; Josephus (*Ant.* III. vii. 5, and *BJ* V. v. 7) has σαρδόνυξ and ὄνυξ. Vulg. usually employs *onychinus,* but at Ezk 28^{13} *beryl,* and at Job 28^{16} *sardonyx.* Our AV adheres to *onyx*; but, curiously enough, the RV, whilst retaining this in the text, has placed '*or* beryl' in the marg. of some of the passages: cf. Ex 35^{9} 39^{6}, Ezk 28^{13} with Gn 2^{12}, Ex 28$^{9.20}$ 35$^{13.27}$, Job 28^{16}, 1 Ch 29^{2}. The uncertainty of the Versions reappears in the writings of the expositors. 'Beryl,' 'carbuncle,' 'chalcedony,' 'onyx,' and 'turquoise' have all had their adherents. So far as the Bible is concerned, two points are clear. (1) The *shōham* stone was esteemed of considerable value. Job 28^{16} calls it 'the precious *shōham*.' Ezk 28^{13} names it amongst the valuable stones which bedecked the king of Tyre. It is the one gem which finds mention when the offerings of the Israelites are enumerated (Ex $35^{9.27}$), and when the Chronicler recounts the treasures prepared by David for the temple (1 Ch 29^{2}). (2) It was well adapted for engraving. Two *shōham* stones were to be engraven with the names of the twelve tribes, six names on each, and were to be set on the shoulder-pieces of the high priest's ephod, Ex $28^{9.12}$ (see art. EPHOD). Again, the middle stone in the fourth row of jewels on the high priest's breastplate, bearing the name of one of the tribes, possibly Asher or Manasseh, was a *shōham* (see art. BREASTPLATE OF THE HIGH PRIEST).

---

* The form 'onycha' is the accus. of Gr. ὄνυξ, Lat. *onyx,* taken by Wyclif and Tindale apparently as a nom., and adopted by all the Eng. versions (except the Geneva, which has 'cleare gumme'). Cf. Sir 24^{15}.

Streeter appears to think (*Prec. Stones*, p. 214) that the claims of the onyx are negatived by the fact that the *shōham* 'is classed with the ruby, topaz, diamond, chrysolite, jasper, sapphire, and chrysoprase.' But the argument is inconclusive. And, seeing that the *onyx* satisfies the two conditions named above,* we must be content in this art. to describe it. Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xxxvii. 24) explains the name *ὀνύχιον*, from *ὄνυξ*, 'the finger-nail,' by quoting Sudines, 'in gemma esse candorem, unguis humani similitudinem,' and Theoph. (*de Lap.* lvii.) describes its appearance accurately: *τὸ δ' ὀνύχιον, μικτὴ λευκῷ καὶ φαιῷ παρ' ἄλληλα.* It belongs to the stratified class of silicon stones. It lends itself with great readiness to the gem-cutter's and engraver's art, not only by reason of its toughness, moderate hardness, and absence of grain, but also because the design, cut in one stratum, is thrown into relief by the background of another colour. 'The best stones [for engraving] are those with a white layer on a dark ground. They are still better when there is a third layer above, as white with a reddish or brownish tinge.' In the Oriental onyx there are three layers: that at the top, red, blue, or brown; that in the middle, white; then a jet black or a deep brown. This stone was much used for signets during the Roman empire. But it must be admitted that an unstratified gem is really more suited for intaglio work. No precious stone varies more in value. King (*Antique Gems*, p. 11) speaks of one the size of a crown piece selling for £30. Every one is familiar with the specimens that are worth only a few pence.

Occult qualities were formerly ascribed to this, as to other gems. Marbodus, master of the Cathedral school of Anjou (1067–1081), and afterwards bishop of Rennes, writes of the onyx as follows:—

'Called by the onyx round the sleeper stand
Black dreams, and phantoms rise, a grisly band:
Whoso on neck or hand this stone displays
Is plagued with lawsuits and with civil frays;
Round infants' necks if tied, so nurses shew,
Their tender mouths with slaver overflow.'

And the same good bishop's *Cives Cœlestis Patriæ* sets forth the symbolism of the sardonyx, which may properly be considered a mere variety of the onyx—

'SARDONYX, with its threefold hue,
Sets forth the inner man to view;
Where dark humility is seen,
And chastity, with snow-white sheen,
And scarlet marks his joy to bleed
In Martyrdom, if faith shall need.'

LITERATURE.—The books most worth consulting are King's *Antique Gems*; Middleton's *Engraved Gems*; Streeter's *Precious Stones*. Clapton's *Precious Stones of the Bible* is not of much use.

J. TAYLOR.

---

* Flinders Petrie thinks *shōham* is the green felspar; see art. STONES (PRECIOUS).

OPEN.—This verb (like *aperio* and *ἀνοίγνυμι*) is occasionally used in AV (though the use was then archaic) in the sense of 'make known,' 'disclose.' Thus Jer 20^{12} 'Unto thee have I opened my cause' (גִּלִּיתִי, LXX *ἀπεκάλυψα*, Vulg. *revelavi*, Wyc. 'shewide,' Cov. [wrongly] 'committe,' Gen. 'opened,' Douay and RV 'revealed'*); 2 Es 10^{49} 'Of these things which have chanced, these are to be opened unto thee' (*hæc erant tibi aperienda*); 13^{21} 'The interpretation of the vision shall I shew thee, and I will open unto thee the thing that thou hast required' (*adaperiam tibi*); 2 Mac 12^{41} 'who had opened the things that were hid' (*φανερὰ ποιῶν*; RV 'who maketh manifest'); Lk 24^{32} 'while he opened to us the Scriptures' (*διήνοιγεν*); Ac 17^{3} 'Paul . . . reasoned with them out of the scriptures, opening and alleging that Christ must needs have suffered' (*διανοίγων*); He 4^{13} 'All things are naked and opened unto the eyes of him with whom we have to do' (*τετραχηλισμένα*,† RV 'laid open before'). Examples in contemporary and earlier writers are frequent: Dt 29^{29} Tind. 'the secrettes pertcyne unto the Lorde oure God and the thinges that are opened perteyne unto us'; Is 2^{1} Cov. 'Morover this is the worde that was opened unto Esaye the sonne of Amos, upon Iuda and Ierusalem'; Mt 10^{26} Tind. 'There is no thinge so close that shall not be openned' (Wyc. 'schewid,' Gen. 'disclosed,' Rhem. 'revealed'); 16^{17} Tind. 'fleshe and bloud hath not opened unto the that' (Rhem. 'revealed it to thee'); so Lk 2^{35} 10^{21}, Jn 12^{38} ('To whom ys the arme of the Lorde opened?'), 1 P 5^{1} [all 'open' in Tind., 'reveal' in Rhem. and AV]; Jn 15^{15} 'all things that I have heard of my father I have opened to you' (Rhem. 'notified,' Wyc. and AV 'made knowen'). Cf. Lk 19^{heading} in Rhem. NT, 'In Iericho he lodgeth in the house of Zachæus the Publicane, and against the murmuring Iewes openeth the reasons of his so doing'; Gosson, *Schoole of Abuse* (Arber's ed. p. 27), 'Chiron was . . . a Reader of Phisicke, by opening the natures of many simples'; Lever, *Sermons* (Arber, p. 140), 'By God's ordinaunce the scriptures and the preachers of God do open and declare that ye be all synners.'

We have the same use of the adj. in 1 Ti 5^{24} 'Some men's sins are open beforehand, going before to judgment' (*πρόδηλοί εἰσι*, Vulg. *manifesta sunt*). The AV is from Tindale, the RV gives 'are evident.' Cf. Ac 2^{20} Wyc. 'Befor that the greet and the opun day of the lord come' (*ἐπιφανῆ*, Rhem. 'manifest,' AV and RV 'notable'); He 7^{14} Wyc. 'It is opene that oure lord is borun of iuda' (*πρόδηλον*; Tind. and others, including AV and RV, 'evident,' Rhem. 'manifest').

J. HASTINGS.

OPEN PLACE.—1. In AV of Gn 38^{14} Tamar is said to have taken her seat 'in an open place,' but undoubtedly the correct rendering of בְּפֶתַח עֵינַיִם (LXX *πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις Αἰνάν*) is that of RV, 'in the gate of Enaim'; so also read in v.^{21} with RV 'at

---

* In Job 38^{17} the same Heb. verb is translated 'opened,' and RV gives 'revealed' as here; but it is probable, as the reference is to gates ('Have the gates of death been opened unto thee?'), that it is rather a mistrans. than an archaism. The LXX has *ἀνοίγονται*; Vulg. *apertæ sunt*; both Wyc. and Cov. have 'opened.'

† The meaning of this word is known, but it is not easy to see the exact metaphorical use here made of it. The verb *τραχηλίζω* comes from *τράχηλος*, the 'neck,' round which a millstone might be hung (Mt 18^{6}, Mk 9^{42}, Luke 17^{2}), or a yoke placed (Ac 15^{10}), or on which one may affectionately fall (Lk 15^{20}, Ac 20^{37}), or which may be exposed to the executioner (Ro 16^{4}). The verb (which is not found in LXX, and here only in NT) follows the last-named use of *τράχηλος* (possibly through *τραχηλισμός*, a technical term for the grip of a wrestler on his adversary's neck). It is used by Philo freely in the sense of 'bringing to one's feet,' 'having at one's mercy'; and so in this passage it is probably more than laid bare (as if the neck were twisted back and exposed to view), rather as Rendall (whose tr. is 'downcast') 'bowed down with remorse and shame.'

Enaim' for 'openly' of AV. See art. ENAIM. 2. In 1 K 22^{10}=2 Ch 18^{9} Ahab and Jehoshaphat have their thrones set up 'in an open (AV 'a void') place' (AVm 'a floor,' RVm 'a threshing-floor') at the entrance of the gate of Samaria. The Heb. בְּגֹרֶן is certainly peculiar, and attempts have been made to emend the text. Klostermann, followed by Kittel (in *SBOT*), instead of MT מְלֻבָּשִׁים בְּגָדִים בְּגֹרֶן would read מְלֻבָּ' בִּגְדֵי כְבֹדָם ('clothed in their robes of state'); Wellhausen (in Bleek^{4}, 249 Anm. 2) thinks בְּגֹרֶן is a dittography of בְּגָדִים, and would simply omit it. This is perhaps favoured by the LXX of 1 K 22^{10}, which reads merely *ἔνοπλοι ἐν ταῖς πύλαις* (A *πύλεσιν*) *Σαμαρείας*, although in 2 Ch 18^{9} it has *ἐνδεδυμένοι στολάς, καθήμενοι ἐν τῷ εὐρυχώρῳ θύρας πύλης Σαμαρείας*, which is a *verbatim* rendering of the present MT in the latter passage. The Syr. VS seems to point to בְּגָדִים בְּרֻדִּים ('variegated robes'), and this is adopted by Bertheau, but the word בְּרֻדִּים is used elsewhere (Gn $31^{10.\,12}$, Zec $6^{3.\,6}$) only of animals. Other conjectural emendations are בִּגְדֵי אַרְגָּמָן 'purple robes' (Kamphausen), בִּגְדֵי נֶשֶׁק 'military equipment' (Benzinger, founding upon LXX *ἔνοπλοι*). With or without בְּגֹרֶן, the scene of Micaiah's interview with Ahab and Jehoshaphat is clearly marked as the open space that would be found before the gate of Samaria (cf. Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* p. 132). J. A. SELBIE.

OPHAI.—See EPHAI.

OPHEL (הָעֹפֶל, always, except in Is 32^{14} and Mic 4^{8}, with def. art.; LXX *Ὠφαλ, Ὄφαλ, Ὄφελ, Ὀφλά, Ὀπλά*, Jos. *Ὀφλᾶς*).—The name means 'swelling' or 'bulge.' It is used in Dt 28^{27} and 1 S 5^{8} for 'emerods,' and in 2 K 5^{24} of a hill probably in the neighbourhood of Samaria. In the other places where the article is used, it refers to a site south of the temple of Jerusalem; 2 Ch 27^{3} 'On the wall of Ophel he (Jotham) built much'; 2 Ch 33^{14} Manasseh 'compassed about Ophel and raised it up a very great height'; in Neh $3^{26.\,27}$ 11^{21} it appears as the dwelling-place of the Nethinim.

Josephus in the parallel passages does not mention Ophel by name. He states that Jotham built very great towers, such as were almost impregnable (*Ant.* IX. xi. 2), and that Manasseh built very lofty towers and strengthened the outlying forts.

One may search in vain for any pronounced natural swelling of ground south of the temple area at the present day to account for the term *Ophel*; but if this word may be applied to an artificial mound, the spot where it should be found can be at once indicated by pointing to the source of the water supply at the Virgin's Fountain and the secret passage in the bowels of Ophel, through which it was obtainable within the city.

The site of Ophel south of the temple enclosure is indicated exactly by the accounts given in the Book of Nehemiah. The Nethinim who dwelt in Ophel repaired the city wall over against the water-gate towards the east and the tower that lieth out. 'After them the Tekoites repaired another piece over against the great tower that lieth out, even unto the wall of Ophel' (Neh $3^{26.\,27}$). At the dedication of the walls the company that came along the southern walls to the temple, when at the fountain gate, 'went up by the stairs of the city of David, at the going up of the wall above the house of David, even unto the water-gate eastward' (Neh 12^{37}). This places the water-gate close to the southern end of the temple, and Ophel was close to the water-gate.

Josephus in speaking of the southern wall of Jerusalem, and moving from west to east, describes its bending above the fountain of Siloam, where it also bends again fronting the east at Solomon's pool, and reaches as far as a certain place called the Ophlas, where it was joined to the eastern cloister of the temple (*BJ* V. iv. 2). John held the temple and the parts thereto adjoining for a great way, as also the Ophlas (V. vi. 1). The next day they set fire to the repository of the archives, to Acra, to the council house, and to the place called the Ophlas (VI. vi. 3).

It can thus be ascertained for certain that Ophel was situated on the eastern hill on which Jerusalem is built, somewhere between the southern end of the temple and Siloam. This is a spur which becomes narrow to the south until above Siloam it ends abruptly and precipitously. On this spur also, according to the account in the Book of Nehemiah, are the sepulchres of David, the house of the mighty, the city of David, and the house of David, so that this must be identical with Zion; but there are other indications elsewhere in the OT and in Josephus that the ancient Jerusalem was identical with the Acra which is north-west of the temple on the same hill as the traditional Holy Sepulchre. The only solution appears to be in the dual notion of the ancient Jerusalem, one portion in Judah over the fountain of the Virgin, called Zion, and one portion near the Hammam esh-Shefa (a fountain) on the Acra, called Millo. Thus the ancient strongholds of Jerusalem were both swelling mounds, probably of stone and earth—Ophel and Millo.

Stanley in his note on Ophel (*Sin. and Pal.* 498) points out that the word in later times appears to have acquired the meaning of 'fort,' as in *Ὠβλιάμ*, 'bulwark of the people,' the name applied to St. James the Just by Hegesippus (Eus. *HE* ii. 23).

According to the narrative of Hegesippus, James the Just was cast down from the south-east angle of the temple enclosure and was killed below by the club of a fuller. He was thus killed close to Ophel, and nigh to the spot where a fuller's shop cut in the rock was found during the *PEF* excavations, 1867–9 (see *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 299).

See, further, under art. ZION.

C. WARREN.

OPHIR (אוֹפִיר, אוֹפִר only in Gn 10^{29}, אֹפִיר only in 1 K 10^{11}).—A proper name that occurs twelve times in OT. **1.** Gn 10^{29}=1 Ch 1^{23} (LXX *Οὐφείρ*) represents Ophir as the eleventh of the thirteen sons of Joktan, and locates him in the list between Sheba and Havilah. Gn $10^{30.\,31}$ testifies that the name designates a people (or land) 'from Mesha as thou goest towards Sephar, the mountain (m. 'hill country') of the east.'

2. 1 K 9^{26-28} (B *Σωφηρά*, A *Σωφαρά*), 10^{11} and 2 Ch 9^{10} (LXX *Σουφείρ*), 1 K 22^{48} (A *Ὠφείρ*, B om.), and 2 Ch 8^{18} (B *Σωφειρά*, A *Σωφῆρα*), with 1 K 10^{22}, designate a place to which the Tarshish ships of Hiram and Solomon sailed from Ezion-geber, at the head of the Gulf of Aḳabah, and after three years returned with gold, silver, precious stones, costly woods, ivory, apes, and peacocks. It is not specified that Ophir was the source of all these products, but simply that such articles were brought back by the merchantmen at the end of a three years' cruise. It is quite possible that some of these wares were purchased at regular ports to which they had been brought by other traders. So that Ophir needs not to be sought for at some point where all these products were native (cf. Cheyne in *Expos. Times*, July 1898, p. 472). Subsequent references in the OT, however, Is 13^{12}, 1 Ch 29^{4} (LXX *Σουφείρ*), Job 22^{24} (LXX *Σωφείρ*), 28^{16} (B *Σωφείρ*, A *Ὠφείρ*), confirm the idea that Ophir was at least a gold-producing region. Its product in these references is synonymous with the finest of that metal.

The definite location of Ophir is still in dispute. Search for it has been made from ancient times. Even the translations of the LXX and the remarks of Josephus (*Ant.* VIII. vi. 4) point to an opinion as to its location. Ancient and current opinions may be classified under three heads. Limits of space will allow the merest outline of the arguments urged for the acceptance of each place.

(1) *On the East Coast of Africa.*—For several centuries travellers, writers, and scholars of several nationalities have found the Solomonic Ophir at some point along the eastern coast of Africa. Most notable among these were Th. Lopez, J. Bruce, Robertson, Montesquieu, d'Anville, Schultess, and Quatremère. The location of Ophir in East Africa, in Mashonaland, opposite the island of Madagascar, has won new friends since the German Mauch (*Reisende in Ost. Afrikas*) made his now famous investigations of 1871. He found, about 200 miles inland from *Sofâla*, at Zimbabye, some remarkable ruins, already described in the works of de Barros, a Portuguese traveller of the 16th cent. The majestic remains of once stately buildings now cover one granite mound 400 ft., and another 300 ft. in height. The natives have preserved among themselves a tradition that white men once lived there and carried on extensive manufactures. Traces of Phœnician pottery, and even of mining operations, add to the evidence of its former importance. Merensky, a superintendent of the Berlin Mission (*Beiträge zur Kenntniss Süd-Afrikas*, 1875), reported that Arabian travellers regarded these ruins as the Ophir of Solomon, and that as far back as A.D. 1500 the Arabs took gold from those districts. Portuguese sailors found near *Sofâla* in 1506 two Arabian ships laden with gold. The Portuguese colonists in this country found many ore mines, and even down to the Transvaal may be found remains of old ore-smelting ovens. A corollary of this view is found in the position of those who find Ophir farther north on the coast of Africa—even as far as the Red Sea. The latest and most ardent advocate of this newer view is Carl Peters (*Das goldene Ophir Salomos*, 1895). Among his array of arguments is found this one on the linguistic evidence. 'Chinese astronomy designates the east by blue, the south by red, the north by black, and the west by yellow.' 'The Black Sea is in the north, the Red Sea in the south, the Turks call the Mediterranean Sea the white, probably a change from yellow.' 'In Arabic red is *ahr*, and Africa is *Afir*, or the land of the south.' 'In Latin *Afer* is used to designate an African, accordingly the terms Ophir and Africa are identical.' Peters agrees substantially with those Egyptologists who would practically identify Ophir with Punt, the great foreign mart of Egypt, especially during the reign of queen Hatshepsu of the 18th dynasty (see art. PUT). W. Max Müller (*Asien u. Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern*, 1893, p. 111 and n. 1) locates Punt on the Ethiopian coast of the Red Sea, possibly including both sides. The location of Ophir in the land of Punt, which is not as yet a fixed quantity, introduces many of the same questions as the location farther south on the east coast. Müller says that the products of Ophir are all African, and only at a later date were the Indian articles inserted in the list. In the chief passage (1 K 10^{22}) the LXX (B) does not mention 'peacocks' at all, and it 'must be held to be an interpolation.' But while it is not at all improbable that the ubiquitous Phœnician sailors may have touched ports on the east coast of Africa in Solomon's day, arguments based on the ethnographical representation of Gn 10 positively make against this view.

(2) *In the far East.*—Among the most notable advocates of Ophir's location at some point in the far East we may name the LXX, Josephus, Reland, Lassen, Ritter, Thenius, Murchison. There are three general locations which deserve mention: (*a*) Ophir is identified with *Abhîra*, a nomadic people settled on the east side of the delta of the Indus. While gold is not found on the coast-line, it could have come from N.W. India near Kashmir. Precious stones are found in great abundance in India. 'Sandal-wood' (Heb. אַלְמֻגִּים, *var.* אַלְגּוּמִּים) corresponds to the Sanscrit *valgu* or *valgum*; 'peacocks' (Heb. תֻּכִּיִּים) is the equivalent of the Sanscrit *çikhi*; 'apes' (Heb. קֹפִים) is the Indian *kapi*. Largely, then, on the basis of philology and that of the products brought to Solomon, Ophir was located near the mouth of the Indus. (*b*) On the basis of the LXX (Σωφηρά) of 1 K 9^{26-28}, which indicates India on Coptic authority, Ophir has been located (Karl E. v. Baer) on the coasts of *Malabar*, or at Ceylon, whence nearly all of the products brought by Solomon's seamen could be found. An old city, *Supara* or *Uppara*, in the region of Goa, has been identified with Ophir. (*c*) The *Malay Peninsula* has also had its advocates. While von Baer admits that this peninsula yields all the products required by the records, he sees an insuperable objection in the great distance from Ezion-geber. The U.S. Consul, General Wildman of Hong Kong (*Tales of the Malayan Coast*, 1899, p. 178 f.), spent about eight years in this region, and examined with great care the evidence at hand. There is a gold-producing Mt. Ophir near Johore, and good evidence of other kinds. After careful study of the subject, Wildman concludes that Ophir is a comprehensive term, embracing the entire East, the Malay Peninsula, Ceylon, India, and even China—the name Ophir being taken from this mountain because it marks a central point of the region to which Solomon's ships sailed. 'For all ages the gold of the Malay Peninsula has been known; from the earliest times there has been intercourse between the Arabians and the Malays, while the Malayan was the very first of the far eastern countries to adopt the Mohammedan religion and customs. All the articles mentioned in the biblical account of Ophir are found in and about Malacca in abundance. . . . Peacocks are found [native] only in India and Malaya.'

(3) *In Arabia, Southern or South-Eastern.*—Gn $10^{29.30}$ appears to imply that Ophir was either between Sheba and Havilah or in proximity to them. The fact that the Joktanites settled in Arabia would seem to require that search be made for Ophir within that territory. It is of course assumed, because it cannot be absolutely proved, that this Ophir is identical with the place from which the Phœnician sailors brought their remarkable wares to enrich the coffers of Solomon. This territory has been the favourite location for Ophir from a very ancient day. Among some of its chief advocates we may mention Michaelis, Bochart, Niebuhr, Gesenius, Vincent, Seetzen, and Rosenmüller. One of the most enthusiastic and experienced advocates of our day is Ed. Glaser (*Skizze der Geschichte u. Geographie Arabiens*, ii. 1890, pp. 353–387). He arrays evidence at great length, and with commendable skill, to show that all good evidence from ancient times points to south-eastern Arabia, in the region of the Persian Gulf, as the proper location for the Ophir of Solomon's day. Southern and south-eastern Arabia were famed in ancient times for their gold-producing qualities, according to the testimony of Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, and Pliny. The gold of this region was called *apyron* (ἄπυρον)-gold, because its purity was so marked that it needed no smelting. It is not improbable that the Greek name for the gold of that region (*apyron*) was applied to the product, since that name for the land had passed out of use.

The chief gold-producing lands of the OT were found in Arabia, and, for the most part, apparently, in the region of the Persian Gulf. We find besides Ophir: (*a*) Havilah, Gn $2^{11f.}$ (and 10^{29}); (*b*) Sheba, Ps 72^{15} (cf. 1 K 10^{10}), Ezk 27^{22}; (*c*) Parvaim (see art. PARVAIM), 2 Ch 3^{6}; and also (*d*) Uphaz, Jer 10^{9}, Dn 10^{5}. Of these, Sheba and Havilah at least (and possibly Parvaim) appear to be located, according to Gn 10^{29}, in proximity to Ophir. And again we should note that Ophir was not simply a gold-producing land, but it was so located that ships called at its port or ports (1 K $9^{27.\,28}$). Glaser (p. 368) maintains that the biblical Ophir in the narrow sense is the Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf, extending from the north to Ras Musandum, and that in a wider sense it extends to both sides of the Gulf.

In the cuneiform records of Elam, dating from prior to B.C. 1000, we find that the territory between Susa and the Persian Gulf was called *Apirra* (Apir), and as late as the 8th cent. B.C. the Elamites make mention of it as Apir (cf. Hommel, *Gesch. Bab.-Assyr.* p. 720; also Del., *Paradies*, pp. 131, 231).

These regions of the Persian Gulf did not produce the full list of articles brought back by the Phœnician and Jewish sailors, but the importance of this location both for land and sea trade would account for the presence in the emporia of trade of articles brought from and native in many and far-distant lands.

The trip, too, from Ezion-geber to this region, either in the Persian Gulf or the Gulf of Oman, and return, in view of the periodical monsoons which prevail on the Red Sea, the Gulf of Aden, and the Indian Ocean, would occupy just about the required three years.

Taking into account, then, (1) the location of Ophir as related to the other names mentioned in Gn 10; (2) the gold-producing properties attributed to it in the OT; (3) the testimony of ancient authorities to its richness in the precious metal; (4) the time required to make the trip in view of the annual monsoons; (5) the testimony of the cuneiform inscriptions as to the name; (6) the cumulative strength of these points,—it seems most probable that Ophir was a territory situated in south-eastern Arabia, in the region of the Gulfs of Oman and Persia.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the many works mentioned in the article, see Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xiv. 348–431; Commentaries of Delitzsch and Dillmann on Gn $10^{29.\,31}$, and of Benzinger (in *Kurzer Hdcom.*) and Kittel (in *Nowack's Hdkom.*) on 1 K 9^{26}; Zöckler, *Eden, Ophir, Ephraim*, 1893; Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, 1874, p. 49 ff.; Goergens, *SK*, 1878, pp. 458–475; Soetbeer, *Das Goldland Ophir*, 1880; Keil, *Heb. Archäologie*, pp. 617–620; Nowack, *Lehrb. d. Heb. Arch.* i. p. 248; Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* p. 219; E. Meyer, *Ges. d. Alterthums*, i. §§ 185, 187, 304, 307; Herzfeld, *Handelgeschichte d. Juden d. Alterthums*, 1879; Lieblein, *Handel u. Schiffahrt auf dem rothen Meer in alten Zeiten*, 1886, p. 142 ff.

IRA M. PRICE.

OPHNI (הָעָפְנִי, lit. 'the Ophnite'; BA om., Luc. Ἀφνή).—A town of Benjamin, Jos 18^{24}. The site is unknown. It may be (but see Dillm. *ad loc.*, and Buhl, *GAP* 173) the later Gophnah of Josephus (*BJ* III. iii. 5), now *Jufnah*, 2½ miles N.W. of Bethel. See *SWP* vol. ii. sheet xiv.

OPHRAH (עָפְרָה possibly 'fawn,' feminine of עֹפֶר. —There are both place and personal names in the OT which are derived from names of animals [*Journ. Philol.* ix. 92 f.]. עָפָר 'dust,' 'soil,' suggests a derivation that agrees better with the transliterations of LXX).

1. One of the Benjamite towns enumerated in Jos 18 (A Ἰεφραθά, B Ἀφρά, Luc. Ἀφαρά). It is included (18^{23}) in what seems to be a north-eastern group. This agrees with Jerome's statement that it was *vicus Ephrem* (*Ephraim*) 5 Roman miles from Bethel, eastward (Lag. *Onom.*^{2} p. 129; Eusebius' text is imperfect; in it the name is κώμη Ἀφρήλ—Lag. p. 241). The locality so determined is a few miles north of Michmash, and consequently suits also the Ophrah of 1 S 13^{17} (LXX Γοφερά, Euseb., Jer. Ὀφρά). The Philistines are said to have sent troops from their camp at Michmash in the direction of Ophrah. There is even an indication that this direction was northward. Two other bands went east and west respectively, it seems, and Saul's troops were on the south. The modern *eṭ-Ṭaiyibe*, about 5 miles north-east of Bethel, has been suggested as the site of the ancient Ophrah (Robinson^{1}, ii. 121 ff., more at length in *Biblioth. Sac.* 1845, ii. 398). The place is described as strikingly situated on a conical hill, and part of the argument is that such a site must certainly have been occupied in ancient times. The distance from Bethel corresponds with that given by Jerome. But nothing more decisive can be urged. The suggested correspondence of the modern name with the ancient is too hazardous to be assigned any weight (Winer^{3} *sub voce*). The assumption that the עֶפְרוֹן of Jos 15^{9} is identical with Ophrah is not well founded, for Ephron is plainly on the north-western frontier of Judah. Eusebius' statement, therefore, that Ephron was 20 miles north of Jerusalem (Lag.^{2} p. 260), does not help to determine the site of Ophrah. Negatively it may be argued that *eṭ-Ṭaiyibe* lies too far north to have been included in Benjamite territory (Dillm. on Jos 18^{23}).

Six place names, in addition to Ephron, have been identified with Ophrah. They are:—(1) עֶפְרַיִן 2 Ch 13^{9} (*Kethibh* עפרון); (2) Ἐφράιμ Jn 11^{54}; (3) Ἐφράιμ Jos. *BJ* IV. ix. 9; (4) אֶפְרַיִם 2 S 13^{23} (Luc. Γοφράιμ = עפרים?); (5) Ἀφαίρεμα 1 Mac 11^{34}; (6) בֵּית לְעַפְרָה Mic 1^{10}. Regarding all of them it should be observed that the mere fact of their being situated on the borders of Judah and Ephraim (or Judæa and Samaria) leaves it open to identify them with Ephron. The names also are as much equivalent to עפרון as to עפרה, and the testimony of Eusebius is that, later, Ephron actually became Ἐφράιμ (Lag.^{2} p. 260; Jerome calls it *Efraea*). A brief statement may be made regarding each. (1) Presumably on the borders of Judah and Israel, and possibly not distant from Bethel, in which case it may be Ophrah. (2) See EPHRAIM. Eusebius identifies it with the Ephron of Jos 15^{9} (Lag.^{2} p. 262), and so is against an identification with Ophrah. (3) Occupied by Vespasian on his march from Cæsarea to Jerusalem, and named along with Bethel. But there is nothing to show that it was near Bethel. If it can be assumed that Bethel was in the toparchy of Gophna, which is mentioned on the same occasion, it might be argued that Ephraim was in the toparchy of Akrabatta, too far from Bethel to be Ophrah. (4) From Jerusalem this town lay in the direction of Ὡρωνήν (B, 2 S 13^{34}, Luc. Σωράιμ). If that name represents Hebrew חֹרֹנַיִם and stands for Beth-horon (Driver, *Sam. ad loc.*), this Ephraim lay north-west of Jerusalem and may be identical with Ephron. The direction is the same, and Ephron was known to Eusebius as Ἐφράιμ. All that supports identification with Ophrah is an uncertain resemblance of name which might equally be claimed for Ephron. (5) On the borders of Judæa and Samaria (Ἀφερειμά in Jos. *Ant.* XIII. iv. 9). But there is nothing to show at what point, whether to the east or west. (6) See BETH-LE-APHRAH. The direction of Ephron is more suitable than that of Ophrah.—For further references to literature see EPHRAIM.

2. A town in Manasseh (Jg $6^{11.\,24}$ $8^{27.\,32}$ 9^{5}) distinguished from the preceding as Ophrah (LXX Ἐφραθά; in 6^{11} 8^{27} Luc. Ἐφρά, in 8^{27} 9^{5} A Ἐφράιμ), of the Abiezrites (see ABIEZER). It was the home of Gideon, and is mentioned only in his history and in that of his son Abimelech. It was situated evidently on the western side of Jordan and within easy reach of the plain of Jezreel (Jg $6^{33f.}$,[*] cf. also 8^{18}). It is natural to suppose that the Abiezrites were apprehensive of Midianite attack when they took the offensive. Jg 9 does not imply the close proximity of Shechem. Abimelech's relations with that town are expressly accounted for by his kinship. The area within which the site may be looked for is accordingly sufficiently wide. No modern name closely resembling the ancient has been pointed out. (Suggestions in Schwarz, *Geog.* 1850, p. 158; van de Velde, *Memoir*, p. 337; *PEFSt* 1876, p. 197, by Conder, who quotes an Arabic translation of Samar. Chron. which gives *Fer'ata*, 6 miles west of Shechem, for Ophrah). Some of the places already named because of their identification with Ophrah of Benjamin have also been identified with this Ophrah. The third of them may have been as far north as to come within the boundaries of Manasseh.

3. A family or clan (B Γοφερά, A Γοφορά, Luc. Ἐφράθ) in the tribe of Judah, according to the list of the Chronicler (1 Ch 4^{14}). There are certainly names of towns in this list, and this may be one, the Judæan Ephron or even the Benjamite Ophrah. Border towns may be counted at one time to Benjamin, at another to Judah.

W. B. STEVENSON.

OR.—There are obsolete uses of this word in AV. **1.** For *before*, Ps 90^{2} 'Before the mountains were brought forth, or ever thou hadst formed the earth'; Pr 8^{23} 'or ever the earth was'; so Ec 12^{6}, Ca 6^{12}, Dn 6^{24}, Sir 18^{19}. All the examples are of 'or ever,' and all are retained in RV. The RV has even introduced the phrase into Ec $12^{1.2}$. The Amer. RV allows it in Ps 90^{2} but substitutes 'while' in Ec $12^{1.2.6}$. In other writers we find 'or' alone, as Dn 8^{26} Cov. 'It wylbe longe or it come to passe'; Hos 8^{5} Cov. 'How longe wil it be, or they can be clensed?'; Ex 10^{3} Tind. 'How longe shall it be, or thou wilt submyt thy selfe to me?' As an example of 'or ever' take Shaks. *Hamlet*, I. ii. 183—

'Would I had met my dearest foe in heaven,
Or ever I had seen that day, Horatio.'

The word in this sense is probably a corruption of Anglo-Saxon *aer*, which is properly represented in modern English by 'ere,' but is found in early English under various forms, as *er*, *ear*, *yer*.[†] We find also 'or ere,' as Milton, *Nativity*, 85—

'The shepherds on the lawn,
Or ere the point of dawn,
Sate simply chatting in a rustick row.'

And 'ere ever' is found in Sir 23^{20} 'He knew all things ere ever they were created,' RV 'or ever.'

2. For *either*.—1 S 26^{10} 'Or his day shall come to die; or he shall descend into battle, and perish.' Cf. Shaks. *Henry V.* I. ii. 12—

'We pray you to proceed,
And justly and religiously unfold
Why the law Salique, that they have in France,
Or should, or should not, bar us in our claim.'

J. HASTINGS.

ORACLE.—A Divine utterance given for man's guidance (2 S 16^{23} דָּבָר), or the place in which such utterances were usually given. In OT the word in EV is intended to have the latter meaning in 1 K 6^{16}, where Solomon, in building his temple, makes a Most Holy Place for an oracle, and in 7^{49} $8^{6.8}$, 2 Ch 3^{16} 4^{20} 5^{9} 8^{6}; also Ps 28^{2}, where, however, the correct meaning of the Heb. is given in RVm 'the innermost place of thy sanctuary.'[*] In the Apocr. (Sir 33^{3}) it is used in a wider sense of any supernatural utterance, and (Sir 36^{14}) of the manifestation of the Divine Will in Sion. The Israelites used to ask for Divine guidance in any enterprise (1 S 28^{6}) by means of Urim and Thummim (which see). In NT 'oracle' (λόγιον) stands for a Divine utterance, and generally refers to OT Scriptures, *e.g.* Ac 7^{38} Moses is said to have received living oracles in the wilderness, *i.e.* commands from the living God. In Ro 3^{2} the Jews are the favoured nation, because to them were entrusted the oracles of God. In He 5^{12} the first principles of the oracles of God are mentioned as needing to be taught afresh to the Hebrews. St. Peter says (1 P 4^{11}), 'If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God.'

Among the Greeks till the time of the Persian war, oracles were in high repute, that of Delphi enjoying the pre-eminence. Answers were given either orally, in which case they were usually in hexameter verse and of ambiguous interpretation, or by signs or dreams. They had a most important influence on Gr. colonization, since questions were generally addressed to them about the place to be colonized (Herod. v. 42). The Romans as a nation did not consult oracles for divine guidance. Prophesying by means of lots (*sortes*) was practised at Praeneste and other places. In imperial times, however, the custom became prevalent, and foreign as well as native deities were consulted. Lucan (*Phars.* ix. 577) has expressed in noble words the contempt felt by the Romans for divination: 'Non vocibus ullis numen eget,' etc. The emperor Theodosius at the end of the 4th cent. forbade the publication of oracles. *Sortes Vergilianæ* had a wide influence in the Middle Ages, and recourse to them was forbidden by the Church.

C. H. PRICHARD.

ORATOR.—For AV Is 3^{3} (RV 'enchanter') see DIVINATION. In Ac 24^{1} we are told that 'the high priest Ananias came down with certain elders, and with an orator, one Tertullus'; and a short speech delivered by Tertullus is given. The orator (ῥήτωρ), who differed from the professional lawyer (*iurisconsultus* or νομικός), was the skilled speaker who was hired to present the case in court. His training was rhetorical not legal, so that he does not quite correspond to our barrister. The need of his employment arose partly, as was natural, from the necessity of having the case well stated, partly from the fact that the language of the courts was Latin. So Valerius Maximus (ii. 2. 2) quotes it as an instance of the manner in which the magistrates guarded the majesty of the Roman people, that even in Greece and Asia they refused to give *responsa* except in Latin. Many young Romans started their oratorical career by practising in the provinces. A good illustration of the duties of the ῥήτωρ will be found in the lengthy *Petition of Dionysia to the Prefect* (Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, pt. ii. pp. 160, 162).

A. C. HEADLAM.

ORCHARD (פַּרְדֵּס *pardēs*, παράδεισος).—*Pardēs*, a loan-word from the Zend, is used in three places: Ec 2^{5} where it is tr^{d} AV 'orchards,' RV 'parks,' Vulg. *pomaria*; Ca 4^{13} AV and RV text 'orchard,' RVm 'paradise,' Vulg. *paradisus*; Neh 2^{8} AV and RV text 'forest,' RVm 'park,' Vulg. *saltus*. Doubtless the term *pardēs* (probably 'enclosure') had the same generic meaning as *gannāh*, including gardens, orchards, and parks. Hence it is legitimate to tr. it by different words according to the context. It is applied by Diodorus Siculus (ii. 10) to the hanging gardens of Babylon. Xenophon (*Anab.* i. 287) describes a park, belonging to Cyrus, like the game preserves of Europe, under this name.

---

[*] It may be argued that it is not the writer that mentions Ophrah (Moore's J) who localizes the battle in the plain of Jezreel. That does not seem to matter, unless it be suggested that Ophrah was not Gideon's home in this other source. Besides, the grounds for refusing 6^{33} to J may be challenged, if they are only that 8^{4-21} is his and that 8^{5} is inconsistent with 6^{33}.

[†] This form is found in the 1611 ed. of AV, Nu 11^{33} 'While the flesh was yet betweene their teeth, yer it was chewed'; 14^{11} 'How long will it be yer they beleeve me?'

[*] The EV tr^{n} 'oracle' follows Aq. and Symm. χρηματιστήριον (Vulg. *oraculum*) on the incorrect theory that the Heb. term דְּבִיר (which really means 'the part behind') was derived from דִּבֶּר 'speak' (see *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*). 'Oracle' is also uniform tr. in RVm of מַשָּׂא (AV BURDEN), *e.g.* 2 K 9^{25}, Is 13^{1} 14^{28} 15^{1} etc., and in text of Pr 30^{1} 31^{1} (AV 'prophecy'), where the same Heb term occurs.

G. E. Post.

ORDER (like 'ordain' from Lat. *ordo, ordinis,* and through the French *ordre,* a form which arose from the old Fr. *ordene, ordine* by changing *n* to *r,* as in *diacre* from *diaconus,* and *Londres* from *Londinum*—see Brachet, *Fr. Etymol. Dict.* § 163; cf. also 'coffer' and 'coffin,' the same in origin and formerly also in meaning).—The subst. 'order' has the following meanings in AV—

1. *Position* or *proper place,* Ezk 41^{6} 'One over another, and thirty in order' (פְּעָמִים); 1 Co 15^{23} 'Every man in his own order' (ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι); Lk 1^{8} 'He executed the priests' office before God in the order of his course' (ἐν τῇ τάξει); 1 Co 14^{40} 'Let all things be done decently and in order' (κατὰ τάξιν). The phrase 'in order' has this meaning. It occurs frequently with the verbs 'lay,' place,' 'set,' always as the tr. of a simple verb, as 1 Co 11^{34} 'The rest will I set in order when I come' (διατάξομαι). Once (Ps 40^{5}) the Heb. verb עָרַךְ to arrange, is tr. 'reckon up in order.'

In Lk 1^{3}, Ac 11^{4} 18^{23}[*] καθεξῆς is translated 'in order.' The meaning is *in proper sequence*; but Blass, writing on Lk 1^{3}, disputes that meaning, and holds that the reference is not to arrangement, but to completeness. St. Luke promises not a chronological arrangement of events, but a complete record so far as he could gather it; St. Peter, in his narrative of the reception of the Gentiles, did not omit any important fact. See *Philology of Gospels*, p. 18 f.

2. *Position in office, rank.*—This is the meaning of Ps 110^{4} 'Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek' (Heb. [דִּבְרָה] *dibhrāh,* found also in Ec 3^{18} 7^{14} 8^{2} in the phrase עַל־דִּבְרַת 'because of'), which is so often quoted in the Ep. to the Hebrews ($5^{6.\,10}$ 6^{20} $7^{11\,\textit{bis}.\,17.\,21}$), according to the LXX rendering κατὰ τὴν τάξιν. The Eng. phrase comes from the Vulg. *secundum ordinem.* The reference is to the position of Melchizedek as both priest and king. Cf. Wyclif, *Select Eng. Works,* iii. 121, 'Lucifer wiste that God moste be above hym, bot he coveyted an ordir in servise of God whiche that God wolde not.'

3. *Arrangement* or *orderly array,* Job 10^{22} 'A land of darkness . . . without any order' (וְלֹא־סְדָרִים); Col 2^{5} 'joying and beholding your order' (ὑμῶν τὴν τάξιν, Lightfoot, 'your orderly array': Ltft. thinks it is a military metaphor, suggested by St. Paul's enforced companionship with the soldiers of the Prætorian guard; but Abbott holds that the idea of a well-ordered State lies much nearer than that of an army—see Abbott in *Intern. Crit. Com.*); 1 Es 1^{10} 'The priests and Levites . . . stood in very comely order' (εὐπρεπῶς); Wis 7^{29} 'She [wisdom] is more beautiful than the sun, and above all the order of the stars' (ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν ἄστρων θέσιν; Vulg. *super omnem dispositionem stellarum,* RV 'above all the constellations of the stars,' RVm 'above every arrangement of stars'); 1 Mac 6^{40} 'They marched on safely and in order' (τεταγμένως). In Jg 17^{10} for 'a suit of apparel' (Heb. עֵרֶךְ בְּגָדִים) the margin has 'an order of garments,' which is an attempt to translate the Heb. literally. Here may be noticed the obsolete phrase 'take order for,' which occurs in 2 Mac 4^{27} 'As for the money that he had promised unto the king, he took no good order for it' (οὐδὲν εὐτάκτει; Vulg. *nihil agebat*; Wyc. 1388 'he dide no thing'; Cov. 'he dyd nothinge therin'; Gen. 'he toke none order for it'; RV 'nothing was duly paid,' RVm 'was in due order'). The Eng. phrase means to *make proper arrangements* to secure a particular end. We find it in Rhem. NT, note to Jn 19^{26} 'The marvelous respect that Christ had to his mother, vouchsaving to speak to her, and to take order for her even from the crosse in the middes of his infinite anguishes and mysteries aworking for mankind,' as well as in the note to Ac 19^{19}. Cf. also Knox, *Hist.* 366, 'He had there also taken order for the home coming of the Earle of Lennox'; and Rutherford, *Letters,* No. xviii. 'I hope our Lord, who sent His angel with a measuring line in his hand to measure the length and breadth of Jerusalem, in token he would not want a foot length or inch of his own free heritage, shall take order with those who have taken away many acres of His own land from him.' A similar phrase is found in 1 Mac 16^{14} 'Simon was visiting the cities that were in the country, and taking care for the good ordering of them' (φροντίζων τῆς ἐπιμελείας αὐτῶν). For the general use of the word in this sense of *orderly arrangement,* cf. *Forty-Two Articles of* 1553 (Gibson, i. 71), 'profitable for an ordre and comelinesse' (Lat. *ad ordinem et decorum*); Spenser, *FQ* II. ix. 15—

'But soone the knights with their bright-burning blades,
Broke their rude troupes, and orders did confound.'

4. *Prescribed custom,* 1 Ch 6^{32} 15^{13} 'we sought him not after the due order,' 23^{31}, 2 Ch 8^{14} 'He appointed, according to the order of David his father, the courses of the priests to their service' (Heb. always *mishpāṭ*); 1 Es 1^{6} 'Offer the passover in order' (ἐν τάξει). Cf. Rogers' note on Lv 7^{5} 'Trespace after the order of the scrypture signifyeth somtyme all the lyffe past which we have lyved in infidelyte.' The modern meaning of 'command' easily arose out of this. It is not found in AV, but the following passages approach it, 1 Es 8^{10} 'I have given order, that such of the nation of the Jews . . . as are willing and desirous, should go with thee' (προσέταξα); 1 Mac 9^{55} 'He could no more speak anything nor give order concerning his house' (ἐντείλασθαι); 1 Co 16^{1} 'As I have given order to the churches of Galatia' (ὥσπερ διέταξα, RV 'as I gave order').

The verb 'to order' is always used in the obsolete sense of *place properly, arrange,* or *direct.* Thus Lv 24^{4} 'He shall order the lamps upon the pure candlestick'; Jer 46^{3} 'Order ye the buckler and shield, and draw near to battle'; Job 23^{4} 'I would order my cause before him'; Ps 119^{133} 'Order my steps in thy word'; Jg 6^{26} 'Build an altar . . . in the ordered place'; 13^{12} 'How shall we order the child?'; Jth 2^{16} 'He ranged them, as a great army is ordered for the war'; Wis 8^{1} 'Sweetly doth she [wisdom] order all things' (διοικεῖ, Vulg. *disponit*); 9^{3} 'That he should . . . order the world according to equity' (διέπῃ, Vulg. *disponat*); 12^{15} 15^{1}, Sir 2^{6} 'Order thy way aright.' Cf. Ps 40^{6} Pr. Bk., and other passages (given in Driver's *Par. Psalter*, p. 478); also Fuller, *Holy Warre*, 185, 'The Christians were ordering themselves in aray'; More, *Utopia*, ii. 7 (Robinson's tr.), 'They define virtue to be life ordered according to nature'; and Shaks. *Rich. II.* II. ii. 109—

'If I know how or which way to order these affairs,
Thus thrust disorderly into my hands,
Never believe me.'

Orderly, which is properly an adj., is used as an adv. in Ac 21^{24} 'thou thyself also walkest orderly.' Cf. Jer 32^{11} Cov. 'it was orderly sealed'; Golding, *Calvin's Job*, 571, 'We know that in God's Church all things ought to be handled orderly and comely, as Saint Paule sayth'; and Pr. Bk. 'The New Testament . . . shall be read over orderly every year thrice.' RV introduces the word as an adj. into Jg 6^{26}, 1 Ti 3^{2}.

J. Hastings.

---

[*] The only remaining occurrences of καθεξῆς are Lk 8^{1} ἐν τῷ καθεξῆς, AV 'afterward,' RV 'soon afterwards'; and Ac 3^{24} ἀπὸ . . . τῶν καθεξῆς, AV 'from . . . those that follow after,' RV 'from . . . them that followed after.'

ORDAIN, ORDINANCE.—There are eleven Heb. or Aram. words translated 'ordain' in the OT of AV, and in the Apocr. and NT no fewer than twenty-one Greek words[*] are so translated. When we add three Lat. words found in 2 Es we see that the Eng. verb had a wide range of meaning. Its meanings may, notwithstanding, be gathered under four heads. 1. *To put in its proper place* (the deriv. of the word is *ordo, ordinis*=' order'), *make ready for any purpose.* Thus Lk 14^{16} Tind. 'A certayne man ordened a greate supper, and bade many'; Ac 6^{13} Wyc. 'Thei ordeyneden false witnessis'; He 10^{5} Tind. 'A bodie hast thou ordeyned me'; Berners, *Froissart*, 18, 'There was ordained three great battles (=divisions) afoot'; and Shaks. *Rom. and Jul.* IV. v. 84—

> 'All things that we ordained festival,
> Turn from their office to black funeral.'

In AV this meaning is found in Ps 7^{13} 'He ordaineth his arrows against the persecutors,' 132^{17}, 1 Ch 17^{9}, Is 30^{33}, Hab 1^{12}, He 9^{6}. 2. *To bring into existence, establish*, as Dt 32^{6} Tind. 'Is not he thy father and thyne owner? hath he not made the and ordeyned the?'; Mk 7^{13} Tind. 'Making the worde of God of none effecte, through youre awne tradicions which ye have ordeyned'; 12^{1} Tind. 'A certayne man planted a vineyarde . . . and ordeyned a wyne presse'; He 3^{4} Tind. 'He that ordeyned all thinges is god'; Shaks. *I Henry VI.* IV. i. 33—

> 'When first this order was ordained, my lords,
> Knights of the garter were of noble birth.'

So in AV, Nu 28^{6} 'It is a continual burnt offering, which was ordained in Mount Sinai for a sweet savour,' 1 K 12$^{32.33}$, Ps 8$^{2.3}$, Is 26^{12}, 2 Es 6^{49}, Sir 7^{15}. 3. To *decree* or *enact*: thus *Irish Articles of Religion* (1615), art. 11, 'God from all eternity did by his unchangeable counsel ordain whatever in time should come to pass'; Milton, *PL* vii. 187—

> 'To Him
> Glory and praise whose wisdom had ordained
> Good out of evil to create.'

In AV this meaning occurs in Est 9^{27} 'The Jews ordained . . . that they would keep these two days,' 1 Es 6^{34} 8^{23}, 2 Es 7^{17} 8^{14}, To 1^{6} 8^{7}, Ad. Est 14^{9}, 1 Mac 4^{59} 7^{49}, 1 Co 2^{7}, Eph 2^{10}. 4. To *destine, set apart, appoint.* This is the most frequent use of the word in AV, but it must not be confounded with the modern eccles. use, which does not occur. It is found in 2 K 23^{5}, 2 Ch 11^{15} 'He ordained him priests for the high places,' Jer 1^{5}, Dn 2^{24}, 1 Es 8^{49}, Ad. Est 13^{6}, Wis 9^{2}, Sir 48^{10}, 1 Mac 3^{55} 10^{20}, Mk 3^{14}, Jn 15^{16}, Ac 1^{22} 10^{42} 13^{48} 14^{23} 16^{4} 17^{31}, Ro 7^{10} 13^{1}, 1 Ti 2^{7}, Tit 1^{5}, He 5^{1} 8^{3}, Jude^{4}. Cf. Gn 24^{14} Tind. 'The same is she that thou hast ordened for thy servaunte Isaac'; Shaks. *I Henry VI.* I. i. 171—

> 'To Eltham will I, where the young king is,
> Being ordained his special governor,
> And for his safety there I'll best devise.'

Ordinance.—The translators of the Rhemish version complain of the 'corrupt translation of Heretikes' in rendering δικαιώματα in Lk 1^{6} by 'ordinances.' Their own word is 'justifications,' and they say, 'This word is so usual in the Scriptures (namely [=especially] in the Psal. 118) to signifie the commaundements of God, because the keeping of them is justification, and the Greeke is alwaies so fully correspondent to the same, that the Heretikes in this place (otherwise pretending to esteeme much of the Greeke) blush not to say, that they avoid this word of purpose, against the justification of the Papists. And therefore one [Beza] useth Tullies word forsooth, in Latin *constituta*, and his scholars in their English Bibles say *Ordinances.*' The word is, however, used by the 'Heretikes' for δικαίωμα only thrice, Lk 1^{6}, He 9$^{1.10}$. For other Heb. and Greek words it is frequently employed, but the meaning is always 'that which has been ordained or appointed.' 'Ordnance' (the appointed size or bore of a cannon, thence transferred to the cannon itself) is the same word, and was not distinguished in spelling in Old English. Thus Erasmus, *Commune Crede*, fol. 31, 'This fayth doth arme us, and make us bolde without ony feare, and invincible agaynst all the engynes and all the ordinaunce of the world and of the deville.' J. HASTINGS.

ORDINATION.—It is not easy to trace in NT any precise form of ordination or consecration to ecclesiastical office. When our Lord sent forth the Ten (Jn 20$^{22.23}$) He breathed on them, and said, 'Receive (a gift of the) Holy Spirit,' etc. But this is a consecration rather of the whole body than of the individuals present; and at all events we do not find the symbolism repeated. The Seven (Ac 6$^{3-6}$) were chosen by the people and set before the apostles, who prayed and laid their hands on them. The consecration of Barnabas and Saul (Ac 13$^{2.3}$) for their work was by direct command of the Holy Spirit—there is no election this time, but the prophets and teachers fast and pray, and lay their hands on them, and so dismiss them. In the course of their journey (Ac 14^{23}) they appoint (χειροτονήσαντες as 2 Co 8^{19}—mere appointment, not laying on of hands) elders in every church, and after prayer with fastings commend them to the Lord. This is all that we hear of the consecration of elders. Timothy held a higher position. He is told (1 Ti 3) what sort of men bishops ought to be, and (5) how to deal with them. But 5^{22} (lay hands hastily on no man) cannot refer to ordination, for the whole current of thought $^{19-25}$ runs on offenders, not on officials (Ellicott, Hort, etc.). But what of Timothy's own consecration? In 1 Ti 1^{18} the apostle commits this deposit to him 'according to the prophecies which led the way to thee' (κατὰ τὰς προαγούσας ἐπὶ σὲ προφητείας). He is also told (4^{14}) not to neglect 'the gift that is in thee, which was given to thee through prophecy with the laying on of the hands of the body of elders' (διὰ προφητείας μετὰ ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου). And he is further reminded (2 Ti 1^{6}) to stir into flame 'the gift of God which is in thee through the laying on of my hands' (διὰ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν μου).

These passages fall into two sharply contrasted groups. (*a*) The Seven are chosen by the people, the elders in Ac 14^{23} seem nominated by the apostles. After that, they are commended to God with prayer, joined in one case to its customary accessory of fasting, in the other to its natural symbolism of the laying on of hands. (*b*) Saul and Barnabas are nominated by the Holy Spirit through prophecy, and also Timothy; for 'the prophecies which led the way to thee' must have been commands to separate Timothy as Saul and Barnabas were separated before. After that, hands are laid,—in the earlier case by the prophets and teachers with prayer and fasting; in the later by St. Paul and the body of elders, pretty certainly at Lystra. This close parallel seems to establish Hort's contention, that

---

[*] The Heb. words are: עשׂה Nu 28^{6}, 1 K 12$^{32.33}$; יסד 1 Ch 9^{22}, Ps 8^{2}; שִׂים or שׂוּם 1 Ch 17^{9}, Ps 81^{5}, Hab 1^{12}; נתן 2 K 23^{5}, Jer 1^{5}; העמיד 2 Ch 11^{15}; הכין Ps 8^{3}; ערך Ps 132^{17}, Is 30^{33}; פעל Ps 7^{13}; שׁפת Is 26^{12}; הקים Est 9^{27}; מנא or מנה Dn 2^{24}. And the Greek words: ἀναδείκνυμι 1 Es 8^{23}; γίνομαι Ac 1^{22}; γράφω To 1^{6}; διατάσσω 1 Co 7^{17} 9^{14}, Gal 3^{19}; δίδωμι 1 Es 8^{49}; δογματίζω 1 Es 6^{34}; ἐκτίνω Sir 7^{15}; ἐπιτάσσω To 8^{7}; ἵστημι 1 Mac 4^{59} 7^{49}; καθίστημι 1 Mac 3^{55} 10^{20}, Tit 1^{5}, He 5^{1} 8^{3}; καταγράφω Sir 48^{10}; κατασκευάζω Wis 9^{2}, He 9^{6}; κρίνω Ac 16^{4}; ὁρίζω Ad. Est 14^{9}, Ac 10^{42} 17^{31}; ποιέω Mk 3^{14}; προγράφω Jude^{4}; προετοιμάζω Eph 2^{10}; προορίζω 1 Co 2^{7}; τάσσω Ad. Est 13^{6}, Ac 13^{48}, Ro 13^{1}; τίθημι Jn 15^{16}, 1 Ti 2^{7}; χειροτονέω Ac 14^{23}. The words in 2 Es are *conservo* 6^{49}, *dispono* 7^{17}, *ordino* 8^{14}.

Timothy's consecration was not to a definite church office, but to the work of an evangelist (2 Ti 4^{5}), as St. Paul's companion in the place of Barnabas. See, further, Hort, *The Christian Ecclesia,* 1897, and cf. art. LAYING ON OF HANDS.

H. M. GWATKIN.

OREB and **ZEEB** (עֹרֵב, זְאֵב 'raven,' 'wolf,' Ὠρήβ, Ζήβ).—Two Midianite princes captured and slain by the Ephraimites after Gideon's victory, Jg 7^{25} 8^{3}, Ps 83^{11}, Is 10^{26}, cf. 9^{4}. The places where they fell were remembered by the Rock of Oreb and the Wine-press of Zeeb, perhaps near the point where the Wady Fâr'ah in Ephraim falls into the Jordan (Moore); Osh el-Ghurab in Judah (Conder) seems too far south. It is noticeable that Oreb and Zeeb are animal names, such as occur in the totem stage of society. In times when totemism prevailed, clans were often named after animals; so it has been suggested that Oreb and Zeeb were names of Midianite clans (Stade, *GVI* i. 189): if they were individuals, the names would belong to the stage when the totem tribe was passing into a national organization of society (Gray, *Heb. Prop. Names,* 114). According to Is 10^{26} the slaughter of Midian, not of the chiefs alone, took place at the rock of Oreb; but this divergence from the narrative in Jg is merely an inaccuracy of tradition, and need not imply a different account. The narrative, Jg 7^{24}–8^{3}, is assigned to E; parallel to this is another account, Jg $8^{4\text{-}21}$ J, in which the Midianite chiefs are kings, and their names Zebah and Zalmunna (wh. see). See art. GIDEON and note ††.

G. A. COOKE.

OREN (אֹרֶן 'fir-tree'; B Ἀραιὰ καὶ Ἀμβράν, A Ἀράν).—A son of Jerahmeel, 1 Ch 2^{25}. The correctness of the MT vocalization is doubtful; perhaps it should be אֲרָן = 'wild goat' (cf. Gn 36^{28} = 1 Ch 1^{42}, and Stade, *GVI* i. 409).

ORGAN.—See MUSIC.

ORION.—The common noun *kĕsîl* is of frequent occurrence in OT, especially in the Wisdom literature, and is regularly trd 'fool' or 'foolish.' At Am 5^{8}, Job 9^{9} 38^{31} our Versions have correctly treated it as a proper noun, and rendered it by 'Orion.' At Is 13^{10} the true trn of the same word is 'and the Orions thereof,' *i.e.* the great constellations such as Orion. It has also been suggested that at Job 15^{27} *kĕṣîl* (Orion) should be substituted for *keṣel* (flanks); but this is very doubtful. Sa'adya, Abulwalid, and others have thought that *kĕṣîl* is Canopus in Argo, the second brightest star in our heavens [cf. Am 5^{8}]. The evidence of the ancient VSS is strongly in favour of the identification with Orion. The LXX has ὁ Ὠρίων at Is 13^{10}, Job 38^{31}; Jerome, 'Orion' at Am 5^{8}, Job 9^{9}; the Targ. נְפִילָא (giant) at Is 13^{10}, Job 9^{9} 38^{31}; the Pesh. *gabara* (giant) at Am 5^{8}, Job 9^{9} 38^{31}. The deviations, such as Ἕσπερος (LXX, Job 9^{9}) and 'Arcturus' (Jerome, Job 38^{31}), do but illustrate the admitted fact that absolute certainty on these points is unattainable. The literal meaning of the Heb. word falls in with the evidence just adduced, if *kĕṣîl* = 'fleshy,' 'fat,' and, as overloaded with fat, 'foolish and arrogant.' It would therefore easily become the name of a giant who was supposed to have rebelled against God, and after his death was punished by being chained in the heavens. Job 38^{31} seems to sanction this; the word *mōshĕkōth* having, indeed, been rendered 'girdle' by Hitzig, but more probably meaning, like the cognate Arabic word, 'bands' or 'fetters.' On this interpretation the stars which we call the Belt are looked on as a chain which none but the Almighty can unloose, and the poet's thought was that God alone can 'release the earth from Winter's sterile bands.' It must, however, be admitted that there is no other proof of the Hebrews having conceived of this constellation as a chained figure. The attempt to show that Orion and Nimrod are identical must be pronounced a failure. The *Chron. Pasch.* says that in Orion the Persians saw Nimrod. Josephus (*Ant.* I. v. 2) makes the latter a rebel against God [cf. Dante, *Inferno,* xxxi. 41–81, *Purg.* xii. 33–35]; the later Arabic writers speak of him as chained in heaven for haughtiness. But these witnesses are too late to be of much value. The Bab. Talmud (*Berachoth* 58*b*) refers to the visibility of Orion during the hot season,—our dog-days,—saying that but for the heat of Orion the world could not stand the cold of the Scorpion, and but for the cold of the Scorpion could not stand the heat of Orion. In this connexion it should be remembered that in Syria this constellation is visible during a greater part of the year than with us, and rises 17° higher above the horizon.

The mythological fancy of many nations has played around these brilliant stars. New Zealanders called the Belt the Elbow of Maui or the Stern of Tamererete's canoe. Norsemen saw in it Frigga's Spindle. To the Esquimaux these stars were seal-hunters who lost their way home. In classic legend Orion is a handsome Bœotian giant and hunter. The *Odyssey,* xi. 309, 310, says of Otus and Ephialtes—

> οὓς δὴ μηκίστους θρέψε ζείδωρος ἄρουρα
> καὶ πολὺ καλλίστους μετά γε κλυτὸν Ὠριωνα.

Again, xi. 572-575—

> Τὸν δὲ μετ' Ὠρίωνα πελώριον εἰσενόησα
> θῆρας ὁμοῦ εἰλεῦντα κατ' ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα,
> τοὺς αὐτὸς κατέπεφνεν ἐν οἰοτόλοισιν ὄρεσσιν
> χερσὶν ἔχων ῥόπαλον παγχάλκεον, αἰὲν ἀαγές.

In the *Iliad,* xviii. 486, the σθένος Ὠρίωνος forms part of an enumeration of important star groups. The Egyptians recognized in Orion (whom they called *Sahu*) the soul of Horus. The constellation is represented in the round zodiac which was discovered at Denderah and in the astronomical drawings in the Ramesseum at Thebes. The most interesting mythology, so far as Orion is concerned, is that of the Euphrates valley. In the ancient star-maps of that land Orion is known as Duwuzi (=Tammuz, Ezk 8^{14}), and appears as a hunter accompanied by his dogs. In the earliest ages the sun was the great heavenly hunter; afterwards Orion took his place. Hence the dogs of the latter hunt the hare (the moon). Aratus, in the *Phænomena,* writes—

> 'And ceaselessly beneath Orion's feet
> The hare is ever chased.'

With respect to the name, Brown remarks: 'His name Uriôn - Aoriôn - Oariôn - Oriôn would = an original Akkadian *Uru-anna* ("Light of Heaven," *i.e.* the sun), as the moon is *Uru-ki* ("Light of the earth").' Hommel says that the Sumerian name was *shu-gi*.

LITERATURE.—See Brown, 'Celestial Equator of Aratus,' p. 457 of *Trans. of Ninth Cong. of Orientalists,* and literature referred to in notes there; also, in same *Trans.,* Hommel, 'Bab. und Ægyp. Göttergeneal.,' p. 234.

J. TAYLOR.

ORNAMENT is in RV the trn of עֲדִי in every instance except Pr 25^{12}, where the Heb. is חֲלִי. In other instances RV gives a more specialized rendering for 'ornament' of AV: as 'chaplet' (*livyah,* Pr 1^{9} 4^{9}); 'garland' (*pĕ'ēr,* Is 61^{10}); 'crescents' (*sahărōnîm,* Jg $8^{21.\,26}$); 'anklets' (*'ăkhāṣîm,* Is 3^{18}); 'ankle-chains' (*ẓĕ'ādôth,* Is 3^{20}); 'plating' (*'ăphuddah,* Is 30^{22}). This last probably refers to the richly embroidered cloth with which the image was partly covered. At the present day, in a shrine-chamber there is such a cloth spread over the ridge of the stone-tomb on which the devotee, usually a woman interceding with regard to childlessness, sits while making the petition and vow to the saint. The same belief in the immanence of power and personality in the clothing is seen in Elisha's taking of Elijah's mantle (2 K 2^{13}), the obtaining of St. Paul's handkerchiefs (Ac 19^{12}), and in the superstitious use of holy relics generally. RV has 'apparel' instead of 'ornament' in 1 P 3^{4}.

The Bible abounds in references to the appreciation of ornament, and at the present day in the East the love of decoration is deep-seated and universal. The laying aside of ornaments appears in Ex $33^{4ff.}$ as a token of mourning. One of the eminent services rendered by Assyrian and Egyptian archæology has been the revelation of the wonderful proficiency to which these nations had attained in the cutting and setting of gems, and in the designing of gold and silver ornaments.

The investigation of the place and value of ornament in the Bible does not necessarily imply that the Oriental estimate is faultless because it is interwrought with Scripture metaphor and teaching. The Bible does not differ from other literature when referring to the customs and preferences of those addressed, the one requirement being that the statements should correspond with fact. The same simple recognition of things as they are that characterizes its references to natural and industrial surroundings and family relationships also marks its allusions to the Oriental love of ornament, and its illustrative use of articles of beauty and decoration.

Oriental life is pervaded by the charm of the picturesque and the attractiveness of whatever is unique or magnificent. The reality of the gratification afforded by it is evidenced by the presence of ornament in little things, and its preservation even when in conflict with comfort and activity. Male costume has many embellishments that we are accustomed to regard as feminine, and the last stage is often reached in which the man proclaims the apparel. The day-labourer feels himself to be on a higher level if he can wear a shirt with loose pendant sleeves and a skirt long enough to reach the ground. Until quite recent times the wearing of soft woollen cloth was jealously restricted to the patriarchal emîrs and ruling families (cf. Lk 7^{25}). An Oriental cabman in arranging his coloured head-napkin for protection from the sun crosses it under the chin and throws the loose ends over his shoulders to hang down the back and wave in the wind. In the course of an hour he may have to rearrange it several times, but he never ties a knot or fastens it with a pin, as that would destroy the picturesqueness of the flowing form. A photograph always shows the cheek that has a mole or 'beauty spot.' The common water-jar, in addition to its own beauty of form, has usually a waved line of etching or colour-stain around the neck. Camels and donkeys have the hair cropped so as to show ornamental patterns on the legs. The stonework of the village fountain generally has some ornamental treatment. Doors of peasants' houses have intricate geometrical patterns. Houses are built in alternate layers of dark and light coloured stone. The arch abounds in the humblest architecture. The lattice-screen covering the lower half of the window is ornamentally developed in lemon and walnut wood into the beautiful and intricate *meshrabîyeh* work. Infants in swaddling-clothes have the edges of the eyelids blackened with antimony from the paint-horn (cf. the name Keren-happuch, Job 42^{14}), the finger-nails stained with the raw-sienna brown of henna-dye (Ca 1^{14} 4^{13}), and the little wrist is adorned with a few bangles of coloured glass. The appearance of unusual beauty in a child, as in the case of Moses, is such a source of gratification to the parents that the fact must not be referred to without reverent allusion to the Giver of all good. Such particulars from the common life of the people indicate the general attachment to ornament, and suggest that any symbolical use of things outwardly ornamental would receive easy and sympathetic recognition.

The chief materials of ornament are those which Achan coveted (Jos 7), namely, gold and richly-woven cloth. Ornaments of gold, silver, and copper are still worn by women in the nose and ears, on the neck, arms, and ankles, as alluded to in the Bible.

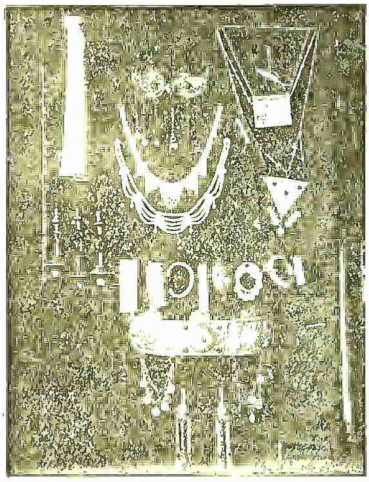

FEMALE ORNAMENTS: HORN, BELT-BUCKLES, BRACELETS, AMULETS.

The attachment to jewellery (Jer 2^{32}) was recently illustrated in the Lebanon in the case of a young wife who, in a time of dangerous sickness, had the picture of the Virgin brought from the church, and tied to the frame her best pair of ear-rings as a votive-prayer for recovery. Shortly afterwards, her husband found her weeping, and, guessing the cause of her distress, assured her that he meant to buy back the ear-rings from the priest!

In the *Arabian Nights* there is constant allusion to the beautiful clothes worn by the heroes and heroines whose exploits are recorded. Lucian, in his *Dialogues of the Dead* ('*The Pagan Olympus*'), contrasts the gorgeous appearance of the Oriental divinities with the simple elegance of the Greek images. The tendency to excess in ornament led Milton to describe the East as the home of 'barbaric pearl and gold' (*Par. Lost*, ii. 4).

It is this devotion to outward ornament that the Bible transfers to the inner graces of character and the beauty of sainthood when it speaks of 'the garments of salvation,' 'the robe of righteousness' (Is 61^{10}), 'the apparel of a meek and quiet spirit' (1 P 3^{4}), and the obligation to 'put on Christ' (Ro 13^{14}, Gal 3^{27}). The moral pronouncement on ornament, as in the case of wine, is one of use and abuse. Thus the eloquent description in Ezk 27 of ancient Tyre as Empress of the Seas, and adorned with the riches of many lands, may be compared with the indignant scorn expressed in Is 3 with regard to the excesses in dress then prevailing in Jerusalem.

See also ANKLET, CRESCENT, DRESS, EAR-RING, EMBROIDERY, ENGRAVING, HOUSE, JEWEL.

G. M. MACKIE.

ORNAN (אָרְנָן, Ὀρνά).—The form in 1 Ch 21^{15-28} 2 Ch 3^{1} of the name ARAUNAH (wh. see). The original form of the word cannot be recovered; see Driver, *Notes on Heb. Text of Sam.* p. 288 f., and H. P. Smith on 2 S 24^{16}.

ORPAH (עָרְפָּה; Ὀρφά), a Moabitess, sister of Ruth and daughter-in-law of Naomi. When the latter was returning to her own country, Orpah, following Naomi's advice, elected to go back to her own people and to her god (or gods), while her sister went with her mother-in-law (Ru 1^{4-14}).

H. A. REDPATH.

ORPHAN.—The Heb. subst. יָתוֹם *yāthôm*, which occurs frequently throughout OT, is always rendered in LXX by ὀρφανός, which is properly an adj., 'fatherless,' 'orphaned.' The meaning is not bereft of both parents (of that there is not a single unmistakable example), but of the father only. The Heb. word is accordingly rendered 'fatherless' in the Eng. versions, as in Ex 22^{24} 'Your wives shall be widows, and your children fatherless.' This was not, however, because the English word 'orphan' (formed from ὀρφανός through Old Fr. *orphane*) denoted, as it now does, one bereft of both parents. In the only case in OT in which *yāthôm* is translated 'orphan' (La 5^3) the meaning is evidently *fatherless*, 'We are orphans and fatherless, our mothers are as widows' (LXX ὀρφανοὶ ἐγενήθημεν, οὐχ ὑπάρχει πατήρ, μητέρες ἡμῶν ὡς αἱ χῆραι).

The adj. ὀρφανός occurs occasionally in Apocr., and is rendered 'orphan' in To 1^8, 2 Mac 8^{28} (also 2 Es 2^{20}, from Lat. *orphanus*). In NT there are only two occurrences (though Codex D adds another in Mk 12^{40}), viz. Jn 14^{18}, Ja 1^{27}. In both places the meaning is 'fatherless,' and that is the tr. of most of the Eng. versions in Ja 1^{27} (Tind., however, 'frendlesse,' Rhem. 'pupilles'). But in Jn 14^{18} only Wyc. has 'fatherless.' Tind. introduced 'comfortless,' an unfortunate rendering, as it gave support to the widespread mistake that the Paraclete was to be sent chiefly to comfort the disciples (see PARACLETE). Tind. was followed by Cranmer, the Geneva, the Bishops, AV, and even RV (though AV and RV give 'orphans' in the marg., which is the text of the Rhemish version).

J. HASTINGS.

ORTHOSIA (Ὀρθωσίας), 1 Mac 15^{37}.—Acc. to Pliny this city was N. of Tripoli and S. of the Eleutherus (*HN* v. 17). The Peutinger Tables place it 12 Roman miles N. of Tripoli, and 30 S. of Antaradus. Coins of the city exist of the time of Antoninus Pius. The name has not been discovered.

OSAIAS (A Ὠσαίας, B om.), 1 Es 8^{48} (LXX ^{47}) = **Jeshaiah** (B Ὠσαίας, A Ἰσαιά), Ezr 8^{19}.

OSEA.—The form in which in 2 Es 13^{40} (both AV and RV) the name of Hoshea the last king of the Northern Kingdom occurs.

OSEAS.—The form in which the name of the prophet Hosea is given in 2 Es 1^{39} (both AV and RV).

OSNAPPAR (Aram. אָסְנַפַּר; B Ἀσενναφάρ, A Ναφάρ; Lagarde, Σαλμανασσάρης).—Only in Ezr 4^{10}. The word occurs in a letter written in Aramaic, and sent by the chancellor and the scribe of the Samaritans to Artaxerxes, king of Persia (B.C. 464–424), to urge him to stop the building of the walls of Jerusalem by the Jews. Among the Samaritans who inspired this letter were 'the Babylonians, the Shushanchites, the Dehaites, the Elamites, and the rest of the nations whom the great and noble Osnappar brought over, and set in the city of Samaria, and in the rest (of the country) beyond the river.' This name does not appear in the inscriptions as the name either of any Assyrian king or of any high official of any people. The connexion seems to require that Osnappar was invested with authority to transport peoples from their homes to Samaria. Among these peoples we see 'Shushanchites,' and we are well aware that the only Assyrian king of the last period of Assyrian history who conquered Susa was Assurbanipal (cf. *WAI* v. (Rassam Cyl.) col. v. 128–vi. 76). This last great king (B.C. 668–626) wrought frightful destruction upon this strong and rich capital city, and carried large numbers of its population captives to Assyria. Following in the wake of the policy already established by his predecessors, Tiglath-pileser, Sargon (2 K 17^{24}, and Sargon's *Annals*, 95–97) and Esarhaddon (Ezr 4^2), Assurbanipal doubtless distributed many of his captives in the provinces of the empire which were sparsely populated.

The unlikeness of 'Osnappar' to 'Assurbanipal' has left room for doubt as to their identification. Now, we must note that the letter in which this name occurs originated about 200 years after the occurrence mentioned; and also that the name now appears in a different language from that in which it was native. Gelzer ('Die Colonie Osnappars,' in *Zeits. f. d. Ægypt. Sprache*, 1875, 78–82) supposed that אסנפר is a degeneration from אס[רב]ניפל. To represent this by a different division we have אסר־בנ־פל. By a change of the ר of אסר into נ (cf. the scribal error Nebuchad*n*ezzar for Nebuchad*r*ezzar), an ellipsis of the middle element of the name, and the change of the final 'l' to 'r' (cf. 'Porus' in the canon of Ptolemy, Smith, *Eponym Canon*, p. 102 f., where the Bab. Chron. reads 'Pulu'), we arrive at the name אסנפר. The identification of Osnappar with Assurbanipal is now conceded by most authorities (Schrader, *COT* ii. 65; Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 329; Hommel, *Ges. Bab.-Assyr.* p. 740; E. Meyer, *Ges. d. Alterthums*, p. 477, and *Entst. d. Judenth.* p. 29 f.). Halévy (*REJ* ix. 12), however, does not agree with the above authorities. Taking into account (1) the period in which Osnappar is said to have lived, (2) the particular peoples he transported, (3) the probable identification of the name with that of the last great king of Assyria, we can scarcely escape the conclusion that Osnappar was the Assurbanipal of the last period of Assyrian history (so also Driver in Hogarth's *Authority and Archæology*, p. 112).

IRA M. PRICE.

OSPRAY (עָזְנִיָּה *'ozniyyāh*, ἁλιαίετος, *haliæetus*).—The name of an unclean bird (Lv 11^{18}, Dt 14^{12}). It is pretty certainly Pandion haliæetus, L. It is somewhat rare, and found along the coast and in the Ḥûleh marshes. Its food is fish, which it catches by poising above the water until it fixes an exact perpendicular over its victim, and then dropping suddenly into the water, from which it generally rises with the fish in its claws. Like other fish-eating birds it is seldom used as food for man, and would naturally be counted unclean.

G. E. POST.

OSSIFRAGE (פֶּרֶס *pereṣ*, γύψ, *gyps*), RV 'gier eagle.'—The etymology 'breaker' (פָּרַס), corresponding to *ossifrage* ('bone-breaker,' from the Lat.), strengthens the claim of the trⁿ of AV. As the bird is mentioned only twice (Lv 11^{13}, Dt 14^{12}), we have no side-light from Scripture to help us. The ossifrage is the *Lämmergeier*, Gypætus barbatus, L. It is one of the largest of the vultures, being 4 ft. 6 in. long. It is known in Arab. as *bidj* or *nisr*. It is not numerous in Pal., but generally diffused. Tristram says that there is a pair in nearly every wady. Its name is derived from its habit of carrying tortoises and bones in its claws to a height, and dropping them on to a rock to break them, in order to get at their contents. It also preys on lambs, kids, hares, and serpents. It often catches its prey by pushing it off from a cliff. It has been known to attack men in this situation. The male has a black beard, pencilled upper and tawny lower plumage, and blood-red

eyes. It is diffused throughout the mountains of northern Europe, Asia, and northern Africa. It breeds on inaccessible cliffs. The female lays one egg, which is hatched in February.

G. E. POST.

OSTRICH.—**1.** יָעֵן *yā'ēn*, בַּת־הַיַּעֲנָה *bath-hayya'ănāh.* The root יָעַן *yā'an* signifies in Syr. 'to be greedy or voracious.' From this is derived *yā'ēn* = 'the voracious one' = 'ostrich.' This word occurs in the masc. pl. יְעֵנִים *yĕ'ēnîm* (La 4^{3}), trd AV and RV 'ostriches.' It occurs in the sing. in construction with בַּת and בְּנוֹת in eight passages. In all of these RV correctly gives 'ostrich.' In Lv 11^{18}, Dt 14^{15} AV tr. it 'owl,' Jer 50^{39} 'owls,' Mic 1^{8} 'owls,' m. 'daughters of the owl,' Is 34^{13} 43^{20} 'owls,' m. 'daughters of the owl' or 'ostriches,' Job 30^{29} 'owls,' m. 'ostriches.' Bochart, arguing from the prefix *bath*='daughter,' thought that the expression *bath-hayya'ănāh* refers to the female ostrich, while *taḥmâs* (Lv 11^{16}, Dt 14^{15}) refers to the male. But *bath*, with the name of an animal in the construct state, does not necessarily refer to the female. In the Semitic languages the feminine termination to the specific name often refers to an *individual*, male or female. *Benât-âwa* in Arabic is literally 'the *daughters of the jackal*,' but means *jackals.* Numerous similar instances could be adduced. (For the discussion of *taḥmâs* see NIGHT HAWK). The derivation of this name of the ostrich from the idea of greed corresponds with its traditional voracity, which leads it to swallow pebbles, bits of glass, metal, bone, etc. This, however, is the same instinct as that which leads fowls to swallow small angular pebbles, to assist in the trituration of their food. The large size of the substances swallowed by the ostrich has given him his special reputation. Some have attributed to the root the meaning 'to cry out,' and fortify their etymology by referring to the voice of the ostrich, which they say resembles that of the lion (cf. Mic 1^{8}).

2. רְנָנִים *rĕnānîm.* AV (Job 39^{13}) tr. this word 'peacocks,' RV 'ostrich.' It is derived from a root signifying 'to give forth a sound,' esp. a *twanging* or *resonant* sound (cf. Arab. *ranna*). While this derivation would suit the peacock, there is a special name for that bird, תֻּכִּיִּים *tukkîyyîm* (1 K 10^{22}), or תּוּכִּיִּים (2 Ch 9^{21}). It eminently suits the cry of the female ostrich. The description (vv.$^{14-18}$) can apply to no other bird than the ostrich. AV recognizes this by wrongly translating *nôẓāh*= 'feathers' at the end of v.^{13} by 'ostrich.'

The ostrich, *Struthio camelus*, L., is a bird of Arabia and Africa. It has been found on the S.E. confines of the Syrian desert. It is the largest of existing birds. The Bible alludes to a number of its characteristics. It is a desert bird. It is several times (Is 34^{13} 43^{20}) mentioned in connexion with *tannîm*, which we believe to be the *wolf* (see DRAGON, 1). It is the swiftest of runners, surpassing in this respect even the warhorse when he is urged on by his gallant rider. It is said (Job 39^{17}) that 'God hath deprived her of wisdom, neither hath he imparted to her understanding.' This is said to explain her leaving her eggs in the dust. The facts are that the ostrich lays her eggs in a shallow excavation in the sand and then covers them to the depth of a foot. They are left by day, in tropical climates, to the heat of the sun, and incubated at night. A few eggs, supposed to be reserved for the nourishment of the chicks, are laid near the nest, and left exposed on the sand. This mode of nesting and incubation is probably the basis of the allusion in the above passage. In any case it must be regarded as the reflexion of a popular opinion, founded on the external aspects of the case. It is intended to heighten the contrast of the opening verse of the passage, which describes her beautiful plumage, and the closing which praises her speed. It is true, however, that when the ostrich is surprised with her brood she runs away from her chicks (v.^{18}). She is unable to defend them, and cannot conceal them in the open desert. The charge of stupidity is, however, borne out in some other ways. For instance, the ostrich runs usually toward the wind, contrary to the practice of most wild animals. In this way it can sometimes be approached to within shooting distance. Again, it runs in large circles, and does not swerve from its course, which can thus be calculated, and the bird awaited where it is pretty sure to pass. The old allegation that it hides its head in the sand to escape danger is not true. Although forbidden in the law as food (Lv 11^{16}, Dt 14^{15}), its flesh and eggs are much prized by the Arabs.

The feathers of the ostrich, so well known for their beauty, quite justify the eulogy of Job (39^{13}) RV 'The wing of the ostrich rejoiceth; (but) are her pinions and feathers kindly?' The feathers of the male are white and black; of the female and young dusky grey.

G. E. POST.

OTHER.—**1.** Moon (*Revisers' English*, p. 120 ff.) contends that (following the AV) the RV has omitted 'other' where it should be, and inserted it where it should not be. As an example of the former he quotes Mk $4^{31.32}$, where the mustard seed is said to be 'less than all the seeds that are upon the earth,' a sentence which strictly means that it is less than itself. For the latter he quotes Mk 12^{32} 'There is none other but he.'

2. In Old English the plural of 'other' was *othre.* When this inflexion was dropped there was for a time no distinction between the sing. and the plu. of the word. After a time, however, a new plural was formed by adding *s.* There are a few examples in AV of the old plu. 'other,' viz. Jos 8^{22} 'The other issued out of the city against them'; 2 Ch 32^{22} 'From the hand of all other'; Job 24^{24}, 1 Mac 9^{48}, 2 Mac 7^{34}, Lk 23^{32}, Jn 19^{18}, 1 Co 14^{29}, Ph 2^{3} 4^{3}. In OT the RV retains 'other'; in NT it is changed into 'others' except Ph 2^{3} which is retained, and 4^{3} which is changed into 'the rest.' In 1 Mac 9^{48} RV gives 'they,' and omits the word in 2 Mac 7^{34}. Examples are in Tindale, Mt 21^{8} 'Other cut downe braunches from the trees'; 27^{42} 'He saved other, him sylfe he can not save'; and from the Rhem. version He 7^{23} 'And the other in deede were made priestes, being many, because that by death they were prohibited to continue'; cf. Ps 7^{18} *al.* [Pr. Bk.].

3. The phrase 'other some,' formerly very common when 'some' preceded, is twice retained in AV, 2 Es 13^{13} 'Some were glad, some were sorry, some of them were bound, and other some (so RV) brought of them that were offered' (*quidam . . . quidam . . . aliqui . . . aliqui*); Ac 17^{18} (καί τινες ἔλεγον . . . οἱ δέ, so RV). The archaism is not in 'other' but in 'some,' which in the sing. was equivalent to 'one,' 'a certain,' and so in the plu. meant 'persons' or 'things'; hence 'other some' is 'other persons' or 'things.' Cf. Mt 13^{5} Rhem. 'Othersome also fell upon rockie places, where they had not much earth'; and Eph 4^{11} Rhem. 'And he gave, some Apostles, and some Prophets, and othersome Evangelists, and othersome pastors and doctors.' Also in *Judgment of Dort*, p. 35, 'The cause of which his divers dispensation is not to be imputed to the worthinesse of one nation above another, or to the better using of the light of nature by some then by other some.'

J. HASTINGS.

OTHNI (עָתְנִי; B Γοονεί, A Γοθνί).—A son of Shemaiah, 1 Ch 26^{7}.

OTHNIEL (עָתְנִיאֵל, Γοθονιήλ), described in Jg 1^{13} 3^{9} as בֶּן־קְנַז אֲחִי כָלֵב הַקָּטֹן.—It is not impossible from the point of view of strict grammar to construe this Heb. phrase so as to make Kenaz the brother and Othniel the nephew of Caleb (so B of LXX, υἱὸς Κενὲζ ἀδελφοῦ Χάλεβ; cf. art. JUDGES, 4 (*b*), vol. ii. p. 811^a). It is more probable, however, that Caleb, who is elsewhere called the Kenizzite (Nu 32^{12}), was viewed as a son of Kenaz, and thus a brother of Othniel (so A . . . ἀδελφός, and Vulg. *filius Cenez, frater Caleb*). This conclusion is strengthened by the expression '*younger* brother,' which would have no relevancy as applied to Kenaz, but is quite appropriate in reference to Othniel 'as indicating that the disparity in age between uncle and niece (Jg 1^{13}) was not so great as might be thought, or (in 3^9) as explaining how Othniel so long outlived Caleb' (Moore, *Judges*, 27). In pre-critical times there can be little doubt that apologetic reasons weighed heavily with many interpreters. The uncle, it was imagined, must be saved from the scandal of marrying his niece, although marriages within closer degrees than this were sanctioned by usage (*e.g.* Abraham and Sarah, Gn 20^{12}; cf. 2 S 13^{13} Amnon and Tamar).

In one of the narratives (Jos 15^{17}, Jg 1^{13}) of the conquest of Canaan it is related that Othniel smote Kiriath-sepher and obtained as a reward the hand of his niece Achsah the daughter of Caleb (see ACHSAH). The story of the springs which the bride obtained from her father (Jos 15^{18}, Jg 1^{14}) is introduced in all probability in order to account for the possession by Achsah, a branch of Othniel, of waters which would more naturally have belonged to the Kalibbites, an older constituent of the Kenizzite clan. In Jg $3^{7\text{-}11}$ Othniel is introduced by D^2 as the first of the 'Judges' and the deliverer of Israel from CUSHAN-RISHATHAIM (wh. see). His victory is said to have secured rest to the land for forty years. Very serious difficulties lie in the way of our accepting the historicity of this latter narrative. These difficulties are not in the least evaded by the purely hypothetical combinations of Sayce in *HCM* 297 ff. and *EHH* 286 f. See Moore, *Judges*, p. 85.

Ethnologically and as an eponym Othniel has much the same significance as CALEB (wh. see), being a younger branch of the important clan of the Kenizzites.

LITERATURE.—See under CALEB, and cf. Dillmann, *Nu-Dt-Jos*, 623; Kittel, *Hist. of Heb.* i. 267 f., ii. 77 f.; Moore, *Judges*, 29, 84 f.; Wellhausen, *Comp.* 219; Budde, *Richt. u. Sam.* 4 ff., 94 ff.

J. A. SELBIE.

OTHONIAS (Ὀθονίας), 1 Es 9^{28}, a corruption of the name Mattaniah, in Ezr 10^{27}.

OUCHES.—*Ouche*, like *adder*, *apron*, etc., belongs to a group of words that in modern English have lost an initial *n* through a mistaken division —'a nouche' (cf. Chaucer, *House of Fame*, 1350, 'They were set as thick as nouchis Fyne, of the fynest stones faire') having become 'an ouche.' The term was applied to gold ornaments, particularly those of the nature of a clasp or brooch, set with jewels.

1. The two large jewels of *shôham*-stone (EV 'onyx,' RVm 'beryl') on the shoulders of the high priest's ephod (see vol. i. p. 725^b) were 'set in ouches of gold' (מִשְׁבְּצוֹת זָהָב Ex $28^{11\text{f.}}$ $39^{6\text{f.}}$). The word *mishbĕẓôth* seems to denote a setting of open work in contradistinction to the method of setting jewels in a solid capsule of gold, and since it is derived from a root signifying 'to weave *or* wreathe' (see Dillm. on Ex 28^{11}), it may safely be taken as the technical term for filigree work, which was known to the Egyptian goldsmiths from very early times. The gold, as we are expressly informed in Ex 39^3, was beaten out into thin sheets, which were cut up into narrow strips. These strips or wires, as we may call them, were formed into elaborate gold filigree by means of a most delicate process of soldering (see Blümner, *Technologie*, etc., *der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechern u. Römern*, iv. 250 f., 316 f.), and used as a setting to the jewels, the open nature of the work facilitating the attachment of the whole, presumably by the use of gold thread, to the fabric of the ephod. The same method of attachment by means of a setting of gold filigree (Ex 39^{13}, RV 'enclosed in ouches of gold in their settings') was adopted for the twelve jewels of the breastplate.*

The statement of Josephus that the jewels on the shoulder-straps of the ephod (termed by him 'sardonyx stones') served as *agraffes* or clasps to fasten the two ends of the straps (πορποῦσι δὲ τὴν ἐπωμίδα σαρδόνυχες δύο . . . πρὸς τὸ ταῖς περονίσιν ἐπιτήδειον, κ.τ.λ., *Ant.* III. vii. 5 [Niese, § 165]), like several other statements of his in this paragraph, conflicts with P's description of the ephod, and of the purpose of these jewels 'as a memorial before J".'

2. In the description of the high priest's BREASTPLATE (vol. i. p. 319^b) it was pointed out that the gold chains, by which the breastplate was held in position, 'were passed over, or through, or otherwise attached to a couple of gold ornaments (AV 'ouches,' Ex $28^{13.\,14.\,25}$ $39^{16.\,18}$) which had previously been fixed to the shoulder-pieces of the ephod in front.' These 'ouches' (Heb. as before, *mishbĕẓôth*) were also of open filigree work, and, if we can trust the Greek translators, had the shape of rosettes (ἀσπίδισκαι), one of the commonest 'motives' in ancient art, including architecture and embroidery. For these rosettes or 'daisy† pattern' see Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. of Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, vol. i. 260 ff. [note jewelled bracelet, fig. 133, p. 305], and vol. ii. 332 ff., noting figs. 244, 250. It is not improbable that the same pattern was followed in the setting of the jewels above described (under **1**).‡

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

OUGHT.—**1.** 'Aught' and 'ought' are different forms of the same word. Aught is from *a* (=ever) and *wiht* (=thing, whit) as ought is from *o* (=ever) and *wiht*. So the meaning is 'any thing whatever.' The early forms were numerous. AV has only the form 'ought,' which RV everywhere changes into 'aught,' the modern form. See NAUGHT.

2. In AV 1611 'ought' is found as the past tense of 'owe' in Mt $18^{24.\,28}$, Lk 7^{41}. This was originally its use, but in time it was regarded as distinct from 'owe,' from which another past tense, 'owed,' was formed, and looked upon as a present with another meaning. Cf. Spenser, *FQ* III. i. 44—

> 'Now were they liegmen to this Ladie free,
> And her knight's service ought, to hold of her in fee.'

J. HASTINGS.

OUTLANDISH.—Neh 13^{26} 'Even him did outlandish women cause to sin' (הַנָּשִׁים הַנָּכְרִיּוֹת, LXX αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ ἀλλότριαι). The Heb. word is usually tr. 'stranger' (*i.e.* 'foreigner') in AV, and RV gives 'strange women' here. 'Outlandish' (from Anglo-Sax. *utlendisc*, an adj. fr. *utland*, foreign countries) is Coverdale's word. Cf. Milton, *Hist. Eng.* v. 'He had taken with him Alfrid his youngest son to be there inaugurated King, and brought home with him an out landish Wife; for which they endeavoured to deprive him of his Kingdom'; and Bunyan, *PP* p. 84 (Clar. Press ed.), 'The Pilgrims were cloathed with such kind of raiment as was diverse from the raiment of any that traded in that fair. The

---

* Acc. to a very plausible textual emendation, Ps 45^{13b} (Heb. 14^b) should read: פְּנִינִים מִשְׁבְּצוֹת לְבוּשָׁהּ (so Krochmal, Graetz, Cheyne, Wellh.) 'of pearls (set) in gold filigree (Cheyne, 'in ouches of gold') is her raiment.'

† 'A silver shield with boss of gold' (Wordsworth).

‡ The ἀσπίδισκαι of 1 Mac 4^{57} are best taken in the same technical sense, as ornamental 'rosettes' or 'bosses,' rather than literally as 'small shields.'

people therefore of the fair made a great gazing upon them. Some said they were Fools, some they were Bedlams, and some they are Outlandish-men.'
J. HASTINGS.

OUTRAGE.—An outrage is that which goes beyond bounds (being formed by adding the common suffix *age* to *outre*, Old Fr. *oltre*, from Lat. *ultra*, beyond). It occurs in the heading to Ps 10, 'David complaineth to God of the outrage of the wicked.' The adj. **outrageous** is found in Pr 27^{4} 'anger is outrageous' (lit. as RVm 'anger is a flood'; Amer. RV 'overwhelming'). For the prim. sense of the adj. cf. Guylforde, *Pylgrymage*, p. 36, 'There be iiii. rowes or range of pylers thrughout ye church, of ye fynest marble yt may be, not onely mervaylous for ye nombre, but for ye outragyous gretnes, length, and fayrenes thereof.' J. HASTINGS.

OUTROAD is now lost to the Eng. language, though 'inroad' remains. It was never common, and occurs in AV only at 1 Mac 15^{41} 'He set horsemen there, and an host of footmen, to the end that issuing out they might make outroads upon the ways of Judah' (ἐξοδεύωσι). RV retains the word here, and even introduces it into 1 Es 4^{23} 'A man taketh his sword and goeth forth to make outroads' (ἐξοδεύειν; AV omits to translate). The same Gr. verb occurs in 2 Mac 12^{19}, but AV gives 'went forth,' RV 'sallied forth.' J. HASTINGS.

OVEN (תַּנּוּר *tannûr*, κλίβανος).—The Arab. name is the same as the Heb., and the use of the *tannûr* to-day indicates, no doubt, the kind of oven in use formerly. It is commonly made by sinking a hole in the ground, 3 or 3½ ft. deep, and 2½ to 3 ft. in diameter, somewhat in the form of a large jar; the walls are plastered with cement that will resist the action of fire, which is kindled in the oven when it is to be heated for use. The fuel is grass, thorns, or dry twigs (Mt 6^{30}), which heat the oven rapidly, and of course blacken it with smoke and soot. This explains the allusion in La 5^{10}. The inner surface is wiped when it becomes sufficiently heated, and the dough is moulded into broad thin loaves, hardly thicker than parchment, and placed, one at a time, on the wall of the oven by means of a large cushion, with a convex surface to fit the concave inner surface of the oven. The baking process is over in a few seconds. See BREAD, FURNACE. This form of oven is sometimes built above ground, and in Arabia sometimes on a movable base (Niebuhr, *Descr. de l'Ar.* pp. 45, 46). These ovens are usually outside the house, as the smoke would fill the dwelling if within. Often the same oven serves for several families (Lv 26^{26}). This kind of oven is doubtless referred to in Ex 8^{3}, though the Egyptians had various kinds.

Large ovens, 6 to 8 ft. square, are used in bakeries at the present day, of brick or stone, raised 2 or 3 ft. from the ground, with an arched roof and chimney, to allow the escape of the smoke. The bottom is paved, and the fire burns at one side while the bread is being baked on the other. The loaves are introduced on a narrow wooden shovel, which will take several at a time, and by which they are turned and removed when baked. A kind of portable oven, called in Arabic *sdj*, is much used by the nomads of Syria. It consists merely of a circular piece of sheet-iron, hemispherical in form, and is used by raising it on stones, concave side down, the fire being kindled under it, and the thin loaf placed on the convex surface.

The oven is figuratively employed in Scripture to indicate fierce heat and quick destruction, the materials used in heating it being soon consumed (cf. Ps 21^{9}, Hos 7^{7}, Mal 4^{1}). H. PORTER.

OVERSEER.—See MELZAR, STEWARD. Once in AV (Ac 20^{28}) ἐπίσκοποι is translated 'overseers.' It is the tr. of Tindale, who was followed by Cranmer (Great Bible), Geneva, and even the Bishops. RV has returned to Wyclif's and the Rhemish 'bishops.' See BISHOP.

OWL.—Five Heb. words are translated 'owl' in AV. **1.** בַּת הַיַּעֲנָה *bath-hayya'ănāh*, RV 'ostrich' (see NIGHT HAWK, OSTRICH).

2. יַנְשׁוּף *yanshûph* (Lv 11^{17}, Dt 14^{16}), 'great owl'; יַנְשׁוֹף *yanshôph* (Is 34^{11}), 'owl,' RVm 'bittern.' In all the LXX gives εἶβις and Vulg. *ibis*. The passage in Isaiah gives a considerable list of creatures, some fabulous, others uncertain, but all supposed to suggest desolation and ruin. *Yanshôph* is one of these. It is a strong objection to the *ibis* that it is a swamp bird, hardly to be thought of in connexion with an accursed and forsaken ruin. Yet the same is true of the *bittern*, the *cormorant*, and the *pelican* (RV text and AV margin) in the same passage. We may therefore accept *ibis*, in spite of this difficulty, or tr. the word 'twilight bird,' in allusion to its etymology,* leaving the question of species unsettled. This tr^{n} would emphasize the desolation and evil omen, which it is the object of the writer to portray.

3. כּוֹס *kôṣ*. Here again we have a word occurring only in the lists of unclean birds (Lv 11^{17}, Dt 14^{16}, AV and RV 'little owl'), and in one other reference (Ps 102^{6} AV and RV 'owl'), where the psalmist compares himself to 'an owl of the desert' (RV 'waste places'). The owl is called by the Arabs *umm al-kharâb*, *i.e.* 'mother of ruins,' from the fact that it frequents such places. The LXX νυκτικόραξ (Lv 11^{17}, Ps 102^{6}) confirms the tr^{n} 'owl,' which is to be taken generically. Among the owls of Pal. and Syria are *Asio Otus*, L., the long-eared owl; *A. brachyotus*, J. R. Forster, the short-eared owl; and *Bubo ascalaphus*, Sav., the Egyptian eagle owl. LXX tr. *kôṣ* in Dt 14^{16} by ἐρωδιόν, Vulg. *herodium*.

4. קִפּוֹז *ḳippôz*. This word occurs but once (Is 34^{15}). The LXX ἐχῖνος implies the reading קִפּוֹד *ḳippôdh*, which AV tr. 'bittern,' RV 'porcupine' (see BITTERN). As the bittern or porcupine has already been mentioned in the list of creatures in the ruins of Edom (v.^{11}) we must reject this. Nor can we accept the RV rendering **arrowsnake** (adopted by Ges., Dillm., Siegfried-Stade, Cheyne, etc., following Bochart, *Hieroz.* iii. 199), a kind of snake that leaps from trees on passers-by (Gr. ἀκοντίας), from Arab. *ḳafazd*, 'to leap.' The description is clearly that of a bird. No snake lays, incubates, 'hatches, and gathers its young under its shadow.' The fact that some owls specially frequent ruins makes it probable that, though there is no positive authority in its favour, some species of owl is intended. *Scops giu*, Scop., and *Athene glaux*, Sav., are dwellers in caves, ruins, and desolate places, and would suit the context.

5. לִילִית *lîlîth*, is also found in but one passage (Is 34^{14}). AV tr. it 'screech owl,' m. 'night monster'; RV 'night monster,' m. 'Lilith.' The etymology points to a nocturnal creature. It is probably fabulous. The unearthly hootings and boomings of the nocturnal birds about ruins and in lonely wastes would easily suggest to the imaginative Oriental mind such spectres. The LXX ὀνοκένταυρος refers to some unknown ape, or an apparition. The *lamia* of the Vulg. is a hag or witch who does harm to children. See, further, art. LILITH. The *ghûl* of the Arabs is a fabulous spectre, which haunts graveyards, and lives on human flesh (see NIGHT MONSTER).

It will be seen from the above analysis that three out of the five words tr^{d} 'owl' in AV probably do not refer to owls. The other two are generic. The Arab. *bûm* expresses, as a tone word, the cry of some of the owls. The Arabs are superstitious in regard to all the species, and look upon them as emblems of evil. G. E. POST.

---

* From נֶשֶׁף 'twilight' (so Bochart, *Hieroz.* ii. 281 ff.) Others derive from נָשַׁף 'wheeze.'

OX (Ὦξ).—An ancestor of Judith, Jth 8^{1}.

OX (שׁוֹר *shôr*).—The unit of the bovine species (בָּקָר *bāḳār*, as *horse, ass, sheep*) without reference to age or sex. It includes *bull, bullock, cow, heifer*, and *calf*. Nevertheless, each of these has a special name, as seen below. *Shôr* is sometimes tr^{d} 'ox,' and sometimes 'bull' or 'bullock.' The Aramaic form תּוֹר *tôr* corresponds exactly with the Arab. *thaur*, Gr. ταύρος, and Lat. *taurus*. In those languages, however, it refers esp. to the *bull*. Sometimes, for emphasis, *shôr* is coupled with אֶחָד *'eḥād*, meaning then a single ox (Nu 15^{11}, Neh 5^{18}). Rarely it is used collectively (Gn 32^{5}, 1 S 22^{19} 'oxen,' Dt 15^{19} 'bullock,' Jg 6^{25} פַּר־הַשּׁוֹר *par-hash-shôr*, lit. 'bull of the ox,' AV 'young bullock,' RV 'bullock'). *Shôr* is also used metaphorically בְּכוֹר שׁוֹרוֹ 'the firstling of his bullock' (Dt 33^{17}), to indicate the favoured position of Joseph. עִקְּרוּ שׁוֹר AV 'digged down a wall' (Gn 49^{6}), is more correctly tr^{d} RV 'houghed an ox.' Another Heb. term for 'oxen' is אֲלָפִים [only in plur.]. Its only occurrences are Pr 14^{4}, Is 30^{24} (where oxen are spoken of as used in tillage), Ps 8^{7} (oxen subject to man), Dt 7^{13} $28^{4. 18. 51}$ (their increase [שֶׁגֶר] a blessing).

Bull, bullock, cow, kine.—**1.** פַּר *par* (fem. פָּרָה *pārāh*, the female of the bovine species). When intended to refer to a young bull there is often added בֶּן־בָּקָר (Ex 29^{1} etc.); once in construct state with *shôr*, פַּר־הַשּׁוֹר = 'bullock of the ox' (Jg 6^{25}); once in apposition, שׁוֹר פָּר = 'ox-bullock,' *i.e.* 'bullock of the oxen' (Ps 69^{31}). *Par* and *pārāh* are usually employed to designate bulls or heifers for sacrifice. They are, however, occasionally used otherwise (Ps 22^{12} etc.).

2. אַבִּיר *'abbîr*. A metaphorical term, derived from the idea of his strength and valour (Ps 22^{12} 50^{13}, Is 34^{7}). In the same metaphorical sense it is used to designate the *horse* (Jer 8^{16} 47^{3}, AV 'strong *horses*,' RV 'strong ones' 50^{11}, AV 'bulls,' m. 'steeds,' RV 'strong horses').

3. תְּאוֹ *tĕ'ô* (Dt 14^{5}), AV 'wild ox,' RV 'antelope'; תּוֹא *tô* (Is 51^{20}), AV 'wild bull,' RV 'antelope.' In the absence of any certainty as to the species it is better to adopt *oryx*, after the LXX (Dt 14^{5} ὄρυξ. In Is 51^{20} LXX has ὡς σευτλίον ἡμίεφθον, 'like a half-cooked *beetroot*') and Vulg., and to suppose that the wild animal here intended is *Oryx beatrix*, formerly confounded with *Antilope leucoryx*, Pall. It is found on the borders of the Syrian desert. The horns are sold in Damascus and Jerusalem; they are over 3 ft. long. The creature is between 3½ and 4 ft. high. Its lower parts and a portion of the face are sandy white, and the rest of the face, back, and flanks tawny.

Calf, heifer.—עֵגֶל *'ēgel*, is the young of the bovine species, irrespective of sex. With the feminine suffix, עֶגְלָה *'eglāh*, either 'a single calf,' irrespective of sex (Dt 21^{3}), or 'a young cow' (Is 7^{21}). Heifer is the tr^{n} once of פָּרָה *pārāh* (Nu 19^{2}), usually of *'eglāh* (Dt 21^{3}, Jg 14^{18} etc.). See HEIFER.

There is no evidence that the buffalo, *Bos bubalus*, L., was known in Bible times. It is now common in the marshy districts, where it can wallow in the mud, but always as a domestic, not a wild animal. It is common in the Ḥûleh region, in the plain of Esdraelon, the Jordan Valley, and about Ḥems and Ḥama.

The Scripture allusions to oxen and their congeners are too numerous to be cited. They were used for ploughing (1 K 19^{19}), for draught, yoked in one or more pairs (Nu 7^{3}), as beasts of burden (1 Ch 12^{40} etc.), for treading out the corn (Dt 25^{4} etc.), for food (Dt 14^{4}), sacrifices (Gn 15^{9} etc.), dairy purposes (Dt 32^{14}, Is 7^{22}, 2 S 17^{29}). Herds were investments of wealth (Job 1^{3} 42^{12}). The pasture grounds of Palestine and Syria were extensive. Oxen were also kept and fattened in stalls (1 K 4^{23}, Pr 15^{17}, Lk 13^{15}). In the winter they were fed on stubble and straw, *tibn* (Is 11^{7}) and 'clean (AVm 'leavened,' RV 'savoury') provender' (30^{24}). The Mosaic law provided for their protection (Ex 22^{12}, Dt 25^{4}). The ox is found only where water is abundant and there is green pasture in springtime. Most of the cattle of the Holy Land at present are of inferior breeds. Probably this is but a part of the degeneracy of the country. The best races of animals would thrive there, and even now one sometimes sees fine specimens of horned cattle. See CATTLE.

G. E. POST.

OX-GOAD.—See GOAD, and AGRICULTURE in vol. i. p. 49^{b} where an ox-goad is figured.

OZEM (אֹצֶם).—**1.** An elder brother of David, 1 Ch 2^{15} (Ἄσομ). The vocalization of MT is of doubtful correctness. Kittel thinks אָצֻם (cf. LXX) more probable than אֹצֶם. Cf. the parallel case of *Oren* (wh. see) and *Aran*. **2.** A son of Jerahmeel, 1 Ch 2^{25} (B Ἀσάν, A Ἀσόμ).

OZIAS (Ὀζείας).—**1.** 1 Es 8^{2} (B Ὀζείας, A Ἐζίας), 2 Es 1^{2} (*Ozias*), one of the ancestors of Ezra (cf. Ezr 7^{4}). **2.** 1 Es 5^{31}, head of a family of temple servants which returned with Zerubbabel, called UZZA, Ezr 2^{49}, Neh 7^{51}. **3.** The son of Micah, of the tribe of Simeon, one of the rulers of Bethulia in the history of Judith (Jth 6^{15} 7^{23} $8^{10. 28. 35}$ 10^{6}).

OZIEL (Ὀζειήλ).—An ancestor of Judith, Jth 8^{1}. The name occurs frequently in OT under the form Uzziel (עֻזִּיאֵל).

OZNI (אָזְנִי).—A son of Gad, Nu 26^{16}, called in Gn 46^{16} Ezbon (אֶצְבֹּן). In the passage in Nu the same word הָאָזְנִי is used also as a patronymic = the **Oznites**.

P

PAARAI.—In MT of 2 S 23^{35} פַּעֲרַי הָאַרְבִּי 'Paarai the Arbite' appears as one of David's thirty heroes. The parallel passage, 1 Ch 11^{37}, has נַעֲרַי בֶּן־אֶזְבָּי 'Naarai the son of Ezbai' (B Νααραὶ υἱὸς Ἀζωβαί, A Νοορὰ υἱὸς Ἀζβί; cf. the reading of some twenty MSS of LXX in 2 S, τοῦ Οὐραὶ (Οὐρὲ) υἱὸς τοῦ Ἀσβί). It is impossible to decide with any confidence between the names *Naarai* and *Paarai*, or the readings 'son of Ezbai' and 'the Arbite' (cf. the name *Arab* in Jos 15^{22}) or 'the Archite' (cf. Jos 16^{2}, 1 S 16^{32} *al.*). This last reading is favoured by Klostermann, and seems to be pointed to by the corrupt reading of B, Οὐραιοερχεί, in 2 S 23^{35} (cf. Driver, *ad loc.*), as well as by that of A, Φαραεὶ ὁ Ἀραχειείς. See, further, ARBITE, EZBAI, NAARAI, and cf. Kittel's note on 1 Ch 11^{37} in *SBOT*.

J. A. SELBIE.

PADDAN, *i.e.* Paddan-aram, is found in Gn 48^{7} only. Perhaps ארם has fallen out of the Heb. text; it is present in the Sam., as well as in the LXX (Μεσοποταμία τῆς Συρίας).

PADDAN-ARAM (פַּדַּן־אֲרָם, Μεσοποταμία Συρίας).—See Aram, in vol. i. p. 138^{b}. *Padanu* is used in Bab. contracts of the age of Abraham as a measure of land. It is the modern Arabic *feddân*, 'acre.'

A. H. Sayce.

PADDLE (יָתֵד; πάσσαλος; *paxillus*) occurs only in Dt 23^{13} AV and RV, but RVm 'shovel' (which is Coverdale's word). The Heb. word is elsewhere used of a tent-pin (Ex 27^{19}, Jg 4^{21} *et al.*), and of a peg for hanging on (Ezr 9^{8}, Is $22^{23.24}$, Ezk 15^{3}), always of wood, so that the translation 'nail' should be avoided. Once also it signifies the batten or pin with which the woof is beaten up into the web (Jg 16^{14}; see Weaving). In Dt 23^{13} it is used of a wooden tool for digging, a spade. In earlier English a small spade used for cleaning the plough-share was called a 'paddle,' which explains the choice of this word in the Geneva Bible, whence it reached AV and RV.

J. Hastings.

PADON (פָּדוֹן, Φαδών).—The name of a family of Nethinim who returned with Zerubbabel, Ezr 2^{44} = Neh 7^{47}; called in 1 Es 5^{29} **Phaleas** (Φαλαίας).

PAGIEL (פַּגְעִיאֵל).—Son of Ochran, mentioned by P as chief of the tribe of Asher at the time of the Exodus, Nu 1^{13} 2^{27} (Φαγαιήλ), 7^{72} (B Φαγεήλ, A Φαγαιήλ), ^{77} (B Φαγεήλ, A Φαγαί), 10^{26} (Φαγαιήλ). The Heb. name is probably of late origin and of artificial character (see Gray, *HPN* 200 f., 210).

PAHATH-MOAB (פַּחַת־מוֹאָב 'governor of Moab'; A Φααθμωάβ, B Φααθμ., Φααβμ., Φααδμ., Φαλαβμ., Φθαλειμ., Μααθμ.; *Phahath-moab*, and in 1 Es 8^{34} *ductoris Moab*(*ilionis*) [the *-ilionis* represents the Greek word after *Moab*]).—In the list of those who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel there are included 'Bĕnê Pahath-moab of the Bĕnê Jeshua (and) Joab 2812,' Ezr 2^{6}, 1 Es 5^{11}, '2818' Neh 7^{11}; in the list of those who returned with Ezra, 'Of the Bĕnê Pahath-moab, Eliehoenai ben Zerahiah and 200 males,' Ezr 8^{4}, 1 Es 8^{31}; in the list of the husbands of foreign wives are named eight of the Bĕnê Pahath-moab, Ezr 10^{30}; in the list of the repairers of the wall of Jerusalem is named Hasshub ben-Pahath-moab (Neh 3^{11}); and amongst those who signed the covenant, 'the chiefs of the people . . . Pahath-moab,' Neh 10^{14}. Here we must understand the chief of the clan Pahath-moab, this being a Jewish clan, part of which remained in Babylon, while part returned with Zerubbabel and part with Ezra. The language of Ezr 2^{6} etc. shows that at the Return this clan consisted of two branches, *Jeshua* and *Joab*. In Ezr 8^{9} the *Bĕnê 'Joab* are enumerated as a separate clan, which furnished Ezra with Obadiah and 218 males.

Pahath-moab, as the name of a Jewish clan, is an enigma of which we have no satisfactory solution. It is commonly explained as 'governor of Moab.' The first part of the compound name would thus be connected with the Assyrian *peḥah*, which occurs so frequently in the Inscriptions. Pahath-moab may be a reminiscence of the Israelite dominion in Moab, and may have some connexion with 'the dominion in Moab' of the Judahite Bĕnê Shelah mentioned in 1 Ch 4^{22}. Or 'Pahath' may have replaced syllables of similar sound but different meaning, a familiar phenomenon in the history of proper names, *e.g.* 'Cat and Wheel' for 'Catherine Wheel.' In this case the clan Pahath-moab may have been connected with some Israelite settlement in Moab, or even with a settlement of Moabite refugees in Judah. Or, again, 'pahath' may be the word for 'pit'; or the whole word Pahath-moab may be a corruption of some name which had no connexion in meaning with either *peḥah* or Moab. A process of corruption antecedent to MT would be paralleled by Vulg. *Phæmo* in 1 Es 5^{11}, which no doubt goes back to the Pahath-moab of MT. Cf. Meyer, *Entstehung des Judenthums*, pp. 146, 157.

W. H. Bennett.

PAI (פָּעִי).—The capital city of Hadad (1 Ch) or Hadar (Gn), a king of Edom, 1 Ch 1^{50}. In the parallel passage, Gn 36^{39}, the name occurs in the form **Pau** (פָּעוּ). The LXX has in both passages Φογώρ (= פעור; cf. Φαγώρ in Jos 15^{59a}), and Ball thinks פעור 'is probably right,' while Kittel pronounces it 'perhaps the more original.' The site of the place referred to has not been identified, although there is some plausibility in the comparison Seetzen (*Reisen*, iii. 18) suggests with the ruins of *Phau'ara* in Edom (cf. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xiv. 995; but see, against this identification, Buhl, *Edomiter*, p. 38 Anm. 3). Hommel (*AHT* 264) suggests reading *Pa'îsh*.

J. A. Selbie.

PAINFUL, PAINFULNESS.—'Painful' was formerly used as we now use 'painstaking,' *i.e.* careful, industrious, laborious. We find three examples in AV, Ps 73^{16} 'When I thought to know this, it was too painful for me' (עָמָל היא [*Ḳerê* הוּא] בְעֵינָי, *i.e.* as AVm and RVm 'it was labour in mine eyes'), 2 Es 7^{12}, 2 Mac 2^{26}. So Elyot, *The Governour*, ii. 275, 'Suppose ye that the same Anniball . . . coulde haue wonne from the Romagnes all Spayne . . . if he had not ben a man paynefull and of labour incomparable?'; Livingstone in *Select Biog.* i. 316, 'Mr. David Dickson—a man singularly gifted with an edifying way of preaching, and whose painfull labours were eminently blessed with successe.'

'Painfulness' also was used in the sense of carefulness, industry, but in its only occurrence in AV the meaning is 'toilsomeness,' 2 Co 11^{27}, Gr. μόχθος, which is elsewhere (1 Th 2^{9}, 2 Th 3^{8}) rendered 'travail,' and that is accordingly the rendering of RV here also. Cf. Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.* I. vii. 7, 'The search of knowledge is a thing painful, and the painfulness of knowledge is that which maketh the will so hardly inclinable thereto.'

J. Hastings.

PAINT.—Mention is made Jer 22^{14} of the painting (מָשַׁח *mashaḥ*) of interiors with vermilion, probably after the manner of lacquer-work, which in a somewhat debased form is still practised in Damascus. The shields of the warriors of Nineveh were painted red, Nah 2^{3}. The variegation by colour was, however, chiefly by dyes in cloth, and by inlaying in wood, stone, and metal.

The application of paint was especially an art practised by the ancient Egyptians, some of whose pigments were exceedingly beautiful, and have retained their freshness through the centuries.

The other biblical references are to the painting of the eyes, 2 K 9^{30}, Jer 4^{30}, Ezk 23^{40}. The substance used for this purpose is antimony (פּוּךְ *pûkh*, Arab. *kuḥl*), and the act of applying it is כָּחַל (*kaḥal*). It is pounded to a powder of extreme fineness, so that 'as soft as *kuḥl*' has passed into a proverbial expression. The eyelids are held between two fingers and drawn forward a little, and then a fine rod covered with the black paste is drawn along between the edges of the eyelids. The powder does not irritate the delicate coating of the eye with which it comes in contact, but there is a collection of the powder under the eyelid so as to produce actual distension. The effect is one of apparent enlargement of the eyes, and this is further enhanced by a line of stain prolonging the eyelashes. While the result is universally acknowledged in the East to be ornamental, the motive is too obviously ostentatious to meet with approval among the more cultivated classes. Among the Bedawin of the desert men as well as women apply *kuḥl* to the eyes. According to popular belief, it strengthens the eyes and protects against ophthalmia. See EYE-PAINT.

G. M. MACKIE.

PALACE is used to tr. the following words:— **1.** אַרְמוֹן *'armôn*, Am 4^{3} הַרְמוֹן [very dub.]; *βάρις, βασίλειον, θεμέλιον*, etc.; *palatium, domus*, etc.; properly 'citadel,' probably connected with the root רום 'to be high'; chiefly used in Pss and Prophets, especially Amos. **2.** הֵיכָל *hêkhāl*, *βασίλειον, οἶκος*, etc., *palatium*, etc., supposed to be derived, through the Assyr. *ekallu*, from the Akkadian *e-gal*, 'great house.' The same word is used more frequently in the sense of 'temple' as the house of J". **3.** בִּירָה *bîrāh*, *πόλις, βάρις, οἶκος*, etc., *civitas, castrum*, etc., properly 'castle'; only in late post-exilic literature, Ch, Ezr, Neh, Est, Dn; in 1 Ch $29^{1.19}$ of the temple at Jerusalem. **4.** אַפֶּדֶן *'appedhen*, not tr. in LXX and Vulg.; only in Dn 11^{45}=Old Pers. *apadâna*, 'treasury,'[*] 'armoury.' **5.** בַּיִת *bayith*, בִּיתָן *bîthān*, 'house.' **6.** טִירָה *ṭîrāh*, only in Ezk 25^{4}, *σκήνωμα*, *tentorium*, RV 'encampment,' and Ca 8^{9} *ἔπαλξις*, *propugnaculum*, RV 'turret,' RVm 'battlements.' **7.** *αὐλή*, *atrium*, 'court.' **8.** *πραιτώριον*, *prætorium*, the 'prætor's court.' Of these, 3 and 6 are incorrectly translated 'palace.' The other words used remind us that a 'palace' differs from other buildings only by the size and complexity necessitated by the private life and public functions of a ruler. Primarily, it is simply a large house (2, 5); so the Egyptian royal title *Pharaoh* or *Palace* (cf. *Sublime Porte*) means 'great house'; and the ordinary OT term for 'palace,' in its strict sense of 'royal residence,' is 'the king's house,' or 'his house,' 1 K 7^{1} 9^{10}. *'Armôn* indicates that in troubled times a palace was a fortress; (*'appedhen* and) *prætorium* that, in early times, a palace included government offices, law courts, and prisons, Jer 32^{2}. See, further, PRÆTORIUM.

The only royal residence of which we have any details in the Bible is Solomon's palace, 1 K 7^{1-12}, which took thirteen years to build. This included the 'House of the Forest of Lebanon,' a great hall, 100 cubits long, 50 broad, 30 high, with four rows of pillars; a 'porch of pillars,' 50 cubits by 30; the 'porch of the throne' for a court of justice; a dwelling-house for himself, and another for Pharaoh's daughter. Round about the whole was a great court of hewn stones and cedar beams. The description was probably written while the buildings were still standing; but it is very obscure, and the text has suffered in transmission. Moreover, the account is obviously incomplete; the writer does not profess to mention all the apartments in the palace, and only gives the dimensions of the 'House of the Forest of Lebanon' and the 'Porch of Pillars.' With these meagre data, the various reproductions of the ground-plan are little more than guesses which help us to imagine the possible arrangement of the rooms and courts of an Israelite palace. Cf. HOUSE; see for Solomon's Palace, the Commentaries on 1 K, the Histories of Isr. on Solomon, and the Archæologies on 'Palace,' especially Benzinger, *Arch.* 233–243.

In Egypt the palace was not only the royal residence, but also the seat of government. The royal apartments were in an inner, the halls of audience in an outer court. If we include all the buildings required for courtiers and officials, the 'palace' becomes not a house, but a royal city. A characteristic feature was a balcony on which the king would show himself to his people. See Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 69 f., 182 f.; Maspero, *Dawn*, etc. 275 f.

The Assyrian and Babylonian palaces were large and magnificent. In Babylonia the palaces, like the temples, were built on the top of artificial mounds of crude bricks; and were groups of buildings forming a great fortress. For account, plans, etc., of Gudea's palace at Lagash, see Maspero, *Dawn*, etc. 709 f.; Hommel, *Gesch. Bab. u. Assyr.* 201. In Assyria a typical palace is that of Sargon II. at Dursarrakin, a huge walled square, with numerous buildings and inner courts, including a *ziggurat* and other temples. Special features of the Assyr. palaces were the sculptures on the walls, and the winged human-headed bulls (specimens in Brit. Mus.). See Maspero, *Hist. Anc. Egyp.-Assyr.* ch. xi.; Hommel, *op. cit.* 682 ff. (both illustrated).

W. H. BENNETT.

PALAL (פָּלָל 'judge'), the son of Uzai, took part in the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem in the time of Nehemiah (Neh 3^{25}; B Φαλάλ, A Φαλάξ).

PALANQUIN.—Ca 3^{9} RV 'King Solomon made himself a palanquin of the wood of Lebanon' (RVm 'car of state,' AV 'chariot,' AVm 'bed'). The Heb. word, אַפִּרְיוֹן, occurs only in this place, and is of unknown origin; for possible affinity cf. Sanscrit *paryañka* and Gr. *φορεῖον* (the LXX rendering): if it is a form of either of those words it becomes an element in determining the date of Canticles, for which see Driver, *LOT*^{6} 449, 450.

PALE.—Besides Is 29^{22}, where the verb חָוַר in its single occurrence is translated 'wax pale'[*] (cf. חוּר 'white stuff,' *i.e.* cotton or linen, in Est 8^{15}; חוֹרִי with the same meaning, Is 19^{9}; and חֹרִי 'white bread,' Gn 40^{16}), the adj. 'pale' is used in AV only in Rev 6^{8} to describe the horse whose rider was Death (see REVELATION [BOOK]). The Gr. is *χλωρός*, which elsewhere in NT only describes grass, and is translated 'green' (Mk 6^{39}, Rev 8^{7} 9^{4}), but is common in classical writers for the paleness or lividness of the countenance. In this sense the Eng. subst. 'paleness' occurs in Jer 30^{6} 'all faces are turned into paleness,' Heb. יֵרָקוֹן, which elsewhere (Dt 28^{22}, 1 K 8^{37}, 2 Ch 6^{28}, Am 4^{9}, Hag 2^{17}) is used of 'mildew,' and which means, says Driver (Am 4^{9}), 'pale and unhealthy *greenness*.'

The 'pales' of Sir 22^{18} 'Pales set on an high place will never stand against the wind,' are stakes, palings, used for ornament or enclosure, as in Shaks. *Com. of Err.* II. i. 100—

> 'Too unruly deer, he breaks the pale,
> And feeds from home.'

The Gr. is *χάρακες* after B (confirmed, acc. to Edersheim, by Syr.), but AC give *χάλικες*, 'pebbles.'

J. HASTINGS.

PALESTINA, PALESTINE.—AV in Ex 15^{14}, Is $14^{29.31}$, Jl 4^{4} (3^{4}), where RV has 'Philistia.' See PHILISTINES, and next article.

PALESTINE (פְּלֶשֶׁת; Ex 15^{14} Φυλιστιείμ, Is $14^{29.31}$, Jl 3 [Heb. 4]^{4} *οἱ ἀλλόφυλοι*).—

i. Geology.
ii. Natural Features.
iii. Climate and Natural Products.
iv. Races.
v. Geography.
vi. Antiquities.

The word as used in the OT is more correctly rendered Philistia (so AV of Ps 60^{8} 87^{4} 108^{9}, and RV uniformly), which is mentioned (see *COT* i. 86) with Canaan, Edom, and Moab, and as a coast region attacked by the Assyrians in the 8th cent. B.C. From an early Christian period it has, however, been used to mean the Holy Land, from Dan to Beersheba and beyond Jordan. West of the river it extends 143 miles north and south, with an average breadth of 40, and an area of 6000 square miles. Eastern Palestine runs to the Syrian desert, and includes 4000 square miles. Western Palestine is thus about the size of Wales, and the central mountains are about the same height above the sea as in Wales. The country thus possesses a less trying climate than that of the regions to the south and east (Egypt and Mesopotamia), and in character and products resembles the hilly parts of Southern Italy.

---

[*] So Schultze (explaining it as ∥ Gr. ἀπο-θή-κη), but Darmesteter (*Ét. Iran.* ii. 1. 133) as 'bâtiment élevé sur une hauteur.' In Syr. it certainly='palace,' cf. Sir 50^{7} (Syr.), where it is used of the Temple.

[*] RV has 'wax pale' also in Jl 2^{6} Nah 2^{10} for AV 'gather blackness.'

i. GEOLOGY.—The underlying formation is the Nubian sandstone (of the Greensand period), but this never appears west of Jordan. In the north it is found on the west slopes of Hermon and Lebanon, and east of Jordan it appears at a considerable elevation on the slopes of Moab and Gilead. Above the sandstone are limestones belonging to the Chalk period, and conformable with the lower strata. There are two main formations, the lower being a hard dolomitic limestone, often metamorphic, the upper a soft chalky stone with bands of chert, and containing ammonites, belemnites, and many genera of shells of the Cretaceous period. Where the hard limestone occurs the country is very rugged, with precipices, and with springs and streams on the surface; but in districts where the softer formation prevails, the features (like those of the upper chalk in England) are more rounded, and the water sinks in, being only attainable in deep wells, or in places where the lower strata are laid bare. Highest of all, on the summits of Gerizim and Carmel, a nummulitic limestone is occasionally found.

The present formation of the country is due to convulsions, which took place in the early Tertiary period. An immense fault was formed from Hermon southwards, rending the strata and forming the depression of the Jordan Valley and Dead Sea. The western strata fall with a steep dip to the valley, while the eastern are less contorted, the sandstone cliffs having been sheared in two, north and south. There are subsidiary parallel faults west of the valley, where the upper strata have fallen over into the great chasm. The fault continues south of the Dead Sea, but is less considerable, and a watershed 600 ft. above the Mediterranean here dammed up the waters of the Jordan Valley, forming a lake 1300 ft. deep, the surface of which is now 1292 ft. below the Mediterranean. This convulsion was accompanied by volcanic outbreaks in the north, covering the plains of Bashan and of Lower Galilee with floods of basaltic lava. Minor outbreaks of the same are traceable also on the west slopes of Carmel.

West of the main ridge of Western Palestine, cretaceous sandstones were deposited, forming foot hills, which, though dipping westwards, are unconformable with the older strata of the central ridge. Beyond these an alluvial plain was formed, and is now banked in by sandy rocks and sand dunes. In the Jordan Valley a great salt lake at first occupied the whole length of the chasm. Ancient sea-beaches are visible, especially at the *Meidân el-'Abd*, north of Jericho. The shells generally are lacustrine and not marine. The drying up of these waters has now left only the smaller sheets of the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea; but south of the former the bed of the valley is still strongly impregnated with salt, and salt springs occur on the slopes to the west in Samaria. The volcanic activity of this region is still not quite exhausted. Earthquakes such as are mentioned in earlier times (1 K 19^{11}, Am 1^{1}, Mt 27^{54}) still occur, like that which destroyed the towns of the north in the twelfth century A.D., and ruined Sâfed in Galilee in 1846. Hot springs occur on both sides of the valley, and the temperature of those at Tiberias rose considerably at the time of the last-mentioned earthquake. This sketch of geological structure enables us to understand the physical features of Palestine; and it is important as showing that the destruction of the Cities of the Plain cannot be explained as by Josephus (*Wars*, IV. viii. 4), who believed them to be buried under the Dead Sea (see Gn 14^{3}), which was certainly in existence before the appearance of man.

ii. NATURAL FEATURES.—The hills of Western Palestine are the continuation of the higher Lebanon ridge to the north, of which Mount Hermon (9200 ft.) is an outlier on the east at the springs of Jordan. In Upper Galilee, where the hard limestone prevails, the highest elevation is 4000 ft. above the Mediterranean near Meirûn, and the eastern slopes are very steep. On the west the foot hills and long spurs from the watershed exhibit the softer chalk in parts. Lower Galilee includes the plateau of Tabor, 600 ft. above the Mediterranean, and the western plain of Asochis (*Buṭṭauf*), separated from the shore of the large shallow Bay of Acre by the low chalky hills, which also rise on the south round Nazareth. Mount Tabor (1800 ft.) is an outlier of these hills on the south-east, with a rounded summit like an immense molehill, and south of this again the volcanic peak of *Nebi Dhahy* (called Little Hermon in the twelfth century) rises from the plateau, divided by the valley of Jezreel from Gilboa farther south. At this point the Palestine watershed is only about 200 ft. above the Mediterranean, at the north-east corner of the large triangular plain called Esdraelon. This plain has the range of Gilboa (1600 ft.) on its east, and is bounded on the west by the long spur which divides it from the shore plain of Sharon, and which rises into the ridge of Carmel, which, projecting north-west, attains 1700 ft. above the sea, and, continuing 15 miles, falls to 500 ft. at the promontory which forms the natural harbour of Haifa on the south side of the Bay of Acre. A smaller plain lies west of the main shed, and south of Esdraelon near Dothan, separated by lower hills from Sharon. Entering the Samaritan region the watershed gradually rises. Gilboa, which is capped with chalk, spreads north, from the rounded watershed hills to the south near Jenin; but round Shechem, and as far south as Bethel, the dolomitic limestone mountains form one of the highest and most rugged districts in Palestine. The principal features on this watershed are the summits of Ebal (3077 ft.) and of Gerizim (2850 ft.) divided by the deep pass of Shechem; and, south of Shiloh, Baal-hazor (3300 ft.). Long ridges run out westwards from this chain, sinking to the chalky foot hills east of Sharon, and on the opposite side of the watershed are rugged slopes and small plateaus bounding the Jordan Valley. Approaching Jerusalem the watershed sinks to about 2500 ft., and the chalk appears to the east on Olivet (2600 ft.); but after passing Bethlehem the flatter plateau rises again to the Hebron hills, which are in parts as rugged as those of Samaria, rising to 3000 ft. at Râmeh, north of Hebron. On the west the spurs are here longer than in Samaria, with deep ravines; and the chalky foot hills form a yet more distinct district, called *Shephēlah* in the Bible ('lowlands'), while the Plain of Sharon widens into that of Philistia. On the east a desert plateau extends below the Hebron mountains, about 1000 ft. above the Mediterranean, and is terminated in magnificent precipices of hard limestone above the Dead Sea. The surface of this plateau is cut up with ravines and sharp chalky ridges, and this 'desert of Judah' is the wildest and most desolate region in Western Palestine. South of Hebron the mountains are divided by a long open valley, which runs south to Beersheba. The plateaus gradually sink towards the southern plain, 800 ft. above the Mediterranean, which reaches round the hills towards that of Philistia, and sinks in steps and rounded ridges towards the Sinaitic desert, and on the east to the Arabah or broad valley south of the Dead Sea.

The extremes of elevation between the summit of Hermon (9200 ft.) and the bottom of the Dead Sea (2600 ft. below the Mediterranean) mark the depth of the great fault of the Jordan Valley, which is at first wide and marshy, at about sea-level near the Waters of Merom, flanked by the Galilæan mountains to the west, and by the volcanic ridges and craters of the Jaulân to the east. A steep spur from the Sâfed mountains forms a narrower gorge north of the Sea of Galilee, which is a natural basin, deepest on the south and east, pear-shaped, and 12 miles north and south by 8 at the widest, with precipices 2000 ft. high on the east, and others of less elevation on the south-west. On the west and north steep slopes strewn with basalt sink into the lake. The surface is 680 ft. below the Mediterranean, and the Jordan falls thence to the Dead Sea, 1292 ft. below the same level. The Jordan plain is about 10 miles wide, with high mountains on either side. The Dead Sea is flanked by mighty precipices on either side throughout its stretch of 40 miles, and is 10 miles broad; but immediately to its north the foot hills recede, forming the wider plains of Jericho and Shittim, west and east of the river, about 1000 ft. below the Mediterranean. Eastern Palestine includes the plateau of Bashan, the hills of Gilead, and the barren plains of Moab. The first of these regions is a broad plain about 2000 ft. above the Mediterranean, broken by the ridge of the Jaulân craters east of the Upper Jordan, and seamed by precipitous ravines with dolomitic cliffs, east of the Sea of Galilee. The plateau is divided from the Syrian desert by the isolated ridge of the Hill of Bashan (Ps 68^{15} only), rising to 5700 ft. The Gilead hills rise to about 3000 ft., and are only some 500 above the eastern desert. Their western slopes, of hard limestone and sandstone, are very steep, and the plateau is from 3000 to 4000 ft. above the Jordan Valley. Rugged ravines score these slopes, and the region is divided by the valley of the Jabbok into two districts, now called *ʽAjlûn* and *Belḳa*—north and south respectively of the stream. The mountains sink on the south to the general level of the plateau east of the Dead Sea, and a lower terrace of barren desert here answers to the desert of Judah west of the sea. Among the ridges which run out west from the plateau, Mount Nebo is one of the most conspicuous (2643 ft.), but it is not as high as Jebel Oshʽa in Gilead (3597 ft.), and does not command as extensive a view. It is, however, the nearest high point to the plains of Shittim, and projects farther west than the others. The tremendous gorges which divide the precipices west of the Moab plateau present some of the grandest scenery in Palestine; and among these the torrent of Arnon is the most famous. The black basalt, white chalk, pink and yellow sandstones of the Zerḳa Maʽin rise sheer above a narrow brook; and into this flow the sulphur streams, bordered with orange deposits, from the hot springs of Callirrhöe, passing by a palm grove, and flowing in a cataract to the Dead Sea. This wild gorge may be the Nahaliel or 'ravine of God' (Nu 21^{19}) mentioned in the Pentateuch. The Moab plateau continues in the ridge of Edom, east of the Arabah, rising to 4580 ft. at Mount Hor. Its western ridges are called the *ʽAbarim*, or mountains 'beyond' the Dead Sea, in the Bible (Nu 27^{12}, Dt 32^{49} 34^{1}).

These various natural features are distinguished in the OT by special terms: *Har*, 'mountain country'; *Sādeh*, 'plain' (in Philistia); and *Shārōn*, 'plain' farther north, and, according to Jerome, near Tabor; *Shephēlah*, 'lowland,' for the foot hills on the south-west; *Mishôr* for the plateaus of Bashan and Moab; *Midbār* for the desert of Judæa; and *Negeb*, or 'dry land,' for the plains of Beersheba and the lower plateau south of Hebron, where no surface water is found as a rule. The various kinds of valleys include: *Naḥal* for a torrent-valley (the modern *wādy*), *ʽEmeḳ* for a broad flat valley flanked by mountains; *ʽĂrābāh* for 'desert' valleys like that of Jordan and south of the Dead Sea; *Shāveh* for a smaller vale; and *Gai* for a waterless ravine. The term *Biḳʽah* appears to signify a plain between mountains, and is still so applied (Arab. *Buḳʽah* and diminutive *Buḳeiʽah*) in many places, both to the plain of the Orontes in Syria, and to the remarkable cup-shaped depression on the Gilead plateau, south of the Jabbok, which seems to be the 'circle of Mahanaim' (Ca 6^{13}). The terms *Bithron* (2 S 2^{29}) and *Migron* (1 S 14^{2}) apply to rugged gorges; and *Debir*, or 'the back' (Jos $15^{7.49}$, cf. 13^{26}), in three cases to ridges. None of these terms are now in use except the one mentioned; and the old names of natural features in Palestine have, as a rule, been lost.

The **water supply** of Palestine is fairly abundant, except in the deserts and in the Negeb, and it includes lakes, rivers, brooks, and springs. The waters of the Dead Sea are intensely bitter, containing 25 per cent. of chlorides washed down from the valley; but those of the Sea of Galilee and of Merom are sweet. The most important river is the **Jordan**, the geographical source of which is on the west side of Hermon near Hasbeya, 1700 ft. above sea-level; but its most important supply issues as a foaming stream, 1000 ft. above sea-level, from under the cave of Baniâs at the foot of Hermon, by the snows of which it is fed. Rushing down through a thick copse, by rows of poplars, it joins several other streams, which flow over the basalt slopes into the plain of *Tell el-Ḳâḍi* (the site of Dan) from the north-west; and the river is then lost in the papyrus marshes of Merom, but gathers as the valley narrows, and descends rapidly to the Sea of Galilee, where a delta about a mile long has been formed, during the last nineteen centuries, at its junction with the lake. On issuing into the southern valley the course becomes narrow and tortuous, a deep channel about half a mile to a mile wide having been worn in the valley bed. The stream is here shallow, and crossed by about twenty fords, of which the most important on the main road is called *ʽAbārah*, and may be the Bethabara (?) of the NT (Jn 1^{28}): there is a cataract in the stream farther south, but the slope of the river-bed gradually becomes flatter after passing the Dâmieh ferry (Adam, Jos 3^{16}), the river having, however, acquired a rapid flow, which continues to its mouth. Opposite Jericho it is fordable for horses in the dry season, and is here about thirty yards wide. In early spring, however (see Jos 3^{15}), when the Hermon snows begin to melt, and after the winter rains, the Jordan will sometimes overflow its banks, and fill the whole channel, nearly a mile wide. The banks are formed by hillocks of white soft marl, which are at times undermined, and fall into the river. An Arab writer asserts that the river was known to have been thus blocked for a time (cf. Jos 3^{16}) in A.D. 1267. Sultan Beybars was then building a bridge at the Dâmieh ford, and the western bank of the river fell in on 8th December, damming the stream for four hours (Nowairi, see *Pal. Expl. Fund Quarterly Statement*, July 1895, p. 257). The river is often quite hidden by groves of tamarisk and cane brakes. The plains on either side are much cut up by tributary channels, but are covered in spring with rich grass; towards the south, however, the bushes and acacia trees (*shiṭṭim*) cease, and a muddy saline flat grows only the alkali plant. The shores of the Dead Sea are strewn with gravel and salt-covered tree trunks brought down by the river in flood, and a swampy delta is also formed where the Jordan enters this lake. The name of the river Jordan ('the descender') is thought to be due to its rapid fall of 2000 ft. in a course of 100 miles. There are several important perennial affluents on both sides of the river. On the west the streams of *Wâdy el-Ḥamâm* flow by the small plain of Gennesaret into the Sea of Galilee. Farther south the perennial stream from Jezreel, and the waters of many springs under the Tabor plateau and Mount Gilboa, join the river. In Samaria the brook of *Wâdy Far'ah* (probably the waters of Ænon, Jn 3^{23}) is an important affluent north-east of Shechem, and near Jericho the ravine of the *Ḳelt* is a winter torrent of great velocity, identified without reason with the Brook Cherith (1 K 17 $^{3.5}$), which was 'east' of Jordan, probably in Gilead. East of the river several perennial brooks flow in, and the most important of these are the *Yarmûk*, south of the Sea of Galilee, and the *Jabbok*, which is fed by springs at and north-east of Rabbath-ammon. It flows north at first, and south of Gerasa turns to the west. Its bed is fringed with canes in the lower part of its course, and it is easily passable in summer. The springs of *Nimrah* (Nu 32^3) also flow with other perennial brooks through the Shittim plains, and others which rise high up on the Moab plateau flow direct into the Dead Sea.

In Western Palestine there are other perennial streams flowing into the Mediterranean. The *Leontes* (or *Kasimîyeh*), which rises in the southern Lebanon, reaches the sea north of Tyre. The *Belus*, which gathers the waters of the low hills to the east, is a swampy stream south of Acre, and seems to be the *Shihor-libnath*, Jos 19^{26} (but see Dillm. *ad loc.*). It is fordable at its mouth. The *Kishon*, which debouches on the south side of the Bay of Acre, is more important, and is perennial, though in a very dry summer its bed shows only a chain of pools, and its mouth is choked by sand dunes. It flows north-west under Carmel from a narrow pass leading out of the Esdraelon plain, where it is formed by two branches, of which the eastern is the true Kishon of the OT (see Jg $4^{6.7}$), springing from swampy pools west of Tabor. The western stream is formed by springs from the downs south of Carmel, and its chief source is at Lejjûn (the Legio of Roman times) near Taanach, west of the plain of Esdraelon. The waters of the south slopes of Carmel drain into the marshy *Zerḳa* or Crocodile River, remarkable from the 2nd cent. downwards as the only place where crocodiles were found in Palestine. They still inhabit its swamps. Sharon, farther south, is drained by several streams, unnoticed except in the 12th century; and north of Jaffa is one more important (the *'Aujeh*), which carries a turbid sandy flood from the springs of *Râs el-'Ain* (Antipatris) to the sea. It appears to be the *Me-jarkon*, or 'yellow water,' of Jos 19^{46} (but see Dillm. *ad loc.*). The only perennial stream in Philistia is the *Nahr Rubîn*, or 'river of Reuben,' named from a Moslem shrine, and flowing under the cliff of *el-Mughâr* (probably Makkedah) to the shore near Jamnia. A great valley, south of Gaza, collects the waters of the Negeb hills, and supplies the deep wells of Beersheba and the shallow pits at Gerar (Gn $26^{6.15}$); but the water is only found by digging in its pebbly bed. Its modern name is the *Wâdy Ghŭzzeh.*

Many of the other great ravines, such as the *Brook Kanah* (Jos 16^8) in Samaria, flow with water in winter; and the most remarkable of these is the stream which bursts out of the *Bîr Eyûb* at Jerusalem in winter, flowing down the Kidron gorge towards the Dead Sea.

Palestine is also well supplied with **springs** in all parts where the hard limestone is near the surface. The hills of Gilead run with small brooks. There are minor streams in Galilee, and good springs in the central region and on the western slopes of the Hebron mountains. Near Jerusalem there is less water, and the dry regions of the Negeb and the deserts have been already noticed. The springs mentioned in the Bible include the fountain of Jezreel (1 S 29^1), one of several near the city, two of which (*'Ain Jalûd* and *'Ain Tub'aûn*) form large pools; the pool of Samaria (1 K 22^{38}), which has a fine natural spring; the pool of Gibeon (2 S 2^{13}), which rises in a cavern under the ancient site of the town; the fountain of Gihon (1 K 1^{38}, 2 Ch 32^{30}) east of Jerusalem, also now rising in a cavern—the probable site of Bethesda (Jn 5^2); and the well of Sirah (2 S 3^{26}), a spring well near Hebron, which retains its ancient name. To these we must add the well of Jacob at Shechem, and the Beersheba wells, which still contain natural waters. The towns called *'En* (with an affixed name) in the Bible still present springs, as a rule, when the site is known. The hot springs most famous in Palestine are those near Tiberias, near Hammath (east of Jordan), and at Callirrhŏe (*Ant.* XVII. vi. 5) as already mentioned; others occur at Gadara and in the valley south-west of Beisân.

The Palestine coast is very deficient in **harbours.** The ports of Gaza, Ashkelon, Ashdod, Jamnia, Joppa, Cæsarea, Accho, Tyre, and Sidon, are all formed only by reefs. The Haifa open roadstead is protected by the bluff of Carmel, and is the only one now visited in winter storms. Fleets, however, found refuge at Tyre and Joppa as early as B.C. 1500, and the latter port was used by Solomon (2 Ch 2^{16}).

The natural **highways** of the country are equally indicated by its formation and by history. The great shore road has always been the main route of armies, and an important cross road led from Sharon across the downs south of Carmel, and from the Bay of Acre, to the Valley of Jezreel, crossing the Jordan at Bethabara (?), and gaining the Bashan plateau on the way to Damascus. The mountain roads are difficult paths; and until the Romans in the 2nd cent. laid out roads, marked with milestones, all over both Eastern and Western Palestine, commerce appears to have been mainly confined to the natural routes above indicated. The pilgrim road from Damascus to 'Aḳabah on the Red Sea leads over the eastern plateau, and formed the route by which Israel appears to have entered Moab and marched to Bashan.

iii. CLIMATE AND NATURAL PRODUCTS.—In the short distance of a hundred miles the traveller passes from an Alpine region on Hermon to the tropical plains of the Dead Sea, and finds in Palestine a fauna and flora ranging from that of Northern Europe to that of Africa. In the Bible we read of snow, hail, and ice, as well as of the desert whirlwinds and the sunstroke. There is no reason to suppose that the climate and productions of the country now differ much from those of the earliest times. Forests have, no doubt, been destroyed in Sharon and in the Hebron mountains; but, on the other hand, copses now cover the sites of former vineyards, marked by towers, terraces, and rock-cut winepresses, on Carmel and elsewhere. With decrease of population the great tanks and cisterns have fallen into ruins, with the aqueducts and rock-cut canals of Roman times. But in the Gospels we read of the fevers of Gennesaret; and the swampy plains must always have been malarious. The regions now desert or waterless are the same so described in the OT. The palm culture of the Jordan Valley has ceased, but it was mainly an artificial product of Herodian times. The plains are still as thickly covered with grass and flowers in spring as they ever were, and woods and pastures by the waters still exist.

The *climate* of Palestine resembles that of Sicily, and the seasons are the same as in other Mediterranean lands. The average temperature in summer rises to nearly 90° F. by day, the nights being cool, with heavy dews. When the east wind blows from the desert, and ozone is absent from the air, the heat increases sometimes to 105° F., and the nights are also very hot; but this usually only lasts for three or four days at a time. In the Jordan Valley in summer 118° F. in the shade may be experienced. The extremes from 90° F. by day to 40° F. by night in the bare deserts of Moab are severely felt in autumn, but the prevalence of a fresh breeze from the sea makes the summer heat in the hills very moderate. In winter the hills of Judæa, Samaria, and Galilee are often white with snow for several days, and the Edomite chain may be seen snow-covered from Jerusalem. The palm will consequently not grow in the hills, and there are but few groves even in the plains, where frost is rarely felt. Lebanon and Hermon retain snow patches till autumn every year. The winter begins usually in December or earlier, and in January there are heavy gales and much rain. The 'former rains' (Dt 11^{14}) fall at the time of the autumn equinoctial gales, and the 'latter rains' about the spring equinox; but in March the spring begins, and April is the month of grass and flowers. In May the east wind prevails, and dries up the herbage, but in June and July the west wind rises about 10 a.m. daily. The heat increases in August and September, and the country is entirely dried up in October. The most unhealthy time is when the autumn ploughing begins, after the first thundershowers in November. Thunderstorms in June during the harvest (1 S 12^{17}) occasionally occur suddenly. The dust whirlwinds (Job 37^{9}), which swirl along the plains in later summer—esp. in Bashan—are a peculiar feature of the hot season. The rainfall averages 25 to 30 in. in ordinary years, and is quite sufficient; but the storage of water in dry districts is very imperfect. Years of drought occur from time to time, as do earthquakes and visitations of locusts; and these are noticed in every age from the earliest times. But in spite of the deserts, and of the barrenness of the mountains, Palestine has a good soil, esp. in Bashan and Sharon, and is a land of 'corn, must, and oil,' answering to the descriptions of Deuteronomy (8^{7-9} 11^{10-12}), and capable of supporting a large population if fully cultivated.

The *natural growth* is dependent on the moisture brought by the sea-breeze, and thus in Lebanon and in Palestine alike the slopes west of the watershed are covered with copse, while those to the east—shut out from the moisture—are bare. In Eastern Palestine the woods of oak and pine covering Gilead are more extensive than in any other district. The slopes here face the west, and springs issue from the surface of the dolomitic rocks, the water having sunk through the chalky surface of the desert plateaus farther east. The oak woods west of Nazareth, and in Sharon, have been sadly thinned, and a pine wood south of Bethlehem—noticed by Arculphus about A.D. 670—is now represented only by a few stunted trees. The words used for forest in the OT (*ya'ar* and *ḥōresh*) refer, however, to copse rather than to woods; and the occurrence of single trees (oak and terebinth), often noticed in the OT, is still a feature of the scenery. The Aleppo pine (*P. Haleppensis*), which appears on Lebanon and Carmel, is probably not native. It bears a name (*sinôbar*) which appears to be Greek, and under this term is noticed in the Mishna in the 2nd century A.D. The native pine (*P. Carica*) found in Gilead is more probably the 'fir' (1 K $6^{15.34}$, Ezk 27^{5}) of the OT. The copse, consisting of dwarf oak, mastic, styrax (stacte, Ex 30^{34} *nāṭaph*), hawthorn, and other shrubs, is found chiefly on the harder limestone, especially in Upper Galilee, on Carmel, in Samaria, and on the Hebron mountains and the spurs west of Jerusalem. Near the watershed the hills are mostly bare, but covered with thyme, mint, and the *bellân* (or *Poterium Spinosum*), a brown prickly rosaceous plant. The hyssop, and other kinds of marjoram, are commonly found growing on ruins. The carob occurs as a single tree, like the sycomore fig, and the *dilb* or plane (Gn 30^{37}). The poplar is found in various localities in Palestine (see Tristram, *Nat. Hist. of Bible*, 290, and cf. Hos 4^{13}, where, however, the rendering should perhaps be 'styrax,' see art. POPLAR); but the beech does not occur south of the Northern Lebanon, though growing on chalky soils in Asia Minor. The acacia and the tamarisk (Gn 21^{33}, 1 S 22^{6} 31^{13}) are mainly found in the Jordan Valley, and the white broom (1 K 19^{4}, Ps 120^{4}, Job 30^{4}) is common in the deserts of Moab and Judah and in the Negeb. Among smaller plants the cistus (*loṭ*, AV and RV 'myrrh' [which see], RVm 'ladanum,' Gn 37^{25} 43^{11}) is very common on the chalk; and the plains of Sharon and Jordan are covered with many wild flowers, esp. the pink phlox, the pheasant's eye, and the narcissus (probably the Rose of Sharon); while the common lily of the country, planted by Moslems in graveyards, is the purple iris. A complete account of the fauna and flora of Palestine occupies two volumes of the *Memoirs of the Survey*, and only the more conspicuous features noticed in the Bible are here mentioned. Cultivated plants in Palestine, as corn (wheat and barley), balm, and fruits, together with wine, oil, and honey, are noticed in Egyptian records (*Records of Past*, 1st series, ii. 17 f.) as early as B.C. 1600. The almond (*luz*, Gn 43^{11}) grows wild in Lebanon and Moab, and the oil tree (1 K 6^{23}) or oleaster is also not uncommon on the hills. The apple (*tappuaḥ*) is not common, but the Heb. word survives in the Arabic *tuffâḥ*; the ash (Is 44^{14}) is the *Fraxinus Ornus*, the common ash being unknown. The box (Is 41^{19} 60^{13}) grows in Lebanon; the Syrian papyrus differs from that of Egypt, and is found in Merom, in the Sharon rivers, and at Gebal, as well as the Egyp. species. The chief fruit trees are the olive, fig, pomegranate, and apricot, which last, however, with the citron, prickly pear, walnut, and other fruits, seems to have been introduced at a late period. The vegetable products noticed in the Pentateuch appear to be all of great antiquity. The citron (introduced from Media by the Persians) and the walnut (*'ĕgōz*, Arab *jôz*), said to bear a Persian name, are unmentioned, as are cotton and silk, though both are now known in the country. Flax (Hos 2^{9}, see Jos 2^{6}), which was grown at Nazareth in the 12th cent. A.D., and which is noticed in the Mishna, is one of the oldest materials used by man. It may be here noted that the only foreign plants in the Pentateuch are calamus and cassia from Ionia (Ezk 27^{19} [?; text dub.]), or from Uzal in Arabia according to the LXX, with myrrh from Arabia, and probably frankincense and cinnamon.

The sea trade with Asia Minor is, however, mentioned on monuments of the 15th cent. B.C., and that with Arabia goes back ten centuries earlier. Gum tragacanth and balm (Gn 37^{25}), pistachio nuts (Gn 43^{11}), honey, and almonds, were natural products of Palestine, as were stacte (or styrax) and ladanum (Gn 37^{25} 43^{11}) or cistus. Palestine has also always been very productive of gourds, cucumbers, vetches, melons, pulse, and other vegetables. The henna used as a dye (Ca 4^{13}) is native, as is saffron or crocus (Ca 4^{14}). The *kirsenneh*, which is a common crop, probably represents the Heb. *kuṣṣemeth* (Ezk 4^{9}). The alkali plant (Jer 2^{22}, Mal 3^{2}) grows esp. near the Dead Sea. Millet (Ezk 4^{9}) is also known by its Heb. name; and the coriander (Ex 16^{31}, Nu 11^{7}) is cultivated, with cummin (Is 28^{27}) and anise (Mt 23^{23}); the mustard (Mt 13^{31}) grows to a tree in the Jordan Valley, where the 'Vine of Sodom' (Dt 32^{32}) is found in the *'oshîr* tree (*Calotropis Procera*); the mulberry, now grown extensively for silkworms, is noticed in the NT (Lk 17^{6}) but not in the OT; willows (Ezk 17^{5}) occur along the Jordan; and the 'heath' of the OT (Jer 17^{6} 48^{6}) is the *'ar'ar* or stunted juniper of the Judæan desert, from which more than one desert town was named.

Palestine has never been remarkable for its *mineral products*. Mines of copper and lead (Dt 8^{9}) occurred only in Lebanon. Flint (of which knives were made, according to Jos 5^{2} and the LXX of 24^{30a}) is abundant, and is not only noticed in the 16th cent. B.C. on monuments, but is found worked into weapons in the city mounds at a great depth (as, for instance, at Lachish). The pitch of the Dead Sea is noticed (Gn 14^{10}, and perhaps Is 34^{9}), and was collected in the time of Josephus. Precious metals were in use, however, in the country long before the Exodus.

The *fauna* of the country is almost unchanged from the earliest historic times. The lion and the wild ox have become extinct; the former is noticed by an Egyptian traveller in Lebanon in the 14th cent. B.C., and is even said to have survived to the 12th cent. A.D.; its bones are found in caves and in the Jordan gravels. The wild ox (*rĕ'ēm* or *Bos Primigenius*, the 'unicorn' [μονόκερως] of the LXX) was hunted in Lebanon by Tiglath-pileser in B.C. 1120, and its bones have also been found. Both these animals were still hunted in Assyria in the 7th cent. B.C. On the other hand, the buffalo, now found in the marshes, is said to have been introduced by Mohammedan rulers in the post-biblical times. With these exceptions, the Palestinian animals are those of the OT. The bear, which according to the OT (1 S 17^{34}, 2 K 2^{24}) was found on the Palestine mountains, is now known only on Hermon and Lebanon. The leopard (in the Jordan Valley), the wolf, the hyæna, the jackal, and the fox are all found in the wilder districts; the boar is common in the mountains as well as in swamps. The wild ass is still to be found in the Eastern desert. The cat and domestic fowls, which were brought from Persia before the Christian era, are not noticed in the OT; nor are mules (1 K 18^{5}) noticed in the Pentateuch, though known by the Assyrians in the 8th cent. B.C. in Palestine, and now common. The fishes of the Jordan and Sea of Galilee are numerous, but as a rule coarse. The wild bee, *Apis fasciata*, the cochineal insect (Is 7^{18}), which feeds on the Syrian oak, and various species of locust (Lv 11^{22}) and of ant, are native. Scorpions are common in the plains and deserts, where swarms of flies are also very troublesome in summer. Snakes are less numerous than in Africa, but many species are found. The camel is monumentally noticed in Palestine in the 14th century B.C.; the coney (*Hyrax*) is common near Sinai; the hare is also found in the desert as well as in Palestine; the fallow deer (AV hart) and roebuck (*yaḥmūr*) are found in the woods of Tabor and Gilead respectively, and the latter also in Lebanon and on Carmel; the gazelle (AV roe) and the wild goat (*Ibex*) belong to the plains and southern desert; the wild ox (*Bubale*) is known only in the desert; the wild sheep (AV chamois) is found in the Sinaitic desert—it is the *koi* of the Mishna (Turk. *koi*, 'sheep').*—Among birds the ostrich (AV owl) is distinctive of the desert, and the 'cuckoo' is believed to be a gull; the pelican is found in the Mediterranean and in the Waters of Merom, and the cormorant (*shālak* or 'diver') is a sea bird; the stork is found in the Jordan Valley in spring, and both it and the heron (Assyr. *anpatu*) are common in other parts of Palestine. The hoopoe (AV lapwing) also occurs in the Gilead woods, as well as in Western Palestine. Among other animals noticed in the Bible the mole rat (*Spalax Typhlus*) is common (Is 2^{20}); the weasel is also found (Lv 11^{29}). All kinds of birds of prey, vultures, eagles, falcons, kites, hawks, and ravens, are common, with small and great owls, partridges and pintails, quails, pigeons, doves, sparrows, swallows, and cranes, even in the Beersheba desert. With regard to two animals described by Job (40. 41), *leviathan* is usually supposed to be the crocodile, which, as above noticed, is found in Palestine; *behemoth* answers best to the elephant [although taken by most modern commentators to be the hippopotamus], and the Asiatic elephant seems to have been known as late as B.C. 1600 on the Euphrates near Nii (*RP*, 1st series, iv. 6). Ivory was commonly used in Palestine in the 15th and 14th cent. B.C., and even apes were then sent from Syria to Egypt, according to the records of Thothmes III., in which also we find notice of asses, flocks and herds, goats and horses, taken from the Canaanites (*ib.* 17 f.). The Hebrews did not use horses to any large extent till Solomon's time, but the Canaanites (cf. Jos 11^{6}) had horses and chariots long before the Exodus, and in the 15th cent. B.C. they held the dog in as little estimation as did the Hebrews. It is remarkable that seals have been captured off the Palestine coast, though rare in the Mediterranean. Some writers think that the 'badger' (*taḥash*, Ex 26^{14}) should be rendered 'seal'; but others prefer 'porpoise,' which is found all round the coast, and was hunted by Tiglath-pileser I. in the Mediterranean. The natural history of the Song of Songs embraces that of all Palestine; that of the Book of Job is confined to the deserts round Petra; that of the Pentateuch may be said to belong to the desert, the hills of Gilead, and the Jordan Valley.

iv. THE RACES OF PALESTINE.—Among the earliest inhabitants are noticed the Zuzim or Zamzummim, the Emim, and the Anakim. These words seem to be non-Semitic, and the latter may mean 'tall,' as a Mongol word. The Canaanites are regarded by the author of Gn 10^{6}† as not Semitic, and there is monumental evidence (Tel el-Amarna Letters, No. 10 Berlin Collection) that the Syrian Hittites spoke a non-Semitic language (perhaps Mongolic) in the 15th cent. B.C. In this enumeration, however, the Amorites (? 'highlanders') are included; and from the same monumental source it seems clear that they spoke an East Aramaic language like Assyrian. They had driven out the Moabites at the time of the Exodus, and covered Eastern Palestine, as well as the Western mountains and the Lebanon.* The Hittites, according to Gn 23, extended to Hebron in an early age, but they were driven out of Central Palestine before the Exodus by Thothmes III. (Brugsch, *Hist. Egyp.* i. 325). The Philistines, said to appear on monuments B.C. 1200, and whose god Dagon was worshipped at Ashkelon in the 15th cent. B.C., are thought to have been of Cretan origin (Gn 10^{14} †), but the remaining tribes bear Semitic names, such as Canaanites (?'lowlanders' of Sharon and the Jordan Valley), Perizzites or 'villagers' (?), Kenites or 'spearmen' (?), Kenizzites or 'hunters' (?), Kadmonites or 'easterns.' The same cannot be said, however, of the Amalekites, who seem to have lived even in Central Palestine (Jg 12^{15}, though they are usually spoken of as a tribe in the desert S. of Palestine), or of the Girgashites—perhaps near Gergesa. The Hivites in Shechem and near Hermon (but see art. HIVITES) may be 'villagers,' and the Rephaim 'giants' little distinguished from the Anakim, whose last survivors were found near Gath (2 S 21^{22}) in Philistia, whence the original Avvim, living in enclosures, were expelled by the Philistines (Dt 2^{23}). The population thus seems originally to have included three distinct stocks, though many of the above names may be descriptive. The Hittites and Amorites alone are monumentally known—the first a hairless race with slanting eyes and pigtails, apparently Mongols; ‡ and the latter a darker people, bearded and black-haired, with aquiline Sem. features. The Heb. groups, including Ammonites, Moabites, and the half-breed Ishmaelites and Edomites, were distinguished by language from the aborigines. Hebrew, Moabite, Phœnician, and the Aram. of Syria (as known from B.C. 900 to 200) are kindred dialects, widely differing from the Eastern Aram. of Assyria and the Babylonian of the Tel el-Amarna letters. The Can. glosses in the latter show, however, that the then (*c.* 1450 B.C.) inhabitants of Pal. spoke a language akin to Hebrew. See also the many Sem. names quoted below (p. 647^{a}). In the 3rd cent. B.C. the Phœnician power and language extended over Sharon as far as Joppa, and about the same time the Greeks began to form a new element of population. The Romans were never numerous in Palestine, but during their rule a new Arab element from Yemen entered Bashan, and after Omar's conquest the old Aram. tribes (including Nabatæans and Palmyrenes) became mingled with Arab tribes from the Hejâz, whose names still denote districts in the mountains of Western Palestine, while the Bedawîn nomads trace their descent also to Arabia in the present day. European elements were added before the crusades, and in the 12th cent. colonists from all parts of Europe were numerous, especially Italians and Franks.

---

* The fallow deer, roebuck, gazelle, wild goat, wild ox, wild sheep are mentioned only in Dt 14^{5} (see Driver's note), and not in the parallel passage, Lv 11.

† Gn 10 is treated in this art. as an 'ethnological table' (but see Dillm. *ad loc.*, and Sayce, *HCM* 119 ff.).

New European and Jewish colonies are now still arising; and further elements of population have been due to the transplanting of Aramæan tribes into Palestine by the Assyrians; to the inroads of the Turks, Mongols, and Turcomans, who have left small tribes behind them in Sharon and Esdraelon; and to the recent importation of Circassians into Bashan, and Bosnians into Sharon. The evidence of language shows that the present peasantry are mainly of Aramaic extraction; they have been hardly touched by the European element except at Nazareth and Bethlehem: there has, however, been some Greek influence from an early period; and they use a few Persian and Turkish words; but their language is an Arabic dialect, though differing considerably from that of the pure Arabs or Bedawîn nomads, found in the Jordan Valley, the southern deserts, and the eastern plateau, and preserving, in vocabulary, in pronunciation, and in grammar, many archaic features of the older Syriac and Aramaic. In the Philistine plain the peasants approach the Egyptians in dress and in appearance, but the general type is very different from that of the Arabs, and is similar to that of the Assyrians on the monuments. A very ancient Can. element may be suspected to have survived, modified by a strong infusion of true Arab blood, in the 7th and even as early as the 2nd cent. A.D. The modern Jewish element, which is constantly increasing, is entirely foreign, recruited earliest from Spain and Africa, and recently from Russia, Poland, and other European countries. The Turks and Kurds are present only as a ruling class, but Greek blood is no doubt found among the native Christians of the Greek sects, and Italian among Latin Christians. The tall, handsome Druzes of Hermon and Bashan seem, by language, to be partly of Persian origin; and the Metâwileh of Upper Galilee (among whom blue eyes are not uncommon) are also Persian immigrants of the Shi'ah or Persian Moslem creed. Some of the oldest Jerusalem families, however, trace their descent to the pure Arabs who came with Omar. There is no known evidence of the survival of Norman blood derived from crusaders; and the language which they used has not affected the speech of Syrians. In the OT we have early reference to Aram. speech (Gn 31^{47}, Is 36^{11}) as distinct from Heb., and to the later mixed language of the Jews in Ashdod (Neh 13^{24}). The evidence of inscriptions seems to show that, about the Christian era, a very strong Greek element existed in Bashan, where in one case we have an Aram.-Gr. bilingual of the time of Herod the Great. The dialects spoken between B.C. 900 and 200 are moreover attested, by texts and coins, to have been cognate to ancient Heb.; and the Greek boundary-stone of Herod's temple attests the presence of Greeks, even in Jerusalem, about the time of Christ.

As regards **population**, the evidence of ruins shows that it was much larger in Roman and Byzantine times—and probably in the 12th cent.—than it is now. The numbers stated on Assyr. texts would indicate a population exceeding 200,000 souls in the southern mountains in B.C. 701; and the Syrian forces opposing the Assyrians in B.C. 850 are said to have numbered 80,000, representing a population of at least 400,000 souls. It cannot be said (but see Buhl, *Die Soc. Verhältn. d. Isr.* p. 52) that Palestine was incapable of holding a population of 6,500,000 souls (cf. 2 S 24^{9}), though the question of numbers is rendered difficult by textual alterations.* At the present time the population of Western Palestine is estimated to be not more than about 600,000; but the country fully cultivated would support ten times that number. According to Ex 12^{37} 38^{26}, Nu 1^{46}, the Hebrews at the Exodus were about three millions.

---

* On the 'Amorites' see also Driver in Hogarth's *Authority and Archæology* (Index s. 'Amorites'), and in *Comm. on Deut.* p. 11.

† The order of words in this verse is thought to have suffered dislocation (see Dillm. *ad loc.*, or Sayce, *HCM* 136; and cf. for the supposed Cretan origin of the Philistines, Am 9^{7} and Dt 2^{23}).

‡ Jensen supposes that the Hittites were the ancestors of the modern (Aryan) Armenians [cf. his *Hittiter u. Armenier*, and a series of papers on 'The Hittite Inscriptions' by him and Hommel (who opposes Jensen) in the *Expos. Times*, 1898–99]. The recently discovered texts found by Chantre in Cappadocia (see translations in *The Times* of 10th and 24th October 1899) appear to the present writer to show that the Hittite language was Mongolian. The whole subject is considered in detail in Conder's *The Hittites and their Language*, 1898.

* Instances of these variations in numbers are not confined to the chronology of Gn 11^{10-26}, which differs so greatly in the Heb. Sam. and LXX VSS, or 1 K 6^{1}, where the LXX differs by forty years. In 1 S 13^{5} the Peshiṭta reads 3000 for 30,000. In 2 S 8^{4} the LXX has 7000 for 700, and in 1 K 5^{11} 20,000 for 20. In 1 Ch $11^{20.21}$ the Peshiṭta has 30 for 3; in 2 Ch 3^{4} the LXX A (agreeing more nearly with 1 K 6^{2}) reads 20 for 120; and in Ezk 45^{1} BA have 20,000 for 10,000 (Q): to say nothing of minor differences as to the regnal years. The numbers in some parts of the OT have evidently been miscopied or altered, and sometimes largely increased. The difficulties as to numbers may thus in some cases be due to the state of the text. See, further, NUMBER, p. 562^{a}.

v. BIBLE GEOGRAPHY.—The geography of Palestine forms an important element in the OT, and no book therein can be noticed on which this study does not throw some light. The Bible geography is to some extent illustrated by monumental information. The lists of Thothmes III., about B.C. 1600, include 119 towns in Palestine; others of great importance are noticed in the Tel el-Amarna letters, about B.C. 1450; others in the time of Ramses II., about B.C. 1330. Shishak gives a list of 133 towns in all parts of Palestine about B.C. 935 and Sennacherib mentions others in B.C. 701. About 90 cities noticed in the Bible are thus monumentally known, between B.C. 1600 and 700. Those earliest noticed have Aram. rather than Heb. names, and were named by the Canaanites before the Exodus. The Hebrews seem very rarely to have altered the name of any city, though alternative names sometimes occur. We may consider generally the outline of the topography during the various ages—the Patriarchal, that of the Conquest, that of the Kingdom, that following the Captivity, and that of the Greek and Roman age down to the 1st cent. A.D.—with a briefer reference to later topographical records.

Study of the topography is not seriously affected by textual discrepancies between the Hebrew and the Versions. The most important addition is in Jos (15^{59a}), where 11 cities are noticed by the LXX and not in the Heb., viz. Tekoa, Ephratah, Peor (*Faghûr*), Etam (*'Ain 'Aṭân*), Kulon (*Kolonia*), Tatam, Sores (*Ṣarîṣ*), Karem (*'Ain Kârim*), Galem (*Beit Jâla*), Bether (*Bittîr*), and Manocho (*Malhah*), said to belong to Judah. The mention of Kolonia seems to show that this is a very late addition, and the cities lie, not in Judah but in Benjamin, except Tekoa, Ephratah, and Etam. There are other textual differences where the Heb. text seems to be the less probable. Zoan (Pesh. Gn 13^{10}) is better than Zoar, and the addition of Seir (Pesh. Gn 36^{6}) supplies a gap: 'at Jazer' (LXX Nu 21^{24}) is better than 'was strong.' In Sam. Beth-jashan for Shen (Pesh. 1 S 7^{11}) points to Jeshanah (*'Ain Sinia*) for this site, and Gibeah (indicated by LXX) is apparently the meaning of 'the high place' (1 S 10^{13}). Gath (LXX B in 1 S 17^{52}) is also preferable to 'the valley.' Ezel (1 S 20^{19}, cf. v.^{41} in Pesh. and LXX) disappears as a proper name, and Hareth (now *Kharâs*) becomes a city instead of a 'wood' (LXX of 1 S 22^{5}). Maon is also more probable than Paran (LXX of 1 S 25^{1}), and Bethzur than Bethel (LXX B of 1 S 30^{27}), as is Carmel for Racal (LXX B in v.^{29}). Geshur for Ashurites (Pesh. and Vulg. 2 S 2^{9}) is probable; and Tibhath for Betah (Luc. Ματεβάκ, 2 S 8^{8}) is certainly correct; while Edom for Aram (after same VSS in vv.$^{12.\ 13}$) agrees with the notice of the Valley of Salt and with the succeeding verses. Gath (Pesh. and LXX in 2 S 21^{18}) is better than the unknown Gob, and 'the Hittites to Kadesh' (Lucianic text) is an important improvement on Tahtim-hodshi (2 S 24^{6}), as is Ai for Gaza (MSS of 1 Ch 7^{28}). Geshur for Asshur (Ps 83^{8}) is a probable emendation (so Lagarde, but see Duhm *ad loc.*), and Baal-hermon (Ca 8^{11}) for Baal-hamon (so Grätz, but see Budde, *ad loc.*). Gibeah (Pesh. Jer 31^{39}) is better than the unknown Goath, and Accho (indicated by LXX) takes the place (so Reland *et al.*, but see Nowack, *ad loc.*) of 'at all' (Mic 1^{10}). In the few remaining cases of textual differences affecting topography, the Heb. text seems to be preferable.

The town names of Palestine are so ancient that their occurrence does not, as a rule, affect critical questions; yet the absence of the names of Jerusalem, Samaria, Tirzah, and Zereda in the Pent. is notable. The permanence of the population has preserved some three-fourths of the OT nomenclature to the present day, and these names are equally traceable in the 4th and 12th centuries A.D. in a large number of instances. The survey of the country has brought to light some 150 biblical sites which were unknown, because, as a rule, they do not appear on earlier maps. In Genesis the Heb. ancestors are represented as migrating from Ur on the Lower Euphrates to Harran in the north, thus entering Canaan through Syria; and Phœnician tradition points to the same line of immigration. The Amraphel and Arioch, with whom in Gn 14 Abraham is said to have been contemporary, have been supposed (though Jensen, Ball, and King [*Letters and Inscriptions of Khammurabi*, 1899] dispute this) to be the Bab. Khammurabi and Eriaku, whose date is fixed by many at about B.C. 2376–2333 (see Sayce, *EHH* 281). The Hebrews naturally reached Bethel before Hebron and Beersheba. Of the cities noticed in Gn, those of Syria (Gn 10^{15-18}) are known in B.C. 1700, 1600, and 1500 on monuments in the cases of Sidon, Arka, Arvad, Zemar, and Hamath. Gerar and Gaza in Palestine (v.^{19}) are noticed in B.C. 1600 and 1500 respectively; but Dan (if really a town name in Gn 14^{14}) does not seem to have been so named till the time of the judges (Jg 18^{29}). Dothan (Gn 37^{17}) is noticed by Thothmes III. about B.C. 1600, and its site is equally certain with those of the preceding cities. Damascus (Gn 15^{2}) is noticed by Thothmes III. in B.C. 1600, and on the Tel el-Amarna tablets a century later.* These tablets also refer to the land of Hobah (Gn 14^{15}) north of Damascus, and to the land of Ham (Gn 14^{5}) in Bashan. The topography of Exodus is mainly confined to the desert, and unfortunately contains many names of unknown localities. That of Numbers refers largely to a region never reached by the Egyptians, and only conquered by the Assyrians in the 8th cent. B.C. The chief sites in Moab and Gilead retain their ancient names, and some are noticed on the Moabite Stone about B.C. 850. The conquest of Eastern Palestine in five months by the Israelites was less arduous than many of the yearly campaigns of the Egyptians and Assyrians, which extended over much greater distances through hostile parts of Palestine. The view of Palestine from Nebo (Dt 34^{1-3}) accords with the actual view, excepting that Dan and the 'Western Sea' are hidden by nearer mountains.

The great geographical book of the OT is, however, that of Joshua. The description of the *boundaries of the land* applies, in the judgment of the writer of the present article, to a time previous to that of the captivity of Gad in B.C. 734 (1 Ch 5^{26}), and to that of the Moabite conquest in B.C. 850. It also refers to a period not later than that of David, according to the note (1 Ch 4^{31}) concerning the dispersion of Simeon. Ai (Jos 8^{28}) was apparently no longer in ruins in B.C. 701 (Is 10^{28}), and was repeopled after the Captivity (Neh 11^{31}). The curse of Joshua on Jericho (Jos 6^{26}) was fulfilled (1 K 16^{34}) in Ahab's time, about B.C. 850; and the regions unconquered by Joshua (13^{2-6}) were part of David's kingdom. Jebus (Jos 15^{63}) was also taken by David; and Nob, which is unnoticed in Jos (21) as a priestly city, had its population massacred by Saul (1 S 22^{19}), but apparently was reoccupied by B.C. 701 (Is 10^{32}). On the other hand, the distinction of Israel and Judah seems to be indicated geographically (Jos $11^{16.\ 21}$), and it is very remarkable that there is no account of the conquest of Central Palestine, and that the description of the Samaritan region is much less complete than that of Galilee and Judæa. There is an important difference in the order of the passage referring to the fulfilment of the law at Shechem (Jos 8^{30-35}) in the LXX, and it has been suspected that the original book has lost portions referring to Samaria. The geography, however, does not represent that of the later period (Neh 11^{25-36}), when Judah colonized the earlier possessions of Simeon, and Benjamin settled in towns that had belonged to Dan. The forty-eight Levitical cities were assigned in obedience to the law (Nu 35^{6}), but the arrangement laid down in Ezk ($45^{4.5}$) is quite different, and these cities are not so assigned in Neh (11^{36}). The majority of the Levitical cities are well-known sites, and the variations in the imperfect parallel list (1 Ch 6) are few. Beth-shemesh, Gezer, Beth-horon, Eltekeh, Aijalon, Gath-rimmon, Taanach, Ashtaroth, Daberath, and En-gannim are among the Levitical cities which are noticed on Egyp. monuments, and in the Tel el-Amarna letters, in the 16th and 15th cents. B.C., excepting Beth-horon and Eltekeh—noticed by Shishak (B.C. 935) and by Sennacherib (B.C. 701) respectively.

---

* On the names in these tablets see esp. Petrie's *Syria and Egypt from the Tell el-Amarna Letters*, pp. 144–187.

When we compare the final arrangements of the conquest — for at first Judah, Benjamin, and Joseph occupied country (Jos 16. 17) out of which portions were taken for Issachar, Dan, and Simeon —with the twelve provinces which existed in the time of Solomon, the two accounts are found to coincide very closely, but in subsequent ages the boundaries mentioned differ considerably from those of the Bk. of Joshua. Ephraim, Naphtali, and Asher are noticed as provinces with Issachar and Benjamin (1 K 4^{8-18}); the second province included towns of Dan; the third appears to have been in Judah; and the fourth perhaps in Zebulun. East of Jordan the northern province had its capital at Ramoth-gilead (*Reimûn*) and the southern at Mahanaim (probably *Makhneh*), while the twelfth province coincided with the lot of Reuben. Simeon had already ceased to hold the Beersheba plains.

The most completely described region in the Bk. of Joshua is that south of Jerusalem.* The north boundary of Judah ran south of Jericho by Gilgal and Adummim (*Tal'at ed-Dumm*) to Enrogel in the Kidron Valley; and, leaving the capital in Benjamin, it ran southward by Rachel's Tomb (1 S 10^{2}, Jer 31^{15}) to Nephtoah (Jos 15^{9}), which was at Etam according to the Talmud of Jerusalem (*'Ain 'Aṭân*, south of Bethlehem), whence it ran west to Chesalon (*Kesla*) and to Kiriath-jearim (*'Erma*), and south of the valley of Sorek, and to Ekron and Jamnia and the sea. The cities within this border are enumerated (Jos 15) in groups according as they were in the *Negeb* or 'dry land,' the *Shephēlah* or western foot hills, the *Har* or 'mountain region,' and the *Midbār* or desert. Of those in the Beersheba desert little is known, and the total is given as twenty-nine, while the details amount to thirty-four. Amam, Shema, Hazar-gaddah, Heshmon, and Bethpelet are, however, omitted in the parallel passage (Jos 19^{2-8}). Of the rest, only Adadah (*'Ad'adah*), Kedesh (*'Ain Ḳades*), and Kerioth-hezron (at *Jebel Hadhîreh*) are known, with Beersheba (*Bîr es-Seb'a*), Rimmon (*Umm er-Rumâmin*), and perhaps Ziklag (*'Asluj*). In the second list (Jos 19^{6}) Sharuhen stands for Shilhim, and appears to be the present *Tell esh-Sherî'ah* in the Philistine plains, which is noticed as early as B.C. 1700, when the Egyptians were advancing on Canaan. The second group in the 'lowlands' (Jos 15^{33-36}) is much more perfectly known, as lying south-west of the Jerusalem mountains. Of these, Zorah is noticed monumentally in the fifteenth century B.C., and is now the village *Sur'ah*. Eshtaol (*Eshu'a*), Zanoah (*Zanûh*), En-gannim (*Umm Jina*), Enam (*'Ain 'Ainah*), Jarmuth (*Yarmûk*), Adullam (*'Aid el-Mia*), Socoh (*Shuweikeh*), and Gederoth (*Jedîreh*) retain their old names little changed. The third group is less known, but seems to have included cities on the edge of the plain of Philistia, among which Migdal-gad (*Mejdeleh*), Lachish (*Tell el-Hesy*), Eglon (*'Ajlân*), Beth-dagon (*Beit Dejan*), Naamah (*Na'aneh*), and Makkedah (probably *el-Mughâr*) are fixed. Eglon is monumentally noticed in B.C. 1600, Lachish and Makkedah about B.C. 1480–1440, and Beth-dagon in B.C. 701. The fourth group included towns nearer to the Hebron mountains, of which Nezeb (*Beit Nusib*), Keilah (*Ḳîlah*), Achzib (*'Ain Kezbeh*), and Mareshah (*Mer'ash*) are all apparently noticed in the Tel el-Amarna letters of the 15th cent. B.C., and the two latter by Micah ($1^{14.15}$) in the 8th cent. B.C. The three Philistine cities which follow do not appear to have been conquered till the time of Solomon. Ekron (*'Akir*), Ashdod (*Esdûd*), and Gaza (*Ghuzzeh*) were, no doubt, ancient sites, but only the latter — an important city long held by Egypt —is noticed in the 15th cent. B.C. The sixth group in the mountains begins in the south, including the Negeb hills. Among these cities (vv.$^{48-59}$) Jattir (*'Attîr*), Socoh (*Shuweikeh*), Dannah (*Idhnah*), Debir (*Dhaherîyeh*), Anab (*'Anab* close to the preceding), Eshtemoa (*es-Semû'a*), Anim (*Ghuwein*), and perhaps Holon (*Beit Aula*) and Giloh (*Jâla*), are fixed; while in the seventh group nearer Hebron occur Arab (*er-Rabîyeh*), Dumah (*Dômeh*), Beth-tappuah (*Tuffûh*), Hebron itself (*el-Khalîl*), and Zior (*Si'air*). The eighth group includes towns farther east in the Hebron hills, such as Maon (*Ma'in*), Carmel (*Kurmul*), Ziph (*Zîf*), Juttah (*Yuttah*), Zanoah (*Zanu'a*), Ha-Kain (*Yukîn*); while Gibeah and Timnah (*Jeb'a* and *Tibneh*) may be ruined sites north-west of Hebron, though this is uncertain. The ninth group is in the mountains north of Hebron, including Halhul (*Halhûl*), Bethzur (*Beit Sûr*), Maarath (*Beit Ummâr*), Beth-anoth (*Beit 'Ainûn*), and Eltekon — perhaps Tekoa (*Teku'a*). Two towns forming a separate group (v.^{60}) are Kiriath-jearim (*'Erma*), and Rabbah (*Rubba*) south-west of the preceding. The six cities of the desert are less known, but the 'City of Salt' (v.^{62}) may be *Tell el-Milh* east of Beersheba, and the last is En-gedi (*'Ain Jidy*) on the cliff above the Dead Sea. Several of the towns in the southern mountains are noticed in the lists of Thothmes III. about B.C. 1600, such, for instance, as Carmel; but the Egyptians did not penetrate far into the mountains, though they held Jerusalem before the Hebrew conquest, and knew it by that name (*Urusalim*), which occurs in the Bk. of Joshua (15^{63}, cf. $10^{1.3.23}$).

The north boundary of Benjamin ran from Jordan north of Jericho (Jos 18^{11-20}) to Bethel (*Beitîn*) and to Ataroth-addar (*ed-Dârieh*) on the hill south of lower Beth-horon (*Beit 'Ur et-Taḥta*, *i.e.* 'the lower'). The west border ran due south to Kiriath-jearim (*'Erma*), joining the border of Judah. The cities included in this mountain region (vv.$^{21-28}$) are not all known, but among them were Bethel and Parah (*Fârah*), Ophrah (probably *Ṭaiyibeh*), Chephar-ha-Ammoni (*Kefr 'Ana*), Ophni (thought to be *Jufna*), and Geba (*Jeb'a*), with Gibeon (*el-Jîb*), Ramah (*er-Râm*), Beeroth (*Bîreh*), Mizpeh (perhaps *Tell en-Naṣbeh*), Chephirah (*Kefîreh*), Irpeel (*Rafât*), Eleph (*Lifta*), Jerusalem itself, and Kiriath (*el-Kurieh*, called also *Kuriet el-'Anab*): all these are within the border.

---

* Throughout this article the identifications of towns, etc., are those which were first proposed by or which commend themselves to the present writer. Space forbids the reasons for his conclusions being stated. The reader may refer to the separate articles, in some of which a different identification is adopted, and where the authorities are cited.

The lot of Dan (Jos 19[40-46]) was in the low hills and plain west of Benjamin. Its boundaries are not stated, but on the south coincided with Judah, from which tribe Zorah and Eshtaol on the border were taken. Near these was Ir-shemesh (*'Ain Shems*), and farther north Shaalabbin (*Selbît*) and Aijalon (*Yalo*). Timnah and Ekron (*Tibneh* and *'Akir*) were also on the Judah border. Eltekeh (perhaps *Beit Likia*) and Gibbethon (*Kibbieh*) were on the north-east, and Jehud (*el-Yehudîyeh*) with Bene-berak (*Ibn Ibrak*) in the plain north of Joppa. Me-jarkon ('yellow water') may have been the boundary stream already noticed, and Rakkon ('shore') may be the present *Tell er-Rakkeit* on the shore north of Joppa (*Yâfa*). The territory was insufficient (v.[47]), and the plain was held by the Canaanites (Jg 1[34. 35]), so that the Danites were forced to migrate from their plain or 'camp' (*Mahaneh-dan*, Jg 18[2. 12]) west of Kiriath-jearim (in the valley of Sorek, south of Zorah) to the extreme north under Hermon.

Of the cities of Dan, Joppa is noticed in the Tel el-Amarna tablets (15th cent. B.C.) as well as by Sennacherib in B.C. 701, and the latter also notices Beth-dagon (on the border of Judah), Bene-berak, Eltekeh, and Timnah.

The children of Joseph appear at first to have spread over all Samaria and Lower Galilee, as well as over Bashan and half Gilead. Their original boundary (Jos 16[1-3]) coincided with that of Benjamin, and approached Judah at Gezer (*Tell Jezer*), which was, however, not taken (v.[10]), though they claimed the plains subsequently given to Dan. Out of their territory also Issachar received a portion in the final division by lot. Ephraim had a small and rugged portion; but Manasseh was a 'great people' (Jos 17[12-18]), yet unable to drive the Canaanites out of the chariot cities in the plains. Manasseh held some of the best lands in Central Palestine, and a wooded mountain, perhaps Carmel (see Mic 7[14]). The north border of Ephraim is briefly described (Jos 16[5-8]), running on the west from the north-west angle of Benjamin to Michmethah east of Shechem (17[7]), apparently the *Mukhnah* plain, and thence east to Taanath-shiloh (*T'ana*) and Janoah (*Yanûn*), and thus to the Jordan Valley near Jericho. The river Kanah (*Wâdy Ḳanah*) formed the border on the north-west, running to the sea; but the plains north of Dan were not occupied. The list of 'separate cities' (16[9]) seems to have been lost. The boundaries of Manasseh are not stated, and only two towns within the portion of this tribe west of Jordan are noticed, namely, Shechem and Tappuah. The site of the latter is unknown, but it is perhaps the same as *Yashubi 'En Tappuaḥ*, which would find a fitting site at *Yâsûf* close to the Mukhnah plain, the border of Ephraim (see Heb. Jos 17[7]). Manasseh had originally 'touched upon' Asher and Issachar, and claimed cities in these tribes, of which in Issachar Bethshean (*Beisân*), Ibleam (*Yebla*), Endor (*Andûr*), Taanach (*T'ânuk*), and Megiddo (probably *Mujedd'a*) are well known. It is remarkable that very few Samaritan towns are noticed, but in the Bk. of Joshua generally we find Shiloh, Tirzah, and Shechem mentioned. Monumental records are equally silent as to this very rugged mountain region. On the other hand, Megiddo and Taanach are noticed by Thothmes III. (in B.C. 1600) and in the Tel el-Amarna texts (a century later); and again, in the reign of Ramses II. (about B.C. 1330), Megiddo is noticed as if near the Jordan.

The boundaries of Issachar are also unnoticed (Jos 19[17-22]), but coincided with those of Manasseh, Naphtali, and Zebulun, including the plain of Dothan and that of Esdraelon. The known cities include Jezreel (*Zer'in*), Chesulloth (*Iksâl*), Shunem (*Sûlem*), Hapharaim (*el-Ferrîyeh*), Anaharath (*En N'aûrah*), Rabbith (*Râba*), Remeth (*Râmeh*), En-gannim (*Jenîn*), and En-haddah (perhaps *Kefr Adân*). Of these, Anaharath, and perhaps others, are noticed by Thothmes III. in his lists.

The borders of Zebulun are more particularly described. The lot included the Nazareth hills and the plain of Asochis with hills to its north. The north and south limits seem to be fixed by Dabbesheth (*Dabsheh*) and Jokneam (*Tell Keimûn*) respectively (Jos 19[10]). The south border was at Sarid (or perh. Sadid, cf. LXX B in v.[12]), which may be *Tell Shadûd* at the foot of the Nazareth hills. It ran east to Chesulloth and Daberath (*Debûrieh*), where, at the western foot of Tabor, the three tribes, Zebulun, Naphtali, and Issachar met (see 19[22]). The south border of Zebulun also touched Japhia (*Yâfa*, west of Nazareth), and reached the Kishon at Jokneam. The east border skirted the Tabor plateau on the west, running north on the hills to Gath-hepher (now *el-Mesh-hed*) and to Rimmon (*Rummâneh*) east of the Asochis plain. The north border started on the east at Hannathon (*Kefr 'Anân*) and passed along a deep valley to Dabbesheth. The remainder of the line coincided with the south border of Asher (Jos 19[27]), running north of Cabul (*Kabûl*) to Beth-dagon (probably *Tell Daûk* south of Acre) and to Shihor-libnath—apparently the river Belus. The shores of the bay of Acre seem to have belonged to Asher, perhaps as far as the Kishon (19[26]), but Zebulun would seem to have had a 'haven' for 'ships' (Gn 49[13]), probably at *Haifa* under Carmel, in which name the Heb. word for 'haven' or 'shore' survives. Of the other cities of Zebulun, only Bethlehem (*Beit Laḥm*) is certainly known.

It appears to be quite clear that the Tabor plateau, as well as the hills of Upper Galilee, belonged to Naphtali. The towns included (19[33]) those in the plain, Bezaanannim (*Bessûm*) as well as Heleph (perhaps *Beit Lîf*) in the north. Among those in the plain were Adami (*ed-Dâmieh*), Hammath (south of Tiberias), Rakkath (believed by the Rabbis to be the old name of Tiberias, meaning 'shore'), and Adamah (*Admah* north of Beisân); Hukkok (*Yaḳûḳ*) formed with Tabor the border on the south-west. In the upper mountains were Hazor (near *Jebel Hadhîreh*), Kedesh (*Ḳedes*), Horem (*Ḥûrah*), Beth-anath (*'Ainatha*), and others which are doubtful.

The tribe of Asher claimed the lower hills between Accho and Tyre (19[24-31]), but failed to drive the Canaanites from many of the cities (Jg 1[31]). Many of the towns of Asher are doubtful, though all appear to have been north of Acre. Dor (Jos 17[11], cf. 12[23] and 1 Ch 7[29]) is quite unknown, though fixed by Eusebius at *Tantûrah* south of Carmel. This, like many other assertions of his *Onomasticon*, is unauthorized and confusing, especially as Dor seems to have been on the 'uplands.' Achshaph is probably *el-Yasîf* near Acre. Hammon seems to have been an important site near the shore farther north, where Renan discovered inscriptions to Baal Hammon. Kanah is in the hills east of Tyre, and Achzib (*ez-Zîb*) is north of Acre in the plain. Among these cities Tyre and Accho are noticed in the 15th cent. B.C. in the Tel el-Amarna tablets and Achzib by Sennacherib in B.C. 701.

East of Jordan, Reuben held the plateau round Heshbon, and the lot seems to have been bounded by the hills north of that city (Jos 13[15-23]), extending to Jordan in the valley of Shittim; but in Ahab's time several of the cities of Reuben are noticed on the Moabite Stone as having been held by 'men of Gad.' The south border was Arnon (now *Wâdy Mojib*) and Aroer (*'Ar'aîr*) on the N. brink of its valley. The sites of Medeba (*Mâdebeh*), Heshbon (*Hesbân*), Dibon (*Dhibân*), and Beth-baal-meon (*Ma'în*) are those of considerable towns. Kiriathaim (*Ḳeriât*) and Beth-jeshimoth (*Suweimeh* on the north-east shore of the Dead Sea) are known, with probably Sibmah (*Sûmieh*) near Heshbon.

The boundary of Reuben and Gad was at Jazer (probably *Beit Zâr'a* north of Heshbon), and the latter tribe held the Jordan Valley east of the river, and the western slopes of Gilead, bounded on the east by Aroer near Rabbath-ammon (*'Ammân*). On the north-east they held Ramath-mizpeh (probably *Sûf*, the Mizpeh of Jephthah, Jg 11^{34}) and Betonim, perhaps the district in north Gilead now called *el-Buṭein*. Mahanaim was on the border between Gad and Manasseh, the latter tribe holding 'half Gilead' (13^{31}), which appears to mean the eastern half, Gad extending to the 'border of the ridge' (Debir), and holding in the Jordan Valley Beth-aram (*Râmeh*), Beth-nimrah (*Nimrîn*), Succoth (*Tell Der'ala*), Zaphon (supposed by the Rabbis to be *'Amatah*), and the lowlands to the Sea of Galilee. This agrees with the notice of Mahanaim in Solomon's south Gilead province (1 K 4^{14}). The rest of the large portion given to Manasseh east of Jordan included all Bashan (v. ^{31}), with the towns of Ashtaroth (*Tell 'Ashterah*) and Edrei (*edh-Dhra'a*), which are noticed on monuments in B.C. 1600–1500.

This tribal distribution of Palestine was broken up by the Assyrians. Tiglath-pileser III. (B.C. 745–727) conquered Galilee (2 K 15^{29}), and took captive the tribes east of Jordan (1 Ch 5^{26}) shortly before Sargon took Samaria (B.C. 722). In 711 Ashdod was besieged by Sargon, and when Hezekiah was attacked by Sennacherib in B.C. 701, Beth-dagon, Joppa, Bene-berak and Hazor (*Yazûr* in the plain) are said to have belonged to Ashkelon. Ammon, Moab, Edom, Ekron, and Gaza were then all independent, and Moab indeed had rebelled nearly two centuries earlier. Thus the geography of the Book of Joshua represents a condition which did not long exist after the death of Solomon. The narrative chapters show that the conquest resembled those made by the Egyptians or Assyrians in their annual campaigns: 'the cities that stood still on their mounds' (Jos 11^{13}) were not destroyed, unless taken by stratagem. The invading army attacked usually the smaller places, but the fortresses with garrisons of chariots remained in the hands of the Canaanites, and subsequent attacks had to be made on places burned by Joshua and re-fortified by their inhabitants (*e.g.* Jg 1^{11}, Jos 10^{38}). The first campaign from Gilgal by Ai and Gibeon to Aijalon, and thence to Makkedah, Libnah, Lachish, Eglon, Hebron, and Debir, followed apparently the line of the conquests of the *Habiri* noticed in the Tel el-Amarna texts (B.C. 1480–1440): for they also came from Seir, and fought at Aijalon and Lachish, and penetrated by Keilah up the valley towards Hebron. The site of Debir was in the Negeb (Jg 1^{15}) and near Anab (Jos $15^{49.\,50}$), so that there is reason to place it at the important ancient site *Dhaherîyeh* ('the place on the back or ridge') near Anab, at a village where rock-cut tombs and other marks of antiquity are found. This was the southernmost extent of Joshua's original conquest. The conquest of Shechem (only about 20 miles from Ai) is not described, but the law was here fulfilled (Dt 27^{4}, Jos 8^{30}); the next great contest was in Upper Galilee, where Hazor looked down on the Waters of Merom (Jos $11^{1.\,5}$), and where all the northern Canaanites gathered. Hazor is also a place whence letters were sent asking aid from Egypt in the 15th cent. B.C. The Book of Joshua ends with his burial at Timnath-heres (Jg 2^{9}) in Mount Ephraim (now *Kefr Hâris*), and that of Eleazar in Gibeah of Phinehas, probably at the site now shown at *'Awertah* east of Gerizim. The bones of Joseph were buried at Shechem, where his tomb is shown near Jacob's Well; and the altar on Ebal (Jos 8^{30}) and stone monument in the plain of Shechem (Jos 24^{25}) seemed to make this central city the capital of Israel. There were, however, several successive sanctuaries which were recognized before the building of the temple, namely at Gilgal, Shiloh, Nob, and Gibeon. The ark rested in Kiriath-jearim, and an altar of Jehovah was built on Carmel before Elijah's famous visit (1 K 18^{30}). We have no notice, however, of contemporary local sanctuaries till after the division of the kingdom. The six cities of refuge were placed equidistant, three on either side of the river, at Hebron, Shechem, and Kedesh-naphtali, at Bezer (*Buseirah* in Moab), Ramoth-gilead (*Reimûn*), and Golan (*Sahem el-Jaulân*), in the south, the centre, and the north of the country (Jos $20^{7.\,8}$).

A careful consideration of the geography of the Pent. and Bk. of Joshua, by the aid of modern exploration, shows that the whole is easily understood, and that in no case does there appear to be any element suggesting that the descriptions were penned after the Captivity. Towns appear in the later books, such as Samaria, Zereda (*Surdah*), Lod (*Lydda*), Ananiah (*Beit Hanîna*), etc. (Neh $11^{32.\,35}$), not noticed in Joshua, just as the later Heb. differs in the use of Persian and Gr. words, and in syntax and vocabulary, from the older Heb. of the Pentateuch. The geography of the Bk. of Joshua is, however, so exhaustive, that little is added to it in the OT books that follow. In Judges, Bezek (1^{4}) may be the southern *Bezkah* rather than the Bezek of Saul (1 S 11^{8}), now *Ibzîḳ* north-east of Shechem. Conquests were pushed farther south than Debir to Zephath (*es-Sufa*) in the Beersheba plateau; but Gaza, Ashkelon, and Ekron were not taken (LXX Jg 1^{18}), or any chariot city in the plains. Bethel fell, and its inhabitants migrated to Luz (*Luweizeh*) under Hermon (v. ^{23}); but intermarriage with Canaanites (3^{6}) destroyed the power of the conquering race, and the king of Mesopotamia is said (3^{10}) to have overrun Palestine (cf. the words of Burnaburias to Amenophis IV. in the Tel el-Amarna Collection). The episode of Sisera (Jg 4^{5}) is elucidated by its geography. His chariot city was Harosheth ('the woods'), now *el-Ḥarathîyeh* by the oak wood near the Kishon. The Kishon under Mount Tabor (v. ^{7}) is treacherous and swampy, and after the battle near Endor (Ps 83^{10}) the chariots were engulfed in the stream (Jg 5^{21}), while Sisera fled east to Bezaanannim (*Bessûm*), near the Kedesh (*Ḳadish*) of the Sea of Galilee. The episode of Gideon's victory is equally clear topographically. He lived at Ophrah (probably *Fer'ata*) in Samaria (Jg 6^{11}), but encountered his eastern foes near the spring of Harod (Jg 7^{1}), and pursued them down the valley of Jezreel to Beth-shittah (*Shuṭṭa*), and to Abel-meholah (*'Ain Ḥelweh*) in the Jordan Valley, and by Succoth (*Tell Der'ala*) to Jogbehah (8^{11}), now *Jubeihah* on the hills north of Rabbath-ammon. The story of Jephthah belongs to Mount Gilead, Tob (Jg 11^{3}) being the present *Ṭaiyibeh* south-east of the Sea of Galilee, and Mizpeh, probably *Sûf*, farther south on the Gilead upland. The pursuit of the Ammonites extended to Aroer on Arnon. The exploits of Samson were confined to Philistia and the Shephēlah near Zorah—the valley of Sorek (Jg 16^{4}) retaining its name at *Surîḳ* close to his home, while the 'cleft' of the rock Etam ($15^{8.\,11}$) may be the curious cavern in the cliff at *Beit 'Aṭâb* rather farther east. The rock Rimmon (Jg 21^{13}) was not far south of Shiloh at *Rummôn*, and vine cultivation (v. ^{21}) still continues south of Shiloh (*Seilûn*), the position of which is specially described as east of the road to

Shechem, and south of Lebonah (*Lubben*) on that road (v.^{19}).

The first capital of the Heb. kingdom was at Gibeah (*Jeb'a*) in Benjamin (1 S 13^{2}), near Michmash (*Mukhmâs*), where the two great precipices divide these villages (14^{5}) in the valley of *Suweinît*—'the little thorn trees'—which perhaps preserves the name of Seneh, 'the thorn.' The valley of Elah (*Wâdy es-Sunṭ*) is still remarkable for the large terebinths whence its Heb. name was derived, and its site is fixed by the notice of Socoh (1 S 17^{1}), now *Shuweikeh*, and of Gath (v.^{52}) and Ekron. Gath (*Giti Rimuna*) is pretty clearly fixed by a notice in the Tel el-Amarna letters at the site usually accepted—the cliff of *Tell es-Sâfi*—at the mouth of the valley of Elah. David's wanderings from this Philistine fortress extended up the valley of Elah to Adullam (*'Aîd el-Mia*) on its western side; to Hareth (*Kharâs*), in the hills above it on the east; and to Keilah (*Ḳîlah*) farther up its course towards Hebron (1 S 21$^{1.5}$ 23^{1}); and thence to Ziph (*Tell Zîf*) south-east of Hebron, and Maon (*Tell Ma'în*) farther south. He was finally driven to the deserts of En-gedi (*'Ain Jidy*), but returned to Maon (LXX 1 S 25^{1}) immediately south of Carmel (*Kurmul*)—a region still rich in sheep (1 S 23$^{14.25}$ 24^{1} 25^{2}). Ziklag (27) was south of Beersheba not far from Arad (*Tell 'Arâd*), where the Kenites lived (cf. Jg 1^{16} and 1 S 27^{10}), but not more than three days' journey from Jezreel (30^{1}) for men mounted on riding camels. The Philistines, driven from the mountains, encamped by a 'stream' (*Aphek*) in Shunem (29^{1}, cf. 28^{4}), which still runs from the spring at *Sûlem*. Saul's army being to the south, on the rugged and barren slopes of Gilboa near Jezreel, his night journey to Endor, north of the Philistine camp, was especially dangerous.

The second Heb. capital was at Hebron, Saul's adherents having their centre at Mahanaim in Gilead. The well of Sirah (2 S 3^{26}) retains its name (*'Ain Sârah*) north of Hebron. The conquests of David extended north of Hermon to Tibhath (perhaps *Kefr Dubbeh*) in the Baalbek plains, but not to Kadesh farther north (2 S 8^{8} 24^{6}), now *Ḳades*, on the Orontes. Damascus and Edom were subdued, with Moab and Ammon. The border towards Phœnicia extended to Dan-jaan (*Daniân*) near Achzib south of Tyre (24^{6}), but the region from near Accho to Cabul (*Kabûl*) was ceded later to Tyre by Solomon (1 K 9^{13}), whose kingdom extended, however, north of Damascus to Tadmor (1 K 9^{18}). Tadmor retained its native name at Palmyra to the 1st cent. A.D., as attested by a Palmyro-Gr. bilingual on the site. Tiphsah (Thapsacus on the Euphrates south of Carchemish) is stated (1 K 4^{24}) to have been the limit of his power, including the country of the Hittite princes (v.^{21}, cf. 9^{20} 10^{29}); and Gezer, recently wasted by the Egyptians, was ceded to Israel (1 K 9^{16}). We thus reach the period of greatest prosperity, when Joppa (2 Ch 2^{16}) was a Heb. port as well as Elath (1 K 9^{26}) on the Gulf of 'Aḳabah. The Phœnicians and the Hittites (1 K 10^{29}) in Syria remained, however, as dependent allies. The Cherethites and Pelethites (2 S 20^{23}) may have been guards from Philistia like the Gittites (15^{18}), for a town called *Keratiya* exists south-west of Gath (but see art. CHERETHITES). Mahanaim is described (2 S 18^{23}) as situated in a 'round,' not far from a forest (v.^{9}), and the remarkable basin on the Gilead plateau in which the ruins of *Makhneh* stand is not far from the southern oak and fir woods, whence *es-Salt* (the Saltus of later times) was named.

The third Heb. capital at Jerusalem had existed from the 15th cent. B.C. as a city. It requires to be separately treated (see JERUSALEM), but was chosen, probably in preference to the older centre at Shechem, from military and political considerations. The southern mountains have always been the last refuge from foreign invaders from the plains. The gradual decay of the kingdom began, even in Solomon's age, with the loss of Damascus (1 K 11^{24}); and Zereda (*Surdeh*) in Ephraim became a centre of revolt (v.^{26}, cf. LXX additions, 1 K 12$^{24a\,ff.}$). Shishak's conquests (14^{25}), according to his own record, extended over all Palestine except Upper Galilee, which was conquered by the Syrians (15^{20}). The earlier boundary of Israel and Judah seems to have been near the Michmash Valley (v.^{22}, cf. 2 Ch 13^{19} 16$^{1\text{-}6}$, Zec 14^{10}, 2 K 23^{8}); and Tirzah, the northern capital (1 K 15^{33}), was probably at *Teiasîr*, an ancient site north-east of Shechem. The site of Elijah's sacrifice (1 K 18) is supposed to have been at the southern peak of Carmel, now called *el-Mahraḳah*—'the place of burning.' The Aphek of the Syrian wars (1 K 20^{30}) is probably *Fîḳ*, on the precipices east of the Sea of Galilee. The vine cultivation of Jezreel (1 K 21^{1}) is attested by the remains of rock-cut winepresses east of the town, though no vines are now grown.

A new capital at Samaria now appears in history (1 K 16^{24}) in a well-watered mountain region, at *Sebastieh* west of Shechem, but much exposed to invasion both from the western and the northern plains. Tiphsah (2 K 15^{16}), smitten by Menahem, was probably not the distant Thapsacus on the Euphrates, but the modern *Tafsaḥ* (spelt with the final guttural) south of Shechem; for the Hittites were still an independent people, unconquered by Assyria till the time of Sargon (cf. 2 K 7^{6}), and the conquests of Jeroboam II. in Syria (2 K 14^{28}) extended only to Hamath, half-way to the Hittite capital at Carchemish (2 Ch 35^{20}), now *Jerâbis* on the Euphrates.

After the Captivity geographical indications are less numerous, but many new towns are noticed (Ezr 2), such as Netophah (*Beit Netîf* in the Shephēlah), Azmaveth (*Hizmeh*), Neballat (*Bîr Nibâla*), and Ono (*Kefr 'Ana*) in Benjamin, Elam (perhaps *Beit 'Alâm* west of Hebron) and others already noticed: 'the other Nebo' (Neh 7^{33}) may be *Nûba* in the same district; the villages in the Shephēlah were colonized by men of Judah and Benjamin, who spread as far as Ziklag, Lachish, and Lod (Neh 11$^{25\text{-}35}$). The topographical notices of the poetical and prophetic books do not require special consideration, but that of the Song of Songs is remarkable as covering the whole of Palestine east and west of Jordan, and as indicating the various natural features of the different regions—the flowers of Sharon (2^{1}), the mountains of Bether (probably *Bittîr* near Jerusalem, 2^{17}), the pastures of Gilead (4^{1}), the wild summits of Lebanon and Hermon (4^{8}), the fertile plain round Tirzah (6^{4}), the hills above Damascus (7^{4}), the pools still found beneath Heshbon (7^{4}), and perhaps the copses of Carmel, and the 'circle' of Mahanaim (6^{13} 7^{5}).

The geography of the Hasmonæan period, in the First Book of Maccabees, is evidence of the genuine character of that work. The revolt began at Modin (*Medieh*) on the hills east of Lydda; and the three great passes at Bethhoron, Bethzur, and Berzetho (*Bîr ez-Zeit*), on the west, south, and north of Jerusalem, were defended by Judas. Adasa, the site of his last victory, was at *'Adasah* near Gibeon. Bethzacharias (*Beit Skaria*), where Eleazar was killed under the elephant (1 Mac 6^{32}), was within sight of Jerusalem on the south. The raids of Judas were carried over the whole of Eastern Palestine and into Philistia and Edom, but the only parts securely held were in the mountains round Jerusalem. After his death the surviving brothers found refuge in the desert of Judah and in the Jordan jungle before establishing themselves at Michmash. Under Jonathan the Jewish boundaries extended over all Western Palestine and Syria, even to the river Eleutherus north of Tripoli (*Nahr el-Kebîr*), the port of Joppa and the cities of Philistia having been also won. Gerasa (*Jerash*) in Gilead is first noticed in the time of Alexander Jannæus.

The NT topography is mainly confined to Lower Galilee, but the works of Josephus, the Mishna, and other early Talmudic tracts enable us to trace the boundaries of Samaria, while the village names of Lower Galilee are noticed in great numbers in the *Life* of Josephus, including many places not otherwise mentioned, but which retain their ancient names. The most important topographical questions in the Gospels, from a critical point of view, are those concerning the sites of Bethabara, Emmaus, and Sychar. Christian tradition from the fourth century has placed **Bethabara** (on the reading in Jn 1^{28} see article BETHABARA) at the Jericho ford, because John preached in the wilderness of Judæa (Mt 3^{1}); but this does not accord with the distance from Cana of Galilee, a day's journey (Jn 1^{43} 2^{1}), and the Baptist preached in all parts of the Jordan Valley (Lk 3^{3}). The name of Bethabara ('house of the ferry') survives at only one of the Jordan fords, *Makhâḍet 'Abârah*, 'the ford of the ferry,' and this is on the confines of Galilee (Mt 3^{13}), and a day's journey from Cana. The site of **Emmaus** is not known (possibly *Khamasa* south-west of Jerusalem); the emendation of the Sinaitic MS (Lk 24^{13} reading 160 for 60 furlongs), clearly intended to point to Emmaus Nicopolis (*'Amwâs*), gives too great a distance from Jerusalem to agree with the context (vv.$^{13.\,33}$). **Sychar** (Sam. *Ischar*, translated in the Arabic of the Sam. Chronicle *'Askar*) is clearly the village *'Askar* close to Jacob's Well (Jn $4^{5.\,6}$). Ænon near Salim (Jn 3^{23}), where there was 'much water,' is probably to be found at the perennial stream north-east of Shechem, between the sites of *'Ainûn* and *Sâlim*, where alone in Palestine the two names occur near each other. The site of Chorazin (Mt 11^{21}) is fixed at *Kerâzeh*, north of the Sea of Galilee, but that of Capernaum (Capharnaum in the earlier MSS) is disputed. Christian tradition from the 4th cent. has placed it at *Tell Hûm*, but the fountain of Capernaum watered the plain of Gennesaret (Jos. *BJ* III. x. 8), and Isaac Chelo (14th cent. A.D.) identifies the town with a city of the Minim, who, according to the Rabbis, were heretics of Capernaum; Jewish tradition seems thus to point to the ruin of *Minieh* in the small plain of Gennesaret. Bethsaida Julias (Jos. *BJ* III. x. 7) was at the mouth of the Jordan, east of the river, where it entered the Sea of Galilee. It is usually placed at *et-Tell*, a ruin now a mile from the mouth. The swampy delta between this site and the lake has probably been formed during the last nineteen centuries. This city appears to be the Bethsaida of the Gospels (Mk 8^{22}) on the way to Cæsarea Philippi under Hermon (v.^{27}), and apparently east of Jordan (cf. Mt $14^{13.\,22.\,34}$, Lk 9^{10}), although two of the oldest MSS omit the name in the last cited passage. This view is not contradicted by the other passages in which Bethsaida is noticed (Jn 1^{44}, Mt 11^{21}). Magdala (Mt 15^{39}), called Magadan in some early MSS, and possibly identical with Dalmanutha (Mk 8^{10}), is the little hamlet *Mejdel* north of Tiberias. Gerasa (Mk 5^{1}, Lk 8^{26} = Gadara of Mt 8^{28}) or Gergesa is usually placed at the ruin *Khersa*, under the cliffs east of the Sea of Galilee, a site which answers to the notice of a 'steep place' (Mt 8^{32}). See, further, under the articles GADARA, GADARENES, and GERASENES. The site of Bethphage (Mk 11^{1}) is unknown, but it was near Bethany (*el-'Azerîyeh*) on Olivet. Gethsemane is only traditionally indicated, but it was clearly at the foot of Olivet, east of the Kidron Valley. Ephraim (Jn 11^{54}) is traditionally the village *Ṭaiyibeh* near Baal-hazor (cf. 2 Ch 13^{19} and 2 S 13^{23}). Antipatris (Ac 23^{31}), at *Râs el-'Ain*, on the old road from Jerusalem to Cæsarea, was a city built by Herod the Great.

The boundaries of Samaria coincided roughly with those of the old territory of Manasseh west of Jordan, and extended to the Jordan Valley (cf. Mk 10^{1}) as well as to the sea—Cæsarea Palestina and Capharsaba (*Kefr Sâba*) being Sam. towns according to the Rabbis. Samaritans also lived in Bethshean and on Carmel, where *Kefr es-Samîr* represents the older Castrum Samaritorum. The south boundary followed a great ravine eastwards from Antipatris, having Beth Rima (*Beit Rîma*) and Beth Laban (*Lubben*) on the south, and passing by Anuath and Borceos (*Berkît*). Acrabbi (*'Akrabeh*) and Sartaba (*Ḳurn Sartabah*) were in Judæa; and the boundary, leaving Shechem on its west, thus seems to have followed the valley of Ænon. En-gannim (*Jenîn*) was the border town of Galilee in the plain of Esdraelon; but Carmel, Gilboa, and all Sharon north of Antipatris appear to have been in Samaria. Galilee was bounded on the north (see Tosephta, Siphri, and Talm. Jerus.) by Achzib north of Accho (*ez-Zib*), Gatin (*Ja'thûn*), Beth Zanita (*Zuweinita*), Melloth (*Ma'lia*), Gelil (*Jilîl*), and Kanah (*Ḳanah*), and thence on the north the line ran along the Leontes, and to Cæsarea Philippi (*Baniâs*) under Hermon. The 'coasts of Tyre and Sidon' (Mt 15^{21}) were thus beyond the Holy Land. On the east, Bashan was divided into the districts of Gaulanitis (*Jaulân*), Trachonitis (the *Lejja* or 'basalt' region), Ituræa,—usually supposed to be the *Jedûr* region under Hermon,—Batanæa and Auranitis (*Ḥaurân*). See BASHAN. Decapolis (Mt 4^{25}, Mk 5^{20}, Pliny, *HN* v. 18) was a confederation of ten cities in Bashan, including Gadara (*Umm Ḳeis*), Gerasa (*Jerâsh*), Canatha (*Kanawât*), Abila (*Abil*), Susitha (*Sûsieh*), Dion (*Adûn*), Capitolias (probably *Beit er-Râs*), Pella (*Fahil*), and Raphana, with Bethshean (*Beisân*) west of the Jordan.

Palestine was enriched by Herod the Great with new cities, such as Cæsarea, and by great buildings at Jericho, Phasaelis (*Fusail* in the Jordan Valley), Samaria, Antipatris, Ashkelon, etc. He built the desert fortress of Masada (*Sebbeh*) on the south-west shores of the Dead Sea; and his tomb was in the circular fortress of Herodium, which still stands on its conical hill south of Bethlehem (*Jebel Fureidîs*). His successors added Tiberias, Cæsarea Philippi, Bethsaida, Archelais (probably *Kerâwa* in the Jordan Valley), and other towns; but his dominions were divided (Jos. *Ant.* XVII. xi. 4), Archelaus ruling Edom, Judæa, and Samaria; Philip ruling Bashan and Abilene (north of Hermon); and Antipas ruling Galilee, with Gilead and Moab (Peræa); until under the Roman procurators Palestine became a province subject to the legate of Syria. During this period Damascus and the regions far east of the Jordan were subject to the Nabatæan princes of Petra from B.C. 95 to A.D. 106. Bashan was incorporated in the province of Syria in A.D. 34 after the death of Philip.

Later Geography.—Knowledge of the later topography of Palestine is important for a right understanding of many questions, but the subject cannot here be fully treated. The scattered notices in Pliny, Strabo, and other Roman writers do not add materially to our information, nor are many places noticed in the Mishna; but in the 4th cent. the Jerusalem Talmud contains many references. The conquests of Cornelius Palma under Trajan in A.D. 105 gave to the Romans the whole of Gilead and Moab from Bostra (*Busrah*) to Petra and 'Aḳabah on the Red Sea. Bostra was the capital of this new province of Arabia, and the quarters of the Third Legion (Cyrenaica). In A.D. 295 Auranitis, Batanæa, and Trachonitis were added to this province (which was ruled by a proprætor and a procurator), these districts having previously belonged to Syria. The Syrian province continued to use the Seleucid era for dating texts, but the Arabian cities dated from A.D. 106, the era of Bostra. Hence (see Mr. A. G. Wright's paper in *Pal. Expl. Fund Quarterly Statement*, 1895, p. 67) it becomes possible to draw the north boundary of Arabia in A.D. 106 on the south side of Bashan passing just north of Adraa, while after A.D. 295 the border between Arabia and Syria ran farther north by Neve (*Nawa*) and Aere (*eṣ-Ṣunamein*) in the north part of Bashan. The most important places historically in the 2nd cent. A.D. were Bether (*Bittîr* near Jerusalem), where the great revolt of the Jews from Hadrian was suppressed, and Jamnia (*Yebnah*), the seat of the Sanhedrin after A.D. 70; while after A.D. 135 it sat at Shafram (*Shefa 'Amr*), Oshah (*Hûsheh*), Shaaraim (*Sha'rah*), and Tiberias in Lower Galilee. The great *Onomasticon* of Eusebius, translated from Gr. into Latin by Jerome, is very important for a knowledge of the 4th cent. topography, but the identification of Bible sites by these writers, who were intimately acquainted with the whole country, is as often wrong as right (as may be shown in cases such as Aijalon, etc.), and it has no authority, although upon it was founded the Greek tradition which all pilgrim diaries repeat down to the 12th cent., and which still survives. The crusaders further confused the topography by new and ignorant identifications, often rejecting sites fixed by the consensus of Jewish, Sam., and Gr.-Christian tradition. Before the first crusade (A.D. 1099) the Greek Church divided the country into three provinces, Palestina Prima, Palestina Secunda (Galilee and East of Jordan), and Palestina Tertia in the south, including S.E. Palestine and the southern desert—all under the Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem. The crusaders had four metropolitans (at Jerusalem, Cæsarea, Tyre, and Nazareth) under the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem until A.D. 1187. Under the Romans and Byzantines the boundaries of the country were guarded by Legions and native auxiliaries, established at centres like Bostra (*Busrah*) on the edge of the Syrian desert, and at Sinai, with posts along the plains of Moab and Damascus. The tombstones of Roman officers are commonly found in these regions with Greek (and sometimes Latin) inscriptions. The crusaders divided all Palestine (except Bashan, which was never conquered) into fifteen baronies and fiefs under the king of Jerusalem in the 12th cent. The treaty of Richard I. and Saladin (A.D. 1192) left to the Christians all the plains of Philistia and Sharon, with Galilee and Tyre, and many new fortresses were built in these regions early in the 13th century. The last region left to the Christians, after the conquest of Bibars, consisted, about A.D. 1282, of Carmel, the plains of Acre, and the hills east of Tyre, all finally lost in 1291 on the fall of Acre. Moslem accounts of Palestine are slight and, as a rule, late, excepting the geography of El Muḳaddasi, which throws light on the condition of the country before the first crusade. A considerable Christian population continued to exist under the Moslems during the centuries following Omar's conquest, and was found in the country by the crusaders. Soldiers from the west of Europe had already been planted in Palestine by the Romans in the 2nd cent., and a large population of European settlers occupied the land in the 12th; but after the 13th this element was represented till recently only by Italian traders on the coast, and by monks at Nazareth, Carmel, Jerusalem, and Bethlehem. During the last twenty years the immigration of Circassians (in Bashan), of Bosnians (at Cæsarea on the coast), and of Jews at Jerusalem, with colonies near Jaffa, on Carmel, in Galilee, and in Bashan, are the most remarkable changes in the population of the country. Our knowledge of Palestine under the Franks, in the 12th and 13th cents., is singularly minute, and the remains of their churches and castles are among the most conspicuous ruins in the country; but their influence on the native race and language seems to have been very small. Modern Palestine under the Turks is divided into four provinces,—that of Jerusalem, that of Nâblus (Shechem), to which the Belḳa or 'empty land' (in Moab and Gilead) is attached, and that of Acre. Bashan is directly under the ruler of the capital at Damascus. The country still possesses fine cornlands, especially in Sharon, Lower Galilee, and Bashan; its hills are covered with vines, especially on Hermon and round Hebron; and large groves of olives cover the lower foot hills. Most of its ancient towns are now either villages of huts built of mud in the plains and of stone in the hills, or they are ruins. The only city is Damascus (250,000 inhabitants), and the chief towns are Jerusalem (perhaps 60,000), Hebron (10,000), Gaza (18,000), Jaffa (7000), Bethlehem (5000), Nâblus (15,000), Jenîn (3000), Nazareth (6000), Tiberias (2000), Accho (Acre, 8000), and Tyre (3000); but these are only estimates based on local information, and the numbers constantly vary, the Moslem population and the Samaritans at Nâblus (140 souls) tending to decrease, while the Jewish, Greek, German, and Maronite-Christian elements tend to increase, in numbers and in prosperity.

vi. ANTIQUITIES.—At a time approximately dated B.C. 2800, the Akkadians from the lower Tigris were sending ships to Sinai for granite (Telloh inscriptions of Gudea), and cutting cedars in Amanus (*Amalum*), and it is not improbable that they entered Palestine as did Amraphel (*Khammurabi*) and Arioch (*Eriaku*), who raided (Gn 14^{5-7}) through Bashan, Moab, and Edom to Kadesh-barnea, returning by En-gedi up the Jordan Valley to Dan, and to the land of Hobah north of Damascus. The date of the participators in this alleged early Chaldæan raid may possibly be fixed by the cuneiform tablets *c.* B.C. 2300 (see above, p. 647^b). During the same period the *Men* or Minyans (Jer 51^{27}, but see KAT^2 *ad loc.*) were ruling in Lower Egypt, and are said in Egyp. records (see Brugsch, i. 234) to have come from Assyria and from east of Syria, probably from near Lake Van. Their language, like the Akkadian, appears (Tel el-Amarna tablets, No. 24, Berlin) to have been Mongolic, and they adored Set, a deity worshipped by the Hittites, to whom they were probably akin. It is not impossible, therefore (but see above, p. 646^a), that at this early period a Hittite tribe may have been established among the Amorites in the south at Hebron (Gn 23), though in the later times of the Heb. conquest and in Solomon's age (Jos 1^4, 1 K 4^{29}) the Hittites are confined to North Syria. In the lowest strata of the mound at Lachish pottery as well as flint instruments occur, which may belong to this period, and with these a signet which appears to have on it both Egyptian and Hittite hieroglyphics. To this early period may also be attributed the rude stone monuments, which are numerous in Moab, and which also occur near the Jabbok, at Rabbath-ammon, and near Sûf in Northern Gilead, as well as in the Jaulân. There are three or four examples in

Upper Galilee, and a group west of *Tell el-Ḳâḍi* (Dan), but none are known in Western Palestine south of the Sea of Galilee. These monuments resemble those of our own islands, including monumental pillars (*maẓẓēbôth* of the Hebrew), circles of village enclosure stones (*ḥăzērîm*, Arab. *hadhr*), and tables supported on upright or flat stones, such as are called cromlechs or dolmens in Britain. The Moabite examples of the latter class of monuments cannot have been sepulchral, and were never covered over with mounds like the tomb-chambers of Europe. They can only (in many instances) have served as tables, probably as altars, and they have often 'cup hollows' in the top stone, fitted for libations, such as are still poured into similar cup hollows in the north of Europe. The distribution of these monuments is remarkable, since they have disappeared from the regions in which Hezekiah and Josiah (2 K 18^{4} 23^{4-20}) destroyed the Canaanite altars and pillars, surviving only in regions beyond the influence of the kings of Judah. They occur on Nebo (cf. Nu 23^{14}), and at Dan, both of which were centres of idolatrous worship.

The monumental history of Palestine from Egyp. sources begins about B.C. 1700 (Brugsch's date), before which time the foreign kings of the Delta (Minyans or Hyksos) were in communication with 'the north.' Ahmes, first of the new native dynasty from Thebes (the 18th), drove the Asiatics from the Delta, and pursued them to Sharuhen (*Tell esh-Sheri'ah*) on the borders of Palestine. Thothmes I. marched into Palestine and Syria, and beyond the Euphrates, about B.C. 1633; and a generation later Thothmes III. won a great victory at Megiddo in Central Palestine, defeating a league of Canaanites and Hittites, and pursuing his conquests through Phœnicia by Aradus and Tunep, and beyond the Euphrates. The list of cities conquered in Palestine, about B.C. 1600, includes those of Philistia, Lower Galilee, and Bashan, as far as Ashtaroth and Damascus; but none appear to be mentioned in Samaria or Upper Judæa, or in Gilead or Moab. The Egyp. chariots could not enter these rugged mountains. Among the 119 towns in Palestine mentioned on this valuable list at Karnak (first published by Mariette) the following cities noticed in the Bible are found in the order here given:—Megiddo, Gaza, Dothan, Rabbith, Kartan, Damascus, Edrei, Abila (of Bashan), Hammath, Madon, Lasharon, Ashtaroth, Maachah, Laish, Hazor, Adami, Kishion, Shunem, Misheal, Achshaph, Taanach, Ibleam, Anem, Kadesh (of Issachar), Anaharath, Nekeb, Joppa, Lod, Ono, Shochoh (near Adullam), Naamah, Saphir, Rakkon, Gerar, Aroer (of Simeon), Lebaoth, Rehoboth, Adoraim, Anim, Gezer, Rabbath, Zorah, Anem, En-gannim (of Judah), Gibeah (of Judah), and Zephathah. These cities therefore all bore their biblical names in B.C. 1600, before the Exodus, and the list has the highest value for critical purposes. The civilization of the Canaanites at this period as described in the spoil lists of Thothmes III. is most remarkable. All the precious metals were in use; art objects from Phœnicia and Assyria were imported; ivory was used for inlaying; chariots were plated with gold and silver, or painted; armour of bronze, and iron weapons are noticed with flint axes. Thrones, footstools, and sceptres, of precious wood, were adorned with gold and ivory; tables were set with gems; and tents had pillars of iron and of gold. The cities had walls, and fine harvests of wheat and barley were reaped, while horses and flocks were captured by the Egyptians. Statues with heads of gold are also mentioned. Wine, oil, honey, balm, and fruits were presented. Even the ploughs seem to have been adorned with gold; and cedar wood was commonly used. Ships laden with timber and corn were sailing on the Mediterranean (cf. Gn 49^{13}, Nu 24^{24}), and often carried slaves from the north. In the time of Thothmes IV. further expeditions were made against the Hittites, now driven from Palestine to Ḳadesh on the Orontes. These conquests were maintained during the greater part of the long and prosperous reign of Amenophis III. (about B.C. 1500 to 1464).

The Egyptian monuments do not mention any Exodus, though Thothmes IV. is said to have driven out the Asiatics. The notices of the place Rameses (Gn 47^{11}, Ex 1^{11} *) do not serve to fix any date for such an event, and our only sources of information (see Jg 11^{26}, 1 K 6^{1}) point to the 15th cent. B.C. as that during which the conquest of Palestine by the Hebrews was effected. In the ruins of Lachish the seal of Teie, the Armenian queen of Amenophis III., is found, showing intercourse with Egypt about B.C. 1500; and the Egyptians were in constant intercourse with Babylon, Assyria, and Armenia at this time, the royal houses being allied by marriages from the time of Thothmes IV. A curious cuneiform tablet, sealed with a Bab. cylinder signet (Tel el-Amarna), is addressed to 'all the kings of Canaan, servants of my brother, the king of Egypt,' and served as a passport for an envoy. The great collections of 300 cuneiform tablets, found in 1887 at Tel el-Amarna (between Memphis and Thebes), contain letters to Amenophis III. and Amenophis IV. from the kings of Babylon, Assyria, and Armenia, from princes in Asia Minor, and (in about 200 instances) from chiefs of the Hittites, Amorites, Phœnicians, and Philistines, who ruled as subjects of the Pharaoh, assisted by Egyp. residents in the chief towns of the Syrian and Palestine plains, and guarded by forces of chariots. But towards the end of the reign of Amenophis III. revolutions occurred, which destroyed the Egyp. domination. The Canaanites sought alliance with Babylon, but this was refused. The Hittites and Cassites attacked Damascus, and overran Bashan. The Amorites made war on the Phœnicians, and besieged Tyre. The Egyp. forces were defeated and withdrawn from the north and from Jerusalem, and the king of that city wrote to Egypt to complain of the entire destruction of 'all the rulers,' which followed, and which was due to the conquests of a people called the *Habiri* or *'Abiri*. They are said to have come from Seir to Jerusalem, and to have fought at Aijalon, and subdued Gezer, Ashkelon, Zorah, Lachish, Keilah, and other cities. The date coincides with that of the Heb. conquest according to the OT notices, and it appears probable that (as Zimmern has proposed) the Habiri are to be identified with the Hebrews.

In the reign of Amenophis IV. communication with the north was (according to these tablets) much interrupted, and about B.C. 1400 the 18th dynasty was overthrown. Seti I., a generation later, began to attempt the reconquest of the lost empire when the 19th dynasty had arisen. He penetrated to Kanana (*Kana'an*) near Hebron, and into the land of Zahi, famous for its wine and corn, and thought to have lain in the south of Pal., near which apparently lived the Anaugas (perhaps Anakim). Seti also fought a battle at Inuamu, perhaps Jamnia, and his famous successor, Ramses II., besieged and took Ashkelon, and the towns of Shalama, Maroma (*Meirûn*), Ain Anamim (*'Ainatha*), Dapur (*Debûrieh*), and Kalopu (perhaps *Shalabûn*), in Upper and Lower Galilee. He pursued his conquests into Phœnicia, and, after taking Ḳadesh, entered into treaty with the Hittites, who had become independent, and marched to the

---

* These two statements were clearly written not earlier than the time of the 19th dynasty.

Euphrates and to Ephesus. This period of conquest in Galilee seems to have coincided chronologically with the oppression of Israel under Jabin II., king of Hazor, whose 'captain' (*sar*), with a force of iron chariots (Jg 4^3), bears a name not apparently Semitic, but easily explained as Egyp., viz. Sisera, *i.e. Ses-Ra*, 'the servant of Ra.' The conquests of Ramses II. were lost about B.C. 1300 by Merenptah, who was attacked in Egypt by tribes from the north, and after his time Arisu (Hareth), a Phœnician, ruled in the Delta. The power of Egypt steadily declined, and about B.C. 1200 Ramses III. was attacked by northern tribes, coming both by sea and by land to Egypt. Among those enumerated are the *Danau* or Greeks, and the *Pulesta*, thought to be the Philistines.

Early Assyr. invasions occurred (see ARAM) about this period; and in B.C. 1150 Assur-risisi set up a monument at Beirut, and about 1120 Tiglath-pileser I. entered the Lebanon. An Assyr. king was also buried at Abydos in the time of Ramses XIV., and may have passed through Palestine. But, after the death of Solomon, Shishak (B.C. 966–933) invaded Palestine, and took 133 cities, among which Jerusalem is perhaps mentioned last (Maspero). The only monument of this later age is the famous Moabite Stone, found at *Dhibân*, which records the revolt of Moab in the 9th cent. B.C., during the reign of Ahab (cf. 2 K 3^{4-27}). But the power of the Assyrians in Palestine was not severely felt until the time of Tiglath-pileser III., who conquered Damascus in B.C. 732. Prior to this event Menahem of Israel and Ahaz of Judah brought tribute, as Jehu had done in the 9th cent. The fall of the Syrian power beyond Jordan was followed by the capture of Samaria in B.C. 722 by Sargon. The advance to Ashdod followed eleven years later, and the attack on Jerusalem by Sennacherib, in B.C. 701, failed in consequence of the success of Tirhakah, the Ethiopian king of Egypt, after his defeat near Joppa. Sennacherib 'dwelt at Nineveh' (2 K 19^{36}) till his death twenty years later, and Judah was saved for a century. The great inscription of Sennacherib attests the wealth of Hezekiah, and mentions his ivory throne. The Siloam inscription, belonging to this age, not only gives us the characters then in use,—closely like the Phœnician,—but also shows us that the language of Judah was the pure Heb. in which the earlier books of the OT are written. Sennacherib speaks of 30 talents of gold and 800 talents of silver given as tribute by Hezekiah, with precious woods, gems, eunuchs of the palace, horses, mules, asses, camels, oxen, and sheep. Forty-six fortresses were besieged with battering-rams in Judæa. Manasseh is again noticed as tributary to Esarhaddon, who rebuilt Babylon (cf. 2 Ch 33^{11}) and conquered Egypt. Very few Palestine antiquities are as yet recovered previous to the time of Nebuchadnezzar (B.C. 600), excepting those noticed above. At Samaria a Heb. quarter-shekel weight[*] has been found (about 40 grains), and in the ruins of Lachish clay images, with pottery and seals. Certain inscribed seals from Jerusalem and Northern Palestine bear Hebrew personal names compounded with the sacred name Jah, which occurs on the Moabite Stone, and also early in Assyria and Syria. The Siloam aqueduct, and probably many rock-cut tombs of the old Phœnician character, date from this period.

After the Captivity we possess silver shekel coins (worth about 2s. 8d.), adorned with the pomegranate, which appear to be earlier than the 2nd or 3rd cent. B.C.; and the great inscription of Eshmunazar (probably of the 3rd cent. B.C.) shows that Sharon was ruled by the Sidonian kings under the Ptolemies, while dated texts of the same period attest the worship of Baal near Tyre. The Greek influence which began to affect Palestine after the conquest by Alexander the Great is witnessed by the ruins of Tyrus in Gilead, where the palace of the priest Hyrcanus (built in B.C. 176) is adorned with gigantic figures of lions, and with semi-Gr. semi-Egyp. pillars and cornices. To the 2nd cent. B.C. belong the coins of the Hasmonæan kings, inscribed in the later Heb. character, and also (from the time of Alexander Jannæus) in Greek. The Gr. masonry (like that of the Acropolis), with drafted margins to the stones, is found at Tyrus and in Phœnicia, and continued in use in the time of Herod the Great. About the Christian era the Gr. tomb also began to supersede the earlier Heb. tomb with *kokim* or tunnel graves, and the adornment of the façades was executed in a peculiar native style, much influenced by Greek ideas, the best examples of which occur near Jerusalem.

The second century of the Christian era was a great building period in Palestine. Roman cities like Gadara and Gerasa sprang up, and the temple of Baalbek was built. Numerous family mausolea —towers containing sarcophagi—were erected, esp. in Bashan and Gilead, and Gr. inscriptions prove that they were built in the lifetime of the owner. Bashan presents us with hundreds of Gr. texts of this age, dating from the time of Herod onwards, and witnessing to the existence of a mingled Arab-Gr. population, adoring Arab and Gr. gods. The synagogues of Upper Galilee (to which probably others on Carmel and at Shiloh may be added) are equally influenced by Gr. art, though in some cases giving square Heb. inscriptions. The most notable examples occur at Chorazin, Tell Hûm, Irbid, and in the mountains of Naphtali. Roman roads, with milestones inscribed in Gr. and in Latin, belong to the same period (esp. under the Antonines, A.D. 140 to 180); and at Gerasa we find a very perfect example of a Roman city, with its streets of columns, forum, theatres, naumachia basin, triumphal arch, baths, judgment basilica, and temples. To the 2nd and 3rd cents. A.D. belong also the Jewish and Christian osteophagi (or bone boxes) found on Olivet with Gr. and Heb. texts, and the tombstones of the old Jewish cemetery at Jaffa. The tomb of Eleazar bar Zachariah (A.D. 135) bearing his name has perhaps been found on Carmel, and that of a descendant of Rabbi Tarphon at Jaffa.

The Palestine ruins of the Byzantine period (4th to 7th cent.) are extremely numerous, including fortifications, churches, chapels, and monasteries in all parts of the country. Gr.-Christian texts are commonly found. The Gr. tomb continued in general use, and copper coins of the later emperors are found in great numbers. The remains of the Arab period before the crusades (especially the mosques at Jerusalem, Damascus, and 'Ammân) are less numerous. A text from Harrân (south-east of Damascus) proves the use of the Kufic character in Palestine before the time of Omar. The Norman buildings of the 12th and 13th cents. represent a new and foreign element in architecture, and to this age belong many coins, seals, inscribed tombstones, glass mosaics, and frescoes, with other art objects. The latest important architectural remains are found in the mosques built by the great Egyp. rulers of the 13th and 14th cents. Modern additions to the architecture include the Latin monasteries at Jerusalem, Nazareth, Bethlehem, Carmel, etc., with smaller Greek monasteries, and Protestant churches and orphanages at Jerusalem, Nazareth, etc. The real antiquities of Palestine are, however, for the most part hidden in the great mounds which mark the sites of ancient cities such as Ashkelon, Megiddo, Lachish, Cæsarea, etc., which require further excavation.

---

[*] The old Jerusalem shekel, according to Maimonides, weighed about 320 grains, but the Galilæan shekel was half the weight of the Jerusalem shekel. The weight has on it the words *reba' neẓep*, 'quarter of half' (Clermont-Ganneau), and *reba' she-l* for 'quarter shekel' (Robertson Smith). See the discussion by the latter in the *Academy*, 18th Nov. 1893, p. 443 ff., or *PEFSt*, July 1894, p. 225 ff. The weight agrees with that of the quarter of a Galilæan shekel. After the Captivity the shekel weighed only 220 grains (see also *PEFSt*, July and Oct. 1899 and Jan. 1900, for further papers on the metrology). A specimen, apparently of the full *neẓep*, weighing 156 grs., has recently been found by Bliss at Tell Zakarîya (*PEFSt*, July 1899, p. 207 f.).

LITERATURE.—The Bibliography of Palestine occupies a stout volume recently published by Herr Röhricht, but the number of standard works necessary for the student is not large. Reland's *Palæstina Illustrata* is still valuable, and Robinson's *Biblical Researches* form an invaluable storehouse of literary notices. The results of exploration are found in the publications of the *Palestine Exploration Fund* (1865–1900), and esp. in the Memoirs of the Survey, including seven quarto volumes illustrated. Three of these treat of Western Palestine, one of Moab, one of Jerusalem, one contains Special Papers, and the last gives the Arab nomenclature. Three volumes are added on the Natural History, Botany, and Geology, and two more are to follow on the Archæological discoveries of M. Clermont-Ganneau. To these must be added the maps (1 inch to the mile), with those on a smaller scale which give the results as bearing on ancient geography. The Egyp. records relating to Palestine will be found in Brugsch's *History of Egypt*, and in Chabas' *Voyage d'un Egyptien*, see also W. M. Müller, *Asien u. Europa*; Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, *Struggle of the Nations*, and parts of Hogarth's *Authority and Archæology*; the spelling of the names is given in hieroglyphic types in Pierret's *Dictionary*. The Tel el-Amarna tablets are published in facsimile (*Thontafelfund von el Amarna*) by Winckler and tr^{d} by him in vol. v. of *KIB* (see also Petrie's *Syria and Egypt from the Tell el Amarna Letters*, and Conder's *Tell Amarna Tablets*, 2nd ed.). The Assyr. records are tr. in *RP*, and (better) in *KIB* i.–iii., and in Schrader's valuable work on the *Cuneif. Inscript. and OT*. The early Christian and Moslem accounts are treated in the publications of the *Palestine Pilgrim Texts Society*. The Greek inscriptions were collected by Waddington and de Vogüé (*Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie*), and to the latter we owe valuable works on Jerusalem and on the churches of the crusaders. The history of the various scripts is given by Isaac Taylor (*The Alphabet*), and the coinage is treated by Madden (*Coins of the Jews*). The Talmudic geography is detailed by Neubauer (*Géographie du Talmud*), and the Arab geographies by Guy le Strange (*Pal. under the Moslems*); while the most important works treating of the crusaders include Bongars' *Gesta Dei*, the History by William of Tyre, the valuable *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani* by Herr Röhricht, and Rey's *Colonies Franques de la Syrie*. Many other publications might be added to this list of leading works, such as the publications of the *German Palestine Society*, the works of de Saulcy, Guérin, and others, and scattered papers, given by the *Biblical Archæological Society* and other antiquarian societies. Popular works on the country are not included in this list. The features of the country may be best understood from the large model by Mr. G. Armstrong published by the *Palestine Exploration Fund*. The topographical questions and antiquities are treated in G. A. Smith's *HGHL*; Baedeker, *Pal.* (last ed.); Nowack, *Heb. Arch.*; Benzinger, do.; see also Conder's *Handbook to the Bible*. Important details may also be studied in the British Museum catalogues; and M. Maspero's studies of the geographical lists of Thothmes III. and Shishak have been published in the *Transactions of the Victoria Institute* (for Thothmes, 1886, p. 277 ff., 1888, p. 53 ff.; for Shishak, 1894, p. 63 ff.), which, together with those of the *Royal Asiatic Society*, contain other papers bearing on Palestine; cf. also parts of Sayce's *Patriarchal Palestine*. The Mediæval Samaritan Topography is to be found in Juynboll's *Samaritan Book of Joshua*, and in Neubauer's *Samaritan Chronicle*, to which Nutt's *Samaritans* may be added as of value. Recent researches have so entirely changed the basis on which Palestine antiquities are now studied, that the traditional Christian topography has ceased to be regarded as of primary importance, and many works founded on this information have become obsolete. Outside the Bible the most important ancient work bearing on the condition of the country, about the Christian era, continues to be that of *Josephus*; but his text is so corrupt, and his statements of distance and area are so discordant, that it is impossible to rely on his accuracy in these details.

C. R. CONDER.

PALLU (פַּלּוּא; Φαλλούς, Φαλλούδ).—One of the sons of Reuben, Gn 46^{9}, Ex 6^{14}, Nu 26$^{5.8}$, 1 Ch 5^{3}. The patronymic Palluites (הַפַּלֻּאִי, Φαλλουεί) occurs in Nu 26^{5}. We should probably read *Pallu* for PELETH (wh. see) in Nu 16^{1}.

PALM (OF THE HAND).—The Heb. word כַּף *kaph* (from כָּפַף to be bent, bowed), signifies the hand as bent or hollow, the palm in readiness for holding or grasping, and it is used with great freedom in OT. Pharaoh's cup is set upon the palm of his hand (Gn 40$^{11.21}$); the widow of Zarephath had 'but a palmful of meal' (1 K 17^{12}); the palms are clapped in applause (2 K 11^{12}) or in derision (Nu 24^{10}); men seize with the palm (Ezk 29^{7}), and smite their palms together in hand-grasp (Pr 6^{1}); the palms are spread out in prayer (Ex 9$^{29.33}$); it is by the toil of the palms that men earn their bread (Gn 31^{42}); and to be in one's palm is the Heb. expression for to be in one's power. The Eng. idiom uses 'hand' in almost all these places. Indeed 'palm' never occurs in AV except when followed by 'of the hand' (Lv 14^{15}, 1 S 5^{4}, 2 K 9^{35}, Is 49^{16}, Dn 10^{10}). In Dn 5$^{5.24}$ 'part' (AV and RV) should be 'palm.'

In Sir 18^{3} God is said to govern the world with the palm of His hand (*ἐν σπιθαμῇ χειρὸς αὐτοῦ*, lit. 'with the span of his hand,' cf. Is 40^{12}). The Geneva and Bishops' Bibles have 'with the power of his hand'; other VSS, including RV, omit, following a better text.

The palm of the hand is thrice mentioned in NT. In Mt 26^{67} it is said that 'others smote him with the palms of their hands'; the Gr. is simply *οἱ δὲ ἐρράπισαν* (edd. *ἐράπισαν*). The only other occurrence of *ῥαπίζειν* in NT is Mt 5^{39} *ὅστις σε ῥαπίζει εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα* [*σου*], 'whosoever shall smite thee (RV 'smiteth thee') on thy right cheek,' where the smiting is clearly with the palm of the hand. And, as Swete (on Mk 14^{65}) points out, in two at least of the three LXX instances of *ῥαπίζειν*, the reference is to a blow on the face by the hand of another (Hos 11^{4}, 1 Es 4^{30}). Field (*Otium Norv.*^{2} on Jn 18^{22}) quotes, further, a clear example from Josephus (*Ant.* VIII. xv. 4), who represents Zedekiah as saying, before he struck Micaiah on the cheek, 'If he be a true prophet, as soon as he is struck by me, let him disable my hand' (*εὐθὺς ῥαπισθεὶς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ βλαψάτω μου τὴν χεῖρα*); and he decides, after examining the use of the word in classical writers, that *ῥαπίζειν* (though from *ῥάπις*, *a rod*) is not used as equivalent to *ῥαβδίζειν*, 'to strike with a rod,' later than Herodotus. RV therefore need scarcely have repeated the AV margin 'or *with rods*.' In Mk 14^{65} (*ῥαπίσμασιν αὐτὸν ἔβαλλον* [but edd. after best MSS *ἔλαβον*, on which see Swete, *in loc.*]) and in Jn 18^{22} (*ἔδωκε ῥάπισμα τῷ Ἰησοῦ*) we have the subst. *ῥάπισμα*, of which the meaning is determined by the meaning of *ῥαπίζω*: it means a stroke with the palm of the hand. RV has in Mk 'received him with blows of their hands,' with marg. 'or *strokes of rods*'; and in Jn 'struck Jesus with his hand,' with marg. 'or *with a rod*.' The margins are to be rejected on the ground of congruity as well as the use of the word.

J. HASTINGS.

PALM TREE (תָּמָר *tāmār*, in Jg 4^{5} and Jer 10^{5} תֹּמֶר; *φοῖνιξ*, *palma*).—The palm is indigenous in tropical and subtropical climates. It is the tree *par excellence* of Egypt and Nubia. It flourishes, however, in the maritime plain of Pal. and Syria, as far north as Beirût and Tripoli. Beyond this it exists, even as far as Smyrna. It grew formerly in abundance in the Jordan Valley, and would do so now if planted. Although a few trees grow in sunny places on the lower mountains, they do not usually bear fruit at an altitude above 1000 ft. The palm of Scripture is *Phœnix dactylifera*, L., of the Order Palmeæ. It is an endogenous tree; the trunk, composed of interlacing fibres, is very light, but exceedingly flexible and strong. A palm tree sways to and fro in the wind with inexpressible gracefulness, but seldom breaks, even in the fiercest gales. Its trunk grows by additions from above, not increasing in thickness after it has once become fairly established. Indeed, by the wearing off of the stumps of the leaves, it becomes more slender as it increases in height. This tall, slender, flexible trunk springs from an immense tuber, a little below the surface of the ground. From the lower surface of this tuber descend cord-like white roots, which spread laterally about as much as the diameter of the head of leaves, and downward for 6–8 ft. or more. These give off coarse fibres, which absorb the moisture from the soil. From the upper aspect of the tuber, and the lower part of the trunk, spring true branches. If not cut off, they will grow and produce the effect of a clump of several trees. Such clumps are the usual form of growth in the desert, or in neglected places. But branches very seldom grow at any considerable height above the ground. The palm 'branches' (called technically כַּפּוֹת in Lv 23^{40} [see Driver's note in *PB*], 'palms' [of the hand], from their shape [cf. כִּפָּה Is 9^{14} 19^{15}, Job 15^{32}]) do not refer to these, but to the fronds, which form a hemispherical or nearly spherical dome, which waves and tosses often at a height of 50–100 ft. The fronds themselves are 6–12 ft. or more in length, with a stiff midrib, and pinnæ half folded lengthwise, ending in a prickly tip. The lowermost of these fronds are deflexed, the middle horizontal, and the uppermost erect. From the terminal bud arise the spathes, which enclose the flowers. The staminate flowers are on one tree and the pistillate on another. As soon as they have shed their pollen, the staminate flowers wither and drop off. But the clusters of dates on the fertile tree grow more beautiful as they curve more and more outward and downward on their long yellow or red stalks, and the ripening dates turn from green to yellow or red, and sometimes to a rich maroon colour or almost black. The fruit is gathered by a man who climbs the tall slender trunk, cuts the great clusters, places them in a basket, and lowers them to the ground.

The Scripture allusions to the palm tree are numerous. Its evergreen foliage and wealth of delicious fruit are compared with the righteous (Ps 92^{12}), its tall, graceful stature and mien with the loveliest of women (Ca 7^{7}). Immediately after the latter allusion there is another to the mode of gathering the fruit: 'I will go up to the palm tree, I will take hold of the boughs thereof' (v.^{8}). The *boughs* here are the graceful stalks of the date clusters, often 4–6 ft. long, loaded with their tempting fruit, under the dome of leaves. The upright port of the palm is noticed (Jer 10^{5}). The withering of this tree is mentioned with that of the vine, fig, pomegranate, apple, and other trees, as a sign of the desolation of the land (Jl 1^{12}). Sculptured and carved palm trees were used for architectural decoration (1 K 6^{29}, Ezk 41^{19} etc.). Fronds were used for booths (Lv 23^{40}). They were also used in token of triumph (Jn 12^{13}, Rev 7^{9}).

The palm gave its name to Phœnicia and to Phœnix in Crete. Jericho was the 'city of palm trees' (Dt 34^{3}, Jg 1^{16} 3^{13}, 2 Ch 28^{15}). They existed in great numbers there in the time of Christ. A few wild ones exist now in the Jordan Valley. Perhaps the fronds used in Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem came from that region. Hazazon-tamar (Gn 14^{7}, 2 Ch 20^{2}) possibly means 'the felling of the palm tree.' Palms must have been abundant in En-gedi (Sir 24^{14}), a fact confirmed by Josephus and Pliny. Baal-tamar (Jg 20^{33}) and Deborah's palm tree (Jg 4^{5}), in the hill-country of Benjamin, were probably isolated trees —perhaps, according to Stanley, the same tree. As above said, palms were never common in the upper hills. This would make a single tree in such a situation a landmark. There are still a few in the hills of Pal. and Lebanon. Tamar in the south of Judæa (Ezk 47^{19} 48^{28}) must have been within the wilderness of the wanderings. Robinson (*BRP*^{2} ii. 198, 202) places it at *el-Milḥ*. Tadmor (2 Ch 8^{4}) is a corruption of (or a mistake for) Tamar. It was noted for its palm trees. None now remain. Bethany is derived by some from בֵּית־הִינֵי=*house of dates*, while others derive it from בֵּית־עֲנִיָּה=*house of sorrow*. The improbability of dates being produced in quantities sufficient to give their name to a place, inclines us to think that the latter is the more correct etymology. Three women are named Tamar (Gn 38^{6}, 2 S 13^{1} 14^{27}). See TAMAR.

Dates are a staple article of food among the Bedawîn of Sinai and elsewhere. A seedless palm tree flourishes in the Convent of Mar Sâba. Fine groves of palm trees are found in all the oases. The dates are dried separately, not compressed into cakes. For their weight, they contain a very large proportion of nutritious matter. A handful of them lasts an Arab a day or two. Date brandy is made in the Convent of St. Catherine in Sinai, and elsewhere. Date honey, called *dibs*, is also made. Though there is no unmistakable allusion to the use of dates as food in the Bible, there can be no doubt that they were so employed. No mention is made of the use of palm wood in building. In modern times it is used only for gate-posts and rafters. The midribs of the fronds are used in making crates for fruit and coops for fowls.

G. E. POST.

PALMER-WORM (גָּזָם *gāzām*, *κάμπη*, *eruca*).—In the article on LOCUST, 6, we have pointed out the uncertainty as to the identification of the creatures referred to in Jl 1^{4} 2^{25}, Am 4^{9}. Bochart and his followers suppose them to be stages in the growth of the locust. The *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* agrees with him. The root גָּזַם=Arab. *jazam*, signifies 'to cut off.' This would apply to any destroying larva. We have further pointed out (LOCUST, 9) that the *ḥāṣîl* (AV and RV 'caterpillar') is probably, as in RVm, a stage of the locust. There are numerous larvæ of moths and butterflies which infest plants in Pal. and Syria, but none which amount to a pest, or do any damage comparable to that inflicted by the successive stages of the locust. The Eng. *palmer-worm* is an old name for the caterpillar, which is so called either from its wandering about like a pilgrim, or (more probably) from its resemblance to the *palm*, provincial Eng. for the catkin of a willow.

G. E. POST.

PALSY.—From Gr. *παράλυσις* (*παρά* and *λύω* 'to loosen') came Lat. *paralysis*, whence Fr. *paralysie*. In Old Fr. there were several forms, of which *paralasie* and *palasie* are typical. In Middle Eng. also the longer and shorter forms were in use with a great variety of spelling, paralisie, parlesi, palasie,* palasye,† palesie,* palsey, palsye, etc. Thus 'paralysis' and 'palsy' are doublets. The former gradually dropped out of common use, and does not occur in AV; but now it is supplanting the latter, except in echoes of biblical language.

The subst. *παράλυσις* is used only once (Ezk $21^{10\,(15)}$) in LXX. It is not used in NT; 'palsy' is the tr. of either the adj. *παραλυτικός* or the verb *παραλύομαι*, generally in the form 'sick of the palsy.' When the Greek is the verb (Lk $5^{18.\,24}$, Ac 8^{7} 9^{33}) RV translates by the Old Eng. verb 'to palsy,' which is not used in AV, but occurs twice in Shaks. *Coriol.* V. ii. 46, and *Meas. for Meas.* III. i. 36—

> 'All thy blessed youth
> Becomes as aged, and doth beg the alms
> Of palsied eld';

and is still in poetic use. For palsy or paralysis see under MEDICINE, p. 326.

J. HASTINGS.

---

* These two forms are found in Wyclif's version.

† As in Chaucer, *Rom. of Rose*, A 1093—

> 'The mordaunt, wought in noble wyse,
> Was of a stoon ful precious,
> That was so fyn and vertuous,
> That hool a man it coude make
> Of palasye, and of tooth-ake.'

PALTI (פַּלְטִי, Φαλτ(ε)ί).—**1.** One of the twelve men sent by Moses to spy out the land, Nu 13[9]. He was the representative of the tribe of Benjamin. **2.** The man to whom Michal, David's wife, was given by Saul, 1 S 25[44]. See MICHAL, MARRIAGE, p. 274[b]. In 2 S 3[15] he is called **Paltiel.** See following article under No. **2.** J. A. SELBIE.

PALTIEL (פַּלְטִיאֵל Φαλτ(ε)ιήλ).—**1.** The prince of Issachar, one of those appointed to divide the land, Nu 34[26]. **2.** 2 S 3[15], the same as **Palti** of 1 S 25[44]. It is uncertain which is the original form. *Paltiel* is quite in place in P's list of names in Nu 34, but is less so in 2 S 3[15], where moreover *Palti* has the support of the Syr. and Arab. versions (see Gray, *Heb. Proper Names*, 204, 310). Löhr, on the other hand, takes *Palti* to be a shortened form of *Paltiel* 'my refuge is El.' J. A. SELBIE.

PALTITE, THE (הַפַּלְטִי; B ὁ Κελωθεί, A ὁ Φελλωνεί; Vulg. *de Phalti*).—A native of Beth-pelet in the Negeb of Judah (Jos 15[27], Neh 11[26]). To this town belonged Helez, one of David's thirty heroes (2 S 23[26]). In the parallel lists (1 Ch 11[27] 27[10]) Helez is described as 'the **Pelonite**' (הַפְּלוֹנִי), a variation which is supported by the reading of the LXX (A) in 2 S. Probably, however, 'the Pelonite' of the Chronicler is due to a scribal error, and 'the Paltite' of the MT (cf. Pesh. ܕܦܠ ܦܠܛ) is to be retained. See PELONITE.

J. F. STENNING.

PAMPHYLIA (Παμφυλία) was a country on the south coast of Asia, having Lycia to the west and Cilicia Tracheia (called in later times Isauria) on the east. In the earlier and classical usage, Pamphylia included only the narrow strip of flat, low-lying ground between the sea and the lofty front ridge of the broad belt of mountains called Taurus, which stretches from east to west along the southern edge of the great central plateau of Asia Minor. The Pamphylian coast-lands were entirely dominated by Mount Taurus, which forms a singularly grand and impressive feature as one sails along the coast or approaches it from the sea. On the west frontier and on the east, in the borderlands of Lycia and Tracheiotic Cilicia, Taurus approaches very close to the sea, and in some places actually rises straight out of the water with hardly room for a road to pass between the mountain wall and the sea. But the Pamphylian strip of land is in some places as much as 15 to 20 miles broad, and its length from east to west was estimated by Strabo at 640 stadia or 80 miles.

The Taurus ridge along almost its whole front presents an exceedingly steep and lofty face towards the south; and hence the ascent from the level plain of Pamphylia up the ridge of Taurus is very steep. In one place the road that ascends the precipitous face of Taurus was called Klimax, the Ladder; and it is still correctly described by that name, for the road ascends literally by a series of broad steps for more than 2000 ft. On reaching the summit there is no corresponding descent on the northern side; but the traveller finds himself on a high-lying ground, containing many large open valleys as well as narrower glens, and many mountains and hills. This high ground is distinguished in the most marked way from the low plain by the sea; and the classical nomenclature observed the distinction, Pamphylia being the name of the sea plain and Pisidia being the high country. In later time the name Pamphylia was extended over a considerable part of Pisidia owing to new political conditions, for in A.D. 74 the Romans made an enlarged province of Pamphylia, whose bounds reached north to the frontier of Asia and the lake Askania (see PISIDIA). But in the NT times Pamphylia had the old and narrower limits.

Though many paths across Taurus connect the Pamphylian cities with the country on the north side of the mountains, they are all so long and difficult that none of them has ever been an important route for trade. It was more convenient to send the produce of the southern plateau lands either westwards to the Ægean harbours (especially Ephesus) or by the Cilician Gates to Tarsus. Thus the Pamphylian harbours served as export and import stations only for the Pamphylian strip of coast-land and for the nearer Pisidian glens and valleys; and the Pamphylian cities never became especially important or wealthy, as they had a comparatively small country behind them. Still the land was rich enough to attract Greek colonies at an early period; the coinage of Side and Aspendos shows that they were half-Greek cities as early as the 5th cent. B.C.; and Sillyon appears as a partially Græcized city about 300 B.C. But the Greek language spoken in these Pamphylian cities was much corrupted, and in Side is said to have passed wholly out of use before the time of Alexander the Great. The coin-legends and inscriptions in dialects of Greek are sometimes hardly intelligible, owing to the peculiar character of the alphabet and of the words.

These facts prove that the Greek colonizing element in Pamphylia was not strong enough to maintain itself and to dominate the native element. It died out or melted into the native population. Even after the victories of Alexander the Great strengthened the Greek influence in Asia, Perga in Pamphylia, a purely native priestly centre, rose to importance, and struck a variety of coins. In opposition to it arose the Greek city Attalia, a Pergamenian foundation of the 2nd cent. Perhaps Ptolemais during the 3rd cent. marks a similar attempt to establish Greek influence under the protection of the Ptolemies; but the attribution of the coins ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΕΩΝ to Pamphylia is far from certain, though it is quite natural that in the acme of Ptolemaic power the name may have been temporarily applied to some Pamphylian city, which was used as a centre of the authority of the Græco-Egyptian kings. But in the 2nd and 1st cents. B.C. the greatest and wealthiest city of Pamphylia was Side, whose rich coinage at this period is attributed by numismatists to its serving as the market where the pirates of Cilicia Tracheia disposed of their booty.

In these circumstances it was inevitable that the Greek, or rather Græco-Roman, element should be weak in Pamphylia in the period when Christianity first entered the country. It was not one of the more highly civilized regions, but rather one where the native Anatolian and Oriental character had proved stronger than the Western influence. This fact determined its history in the Christian period. In Pamphylia Christianity played a very small part during the early centuries. The new religion spread most in the more civilized and educated regions, and not in lands like Pamphylia.

Another feature of the country must have exercised a strong determining influence on its history. A flat plain little raised above sea-level,—sheltered by the lofty wall of Taurus from the cooling and invigorating northern breezes which make the climate of the central Anatolian plateau for the most part invigorating and temperate—with a soil always saturated with the waters that flow down from Taurus or rise in great springs at its feet, and therefore at once fertile and feverladen—with an atmosphere also heavy and saturated with the moisture from the soil and from the sea, moved only by fitful breezes setting from and to the sea,—Pamphylia was not a country likely to keep alive the vigour and energy of European colonists. Though the soil, being more thoroughly cultivated in ancient than in modern time, would not give forth the same malaria that gives the coast so infamous a reputation, yet the natural circumstances make it necessarily and always an enervating climate.

Christianity was brought to Pamphylia by Paul and Barnabas on their first missionary journey. This was the country which naturally came next within their sphere of work after Cyprus. Cilicia had already heard the word; and in their progress from Cyprus they must next proceed to Pamphylia. There seems no doubt that the plan of work for the missionaries, probably sketched out even before they started from Syrian Antioch (Ac 13^{2}), must have contemplated the evangelization of Pamphylia next after Cyprus. Thither, then, the missionaries proceeded; but after they had reached the country there arose a difference of opinion, and John Mark left his companions and returned to Jerusalem, while the two apostles crossed Mount Taurus and reached Pisidian Antioch. It appears that they did not preach in Pamphylia at this time. The only reasonable interpretation of these circumstances is that the first intention had been to preach in Pamphylia (which, as we have seen, was the natural order of evangelization); and that all three concurred in that purpose: but, when the sphere of action was removed from Pamphylia to Pisidian Antioch, John Mark refused to acquiesce in the change of plan. Some time later, on their return, the apostles preached in Perga (though apparently with small success); and their action on that occasion proves that Pamphylia was included in their intended sphere of work. It seems irrational to suppose either that the plan of proceeding to Antioch was formed at Paphos, or that John acquiesced in that plan until he reached Pamphylia, and then abandoned the work (Ac 13).

As to the reason why the sphere of work had been changed from Pamphylia to Antioch, no information is given in Acts; but a plausible conjecture has been advanced that residence in the moist and enervating atmosphere of Pamphylia, coming after the fatigue of missionary travel and the intense effort of the scene in Paphos, brought out a certain weakness in St. Paul's constitution, causing the illness alluded to in Gal 4^{13}.

Christianity seems to have been slow and late in acquiring a strong footing in Pamphylia. When St. Peter wrote to the Churches in the provinces of Asia Minor, he sent no message to Pamphylia or to Lycia, which may fairly be taken as a proof that there was no body of Christians in those districts (his omission of Cilicia, where there was a body of Christians, arose from that district being classed along with Syria, and therefore being outside the range of the Epistle). On the extinction of Christianity in Pamphylia see PERGA.

A long succession of travellers have visited and described the Pamphylian country: by far the most elaborate study of some Pamphylian cities is contained in the splendid folios of Lanckoronski's *Städte Pamphyliens.* W. M. RAMSAY.

PAN.—See FOOD in vol. ii. p. 40, *s.* 'Vessels.'

PANNAG (פַּנַּג *pannag*, *κασία*, *balsamum*).—One of the articles of commerce of Judah and Israel (Ezk 27^{17}). The LXX *κασία* is defined as 'a shrub similar to the laurel,' but there is no hint as to its identity. Balsamum is alike indefinite. Acc. to the book *Zohar* (13th cent.) לֶחֶם פַּנַּג *leḥem-pannag* means 'pastry work.' Dr. Van Dyck in his Arab. VS of the Bible gives *ḥalâwa*. This is a well-known confection, made of syrup, carob honey, dibs (grape honey), or date honey, boiled with decoction of soapwort roots and sesame oil. This sweet is very extensively made and eaten by Orientals, and is a considerable article of commerce. It is known in Turkish as *pĕk-mĕs*. We have not seen any description of it in ancient authors, and its etymology bears no resemblance to that of *pannag*. In the absence of decisive evidence, the Eng. versions wisely transliterate the original, RVm gloss 'perhaps a kind of confection.' Cornill (*ad loc.*) and Hoffmann (*Phön. Inschr.* 15) emend to דּוֹנַג 'wax.' G. E. POST.

PAPER, PAPER REEDS, PAPYRUS. — See REED, WRITING.

PAPHOS (Πάφος) is mentioned in Ac 13$^{4-13}$ as the residence of the proconsul of Cyprus, SERGIUS PAULUS, who was visited and converted by St. Paul on his first missionary journey.

The city here meant is *New Paphos*, the administrative capital of the Roman province of Cyprus, the ruins of which are to be seen at *Baffo*, about a mile south of the modern town of Ktima, on the west coast of the island. These remains, which are all of Roman date, include a small theatre and amphitheatre, traces of a temple, numerous house foundations, parts of the city wall, and the moles of the ancient harbour. Outside the wall are traces of another columnar edifice, and on and near the site are the ruins of a Greek cathedral and other mediæval buildings. Several groups of rock-tombs in the neighbourhood seem to be of earlier than Roman date, but nothing is known of the settlement to which they may have belonged.

Old Paphos, which was deserted in favour of the site already described, lies at *Kouklia*, on the left bank of the Diórizo river (anc. Bocarus), about 10 miles W.S.W. of Baffo, and a little inland. Paphos was one of the most notable cities of ancient Cyprus, and owed its celebrity to the temple and cult of the 'Paphian goddess,' whom the Greeks identified with Aphrodite. Paphos is said to have been founded by the legendary Kinyras, whose clan retained royal privileges down to the Ptolemaic conquest (B.C. 295), and the priesthood of the goddess until the annexation of the island to Rome (B.C. 58). The goddess was worshipped under the form of a conical stone, in an open-air sanctuary, the general appearance of which is known from numerous representations on Roman imperial coins, and the ground plan from excavations made in 1888 on behalf of the Cyprus Exploration Fund. The temple is known to have suffered severely from earthquakes, and to have been rebuilt more than once. It consisted in Roman times of an open court surrounded on three sides by chambers and porticos, and was entered through them from the east by a gateway. The position of the sacred stone, and the interpretation of many details shown on the coins, remain uncertain. To the south of the main court lie the remains of what may be an earlier temple, or the traditional tomb of Kinyras, almost wholly destroyed except the western wall of gigantic stone slabs.

After the extinction of the native and Ptolemaic dynasties, and the foundation of New Paphos, the importance of the old town rapidly declined: the place was ruined by earthquakes, and desolate already in Jerome's time (*Vita Hilarionis*); though the *Acts of Barnabas* mention a Christian resident, formerly a ἱερόδουλος.

LITERATURE.—Meursius, *Cyprus*, *s.v.*; *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, ix. 158-271 (esp. literary sources for history of Old Paphos, 175-192: excavations in the temple, 193-215).

J. L. MYRES.

PARABLE (IN OT).—

1. The psychological origin of the use of Parables.
2. Relation of Parables to other devices of style.
3. The Parables of the OT and their closest analogues.

1. The Psychological Origin of the use of Parables.—It is a necessity imposed by its very nature upon the human spirit to illustrate with the greatest possible clearness the objects and processes belonging to the sphere of ideas. There are two leading paths which literary style pursues in order to satisfy this psychological want. The first of these is chosen when one expressly points to a parallel which the phenomenon in question has in another sphere. The second method is when two spheres of phenomena are as it were looked at *together*, and when in the description of the one sphere those expressions are *directly* employed which properly designate the notions and the phenomena of the other sphere.

2. Relation of Parables to other devices of Style.—(*a*) When the first of the above-named ways of illustrating spiritual phenomena is adopted, this gives rise to the following stylistic devices:—(α) The *Simile*, as in the expressions, 'he shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of water' (Ps 1^{3}), or 'thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel' (2^{9}), or in the Arabic 'arrows blue like the teeth of the Ghûls' (غول, lit. 'the surprising one,' a species of demon), cf. A. F. Mehren, *Die Rhetorik der Araber*, p. 21. (β) The Simile, however, not infrequently expands into an independent description. Hence arise the following five devices of style: (i.) The *Fable* is a narrative in which subjects from the mineral, vegetable, or animal kingdoms are introduced as if they were capable of thought and speech. The only instances of the Fable in the OT are the story told by Jotham (Jg $9^{8\text{-}15}$; Kimchi, *ad loc.* משל העצים הם אנשי שכם) and that spoken by Jehoash to Amaziah (2 K 14^{9}). Ezk $17^{3\text{-}10}$ is not a Fable (see below, 2 *b*). (ii.) The *Parable*, again, is a narrative whose subject is personal, and which is constructed in order to depict something vividly. Along with its closest analogues it will be dealt with more fully below (see 3), and the question will be answered whether the OT contains something similar, such as (iii.) the *Paramyth*. These three kinds of fictitious illustrative narrative have their opposite in (iv.) the παράδειγμα (*exemplum*) or *Example*, for the latter is a narrative of a real occurrence, which serves to illustrate the situation in view. Instances of the παράδειγμα are found in Ps 99^{6} (Moses), $106^{30\text{f.}}$ (Phinehas), Neh 13^{26} (Solomon), 1 Mac $2^{52\text{-}60}$ (Abraham and others), 2 Mac $6^{17\text{-}31}$ (Eleazar), Jth $8^{19\text{f.}}$ (Abraham and others), 4 Mac $3^{6\text{ff.}}$ (David), etc. To the same category belong the stories of Tobit and Susanna in so far as these have a real historical kernel. It is a narrative of the same kind which has for its subject that emperor's daughter (ברתו דקסר) who at the sight of Rabbi Joshua exclaimed, 'What a pity that such renowned wisdom should be stored in so ugly a casket'; to which the Rabbi replied, 'In what does the emperor, your father, store his wine?' 'In earthen vessels,' said she; whereupon the Rabbi retorted that an emperor should use more costly vessels. When this counsel was followed, the wine deteriorated (Bab. Talm. *Ta'anîth* 7^{a}; see, further, Fürstenthal, p. 150). So, too, the narrative of Ishtar's descent to Hades (*Die Höllenfahrt der Ištar*, ed. Alfred Jeremias, 1887) is related as an 'Example' (*l.c.* p. 7). Finally, (v.) the *Parallel* consists in placing side by side the particular points which two sets of phenomena have in common. It is altogether a rare product of the rhetorical art, and as yet the present writer has failed to discover it in the OT.

(*b*) When the material and the ideal spheres are looked at as the two sides of a unity, and the expressions which properly belong to the description of the concrete sphere are applied to the ideal sphere, we have the *Metaphor*. One sees it in such instances as the following: 'the light of thy countenance' (Ps 4^{7} [Eng.^{6}]); 'they that be wise shall shine,' etc., *i.e.* be held in honour (Dn 12^{3}), cf. ἀναλάμψουσιν (Wis 3^{7}), 'super stellas fulgebunt facies eorum qui abstinentiam habuerunt' (4 Ezr 7^{55}), 'ye shall shine' (Enoch 104^{2}), οἱ δίκαιοι ἐκλάμψουσιν (Mt 13^{43}). When the metaphorical expressions extend through a number of sentences, the description is called *Allegorical*; cf. Cicero, *de Oratore*, 27: 'cum confluxerunt plures continuæ translationes, *alia* plane fit *oratio*: itaque genus hoc Græci appellant ἀλληγορίαν.' Certain instances of allegorical language are found in Gn 49^{9}, Nu $24^{8\text{b}.\,9}$ etc., Is $1^{5\text{b}}$ etc. Further, Ezk $17^{3\text{-}10}$ is not a 'Fable' [against Bertholet, *Kurzer Handcomm.*, 1897, *ad loc.*], for the very expression 'the great eagle,' with which the passage commences, is to be understood *not* as if the author had in view a *real* eagle, but as referring to the subject Nebuchadnezzar which was well known to his contemporaries (cf. König, *Syntax*, § 297*a–c*, 298*a*, *b*). Consequently the phrase 'the great eagle' is a mark of the Allegory, which could not be better characterized than in the following terms: 'When an author does not describe that phenomenon of which he really means to speak, but another which has more or fewer points of resemblance to it, and yet carries out the description in such a way that one easily perceives that it is not the latter but the former phenomenon that he has in view, this constitutes an *Allegory*' (Heinrich Kurz, *Handbuch der poetischen Nationalliteratur der Deutschen*, 1840). Good instances of Allegories are Hans Sachs' *Die Wittenbergisch Nachtigall*, or Schiller's 'Das Mädchen aus der Fremde,' not to speak of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*.

3. The Parables of the OT and their closest Analogues.—(*a*) Parables in the ordinary sense of this term (see above, 2 *a*) are found in 2 S $12^{1\text{-}4}$ $14^{6\text{f.}}$, 1 K $20^{39\text{f.}}$, Is $5^{1\text{-}6}$ $28^{24\text{-}28}$. An interesting essay by P. Cersoy (of Lyons) on Is $5^{1\text{-}6}$ appeared in the *Revue Biblique* (Jan. 1899; summary in *Expos. Times*, April 1899, p. 325) under the title 'l'Apologue de la Vigne.' He proposes to render v.$^{1\text{a}}$ 'I will sing to my beloved my love-song touching his vineyard' (*je vais chanter à mon ami mon chant amical à propos de sa vigne*). But if the prophet had intended himself as the primary author of this poem, it would have been unnatural to introduce God as the speaker in vv.$^{3\text{-}6}$. On the other hand, the circumstance that at the beginning of the parable (vv.$^{1\text{b}.\,2}$) the owner of the vineyard is treated as a third person, is quite explicable. By the selection of this third person a twofold object is gained. In the first place the commencement of the parable connects itself directly with the exordium, and in the second place the appearance is avoided of Isaiah himself being the owner of the vineyard. Cersoy suggests, further, that in v.$^{1\text{b}}$ Isaiah 'probably utilized a short popular song.' But this view finds no support either in the difference of structure between the clauses of vv.$^{1\text{b}.\,2}$ and vv.$^{3\text{-}6}$, or in the transition to the first person (vv.$^{3\text{-}6}$ 'I pray you,' etc.), for it is perfectly natural that the outburst of the Divine anger should find its expression in a direct address by God Himself.

Although none of the above-cited five passages of the OT is actually called a מָשָׁל (*māshāl*), it is not therefore to be inferred that this term could not be appropriately applied to them. Its absence may be sufficiently explained as simply due to the fact that the particular writers did not take occasion to add the *terminus technicus*. Jerome was quite right in his remark on Is 5^{7} 'Quæ prius per metaphoram dicta sunt vel per *parabolam* postea exponuntur manifestius.' So Ḳimchi began his exposition of 2 S 12^{1-4} with המשל הוה, introduced the passage $14^{6f.}$ with the words והיא תקנה המשל, began his exposition of Is $5^{1ff.}$ with דברי הנביא עושה משל, and finally explained האזינו וג' of $28^{23ff.}$ by אמר להם דרך משל 'He spoke to them in the way of a *māshāl.*' The correctness of this last interpretation results from two considerations, namely the original sense of *māshāl*, and the later usage of this word and its linguistic congeners.

This leads to the remark that the original sense of *māshāl* is very open to dispute. The now prevailing theory was argued for by Fleischer in an Excursus to Delitzsch's *Commentar über die Proverbien*, p. 13 f., and it is maintained also in Gesenius-Buhl, *HWB*^{13} ('eigentlich wohl: als etwas stehen, repräsentiren etwas,' *i.e.* 'lit. perhaps: stand for something, represent something'). Essentially the same view is shared by E. Meier, *Wurzelwörterbuch*, p. 503 f. It may be stated thus: In Arabic *maṯala* = 'stetit erectus,' etc. Hence *maṯalun* (= *māshāl*) was originally a 'positio' κατ' ἐξοχήν. This might be looked at from the point of view of security and then became = 'affirmatio' (cf. משל ב 'impose on one,' *i.e.* rule over one), or from the point of view of the formulating of a thought, and then the 'positio' became the investiture or representation of an idea. But this derivation of *māshāl* requires some very bold leaps in order to reach its goal, and hence we venture to suggest another derivation. Our starting-point shall be the fact that the sense of 'resemble,' 'be like,' is the predominating one with the verb משל and its Semitic cognates. This is the only sense of the Assyr. *mašâlu*, the Eth. *masála* (Dillmann: 'similis, consentaneus fuit'), the Aram. *mĕtal*, and it is the prevailing one also of the Arab. *maṯala*. On this we would rest the thesis that *māshāl* originally had the sense of 'likeness' or '*complex*,' a view which is supported by the circumstance that the Assyr. *mašlu* means 'totality.' Now, what is the commonest form of an identification or combination? It is the judgment, and the embodiment of this is the simple sentence. Accordingly *māshāl* might be the designation of a sentence, but also of other kinds of combination of individual conceptions and of whole sets of conceptions. From *māshāl* ('judgment') may come a denominative verb משל ('rule') which meets us in Phœnician (cf. Bloch, *Phœn. Glossar*, p. 43) and in Hebrew. For the activity of a ruler exhibited itself originally in the pronouncing of judgments (cf. Solomon's words, 'to judge thy people,' 1 K 3^{9}). From the stability which is a natural quality of such judgments may be derived, further, the Arab. *maṯa(u)la*, 'stand fast.'* With this agrees the circumstance that the Arab. *maṯalun* is used both for 'sententia' and 'parabola.' In like manner the Heb. *māshāl* has the sense of 'general proposition' (γνώμη, *sententia*, 'maxim'), as in 'the proverb of the ancients, Out of the wicked cometh forth wickedness' (1 S 24^{13}). In the sense of 'proverb' מָשָׁל is found also in Sir 47^{17}. See, further, art. PROVERB.

But none the less has *māshāl* the sense of 'parable.'* This is clear from the later identification of it and its cognates with 'similitude' (Germ. *Gleichniss*). 'Three *mĕsâle*' are announced in Eth. Enoch 37^{5}, namely those contained in chs. 38–44. 45–57. and 58–71. In these *mĕsâlyât* or *mĕsâlêyât* phenomena and processes of the supramundane sphere are employed to illustrate the earthly fortunes of the kingdom of God. These three sections, then, contain essentially what we call parables. The same purpose is the starting-point of visions. This comes out clearly in the words, 'demonstra mihi et hoc, si plus quam præteritum sit habet venire' (4 Ezr 4^{45}), for this request is satisfied by a vision which is described thus, 'ecce fornax ardens transiit coram me,' etc. (v.^{48}), and this vision is expressly called in v.^{47} a 'similitudo.' We read of another 'similitudo' in $8^{2f.}$, and again a vision is expressly called a 'similitudo' in the words 'vidisti similitudinem eius, quomodo filium lugeret' (10^{49}). Likewise the *'amsâl*, which make up the third part of the *Shepherd of Hermas*, are visions in which the vine, etc., is shown (see the Ethiopic version published by Antoine d'Abbadie in *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, ii. 1, p. 47 ff.). In any case the Syr. ܡܬܠܐ, which exactly corresponds to the Heb. מָשָׁל, is used to render παραβολή in Mt $13^{18. 31. 33}$ etc. 21^{45}, Mk 4^{2} etc., Lk 5^{36} 6^{39} 14^{7} etc.

The post-biblical literature of the Jews exhibits the same use of the word *māshāl*. For instance, the Talmud (*Shabb.* 152*b*) records how a certain king distributed royal garments among his servants. The wise amongst these placed the garments in a chest, but the foolish wore them in going about their ordinary work. One day the king asked for his garments. The wise gave them back to him just as they had been when they received them, but the garments returned by the foolish were soiled. Then the king commended the wise, but ordered the foolish to be cast into prison, and their garments were handed over to the fuller (לכובס). This story is expressly called a משל למלך 'a parable of a king,' and is introduced to illustrate the saying, 'Give it (the soul) back to Him (God) as He gave it to thee' (תְּנָה לו כאשר נְתָנָהּ לך). The very same expression, משל למלך, is met with in *Shabb.* 153*a*; and in *'Aboda Zara* 54*b* one finds אמשול לך משל וג', namely the parable of the king who presented his son with a dog, etc. In like manner the celebrated stories of 'the seven sages' were called *Mishlê Sindbad* (ed. P. Cassel, 3 Auflage, 1884), and in point of fact they are only partially 'Examples' (see above 2 *a* *β* (iv.)), namely in so far as they are intended to describe real occurrences. The most of them are parables, and they contain such expressions as 'the second parable of the empress,' etc. It may be added that we hear of a Buddhist parable (cf. *e.g.* Edmund Hardy, *Der Buddhismus*, 1890, p. 124 f.), and that Herodotus (i. 141) records the parable of the flute-player and the fishes which would not dance to his playing. Volkmann (p. 379), too, speaks of the παραβολή which is clothed in the form of a narrative.

(*b*) How closely connected the expression *māshāl* was with the notion of a parable is evident from the circumstance that משׁל is the title of the passage Ezk 24^{3-5}. V.^{3a} reads מְשֹׁל וג׳ מָשָׁל וְאָמַרְתָּ ‘Utter a parable unto the rebellious house, and say’ (=saying); and in vv.$^{3b-5}$ we read, ‘Set on a pot, set it on, and also pour water into it: gather its pieces (*i.e.* those which belong to the pot), etc. Take the choice of the flock, and burn also the bones under it, and make it boil well, and let them seethe the bones of it therein.’ This last passage furnishes a double proof of our position. On the one hand, it contains a narrative which corresponds with the above-cited stories in 2 S 12^{1-4} etc. Consequently these five passages also might have been equally designated by the title applied to Ezk 24^{3b-5}, namely *māshāl* (Arab. VS مَثَلٌ, Pesh. ܡܰܬ݂ܠܳܐ, LXX *παραβολήν*; while the Targum alone, from a supposed necessity to heighten the dignity of the passage, rendered by נבואה ‘a prophecy’). On the other hand, there is a formal agreement between Ezk 24^{3-5} and 3^{24b-26} 4^{1-12} 5^{1-4} etc. In all these passages, that is to say, there is mention of a Divine command to perform some action, and then it is added that this action illustrates some idea. Thus the five passages, 2 S 12^{1-4} etc., and Ezk 3^{24b-26} $4^{1ff.}$ etc. 24^{3-5}, agree in their didactic aim; and both sets of passages are *parabolical*. This conclusion is strengthened further by the consideration that the passages in Ezk just cited cannot be separated from Is 20^{2-4}, Jer $25^{15ff.}$. According to the last passage, the prophet received the commission, ‘Take the wine-cup of this fury at my hand, and cause all the nations to whom I send thee, to drink it’; and the prophet adds, ‘Then took I the cup at the Lord’s hand, and made all the nations to drink.’ This action cannot really have been performed. Hence the view is recommended that also in Ezk 3^{24b-26} 4^{1-12} 5^{1-4} etc. we have *parabolical* narratives. The same category includes the Bk. of Jonah, as has been shown in vol. ii. p. 746 ff., and we must add the story of Judith, for the very name יְהוּדִית means ‘a Jewess,’ and stamps the heroine of this book as a personification of the Jewish nation. The Bk. of Jth is, as Luther said, ‘ein geistlich schön Gedicht’ (cf., further, König, *Einleitung*, p. 479 f.).

---

* Fuerst (*Heb.-Chald. Wörterb.*^{3} 1876, *s.v.*) co-ordinates משל 'rule' with the Arab. بَسُلَ (*basula*), 'strenuus fuit.' This is not absolutely impossible. For the Aram. מחל is not found with the sense of 'rule,' and therefore there need not be found an Arab. مثُل answering to the Heb. משל 'rule.' Further, a correspondence between *m* and *b* is not altogether rare in Semitic (cf. J. Barth, *Etymolog. Studien*, p. 32). But it is not necessary to appeal to this *basula*. By the way, the connexion between the two leading senses of משל is not explained by Abu 'l-walîd in his *Kitâbu 'l-'uṣûli* (ed. Ad. Neubauer), p. 395. He contents himself with simply linking together the different groups of words by the formula ومعنى اخر 'and another sense' [appears, etc.]. David Ḳimchi, in his *Book of Roots*, says וענין המשל הוא דמות דבר אל דבר, *i.e.* 'the sense conveyed by the term *māshāl* is the likeness of one thing to another.' Likewise the two latest commentators on the Book of Proverbs (Wildeboer in the *Kurzer Hdcomm.* and Frankenberg in Nowack's *Hdkomm.*, published in 1897 f.) have made no attempt to solve the linguistic difficulty presented by the word משל.

* A combination of 'sententia' and 'similitudo' may be observed in מְשְׁלֵי אֵפֶר of Job 13^{12}, 'sentences which are strewn as lightly as ashes.'

(*c*) The *Paramyths*, which, according to J. G. Herder, are to be distinguished from the parables, have also their analogues in the Hebrew literature (cf. *παραμύθιον*, which in Wis 3^{18} is used for ‘consolation’ [=*παραμυθία* of 1 Co 14^{3}], and in Ph 2^{1} for ‘comfort [of love]’). Herder understood by Paramyths such narratives ‘as serve for the cheering of the soul, and are based upon the ancient Greek myths.’ They are stories in which personifications of ideas or of natural processes are introduced as living beings. One of Herder’s paramythical narratives commences with ‘Aurora complained to the gods,’ and another with ‘Night and Day contended with each other for the preeminence,’ and a third with ‘Once beside a murmuring stream Care sat down and mused.’ Now we find instances of personification in the OT as well. For instance, we read ‘the light of the righteous rejoiceth’ (Pr 13^{9}), and ‘foolishness (14^{1b}) plucketh that down which wisdom of women has built’ (v.^{1a}). The same foolishness is further described in a whole narrative as a seductive woman (9^{13-18}); and the same wisdom, with whose help Jahweh Himself founded the earth ($3^{19f.}$, cf. 1^{20}), comes forward as the subject of a dramatically worked action in ‘Doth not Wisdom cry,’ etc.? ($8^{1ff.}$). A story of the same kind meets us in Sir $24^{3ff.}$, for there, likewise, ‘wisdom’ is an attribute of God which was displayed in the creation of the world and the guiding of Israel. This appears with the greatest clearness from the words, *καὶ ἐρρίζωσα ἐν λαῷ δεδοξασμένῳ*, ‘and I took root in a people that was glorified’ (v.^{12}). It is only a personification of wisdom that is found in Wis $6^{15bff.}$. The words *ἵνα μάθητε σοφίαν* (v.^{10b}) show this in the most decisive fashion. Likewise in 7^{12a} wisdom stands simply for the attribute of God (cf. ‘Thy wisdom’ in 9^{2}) which controls the world and the course of history. For Solomon could imbibe and reproduce this wisdom, cf. *ἔμαθον* (7^{13}), *εἰς ψυχὰς ὁσίας μεταβαίνουσα* (v.^{27c}), *εἰσῆλθεν εἰς ψυχὴν θεράποντος Κυρίου* (10^{16}); and by wisdom nothing else is meant than by *ἀφροσύνη* of 10^{8b}.

The post-biblical literature of the Jews also contains narratives, in which personifications appear as subjects. One of these commences, ‘While Noah lived in the ark, one day the *Lie* appeared and begged to be admitted. Noah, who did not know the Lie, was prepared to grant her request, but he declared that he could not do this until she should have procured a companion, because only pairs could be admitted into the ark. The Lie had thus to retire after a bootless errand. But scarcely had she gone a few paces when she met *Injustice*. Along with her the Lie was now admitted into the ark, but the two over-reached one another’ (Midrash, *Yalḳût*, Gn 56; Fürstenthal, *op. cit.*, No. 497). See, further, the following article.

LITERATURE.—A. F. Mehren, *Die Rhetorik der Araber*, 1853; R. Volkmann, *Die Rhetorik der Griechen und Römer*, 2 Auflage, 1874; R. J. Fürstenthal, *Rabbinische Blumenlese*, 1835. Other works are named in the body of the article.

ED. KÖNIG.

PARABLE (IN NT).—The subject will be treated under five heads: Terminology, Christ’s Use of Parables, their Distribution in the Gospels, their Classification, and their Interpretation.

1. *The Term παραβολή* (*παραβάλλω*) means ‘a placing of one thing beside another’ with a view to comparison. Trench contends that ‘this notion of *comparison* is not necessarily included in the word.’ But it appears as early as the word itself, and is very frequent (Plato, *Phil.* 33 B; Arist. *Top.* i. 10. 5; Polyb. i. 2. 2). From the original idea of ‘throwing beside’ come the derived meanings of ‘exposing,’ represented by *παράβολος*, and of ‘comparing,’ represented by *παραβολή*. Latin writers use *collatio* (freq. in Cic.), *imago* (Cic. Sen. Hor.), and *similitudo* (Cic. Quint.). The Lat. VSS commonly have *parabola* (Mt $13^{3.10.13}$ etc.), which survives in the Fr. *parole* and through *parabolare* in *parler*; but *similitudo* is fairly common, esp. in Lk (4^{23} 5^{36} 6^{39} 8^{4} 12^{16} 13^{6} 20^{19} 21^{29}). But in most of these cases some representatives of the Old Lat., esp. *a* and *d*, have *parabola*. Conversely, many Old Lat. texts sometimes have *similitudo* where the Vulg. has *parabola* (Lk 12^{41} 15^{3} 18^{9} 19^{11}).

In LXX *παραβολή* very commonly represents the Heb. *māshāl*, which also implies comparison (Nu $23^{7.18}$ $24^{3.15.20.21.23}$ etc.). But *māshāl* is also rendered *παροιμία* (Pr 1^{1}, Sir 6^{35} 8^{8} etc.), and *θρῆνος* (Is 14^{4}), and *προοίμιον* (Job 27^{1} 29^{1}). Like *Beispiel* in German, it sometimes indicates an example set up for edification or warning (Jer 24^{9}, Mic 2^{4}, Wis 5^{3}). When it means an utterance of deeper meaning than appears on the surface, it is sometimes joined with *πρόβλημα* (Ps 48^{4} 77^{2}, Hab 2^{6}), or *αἴνιγμα* (Dt 28^{37}, Sir 39^{3} 47^{15}), or *διήγημα* (2 Ch 7^{20}, Ezk 17^{2}), or *σκοτεινὸς λόγος* (Pr 1^{6}). The meaning of such dark utterances becomes clear through the application or comparison which is indicated; and those who miss the application lose the true meaning of the parable, which is often a short saying, such as we should rather call a proverb (1 S 10^{12} 24^{13}, Ezk $12^{22.23}$ $18^{2.3}$, 1 K 4^{32}).

In NT *παραβολή* is freq. in the Synoptic Gospels; and, excepting He 9^{9} 11^{19}, is found nowhere else. It is generally used of a longer utterance or narrative intended to set forth a spiritual lesson (Mt $13^{3.18.24.31.36}$ etc.); but sometimes of a short saying or proverb (Mt 15^{15}, Mk 3^{23} 7^{17}, Lk 4^{23} 6^{39}). Of the other renderings of *māshāl*, neither θρῆνος nor προοίμιον is found in NT, while παροιμία (παρά, οἶμος) occurs only Jn 10^{6} $16^{25.29}$, 2 P 2^{22}. Originally παροιμία meant an out-of-the-way saying, or possibly a wayside saying, and hence was used of any didactic, symbolic, or figurative utterance. Like παραβολή, it is used both of longer utterances or allegories (Jn 10^{6}) and shorter ones or proverbs (2 P 2^{22}); comp. κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν, Κοινὰ τὰ τῶν φίλων (Philo, *de Vita Mos.* i. 28; *de Abr.* 40). Most Lat. VSS distinguish παροιμία by rendering it *proverbium*, which is never used for παραβολή. Eng. VSS render both words sometimes by 'parable' (Mt 21^{33}, Jn 10^{6}), sometimes by 'proverb' (Lk 4^{23}, Jn 16^{25}). Tindale and the Genevan use 'similitude' for both (Mt 13^{33}, Jn 10^{6}), and are capricious in using both 'parable' and 'similitude' for παραβολή; so also is Coverdale. As St. John never uses παραβολή, and as there are no parables in the strict sense in his Gospel, it is unfortunate that RV retains 'parable' in Jn 10^{6}.

Attempts at definitions of 'parable,' taken from Greek Fathers and others, are given in Suicer, *s.v.* παραβολή. Trench quotes several Lat. definitions from Jerome and later writers. However it may be expressed, the main elements in a parable are two: (1) a saying, commonly in the form of a narrative, respecting earthly things, with (2) a spiritual or heavenly meaning. A *fable* differs from a parable in both these elements. It often distorts the earthly things in using them as a vehicle of instruction, making brutes and trees talk, and the like. This a parable never does; for nature, as God's wisdom made it, is far better adapted for teaching Divine truths than nature as man's fancy can imagine it. And a fable never aims higher than human morality. At best it teaches prudence, industry, caution; and it often inculcates mere shrewdness, selfishness, and cunning. Hence the only fables found in Scripture are used by men for their own ends; by Jotham (Jg 9^{8}) and by Jehoash (2 K 14^{9}). They are never employed by God's prophets in conveying His message, nor by Christ in explaining His kingdom. In the direct teaching of Scripture, nothing is attributed to animals or plants which is not found in nature. Moreover, it is their relation to man that is made instructive (the sheep to the shepherd or the owner, the fig-tree to the vinedresser or the owner), not that of sheep or trees to one another. The mutual relations of brute to brute or of tree to tree are less fitted to illustrate the kingdom of God. Much the same holds good of a *myth*, when it is the natural product of primitive imagination, and not the artificial invention of an ingenious teacher. The latter are parables or fables rather than myths; *e.g.* the myths of Plato. But the myth, while resembling the fable in not being bound by the facts of nature and in not teaching spiritual lessons, differs from both fable and parable in that the myth mingles truth and fiction, whereas the parable and the fable keep them apart. Those who frame or hear parables and fables know that the narrative is nothing, and is not set forth as being historical, although accidentally it may be so. It is the lesson indicated by the narrative which is of value. But the uncritical age which spontaneously generates and accepts myths makes no distinction between fable and figure. The figurative narrative is regarded as actually true. In an *allegory* figure and fact, or rather figure and interpretation, are not mixed, but are parallel, and move simultaneously, as in the allegory of the True Vine or of the Good Shepherd.

As already indicated, the distinction which we draw between a parable and a *proverb* is not found in the Gospels. The evangelists call the short figurative sayings of Christ, no less than the longer narratives, parables (Mt 15^{15}, Mk 3^{23} 7^{17}, Lk 6^{39}), as also does Christ Himself (Lk 4^{23}, Mt 24^{32}); partly because *māshāl* is used for both, but mainly because both in parables and in proverbs there is comparison, and the hearer has to catch the analogy in order to be instructed. We may, if we like, give the name of a parable to Christ's sayings about the salt of the earth, the lilies of the field, building on the sand, whited sepulchres (Mt 5^{13} 6^{26} 7^{26} 23^{27}), fishers of men, light under the bushel (Mk 1^{17} 4^{21}), a reed shaken with the wind, the green and the dry tree (Lk 7^{24} 23^{31}), living water, fields white unto harvest, a woman in travail (Jn $4^{10.35}$ 16^{21}), etc. etc. Not a few of these might be expanded into a narrative without difficulty.

2. *The Use of Parables* was familiar to the Jews,* and ancient Rabbinic writings are full of them; but as illustrations of truths already set forth, rather than as a means of conveying truths. In the hands of Christ the use of parables as vehicles of truth reached perfection. Just as His miracles are parables,—*factum Verbi verbum nobis est*, as Augustine says,—so His parables are miracles, both of literary beauty and of instructive power. As elements of His teaching they had several purposes, some of which are obvious, while others He explained to His disciples (Mt 13^{10-15}, Mk $4^{11.12}$, Lk $8^{9.10}$). They served both to reveal and to veil the truth; and the truths with which they are specially concerned are the mysteries of 'the kingdom of God.' They revealed these mysteries to those who deserved to know them and were capable of receiving them; and they concealed them from those who lacked these qualifications. And this *pœnalis cæcitas* (Aug.) with regard to Divine truth when it is clothed in parables is not merely a fact (ὅτι, Mt) in the impenitent; it is designed (ἵνα, Mk, Lk) by God, in order to withhold the mysteries of the kingdom from the unworthy. This withholding is therefore a judgment; but a judgment which is merciful in its operation. It saves unworthy hearers from the responsibility of knowing the truth and rejecting it, for they are not allowed to recognize it. It saves them also from the guilt of profaning it, for herein Christ observes His own maxim (Mt 7^{6}). Nor does the mercy end here. The parable puts the truth in a form which arrests the attention at the time, and which is easily remembered afterwards. *Longum est iter per præcepta, breve et efficax per exempla* (Sen. *Ep.* 6). Those who are already receptive are caught at once; they get their lesson and do not forget it. Those who are not, although they get no lesson, yet hear something which they remember, and which will convey the lesson to them, if ever they become capable of receiving it. Moreover, the vehicle of the lesson being taken from very familiar objects, he who has once heard a parable of Christ is likely to be often reminded of it. Christ knew the grander scenery of Palestine; yet His parables are taken, not from mountains and forests, cedars and palm-trees, but from things which are common, not only in Palestine, but almost throughout the world (Stanley, *Sin. and Pal.* p. 432). Thus teaching by parables is both educational and disciplinary. It is a marked illustration of the law, that to him who hath shall more be given, while from him who hath not even that which he seems to have shall be taken away. The unreceptive hearer seems to have the opportunity of being instructed; but this is really withheld, because instruction is given in a form which, through his own fault, he cannot

---

* Comp. 2 S $12^{1ff.}$, Is $5^{1ff.}$, and see preceding article.

understand: *ἀείσω συνετοῖς, θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι.** It is quite in harmony with this principle that, at the beginning of Christ's ministry, His parables were occasional and brief; but, as opposition to Him increased, they became His usual mode of public instruction and were more elaborate.

The chief purpose of parables is to instruct by means of the exquisite analogies which exist between things natural and things spiritual, and which are the outcome of the Divine Wisdom that fashioned both. In them Christ 'utters things which have been hidden from the foundation of the world' (Mt 13^{35}), for the whole universe is a parable, which hides God from the unworthy, while it reveals Him more and more to the devout. Schelling says that nature and history are to one another as parable and interpretation (*Philos. Schriften*, ed. 1809, p. 457). Christ makes both nature and history a parable, of which the kingdom of God is the interpretation; and thus the whole world becomes a 'picture-gospel' to those who can understand it. In His synagogue-teaching Christ expounded the book of the OT. In His parables He expounded the book of nature and of human life. In the one case the written letter, in the other the experience of facts, was used to reveal the spirit which inspires both. By the facts of everyday life the parable shows how the principles of the higher life may be known; for the universe is the outward expression of the laws of the kingdom of God.

It is remarkable that the Epistles, although they contain allegories and frequent similes, never exhibit anything which corresponds to the parables of our Lord. The attitude of the writers to this element in His teaching is analogous to that of the evangelists to the title 'the Son of Man,' which they record as often used by Jesus of Himself, but which they never apply to Him themselves (Nösgen, *Gesch. Jesu*, p. 346). Reverence of this kind, whether conscious or not, renders the hypothesis that some of Christ's parables have been altered by those who recorded them all the less probable. It is more reasonable to believe that the differences between parables which have marked resemblances are the result of variations made by Jesus Himself. He certainly sometimes employed pairs of parables, in order the better to impress the required lesson upon His hearers; *e.g.* the Treasure in the Field and the Pearl of great Price (Mt 13$^{44-46}$), the Ten Virgins and the Talents (25$^{1-30}$), the Garment and the Wine-skins (Lk 5$^{36-39}$), the Mustard-seed and the Leaven (13$^{18-21}$), the Rash Builder and the Rash King (14$^{28-32}$), the Lost Sheep and the Lost Coin (15$^{3-10}$). And it should be noted how often the effect of Christ's parables is intensified by a contrast; *e.g.* obedient and disobedient sons (Mt 21^{28}), wise and foolish virgins (25^{1}), profitable and unprofitable servants (25^{14}), heartless clergy and charitable Samaritan (Lk 10^{30}), Dives and Lazarus (16^{19}), Pharisee and Publican (18^{9}), etc.

3. *The Distribution of the Parables* in the Gospels is very unequal. In the narrower sense of the term there are no parables in Jn. It is in harmony with the respective characteristics of the other three Gospels that Lk, who aims at completeness, gives us most, and that Mk, who records events rather than discourses, gives us fewest parables. Only one parable is peculiar to Mk,—the Seed growing secretly (4^{26}); and he gives three others, which are also in Mt and Lk,—the Sower, Mustard-seed, and Wicked Husbandmen. Two are common to Mt and Lk,—the Leaven (Mt 13^{33}, Lk 13^{20}) and the Lost Sheep (Mt 18^{12}, Lk 15^{1}). Of the remainder, eighteen are peculiar to Lk and ten to Mt. Lk's eighteen include some of the most beautiful. They are the Two Debtors, Good Samaritan, Friend at Midnight, Rich Fool, Watchful Servants, Barren Fig-tree, Chief Seats, Great Supper, Rash Builder, Rash King, Lost Coin, Lost Son, Unrighteous Steward, Dives and Lazarus, Unprofitable Servants, Unrighteous Judge, Pharisee and Publican, and the Pounds. The ten peculiar to Mt are the Tares, Hid Treasure, Pearl of great Price, Draw-net, Unmerciful Servant, Labourers in the Vineyard, Two Sons, Marriage of the King's Son, Ten Virgins, and the Talents.* Reasons have been given above why the Marriage of the King's Son in Mt should not be identified with the Great Supper in Lk, nor the Talents in Mt with the Pounds.

The number of Christ's parables cannot be satisfactorily determined, because of the difficulty of deciding what is to be regarded as a parable. Some, as Trench, omit one or two of those given above, as the Watchful Servants (Lk 12^{36}) and the Chief Seats (Lk 14^{7}). But many would have to be added, if all the short parabolic sayings of Christ were included. The usual estimate is from thirty to thirty-five, of which about two-thirds are preserved by Lk, the majority of them being peculiar to his Gospel.

It is one of the many signs of inferiority in the apocryphal Gospels that they contain no parables. While they degrade miracles into mere arbitrary and unspiritual acts of power, they omit all that teaches of the deep relations between the seen and the unseen.

4. *The Classification of the Parables* is a problem which perhaps does not admit of a satisfactory solution. One of the simplest is that of Goebel in *Die Parabeln Jesu*, Gotha, 1880, which is followed by Edersheim in *The Life and Teaching of Jesus the Messiah*, i. p. 579. He makes three groups, distinguished by the time and place of delivery: (i.) those belonging to Christ's ministry in and near Capernaum, collected in Mt 13; (ii.) those belonging to the journeyings from Galilee to Jerusalem, recorded in Lk 10–18; and (iii.) those belonging to the last days in Jerusalem. The first group mainly has reference to *the kingdom of God as a whole*, the second to *the individual members of it*, and the third to *the judgment of the members of it*. Godet, in Schaff's *Herzog*, suggests another arrangement into three groups, which is more elaborate. Out of thirty parables he regards six as showing *the preparatory existence of the Kingdom under the Jewish dispensation*; viz. the Wicked Husbandmen, Marriage of the King's Son, Great Supper, Strait Gate, Barren Fig-tree, and Two Sons. Six others show *the realization of the Kingdom in the form of a Church*; viz. the Sower, Tares, Mustard-seed, Leaven, Draw-net, and Unrighteous Judge. The remaining eighteen refer to *the realization of the Kingdom in the life of individual* members. This group is subdivided; nine being referred to those who are entering the Kingdom (Lost Sheep, Lost Coin, Lost Son, Pharisee and Publican, Friend at Midnight, Hid Treasure, Pearl of great Price, Rash Builder, and Rash King), and nine to those who have already become members (Chief Seats, Labourers in the Vineyard, Unmerciful Servant, Good Samaritan, Unrighteous Steward, Dives and Lazarus, Rich Fool, Talents, and Ten Virgins). But to put the Unrighteous Judge and the Friend at Midnight, which teach much the same lesson, into different classes, does not seem to be right. Nor does one see how the sheep, coin, and son could be lost, unless they

---

* See the anticipation of this principle in the symbolical teaching of the Pythagoreans as given by Stobæus, *Serm.* v. 72, ed. Gaisford, i. p. 164.

* 'St. Matthew's are more theocratic, St. Luke's more ethical; St. Matthew's are more parables of judgment, St. Luke's of mercy' (Trench).

were already members of the community. Lange, in his *Life of Christ*, i. p. 484, and in Herzog², art. 'Gleichnis,' makes another threefold classification. The first cycle treats of *the Kingdom in its development*; the second of *its completion by acts of mercy*; the third of its *completion by acts of judgment*. Somewhat similar is the division made by Steinmeyer in *Die Par. des Herrn*, Berlin, 1884, into kerygmatic, pastoral, and judicial. A very elaborate classification is drawn out by Westcott in his *Elements of the Gospel Harmony*, App. D; and *Int. to the Study of the Gospels*, App. F. He makes two main classes, of which the second has three divisions; and each of these divisions has three subdivisions, some of which are bisected or trisected. The chief features are these. I. Parables drawn from *the material world*; viz. the Sower, Tares, Seed growing secretly, Mustard-seed, and Leaven. II. Parables drawn from *the relations of man* (i.) *to the lower world*; viz. the Draw-net, Fig-tree, Lost Sheep, and Lost Coin: (ii.) *to his fellow-men, e.g.* the Lost Son, Friend at Midnight, and Unrighteous Steward, etc.: (iii.) *to Providence*; viz. the Hid Treasure, Pearl of great Price, and Rich Fool. Thus the parables drawn from the relations of man to his fellows (which is not one of the main classes) are the largest group, being about two-thirds of the whole. Secondly, those under the head of man's relations to Providence might be assigned to man's relations to the lower world; for to the lower world treasure, pearls, and crops belong. Thirdly, the Tares and the Draw-net seem clearly to belong to the same group; and, if this is admitted, then the two groups to which they are respectively assigned may be merged in one. These changes would give us two main divisions: (i.) Parables drawn from *man's relations to the lower world*; and (ii.) parables drawn from *man's relations to his fellows*. Nösgen also, in his *Gesch. Jesu*, München, 1891, p. 342, makes two main classes, partly on the same lines as Goebel and Godet: (i.) those which treat of the development of *the Kingdom as a whole*; and (ii.) those which treat of *the lives of individual members of it*. And he regards this classification as indicated by Christ Himself, according as He uses or omits the formula 'The kingdom of heaven is likened' (Mt 13^{24} 18^{23} 22^{2} 25^{1}), or 'the kingdom of heaven is like' (Mt $13^{31.\ 33.\ 44.\ 45.\ 47}$ 20^{1}), or 'so is the kingdom of God' (Mk 4^{26}). Comp. Mt 11^{16}, Lk 7^{31}, Mk 4^{30}, Lk $13^{18.\ 20}$.

It is probable that the three parables which are in all three Gospels are in some way typical: they are taken from seed-time, growth, and harvest. The Sower tells of the preparation for the kingdom in the hearts of the recipients; the Mustard-seed of its powers of development; and the Wicked Husbandmen of God's long-suffering mercy and stern judgment upon those who persist in opposing it. But it does not follow from this that a basis for classification is thus indicated.

5. In *the Interpretation of Parables* we have to be on our guard against the opposite dangers of ignoring important features, and attempting to make all the details mean something. No general rules can be given, for the amount of symbolical detail differs greatly in different parables. This is clear from those cases in which we have Christ's own interpretations. In the Sower nearly all the features have meaning; not only the seed and the various soils, but the birds, the heat, and the thorns. In the Tares several features are explained: the sower, the good seed, the enemy, the tares, the field, the harvest, and the reapers. And several are left unexplained: the people sleeping, the enemy's going away, the blade springing up, the servants of the householder, and the binding of the bundles (Mt $13^{24-30.\ 37-43}$). In the Unrighteous Steward the meaning of the parable as a whole is indicated, viz. the wisdom of using present opportunities as a provision for eternity (Lk 16^{9}); but none of the details are interpreted; and it is probable that they have no meaning. Most of the difficulties respecting this parable have been produced by making the separate features of the story mean something, especially the reduction in the bills. Nevertheless, the interpretations of the Sower and of the Tares forbid us to assert that each parable has one main lesson, and that when this is ascertained all the details may be ignored as meaningless. Chrysostom seems to go too far when he declares *οὐδὲ χρὴ πάντα τὰ ἐν ταῖς παραβολαῖς κατὰ λέξιν περιεργάζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸν σκοπὸν μαθόντας, δι' ὃν συνετέθη, τοῦτον δρέπεσθαι, καὶ μηδὲν πολυπραγμονεῖν περαιτέρω* (*in Mt. Hom.* lxiv. 3). But the extravagant lengths to which some patristic commentators go in the interpretation of minute details, especially of numbers (*e.g.* on Mt 13^{33} 25^{15}, Lk 7^{41} 11^{5} 13^{7}), provoked strong protests, as from Tertullian (*de Pud.* 9) and others, who sometimes erred in this way themselves. The question is well handled by Trench, whose third chapter is one of the best in his admirable work, *Notes on the Parables*, which for English readers is likely to remain the chief guide on the whole subject.

LITERATURE.—In addition to works mentioned in the above article, the following may be consulted: Lisco, *Die Parabeln Jesu*, 1832–40, Eng. tr. by Fairbairn, 1840; Buisson, *Paraboles de l'Évangile*, 1849; Guthrie, *The Parables*, 1866; Stier, *Reden d. Herrn*, 1865–74, Eng. tr. by Pope, 1869; Arnot, *The Parables of our Lord*, 1870; Beyschlag, *Die Gleichnissreden d. Herrn*, 1875; Thiersch, *Die Gleichnisse Christi nach ihrer moral. und prophet. Bedeut. betrachtet*, 1875; Bruce, *The Parabolic Teaching of Christ*, 1882; Tamm, *Der Realismus Jesu in seiner Gleichnissen*, 1886; Jülicher, *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu*, 1888, 1899 [see Sanday in *Journ. Theol. Stud.* Jan. 1900]; Freystedt, *Die Gleichnisse d. Herrn, Predigten*, 1896; Heinrici, art. 'Gleichnisse Jesu' in *PRE*³. Most *Lives of Christ* contain a discussion of the subject. See also Danz, *Universalwörterbuch*, p. 727.

A. PLUMMER.

PARACLETE.—This is the English form of the Gr. *παράκλητος*, *paraklētos*, which occurs only in the writings of St. John. In Jn $14^{16.\ 26}$ 15^{26} 16^{7} it is used by Jesus to describe the Holy Spirit, promised to the disciples after His own departure; and in 1 Jn 2^{1} it is applied by St. John to the ascended Lord Himself. In AV the word is translated 'Comforter' in the Gospel and 'Advocate' in the Epistle, without any marginal alternative. In RV these translations are retained, but at each occurrence in the Gospel there is found the marg. note 'Or *Advocate*, or *Helper*, Gr. *Paraclete*'; and at 1 Jn 2^{1} the note 'Or *Comforter*, or *Helper*, Gr. *Paraclete*.' These translations reflect the history of the interpretation of the word in NT. In its reference to Christ the meaning of 'Advocate' has been generally acquiesced in; but, in its references to the Holy Spirit, it has all along been disputed whether the meaning is Advocate (taken by most in the largest sense, not only Pleader or Defender, but Helper) or Comforter (in the sense of Consoler).

i. THE ETYMOLOGY AND USE OF THE WORD.—The verb *παρακαλεῖν* is frequently used both in LXX and in NT (though not found in St. John's writings) with the meaning to comfort or console, a meaning which is rare in classical Greek. Thus Gn 37^{35} 'And all his sons and all his daughters rose up to comfort him; but he refused to be comforted' (*ἦλθον παρακαλέσαι αὐτόν· καὶ οὐκ ἤθελεν παρακαλεῖσθαι*); Mt 5^{4} 'Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted' (*μακάριοι οἱ πενθοῦντες· ὅτι αὐτοὶ παρακληθήσονται*). Moreover, the abstract subst. *παράκλησις*, formed from *παρακαλεῖν*, often means comfort or consolation, as 2 Co $1^{3.\ 4}$ 'Blessed be God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercies, and the God of all comfort; who comforteth us in all our affliction, that we may be able to comfort them that are in any affliction, through the comfort wherewith we ourselves are comforted of God' (θεὸς πάσης παρακλήσεως, ὁ παρακαλῶν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ πασῇ τῇ θλίψει ἡμῶν, εἰς τὸ δύνασθαι ἡμᾶς παρακαλεῖν τοὺς ἐν πάσῃ θλίψει, διὰ τῆς παρακλήσεως ἧς παρακαλούμεθα αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ). But the oldest meaning of παρακαλεῖν is not to 'comfort,' but to 'send for,' 'summon to one's aid' (=Lat. *advocare*). Thus in Xenoph. *Anab.* i. 6. 5, παρακαλεῖν τινα σύμβουλον, 'to call one in as adviser';* and this meaning is found in NT, Ac 28^{20} διὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν παρεκάλεσα ὑμᾶς ἰδεῖν καὶ προσλαλῆσαι, 'For this purpose, then, have I called for you, to see and to speak with you.' The question, then, is whether παράκλητος, which is undoubtedly passive in form, signifies 'one called in' (for aid of some kind), or has assumed an active meaning (after παρακαλεῖν, to console), 'one who comforts or consoles.' The question must be determined by an examination of the use of the word elsewhere and of its context in NT.

1. *The Classical Use.*—In classical Greek παράκλητος is a judicial word. It is the equivalent in use as well as etymology of the Lat. *advocatus.* Both are wider in meaning than our 'advocate,' and approach nearer our 'counsel.' Asconius (ad Cic. in *Q. Cæcil.*) says, Qui defendit alterum in judicio, aut *patronus* dicitur, si orator est; aut *advocatus,* si aut jus suggerit, aut presentiam suam commodat amico. Our 'advocate' is the Rom. *patronus* (qui orator est), the Gr. παράκλητος is the Rom. *advocatus.* Thus Demosth. *de Falsa Leg.* p. 341, 10, αἱ τῶν παρακλήτων δεήσεις καὶ σπουδαί, 'the petitions and pains of the partisans.' The occurrence of the word is rare, but, where it occurs, this, or something very near this, is its meaning.†

2. *The Evidence of the LXX.*—The word παράκλητος is not found in the LXX. The adj. παρακλητικός occurs in Zec 1^{13} 'And the LORD answered the angel that talked with me with good words, even comfortable words' (λόγους παρακλητικούς). Once also there occurs the subst. παρακλήτωρ, Job 16^2 'Miserable comforters are ye all' (παρακλήτορες κακῶν πάντες). The use of this word, which has a proper active form and meaning, is on the whole to be regarded as evidence against the sense of 'comforter' for παράκλητος. The one being already in existence, taken directly from παρακαλεῖν in the sense of 'console,' it is improbable that the other would have come (against its passive form) to be used for the same meaning. It is true that Aq. and Theod. use παράκλητος in this passage; but they may have felt the influence of the word as used in St. John's Gospel, which at the time they wrote (*c.* 120-150 A.D.) was probably interpreted 'Comforter.' Symm. uses παρηγοροῦντες.

3. *The Use of the Word by Philo.*—Philo employs παράκλητος several times in the sense of 'intercessor' or 'advocate' (in its classical meaning). In *de Joseph.* c. 40, Joseph, after discovering himself to his brethren, is made to say, ἀμνηστίαν ἁπάντων παρέχω τῶν εἰς ἐμὲ πεπραγμένων· μηδενὸς ἑτέρου δεῖσθε παρακλήτου, 'I grant forgiveness for all that you have done against me; you need no one else as intercessor.' And in *Vit. Mos.* iii. 14, the reason why the high priest on entering the Holy of Holies should wear the symbol of the Logos, is given in the words, ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ ἦν τὸν ἱερωμένον τῷ τοῦ κόσμου πατρὶ παρακλήτῳ χρῆσθαι τελειοτάτῳ τὴν ἀρετὴν υἱῷ πρός τε ἀμνηστείαν ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ χορηγίαν ἀφθονωτάτων ἀγαθῶν, 'It was indispensable that he who was consecrated to the Father of the world should employ as his Advocate the Son, most perfect in virtue, for both the forgiveness of sins and the supply of unlimited blessings.' It has been claimed that Philo uses παράκλητος once in the direct active sense of παρακαλεῖν, to comfort, viz. in *de Opif. Mund.* c. 6; but there also the meaning is passive and general, 'one called to help'—οὐδενὶ δὲ παρακλήτῳ. τίς γὰρ ἦν ἕτερος, μόνῳ δὲ ἑαυτῷ χρησάμενος ὁ θεὸς ἔγνω δεῖν εὐεργετεῖν . . . τὴν . . . φύσιν, 'employing no helper (for who else was there?) but only Himself, did God think good to bless the world.'

4. *In the Targums and Talmud.*—The Gr. word appears in the Targ. and Talm. in the form פְּרַקְלִיט or פְּרַקְלִיטָא, and always in the sense of helper, intercessor, or advocate, *i.e.* always as a passive. Thus the Targ. at Job 16^{20} 'My *pĕraḳlîṭs* are my friends' (AV and RV 'My friends scorn me'); and at 33^{23} the *pĕraḳlîṭ* is placed in antithesis to קָטֵיגוֹר, Gr. κατήγορος (in Rev 12^{10} κατήγωρ), 'accuser.' At Job 16^2, however, where the LXX has παρακλήτωρ and the meaning is 'comforter,' the Targ. does not use *pĕraḳlîṭ.* The passages from the Talm. have been collected by Buxtorf, *s.v.* Perhaps the most pertinent example is found in *Pirḳe Aboth,* iv. 15 (see Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*^{2}, p. 69): 'Rabbi Li'ezer ben Jacob said, He who performs one precept has gotten to himself one advocate (פְּרַקְלִיט); and he who commits one transgression has gotten to himself one accuser (קָטֵיגוֹר).'

5. *The Earliest Christian Writers.*—We find the same passive sense—called to one's side, as advocate or intercessor—even in the early Christian writers, when they are using the word independently and not interpreting the NT use. Take II Ep. of Clement, vi. (Lightfoot, *Apost. Fathers,* p. 46)—'Who shall be our advocate, unless we be found having holy and righteous works?' (τίς ἡμῶν παράκλητος ἔσται, ἐὰν μὴ εὑρεθῶμεν ἔργα ἔχοντες ὅσια καὶ δίκαια); and Ep. of Barnabas, xx. (*Apost. Fathers,* p. 274)—'advocates of the wealthy, unjust judges of the poor, sinful in all things' (πλουσίων παράκλητοι, πενήτων ἄνομοι κριταί, πανθαμάρτητοι).

ii. THE INTERPRETATION OF THE NT WORD.—It seems, then, that παράκλητος, wherever it is used outside and independently of the NT, agrees with its etymology. A passive participle in form, it follows the passive voice of the verb παρακαλεῖν in the meaning of 'called to one's side' for help, and especially against an accuser or judge. But the interpretation of the word as found in St. John's Gospel has not followed its etymology and usage. It has there been often understood to mean 'comforter' or 'consoler' (=ὁ παρακαλῶν). This is the prevailing interpretation in the Fathers and in the Versions, and it is still upheld by some modern expositors.

1. *The Greek and Latin Fathers.*—ORIGEN (as quoted in Latin by Ruffinus, *de Princ.* II. vii. 4) says, 'The Holy Spirit is called Paracletus from consolation. For in Latin παράκλησις is called consolatio. . . . But in 1 Jn paracletus is used of the Saviour in the sense of intercessor. For in Greek παράκλητος signifies both intercessor and consoler (deprecatorem et consolatorem).' Thus Origen gives to παράκλητος a double meaning, 'consoler' in the Gospel, 'intercessor' in the Epistle. But even 'intercessor' he takes from the active voice of παρακαλεῖν in the sense of 'request,' 'plead' (as in Mt 8^5 προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ ἑκατόνταρχος παρακαλῶν αὐτόν, 'There came to him a centurion beseeching him'), for in his *Com. on St. John,* i. 33 [38] (Brooke's ed. 1896, vol. i. p. 45), he says, 'But none of the names mentioned above expresses His representation of us with the Father, as He intercedes for the nature

---

* Cf. Æsch. *c. Ctesiph.* § 200, τί δεῖ σε Δημοσθένην παρακαλεῖν;

† Cf. Diog. Laert. *Vita Bionis,* iv. 50, τὸ ἱκανόν σοι ποιήσω, ἐὰν παρακλήτους ['a deputation' is Field's trans.] πέμψῃς, καὶ μὴ αὐτὸς ἔλθῃς.

of men and atones for it, as the intercessor and propitiation and the atonement' (*παρακαλοῦντος ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀνθρώπων φύσεως καὶ ἱλασκομένου, ὡς ὁ παράκλητος καὶ ἱλασμὸς καὶ τὸ ἱλαστήριον*). CHRYSOSTOM in his *Com.* on Jn 14^{16} says, 'He calls the Spirit παράκλητος because of the afflictions that then beset them'; but in his *Hom. in Joh.* lxxv., 'Concerning the Spirit He said . . . παράκλητος in order that they might not be disheartened in thinking there would be none to be their patron and helper.' CYRIL gives the meaning 'consoler'—*Catech.* xvi. 20, 'The Holy Spirit is called παράκλητος because He comforts and consoles and helps our infirmities' (*διὰ τὸ παρακαλεῖν καὶ παραμυθεῖσθαι καὶ συναντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῆς ἀσθενείας ἡμῶν*). With this the most of the Gr. Fathers agree. On the other hand, the Lat. Fathers (influenced probably by the early Lat. versions) generally use *Advocatus* (esp. in 1 Jn, very often *Paracletus* in the Gospel) as the trans., and seem to interpret as Advocate or Helper. But, as Pearson (*On the Creed*, p. 500, Bohn's ed.) has pointed out, it is probable that the Lat. writers when using *advocatus* mean *consolator*, 'for in the ancient Christian Latin, *advocare* signifieth "to comfort," and *advocatio* "consolation," as being the bare interpretations of παρακαλεῖν and παράκλησις.' Cf. Rönsch, *It. u. Vulg.* 348. Thus Tert. translates παρακαλέσαι πενθοῦντας (Is 61^{2}) *advocare languentes* (*adv. Marc.* iv. 14). And both Hilary (Sumus nunc quidem consolati, quia Dominus ait, 'Mittet nobis Pater et alium Consolatorem'—*Enar. in Ps. 125*) and Aug. (Consolabuntur Spiritu Sancto, qui maxime propterea Paracletus nominatur, id est, Consolator—*de Serm. Dom. in Monte*, i. 2) as well as others, use *consolator* as the tr. of παράκλητος.

2. *Ancient and Modern Versions.*—(1) The *Old Latin* has *Advocatus* in the Ep. in all copies; in the Gospel there is variation between *Advocatus* (Pal. at 15^{26} 16^{7}; Pal. Verc. Colb. at 14^{16}) and *Paracletus* or *Paraclitus* * (Pal. Verc. Ver. Colb. Corb. in the other passages). (2) The *Syriac* versions seem to have retained the original word 'Paraclete' everywhere. So at least in all extant passages (Curetonian in Jn 14^{16}; Pesh. in all places; Sin. in the Gospel). (3) The *Arabic*, *Ethiopic*, and *Memphitic* versions also retain 'Paraclete.' The *Thebaic* has 'Paraclete' in the Gosp., but in the Ep. 'One that prayeth for us' (Lightfoot, *Fresh Rev.*^{2} 61). (4) The *Vulg.* has *Paracletus* (or *Paraclītus*) in the Gosp. and *Advocatus* in the Ep. (5) Wyclif and Purvey translated the Vulg. *Paraclītus* into 'Comforter' in the Gosp., and retained 'Advocate' from *advocatus* in the Ep. (1382 'we han avoket anentis the fadir'; 1388 [Purvey] 'we han an advocat anentis the fadir'). Luther likewise has 'Tröster' in Jn and 'Fürsprecher' in 1 Jn. Then Tindale also adopted 'Comforter' in the Gosp. and 'Advocate' in the Ep., and these translations have come down through all the Eng. versions, except the Rhemish, which in the Gosp. has taken 'Paraclete' † directly from the Vulgate.

It must be remembered that in the language of the English versions 'to comfort' is not always to console as it is in the English of the present day, and 'comfort' is not always consolation. Its first meaning, like the Latin *con-fortare* (from *con* intensive prefix, and *fortis* 'strong'), is to strengthen. Thus Wyclif's translation (1382) of Is 41^{7} is 'he coumfortide hym with nailes, that it shulde not be moued' (1388, 'he fastenede hym with nailis'). Coverdale translates 2 S 2^{7} 'Let youre hande now therefore be comforted, and be ye stronge' (AV 'let your hands be strengthened, and be ye valiant'; RV 'let your hands be strong'). And AV gives in Job $10^{20.\,21}$ 'Let me alone, that I may take comfort a little, before I go whence I shall not return,' a translation which RV retains, though the same Hebrew word is translated 'recover strength' in Ps 39^{13} by both versions. We next find the meaning *exhort* or *exhortation*, as Wyclif's translation of He 12^{5} 'And ye han forgete the comforte that spekith to you as to sones.' And then *encouragement* (not necessarily to goodness), as in Wyclif's *Select Works*, iii. 328, 'Not to coumforte hem in here synne'; and in Cranmer's *Works*, i. 209, 'By your comfort the vulgar people conceiveth hatred towards such things as by the prince's commandment are set forth.'

But when Wyclif chose the word 'Comforter' to express the Latin *Paracletus* (he may have coined the word, since the earliest examples of 'comforter' yet discovered are in his writings), it is probable that the sense he desired to convey was 'one who consoles.' His translation (1382) of Job 16^{2} is 'Alle yee ben hevye coumfortoures'; and this was the meaning which was attached to the Greek word παράκλητος and the Latin *paracletus* in the Church in his day. Any other sense, indeed, is somewhat rare. Lord Berners' *Froissart* (ch. ccci. Globe ed, p. 229) may be quoted for the meaning 'aider' or 'abettor': 'Who durst begin such a riot as to enterprise to slay the earl's baily holding the earl's banner in his hands, doing his office, without some bolsterer or comforter in their deed?'

iii. How has it come to pass that παράκλητος, which nowhere else has the meaning of 'consoler,' has been so generally taken in that sense in St. John's Gospel? The explanation must be found in the context. Our Lord, in promising the Paraclete, spoke of His own impending departure. The disciples' hearts were filled with sorrow. It is natural to understand that the Paraclete the Holy Ghost was promised to the disciples to console them for the loss of their Lord. And when that meaning was found in the context, it was easy to give it to the word itself. The same thing happened to *advocatus* in Latin; the sense of 'consoler' is equally unknown to that word outside ecclesiastical usage; Tertullian must have given it that meaning because he found it in his version as the designation of Him who was sent to *console* the disciples.

But the Paraclete was not sent to console the disciples. They did not really need consolation. If they had understood, no sorrow at Christ's departure would ever have filled their hearts. As soon as they did understand, the sorrow left them. *Before the Paraclete came* they 'returned to Jerusalem with great joy' (Lk 24^{52}). As soon, indeed, as they realized the fact of Christ's resurrection their sorrow was turned into joy. Even the women 'departed quickly from the tomb with fear and great joy' (Mt 28^{8}). But it was then that the battle with unbelief had to begin—the unbelief of their own hearts in part, but chiefly the unbelief of the world. And the Paraclete was sent to aid them in that strife.

In Jn $14^{16.\,26}$ 15^{26} the reference seems to be to the unbelief or half-belief of the disciples' own hearts. The Paraclete as the Spirit of truth guides them into all the truth. He brings to their remembrance the things the Master had said to them; in the light of events He interprets these things; they understand that 'all is of God that is and is to be, and all is good.' He witnesses for Christ in their hearts; and then when they know that He is the Messiah, the Son of God and Saviour of the world, they are ready to be witnesses themselves (Jn $15^{26.\,27}$).

In Jn 16^{7} the Holy Spirit is the Paraclete of the disciples in their witness before the world. Just like the παράκλητος and *advocatus* of the ancients (but not quite as the advocate of our day), He comes to the disciples. 'I will send him *unto you*' (Jn 16^{7}). He is their personal unofficial Friend; His services are at their disposal. In their debate with the world He is at their right hand that they may not be moved. Through them He convicts the world concerning sin, concerning righteousness, and concerning judgment—a conviction which means their acquittal and the world's condemnation.

In 1 Jn 2^{1} it is Jesus Himself that is the Paraclete: 'If any man (*i.e.* here 'any believer') sin, we have a Paraclete with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous.' So the believer has a conflict in heaven as well as on the earth. The conflict upon the earth is with the sin of the world; the conflict in heaven is with his own sin. Through faith he wins the battle upon the earth, for 'this is the victory that hath overcome the world, even our faith' (1 Jn 5^4). Through repentance he wins the victory in heaven. In both cases it is not he but his Paraclete that wins. Both victories are of grace, lest any man should boast. But why two Paracletes? Because the Holy Spirit has to do, not with the sin of man, but with his holiness. In so far as the believer does *not* sin, the Holy Spirit is his Paraclete. When he sins it is Jesus Christ that becomes his Paraclete. For Jesus has always to do with his sin, and Jesus only.

---

* On the spelling *paraclītus* see Hare's note in *Mission of the Comforter*, ii. 522, note Ja (in later ed. note K).

† The Rhem. version has the foll. marg. note to Jn 14^{16}, '*Paraclete* by interpretation is either a comforter or an advocate; and therefore to translate it by any one of them only is perhaps to abridge the sense of this place.' There is no note on the tr. at 1 Jn 2^{1}, where the Vulg. 'advocatus' is given as 'advocate,' with the Gr. παράκλητον in the margin.

iv. The question remains, Which is the best translation?

1. COMFORTER is false to the etymology of the Greek word and to its usage, and it misses the meaning. The arguments used in its favour are these: (1) That it agrees with the Hellenistic usage of παρακαλεῖν 'to comfort' and παράκλησις 'comfort.' To which M'Clellan replies that this usage justifies the sense of 'comforter' for παρακλήτωρ but not for παράκλητος, which would rather be *one comforted*. 'It would be just as reasonable to contend that in harmony with the use of καλεῖν to "call," the word κλητός "called" (Ro $1^{6.7}$ etc.) signifies a *caller*; or that in harmony with the use of *parere* to "bring forth," *parens* signifies "a child."' (2) That the Eng. word 'comforter' really means 'strengthener' (so esp. Hare and Trench). It does not mean so now, however; and it has been shown that in the Eng. versions it probably never meant so. (3) That it is better to retain 'Comforter' 'on the ground of prescription and long familiarity.' So Field, who recalls Schaff's remark (*Companion to Gr. Test. and Eng. Versions*, p. 446) that 'after long deliberation the Revisers retained the dear old word.' Field does not blame the Revisers; but if it is to be retained he would derive it, not from παρακαλεῖν 'to console,' but from παρακαλεῖν 'to send for.' 'We send for a confidential friend on various occasions; and according to the particular service which we require from him he is our Counsellor in difficulties, or Advocate in danger, or our Comforter in distress.' But he warns against the apparent countenance given to the old favourite by the mistranslation of ὀρφανούς in Jn 14^{18}, AV 'comfortless'; RVm rightly 'orphans.'

2. ADVOCATE. This is the word approved of by most modern commentators. It has also no little 'prescription' in its favour. It is etymologically identical with παράκλητος. And it accounts for the passive form. The objection to 'Advocate' is that it does not in modern use correspond closely enough with either the Lat. *advocatus* or the Gr. παράκλητος. It answers fairly well to the Paraclete of 1 Jn, but in the Gosp. the Holy Spirit does not plead for but in or through the disciples.

3. INTERCESSOR. Pearson (*On the Creed*, pp. 499, 501) urges the adoption of 'Intercessor,' and others agree. Its fitness to express the Paraclete of 1 Jn is evident. And it is clear from certain passages (cf. the words already quoted from Demosth., τῶν παρακλήτων τούτων δεήσεις) that entreaty or intercession was at least part of the work of the Paraclete in the ancient law courts. But the word is somewhat restricted in meaning to cover all that is said of the Holy Spirit as Paraclete.

4. PARACLETE. It is perhaps best to transcribe the word, as has been done in so many versions, including the very oldest, and as the Eng. versions have unanimously done with 'Christ,' 'apostle,' 'deacon,' and other words. The objection to this is, not that it empties the word of all meaning (M'Clellan), for that is better than putting a wrong meaning into it, and it would gather its meaning for itself;* but that it might come to be applied as almost a proper name to the Holy Spirit, who is after all only 'another Paraclete' (Jn 14^{16}). If this danger were avoided, it is the best word, for there is no English word in existence that covers the original both in the Gosp. and the Ep. and covers it exactly; and Paraclete, says Westcott (*Lessons of RV*, p. 94), 'is now almost naturalized among us.'

LITERATURE.—Besides the Comm. (esp. Meyer on Jn 14^{16} and Düsterdieck on 1 Jn 2^1), Buxtorf, *Lex. Talm.* p. 1843 (ed. Fischer, p. 916); Grimm-Thayer, *NT Lex.*, and Cremer, *Bibl.-Theol. Lex. s.v.* Also Knapp, *Scripta Var. Argum.* p. 124 ff.; Pearson, *On the Creed*, p. 499 ff.; Hare, *Mission of the Comforter*, ii. 521 ff., note Ja (in later ed. note K); Trench, *On the AV of NT*, p. 23 f.; Lightfoot, *On a Fresh Revision*^{2}, p. 55 ff.; M'Clellan, *The Four Gospels*, p. 337 (on Jn 14^{16}), and p. 733 ff.; Westcott, *Speaker's Com.* (Add. Note on Jn 14^{16}) p. 211 ff.; Watkins, *Com. for Eng. Readers* (Add. Note on Jn 14^{16}), p. 561 ff.; Hatch, *Essays in Bibl. Greek*, p. 82; Field, *Notes on Trans. of NT* (*Otium Norv.* III.^{2}), on Jn 14^{16}, p. 102 f.; Robson in *Expos. Times*, v. (1894) 320 ff., and *The Holy Spirit the Paraclete*, p. 1 ff.

J. HASTINGS.

PARADISE (פַּרְדֵּס, παράδεισος, *Paradisus*, Fr. *Paradis*, Ital. *Paradiso*, Sp. *Parayso*).—A word used in different applications in Scripture, and having an interesting history both before and after its appearance in the Bible. In all probability it is of Median or Persian origin.

Other explanations indeed have been given of it. Some fanciful etymologies have been proposed for it; *e.g.* from פרה and דשא, as if the root idea was 'bringing forth herbs'; from παρά and δεύω, as if 'well watered'; from παρά and a supposititious δεῖσα with the sense of 'plant' or 'plants,' etc. (cf. Suidas and Suicer, *s.v.*). It has been taken by some from an Armenian source, *pardez* being Armenian for 'garden.' It has been held to have Sanskrit connexions. But the term *paradeça*, with which it is thought to be in affinity, or from which it is supposed to come, means a 'foreign country' (from *para* =distant, and *deça*=country), and the likeness is only accidental (cf. Benfey, *s.v.*). A Semitic origin has been claimed for it by some scholars of repute. Fried. Delitzsch, *e.g.*, suggests a Babylono-Assyrian source (cf. *Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 95–97). But there is no evidence that the Assyrian people had the thing which was called by this name among the Persians; while, on the other hand, they expressed the idea of 'garden' or 'wood' by other words (cf. Schrader, *COT* ii. 71 f.). The attempt to find for the term a Semito-Assyrian or an Akkado-Sumerian etymology, therefore, is now generally given up, and most scholars are of opinion that the word comes from the Zend *pairidaêza* (cf. modern Persian and Arabic *firdaus*='garden,' 'paradise,' pl. *faradis*), meaning a wall enclosing something, and then the space enclosed, a park, a pleasure-ground, or hunting-ground (Ges. *Thes.* ii. 1124; Max Müller, *Chips*, iv. 22; Renan, *Langues Sémitiques*, II. i. 153; Justi, *Zendsprache*, 180; Lagarde, *Ges. Abh.* p. 75; Haug in Ewald's *Jahrb.* v. 162; Spiegel in Delitzsch's *Hoheslied* under ch. 4^{13}; Nöldeke, *ZDMG* xxxvi. 182; Skeat, *Etymol. Dict. of Eng. Lang. s.v.*). The old Greek etymologists also explained the word as of Persian origin. So Pollux (*Onom.* ix. ch. 3) expresses himself thus: οἱ δὲ παράδεισοι, βαρβαρικὸν εἶναι τοὔνομα, ἥκει καὶ μετὰ συνήθειαν εἰς χρῆσιν ἑλληνικήν, ὡς καὶ ἄλλα πόλλὰ τῶν περσικῶν.

The word came very early into use in English, *e.g.* in Layamon, l. 24,122. It was adopted by Wyclif in his rendering of Rev 2^7: 'To hym that overcometh Y Schal gyve to ete of the tre of lijf that is in the paradis of my God.' The different forms in which it has appeared, and the different things for which it has served as a name, make a curious story. It has been used to designate the magnificent parks of Persian monarchs, the original abode of man in his integrity and happiness, the residence of righteous souls in the intermediate state, and the heaven of the future. It has been employed as a figure of the Word of God by some of the Fathers (*e.g.* Chrys. *Hom. I. ad pop. Antioch.* t. vi. p. 448; *Hom.*, *Quod Scripturarum lectio utilis sit*, t. viii. p. 111); and from these higher uses it has descended to be the name of humbler things—courts, porches, altars, herths, etc. The word *parvis*, denoting the outer court of a great house or palace, and more particularly the porch of a church, is supposed to be *paradise* in the Low Latin form *paravisus*, a Neapolitan *paraviso* being quoted as a variety of the Italian *paradiso* (Skeat, *Etym. Dict. of Eng. Lang. s.v.*). The church-porch is said to have been taken to represent *paradise* when the old mystery-plays were enacted in the yard. (Cf. Littré, *s.v.*, and Tyrwhitt's ed. *Cant. Tales*, v. 183). The word (*paruis*, *parvis*, *parvys*) occurs in Chaucer—

> 'There was no wight in all Parys
> Before our ladie at parvys
> That he ne mighte hye the book
> To copy, if him talent took.'
> —(*Rom. of Rose*, 7108).

---

* Cf. 'demon' of RV for AV 'devil' (δαιμόνιον).

Among the Persians the term meant a royal park, the enclosed pleasure-ground of king or of noble, richly wooded, well watered, and amply stocked with game, comprehending at once the *vivarium* and the *viridarium* of the Romans. Classical Latin did not possess the word, and Roman writers of the classical period had to express the thing in a roundabout way (cf. Cicero, *de Senect.* 17). From Persia it passed over into later Hebrew and into Greek. It appears to have been introduced into the latter by Xenophon, and it occurs frequently in Greek writers from his period onwards. In these it is applied mostly to the great parks of the Persian kings. Numerous references are made to these, and large descriptions are given of them (cf. Xen. *Anab.* i. 2. 7, iii. 4. 14, *Cyr.* i. 3. 14, viii. 1. 38, *Œc.* iv. 13, 14, *Hell.* iv. 1. 15; Diodor. Sic. xvi. 41; Plut. *Artax.* 25; Theophr. *Hist. Plant.* v. 8. 1; Lucian, *Ver. Hist.* ii. 23; Ælian, *Var. Hist.* i. 33, etc.). The word seems to have been used sometimes also of smaller gardens or enclosures (Inscript. Car. in *CIG* 2694*b*). In the sense of 'park' it occurs also in Josephus and some of the Apocryphal books (Jos. *Ant.* VII. xiv. 4, VIII. vii. 3, IX. x. 4, X. iii. 2, etc., *Bell. Jud.* VI. i. 1; Sus v.^{4} etc.; Sir 24^{30}). It is explained to the same effect by Hesychius, Olympiodorus (*Eccles.* ch. ii. p. 611), Greg. Nyss. (*Hom. IX. in Cantic.* t. i. p. 611), etc.

It was taken over into the OT in the Hebrew form פַּרְדֵּס (LXX *παράδεισος*), and with the literal sense. It occurs thus in Ca 4^{13} (RV 'orchard,' with marginal note, 'or, *a paradise*'); Ec 2^{5} (AV 'gardens and *orchards*,' RV 'gardens and *parks*'); Neh 2^{8} ('keeper of the king's *forest*,' where the reference is explicitly to the royal Persian park, in the primary sense. But the OT occurrences (in the Greek form) are not confined to these three cases. The word is exalted to a higher use, the Seventy having adopted it as their translation of the גַּן עֵדֶן in which man was placed at first by his Creator. The עֵדֶן is sometimes left as a proper name *Ἔδεμ*; sometimes it is reproduced in its etymological sense as *τῆς τρυφῆς*. So in the LXX (and a similar form is used in the Peshiṭta) *παράδεισος*, *παράδεισος τῆς τρυφῆς*, is the Garden of Eden (Gn 2$^{8. 10. 15}$ 3$^{2. 3. 23. 24}$). Outside the record of man's creation and fall it was also used by the LXX where the Heb. has 'garden,' especially in figurative passages, or when the idea of the glory of man's first abode was in any way in view. In Gn 13^{10}, *e.g.*, the plain of Jordan is said to be 'as the paradise of God' (*ὡς ὁ παράδεισος τοῦ θεοῦ*); Nu 24^{6} Balaam describes the tents of Jacob and the tabernacles of Israel (*ὡς νάπαι σκιάζουσαι καὶ ὡσεὶ παράδεισος ἐπὶ ποταμῶν*). See also Is 1^{30}, Jl 2^{3}, Jer 29^{5}, and especially Ezk 31$^{8. 9}$, where it is said of the Assyrian under the figure of a great cedar tree in Lebanon that 'the cedars in the garden of God could not hide him' . . . 'nor any tree in the garden of God (*ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τοῦ θεοῦ*) was like unto him in his beauty,' and that he was made so fair that 'all the trees of Eden that were in the garden of God (*τὰ ξύλα τοῦ παραδείσου τῆς τρυφῆς τοῦ θεοῦ*) envied him.'

In the NT it is raised to still higher uses. The primeval Eden gives place to a 'garden of God' that is not of earth, the thought of the Paradise of the past is lost in the hope of a Paradise of the future, and the word becomes a name for the scene of rest and recompense for the righteous after death. Only the most sparing use, however, is made of it in the NT. While the idea which it expresses appears more frequently, the word itself occurs only in three passages—once in the Gospels (Lk 23^{43}), once in the Epp. (2 Co 12^{4}), and once in the Apoc. (2^{7}). The history of the term suggests reasons for this remarkable abstention in the case of the NT writings. To understand the place which it has in these writings, and to define its precise meaning in these few passages, it is necessary to look into the course which Hebrew thought took on the subject of *Sheol* and a future existence after the close of OT prophecy, and into the condition of popular Jewish belief in the times of Christ and the Apostles. It is of the greatest importance to know the ideas which had become connected with the term 'Paradise' and its cognates in the various sections of Judaism.

In some cases 'Paradise,' the 'garden of Eden,' and such terms, lost their objective meaning, and were made symbols of spiritual things. The tendency to idealize is seen, *e.g.*, in *Sirach*, where the rivers of Eden become symbols of the streams of true wisdom (Sir 24$^{25-30}$). It appears, too, in the *Psalms of Solomon*, where we have the 'garden of the Lord' and the 'trees of life' introduced as figures of the saints in their blessedness—*ὁ παράδεισος κυρίου, τὰ ξύλα τῆς ζωῆς ὅσιοι αὐτοῦ* (14^{2}). It is seen in its absoluteness in the philosophizing Judaism of Alexandria. To Philo himself 'Paradise' was a symbol of *ἀρετή*, or spiritual excellence. The spiritualizing method of interpretation, however, was limited for the most part to that school, and was not of a kind to affect popular Jewish thought to any great extent. The prevailing tendency was in the opposite direction. To what extremes of literalism and curious circumstantial definition it ran, and in what extravagant and incongruous speculation it indulged, can be gathered from the Rabbinical literature and from the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical writings.

Fancy ran riot in the Rabbinical schools on the subject of Paradise, its location, its extent, its glories, etc. The Rabbinical theology as it has come down to us exhibits an extraordinary medley of ideas on these questions, and in the case of many of them it is difficult to determine the dates to which they should be assigned. In some Rabbinical books פַּרְדֵּס is used for Paradise; which has, however, the sense of 'park' in the Mishna and Targums. But the more frequent term is the OT גַּן עֵדֶן. The primeval garden of Eden was held by some to exist still, and to lie in the distant east. Paradise was regarded as created before the world. In later Jewish theology it had seven names, and copious rhetorical descriptions of its blessedness abounded. Two gates of rubies were said to lead into it. Beside them stand sixty myriads of holy angels, with countenances shining like the light of heaven. When a righteous man enters, the vestures of death are taken off him; he is clad in eight robes of the clouds of glory; two crowns are placed upon his head—one of pearls and precious stones, another of gold of Parvaim; eight myrtles are put into his hand; he is lauded and hailed with words of welcome, etc. (*Jalkut Schim.*, *Beresch.* 20). It was believed also that in Paradise there are degrees of blessedness (*Baba bathra* 75*a*). Seven ranks or orders of the righteous were said to exist within it, and definitions were given both of those to whom these different positions belonged and of the glories belonging to each. Taking the literature as it is, it might appear that Paradise was regarded by some as on earth itself, by others as forming part of Sheol, by others still as neither on earth nor under earth, but in heaven; while some also held that there were two Paradises —one in heaven, for those who are perfect in holiness, and one on earth, for those who come short of that. But there is some doubt as respects, at least, part of this. These various conceptions are found indeed in later Judaism. They appear most precisely and most in detail in the mediæval Cabbalistic Judaism; in which also extravagant descriptions are given of the relations of the earthly

Paradise and the heavenly, the latter being declared to be sixty times as large as the lower earth (Eisenmenger, *Entd. Jud.* ii. 297). But it is uncertain how far back these things can be carried. The older Jewish theology at least, as it is represented in the Rabbinical literature, seems to give little or no place to the idea of an intermediate Paradise. It speaks of a *Gehinnom* for the wicked, and a *Gan Eden*, or garden of Eden, for the just. It is questionable whether it goes beyond these conceptions and affirms a Paradise in Sheol (cf. Weber, *Jüd. Theol.* 244, etc.).

Of more importance, however, is the witness of the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical writings. These books reflect a remarkable variety of opinions, which it is impossible to harmonize, and many of which were extremely fantastic. In the later Jewish belief Sheol appears to be regarded as a place of moral issues, with preliminary rewards and punishments, and with different divisions in it for different classes of the departed. The more prevalent view seems to have been that the world of the dead had two sections separated by a wall or a chasm—one for the righteous, and one for the unrighteous. But the opinion also was held that Sheol had four divisions—one for the righteous who on earth suffered death for their righteousness' sake; one for sinners who on earth suffered penalty for their sins; one for others of the just; and one for sinners who were not punished on earth (*Enoch* 20, 102^{15}). But in addition to these, which were no doubt the prevalent beliefs and were held especially by the Pharisees, there was also the opinion, favoured especially by Jews influenced by Alexandrian thought, that the separation of the righteous from the unrighteous took place immediately after death, and that the souls of the just were received by God into heaven (*Wisdom* 3^{14} 4^{10} $5^{5.17}$; cf. Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. i. 3, *Bell. Jud.* II. viii. 14). The Essenes, again, are reported to have held the abode of the departed just to be neither in the under-world nor in heaven, but in a Paradise belonging to earth itself; and this idea also appears elsewhere (*e.g.* *Enoch* $32^{8.23}$ etc.). There is reason to say that by our Lord's time various ideas of Paradise had become current among the Jewish people. So that sometimes it was thought of as an earthly place or scene, sometimes as a heavenly, sometimes as a thing of the distant future. Sometimes it was supposed to be hid in heaven and to be destined to reveal itself on earth, and sometimes it was supposed to be destined to realize itself in the perfected theocracy, and to be transported to Sion.

This idea of a Paradise somewhere on earth appears frequently in the *Book of Enoch*, in the *Book of Jubilees* (ch. 4), and elsewhere. It persisted into Christian times, and on even to the Middle Ages (cf. Thilo, *Cod. Apoc.* etc.). In 4 Ezr we find also the idea that the Paradise which formed the dwelling-place of man in his integrity was made before the earth (1^{7}). It is implied in this that the original Paradise was not of the earth, and so the book speaks elsewhere of a heavenly Paradise (6^{51-76}). And this upper Paradise is practically a Paradise of the future. Select souls, such as Enoch, Elijah, Moses, are indeed received into it immediately, and Ezra himself was to be so received. But it is not exhibited as the present dwelling-place of the righteous generally. These pass into preliminary abodes in the underworld.

A special interest belongs here to the *Book of Enoch*, although the composite nature of its contents and the different ideas which are expressed in its different sections make it difficult to define the precise force of its testimony as a whole. In its more recent parts and in the Noahic fragments the primeval Paradise is in view, and it is described repeatedly as on earth itself (20^{7}), among the more mysterious parts of earth (65^{2} 106^{8}), in the east of the earth. It is visited by Enoch in his journey (32). Enoch and Elijah are taken up into it (60^{8} $87^{3.4}$ 89^{32}), and other righteous souls are understood to be included ($60^{8.23}$). The general idea of the under-world as the gathering place of all the dead, with different sections in it for the evil and the good, seems at the same time to subsist (32. 102^{11} 103^{7}). In the older parts of the book, again, the Messianic kingdom is represented as one hid in heaven at present, and to be revealed on earth hereafter; and in these parts the dwellings of the righteous appear to be heavenly abodes (39^{4} $41^{1.2}$ 48^{1} 70^{4} 71^{14-17}). The passages bearing more directly on Paradise itself are these:—32^{3-6}, which speaks of the 'garden of justice,' with its varieties of trees, and refers to the earthly Paradise; $60^{8.23}$, which also speaks of the 'garden where the chosen and holy ones shall dwell'—'the garden of the just'; 61^{12}, which refers to the 'chosen who dwell in the garden of life'; $70^{3.4}$, in which the seer is said to have seen the 'place for the chosen and the just,' and in it 'the first fathers and the just, who dwell in the place from the beginning'; and 77^{3}, where the 'fourth quarter called the north' is said to be divided into three parts—one for the dwelling of men, one for the seas, the valleys, the winds, and the streams, and the third for 'the garden of justice.' The ideas which are expressed in these passages, therefore, are far from consistent, and the same is still more obviously the case with the book as a whole. In 37–70 and in the Noahic fragments the garden is the abode of the departed just; but in 1–37 the righteous dead dwell in a special division of Sheol. The garden in view in 32^{3} etc. is the earthly Paradise; but in 37–70 it is the heavenly. The locality of Paradise varies in different sections. In $32^{2.3}$ the garden lies in the east; in 70^{2-4} between north and west; in 77^{3} in the north. The accounts of those who people it also differ. In 32^{3} it appears to be empty; in $60^{8.23}$ 61^{12} it is the abode of the righteous and elect in Enoch and Noah's time; in 70^{2-4} the fathers are found in it; in 89^{52} it is described as receiving Enoch and Elijah. (See the editions of the Book of Enoch by Dillmann, Schodde, and Charles).

Among other writings of this class a special value belongs also to the *Apocalypse of Baruch*. The idea that the earthly tabernacle and its contents were copies of antitypes or originals in heaven (Ex $25^{9.40}$, He 8^{5}) is applied in this book to the holy city. In B^{1} (ch. 6^{9}) Jerusalem, the centre of the new theocracy, is described as destined to be restored and established for ever; in which case it is the Jerusalem of earth that is in view. But elsewhere (4^{3} 30^{2-4}) it is the heavenly Jerusalem that appears—the city that is preserved in heaven and is to come from heaven. In this connexion the book speaks also of Paradise, of the counsel which the Lord took to make it, and of its preservation with the Lord in heaven. In ch. 4^{3-6} (in a passage, however, which is suspected of being an interpolation) God is represented as speaking of the city as that which 'will be revealed' with Him; which was 'prepared beforehand' from the time when He 'took counsel to make Paradise, and showed it to Adam before he sinned'; which was removed from Adam, 'as also Paradise,' when he transgressed; which was shown afterwards to 'Abraham by night among the portions of the victims,' and again to Moses on Mount Sinai; of which also the Lord says, 'And now, behold, it is preserved with me, as also Paradise.' In ch. 59^{8}, too, we are told how the Lord showed to Moses 'the height of the air and the greatness of Paradise, and the consummation of the ages, and the beginning of the day of judgment'; as in the Book of Enoch (61^{1-4} $70^{3.4}$) the angels are said to take the measures of Paradise for Enoch.

The ideas, therefore, which had become connected with the terms גַּן עֵדֶן, *παράδεισος*, and the like, were of a very mixed kind—crude, fantastic, and inconsistent. They impressed themselves in their sensuousness, extravagance, and confusion on the popular Jewish sentiment and belief. There was much in the history and associations of the word *παράδεισος* that made it a doubtful vehicle for the communication of spiritual truths, but a very ready instrument of fanciful and overdriven speculation. Much is made of it in the Apocryphal Gospels and Apocalypses. In the Gospel of Nicodemus, in particular, a considerable place is given it. In the section on the 'Descent of Christ into Hell' the story is told in large and swelling terms of the Saviour's victory over Satan—how He sprang out of Hades and set out to Paradise, taking Adam and all the just and delivering them to the archangel Michael; how, as they were entering the door of Paradise, they were met by Enoch and Elijah; how there came to them also a lowly man carrying a cross upon his shoulders, who declared himself to be the thief who was crucified with Christ and received the promise of Paradise; how the robber described himself to have come to Paradise bearing his cross, and to have been received by Michael; how the flaming sword, seeing the sign of the cross, opened to him, so that he went in, and so forth (ch. ii. 25, 26, Greek form). In sharpest contrast with all this is the NT way of dealing with the subject and with the term. The general reticence of the NT writings on the question of Paradise, and their extreme sparingness in the use of the word, are remarkable. Neither in Gospel nor in Epistle is the word selected for the purposes of direct instruction. In speaking of the blessedness of the future, our Lord makes use of figures of speech taken from marriage feasts, the drinking of wine, and the like. But He never employs the term 'Paradise,' so far as the Gospels show, either in His public discourses or in words addressed more privately to His disciples. Nor does St. Paul use it anywhere in the argument of his Epp. The one occasion on which it occurs in his writings is in his account of a singular experience of his own belonging to the region of rapture or ecstasy, and expressed in apocalyptic terms.

It has been asked what view of 'Paradise' is expressed by our Lord Himself in His words from the cross (Lk 23^{43}). Some have argued strongly that His promise to the robber was a promise of entrance with Himself into the happy side of Sheol; others that it meant that the penitent thief would be taken with Himself, as it was believed had been the case with Enoch, Elijah, and Moses, immediately into heaven. It is certain that the belief in a *lower* Paradise prevailed among the Jews, as well as the belief in an *upper* or heavenly Paradise. But it is not clear that the lower Paradise was ever conceived to be in the under-world, or that the happy side of Hades was called by that name. The probability, looking at the witness of the Jewish literature, is on the side of the second interpretation, that Christ referred to the Paradise of heaven. But it is difficult to say what sense the robber would attach to the word. It would give him the solace which he needed—the hope of rest and happiness associated with the idea of Eden. It is questionable whether it can be pressed beyond that large and general idea. To bring it into the service of the dogma of the *Descensus ad inferos*, in the Lutheran sense or any other, seems to the present writer to be beyond the mark. Some have even identified it with the φυλακή of 1 P 3^{19} (*e.g.* Horsley), and have drawn remarkable inferences from it with regard to Christ's preaching to the spirits in prison. But this is surely in defiance of the Greek usage.

It has been held, too, that the 'Paradise' of Lk 23^{43} is identical with the 'Abraham's bosom' of Lk $16^{22.23}$, both being designations of a particular division of the under-world. But in the Parable it is only the rich man that is described as in Hades, while of Lazarus it is said simply that dying he was carried into 'Abraham's bosom.' Even granting that the Parable is meant to represent the rich man and the beggar as both in Hades, the one in the division of retribution and the other in that of reward, it would not follow that 'Paradise' and 'Abraham's bosom' are synonymous. The point would be, that being in Paradise the beggar is received into the fellowship of Abraham (see Meyer on Lk 16^{22}; also art. ABRAHAM'S BOSOM).

In 2 Co 12^{4} it is the *heavenly* Paradise, not the lower or earthly, obviously, that is in view. It is impossible to understand it, in this case of *rapture*, of the intermediate state or any place in Hades. Neither does it satisfy the terms to say that παράδεισος here is nothing more than an abstraction or a figure of speech for 'the present communion of the blessed dead with God as it is on this side of the end of things' (Hofm. *Schriftbeweis*, II. i. p. 489). It denotes the heaven that is the dwelling-place of God. The question of the relation in which the 'Paradise' of v.^{4} stands to the 'third heaven' of v.^{2}, however, is much debated. It has been supposed that St. Paul has the doctrine of a threefold heaven in view here, and identifies Paradise with the third or highest heaven. There is abundant evidence indeed that the belief in a plurality of heavens prevailed among the Jews. But it is doubtful whether it was a belief in a *threefold* heaven. The doctrine of a threefold division of heaven, it is true, obtained at one time a considerable place in the Christian Church (Suicer, *Thes.* ii. p. 520, etc.), and it has been asserted by some even to be the doctrine of the Bible (Estius, le Clerc, etc.). But the evidence is rather to the effect that the prevailing, if not the only, conception among the Jews of our Lord's time was that of a sevenfold heaven. (See article on HEAVEN). It is improbable, therefore, that St. Paul speaks with reference to a triple order of heavens. The main reason for questioning whether in this passage he identifies 'Paradise' with the 'third heaven' is that he seems rather to be indicating distinct stages in his rapture—up to the third heaven, and even to Paradise. The chief argument in favour of the identification is the fact that in the Pseudepigraphical literature Paradise is sometimes placed in the third heaven. In the Slavonic Enoch, *e.g.*, it is said that in the third heaven the seer beheld, in the midst thereof, 'the tree of life, in that place on which God rests, when He comes into Paradise' (ch. 8)—a passage in which an attempt seems to be made to reduce to one the older idea of an earthly Paradise and the later idea of a heavenly (cf. Morfill and Charles, *Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, p. xxxvii and pp. 7, 8). The words of St. Paul do not themselves define how the 'third heaven' and 'Paradise' are related.

In Rev 2^{7}, where the reading 'in the Paradise of God' is to be preferred, it is the heavenly Paradise that is in view. The imagery is taken again from the picture of Eden in Genesis. The terms recall Ezk 28^{13}. In briefer form they express what is given with greater fulness of description in 22^{1-5}. The promise being to him that overcometh, is a promise of the final recompense and blessedness under the figure of a restored Eden. Some, however (*e.g.* Bleek), have taken it to be founded on the idea that the primeval Paradise of Adam still exists somewhere.

The idea expressed by the word *Paradise* has prevailed widely. Many different peoples have had the conception of a Paradise in the sense of a home of innocence and peace and blessedness on earth or its confines. The Hindus have had their visions of Meru, the mountain of the gods, whence flow the great streams into all the world. The Arabs have dreamt of the garden of bliss on the summit of the hill of jacinth, in the East. Iranian thought has dwelt upon the stream Arvanda, that went out of the throne of Ahuramazda to water the earth, and on Airyanavaejo, the land in the extreme East, among the sources of the Oxus and Jaxartes—in later Persian ideas a fabulous land. The term *Pardêsu* is reported to have been found on some Babylonian cuneiform tablets, coupled with the land of Bit-Napsanu as the name of a country, apparently mythological; and the resemblance to the word Paradise פַּרְדֵּס is noticed. (See art. EDEN, vol. i. p. 644). The Chinese and many ruder races have also had the same idea, and have clothed it in many strange forms.

Theologians have also given the rein to fancy and speculation on the subject. They have often overlooked the restraint of Scripture, and have gone in the way of Rabbinical definition and refinements. The Patristic writings give much attention to *Paradise*. Some of the Fathers spoke of it as a resting-place or *refrigerium*, in which the righteous dead have visions of Christ and His saints and angels (Just. Martyr, *Resp. ad Orthod.* 75, 85). Some distinguished between Paradise and heaven. Irenæus refers to what the presbyters said of a distinction between awards,—how some shall go to heaven, some to Paradise, and some to the splendour of the city; those who produce an hundredfold being taken up into the heavens, those who produce sixtyfold being destined to dwell in Paradise, and those who produce thirtyfold being to inhabit the city (*adv. Hær.* v. 1, 2). Some, descending to more detail, taught that no one enters at once into the presence of the Lord in Paradise except by the prerogative of martyrdom, but that all pass into Hades. Tertullian dwells at length upon the Christian idea of Hades and the blessedness of Paradise immediately after death. He explains the Christian belief to be that Hades is 'a very deep space in the interior of the earth'; that the souls of the faithful pass into it; and that heaven shall be opened only after earth has passed away. 'Shall we then have to sleep,' he asks, 'high up in ether, with the boy-loving worthies of Plato; or in the air with Arius; or around the moon with the Endymions of the Stoics? No, but in Paradise, you tell me, whither already the patriarchs and prophets have removed from Hades in the retinue of the Lord's resurrection. How is it, then, that the region of Paradise, which, as revealed to John in the Spirit, lay under the altar, displays no other souls as in it besides the souls of the martyred?' (*de Anima*, ch. xliii., and espec. ch. lv.; Clark's 'Ante-Nicene Lib.'). Origen held it to be somewhere on earth, and to be a kind of schoolroom for souls. 'I think, therefore,' he says, 'that all the saints who depart from this life will remain in some place situated on the earth, which holy Scripture calls *Paradise*, as in some place of instruction, and, so to speak, classroom or school of souls, in which they are to be instructed regarding all the things which they had seen on earth, and are to receive also some information respecting things that are to follow in the future.' And he adds that 'if any one indeed be pure in heart, and holy in mind, and more practised in perception, he will, by making more rapid progress, quickly ascend to a place in the air, and reach the kingdom of heaven through these mansions, so to speak, to the various places which the Greeks have termed spheres, *i.e.* globes, but which holy Scripture has called heavens' (*de Princ.* bk. ii. ch. ix. 6; Clark's 'Ante-Nicene Lib.'). Augustine, too, in his great treatise on the City of God, discoursed of the primeval Paradise as both physical and spiritual, and went into curious discussions on the conditions of life in it. The leading theologian of the Greek Church gave a chapter to it in his great dogmatic work, describing the 'divine Paradise' as planted in Eden by the hands of God, on a site 'higher in the East than all the earth,' flooded with light and transcending imagination 'in sensuous freshness and beauty' (John of Damasc. *de Fide Orth.* ch. xi.). Mediæval Latin Theology and Roman Catholic Dogmatics have dealt largely with it in connexion with the doctrine of the Intermediate State. In these systems Paradise has been identified with the *Limbus Patrum*, and some notable divines of the Roman Catholic Church have taught further that Christ, in His Descent to Hell, preached to those in Paradise on the fringe of Hades, as well as to the souls in Purgatory (so Estius). And in some modern theologies, Lutheran and Anglican no less than Tridentine, much has been made of it in connexion with the Doctrines of a Middle State, the position of the righteous dead before Christ's Advent, and the like. But all this is in the most singular contrast with the silence and reserve of Scripture, and is of little profit.

LITERATURE.—The articles in the great Dictionaries, especially those in Hamburger, *Real-Encycl. für Bibel und Talmud*; Herzog, *Real-Encycl.*; Riehm, *Handwörterbuch des biblischen Alterthums* (those on 'Eden' and 'Hölle'); Schenkel, *Bibel-lexicon* (Dillmann on 'Paradies'); Cremer, *Biblisch-theologisches Wörterbuch*; Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*; Alger, *Critical History of a Future Life*; A. Kliefoth, *Eschatologie*; Atzberger, *Eschat.*; Delitzsch, *Bibl. Psych.*; Dillmann, *Buch Henoch*; Charles, *Book of Enoch*; Schodde, *Book of Enoch*; Morfill and Charles, *Book of the Secrets of Enoch*; Wetstein, *Nov. Test.* 818–820; Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* on Lk 23^{43}; Schöttgen on Lk 23^{43}; Schulthess, *Paradies das irdische und unterirdische, historische, mythische, und mystische*; Beyschlag, *New Test. Theology*; Salmond, *The Christian Doctrine of Immortality*, 346 ff.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

PARAH (הַפָּרָה; B Φαρά, A Ἀφάρ).—A city in Benjamin, near Ophrah, Jos 18^{23}. Now the ruin *Fârah*, near the head of the Valley of Michmash. See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvii.; Guerin, *Judée*, iii. 71 f.; *ZDPV* iii. 7 f.

PARALYSIS, PARALYTIC.—See MEDICINE, p. 326.

PARAN (פָּארָן, Φαράν) occurs in Gn 14^{6} 21^{21}, Nu 10^{12} 12^{16} 13$^{3.26}$, Dt 1^{1} 33^{2}, 1 S 25^{1}, 1 K 11^{18}, Hab 3^{3}. Note the insertion in Nu 33^{36} by LXX after the word 'Zin,' 'and they removed from the wilderness of Zin and pitched in the wilderness of Paran.' Paran is here introduced into the itinerary of Nu 33 and identified with Kadesh as in Nu 13^{26} ('and they went and came to Moses and to Aaron . . . unto the wilderness of Paran, to Kadesh'). κατασκίου δασέος in LXX of Hab 3^{3} should not be passed by unnoticed.

Of these passages two are poetical, and contain the expression 'Mount Paran' or the mountains of Paran (Dt 33^{2}, Hab 3^{3}). With these should be compared the opening verses of the Song of Deborah (Jg 5) and of Ps 68. The similarity of thought in these passages is evident. Although there is some variation in the use of proper names (*e.g.* Paran occurs only in the first two, and Sinai is not found in Hab), yet one idea is prominent in all, that God comes forth from His holy habitation as a deliverer of His people when in distress. Around Him rages the thunderstorm, and at His presence the hills melt. Sinai, Seir, the Field of Edom, Teman are mentioned as the region whence He 'came' or 'shined forth,' and the mountains of Paran form part of that region. If the emendation of Dt 33^{2} noticed in art. MERIBAH be accepted, Mt. Paran stands in parallelism with Kadesh, as well as in close connexion with Sinai and Seir.

El-paran (? the terebinth of Paran) occurs in the description of Chedorlaomer's campaign in Gn 14^{6}. It appears to have been the southern limit of the expedition which 'smote the Hivites in their mount Seir' and returned to 'En-mishpat, which is Kadesh.' Here the indications of position are similar to those in the poetical passages; El-paran is in the neighbourhood of Seir and Kadesh. It is 'by the wilderness,' with which may be compared the expression 'wilderness of Paran' occurring elsewhere. El-paran is by many identified with Elath at the head of the Gulf of Aḳabah. In Dt 1^{1} the connexion between the names mentioned and the context is so uncertain that no inference can be drawn. The LXX of 1 S 25^{1} has Μαάν in B, Φαράν in A. The MT may be questioned here; but if it be accepted, the wilderness of Paran extended into the southern part of Judah.

According to 1 K 11^{18} Hadad, with a company of his father's servants, fled from Edom to Midian, and then passed through Paran on their way to Egypt. The remaining passages all contain the expression 'the wilderness of Paran.' In Gn 21^{21}

it is Ishmael's place of abode when he and his mother Hagar are driven away at Sarah's instigation. From the context it seems to be on the way from Beersheba to Egypt. In the narrative of Hagar's flight, contained in Gn 16 (which is considered by many as another version of the same tradition), the well where the angel of the Lord appeared to her was between Kadesh and Bered. The connexion between Kadesh and Paran is most marked in the passages which have yet to be considered. They are all in Nu, and given above. According to 10^{12}, when the children of Israel moved out of the wilderness of Sinai the cloud rested in the wilderness of Paran, so that the wilderness of Paran is regarded as adjoining that of Sinai. According to 12^{16} the people pitched in the wilderness of Paran after the encampments at Taberah, Kibroth-hattaavah, and Hazeroth. According to $13^{3.\ 26}$ the spies were sent from the wilderness of Paran to search the land, and returned to the same place after completing their search. The account in Dt 1 gives Kadesh as the place whence the spies were sent (cf. Nu 13^{26}). From these notices it appears that the wilderness of Paran stretched from the wilderness of Sinai to the border of the Promised Land, and the inference from Nu 13^{26} as well as from comparison of the accounts in Nu and Dt is that Kadesh was within its border. The position is thus indicated as south of Palestine and west of Edom, a position which accords generally with the other passages in which Paran is mentioned. The positions of Sinai, Kadesh, and Hormah must be determined before anything more definite can be stated as to the boundaries of the wilderness of Paran, and the articles on these names may be consulted. Some remarks will be found in § iv. of art. EXODUS (vol. i. p. 804^{b}) on the connexion between Paran and Zin, and it is there stated that Paran does not occur in the itinerary of Nu 33. The attempt of the LXX to supply this deficiency (referred to above) adds to the difficulty by making Paran *follow* Zin. See ZIN. A. T. CHAPMAN.

PARBAR (פַּרְבָּר,—as pointed, with the art.).—A colonnade (it is supposed) on the W. side of the outer temple-court, mentioned in 1 Ch 26^{18} as a place at which six of the gatekeepers were stationed, four apparently outside, at the 'causeway' (v.^{16}), and two in the 'Parbar' itself. The account purports to be a description of the arrangements made by David, but in reality it refers to those of the Chronicler's own time, as the word Parbar alone is sufficient to show; for this is certainly not a native Hebrew word, and to all appearance it is Persian. As Ges. (*Thes.*) observed, 'parbār' agrees closely with the Pers. *parwār* (acc. to Ges. from *par* 'light,' and *-bār* a termination meaning 'possessing'), a *summer-house* or open kiosk; and so it is supposed to have found its way into late Hebrew—like *apadâna*, for instance, in Dn 11^{45}—with the sense of a sun-lighted *portico* or *colonnade*. What is generally explained as the same word, in a form exactly corresponding to the Persian, occurs in the plur. (פַּרְוָרִים; LXX φαρουρειμ) in 2 K 23^{11}, where the horses given by the kings of Judah to the sun are said to have stood 'by the chamber (לִשְׁכָּה) of Nethan-melech the eunuch, which was *in the colonnades*.'* In the Targums (occasionally) and in the Mishna, etc., *parwār* occurs in the sense of the *suburbs* of a city (*e.g.* of Jerusalem), probably (as Ges. observed) because in Oriental cities, as with us, such suburbs would consist largely of the open summer-houses of the wealthy. This usage is the source of AV 'suburbs' (cf. Targ. פרוריא) in 2 K 23^{11}, and of RV 'precincts' (2 K 23^{11}, and marg. of 1 Ch 26^{18}); but the sense thus obtained is not suitable in either passage. By what means, however, a Persian word can have reached Judah before the Exile (2 K 23), is difficult to understand: if this explanation of the word in 2 K 23^{11} is correct, the text would seem to have been adjusted to post-exilic usage.

S. R. DRIVER.

PARCEL.—Derived from Lat. *particula* (dim. of *pars* a 'part') through Fr. *parcelle*, a parcel is 'a small part' of anything; and that is the primitive sense in which it is used in AV. The words so tr. are (1) חֶלְקָה *ḥelkāh* (Gn 33^{19}, Jos 24^{32}, Ru 4^{3}, 1 Ch $11^{13.\ 14}$), and χωρίον (Jn 4^{5}); and as both words mean specifically a portion (or 'plot,' as 1 Ch $11^{13.\ 14}$ RV) *of land*, it is always to land (and not, as now, to something that can be carried) that the word is applied. It was, however, used of 'a part' or 'a small part' of almost anything, as Erasmus, *Commune Crede*, fol. 18, 'Sanctorum communionem. The communion of saynctes. This parcel certayne men do so understonde, that it do by apposytion expounde the nexte parcel goyng before, whiche is sanctam ecclesiam catholicam, The holy catholike churche.' So T. Adams, *Works*, i. p. xix—'These Meditations, which before were scattered abroad in parcels, are now presented to thee in one entire volume.' Shaks. has it exactly as we now use 'particle,' *I Henry IV.* III. ii. 159—

> 'I will die a hundred thousand deaths
> Ere break the smallest parcel of this vow.'

J. HASTINGS.

PARCHED CORN.—To parch is to scorch, as in Mt 13^{6} Rhem., 'After the sun was up, they parched,' where it is used intransitively. The trans. use is more common, as Sir 43^{3} 'At noon it [the sun] parcheth the country' (ἀναξηραίνει, RV 'drieth'); but it is rarely used except in the ptcp. 'parched.' Parched is used of the ground (Is 35^{7},* Jer 17^{6}, Sir 43^{3}) as we still use it. But it is also used of corn (Lv 23^{14}, Jos 5^{11}, Ru 2^{14}, 1 S 17^{17} 25^{18}, 2 S 17^{28}) in the obsolete sense of 'roasted.' Cf. Haliburton, *Sam Slick, Clockmaker*, xxv—'Marm Porter moved about as brisk as a parched pea.' The process of parching corn is described by Thomson, *Land and Book*, ii. 40 f., 'A quantity of the best ears, not too ripe, are plucked with the stalks attached. These are tied in small parcels, a blazing fire is kindled with dry grass and thorn bushes, and the corn-heads are held in it until the chaff is mostly burned off. When the grain is sufficiently roasted, it is rubbed out in the hand and eaten as there is occasion.' See also Robinson, *BRP* ii. 50 f., 'In the season of harvest, the grains of wheat, not yet fully dry and hard, are roasted in a pan or on an iron plate, and constitute a very palatable article of food. Indeed, the use of it is so common at this season among the labouring classes, that this parched wheat is sold in the markets.' J. HASTINGS.

PARCHMENT.—Parchment is a writing material prepared from the skin of the sheep or goat. 'The skins are first soaked in lime to remove the hair, and are then shaved, washed, dried, stretched, and ground or smoothed with fine chalk or lime and pumice-stone.' The finest kind is made from the skins of calves or kids, and called vellum. The Eng. word 'parchment' is a form of *pergamina* or *pergamena* (Gr. περγαμηνή), an adj. signifying 'of Pergamum,' the city of Pergamum (now Bergamo) in Asia Minor being the place where parchment was invented, or at least brought into use. The *t* is no proper part of the Eng. word which was adopted from the Fr. *parchemin*. Chaucer says (*Bœthius*, v. iv. 14, Skeat's ed. p. 200), 'Thilke Stoiciens wenden that the sowle hadde ben naked of it-self, as a mirour or a clene parchemin, so that alle figures mosten first comen fro thinges fro withoute-forth in-to sowles, and ben empreinted in-to sowles.' The word occurs only in 2 Ti 4^{13}, where St. Paul asks Timothy to bring to him the cloke which he left at Troas, 'and the books, especially the parchments' (καὶ τὰ βιβλία, μάλιστα τὰς μεμβράνας). The Greek word is simply the Lat. *membrana* (properly an adj. *membrana cutis*, from *membrum*, a limb, member of the body), the skin, parchment. This is its only occurrence in bibl. Greek. It is impossible to say what the parchments were, or why they chiefly were wanted. Perhaps they were more precious than the books because parchment and not paper (papyrus); they may even have been vellum.* Perhaps their value was in their contents—the Old Test. in Greek (Kenyon), his diploma of Roman citizenship (Farrar), his 'commonplace books' (Bull), or even a copy of the *Grundschrift* of the Gospels (Latham).

---

* For a conjectural site, cf. Schick's art. on ancient Jerus., *ZDPV*, 1894, p. 13, with the accompanying Plan.

* Is 35^{7} 'The parched ground shall become a pool.' The word rendered 'parched ground' here is שָׁרָב *shārābh*, which occurs also in Is 49^{10} and nowhere else. As the Arab. word for the *mirage* is serâb, and as the idea of the mirage suits the sense here, it has generally been understood that the prophet's meaning is that where there is only the mocking semblance of water there will be found real pools. Cf. *Koran* (Sura xxiv 39—quoted in Ges. and Skinner)—

> 'The works of the unbelievers are like the mirage in the desert,
> The thirsty takes it for water, till he comes up to it and finds that it is nothing.'

But this sense is less suitable to the other passage; so RV has here 'glowing sand' and at 49^{10} 'heat,' with 'mirage' in the marg. at both places (see, further, Cheyne, *Intr. to Is.* 269).

J. HASTINGS.

PARDON.—See FORGIVENESS in vol. ii. p. 56.

PARENT.—See FAMILY in vol. i. p. 848.

PARLOUR occurs in AV as translation of three different Heb. words. 1. עֲלִיָּה, used of the room in which Eglon, king of Moab, was interviewed and assassinated by Ehud, Jg $3^{20. 23. 24. 25}$ (LXX ὑπερῷον, cf. Ac 1^{13} $9^{37. 39}$ 20^{8}). This was an upper storey 'raised above the flat roof of the house at one corner, or upon a tower-like annex to the building,' containing generally only a single apartment, thoroughly ventilated by lattice windows on all sides, and constituting the most comfortable part of the house (see Moore, *Judges*, pp. 96, 98, and cf. also such passages as 1 K $17^{19. 23}$, 2 K 1^{2} $4^{10. 11}$, Jer $22^{13. 14}$, Neh $3^{31.32}$). Moore's rendering 'roof-chamber' is much more suitable than 'parlour,' which is most unfortunately retained by RV, although American RV has 'upper room.' 2. לִשְׁכָּה (RV 'guest-chamber,' LXX κατάλυμα), 1 S 9^{22}. This was a room in which the sacrificial meals at the *bāmāh* were held (cf. the mention in 1 S 1^{18} [in the LXX, according to which the MT ought to be restored—Wellh., Driver, etc.] of a *lishkah* also at Shiloh, near the הֵיכַל יהוה). A suitable rendering would be 'sacrificial dining-room.' In later times the Heb. word was used for a chamber in a palace, Jer 36^{12}, or for the chambers in the Temple court in which the priests lived, Jer $35^{2. 4}$, Ezk 40^{17}, or for store-rooms in the second Temple, Ezr 8^{29}, Neh $10^{38. 39}$. 3. חֶדֶר, 1 Ch 28^{11}, where AV tr. חֲדָרִים הַפְּנִימִים 'inner parlours,' but RV has 'inner chambers.' The most suitable rendering for חֶדֶר is 'chamber.' The Heb. word generally connotes the idea of privacy. The LXX tr. in 1 Ch 28^{11} by ἀποθῆκαι.

In no case is the Eng. word 'parlour' a very suitable tr. of the Heb., and it was formerly less suitable than now. Coming from *parler*, to speak (Low Lat. *parabolare*, to talk; Gr. παραβολή, a parable), it signified in early Eng. the public reception-room, the drawing- (= with-drawing) room being then what is now the parlour, the private apartment of the family.

J. A. SELBIE.

PARMASHTA (פַּרְמַשְׁתָּא; B Μαρμασιμά, A Μαρμασιμνά, *Phermesta*).—The seventh of the ten sons of Haman, put to death by the Jews (Est 9^{9}). The name is perhaps the Sansk. *parmashta*=chief (so Benfey).

PARMENAS (Παρμενᾶς).—One of the 'Seven' appointed, Ac 6^{5}. The name is Greek, a shortened form of *Parmenides*. Nothing further is known of him. He is said by later tradition to have been martyred at Philippi, and is commemorated by the Latins on Jan. 23, by the Greeks on July 28.

A. C. HEADLAM.

PARNACH (פַּרְנָךְ, Φαρνάχ).—The father of Elizaphan, who as prince of Zebulun took part in the dividing of the land, Nu 34^{25}.

PAROSH (פַּרְעֹשׁ 'flea'; Φορός, Φαρές).—The name of a post-exilic family, of which 2172 returned with Zerubbabel, Ezr 2^{3} (=Neh 7^{8}), and 150 with Ezra, Ezr 8^{3}. Seven of the Bĕnê-Parosh had married foreign wives, Ezr 10^{25}. The name appears also in connexion with the repairing of the walls, Neh 3^{25}, and the sealing of the covenant, 10^{14}. The Gr. form **Phoros** is adopted in 1 Es (5^{9} 8^{30} 9^{26}).

PAROUSIA [παρουσία, lit. 'presence,' as opposed to absence (2 Co 10^{10}, Ph 1^{26} 2^{12}), hence the arrival which introduces that presence (cf. Col 1^{6} τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τοῦ παρόντος εἰς ὑμᾶς, 'the gospel which is come unto you'; 1 Co 16^{17} the coming of Stephanas; 2 Co $7^{6. 7}$; 2 Th 2^{9}; 2 P 3^{12} the coming of the Day of God)].—A technical term used in NT to denote the coming of Christ in glory at the end of the age. In this sense it is used Mt $24^{3. 27. 37. 39}$, 1 Co 15^{23}, 1 Th 2^{19} 3^{13} 4^{15} 5^{23}, 2 Th $2^{1. 8}$ (cf. v.^{9} where it is used of Antichrist), Ja $5^{7. 8}$, 2 P 1^{16} 3^{4}; cf. v.^{12}, 1 Jn 2^{28}. Both AV and RV translate 'coming,' although RV adds in the margin the alternative rendering 'presence.' The expression **Second Coming**, while it occurs in later ecclesiastical Greek (*Ev. Nicod.* c. 22 *end*; Just. *Apol.* i. 52, *Trypho*, cc. 40, 110, 121) in contrast to the first coming (*Trypho*, cc. 40, 110, 121), is not found in Scripture. Synonymous expressions are the *Apocalypse* (ἀποκάλυψις; so 2 Th 1^{7} the revelation of the Lord Jesus from heaven; 1 Co 1^{7}, 1 P $1^{7. 13}$ 4^{13}, the revelation of His glory, cf. Lk 17^{30}) and the *Day* (ἡμέρα) of Christ (1 Co 1^{8}, 2 Co 1^{14}, Ph $1^{6. 10}$ 2^{16}, 1 Th 5^{2}, 2 P 3^{10}, 2 Th 2^{2}; cf. Lk 17^{22} one of the days of the Son of Man). The term Parousia differs from these latter in that it emphasizes the element of *permanent presence* which the coming of Christ is to introduce. But it is incorrect, with some modern interpreters (so Warren, *Parousia*, p. 21), so to magnify this element as to reject altogether the meaning 'coming.' Both elements, the coming and the presence, are united in the word as in the doctrine.

Interpreters find reference to several distinct comings of Christ in the NT. There is (1) a physical Advent at His resurrection (so Jn 14^{18} 16^{16}; cf. Holtzmann, *Hdcomm.* iv. 163); (2) a spiritual Advent by the Paraclete, which is to take place during the lifetime of the disciples, and to result in a perpetual dwelling of Christ and the Father in their hearts (Jn 14^{23}; cf. 16^{7}); (3) an Advent to the disciples at death, when Christ will come to receive them into the mansions which He has prepared for them above (Jn 14^{3}, and comments of Holtzmann, *l.c.* iv. p. 160; cf. also 2 Co 5^{8}); (4) a historical Advent for judgment, taking place at different times in the history of the Church, but distinguished from the final Advent at the end of the age (Rev $2^{5.\ 16}$ $3^{3.\ 11}$; cf. also Mt 26^{64} 'Henceforth [ἀπ' ἄρτι] ye shall see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of power, and coming on the clouds of heaven,' which Meyer interprets in the sense of a continual historical revelation of Christ's power and triumph); and, finally, (5) an Advent at the end of the age (Mt 24^{3}) to judge the world, to destroy evil, to reward the saints, and to establish the Kingdom of Glory. While it is with the last of these that we are primarily concerned in the doctrine of the Parousia, it is impossible wholly to ignore the others. The sharp line of distinction which later theology has drawn between the final Advent and these preliminary advents is not always observed in the NT. There are passages, like Mt 26^{64}, where the coming of Christ in glory is represented as a continuous process. There are others, like those in the Fourth Gospel (*e.g.* Jn 14^{23} $16^{7\text{ff.}}$), in which the spiritual advent by the Paraclete takes the place elsewhere filled by the final Advent. It is important, therefore, while clearly recognizing the technical meaning of the phrase, not to interpret our theme too narrowly.

---

* On the early use of vellum see Kenyon, *Palæog. of Gr. Papyr.* p. 112 ff., and Sanday, *Studia Biblica*, iii. 234 ff.

The doctrine of the Parousia is a New Testament doctrine. It had its origin in Jesus' prophecy of His own return, and depends for its existence upon the unique position which He holds in Christian faith. Nevertheless, it is not without preparation in the past. It has its parallel within the OT in the prophetic anticipation of the **Day of the Lord** (*e.g.* Am 5^{18}, Is 2^{12} 13^{6}, Jl 1^{15} 2^{1}, Zeph 3^{8}),—that great crisis of human history when J″ shall be manifested as the Judge and Saviour of Israel, and His Kingdom shall be set up among men (see ESCHATOLOGY in vol. i. p. 735 f.). Many features in the NT doctrine are anticipated in OT. Thus the warlike imagery of Rev $19^{11\text{ff.}}$ finds parallels in Is 13^{4} 34^{6}, Jer 46^{10} etc. The connexion of the resurrection of the dead with the deliverance and judgment of the living is made in Dn $12^{1\text{-}3}$. The great convulsions of 2 P 3^{10} have their anticipation in Is 34^{4}. The signs in the heaven predicted in Mt 24^{29} and parallels are foretold in Is $13^{10\text{ff.}}$, Jl $3^{15.\ 16}$ etc. The renewal of nature prophesied in Is 65^{17} reappears in Rev 21^{1} (cf. Ro 8^{21}, 1 Co 7^{31}). Most striking is the parallel in Dn $7^{13\text{ff.}}$, where the seer has a vision of one like unto a Son of Man coming with the clouds of heaven to receive 'dominion and glory, and a kingdom, that all the peoples, nations, and languages should serve him.'

A further preparation for the doctrine of the Parousia is to be found in the revived Messianic expectation which characterized the period immediately before Christ, and which has left its traces in the contemporary Apocalyptic literature. This literature prepared the way for our doctrine, partly by intensifying the sense of an impending crisis, partly by identifying that crisis, as was not always the case in the OT, with the coming and activity of the Messiah. It is true that in some of the Apocalyptic books there is no mention of a personal Messiah. But in others, and these among the most important (*e.g.* Ps.-Sol, Eth. Enoch, Baruch, 4 Ezra), the Messiah holds a prominent place. The material is so fully presented by Charles in the article on the ESCHATOLOGY OF THE APOCRYPHA AND APOCALYPTICAL LITERATURE in vol. i. p. 741 ff., that it is unnecessary to enter into it here. Suffice it to say that the climax is reached in the great passage in the Eth. Enoch (c. 48 ff.), in which the Son of Man is revealed upon the throne of His glory as the righteous judge both of the living and of the dead. This passage, which in many ways reminds us of Dn 7^{13}, is the closest parallel, outside the NT, to the great judgment scene in Mt $24^{31\text{-}45}$.

The points of contact thus briefly indicated suggest an interesting question. Are we to conceive the doctrine of the Parousia as simply the continuation on Christian soil of the contemporary Jewish expectation? Or does it stand for something new and distinct? Did Jesus and the apostles understand the OT prophecies in substantially the same sense in which they were understood by the Jews of their day, with this difference only, that the Messiah of whose identity the latter were ignorant was known by them to be Jesus? Or did they give to these prophecies, as we know that our Lord gave to the law (Mt 5-7), a deeper and more spiritual interpretation? And if the latter, was this equally true of them all, or must we distinguish within the NT between the teaching of the Master and the more or less imperfect apprehension of the disciples? These are questions of the highest importance, not merely for the understanding of the teaching of Jesus, but of Christianity itself.

The answer to these questions is by no means easy. No part of the biblical material is more difficult to interpret than the eschatological passages. This is true not merely of the Bk. of Revelation,—admittedly the most obscure portion of the NT,—but of the Apocalyptic portions of the Synoptic Gospels as well. Scholars are not agreed how far the language of these passages is to be taken literally, how far symbolically. Moreover, there are critical questions of great intricacy connected with the present condition of the text. There are some (like Haupt) who, while admitting that all the eschatological discourses in the Synoptics are composed of genuine sayings of Jesus, maintain that these sayings are not always given by the evangelists in their original connexion. There are others (Wendt, Weiffenbach, etc.) who hold that in their present form these discourses include foreign elements, the teaching of Jesus having been combined by the evangelists with materials drawn either from Jewish or Jewish-Christian sources. Under the circumstances, a thorough discussion of the critical question would seem to be a necessary prerequisite to an adequate treatment of the doctrine.

Such a discussion it is manifestly impossible to give within the limits of the present article. Nor is it necessary to our immediate purpose. Without settling all the critical questions involved, it may be possible to give a bird's-eye view of the material as it lies in our sources, to discover how far it lends itself to a single consistent interpretation, and to indicate what are the chief problems which it presents, and what are the most important methods proposed for their solution. We shall begin our survey with the Synoptics, partly because in them the eschatological teaching of Jesus is most fully set forth, partly because they present the difficulties connected with our doctrine in their most acute form. We shall then offer a brief survey of the doctrine of the Parousia as it is found in the other NT books, giving special attention to the teaching of St. Paul. The Fourth Gospel, for reasons presently to be explained, will be reserved for separate treatment. In conclusion, we shall briefly indicate the course of the later development, and point out the chief lines which the interpretation of the doctrine has followed. Thus our discussion will cover the following four points:—(i.) The Parousia in the Synoptics; (ii.) the Parousia in Acts, Epistles, and Revelation; (iii.) the Parousia in the Gospel of John; (iv.) the Parousia in the later Church.

i. THE PAROUSIA IN THE SYNOPTICS.—The doctrine of the Parousia is set forth in the Synoptics most fully in the so-called Apocalypse of Jesus (Mk 13, and parallels Mt 24, Lk 21). A prophecy of Jesus as to the destruction of the temple leads to a question by the disciples (so Mt; Mk specifies Peter, James, John, and Andrew; Lk leaves the questioner indefinite), 'when these things shall be, and what shall be the sign when these things are all about to be accomplished' (Mk, Lk). In the discourse which follows, Jesus not merely answers this question, but passes on to give the signs of His own Advent in glory, which He represents as following immediately after that tribulation (Mt 24^{29}; cf. Mk 13^{24}, otherwise Lk)—a connexion for which Mt has already prepared the way in the introductory question, 'When shall these things be, and what shall be the sign of thy Parousia, and of the end of the age?' After the prediction of certain preliminary woes (the coming of false Messiahs, wars and rumours of wars, the rising up of nation against nation, famines, and earthquakes; Lk adds signs from heaven) and a warning to the disciples to be firm under the persecutions which are to come, not merely at the hands of the civil and religious authorities (the synagogue, Mk, Lk; the Gentiles, Mt), but of their relatives and friends,—persecutions incidental to that world-wide preaching of the gospel (Mt 24^{14}, Mk 13^{10}; otherwise Lk, who omits all reference to the preaching of the gospel to the world) which must precede the end (Mt 24^{13}), but in which they will be supported by the Holy Ghost (Mk) and preserved from all harm (Lk),—He goes on to predict the destruction of Jerusalem, and the miseries connected therewith. The ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION (wh. see) of Mt and Mk is replaced in Lk by the Roman armies, but the general situation is the same in all three Gospels. Then follows in Mt and Mk a renewed warning against the false Messiahs who will arise at that time, working signs and wonders, and seeking to deceive the very elect. Many shall say 'Lo here, or lo there,' but they are not to be deceived. When the Christ comes there will be no possibility of mistaking Him, for His Parousia will be like the lightning which 'cometh forth from the east and is seen even unto the west' (Mt 24^{27}). This last saying, which Mk omits, is given by Lk in another connexion (17^{24}). It is therefore probable that Mt 24$^{27f.}$ formed no part of the original text, a suggestion which Weiss (*Marcusev.* p. 424; cf. Briggs, *Mess. Gosp.* p. 151) extends to the previous context omitted by Lk (Mt 24$^{23-26}$, Mk 13$^{21-23}$). After the destruction of Jerusalem follows the Parousia. Mt and Mk make the connexion immediate. 'But in those days, after that tribulation, the sun shall be darkened,' etc. (Mk 13^{24}; Mt is even stronger, introducing the word εὐθέως; 'immediately after those days'). Lk, on the other hand, introduces between the destruction and the Parousia certain 'times of the Gentiles' (21^{24}), which seem to take the place of the preaching of the gospel to the Gentiles in Mt and Mk. All the evangelists represent the Parousia as preceded by certain theophanic signs in the heaven (cf. Jl 3$^{15.16}$ 2$^{1.10}$, Is 13^{10}). Lk adds, 'upon the earth distress of nations in perplexity for the roaring of the sea and the billows; men fainting for fear and for expectation of the things which are coming on the world' (21$^{25.26}$). Peculiar to Mt is a reference to 'the sign of the Son of Man in heaven' and the mourning of the tribes of the earth (24^{30}; cf. Zec 12$^{10-14}$). The Parousia itself is described in language suggestive of Dn 7$^{13.14}$ 'And then shall they see the Son of Man coming in clouds with great power and glory' (so all three evangelists). 'And he shall send forth his angels (Mt adds 'with a great sound of a trumpet'), and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other' (Mt, Mk). As to what takes place after this, we are not told in this place. The 'Apocalypse' concludes with certain further indications of time. By the parable of the fig-tree, Jesus indicates the close connexion between the signs and the Parousia, and ends with the explicit statement given by all three evangelists, 'Verily, I say unto you, this generation shall not pass away till all these things be accomplished. Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away,' to which Mt and Mk add the qualifying clause, 'But of that day or that hour knoweth no one, not even the angels in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father (only)' (cf. Ac 1^{7} 'It is not for you to know times or seasons which the Father hath set within his own authority').

The exegetical difficulties of this passage are such as to render a consistent interpretation of the present text difficult. On the one hand, the account in Mt and Mk associates the Parousia with the destruction of Jerusalem, and puts both within the lifetime of the generation then living (cf. Gould, *Mark*, 240 ff.). In Lk the connexion between the destruction and the Parousia is not so close, but the closing verses (Lk 21$^{32f.}$) agree with the other evangelists in placing all the events described within a single generation. On the other hand, we have in Mt (24^{14}) and Mk (13^{10}) references to a world-wide preaching of the gospel preceding, and in Lk (21^{24}) a prophecy of certain times of the Gentiles following the destruction of Jerusalem. If it were not for Mt 24^{14}, Mk 13^{10}, it would be easy exegetically to bring the entire prophecy of Mt and Mk within the limits of a single generation. On the other hand, were it not for Lk 21^{32}, it would be natural to regard the account in Lk as postponing the Parousia to a distant future—a postponement natural in view of the later date of the Gospel. Various attempts are made to meet the difficulty. It is claimed that γενεά may mean an indefinite period of time (Dorner). But, apart from the linguistic objections to this translation, it does not overcome the close connexion between the destruction and the Parousia. One of the most elaborate attempts to solve the difficulty without recourse to interpolation has been made by Briggs (*Mess. Gosp.* p. 156 ff.), who distinguishes between the *time* and the *signs*. To the first he finds reference in Mt 24^{14}, Mk 13^{10}, Lk 21^{24}, where the text points to an extended period. On the other hand, only the signs are referred to in the 'all these things' which are to be accomplished within the generation then living (cf. Mt 24^{34}, Mk 13^{30}, Lk 21^{32}). According to this view, Jesus predicted His Parousia after an unknown period (εὐθέως = the prophetic קָרוֹב), but the signs within a single generation, a position which is certainly difficult to reconcile with the close connexion between the signs and the Advent in the parable of the fig-tree. Under the circumstances, many scholars believe that the difficulty can be most easily solved by the hypothesis of composite origin. E. Haupt (*Die eschatologischen Aussagen Jesu*) argues that the evangelist has brought together in this passage a number of sayings originally spoken by Jesus on different occasions. Others hold to the interpolation either of a Jewish (so Weizsäcker, J. Weiss) or of a Jewish-Christian Apocalypse (Colani, Pfleiderer, Keim, *et al.*). As constructed by the most recent and careful scholars (Weiffenbach, *Der Wiederkunftsgedanke Jesu*, p. 170 f.; Wendt, *Die Lehre Jesu*, i. 10 ff.), this consists of three sections: Mk 13$^{7-9}$ and parallels giving the beginning of tribulation; vv.$^{14-20}$ giving its height (the destruction of Jerusalem); and vv.$^{24-27}$ giving the Advent at the conclusion of the tribulation. Vv.$^{30.31}$, which conclude the 'Apocalypse,' put the entire content of the prophecy within the generation then living. After these excisions, there remain in the original text only the prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem, and the prediction by the Saviour of His own return at an hour of which He knows not (cf. the reconstruction in Weiffenbach, p. 182 ff.; Wendt, i. pp. 10, 11).

Apart from this 'Apocalypse,' the Parousia of Jesus is predicted in the Synoptics in many passages. Thus in Mt 16^{24-28} (cf. Mk 8^{34}–9^{1}, Lk 9^{23-27}) Jesus predicts His Advent in glory with His angels to reward every man according to his works, adding, 'Verily I say unto you, There be some of them that stand here, who shall in no wise taste of death till they see the Son of Man coming in his kingdom' (so Mt; Mk 'the kingdom of God come with power,' Lk 'the kingdom of God'). At His farewell over Jerusalem, He declares that they shall not see Him again until they shall say, 'Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord' (Mt 23^{37-39}, Lk 13^{35}). When declaring His Messiahship before the high priest, He predicts that His judges shall 'see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of power, and coming on the clouds of heaven' (Mt 26^{64}, Mk 14^{62}). So in interpreting the parable of the tares (Mt 13^{36}) He declares that at the end of the age 'the Son of Man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that cause stumbling, and them that do iniquity, and shall cast them into the furnace of fire: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth,' adding, 'Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father.' Especially important is the great judgment-scene, Mt 25^{31-45} 'When the Son of Man shall come in his glory, and all the angels with him, then shall he sit on the throne of his glory: and before him shall be gathered all the nations; and he shall separate them one from another, as the shepherd separateth the sheep from the goats.'

As to the *time* of the Advent we have conflicting evidence. Mk 9^{1} and parallels represent it as within the lifetime of the disciples. There is nothing in the context leading us to discriminate two Advents, as has sometimes been done. The same is true of Mt 10^{23}. In referring to the terrible persecutions which are to come upon the disciples (cf. Lk 17^{22}), He declares that they shall not make the circuit of the cities of Israel in their flight before the Son of Man come. On the other hand, Ac 1^{7}, which seems to take the place in Lk of Mt 24^{36}, Mk 13^{32}, makes the time of the Advent unknown. Lk represents the parable of the pounds as spoken to those who supposed that the kingdom would immediately appear (19^{11}; cf. 12^{45} 'my Lord delayeth,' etc.). In Mt 26^{64} the coming, which in Mk (14^{62}) seems to be a single event, is transformed after the analogy of the Fourth Gospel into a continuous process, beginning immediately after Christ's death. The two points continually emphasized are (1) the necessity of *watchfulness*, since the hour of the Parousia is uncertain (so the parables of the servants, Mk 13^{33-37}, Mt 24^{42}, Lk $12^{37.38}$; cf. Lk 21^{34-36} the day coming 'suddenly as a snare'; of the goodman taken unaware by the thief, Mt $24^{43.44}$, Lk $12^{39.40}$; of the virgins, Mt 25^{1-13}, cf. Lk 12^{35}; the reference to the days of Lot and of Noah, Lk 17^{26-30}). (2) The necessity for *faithfulness*, since, though the Lord seem to delay, He will surely come and reward His servants according to their works (Mt 24^{45-51}, Lk 12^{41-46}, and the parable of the talents Mt 25^{14-30}, and the pounds Lk 19^{11-27}; cf. Lk 18^{8} 'When the Son of Man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?').

It thus appears that the Synoptics represent Jesus as predicting His own return, now within His own generation, now after an indefinite future. This return is to be preceded by great trials, which none but the faithful shall be able to endure. The return itself is pictured as a glorious coming on the clouds to punish evil-doers, to reward the saints, and to establish that kingdom predicted from the foundation of the world. This coming is by Christ Himself associated with the end of the age and the day of final judgment, which is represented, now, after the fashion of OT, as a destruction of all the enemies of the Messiah before His face; now, as in the great judgment-scene in Mt, as a formal process in a law court in which all the nations are assembled to receive the sentence of the judge. For the disciples it introduces the time of their redemption (Lk 21^{28}), a period of joy and glad communion with Christ, set forth now by the figure of the marriage feast, in which the Master Himself ministers to His faithful servants, now by that of the kingdom in which the disciples enjoy special honours, sitting upon thrones and judging the twelve tribes of Israel.

Those interpreters like Wendt, Weiffenbach, etc., who regard the Apocalypse of Jesus as of Jewish-Christian origin, explain the other Apocalyptic features in the Synoptic doctrine as due to a similar source. Those who refuse to take this view are obliged either (1) to explain away those passages which predict an Advent within the generation then living; or (2) preserving the connexion to regard Jesus as actually predicting during the lives of men then living a visible advent in the clouds—a prediction which was not fulfilled; or (3) to understand the language of Jesus symbolically as the prediction, in language taken partly from OT, partly from the Apocalypses of the time, of an advent which, while seemingly external and catastrophic, is really to be understood after the analogy of Mt 26^{64}, Rev $2^{5.16}$ $3^{3.11}$ and Jn 14^{23} as spiritual and continuous.

ii. The Parousia in Acts, the Epistles, and Revelation.—The expectation of a speedy Advent of Christ to establish the Messianic kingdom is one of the most prominent features of the apostolic hope. It is a part of the gospel of St. Paul no less truly than of that of the Jewish Christians. As in the Synoptics, it is ordinarily associated with the judgment at the end of the age, the only certain exception being Revelation, which distinguishes a preliminary from the final judgment, associating the former, which, after OT analogy, it conceives as a battle-scene, with the Advent of Christ, and inserting between this and the final judgment a millennial kingdom of 1000 years. Cf. Millennium. Thus the first chapter of Acts begins with the prediction of the angels to the weeping disciples that 'this Jesus . . . shall so come in like manner as ye beheld him going into heaven' (1^{11}). Accordingly we find St. Peter regarding the gift of the Spirit at Pentecost as a sign of that impending Day of J″ to which OT prophecy looks forward (2^{20}), and urging the Jews to pray that God may send the Christ whom He hath appointed, even Jesus, whom the heavens must receive until the time of the restoration of all things (3^{19-21}). To Cornelius he preaches Christ as the judge of quick and dead (10^{42}); while St. Paul warns the Athenians to repent, inasmuch as God 'hath appointed a day in the which he will judge the world in righteousness by the man whom he hath ordained' (17^{31}; cf. 24^{15}, the resurrection of just and unjust). Equally explicit is the testimony of the Epistles. St. James urges patience until the coming of the Lord, and warns Christians not to judge one another, since 'the judge standeth before the doors' ($5^{7.9}$). St. Peter regards the present tribulations of Christians as the beginning of that judgment which is presently to overtake 'the ungodly and the sinner' (1 P $4^{17.18}$), and the preceding context (v.^{13}) shows that reference is had to the Parousia. St. Paul, while in certain passages associating the final judgment directly with God (so Ro 1^{18} $2^{2.3.7}$, and especially vv.$^{5.8}$ 'the day of wrath and of the revelation of the righteous judgment of God, who will render to every man according to his works'; cf. He 10^{30} 12^{23}, Rev 20^{11}), elsewhere explicitly connects the judgment with Christ (so Ro 2^{16} 'the day when God shall judge the secrets of men according to my gospel, by Jesus Christ'; 2 Co 5^{10} 'the judgment-seat of Christ'; 2 Th 1^{6-8}, 2 Ti 4^{1} 'Christ Jesus, who shall judge the quick and the dead'). At this judgment not only must Christians themselves be tested to see whether their work shall abide (1 Co 3^{13}), but they themselves shall take part as judges in the great world assize, which includes even the angels (1 Co 6^{3}).

But although the Parousia is thus associated with the judgment, it is not upon this aspect of Christ's return that the Epistles lay the most stress. The Advent is to introduce that salvation which is the end of their faith (1 P 1^{7-9}; cf. Ro 13^{11}, He 9^{23}); that redemption for which they were sealed (Eph 4^{30}; cf. 1^{14}, Ro 8^{23}). Then shall be established 'the eternal kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ' (2 P 1^{11}; cf. 2 Th 1^{5}, 2 Ti 4^{18}, Ja 2^{5}). Then shall appear that heavenly Jerusalem in which there shall be no more sin and sorrow (Rev $21^{2\mathrm{ff.}}$. It is true that Revelation postpones the appearance of the heavenly Jerusalem till after the Millennium, but the conception itself is found in other books which show no trace of millenarianism, *e.g.* Gal 4^{28}, He 12^{22}). Then shall be revealed the glory of Christ (1 P 4^{13}; cf. Tit 2^{13}); and His followers, renewed in body (1 Th 5^{23}, Ph $3^{20.21}$, Ro 8^{23}), soul (1 Th 5^{23}), and spirit (1 Th 5^{23}, 1 Co 5^{3-6}), shall be manifested with Him in glory (Col 3^{4}, 2 Th 1^{10}), and rejoice in the vision and likeness of Christ (Ph 3^{21}, 1 Jn 3^{2}). Then shall they receive that inheritance incorruptible and undefiled and that fadeth not away, which, during this present period of tribulation, is reserved for them in heaven (1 P $1^{4\mathrm{ff.}}$; cf. Eph 1^{14}); that rest for which now they vainly long (2 Th 1^{7}); that crown of life which the Lord has promised to all who love His appearing (2 Ti 4^{8}, cf. 1 Co 9^{25}, Ja 1^{12}). This is the Day of Visitation (1 P 2^{12}), that consummation for which the whole creation, now groaning in pain, longs and cries, the revelation of the children of God in the liberty of that glory when all sin shall have ceased, and the bondage of corruption have been done away (Ro $8^{21.22}$).

To the emphasis which St. Paul lays upon the Parousia as introducing the kingdom of glory is doubtless to be attributed the fact that he speaks only of a resurrection of believers (1 Th 4^{16}, Ph 3^{11}, 1 Co 15^{23}). From this fact many have concluded that St. Paul was a chiliast, distinguishing, like Revelation, between the first resurrection introducing the millennial kingdom and the final resurrection of all men before the last judgment. In favour of this view is quoted 1 Co $15^{23.24}$, where St. Paul distinguishes between the resurrection of believers and the end when Christ shall deliver up the kingdom to the Father. Cf. MILLENNIUM. But, apart from possible exegetical objections (Salmond, pp. 520 ff., 561 ff.), this view not only ignores those passages in which St. Paul seems to associate the final judgment with the Parousia (*e.g.* Ro 2^{16}; cf. Pfleiderer, *Paulinismus*^{2}, p. 280 f.), but also fails to account for the admitted fact that St. Paul nowhere speaks of a higher glory to follow that of the Messianic kingdom.

As to the *manner* of the Advent, with the exception of the Apocalyptic passages, 2 Th 2^{8}, Rev 19, which follow the warlike imagery of the OT, it is represented, as in the Synoptic Gospels, as a coming on the clouds of heaven (Rev 1^{7}, Ac 1^{11}, 1 Th $4^{16.17}$), accompanied by hosts of angels, to gather His saints living and dead into His heavenly kingdom. The fullest account is 1 Th $4^{16\mathrm{ff.}}$ 'For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God; and the dead in Christ shall rise first. Then we that are alive, that are left, shall together with them be caught up in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air. And so shall we be ever with the Lord'; cf. 1 Co 15^{52}. This coming is further associated with a renewal of nature (Ro 8^{21}, 1 Co 7^{31}; cf. Ac 3^{21}, Rev 21^{1}), after the fashion of Is 65^{17}, a transformation which 2 P represents as a great world conflagration in which all the present elements shall be dissolved and melt away in fervent heat (3^{10}, cf. He 12^{26}).

As to the *time* of the Advent, it is near (Ja 5^{8}, 1 P 4^{7}, He 10^{25}, Rev 22^{7}, Ro 13^{11}, 1 Co 7^{29}). 'The Lord is at hand' (Ph 4^{5}). 'Yet a little while, and he that cometh will come, and will not tarry' (He 10^{37}). St. Paul expects His arrival within his own lifetime (1 Th 4^{15}, 1 Co $15^{51.52}$). Yet the exact time is unknown (1 Th 5^{2}, 1 Ti 6^{15}). There are certain preliminary signs which must be accomplished (the destruction of Antichrist, 2 Th 2^{8}; the conversion of Israel, Ro $11^{25.28}$; cf. Eph 1^{10} 'a dispensation of the fulness of the times'). It is with these preliminary signs (the things shortly to come to pass, 1^{1}) that Revelation chiefly deals. The coming to which the seer looks forward most vividly is not the Advent of the Last Day, but the impending judgment which awaits unfaithful Christians (Rev $2^{5.16}$ $3^{3.11}$). When the day comes it will be as a thief in the night (1 Th 5^{2}, 2 P 3^{10}). Hence there is need of patience (Ja 5^{7}), and of watchfulness (1 Th 5^{8}). Even in St. Paul's day there were those who doubted the resurrection (1 Co 15^{12}; cf. 2 Ti $2^{17.18}$). In the later books such doubt has become common. 2 Peter speaks of mockers who ask, 'Where is the promise of his coming? For from the day the fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation,' and answers their objection by reminding them that one day with the Lord is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day. 'The Lord is not slack concerning his promise, as some count slackness, but is long-suffering to you-ward, not wishing that any should perish' (3^{3-9}).

From this brief survey the importance of the Parousia in the apostolic thought has been made manifest. Especially significant in this connexion is the teaching of St. Paul. The Christian to St. Paul is indeed already a spiritual man (Ro $8^{9.10}$), and as such a new creature (2 Co 5^{17}). Even in this life he rejoices in the peace of Christ (Ro 15^{13}), and sits with Him in heavenly places (Eph 2^{6}, cf. He 6^{5}). But his full salvation lies in the future, in that completed kingdom to which his thought continually turns (see SALVATION). Entrance to this kingdom is the goal of all his endeavour (Ph 3^{11-14}). By the hope of it he is sustained when all seems darkest. Without it he would be of all men the most pitiable (1 Co 15^{19}). Thus the entire thought of St. Paul is dominated by the expectation of the speedy coming of Christ. This expectation he finds expressed in the frequent celebration of the Eucharist, which shows forth the death of Christ 'until he come' (1 Co 11^{26}). It gives character to his ethics, leading him to desire for himself and for his disciples freedom from those family cares which may render their service less efficient during that short time which remains before the coming of the Lord (1 Co 7). It is ever present in his prayers, whether, in his fear lest he himself fail to reach the goal, he commit himself to Him who is able to keep that which he has entrusted to Him against that day (2 Ti 1^{12}), or, in his fatherly anxiety for those converts who are to be his glory and crown at the Parousia (2 Co 1^{14}), he prays that the good work begun in them may be perfected unto the day of Jesus Christ (Ph 1^{6}).

This sense of the nearness of the time leads to a passing over in St. Paul's thought of the period between death and the Advent. The middle state, when referred to, is described as a sleep (1 Th 4^{14}, 1 Co $15^{20.51}$), from which the disciples of Christ shall awake to share the gladness and triumph of the Parousia. This is not, indeed, always the case. In certain important passages (2 Co 5^{1-9}, Ph $1^{21.23}$) we find St. Paul's thought passing over into that mysterious region, and expressing the hope of a communion with Christ which nothing can disturb, not even death before the Parousia. Especially significant in this connexion is 2 Co $5^{1ff.}$, where St. Paul associates this hope with the possession of a new body to be put on at death. In this much-discussed passage some interpreters find evidence of a departure from St. Paul's earlier views of the future—a departure to be accounted for only on the ground of experiences which have led him to revise his former expectation of himself living to witness the Parousia, and hence have brought into the foreground of his thinking the life immediately after death. Hence they attribute to it great historic significance, as marking the transition between St. Paul's own earlier thinking and that type of doctrine represented in the Fourth Gospel. See especially Schmiedel, *Hdcomm.* ii. pt. i. pp. 200–202. Cf. also art. RESURRECTION.

iii. THE PAROUSIA IN THE FOURTH GOSPEL.—With the Fourth Gospel, we find ourselves transported into a different atmosphere. The Coming at the Last Day is not, indeed, denied (cf. 5^{29} 6^{40} 21^{23}, 1 Jn 2^{28}, possibly also 14^{3}; cf. Stevens, *Joh. Theol.* p. 333), but it is no longer the centre of interest. The coming on which Jesus lays most stress in His farewell words to His disciples is not His judicial coming at the end of the age, but His personal Advent to His disciples, whether physical at His resurrection or spiritual in the gift of the Paraclete (Jn $14^{18.23}$). This fact is the more significant, because these discourses take the place in the Fourth Gospel of the 'Apocalypse' of the Synoptics with its prediction of the Parousia and the destruction of Jerusalem. The Day to which reference is repeatedly made in these discourses (14^{20} 16^{26}) is not the 'Last Day' of the judgment, but the gospel dispensation. So of the allied conceptions, the resurrection and the judgment. The resurrection at the Last Day is not denied, but it is not upon this that Jesus lays the most stress, but rather upon that present resurrection which introduces a man here and now into the life which shall never end. 'I know,' says Martha, 'that [my brother] shall rise again in the resurrection at the last day.' Jesus answers, 'I am the resurrection and the life. He that believeth on me, though he die, yet shall he live: and whosoever liveth and believeth on me shall never die' (11^{24-26}; cf. the passages which speak of eternal life as a present possession, *e.g.* 6^{54} 17^{3}). So of the judgment of which Christ is the agent. While its decisions are not finally disclosed till the last day, they are being passed upon men here and now. 'He that believeth not hath been judged already' (3^{18}). This emphasis on present spiritual life is not, indeed, peculiar to St. John. We have found it already in St. Paul, who no less than St. John has the doctrine of a spiritual resurrection. But with St. Paul the chief stress falls on the future, with St. John on the present. This change of emphasis, while no doubt chiefly due to the mystic tone which pervades the entire Gospel, may be partly explained by the changed conditions under which it was composed. St. Paul and his generation have passed away. The period between death and the last day looms ever larger, as an increasing company of believers pass over into the unseen world. The Church is firmly established as an institution in the world, and looks forward to a period of continued existence. The Antichrist to be feared is no longer external but internal; not a hostile power to appear at the end of the ages, but those false teachers who are already working in the Church (1 Jn 2^{18}). It is natural, then, that chief stress should be laid on present communion with Christ—a communion not only real and precious here, but continuing unbroken in the life immediately after death. In such a theology the Parousia is no longer, as with the Synoptics, the centre of interest. Instead of a sudden catastrophe, introducing the disciples into a new order of existence, we have a gradual process, of which the 'Last Day' is only the final consummation. Cf. Holtzmann, *Hdcomm.* iv. 177.

We have thus completed our survey of the NT material, and we find that it presents us with two distinct types of thought. To the one, represented most fully in the 'Apocalypse' of the Synoptics and the earlier Epistles of St. Paul, but present also in most of the other books, the Parousia is conceived after the analogy of the contemporary Jewish Apocalypses as a great catastrophe, bringing to a conclusion the present order of the universe, and introducing the new age in which alone the Kingdom of God can be realized. To the other, represented most fully in the Fourth Gospel, but having points of contact in Revelation, in such Synoptic passages as Mt 26^{64} 18^{20}, and in the Pauline doctrine of the present union of the believer with Christ, the Parousia is rather the completion of an order of things which is already existing, than the beginning of one which is new. The question naturally presents itself as to which of these two types most fairly represents the teaching of our Lord? Are we to think of Him (with Holtzmann and others) as sharing the common expectation of the early disciples of a visible Advent in glory within the first generation? And does the Fourth Gospel represent the fading out of this early expectation, in view of later experiences? Or is the very opposite the truth? And is it the fact (as E. Haupt contends) that the Fourth Gospel presents us with the true eschatology of Jesus—a teaching which, because of its depth and originality, the disciples were able only gradually to apprehend? It is perhaps not possible to answer this question from a study of the eschatological passages alone. The view taken must be determined in part by considerations drawn from Jesus' teaching as a whole. Here, as elsewhere, our Lord's doctrine of the Kingdom is fundamental. Those who give the phrase a purely eschatological meaning, and minimize Jesus' teaching concerning the present Kingdom (*e.g.* J. Weiss), will naturally interpret the passages concerning the Parousia after the analogy of their Jewish parallels. Those, on the other hand, who see in Jesus' doctrine of the Kingdom something radically new, and who find this newness in His assurance that the Messianic Kingdom is already present in the little company of believers who accept His gospel, will favour a spiritual interpretation. Faced with a difficulty on either side, it will seem to them easier to account for those passages which are inconsistent with such an interpretation as due to an imperfect apprehension by the disciples of the Master's meaning, than to believe that He, who in all other respects possessed an insight so much clearer than His contemporaries, should, in the matter of eschatology alone, have had nothing new to contribute.

iv. THE PAROUSIA IN THE LATER CHURCH.—No doctrine was more prominent in the early Church than that of the Parousia. It was the great hope by which the Christians were supported under the persecution and contempt which were so frequently their lot. It meets us not only among the Jewish Christians, with whose expectation of a conquering Messiah it was naturally in accord, but among the Gentile Christians as well. In many cases, as in the Canonical Apocalypse, it is associated with the hope of a Millennial Kingdom, preceding the final judgment—a Kingdom conceived now carnally (Papias), now spiritually (Barnabas). See MILLENNIUM. In others, as in most of the NT books, it is associated with the final judgment, and regarded as introducing the world to come. By Marcion and the Gnostics it was rejected as part of the Jewish corruption of the gospel. The Montanists preached a speedy Advent, and looked for the setting up of a Millennial Kingdom at Pepuza. The extravagances of their doctrine, together with the growing strength and self-consciousness of the Church, led to a gradual shifting of emphasis to other doctrines. Tertullian, Irenæus, and Hippolytus still look for a speedy Advent; but with the Alexandrine Fathers we enter a new circle of thought. As in the Fourth Gospel, the Parousia is not denied, but another set of conceptions is placed in the foreground. With Augustine's identification of the Millennium with the period of the Church militant, the Second Advent is postponed to a distant future, and the way prepared for that view of eschatology which has been on the whole controlling ever since.

Into the history of modern interpretation we cannot enter. We may distinguish four different positions, each of which has its advocates—(1) It is possible with Marcion and the Gnostics to regard the hope of the Parousia as a remnant of Judaism, useful indeed in supporting the faith of the disciples in the trying days of the beginnings, but without foundation in fact, and so destined to give place in time to a higher and purer set of conceptions. But this involves the assumption of a mistake not only on the part of the apostles, but on that of Jesus Himself, since it seems impossible to deny not only that Jesus predicted His own return, but that this expectation was an important element in His Messianic consciousness. (2) It is possible, with Augustine and the majority of theologians since his day, to regard the Parousia as a literal coming on the clouds to judgment, but to postpone this coming to an indefinite future, concentrating attention in the meantime upon the life immediately after death. But this does violence to those passages, both in the apostolic teaching and in that of Jesus, which predict the Parousia within the generation then living. (3) It is possible, with Russell, to identify the Parousia with the destruction of Jerusalem, and so to regard it as past. But this is open to the objection that the present condition of the Church does not correspond to that glorious state to which the NT writers look forward. (4) It is possible, finally, following the suggestion of the Fourth Gospel, to regard the Parousia rather as a dispensation than as a single event, beginning with the spiritual Advent by the risen Jesus, and continuing on through all the intermediate experiences of the Church until that 'Last Day' when the work of salvation shall be fully accomplished, and the kingdoms of the world shall have become the kingdoms of the Lord and of His Christ. See also MAN OF SIN, MILLENNIUM, and PAUL, p. 729 f.

LITERATURE.—The art. 'Second Advent' in Kitto's *Bibl. Cycl.* i. p. 75, which gives references to the older Eng. literature; Warren, *The Parousia*; Russell, *The Parousia*; Salmond, *The Christian Doctrine of Immortality*; Beet, *The Last Things*; Terry, *Biblical Apocalyptics*; Dieckmann, *Die Parousie Christi* (1898); Schmoller, *Die Lehre vom Reiche Gottes in d. Schr. des NT* (1891); and the appropriate sections in the Biblical Theologies of Weiss, Beyschlag, Holtzmann, and Stevens.—For the doctrine of Jesus, consult Weiffenbach, *Der Wiederkunftsgedanke Jesu*, where the older critical literature is fully given; Baldensperger, *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*, p. 193 ff.; Wendt, *Die Lehre Jesu*, ii. p. 543 ff. [Eng. tr. ii. pp. 265-307]; Bruce, *The Kingdom of God*, p. 273 ff.; Briggs, *The Messiah of the Gospels*, esp. pp. 132-165; Schwarzkopff, *Weissagungen Jesu*; E. Haupt, *Die eschatologischen Aussagen Jesu* (1895); Pünjer, 'Die Wiederkunftsreden Jesu' (*ZwTh*, 1878); J. Weiss, *Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes*, also *SK*, 1892, p. 246 ff.; Jülicher, *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu*; Gould, *Comm. on Mark*, p. 240 ff.—For the teaching of St. Paul, cf. Pfleiderer, *Paulinismus*^{2}, p. 274 ff.; Kabisch, *Die Eschatologie des Paulus*, p. 228 ff.; Briggs, *Messiah of the Apostles*; Stevens, *The Pauline Theology*, p. 339 ff.—For the teaching of St. John, cf. Stevens, *The Johannine Theology*, p. 329 ff.; Holtzmann, *Neutestamentliche Theologie*, ii. p. 511 ff. Much information may be obtained also from the special notes on eschatology in Holtzmann, *Hdcomm.* (*e.g.* ii. p. 200 ff., iv. p. 177). See also the literature given under MILLENNIUM.

W. ADAMS BROWN.

PARSHANDATHA (פַּרְשַׁנְדָּתָא; Φαρσάν, Φαρσανεστάν).—The eldest of the sons of Haman, put to death by the Jews in Shushan (Est 9^7). For the etymology Benfey suggests Pers. *fraçna-data* = 'given by prayer.'

PARTHIANS (Πάρθοι; Vulg. *Parthi*).—This nationality is mentioned only in Ac 2^9, in which passage the descendants of Jews that had settled in Parthia and afterwards returned to Jerusalem are clearly intended (see v.^{5}). The Parthians inhabited a mountainous district, situated south of the Caspian Sea, having on its north Hyrcania, on its south Carmania, on its west Media, and on its east Ariana. Justin (bk. xli.) describes them as Scythian exiles, the word Parthian meaning 'refugee' in their language. The tract where they located themselves is a very fertile one, and is watered by a number of small streams that flow down from the mountains, liable to sudden and violent floods on the melting of the snow thereon, but of exceedingly small volume in summer-time. The principal mountains were the Labus or Labutas (identified with the Sobod Koh), the Parachoathras (Elburz), and the Masdoranus. It was divided into several districts, of which Camisene on the north, Parthyene on the south-west of Camisene, Choarene on the west, Apavarticene on the south, and Tabiene along the borders of Carmania Deserta, were the principal. From the second of these divisions, Parthyene, the country is regarded as having received its name. In ancient times it was, to all appearance, much more densely populated than now, as, according to Fraser (*Khorassan*, p. 245), the tract contains the ruins of many large and apparently handsome cities; and Ptolemy relates that it had 25 large towns. The capital of the district was Hecatompylos, and Darius Hystaspis (*Behistun Inscription*) refers to two other cities—Vispauzatiš, where a battle took place, and Patigrabana.

It is doubtful whether any credence can be given to the various stories of the origin of the Parthians. Moses of Chorene calls them descendants of Abraham by Keturah, and John of Malala agrees with Strabo (xi. 9, sec. 2), Arrian (Fr. 1), and Justin (xli. 1-4), in regarding them as Scythians brought by Sesostris from Scythia when he returned from that country and settled in a district of Persia. The first authentic information about them, however, is given by Darius Hystaspis, who speaks of them as inhabiting the tract with which they are generally associated. However faithful they may have been to their suzerain in the centuries preceding the rule of the great Persian, on the accession of Darius they evidently joined with the Hyrcanians in support of the pretender Fravartis. Darius' father, Hystaspes, went against them with those who were faithful to his son's cause, and defeated the allied army of the rebels at Vispauzatiš, on the 22nd of the month Viyakhna. To all appearance, however, the Parthians and Hyrcanians were far from being beaten, and Hystaspes was in want of reinforcements. Darius therefore at once sent to him an army of Persians from Raga. With these Hystaspes once more took the field against the allies, and a second battle was fought at Patigrabana, on the 1st of Garmapada, the result being a second victory for the Persians. 'Thereafter,' says Darius, 'was the land mine. This did I in Parthia.'

According to Herodotus (iii. 93), the Parthians were in the 16th satrapy of the Persian empire as divided by Darius, and they had along with them the Chorasmians, the Sogdians, and the Areians. This united province had to pay to the royal treasury a sum of 300 talents of silver. In the war of Xerxes against the Greeks, according to Herodotus (vii. 66), the Parthians were in the same division as the Bactrians, and had the same commander as the Chorasmians. To all appearance they remained faithful to the Persians to the end, serving with them at Arbela against Alexander, to whom, however, they made but a feeble resistance when he passed through their country on his way to Bactria (Arr. *Exp. Alex.* iii. 8).

After the death of Alexander they formed part of the domain of the Seleucidæ, but revolted about B.C. 256, under Arsaces, who founded the native dynasty known as the Arsacidæ. This dynasty contained no fewer than thirty-one kings, and lasted from about B.C. 248 until about A.D. 226, when Sassan founded upon its ruins the dynasty of the Sassanidæ. The family of the Arsacidæ, however, continued to exist in Armenia as an independent dynasty.

Having founded the empire of the Parthians, which was to overshadow that of the Romans, Arsaces devoted himself to the development of his kingdom, and founded, in the mountain Zapaortenon, the city of Dara. His son Tiridates is supposed to have defeated Seleucus. Arsaces III. (Artabanus I.) came into conflict with Antiochus III. Arsaces V. (Phraates I.) subdued the Mardi, and, notwithstanding that he had many sons, following an old Persian custom, he left his throne to his brother Arsaces VI. (Mithridates I., B.C. 164–139). This king is renowned as having greatly extended the limits of his kingdom. Having subdued the Medes, the Elymeans, the Persians, and the Bactrians, he enlarged his dominions into India, beyond the conquests of Alexander. He also overcame the king of Syria, and added Babylonia and Mesopotamia to his empire, which now had the Ganges as its eastern and the Euphrates as its western boundary. Other great rulers down to the Christian era are the 7th, 9th, 12th, 13th, 14th, and 15th of the name (Phraates II., Mithridates II., Phraates III., Mithridates III., Orodes I., and Phraates IV.). Additional accounts of the earlier rulers will probably be obtained from the astronomical tablets of Babylonia, which often give details of historical events, the material for dates, and the names of distinguished personages with their doings.

In the end the Parthians possessed the rule of the greater part of Western Asia, from India to the Tigris, and from Chorasmia to the shores of the Indian Ocean. Their long wars with the Romans are well known, and their peculiar method of fighting enabled them to make a more successful resistance to the advance of the Roman armies than any other Eastern race. The greater and more organized power at last gained the upper hand, however, and Arsaces XV. (Phraates IV.), who reigned from B.C. 37 to A.D. 13, delivered to Augustus his five sons, with their wives and children, who were all sent to Rome. Arsaces XIX. (Artabanus III.), who began to reign in A.D. 16, was the ruler of the country at the period referred to in Ac 2^9. He had a chequered career, and came into conflict with the Romans, who set up other members of his family in opposition to him. Though twice obliged to quit his kingdom, he was twice recalled, and was succeeded, in A.D. 43, by his son Gotarzes. The subjection of the country was continued by Trajan, Antoninus, and Caracalla; and the new Sassanian native dynasty of Persia, under the command of Artaxerxes I., son of its founder, put an end to Parthian rule A.D. 226.

Like the Boers in S. Africa, the Parthians early learned the importance of accurate shooting, and they became celebrated in the use of the bow, which was apparently their chief weapon. It is also noteworthy that they were good horsemen; and these two facts enabled them, like their more modern imitators, to harass their opponents and cause them loss. It was apparently on account of this that they were enabled to retrieve, in the reign of Hadrian, losses that they had suffered under Trajan. The fact that they were all mounted gave them an enormous advantage in the matter of mobility, which is now recognized as an all-important feature in operations in the field of battle. Indeed, the Roman writers of the period of the defeat and destruction of Crassus near Carrhæ (Haran), attribute to them great military prowess, for which they became renowned. Even whilst their horses were going at full speed, they shot their arrows with wonderful precision, thus preventing an enemy from following them in their flight.

In art and civilization they were inferior to the Persians and the Greeks, whose heirs, in a sense, they were. Notwithstanding this, however, their decorative designs sometimes possess a simple excellence of their own that reminds one of similar designs of the Greeks, by whom, indeed, they must have been greatly influenced, as is indicated by the figures on the arch at Takht-i-Bostan, by the designs on the reverses of their coins, and by the fact that the inscriptions on the last are in the Greek language. They would thus seem to have adopted a gloss from that nation whom they conquered. That they were not a literary people may be gathered from the circumstance that their language is still practically unknown to us, the Parthians having produced no literature that could preserve it. Nevertheless, it is at least probable that they were not so regardless of literature as they have been thought, for Justin states that Mithridates I., having conquered several nations, gathered from every one of them whatsoever he found best in its constitution, and framed from the whole a body of most excellent laws for the government of his empire. If this be true, he must have been one of the wisest rulers of his time. Among the cities founded by the Parthian dynasty, Dara has already been mentioned, and the foundation of Ctesiphon is also attributed to them (Ammianus, xxiii. 6). This city is described by Strabo as the winter residence of the Parthian kings (*Epit.* xi. 32). Its ruins are even now the wonder of the beholder. T. G. PINCHES.

PARTICULAR, PARTICULARLY.—1 Co 12^{27} 'Ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular' (*μέλη ἐκ μέρους*, RV 'severally members thereof,' RVm 'members each in his part'); Eph 5^{33} 'Let every one of you in particular so love his wife even as himself' (*καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ καθ' ἕνα, ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα οὕτως ἀγαπάτω ὡς ἑαυτόν*; RV 'Do ye also severally love each one his own wife even as himself'). RV has given the mod. equivalent of the phrase 'in particular' which is found in those places only. So Melvill, *Diary*, p. 308, 'The King . . . calling the Magistrats and certean of the ring-laders, ordeanit them to be tryed, in particular, be the Barones, and gentilmen of the countrey about St. Androis.' The subst. is used in 2 Mac in the sense of detail, 2^{30} 'To be curious in particulars belongeth to the first author of the story' (*ἐν τοῖς κατὰ μέρος*); 11^{20} 'Of the particulars . . . to commune with you' (*ὑπὲρ τούτων κατὰ μέρος*, RV 'in detail'). Cf. Shaks. *I Henry IV.* II. iv. 414—'Examine me upon the particulars of my life'; and *II Henry IV.* IV. ii. 36—

> 'I sent your grace
> The parcels and particulars of our grief.'

'Particularly' has the same meaning as 'in particular.' It occurs in Ac 21^{19} 'He declared particularly what things God had wrought' (*ἐξηγεῖτο καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον ὧν ἐποίησεν ὁ θεός*; RV 'He rehearsed one by one the things'); and He 9^{5} 'Of which we cannot now speak particularly' (*κατὰ μέρος*, RV 'severally'). So Knox, *Hist.* 115—'This present Writ is to make answer particularlie to everie Article.'

The adj. is used in the first Prol. to Sirach, 'It [Sirach] containeth . . . certain particular ancient godly stories of men that pleased God' (*μερικάς τινας παλαιὰς θεοφιλεῖς ἱστορίας*), where the meaning is evidently 'special' (Vulg. *peculiares*), as in Bunyan, *Holy War*, p. 142, 'Then did Emmanuel address himself in a particular Speech to the Townsmen themselves.' J. HASTINGS.

PARTRIDGE (קֹרֵא, *ḳōrēʾ*).—This word occurs but twice in OT, 1 S 26^{20} (where the LXX tr. it *νυκτικόραξ*) and Jer 17^{11} (*πέρδιξ*). In both the Vulg. gives *perdix*. That *ḳōrēʾ* is not an owl (*νυκτικόραξ*) is evident from the context of the passages in which this Gr. word is tr^{d} 'owl.' On the other hand, *Caccabis chukar*, C. R. Gray, the red-legged partridge, or *Ammoperdix Heyi*, Temm., the sand partridge, would suit exactly the comparison which David makes between himself and the *ḳōrēʾ*. As regards the passage in Jeremiah, the best explanation is to view the act of the partridge there alluded to as founded upon a popular belief as to its habits rather than upon strict fact. Bochart quotes such a belief (ii. 85) from Damir, who says that 'it is of the nature of the partridge to come to the nests of its congeners, and take their eggs and incubate them; but when the chicks come to fly they return to the mothers which laid their eggs.' There are numerous instances in the Bible of the adoption of popular beliefs and their use to point a moral. Such have been adduced in articles on the ostrich, goat, owl, night-monster, leviathan, satyr, horseleech, etc. The proper name '*En-hakkōrē*' (Jg 15^{19}) means 'spring of the partridge.'

Caccabis chukar is a gallinaceous bird, the male with a drab coat, beautifully mottled with crescentic markings of white and black beneath, red legs, and a white throat. *Ammoperdix Heyi* is a little smaller. The plumage of the male is sandy buff, washed with dark grey on the crown and cheeks, pencilled and barred beneath with brown, with a strip of white behind the eyes, an orange beak, and olive-yellow legs. Both species inhabit the most retired situations they can find, preferring rocky hillsides clothed with shrubs and tufted grass. *C. chukar* is much more widely disseminated than its relative. It is found most abundantly in the middle and upper regions of Lebanon and Antilebanon. It is also very abundant in the mountains of the Syrian desert, often many miles away from water. The Arabs of that region say that it does not drink. The sand partridge is found only in the Dead Sea and Jordan Valleys. Both species, but especially the latter, will run a considerable distance rather than take to wing. A hen with chicks will almost allow herself to be caught in her anxiety to lead them out of danger. The present writer once dismounted and caught two chicks out of a brood which the hen was luring away. She waited near by until he had satisfied his curiosity by examining the fluffy creatures, and, when he released them, ran to meet them, and evinced the greatest satisfaction as she led them to the rest of her brood, and got them all out of sight as soon as possible. Red-legged partridges are hunted by means of tame decoys (Sir 11^{30}), which call the wild birds. The sportsman shoots them from an ambush. Sometimes wheat is scattered near the decoy, and large numbers of wild birds settle down to eat it, and numbers are killed by a single shot. This, however, is considered quite unsportsmanlike by the better class of natives. The partridge is also hunted by falconry. The red-legged species is easily tamed, and becomes very affectionate and confiding towards his owner. G. E. POST.

PARUAH (פָּרוּחַ; B *Φουασούδ*, A *Φαρρού*, Luc. *Βαρσαούχ*).—Father or clan of Jehoshaphat, Solomon's prefect in Issachar. Issachar stands tenth (in the LXX twelfth) among the prefectures. In Galilee these coincide with tribal districts. Outside Galilee only Benjamin is a prefecture in itself.

PARVAIM (פַּרְוַיִם, LXX *Φαρουάιμ*).—Only in 2 Ch 3^{6}, where Solomon, in the ornamentation of his temple, is said to have used 'gold of Parvaim.' Gesenius (*Thesaurus*, p. 1125) suggests after Wilford its derivation from Sanscrit *pûrva*, 'eastern,' *i.e.* eastern regions. Sprenger (*Alte Geog. Arabiens*, p. 54 f.) found a *Farwa* in Yemen. Glaser (*Skizze d. Ges. u. Geog. Arabiens*, ii. p. 347) identifies Parvaim with *Sâḳ el-Farwaim*, which lies about one day from *Dharijja*, and not far west of the two *Abâns*, between which flows the Wady er-Rumma. IRA M. PRICE.

PASACH (פָּסַךְ; B *Βαισηχί*, A *Φεσηχί*).—An Asherite, 1 Ch 7^{33}.

PAS-DAMMIM (פַּס דַּמִּים; B *Φασοδομή*, A *Φασοδομί*, Luc. [*ἐν*] *τοῖς Σεῤῥάν*).—The name of a place in the west of Judah, between Socoh and Azekah, as given in 1 Ch 11^{13}. It is simply a variant of EPHES-DAMMIM (wh. see), the place where David slew Goliath (1 S 17^{1}).

PASEAH (פָּסֵחַ). — **1.** A descendant of Judah, 1 Ch 4^{12} (B *Βεσσῆε*, A *Φεσσή*). **2.** The father of Joiada, who repaired the old gate, Neh 3^{6} (*Φασέκ*). It is possible, however, that 'Paseah' here has not an individual but a family sense, as in—**3.** The eponym of a family of Nethinim who returned with Zerubbabel, Ezr 2^{49} (B *Φισόν*, A *Φασή*) = Neh 7^{51} (B *Φεσή*, A *Φεσσή*, ℵ *Φαισή*). The name appears in 1 Es 5^{31} as Phinoe.

PASHHUR (פַּשְׁחוּר; *Πασχώρ*, *Φασχώρ*, *Φα(σ)σούρ(α)*, *Φάσσορος*, *Φαισούρ*, *Φασε(δ)ούρ*; *Fosere* [1 Es 9^{22}], *Pha(s)sur*, *Pheshur*. Etymology unknown; Ges. Thes. suggests 'safety on every side' [Arab. *fsḥ* and סְחוֹר] in contrast to *Magor-missabib*; others 'splitter,' from פשח).—**1.** The son of Malchiah, one of the princes sent by Zedekiah to inquire of Jeremiah concerning Nebuchadrezzar's invasion, Jer 21^{1}. He is named also among the princes who heard that Jeremiah was urging the people to desert to the Chaldæans. He joined in urging the king to put Jeremiah to death, and in imprisoning him in a muddy oubliette, from which he was rescued by Ebed-melech, Jer 38$^{1-13}$. This Pashhur was perhaps the father of the Gedaliah ben Pashhur also mentioned in 38^{1} (but cf. 2); and probably the Pashhur ben Malchiah mentioned in 1 Ch 9^{12} Neh 11^{12} as the ancestor of a certain Adaiah is the same person.

2. The son of Immer, governor of the temple, and priest. When Jeremiah announced the ruin of Judah, Pashhur had him beaten and placed in the stocks, but released him the next day. Thereupon Jeremiah repeated his threats, declaring that J″ had called Pashhur's name not *Pashhur* but MAGOR-MISSABIB (wh. see), 'terror on every side,' and added that Pashhur should die in exile at Babylon, Jer 20^{1-6}. V.^{6} implies that Pashhur had prophesied the deliverance of Judah from the Chaldæans. Pashhur ben Immer was perhaps the father of Gedaliah ben Pashhur mentioned in Jer 38^1, but cf. **1**.

3. Pashhur, the father of Gedaliah, Jer 38^1, may be identical with either **1** or **2**; or may be a third Pashhur.

4. Bĕnê Pashhur, a priestly clan, mentioned in Ezr 2^{38} Neh 7^{41} as contributing 1247 (1 Es 5^{25} 1047) to those who returned with Ezra; and six, mentioned by name (Ezr 10^{22}, 1 Es 9^{22}), to those who divorced foreign wives. According to Neh 10^3, Pashhur, either the clan or its chief, sealed the covenant referred to in that chapter. It is possible, but very improbable, that the name of the clan was derived from one of the above Pashhurs. Cf. Meyer, *Entstehung d. Judenthums*, p. 169 f.

W. H. BENNETT.

PASS, PASSAGE, PASSENGER.—The verb to pass is both trans. and intransitive. Of its trans. use in AV the only meaning demanding attention is *to exceed, surpass*: 2 S 1^{26} 'Thy love to me was wonderful, passing the love of women'; 2 Ch 9^{22} 'King Solomon passed all the kings of the earth in riches and wisdom' (RV 'exceeded'); Ezk 32^{19} 'Whom dost thou pass in beauty?'; 1 Es 1^{49} 'The governors . . . passed all the pollutions of all nations'; Sir 25^{11} 'The love of the Lord passeth all things for illumination'; Eph 3^{19} 'The love of Christ, which passeth knowledge'; Ph 4^7 'The peace of God, which passeth all understanding.' Cf. Gn 26^1 Tind. 'There fell a derth in the lande, passinge the first derth that fell in the dayes of Abraham'; Dt 25^3 Tind. 'xl. stripes he shall geve him and not passe.' So the participle as adj. in Rhem. NT, Eph 1^{19} 'That ye may know . . . what is the passing greatness of his power.' A slight difference = *go beyond*, is Pr 8^{29} 'When he gave to the sea his decree, that the waters should not pass his commandment' (לֹא יַעַבְרוּ־פִיו, RV 'should not transgress his commandment').

Intransitively 'pass' is used in AV as we now use 'pass away': Job 14^{20} 'Thou prevailest for ever against him and he passeth'; Ps 148^6 'He hath made a decree which shall not pass'; Mt 5^{18} 'Till heaven and earth pass'; Mt 24^{34}, Mk 13^{30}, Lk 16^{17} (RV always except Job 14^{20} 'pass away,' which is the usual AV tr. for the verb used). So Hamilton, *Catechism*, fol. xiv, 'Hevin and erd sall pas, bot my word sall nocht pas'; Ja 1^{10} Rhem. 'As the floure of grasse shal he passe.' Cf. also Chaucer, *Squieres Tale*, 494—

> 'Whyl that I have a leyser and a space,
> Myn harm I wol confessen, ere I pace';

and Shaks. *K. Lear*, v. iii. 314—

> 'Vex not his ghost: O let him pass! he hates him much
> That would upon the rack of this tough world
> Stretch him out longer.'

A passage is in AV either a *ford* across a river or a mountain *pass*, except that once the word is used for 'leave to pass,' Nu 20^{21} 'Edom refused to give Israel passage through his border.'* The Heb. is always some form from עָבַר *'ābhar*, 'to cross.' The meaning is *ford* in Jos 22^{11} 'at the passage of the children of Israel' (אֶל־עֵבֶר בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, RV 'on the side that pertaineth to the children of Israel'),† Jg $12^{5.6}$ (RV 'ford'), Jer 51^{32} (RVm 'ford'); and *mountain pass* in 1 S 13^{23} 14^4, Is 10^{29} (all 'pass' in RV), Jer 22^{20} (RV 'Abarim,' which see). Cf. Coryat, *Crudities*, i. 210, 'There are in Venice thirteen ferries or passages.' Passage occurs also in Jth 6^7 7^7 of the approach to a city (ἀνάβασις, RV 'ascent'), and in Wis 19^{17} of the way to the door of a house (δίοδος). Cf. Milton, *PL* x. 304—

> 'From hence a passage broad,
> Smooth, easy, inoffensive down to Hell.'

Passenger in AV means 'passer-by,' not, as now, one 'booked for a journey': Pr 9^{15} 'She sitteth at the door of his house . . . to call passengers who go right on their ways' (לִקְרֹא לְעֹבְרֵי־דָרֶךְ, RV 'to call to them that pass by'); and Ezk $39^{11\ bis.\ 14.\ 15}$ (הָעֹבְרִים, RV 'they that pass through').* Cf. Hall, *Works*, ii. 104, 'Not as a passenger did Christ walke this way, but as a visitor, not to punish, but to heale'; Adams on 2 P 1^3 'The passengers in mockery bad Christ come down from the cross.'

J. HASTINGS.

PASSION in AV has two meanings. **1.** *Suffering* (the lit. sense of Lat. *passio*; cf. 'compassion'),† applied to the suffering of our Lord in Ac 1^3 'To whom also he showed himself alive after his passion' (μετὰ τὸ παθεῖν αὐτόν). The word is a good one (being etymol. connected with παθεῖν), it was taken by Wyclif from Vulg. *post passionem suam*, goes right through the Eng. versions, and is retained in RV. Cf. 'Passion-week.' But it is the only case in which 'passion' was accepted by AV from the earlier VSS: see He 2^9 Wyc. 'Ihesus for the passioun of deeth, crowned with glorie and honour' (so Rhem., the rest 'suffering'); 1 P 1^{11} Wyc. 'the passiouns that ben in Crist' (so Tind., Cran., Rhem., but Gen., AV 'sufferings'); 4^{13} Wyc. 'Comyne ye with the passiouns of Crist,' Tind. 'partetakers of Christes passions,' so all until AV 'partakers of Christ's sufferings.' Also in ref. to the believer's sufferings (in the plu.) Ro 8^{18} Wyc. 'I deme that the passiouns of this tyme ben not worthi to the glori to comynge,' so Rhem., but Tind. and the rest 'afflictions,' AV 'sufferings'; He 10^{32} Wyc. 'Ye suffriden greet striif of passiouns,' Tind. 'a greate fyght in adversities,' Rhem. 'a great fight of passions,' AV 'a great fight of afflictions.' It is evident that 'passion' in the sense of suffering was passing away when AV was translated (the Rhem. version follows the Vulg. too slavishly). Craik says that Shaks. retains the word in this sense only in two or three antique expressions. Indeed, except *Hamlet*, II. i. 105, 'Any passion under heaven that does afflict our natures,' the only use in this sense is in strong scurrilous exclamations in reference to Christ's last sufferings. But it is of course found in writers of the time and later; cf. Hall, *Works*, ii. 150—'Jewes and Samaritanes could not abide one another, yet here in leprosie they accord, . . . community of passion hath made them friends, whom even religion disjoyned.'

2. *Feeling, emotion*, only twice in AV, and both plural, Ac 14^{15} 'We also are men of like passions with you' (ὁμοιοπαθεῖς ἐσμεν ὑμῖν, RVm 'of like nature'); Ja 5^{17}. Cf. Article i. (in *Thirty-nine Articles*), 'There is but one living and true God, everlasting, without body, parts, or passions.' This is nearly the sense of 'passions of sins' in Ro 7^5, AVm and RV for AV 'motions,' where it is a literal tr. of the Gr. (τὰ παθήματα τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν), though the approach is nearer to our modern use of 'passions.' In the mod. sense RV has introduced the word also into Ro 1^{26}, Gal 5^{24}, Col 3^{5}, 1 Th 4^{5}.

---

* Cf. Bacon, *Advancement of Learning*, i. (Selby's ed. p. 36), 'As if the multitude, or the wisest for the multitude's sake, were not ready to give passage rather to that which is popular and superficial, than to that which is substantial and profound.'

† The AV tr., which is from the Geneva Bible, refers to the place where the Israelites crossed the Jordan. But the word so tr. means usually 'the other side,' as in 1 S 26^{13}, whence LXX ἐν τῷ πέραν υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ, Vulg. *contra filios Israel*.

* The Hebrew is difficult, probably corrupt. See Davidson, *in loc.* Some (by changing עֹבְרִים into עֲבָרִים) translate 'a valley of Abarim.' This, however, is to enlarge the extent of that geographical name on the basis of an emendation.

† Andrewes, *Works*, ii. 123, 'Compassion is but passion at rebound.' Cf. also 'passionless renown' in the well-known hymn.

J. HASTINGS.

PASSOVER.—Our knowledge of the origin and early history of the Passover is derived from the accounts of the OT, supplemented by the relevant material thus far gained from the study of the early customs of other Semitic and primitive peoples. The most important passages are, of course, found in the laws of the Pent., and for our present purpose we shall accept the generally received conclusions as to the age and authorship of the various strata of legislation (see HEXATEUCH). But even so, our attempt to trace the history and development of this feast will necessitate considerable critical discussion.

- i. Old Testament References.
    - *A*. In the Law and Ezekiel.
        - 1. JE.
        - 2. Deuteronomy.
        - 3. Ezekiel.
        - 4. P.
    - *B*. In the Historical and Prophetical Writings.
        - 1. Prophets } Pre-exilic.
        - 2. 2 Kings }
        - 3. The Chronicler.
    - *C*. Résumé.
- ii. Origin and Primitive Significance.
    - 1. Name.
    - 2. Older Views.
    - 3. The Offering of the Firstborn.
    - 4. A Feast of Atonement.
    - 5. A Blood Covenant.
    - 6. Conclusion.
- iii. The Post-exilic Passover.
    - 1. Manner of Observance.
    - 2. Number of Participants.
    - 3. Time.

Literature.

i. OT REFERENCES.—The passages to be considered are—Ex 23^{18} 34^{25} 12^{21-27}, Dt 16^{1-8}, Ezk $45^{21ff.}$, Ex $12^{1-13.\ 43-49}$, Lv 23^{5}, Nu $9^{1ff.}$ 28^{16}, Jos 5^{10}, Hos 2^{11} 9^{5} $12^{9\,(10)}$, Am 5^{21} 8^{10}, Is 30^{29}, 2 K 23^{21-23}, 2 Ch 8^{13} 30. 35^{1-19}, Ezr $6^{19f.}$.

A. In the Law and Ezk.—1. JE.—In the so-called 'Second Decalogue' (Ex 34^{10-26}) we have the command (^{25}) 'Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leavened bread; neither shall the sacrifice of the feast of the Passover (זֶבַח חַג הַפָּסַח) be left until the morning.' The same prohibition appears Ex 23^{18} in the 'Book of the Covenant' (Ex 20^{22}–23^{33}), but instead of the phrase '*the sacrifice of the feast of the Passover*' we there have 'neither shall *the fat of my feast* (חֵלֶב חַגִּי) remain all night until the morning.' Many have held that this latter expression has precisely the same content as the former, and have thus established the entire agreement of the two verses. We should then find our feast mentioned in the very oldest portions of the Law. That this is really the case, however, becomes somewhat doubtful upon closer examination. In both sections we have mention of the three great feasts of later legislation, which are to be kept unto J″—the feast of Unleavened Bread, of Weeks, and of Ingathering. And according to subsequent usage it is in connexion with the first, the feast of Unleavened Bread, held in the month of Abib, the month in which Israel came out of Egypt (Ex 23^{15} 34^{18}), that we should expect to find mention of the Passover. It might, indeed, seem that this was intended in Ex $34^{19f.}$, where, breaking the parallelism to the account of Ex 23, there is a command regarding the offering of the firstborn males of all the herds. One might naturally conclude that this sacrifice came at the time of the preceding feast. However this may be, the 'Book of the Covenant' in its present form knows nothing of such a connexion, for there the firstborn is to be offered on the eighth day, after being seven days with its dam (Ex $22^{29\,(30)}$; cf. Lv 22^{27}, Nowack *et al.* make this a later insertion; see *Arch.* ii. 147, n. 3). Furthermore, there is in the 'Book of the Covenant' nothing that can be legitimately interpreted as a reference to the Passover. This is certainly true of the expression in 23^{18}, which one would naturally limit neither to the Passover nor to the sacrifice of the firstborn, but rather would understand as referring to all bloody offerings and as including all feasts. Possibly we should so vocalize as to read the plural 'my sacrifices' and 'my feasts' (זְבָחַי, חַגַּי; cf. Dill.-Rys. *Com. in loco.* In Ex 34^{25} LXX reads *θυμιαμάτων μου*). As to Ex 34^{25}, where the explicit mention of the Passover is met with at present, we need to note, first, that the term *ḥagg* (חג הפסח) is nowhere else in the Pent. applied to the Passover, but confined mainly, if not exclusively, to the three great feasts mentioned above (cf. Driver, *Deut.* p. 188; and on *ḥagg*, Wellh. *Reste Arab. Heidentums*, 1897, pp. 68 ff. and 79 ff.). Such a usage (cf. Ezk 45^{21}) as we have here indicates the blending of Passover and *maẓẓôth* (feast of Unleavened Bread); but in Dt, where this actually occurs, we find no such designation for the Easter festival as a whole. It may well be, as some maintain (Wellh. *Proleg.*^{4} p. 84; Benzinger, *Arch.* 470 n.; W. R. Smith, *Encyc. Brit.*^{9} xviii. 343 as against *RS* 221 n.), that the expression is a later insertion which makes specific application of the more general principle stated in 23^{18}. If, however, we think the passage should be retained and assigned to J, as many do (Nowack, *l.c.* ii. 147, n. 3; Bertholet, *Deut.* p. 50, *et al.*), then we may claim the early occurrence of the name Passover, but can not affirm any connexion between it and *maẓẓôth*. The point of the verse would be, that in the case of the Passover, as in that of other animal sacrifices, everything in the nature of putrefaction must be avoided. It would thus stand as a precursor of the kindred Levitical ordinances of later times. We find among other primitive peoples injunctions of like nature in relation to sacrifice (cf. *RS* p. 221; Smend, *AT Relig.-Gesch.* p. 140).

Ex 12^{21-27} may be next considered. It states how Moses summons the elders, and bids them go and kill the Passover, as though such a command needed no further explanation. With a bunch of hyssop (cf. Lv $14^{4ff.}$) they are to stain the lintel and the doorposts, and no one is to leave his home until the morning. All this is to be done because J″ is to pass through and smite the Egyptians; but where He sees the blood on the doorway He will not allow the destroyer to enter. This same ceremony is to be observed hereafter as a lasting memorial. In the Promised Land they are to keep it, and explain its significance to their children. They are to tell them it is the sacrifice of the Passover to J″, who *passed over* the houses (פסח על בתי) of Israel, and delivered them, when He smote the Egyptians. On hearing this the people bow in worship and proceed to do as commanded.

It is generally recognized that we have in this section an account not originally belonging to the present context, although it seems at first sight to fit in admirably with the preceding narrative, and to tell how Moses imparted the command to the people which he had received from J″. It is, however, a very different command in content and in language. The essential details previously given (v.$^{3ff.}$) are not included, and, what is even more important, new ones are introduced and emphasized. There is no hint that it is the firstborn who are slain, no allusion to the paschal meal, but the blood ceremonial* is the all-important feature. The conception is, that the blood stained on the doorway works exemption from destruction for all within; but there is no explanation as to how this comes about. The resemblance to v.$^{7ff.}$ may explain why the section was inserted here. Whatever the source from which it came, the simplicity of detail as over against the former account (vv.$^{1-13}$) supports the view of its priority and independence. In its essence it may go back to JE, even though, as most agree, its present form is later than Dt (cf. Wellh. *Comp. d. Hex.* p. 75; Dill.-Rys. *Com.* pp. 111, 126; Nowack, *Arch.* ii. 148 n. 1).

---

* On the translation *threshold* in v.^{22} for *basin* (סַף), cf. below ii. 5.

These are the only passages where we can look for explicit references in JE. But there are, besides, the notices of Israel's oft-repeated request for permission to go forth and celebrate a feast in the wilderness of Sinai (Ex 3^{18} 7^{16} 8$^{25ff.}$ 10^{9} *et passim*). These indicate the existence at this period of a festival that may in some way be related to the Passover. We return to this question later on (ii. 6).

2. Deuteronomy.—Here in 16$^{1-8}$ we have the earliest undisputed explicit reference to our feast and use of the word Passover (cf. above, and Wellh. *Proleg.*^{4} 84 n.). Its observance, we are told, falls in the month of Abib, the month of ears (cf. Ex 13^{4} 23^{15} 34^{18}), which is the older name for Nisan (Mar.-Apr.), because in this month J″ brought them out of Egypt at night. At this season they are to sacrifice to J″ the Passover, consisting of sheep and cattle, at the place which He may choose for His worship. With the sacrificial meal and during seven days they are to eat only unleavened bread. This is the bread of affliction, because of the trepidation with which they came forth from Egypt. So are they to be ever reminded of that anxious day. During the seven days no leaven is to be allowed to remain within Israel's borders, and of the offerings of the first day none of the flesh is to be permitted to remain until the morning (cf. Ex 23^{18} 34^{25}). The Passover may *not* be sacrificed at one's dwelling-place, but only at that place which J″ shall choose for His worship. There at the setting of the sun, at the time when they came forth from Egypt, it shall be sacrificed. *Six* days shall unleavened bread be eaten, and on the seventh there shall be a festal gathering to J″, and no work shall be done.

As compared with other legislation, four points are especially noteworthy. (*a*) Instead of merely introducing *mazzôth* (P), the Passover here becomes an integral part of it, *i.e.* the Passover day becomes the first day of that feast. It is striking that so much attention should be paid in these eight verses to this one ordinance, and so little to the further regulations. The explanation may be that the centralization of all worship in one sanctuary, which is the novel and most important feature of Deuteronomic legislation, especially affected the Passover, and so required more explicit formulation (cf. Nowack, *Arch.* ii. p. 153). But even then other difficulties still remain, and it may be reasonably doubted whether the section stands at present in its original form. Vv.$^{3b-4b}$ seem an interpolation into the connected account contained in vv.$^{1.2}$ and $^{5-7}$ (בַּיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן in v.^{4} would then, of course, be a later addition). V.^{8}, which makes further mention of *mazzôth*, seems incongruous in suddenly speaking of six days when seven were named before (v.^{3}). The stated assembly (עצרת) recalls the priestly legislation, and contradicts the preceding command to return home on the following morning. So it seems probable that this apparent blending of the two feasts comes from reconstruction by a writer of later date than the Deuteronomist.[*] (*b*) It is expressly stated and strongly emphasized that the Passover is *not* to be observed as a domestic rite in the individual homes, but at the temple in Jerusalem (vv.$^{2.6.7}$). But this does not mean, as we see, that it is to take the form of a general offering for all (so Ezk), but that it is rather made up of the private individual sacrifices (cf. Wellh. *Proleg.*^{4} p. 89). (*c*) The offering is not limited to a lamb (Ex 12), but may be taken from the flock or the herd (v.^{2}). To explain this statement in the light of later usage, *i.e.* as referring to the private sacrifices alluded to in 2 Ch (30$^{22-24}$ 35$^{7-9}$), the later *ḥagîgah* (חגיגה), or peace-offerings, does violence to the text. This would mean the mention of a detail, and silence regarding the all-important feature. Furthermore, the use of the sing. in vv.$^{6.7}$ shows that the writer has in his mind the sacrifice on the Passover evening.[*] (*d*) Another point to be noted is the manner of preparing the Passover sacrifice. It is to be boiled (v.^{7}).[†] The OT allusions seem to point to this as an early method of preparing sacrifice (Jg 6$^{19ff.}$, 1 S 2$^{13.15}$; and cf. Ex 23^{19} 34^{26}, Dt 14^{21}), and some think that this was gradually replaced by the more refined mode of roasting (cf. Benzinger, *Arch.* 435, 451; Wellh. *Proleg.*^{4} p. 68). The prohibition of the use of leavened bread is found in the three great codes of the Pent., but nowhere else is it called the bread of affliction (לחם עני). We can compare this with the account in Ex 12$^{34.39}$ (JE), which is suggested by the expression 'in trepidation' (בחפזון Ex 12^{11}).

3. Ezk 45$^{21-24}$.—Turning next to Ezk, we find the Passover mentioned in a section discussing the part of the prince in the feasts and sacrifices (45^{17}–46^{15}). It is assigned to the 14th day of the first month, and spoken of as a feast of seven days, during which unleavened bread is to be eaten. On the first day the prince is to prepare a bullock as a sin-offering for himself and the people of the land, and otherwise daily a he-goat for this same purpose. There shall be, besides, a daily burnt-offering of seven bullocks and seven rams, with an accompanying daily offering of fourteen ephahs of meal (509·6 lit.), and fourteen hins of oil (84·98 lit.). This is such a large quantity that Cornill would so correct as to make it indicate the amount for the entire seven days; but it is probably better explained by Ezk's conception of the fruitfulness of the land in the new age. The sacred year is here clearly divided into halves, and so the suggestion (Smend, Bertholet) that v.^{21} has been corrected according to Ex 12^{18} (Lv 23^{5}, Nu 28^{16}), seems in place, especially as the text has been disturbed (שבעות for שבעת). The parallelism of the feasts makes probable an original reading, 'In the first month, on the *fifteenth* day of the month, ye shall have the Passover' (cf. Bertholet, *Com. in loco*). The Passover appears with the atoning significance which Ezk puts into all the cultus. This is manifested especially in the sin-offering, which is not elsewhere so connected with it. The festival is to be celebrated *throughout* at the central sanctuary, whereas Dt seems to demand this expressly for only the first part. The daily sacrifice is accurately defined, and the record is otherwise more explicit than Dt in naming not only the month, but in giving further the exact day. As in Dt, it is a seven-day festival, and *mazzôth* is so blended with the Passover as almost to lose its

---

[*] Cf. Steuernagel, 'Deut.' in *Handkom.* He assigns the Passover to J and *mazzôth* to E, and considers all references to *mazzôth* here as later additions after the union of J and E, *i.e.* makes R^{JE} later than D; cf. Bertholet in *Kurzer Handcom.*; Cornill, *Einleit.* p. 25, regards vv.$^{3.4}$ as an interpolation correcting v.^{8}; Stade, *Gesch.* i. 658, thinks vv.$^{1-4}$ and $^{5-8}$ are irreconcilable doublets. In support of this, cf. Holzinger, *Hex.* p. 399.

[*] Cf. Driver, *Com.* p. 191; Bertholet, *Com.* p. 50; Wellh. *Proleg.*^{4} p. 99; Nowack, *Arch.* ii. p. 153, n. 1. J. Müller (*Kritischer Versuch über d. Ursprung u. d. gesch. Entwicklung d. Pesach- u. Mazzothfestes*, Bonn, 1884) makes this a later custom than P. Against this see Dill.-Rys. *Com.*

[†] בשל, primarily 'to become ripe,' but is the usual word (in Piel) for boiling, so used in related dialects. The later (harmonizing?) expression בִּשֵּׁל בָּאֵשׁ (2 Ch 35^{13}) cannot count against this usage. The usual verb for *roasting* is צלה; cf Driver, *in loco*; and Nowack, *Arch.* ii. 153, n. 3.

identity. There is no mention of a Passover lamb or of any private celebration whatever. It is rather the sacrifice of the community offered by the prince for himself and the people.

4. Lv 23^5, Ex 12$^{1-13. 43-51}$, Nu 9$^{1-14}$ 28^{16}, Jos 5^{10}.—As we pass to the body of law assigned to the priestly stratum, we can begin with the 'Law of Holiness' (Lv 17–26), which is supposed to embody in a later modified form an earlier independent body of law. A very close relationship clearly exists between this section and Ezk, but as a whole it is probably later (but see the discussion of this point in Driver, *LOT*^{6} 147 ff., and the literature there cited). All that bears on our subject is confined to the simple statement that the Passover, as the opening festival of the year, is to be held on the evening of the 14th of the first month (23^5). Apparently it is mentioned only for the sake of completeness in the enumeration of the feasts, and presupposes the fuller legislation of Ex 12.

Ex 12$^{1-13}$ explains the origin of the Passover, and gives details not elsewhere mentioned. While they are yet in Egypt, the LORD speaks to Moses and Aaron, and directs that they reckon the current month as the first month of the year. In anticipation of what is to come, they are to command all the congregation to take, on the tenth day of the month, lambs according to their families. Where the family is too small to dispose of a lamb, the head of the household is to unite with his neighbour, and they together are to take one, the number thus included and the capacity for consumption of each member being taken into account. A lamb or a kid may be taken, but it shall be a perfect animal (so usually for sacrifices, cf. Lv 22^{19}), a male (cf. Lv 1$^{3. 10}$), and one year old (cf. Lv 22^{27}; for all these points cf. Benzinger, *Arch.* 451 *et passim*). It shall be kept until the 14th of the month, and then all the congregation shall slay it (*i.e.* each his lamb) at the evening hour. With the blood they are to stain the lintel and doorposts of the house in which the feast is held. The flesh shall be eaten that night with unleavened cakes and bitter herbs. It may not be eaten raw or boiled, but roasted, the victim being kept intact with head, legs, and inwards. All remnants shall be burned that night, and no part left till morning. The participants are to eat in haste, prepared for a journey, with their flowing garments girt about them, their sandals bound on, their staves in their hands. For this is the feast of the LORD'S Passover, who saith, 'I will pass through the land of Egypt this night, and smite all the firstborn of man and beast. And against all the gods of Egypt will I execute judgment. I am the LORD.' The blood shall be a sign to mark the houses where Israel dwells, and into these the destroying plague shall not enter when the LORD smites Egypt. In vv.$^{43-51}$ comes an added ordinance as to those who may observe the Passover. The context implies that this was given in Succoth, apparently because of the presence of the mixed multitude (v.^{38}); but all the allusions show that the observance in the Holy Land is especially intended. No foreigner, sojourner, or hired servant may eat the Passover. Only the circumcised are to be admitted under any circumstances. If a stranger be circumcised with all the males of his household, and thus becomes identified with the Jewish nation, he may observe it. So also circumcised servants are to be included, for all Israel must observe it. In v.^{46} we have repeated, from the previous section, the particulars which serve to lay emphasis on the idea of unity which is here throughout made so prominent. V.^{50} would seem to mean that ever after they observed the Passover as here directed. V.^{51} repeats ^{41b}, and is not in place at present.

In Nu 9$^{1-14}$ another law is added. The date of this is given as the first month of the second year after the Exodus. In obedience to the command of J″ given through Moses, they observe the Passover. But some who were ceremonially unclean by reason of contact with a dead body are excluded, and they come to ask why they must be deprived of their share in the sacrifice. Moses seeks instructions from J″, and receives command that any who are unclean at the Passover season, or who are absent on a journey, shall observe it on the 14th day of the second month in the same manner as the regular Passover is observed. Several details are repeated (vv.$^{11. 12}$): unleavened bread and bitter herbs are to be eaten with it; nothing shall remain until the morning, and no bone is to be broken. If a man who is not hindered in either of the above ways fails to keep the Passover, he is to be cut off from the nation. Strangers must observe the same regulations that are binding for the Jews.

Once more—and again apparently for the sake of completeness—we find an allusion to the Passover in Nu 28^{16}. The section deals with regular and special sacrifices; but since there are no temple sacrifices in the case of the Passover, only the mention of its occurrence on the 14th of the first month was needed.

The same writer records in Jos 5^{10} the first Passover in Canaan. At the close of the wandering in the wilderness, after the renewal of circumcision, it is celebrated on the 14th of the month while they are encamped at Gilgal.

These accounts of P, which we have thus brought into review, show certain divergences from the ordinances of the previous writers, and reveal a wealth of detail not elsewhere found. As over against Dt (as it now stands) and Ezk, the Passover is always carefully distinguished from *mazzôth*, which begins on the following day. The celebration is domestic, and not apparently at all connected with the central sanctuary. In Dt we found the time given simply as the month of Abib. P does not use this name, but calls it the first month, and gives the exact day; in both these particulars agreeing with the present form of Ezk. Why the lamb was chosen on the tenth day, so long in advance, we are not told. Possibly it is because of the significance attached to the decad among ancient peoples (cf. Nowack, *Arch.* ii. p. 172, n. 3; Ideler, *Chronol.* i. p. 279, on Attic month), or it may be to fit into some scheme giving this day a special significance like that of the corresponding day of the seventh month celebrated as New Year's Day (Lv 25^9, Ezk 40^1), and then as the Day of Atonement (Lv 16^{29}). The killing of the lamb and the staining of the doorway was probably done by the father of the house. This feature is made of less importance than in 12$^{21ff.}$, and there is no mention of the hyssop. The significance of the command to roast the lamb whole with all its members, and to consume it before the morning, may be made to consist either in the desire to keep its parts from profanation, or to emphasize the idea of its unity, *i.e.* as a single sacrifice valid for all in the common group which partake of it (cf. Bähr, *Symbolik*, p. 635). The command to *roast* might be explained along these same lines, as also the prohibition of the earlier mode of boiling. Eating the flesh raw would mean the eating of the blood, which was always forbidden (*e.g.* Lv 7^{26}). With this and the other details noted above we can compare the accounts of certain Arab sacrifices, where a camel was killed and devoured—skin, bones, entrails, and all—in wild haste, between the appearance of the day-star and sunrise (cf. *RS* p. 338 ff.; Well. *Reste d. Arab. Heid.*^{2} 119 ff.). In our account, of course, all are dressed and eat in haste, that they may avail themselves of the opportunity for flight which will follow the impending plague. The bitter herbs (Ex 12^8, Nu 9^{11}) are not explained. They may have at first been used as relishes, apart from any atoning significance or reference to the suffering in Egypt which later rabbinical writers gave them.* In P the covenant idea is made especially prominent. So at the first Passover, and so also at each recurrence of the festival, when this covenant is renewed. This explains why only those who have entered into the unity of the nation by circumcision can participate; and, on the other hand, why any one who does not so participate is to be cut off from the nation. To meet emergencies which might work injustice,—such as necessary absence on a journey, ceremonial impurity arising from contact with the dead,—a second opportunity is given on the 14th of the succeeding month.

B. In the Historical and Prophetical Books.—1. The Prophetical Writings.—Outside the Hexateuch there is no explicit mention of the observance of a Passover until after the discovery of Dt (B.C. 621). For the time of the earlier kings, indeed, none of the feasts are explicitly mentioned except Tabernacles; but others together with the Passover may be included in such general statements regarding feasts as we find, *e.g.* Hos 2^{11} 9^5, Am 5^{21} 8^{10}, and Is 29^1 ('add year to year: let the feasts come round'). Some (Nowack, *Arch.* ii. p. 149) find an almost certain reference in Hos $12^{9\,(10)}$ 'I will yet again make thee to dwell in tents, as in the days of the solemn (*i.e.* fixed) feast.' And this is more probable than that the reference is to Tabernacles (Wellh. *Die kl. Propheten*², p. 126 f., excludes this passage from Hosea. He does not think it suits the threat there expressed; cf. Nowack, *Arch.* ii. 155, n. 2).

In Is 30^{29} the allusion to the Passover was formerly considered (Dill. Del. *et al.*) to be beyond question, but at present it is thought by many others to refer to the night preceding the New Year's feast (see art. TIME; cf. Duhm, *Com.* p. 203; Budde, *ZATW*, 1891, p. 200).

2. The Historical Writings (pre-exilic).—Here we find our first reference in 2 K $23^{21\text{-}23}$ 'And the king commanded all the people, saying, Keep the Passover unto J″ your God, as it is written in this book of the covenant. Surely there was not kept such a Passover from the days of the judges that judged Israel, nor in all the days of the kings of Israel, nor of the kings of Judah; but in the eighteenth (cf. 22^3) year of king Josiah was this Passover kept to J″ in Jerusalem.' There seems little doubt that this celebration under Josiah was novel, above all else, in following the law in Dt 16, and thus being celebrated at the central sanctuary. Such a fact would give ample reason for the extraordinary character assigned to it. The extreme brevity of the notice may be due to later curtailment (cf. Benzinger, 'Könige,' in *Kurzer Handcom.* 194 ff.). This is the only explicit reference to a Passover before the Exile. There are, to be sure, notices in 2 Ch (8^{13} (?) 30. 35) of Passovers during this time, but these very probably reflect the usages of the writer's own age, and cannot be classed along with the passage in 2 K. The most that can be deduced from them is that the Chronicler may have found in his sources mention of Passovers on the occasions where he gives his fuller descriptions.

3. The Historical Writings (post-exilic).—In Ezr $6^{19.\,20}$ (in Heb.) we have an account of how the returned exiles celebrated the feast. The Levites killed the lambs at this time, not only for themselves, but for the priests and the rest of the community as well. This is also made to be the case, in part at least, in 2 Ch. There in ch. 30 is a description of a Passover in Hezekiah's reign. For this the king sends out an especial summons (v.^{1}); and since they could not arrange for it in the first month it is held in the second (Nu 9^{11}), as is also the feast of *maẓẓôth* (v.^{13}). It is explained that it is because some were not purified according to the law, that the Levites kill the lambs for them (v.^{17}, but cf. v.^{18}). The priests receive the blood from the Levites and sprinkle it on the altar. An exception is made to the usual requirements, and all present are allowed to eat the Passover, although not purified according to the law. The following feast of seven days is extended yet another seven; and we are told that since Solomon's time such a festival had not been held in Jerusalem (v.^{26}). 2 Ch $35^{1\text{-}19}$ gives an extended description of the same Passover under Josiah, mentioned in 2 K 23. In this instance the implication seems to be that the Levites kill the lambs for all (v.^{6}). The priests receive the blood and sprinkle it on the altar (v.^{11}) as before, and as was usual in the case of other sacrifices. The Levites skinned the lambs, and apparently the other sacrificial animals as well (vv.$^{11.\,12}$). Here the writer tells us that since the days of Samuel the prophet no Passover like to this one had been kept. This same account with modifications is reproduced in the opening chapter of 1 Es. (For a comparison of the text of 2 Ch with the Greek of 1 Es see *ZATW*, 1899, p. 234 ff.).

C. Résumé.—We have thus in our OT Canon notices that take us down to the Greek era, and range back over documents falling within a period of some six centuries. For the earlier ones there are only the briefest notices, which do not justify many deductions, even if accepted in their present form. But it is extremely probable that our feast continued to be observed during all this time in the Southern, even if not so generally in the Northern kingdom. Many of the rites mentioned by the later writers were certainly of very ancient origin. In Dt, in the last quarter of the 7th cent., we get on undisputed ground. In this first extended account, the strong emphasis on the historical significance of the Passover is especially marked. It commemorates the emancipation from Egypt, the day of the nation's birth. The domestic character, which it probably possessed originally, disappears, but not the *individual idea*, which is so far retained that we still have *separate* sacrifices. There continues to be room for much of the spontaneity and joyousness that belong to a voluntary celebration. At this time it would seem it either stood by itself or introduced the *maẓẓôth* feast as later.—We find our next notices after a half century in the ideal portrayal of Ezekiel. Here the memorial significance gives way to the piacular conception which grows out of Ezekiel's exalted view of J″'s holiness. The *individual element* disappears in the *collective idea* of the nation. Thus it comes that the Passover loses its distinctive character, and is taken up and embodied in the general class of sacrifices. It is accurately dated so as to fit into his scheme of the sacred year. All this falls within Ezekiel's vision of Israel's future restoration, and so his notice serves to emphasize the importance of the Passover in the religious life of the people. From a historical point of view, the account is not so much valuable in itself as it is in marking the transition from Dt to the priestly document.

During the Exile the Passover was probably one of the few observances still possible to the Jews, and must have greatly aided in keeping alive religious faith and hope. The memory of the deeds once done for the fathers would become the ground of assurance of that inevitable future when J″'s promise to His chosen people would be realized. The commemorative side would be thus developed, the more so as any connexion with the sacrificial cultus was, of course, impossible. Just as in later days, after the destruction of the temple, so now they would love to linger long, on this night, recalling the past and thinking of the future. The fact that in P the Passover is seen to be in its essential nature a sacrifice, and yet is so unlike all other sacrifices, may be due in large measure to the development and strengthening of the domestic and historical features during this period. We might then understand in part the departure from the view of the Deuteronomist. Undoubtedly, the Passover assumes a new prominence in P. In many points there is a close connexion with Ezekiel, but there is greater amplification and much that differs. Not only is the day definitely fixed, but all the minute details of observance are added. With this writer, further, it is not merely a memorial, but it was instituted beforehand as a means of accomplishing deliverance, and thus gains a deeper historical meaning. It is in the first instance *the saving deed itself* (cf. Wellh. *Proleg.*^{4} p. 100).—The Chronicler gives us our last notices in the Canon. By him the priestly legislation is usually followed, as it is throughout the norm of post-exilic worship; but in the case of the Passover a striking preference is given to the ordinances of Dt. The sacrificial character again comes into prominence, possibly under the growing influence of worship in one sanctuary.

---

* On meaning, herbs used, etc., cf. Dill.-Rys. *Com.* Ex, p. 117 f.; Nowack, *Arch.* ii. p. 173, n. 4; and Tract *Pesachim*. Dr. W. M. Patton, in conversation, expressed it as his opinion that the herbs represented an original vegetable offering from the pastures of the herds.

ii. ORIGIN AND PRIMITIVE SIGNIFICANCE.—Whatever differences there may be in our OT records as to the manner of observing the Passover, we have seen that it is uniformly associated with and commemorative of the deliverance from Egypt. Of its meaning to the Israel of historic time there can be no question. But do we thus arrive at the real explanation of its origin and primitive significance? Our accounts in their present form are, of course, an inadequate explanation for the institution of an entirely new feast. So much is mentioned as well understood that we see it must have been firmly rooted in the national life when the writers lived. In view of this fact; in view of the many features which seem to point to something behind the interpretation given to them; in view of what we find in the observances of related peoples, so far as these are known to us; and in view of the development in the case of all the other great feasts, and the historical interpretation which came to be given them,—it is probable that we have here another instance in which Israel's religion takes up, transforms, and appropriates an existing institution. We might expect to find some starting-point for conjecture in the name *Passover*, but it proves of little aid.

1. *Name.*—פֶּסַח, J.-Aram. פַּסְחָא, Syr. ܦܶܨܚܳܐ, and hence πάσχα (2 Ch, Jer 38 (31)^8 φασέκ; Jos. several times φάσκα. Later derivatives πασχάζω, πασχάλιος, πασχαλικοί). The root פסח* appears in what are usually regarded as two distinct verbs: (1) 'to pass over' in sense of *sparing*, with the prepos. עַל Ex $12^{13.23.27}$, and without Is 31^5, cf. תִּפְסַח 1 K 5^4; (2) 'to be lame,' 'to limp' (cf. فسح، فصح), 1 K 18^{21}, Pi. 18^{26} ('dance'?), Niph. 2 S 4^4. For the first, from which the noun Passover is derived, there is no means of gaining a primitive meaning (so Wellh., Benzinger, *et al.*). It is undoubtedly an old word. In Syriac ܦܨܰܚ means *to be joyous*, which might give the idea of festal rejoicing, and this would be the most we could infer as to a primal conception. The name Passover is used in a twofold way, (*a*) of the feast, (*b*) of the sacrifice at that time (in 2 Ch we meet the plural פסחים). It is made the object of various verbs. So of עשה 'to keep the feast of the Passover' (*e.g.* Ex 12^{48}); שחט 'to kill the Passover' (*e.g.* Ex 12^{21}); זבח 'to sacrifice the Passover' (*e.g.* Dt 16^2); בִּשֵּׁל בָּאֵשׁ 'to roast the Passover' (2 Ch 35^{13}); אכל 'to eat the Passover' (*e.g.* Ex 12^{43}). (On חג הפסח cf. above, i. *A*. 1).

2. *Older Views.*—From the many conjectures regarding the pre-Mosaic Passover there are several which do not commend themselves at present sufficiently to warrant more than a brief mention. George (*Die Jüd. Feste*, p. 239) starts from the root פסח and makes it a commemorative feast of *the passage of the Red Sea.* Redslob (*Hamburger Gymnasial Programm*, 1856) regarded it as a shepherd's festival celebrated in the pastures on the night before the Exodus ('Ein in der Nacht vor dem Auszug der Hirten auf die Triften gefeiertes Hutfest'). Von Bohlen (*Gen.* p. 140 ff.) and Vatke (*Bibl. Theol.* i. p. 492 ff.) make it the celebration of the entrance of the sun into the zodiacal sign Aries, and so many others have connected it with the spring. (See Kalisch, *Ex*, p. 184 ff.; Dill.-Rys. *Ex*, p. 120 ff.). There have been from time to time views connecting the early rite with human sacrifice (cf. Kalisch, *l.c.* 186 ff.).

3. *Offering of the Firstborn.*—This is the view at present most widely accepted, and perhaps best set forth by Wellhausen in the chapter of his *Prolegomena* dealing with the whole question of the feasts (4th ed. pp. 82–117; cf. also p. 358 f.).† This holds that, in the main, the Passover was the sacrifice of the firstborn. The simple and natural meaning and occasion of the feasts is to be found in the statement of Gn 4^{2b-4a} 'And Abel was a keeper of sheep, but Cain was a tiller of the ground. And in the process of time it came to pass, that Cain brought of the fruit of the ground an offering unto the LORD. And Abel, he also brought of the firstlings of his flock.' The Passover is the shepherd's offering, given in thankful recognition that the fruitfulness of the herd is from J″. That the firstborn belong to J″ is a primitive ordinance, and it is pointed out that in our present accounts such an offering is closely connected with the Passover (Ex $13^{12ff.}$ 'Thou shalt set apart unto the LORD all that openeth the womb . . . the males shall be the LORD'S,' Dt $15^{19ff.}$ $16^{1ff.}$). This custom, it is said, can alone explain the remarkable choice made by the plague in smiting the firstborn. Because Pharaoh prevents the bringing of this offering which is due, J″ takes the firstborn of the Egyptians. The oft-repeated demand is to let the people go to keep a feast in the wilderness with cattle and sheep (Ex 3^{18} 7^{16} 8^{27} *et passim*). For this purpose they borrow the ornaments from the Egyptians. Thus in reality the feast was the occasion of the Exodus, if only the ostensible one, and not the Exodus of the feast, as would appear from the accounts in Dt and Ex 13. (For Ex 13^{1-16} is held by Wellhausen to belong in its present form to a Deuteronomic editing). And he concludes that, while a slight inclination to assign a historical motive to the Passover may possibly be traced earlier, this first actually occurs in Dt. This is apparently due to the fact that in the older tradition the feast explains the occasion and time of the Exodus. Then comes the change that the slaying of the Egyptians is the reason for offering the firstborn;

---

* Ewald would trace to root פס *Salvere*, and from this derive other meanings.

† Cf. also in this connexion J. Müller, *Kritischer Versuch über den Ursprung und die geschichtliche Entwicklung des Pesach- und Mazzothfestes*, Bonn, 1884.

and the time is in the spring, because the Exodus took place then. Then in P comes the further change that the connexion of the Passover with the sacrifice of the firstborn is lost to view. It is no longer based on the fact that J″ slew the firstborn of the Egyptians, but it was instituted before the Exodus, that He might spare the firstborn of Israel.

4. *A Feast of Atonement.*—Another line of conjecture starts from the piacular ritual appearing in both the accounts of Ex 12. We have seen that the second section there (vv.$^{21-27}$) deals almost exclusively with the blood ceremonial. F. C. Baur (*Tübinger Ztschr. f. Theol.* 1832, p. 40 ff.) connects the feast with that celebrated in India, Persia, Asia Minor, and Egypt at the time of the vernal equinox. The Passover sacrifice is offered in place of the firstborn of men, and is thus essentially a sacrifice of atonement. Cf. העביר in Ex 13^{12} (JE) with the use of the same word in connexion with the rite of Molech in such passages as Lv 18^{21}, 2 K 23^{10}, Jer 32^{35}. Dillmann in his *Com.* on Ex and Lv (p. 636 and cf. 121, ed. by Ryssel, Leipzig, 1897) regards the Passover as an offering of reconciliation and purification, introducing the equinoctial festival. The connexion with the Exodus came from the fact that Israel left Egypt at this season. Contiguity in time also explains the later association with *mazzôth.*

In the same way Ewald (*Antiquities of Israel*, p. 352 ff.) affirms—'from the earliest times an atonement offering was an indispensable constituent of every Spring festival.' It comes at a time when there is serious reflexion and anxious care for the unknown future, and so man felt himself impelled to offer 'sacrifices of purification and reconciliation, not alone on account of particular transgressions of which he knew himself to be guilty, but also to secure the Divine exemption and grace generally on the occasion of this uncertain transition, so that, as it were, if, during the new year, his god were to visit him and call him to account, he might not slay him, as he perhaps deserved, but might graciously pass him over.' The lamb was accordingly 'unmistakably an expiatory offering,' and the streaking of the doorway with blood was 'to make atonement for the whole house and all who were contained therein celebrating the festival.'

Schultz in his *OT Theol.* (Eng. tr. i. p. 364) presents much the same view, although he admits the possibility that it 'may originally have been the feast of the firstlings of the cattle.'

5. *A Blood Covenant.* — In the *OT Theol.* of Kayser-Marti we find a somewhat different presentation. Here (2nd ed., Strassburg, 1894, p. 37 f.) it is maintained that originally the Passover was unconnected with the Spring or the Firstborn, but was rather a celebration by means of which one secured his house from all harm in times of pestilence. This was effected by the blood ceremonial which brought one into the closest relations with his divinity, and so, as he believed, secured him from all danger. The application of blood to the doorway suggests that the house divinities (*Hausgötter*) who dwelt there are possibly the ones whose protection was sought.* H. C. Trumbull (*The Threshold Covenant*, p. 203 ff.) holds that the Passover goes back to a rite, which he seeks to trace among many peoples, of a covenant welcome given to a guest, or to a bride or bridegroom in marriage, 'by the outpouring of blood on the threshold of the door, and by staining the doorway itself with the blood of the covenant.' The Passover sacrifice was, then, the *threshold cross-over sacrifice* which marked the welcome of J″ to the household. The idea was familiar, and so needed no explanation when commanded for the night of the deliverance (Ex 12). He would translate 'threshold' (סף) rather than 'basin' in Ex 12^{22}, as is done in the LXX and Vulg. (cf. *op. citat.* p. 206 ff.). The sacrifice killed is one of welcome,* and J″ honours this by covenanting with those who proffer it; where He is not so welcomed, His executioner enters. The firstborn of the Egyptians are taken, since it was a common thought of primitive peoples 'that the first-fruits of life in any sphere belonged of right to God or the gods,' and so His taking them is evidence that the gods of Egypt could not protect them. The Egyptian Passover was in the eyes of the people the rite of marriage between J″ and Israel. The 'stamp of the red hand of the bridegroom is the certification of the covenant union, at the doorway of the family.' But since here Israel is the virgin, the hyssop (Ex 12^{22}), *i.e.* the tree or bush as a feminine symbol, is used for this purpose. In his earlier work, *The Blood Covenant*, Trumbull suggests that in the rite of circumcision it was Abraham and his descendants who supplied the blood of the covenant, while in the Passover sacrifice it was the Lord who commanded the substitute blood in token of His blood-covenanting (p. 351, cf. 230 ff.).

6. *Conclusion.* — In the Passover we probably have one of Israel's oldest feasts. It is the only one represented in the OT as established before the Exodus. The only other occasion that could at all be compared to it in the matter of age would be the feast at sheep-shearing (1 S 25^2, 2 S $13^{23f.}$; cf. H. P. Smith's *Com. in loco*). Both point to the nomad stage of development, and may well date from those early days. All expositors, whatever their lines of conjecture, agree in recognizing this. Many of the writers cited above do not advance their views to the exclusion of all others, although that is true of some, but rather as setting forth that which they think was of central significance in the primitive Passover. In valuing any of these theories we must always distinguish between the facts at the foundation and the brilliant reconstruction that imagination has built upon them, and by so doing we shall probably conclude that it is extremely hazardous to attempt anything like a complete picture of the *primitive Passover.* For the Passover of historic times this result will doubtless be ultimately so far attained that there will be general agreement; but for the earlier age we must be content to note the separate features which the existing material preserves to us, and to recognize them as such. We shall probably in this way approximate more nearly to the truth. For it would not be strange if the Passover which we know, combined in itself features belonging to an *original feast of much larger proportions*, or rather if it had taken up into itself in the course of time various features from what were in reality *different festivals.* As within the period covered by our records we find modifications coming in from time to time, so it undoubtedly was earlier, although not with the same rapidity or to the same extent. In this way it is quite possible that certain particulars, which now receive little notice more than the mere mention, at one time had a much greater importance. Recalling what seem to be the most important features of this primitive festival, we may note—(*a*) the time of its celebration, namely, *the vernal equinox.* This is not unimportant or accidental. It suggests a connexion with the changing seasons, and affords a legitimate

---

* One is reminded in this connexion of the presentation in the Bk. of Jubilees (49^{15})—'And no plague shall come upon them in this year (*i.e.* any year) to kill and destroy them, if they observe the Passover at its season according to its ordinance' (cf. further, Ex 5^{3b}).

* He cites the custom of modern Jews of opening the outer door at a certain stage of the feast, and placing an extra cup and chair.

basis for those hypotheses cited above, which give especial recognition to this feature. The fact that so many other peoples celebrate this occasion lends credibility to such a view. Of course, however, we cannot be certain that we do not have here a feature of lesser antiquity than some one of the others. The further observance at the middle of the month and at night, indicates an almost certain connexion with the full moon. Later on, in Israel and outside, the new moon was apparently much more regarded, but not to the entire exclusion of the full moon (Dill.-Ryssel on Lv, p. 632 ff.).

(*b*) In the older days a *feast* seems always to have meant a *sacrifice.* And we have found both these conceptions embodied in the Passover, the festal side being very evident, and the sacrificial hardly less so. The fact that it does not conform in its details to any one of the later classes of Levitical sacrifices, cannot be made an objection to such a view. For here we go back to a time when all such requirements were as yet undeveloped. All the later treatment of the Passover, as well as most of the terms applied to it (cf. above), indicate throughout such a conception of its significance.

(*c*) As a sacrifice, the *piacular* side stands out in the present accounts with especial prominence. For the blood ceremonial (cf. Ex 12) can hardly have any other meaning. In it a practice from the early tribal life seems to be preserved to us. We see that blood had much the same significance in worship in the case of Israel as was given to it by other peoples. Developments of this same conception could then be found in the many later rites of blood: the pouring, the sprinkling, and the staining. Trumbull's books greatly help one to see how this could come about. At the same time, as a *sacrifice* the Passover has another side, no less important and no less primitive (cf. *RS* p. 239 *et passim*). It ranks with the *shĕlāmîm* or peace-offerings, where the common meal is central, as the means of establishing or renewing the covenant with God and with one another.

We have seen how P gave marked emphasis to this sacramental side. And this cannot be made to conflict with the previous aspect or to exclude it. The fact that the sin-offering of later times could not be used for such a meal, cannot be made a norm for practice at this early stage. Rather one could urge, as some do, the probability that in the case of all sacrifices the blood then found some such application. And in saying this we must remember that it by no means implies that the words *atonement* and *reconciliation* need to have the same serious content that a later age gave to them. Originally offered as all other sacrifices, we should expect no other priest than the head of the family.

(*d*) If we keep within the bounds of our records, it can hardly be denied that the sacrifices at this feast were for the most part, if not entirely, *the firstborn.* Such an offering is mentioned in the oldest portions of the law, and is closely associated with those passages dealing with the Passover. In view of the previous discussion, we need at present merely mention this aspect (cf. ii. 3).

(*e*) It seems, furthermore, to be an undoubted part of the old tradition, that *the Exodus* was closely connected with the observance of this ancient feast. In the case of P there is, to be sure, a demand for complete release, but otherwise there is no indication that the Israelites gave any hint of their intention not to return. The demand which Moses and Aaron repeatedly urge upon Pharaoh is—'Thus saith J″ the God of Israel, Let my people go, that they may hold a feast unto me in the wilderness . . . let us go, we pray thee, three days' journey into the wilderness, and sacrifice unto J″ our God, lest he fall upon us with pestilence or with sword' (Ex 5$^{1-3}$). With young and old, with its sons and its daughters, with its flocks and its herds, Israel seeks to go forth into the Sinaitic peninsula to hold a feast unto the Lord (Ex 10^{9}). That they should ask to do so, does not apparently seem a strange or unintelligible demand to the king. Possibly because such religious pilgrimages, which were a frequent occurrence with later Semitic peoples, were not unusual in those earlier times (cf. Dillmann, *Ex.* p. 46 f.).

Such a feast as this need not, of course, be the Passover; much less the prototype of the later *maẓẓôth* (so Dill. *in loc.* p. 636). But that it stood in close relation to the Passover and the sacrifice of the firstborn, seems an almost necessary conclusion from the OT accounts.

Such are the features which the Passover seems to include within itself. But to give the name Passover especial application to any particular one of them in this early time does not seem warranted, for we have no means of judging of its age or meaning. It may have belonged originally to some particular part, or may have been the designation of *the entire feast or series of feasts.* In any case it has come to stand for a most important recurring occasion in the early nomad life of Israel, one that was possibly then what the feast of Tabernacles was for the early agricultural life—*the* Feast. The very fact that it survived the many changes attending the passing from this nomad to the agricultural stage, as well as later changes hardly less revolutionary, points to something deeply rooted in the popular life and tradition. From first to last it keeps this character of *a people's feast*, and reforms which failed to recognize this feature could not be ultimately successful. Such a celebration could well be the occasion of the Exodus, and this supposition affords adequate explanation for the subsequent traditions. That the old character should become merged in the memorial significance, was to be expected in the face of the new life and institutions. Contiguity in time seems the best explanation for its association with *maẓẓôth*, which always remains really distinct.

iii. THE POST-EXILIC PASSOVER.—1. *Manner of Observance.*—The practice subsequent to the return from captivity, as we have seen in 2 Ch and Ezra, conformed more closely to Dt than to P. This is borne out by the extra-canonical sources (esp. Tract *Pesachim*, Josephus, Bk. of Jubilees). Many details in Ex 12 were interpreted as intended only for the *Egyptian Passover* (פסח מצרים) as over against the *permanent Passover*, which future generations were to observe (פסח לדורות or פסח ראשון as distinguished from the *second or little Passover* פסח שני). Such features were (*a*) the selection of the lamb on the 10th day; (*b*) the slaughter at the home; (*c*) the sprinkling of blood on the doorposts; (*d*) the admission of those who might be Levitically impure; (*e*) the haste indicated in dress and manner of eating (*i.e.* standing); (*f*) lodging where the feast was held. These were assigned to the *feast of preparation*, but not intended to be perpetuated in the *feast of commemoration.* It is to be noted that the priestly writer does not expressly enjoin these features save for the first Passover, but the whole tenor of his narrative indicates that they were undoubtedly given for all time. The Samaritans so continue to understand them. It is only among them that there is still an attempt to observe the Passover with actual sacrifice as in earlier days (cf. the account in Baedeker's *Palestine and Syria*; Trumbull's *Studies in Oriental Social Life*, p. 371 ff.; Thomson in *Expos. Times*, xi. (1900) 377).

Preparation for the Passover really began at the middle of the preceding month (Adar). Roads and bridges were repaired, sepulchres were whitened anew, that they might be readily seen and avoided. It was the season of ceremonial and all other kinds of purifications. In the last days the household utensils were all carefully cleaned. The Sabbath preceding the 14th of Nisan came to be known in the modern synagogue as *the Great Sabbath* (שבת הגדול), because it was held that the 10th, when the lamb was selected in the first instance, fell on a Sabbath. There seems to be no evidence, however, that this view was in existence at the beginning of the Christian era.

On the evening of the 13th the head of the family searched the house with a lighted candle, that he might seek out all the leaven. The hour on the 14th at which one must refrain from eating leavened cakes was variously fixed. It was *always* before noon, however, the precise time being indicated by the disappearance of two cakes which were exposed before the temple. When the signal was thus given, all leaven must be burned or scattered to the winds. Under the head of leaven the Mishna (*Pesach.* 2–5) includes cakes made from wheat, barley, spelt, oats, and rye. If bread be made from any of these grains, it must be before the dough ferments at all. Work ceased on the morning, or at noon, of the 14th, save in a few occupations (tailors, barbers, laundresses). All able-bodied males, not ceremonially impure, within a radius of 15 miles were required to appear this day before the LORD at His sanctuary with an offering. Women were not required to attend, but apparently did so* (Jos. *BJ* VI. ix. 3; *Pesach.* ix. 4).

The regular evening sacrifice was killed and offered an hour earlier than usual (*i.e.* at 1.30 and 2.30 respectively) in order to give opportunity for sacrificing the Passover. When the 14th fell on a Sunday the evening sacrifice came two hours earlier (12.30 and 1.30). The time of the Passover sacrifice is defined in the Law as 'between the two evenings' (בֵּין הָעַרְבָּיִם Ex 12[6], Lv 23[5], Nu 9[3. 5. 11]). This was interpreted by the Pharisees and Talmudists to mean from the hour of the sun's decline until its setting; and this was the later temple practice (cf. *Pesach.* v. 1; Jubilees, 49; Jos. *BJ* VI. ix. 3). The Samaritans, Karaites, and Sadducees, on the other hand, held that the period between sunset and dark was intended.

Companies, which could consist of from 10 to 20 persons, were organized indiscriminately, and not of a man and his neighbour (Ex 12[4]); the number in each instance to be definitely fixed in advance. At the appointed hour the representatives of these various groups, each provided with a lamb not less than eight days old nor more than a year, were divided into three divisions. These were admitted successively to the temple court. The priests blew a threefold blast from the silver trumpets, and thereupon each Israelite in the division just admitted killed his lamb. The blood was caught by the priests, who stood in two rows, one row having gold and the other silver bowls. These bowls were then passed along from hand to hand, and the priest nearest the altar dashed the contents on its base. The lambs were hung on nails, or from staves resting upon the shoulders of two men (not allowed when the day was a Sabbath), and dressed. The fat was removed, and offered by the priests on the altar. While all this was taking place, the Levites sang the Hallel (Ps 113–118); and this they repeated, or sang even a third time, if the division had not meantime finished its sacrifice. This same order was followed in the case of each division.

The lambs were then taken to the homes outside and roasted whole on a wooden spit, pomegranate wood being used, that no sap exude. No bone was allowed to be broken under penalty of scourging, and the flesh must not come in contact with any foreign substance: should this happen, the portion must be cut away. Nothing was eaten after the evening sacrifice until the Passover meal. This must close at midnight. The participants were clad in their best garments. Though not enjoined in the Law, wine came to be regarded as an indispensable part of the feast. Each one must be provided with at least four cups of red wine, even if the money had to come from the fund for public charity, or was raised by the pledging of one's garments, or by his labour. Another dish, which later seems to have been usual but which was not obligatory, was the *ḥarôseth* (חרוסת). It consisted of bruised fruits, such as dates and raisins, mingled with vinegar (a symbol, it was said, of the clay from which the bricks were made in Egypt). The real meal, however, had for its elements (*a*) the bitter herbs, of which the Mishna specifies five varieties; (*b*) the unleavened cakes; (*c*) the *ḥagîgah* (חגיגה) or free-will festal offering; (*d*) the Passover lamb. The supper was opened with the blessing, pronounced by the head of the company over the first cup of wine, which was then drunk. Then came a hand-washing and an accompanying prayer. Then the bitter herbs, dipped in the *ḥarôseth*, were handed round. After the pouring of the second cup of wine came the question of the son, or of one speaking for him, as to the significance of the feast (Ex 12[26]). Following the father's explanation came the first part of the Hallel (Ps 113 and 114). After the third cup grace after meals was said, and after the fourth followed the completion of the Hallel (Ps 115–118). In earlier times nothing was eaten after the paschal lamb, but a later custom permitted a piece of unleavened cake as dessert (*apîḳômen*). There were slight modifications for the observance of the second Passover on the 14th of the following month.

With the destruction of the temple and the cessation of the sacrificial cultus there naturally came a considerable change in the mode of celebration. This was partly in the direction of amplification. The historical significance was emphasized, and an elaborate ritual took shape, cf. the paschal Haggāda, portions of which are as late as the 15th cent. A.D. (Hamburger, Supplement to *Real-Encyc.* p. 113). Much the same general order was observed and much the same articles of food were used, except that for the temple sacrifices the roasted shankbone of a lamb and a roasted egg were employed.

2. *Number of participants.*—The number of those who attended the feast at Jerusalem was undoubtedly great, even if Josephus' use of figures makes us somewhat sceptical of his estimates. At one time, under Nero, he makes the probable number over two and a half millions, and on another occasion (A.D. 65) three millions (*BJ* VI. ix. 3, II. xiv. 3). It was at such times that Rome took especial measures to guard against insurrections (*Ant.* XVII. ix. 3, XX. v. 3; cf. Mt 26[5]). It may be that there were both executions and pardons on these occasions; both aimed at the restraint of the multitude (cf. Mt 27[15]). The city could not accommodate all the visitors, and so they camped outside in tents or lodged in neighbouring villages. Guests were freely entertained, but left the skins of the lambs and the utensils used at the feast with their respective hosts (Mishna, *Yoma* xii. 1).

3. *The Date.*—The day of the celebration was determined by the condition of the harvest. If this did not promise in the 12th month to be ready to be gathered in four weeks, and the animals were not yet grown sufficiently for sacrifice, then the month was declared intercalary, and a thirteenth

---

* The Karaites do not admit them.

was added. This question was settled by the Sanhedrin, and there were certain regulations laid down to guide their decision. The opening of the month of Nisan was also proclaimed by them. This took place when messengers came who had actually seen the new moon (see art. NEW MOON). It was not till about the time of Christ that there came to be a fixed calendar. Fires on the hill-tops sent the signal through the land that the Passover month had begun. After the Samaritans made use of such fires to mislead the Jews, it was ordered that messengers should carry the news throughout the country. The difficulty of fixing this date, and of informing those who were remote when it had been done, led to the doubling of important festal days for those in the Diaspora. (On question of date cf. Mishna, *Rosh hashshana* ii. 1 ff.; Ideler, *Chronol.* pp. 491 ff. and 508 ff.; Schürer, *GJV* i. 625 [*HJP* I. ii. 370 f.]).

The question of the number of passovers traceable during our Lord's ministry, as well as that of the relation of the Last Supper to the Passover, are discussed in art. CHRONOLOGY OF NT, vol. i. p. 406 ff.; cf. JESUS CHRIST, vol. ii. p. 633 f.

LITERATURE.—1. Commentaries on Pent., etc., esp. Dillmann on Ex and Lv (ed. by Ryssel, Leipzig, 1897); Driver on Dt (*Internat. Crit. Com.*); Bertholet on Dt (*Kurzer Hdcom.* 1899), and on Ezk (*ib.* 1897); Steuernagel on Dt (Nowack's *Hdkom.* 1898).

2. Archæologies, esp. Nowack (Freiburg and Leipzig, 1894); Benzinger (*ib.* 1894); Ewald, *Antiquities of Israel* (tr. by H. S. Solly, London and Boston, 1876).

3. Histories of Religion.—J. Müller, *Kritischer Versuch über den Ursprung und die geschichtliche Entwicklung des Pesach- und Mazzothfestes* (Inaugural dissertation, Bonn, 1884); Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*^{4} (Berlin, 1895); Green, *The Hebrew Feasts* (New York, 1886); J. Robertson, *The Early Religion of Israel* (London, Edinburgh, and New York, 1892); Schultz, *OT Theol.* (Eng. tr., Edin., T. & T. Clark, 1892); Kayser, *OT Theol.* (ed. by Karl Marti, Strassburg, 1894).

4. General.—H. C. Trumbull, *The Threshold Covenant* (N.Y. 1896), and *The Blood Cov.* (Phil. 1893); W. R. Smith, *RS*; Wellhausen, *Reste Arab. Heidentums*^{2} (Berlin, 1897). For older literature see citations in Winer's *Realwörterbuch* under 'Passah,' and works given by Dill.-Rys. *Com.* on Ex, p. 112 ff.; and at close of Orelli's article 'Passah,' in Herzog's *RE*^{2}.

5. Literature for post-exilic period.—Various tracts of the Mishna, esp. *Pesachim*; the Paschal Haggāda (regarding this cf. Hamburger, Supplement to *RE*); Book of Jubilees, ch. 49; Josephus (see Index); Philo, *Vita Mos.*; Edersheim, *The Temple, its Ministry and Services as they were at the Time of Jesus Christ* (London, 1874).

See also artt. on the Passover by W. R. Smith in *Enc. Brit.*^{9}; Ginsburg in *Kitto's Cyclop.*; Delitzsch in Riehm's *Handwörterbuch*; Hamburger in *RE* (Jewish).

W. J. MOULTON.

PASTOR.—This word was at first used literally (like its Lat. equivalent) of a keeper of sheep. So in the OT, Jer 2^{8} 3^{15} 10^{21} 12^{10} 17^{16} 22^{22} $23^{1.2}$. But already in AV it has assumed a metaph. meaning. In Eph 4^{11} (the only NT occurrence) RV retains 'pastor'; but elsewhere (except Jer 2^{8}, RV 'ruler') changes 'pastor' into 'shepherd,' probably on account of the special modern use of the word to designate the minister of a Christian congregation. For the lit. use see Mt 25^{33} Rhem. 'As the pastor separateth the sheep from the goates'; and for the transition Mt 26^{31} Rhem. 'I wil strike the Pastor, and the sheepe of the flocke shal be dispersed.' Cf. also Knox, *Hist.* 266, 'Our Brother, our Pastour, and great Bishop of our soules'; and for the mod. sense see the quotation from Calderwood's *Hist.*, under MINISTER.

PASTORAL EPISTLES.—See NEW TESTAMENT, p. 527^{b}, and arts. TIMOTHY, TITUS.

PATARA (τὰ Πάταρα) was a city on the Lycian coast, about 60 stadia south-east from the mouth of the river Xanthos, at the modern village Gelemish. It served as the principal harbour for the inland cities in the valley of that river, including Xanthus the city, Tlos, Araxa, etc. It was also a link in the chain of coasting trade, which had been maintained for more than a thousand years before Christ, and which steadily grew and in the centuries immediately before and after Christ attained vast proportions. Ships sailing between the Ægean or Italian harbours and the Levant (Cyprus, Pamphylia, Cilicia, Syria, Egypt) touched at Rhodes and then at Patara, making a straight run across the intervening sea. That is well exemplified in the account of St. Paul's voyage (Ac 21^{1}) from Miletus and Cos by Rhodes and Patara to Syria. In Patara he found a ship bound for Phœnicia by the direct sea voyage; and he transhipped into it with his company. The ship in which he had come to Patara was not so suitable for his purposes, whether because it was bound for the continuous coasting voyage, hugging close the shore of Asia Minor, or possibly because it was not going farther than the Lycian harbours. Many ships engaged in the Syrian or the Egyptian trade, especially those which were larger and stronger, stood direct across the Levant from the Lycian coast to their destination, keeping west and south of the island of Cyprus. They could do this easily with the prevailing westerly breezes of the Levant; but the return voyage outside (*i.e.* south and west) of Cyprus was not easy; it could be tried from Egypt, but from Syria was hardly possible for the ancient ships. Hence, when St. Paul was coming back from Cæsarea to Rome, he had to keep inside, *i.e.* east and north, of Cyprus, on account of the prevailing westerly breezes, Ac 27^{2}. See also MYRA, which was the next important link in the chain of trade eastward.

This situation assured to Patara considerable importance and wealth. Its coinage begins about B.C. 440, sometimes as autonomous with Lycian legends (name Pttara) or under dynasts about 430–410. In the 4th and 3rd cents. B.C. it seems to have struck no coins, being under foreign rule; but when the Lycian League was established (see LYCIA), Patarean coinage began again, B.C. 168–81, and it continued in bronze under the Roman empire until about A.D. 230–240. Alliance coins with Myra, under Gordian III., attest the close relations of the two cities, as above mentioned.

The importance of Patara as a link in the connexion between Egypt and the Ægean harbours is shown by the fact that, when the Ptolemaic power attained its acme in the 3rd cent., Ptolemy Philadelphus enlarged the city and re-named it Arsinoe after his queen; but the new name disappeared with the Egyptian power.

The name of Patara in ancient times was closely connected with the cultus and the oracle of Apollo; and its later coins show Apolline types, though on its earlier coinage Athena and Hermes (Greek ideals of art and trade) are the prominent figures. The Roman poets, and the later Greeks like Lykophron, associate the epithet Patarean with Apollo, just as they call the god Delphian. The oracle spoke only during part of the year, viz. the six winter months.

In the history of Christianity Patara was of small consequence. Lycia, like Pamphylia, seems to have been slow in adopting the new religion. Patara was a bishopric, and is mentioned as such in all the *Notitiæ*. There are still considerable ruins of the city, on which see Beaufort, Texier, Fellows, Spratt, and Forbes, and, above all, the splendid work of Benndorf-Niemann on *Lykia*.

W. M. RAMSAY.

PATE (formed by loss of *l* from 'plate,' which came to be applied to the crown of the head, esp the bald crown, from its appearance: cf. Germ. *Platte*, 'a plate,' 'bald head,' and vulgarly 'the head') occurs once in AV (Ps 7^{16} 'His mischief shall return upon his own head, and his violent dealing shall come down upon his own pate') and is retained in RV, because of the distinction thus brought out between ראֹשׁ *rô'sh*, the usual word for 'head,' and קָדְקֹד *ḳodhḳōdh*, the 'crown of the head' (which elsewhere, however, is rendered 'crown of the head,' Gn 49[26], Dt 33[20], 2 S 14[25], Job 2[7], Is 3[17], Jer 2[16] 48[45], or 'top of the head,' Dt 28[35] 33[16], or 'scalp,' Ps 68[21]). The AV tr. in Ps 7[16] comes from Coverdale (Wyc. has 'nol' in 1382, 'necke' in 1388); it is used by Knox in a tr. of the passage (*Works*, iii. 90), 'The dolour whilk he intendit for me sall fall upon his own pate; and the violence whairwith he wold haif oppressit me sall cast doun his awn heid.' Shaks. uses the word freely, and always in contempt or ridicule, which seems to accompany its use everywhere, but this is not pronounced in, *e.g.*, Tymme, *Calvin's Genesis* on Gn 31[22] (p. 650), 'It was a heavie and miserable sight, that Jacob . . . should flee away as one that had done amisse; but this was more sharpe and fearefull, that the destruction which Laban intended against him, was readie to light on his pate.' J. HASTINGS.

PATHEUS (Παθαῖος), 1 Es 9[23], the same as PETHAHIAH the Levite, Ezr 10[23].

PATHROS (פַּתְרוֹס, LXX γῆ Παθουρῆς, B also Φαθωρῆς, Ezk 29[14] 30[14], Vulg. *Phatures*, also *Phethros*) appears in the following passages:—Jer 44[1], the Jews fleeing before the Babylonians settled 'in the land of Egypt, and at Migdol, and at Tahpanhes, and at Noph (*i.e.* Memphis, so far three cities of Lower Egypt), and in the country of Pathros,' evidently a part of the land south of Memphis. V.[15], all people that dwelt in the land of Egypt [and] in 'Pathros' answer Jeremiah's accusation. The 'and' is wanting in the Heb. and already in the text of the LXX, but it has evidently been omitted by mistake, and must be inserted after the analogy of the first verse. Pathros denotes, not a part of (Lower) Egypt or Mizraim, but a region parallel to it. Is 11[11] 'the remainder of Israel will be brought home from Assyria, and from Egypt, and from Pathros (LXX strangely 'Babylonia'), and Ethiopia (Cush), and Elam,' etc. Ezk 30[14], we find again, in the prophecy against Egypt, this country parallel to Pathros (the following cities are not arranged in any geographic order).

We see, consequently, that the prophets did not use Mizraim in the old sense 'Egypt,' but in a limited sense, distinguishing between Mizraim, Egypt proper, *i.e.* Lower Egypt or the Delta of the Nile, and Pathros or Upper Egypt (this definition was correctly perceived already by S. Bochart in his book *Phaleg*). Pathros denotes, therefore, the same thing as the Thebais of the Greeks, the country beginning a few miles S. of Memphis, at a place called Acanthus by the Greeks and extending to Syene on the first cataract. The name is of good Egyp. formation: *P-to-rês*, 'the southern (*rês*) country,' an etymology given correctly already by Quatremère. Other etymologies have not maintained themselves; *e.g.* the comparison with the Pathyrite (νόμος Παθυρίτης) of the Greeks, a small county or nomos of Upper Egypt, which was very tempting for former scholars (G. Ebers in 1867), is inadmissible. (It would be in Heb. letters פחתחור[ם] *Pe-ḥathor-(res)* or something similar). The Assyr. king Esarhaddon calls himself in a cuneiform inscription 'king of the kings of Egypt (*Muzur*), of *Paturisi* and Ethiopia' (*Kusi*, *i.e.* Cush of the Hebrews). Possibly the Heb. word should be read פתרים *Pathoris*, in accordance with this testimony, the versions, and the Egyp. etymology.

The reason why the prophets drew this line of distinction between Egypt proper and the 'Southern country' was their old political division, renewed about 800 B.C. At that time the Eth. king of Napata extended his power beyond the first cataract and seized Thebes. About 770 B.C. the Ethiopian *P(i)'ankhi* (Piankhi) possessed Upper Egypt down to Hermopolis. The rest of Egypt was split up into ten small kingdoms perfectly independent of the legal Pharaoh, Shoshenk IV. Of these petty kings residing in Sais, Bubastis, Hermopolis, etc., Tefnakht of Sais finally gained the supremacy. He failed to subject Middle Egypt owing to the interference of the Ethiopians. Tefnakht's defeat and nominal subjection under P(i)'ankhi's sovereignty did not prevent him and his successor Bocchoris (Egyptian *Bok-en-renef*, the famous founder of the Egyptian code of laws) from gaining finally all Lower and Middle Egypt. In 728 the Eth. Shabako, interfering again, defeated Bocchoris, burned him alive, and united Egypt under his rule. But the political division of Pathros under administration of the Eth. kings and of Mizraim under native rulers, which had lasted for some 70 years, was kept in memory by the Hebrews during the 7th cent. and even by Ezekiel (572 B.C.)

Ezk 29[14] (after Egypt has been desolate for 40 years and its inhabitants exiled), 'I will bring back the captivity of Egypt, and will cause them to return into (LXX, 'will cause them to dwell in,' perhaps better) the land of Pathros, into the land of their birth, and they shall be there a base kingdom.' It is very remarkable to find in Ezekiel a knowledge of the correct Egyp. tradition concerning the priority of the Southern country over the North. The earliest known dynasties of kings resided in Memphis on the border of Upper and Lower Egypt, but the first historical king, Menes, came from This (Thinis) near Abydos in Upper Egypt. Therefore the inscriptions always place the South as the aboriginal country before the North. The issue of that prophecy is not quite clear. The downfall of Egypt's power and the loss of her independence for ever in 525 B.C., brought about by Cambyses, are a clear fulfilment. But we do not know of an independent Egyp. kingdom limited to Upper Egypt, except about 200 B.C., when the Egyptians, rebelling against the Greek kings (Ptolemy IV. and V.), held their own in the Thebaid for about 20 years. Ezekiel's words apparently require some less literal interpretation, which we cannot well give in our present state of knowledge. From Pathros the branch of the Egyptians came, called **Pathrusim** (Gn 10[14], LXX οἱ Πατροσωνιείμ). W. MAX MÜLLER.

PATMOS (Πάτμος).—This island is once mentioned in the Bible, Rev 1[9] 'I John . . . was in the isle that is called Patmos, for the word of God and for the testimony of Jesus Christ.' Patmos lies off the coast of Asia Minor, in 37° 20′ N. Lat. and 26° 35′ E. Long., and on the map has roughly the shape of a horse's head and neck, the nose pointing eastwards. It is about 10 miles long by N. and S., and 6 broad along its northern end. Its much indented coastline is 37 miles round; according to Pliny, 30 Roman miles. It consists of three main masses of volcanic hills which, at their highest point, Hagios Elias, rise to over 800 ft. In the Middle Ages its palms won it the name of Palmosa, but under Turkish rule its vegetation, trade, and inhabitants have nearly disappeared. The ancient capital occupied an isthmus connecting what are now called the inlets of La Scala and Merika. Its ruins are still visible, and the Cyclopean work of the citadel denotes great antiquity. The chief feature of the modern island is the monastery of St. John, dominating with its battlements the modern town, which lies a mile and a half south of La Scala, the landing-place. This monastery was founded in 1088 under Alexius Comnenus by St. Christodulos. Whether the 'cave of the apocalypse' halfway up the hillside, now shown as the spot at which St. John received his revelation, was already famous before that date, is not known. The monastery contains a poor remnant of the valuable library which was once there. Mai. in his *Nova Bibliotheca*, VI. ii. p. 537, has published from a Vatican MS a list of the books preserved there in the 13th cent. It was here that the English traveller E. D. Clark purchased of the monks, in Oct. 1814, the great 9th cent. codex of Plato now in the Bodleian. It remains to add that, according to an uncertain tradition preserved in Irenæus, v. 30; Eusebius, *HE* iii. 18; Hieronymus, *de Scr. Ill.* c. 9, and others, St. John was exiled to Patmos in the 14th year of the emperor Domitian, and returned thence to Ephesus A.D. 96 under Nerva. A modern traveller, Mr. Theodore Bent, has suggested that the natural scenery of the island determined some features of the imagery of the Apocalypse: a suggestion which Dean Stanley in his *Sermons in the East* had already made.

LITERATURE.—H. F. Tozer, *The Islands of the Ægean*, 1890, pp. 178–195; Tournefort, *Relation d'un Voyage*, Lyon, 1717; Walpole, *Turkey*, London, 1820, vol. ii. 43; E. D. Clark, *Travels*, London, 1818, vol. vi. ch. 2, Ross, *Reisen*, Stuttgart, 1840, vol. ii.; Guérin, *Description de l'Ile de Patmos*, Paris, 1856. Among ancient authorities Patmos is mentioned by Thucyd. iii. 33; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iv. 23; Strabo, bk. x. ch. 5.

F. C. CONYBEARE.

PATRIARCHS.—The discussion of this subject falls naturally into two parts, viz., a few general remarks, and a more detailed examination of the immense age ascribed to the individual members of this class.

i. *General Remarks.*—When the title 'patriarch' is applied to a biblical character, it is usually understood to mean one of the earliest fathers of the human race, or one of the three great progenitors of Israel, namely, Abraham, Isaac, or Jacob. In the NT it is extended so as to embrace the sons of Jacob (Ac $7^{8.9}$) and David (Ac 2^{29}). The LXX, from which the title comes, favours the less restricted use. At 1 Ch 24^{31} *πατριάρχαι* (Heb. רָאשֵׁי הָאָבוֹת) are heads of the Levites; at 1 Ch 27^{22} *π. τῶν φυλῶν* 'Ισ. (שָׂרֵי שִׁבְטֵי יִשׂ׳) are the chief officials of the kingdom; at 2 Ch 19^{8} *τῶν π.* 'Ισ. (רָאשֵׁי הָאָבוֹת לְיִשׂ׳) are leading men, fit to serve as judges; at 2 Ch 23^{20} *τοὺς π.* (שָׂרֵי הַמֵּאוֹת) are the captains of hundreds; at 2 Ch 26^{12} *π. τῶν δυνατῶν* (רָאשֵׁי הָאָבוֹת לְגִבּוֹרֵי חָיִל) are officers in Uzziah's army; 4 Mac 7^{19} speaks of *οἱ π. ἡμῶν* 'Αβ. 'Ισ. 'Ιακώβ, and 4 Mac 16^{25} of 'Αβ. *καὶ* 'Ισ. *καὶ* 'Ιακ., *καὶ πάντες οἱ π.* In this article we shall not need to say anything about the later patriarchs: for them the articles ABRAHAM, etc., should be consulted. We have to deal only with two classes—the antediluvian patriarchs, and those who are placed between the Flood and the birth of Abraham.

Of the former we possess two lists: a Cainite, in Gn $4^{17.18}$, ascribed to J; and a Sethite, Gn 5^{3-31}, the work of P. They cover the same ground, Lamech being the *terminus ad quem* in both cases; but the former begins with Cain, the latter with Seth. They run as follows:—

Gn $4^{17.18}$	Gn 5^{3-31}
Cain	Seth
Enoch	Enosh
Irad	Kenan
Mehujael	Mahalalel
Methushael	Jared
Lamech	Enoch
	Methuselah
	Lamech

The editors to whom we owe the Book of Genesis in its present form evidently understood the Lamech of ch. 4 to be the same person as the Lamech of ch. 5. Yet one and the same man cannot have been the descendant in the direct line of two individuals so sharply distinguished from each other as Cain and Seth. And there is a striking similarity between some of the names on the one side and on the other, compelling us to conclude that P altered Irad into Jared, Mehujael into Mahalalel, Methushael into Methuselah. See, further, the separate articles on these names.

The 11th chapter of Genesis carries us from the Flood to the birth of Abraham. MT and Sam. have here a list of nine names: LXX (followed by Lk 3^{36}), obviously for the sake of reaching the number ten, as in Gn 5, inserts Cainan between Arpachshad and Shelah, and attributes to him precisely the same age at the birth of his firstborn and at death as to Shelah. Many of the names in this genealogy have been identified (but see Dillm. *ad loc.*) as those of localities in Mesopotamia.

There is much to be said for Ryle's conclusion respecting the patriarchs as a whole: 'Perhaps we should not be far wrong in regarding them as constituting a group of demigods or heroes, whose names, in the earliest days of Hebrew tradition, filled up the blank between the creation of man and the age of the Israelite patriarchs. Such a group would be in accordance with the analogy of the primitive legends of other races. The removal of every taint of polytheistic superstition, the presentation of these names as the names of ordinary human beings, would be the work of the Israelite narrator' (*Early Narratives of Gen.* p. 81). In such purification of derived material we see inspiration at work.

For more particulars see articles ARPACHSHAD, etc.

ii. *Longevity of the Patriarchs.*—A notable difference between J and P is, that the former (Gn $4^{17.18}$), if he furnishes anything beyond a name, connects with it an interesting statement; whilst the latter (Gn 5. 11) gives the age at which each patriarch begat his firstborn son, and that at which he died. The figures mentioned for the second of these events are so high that, if they had been found anywhere but in the Bible, we should have dismissed them as inventions. We do not trouble to inquire whether the first seven Egyptian kings reigned in all 12,300 years, or whether any credence is due to Ephorus and Nicolaus, who, as Josephus (*Ant.* I. iii. 9) says, 'relate that the ancients lived a thousand years.' And the attempts hitherto made to vindicate P's numbers are powerless to carry conviction.

There is no sufficient historical evidence to show that in earlier ages or under more favourable conditions human life has been prolonged to anything like 900 years. Delitzsch would have liked to make a point of this, but it is nothing to the purpose when he quotes (*New Comm. on Gen.* p. 212) Becker's statement that 'a lifetime of 150 is not uncommon in the snow mountains of South Dagestan.' Prichard (*Nat. Hist. of Man*, p. 653) is inclined to accept Easton's tables, according to which three Europeans have attained the age of between 170 and 180, two between 160 and 170, and so on. Yet, even if this were so, it falls far short of the mark. The human frame, as men have known it in historical times, is not calculated to last 200 years, to say nothing of 900. And there is no more reason for believing that its vigour gradually declined during and after the days of the grey forefathers of the race, than there is for accepting the Talmudic absurdity that the first man reached from earth to heaven, but after his sin the Holy One laid His hands upon him and made him little (*Chag.* 12*a*). Gn 6^{3b} has been adduced as marking a turning-point at which the deterioration began. But this clause is either a gloss, explanatory of the preceding words (Wellh.), or, more probably, it has been transposed from its original position in the story of the Fall (Budde).

In any case it will not serve the purpose for which it is brought forward. It precedes the account of the Flood. But Gn 11 does not limit the patriarchs after the Flood to 120 years: Shem lives 600 years; Arpachshad, 438, etc.

When it is said that 'the numbers 930, 912, 905, etc., designate epochs of antediluvian history, which are named after their chief representatives' (Del. *New Comm. on Gen.* p. 213), it must be remembered, on the other hand, that this was not P's meaning. To him Methuselah and the rest were individual men who actually attained the age with which he credits them. And under the same heading of arbitrary attempts to vindicate the trustworthiness of the figures must be classed the suggestion that the year was not one of 12 months' duration, but of 1 or 2 or 3 or 4 or 6. שָׁנָה 'year,' in the Bible, has only one signification, the ordinary one.

Are these desperate attempts necessary? Our answer might conceivably have been in the affirmative if there had been no uncertainty about the numbers themselves. But the three authorities, the MT, the Sam., and the LXX, are hopelessly disagreed. To see this, it needs but a glance at the two following tables, which are reproduced mainly from Holzinger's *Gen.* pp. 61, 115:—

TABLE I.

FROM GN 5.

	MT.			SAMARITAN.			LXX.			YEAR A.M. IN WHICH HE DIED.		
	Birth of First-born.	Remainder of Life.	Total.	Birth of First-born.	Remainder of Life.	Total.	Birth of First-born.	Remainder of Life.	Total.	MT.	Sam.	LXX.
1. Adam . .	130	800	930	130	800	930	230	700	930	930	930	930
2. Seth . .	105	807	912	105	807	912	205	707	912	1042	1042	1142
3. Enosh . .	90	815	905	90	815	905	190	715	905	1140	1140	1340
4. Kenan . .	70	840	910	70	840	910	170	740	910	1235	1235	1535
5. Mahalalel .	65	830	895	65	830	895	165	730	895	1290	1290	1690
6. Jared . .	162	800	962	62	785	847	162	800	962	1422	1307	1922
7. Enoch . .	65	300	365	65	300	365	165	200	365	987	887	1487
8. Methuselah .	187	782	969	67	653	720	187	782	969	1656	1307	2256
							[Luc.167	802]				
9. Lamech .	182	595	777	53	600	653	188	565	753	1651	1307	2227
												[Luc. 2207]
10. Noah . .	500	..	(950)	500	..	(950)	500	..	(950)	..	..	..
To the Flood .	100	..	..	100	..	..	100	..	..	..	..	..
Year of the Flood	1656	..	..	1307	..	..	2262	[Luc. 2242]		..	..	..

TABLE II.

FROM GN 11.

	MT.			SAMARITAN.			LXX.		
	Birth of First-born.	Remainder of Life.	Total.	Birth of First-born.	Remainder of Life.	Total.	Birth of First-born.	Remainder of Life.	Total.
1. Shem	100	500	600	100	500	600	100	500	600
2. Arpachshad	35	403	438	135	303	438	135	430	565
[Καινάν	..	..	..	..	..	..	130	330	460]
3. Shelah	30	403	433	130	303	433	130	330	460
4. Eber	34	430	464	134	270	404	134	370	504
		[Ball 370	404]						
5. Peleg	30	209	239	130	109	239	130	209	339
							[Luc. 134]		[Luc. 343]
6. Reu	32	207	239	132	107	239	132	207	339
7. Serug	30	200	230	130	100	230	130	200	330
8. Nahor	29	119	148	79	69	148	79	129	208
								[Luc. 125	204]
9. Terah	70	135	205	70	75	145	70	135	205
Total	390	..	..	1040	..	..	1170 [Luc. 1174]		..
From Flood to Birth of Abraham	290	..	..	940	..	..	1070 years		..

The slightest inspection of Table I. shows that the discrepancies are not due to accident. The regularity with which the LXX advances the age of the father at the birth of his first son by 100 years betrays purpose. The manipulation of MT and Sam., so that, although they do not agree as to the year after the Creation in which Methuselah died, they yet, both of them, date his death in the year of the Flood, is equally significant. The date of the Flood in MT, 1656, is obtained by adding the remaining 349 years of Noah's life to the 1307 of the Samaritan. Our documentary authorities, therefore, did not pay blind respect to the numbers which they found before them.

Budde (*Urgeschichte*, ch. iv.), followed by more recent writers, has endeavoured to show that the Sam., by dating the death of Jared, Methuselah, and Lamech in the same year as the Flood, meant to imply that they perished in that catastrophe. He also sees in the names of these patriarchs indications of sinfulness and degeneracy. But the etymology is too uncertain to justify the latter inference (see the new *Oxford Heb. Lexicon,* and also the name list in Ball's *Light from the East*).

The list in ch. 11 is still more evidently artificial. In all three authorities the purpose is to indicate a gradual diminution of longevity from 600 to 200 years, thus preparing the way for the still shorter lifetime of Abraham and his successors. The LXX, by adding 100 to each of the earlier lives, after the first, makes the slope more gradual. The Sam., by adding 100 to the age at the birth of the firstborn, avoids the startling transition from 100 in Shem's case to 35, 30, etc., in the succeeding ones. This version also, to escape the apparent inconsistency between the supposition that Abraham's begetting a son when 100 years old is a miracle, and the statement that 130 was the ordinary age for this in the preceding cases, has the 79 and 70 of the LXX for Nahor and Terah. As an example of the freedom with which the MT treated this matter, the instance of Terah may be cited. The Sam. gives him 145 years: this would make Abraham leave Haran immediately on his father's death. But Gn 12^1 relates that Abraham was called to leave his father's house. Hence the 205 years ascribed to Terah in the MT: according to it, Terah survived his son's departure 60 years. Finally, we must note the startling discrepancy between the 290 years of MT, the 940 of Sam., and the 1070 of LXX, as the length of the period from the Flood to the Birth of Abraham.

In endeavouring to account for these extraordinary figures we must never forget that we owe them to P. The earlier documents, J and E, show no trace of anything similar. It is P, too, who attributes to Abraham 175 years, to Isaac 180, to Jacob 147; and, when compelled to limit Moses to 120, seems to think his comparatively early decease requires comment: 'his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated.' The periods determined by such landmarks as Creation, Flood, Birth of Abraham, needed to be filled up. P was especially attracted by names and numbers. The names were supplied by tradition. We have no evidence to prove that a definite number was attached to each of these names. But we do know that in ancient times the belief prevailed that human life had formerly been prolonged far beyond the limits which have since been familiar. Hesiod asserts that in the Silver Age childhood lasted 130 years. A Hebrew prophet (Is 65^{20}), picturing the Messianic future in colours drawn from popular ideas respecting the far-distant past, predicts that 'the child shall die an hundred years old' (on this passage see *Expos. Times*, Nov. 1899, p. 61).

LITERATURE.—Besides the best Commentaries on Genesis, Budde's *Urgeschichte* is helpful. See also Ryle's *Early Narratives of Genesis*, and the art. CHRONOLOGY OF THE OT in the first vol. of this Dictionary. J. TAYLOR.

PATROBAS (Πατρόβας).—The name of a member of the Roman Church greeted by St. Paul in Ro 16^{14}. It is a shortened form of *Patrobius.* The name was borne by a well-known freedman of Nero, who was put to death by Galba (Tac. *Hist.* i. 49, ii. 95), and occurs in inscriptions (Lightfoot, *Philippians,* p. 175). Patrobas is commemorated on Nov. 4, and all later legends about him will be found in *Acta Sanctorum*, Nov., vol. ii. 1, p. 222. A. C. HEADLAM.

PATROCLUS (Πάτροκλος).—The father of the Syrian general Nicanor (2 Mac 8^9).

PATTERN.—Various words are so rendered. 1. תַּבְנִית *tabhnîth* [from *bānah*, to build], the shape of a thing, elsewhere tr. 'example' or 'ensample,' 'figure,' 'form,' etc., is tr. 'pattern' in Ex. $25^{9\,bis.\,40}$, Jos 22^{28}, 2 K 16^{10}, 1 Ch $28^{11.\,12.\,18.\,19}$, in reference to the model or idea (lit. 'construction') of the tabernacle, etc. 2. תָּכְנִית *tokhnîth* [fr. *tākhan*, to regulate, adjust, used in Job 28^{25}, Is $40^{12.\,13}$ of God's work 'in ordering creation by weight or measure'] occurs only in Ezk 28^{12} (of the symmetry or perfection of the prince of Tyre [see Davidson, *in loc.*], AV and RV 'sum,' RVm '*Or* measure, *or* pattern'), and 43^{10} (of the idea of the temple before building, AV and RV 'pattern,' AVm '*Or* sum *or* number,' RVm '*Or* sum'). 3. מַרְאֶה *mar'eh* [fr. *rā'ah*, to see], a sight, the appearance of something, is tr. 'pattern' in Nu 8^4 'According unto the pattern which the Lord had showed Moses.' 4. ὁμοίωμα [fr. ὅμοιος, ὁμός, *similis*, same], something made like some other thing, a copy, is in Sir 38^{28} tr. 'pattern,' 'His eyes look still upon the pattern of the thing that he maketh,' Gr. κατέναντι ὁμοιώματος σκεύους. 5. τύπος, which is both the model and 'copy' (see FIGURE, § 3), is tr. 'pattern' in Tit 2^7 (RV 'ensample'), He 8^5 (quot. from Ex 25^{40}). The meaning is clearly image, an idea before one in the formation of character (Tit 2^7) or of the tabernacle (He 8^5), not copy. Cf. Hall, *Works*, ii. 148, 'There must be much caution used in our imitation of the best patternes, (whether in respect of the persons or things;) else we shall make our selves apes, and our acts sinful absurdities.' 6. ὑποτύπωσις in 1 Ti 1^{16}, AV 'pattern,' RV 'ensample,' but in 2 Ti 1^{13} (its only other occurrence) AV 'form,' RV 'pattern.' It is an outline or sketch under one's eye. 7. ὑπόδειγμα, like τύπος, is used for both the model and the copy, and in the only place where it is rendered 'pattern,' He 9^{23} (as well as in 8^5, where it is tr. 'example,' RV 'copy'), the meaning is clearly copy or representation: He 9^{23} 'It was therefore necessary that the patterns (RV 'copies') of things in the heavens should be purified with these; but the heavenly things themselves with better sacrifices than these.' But in 1611 this tr. was quite legitimate, as 'pattern' then was used for both the exemplar and its copy. Trench (*On AV of NT*, p. 118 f.) denies this; but there are unmistakable examples in Shaks. as well as elsewhere. Thus *I Henry VI.* V. v. 65—

> 'For what is wedlock forced but a hell,
> An age of discord and continual strife?
> Whereas the contrary bringeth bliss,
> And is a pattern of celestial peace.'

So *Othello*, V. ii. 11—

> 'Thou cunning'st pattern of excelling nature.'

See also *Henry V.* II. iv. 61, *Lucrece* 1350, *Lover's Complaint*, 170; and cf. *Book of Homilies* (1573), 'where most rebellions and rebels be, there is the express similitude of hell; and the rebels themselves are the very figures of fiends and devils, and their captain the ungracious pattern of Lucifer and Satan, the prince of darkness.' J. HASTINGS.

PAU.—See PAI.

PAUL THE APOSTLE.—

i. THE LIFE.
- 1. BIRTH AND TRAINING:
  Autobiographical Notes; Personal Names; Jewish nature, Greek environment, Roman citizenship—influence of Tarsus, of Jerusalem and Gamaliel.
- 2. IDIOSYNCRASY:
  Mental gifts, Physical constitution, Emotional temperament; the χαρίσματα; the σκόλοψ τῇ σαρκί.
- 3. CONVERSION:
  The Root of Paul's Doctrine; Narratives of the Acts; Allusions of the Epp.; Internal antecedents; Actual Appearance of Jesus; Sequel of the Conversion.
- 4. MISSIONARY CAREER,—dating from Conversion; the Vision in Jerusalem:
  - (*a*) *First Period, of Apprenticeship:* Tarsus and Cilicia.
  - (*b*) *Second Period, of Co-operation with Barnabas and First Missionary Tour:* Syrian Antioch, Relief of Famine in Judæa; Cyprus (Sergius Paulus, Elymas), Behaviour of John Mark;

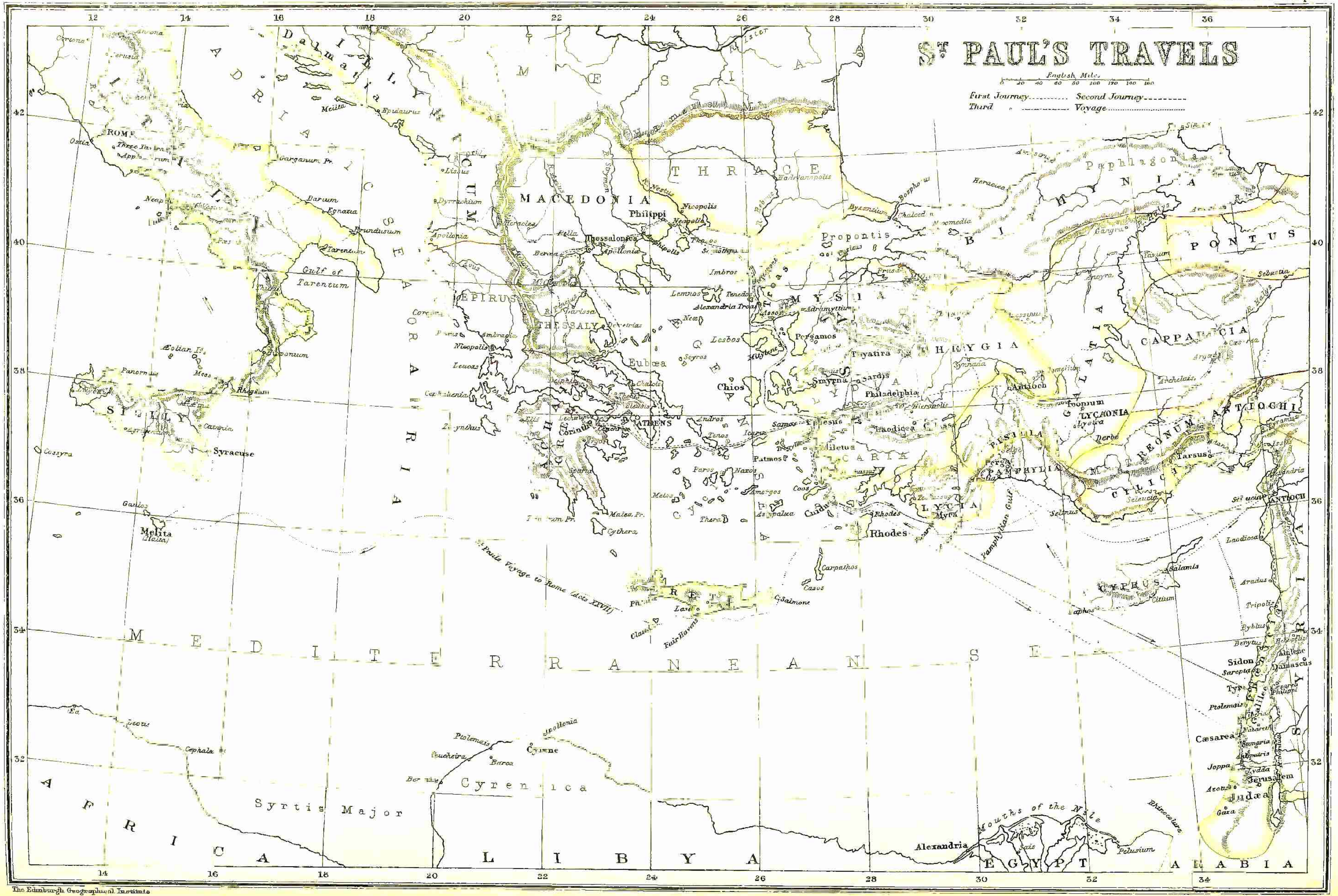

ST PAUL'S TRAVELS

English Miles
0 20 40 60 80 100 120 140 160
First Journey
Second Journey
Third
Voyage
12
14
16
18
20
22
24
26
28
30
32
34
36
42
40
38
36
34
32
MŒSIA
THRACE
MACEDONIA
Philippi
Neapolis
Nicopolis
Thessalonica
Amphipolis
Apollonia
Berœa
Pella
Heraclea
R. Strymon
R. Nestus
R. Axius
R. Hebrus
Hadrianopolis
Byzantium
Chalcedon
Bosphorus
Propontis
Nicomedia
Heraclea
BITHYNIA
Paphlagonia
PONTUS
Sinope
Amasia
Gangra
Tavium
Sebastia
R. Halys
Ancyra
GALATIA
CAPPADOCIA
Cæsarea
Archelais
MYSIA
Troas
Alexandria Troas
Assos
Adramyttium
Pergamos
Thyatira
Smyrna
Sardis
Philadelphia
Ephesus
Miletus
Trogyllium
LYDIA
PHRYGIA
Synnada
Antioch
Iconium
LYCAONIA
Lystra
Derbe
PISIDIA
PAMPHYLIA
Perga
Attalia
Pamphylian Gulf
LYCIA
Myra
Patara
Rhodes
CARIA
Cnidus
Laodicea
Colossæ
Hierapolis
CILICIA
Tarsus
Seleucia
Selinus
ANTIOCH
Seleucia
Laodicea
Aradus
Tripolis
Byblus
Berytus
Sidon
Sarepta
Tyre
Ptolemais
Damascus
Abilene
Cæsarea Philippi
Galilee
Nazareth
Samaria
Cæsarea
Antipatris
Joppa
Lydda
Jerusalem
Azotus
Gaza
Judæa
SYRIA
Rhinocolura
Pelusium
Mouths of the Nile
Alexandria
EGYPT
ARABIA
CYPRUS
Salamis
Citium
Paphos
Carpathos
Casos
Salmone
CRETE
Lasea
Fair Havens
Clauda
Phœnix
Cythera
Malea Pr.
Thera
Astypalæa
Amorgos
Melos
Paros
Naxos
Patmos
Cos
Samos
Icaria
Tenos
Andros
Chios
Lesbos
Mitylene
Scyros
Eubœa
Lemnos
Tenedos
Imbros
Samothrace
Thasos
ÆGEAN SEA
CYCLADES
ATHENS
Corinth
Cenchreæ
Chalcis
Argos
Sparta
ACHAIA
Delphi
THESSALY
Larissa
Demetrias
EPIRUS
Nicopolis
Ambracia
Leucas
Ithaca
Cephallenia
Zacynthus
Corcyra
ILLYRICUM
Dyrrachium
Apollonia
Lissus
Dalmatia
Epidaurus
Melita
ADRIATIC SEA
Garganum Pr.
Barium
Egnatia
Brundusium
Tarentum
Gulf of Tarentum
Croton
Rhegium
Æolian Is.
Messana
SICILY
Panormus
Syracuse
Catania
Agrigentum
Cossyra
Melita (Malta)
Gaulos
ROME
Ostia
Three Taverns
Appii Forum
Neapolis
Puteoli
ITALIA
Cortona
Perusia
Ancona
St. Paul's Voyage to Rome (Acts XXVII)
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
AFRICA
Leptis
Cephalæ
Syrtis Major
Berenice
Teuchira
Ptolemais
Barca
Cyrene
Apollonia
Cyrenaica
LIBYA

The Edinburgh Geographical Institute
John Bartholomew & Co.

Galatian cities (Speeches at Pisidian Antioch and Lystra); 'Door of Faith opened to the Gentiles,' Growing Ascendency of Paul; Council at Jerusalem.

(*c*) *Third Period, of Established Leadership; Second Missionary Tour:* Silas and Timothy; 'The Phrygian and Galatian Country'; Meeting with Luke and crossing to Macedonia—Work at Philippi, Thessalonica, Berœa; Preaching at Athens; Founding of Corinthian Church; Thessalonian Epistles.

(*d*) *Fourth Period, of Judaistic Controversy; Third Missionary Tour:* Collision with Peter at Antioch; Anti-Pauline campaign of the Legalists; Journey to and Mission in Ephesus; Communications with Corinth—the two Epp.; the Collection for Jerusalem; Severe Illness; Journey in Macedonia; Epp. to Galatians and Romans; Sojourn at Corinth; Reception at Jerusalem.

(*e*) *Fifth Period, of Imprisonment in Cæsarea and Rome:* Assault of the Jews in the Temple; Apprehension and Trials of Paul; Appeal to Cæsar; Voyage to Rome; Probable Acquittal and Release; Epistles of the First Captivity; Paul at Rome.

(*f*) *Sixth Period, of Last Journeyings, Renewed Imprisonment, and Martyrdom:* Data for this Period; Revisitation of old Churches; Voyage to Spain; Movements indicated in 1 and 2 Ti and Titus; Character of Pastoral Epistles; Tradition of Paul's Death.

5. CHRONOLOGY:

Fixed Datum of Ac 12; Gal 2^1, and Ac 11. 12 or 15; Year of Paul's Conversion; Year of Voyage to Jerusalem (Ac 20); Space for the Last Period; Harnack's Chronological Scheme.

ii. THE DOCTRINE.

INTRODUCTION:

Nature of Paul's Writings; Modern Analyses—Baur, Holtzmann, Pfleiderer, The Dutch School, Reuss and A. Sabatier, Beyschlag, A. B. Bruce, Somerville, G. B. Stevens; OT Antecedents and Starting-point.

1. DOCTRINE OF GOD:
   - (*a*) *The Fatherhood of God:* Basis of Paulinism in the Teaching of Jesus; Supremacy of Grace.
   - (*b*) *The Righteousness of God:* its relations to Fatherhood and Grace.
   - (*c*) *The Anger of God.*
   - (*d*) *The Law of God:* Double sense of the term in Paul.
2. DOCTRINE OF MAN:
   - (*a*) *The Constitution of Mankind:* The Image of God; Solidarity of the Race; Man and Woman.
   - (*b*) *Spirit and Flesh:* General and Specific Sense; Flesh and Sin; Heredity of Sin; the First and Second Man.
   - (*c*) *Sin and Death.*
   - (*d*) *History of the Race:* the Two Ages; the Heathen World; the Discipline of Israel; the Fulness of the Times.
3. DOCTRINE OF CHRIST AND OF SALVATION:
   - (*a*) *The Person of Christ:* Recognized in Paul's Conversion; God's 'Own Son'; 'the Lord'; Pre-existence of Christ; Christ and the Human Race; Christ and the Curse of Sin.
   - (*b*) *The Death of the Cross:* central to Paul's teaching; representative, justifying, propitiatory, reconciling, sanctifying; Juristic and Ethical Theories.
   - (*c*) *The New Life of Faith:* Nature and Implications of Faith; the Resurrection of Christ and the *Unio Mystica*; Filial Adoption.
4. DOCTRINE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT:
   - (*a*) *God Immanent:* the Teaching of Jesus and of Paul; the Spirit in the Heart.
   - (*b*) *The Spiritual Man:* Progressive Sanctification; Holiness and the Ethical Life.
   - (*c*) *The Communion of the Spirit.*
   - (*d*) *The Earnest of the Inheritance.*
5. DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH:
   - (*a*) *The Body of Christ:* Expansion of Paul's Idea of the Ecclesia; the Church no temporal Institute.
   - (*b*) *The Brotherhood:* Love, and the Works of Faith.
   - (*c*) *The Charismata:* Edification, Church-meetings, and Administration.
   - (*d*) *Baptism and the Lord's Supper:* relative to Christ, and to the Church; Picture-signs, and Covenant-signs.
   - (*e*) *Church Organization:* Development within the Epistles; Charismatic and Clerical, Missionary and Local Ministries; the Apostolate; no 'Model' of Church-government.
6. DOCTRINE OF THE KINGDOM OF GOD:
   - Based on the Jewish conception, as spiritualized by Jesus; Eschatological in outlook.
   - (*a*) *The Divine Sovereignty:* Election and Foreknowledge; the Call of Believers.
   - (*b*) *The Enemies of God:* Satan, Evil Spirits; the Kingdom of Darkness; the Final Struggle.
   - (*c*) *The Consummation:* (*α*) The Moral Perfection of Christians; (*β*) The Resurrection of the Body; (*γ*) The Intermediate State; (*δ*) The Second Coming of the Lord Jesus—the *Dénoûment* of Human History.

i. THE LIFE OF ST. PAUL.—1. *Birth and Training.* 'I am a Jewish man, a Tarsian of Cilicia, a citizen of no mean city (Ac 21^{39}) . . . brought up at the feet of Gamaliel in this city [Jerusalem], trained in the strict way of the law of our fathers, full from the first (ὑπάρχων) of zeal for God' (22^3); 'Whom I serve from my forefathers in a pure conscience' (2 Ti 1^3); 'Circumcised on the eighth day, of the stock of Israel, the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew sprung from Hebrews, in respect of the law a Pharisee, in respect of zeal a persecutor of the Church, in respect of legal righteousness showing myself blameless' (Ph $3^{5.6}$, 2 Co 11^{22}, Ro 4^1 9^3 11^1, Ac 23^6); 'I made proficiency in Judaism beyond many of my contemporaries, being more extreme than they in zeal for my ancestral traditions' (Gal 1^{14}, Ac $26^{4.5}$); at the same time, a 'Roman' and so 'born' (Ac 22^{26-28}, 16^{37}). Thus much we learn from St. Paul about himself. [On the genuineness of the speeches see art. ACTS OF APOSTLES]. Jerome (*de Vir. Illustr.* 5; *ad Philem.* 23), who knew Palestine, has a tradition that St. Paul was born at *Gischala* in Galilee, 'quo a Romanis capto cum parentibus suis Tarsum Ciliciæ commigravit'; Krenkel (*Beiträge z. Aufhellung d. Geschichte u. d. Briefe d. Ap. P.* § 1) prefers this story to the statement of Paul's Tarsian origin in the Acts, insisting that a 'Hebrew sprung from Hebrews' signifies one born in Palestine. The above condition was fulfilled, however, if St. Paul's family retained the native traditions; and Jerome's tale, besides its gross anachronism, is too late and isolated to weigh against that of St. Luke. A modicum of truth there may be in it: Gischala may have been the old domicile of the family (tradition is tenacious on this point), which in any case had emigrated not many generations before Paul's birth, for it was still 'Hebrew' in home-speech and spirit. Hence Saul is sent in his boyhood for education to Jerusalem; in later years he had a 'sister's son' residing there (Ac 23^{16-22}). The Cilician Jews kept up a close connexion with the mother city, where they appear to have had a synagogue of their own (Ac 6^9); they distinguished themselves by patriotic bravery in the siege of Jerusalem. The wealth of Paul's father we may fairly infer from the education given him (see Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, etc., pp. 31, 310, 312); his occupation as a tent-maker is no disproof of this, for well-to-do Jews wisely taught their sons some handicraft. His mother's piety is implied in Gal 1^{14}; comp. the sympathetic allusions of 2 Ti 1^5 3^{15}.

He was named Saul (Σαῦλος in Acts where spoken of, Σαούλ where spoken to), presumably after the hero-king of his tribe (Ac 9^1 etc., 13^1 etc.; cf. 13^{31}). But his Hebrew name (Σαῦλος has, moreover, in Greek, the ridiculous sense of 'waddling') is displaced in Acts by the Roman cognomen *Paul* (Παῦλος, *Paulus*, 'little') from the time the apostle enters on his wider career and meets Roman society. With the Heb.-Rom. *Saul-Paul* compare *John-Mark* (Ac 15^{37}), *Jesus-Justus* (Col 4^{11}), also *Flavius-Josephus*. The change of name occurs in Luke's narrative on the occasion of the conversion of Sergius *Paulus*, proconsul of Cyprus—a coincidence suggesting to many, after Origen (*Comment. ad Rom.*, *præfat.*), Jerome (*ad Philem.* 1: 'a primo ecclesiæ spolio, proconsule Sergio Paulo, victoriæ suæ trophæa retulit erexitque vexillum'), Augustine (*Confess.* viii. 4), that St. Paul took his apostolic name from this conquest—a proceeding in bad taste, and on other accounts improbable. If Paulus was a personal name, it might have been due to the bearer's littleness; Saulos perhaps suggested it by resemblance of sound (Renan): so *Jesus-Jason*, *Joseph-Hegesippus*, etc. (but these combinations are Heb.-Greek, not Latin). Others explain it as an epithet, self-assumed in humility (cf. 1 Co 15^{9}), or conferred by way of contrast with Elymas (Ac 13$^{8.\,9}$) overcome by the apostle as Goliath by *little* David (Lange); or as derived from a Hebrew root—*sc.* פָּעוּל = '*wrought* (by God),' or the like. But these conjectures are needless. With his Roman citizenship Paul inherited a Latin name; and *Paulus* was a cognomen not uncommon in Roman families, borne, *e.g.*, by the great Æmilian gens. What his Roman *gentile* name (or *nomen* proper) and prænomen were, never appears. The low stature which, according to good tradition (*Acta Pauli et Theclæ*, 3; see Ramsay's *Ch. in the Rom. Emp.*^{5} p. 32; cf. 2 Co 10$^{1.\,2.\,10}$), distinguished Paul, may have been a family trait suggesting the sobriquet, as in other instances. The apostle was 'Paulus' to Romans, Παῦλος amongst Greeks, while he was 'Saul' to his fellow Jews and at Jerusalem. As 'Saul, Saul,' in his mother-speech, the voice of Jesus addressed him (Ac 26^{14}). See, further, Ramsay, *St. Paul*, etc. p. 81 ff.; and Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, p. 184 ff.

In this apostle, Jew, Greek, and Roman met. The *Jew* in him was the foundation of everything that Paul became. He was 'Jew' (Judæan in nationality and education), 'Israelite' (in descent and creed), 'Hebrew' (in language and tradition). The current Hebrew (*i.e.* Aramaic) of Palestine was spoken in his father's house; and his student days gave him the mastery of it which enabled him to address the multitude of Jerusalem in their vernacular (Ac 22^{2}) and to make himself everywhere 'to the Jews as a Jew' (1 Co 9^{20}). His OT quotations, though based on the LXX, occasionally indicate the knowledge of the ancient Hebrew which the pupil of Gamaliel must have possessed. No man more highly prized the privileges of Israel, or more fervently believed in its Divine election (Ro 3$^{1.\,2}$ 9$^{4.\,5}$ 11. 15^{8}, Ph 3^{7}); no man more passionately loved his Jewish kin (Ro 9$^{1\text{-}5}$ 11^{14}); none had drunk more deeply at the springs of OT revelation. As a Christian and a Gentile apostle Paul claimed to be the truer Israelite, for he was carrying out 'the promise of God to the fathers' (Ac 13$^{32.\,33}$ 24^{14}, Gal 3$^{7\text{-}14}$ 6^{16}, 2 Co 11^{22}, Ro 4$^{16.\,17}$ 9$^{4\text{-}6}$ 10^{4} 15$^{8\text{-}12}$); imprisoned in pursuance of his calling, he was 'wearing this chain for the hope of Israel' (Ac 26$^{6.\,7}$ 28^{20}).

Bearing in his Pharisaic youth all the weight of its yoke, Saul had proved the impotence of the law as a means of justification before God, and the hopelessness of Israel's attempts to win through its observance the Messianic salvation (Ac 13$^{33.\,39}$, Ro 4$^{13\text{-}15}$ 7$^{5\text{-}25}$ 8^{3} 9^{31}–10^{4}, Gal 2$^{15.\,16}$ 3$^{10\text{-}25}$ 5$^{2.\,3}$, 1 Co 15^{56} etc.). This was the chief gain of Paul's apprenticeship to Mosaism: 'through law I died to law'; the law acted as a relentless spur on Saul's sensitive conscience; it was his παιδαγωγὸς εἰς Χριστόν, driving him from itself to the gospel of Jesus even while, in its fancied interests, he was His persecutor (Ac 26^{14}). Thus Paul's legalistic rearing was an essential negative preparation for his conversion and apostleship. But it contributed thereto in a positive sense. At Rabban Gamaliel's feet (see art. GAMALIEL) he learnt much that never left him. Paul's theological method and style, and use of Scripture, are Rabbinical of the purest age. The most fruitful recent expositions of his teaching (such as Sanday-Headlam's *Romans*, Pfleiderer's *Paulinismus*,^{2} and Kabisch's *Eschatologie*) draw their best illustrations from Jewish theology. In several of his doctrines, notably that of original sin and of the resurrection (Ac 23$^{6\text{-}9}$ 24$^{14.\,15}$ 26^{8}), Paul continued a Pharisee. As against the sceptical, minimizing Sadducees, his sympathies were always with his early comrades (Ro 10^{2}). He had an intimate knowledge, both practical and theoretical, of the ground of the legalistic controversy, on which he was to play a decisive part. He brought with him to the Christian camp the resources of a trained Jewish jurist, a skilled Rabbinical scholar and disputant. He was the one man qualified to effect the transition in doctrine and institutions from the old faith to the new, to transplant Christianity, without destroying any of its roots, from the ancient soil of Judaism into the wide and rich field ready for it in the Gentile world. This transition had been virtually effected in his own conversion to Christ. Hausrath questions the account in Acts of his studentship under Gamaliel at Jerusalem (*Der Ap. Paulus*, i. 3), on the ground of Gamaliel's mildness and Paul's severity of temper; but Paul was a zealot, Gamaliel a moderate, by temperament.

St. Paul's education and native bent were strongly Palestinian and Pharisaic. But he could not help acquiring knowledge of the broader Hellenizing theology that had spread from Alexandria amongst the Greek Diaspora, with which Apollos (Ac 18^{24}) and the writer of the Epistle to the *Hebrews* were imbued. He used freely the Book of *Wisdom*, which emanated from this school. In Col 1$^{12\text{-}20}$ (written, however, after Paul had met with Apollos) he shows his mastery of the theosophic speculations of the Alexandrian (and Essenic) Jewish teachers; and his language appears to indicate some literary contact with his elder contemporary Philo (see Lightfoot and Klöpper on *Col. ad loc.*, and Jowett's Essay on 'St. Paul and Philo' in his *Epp. of St. Paul*). Paul's use of types and allegory may have been learnt from his masters at Jerusalem.

St. Paul's *Tarsian birth and Roman citizenship* secured to him an outfit for the Gentile apostleship such as no mere Palestinian Jew could possess. When Krenkel (as referred to above) contests the former point, and Hausrath (*op. cit.* p. 19), with Renan and others, the latter, they show undeserved distrust of the Acts; and they deny to Paul the status and equipment indispensable for his mission to the Græco-Roman world (see Lightf. *Bibl. Essays*, iv.). Of his Gentile connexions, along with his Jewish antecedents, the apostle was thinking when he spoke of God as 'having marked me out [for my life-mission] from my mother's womb' (Gal 1^{15}). The Rabbinical student of Jerusalem was first a Jewish boy in the streets of a heathen city, and his home continued to be there (he was certainly absent from Jerusalem during the visits of Jesus). St. Paul's insight into the moral working of idolatry, and his ready appreciation of Gentile sentiment, speak for this. He is everywhere at home in the synagogues of the Dispersion. In the Græco-Asiatic Tarsus (see art. TARSUS) the products of East and West met, ships of all countries lay at its wharves—a place to stir in an impressionable child thoughts and dreams of the wide world, and to impart an instinctive aptitude for mixing with all sorts of men. In Saul's nature Greek versatility was blended with Jewish tenacity.

Tarsus was the capital of Cilicia, then incorporated in the province of Syria. This city issued fortunately from the troubles of the Roman civil wars, receiving the title of *metropolis* and the immunities of an *urbs libera* (Dio Chrys., *Orat.* 2; Pliny, *HN* v. 27; cf. Ac 21^{39}); it had therefore its *ecclesia*, its elective magistrates and local jurisdiction; and Paul's father doubtless held the municipal along with the imperial franchise. This environment made Saul a citizen of the world, while he was a Jewish scholar and devotee. His mental imagery is not gathered, like that of Jesus, from the fields and the face of nature; where not borrowed from the OT, we trace it to the Jewish household and synagogue within doors, and out of doors to the streets, the agora, the stadium, the temples, the traffic of a Greek seaport town. Such cities Paul sought by predilection; their society was his native element. The contact of Jew and Gentile gave the apostle his point of vantage; and he found his main constituency in the large circle of piously disposed men and women of Greek culture attracted to the Hellenistic synagogues. Tarsus was at this period a university town of the highest repute (Strabo, xiv. 10. 13–15; Philostratus, *Apollonius*, i. 7); it sent out distinguished professors of the Stoic philosophy, and afterwards of Roman law. Strict Jewish families held aloof from the Greek schools, and Paul's style bears scarcely any trace of classical discipline; his Greek is the κοινή of the Levantine shores, enriched with Hebraisms of the LXX and the Synagogue and adapted to the new Christian ideas with creative originality. The citations he makes from Greek authors are of a popular, proverbial stamp (Ac 17^{28}, 1 Co 15^{32}, Tit 1^{12}). Passages like 1 Co 1^{20} and Col 2^{8} indicate St. Paul's contempt for the empty sophistic and meretricious show into which philosophy had degenerated. Tarsus was a conspicuous arena for such display, and must often have witnessed scenes resembling that in which Paul himself took so ready a part in Athens (Ac $17^{17ff.}$). At the same time St. Paul could not but receive intellectual stimulus, if only by way of aversion, from such a theatre of mental activity. His master Gamaliel is said to have encouraged Greek studies. Especially when Saul returned home after his conversion (Ac 9^{30} 11^{25}, Gal 1^{21}), with his mission to the heathen definitely in view, we cannot suppose that he failed to use the facilities afforded by his native city for studying the Gentile thought of the day (see Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 354). His address to the Areopagus shows that the apostle, when he chose, could become a philosopher to the philosophers. The parallels in thought between St. Paul's ethics and those of Seneca and the Stoics (see the Essay *ad rem* in Lightfoot's *Philippians*) are, however, scarcely closer than may be accounted for by the Stoical ideas in the air and by the unconscious sympathy with the nascent Christian faith existing in high-minded Gentile thinkers of the age.

In regard to *form and expression*, it is likely that Paul learnt something from the schools of his native town. 'In general, the Epp. of St. Paul stand much nearer to the forms of the Cynic and Stoic *diatribé*, as regards their methods and the complexion of their speech, than to the involved Rabbinical dialectic. Recent investigations on the subject (Wendland u. Kern, *Beiträge z. Geschichte d. griech. Philos. u. Relig.* pp. 3–75, *Philo u. d. kynisch-stoische Diatribe*) bring this relationship increasingly into light': so Heinrici, Vorrede to 1 Co in *Krit.-exeg. Kommentar*^{8} (Meyer); also Canon Hicks' Paper on 'St. Paul and Hellenism' in *Stud. Bibl.* iv.

From Tarsus Paul carried off, if not a scholarly Greek training, at least his trade of tent-making (Ac 18^{3}). Tarsus was a centre for the manufacture of *cilicium*, the coarse goats' hair fabric of the district, famed for its durability, of which shoes, mats, and coverings of all kinds were made; and the boy Saul was taught this local handicraft. An industry everywhere in demand, this craft supplied him in his wandering apostleship with a means of livelihood, laborious and irksome enough, but adequate for his scanty needs (1 Th 2^{9}, 2 Th 3^{8-10}, 1 Co 9^{6-18} etc.). 'These hands,' as Paul held them up, rough and black with stitching at the hard canvas, told their tale of stern independence and self-denial (Ac 20^{33-35}).

Of *Roman law* Paul had the knowledge qualifying him to exercise his valued rights as a citizen of the Empire. This discipline contributed to his large Christian apprehension of 'law' as a universal Divine institute, which has its nearest analogue in the Roman *jus gentium*. His prominent doctrine of *Adoption* (υἱοθεσία) is based upon Græco-Roman, not Jewish practice. His conception of the Church borrowed something from the Roman State as well as from the Israelite Theocracy (see Eph 2^{19}, Col 2^{19}, Ph 1^{27} 3^{20}). Not merely for his own protection (Ac 16^{37} 22^{25}) and as a passport to his message did the apostle pronounce the words 'Civis Romanus sum' and 'Cæsarem appello,' but with genuine loyalty and with a true sense for the grandeur and enduring power of the rule of Rome. 'We cannot fail to be struck with the hold which Roman ideas had on the mind of St. Paul. . . . He had conceived the great idea of Christianity as the religion of the Roman world; and he thought of the various districts and countries in which he preached as parts of the grand unity' (Ramsay, *Ch. in the Rom. Emp.*^{5} pp. 147, 148, *St. Paul the Trav.* pp. 125–127, 135; also Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*, p. xiv). He had the Roman genius of the statesman and organizer. He planted his churches, by preference, in Roman colonies (Pisidian Antioch, Philippi, Corinth, etc.). To Rome St. Paul addressed his most studied and complete Epistle; toward this metropolis of the world the advance of his mission from Jerusalem westwards, for many years previously, had been directed (Ro 1^{8-15} 15^{22-29}, Ac 19^{21} 23^{11}). Only when at last he had made his defence and delivered his message before the Imperial Court, could the 'teacher of the Gentiles in faith and truth' consider that his 'preaching was fulfilled' and his course finished (1 Ti 2^{7}, 2 Ti $4^{7.17}$). To the Jewish student and the Greek cosmopolitan in Paul there was added *the Roman gentleman.* His courteous dignity of bearing enabled him worthily to stand before magistrates and kings (Ac 9^{15} 26, etc.). He commanded the respect of governors like Sergius Paulus and Porcius Festus, and the deference and goodwill of Julius the centurion in whose charge he voyaged to Rome. There, too, an 'ambassador in chains,' he gained a wide influence, and his presence greatly stimulated the Christian cause (Eph 6^{20}, Ph 1^{13} 4^{22}, Ac $28^{30.31}$). Though his prison, Rome was his best vantage-ground and his adoptive home. It was here that the apostle arrived, as appears from the Epistles of the First Captivity, at his loftiest conceptions of the nature and destiny of the Universal Church.

2. *St. Paul's Idiosyncrasy.*—The 'striking originality' of Paul's character is 'due to the fruitful combination in it of two spiritual forces, which are seldom found united in this degree in one personality—*dialectical power* and *religious inspiration*, or (to borrow Paul's own language) the activity of the νοῦς and that of the πνεῦμα' (A. Sabatier). Add to these attributes the apostle's heart of fire, the glow of passion and imagination which fused his mystical intuitions and logical apprehensions into one, his fine sensibility, his resolute will, his manly sincerity and courage and woman-like tenderness, his vivacity, subtlety, and humour, his rich humanity and keen faculty of moral observation, his adroitness and ready tact, his genius for organization and inborn power of command, and the vigorous and creative, though not facile, gift of expression that supplied the fitting dress, as original as the thought behind it, with which his doctrine clothed itself,—all these qualities and powers went to the making of Jesus Christ's apostle to the nations, the master-builder of the universal Church and of Christian theology.

St. Paul's physical frame appears by no means to have matched the greatness of his soul. With a frankness that charms while it pains the reader, he quotes the taunt of his Corinthian opponents, 'His bodily presence is weak, and his speech of no account'; he reproaches those who 'counted of' him 'as though walking according to flesh,' and 'had an eye for matters of (bodily) presence,' judging the lowly apostle by his unimposing exterior (2 Co 10^{1-10}). The barbarians of Lystra took Barnabas for Zeus, but Paul for Hermes, comparing the dignified port of the one with the lively speech of the other traveller. The disadvantages of his bodily presence were aggravated by the effect of his occupation as a journeyman tentmaker, and of the severe mishandling he had suffered from time to time on the part of his persecutors (Gal 6^{17}, 2 Co 11^{23-26}). Yet these physical disabilities and humiliations became, through 'the power of Christ overshadowing' him, a new source of spiritual strength (2 Co 11^{30} $12^{9.\,10}$). It was a constant feeling of Paul's, only heightened by recent illness, to which he gave expression in 2 Co 4^{7}–5^{5}: 'We have this treasure in frail earthen vessels. . . . In this tabernacle we groan, being burdened' (cf. Gal 4^{12-14} 6^{17}). The *Acta Pauli et Theclæ*, as Ramsay has shown (*Ch. in Rom. Emp.*^{5} xvi.), 'goes back ultimately to a document of the 1st cent.'; and it thus describes (§ 3) Paul's appearance as he first approaches Iconium: 'baldheaded, bowlegged, strongly built, a man small in size, with meeting eyebrows, with a rather large nose, full of grace, for at times he looked like a man and at times he had the face of an angel.' 'This plain and unflattering account seems to embody a very early tradition' (*op. cit.* pp. 31, 32). The lifelike and unconventional figure of the Roman ivory diptych, 'supposed to date not later than the 4th cent.' (Lewin's *Life and Epp. of St. Paul*, Frontispiece, and vol. ii. p. 211), partly confirms the above description.

St. Paul's constitution, if somewhat stunted and sickly, must have been nevertheless of a tough and stout fibre. His arduous travels, attended for many years with the double strain of manual and intellectual labour, above all the catalogue of his hardships in 2 Co 11, bespeak in him a man of exceptional vitality and nervous energy. And, in spite of his uncomeliness, he exerted a rare personal fascination. 'Rude in speech' as he was to a fastidious Greek ear, his charm of manner and the incisive force and sympathetic aptness of his address commanded a hearing from all kinds of assemblies. He could never be listened to with indifference. His preaching excited warm assent or contradiction. He set all minds astir and in debate around him; his presence and discourse acted like an electric current that drives to opposite poles the mingled elements through which it passes (Ac 13^{42-45} 14^{4} etc., 2 Co 2^{14-16}).

The emotional nature of the apostle counted for as much in the effects of his eloquence as did his intellectual powers. His temperament was choleric and impetuous, his nervous organism finely strung and quivering with sensibility. There was nothing in him of the impassive Stoic. His affections towards his converts were those of a mother or a lover, rather than of a pastor. He 'travailed a second time in birth over' the untoward Galatians, 'till Christ should be formed in' them (4^{19}; cf. 2 Co 11^{29}, 1 Th $2^{7.\,8}$). 'Now we live,' he writes to the Thess., 'if you stand fast in the Lord' (1 Th 3^{6-10}). The attacks of sickness and the anxieties and disappointments of his calling threw him at times into paroxysms of anguish. But his mental buoyancy and elasticity were equally marked; his 'consolation through Christ' brought him an exultancy proportioned to the depth of grief in which he shared 'the sufferings of Christ' (1 Co 2^{3} $15^{31.\,32}$, 2 Co 1^{3-11} 4^{7-11} 7^{4-6}, Col 1^{24}, Eph 3^{13}, Ph $2^{17.\,18}$). His letters—esp. 2 Co, Gal, Ph, 2 Ti—reflect the ardour and quick responsiveness of the apostle's feelings, his sudden alternations of mood, the conflicts of fear and hope, of affection and indignation, by which his soul could be torn and tossed. This lively play of emotion, expressed by look and gesture (*e.g.* Ac 13^{9} 14^{12-14} 20^{34} 23^{1-6} 26^{1}, Gal 3^{1}, Ph 3^{18}, etc.) but held under the firm control of judgment, gave a peculiar animation to Paul's discourse, which, however abrupt and unpolished in phrase, was arresting and affecting in the highest degree. He spoke from the heart and to the heart. The effectiveness of his utterance he ascribed to the energy of the Spirit of Christ possessing his mind; he was conscious of 'Christ speaking' in him; a Divine force 'energized mightily' through his 'wrestling' of spirit and of speech (2 Co 13^{3}, Col 1^{29}, 1 Th 1^{5}, etc.). Here was the true secret of St. Paul's transcendent power. Before everything else he was a πνευματικός—a man of the largest spiritual capacity, filled with the living Spirit of Jesus Christ. If we must admit a fault, his vehemence was apt to break out into a heat and haste of temper, manifested occasionally in expressions which he was disposed afterwards to regret (see Ac 15^{39} $23^{4.\,5}$; and perhaps 2 Co $7^{8.\,9}$, Gal 5^{12}).

St. Paul shared eminently in the supernatural experiences and χαρίσματα special to the apostolic age, as well as in the permanent and normal endowments of the Church. He exercised miraculous powers of healing and of discipline (Ac 13^{9-11} $14^{9.\,10}$, 1 Co 4^{19-21} $5^{4.\,5}$, 2 Co 13^{1-10}), though he did not regard these as the chief 'signs of the apostle' (2 Co $11^{23\text{ff.}}$ 12^{12-14} 3^{1-3}). He 'spoke with tongues more than all,' but thought this an inferior gift (1 Co 14^{18-20}). In 'visions and revelations of the Lord' no one could rival him (2 Co 12^{1-4}); he had been once 'caught up into paradise, and heard unspeakable words.' To Paul the living God, the Lord Christ, the indwelling Spirit, the unseen world, were immediate and overwhelming realities.

His thorn in the flesh (or rather, *thorn for the flesh*, σκόλοψ τῇ σαρκί) is connected by himself with his unique experiences of trance and vision (2 Co 12^{1-9}). The former served as a kind of counterpoise to the latter: 'Because of the excess of the revelations, that I might not be excessively lifted up, there was given to me a thorn for my flesh, an angel of Satan sent to buffet me,—that I might not be excessively lifted up.' We gather that this infliction was bodily in nature, acutely painful and humiliating, prostrating in effect, and repeated in occurrence (ὑπεραίρωμαι and κολαφίζῃ are both Greek *presents* of recurrent action); that it was also mysterious in origin, and such as to be fitly associated with the working of a malignant unseen power. From the connexion of v.^{7} with the foregoing context, it appears probable that the outbreak of this malady attended Paul's supreme vision, 'fourteen years' previously to 2 Co (*i.e.* about A.D. 43), when in a state of trance (vv.$^{2.\,3}$) he was 'seized and caught up into paradise and heard unspeakable words.' The 'thorn' attached itself to this 'ὑπερβολή of the revelations' (cf. Gn $32^{30.\,31}$), in which the apostle 'exults' as he writes, and which, he feels, might otherwise have excited him to an unholy pride; this cruel affliction was therefore used by God for a merciful end. Hence the Lord, though thrice besought, did not remove the evil; He allowed 'Satan's angel' 'to buffet' His servant; but He promised grace sufficient for endurance, and assured the sufferer that 'power is perfected in weakness.' Thus Paul learnt to glory in this as in other weaknesses and injuries, and had indeed found himself strongest when nature was most beaten down (vv.$^{9.\,10}$).

Further light is thrown on St. Paul's malady by Gal 4^{13-15}, for it is probably the same affliction that we meet with here: 'In nought did you (Galatians) wrong me. But you know it was due to an infirmity of the flesh that I preached to you at that former time. And your temptation in my flesh (my physical condition) you did not treat with contempt nor loathing [lit. *did not spit out*], but as an angel of God you received me,—as Christ Jesus! Where, then, is your self-gratulation? For I bear you witness that, if possible, you would have dug out your eyes and given them me!' The 'thorn,' then, was disabling; it compelled Paul unexpectedly to halt on his way, and so to preach to these 'Galatians' (but see Ramsay's view of the circumstances, stated below). Its effects were such as to excite the scorn and aversion of beholders, so that it supplied a severe test of the candour and generosity of the Galatians who had witnessed Paul's abject condition under its infliction. It may also be inferred, though less certainly (see Lightfoot, *ad loc.*), that the complaint, at least temporarily, affected the patient's eyesight.

The diagnosis excludes—(1) the hypothesis of *spiritual temptations* (to pride, blasphemy, etc., *injectiones Satanæ*) made current by Luther; and (2) equally that of *carnal incitements*, favoured by mediæval and Roman Catholic interpreters in accordance with the erroneous Latin rendering, *stimulus carnis*. (3) Nor could the 'thorn' have signified *human opposers*, such as the 'ministers of Satan' of 2 Co 11^{15}; nor the hindrances and afflictions related in 2 Co 11^{23-33} (Chrysostom, Erasmus, and others). (4) The evidence points to *physical disease* of some distressing and disfiguring kind, recurrent at intervals, having its seat in St. Paul's nervous constitution and supervening upon the ecstasy of his 'visions and revelations' (so Ewald, Holsten, v. Hofmann, Klöpper, Lightfoot, Schmiedel, Krenkel). Of known diseases, *epilepsy*, or some obscure form of *hysteria*, best answers to these conditions. Krenkel has elaborately discussed the question in his *Beiträge* (pp. 47–125), showing that epilepsy was regarded by the ancients with peculiar horror as a supernatural visitation, and often associated with lunacy (Mt 4^{24} 17^{15}), with which also Paul was taxed (2 Co 5^{13} 12^{11}). He observes, further, that spectators witnessing epileptic attacks used to *spit out* in superstitious dread and by way of averting the evil (the *morbus qui sputatur* of Plautus' *Captivi*, III. iv. 18, and the *despui suetus* of Pliny's *HN* x. 23 [33])—a circumstance explaining the οὐδὲ ἐξεπτύσατε of Gal 4^{14}. Epileptic seizures taking place in mature life and at distant intervals are not necessarily fatal to activity and mental vigour: witness the cases of Julius Cæsar, Peter the Great, Napoleon I.; the instance of king Alfred (Lightfoot, *Galatians*, pp. 183–188) is strikingly parallel in some particulars to that of Paul. The hypothesis of *ophthalmia* (advanced in Farrar's *St. Paul*, vol. i. Excursus x.) has its starting-point in Gal 4^{15}; it meets some but not all the conditions of the case. This disease, in the severe form supposed, damages the eyes to a degree inconsistent with Paul's quick observation and powerful gaze. W. M. Ramsay has recently suggested *malarial fever* (comp. Conyb. and Hows. *Life and Epp. of St. Paul*, ch. viii.), which (Ramsay conjectures) attacked Paul in Pamphylia (Ac $13^{13.14}$), compelling Barnabas and himself to seek relief in the bracing air of the uplands of Asia Minor. To this necessity Ramsay supposes Paul to refer in Gal 4^{13}, on the theory that the 'Galatians' of the Ep. are the South Galatians of Antioch, Iconium, etc. (*Ch. in Rom. Emp.*^{5} iii., *St. Paul the Trav.* v. 2, and more recently in *Hist. Com. on Gal.*, 1899, p. 422 ff.). This hypothesis, again, agrees with some but not all the symptoms of the malady. A long and perilous journey, like that from Perga to Pisidian Antioch, would scarcely be undertaken in such 'weakness of the flesh.' Nor is malarial fever likely to have excited the aversion indicated in Gal 4^{14}. And Mark's desertion, under these circumstances, becomes almost incredibly base. The references of Tertullian, and other early interpreters, to violent *headache* and similar complaints are in the right direction, but inadequate. They may be an echo of the earliest tradition. If the apostle's liability to nervous disorders supplies unfriendly critics with a ground on which to discredit his visions and his Divine inspiration, these disparagements are but a repetition of those made in his lifetime. The fact that his malady exposed St. Paul's apostleship to this reproach, gave a cruel and piercing sharpness to the 'thorn.' So much the more perfect was the triumph of Christ's grace in this deeply wounded man.

3. *St. Paul's Conversion.*—The interest of St. Paul's life centres in his conversion to the faith of Jesus Christ. The root of his doctrine is also here. This was the most pregnant event of apostolic history; it is more fully related in the NT than any other outside of the Gospels. It was one of those lightning strokes occurring at decisive moments in the advance of revelation, which precipitate the issue of a long course of previous spiritual development, and liberate new forces for operation in some new era of the kingdom of God. The call of Saul of Tarsus to His service by the risen Jesus, while it put a last seal, from the hand of one hitherto His bitter enemy, to the testimony concerning His resurrection and exaltation (1 Co 15^{5-11}), supplied the starting-point for a fresh departure in the dispensation of the gospel (Eph 2^{7}, 1 Ti 1^{16}). In the soul of the converted Saul a world-wide revolution lay germinally hidden. In his mind the Christian principle, the λόγος τοῦ σταυροῦ, first displayed its full significance; in him Christ appropriated that 'chosen vessel' through which His gospel was to work out its largest intellectual and social results, the instrument whereby the society of Jesus was to be expanded from a Jewish Messianic sect into the Church of the nations, coextensive with the Roman Empire and set on its way to re-create the civilized world.

Saul's conversion took place in a fashion befitting its historical importance. The passionate young Pharisee had witnessed with approval the stoning of Stephen, whose radical and incisive preaching recalled the tones of Jesus and reawakened the deadly fear and hatred of the Pharisees toward His doctrine. The struggle between the followers of Jesus and the existing Judaism, as Saul truly saw, was one of life and death. The mild policy of his master Gamaliel had allowed this monstrous imposture, this proclamation of a crucified Messiah and pretended Son of God, to make dangerous headway. The heresy must be trampled out at any cost. In this conviction Saul was 'breathing threatening and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord.' He acted 'ignorantly, in unbelief,' out of a sincere and uncompromising zeal for God, and doing violence therein to his kindlier feelings. The Jewish ecclesiastical leaders found in Saul, thus disposed, their fit agent in the attempt they made after the murder of Stephen, and at a moment when political circumstances gave them a free hand, to suppress the sect of the Nazarenes. Saul was travelling to Damascus, commissioned by the high priest, to bring as prisoners to Jerus. any that he should there find 'of that way'; he was nearing the city about noonday, bent on harrying its defenceless Christian flock, when he was arrested by a burst of light 'surpassing the brightness of the sun,' that encircled his troop. Out of the blaze there appeared a glorious human Form, who at his challenge declared Himself to be 'Jesus, whom thou persecutest!' The sequel of the story we need not repeat. It is told three times in the Acts: once by the historian on his own account (9$^{1-16}$), and twice as reported from Paul's speeches—to the people at Jerus. (22$^{4-16}$), and before king Herod Agrippa II. and Festus at Cæsarea (26$^{9-18}$). The variation of the three narratives is interesting as showing how much difference in descriptive detail was deemed consistent with identity of fact by a careful writer like St. Luke. The only real discrepancy lies in St. Paul's omission in Ac 26 of the part of Ananias, on which he naturally dwelt in addressing the Jews (22). In the later address, speaking more summarily, he ascribes to Jesus directly, and as though communicated at the outset, the revelations consequent upon 'the heavenly vision.' Vv.$^{10-21}$ of ch. 9 appear to embody Ananias' account, which Luke would be sure to obtain (comp. Lk 1^{3}) if within his reach. The train of events is most vividly reproduced in Paul's unfinished speech at Jerus. (ch. 22), the objectivity of the appearance of Jesus and the overpowering compulsion that it exercised upon Saul's mind being asserted with strong emphasis (esp. vv.$^{14.\ 15}$). Here alone the *two* questions addressed by Saul to Jesus are reported. In his speech at Cæsarea the apostle brings out the startling and complete reversal effected in his conduct; to this account we owe also the statement that Jesus spoke in 'the Hebrew language,' and the significant sentence, 'It is hard for thee to kick against the goad(s)' (words which do not belong to the true text of Ac 9^{5}).

The Epp. furnish many instructive references to Paul's conversion. In 1 Co 9^{1} his apostolic office (resembling that of the Twelve, v.^{5}) is grounded on the fact that he 'has seen Jesus our Lord.' Indeed, Paul claims to be a witness of Christ's resurrection in the same sense as were those who saw Him during the forty days, and the *last* of such witnesses, his birth into faith and apostleship, notwithstanding its abnormality and his unworthiness, being therefore as valid in itself as it was justified by its results (15$^{5-9}$). In the latter passage we see the humiliating aspect of St. Paul's conversion; in 2 Co 4$^{4-6}$ and 5$^{16-19}$, its splendour. God's creative fiat bade 'the illumination of the knowledge of His glory' shine through Saul's blinded eyes into his dark and bitter heart, 'in the face of Christ' disclosed amid 'the glory of that light' (Ac 22^{11}). There arose 'a new creation' resembling that which attended the word, 'Let there be light.' Paul was at the same instant 'reconciled to God' and received a 'ministry of reconciliation' for the world (2 Co 5$^{18.\ 19}$). Gal 1$^{11-17}$ shows him intent on proving his independent apostleship: his knowledge of Jesus Christ and his commission to preach Him to the Gentiles were derived, he asserts, at first hand from the Lord Himself, and at a time when his relations with the Church at Jerusalem had been only those of the persecutor. To no human mediation or indoctrination did he owe his 'gospel' (comp. 1^{1}); 'Jesus Christ' personally 'revealed' it to him (v.^{12}). The sight of the risen Jesus, allowed to Saul by the mercy of God, 'revealed in' him 'the Son of God,' his own and the world's Lord and Redeemer (vv.$^{15.\ 16}$). This vision gave Saul the purport of his message to the Gentiles, impressing upon this message a special Divine stamp and authority that raised him above the need and the wish to 'confer' in respect to it 'with flesh and blood.' Hence upon his conversion he did not follow the natural course of repairing to Jerusalem in order to seek the recognition and instruction of the heads of the Church there, but 'went off into Arabia,' where he remained for some time in comparative solitude (vv.$^{17.\ 18}$). In this connexion Paul speaks of the Twelve as 'the apostles before me,' since the manner of his call put him on an equality with them as one commissioned by Jesus Christ in person; for he had 'seen Jesus our Lord' in His visible human form, and had 'heard'—no mere spiritual call such as every servant of Christ hears—but 'a word from His mouth' (Ac 22^{14}). In this sense he introduces himself to the Romans (1$^{1-5}$) as 'a bondman of Jesus Christ, a called apostle, one separated [marked off from others by his call] to proclaim God's good news about His Son.' It is noticeable that in the Address both of Romans and Galatians, where Paul reminds himself of the unique character of his apostleship, he speaks with emphasis of the *resurrection* of Christ, for it was the risen Saviour the sight of whom had changed everything for him. 'The glory of that light' reflects itself in many passages of St. Paul's letters,—2 Th 1$^{9-11}$ 2^{8}, 1 Co 15$^{44-49}$ ('the image of the Heavenly One'), Ro 8$^{18.\ 29}$, 1 Ti 6$^{15.\ 16}$, 2 Ti 1$^{10.\ 11}$; and especially Ph 3$^{20.\ 21}$ ('the body of His glory'). Often, and more feelingly as time goes on, he dilates on the astonishing *grace* of God that called him, a violent enemy of the gospel, to be its bearer to all nations,—Gal 1$^{13.\ 14.\ 23.\ 24}$, 1 Co 15$^{9.\ 10}$, Eph 3$^{7-13}$, 1 Ti 1$^{11-17}$, etc.

While miraculous in the means that effected it, Paul's conversion was no act of violence. There was an inward preparation for the revelation of Jesus, which brought to its issue a long struggle in the nature of Saul, and opened the door of escape from a moral situation that had become miserable beyond endurance to the proud and strict young Pharisee. The words of Jesus, 'Hard is it for thee to kick against the goad(s),' touched the secret of the hearer's heart. The 'goad' of Ac 26^{14} is the *pædagogus* and prison-keeper of Gal 3, 'the law' of Ro 3. 4. 7 that 'works out wrath,' 'the power of sin' of 1 Co 15^{56},—that, good in itself, supplied to sin the instrument by which it 'wrought out death' to Saul, setting his reason and flesh at internecine war. Fiercely as Saul attacked the name of the Nazarene, he carried a more devouring strife within his breast. That Judaic law which he strove to honour by extirpating its contemners, through its impracticable yet most just demands was meanwhile driving him, though he knew it not, into their ranks.[*] Such was the irony of the situation revealed by this illuminating word of Jesus. St. Paul's subsequent doctrine of the impotence of the moral law as a means of salvation is the transcript of this experience. As he rode to Damascus, Saul was labouring under the painfully suppressed conviction of his powerlessness, and the powerlessness of his people, to fulfil the legal righteousness and therefore to attain the Messianic salvation which depended, he believed, upon this one condition. This inward rage made him a more furious persecutor. He was 'kicking against' a 'goad' which wounded his soul; he was fighting down his secret misgivings respecting Judaism. Until this moment, however, Saul had no suspicion that the Nazarenes were in the right. The crucifixion had falsified the

---

[*] The interpretation here given to the words *πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν*, reads more into the figure than is usual; but this fuller meaning appears to be forced upon us by the data of the Epp., the main doctrines of which are a product and reflex of the writer's vital experience. Paul's teaching on the Law and Faith rehearses the process that turned him from a Pharisee into a Christian. His soul had been pierced and lacerated by his sense of moral impotence in face of the Law. Like a stupid beast, Saul knew not *whither* this incessant goad was driving him, nor *whose* was the hand that plied it; he had struggled in wild and vain resistance, till the appearance and words of Jesus explained everything.

Messianic claims of Jesus; it proved Him a blasphemer in calling Himself 'the Son of God.' To the testimony for His resurrection Saul's mind was as completely closed, on *a priori* grounds, as that of many able and sincere men to-day. He had never met Jesus during His earthly life, or he would have thought of Him differently. (The words of 2 Co 5^{16} signify, 'We have known a carnal Messiah'). Had Saul so heard or seen Him, this fact would have aggravated the guilt of his persecution; and he would surely have alluded to it in his later poignant confessions. In the words of 1 Ti 1^{13}, 'not knowing (Him),' he 'acted in unbelief.' A 'blasphemer, persecutor, injurer' of his Lord, Saul was an object of pity for this reason; pity, not anger, spoke in the voice of Jesus. He had not sinned against the light. He testifies before Agrippa, 'I verily thought with myself that it was my duty to do many things against the name of Jesus of Nazareth' (Ac 26^{9}). The speech of Stephen and the confessions and bearing of the persecuted Christians, though raising many questions in Saul's mind, had not seriously shaken his conviction of the falsity and banefulness of their doctrine. Had Saul before his vision of Jesus, as Holsten and others suppose, been so wrought upon by contact with his Christian prisoners that he was half persuaded to join them; had the predisposition to faith in the Nazarene grown up within him beforehand and seized his heart so strongly, at the time of his journey to Damascus, that it was ready upon a nervous shock to project itself in the form of an apparition,—had such an incipient reverence for Jesus and a secret attraction to the persecuted cause arisen in him, the persecutor would have been disarmed. On the contrary, 'Saul was breathing threatening and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord' up to the moment of his arrest; he acted throughout with a single mind. The mental elements out of which a self-generated vision of the glorified Jesus might conceivably have been formed, the material for such a hallucination, were wanting in him at that period. Instead of being preoccupied by the reproachful image of Jesus, Saul was confounded at His appearance, and the current of his opinions and feelings toward Him was reversed. He knew himself to be a sinful man; but that the crucified Nazarene would be his Saviour was an idea altogether alien and repugnant to his thoughts. The knowledge Saul had gained of Christianity and Christians in the office of a persecutor explains the enthusiasm of his revulsion and the readiness with which he fell into rank when once he had changed sides, but it does not account for *the interior change itself*, which was unique in its conditions and antecedents, differing from all transformations of character brought about by human influences and subjective reflexion. The latter explanation the apostle formally repudiates (Gal $1^{11.\,12}$). See McGiffert's *Hist. of Christianity in the Apost. Age*, p. 121 ff.

The conversion of Saul is a psychological and ethical problem, the solution of which is to be found only in the actual appearance of Jesus Christ to his senses on the way to Damascus, as he believed this to have taken place. Nothing but his certainty of that appearance could have convinced him that Jesus was raised from the dead, and was therefore the Messiah and the Son of God. Nothing but the fact itself can, under the circumstances, fairly account for his certainty. This first vision is put, by himself and by St. Luke, upon a footing quite distinct from the other 'visions and revelations of the Lord' about which he glories in 2 Co 12. There was no question in this case as to whether he was 'in the body or out of the body.' The revelation took place in broad daylight, on the highway, as Saul was journeying with limbs and senses in full exercise, and his mind intent on a purpose diametrically opposed to the obedience of faith in Jesus; and some of the phenomena attending it were sensible to others besides himself. The ablest attempt to explain the vision of Saul on naturalistic grounds still remains that made by Holsten in his Essay entitled 'Die Christusvision des Paulus' (*Zum Evangelium d. Paulus u. Petrus*, 1868); see also his *Das Evang. d. Paulus dargestellt* (1880).

For three days Saul remained at Damascus as a man stunned by a sudden, heavy blow. His world of thought was turned upside down by the discovery that 'this Jesus' was, after all, 'the Son of God.' A silent and profound revolution was going on in the persecutor's breast; God was 'revealing His Son within' him. At the end of this time the penitent was prepared to welcome Ananias, who gave him the assurance of forgiveness and the right hand of Christian fellowship. By the seal of baptism and the bestowment of the Holy Spirit he became a member of the Church; and Ananias' prophecy opened to him the prospect of his missionary calling. For 'some days' he stayed 'with the disciples in Damascus,' and made public his conversion by 'immediately proclaiming in the synagogues that this Jesus is the Son of God' (Ac $9^{19.\,20}$). Saul felt the need, however, of retirement to collect his mind after so bewildering a shock, to think out his new position and the import of his strange experiences. It is thus we understand the retreat to Arabia, to which the apostle refers in Gal $1^{16\text{-}18}$. St. Luke may have omitted this episode, because it belonged to St. Paul's private life; it falls between vv.$^{21.\,22}$ of Ac 9. V.^{20} relates the simple declaration of faith in Jesus that followed 'immediately' on Paul's conversion, while v.^{22} shows us the apostle in possession of a developed faith and working out, in the manner to which we become afterwards accustomed, a sustained and effective proof of the Messiahship of Jesus: 'Saul grew the more strong, and confounded the Jews that dwelt in Damascus, proving that this is the Christ.' From his Arabian meditations he had gathered this new force; and the powerful arguments he now brings to bear upon his old position were the fruit of a prolonged reflexion.

4. *St. Paul's Missionary Career.*—Ac $9^{15.\,16}$ and $26^{16\text{-}18}$ distinctly state that Saul's vocation as Gentile apostle was revealed at the epoch of his conversion. Gal $1^{15.\,16}$ implies as much. Saul went into Arabia with the knowledge that his ultimate destination was to 'preach the Son of God amongst the Gentiles.' Failure amongst his fellow-countrymen quickened this conviction. His Gentile ministry had its root in his first experience of the grace of Christ. Yet he thought it his duty to 'begin from Jerusalem'; his witness, he imagined, would be especially convincing amongst his old comrades; so that on his escape from the plots of the Jews against his life in Damascus (2 Co $11^{32.\,33}$) Saul returned to the Holy City, where 'he preached boldly in the name of the Lord; and he spake and disputed against the Hellenist Jews; but they went about to kill him' (Ac $9^{29.\,30}$). It was then, rather than at any later time, that the trance befell him in the temple, when the Lord bade him 'Make haste, and get quickly out of Jerusalem,' since his testimony was rejected there and his mission was to lie 'far hence among the Gentiles' (Ac $22^{17\text{-}21}$). This vision confirmed Saul's primary call, and overcame his reluctance to accept defeat at Jerusalem. He stayed in the city, on this first visit after his conversion, only 'fifteen days'; and now 'made the acquaintance of Cephas'—of him only amongst the apostles—and of 'James the Lord's brother' (Gal $1^{18.\,19}$). Ac $9^{26\text{-}30}$ relates further that '**Barnabas** introduced him to the

apostles' (the plural is inexact; Peter and James represented the Twelve), standing sponsor for him. 'The disciples' were shy of their old tormentor; his disappearance from Damascus and the delay of his return had probably aggravated their suspicions. It did not take long for Saul's preaching to rouse the hatred of the murderers of Stephen, who looked on him as a traitor. The urgency of 'the brethren' seconded the command of the Lord in the temple vision, and Saul was 'brought down to Cæsarea, and sent forth (by ship) to Tarsus.' Saul had little opportunity during the fortnight to make acquaintance amongst the Christian community in and around Jerus.; 'and,' he says, 'I remained unknown by face to the Churches of Judæa that are in Christ. Only they heard from time to time that our former persecutor is now preaching the faith of which he once made havoc' (Gal 1^{22-24}).

(*a*) With his arrival at Tarsus, in the second or third year after his conversion ('after three years,' Gal 1^{18}, reckoning by years current), St. Paul's missionary activity properly begins,—when he 'came into the regions of Syria and Cilicia' (v.^{21}: Cilicia was a dependency of Syria; and Paul here includes his whole ministry up to the time of the Jerusalem Council, 2^{1}). This *first period*, of more retired and preparatory labour, extended from the year 37 A.D., or thereabouts, to 44,* when Barnabas summoned Saul to assist him at Antioch (Ac $11^{25.26}$). It was a seven years' apprenticeship for the Gentile apostle. The language of Gal 1, and the reference of Ac 15^{23} to 'the brethren from among the Gentiles *throughout Cilicia*,' as well as 'Antioch and Syria,' imply that numerous Churches were formed during this period in Saul's native province. St. Paul's work in his homeland, however, lay outside that main course of the Church's development which Luke made it his business to sketch; and we have no letters from him to Cilicia. But these apprentice years served important ends, in ripening St. Paul's convictions, maturing his plans, and giving him mastery of the weapons of spiritual warfare that he was to ply upon a larger field. Independently, under no human master, he learnt his business as a missionary to the heathen. Over his relations to his family at Tarsus a veil is drawn; but it seems unlikely that Paul would have stayed in this district so long had those relations been altogether hostile (cf. Ac 23^{16}).

(*b*) The *second stage* of St. Paul's ministry begins with his removal to Antioch under the auspices of Barnabas, who had been now for some years superintending the Church of the Syrian capital, to which he was despatched from Jerusalem under the circumstances related in Ac 11^{19-24}. Shortly before the summons to Antioch, Paul experienced the extraordinary vision referred to in 2 Co 12^{2-4}. By the side of Barnabas, Saul took a commanding position in this metropolitan Church, next in importance to that of Jerusalem, planted in the third city of the Empire, the place where 'the disciples were first called Christians.' Along with Barnabas he was sent, a year after his arrival, to convey the alms of the Antiochene Christians to their needy brethren in Judæa, who were threatened by famine (Ac 11^{27-30}). When this 'ministry was fulfilled,' which strengthened the ties binding the Gentile to their Jewish brethren, the Holy Spirit singled out 'Barnabas and Saul' from amongst the 'prophets and teachers' of Antioch to an adventurous 'work,' which was, in fact, the setting on foot of organized Gentile evangelism. With this step the Church commences the second stage of her history, that of her expansion through the Roman Empire; and at ch. 13^{1-3} begins the second half of the Acts of the Apostles, with St. Paul for its hero, as St. Peter was the hero of chs. 1–12. The pointed repetition of the definite expression 'the work' at the beginning and at the end (14^{26}) of the story of this mission, and again in 15^{38} relating to its middle and turning point,—when one considers St. Luke's careful choice of language, and the absence in $13^{13.14}$ of any explanation such as he is accustomed to give of critical changes in St. Paul's line of movement (see $9^{25.30}$ 16^{6-10} $17^{14.15}$ 20^{3}),—leads one to think that the plan of campaign, at least in its general outline (through Cyprus, across to Pamphylia, and round by South Galatia home again), was settled under the direction of the Spirit before leaving Antioch. Mark deserted, while his two leaders 'fulfilled, *the work*' to which they were 'delivered by the grace of God.'

On the First Missionary Journey Barnabas and Saul, with John Mark, Barnabas' cousin (Col 4^{10}), for their assistant, set sail from Seleucia, landed at Salamis, and traversed the island of Cyprus from east to west, preaching wherever Jewish synagogues gave opportunity. At **Paphos** the missionaries were invited to speak before **Sergius Paulus** the proconsul, a Roman governor of unusual intelligence and interest in religious matters. The conversion of this Roman nobleman was a triumph for the new faith, and a happy augury for the enterprise of the missionaries. But it has importance in two further respects: as the first collision of Christianity upon such an arena (comp., however, the case of Simon Magus [wh. see] at Samaria, Ac 8) with the great religious force of Magianism and Oriental theosophy represented by **Elymas** (or **Etoimas**),—the type of many such encounters; and secondly, as the occasion when, before all eyes and in the field of the Gentile mission, St. Paul's ascendency of character and inspiration asserted itself and a signal crisis called into exercise his hidden powers. The judgment upon Bar-Jesus was one of those emphatic 'signs of the apostle' by which God designated His chosen instrument. It is at this point, 'when Saul stands forth by himself and becomes the principal actor' (Lewin), that Luke makes the change in his name (v.^{9}); when the missionary band set sail from Paphos to Perga of Pamphylia, the voyagers are described as 'those about Paul' ('Paul and his company,' v.^{13})—a phrase suggesting that Paul took the initiative in the measures for departure from Cyprus. This fact, together with the hazard and uncertain duration of the tour now extended to the mainland, may explain the withdrawal of Barnabas' kinsman and his return to Jerusalem. When the matter was discussed at Perga, it appeared that in South Galatia lay 'the work' on which the apostles had been 'sent out by the Holy Spirit.' It was not Paul's 'infirmity of the flesh' (Gal 4^{13}) that forced him and Barnabas out of their way to visit South Galatia; they were prosecuting the main object of their journey; and Mark was deserting not a sick companion, but 'the work' he was pledged to pursue. See, further, for the reasons that may have prompted this desertion, the art. Mark (John).

Hence the travellers made no stay at Perga, but pushed on rapidly to **Pisidian Antioch**—'the centre of military and civil administration in the southern parts of the vast province called by the Romans Galatia' (Ramsay). If it was St. Barnabas' predilection that drew the missionaries first to Cyprus ($4^{36.37}$ 15^{39}), in the occupation of Antioch we may trace St. Paul's strategic skill; it was his habit to strike at the centres of provincial life, wherever in such cities a Jewish synagogue offered a foothold. This city commanded the great highroad from Syria to Ephesus and the west, and was central for southern Asia Minor. On the journey of a hundred miles from Perga to Antioch, through the wild ranges of the Taurus, Paul may well have met some of those 'perils of rivers' and 'of robbers' which he associates in 2 Co 11^{26}. For the route see Ramsay, *Church in Rom. Emp.* ii. 2 and map. At Antioch, and onwards, Paul takes the lead in speech and action ($14^{9.\ 11}$). 'Barnabas and Saul' set out on the expedition; 'Paul and Barnabas' will return (Ac 13^{1} 15^{2}).

---

* With these and other dates given in this article the reader may compare art. Chronology of NT, in which in some instances the figures adopted are slightly different.

St. Paul's address in the Antioch synagogue (Ac 13^{16-41}) holds a place in Ac 13–28 corresponding to that of St. Peter's Pentecost sermon in Ac 1–12; it is a typical specimen of his preaching to Jews of the Dispersion. As on subsequent occasions, he is listened to at first with attention, and 'many of the Jews and devout proselytes' are favourably affected, until 'on the next Sabbath' the synagogue is crowded with Gentile hearers, whose presence excites Jewish rancour. The courage of the apostles rises with the storm; denied a further hearing, they solemnly exclaim, 'Lo, we turn to the Gentiles!' So the inevitable rupture takes place. The Jewish leaders are enraged to hear their Messianic hopes and the privileges of the chosen race extended to heathen 'dogs,' and to see the Gentile frequenters of the synagogue flocking to the preachers of this scandalous 'gospel' and admitted by baptism into their schismatic 'congregation.' They cast about for means, usually not far to seek, of exciting the city magistrates, or the mob, against the missionaries, who appear in the light of disturbers of the public peace (Ac 17^{6}) and are, in one way or other, before long expelled, to pass on to the next city, repeating this experience and finding themselves not infrequently pursued thither by their previous assailants. 'Perils from' their 'countrymen, perils from the heathen,' followed immediately on those 'perils of rivers' and 'perils of robbers' through which the missionaries had arrived at S. Galatia. They were hunted in turn from Antioch to Iconium, and from Iconium to Lystra and Derbe; and this was a foretaste of what became with St. Paul the familiar order of things. Still he persisted in appealing to 'the Jew first,' and made the synagogue in each new city his starting-point. Though he might win only a handful of his compatriots, he always found prepared hearers in the proselytes and Gentile synagogue worshippers, amongst whom were many pious Greek women of the educated classes (Ac 17^{4}).

Driven from Antioch, the missionaries travelled (some 80 miles E. by S.) to **Iconium** (mod. *Konieh*), a flourishing commercial city, with a synagogue, where, despite persecution, they preached for 'a considerable time' ('the whole winter,' thinks Ramsay) and with much success, till Jewish intrigues compelled their flight 'to the cities of Lycaonia, Lystra and Derbe' (14^{1-7}). The four towns enumerated lay within the province of Galatia, and were all places of importance in the Roman administration,—Antioch and Iconium within Phrygian, and Lystra and Derbe in Lycaonian Galatia. **Lystra** (20 miles S. of Iconium) was, like Antioch, a *colonia*, a link in the chain of fortresses planted by Augustus to secure the Pisidian and Isaurian frontier. **Derbe** (50 miles S.E. of Iconium) was the border town of Galatia in this direction. Here the Jewish persecution, organized from Antioch, appears to have ceased. At Lystra 'the multitudes,' who deified Barnabas and Paul on the healing of the lame man, shouted 'in the Lycaonian tongue'; but they gave the visitors the names of *Greek* gods, and understood Paul's *Greek* speech (14^{15-17}), in which we have an example of his preaching to the simpler sort of heathen audiences. Throughout the missionaries kept to the track of Græco-Roman civilization and rule, and Jewish settlement. It was the local magistrates, not the Roman officials, with whom they came into conflict; hence it was possible to escape by moving on,—possible also after a lapse of time, probably in the new year under new magistrates (see Ramsay, *Ch. in Rom. Emp.*^{5} pp. 70–72), to return to the cities previously visited. The two travellers retraced their steps from Derbe to Antioch, 'confirming the souls of the disciples' and 'appointing elders in every Church' (vv.$^{22.\ 23}$). At Lystra Paul underwent the single *stoning* of his experience (2 Co 11^{25}), which left on him probably some of the '*stigmata* of Jesus' referred to in Gal 6^{17}. Although no synagogue is mentioned in Lystra or Derbe, Jews certainly resided in the former place, or the 'Jews from Antioch and Iconium' could not have stirred up the murderous assault they did. The half-Jewish Timothy sprang from Lystra (Ac $16^{1.\ 2}$). Returning homewards, Paul and Barnabas 'spake the word in Perga,' and then sailed from the neighbouring port of Attalia (14^{24-26}) to Syrian Antioch. They had been absent, as Ramsay calculates, above two years, leaving Antioch in spring and returning in the third summer or autumn following. Navigation, and travelling in the interior of Asia Minor, were possible only from March to October. On the topography, and the political and social conditions of the regions traversed, Ramsay has superseded all other authorities (*Ch. in Rom. Emp.* ch. ii., and *St. Paul the Trav.* chs. iv. v.).

Two things were made clear by this experimental mission from Antioch. First, that the heathen in the Græco-Roman cities were prepared in large numbers to receive the gospel—'God had opened to the Gentiles a door of faith' (v.^{27}). Secondly (and though Luke does not *say* this, he indicates it strongly), Paul was marked out as chief of the Gentile mission. With the hour had arrived the *man*. At Paphos, Antioch, Lystra—in speech, action, suffering—Paul had come to the front by the force of events. God has now put a broad public seal, known and read of all men, upon the vocation of which His servant had been conscious long before. 'The signs of the apostle' subsequently wrought among the Corinthians (2 Co $12^{11.\ 12}$), were plainly visible in St. Paul through this journey. As they returned to Antioch, Barnabas surely thought concerning his companion, 'He must increase: I must decrease.' Accordingly, when after the lapse of 'no small time' (a year or so) the Antiochene Church was disturbed by circumcisionists from Jerus., it is 'Paul and Barnabas' (not 'Barnabas and Paul') who debate with them; and 'Paul and Barnabas' are sent to lay the matter before the mother Church at Jerusalem ($15^{1.\ 2}$). This latter Church, however, gives Barnabas courteous precedence (Ac 15^{12-25}); he was the senior man, and its own delegate.

The most striking evidence of St. Paul's ascendency is afforded by his own account of the **Conference at Jerus.** in Gal 2^{1-10}. (We assume, with most scholars, that Gal 2^{1-10} corresponds to Ac 15^{1-33}: see art. ACTS OF APOSTLES; also Lightfoot, *Galatians*, pp. 122–127; Lipsius in 'Handcomm. z. NT,' *Galat.*, *ad loc.*; Harnack, *Die Chronol. d. altchristl. Litteratur*, Bd. i. p. 237).* To Paul comes the 'revelation' directing the deputation from Antioch. He adopts the bold step of taking with the party Titus, representing the Gentile Christians whose status was disputed. He 'communicated to those of repute the gospel' that, he says, 'I preach amongst the Gentiles,' putting it to them as the substantial question for decision, whether he had 'run in vain.' If the Gentiles must be circumcised in order to be Christians, St. Paul's mission is stultified. The 'Pillars' now 'see' that to *Paul* is 'entrusted the gospel of the uncircumcision, as that of the circumcision to Peter'; they approve his work as being of God. Barnabas is duly honoured, and was heartily with Paul in his contention; but Paul unmistakably plays the leading part in the negotiations, and the controversy gathers round his person. He acted throughout as the responsible head of the Gentile mission, and was so acknowledged by the elder chiefs of the Church. All this we can understand, as taking place *after the first missionary tour* and the events of Ac 13. 14, which brought Paul to the forefront and displayed in him powers fully comparable to those manifested in Peter's ministry. In A.D. 44–46, when Antioch sent relief to the famine of Jerus., there was no such evidence of Paul's supereminent gifts before the Church; nor is it likely that either Barnabas, or Peter and James, then regarded him in the light in which he appears in Gal 2$^{1-10}$. The historical situation, the occasion of dispute (viz. the attempt to impose circumcision on Gentile Christians), and the chief persons concerned in the discussions of Ac 15$^{1-35}$ and Gal 2$^{1-10}$, are the same. The contrast between the narratives is fairly explained by the fact that St. Luke gives the public and exterior view of the proceedings as they concerned the Church at large; St. Paul, their personal aspect and bearing.

---

* Add to these authorities McGiffert's *Christianity in the Apostolic Age*, p. 208 ff.; and art. CHRONOLOGY OF NT.

The Council of Ac 15 naturally had its inner history; private conferences paved the way for the public settlement. In complicated and delicate affairs of this sort very different representations may be equally true. 'The two accounts admirably complete each other. . . . The discrepancies can, for the most part, be explained simply from the difference of the standpoint of the relaters' (Pfleiderer, *Hibb. Lect.* 1885, on 'The Influence of the Apostle Paul,' p. 103): see, however, chs. iii. and vii. of Ramsay's *St. Paul the Trav.*, where the coincidence of the second visit of Paul in Gal with the second in Ac (11. 12) is vigorously but not convincingly maintained. Luke gives no hint at the earlier juncture of the momentous controversy of Gal 2, for which, indeed, the occasion arose only after the joint mission of Barnabas and Paul to S. Galatia, when mere Gentiles were received in large bodies into the Church (see Hort's *Jud. Christianity*, pp. 64–67): the Jerus. Church was occupied in A.D. 44–46 with the famine and the Herodian persecution; for Paul to have raised the question of his apostolic status then would have been premature and officious. Paul ignores in Galatians the second visit to Jerus., because it was devoted to the specific business stated by Luke, and nothing arose out of it affecting his relations with the first apostles or his own apostleship (see Lightf. *Gal.*, note appended to ch. ii.). Returning from Jerus. at that time, Saul resumed his place among the 'prophets and teachers' of the Church of Antioch (Ac 13^{1}).

The second stage of Paul's ministry culminates with the Council at Jerus., which gave validity to Gentile Christianity and St. Paul's plenary apostleship, now attested by God in the successes of the first missionary journey.

(*c*) The third period of Paul's ministry is signalized by the extension of his mission to Europe, and by the writing of his earliest apostolic letters (1 and 2 Th). The history of the Second Missionary Journey is contained in Ac 15^{36}–18^{22}. It begins with the rupture between Paul and Barnabas, occasioned by Paul's refusal of the companionship of Mark (to whom in the end he was reconciled: Philem^{24}, Col 4^{10}, 2 Ti 4^{11}), but of which a deeper cause lay in the changed relations of the two leaders. Paul must now go his own way. He proceeds to the mission field in Asia Minor, taking for his associate **Silas** (or *Silvanus*), one of the two delegates sent from Jerus. to accompany Barnabas and Paul on their return to Antioch (Ac 15$^{22, 27, 32}$). Silas, like Paul, was a Hebrew of Latin name and Roman citizenship (16^{37}),—a 'prophet,' moreover, and a 'leading man' in the Jerus. Church. He accompanied Paul only for this journey. Much later, we find him acting as St. Peter's secretary (1 P 5^{12}). Silas and Mark were important links between the Apostles Paul and Peter, and between the Judæan Church and the Gentile mission. Paul and Silas journeyed by road, through the Cilician Gates, to S. Galatia, arriving first at Derbe, then at Lystra. At Lystra Paul enlisted young **Timotheus**, possibly to fill the place of Mark as assistant to himself and Silas. He first, however, 'circumcised him,' since he was the son of a Jewess, to avoid scandalizing the Jews (Ac 16$^{1-4}$). At each place Paul and Silas delivered the resolutions of the Council of Jerus. (15$^{23-29}$), which were received everywhere (15$^{30-33}$ 16$^{4, 5}$) with lively satisfaction. They effected their immediate purpose of composing the Judæo-Gentile Churches and putting a stop to the legalistic agitation. The circumcision of Timothy was another conciliatory step on St. Paul's part (see Hort's *Jud. Christianity*, pp. 84–87). The line of Churches between the two Antiochs were now becoming 'solidly established in the faith, and they were increasing in number daily.'

Ac 16^{6} brings us to the turning point of the second missionary journey, and to a critical moment in Paul's career. St. Luke is pressing forward to the Macedonian mission, and sketches intervening movements less distinctly than his wont, in the long and somewhat awkward sentence of vv.$^{6-8}$. We gather that St. Paul's plan had been, after the visitation of the S. Galatian Churches now completed, to push on westwards along the great highway to Ephesus, the chief city of Asia Minor and the stepping-stone to Greece and Rome. But the travellers were 'forbidden by the Holy Spirit to speak the word in Asia' (the Roman province of that name, with Ephesus for its capital). When afterwards, 'having come over against Mysia,' much farther north, 'they were trying to enter Bithynia,' 'the Spirit of Jesus suffered them not.' They were thus compelled finally to make for Troas, where the vision appeared which summoned Paul to the help of the Macedonians. This was a great and pregnant movement in apostolic history—the step which carried Paul and Silas across the Ægean; other events of the time were of importance, in Luke's view, only as leading up to this. Three distinct Divine interpositions occurred, forcing Paul and his companions upon a venture quite unanticipated by themselves.

But how are we to construe the first clause of v.^{6}—according to the critical text its principal and governing sentence, 'But they passed through the Phrygian and Galatian country, having been (*i.e.* since they were) forbidden* by the Holy Spirit to speak the word in Asia'? (διῆλθον δὲ τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν, κωλυθέντες κ.τ.λ.). Ramsay (who has reinforced with powerful arguments the theory held by Mynster, Perrot, Renan, Hausrath, Weizsäcker, that Paul never entered N. Galatia, and that the Galatians of his Ep. are the people of the Phrygian and Lycaonian Churches founded on

---

* Ramsay prefers the reading of the TR, διελθόντες κ.τ.λ., which he interprets as resumptive of vv.$^{4, 5}$, thus detaching κωλυθέντες from the foregoing clause. Even with the reading διῆλθον δέ, it is maintained that κωλυθέντες . . . Ἀσίᾳ conveys a distinct predication, not explaining the διελθεῖν, but supplementing it and stating the next occurrence (see, besides Ramsay as below, Askwith's *Destination and Date of the Ep. to the Gal.*, ch. iii.). With the given arrangement of words, this construction at the best is artificial.

the first tour) argues that 'the Phrygian and Galatian region' of this passage is simply the Phrygo-Galatian district extending from Iconium to Antioch traversed before, and that Paul and Silas journeyed in a direct line, and with no considerable delay, from this region to Troas. It seems to be clear, on the other hand, that v.^{5} concludes the account of St. Paul's visitation of S. Galatia, and that v.^{6} relates his setting out on a new campaign. Forbidden to preach in Asia, the missionaries moved in another direction; and 'the Phrygian and Galatian region' is Luke's definition of the fresh field upon which they now enter. Here St. Luke first employs the word *Galatian*, although the travellers have been within the Roman province of that name since arriving at Derbe, for the cities of Asia Minor evangelized on the first tour all lay (as Ramsay has decisively proved) within its bounds. We naturally look for this new 'Galatian region' in Galatia proper or N. Galatia, the western part of which, with Pessinus for its centre, marched with Phrygia not far to the east of the direct way from Antioch to Troas. The presumption from Greek usage is that τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν signifies two adjoining districts coupled together, rather than one district known by two different names (comp. Ac 27^{5}, Lk 3^{1}, 1 Th 1^{8}), and that the co-ordinate 'Phrygian' and 'Galatian' are used in the same sense (the former *ethnic*, and so therefore the latter). Emerging from N.W. Galatia, the travellers would find themselves (v.^{7}) close to Bithynia on the north, and with Mysia presenting itself on the west. V.^{6} thus fills in the geographical space between vv.^{5} and ^{7}, and defines the tract, first Phrygian in population then Galatian, which separated Bithynia from St. Paul's old mission field.[*] (On the question of N. *v.* S. Galatia see, in addition to writers mentioned before, Lightf. *Galatians*, Introd.; Ramsay's *Ch. in Rom. Emp.* chs. iii.-vi., *St. Paul the Trav.* chs. v., vi., viii., ix., *Studia Biblica*, IV. ii., and art. GALATIA in this Dictionary; Chase in the *Expositor*, IV. viii. 401, ix. 314, 331, with Ramsay's replies; Gifford, *ib.* IV. x. 1; Zöckler, *SK*, 1894, pp. 51-102; Schürer, *Jahrb. f. prot. Theol.*, 1892, p. 471; *Crit. Review*, III. [1893] 356; Lipsius, 'Handcom.,' *Galat.*, Einleitung). The verb διῆλθον (16^{6}) connotes a 'missionary progress' (*St. Paul the Trav.* p. 384); and when Paul revisits this district on his third journey (18^{23}), he 'travels through the Galatian region and Phrygia in order, strengthening *all the disciples*,'—the last clause implying that on the ground so lightly passed over in 16^{6} considerable time had been spent and many souls won for Christ. To this second journey the origin of the Galatian Churches, addressed in Paul's great Ep. of that name, has been generally referred, its interpreters seeing in the recipients Galatians by race,[*] inhabitants of the north (preferably the N.W.) of the great Roman province of Galatia. Paul made acquaintance with his 'Galatians' unexpectedly, when compelled by illness to seek their hospitality and so to give them the gospel (Gal 4$^{12-20}$). Twice during this journey he was turned aside from his purpose by the voice of the Holy Spirit; it appears that the hand of God was further laid on him, in the shape of disabling sickness, obliging him to halt in this out-of-the-way district, which he had meant to traverse without lingering. God was giving to His strong-willed servant a hard schooling in submission. It may have been Bithynia that Paul and Silas were making for when thus checked; or it may have been (according to Paul's wont) Ancyra, the capital of the Galatian province, already evangelized in its southern part. In any case, the Galatians, with whom he now tarried, received the infirm apostle with enthusiasm, and he made numerous and attached converts amongst them, the objects of his warm affection but anxious solicitude.

If other reasons besides the writer's eagerness to bring us to Macedonia are required to account for the silence of Acts about the Galatians of the Ep., the fact that the N. Galatian mission was a parenthesis in Paul's work and lay off the main line of missionary progress may account for the slightness of St. Luke's references thereto; and the defection feared may have made the apostle's work there, to a large extent, a labour lost.

It was at Troas that St. Luke met St. Paul and joined his company (Ramsay conjectures Luke himself to have been the 'Macedonian man' of Ac 16^{9}: *St. Paul the Trav.* ix. 3); and at Philippi Luke stayed, being found there when Paul revisited that town. (The 'we' of the Acts continues from 16^{10} to 16^{17}, to be resumed at 20$^{5.\ 6}$). The 'vision' may have prepared St. Paul for St. Luke's invitation to Macedonia (Ramsay, as above), as St. Peter was prepared at Joppa for the summons of Cornelius. **Philippi** was an important Roman colony, with a small Jewish settlement worshipping at an open-air *proseuché* by the river-side. Among 'the women who assembled' there Paul and Silas found their first hearers, and in the proselyte Lydia their first European convert and their hostess (vv.$^{13-15}$). Women played a leading part in this Church from the outset (Ph 4$^{1-3}$). The missionaries had preached at the *proseuché* for some time, when their work was stopped by the accusation brought against them by the masters of a fortune-telling, ventriloquist slave-girl from whom 'in the name of Jesus Christ' they had exorcized the evil spirit (vv.$^{16-18}$). This attack was one of Paul's many 'perils from the heathen.' The gospel damaged the vested interests of idolatry; and those who saw 'the hope of their gain' endangered attacked its preachers through the passions of the populace—at Ephesus subsequently as despisers of 'the great goddess,' at Philippi as 'Jews' who brought in 'customs illegal for Romans' and affronting their pride (vv.$^{20.\ 21}$). In this *colonia* Paul suffered one of the three *beatings with* (Roman) *rods* that he recounts in 2 Co 11^{25}. The scenes attending his imprisonment here along with Silas, form one of the most stirring and most graphic episodes in the Acts.

---

[*] The writer is now (1900) inclined to Ramsay's construction of τὴν Φρυγ. κ. Γαλατ. χώραν as denoting the Phrygo-Galatian [he would prefer to say, Galatic-Phrygian] region; but unless this phrase had an accepted political limitation, of which there is no evidence, it covered presumably *the west of the province of Galatia* generally, the whole of which was (in the substratum of its population) Phrygian ethnically and Galatian politically. Even in the N.W., as Ramsay intimates, the Galatæ were never more than a ruling clan. On this modified view, it would appear that Paul and Silas, when forbidden to preach 'in Asia,' moved northwards from the field of the earlier mission, confining themselves still to Phrygia Galatica where they were allowed to 'speak the word,' and avoiding Phrygia Asiana which they had been previously on the point of entering (τῇ Ἀσίᾳ is thus seen to be antithetical to τὴν . . . Γαλατικὴν χώραν). Taking this course and marching within the eastern side of the border-line separating the two provinces, which parted Phrygia between them, the apostles arrived at the N.W. corner of Galatia, with Bithynia fronting them, and Mysia flanking them at some distance to the west. Here, once more, their course was supernaturally diverted—from north to west, as previously from west to north—and 'passing over Mysia' (a part of *Asia*, where they had been 'forbidden to speak the word') they reached the sea at Troas. Paul and Silas thus traversed, in west central Galatia, a wild and desolate country; but this route was forced upon them, and Paul 'would not be deterred by rough or unfrequented paths' (Ltft.). There must have been at this time regular communication between the S.W. and N. of the great Galatian province. The view followed in this note gives a good sense to Ac 18^{23}, διερχόμενος . . . τ. Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν, which means, in this light, 'traversing the (above-mentioned) Galatian region *and Phrygia*' at large—not the Galatian part of it alone, to which Paul's travels had been specifically limited on the Second Journey.

[*] This assumption as to the *race* of Paul's 'Galatians' is modified by the later note above. It is still maintained that in locality and origin the Churches in question are distinct from those of S. Galatia, which were founded upon the First Journey and owed allegiance not to Paul alone, but to Paul and Barnabas jointly.

St. Paul's campaign in Macedonia was one of severe conflict, but signal success. The missionaries entered **Thessalonica** (now *Saloniki*), the capital of Macedonia, full of vigour and hope (1 Th 1[5] 2[1. 2]). Next to Syrian Antioch, this city was the most important which Paul had so far reached, being the chief emporium of the Thracian peninsula and the seat of Roman administration, containing also a large and influential synagogue. Once planted at Thessalonica, 'the word of the Lord sounded out' far and wide; the gospel was advertised through the whole of Macedonia and Achaia (1 Th 1[6-10]). St. Paul's experience here resembled that at Pisidian Antioch (Ac 17[1-10]). At this loyal imperial capital, however, the attack on Christianity takes a new form, reminding us of the charge against Jesus before Pilate. The preachers are accused of sedition, of 'setting up another king, Jesus.' The emphasis which Paul laid at this time upon the doctrines of 'the kingdom of God' and the *parousia* lent colour to this dangerous impeachment. Paul left Thessalonica for Berœa with his work unfinished, and firmly resolved to return soon (1 Th 2[17. 18] 3[10]); he had a peculiar affection for his converts here (as at Philippi), and a strong sense of the importance of the position won in this city. But he had to be content with sending Timothy from Athens in his place; and it was only on Timothy's return (who found the apostle removed to Corinth, Ac 18[5]) that his anxiety was relieved. St. Luke's account throws at this point a further light on St. Paul's method of argument with Jews: 'He discoursed to them from the Scriptures, expounding and explaining [1] that the Christ should suffer, and [2] should rise from the dead, and [3] that *this* is the Christ, this Jesus whom I proclaim to you.' Up to the last point (reached on the *third* Sabbath?) the Jews listened with tolerance—to the general doctrine of a suffering and rising Messiah; the critical moment came when this Christ was identified with the crucified Nazarene.

The synagogue of Berœa received the gospel with rare candour; a Church was quickly formed, including 'many' Jews; everything went well, until Jews from Thessalonica arrived to stir up the heathen multitude against the apostles. The danger to St. Paul's life must have been great, for he was sent by sea right out of the country and escorted all the way to Athens (17[10-15]). This deadly persecution by the Thessalonian Jews justifies the anger he expresses in 1 Th 2[14-16].

At **Athens**, the city of philosophers but 'full of idols,' things take a different course. Paul is hailed as a wandering lecturer upon some curious form of religious speculation, and is brought by 'certain of the Stoics and Epicureans' before the court (not up on the *hill*) of the Areopagus, which was charged with the oversight of public teaching in the city. The profound and earnest discourse reported in Ac 17[22-31]—which leads up from the general truth, then widely accepted, of God's spiritual nature and fatherly relation to men, to the proclamation of Christ's coming in judgment and the resurrection of the dead—made no decided impression on this audience. A single Areopagite accepted the faith, with a few other persons (17[34]), but no considerable Church could be gathered; and Paul went on to Corinth (on 'Paul at Athens,' see especially Ramsay's *St. Paul the Trav.* xi. 1–3). Silas' movements at this time cannot be traced with certainty: probably he followed Paul to Athens, along with Timothy (Ac 17[15]), and was separately, and a little later (1 Th 3[1. 2], '*we* sent Timothy'), despatched from that place—*sc.* to Philippi or Berœa, journeying with Timothy back from Macedonia to rejoin the apostle (Ac 18[5]).

Paul reached **Corinth** alone, 'in weakness, and in fear, and in much trembling' (1 Co 2[3])—a condition due partly to sickness, but partly, one thinks, to his small success at Athens and his distress about the Thessalonians. The elation of his Macedonian mission was followed by a period of dejection. He gained, however, at the outset a couple of fast friends in **Aquila and Priscilla**, recently driven from Rome through the emperor Claudius' decree of expulsion against the Jews. Their acquaintance turned his thoughts more definitely to that city, which at Corinth came into Paul's nearer view. St. Paul's opening addresses in this synagogue were received with favour both by 'Jews and Greeks' (Ac 18[1-4]), until after some weeks, on the arrival of Silas and Timothy with cheering news from Macedonia, he proclaimed in its full scope, and with renewed energy, the Messiahship of Jesus and 'the word of the cross' (Ac 18[5-8], 1 Co 1[18-25] 2[2]). At this the Jews were scandalized, and an angry separation ensued. Paul occupied the house of a converted proselyte, Titius Justus—judging from his name, a Roman citizen of the *colonia*—close to the synagogue; the ruler of the synagogue followed him. When he tells the Corinthian brethren that there were '*not many* wise, mighty, highborn' amongst them, it is evident that some persons of distinction and culture attached themselves to this Church (cf. Ro 16[23]).

The Corinthian Church shone by its intellectual gifts and variety of talent. Its constituency was drawn from the lowest as well as the higher walks of life. On this rank soil, in the metropolis of Greek vice, a Christianity sprang up of abounding vitality, but rife with seeds of strife and corruption (1 Co 1[5] 6[9-11], 2 Co 12[20. 21], etc.). In Corinth the Jews had no popular influence, and Paul was able to stay for eighteen months. He was encouraged by a vision assuring him of personal safety and of a rich harvest of souls (Ac 18[9-11]). Paul experienced at Corinth the full benefit of the protection of Roman law. The proconsul Gallio, known through his brother Seneca as an amiable and large-minded man, dismissed contemptuously the charge of illegal action brought by the Jews against Paul, and winked at the beating thereupon given to the accuser by the Greek bystanders (vv.[12-17]). In no other great city, with the exception of Syrian Antioch, did the apostolic Church experience so little persecution.

The date of the *FIRST EPISTLE TO THE THESS.* is determined by comparison of 1 Th 3[6] and Ac 18[5] as falling within the first period of St. Paul's sojourn at Corinth, within six months probably of his leaving Thessalonica. The *SECOND EPISTLE* followed speedily after the First; for it deals with the same situation, aggravated in some particulars, and corrects a misapprehension due in part to misunderstanding or perversion of the First (2 Th 2[1. 2]). These two Epp., with the Address at Athens and the allusions of 1 Co, show the prominence of the doctrine of the Last Things in St. Paul's teaching at this epoch. Though his specific doctrine of the Cross is only once alluded to in the Thess. letters (1 Th 5[9. 10]), the Epp. to Corinth and Galatia prove, by their references to his preaching on the second journey (1 Co 2[1. 2], Gal 3[1], etc.), that this was his central theme throughout.

The course of the Second Journey, possibly, throws some light upon the obscure figure of 'the man of lawlessness' in 2 Th 2. Many indications point to the apostle's interested study of the Roman Empire and its relations to the kingdom of Christ. The majesty and equity of Roman law, the ability of Roman administration, the unity and peace which Roman rule gave to the civilized world, Paul appreciated; they had created the field for his great work. He saw in the Roman magistrate 'the restrainer' of evil forces that might have crushed the Church in its infancy. But there was one feature in the Roman system that must have stirred his extreme abhorrence—the *Cæsar-worship* then rapidly spreading in the provinces, which was becoming, in fact, the religion of the Empire. This development of imperial autocracy was, in principle, quite distinct from the authority of the State, and could be regarded by Paul only as the climax of lawlessness. The attempt of Caligula, in the year 39, to place his statue in the temple at Jerusalem had horrified the Jewish world; the blasphemous freaks of this Cæsar were probably in the apostle's mind when he wrote 2 Th 2[4]. In their progress through Asia Minor the missionaries were confronted with multiplied signs of the imperial religion; not improbably they passed, *e.g.*, through Pergamum (marked out in Rev 2[13] as the place 'where Satan dwelleth'), where stood the *Augusteium*, in which the godhead of the Divus Augustus was honoured by a splendid cultus renowned through the peninsula. Such observations gave a sharper edge to St. Paul's conception of 'the kingdom'; and his reflexions upon this antithesis may well have affected his language in such a way as to lend colour to the charge made against him at Thessalonica (Ac 17[7, 8]). On this subject he had *spoken* more freely than he ventures to write (2 Th 2[5]). The OT forecasts of **Antichrist,** combined with the contemporary deification of the Cæsars, supply the material for the image of the ἀντικείμενος of 2 Th. This same Cæsar-worship inspired the hatred of Rome which burns through the Apocalypse. St. Paul and St. John, with profound insight, discerned in this cult the true rival of Christianity among the forces of the time; the *numen* of Cæsar, as the great martyrdoms proved, was the crucial alternative to that of Jesus. Antichrist was latent in the world-god of the Palatine.

In his progress westwards Paul was increasingly attracted, yet repelled, at each step by the grandeur of Rome. The second missionary tour was the time of the apostle's boldest enterprises, his largest conquests. In a single march the gospel was carried over more than half the breadth of the eastern Roman Empire, and Corinth was brought into fellowship with Jerusalem. But these rapid successes in Galatia and Corinth prepared for the apostle his greatest sorrows.

The second tour, occupying scarcely less than three years, closed with Paul's voyage to Cæsarea for Jerusalem. On the way he called at Ephesus, where he left Priscilla and Aquila, promising to return. This fourth visit to Jerusalem was of the briefest. At Antioch he spent 'some time'—an expression probably covering the ensuing winter.

(*d*) THE THIRD MISSIONARY JOURNEY commenced with the spring, when St. Paul set out for 'the Galatian region and Phrygia,' accompanied by Timothy (Ac 18[18-23]). During the interval between the second and third journeys we place (with Neander, Wieseler, A. Sabatier) **St. Peter's visit to Antioch and collision with St. Paul,** related in Gal 2[11-21]. The defeat of Ac 15 must have arrested the Judaistic movement for the time; nor is St. Peter, to say nothing of St. Barnabas, likely at once to have stultified his action at the Council. The Epp. to the Thess. give no indication that St. Paul's mind was disturbed during his first mission in Europe by controversy with the legalists, as it could hardly fail to have been if the settlement made at Jerus. had been already jeoparded by 'the dissimulation' of Peter and Barnabas and the renewed activity of the ψευδάδελφοι παρείσακτοι. The proceedings of the 'certain from James' at the time of St. Peter's visit to Antioch amounted to 'a regular declaration of war,' a renewal of the struggle between the principle of Jewish privilege and Christian universalism. This conflict, breaking out in Antioch, spread rapidly over the field of St. Paul's mission and raged bitterly in the Galatian and Corinthian Churches, where emissaries from Jerus. appeared on the same errand as those who had 'carried away' the Jewish Christians of Antioch. 'Evidently, the apostle had quitted Jerus. (after the Council of Ac 15 and the understanding with the "Pillars") and proceeded to his second Missionary Journey full of satisfaction at the victory he had gained and free from anxiety for the future. The decisive moment of the crisis necessarily falls between the Thess. and Gal. Epp. What had happened meanwhile? The violent discussion with St. Peter at Antioch, and all that the recital of this incident reveals to us,—the arrival of the emissaries from St. James in the Gentile Christian circle, and the countermission organized to rectify the work of St. Paul. A new situation suddenly presents itself to the apostle on his return from the second Missionary Journey' (Sabatier, *The Apostle Paul*, pp. 10, 11, also 124–136). The Judaizers had recovered from the shock of their former overthrow; and the enormous accessions to the Church from heathenism were threatening to overwhelm them. They determined on a new and more artful attempt to capture the Gentile Churches. They did not now, as before, bluntly insist that circumcision was necessary to salvation (Ac 15[1]). But they maintained that the law of God created an indelible distinction between the circumcised Israelite and all others, and that this separation was guarded by the Levitical ordinances respecting meats. While the Messiah was the Saviour of all men, there belonged to His own people, with the apostles whom He chose from amongst them, an inalienable primacy. Only through circumcision and conformity to the sacred ordinances could Gentile believers become the legitimate heirs of faithful Abraham, and enter into all the blessedness of the kingdom of God. Such was the theory of the new Judaizers, as we gather it from St. Paul's polemic against them. They no longer denied the Christian status of uncircumcised believers in Christ, but they vindicated a higher status for the circumcised. Thus Peter and Barnabas, in withdrawing from the common Church table at Antioch under the pressure of these men, virtually 'compelled the Gentiles to Judaize'; for only, it seemed, on this condition would the latter be in communion with Jewish believers and be recognized as Christians in the fullest sense. 'The decrees' of the Jerus. Council, though certainly not designed for this purpose, and not corresponding (as it has often been alleged) to the 'Seven Commandments of the Sons of Noah' imposed on the *gēr tôshābh* or *sebomenos* (Hort, *Jud. Christianity*, pp. 68–76), might with a little ingenuity be construed in favour of the distinction now alleged, as though they placed Gentile Christians on a footing resembling that of proselytes to Judaism.* The law was brought in again to complete the work of the gospel; and those who had 'begun in the spirit' were to be 'perfected by the flesh' (Gal 3[3]).

While the legalists sought in this way to foist Judaism upon the Pauline Churches, they equally strove to destroy the influence of the Apostle Paul. They came forward as the authorized representatives of the chiefs at Jerus., and showed 'letters of commendation' to this effect (Gal 2[12], 2 Co 3[1]); in their name they assumed to correct the imperfect doctrine of Paul, and to claim the allegiance of all believers for the mother Church. Paul, they asserted, had no knowledge of Jesus Christ and no authority to preach Him, beyond what he had received from Peter and the Twelve. Amongst other proofs of this, they even argued at Corinth that his declining to receive a stipend betrayed the consciousness of inferior right. With these unscrupulous opponents Paul was in conflict throughout the third tour. At the outset he had warned his Galatian converts against the seducers who were following on his track (Gal 1^9 5^3; cf. Ac 18^{23}). His opponents anticipated his arrival at Corinth; from Corinth he writes to Rome, expecting that they will carry the agitation there and may prepossess the Roman Church against him. If these men were really supported, as they alleged, by the responsible heads of the Jewish Church, St. Paul's position was almost untenable; but the studious respect shown in the Epp. of this period for the 'Pillars' indicates his confidence in their loyalty to the fellowship established between himself and them (Gal $2^{9.10}$). The failure of the attack on St. Paul's apostleship goes far to prove that there was no schism between him and the Twelve.

---

* Such abuse of the δόγματα by the Judaizers best explains St. Paul's silence respecting them, and their disappearance after Ac 16[4] (see, however, 21[25]).

This *fourth period*, therefore, of St. Paul's ministry is distinguished as the period of his struggle with the Judaistic reaction in the Church, and of the four great evangelical Epistles which were its outcome. The evangelist becomes the controversialist; the church-founder must defend the churches of his foundation. The apologetic and doctrinal interests now predominate in St. Paul's work; he is employed in consolidating the conquests already won.

Even his missionary activity bears at this time somewhat of a supplementary character. After 'confirming' on his way 'all the disciples' gained on his last tour (Ac 18^{23}, cf. 16^6: for the expression *τ. Γαλατικὴν χώραν κ. Φρυγίαν* see note * on p. 707^a), 'when he had made a missionary progress through the higher-lying quarters' (this implies a fairly complete evangelizing of central Asia Minor), Paul 'came to Ephesus' (19^1). **Ephesus**, with its rich and populous province of Asia, lay in the centre of the fields already occupied. It was the objective point of St. Paul's second journey; God's hand had then diverted his course (16^6), but only for a while. Here, as at Corinth, Paul's work was under the shield of the Roman administration (19^{38-40}); and he won the friendship even of 'some of the Asiarchs' (v.^{31}), who were the 'high priests of Asia, the heads of the imperial politico-religious organization of the province' (*St. Paul the Trav.* p. 281). 'Many,' therefore, as his 'adversaries' were, and though he had to 'fight with wild beasts in Ephesus' (1 Co 15^{32} 16^9), Paul held his ground in this city for three years, until 'all those that dwelt in Asia had heard the word of the Lord, both Jews and Greeks' (Ac $19^{10.17-20.26}$ 20^{31}). This success led to a great destruction of the Ephesian books of magic; it so much diminished the sale of the images of Artemis that the craftsmen took alarm and stirred up a riot of the city multitude, who were enraged at the disparagement of their world-famed goddess. The tumult hastened Paul's departure; but he had done an immense work at Ephesus. This city, afterwards the home of the Apostle John, was the most powerful centre of Christianity in the later apostolic age. The Ep. to Philemon and that to the Colossians, written to an outlying town of the province which Paul had not himself visited, and the general (provincial) destination of the so-called Ep. to the EPHESIANS (see art.), indicate how widely Paul's mission permeated the province of Asia. With the establishment of the gospel at Troas, evangelized by Paul on leaving Ephesus (2 Co $2^{12.13}$; cf. Ac 20^{6-12}), and the excursion into Illyria (Ro 15^{19-21}) made apparently during his sojourn in Macedonia in the following summer, two more links were added to the chain of Churches, which by the end of the third tour stretched 'from Jerusalem round about unto Illyricum.' The apostle felt that things were ripening for his advance to Rome (Ac 19^{21}).

Besides the daily pressure of his mission, never perhaps so great as at Ephesus, there lay on St. Paul heavily at this time 'the care of all the Churches' (2 Co 11^{28}). Of this care the Corinthian and Galatian Epistles are evidence. *GALATIANS* is commonly referred to the Ephesian sojourn; 'Lightfoot has given good reasons, though not all equally good' (Hort's *Jud. Chr.* p. 99), for placing it later, between 2 Co and Ro, as written from Macedonia or Corinth (*Comm. on Gal.*, Introd. iii.). Ramsay, in accordance with his S. Galatian theory, carries the Epistle back to St. Paul's stay at Antioch before the third journey; while Clemen (*Chronologie d. Paulin. Briefe*, ii. A. 1) makes it follow Romans because of its extreme controversial position.

In *1 AND 2 CORINTHIANS* we see Paul closely watching affairs at Corinth, during his residence in Ephesus. But the exact course of his proceedings is difficult to determine. Krenkel (in his *Beiträge*) and Schmiedel (in the 'Handcommentar z. NT,' *Einleit. an Kor.*) have lately examined the data minutely, arriving at involved and contradictory theories as to Paul's communications with Corinth during this period. From 2 Co $13^{1.2}$ it is almost certain that Paul *had been at Corinth a second time*, 'in sorrow' (2^1) and humiliation ($12^{20.21}$). He found a number of his converts relapsing into heathen vice; and he rebuked and warned, but forbore to strike. This forbearance had compromised his authority and given an impression of weakness on his part, of which his opponents subsequently took an injurious advantage, contrasting his imperious letters with his feeble presence and challenging a 'proof' of his apostolic powers (2 Co 10^{1-11} 13^{1-10}). This intervening visit (an excursion by sea from Ephesus, unnoticed by Luke) was made *not long before 1 Co* (so Schmiedel),—and, since this letter was written in the spring (1 Co 5^8 16^8), probably in the previous autumn. In 1 Co 4^{18-21} Paul meets the insinuation, based on the result of this encounter, that he is afraid to come to Corinth; his seeming vacillation between the 1st and 2nd Ep. gave additional colour to the imputation, afterwards repeated (2 Co 1^{15-24}). This episode, not directly mentioned in 1 Co and which both parties might wish to forget, Paul is compelled to recall in 2 Co by the taunts of his opponents. On his return to Ephesus under the painful impression of what he had just witnessed at Corinth, the apostle wrote a sharp disciplinary Epistle, to which 1 Co 5^{9-13} refers in explanation and reinforcement. In spite of this appeal, the Church of Corinth had permitted 'the old leaven' to remain, until the monstrous case of incest compelled the apostle to give the solemn and peremptory directions of 1 Co 5^{1-8}.

Concurrently with the news of this outrage, Paul hears of the factions dividing the Church, in which the names of Cephas and of Apollos (much against his will) figure in rivalry with his own,—even the name of Christ being dragged into the competition. The Apollos party, affecters of philosophical breadth and culture, were conspicuous at the moment; and Paul deals with them in chs. 1–4 of 1 Co, referring to Apollos with brotherly frankness ($3^{4.22}$ 4^6). The Church had also addressed to the apostle at Ephesus a public letter, avoiding the grave matters taken up in St. Paul's first six chapters, and writing with a self-complacency sadly unbefitting (4^8 $5^{2.6}$ 11^2), but asking his guidance on a number of important practical questions, with which he deals in chs. 7–14: see the headings

$7^{1.25}$ 8^1 12^1 16^1. Three leading Corinthian Christians brought this letter to Ephesus (16^{15-18}); and Paul, in sending them back with his reply, warmly commends them. In this Epistle we first hear of 'the collection for the saints' at Jerusalem, gathered by Paul on his third missionary tour, to which he attached great importance (16^{1-4}, 2 Co 8. 9, Gal 2^{10}). He had already given instructions to the Churches of Galatia on the business, probably on his way through Asia Minor (Ac 18^{23}); and Gal 6^{6-10}, as well as 2^{10}, tacitly refers to it. The phrase introducing the topic in 1 Co 16^1 (cf. 7^1 etc.) suggests that the Corinthians were already interested in this charity (see also 2 Co 8^{10} 9^{2-5}). This ministration to the poverty of the persecuted Church in Jerus. (1 Th 2^{14}), in which Paul had been engaged from an early time (Ac 11^{30}), helped to unite Jewish and Gentile Christians; it was a counteraction to the Judaistic propaganda, since it exhibited to the mother Church the true grace of God in the daughter Churches among the heathen.

When Paul despatched our 1st Ep. to Corinth, he was expecting to travel thither soon, but not immediately, and to make a considerable stay; meanwhile he has sent Timothy, now in Macedonia upon his way, who 'will remind' the Corinthians of Paul's 'ways in Christ,' which they were in danger of forgetting. He had some apprehension that Timothy might not be well received (1 Co 4^{17-19} 16^{10}; cf. Ac $19^{21.22}$). Although Timothy shares in the greeting of 2 Co, and 2 Co 1–7 (quite otherwise than 1 Co) is written mainly in the first person plural, not a word is said about Timothy's visit to Corinth. This silence is significant, as was St. Paul's silence in 1 Co respecting his own, then recent, visit. Had Timothy never arrived at Corinth, some explanation would surely have been given; clearly, he is not forgotten (1^1). Now, in the same letter there is notable reference to some one, unnamed, who had been grievously 'wronged,' and wronged in such a way that Paul felt the injury as his own. About this wrong he has written shortly before, 'out of much affliction and anguish of heart, with many tears' ($2^{3.4}$ 7^{8-12}). In this painful letter, which had made the Corinthians 'sorry after a godly sort' and 'to repentance,' Paul must have demanded the exemplary punishment of 'him that did the wrong'; and a 'censure' had been accordingly inflicted upon him 'by the majority' of the Church, under which the offender was so humbled that Paul forgives him and desires his restoration (2 Co 2^{5-11}).

Chs. 1–7 of the 2nd Ep. turn upon this incident. Who were the sufferer and inflicter of wrong? (1) *The father and son of 1 Co* 5^1; so it is often replied (see *e.g.* Edwards and Beet on 1 Co, and Klöpper on 2 Co, *ad locc.*). But the language and feeling of 2 Co 2^{5-11} 7^{6-16} are as unsuitable as those of 1 Co 5 are suitable to this infamous offence, and one hardly thinks that even the Church of Corinth could hesitate or be divided about so flagrant a crime when solemnly brought up for judgment; nor does 1 Co correspond to the description of 2 Co 2^4. (2) *St. Paul himself and some insolent Corinthian Christian*, who had defied the apostle either when present on the second visit (thus interjected between 1 and 2 Co), or in his absence; so Sabatier (*The Ap. Paul*, pp. 171–175), Schmiedel, and others. This explanation sets us at the right point of view for understanding 2 Co 2 and 7; but St. Paul's second visit to Corinth probably came about earlier (see p. 710^b); and St. Paul is not the man to have retreated before a personal attack, shooting Parthian arrows by letters from a distance; such a defeat would have been irreparable. (3) Beyschlag and Pfleiderer, with greater probability, suggest *Timothy* as the ἀδικηθείς. Appearing at Corinth on Paul's behalf about the time of the arrival of the 1st Ep. (4^{17-21} $16^{10.11}$), and perhaps taking the initiative in the trial of the incestuous man, Timothy received a gross insult from 'some one' of note in the Church, the injury thus inflicted striking the apostle through his representative, and, not improbably, involving an angry reflexion upon him for sending a stripling in his place. This attack on Timothy accounts for the emphatic and continuous identification by the apostle in 2 Co 1–7 of his young helper with himself, and for the subtle interchanges between the first person plural and singular in the passages relative to the ἀδικήσας and ἀδικηθείς.

On Timothy's return, soon after 1 Co, with this grievous news, Paul wrote 'out of anguish of heart' the lost epistle between 1 and 2 Co (not to be identified with 2 Co 10–13^{10}, as by Hausrath and Pfleiderer; these chapters have nothing to do with the affair of the ἀδικηθείς), conveyed by Titus (before this time employed at Corinth on the business of the collection, 2 Co 8^6 $9^{2.5}$ 12^{16-18}), in which Paul called on the Church to condemn the ἀδικήσας and thus 'show itself clear in the matter.' This the Corinthians did—at least 'the majority' of them (2^6)—with earnest apologies to Paul and Timothy ($7^{11.12}$). Paul had sent Titus in confidence that such satisfaction would be given; but Titus' delay in returning awakened the most distressing apprehensions ($2^{12.13}$ $7^{5.6}$). He was compelled to leave Ephesus, and, after awaiting his messenger for some time at Troas, passed on to Macedonia still in painful suspense. At the moment when he sent Titus from Ephesus, Paul was disposed to come round by way of Corinth to Macedonia,—supposing, of course, that the Corinthians submitted (cf. 1^{15} and 7^{14}),—and Titus had intimated that the apostle, contrary to the intention of 1 Co 16^{5-7}, might thus give them 'a second joy.' But this was now impossible (Paul would not come without better news from Corinth, $2^{2.3}$), and the apostle reverted to the earlier plan of travel. He must have apprised Titus of this change, with directions to meet him in Troas or Macedonia; and in this way the news of St. Paul's illness reached Corinth before Titus left (1^{11} 7^7). The Corinthians were full of sympathy; at the same time, reflexions were made on the apostle's seeming fickleness, which touched him keenly (1^{15-22}).

The illness from which Paul suffered between 1 and 2 Co was severe and all but fatal (2 Co 1^9 6^9). This affliction left a deep mark in his experience; it overshadows 2 Co. Chs. 4^{16}–5^{10} record his thoughts as he then lay confronting the last enemy. For the first time he realizes the likelihood that he will die before the Lord's return; we do not find him subsequently speaking of the παρουσία in the first person plural of 1 Th and 1 Co. The terrible closing scenes at Ephesus, the revolt of Galatia and Corinth, and this prostrating attack of sickness, by their concurrent effect brought him into the lowest depths of affliction (1^{8-11} 4^{7-12} $7^{5.6}$); and God is now to him, above all, 'the Father of compassions.' It was the darkest hour that the apostle had known. His life and his mission seemed both to be ending in defeat.

The acute personal question raised by the ἀδικήσας at Corinth is terminated; but the larger controversy remains, and has been exasperated through the arrival of Judæan emissaries (3^1 $11^{22.23}$ 12^{11}). Of these men and their proceedings Titus, on his return from Corinth, gave a full report. The Church, while sincerely loyal to Paul, had received the 'false apostles' and 'deceitful workers'; it was being imposed on and was too likely to be seduced by them ($11^{2-4.19.20}$). Their self-commendations and disparagements of Paul, at whose expense they exalted the Twelve, were listened to with unworthy tolerance. He is compelled in

2 Co 3–6, and more polemically in the concluding chapters, to vindicate at length both his character and apostleship. The contrast, in temper and purport, between 2 Co 1–7 and 10–13, which leads some able scholars (*e.g.* Hausrath, Schmiedel) to regard these sections as distinct epistles, is due to the peculiar situation at Corinth, to the fact that, while the majority of the Church had rallied to Paul (2^{5}), there remained a minority all the more embittered, in which the newly-arrived agitators found the means for operating upon the entire community. The four parties of 1 Co have resolved themselves in a few months into two; and 2 Co is at once a message of peace to the well-disposed, and a thunderbolt launched by the apostle against the Judaizing promoters of 'another gospel' and his own malignant detractors.

This powerful Epistle appears to have subdued the mutiny at Corinth, for Paul carried out his purpose of spending the winter there before his journey to Jerusalem (Ac $20^{2.3}$: cf. 2 Co 2^{1}), and there he wrote the calm and deliberate *Ep. to the Romans*, the tone of which reflects his softened mood. This conciliatory temper befitted the apostle addressing a strange Church, where Jewish believers are numerous but, as he supposes, not unfriendly to his gospel. Meanwhile Titus, attended for this purpose by two companions (2 Co 8^{16-23}), is commissioned in conveying 2 Co to conclude the business of 'the collection,' which had doubtless been hindered by strife; chs. 8 and 9 of 2 Co are devoted to this matter. In 1 Co 16^{3} Paul had suggested the election of deputies to convey the charity to Jerus.; such election the Macedonians had now made (2 Co 8^{19}): Ac 20^{4} furnishes a list of these deputies, as they gathered to accompany St. Paul to Palestine. Prevented by a plot of the Jews against his life from taking ship at Corinth for Syria, Paul went round by way of Philippi (where he spent Passover) and Troas (Ac 20^{3-6}). His voyage thence and arrival at Jerusalem are fully described by St. Luke (Ac 20. 21), now St. Paul's companion once more. (On this journey see Ramsay's *St. Paul the Trav.* xiii.). St. Paul's reception by St. James and the Church of Jerusalem signalizes his victory over the legalists.

THE EP. TO THE ROMANS sums up the development of St. Paul's work and thought at this central epoch. The struggle with the Judaistic reaction which he has just passed through, was in effect a rehearsal of the internal conflict that issued in the conversion of Saul the Pharisee and his call to the apostleship of the Gentiles. He saw his converts in Galatia and Corinth, and those who 'had been delivered' to the same 'form of teaching' in Rome (6^{17} $16^{17.18}$), in danger of being reduced to the very bondage from which he had himself been rescued by the signal intervention of Jesus Christ (Ro 7^{24}–8^{4}, Gal $2^{4.5}$ 4^{31}–5^{4}). The Ep. to the Galatians is a vehement apologetic reassertion, and the Ep. to the Romans a luminous and methodical exposition, of 'the truth of the gospel' in which Paul's experience of twenty years, as a converted Christian man and an evangelist to Jews and Gentiles, was comprised. It is here unfolded in its mature expression, the form into which it was wrought by dint of use and conflict and through profound and intense reflexion, embracing in its compass the whole course of sin and redemption, and the relations of Israel and of mankind to God viewed in their largest aspects. Such a treatise and manifesto it was fitting for the apostle to send to *Rome*—addressing himself 'urbi et orbi,' and with an eye probably to other readers besides those of the lowly Christian Church he expected to visit there. Fronting the imperial city, Paul rises to a higher stature and assumes a loftier accent. The added stateliness of diction and amplitude of treatment betray an imagination, and a statesmanlike sense, touched by the majesty of Rome. Standing at Corinth, with the east behind him and a line of churches, now securely established, studding the road to Jerusalem, and with new fields before his sight stretching westwards to Spain (Ro 15^{17-29}), the apostle pauses to review his progress and to give account of his mission and his doctrine that have been subject to so fierce a challenge. At the same time there is present to his mind the contingency that his voyage to Jerus. may have a fatal end, and that the Ep. he is now writing may prove to be his legacy rather than his introduction to the Roman Church (15^{30-33}; see Hort, *Prolegomena to Romans and Ephesians*, pp. 42–50). The situation, while it explains the critical importance and representative character of the Ep. to the Romans, accounts also for its limitations. This writing is *retrospective*; it is the consummation of the legalistic controversy, and of Paul's missionary course 'from Jerusalem round about unto Illyricum': it is no more than this. The apostle's life was to open into a new period fraught with other conflicts; changed surroundings and demands will turn his thoughts in directions as yet unforeseen; and the later groups of Epp. contain developments and applications of doctrine that are implicit, rather than realized, in the series of writings which concludes with the grand Ep. to the Romans.

The apostle to the Gentiles now stands at the summit of his career. During the third missionary tour he has founded the prosperous Asian Churches; he has written his four great Epp. and repelled the Judaistic invasion of Gentile Christianity, while he has preserved peace with the mother Church in Judæa. But these hardly-won successes engendered for the soldier of Christ new perils and conflicts.

(*e*) *Fifth Period.*—Under many omens and forebodings of danger St. Paul travelled to Jerusalem. Though he was 'gladly received' by 'the brethren' there, the language of Ac $21^{20\text{ff.}}$ shows that the mass of Jewish believers were alienated from him. At St. James' suggestion he took the occasion of publicly conforming to Mosaic practice, becoming 'to the Jews as a Jew' in the same conciliatory spirit in which he wrote the Ep. to the Romans. But this did not propitiate Jewish hostility. The Asian Jews at the feast, who would have murdered Paul in the temple but for the Roman guard, denounced him as the universal enemy of Judaism (Ac 21^{27-36}). Through all the regions where he had laboured he was now a marked man in the eyes of his compatriots, the apostate, the waster of Israel, the profaner of its holy things.

To this furious hatred Paul owed his four years' imprisonment and the long suspension of his missionary work. His addresses of defence—(1) before the people from the temple steps, Ac 22; (2) before the Sanhedrin, 23; (3) before the procurator Felix, 24; (4) his appeal to Cæsar before the procurator Festus, 25; (5) his apology before Herod Agrippa II. at the court of Festus, 26—enable us to follow the course of the proceedings against him. The Roman judges saw that Paul was innocent of civil crime, but that the Jews, whose fanatical violence they feared to provoke, were bent on his destruction. As a Roman citizen, he must not be sacrificed to the Jews; his detention seemed the safest course; and Felix in the first instance had hoped that a bribe would be offered for his release (24^{26}). A vision, on the first night of his imprisonment (23^{11}), encouraged Paul's long-cherished hope of 'seeing Rome' (19^{21}); and when the change of governors at Cæsarea led to a renewal of the abortive local trials, Paul determined to accomplish that purpose by the words *Appello*

Cæsarem. This course involved the appellant in heavy expense; it is unlikely that Paul taxed the Churches for personal ends; and Ramsay finds here, and in other circumstances of his imprisonment, reason to think that the apostle at this time was in command of considerable private means, and had entered into his patrimony (*St. Paul the Trav.* xiii. 8).

The voyage to Rome, with its shipwreck and winter detention in Melita (Malta), related in Ac 27 and 28 with vividness and accuracy, exhibits Paul's practical and manly qualities to great advantage, his singular personal ascendency and strong good sense. He was received cordially by the Church at Rome. The Jewish leaders profess to know nothing of his case: his appeal must have taken the rulers at Jerus. by surprise, and they had failed during the winter to advertise their brethren at Rome of the matter. Paul preaches to them with the same result as at Pisidian Antioch, Thessalonica, and Corinth (28^{17-28}). The narrative of Acts leaves him at Rome, 'remaining in his own hired lodging,' in *libera custodia,* allowed to 'receive all that came to visit him, preaching the kingdom of God and teaching the things concerning the Lord Jesus Christ with all freedom, unhindered.' The government at Rome took the same view of Paul as Gallio and Festus: he was a man politically harmless, but the cause of troublesome ferments amongst the Jews, and therefore well out of the way. His trial was allowed to linger. King Agrippa may have joined with Festus in making favourable representations of the prisoner's character; and the report of the centurion Julius probably helped him with the military officer (the Princeps Peregrinorum, *St. Paul the Trav.* p. 348) in whose charge he was placed.

The fact that the account of St. Luke, written a considerable time after the events, concludes with the words above quoted, raises a decided presumption against this trial having issued in the apostle's condemnation and death. The indications of Ac 21-28 (going to show that no capital charge was forthcoming against Paul), and the expectations of the Epp. of the captivity (Philem ^{22}, Ph 1^{24-26} 2^{24}), point the other way. If Paul had remained in Rome till the summer of 64, he would doubtless have fallen a victim to the Neronian persecution; and this many critics have supposed. Chronological inquiry, however, makes it more and more certain that the 'two years' of Ac 28^{30} terminated before this epoch—in 63 A.D. at the latest.

The two years (Ac 24^{23-27}) of Paul's residence in Cæsarea, but for the speeches of defence, are almost a blank for us. He was granted such alleviations as a strict confinement allowed, and private friends had access to him; but public work was impossible. The apostle, doubtless, communicated by messenger and letter with his Churches; and the extant Epp. to Philemon, the Colossians, and Ephesians are dated by some leading critics—even Philippians (very improbably), by one or two—from the Cæsarean captivity. The weight of opinion inclines to the Roman origin of all four (see artt. on these Epp.). At Rome Paul enjoyed greater freedom, and exercised a notable public influence. His misfortunes 'have resulted in the progress rather [than hindrance] of the gospel' (Ph 1^{12}). His trial has given him the opportunity of representing Christ before 'the prætorium' (the emperor's court of justice, v.^{13}: cf. 2 Ti $4^{16.\,17}$; and see *St. Paul the Trav.* p. 357), and Christianity has penetrated the palace (4^{22}). St. Paul's courage under his trials has stimulated the Roman Church generally to greater boldness; even the ill-disposed (legalist) minority, which existed at Rome (cf. $3^{2.\,3}$), has been provoked by jealousy to exertions which, since they served to spread the name of Christ, caused to Paul added joy (1^{15-18}). From Col $4^{10.\,11}$ it appears that Paul could name only three Jewish Christians at Rome who were heartily on his side; and two of these were helpers from a distance (cf. Ph $2^{20.\,21}$). Notwithstanding certain notes of depression and the sense of weariness and age (Ph 1^{23}, Philem ^{9}—but see Lightfoot, *ad loc.*), these Epp. breathe a tranquil and elevated joy. Compared with the letters of the third journey, those of the Roman captivity are more inward and chastened in spirit. Solitude, restraint, and advancing years have told on the heroic missionary. There is less passion, less vivacity, less exuberant strength of thought; but more uniform tenderness, a richer fragrance of devotion, and a quiet insight that reaches to the depths of the things of life and of God. The letter to Philemon, moreover, shows a genial and playful humour refreshing in a man of St. Paul's stern intensity. These are well styled the *afternoon* Epp., as the writings of the Judaic controversy are the noonday Epistles of Paul.

COLOSSIANS signalizes the rise of a new antagonism in the Church, of which Paul was to see but the beginnings. His address to the Ephesian elders at Miletus (Ac 20^{17-35}) reveals his presentiment of the rise of heresy in the province of Asia, and strikes the keynote of his later ministry. The missionary and the controversialist now becomes above all the *pastor,* devoting himself to 'feed the Church of God, which he purchased through the blood [of] his own [Son]' (Ac 20^{28}; see critical note of WH). The greatness of the Church and the Divine glory of Christ fill Paul's prison meditations. Epaphras reports to him the attempt of some speculative teacher visiting Colossæ to amalgamate the gospel with Alexandrian theosophy, by ranging Christ amongst angelic mediators, and by prescribing Jewish ritual and ascetic regimen as means of salvation. This report elicits the great Christological deliverance of Col 1^{14-23}. The larger representation of the sovereignty of Christ here made gives completeness to St. Paul's system of thought, bringing the entire sum of things within its compass. The Lordship of the crucified and risen Saviour is based upon the universal Lordship of the Son of God; our redemption springs out of the ground of creation itself, and the new creation is evolved from the hidden root and rationale of the old. The Head of the Church is the centre of the universe, the depositary of 'all the fulness of the Godhead,' who 'fills all things,' above and beneath, with His plenitude and 'gathers all things into one' (Eph $1^{10.\,18-23}$ 4^{7-10}, Col $2^{9.\,10}$). In Galatians and Romans the thought of salvation by Christ broke through Jewish limits and covered the field of humanity; in Colossians and Ephesians the idea of life in Christ overleaps time and human existence, and subjects the entire cosmos to its sway. Ph 2^{6-11} puts the top-stone on the apostle's doctrine of the person of Christ, and therefore upon all his doctrine.

The movement of thought which completed Paul's Christological teaching gave a parallel expansion to his idea of *the Church,* which attains at this epoch its full dimensions. The philosophical Judaism of Colossæ, like the legal Judaism of Galatia, bred caste-feeling and schism,—evils to be corrected only by a right sense of the greatness of the Christian society and the sacredness of its fellowship, such as the apostle conveys in the Epistles of this period.

Rome was the very spot to stimulate thoughts of this nature, and to bring to its final shape St. Paul's conception of Christ's imperial dominion. The ampler prospect, both in time and space, which now opens out for the Church under his eyes, accounts also for the attention given in the prison Epistles to family and social relations, and for their fuller and more balanced ethical teaching.

These years of martyrdom drew to the apostle the reverence of the whole Church. He no longer spends a word on his own defence. We mark in the prison Epistles a calm sense of authority, a strong assurance, blended with the deepest humility, of the perpetuity of his work and its universal import, such as are but partially to be observed in the Ep. to the Romans. As Nero's prisoner at Rome and Christ's bondman for the Gentiles, St. Paul rose to the full unassailable height of his doctrine and his vocation.

(*f*) From the conclusion of the Acts we infer that Paul was released, and his ministry extended to *a sixth period.* The Pastoral Epp. require this by their altered style and the changed doctrinal and ecclesiastical situation they present, by their references to person and place, and by the impossibility of inserting them within the scheme furnished by the Acts. If genuine (see the Articles on 1 and 2 TIMOTHY and TITUS), they are later than Ac 28^{31}; and even if not from Paul's hand, they indicate the existence of a strong and detailed post-apostolic tradition relating to a missionary activity of Paul outside the scope of the Acts, and recording an imprisonment in Rome quite distinct from that disclosed in the third group of the Epistles. Most scholars who reject the Pastorals admit a Pauline nucleus in them, including the personal and local references of 2 Ti and Tit; and these enable us to trace, though imperfectly, Paul's movements in the last years of his ministry. To these slight but valuable data we may add what may be conjectured from the apostle's intentions signified in earlier letters.

Approaching the end of the first Roman imprisonment, Paul expected speedily to see his friends in Colossæ and Philippi (Philem ^{22} and Ph 1^{26} 2^{24}). His first business would be, especially after so long separation, to revisit his Churches extending from Greece to Syria—a duty demanding considerable time. Paul had set his heart years ago on evangelizing Spain (Ro 15^{28}); in the words of Clement, written a generation later, we have good evidence that this wish was realized: 'Paul having been a herald both in the east *and in the west*, received the high glory of his faith. When he had taught righteousness to the whole world, and had come *to the limit of the west*, and borne witness before the rulers, he so departed from the world and went to the holy place' (1 Ep. 5). 'The limit of the west,' in a Roman writer, can hardly mean *Rome.* The *Muratorian Fragment*, representing the oldest Roman traditions, is explicit to the same effect, and is supported by the oldest *Acta Apocrypha*; and the Ὑπόμνημα of Symeon Metaphrastes, traced by Lipsius and others to a 2nd cent. source, gives details of the Spanish mission. [On the whole subject see the discussion of Spitta, *Urchristenthum*, Bd. i., *Die zweimal. röm. Gefangenschaft d. Paulus*]. The judgment of Credner is borne out by subsequent inquiry, that 'there cannot be found during the first four centuries a trace of the assumption that Paul did not travel westwards beyond Rome, or that his life ended at the point where the Acts of the Apostles concludes.' But this controversy is not likely to be closed, unless further and decisive evidence should present itself.

The references of the *PASTORAL EPISTLES* belong to Paul's last journeyings in the East, antecedent to his renewed imprisonment and subsequent to the (assumed) Spanish voyage. The three letters touch at various points and are closely consecutive. He writes his last Ep. (2 Ti) from prison with winter in prospect, when the first stage of his trial is past and he has already pleaded once at the bar of the emperor. It will be some time before the trial ends, and he needs the cloak left at Troas when he last passed through that port, along with some valued books; but he craves above all the company of Timothy. His helpers have been sent off, probably at the time of his arrest, on various missions; Luke is his single companion; at his public trial he was absolutely alone (4^{9-21}). Quite otherwise than on his former trial, he counts upon his condemnation and death (vv.$^{6-8.\,18}$). He had been, as it seems, at Troas earlier in the year, and probably at Miletus and Corinth (4^{20}) upon the same round of visitation (following upon his return from Spain?). Now 1 Ti dates, apparently, from Macedonia (1^{3}), whither Paul has journeyed after meeting with Timothy, to whom in this Ep. he gives further instructions for his charge at Ephesus. Miletus and Troas lie along the line of travel terminating at Corinth. Ac 20^{25} records a prediction of Paul that he would not see the Ephesian Church again; and the language of 1 Ti 1^{3} (see von Hofmann *ad loc.*), in view, moreover, of the detailed directions of this Ep. respecting Church affairs, indicates that Paul had not himself been present in Ephesus, but had held an interview with Timothy (say at Miletus; cf. Ac 20^{17}) in passing on his way north (see Appendix to Eng. ed. of Sabatier's *Ap. Paul*, pp. 366–368). Paul appears to have travelled on from Macedonia to Corinth, and to have written to Titus (in Crete) about the time of his arrival there, when he was expecting to spend the next winter in the port of Nicopolis opposite to Italy (Tit 3^{12}); shortly after this he was arrested and carried as a prisoner to Rome. On this construction, the details of time and place given in the Pastorals fit together and belong to a consistent whole. Previously to the journey from Miletus to Corinth just traced, Paul and Titus had made a tour in Crete, the latter remaining behind to organize the Cretan Churches (Tit 1^{5}). Paul had wished Titus to join him at Nicopolis, purposing to send a substitute (3^{12}). Possibly Paul had landed at Crete in returning from Spain; certainly the voyage of Ac 27 gave no opportunity for evangelizing the island.

The letters to Timothy and Titus are writings of Paul's old age. They bear a conservative stamp. 'Guard the deposit; hold fast the form of sound words': this is their predominant note. Sound doctrine and practical piety are the interests in which they centre. St. Paul's great creative days are over. His battles are fought, his course is run. The completing touches remain to be added, and his final seal set to the work and teaching of his life: such is the purpose these letters serve. The instructions respecting church order given in 1 Ti are much fuller than anything of the kind in previous letters; but this was a time of rapid development, and the Ephesian Church was now of twelve years' standing. His directions to Titus at Crete are notably simpler. These are the only pieces of this nature that we have from Paul—letters of instruction to his assistants on church management; they show the administrative wisdom, the love of order, and the eye for practical detail, of the great church-founder and pastor. Colossians and Ephesians have prepared us for the emphasis which Paul now throws on all that belongs to the life of the Christian community. We pass from the thought of the 'great house' to that of its 'vessels' of service, their qualities and uses (2 Ti 2^{20}). The Pastorals carry on the combat commenced in those earlier Epp. against incipient Gnosticism, with its false intellectualism and uncertain morality, its jumble of philosophy and Jewish fables, its destructive influence upon church life. St. Paul's last cares are directed to guard the gospel he had so amply set forth, and to fence the fold into which he had led such a multitude of souls. If these documents do not come, in their integrity, from Paul's own hand, they are written by a disciple who has interpreted his mind and caught his spirit and manner and applied his ideas to a new situation (see v. Soden's *Einleitung zu Pastt.* vii., in 'Handcommentar z. NT,' III.), with astonishing verisimilitude; and the nearer to Paul it is found necessary to place the Past. Epp. in personal connexion and derivation of thought, the more improbable—and the more superfluous—does the theory of personation become.

The words of 2 Ti 4$^{6-8}$ are exquisitely fitting as St. Paul's dying testimony. They are the final pronouncement of Christ's faithful servant on his own career, crowned already in the witness of his conscience with the earnest of the crown awaiting him from the hand of his Lord. Paul died by beheading—so the credible Roman tradition relates—at a spot 3 miles from Rome along the Ostian Way, anciently called Aquæ Salviæ and now Tre Fontane. Near to the place of execution stands the splendid *Basilica Pauli*, first founded by the emperor Constantine in his honour. But the universal Church is his monument.

5. *Chronology of St. Paul's Life.*—Luke supplies no such *point d'appui* for the chronology of his Second Book as that furnished in ch. 3$^{1.\,2}$ of his Gospel. Only one of the many points of contact with secular history in the Acts gives an indisputable datum, viz. *the death of Herod Agrippa I.* at Cæsarea (see Ac 12$^{1-4.\,19-23}$, and Jos. *Ant.* XIX. viii.), which happened not long after Easter 44 A.D., and followed upon his persecution of the Church at Jerusalem. The famine that occasioned the visit of relief made by Barnabas and Paul from Antioch, synchronized with Herod's death (Ac 11^{27}–12$^{1.\,20.\,25}$); but it appears to have lasted several years. If (with Ramsay) we could identify with this mission of charity the visit of Paul to Jerus. related in Gal 2^{1} (see on this point p. 705^{b}, above), we should then easily fix the chronology of his earlier Christian course. Taking 45 or 46 (so Ramsay, *St. Paul the Trav.* ch. iii.) for the date of the Judæan famine, the '14 years' of Gal 2^{1}, upon this calculation, bring us back to 33 (or 32) A.D. as the year of Paul's conversion, 33–35 being the '3 years' subsequent (included in the above-mentioned 14) alluded to in Gal 1^{18}, 44 (or 45) the year of his summons to help Barnabas at Antioch, 10 years being thus assigned to Paul's unrecorded labours in Cilicia.

The above scheme is open to the following amongst other objections:—(1) It throws back the stoning of Stephen and the judicial proceedings of the high priest against the Christians (Ac 8$^{1-4}$ 9$^{1.\,2}$ 11^{19})—events antecedent to St. Paul's conversion—to the year 33 at the latest, when Pilate was still in the vigour of his rule. We may infer from St. Luke's silence, since he carefully informs us on such points in other places, that the Judæan persecution was unhindered by the Roman Government; this we can understand as happening in the interval after Pilate's deposition, which took place in the autumn of A.D. 36 (when he was suspended by L. Vitellius the prefect of Syria and sent for trial to Rome), or in the period immediately preceding, when, under fear of accusation, Pilate's control of the Jewish authorities was probably relaxed. (2) If St. Paul's conversion took place in 32 or 33, then Aretas must have been in peaceful possession of Damascus so early as the year 35 (2 Co 11$^{32.\,33}$, Gal 1^{18}, Ac 9$^{23-26}$). This is unlikely. Aretas was at war with Herod Antipas (who had divorced his daughter in favour of Herodias) for some years before the deposition of the latter in A.D. 37, and inflicted on him a severe defeat (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. v. 1, 2); but this success could not give him possession of *Damascus*, in Roman Syria. The emperor Tiberius took the side of Antipas in the quarrel, and under his command Vitellius was at Jerus. at the Pentecost of A.D. 37 on his way to attack Aretas in Petra, when the campaign was arrested by tidings of Tiberius' death. The new emperor Caius reversed much of the policy of Tiberius in the East. Antipas fell into disgrace and was deposed, his rival Agrippa being released from prison and made king; and Aretas is found in possession of the coveted city of Damascus *after this time.* In all probability, it was ceded by Caius Caligula (see Lewin in *Life and Epp. of St. Paul*^{5}, i. 67, 68; also Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 354, 357). The years 36–38 supply the political situation at Jerus. and Damascus, under which this train of events—including the execution of Stephen, the overt and systematic attempt of the Jewish rulers to crush the sect of the Nazarenes, and the circumstances attending the flight of Saul from Damascus—is historically intelligible.

For the later period of St. Paul's life Ramsay finds a datum in the marks of time given in Ac 20$^{6.\,7}$: from these it is clear that Paul left Troas on his last voyage to Jerus. on a Monday morning, while he had left Philippi for Troas immediately the Passover feast was ended; and the number of intervening days is continuously stated. Given these conditions, the problem is to find *the year* in which the Jewish Passover so fell as to make them possible. Lewin (*Fasti Sacri*, Nos. 1856, 1857) and Ramsay (*St. Paul the Trav.* xiii. 3, *Expositor*, v. iii. 336, v. 201) have separately worked out this problem, Lewin giving 58 and Ramsay 57 A.D. as the solution. Ramsay's calculation appears to be sound, granting that St. Luke's data are precise.

Assuming 57 to be the year of St. Paul's last voyage to Jerus. and his consequent arrest and imprisonment in Cæsarea, we get the date 59 for Felix' removal and the succession of Festus to the procuratorship, for Paul's appeal to Cæsar and his autumn voyage to Melita, with 60–62 for the term of his first imprisonment in Rome. *Five years* then remain—a period none too long—for the last stage of his life, including the revisitation of his eastern Churches, the long-deferred mission to Spain, the mission in Crete, and the subsequent extended tour in Asia Minor, Macedonia, and Achaia witnessed to by the Pastoral Epp., and for the months of his second imprisonment and trial. 67 A.D., falling just within the reign of Nero, is the date for St. Paul's martyrdom which best accords with Roman tradition and the *Chronikon* of Eusebius: here tradition should be at its strongest.

Counting backwards from A.D. 57, we get 53 as the date of St. Paul's arrival at Ephesus in the early part of the third missionary tour, and 49–52 as the probable term of the tour of Paul and Silas; the first journey (*sc.* of Barnabas and Paul) lay between 46 and 49 A.D. The Council at Jerus. (Ac 15 and Gal 2) then falls in the year 49, *i.e.* 13 years—in Luke's inclusive reckoning (by years current), 14 years—after Paul's conversion (Gal 2^{1}), assuming, as we have done provisionally, 36 as the date of his conversion. If the three years of Gal 1^{18} be not included in the 14 of 2^{1}, we must carry back Paul's conversion to 33 or 34 A.D.; but the difficulties previously noted seem to forbid this supposition. Supposing him to have been 30 at the time of Stephen's stoning,—'a young man,' but competent, according to Jewish practice, for public office,—then he was born *c.* 6 A.D., and was not much beyond 60 at the time of his death. He may have been older, but scarcely younger than this. He calls himself 'such an one as Paul the aged,' when writing to Philemon (v.^{9}: according to the more probable interpretation of *πρεσβύτης*) about the year 61.

A. Harnack in his great work, *Chronologie d. altchristl. Litteratur bis Eusebius* (Band 1, 'Chronologie d. Paulus,' pp. 234–239), disposes Paul's Christian career between 30 and 64 A.D. He thus finds all the Epp. written (except the rejected Pastorals) by the year 59, when Paul was acquitted at Rome. In this way Harnack makes room for St. Paul's release from the first Roman captivity, and for the mission to Spain, before the Neronian persecution. He refers the Council of Ac 15 and Gal 2 (in his view identical) to the year 47, so reckoned as 14+3 years (Gal 2[1] and 1[18]) after the conversion. The 'few months' which Harnack allows at the beginning for the progress of events sketched in Ac 1–9 will not easily be accepted as sufficient; at the other end, Harnack rejects the authority of Eusebius' *Chronikon* for the date of St. Paul's death, though he builds upon it confidently for the time of *Festus' accession* to the procuratorship (55–56), which supplies the pivot of his scheme. Schürer, however, following Anger, Wieseler, and Wurm amongst earlier investigators, shows strong reasons (not shaken by Harnack) for abiding by the conclusion generally accepted hitherto, that Eusebius was mistaken in this particular, and that Felix remained governor for some years after the disgrace of his brother Pallas at Rome in 55. Schürer prefers 60 A.D. for the date of Felix' recall, but admits (after Wurm) that the conditions of the case allow of any year from 58 to 61 (see his *HJP* I. ii. 174–187; also Ramsay *v.* Harnack in *Expositor*, V. v. 201). On the calculation here adopted, Festus succeeded Felix in the year 59, and St. Paul appeared before the latter in A.D. 57. This allows 7 years for Felix' procuratorship, and 3 for Festus'—periods adequate to the events assigned to each by Josephus. The 'many years' of rule credited to Felix in Ac 24[10] must surely have meant more than the two (before Paul's trial) allowed in Harnack's chronology. Felix became procurator in A.D. 52 (Schürer, as above, p. 174).

On the whole subject see art. CHRONOLOGY OF NT, with which the conclusions here reached largely agree.

ii. THE DOCTRINE.—The Apostle Paul's writings (the Ep. to the Romans like the rest) are occasional letters, *pièces de circonstance.* He was a missionary preacher, who brought everything to bear on his work in the salvation of souls and the edification of the Church. But from the make of his mind St. Paul's thinkings and teachings took a logical mould; they grew spontaneously into a great fabric of spiritual truth. There is unity, method, rational coherence in the theology of the apostle, notwithstanding its incidental and homiletic form, the unity that belongs, not to a compendium drawn up for abstract study, but to the conceptions of an orderly mind possessed by a single master-principle of truth and striving incessantly to apprehend and realize in life and action 'that for which' it 'was apprehended by Christ Jesus.' We must ascertain the point of departure of Paul's Christian logic, and take account of the growth and advancement evident in his system of thought as in every living structure. We must allow for his rare versatility and lively susceptibility of temperament, for the love of paradox natural to his bold intellect, as well as for the variety of topics in his letters, for the discordant and variously blended elements with which they deal and which coloured their composition. Recognizing the 'changes of voice' thus occasioned, we discover harmony and correlation throughout the 13 writings that bear Paul's name. The same accent is heard; the stamp of the same powerful idiosyncrasy is set on them all, though not with equal emphasis of distinction. Embedded in these discursive missionary letters, with their abrupt transitions, their glancing allusions, their shifting play of emotion and argument, there is a body of solid principle, a theological *system*, as large and original in conception as it has proved enduring and fruitful in application.

The fertility of the apostle's genius, and the numerous and tempting points of view which the documents afford, render the analysis of his teaching difficult. Theologians differ widely, even within the same school, as to the order and interdependence of the Pauline ideas. The old mode of analysis, which applied the ready-made categories of scholastic theology to the various books of Scripture and catalogued their texts under these headings, is discredited. The dogmatic point of view is exchanged for the historical and psychological. We have been taught to interpret St. Paul's teaching in the light of his times and under the conditions of his life. The various types of NT doctrine are distinguished, and the lines of connexion, sympathetic or antipathetic, are traced out by which Pauline theology is related to earlier or contemporary thought. But here a new danger arises. The prepossessions of historical theory may be equally warping with those of dogmatic system; the focus of the picture may be displaced and its colours falsified by philosophical no less than by ecclesiastical spectacles.

Modern Analyses.—With F. C. Baur of Tübingen, 'Paul' stood for the antithesis to the Judaic legalism in which it was supposed that the first disciples of Jesus were held fast. The Paulinism so conceived Baur found in the four major Epp., rejecting, as the work of imitators touched by other influences, everything that was not covered by this formula. Baur set out from the true Lutheran standpoint. St. Paul's doctrine he conceived as a system of experimental religion, deducing it from the apostle's conversion, of which, however, he took too narrow and cold a view. Saul of Tarsus underwent a complete reaction from the Pharisaism of his youth, and his subsequent career Baur explained by that revulsion. Developing this antithesis with subtlety and clearness, and with unrivalled historical learning, Baur gave a powerful restatement in modern terms of the Pauline principle of justification by faith and drew out its doctrinal consequences. This master of historical criticism has left us in his great book on *Paul, his Life and Work*, an invaluable testimony to the historical truth and cardinal significance of St. Paul's 'gospel of the grace of God.'

Later writers of Baur's school, such as H. J. Holtzmann and O. Pfleiderer, acknowledge the genuineness of other Epp. besides the major four—of 1 Thess., Phil., and Philemon at least. They feel the inadequacy of Baur's negative explanation of St. Paul's line of thought. The Gentile mission and its astonishing success involve other factors than those of which their master took account. Paul was something more than an inverted Jewish Rabbi; the uncontested Epp. contain ideas looking beyond the anti-Judæan polemic. 'To the Greeks' he became 'as a Greek.' *Hellenism* had its part in moulding Saul of Tarsus along with Hebraism (see Hicks, 'St. Paul and Hellenism,' *Stud. Bibl.* IV. i.); and certain prevalent Greek ideas, it is suggested, had entered his mind and set up a hidden ferment, so that the Jewish zealot carried under his Rabbinical cloak and orthodox straitness the germs of the revolution he was destined to accomplish. Pfleiderer writes accordingly of 'a double root' of Paulinism in 'Pharisaic theology and Hellenistic theosophy,' of two sides presented by the apostle's teaching—'a Christianized Pharisaism' embodied in the doctrine of justification by faith, and 'a Christianized Hellenism' in the doctrine of salvation by the risen, celestial Christ and the operation of the Holy Spirit (*Urchristenthum*, Vorwort, and pp. 174–178: in this work, and in his *Paulinismus*^{2}, 1890, Pfleiderer has recast the exposition presented in the original *Paulinism*, Eng. tr. 1878, and the *Hibb. Lect.* of 1885). The theories ascribing to Greek thought a radical influence on Pauline theology do not, however, commend themselves. 'Notwithstanding Paul's Greek culture, his conception of Christianity is, in its deepest ground, independent of Hellenism'—as Harnack rightly says, and again: 'The Pauline theology, this theology of a converted Pharisee, is the strongest proof of the self-complete and universal power of the influence of the person of Jesus.'

The inconsistency disclosing itself in Baur's position has led to the division of his following into two wings—right and left. The former, of which Holtzmann (in the successive editions of his *Einleitung*), Harnack, Lipsius, von Soden (in the 'Handcommentar z. NT'), and Jülicher (*Einleit. in d. NT*), are representatives, have approximated towards the conservative position in regard to the Pauline documents. The ultra-Baurians,—consisting of the Dutch school of radical critics, headed by Loman, Pierson, Naber, and van Manen, with the Germans Steck and Völter,—applying Baur's method with uncompromising rigour, find that large parts of the 'undisputed' Epp. are post-Pauline, and that mere morsels survive of the genuine apostle. See a series of articles entitled 'A Wave of Hyper-criticism,' in which van Manen states and defends his position, in the *Expos. Times*, 1898, pp. 205 ff., 257 ff., 314 ff.

The French theologians E. Reuss and A. Sabatier have better apprehended the personal stamp of St. Paul's theology, its vital relations to experience and society. 'The doctrine of Paul,' says Reuss, 'is the natural corollary of his history. The life of Paul is the key to his theology; the life of the Christian will be its demonstration' (*Hist. de la Théol. au Siècle Apostol.*^{3} tome ii. p. 15, Eng. tr. 1873: a work far from superseded). Paul's Christianity was no combination of Jewish and Greek elements imposed from without; it was born out of the inward travail by which Christ was formed in him. Not that the Pauline gospel leaped full-grown and armed from the author's mind at Christ's lightning stroke. But it was *born* at his conversion, in its essential elements and features and with all its latent potencies. St. Paul's OT knowledge and training, his striving after legal righteousness and his poignant convictions of sin, his Rabbinical culture, his large acquaintance with the Gentile world, constituted the material to which the revelation of the living Jesus supplied the magnetic centre around which that troubled world of thought and feeling crystallized as in a moment. 'From the moment that Paul was arrested by the risen Lord on the way to Damascus and surrendered himself to Him, his whole soul was thrown wide open to His influence, to receive impressions that resulted in the communication to him of what was most distinctive in the personal life of his Master, and in the forming within him of an experience with features of its own, that in its turn shed light on the nature of the Heavenly Being with whom he had been brought into so intimate a fellowship' (Somerville, *St. Paul's Conception of Christ*, p. 33).

The revelation that generated the Pauline gospel may be conceived, objectively, as a manifesting of *Christ* to the soul of Paul; or, subjectively, as the imparting of *salvation through Christ*. Reuss adopts the latter point of view, and finds the focus of St. Paul's doctrine, therefore, in Ro 3^{21-24} and the principle of righteousness through faith. The topics of his digest of Paulinism run thus: *Righteousness, Sin, the Law, the Gospel, God the Author of Salvation, Christ—His Person and His Work*, and so forth. Sabatier puts himself at the former standpoint: 'The Person of Christ is the principle of the Christian consciousness' (*The Ap. Paul*, pp. 280–285); and in the text, 'It pleased God to reveal his Son in me' (Gal $1^{15.16}$), he sees 'the germ of Paulinism' (p. 71). Baur practically took the former position, making the fundamental question to be, not *what Jesus Christ is*, but *what He does for men.* Sabatier's analysis, however, is scarcely true to its 'generating principle,' since it relegates the Person of Christ to its third, metaphysical, division. His synopsis does not observe the original lines of cleavage and connexion as marked in his historical analysis, nor lay bare the real articulation of the system, but is rather a modern philosophical digest of Paulinism. He traces the unfolding of 'the Principle of the Christian Consciousness' (1) in the sphere of *Psychology*—the doctrine of Man, embracing Sin, the Flesh, the Law, Death on the one hand, and Righteousness, the Word of the Cross, Faith, Life on the other; (2) the Christian Principle in the sphere of *Society and History*—the doctrine of the Church, with the Two Covenants, the First and Second Adam, the End of all Things, Faith, Hope, and Love; (3) the Christian Principle in the sphere of *Metaphysics*, or Theology proper—the doctrine of Grace, the Divine Purpose, the Nature of Christ, the Trinity, the Conception of God (pp. 280, 281).

W. Beyschlag (*NT Theology*, Bk. iv.) pursues more consistently the path adopted by Sabatier. The chapters of his analysis of 'The Pauline System' are thus headed: *Flesh and Spirit; Adam and Christ; God and the World; the Establishment of Salvation; Life in the Spirit; the Church; the Consummation of the Kingdom.* Paulinism thus becomes a psychological evolution, with its generating point in the antithesis of Flesh and Spirit, and with Adam and Christ for its representative exponents. In such texts as Ro 8^{1-4} and 5^{12-21} Beyschlag finds the essence of Paulinism; he brings into prominence factors of importance too much neglected by other interpreters. With his anthropological starting-point, Beyschlag arrives in the end, however, at 'an *anthropocentric* Christology' (vol. ii. p. 76, Eng. tr.). He sees in St. Paul's Christ the archetypal man, the representative of the spiritual, as Adam of the natural, in humanity. Pfleiderer's analysis proceeds in a similar order: he holds a somewhat higher Christology than Beyschlag, regarding Paul's pre-incarnate Christ as a real heavenly man with a *σῶμα πνευματικόν*, existing in a Dei-form mode of being (*ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων*, Ph 2^6), and the administrative Lord of creation (*Paulinismus*^{2}, pp. 115–145); similarly Weizsäcker (*Apost. Zeitalter*^{2}, pp. 117–122).

A. B. Bruce in his masterly work, *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, gathers the apostle's 'entire conception of Christianity' from 'the four great Epistles of the Judaic controversy,' and contests any further advancement in his doctrinal views. (B. Weiss, on the other hand, *Bib. Theol. of NT*, Part iii. § 3, finds in the Epp. of the imprisonment Paul's 'more developed doctrines'; similarly Hort in *Proleg. to Rom. and Ephes.* p. 123 ff., and *The Christian Ecclesia*, pp. 138–152). The Ep. to the Romans supplies Bruce with the scheme of Paulinism: 'in Gal 2^{14-21} we have the Pauline gospel *in nuce*' (p. 12). Hence his analysis begins with *Sin, the Righteousness of God, the Death of Christ*, and ends with chapters upon *the Person of Christ, the Christian Life, the Church, the Last Things.* He regards the apostle throughout as a practical, in distinction from a metaphysical, theologian: 'Jesus was for Paul the

Lord, because He was the Saviour' (p. 328)—a statement to be reversed with equal or greater truth. Vital as the doctrines of salvation are to St. Paul, his belief in the Lordship of Jesus was anterior to them. What Christ did for men is accounted for by what He is to God. The Ep. to the Romans, the grand exposition of Paul's Soteriology, is the writing of one who was 'separated unto the gospel *of God concerning his Son.*' D. Somerville (*St. Paul's Conception of Christ, or the Doctrine of the Second Adam*) pursues, on the other hand, with much skill and persuasiveness, the line of Sabatier and Beyschlag, finding St. Paul's fundamental idea in Christ considered as 'the Archetype of Humanity,' but conserving His Divine pre-existence and 'Eternal Nature' as necessary deductions from, because presuppositions of, His sovereign and creative relations to mankind. With him, too, the Pauline system is anthropocentric; and the fact that it was the product of personal (human) experience, appears to him to make this inevitable. In Paul's 'Son of God' he sees a title that slopes upward from the human to the Divine.

OT Antecedents and Starting-Point. — The apostle's doctrine is *theocentric*, not in reality anthropocentric. What is styled his 'metaphysics' holds for Paul the immediate and sovereign fact of the universe; God, as he conceives Him, is all and in all to his reason and heart alike. So far the dogmatic analysis was right, in starting with the doctrine of *God*, and disposing under that the notions of law, righteousness, sin, which form the basis of St. Paul's Soteriology. This path of exposition is resumed in the very competent and judicious work of G. B. Stevens of Yale, *The Pauline Theology*. The vision of the glorified Jesus revealed to Saul the Son of God as his Saviour; but the God whose Son the crucified Jesus is seen to be, was now to be known in a far nearer and happier relation than before. No passage strikes more deeply into St. Paul's experience than 2 Co 4^{4-6}: 'There beamed forth the illumination of the glory of Christ, who is the image of God . . . it is God who said, Out of darkness light shall shine, that shined in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of his glory in the face of Christ.' It was the God of Israel whose moral splendour dawned upon Saul's mind through the dazzling form of the Lord Jesus; 'God' was there 'in Christ, reconciling' Saul 'unto himself,' and the old things became new to him from that hour—'all things are of God' (2 Co 5^{17-19}). A new conception of God was imparted to Saul, a new relationship to God established for him. Henceforth his life is 'hid with Christ in God.' St. Paul's *Soteriology* and *Christology* are rooted in his *Theology*.

A profound unity underlies the Judaic and Christian stages of St. Paul's life. The convert carried with him the Scriptures of his youth, which he read now with the veil lifted from his heart (2 Co 3^{14-16}), finding in them everywhere testimonies, preparations, adumbrations of the things of the new covenant, the *σκιὰ τῶν μελλόντων*, the *παιδαγωγὸς εἰς Χριστόν* (Ro 3^{21} 15^{4}, Gal 3^{24}, Col $2^{16.17}$, etc.). The Christian apostle blossomed out of the Israelitish believer and scholar. At times he speaks as though there had been no break in his career (2 Ti 1^{3}). Instead of ceasing to be a Jew by becoming a Christian, Paul regarded himself as now properly belonging to the Israel of God (Ph 3^{3}). Instead of severing himself from the stock of Abraham, he would graft the Gentiles into that 'good olive tree,' in whose 'root and fatness' is nourishment for all races; by their admission to the covenant, Abraham becomes, according to the promise, 'father of many nations' (Ro $4^{16.17}$ 11). It was for this reason that Paul laid stress on the Davidic birth of Jesus (Ro 1^{3} 9^{5}, 2 Ti 2^{8}),—not as a mere title to the Messianic throne, but as a link between the past and present of revelation and a symbol of the right of those who are 'in Christ' to serve themselves heirs of the spiritual wealth of Israel.

1. *St. Paul's Doctrine of God.*—In systematizing the Pauline teaching, we therefore ask first, What was St. Paul's earlier belief in *God*? and how was that belief enlarged and recast by his conversion? When he speaks of 'the righteousness of God,' of 'holiness' and 'sin,' when he repeats the watchword 'God is one,' when he exclaims 'O the depth of the riches and the wisdom and knowledge of God!' we are sensible how large and powerfully developed a doctrine of the Godhead the apostle brought with him from the Synagogue. Such terms as 'the grace of God,' 'the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord,' as 'the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ,' indicate the immense change that supervened.

(*a*) *The Fatherhood of God.*—St. Paul's theology, like that of Jesus, is a doctrine of the Fatherhood of God; this principle is its tacit presupposition and basis throughout. A true disciple, Paul has assimilated in this fundamental article the essential teaching of our Lord. *'Αββὰ ὁ Πατήρ* is the distinctive cry of the new life, taken from the lips of Jesus (Ro 8^{15}, Gal $4^{6.7}$, Mk 14^{36}), which marks the transition from Judaism to Christianity. St. Paul's careful discrimination between 'the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ' and 'God our Father,' with the expression 'firstborn amongst many brethren' (Ro 8^{29}) that links the two, reflects the personal attitude of Jesus towards God and men respectively. To the character of Father belong the attributes of *love*, *mercy*, *compassion*, *grace*, the gifts of *peace*, *consolation*, *hope*, and *joy*, of which Saul the Judaist had known so little. The forensic term *adoption* must not be so understood as though Paul by its use implicitly denied man's original sonship towards God: see to the contrary Ac $17^{28.29}$; also *ἵνα τὴν υἱοθεσίαν ἀπολάβωμεν*, Gal 4^{5} (Lightf. *ad loc.*; 'nec dixit *accipiamus* sed *recipiamus*,' Aug.), and the *ἀπο* of *ἀποκαταλλάσσω* (Col $1^{21.22}$, Eph 2^{16}). 'The love of God,' which precedes and determines our redemption (Ro $5^{7.8}$, Eph $2^{3ff.}$), is love toward those kindred to Himself and destined from their creation to be His sons (Eph $1^{4.5}$).

Grace is the regnant word of Paul's theology. In this aspect he habitually sees God's face. The entire contents of the new revelation are included in the phrase *τὰ ὑπὸ τ. θεοῦ χαρισθέντα ἡμῖν* (1 Co 2^{12}). 'Grace' signifies God's favour to undeserving men shown in Christ, His love at work for their salvation. 'The grace of God' had made His Son's persecutor His apostle (Ro 1^{5}, 1 Co $15^{9.10}$); its light illuminated his whole course of action and of thought; his life and his theology were devoted to 'the praise of the glory of God's grace.' The all-controlling Divine power and providence, exercised over men and nations, the apostle saw to be directed to ends determined by God's fatherly love, even in dispensations the most severe (Ac 17^{24-28}, Ro 4^{16} $11^{15.32}$, Gal 3^{23}–4^{7}, Eph 1^{4-11} $2^{4-7.13-18}$ 3^{7-12}),—in a word, 'to the end that grace may reign through righteousness unto life eternal' (Ro 5^{21}). See, further, under art. GRACE.

(*b*) *The Righteousness of God* is the special theme of the Ep. to the Romans. St. Paul's doctrine of God's righteousness shows the new faith rooting itself in and transforming the old. The *δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ* of Ro 1^{16-18} should not be resolved into a 'righteousness *from* God' (Paul can write *ἡ ἐκ θεου δικαιοσύνη* when he chooses, Ph 3^{9}). Righteousness is God's property (see art. GOD, vol. ii. pp. 209–212), the principle of His moral sovereignty, the ethical ground and norm of His dealings with men, and therefore of the gospel in which those dealings culminate. The Divine righteousness is now 'revealed' on a side hitherto veiled, as redeeming, communicative (2 Co 5^{21}),—a righteousness that elicits and appeals to human trust instead of fear; in this disclosure there resides 'God's power (an instrument of sovereign moral efficacy) unto salvation for every believer.' The gospel righteousness is that of 'God *our Father*,' the 'one God of Jews and Gentiles' (Ro $1^{4.7}$ 3^{21-30} 4^{25} and 6^{4} 5^{8-11}, 2 Co 5^{18}–6^{1}, etc.); not the abstract impersonal justice of a Supreme Ruler, but that of the essential Father, into whose relations with men there enter fundamentally the considerations attaching to fatherhood,—who is accordingly 'just himself' (cf. 1 Jn 1^{9}) when He 'justifies him that is of faith in Jesus'—a 'just God and a saviour' (Is 45^{21}), just because He is a saviour and a saviour because He is just. The gospel is equally 'the overflow of grace, and of righteousness' (Ro 5^{17}: omit 'the gift'). Love and law, however distinct, are not contradictory in God, any more than in man (Ro $13^{9.10}$). Righteousness takes grace into alliance; it wins from the heart 'the obedience of faith,' where before it wrought by mere command and in the ways of constraint. It is seen at length in its fulness and majesty, a 'stern lawgiver,' yet wearing 'the Godhead's most benignant grace.' 'The law' that breeds transgression and 'worketh wrath,' made righteousness the accuser of a world of hapless criminals; under the gospel righteousness becomes the arbiter and reconciler of the moral universe, giving its due to the sin of men but also to the love of God.

The Second Isaiah and the later Psalmists had arrived at the thought that the rectitude of God's character guarantees Israel's salvation, and must, in some way, impress and bestow itself upon Israel: thus 'righteousness' and 'salvation' become synonymous terms (Is $46^{12.13}$ 51^{4-8} 56^{1} 59^{16-21} $61^{10.11}$, Ps 22^{31} 89^{16} 98^{2} 143^{11}). Paul seizes and builds upon this identification, which was amply verified by the revelation of God made in Christ and the cross. This eternal righteousness—God Himself in moral action—swift to condemn its opposite, eager to impart itself to those capable of it but without it, 'made him who knew no sin to be sin for us, that we might become a righteousness of God in him' (2 Co 5^{21}); in this righteousness the Father 'spared not his own Son, but for us all gave him up,'—purposing 'that we should be conformed to the image of his Son'—His own image humanly expressed—'to the end that he should be firstborn among many brethren.' Manifestly, any righteousness gained by this means is 'God's' and not 'one's own' (Ro 10^{3}, Ph 3^{9}); it comes only and wholly through 'believing on him that justifies the ungodly' (Ro 4^{5}). Cf. Sanday and Headlam on 'The Righteousness of God,' in *Intern. Comm.*, Ro $1^{16.17}$. See, further, the two articles on RIGHTEOUSNESS.

(*c*) *The anger of God* is called forth wherever righteousness comes into contact with sin, blazing out against those who 'hold down the truth in unrighteousness' (Ro 1^{18}, 2 Th 2^{10-12}). Its effects are seen in widespread moral degradation (Ro 1^{18-32}), and in the ruin of particular men and nations (Ro $9^{17.22}$, 1 Th 2^{16}). Its final issue is 'destruction' for those who will not 'know God,' who persist in that 'carnal mind' which is 'enmity' to Him (Ro 1^{28} 2^{5-9} $8^{6.7}$, 1 Th $5^{3.9}$, 2 Th 1^{5-10}). God loves the ungodly as men (Ro 5^{8}, Eph $2^{4.5}$); as sinners they are His 'enemies,' and lie helplessly under 'the law' that 'works out wrath' (Ro 7^{22}–8^{2}). The knowledge of God's grace in Christ deepened the apostle's sense of the imminence and terribleness of His judicial anger (Ro 1^{16-18} 2^{16} 11^{22}, Ac $17^{30.31}$, 2 Co 2^{14-16}). See, further, art. ANGER.

(*d*) *The Law of God.*—Along with his conception of righteousness, St. Paul's conception of the law of God was greatly widened, and altered in several respects, by his knowledge of Christ. Here the Jewish and Christian stages of thought are distinctly marked; but the larger, evangelical view of Law is indicated rather than developed. Familiar usage, emphasized by the legalistic controversy, dictates the frequent and characteristic expressions in which law and faith, law and grace, law and promise, 'righteousness that is of law' and 'righteousness that is of God through faith,' stand opposed; and we actually have the paradox that '*apart from law* a *righteousness* of God is manifested!' (Ro 3^{21-31}). This last sentence, with its context, gives clear evidence that Paul looked beyond the polemical antithesis; a righteousness 'distinct from law' must be a righteousness positing some higher, larger law than legalism had conceived of.

The *range* of Divine law is extended, as in Ro $2^{14.15.26.27}$; the moral code is found written on the conscience of mankind. When Paul writes, in Ro 5^{13} 'Sin is not imputed where there is no law,' he asserts law to be universal as sin and death, whose very connexion is a first article thereof (8^{2}). At the bottom, 'there is no distinction—all the world has become guilty (ὑπόδικος) in relation to God' (Ro 3^{19-23}); the Jew, if first in privilege, is first in condemnation (Ro 2^{1}–3^{2}). Jew and Gentile are equally lost if God's law knows nothing more than 'the command' of Mosaism, if His normal relation to men is that expressed in the covenant of Sinai with its maxim, 'He that doeth these things shall live in them.' In itself 'holy and righteous and good,' the law in effect 'was found to issue in death for me,' by its very prohibitions awakening and sharpening lawless desire (Ro 7^{7-24}); thus it proved to be 'the power of sin' (1 Co 15^{56}), whereas 'the gospel' is the 'power of God unto salvation.' Every man that is 'under the law' is 'under a curse'—the curse that was consummated on Calvary and is terminated for those who are in Christ (Gal 3^{10-14}).

St. Paul's experience and logic combined to work out to this deadly and comprehensive issue the juridical conception of law—true, of course, but fatally incomplete and bearing fruit in moral impotence and death; to it he had died in Christ (Ro 7^{1-6} 10^{4}, Gal 2^{19}). Paul had done with 'law' in the old sense, but in a new sense he is more true to law than ever: 'The law of the Spirit of life has in Christ Jesus freed' him 'from the law of sin and death'; he is neither ὑπὸ νόμον nor ἄνομος, but ἔννομος Χριστοῦ (Ro 6^{14} 8^{2}, 1 Co 9^{21}). Formerly the expression of the normal relation of Israel to God defined by the Mosaic covenant, law is now to be conceived as the normal relation of man to God determined by the new covenant in Christ, whose basis lay deeper than the old, for it was contained in the Abrahamic promise (Gal 3^{14-22}). 'The law of Christ,' embracing all the essentials of ethics, operates from the heart, as an inward principle not an external and alien 'command'; love is its fulfilment (Gal 5^{14} 6^{2}). It embraces faith and the action of the Holy Spirit as legitimate and decisive factors in God's dealings with His children; and the apostle speaks consistently of a 'law of faith' and 'the law of the Spirit of life.' These are no strained or casual expressions; the identification is profoundly characteristic. Nothing was more foreign to St. Paul's nature than Antinomianism. A love at variance with righteousness, a faith resting upon no settled principle of the Divine government, neither his reason nor reverence could have tolerated. 'Do we make void law through our faith (in Christ)? Anything but that; nay, we establish law!' (Ro $3^{30.31}$). Paul combats Jewish legalism in the interests of a larger legality, a juster righteousness, which lies deep in the heart of Scripture and in the nature of God. The same in its contents, the law takes quite another hold upon the conscience now that the Lawgiver is beheld as the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. 'Love' becomes its 'fulfilling'—'faith operative through love' (Ro 13^{10}, Gal 5^{6}): thus 'the righteous demand of *the law* is fulfilled in those that walk according to the Spirit,'—those 'in' whose 'hearts' 'God's love has been poured out through the Holy Spirit' (Ro 5^{5} 8^{4}). See, further, art. LAW (IN NT).

The manifestation of God in Christ makes **repentance** imperative, and determines its nature and direction. Of repentance (*μετάνοια*) Paul had much to say in his missionary preaching (Ac 13^{24} 17^{30} 20^{21} 26^{20}; comp. Ro 2^{4}); in the Epp. it is implied in such terms as 'turning to God from idols,' 'coming to know God'; on the other hand, in 'dying to sin,' 'crucifying the flesh,' 'putting off the old man' (1 Th 1^{9}, Gal 4^{9} 5^{24}, Ro $6^{2.\,19-21}$, Eph 4^{22} 5^{8-14}, etc.). It is tacitly assumed as a condition precedent to justification and sanctification, which are inconceivable without the confession and renunciation of sin; it is indeed a constituent of saving faith.

Christian **prayer** corresponds to the character of the Christian God (Eph $3^{14.\,15}$), in its confidence (*παρρησία*), intelligence, constancy, universal range, its accompaniment of thanksgiving (Eph 3^{12}, 1 Co 14^{15}, Col 4^{2}, 1 Th $5^{17.\,18}$, etc.), in its dependence on the mediation of Christ and on the sympathetic aid of the Holy Spirit (Eph 3^{12}, Ro $8^{26.\,27}$); it is the prayer of sons to a Father.

2. *Doctrine of Man.*—Over against the apostle's conception of God lies his conception of *Man*—the individual and the race.

(*a*) *The Constitution of Mankind.*—The OT belief is Paul's, that man—the *ἀνήρ* more immediately—is the 'image and glory of God' (1 Co 11^{7}). The Gentile consciousness is witness to the fact that 'we are his offspring' (Ac $17^{28.\,29}$). 'The Son of his love' is God's perfect image (Col 1^{15}); Christian men are such in so far as they are renewed 'after the Creator's image' and become His children (Col 3^{10}, Eph 4^{24} 5^{1}). In all men the reason (*νοῦς*), unless 'reprobate,' discerns God in creation and is 'bondman to God's law' (Ro $1^{19.\,20.\,28}$ 7^{25}), so that they are 'without excuse' for sin. With the OT, Paul affirms the race-unity and moral solidarity of mankind—in Adam on the one hand, in Christ on the other (Ro 5^{12-21}); as against Judaism, he repudiates any real difference between Jew and Gentile, either in sin or salvability (Ro 3).

'The woman is the glory of the man,' who is her 'head.' She is relatively subordinate, and Paul does not 'allow' her 'to teach nor to have dominion' in church or house,—though intrinsically the man's equal, since 'in Christ Jesus there can be no male and female' any more than 'Jew and Greek' (1 Co 11^{3-15}, 1 Ti 2^{12-15}, Gal 3^{28}). The prohibition of 1 Co $14^{34.\,35}$ to exercise any spiritual gift in public appears to have been due to circumstances; otherwise it would be in conflict with 11^{5}. The two sexes are necessary to each other 'in the Lord' (1 Co $11^{11.\,12}$); both shared in the guilt of the Fall—the woman, as Paul seems to put it, 'being deceived' (2 Co 11^{3}, 1 Ti 2^{14}) and sinning through weakness, whereas Adam's sin was a deliberate and responsible 'transgression' and 'disobedience' (Ro 5), culpable and decisive in the highest degree.

(*b*) *Spirit and Flesh.*—Paul's doctrine of human nature is that of the OT. Man is constituted of flesh and spirit—allied by the former to the perishable material creation, by the latter to God and the world unseen. 'The body' is flesh in the concrete, the man's individual form; 'the soul' with Paul, as throughout Scripture, is not a *tertium quid* between spirit and flesh, but rather their unity, the living self behind the bodily form of each man. (See, however, in favour of Trichotomy, Ellicott, *Destiny of the Creature*, and on 1 Th 5^{23}; Heard, *Tripartite Nature of Man*; Delitzsch, *Bibl. Psychology*). '**Soul**' is a word relatively infrequent in Paul; the '**heart**' takes its place as the seat of the manifold thoughts and feelings,—which *ψυχὴ* concentrates into the self, the conscious Ego. '*Πνεῦμα* is the *principle*, *Ψυχὴ* the *subject*, and *Καρδία* the *organ* of life' (Cremer). The *νοῦς* of Ro 1^{20} 7^{23-25}, etc., is the *πνεῦμα* operative as a faculty of knowledge directed toward Divine things, while the *συνείδησις* of Ro 2^{15}, etc., is the same power introverted, the ethical self-consciousness.

'**Flesh**' and '**spirit**' hold in Paulinism a more specific religious sense based upon, but distinguishable from, their psychological meaning: the former term regularly denotes *the sinful nature of man*, the latter its opponent in *the influence of God* operating in and through His Spirit (see *e.g.* Ro 8^{1-17}, Gal 5^{16-25}). This raises the question whether Paul referred sin to man's constitution, grounding it in his physical system and in the (supposed) evil intrinsic to matter, as Baur, Holsten, and others argue, who make sin to be, in its essence, *sensuousness* or *sensuality*. Pfleiderer sees in Paul's doctrine of *σὰρξ* proof of his Hellenism; Sabatier finds two discrepant Pauline theories of Sin—the Rabbinical view of Ro 5, deriving it from the fall of Adam; and the psychological view of Ro 7, where it arises from the inevitable collision between physical desire and ethical law ('L'origine du Péché' in Append. to *L'Apôtre Paul*^{3}). But the *αὐτὸς ἐγώ* of Ro 7 is a child of his race, one 'sold under sin' and compromised beforehand, in whom sin 'revives' at the impact of the law, having been therefore already latent. On the other hand, Paul's prominent doctrines of the sinlessness of Christ, of the resurrection of the body and its sanctity as the temple of the Holy Spirit, forbid the notion, which in fact he combats in Col and the Past. Epp., of an inherent sinfulness attaching to physical nature. In 2 Co 7^{1} he speaks of 'defilement of flesh and *of spirit*' (and a possible cleansing of *both*); Gal 5^{19-21} enumerates non-physical sins among 'works of the flesh.' The *ne plus ultra* of human sin, described in 2 Th 2^{4}, is a self-deifying pride—atheism, or anti-theism, full-blown. The use of 'flesh' for 'sin' and 'carnal' for 'sinful' is a *synecdoché*; the more conspicuous and prevalent kind of sin stands for the whole.

But more than this:—(1) sin has occupied the body and become a sort of 'law in the members' (Ro 7^{14-25}), so that human flesh is ordinarily, though not essentially, 'flesh of sin' (Ro 8^{3}, cf. 7^{14} *ἐγὼ σάρκινος*). The same disparagement is extended to the body: *qua* 'body of sin' it must be 'nullified,' that we may no longer be 'bondmen to sin,'—a deliverance effected by the crucifixion of 'the old man' with Christ (Ro 6^{6} $7^{23.\,24}$ 8^{13}, Col 3^{5}). In man's proper Christian state his spirit, aided by the Spirit of God, rules his body and makes its 'members instruments of righteousness unto God' (Ro 6^{12-19}, 1 Co 9^{25-27}); in his natural unrenewed state the flesh preponderates. (2) The *heredity* of sin is involved in Ro 5^{12} (comp. Jn 3^{6}); its taint is associated with fleshly descent, while the children of God are 'begotten *κατὰ πνεῦμα*' (Gal 4^{29}). As the term 'spirit' rose in the NT vocabulary and came to be appropriated for the Holy Spirit of God, so 'flesh' sank to its lowest significance as denoting the antagonistic evil nature in man (Gal $5^{16.\,17}$, *ταῦτα ἀλλήλοις ἀντίκειται*). When Paul describes 'the first man, Adam' as 'earthy' (*χοϊκός*), as a 'living soul' wearing a 'natural body' (*σῶμα ψυχικόν*), in contrast with 'the second man,' the risen Christ who is the 'life-giving Spirit' already clothed with the 'spiritual body' (*σῶμα πνευματικόν*), these former terms do not signify a fallen condition but a gross and undeveloped condition—the 'natural' (sensuous) as it precedes the 'spiritual,' not the 'carnal' as the negation of it.

(*c*) *Sin and Death* dominate man's existence (Ro 5^{12-21}). They set at war his flesh and spirit, and destroy both in turn. 'Sin reigned in death,' is St. Paul's epitome of human history: 'Sin came to life, and I died. . . . Wretched man that I am, who will rescue me out of this body of death?'—his summary of personal experience out of Christ. Sin (*ἡ ἁμαρτία*) is thus personified, in contrast with God's *grace* or *righteousness*, as the master principle of unredeemed humanity. Its seat is the *flesh*. 'Ungodliness' (*ἀσέβεια*) and 'unrighteousness' (*ἀδικία*, Ro 1^{18}) are its chief forms, as it is related to God Himself or to His law for men: sin is irreligion, or immorality, or both at once,—'enmity against God' and insubordination to His law (Ro 8^{7}). Moral corruptions have, in the apostle's view, a religious root; heathen vice is the product of idolatry; *ἀδικία* is the nemesis of *ἀσέβεια* (Ro 1^{18-32}, Eph 4^{17-19}), and wilful ignorance of God the prime cause of moral disorder. Sin is at the bottom a 'disobedience,' to be rectified only in the way of 'reconciliation,' of 'justification' through an adequate 'obedience' (Ro $5^{19.\ 6-11}$). The act of sin is *transgression* or *trespass* (*παράβασις, παράπτωμα*, *e.g.* Ro 2^{23}, Gal 6^{1}), when it is a conscious breach of law or lapse from rectitude. *Ἁμαρτία* includes whatever is ethically amiss in nature or conduct, tendency or action. Sin is not defect or weakness; it is a positive and culpable depravation. It has 'passed along' from the progenitor of the race 'unto all men.' Negatively, it has robbed 'all men' of 'the glory of God,'—that splendid image in which man was formed; positively, it makes 'all the world guilty before God,'—a consequence dreadfully realized in the universality of death (Ro $3^{19.\ 23}$ $5^{12.\ 21}$, 1 Co $15^{22.\ 56}$). In 'the fulness of time' sin has reached its climax. 'The wisdom of the world' that 'knew not God' is thus proved by its fruits to be utter folly (1 Co 1^{18-25}; comp. Ro 1^{21-25}). And 'the [Mosaic] law' prohibiting sin, has aggravated it to the utmost. This was, in truth, its hidden purpose: it 'came in by the way, in order that the trespass might multiply,' that 'sin might become exceeding sinful' (Ro $5^{20.\ 21}$ 7^{13}, Gal 3^{19-25}),—that, in short, sin 'might be shown to be sin,' the ineffectual restraint stimulating sin's violence while it deepened the consciousness of guilt, thus ripening the disease for the application of the remedy.

Sin and *death* go hand in hand. 'Death entered' at the door of Adam's transgression: 'Sin came to reign in death.' Bodily death is the fruit and penalty of sin in man, and evidences its universal sway. Not that Paul supposes the termination of our present bodily existence to be due to sin: 'flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God'; the 'earthy man' must in any case have been changed to 'the image of the heavenly,' and 'the natural' was bound to give place to the 'spiritual body' (1 Co 15^{44-49}). But death, as known in this 'body of humiliation' and 'of death,' gets its 'sting' from sin. Under this doom 'the body is' virtually 'dead because of sin,' even when 'the spirit is life because of righteousness' (Ro 8^{10}). Sin brings death upon the entire man: when 'sin came to life, *I* died' (Ro 7^{9}); till the life of the risen Christ was theirs, Gentiles and Jews alike were 'dead by reason of their trespasses and sins,' since they lay under God's 'anger' and were 'alienated from his life' (Eph 2^{1-5} 4^{18}). This is no figurative death,—a state of apathy and impotence,—but a real death of the spirit, attended by moral dissolution, since 'life indeed' is found only in fellowship with God (Ro 6^{10} $8^{8.\ 10}$, Col 3^{1}, 1 Ti 6^{19}). As it is through and with the dying Christ that we enter into this 'newness of life,' the change itself is called, relatively, a death; 'our old man was crucified with Christ' (Ro 6^{6}, Gal 2^{20}).

(*d*) *The history of the race* is but the story of the 'wretched man' of Ro 7 writ large; it is a history of sin and redemption. There are with Paul, as in Jewish theology, two ages—*ὁ αἰὼν ὁ ἐνεστὼς* and *ὁ αἰὼν ὁ μέλλων* (1 Co 2^{6} 7^{31}, 2 Co 4^{4}, Ro 12^{2}, Gal 1^{4}), two worlds corresponding to the 'new' and 'old man'—one corrupt and perishing, the other newborn in Jesus Christ. His cross marks the boundary between them (Gal 6^{14}). From the ascension of Jesus dates the Messianic age, the reign of grace, the dispensation of the Spirit, the new humanity, the establishment of 'the kingdom of the Son of God's love' on the territory of 'the dominion of darkness.'

But the earlier times were never God-forsaken. A fatherly and forbearing Providence directed the nations; in the bounties of nature God 'left himself without witness' to none; through His works of creation His 'eternal power and divinity' appealed to man's intelligence (Ac 14^{15-17} 17^{22-31}, Ro 1^{18-20}). The lives of the heathen, with no express 'law,' disclose not infrequently the marks of His working in the human conscience (Ro $2^{14.\ 15.\ 26.\ 27}$). The Gentile world, as a whole, had notwithstanding sunk into desperate guilt. The more wanton or monstrous a cult might be, so much the more it was pursued; and the popular idolatry might be roughly described as half lies, half devilry—'the Gentiles sacrifice to demons and not to God' (Ro 1^{18-32}, 1 Co 8^{4} 10^{19-21} 12^{2}, Gal 4^{8}). Under the sway of such religions, moral debasement went on apace; the most horrible vices throve rankly in the great cities where the apostle taught. Satan was *de facto* 'the god of this world.' 'The law of sin and death,' operating incessantly from Adam downwards, was working out for society its last results. Here was at least a negative preparation for Christ. The world was lost, and Paul proclaims to Rome a gospel that is the 'power of God unto salvation'; to its 'obedience of faith' he proposes to reduce 'all the nations.'

In Israel a different, but concurrent, preparation had taken place. The Mosaic law, fastening its yoke on the Jewish conscience, compelled it to the hopeless path of salvation by works. The Jew was God's 'bondman' (Ro 8^{15}, Gal $4^{1-7.\ 21}$–5^{1}), striving to win 'a righteousness of his own' and to secure by merit the Messiah's coming. The attempt was an acknowledged failure. The law was not kept; it provoked rather than repressed transgression, and produced more hypocrites than saints (Ro 2). The Jew was no better than the Gentile whom he condemned,—nay, worse because of his boasted knowledge. The Divine anger burnt hotly against his nation; their spiritual privileges had bred in them a stubborn and inhuman pride (Ro 2^{3-9}, 1 Th $2^{15.\ 16}$, Ac $13^{40.\ 41}$). The Messianic salvation, as they conceived it, was farther off than ever. Gentile and Jew alike—'all the world'—were 'guilty before God,' with no defence and no resource 'shut up unto the faith that was to be revealed' (Ro 3^{9-24}, Gal $3^{22.\ 23}$). The former age extending, with the Mosaic interlude, from Adam to Christ, had culminated in a general moral bankruptcy.

At the same time, the apostle viewed the expiring age in another and more favourable light. Both in heathenism and Judaism an education of intellect and conscience had all the while been going on; the elementary truths of religion (*τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου*, *i.e.* not 'the' physical 'elements,'—starry powers or the like, identified with angels, as many interpreters suppose,—but 'the rudiments' belonging to a childish, pupillary state: see Lgtft. on Gal. 4^{3} and Col 2^{8}; also Weiss, *NT Theol.* § 70) had been inculcated and widely understood, however ill practised, and had disciplined the *κληρονόμος νήπιος* for his emancipation in Christ. In and around the Synagogue there was a people prepared for the Lord—'a remnant according to the election of grace'; and 'the salvation of God,' sent from unbelieving Judaism to the Gentiles, found these in multitudes ready to hear; so that the present 'casting away' of Israel is proving a 'reconciliation of the world,' which in turn was destined to end in Israel's full 'reception' (Ro 11, Ac 28^{28}). On all accounts it was clear that 'the fulness of the times,' the turning-point of human destiny, had come,—at once the consummation of the shameful past and the foundation of a glorious future. At the crisis where the apostle stands, 'God has shut up all together unto disobedience, that he might have mercy upon all' (Ro 11^{32}, Gal 3^{22}).

3. *Doctrine of Christ and of Salvation.*—On the basis of St. Paul's doctrines of God and of righteousness, of man and of sin, stands his doctrine respecting *Christ and salvation*,—the birth of 'the fulness of time' (Gal 4^{4}).

(*a*) *The Person of Christ.*—The Pharisee Saul persecuted Jesus of Nazareth after His death for the reason for which He had been put to death,—His claim to be the Son of God. In a moment he discovered his utter mistake, and reversed his judgment of the Nazarene. Jesus was, after all, the Messiah;—and not a mere human 'Son of David,' a *Χριστὸς κατὰ σάρκα*, but as He was understood to assert before the Sanhedrin and as His apostles continually preached, the Lord of glory, the Son of the Highest. These convictions entered, with a lightning flash, the mind of the stricken persecutor. 'Who art thou, Lord?' was his question to the Celestial One who appeared to him in the way. The terms of Saul's faith in the Person of Christ were already present to his thought; he needed but to substitute 'Jesus Lord' for 'Jesus anathema' (1 Co 12^{3}), and to adore whom he had blasphemed. 'Immediately in the synagogues [of Damascus] he preached that this Jesus is the Son of God' (Ac $9^{19.\ 20}$); what 'the Son of God' meant to Jewish ears, the trial before the Sanhedrin and the record of St. John's Gospel show. The relationship of Christ to God gave supreme worth in St. Paul's eyes to His sacrifice, and turned the shameful cross into the glorious revelation of God's love to mankind: 'God sent forth *his own Son* (*ἑαυτοῦ*) to redeem those under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons'—'He spared not *his own Son* (*τοῦ ἰδίου*; comp. Jn 5^{18}), but delivered him up for us all'; it is thus that God is known to be 'for us,' thus He 'commends his own (*ἑαυτοῦ*) love toward us' (Gal $4^{4.\ 5}$, Ro 5^{8-10} $8^{31.\ 32}$).

Son of God is a name shared by the 'firstborn' with 'many brethren.' Yet however much they partake with Him, God's 'own Son' stands immeasurably above both men and angels (Eph 1^{20-23}, etc.). We receive the same impression from the apostle's phrases that the Jews received from what Jesus said of Himself (Jn 5^{20}); not least from the solemn distinction and frequency with which God is named 'the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.' Paul styles Him habitually 'the Lord,' 'the Lord Jesus,' 'the Lord Christ,' 'the Lord Jesus Christ.' To minds familiar with the Greek OT, these names, in the formal manner in which they are employed, carried irresistibly the connotation of Godhead. Words of Scripture relating to 'the LORD' (*Jehovah*, but read as *Adonai*) are freely, as a matter of course, appropriated for Christ. The title 'Lord' denotes Christ's sovereignty in the Church (*e.g.* 2 Co 4^{5}), and through the universe (Ph 2^{9-11}); He is designated 'Head' in Col and Eph in the same twofold way. This Lordship is so lofty and wide as to be inconceivable in one less than God (see esp. Col $2^{9.\ 10}$, in connexion with 1^{14-20}). 'The kingdom of the Son of God's love' embraces 'all creation,' of which He is the ground, means, and relative end (Col 1^{15-17}), while 'God the Father' is the fountain and absolute end of 'all things' (1 Co 8^{6}). 'They derived their being from His agency, the Divine power that called them into existence travelling to its goal through Him. . . . To believe in Him, to accept Him as our ideal and find our life's end in doing His will, is to be true to a relation that lies in creation itself, and that expresses the eternal law of our being' (Somerville, *St. Paul's Conception of Christ*, pp. 192, 193). Though Lord in this unlimited sense, Christ is always obedient as a Son, and 'delivers up the kingdom to the Father' who sent Him, when His task of redemption is complete (1 Co 15^{28}, cf. Ph 2^{11}). Such free subordination of love implies no inequality of nature (cf. 1 Co 11^{8}); it is essential to the Divine unity. Despite his horror of creature-worship, St. Paul addresses prayers to the Lord Jesus side by side with the Father, and this frequently in the two earliest letters; he defines Christians as those 'who call on the name of our Lord Jesus Christ' (1 Co 1^{2}, Ro 10^{13}, 2 Ti 2^{22}). To St. Paul's imagination as to that of St. John, the heavenly throne is that 'of God and of the Lamb.' There is nothing really surprising if, as seems most probable in both instances, Paul has actually in Ro 9^{5} and Tit 2^{13} given to Christ the predicate 'God' (cf. Jn 1^{18}, *μονογενὴς θεός*).

Christ's Headship over the redeemed Church rests upon His premundane Lordship (Col 1^{15-18}). If His present rule is Divine, His prior state must have been Divine; He was not constituted Son of God by His resurrection, but so 'marked out' (or 'instated,' *ὁρισθεὶς*, Ro 1^{4}). He who at the end of the ages will be confessed as 'Lord' by every tongue, subsisted originally 'in the form of God'—*ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων* (the *μορφὴ* signifies that which constitutes Godhead, Ph 2^{4-11}). Not of this 'form' did Christ 'empty himself' in His humiliation, but of the external conditions described by the words *τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ*; the Divine *state* was surrendered, the Divine *essence* could not be (Ph 2^{6}: see Gifford, *Incarnation*; also Bruce, *Humiliation of Christ*, and Lightfoot, *Philippians, ad loc.*). Since He was originally God, Christ's renunciation of the Divine condition in His incarnation and crucifixion showed an infinite regard for 'others,' that must win unbounded adoration. The height of His previous 'riches' measures the depth of the 'poverty' to which He descended (2 Co 8^{9}).

'The apostle nowhere establishes or teaches the pre-existence of Christ, but presupposes it as familiar to his readers and disputed by no one' (Beyschlag, *NT Theology*, ii. 78). Baur, Pfleiderer, Beyschlag, Schmiedel, with other able scholars, see in Paul's pre-incarnate Christ the ideal, celestial *man*, the archetype and divinely constituted Head of humanity, who in this capacity was primevally (whether *in esse* or *in posse*) Lord of the human creation. This explanation starts from 1 Co 15^{45-47}, interpreted according to the Philonian and later Rabbinical distinction between *the two Adams* of Gn 1^{27} and 2^{7}—the first, the ideal man after God's image, remaining with God as a heavenly pattern (sometimes identified with the Messiah); the second, the earthy, phenomenal man. But St. Paul reverses this order, and writes in v.^{46} as though he would contradict Philo (see Edwards, *ad loc.*); the *δεύτερος ἄνθρωπος* of 1 Co 15 is *ὁ μέλλων* of Ro 5^{14}. When he distinguishes the two as 'from earth,' 'from heaven,' he points to their respective source of being, implying nothing as to previous state of being. 'The second man' is, in this context, the *risen* (not the pre-incarnate) Christ, clothed already, to our knowledge, with His 'spiritual body,' the 'house from heaven' of 2 Co 5^{2} and Ph 3^{21} (see Meyer and Heinrici on 1 Co 15^{47}).

The coexistence of the Divine and human in the Lord Jesus is St. Paul's constant wonder. He puts the two natures in signal contrast (Ro $1^{3.4}$ 9^{5}, Gal 4^{4}), but nowhere attempts to define their relations in the one person. 'Jesus Christ is Lord' in His redeemed kingdom not as mere Son of God, but under the name of *Jesus*, who was 'found in fashion as a man' and held concealed beneath the *μορφὴ δούλου* His original *μορφὴ θεοῦ* (Ph 2^{5-11}). Now the enthroned 'mediator of God and men,' He remains evermore 'man' (1 Ti 2^{5}). His connexion with the race is pre-incarnate; Christ was the source of spiritual blessing to the Jewish fathers (1 Co 10^{4}). He is, in truth, the fountain of life to mankind in the spiritual, as Adam in the natural order,—a fact implied in the unfinished parallel of Ro 5^{12}. 'The head of every man is Christ,' as 'the man is head of woman' (1 Co 11^{3}); thus family life and social order rest on His prior authority. Marital love has its model in that of Christ to the Church (Eph 5^{22-31}, *ἀντὶ τούτου*). If God has 'sent forth the Spirit of his Son into our hearts' and we are to be 'essentially conformed (*συμμόρφους*) to the image of his Son' (Gal 4^{4}, Ro 8^{29}), this implies an aboriginal kinship. The Son of God is the mould in which our nature was cast, the representative and root of our race in the Godhead: so much truth there is in the Baurian doctrine of the *Urmensch* (see Edwards' *The God-man*). '*We*' especially are 'through him' and 'unto him'—'through whom are all things' and 'in whom all things consist' (1 Co 8^{6}, Col 1^{16-18}). St. Paul looks into the ground-plan of creation when he says that God 'chose us in him before the foundation of the world,' and that we 'were created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God prepared beforehand' (Eph 1^{4} 2^{10}). The Incarnation and Atonement spring, therefore, out of the fundamental relations of God and man in Christ.

In virtue of the primitive relationship of mankind to Him, the Son of God is concerned in the curse that came upon us through transgression, and becomes answerable on this account (see Dale, *Atonement*, Lect. x.). God 'made him sin on our behalf.' Yet His freedom was never compromised, His purity remained unspotted; 'in the *likeness* of sinful flesh' He was 'sent forth,' not in its actual carnality; in fact, He 'knew no sin' (Ro 8^{3}, 2 Co 5^{21}: contrast Ro $7^{7.8}$). This statement implies a large acquaintance on St. Paul's part with the personal life of Jesus, to which his references are few but significant (Ro 15^{3}, 2 Co 10^{1}, Eph 4^{20-24}, 1 Ti 6^{13}, Ac 20^{35}, 1 Co 11^{23}). The miraculous conception, which in a manner explains the unique character of Jesus, the apostle never alludes to. His powerful manifestation as 'Son of God,' from the time of the resurrection, was 'in accordance with the spirit of holiness' that marked His earthly course (Ro 1^{4}).

The Messiahship of Jesus, expressed in His name **Christ**—the main topic of missionary preaching to Jews (Ac 9^{22} $13^{22\text{ff.}}$ etc.)—is taken for granted in the Epp., like the Fatherhood of God, as accepted to begin with by all Christians. Two points Paul had to make out in proving Jesus to be 'Christ': (1) to show from Scripture that the Christ was *παθητός*, was destined *to suffer* in order to reign—this general doctrine of a suffering Messiah being an open question in the Jewish schools; (2) to identify *Jesus* with the Christ so defined (Ac $17^{2.3}$ $18^{4.5}$). On the abstract point of doctrine he might carry his Jewish hearers with him, but fail when he applied it to the crucified Nazarene. That Christ was 'of David's seed according to flesh,' that His Jewish birth was the crown of Israelite privilege and glory, that 'Christ had become minister of the circumcision,' and that God had 'thus fulfilled the promise made to the fathers': these were essential conditions of the case, and sacred matters to the Gentile apostle (Ro 1^{3} $9^{4.5}$ 15^{8-12}, Ac $13^{32.33}$). But the Messianic kingship of the OT has expanded into the larger royalty of 'the Lord Jesus Christ'; and he who had fervently expected a *Χριστὸν κατὰ σάρκα*, 'now no longer knows him' (2 Co 5^{16}). See, further, art. MESSIAH.

(*b*) *The Death of the Cross.*—The Christ so constituted, David's seed and God's own Son, sin-curst yet sinless, died *the death of the cross*—a victim for human transgression. THE CROSS is the main shaft of the superstructure resting on the basis already described; it is the trunk into which run up all the roots of Paul's Christian thought, and that supports its branches and fruitage. 'Far be it from me to glory,' he exclaims, 'save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ!' Everything that Paul knows, exults in, builds upon, is poised there.

The apostle uses many terms to express the meaning of the death of Christ, for it is a fact of boundless significance. It is a vicarious, representative death, as He who thus suffered is the Leader of the race, the 'One' who 'died for all,' who alone had the right and power to do so (2 Co $5^{14.15}$). It is a legal expiation in the very largest sense, coming under that awful law which links death to sin as its universal human penalty (Ro 5^{12} 8^{2}, 1 Co 15^{22}, Gal $4^{4.5}$); the pardon based upon it is accordingly a 'justification,' an acquittal and release in the court of the Divine justice, since 'he that died hath been justified from sin,' and 'all died in him' (Ro 4^{25} 6^{7}, 2 Co 5^{14}, Col $2^{13.14}$). Christ's death was an intrinsically 'justifying act' (*δικαίωμα*), right in itself and rectifying in its scope, that turned to 'justification of life' the 'condemnation' lying on 'all men' in consequence of Adam's trespass; it is 'the obedience of the One,' through which 'the disobedience of the one man' is countervailed (Ro $5^{18.19}$). It was a 'propitiation,' since He who thus shed 'his blood' in doing so realized with sympathy and entire submission the holy resentment that burns against sin through all the miseries which it entails, and the endurance of this undeserving voluntary Sufferer for His guilty brethren was 'an odour of sweet smell' (Ro 3^{25}, Eph 5^{2}). In every fitting sense the death of Jesus was a 'sacrifice,' offered upon man's part, which God in His righteousness accepts. In His grace God first provided it; for 'Christ is God's' rather than ours. The Father of Christ and of men '*sent* his own Son, in likeness of sinful flesh and for sin'; He 'delivered him up for us all'; He 'set him forth a propitiation,' and so 'commends his own love toward us . . . sinners' (Ro 5^{8} $8^{3.32}$). Thus the sacrifice effects a 'reconciliation' (*καταλλαγή*), proposed by God who through Christ admits into favour those who could otherwise be treated only as enemies, and accepted by men who endorse the satisfaction which Christ renders on their behalf (Ro 5^{1-11}, 2 Co 5^{18-21}). On this ground God and man meet in friendship. The Divine family is gathered again round the Elder Brother, who restores to each other those whom He reconciles to God, slaying all enmity by the blood of His cross (Eph 2^{13-18}). On the basis of this atonement the entire sum of blessings making up our salvation is bestowed—blessings collectively named 'redemption' (*ἀπολύτρωσις*), as they are won for us at the cost of the blood of Christ (1 Co 1^{30} 6^{20}, Eph 1^{14}, Ac 20^{28}).

But there is another side to the Pauline doctrine of the cross. When it is said in Ro 8^{1-4} that 'God by sending his own Son in likeness of sinful flesh, and (as a sacrifice) for sin, condemned sin in the flesh, that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us,' the subjective moral effect of Christ's death comes into view. The mission of

Christ has so brought home the guilt of human sin as to bring about a full reaction. While enduring the penalty, Christ has broken the power of sin, and dethroned it (cf. 5^{21}), even in that 'flesh' which was its seat; so *sanctification* (Ro 6), equally with justification (Ro 3–5), springs from the death of the cross, the saving power of which is certified and made efficacious by the resurrection of the Sinbearer (Ro $4^{24.\,25}$ 8^{34} 10^{8-10}, Ph 3^{10}). As 'condemnation' ceases for 'those who are in Christ Jesus,' there begins to operate upon them that 'law of the Spirit of life in him' which 'frees from the law of sin and death,' substituting 'the mind of the Spirit' for 'the mind of the flesh' and giving them victory over bodily death, whose 'sting' is gone for those who in Christ have 'died to sin' (Ro 6^{2} 8^{1-11}, 1 Co $15^{56.\,57}$). The change of status and the change of character effected in believers are, to Paul's mind, inseparable; he blends them in Ro 6, where those who 'died to sin' are such as have in Christ at once expiated its curse and renounced its dominion, to 'walk' with their risen Lord 'in newness of life'—living in Him, and as He does, 'to God.' In the pregnant words of v.^{7}, they are 'justified (so as to be free) from sin.' The so-called 'juristic' and 'ethical' theories of the Atonement are complementary to each other; Paul passes from one to the other with no sense of discrepancy (see Stevens' *Pauline Theol.*, on 'Justification'; Pfleiderer's *Paulinismus*^{2}, 'Der Tod Christi'; Sabatier's *Apostle Paul*, p. 297 ff.). See, further, arts. ATONEMENT, PROPITIATION.

(*c*) *The new Life of Faith.*—From the moment that he dies with Christ, there begins for the believer *the new life of faith* (Gal $2^{19.\,20}$). The word **Faith** on the human side is as characteristic of Paulinism as Grace on the Divine. Faith is the hand reached out to receive the gifts of grace; it is the root by which the soul is planted into Christ and draws its life from Him. It is 'prora et puppis' to Christian experience (Ro $1^{16.\,17}$), and conditions all security and progress (Eph 6^{16} 14^{13}).

Faith is the characteristic function of the 'heart' (Ro 10^{10}, Eph 3^{17})—of the entire inward man there centred. It includes the response of the affections to the love of God and of Christ (Ro 5^{8}, Gal 2^{20}), self-surrendering submission to the will and call of God (the 'obedience of faith,' Ro 1^{5} $6^{16.\,17}$ $10^{3.\,16}$, 1 Th $2^{12.\,13}$), and the grasp of the understanding which apprehends 'the truth of the gospel' (2 Th 2^{10-13}). Especially in the later Epistles, addressed to instructed Churches now endangered by intellectual forms of error, stress is laid on the mental element in faith; and 'knowledge (of God, of truth,' etc.; *ἐπίγνωσις, advanced, exact knowledge*) is represented as the means of growth and the condition of safety (Col 1^{5-11} 2^{2} 3^{10} 4^{6}, Eph 1^{17-19} 4^{20-24}, Ph 1^{9-11}, 1 Ti 2^{4}, Tit 1^{1}). St. Paul's *ἐπίγνωσις* is simply an educated faith. This is one of the aspects of Christian perfection. The revelation of the gospel assumes faith and depends at every point on this condition (Ro $3^{22.\,25}$ 4^{24} $5^{1.\,2}$, 1 Co 1^{21}, 2 Co 1^{24}, Gal 3^{22}, Eph $1^{13.\,19}$, 1 Th 2^{13}, Tit 3^{8}, etc.), just as the legal covenant assumed for its efficacy the performance of 'works.' Christian men are briefly described as 'believers' (*οἱ πιστεύοντες, οἱ πιστεύσαντες, οἱ ἐκ πίστεως*). Faith is the one subjective condition of justification,—that Divine acquittal with which our salvation begins and in which its whole process is virtually contained. The 'righteousness of faith,' the 'gift of righteousness,' supersedes that 'righteousness of one's own' which the legalist vainly sought by self-directed efforts; failing to be 'justified of works,' men are freely 'justified of faith' (Ro 3^{22-25} 5^{15-17} 9^{30}–10^{3}). The power of faith lies in the fact that it is man's reliance on God's power and grace; it recognizes and 'submits to God's righteousness'; faith accepts His promise—in a word, it 'gives glory to God' without any thought of merit or claim upon man's part (Ro $4^{1-5.\,20-24}$ 10^{3}). On this account Abraham's faith,—the *instantia probans* for Israelites,—notwithstanding the difference of its content, is a pattern to Christians (Ro 4, Gal 3). Such 'faith is reckoned for (to amount to) righteousness'; this is, in fact, the normal attitude of the soul toward God, the disposition which alone makes a right understanding and right relations possible between man and God. While faith appears to supersede law, it is a principle profoundly just, and supplies the true guarantee for the establishment of Divine law in human life (Ro $3^{30.\,31}$: cf. ii. 1 (*d*), above). Christian faith has for its specific object the revelation of God's grace and righteousness in Christ, and for its primary result the remission of sins grounded on His expiatory death.

While such faith sets the believer right with God, it unites him personally to the risen Christ. 'Faith in Christ' (sometimes 'in Jesus,' 'in Jesus Christ') attaches itself to the resurrection along with the death of the Redeemer (Ro $4^{24.\,25}$ 8^{32-34})—to His resurrection, in the first place, as making valid the justification wrought in His death, but further as the ground of an abiding spiritual union (*unio mystica*) with the living Lord. Christ's ascension completes His resurrection (Eph 1^{19-23}); 'having died in regard to sin once for all,' He 'lives to God,'—and we in Him (Ro $6^{10.\,11}$); God 'raised us up and seated us in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus' (Ro $6^{10.\,11}$, Eph 2^{4-6}). By virtue of this union one comes to be *in Christ*—St. Paul's normal designation for the Christian state. Under the 'law of faith,' we thus appropriate and assimilate Christ's redemption; what He has done for us is reproduced in us. We 'coalesce with him (*σύμφυτοι γεγόναμεν*) by the likeness of his death' and rising, which are rehearsed symbolically in baptism, actually in the process of a sympathetic, self-committing faith (Ro $6^{5.\,6}$). 'Thus the idea of substitution receives its complement in the mysticism of faith . . . and the idea of "one for all" receives the stricter meaning of "all in and with one"' (Pfleiderer). St. Paul's doctrine of life to God in the celestial Christ is the correlative to that of death to sin through the crucified Christ. 'The change from death to resurrection brought to Him an accession of personal endowment that qualified Him to exert His influence as a principle of new life in man, and it meant also His investiture with supreme power as the Lord of human life and destiny' (Somerville),—*πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, ἵνα γένηται ἐν πᾶσιν αὐτὸς πρωτεύων* (Col 1^{18}). While through faith in Christ's death the working of sin is at each point undone, in the place of what is thus destroyed there is built up, through fellowship with His life, the new man and the new world (Ro 5^{10} 6^{8-23}, 1 Co 15^{20-28}). 'To the Christ within Paul attributed all that he did and experienced as a Christian man. . . . It was as if the very personality of Christ had entered into the apostle, and used him as the organ of its expression' (Somerville); such is the *δύναμις τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ*, making Him a *πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν* to His race. St. Paul's theory of morals comes under this head; it is the ethics of the 'life hid with Christ in God' (Col 3). If the cross is the main pillar of Paul's theology, the objective fact on and around which its fabric is built, the consciousness of union with the living Christ is its subjective centre and the heart from which its movements proceed. See, further, art. FAITH.

St. Paul's doctrine of adoption (*υἱοθεσία*) supplies the meeting-point of two cardinal principles—the Fatherhood of God, and spiritual union with Christ. The sonship of believers is matter of God's eternal counsel, and was provided for 'in Christ before the world's foundation' (Eph $1^{3.\,4}$). It is a status derived wholly through Christ, in which we partake with the Son of God, and are conformed 'in the spirit of our mind' to Him who is God's complete image (Ro $8^{29.30}$, Eph $4^{20-24.32}$ 5^{2}, Col 3^{8-13} 1^{15}, Ph 2^{5}, Gal 4^{19}, etc.). This resemblance of the many brethren to the Firstborn is at present spiritual, and therefore 'hidden'; but we await, along with 'the creation' which has shared our 'bondage of corruption,' 'the unveiling of the sons of God,' 'the redemption of our body,' which will be recovered from the grave and in its turn 'conformed to his body of glory' (Ro 8^{18-25}, 1 Co 15^{43-57}, Ph $3^{20.21}$, Eph 1^{14}, Col $3^{3.4}$). Endowed with this hope, which is vital to their salvation (Ro 8^{24}, 1 Co 15^{19}), Christians are consciously 'heirs of God and Christ's fellow-heirs—*if children, also heirs*' (Ro $8^{16.17}$, Gal $4^{6.7}$). See, further, art. ADOPTION.

4. *Doctrine of the Holy Spirit.*—In the development of St. Paul's Christology, or Christianity proper, a further movement of thought is involved, —that embracing the doctrine of the Holy Spirit.

(*a*) *God Immanent.*—The thought of the Holy Spirit as *the organ of the Divine in man* is inwoven into the whole tissue of Paulinism. While the Son of God is the root and ground of human relations to God, the Spirit is the living energy forming and sustaining those relations, the moral dynamic (*ἐξ ὕψους δύναμις*, Lk 24^{49}; cf. 1 Th 1^{5}, 1 Co 2^{4}, Eph 3^{16}). Christ is God manifest to us; the Holy Spirit is God working in us (*e.g.* Ro $15^{13.16}$, 1 Co 12^{11}, Gal 5^{25}). He is the 'gift' imparted in God's grace to each believer by way of witness to his adoption (Ro $8^{15.16}$, Gal 4^{6}), and supplying the inward substantial counterpart of this endowment—a new *power* corresponding to the new status (Ro 5^{5} 8^{2}, Gal $3^{2.3}$, Tit 3^{4-7}, etc.). The positive gift of the Spirit, equally with the negative gift of remission of sins, is procured through the death of Christ.

Paul's conception of 'the Spirit,' like that of 'the Father' and 'the Son,' was drawn from the teaching of Jesus. The OT 'Spirit (breath) of God' is the Divine influence touching man's invisible spirit, which is kindred to and was created by it. In the doctrine of Jesus the Holy Spirit assumes the distinctness of a personal being, and the permanence of a fixed indwelling in man. The Spirit is associated with the person of Christ in such a way that He 'rests upon' Him, is concentrated in Him, given forth by Him, and becomes the element of life-communion with Him. These ideas supply the staple of St. Paul's doctrine upon this subject. They are found mainly in the Fourth Gospel, whose tradition St. John did not confine within his breast until that work was published (see Knowling's *Witness of the Epp.*, pp. 329–347, which summarizes the full examination of this question made by P. Ewald in his *Hauptproblem der Evangelien*; also Matheson's 'Historical Christ of St. Paul,' in *Expositor*, II. i. 193–199, ii. 137–143).

On the one side, the Spirit is the organ of communication from God through the exalted Christ, whether in the way of knowledge or power (Ro 5^{5} 8^{16} 15^{19}, 1 Co 2^{10-16}, Gal 4^{6}, Ph 1^{19}, 1 Th 1^{5}, 1 Ti 4^{1}, 2 Ti 1^{7}); on the other side, He prompts the heart's movements towards God and its activities for God (Ro $8^{4-10.26.27}$ 12^{11}, 1 Co 12^{7-11}, Eph $2^{18.22}$, 1 Th 5^{19}, Tit 3^{5}). Above all, He gives the witness of sonship, with its privilege of access to the Father (Ro 8^{14-16}, Eph 2^{18}); and He is the element which identifies us with Christ and constitutes us 'members of his body' (Ro 8^{9-17}, Gal $4^{6.7}$, 1 Co 6^{15-20}, Eph 3^{16-19}). He is thus the 'Spirit of Christ,' as 'of God.' The body and spirit of man are His temple —the spirit already redeemed from death by His power, the body ultimately to be so (Ro 8^{11}). All the experiences and virtues of the new life are accordingly His 'fruit' (Gal 5^{22-25}). The glorified Christ acts on men so entirely through the Spirit, and the Holy Spirit so perfectly imparts Christ's influence and makes Him present, that the two are practically identified: 'The Lord is the Spirit' (2 Co $3^{17.18}$); Christ is, at the same time, 'Lord of the Spirit' (this seems the fitter rendering of *κυρίου πνεύματος*), since He rules in that realm which the Spirit fills. (See Somerville, as above, pp. 116–118, who, however, presses the identification too far). Amongst the offices of the Spirit, the following are conspicuous in Pauline teaching:—

(*b*) *The Spiritual Man.*—The Holy Spirit is the *sanctifier*—being holy, He *makes holy*. Sanctification accompanies justification (1 Co 6^{11} 7^{14}: cf. ii. 3 (*b*), last par.). St. Paul counts all his readers 'saints,' however faulty saints (*e.g.* 1 Co 1^{2}). The children of God, those who possess Christ's Spirit, are *pro tanto* holy persons, being claimed by God (*κλητοὶ ἅγιοι*) and personally devoted to God. But sanctification, unlike justification, is progressive and variable. While complete in principle and tendency (and possible realization) from the first, in practice it admits of degrees, and is advancing in the most obedient (*εἰς ἁγιασμόν*, Ro 6^{16}). For saints the apostle prays, 'Sanctify them unto full perfection' (1 Th 5^{23}). Growth in holiness is the fruit of the Spirit's inner working; to live a holy life is to be *κατὰ πνεῦμα* and to 'walk *πνεύματι*' (Ro 8^{4-19}, Gal 5^{16-25}). The residence of the Holy Spirit in man is a powerful motive to holiness, while it is the means to its attainment (1 Th 4^{3-8}, 1 Co $6^{19.20}$). Sanctification is not ethical purity, but connotes and requires this; and the Spirit of God is the *purifier* of heart and conduct (1 Co 6^{11}, Ro 8^{13}, Gal 5^{22}, etc.). This office of the Spirit comes under St. Paul's favourite antithesis of 'flesh and spirit.' The Christian ethical life is at once the ascendency of spirit over flesh in the man, and the possession and assimilation of the man by the Spirit. In many Pauline expressions the individual and universal spirit are blended; 'the spiritual man' (*ὁ πνευματικός, ὁ κατὰ πνεῦμα*) is he in whom, through the operation of the Spirit of God upon his nature, spirit (not flesh, nor even mere 'soul' —the individual selfhood) holds sway and determines character and bent (Ro 8^{5-9}, 1 Co $2^{14.15}$). While the Holy Spirit brings the soul into harmony with God, He establishes order and health, true life, in the constitution of the man (Ro 8^{6}).

(*c*) *The Communion of the Spirit.*—Peace is the Spirit's fruit; the life of love in the Church is His creation. The Holy Spirit is the *unifier*. As the element which binds believers to Christ, He binds them to each other in Christ. 'There is one body' because, and so far as, 'there is one Spirit'; all 'were baptized in one Spirit into one body, all were made to drink of one Spirit' (1 Co $12^{12.13}$, Eph 4^{4}). 'Communion' is His note in the Trinitarian benediction of 2 Co 13^{13}; the grace of Christ, and the love of the Father, are translated into *fellowship* when subjectively realized by the indwelling of the Spirit,—who is God immanent in the individual man, and in the community.

(*d*) *The Earnest of the Inheritance.*—The indwelling Holy Spirit is *the guarantor* of final salvation. 'God gave the earnest (*ἀρραβών*) of the Spirit in our hearts' (2 Co 1^{22} 5^{5}, Eph 1^{14})— 'the firstfruit' (*ἀπαρχή*, Ro 8^{23}), since the life eternal will be of the same nature as the hidden life of the Spirit already experienced by the child of God. His presence is the pledge of God's purpose wholly to sanctify the abode where He thus dwells, and of His ulterior purpose to recreate our physical and mortal frame as 'a spiritual body' conformed to that of Christ, and so to perfect the redeemed in the integrity of their nature as the image and habitation of God (Ro 8^{10-25}, Eph

$1^{13.14}$ 2^{22}). Till then salvation is incomplete: our redemption is exposed to hazard; our sonship remains half realized (Ro 8^{23}). The Holy Spirit is the 'seal' of the future, as He is the witness of the past and the energy of our present life in God—a seal broken by relapse into sin (Eph 4^{30}, 2 Co 1^{22}). See, further, art. HOLY SPIRIT.

5. *Doctrine of the Church.*—The **Church** is the witness and counterpart of the Spirit of God on earth (1 Co $3^{16.17}$ 12^{11}, Eph 2^{22}); it is the specific organ for the continued manifestation of God through Christ to the world (1 Th 1^{8}, 1 Co $12^{24.25}$, 2 Co 3^{3}, Eph 3^{21}, Ph 2^{12-18}, 1 Ti 3^{15}).

(*a*) *The Body of Christ.*—As the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of Christ amongst men, the Church is, correspondingly, *His body*. It is constituted by the common presence of the Spirit in many souls, and is animated by His power (Eph 2^{18} $4^{4.12}$, 1 Co 12^{13}). It is 'the church' (OT 'congregation')—or 'churches' in 1 Th 2^{14} and 2 Th 1^{4}—'of God,' and, as consisting of His children, the 'house,' also the 'habitation, of God,' tenanted by His Spirit,—'a holy temple in the Lord' (Ac 20^{28}, Eph 2^{19-22}, 1 Ti $3^{5.15}$, 1 Co $3^{16.17}$). Paul's idea of the *ecclesia* grew with the growth of his work (see Hort, *Eccl.* 107 ff.). In 1 and 2 Th the word denotes the local 'assembly,' or 'assemblies,' of believers—'the Church of Thessalonians in God,' etc.; the readers of 1 and 2 Co are 'the Church of God that is in Corinth'—the one Christian society existing in many places. In the letters of the third group the conception of the Church Universal, as the spiritual union of all who 'hold the Head,' is completely formed. In Col and Eph the fuller doctrine of the Church and of the Person of Christ are unfolded *pari passu*. The Church is the body of which He is *Head* (Eph 1^{22} 5^{23}, Col 1^{18} 2^{19}), new significance thus accruing to the figure previously employed in 1 Co 12. The body is the organic complement of the Head, supplying Him with limbs and instruments, while the Head gives to it unity, impulse, and direction. The reciprocal duties of the two, and the fundamental nature of their union, are shown in the analogy of Eph 5^{22-33}. The Church is the *bride* of Christ, who 'loved her and gave himself up for her,' who labours to 'present her to himself' at last in perfect spiritual beauty. The Church is not a temporal institution subserving mere present necessities. The collective fellowship of believers with their Head will subsist eternally; and in Eph 3^{21} 'the Church and Christ Jesus'—Bride and Bridegroom—are seen together rendering praise to God, 'unto all generations of the age of the ages' (cf. Mt 16^{18}, Rev 21. 22).

(*b*) *The Brotherhood.*—The first note of the Church is brother-love (φιλαδελφία, 1 Th 4^{9-12}, Ro $12^{9.10}$, etc.). *Brethren* is the name by which Paul oftenest speaks to and of his fellow-believers,—or *beloved*. The compellation 'brothers,' of Jewish kinship, is appropriated by the larger household of faith. In the family of God, **Love** is to have its home and hearth, from which its influence radiates to those without (1 Th 5^{15}, Gal 5^{14} 6^{10}, Ro 12^{12-21}). Since it is God's love and grace in Christ that call forth our faith, faith in turn 'works through love'; all its activities pass along this channel and take this colour (Gal 5^{6}). The Church 'builds up itself in love' (Eph 4^{16}). No faith, no gift or power or qualification of any kind, avails without love,—which finds in the brethren its chief object, in Christ its pattern, and in the Holy Spirit its sustaining power. Love is greater than faith or hope, as the Divine surpasses the human and auxiliary, as the fruit the seed (1 Co 13). In all this Paul shows himself the pupil of Jesus.

The 'good works' of the Pastoral Epp. are definite forms of 'the work of faith and toil of love' commended in 1 Th,—*e.g.* the care of the widows and the poor, and hospitality to strangers; the Church charities regulated in the latest Epp. flow from the brotherly love conspicuous in the earliest.

(*c*) *The Charismata.*—The Pauline Churches—eminently that of Corinth—were endowed by the Spirit with a rich variety of *gifts for edification* (χαρίσματα). All social talents, natural or supernatural, from apostleship down to the washing of feet, the apostle regards from this practical standpoint. Everything must subserve the building up of the Church after the measure of Christ (Eph 4^{7-13}, 1 Co 12^{7-11} 14, 2 Co 13^{7-10}). Hence 'prophecy' is rated amongst 'the greater charisms,' while the gift of 'tongues,' though more admired, is really inferior. 'The word of wisdom' and of 'knowledge' mark the ordinary 'teachers' (in Eph 4^{11} associated with the 'pastors'), in distinction from the prophets and speakers with tongues, whose utterances come by an incalculable inspiration, and may need restraint where such gifts are widely distributed (1 Co 14^{27-33}). The earliest Church meetings, as described in 1 Co, were little bound by any stated order, those present praying, prophesying, singing, teaching in turn as the Spirit prompted utterance. But this unchartered freedom bred disorder; it was only possible in the first simplicity of Christian fervour: Paul writes expressly to chasten it, intending to take measures to this effect (11^{34}); he declares that, along with the other charisms, 'God appointed in the Church *governments*' (12^{28}). In the interests of edification Church proceedings were gradually reduced to rule and precedent; by the time of the Pastoral Epp. signs appear of a fixed gradation of office and an established usage in Divine service. It is assumed, by way of fundamental principle, in Ro 12^{4-8} and Eph 4^{1-16}, that the Church is, under Christ, self-governing and self-edifying, that the manifold functions of administration and instruction exercised in it belong to and exist for the body as a whole, however lodged in this member or that; the body, as such, must press the powers of every limb into its service.

(*d*) *Baptism and the Lord's Supper.*—The apostle refers to *the two sacraments* incidentally, and without bringing them into connexion with each other, unless it be by allusion in 1 Co 10^{1-4}. Their established observance is assumed, in accordance with the story of their institution,—expressly related for the Lord's Supper in 1 Co 11^{23}, where there is no need to suppose that 'received from (ἀπό) the Lord' signifies more than tradition from the fountain-head. These rites mark respectively the believer's entrance upon, and continuance in, the Christian life. They signalize, each of them, his relation to the Church as well as to Christ Himself, to the body with the Head (1 Co 12^{13} 10^{17}). The 'one baptism' is a visible token of the 'one Lord' and the 'one faith' (Eph 4^{5}); the 'one loaf' of which 'we all partake,' pictures the 'one body' to which 'the many' belong. The 'blessing' and 'thanksgiving' pronounced over the elements at the Lord's Table (1 Co 10^{16} 11^{24}) impress their character on the whole rite, which is analogous to the post-sacrificial feasts of ancient religion ($10^{17\text{ff.}}$), being a symbolic act of grateful and joyful communion with men in the supreme gifts of God.

These ordinances are no arbitrary signs of Christian faith and fellowship, having a value conferred by the bare fact of their appointment; they are parables of the spiritual acts which they accompany. **Baptism**, in its most complete and picturesque form of immersion, is strikingly applied in Ro 6^{1-4} to set forth a Christian conversion: as the baptized sinks into the water, remains there for a moment, and emerges a new man, he rehearses the death, burial, and resurrection of Jesus —he dies to sin, is severed from the past, and rises to live with Christ unto God. St. Paul's argument presumes that baptism is the expression on the candidate's part, and the recognition on the Church's part, of the faith that alone joins the soul to Christ; its efficacy lies in the uttered 'word' of faith attending the ceremonial act (Eph 5^{26}, *ἐν ῥήματι*; cf. Ro 10^{8-10}). A like interpretation of **the Lord's Supper** is indicated in 1 Co 10 and 11. The bread and the cup represent 'the body and the blood of the Lord' (11^{27}), so that he who desecrates the former outrages the latter; while the sharing of each in the same cup and loaf exhibits the 'fellowship' of Christians in the incarnate and crucified Redeemer ($10^{16. 17}$), whose 'death' is thus evermore 'proclaimed' and kept in remembrance (11^{24-26}). Such public representations are, in the nature of the case, binding professions of faith, covenant transactions (see 1 Co 10^{18-22}, and the parallels there adduced). The expression '*seal* of faith,' which Paul applies to Abraham's sacrament in Ro 4^{11}, is equally appropriate to the new ordinances. The *person* by whom the rite is administered (1 Co 1^{13-17}), matters but little; everything depends upon (*a*) the institution of Christ, and (*b*) the intention and spirit of those engaged, the faith and fellowship by which they are actuated. Not as matters of official prerogative, but of stated communion between Christ and His people, did Paul exalt the sacraments. See, further, arts. BAPTISM, LORD'S SUPPER, SACRAMENT.

(*e*) *Church Organization.*—In respect to Church order and organization there is a contrast between the first and last Epp., so extreme that it raises grave difficulties in regard to the authenticity of the latter. 1 Ti and Tit are devoted to matters which occupy only a line in 1 Th. In the fifteen years' interval a great development had taken place. On the first missionary tour in S. Galatia, Paul and Barnabas 'appointed elders in every church' (Ac 14^{23}), resembling in their functions, *mutatis mutandis*, the elders of Jewish communities. A like office probably belonged to 'those who preside' in the Thessalonian Church (1 Th 5^{12}; cf. 1 Ti 5^{17}). In the letters to Corinth we have no traces of local Church office; from the silence of 1 Co 5 on this point, and from the scenes indicated in ch. 14, we may infer that official elders did not as yet preside here: 'helps, governments' —corresponding to deacons and bishops—are referred to in the abstract (12^{28}; otherwise in Ro $12^{7. 8}$); ch 11^{34} intimates better regulation to come. In the salutation of Philippians, four years later, the 'bishops and deacons' are distinctly addressed, and these two orders figure conspicuously in the Pastorals—the former as directing, the latter as assistant officers. The apostle is anxious about the character and true piety of these ministers, wishing to fence out from office unworthy candidates. The term '**bishop**' in Tit 1 is synonymous with '**elder**' (Lgtft. *Christian Ministry*; but cf. Hort, *Eccl.* 212), and is now preferred by Paul as it denotes the *work* of the office (1 Ti 3^1), while 'elder' suggests status and dignity. 'Bishop' (*ἐπίσκοπος*, *overseer, superintendent*) appears first in Ac $20^{28. 29}$, where Paul tells the Ephesian 'elders' that 'the Holy Spirit made' them 'bishops, to shepherd the Church' (cf. Eph 4^{11}, 'shepherds and teachers'; also 1 P 2^{25} 5^{1-5}). It is not unlikely that Paul then introduced the term and gave it vogue. Hatch (*Organization of the Early Christian Churches*) traced the episcopate to a Greek, as the presbyterate to a Jewish origin; he supposed that these were distinct institutions amalgamated in post-apostolic times—a theory, in its extreme form, contrary to Ac and 1 P as well as to the Pastoral Epistles. The charities of the Church and the maintenance of its ministry (1 Co 9^{7-14}, Gal 6^8) required business management (bishops and deacons are alike to be *μὴ αἰσχροκερδεῖς*, 1 Ti $3^{3. 8}$); Hatch derived the title *ἐπίσκοπος* from this *financial* charge (but see Cremer's *Bib.-Theol. Lexicon*, *s.v.*, and Kühl's *Gemeindeordnung*, p. 87 ff.), whereas Ac 20 and 1 P make the bishop emphatically a *pastor*. The elders are encouraged to take a leading part 'in word and teaching' (1 Ti 5^{17}); some of them, it appears, did not teach, and any competent member of the Church might speak his word of exhortation. By the date of 1 Ti 5^9, the older 'widows' were 'enrolled' for Church maintenance and service, being included probably amongst the deaconesses, of whose existence at this early time Ro $16^{1. 2}$ affords the only, but sufficient, evidence. See, further, artt. on BISHOP, ELDER, and DEACON; also, generally, on CHURCH and CHURCH GOVERNMENT. The data furnished by the Ac and Epp. for the reconstruction of the forms of apostolic Church life and worship are comparatively slight, and open to conflicting interpretations. It is possible that the organization of the first Christian communities was more definite, and borrowed more freely from contemporary social institutions and usages than is shown by the incidental references of our documents.

Two important distinctions in Church service are to be observed: (1) between the clerical and the charismatic ministry—the ministry of *official status* and of *personal gift*, the former in some degree presuming the latter, but the latter not of necessity carrying with it the former; (2) between the *local, congregational* ministry and the *itinerant, missionary* ministry—the bishops and deacons, elected in the single community for its service, belonging to the former; to the latter, the apostles and evangelists (Eph 4^{11}, 2 Ti 4^5, Ac 21^8). Prophets and teachers, such as Agabus and Apollos, might labour in a single community or travel from Church to Church, their gift not of itself carrying with it local rule. Timothy is 'an evangelist'; to this work he was ordained by the hands of Paul and the local eldership at his setting out (1 Ti 4^{14}, 2 Ti 1^6). St. Paul's other companions, presumably, held the like travelling commission; other powers were conferred on them *ad hoc*, as in the case of Titus when Paul's delegate in Corinth or Crete.

As 'a called apostle of Christ Jesus,' an equal of the original Twelve, Paul claims the highest prerogatives under the Lord Himself: he is 'father' of his Churches, 'master-builder' in the fabric of Divine revelation, 'teacher of nations in faith and truth' (1 Co 3^{10} $4^{14. 15}$, 1 Ti 2^7, Ro $1^{5. 8}$ 15^{16-20}, Eph 3^{7-11}). The gospel of God he may therefore call 'my gospel,' since its dispensation was committed to him directly from the Lord. He does not expect this claim to be admitted without proof, but points to 'the signs of the apostle' visible in him, to the multitude of believers who were his living 'letters of commendation,' to the commanding inspiration of his word, to 'the grace given' to him and acknowledged by the Church leaders at Jerusalem (2 Co 12^{12} 13^3 3^{1-3}, 1 Co 14^{37}, Eph 3^4, Gal 2^{7-9}). Yet he writes in the *plural* of the 'ministers of Christ and stewards of God's mysteries,' including his fellow evangelists (1 Co 4^1, 2 Co $1^{18. 19}$) with himself. And 'the fair deposit' of his inspired word he commits, through those who received it at his mouth, to the 'faithful men' whom they should choose, to the Church which is the 'pillar and stay of the truth,' above all to the Lord who first gave the trust (1 Ti 1^{18} 3^{15} 6^{20}, 2 Ti 1^{12-14} 2^2). In questions of doctrine, Paul claims complete and incontestable authority; in matters of discipline, even the gravest, he requires the free concurrence of the Church concerned (1 Co 5, 2 Co 2^6, 2 Th 3^{6-15}).

Cf. further, for all the subjects discussed in this (5) section, the art. CHURCH.

6. *Doctrine of the Kingdom of God.*—The Jewish idea of **the kingdom of God** (the perfect Divine rule on earth to be established by the Messiah), which was adopted and spiritualized by Jesus, lies at the basis of the Pauline system. St. Paul's 'kingdom of God and of Christ' (known as *Christ's* from His exaltation onwards: Eph 1^{20-22}, Ph 2^{9}) transcends all national, and even earthly bounds; its glory fills the horizon of faith, which stretches indefinitely beyond death and the limits of sense.

The apostle's doctrine of *the Last Things* comes under this conception, which is both his alpha and omega. As missionary of Christ, Paul 'went along heralding the kingdom' (Ac 20^{25} 19^{8} 28^{31}); his hope in dying is that 'the Lord will bring me safe into his heavenly kingdom' (2 Ti 4^{18}). When a Pharisee, he had sought legal righteousness not to ensure his personal salvation so much as to bring about for Israel's sake, and for God's glory, the Messiah's promised kingdom (Ac 26^{7} etc.). This goal the Christian apostle still pursues, seeing it in larger proportions and with a brighter certainty. The Church never displaced the Kingdom in Paulinism (see *e.g.* 1 Th 2^{12}). These are correlated, and not equivalent or rival terms. One with its Head, the Church is the centre and mistress of the Kingdom; she furnishes it with citizens and dignitaries (1 Co 6^{2}). But the Kingdom embraces all orders of being (angels *e.g.*, the mightiest of them, no less than men, Col 2^{10}),—the entire system of things as subject to our Redeemer's sway (Eph 1^{20-23}, Col 1^{15-20}, 1 Co 15^{24-28}, Ph 2^{9-11}).

As to the seat of its power, the kingdom of the Lord Christ is inward and spiritual. It is concerned essentially with 'righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit' (Ro $14^{17.18}$, Col $2^{16.20}$–$3^{4.15}$, Ph 4^{7}). Its ways of rule are wholly opposite to those associated with the Χριστὸς κατὰ σάρκα of Judaism, to the external methods and perishing glory of the Mosaic covenant. From this interior world of the spirit, through the sanctified body, all outward activity is to be dominated, and thus conformed to 'the good and well-pleasing and perfect will of God' (Ro 12). See art. on KINGDOM OF GOD.

(*a*) *The Divine Sovereignty.*—The doctrine of the Kingdom rests on the presupposition of the absolute *sovereignty of God* (see ii. 1, above)—'the Creator,' 'the blessed and only Potentate, King of those that reign and Lord of those that have lordship,' 'the only God' (1 Ti 1^{17} $6^{15.16}$, Ro 1^{25}). There is no appeal against His judgments (*e.g.* in the reprobation of Israel), no arresting of His decrees: 'whom he will he compassionates, whom he will he hardens' (Ro 9^{14-21}). Faith adores this Potentate as 'God our Father'; despite appearances, 'there is no unrighteousness with God.' St. Paul chiefly contemplates the Divine sovereignty in the aspect of *wisdom* (Ro 11^{33-36} 16^{27}). God's foreknowledge, joined with His love, laid down the πρόθεσις τῶν αἰώνων, the plan unfolded in the successive periods of human history (Eph 3^{11}, Ro 8^{28}, 2 Ti 1^{9}). This purpose of the ages, centring in the mission of Christ, is executed by Him 'who worketh all things after the counsel of his will' (Eph 1^{11}, 1 Co 12^{6}). As a counsel of grace, the purpose is called 'the good pleasure (εὐδοκία) of his will'; hidden until Christ's coming, it was 'the mystery of his will' (Eph $1^{5.9}$ $3^{5.9}$, Ro 16^{25-27}). As an orderly disposing of men and things directed towards an all-wise end, the counsel of grace becomes the 'dispensation (οἰκονομία) of God' (Eph 1^{10} 3^{9}, 1 Ti 1^{4}); in pursuance of this counsel, a special 'dispensation (or stewardship) of the grace of God' is committed to each of His ministers (1 Co 9^{17}, Eph 3^{2}, Col 1^{25})—notably to St. Paul himself—its conditions, with those of every bestowment of grace, being determined by God's sovereign good pleasure in the interests of His kingdom (Ro 1^{5}, Eph 2^{4-7} 3^{2-11}). Creation and redemption are parts of one scheme, whose aim grows clearer as the ages pass; Christ is the point of unity to the mighty movement (Col 1^{15-23}, Eph 1^{10} $3^{10.11}$). 'In the Christ all things' must be 'summed up.'

The 'call' of God, both gracious and authoritative—conveyed generally in the message of the gospel, or particularly in some specific appointment—*summons* men to His service: the '*called* saint' or '*called* apostle' (Ro $1^{1.6}$, 1 Co 1^{2}) is alike the subject of a Divine vocation. Such calling springs from an antecedent 'choice' (*election* or *selection*, ἐκλογή), in which God's wise foreknowledge and gracious sovereignty are manifest (Ro $8^{28.29.33}$ 9^{11} 11^{5}, 1 Th 1^{4}, 2 Th $2^{13.14}$). The election of believers Paul refers (Ro $8^{28.29}$, Eph 1^{4}) to God's eternal counsel in Christ, since the future is known to Him as the present, and His will attends His knowledge: 'whom he foreknew, he did also foreordain.' 'Called' and 'elect' are synonymous expressions (1 Co $1^{26.27}$)—not distinguished as in Mt 20^{16}. St. Paul's doctrine of election is not so conceived as to negative freedom and the prerogative of faith. By these God has sovereignly, and eternally, conditioned His dealings with men. See arts. on ELECTION and PREDESTINATION.

(*b*) *The Enemies of God.*—In St. Paul's view of the kingdom of God its *enemies* are conspicuous. Chief amongst them is **Satan** (the Adversary), named in Eph and the Pastoral Epp. 'the devil' (calumniator); in 2 Co 6^{14-16} 'Beliar,' as the patron of heathen impurity and the antagonist of Christ; also 'the god of this age' (2 Co 4^{4}), 'the ruler of the dominion of the air' (Eph 2^{2}), 'the tempter' (1 Th 3^{5}), 'the evil one' (2 Th 3^{3}, Eph 6^{16}). Satanic powers, the Christian's most formidable enemies, are described in the plural in Eph 6^{12} as 'the principalities, the dominions, the world-rulers of this darkness, the spiritual (forces) of wickedness.' In heathenism these malignant forces have full sway; 'demons' are practically worshipped under the forms of the idols (1 Co 10^{19-21}). The lawlessness, uncleanness, and moral darkness there prevailing constitute Satan's empire, which assumes the character of an organized dominion—a 'kingdom of darkness' opposed to 'the kingdom of the Son of God's love' (Col 1^{13}; comp. Jn 14^{30} etc.)—with a hierarchy of powers under the direction of its chief, bearing titles parallel to those assigned to the ranks of God's angels (Eph 1^{21}, Col 1^{16}). (It seems likely that Paul borrowed these distinctions in angelic rank from popular speech, and employed them by way of *argumentum ad hominem*). Paul's conviction of the existence of evil spirits is unmistakable, as was that of Jesus. Satan first beguiled our race (2 Co 11^{3}—'the serpent'; 1 Ti $2^{13.14}$), and is habitually 'the tempter' (1 Th 3^{5}, 2 Ti 2^{26}). Paul's 'thorn in the flesh' was 'a messenger of Satan,' since it hindered his work and provoked him to discontent (2 Co 12^{7}, Gal 4^{14}, 1 Th 2^{18}). Physical maladies and death are, in some sense, under Satan's jurisdiction; he is used as executor in Divine judgments of this nature, which may turn notwithstanding to the salvation of the sufferer (1 Co 5, 1 Ti 1^{20}: comp. He 2^{14}, 1 P 4^{1}). The reign of death (Ro $5^{14.21}$) is coextensive with the rule of 'the god of this world'; only when 'death, the last enemy, is abolished,' shall God's kingdom be consummated (1 Co $15^{20-28.54}$). St. Paul anticipates a last deadly struggle in human history between these opposing realms. 'The mystery of lawlessness,' working previously under restraint, will be allowed one day a full manifestation (cf. Ro 7^{13}); and 'the lawless one,' Satan's perfect embodiment (apparently, a self-deifying autocrat of universal power), 'shall be revealed, whom the Lord shall destroy' by His coming (2 Th 2^{3-12}). Nowhere more decidedly than in this field of thought does Paul show himself the child of Judaism. See, further, art. MAN OF SIN.

(c) *The Consummation.*—The Divine kingdom embraces in its scope present mundane affairs; the 'powers that be are ordained of God,' *e.g.* those of Rome though heathen and corrupt; the magistrate is 'God's servant to thee for good,' enforcing His laws in the civil state (Ro 13^{1-7}). Throughout the perishing 'fashion of this world' Paul recognizes the will of Him 'of whom and for whom are all things,'—the demands of duty, the exercise of conscience; a realm where, despite 'the god of this world,' the true God leaves Himself at no point without witness or without authority.

But the Kingdom belongs in its proper manifestation and glory to the future. In 'this present evil world' it is hidden and thwarted, realized at best only 'in part' and with 'groanings'; its bestowments are no more than an earnest and firstfruit, the experience of a babe, in comparison of 'the glory that shall be revealed to us-ward' (Ro 8^{18-25}, 1 Co 13^{8-12}, 2 Co 4^{16}–5^{5}). It is 'through much tribulation' that we shall reach the goal and 'enter into the kingdom of God.' Hope, therefore, plays a leading part in St. Paul's teaching, by the side of faith and love. The certainty of *the consummation of the kingdom of God* crowns his theology, and determines it throughout as the end determines the way. The aims of Paul's life, as of the whole NT teaching, converge upon 'the kingdom and glory' yet to come. The following chief points may be noted in the apostle's doctrine of the Last Things:—

(α) The *moral perfection* of each believer, and the collective *perfection of the Church*, are the ends of the apostle's ministry as of Christ's own sacrifice (Col $1^{20-22.\,27.\,28}$, Eph 5^{25-27}, Tit 3^{4-7}, 1 Th $2^{19.\,20}$ $3^{12.\,13}$ 5^{23}, Ph 2^{15-18}). This inner glory and true wealth of God's kingdom, now being acquired (2 Co 3^{18}, Ro 8^{30}, 9^{23}), shall shine forth at 'the unveiling of the sons of God,' when state shall correspond to character and the 'spiritual body' to the worth and needs of the informing spirit. On the other hand, it is well known that 'the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God' (1 Co 6^{9} etc.). Their 'end shall be according to their works' (Ro 2^{6-9}, 2 Co 11^{15}, 2 Ti 4^{14}).

(β) The *resurrection of the body* is necessary to the realization of the life of the spirit. St. Paul knows nothing of Hellenic or Oriental dualism. The body is not the detachable envelope, but the proper organ of the spirit. Its existing form of flesh and blood perishes, but only to be reconstituted in fitter fashion. It is true that in 1 Co 15^{12} etc. Paul thinks only of οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ; but if the wicked exist in the world to come, they too must have an appropriate bodily form; there is nothing in the Epp. inconsistent with the statement of Ac 24^{15}, 'that there shall be a resurrection both of just and unjust' (cf. Jn 5^{29}). In the risen Christ Paul sees 'the firstfruit of them that have fallen asleep'; the *certainty* and the *kind* of the harvest are evidenced by this first ripened sheaf (1 Co 15^{20}). The fact that 'Jesus died and rose again' assures our faith that the Christian dead shall return, with Him (1 Th $4^{13.\,14}$). The saints found alive at the παρουσία shall be transformed, the natural body giving place to the spiritual, and 'the mortal' in them being 'swallowed up of life' (1 Co 15^{49-53}, 2 Co 5^{1-4}).

(γ) On the *intermediate state* Paul has no revelation. 'Sleep,' Jesus' name for death, implies comparative quiescence (cf. Rev 14^{13}), yet without unconsciousness or torpor. The apostle expects 'to depart and be with Christ, which is very far better,'—in some communion nearer than the earthly; hence 'to die is gain' (Ph 1^{21-23}, 2 Co 5^{6-8}; cf. Lk 23^{43}). In his earliest Epp., up to 1 Co, the interval before the Parousia appears inconsiderable ('the time is short,' 1 Co 7^{29}); Paul includes himself with those alive at the Lord's return (1 Th 4^{7}). Afterwards the Advent receded in his view; when writing 2 Co, he anticipated a martyr's death and was 'bearing about the dying of the Lord Jesus' (4^{7-18}). This experience effected 'a marked change in the Pauline eschatology' (Sabatier, *Ap. Paul,* on 2 Co 4. 5); St. Paul's earlier, half-Judaistic idea of a visible advent, a universal resurrection of the sleeping dead and a great judgment-scene, gave place, it is said, to the more spiritual theory of the soul's entrance through death into its perfected heavenly state and full communion with Christ. Similarly, Beyschlag (*NT Theology*, ii. pp. 268–272); and, with limitations, Kabisch (*Eschatologie d. Paulus*, 296–305); Pfleiderer thinks that the apostle held in his mind the two conceptions, Judaic and Hellenistic, unassimilated (*Paulinismus* ^{2}, pp. 274–289). This interpretation is incorrectly deduced from 2 Co 5^{1-9} (see Meyer and Klöpper, *ad loc.*; Weiss, *NT Theol.* § 96*d*). The apostle says (5^{1}) that 'if the earthly tabernacle should be dissolved, we *have* an eternal house in the heavens,'—not that we enter it at once, but it belongs to us (as συνκληρονόμοι Χριστοῦ) and awaits us. He sighs for this heavenly house; without stripping off the present body, he longs to 'put on over it' (ἐπενδύσασθαι) the other,—were it only possible for him to be found 'not naked' (bodiless), but still in the flesh at the Lord's coming (vv.$^{2-4}$). Though weary of the earthly tabernacle, Paul's Jewish imagination shuddered at the naked, houseless state of the dead. But he has gathered a great comfort which dispels the dread of dissolution; he is now 'well-pleased to leave home in departing from the body,' for he will be 'at home *with the Lord*' (vv.$^{5-9}$). 'The dead in Christ' are His guests in Paradise (1 Th $4^{14.\,16}$; cf. Lk 23^{43}, 2 Co 12^{4}). Thus the sense of indissoluble union with Christ delivered the apostle from the pangs of Sheol, which came upon him in the interval between 1 and 2 Co (2 Co 1^{9} 5^{8}, 1 Th 5^{10}, Col 1^{28} 3^{1-4}; see p. 711^{b}). The Advent and Judgment were as necessary to the consummation of the kingdom of God, in St. Paul's belief, after he wrote 2 Co as before (see $5^{10.\,11}$, also Col 3^{4}).

The chiliastic doctrine of a twofold resurrection has no support from Paul; when he writes (1 Th 4^{16}) 'the dead in Christ shall rise *first*,' that means not, before the other dead rise, but before 'the living' are 'caught up' to join them. In 2 Co 5^{10} bad and good appear side by side at Christ's tribunal, as in Ac $17^{30.\,31}$ and in the scene of Mt 25^{31-46}. There is no reason to think that the apostle departed from the doctrine of his Master concerning the general resurrection and universal judgment.

(δ) *The second coming of the Lord Jesus* closes the horizon of St. Paul's Christian thought, and ushers in *the end of all things*. The Advent shines vividly in the first three and last three of his Epistles. The παρουσία of 1 and 2 Th and 1 Co becomes the ἐπιφάνεια of the Pastorals (also 2 Th 2^{8})—a glorious Divine manifestation, such as, indeed, the first coming was in its kind (Tit 2^{11}, 2 Ti 1^{10}). This expectation rested on the explicit promise of Jesus, and on the prophecies of the Messianic salvation and 'the day of the Lord' as yet unfulfilled (Ac 17^{31}, Ro 2^{5-16}, 1 Th 5^{1-4}, 2 Th 2^{8}, 1 Co 15^{54}), but especially upon the sense of the glory due to Christ Himself (Ph 2^{5-11}). The **Parousia** is 'the manifestation of the glory of the great God and our Saviour Christ Jesus'; therefore it is 'the blessed hope' (Tit 2^{13}, 2 Th 2^{14}). The great day of the Lord, the goal of prophecy, becomes 'the day of

Christ.' His resurrection began, the triumphal advent of the Lord Jesus shall complete, His vindication. He will descend from heaven in a visible 'body of glory' (1 Th 1^{10}, Ph $3^{20.\,21}$), surrounded by angels, and 'in fire of flame' terrible and fatal to His enemies (2 Th $1^{7\text{-}9}$ 2^{8}, 1 Th 4^{16}, 1 Co 15^{52}). At His word, uttered by the archangel's trumpet, the dead rise, the living saints are transformed and lifted from the earth; all assemble before Him for judgment, and with body and spirit reunited 'each shall receive the things done in the body, whether good or bad,' 'reaping corruption' or 'life eternal' according as he sowed to flesh or spirit (2 Co 5^{10}, Gal $6^{7\text{-}10}$). So 'we shall all be manifested'—'the day shall disclose each man's work, the fire shall test' its worth (1 Co $3^{12\text{-}15}$, Ro $2^{6\text{-}11}$).

It might seem—indeed it has been asserted—that Paul thus reverts at the end to the principle of salvation by works which he overthrew at the beginning. But, as we have seen (ii. 3 (*c*)), the faith that justifies, operating through love, is the spring of all worthy living, while 'works of law,' wrought under constraint and fear, are no 'good works.' Faith justifies the believer now; the 'work of faith' shall commend him then. God, who sees the fruit in the germ and 'calls the things that are not as things that are' (Ro 4^{17}), judges according to truth both first and last.

The judgment-seat of Christ is the proximate goal of revelation. There the final settlement of human affairs takes place, the *dénoûment* of the drama of history,—of the successive dispensations of God's righteousness and grace to mankind. When death has been abolished and all Christ's enemies, human or superhuman, have received sentence from His mouth, 'then cometh the end'; He 'yields up the kingdom to God, even to the Father'; and 'the Son himself shall be subjected to him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all' (1 Co $15^{24\text{-}28}$). For the mission on which the Father sent forth His Son is then fulfilled: the Lordship of Jesus is acknowledged throughout creation (Ph $2^{10.\,11}$); Christ lays at the Father's feet the homage of a reconciled universe rendered to Himself, the love of a multitude of obedient sons made perfect in Himself, the praise and service of the Church of the redeemed united with Himself for ever. His own subjection as a Son to the Father displays the absolute oneness of the Godhead, whose glory streams through all realms of being in unchecked and unbounded plenitude. Thus God *the Father* is eternally supreme, and '*grace* reigns through righteousness unto eternal life.' See, further, under ESCHATOLOGY OF NT.

LITERATURE.—*A.* THE TIMES, etc.—C. Schöttgen, *Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ in NT* (1733); E. Schürer, *Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*^{3} (tr. from 2nd ed.: *Jewish People in Time of Jesus Christ*, 5 vols.), the most complete introd. to the Times; A. Hausrath, *NT Zeitgeschichte*^{2} (*Time of the Apostles*, tr. from 2nd ed. of the above), brilliantly written; W. M. Ramsay, *The Ch. in the Rom. Empire*^{5}, indispensable for local and social conditions of Paul's work; K. J. Neumann, *Der röm. Staat u. d. allgem. Kirche*, Band i.; Th. Mommsen, *The Provinces of the Rom. Emp.* (tr.); H. Ewald, *Hist. of the People of Israel* (tr.), vol. vi.; F. Weber, *Jüdische Theologie auf Grund d. Talmud*, etc.; L. Friedländer, *Darstellung aus d. Sittengesch. Roms*; G. Anrich, *Das Mysterienwesen d. antiken Welt*; G. W. Lechler, *Das apost. u. nachapost. Zeitalter*^{3} (tr.); Neander, *Planting and Training of the Chr. Church* (tr.); J. J. I. von Döllinger, *Heidenthum u. Judenthum* (tr., *Gentile and Jew*, etc.), *Christenthum u. Kirche in d. Zeiten d. Grundlegung* (tr., *First Age of Christianity and the Church*); W. L. Steinmeyer, *Der Ap. Paulus u. d. Judenthum*; A. Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte: Prolegomena und Voraussetzungen* (tr.), in Band i.

B. INTRODUCTION.—Of general NT Introductions, G. Salmon's^{7} (conservative), S. Davidson's^{3} (largely negative, and in some points superseded, but full of matter ably handled), and B. Weiss' *Manual of Intr. to NT* (tr.), are most serviceable for Paul. H. J. Holtzmann's^{3}, Th. Zahn's (rich in learning, powerfully defensive), and A. Jülicher's *Einleitungen* (the last brief and readable) present the latest findings of German criticism. F. Bleek's *Einleitung* is re-edited by W. Mangold^{4} (1886: the Eng. tr. from the orig. work). E. Reuss' *Hist. of the Sacred Scr. of the NT*^{5} (tr. 1884) is valuable in the relevant sections; also C. A. Briggs' *Study of Holy Scr.*^{2} Add to these the artt. on 'Paul' in *Encycl. Brit.* (E. Hatch), Herzog's *Real-Encykl.* (W. Schmidt), *Encycl. d. Sciences Relig.* (A. Sabatier), Riehm's *HWB* (W. Beyschlag). F. Godet gives an *Introd. particulière* (*Les Epp. de St. P.*), tome i. of his *Introd. au NT* (tr.); also P. J. Gloag, *Introd. to the Paul. Epp.*; G. G. Findlay, *Epp. of the Ap. Paul: a Sketch of their Origin and Contents*^{3}.

C. CHRONOLOGY.—Eusebius' *Chronicle*; Bengel, *Ordo temporum*; E. Burton, *Chronology of St. Paul's Epp.*; Anger, *de temporum in Actibus ratione*; Wurm, in *Tüb. Zeitschr.*, 1833, i.; C. Wieseler, *Chronol. d. ap. Zeitalters* (tr.); T. Lewin, *Fasti Sacri*; Laurent, *NT Studien*; W. M. Ramsay in *St. Paul the Traveller*, etc.; C. Clemen, *Die Chronol. d. paul. Briefe*; A. Harnack, *Chronol. d. altchr. Litteratur*, 1$^{\text{ter}}$ Band, p. 233 ff. (*Chronol. d. Paulus*).

D. THE TEXT.—Besides the crit. edd. of the Gr. Test.—by Tischendorf, Tregelles, Baljon, Nestle, and esp. Westcott and Hort (*ed. major*)—B. Weiss' *Textkritik d. paul. Briefe* (1896) is noteworthy.

E. TRANSLATIONS of special value.—Besides the standard versions, the *Interpretatio* of Th. Beza, and (recently) B. Weiss' *Die paul. Briefe im berichtigten Text*, and the Epp. in C. Weizsäcker's *Das neue Test. übersetzt*; also those of C. J. Ellicott, J. A. Beet, and H. C. G. Moule, in their *Commentaries*, and of the *Handcommentar z. NT.*

F. PAUL HIMSELF.—*Works of general scope.*—John Chrysostom, *Homiliæ in laudem S. Pauli*, *Opera*, vol. ii. ed. Montfaucon; Hieronymus, *de Viris illustribus*, v. Of modern times, K. Schrader, *Der Ap. Paulus*; F. C. Baur, *Paulus der Ap. J. C.* (ed.^{1} 1845; ed.^{2} 1866, tr. *Paul, his Life and Works*); A. Tholuck, *Life and Writings of St. Paul* (tr.); A. Hausrath, *Der Ap. Paulus*; E. Renan, *Saint Paul* and *Les Apôtres* (tr.); M. Krenkel, *Paulus d. Ap. d. Heiden*; C. E. Luthardt, *Der Ap. Paulus, ein Lebensbild*; W. J. Conybeare and J. S. Howson, *Life and Epp. of St. Paul* (many edd.)—the foundation of historical and psychological study of Paul's work in England; T. Lewin, *Life and Epp. of St. Paul*^{5}—unique in wealth of archæological material; F. W. Farrar, *Life and Work of St. Paul*—brilliant and impressive, finely blends the life and teaching; J. Stalker, *Life of St. Paul*—brief and popular, but with a powerful grasp; J. Iverach, *St. Paul, his Life and Times*; Straatmann, *Paulus de Ap. van Jezus Christus*; W. C. van Manen, *Paulus*; S. Baring-Gould, *A Study of St. Paul, his Character and Opinions*; O. Cone, *Paul: the Man, the Missionary, and the Teacher*; G. H. Gilbert, *Student's Life of Paul*; see also A. C. McGiffert's *Hist. of Christianity in the Apost. Age.*

G. SPECIAL TOPICS CONNECTED WITH THE LIFE OR CHARACTER.—Paley, *Horæ Paulinæ*; Lyttelton, *Conversion and Apostleship of St. Paul*; G. Menken, *Blicke in d. Leben d. Ap. P.*; J. Smith, *The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*^{4}; Howson, *Character of St. P.*, *Companions of St. P.*, *Metaphors of St. P.*; J. Weiss, *Beiträge z. paul. Rhetorik*; C. Holsten, 'Die Christusvision d. Paulus u. d. Genesis d. paul. Evang.' (in *Zum Ev. d. Paulus u. d. Petrus*); J. B. Lightfoot, *St. Paul and Seneca* (Philippians), and other essays in *Commentaries* and *Biblical Essays*; G. Volkmar, *Paulus von Damascus bis z. Galaterbr.*; J. R. Oertel, *Paulus in d. Apostelgesch.*; M. Krenkel, *Beiträge z. Aufhellung d. Gesch. u. d. Briefe d. Ap. Paulus*^{2}; G. Matheson, *Spiritual Development of St. Paul*; W. M. Ramsay, *Ch. in the Rom. Emp.* and *St. Paul the Traveller*; E. Curtius, *Paulus in Athen*; F. Spitta, 'Die zweimal. röm. Gefangensch. d. P.,' in *Urchristenthum.* Bd. i.; R. Steinmetz, *Die 2te röm. Gefangensch. des Ap. P.*; C. Fouard, *St. Paul and his Mission* (tr.), *S. Paul, . . . ses dern. Années*; P. Seeböck, *S. Paulus d. Heidenmissionär*; W. Lock, *Paul, the Master-builder*; H. St. J. Thackeray, *Relation of St. Paul to Jewish contemporary thought.*

H. THE DOCTRINE (considered in general).—To the chief works enumerated under (*F*) add the following: L. Usteri, *Entwickelung d. paulin. Lehrbegriffs*^{6}; A. F. Dähne, under same title; A. Ritschl, *Entstehung d. altkath. Kirche*^{2}; E. Reuss, *Hist. d. la Théol. Chrét. au siècle apost.*, tome ii. (tr.); W. J. Irons, *Christianity as taught by St. Paul*; A. Sabatier, *L'apôtre Paul, une esquisse de l'hist. de sa Pensée*^{3} (tr. from 2nd ed.); O. Pfleiderer, *Paulinismus*^{2} (tr. from 1st ed., which has independent value: the work is rewritten, not always for the better), Hibbert Lect. (1885), *The Infl. of the Ap. Paul on the developm. of Christianity*; H. Opitz, *Das System d. Paulus*; M. Arnold, *St. Paul and Protestantism*; J. F. Clarke, *The Ideas of the Ap. Paul translated into modern equivalents*; C. Holsten, *Das Evangelium d. Paulus* (Theil ii. posthumously added); A. B. Bruce, *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*; G. B. Stevens, *The Pauline Theology*; C. Everett, *The Gospel of Paul*; D. Somerville, *St. Paul's Conception of Christ*; J. Müller, *Das persönl. Christenthum d. paul. Gemeinden.* Also the standard works of NT Biblical Theology: by C. F. Schmid (tr.), J. J. van Oosterzee (tr.: slight), B. Weiss (tr.), W. Beyschlag (tr.), G. B. Stevens, and the account in C. Weizsäcker's *Apost. Zeitalter*^{2} (tr.); T. D. Bernard's *Progress of Doctr. in NT*^{3} gives an excellent sketch; A. Immer, *Theol. des NT*; J. Bovon, *Théologie du NT* ('L'Enseignement d. Apôtres'); H. J. Holtzmann, *Lehrbuch d. NT Theologie*; W. F. Adeney, *Theol. of the NT*—a good outline; A. S. Peake in *Guide to Biblical Study.*

R. J. Knowling, in his *Witness of the Epp.*, examines their relation to the teaching of Jesus Christ (defending incidentally the authenticity of the *Hauptbriefe*). This subject has been investigated earlier by O. Thenius, *Das Evangelium ohne Evangelien*; H. Paret, *Paulus u. Jesus*; J. H. Huraut, *Paul, a-t-il connu le Christ historique?* F. Roos, *Die Briefe d. Ap.*

Paulus u. d. Reden d. Herrn Jesu; it is touched on by P. Ewald in his *Hauptproblem d. Evangelien.*

I. Special Doctrinal Topics.—C. Holsten, 'Die Bedeutung d. Wortes σάρξ bei P.' (in *Zum Evang. d. Paul. u. d. Petr.*); H. H. Wendt, *Die Begriffe Fleisch u. Geist*; W. P. Dickson, *St. Paul's use of the terms Flesh and Spirit*; H. Lüdemann, *Die Anthropologie d. Ap. Paulus*; Th. Simon, *Die Psychologie d. Ap. Paulus*; H. F. T. L. Ernesti, *Vom Ursprunge d. Sünde nach P.*, and *Ethik d. Ap. Paulus*; E. Ménégoz, *Le Péché et la Redemption d'après St. Paul*; A. Sabatier, *L'Origine du Péché* (Appendice to *L'apôtre P.*^{3}); P. Wernle, *Der Christ u. d. Sünde bei Paulus*; A. Zahn, *Das Gesetz Gottes nach d. Lehre u. d. Erfahrung d. Ap. P.*^{2}; R. A. Lipsius, *Die paul. Rechtfertigungslehre*; Th. Häring, *δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ bei Paulus*; W. Karl, *Beiträge z. Verstandniss d. soteriol. Erfahrungen u. Spekulationen d. Ap. P.*; C. Schäder, *Die Bedeutung d. lebendigen Christus f. die Rechfertig. nach P.*; J. F. Räbiger, *de Christologia Paulina*; R. Schmidt, *Die paul. Christologie*; J. Gloël, *Der heil. Geist in d. Heilsverkundigung d. Paulus*; H. Gunkel, *Die Wirkungen d. heil. Geistes*; W. Beyschlag, *Die paul. Theodicée*; E. Kühl, *Zur paul. Theodicée*; K. Müller, *Die göttl. Zuvorersehung u. Erwählung nach d. Ev. Paulus*; J. Dalmer, *Die Erwählung Israels nach Paulus*; R. Kabisch, *Die Eschatologie d. Paulus*; E. Teichmann, *Die paul. Vorstellungen von Auferstehung u. Gericht*; O. Everling, *Die paul. Angelologie u. Dämonologie*; H. Vollmer, *Die alttest. Citate bei Paulus*; F. Zimmer, *Das Gebet nach d. paul. Schriften.*

K. Commentaries.—For works of exegesis on particular Epp. see special articles. For the Epp. as a whole, or in considerable sections: of Gr. Fathers, Origen (*Fragg. in Epp. P.*), Chrysostom (followed by the rest), Theod. Mops., Theodoret, John of Damascus, Theophylact, Œcumenius; of the Latins, Ambrosiaster, Pelagius. In the Middle Ages, Thom. Aquinas, *Expositio in omnes epp. S. Pauli.* At the Revival of Learning, Laurentius Valla, *Collatio* (bearing on text); Nicholas à Lyra. J. Colet, with his *Lectures on St. Paul's Epp.*, and Erasmus (*In NT Annotationes*) led the way in the Reformation period; J. Calvin towers above all others (*In NT Commentarii*), followed by Th. Beza (*Interpretatio* and *Annotationes in NT*), with the Rom. Cath. G. Estius (*Commentt. in Epp.*) for a worthy rival; Cornelius à Lapide and Bernardinus à Piconio (*Epp. P. tripartita expositio*: richly spiritual) are R.C. interpreters of the 17th cent., Hugo Grotius (*Annott. in NT*—humanistic and Arminian) the chief Prot. exegete; John Locke wrote a characteristic *Paraphrase and Notes* on *Gal.*, *1 and 2 Cor.*, *Ro.*, *Eph.*; J. Pierce, 'after the manner of Mr. Locke,' on *Col.*, *Phil.*, *Heb.* (of distinct value); J. J. Wetstein, *NT Græcum*, rich in classical and Jewish illustration. J. A. Bengel opens the modern period, with his inimitable *Gnomon NT*; J. F. Flatt, early in this cent., *Commentar über Römer . . . Titus*, in 5 vols.; then followed the standard critical works of W. M. L. de Wette, H. A. W. Meyer (tr.; re-edited since his death in Germany by various leading scholars). J. C. K. von Hofmann's exposition, *Die hl. Schrift NT untersucht*, and H. Ewald's *Die Sendschreiben d. Ap. Paulus*, are of special value for Paul. The recent *Kurzgefasster Kommentar* (ed. Zöckler) and *Handcommentar z. NT* (Schmiedel, Lipsius, v. Soden) continue the task of scientific exegesis in Germany—the former in a conservative, the latter in a critical sense. In England, St. Paul has attracted our best exegetical scholarship: H. Alford and C. Wordsworth have interpreted the whole *Gr. Test.*; J. B. Lightfoot, *Gal.*, *Phil.*, *Col. and Philem.*, with posthumous *Notes on Epp. of Paul*, covering 1 and 2 Th, 1 Co 1–7, Ro 1–7, Eph 1$^{1-14}$; C. J. Ellicott, *all the Epp. except Ro and 2 Co* (in 6 vols.); B. Jowett, *1 and 2 Thess.*, *Ro.*, *Gal.* (a continuous work); J. Eadie, *Gal.-2 Thess.* (5 vols.); J. A. Beet, *Ro.–Col.* (4 vols.); M. F. Sadler, *all the Epp.*; J. R. Boise, *Notes, Critical and Explan., on the Gr. Text of Paul's Epp.* (New York); various writers, in the *Internat. Crit. Comm.*, *Speaker's Comm.*, *Popular Comm.*, *NT Comm. for Eng. Readers*, *Pulpit Comm.*, *Expositor's Bible* and *Gr. Test.*, *Camb. Gr. Test.* and *Bible for Schools*, etc. R. Whately's *Essays on some Difficulties in the Writings of St. Paul* is worth consulting. In French, H. Oltramare has written very ably on *Ro.*, *Eph. and Col. with Philem.* (5 vols.); F. Godet, on *Ro.* and *1 Co.* (tr.; 4 vols.); L. Bonnet, *Épitres de Paul*^{3}.

C. Clemen, *Einheitlichkeit d. paulin. Briefe* (1894), digests recent hypotheses of interpolation and compilation in the Epp., attempting a reconstruction on his own part.

G. G. Findlay.

PAULUS, SERGIUS (*Σέργιος Παῦλος*, *Sergius Paulus*).—During what is generally called St. Paul's First Missionary Journey he visited Paphos in the island of Cyprus. There he and Barnabas were summoned to appear before Sergius Paulus, the proconsul (AV deputy), a man of understanding (*συνετός*), in whose train was one Elymas or Bar-jesus, a *Magus.* The proconsul, who 'sought to hear the word of God,' appears to have been at least impressed; and Elymas is said to have attempted to turn him aside from the faith. At St. Paul's rebuke, Elymas becomes blind for a season; and the proconsul, we are told, 'when he saw what was done, believed, being astonished at the teaching of the Lord' (Ac 13$^{6-12}$). It may be added that for the first time we are told (v.^{9}) that the second name of Saul was Paul. That name is used henceforth in the narrative, and from this time Paul and not Barnabas seems to take the leading place.

The *Sergii* were a Roman patrician *gens* (cf. Verg. *Aen.* v. 121: '*Sergestusque domus tenet a quo Sergia nomen*'); and Paulus was a cognomen in use in this and other *gentes.* There was a L. Sergius Paulus consul in A.D. 168, and another consul *suffectus* at some date unknown. In the Index of Authors to Pliny's *Natural History* (bk. i.), a Sergius Paulus is twice mentioned as an authority for Books ii. and xviii.; and in both, as Lightfoot shows, Pliny seems to give special information about Cyprus. The suggestion of identity is interesting, but of course very uncertain; it accords with the fact that the proconsul has a *magus*, a man of science, in his train. That Sergius Paulus is rightly described as proconsul is undoubted. At the original distribution of the provinces Cyprus was under the emperor (B.C. 27), but in B.C. 22 it was transferred with Gallia Narbonensis to the senate, the emperor receiving Dalmatia in exchange (Dio Cassius, liii. 12, liv. 4). At a later date under Hadrian it was again governed by a proprætor and was imperial, probably owing to the Jewish insurrection. Inscriptions, two dating from the years 51, 52 (*CIS* 2631, 2632), and coins of the 1st cent., clearly mention the island as governed by proconsuls. Of these the most interesting is one discovered by Cesnola (*Cyprus*, p. 425), and accurately published by Hogarth (*Devia Cypria*, pp. 113, 115). It runs as follows: 'Apollonius to his father . . . son of . . . and his mother Artemidora, daughter of . . . consecrated the enclosure and this monument according to your own (his parents) command, . . . having filled the offices of clerk of the markets, prefect, town clerk, high priest, and having been in charge of the record office. Erected on the 25th of the month Demarchexusius in the year 13. He also revised the senate by means of assessors in the time of the proconsul Paulus.' The date of the inscription is probably A.D. 55, and the revision of the senate presumably took place nine years previously. As Hogarth says (*op. cit.* p. 115), 'there can be no good reason for doubting our identification, which would unquestionably have been proposed and hardly disputed had Sergius Paulus been known from any other source than the New Testament.'

The question has been raised: Is there any connexion between the Gentile name of the apostle, *Paulus*, and the name of the proconsul? The answer must be in the negative. Paul, as a Roman citizen by birth, would have his Roman *nomen*, *prænomen*, and *cognomen*, and the resemblance of names, therefore, is only a coincidence. The Gentile name is here used in the Acts for the first time, because for the first time the apostle is in contact with Gentiles. See, further, art. Paul, p. 697 f.

Literature.—Lightfoot, *Essays on Supernatural Religion*, pp. 292–297; Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, pp. 73–88.

A. C. Headlam.

PAVEMENT (מַרְצֶפֶת, רִצְפָּה; *βάσις*, *λιθόστρωτον*, *περίστυλον*).—In early days the floors of houses no doubt were simply of beaten earth, but gradually people learned to make some kind of cement, with which to harden the floor, from the admixture of lime, bitumen, or oil. At the present day a hard cement is used in cisterns and floors in Palestine, made by mixing red earth with olive oil; and during the *PEF* excavations (1867–71) ancient tanks were discovered in which this cement had been used, which was of a very tenacious description, breaking with a conchoidal fracture. The floors of houses of the wealthy were seldom boarded, but were paved with cement, stone, marble and mosaics, bricks, tiles, etc. Many of the floors of the palaces in Chaldæa and Assyria were merely beaten earth. In the recent *PEF* excavations (*Quarterly Statement*, July 1899, 181) at Tell Zakarîya the floors of the houses are found to be of mud and ashes, grouted with small pebbles, about 3 inches thick, with an uneven surface. During the *PEF* excavations at Jerusalem (1867–71) a large number of floors of houses of the poorer (?) classes were examined, and found to consist of rough cubes of marble laid in some kind of white cement. In better houses those cubes were set in patterns. In some of the houses large flags or paving stones were used, and these were sometimes of polished marble. The great street outside the temple enclosure was found during the excavation to be paved with white marble, as described by Josephus (*Ant.* XX. ix. 7): 'Herod Agrippa did not obstruct the people when they desired that Jerusalem might be paved with white stone.' 'Solomon laid a causeway of black stones along the roads that led to Jerusalem, both to render them easy for travellers and to manifest his riches and grandeur' (*ib.* VIII. vii. 4). This no doubt was basalt. In the ruins of Babylon the pavements of roofs, courts, and chambers are composed of two layers of burnt brick with a thick layer of asphalt underneath (Perrot and Chipiez, i. 156). Rassam tells us that he found at Abou Abba (Sippara) in Chaldæa a chamber paved with asphalt, much in the same fashion as a road or street in London or Paris (*ib.* ii. 401).

There were three kinds of pavements or flooring in the Assyrian palaces—beaten earth, brick pavements, and limestone slabs (Place, *Ninive*, i. 295). In the palace of Sargon nearly every chamber except those of the harem had a floor of beaten earth, like those in a modern fellah's house. Even in the most sumptuous hall there was no exception to this rule. These floors were probably covered with mats or cloth carpets. In the harem chambers at Khorsabad, as well as in the open courts and terraces, a very carefully laid pavement is found, composed of two layers of large bricks with a thick bed of sand between them, the lower course of bricks being set in a bed of bitumen which separates it from the earth and prevents any dampness passing either up or down. In some of the harem rooms, courts, and vestibules, before the gates of the city, and in paths across wide open spaces, a limestone pavement has been found. Thus stones are often seen there 3 feet square and 2 feet 6 inches thick; but they are not cubical, but rather of the shape of a reversed pyramid, roughly hewn on all sides except the base, which is uppermost. They are laid without mortar or cement, and are singularly durable (Perrot and Chipiez, i. 239).

As bitumen was obtainable at Jerusalem, it is possible that it may have been used in the construction of floors of palaces and large houses. Josephus (*BJ* IV. viii. 4) tells us that the Dead Sea casts up black clods of bitumen which float on the water and are drawn into the ships, and then used for caulking ships and for medicine. At the present day bitumen is now and then cast up and brought to Jerusalem.

In Egypt, where stone was plentiful, the temple courts were usually paved with flagging. Strabo, in describing the plans of temples of Egypt generally (XVII. i. 25), says that at the entrance into the temenos is a paved floor, in breadth about a plethrum or even less, its length three or four times as great. In front of the Great Pyramid of Gizeh is still a great pavement, which is thus described by Petrie (*Great Pyramid*, 14): 'This basalt pavement is a magnificent work, which covered more than a third of an acre. The blocks of basalt are all sawn and fitted together! Round the pyramid itself, and extending some distance, about 500 feet on each side, was a limestone pavement about 21 inches thick.

Wilkinson (*Anc. Egypt.* ii. 115) says that the floors of houses in Egypt were sometimes made of stone, or a composition of lime and other materials.

The references to pavements and floors in the Bible are not numerous, and refer generally to the temple. The floor of the temple of Solomon was made of 'boards of fir' or cypress (1 K $6^{15.16.30}$) overlaid with gold. King Ahaz took down the sea from off the brazen oxen, and put it on a pavement (מַרְצֶפֶת) of stone, 2 K 16^{17}. At the dedication of the temple at Jerusalem by king Solomon, 'they bowed themselves with their faces to the ground upon the pavement (רִצְפָּה), and worshipped,' 2 Ch 7^{3}. The pavement (רִצְפָּה) in the bedroom of the palace of the king of Persia was of red, white, yellow, and black marble, Est 1^{6}. There was a pavement (רִצְפָּה) in the temple of Ezekiel (Ezk $40^{17.18}$ 42^{3}, and see Davidson on 41^{8}).

The dust of the floor of the tabernacle is spoken of as though the floor was of beaten earth (Nu 5^{17}). The very beautiful pavements found all over Palestine in recent years are nearly all of a comparatively late period, *i.e.* since the Roman occupation. See also GATE, HOUSE, ROOF, WALLS.

For the 'pavement' (λιθόστρωτον) of Jn 19^{13} see GABBATHA. C. WARREN.

PAVILION is formed (through Fr. *pavillon*) from Lat. *papilio*, which meant a 'butterfly,' and also (from the resemblance to a butterfly's outspread wings) a tent. Tindale, in his 'Prologe to Exodus,' explains TABERNACLE as 'an house made tentwise, or as a pavelion.' Pavilion is the tr. in AV of סֹךְ *sōk* in Ps 27^{5}, and of סֻכָּה *ṣukkah* in 2 S 22^{12}, 1 K $20^{12.16}$, Ps 18^{11} 31^{20} (to which RV adds Job 36^{29} and Is 4^{6} for AV 'tabernacle'). Elsewhere *ṣōk* occurs in Ps 10^{9} (בְּסֻכֹּה, AV and RV 'in his den'), 76^{2} (AV and RV 'tabernacle,' RVm 'covert'), and Jer 25^{38} (AV and RV 'covert'). *Ṣukkah* is of frequent occurrence, and is rendered 'booth' or 'tabernacle,' once 'tent' (2 S 11^{11}). Besides these, שַׁפְרוּר *shaphrûr* (Ḳerê שַׁפְרִיר) in its single occurrence, Jer 43^{10}, is tr. 'royal pavilion' (RVm 'glittering pavilion'). RV has also given 'pavilion' in Nu 25^{8}, with m. 'alcove' for AV 'tent' (Heb. קֻבָּה). See BOOTH, TABERNACLE, TENT. J. HASTINGS.

PE (פ).—The seventeenth letter of the Hebrew alphabet, and as such employed in the 119th Psalm to designate the 17th part, each verse of which begins with this letter. It is transliterated in this Dictionary by *p* or *ph*.

PEACE, the tr^{n} in OT of the Heb. שָׁלוֹם *shālôm* (from the root שָׁלֵם 'to be whole') = 'wholeness,' 'soundness,' hence health, wellbeing, prosperity; more particularly, peace as opposed to war, concord as opposed to strife; in NT it is tr^{n} of the Gr. εἰρήνη (which in LXX ordinarily translates שָׁלוֹם), 'peace,' 'quiet,' as opposed to war or strife, hence security, safety, prosperity.

The fundamental meaning of שָׁלוֹם is prosperity, wellbeing, good of any kind (Ges.), a meaning which reappears in the Gr. εἰρήνη. (So Ps 122^{7}, peace and prosperity; Is 52^{7}, Jer 29^{7} peace as opposed to evil; 1 Th 5^{3} peace and safety; Ac 24^{2}). In this sense it is used in the formulæ of greeting (*Is it well*—Heb. peace—*with thee?* 2 K 4^{26}, Gn 29^{6}, cf. Gn 37^{14}; *Peace be unto you*, Lk 24^{36}, Jn $20^{19.21.26}$) or of dismissal (*Go in peace*, 1 S 1^{17} 20^{42}, 2 S 15^{9}, Mk 5^{34}, Lk 8^{48}, Ac 15^{33}; cf. the blessing, Nu 6^{26}). In a secondary sense it is used of peace as opposed to war (Ec 3^{8} 'a time for war and a time for peace,' Jg 4^{17}, 1 S 7^{14}, Lk 14^{32}, Ac 12^{20}, Rev 6^{4}), of concord as opposed to strife (Ob ^{7}, Ps 28^{3}, Jer 9^{8}; cf. Mt 10^{34}, 1 Co 7^{15}, Eph 4^{3}). Hence the expression '*man of one's peace*' for an intimate friend (Ps 41^{9} 'mine own familiar friend'; Jer $20^{10.}$ 38^{22}). In this sense God Himself is said to be a God, not of confusion but of peace (1 Co 14^{33}). Hence He requires peace of men (Zec 8^{16}, Ps 34^{14} 35^{20}, Ro 14^{17}, 1 Co 7^{15}, Eph 4^{3}, He 12^{14}). Those who practise it He rewards (Ja 3^{18}, cf. Mt 5^{9}), but those who disregard it are punished (Is $59^{8.\,9}$, Ro 3^{17}).

In the primary sense of prosperity, peace is a blessing of which God alone is the author (Is 45^{7} 'I, J″, make peace and create evil'; cf. Job 25^{2}, Ps 147^{14}), and which He bestows upon the righteous (Gn 15^{15} Abraham; 2 K 22^{20} Josiah; Ps 37^{37} the perfect man; Ps 119^{165} those who love God's law; Pr 3^{2} those who follow the divine Wisdom; cf. Ps 4^{8}, Job 5^{24}, Is 32^{17} 'And the work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness, quietness, and confidence for ever.' Cf. also Ja 3^{18}). It is a gift which God desires to impart to all His people (Jer 29^{11}), but which He is often unable to grant because of their sins (Is 48^{18}, Jer 4^{10}; cf. v.^{14}). For there can be no peace to the wicked (Is 48^{22} 57^{21}). Those who hope for it, while continuing in their iniquity, are self-deceived (Jer 6^{14} 8^{11}, Ezk $13^{10.\,16}$).

Among the blessings to which Israel looks forward in the Messianic time none is more emphasized than peace. The covenant which God made with the fathers at the first (Nu 25^{12}, Lv 26^{6}, Mal $2^{5.\,6}$), and for the fulfilment of which the prophets confidently look, is a covenant of peace (Is 54^{10}, Ezk 34^{25} 37^{26}). The messenger who brings tidings of the coming salvation is one who publishes peace (Is 52^{7}, Nah 1^{15}). The Messiah Himself is the Prince of Peace (Is 9^{6}; cf. Mic 5^{5}, Zec 6^{13}). Of the increase of His government and peace there shall be no end (Is 9^{7}). In His days the righteous shall flourish, and abundance of peace till the moon be no more (Ps $72^{3.\,7}$). Psalmist and prophet alike are full of pictures of the time when J″ shall bless His people with peace (Ps 29^{11}); when the meek shall inherit the land and delight themselves in the abundance of peace (Ps 37^{11}); when peace shall be within the walls of Jerusalem (Ps 122^{7}); in the temple (Hag 2^{9}); when men shall go in with joy and be led forth with peace (Is 55^{12}; cf. 54^{13}); when the very officers shall be peace and the exactors righteousness (Is 60^{17}); when peace shall extend to Jerusalem like a river and the glory of the nations like an overflowing stream (Is 66^{12}); nay, when God shall speak peace to the very Gentiles (Zec 9^{10}). Even Jeremiah, bitter in his denunciations of those who cry peace when there is no peace, and prophesy before the time (4^{10} 6^{14} 8^{11} 14^{13} 23^{17} 28^{9}), is firm in his belief that a time is coming when God will reveal to His people abundance of peace and truth (33^{6}).

The NT shares with OT the view of peace as a characteristic of the Messianic time (Lk 1^{79} 2^{14} 19^{38}, Ac 10^{36}). In this sense is probably to be understood the greeting of the disciples on their missionary journey (Mt $10^{12.\,13}$, Lk $10^{5.\,6}$). The gospel of the Messiah is expressly called a gospel of peace (Eph 6^{15}, Ac 10^{36}). As such it is opposed to all strife and confusion. Jesus Himself is the great peace-maker, who, by preaching peace to those who are near and to those who are afar off, and reconciling both to God, has Himself become our peace (Eph $2^{14f.}$; cf. Mic 5^{5}, He 7^{2} Melchizedek, King of Peace, as a type of Christ). Hence, while God is frequently called in NT the God of peace (Ro 15^{33} 16^{20}, 2 Co 13^{11}, Ph 4^{9}, 1 Th 5^{23}, 2 Th 3^{16}, He 13^{20}), we have reference not merely to the peace of God (Ph 4^{7}), but to the peace of Christ (Col 3^{15}; cf. the apostolic salutations. 'Grace to you, and peace from God our Father and from the Lord Jesus Christ,' Ro 1^{7} and often). Thus in His farewell words to His disciples Jesus represents peace as a gift to them from Himself (Jn 14^{27} 16^{33}: 'My peace I give unto you. These things have I spoken to you, that in me ye may have peace').

Characteristic of NT is the view of peace as the present possession of the Christian. In a single case it is used by St. Paul of that future blessedness which is to be expected by the righteous at the Parousia (Ro 2^{10}), but in general it denotes a state of the Christian in this present life. It is so used by Jesus in His farewell promise (Jn 14^{27} 16^{33}), 'My peace I give unto you.' It is regularly so represented by St. Paul. Cf. Ro 8^{6} 'The mind of the Spirit is life and peace'; Ro 15^{13} 'Now the God of hope fill you with all joy and peace in believing'; 2 Th 3^{16} 'The Lord of peace give you peace at all times in all ways'; Col 3^{15} 'Let the peace of Christ rule in your hearts'; Ro 5^{1} 'We have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ' (so Lipsius, *Hdcom.* ii. pt. 2, 108; Cremer, *Lex.* 364 *et al.*, who read ἔχομεν in place of the better attested ἔχωμεν). In this connexion peace acquires the technical meaning of 'the tranquil state of a soul assured of its salvation through Christ, and so fearing nothing from God, and content with its earthly lot, of whatever sort it be' (Thayer, *Lex.* 182). As such it is the direct result of the redemption of Christ (Eph $2^{16.\,17}$), and consists primarily in a state of conscious reconciliation with God (Ro 5^{1}), though often used in a broader sense to denote all the blessings which accompany and flow from that reconciliation (so 2 Th 3^{16}, and in the apostolic greetings, Ro 1^{7}, 1 Co 1^{3}, and often).

LITERATURE.—Cremer, *Bib. Theol. Lex. sub* εἰρήνη; Weiss, *Bib. Theol. of NT*, Index; Wordsworth, *The One Religion* (*BL*, 1881), 217–336. See also H. Allon, *Indwelling Christ*, 105; R. W. Church, *Cathedral and University Sermons*, 144; J. B. Lightfoot, *Sermons in St. Paul's*, 136; F. W. Robertson, *Sermons*, iii. 130, *Human Race*, 305; T. Binney, *Sermons in King's Weigh-house Chapel*, ii. 79, 94, 106, 121.

W. ADAMS BROWN.

PEACE-OFFERING.—See SACRIFICE.

PEACOCKS (קֹפִים and תֻּכִּיִּים *tukkîyyîm*).—The word 'peacocks' occurs in two passages, 1 K 10^{22} (where LXX seems to have translated it by πελεκητοί = 'things [*sc.* λίθοι, stones] carved by an axe') and 2 Ch 9^{21} (where LXX omits the word). The Vulg. in both has *pavi*. A third place in which AV gives 'peacock' (Job 39^{13}) has another Heb. original (רְנָנִים *rĕnānîm*), which doubtless refers to the ostrich, as in RV. As we have no reason to doubt the correctness of the rendering 'peacocks' for *tukkîyyîm*, this stately bird, *Pavo cristatus*, L., was doubtless imported by Solomon either direct from India (? Ophir = Abhira) or from some port to which Hiram's sailors had brought it from India (see Cheyne in *Expos. Times*, July 1898, p. 472). Sir E. Tennant (*Ceylon*, ii. 102) has shown that the Tamil name of 'peacocks' is *tokei*, apparently a cognate of *tukkîyyîm*. It is very abundant in the forests of India, and in some of the native states it is illegal to shoot it. We have no mention of its introduction into Mediterranean regions earlier than the time of Solomon. It is, however, very frequently alluded to in the Gr. and Lat. classics.

G. E. POST.

PEARL.—There is no evidence in favour of the AV 'pearl' for גָּבִישׁ *gabhîsh* (Job 28^{18}). The LXX merely transliterates γαβείς. It means far more probably 'crystal' (so RV, *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*, Siegfried-Stade, Dillmann, A. B. Davidson, *et al.*). Although this is not, and never has been, regarded as a precious stone, yet fine pieces of rock crystal, especially if large enough to be made into vases, have always been highly valued. The word פְּנִינִים,

which occurs in the same passage, and in Pr 3^{15} (Ķerê) 8^{11} 20^{15} 31^{10}, La 4^{7}, should perhaps be tr^{d} 'pearls' (see Dillm. on Job 28^{18}). Both AV and RV text have 'rubies,' RVm '*or* red coral *or* pearls' (in La 4^{7} '*or* corals'). Pearls (*μαργαρῖται*) are mentioned in the NT in several places. They were and are much prized gems (1 Ti 2^{9}, Rev 17^{4}). They were chosen by Christ as a type of that which was most precious, to be compared with the kingdom of heaven (Mt 13^{45}). The verb *nazam* in Arab., coupled with *lulu*='pearl,' signifies 'to string pearls.' Coupled with *shi'r*='poetry,' it means 'to arrange verses.' Thus poetry is compared with pearls. The Arab poets and authors ring innumerable changes on the names for pearls in characterizing their literary productions. Thus a poem is called 'the Lone Pearl,' or 'The Precious Pearl,' or 'The String of Pearls,' etc. Our Saviour warns us against giving that which is holy unto dogs, and casting our pearls before swine (Mt 7^{6}). The instinct of Christian consciousness has usually interpreted pearls here as referring to the precious words of Divine revelation. This would be in strict accord with the Oriental usage above illustrated. The gates of pearl (Rev 21^{21}) are probably to be understood as *mother of pearl.* Separate pearls are the same in composition and origin as the shell, being formed by the gradual deposition of layers of the secretion of the oyster, *Avicula margaritifera*, L. They are usually deposited in the most fleshy parts, particularly within and around the adductor muscle. When the secretion of the oyster is morbidly increased, not only are separate pearls formed, but nodules and excrescences of the same sort are produced on the inner surface of the shell. These are often detached and sold as pearls, but at a lower price.

G. E. POST.

PECULIAR.—The Heb. word *sĕgullah* (סְגֻלָּה) is used in Ex 19^{5} of the people of Israel as God's special possession and care, and it is translated in AV and RV 'a peculiar treasure.' It is applied to Israel in the same sense, but with *'am* (עַם), 'people,' prefixed in Dt 7^{6} 14^{2} 26^{18}. Ex 19^{5} is echoed in Ps 135^{4} 'For the Lord hath chosen Jacob unto himself, and Israel for his peculiar treasure'; and in Mal 3^{17}, where the reference is transferred to the Israel of the future.* The origin of the word is unknown, and no form of its root is elsewhere found in the Bible, but its meaning is made clear by 1 Ch 29^{3} and Ec 2^{8}. In the former passage David says that in addition to the public money to be used in the building of the temple, he has a *private store* which he is ready to hand over for the same purpose. 'We might say that it was the *fiscus* as distinguished from the *ærarium*, the privy purse as opposed to the public treasury' (Lightfoot, *Fresh Rev.*^{2} p. 264). In Ec 2^{8} the reference is also to the 'peculiar treasure of kings.' The *sĕgullah* is therefore that which is one's own, that to which no one else has a claim.

The LXX translators seem to have caught the meaning, but found it difficult to express in Greek. In 1 Ch 29^{3} they use the verb *περιποιεῖσθαι* (*ὃ περιπεποίημαι*, 'which I have saved up'); but that verb is unsuitable in the other places, and they appear to have coined an adj. *περιούσιος*,† which (along with *λαός*, 'people') they use in Ex 19^{5} 23^{22} (not in the Heb. or Eng.), Dt 7^{6} 14^{2} 26^{18}, and a subst. *περιουσιασμός*, which they use in Ps 135^{4}, Ec 2^{8}. In Mal 3^{17} they use the subst. *περιποίησις*. The adj. *περιούσιος* occurs twice in NT, (1) Tit 2^{14} *λαὸς περιούσιος*, a verbal quotation from Dt 14^{2}; (2) 1 P 2^{9}, in which, though a quotation from Ex 19^{5} (where the LXX is also *λαὸς περιούσιος*), the expression is *λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν* (the same as in LXX of Mal 3^{17}).

Jerome (*Op.* vi. 725 f.) was puzzled with the *περιούσιος* which he found in the LXX, and, discovering it nowhere else, he concluded, from an examination of the biblical passages and from the verb *περιεῖναι*, to excel, that it expressed separation in the sense of superiority. But finding that Symmachus, who usually gives *ἐξαίρετος* for *περιούσιος*, once used the Latin adj. *peculiaris*, he perceived that the true force of the Heb. and Gr. words is 'separation to one's self,' and chose the words *peculium* and *peculiaris* as the usual translation, thus replacing the inadequate *abundans* of the Old Lat. by a singularly felicitous word. For *peculium** (whence adj. *peculiaris*) is a word of special significance in Roman society, being a person's *private purse*, and especially the private property possessed by a son or daughter independently of their father, or by a slave independently of his master.

Jerome did not always use this word. In Ex 19^{5} he has *in peculium*, in Dt 7^{6} 14^{2} 26^{18} *populus peculiaris*, in 1 Ch 29^{3} *peculium meum*, and in Mal 3^{17} *in peculium*. But in Ps 135^{4} he uses the more general *in possessionem*, and in Ec 2^{8} simply *substantias*. In Tit 2^{14} he has *populus acceptabilis*, and in 1 P 2^{9} *populus acquisitionis*. These unsatisfactory renderings in the Vulg. NT are due, Lightfoot thinks, to the fact that the NT was translated first, and that only after its translation had Jerome recognized the value of the rendering suggested by Symmachus.

We have no subst. in Eng. to correspond with the Lat. *peculium*, and even the adj. 'peculiar' seems not to have been available for Wyclif's purpose, for he never uses it, though translating directly from the Vulgate. In Ex 19^{5} he has 'my propre tresour' (but in 1388 'a specialte'), while in Dt 7^{6} 14^{2} 26^{18} he has (and so Purvey, 1388) 'a special people.'† It was Tindale, in his NT of 1526, who introduced 'a peculiar people.' He was followed, in Tit 2^{14}, by all the Eng. versions except the Rhem. ('a people acceptable'), and in 1 P 2^{9} by all except Cran. ('a people whych are wonne') and Rhem. ('a people of purchase'). It is greatly to be regretted that the adj. 'peculiar' has lost its honourable meaning. Its earlier use may be illustrated from Udall's *Erasmus' Paraphrase*, i. fol. 32, 'Every tree hath his peculyer and proper fruyte, which by the taste doeth declare the stocke'; *Synode at Dort*, p. 6, 'The true cause of the free Election is the good pleasure of God . . . consisting herein, that out of the common multitude of sinners he culled out to himselfe, for his owne peculiar, some certaine persons, or men'; and Knox, *Works*, iii. 13, 'Seeke God, who is a peculiar Father to the faithfull, delivering them from all tribulations, not for their worthynesse, but for his own mercie.'

The Revisers have been divided on the propriety of retaining the word. In Tit 2^{14}, 1 P 2^{9} 'a peculiar people' is changed into 'a people for his (God's) own possession.' But in Dt 7^{6} 'a special people' is turned into 'a peculiar people,' and that phrase or 'a peculiar treasure' is retained in the OT wherever it occurs in AV. In 1 Ch 29^{3} 'mine own proper good' becomes 'a treasure of mine own'; and in Mal 3^{17} the familiar 'in that day when I make up my jewels' of AV is changed into 'in the day that I do make, even a peculiar treasure' (see JEWEL, vol. ii. p. 655^{b}, § 5).

The adj. 'peculiar' occurs also in Wis 19^{6} 'Serving [=observing] the peculiar commandments that were given unto them' (ὑπηρετοῦσα ταῖς ἰδίαις ἐπιταγαῖς, RV 'ministering to thy several commandments'); and RV introduces it into Wis 3^{14} 'There shall be given him for his faithfulness a peculiar favour' (τῆς πίστεως χάρις ἐκλεκτή, AV 'the special gift of faith'). This is the sense in which the word is used by Udall (quoted above); by Adams on 2 P 1^{5} 'Woe to them that engross faith, that enclose God's commons, that make that several and peculiar, which the Lord hath laid open and made common'; and by Herbert in the familiar lines from *The Temple* (§ 158, 'Judgment')—

---

* See Neubauer on 'Expressions employed concerning Israel as a Chosen Nation,' in *Expos. Times*, vol. iii. (1891-92), p. 10.

† So also it is probable that *ἐπιούσιος*, which is not found earlier than in the Lord's Prayer (Mt 6^{11}, Lk 11^{3}), was coined by the Evangelists, as similar compounds (*ἑτερούσιος, ὁμοούσιος, ὁμοιούσιος, συνούσιος*) were formed by eccles. Gr. writers.

* *Peculium* is from *pecus*, cattle, that being the chief part of property in early Roman days.

† Wyclif's and Purvey's renderings in the other places are: 1 Ch 29^{3} 'Myne owne tresor' (1388 'my proper catel'—which, when we think of the origin of *peculium*, and compare Eng. 'chattel,' the same word, brings us very near the true meaning); Ps 135^{4} 'into possessioun'; Ec 2^{8} 'substaunces' (Purvey, 'the castels'—a various spelling of 'catels' or a slip. Purvey uses 'castels' for 'tents' in Ex 14^{20}, but it seems to be found nowhere else in the sense of property); Mal 3^{17} 'into a special tresoure'; Tit 2^{14} 'a peple acceptable'; 1 P 2^{9} 'puple of purchasinge'

> 'Almightie Judge, how shall poor wretches brook
> Thy dreadful look,
> Able a heart of iron to appall,
> When Thou shalt call
> For ev'ry man's peculiar book?'

J. HASTINGS.

PEDAHEL (פְּדַהאֵל, Φαδαήλ).—The prince of Naphtali, one of those who took part in dividing the land, Nu 34^{28} P. The name belongs to the late and artificial class which has so many representatives in P (cf. Gray, *Heb. Proper Names*, 198, 200, 210, 310, and in *Expos.* Sept. 1897, p. 179 ff.).

PEDAHZUR (פְּדָהצוּר, Φαδασ(σ)ούρ).—The father of Gamaliel, the prince of the tribe of Manasseh, at the time of the Exodus, Nu 1^{10} 2^{20} $7^{54.\ 59}$ 10^{23}. The question of the early or late character of such compound names, and of the early use by the Hebrews of *Ẓur* (='rock') absolutely as a divine name will be found fully discussed by Hommel (*AHT* 300, 319 f.), who affirms such use, and G. Buchanan Gray (*Heb. Proper Names*, 196, and especially in his criticism of Hommel in *Expos.* Sept. 1897, pp. 179 ff.), who denies it. See also art. ROCK. J. A. SELBIE.

PEDAIAH (פְּדָיָה 'J" has redeemed,' פְּדָיָהוּ in 1 Ch 27^{20}; the Sept. MSS have a great variety of forms; Φαλαιά, Φαλαδαιά, etc., are probably corruptions of Φαδαιά in which Δ has been mistaken for Λ).—**1.** Father of Joel, who was ruler under David over western Manasseh (1 Ch 27^{20}, B Φαλαδαιά, A Φαλδιί, Luc. Φαδαίας). So early an occurrence of a compound name in which one of the elements is פָּדָה can be paralleled from P only (Gray, *Heb. Proper Names*, 198 f.). **2.** Father of Zebidah, one of the wives of king Josiah (2 K 23^{36}, B Ἐδειλ, A Ἐιεδδιλά). Through his daughter he became great-grandfather of king Jehoiachin, one of whose sons has the same name (No. 3), accidentally it may be supposed (cf. Gray, *Heb. Proper Names*, p. 6). It is stated that he was an inhabitant of Rumah. **3.** Third son of Jehoiachin (Jeconiah), the captive (1 Ch 3^{18} B Φελδαίας, A Φαδαίας, Luc. Φαδαιά). Jehoiachin was probably still without children when he was taken to Babylon (2 K 24^{8}; cf. his age given in v.^{15}). Pedaiah's birth may therefore be dated after his father's release from prison in 561 (2 K 25^{27-30}). His name (see meaning above) is appropriate to such circumstances. In 1 Ch 3^{19} he is named Zerubbabel's father. Elsewhere Zerubbabel is his nephew, son of his brother Shealtiel (Hag, Ezr, Neh, Mt, Lk; also A and B in 1 Ch). It is more probable that there is an error in the text of 1 Ch than that Zerubbabel was merely Shealtiel's legal son (Dt 25^{6}), being actually Pedaiah's son by his brother's widow. It is questionable if the child of a levirate marriage could be called son of the levir. If he were entered as such in family registers, the whole purpose of the custom would be nullified. **4.** One of those who repaired the wall of Jerusalem at the instigation of Nehemiah (Neh 3^{25} BA Φαδαιά, Luc. Φαδαΐ). He belonged to the clan Parosh, which was an important part of the post-exilic community (Neh 7^{8}, Ezr 8^{3}). He is contemporary with two others of the same name (**5** and **6**), and all, presumably, were resident in Jerusalem. Perhaps he is identical with the next following. **5.** One of those who 'stood beside' Ezra when he read the Law to the people (Neh 8^{4} Φαδαίας, in 1 Es 9^{44} B Φαλαδαῖος, A Φαλδαῖος, **Phaldeus**). His position seems rather one of prominence in the community than of association with Ezra. **6.** One of a committee of four appointed by Nehemiah, on the occasion of his second visit, to receive and distribute the tithes and offerings of the people (Neh 13^{13} B Φαλαιά, Aℵ Luc. Φαδαιά). He was a Levite, and evidently chosen to represent the interests of his class. There is no proof that he is identical with **5.** Neither the priest nor the scribe who were his colleagues appear elsewhere. **7.** An ancestor of Sallu, who was one of the Benjamite inhabitants of Jerusalem after the Exile (Neh 11^{7}, B Φαλαιά, A Luc. Φαδαιά). He is put in the third generation before Sallu. In the version of the list contained in 1 Ch 9 Sallu's ancestry is given differently, and Pedaiah's name does not occur (v.^{7}).

W. B. STEVENSON.

PEDIAS (B Πεδίας, A Παιδείας, AV Pelias), 1 Es 9^{34}, a corruption of BEDEIAH, Ezr 10^{35}.

PEEL, PILL.—The origin of these verbs is severally *pellis*, skin, and *pilus*, hair; but they cannot be traced directly back to these separate sources, because the Old Fr. words *peler* and *piller*, from which they come, were confused in spelling before the Eng. words were formed. The confusion was made greater when the (probably) separate Lat. *pilare*, to plunder, was adopted into French and English, and spelt indifferently 'pill' or 'peel.' Brachet says that *piller*, in the sense of 'rob,' 'plunder,' was introduced into the Fr. language in the 16th cent. along with many other military words. We find its derivative 'pillage,' however, in Fabyan, *Chron.* i. 114.

Peel is the AV spelling in Is $18^{2.\ 7}$ 'a nation scattered and peeled,' 'a people scattered and peeled' (מְמֻשָּׁךְ וּמוֹרָט, AVm 'outspread and polished,' RV 'tall and smooth,' RVm 'dragged away and peeled'). Here 'peel' is probably taken in the sense proper to 'pill,' *i.e.* pull off the hair, for that is the primary meaning of the Heb. word. But the reference is to the Ethiopians, and as the Heb. verb comes usually to mean to *polish* (by stripping off superfluous hair), RV and most modern exegetes take the expression in the sense of 'polished,' 'bronzed,' referring to the Ethiopians' tawny skin. In Ezk 29^{18} 'Every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled' (כָּל־כָּתֵף מְרוּטָה), the meaning is more primary, 'laid bare' by the chafing of a burden (Amer. RV 'worn').

Pill is the spelling in Gn $30^{37.\ 38}$ (of the rods in which Jacob 'pilled white strakes'), where the meaning is clearly to pull off the skin. RV spells 'peeled.' Pill occurs also in To 11^{13} 'When his eyes began to smart, he rubbed them; and the whiteness pilled away from the corners of his eyes' (ἐλεπίσθη, RV 'scaled'), and 1 Mac 1^{22}m. for AV text 'pulled off' (ἐλέπισε, RV 'scaled').

Shaks. uses 'peel' in the sense of stripping off the bark ('pill' of Gn $30^{37.\ 38}$), as *Mer. of Ven.* I. iii. 85, 'The skilful shepherd peel'd me certain wands'; and in the sense of plucking off the hair, 1 *Henry VI.* I. iii. 30, 'Peel'd priest.' He uses 'pill' only in the sense of rob: *Timon*, IV. i. 12—

> 'Large-handed robbers your grave masters are,
> And pill by law.'

J. HASTINGS.

PEEP.—To peep in Is 8^{19} 10^{14} (מְצַפְצֵף, Pilp. ptcp. of צָפַף; LXX κενολογεῖν, ἀντειπεῖν) is not to chirp (as RV), but to cheep, *i.e.* it expresses not the cheerful contented note of little birds, but the feeble cry of nestlings. It is an imitative word, and is used also of a mouse's cry, as Purchas, *Pilgrimage*, 357, 'Hee procuring such peace in the East (saith Vopiscus) that a rebellious Mouse was not heard to peepe.' In Sir 21^{23} 'peep' is used in its mod. sense, 'A fool will peep in at the door into the house' (παρακύπτει: cf. Jn 20^{5}, 1 P 1^{12}). So Jer 6^{1} Cov. 'A plage and a greate misery pepeth out from the North.' J. HASTINGS.

PEKAH (פֶּקַח, LXX Φάκεε, Assyr. *Pakaḥu*) was the son of Remaliah. The name in full form was probably פְּקַחְיָהוּ, the same as that of his predecessor. Following the current OT significations of the verb פקח, the name would signify either (*a*) 'Jehovah hath beheld [*lit.* opened his eyes upon] (me)'; see 2 K 4^{35} 19^{16}, Jer 32^{19}, Zec 12^{4}, Job 14^{3}, and cf. יהוה יראה and Assyr. proper name *Bîlîmurani*, 'Bel hath beheld me'; or (*b*) far more probably 'Jehovah hath opened (my eyes)'; cf. Gn 21^{19}, 2 K 6$^{17. 20}$. The omission of the Divine name as subject is illustrated in the case of Aḥaz (=Aḥaziah), Nathan (=Nethaniah, El-Nathan), which stands for נָתַן יהוה בֵּן; cf. *Marduk-apla-iddin*(*a*) and other Assyrian parallels which further exemplify the omission of the object in the abbreviated form of the proper name. See the illustrations which have been collected in Schrader, *COT* ii. p. 326, by the present writer.

Peḳaḥ, son of Remaliah, was of obscure parentage, to which Isaiah refers with a touch of satire (7^{4}). The story of his brief but important reign is told in the short extract 2 K 15$^{27-31}$. Twenty years are ascribed to him, but chronological considerations based on the data of the Assyrian annalistic inscriptions, and the Canon of Rulers, can assign him a reign of only about three years (736–733). Comp. Schrader, *COT* ii. p. 321 ff., and art. CHRONOLOGY OF THE OT in vol. i. p. 401 f.

Peḳaḥ was captain of Peḳaḥiah's Gileadite bodyguard, and held the important confidential post of *Shalîsh* [*] near the king's person. This gave him unusual opportunities, when with fifty chosen men he compassed the destruction of king Peḳaḥiah. We are left in entire ignorance as to the circumstances which led to this violent act (2 K 15^{25}), and the text is, moreover, far from certain.[†] All that we definitely know is that it took place at Samaria, probably in the stronghold of the royal palace.[‡]

It is possible, however, in the light of subsequent as well as preceding events, to frame an adequate theory for the motives of state policy which underlay Peḳaḥ's conspiracy.

The history of Israel and Judah from the days of the disruption downwards was largely determined by the lines of foreign policy. While Syria was the most formidable foe, and Egypt remained quiescent, the problems of this policy were not complex. Resistance or unwilling submission to Syria was the keynote of Israel's foreign policy in the reigns of Baasha, Omri, and Ahab. But in the reign of the last-mentioned monarch the formidable power of Aram (Syria) was dwarfed by the rising might of Assyria awakening from its slumber of centuries (see art. AHAB). In the reign of the Assyrian king Ramman-nirâri III. the power of Syria was broken, never more to recover its former vitality. From this time forth the chief menace to the security of all the Palestinian states was the advancing (though occasionally quiescent) power of Assyria. Now, just as Napoleon I. in his career of conquest (like the kings of France who preceded him) profited by a disunited Germany and a disunited Italy, so the successive monarchs who reigned in Nineveh reaped an abundant harvest from the divided and too often mutually hostile policies of the Palestinian states. Only for a brief period near the close of his career did Ahab pursue the only intelligent principle of self-preservation against the peril (which was then somewhat distant from Israel), viz. alliance with Syria against the Assyrian foe. This sound course of action was abandoned at the close of Ahab's life, as the result of a humiliating defeat at the hands of Assyria; and the fatal and short-sighted policy of selfish isolation, and even of compliance by means of tribute to the Assyrian power, was pursued in succession by Jehu, in all probability by Jeroboam II., and also, as we know definitely from both Assyrian and Hebrew records, by Menaḥem.

Peḳaḥ and his contemporary Reẓîn,[*] king of Syria, had the intelligence to perceive that it was only through a common policy pursued by the allied Palestinian states that the formidable power of Tiglath-pileser III. could be checked. Accordingly we may regard it as probable that the insurrection against the son of Menaḥem was sustained by the deep discontent aroused by his continuance of his father's policy of subservience and tributary vassalage to Assyria. Whether this insurrection was fomented by an Egyptian party, as Kittel[†] supposes, we consider very doubtful. For Egypt at that time (viz. the close of the 23rd and the brief 24th dynasty) was hardly in a position to give any practical support to the patriotic opponents of Assyria.[‡] Six years later, during the strong rule of the Ethiopian Sabaco (Shabaka), Egypt rose into a position of much greater strength, and endeavoured to control the course of Western Asian politics. Two parties then arose in Ephraim as well as in Judah which favoured the claims respectively of Assyria and of Egypt. See HOSHEA.

Jotham was the monarch who reigned in Judah at the time when the alliance was concluded between Peḳaḥ king of Ephraim and Reẓîn of Damascus against Assyria. We read nothing of overtures made to Jotham to join this confederacy. It is not improbable, however, that they were made. Jotham, as we may certainly suppose, declined to join the alliance, deeming the policy of neutrality to be safest. Accordingly the armies of Damascus and Samaria were united against Judah in order to coerce the latter into compliance. In the midst of the campaign Jotham died, and was succeeded by the youthful Ahaz. By this time, if not before, Philistia had joined the coalition. Peḳaḥ, during the reign of Ahaz, assumed the offensive, and moved with his army against the capital of Judah itself. Meanwhile his ally, Reẓîn, was carrying on operations in the east and south-east of Judah, in the trans-Jordanic country. Elath, the port in the Red Sea, a valuable outlet for the commerce which passed into and from the Red Sea, was wrested from Ahaz by the successful arms of Reẓîn (2 K 16^{6}). See art. ELATH.

Jerusalem was now closely invested by the beleaguering force of the Ephraimites. 2 Ch 28$^{6-15}$ containing a beautiful episode in which the prophet Oded plays a conspicuous part, but containing also characteristic exaggerations of numerical detail, must be placed in a secondary rank of historic record. The graphic scene described in Is 7 need not detain us, as it properly belongs to the reign of Ahaz (see AHAZ). It was proposed by the hostile coalition to place a son of Tâb-ēl on the throne of Judah. The parallelism with ben Remaliah would lead us to suppose (1) that Reẓîn (or perhaps his brother) is meant, and (2) that Tâb-ēl was an obscure personage. Winckler (*Alttest. Unters.* pp. 73–76) considers that Tâb-ēl (=Tâb-Rammân) reigned in Damascus *c.* 773–740. The Judæan king in his extremity paid no heed to Isaiah's inspiriting counsels 'not to fear nor let his heart be soft because of the two stumps of smoking firebrands, Reẓîn and the son of Remaliah,' but despatched envoys to Tiglath-pileser tendering abject submission, and conveying a rich tribute in money. The Assyrian monarch soon turned his conquering legions towards the Palestinian states (B.C. 734). His heavy hand was first felt by Damascus. Reẓîn was overpowered, and lost his life. For Israel the results were overwhelming and disastrous. The kingdom was shorn of its northern and trans-Jordanic(?) provinces. Isaiah, with that marvellous literary power of description,

---

[*] See art. 'Chariot' in this Dict. and in *Encycl. Bibl.*, and also 'Army.'

[†] Cf. Stade, *Gesch.* i. p. 588, n. 1.

[‡] We have no alternative but to follow the MT at this point; LXX ἐναντίον οἴκου is an obvious corruption of the text εἰς ἄντρον οἴκου. Cf. the closely parallel 1 K 16^{18}. Klostermann in place of את ארגב וגו' would read אֶת אַרְבַּע מֵאוֹת גִּבֹּרָיו, evidently based on the LXX ἀπὸ τῶν τετρακοσίων and מִבְּנֵי גִלְעָדִים of the Heb. text in the latter part of the verse.

[*] LXX Ῥαασσών and Assyr. *Raṣunnu* clearly indicate that רָצוֹן is the true and original form of the name (signifying 'good pleasure,' 'grace,' or 'favour').

[†] *Gesch. der Hebräer.* ii. 286 [Eng. tr. ii. 338].

[‡] Comp. Meyer, *Gesch. alten Ægyptens*, p. 343; McCurdy, *HPM* i. 387.

> 'With hue like that when some great painter dips
> His pencil in the gloom of earthquake and eclipse,'

portrays for us in graphic and lurid touches the onward march of those marshalled hosts of Tiglath-pileser's army of invasion. 'Behold, hastily, swiftly he cometh. There is none that is weary or stumbleth. He stumbleth not nor sleepeth. The girdle of his loins is never loosed, nor the thong of his sandals rent—whose arrows are sharp, and all his bows bent; whose horses' hoofs are accounted as flint, and his wheels like the whirlwind. His roar is like that of the lioness; he roareth like the young lions, moaning and catching the prey and carrying it off safe, and there is none to rescue. And at that time there is moaning over it like the moaning of the sea; and if one looketh to the earth, behold, oppressive darkness!' (Is 5^{26-30}).*

In the annals of Tiglath-pileser we read the following brief details from a seriously mutilated inscription:†—'The town Gil[ead] . . . Abel [Maacha] which are above the land Beth Omri (Samaria) . . . the broad, I smote in its entire extent into the territory of Assyria, and placed my officers as viceroys over them.‡ Hanno of Gaza, who had taken to flight in fear of my weapons, fled into the land of Egypt. Gaza I captured; its possessions, its gods I carried away captive . . . The land Beth Omri (Samaria), the whole of its inhabitants, together with their booty, I carried off to Assyria. Pekah their king, I slew. Hoshea (Ausi) I appointed as ruler over them.'

So perished 'like a chip on the water's surface' (Hos 10^7) another ill-fated king of Ephraim. The Deuteronomic redactor paints him in the dark and monotonous hues of the long line of Jeroboam ben Nebat's successors. This may be interpreted to mean that he was tolerant of the religious conditions which prevailed during the middle of the 8th cent. The numerous high places or *bāmôth*, where Jehovah was worshipped, fostered modes of cultus which closely approximated to those of the Canaanite baalim. The oracles of the prophet Hosea, which clearly belong to the Ephraimite kingdom, vividly depict the disorders that prevailed during the reign of Peḳaḥ. Chapters 4 and also 6 and 7 present a lurid picture of the social evils of the time. Gilead, we are told, 'is a city of them that work iniquity, it is tracked with blood-stains. As robber bands lie in wait for a man, so the company of priests murder on the way to Shechem' ($6^{9.10}$). In ch. 4 the prophet rebukes the lying and stealing, the murder and bloodshed; while among all classes of society the grossest forms of sensuality and superstition prevailed (vv.$^{12.13}$); see article HOSEA.

Winckler (*Gesch. Isr.* pp. 92–95) would place the latter part of the prophetic activity of Amos as late as the reign of Peḳaḥ on account of the references to the dismemberment of Israel in 3^{12}. Moreover, LXX read אשור in place of אשדוד in v^9. Perhaps, however, it is not necessary to bring his oracles down to a later date than B.C. 738.

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

PEKAHIAH (פְּקַחְיָה 'J" has opened'; B Φακεσίας, A Φακείας, Luc. Φακειά).—King of Israel for two years, son and successor of Menaḥem (2 K 15^{22-26}). Two dates fixed by Assyrian records determine with unusual closeness the years of his reign. The inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III. show that Menaḥem was alive in 738, and that Peḳaḥiah's successor, Peḳaḥ, was dethroned in 734–733. It follows in all probability that the years 737 and 736 include the whole or the greater part of Peḳaḥiah's reign. The synchronism of 2 K 15^{23} is improbable. It is unlikely that Azariah of Judah was living in 737, since Ahaz was king in 734 and the reign of Jotham comes between.—The internal condition of Israel in this reign has all its features in common with Hosea's general picture of the period (see HOSEA). Nor can there be any doubt what the critical question of foreign policy was,—whether the attitude to Assyria should be one of submission, or one of resistance in co-operation with other Syrian states. The absence of Tiglath-pileser in the north allowed time for negotiation and debate. Peḳaḥiah's assassination by his military adjutant or attendant may have been planned in consequence of his opposition to war with Assyria. Possibly Reẓîn of Damascus was cognizant of the plan, and sanctioned it as a means of bringing Israel and Damascus into line. The text relating the event is now corrupt (2 K 15^{25}). The usurper seems to have employed a force of Gileadites, which was probably sufficient to secure Samaria and so accomplish the revolution. It is not clear whether 'Argob' and 'Arieh' were defenders or assailants of the king. The name Argob suggests that the words were originally some statement about the Gileadites (cf. Stade, *Geschichte*, i. 588).

The Lucianic recension of the LXX assigns 10 years to Peḳaḥiah's reign. It has been observed that 2 K 17^1 implies the same duration. From the 2nd year of Azariah to the 12th of Ahaz is 30 years according to the Hebrew chronology, and this demands 10 years of Peḳaḥiah's to be added to the 20 of Peḳaḥ. Klostermann (*Bücher Sam. u. Kön.*) accepts 10 years as the proper figure. But this cannot be harmonized with the data of the Assyrian inscriptions. It originated in a system which endeavoured to equalize the sum of the reigns of the Israelite kings with the sum of the reigns of the Judæan kings (Benzinger, *Könige*, p. xx f.). See preceding article.

W. B. STEVENSON.

PEKOD (פְּקוֹד; Ezk 23^{23} B Φακοόκ, A καὶ Φούδ; Jer 50 [Gr. 27]^{21} B ἐκδίκησον, connecting with verb פקר).—The name of an important tribe and of the place it occupied in Lower Babylonia. The passage in Jer 50^{21} is called by Orelli (*Com. on Jer. ad loc.*) a symbolical name (cf. RVm 'visitation') of Chaldæan-Babylonia. But we find in the Assyr. inscriptions, notably those of Sargon, a thrifty people dwelling near the mouth of the Uknu river, called *Puḳûdu* (cf. Sargon's *Annals*, lines 233, 265, 269, etc.). Tiele (*Bab.-Assyr. Gesch.* 222, 236) regards them as an Aram. people. They were at times allies of the Elamites, and gave the Assyrian kings great trouble in ruling Lower Babylonia (cf. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 240; Schrader, *COT* ii. pp. 117, 120; Winckler, *Gesch. Bab. u. Assyr.* 223, 283; Maspero, *Passing of Empires*, 119, 191, 230, 256, 306, 416; and art. KOA). IRA M. PRICE.

---

* This was probably written by the prophet as a reminiscence of what he had actually experienced by personal observation or learned from eye-witnesses of the events of B.C. 734. The date of the oracle is probably B.C. 726. See article HOSHEA, and footnote †, p. 426 in vol. ii.

† Schrader, *KIB* ii. p. 30.

‡ The towns Iyyon, Abel-beth-Maacah, Kadesh, and Janoaḥ (2 K 15^{29}, cf. 1 K 15^{20} 9^{11}) appear to have all belonged to Galilee and Naphtali. Janoaḥ is evidently a different place from that of the same name in Jos 16^6. Kittel identifies it with Jenoam (*Jenu'amu* of the Egyptian records; see Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, p. 394), an Israelite frontier town towards Tyre. Benzinger would delete Gilead from the text (perhaps dittography). III Rawl. 10. 2, lines 17 foll. . . . ti (maḥâzu) Ga-al . . . [A]-bi-il is all we have to guide us.

PELAIAH.—**1.** (פְּלָיָה; B Φαρά, A Φαλαιά) a son of Elioenai, a descendant of David, 1 Ch 3^{24}. **2.** (פְּלָאיָה) a Levite who helped Ezra to expound the law to the people, Neh 8^{7} (LXX om.). His name or that of his family occurs also in the list of those who sealed the covenant, Neh 10^{10} (B om., A Φελειά).

PELALIAH (פְּלַלְיָה; Aℵ$^{c.a}$ Φαλαλιά, Luc. Φαλλαλίας).—A priest in the time of Nehemiah, Neh 11^{12}. The Syr. has ܦܠܝܐ *i.e. Pelaiah*; the other versions support the MT.

PELATIAH (פְּלַטְיָה and פְּלַטְיָהוּ).—**1.** (Φαλτίας) one of the princes of the people, mentioned by Ezekiel as seen by him in vision standing at the east gate of the LORD's house, Ezk 11^{1}. He died, as the prophet delivered his message, v.^{13}. It is difficult to decide whether Pelatiah's death is to be understood as actual or merely symbolical, and what relation, if actual, it bears to the form in which Ezekiel's vision is narrated (see Davidson or Bertholet, *ad loc.*). **2.** (B Φαλεττί, A Φαλλετιά) a grandson of Zerubbabel, 1 Ch 3^{21}. **3.** (B Φαλαεττιά, A Φαλεττιά) one of the 500 Simeonites who smote the Amalekites of Mt. Seir, 1 Ch 4^{42}. **4.** (Φαλτιά) one of those who sealed the covenant, Neh 10^{22}.

PELEG (פֶּלֶג).—One of the two sons of Eber, the other being JOKTAN (wh. see), Gn 10^{25} 11^{16} (Φάλεκ) =1 Ch 1^{19} (B om., A Φάλεκ) ^{25} (B Φάλεχ, A Φάλεκ), cf. Lk 3^{35} (Φάλεκ, whence AV Phalec). In Gn 10^{25} a characteristic etymology is given for the name by J, '*Peleg*, for in his days the earth *was divided* (*niphlĕgah*).' 'The earth' here should probably be taken to mean 'the population of the earth,' as in 11^{1} (so Dillmann), and the 'dividing' to refer to the narrative in 11$^{1-9}$ of the confusion of tongues and the dispersion of men 'over the face of all the earth.' In all probability the remark is due, not to the original J, but to a redactor of the same school (R$_J$, so Budde and Kuenen). The name *Peleg* has been sought by some (*e.g.* Knobel) in *Phalga*, a place at the junction of the Chaboras with the Euphrates, by Lagarde (*Orientalia*, ii. 50) in *al-Falj* on the road between Baṣra and Yemâma, and by Sprenger (*Geog. Arab.* 233, 294) in *el-Falaj* in Yemâma. The common noun *peleg* in Heb. means 'a watercourse,' and Peleg might appropriately enough be the designation of a people dwelling in a land furrowed by watercourses, whether in Babylonia or N. Arabia. J. A. SELBIE.

PELET (פֶּלֶט).—**1.** A son of Jahdai, 1 Ch 2^{47} (B Φάλεκ, *i.e.* Peleg, A Φάλετ). **2.** A Benjamite chief who joined David at Ziklag, 1 Ch 12^{3} (B 'Ιωφάλητ, A Φάλλητ).

PELETH (פֶּלֶת).—**1.** A Reubenite, the father of On, Nu 16^{1}, JE (Φαλέθ). The MT is certainly corrupt; we should probably read **Pallu** instead of *Peleth*. See art. KORAH, p. 12^{b}. **2.** A Jerahmeelite, 1 Ch 2^{33} (B Θάλεθ, A Φάλεθ).

PELETHITES.—See CHERETHITES.

PELICAN.—The word קָאַת *ḳā'ath* is usually derived from the root קוֹא *ḳō'*='to vomit,' corresponding with the Arab. *ḳâ'a*. The *ḳā'ath* is 'the vomiter.' It was interdicted as food (Lv 11^{18}, Dt 14^{17}). It inhabited the wilderness (Ps 102^{6} מִדְבָּר='uninhabited place'). It is one of the creatures that were to be found in the ruins of Edom (Is 34^{11}) and Nineveh (Zeph 2^{14}). Unfortunately the LXX gives us no help, but on the contrary confuses us by translating it at Lv 11^{18} πελεκάν, Dt 14^{17} καταράκτης (AV and RV in both 'pelican'), Is 34^{11} ὄρνεα, Zeph 2^{14} χαμαιλέων (AV both 'cormorant,' AVm and RV 'pelican'), Ps 102^{6} πελεκάν (AV and RV 'pelican'). The weight of scholarship is in favour of 'pelican,' which suits the idea of an unclean bird, and is a bird of uninhabited places (*wilderness*). As to its being in ruins, it could well inhabit the marshes near the site of Nineveh. As regards Edom, where there is little water, this bird typifies *desolation*, and the *absence of man* (see BITTERN).

The pelican belongs to the order *Steganopodes*, family *Pelicanidæ*, to which the cormorant also belongs. Two species are found in Palestine and Syria—*Pelecanus onicrotalus*, L., the roseate or white pelican; and *P. crispus*, Brush, the Dalmatian pelican. Both have white plumage, the former with a roseate tinge. The legs of the former are greenish-black, the pouch yellow, and irides crimson; of the latter the legs and pouch are flesh colour, and irides greyish-white. They are 5–6 feet long from the tip of the bill to the end of the tail. The bill is from 16–18 inches long. Under the lower mandible is a pouch which will hold several gallons. In this pouch it stores food for itself and its young. Pelicans are abundant in the swamps of the Jordan Valley and the Orontes, and seen frequently in other regions of Palestine and Syria. Their breeding-places are in the remotest parts of the swamps. The attitude of the pelican when at rest is singularly listless and melancholy. It leans its head against its breast and stands motionless until hunger compels it to activity. It then flies 30–40 feet above the surface of the water, turns its head with one eye downwards, and, when it sees a fish sufficiently near the surface, swoops down upon it, and rarely fails to seize it. It immediately stores it away in its pouch, and proceeds to fish for more until its receptacle is full. It often fishes as far as twenty miles out at sea. It then not infrequently retires inland to a lonely spot, and sits in the melancholy attitude above described until it has digested its enormous meal. This is the Psalmist's sad 'pelican of the wilderness.' The pelican is called by the Arabs *'abu jerâb*='the father of a pouch,' and *ḥauṣal*='a pouch,' and in Egypt *bega'*.
G. E. POST.

PELISHTIM.—RVm of Gn 10^{14}=PHILISTINES (which see).

PELONITE, THE (הַפְּלוֹנִי; in 1 Ch 11^{27} B ὁ Φελωνεί, A ὁ Φαλλωνί; in v.^{36} B ὁ Φεδωνεί, A ὁ Φελλωνί; in 1 Ch 27^{10} B A ὁ ἐκ Φαλλούς).—Two of David's heroes are thus described (1 Ch 11$^{27.36}$), viz. Helez and Ahijah. In 2 S 23^{26} the former is called '**the Paltite**,' and, though the LXX A in that passage agrees with the reading of the Chronicler, it is probable that the MT has preserved the better text. This view is confirmed by the fact that, in the case of the second hero, the reading of 1 Ch 11^{36} (אֲחִיָּה הַפְּלֹנִי) is clearly a mutilation of the fuller text preserved in 2 S 23^{34} (אֱלִיעָם בֶּן אֲחִיתֹפֶל הַגִּלֹנִי 'Eliam the son of Ahithophel the Gilonite'). We must therefore read 'Helez the Paltite' in 1 Ch 11^{27} 27^{10}: the addition 'of the children of Ephraim' (מִן־בְּנֵי אֶפְרַיִם 27^{10}) not improbably conceals the gentilic name.
J. F. STENNING.

PEN.—See WRITING.

PENCIL occurs only once in the Bible, Is 44^{13} (RV). The first four clauses of this verse, which describes the making of an idol, read in MT חָרַשׁ עֵצִים נָטָה קָו יְתָאֲרֵהוּ בַשֶּׂרֶד יַעֲשֵׂהוּ בַּמַּקְצֻעוֹת וּבַמְּחוּגָה יְתָאֳרֵהוּ; the

LXX has *ἐκλεξάμενος τέκτων ξύλον ἔστησεν αὐτὸ ἐν μέτρῳ, καὶ ἐν κόλλῃ ἐρύθμισεν αὐτό*, which, as Cheyne points out, implies a reading ויבחר חרש עץ יתכנהו בזֶּרֶת ובמְקַצְעָה יתארהו; RV 'The carpenter stretcheth out a line (AV 'his rule'), he marketh it out with a pencil (AV 'line'), he shapeth (AV 'fitteth') it with planes, and he marketh it out with the compasses' (AV 'compass'). In the first clause RV 'line,' *i.e.* measuring line, is decidedly to be preferred to AV 'rule' as the tr. of קַו (cf. 2 K 21^{13}, Is 28^{17} 34^{11}, Jer 31^{39}, Zec 1^{16}, and see art. LINE). The meaning of the word שֶׂרֶד in the second clause is quite uncertain. It is a *ἅπ. λεγ.*, and quite possibly a corrupt reading. Cheyne (*SBOT*, 'Isaiah,' p. 137) thinks the final ד is doubtful, and he suggests (comparing the Aram. root סרט=*lineavit*) that we should read שֶׂרֶט (with the meaning 'stylus'), although he notes that this word in Lv 19^{28} means a cutting in the flesh. Grätz boldly reads חֶרֶט. P. Haupt, in an editorial note in *SBOT*, *ad loc.*, thinks that במחוגה 'with the compass' (he prefers the sing.) should be read *after* בשרד, and taken as an explanatory gloss of the latter. If *sered*= 'compass,' he suggests a connexion with the Assyr. *sirdu*, 'yoke.' The Babylonian use of compasses is described by him in a note in 'Ezekiel' (*SBOT*), p. 100 f. Other explanations come nearer the RV 'pencil,' *e.g.* 'red chalk' (Kimchi, Vitr.; cf. RVm 'red ochre'), *Reissstift* (Siegfried-Stade, Dillmann-Kittel, and V. Ryssel [in Kautzsch's *AT*]), *Röthel* (Nowack, *Lehrb. der Heb. Arch.* i. 246).

J. A. SELBIE.

PENDANT occurs twice in the Bible, but both times RV only. The first instance is Jg 8^{26}, where the word (Heb. נְטִיפוֹת, LXX B *στραγγαλίδες*, AV 'collars') is used of one of the ornaments worn by the Midianites who were conquered and spoiled by Gideon; the other is Is 3^{19} (Heb. נְטִפוֹת, LXX *κάθεμα*, AV 'chains') in a list of articles of female attire. In both passages the reference appears to be to ear-drops (so Cheyne, 'Isaiah,' in *PB*), the Heb. *nĕṭîphôth* being, perhaps, equivalent to Arab. *naṭafat*, a small clear pearl resembling a drop of water, or a bead of gold or silver of a spherical or elongated form, fastened to the lobe of the ear. See Moore, *Judges*, *ad loc.* J. A. SELBIE.

PENIEL (פְּנִיאֵל only in Gn 32^{30}, LXX *Εἶδος θεοῦ*), elsewhere **PENUEL** (פְּנוּאֵל). — This name appears on three occasions only, in connexion respectively with Jacob, Gideon, and Jeroboam. The word means 'face of God,' and is traced in Gn 32^{30} to the fact that Jacob had there seen God 'face to face.' Perhaps a different derivation is alluded to in 33^{10} (Wellh. *JDTh*, xxi. 435). It has been suggested (see Merrill, *East of the Jordan*, p. 392) that the name may have been originally given to some projecting rock in whose contour a face was seen. We may compare Strabo's (xvi. 2. 15 f.) *Θεοῦ πρόσωπον*. The place was east of the Jordan, and somewhere on the line of the Jabbok. It was a city whose chief feature was a strong tower or castle (Jg 8^{8-17}), which at a much later period was rebuilt by Jeroboam (1 K 12^{25}). These facts show that Penuel had considerable strategic importance. It was a great tribe from the eastern desert that invaded Palestine and were driven back to their homes by Gideon (Jg 6 ff.). These invaders always entered the lowlands, that is, the plain of Esdraelon, and there was a main road from the Jordan Valley eastward by which they came and returned. On this road the castle of Penuel was designed to be a protection. Succoth, now *Tell Deir 'Alla*, was on this road, and Penuel was in the hills not far beyond it. Such desert people never go over mountains when there is a good valley route open to them.

In the valley of the Jabbok, 4 miles from Succoth, two sharp hills, called Tulul edh-Dhahab, and covered with ancient ruins, rise to a height of 250 ft. 'Whether approached from the west or the east, or looked down upon from the mountains above them, they form very striking objects. . . . On one side of the eastern hill a strong wall of massive stones runs from the summit to the foot. . . . The platform of the "tower" or castle was supported by a wall, the remains of which are 15 or 20 ft. high, which extends to a distance of over 100 ft. These substantial structures, considering the size of the stones employed, must have been built at great expense. The stones are unhewn blocks, and appear to date from a remote period' (Merrill, *East of the Jordan*, pp. 390–392). That these desert invaders did not climb over mountains, that they followed a valley route, that the easy and main route to the East was through the valley of the Jabbok, and that at a certain point on this road these ruin-crowned hills exist at no great distance from Succoth,—all this seems to indicate them as the most probable site for Penuel.

S. MERRILL.

PENINNAH (פְּנִנָּה 'pearl' or 'red coral'; *Φεννάνα*; *Phenenna*).—The second wife of Elkanah, the father of Samuel. Despite the fact that Peninnah had borne him children, while Hannah, her rival or fellow-wife, was childless, the latter was the more favoured by Elkanah; and this was doubtless the cause of the ill-will displayed by Peninnah towards her (1 S $1^{2f.}$). J. F. STENNING.

PENKNIFE (תַּעַר הַסֹּפֵר 'the knife of the scribe'; LXX *τὸ ξυρὸν τοῦ γραμματέως* [Symm. substitutes *σμίλη* for *ξυρόν*]).—Mentioned only in Jer 36^{23}, where king Jehoiakim cut up Baruch's roll of Jeremiah's prophecies. Orientals use a reed pen in writing (*calamus*, Arab. *ḳălăm*), and always carry a knife for the purpose of mending it. Penknives are made in Damascus and in many of the villages of Lebanon; they are without spring backs, and are like miniature razors. W. CARSLAW.

PENNY.—See MONEY, p. 428^a.

PENSION.—Only 1 Es 4^{56} 'He commanded to give all that kept the city pensions and wages' (*κλήρους*, AVm 'portions of land,' RV 'lands'). This is one of the 'archaisms' which Scrivener (*Par. Bible*, p. lxv) blames the AV translators of the Apocr. for retaining. It is first found in the Geneva version, and is used in the orig. sense of 'payment' (Lat. *pensio*). This wider sense of the word is seen in Robinson's translation of *More's Utopia* (Lumby's ed. i. p. 50, Lupton's ed. p. 83), 'An other cummeth in wyth his v. egges, and advyseth . . . to bringe to theyr parte certeyne peers of hys courte for greate pensions' (Lat. *certa pensione*). J. HASTINGS.

PENTATEUCH.—See HEXATEUCH.

PENTECOST. — This term, adopted from the Gr., means 'fiftieth' (*ἡ πεντηκοστή, scil. ἡμέρα*), and was applied by Greek-speaking Jews, as חַג חֲמִשִּׁים יוֹם was by the Rabbins, to the second of the three chief Heb. festivals, because it fell (Lv 23^{9-21}) on the fiftieth day after the offering of the barley-sheaf during the feast of unleavened bread (To 2^1, 2 Mac 12^{32}; Jos. *Ant.* III. x. 6, XIII. viii. 4, XIV. xiii. 4, XVII. x. 2, *BJ* II. iii. 1, VI. v. 3; Philo, *de Septen.* § 21, see also *de Decal.* § 30; in NT Ac 2^1 20^{16}, 1 Co 16^8). In OT it is called '*the feast of harvest*, the first-fruits of thy labours' (Ex 23^{16} חַג הַקָּצִיר בִּכּוּרֵי מַעֲשֶׂיךָ, LXX *ἑορτὴν θερισμοῦ πρωτογενημάτων τῶν ἔργων σου*); '*the feast of weeks*, of the first-fruits of wheat harvest' (Ex 34^{22} חַג שָׁבֻעֹת בִּכּוּרֵי קְצִיר חִטִּים, LXX *ἑορτὴν ἑβδομάδων*; so also Dt 16^{10}, 2 Ch 8^{13}), and 'the day of the first-fruits' (Nu 28^{26} יוֹם הַבִּכּוּרִים, LXX *τῇ* *ἡμέρᾳ τῶν νέων*); while the later Jews also denominated it עֲצֶרֶת, Aram. עֲצַרְתָּא (Jos. *Ant.* III. x. 6 (Gr. *ἀσαρθά*); Mishna, *Arach.* ii. 3, *Chag.* ii. 4, *Rosh hash.* i. 2; Targ. on Nu 28^{26}), a term meaning 'solemn assembly' (2 K 10^{20}, Is 10^{20}, Jer 9^{2} etc.), but applied in OT to the closing day of the feasts of unleavened bread and tabernacles (Lv 23^{36}, Nu 29^{35}, Dt 16^{8}, 2 Ch 7^{9}, Neh 8^{18}; RVm 'closing festival,' not as AVm 'restraint'), and hence applied also to Pentecost as the closing festival of the harvest season. Jos. inaccurately says (*Ant.* III. x. 6) that עֲצֶרֶת *signifies* (*σημαίνει*) Pentecost.

In the Heb. legislation, the titles '**feast of harvest**' and 'day of *first-fruits*' indicate that this festival was fundamentally an agricultural one, expressing gratitude to God for the returns from the labours of the field. It celebrated specifically the wheat harvest (Ex 34^{22}), the last of the cereals to ripen in Palestine. It marked, therefore, the closing of the grain harvest, as the feast of tabernacles (or ingathering) celebrated especially the return from oliveyards and vineyards as well as the close of the husbandman's labours as a whole (Dt 16^{13}). This of itself implies that the feast fell in the late spring or early summer; and, since the Israelites became agricultural only after entering Canaan, it could not have been pre-Mosaic, but was established with a view to the settlement in the promised land (Ex 34^{12} [JE], Lv 23^{10} [H] etc.). On the other hand, the title '**feast of weeks**' already given it in Ex 34^{22} [JE], as well as the general description of the time of its observance in Dt 16^{9} ('Seven weeks shalt thou number unto thee: from the time thou beginnest to put the sickle to the standing corn shalt thou begin to number seven weeks,' RV), find their definite explanation in Lv 23^{9-21}. From the latter we learn (1) that the beginning of the harvest season was celebrated during the feast of unleavened bread by the ceremony of waving before the Lord 'a sheaf (עֹמֶר) of the first-fruits (רֵאשִׁית) of harvest,'* together with the waving of a he-lamb and the rendering of appointed meal- and drink-offerings; and that none of the new crop could be eaten until this had been done. Since the barley ripened first, the sheaf was understood to be of that grain (Philo, *de Septen.* § 20; Jos. *Ant.* III. x. 5), though it is not specified in OT. The 'feast of weeks' came on the fiftieth day after the barley-sheaf was waved (vv.$^{15.16}$, *i.e.* the day after the completion of seven weeks). Hence we read (Jer 5^{24}) of 'the appointed weeks of harvest'; and Philo (*de Septen.* § 21) says that the sheaf-waving *προεόρτιός ἐστιν ἑτέρας ἑορτῆς μείζονος*.

(2) We learn also from Lv 23 that the barley-sheaf was waved on 'the morrow after the Sabbath' (vv.$^{11.16}$ מִמָּחֳרַת הַשַּׁבָּת). The meaning of this phrase, on which the computation of Pentecost depends, has been much disputed. The Jews of Christ's time understood it to designate Nisan 16th, without regard to the day of the week; 'the Sabbath' being interpreted as the first day of the feast of unleavened bread (Nisan 15th) on the basis of v.^{7} [see Jos. *Ant.* III. x. 5; LXX at Lv 23^{11} (*τῇ ἐπαύριον τῆς πρώτης*); Targums (מִבָּתַר יוֹמָא טָבָא); Mishna, *Chag.* ii. 4, *Menach.* x. 1–3]. There was dissent, however, from this interpretation even at that time. The 'Baithusians' (Sadducees) are said to have held that 'the morrow after the Sabbath' meant the day following the weekly Sabbath which occurred during the feast of unleavened bread (see Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* on Lk 6^{1}; Adler, 'Phar. u. Sad. u. ihre differirende Ausleg. d. ממחרת השבת,' in *Monatschr. f. Gesch. u. Wissensch. d. Judenth.* 1878, p. 522 ff., 568 ff., 1879, p. 29 ff.; Montet, *Essai sur les orig. des partis Sad. et Phar.* 1883), and the Karaites of the 8th cent. A.D. followed the same view (see Trigland, *Diatribe de secta Kar.* 1703, ch. 4). There are also traces in antiquity of the view that the phrase in question designated the last, not the first, day of the paschal festival (see Dillmann in Schenkel's *Bib.-Lex.* under 'Pfingsten'). Some modern scholars likewise contend that the traditional interpretation was wrong, chiefly because שַׁבָּת elsewhere means the weekly Sabbath, and because, it is said, שֶׁבַע שַׁבָּתוֹת (Lv 23^{15}) can only mean weeks which ended with Sabbaths. Hence George (*Die älter. Jüd. Feste*, 1835) understood the 'Sabbath' in question to be the weekly Sabbath which fell immediately before harvest, holding the harvest festivals to have had originally no connexion with the Passover. Hitzig (*Ostern u. Pfingsten*, 1837, *Ost. u. Pf. im zweit. Dekalog*, 1838) went so far as to maintain that in the Heb. Calendar Nisan 14 and 21 were always Sabbaths, so that the year must always have begun (Nisan 1) with a Sunday; and that 'the morrow after the Sabbath' was the day following the weekly Sabbath of the feast of unleavened bread, and therefore always fell on Sunday, Nisan 22. With him agreed Knobel (*Com. on Lev.*) and Kurtz (*Sacr. Worship of OT*, Eng. tr. p. 356), except that they identified the 'Sabbath' in question with Nisan 14, and the day of the sheaf-waving with Nisan 15. Against this unsupported conception of the calendar, however, is the well-known custom of beginning each month by the new moon, as well as the fact that in such a calendar there would be an incomplete week at the end of the year, which would conflict with the sanctity of the seventh day. Hitzig's theory, moreover, would place the sheaf-waving after the feast of unleavened bread had ended. Hence more writers have followed the Sadducean interpretation, although this also might, when Nis. 15 fell on Sunday, throw the ceremony of sheaf-waving outside the feast of unleavened bread (Saalschütz, *Das Mos. Recht*^{2}, 1853, p. 418; Fürst, *Heb. u. Chald. Wörterb.* 1863, under שַׁבָּת; Wellhausen, *Jahrb. f. deutsch. Theol.* xxii.; *Proleg.* p. 86; von Orelli in Herzog's *RE*^{2}, art. 'Pfingstfest'). The traditional interpretation, however, may be successfully defended. There is no sufficient proof that the connexion of the sheaf-waving with the feast of unleavened bread was not original, nor can Lv 23^{9-22} be separated from the surrounding legislation, since otherwise no directions concerning the feast of weeks would be given in it at all. If, however, the two were thus connected, the sheaf-waving may most naturally be supposed to have occurred during, not after, the feast. This is also made probable by Jos $5^{10.11}$, where it is stated that, after having kept the Passover on the 14th day of the month in Gilgal, 'they did eat of the produce (RVm, not 'old corn' as AV and RV; עָבוּר means simply produce) of the land on *the morrow after the passover*, unleavened cakes and parched corn in the self-same day.' The latter clause shows that the feast of unleavened bread was not over, and 'the morrow after the passover,' while it may mean (as in Nu 33^{3}) Nis. 15, may also mean Nis. 16, since the paschal meal was celebrated on Nis 15, in the evening following the 14th when the lamb was slain; but at any rate the phraseology shows that the sheaf-waving, without which the new corn could not be eaten, was regulated by the date of the Passover itself, not by any weekly Sabbath. Finally, the application of שַׁבָּת to the first day of unleavened bread may be justified by the language used (v.^{32}) of the day of atonement ('In the ninth day of the month . . . shall ye keep your sabbath'), and by the application of the term to the sabbatical

---

[*] In the second temple, barley was cut the previous evening to the amount of an ephah (10 omers), brought to the temple, thrashed, parched, and ground. Then one omer, mixed with oil and frankincense, was 'waved' and a handful burned on the altar (Jos. *Ant.* III. x. 5; Mishna, *Menach.* x. 4; Edersheim, *The Temple*, etc. p. 224). Kurtz (*Sacr. Worship of OT*, p. 374) thinks the sheaf itself should have been waved according to Lv.

year (Lv $25^{2.4.6}$ $26^{34.43}$); while the use of שָׁבֻעוֹת in the general sense of weeks may be justified by the analogy of the Aramaic and Syriac, the interpretation of the LXX (*τῶν ἑβδομάδων*), and the use of *σάββατον* and *σάββατα* in NT, *e.g.* Mt 28^{1}, Lk 18^{12} [see Bähr, *Symb.* ii. 619; Dillm. in Schenkel's *Bib.-Lex.* (in his *Com.* also Dillm. regards this view as exegetically defensible); Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 37; W. H. Green, *Heb. Feasts*, ch. vii.]. It is at any rate certain that the Jews celebrated the sheaf-waving on Nis. 16, and Pentecost on the fiftieth day after (usually Sivan 6), without regard in either case to the day of the week. Reland (*Antiq. Sacr. Vet. Heb.* part iv. ch. iv.) states, indeed, that they took care that Pentecost should not fall on the third, fifth, or seventh day of the week; but this was probably only a later Rabbinical rule (see Ideler, *Handb. d. Chronol.* i. p. 537 ff.).

The feast of weeks or Pentecost, therefore, as it appears in the Pent., was a joyful acknowledgment of the completion of the harvest in the land which God had given Israel. The whole harvest season was in a sense sacred time. Hence Pentecost lasted but one day. By its prelude, the sheaf-waving, it was dependent on Passover, commemorative of Israel's redemption; and by the interval of seven weeks between it and Nis. 16, it was brought into the sabbatical system in accordance with which the Heb. feasts were arranged.

Those modern writers who maintain the post-exilic origin of the Levitical code, consider Pentecost, like the other agricultural feasts, to have been originally a nature-festival, which in the development of the Heb. cultus was taken up into an artificial ecclesiastical system. Wellhausen (*Proleg.* Eng. tr. ch. iii.) points out that in the early prophetical narrative of JE (Ex 23^{16} 34^{22}) the dates of the harvest festivals are vaguely described; that first in Dt (*e.g.* 12^{6-14} 14^{23-26} $12^{6.16}$) is Pentecost, as well as the other feasts, connected with a central sanctuary, and the freewill offerings tend to appear as liturgical obligations, though there is still no mention of a single communal offering; but that in the Levitical code (Lv 23, Nu 28, the former including, however, elements from older sources; see also Driver, *LOT*^{6} p. 56; Dillmann, *Comment.*) the offerings have become mere dues, the communal offering through the priests outranks the freewill offerings of the people, and the festival has been brought into an arbitrary system of dates and relations quite different from its primitive freedom.

The ceremonies for the celebration of Pentecost are described in Lv 23^{15-21}. On it no servile work could be done. Two loaves of bread, made from two-tenths of an ephah (RV) of fine flour from the new wheat (Ex 34^{22}) harvest, were to be baked with leaven and presented by the priest before the LORD as a wave-offering. 'Ye shall bring (the loaves) out of your habitations' (מִמּוֹשְׁבֹתֵיכֶם, LXX *ἀπὸ τῆς κατοικίας ὑμῶν*) does not mean that each household was to present two loaves (as Vulg. and Luther read, 'out of *all* your dwellings'; so Calvin, Osiander, George, *et al.*), but that the loaves were to be taken from the ordinary bread made from wheat of the land for household purposes. Hence also they were to be leavened,[*] and therefore could not come upon the altar (Ex 23^{18}, Lv 2^{11}), but were merely waved before the LORD and consumed by the priests. With them two lambs were to be also waved as peace-offerings, significant of the fellowship between J″ and his people; while at the same time a burnt-offering was to be made, consisting of seven yearling lambs without blemish, one young bullock, and two rams, with the appropriate meal- and drink-offerings, and also a he-goat as a sin-offering—these latter expressing the need of redemption, which properly mingled with the people's thanksgiving.

In Nu 28^{26-31} a slightly different set of offerings is directed for 'the day of first-fruits,' as Pentecost is there called, to be made in addition to the daily sacrifices. Many consider this list also to refer to the offering accompanying the loaves, and either pass over the differences as unimportant or explain them as due to corruption of the text or to diverse and unharmonized sources. The later Jews, however, regarded the two lists as supplementary,—that in Nu referring to the sacrifices for Pentecost considered as a special feast-day; that in Lv to the sacrifices directly connected with the loaves; so that on Pentecost three series of sacrifices were made: (1) the daily burnt-offerings; (2) the special offerings for a feast-day; (3) the waving of the loaves and lambs, and the sacrifices connected therewith. This usage appears from Jos. *Ant.* III. x. 6, where the offerings of both lists are added together (except that he specifies *two* rams, which is probably an error for *three*); also from the Mishna (see *Menach.* iv. 2, 5). Neither is there any reasonable objection to thus combining the lists, since Nu 28. 29 contain directions for sacrifices on special days without describing other ceremonies which fell on those days. Finally, besides these communal offerings, Pentecost was celebrated by the freewill offerings of individuals both to the sanctuary and to the poor (Dt $16^{10.11}$, Lv 23^{22}).

These ceremonies emphasized the relation of Pentecost, as the close of harvest, to the sheaf-waving at its beginning. There a single sheaf of barley, here two prepared loaves of wheat-bread; there one lamb, here two, together with accompanying burnt- and sin-offerings. That, therefore, was the prelude of this. The two included the harvest period of seven weeks,[*] and expressed in climacteric form the increased gratitude of the people. No voluntary offerings of first-fruits could be made before Pentecost (see Ex 23^{19}). Of course the harvest was not always finished in all the land by Pentecost; but the seven weeks covered the normal period, and brought the festival into the sabbatical system.

In the second temple these ceremonies were fully observed. Multitudes attended the feast (Jos. *Ant.* XVII. x. 2, *BJ* II. iii. 1; Ac 2^{5}). In anticipation of it, a portion of the best wheat, previously selected, was cut, thrashed, brought to the temple, ground, and passed through twelve sieves to ensure its fineness. On the day before Pentecost [unless it were a Sabbath, in which case on the second day before] two omers of the flour were baked into loaves. The size of the latter is described in the Mishna as 4 handbreadths wide, 7 long, and 4 fingers high. Soon after midnight the temple gates were opened that offerings for the day might be examined by the priests. At sunrise occurred the regular daily sacrifice, and soon afterwards the festal offerings directed in Nu 28^{26-31}. Amid the singing of the 'Hallel,' the peculiar ceremonies of Pentecost began. 'The two lambs were first waved alive; then, after their sacrifice, the breast and shoulder were laid beside the loaves and "waved" (generally toward the East) forwards and backward, and up and down' (Edersheim, *The Temple*, p. 230). Then followed the other appointed sacrifices, and the freewill gifts; and the rest of the day was spent in festive gatherings, to which the poor and the stranger and the Levite were invited. The attendant festivities are said to have often continued several days.

---

[*] Edersheim (*The Temple*, etc. p. 230) thinks the leaven represented the sense of sin which mingled with the thanksgiving. The common explanation is that the loaves were intended to represent the ordinary food of the people, and this explanation appears sufficient.

[*] The phrase, '*ἐν σαββάτῳ δευτεροπρώτῳ*' found in TR of Lk 6^{1} (supported by many MSS), has been explained as meaning the first Sab. after the second day of the feast of unleavened bread, *i.e.* the first Sab. of the harvest period. (So, first, Scaliger, *de Emend. Temp.* vi. 577, followed by many. See Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* on the passage). The word must have originated in some known custom; and this explanation is not improbable, since the Sabbaths between Nis. 16 and Pentecost were carefully noted. The adj., however, is probably a Western and Syrian gloss intruded into Lk's text, and is rejected by WH after ℵBL and other weighty authorities.

The Jews of the post-biblical period held Pentecost to celebrate *the giving of the law at Sinai*, which was calculated to have taken place on the 50th day after the Exodus (Ex 19^{1}). No such view of the day, however, is found in OT, Josephus, or Philo. Philo, in fact, seems to regard the feast of trumpets as commemorative of Sinai (*de Septen.* § 22). It was probably after the fall of Jerus. that this view originated.* Thereafter it was generally adopted by the Rabbins, and the day is described in the later liturgy as 'the day of the giving of the law' (Saalschütz, *Das Mos. Recht*, p. 420). The same view appears among the Christian Fathers (see Jerome, *Ep. ad Fabiolam*; Augustine, *contra Faustum*, xxxii. 12). Maimonides (*More neb.* iii. 41) expressly says, 'festum septimanarum est dies ille, quo lex data fuit'; but Abarbanel, while admitting the fact, denies that Pentecost was a celebration of it (Bähr, *Symb.* ii. 645). Modern Jews accept the tradition, and spend the previous night in reading the law and other appropriate Scripture. The later Jews also observed Pentecost for two days; but this custom arose in the Dispersion from the difficulty of determining exactly the Palestinian month, which was fixed by observation of the moon. See NEW MOON.

In the Christian Church the importance of Pentecost was continued, and its significance emphasized, by the outpouring of the Spirit on that day (Ac 2).† The day of the week on that occasion is traditionally represented as Sunday. Its determination, however, depends on the date assigned to Christ's death. It is to be assumed that He died on a Friday (see *e.g.* Mk 15^{42}). If, then, as many suppose the Fourth Gospel to teach, He died on Nis. 14, Nis. 16 and Pentecost fell on a Sunday; but if, as the Synoptists seem to state, He ate the passover with His disciples at the regular time, He was crucified on Nis. 15, and Nis. 16 and Pentecost fell on Saturday [see CHRONOLOGY OF NT]. Wieseler (*Chron. d. Apost. Zeitalter*, p. 20) plausibly suggests that the festival was fixed on Sunday by the later Western Church to correspond with Easter.

But, whatever the day of the week may have been, the events of that Pentecost were of fundamental importance to the Church, and as appropriate to that festival as Christ's death had been to the Passover season. They indicated the Divine origin of Christianity on its subjective side, and the Church was then endowed for its future work. The suddenness of the manifestation indicated the supernaturalness of the endowment; the 'sound as of the rushing of a mighty wind' was the natural emblem of the almighty Spirit; the tongues 'parting asunder' or 'distributing themselves' on the disciples [not 'cloven' as AV] symbolized the universal gift of power to proclaim the gospel; the semblance of fire indicated the purified zeal, born of faith and love, which was to characterize the proclamation; while the polyglot (?) utterances of the believers were a sign of the world-wide destination of the truth which filled their lips with praise [see TONGUES, GIFT OF]. The occurrence of these events on Pentecost was also significant. The gift of the Spirit was the first-fruit of the spiritual harvest (cf. Ro 8^{23} 11^{16} Ja 1^{18}) procured through the work of Christ; and the dependence of Pentecost on Passover harmonized with the dependence of the Spirit's work on the objective sacrifice of the Redeemer. The eucharistic character of Pentecost harmonized also with the joy of the disciples over their spiritual blessings; while, providentially, the presence of multitudes at the feast made it a fit opportunity for the first public proclamation of the now completed gospel.

Among the early Jewish Christians observance of the Heb. feasts continued, doubtless with fresh significance derived from the new revelation. So it is noteworthy that St. Paul earnestly desired to present the gifts of the Gentile Churches to the saints in Judæa at Pentecost (Ac 20^{16}). There is no evidence, however, that the Gentile Churches of the apostolic age observed this feast; but at the close of the 2nd cent. it appears as one of the established festal periods of the Church. The name Pentecost was at first applied to the whole time between Easter and the festival of the Holy Ghost (Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 44 *de Pent.*). This larger meaning of the word is abundantly shown by Tert. *de Idololatria*, 14, *de Baptismo*, 19; Orig. *c. Cels.* viii. 22; *Apost. Const.* v. 20, etc. The period was one of joyfulness. As on the Lord's day, no fasting or kneeling in prayer were allowed (Tert. *de. Cor.* 3). Afterwards the term was limited to the 50th day after Easter (*Apost. Const.* lib. viii. cap. 33; Counc. Eliberis, *Canon* 43); and, at a still later period, the following days, or in some places the week, were included in the festival. The Pentecost season was especially used for baptisms. From the white robes worn by the candidates, the English term 'Whitsunday' is supposed to have arisen (see Riddle, *Manual of Chr. Ant.* p. 681, and esp. Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*^{2}, for various explanations of the origin of the word).

LITERATURE.—Drusius, *Notæ Majores* in Lv 23$^{15-21}$ (in *Crit. Sacr.*); Lightfoot, *Works* (1825), iii. 186 ff., viii. 40 ff., 369 ff.; Buxtorf, *Syn. Jud.* c. xx.; Carpzov, *Appar. Crit.* lib. iii. c. 5; Reland, *Antiq. Sacr. Vet. Heb.* part iv. c. iv.; Iken, *de duobus panibus Pent.*; Spencer, *de leg. Heb.* I. ix. 2, III. viii. 2; Meyer, *de temp. et fest. Heb.*; Michaelis, *Com. on Laws of Moses* (Eng. tr.), article 197; Bähr, *Symbolik d. Mos. Cultus*, ii. 613 ff., 645 ff.; Otho, *Lex. Rab.* under 'Festa'; Ideler, *Handb. der Chronol.* i. 519 ff.; George, *Die älter. Jüd. Feste*, p. 258 ff.; Hitzig, *Ostern u. Pfingsten* (1837), *Ost. u. Pf. im zweiten Dekal.* (1838); Hupfeld, *de Fest. Heb.* ii.; Keil, *Bib. Arch.* (Eng. tr.) § 83; Wieseler, *Chron. Synops. d. vier Evv.* p. 347 ff., and *Chron. d. Apost. Zeitalt.* p. 16 ff.; Wellhausen, *Proleg.* (Eng. tr.) ch. iii.; Edersheim, *The Temple*, ch. xiii.; Green, *The Heb. Feasts*, Lect. vii.; articles in Herzog's *RE*, and Winer's *Bib. Realwörterb.* under 'Pfingstfest' and 'Pfingsten.' For the early Christian observance of Pentecost see Bingham, *Christ. Antiqq.* xx. vi. § vi.; Augusti, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus d. Christ. Archäol.* ii. 343 ff., and *Handb. d. Christ. Archäol.* i. p. 554 ff.; Guericke, *Lehrb. d. Christ.-Kirch. Arch.* p. 190 ff.; Riddle, *Manual of Christ. Antiqq.* p. 679 ff.; Cave, *Prim. Christianity*, ch. vii.

G. T. PURVES.

PENUEL.—See PENIEL.

PEOPLE is the AV rendering of a great variety of Heb. and Gr. terms, the most important of which are גּוֹי, לְאוֹם or לְאֻמִּים, עַם, δῆμος, ἔθνος, λαός, ὄχλος. The distinctive meanings of these are discussed under GENTILES. While in many instances no doubt can exist as to the reference of the word *people*, there are cases where the Eng. reader cannot but feel uncertain whether he is to understand by it the *people of Israel* or people in the sense of *Gentile nations*. This ambiguity is avoided by RV, which, for the latter sense, freely employs the plur. **peoples**, which in AV occurs only in Rev 10^{11} 17^{15}. The effect of this change in clearing up the meaning is very evident in such passages as Ps 67^{4}, Is 55^{4} 60^{2} etc. See Preface to RV of OT.

---

* Dt 16^{12} gives a reason for observing the feast as directed, not a statement of what the feast celebrated. See 5^{15}, 15^{15}. Vaihinger in Herzog's *RE*^{1}, art. 'Pfingstfest,' appeals for this view also to 2 Ch 15^{10}, and even to Jn 5^{39}; but his arguments are not convincing.

† The language of Ac 2^{1} ἐν τῷ συνπληροῦσθαι ἡμέραν τῆς πεντηκοστῆς has been understood by some (as Olshausen and Baumgarten, so also Blass) to mean that the Spirit came *before* the day of Pentecost; while Lightfoot in *Hor. Heb.* (*Exercit.* on Ac 2) interprets it of the day after Pentecost. The vast majority of critics interpret it of Pentecost itself. See Meyer's *Com.*

Special notice is required of the phrase '**people of the land**' (עַם־הָאָרֶץ), which occurs frequently in the OT, especially in Jeremiah (1^{18} 34^{19} 37^{2} 44^{21} $52^{6.25}$), Ezekiel (7^{27} 12^{19} 22^{29} 33^{2} 39^{13} $46^{3.9}$), and 2 Kings ($11^{14.18.19.20}$ 15^{5} 16^{15} 21^{24} $23^{30.35}$ 24^{14} $25^{3.19}$), with the parallel passages in 2 Chronicles ($23^{13.20.21}$ 26^{21} 33^{25} 36^{1}). In most of these instances it means the general body of the people, as distinguished from the king and the aristocracy. The fuller phrase דַּלַּת עַם־הָאָרֶץ is used in 2 K 24^{14} for 'the poorest sort of the people of the land' (cf. 2 K 25^{12}, Jer 40^{7} $52^{15.16}$). In Gn $23^{7.12.13}$ (P), Nu 14^{9} (JE), *'am-hā'āreẓ* is employed with reference to non-Israelites. The title *'ammê hā'āreẓ* (or *'ammê hā'ărāẓôth*) has a technical sense in the book of Ezra-Nehemiah, being used of that half-heathen half-Jewish population of Palestine with whom less scrupulous Jews intermarried and maintained friendly relations, but with whom the party represented by Ezra and Nehemiah refused all but the most unavoidable intercourse (Ezr $9^{1.2}$ $10^{2.11}$, Neh 10^{29-32}). The phrase *'am-hā'āreẓ* was used by the Rabbins not only collectively but in an individual sense (they spoke of an *'am-hā'āreẓ*) for the class distinct from the strict observers of the law (cf. Jn 7^{49} 'this multitude [ὁ ὄχλος οὗτος] which knoweth not the law are accursed'). See, further, art. PHARISEES, p. 804; Schürer, *GJV*³ ii. 400 [*HJP* II. ii. 22 f.]; Smend, *Alttest. Religionsgesch* ² (Index, *s.* 'Am haárez'). J. A. SELBIE.

PEOR (הַפְּעוֹר; Φογώρ; *Phogor*, and [Jos 22^{17}] *Beelphegor*, etc.).—**1.** Nu 23^{28} only, a mountain in Moab, the last point to which Balak took Balaam, after he had sacrificed at Bamoth-baal and in the field of Zophim, at the top of Pisgah. Peor is described as looking down upon Jeshimon (RVm; RV text 'the desert'). The *Onomasticon* describes the mountain as opposite Jericho, and as having upon it a town, Danaba (DINHABAH, wh. see), 7 miles from Heshbon. Peor is not certainly identified. *PEFSt* (1882, p. 87) suggests the peak above *'Ain Minyeh* overlooking the Dead Sea. Buhl (*GAP* 116) places Beth-peor at the mouth of the *Wādy Ḥesbân*, and is inclined to identify Peor with *el-Muśakkar*, between *Wādy 'Ajûn Mûsa* and *Wādy Ḥesbân*. For further details see BETH-PEOR.

2. A town in Judah, added by the LXX, Φαγώρ, after Jos 15^{59}; for site see BETH-PEOR.

3. A divine name, Nu 25^{18} 31^{16}, Jos 22^{17}; see BAAL-PEOR.

4. The LXX reading, Φόγωρ, for *Pau*, Gn 36^{39}, or *Pai*, 1 Ch 1^{50}; see PAI. W. H. BENNETT.

PERÆA (ἡ Περαία, Περαῖος, Περαΐτης) is the name given by Josephus to the district which is spoken of in Rabbinical literature as 'the land beyond Jordan.' (In like manner the NT, which never mentions Peræa by name, uses the phrase πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, Mt 4^{15} 19^{1}, Mk 3^{8}, Jn 1^{28} 3^{26} $6^{1.17}$ 10^{40} 18^{1}). He says (*BJ* III. iii. 3) that it stretches from Machærus in the south to Pella in the north, while its breadth is from Philadelphia (*'Ammân*) to the Jordan. In another place (*BJ* IV. vii. 3, 6) he makes Gadara the capital of Peræa; and Schürer (*HJP* II. i. 113, note) infers that in the former case the name is used in a political sense, *i.e.* with exclusion of the towns of the Decapolis. In a geographical sense it must have reached farther north, at any rate to the bank of the *Yarmuk*, while its southern boundary was probably the *Arnon*. It thus covered the districts of *Jebel 'Ajlûn* and *el-Belḳa*. It may be roughly described as a high tableland, torn in many parts by deep water-courses, mighty and picturesque ravines, breaking down towards the *'Arabah*, or, as it is now called, *el-Ghôr*. Along the western edge the heights sink abruptly into the Jordan Valley; eastward they fall away more gently into the desert. The great gorge of the *Yarmuk* in the north and that of the *Arnon* in the south form natural boundaries.

Josephus observes that, while larger in extent than Galilee, it is inferior in fertility, and less adapted for the growth of the finer fruits. The Peræan soil, however, is rich, and has always yielded good returns to the husbandman. Much land now used for pasture is well capable of cultivation; and an excellent supply of water is provided by its streams and perennial springs. Great reaches of these healthy uplands are covered with a forest of oak. The olive flourishes in many of the valleys, while the vine trails over the fruitful slopes. Towards the eastern border the country is treeless, and parts are barren and stony (Guy le Strange in Schumacher's *Across the Jordan*, 292 ff.), but the *fellaḥîn* of the Arabs find space to grow tolerable crops. Yāḳūt (A.D. 1225) observes that the region is noted for its wheat crops (Guy le Strange, *Pal. under the Moslems*, 35). The raisins most highly prized in the country come from the district capital *es-Salṭ*. Muḳaddasi (A.D. 985) says that next to Ba'albek it is the coldest place in Syria (*op. cit.* 15). See arts. GAD, GILEAD, REUBEN.

In the earlier days of the Maccabees, Peræa was inhabited chiefly by Gentiles, among whom was a 'dispersion' of Jews. Accordingly Judas, after he had discomfited the heathen, conveyed all the Israelites for safety into Judæa (1 Mac 5^{45}). The policy of Judaizing the province was not introduced before the time of Hyrcanus; probably by one of his successors (Schürer, *HJP* I. i. 192). It shared in the reduction of taxes ordered by Jonathan (*Ant.* XIII. ii. 3). Alexander Jannæus waged war with varying fortune throughout his reign, and before his death had the whole country, from Merom to the Dead Sea, under his sway (Schürer, *l.c.* pp. 297, 306). At Herod's request it was given as a tetrarchy to his brother Pheroras, who in the end fled hither, to die, it was thought, by poison (*Ant.* XV. x. 3, *BJ* I. xxiv. 5, xxx. 3, 4). It was the scene of some of Herod's building enterprise (*Ant.* XV. viii. 5). On Herod's death, Antipas was appointed tetrarch of Galilee and Peræa (*Ant.* XVII. viii. 1). When Augustus confirmed Herod Antipas in the tetrarchy, Gadara was cut off and added to Syria (*BJ* II. vi. 3). On the site of the ancient Beth-haram (Jos 13^{27}) the tetrarch built a city and called it Julias in honour of the emperor's wife (*Ant.* XVIII. ii. 1, *BJ* II. ix. 1), which Nero afterwards gave to Agrippa, with 14 villages about it (*Ant.* XX. viii. 4). It is now represented by *Tell er-Rameh* (*HGHL*¹ 488, note). Peræa was the scene of Simon's rising, so swiftly suppressed by Gratus (*Ant.* XVII. x. 6, *BJ* II. iv. 2). Felix was appointed by Claudius procurator of Galilee, Samaria, and Peræa (*BJ* II. xii. 8). After the defeat of Cestius, Manasseh was set over Peræa (*BJ* II. xx. 4). The whole region was finally subdued to the Romans by Placidus, acting under Vespasian (*BJ* IV. vii. 3-6). When the Moslems conquered the country, the district, with its capital 'Ammân, was attached to the province of Damascus (Ya'ḳûbi, A.D. 874–890). Later it was included in the kingdom of Kerak [Dimashki (A.D. 1300); Guy le Strange, *Pal. under the Moslems*, 34, 41].

In the beginning of our era the population was prevailingly Jewish. Peræa sent a multitude of Jews to Jerusalem in the rising against Sabinus (*BJ* II. iii. 1). When Gadara fell they were mostly Jews who perished (*BJ* IV. vii. 3, 6). They were strong enough to venture on armed strife with the inhabitants of Philadelphia (*'Ammân*) over the boundaries of a certain village (*Ant.* XX. i. 1), and were reduced to order only by the iron hand of Fadus. The Mishna constantly refers to Peræa—'the land beyond Jordan'—as a province of the land of Israel, along with Judæa and Galilee. Treating of the disposal of the seventh year's fruits it is said, 'The land of Israel is divided into three parts: Judæa, the land beyond Jordan, and Galilee' (*Shebiith* ix. 2). With regard to the marriage law, it is in the same case with the other two (*Kethubîm* xiii. 10); so also with regard to possessions (*Baba bathra* iii. 2). Peræa lay between two Gentile provinces on the east, as did Samaria between the two Jewish provinces on the west of the Jordan. The fords below *Beisân* and opposite Jericho afforded communication with Galilee and Judæa respectively. Peræa thus formed a link connecting the Jewish provinces, so that the pilgrim from any part might go to Jerusalem and return without setting foot on Gentile soil; and, what was at least of equal importance, he could avoid peril of hurt and indignity, which the Samaritans loved to inflict on those passing through Samaria (Lk 9^{52}; Jos. *Ant.* XX. vi. 1, *Vita* 52).

Jesus seems to have been baptized on the Peræan side of Jordan (Jn 10^{40}). Farrar thinks He passed that way after the Samaritans refused to receive Him (Lk $9^{52ff.}$). From the Feast of the Dedication He escaped to Peræa (Jn 10^{40}), whence He was summoned by the sisters at Bethany (Jn 11^{3}). The visit, with incidents and teaching, described in Mt 19, Mk 10^{1-31}, Lk 18^{15-30}, is commonly referred to the period succeeding His retirement to Ephraim (Jn 11^{54}); and from Peræa He made His last journey to Jerusalem.

Niger, 'a man of great valour in the war with the Romans,' who belonged to this district, is called 'the Peræan' (Περαΐτης, *BJ* II. xx. 4, IV. vi. 1). One of the most awful incidents in the siege of Jerusalem perpetuates the name of Mary, a woman of Peræa, from the village of Bethezob (*BJ* VI. iii. 4). In the nation's crowning calamity, when the Romans destroyed Jerusalem, and the temple sank in flaming ruins, Josephus names Peræa for the last time, as if in sympathy 'echoing back' from afar the dolorous tumult and uproar (*BJ* VI. v. 1).

LITERATURE.—Besides the authorities cited above, see Merrill, *East of the Jordan*; Oliphant, *The Land of Gilead*; Baedeker, *Pal. and Syria*, 176-193; Thomson, *Land and Book*, iii. 547-677; Buhl, *GAP* 120; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* v. 18.

W. EWING.

PERAZIM (הַר־פְּרָצִים, ὄρος ἀσεβῶν).—Mt. Perazim of Is 28^{21} ('the LORD shall rise up as in mount Perazim') is probably to be identified with BAAL-PERAZIM, the scene of one of David's victories over the Philistines, 2 S 5^{20}=1 Ch 14^{11}. It lay apparently N.E. of Adullam, on the ridge above *'Ain Fâris* (see *PEFSt*, Oct. 1899, p. 347). C. R. CONDER.

PERDITION.—One of the renderings of ἀπώλεια in NT (AV and RV), but not found at all in OT, in either version. It occurs eight times both in AV and in RV, but the latter has substituted 'perdition' for 'destruction' at Ph 3^{19} ('whose end is perdition'), and 'destruction' for 'perdition' at 2 P 3^{7} ('destruction of ungodly men'), apparently because in the former passage the 'final perdition' (cf. τέλος) of the soul is the prominent sense, and in the latter the OT Messianic destruction of the present bodily mode of existence. It would seem as if the Revisers took this view of the eschatology of 2 P generally, for they have translated ἀπώλεια by 'destruction' in all the five passages containing it, even in $2^{1.3}$ and 3^{16}. It is difficult, however, to see why, if this distinction between *destruction* and *perdition* is to hold (cf. Gwynn's note in *Speaker's Commentary* on Ph 3^{19}), the Revisers did not carry it out more consistently. At Ro 9^{22} (κατηρτισμένα εἰς ἀπώλειαν) 'destruction' has no doubt been allowed to remain as more suitable to the figure of the potter and the clay; but why is it left at Mt 7^{13} 'broad is the way that leadeth εἰς τὴν ἀπώλειαν'? The more technical and complete sense of ἀπώλεια as *perdition* (Ph 3^{19}, Mt 10^{28}) in comparison with the more general sense of ὄλεθρος as *destruction* (cf. 1 Co 5^{5}), comes out at 1 Ti 6^{9}, where ἀπώλεια serves as a definitive climax—'hurtful lusts, such as drown men in destruction and perdition.'

The question whether the word ἀπώλεια, with its correlates, (*a*) involves annihilation, (*b*) admits of unending existence and punishment, or (*c*) gives room for restoration, has already been dealt with in the article on ESCHATOLOGY (see vol. i. esp. pp. 738-740, 752 f., and 756). It is a question which (as it seems to us) can never be absolutely decided by the phraseology. An objection to the unconditional acceptance of (*a*) lies in the Jewish views of Sheol and Gehenna, and in such a moral use of ἀπόλλυμι and its correlates as in the phrase (Lk 19^{10}), 'The Son of Man came to seek and to save that which was lost (τὸ ἀπολωλός),'—a moral use which can be illustrated from the Greek prose of Polybius and Plutarch, and from the exegesis of Philo.* (*b*) is rendered uncertain, not only by *a priori* considerations as to the character of God, but by the proved relativity in the sense of αἰών and αἰώνιος. It is impossible to dogmatize in the direction of (*c*) in face of the manifest efforts of our Lord and the writers of the NT to depict a finality of destiny for those who reject the truth. But *when* these can be said finally to reject it we are not distinctly informed. Without doubt, it is to men in the present state of existence that the gospel makes its urgent appeal. But nowhere in the NT are unbelievers warned that after the cessation of the present mode of existence all chance is gone. Of two things only can we speak with any confidence: freewill will never be forced; repentance will never be spurned. J. MASSIE.

PERESH (פֶּרֶשׁ, B om., A Φάρες).—A 'son' of Machir, 1 Ch 7^{16}. See MANASSEH, p. 232^{a}.

PEREZ (פֶּרֶץ 'rupture,' or 'breach'; cf. Perez-uzzah, Baal-perazim, etc.).—In AV of OT this name is, except in 1 Ch 27^{3}, Neh $11^{4.6}$, spelt *Pharez*, a modification of the LXX Φάρες and Vulg. *Phares*. This last form is found in AV of Mt 1^{3}, Lk 3^{33}, and is retained by RV in 1 Es 5^{5}.

Perez was one of the twin sons of Judah by Tamar his daughter-in-law, and received his name from the manner of his birth, Gn 38^{29}. Nothing else is known of his personal history. In the genealogies he takes precedence of his twin brother Zerah, and to him the leading families of the tribe of Judah traced their descent. According to Gn 46^{12}, Nu $26^{20.21}$, there were four Judahite clans, two of which, Hezron and Hamul, represented Perez; the others were descended from Shelah and Zerah respectively.

Ewald (*HI* i. 365) has an ingenious theory, that as in Levi, so in Judah there were twelve families, and that the clan of Perez preponderated in the latter tribe, as that of Kohath did in the former, the Kohathite families being equal to the Gershonite and Merarite combined. In support of this he appeals to 1 Ch 2 and 4^{1-23}, which he thinks represent two different genealogies of

---

* See an article by the present writer in the *Expositor*, 2nd series, vol. ii. p. 64, 'A Contribution to the History of ἀπόλλυμι.'

Judah. In 1 Ch 2 six sons are assigned to Hezron, equalling in number Shelah and the five sons of Zerah. Ewald here, however, ignores Hamul, the addition of whom increases the preponderance of the Perez families. Indeed 1 Ch 2 deals almost exclusively with them. But the account in 1 Ch 4^{1-23} is quite different. Here there is explicit mention of six 'sons' of Judah: (1) Perez (=Hamul acc. to Ew.), (2) Hezron (elsewhere son of Perez), (3) Carmi (grandson of Zerah, Jos 7^{1}, and his representative here, acc. to Ew.), (4) Hur, (5) Shobal (=Shobab, ch. 2^{18}), (6) Shelah. Hur and Shobal are in ch. 2 sons of Chelubai or Caleb, son of Hezron. In order to make up the required number of 12 families, Ewald finds in this chapter six other 'sons' of Judah. His selection, however, seems quite arbitrary; ch. 4 is merely a disjointed list of names of persons and places, the mutual relationships of which are scarcely defined. Ewald is on surer ground when he says that in both 'genealogies' 'the proper family history of the tribe was combined with the history of the country as a whole, as well as of the possessions and residences of the more powerful families.' The blessing pronounced on Boaz by the elders of Bethlehem, Ru 4^{12} 'Let thy house be like the house of Perez,' indicates, indeed, that the descendants of Perez were numerous, but is a natural expression in the mouths of members of that family. In later times, the fact that David and the royal line of Judah were descended from Perez through Ram, son of Hezron, naturally accounts for the prominence assigned to the family; the precedence of Jashobeam among the captains, 1 Ch 27^{3}, was, however, due rather to his personal prowess than to his descent; and it is to be noted that on comparing the mutually complementary lists, 1 Ch 9^{4}, Neh $11^{4.6}$, we find that in the time of Nehemiah the descendants of Perez were not so numerous as those of Zerah. Perez occurs, of course, in the genealogy of Christ, Mt 1^{3}, Lk 3^{33}.

N. J. D. WHITE.

PEREZITES (הַפַּרְצִי, ὁ Φάρες).—The patronymic of the name PEREZ, Nu 26^{20}. See preceding article.

PEREZ-UZZAH.—See NACON and UZZAH.

PERFECTION.—We exclude from present consideration the absolute perfection peculiar to God. Wherever the term is applied in Scripture to the Divine Being (Dt 32^{4}, 2 S 22^{31}, Ps 18^{30} 19^{7}, Mt 5^{48}), no limitation of its meaning is possible. It is certainly significant that the Divine holiness itself is proposed as a motive and pattern to man, Lv 11^{44}, 1 P $1^{15f.}$, 1 Jn 3^{3}. Hence there is a close connexion between man's conception of the Divine holiness and his conception of the holiness possible to and obligatory on himself. The latter, however, is our immediate subject.

The terms used in Scripture (שָׁלֵם, תָּמִים, τέλειος), being general and abstract, tell us little until defined by the context; and the context is the Divine law as understood in a particular age. Their connotation varies with man's knowledge of moral and religious truth. The same terms are used throughout the OT, and indeed throughout Scripture; but their meaning grows with the growth of revelation. Even within the limits of the OT the development is great. How much more does 'perfect' mean to the later prophets than to the patriarchs! On NT ground the development is, of course, greater still. The perfect man in a particular age is the man who realizes in himself the Divine law, or the ideal (τέλος) of man as known in that age. Thus, in order to give a complete view of the growth of the term in meaning, it would be necessary to trace step by step the growth of moral and religious ideas in Scripture. It will be enough here to indicate the chief stages in the development.

Speaking broadly, we may say that the OT idea of moral perfection is distinguished from the NT one in three respects. It is negative rather than positive, refers to outward act rather than to inner disposition and spirit, and may be summed up in righteousness rather than in love. It will be obvious at once that such a statement is to be taken with qualifications. There are beyond question positive elements in OT ethics, rightness of disposition as well as of act is required, love has a place beside righteousness. Still, we think, careful examination will show that the negative, the outward act, righteousness, are the prominent, emphatic elements in OT, as the other elements are in NT. The higher, spiritual aspects are just mentioned in OT, and then reserved for fuller exposition till the fulness of time.

At the earliest stage the 'perfect' man is simply the 'upright' man in contrast to the 'wicked' (Job $1^{1.8}$ 2^{3} 8^{20} 9^{22}, Ps 37^{37}, Pr 2^{21}); in Ps 37^{37} and elsewhere תָּם and יָשָׁר are used convertibly. The term is probably applied to Noah, Abraham, Jacob, and Job in the same sense Gn 6^{5} 17^{1} 25^{27}, Job 1^{1}, although in Gn 17^{1} 'Walk *before me*' suggests higher thoughts, as also in Dt 18^{13} 'Perfect *with the* LORD *thy God*' does the same. In Gn 17^{1} LXX has ἄμεμπτος. In Dt 6^{5} and Lv 19^{18} the two great commandments are definitely formulated, but they are nowhere expounded and worked out in detailed application (see Lk 10^{27}). In a similar way the forbidding of sins of desire Ex 20^{17}, the requirement of inner truthfulness Ps 15^{2} 51^{6}, 'circumcision of the heart' Dt 30^{6} (cf. with Ro 2^{29}), preference of moral to ceremonial purity Is 1^{16}, Mic 6^{8}, Jl 2^{13}, Jer 31^{33}, Ps 17^{15}, are germs of great developments; but they remain germs in OT days.

The growth in the meaning of perfection in the NT is immense. The goal of the old economy is the starting-point of the new. The positive side of the law is everywhere foremost, Mt $7^{12.21.24}$ 25^{45}, Jn 13^{17} $14^{15.23}$ 15^{14}, Ja $1^{22.25}$ and often. Insistence on inward righteousness is just as marked a feature of NT teaching. This is in great part the burden of the Sermon on the Mount, Mt $5^{22.28}$; the beatitudes are blessings on gracious disposition. Outward obedience is too little, nothing but an inner transformation is sufficient, the roots and springs of man's life must be made new, Mt 7^{17} 15^{18}, Jn $3^{3.6}$, Ro 8^{6} 12^{2}, 2 Co 5^{17}, Gal 5^{24}, He 9^{14} etc. Above all, love, which is righteousness raised to the highest power, appears everywhere as the central law of life, Mt 5^{44}, Lk $10^{27f.37}$, Jn 13^{34}, Ro 13^{10}, 1 Co 13, Ja 2^{8}, 1 Jn $3^{18.23}$ $4^{7.11.16.18}$ etc. This substitution of love of God and man for righteousness involves a complete transformation of the Divine law. The two great commandments of the law are applied in detail to the different relations and duties of human life, Mt 5^{44}, Ro 12^{10}, He 13^{1}, 2 P 1^{7}. Such summaries of duty as are found in Ro 12 and 13 are simply different applications of the two chief commandments. The distance we have travelled is seen in comparing the 'perfect' of the Lord's words in Mt 5^{48} with the 'perfect' of the OT. The qualifying clause 'As your Father,' the context with its command 'Love not merely your neighbour but your enemies,' and the entire strain of precept in the discourse, forbid the fixing of narrow limits. St. Paul's teaching in Ro 12^{19-21} is in the same spirit.

The proposal of Christ Himself as the example of Christian life is very significant. Not merely His teaching, He Himself is the law, the ideal of renewed man, Jn 13^{15}, Ph 2^{5}, Eph 4^{32} $5^{1f.}$ ('Be ye imitators of God'). This suggests the further fact that the new, the Christian type of character is the one in which the mild virtues and graces prevail, Mt 5^{2-9} 11^{29}, Jn 13^{14}, Gal $5^{22\text{f.}}$ 6^{2}, Ph 2^{3} 4^{5}, Col 3^{12}.

The apostolic prayers and wishes for Christian Churches are full of instruction on this subject. Passages like Eph 1^{16-19} 3^{14-19}, Col 1^{9-11}, 1 Th 5^{23}, 2 Co 13^{9}, are the final expositions of the law of love, and show to what a height the idea of moral perfection has risen. Nothing has been or can be added to the type of spiritual excellence there described. The two remarkable words used in 1 Th 5^{23} may be taken as an inspired interpretation of *τέλειος*, namely *ὁλόκληρος* and *ὁλοτελής*; the former occurs again in Ja 1^{4}, the latter is a *ἅπ. λεγόμενον*. The former, Ellicott says, 'serves to mark that which is entire in all its parts,' the latter indicates the 'thoroughness and pervasive nature of holiness' (see also Trench, *NT Synonyms*, p. 71, and Lightfoot, *ad loc.*). These passages explain very fully the meaning or contents of the moral perfection, which is to be the aspiration of every Christian for himself, as it was the aspiration of the apostles for the Christians of their day. The natural doubt respecting the possibility of attainment is anticipated by St. Paul's doxology, 'Unto him that is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think,' Eph 3^{20}, a passage which reminds us that the believer is kept absolutely dependent on the grace and Spirit of God for the beginning and perfecting of all that is good in him, Eph 2^{10}, Ph 1^{6} 2^{13}, Col 2^{28}, 1 P 1^{5}.

Another line of phraseology, taken from human growth, sheds much light on our subject. The perfect (*τέλειοι*) are the mature, full-grown in contrast to babes and children (*νήπιοι, παιδία*). 'Every one that partaketh of milk is a babe. Solid food is for perfect' (men), He $5^{13\text{f.}}$ 'Wherefore let us go on to perfection' (*τελειότης*), 6^{1}. 'Be not children in mind: in malice be babes, in mind be perfect' (*τέλειοι*), 1 Co 14^{20}, also 2^{6} 3^{1}. All this explains 'unto a perfect (full-grown) man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ, that we may be no longer children,' Eph $4^{13\text{f.}}$. St. John has 'little children, fathers, young men,' 1 Jn 2^{13-15}. 'The *τέλειος* is one who has attained his moral end, that for which he was intended, namely to be a man in Christ' (Trench, *NT Syn.* p. 74). 'In this sense St. Paul claimed to be *τέλειος*, even while almost in the same breath he disclaimed the being *τετελειωμένος*, Ph $3^{12.\,15}$' (*ib.*). The apostle's disclaimer intimates that there is no state of perfectness which excludes the possibility of advance; the full-grown man is still in process of growth. St. James also has the idea of perfection, 1^{4} 3^{2}.

It is encouraging to remember that this high teaching of Scripture has always been kept before the mind of the Church. Here again St. Paul is our leader, 'Forgetting the things which are behind, I press on toward the goal,' Ph $3^{13\text{f.}}$. The question of the possibility of Christian perfection in the present life was raised by Augustine and answered in the affirmative. To doubt it, he said, would be to limit the power of Divine grace. But he doubts, or rather denies, that there have been perfect Christians, assigning as reasons the weakness of human nature, the danger of pride, the need of discipline (see quotations in Pope, *Compend. of Theol.* iii. p. 70). The mediæval and Roman Catholic Church holds not only the possibility but the fact in the case of 'saints,' canonization being the Church's seal on the perfect life. The use of the term 'saints' to denote a special class of Christians is extra-scriptural, as in Scripture the term is applied to all Christians, Ro 1^{7} and elsewhere. The motive of the monastic system in its long history and multitudinous forms has been to secure favourable conditions for living a perfect Christian life, supposed to be impossible in ordinary circumstances. 'If thou wilt be perfect, sell all that thou hast' (Mt 19^{21}), has been held to dictate the condition of such a life, as it was the voice ever sounding in the ears of Francis of Assisi. Whatever our judgment on the monastic system, the nobility of its original aims must be acknowledged. The great succession of mystics of the à Kempis type in every Church and age has done much to preserve the tradition of a deep spiritual life. The passages of Scripture which are their watchwords (Jn 15^{4}, Gal 2^{20}, Col 3^{1-4}) have been shown to describe true experiences. John Wesley's doctrine on the subject merely follows in the wake of many teachers and communities whose aim has been the promotion of the highest Christian life. It is a doctrine of relative perfection in a very strict sense. His own favourite definition of its nature is expressed in the terms of the two chief commandments, which he insists are an ideal intended to be realized in actual life. His doctrine differs only in name from the teaching of all who desire and seek the highest life of holiness. In any case the perfect conformity to the image of the Son, which is God's eternal purpose (Ro 8^{29}), must ever remain the cherished hope of every believer in Christ.

J. S. BANKS.

PERFORM, PERFORMANCE.—These words have lost the idea of *finishing, completing*, which once belonged to them. Tindale translates Lk $14^{28.\,29}$ 'Which of you disposed to build a toure sytteth not doune before and counteth the cost, whether he have sufficient to performe it? lest after he hath layde the foundacion, and is not able to performe it, all that beholde it beginne to mocke him.' And Robinson in *More's Utopia*, ii. (Lupton's ed. p. 170), says, 'The lacke of the one is performed and fylled up with the aboundaunce of the other.' This is often the meaning of 'perform' in AV. Thus Is 10^{12} 'When the Lord hath performed his whole work upon Mount Zion' (כִּי־יְבַצַּע, lit. 'when he hath cut off,' the figure being taken from the cutting off of the finished web from the loom; LXX *ὅταν συντελέσῃ*; Vulg *cum impleverit*; Wyc. 'shall fulfelle,' Purvey 'hath fillid'; Cov. 'As soone as I have perfurmed'). Lk 2^{39} 'When they had performed all things according to the law of the Lord' is not merely 'when they had done all things,' but 'when they had completed' or (RV) 'accomplished' (*ὡς ἐτέλεσαν*). To 'perform the doing' of a thing (as in 2 Co 8^{11}) is now tautology, whence RV 'complete the doing' (*τὸ ποιῆσαι ἐπιτελέσατε*). The change in the meaning of 'perform' is due to the supposition that it is made up of *per* and *form*, and to form is to do, to make. It has no connexion with *form*, being derived from Fr. *parfournir*, to furnish completely, accomplish. Its original and proper meaning is well expressed by Maundeville (*Travels*, p. 265), 'But whan he saughe thet he myghte not dou it, ne bringe it to an ende, he preyed to God of Nature that he wolde parforme that that he had begonne.' Cf. Ps 20^{5} 21^{11} 57^{2} (Pr. Bk.).

Performance is used in AV only in the sense of bringing to an end, completing, viz. Lk 1^{45} (*τελείωσις*, RV 'fulfilment'), 2 Co 8^{11} (*τὸ ἐπιτελέσαι*, RV 'the completion').

J. HASTINGS.

PERFUME, in the sense of a fragrant material, is tr$^{\text{n}}$ of קְטֹרֶת *ḳĕṭoreth*, in Ex 30^{35}, and of [רֶקַח, only in plur.] *riḳḳûḥîm*, in Is 57^{9}. In the verbal form to sprinkle scents, in Pr 7^{17}, it is נוּף *nûph*. Fragrance, a word which does not occur in AV, has been introduced by RV in Ca $1^{3.\,12}$ 7^{13} in place of 'savour' or 'smell,' and is the rendering of רֵיחַ. The same word occurs in Gn 27^{27}, Hos 14^{6}, Ca 4^{10} 7^{8}.

The use of odorous or strongly-smelling materials has been alluded to under OINTMENT and INCENSE, as well as under the specific names of the various scents. Most of these Scripture perfumes are pungent rather than sweetly-smelling, and would not please the present taste; but, as Pliny has said, there have been fashions in odours as in clothes. The raw materials are gums, resins, roots, barks, or leaves, and these were variously combined, according to the skill and fancy of the perfumer. These רֹקְחִים are called 'apothecaries' in Ex 30$^{25-35}$ 37^{29}, 2 Ch 16^{14}, Neh 3^{8} (רַקָּחִים), Ec 10^{1}, Sir 38^{8} 49^{1} (LXX in both *μυρεψός*), and 'confectionaries' in 1 S 8^{13} (רַקָּחוֹת). RV substitutes 'perfumers' except in 2 Ch, Neh, and Sir; but these texts also refer to perfumers, not apothecaries in the modern sense of the word. These perfumers constituted a guild among the Jews; see APOTHECARY, i. 126; CONFECTION, i. 464; MEDICINE, above, p. 332.

These odorous compounds were either for personal or for ritual use. Those used for the former usually took the form of **ointments** (which see), and were (1) for the purpose of masking the odour of the body, which is apt to be strong and disagreeable in a hot country. This is especially the case with the feet, hence the Greeks and Romans regarded it as a great luxury to have their feet anointed with sweet-smelling ointment. Athenæus quotes a number of authorities in reference to this practice (xii. 78). It was in accordance with this mode of showing honour to guests that the woman anointed the feet of our Lord (Lk 7^{38}, cf. Jn 12^{3}). For other cases of the cosmetic use of ointments or perfumes see ANOINTING. The use of these was looked upon as an effeminate luxury by Pliny, who deprecates the lavish use of them in Rome (xiii. 1).

(2) Perfumes, such as frankincense, were sometimes chewed to give to the breath a sweet scent (Ca 7^{8}). For modern instances see Lane, *Mod. Egyp.* i. 238.

(3) Ladies among the Jews sometimes carried perfume boxes at their girdles (Is 3^{20}); these were called בָּתֵּי הַנֶּפֶשׁ, and this is translated 'tablets' (*i.e.* lockets) in AV. They were most probably metallic boxes containing ointment or frankincense. Such boxes have been found in Egypt.

(4) Perfumes were sprinkled on garments or placed in boxes with clothing to give them a pleasant odour (Ps 45^{8}, Ca 4^{11}). This is still done in the East as in the West (see Lane, *ib.* i. 256).

(5) Perfume was sprinkled on couches or beds as in Pr 7^{17}.

(6) In the Persian harem, perfumes were the chief means of purification in use: six months unction with oil of myrrh, and six months with spices and the 'ointment of the women,' LXX *σμήγμασι τῶν γυναικῶν* (Est 2^{12}). At the present day rosewater is used for such purificatory washing (Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i. 68).

(7) Odours and spices were used at funerals, applied as antiseptics to the body. Asa was laid in a bed filled with sweet odours and divers kinds of spices prepared by the perfumers (2 Ch 16^{14}); and Nicodemus provided about 100 lbs. of myrrh and aloes for the burial of our Lord. They were also burned at funerals; probably the burnings of 2 Ch 16^{14} 21^{19} were made of them. At Poppæa's funeral Nero burned more perfumes than Arabia could produce within a year (Pliny, xii. 18).

Of the ritual or ceremonial uses of perfumes, usually in the form of incense, mention is made in many places in the OT. Sometimes it was burned before a king when making a state procession. To this there is an allusion in the pillar of smoke which preceded the king in Ca 3^{6}. Quintus Curtius speaks of a similar ceremonial in the case of Indian princes (viii. 38). See INCENSE in vol. ii. p. 468^{a}.

The period at which incense was introduced into the Jewish worship is unknown, but it was perhaps used in very early times (see, however, INCENSE, *ib.* p. 467^{a}). The Egyptians used it as far back as the 4th dynasty, and on almost every stele of the period which covers the whole of the Israelite sojourn in Egypt there is specific mention of *ntr sntr* or incense. Odorous fumigations are used in all ceremonial religions, and the sweet smell is supposed to propitiate the god. Oedipus says that Thebes 'reeks with incense and rings with prayers' (Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, 4), and Herodotus records that Datis, the Median, burnt 30 talents of frankincense on the altar at Rhenæa (vi. 97). Similar references might be multiplied for other places, and for cults the most dissimilar. To this idea Amos alludes, when speaking for the offended Deity he says that 'He will not smell' in their solemn assemblies (5^{21}). RV renders it 'will take no delight,' which is a paraphrase, the AV being the literal rendering. In the NT there is no account of the use of perfumes in Christian worship, but the idea is spiritualized like the other typical observances of the old worship: thus St. Paul calls the self-sacrifice of Christ 'a sacrifice to God for a sweet-smelling savour' (Eph 5^{2}); and he also calls the gifts which the Philippians had sent to him by Epaphroditus 'an odour of a sweet smell' (Ph 4^{18}). In the apocalyptic vision the four living creatures and the 24 elders before the throne of God are said to offer incense, which is the type of the prayers of saints, Rev 5^{8}.

The perfumes mentioned in the Bible will be found under their specific names. They are **Aloes**, **Apples** (said to yield a fragrance, but scarcely a perfume in the strict sense), **Balm**, **Bdellium** (probably derived from a species of *Amyris* and allied to myrrh, see Jos. *Ant.* III. i. 6), **Calamus** (probably one of the lemon-grasses, such as *Andropogon pachnodes*, or *schœnanthus*. The former yields the sweet-scented Turkish grass-oil of commerce. It might, however, be the *Acorus calamus* or sweet-cane, but this is unlikely), **Camphire** (henna), **Cassia**, **Cinnamon**, **Costus** (see OINTMENT), **Frankincense**, **Galbanum**, **Ladanum** (the לֹט of Gn 37^{25} 43^{11} translated 'myrrh,' but much more probably the odorous gum exuded by a *Cistus*, either *C. Ledon* or *C. laurifolius*, perhaps *Creticus*), **Mandrakes** (mentioned as fragrant, but not a perfumer's material, Ca 7^{13}), **Mastic** (*σχῖνος*, the *Pistacia lentiscus*, mentioned only in the Apocr. Sus ^{54}), **Myrrh** (yielded by *Balsamodendron myrrha*), **Onycha** (the שְׁחֵלֶת of Ex 30^{34}, either ladanum, as in the Arabic Version, or the sweet-smelling operculum of a *Strombus*. Its smell is alluded to in Sir 24^{15}), **Saffron**, **Spikenard**, **Stacte** (probably storax, the resin of *Styrax officinale*), **Tragacanth** (נְכֹאת of Gn 37^{25} 43^{11}, the gum exuded by *Astragalus tragacantha*).

The proper names Keturah, Basemath, and Euodia seem to be derived from the words for 'incense' or 'fragrance.' A. MACALISTER.

PERGA (Πέργη; the form Πέργα, which might have been expected, seems not to occur: * in Latin commonly *Perga*, but Pliny has *Perge*) was one of the two greatest cities of Pamphylia in ancient times (Side being the other). Strabo describes it as being on the Cestrus, 60 stadia, 7 to 8 miles, from its mouth; and he speaks of the river as navigable. There is some inaccuracy in this statement, as Perga is fully 5 miles west from the Cestrus; but it is true that the nearest point on the river is about 60 stadia above the mouth. Mela more correctly says that Perga was situated between the rivers Cestrus and Cataractes, but nearer the former (which he too describes as navigable). The earliest known memorials of Perga are its coins, which begin early in the 2nd cent. B.C. But its walls are of Seleucid, not Pergamenian style, and, therefore, probably were built in the 3rd cent.; and Perga began to strike coins when set free from the rule of the Seleucid kings of Syria in B.C. 189. Its coins last in a fairly rich series till about A.D. 276; and it was the only 'Greek city' except Alexandria that struck coins of the emperor Tacitus. Side and Perga both ranked as metropolitan cities of Pamphylia: on coins Perga is styled metropolis under the emperor Tacitus, but certainly had that rank earlier (as Side also must have ranked as metropolis, though its coins do not mention the title).

---

* A coin in the British Museum Catalogue, No. 27, reads ΠΕΡΓΑ; but this may be an abbreviation of the adjective. On No. 48 the city name is indubitably ΠΕΡ[Γ]Η.

Perga was evidently the stronghold of native Pamphylian feeling in opposition to the Greek colony ATTALIA, which was founded during the 2nd cent. B.C. Its coinage is invariably associated with the native goddess, who was identified with the Greek Artemis, but evidently was more like the Ephesian than the true Hellenic deity. Sometimes she is called on coins the Queen of Perga (*Ϝάνασσα* written in Pamphylian alphabet), but commonly Artemis of Perga. She is represented either as the Greek short-clad huntress Artemis, sometimes with a sphinx beside her, sometimes with a stag, or as the Greek goddess, wearing a long tunic, but still carrying the bow; but far more characteristic is the type common in imperial times, in which she is symbolized by a quaint simulacrum, probably representing a large stone with a rounded top: the top is sometimes modified to resemble a female head with long veil and kalathos, while the stone in its lower part then seems like a rude and massive human body. On the stone sometimes there appear to be zones of dancing figures. The sphinx or the eagle are frequent accompaniments of the simulacrum. This goddess may safely be described as similar to the Ephesian (see DIANA). The name Leto seems probably to belong to her, whether it be a modification of the Lycian word *lada* (the lady), or of the old Semitic Al-lat or Alilat.*

The site of Perga is now called Murtana, and is about 12 miles north-east of Attalia. The temple is described by Strabo as standing on a higher ground beside the city. This higher ground was the site of the older city, and constituted the acropolis. It is not an isolated hill, but part of that steep-edged plateau which occupies much of the country between Cestrus and Cataractes. In the time of Strabo the city seems to have been on the low ground south of the acropolis. All the ruins—walls, gates, theatre, stadium, churches, etc.—are in that part, while few remains are now visible on the acropolis; but the platform with the lower part of six granite columns near the south-east of the acropolis (which G. Hirschfeld and other travellers took for the temple of Artemis) is considered by Petersen too rude for that doubtless splendid building.† The greatness of the city was bound up with that of the goddess: compare the speech of Demetrius about the Ephesian Artemis in Ac 19. The right of asylum, doubtless, belonged to her temple and precinct (see *Arch. Epigraph. Mittheil. aus Oesterreich*, 1897, p. 65).

Paul and Barnabas, with John Mark, on their first missionary journey, sailed from Paphos and came to Perga in Pamphylia (Ac 9^{13}); and the expression reminds us of Strabo's opinion that Perga was on the navigable river. It would appear from all the passages taken together that there was a port-town on the river, ranking not as a separate city, but as part of Perga. The apostles seem not to have stayed long in Perga, and they are not said to have preached there. The failure of any allusion to preaching may safely be taken as a proof that they did not preach, but for some reason changed their plan, and thus lost the company of John (see PAMPHYLIA). The form of expression, 'Perga of Pamphylia,' Ac 13^{13}, does not imply distinction from any other Perga (for there was no other city of that name): it means only 'to the province Pamphylia, and specially the capital Perga.' But on their return, perhaps two years later, Paul and Barnabas preached in Perga, though apparently with no marked success. Thereafter they went to Attalia, on the coast, to get a ship for the Syrian coast: many ships would pass to and fro between Syria and the west, touching at Attalia, but not going up to Perga.

The early history of Christianity in Perga is very obscure, and probably its progress was slow (see PAMPHYLIA). Some martyrs — Theodorus, Philippa, Socrates, and Dionysius — at Perga (*Acta Sanct.*, 20 Sept., p. 137) are mentioned under one of the many emperors called Antoninus, perhaps Elagabalus. But Perga is never mentioned in the oldest Martyrologies, the Syriac and the Hieronymian; nor is Side.

Under the Christian empire, Perga and Side, as being metropolitan bishoprics, each exercised authority over a part of the whole province; Perga being head of Secunda Pamphylia, the western division. It is by no means certain that this division affected the civil administration; it may have been only ecclesiastical; but the point is not determined as yet. Hierocles, about A.D. 530, gives only one province Pamphylia, yet he gives first all the Pergaian cities, and thereafter all the Sidetan, apparently implying both a knowledge of the distinction and a refusal to recognize it as a real fact of government.

Perga fell into decay in later Byzantine time. It had not sufficient military strength for that disturbed period. Between A.D. 787 and 812 it was amalgamated in the ecclesiastical system with the neighbouring city of Sillyon as a joint metropolitan bishopric; Sillyon had been an independent *autokephalos* bishopric for about a century previously. Evidently, these two inland cities were both decaying in the 8th century. The ruin of Perga proceeded steadily. In A.D. 1084 Attaleia* was made a metropolis. The official lists, *Notitiæ Episcopatuum*, represent this as if Attaleia were made then an independent archbishopric, and Perga remained metropolis of Pamphylia Secunda. But in reality Perga was now a mere ecclesiastical title, and Attaleia was the residence of the real head of all the Pamphylian Church that remained: in truth, most of Pamphylia *provincia* was now *in partibus infidelium*, having been conceded to the Turks by the feeble competitors who were struggling with one another for the throne of the Byzantine empire after the ruin of the imperial power at the battle of Manzikert in 1071.

The true state of matters is quite frankly recognized in the (late) Fourth Notitia, where the entry reads: *ὁ Συλαίου δς καὶ Πέργης λέγεται, ἀνθ' οὗ ἔνι νῦν ὁ 'Ατταλίας*. So, too, a MS (Tischendorf, *Nov. Test.* iii. Proleg. p. 629, No. 99), dated A.D. 1345 or 1445, was written by the hand of Theognostus, *μητροπολίτου Πέργης καὶ 'Ατταλείας, ἐξάρχου τῆς κενῆς* (*i.e. καινῆς*) *δευτέρας Παμφυλίας*. To complete this account of the decay of Christian organization in Pamphylia, it may be added that Side was degraded (1283-1321) from tenth to thirteenth in the order of rank of the metropoleis (its place being given to Philadelphia, which was then so important a city to the narrowed Christian empire); and in 1328-1341 Side disappeared entirely from the list of metropoleis, Monemvasia as head of the whole

---

* See *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* (Ramsay), pt. i. p. 90 f.

† In Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyliens*, i. p. 36.

* Note on Tenth Notitia (Parthey, p. 214, No. 522).

Peloponnesus taking its place.* Thus we reach the modern state of things, in which there is in Pamphylia only the single Christian dignitary at Attalia. It would appear perhaps, that, when Perga was at last definitely recognized as being *in partibus infidelium*, the new bishopric of Pyrgion, in the Cayster valley, was identified with it, so that the titular bishop of Perga officiated at Pyrgion with his old order of precedence according to the official lists (which never formally accepted the real historical facts): this seems implied in the entry in a late document printed in Parthey's *Notitiæ Episcop.* p. 314, No. 60, Πέργη τὸ νῦν Πυργὶν (*i.e.* Πυργίον). The elevation of Pyrgion took place between 1193 and 1199. Similarly, Proconnesos was put in the place of Mokisos-Justinianopolis† (head of Cappadocia Tertia), and Monemvasia in that of Side. But in almost all such cases the official lists continued to preserve the old situation, and rarely recognized the facts of the time when they were written.

LITERATURE.—Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyliens*; Hill, *Cat. of Coins, Brit. Mus., Pamphylia*, etc. On the ecclesiastical facts several articles by Gelzer in *Jahrbüch. für protestant. Theologie*, xii.; and Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr. of Asia Minor* (see *Index*, *s.vv.*).

W. M. RAMSAY.

PERGAMUS or **PERGAMUM** (ἡ Πέργαμος or τὸ Πέργαμον; the word occurs in NT only in dat. and accus., leaving the nom. uncertain; in other authorities both forms occur; Ptolemy, Dion Cassius (lix. 28. 1), and Stephanus Byz. have Πέργαμος,‡ while almost all other writers and inscriptions have Πέργαμον) was a great and famous city of Mysia, adjoining the district called Teuthrania, about 15 miles up the Caicus valley from the sea, and about 3 miles north of the river, which was navigable for the small ancient ships. Two small streams joined the Caicus near Pergamum, the Selinus actually flowing through the city and the Keteios washing its walls on the east. Between these two streams was a well-marked hill, which was the site of the earliest city and of the Acropolis of the later city (with many of its most magnificent buildings, agora, gymnasium, Greek theatre, temples of Dionysos, Athena, Faustina, Trajan, etc., and the great altar of Zeus). The enlarged later city extended across the Selinus to the south-west; and here were amphitheatre, circus, Roman theatre, probably the temple of Augustus, and farther west the sacred precinct and temple of Asklepios.

Pergamum was an ancient city, which struck coins as early as 420–400. But its greatness began early in the 3rd cent., when Philetærus managed to appropriate a great treasure deposited there under his charge by king Lysimachus; and by the support of Seleucus, the Syrian king, he gradually made himself independent and powerful (B.C. 284–263). He was succeeded by his nephew, Eumenes (263–241); thereafter succeeded Attalus I., who took the title of king (241–197); Eumenes II. (197–159); Attalus II. (159–138); and Attalus III. (138–133), who bequeathed his kingdom to the Romans.

The military glory of the Attalid kings and of Pergamum lay in the wars with the Gauls or Galatians (which see), who invaded Asia Minor in B.C. 278. Eumenes I. paid tribute to the Gauls; but Attalus I. refused to continue this humiliating custom; and when war followed he won a great victory at the sources of the Caicus, about B.C. 241–240. It was in the flush of this victory that Attalus assumed the title of king. The success was celebrated in art and literature as a triumph of Hellenic civilization over barbarism. This and other victories gave Attalus supremacy over great part of western Asia Minor (*Asia cis Taurum*); but about 222 the Seleucid dominion over this country was restored, and Pergamenian power shrank once more to its previous narrow bounds, what was called the πατρῴα ἀρχή immediately round Pergamum. Attalus slowly reconquered his lost empire, and, taking advantage of the Roman enmity against the Seleucid kings, he threw all his strength on the side of the great republic. About 205 he actively aided the Romans to get from Pessinus the sacred image of the Phrygian mother of the gods, which the Sibylline books directed them to bring to Rome as a condition of success in the war against Hannibal. Eumenes II. continued the policy of alliance with Rome. He actively co-operated in the war of 190, and at the peace of 189 the whole Seleucid dominions on this side of Taurus were given to him. Thus once more Pergamum became the capital of western Asia Minor, and in the following 18 years Eumenes carried on vigorous operations in central Asia Minor, and won several successes over the Gauls (who had been settled in the part of ancient Phrygia and Cappadocia which was henceforth called GALATIA). But the Romans were not inclined to allow Eumenes to become too strong, and their steady though carefully veiled support maintained the Galatians in independence, when they seemed on the point of falling into subjection to Pergamum.

In the spring of the year 133 Attalus III. died, leaving a will in which, while he ordered that Pergamum and the other towns should be administered as constitutional, self-governing cities, he bequeathed his entire kingdom to the Romans.* At this point the coinage of Pergamum again begins to illuminate the city, whereas from 284 to 133 the coins were exclusively royal. The most famous class of Pergamene coins, the *cistophori*, struck first by the kings, were continued after the royal rule ended. *Cistophori* were struck, not only at Pergamum but also at many other of the great cities of Asia (including Mysia, Lydia, Phrygia, and Caria), and they were the commonest current silver coin in the Ægean lands. The type was composite, uniting the *cista mystica* and other accompaniments of Dionysiac worship. The coinage of Pergamum continues in an unbroken and very rich series down to the reign of Gallienus, in the latter part of the 3rd cent. after Christ.

In 133 the Pergamenian realm, bequeathed to the Romans, was formed into a Roman province; but the province was much smaller than the kingdom, for Phrygia Magna was given away to Mithridates, king of Pontus. Phrygia was reclaimed by the Senate after B.C. 120, when Mithridates died; but, though loosely attached to the province, it was not properly organized and definitely incorporated in Asia (as the new province was called) until the year B.C. 85–84 under the government of Sulla. From that time onwards the province had much the same extent as the old Pergamenian realm. The name Asia as applied to the province was apparently a Roman invention, but it was taken up by the Greek population, and is used freely in the inscriptions of the great cities to indicate the Roman provincial unity with all the countries embraced in it (see LYDIA, ASIA).

---

* Notitia, iv. 60, xii. 14, 35 (Parthey, pp. 136, 237, 238): the stubborn unwillingness of the official Notitiæ to recognize the real facts appears in the Fourth Notitia, which still continues to mention Side (iv. 11) in its old place as head of Pamphylia, besides recording its new situation. But xii. mentions the new situation twice, under each name.

† Known only from Georgius Pachymeres, i. p. 286 (*Hist. Geogr. As. Min.* p. 300).

‡ Steph. *Thes.*, quotes Xen. *Hell.* iii. 1. 6, Paus. vii. 16. 1, x. 25. 10, etc. (where the fem. gender proves the nom., unless πόλις is to be understood), but does not mention the above instances. The true text in Polyb., Strab., Appian, Philostr. etc., is τὸ Πέργαμον.

* See Fränkel, *Inschriften von Pergamon*, i. No. 249, an inscription which confirms the real existence of this will against the scepticism of several modern historians. See also Mommsen in *Athen. Mittheil. des Inst.* 1899, p. 193.

The four chief gods of Pergamum are mentioned in an oracle of about A.D. 167, which ordered the Pergamenians to seek relief from the great pestilence by appealing to Zeus, Dionysos, Athena, and Asklepios.* All appear frequently as types on the coins of the city. Zeus Soter and Athena Nikephoros were especially honoured as having given victory over the Gauls in the olden time. The whole strength and skill of Pergamenian art was directed to glorify them as the patrons of Greek genius triumphing over barbarism. Asklepios was introduced from Epidauros, probably in a comparatively recent historical period (perhaps in the 5th cent. B.C.). Dionysos was apparently a native Anatolian deity, worshipped with mysteries and rites of a peculiar society called Boukoloi or Ox-herds, who were the attendants of the *ἄξιος ταῦρος*, a mystic name of Dionysos. All these gods had splendid places of worship. Zeus and Athena were more of Hellenic and artistic conceptions, Dionysos Kathegemon more purely religious. Under the Roman empire, Asklepios the Saviour (Soter) became the most fashionable deity of Pergamum; but he appears on coins as early as 159-138 and often in the 1st cent. B.C. As the god of the healing art, he had a temple and a sacred precinct to which flocked many invalids for medical treatment, which they received partly directly from the god (who revealed the method of cure in dreams when the sufferers slept in his sacred place), partly from the priests and physicians in attendance on the temple. As this worship and medical treatment brought many wealthy visitors to Pergamum, the god was naturally highly popular in the city. Hence, in the 2nd and 3rd cents. after Christ, Asklepios was the representative deity of Pergamum, standing for it as type on most of the symbolical alliance coins.

The view has been often maintained that the richness of the accessories with which the worship of these and other deities was conducted in Pergamum suggested the words in Rev 2^{13}, describing the city as the place 'where the throne of Satan is,' and as the place 'where Satan dwelleth.' According to that view, Pergamum is pictured as a religious centre, and contrasted with purely commercial cities like Smyrna and Ephesus and Corinth. But this picture is hardly true to the facts as they existed when the Apocalypse was written. It was not the case that commercial cities were less given to religion in ancient times than those which, like Pergamum, lay apart from the great lines of commerce and intercourse. Writers who take that view are misled by modern ideas, natural in modern time when religion has become a moral force, resisting and seeking to withdraw men from many of the practices conducive to commercial success. But in ancient times religion was rather the glorification of success, commercial and otherwise: the gods were the patrons of every side of common life; and the great commercial city was most likely to be the great religious city. If the greatest centre of pagan ritual in the province Asia is the place where the throne of Satan is, then Ephesus is the city that beyond all others merits that description.

The words of Rev 2^{13} must refer to some other attribute which can be truly attached to Pergamum. Pliny sets us in the right path by his remark, *Nat. Hist.* v. 30, that Pergamum was far the most distinguished city of Asia (*longe clarissimum Asiæ*, i.e. *provinciæ*). These words show clearly that Pliny regarded Pergamum as the capital of the province. The province Asia had come into existence as an enfranchised† kingdom, with a universally recognized capital: Pergamum was the germ out of which the kingdom had slowly grown to maturity and strength. Occupying this historical pre-eminence, Pergamum was naturally recognized as the capital of the new province Asia; and it retained this position for over two centuries. By the middle of the second century after Christ, on the contrary, there can be no doubt that Ephesus was recognized generally as the capital of the province. It is uncertain at what time the change was made. It is even uncertain whether the change was formally made at some definite time by imperial order, or gradually came about in practice without any authoritative imperial recognition. It is, however, certain that, under Augustus, Pergamum was still the capital, for the provincial council (called the *Κοινὸν Ἀσίας*)* built there the temple dedicated to Rome and Augustus to serve as its meeting-place, while Ephesus then was not officially regarded as leading city. The provincial council built a temple at Smyrna to Tiberius, and it was perhaps not until A.D. 41-54 that it built at Ephesus a temple and dedicated it to Claudius.† Down to this time it seems reasonably certain that Ephesus had not been recognized, either by general consent or by imperial act, as capital of the province. The provincial council necessarily made its temple and meeting-place first in the provincial capital; and by degrees the modification was introduced that temples and meetings were arranged also in other great cities of the province. Asia was peculiar in having so many meeting-places of the provincial council; in many provinces there was one single unvarying place of meeting for the council. Ephesus had built a temple of Augustus before B.C. 5;‡ but this seems to have been only a dedication by the city, and not arranged and sanctioned by the provincial council;§ and it stood in the sacred precinct of Artemis, not in a separate precinct of its own.

Even in the beginning of the 2nd cent. Pergamum probably still ranked officially as the capital, for it had got a second temple of the Emperors, and the title 'twice Neokoros,' before A.D. 123 (and probably already in the time of Trajan), whereas Ephesus acquired these honours only late in the reign of Hadrian, between the proconsulate of Peducæus Priscinus, A.D. 127, and that of Aurelius Fulvus Antoninus about A.D. 130 or 135.‖

Should we not, then, explain by this primacy in the worship of the Emperors the statement in Rev 2^{13}, that 'the throne of Satan' is at Pergamum? The city was still officially the capital of the province, and, especially, it was recognized as the chief centre of the imperial worship, in which the unity and loyalty of the province was expressed. In this latter point lay the peculiar aggravation and abomination. It was the worship of the Emperors that was recognized, when the Apoc. was written, as the special foe of Christianity, as Antichrist, as Satan. It was the refusal of the Christians to pay the proper respect to the emperor by performing the prescribed acts of ritual and worship in the imperial religion that formed the test by which they could be detected, and the reason why they were outlawed: their refusal was interpreted as a proof of disloyalty and treason, for it was a refusal to acquiesce in, and to be members of, the imperial unity.[*] Pergamum, as the chief centre of that imperial worship for the province, was the seat and 'the throne of Satan.'

---

* Fränkel, *l.c.* ii. p. 239.

† When kings ceased to govern it the change was a declaration of freedom.

* See ASIARCH.

† This, though regarded as practically certain by Buchner, *de Neocoria*, p. 38, is far from being so well established as he represents. It is not at all certain that there was a temple of Claudius at Ephesus. The temple built by the council at Ephesus is called 'temple of the Emperors' in *Inscr. Brit. Mus.* No. 481, and *Smyrn. Mous.* iii. p. 180.

‡ See Hicks, *Inscrip. of Brit. Mus.* No. 522 (where date B.C. 6 should be corrected to 5).

§ Buchner (*loc. cit.*) seems to have failed to observe the existence of this temple at Ephesus: he never refers to it.

‖ Buchner, *de Neocoria*, p. 59; *CIG* 2965, 2966, 2987*b*.

We are too ignorant of the details regarding the imperial worship in Asia to be able to say exactly what was implied in that primacy. The Council of Asia met also at other places, as Ephesus (hence the presence of the Asiarchs there, Ac 19), Smyrna, Sardis; but some sort of pre-eminence belonged to Pergamum at least as late as A.D. 127 (as has been stated above). Now Hadrian visited Pergamum probably in A.D. 123.[†] He was again in Asia in 129, when he visited Laodicea in the Lycus valley, and presumably Ephesus and Tralleis. His interest in and knowledge of the province, the freedom with which he changed old institutions to suit the circumstances of the day, and the fact that he not merely permitted Ephesus to attain a second Neokorate (like Pergamum), but also struck imperial silver coins bearing the type and name of DIANA EPHESIA (thereby recognizing her as a Roman deity),[‡] all combine to prove that it was he who recognized the overwhelming practical importance of Ephesus, and transferred the primacy of the province from Pergamum to Ephesus about A.D. 129. If this be so (and it seems practically certain), then we have an important piece of evidence about Rev 2^{13}: that passage was written before A.D. 129.

But the order of enumeration of the Seven Churches of Asia, beginning with Ephesus, seems to start from the capital, and then to go round the important cities in geographical order—Smyrna, Pergamum, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, Laodicea. The explanation probably is that a conflict existed between the official view and the popular view: the former still regarded Pergamum as the capital, while the latter had regard to the practical fact that Ephesus was the greatest and most important city of Asia, on the main route of communication, whereas Pergamum lay on a bypath, and had only a historical title to the primacy in Asia. In this case the ecclesiastical organization accepted the facts of the situation from the time of Paul onwards; so also did the emperor Caligula in a decree quoted by Dion Cassius, lix. 28. 1 (unless he was following chronological order).

Even after it lost the pre-eminence in the province, Pergamum continued to be a great and specially honourable city. It was granted a third Neokorate by Caracalla; and no Asian city ever attained more. This title has often been misapprehended by the older writers: when a city styles itself Neokoros on coins and in inscriptions, this always implies 'warden of a temple dedicated to the imperial worship.' When a city has the title 'thrice Neokoros,' this implies three separate temples of Emperors, each with its separate priesthood and services and staff of attendant ministers. Ephesus, by a solitary exception to the rule, sometimes boasts itself 'four times Neokoros,' where the fourth Neokorate refers to the worship of Diana the Ephesian, recognized as a Roman deity by Hadrian (see above). Pergamum on its coins boasts itself as the first city honoured with triple Neokorate; but no stress can be laid on this boast, for the three cities, Pergamum, Ephesus, Smyrna, vied with one another in titles, inventing or appropriating them, and all three claimed the primacy of Asia on different grounds.[§]

The allusion to the martyr Antipas at Pergamum (Rev 2^{13}) is remarkable. No martyr from any other of the Seven Churches is alluded to. Yet it is not to be doubted, in view of the rest of the book, that there had been martyrs in them all, and that their sufferings, which are mentioned, imply fully developed persecution by the Roman state. The prominent mention of Antipas is probably to be explained by his being the earliest martyr put to death by the Roman state policy; and, according to a common principle, the name of the first is given as in a sense representative of the whole list. While Pergamum was the capital of the province, the governor, before whom the trials would be held, was there more frequently than in any other city (though of course he made occasional progresses through his province); and many Christians from other cities would be condemned and would suffer there, so that Pergamum would be peculiarly associated with the death of the martyrs from Antipas onwards. There is therefore no proof that Antipas belonged to Pergamum, though he is mentioned as having suffered there.[*]

This position of Pergamum as the place of martyrs did not continue after it ceased to be 'the place where the throne of Satan is.' After the time of Hadrian, doubtless, the proconsul of Asia spent much more of his time at Ephesus than at Pergamum; and we observe in the earliest Martyrologies, the old Syrian and the Hieronymian, that more martyrs are associated with Ephesus, Smyrna, Laodicea, and Synnada than with Pergamum; for very few names of the 1st cent. martyrs at Pergamum were preserved.[†] The allusion to the new name given to each Christian, secret, written on a white stone (Rev 2^{17}), is perhaps an allusion to the custom of taking secret and new baptismal names: this custom perhaps arose in the stress of persecution, and was intended to ensure greater secrecy during the ages when it was dangerous to be known as a Christian. The secret name is mentioned only in the letter to Pergamum, the place of martyrs, and does not occur in the letters to the other churches. The question also occurs whether the allusion to writing on a white stone is made with reference to the writing material manufactured at Pergamum and deriving its name from the city, *charta Pergamena* or parchment. In the letter to Philadelphia occurs an allusion to writing: 'I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God': the difference between this expression and the secret name written on the white stone at Pergamum suggests that the language is chosen with reference to the special circumstance of the city: 'the name is written, not on your lasting white parchment, but on an imperishable white *tessera*'; cf. LAODICEA. The 'white stone' is not an allusion to the white stone (λευκὸς λίθος), *i.e.* marble, so abundant in the buildings of Pergamum and other great cities: it is called a 'white ψῆφος,' a sort of *tessera*, a small cube or tablet, on which brief titles or watchwords or signs were engraved, and which was often employed for similar purposes to a ticket in modern times.

That there were Jews in Pergamum may be regarded as certain. In B.C. 139 the Romans wrote to Attalus II. in favour of the Jews, which proves that there were Jews in his dominions (as is of course well known from other sources),[‡] and there is a reasonable certainty that some would settle in the capital of the kingdom as the centre for financial operations. About B.C. 130 the Pergamenians, now an autonomous state (as we have seen above), passed a decree (in accordance with the resolution of the Roman Senate) in favour of the Jews and the high priest Hyrcanus.* While this decree does not actually mention Jewish residents in the city, there would be little reason for it unless Pergamum were in close relations with the Jews. Under the Romans, Pergamum was no longer the commercial centre of the province, for it lay far from any of the great trade routes between the East and Rome; and it may be regarded as probable that the Jewish settlers in Pergamum would not increase but rather diminish in numbers. Hence in B.C. 62, when Flaccus, governor of Asia, confiscated the money which the Jews of the provinces were on the point of sending to Jerusalem as their annual contribution, he seized at Apameia of Phrygia nearly 100 lbs. weight of gold,† at Laodicea of Phrygia over 20 lbs. weight, at Adramyttium an amount which has been obliterated in the manuscripts, and at Pergamum a small amount. Adramyttium, as a seaport, was apparently at that time a more important Jewish centre than Pergamum. The inscriptions hitherto discovered in the city never allude to Jews; but, inasmuch as the Jews used pure Greek names (even the envoys mentioned in the Pergamenian decree about 130 have Greek names, and would be unrecognizable as Jews), some of the persons alluded to in the inscriptions may possibly be Jews. On the whole, the failure of the term 'Jew' in the numerous inscriptions points to the very thorough assimilation of Greek manners by the Pergamenian Jews, who had thus become almost undistinguishable from the general population of the city. It is probable that this adoption of Greek manners by the Jews in Pergamum is the cause of the allusion to Balaam and the Nicolaitans in Rev 2$^{14.15}$. Some of them had become Christians; and their freedom in following Greek ways of life, and in complying with idolatrous usages in society, had begun to have some effect on the Christian community in the city.

---

[*] See *The Church in the Rom. Emp. before 170*, p. 275.

[†] Fränkel, *Inschriften Pergam.* ii. p. 258; Durr, *Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian*, p. 49 f.

[‡] See vol. i. p. 724.

[§] Ephesus acquired triple Neokorate in the latter part of Severus' reign, as Head says in *Catalogue Brit. Mus. Ionia*, p. 76; see the inscription in Le Bas-Waddington, No. 147*b*; Buchner, *de Neocoria*, p. 107 f.

[*] No independent tradition about Antipas has come down to us: the references to him seem all to depend on Rev 2^{13}. The details of almost all events in the earliest persecutions perished from the memory of history.

[†] See the preceding note.

[‡] Cf. Στράτων Τυράννου Ἰουδαῖος at Magnesia Sip., *Ath. Mitth. Inst.* 1899, p. 239.

Little is known as to the later history of Christianity in Pergamum, or as to the fortunes of the city. It was a bishopric throughout the Byzantine period, being part of the later and smaller Byzantine Asia, under Ephesus; and it has continued to be a place of some consequence, preserving the ancient name Bergama, down to the present day. Much more light will be thrown on the city when the splendid and costly excavations conducted for years at Pergamum by the German Government are completed and their results fully published. Up to the present time the volumes (i.) on the inscriptions (with supplement in *Athen. Mittheil. Inst.* 1899), (ii.) on the sanctuary of Athena Polias Nikephoros, (iv.) on the theatre-terrace, and (v.) on the temple of Trajan, are the only ones published.

W. M. RAMSAY.

PERIDA (פְּרִידָא, *Φαδουρά*). — The eponym of a family of 'Solomon's servants,' Neh 7^{57}. In the parallel passage, Ezr 2^{55}, the name appears in the form **Peruda** (פְּרוּדָא; B *Φερειδά*, A *Φαρειδά*), and in 1 Es 5^{33} as **Pharida** (B *Φαρειδά*, A *Φαριδά*, Luc. *Φαδουρά*).

PERIZZITE (הַפְּרִזִּי).—The name of one of the 'peoples' which were settled in Palestine before and at the period of the Isr. immigration. When the writers of the OT would characterize the country as it was at that period in respect to population, they frequently enumerate a list of six 'peoples,'—the Amorite, the Hittite, the Canaanite, the Perizzite, the Hivite, and the Jebusite (Ex 3^{8} * ^{17} * 23^{23} * 33^{2} * 34^{11} *, Dt 20^{17} *, Jos 9^{1} * 11^{3} 12^{8}, Jg 3^{5}), to which is sometimes added the Girgashite [Dt 7^{1}, Jos 3^{10} 24^{11}, Neh 9^{8} (where the Hivite is omitted)]. At a later date it is stated that Solomon reduced to slavery all the people in his kingdom who remained of the Amorite, the Hittite, the Perizzite, the Hivite, and the Jebusite (1 K 9^{20}=2 Ch 8^{7}). A yet longer list is given (Gn 15^{20}) in which, while the Hivite is omitted, the Kenite, the Kenizzite, the Kadmonite, and the Rephaim are added. A very late tradition, on the other hand, speaks of the land as originally inhabited only by the Canaanite, the Perizzite, and the Philistines (2 Es 1^{21}). The Book of Ezra (9^{1}) represents the Perizzite as still remaining in the country, a snare and danger to the returned exiles. With all these writers, however, the Perizzite is nothing but a shadowy name, accepted by tradition as one of the tribes in pre-Israelite Palestine.

In contrast with this, three passages (Gn 13^{7} 34^{30}, Jg 1$^{4f.}$), all of which come from the South Kingdom historian (J), connect the Perizzites closely with the Canaanites, and represent them as settled more particularly in the district about Bethel and Shechem. When Abraham is parting from Lot at Bethel, it is added that the Canaanite and the Perizzite were then in the land; after the scandal at Shechem, Jacob complains that his sons have made him obnoxious to the same two tribes; and, when Judah marches with Simeon to enter upon its conquest, those clans have to do battle in the neighbourhood of Jerus. with these tribes.†

Some have argued from this collocation that the tribe was one of the aboriginal tribes of Central and South Palestine, which had been dispossessed of its strongholds by the invading Canaanites before Israel appeared upon the scene, and had been reduced to a peasant condition resembling that of the Egyp. fellaḥîn, dependent on the dominant warlike people (cf. Dillmann on Gn 10^{15}; Riehm, *HWB*^{1} p. 1193). The fact that the name does not occur in Gn 10, where the list of the descendants of Canaan is given, is taken to support the suggestion; while the other fact, that in Gn 15^{20} and Jos 17^{15} the clan is coupled with the prehistoric Rephaim, may show what, at the period when those passages were written, was the opinion among the Jews. On the other hand, Moore (*Comm. on Judges*, at 1^{5}) questions whether they were a distinct people at all, and were not rather, as the derivation of the word suggests, a class among the Canaanites, *i.e.* the inhabitants of unwalled villages, devoted to agriculture. It is noteworthy that פְּרָזִי=*pĕrāzî* is used in Dt 3^{5} 1 S 6^{18} for such dwellers in open villages, while פְּרָזוֹת occurs Ezk 38^{11} Zec 2^{4} for an undefended place. And it is further noteworthy that in the two former quotations the LXX translates פרזי by *Φερεζαῖοι* (which is its customary translation of Perizzite), while the later Gr. translators render it *ἀτείχιστοι*—a fact which makes it possible that, at the time when the early tr. was made, no difference of pronunciation yet existed between the two Hebrew words. It is an old suggestion of Redslob (*Alttest. Namen des Isr. Staats*, p. 103), that *ḥavvôth* (whence *Hivites*) designated the villages of those who kept cattle, while *pĕrāzôth* was employed for villages inhabited by an agricultural class. The question cannot at present be regarded as settled.

A. C. WELCH.

---

* Josephus, *Ant.* XIV. x. 22.

† Reckoned by Th. Reinach, *Textes Relatifs au Judaisme*, p. 240, as 75,000 drachmæ (equivalent in weight to £3000 sterling): each individual paid two drachmæ per annum.

* In the quotations which are marked with an * the LXX (at Dt 20^{17} only some MSS) adds the Girgashite to the list of six in the Heb. text.

† It is true that the Perizzite is coupled (Jos 17^{15}) with the Rephaim, and placed somewhere in the district of Mt. Ephraim; but this clause (which the LXX omits) must be regarded as either a gloss or a late interpolation.

PERJURY.—See OATH.

PERSECUTE, PERSECUTOR.—Persecute (from Low Lat. *persecutare*, Lat. *persequi*) and pursue (fr. Lat. *prosequi*, through Old Fr. *porsuir=poursuivre*) are now kept distinct, but were formerly used almost interchangeably. Thus 'pursue' has the mod. meaning of 'persecute' in the *Homilies*, 'to pray for them that pursue him'; and in AV 'persecute' is often equivalent to mod. 'pursue,' as Jer 29^{18} 'And I will persecute them with the sword' (וְרָדַפְתִּי אַחֲרֵיהֶם, RV 'And I will pursue after them'); Wis 11^{20} 'Being persecuted of vengeance' (*ὑπὸ τῆς δίκης διωχθέντες*, RV 'Being pursued by Justice'). Cf. Jos 8^{17} Cov. 'There remayned not one man in Hai and Bethel, which wente not out to folowe upon Israel, and they lefte the cite stondinge open, that they mighte persecute Israel.'

So **Persecutor** means pursuer in Neh 9^{11} 'And thou didst divide the sea before them . . . and their persecutors thou threwest into the deeps' (RV 'their pursuers'); La 4^{19} 'Our persecutors are swifter than the eagles of the heaven; they pursued us upon the mountains' (RV 'Our pursuers . . . they chased us'). As with the verbs, so with 'persecutor' and 'pursuer,' they are used in AV with none of the present sharp distinction between them. J. HASTINGS.

PERSECUTION (verbs *διώκω*, *ἐκδιώκω*, subst. *διωγμός*, *θλίψις*).—Our Lord spoke of persecutions (*e.g.* Mt 5^{10-12} 10^{21}) to come from both Jews (Mt 23^{34}, Mk 13^{9}, Lk 21^{12}, Jn 15^{20}) and Gentiles (Mt 10^{18}, Mk 13^{9}, Lk 21^{12} [*ἐπὶ βασιλεῖς καὶ ἡγεμόνας*]). The first attacks came from the Sadducees (Ac $4^{1.6}$ 5^{17}), while the people were favourable (Ac 2^{46} 5^{14}), and the Pharisees moderate (Gamaliel) and sometimes willing (Ac $23^{6ff.}$) to defend Christians on the doctrine of a resurrection.

Serious persecution began when St. Stephen alienated the Pharisees and the people by preaching (Ac 6^{14}) the transitoriness of the law. His lawless execution was followed (Ac 8^{1}) by a great persecution in Jerusalem (Saul strove to extend it to Damascus), which involved bonds and probably further executions (Ac 22^{4} 26^{11}). At all events in A.D. 44 we find James the brother of John slain with the sword by Herod Agrippa, and Peter delivered only by an angel. Henceforth the Jews were St. Paul's most active enemies, as at Antioch in Pisidia (Ac $13^{45.50}$), Iconium and Lystra ($14^{2.19}$), Thessalonica ($17^{5.13}$), Corinth (18^{12}). The growth of national antagonism is marked by the change in the description of our Lord's enemies from the 'scribes,' 'Pharisees,' and 'lawyers' of the Synoptists to the 'Jews' of St. John's Gospel (not Apoc.) and Mt 28^{15}.

The Church was not much troubled by purely Gentile persecution within the period of the Acts. The only cases not stirred up by the Jews were due to trade jealousy at Philippi and Ephesus (Ac 16. 19). The Roman government protected Christianity as a Jewish sect, though Hebrew Christians may have had much violence to suffer (He 10^{34} 12^{4}). The Jews might punish offenders according to their own law, though not with death (Jn 18^{31}, 2 Co 11^{24}; so in Jos. *Ant.* XX. ix. 1 the younger Ananus is removed from the priesthood for the murder of James the Lord's brother in A.D. 62). Pilate (*supra*) and Gallio (Ac 18^{14}) refuse to hear charges of heterodoxy. The only effectual plan was to lay a charge of treason or unlawful worship, and back it up with mob violence. Thus Pilate crucified our Lord for treason in spite of his own decision (Ac 3^{14}), and the prætors at Philippi scourged Paul and Silas unheard for unlawful worship (Ac $16^{22.37}$); but the politarchs of Thessalonica were content to take security from Jason and others (Ac 17^{9}) on a charge of treason, and the recorder at Ephesus warns the crowd (Ac 19^{35-40}) that a riot against Christians may be punished. The charge against St. Paul as shaped by Tertullus (Ac $24^{5.6}$) was a mixed one: 'We found him a man of Belial—this is only preface—(*a*) a mover of insurrections among all the Jews throughout the world, (*b*) a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes, (*c*) who also essayed to profane the temple.' Festus was puzzled (Ac $25^{9.20}$); but Agrippa's decision (Ac 26^{32}) must imply that (*a*) and (*c*), which were punishable, were not proved, while (*b*), which was avowed, was not punishable. And this would seem to have been the final sentence at Rome. In any case, the Pastoral Epp. (except 2 Ti) seem to imply (1 Ti 6^{1}, Tit 2^{5}) that Christians were in no danger yet of anything worse than slander. Indeed they were unpopular enough, and needed to walk warily. Ac 28^{22} may be diplomatic; but the expression of Tac. *Ann.* xv. 44, *per flagitia invisos* (before the fire) is confirmed, *e.g.*, by 1 P 2^{12} *ὡς κακοποιῶν*, and 4^{14-17}, which seem clearly aimed at the scandalous charges against them; and apparently by 2 Ti 2^{9} *ὡς κακοῦργος*, and repeated exhortations not to be ashamed.

Roman toleration was thrown away by the decision of the apostolic conference; for if Christians needed not to become Jews by circumcision, they were not a Jewish sect. Persecution was certain, as soon as the authorities found this out. Mob hatred (Tac. *supra*) and perhaps false brethren (*ζῆλος* five times in Clem. v. 6) made the Christians the scapegoats Nero needed after the fire at Rome in July 64. Three books of NT bear the marks of the Neronian persecution. In 2 Ti 4^{6} St. Paul is already being offered, and in 3^{12} he expects persecution for all that will live a godly Christian life; the terror of the persecution pervades his letter as in 4^{16}. 1 P—may be some years later—comforts the Christians from Asia to Pontus in their fiery trial (4^{12}, and constant exhortations to patience). In the Apocalypse St. John is in Patmos (*relegated*) and persecution is rampant in Asia, with (2^{2}) patience at Ephesus (2^{10}), tribulation at Smyrna (2^{13}), and Antipas a martyr at Pergamum. The saints are slain (6^{9}), and that with the axe (20^{4}), and Rome is drunk with their blood (16^{6} 17^{6} 18^{24} 19^{2}); and the abiding impression of the scene is shown by St. John's defiance of the world in his First Epistle, as 2^{17} 5^{19}. St. Paul's martyrdom is implied in 2 Ti throughout, St. Peter's by Jn 21^{19} and by 2 P 1^{14} (good evidence, whether genuine or not), but the only other martyr named is Antipas (*supra*).

See, further, art. NERO; and, for the persecution of the Jews by Antiochus Epiphanes, art. MACCABEES. H. M. GWATKIN.

PERSEPOLIS (Περσέπολις).—The capital of Persia proper, the temples of which Antiochus Epiphanes attempted to destroy (2 Mac 9^{2}). The city itself and the royal palace had already been burned to the ground by Alexander the Great. The ruins of its two palaces, the one built by Darius Hystaspis, the other by Xerxes, still exist at Chehl Minar, 'the Forty Columns,' near Istakhr. The city seems to have lain at the foot of the rock on which they stand. [Ker Porter, *Travels*, i. p. 576; Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, 1892.] A. H. SAYCE.

PERSEUS (Περσεύς).—Among the achievements of the Romans narrated to Judas Maccabæus was the conquest of Perseus, king of Chittim (1 Mac 8^{5}). Chittim, properly denoting Cyprus, was applied more widely to the islands and coasts of Greece, and here (as in 1 Mac 1^{1}) is used of Macedonia. The person here referred to is the son of Philip V., and the last king of Macedonia. Perseus came to the throne in B.C. 179. The Romans declared war upon him in 171, and three years later he was completely defeated by Q. Æmilius Paullus at Pydna (B.C. 168). Shortly afterwards he surrendered to his conquerors, and was taken as a captive to Rome, but through the influence of Paullus he was permitted to live in retirement at Alba.

H. A. WHITE.

PERSEVERANCE.—This subject resolves itself into two branches, viz. (*a*) the *doctrine* that God's power intervenes to preserve believers in a state of grace to the end, and (*b*) the *virtue* of perseverance, which is exhibited on the human side in fighting the fight of faith, and running the Christian race for righteousness till death.

(*a*) As in general, so in regard to this matter, Scripture is practical and hortatory, uttering the language of faith in reference to particular individuals or groups, and looking to their concrete situations. It refrains from putting the general questions which were afterwards suggested to speculative theology, and from drawing the universal theoretical conclusions which theology formulated. Or the doctrine given forth by the Scripture writers extends no further than the immediate practical needs of faith require. In respect to perseverance, believers, according to the NT, are not alone and unaided in their faith and religious life, but obtain God's effectual support. They are not merely assisted by the works and order of nature and the laws of morality, which God has appointed once for all for their edification and guidance. There is, besides, the present spiritual power of God acting in and upon them (Mt $10^{29ff.}$, Jn $14^{16ff.}$, 1 Co 3^{16} etc.). And as often as faith realizes vividly that this power is almighty as well as wise and good, that God and not man rules upon the earth, it gains the firm conviction that God will succeed in His designs in spite of every adverse agency, and that He will not allow His purposes of grace to be frustrated even by the conceivable wilfulness of believers themselves (Jn $10^{28f.}$, Ro 8^{31-39}, Ph 1^{6}, 2 Ti 1^{12}). That the latter remain free is always understood; God deals with men as with sons—they are treated as moral and responsible (Ph $2^{12f.}$). But the abstract question of the relation of human freedom to unfailing perseverance is neither solved nor proposed. Further, believers even continue to sin, and in them especially all sin is dangerous—in one view increasingly so, as more is ever required of them (Lk 12^{48}). For their good the precise level of attainment, above which there is safety, is hidden in all particular cases, just as one on the edge of a precipice knows the exact line between the positions of safety and ruin only when he begins to fall, or by paying for the knowledge with his life. In either kind of situation, ignorance, not knowledge,—here too nearly related to hurtful curiosity and leading to overweening confidence,—is the stimulus to men to turn their faces in the right way and persevere in it (1 Co 9^{27}, Ph $3^{13f.}$). This divinely appointed arrangement, together with the faith that God will at all hazards bring His purposes to pass, and that His absolute power is put forth for the believer's support, most effectually guarantees perseverance in the latter. Along with Divine, *i.e.* the greatest, comfort (see the foregoing references) God administers the helps of warning and wholesome fear (He $6^{4ff.}$ $10^{26f.}$, 2 P $2^{20f.}$).

(*b*) The virtue of perseverance is rendered incumbent by the fact that God works together with men for the restoration of the latter to the fulness of Christ's holiness. They have therefore a lifelong work and duty, and scope for the most strenuous endeavour, in putting on Christ. The Spirit is the Teacher of the whole truth of Christ, and is a Divine Comforter (Jn 14^{26} $16^{13ff.}$). Because the source of help and the object aimed at are alike divinely perfect, man is called to an endless advance in respect to his spiritual life and moral character (2 Co 3^{18}). The consideration of the great cloud of witnesses who, amid sorest hardships, persevered in faith and integrity, should constrain us also to pursue the Christian course without intermission. Especially should the recollection of Christ's endurance banish the sense of weariness and faintness (He $12^{1ff.}$). The inspiring motives of love and hope come to the support of the sense of duty as bearing on perseverance. We are now the sons of God, greatly beloved by Him, and are designed for the highest things, even complete likeness to Christ. Both because of our present standing and the hope of what we shall be, we should strive to be pure as Christ was pure (He 12^{9-13}, 1 Jn 3^{1-3}). Again, what alternative is there to Christian perseverance which would be preferable? At best, there is only a return to the position of those who are under the law, *i.e.* who are in bondage and under a curse (Gal 3. 5). Or if one throws off all restraint and goes headlong into sin, the last state of the man is worse than the first. He has sinned against light, and is without excuse (He $6^{4ff.}$ etc.).

The line to be followed with perseverance leads, therefore, from the law to Christ, and from obedience to love. There is a common goal for all Christians, but the means to be used for the attainment of it are peculiar to the several individuals. All have to win Christ, and to grow into His perfect image (Ro 8^{29}, 2 Co 3^{18}); all have to seek that love which is the fulfilling of the law (Ro $13^{8.10}$ etc.), and which is the greatest of the graces, without which, indeed, all other attainments are as nothing (1 Co 13). But for this end each has to run the race specially prescribed for him (He 12^{1}), to fight his personal battle against the temptations which are felt to be such (Mk $9^{43ff.}$); to be transformed by the renewing of his mind, so as to prove what is the good and acceptable and perfect will of God (Ro 12^{2}); to attend to his distinctive calling in the world, applying the particular gifts and grace bestowed upon him while acting with others as those who, being many, are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another (Ro $12^{4ff.}$). In such lines of activity the Christian perseveres to the end. He will not be weary in well-doing (Gal 6^{9}), having comfort from fighting a good fight, and exulting with hope as he anticipates a complete victory, having the earnest of the Spirit now (2 Co 5^{5}), and the promise of eternal salvation and a crown of life (Rev 2^{10}).

G. FERRIES.

PERSIA (פָּרַס, Περσίς, *Persis*).—Persia proper, the modern *Fars*, lay on the E. side of the Persian Gulf, and was bounded on the N. by Media, on the S. by the Persian Gulf, on the W. by Elam, and on the E. by Karmania (now *Kerman*). Its earlier capital Pasargada was afterwards superseded by Persepolis. After the conquests of Cyrus and the establishment of the rule of Darius Hystaspis, Persia came to be synonymous with the Persian empire, which extended from the Mediterranean to India. It is in this sense that the name Πέρσαι is used in such passages as Est 1^{3}. In Ezk 38^{5} the reading seems to be corrupt, since Persia, in the time of Ezekiel, had nothing to do with the northern nations on the one hand, or with Ethiopia on the other. See, further, art. PERSIANS.

A. H. SAYCE.

PERSIAN RELIGION.—See ZOROASTRIANISM.

PERSIANS (פָּרְסִי, Πέρσαί, *Persæ*; in old Persian

Pársa).—The Persians were Aryans, speaking a language closely allied to Sanskrit, and were thus kinsmen of the Medes. They boasted of their admiration of the truth, but the 'lie,' which is reprobated by Darius Hystaspis in his inscriptions, seems chiefly to mean revolt against himself. They wore a tunic and trousers, cap, shoes, and upper robe, practised polygamy, and were exceedingly intemperate in drinking. They were followers of Zoroaster (see ZOROASTRIANISM), and believed in a supreme god of good called Ahura-mazda (Ormazd), against whom there was ranged a spirit or principle of evil. By the side of Ahura-mazda were a number of inferior deities, chief among whom was the sun-god Mithra. According to Herodotus (i. 125) they were divided into 10 tribes, of which 3 were noble, 3 agricultural, and 4 nomadic. One of the nomadic was the tribe of the Dahi, supposed to be the Dehavites of Ezr 4^9^. The royal clan of the Achæmenides belonged to the noble tribe of Pasargada.

In the time of Sennacherib the Persians were already settled in Parsuas or Persia, and sent help to the king of Elam against the Assyrians. This Parsuas must be distinguished from another northern Parsuas or Barsuas, on the shores of Lake Urumiyeh, with which the Parthians have been connected by some scholars. The first Persian leader known to us was Hakhámanish or Achæmenes. His son Chaishpish or Teispes (*Teuspa* in Assyrian) conquered Anzan in Elam in the closing days of the Assyr. empire. His daughter Atossa is said to have married Pharnakes, king of Cappadocia (Diod. *ap.* Phot. *Bibliot.* p. 1158). After the death of Teispes his kingdom seems to have been divided—Ariarámna (Ariaramnes), Arsháma (Arsammes), and Vishtáspa (Hystaspes) ruling in Persia, while Cyrus I. (Kuras), Cambyses I. (Kambuziya), and Cyrus II. ruled in Anzan. Cyrus II. conquered Astyages of Ecbatana, his suzerain, in B.C. 549 and the Bab. empire in 538. The rest of W. Asia fell before his arms, and when he died his empire extended from Lydia in the west to the borders of India in the east. His son Cambyses II. (B.C. 529–521) added Egypt to his dominions. Then came the usurpation of the pseudo-Smerdis, Gaumáta (Gomates), for 7 months, followed by his murder and the accession of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, who slowly won back the provinces of the empire which had revolted under various pretenders, and who may be regarded as the real founder of the Persian empire. In B.C. 486 Darius was succeeded by his son Xerxes, the Ahasuerus of the OT, who vainly tried to conquer Greece; then came Artaxerxes Longimanus (B.C. 466–425), Xerxes II. for 2 months, Sogdianos his half-brother for 7 months, and Darius II. Nothos (B.C. 424–405). The last four kings were Artaxerxes Mnemon, who succeeded his father Darius II., B.C. 405, and against whom his brother Cyrus the younger revolted in B.C. 401; Artaxerxes Ochus, called Uvasu in the cuneiform texts, B.C. 362; his son Arses, B.C. 339; and Darius III. Codomannus, B.C. 336 (see Neh 12^22^), who was conquered by Alexander the Great, B.C. 333. A. H. SAYCE.

PERSIC VERSIONS.—See VERSIONS.

PERSIS (Περσίς). — The name of a Christian saluted by St. Paul in Ro 16^12^, and described as 'the beloved Persis, which laboured much in the Lord.' The name appears as that of a freedwoman (*CIL* vi. 23,959), but does not occur apparently among the inscriptions of the imperial household. A. C. HEADLAM.

PERSON OF CHRIST.—See CHRISTOLOGY, INCARNATION, and JESUS CHRIST.

PERSUADE.—To persuade in AV is not always to 'convince,' sometimes only to 'argue with,' 'try to persuade,' as may be seen from 1 K 22^22^ 'Thou shalt persuade him, and prevail also' (RV 'Thou shalt entice him'), and Gal 1^10^ 'Do I now persuade men, or God?' See also Ac 19^8^ 'Disputing and persuading the things concerning the kingdom of God,' and 28^23^ 'persuading them concerning Jesus.' Neither the Heb. nor the Gr. words so tr. have the full force of 'persuade' in mod. English. That force is, however, contained in the verb πληροφορεῖν, which is twice (Ro 4^21^ 14^5^) rendered 'fully persuade.' For the Eng. word cf. Knox, *Hist.* 149, 'The Earle of Argyle and Lord James did earnestly perswade the agreement, to the which all men were willing: but some did smell the craft of the adversary'; and Fuller, *Pisgah Sight*, v. iv. 2, 'Should these quotations be severally examined, many would be found rather to perswade than prove, rather to intimate than perswade the matter in hand.'

The old adj. **persuasible** is found in 1 Co 2^4 m.^ for text 'enticing,' Gr. πειθὸς (WH πιθός), RV 'persuasive.' The term. *-ible* is properly passive, but was often treated as active: so *-ive*, which is properly active, is often passive, as Shaks. *As You Like It*, III. ii. 10, 'The fair, the chaste and unexpressive she.' 'Persuasible' here is the Rhemish word.

Persuasions, meaning 'efforts to persuade,' occurs in 1 Es 5^73^ (συστάσεις). Cf. Tindale, *Expositions*, p. 73, 'When they could not drive the people from him with these persuasions, they accused him to Pilate.' In Gal 5^8^ (πεισμονή) 'persuasion' is usually taken to be passive, that which the false teachers have persuaded.

J. HASTINGS.

PERUDA.—See PERIDA.

PESHITTA.—See SYRIAC VERSIONS.

PESTILENCE (דֶּבֶר *deber*).—A general term used for fatal sickness sent as a Divine judgment, but apparently not employed as the name of a specific disease. It occurs 28 times in Jeremiah and Ezekiel; in all but one instance (Jer 21^6^) coupled with other calamities, usually famine and sword, or evil beasts. It is employed in Ex 5^3^ 9^15^, Lv 26^25^, Nu 14^12^, Dt 28^21^ in the same sense, as also in Solomon's dedication prayer (1 K 8^37^, 2 Ch 6^28^), in response to which God promised to hear and answer prayers for the removal of His judgments if offered with repentance in the place in which His name was worshipped (see 2 Ch 7^13^ 20^9^). It is used for the epidemic which followed David's numbering the people, 2 S 24^13-15^ (‖ 1 Ch 21^12-44^), here being a synonym of 'plague.' Habakkuk speaks of pestilence as preceding the march of God when He visits the earth in judgment (3^5^), and in Am 4^10^ it is used for the plagues, or diseases, of Egypt. The pestilences from which God's people are protected are called 'noisome' and 'walking in darkness' (Ps 91^3. 6^).

Deber is the word which is translated 'murrain' in the Egyptian plague (Ex 9^3^); and probably it is in this sense that the word is used in Ps 78^50^, where the context favours the marginal reading 'gave their beasts to the murrain,' rather than that of the text 'gave their life to the pestilence.'

In NT 'pestilences' occurs twice in AV as the tr. of λοιμοί in the parallel passages Mt 24^7^, Lk 21^11^, in both of which it is coupled with 'famine.' This paromoiosis of λιμοὶ καὶ λοιμοί is used by classical authors as in Hesiod, *Op. et Di.* i. 241 (a line which may be an ancient interpolation, as Æschines omits it in *Ctesiph.* 137); also in Herodotus, vii. 171, viii. 115; Plutarch, *Coriol.* xiii.; Clement of Alexandria quotes this phrase as it occurs in the Sibylline verses. See Wakefield, *Silva Critica*, v. 39; Field, *ad loc.* The fulfilment of the prophecy is recorded in Jos. *BJ* VI. ix. 3. RV (following Lach., Treg., WH) omits 'pestilence' in Mt. See, further, MEDICINE, p. 324. A. MACALISTER.

PETER (SIMON).—

I. HISTORY OF ST. PETER TILL THE ASCENSION.
1. Names of St. Peter.
2. Family, home, education.
3. The call of Christ to (i.) friendship; (ii.) discipleship; (iii.) apostleship.
4. St. Peter as the Lord's companion (the Confession and the Promise).
5. The week before the Passion.
6. The Resurrection.

II. HISTORY OF ST. PETER AFTER THE ASCENSION, IN THE NT.
1. The Church at Jerusalem (Ac 1^{1}–8^{1}).
2. The Church of Palestine (Ac 8^{1}–9^{31}).
3. The Church of the world (Ac 9^{32} and onwards, with other notices in NT).
4. Theology of St. Peter's speeches in the Acts.

III. ST. PETER IN CHRISTIAN TRADITION.
1. St. Peter's early life.
2. St. Peter in connexion with the Syrian Antioch.
3. St. Peter in connexion with Asia Minor (Pontus, etc.).
4. St. Peter in connexion with Babylon.
5. St. Peter in connexion with Rome.
6. Chronological notices in (i.) the *Chronicon* of Eusebius; (ii.) the *Liber Pontificalis*.
7. The burial-places of St. Peter, and memorial days.
8. The 'Acts of Peter' (Gnostic, Catholic). The *Quo vadis* legend.
9. The Clementine literature.
10. Non-canonical writings bearing St. Peter's name: (i.) the Gospel; (ii.) the Preaching; (iii.) the Apocalypse; (iv.) the Judgment; (v.) the Letter to James.

IV. RECONSTRUCTION OF THE LATER HISTORY OF ST. PETER.
1. St. Peter's visit to Rome, and martyrdom there.
2. The Simonian legend.
3. The period between the 'Council' at Jerusalem and St. Peter's arrival at Rome.

I. HISTORY OF ST. PETER TILL THE ASCENSION.—1. *Names.*—The apostle bears the names Συμεών or Σίμων, Κηφᾶς or Πέτρος; sometimes the names are combined—Σίμων Πέτρος. (*a*) Συμεών, Σίμων. When the Jews were brought into connexion with Greek life, for the old Hebrew name of the patriarch (Gn 29^{33})—שִׁמְעוֹן, Συμεών (LXX)—the true Greek name Σίμων was frequently substituted (Sir 50^{1}). In 1 Mac the ancestor of the Maccabees is Συμεών (2^{1}, cf. Jos. *Ant.* XII. vi. 1); Simon Macc. himself is *once* called Συμεών (2^{65}). Συμεών is found in Jos. *BJ* IV. iii. 9, and in the NT (of persons other than the apostle) Lk $2^{25ff.}$, Ac 13^{1}. Σίμων is often transliterated into Aramaic as סִימוֹן (see Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu* p. 41, *Gram. Aram.* p. 143; cf. Deissmann, *Bibelstudien* p. 184; it should, however, be noticed, that in the Syriac versions of the NT the old form ܫܡܥܘܢ alone is used). The apostle then bore the Hebrew name Symeon, but was much more often (see below) called by the Greek name Simon, which had become its common equivalent. (*b*) Κηφᾶς, Πέτρος. The plural of the Hebrew substantive (כֵּפִים= 'rocks') is found in Job 30^{6}, Jer 4^{29} (LXX πέτραι in both passages). 'In the Targums (Buxtorf, *Lexicon Chaldaicum* 1032) [the word] occurs as כֵּיף, כֵּיפָא, for a rock or a stone (*e.g.* gems, hailstones, thunderbolts), or a shore. The same senses recur in the Talmud and Midrashim (Levy-Fleischer, *Neuheb. u. Chald. Wörterb.* ii. 321 f.), where the word has also the meaning "ring"; apparently the sense "rock" is rare' (Hort, *First Ep. of St. Peter* p. 152). There seems to be no evidence that the word was in any other case used as a name; it has no connexion with the name Caiaphas (Nestle in *Expos. Times* x. p. 185). Similarly, with regard to the Greek equivalent Πέτρος, there is little or no evidence of its occurrence as a proper name. Keim (*History of Jesus of Nazara* iv. p. 265, Eng. tr.) refers to Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. vi. 3, where a freedman of Berenice, mother of Agrippa I., is in some texts named Πέτρος; but according to a better supported reading the name is Πρῶτος (see Niese). From Rabbinic literature a very few instances of the occurrence of the name *Peter* are adduced (see Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah* i. p. 475 n.; Dalman, *Gram. Aram.* p. 147).

The usage of NT.—(*a*) Συμεών. In 2 P 1^{1} the reading Συμεὼν Πέτρος (ℵAKLP and the mass of MSS) is perhaps better supported than its rival Σίμων Π. (B curs. $^{\text{circ. }20}$, verss. pler.), and certainly, as a combination which occurs nowhere else in the NT, it is not likely to be due to copyists. In one passage of the NT the name stands above suspicion. St. James begins his speech in Ac 15^{14} with the words Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, ἀκούσατέ μου. Συμεὼν ἐξηγήσατο κ.τ.λ. Here the Hebrew name Συμεών completely harmonizes with the intentional antiqueness of the opening appeal (cf. *e.g.* 2 Ch 20^{20} 28^{11}). (*b*) The Greek Σίμων (apart from the combination Σ. Πέτρος) is not found in the *narrative* of the Gospels after the apostle's call except in connexion with the lists of the apostles (Mt 4^{18} 10^{2}, Mk $1^{16.\,29f.\,36}$ 3^{16}, Lk 4^{38} $5^{3ff.\,10}$ 6^{14}, Jn 1^{41}). On the other hand, Simon is the name by which our Lord addresses him (Mt 17^{25}, Mk 14^{37}, Lk 22^{31}, and, with his father's name added, Mt 16^{17}, Jn 1^{42} $21^{15ff.}$), the exceptions (see below) being Mt 16^{18}, Lk 22^{34}; and by which the apostles are introduced as speaking of him (Lk 24^{34}; but see Mk 16^{7}). Thus it would seem that during the months of discipleship the apostle was still commonly known by his name Simon; and this was the case even in much later days among those who, being outside the Church, could not understand the strange Πετρος as in itself a sufficient designation (Ac $10^{5.\,18.\,32}$ 11^{13}). (*c*) After St. Peter had taken his place as leader in the earliest stages of the Church's history, that name—Κηφᾶς, Πέτρος—which his Master had given him as prophetic of his special functions, superseded, at least in Christian circles, his original name Simon. So late as the time when St. Paul wrote to the Galatians and to the Corinthians, the great Apostle of the Circumcision was recognized among distant Gentile Churches under his Aramaic name Cephas (Gal 1^{18} $2^{9.\,11.\,14}$,* 1 Co 1^{12} 3^{22} 9^{5} 15^{5})—a fact which suggests that at Jerusalem, where St. Paul first knew him, and whence emissaries came to Corinth and to the Churches of Galatia, the name Cephas at least most frequently was used. At the same time, at any rate in Galatia, the Greek equivalent Πέτρος was not unknown (Gal $2^{7f.}$). At all events, before the time when 1 Peter, the Synoptic Gospels, and the Acts were written, the Greek name Πέτρος was that one by which the apostle was known throughout the Christian Church. As to details, the name Πέτρος predominates in the Synoptic Gospels (*narrative*)—Mt 19 times, Mk 18 times, Lk 16 times; it is common in Jn (15 times); it is exclusively used in the narrative of the Acts, 51 times. As to the use of Πέτρος in *speeches* in place of the usual Σίμων (see above)—in Mk 16^{7} the evangelist extends his own usage into his report of the angel's message; in Lk 22^{34} Πέτρε seems designedly used to bring out the tragic contrast between the typical position of the apostle and his destined failure; in Ac 10^{13} 11^{7} (the voice from heaven), though it may at first sight seem simplest to suppose that the name was used by which he was then commonly known, yet it must be remembered that this first opening of the door of faith to the Gentiles was one of the occasions in view of which our Lord gave him the name Peter. (*d*) The combination Σίμων Πέτρος never occurs in Mk. It is found once in Mt (16^{16}), once in Lk (5^{8})—both passages recording a turning-point of the apostle's life; in St. John it is used no fewer than 17 times; it is at least a well-supported variant in 2 P 1^{1}. The combination then appears to be one which naturally suggested itself to two evangelists in connexion with two events closely bearing on St. Peter's life-work, and which, partly perhaps as uniting current Christian usage with a distant past, was a favourite with St. John. In one part of the Church, as might have been expected, the name Cephas survived. In the Syriac versions of the Gospels and of the Acts the common name for the apostle is Simon Cephas.

2. *Family, home, education.*—(*a*) The name of the apostle's father appears as Ἰωνᾶς in Mt 16^{17}, as Ἰωάνης in Jn 1^{42} $21^{15.\,16.\,17}$. It is generally supposed that Ἰωνᾶς is a contraction of Ἰωάνης. It is, however, possible that we have here an instance of a double name, *Jona-Jochanan* or *Jonas-Johannes*, see art. JOHN (FATHER OF SIMON PETER). (*b*) The brother of Simon Peter, like his fellow-townsman Philip, bears a true Greek name—Ἀνδρέας. It is, perhaps, to be noticed that Andrew, with Philip, appears in connexion with certain Ἕλληνες (the word may mean Gentiles, or, in the stricter sense, Greeks) in Jn $12^{20ff.}$. It is certainly significant that both brothers were known by Greek names. (*c*) That the apostle was married in the earliest days of the gospel history appears from Mt 8^{14}, Mk 1^{30}, Lk 4^{38}. His wife in later years was the companion of his missionary journeys (1 Co 9^{5}).

---

* In each of the four passages in Gal the name Peter is substituted by some inferior authorities.

(*d*) The Synoptists clearly place 'the house of Simon' (in which it appears that his wife, his brother, and his mother-in-law lived) at Capernaum (Mt $8^{5.14}$, Mk $1^{21.29}$, Lk $4^{31.38}$). With this statement that of St John (1^{44} *ἦν δὲ ὁ Φίλιππος ἀπὸ Βηθσαιδά, ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Ἀνδρέου καὶ Πέτρου*) is often thought to be at variance. We may, however, suppose that the brothers originally came from Bethsaida, but were now living at Capernaum (so Swete on Mk 1^{16}).

It may be questioned, however, whether St. John does not intend to distinguish Bethsaida from 'the city of Andrew and Peter,' the former being the present home (*ἀπό*; so 12^{21}), the latter the birthplace (*ἐκ*), of Philip. A similar question arises as to Jn 11^{1} *Λάζαρος ἀπὸ Βηθανίας ἐκ τῆς κώμης Μαρίας κ. Μάρθας*. Here it is to be noticed that (1) if the *κώμη* was Bethany, there seems to be little reason why it should be mentioned at all; (2) Lk 10^{38} says that the *κώμη* where Mary and Martha lived was visited by our Lord 'as they were journeying' (*ἐν τῷ πορεύεσθαι αὐτούς*), a notice which appears to distinguish it from Bethany. According to this view Lazarus lived at Bethany (cf. Jn 12^{1}), but was a native of the village where his sisters lived, at some distance from Jerusalem. St. John, it may be added, is fond of using *ἐκ* and *ἀπό* side by side; but a study of the passages where they so stand shows that each preposition retains its proper meaning—see Jn $1^{45f.}$ $6^{33.38.41}$ $7^{17.41f.}$ $16^{28.30}$ (cf. Rev 21^{2}).

(*e*) St. Peter is described as 'a fisherman' in Mt 4^{18} ‖ Mk 1^{16} (cf. Lk 5^{2}), and the same thing is implied in Jn 21^{3}. He owned 'a boat' (Lk 5^{3}), which he worked with his brother. The sons of Zebedee were his partners (Lk 5^{10}); and thus the four apostles were friends before—probably long before—they followed Jesus. It is not necessary to draw out at length the traits—vigour, courage, resourcefulness—which the life of a fisherman on the lake would necessarily develop in a naturally healthy character. It is more important to ask what was the apostle's relation to the culture of his time and country. Probably the traditional view of him as a rough, uneducated peasant is a considerable exaggeration of one side of the truth. He was, of course, without such a formal training as fell to the lot of St. Paul. But, on the other hand, the influence of a religious home and of the synagogue must have had a foremost place in forming the apostle. A significant phrase of St. Andrew's (Jn 1^{41}) suggests that both brothers had felt the spell of the Messianic hope. In these early days St. Peter must have gained his close knowledge of the OT, and it is very far from improbable that he was acquainted with the LXX (see art. on 1 PETER). It has been already pointed out as a significant fact that the apostle, like his brother, was commonly known by a Greek name. His home was on the thickly populated shore of the lake, where trade brought together representatives of many nationalities, and where (to say the least) Greek must have been to some extent a medium of communication (see *e.g.* T. K. Abbott, *Essays* p. 129 ff.; Zahn, *Einl.* i. p. 28 f.). But whatever Greek St. Peter learned in Galilee must have been rather of a conversational than of a literary kind; it was nevertheless an important foundation. Two, and (as it would seem) only two, notices are preserved in the Gospels and Acts bearing on this subject: (1) St. Peter was recognized in Jerusalem as a Galilæan by the accent and perhaps the idiom of his Aramaic (see Swete's note on Mk 14^{70} with references). (2) The members of the Sanhedrin regarded St. Peter and his companion St. John as, from their point of view, illiterate men (Ac 4^{13}).

The words are *καταλαβόμενοι ὅτι ἄνθρωποι ἀγράμματοί εἰσιν καὶ ἰδιῶται*. The term *ἀγράμματος* looks back to the facts of a man's past early life. To a Greek it meant one who was an *ἄμουσος* (*e.g.* Plato, *Tim.* 23 B), one who has had no part in either side of Greek education; to a Jew it meant one who had had no training in the Rabbinic study of Scripture (cf. Jn 7^{15}). The term *ἰδιώτης* rather regarded a man's present position. With a Greek it was the antithesis to *πολιτικός*; in the mouth of a Jew (who transliterated it הֶדְיוֹט) it expressed the contrast between the man who could understand and take part in religion as conceived of by the scribes and one of the *ὄχλος* (Jn 7^{49}), an *'am hā-'āreẓ* (see especially Weber, *Die Lehren des Talmud*, § 11, 'Der esoterische Character der jüd. Religiosität'). Compare the saying of the Fathers: 'No boor is a sin-fearer, nor is the vulgar (*'am hā-'āreẓ*) pious' (*Pirqe Aboth*, ed. Taylor, p. 30). Thus the words are strictly relative to the point of view of the high priests. They were probably (see below) specially called forth by the apostle's boldness in expounding a passage of Scripture in the presence of, and in application to, the rulers.

3. *The calls of St. Peter.*—(i.) *The apostle's first meeting with the Lord, and the call to friendship.*—The history is recorded only in St. John (1^{35-42}). Andrew and John (for he clearly is the unnamed actor in the scene)—one of each of the two pairs of brothers who together were in partnership—are expressly spoken of as belonging to the number (*ἐκ*) of the Baptist's disciples (vv.$^{35.37}$). Since St. Peter and, as the language (*πρῶτον, τὸν ἴδιον*, v.^{41}) seems to imply, St. James were close at hand, it is a natural inference that St. Peter had become a disciple of the Baptist, and through the gate of this discipleship passed into friendship with Jesus of Nazareth. It is more than probable, then, that St. Peter had been a witness of the Lord's baptism (Ac 1^{22} $10^{37f.}$). On this day—which Edersheim (i. p. 344 f.) gives some reason for supposing to have been a Sabbath—after Andrew had heard the Baptist's witness (v.$^{36f.}$) and had followed Jesus, he went in quest of Simon, and, telling him that he had found the Messiah, brought him to Jesus. Jesus fixes upon him that piercing, scrutinizing gaze (*ἐμβλέψας*) which was to rest upon him at a later crisis of his life (Lk 22^{61}), and greets him—it does not appear from the narrative whether Jesus had known Simon before or not (cf. v.^{48})—*Σὺ εἶ Σίμων ὁ υἱὸς Ἰωάνου, σὺ κληθήσῃ Κηφᾶς* (for the use of the patronymic on solemn occasions cf. Mt 16^{17}, Jn $21^{15ff.}$). Thus the Lord receives him as being just what he was in himself, as the product and heir of a past over which he had had no control, as destined to a peculiar office. In the last clause the Lord does not bestow a new name (see Mt 16^{18}); He rather reveals a character which He already claims for future service. As yet no permanent bond united Jesus and the men whom He had gathered round Him. For, after being His companions in His journey to Galilee and again in His visit to Jerusalem at the Passover, St. Peter and the rest resumed, as they did on a much later occasion (Jn 21), their work as fishermen.

(ii.) *The call to discipleship.*—This call must be placed some time *after*, as the earlier call some time *before*, the first Passover of the ministry. It is not possible to decide what is the precise relation of the history of the call as related in Mt 4^{18-22} Mk 1^{16-20} (clearly based on a common source) to that given in Lk 5^{1-11}. The essential points common to the two accounts are that Jesus calls St. Peter while he is at work (see Plummer on Lk 5^{1-11}), that he makes the apostle's present work a parable of his future work, and that the apostle's obedience is immediate. As to points of difference, Mt and Mk record the Lord's summons *δεῦτε ὀπίσω μου*; Lk puts the call in another setting—a miracle of blessing leads up to the act of obedience.

It is possible that Mt and Mk on the one hand, and on the other Lk, give the history of *two* occasions—one when the apostle followed the Lord then and there, but did not finally leave his occupation; the other when the decisive step of renunciation was taken. In support of this view it may be urged (1) that the two narratives seriously differ; (2) that the Lord certainly did repeat on a later occasion the call *ἀκολούθει μοι*, when added experiences would interpret its deeper meaning (Jn $21^{19.22}$). But it is much more probable that Mt and Mk follow a document or a tradition which brought together in a summarized narrative the calling of the four chief apostles, and that thus the story of St. Peter's call is the same as that which Lk, on the strength of fuller information (cf. $4^{16ff.}$), narrates in detail. In either case, it is important to notice the vividness of Lk's narrative as itself a witness to its truthfulness—especially the two sayings of St. Peter: (*a*) v.^{5} (cf. Jn 2^{5}); (*b*) v.^{8} *ἔξελθε κ.τ.λ.* (an undesigned contrast to Jn 6^{68}, and an impulsive cry which has parallels in St. Peter's later history).

In close connexion with this call (assuming that there was but one) to discipleship, on a Sabbath either just before it (Lk 4^{38}) or just after it (Mk $1^{21.\,29}$),* we must place the miracle which the Lord wrought in His disciple's home—the healing of Peter's mother-in-law. From the phrase διηκόνει αὐτῷ (αὐτοῖς) in each of the three accounts we may infer that our Lord ate there that day; and it is likely enough that the disciple's home was 'the house' where He regularly stayed when at Capernaum (Mt $17^{24f.}$, Mk 9^{33}).

(iii.) *The call to apostleship.*—If the call to *discipleship* must have been somewhat later than the *first* Passover of the ministry (Jn 2^{13}), the call to *apostleship* must be placed somewhat earlier than the (presumably) *second* Passover (see Mk $6^{30.\,35ff.}$, Jn 6^{4}). The interval therefore separating the two calls cannot have been much more than six months. The history is given in Mt $10^{1ff.}$, Mk $3^{13ff.}$, Lk $6^{12ff.}$. The details must be passed over here. It must suffice to note that the Twelve were chosen from the whole body, and that the Lord's choice constituted them (1) in an especial sense His companions—ἵνα ὦσιν μετ' αὐτοῦ (Mk 3^{14}; cf. Lk 22^{28}, Jn 15^{27}); (2) His envoys, when the occasion came, to Israel, with authority to preach and heal. The primary place in our Lord's purpose was their education for future work. The lists of the Twelve given by the Synoptists vary in many ways, but in each of them St. Peter holds the first place (Mt πρῶτος Σίμων ὁ λεγόμενος Π.; cf. Jn 21^{2}, Ac 1^{13}). Some time after this selection had been made, the Lord sent out the Twelve to execute their double office as heralds of the kingdom and healers of the sick, two by two, marking as the scope of their mission 'the lost sheep of the house of Israel' (Mt $10^{1.\,5\text{-}42}$, Mk $6^{7\text{-}13}$, Lk $9^{1\text{-}6}$; it is clear that Matthew places the mission immediately after the appointment of the Twelve from a characteristic desire to bring together the notices of the selection, the instruction, and the dismissal of the Twelve). As to the use of the name ἀπόστολος in reference to the Twelve in the Gospels (except Lk 17^{5} 22^{14} 24^{10}) only in connexion with this mission, see Hort, *Ecclesia*, p. 22 ff.

We cannot but ask, Who was St. Peter's companion? The answer is almost certainly St. John. For (1) the Lord sent them together on a peculiarly solemn commission at a later time, Lk 22^{8}; (2) they appear as companions in the gospel history, Jn $18^{15ff.}$ $20^{3ff.}$, and in the apostolic history, Ac 3^{1}–4^{19} 8^{14} (mission to Samaria), Gal 2^{9}; (3) they were closely associated in the upper room (Jn $13^{23f.}$), and on the occasion of the Lord's appearance by the Lake (Jn $21^{20ff.}$), and together formed part of an inner circle of the apostles in Jairus' house (Mk 5^{37}), on the Mt. of Transfiguration (Mk 9^{2}), on the Mt. of Olives (Mk 13^{3}), in Gethsemane (Mk 14^{33}); and in this connexion the order in Lk 8^{51} 9^{28} (Πέτρον καὶ Ἰωάννην καὶ Ἰάκωβον) and Ac 1^{13} is to be specially noticed.

It is impossible at this point to refrain from remarking that a mere notice of the occasions when St. Peter's name is mentioned in the Gospels is apt to make us forget the all-important fact that it was in daily fellowship with the Lord, in the daily contemplation of His acts and words, public and private, that the real significance and power of this period lay. Without some intimation of this obvious truth, a brief review of the specific evidence of the Gospels as to St. Peter's life during this time may become positively misleading.

It has been convenient to consider the mission of the Twelve in close connexion with their selection. But between the two occasions we must, as it appears, place a miracle with which St. Peter was brought into close relation—the raising of Jairus' daughter (Mt $9^{18\text{-}26}$, Mk $5^{22\text{-}43}$, Lk $8^{41\text{-}56}$). It is the first of three occasions when 'Peter and James and John' were chosen from among the Twelve as witnesses of a μυστήριον—here of a revelation of Christ the Life. It may have been designed as a special preparation for some crisis in their mission soon to follow (Mt 10^{8} νεκροὺς ἐγείρετε). It is difficult not to trace the vividness of the narrative in Mk to the influence of St. Peter.

4. *St. Peter as the Lord's companion during the (apparently) last year of the ministry.*—The Twelve returned to Christ about the time when He received news of the Baptist's murder. The retirement across the Lake and the Feeding of the Five Thousand immediately followed. This whole series of events prepared the way for a period the general character of which is expressed by the words 'the proving of faith' (1 P 1^{7}).

(i.) *The storm on the Lake* (Mt $14^{22ff.}$, Mk $6^{45ff.}$, Jn $6^{16ff.}$).—It is remarkable that Matthew alone preserves the record of St. Peter's boastful challenge (behind which there lay a deep love for His Master, and impatience of separation from Him), his sudden fear and piteous appeal for help. Christ Himself sums up the meaning of the apostle's failure in the word ὀλιγόπιστε. It would be quite in accordance with the character of St. Peter if, when the boat came to land, he was the spokesman of 'those who were in the ship' in their confession, ἀληθῶς θεοῦ υἱὸς εἶ (Mt).

(ii.) *The Lord's hard sayings at Capernaum.*—St. John records ($6^{60ff.}$) that the sequel of the Lord's teaching at Capernaum about the bread of life was that many of His disciples left Him. Jesus turns to the Twelve and asks them if they too are intending to go away. Simon Peter at once answers for the rest. His reply brings out the apostle's belief in the Lord (1) as superior to all other teachers (πρὸς τίνα ἀπελ.; cf. Jn 3^{2}); (2) as the source of a life-giving revelation (cf. v.^{63}); (3) as the embodiment of Divine holiness.

This, the last element in the confession, is introduced with the emphatic ἡμεῖς πεπιστεύκαμεν καὶ ἐγνώκαμεν. The apostles (ἡμεῖς) with their sure conviction are placed in contrast to the faithless seceders. Their present assured belief is the outcome of past experience deliberately interpreted. What is the meaning of the title ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ θεοῦ? In a wholly independent context it is put into the mouth of the demoniac (Mk 1^{24}). It would therefore appear to be a recognized title, probably a title of the Messiah. This is confirmed when we turn to Ac 3^{14} (τὸν ἅγιον κ. δίκαιον ἠρνήσασθε), where it is placed beside τὸν . . . δίκαιον (which is certainly used of Messiah; see below, on Theology of St. Peter's Speeches). In this (apparently) Messianic title two lines of thought, as it would seem, converge. (*a*) Jehovah is 'the Holy One of Israel' (*e.g.* Is 1^{4}). (*b*) The messengers of Jehovah, the typical priest (τον Ἀαρὼν τὸν ἅγιον κυρίου, Ps 105 (106)^{17}) and the prophet (2 K 4^{9}) are holy; the whole theocratic nation is holy (*e.g.* Ex 19^{6}, Nu 16^{3}; note in this connexion the mysterious phrase 'the Saints' apparently of the members of the nation, Zec 14^{5}, Dn $7^{18.\,22.\,25.\,27}$). This holiness is conceived of by current Jewish expectation as actually realized in the Messianic people, Ps-Sol 17^{36} (ὅτι πάντες ἅγιοι, κ. βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν χριστὸς κύριος). The Messiah Himself, then, who was regarded at once as the special messenger of Jehovah, and also as the flower and crown of the Messianic nation, was naturally described as 'the Holy One,' 'the Holy One of God.' But just as the Messianic title ὁ δίκαιος was raised to a higher and more absolute meaning by later NT writers (*e.g.* 1 Jn 2^{1}), so it was in the case of ὁ ἅγιος (Rev 3^{7}, 1 Jn 2^{20}). To return to St. Peter's use of the phrase at Capernaum, though the words are an official title, yet their ethical and spiritual meaning is not lost here or in Mk 1^{24}. Messiah's sinlessness and purity were a magnet to faithful disciples (cf. 1 P 2^{22}). And the avowed realization of this, as contrasted with Lk 5^{8}, marks a stage in the apostle's spiritual education.

(iii.) *The questions at Cæsarea Philippi.*—There are three stages in the history—(A) *The Confession* (Mt $16^{13\text{-}28}$, Mk $8^{27\text{-}38}$, Lk $9^{18\text{-}27}$).—The account in Mt is the fullest; on the omission of the promise to St. Peter in Mk see Swete on 8^{29}. The Galilæan ministry was drawing to a close (see Swete, p. 166). Our Lord was farther from Jerusalem than at any other time of His ministry, and on the borders of the purely Gentile world. The time and place, then, of themselves suggest the question whether Israel, generally and as represented by His immediate disciples, accepted Him;

---

* Mt 8^{14} introduces the account without any indication of time. It would appear that at this point he is bringing together typical works of healing ($8^{1\text{-}17}$), just as he has brought into a single discourse (5–7; cf. 13) typical utterances of the Lord.

whether the foundation for the great work of the future was being solidly laid. The occasion was felt by the Lord to be a great crisis, and He prepared for it as such by prayer (Lk 9^{18}). The confession of St. Peter at Capernaum was the impulsive response of the disciple to the Master's anxious, foreboding question. But now the stage in the education of the Twelve had been reached when it was well that they should deliberately and definitely face the question of the Lord's Person. In the outskirts (Mk 8^{27}), therefore, of Cæsarea the Lord put two questions to the Twelve —(*a*) What were men generally saying of Him? Here they all contributed something to the answer. They had seen different sides of Jewish opinion. (*b*) What was the thought of the Twelve themselves about Him? Here the answer of one is the answer of all, and St. Peter is their natural spokesman. The Twelve regarded Him as the Divine Messiah.

The Gospels vary as to the words—*Σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστός* (Mk), *τὸν χριστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ* (Lk), *Σὺ εἶ ὁ χρ. ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος* (Mt). The important question arises, Was St. Peter commended for confessing the Divinity of Jesus or His Messiahship? It is probably true that 'the Son of God' was not a common designation of the Messiah, but (1) the language of 2 Es $7^{28. 29}$ ('My Son Messiah') $13^{32. 37. 52}$ 14^{9}; comp. Enoch 105^{2}; (2) the language which the evangelists put into the mouths of persons who can hardly be conceived of as one and all rising to the absolute meaning of the title 'Son of God,' but who would naturally use Messianic language (Mt 8^{29} ‖ Mk Lk, Mt 14^{33} see above, Mt $27^{40. 43}$ [27^{54} ‖ Mk], Mk 3^{11}, Lk 22^{70}, Jn $1^{34. 49}$ 11^{27} 19^{7}); (3) the language of Lk 4^{41} (*σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ . . . ᾔδεισαν τὸν χριστὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι*); (4) the language of St. Matthew in the immediate context, v.^{20} *ἵνα μηδενὶ εἴπωσιν ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ χριστός*, seem to make it clear that the title 'Son of God' was used as bearing a Messianic meaning in our Lord's day. Hence it matters little whether we consider *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος* as part of the original confession, or as an addition of St. Matthew. In either case it is as Messiah that St. Peter confesses Jesus. See especially Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu* pp. 219–226. Thus the revelation of suffering which follows in each Gospel is the earliest insistence on that side of the true Messiah's work which became the greatest stumbling-block to the Jew.

(B) *Our Lord's welcome of the Confession* (Mt 16^{17-19} only).—It is clear that our Lord regarded the deliberate confession of His Messiahship as marking a crisis in His relations with the Twelve, and as a pledge of the growth of the kingdom. He answers it with a solemn beatitude addressed to St. Peter (*μακάριος εἶ*—the only occasion when the Lord pronounces a beatitude on an individual), and by a declaration that his confession had no lower source than a revelation from the Father Himself (cf. Gal $1^{15f.}$). And then speaking, as it would appear, as King Messiah (*κἀγὼ δέ*—'The Father has revealed Me as Messiah to the disciple; I in turn reveal My disciples' place in the kingdom'), He opens out the future under four metaphors—

(*a*) *St. Peter as the foundation of the new Israel.*—Taking the Syriac versions as our guide, we may conclude that our Lord's words, spoken in Aramaic, run thus: 'Thou art *Cepha*, and upon this *Cepha* I will build my congregation.' Here there are three points to be briefly considered—(*α*) *τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μου*. The word is used in its ancient theocratic sense, and the meaning is best represented by the paraphrase, 'I will build my *Israel*.' It must be sufficient to refer to Hort's *The Christian Ecclesia* pp. 3–18, esp. p. 10 f. (*β*) *οἰκοδομήσω*. The metaphor of building, to express the idea of creating and giving unity and permanence to a society of men, is not uncommon in the OT (*e.g.* Ps 28^{5}, Jer 18^{9}). It is important to notice that the Lord reserves to Himself the prerogative of activity. He alone is the builder. Compare the Messianic parable in *Sibyll. Orac.* v. 420 ff. (*γ*) In what sense is *Cepha* the foundation? Does the word point to the first stone of the building, the foundation-stone, or to the soil, the rock on which the first stones are laid? We may say, in view of our Lord's earlier saying (Mt $7^{24f.}$, Lk 6^{48}), that almost certainly the latter is the true interpretation.* Thus the Rock is, so far as the scope of the parable is concerned, separated from the stones reared thereon. This last point helps us to answer the question as to the interpretation of the Rock. It is the apostle who has just made the confession that Jesus of Nazareth is the Messiah. The parable itself limits its application. When the foundation has been laid, the apostle's function as described by the metaphor will have ceased. He will support the first stones of the ecclesia. The true comment on the Lord's promise is Ac 1–10.

Other interpretations of these famous words can be only briefly noted. (1) The Rock is *Christ*. This interpretation is excluded by the fact that in the Aramaic there is no variation (Cepha . . . Cepha) as in the Greek (*πέτρος . . . πέτρα*), and that Christ Himself speaks of Himself as the *builder*. (2) The Rock is *St. Peter's confession*. This interpretation is excluded by the fact that the confession considered in itself was wholly inadequate. It does not include either the Resurrection or the Divinity of the Lord. Its value was strictly relative to the time when it was made. The same consideration excludes the modification of the above view which explains the Rock of *St. Peter's faith*. That faith was a quality which varied from time to time. (3) *St. Peter as the type of, or in combination with, the other apostles*, is the Rock. So Hort (*Ecclesia* p. 16 f., *e.g.* 'In virtue of this personal faith vivifying their discipleship, the Apostles became themselves the first little Ecclesia, constituting a living rock upon which,' etc.). But our Lord's words, as reported by St. Matthew, could not be more personal. To suppose that the Lord addresses St. Peter here as a type of his fellow-apostles, is in effect to imply that no words could be personal unless a typical reference were explicitly excluded. See also 'Additional Note' on p. 795^{b}.

A clear statement as to the exposition of the words and the lines of patristic interpretation is to be found in Lightfoot, *Clement* ii. pp. 481–490.

(*b*) *The new Israel as the conqueror.*—The ἐκκλησία is an aggressive power. Death—the adversary of Christ—is in possession of his stronghold. But 'his gates' (cf. Ps 9^{13} 107^{18}, Job 38^{17}, Is 38^{10}) cannot withstand the attack. The new Israel is victorious against 'walled cities' like the first Israel (cf. *e.g.* Dt $3^{4f.}$). Such appears to be the meaning. The clause, however, has no special bearing on St. Peter's functions.

(*c*) *St. Peter as the steward of the kingdom.*†—*δώσω σοι τὰς κλεῖδας τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν*. The words seem to be an intentional reminiscence of the message of Jehovah as to Eliakim (Is 22^{22}): 'The key of the house of David will I lay upon his shoulder.' The words are paraphrased in the LXX text represented by B (*καὶ δώσω τὴν δόξαν Δαυεὶδ αὐτῷ*), but ℵ* has *καὶ δώσω καὶ αὐτῷ τὴν κλῖδαν οἴκου Δ.*, and A has a conflate reading.

(*d*) *St. Peter as the scribe who 'binds' and 'looses.'*—*καὶ ὃ ἐὰν δήσῃς κ.τ.λ.* In this use of 'binding' and 'loosing' there cannot be but a close reference to the current technical use of these words to express the authoritative decision of a scribe on a matter of obligation (cf. Mt 5^{19}; cf. Edersheim, *Life and Times* ii. p. 84 f.). Such decisions on St. Peter's part in the new kingdom shall be the echoes of decisions already promulgated in heaven. On these two verses see especially Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu* pp. 174–178.

In regard to the essential meaning of this series of metaphors as applied to St. Peter, the following points should be noted: (1) They seem to be all conditioned by the scope of the first of them, the rock-foundation, *i.e.* our Lord is dealing with the first stage of the history of the new ecclesia. The relation of St. Peter to the new Israel is in some sense to correspond to the relation of Moses and Joshua to the ancient Israel. (2) The promise as to 'binding' and 'loosing' given here to St. Peter is in Mt 18^{18} given to the disciples. It would seem, therefore, if the words in the two places are to be understood in precisely the same sense, that St. Peter is, on the former occasion, singled out from the other disciples because he would be the first to exercise, or would be the leader in the exercise of, a power common to all. At the same time it must be noted that (*α*) the context in ch. 18 (viz. vv.$^{15-17. 21ff.}$) deals with the forgiveness of sins; (*β*) Dalman (p. 177) shows that in Jewish Aramaic the word 'to loose' (שְׁרָא), at any rate, is used metaphorically in *various* senses. It does not then seem certain that the terms must bear the same meaning in both passages. (3) The Bk. of the Acts records the historical fulfilment of the promises to St. Peter. But it must be remembered that in that Book we have not a *complete* history of the earliest days of the Church, and that the writer is himself familiar rather with somewhat later developments. There may well have been occasions, unnoticed by the author of the Acts, which contributed to the complete fulfilment of the Lord's promises to St. Peter.

---

* It is true that the word *cepha* is not used by the Syriac versions in these two passages. But that the word *cepha* does mean 'a rock' as well as 'a stone' is clear from the fact that it is used to render *πέτρα* in Mt 27^{60} (Pesh.) 27^{51} (Syr $^{\text{sin}}$ Pesh.); it may therefore have been used by our Lord in the saying in question. See additional note on the Rabbinical use of Rock in reference to Abraham at end of art. 1 PETER.

† Compare the remarkable legend preserved in *Apoc. Baruch* 10^{18} and (in a somewhat different form) in the *Rest of the Words of Baruch* 4, 'Jeremiah took the keys of the sanctuary of God and went out of the city and cast them away before the sun, saying, "To thee I say, O sun, take the keys of the sanctuary of God . . . forasmuch as we were not found worthy to keep them, because we were false stewards."'

(C) *The Lord's rebuke of St. Peter.*—The confession of St. Peter and our Lord's announcement that He Himself would be the founder of a new Israel form the turning-point in the education of the Twelve. Mt marks the transition by the phrase ἀπὸ τότε ἤρξατο (v.^{21}), which in 4^{17} stands at the beginning of the ministry, and occurs nowhere else. Henceforth the Lord reveals to the apostles the mystery of the Divine purpose (δεῖ) as to the Messiah —His humiliation in His rejection by the representatives of Israel at Jerusalem (the centre of Israel's life) and His death, His exaltation in the Resurrection. The idea of a suffering Messiah was alien to current Jewish expectations (cf. Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. p. 184 ff.). St. Peter at once protests against his Master's appropriation of it to Himself. His action (προσλαβόμενος) and his words * alike imply a position of kindly patronage towards the Lord. The Lord turns immediately upon him, and the sight of the other disciples (Mk) necessitates a public and severe rebuke—a reversal for the time of the words of commendation just pronounced;—a sentence of rebuff, pronounced as upon an enemy, takes the place of the beatitude; the rock-foundation of Messiah's Israel has become Messiah's stumbling-stone; a temper of mind capable of receiving the revelation of the Father has been succeeded by a temper of mind wholly earthly.

A week after these events at Cæsarea (Mk 9$^{2ff.}$, Mt 17$^{1ff.}$, Lk 9$^{28ff.}$), the three disciples, who had been witnesses of a previous revelation of Christ as the *Life*, are allowed, on the Mount of Transfiguration, to learn the 'mystery' of Christ as the *Glory* of God. The impulsive and inopportune request of St. Peter sprang from a dread of the withdrawal of the outward signs of revelation (cf. 2 Co 3$^{7. 13}$); it was the prayer of a consciously weak and earthly faith. The revelation on the mountain confirmed both elements in the disclosure of the issues of Messiah's life on earth which the Lord gave at Cæsarea. The uniqueness of His Person was brought home to the Three by (*a*) the glory of the Lord Himself; (*b*) His mysterious converse with the Founder and the Reformer of Israel's polity, in which He is seen to be the mediator between the living and the departed; (*c*) the voice from heaven attesting His Sonship.

In the period between the Transfiguration and the Entry into Jerusalem St. Peter is mentioned on *four* occasions. At Capernaum, his home, the collectors of the temple dues put to him the question whether his Master did not pay the half-shekel, and St. Peter is made by his Master the means of its payment. The Lord uses the incident to lead up His disciple's mind to the conception of His Divine Sonship (Mt 17$^{24ff.}$). On the three remaining occasions St. Peter is represented as questioning the Lord as to the practical and immediate bearing of His words,—asking as to the scope of the parables of the faithful slaves and the sudden coming of the thief (Lk 12^{41}, cf. Mk 13^{37}); asking as to the number of times a brother should be forgiven (Mt 18^{21}); asking as to the reward in store for the Twelve in view of their absolute self-renunciation, as contrasted with the refusal of the young ruler to surrender his wealth and follow Christ (Mt 19^{27}, Mk 10^{28}, Lk 18^{28}). These questions reveal the apostle's impulsiveness, the practical bent of his character, something perhaps of a lack of reverence towards his Master; while the last of them shows an undue sense of the deserts of himself and his fellow-apostles.

5. *The week before the Passion.*—Nothing is told us of St. Peter in connexion with the Triumphal Entry. Mk preserves two words of his addressed to Christ on the *Tuesday*. To St. Peter the sight of the withered fig-tree recalls (ἀναμνησθεὶς) the incident of the previous day, and he points his Master to the effect of His prophecy (Mk 11^{21}, cf. Mt 21^{20}). Again, after the Lord that same day had left the temple and crossed the Kidron on His way to Bethany, He sat down on the Mt. of Olives. The main body of the apostles apparently continued their way. Four of their number—Peter, James, John, and Andrew—possibly deputed by the rest, asked Him privately a question as to the *time* when His prophecy just spoken should have its fulfilment, and as to the events which should herald it (Mk 13^{3}; cf. Mt 24^{3}, Lk 21^{7}). The form of the sentence (ἐπηρώτα αὐτὸν . . . Πέτρος καὶ Ἰάκωβος κ.τ.λ.) suggests that St. Peter was the spokesman. Luke preserves the detail that on the *Thursday* it was St. Peter and St. John whom the Lord sent to 'prepare the passover' (22^{8}; cf. Mt 26^{18}, Mk 14^{13}). In the Upper Room and in the events which followed St. Peter took a prominent part. It appears that at the Paschal meal the Lord took the place of host, St. Peter the second place, reclining on Christ's left, St. John the third, on the Lord's right hand (Westcott on Jn 13^{23}). When, then, Christ washed the disciples' feet (Jn 13$^{4ff.}$), St. Peter must have been either the first or the last to whom He came. The former alternative is the more probable, Jn's favourite οὖν here (v.^{6}) as elsewhere simply denoting immediate sequence. In the dialogue which follows, different traits of the apostle's character are vividly brought out in his question expressing startled humility (v.^{6} Κύριε, σύ μου . . . ;), in his emphatic refusal (οὐ μὴ . . . εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα) to allow Christ to wash his feet, in his sudden change of mind and the eager prayer in which, giving a material meaning to Christ's words, he asks for what he considers a larger blessing. Later on in the meal, when the Lord speaks of the presence of the traitor (v.^{21}), St. Peter, assuming that He had whispered the secret to St. John, abruptly asks the latter to tell it openly to the rest. Later still, when the traitor had gone out, St. Peter, taking up Christ's words (v.^{33}) about His 'going,' inquires with his old literalness whither He is going; and again, asserting his absolute devotion, why he cannot at once follow his Master in His mysterious

---

* Syr^{sin} in Mk 8^{32} reads, 'But Simon Cepha, as if sparing Him, said to Him, (God) spares Thee.' The last words, a formula of deprecation (cf. *e.g.* Ac 10^{14} 11^{8}), render the ἵλεώς σοι of Mt 16^{22} in Syr^{cur} Pesh. From this formula the remarkable paraphrase, 'as if sparing Him,' is derived.

journey (v.$^{36\text{ff.}}$). At this point Jn inserts the prophecy of the three denials. Lk ($22^{28\text{ff.}}$) also puts the warning at this time, though his version of the Lord's words is different from that in Jn. In Lk Christ solemnly addresses Peter and unveils the world of spiritual conflict. Satan had demanded the surrender to himself of all the apostles, as he had demanded Job (Job 1^{12} 2^{6}), that he might sift them all—the metaphor bringing out their weakness and their separation (cf. *e.g.* Ps 1^{4}). But Peter had been the subject of urgent supplication on his Master's part that his faith might not wholly and finally fail (ἐκλίπῃ). It is implied that the apostle would not pass through the trial unscathed. But beyond the trial a return to former spiritual relationships is promised—a return which would bring with it the duty of 'stablishing his brethren.' In answer to Peter's protestation of absolute fidelity, Christ explicitly foretells that before the cock crowed (twice, Mk) the next morning, Peter would thrice deny Him.* It is remarkable that in Jn, though three other of the Twelve ($14^{5.\ 8.\ 22}$) interrupt the Lord's words with questions, St. Peter remains silent, perplexed and saddened, it would seem, by his Master's unexpected doubt of his loyalty. At length Christ and the Eleven go out into the Mount of Olives. It is at this point that, according to Mt ($26^{31\text{ff.}}$) and Mk ($14^{27\text{ff.}}$), the Lord warned them that they all would 'be made to stumble,' and foretold in detail Peter's faithlessness—a prophecy prefaced and followed by passionate protestations on the apostle's part. Thus it appears that we have three different accounts—Mt ‖ Mk, Lk, Jn—of Christ's words to Peter as to the denial. A not improbable solution of the difficulty is that Christ warned His followers several times that night that their loyalty towards Himself would be sorely tested; that He only once explicitly foretold Peter's fall; but that the several evangelists connected that prophecy with different words of warning. When the Lord and His apostles reached Gethsemane (Mt $26^{36\text{ff.}}$, Mk $14^{32\text{ff.}}$), He took Peter and James and John aside from the rest and admitted them to a knowledge of the μυστήριον of His human sorrow and perfected obedience, the last of the three revelations which were crises in their spiritual education. On His return to them the first time, finding them sleeping, He singles out Peter for rebuke, tacitly contrasting his inability to 'watch one hour' with his earlier boast. One other detail is preserved as to Peter's conduct in the garden, at the moment of the Lord's arrest (Mt $26^{51\text{ff.}}$, Mk $14^{47\text{ff.}}$, Lk $22^{50\text{ff.}}$, Jn $18^{10\text{f.}}$). Not waiting for an answer to the question, 'Lord, shall we smite with the sword?' (Lk, cf. 22^{38}), and going near to frustrate the Lord's care for His followers' safety (Jn 18^{8}), he snatches his sword out of its sheath and, striking at the head of a slave of the high priest who had, as we may suppose, taken hold of Christ, he wounds him. Christ's last miracle secures the safety of the apostles by undoing the misdoing of His impetuous follower. Jn, when all reasons for reticence were over, gives us the names, 'Simon Peter,' 'Malchus'; Lk alone records the healing. When Christ was led away to the high priest's official residence, St. Peter, striking a balance between his fears for himself and his love for his Master, 'followed afar off' (Mt, Mk, Lk). Apparently, as he drew near the high priest's palace, he overtook St. John (Jn 18^{15}), and was by him brought into the court. The latter, it would seem, passed on into the audience-chamber. Then follow the three denials, the whole group of incidents taking up about an hour (Lk 22^{59}). On the relation to each other of the narratives in the four Gospels see Westcott, Additional Notes to Jn 18. The second cock-crow (Mk) and the sudden piercing gaze of the Lord (ἐνέβλεψεν, Lk) recalled to Peter's mind the prophecy of Christ, 'and he went out and wept bitterly' (Mt, Lk; on Mk's ἐπιβαλών see Field's interesting note in *Notes on the Translation of the NT* p. 41). There is no further reference to St. Peter in the history of the Passion.

6. *The period between the Resurrection and the Ascension.*—In the accounts of the day of the Resurrection St. Peter is twice mentioned. From these notices it appears that after his fall he did not separate himself from the other apostles, and that he was still regarded as their natural leader. (i.) Early on that morning Mary Magdalene hurried from the garden to Simon Peter and to John, to tell them that the tomb was empty. The two apostles went together to the tomb, as they had gone together to the high priest's court three days before. They both ran, but St. Peter, the older man, fell behind. St. John came first to the sepulchre, but did not enter. St. Peter, practical and impetuous, went into the sepulchre, and took note (θεωρεῖ) of the orderly arrangement of the cloths and the napkin. Then they returned, still (it would seem*) perplexed, to their own homes (Jn $20^{1\text{-}10}$). (ii.) Later in the day, some time before the evening, the Lord appeared to St. Peter—alone—to seal his repentance with forgiveness (Lk 24^{34}; cf. 1 Co 15^{5}, where the appearance to Cephas has the first place). (iii.) In the third appearance of Christ to the apostles as a body (Jn 21; cf. $20^{19.\ 26}$), at the Lake of Tiberias, Peter takes a conspicuous part. The quick intuition of faith is characteristic of John (v.^{7}; cf. 20^{8}). But when another has discerned the Lord, the rapid act of preparation, the leap into the sea that he may reach his Master the quicker, then, when all have landed, the return to the ship that he may begin the necessary work of bringing the net to land,—all these acts belong to a lifelike portrait of St. Peter. After the meal, provided by Christ, there follows St. Peter's public restoration, corresponding to the private assurance of forgiveness given him on the day of the Resurrection.† To the thrice-repeated denial there answers the thrice-repeated question as to his love towards Christ and the thrice-repeated charge, covering the whole sphere of pastoral activity. So far the official and the personal have been blended together. Now in a solemn 'oracle' (ἀμὴν, ἀμὴν) the Lord deals with the personal issue of the apostle's life of service—the helplessness and the devotion of a martyr's death. The last recorded word of St. Peter addressed to Christ is an impulsive, unselfish question (v.^{21}). The last word of Christ to St. Peter is an echo of the earliest call interpreted in the light of the cross—*ἀκολούθει μοι . . . σύ μοι ἀκολούθει* (vv.$^{19.\ 22}$).

II. HISTORY OF ST. PETER AFTER THE ASCENSION, IN THE NT.—The three periods of the growth of the Church, treated of in the Acts,‡ are clearly described in 1^8 — the Church of Jerusalem, the Church of Palestine, the Church of the World.

---

* For the Fayum fragment see Harnack in *Texte u. Untersuch.* v. 4, p. 483 ff., and especially Hort's letters to the *Times* (June 25, July 16, 1885).

* To one who hesitates to accept Hort's theory of 'Western non-interpolations' (see the writer's *Syro-Latin Text* p. 130 n.) the external evidence against the authenticity of Lk 24^{12} must seem of very little weight. On the other hand, the linguistic similarity to Jn is curious, and cannot be accidental. It would be rash to assert that we have not here a sign of cross-currents of apostolic tradition, which the available evidence will perhaps never enable us to follow out.

† On the subtle variation of words in Jn $21^{15\text{-}17}$ see Westcott's notes.

‡ The theory of Blass, that the common and the 'Western' texts of the Lucan Books represent two editions by St. Luke, is well known. The present writer has criticised it in *The Syro-Latin Text of the Gospels* p. 133 n. In that book and in *The Old Syriac Element in Cod. Bezæ* he has given reasons for his belief that the 'Western' text is largely due to (1) assimilation to scriptural passages; (2) the influence of Old Syriac texts. 'Western' readings of exceptional interest in parts of the Acts dealing with St. Peter are to be found in 10^{25} 11^{2} (a mosaic of phrases used in Ac and Epistles about St. Paul) 12^{10}

1. *The Church of Jerusalem* (1^1–8^1).—During this period St. Peter stands alone as the leader and spokesman of the disciples.

(*a*) In the days which passed between the Ascension and the day of Pentecost, St. Peter in the first apostolic speech urged the appointment of a disciple to fill the apostolate of Judas. Into the problems suggested by Lk's record of the speech (including the insertion, v.$^{18f.}$) it is unnecessary to enter. It is sufficient to notice (i.) that St. Peter bases his argument on an appeal to the OT, *i.e.* to two passages of the Psalms (68 (69) ^{26} 108 (109) ^{8} LXX), prefiguring respectively the vacancy of the traitor's pastoral office and the duty of appointing a successor; (ii.) that St. Peter defines the essential function of an apostle as being 'a witness of the Resurrection [of the Lord Jesus].'

(*b*) On the early morning of Pentecost the disciples were all gathered together in one of the many chambers (οἶκοι) of the temple (v.^{2}; for this sense of οἶκος cf. *e.g.* Jer 42 (35)^4 43 (36)$^{10.\ 12}$; Jos. *Ant.* VIII. iii. 2). The chambers and courts of the temple were crowded with worshippers from among 'the dwellers at Jerusalem' (v.^{6} τὸ πλῆθος; cf. 21^{36}, Lk 1^{10}), to whom 'immediately after midnight the Temple gates [had been] thrown open' (Edersheim, *The Temple* p. 228). Such in all probability was the place* and such the audience of St. Peter's speech, after the Spirit had been given and His presence attested by the gift of tongues. A strong case can be made out for the opinion that St. Peter spoke in Greek (T. K. Abbott, *Essays* p. 129 ff.; Salmon, *Introduction*^{6} p. 172 f.; on the other side see Neubauer in *Studia Biblica* i. p. 62 ff.).† The speech begins as an *apologia* (v.^{15}); it ends with a proclamation of the crucified Jesus of Nazareth as the Sovereign Messiah (v.^{36}).

Ac 2^{14-36}. Jesus, the enthroned Messiah.

(1) Vv.$^{14-21}$. The charge of drunkenness is disproved (*a*) by the circumstances, 'the third hour of the day'; (*b*) by the fact that the phenomena correspond to Joel's prophecy (Jl 2^{28-32} (3^{1-5})).

(2) Vv.$^{22-24}$. Jesus of Nazareth was accredited as God's messenger to Israel by Divine miracles; according to God's eternal counsel He was surrendered to the Jews, murdered by them through the instrumentality of Gentiles, raised from death by God Himself—the necessary issue.

The Divine purpose and action are throughout emphasized.

(3) Vv.$^{25-32}$. This necessity was foreshadowed in David's prophecy (Ps 15 (16)$^{8-11}$). His words could not apply to himself. Therefore, as a prophet, in view of the promised dynasty (Ps 131 (132)^{11}, 2 S 7^{12}), he foresaw and spoke of 'the raising up of the anointed one'—a prophecy finally fulfilled in the Resurrection.

(4) Vv.$^{33-35}$. The Resurrection involved the exaltation through the Divine action. The exalted Messiah receives from the Father, and gives, the promised Spirit.

It is impossible that the exaltation should be interpreted of David; for David spoke of 'his lord,' seated at God's right hand (Ps 109 (110)^1).

(5) V.^{36}. The duty, therefore, of all Israel (the 'Dispersion' and the dwellers at Jerusalem alike) is to acknowledge God's action in constituting the victim of their malice the Anointed One and the Sovereign King—*Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός.*

The result of St. Peter's speech was the conviction of his hearers. In answer to their question, 'What shall we do?' (cf. Lk $3^{10.\ 13f.}$), he urges—(1) that they should repent, *i.e.* of the great national sin of rejecting the Messiah; (2) that each should be baptized in the name of Jesus Messiah; (3) such baptism having as its result forgiveness, (4) and leading on to the bestowal of the special gift of the Spirit.

With the day of Pentecost the life of the Church as a society, quickened and endowed with the gifts of the Spirit, began.

(*c*) How long a time elapsed between the day of Pentecost and the evening when St. Peter worked the 'notable sign' on the cripple at the Beautiful Gate there is no evidence. The miracle was wrought 'in the name of Jesus Messiah, the Nazarene.' The man healed was a well-known object of pity, and his restoration at once drew 'all the people' round him and Peter and John in the great eastern portico of the temple. To them St. Peter proclaims Jesus as the Restorer.

Ac 3^{12-26}. Jesus, the glorified Servant, the Restorer.

(1) Vv.$^{12-16}$. The miracle was not the work of the apostles; it was an incident in the unbroken history of Redemption. For the name of Jesus, the Servant of the God of the Fathers, rejected and slain by Israel, raised and glorified by God, was the source of restoration.

(2) Vv.$^{17-26}$. Israel's present position, duty, and hope. (*a*) The 'sufferings of the Messiah' were due, on the *human* side, to the crime of Israel's ignorance, on the *Divine* side to the action of God in fulfilment of His utterances through the prophets. (*b*) Consequently (οὖν) there is a present call to national repentance, such repentance issuing in (1) forgiveness; (2) the advent of 'seasons of refreshing'; (3) the final mission of the Messiah as the Restorer of all things. (*c*) Israel's present opportunity was foretold by Moses and all the prophets. Of this prophetic line and of the first covenant those present are the heirs. To them belongs a priority in the blessings which spring from God's act in raising up and sending His Servant, whose work reaches to the conversion of each Israelite.

The action and the words of St. Peter were a double challenge. The officials in charge of the temple resented the assumption of the position of 'teachers' on the part of men whom they despised as *'am hā-'āreẓ.* The Sadducees were provoked by the proclamation of the Resurrection. The two apostles were therefore put in prison, and the next morning brought before the Sanhedrin. In answer to the formal question as to their authority or commission, St. Peter answered that the cripple was healed 'by the name of Jesus Messiah, the Nazarene,' whom the rulers to whom he speaks had crucified, whom God had raised. He then brings together the three thoughts — Messiah's rejection, the apparent triumph of the rulers, the reversal of their judgment and the exaltation of the rejected One—in the words of Ps 117 (118)^{22}, and declares that in this Name only is there salvation. It is to be noticed that, the first time that St. Peter appears before the high priests, he appeals to that verse of the Psalms by a reference to which (after the parable of the Wicked Husbandmen) our Lord a few weeks before had roused their vain resentment (Mt $21^{42ff.}$ ‖ Mk, Lk). It was this, doubtless, which led them to recognize the apostles as the companions of Jesus. At length, in spite of their refusal to be silent as to the facts of their experience (4^{20}; cf. 1 Jn $1^{1f.}$), the apostles are set at liberty by the chief priests.

(*d*) In the next subsection (4^{32}–5^{16}) the Acts turns from the external dangers and triumphs to the inner life of the Church. Two contrasted cases of the action of the members of the brotherhood in regard to property are narrated—the case of Barnabas, and the case of Ananias and Sapphira. In dealing with Ananias, St. Peter exercises the χάρισμα of 'discernment of spirits.' When the guilt of Ananias has been proved by his fate, and Sapphira comes before him, St. Peter is represented as foretelling her doom. The apostle is the Joshua of the new Israel (Jos $7^{16ff.}$; cf. 2 K $5^{25ff.}$). With this history the words of St. Paul (1 Co 5^5, 1 Ti 1^{20}) should be compared.

(the 'seven steps' due to assimilation to Ezk $40^{6.\ 22}$). See also 'Western' readings in $3^{11.\ 14}$ $4^{14.\ 24}$ 5^{29} 8^{24} $10^{13.\ 15.\ 19.\ 26.\ 39.\ 41}$ 11^{17} $12^{5.\ 7.\ 17}$ $15^{7.\ 12}$.

* The supposition that the events described in Ac 2 took place in the temple is in itself natural; it explains several details of the history; and it is in complete harmony, it is believed, with Lk's language.

† The internal evidence of the speeches in the Acts (see below, p. 766) appears to the present writer a complete refutation of the theory which regards them as the simple invention of the author of the book, and a proof that with varying accuracy they represent what was said on the several occasions. That the author of the Acts, however, is responsible for their present literary form and for much of their language is a view quite consistent with a belief in their substantial fidelity. It is quite possible that St. Peter and St. Luke met at Rome—an important point for the criticism of the Gospel and the Acts.

Shortly afterwards there ensued among the apostles a fresh activity of the 'gift of healing.' In particular, St. Peter became an object of almost superstitious regard to the populace at Jerusalem. And the fame of these miracles spread through the neighbouring districts.

(*e*) This outburst of popular feeling awoke the envy of the Sadducæan faction (5^{17-42}). They now, in order to ensure the destruction of this new insurrection against their materializing views, imprison all the apostles. The latter, delivered from prison, resume in the temple their work of public teaching. Brought by the chief officer of the temple before the Sanhedrin, the apostles by the mouth of St. Peter (1) affirm that they are acting according to a Divine command, which they have no choice but to obey. (2) They affirm the continuity of national redemption. God, who had 'raised up' judges (cf. *e.g.* Jg $2^{16.18}$ 3^{9}), had 'raised up Jesus.' The action of the rulers in putting Him to a cruel death, which seemed to mark Him out as cursed of God (cf. Dt 21^{23}), had been reversed by God's action in exalting Him both to rule and to deliver, in order that Israel might receive the gifts of national repentance and national forgiveness. (3) They affirm that their witness to this message was inspired by the Spirit, a Divine gift bestowed, not on Israel's worldly rulers, but on faithful Israelites who obeyed God's revelation. By these words the Sadducæan party was kindled to a frenzy of murderous hatred. But in a private conference the Pharisee Gamaliel persuaded them to follow a more prudent policy. They recall the apostles, scourge them, and dismiss them with a command that they should no more 'speak in the name of Jesus.'

St. Peter's name does not occur in the history either of the appointment of the Seven or of the trial of Stephen. When, after the murder of the latter, 'a great persecution' arose and the brethren 'were scattered,' St. Peter, with the other apostles, remained in Jerusalem.

Thus, during the earliest period of the Church's life at Jerusalem, St. Peter vindicates the primacy with which the Lord entrusted him. He is never, indeed, represented as independent of the other apostles. But he is throughout the history the leader and spokesman of the rest—within the society of the brethren ($1^{15\text{ff.}}$ $5^{1\text{ff.}}$) itself, before the crowds of listening and inquiring Jews ($2^{14\text{ff.}}$ $2^{37\text{ff.}}$ $3^{12\text{ff.}}$; cf. 5^{15}), before the Sanhedrin ($4^{8\text{ff.}}$ $5^{29\text{ff.}}$).

2. *The Church of Palestine* (8^{1}–9^{31}).—(*a*) After the outbreak of the persecution, the new, like the old, Israel became a διασπορά (διεσπάρησαν, διασπαρέντες, $8^{1.4}$ 11^{19}). The story of what seems to have been the most important of these enforced evangelistic journeys is given in detail. Philip, one of the Seven, instructs and baptizes many converts in 'the city of Samaria.' The step was an important one. It involved the admission that pure Israelitish blood was not a necessary qualification for admission to the Christian society. The apostles, acting together (8^{14}), sent the two most prominent members of their body, Peter and John, to review and to confirm the work of the evangelist. An outpouring of the Holy Spirit in this second stage of the Church's history answers to the day of Pentecost in the first period. But the gift is not spontaneous. It is the Divine response to the prayer of the two apostles, and it is bestowed through their act of ministry. In the sequel St. Peter appears as the sole actor. Simon Magus regards the whole transaction as an exhibition of magical dexterity, and offers to pay liberally for the impartment to himself of the apostles' secret power. He stands out thus early in the history of the Church as the type of the degrading influence on Christianity of paganizing associations. Peter pronounces him to be at present an alien from the gospel, but holds out hope of the purifying influence of repentance and prayer for forgiveness. The apostles, after some further work, returned to Jerusalem, and on their way 'evangelized many villages of the Samaritans.' Thus, in this first effort to extend the gospel beyond its earliest limits, the initiation does not rest with St. Peter. The function which belongs to him, as one of the delegates of the apostolic college, is to set upon the work the seal of authoritative approval, and to deal decisively with a new danger inseparable from the contact of the Church with outside habits of thought and life.

In the earlier chapters of the Acts there is not one clear indication of date. But it is possible to ascertain approximately the time which elapsed between the Ascension and the visit of Peter and John to Samaria. It appears tolerably certain that Damascus was not included in the kingdom of Aretas before the beginning of the reign of Gaius (Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. p. 357 f.; Turner, art. CHRONOLOGY OF NT in vol. i. pp. 416, 424), and that therefore St. Paul's flight from Damascus (2 Co 11^{32}) cannot have been earlier than A.D. 37, nor his conversion earlier than 35 (Gal 1^{18}; cf. Ac 9^{23}). Some weeks, perhaps months, must have elapsed between the conversion of St. Paul and the martyrdom of St. Stephen (Ac 8^{3} 9^{13} $22^{4\text{f.}}$ $26^{10\text{ff.}}$ εἰς τὰς ἔξω πόλεις, Gal 1^{13}). Hence the apostles' visit to Samaria must have taken place about five years after the Ascension (A.D. 29).

3. *The Church of the World* (9^{32}–end).—After his return from Samaria, it seems that St. Peter continued at Jerusalem during the remainder of the persecution. But the conversion of Saul of Tarsus and the consequent peace of the Church were the signal for an important change in the apostolic policy. St. Peter starts alone on a journey of visitation and evangelization—vaguely described in Ac 9^{32} by the words διερχόμενον διὰ πάντων. It is followed by a more or less protracted sojourn at Lydda and Joppa, where Christian communities had already been founded, and later at Cæsarea. The significance of this notice is appreciated only when it is observed that throughout the earlier period of the history Luke has been at pains to emphasize the solidarity of the apostolic body at Jerusalem ($8^{1.14}$ 6^{2} $5^{18.40\text{ff.}}$). We are therefore led to the conclusion that this is the time when the apostolic college at Jerusalem, with St. Peter as its natural leader and spokesman, separated, and when James became the acknowledged head of the Church there. Luke sketches the history only of St. Peter at this important crisis, partly because of his primacy among the apostles, partly because his divinely guided action had an important bearing on the extension of the Church to the Gentiles.

The apostle's journey ended at Lydda, where the miraculous restoration of the cripple Æneas had a wide influence through Lydda and 'the Sharon.' From Lydda St. Peter is summoned to Joppa, and there restores Tabitha to life. Lk in his account of the miracle seems desirous of suggesting that with one significant exception—'he kneeled down and prayed'—St. Peter in action and in words imitated the example of the Lord in the house of Jairus. The miracle was the means of the conversion of many in Joppa. There Peter prolonged his sojourn, in the house of a certain Simon, a tanner, near the shore (10^{6}). The place was doubly significant. On the one hand, since the trade of a tanner was considered among the Jews as almost unclean (see Schoettgen and Wetstein on Ac 9^{43}), the choice of this house as a lodging may indicate that the apostle's Jewish prejudices were becoming weaker. On the other hand, Joppa, looking out over the waters of the Mediterranean, was to a Jew 'an entrance for the isles of the sea' (1 Mac 14^{5}), and by its very position suggested the problem of those 'afar off.' Thus the apostle's mind was in a sense prepared for the thrice repeated vision, and for the divinely given interpretation of it—'What God hath cleansed, make not thou common'—overruling scruples which held him back from 'killing and eating' what to him as a Jew was 'common and unclean'[*]; and in turn this 'voice from heaven' prepared him to receive the monition of the Spirit that he should go with the messengers of the Roman centurion, 'nothing doubting.' In regard, then, to the evangelization of a Gentile, distinct supernatural direction was given to the Hebrew apostle as it had earlier been vouchsafed to the Hellenistic evangelist (8^{29}). St. Peter at once with six brethren (11^{12}), whose devotion to Judaism was beyond suspicion (10^{45}), went with Cornelius' messengers to Cæsarea. The entrance of the leader of the apostles into the Roman capital of Judæa, the noted seaport, predominantly Gentile in character, was in itself a crisis in the progress of the gospel. The sequel increased the significance of the visit. On his first meeting with Cornelius the apostle refuses the Roman's unexpected act of reverence, and entering the house begins with an emphatic statement as to the position of a religious Jew towards Gentiles, and as to the way in which God had Himself taught him to regard no human being as 'common or unclean.' This was the only explanation of his ready response to Cornelius' invitation. Then, in answer to Cornelius' story of the Divine direction granted to him, St. Peter begins his solemn address to his Gentile hearers.

It is clear that in $10^{34\text{-}43}$ we have a summary of a speech which was early interrupted (11^{15}; cf. 4^{1} 7^{54} 22^{22}).

(1) V.$^{34\text{f.}}$. The apostle declares that now he grasps the truth that God is the moral ruler (not of Israel only, but) of men belonging to every nation.

(2) Vv.$^{36\text{-}41}$. There follows a historical statement as to the Divine message through Christ, the sovereign of all men, primarily addressed to Israel, His unction by the Holy Spirit, His ministry of miracles attested by witnesses, His shameful death, His Resurrection and manifestation through God's direct action to witnesses chosen by God, who by clear proofs were convinced that He was alive.

(3) Vv.$^{42.\,43}$. He Himself commanded the apostles to proclaim to Israel His appointment by God as Judge of living and dead. The prophets' universal witness to Him implies the truth that every man (Gentile as well as Jew) may have through faith in Him the gift of forgiveness.

Doubtless, the prophets' witness was meant to be the preface to a statement of our Lord's commands as to 'all the nations.' Throughout the speech we notice two contrasted lines of thought—(1) the wider scope of revelation: *ἐν παντὶ ἔθνει* v.^{35}, *πάντων κύριος* v.^{36}, *πάντα τὸν πιστεύοντα* v.^{43}; (2) the insistence on Israel's being the primary destination of the gospel (vv.$^{36.\,39.\,42}$). It is significant that in regard to the universality of the Divine gifts an appeal is made to the witness of the prophets (v.^{43}). The reference to Israel's priority in blessing and to the prophets is very natural in the Jewish apostle, to whom the reconciliation of the old revelation and this new manifestation of God's purposes was a fresh problem. It probably had also an apologetic meaning in reference to the Jewish companions of St. Peter (v.^{45}).

As the apostle was speaking, the Holy Spirit fell upon his hearers, His presence being attested by the gift of tongues. The apostle at once interprets this miraculous endowment as a Divine sign of their admission within the Christian body, and directs their baptism.

Thus the Spirit at Cæsarea, as at Jerusalem at the first, was bestowed apart from any act of human ministry. The occasion is marked as the Gentile Pentecost.[†] It will be noticed that the three outpourings of the Spirit signalize the commencement of the three stages of the progress of the gospel—Jerusalem, Samaria, the Gentile world—and that with each of them St. Peter is intimately connected.

News of the events at Cæsarea soon reached Jerusalem, and the circumcised Christians complained of St. Peter's conduct in eating with uncircumcised Gentiles. Apparently a formal assembly of those in authority was held, and the apostle answered the charge brought against him by a simple narrative of what had taken place. The gainsayers were convinced. They confessed that 'God had granted to the Gentiles also repentance unto life' (11^{18})—a confession clearly falling very far short of an acknowledgment of the equal standing of Jew and Gentile in the Christian society.

These events took place in the months succeeding St. Paul's conversion. At the end of three years (*i.e.* A.D. 37 or 38 probably), St. Paul went up to Jerusalem (Gal 1^{18}, cf. Ac $9^{26\text{ff.}}$ $22^{17\text{ff.}}$ 26^{20}). His special object was 'to visit Cephas,' whose guest he was for fifteen days. His reference to this visit seems to show that St. Peter alone of the Twelve was at Jerusalem at this time.

Of St. Peter's life during the next six or seven years no notice is preserved. Shortly, however, before the death of Herod Agrippa, in the spring of 44, that king, whose policy it was to conciliate the Pharisaic party (Jos. *Ant.* XIX. vii. 3), made an attack on the Church. It would appear that the growth of the Christian body had excited the envy of the Jews ($12^{3.\,11}$), and the enthusiasm with which they welcomed the execution of one of the apostles encouraged the king to throw St. Peter into prison. On the night before the great popular spectacle of which the apostle's trial was to be the occasion, he was miraculously freed from his chains and led by an angel out of the prison. At length, roused completely from sleep and conscious of the situation, he goes to the house of Mary, the mother of John Mark. With difficulty gaining admission, he tells those who had gathered there to intercede for him of his wonderful escape, and bidding them inform 'James and the brethren of these things' 'he went to another place.'

In this narrative three points call for a brief notice. (1) The fact that St. Peter so immediately and naturally hastens to 'the house of Mary,' coupled with the fact that he was obviously well known there, and that it was the place where many met together to pray for him, suggests that this house was his home when he was in Jerusalem. The guest had become in a sense the head of the household, and hence his expression of fatherly regard towards John Mark (1 P 5^{13}). (2) The reference to James confirms the conjecture (see above) that he was already in a position of official leadership. (3) There is no word added to define the *ἕτερος τόπος* to which the apostle retired. Conjecture has been busy: Antioch, Cæsarea, Rome have all been named. With the last guess we may connect the belief that St. Peter went to Rome in the reign of Claudius (*e.g.* Eus. *HE* II. xiv. 6; see below).

About two years later St. Paul, with Barnabas, visited Jerusalem in connexion with the famine. His stay there was, from the nature of his mission, a short one. The historian's mention simply of 'the elders' (Ac 11^{30}) at Jerusalem and St. Paul's silence as to this visit in Gal 1. 2 appear to show that neither St. Peter nor any other of the Twelve was then at Jerusalem.

At the end of the decade—probably A.D. 49—Paul and Barnabas, as the envoys of the Antiochene Church, went up to Jerusalem about the question of the circumcision of Gentile converts (Ac $15^{1\text{ff.}}$). James, the President of the Church there, and (of the Twelve) Peter and John were at Jerusalem. Whether the two latter had been specially summoned, or whether they were for a time living in the Holy City, there is no evidence to show. Even in the calm narrative of the Acts, much more in the broken sentences of the Epistle to the

---

[*] The apostle's remonstrance is probably a conscious reminiscence of Ezk 4^{14}; cf. also Dn $1^{8\text{ff.}}$, 1 Mac $1^{62\text{f.}}$, 2 Mac $6^{18\text{ff.}}$ 7^{1}. The description of the animals in the 'vessel' is taken from Gn $1^{24.\,26}$, and carries the mind back to the Divine act of creation (1 Ti 4^{3}, cf. Mk 7^{19}). The command *θῦσον κ. φάγε* is an echo of Dt 12^{15}.

[†] Note the use of the Pentecostal keyword *ἐκκέχυται* (v.^{45}), cf. *ἐκχεῶ* 2^{17}, *ἐξέχεεν* 2^{33} (Tit 3^{6}); and the phrase *ἡ δωρεὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου*, cf. 2^{38} (11^{17}, He 6^{4}).

Galatians, there are signs that the controversy was not without its bitter and painful side. St. Paul appears to imply, though he does not state, that the older apostles favoured some kind of compromise (cf. Ac $21^{20\text{ff.}}$)—the circumcision, perhaps, of Titus, as a qualification for his position as teacher and as the companion of an apostle. In a private conference between the three 'Apostles of the Circumcision' and St. Paul, it was agreed that they should all follow the general lines of their earlier work, the latter aiming primarily at the evangelization of the Gentiles, the three former continuing to work among those of the circumcision. The subsequent history of St. Paul shows how far he was from regarding this understanding as laying down rigid and cramping limits for his activity. As he felt free to teach the Jews at Thessalonica, Athens, Corinth, and Ephesus, so, we may be sure, St. Peter would not consider that he was precluded from teaching Gentiles, whether by word or by letter. Neither side could alter or could wish to alter the terms in which the commission from the Lord had severally come to them. St. Paul had been sent to Israel as well as to the Gentiles (Ac 9^{15} 26^{17}), the older apostles to the Gentiles as well as to Israel (Mt 28^{19} [Mk] 16^{15}, Lk 24^{47}, Ac 1^{8}). At the same time, St. Paul's language in Gal 2^{8}, drawing a comparison between his own activity in the Gentile world and St. Peter's among the Jews, implies that the years of St. Peter's life, of which the Acts preserves no record, were marked by successful work among his own people. The private conference prepared the way for the assembly of 'the apostles and the elders,' of which the Acts gives an account. After long discussion, St. Peter addressed those gathered together.

(1) Vv.$^{7-9}$. (*a*) Those present remembered that, in the early days of the gospel, Peter, a staunch Jew, was fixed upon, not by any human arrangement, but by a Divine choice, as the means whereby the Gentiles should hear and believe. (*b*) And, further, God confirmed the step itself, taken under His guidance, by giving His Spirit to these Gentiles as He had given it at Pentecost to Jews; and, purifying (not their flesh by circumcision but) their hearts by the gift of faith, He put Jew and Gentile on a level. (2) Vv.$^{10.11}$. The history of the past points to the duty of the present (*νῦν οὖν*). Those present had no right to tempt God by putting a yoke on the neck of Gentile disciples, the hopeless weight of which was proved by the experience of generations of Jews. On the contrary, so far from bearing this burden, and so having any justification for imposing it on others, Jewish disciples had put themselves on a level with Gentile disciples by their belief that (not circumcision but) the 'grace of the Lord Jesus' was the means of salvation for Jew and Gentile alike.

St. Peter's words, it appears, calmed the excitement of the whole assembly (*ἐσίγησεν δὲ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος*), which had been aroused in the 'long discussion,' so that they listened quietly to the statement of 'Barnabas and Paul.' The reference of St. James' speech to 'Symeon's' narrative, and to the agreement of its drift with the words of the prophets, is the last mention of St. Peter in the Acts.

The Church at Jerusalem decided to send to Antioch with Barnabas and Paul two delegates, viz. Judas Barsabbas and Silas. They in due time returned to Jerusalem, while Paul and Barnabas remained behind. It was natural that the official messengers of the mother Church should in time be followed by the chief of the apostles. St. Paul, under the stress of a later controversy, raises for a moment the veil which hid the history of St. Peter's sojourn at Antioch (Gal 2^{11}).* At first, he tells us, St. Peter ate with the Gentile disciples, treating them as on an equality with their Jewish brethren. Afterwards certain members of the Church at Jerusalem came from James. These men had been for the moment silenced by the decision of the conference, but they had not been satisfied with its spirit. Perhaps in Jerusalem under the strong rule of St. James they had hidden their discontent. Perhaps also in Jerusalem it was not necessary for them to be often brought into contact with Gentile Christians. At Antioch they saw what a predominantly Gentile Church was. How far they went in practical disloyalty to the decision of the 'Council' we are not told. But the spirit of these malcontents had a disastrous effect on the conduct of St. Peter.* Under their influence he withdrew from the society of, perhaps even from full fellowship in worship with, the Gentile Christians, not probably receding from his former doctrinal position, but practically treating these Gentiles as on a lower level than Jewish believers. He was guilty, not of false doctrine, but (as once before) of moral cowardice. But the effect of his example was disastrous. All the Jewish Christians at Antioch acted the same part as he did (see art. MARK). St. Paul saw that no less an issue was at stake than the real unity of the Church. He felt it his duty publicly to rebuke St. Peter.

St. Paul, in writing to the Corinthians (prob. A.D. 55), mentions the existence at Corinth of a party who called themselves by the name of Cephas (1 Co 1^{12} 3^{22}). There is not the least reason, however, why St. Peter should be made responsible for their 'heresy' any more than St. Paul for the folly of those who assumed his name. Nor does the existence of a Cephas party at Corinth imply that St. Peter ever visited Corinth. The statement of Dionysius of Corinth (*c.* A.D. 170, *ap.* Eus. *HE* II. xxv. 8), that St. Peter and St. Paul together planted the Church at Corinth and taught there, seems to be simply a mistaken inference from St. Paul's language in 1 Corinthians. There does not appear to be any other trace of a tradition that St. Peter worked in Greece.

The evidence supplied by 1 Peter as to the history of the apostle will be examined in the art. on that Epistle.

The invitation in Rev 18^{20} to 'the saints and *the apostles* and the prophets' to rejoice over the judgment of Babylon, *i.e.* Rome, *ὅτι ἔκρινεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ κρίμα ὑμῶν ἐξ αὐτῆς* (cf. 19^{2}), may not unreasonably be considered as an allusion to the martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul under Nero. If it is urged that the juxtaposition of 'the apostles' and 'the prophets' points to a wider use of the former term, such as we find in the *Didaché*, it may be answered that the word 'apostle' is used in its strictest sense in Rev 21^{14}.

---

* On St. Paul's journeys to Jerusalem as given in the Acts and in Galatians see art. on CHRONOLOGY OF NT in vol. i. p. 423 f. The present writer, however, is quite unable to accept the interpretation of Gal $2^{11\text{ff.}}$ suggested on p. 424, viz. that that passage precedes in time Gal 2^{1-10}. In plain narrative the simple ὅτε δέ (with aor.) must surely express sequence; cf. Gal 1^{15} 2^{12} 4^{4}. The paraphrase given to justify the interpretation alters the setting of 2^{11} and supplies just the word which must have been expressed in Greek had the passage borne the suggested meaning —'So far from simply submitting to them, I once [*sic*] publicly rebuked their chief.'

* Hort, *Judaistic Christianity* p. 80 f., supposes that 'James may have thought it most prudent to send cautions to Peter' (*i.e.* as to the offending of Jewish susceptibilities), and that the persons mentioned in Gal 2^{12} were the bearers of this message.

The present writer would hazard the conjecture that these messengers of James were the bearers of his Epistle. We have in this supposition an adequate explanation of their mission. The date of St. James' Epistle is commonly placed about this time (Mayor, p. cxxiv, gives A.D. 40–50; Zahn, *Einl.* i. p. 92, gives *c.* A.D. 50). It would be very natural that, after the Council at Jerusalem, the President of the Church there should address a letter to the Jewish converts in the Dispersion, to whom recent events must have been a trial of faith; not less natural that he should not directly allude to those events. But at least in two points the Epistle may be thought to have an indirect bearing on the temptations and anxieties of the time. (1) It deals especially with sins of temper and of speech—sins which would inevitably characterize a crisis of keen controversy. (2) It condemns a perversion of St. Paul's doctrine of faith. It might be well for St. James (without touching on personal matters) to reassure Jewish converts by showing them that the acceptance of St. Paul's position in regard to the Gentiles did not involve the acceptance of doctrines which they, however mistakenly, were accustomed to associate with St. Paul's name

4. *The doctrinal position of the Petrine speeches in the Acts.*—(i.) *The historical witness.*—(*a*) The Lord's ministry fills only a little space in St. Peter's speeches at Jerusalem (2^{22}). It was well known to his hearers, and it was overshadowed by more recent events. Its significance, however, is briefly indicated. The Lord's miracles were works of God wrought through Him (*e.g.* Jn 14^{10}). They therefore not only answered to the general Messianic expectation (cf. Jn 7^{31}), but were proofs of His mission as God's messenger to Israel (*ἀποδεδειγμένον ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς ὑμᾶς*). At Jerusalem, St. Peter appeals to the knowledge of his hearers; at Cæsarea, speaking before Gentiles, to the witness of himself and his Jewish companions (10^{39}). (*b*) The crucifixion had its assured place in the Divine counsels (2^{23} 3^{18}; cf. 4^{28}), and was not therefore the chance triumph of the Lord's foes. But on the human side it was the act of Israel ($2^{23.\,36}$ 3^{17} 4^{11} 5^{30}), though done in ignorance (3^{17}). It involved absolute humiliation (*e.g.* 2^{23} *ἔκδοτον . . . προσπήξαντες*), scornful rejection by Israel (*e.g.* 3^{14} 4^{11}), and to Jewish eyes the curse of God (5^{30} *κρεμάσαντες ἐπὶ ξύλου*; cf. Dt 21^{23}). The last point is important. It suggests that in the earliest as in later times the Jews urged the words of Dt as a final proof of the Divine rejection of Jesus the Nazarene (hence probably the blasphemous creed *ἀνάθεμα Ἰησοῦς*, 1 Co 12^{3}), and that St. Peter directly met the Jewish position. (*c*) The Resurrection was the immediate act of God the Father ($2^{24.\,32}$ 3^{15} 4^{10} 5^{31} 10^{40}). It was the Divine refutation of Israel's blasphemy, because it was the Divine reversal of Israel's act of rejection. But a revelation of the risen Messiah had not been given to all (10^{41}). It was therefore the primary duty of the apostles to bear witness to the things which 'they saw and heard' (4^{20} 10^{41}; cf. 1 Jn $1^{1\text{ff.}}$) as proof of the fact of the Resurrection (2^{32} 3^{15} 4^{20} 5^{32} 10^{41}). Further, the Resurrection involved the Exaltation—the session of 'Jesus Messiah' at God's right hand as *κύριος* ($2^{33.\,38}$ $3^{13.\,21}$ 5^{31}). Thus the confession *Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός* (2^{38}; cf. 1 Co 12^{3}, Ro 10^{9}, Ph 2^{11}) is the direct antithesis of the Jewish blasphemy *ἀνάθεμα Ἰησοῦς*, and an appeal to Israel to make it their own is the solemn conclusion of St. Peter's first address to the Jews. The activity of the exalted Jesus is manifested in the gift of the Holy Spirit (2^{33}) and in miracles of healing (3^{16} 4^{10}; cf. 4^{30}).

(ii.) *The continuity of revelation and redemption.*—The doctrine of a Messiah who had suffered, and who by definite acts of God had been raised from the dead and exalted to supreme sovereignty, was new. But in various ways St. Peter insists that these facts of redemption were the development of the whole history of the people. He who thus worked out His purpose is 'the God of our fathers' (3^{13} 5^{30}; cf. *Shemoneh Esreh* 1,* 'Blessed art Thou, Jehovah, our God and the God of our fathers . . . our shield and the shield of our fathers'). This consummation of the Divine action was the burden of all prophecy ($3^{18.\,24}$ 10^{43}; cf. 4 Es 9^{4}, and see Weber, *Die Lehren des Talmud* p. 355). Those to whom St. Peter spoke were 'the sons of the prophets and of the covenant' (3^{25}; cf. *υἱοὶ τῆς διαθήκης*, Ps-Sol 17^{17}; 'a son of the law,' Apoc. Bar 46^{4}; and see Wetstein *in loc.*). It should be noticed that Lk, who records St. Peter's applications of prophecy, tells us the source whence he learned them (Lk 24^{44}; cf. v.^{27}).

(iii.) *The doctrine of the Messiah.*—'Jesus the Nazarene' was declared by God to be Messiah (2^{36}). The person of the Lord is here presented from the point of view of His Messiahship. (*a*) *Messianic titles.*—(α) The Messiah (*ὁ χριστός, Χριστός*). The anointing is specially referred to in 4^{27} 10^{38}; cf. Is 61^{1} (Lk 4^{18}), Ps 44 $(45)^{8}$. With 10^{38} (*ἔχρισεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς πν. ἁγίῳ καὶ δυνάμει*) cf. Ps-Sol 17^{42} (*ὁ θεὸς κατηργάσατο αὐτὸν δυνατὸν ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ*). (β) The Servant (*παῖς*), $3^{13.\,26}$, comp. (the prayer of the apostles) $4^{27.\,30}$. The phrase is derived from a series of passages in Deutero-Isaiah. Its current Messianic application is certified by Apoc. Bar 70^{9} 'My servant Messiah.' On the Rabbinic interpretation of the passages in Isaiah see Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah* ii. p. 726. When, through the influence of the controversy with the Ebionites, the meaning of Christological phrases was more keenly analyzed by the Church, it became customary, when the ancient phrase was used of our Lord, to indicate, *e.g.*, by the addition of *ἠγαπημένος*, that *παῖς* was to be taken as an equivalent of *υἱός* (*e.g.* Clem. *59 (thrice), *Ep. ad Diog.* 8, *Mart. Polyc.* *14, *Acta Theclæ* *24; cf. Wis $2^{13.\,18}$). The phrase, however, is used in its original meaning in *Did.* *ix. 2 (*εὐχαριστοῦμεν . . . ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας ἀμπέλου Δαυεὶδ τοῦ παιδός σου, ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου*), *ix. 3, *x. 2. The simple use, therefore, of this pre-Christian Messianic title, which in sub-apostolic times was avoided or guarded, is very primitive.† It should further be noticed that most of the earliest Christian passages where the phrase occurs (marked above with *) are liturgical, and that it twice occurs in the apostles' prayer (Ac 4). Hence it seems probable that it was characteristic of Jewish prayers, that thence it passed into the primitive vocabulary of the Church, and that, having liturgical associations, it long maintained its place in Christian prayers, though now it received a higher doctrinal connotation. Comp. Lock in *Expositor*, series iv. vol. iv. p. 178 ff.; Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu* p. 226 ff. (γ) *ὁ ἅγιος καὶ δίκαιος*, 3^{14}; cf. $4^{27.\,30}$ 7^{52} 22^{14}. Righteousness and holiness are the characteristics of Messiah's time; see *e.g.* Ps-Sol 17^{36}, Enoch 38^{2} 'when the righteous One shall appear before the eyes of the elect righteous,' where, as in 53^{6} (cf. 46^{3}), 'the righteous One' is a designation of the Messiah (cf. Weber, *Die Lehren d. T.* p. 344). For the holiness of Messiah cf. *e.g.* Ps-Sol $17^{28\text{ff.}}$. (δ) There is a group of expressions which may be called archaic, being derived from the record of the earliest period of Israel's history. Such expressions are *ἀναστήσας* (3^{26}; cf. v.^{22}) and *ἤγειρεν* (5^{30}) in the sense of 'God raised up, brought upon the scene,' *ἀρχηγὸν καὶ σωτῆρα ὕψωσεν* (5^{31}; cf. 13^{23}), comp. *e.g.* Jg $3^{9.\,15}$. But phraseology of this kind was not simply archaic. It had been adopted into the devotional and liturgical language of the Messianic hope; cf. *e.g.* Ps-Sol $17^{23.\,47}$, Apoc. Bar 39^{7} 40^{3}, *Shemoneh Esreh* 11.

(*b*) *The issues of Messiah's advent.*—The horizon is bounded by the limits of the national hope. 'The promise' (2^{39}, cf. Ps-Sol 12^{8}) is primarily for Israel. There are in the speeches at Jerusalem but three hints of a wider blessing—*ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα* (2^{17}, from Jl 2^{28}), *καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς εἰς μακρὰν ὅσους ἂν προσκαλέσηται Κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν* (2^{39}, from Is 57^{19}, Jl 2^{32}), *ὑμῖν πρῶτον* (3^{26}, cf. Mk 7^{27}). But how through the agency of a restored Israel this extension of Messianic redemption is to be brought about is in no way defined. Thus the forecast, while it insists upon, does not go beyond, the more generous Jewish expectation as to the nations, such as finds expression in, *e.g.*, Ps-Sol 17^{38} (*ἐλεήσει πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ἐν φόβῳ*). It will be noted that in these speeches the phrase τὰ ἔθνη is conspicuously absent.

---

* The Benedictions (in the original) are given in the Palestinian and Babylonian recensions in Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu* p. 299 ff. An English rendering will be found in Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. p. 83 ff.; see also Westcott, *Hebrews* p. 206 ff.

† It should be remembered that the LXX often represents עֶבֶד in Isaiah and elsewhere by *δοῦλος* (*e.g.* Is 42^{19} 48^{20} $49^{3.\,5}$). It is therefore not improbable that St. Paul's words *μορφὴν δούλου λαβών* in Ph 2^{7} allude to the prophecies in Deutero-Isaiah. But in Ph 2 the preceding and the succeeding context alike guard against any misconception.

To Israel three blessings are offered through the work of Jesus Messiah: (1) national repentance and forgiveness (2^{38} 3^{19} 5^{31}; cf. 3^{26} 13^{38}, Lk 1^{77}), chiefly in reference to the great national sin of rejecting 'the Lord's Anointed'; cf. *e.g.* Ps-Sol $18^{5f.}$, *Shemoneh Esreh* 5, 6 (especially in the Babylonian recension, which must be of Palestinian origin, Dalman, *Die Worte* p. 301 n.); (2) national rest and peace (καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως, 3^{19}); cf. *e.g.* Enoch 50^{1}, Ps-Sol $10^{6f.}$ ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ Ἰσραήλ, 14^{6} 17^{50} 18^{7}; (3) the mission of Messiah from heaven, and the coming of 'times of the restoration of all things (ἀποκαταστάσεως πάντων, 3^{21})'; cf. the Rabbinic passages quoted in Weber (p. 333 f.) as to the necessity of repentance for the coming of Messiah and its attendant blessings; for 'the restoration' see, *e.g.*, Enoch $45^{4f.}$, Apoc. Bar 73 f.*

It must be observed that in 4^{2} the Sadducees are represented as 'sore troubled' because the apostles 'proclaimed in Jesus the resurrection from among the dead' (τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν), *i.e.* a resurrection of the righteous. The reference may be to some words of the apostles unrecorded in Lk's brief summary, or to an interpretation which the Sadducees put on their teaching about the Resurrection of Jesus. On the Jewish doctrine of the Resurrection see *e.g.* Ps-Sol 3^{16}, *Shemoneh Esreh* 2; see also Charles, *Eschatology* p. 302 f.

In reviewing the doctrine of St. Peter's early speeches we note that the new facts of the ministry of Jesus, His death, His Resurrection and Exaltation, are stated with absolute precision and emphasis. But the theological interpretation of these facts is inchoate. The predestination of the Messiah is spoken of (2^{23} 3^{18}, cf. 4^{28}), but His pre-existence is not affirmed, nor is anything said of His unique relation to the Father. The death of Christ is not contemplated in a sacrificial aspect, nor is it brought into connexion with the problem of justification. There is no allusion to the moral and spiritual power of the Resurrection through the union of the believer with the Risen Lord, nor to the sanctifying influence of the Holy Spirit. The convictions and hopes created or quickened in the apostle's mind are expressed in terms of the religion of a devout Israelite. If we compare St. Peter's speeches with any one of the apostolic Epistles (except that of St. James, which deals almost wholly with questions of conduct), we see the difference between an immediate interpretation of the Christian facts in their bearing on Israel, and a matured apprehension and exposition of these facts in their universal and absolute significance.

III. ST. PETER IN CHRISTIAN TRADITION.—1. *St. Peter's early life.*—Epiphanius, a monk of Jerusalem of the 9th cent., in his 'Acts and end of . . . Andrew,' relates (ed. Dressel p. 45 f.) that 'in the days of Hyrcanus, the priest and king of the Hebrews, there was a certain Jonas of the tribe of Symeon. He was a poor man, and at his death left his two sons, Simon and Andrew, in great poverty. They hired themselves out. Andrew devoted himself to a life of absolute continence. Simon married the daughter of Aristobulus, brother of the Apostle Barnabas, and, as it is said, had a son and a daughter. . . . After the death of his mother-in-law he committed his wife to the Theotokos' (cf. for other authorities Lipsius* p. 7). In the *Book of the Bee* of Solomon, a writer of the first half of the 13th cent., who, according to Lipsius (*Die Apokr. Ap.*, *Ergänzungsheft* p. 19), constantly depends on older sources, the apostle belonged to the tribe of Naphtali (*Oxford Semitic Series*, I. pt. ii. p. 104). Clement (*Strom.* iii. 6, p. 535 ed. Potter, quoted in Eus. *HE* III. xxx.) says that the apostles Peter and Philip had children;† and Jerome (*adv. Jovinian.* i. 26) states that the περίοδοι mentions a son and a daughter of St. Peter; while he himself, arguing apparently from the silence of Scripture (Mk $1^{29ff.}$), supposes that his wife had died before his call to follow Christ. Clement in the passage just quoted asserts that the apostles travelled with their wives οὐχ ὡς γαμετὰς ἀλλ' ὡς ἀδελφάς, and employed them in ministrations to women (cf. *Clem. Recog.* ii. 1, vii. 25, 36; *Hom.* xiii. 1, 11). Clement further preserves a tradition (*Strom.* vii. 11, p. 868 ed. Potter, quoted in Eus. *HE* III. xxx.), to which, it seems, no independent writer alludes, that St. Peter's wife suffered a martyr's death, and that the apostle, when he saw her led away, encouraged her with the words μέμνησο, ὦ αὕτη, τοῦ κυρίου (as Eus. gives the phrase),—words which may imply that she too had known the Lord. There is nothing improbable in the supposition that she was one of the women who suffered in the Neronian persecution (Clem. Rom. vi.).

The story of Petronilla, the supposed daughter of St. Peter, is given in *Acta Nerei et Achillei* 15 (ed. Achelis p. 14 f.), and in *Acta Philippi*, in Tischendorf, *Apocal. Apocr.* pp. 149, 155. Augustine (*contr. Adimant.* 17; Migne, *Pat. Lat.* 42, 161) also mentions the fact that the story had a place in the apocryphal books in use among the Manichæans. The beauty of the daughter, so the story runs, was a trouble to the apostle, who therefore prayed that she might be paralyzed. He afterwards, in answer to the challenge of Titus, bade her rise and minister to them. After her restoration she was sought in marriage by 'Flaccus the Count.' She puts him off for three days, and on the third day dies after receiving the Eucharist. The Encratite element in the story connects it with the Gnostic Πράξεις Πέτρου (see below), from which it was doubtless originally derived (see Lipsius pp. 81, 203 ff.). The saint's memorial day is May 31. Over her tomb in the Ardeatine Way pope Siricius, about 390, erected a basilica. The inscription on the tomb was AVR · PETRONILLÆ · FILIÆ · DVLCISSIMÆ. The name Petronilla is to be connected, not with Peter but with Petronius. The founder of the Flavian house bore the name of Petro. The catacomb in which Petronilla was buried was closely connected with the Flavian gens, being the 'Cemetery of Domitilla,' the wife of Flavius Clemens. Doubtless the story arose from a mistaken etymology. Petronilla, an early convert to Christianity and a member of the Flavian family, was in later days assumed to be a daughter of the Apostle Peter (see Lightfoot, *Clement* i. p. 37 ff., who gives references to de Rossi's articles; Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome* p. 340 ff.).

As to (late) traditions respecting the personal appearance of the apostle, it must suffice to refer to Lipsius p. 213. As the tonsure was supposed to be due to St. Peter's example, it is of interest to notice that Jerome (*Comm. in Gal.* i. 18) refers to a statement of the *Periodi* that he was bald.

For information in regard to early pictures and representations of the apostle, see art. in *Dict. Chr.*

---

* Dalman (*Die Worte Jesu* p. 145 f.), with whom Charles (*Eschatology* p. 374 n.) agrees, maintains that the words ἀποκατάστασις πάντων have nothing to do with the 'renewal of the world,' but refer to the fulfilment of the predictions of the Prophets. He bases his opinion upon the Peshitta—'until the completion of the times of those things which God spoke by the mouth of His holy prophets.' But this is merely a paraphrastic abbreviation characteristic of the Peshiṭta. The word ἀποκατάστασις *cannot* refer to the fulfilment of prophecy (cf. *e.g.* Mt 12^{13} 17^{11}, Ac 1^{6}), and when taken in its natural sense is in harmony with Jewish ideas.

* References to Lipsius (unless it is otherwise stated) are to *Die Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, II. i.

† Cf. Origen *in Evang. Matth.* xvi. 21 (Lomm. iii. p. 371); Epiph. *Hær.* xxx. 22 (ed. Petav. p. 147).

Ant. ii. p. 1621; Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome* p. 210 ff.

Among the sayings of our Lord preserved in extra-canonical authorities a few are addressed to St. Peter. (1) Ignatius, *Smyr.* 3, 'When [after the Resurrection] He came to Peter and his company, He said to them, Lay hold and handle Me, and see that I am not a demon without body.' Cf. Lk $24^{36ff.}$. On the question whether this saying had a place in 'the Gospel according to the Hebrews,' see Lightfoot *in loco.* (2) '2 Clem.' 5, 'The Lord saith, Ye shall be as lambs in the midst of wolves. But Peter answered and said unto Him, What then if the wolves should tear the lambs? Jesus said unto Peter, Let not the lambs fear the wolves after they are dead,' etc. Cf. Mt 10^{28}, Lk $12^{4f.}$. See Lightfoot's note. (3) 'The Gospel according to the Hebrews' (*ap.* Jerome, *adv. Pelag.* iii. 2), 'Si peccauerit, inquit, frater tuus in uerbo et satis tibi fecerit, septies in die suscipe eum. Dixit illi Simon discipulus eius, Septies in die? Respondit Dominus et dixit ei, Etiam ego dico tibi, Usque septuagies septies.' Cf. Mt 18^{22}, Lk 17^{4}. See Westcott, *Introduction* p. 456; Hilgenfeld, *NT extra Canon.* iv. pp. 16, 23. (4) 'The Gospel according to the Hebrews' (*ap.* Origen *in Matth.* tom. xv. 14), 'Conuersus dixit Simoni discipulo suo sedenti apud se, Simon fili Johanne, facilius est camelum intrare per foramen acus, quam diuitem in regnum cælorum.' Cf. Mt 19^{16}. See Westcott p. 463; Hilgenfeld p. 16. (5) 'The Gospel of the Ebionites' (*ap.* Epiph. *Hær.* xxx. 13), 'And when He came to Capernaum, He entered into the house of Simon, surnamed Peter; and He opened His mouth and said, As I passed along the Lake of Tiberias I chose John and James, sons of Zebedee, and Simon and Andrew . . . you then I wish to be twelve apostles for a testimony to Israel.' See Westcott p. 466; Hilgenfeld pp. 33, 36. On the Gospel and the Apocalypse of Peter see below, p. 776 f.

2. *St. Peter in connexion with the Syrian Antioch.*—According to a very widespread tradition, St. Peter was the founder and organizer of the Church in Antioch. The Clementine Romance, which must date back at least to the beginning of the 3rd cent., makes the apostle's entry into Antioch and his success there the happy conclusion of the story (*Hom.* xx. 23; *Recog.* x. 68 ff.). Baseless as most of its details are, in such a matter as this it would be likely to reflect current tradition, especially as it probably originated in Syria (see below). Origen (*Hom. vi. in Luc.*, ed. Lomm. v. p. 104) calls Ignatius 'the second Bishop of Antioch after the blessed Peter.' This statement was not improbably derived from an earlier list of Antiochene bishops. Such a list Lipsius (p. 25, cf. Lightfoot, *Clement* i. p. 333 f.) thinks can be assigned to the time of Victor of Rome. Other important notices of St. Peter's connexion with the Church of Antioch preserved in Christian literature are: (1) *Greek:* (*a*) *Apost. Const.* vii. 46; (*b*) Euseb. *HE* III. xxxvi. 2, *Chron.* (see below); (*c*) Chrys. *Hom. in Ign. Mart.* (Migne, *Pat. Gr.* l. 591); (*d*) Theodoret, *Dial. Immut.* (Migne, *Pat. Gr.* lxxxiii. 81); (*e*) *Chron. Paschale* (Migne, *Pat. Gr.* xcii. 557). In the last document we are told that in the fourth year after the Ascension Peter went to Antioch, that at the request of the Jewish Christians he enthroned himself as bishop, that he did not receive or regard any Gentile Christians, and that so leaving them to themselves he departed thence—a story which must be derived from some early Ebionite romance cognate to the Letter of Peter to James prefixed to the *Clem. Homilies.* (2) *Latin:* (*a*) Jerome, *de Virr. Illustr.* 1; (*b*) Leo, *Epp.* 106, 119 (Migne, *Pat. Lat.* liv. 1007, 1042); (*c*) *Liber Pontificalis* (in all the several forms, ed. Duchesne pp. 50 f., 118), see below; (*d*) Gregory the Great, *Ep.* vii. 40 (Migne, *Pat. Lat.* lxxvii. 899), 'ipse firmauit sedem [in Antiochia] in qua *septem annis*, quamuis discessurus, sedit.' The festival of 'Cathedra Petri in Antiochia' was on Feb. 22 (see below, p. 773). (3) *Syriac: Doctr. Apost.* (Cureton, *Anc. Syr. Documents*, p. 33).

To pass to the *date* and *length* of Peter's sojourn at Antioch. The *Lib. Pontificalis*, both in the original form as restored by Duchesne (p. 51), and in the later recension (p. 118), gives seven years (so Greg.) as the length of Peter's Antiochene episcopate. This evidence probably represents the Roman tradition of the earlier years of the 6th century. The Felician abridgment (*c.* A.D. 530), however, has 'annos x.' (p. 50). It would not be difficult in a reconstruction of St. Peter's life to find a place for an Antiochene ministry of seven or ten years' duration. But the evidence is too late to claim serious attention. The dates given in the two chief versions of Eusebius' *Chronicon* are conflicting (ed. Schoene, p. 150 ff.). The Armenian version places the apostle's departure for Rome, 'when he had first founded the Church of Antioch,' in the *third* year of *Gaius* (39–40), and the appointment of Euodius in the *second* year of *Claudius* (42–43). Jerome (so also Syriac epitome, ed. Schoene p. 211) gives the departure for Rome in the *second* year of Claudius, and the appointment of Euodius two years later. The arrangement in Jerome seems artificial, for he places in three consecutive years three important events connected with the three great Churches—Rome, Alexandria, Antioch. Moreover, the Petrine dates in the *Chronicon* are connected with what appears to be the impossible assumption of a 25 years' episcopate at Rome. The simple tradition, however, which associates St. Peter with the early period of the Church at Antioch, seems to go back to the 2nd cent., and is intrinsically probable.

3. *St. Peter in connexion with Pontus and the provinces of Asia Minor.*—Origen (*ap.* Eus. *HE* III. 1) is the earliest authority—*Πέτρος δὲ ἐν Πόντῳ καὶ Γαλατίᾳ καὶ Βιθυνίᾳ Καππαδοκίᾳ τε καὶ Ἀσίᾳ κεκηρυχέναι τοῖς ἐκ διασπορᾶς Ἰουδαίοις ἔοικεν.* The last word shows that the statement is an inference; the enumeration of provinces and the reference to the *διασπορά* make it plain that the source of the inference is the salutation of 1 P. Epiphanius (*Hær.* XXVII. vi. p. 107 ed. Petav.) goes a step further, and states that the apostle *often* visited Pontus and Bithynia. Jerome (*de Virr. Illustr.* 1) places this missionary journey between the apostle's episcopate at Antioch and his journey to Rome in the second year of Claudius. The Syriac *Doctrine of the Apostles* (Cureton, *Ancient Syriac Documents* p. 33) informs us that 'Antioch and Syria and Cilicia and Galatia, even to Pontus, received the apostles' hand of priesthood from Simon Cephas, who himself laid the foundation of the Church there, and was priest and ministered there up to the time when he went from thence to Rome.' In this missionary journey Andrew was traditionally associated with Peter. Thus, in the catholic *Acts of Andrew* as given by Epiphanius (ed. Dressel pp. 45–82), a monk of Jerusalem of the 9th cent., the story is told how the two brothers journey from the Syrian Antioch to Tyana in Cappadocia, and from thence to Sinope in Pontus. Epiphanius himself visited Sinope, and found there traditions of the apostles' visit. The inhabitants pointed out a spot on a desert island some six miles from the city where the apostles dwelt, and the chairs on which they sat to teach (pp. 47, 50). There are, however, indications that in this tradition there has been a confusion between the obscure Simon Zelotes and his well-known brother-apostle Simon Peter (Lipsius, *Apokr. Apostelg.* I. p. 612, II. i. p. 6). Photius (*Cod.* cxiv.; Migne, *Pat. Gr.* ciii. 389) among the Leucian Acts mentions *Acts*

of Andrew. We may infer, therefore, that the kernel of the later *Acts of Andrew* was supplied by this 2nd cent. romance. On the *Acts of Andrew* in their different forms see Lipsius, *Apokr. Apostelg.* I. 543–622; James, *Apocr. Anecdota* ii. p. xxix ff.; Bonnet, *Passio Andreæ* (*Acta Ap. Apoc.* ii.). On the tradition as to St. Peter's work in Pontus, etc., see Lipsius, *Apokr. Apostelg.* II. i. p. 4 ff. There is no reason to regard it as anything but an inference from the salutation of the Epistle.

4. *St. Peter in connexion with Babylon.*—Lipsius adduces two pieces of evidence to show that St. Peter visited Babylon. (1) He refers to two Nestorian writers (Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.* iii. 2, p. vi) who make this assertion. But, apart from the lateness of their date, their statement is avowedly based on a literal interpretation of 1 P 5^{13}. And, again, the earlier Syriac tradition as given in the *Doctrine of Addai* (p. 44 ed. Phillips) and in the *Doctrine of Simon Cephas* (Cureton, *Ancient Syriac Documents* p. 35) knows nothing of Babylon, and makes the apostle visit Rome. (2) Lipsius argues that, when the *Acts of Simon and Jude* (Fabricius, *Cod. Apocr. NT* ii. p. 608 ff.) make Simon the Cananæan go to Babylon, the obscure Simon has taken the place of his famous namesake, and that therefore these *Acts* supply an argument for Simon Peter's visit to Babylon. It can only be said that such a conclusion rests on an inversion of probability. In short, there is no evidence for the theory that St. Peter worked at Babylon (see Lipsius, *Die Apokr. Apostelg.* II. ii. pp. 145 f., 175, *Ergänzungsheft* p. 32; and, on the other side, Zahn, *Einl.* ii. p. 21).

5. *St. Peter in connexion with Rome.*—The chief points at issue are, whether St. Peter visited Rome; if he did, how long he worked there; whether he suffered martyrdom there; and if so, at what date. It will be most convenient to arrange the evidence under the several Churches.

(1) *Rome.*—(*a*) Clement (*c.* A.D. 96) v. vi. In the previous chapters Clement has spoken of the evils which have sprung from 'jealousy and envy.' He has taken examples from Scripture in chronological order, ending with David. 'Let us,' he continues, 'come to the athletes who lived but lately (τοὺς ἔγγιστα γενομένους, *i.e.* as compared with the OT heroes), the noble examples of our own generation. Because of envy the great and righteous pillars (of the Church) were persecuted and contended unto death. Let us set before our eyes the good apostles —Peter, who endured many labours and, having borne his witness (μαρτυρήσας), went to the appointed place of glory; Paul (who suffered much and journeyed far and), having borne his witness before the rulers, departed thus from the world and went to the holy place. . . . To these men . . . there was gathered a great company of the elect, who, being the victims of jealousy, by reason of many outrages and tortures became a noble example among us.' The main points are these: (i.) The most reasonable explanation of the fact that the examples of the other apostles are passed over and Peter and Paul alone mentioned, is that Clement points to those two apostles whose examples of heroism were best known to the Church in whose name he writes (cf. Ignatius, below). (ii.) That St. Paul suffered at Rome is universally allowed. The language is carefully chosen to emphasize the likeness between the experiences of the two apostles. (iii.) If the passage, when naturally interpreted, discloses the place of St. Peter's martyrdom, what of the time? We have seen that in the preceding context Clement followed the order of time. It is unlikely that he would desert that order in regard to events within his own knowledge and that of his readers. Since, then, 'the great company of the elect' who suffered were plainly Nero's victims, it seems to follow that the two apostles perished *either* before *or* during the Neronian persecution. The former alternative may be put aside as unsupported by any evidence. Further, a close association of the apostles and 'the great company' seems implied in the phrase τούτοις . . . συνηθροίσθη. Indeed, a strict interpretation of these words appears to justify us in going a step further. They mean '*to* these' rather than '*with* these' 'there was gathered,'* and thus seem to imply that the apostles were among those 'who were seized first' (Tac. *Ann.* xv. 44), the first-fruits of a too abundant harvest. Thus the obvious interpretation of Clement's words is that St. Peter and St. Paul were martyred in the Neronian persecution; while the language is not explicit enough to have created the tradition. (*b*) Caius, a Roman presbyter, a contemporary of Zephyrinus and Hippolytus. Eus. *HE* II. xxv. quotes the following words from the treatise of Caius against Proclus the Montanist: ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ τρόπαια τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔχω δεῖξαι· ἐὰν γὰρ θελήσῃς ἀπελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν Βατικανὸν ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν Ὠστίαν, εὑρήσεις τὰ τρόπαια τῶν ταύτην ἱδρυσαμένων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. The words of Caius are an explicit statement (1) that both the apostles worked for some time at Rome; (2) that they died a martyr's death at Rome. But the question remains—Did τὰ τρόπαια mark the place of execution (so Lipsius) or of burial (so Zahn)? There are strong reasons for choosing the latter alternative. The ἐγὼ δέ of Caius suggests that he at Rome claims to eclipse what Proclus appealed to in Asia Minor, *i.e.* the tombs of Philip and his daughters at Hierapolis (Eus. *HE* III. xxxi. 4). This clearly was the meaning which Eusebius himself put upon the words (cf. III. xxxi. 1). Thus we can draw another inference from Caius' words, viz. that at the beginning of the 3rd cent. the Roman Church thought that it possessed the bodies of the two apostles. No certain answer can be given to the further question—Of what did these τρόπαια consist? The word may imply the erection on the spot of a building of some kind, a *memoria* such as the *Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Duchesne pp. 55, 125) says that Anencletus built. Or it may point to some natural or other object which identified the spot, such as the catholic *Acts*† speak of (see below, p. 772). (*c*) Hippolytus. In the *Refutatio* (vi. 20) this writer speaks of the conflict between Simon Magus and 'the apostles' at Rome, and in particular of Peter's opposition to him. It appears, however, that Hippolytus used the apocryphal *Acts* (Bonwetsch, *Studien zu den Komm. Hippolyts* p. 27), and we cannot be sure, therefore, that his statement is independent evidence. Yet the end of Simon as described by him differs from his end according to the extant *Acts.* (*d*) The Muratorian Canon. The fragment speaks of the 'passion of Peter' in close connexion with St. Paul's journey to Spain. As these two events are mentioned together in the *Acts of Peter*, it is probable that the writer (very probably Hippolytus) has these *Acts* in his mind (James, *Apocr. Anecdota* ii. p. x f.), and we are not entitled to infer more than that he does not question the truthfulness of the *Acts* in these matters. (*e*) The notice in the *Depositio Martyrum* (see below, p. 772) as to the translation of the apostles' bodies in 258 confirms the evidence of Caius.

(2) *Syria.*—(*a*) Ignatius of Antioch (*c.* 115). He writes to the Romans (c. iv.) thus: οὐχ ὡς Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν. Contrast the similar but studiously general language addressed to the

---

* Compare Eur. *Rhesus* 613, ὅδ᾽ ἐγγὺς ἧσται καὶ συνήθροισται στρατῷ, and (with Zahn, *Einl.* i. p. 447) 1 K 11^{24} (Cod. A) εἰς αὐτόν, 1 Mac 1^{52} πρὸς αὐτούς.

† Ed. Lipsius pp. 172, 216: ἔθηκαν [τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ] ὑπὸ τὴν τερέβινθον πλησίον τοῦ ναυμαχίου εἰς τόπον καλούμενον Βατικανόν.

Trallians (c. iii.): ἵνα ὢν κατάκριτος ὡς ἀπόστολος ὑμῖν διατάσσωμαι. In the letter to the Romans St. Peter and St. Paul are mentioned—such is the natural explanation—because they had actually given commandments to the Roman Church (see Lightfoot *in loc.*). (*b*) Clementine literature (*Recog.*, *Hom.*). The *Grundschrift* had its origin probably in Syria before the close of the 2nd cent. In the documents now extant there are a few allusions to Peter's visit to Rome. But it is not certain that they are not due to later editing (see below, p. 775). (*c*) Documents of the Syriac-speaking Church: *The Doctrine of Addai*, 'in its present shape a work of the latter half of the 4th cent.' (Wright, *Short Hist. of Syriac Literature* p. 9), speaks of 'the Epistles of Paul, which Simon Peter sent us from the city of Rome' (ed. Phillips p. 44); so *Doctr. of the Apostles* (Cureton, *Ancient Syriac Documents* p. 33).

(3) *Corinth.*—Dionysius, bishop of Corinth (*c.* 170), addressed a letter to Soter, bishop of Rome, a fragment of which is preserved in Eus. *HE* II. xxv. 8. After speaking of the common work of St. Peter and St. Paul at Corinth, he continues: ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁμόσε διδάξαντες ἐμαρτύρησαν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρόν. The reference to the common work of the two apostles in Corinth is probably a mere inference from 1 Co. But there is nothing in the NT which can account for the assertion of their common activity in Italy. Dionysius must therefore here refer to a tradition, which *may* have come to him through the medium of the Petrine *Acts*, but which, however it reached him, he accepted. It matters little whether ὁμόσε is taken loosely to mean 'together,' or more strictly '(going to) the same place,' *i.e.* in Italy. Dionysius can have only Rome in his mind. The last words of the extract imply that the apostles suffered, not necessarily on the same day, but during the same persecution.

(4) *Asia Minor.*—(*a*) Papias (*c.* 130). It is a reasonable inference from the language of Eusebius (*HE* II. xv. 2, III. xxxix. 15, 16) that Papias interpreted *Babylon* in 1 P 5^{13} of Rome, and is therefore a witness for the Roman visit. (*b*) The Gnostic *Acts of Peter* were probably the work of Leucius Charinus in the second half of the 2nd cent. As Leucius lived in Asia Minor, it is clear that he did not place the scene of Peter's conflict with Simon Magus at Rome from motives of ecclesiastical patriotism. It is natural to suppose that he built up the romance on a current tradition of Peter's visit to Rome (see below, p. 774).

(5) *South Gaul.*—Irenæus (*c.* 190) gained his knowledge of earlier times from many sources. As the pupil of Polycarp in Asia, he was acquainted with the traditions of 'the school of St. John.' He himself visited Rome, probably on more than one occasion, and, it would appear, he resided there for some time (Lightfoot, *Essays on 'Supernatural Religion'* p. 267). His list of Roman bishops makes it probable that he had had access to the records preserved in the Roman Church. He writes thus (III. i. 1): 'Matthew . . . published his Gospel while Peter and Paul were preaching at Rome and founding the Church there. And after their departure (ἔξοδον) Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, he too handed on to us in writing what Peter preached.' Irenæus, it will be noticed, speaks of the joint work of the apostles at Rome as belonging to a period so well known that it supplies a means of dating another event. Further, it is natural to take the word ἔξοδος as referring to the apostles' death; for (independently of other notices) this interpretation is favoured by (1) the use of the word, cf. Wis 3^2 7^6, Lk 9^{31}, 2 P 1^{15}; Clem. Alex. pp. 570, 882, ed. Potter, and the frequent use of *exitus* in Tertullian (Oehler on *Scorp.* 9); (2) the context—to say that Mark recorded the substance of Peter's preaching after his death defines not only the date but the *reason* of the composition of the Gospel.

(6) *Alexandria.*—(*a*) Clement (*c.* 200), in a fragment of the *Hypotyposeis*, preserved by Eusebius (*HE* VI. xiv.), and in the commentary on 1 Peter contained in the same treatise and now extant in a Latin translation (ed. Potter p. 997), in connexion with the composition of St. Mark's Gospel speaks of St. Peter's preaching at Rome. (*b*) Origen (*c.* 250). In the passage quoted above (p. 768), Origen, after speaking of St. Peter's journeys in Asia Minor, adds that 'at last, having arrived in Rome, he was crucified head downwards, having himself requested that he might so suffer.' (*c*) Peter of Alexandria. The date of the *Epistola Canonica* is apparently A.D. 306 (*Dict. Chr. Biog.* iv. p. 331). In it (Can. 9, Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* iv. p. 34) mention is made of St. Peter's crucifixion at Rome.

(7) *North Africa.*—(*a*) Tertullian (*c.* 200). The passages in Tertullian's writings are—*Scorp.* 15: 'Orientem fidem Romæ primus Nero cruentauit. Tunc Petrus ab altero cingitur, cum cruci adstringitur'; *de Bapt.* 4: 'quos P. in Tiberi tinxit'; *de Præscr. Hæret.* 32: 'Romanorum [ecclesia refert] Clementem a Petro ordinatum'; *ib.* 36: 'Ista quam felix ecclesia [sc. Romæ] . . . ubi Petrus passioni dominicæ adæquatur.' Thus Tertullian is the earliest writer who (1) speaks of the manner of St. Peter's death—by crucifixion; (2) and explicitly states that it took place in Nero's reign. (*b*) Commodian. This earliest Christian poet, probably of African extraction, writing about A.D. 250 (see *Dict. Chr. Biog.* i. p. 610), speaks in the *Carmen Apologeticum* 820 f. of Peter and Paul suffering in Rome under Nero.

(8) This Catena will best be ended with a reference to the two historians of the first part of the 4th cent., *Lactantius* and *Eusebius.* Lactantius in *Instit. Div.* iv. 21 speaks of Peter and Paul preaching in Rome, adding, 'ea prædicatio in memoriam scripta permansit'—which Zahn (*Ges. Kan.* ii. p. 884) considers to be a reference to the *Pauli prædicatio* (cf. pseudo-Cyprian, *de Rebapt.* 17); and in *de Mort. Persec.* 2 he says of Nero: 'Petrum cruci affixit et Paulum interfecit.' The following passages from Eusebius are to the point:—*HE* II. xiv. (Peter's conflict at Rome with Simon Magus in Claudius' reign), xv. (Peter and the composition of Mark's Gospel at Rome), xvii. (in the reign of Claudius, Philo became acquainted with Peter at Rome; cf. Jerome, *de Virr. Illustr.* xi.; Photius, *Cod.* 105), xxv. (Paul beheaded, Peter crucified at Rome), III. xxi. (Clement third in succession 'after Peter and Paul'), xxxi. 1; *Demons. Evang.* iii. 5. 65 (St. Peter crucified at Rome head downwards); *Theophania* iv. 7 (ed. Lee p. 221; Peter's 'honourable sepulchre in the very front of their city,' *i.e.* Rome), v. 31 (ed. Lee p. 315; Peter crucified at Rome). See just below on the *Chronicon.* Passages from later writers are collected by Lipsius p. 236 ff. For a summing up of this evidence see below, p. 777.

6. *Chronological notices* in the *Chronicon* of Eusebius and in the *Liber Pontificalis.*—(i.) *The Chronicon.*—(*a*) St. Peter's arrival in Rome. The *Armenian* version assigns St. Peter's arrival at Rome, after founding the Church at Antioch, to the 3rd year of Caius, *i.e.* 39–40, adding, 'commoratur illic antistes ecclesiæ *annis viginti.*' The appointment of Euodius as bishop of Antioch is placed in the 2nd year of Claudius, *i.e.* 42–43. *Jerome* puts the appointment of Euodius in the 4th year of Claudius, *i.e.* 44–45, and the arrival of St. Peter at Rome, after founding the Antiochene Church, in the 2nd year of Claudius, *i.e.* 42–43. He adds·

'xxv annis eiusdem urbis episcopus perseuerat.'[*] (*b*) St. Peter's death. The *Armenian* version puts the Neronian persecution, 'when the apostles Peter and Paul suffered martyrdom at Rome,' in the 13th year of Nero, *i.e.* 67–68, and perhaps by a pure mistake the beginning of Linus' episcopate 'post Petrum' is assigned to the previous year.[†] *Jerome* places the persecution, the martyrdom of the two apostles, and the accession of Linus to the episcopate in the last—the 14th—year of Nero. It may be noticed that the date in the Armenian version for Peter's arrival at Rome seems to be a revision of the Eusebian date, and was perhaps attained thus. It is said in this version that Peter continued at Rome 20 years: this brings us to 59–60—an absurd date for the apostle's death. But if we suppose that in the processes of translation and revision 'twenty' was substituted for 'twenty-five,' then we get a date assigned to Peter's death very shortly after the fire in July 64. It seems likely, then, that the Armenian version, assuming 25 years' episcopate, worked back from the summer or autumn of 64, and so gave the early date for Peter's arrival in Rome. If this be so, we have here indirect evidence of the survival of the tradition that Peter's martyrdom took place in 64. The date, however, of the apostle's death is unrevised, and retains its Eusebian position at the end of Nero's reign. Two other passages dealing with the date of St. Peter's arrival at Rome must be quoted: (1) Eus. *HE* II. xiv., where, after an account of Simon's mischievous doings at Rome, Eusebius adds that Providence brought Peter also thither ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς Κλαυδίου βασιλείας. (2) Jerome (*de Virr. Illustr.* 1): 'Romam pergit ibique *viginti quinque annis* cathedram sacerdotalem tenuit usque ad *ultimum annum* Neronis, id est, *quartum decimum*' (cf. v.). Harnack (*Die Chronol.* p. 124 n.) points out that Eusebius in the *History* does not refer to a 25 years' episcopate, and puts Peter's arrival at Rome simply in the reign of Claudius, and that it is therefore *possible* that the reference to the 25 years and the location of the commencement of that period in the 2nd year of Claudius may be due to Jerome. This may be so; but the fact that both the versions of the *Chronicon*, the Armenian and Jerome, mention the length of Peter's stay at Rome (the original number of years in the Arm. as in Jerome having probably been 25), and that they both place his martyrdom there near the end of Nero's reign, points to the dates and the 25 years' episcopate having been derived from the original statement of the Eusebian *Chronicon*. It is probable (Lightfoot, *Clement* i. p. 339; Harnack, *Chronol.* p. 123) that Eusebius derived his early papal chronology from Julius Africanus; and the latter may in his turn have used earlier documents, *e.g.* the lists of Hegesippus. But (assuming that it had a place in the *Chronicon* of Eusebius) there is no evidence to show whether the 25 years' episcopate was the invention of Eusebius or whether he inherited it from one of his predecessors. It will appear in a moment that it is probably the result of an artificial arrangement of dates. We turn to the *date of the martyrdom*, which is put in the last year of Nero's reign. It is to be noticed that the catholic *Acts of Peter* (ed. Lipsius p. 172 f.) connect with the apostle's death a prophecy that 'Nero should be destroyed not many days hence' and relate its speedy fulfilment. Eusebius' words, preserved by Syncellus, are: ἐπὶ πᾶσι δ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀδικήμασι [ἀτυχήμασι Codd.] καὶ τὸν πρῶτον κατὰ Χριστιανῶν ἐνεδείξατο διωγμόν, ἡνίκα Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος κ.τ.λ. It does not appear that Eusebius was acquainted with Tacitus, and, if he did not connect the persecution with the great fire, it was very natural that, whether he followed the catholic *Acts* or no, he should regard the attack on the Church as the filling up of Nero's iniquities (cf. Ac $12^{1\text{-}23}$). On the other hand, the evidence of Tacitus is decisive that the persecution followed immediately upon the fire; and the *Chronicon* records under the year 63–64 'many conflagrations at Rome.' We have still to account for *the legend of the 25 years' episcopate* at Rome. If the *terminus ad quem* of Peter's sojourn at Rome was determined as suggested above, we may conjecture that (the ministry at Antioch being regarded as a mere offshoot of the ministry at Jerusalem) Peter's departure for Rome was placed at the expiration of the 12 years, after which, according to the tradition which had a place in the Κήρυγμα Πέτρου (*ap.* Clement, *Strom.* vi. 5) and the Gnostic *Acts of Peter* (ed. Lipsius p. 49; for other references see Harnack, *Die Chronol.* p. 243), the Lord commanded the apostles to go forth into the world (cf. Ac 12^{17}). If the Passion was placed in the year 30, then the sojourn of Peter at Rome would be considered to commence about the year 42, and just about a quarter of a century would elapse between that date and the martyrdom at the end of Nero's reign.[*]

(ii.) *The Liber Pontificalis.*—We turn now to the later catalogues of Roman bishops. (1) The Liberian catalogue (Duchesne p. 2) has the notice, 'Petrus ann. xxv mens. uno d. viiii.[†] Fuit temporibus Tiberii Cæsaris et Gai et Tiberi Claudi et Neronis, a cons. Minuci [*lege* Vinici] et Longini usque Nerine et Vero [*lege* Vetere]. Passus autem cum Paulo die iii kl. iulias, cons. s̄s̄., imperante Nerone.' The date of this catalogue is 354. It gives the date of Peter's 25 years' Roman episcopate as A.D. 30–55. The notice immediately preceding puts the date of the crucifixion as A.D. 29 ('duobus Geminis cons.'), and then adds: 'et post ascensum eius beatissimus Petrus episcopatum suscepit.' The singular date of Peter's episcopate, therefore, seems based on the assumption that *Christ* made the apostle a bishop, and that his see must have been Rome. (2) The *Liber Pontificalis* in the earlier form (as restored from the Felician and Cononian abridgments) puts side by side the following statements:—(*a*) 'Primum sedit cathedra episcopatus in Antiochia ann. vii.' (*b*) 'Ingressus in urbe Roma Nerone Cesare ibique sedit cathedra episcopatus ann. xxv mens. ii dies iii.' (*c*) 'Fuit temporibus Tiberii Cesaris et Gaii et Tiberii Claudi et Neronis.' To these statements (Duchesne p. 50 f.) the later recension (Duchesne p. 118) adds another, 'martyrio cum Paulo coronatur, post passionem Domini anno xxxviii.' According to this statement the date of the martyrdom is 67 (cf. Jer. *de Virr. Illustr.*). It is unnecessary to examine the different parts of the above mosaic. But however the chronological context varies, the xxv years' episcopate is preserved.

7. *The burial-places of St. Peter.*—The Ambrosian hymn connects the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul with three spots in Rome—'Trinis celebratur uiis Festum sacrorum martyrum' (Daniel, *Thes. Hymn.* I. xc.). These *viæ* are the

---

[*] The Syriac Epitome (Schoene p. 211) puts the foundation of the Church at Antioch and St. Peter's arrival at Rome ('et præfuit ecclesiæ illi annos xxv') in *Anno Abr.* 2058 (=A.D. 42–43), the appointment of Euodius two years later; but under *An. Abr.* 2064 (=A.D. 48–49) it has the entry, 'Petrus apostolus moderator eccl. Romanæ factus est.'

[†] It is, however, possible that we should connect this appointment of Linus with what there are some reasons for thinking to be the fact that Peter left Rome for a time about a year before his martyrdom there (see below, p. 778).

[*] In the Eastern and Oriental lists given in Duchesne, *Lib. Pontif.* p. 34 ff., there are variations from 25 years—(i.) The *Short Chronography* of 853 gives 22 years; (ii.) Nicephorus 2 years; (iii.) Syncellus leaves a blank; (iv.) Eutychius 22 years; (v.) Elias of Nisibis 28 years.

[†] For a possible explanation of the variations of the number of months and days see Duchesne, *Lib. Pontif.* p. xx n.

Ostian, the place of St. Paul's death and burial; the Aurelian, the resting-place of St. Peter; and the Appian, where the bodies of both apostles were laid for a time. The facts are briefly these:

(1) *The Vatican.*—The belief that the apostle was buried on the Vatican goes back to the time of Caius (see above); so Jerome, *de Virr. Illustr.* 1: 'Sepultus Romæ in Vaticano iuxta uiam triumphalem' (this *via* runs N.E. of the Vatican); *Acta Petri et Pauli*, 84 (ed. Lipsius p. 216, cf. p. 172), ἔθηκαν αὐτὸ ὑπὸ τὴν τερέβινθον [cf. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xvi. 44] πλησίον τοῦ ναυμαχίου [cf. *Martyr. a Lino conscr.* x., ed. Lipsius p. 11; see above] εἰς τόπον καλούμενον Βατικανόν; *Lib. Pontif.* (ed. Duchesne pp. 52 f., 118 ff.): 'Sepultus est uia Aurelia, in templum Apollonis, iuxta locum ubi crucifixus est, iuxta palatium Neronianum in Vaticanum, in territurium Triumphale, uia Aurelia, iii K. iul.' In the last notice the temple of Apollo probably refers to a temple of Cybele (Duchesne p. 120; Lipsius p. 401) on this site; by the *palatium Neronianum* is meant either Nero's gardens or the Circus (probably to be identified with the *Naumachia*). It was apparently on this spot that Anencletus, according to the *Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Duchesne pp. 55, 125), built a *memoria beati Petri*, where tradition said that all the Roman bishops till the time of Zephyrinus (except Clement and Alexander) were buried. The Church of *San Pietro in Montorio* is the outcome of another and later tradition that the apostle suffered on the Janiculum—a tradition which possibly arose from a confusion between the *via Aurelia* on the Vatican and the older *via Aurelia* with the *porta Aurelia* on the Janiculum.*

(2) *The Ad Catacumbas.*—In the *Depositio Martyrum*, one of the tracts which form the collection called by the general name of the *Liberian Catalogue*, and which were possibly edited in 354 by Furius Filocalus, who certainly illuminated them and who executed the inscriptions of Damasus in the catacombs (Lightfoot, *Clement* i. p. 249), we find the notice: 'iii Kal. iul. Petri in Catacumbas et Pauli Ostense Tusco et Basso cons.' There can be no doubt that this is a blundering revision of an original notice running thus: 'iii Kal. iul. Petri et Pauli in Catacumbas Tusco et Basso cons.,' the reviser, whoever he may have been, interpreting the statement as referring to the *martyrdom* of the apostles. This misinterpretation of the original notice is still more flagrant in the *Martyr. Hieronymianum*: 'iii Kl. iul. Romæ natale apostolorum Petri et Pauli: Petri in Vaticano uia Aurelia: Pauli uero in uia Ostensi: utrumque in Catacumbas; passi sub Nerone, Basso et Tusco consulibus.' In reality the year indicated is A.D. 258, and the reference is to the transference of the apostles' remains from their respective resting-places on the Ostian and Aurelian roads to the Catacumbas on the Appian road, *i.e.* the Church of St. Sebastian, during the Valerian persecution, a few weeks before the martyrdom of pope Xystus in August. Damasus, as we learn from the *Lib. Pontif.* (ed. Duchesne pp. 84 f., 212; cf. p. civ), decorated the chamber, and placed over the *locus bisomus* the inscription—

> 'Hic habitasse prius sanctos cognoscere debes,
> Nomina quisque Petri pariter Paulique requiris.
> Discipulos oriens misit, quod sponte fatemur. . . .
> Roma suos potius meruit defendere ciues.'

A misunderstanding of the common memorial day of the two apostles, which finds definite expression in the blundering notice of the *Depositio*, gave rise, it appears, to the legend that the two apostles *suffered* on the same day—a statement which first occurs in Jerome, *de Virr. Illustr.* 5: [Paulus] 'quarto decimo Neronis anno *eodem die quo Petrus* Romæ pro Christo capite truncatur, sepultusque est in uia Ostiensi.' The historical fact that the apostles' remains were supposed to have lain at one time near the place of their death and again in the *Catacumbas*, and then (see below) to have been restored to their original resting-places, gave rise to two stories. (*a*) The reference to the East in the verses of Damasus suggested the legend found in the *Acta Petri et Pauli* (ed. Lipsius p. 220) of Eastern Christians attempting to steal the bodies. These *Acts* assert that the bodies rested in the *Catacumbas* a year and seven months; a later tradition, found in the Salzburg Itinerary, makes the period 40 years (Duchesne p. cv; Benson, *Cyprian* p. 482 f.). (*b*) According to the *Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Duchesne pp. 65 ff., 150 ff.), Cornelius, bishop of Rome 251–253, at the request of a certain matron named Lucina, removed the bodies of the apostles by night from the *Catacumbas*. The body of Paul Lucina buried in her own grounds on the Ostian road. 'Beati Petri accepit corpus beatus Cornelius episcopus et posuit iuxta locum ubi crucifixus est, inter corpora sanctorum episcoporum, in templum Apollonis, in monte Aureo, in Vaticanum palatii Neroniani, iii Kal. iul.' The epithet *aureus* has probably arisen from the word *Aurelius*.

(3) *The Vatican.*—The *Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Duchesne pp. 78 f., 176; cf. the addition in one MS of the *Passio Sanctorum App.*, ed. Lipsius p. 176) gives the legend, derived originally from the *Acta Silvestri*, extant only in later recensions, that Constantine was baptized by Silvester, and thereby cured of leprosy; that at the request of the bishop he built a *basilica* in honour of St. Peter on the site of a temple of Apollo; that he placed the apostle's body there in a tomb of bronze surmounted by a golden cross. It is likely enough that the *basilica* was begun at the end of Constantine's reign. But the body of the apostle cannot have been removed there before 354, since that is the date of the Liberian *Depositio*, where it is implied that the body still rested *ad Catacumbas*. The translation therefore must have taken place between 354 and the time when Damasus (366–384) placed in the *Catacumbas* the inscription quoted above. On the whole subject see Duchesne, *Lib. Pontificalis* pp. civ ff., 119 f., 125, 152, 193 ff., 214; Lipsius, *Die Apokr. Apostelg.* II. i. p. 391 ff. (with reff. to his earlier works); Lightfoot, *Clement* ii. p. 499 f.; Benson, *Cyprian* p. 481 ff.; Erbes, 'Das Alter der Gräber u. Kirchen des Paulus u. Petrus in Rom,' in Brieger's *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.* vii. p. 1 ff. (1885); Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome* pp. 122 ff., 345 ff. (1892); de Waal, *Die Apostelgruft ad Catacumbas* (1894); Erbes, 'Die Todestage der Apostel Paulus u. Petrus,' 1899 (*Texte u. Untersuch. NF* iv. 1).

There are five *memorial days* which claim notice. (i.) June 29. The origin of the observance of this day as a festival of St. Peter and St. Paul has been pointed out above, and it has been shown that probably as early as Jerome, certainly before the *Mart. Hieronymianum*, compiled early in the 7th cent., the day was regarded as the anniversary of the death of the apostles. In the Gelasian Sacramentary there are three sets of 'Orationes et Preces' for the festival: 'In natali S. Petri proprie,' 'In natali apostolorum Petri et Pauli,' 'In natali S. Pauli proprie.' When in the Gregorian Sacramentary a further step was taken, and the 'natalis S. Pauli' was transferred to the next day, June 29 became the memorial day of St. Peter alone. This common festival of the two apostles passed into the Greek Church, though it is uncertain at what date, and has a place also in the Coptic, Ethiopic, Syrian, and Armenian calendars. A Syriac Martyrology of the year 412, published by Wright in the *Journal of Sacred Literature* for Oct. 1865, Jan. 1866, places this festival on Dec. 28. (ii.) Feb. 22. In the Liberian *Depositio Martyrum* there is the entry: 'viii Kal. Mart. natale Petri de catedra.' In the *Martyr. Hieronymianum* the corresponding notice is 'viii Kl. Mart. cathedra Petri *in Antiochia*.' (iii.) Jan. 18. In the same *Martyrologium* we have 'xv Kal. Feb. dedicatio cathedræ S. Petri apostoli qui [qua] primo Romæ sedit.' (iv.) Aug. 1. The Roman *Martyrologium* has 'Kal. Aug. Romæ ad uincula catenas S. Petri osculandas,' or, according to some MSS, 'Kal. Aug. Romæ dedicatio primæ ecclesiæ a b. Petro constructæ [et consecratæ].' Since the church *S. Petri ad uincula* was probably built under Sixtus III. (432–440), the origin of the festival may be as early as the time of this pope. The original reference of the festival was to the miracle recorded in Ac 12⁷. The corresponding festival in the Greek Church was on Jan. 16, in the Armenian Church on Jan. 22. For further information see Sinker's article in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* ii. p. 1623 ff.; Lipsius, *Die. Apokr. Apostelg.* II. i. p. 404 ff.

---

* Lanciani (*Pagan and Christian Rome* p. 127 f.) supposes that the erection of this church on the Janiculum to commemorate the martyrdom is due to a misinterpretation of the tradition that St. Peter suffered *inter duas metas*.

8. *The Acts of Peter.*—These *Acts* are collected and edited by Lipsius (1891) in the first vol. of the *Acta Apost. Apocrypha*, edited by himself and Bonnet.

(1) The Gnostic *Acts.*—(i.) The documents. These are: (*a*) *Martyrium b. Petri Ap. a Lino ep. conscriptum.* This *martyrium* is contained in several MSS. The name of Linus is found only in the title. (*b*) *Actus Petri cum Simone.* The sole authority for this text is the Codex Vercellensis, a 7th cent. MS. (*c*) *μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Πέτρου.* This document corresponds with the closing portion of the *Actus* (xxx–end). The authorities for this text are a 9th cent. MS at Patmos, and a MS of later date at Mt. Athos. There exist also a Slavonic and an Æthiopic version (the latter is translated in Malan's *Conflicts of the Holy Apostles*), and some fragments of a Sahidic version. It appears certain that the two first-named Latin texts are independent, and rest ultimately on a common Greek text. The complicated problem of the relation of these texts is discussed by Lipsius, *Apokr. Apostelg.* II. i. p. 109 ff.; Zahn, *Ges. Kan.* ii. p. 834 ff.

(ii.) Substance. The following is a brief summary of the story. (*a*) Paul in obedience to a vision departs from Rome on his journey to Spain. (*b*) Simon Magus arrives in Rome and gains adherents. The brethren are distressed that Paul has left them, and that they have no leader to help them against Simon. Just at this time, however, the twelve years after the Ascension being past, Christ appears to Peter in a vision and bids him go to Rome. (*c*) Peter arrives in Rome. After preaching to the brethren, at their request he goes from the synagogue to the house of Marcellus (formerly a disciple of St. Paul), where Simon is. At this point there ensues the episode of the speaking dog which takes Peter's message to Simon. Marcellus, who had been so much under Simon's influence that he had erected in his honour a statue with the inscription *Simoni iuueni deo*, repents. In course of time it is arranged that there should be a public encounter between Peter and Simon in the Forum. Peter's power of truly raising the dead proves him to be superior to Simon. [At this stage in the story the Athos MS begins]. Simon undertakes to fly to heaven. This he attempts to do before a great crowd in the Via Sacra.* Under the influence, however, of Peter's prayers he falls and breaks his thigh. He is stoned by the crowd, leaves Rome, and shortly afterwards dies at Terracina. (*d*) [At this point the Linus-Martyrium and the Patmos MS begin]. The prefect Agrippa [note that the minister of Augustus is transferred to Nero's reign] has four concubines, who are persuaded by Peter to refuse Agrippa any further intercourse. Xanthippe similarly withdraws from her husband Albinus, a friend of the emperor's [in the *Acta Xanthippæ* (James, *Apocr. Anecdota* p. 58 ff.) the husband's name is Probus]. Albinus, therefore, and Agrippa make common cause against Peter. (*c*) At the request of Xanthippe and the brethren, Peter consents to leave Rome. As he is passing through the gate of the city he sees Christ entering. The well-known conversation between the Lord and the apostle takes place (see below), and he returns to the city knowing that the Lord would suffer *in him.* St. Peter is brought before Agrippa, who condemns him to be crucified. When he is brought near the cross he addresses it in mystic language —*ὦ ὄνομα σταυροῦ, μυστήριον ἀπόκρυφον κ.τ.λ.* He asks that he may be fixed to it head downwards, and in mystical language he explains the significance of that position.* At the burial, Marcellus acts the part of Joseph of Arimathæa. Peter, however, appears to him in a vision and reminds him of the Lord's saying, 'Let the dead be buried by their own dead.' So Marcellus awaits Paul's return to Rome. The romance ends with a notice of Nero first determining to persecute the converts of Peter and afterwards being restrained by a vision (one text says 'of Peter,' another 'of an angel,' another of 'a certain one') of one who chastised him, and warned him to 'refrain his hands from the servants of Christ.'

(iii.) History and date. At the end of the 4th cent. and onwards apocryphal *Acts of Peter* are spoken of as being in authoritative use among heretics, especially the Manichæans; cf. Augustine, *c. Faust.* xxx. 4, *adv. Adimant. Manich.* 17; and (somewhat earlier) Philaster, *Hær.* 88. At the same time these *Acts* were not infrequently alluded to without note of suspicion, and occasionally even definitely cited, by catholic writers. Thus Isidore of Pelusium (*Ep.* ii. 99; Migne, *Pat. Gr.* lxxviii. 544) adduces a saying taken from the discourse of Peter in the house of Marcellus (*Actus Petri cum Simone* xx., ed. Lipsius p. 67)—*καθὼς Πέτρος ὁ κορυφαῖος τοῦ χόρου ἐν ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ πράξεσι σαφῶς ἀπεφήνατο "Α ἐχωρήσαμεν ἐγράψαμεν.* The earliest writer who refers to these *Acts* by name is Eusebius, *HE* III. iii. 2. Classing them with the *Gospel*, the *Preaching*, and the *Apocalypse* of Peter, he says 'we do not own these writings as handed down among the catholic (books), because no Church writer, either among the ancients or among our own contemporaries, has ever used the testimonies to be derived from them' (cf. Jerome, *de Virr. Illustr.* i.). The earliest writer who certainly *refers* to these *Acts*—he does not quote them by name—is the African poet Commodian, about A.D. 250, who, in *Carmen Apologeticum* 615 ff., writes: 'Et canem [fecit] ut Simoni diceret: clamaris a Petro . . . Infantem fecit quinto mense proloqui uolgo.' Commodian, then, supplies a *terminus ad quem* for the composition of these Petrine *Acts*. Harnack, indeed (*Chronologie* p. 552 ff.), argues that they were actually written about the middle of the 3rd century. He lays special stress on the fact that Hippolytus (*Refut. Hær.* vi. 20) gives an account of Peter's triumph over Simon, and of the latter's death, quite different from that contained in the *Acts*, and he concludes that Hippolytus did not know our *Acts*, and that therefore they could not have been then written. To this line of argument it may be replied: (*a*) that Hippolytus' ignorance of them would not prove their non-existence; (*b*) that ignorance of them on his part cannot be deduced from the fact that he follows quite another story; for Hippolytus, a *malleus hæreticorum*, would naturally avoid a story which he found in a heretical book. Harnack further insists that allusions in these *Acts* to, *e.g.*, the emperor and to details of Church life point to the 3rd cent., while, in opposition to Lipsius and Zahn, he altogether denies that the *Acts* bear a Gnostic character. It is quite possible that some of the allusions to which Harnack appeals as proving the later date of the *Acts* as a whole point to interpolations on the part of an editor or a translator. But there are strong reasons for assigning the *Grundschrift* to the 2nd cent. Lipsius (p. 266) and Zahn (*Ges. Kan.* ii. p. 861) have both noted the resemblance in ideas and modes of expression between the *Acts of Peter* and the Leucian *Acts of John*. The fragment of the last-named *Acts* printed for the first time in James' *Apocr. Anecdota* ii. brings to light still further points of likeness. James (p. xxiv ff.) has collected a number of parallels between the fragment of the Johannine *Acts* and the *Actus Petri cum Simone*, and is justified in concluding 'that they show as clearly as any evidence of this kind could, that whoever wrote the *Acts of John* wrote the *Acts of Peter*' (p. xxiv). 'Acts of Peter' were among 'the Acts' which, according to Photius (*Biblioth. Cod.* cxiv.), were contained in αἱ λεγόμεναι τῶν ἀποστόλων περίοδοι—the work of Leucius Charinus. This Leucius (see Lipsius, *Apokr. Apostelg.* i. p. 83 ff.), a somewhat shadowy personage, seems to have belonged to Asia Minor, and to have written during the 2nd cent., about 160 as Zahn thinks (*ib.* p. 864). Thus the original Gnostic *Acts* were a 2nd cent. romance, and had their origin in Asia Minor.

---

* The origin of this tradition is probably to be found in the story told by Suetonius (*Nero* 12).

* *περὶ ὧν ὁ κύριος ἐν μυστηρίῳ λέγει Ἐὰν μὴ ποιήσητε τὰ δεξιὰ ὡς τὰ ἀριστερὰ καὶ τὰ ἀριστερὰ ὡς τὰ δεξιὰ καὶ τὰ ἄνω ὡς τὰ κάτω καὶ τα ὀπίσω ὡς τὰ ἔμπροσθεν, οὐ μὴ ἐπιγνῶτε τὴν βασιλείαν* (c. ix.).

(2) From the Gnostic we turn to the catholic *Acts*. These are often distinguished by the name Marcellus, who in some Latin MSS appears (in a superscription) as the author. (i.) Documents. These *Acts* are found in two chief forms, which Tischendorf (*Acta Apost. Apocr.* pp. 1–39) has somewhat disastrously endeavoured to weave into a single whole. The one, which may be designated as A, is found in Latin MSS, and in *one* Venice *Greek* MS (which Lipsius represents by the symbol E); the other, which may be designated as B, is found in the majority of Greek MSS. The most important difference between the two forms is that B begins with a long account (§§ 1–21) of the fear caused by Paul's appeal to Cæsar among the Jews at Rome (who had already had trouble enough through Peter's presence there), and of the closing stages of Paul's journey to the city. This section seems to be quite late, and is attributed by Lipsius (*Prolegom.* p. lxi) 'insipido cuidam sæculi ix monacho qui Siciliæ uel Magnæ Græciæ nescio quod monasterium incolebat.' Of the common Greek text there exists a Slavonic version.

(ii.) Substance. The outline of the story is as follows: (*a*) Paul arrives in Rome (Cod. E alone adds ἀπὸ τῶν Σπανιῶν). The two apostles meet with great joy. Paul stills a dispute between Gentile and Jewish Christians. The preaching of the apostles converts multitudes, and in particular 'Livia the wife of Nero and Agrippina the wife of Agrippa' [note the confusion] leave their husbands, while not a few soldiers withdraw from military service. (*b*) Simon Magus now begins to traduce Peter, and performs magical tricks. He is summoned before Nero, and claims to be the Son of God. The two great apostles and Simon hold a disputation and a trial of strength in miracles before Nero. At length Simon requests that a wooden tower may be erected, from which he undertakes to throw himself, that his angels may bear him to heaven. When the day arrives, Simon begins to fly, to the great distress of Paul. Peter, however, adjures the angels of Satan to help him no longer. Simon falls in the Via Sacra and dies. (*c*) Nero thereupon commands that the apostles should be thrown into prison. At Agrippa's suggestion Paul is beheaded in the Via Ostiensis. Peter, when he is brought to the cross, asks that, being unworthy to hang as his Lord hung, he may be crucified head downwards. He then relates to the people the *Quo vadis* story, and, after having prayed to the Good Shepherd, he gives up the spirit. (*d*) Three legends follow: (α) The legend of Perpetua, the three executioners, and Potentiana—in part closely akin to the Veronica legend—is rather Pauline than Petrine (comp. the Plautilla story in the *Passio S. Pauli*, ed. Lipsius p. 38 ff.). (β) Certain holy men appear, saying that they have come from Jerusalem; they, with Marcellus, bury the apostle's body 'under the terebinth near the Naumachia, at the place called the Vatican.' (γ) Certain men from the East carried off the bodies of the two apostles. They were overtaken at a place called *Catacumbas* at the third milestone along the Appian Way. There the saints' bodies were kept for a year and a half. Then the body of Peter was transferred to a tomb on the Vatican near the Naumachia, that of Paul to the Ostian Way. At their tombs great benefits were granted to the faithful through their prayers. The day of their martyrdom was June 29.

(iii.) History and date. The story of the men from the East who endeavoured to carry off the apostles' bodies arose, as is now generally agreed (see, *e.g.* Lipsius, *Apokr. Apostelg.* p. 312; Lightfoot, *Clement* ii. p. 500), from a misunderstanding of the inscription of pope Damasus (366–384); see above, p. 772. Thus we must allow time for the circumstances which Damasus commemorates to have been forgotten, and for the meaning of his lines to have become obscure. The *Acts*, therefore, *in their present form* can hardly be much earlier than the middle of the 5th cent. On the other hand, many indications (*e.g.* the relics of early confessions of faith embedded in the *Acts*, chs. 58. 69) point to the conclusion that the *Grundschrift*, on which interpolations from other sources have been engrafted, was a document similar to the *Prædicatio Petri*, and, with it, is to be assigned to the middle of the 2nd cent. (Lipsius p. 333 ff.). The further problem as to the relation of the *Grundschrift* of the catholic *Acts* to the *Grundschrift* of the Gnostic *Acts* appears to elude criticism.

A Latin *Passio Apostolorum Petri et Pauli* (Lipsius, *Acta* pp. 223–234) need not be discussed at any length. It gives an account of the conflict between the apostles and Simon Magus, dealing rather with miracles than with theology. Clement (not Agrippa) appears as the *præfectus urbis*. The date, according to Lipsius, is the end of the 6th or the beginning of the 7th century.

The *Quo vadis* legend. The story is found in the Gnostic *Acts*—in the Linus-text (vi) and in the μαρτύριον (vi); there is a *lacuna* here in the Cod. Vercellensis. It runs thus in the Linus-text, the important words in the Greek text being added: 'Ut autem portam ciuitatis uoluit egredi, uidit sibi Christum occurrere. Et adorans eum ait: Domine quo uadis? (Κύριε, ποῦ ὧδε;). Respondit ei Christus: Romam uenio iterum crucifigi (εἰσέρχομαι εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην σταυρωθῆναι). Et ait ad eum Petrus: Domine, iterum crucifigeris? (Κύριε, πάλιν σταυροῦσαι;). Et dixit ad eum dominus: Etiam iterum crucifigar. Petrus autem dixit: Domine, reuertar et sequar te. Et his dictis dominus ascendit in cælum.' In the catholic *Acts* Peter relates the story after he has been nailed to the cross. The Latin (61) is: 'Dixi: Domine, quo uadis? Et dixit mihi: Sequere me, quia uado Romam iterum crucifigi. Et dum sequerer eum, redii Romam. Et dixit mihi: Noli timere, quia ego tecum sum, quousque introducam te in domum patris mei.' In pseudo-Ambrose (*Serm. contr. Aux.* ii. 867, ed. Bened.) the words are: 'Domine, quo uadis?' 'Venio iterum crucifigi.' It seems probable that the story had its origin in a reminiscence of the conversation recorded in Jn 13^{36-38} (Κύριε, ποῦ ὑπάγεις; Latt. Domine, quo uadis?) and an *agraphon* preserved by Origen (*in Joan* xx. 12, ed. Brooke ii. p. 51)—'If any one will accept the saying recorded in the *Acts of Paul* as spoken by the Saviour, ἄνωθεν μέλλω σταυροῦσθαι.' The *Acts of Paul* is apparently an early 2nd cent. document of orthodox origin, and belongs to a different group of writings from the Gnostic *Acts of Peter* (Zahn, *Ges. Kan.* II. ii. p. 865 ff.). It is plain from the context in Origen that in the *Acts of Paul* the saying had no application to St. Peter. Origen quotes in the context He $6^{5f.}$, Gal 2^{19}. Possibly the *Acts of Peter* and the *Acts of Paul* alike derived the saying from 'an earlier document, probably the Preaching of Peter' (Zahn, *Einl.* ii. p. 25). It seems probable, then, that the conversation of our Lord and St. Peter in Jn 13 suggested a scene in which this saying was dramatized. Further, Zahn (*ib.*) is inclined to think that the ambiguous word ἄνωθεν (=*denuo, desuper*) suggested the story that Peter was crucified head downwards. The explanation does not seem a natural one. It is far more likely that the mode of death was one of the 'addita ludibria' of which Tacitus speaks.

9. *The Clementine Literature.*—(i.) Documents. These are three in number. (*a*) The *Homilies* in Greek. Two MSS only are known to exist—the one at Paris, the other at the Vatican. (*b*) The *Recognitions.* The Greek original has perished. The Latin rendering by Rufinus, preserved in a large number of MSS, a Syriac translation of part of the work, and an Arabic abridgment printed in *Studia Sinaitica* v., form the extant authorities for the text. Rufinus, in the preface to his translation, notes incidentally that the Greek original was extant in two forms. He further tells us that, while he had deliberately omitted some passages as obscure, he had aimed at a close, if bald, rendering. It may be added that a comparison between his version and the Syriac version generally confirms his statement. (*c*) Of far less importance than the two documents just mentioned is the *Epitome*—a late abridgment of the *Homilies.* The three Clementine works may be conveniently studied in Migne's *Patrologia Græca*, vols. i., ii.

(ii.) Substance. The romance of Clement's life—his early separation from his family and his ultimate discovery of them—need not detain us. Peter is the great opponent of Simon Magus, and long discourses addressed to his own disciples or to inquirers, or directed against Simon, are put into his mouth. The story in regard to Peter is, in outline, as follows. In the seventh year after the Passion, Clement finds Peter at Cæsarea, where the latter, having been sent thither by James, is about to hold a disputation with Simon Magus. After three days' discussion Simon is driven away by the populace. Peter follows Simon to Tripolis, according to the *Recognitions*; according to the *Homilies*, to Tyre, and thence to Sidon, Berytus, Byblus, and so to Tripolis. At Antioch Simon meets with great success, but is at length driven thence by a report that Cornelius the centurion had arrived armed with an imperial commission to destroy all sorcerers. Simon flies to the neighbouring town of Laodicea, where in the *Homilies* the scene of the great disputation between Peter and Simon is laid. In the *Homilies* the story ends with Peter's departure for Antioch; in the *Recognitions*, with his enthusiastic reception by the people there after the expulsion of Simon.

(iii.) Date and character. The documents which we possess exhibit different forms of a religious romance, written in the interests of a philosophical Ebionitism. The anti-Pauline element is strong in the *Homilies.* Under the character of Simon Magus, St. Paul is attacked (*e.g.* xvii. 19). The same tone of hostility to the work and teaching of St. Paul dominates the letter of Peter to James, § 2, which is prefixed to the *Homilies.* In the *Recognitions* this controversial element is omitted or softened down, the invective dealing only with St. Paul's action before his conversion (i. 70 f.). The doctrine of the *Homilies* is akin to that of the Elchasaite sect, which, according to Hippolytus (*Ref. Hær.* ix. 13), established itself at Rome during the episcopate of Callistus. The *Recognitions* is quoted by Origen (*Comm. in Genesim ap.* Philoc. xxiii. 21, and *Comm. in Matth.* xxvi. 6 f., ed. Lommatzsch iv. p. 401). The evidence, though slight, points to the first quarter of the 3rd cent. as the period to which the Clementine literature as we possess it should probably be assigned. From what *place* did it emanate? The claim of Rome is negatived by the almost entire absence of any reference to a visit of Simon to the city, and his conflict with the apostle there. The allusions to Rome as the final scene of the controversy (*Recog.* i. 13, 74, iii. 64; *Hom.* i. 16) are so incidental in character that they may well be the interpolation of a later editor, the writer, for example, who composed the *Epistle of Clement to James*, prefixed to the *Homilies*, in which an account of Clement's ordination at Rome as bishop by Peter is given. The scene of the story is confined within the boundaries of Syria, and it is therefore antecedently probable that Syria was the region in which the Clementine literature had its first home. This conclusion is confirmed by the character of the NT quotations, which appear to be derived from a Semitic document, whether an Aramaic Gospel or a Syriac version of the Gospels. One point, however, seems clear, viz. that the *Recognitions* and the *Homilies* are independent recastings of a common original, or of (closely related) common original documents. The relation of this document or these documents to the *Periodi Clementis*, to which Jerome (*adv. Jovin.* i. 26; *in Gal.* i. 18) refers for details about Peter which are not found in our Clementines, and to the κήρυγμα Πέτρου (see below), must remain with our present evidence an unsolved problem. The question of primary interest is: What did the original story or document on which the Clementines are based include? Was its subject the conflict between Peter and Simon in Syria only? Or did it relate an earlier conflict in Syria and a final conflict at Rome? In other words, do the Clementines and the Petrine *Acts* respectively depend on independent documents, the one narrating the conflict between Peter and Simon in the East, the other dealing with their final meeting in the West? or do they severally elaborate two parts of one common history? The former is the opinion of Salmon (*Dict. Chr. Biog.* iv. p. 685), the latter that to which Lipsius inclines (*Apokr. Apostelg.* II. i. p. 38 f.). It may be noticed that, while there are in the Clementines (see above) a few references to the Roman episode, on the other hand allusions are to be found in the Petrine *Acts* (*Actus Petr. cum Simone* v., *Martyr. Petri et Pauli* 17) to the Syrian conflict; but all these allusions are too slight to bear the weight of any conclusions. The *Apostolic Constitutions* (vi. 8, 9) contains the whole story of Peter and Simon,—the story of a conflict in Syria with points of contact with the Clementine history, and the story of a conflict in Rome with points of contact with that of the *Acts.* It seems less unlikely that here we come upon a relic of a complete story than that we have here a piecing together of two stories, which were originally independent. Of the precise doctrinal position of the original document it is vain to speculate. If the original story did follow St. Peter to Rome, there is a doctrinal reason why the Ebionite Clementine writers should refuse to acquiesce in the tradition that St. Paul and St. Peter worked at Rome together. That the original romance was early, there can be no doubt. Bishop Lightfoot held (*Clement* i. 361) that it 'cannot well be placed later than the middle of the 2nd century.'

10. *Non-Canonical writings ascribed to St. Peter.*—Eusebius (*HE* III. iii.), after mentioning the two Epistles which have a place in the Canon (see separate articles), proceeds to speak of other writings connected with Peter's name—the *Acts of Peter* (see above), the *Gospel according to Peter*, the *Preaching of Peter*, and the *Apocalypse*. These, he adds, 'we do not acknowledge as handed down to us among the Catholic writings, for no Church writer, either in ancient times or in our own, ever made use of the testimonies they supply' (cf. III. xxv.). To this list Jerome (*de Virr. Illustr.* 1) adds the *Judicium*.

(1) *The Gospel of Peter.*—A portion of what is universally agreed to have been the Petrine *Gospel* mentioned by Eusebius was found among the Akhmîm fragments, and published by M. Bouriant in Nov. 1892. The fragment begins with a reference to our Lord's trial before Pilate and Herod, and then gives an account of the mockery, the crucifixion, the burial, and the resurrection. The author writes in the first person (cc. vii. xii.), and identifies himself with Peter: 'But I Simon Peter and Andrew my brother' (c. xiv.). The *Gospel* is the subject of a letter written by Serapion, who was bishop of Antioch during the last decade of the 2nd cent., and preserved by Eusebius (*HE* vi. 12). Serapion had found the *Gospel* at Rhosus on the Bay of Issus, and had at first approved it. Further knowledge, however, led him to condemn it on the double ground that it owed its origin to the Docetæ, and that it contained additions to 'the true teaching about the Saviour.' The fact that Serapion, a man of literary and controversial activity, did not know of the *Gospel* before his accidental discovery of it, that no other 2nd cent. writer is proved to have used it, and that few later writers were acquainted with it, and these only men in some way connected with Syria, shows that its circulation and influence were confined within narrow limits. As to its *date*, Harnack holds that in the fragment the four Gospels are not placed on the same level, Mt probably not being used at all, and that the Petrine *Gospel* was used by Justin. These considerations seem to him to point to the beginning of the 2nd cent. (cf. Sanday, *Inspiration* (1893) p. 310, 'hardly later than the end of the first quarter of the 2nd cent.'). On the other hand, it is by no means certain that Justin used the *Gospel*; their undoubted connexion can be explained in other ways. And, further, the text of the Gospels had already had a history before it was used by the author of the Petrine *Gospel*; indeed there is strong reason to think that he used a harmony of the Gospels, that of Tatian or some earlier harmony, at least for the portion of the history covered by the extant fragment.* The implied text, then, of the Gospels suggests that the date can hardly be much before 150 (so Swete: Zahn 130), while a limit in the other direction is supplied by the fact that the *Gospel* had been in existence some time before Serapion discovered it. See the editions of Bouriant, Lods, Robinson (1892), Harnack, Zahn, Swete (1893); also von Schubert, *Die Composition des pseudopetrinischen Evangelien-fragments*, 1893; Salmon, *Introduction*, Appendix (1894) p. 581 ff.

(2) *The Preaching of Peter* (κήρυγμα Πέτρου).—It is probable that this document is quoted by Origen (*de Princ. Præf.* 8) under the title 'Petri *doctrina*'†; it is possible that it is to be identified with the 'Prædicatio Petri *et Pauli*,' quoted by Lact. *Instit. Div.* iv. 21, comp. pseudo-Cyprian *de Rebapt.* 17. The extant fragments of the *Preaching* are collected in Hilgenfeld's *NT extra Canonem* (1884) iv. p. 51 ff., and in von Dobschütz, 'Das Kerygma Petri kritisch untersucht' (1893; *Texte u. Unters.* xi. 1).* It is clear from what has come down to us that the book gave—not a single discourse, but—the substance of discourses by one speaking in the name of the apostles (the first person plural is always used†). It deals with the τρίτον γένος among Jews and Gentiles, insisting on a pure monotheism as opposed to the errors of Judaism and of heathenism alike, and incorporating directions of our Lord in reference to the evangelization of the Gentiles. Clement of Alexandria (cf. Heracleon *ap.* Origen, *in Ev. Joh.* Tom. xiii. 17) regards the spokesman of the apostles throughout as Peter; and further, having the whole book before him, he implies that it claimed to be *written* by Peter—ὁ Πέτρος γράφει (*Strom.* vi. 7, p. 769 ed. Potter; comp. Origen's question in the passage just referred to—πότερόν ποτε γνήσιόν ἐστιν ἢ νόθον ἢ μικτόν). The *Preaching* exercised a wide influence. It was apparently used among others by Apollonius of Asia Minor (*ap.* Eus. *HE* V. xviii. 14) at the end of the 2nd cent., Heracleon, the author of the Epistle to Diognetus, Justin, Aristides (Robinson in *Texts and Studies* i. 1, p. 86 ff.). Its date must therefore be very early. Harnack, holding that Egypt was the birthplace of the book, gives its date as 110–130 (140); Zahn as 90–100. Von Dobschütz suggests that in the first decade of the 2nd cent. a Christian at Alexandria felt that St. Mark's Gospel (ending at 16^8) needed a supplement, and wrote the *Preaching* as a δεύτερος λόγος, and further that from it the 'shorter ending' of Cod. L (Swete, *St. Mark* p. xcvii ff.) is derived. For further information see von Dobschütz, 'Das Kerygma Petri' (*Texte u. Untersuch.* xi. 1, 1893); Harnack, *Die Chronologie*, 1897, pp. 472–474; Zahn, *Geschichte des NT Kanons*, 1892, II. ii. pp. 820–832; Salmon, art. 'Preaching of Peter,' in *Dict. Chr. Biog.* (vol. iv. 1887); Hilgenfeld, *NT extra Can. Rec.*, ed. altera, 1884, iv. pp. 50–65.

(3) *The Apocalypse of Peter.*—A considerable fragment of the *Apocalypse* of Peter was discovered and published with the fragment of the *Gospel*. Before 1892 only some half dozen small fragments were known to exist (see, *e.g.*, Zahn, *Ges. Kan.* II. ii. p. 818). The Akhmîm fragment begins in the middle of a sentence containing apocalyptic words put into our Lord's mouth. The apostles—'we, the twelve disciples'—then go into the 'mountain' with the Lord to pray, and ask to see one of the righteous who had 'departed from the world,' 'in order that . . . being encouraged we may encourage also the men who hear us.' In answer to Peter's questions the Lord reveals the place of happiness and the place of torment, in which punishments are meted out to various classes of sinners. It appears from the reference to the apostles' hearers that they had received a command to teach; but a time during the Lord's ministry is perhaps less in harmony with the supposed situation than a time after the resurrection. The *Apocalypse of Peter* is mentioned in the Muratorian fragment (unless the passage is corrupt; see p. 780). Clement of Alexandria quotes it three or four times, once as Scripture (*Ecl. ex Scrip. Proph.* xli.); and, according to Eusebius, he commented on it. Thus there is good ground for regarding the *Apocalypse* as a 2nd cent. document, especially if it is allowed that it was used in the

---

* The present writer has elsewhere (*The Old Syriac Element in the Text of Cod. Bezæ* p. 121 ff.) given reasons for thinking that 'behind those parts of the fragment which are based on the Canonical Gospels there lie the corresponding sentences of the *Syriac* Diatessaron.'

† This is to be distinguished from the διδασκαλία Πέτρου referred to by later Greek Fathers. Von Dobschütz (p. 107) identifies this Peter with Peter of Alexandria.

* The 'Preaching of Peter' in an Arabic MS, published by Mrs. Gibson in *Studia Sinaitica* No. v., has no connexion with the *Preaching* under discussion.

† The first person *singular* is used in one fragment (Hilgenfeld p. 57, l. 23); but this fragment is derived ἐκ τῆς διδασκαλίας Πέτρου (von Dobschütz p. 118; cf. Holl, *Fragmente vornicän Kirchenväter* (1899) p. 234).

Acts of Thomas (ed. Bonnet, p. 39) and in the *Passion of St. Perpetua* (James, p. 60 f.). Zahn, writing before the publication of the Akhmîm fragment, lays stress on the fact that Origen shows no sign of having known the *Apocalypse*, that Clement may have derived his knowledge of it from his Hebrew teacher, that several notices of it seem to connect it with Palestine, and he therefore thinks that Palestine was its birthplace. On the other hand, the coincidences with the *Pistis Sophia*, both in vocabulary and matter, seem to make an Egyptian origin more probable. The text has been edited by Bouriant, James, Lods (1892), Harnack (1893); see Zahn, *Ges. Kan.* II. ii. p. 810 ff.; Salmon, *Introduction to NT*, Appendix (1894) p. 589 f.

(4) Jerome in *de Virr. Illustr.* i. 5 mentions the *Judicium* among the apocryphal books which bear St. Peter's name. Rufinus, *in Symb. Apost.* 38, gives the *Libri Ecclesiastici* which belong to the NT as 'libellus qui dicitur Pastoris siue Hermes, qui appellatur *Duæ Viæ* uel *Judicium* Petri.' It seems probable that Jerome and Rufinus have the same document in mind. Further, the whole list of books in Rufinus appears to be based upon the list given in the Festal Epistle of Athanasius, who couples together 'the *so-called Teaching of the Apostles* and the Shepherd.' It is probable that the *Judicium Petri* was a Latin document, in which Peter alone was represented as the speaker, corresponding to the Greek document αἱ διαταγαὶ αἱ διὰ Κλήμεντος καὶ κανόνες ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων. See Hilgenfeld, *NT extra Can. Rec.* iv. p. 111 ff.; Salmon, *Introduction* p. 554; Harnack, *Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel* p. 193 ff.

(5) An 'Epistle of Peter to James' is prefixed to the Clementine *Homilies*, and is thoroughly Ebionite in its teaching.

IV. RECONSTRUCTION OF THE LATER HISTORY OF ST. PETER.—Except the testimony of 1 Peter, we have in the NT no clear evidence as to the apostle's movements after St. Paul's notice in Gal 2. What evidence the NT supplies as to later times is negative. But the tradition of the Church and the statements of early writers, together with the evidence of 1 Peter, give a basis for conclusions which reach a very high degree of probability. An endeavour will now be made to interpret the evidence as to the three following points—(1) St. Peter's visit to Rome; (2) the Simonian legend; (3) the period which succeeded the 'Council' at Jerusalem.

1. *St. Peter's visit to Rome.*—Of those who deny that St. Peter visited Rome, Lipsius may be taken as the type. His interpretation of the evidence is given in his great work, *Die Apokr. Apostelgeschichten* II. ii. pp. 1-69 (1887), where he embodies the results of his previous investigations—*Quellen der römischen Petrussage*, arts. in Schenkel's *Bibellexikon*, arts. in *Jarhrb. f. protest. Theologie* (1876). His theory is briefly as follows. The tradition of St. Peter's presence at Rome takes two forms. The *one* brings St. Peter and St. Paul together at Rome; together they found the Church there, and together they suffer. The *other* represents St. Peter as the opponent of the false apostle, Simon Magus, who is St. Paul under a thin disguise; as pursuing him from land to land and finally in Rome triumphing over him, and then dying a martyr's death. The first form of the legend may be called the Petro-Pauline legend, the second the Simonian. Since the two agree in bringing the apostle to Rome, they cannot be independent; and the question at once arises—Which is the original form? The Petro-Pauline legend corresponds to the Gentile view of the relation of the two apostles: they are friends and fellow-workers. The Simonian legend answers to the Jewish conception, according to which St. Paul is 'the enemy.' Now the latter view is historically prior to the former. It follows, therefore, that the Simonian legend is the earlier, and that it is the parent of the Petro-Pauline tradition. The one historical basis of the whole structure of romance is the visit of St. Paul to Rome. On this is built up the fabric of St. Peter's visit to Rome; and, since the first builders were Ebionites, St. Paul becomes Simon Magus. This anti-Pauline legend is alone responsible for the tradition that Simon Magus taught in Rome, and further fixed the date of his arrival there under Claudius. For St. Peter went there after the twelve years' of preaching at Jerusalem were over, and with his arrival that of his opponent was made to coincide. Such is the theory. It is open to attack from many quarters. It is blind to the many-sidedness and unanimity of early testimony, and in particular it is driven to explain away the evidence of Clement, while it rejects the authenticity of 1 Peter. On the other hand, it accounts for this general concurrence of witnesses by the hypothesis of a romance whose genesis was a complex and highly artificial process. But, in fact, Lipsius' theory is really an offshoot of the Tübingen theory of the apostolic age. The main trunk is now seen to be lifeless. The branch cannot but share its decay.

The strength of the case for St. Peter's visit to, and martyrdom at, Rome lies not only in the absence of any rival tradition, but also in the fact that many streams of evidence converge to this result. We have the evidence of official lists and documents of the Roman Church, which prove the strength of the tradition in later times, and which, at least in some cases, must rest on earlier documents. The notice of the transference of the apostle's body to a new resting-place in 258, and the words of Caius, show that the tradition was definite and unquestioned at Rome in the first half of the 3rd cent. The fact that Caius in the passage referred to is arguing with an Asiatic opponent, the evidence of the (Gnostic) *Acts* of Peter, the passages quoted from Origen, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian, show that at the same period the tradition was accepted in the Churches of Asia, of Alexandria, and of Carthage. The passage of Irenæus carries the evidence backward well within the 2nd cent., and is of special importance as coming from one who had visited Rome, whose list of Roman bishops suggests that he had had access to official documents, and who, through Polycarp, was in contact with the personal knowledge of St. John and his companions. The testimony of Clement of Rome seems clear when his words are examined, while at the same time it is not definite and circumstantial enough to have *created* a legendary history. This concurrence of apparently independent testimony becomes much more impressive when it is remembered that the NT supplies nothing which could give rise to a legend that St. Peter visited Rome. On the contrary, the narrative of the Acts and the notices in St. Paul's later Epistles seem to make such a visit improbable. Moreover, the one clear statement as to place in 1 P literally interpreted becomes a conclusive argument that the apostle's work in his later years lay in a region far from Rome. It is only when the words of 1 P 5^{13} receive the less obvious, but in reality more natural, interpretation that they are seen to be a strong confirmation of the evidence of early writers. Thus the main pieces of evidence are independent and consistent. When combined they form a solid body of proof which is practically irresistible.

But if St. Peter was martyred at Rome (apart from the indications of date in 1 P, on which see following art.), there is no reason to question the belief that he suffered during the Neronian persecution. This is distinctly asserted by Tertullian; it is presupposed in all forms of the Petrine *Acts*; it is implied in Caius' notice of the tomb on the Vatican; it is the almost necessary inference from Clement's words.

Again, what was the length of his sojourn at Rome? The tradition of a 25 years' episcopate is unhistorical. But that legend crystallized, while it exaggerated, the widespread belief that the apostle spent time enough at Rome to leave his mark upon the Church there. Such a tradition finds early expression in the language of Irenæus, of Dionysius of Corinth, probably also in the words of Ignatius. It is implied in the early accounts of the composition of St. Mark's Gospel.

To what reconstruction of the history does the evidence point? It seems impossible to suppose that St. Peter had already worked in Rome when St. Paul wrote the Ep. to the Romans ($1^{11ff.}$ $15^{22ff.}$), or when at a later time he expressed his desire 'to see Rome' (Ac 19^{21}). Moreover, the account of St. Paul's arrival in Rome (Ac $28^{14ff.}$) seems to exclude the possibility of St. Peter's having been in the city at that time. Thus it seems certain St. Peter had not visited Rome when St. Paul's captivity there began. The evidence of the Epistles of both the Pauline captivities is also negative. If St. Peter had been in the city when St. Paul wrote to the Philippians, and again to the Colossians and Philemon, his description in the one case of the fortunes of the gospel at Rome, and in the other of his own environment, could hardly have been uninfluenced by the fact. We turn to the one Epistle of the second captivity. If we accept the constant tradition of the Church that St. Paul suffered in the Neronian persecution (*i.e.* shortly after July 64), 2 Ti can hardly be placed in the year 64; for the apostle seems to look forward to a winter not far distant (ταχέως, πρὸ χειμῶνος, $4^{9.\ 21}$). It appears, therefore, that 2 Ti was written some two or three months before the winter of 63 closed the seas. The language of this Epistle ($4^{10ff.}$) shows that St. Peter was not in Rome when it was written. The supposition that he arrived in Rome for the first time *after* 2 Ti was written hardly allows the time which the early patristic notices of his work there (see above) postulate. We are led, therefore, to the conclusion that St. Peter's arrival at Rome must in all probability be placed after the last of the Epistles of St. Paul's first captivity, and long enough before 2 Ti to allow St. Peter to have left the city when that Epistle was written, after having worked there some considerable time. Early tradition, however, gives us one further clue to the time. The two apostles *worked together.* Now it is almost impossible to suppose that, after St. Paul had once taken the apostolic oversight of the Church's work in Rome, St. Peter could, apart from St. Paul, have planned a visit there. But did the suggestion that he should come to Rome reach St. Peter from St. Paul himself? It is abundantly clear (1) that St. Paul's mind was set on averting any rupture between Jewish and Gentile Christians, and on welding them together in the one Church (Hort, *Ecclesia* p. 281 ff.); (2) that in his view Rome was the key to the evangelization of the empire; (3) that he was keenly alive in his own case to the importance of one who was the unique representative of one side of the Church's work visiting now the Mother Church at Jerusalem, now the Church in the capital of the empire; (4) that the problem of reconciling the two great elements in the Church presented itself in a concrete form in Rome (Ph $1^{15ff.}$), and that in Rome he grasped, as even he had never done before, the greatness of the issues involved (Eph 2^{11}–4^{16}). His evangelistic policy could find no truer or more practical expression than a request to St. Peter to visit Rome while he himself was still there. Such an invitation would be a fitting corollary of the Ep. to the Ephesians. If the Churches saw the Apostle of the Gentiles and the leader of the Apostles of the Circumcision taking counsel together and working together at Rome, they would learn the lesson of the unity of the Church as they could learn it in no other way. Moreover, St. Paul looked forward to his captivity soon ending. Even if he were set at liberty, he was pledged to undertake distant journeys. Whatever, therefore, the issue might be, the Church in Rome would be deprived of his immediate guidance; and as the far-reaching needs and opportunities of that Church pressed on him, he might well realize how manifold would be the gain resulting from the presence there of St. Peter. It is therefore a conjecture, but a conjecture supported by no inconsiderable amount of indirect evidence, that St. Paul summoned St. Peter to Rome. It is possible that St. Mark, whom we know to have been the companion of St. Peter, was with St. Paul when he wrote to the Colossians as the messenger and the forerunner of St. Peter. If this account of St. Peter's visit to Rome is correct, it will follow that he arrived there towards the end of St. Paul's first captivity, perhaps in the spring of 61. His absence from Rome when St. Paul wrote 2 Ti we may perhaps explain on the supposition that he had been summoned to Jerusalem in connexion with the death of St. James and the appointment of his successor.[*] He must have returned to Rome before July 64.

2. *The Simonian legend.*—The most probable account of its genesis is that it grew out of a mistaken identity (Salmon, art. 'Simon Magus,' in *Dict. Chr. Biog.* iv. p. 682 ff.). With the Simon of Ac 8 another Simon of Samaria was confused. This latter Simon was a Gnostic teacher, who probably lived at the end of the 1st cent. The confusion meets us as early as Justin Martyr, who, expressing probably a general opinion, gave the latter Simon a kind of primacy among heretics. He either himself visited Rome or gained a reputation there through his followers. The strange blunder about the statue can hardly have been a private aberration of Justin's, since it is found in the Gnostic *Acts of Peter*[†]—a document which seems to be quite independent of Justin's influence. But when once Simon Magus had been promoted to the first place among heretics, it was natural that the conflict between him and the chief of the apostles, related in the Acts, should be prolonged into a drama of controversy, the earlier scenes of which were laid in the towns of Syria, while the final denouement was reserved for Rome, which both combatants were believed to have visited. In the development of the story considerations of time were boldly disregarded. On the one hand, the last scenes of the drama had to be enacted in the reign of Nero in order to connect them with the fact that St. Peter suffered under that emperor. On the other hand, it was natural to bring Simon to Rome not so very long after the events recorded in the Acts—in the reign of Claudius (Justin, *Apol.* i. 26); and it seemed fitting that St. Peter

---

[*] Eus. *HE* III. xi.: μετὰ τὴν Ἰακώβου μαρτυρίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτίκα γενομένην ἅλωσιν τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ λόγος κατέχει τῶν ἀποστόλων κ. τῶν τοῦ κυρίου μαθητῶν τοὺς εἰσέτι τῷ βίῳ λειπομένους ἐπὶ ταὐτὸ πανταχόθεν συνελθεῖν κ.τ.λ. Eusebius places the death of St. James immediately before the siege of Jerusalem, according to the statement of Hegesippus (ap. *HE* II. xxiii. 18). Josephus (*Ant.* xx. ix. 1), however, puts it between the death of Festus and the arrival of Albinus. It seems that the latest date which can be assigned to Albinus' entrance on his office is the summer of 62 (Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. p. 188 n.).

[†] *Actus Petri* x.: [Simon] me tantum suasit ut statuam illi ponerem, suscribtioni tali: 'Simoni iuueni deo.'

should go to Rome when the expiration of the twelve appointed years set him free to leave Jerusalem (*Actus Petri* v. ed. Lipsius p. 49). Somewhat thus does it seem probable that the legend grew, and, as was natural, assumed somewhat different forms—*e.g.* Simon in the Clementines is rather the heretic, in the Petrine *Acts* the magician. The final stage in the evolution of the story was reached when Simon was utilized by the Ebionites for a covert attack on St. Paul.

3. *The period which succeeded the Council at Jerusalem.*—Setting aside, then, the Simonian legend as historically worthless, we are brought to the question—What is the probable account of St. Peter's life after the events at Antioch related by St. Paul in Gal 2 (*i.e.* probably A.D. 50) and St. Peter's arrival in Rome (*i.e.* probably A.D. 61). The absence of any trace of personal knowledge of the Churches in Asia Minor in the letter which the apostle addressed to them is a strong argument that he had not visited those districts. Though the tradition which connects St. Peter with the Syrian Antioch, and makes him the organizer of the Church there, does not (apart from the Clementine literature) meet us before the time of Origen, yet in itself it is probable. St. Paul's narrative in Gal 2 is too incidental and too little to St. Peter's credit to have originated a legend. On the other hand, it is natural to suppose that the Clementine literature, especially if its birthplace was Syria, located the apostle's conflict with Simon in towns in which a still living tradition preserved the memory of St. Peter's activity. We are most faithful to the suggestions of the somewhat scanty evidence if we suppose that, after he ceased to make Jerusalem his home, St. Peter laboured in the towns of Syria, and not improbably made the Syrian Antioch the centre of his work.

It may be useful to state *probable* results in a tabular form—

A.D.	
29–35	Ministry at Jerusalem : towards the close of the period a visit to Samaria (Ac $8^{14ff.}$).
35–44	Close of the ministry at Jerusalem : a missionary journey in which periods of somewhat protracted residence at Lydda, Joppa, Cæsarea, and probably other Syrian towns, had a place : somewhat frequent visits to Jerusalem (Ac 11^{2}, Gal 1^{18}, Ac $12^{3ff.}$).
44–61	Work in Syrian towns with Antioch as its centre : at least one visit to Jerusalem in 49 (Ac 15^{7}), but such visits few.
61–64	Work at Rome, interrupted probably by a visit to Jerusalem (Eus. *HE* III. xi.) : martyrdom shortly after the fire at Rome in July 64.

LITERATURE.—See at the end of the article on 2 Peter.

F. H. CHASE.

PETER, FIRST EPISTLE OF.—

I. Transmission of the Text.
II. Reception in the Church.
III. Use of the LXX, vocabulary, literary style.
IV. The readers to whom the Epistle was primarily addressed, and their circumstances.
V. Authorship and date.
VI. Occasion of Composition, the journey of Silvanus.
VII. Summary of the Epistle.
VIII. Doctrine of the Epistle.

I. TRANSMISSION OF THE TEXT.—Little need be said on this subject. For the authorities—MSS and Versions—see art. JUDE (EPISTLE OF) in vol. ii. p. 799. Two statements, however, with special reference to 1 P must be added. (1) The Epistle is contained in the Syriac Vulgate (Peshitta); but there does not seem to be evidence as to any *Old* Syriac text. (2) Fragments of the Epistle are contained in the following *Old Latin* MSS—the Fleury palimpsest=h (1 P 4^{17}–5^{14}); the Munich fragments edited by Ziegler=q (1^{8-19} 2^{20}–3^{7} 4^{10}–5^{14}); Cod. Bobiensis=s (1^{1-12} 2^{4-10}; see *Old Latin Biblical Texts*, No. iv. pp. xx f., 46 ff.). As to *Patristic* evidence, citations from the Epistle are abundant, in Greek writers from the time of Polycarp onwards; in Latin writers from that of Tertullian. No serious critical problems are presented by the text.

II. RECEPTION IN THE CHURCH.—It will be convenient to trace the stream of evidence backwards. In all those catalogues of Canonical Books which belong to the 4th cent. and onwards, whether put forth by conciliar authority or found in the works of individual theologians, 1 P has a place. The only writer as to the favourableness of whose verdict there is any doubt is Theodore of Mopsuestia. In reference to him, Leontius of Byzantium (Migne, *Pat. Gr.* lxxxvi. 1365) states—αὐτήν τε τοῦ μεγάλου Ἰακώβου τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ τὰς ἑξῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἀποκηρύττει καθολικάς. It seems probable (see Kihn, *Theodor von Mopsuestia* pp. 65 ff., 374 f.) that the language of Leontius is loose, and that nothing more is meant than that Theodore rejected James as well as the four Catholic Epistles—2 P, Jude, 1 and 2 Jn—which were not accepted by the Antiochene and the Syrian Churches. Of the grounds for this conclusion two may be mentioned. If Theodore had really rejected 1 P and 1 Jn, the general Council of Constantinople (553) would not have failed to reckon this among the reasons for their condemnation of him. On the other hand, Junilius (*Instit. regularia* i. 6, 7), whose statements as to the Canon reflect the views of Theodore (Kihn, p. 358 ff.), reckons *beati Petri ad gentes prima* among the books *perfectæ auctoritatis*. In the earlier half of the 4th cent. Eusebius includes this Epistle among the books 'generally received' (ἐν ὁμολογουμένοις, *HE* III. xxv. 2). In the earlier passage of the History (III. iii. 1) which deals with the Canon he makes the important statement—'this epistle the Fathers also of former days (οἱ πάλαι πρεσβύτεροι) have quoted in their writings as indisputably authentic.' The evidence of Eusebius as to the general acceptance of the Epistle is carried back something like a century in a passage from Origen's Commentary on St. John, quoted by Eusebius (*HE* VI. xxv. 8)—Πέτρος . . . μίαν ἐπιστολὴν ὁμολογουμένην καταλέλοιπεν. So far there has been no sign of divergence.

We are now brought to the writers who represent the great Churches of Christendom at the beginning of the 3rd and at the close of the 2nd cent. (1) *Alexandria.* Clement again and again quotes words from the Epistle as those of St. Peter. Thus *Strom.* iii. p. 562 ed. Potter, καὶ ὁ Πέτρος ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ τὰ ὅμοια λέγει Ὥστε τὴν πίστιν ὑμῶν καὶ ἐλπίδα εἶναι εἰς θεόν; *ib.* iv. p. 622, ὁ Π. ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ φησὶν Ὀλίγον ἄρτι, εἰ δέον, λυπηθέντες; so with other formulæ of citation, *Pæd.* i. p. 124, iii. pp. 296, 303; *Strom.* iii. p. 544, iv. p. 584 f. Moreover, Clement's *Hypotyposeis* contained 'short expositions' of this as well as of the other Catholic Epistles and of the Epistle of Barnabas and the Apocalypse of Peter (Eus. *HE* VI. xiv. 1; Photius, *Biblioth.* 109); and some at any rate of his comments on 1 P remain translated and possibly edited by Cassiodorus (cf. Zahn, *Forschungen* iii. 133 ff.). (2) *Carthage.* Tertullian quotes and refers to the Epistle as the work of St. Peter. Thus *de Orat.* xx., 'De modestia quidem cultus et ornatus aperta præscriptio est etiam Petri, cohibentis eodem ore, quia eodem spiritu, quo Paulus' (1 P 3^{3}, 1 Ti 2^{9}): *Scorpiace*, xii., 'Petrus quidem ad Ponticos, Quanta enim, inquit, gloria,' etc. For other quotations and references see Rönsch, *Das NT Tertullian's* pp. 556–563. (3) *South Gaul.* Irenæus, a witness to the traditions of Asia Minor, Rome, and South

Gaul, quotes the Epistle by name, iv. 9. 2 (ed. Massuet), 'Et Petrus ait in epistola sua Quem non uidentes' . . .; iv. 16. 4 f., 'Propter hoc ait Dominus (Mt 12^{36} $5^{28.22}$) . . . Et propter hoc Petrus ait Non uelamentum' . . .; v. 7. 2 [after 1 Co $13^{9.12}$ has been quoted, Iren. continues], 'Hoc est quod et a Petro dictum est Quem cum non uideritis diligitis.' For anonymous references see Zahn, *Gesch. des NT Kanons* i. 1, p. 303 f. (4) *Rome.* When we turn to the Church of Rome we find the evidence very slight. Hippolytus *on Dan.* iv. 59 (p. 336 ed. Bonwetsch) uses language derived from 1 Co 2^9 and 1 P 1^{12} (*εἰς ἃ καὶ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν τότε ἄγγελοι παρακύψαι*). The reference is clear, and the juxtaposition with Pauline words shows that the phrase is regarded as scriptural. But it is not a case of definite quotation. In the Muratorian Canon there is no mention of 1 P. It seems, however, inconceivable that a document in which, *e.g.*, the Epistle of Jude and a (supposed) letter of St. Paul to the Laodiceans find a place, should know nothing of an Epistle so widely accepted as 1 P, especially if Zahn's view is correct that the African Church received its NT from Rome (*Ges. Kan.* i. 1, p. 25 f.). The character of the fragment makes it quite possible that the apparent omission is due to the carelessness of a translator or of a scribe. But two other suggestions deserve consideration. (*a*) There is no formal mention of 1 Jn; but the opening words of the Epistle are cited in the passage of the fragment which deals with St. John's Gospel. It is probable, therefore, that the author of the Canon considered it unnecessary separately to mention an Epistle to which he had already incidentally referred. It is likely enough that 1 P 5^{13} was quoted in connexion with St. Mark's Gospel and its relation to St. Peter's preaching, with which the first sentence of the extant fragment appears to deal (see art. MARK). (*b*) Zahn (*Ges. Kan.* ii. 1, p. 110 n.) conjectures that a word and a line have fallen out in a later passage of the fragment, which he would restore thus: 'Apocalypsi (n) etiam Johannis et Petri [unam] tantum recipimus [epistulam; fertur etiam altera,] quam quidam ex nostris legi in ecclesia nolunt.' In any case, the Muratorian fragment being what it is, it is unreasonable to deduce rejection or ignorance of 1 P from its apparent silence.

The remains of the literature of the 2nd cent. supply abundant evidence of the influence of the language of the Epistle on persons widely separated from each other. (i.) *Martyrdoms.* In the Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs (Robinson, *The Passion of St. Perpetua* p. 106 ff.) who suffered at Carthage in A.D. 180, we find the words, 'Donata dixit: Honorem Cæsari quasi Cæsari; timorem autem Deo,'—words which are closer to 1 P 2^{17} than to Ro 13^7. Again, in the Letter of the Churches of Lyons and Vienne (A.D. 177), preserved in Eus. *HE* V. i. f., there is an echo of 1 P 5^6 in the words *ἐταπείνουν ἑαυτοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν κραταιὰν χεῖρα, ὑφ' ἧς ἱκανῶς νῦν εἰσιν ὑψώμενοι* (ii. 5); of 1 P 5^8 in *ἤδη δοκῶν ὁ διάβολος καταπεπωκέναι* (i. 25), and in *οὓς πρότερον ᾤετο [ὁ θὴρ] καταπεπωκέναι* (ii. 6). (ii.) *Apologists.* The language of Theophilus, *ad Autolycum* ii. 34, *τὸν δὲ ποιητὴν . . . τῶν ὅλων . . . ἀθετοῦσιν, πειθόμενοι δόγμασιν ματαίοις διὰ πλάνης πατροπαραδότου . . . οἱ [οἱ προφῆται] καὶ ἐδίδαξαν ἀπέχεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς ἀθεμίτου εἰδωλολατρείας*, recalls 1 P 2^{11} 1^{18} 4^3. When Justin Martyr, *Dial.* 103, dealing with Ps 22^{13}, suggests the alternative interpretation—*ἢ λέοντα τὸν ὠρυόμενον ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔλεγε τὸν διάβολον*—he probably has in mind 1 P 5^8. (iii.) *Heretics.* There is some evidence that the Gnostic sects, who early broke away from the Catholic Church, were familiar with the Epistle—(*a*) the Marcosians (representatives of the Western school of the Valentinians), whose actual words Irenæus (I. 18. 3) seems to be reproducing, *τὴν τῆς κιβωτοῦ δὲ οἰκονομίαν . . . ἐν ᾗ ὀκτὼ ἄνθρωποι διεσώθησαν, φανερώτατά φασι τὴν σωτήριον ὀγδοάδα μηνύειν* (1 P 3^{20}); (*β*) the Eastern Valentinians, according to Clem. Alex., *Excerpta ex Scriptis Theodoti* lxxxvi., *οὐ συνεισῆλθον εἰς τὰ ἡτοιμασμένα ἀγαθά, εἰς ἃ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἄγγελοι παρακύψαι* (1 P 1^{12}); (*γ*) Basilides, according to Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. p. 600, *μηδὲ λοιδορούμενοι ὡς ὁ μοιχὸς ἢ ὁ φονεύς, ἀλλὰ ὅτι χριστιανοὶ πεφυκότες* (1 P $4^{14\text{f.}}$). (iv.) *Ep. to Diognetus* ix., *αὐτὸς τὰς ἡμετέρας ἁμαρτίας ἀνεδέξατο, αὐτὸς τὸν ἴδιον υἱὸν ἀπέδοτο λύτρον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν . . . τὸν δίκαιον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδίκων*; cf. 1 P 2^{24} 3^{18}. (v.) *Hermas, Vis.* IV. iii. 4, *ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸ χρυσίον δοκιμάζεται διὰ τοῦ πυρὸς κ. εὔχρηστον γίνεται, οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς κ.τ.λ.*; cf. 1 P 1^7, but see also Pr 17^3, Sir 2^5. Again, *Vis.* III. xi. 3, IV. ii. 4, 5 (*ἐπιρίψατε τὰς μερίμνας ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον*); cf. 1 P 5^7, but more probably Ps 54 (55) ^{22} is the source. Thus the references to 1 P in Hermas are very doubtful. (vi.) *Barnabas*, xvi. 10, *τοῦτό ἐστιν πνευματικὸς ναὸς οἰκοδομούμενος τῷ κυρίῳ*; cf. 1 P 2^5. (vii.) *Didaché* i. 4, *ἀπέχου τῶν σαρκικῶν καὶ σωματικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν*; cf. 1 P 2^{11}. (viii.) *Papias.* Eusebius, *HE* III. xxxix. 16, tells us of Papias—*κέχρηται δ' αὐτὸς μαρτυρίαις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωάννου προτέρας ἐπιστολῆς καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Πέτρου ὁμοίως.* Since Eusebius (*HE* IV. xiv. 9) uses similar language as to Polycarp (see below), we cannot infer from this notice that Papias did more than silently adopt Petrine expressions. It must, however, be remembered that the character of Papias' *Expositions* differed widely from that of Polycarp's *Epistle.* The latter is hortatory. The former dealt largely with matters of history and tradition. Thus Papias' use of 1 P is likely to have been of such a kind as to necessitate an explicit reference to the Epistle. These *a priori* considerations are confirmed by an examination of Eusebius' words elsewhere. In *HE* II. xv. 2, Eusebius, giving an account of the composition of St. Mark's Gospel, mentions a story (*φασί*) that St. Peter approved of the evangelist's action, and gave his authority to the Gospel. He then parenthetically gives his authorities—'Clement in the sixth book of the *Hypotyposeis* has recorded the story; and, further, the bishop of Hierapolis, by name Papias, confirms his testimony'—and at once proceeds (in the *oratio obliqua*): *τοῦ δὲ Μάρκου μνημονεύειν τὸν Πέτρον ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐπιστολῇ, ἣν καὶ συντάξαι φασὶν ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ῥώμης, σημαίνειν τε τοῦτ' αὐτὸν τὴν πόλιν τροπικώτερον Βαβυλῶνα προσειπόντα διὰ τούτων Ἀσπάζεται κ.τ.λ.* (1 P 5^{13}). From this somewhat confused passage we learn that Eusebius found three points noted in the writings either of Clement or of Papias or of both—(1) the reference to Mark in 1 P; (2) the composition of 1 P at Rome; (3) the allegorical use of the name Babylon in 1 P. Now, when we turn to the extant fragments of Clement's *Hypotyposeis* (ed. Potter p. 1007), we find that of these three points Clement mentions the former two and is silent as to the last. It appears, therefore, to be a just inference that in regard to this last Papias was Eusebius' authority. Moreover, that Papias' *Expositions* did contain a passage in which 1 P 5^{13} would naturally be appealed to, is certain from the words of Papias himself (*ap.* Eus. *HE* III. xxxix. 15)—*οὔτε γὰρ ἤκουσε τοῦ κυρίου [Μᾶρκος] οὔτε παρηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ, ὕστερον δέ, ὡς ἔφην, Πέτρῳ*—a passage which makes it clear that in the now lost portion of his work Papias gave a detailed account of Mark's connexion with St. Peter. If, then, 1 P 5^{13} was referred to in that earlier section of the *Expositions* in regard to Mark's presence with St. Peter at Rome, it follows that Papias must have appealed to the Epistle, and therefore have recognized it, as the work of St. Peter. (ix.) *Polycarp* (*c.* A.D. 115). There is a long series of coincidences between Polycarp's Epistle and 1 P—*Ep. Polyc.* i. *εἰς ὃν οὐκ ἰδόντες πιστεύετε χαρᾷ ἀνεκλαλήτῳ καὶ δεδοξασμένῃ εἰς*

ἣν πολλοὶ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν εἰσελθεῖν ‖ 1 P $1^{8.12}$; ii. διὸ ἀναζωσαμένοι τὰς ὀσφύας ‖ 1^{13}; ii. πιστεύσαντες εἰς τὸν ἐγείραντα τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ δόντα αὐτῷ δόξαν ‖ 1^{21}; ii. μὴ ἀποδιδόντες κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ ἢ λοιδορίαν ἀντὶ λοιδορίας ‖ 3^{9}; v. πᾶσα ἐπιθυμία κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος στρατεύεται ‖ 2^{11} (cf. Gal 5^{17}); vii. νήφοντες πρὸς τὰς εὐχάς ‖ 4^{7}; viii. ὃς ἀνήνεγκεν ἡμῶν τὰς ἁμαρτίας τῷ ἰδίῳ σώματι ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον, ὃς ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν, οὐδὲ εὑρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ . . . τοῦτον γὰρ ἡμῖν τὸν ὑπογραμμὸν [*sc.* τῆς ὑπομονῆς] ἔθηκε δι' ἑαυτοῦ ‖ $2^{24.22.21}$; x. fraternitatis amatores diligentes inuicem . . . omnes uobis inuicem subiecti estote, conuersationem uestram irreprehensibilem habentes in gentibus, ut ex bonis operibus uestris, etc. ‖ 2^{17} 1^{22} 5^{5} 2^{12}. That Polycarp was thoroughly familiar with 1 P cannot be doubted. He does not, however, preface any of its words and phrases which he weaves into his letter with any formula of citation, nor does he ever mention St. Peter's name. Harnack (*Die Chronologie*, p. 463) therefore concludes that Polycarp did not regard the Epistle as the work of St. Peter, alleging that this Father deals differently with St. Paul, to whom he several times refers by name, and more than one of whose sayings he introduces with an εἰδότες ὅτι, clearly marking it thereby as a quotation. But, on the other hand, it may be urged—(1) that Polycarp uses, without any note of quotation, phrases derived from Clement's Epistle and from the Epistles of his master St. John (ch. vii., cf. 1 Jn $4^{2ff.}$, 2 Jn ^{7}), as Harnack admits, and we must add phrases from the OT, the Acts, and from the Gospels; (2) that the phrase εἰδότες ὅτι in each case (chs. i. iv. v.; cf. ch. vi. εἰδότες ὅτι πάντες ὀφειλέται ἐσμὲν ἁμαρτίας) introduces an epigrammatic, axiomatic statement (cf. Ro 5^{3} 6^{9}, 1 Co 15^{58}, 2 Co 1^{7} 4^{14} 5^{6}, Gal 2^{16}, Eph $6^{8f.}$, Ph 1^{16}, Col 3^{24} 4^{1}), while the phrases quoted from 1 P are rather of a hortatory type; (3) that Polycarp is writing to a Church which St. Paul founded and to which he addressed an Epistle, and that it is in reference to these facts that he mentions St. Paul's name (chs. iii. ix. xi.); that on the one occasion when he appeals directly to the authority of St. Paul's writings (ch. xi., 'sicut Paulus docet'), it is for a statement which is of the nature of a revelation—*Sancti mundum iudicabunt* (1 Co 6^{2}). Further, Polycarp's love for and familiarity with 1 P are a proof that he regarded the Epistle as a document of supreme interest and authority—a document which he had by heart; they must be interpreted in the light of the fact that Irenæus, his spiritual son, habitually refers to it as the letter of St. Peter. (x.) *Clement of Rome*, vii. ἀτενίσωμεν εἰς τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ γνῶμεν ὡς ἔστιν τίμιον τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ ‖ 1 P 1^{19}; xxxvi. ἀναθάλλει εἰς τὸ θαυμαστὸν αὐτοῦ φῶς [so Codd. A C (om. αὐτοῦ), τὸ φῶς Syr., Clem. Alex.]; lix. δι' οὗ ἐκάλεσεν ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ σκότους εἰς φῶς, ἀπὸ ἀγνωσίας εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν κ.τ.λ. ‖ 1 P $2^{9.15}$. Again, Clement uses the Petrine word ὑπογραμμός in reference to ὑπομονή (v.) and, after quoting Is 53, Ps 22, to Christ's humility (xvi.), cf. 1 P 2^{21}. Further, in 1 P 4^{8} we have Pr 10^{12} quoted in the form ἀγάπη καλύπτει πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν, a form approximating to the Hebrew but widely different from the LXX. The Petrine rendering is found in Clem. xlix. and in 'the Ancient Homily' (2 Clem.) xvi. Again, Pr 3^{34} (κύριος ὑπερηφάνοις ἀντιτάσσεται LXX, Heb. 'He') is quoted in Ja 4^{6}, 1 P 5^{5}, in the form ὁ θεὸς ὑπερηφάνοις κ.τ.λ. In this latter form the words are cited in Clem. xxx. (θεός), Ign. *Eph.* v. (ὑπερηφ. ὁ θεὸς ἀντιτάσσεται).

To sum up: 1 P is, with the single exception of 1 Jn, the only one among the Catholic Epistles 'of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church.' No sooner did a *theological* literature (properly so called) spring up in the Church than this Epistle is quoted by name as the work of St. Peter. In the earliest Christian literature outside the NT (*i.e.* A.D. 90–190) it is second only to the Gospels and the Pauline Epistles in the extent of the influence which it exercised on the language and thoughts of writers widely separated from each other in place and in circumstances. The testimony which these writers bear to the Epistle is indirect, with one probable exception. There is good reason for thinking that Papias referred to it explicitly as the Epistle of St. Peter. The only natural interpretation of the facts—the early and wide influence of the Epistle on the one hand, on the other the consistent and unwavering attribution of it to St. Peter on the part of all writers from Irenæus' time onward—is that from the first it was regarded as the work of that apostle.

III. USE OF THE LXX, VOCABULARY, LITERARY STYLE.—(i.) The thought and language of 1 P are deeply influenced by the OT, and the writer uses the OT in the LXX version. It is not possible to draw an absolute line between direct quotations and instances of mere appropriation of LXX language. In the former category the following passages may be conveniently classed—1^{16} (Lv 11^{44} 19^{2} 20^{7}), 1^{24} (Is $40^{6ff.}$), 2^{6-8} (Is 28^{16}, Ps 117 $[118]^{22}$, Is 8^{14}), $2^{9f.}$ (Is $43^{20f.}$, Ex $19^{5f.}$ ‖ 23^{22} [cf. Mal 3^{17}], Hos $1^{6.8f.}$ $2^{1(3).23(25)}$), $2^{22.24f.}$ (Is $53^{9.12.5}$), $3^{10ff.}$ (Ps 33 $[34]^{12ff.}$), 4^{8} (Pr 10^{12}), 4^{18} (Pr 11^{31}), 5^{5} (Pr 3^{34}). When these quotations are examined textually, it appears that (1) the writer quotes from memory, this conclusion being suggested by the number of small variations and adaptations (see especially $3^{10ff.}$); (2) in one passage (2^{6}) his reminiscence of the LXX is influenced by his remembrance of Ro 9^{33}; (3) there is some slight evidence for the conclusion that the LXX text familiar to him resembled that found in ℵAQ rather than that given by B (cf. von Soden, *Hand-Comm.* p. 113); see 2^{6} (+ἐπ' αὐτῷ; but the addition may be due to Ro 9^{33}), 2^{22} (εὑρέθη δόλος); but note, on the other hand, 3^{12} (+ὅτι); (4) that in one passage (4^{8}) he either himself formulates, or (in view of Ja 5^{20}) more probably adopts, a revised translation of the Hebrew.

Apart from quotations, however, the writer continually weaves into his own language words and phrases which are (possibly unconscious) reminiscences of the LXX.

Most phrases of this kind are indicated by the use of uncial type in WH. To these may be added—1^{2} εἰρήνη πληθυνθείη (Dn 3^{98}), 1^{13} ἀναζωσάμενοι . . . τὰς ὀσφύας (Pr 29^{35}), 1^{19} ἀμνὸς ἄμωμος (*e.g.* Ex 29^{38}), 2^{4} προσερχόμενοι (Ps 33 $[34]^{6}$, see Hort's note), 2^{24} τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον (Dt 21^{23}), 3^{13} τίς ὁ κακώσων (Is 50^{9}), 5^{6} ταπεινώθητε . . . ὑπὸ τὴν κραταιὰν χεῖρα (Gn 16^{9} and *e.g.* Job 30^{21}), λέων ὠρυόμενος (*e.g.* Ezk 22^{25}). Moreover, the following words are probably derived from the LXX—ἀντίδικος, γυναικεῖος, ἐπίλοιπος, ἱεράτευμα, κατακυριεύειν, καταπίνειν, κλῆροι, παροικία, πότος, πύρωσις, ῥαντισμός, ῥύπος, συντρέχειν (Ps 49 $[50]^{18}$). Again, not a few expressions suggest that the writer of the Epistle was acquainted with some books of the Apocrypha—ἀδελφότης (1 Mac twice, 4 Mac four times, in abstract sense), ἀθέμιτος (2 Mac thrice, 3 Mac once), ἐπίσκοπος ψυχῶν (cf. Wis 1^{6} 3^{13}), κτίστης (Jth once, Sir once, 2 Mac thrice, 4 Mac twice), πρόγνωσις (Jth twice), ὑπογραμμός (2 Mac once). The three epithets ἄφθαρτος, ἀμίαντος, ἀμάραντος (1^{4}) occur in Wisdom; the combination ἐκζητεῖν κ. ἐξερευνᾶν (1^{10}) in 1 Mac 9^{25}.

(ii.) A rough analysis of the vocabulary of the Epistle seems to reveal four main elements—(*a*) With one of these, that derived from the LXX, we have already dealt. (*b*) There is the obvious Christian element, examples of which are φιλαδελφία (φιλάδελφος), χάρισμα. It is important to remember that, though St. Paul's Epistles are the earliest evidence for the use of such words as these in a specifically Christian sense, it does not follow that their currency was due to him, or that a writer who so uses them is proved thereby to be a literary debtor to him. (*c*) There is a considerable number of words and expressions in the Epistle which do not occur elsewhere in the NT, and which may be briefly described as *classical*.*

---

* For instances of verbal affinity with Philo see Salmon, *Introduction*^{6} p. 505 f.

They are—ἀναγκαστῶς (Plato), ἀνάχυσις (Philo, Plut., Strabo), ἀντιλοιδορεῖν (Lcian., Plut.), ἀπέχεσθαι ἐπιθυμιῶν (Plato), ἀπογενέσθαι (Herod.), ἀπόθεσις (Plato, Arist. = 'laying up'), βιοῦν (Hom.), ἐμπλοκή (Strabo), ἐπικάλυμμα (Menand.), οἰνοφλυγία (Xen., Arist.; verb LXX twice), ὁμόφρων (Hom., Hes., Pind.), ὁπλίζειν (Herod., Thuc.), ὁ παρεληλυθὼς χρόνος, πατροπαράδοτος (Dion H., Diod., Inscriptions; cf. Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien* p. 94), προθύμως (Herod., Aesch.); cf. also ἔννοια (Plato, Arist., Polyb.) also in LXX, He 4^{12}, ἐπηρεάζειν (Xen., Dem., Arist.) found also in Lk 6^{28}.

(*d*) We notice in this Epistle a remarkable series of words for which there seems to be no earlier or contemporary authority—*ἀλλοτριοεπίσκοπος, ἀμαράντινος, ἀναγεννᾶν, ἀνεκλάλητος, ἀπροσωπολήμπτως, ἀρτιγέννητος* (found, however, in Lucian), *ἀρχιποίμην* (found, however, in 4 K 3^4 (Symm.) *Test. xii. Patri.* Jud. 8), *ἐγκομβοῦσθαι, περιέχει ἐν γραφῇ, περίθεσις, προμαρτύρεσθαι, σθενοῦν, συνπρεσβύτερος, ὑπολιμπάνειν* (but in Dion. H. = 'to fail').

The vocabulary, then, of the writer is a full one, including as it does words representing the several strata of the language. The proportion of classical words is large; so, too, is the list of words of which there is little or no independent attestation. None, however, of those which come under the last head strikes the reader as affected or odd. Each is correctly formed. The meaning of all but a very few words (*e.g. ἐπερώτημα, ἀλλοτριοεπίσκοπος*) is at once clear.

(iii.) The general style, like the vocabulary, shows that the writer within certain limits had a very considerable appreciation of, and power over, the characteristic usages of Greek.

The sentences are naturally linked to each other, and are impeded, as a rule, by no special difficulties of construction. They rise at times into a simple grandeur (*e.g.* $1^{3-9.\,17-21}$ 2^{21-25} 5^{6-10}). Passing to matters of detail, we note a keen sense of the significance of order, rhythm, and balance in the arrangement of words—*e.g.* 1^{17-21} $2^{11f.}$ 2^{21} (ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ὑμῖν) $4^{2.\,12}$ 5^5. Again, the letter is marked by a fulness and deliberateness of expression shown in (1) the writer's love of putting a fact or a duty first negatively and then positively, see $1^{14.\,18.\,23}$ 2^{18} $3^{3.\,9.\,21}$ 4^2 $5^{2f.}$; (2) the skilful use of epithets and adverbial expressions, *e.g.* $1^{3.\,18.\,22}$ 2^2; (3) the expansion of a single idea by means of synonyms—$1^{4.\,10f.\,19}$ $2^{8.\,11.\,25}$ $3^{4.\,8.\,15.\,22}$ 4^{18} $5^{8.\,10}$. Passages where the use of allied but contrasted words adds force or delicacy to the language are 1^5 (τετηρημένην . . . φρουρουμένους), 2^1 3^7 (συνοικοῦντες . . . συγκληρονόμοι), 4^{8-10} (ἑαυτοὺς . . ἀλλήλους . . . ἑαυτούς), 5^7 (τὴν μέριμναν ὑμῶν . . . αὐτῷ μέλει). The tenses are used with marked exactness, and their force is often brought out by contrast, 1^5 (τετηρημένην, φρουρουμένους), 1^8 (ἰδόντες, ὁρῶντες), $1^{11f.}$ (ἐδήλου, ἀπεκαλύφθη), 1^{13} (ἀναζωσάμενοι, νήφοντες), 2^{10} (ἠλεημένοι, ἐλεηθέντες), 2^{17} (τιμήσατε (the abstract rule), ἀγαπᾶτε, φοβεῖσθε, τιμᾶτε (the detailed fulfilment)), so also 2^{13} (ὑποτάγητε), 2^{18} 3^1 (ὑποτασσόμενοι), 4^{10} (ἔλαβον, διακονοῦντες), 4^{13} (χαίρετε, χαρῆτε). Again, the use of contrasted prepositions is often full of meaning, 1^2 (κατά, ἐν, εἰς), 1^3 (κατά, εἰς, διά), 1^5 (ἐν, εἰς; ἐν, διά), 1^{21} (διά, εἰς), 2^4 (ὑπό, παρά), 3^{18} (περί, ὑπέρ). The meaning of the opening paragraph—the fulfilment of the Divine purpose in relation to Messiah and the Gentiles—largely depends on the pregnant use of the preposition εἰς ('reserved for,' 'destined for') in $1^{5.\,10.\,11}$. Again, it will be felt how much is involved in the double contrast between the plural and the singular in 4^2 ἀνθρώπων ἐπιθυμίαις, θελήματι θεοῦ (cf. Heracleon *ap.* Origen *in Joan.* tom. xx. 24, τὸν διάβολον μὴ ἔχειν θέλημα ἀλλ' ἐπιθυμίας; cf. also 5^3 (τῶν κλήρων . . . τοῦ ποιμνίου)).

It is interesting to contrast this Epistle with the Pauline Epistles in regard to the imagery used. The figures are drawn from the associations of *birth, childhood,* and *family life* ($1^{3.\,14.\,17.\,22f.}$ 2^2), *nomadic life* ($1^{1.\,17}$ 2^{11}), *temple and worship* (2^5 3^{15}), *building* (2^4), *the fields and pastoral life* ($1^{4\,(24)}$ $5^{2.\,8}$), *military life* (1^5 2^{11} 4^1), *painting* (2^{21}), *working of metals* (1^7 4^{12}). The writer differs from St. Paul in the lack of originality which his imagery shows—it is almost entirely derived from the OT: in the narrowness of its range: in its simplicity and brevity; no metaphor is expanded or permitted to lead on to side issues.

To sum up: the writer of the Epistle must have been a diligent student of the LXX, and was saturated with its language. In particular, it may be noted that his mind is constantly recurring to the Bk. of Proverbs. There is also reason for thinking that he was acquainted with some books of the Apocrypha. The nature and range of his vocabulary shows that he had considerable knowledge of, and power over, the resources of the Greek language; and this conclusion is confirmed when we note the delicacy and accuracy of his perception in regard to the rhythmical arrangement of words, the use of synonyms, and the management of tenses, prepositions, etc. At the same time, there is no sign of any conscious effort after effect. We do not find here the trained rhetoric of the writer to the Hebrews, the impetuous, unstudied, eloquence of St. Paul, or the epigrammatic conciseness of St. James. Viewing the Epistle from a purely literary standpoint, we find its merit in the exact correspondence between its spirit and its form. The simple impressive language is the spontaneous expression of the writer's tender persuasiveness and calm logic.

IV. THE READERS TO WHOM THE EPISTLE WAS PRIMARILY ADDRESSED, AND THEIR CIRCUMSTANCES.—The Epistle is addressed to the Christians in the four Roman provinces which together coincided with the region which bears the modern name of Asia Minor. It has, indeed, been lately urged (Deissmann, *Bibelstudien* p. 244) that no letter, properly so called, could be addressed to communities scattered over so vast a district; the circulation of such an Epistle, it is said, would have taken up many years of the life of the messenger. Such a position, however, leaves out of sight the wonderful facilities for travel which Rome had created throughout the empire, as well as the fact that in St. Paul we have an instance of a Christian missionary who did plan and execute rapid tours of visitation over large districts (cf. *e.g.* Ac 15^{41}–16^5 $18^{22f.}$ (cf. 19^1) 19^{21}). Moreover, since the letter does not deal, as many of St. Paul's Epistles do, with controversy or business, or with matters of pressing local or personal importance, there would be no need for the messenger to deliver it immediately to all those to whom it was addressed. It would be sufficient if he communicated it to the several Churches in the provinces, as in the course of time he reached them. See also below, § 6.

From the question of their home we turn to the problem of their *past.* Is the letter addressed to those who had been converted to Christ from Judaism or from heathenism? The opinion that its readers were *Jews* by birth was held (as we infer from his language about St. Peter's travels) by Origen (quoted by Eus. *HE* III. i.), by Didymus of Alexandria, by Eusebius (*HE* III. iv. 2), and by the Greek Fathers generally. This consensus of ancient opinion was followed by many scholars between the Revival of Learning and the present century—Erasmus, Calvin, Grotius, and Bengel. Among critics of the last half century it has won the constant and earnest support of B. Weiss (*e.g. Der petrinische Lehrbegriff*, 1855, p. 99 ff.; *Introd. to NT*, 1888, vol. ii. p. 137 ff., Eng. tr.), and recently of Kühl in his commentary in the Weiss-Meyer series. The two last mentioned scholars, it should be added, maintain their view as to the readers of the Epistle in close connexion with their conclusion as to the early date of the Epistle (see below). On the other hand, in ancient times Augustine (*c. Faust.* xxii. 89; *Enarr. in Ps.* 146 (147) 9) and Jerome (*adv. Jovinian.* 1^{39}) held that the Epistle was addressed to *Gentile* Christians, though in *de Virr. Illust.* 1 the latter follows Origen in speaking of the apostle's 'prædicationem dispersionis eorum qui de circumcisione crediderant in Ponto'; and for this view recent critics of all schools have given a practically unanimous vote.

A brief examination of Kühl's arguments will serve to bring into prominence some important points. (1) The word διασπορᾶς in the salutation, it is said, is decisive; it must point to 'Jewish settlements' (cf. Ja 1^1)—an argument which convinced ancient opinion. As against this interpretation no stress can be laid on the absence of the article before διασπορᾶς; for in such a formula as a salutation prefixed to a letter the article is frequently omitted. The following considerations, however, seem to have decisive force on the other side. (*a*) In the clause itself the words παρεπίδημοι and διασπορά are kindred to each other, both dealing primarily with the manner of man's life on earth. Since the former is bere used in a metaphorical sense (cf. 1^{17} 2^{11}), it would be harsh to take the latter literally. (*b*) The opening and tbe close of the Epistle cannot be interpreted independently of each other. There is an intentional correspondence between them. The phrase ἐκλεκτοῖς παρεπιδήμοις διασπορᾶς in 1^{1} answers to ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτή in 5^{13}. The word διασπορά and tbe name Βαβυλών (=Rome, see art. BABYLON IN NT and, both published since that art. was written, Hort, *1 Peter* pp. 6, 167 ff., and Zahn, *Einl.* ii. p. 19 ff.) are both expressions taken from the vocabulary created by Jewish history and afterwards transferred to the Cbristian Church. (*c*) Elsewhere in the Epistle language primarily applied to Israel is used of tbe Christian Church, see especially 2^{9}. (*d*) The Epistle itself supplies a comment on διασπορά used metaphorically in 5^{9} τῇ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ὑμῶν ἀδελφότητι; compare Jn 11^{52}, *Didaché* x. 5. These considerations further exclude Salmon's suggestion (*Introd.*^{6} p. 442), that 'the Epistle was written to members of the Roman Church whom Nero's persecution had dispersed to seek safety in the provinces'—a suggestion which is also open to the objection that, while it is natural and intelligible to use a recognized term in a *metaphorical* sense, it cannot be said to be either natural or intelligible to give it a special application unless that application is explained or in some way indicated by the context. (2) The use of the OT without note of quotation in cases where the force of the words as proof depends on their recognition as derived from the OT, presupposes a familiarity with the OT which converts from heathenism would not possess. To this it may be replied—(*a*) that the Epistle contains no argumentative passage, and that a writer might well enforce an exhortation by an appeal to OT language which his readers would not fully appreciate; moreover, it is not denied that in the Cburches of Asia Minor there was an element of Jewish converts; (*b*) that tbe force of Kühl's argument depends almost entirely on his further supposition that the Epistle is addressed to *recent* converts (see below). (3) Kühl adduces certain passages as proving the Jewish descent of those addressed. The words of Hosea quoted in 2^{10} were originally spoken to Jews; it is natural, therefore, it is said, that St. Peter should re-apply them to the Jews. In 2^{25} Kühl pleads that the correlative terms ἦτε πλανώμενοι and ἐπεστράφητε imply that those addressed had *lapsed*—an assertion not true of Gentiles. But Kühl's interpretation of both these passages assumes a general apostasy on the part of the Jews of the Dispersion, for whicb, in fact, we have not the slightest evidence. In regard to 2^{25}, even if the idea of a return is pressed (but see Ac 14^{15} $15^{3.19}$, 1 Th 1^{9}), the original relation of man to God may well have been in the apostle's mind here as in 4^{19} (πιστῷ κτίστῃ; cf. *e.g.* Ac $17^{26ff.}$, Col 1^{20} ἀποκαταλλάξαι). Again, in reference to 3^{6}, Kühl argues that Gentile women would become Sarah's children by conversion to Christ, and that therefore of none but Jewish women could it be said that they became so 'by well-doing.' But, even if the common punctuation of the passage is adopted, the words may very well mean, 'whose children you (Gentile) women *proved yourselves* by well-doing' (see Hort on 1^{15}, p. 71). There is, bowever, much to be said for making the clause ὡς Σάρρα . . . τέκνα a parenthesis, and taking ἀγαθοποιοῦσαι κ.τ.λ. as co-ordinate with ὑποτασσόμεναι.

On the otber hand, tbere are passages of two kinds which only by repeated acts of exegetical violence can be construed as applicable to Jews. (1) Passages scattered throughout the Epistle dealing with the past moral condition of those addressed, 1^{14} (cf. Ac 17^{30}, Gal 4^{8}, Eph 4^{18}), 1^{18} (cf. Ro 1^{21}, Eph 4^{17}; on πατροπαραδότου see Hort's note), 4^{2-4} (for τὰ ἔθνη in an ethical sense see 1 Th 4^{5}, Eph 2^{11} 4^{17}; note also ξενίζονται—heathen neighbours would not *wonder* if *Jews* did not join in their idolatrous immoralities). (2) The opening paragraph (1^{3-12}), where the contrast between 'us' (writer and readers alike, 1^{3}) and 'you' (cf. Eph $1^{12f.}$), and still more the emphatic and remarkable language used about 'you' as persons for whom the blessings of the gospel were destined in God's purpose, and whom they had at length reached ($1^{5.10.12}$, cf. 1^{25}), seem to imply the fundamental conception of the admission into the family of God of the long-excluded Gentiles (see Hort's notes on 1^{3-12}).

Further, tbe negative argument in this case is of considerable weight. The writer is silent on many topics on which almost inevitably he would have dwelt had he been speaking as a Jew to Jews. Then he does not, like St. James, draw out the moral teaching of the Law; nor, like the writer to the Hebrews, does he concern himself with the spiritual interpretation of the ancient histories, and of the ritual of the old covenant. He never takes occasion by a reference to 'the Fathers' to allude to the glories of Israelitisb ancestry and its manifold significance for a Christian Jew (see Ac $3^{13.25}$ 5^{30} $7^{2.38}$ $13^{17.32}$ 22^{14}, He 1^{1}, cf. Ro $9^{3f.}$). In short, the contrast between our Epistle (both in matter and manner) and those apostolic speeches and Epistles which are addressed to Jews, and, we may add, those parts of St. Paul's Epistles in which he turns to the Jewish element in the Churches to which he writes, is by itself a cogent reason for rejecting the theory that the Epistle was primarily addressed to *Jewish* Christians.

To sum up: the Acts supplies evidence that in many churches within the provinces enumerated in 1 P 1^{1} there was a considerable Jewish element, and there is no reason for supposing that the other churches comprehended in the salutation differed from these in character. Such converts from Judaism would be especially alive to the meaning of the allusions to OT language so frequent in the Epistle. All considerations, however, point decisively to the conclusion that St. Peter had in his mind predominantly, though probably not exclusively, *Gentile* readers.

We pass to the evidence supplied by the Epistle as to the *more recent history* and *the present condition* of its readers. They owed their conversion to more than one evangelist (1^{12}). That they were newly-made converts is certainly not implied by the injunction ὡς ἀρτιγέννητα βρέφη τὸ λογικὸν ἄδολον γάλα ἐπιποθήσατε (2^{2}; cf. 1 Co 14^{20}; Hermas, *Sim.* ix. 29); the habit of responding to their true spiritual instincts was a lifelong duty. And, on the contrary, there are indications that they had been Christians for some considerable time. St. Peter assumes that there were Christian presbyters in the communities addressed, and, moreover, that these elders were exposed to temptations arising from official routine, and from motives of sordid greed and of ambition—temptations which would hardly assail men watching over the first stages of the growth of infant churches. Further, the apostle implies that sufficient time has elapsed since his readers became Christians for them to have become a marked body among their heathen neighbours, and to have had experience of the difficulties and dangers inseparable from such a position.

What was the nature of these perils? On our answer to this question depends our view as to the date of the Epistle, and consequently, to a large extent, as to its general character and meaning. Does the letter presuppose that its readers were the victims of a persecution organized or authorized by the State? And, if so, is there evidence that this persecution was of a kind unknown in the year A.D. 64?

It will be convenient to consider the second of these two questions first. The passage on which the answer depends is $4^{15f.}$, and three points in regard to it claim attention. (*a*) In view of the evidence now available, it seems unreasonable to question St. Luke's statement that 'the disciples were first called Christians at Antioch' shortly before the year A.D. 44, still more unreasonable to doubt its currency at Rome at least some little time before the Neronian persecution* (see Lightfoot, *Ignatius* i. p. 400 ff.; Zahn, *Einl.* ii. p. 40 ff.; also art. CHRISTIAN in vol. i. p. 384 ff.). The name *Christian*, then, does not in itself suggest a date later than 64. (*b*) But 'the Epistle seems to refer directly to the edict of Trajan, which has a place in Pliny's correspondence, if the difficult word ἀλλοτριοεπίσκοπος points to the *delator*' (Jülicher, *Einl.* p. 135; cf. Holtzmann, *Einl.* p. 494). But, even if the essential idea of *delator* were not absent from the word ἀλλοτριοεπίσκοπος, the passage itself refutes this view. For, since the first three offences are mentioned in the inverse order of their heinousness—murder, theft, ill-doing (on the last see Hort, p. 135 f.)—the fourth place in the series could not be assigned to so vile an offence as that of the *delator*. Moreover, the ἢ ὡς before ἀλλοτριοεπίσκοπος, contrasted with the previous ἢ . . . ἤ, marks the transition to a different *kind* of offence. All the requirements of the passage are satisfied if we suppose that three *legal* offences are spoken of, then a *social* fault. The word itself, when examined, confirms this view. It is best illustrated by Epictetus, *Encheir.* iii. 22 (quoted by Zahn, *Einl.* ii. p. 39), *οὐ γὰρ τὰ ἀλλότρια πολυπραγμονεῖ* [*i.e.* the Cynic] *ὅταν τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ἐπισκοπῇ, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἴδια*, and Hor. *Sat.* ii. 3. 19, 'aliena negotia euro Excussus propriis'—the former passage being a protest against, the latter a playful pleading guilty to, the charge often brought against the philosophers of busying themselves with their neighbours' concerns. The Christians, in their first zeal for the Divine law of purity and love, would be apt to be betrayed into an exasperating officiousness, into making a vain attempt to set the world around them to rights. Such a social indiscretion would not bring them within the law, but it would most surely involve them in much suffering—hence such apostolic precepts as Col 4^{5}, Eph 5^{15} (cf. 1 Th 4^{11}, 2 Th 3^{11}). The word *ἀλλοτριοεπίσκοπος*, then, appears to show that the word *πασχέτω* has a wider reference than to punishments inflicted by a magistrate (cf. $2^{19f.}$). (*c*) A distinction is drawn between the proceedings against Christians under Nero in A.D. 64 and those which took place at a later time. In the earlier period, it is said, Christians suffered not as Christians but as those who were proved guilty of crime. In the later period the name *Christian* itself ensured condemnation. No evidence, it is allowed, is extant as to the time when the earlier procedure gave place to the later. The transition had taken place before the correspondence of Trajan and Pliny; it possibly took place as early as Vespasian's reign. The language of 1 P $4^{15f.}$, it is urged, presupposes the circumstances of the later period, when a Christian suffered as a Christian. But surely this conclusion is due to a confusion of thought. It is obviously true that such language could be used by a Christian teacher *after*, but it by no means follows that it could not be used *before*, the alleged change in the attitude of the State towards the Church. For even if it be granted that in the eyes of the law each Christian who suffered in Nero's gardens suffered as a convicted incendiary, yet in the eyes of his fellow-believers he suffered for Christ; and when once the nickname *Christian* had become a current term, the phrase 'to suffer as a Christian' would become a natural synonym of the older phrases 'to suffer for Christ' or 'for the name of Christ' (Mt 24^{9}, Lk 21^{12}, Ac 5^{41} 9^{16} 15^{26} 21^{13}, Ph 1^{29}).

---

* Two possibilities must be borne in mind. (*a*) Luke does not say that the name *Christian* was first invented at this time, but that it was now first used of 'the disciples.' It may have been applied to the Jews at Antioch earlier, and tbus it may be a part of tbe inheritance which passed to Christianity from Judaism. (*b*) It may have been used of 'the disciples' independently at different places, especially if it was already applied to Jews. There is, however, nothing strange in a speedy importation of the nickname from the Syrian Antioch to Rome (cf. Juv. iii. 62).

It is, moreover, open to serious question whether the evidence implies any essential difference between the proceedings under Nero and those under, *e.g.*, Trajan. All that we know of the Neronian persecution is derived from the somewhat rhetorical account in Tacitus (*Ann.* xv. 44), one brief sentence of Suetonius (*Nero* 16), and the allusion in Clement's Epistle. To the present writer, the evidence seems to point clearly to the conclusion that in A.D. 64 at Rome the Christians suffered legally for their religion. The reasons for this view are briefly these: (1) It would have ill-suited Nero's position to throw the blame of the great fire on persons who would have to be proved guilty of incendiarism before they were punished. We must surely conclude that he adopted the simple and sensible plan of slaking the public thirst for vengeance by the dramatic punishment of an unpopular class of people on whom he could shift the odium of being the authors of the fire, but who could be legally condemned without more ado as the votaries of a *religio illicita*. 'The legal grounds for interference were in existence from the first, and no special edict was needful' (Harnack, *Die Chronol.* p. 454 n.; cf. Lightfoot, *Ignatius* i. p. 11; Westcott's Essay on 'The Church and the World' (in *Epistles of St. John*)). (2) The language of Tacitus is quite consistent with, even if it does not require, this interpretation of the situation. Thus, in regard to the clause 'Primum correpti qui fatebantur,' the whole context refutes the idea that the confession was of incendiarism. The meaning can only be 'fatebantur *se esse Christianos*.' The admission of Christianity was the turning-point of their case. Again, in the following clause ('Multitudo ingens haud perinde in crimine incendii quam odio humani generis conuicti sunt') the word *conuicti*, which appears to imply judicial investigation of detailed criminal charges, is a conjecture for the MS reading *coniuncti*—a word which may justly be thought to be more in Tacitus' manner than the prosaic *conuicti*. Nor can the phrase 'odium humani generis' be taken as naturally pointing to *illegal actions or conduct*. It has a close parallel in the phrase which Tacitus uses in his description of the Jews (*Hist.* v. 5), *aduersus omnes alios hostile odium*. Jews and Christians would alike hold aloof from the social life of pagans; they would alike rebuke by their conduct, if not by their words, the idolatries and the profligacies of their neighbours. If the Roman Christians used such words as we find in St. Paul's Roman Epistle (*e.g.* Ro 1^{18} $2^{9f.}$), they might easily be represented as 'haters of the human race.' (3) The words of Suetonius ('afflicti suppliciis Christiani, genus hominum superstitionis nouæ ac maleficæ') are most naturally interpreted as asserting that Christians suffered as *Christians*. Moreover, if Nero was the first to act on the essential illegality of their position, and so stamped Christianity as illegal, the historian had a good reason for placing his notice of the fact among various police regulations. If, on the other hand, they were condemned not for their Christianity but for their criminal actions (real or supposed), there would be nothing new about the procedure—nothing to differentiate their case from that of criminals generally. (4) It is difficult to suppose that the *ingens multitudo* (cf. πολὺ πλῆθος, Clem.), including, according to Clement, matrons and girls and slaves, were one and all convicted of criminal actions. Their condemnation as votaries of an illegal religion, especially in a time of excitement and panic, would be an easy and expeditious matter (cf. Tac. *Ann.* ii. 85; Suet. *Claud.* 25).

So far, then, it appears (*a*) that the somewhat scanty evidence as to the Neronian persecution does not support the theory, that it differed essentially from later persecutions in regard to the method of procedure against the Christians; (*b*) that, if such a difference were proved to exist, the language of 1 P would be as natural from the pen of a Christian teacher in the earlier as in the later period.

We are thus brought to the question—What was the nature of the sufferings to which those to whom the Epistle was addressed, like their fellow-Christians throughout the world (5^{9}), were exposed? Were they the victims of a *persecution directed by the State*? 'The clearest point,' writes Dr. Hort (p. 1), 'is that [the Epistle] was written during a time of rising persecution to men suffering under it'; and he suggests that this was *either* 'the persecution begun by Nero, or a secondary persecution arising from that,' *or* a persecution peculiar to Asia Minor, 'independent of any known persecution bearing an emperor's name, and perhaps even a little earlier than Nero's persecution' (p. 3 f.), adding that the language about the emperor and his officers ($2^{13ff.}$) is in favour of the second of these two alternatives. 'The Christian congregations,' says Jülicher (*Einl.* p. 135; cf. Harnack, *Die Chronol.* p. 453), 'and that throughout the whole world, have now to endure bitter suffering, to bear the fiery proving of their faith (4^{12})—a trial so bitter that now the end of all things cannot be far off ($4^{7.17}$) . . . The period of systematic persecutions has begun.' On the other hand, Zahn (*Einl.* ii. p. 34) finds it hard to comprehend how a 'persecution of the Christian confession, regulated by the imperial power or by the magistracy, can be discovered in the Epistle.' A decision between views so diametrically opposed can be arrived at only by an examination of the Epistle itself. The passages bearing on the question may be conveniently considered under the following heads:—

(1) 4^{7} ('the end of all things is at hand'). This phrase is a commonplace with those (*e.g.* Jülicher, Harnack) who insist that the Christians of Asia Minor were enduring the extreme bitterness of persecution. The context, however, gives no countenance at all to the supposition that the expectation of the end was connected in the writer's mind with the cruelty of the Church's sufferings. He draws from the expectation the lesson, not of patience but of devout sobriety—a duty dealt with also in the preceding context.

(2) $1^{6f.}$ $4^{12f.}$ (two very kindred passages speaking of 'the proving of faith'). The language in the former of these passages, an echo of Ja $1^{2f.}$, is quite general (ἐν ποικίλοις πειρασμοῖς). In the other passage the word πύρωσις, derived from Pr 27^{21} (where it is parallel to δοκίμιον), emphasizes, not the intensity of the suffering but its testing and proving nature, and thus the English equivalent 'the fiery trial' (AV, RV), as commonly understood, suggests misleading associations.[*] It should be remembered that the *locus classicus* on παιδεία in the NT (He $12^{7ff.}$) is addressed to men who had 'not yet resisted unto blood.' The words which follow about participation in 'the sufferings of the Christ,' while they imply the idea of trials endured for His sake, do not go beyond such passages as 2 Co 1^{5} 4^{10}, Ph 1^{29}, Col 1^{24} (cf. Ro 8^{18}, 2 Co 4^{17}). With these two passages may be associated $5^{8f.}$, where the devil is regarded as the author of suffering to the faithful, but where the point of the reference lies, not in the greatness of those sufferings but in the possibilities of spiritual declension which they involve.

(3) $2^{19f.}$ $3^{14.17}$ $4^{15.19}$ 5^{10}. In this group of passages 'suffering' for Christ's sake is undoubtedly spoken of. But πάσχειν (cf. 1 Th 2^{14}, 2 Th 1^{5}, Gal 3^{4}) is an inclusive word; in 2^{20} it is a synonym of κολαφίζεσθαι.

(4) 2^{12} $3^{9.16}$ $4^{4.14}$. From these passages it appears that slanders and insults had a prominent place among these 'sufferings.'

(5) $3^{13f.17}$. The form of these hypothetical sentences (τίς ὁ κακώσων . . . ; ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ πάσχοιτε [not εἰ πάσχετε], and εἰ θέλοι [not θέλει]; cf. εἰ δέον 1^{6}) makes it clear that the writer regards suffering for Christ as no more than a possibility for at least some of those whom he is addressing. Such language is inconsistent with the hypothesis that a general persecution, organized by the government, was raging fiercely.

(6) 3^{15} $4^{15f.}$. Both these passages are very frequently supposed to deal with the relation of Christians and Roman magistrates. But in neither case can this reference be sustained. On $4^{15f.}$ see above. In 3^{15} (ἕτοιμοι ἀεὶ πρὸς ἀπολογίαν παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντι κ.τ.λ.) the word παντί as well as the expression μετὰ πραΰτητος καὶ φόβου show that the injunction deals with the general intercourse of the Christians with their pagan neighbours (cf. Col 4^{6} πῶς δεῖ ὑμᾶς ἑνὶ ἑκάστῳ ἀποκρίνεσθαι).

(7) $2^{13ff.}$ The passage is an echo of St. Paul's words in Ro $13^{1ff.}$. But in place of the general language of Ro (ἐξουσίαι ὑπερέχουσαι . . . αἱ οὖσαι ἐξουσίαι . . . οἱ ἄρχοντες) we have in 1 P a clear and detailed reference to the imperial government—'the emperor (βασιλεύς),' 'provincial governors sent by him (ἡγεμόνες δι' αὐτοῦ πεμπόμενοι).' Moreover, St. Peter's description of the purpose of the existing central government as being (on one side) the 'commendation' of 'well-doers' goes considerably beyond the earlier dictum of St. Paul (τὸ ἀγαθὸν ποίει, καὶ ἕξεις ἔπαινον ἐξ αὐτῆς); and this description he still further emphasizes by the explanation—'thus (*i.e.* in accordance with His κτίσις—the Divine institution of civil government) it is the will of God, that by well-doing men silence the ignorance of those who are senseless.' To this passage must be added the other passages in the Epistle where the writer speaks in a tone of unwavering hopefulness as to the effect of ἀγαθοποιΐα on the heathen world (2^{12} $3^{1.16}$). St. Paul wrote Ro 13 when he still regarded the Roman State as 'the restraining power,' and still looked to the Empire as the protector of the Church. That a Christian teacher, *writing from Rome after Nero's attack on the Church* to fellow-Christians in the provinces, should adopt St. Paul's language, only making it more explicit and emphasizing its hopefulness, seems inconceivable. How impossible such a position at that time would have been, is clear when with the paragraph in 1 P we compare the symbolism of the Apocalypse—the beast and the harlot seated on the seven hills, 'drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus' (Rev $17^{6.9}$).

To sum up: the passage last considered affords strong reason for thinking that the storm of the Neronian persecution had not as yet swept over the Church at Rome, and that no persecuting policy against the Church had been adopted by the Roman magistrates in Asia Minor. Not a word is found in the Epistle about men shedding their blood or laying down their lives for the gospel. None of the passages in any of the above groups, as we have seen, contains any reference to, or hint of, an organized persecution. But it needs only a little reflexion in the light of actual history to convince us how much of the keenest suffering the confession of Christ must have cost these Asiatic Christians, though the State had not as yet become their enemy. They were called upon to face violence, slander, the severance of social and family ties, worldly ruin. In the earliest days of their missionary activity St. Paul and Barnabas frankly told their converts—διὰ πολλῶν θλίψεων δεῖ ἡμᾶς εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ (Ac 14^{22}). Such tribulations were not confined to the Churches of Asia Minor. It was well that St. Peter, out of his wider experience at Rome[*] and elsewhere, should remind them that these sufferings were the lot of the Christian brotherhood everywhere (5^{9}).

V. AUTHORSHIP AND DATE.—It will be convenient to preface the discussion of these questions with a tabular statement (founded on that given by Holtzmann, *Einl.* p. 318 ff.) of the different views held by representative critics.

I. *On the Assumption of the Authenticity of the Epistle:* (1) *c.* 54 A.D. (before St. Paul's sojourn at Ephesus)—B. Weiss, Kühl. (2) During the later period of St. Paul's activity before his imprisonment—B. Brückner. (3) 59 or 60—Gloag. (4) *c.* 62 (during St. Paul's imprisonment at Rome)—Steiger, Guericke, Bleek, Wieseler. (5) Shortly before the Neronian persecution—Hofmann, Renan, F. C. Cook, Zahn. (6) *c.* 65 (or a little later)—*e.g.* Eichhorn, de Wette, Neander, Grimm, Huther, Sieffert, Ewald, Wiesinger, Usteri; probably the majority of English scholars, *e.g.* Plumptre, Salmon, Farrar, Sanday (apparently; *Expositor*, June 1893, p. 411), Hort (not earlier than 62, probably after Neronian persecution), Lightfoot ('probably written not earlier than the summer of 64,' *Clement* ii. p. 499). (7) 70–80, Ramsay (who would assign 80 as the probable date, *The Ch. and the Empire* p. 279 ff.), Swete (preferring apparently the first half of the decade, *St. Mark* p. xvii f.).

II. *On the Assumption of the Spuriousness of the Epistle:* (1) Under Domitian (81–96)—Scholten, von Soden (92–96), Harnack (83–93, but possibly one or even two decades earlier than 83, *Die Chronol.* p. 454), McGiffert (about 90). (2) Under Trajan (98–117)—Schwegler, Baur, Keim, Lipsius, Pfleiderer, Hausrath, W. Brückner, Hilgenfeld, S. Davidson, Jülicher (about 100). (3) Under Hadrian (117–138)—Zeller. (4) 140–147—Volkmar.

The difficulties involved in the theory that the Epistle is spurious may be conveniently considered first. They are many, and of various kinds. A close study of the document itself reveals no motive, theological, controversial, or historical, which explains it as a forgery (cf. Harnack, *Die Chronol.* p. 456 f.). It denounces no heresy. It supports no special system of doctrine. It contains no rules as to Church life or organization. Its references to the words and the life of Christ are unobtrusive. It presents no picture of any scene in St. Peter's earlier life, and does not connect itself with any of the stories current in the early Church about his later years. Why, moreover, should a forger, with all the world to choose from, select so strangely wide a district, four provinces, as the supposed destination of the letter, and why should he mention them in an order (on this supposition) so chaotic and so inexplicable? Why should he represent Silvanus as the amanuensis or the bearer of St. Peter's letter, though in the Acts he nowhere appears as in any way connected with that apostle, but both in the Acts and in three Epistles

---

[*] Cf. *Didaché* xvi. 5, τότε ἥξει ἡ κτίσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὴν πύρωσιν τῆς δοκιμασίας, καὶ σκανδαλισθήσονται πολλοί κ.τ.λ. The previous context speaks of the advent of the 'world-deceiver.'

[*] When St. Paul first arrived at Rome, the Jews at Rome tell him that they know that 'everywhere this sect is spoken against' (Ac 28^{22}). The language of Tacitus (*Ann.* xv. 44) clearly implies that before the Neronian persecution Christians were regarded at Rome with feelings of hatred and horror—'quos per flagitia inuisos uolgus Christianos appellabat . . . aduersus sontes et nouissima exempla meritos.'

(1 and 2 Th, 2 Co) as the companion of St. Paul? Why, above all, should a forger give to Pauline thoughts and to Pauline language a prominent place in an Epistle bearing the name of St. Peter? These difficulties do not appear less formidable when we review the theories of those critics who have attempted to meet them. The Tübingen school, indeed, had a clear and concise answer to the question why a Pauline element is found in a Petrine Epistle. The letter, in their view, is a *Unionsschrift* (see Holtzmann, *Einl.* p. 316), celebrating the agreement of the two parties in the Church which bore the names of the two great apostles. 'But that theory,' to quote Harnack's verdict (*Die Chronol.* p. 456, cf. p. vii ff.), 'is admittedly profoundly shaken in general, and in particular it is refuted in its application to 1 Peter.' We turn at once to three recent theories.

(*a*) Von Soden (*Hand-Commentar zum NT* iii. 2, p. 117), putting the letter in the last four years of Domitian's reign, suggests that Silvanus was the author of the Epistle (5^{12}): that, however, instead of speaking in his own name, he makes St. Peter, the glorious martyr (5^{1}), utter words of encouragement to Churches among which the apostle had himself once worked; that, conscious what judgment the apostle had formed of him, he ventures to add the testimony to himself πιστοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ὡς λογίζομαι; that he perhaps derived his right to speak in the apostle's name from his own position as an ἀπόστολος (1 Th 2^{6}) and a prophet (Ac 15^{32}). A theory burdened with such complicated improbabilities hardly merits serious discussion.

(*b*) Jülicher (*Einl.* p. 134 ff.) holds that the letter was written about the year 100. In view of 5^{13} and of the author's familiarity with St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, he conjectures that he was a Roman Christian. In spite of its obvious 'catholic' character, the letter is addressed to the five provinces of Asia Minor; and Jülicher finds an explanation of this fact in the supposition that the writer was a native of Asia Minor, and thus had a natural interest in the brethren of that region. He had, it is clear, an intimate knowledge of St. Paul's writings; but, when he wanted to give an apostolic authority to his own words, he refrained from using the name of that apostle, partly from motives of reverence and partly that he might not tear open again wounds which were now half healed. It is clear that this special view of the composition of the Epistle is open to all, or to nearly all, the objections mentioned above as generally valid against the supposition of its spuriousness.

(*c*) Harnack (*Chronol.* p. 457 ff.) draws a distinction between the opening and closing sentences ($1^{1f.}$ $5^{12ff.}$) and, on the other hand, the main body of the Epistle (1^{3}-5^{11}). The latter—whether originally a letter or not, there is no evidence to determine—is the work of 'some prominent teacher and confessor, who, possibly writing from Rome, and, it may be, a prisoner there, was certainly so familiar with Pauline Christianity that he could move about within its area with perfect freedom.'[*] The date of this document, which to us is a fragment, lies between 83–93, but may conceivably be some 20 years earlier. The opening and closing sentences, on the other hand, Harnack, modifying a suggestion first put forward by him in his edition of the *Didaché* (p. 106 n.), considers to have been added between A.D. 150 and 175. He further discovers resemblances in style between these sentences and 2 Peter, the earliest document in which our Epistle is quoted as the work of St. Peter, and indulges the suspicion that the clauses which now begin and end 1 Peter are the work of the same author as 2 Peter.

Harnack (p. 458 ff.) urges that his view as to $1^{1f.}$ $5^{12ff.}$ is confirmed by four arguments. (1) These sentences can without loss be removed from the document. *But*, on this principle, all Epistles might profitably be curtailed at both ends. (2) These sentences are poor in style, and present various difficulties. *But* it is only natural that the beginning and the close of a letter should be simple and plain in style, and Harnack's objection to the phrase εἰς ὑπακοὴν καὶ ῥαντισμὸν αἵματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (1^{2}) is due to a want of appreciation of the words (see below, p. 794). Further, the existence of ambiguities in those parts of a letter which deal with personal matters is often a strong proof of its authenticity. The writer of a letter assumes on the part of his correspondents a knowledge of personal facts, obvious enough at the time, but soon forgotten. Moreover, any gaps in such knowledge the bearer of a letter would be trusted to fill up. (3) The motive of such additions lay in a sense of the instructiveness of the document, and the feeling that words so full of edification must be apostolic. Phenomena not wholly dissimilar are found in connexion with other documents—'Ephesians,' Ep. Barnabas, the so-called Second Ep. of Clement. *But* the first assertion suggests no answer to the question why the fragment should be assigned to St. Peter and not rather to St. Paul, with whose writings it has obvious points of contact. In regard to the second assertion, the reply is obvious. The documents adduced fail as parallels, both in other respects and especially just in the crucial point, viz. the addition to a document of sentences containing details geographical and personal, which are, as they stand, obscure, and are altogether lacking in picturesque precision. (4) Tradition favours the hypothesis. No writer before Irenæus quotes the letter as that of St. Peter. On the reception of the Epistle in the Church see above.

Harnack's hypothesis is open to serious objections, based on the internal evidence of the document itself and on external evidence. In the first place, what was the character of the document (*i.e.* 1^{3}-5^{10})? It was not a *treatise*, for it is hortatory throughout. Was it, then, like the so-called Second Epistle of Clement, a *homily*? This is in the highest degree improbable, partly because of its close resemblances to St. Paul's *Epistles*, especially of the opening paragraph—εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατήρ κ.τ.λ. (1^{3})—to the opening paragraph of 2 Co and 'Ephesians'; partly because of the great variety of topics dealt with—a procedure natural in a letter, but ill-suited to a sermon; partly because the language is general, and there is an absolute lack of any such reference to the immediate surroundings or the special circumstances of his hearers as we should expect in the words of a preacher; partly because the whole tone of the document produces the impression that the teacher is not face to face with those whom he is addressing—note especially the phrase πρεσβυτέρους οὖν ἐν ὑμῖν παρακαλῶ (5^{1}). If, then, the document was neither a *treatise* nor a *homily*, it must have been a *letter*; and, if a letter, it must originally have included, if not some personal message, at least some form of salutation. We must therefore suppose either that the interpolator deliberately excised the original beginning or ending or both, or that the document came into his hands in a mutilated form. This last hypothesis, so far as the initial salutation is concerned, is highly improbable; for the first leaf of the MS must have contained much more of the letter than the customary brief words of salutation, and the paragraph which must have immediately followed the salutation ($1^{3ff.}$) is extant. In the second place, the difficulties arising from the consideration of internal evidence are increased when external evidence is taken into account. The main body of the Epistle, as Harnack admits (p. 461 f.), was known to Clement (probably), Polycarp, and Papias. The Epistle therefore must have been widely circulated before the time of the supposed interpolator. How are we to account, then, for these widely-circulated (uninterpolated) copies having disappeared, leaving no posterity; while all known MSS and versions, all MSS used by Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Irenæus, and all other early writers who quote the Epistle as the work of St. Peter, must have descended from a single ancestor—the copy, that is, in which the additions at the beginning and the end were made about the middle of the 2nd cent.?[*] The improbabilities involved in Harnack's hypothesis are many and great. It is important, because it essentially belongs to a period of transition. It is the product, on the one hand, of the lingering influence of an older criticism, too thoroughly bent upon negative results to retain much delicacy of perception; and, on the other hand, of a keen literary and spiritual sense of the significance of a writer's matter and manner. His own words (p. 464 f.) are remarkable, and appropriately conclude this section: 'If the hypothesis here brought forward should prove erroneous, I should more readily prevail upon myself to regard the improbable as possible and to claim the Epistle for Peter himself, than to suppose that a *Pseudo-Petrus* wrote our fragment as it now stands, from the first verse to the last, soon after A.D. 90, or even from ten to thirty years earlier. Such an

---

[*] McGiffert (*History of Christianity in the Apost. Age* p. 599) conjectures that the writer of the Epistle was Barnabas. He accepts Harnack's theory of interpolation.

[*] Harnack supposes interpolations not only in 1 P, but also in Jude, the Pastoral Epistles, Mt, Jn (*Die Chronologie* pp. 468, 485, 700, 679). The improbability of such a hypothesis in the case of a single document, as pointed out above, is very great. The improbability of the same improbable series of events having taken place in the case of six separate documents is infinite. The argument is well put by Dom Butler in the *Dublin Review* for Jan. 1899, p. 13 ff.

> assumption is, in my opinion, weighed down by insuperable difficulties.'

We proceed, then, to examine the objections urged against the view that the salutation is original and veracious, and that the Epistle was written by St. Peter. The chief of these are five in number—

(1) The references to persecution are of such a kind as to imply a date which lies outside the probable, if not the possible, limits of St. Peter's life. This objection has been (p. 783 ff.) considered.

(2) St. Peter was a Jew of lowly origin, and Papias speaks of Mark as his ἑρμηνευτής. The Epistle, on the other hand, is written in good Greek, and the writer was thoroughly familiar with the LXX (so, *e.g.*, Jülicher, *Einl.* p. 132 f.). The facts alleged as to the Epistle are undisputed (see above, p. 781 f.). Are they incompatible with St. Peter's authorship? In Galilee, with its Greek towns such as Gadara (Jos. *Ant.* XVII. xi. 4, *BJ* II. vi. 3), there was so considerable an element of Greek life that, even when St. Peter became a follower of Christ, it is unlikely (to say the least) that he was wholly ignorant of colloquial Greek (Mayor, *St. James* pp. xli, ccix; Abbott, *Essays on the Original Texts of the Old and New Testaments* p. 162 ff.; Zahn, *Einl.* i. p. 28 f.). We may reverently suppose that our Lord, when He chose the apostle as 'the rock on which He would build His Church,' discerned in him intellectual as well as spiritual gifts which fitted him for his destined work. In Jerusalem, after the Ascension, St. Peter had much intercourse with Hellenistic Jews. His departure from Palestine can have been no sudden step; and it would be strange if he did not prepare himself for the work which lay before him by using opportunities, which certainly were within his reach, of increasing whatever knowledge he already had of the *lingua franca* of the Roman world. Mark was known in the early Church as 'the interpreter of Peter,' probably because he assisted the apostle in his first attempts to address Greek-speaking people. Greek must have been the vehicle of communication with Cornelius, and not improbably with the Jews of the Dispersion on the Day of Pentecost. We may conjecture that Mark was one of 'the brethren' who accompanied St. Peter from Joppa (Ac 10^{23}), and that he helped him in speaking to the Roman centurion and his household. It may well be that Mark 'the interpreter' read with the apostle some Greek literature, and especially the LXX, of which it is not impossible that he had gained some knowledge in his home at Bethsaida. At any rate the years which St. Peter spent in missionary work outside the borders of the Holy Land, specially, we may add with great probability, in the Syrian Antioch and its neighbourhood (see above), cannot but have given him a familiarity with Greek sufficient to enable him to write a letter in Greek, even if he still had to trust Mark 'the interpreter' to prune away in it any solecism of which he might still be guilty. The Epistle of St. Peter, it must be remembered, is no isolated phenomenon in the apostolic age. One who accepts the Epistles of St. James and St. Jude as genuine is entitled to point to them as a proof that even Jews who, so far as it appears, did not extend their labours beyond Jerusalem, could acquire a good Greek style.

(3) If the Epistle was written from Rome, its silence about the death of St. Paul, if his martyrdom was recent, or, if St. Paul was then at Rome, the absence of any message from him or news about him, is said to be inexplicable (cf. von Soden p. 115). The subject will come before us again. For the present, it is sufficient to say that the bearer of the letter—such as Silvanus appears to have been—might well be entrusted with personal news (Hort p. 6).

(4) It is alleged that we do not find in the Epistle much which we should expect to find in a letter of St. Peter, the chief of the Lord's personal followers; that it shows no sign of a vivid remembrance either of Christ's life or of His teaching (von Soden p. 115; Jülicher p. 134; Harnack p. 451). We cannot, then, place the Epistle after St. Paul's Epistles and suppose it to be the work of St. Peter, unless we admit, according to Jülicher's view, that 'Paul had exercised on Peter a greater influence than Jesus.' The discussion of this objection falls under two heads. (*a*) *The Lord's life.* Silence as to the facts of the Lord's life and ministry, strange to us in the case of one who remembered details the knowledge of which would have been of priceless value to later generations, is not a phenomenon peculiar to 1 Peter. From the Books of the NT other than the Gospels hardly a hint as to the events of our Lord's earthly life can be gathered. In the speeches recorded in the Acts, if we may assume that they represent with substantial accuracy the apostle's earlier teaching, St. Peter refers once to the Lord's baptism (10^{38}, cf. 1^{22} 4^{27}) and twice to His miracles (2^{22} 10^{38}), but to nothing else before the Passion. The facts of the NT then point to the conclusion that in their public teaching, whether oral or written, the apostles concentrated attention on the great *momenta* of the Lord's 'manifestation'—His sufferings and death, His resurrection and exaltation. While, however, there is in the Epistle nothing biographical or autobiographical, there are unobtrusive indications that its author was an eye-witness of the Lord's life. In 1^{8} (ὂν οὐκ ἰδόντες ἀγαπᾶτε) a return to the *first* person plural (v.^{3}) would have been quite natural had the writer been one who had not seen the Lord. The words gain greatly in force and tenderness if they are the words of a disciple who loved One whom he had seen (Jn $21^{15f.}$), and who welcomes to a fellowship in his love for Christ those who had not seen. Again, when in 5^{1} the writer speaks of himself as ὁ συνπρεσβύτερος κ. μάρτυς τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ παθημάτων, the description is almost pointless unless it implies that he bears witness to what he himself had seen (contrast 4^{13}). The whole clause is clearly intended to justify the authority with which the writer addresses 'the elders.' He shared their position as elders, and therefore knows their difficulties. He is a witness to the very events which form their Gospel, and therefore has a unique claim to be heard. The full significance of the clause is seen only when it is compared with (i.) the commands addressed to the eleven, Jn 15^{26}, Lk 24^{47}, Ac 1^{8}; (ii.) St. John's words in Jn 19^{35} (cf. 21^{24}), 1 Jn $1^{1ff.}$ 4^{14}; (iii.) St. Peter's words as recorded in Ac $1^{21f.}$ 2^{32} 3^{15} 4^{20} 5^{32} 10^{39}; and when, on the other hand, we mark the entire absence in St. Paul's Epistles of any similar expression, and that in passages where he is insisting on his apostolic authority (*e.g.* 2 Co 10^{1}–12^{13}, Gal 1). The nearest parallels in St. Paul—1 Co 9^{1} $15^{8.15}$, cf. Ac 22^{15} 26^{16}—serve to bring out into sharper relief the distinctiveness of the Petrine phrase (cf. Ac $13^{31f.}$). An instance of this μαρτυρία is found in 2^{23}—a reminiscence of the arrest, and of what St. Peter saw as he lingered in the high priest's vestibule. In this connexion the force of the imperfects is not to be overlooked. They give not the summary statement of the historian, but the vivid remembrance of the eye-witness. Again, in the phrase ἀλλήλοις τὴν ταπεινοφροσύνην ἐγκομβώσασθε (5^{5}), the picturesque word ἐγκομβώσασθε gathers up the details of the scene related in Jn $13^{4ff.}$ and its lessons. (*b*) *The Lord's teaching.* The following are the chief coincidences between 1 P and sayings of our Lord: (*a*) recorded in the Synoptic Gospels—1 P 1^{4} ‖ Mt 5^{5} 25^{34} 6^{20}; $1^{6.8}$ 4^{13} ‖ Mt 5^{12}; 1^{10} ‖ Lk 10^{24}; 1^{11} ‖ Lk $24^{26.44}$; 1^{13} ‖ Lk 12^{35} 21^{34}; 1^{17} ‖ Mt 6^{9} Lk 11^{2};

2^{2} ‖ Mt $18^{2f.}$ 19^{14} Lk 18^{17}; 2^{4} (προσερχ.) ‖ Mt 11^{28} (cf. Jn 6^{37} 7^{37}); 2^{5} ‖ Mt 16^{18}; 2^{7} (Ps 118^{22}) ‖ Mt 21^{42}; 2^{12} (cf. 3^{16}) ‖ Mt 5^{16}; $2^{13.\,17}$ ‖ Mt 22^{21}; 2^{21} (ἐπακολ.) ‖ *e.g.* Mt 10^{38} *; 2^{23} (cf. 4^{19}) ‖ Lk 23^{46}; 2^{25} ‖ *e.g.* Mt 9^{36} Lk 15^{4}; 3^{9} ‖ Lk 6^{28}; 3^{13} ‖ Lk 10^{19} 21^{18}; 3^{14} ‖ Mt 5^{10}; 3^{14} ‖ Mt $10^{26ff.}$; 3^{16} ‖ Lk 6^{28}; 4^{7} (cf. 5^{8}) ‖ Mt 24^{42} 25^{13} 26^{41} Lk 12^{37} 21^{34}; 4^{14} ‖ Mt 5^{11}; 4^{19} (π. κτίστῃ) ‖ Mt $6^{25ff.}$; 5^{1} ‖ Lk 24^{47} (Ac 1^{8}) Mt 19^{28} Lk $22^{28ff.}$; 5^{3} ‖ Mt $20^{25f.}$; 5^{6} ‖ Mt 23^{12}; (β) recorded in St. John—1 P $1^{3.\,23}$ ‖ Jn 3^{3}; 1^{8} ‖ 20^{29}; 1^{19} 2^{24} ‖ $1^{29.\,36}$; 1^{22} ‖ $13^{34f.}$ 15^{12}; 2^{9} ‖ 8^{12} 12^{46}; 2^{25} (Gentiles) ‖ $10^{11.\,14.\,16}$; $5^{2.\,4}$ ‖ $21^{16.\,17}$ (note τὰ ἀρνία μου). It has been already noticed that St. Peter's imagery differs from that of St. Paul (see above, p. 782). It may further be remarked that all his metaphors (except those of painting and working in metals) find parallels in the Lord's sayings. In estimating the force of the list of parallels given above, two points must be borne in mind: (1) We are not here dealing with a question of literary indebtedness. For us the sayings of Christ are preserved in the literature of the Greek Gospels. One who heard them uttered in the original Aramaic would reproduce them, when writing in Greek, in a form peculiar to himself. Hence verbal similarity to the Gospels is not a measure of real coincidence. (2) The Gospels do not give us an exhaustive collection of our Lord's sayings. Hence, in the case of a document which claims to be the work of an apostle, the Gospels are an imperfect criterion of indebtedness to the Lord's teaching. Yet, judging the influence of our Lord's sayings on the writer of 1 P by the admittedly imperfect standard of the written Gospels, it is not too much to say that his mind is saturated with the words of Christ, and that, in dealing with questions and circumstances very different from those which called forth the Lord's teaching, he instinctively turns to the substance and to the words of that teaching as bearing upon the actual needs of the present. St. Paul was certainly acquainted with the Lord's teaching (see, *e.g.*, 1 Co 7^{10}), whether in an oral or in some written form; but the whole literature of his Epistles supplies a list of coincidences with the Gospels fewer in number and far less close than this one Epistle. Apart from the Johannine Epistles, the only parallel in this respect to 1 P is the Epistle of James.

(5) The objection against the Petrine authorship of our Epistle on which recent critics have laid most stress is its affinity in doctrine, thought, and language with the Pauline Epistles. Jülicher (p. 133) brings out three points as to the relation of 1 P to the Pauline literature. (i.) There is nothing un-Pauline in it. (ii.) In regard to his conception of Christ, of the saving efficacy of His death, of faith and regeneration, the writer of 1 P breathes the Pauline spirit even as he uses the Pauline formulas (*e.g.* ἐν Χριστῷ 3^{16} $5^{10.\,14}$, ζωοποιεῖν 3^{18}, ἀποκάλυψις and ἀποκαλύπτεσθαι six times, his favourite word ἀναστροφή). (iii.) There are many similarities between 1 P and the Pauline Epistles, especially Ro and Eph, which cannot be accidental; the ascription of Eph and 1 P to the same author is a proposition which has been seriously maintained.† This whole position has the approval of Harnack (*Die Chronol.* p. 451 ff.). But the words of the latter in maintaining it give expression to significant admissions. 'The author,' he writes (p. 452), 'is completely determined by the spirit of Pauline Christianity. But this determination is united with such independence and freedom in regard to religious thought and teaching within the limits of this Paulinism, that the assumption is an obvious one that Paul himself is the author of the document.' And again (p. 364 n.), 'Were it not for the dependence [of 1 P] on the Pauline Epistles, I might perhaps allow myself to maintain its genuineness: that dependence, however, is not accidental, but is of the essence of the Epistle.'

It will be best to clear the ground by indicating the affinities between 1 P and the Epistles of the NT.—(i.) Romans, (ii.) Ephesians, (iii.) other Pauline Epistles, (iv.) James. (i.) *Romans*, 1 P 1^{14} ‖ 12^{2}; 1^{17} ‖ $2^{6.\,11}$; $1^{20f.}$ ‖ $16^{25f.}$; 1^{21} ‖ 4^{24}; 1^{22} ‖ $12^{9f.}$; 2^{5} ‖ 12^{1}; 2^{8} ‖ $9^{32f.}$; $2^{13ff.}$ ‖ $13^{1\text{-}7}$; 2^{24} ‖ $6^{2\text{-}11}$; $3^{8f.}$ ‖ $12^{9\text{-}18}$ (cf. 1 Th 5^{15}); 3^{18} ‖ 6^{10}; 3^{21} ‖ 6^{4} (cf. Col 2^{12}); 3^{22} ‖ 8^{34}; $4^{1f.}$ ‖ $6^{2\text{-}11}$; 4^{3} ‖ $1^{21ff.}$ $13^{12ff.}$; $4^{10f.}$ ‖ $12^{3\text{-}8}$; 4^{13} (cf. 5^{1}) ‖ 8^{17}; 4^{17} ‖ $10^{16.\,21}$ (Is 65^{2}); 5^{1} ‖ 8^{18}. (ii.) *Ephesians*, 1 P 1^{3} ‖ 1^{3}; 1^{14} ‖ $2^{2f.}$ $4^{22.\,18}$; 2^{5} ‖ $2^{20ff.}$; 3^{8} ‖ 4^{32}; 3^{9} (εὐλογία) ‖ 1^{3}; 3^{15} ‖ 3^{17}; 3^{18} ‖ 2^{18} 3^{12}; 3^{22} ‖ $1^{20ff.}$ (cf. Ro 8^{24}). (iii.) *Other Pauline Epistles*, 1 P 1^{2} ‖ 2 Th 2^{13} (cf. 1 Th 4^{7}); 1^{3} 3^{21} ‖ Tit 3^{5}; 1^{13} ‖ 2 Ti 4^{5}; $1^{21f.}$ ‖ the Pauline trilogy, *e.g.* 1 Co 13^{13}; 2^{16} ‖ Gal 5^{13} (different sense); 4^{5} ‖ 2 Ti 4^{1} (but cf. Ac 10^{42}); 4^{9} ‖ Ph 2^{14}; 4^{13} ‖ 2 Co $1^{5.\,7.}$, Ph 3^{10}; 5^{8} ‖ 1 Th 5^{6}. Note also 2^{25} 5^{2} ‖ Ac 20^{28} (Pauline speech). (iv.) *James*, 1 P 1^{1} ‖ 1^{1} (διασπορά); $1^{6f.}$ ‖ $1^{2f.\,12}$ (but see Mt $5^{11f.}$); 1^{23} ‖ 1^{18}; 2^{1} ‖ 1^{21}; 2^{11} ‖ 4^{1}; 5^{5} ‖ $4^{7.\,10}$; 5^{9} ‖ 4^{7}. It should further be noted that (*a*) a phrase from Pr 10^{12} is introduced in 1 P 4^{8} and apparently alluded to in Ja 5^{20}, both Epistles using a rendering other than that of LXX; (*b*) Is 40^{6} is alluded to in Ja $1^{10f.}$ and quoted in 1 P 1^{24}; (*c*) Pr 3^{34} is quoted in Ja 4^{6}, 1 P 5^{5}—both having ὁ θεός, LXX Κύριος.*

To take first the case of James, the coincidences in this Ep. with 1 Peter can hardly be accounted for on the ground of personal intercourse between the two writers. They seem to imply literary indebtedness. The relative dates of the two documents (apart from other considerations) supply a decisive argument that the borrowing is on the side of 1 P (see, *e.g.*, Zahn, *Einl.* i. p. 95). Mayor (p. cxxiv) gives 40 as the earliest, 50 as the latest, year in which James can have been written. Zahn (*Einl.* i. p. 92) gives 50 as its approximate date. The Epistle would therefore be well known among the Jewish Christians in the Syrian towns, and certainly among those in the Syrian Antioch, in the sixth decade A.D. (see above, note on p. 765). There are reasons for thinking that in this decade St. Peter was working in this district, and that he made Antioch his headquarters (p. 779). It is, then, a natural conclusion that St. Peter studied the Epistle of James soon after it was written, and that some 12 years later many of its graphic phrases were fresh in his memory. In any case, the fact that 1 P is influenced in thought and language by James is an important indication that the mind of the writer was one which received and retained such impressions.

The coincidences between 1 P and the Pauline Epp. other than Romans and Ephesians are not very close, and are to be accounted for as the outcome of a common evolution of Christian phrases and conceptions rather than as instances of direct borrowing. The most striking of them, ἐν ἁγιασμῷ πνεύματος (2 Th 2^{13}, 1 P 1^{2}), would, in fact, naturally suggest itself when the practical meaning of the term πνεῦμα ἅγιον became realized in the Church.

The case of Romans is widely different. There is no doubt that the author of 1 P was acquainted with this Epistle. Nor is this surprising, if the writer is St. Peter. For as St. Paul was familiar with James, so Romans could hardly escape the notice of the Apostles of the Circumcision. Though addressed to a particular Church, it dealt with fundamental questions respecting both Judaistic Christianity and the relation of 'all Israel' to the gospel. It is not therefore an extravagant supposition that, giving as it did the apostle's mature views on matters about which he must on more than one occasion have conferred with them (cf. Gal 2^{2}), he himself communicated it to the leaders of the Jewish Churches. At any rate it could hardly fail to become known, soon after it was written, at the Syrian Antioch, the great meeting-point of Jewish and Gentile Christianity in the East as Rome was in the West, and so to be brought under St. Peter's notice.

---

* Outside the Gospels, Rev 14^{4} is the only passage in NT, except 1 P 2^{21}, where 'to follow' is used in this connexion.

† This is the conclusion of Sieffert (*Zeitschrift f. wissensch. Theol.* 1881, pp. 178 ff., 332 ff.).

* The supposed coincidences between 1 P and (*a*) Hebrews (see, *e.g.*, von Soden, *Hand-Commentar* iii. 2, p. 2), (*b*) Apocalypse (see Spitta, *Apokal.* p. 511 ff.) will be found in either case to be such as would naturally appear in independent Christian writers of the same period who were well acquainted with the LXX.

In regard to the relation of Ephesians to 1 P the case is less simple. Critics of different schools agree in holding that 1 P is profoundly influenced by Ephesians. The nature of some of the coincidences noted above seems to put it beyond doubt that the writer of 1 P was familiar with the language of Ephesians. A list of coincidences, however, inadequately represents the indebtedness of 1 P to that Epistle. 'The connexion, though very close, does not lie on the surface. It is shown more by identities of thought and similarity in the structure of the two Epistles as wholes than by identities of phrase' (Hort p. 5). Salmon (*Introd.* pp. 443, 445), noting independently the same facts, suggests two interpretations of them. (*a*) 'We might conjecturally explain this difference by supposing the Epistle to the Romans to have been so long known to St. Peter that he had had time to become familiar with its language, while his acquaintance with the Ephesian Epistle was more recent.' (*b*) 'Peter may have arrived at Rome before Paul quitted it, in which case there would be a good deal of *viva voce* intercourse between the apostles, as there had been in former times. The doctrines taught by Paul in his Epistle to the Ephesians would also naturally be the subject of his discourses to the Christians at Rome; and these discourses may have been heard by Peter.' Looking only, however, at the broad facts of the case, we may say that, if Ephesians was written by St. Paul during his first captivity, and if St. Peter visited Rome not long afterwards, the acquaintance of the writer of 1 P with Ephesians need cause no difficulty on the supposition that that writer was St. Peter.

From the question of literary we pass to that of *doctrinal* indebtedness. The writer of 1 P, it is urged (see above), in his theology takes St. Paul as his master. There is nothing, it is added, un-Pauline in the Epistle. The inference drawn is that St. Peter cannot be the author of the Epistle. Two observations cover a large part of the ground occupied by such criticisms. (1) Behind the argument there lies the tacit assumption that the two apostles stood in regard to each other in a position analogous to that taken by the leaders of two factions—a progressive and a reactionary party—leaders who alike by essential differences of principle and by the necessities of party-strife are prevented from learning from each other. Such a view of the mutual relation of the apostles is, it is believed, wholly unsupported by the evidence of the NT and of early Christian literature. (2) The Epistles of St. Paul form for us so large a part of the apostolic literature of the first age, *i.e.* the period prior to the destruction of Jerusalem, that insensibly we assume that ideas and doctrines emphasized in these Epistles must be of Pauline origin. That St. Paul had a predominant share in the moulding of Christian theology, there can be no doubt. But a body of Christian doctrine was growing up apart from the immediate sphere of his influence. St. Paul must have been a recipient as well as a source of spiritual intuitions. Estimating early writings by our imperfect criteria, we are probably in danger of exaggerating the Pauline element. Thus, to take as an example the crucial phrase ἐν Χριστῷ, which Jülicher regards as borrowed by St. Peter (3^{16} $5^{10.14}$) from the Pauline Epistles, there is no question that St. Paul dwelt upon the phrase and placed it in many different lights. But did he create it? The evidence points to a negative answer. For (*a*) the phrase is in fact the echo of OT phrases—'in God,' *e.g.*, Ps 56^{4} 60^{12} 62^{7}, 'in Jehovah,' *e.g.*, Is $45^{17.25}$, the Christian adaptation of these OT expressions being natural as the bearing of the Incarnation upon the doctrine of God was fully realized; (*b*) the idea is implied in Mt 18^{20}, and less distinctly in such references to 'the name' of Christ as Mk $9^{37ff.}$; (*c*) the conception finds repeated and emphatic expression in St. John's record of our Lord's sayings (*e.g.* 6^{56} $15^{4ff.}$); and if we accept these reports, which are clearly independent of Pauline influence, as in any degree historical, we can hardly doubt that the use of the phrase ἐν Χριστῷ must be traced back to Christ's own teaching. At any rate, an argument can hardly be founded on the assumption that the phrase was originated by St. Paul. On the other hand, the ideas expressed in 1 P 2^{24} $4^{1f.}$ may reasonably be considered to bear the stamp of an individual mind, and to have been learned from St. Paul's writings or from his spoken words. Further, when the doctrine of the Epistle comes to be examined, it will appear that it differs both negatively and positively from that of St. Paul's Epistles (cf. Hort p. 4).

To sum up: all that we learn of St. Peter from the NT gives us the picture of a man prompt and enthusiastic in action rather than fertile in ideas. His borrowing from St. James' Epistle shows that his mind was receptive and retentive of the thoughts of others. The Epistle undoubtedly owes much to St. Paul. But it is only when the Pauline element is isolated and exaggerated that it becomes a serious argument against the Petrine authorship of the Epistle.

Jülicher (p. 132) implies that, had not the name *Peter* been prefixed to the Epistle, no one would have supposed that St. Peter was the author. This position is so far true that, had the Epistle been anonymous, to assign the Epistle to St. Peter would have been an unverifiable hypothesis. We do not possess any document sufficiently authenticated as the work of St. Peter to be a standard by which the Petrine claims of such an Epistle could have been judged. The evidence of the speeches in the Acts, though worth consideration as confirmatory, is too indirect, and their date (assuming that they are substantially historical) too far removed from any date which can with any probability be given to the Epistle, for a reliable criterion to be supplied by them. But these considerations have a double application. If, on the one hand, they forbid the rash assertion that an anonymous document is Petrine, so, on the other hand, they are a warning against the hasty rejection of a document which bears St. Peter's name on the ground of its alleged un-Petrine character. The arguments urged to prove that 1 P is un-Petrine have been examined, and they have been shown to be unsubstantial, resting largely on unsupported presumptions. On the other hand, the serious difficulties involved in the hypothesis that the name Peter is a later addition have been pointed out, and it has been shown that the acceptance by the Church of the Epistle as the work of St. Peter was early in date, wide in extent, and unvarying.

But is the Petrine authorship to be accepted indeed, but accepted with certain qualifications? Zahn, following out the suggestions of earlier writers (Ewald, Grimm, Spitta), maintains (*Einl*

ii. pp. 10, 16) that, while the Epistle originally bore the name of Peter, the apostle entrusted the actual composition of it to Silvanus, as one peculiarly fitted, certainly more fitted than himself, to put his thoughts into such a form as would appeal to the Gentile Christians of Asia Minor, —one, moreover, who was known to many of the readers of the letter, and whom they would therefore credit with accurately reproducing for them St. Peter's ideas. The question turns on the interpretation of 5^{12} *διὰ Σιλουανοῦ ὑμῖν τοῦ πιστοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, ὡς λογίζομαι, δι' ὀλίγων ἔγραψα.* The words *τοῦ πιστοῦ ἀδ.*, Zahn argues, imply that the part taken by Silvanus was a responsible one, and therefore cannot have been that of a mere amanuensis. He must therefore have been *either* a messenger who conveyed the letter, *or* a friend who put St. Peter's thoughts into the form of a letter. The former alternative, it is argued, is excluded, because in that case the commendation would have been meaningless—painfully useless, if Silvanus proved untrue and the Epistle never came into the hands of its intended recipients; superfluous, if he delivered the letter to them. Against this theory the following considerations together seem decisive:—(1) If Silvanus were the real writer of the Epistle, especially if he is to be identified (see below) with the Silas of the Acts and the Silvanus of St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians and Corinthians (2 Co), we should expect some salutation from him to his readers. In Ro 16^{22} Tertius, who was simply the scribe, sends a greeting in the first person (*ἀσπάζομαι ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ Τέρτιος ὁ γράψας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐν κυρίῳ*). (2) Such a divided authorship—the main ideas being supplied by one man, their manipulation and expression being the work of another—could not result in a letter so natural and so easy in its passage from thought to thought, the transition to a fresh and important idea (*e.g.* 1^{10}) being sometimes due to an incidental phrase. (3) The tone of authority in 5^1, where the address is strictly personal, is explicable only on a theory either of deliberate personation or of real apostolic authorship. (4) The language of 5^{12} is absolutely natural if Silvanus was, what his position in the early Church (see below) fitted him to be, an apostolic delegate, who could, out of his own knowledge, speak of all personal matters and of the progress of the Church in Rome, and whose experience and special gifts (Ac 15^{32}) qualified him to give direction and instruction in questions of faith and of conduct. Compare especially Ac 15^{27}, Col $4^{7ff.}$, Eph $6^{21f.}$. The language in the context confirms this view: (*a*) the order of the words *διὰ Σ. ὑμῖν τοῦ π. ἀδ.* is remarkable, and seems designed to picture St. Peter's messenger and his friends face to face; (*b*) *δι' ὀλίγων ἔγραψα* implies that the apostle's written words were few, because he knew that they would be enforced and supplemented by the living voice of Silvanus.

For *διά* of the bearer of a letter compare *διὰ βιβλιαφόρων*, Est 3^{13} 8^{10}; the subscriptions added in many MSS to the Pauline Epistles, *e.g.* Romans—*ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Κορίνθου διὰ Φοίβης*, curs$^{pl.}$; *ἐπέμφθη δὲ διὰ Φοίβης*, 133; the 'verso' of a letter in the Berlin Papyr. 385—*ἀπόδος Σωκράτῃ Σκιφᾶ ἀπὸ Σερηνίλλα θυγατρὸς διὰ Σιραπαμμῶνος ἀδελφοῦ αὐτῆς.* Further, *γράφειν* (*γράψαι*) *διά τινος* is used in reference to the bearer. In Ac 15^{22} the determination of the Church at Jerusalem to send delegates to Antioch is mentioned, in v.^{23} the additional fact that the delegates conveyed a letter. To the phrase in v.^{23} (*γράψαντες διὰ χειρὸς αὐτῶν*) there corresponds the phrase in v.^{30} *ἐπέδωκαν τὴν ἐπιστολήν.* So Polyc. *ad Phil.* xiv. 'Hæc uobis *scripsi per* Crescentem, quem in præsenti commendaui uobis et nunc commendo.' Three passages in the Ignatian Epistles are, at first sight, ambiguous, and may refer either to the scribes or to the bearers of the letters. (*a*) From Smyrna Ignatius wrote to three Churches near at hand (Ephesus, Magnesia, Tralles) and to the distant Church of Rome. In ch. 10 of the Epistle to the last named Church he says, *γράφω δὲ ὑμῖν ταῦτα ἀπὸ Σμύρνης δι' Ἐφεσίων τῶν ἀξιομακαρίστων.* Several reasons make it probable that the Ephesians were the bearers and not the amanuenses of the letter—(1) The plural: it would be natural to dictate a short letter to one person; (2) the context: after a parenthetical sentence Ign. continues: *περὶ τῶν προελθόντων με ἀπὸ Συρίας εἰς Ῥώμην*, the probability being that the mention of those who had gone before him from *Syria* to Rome is suggested by the mention of those who are even now going before him from *Smyrna* to Rome; (3) the sequel: at the next stage of the journey (Troas) only one of the Ephesians was still with Ignatius, viz. Burrhus. (*b*) From Troas Ignatius writes to the Philadelphians, the Smyrnæans, and to Polycarp. In the closing salutations of the two former Epistles the words occur—*ἐν Τρωάδι· ὅθεν καὶ γράφω ὑμῖν διὰ Βούρρου.* Here the context gives no help towards the interpretation of *διά*. But other considerations seem decisive. If *διά* points to the scribe, then there seems to be no reason why the amanuensis should be mentioned in three letters (*Rom.*, *Philad.*, *Smyr.*), but passed over in silence in the remaining four letters. If, however, in each case *διά* designates the bearer, then the facts admit of an easy explanation. There would be no need to mention the messenger in the case of the letter to Polycarp; for the same person would be in charge of it who was entrusted with the letter to the Smyrnæans. Again, the distance from Smyrna to Ephesus, Magnesia, and Tralles was small, and there must have been constant means of communication, of which Ignatius would naturally avail himself. In the case of all the letters which had to travel far, the name of the bearer (or bearers) is consistently given. Further, the elaborate care bestowed by Ignatius (*Smyr.* xi., *Polyc.* vii. f.) and by Polycarp (*ad Phil.* xiii.) on the appointment of delegates to the Church of Syria, and the conveyance of letters by their means, is important as confirming the interpretation of the Ignatian phrase *γράφειν διά τινος* given above, and also as illustrating the employment in apostolic and sub-apostolic times of men of recognized position in communications between Churches.

VI. THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF COMPOSITION.—The restoration of a history must be conjectural. The test of probability in such a case is the extent to which the scheme as a whole offers a natural explanation of the details which have a claim to be taken into account. In the preceding art. it was pointed out that a good deal of indirect evidence points to the supposition that St. Paul during his imprisonment himself summoned St. Peter to Rome, chiefly in order that the sight of the two apostles—the one commonly regarded as the Apostle of the Gentiles, the other as the Apostle of the Circumcision—planning and working together might bring home to the Roman Christians the great lesson of unity. St. Peter, we may suppose, arrived in Rome shortly before St. Paul's release. St. Paul had not very long before written the Epistle to the Ephesians, setting forth in it his mature views on fundamental questions, many of which could not but engage St. Peter's attention in Rome. It would therefore be almost inevitable that St. Peter should study, or, if he had read it before, should study afresh, that Epistle. Moreover—what is of more importance—he would be brought into close and unrestrained intercourse with the mind of the writer. Such intercourse might well recall to his memory the thoughts and words of the Epistle to the Romans, and perhaps suggest its re-perusal. It makes no great demand on the imagination to see how an Epistle written by St. Peter under such circumstances would be full of Pauline thought and Pauline language, and, in particular, would be likely not seldom to echo the words of the Epistles to the Romans and to the Ephesians.

Is it possible to arrive at any probable conclusion as to the *point of time* when the Epistle was written? (i.) The language of that important section of the Epistle which deals with obedience to the civil power (2^{13-17}), gains greatly in point and reality if it was used in view of St. Paul's appeal to the emperor having recently issued in his acquittal. It would be natural for one writing at such a time to recall what St. Paul had himself said on this subject (Ro $13^{1ff.}$), and, while using his expressions, to sharpen them and give them greater definiteness. Then it might well seem that 'the praise of them that do well' was an end of the magistrate's functions. If the decision of the Imperial Court had lately frustrated the endeavour of the Jews to secure the condemnation of the apostle of the true Messiah, the event would appear as a revelation of 'the will of God' in respect to His use of the power of the civil magistrate—*ἀγαθοποιοῦντας φιμοῖν τὴν τῶν ἀφρόνων ἀνθρώπων ἀγνωσίαν*. (ii.) Critics from many points of view have laid stress on the absence in the Epistle of any reference to St. Paul. It is one of the problems of the Epistle. But does not the difficulty vanish at once if we suppose that St. Peter wrote while St. Paul was still in Rome, and that Silvanus was undertaking as *St. Paul's messenger* a journey to the Churches of Asia Minor? In that case it would have been unnatural for the Epistle to convey a *message from* St. Paul; while *news about* St. Paul would be needless, since Silvanus would himself explain the position of affairs at Rome.

It is commonly taken for granted that the **Silvanus** of 1 P is the same person as the Silas of Acts and the Silvanus of St. Paul's Epistles. This is an assumption, though a highly probable one. Four persons bearing the name in the shortened form (Silas) meet us in the pages of Josephus. The name Silvanus is found in the form *Σιλβανός* in *CIG* 1816, 7256, in the form *Σιλουανός* in *CIG* 4039, 4071. The name, then, is not so common as to make it very likely that more than one Silvanus was closely connected with the apostles. And, further, what we know of the Silvanus of the earlier apostolic history corresponds so strikingly with the facts and probabilities involved in the mention of Silvanus in 1 P, that the identification is advanced many stages of probability. The points important for our present purpose are as follows. Silvanus appears suddenly at the time of the 'Council' at Jerusalem as an *ἀνὴρ ἡγούμενος ἐν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς* (Ac 15^{22}). He is chosen by the Church at Jerusalem to undertake a mission of extreme delicacy as delegate to the Church of Antioch. There his prophetic gifts made a deep impression. After a time he returned to Jerusalem. That he had left Antioch before the painful controversy alluded to in Gal 2, and that he was not therefore one of *οἱ λοιποὶ Ἰουδαῖοι* who proved faithless to St. Paul's teaching, seems clear from the fact that St. Paul deliberately selected him as his companion after the rupture with Barnabas and Mark (see art. MARK). As St. Paul's companion, he visited Derbe, Lystra, and Iconium. With him he traversed *τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν*, and, having shared his journey along the borders of Mysia, with him entered Europe. When St. Paul was constrained by 'the brethren' to hasten from Berœa, he left behind him Silas and Timothy—Silas, doubtless, as his representative, and Timothy as Silas' companion and assistant—to carry out the important work of building up the recently planted Church. When the apostle arrived at Athens, he seems to have felt keenly the need of the support of Silas' and Timothy's presence (Ac 17^{15}). It seems probable that Timothy joined St. Paul at Athens, and was sent back by him thence to Thessalonica (1 Th 3^{1}), and that Silas remained in Macedonia and continued the work in other cities besides Berœa, till he at length, with Timothy, left Macedonia, and met St. Paul at Corinth (Ac 18^{5}). It is important to notice that, whatever the exact details of the history may have been, Silas was entrusted by St. Paul with the task of developing his own initial work in the Churches of Macedonia, to which the apostle himself, as time went on, became bound with unusually strong and tender ties of affection. After his arrival at Corinth, Silvanus disappears from the narrative of the Acts (cf. 2 Co 1^{19}). Some ten years elapse, and we find a Silvanus at Rome, probably, as we have seen, while St. Paul was still in the city. (*a*) It would have been very natural for St. Paul's old companion to join him at Rome, where others among the apostle's former fellow-workers had gathered round him (Col 4^{7-14}, Philem $^{23f.}$). St. Paul clearly had special need of the sympathy and faithful co-operation of 'those who were of the circumcision' (Col 4^{11}). (*b*) On the other hand, the fact that Silvanus is not mentioned in any of the Epistles of the Captivity, and that he appears in the city, apparently not long after the last of these was written, in connexion with St. Peter, suggests the probability that he came to Rome with St. Peter. Silvanus was in early days closely connected with the Churches of Jerusalem and Antioch (Ac $15^{22.32.33}$), and it may well be that after he ceased to travel with St. Paul he resumed work in Syria. St. Peter, as we saw, probably came to Rome from Syria, possibly from Antioch. The two men may thus have been much thrown together in later as in earlier years. If St. Peter was summoned to Rome by St. Paul himself with the express purpose of deepening the unity of the Church, he would naturally choose as the companion of his journey to the capital one of St. Paul's old associates. For such a mission Silvanus was peculiarly fitted. He was a Jewish Christian who had long possessed the confidence of the leaders of the Church at Jerusalem (Ac $15^{22ff.}$). He had been closely associated with St. Paul. He was a Roman citizen (Ac 16^{37}). St. Paul was in the habit of sending his most trusted friends as his delegates to distant places to consolidate or to extend his work. It would be very natural that he should send Silvanus on such a mission to districts in some of which were Churches in planting which they had worked together, while in others were Christian communities which must have been to some extent the indirect outcome of their common work. On the assumption, then, that we have to deal with only one Silvanus in the apostolic history, we are able to weave the probabilities into a natural and consistent narrative; and, so far as is possible in such cases, the assumption is justified.

But why does St. Peter seize the opportunity of Silvanus' journey to write an Epistle to the Churches of Asia Minor? There is no indication that he had any personal knowledge of his readers in any of the districts to which he writes. It does not appear that he wished to bring before them and the Church generally any characteristic convictions of his as to the interpretation of the Christian faith, as St. Paul desired to do in the Epistles to the Romans and to the 'Ephesians.' No controversy is touched upon by him. The Epistle bears no trace of having been called forth by the difficulties or needs of any particular Church. Is not the motive which led St. Peter to write a letter to the Christians scattered over the vast districts of Asia Minor the same which we saw reason for thinking brought him to Rome? It is plain that if Silvanus, who long before had been known to some of these Churches as a companion of St. Paul, and who now was travelling as St. Paul's delegate, brought with him a letter from St. Peter, the effect on the minds of the Asiatic Christians would be only less powerful than that produced on the Roman Christians by the sight of the two apostles working and planning together in the Capital. The fact that the letter was written and received under such circumstances, would be the strongest enforcement of the lesson of the Church's unity. The Epistle may even have been written at St. Paul's request. But however that may be, the motive suggested seems adequate and simple. It harmonizes with the phenomena of the Epistle, and indeed throws fresh light on some of them. Thus it is no longer surprising that there is no great thought or purpose, doctrinal or personal, which dominates the whole Epistle. Its scope is truly summed up in the very general words — *ἔγραψα παρακαλῶν καὶ ἐπιμαρτυρῶν ταύτην εἶναι ἀληθῆ χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ* (5^{12}). Again, the Pauline tone of the Epistle is seen to correspond with all the circumstances of its composition. If these were what we have found reason to think them to have been, the letter could not but be Pauline. Once more, have we not here a final explanation of the fact that, though the mind of St. Peter constantly recurs to the words of Christ, he makes only indirect allusions to the privilege which he once had of watching the life of the Incarnate Lord? To have dwelt on this would have been to *appear* to disparage the apostolate of St. Paul.

To sum up: all the conditions of the problem seem to be satisfied if we assign the Epistle to a time shortly after St. Paul's trial had ended in his acquittal. The power of the Roman State seemed to be on the side of the Church. But the hatred of the Jews was an enemy 'scotched, not killed,' nay, perhaps it was intensified because deprived of its expected prey. Nor would the social trials of the Christians among their heathen neighbours be lessened by the Imperial decision. The daily experience of a Christian at Rome might well suggest serious warnings as to the proving of faith through suffering. The situation was as follows. St. Paul had himself summoned St. Peter to Rome, with the supreme object of showing to the Christians at Rome and to 'the brotherhood in the world' the unity of the Body and of the Spirit. St. Peter had arrived in Rome, and with him St. Paul's old companion Silvanus. After St. Paul's release Silvanus consents to become his delegate, as he had been years before, and on his behalf to undertake a long journey in Asia Minor. Silvanus would explain to these Churches the situation at Rome. He would enforce the spiritual and doctrinal lessons which were uppermost in St. Paul's mind. But the work of consolidating the Churches, and in them the Church, would be greatly advanced if Silvanus, the messenger of St. Paul, brought with him a letter from St. Peter. The letter itself might deal with general topics, as indeed was inevitable when it was addressed to readers spread over so vast an area. But the fact that it was written by St. Peter, now a fellow-worker with St. Paul at Rome, and transmitted by the common friend of both apostles, now executing St. Paul's commission, was itself the revelation of the mind of the apostles, and a call to deepen the common life of 'the brotherhood,' the significance of which cannot be exaggerated.

It is right to notice two other recent reconstructions of the apostolic history in connexion with the composition of 1 P. The points in which they are open to criticism have been sufficiently indicated in the preceding sections and in art. PETER. (1) Zahn's theory (*Einl.* ii. p. 18 f.) is as follows:—It is almost impossible to explain the silence of the Epistle as to St. Paul if St. Peter wrote *either* at a time when the two apostles were together in Rome *or* after St. Paul's death. It is probable that Mark went from Rome to Asia Minor (Col 4^{10}) in the autumn of 62, or early in 63, and afterwards visited Jerusalem. From him St. Peter learned the difficulties which the Jewish Christian teachers had created for St. Paul, and also the intention of the latter after his expected release to undertake a journey to the far West. St. Peter felt these tidings to be a call to himself to visit Rome. Such a visit was no violation of the compact recorded in Gal 2^{9}, since the Roman Church had not been founded by St. Paul, and was composed of Jewish Christians, many of whom were Palestinian Jews. St. Peter arrived in Rome in the autumn of 63 or early in 64. St. Paul had already left the city. Since the duration of St. Paul's missionary journey to Spain could not be foreseen, it was natural that St. Peter should tread in St. Paul's footsteps in other ways, and in particular in caring for the Churches of Asia. The fact that Silvanus assisted him in writing the Epistle, enabled him to strike a note in the letter which would find an echo in the hearts of men who directly or indirectly owed their Christianity to St. Paul. As nothing in the Epistle implies that he had recently arrived in Rome, and as his correspondents appear to be already aware of the fact that he was in the city, St. Peter probably wrote the Epistle in the course of the year 64, a few months before his martyrdom. (2) Swete (*St. Mark* p. xvii f.) follows Lightfoot in dissociating the martyrdom of St. Peter from that of St. Paul, but argues that 'it is open to consideration whether St. Paul's was not the earlier.' He thinks that 'an examination of 1 Peter supplies more than one reason for believing the Epistle to have been written subsequently to St. Paul's death.' Over and above the references to persecution which, he thinks, point to 70–75 as the limit of date, he notices that the letter is addressed to Christian communities some of which were Pauline Churches; that its bearer is 'a well-known colleague of St. Paul'; that it contains reminiscences of two of St. Paul's writings (Eph, Ro). 'The conclusion can scarcely be avoided that at the time when it was written St. Paul had finished his course. The care of the Churches had devolved on St. Peter; the two oldest associates of St. Paul had transferred their services to the surviving Apostle; both had originally been members of the Church at Jerusalem, and, when the attraction of the stronger personality had been withdrawn, both had returned to their earlier leader. St. Peter on his part is careful to show by the character of his letter and by his selection of colleagues that he has no other end than to take up and carry on the work of St. Paul.'

It remains to notice the evidence supplied by the Epistle as to *the intended journey of Silvanus*. On the questions suggested by 1 P 1^{1} see especially Hort's dissertation, 'The Provinces of Asia Minor included in St. Peter's address' (*1 Peter* pp. 157–184; cf. p. 17). Hort shows that (1) the position of Asia neither first nor last in the list, (2) the fact 'that Pontus and Bithynia stand at opposite ends of the list, though they together formed but a single province, the title of which combined both names,' indicate that in that list we have presented the projected course of the journey. Silvanus 'was to enter Asia Minor by a seaport of Pontus, and thence to make a circuit till [he] reached the neighbourhood of the Euxine once more.' Why he purposed to land in Pontus it is vain to conjecture. The condition of the Christian communities, or some special call to evangelistic work in that district or in the districts to which he would thus best gain access, may have been the determining motive. It is probable that Silvanus was to land at Sinope, the most important of the towns on the seaboard of Pontus. Thence he would visit the northern portion of the vast province of Galatia, probably making its capital Ancyra his headquarters. At Ancyra he would find more than one road by which he could reach Cæsarea, the one town of considerable importance in Cappadocia. Taking at this point the great road running westward to Ephesus, he would be able to visit the Churches in South Galatia, and so to enter the province of Asia. Northwards there lay Christian communities through which he would pass on his way to Bithynia, where it seems to have been the intention that he should again take ship. 'In thus following by natural and simple routes the order of provinces which stands in the first sentence of the Epistle, Silvanus would be brought into contact with every considerable district north of the Taurus in which there is reason to suppose that Christian communities would be found' (Hort p. 184).

VII. SUMMARY OF THE EPISTLE.—The opening of a new section in the Epistle is marked in 2^{11} 4^{12} by the appeal conveyed by the word ἀγαπητοί. Thus the letter has three main divisions of which the several topics may be thus *approximately* represented—(I.) 1^{1}–2^{10} the privileges belonging to the redeemed family of God; (II.) 2^{11}–4^{11} the duties of 'the brethren'; (III.) 4^{12}–5^{14} the trials of 'the brethren.' The different sections, however, overlap in regard to their subjects, and the thought of the Epistle is too spontaneous and (in a literary sense) too unpremeditated to admit of any formal analysis. The following paraphrase is an attempt to bring out the sequence and general treatment of ideas:—

I. 1^{1}–2^{10}. *The privileges belonging to the redeemed family of God.*—(1) $1^{1f.}$. *Salutation.* (2) $1^{3\text{-}12}$. *The joy of σωτηρία.* (*a*) Vv.$^{3\text{-}5}$. Benediction of the Father for the new birth and the heavenly inheritance. (*b*) Vv.$^{6\text{-}9}$. This joy in Christ is maintained by you in the midst of present sorrows, the issue of which will be seen at 'the revelation of Jesus Christ.' Faith in an unseen Lord is the spring whence comes this joy of σωτηρία. (*c*) Vv.$^{10\text{-}12}$. This σωτηρία was the subject of the prophets' search, as they foretold the facts which evangelists proclaimed to you, and which angels desire to discern. (3) 1^{13}–2^{10}. *The fruits of this σωτηρία in life.* (*a*) Vv. $^{13\text{-}21}$. *Seriousness.* Such being your position, do you, with minds alert and passions in control, set your hope on the Divine grace ever supplied to you, as Jesus Christ is gradually revealed to you. Not your sinful past, but the holiness of God must be the standard of your life. You must be solemnized by (α) the remembrance that your 'Father in heaven' is a strict Judge; (β) the thought of the greatness of the price paid for your redemption from an inheritance of vanity. (*b*) Vv.$^{22\text{-}25}$. *Love towards the members of the spiritual family.* The self-purification involved in redemption leads on to the cultivation of love towards the members of the spiritual family—genuine, deep, active. This is a duty which flows from the fact of ἀναγέννησις. (*c*) $2^{1ff.}$. *Growth.* If (on the negative side) you have stripped off from yourselves malice and such unchildlike vices, you must (on the positive side) surrender yourselves to your true spiritual instincts and live by the spiritual milk, the spiritual sustenance which is the direct gift of God. So you will grow up unto σωτηρία. (*d*) $2^{4\text{-}10}$. *Privilege.* Christ is the living stone, rejected by the act of men but in God's sight ἔντιμος. He is the foundation on which you are being built up as a spiritual house for spiritual acts of worship. This view of Christ (*i.e.* as the foundation stone) finds expression in the very letter of Scripture (Is 28^{16}). It has a double aspect. On the one hand, it is for you who believe that He is ἔντιμος. On the other hand, for those who disbelieve, the Psalmist's words about the stone of stumbling are true, their very stumbling being within the limits of the Divine purpose. But you are the true Israel, with all the privileges of the λαὸς θεοῦ.

II. 2^{11}–4^{11}. *The brotherhood which is in the world, and its duties.*—(1) $2^{11f.}$. *General introductory counsels.* Be like mere sojourners in the world. Let the moral beauty of your conduct make your very detractors watch you, so that in the day of decision they may glorify God. (2) 2^{13}–3^{12}. *Duty of submission to every Divine institution among men.* (*a*) $2^{14\text{-}17}$. *Subjects and civil magistrates.* For Christian freedom must not be a cloak for (social or political) disaffection. 'Honour the king' is one practical application of the universal rule 'Honour all men.' (*b*) $2^{18\text{-}25}$. *Slaves and masters.* Obey even unreasonable masters. He who does right and patiently suffers wrong, pleases God. To nothing less than this were you called. For Christ suffered for us; and in all His sufferings left us the pattern-sketch of a life of sinless endurance and constant trust. (*c*) $3^{1\text{-}6}$. *Wives and husbands.* To watch the wife's serious and pure life may win the husband who has been deaf to the spoken message. Her adornment must be within—a spirit placid in itself, gentle towards others. Such is the example of the wives of ancient story. (*d*) 3^{7}. *Husbands.* Husbands have a corresponding duty—to pay their wives the reverence due to their weakness. Those who share an earthly home (συνοικοῦντες) must behave to each other as those who share (συγκληρόνομοι) the heavenly inheritance. (*e*) 3^{8-12}. *A summary of mutual duties* (cf. 5^{5}). In a word, let kindness rule. Do not return evil for evil, but bless your revilers; for the inheritance of blessing is the end of the Christian calling (Ps 34^{12-16}). (*f*) 3^{13-22}. *Suffering and its reward.* I spoke of *evil.* Who shall do you evil, if you be champions of good? But even *should* you suffer for righteousness' sake, you are happy. Do not fear, but make your hearts a sanctuary for the Christ. Towards others, be always ready to explain and defend your faith to any questioner. In yourselves, maintain a good conscience, that your conduct may shame your detractors. For, *should* this be God's will, it is better that you, like Christ, should suffer for well-doing than for evil-doing. For Christ once for all, *i.e.* dealing decisively with sins, died, the just on behalf of the unjust, that He might bring you (then afar off) to God. But these sufferings had (as yours will have) their issue in blessing. (i.) On the one hand, His being put to death in regard to His flesh was His quickening in regard to His (human) spirit. Clothed in that human spirit He extended (καί) His sphere of ministry. He journeyed and made proclamation to the spirits in prison, spirits who slighted God's long-suffering in the days when the ark was being built. In the ark only eight souls were saved, the water (which to others was the instrument of judgment) bearing up the ark and so becoming an instrument of σωτηρία. The reality, of which the water of the Flood was a type, even baptism, saves (σώζει) you; not the external cleansing of the flesh, but the inquiry of a good conscience after God,* the final source of its efficacy being the resurrection of Jesus Christ. (ii.) The patient suffering of Christ had a second issue—His triumph. He journeyed (as before into Hades 3^{19}, so now) into heaven and is at God's right hand, the victorious sovereign over all spiritual powers. (*g*) 4^{1-6}. *The ideal of Christian life.* Christ then suffered in relation to the flesh. Hence the true conception of life. Let it be your armour. To have suffered in regard to the flesh means to have ceased to exist in regard to sins. Realize your spiritual position by living no longer by the rule of the manifold lusts of men, but by the one will of God. It is enough to have given the past to the heathen vices of debauchery, drunkenness, idolatry. The heathen wonder that you hold aloof from their vile riot, and traduce your motives. But the injustice is not for ever. They will have to give an account to Him with whom the judgment of living and dead is 'as a very little thing' (ἑτοίμως). Such judgment of the dead is just. For the proclamation of the gospel to the dead had this for its object, that, while the dead must be judged after the pattern of men in reference to the flesh (the earthly life), they may nevertheless be enabled to live after the pattern of God (cf. 1^{15}) in reference to the spirit. (*h*) 4^{7-11}. *Christian life in view of the approaching end.* The end of all things is near. Therefore be serious and devout. Most of all, cultivate mutual love. Let each man use his peculiar endowment for the good of the whole body —his gift of utterance, relying on Divine inspiration; his gift of ministry, resting on Divine strength. So God will be glorified.

III. 4^{12}–5^{14}. *The trials of the brethren.*—(1) 4^{12-19}. *Trust in the midst of suffering.* Let not God's process of testing and refining you seem to you strange, as if some strange chance were befalling you. Rather rejoice at your participation in the sufferings of the Christ, that when His glory is revealed your joy may be intensified. To hear Christ's reproach is an outward sign of a spiritual grace resting on you. I say *Christ's reproach*, for I would not have any of you suffer for any criminal act or for any social indiscretion. But to suffer as a Christian is a reason not for shame but for thanksgiving. You must expect suffering. For the set time has come for the judgment to begin with God's household. What, then, shall be the end of those who wilfully reject the gospel? Hence let those who have even to suffer in fulfilment of the Divine purpose do right and commend themselves to a Creator who will not 'forsake the work of his own hands.' (2) 5^{1-5}. *Pastors and people.* I who share their office (and so can sympathize with them), and am a witness to the sufferings of the Christ (and so speak with authority), charge your elders to shepherd God's flock, not in the spirit of slaves or hirelings or tyrants. Then when the Chief Shepherd is manifested they will have their reward. You younger men have a corresponding duty, to be subject to elders. All of you—your duty is humility and mutual service. (3) 5^{6-11}. *Final counsels.* Humble yourselves under God's dealings that He may exalt you. Cast your anxiety on Him, knowing His providential care for you. Watch; for the devil ravins for you as a prey. Firm through your faith resist him, conscious that for your brethren throughout the world the same sufferings are being fulfilled. God who called you, He, after your brief space of suffering, will strengthen you. (4) 5^{12-14}. *Commendation of the bearer of the letter. Salutations.*

VIII. DOCTRINE OF THE EPISTLE.—In this section an attempt will be made to indicate in outline the doctrinal teaching contained in the Epistle. The letter is a λόγος παρακλήσεως, and contains no *systematic* exposition of any part of the Christian faith. But in the mind of the writer there is a consistent and comprehensive theology which finds incidental and instinctive expression.

The Petrine speeches in the Acts were called forth by special circumstances, and (except the speeches recorded in Ac 10^{30-48} 15^{7-11}) were all addressed to non-Christian Jews at Jerusalem. We have no right, therefore, to look to them for the full cycle of Christian doctrine which even 'in the beginning of the Gospel' St. Peter had apprehended. The following coincidences, however, between 1 P and the Petrine speeches recorded in the Acts are noteworthy:—1 P 1^{10} (προφῆται) ‖ Ac $3^{18.21.24}$ 10^{43}, cf. $2^{16ff.25ff.}$ $3^{22.25}$; $1^{11.21}$ ‖ $2^{24.32f.}$ $3^{13ff.}$ 4^{10} $5^{30f.}$ 10^{40}; 1^{21} ‖ 3^{16}; 2^{7} ‖ 4^{11} (Ps); 2^{24} (ξύλον) ‖ 5^{30} 10^{39}; 4^{5} ‖ 10^{42} (see also 2 Ti 4^{1}); 5^{1} ‖ 1^{22} 2^{32} 3^{15} $10^{39.41}$. Of these coincidences, the parallel between 1 P 1^{21} (τοὺς δι' αὐτοῦ πιστούς) and Ac 3^{16} (ἡ πίστις ἡ δι' αὐτοῦ) is very remarkable. It is the kind of coincidence which suggests direct connexion of some kind. Mere literary dependence on the one side or the other is not supported by coincidences between 1 P and portions of the Acts other than the Petrine speeches. The suggestion made on other grounds (see above, p. 762 n.), that St. Peter and St. Luke may well have met in Rome, should in this connexion be kept in mind.

(1) *The doctrine of God.*—(*a*) *The Holy Trinity.* —As elsewhere in the NT (2 Th 2^{13}, 1 Co $12^{4ff.}$, 2 Co 13^{14}, Eph $3^{14ff.}$ $4^{3ff.}$, Jude $^{20f.}$, cf. Rev 1^{4}), the Three Persons are revealed in their several relations to the complete redemption of man (1^{2}). The fact that the Three Names are not given in the order of historical manifestation is an indication that the Persons are regarded as 'coequal' (cf. 2 Co 13^{14}). The mystery of the *essential* relation of the Three Persons is not otherwise touched upon. In regard to their relation κατ' οἰκονομίαν, the Father is spoken of as 'the God and Father' of the incarnate Lord ('Jesus Christ,' 1^{3}), and as the object of His unfailing trust in the extremity of humiliation (2^{23}), while the *temporal* mission of the Spirit is referred to (1^{12}). (*b*) *The Father.* The unique phrase πιστὸς κτίστης (4^{19}) implies that the relation of God to man as Creator is the final basis of trust (cf. Mt $6^{25ff.}$, He 12^{9}). The spiritual Fatherhood of God, *i.e.* the regeneration of men through the revelation in Christ and the Divine act of the resurrection, is a root-thought in the Epistle ($1^{3.23}$), and from it springs the social teaching as to φιλαδελφία. (*c*) *The Son.* Is the pre-existence of Christ asserted or postulated in the Epistle? In the phrase τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς [*sc.* τοῖς προφήταις] πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ (1^{11}), the reference in Χριστοῦ is not primarily personal; the word rather alludes to the conception of the Messiah progressively revealed and apprehended (see Hort's note). Again, in 1^{20} φανερωθέντος is placed in antithesis to προεγνωσμένου, and therefore does not necessarily imply personal pre-existence. The words, however, in $3^{18f.}$ appear to be decisive. The personality of Him whose actions are described resided neither in the σάρξ (cf. 4^{1}) nor in the πνεῦμα. Clothed in that human spirit (ἐν ᾧ), when the flesh had been laid aside in death, *He* carried out His ministry among the dead. Thus the passage distinctly implies that He who worked on earth and in Hades was a superhuman Person, assuming all the elements of human nature, and therefore existing before the beginning of the human life. (*d*) *The Spirit.* The Spirit is mentioned in $1^{2.11f.}$ 4^{14}. In 4^{14} the words, an echo of Is 11^{2}, are a Christian adaptation of the thought and language of the OT. The Spirit of God which rested on Messiah is the portion of those also who suffer for Messiah's sake. The earlier passage (1^{11}) is, as was seen above, closely connected with the ancient Messianic hope. 'The Spirit of Messiah' was 'in the Prophets.' But the mention of the Spirit in v.^{11} cannot be disconnected from the mention of the Spirit in v.^{12}. The Spirit was the power through which the witness of the ancient prophets and the witness of Christian evangelists were rendered. Thus the two verses together emphasize the continuity of revelation (cf. the 'Constantinopolitan' Creed). For in v.^{12} (διὰ τῶν εὐαγγ. ὑμᾶς πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ἀποσταλέντι ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ) the reference is definite, not to *a* but to *the* Holy

---

* The history of Cornelius (Ac $10^{22.31.47}$) is the best commentary on the phrase ἐπερώτημα εἰς θεόν in this connexion.

Spirit. The absence of the article simply brings out the *character* of the power—'through no less a power than the Holy Spirit'; compare, *e.g.*, Ro 8^{14-16} and the anarthrous but definite use of θεός, Χριστός, κύριος, υἱός (He 1^{2}). The addition of ἀποστ. ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ can hardly be taken otherwise than as an allusion to the historical gift of the Spirit at Pentecost.

(2) *Redemption.*—Everything in regard both to the Redeemer (1^{20}, cf. Ac 2^{23}) and the redeemed ($1^{1f.}$) is conditioned by the πρόγνωσις of the Father. Even disobedience to the gospel does not lie outside the sphere of His purpose (2^{8}). The *preparation* is dwelt on in 1^{10-12}. The prophetic witness was twofold—(*a*) to the sufferings destined for Messiah (εἰς Χρ.) and the different elements in His subsequent glory; (*b*) to the Divine grace destined for the Gentiles (εἰς ὑμᾶς, cf. Ac 10^{43}). It should be noted that in this Epistle there is no allusion to the Law either in its ceremonial or in its moral aspect, nor again (except the passing reference to the 'holy women,' $3^{5f.}$) to the ancient story of Israel; contrast St. Paul's Epistles. The Divine Person took human nature in its completeness—σάρξ and πνεῦμα (3^{18}); in 2^{24} the Lord's σῶμα is spoken of, but St. Peter has no occasion to refer to the Lord's ψυχή, in St. Paul's psychology the σῶμα and the ψυχή together making up the σάρξ. Christ was sinless ($2^{22f.}$, the language being derived from Is 53^{9}; cf. 1^{19}). He endured the last issue of the life of sinful man in the separation of 'flesh' and 'spirit,' and 'in His spirit' passed into the unseen world of waiting human spirits (3^{19}, cf. Ac $2^{27.31}$). His death is presented in a twofold aspect. On the one hand, it consummated the example of the typical human life (2^{21}). On the other hand, in His death He met the needs of sinful men. He 'died' to help them—δίκαιος ὑπὲρ ἀδίκων (3^{18}). And His help to them consisted in this, that He finally and effectually dealt with sins (ἅπαξ περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν, 3^{18}). The mode in which He dealt with sins is developed in 2^{24}. Adopting the language of Is 53^{12}, the apostle says that the Sinless One 'took our sins' (not sin as a principle, but the concrete sins of men) to Himself, *i.e.* by virtue of His representative humanity. His human 'body' was, as it were, the vessel in which the sins of men were gathered (ἐν τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ) and borne to the last extreme of humiliation—the ξύλον involving to the mind of Jews the Divine curse (Dt 21^{23}). By His death (so the context implies) His relation to the flesh and to sins finally ended (2^{24} 4^{1}, cf. Ro 6^{10}), so that the true life of humanity is henceforth ideally set free from the dominion of sin. This freedom the redeemed have to work out in their several lives. In $1^{18f.}$ a different line of thought is followed. Gentiles (for it is to Gentile Christians that the Epistle is addressed, see above) were ransomed (ἐλυτρώθητε—the word is taken from Is 52^{3}; cf. especially Mt 20^{28}, 1 Ti 2^{6}) from bondage to an inheritance of vanity, and the ransom was no less a price than the 'precious blood' (cf. Ps 72^{14} Heb., 115 (116) $^{6\,(15)}$ LXX) of Christ. Christ Himself is likened to a lamb free from intrinsic blemish and from accidental stain (ἀμώμου καὶ ἀσπίλου). The whole cycle of ideas is probably derived from the history of the first Passover and of Israel's redemption from Egypt. The reserve of the passage is remarkable. Nothing is said in regard to the question to whom the λύτρον was paid. The sacrificial language is metaphorical (ὡς ἀμνοῦ); it is simple and is not developed. The *aim* of the Lord's sufferings is twofold. It has a heavenly and an earthly side. On the one hand, ἀπέθανεν . . . ἵνα ὑμᾶς προσαγάγῃ τῷ θεῷ (3^{18}). There is a slight emphasis on ὑμᾶς—'you Gentiles who were afar off' (Eph 2^{13}). Christ dealt with the sins of men, and remained Himself δίκαιος. His work and His abiding character fitted Him to bring those whom He had freed from sin into the presence of God. The ideas of mediatorship and reconciliation lie in the background. On the other hand, Christ bore our sins ἵνα ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἀπογενόμενοι τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ ζήσωμεν (2^{24}). Here and in $4^{1f.}$ Christ's death is described as involving the Christian's death to sin (cf. St. Paul, *e.g.*, Ro $6^{2ff.}$). The correlative idea of 'the life to righteousness' leads naturally to the teaching of the Epistle in regard to the resurrection. The resurrection *in regard to Christ Himself* is described as the reversal (1^{11} 3^{22}; cf. 4^{13} 5^{1}) through the act of the Father (1^{21}) of the humiliation involved in suffering and death—a conception which is prominent in the Petrine speeches in the Acts (see above, p. 766), but which in the Epistle falls into the background. *In regard to men*, it is δι' ἀναστάσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (*a*) that the Father 'begat anew' (ἀναγεννήσας) all Christian men (ἡμᾶς, 1^{3}, cf. 1^{23}); (*b*) that Baptism becomes in the gospel dispensation (νῦν) the crisis of salvation to each (ὑμᾶς . . . σώζει, 3^{21}; cf. Tit 3^{5} ἔσωσεν). Further, the effect of redemption is not limited to the initiation of the Christian life. If 'sanctification by the Spirit' is represented (1^{2}) as the influence which surrounds (ἐν) the working out of the Divine purpose in the case of the ἐκλεκτοί, that ἐκλογή has for its immediate end (εἰς) the twofold issue ὑπακοὴ καὶ ῥαντισμὸς αἵματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ—a life lived in accordance with the Divine will and pattern ($1^{14.22}$, cf. *e.g.* 1^{16} 2^{15}), and continually cleansed from the defilement of sin by the application of the quickening blood of Christ. The thought and the language are derived from the OT. The phrase ῥαντισμὸς αἵματος recalls at once the ὕδωρ ῥαντισμοῦ of Nu $19^{9.13.20f.}$ (cf. He 12^{24}, Barn. v. 1 ἐν τῷ αἵματι τοῦ ῥαντίσματος αὐτοῦ). In ancient Israel provision was made whereby the faithful Israelite, defiled by contact with the dead, should be sprinkled with 'the water of separation.' In the true Israel not water poured on the ashes of the victim, but the blood of Jesus Christ (cf. He $9^{13f.}$), is ever ready for the cleansing of those who are *obedient*, but who from time to time are defiled through contact with evil. Thus the sequence of thought is precisely that in 1 Jn 1^{7} (ἐὰν ἐν τῷ φωτὶ περιπατῶμεν . . . τὸ αἷμα Ἰησοῦ κ.τ.λ.).* The end of the divinely sustained growth (2^{2}) and of the discipline of the Christian man (1^{5}) is 'salvation' (εἰς σωτηρίαν)—that 'perfect soundness' which answers to God's purpose in creation.

(3) *The Church.*—The two aspects in which the Christian Church is prominently presented in this Epistle are closely related to OT language and Jewish thought. (*a*) The Church is regarded 'as first and foremost the true Israel of God, the one legitimate heir of the promises made to Israel' (Hort p. 7). Hence in $2^{9f.}$ the remarkable transference to Christians in their corporate aspect of the prerogatives which belonged to Israel. The Christian Society is represented as a priestly body (2^{9}) chosen to do priestly service (2^{5}), but the spiritual character of this worship (as opposed to the material and merely ceremonial worship of ancient Israel) is insisted on (πνευματικὰς θυσίας, 2^{5}; cf. Ro 12^{1}, Jn 4^{23}). The idea of the new Israel is not foreign to St. Paul (*e.g.* Gal 6^{16}) or other writers of the NT, but nowhere is it insisted on with such emphasis as here. (*b*) The Church is a universal brotherhood (2^{17} 5^{9}). In the OT Israelites are constantly described as 'brethren' (*e.g.* Ex 4^{18}, Dt

---

* Hort, basing the interpretation of the phrase on Ex 24^{3-8}, concludes that the reference is to an initial pledge of obedience and an initial 'sprinkling with blood'—the admission to the Christian covenant. The preposition εἰς (emphasized by juxtaposition with ἐν), pointing to a *goal*, and the position of the clause seem to the present writer strong arguments against this interpretation.

18^{15}, Neh 5^8); for the usage of later times comp. *e.g.* 2 Mac 1^1, Ac 22^5 28^{21}. In the true Israel the tie is not natural, but spiritual. It grows out of the fundamental fact of the Divine *ἀναγέννησις* (1^2). The duties involved in this brotherhood are distinctly described as flowing from the spiritual relation of Christians to God as their Father—*ἀλλήλους ἀγαπήσατε . . . ἀναγεγεννημένοι* (1^{23}). Hence the repeated insistence on *ἀγάπη* and *φιλαδελφία* (1^{22} 2^{17} 4^8). If the very term *ἀδελφότης* (2^{17} 5^9) emphasizes the notion of unity, the qualifying words *ἡ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ* (5^9; cf. *διασπορᾶς*, 1^1) suggest the idea of *universality*: the 'brotherhood' is catholic. Little is said of the organization of the Church. The spirit in which *elders* are to work is enforced in $5^{1ff.}$. In $4^{10f.}$ there is an allusion to the due exercise of *χαρίσματα* in the Christian Society, and particular reference is made to those who teach and those who minister. The term *ἐκκλησία*, however, does not occur in the Epistle. The allusions to the Church suggest that, while the writer had a deep realization of the broad facts, he had not been led specially to ponder on their inner significance and promise, as the 'Ephesians' shows that St. Paul had done.

(4) *Eschatology.*—The Epistle holds an important position in the NT in respect to eschatological teaching. St. Peter (4^7) regards the 'end of all things,' *i.e.* the great consummation, when the present order will pass away, as near at hand. In this point there is an important contrast between the teaching of this Epistle and that of the later Epistles of St. Paul (Hort, *Romans and Ephesians* p. 141 f.). The time of the end is regarded under two chief aspects. (1) It will be a time of *ἀποκάλυψις*. Then the progressive 'revelation of Jesus Christ' (1^{13}) will culminate in a final 'revelation of Jesus Christ' (1^7 5^4; cf. Lk 17^{30}), a 'revelation of his glory' (4^{13}; cf. $1^{11.21}$). Then will be the *καιρὸς ἔσχατος* when the 'inheritance' of Christians will be 'revealed,'* their participation in the glory 'which shall be revealed' (5^1), God's *αἰώνιος δόξα* which was the goal of their 'calling' (5^{10}). (2) It will be a time of *judgment*. God, indeed, is essentially ὁ *κρίνων—ἀπροσωπολήμπτως* (negatively, without partiality; 1^{17}), *δικαίως* (positively, with absolute justice; 2^{23}), *ἑτοίμως* (with the unerring precision of perfect knowledge; 4^5). His judgment is individual, and is determined by each man's action (1^{17}). It will then comprehend 'quick and dead' (4^5; cf. Ac 10^{42}, 2 Ti 4^1). It will be observed that, throughout, the judgment is ascribed to the final authority of the Father (cf. *e.g.* Ro 14^{10}), and that nothing is said in the Epistle of the mediatorship of the Son in the judgment (Ro 2^{16}, 2 Co 5^{10}; cf. Jn $5^{22.27}$).

But the question inevitably arises, How will perfect justice in judging the dead deal with those who died before the proclamation of the gospel? To this question St. Peter gives an answer in 4^6, in close connexion with which we must take $3^{19f.}$. The difficulty of the two passages lies not so much in any obscurity of language as in the mysterious nature both of the subject with which they deal and of the problems which they suggest. The earlier of the two passages ($3^{19f.}$) is limited in scope, dealing only with the case of those who, being disobedient, perished in the great typical judgment of the ancient world. The interpretations which explain the words as referring either (1) to an antediluvian mission of Christ, or (2) to an evangelization of the *angels* who fell (Jude^6, 2 P 2^4), appear (in view of the context, the grammatical construction, and the parallel in 4^6) to be quite untenable. What appears to be the simple and natural view of the passages is given in the paraphrase above. It may further be observed (*a*) that the apostle necessarily uses the language of human experience (*πορευθεὶς*; cf. v.^{22}), though narrating events transcending human experience; (*b*) that the phrase *τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασιν* in reference to Hades is quite natural language for a Jew; comp. Apoc. Bar xxiii. 4 'a place was prepared where the living might dwell and the dead might be guarded,' 2 Es $7^{85.95}$; (*c*) that it is not impossible that the apostle's language (*ἐκήρυξε . . . φυλακῇ*) was suggested by Is $61^{1f.}$ 42^7 49^9. The emphasis of the passage rests on the Person of the *κῆρυξ*. The later passage (4^6) differs from the earlier in *three* important respects: (α) the reference is not limited to the dead belonging to one generation. The anarthrous *καὶ νεκροῖς* is not in itself necessarily universal in scope, but here it must be interpreted in the light of the preceding words (*τῷ . . . κρίνοντι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς*); (*β*) the main point here (according to the requirements of the context) is the simple fact that the gospel was preached to the dead, not (as in 3^{19}) the agent in its proclamation; hence the difference of wording (*ἐκήρυξεν, εὐηγγελίσθη*) is no argument that the two passages have not a common reference to a single occasion; (*γ*) while in 3^{19} nothing is said as to the aim or effect of the proclamation, here its object is distinctly stated. It is important to notice that this sentence, in which the purpose is described, is one in which '*μέν* and *δέ* oppose two clauses, whereof one is really subordinate to the other' (Liddell and Scott *sub voce μέν* ii. 5). The purpose of the preaching was not that the dead should be judged, but that *though judged* . . . they yet might live. . . . The aorist (*κριθῶσι*) points to the one season of the judgment; the contrasted present (*ζῶσι*), to the continuous life *κατὰ θεόν* (cf. 1^{15}). The two passages taken together appear unquestionably to assert that at the supreme crisis of redemption the Redeemer Himself proclaimed the gospel to the dead, those who perished in the Flood being particularly specified, and that therefore such blessings of the gospel as are not confined to this earthly order were offered to them.

Apart from possible allusions to the subject in three passages of St. Paul (Ro 10^7 14^9, Eph 4^9), no writer in the NT refers to the *descensus ad inferos*, with the significant exception of St. Peter (cf. Ac $2^{27.31}$), who may well have learned the mysterious facts of which he speaks from the lips of the Risen Lord Himself. The simplicity and reticence of St. Peter's disclosure are remarkable. On references to the *descensus* in early Christian literature see Lightfoot on Ign. *Magn.* ix. (add to the passages collected *Gospel of Peter* ix.). It appears certain that these early references are not based upon the passages in 1 P. 'No direct appeal is made to St. Peter in any of the numerous references to the Descent; the earliest quotation of 1 P 4^6 we have been able to find is in Cyprian's *Testimonia*' (Swete, *Apostles' Creed* p. 58). Hence in these passages we have expansions of a primitive Christian tradition, independent of St. Peter's written words.

Additional note on the name 'Peter.'—Dr. Schechter, in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* for April 1900, p. 428 f., writes thus: 'Besides the epithets "the God-fearing" Abraham or Abraham "the friend of God," Abraham also bears in Rabbinic literature the title of "the Rock." . . . The Rabbinic passage forms an illustration of Nu 23^9 "For from the top of the rocks I see him," and runs thus: There was a king who desired to build, and to lay foundations; he dug constantly deeper, but found only a swamp. At last he dug and found a *petra* (this is the very word the Rabbi uses). He said, "On this spot I shall build and lay the foundations." So the Holy One, blessed be he, desired to create the world, but meditating upon the generations of Enoch and the Deluge, he said, "How shall I create the world whilst those wicked men will only provoke me?" But as soon as God perceived that there would rise an Abraham, he said, "Behold I have found the *petra* upon which to build and to lay foundations." Therefore he called Abraham Rock [צור], as it is said, "Look unto the rock whence ye are hewn. Look unto Abraham your father" (Is $51^{1.2}$). Yalkut i. 766. See Dr. Taylor's *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, ed. 2, p. 160.'

---

* Hort takes the words *ἑτοίμην ἀποκαλυφθῆναι* (1^5) to refer to the immediately preceding *εἰς σωτηρίαν*, and interprets *ἐν καιρῷ ἐσχάτῳ* as meaning 'in a season of extremity.' But (1) it is difficult to disconnect *ἐσχάτῳ* here from *ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν χρόνων* in 1^{20}; and *καιρός* is common in eschatological phrases in Daniel and NT, *e.g.* 4^{17}, Rev 1^3; (2) the 'inheritance' is the main subject of the passage, and for *εἰς σωτηρίαν* (standing alone) comp. the same phrase in 2^2; (3) *ἑτοίμην ἀποκαλυφθῆναι* (cf. 1^4) is correlative to *τετηρημένην ἐν οὐρανοῖς*.

LITERATURE.—See at the end of the article on 2 Peter.

F. H. CHASE.

PETER, SECOND EPISTLE OF.—

- I. The Epistle considered apart from the question of its genuineness.
  - 1. Transmission of the Text.
  - 2. Summary of the Epistle.
  - 3. Doctrine of the Epistle.
  - 4. The writer of the Epistle, its readers, the circumstances of its composition.
- II. The question of the genuineness of the Epistle.
  - 1. The integrity of the Epistle.
  - 2. Reception in the Church.
  - 3. Vocabulary and style.
  - 4. Internal evidence—(*a*) references to the gospel history; (*b*) absence of personal messages and greetings; (*c*) alleged anachronisms; (*d*) doctrine.
  - 5. Relation to 1 P.
  - 6. Literary affinities—(*a*) Jude; (*b*) Josephus; (*c*) Apocalypse of Peter.
  - 7. Conclusion.

I. THE EPISTLE CONSIDERED APART FROM THE QUESTION OF ITS GENUINENESS. — 1. *TRANSMISSION OF TEXT.* For the authorities—MSS and Versions—see art. JUDE (EPISTLE OF) in vol. ii. p. 799. Some further points must be noted. (1) 2 P is not contained in the Peshitta. The text given in the printed editions of that version is, it appears, part of the Philoxenian version of the NT made in the early years of the 6th cent. (see below, p. 805). (2) Portions of pre-Hieronymic texts are found in the Fleury palimpsest=h (edited by Berger, 1889), in the Munich fragments edited by Ziegler=q (only 1^{1-4}), and in the *Speculum* commonly known by the symbol m (ed. Weihrich). The text represented in h q, according to Berger, is one based on a late 'Italian' text, kindred to that revised by Jerome, transplanted to Africa and there greatly altered—'an African text of a late period.' Some remarkable fragments of an old Latin text are contained in Priscillian (ed. Schepss)—1^{20} (omnis profetia uel scribtura interprætationem indiget, p. 87), $2^{3.10}$ (p. 29), 2^{5} (p. 46). Ambrose (*de Fide* iii. 12) quotes 1^{10}. (3) Patristic evidence for the text is found chiefly in (*a*) Greek writers—Didymus, Ephraem (not Syriac works), Cyril Alex., John of Damascus, the commentators Œcumenius and Theophylact, the fragments in Cramer's *Catena* (some being ascribed to Athanasius, Eusebius of Emesa, and Chrysostom; on the last see below, p. 805 n.); (*b*) Latin writers—Ambrose, Priscillian, Jerome, Augustine, Fulgentius, Vigilius, Bede. Difficulties of interpretation give a sense of insecurity in regard to the text (*e.g.* $2^{11.14}$). Hort supposes that there are primitive errors in $3^{10.12}$. On 3^{2}, see below p. 811; and on 3^{10} see Vansittart in the *Journal of Philology* iii. p. 357 ff., where he suggests that the 'existence' of this Epistle, as of that to the Hebrews, 'depended for many years on a single copy.'

2. *SUMMARY OF THE EPISTLE.*—The Epistle (after the salutation) seems to fall into three sections—(1) 1^{3-11}; (2) 1^{12}–2^{22}; (3) 3^{1-18}. Each of the two latter sections begins with a reference to the writer's personal relation to those whom he addresses, and in both cases he goes on to speak of the dangers which will soon overtake them from false teachers.

(1) (i.) $1^{1f.}$ *Salutation*; (ii.) $1^{3f.}$ *Divine gifts.*—The Divine power has given us all needful endowments, endowments through which He has given us* His promises, that through these promises you, having escaped from the world's corruption, may become sharers in the Divine nature. (iii.) 1^{5-7} *The duty of diligence.* Such gifts imply duties. Use diligence on your part that one excellence in you may grow out of another. (iv.) 1^{8-11} *The hope of diligence.* Such excellences, where they exist, cause fruitfulness. For he who has them not is blind, and forgets that he was cleansed from the sins of his old life. Therefore with the greater diligence see that you make God's calling and choice of you an abiding blessing. For so acting, you will not stumble; and the gift of entrance into the eternal kingdom will without stint be yours.

(2) (i.) 1^{12-15} *The writer's care for his friends.*—Hence, though ye know these truths, I will ever keep them fresh in your memory, so long as I am in this tabernacle, for I know from the Lord's disclosure of the future to me that my putting it off will come suddenly. Further, I will take diligent care that, as during my life so also after my departure, you shall be reminded of these truths. (ii.) 1^{16-21} *The teachers' warrant.* For we did not follow fables skilfully elaborated when we told you of the power of the Lord and His coming (*i.e.* in the flesh). Our warrant was that we had been initiated into the mystery of His majesty. We beheld the glory which He received from the Father, when the voice of God addressed Him as My Son, when we were His companions in the Holy Mount. And what is more abiding than a fleeting *voice* we possess in the prophetic *word.* Give heed to it as a lamp shining in a foul place till the perfect dawn comes. But remember that the interpretation of a prophecy in Scripture does not lie within a man's unaided power†; for prophecy came not by the will of man, but men spake from God as they were controlled by the Spirit. (iii.) 2^{1-11} *False teachers; their sure punishment.* As there were false prophets in Israel, so there will be false teachers among you, denying even the Master who purchased them. Many will follow them, their life and their teaching being marked by lasciviousness, greed, insincerity. But their judgment has long been actively working. For God ever punishes the evil. He punished angels when they sinned, committing them to dens of darkness to be kept for judgment; the ancient world, while He delivered Noah; the Cities of the Plain, their overthrow being an example of what shall happen to ungodly men, while He delivered Lot, ever wearied out by the lascivious life of the lawless. Yes, the Lord can deliver the godly from temptation, and keep the unrighteous in punishment for the day of judgment. And this is chiefly so with those whose sins are uncleanness, proud insubordination, and slandering; whereas angels, greater in power than they, bring no slanderous accusation against them (*i.e.* these sinners) before the Lord. (iv.) 2^{12-22} *Marks of such false teachers.* Such men may be easily discerned. In their sins, and therefore in their punishment, they are like irrational animals. They blazon their profligacy in broad daylight. They are spots and flaws in your company. Their glances are ceaselessly unchaste. They entice restless souls. They sin from motives of covetousness like Balaam, who was miraculously rebuked for his madness. They are as purposeless as waterless springs or tempest-driven mists: their end will be thick darkness. With empty vauntings they entice into lusts those who are just escaping from evil companionship. Themselves the slaves of corruption, they promise a spurious liberty. They are indeed slaves. For if they were rescued from the defilements of the world and are now again ensnared therein, their last state has become worse than their first. For ignorance of righteousness is better than deliberate rebellion against the holy commandment. Their degradation is set forth in common proverbs.

(3) (i.) $3^{1f.}$ *The writer's Epistles.*—In this, as in my former letter, I remind you of the words spoken long ago by the prophets, and of the Lord's commandment brought to you by those of the apostles who were your teachers. (ii.) 3^{3-7} *Mockers at the promise of the Return.* Remember before all else that in the last days mockers will come, men of lustful life, scornfully asking what has become of the promise of His return. For the Fathers passed away, and the world's course is unchanged. Such mockers are self-condemned. For they wilfully forget that by the word of God the heavens were made, and the earth compacted of water and by means of water, waters which became the instrument of judgment. And by the same word the heavens and the earth are being kept for the fire of the final judgment. (iii.) 3^{8-13} *The Lord's delay and His coming.* Forget not that God reckons not time as men reckon. His seeming slowness in fulfilling His promise is in truth His long-suffering towards you, that all may come to repentance. Howbeit the day of the Lord will come suddenly, the day when the vault of heaven shall pass away, and the stars shall melt

---

[*] Spitta (*Der zweite Brief des Petrus* p. 41 ff.) would read ὑμῖν in v.^{4} with A 36, 38 syr-bod syr-hl-mg, and would take the ἡμᾶς of v.^{3} and the δι' ὧν of v.^{4} to refer to the apostles.

[†] Spitta (p. 115) takes the words to mean, 'Keine Prophezeiung der Schrift ist der Art dass sie vernichtet werden könnte.'

with heat, and the earth and men's works therein shall be discovered. The certainty of this dissolution of material things is a call to holiness of life and to an earnest expectation of His coming. Then—because the day of God has come—the whole fabric of the universe shall be burned up. But we expect, according to His promise, new heavens and a new earth—the home of righteousness. (iv.) 3^{14-18} *The steadfastness of believers in the strength of this hope.* Wherefore having these hopes, be diligent that you may be found of the Lord at His coming blameless. And regard the Lord's long-suffering as salvation, as Paul said to you, and as he says in all his letters, dealing in them with these matters—letters in which are many difficult sayings which those who lack learning and stability twist and wrench, as they do all the other Scriptures. But do you be on your guard against the evil influence of the lawless, and grow in grace and knowledge.

3. *DOCTRINE OF THE EPISTLE.*—(1) *The doctrine of God.* (*a*) *The Father.* The term πατήρ is used only in relation to the Incarnate Son (1^{17}). God by His word (command) was the Creator and is the Sustainer of the universe ($3^{5.7}$). He is above the limitations of time (3^{8}). He inflicts punishment on angels and men ($2^{4ff.}$), and thus the ἡμέρα κρίσεως (3^{7}) is described as ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμέρα (3^{12}). But He is long-suffering, and delays judgment (3^{9}, cf. 3^{15}). He gave His witness to the Incarnate Son (1^{17}). Men can *know* God (1^{2}) and can partake of the Divine nature (1^{4}). The phrase θεία φύσις (1^{4}) refers rather to what God essentially *is*; the phrase ἡ μεγαλοπρεπὴς δόξα (1^{17}) to God as revealing Himself by outward signs. (*b*) *The Son.* Nothing is said of the pre-existence of the Lord. The term θεός is, however, applied to Him in 1^{1} τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν κ. σωτῆρος Ἰησοῦ Χρ.; contrast the order in 1^{2} τοῦ θεοῦ κ. Ἰησοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν, and compare 1^{11} 3^{18} τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν κ. σωτῆρος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Compare the phrase ἡ θεία δύναμις αὐτοῦ (1^{3}), and note how He is closely joined with the Father as the object of man's knowledge (1^{2}). In 1^{16} it seems the preferable, if not the necessary, interpretation to take παρουσία of the First rather than of the Second Coming, for (α) the context speaks of history and not prophecy; (β) the word itself, though as a fact elsewhere in the NT and in this Epistle ($3^{4.12}$) it is used of the Second Coming, naturally bears this meaning* (cf. ἔλευσις, Ac 7^{52}). If this interpretation of 1^{16} be the true one, then the message of the Incarnation is described as dealing with τὴν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δύναμιν καὶ παρουσίαν—the Lord's essential power and His coming to the world. His μεγαλειότης was revealed on the Mount of Transfiguration. He purchased men (*i.e.* by His blood, cf. Rev 5^{9}), and so became their absolute Master (δεσπότης, 2^{1}; cf. δοῦλος . . . Ἰ. Χρ., 1^{1}). The term σωτήρ, as applied to Him, is characteristic of this Epistle ($1^{1.11}$ 2^{20} $3^{2.18}$). His kingdom is described in the words of Daniel (3^{10} [4^{3}] 7^{27}, cf. 1 Mac 2^{57}) as an αἰώνιος βασιλεία (cf. Lk 1^{33}, Rev 11^{15}). He will fulfil His promise to return (3^{4}). (*c*) *The Holy Spirit.* The only mention of the Holy Spirit is in reference to His controlling inspiration of the ancient prophets (1^{21}).

(2) *Redemption.*—In regard to our Lord, it was wrought out by Him in His act whereby He purchased men (2^{1}); in regard to Christians, it is brought into contact with each one in the καθαρισμός which parts the new from the old life (1^{9}). The Divine 'calling' and 'choice' of men are regarded as closely related (τὴν κλῆσιν κ. ἐκλογήν, 1^{10}; note the *vinculum* of the common article). Human effort is needed to give them an abiding validity (βεβαίαν). In 1^{3} (τοῦ καλέσαντος ἡμᾶς) it is uncertain (α) whether the ἡμᾶς refers to Christians generally or to the apostles in particular; (β) whether the ὁ καλέσας refers to the Father or to Christ. Much stress is laid on conduct and on the cultivation of Christian virtues ($1^{5ff.}$). Knowledge (ἐπίγνωσις, $1^{2.3.8}$ 2^{20}; γνῶσις, 1^{5} 3^{18}) has a pre-eminent position assigned to it. The object of knowledge is the Father ($1^{2.3(?)}$) and Christ (1^{8} 2^{20} 3^{18}); in 1^{5} γνῶσις appears without further definition. The knowledge of God and of Christ is the means whereby men escape the evil of the world (2^{20}) and receive grace and peace (1^{2}) and spiritual endowments (1^{3}). The cultivation of Christian excellences leads to fruitfulness in regard to this knowledge (1^{8}), which is not a final but a progressive knowledge (3^{18}). Since it is closely allied to χάρις (3^{18}), it is clearly a spiritual and not an intellectual attainment. On the other hand, the γνῶσις of 1^{5} (without a definition of its object) is apparently 'knowledge' generally; it is described as the link between ἀρετή and ἐγκράτεια. The end of the Divine promises is that men should become θείας κοινωνοὶ φύσεως (1^{4}). The goal of Christian diligence is the entrance into the Lord's 'eternal kingdom' (1^{11}).

(3) *Creation.*—The cause of creation was 'the word (command) of God' (3^{5}). But at least in regard to the earth further (physical) details are given—γῆ ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ δι' ὕδατος συνεστῶσα. Probably the interpretation given by Œcumenius (quoted by Field, *Notes on Translation of the NT* p. 242) is the true one—ἡ γῆ ἐξ ὕδατος μέν, ὡς ἐξ ὑλικοῦ αἰτίου· δι' ὕδατος δέ, ὡς διὰ τελικοῦ (*sic lege pro* διατελικοῦ)· ὕδωρ γὰρ τὸ συνέχον τὴν γῆν, οἷον κόλλα τις ὑπάρχον αὐτῇ. In v.^{10} the universe is described as consisting of 'the heavens' (the vault of heaven), the stars (στοιχεῖα), the earth.

(4) *Angelology.*—It is clearly laid down that there once was 'a *fall*' of certain angels (ἀγγέλων ἁμαρτησάντων, 2^{4}), and that their sin was followed by Divine vengeance. God committed them to 'pits of darkness,' there to be kept for (final) judgment. In a later passage of the Epistle (2^{11}) there is an obscure reference to the ministry of angels. The false teachers (it is there said) δόξας οὐ τρέμουσιν, βλασφημοῦντες, ὅπου ἄγγελοι ἰσχύϊ κ. δυνάμει μείζονες ὄντες οὐ φέρουσιν κατ' αὐτῶν παρὰ Κυρίῳ βλάσφημον κρίσιν. It must remain doubtful if κατ' αὐτῶν refers to the false teachers or (as the parallel in Jude$^{8f.}$ suggests) to the δόξαι just mentioned. In either case, angels appear to be represented as bringing before the Lord tidings as to the conduct of created beings, whether angels or men.

(5) *Eschatology.*—Fallen angels and unrighteous men alike undergo *temporary* punishment until the time of their final doom ($2^{4.9}$). The day, when 'the promise of his coming' is fulfilled, variously described as ἡμέρα κρίσεως (2^{9} 3^{7}), ἡμέρα κυρίου (3^{10}), ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμέρα (3^{12}), has three aspects—(α) In regard to the sinful: To the ungodly it will be a ἡμέρα . . . ἀπωλείας (3^{7}, cf. 2^{1} 3^{16}); and of this 'destruction' the overthrow of the Cities of the Plain is the type (2^{6}). The disclosure as to the angels who sinned does not go beyond the simple idea of κρίσις (2^{4}); (β) In regard to the universe: 'Dissolution' (τούτων . . . πάντων λυομένων, 3^{11}) is the destiny of all parts of the material universe. The means of this dissolution will be fire (πυρὶ τηρούμενοι 3^{7}, καυσούμενα 3^{10}, πυρούμενοι, καυσούμενα 3^{12}). (γ) In regard to the righteous: The dissolution of 'the heavens and earth that now are' will usher in the fulfilment of the Divine promise of 'new heavens and a new earth.' The spiritual character of the new universe is insisted on—ἐν οἷς δικαιοσύνη κατοικεῖ (3^{13}). In an earlier passage of the Epistle (1^{19}), where the meaning and the construction are doubtful, it seems to be implied that that day will be the dawn of such full daylight 'in the hearts' of the faithful that the 'lamp' of prophecy will be no more needed.

4. *THE WRITER OF THE EPISTLE, ITS READERS, THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF ITS COMPOSITION, AS REPRESENTED IN THE EPISTLE ITSELF.*—(1) *The Writer.* The writer speaks as 'Simon (Symeon) Peter, bond-servant and apostle of Jesus Christ.'

---

* Compare, *e.g.*, Ign. *Philad.* 9, τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ σωτῆρος . . . τὸ πάθος αὐτοῦ, τὴν ἀνάστασιν; *Apol. Aristidis*, 15; Justin, *Apol.* i. 52; see Lightfoot on Ign. *l.c.*

He refers to two, possibly to three, occasions in his discipleship—(*a*) his presence on the Mount of Transfiguration ($1^{16ff.}$); (*b*) the Lord's revelation to him in regard to his death (1^{14}); (*c*) the Lord's call of himself and of other disciples (1^{3}). The last reference is doubtful (see above, p. 809). The Epistle does not assert that he had visited those to whom he writes; though it is not unnatural to suppose that this is implied in $1^{12ff.}$ 3^{2}. But he had written to them one earlier letter (3^{1}), the object of which had been, what the object of the present letter was, viz. to kindle their minds to remember the teachings of the ancient prophets and of the apostles who had instructed them. He calls St. Paul 'our beloved brother,' and he was acquainted with several of his Epistles, and especially with one which that apostle had written to those whom he is now addressing. He himself now writes under a sense that his death is imminent (1^{14}); and he promises that, so long as he lives, he will still remind them of his teaching, and that he will make provision that after his decease they should always be able to call it to mind. Nothing in the letter, it should be added, reveals the place where he writes, his companions, or his plans. (2) *The recipients of the letter.* Unless we assume that the former Epistle referred to in 3^{1} is 1 P, nothing is said in the Epistle to show where its intended recipients dwelt. The two phrases, *τοῖς ἰσότιμον ἡμῖν λαχοῦσιν πίστιν* (1^{1}, cf. Jude ^{3}), and *ἀποφυγόντες τῆς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ φθορᾶς* (1^{4}), make it probable that they were Gentile rather than Jewish converts. But the language is too general to warrant a certain inference. Some at least of the apostles had been among their teachers (3^{2}), and it appears from 1^{12} that they were not recent converts. From their past we turn to their future. The Epistle warns them of the advent among them of certain false teachers. It is an assumption—though it is a probable assumption—that the three passages of the Epistle which speak of false teachers—2^{1-22}, 3^{3-7}, 3^{16}—refer to the same persons. Taking this identification for granted, we note the following points in the description of these enemies of the truth: (1) Their life and teaching are such that in effect they deny the rule of Christ and His law (2^{1}); (2) they are themselves immoral, and by life and teaching they infect others ($2^{2.\,10.\,12ff.\,18f.}$); (3) they are insubordinate to authority (2^{10}); (4) they are influenced as teachers by greed of gain ($2^{3.\,12.\,14}$); (5) as teachers they are plausible and crafty ($2^{3.\,14.\,19}$); (6) their teaching is empty rhetoric (2^{18}); (7) they ridicule the idea of Christ's return ($3^{3ff.}$); (8) they support their false teaching by an unscrupulous appeal to Scripture (3^{16}). Such are the notes of the false teaching which will arise *ἐπ᾿ ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν* (3^{3}).

To this statement of the details as to the writer and recipients of the Epistle, which seem to be implied in the document itself, it will be well to append the views as to the *occasion* of the Epistle and the *circumstances of its composition*, which have been put forward of late years by two critics who have defended its authenticity.

(i.) The chief points which Spitta emphasizes in his elaborate work, *Der zweite Brief des Petrus und der Brief des Judas*, 1885, are as follows:—St. Peter wrote the Epistle late in his life to *Jewish* Christians, to whom both he (3^{1}) and St. Paul (3^{15}) had addressed letters which have not been preserved. He promises to make provision that after his death his friends shall be reminded of his teaching. The Epistle of Jude was accordingly written at a later time for the express purpose of carrying out St. Peter's intention; and in that Epistle there are several direct references (vv.$^{4.\,5.\,12}$) to 2 P, while in Jn 17 f. we find words from 2 P 3^{3} quoted as apostolic words. The destination of the Epistle explains its subsequent history. The 'paulinische Einseitigkeit' of our NT Canon is one of many proofs that the early Church was not wont to welcome documents which had Jewish associations.

(ii.) Zahn, *Einleitung* ii. 42–110, 1899, takes the same general line as Spitta, but is somewhat more precise and circumstantial in his reconstruction of the history. St. Peter addressed the Epistle to Churches, mainly Jewish, in Palestine and in the adjacent districts, but not N. or N.W. of the Syrian Antioch. The apostle had long before taken a leading part in their evangelization, and had subsequently written to them a letter now lost. St. Paul also, not improbably during his imprisonment at Cæsarea, had sent them a letter; but this letter, like the letter of St. Peter just mentioned, has not been preserved. One of the chief reasons why St. Peter wrote them this second letter was to warn them against false teachers, whose evil influence he had himself seen at work in *Gentile* Churches. He feared lest the plague should spread to Jewish converts. The apostle then, over and above the exhortations and warnings of the Epistle itself, promises that he will, as long as he lives, remind them of the truths on which he insists, and further, that he will write for them an instruction in doctrine (*Lehrschrift*), that after his death they may have these things ever brought to mind. The *time* of the Epistle must be placed late in St. Peter's life; for (α) he writes as one now growing old; (β) many letters of St. Paul are in existence; (γ) there is a feeling of disappointment abroad that the promise of the Return is unfulfilled; (δ) the first generation of Christians is now dying off. As to the *place* where the Epistle was written, it contains no indication that St. Peter had as yet been in Rome. On the other hand, it is natural to suppose that, when he wrote to them, he was not living in the immediate neighbourhood of his correspondents. Thus it is an obvious conjecture (*a*) that the *place* where the Epistle was written was Antioch; (*b*) that the *time* of its composition was shortly before St. Peter left the East for Rome, where he probably arrived in the autumn of 63; *i.e.* the date falls within the years 60–63. About a dozen years later (*circ.* 75) St. Jude wrote to the same Churches, and (vv.$^{4.\,17}$) formally quoted 2 P as an apostolic document. As to the later history of 2 P, it is important to emphasize the fact that 1 P and 2 P were written to wholly different groups of Churches. It is quite natural, therefore, that their fate should be different. For a long time Gentile Christians would trouble themselves but little as to an Epistle addressed to Jewish Christians. Hence the comparative obscurity into which 2 P fell.

There is little room for difference of opinion as to *the date of 2 P* among critics who maintain the genuineness of the Epistle, and hold the almost universal opinion that it was written as a sequel to 1 P, the latter Epistle being placed near the end of St. Peter's life. The case, however, is somewhat altered for any who follow B. Weiss and Kühl (see above, p. 782 f.) in their view that 1 P was written about the year 54. Yet these critics do not diverge from the conclusion as to the date of 2 P mentioned just above. On the one hand, Kühl urges that the silence of the Epistle as to the destruction of Jerusalem is a proof that it was written before the year 70. On the other, the fact that St. Peter holds himself henceforth alone responsible for the instruction of those to whom he writes, though he is aware that St. Paul had written to them, points to a time after the death of the latter apostle. The most probable date, therefore, is (according to Kühl) about the middle of the 6th decade.

II. THE QUESTION OF THE GENUINENESS OF THE EPISTLE.—1. *INTEGRITY OF THE EPISTLE.* Before discussing the problem of the genuineness of the Epistle we must clear out of the way the question of its integrity. Are we bound to consider the Epistle as a whole? May not some of the difficulties in regard to its genuineness arise from the fact that the Epistle as it stands has been interpolated? In this matter Kühl has inherited the suspicions of two earlier critics—Bertholdt and Lange. It will be sufficient to examine the case as stated by Kühl. He supposes (1) that the whole of ch. 2 is an interpolation; (2) that in $3^{1f.}$ words have been inserted to facilitate the dovetailing of the interpolated passage into the original letter. In this original document, according to Kühl's theory, the passage about prophecy was succeeded immediately by an exhortation—ὑμεῖς δέ, ἀγαπητοί, μνήσθητε τῶν προειρημένων ῥημάτων ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων προφητῶν, τοῦτο πρῶτον γινώσκοντες κ.τ.λ. He is thus enabled to maintain that the Epistle in its original form is older, in its present interpolated form more recent, than Jude. It should be added that the reference in 3^1 to an earlier Epistle, addressed by the same writer to the same readers, likewise disappears. Suspicions as to the integrity of a document, when they are interested, are themselves suspicious. In this case they claim no external support. And the internal evidence of the Epistle is against them. The transition from 1^{21} to $2^{1f.}$ is natural. The thought of ancient prophecy leads to a reference to its parody in the false prophets of old days. If the writer goes on to draw a parallel between the dangers of the past and the dangers which he foresees in the future, the sequence of his thought is quite simple. Again, there cannot be said to be any difference in style between ch. 2 and the rest of the Epistle. Again, if affinities with Jude are most conspicuous in ch. 2, they are not confined to that chapter, and, when examined, they appear to be *borrowings from* Jude as clearly in ch. 1 as in ch. 2 (see art. on JUDE, § 4). Lastly, it will be shown later that the coincidences between 2 P and the *Apocalypse of Peter* are found both in ch. 1 and in ch. 2 of 2 P. Their diffusion cannot but be a weighty argument for the integrity of the Epistle. The suspicions, then, of Kühl and his predecessors in this view must be dismissed as arbitrary and unsupported by external or internal evidence.

2. *RECEPTION IN THE CHURCH.*—The investigation falls under three heads—(1) the alleged use of the language and characteristic thoughts of 2 P in documents (other than Books of NT) belonging to 1st and 2nd centuries; (2) such alleged use of, and references to, 2 P in documents belonging to the period between the beginning of the 3rd century and the time of Eusebius; (3) the evidence of Eusebius and of other writers of the 4th and 5th centuries; the reception of 2 P in the Canon of the Eastern (Greek) and Western Churches, and its rejection in the Syrian Church.

(1) Some of the alleged coincidences will be examined in detail. The rest are dealt with in the general remarks at the end of this section.

(*a*) *Clement of Rome.*—(i.) 'We have Noah and Lot adduced in vii. 5 and xi. 1 similarly to what is done in 2 Peter ii. 5–9' (Warfield in the January number of the *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 1882, p. 53). But in Clement the examples of Noah and Lot do not stand side by side as in 2 P, but are widely separated in a whole series of OT worthies. (ii.) Clem. vii. ταῦτα, ἀγαπητοί, οὐ μόνον ὑμᾶς νουθετοῦντες ἐπιστέλλομεν, ἀλλὰ κ. ἑαυτοὺς ὑπομνήσκοντες ‖ 2 P 1^{12} 3^1. Beyond the fact that the common Greek word meaning 'remind' occurs in both passages in reference to a letter, there is no resemblance in phraseology or idea. (iii.) Clem. vii. Νῶε ἐκήρυξεν μετάνοιαν ‖ 2 P 2^5. Lightfoot, however, shows that Clement probably derived this conception of Noah from the *Sibylline Oracles.* (iv.) Clem. ix. τοὺς τελείως λειτουργήσαντας τῇ μεγαλοπρεπεῖ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ ‖ 2 P 1^{17}. It must, however, be observed that in the LXX the noun (μεγαλοπρέπεια) is (especially in the Psalms) a very favourite word, and that the adjective occurs in reference to God, *e.g.* 2 Mac 8^{15} (τὸ μ. ὄνομα). The special phrase in question is an echo of the language of the Psalms—20 $(21)^6$ δόξαν κ. μεγαλοπρέπειαν, 144 $(145)^{5.\ 12}$ τὴν μεγαλοπρέπειαν τῆς δόξης τῆς ἁγιωσύνης σου . . . τὴν δόξαν τῆς μεγαλοπρεπείας τῆς βασιλείας σου. In Clement the adj. is common, being used in reference to the Divine will, gifts, worship, strength, name (ix. xix. xlv. lxi. lxiv.). The impression that in Clement the phrase in question and similar expressions have a liturgical origin (*i.e.* that they are derived from [Greek] synagogue prayers) is confirmed by a reference to the Greek Liturgies, *e.g. Liturgy of St. Chrysostom*, ἅγιος εἶ καὶ πανάγιος, καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὴς ἡ δόξα σου (Swainson p. 129), *Liturgy of St. James* (Swainson p. 268). (v.) Clem. xxiii. A passage is quoted as Scripture containing the words, 'These things we did hear in the days of our fathers also; and behold we have grown old, and none of these things hath befallen us.' The thought is not dissimilar to 2 P 3^4, but there is no coincidence of expression. Clement probably took the quotation (cf. '2 Clem.' xi.) 'from some spurious prophetic book'; see Lightfoot, *in loc.* (vi.) Clem. xxxv. ἀκολουθήσωμεν τῇ ὁδῷ τῆς ἀληθείας ‖ 2 P 2^2. But it must be remembered that the use of ἡ ὁδός (*e.g.* τῆς ζωῆς, διδαχῆς, see Harnack on *Did.* 1^1) and the use of ἡ ἀλήθεια (*e.g.* ὁ κανὼν τῆς ἀληθείας) are very common; the combination of the two words therefore is in no way remarkable. (vii.) Clem. xxxiv. εἰς τὸ μετόχους ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι τῶν μεγάλων κ. ἐνδόξων ἐπαγγελιῶν αὐτοῦ ‖ 2 P 1^4. But it must be noticed that the phrase has a parallel in an earlier chapter (xix.), μεγάλων καὶ ἐνδόξων μετειληφότες πράξεων. Compare also xxvi. τὸ μεγαλεῖον τῆς ἐπαγγελίας αὐτοῦ.

(*b*) *The Ancient Homily* ('*2 Clement*') xvi. ἔρχεται ἤδη ἡ ἡμέρα τῆς κρίσεως ὡς κλίβανος καιόμενος καὶ τακήσονταί τινες [*lege* αἱ δυνάμεις] τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ πᾶσα ἡ γῆ ὡς μόλιβος ἐπὶ πυρὶ τηκόμενος, καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὰ κρύφια καὶ φανερὰ ἔργα τῶν ἀνθρώπων ‖ 2 P $3^{7.\ 10.\ 12}$. The *language* of the earlier part of the extract is largely derived from Mal 4^1, Is 34^4. The *idea* of the conflagration of the world at the judgment was somewhat widely current in the 2nd cent. In the last clause there is in language, idea, and context a certain coincidence with 2 P 3^{10} (γῆ καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ἔργα εὑρεθήσεται), where, however, the reading (see above, p. 796) is very doubtful. The notion, however, of a disclosure of secret things is inseparable from the notion of the judgment; and the language and thought of the Homily are in reality nearer to Ro 2^{16} 1 Co 3^{13} 4^5 than to 2 P 3^{10}. Spitta, *Der Zweite Brief* p. 534 n., notices some other coincidences, of which the most striking are *Hom.* v. (ἡ δὲ ἐπαγγελία τοῦ Χριστοῦ μεγάλη καὶ θαυμαστή ἐστιν) ‖ 2 P 1^4; *Hom.* ix. (ἐξ εἰλικρινοῦς καρδίας) ‖ 2 P 3^1 (but cf. Is 38^3, He 10^{22}[*]); *Hom.* xiv. (ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν) ‖ 2 P 3^3 (a phrase unique in NT but not uncommon in LXX).

(*c*) *Didaché.*—'The passage 3, 6–8,' writes Spitta (p. 534 n.), 'shows a very remarkable kinship with Jude and 2 Peter. We notice the rare expression γόγγυσος (cf. Jude ^{16}), and especially the twice repeated βλασφημία, αὐθάδης and τρέμων, and we compare 2 P 2^{10}.' In *Did.*, however, the τρέμων is part of a phrase which clearly comes from Is 66^2. For αὐθάδης cf. Pr 21^{24}, Tit 1^7. When the whole chapter of the *Didaché* is read, the idea that we have here a literary link with 2 P vanishes.

---

[*] Comp. Theoph. *ad Autol.* ii. 35, ἐν ὁσιότητι καρδίας καὶ εἰλικρινεῖ γνώμῃ.

(*d*) *Ignatius.*—Spitta points out coincidences between Ignatius and 2 P—*Eph* xi. 1, xii. 2 ‖ 2 P 3^{15}; xiv. 1 ‖ 2 P 1^{15}; *Trall.* xiii. 3 (ἐν ᾧ εὑρεθείημεν ἄμωμοι) ‖ 2 P 3^{14}. The last is the only one in the series which deserves consideration, and about it Spitta himself allows that the phrase of Ign. may very well be 'stereotyp gewordene Wunschformel.'

(*e*) *Barnabas* xv. συνετέλεσεν ἐν ἓξ ἡμέραις. τοῦτο λέγει ὅτι ἐν ἑξακισχιλίοις ἔτεσιν συντελέσει Κύριος τὰ σύνπαντα. ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα παρ' αὐτῷ [σημαίνει] χίλια ἔτη. αὐτὸς δέ μοι μαρτυρεῖ λέγων· Ἰδοὺ ἡμέρα Κυρίου ἔσται ὡς χίλια ἔτη ‖ 2 P 3^{8}. In connexion with this passage of Barnabas it will be convenient to bring together and to discuss the whole group of passages which are alleged to be reminiscences of 2 P 3^{8}.

(i.) Justin, *Dial.* 81, τὸ οὖν εἰρημένον ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις, ἔφην· κατὰ γὰρ τὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ ξύλου αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ λαοῦ μου ἔσονται, τὰ ἔργα τῶν πόνων αὐτῶν παλαιώσουσι· (Is 65^{22}) νενοήκαμεν ὅτι χίλια ἔτη ἐν μυστηρίῳ μηνύει. ὡς γὰρ τῷ Ἀδὰμ εἴρητο, ὅτι ᾗ δ' ἂν ἡμέρᾳ φάγῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου, ἐν ἐκείνῃ ἀποθανεῖται, ἔγνωμεν αὐτὸν μὴ ἀναπληρώσαντα χίλια ἔτη. συνήκαμεν καὶ τὸ εἰρημένον ὅτι Ἡμέρα Κυρίου ὡς χίλια ἔτη εἰς τοῦτο συνάγειν. There then follows a reference to Rev $20^{4ff.}$.

(ii.) Iren. v. 23. 2 (Iren. has given one interpretation of Gn 2^{17} and then proceeds), 'Quidam autem rursus in millesimum annum reuocant mortem Adæ: quoniam enim *dies Domini sicut mille anni*, non superposuit autem mille annos sed intra eos mortuus est.'

(iii.) In v. 28. 3 Irenæus is discussing Gn $2^{1f.}$—'a narrative of the past and a prophecy of the future'—ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα Κυρίου ὡς χίλια ἔτη· ἐν ἓξ οὖν ἡμέραις συντετέλεσται τὰ γεγονότα.

(iv.) In Hipp. *in Dan.* 23. 24 the words—ἡμέρα δὲ (γὰρ) Κυρίου (ὡς) χίλια ἔτη—are adduced in reference to creation.*

There is no doubt that the final source of the saying is Ps 89 (90)^{4}. But the question remains whether the writers just cited take the phrase directly from 2 P or whether they borrow it from some source independent of 2 P, to which indeed 2 P may well itself be a debtor for it. Three points must be noticed. (1) In all the writers cited above (except 2 P) the form of the phrase consistently is ἡμέρα Κυρίου. (2) In all of them the saying is used in regard to the mystical interpretation of a passage in Gn 2—in Barn., Iren. (v. 28. 3), Hipp. in reference to Gn $2^{1f.}$; in Justin, Iren. (v. 23. 2) in reference to Gn 2^{17}. Thus the context in all these passages is very similar and quite alien from the context in 2 P. (3) That speculations similar to the idea expressed in this saying were current in Rabbinical literature is clear from Schöttgen and Wetstein on 2 P 3^{8}, and from Schöttgen, *Horæ Heb.* ii. p. 497. And this evidence as to Jewish thought on the matter is carried back into the 1st cent. A.D. (Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. p. 138 f.) by a passage in the Book of Jubilees (sometimes called the 'Little Genesis'), referred to by Hilgenfeld on Barn. xv., which (see *Jahrb. f. bibl. Wiss.* ii. p. 241) runs as follows: 'And [Adam] lived 70 years less than 1000 years; for *a thousand years are as one day* according to the heavenly testimony. Therefore it is written concerning the tree of knowledge, "On the day when ye eat thereof, ye shall die." Wherefore he fulfilled not the years of that day, but died therein.' The subject, it will be observed, is the same as that in relation to which Justin and Iren. (v. 23. 2) adduce the saying. The evidence, then, seems clearly to point to the conclusion that the source of the interpretation of a thousand years as 'a day of the Lord' was Jewish, probably a Haggada concerned with Gn 2. The saying became something of a commonplace in the Christian literature of the 2nd cent., and was used by the Fathers, cited above, in a sense more cognate to its Jewish origin than that in which it is found in 2 Peter.

(*f*) *The Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs.*—The parallels in this book 'render it probable,' says Warfield p. 52, 'that the author had and used 2 Peter.' 'They are such,' he continues, 'as the very rare phrase μιασμοῖς [Oxford MS—μιάσμασι] τῆς γῆς in Benj. 8, cf. 2 P 2^{20}—a phrase found in 2 Peter only in the NT, and in the *Test. XII. Patt.* only in its age; the rare phrase τοῦ πλάττειν λόγους in Reuben 3, which seems to have been suggested by 2 P 2^{3}; the use of τηρεῖν in Reuben 5, just as it is used in 2 P 2^{9}.' As to the first of these alleged coincidences it must be noticed (1) that the word μιασμός is found in Wis 14^{26}, 1 Mac 4^{43}, and occurs elsewhere in the *Testaments*, viz. in Levi 17; (2) that it has been already used in the immediately preceding context (οὐ γὰρ ἔχει μ. ἐν καρδίᾳ); (3) that the special phrase (τῆς γῆς) is suggested by the metaphor of the sentence (ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ ἥλιος οὐ μιαίνεται προσέχων ἐπὶ κόπρον . . . οὕτω καὶ ὁ καθαρὸς νοῦς ἐν τοῖς μιασμοῖς τῆς γῆς συνεχόμενος κ.τ.λ.). The phrase πλάττειν λόγους is used in Demosthenes and other classical writers. In regard to the last of the three coincidences it must be sufficient to refer to Jude ^{6}, *Book of the Secrets of Enoch* 7^{1} 18^{4}; similar phrases are common in the Enochian literature (see art. on JUDE, vol. ii. p. 801).

(*g*) The *Shepherd of Hermas.*—Zahn (*der Hirt des Hermas* p. 431) and Warfield (p. 51) have collected a number of passages in the *Shepherd* which they suppose to contain reminiscences of 2 P. It must be sufficient to examine three of the passages on which special stress is laid. (i.) *Vis.* i. 3. 4, τῷ ἰσχυρῷ ῥήματι πήξας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ θεμελιώσας τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ ὑδάτων ‖ 2 P 3^{5}. In reality, however, the passage is an echo of passages in the OT, Ps 23 (24)^{2} 103 (104)$^{5f.}$ 135 (136)^{6} ($\aleph^{c.a}$ AT), Is 40^{22}, and has no points of contact with the language of 2 P. (ii.) *Sim.* viii. 11, ὁ Κύριος ἔπεμψέ με σπλαγχνισθεὶς πᾶσι δοῦναι τὴν μετάνοιαν καίπερ τινῶν μὴ ὄντων ἀξίων διὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν· ἀλλὰ μακρόθυμος ὢν ὁ Κύριος θέλει κ.τ.λ. ‖ 2 P 3^{9}. Zahn urges that of the many passages in Hermas which deal with repentance, this alone connects it with the Divine μακροθυμία and emphasizes the universality of the gift. But it must be observed (*α*) that the πᾶσιν is taken up from the immediately preceding context, ὕπαγε καὶ πᾶσι λέγε ἵνα μετανοήσωσι; (*β*) that the passage has quite as much affinity with Ac $17^{30f.}$ Ro 2^{4} as with 2 P 3^{9}. (iii.) *Sim.* vi. 4. 4, τῆς τρυφῆς καὶ ἀπάτης ὁ χρόνος ὥρα ἐστὶ μία . . . ἐὰν οὖν μίαν ἡμέραν τρυφήσῃ τις καὶ ἀπατηθῇ κ.τ.λ. ‖ 2 P 2^{13}. But it will be noticed (*α*) that the μίαν ἡμέραν of Hermas points to the riot as shortlived, the ἐν ἡμέρᾳ of 2 P points to it as shameless—'in broad daylight'; (*β*) that both τρυφή and ἀπάτη are favourite words with Hermas. As to the former, the desire ποικίλων τρυφῶν is a sign of the presence of 'the angel of evil' in a man (*Mand.* vi. 2. 5). Again, ἀπάτη in *Mand.* viii. 5 has a place among the 'evil works' from which 'the bondservant of God must abstain.' Having been thus spoken of *separately*, they are joined together in a long description of 'the man who *thinks* that he has the spirit' (*Mand.* xi. 12), and they reappear separately and side by side throughout the *Sixth Parable*. Their occurrence, therefore, in Hermas appears to be quite independent of 2 P. Other coincidences are *Vis.* iii. 7. 1 ‖ 2 P 2^{15}; *Vis.* iv. 3. 4 ‖ 2 P 2^{20}; *Sim.* v. 6. 8, 7. 1, viii. 11. 1, ix. 13. 9 ‖ 2 P 1^{20} (but the use of ἐπίλυσις in regard to the parables is quite obvious); *Sim.* vi. 2. 2 ‖ 2 P 2^{12}

---

* Compare Hippolytus, 'Heads against Caius,' in *Hermathena* vii. p. 403 f. (cf. pp. 406, 418), 'The number of the years is not the number of days, but it represents the space of one day . . . according to the saying, One day in the world of the righteous is as a thousand years.'

(but *καταφθορά* is common in the LXX); *Sim.* vi. 2. 6 ‖ 2 P 2^{20} (but in Hermas *ἐμπλέξαι* is the natural word to use of sheep entangled in thorns, etc.); *Sim.* ix. 17. 5, 18. 1 ‖ 2 P 2^{21} (but cf. Gal $4^{8f.}$). When, then, the passages in Hermas are examined, the conclusion is that they are interesting as illustrations of the passages in 2 P, but give no probability to a theory of literary dependence.

(*h*) *Justin, Dial.* 82, 'For with us even until now are there prophetic gifts, whereby you also yourselves [*i.e.* you Jews] should know that the things which of old belonged to your nation have now been transferred to us. But as there were withal false prophets in the time of the holy prophets who arose among you, so also in the present day are there many *false teachers* (*ψευδοδιδάσκαλοι*) also, of whom our Lord forewarned us to beware.' 'But where,' Warfield asks (p. 51 f.), 'can this forewarning be found? Does it exist anywhere but in 2 P 2^1 (cf. 1^{21}). . . . It is exceedingly difficult to see how there can be any reasonable doubt but that these passages are drawn from 2 Peter. And if so, it is noticeable that Justin refers to 2 Peter with respect, as Scripture, as, practically, the words of our Lord—in a word, as an authoritative book giving the Lord's teaching.' To Warfield's question as to the source of this warning Justin himself supplies a decisive answer. After a few words on our Lord's foreknowledge, Justin continues, '*For He said* that we should be murdered and hated for His name's sake, and that many false prophets and false Christs should come (*παρελεύσονται*) in His name and lead many astray; and this *is* the case.' The reference, therefore, plainly is to Mt $24^{5.\,9.\,11.\,24}$. There are apparently only two reasons which can be pleaded as grounds for hesitation. (1) The word *ψευδοδιδάσκαλος* does not occur in the report of our Lord's words in Mt, or indeed anywhere in the NT except in 2 P. But in Christian circles, where the words *ψευδάδελφος, ψευδαπόστολος, ψευδολόγος, ψευδομάρτυς, ψευδοπροφήτης, ψευδόχριστος* were all current (all occurring in NT), and where a *διδάσκαλος* was closely allied to a *προφήτης*, the word *ψευδοδιδάσκαλος* was sure to arise, and its occurrence in two writers cannot be taken to imply literary obligation. In *Ep. Polyc.* 7 we find *τὰς ψευδοδιδασκαλίας*, and in *Didaché* $13^{1.\,2}$ *διδάσκαλος ἀληθινός* appears as well as *προφήτης ἀληθινός*—a phrase which implies *ψευδοδιδάσκαλος*. (2) A parallel is drawn in Justin, as in 2 P, between the false teachers in the Christian Church and the false prophets in Israel. But it will be observed (*α*) that the comparison is very natural in a discussion of the presence of prophetic gifts in the Church; (*β*) that Justin does not speak of it as part of the warning for which he quotes the Lord's authority. There is a similarity between the passage in 2 P and that in Justin, but it justifies no other conclusion in the case of Justin than that which we reached in the case of Hermas.

(*i*) *Melito.*—A passage is quoted from a fragment of Melito's *Apology*, which has been preserved in a Syriac translation (Cureton, *Spicilegium Syriacum*, p. 50 f.), of which the principal clauses are as follows: 'There was once a flood and wind, and the chosen men were destroyed by a mighty north wind . . . but, again, at another time there was a flood of waters, and all men and living creatures were destroyed by the multitude of waters, and the just were preserved in an ark of wood, by the ordinance of God. So also it will be at the last time; there shall be a flood of fire, and the earth shall be burnt up together with its mountains, and men shall be burnt up together with the idols which they have made . . . and the sea, together with its isles, shall be burnt; and the just shall be delivered from the fury, like their fellows in the ark from the waters of the Deluge.' It should be noticed that earlier in the fragment (p. 50) there had been an allusion to the judgment of fire: 'Fear Him who shaketh the earth . . . and removeth the mountains from their place; Him who can make Himself like fire, and burn up everything.' Further, it will be observed (*α*) that Melito refers not only to the Flood and the great judgment by fire, but also to the destruction of the Tower of Babel; and (*β*) that the destruction of the Tower has a place in the *Sibylline Oracles* iii. 97 ff., while in the immediately preceding context (iii. 82 ff.) there is a prophecy of the destruction of the world by fire. In line 109 there is an incidental allusion to the Flood, a subject which is treated at length in bk. i., the early date, however, of this book not being so fully established as that of bk. iii. (Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. p. 287). There are no links of phraseology or of characteristic ideas which connect Melito with 2 P. The verdict, therefore, of Westcott (*Canon* p. 223 n.) seems to be the only reasonable one: 'It is impossible therefore to affirm that the reference in Melito is to 2 Peter, and not rather to the Sibyllines or to the widespread tradition on which they rested.'

(*k*) *Theophilus of Antioch.*—Two passages have been pointed out in Theophilus *ad Autolychum*, which, it is urged, have all the appearance of being reminiscences of 2 P. (i.) ii. 9, *οἱ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωποι, πνευματοφόροι* * *πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ προφῆται γενόμενοι κ.τ.λ.* Compare 2 P 1^{21} *ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἁγίου φερόμενοι ἐλάλησαν ἀπὸ θεοῦ ἄνθρωποι* (*οἱ ἅγιοι θεοῦ ἄνθρωποι*, ℵA, etc.). But it must be noticed that the key-word of the passage (*πνευματοφόρος*) is derived from the LXX of Hos 9^7 (*ὁ προφήτης . . . ὁ πνευματοφόρος*), Zeph 3^4; that Theophilus uses the word in the sense of 'an inspired speaker' in ii. 22 (*αἱ ἅγιαι γραφαὶ καὶ πάντες οἱ πνευματοφόροι*), iii. 12 (*διὰ τὸ τοὺς πάντας πνευματοφόρους ἑνὶ πνεύματι θεοῦ λελαληκέναι*); that language similar to that under discussion is habitual in Theophilus; see ii. 33, 35, iii. 17, cf. Justin, *Apol.* i. 33; and, lastly, that the phrase 'man of God' is very common in the OT (occurring some 50 times) in reference to a prophet. Thus a reference to other passages in Theophilus shows that here he is using LXX language in reference to the Prophets. (ii.) ii. 13. In his treatment of the Divine command, 'Let there be light,' Theophilus observes, *ἡ διάταξις οὖν τοῦ θεοῦ, τοῦτό ἐστιν ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ, φαίνων ὥσπερ λύχνος ἐν οἰκήματι συνεχομένῳ, ἐφώτισεν τὴν ὑπ᾽ οὐρανόν.* The metaphor is thought to be derived from 2 P 1^{19}. But the word *οἴκημα* is suggested by the previous context—*ἄνθρωπος γὰρ κάτω ὢν ἄρχεται ἐκ τῆς γῆς οἰκοδομεῖν*—the human building is contrasted with the Divine. The metaphor of the *λύχνος* is obviously suggested by the subject under discussion—the light kindled by man is contrasted with the light kindled by God. If it is thought necessary to find a 'source' for a metaphor so obvious in the context, 2 Es 12^{42} ('Tu enim nobis superasti ex omnibus prophetis, sicut *lucerna in loco obscuro*') is as near to Theoph. as is 2 P.

(*l*) *Irenæus.*—We have already dealt with two passages in this writer (p. 800). In two other passages he has been supposed to be relying on 2 P. (i.) iii. 1. 1, *μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων* [*sc.* Petri et Pauli] *ἔξοδον* ‖ 2 P 1^{15}. But that *ἔξοδος* (*exitus*) was not an uncommon word in this sense in early Christian literature has been pointed out on p. 770. (ii.) 'We come in the fourth book' (xxxvi. 4), Warfield writes (p. 49), 'to another passage in which [Irenæus] adduces Noah, then Sodom and Gomorrah, and Lot, to show that God will punish the wicked and save the holy. Our minds go immediately to 2 Peter ii. 4–7, whence the framing of this passage seems to have been derived.' Here, too, it is important to look at the previous context. The object of the chapter is to show that Christ came from the Father, who had sent the prophets in earlier days. Irenæus proves, therefore, from Christ's sayings the unity of God's character in the old and in the new dispensation. In the course of the argument he quotes Lk $21^{34f.}$ $12^{35f.}$ 17^{26-31} (Noah, Lot, Sodom), Mt 24^{42}. He then draws the inference, 'Unum et eundem annuntians Dominum, qui in temporibus Noe propter inobedientiam hominum superduxit diluuium, et in temporibus Lot propter multitudinem peccatorum Sodomitarum pluit ignem a cœlo; et in nouissimo . . . superducet diem iudicii.' There then follows the passage to which Warfield refers, the 'framing' and the ideas of which are clearly drawn from the passage just quoted from the Gospels.

---

* The word is printed here as it appears in Otto's ed. of Theophilus and in the Cambridge LXX. But it is possible that it should be accented as a passive, *πνευματόφορος*. See Lightfoot's note on Ignatius *Eph.* i.

(*m*) There are one or two passages from heretical documents belonging (in their original form) probably to the 2nd cent. which must be examined. The first of these is a phrase of Ptolemæus, a follower of Valentinus, still living when Irenæus wrote. Zahn (*Gesch. Kan.* i. p. 759) compares a phrase of this writer's, preserved by Epiphanius (*Hær.* xxxiii. 6)—*παρούσης δὲ τῆς ἀληθείας*, with 2 P 1^{12}. But the context in Ptolemæus (i.) shows that the word *ἀλήθεια* is used in different senses in the two passages, and (ii.) itself naturally accounts for the use of the phrase. It runs thus: *αἱ γὰρ εἰκόνες . . . καλῶς ἐγίνοντο μέχρι μὴ παρῆν ἀλήθεια. παρούσης δὲ τῆς ἀληθείας τὰ τῆς ἀληθείας δεῖ ποιεῖν.*

(*n*) *The Clementine Literature.*—(i.) *Recog.* v. 12, 'Unusquisque illius fit seruus cui se ipse subjecerit' ‖ 2 P 2^{19}. Salmon (*Introd.* p. 488) compares Origen, *In Exod. Hom.* 12, 'Unusquisque a quo uincitur huic et seruus addicitur.' Both passages occur in a translation by Rufinus, and may therefore be interpolations. Salmon, however, points out that 'the difference of the Latin makes it likely that in both cases Rufinus is translating, not interpolating.' But it is equally possible that Rufinus, translating two different books at two different times, interpolated different free renderings of 2 P 2^{19}. The question whether Rufinus did interpolate when he was translating will come before us again in connexion with Origen. (ii.) *Hom.* xvi. 20. Salmon (p. 488 n.) calls attention to the words *ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον μακροθυμεῖ, εἰς μετάνοιαν καλεῖ.* In these words, 'taken in connexion with the whole context, there is very probably a use of 2 Pet. iii. 9.' In the context Peter speaks of the blasphemies of Simon Magus and of 'the boundless long-suffering of God.' The earth had not opened; fire had not come down from heaven; rain was not poured out; beasts were not sent forth from the thicket to avenge this spiritual adultery. 'But, on the contrary, He is long-suffering; He calls to repentance.' It is difficult to see what there is in the context which specially recalls 2 P, while the particular phrase is nearer to Ro 2^4 (*τῆς μακροθυμίας καταφρονεῖς . . . τὸ χρηστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς μετάνοιάν σε ἄγει*) than to 2 P 3^9, though, in fact, it is too natural and obvious to require any literary source.

(*o*) *Actus Petri cum Simone* xx. (ed. Lipsius p. 67) 'Unusquisque enim nostrum sicut capiebat uidere, prout poterat uidebat. Nunc quod uobis lectum est iam uobis exponam. Dominus noster uolens me *maiestatem suam* uidere *in monte sancto*, uidens autem luminis splendorem eius cum filiis Zebedei, cæcidi tamquam mortuus et oculos meos conclusi et *uocem* eius audiui *talem qualem referre non possum*, qui me putaui exorbatum ab splendore eius . . . et exurgens iterum *talem eum uidi qualem* capere potui.' A phrase in the next chapter (ed. Lipsius pp. 68, 32) must be compared, 'tale lumen . . . quod enarrare nemo hominum possit.' The Gnostic *Acts of Peter*, of which this document forms part, belong in all probability to the 2nd cent. (see above, p. 774). The only authority, however, for this particular document is a 7th cent. MS, presenting a Latin version of the original Greek. Can we be certain, then, that the whole passage quoted above is not interpolated by some editor or translator? It was shown above (p. 774) that the Gnostic *Acts of Peter* probably formed part of the series of Leucian *Acts*, to which the *Acts of John* also belong. Now in the *Acts of John* (James, *Apocr. Anecdota* ii. p. 7) there is a long account of the Transfiguration, and this account contains a phrase (as James, p. xxvi, notes) of the same type as phrases which occur several times in the Petrine *Acts* at this point—*φῶς τοιοῦτον ὁποῖον οὐκ ἐστὶν δυνατὸν ἀνθρώπῳ χρώμενον* (*lege χρωμένῳ*) *λόγῳ φθαρτῷ ἐκφέρειν οἷον ἦν.* It seems to be a legitimate inference that there is every probability that the Leucian *Acts of Peter*, like the Leucian *Acts of John*, contained (*i.e.* in their original form) a reference to the Transfiguration, and that the Latin version reproduces characteristic phrases of the original. Now there are three coincidences with 2 P in the Latin passage of the Petrine *Acts* quoted above—(i.) 'maiestatem suam uidere'; (ii.) 'in monte sancto'; (iii.) 'uocem eius talem.' Of these the last has strong claims to be considered a phrase of the original Leucian *Acts*; it seems at first sight a complete parallel to the *φωνῆς τοιᾶσδε* of 2 P 1^{17}; but in 2 P the 'voice' is the Father's 'voice,' in the *Acts* it is the utterance of the Son; and again, in 2 P the *τοιᾶσδε* introduces the actual words, while in the *Acts* the 'talem' is followed by a 'qualem.' Thus the parallel, when examined, is less striking than on the surface it appears. Of (i.) (ii.) it can only be said, that if we could be certain that these phrases represented corresponding expressions in the original Leucian *Acts*, the conclusion would be irresistible that there is some direct connexion between the Petrine *Acts* and 2 P. But we have no right to *assume* that these phrases are not due to an editor or translator, and consequently it would be lost labour to speculate on the kind of connexion between the two documents which, if original, they would imply. Clearly this is an important point in relation to the problem of 2 P on which fresh light would be very welcome.

We have now reviewed the passages in the sub-Apostolic writings and in the Christian literature of the 2nd century, which, it is alleged, contain reminiscences of 2 P. If we put aside the passage from the Clementine *Recognitions* and that from the *Acts of Peter* as open to the suspicion of not accurately representing the original texts, there does not remain, it is believed, a single passage in which the coincidence with 2 P can with anything approaching confidence be said to imply literary obligation to that Epistle. The resemblances in thought or phrase are such as are constantly found in quite independent specimens of literature, when they belong to the same general period and deal with the same general subject.

(2) It will be convenient to range the authorities which claim discussion in the next period under the several Churches.

(i.) *Alexandria.*—(*a*) *Clement.* Did Clement in the *Hypotyposeis* comment on 2 P? The statement of Eusebius, *HE* VI. xiv. 1, runs thus: 'In the *Hypotyposeis*, to speak briefly, he has composed concise expositions of all Canonical (*ἐνδιαθήκου*) Scripture, not omitting even the disputed (Epistles), I mean that of Jude and the remaining Catholic Epistles, as well as (*τε*) Barnabas and the so-called Apocalypse of Peter.' This evidence is confirmed by that of Photius (*Biblioth.*

109), who speaks of the *Hypotyposeis* as 'giving interpretations of Genesis, Exodus, the Psalms, the Epistles of St. Paul, the Catholic Epistles, and Ecclesiasticus (*τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ*).' The last phrase is probably a scribe's blunder for *τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν*; compare Rufinus, *in Symb. Apost.* 38, 'alii libri sunt, qui non canonici sed ecclesiastici a maioribus appellati sunt.' If this be so, Photius has in mind the non-Canonical books mentioned by Eusebius. On the other side must be set two pieces of evidence. (*a*) Cassiodorus (*de Instit. Div.*) in a passage of the Preface asserts that 'it is said (*ferunt*) that Clement expounded the Divine Scriptures of the Old and of the New Testament from the beginning to the end.' But in a later passage (c. 8) of the same book he limits the scope of Clement's work, 'In epistolis autem canonicis Clemens Alexandrinus . . . id est in epistola S. Petri prima, S. Joannis prima et secunda, et Jacobi, quædam Attico sermone declarauit.' (*β*) Cassiodorus goes on to speak of a translation which he had made of Clement's expositions, but in which he omitted doctrinal statements which offended him. It is probable, on the whole, that the Latin version of Clement's expositions which we now possess is that of Cassiodorus. This Latin version includes expositions of 1 P, Jude, 1 Jn, 2 Jn. It will be seen that this series of Epistles corresponds with the list given by Cassiodorus, if in the latter we suppose that James was substituted by a mistake for Jude. We have, then, two conflicting views—one (based on the evidence of Eus., Photius, and the Preface of Cassiodorus) to the effect that Clement commented on all the Catholic Epistles; the other (supported by Cassiodorus' statement in the body of his work, and by the extant Latin version of Clement's commentaries) to the effect that Clement commented on *four* of the Catholic Epistles, 2 P not having a place among those four. The reconciliation of these two contradictory conclusions, so far as 2 P at least is concerned, may be found in the supposition that Clement did comment on 2 P, but that in his work it had a place by the side, not of 1 P but of the *Apocalypse of Peter*,* which Clement quotes as the work of Peter and as Scripture (*Eclogæ ex Scriptt. Proph.* xli. xlviii. xlix.). In that case Cassiodorus might well exclude Clement's comments on 2 P from his avowedly eclectic version; or they may have had no place in his copy of Clement. It is an important fact that no passage can be adduced from Clement's works in which 2 P is referred to, still less any in which it is quoted by name. Thus the evidence, which cannot be considered as altogether free from doubt, points to the conclusion that Clement regarded 2 P as a book hovering, like the *Apocalypse of Peter*, on the borders of the number of the books definitely recognized as Apostolic, but that he did not place it on a level with 1 P. (*b*) *Origen.* The first absolutely incontrovertible reference in Christian literature to 2 P is found in the words of Origen reported by Eus. *HE* VI. xxv. 8, *Πέτρος δέ . . . μίαν ἐπιστολὴν ὁμολογουμένην καταλέλοιπεν, ἔστω δὲ καὶ δευτέραν· ἀμφιβάλλεται γάρ.* No other passage is quoted from any of Origen's works now extant in the original Greek in which he quotes from, or alludes to, 2 P. There are, however, several passages in *Rufinus' translation* of certain works of Origen, not extant in Greek, where 2 P is used. They are as follows. *In Ep. ad Rom.* iv. 9 (ed. Lomm. vi. p. 302), 'ad participationem capiendam diuinæ naturæ, sicut Petrus Apostolus edocuit' (2 P 1^{4}); *ib.* viii. 6 (vii. p. 234), 'Petrus in epistola sua dicit Gratia uobis et pax multiplicetur in recognitione Dei; et iterum alibi Ut boni dispensatores multiplicis gratiæ Dei' (2 P 1^{2}, 1 P 4^{10}); *in Exod.* xii. 4 (ix. p. 149), 'Scio enim scriptum esse, quia unusquisque a quo uincitur huic et seruus addicitur' (2 P 2^{19}); *in Levit.* iv. 4 (ix. p. 221), 'Et iterum Petrus dicit Consortes, inquit, facti estis divinæ naturæ' (2 P 1^{4}); *in Num.* xiii. 8 (x. p. 157), 'Et ut ait quodam in loco Scriptura Mutum animal humana voce respondens arguit prophetæ dementiam' (2 P 2^{16}); *in Lib. Jesu Naue* vii. 1 (xi. p. 63), 'Petrus etiam duabus epistolarum suarum personat tubis.' Compare the allusions in the two following passages—*in Num.* xviii. 4 (x. p. 228), 'Consuetudinem propheticam . . . de qua dicitur Omnis prophetia non potest propria absolutione constare' (2 P 1^{20}); *in Ezech.* v. 3 (xiv. p. 74), 'Multo nobis utilius fuerat diuino non credidisse sermoni, quam post credulitatem adhuc rursum ad peccata conuerti, quæ ante commisimus' (2 P 2^{21}). The question remains—Are these references to, and quotations from, 2 P part of the original text of Origen, or insertions by Rufinus? (1) It is a fact worth noticing, that while it would have been consonant with Eusebius' plan (*HE* III. iii. *τίνες τῶν κατὰ χρόνους ἐκκλησιαστικῶν συγγραφέων ὁποίαις κέχρηνται τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων*) to record the use which Origen made of the Epistle, had he found in the Greek text of Origen the passages given above from the Latin translation, he does not notice their existence. (2) It would not have been against the probabilities of the case if no reference to 2 P had occurred in the extant Greek works of Origen, and yet a single allusion or so had been made to that Epistle in a work which chanced to survive only in a Latin translation. But it is certainly strange that not one reference is to be found in the works of Origen extant in Greek, but that half a dozen present themselves in those works of Origen which exist only in Rufinus' Latin. The idea of *θεοποίησις*, for example, is a characteristic thought with Origen (as indeed it is with Clement). We are surprised that twice in the works which are preserved to us in Rufinus' translation Origen illustrates the idea from 2 P, while in his other works he never does so. Thus the number of references to 2 P in Rufinus' translation creates a suspicion as to their genuineness. (3) Each of these references to, or quotations from, 2 P can, it is believed, be cut out without injury to the context.* But whatever be the truth as to the references to 2 P found in those works of Origen which have reached us only through the medium of Rufinus' translation, the deliberate statement of Origen as to 2 P remains. The phrase *ἀμφιβάλλεται γάρ* clearly conveys, not an opinion of Origen's, but information as to the division of opinion in his time; it may further be thought to suggest that 2 P had already *secured a position*, which was assailed. The words of the previous clause—*ἔστω δὲ καὶ δευτέραν*—leave us in little doubt that Origen's judgment was unfavourable to the Epistle.

(ii.) *Egypt.*—The two great Egyptian versions, the Sahidic and the Bohairic, contain all the seven Catholic Epistles. The date of these versions, however, has not been put beyond doubt. Lightfoot placed 'the completion or codification of the Memphitic [*i.e.* Bohairic] version' at the middle of the 3rd cent. (Scrivener, *Plain Introduction* ^{2} p. 343). Headlam, in his completion of Lightfoot's article

---

* Zahn (*Forsch.* iii. p. 154) suggests that in view of its prophetic contents Clement connected 2 P with the Petrine *Apocalypse.*

* In one passage referred to above—'Petrus in epistola sua dicit Gratia uobis et pax multiplicetur in recognitione Dei: et iterum alibi Ut boni dispensatores multiplicis gratiæ Dei' (Lomm. vii. p. 234)—there seems to be some *positive* evidence for the theory of interpolation. It would be most unnatural for Origen to refer to 2 P with the words *in epistola sua*; to quote the salutation of 2 P, which only differs from that of 1 P by an immaterial addition (*in recognitione Dei*); and then to add a quotation from 1 P, introducing it with the phrase *et iterum alibi.*

(in the fourth edition of Scrivener, ii. p. 104 f.), holds that 'it has been sufficiently proved that translations into Coptic existed in the 3rd cent., very probably in the 2nd.' F. Robinson (art. on EGYPTIAN VERSIONS in vol. i. p. 670 ff.) urges that such conclusions are in danger of outrunning the evidence, and that 'historical evidence, on the whole, points to the 3rd cent. as the period when the first Coptic translation was made.' The investigation desiderated by Westcott (*Canon* p. 370), *i.e.* 'how far an older work underlies the printed text, and whether that can be attributed to one author,' has not yet been accomplished. We must therefore acquiesce in his verdict as to the Bohairic version, a verdict which is even more applicable to the Sahidic—'till this has been determined, no stress can be laid upon the evidence which the version affords for the disputed Cath. Epp.'

(iii.) *Carthage.*—There is no evidence that Tertullian or Cyprian was acquainted with 2 P.

(iv.) *Asia Minor.*—(*a*) In a letter to Cyprian (Cyprian, *Ep.* lxxv. 6), Firmilian, bp. of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, writes: 'Stephanus . . . adhuc etiam infamans Petrum et Paulum beatos apostolos . . . qui in epistolis suis hæreticos execrati sunt et ut eos euitemus monuerunt.' The reference, it would seem, must be to 2 P, since 1 P contains no indictment of heretics. (*b*) Methodius, bp. of Olympus and afterwards of Patara, who appears to have suffered in the Diocletian persecution. Zahn (*Gesch. Kan.* I. i. p. 313) points out some passages in the treatise *de Resurrectione*, in which he thinks that this writer alludes to 2 P 3^{10-13}. They are as follows:—*ἐκπυρωθήσεται μὲν γὰρ πρὸς κάθαρσιν καὶ ἀνακαινισμὸν καταβασίῳ πᾶς κατακλυζόμενος ὁ κόσμος πυρί, οὐ μὴν εἰς ἀπώλειαν ἐλεύσεται παντελῆ καὶ φθοράν . . . διὸ ἀνάγκη δὴ καὶ τὴν γῆν αὖθις καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν μετὰ τὴν ἐκφλόγωσιν ἔσεσθαι πάντων καὶ τὸν βρασμόν* (ed. Jahn p. 78); and again, *ἵνα γινώσκωμεν εὐδηλότερον ὅτι πάντων πυρὶ καταβασίῳ κατομβρουμένων τὰ ἐν ἁγνείᾳ σώματα καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ διαπρέψαντε καθάπερ ψυχρῷ ὕδατι τῷ πυρί, οὐδὲν ἀλγυνόμενα πρὸς αὐτοῦ, ἐπιβήσονται* (p. 94). But the words of Methodius do not contain any phrases borrowed from 2 P, and may well be speculations on the *ἐκπύρωσις* independent of that Epistle. There is, however, a fragment from the same treatise (Pitra, *Anal. Sacra* iii. p. 611) which explicitly quotes 2 P 3^{8}—*χίλια δὲ ἔτη τῆς βασιλείας ὠνόμασεν τὸν ἀπέραντον αἰῶνα διὰ τῆς χιλιάδος δηλῶν· γέγραφεν γὰρ ὁ ἀπόστολος Πέτρος ὅτι μία ἡμέρα παρὰ Κυρίῳ ὡς χίλια ἔτη καὶ χίλια ἔτη ὡς ἡμέρα μία.* In this connexion the evidence of the Dialogue which passes under the name of Adamantius should be noticed. In this work, which was probably written in the later years of Constantine, large use is made of the works of Methodius (Hort in *Dict. Christ. Biog.* i. p. 39 f.), and 2 P is quoted in it. In one passage (§ 2, p. 58 ed. Wetstein) the orthodox interlocutor helps his Marcionite opponent out of a difficulty as to St. Paul's authority by adducing Ac $9^{15f.}$ and 2 P 3^{15} (*πῇ δὲ ὑπὸ Πέτρου τοῦ ἀποστόλου γεγραμμένον*). In another passage (§ 1, p. 41), it should be added, words (*ἕκαστος ᾧ ἥττηται τούτῳ καὶ δεδούλωται*) very near to those of 2 P 2^{19} are appealed to as 'the common proverb' (*ὁ ἔξωθεν λόγος*).

(v.) *Rome.*—(*a*) *Murat. Canon.* 2 P is not mentioned in the text of the fragment as it stands. Zahn (*Gesch. Kan.* II. i. p. 110 n.), however, conjectures that in one passage some words have slipped out, and he would restore it thus: 'Apocalypsin etiam Johannis et Petri [unam] tantum recipimus [epistulam; fertur etiam altera], quam quidam ex nostris legi in ecclesia nolunt.' For the language cf. Eus. *HE* III. iii. 4. The suggestion appears a probable one, but without further evidence it must remain a conjecture. (*b*) *Hippolytus.* The following passages claim attention:—*Refut. Hær.* ix. 7, *οἳ πρὸς μὲν ὥραν αἰδούμενοι καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας συναγόμενοι ὡμολόγουν μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν βόρβορον ἀνεκυλίοντο* (2 P 2^{22}); *in Dan.* iii. 22, *ᾧ γὰρ ἄν τις ὑποταγῇ τούτῳ καὶ δεδούλωται* (2 P 2^{19}); *ib.* iv. 10, *εἰ γὰρ καὶ νῦν βραδύνει πρὸ καιροῦ, μὴ θέλων τὴν κρίσιν τῷ κόσμῳ ἐπενεγκεῖν* (2 P 3^{8} 2^{5}); *ib.* iv. 16, *μήποτε . . . ἀπονυστάξαντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐκπέσωσιν τῆς ἐπουρανίου ζωῆς*; *ib.* iv. 60, *ἵνα μὴ . . . ἀπονυστάξαντες ἐκπέσωμεν τῆς αἰδίου ζωῆς* (2 P 3^{17}). These coincidences are not such as to produce conviction.* The first two, which are not the least striking of the series, are of the nature of proverbs, and it is rash to infer literary indebtedness from the common use of such expressions. The use of *ἐκπεσεῖν* in the last two passages is not in itself specially remarkable (cf. *e.g.* Gal 5^{4}, *Epist. ap.* Eus. *HE* VII. xxx. 13; *Can. Petri Alex.* 8, 10, 11 (Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* iv. p. 31 ff.)). Taken together, however, these passages in Hippolytus give the impression that he was acquainted with 2 P.

(vi.) *The division of sections in Codex B.*—In this MS there are two divisions of sections, one older than the other. This double division is carried on through the Catholic Epistles with the exception of one Epistle. In 2 P (standing between 1 P and 1 Jn) the older divisions are wanting (Gregory, *Proleg.* i. pp. 156, 359). The conclusion is inevitable that the ancestor of Codex B, to which these divisions were first attached, did not contain 2 P.

(vii.) *Old Latin Texts.*—That there were pre-Hieronymian Latin translations of 2 P (see above, p. 796) is clear. But the fragments which remain indicate that these translations belonged to the later 'Italian' type of text; nor is there any evidence that others of earlier date ever existed. This view, in regard to the absence of 2 P from older Latin translations of the Catholic Epistles, is confirmed by the fact to which Westcott (*Canon* p. 263 ff.) calls attention, 'It appears that the Latin text of the Epistle [in the Vulgate] not only exhibits constant and remarkable differences from the text of other parts of the Vulgate, but also differs from the first Epistle in the rendering of words common to both; . . . it further appears that it differs not less clearly from the Epistle of St. Jude (which was received in the African Church) in those parts which are almost identical in the Greek.' 'The supposition,' he adds, 'that it was admitted into the Canon at the same time with them becomes at once unnatural.'

To sum up the evidence of the 3rd cent.: 2 P was *probably* commented on by Clement, but regarded as the companion, not of 1 P but of the *Apocalypse of Peter*; it is not, however, quoted in his extant works. Origen certainly knew of the Epistle as accepted by some, but rejected by others; it is probable that he himself did not use it. It was received into the Canon by the Egyptian Churches, but the time of its reception we do not know. It was accepted in Asia Minor by Firmilian and Methodius, the latter of whom regards the *Apocalypse of Peter* as 'inspired' (*Conviv. Virg.* ii. 6). It is probable, but not certain, that it was known at Rome in the time of Hippolytus. Neither Tertullian nor Cyprian refers to it, and it does not appear to have been included among the Catholic Epistles in any but the late pre-Hieronymian Latin texts. There is no Western attestation of the Epistle during this period.

(3) We now pass to the 4th cent., when the place which, as will appear, 2 P had already secured among the Apostolic books became assured everywhere except in the Syrian Church. (*a*) *Eusebius.* It appears from *HE* II. xxiii. 25 (*τῆς λεγομένης Ἰούδα,*

---

* Zahn (*Gesch. Kan.* I. i. p. 316 n.) also compares with 2 P 1^{20} Hipp. *de Antichr.* 2, *οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἰδίας δυνάμεως ἐφθέγγοντο . . . ὅθεν καὶ ἡμεῖς τὰ ὑπ' αὐτῶν προειρημένα καλῶς μαθητευθέντες λέγομεν οὐκ ἐξ ἰδίας ἡμῶν ἐπινοίας.* But there is no close resemblance in language.

μιᾶς καὶ αὐτῆς οὔσης τῶν ἑπτὰ λεγομένων καθολικῶν) that the phrase 'Catholic Epistles' (cf. VI. xiv. 1) was already a recognized term, and that they were already commonly regarded as seven in number. We turn to the two great passages in which Eus. deals with the books of the NT. In *HE* III. iii., after mentioning 1 P as 'certainly genuine,' he continues, *τὴν δὲ φερομένην δευτέραν οὐκ ἐνδιάθηκον μὲν εἶναι παρειλήφαμεν· ὅμως δὲ πολλοῖς χρήσιμος φανεῖσα, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐσπουδάσθη γραφῶν.* He then refers to the *Acts of Peter*, the *Gospel*, the *Preaching*, and the *Apocalypse*, and, after stating the plan and purpose of his references to the books of the NT, he gives his own judgment in regard to 2 P—*τὰ μὲν ὀνομαζόμενα Πέτρου, ὧν μόνην μίαν γνησίαν ἔγνων ἐπιστολὴν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πάλαι πρεσβυτέροις ὡμολογημένην, τοσαῦτα.* In the later passage (III. xxv.) Eus. divides the books into two main classes—the accepted books (*ὁμολογούμενα*) and the disputed books (*ἀντιλεγόμενα*). The latter class is again subdivided. There are within it (*α*) 'disputed books which are yet recognized by most (*γνώριμα τοῖς πολλοῖς*),' and (*β*) 'disputed books which are spurious (*νόθα*).' To the latter subdivision belongs (among other books) the *Apocalypse of Peter*; to the former, 'the so-called Epistle of James, that of Jude, *the Second Epistle of Peter*, and the so-named Second and Third of John.' From these passages of Eus. we learn some important points about 2 P. (i.) The Catholic Epistles were, at the time Eus. wrote, regarded (at least in some quarters) as seven in number'*; (ii.) the judgment of the past, as Eus. had received it, was against 2 P—*οὐκ ἐνδιάθηκον μὲν εἶναι παρειλήφαμεν.* (iii.) The reason why 2 P had been 'studied (*ἐσπουδάσθη*) in company with the other Scriptures' was, according to Eus., that it was regarded very commonly as answering the purposes of practical edification (*πολλοῖς χρήσιμος φανεῖσα*). (iv.) Eus. did not himself receive 2 P as *γνησία ἐπιστολή*. When he speaks of 1 P, which he accepted without a doubt, as *παρὰ τοῖς πάλαι πρεσβυτέροις ὡμολογημένη* (cf. § 1), he clearly implies that 2 P was deficient in such recognition. The opinion of Eus. is significant. His knowledge of early Christian literature was wide. He was acquainted with many works which are lost to us. When, then, the modern critic fails to discover in early writings any certain trace of 2 P, his experience is only a repetition of that of Eusebius. And further, the evidence of Eus. indicates that the recovery of such lost books as those of Papias and Hegesippus, which were known to him, would in all probability supply us with no fresh evidence as to 2 P.

We turn now to the great Churches of the East, and to the great writers whose influence dominated Western Christendom in the 4th century and onwards.

(i.) *The Churches of Syria.*—(*a*) *The Syriac-speaking Churches.* The Syriac Vulgate (Peshiṭta) contained only *three* of the Catholic Epistles, viz. James, 1 P, 1 Jn. There do not appear to be any quotations from or references to 2 P in Aphraat or in the Syriac works of Ephraem.† At a much later time (*i.e.* the 13th cent.) Ebed Jesu, a Nestorian bishop of Nisibis, writes, 'Tres autem Epistolæ quæ inscribuntur Apostolis in omni codice et lingua, Jacobo scilicet et Petro et Joanni; et Catholicæ nuncupantur' (Assemani, *Bibl. Or.* iii. *Pars* i. p. 9 f.). On the other hand, the discoveries and investigations of Dr. Gwynn of Dublin (*Royal Irish Acad. Transactions*, xxvii. p. 269 ff., xxx. p. 347 ff.) show that the Harklensian version of 2 P, Jude, and 2, 3 Jn is a revision of the text of these Epistles published by Pococke in 1630, which is given in the printed editions of the Peshiṭta; and further, that the Pococke text of these Epistles was a part of the Philoxenian version made by Polycarp for Xenaias or Philoxenus, the Monophysite bishop of Mabug about the year A.D. 500. It appears, therefore, that 2 P was rejected by the early Syrian Church, but that early in the 6th cent. it was accepted at least in the Monophysite branch of that Church. (*β*) *The Greek School of Antioch.* Among the innumerable quotations from and allusions to Scripture found in the writings of Chrysostom,* Theodore, and Theodoret, there does not appear to be one reference to 2 P. In the Synopsis commonly ascribed to Chrysostom (Migne, *Pat. Gr.* lvi. 314 ff.) the phrase used—*τῶν καθολικῶν ἐπιστολαὶ τρεῖς*—implies not only the acceptance of three Epistles, but the rejection of others. The views of Theodore are preserved (see arts. on JUDE and 1 PETER) in Junilius' treatise, *Instituta Regularia.* Of the Catholic Epistles only 1 P and 1 Jn are accepted. 'Adiungunt quam plurimi quinque alias, quæ apostolorum canonicæ nuncupantur.' These five Epistles, among which is 2 P, are described as being *mediæ auctoritatis* (Kihn, *Theodore* p. 478 ff.). Thus 2 P had no place in the Syriac NT. The great Antiochene school of exegetes joined their Syriac-speaking neighbours in its rejection. Moreover, since Chrysostom's expositions at any rate were addressed to popular audiences, the rejection of the Epistle by the great teachers in question must have reflected the usage of the Antiochene Church generally in the matter. (ii.) *Asia Minor.* 2 P has a place in the list of Gregory Nazianzen; yet neither he nor Gregory of Nyssa nor Basil appears to quote or to refer to the Epistle (Westcott, *Canon* p. 446). An expression of doubt is found in the list of Amphilochius, bishop of Iconium (*c.* 380 A.D.)—*καθολικῶν ἐπιστολῶν | τινὲς μὲν ἑπτά φασιν, οἱ δὲ τρεῖς μόνας | χρῆναι δέχεσθαι.* (iii.) *Jerusalem.* Cyril includes 2 P in his list of books, as does his contemporary and fellow-countryman Epiphanius (cf. Zahn, *Gesch. Kan.* II. i. p. 226 n.). (iv.) *Alexandria.* The list of NT books given by Athanasius in one of his Festal Epistles includes 2 P. Towards the end of the century, however, the doubt as to 2 P finds expression in the commentary on the Epistle by Didymus. His words, as they are preserved in the Latin translation, are as follows: 'Non est igitur ignorandum *præsentem epistolam esse falsatam*, quæ licet publicetur non tamen in canone est' (Migne, *Pat. Gr.* xxxix. 1774). The Latin phrase printed above in italics probably represents the Greek words *ὡς νοθεύεται αὕτη ἡ ἐπιστολή.* If this be so, the passage conveys not the writer's own view, but a report of the opinion of others. Zahn (*Gesch. Kan.* I. i. p. 312) urges that Didymus is here recording a judgment which is a relic of the 2nd or 3rd cent., though expressed in the language of later times. The similarity of the terms used to those employed by Eusebius in reference to James (Eus. II. xxiii. 25) suggests rather that Didymus here preserves an opinion more or less contemporary with himself,—the view probably of scholars who conceded a

---

[*] The fact that seven Catholic Epistles appear for the first time, so far as the present writer knows, in Eusebius of *Cæsarea*, confirms the suggestion of Sanday (*Studia Bibl. et Eccles.* iii. pp. 253, 259), that 'it is possible that the collection of seven Epistles may have originated [at Jerusalem]; or if brought in the first instance from Egypt, it would seem to have been at Jerusalem that it first became established.'

[†] F. H. Woods in *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica* iii. p. 138. In v. 342 B. Eph. has the words 'the day of the Lord is a thief.' The phrase has been thought to be derived from 2 P 3^{10}, for, when it is compared with the Pesh. of 1 Th 5^{2}, it will be noticed that (1) 'in the night' is omitted, (2) 'the Lord' takes the place of 'our Lord.' But such slight differences and coincidences are hardly worth consideration in the case of a common proverbial expression.

[*] Some of the comments on 2 P in Cramer's *Catena* are there ascribed to Chrysostom. The present writer (*Chrysostom* p. 79 n.) has pointed out that these fragments bear some resemblance to Chrysostom's work. They are, however, too brief to warrant a positive opinion.

public use of the book—'it seemed useful to many' (Eus. *HE* III. iii. 1),—but protested against its being placed on the same level as books whose authenticity was not questioned. (v.) *Constantinople.* The Church in *New Rome* was in many respects the daughter of the Church at Antioch. But she did not inherit any doubts as to the full Canon of the NT. Constantinople was the centre and the type of Imperial influence on matters ecclesiastical and religious. The preparation, which Constantine entrusted to Eusebius, of 'fifty copies of the Divine Scriptures' for use in the new capital, had important results. It was natural that these copies should contain all the books of the NT which had gained general recognition. A quasi-official standard was thus set up; and the distinction between 'acknowledged' and 'disputed' books soon became little more than a matter of antiquarian interest (Westcott, *Canon* p. 427).

We turn to the West. There appears to be no ante-Nicene evidence for 2 P in the West. It is quoted in the last quarter of the 4th century by Ambrose of Milan (*de Fide* iii. 12, 'Petrus sanctus adseruit dicens Quapropter satagite,' etc. (1^{10})), and by Priscillian in Spain (see above, p. 796). It has a place in the list of Philastrius of Brescia (*c.* 385), and later in that of Rufinus (*c.* 410). On the other hand, in the Canon Mommsenianus, which appears to be an African list of the middle of the 4th cent., it is inserted, but inserted with a protest—

epl̄ae Iohannis III u̅r̅ CCCCL
una sola
epl̄ae Petri II u̅e̅r̅ CCC
una sola.

The author of the list, transcribing an older catalogue, added an expression of his own doubt.* The decisive influences, however, in Western Christendom were those of Jerome and Augustine. The latter, though not insensible to the effect on the authority of a book caused by its rejection in some quarters (*de Doctr. Chr.* ii. 12, 13), yet in practice appealed without distinction to all the books of our NT. Jerome was acquainted with the widespread doubts as to the genuineness of 2 P. In the section in the *de Virr. Illustr.* which deals with St. Peter, he says, 'Scripsit duas epistolas quæ catholicæ nominantur; quarum secunda a plerisque eius esse negatur propter stili cum priore dissonantiam.' The kind of objection which they are alleged to have urged limits the reference of *a plerisque*: Jerome has in mind the doubts of the learned. This *dissonantia* he thus accounts for (*Quæst. ad Hedib.*, Migne, *Pat. Lat.* xxii. 1002), 'Duæ epistolæ quæ feruntur Petri stilo inter se et charactere discrepant structuraque uerborum. Ex quo intelligimus pro necessitate rerum diuersis eum usum interpretibus.' These doubts, however, Jerome himself puts on one side, and in his letter to Paulinus (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* xxii. 548) he speaks of the books which make up our NT without any sign of differentiating between them—'Paulus Apostolus ad septem ecclesias scribit . . . Iacobus Petrus Joannes Judas Apostoli septem epistolas ediderunt.' This view, which doubtless represents that of the Church of Rome, found expression in the Canon of the Vulgate. The recognition in this version of the Seven Catholic Epistles practically closed the question in the West. Thus during the course of the 4th cent. the Epistle was finally received into the NT of Greek-speaking and Latin-speaking Christendom, though the Syriac-speaking Churches still refused to it entrance into their Canon.

To sum up: The evidence as to the reception of 2 P in the Church has now been given and sifted. It becomes necessary to interpret it as a whole. We do not find any certain trace of 2 P in the extant literature of the 2nd cent. Coincidences, which have been adduced to prove literary indebtedness, turn out on examination to be nothing more than illustrations, literary or doctrinal. Further, the words of Eusebius, as was pointed out above, seem to exclude the possibility that books now lost contained clear references to 2 P. Spitta and Zahn (see above, p. 798) agree in finding an explanation of the obscurity in which the Epistle remained in the supposition that it was addressed by St. Peter to Jewish Christians, and that Gentile Christians would not be likely to take much interest in a document written for Jewish fellow-believers. The theory is open to criticism in several directions. (i.) It cannot be said that there is anything in the Epistle itself which suggests that it was addressed by a Jew to Jews. The negative argument urged against the supposition that 1 P was sent to Jewish Churches is valid here; see above, p. 783. (ii.) But let it be granted that internal evidence favours the supposition that it was addressed to Jewish converts. Would such a destination be likely to be a bar to its recognition in other Churches? The Epistle of St. James and that to the Hebrews were both addressed to Jewish communities; and though they were by no means universally accepted in ancient times, yet their history stands in marked contrast to that of 2 P. (iii.) The argument for the authenticity of 2 P, as urged by these critics, depends largely on the witness of the Ep. of St. Jude, which in their view was sent to the same Church or Churches as 2 P. Why, then, was the brief Epistle of one who was not an apostle circulated widely, while a longer Epistle of the chief of the Lord's personal followers was permitted to remain in absolute obscurity?

The want of allusions to the Ep. and of reminiscences of its language is more significant when two further considerations are taken into account. In the first place, the style of the Epistle is so remarkable that its phrases, if known, could hardly fail to be remembered, and, if regarded as apostolic, to be appealed to; and it must be added that, if appealed to, they could not but be reproduced in a form which would make recognition easy and obvious. In the second place, the Epistle would have been a controversial armoury for the assailants of the Gnostics. Had it been known and looked on as authoritative, it could not but have been used, as 1 John and 2 John are used by Irenæus (i. 16. 3, iii. 16. 5, 8). The first piece of *certain* evidence is the passage from Origen quoted by Eusebius, though it hardly admits of doubt that the Epistle was known to Clement of Alexandria. It is certain that during the 3rd cent. the Epistle gained acceptance in certain Churches, though the evidence is too scanty and (*e.g.* as to the date of the Egyptian and of the Old Latin texts) too uncertain for us to define with any exactness what those Churches were. It is clear also that by the time of Eusebius the recognition of *Seven* Catholic Epistles had (at least in Churches which he knew best) become usual. On the other hand, the evidence of Origen, Eusebius, Didymus, and Jerome shows that those teachers whose knowledge of Christian literature prior to their own days was widest, were conscious of the doubt which attached to 2 P.

How, then, was 2 P received into the Canon? The history is very obscure, but the evidence suggests that there were three stages. (*a*) The information which we possess as to the *Hypotyposeis* of Clement leads us to think (see above, p. 803) that at Alexandria, at the beginning of the 3rd cent., 2 P was regarded as the companion of the *Apocalypse of Peter* rather than of 1 P. This is to some extent confirmed by the position of Methodius, who used 2 P (see above, p. 804), but who also counted the *Apocalypse of Peter* among 'divinely inspired writings' (*Conviv. Virg.* ii. 6; Migne, *Pat. Gr.* xviii. 57). (*b*) If this be so, yet before the time of Eusebius the two documents had parted company. Eusebius, who did not himself accept 2 P, gives us his view of the way in which before his time 2 P had secured a place among the Catholic Epistles—*πολλοῖς χρήσιμος φανεῖσα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐσπουδάσθη γραφῶν*. When once it was 'studied with the other Scriptures,' it could not fail to attach itself to 1 P, for it proclaimed itself as a 'second Epistle' of that apostle (3^1). This juxtaposition would necessarily confirm the respect already paid to it, and would, for most readers, decide at once its apostolic authorship. Further, we may conjecture that, when other Epistles besides the three—1 P, 1 Jn, Ja—were reckoned as Catholic Epistles, there would be a natural tendency to make that group seven in number. So the collection would seem to have a sacred completeness, and also to be brought into relation with the Pauline collection. For St. Paul wrote to Seven Churches (*Canon Murat.*; Jerome, *ad Paul. Ep.* liii. 8, Migne, *Pat. Lat.* xxii. 548), and his Epistles were regarded as fourteen in number. Again, the Apocalypse was addressed to Seven Churches. (*c*) We have already seen how, notwithstanding the doubts of the learned, the fuller Canon of the Catholic Epistles gained final recognition in the Greek Churches of the East and in the Western Churches. Reviewing the whole history, we remark that the case of 2 P is unlike that of Jude. We find no trace of the Epistle in the period when the tradition of apostolic days was still living. This lack of early evidence, even when taken in conjunction with the paucity of 3rd cent. evidence, the doubts expressed by, *e.g.*, Origen and Eusebius, and the absence of the Epistle from the NT of the Syriac-speaking Church, does not *prove* its spuriousness. But the absolute insufficiency of external evidence creates a presumption against its genuineness, and throws the whole burden of proof on the internal evidence of the Epistle itself.

---

* Harnack (*Theol. Ltzg.* 1886, col. 173) suggests that in the repeated *una sola* there is in one case a reference to James, in the other a reference to Jude. The word *sola*, however, would remain unexplained (see Zahn, *Gesch. Kan.* II. i. p. 155 n.; Sanday in *Studia Bibl. et Eccles.* iii. p. 243 ff.).

3. *VOCABULARY AND STYLE.*—(*a*) *Vocabulary.* A full examination of the remarkable vocabulary of 2 P is beyond the limits of this article. The following are the main points:—

(i.) *The influence of the LXX.*—The Epistle contains no formal quotation from the OT. WH use uncial type only in five places—2^2 (Is 52^5) 2^{22} (Pr 26^{11}) 3^8 (Ps 90 (89) ^{4}) 3^{12} (Is 34^4) 3^{13} (Is 65^{17} 66^{22}). But in none of these passages is the resemblance of language so close as to make the reference to the LXX certain. In 2^2 (δι' οὓς . . . βλασφημηθήσεται) the writer perhaps does but adopt a type of phrase common in early Christian literature; see Lightfoot on *Clement*, 1. The only word common to 2^{22} and Pr 26^{11} is κύων, and we may have a current proverb based on the words of Proverbs. Much the same may be said of 3^8 (see above, p. 800). In $3^{12\text{f.}}$ the writer is perhaps adopting the phraseology of Christian apocalyptic writings based on Is (cf. Rev 21^1, *Apoc. Petr.* apud Macarius Magn. iv. 7; see Lightfoot on '2 Clem.' xvi.). Other LXX phrases are εἰρήνη πληθυνθείη 1^2 (Dn 3^{98}, but see 1 P 1^2, Jude ^{2}), ἡ αἰώνιος βασιλεία 1^{11} (Dn 3^{100}), κατακλυσμὸν ἐπάγειν 2^5 (Gn 6^{17}), ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν 3^3 (*e.g.* Jos 24^{27}). For ἐν τῷ ἁγίω ὄρει (1^{18}) compare Ps 2^6, Is 11^9 27^{13} 63^{18}, Ezk 28^{14} (where, however, 'my,' 'thy,' or the like, is always added). The phrase ἡμέραν ἐξ ἡμέρας 2^8 (LXX ^{3}) is also classical (Eur. *Rhesus* 445). Words used in this Epistle which are characteristic of the LXX are ἔλεγξις (Job ^{2}), ἐντρυφᾶν (LXX ^{5}), καθαρισμός (common in LXX), κατακλύζειν (LXX ^{6}, Wis ^{2}), καταπονεῖσθαι (2 Mac ^{1}, 3 Mac ^{2}), καταστροφή (Gn 19^{29}), μεγαλειότης (LXX ^{4}), μεγαλοπρεπής (Dt ^{1}, 2 Mac ^{2}, 3 Mac ^{1}; see above, p. 799), μῶμος (common in LXX), νυστάζειν (LXX ^{11}), σκήνωμα (common in LXX), ὑποζύγιον (common in LXX = 'ass'). Some of these words, however, such as καθαρισμός, μῶμος, were at an early period adopted into the vocabulary of the Church, and so, without any borrowing from the LXX, would naturally be used by a Christian writer. That the author of 2 P derived some of his words and phrases from the LXX is clear. But it is no less clear that he was not steeped in its language. It was not a book which he was wont 'nocturna uersare manu, uersare diurna.'

(ii.) *Classical words.*—A large element in the vocabulary consists of what may be roughly described as classical words. Care, however, must be taken not to set up a delusive standard. In his articles on 2 P in *Expos.* (Ser. II. vol. iii.) E. A. Abbott writes thus (p. 206): 'In order to appreciate the resemblance between this Indian-English [*i.e.* a passage quoted from the *Madras Mail*] and the style of the Second Epistle, we must bear in mind that some of the words employed by the author of the latter are very rare in Greek literature; and others, though good classical Greek in themselves, are rare or non-existent in the New Testament.' A modern scholar, with his apparatus of NT lexicons and concordances, is apt unconsciously to isolate the vocabulary of the NT writers or of a certain section of them, and, forgetting that the limits of this vocabulary are accidental, to make it something of an absolute rule by which to judge a document whose authenticity is doubtful. With this caution the following list of words is given which do not occur in the NT except in 2 P*—ἄθεσμος (3 Mac ^{2}, Diod., Philo, Joseph., Plut.), ἀκατάπαυστος (*v.l.* in 2^{14}; Polyb., Diod., Joseph., Plut.), ἅλωσις (LXX ^{1}; Pind., Herod., Æsch.), ἀμαθής (Symm. (Ps); Herod. and onwards), ἀμώμητος (Hom., inscr.; adv. Herod.; *v.l.* in Ph 2^{15}), ἀποφεύγειν (common Herod. and onwards; Sir ^{1}), ἀργεῖν (Soph., Eur., and onwards; LXX ^{6}), ἀστήρικτος (*Anthol.*, Longin.), αὐχμηρός (Eur., Plato, etc.; *Apoc. Petri*), βλέμμα (Æsch. and onwards; on meaning see below), βόρβορος (LXX ^{1}; Æsch. and onwards; comp. ἐν βορβόρω κυλίεσθαι Epict. *Diss.* 4. 11. 29), βραδυτής (Hom. and onwards), διαυγάζειν (Polyb., Plut., Aq. (Job)), δυσνόητος (Lucian, Diog. Laert.), ἐγκατοικεῖν (Herod., Eur., Polyb.), ἑκάστοτε (Herod. and onwards common), ἔκπαλαι (Philo, Joseph., Plut., Arrian), ἐξακολουθεῖν (LXX ^{8}; Polyb., Joseph., Plut., Dion. Hal., Epict.), ἐπάγγελμα (Dem., Isocr., Aristot.), ἐπίλυσις (Aq. (Gn), Sym. (Hos); Hermas, Iren., Clem., Sext. Emp., Heliod.; verb Mk), ἐπόπτης (Æsch., Dem. 'spectator'; Plut., Inscr. in reference to mysteries), ἰσότιμος (Philo, Joseph., Plut., Lucian, Æl.), λήθην λαβεῖν (Jos. *Ant.* II. ix. 1), μίασμα (LXX ^{8}; Tragg. and onwards common), μιασμός (Wis ^{1}, 1 Mac ^{1}; Aq. (Dt), Symm. (K), Plut., *Test. xii. Patr.*, Hermas), ὀλίγως (Aq. (Is); *Anthol.*), ὁμίχλη (LXX ^{10}; Hom. (*Il.*), Æsch., Ar., Xen., Aristot.), παρανομία (LXX ^{9}; Thuc., Plato, Polyb., Dion. Hal.), παρεισάγειν (Isocr., Polyb., Plut., Diod.), παρεισφέρειν (Dem. 'to bring in a law'), πλαστός (Herod., Eur., Xen., Lucian), στηριγμός (Aristot., Diod., Plut.), στρεβλοῦν (LXX ^{1}, 3 Mac ^{1}, 4 Mac ^{4}; Herod. and onwards common in literal sense), ταχινός (LXX ^{6}; Theocr., Callim., Aratus), τεφροῦν (Theophr., Lycophro, Philo, Dion. Cass., Antonin., *Anthol.*), τοιόσδε (LXX ^{3}; Hom. and onwards common), τολμητής (Thuc., Philo., Joseph., Plut., Lucian), ὗς (LXX ^{7}; Hom. and onwards common), φωσφόρος (Tim. Locr., Philo).

(iii.) *Very rare or unique words.*—They are ἀκατάπαστος (*v.l.* in 2^{14}; on the possible origin and meaning of the word see Hort's *Introduction* [*Notes* p. 170]), ἐμπαιγμονή (KL and other authorities omit ἐν ἐμπ. in 3^3), ἐξέραμα, κυλισμός (so BC* curs ^{4}; κύλισμα ℵAKLP, etc.), παραφρονία, ῥοιζηδόν, ταρταροῦν. Of these, two (ἐξέραμα and κυλισμός) occur in the two proverbs cited in 2^{22}, and we cannot be sure therefore that they are due to the writer himself. In the case of three of the words the matter is one of form. The word ἐμπαιγμονή does not seem to occur elsewhere; but ἐμπαιγμός, which does not occur in profane writers, is found in LXX ^{6}, in Theodot. ^{1}, in an anonymous Greek version ^{2}, and in He 11^{36}. Again, there does not seem to be anything to choose in point of rarity between κυλισμός and κύλισμα. For both, a reference is given in the lexicons to a work on farriery (*Hippiatrica*) of late date. The former is found in Theod. (Pr 2^{18}), the latter in Symm. (Ezk 10^{13}). The former expresses the *act* of rolling, the kindred Aristotelian word κύλισις being inadmissible since it has a technical athletic sense; the latter properly the thing rolled, and so perhaps the place of rolling—the word κυλίστρα, which is used in Xen. *Eq.* 5. 3, is apparently a technical term in the training of horses. Again, if παραφροσύνη is found in Plato and Hippocrates, the παραφρονία of 2 P shares the opprobrium of being a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον with παραφρόνησις, which is used by the LXX in Zec 12^4. Again, for ῥοιζηδόν (as for ῥοιζηδά) Nicander, a poet who wrote about 150 B.C., is quoted, the verb (ῥοιζεῖν) and the noun (ῥοῖζος) both being recognized Greek words. Again, the verb ἐξερᾶν is used of vomiting (metaphorically) in classical Greek (Aristoph.) and in Aquila (Lv 18^{28}), and 'vomit' is a natural meaning of ἐξέραμα. Lastly, though ταρταροῦν is found apparently only in 2 P and in a scholium on Homer, the compound καταταρταροῦν is used by Apollodorus and Sextus Empiricus. The words which have been examined are, it cannot be denied, strange and unusual terms; but something can be said in defence of each of them. The papyri which have been discovered of late years have brought home to us our ignorance of colloquial Greek, and suggest caution in peremptorily condemning a word found only in a particular writer as the barbarism of an individual.

(iv.) *Solecisms.*—There are certain expressions in the Epistle which, *so far as our knowledge of the language goes*, appear to be contrary to usage. They are as follows:—

(*a*) βλεμμα (βλέμματι καὶ ἀκοῆ, 2^8). Field (*Notes on Trans. of NT* p. 241) writes thus: '*In seeing and hearing.* This seems to be the only admissible interpretation, though quite at variance with the use of βλέμμα in good writers. . . . St. Peter should have written either ὁράσει καὶ ἀκοῆ or βλέπων καὶ ἀκούων.'

(*b*) καυσοῦσθαι ($3^{10.\,12}$). It is pointed out that Dioscorides (*c.* 100 A.D.) and Galen (*c.* 160 A.D.), both medical writers, use the word in the sense of 'to suffer from καῦσος, *i.e.* a remittent fever.' The word does not appear to occur elsewhere. On the other hand, it must be noticed that Athenæus (see Sophocles, *Lexicon*) uses the cognate noun καῦσος of 'burnt soil,' and that Hesychius assigns to it the meaning of 'a volcanic country.'

---

* In this list the LXX includes the Apocrypha. Words are not included which are given under the next (iii.) section.

(*c*) μελλήσω (1^{12}; so ℵABCP curs^4 Ægyptt (boh sah), οὐκ ἀμελήσω KL, etc., Syr-hkl). Field (*ib.* p. 240) writes thus: 'RV renders [μελλήσω] "I shall be ready," and Alford "I will be sure"; but no example of any such use of μελλήσω is forthcoming. . . . I think it not improbable that St. Peter wrote διὸ μελήσω, "I will take care," a rare but not unexampled construction for διὸ μελήσει μοι.'

(*d*) μνήμην ποιεῖσθαι (1^{15}). The phrase is used from Herodotus onwards with the sense 'to make mention of.' In the passage quoted from Thucydides ii. 54 (πρὸς ἃ ἔπασχον τὴν μνήμην ἐποιοῦντο), the expression signifies 'they shaped their recollections' (cf. i. 140, πρὸς τὰς συμφορὰς καὶ τὰς γνώμας τρεπομένους). In Arist. *Rhet.* iii. 12. 4, μνήμην πεποίηκεν means 'he has made him famous' (see Cope's note). But no instance of the phrase in the sense of 'to remember' is forthcoming.

(*e*) μυωπάζειν (τυφλός ἐστιν μυωπάζων, 1^9). The passage quoted for the verb from Arist. *Probl.* 31. 16. 25 (μυωπάζειν λέγονται οἱ ἐκ γενετῆς τὰ μὲν ἐγγὺς βλέποντες, τὰ δὲ ἐξ ἀποστάσεως οὐχ ὁρῶντες) is not found in Bekker's text. The adjective μύωψ, however, occurs several times in the passage, as in *Rhet.* iii. 11. 12, in the technical sense 'shortsighted,' nor is it found with any other meaning. There seems to be no justification at all from usage for the opinion of those who, like Spitta (p. 73 ff.), take μυωπάζων in 2 P to imply '*wilful* blindness,' and so explain its position after τυφλός ἐστιν; nor is such a meaning natural. There can be little doubt that the writer of 2 P is here guilty of a rhetorical bathos.

(*f*) παρεισφέρειν (σπουδὴν πᾶσαν παρεισενέγκαντες, 1^5). Wetstein quotes Jos. and Diod. for the phrase σπουδὴν πᾶσαν εἰσφέρειν. It must, however, be confessed that the RV 'adding on your part' is rather a benevolent paraphrase than a translation (παρα- in παραδοῦναι and similar words having the idea of *transmission*), and that it is difficult to assign any meaning which can be justified by usage to the double compound. In 2^1 the similarly formed verb παρεισάγειν is correctly and pertinently used (cf. Gal 2^4, Jude ^{4}).

(*g*) σειρός (σειροῖς ζόφου, 2^4; so ℵABC Aug. *al*, σειραῖς KL, etc., boh Syr-hkl). Field (*ib.* p. 241) writes thus: 'σειρός, σιρός, or σιρρός, "a pit," or "excavation," properly for the storage of grain, as Demosth. p. 100, 23. . . . Philo, *de Tel. Constr.* p. 86. . . . And J. Pollux joins κατάγειοι οἰκήσεις, καὶ σειροί, καὶ φρέατα, καὶ λάκκοι. Alford wrongly translates "dens," and says: "The word is used for a *wolf's den* by Longus i. 11"; but he can never have read the passage, in which the method of trapping a she-wolf is thus described: συνελθόντες οὖν οἱ κωμῆται νύκτωρ, σιρροὺς ὀρύττουσι τὸ εὖρος ὀργυιᾶς. . . .' Here too, then, it seems probable that the author of 2 P has in the midst of a somewhat magnificent phrase interpolated a word with which a technical sense was commonly, if not exclusively, associated.*

(v.) We pass on to note a remarkable characteristic of the vocabulary of 2 P, viz. *its iteration.* There are some words which must be repeated, whenever it is necessary to express distinctly and briefly the idea which they connote (*e.g.* πίστις); and to this class some of the words in the following list may justly be thought to belong. But it is obvious that in the majority of cases there is no such justification. And it is best to give the list in full that this peculiarity of the Epistle may be clearly seen. It will be remarked (1) that some of the words and phrases repeated are in themselves unusual; (2) that they sometimes occur more than once within a very short space.

Words (or kindred words) and phrases repeated are—ἄθεσμος 2^7 3^{13}; ἀποφεύγειν 1^4 $2^{18.\,20}$; ἀπώλεια $2^{1\,bis.\,3}$ $3^{7.\,16}$; ἀσέλγεια 2^7, ἀσελγείαι $2^{2.\,18}$; βέβαιος $1^{10.\,19}$; δεδωρημένης 1^3, δεδώρηται 1^4; δελεάζειν $2^{14.\,18}$; ἔκπαλαι 2^3 3^5; ἐξακολουθεῖν 1^{16} $2^{2.\,15}$; ἐπαγγελία $3^{4.\,9}$, ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι 2^{19}, ἐπάγγελμα 1^4 3^{13}; ἐπάγειν $2^{1.\,5}$; ἐπιχορηγεῖν $1^{5.\,11}$; εὐσέβεια $1^{3.\,6.\,7}$ 3^{11}, εὐσεβής 2^9, ἀσεβής 2^5 3^7; ζόφος $2^{4.\,17}$; ἡττᾶσθαι $2^{19f.}$; ἴδιος $1^{3.\,20}$ $2^{16.\,22}$ $3^{3.\,16.\,17}$; καυσοῦσθαι $3^{10.\,12}$; λανθάνειν $3^{5.\,8}$; λύεσθαι $3^{10.\,11.\,12}$; μισθὸς ἀδικίας $2^{13.\,15}$; μίασμα 2^{20}, μιασμός 2^{10}; πάρεστιν 1^{19}, παρούσῃ 1^{12}; βεβαίαν . . . ποιεῖσθαι· ταῦτα γὰρ ποιοῦντες 1^{10}; προσδοκᾶν $3^{12.\,13.\,14}$; σπουδάζειν $1^{10.\,15}$. 3^{14}, σπουδή 1^5; στηριγμός 3^{17}, ἐστηριγμένους 1^{12}, ἀστήρικτος 2^{14} 3^{16}; ταχινός 1^{14} 2^1; τηρεῖν (for future judgment) $2^{4.\,9.\,17}$ 3^7; τοῦτο πρῶτον γινώσκοντες 1^{20} 3^3; ὑπομιμνήσκειν 1^{12}, διεγείρειν ἐν ὑπομνήσει 1^{13} 3^1; οὐκ ἐφείσατο $2^{4f.}$; φωνὴ ἐνεχθεῖσα $1^{17.\,18}$, ἠνέχθη προφητεία 1^{21}, φερόμενοι 1^{21}; φθείρειν 2^{12}, φθορά 1^4 2^{12} (*bis*); φθέγγεσθαι $2^{16.\,18}$.

(vi.) There are some interesting pairs of synonyms found in the Epistle. (*a*) ἀγάπη, φιλαδελφία (1^7), the thought apparently being that 'love of the brethren' must lead on to 'love' in the widest sense (contrast 1 P $1^{22f.}$ 4^8; see Westcott on 1 John 2^{10}). (*b*) ἄσπιλοι καὶ ἀμώμητοι (3^{14}), cf. σπίλοι καὶ μῶμοι (2^{13}). In 1 P 1^{19} we have ἀμώμου καὶ ἀσπίλου. The word μῶμος (=blame, disgrace, in classical Greek) is common in the LXX as representing in sound and approximately in sense the Hebr. מום ('blemish,' in the case of sacrificial victims); hence also frequently in the LXX the word ἄμωμος (of a victim 'without blemish'). Thus the two words ἄμωμος and ἄσπιλος can with propriety stand side by side. The writer of 2 P, however, connects together ἄσπιλος and ἀμώμητος (cf. *v.l.* in Ph 2^{15}), apparently transferring to the latter word the special sense which had become attached to ἄμωμος, though it should be noticed that μωμητός is once used in the LXX (Dt 32^5) in translating מום. (*c*) κλῆσιν καὶ ἐκλογήν (1^{10}), see Lightfoot on Col 3^{12}. (*d*) λόγος, φωνή ($1^{18f.}$). There is 'a recognized distinction between λόγος and φωνή, as denoting respectively "an intelligible utterance" and an "irrational cry"' (Lightfoot on Ignatius, *Rom.* 2); cf. Jn $1^{1.\,14.\,23}$. Here the distinction between the two words lies in the transitoriness of the φωνή (cf. Lk 9^{36}) and the permanence of 'the prophetic λόγος.' But it is remarkable that the term of inferior dignity is here used of the direct utterance of God Himself. (*e*) τυφλός ἐστιν μυωπάζων (see above).

The vocabulary, then, of the Epistle is a singular one. The writer affects unusual, striking, poetical words. He is apt to amplify or decorate a current phrase in a way which makes its appropriateness at least questionable (*e.g.* σπουδὴν πᾶσαν παρεισφέρειν, ἄσπιλοι καὶ ἀμώμητοι). Briefly, his vocabulary is to a remarkable degree an *ambitious* one. On the other hand, the extraordinary list of repetitions stamps it as *poor and inadequate.* The reader is constantly tempted to think that the author intentionally dwells upon a sonorous word, which pleases his fancy, unconscious that the unnecessary recurrence of a word spoils the literary effect. Further, the writer can hardly be defended against the charge of using words and phrases incorrectly. There is little doubt that this indictment has been exaggerated, and that our ignorance of colloquial Greek is apt to betray us into condemning words which with fuller knowledge we should accept without question. But, as a matter of fact, we do not find that good Greek writers hit upon expressions which seem to us uncouth in themselves, and which lack authority, with anything like the same frequency as the writer of 2 Peter.

(*b*) From the Vocabulary we turn to more general characteristics of *Style.* The writer, fond as he is of unusual words, has but a poor supply of connecting particles (*e.g.* μέν . . . δέ is not found in the Epistle). Thus it is remarkable how sentence after sentence is linked to the preceding words by means of γάρ—$1^{8\text{-}11}$ (4 times), $2^{18\text{-}21}$ (4 times); and how relatives (sometimes involving an awkward ambiguity) are employed for the same purpose—1^4 $2^{2.\,3}$ $3^{1.\,6.\,12}$. Closely connected with this poverty of connecting particles is the fact that we have in the Epistle involved and cumbrous sentences, *e.g.* $1^{3f.}$ (where, if the reading διὰ δόξης be adopted, διά is used four times), $2^{12\text{-}16}$. The following points claim notice under this general heading—In $2^{4f.}$ we have the phrase οὐκ ἐφείσατο ἀλλά twice used, and the repetition is made the more unpleasing by the fact that the first ἀλλά introduces a contrast differing in kind from that introduced by the second (ἀλλὰ . . . παρέδωκεν, ἀλλὰ . . . ἐφύλαξεν). In 2^{18} there is an awkward involution of one participial clause in another (τοὺς . . . ἀποφεύγοντας τοὺς ἐν πλάνῃ ἀναστρεφομένους), while in v.^{20} ἀποφυγόντες is used of a set of persons other than those referred to in the τοὺς ἀποφεύγοντας of v.^{18}. Again, the piled-up genitives of 3^2 are very cumbrous, and not free from ambiguity (but on the possibility of a 'primitive' error see below, p. 811). Again, the double ἀπό and the οὕτως of 3^4 (ἀφ' ἧς οἱ πατέρες ἐκοιμήθησαν, πάντα οὕτως διαμένει ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κτίσεως) confuse the meaning. Again, while in Jude ^{10} the φυσικῶς (ὅσα δὲ φυσικῶς ὡς τὰ ἄλογα ζῷα ἐπίστανται) is natural and forcible, the corresponding phrase in 2 P 2^{12} (ὡς ἄλογα ζῷα γεγεννημένα φυσικὰ εἰς ἅλωσιν) wants both simplicity and clearness. In the sentences which follow, the artificial elaboration of the writer's style is very conspicuous,—v.^{12} γεγεννημένα . . . εἰς φθοράν . . . ἐν τῇ φθορᾷ αὐτῶν καὶ φθαρήσονται, ἀδικούμενοι μισθὸν ἀδικίας,—while in the next verse we have the strained and eccentric phrase ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχοντες μεστοὺς μοιχαλίδος. There are, indeed, passages in the Epistle in which an earnestness of exhortation or of hope moulds the language, and in which we recognize a certain grandeur and power of diction, *e.g.* $1^{10f.\,19\text{-}21}$ $3^{11\text{-}13.\,17f.}$. But this is not the impression which we gain from the Epistle as a whole. The student probably has to confess that not seldom in reading the Epistle he has paused in perplexity over some startling or strange phrase. The experience which he has gained from time spent on the writings of St. Paul or St. John encourages him to hope that if he patiently ponders on the words they will at length reveal their meaning; that the reason why an unusual expression was chosen will in time become plain to him. But his hope is disappointed. The sense of the artificiality of the expression does not wear off, and, as he dwells on it, he cannot honestly say that its significance grows upon him. This Epistle is the one book of the NT which, it may be thought, gains by translation. The reader of the dignified and sober English of the AV, in which the ambiguities and eccentricities of the original are to a great extent obliterated, has probably a far higher idea of the literary style of the Epistle than the student of the Greek.

---

* It seems, however, not improbable that we have here a 'primitive' error. The writer of 2 P almost certainly had in mind Jude ^{6} (δεσμοῖς ἀϊδίοις ὑπὸ ζόφον τετήρηκεν). If he wished instead of the common word δεσμοῖς to substitute the much rarer word σειραῖς,—which, however, means 'cords *or* ropes' rather than 'heavy chains,'—it would be very likely that, with the sound of the twice-repeated -οις (δεσμοῖς ἀϊδίοις) in his mind, he would write σειροῖς for σειραῖς.

The question has still to be faced how far the style and diction of 2 P assist us in arriving at a verdict as to its genuineness. We have no right to assume that an Epistle of St. Peter would be written in good Greek, or even that it would be free from offences against literary propriety and good taste. But style is an index of character. The Epistle does produce the impression of being a somewhat artificial piece of rhetoric. It shows throughout signs of self-conscious effort. The author appears to be ambitious of writing in a style which is beyond his literary power. We may hesitate to affirm that the literary style of the Epistle in itself absolutely disproves the Petrine authorship. But it must be allowed that it is hard to reconcile the literary character of the Epistle with the supposition that St. Peter wrote it.

4. *INTERNAL EVIDENCE.*—(*a*) *References to the Gospel history.* (i.) Spitta (p. 37 ff.) and Zahn (p. 60 f.) take the words *τοῦ καλέσαντος ἡμᾶς* (1^{3}) to refer to the Lord's call of the apostles (cf. *ἡμῖν* 1^{1}). This interpretation of the passage would be less improbable if the reading *ὑμῖν* in place of *ἡμῖν* (1^{4}) had satisfactory critical support. The natural, if not necessary, view of the whole context is to take the whole series *ἡμῶν* (1^{2}), *ἡμῖν*, *ἡμᾶς* (1^{3}), *ἡμῖν* (1^{4}) as referring to the writer and the readers alike, joined together in their common faith. In that case 1^{3} speaks of the *fact* that those addressed had been 'called,' while 1^{10} takes up the thought and emphasizes the *duty* involved in that 'call.' There is therefore in all probability no reference to the Gospel history in 1^{3}.

(ii.) In $1^{16\text{ff.}}$ there is the reference to the Transfiguration. Spitta (pp. 101 ff. 493 ff.) and Zahn (p. 58) urge that this reference is independent of the accounts of that event in the Synoptic Gospels. Thus the former lays stress on the fact that in 2 P it is said that the Lord 'received honour and glory' from the Father. This points, he thinks, to what the parallel in the history of Moses (Ex $34^{29\text{ff.}}$, 2 Co $3^{7\text{ff.}}$) would lead us to expect, viz. that the glory of Jesus was the *reflexion* of the glory of God—a communication of glory which preceded the attestation of the heavenly voice. This account of the glorification of Jesus on the Mountain is different from, and (as being more natural) earlier in date than, that given by the Synoptists. But, on the other hand, it must be noted (α) that the phrase is *λαβὼν τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν* (not *λαβὼν . . . δόξαν*), and that *τιμή* points rather to an attesting voice than to a reflected glory; (β) the obvious and almost necessary interpretation of the two participles *λαβὼν . . . ἐνεχθείσης* is that the latter defines and explains the former—'He received honour and glory when there came to Him,' etc. Omission of details of the history (*e.g.* the presence of Moses and Elias) in an allusion contained in a letter cannot reasonably be taken to show that the writer is giving an account independent of, or more primitive than, that of the Synoptists. To pass to another point, the form of the words spoken by the heavenly voice in 2 P is nearer to that in Mt than to that in either of the two other Synoptists. The words as read in Cod. B (followed by WH)—*ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός μου οὗτός ἐστιν, εἰς ὃν εὐδόκησα*—differ from those in Mt in (α) order; (β) insertion of the second *μου* (cf. Mt 12^{18} (Is 42^{1})); (γ) substitution of *εἰς ὅν* (a construction not found elsewhere in LXX and NT [*]) for *ἐν ᾧ*; (δ) omission of *ἀκούετε αὐτοῦ*. The bulk of authorities (ℵACKL, etc.), however, give the words in a form which differs from that of Mt in two points only, (γ) (δ). Again, it is often suggested that the words *τοῦ σκηνώματός μου* (v.^{14}) and *τὴν ἐμὴν ἔξοδον* (v.^{15}), occurring in the immediately preceding context, contain references to the history of the Transfiguration (Mt 17^{4} ‖ Lk 9^{31}). If this is so, then, since the term *ἔξοδος* is used by Luke, not in words which he reports, but in his own brief summary of the conversation between the Lord and Moses and Elias, it follows that the writer of 2 P was acquainted with Lk. The word *ἔξοδος*, however, is not uncommon in such a connexion (see p. 770).

(iii.) In 2^{20} (*γέγονεν αὐτοῖς τὰ ἔσχατα χείρονα τῶν πρώτων*) there is a clear reminiscence of the saying recorded in Mt 12^{45} ‖ Lk 11^{26} (*γίνεται τὰ ἔσχατα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκείνου χείρονα τῶν πρώτων*).

(iv.) In 1^{14} (*ταχινή ἐστιν ἡ ἀπόθεσις . . . καθὼς καὶ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν* Ἰ. Χ. *ἐδήλωσέν μοι*) we have a reference to a disclosure made to St. Peter by our Lord as to his death. Spitta (pp. 88 ff., 491 f.) lays it down peremptorily that 'there is absolutely no connexion between 2 P 1 and Jn 21'; that the allusion is to some other prophecy of Jesus not recorded in the Gospels, but on which the *Quo Vadis* story is based. It is true that the words used in 2 P do not necessarily imply that the writer is indebted to the Gospel of St. John: they are quite compatible with the supposition that St. Peter is (independently of any written document) recalling and reproducing in his own words the substance of the Lord's revelation to him. But it is unreasonable to postulate an occasion other than that recorded in Jn 21, when the Lord revealed something of the circumstances of the apostle's death. The Lord's prophecy as given in Jn 21^{18} contains all that is required in 2 P. If the word *ταχινή* be taken to mean 'coming soon' (as Spitta interprets it), then the reference is rather to the *ὅταν γηράσῃς*; if it is understood to mean 'sudden,' then the allusion is to the violence plainly foreshadowed in the Lord's words.

The alleged references to the Gospel history contained in the Epistle have now been examined. The first of them has been put aside. The remaining three, when taken together, will probably produce on many minds the impression that the writer of 2 P was acquainted with Mt and Jn and (if the allusion which some have found in *ἔξοδος* be pressed) with Lk also. But such an impression, however strong it may be, does not amount to a well-founded conviction. The verdict on the non-genuineness of the Epistle, as far as this piece of evidence goes, is a *non liquet*.

The case, however, is different when we turn to another aspect of the reference to the Transfiguration and to the Lord's prophecy as to St. Peter's death. Do these allusions reveal a too keen anxiety on the writer's part to identify himself with St. Peter? Have we here some one personating the apostle, and therefore, in order to support his assumed character, unduly emphasizing two scenes in the Lord's life, each of which was closely connected with St. Peter?

---

[*] This construction, however, occurs in the version of the heavenly words given in *Clem. Hom.* iii. 53.

The answer to the question, when so put, is, it is believed, that *in themselves* these allusions do not supply any valid argument against the genuineness of the Epistle. It cannot be considered strange or unnatural that the writer, if he were indeed the great apostle, should recall either of these incidents.

But there is a characteristic of the Epistle on the negative side which must be taken into account. (*a*) We should have expected that a personal follower of the Lord, who had heard our Lord's discourses, would instinctively reproduce much of his Master's teaching. It is true that, as was pointed out above (p. 788), our knowledge of our Lord's sayings is imperfect. The Gospels do not record all our Lord's words. But they certainly preserve a wide representative cycle of His teaching. And we should expect a letter of St. Peter to contain some reminiscences of Christ's words, which, with the Gospels in our hands, we could identify as such. 2 P does not fulfil that expectation. There is but one of the sayings of the Lord recorded in the Gospels alluded to in 2 P (2^{20} ‖ Mt 12^{45}, Lk 11^{26}). (*β*) Again, the Epistle does not refer to the great *momenta* of the Lord's life on earth—the Passion, the Resurrection, and the Exaltation. Here then we have, as it appears to the present writer, two weighty arguments against the genuineness of the Epistle—a negative argument and a positive argument. On the one hand, the Epistle does not contain what we should have confidently expected an Epistle of St. Peter to contain—allusions to the Lord's sayings and allusions to the great events of the Lord's life. The force of this argument is greatly increased when with 2 P we compare 1 P. On the other hand, the fact that the only allusions to incidents in the Lord's life found in the Epistle are such as would support the character of one writing as St. Peter, does become, in view of the silence of the Epistle as to the Passion, the Resurrection, the Ascension, and of the absence from it of allusions to the Lord's teaching as recorded in the Gospels, a serious ground for questioning the Petrine authorship of the Epistle.

(*b*) *Absence of personal messages and greetings.*—No companion of the apostle is mentioned. The apostle himself sends no personal message or greeting. On the former of these two points no stress can be laid. The latter has some weight as against the theory of Spitta and Zahn, that the Epistle was addressed by St. Peter to a Palestinian Church (or Palestinian Churches) with which the apostle had had personal dealings; it has none as against the common view that St. Peter sends a second letter to Churches throughout the provinces of Asia Minor, which he had never visited. Apart from these two special points there is, it must be allowed, a certain indefiniteness in the Epistle as to the circumstances and surroundings of those to whom the letter was sent, and more especially of the writer. Nothing is said, for example, of the place whence the letter was written. But it would be easy to draw on the imagination for reasons which might naturally and fully explain the reticence of the letter on personal matters. The result therefore is a purely negative one. The genuineness of the Epistle does not receive the support which it would have gained, had it contained personal messages and personal news which harmonized with known facts. On the other hand, no substantial argument adverse to its genuineness can fairly be deduced from their absence.

(*c*) *Anachronisms.*—(i.) $3^{15f.}$ Does the passage imply that in the writer's time a *collection* of St. Paul's Epistles existed, and that they were regarded as Scripture? The first point to be considered is the meaning of the phrase τὰς λοιπὰς γραφάς. Spitta (p. 294) holds that 'only writings of St. Paul's associates can be intended, addressed to the Gentile Christians who belonged to the sphere of his apostolic work.' According to this view, it would appear that the term αἱ γραφαί is used not in the sense of 'Scriptures,' but with a general non-technical meaning. Zahn (*Einl.* pp. 98 f., 108) follows the same general line of interpretation, but enters more into detail. In his opinion, the reference is to 'writings of a religious character—writings which could claim respect in Christian circles either because of the persons who composed them, or because the Christian congregations made use of them in public worship.' 'We do not know,' he adds, 'how much Christian literature already existed in the years 60–64.'* He urges that, as the allusion to these writings is altogether incidental, and as no distinguishing epithet, *e.g.* 'holy,' 'prophetic,' is added, the special sense of αἱ γραφαί, as applied to a collection of the Holy Scriptures, is here excluded. He further points out that, as the technical sense of the term הספרים did not prevent the Jews from using the word ספר of any book whatever, so the narrower use of αἱ γραφαί and τὰ γράμματα did not as a matter of fact debar Greek-speaking Christians from employing the words γραφή, γραφαί, and γράμματα in a wide and general sense; if no instance of this sense of γραφή is found in the NT, that is a mere matter of chance. To substantiate his position as regards γραφή he refers to 2 Ch 2^{11} (εἶπεν Χειρὰμ . . . ἐν γραφῇ), Neh 7^{64} (ἐζήτησαν γραφὴν αὐτῶν τῆς συνοδίας), Dn 5^{5} (τὴν γρ. ἐκείνην, *i.e.* the writing on the wall), 1 Mac $14^{27.48}$ (the writing on tables of brass), Iren. iii. 6. 4, xvii. 4, v. Prol. (in each case *hæc scriptura* of Irenæus' own work), Clem. *Strom.* vi. 3 (p. 755, ed. Potter; προϊούσης τῆς γραφῆς, *i.e.* the treatise itself), Eus. *HE* II. xi. 1 (τὴν περὶ τούτου . . . τοῦ Ἰωσήπου γραφήν). Similar uses of the word might be quoted from classical Greek (where it commonly has a formal sense ['document'], often a legal sense ['indictment']), *e.g.* Thuc. i. 129, τοσαῦτα μὲν ἡ γραφὴ ἐδήλου, Ξέρξης δὲ ἥσθη τε τῇ ἐπιστολῇ κ.τ.λ. In all these passages, it will be noticed, it is clear, either from the phrase itself or from the context, what the γραφή in question is. They present no parallel to the *absolute* use of the word in the *plural.* The phrase αἱ γραφαί used absolutely points to a definite and recognized collection of 'writings,' *i.e.* the Scriptures. If any further assurance of this is needed, it is given (*α*) by the context—the word στρεβλοῦσιν shows that the writings were authoritative, and that their support had at all costs to be secured, and (*β*) by the added word λοιπάς—τὰς λοιπὰς γραφάς; compare Sir. *Prol.* ὁ νόμος καὶ αἱ προφητεῖαι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν βιβλίων; Iren. ii. 28. 7, 'Dominus manifeste dixit et *reliquæ* demonstrant Scripturæ.' From the καί and the τὰς λοιπάς—ὡς καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς γραφάς—we are obliged to infer that the Epistles of St. Paul are regarded as Scripture. Again, the fact that St. Paul's Epistles are regarded as Scripture, together with the phrase ἐν πάσαις ἐπιστολαῖς, leads to the further conclusion that the writer of 2 P possessed not merely isolated letters of St. Paul, but a collection of his Epistles, to which, as authoritative documents of the faith, appeal was made.† It is impossible to suppose that a collection of St. Paul's Epistles had been made and that they were treated as Scripture during the lifetime of St. Peter.

---

* Zahn's theory as to 2 P, it should be observed, leads him to assume an (earlier) Ep. of St. Peter now lost (3^{1}), an Ep. of St. Paul now lost (3^{15}), the promise on St. Peter's part of a *Lehrschrift* otherwise unknown to us (1^{15}), 'other writings' now lost (3^{16}).

† Compare the *Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs*, Libri et epistulæ Pauli uiri iusti (Robinson, *The Passion of S. Perpetua* p. 114, in 'Texts and Studies' I. ii.).

(ii.) 3^2 *μνησθῆναι τῶν προειρημένων ῥημάτων ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων προφητῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων ὑμῶν ἐντολῆς τοῦ κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος.* It is possible that there is a primitive error in the text, and that *διά* should be inserted after *τῆς*—'the commandment of the Lord and Saviour *given through* your apostles'[*] (cf. the title of the *Didaché*—*διδαχὴ Κυρίου διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τοῖς ἔθνεσιν*, and also 2^{21} *τῆς παραδοθείσης αὐτοῖς ἁγίας ἐντολῆς*). But this suggestion does not affect the matter with which we are at present concerned. It is true that the phrase 'your apostles' admits of the explanation that the writer is referring to those apostles who had taught the readers of the Epistle, and that, so interpreted, the phrase cannot be said to be an impossible one in a letter written by St. Peter. But, on the supposition that St. Peter is writing to Christians whom he had himself taught, it must be admitted that it is strange that he should use an expression so cold and so general. Two other considerations must be taken into account. In the first place, it seems certain (see art. JUDE, EPISTLE OF, vol. ii. p. 802 f.) that the whole phrase is an expansion of the corresponding words in Jude ^{17}, where there is a simple and natural reference to the *oral* teaching of the apostles (*ἔλεγον*). Secondly, the addition of a reference to the prophets changes the kind of remembrance. The idea of keeping in mind the teaching of *Scripture* is introduced. Now in the 2nd cent. it was customary to speak of Scripture either under the two divisions—the Prophets and the Apostles—(*e.g.* *Murat. Canon*, 'neque inter prophetas completum numero neque inter apostolos'), or under the three divisions—the Prophets, the Lord (the Gospel), and the Apostles—(*e.g.* Iren. i. 8. 1, *ἣν* [*ὑπόθεσιν*] *οὔτε προφῆται ἐκήρυξαν οὔτε ὁ Κύριος ἐδίδαξεν οὔτε ἀπόστολοι παρέδωκαν*); see Lightfoot on Ign. *Philad.* v. The impression produced by 2 P 3^2 is that we have here a post-apostolic writer elaborating the simple phrase of Jude ^{17} and instinctively reproducing phraseology current in his own days, while the *ὑμῶν* is introduced as being in character with the style of a letter. This impression is strengthened when the passage under discussion is taken in connexion with 3^{15} (see just above).

(iii). Closely connected with the points just dealt with is the problem suggested by the controversial element in the Epistle.

It has often been noticed that the writer speaks of the rise of certain false teachers as future ($2^{1f.}$ 3^3), and then, using the present tense ($2^{11.\ 12.\ 17f.\ 20}$ 3^5, cf. 3^{16}), describes them as already active. It might be argued that he projects himself into the future, and then, from the point of view of a spectator, regards future events as actually happening. But it must be remarked that (1) this change from the future to the present takes place twice ($2^{10ff.}$ 3^5); (2) in ch. 2 perfects are used (*γέγονεν* 2^{20}, *συμβέβηκεν* 2^{22}). The most natural interpretation of these phenomena is that the writer first speaks in his assumed character of a prophet, and that then, forgetting that assumed character, he depicts the false teaching actually rife around him.

Does the language used betray any sign of being aimed against the Gnostics? It is clear that those against whom the writer warns his readers not only practised, but taught, immorality. Their error was not only a matter of life (as appears to be the case with the libertines of St. Jude's Epistle), but also of doctrine. They are *ψευδοδιδάσκαλοι* (2^1). In this connexion the language of $1^{5f.}$ is remarkable—*ἐπιχορηγήσατε . . . ἐν τῇ ἀρετῇ τὴν γνῶσιν, ἐν δὲ τῇ γνώσει τὴν ἐγκράτειαν.* Here *γνῶσις* is used absolutely, and it is linked with *ἀρετή* and *ἐγκράτεια.* It would seem as if the writer emphasizes the bearing of a true *γνῶσις* on conduct because he has in mind those whom a false *γνῶσις* betrayed into *ἀκρασία.* It will be remembered that the name 'Gnostic' was, as far as our knowledge goes, first claimed by sects whose teaching justified profligacy of life (Iren. i. 25. 6; Hippolytus, *Hær.* v. 6). Again, it may be thought that the words *ἐλευθερίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπαγγελλόμενοι αὐτοὶ δοῦλοι ὑπάρχοντες τῆς φθορᾶς* (2^{19}) exactly express the theory of certain Gnostic teachers as to the 'spiritual' man's independence of matter, and the practical results of that doctrine (cf. *e.g.* Iren. i. 25. 4). Again, the writer of 2 P charges the false teachers with perverting Scripture (3^{16}). It is clear that, when St. Paul wrote the Epistle to the Romans, there were those who depraved the doctrine of grace (Ro $6^{1.\ 15}$; cf. Jude ^{4}). But there is no trace in apostolic times of false teachers supporting their views by a reckless or dishonest interpretation of the Old Testament, which alone could then be known under the name of Scripture. Nor, indeed, is it easy to see how the controversies of that age could give occasion to a forced exegesis of the OT; the arguments which the Judaistic opponents of St. Paul may well have drawn from the OT would be of a different kind. But such violent wresting of Scripture (*i.e.* the OT and the NT) as is described by the word *στρεβλοῦσιν* was the characteristic method by which the Gnostics of the 2nd century endeavoured to support their doctrines. Irenæus charges them with such a dishonest procedure again and again (i. *Præf.*; 3. 6, *παρατρέποντες τὰς ἑρμηνείας καὶ ῥᾳδιουργοῦντες τὰς ἐξηγήσεις*; 8. 1; 9. 1, *καταχρησάμενοι τοῖς ὀνόμασιν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν ὑπόθεσιν μετήνεγκαν*). This indictment, then, of the false teachers does not appear to harmonize with what we know, or with what we can with reasonable probability conjecture, of the apostolic age. It does fit in with the characteristics of a later time.

(iv.) $3^{3f.}$ *ἐλεύσονται . . . ἐμπαῖκται . . . λέγοντες Ποῦ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπαγγελία τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ; ἀφ' ἧς γὰρ οἱ πατέρες ἐκοιμήθησαν, πάντα οὕτως διαμένει ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κτίσεως.* It is sometimes urged that the question of the scoffers points to a time later than the days of the apostles; and even more stress is laid on the reply—not an assurance of the nearness of the advent, but an explanation of delay (v.^{8} *μία ἡμέρα παρὰ Κυρίῳ κ.τ.λ.*). It is, however, difficult to feel the force of these arguments considered in themselves. The fact that 'the immediate imminence of the coming of the Lord . . . faded out of view' in St. Paul's mind, as the Epistle to the Ephesians seems to indicate, 'when year after year passed away, and still there was no sign of the Lord's coming' (Hort, *Rom. and Eph.* p. 141 f.), is a sufficient proof that towards the end of St. Peter's life men would not be unlikely to ask the question put into the mockers' mouths, nor a Christian teacher unlikely to give some such answer as we find in 2 P 3^8. The passage will come before us again when we come to compare 2 P with 1 P. But the phrase *ἀφ' ἧς οἱ πατέρες ἐκοιμήθησαν* gives rise to much more serious misgivings. Who are 'the fathers'? They are, says Spitta (p. 234 ff.), the actual fathers of those who are introduced as speaking.[*] This interpretation is open to several grave objections. (*a*) Since to St. Peter the phrase *οἱ πατέρες* would have a quasi-technical sense (cf. *e.g.* Jn 6^{58}, Ac 7^{19}, Ro 9^5, He 1^1), the meaning suggested would require the addition of ἡμῶν.* (β) The words 'since our fathers died,' put into the mouth of a number of persons, fix no definite limit of time. (γ) The context seems to imply that 'the fathers' had embraced the Christian hope, and so early in the history of the Church as St. Peter's lifetime it would be quite unnatural to introduce a group of persons speaking of their fathers as Christians (see Zahn, *Einl.* ii. p. 72). Zahn (*ib.* pp. 67, 73) urges that the term οἱ πατέρες could be used of the first generation of Christians—the ἀρχαῖοι μαθηταί (Ac 21^{16})—before it had died off to the last man, and that, in fact, a whole generation separated the years 60–63, in which he places the Epistle, from the day when the promise to return was given. But, on the other hand, it must be remembered that the use of the term οἱ πατέρες in itself implies a considerable lapse of time. The founders of a movement are not called 'the fathers' till a later age looks back upon their work. Further, the clause as a whole implies a distant retrospect; the words ἀφ' ἧς . . . ἐκοιμήθησαν πάντα οὕτως διαμένει could not have been used unless a considerable interval had elapsed since the passing away of 'the fathers.' The words might conceivably be justified on the hypothesis that St. Peter is here foretelling the future, and that he dramatically puts into the mouth of the mockers, who should 'come in the last days,' words appropriate only from their supposed point of view. But such an interpretation is too artificial. And it must be confessed that here again we seem to be carried far beyond the limits of the apostolic age.

---

[*] So the Syriac (Harklean) version, 'the commandment of our Lord and Saviour which (was) by the hand of the apostles.'

[*] Spitta gets over the difficulty that *ἀφ' ἧς* implies a considerable interval by supposing that the relative *ἧς* refers back to *τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ*. He takes *ἀπό* in a pregnant sense with *ἐκοιμήθησαν*—'Die Väter sind entschlafen von der Parusie weg, ihr Tod hat sie der Parusie entzogen.' For this use of *ἀπό* he compares Ro 9^3, Col 2^{20}, 2 Co 11^3. It is strange that he does not see that the *γάρ* (*ἀφ' ἧς γάρ*) makes such an interpretation absolutely impossible.

(*d*) *Doctrine.*—The doctrine of the Epistle is chiefly remarkable, so far at least as our present purpose is concerned, on the negative side. We should not, indeed, have expected St. Peter to dwell with such detail ($3^{10ff.}$) on the physical accompaniments of 'the day of the Lord,' and on its relation to the several parts of the material universe, as contrasted with its human and spiritual issues. We might feel it strange that what we should elsewhere describe as physical speculations on the process of creation, should find a place in a letter written by St. Peter (3^5). But these are matters of taste and feeling, or at least of opinion; and on such considerations no decisive judgment can be based. But it is otherwise with the silence of the Epistle as to doctrines of primary importance. St. Peter was an eye-witness of the human life of the Incarnate Word, of His sufferings, of the manifestations of the Risen Lord, and of His Ascension. He heard Christ's words about the Paraclete, and partook of the outpouring of the Spirit at Pentecost. But the Epistle says nothing of the example of Christ, or of His sufferings and death, or, except the allusion in 2^1 (τὸν ἀγοράσαντα αὐτοὺς δεσπότην), of Redemption. It is silent as to the Resurrection and the Ascension. It makes no reference to the Holy Spirit except as the source of inspiration to the ancient prophets (1^{21}). It does not allude to prayer. We have no right, it may be urged most truly, to expect an apostolic Epistle to treat of every Christian doctrine, even the most vital. But is it conceivable that St. Peter, with his history and his experience, would pass over all these matters, essential to the Christian faith, as though they were not? The silence as to the Resurrection is the crucial point. The apostles were essentially witnesses to the Resurrection. The Resurrection was the final proof of the Divine mission of the Lord, the foundation of the Christian faith. As such it holds a unique place in the writings of the apostles, and in their teaching as reported in the Acts. But in this Epistle, when the writer (1^{16}) has occasion to appeal to the guarantee of the truth of his teaching as to 'the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ,' the Resurrection is ignored, and the apostolic witness to Christ is made to rest on the Transfiguration. The Transfiguration was doubtless an event of deep meaning; but its meaning was relative to the time when it took place, and to the circumstances of those who were present on the mountain. Its glory was in the days of the Lord's humiliation a transitory anticipation of the Resurrection. It belongs to an order of events different from that to which the Resurrection belongs. It would be difficult to exaggerate the significance of the fact that in the Epistle generally, and especially at this particular point in it, the Resurrection is unnoticed. A subordinate but not unimportant matter is the language used by the writer of 2 P in this reference to the Transfiguration—ἐπόπται γενηθέντες τῆς ἐκείνου μεγαλειότητος (1^{16}). The word ἐπόπτης is borrowed from the Greek mysteries, where it denoted one who was admitted to the third and highest stage. For the word itself cf. Plut. *Alcib.* 22, τοὺς ἄλλους ἑταίρους μύστας προσαγορεύοντα καὶ ἐπόπτας; *CIG* 71*b*, 2158 (in both of which places it is closely associated with μύστης); Clement of Alexandria is fond of using words of this group in reference to the spiritual vision of God (*e.g. Pæd.* i. 6 (p. 113), 7 (p. 129); *Strom.* i. 28 (p. 424), ii. 2 (p. 431). The metaphor is not one which we should have expected St. Peter to use. It is artificial, and savours of a later time when the Church borrowed such terms, often probably through the medium of the Gnostics, from the language of the Greek mysteries.*

5. *RELATION TO 1 PETER.*—Under this head little more has to be done than to bring together results which have been already reached as to the two Epistles separately.

(*a*) *Vocabulary and literary style.*—As to the former point, Warfield (p. 67) writes thus: 'These resemblances are seen not only in peculiar phrases, such as the form of salutation, "Grace and peace *be multiplied*," found in these two Epistles and nowhere else, but also in the recurrence in both of rare combinations, such as ἀμώμου καὶ ἀσπίλου, 1 P 1^{19} repeated 2 P 2^{13} and 3^{14} and nowhere else, and also the common possession of a very peculiar vocabulary such as is represented by the occurrence in both of ἐποπτεύσαντες (1 P 2^{12}, 2 P 1^{16}), ἰσότιμος (1 P $1^{7.19}$, 2 P $1^{1.4}$), reinforced by the like community in such as φιλαδελφία (1 P 1^{22}, 2 P 1^7); χορηγεῖν (1 P 4^{11}, 2 P $1^{5.11}$); ἀπόθεσις (1 P 3^{21}, 2 P 1^{14}); ἀρετή (1 P 2^9, 2 P 1^3); ἀναστροφή (1 P 1^{15}, 2 P 2^7); ἀλήθεια in a peculiar sense (1 P 1^{22}, 2 P 1^{12}); κομίζεσθαι (1 P 1^9, 2 P 2^{13}), etc., all of which are rare words in the New Testament.' It seemed best to quote this passage at length. A glance reveals how this list needs careful sifting. Thus Warfield's mode of statement is confusing; the word ἰσότιμος, for example, does not occur in 1 P, but πολύτιμος (1^7) and τίμιος (1^{19}). Again, the plural αἱ ἀρεταί in 1 P 2^9 (a reminiscence of Is 43^{21}) is clearly far from being a parallel to the singular ἀρετή, 2 P 1^3, though in both passages the reference is to God. But in fact verbal coincidences, however abundant, between 2 P on the one hand and on the other 1 P and the Petrine speeches in the Acts (*Speaker's Com.* iv. p. 226), would be of but little weight in support of the genuineness of 2 P; for if that Epistle is not genuine, but was written in the 2nd cent., it is clear that both 1 P and the Acts must have been accessible to its author, and that therefore he may have derived words or phrases from them. The real question is whether a comparison of the two Epistles reveals that kind of similarity which suggests that they are the product of the same mind. It must be said briefly that the two documents are in complete contrast in reference to literary style. This contrast is obvious whether we regard smaller points of expression (*e.g.* the connexion of sentences and clauses) or the broader literary characteristics of the two Epistles. The style of 1 P is simple and natural, without a trace of self-conscious effort. The style of 2 P is rhetorical and laboured, marked by a love for striking and startling expressions.

---

* Cursives^4, Ægyptt (boh sah), Syr-hkl add ἡμῶν. But, in the case of an addition of this nature, the evidence of versions is of little value.

* The habit of using language derived from the mysteries, in reference to communications supposed to be made by our Lord to His disciples, runs riot in the Gnostic *Pistis Sophia.*

(*b*) *Use of the OT.*—The writer of 1 P formally quotes the OT ; he deliberately adopts its language (*e.g.* $2^{9f. 22}$) ; he instinctively, and apparently unconsciously, falls into its phraseology. The writer of 2 P, on the other hand, as we have seen, never formally quotes the OT, and uses but few distinctively OT expressions. This is precisely the reverse of what we should have expected to be the case if the theory of Spitta and Zahn were true, namely, that St. Peter wrote the First Epistle to Gentile, the Second Epistle to Jewish, Christians.

(*c*) *Reminiscences of the Lord's teaching.*—The writer of 1 P constantly shows that he has the Lord's sayings in his mind. It is doubtful if the writer of 2 P refers to more than two of them.

(*d*) *Use of St. Paul's Epistles.*—The writer of 1 P is deeply influenced, both in thought and in language, by two of St. Paul's Epistles (Ro, Eph). The writer of 2 P, while he mentions St. Paul's Epistles generally, owes no debt, literary or doctrinal, to them. This argument, however, cannot be said to carry so much weight as it appears to do at first sight. For we saw cause to believe that there were special reasons why the words and thoughts of these two Epistles of St. Paul should be in St. Peter's mind when he wrote the First Epistle.

(*e*) *Doctrine.*—It has often been remarked that while in 1 P 'the end' is regarded as near (4^7), the writer of 2 P seems to contemplate delay as part of the Divine counsel. It might be a not unfair reply that in the one case the writer sets forth his own personal hope, in the other case he has to meet the jibes of enemies of the truth, and to account for the unquestionable fact of delay which gave point to their mocking question. But, indeed, the difference between the two Epistles in regard to doctrine is deeper and more far-reaching than a contrast of view as to the hope of the Lord's speedy return. Any one who has endeavoured to draw out the doctrinal teaching of the two Epistles must feel that they are widely separated from each other. There is a richness of devout thought, a vital apprehension of the great facts and truths which are characteristic of Christianity, in 1 P, for which we search in vain in 2 P. The thought of Christ's sufferings, considered as the supreme example and as redeeming acts dealing with all the needs of men, the thought of Christ raised and exalted by the Father, the thought of the present personal relation of Christians to Christ's work and to Christ Himself, dominate the one Epistle; they are, as we have seen (see above, p. 812), passed over in the other.

Such are the differences between the two Epistles. It remains to examine certain considerations which have been suggested with a view to explain or to mitigate the difficulty.

(1) *Difference of date.*—If St. Peter wrote the two Epistles, they could not be widely separated in point of time. The examination of all the evidence points to the year 61 as the probable date of 1 P (see above, p. 791 f.). 2 P, if the work of St. Peter, could not be placed more than a year or two later, or, if we accept the view of Spitta and Zahn that the former Epistle alluded to in 2 P 3^1 is not 1 P, a year or two earlier. Even if we put aside ancient evidence, and, accepting the theory which finds in 1 P indications of a later date (see above, p. 783 f.), suppose that St. Peter's life was prolonged beyond the year 70, the interval between the two documents cannot have been much more than ten years. It may well be doubted whether ten years at the end of a long life can reasonably be supposed to have so completely changed a man's literary style and the tone and range of his thoughts.

(2) *Difference of subject.*—The object of 1 P, it is urged, was to comfort and encourage the suffering ; that of 2 P to warn against a shameful perversion of the truth. It must, however, be remembered that ch. 1 of 2 P is not denunciatory. Such a difference of subject might well account for a difference of tone, and a difference in the relative position and emphasis given to Christian doctrines. It would modify ; it would hardly revolutionize.

(3) *Difference of circumstances.*—The strongest presentation of the case in this respect is probably the theory of Zahn (*Einl.* ii. p. 96). 'So long,' he says, 'as men started with the assumption that 1 P is a document actually composed by the apostle ('ein eigenhändiges Schreiben des Apostels'), and that 2 P purports to be intended for a circle of readers similar to that addressed in 1 P, then the great diversity of the two Epistles in thought and language could not but be strong evidence against the genuineness of 2 P. But this evidence is destroyed, since both the above-mentioned assumptions have been shown to be erroneous. It is obviously intelligible that Peter, in a letter addressed to the Gentile Churches of Asia Minor, which Silvanus wrote by his commission and in his name, should speak in a way different from that in which he speaks in a letter of his own composition ('in einem eigenhändigen Brief') addressed to Churches of Jewish Christians, who owed their Christianity to him and his associates.'

In this position three points must be noticed. (*a*) It is remarkable that both Spitta (p. 530 ff.) * and Zahn, in defending the Petrine authorship of 2 P, are obliged to give up the real Petrine authorship of 1 P. It has, however, been shown in the article on 1 PETER (p. 789 f.) that (*α*) the language about Silvanus in 1 P 5^{12}, though it does not exclude, yet certainly does not support, the hypothesis that the composition of the letter was left to him ; (*β*) the phenomena of the Epistle itself are decisive against this theory. (*b*) It has been pointed out (see above, pp. 798, 806) that 2 P contains no indication of being addressed to Jewish Christians, and that the internal evidence, both negative and positive, points decisively in the opposite direction. (*c*) But if these two points are conceded, it is clear that everything depends on the sense given to 'speaking in a different way'—'anders redet.' The supposed variation of circumstances would account for a difference, perhaps a great difference, between the two letters. But, on the one hand, it must be observed that the characteristic of tender and sympathetic affection is conspicuous in the letter which was addressed to those with whom St. Peter had had no personal dealings, while it is absent from the letter which (in Spitta's and Zahn's view) was sent to persons who owed their Christianity to the apostle—a reversal of what would have been naturally anticipated. And, on the other, the differences between the two Epistles in literary style and tone and teaching are, as it appears to the present writer, so numerous and so fundamental that no difference of amanuenses or 'interpreters' can account for them unless we are prepared to admit that, in the case of either one or both of these letters, the substance and the language alike were left absolutely in the hands of the apostle's companion.

---

* 'Dass die beiden kanonischen Petrus-Briefe nicht aus derselben Feder stammen können, muss ich mit manchen altkirchlichen und den meisten neueren Forschern unbedingt behaupten' (p. 530).

6. *LITERARY AFFINITIES.*[*]—(*a*) *The Epistle of Jude.* That there is a close literary connexion between Jude and 2 P is certain. Which of the two writers is the borrower? It must be here sufficient to refer to the article on the EPISTLE OF JUDE (vol. ii. p. 802 f.), where the question is discussed. Further study confirms the present writer in the conclusion there reached, that the 'various lines of argument converge, and, as far as demonstration is possible in literary questions, demonstrate the priority of Jude.'[†] What is the bearing of this result on the question of the genuineness of 2 P? It is obvious that the fact that 2 P borrows from Jude is no more prejudicial to the genuineness of the former than the fact that 1 P borrows from Ro and Eph tells against the authenticity of 1 P. The difficulties in regard to date, if we prolong the apostle's life beyond 64, are not insuperable. The result is therefore a negative one. 2 P is deprived of a witness on whose evidence recent defenders of the apostolic authorship of 2 P (Spitta and Zahn) have greatly relied.

(*b*) *Josephus.*—In an article in the *Expositor* (2nd series, vol. iii. p. 49 ff.) E. A. Abbott maintained that there is a remarkable series of coincidences in language between 2 P and the *Antiquities* of Josephus (*Præf.* 3, 4; IV. viii. 2 [the last words of Moses]). 'Taken as a whole,' Abbott concludes (p. 62), 'the evidence in favour of the theory that the author of the Second Epistle imitated Josephus can hardly fail to appear striking, if not convincing.' The theory was examined by Salmon in his *Introduction*, p. 638 ff. (ed. 1; the discussion is curtailed in later editions). He points out (1) that 'the alleged coincidences relate entirely to words, and not at all to thoughts'; (2) that 'they do not occur in passages of [what he himself would call] "brief compass"'; (3) that 'they are not in the same sequence and connexion'; (4) that 'the words common are not "unusual or startling," or such as can fairly be called *hapax legomena*.' It will probably be now generally admitted that the theory broached by Abbott has broken down on examination. There is a curious series of coincidences between the Preface of St. Luke's Gospel and Josephus *Contra Apionem* i. 10. The same account is probably to be given of the resemblances between Josephus and Lk and of those between Josephus and 2 P. They are most likely due to the diffusion of 'commonplaces' of rhetorical study, set prefatory phrases, and the like.

(*c*) *The Apocalypse of Peter.*—When the fragment of this *Apocalypse* was published, it was at once noticed (*e.g.* by James, *A Lecture on the Apocalypse of Peter* p. 52) that between it and 2 P there is a remarkable series of coincidences. The following table includes one or two coincidences between 2 P and fragments of the *Apocalypse* preserved by Patristic writers (the numbering of these fragments being that given by James, p. 94 f., who, on p. 52, pointed out most of these resemblances):—

APOCALYPSE OF PETER.	2 PETER.
1 *πολλοὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔσονται ψευδοπροφῆται, καὶ ὁδοὺς καὶ δόγματα ποικίλα τῆς ἀπωλείας διδάξουσιν· ἐκεῖνοι δὲ υἱοὶ τῆς ἀπωλείας γενήσονται. καὶ τότε ἐλεύσεται ὁ θεὸς . . . καὶ κρινεῖ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῆς ἀνομίας.*	$2^{1f.}$ *ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ ψευδοπροφῆται ἐν τῷ λαῷ, ὡς καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν ἔσονται ψευδοδιδάσκαλοι, οἵτινες παρεισάξουσιν αἱρέσεις ἀπωλείας . . . ἐπάγοντες ἑαυτοῖς ταχινὴν ἀπώλειαν.* 2^{3} *οἷς τὸ κρίμα ἔκπαλαι οὐκ ἀργεῖ.* 3^{7} *ἡμέραν . . . ἀπωλείας τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἀνθρώπων.* 3^{12} *τὴν παρουσίαν τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμέρας.*
τοὺς πιστούς μου τοὺς . . . ἐν τούτῳ τῷ βίῳ τὰς ψυχὰς ἑαυτῶν δοκιμάζοντας.	2^{8} *δίκαιος . . . ψυχὴν δικαίαν ἀνόμοις ἐργοῖς ἐβασάνιζεν.*
2 *ὁ Κύριος ἔφη Ἄγωμεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος . . . ἀπερχόμενοι δὲ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς οἱ δώδεκα μαθηταί.*	1^{18} *ἡμεῖς ἠκούσαμεν . . . σὺν αὐτῷ ὄντες ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ ὄρει.*
In § 3 'two men suddenly appear,' as on the Mount of Transfiguration. The description of their glory recalls Mt 17^{2}.	
[τῶν] δικαίων τῶν ἐξελθόντων ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου.	1^{15} *μετὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἔξοδον.*
ποταποί εἰσι τὴν μορφήν.	3^{11} *ποταποὺς δεῖ ὑπάρχειν ὑμᾶς.*
6 *τόπον . . . αὐχμηρὸν πάνυ . . . σκοτινὸν εἶχον αὐτῶν τὸ ἔνδυμα κατὰ τὸν ἀέρα τοῦ τόπου.* Cf. 12 *ἐν τόπῳ σκοτινῷ.*	1^{19} *ἐν αὐχμηρῷ τόπῳ.*
οἱ κολαζόμενοι ἐκεῖ. Cf. 7 *πῦρ . . . κολάζον αὐτούς,* 10 *ἐν τῇ κολάσει ἐκείνῃ . . . τὴν κόλασιν ἐκείνων,* 11 *τῶν κολαζομένων,* 13, 15 *κολαζόμενοι,* 17 *ταύτης τῆς κολάσεως,* 19 *τῆς τοιαύτης κολάσεως.*	2^{9} *κολαζομένους τηρεῖν.*
7 *οἱ βλασφημοῦντες τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης.* Cf. 13 *οἱ βλασφημοῦντες καὶ κακῶς εἰπόντες τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης.*	2^{2} *δι' οὓς ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ἀληθείας βλασφημηθήσεται.* 2^{21} *τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης.*
8 *ἄνθρωποί τινες ἀποστρέφοντες τὴν δικαιοσύνην.* Cf. 20 *οἱ ἀφέντες τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ θεοῦ.*	2^{15} *καταλείποντες εὐθεῖαν ὁδόν.*
8 *λίμνη τις . . . πεπληρωμένη βορβόρου.* Cf. 9 *τὰς κεφαλὰς εἶχον ἐν τῷ βορβόρῳ.* 15 *ἐκυλίοντο.* Cf. *Acta Thomæ* 53, *εἶδον βόρβορον . . . καὶ ψυχὰς ἐκεῖ κυλιομένας.*	2^{22} *κυλισμὸν βορβόρου.*
9 *οἱ συμμι[χθέντες] αὐτῶν τῷ μιάσματι τῆς μοιχείας.* Cf. 17 *οἱ μιάναντες τὰ σώματα ἑαυτῶν ὡς γυναῖκες ἀναστρεφόμενοι.*	2^{10} *τοὺς ὀπίσω σαρκὸς ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ μιασμοῦ πορευομένους.* 2^{20} *ἀποφυγόντες τὰ μιάσματα τοῦ κόσμου.*
15 *ἀμελήσαντες τῆς ἐντολῆς τοῦ θεοῦ.*	2^{21} *ὑποστρέψαι ἐκ τῆς παραδοθείσης αὐτοῖς ἁγίας ἐντολῆς.* 3^{2} *τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων ὑμῶν ἐντολῆς τοῦ κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος.*
Fragments 1, 2 (from Macarius, *Apocritica*, iv. 6 f.). Heaven and earth will be	$3^{10.\ 12}$.

---

[*] An inscription from Stratonicea in Caria, given by Deissmann (*Bibelstudien* i. p. 277 f.), contains the phrases, *τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων αἰωνίου ἀρχῆς, πᾶσαν σπουδὴν ἰσφέρεσθαι ἰς τὴν πρὸς [αὐτοὺς εὐσέβ]ειαν, τῆς θείας δυνάμεως ἀρετάς*; cf. 2 P 1^{11} 1^{5} 1^{3}. But these coincidences do not, as Deissmann thinks, indicate any connexion between the inscription and the Epistle.

[†] 'The Assumption of Moses' was used by Jude (see art. EPISTLE OF JUDE, vol. ii. p. 802). But the question arises whether 2 P does not show an acquaintance with the *Assumption* independent of the knowledge of it which he might have gained from the passage of Jude. The apparent resemblance alluded to is between 2 P 2^{13} *ἡδονὴν ἡγούμενοι τὴν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τρυφήν*, and the *Assumption* vii. 4, 'omni hora diei amantes conuiuia deuoratores gulæ.' But the resemblance is seen to be a merely superficial one, when the force of *omni hora* is noticed. The *Assumption* rebukes gluttons who would feast at any hour of the day; the Epistle, shameless profligates who riot in broad daylight.

APOCALYPSE OF PETER.	2 PETER.
judged—ἡ γῆ παραστήσει πάντας τῷ θεῷ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως καὶ αὐτὴ μέλλουσα κρίνεσθαι σὺν καὶ τῷ περιέχοντι οὐρανῷ . . . τακήσεται πᾶσα δύναμις οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἑλιχθήσεται ὁ οὐρανὸς ὡς βιβλίον, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἄστρα πεσεῖται (Is 34^4).	
5*b* (from Methodius *Conviv. Virg.* ii. 6) τὸν θεσμὸν τῆς μακαρίας ἐκείνης φύσεως τοῦ θεοῦ.	1^4 θείας κοινωνοὶ φύσεως.
ib. καταφρονήσαντες τῆς σῆς ἐντολῆς.	2^{21} 3^2.

James (p. 53 ff.) draws attention to several documents which appear to borrow from the *Apocalypse of Peter*. It is worth while to note coincidences between 2 P and some of these documents.

(*a*) 'The First Book of Clement, which is called the Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ: the words which He spake to His holy apostles after He had risen from the dead.' The book seems to have been originally written in Greek. Lagarde (*Reliquiæ Juris Ecclesiastici Antiquissimi Græce* p. 80 ff.) has retranslated the extant Syriac version into Greek. James (p. 54) holds that at least the first fourteen sections of this document 'give us a very fair idea of the lost first part of the Apocalypse of Peter.'

TESTAMENT.	2 PETER.
§ 8 There shall rise up shepherds, lawless men, unjust, despisers, covetous, lovers of pleasure, lovers of gain, lovers of money, chatterers, exalting themselves . . . opposing the ways of the gospel . . . dishonouring all the way of piety. . . . They shall lay commandments upon men not according to the Scripture and the commandment as the Father willed.	$2^{1ff. 10. 14. 18. 21}$.
[The faithful] shall teach men that, if they prove their spirit, they are upright and fit for the kingdom, and they shall tell them of knowledge and virtue and prudence [γνῶσιν καὶ ἀρετὴν καὶ σύνεσιν, Lagarde].	2^8 $1^{11. 5}$.

(*b*) 'The Apocalypse of Paul.' 'This book we have in a rather shortened text of the original Greek [Tischendorf, *Apocalypses Apocryphæ* pp. 34–69], in a fuller Syriac version, and in a Latin version which is the fullest of all [*Texts and Studies* ii. 3, pp. 11–42]' (James p. 65). It is 'to a large extent a compilation from earlier works' (see *Texts and Studies* ii. 2, p. 21).

APOCALYPSE OF PAUL.	2 PETER.
13 πῶς ἐξέρχονται ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου, 14 τὰς τῶν δικαίων καὶ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν ἐξόδους, ποίῳ σχήματι ἐξέρχονται ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου. 15 τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ ἀσεβοῦς πῶς ἐξέρχεται ἐκ τοῦ σκηνώματος αὐτῆς, 47 πρὶν ἐξελθεῖν σε ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου.	$1^{13ff.}$ ἐφ' ὅσον εἰμὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ σκηνώματι . . . ἡ ἀπόθεσις τοῦ σκηνώματός μου . . . μετὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἔξοδον.
18 παραδοθήτω ἡ ψυχὴ αὕτη ταρταρούχῳ ἀγγέλῳ καὶ φυλαττέσθω ἕως τῆς μεγάλης ἡμέρας τῆς κρίσεως.	2^4 σειροῖς ζόφου ταρταρώσας παρέδωκεν εἰς κρίσιν τηρουμένους.
25 ὅστις ἐλύπησε τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ, μὴ ποιήσας τὸ θέλημα αὐτῆς διὰ τὸν θεόν.	2^8.
33 ἅγιος γὰρ ὢν ὁ θεὸς μετανοῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀναμένει αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν καὶ μετάνοιαν.	3^9 μακροθυμεῖ εἰς ὑμᾶς, μὴ βουλόμενός τινας ἀπολέσθαι ἀλλὰ πάντας εἰς μετάνοιαν χωρῆσαι.
In the earlier part of the *Apocalypse* (4 ff.) there is a striking passage, in which the Sun asks from God permission to burn up men because of their sins; καὶ ἐγένετο φωνὴ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἡ μακροθυμία μου πάντων τούτων ἀνέχεται, ὅπως μετανοήσωσιν. The same answer is given to similar petitions made by the Moon and Stars and by the Sea. Compare a similar passage in another document, which seems to be connected with the Apocalypse of Paul, *The Testament of Abraham* x. (ed. James p. 87 f.).	
39 γυναῖκας . . . ἀπαγομένας ἐν τόπῳ σκοτινῷ, 42 τὸ φρέαρ ἐκεῖνο σκότους καὶ ζόφους πεπληρωμένον.	1^{19} ἐν αὐχμηρῷ τόπῳ, 2^4 σειροῖς ζόφου.
43 οἱ ἐν ταῖς κολάσεσιν κρινόμενοι, 44 πάντες οἱ ἐν ταῖς κολάσεσιν.	2^9 εἰς ἡμέραν κρίσεως κολαζομένους τηρεῖν.
50 ἐγώ εἰμι Νῶε . . . καὶ οὐκ ἐπαυσάμην τοῖς ἀνθρώποις κηρύσσειν Μετανοεῖτε· ἰδοὺ γὰρ κατακλυσμὸς ἔρχεται.	2^5.

(*c*) 'The Apocalypse of Esdras' (Tischendorf, *ib.* pp. 24–33).

APOCALYPSE OF ESDRAS.	2 PETER.
14, 50 εἰς κρίσιν παρέδωκας.	2^4 παρέδωκεν εἰς κρίσιν τηρουμένους.
43 θέλω, δέσποτα, ἰδεῖν καὶ τὰ κατώτερα μέρη τοῦ ταρτάρου, 53 κατήγαγόν με κατώτερον ἐν ταρτάροις.	2^4 ταρταρώσας.*

To what conclusion does a study of the coincidences between 2 P and the *Apocalypse of Peter* lead us? There are five possible views which may be taken. (1) The coincidences may be boldly put aside as mere chance resemblances without significance. This view hardly needs discussion. It can scarcely be held by a serious critic, who considers the coincidences as a series, and appreciates the nature of the most striking of them. Few will hesitate as to the correctness of Salmon's view, that 'the agreements of our fragment [*i.e.* the Apocalypse of Peter] with the second Epistle of Peter . . . are more than accidental' (*Appendix to Introduction* p. 591). So Sanday (*Inspiration* p. 347), 'The resemblances are so marked as I think to prove that the two writings are nearly connected.' (2) Did the writer of the *Apocalypse* borrow from 2 P? This view seems to be impossible in view of (*α*) the naturalness of the words and phrases as they stand in their several contexts in the *Apocalypse*; (*β*) the fact that some of them are repeated in the *Apoc.* (sometimes with the form varied), and are found also in kindred documents; (*γ*) the fact that we find in the *Apocalypse* none of the strange and remarkable phrases of 2 P which would fix themselves in the mind of a reader who remembered enough constantly to borrow. (3) Did the writer of 2 P borrow from the *Apocalypse*? This view appears to be a quite possible one. (4) Are the two documents the work of one writer? This is the view to which Sanday (*Inspiration* p. 347) seems to incline. 'It is no doubt possible,' he writes, 'that the writer of the Apocalypse may have imitated the Epistle, or that both may have been affected by some common influence. If there had been on the whole better reason than not for believing the Epistle to be the genuine work of St. Peter, it would be natural to fall back upon some such assumption. But, as the balance of argument is really the other way, the question is forced upon us whether it is not on the whole more probable that the two writings are both by the same hand. This is at least the simplest of the different hypotheses which are open to us.' The present writer ventures to think that this explanation is excluded by a consideration of the literary style of the two documents. The *Apocalypse* is simple and natural in style. There is nothing remarkable in its vocabulary. It is, in a word, wholly free from the literary peculiarities which are so strongly marked in 2 P. (5) Are the two documents the work of two writers who belonged to the same school, whose thoughts moved in the same directions, and to whom the same expressions and words had grown familiar? Among these five possible explanations the choice seems to lie between (3) and (5). The fact that there is a similarity between the two writings, not only in words or in definitely marked ideas, but also in general conceptions—*e.g.* in both there is the picture drawn of Christ on a mountain with His apostles, the latter being admitted to a secret revelation which they should afterwards use for the confirmation of their disciples—seems to be an argument of some strength in favour of the view that the two documents are the product of the same school.

---

* The word τάρταρος occurs in three passages of the LXX (in none of which is there anything answering to it in the Hebrew)—Job 40^{15} (20) 41^{22} (23), Pr 24^{51} (30^{16}); also in Enoch 20^2 Οὐριὴλ . . . ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τοῦ ταρτάρου. Thus the word is found in Jewish writings, which it is quite possible that St. Peter may have read. On the other hand, we should not have expected that the apostle would have applied to the judgment of God a derivative of a word so characteristic of heathen mythology. Further, the use of the derived verb ταρταροῦν implies that the word τάρταρος was a recognized term, in connexion with a Christian representation of Divine punishments, with the writer of 2 P and those for whom he wrote. We find the ideas essentially connected with the conception of Tartarus, emphasized in the *Apocalypse of Peter*; we find the word *Tartarus* itself in one kindred document (*Apoc. of Esdras*) and the derivative ταρταροῦχος in another (*Apoc. of Paul*). It is exceedingly probable that Hippolytus knew, and borrowed from, the *Apoc. of Peter* (James p. 67 f.). Now in Hippolytus' *Refutatio* (x. 34) we read, δι' ἧς ἐπιγνώσεως ἐκφεύξεσθε . . . ταρτάρου ζοφερὸν ὄμμα ἀφώτιστον . . . καὶ ταρταρούχων ἀγγέλων κολαστῶν ὄμμα κ.τ.λ.; and in a fragment of the same writer on the Song of 'the three Children,' preserved by Theodoret (Migne, *Pat. Gr.* x. 868), the words occur, ἔπειτα τὰ καταχθόνια ὠνόμασαν πνεύματα ταρταρούχων ἀγγέλων. The use then of the word ταρταροῦν is in itself a distinct argument for the view which regards 2 P as a document closely connected with the *Apocalypse of Peter*.

7. *CONCLUSION.*—The task remains of interpreting, as a whole, the evidence bearing on the question of the genuineness of 2 Peter. The external evidence is, as was pointed out, wholly insufficient. No evidence exists at all till the time of Clement of Alexandria, or (if we would speak with absolute certainty) till the time of Origen. Thus the burden of proof is thrown on the Epistle itself. It is *conceivable* that, through some accident or series of accidents, a genuine Epistle of St. Peter might lie hid till the end of the 2nd or the beginning of the 3rd cent. and then suddenly come to light. But an Epistle claiming to be such must bear unmistakable testimony to its own genuineness. The internal evidence of 2 P has been examined. The literary style of the Epistle is artificial; it shows little command over or appreciation of the language, and yet it is extraordinarily ambitious. It is not easy to think that St. Peter can have cultivated such a style, and the Epistle itself gives no support whatever to the idea that an amanuensis was employed in its composition. Again, the only events in the gospel history to which allusion is made are incidents which had a conspicuous place in St. Peter's life. About all other events in the Lord's life, even the most momentous, the Epistle is absolutely silent. It hardly alludes to any of the Lord's sayings which are recorded in the Gospels. The suspicion, therefore, cannot fail to arise, that the references which are made to the gospel history are selected as being in harmony with the supposed authorship. From history we turn to doctrine. Nothing is said in the Epistle of the Passion or the Resurrection or the exaltation of Christ, or of the Holy Spirit in the Christian Church, or of Prayer. Not only is the Resurrection passed over, but the Transfiguration takes its place as the guarantee of the truth of the gospel. The difficulties, therefore, in the way of holding that the Epistle is the work of a personal disciple of Christ, called to be a witness of the Resurrection, which a study of the Epistle itself reveals, are very serious. They become much more serious when it is compared with what we have every reason to believe to be the genuine words of St. Peter. The First Epistle is wholly different from the Second in literary style, in its use of OT language, in its allusions to the Lord's life and teaching. It dwells with reiterated emphasis on those primary Christian facts and doctrines which have no place in the Second Epistle. The internal evidence, then, reviewed so far, is adverse to the Petrine authorship. But there is another element in the internal evidence, of which, at this point, account must be taken. There are in the Epistle what appear to be clear signs of a date much later than the apostolic age. It is only by unnatural interpretations that 3^{4} and $3^{15f.}$ can be made to harmonize with a time within the possible limits of St. Peter's life. The anachronisms of the Epistle seem clearly to point to the 2nd cent. as the time of its composition. This conclusion, based on internal evidence, is confirmed when external evidence is taken into account. On the one hand, it is in accordance with the absence of any trace of the Epistle till the beginning of the 3rd cent. On the other hand, it is at one with what is the natural, if not necessary, inference from the resemblances between the Epistle and the *Apocalypse of Peter*, viz. that these two documents are the work of the same school and belong (approximately) to the same date.

The evidence is obviously cumulative. Different minds will vary in the interpretation of this or that piece of evidence, and in the weight which they allow to evidence the interpretation of which is unquestioned. To the present writer it appears that too many independent lines of evidence converge towards one result to allow of hesitation. The only conclusion, it is believed, which is in accordance with the evidence, external and internal, is that 2 P is not the work of the apostle, but is a document which must be assigned to the 2nd century.

Two subjects remain for consideration—

(1) Is it possible to ascertain with any degree of probability the *place* where, and the *time* when, the Epistle was written? It has been shown to be probable on literary grounds that the *Apocalypse of Peter* and the Second Epistle of Peter belong to the same school. This conclusion is confirmed by what seems to be the natural interpretation of the evidence as to Clement of Alexandria. It appears likely that he, in his *Hypotyposeis*, placed the two documents side by side, and commented on them as closely related writings. It seems probable that the birthplace of the *Apocalypse* was Egypt (see above, p. 777), and we therefore infer that it is also probable that 2 P was written in Egypt (cf. Jülicher, *Einl.* p. 151; Harnack, *Die Chronologie* p. 469). This conclusion is further supported by the fact that the Epistle has points of contact in language and thought with two great writers of Alexandria—Philo and Clement.

(1) *Philo.* Salmon (*Introduction* p. 502 ff.) notes that 'there is a whole host of 2 Peter's rare words in Philo.' Thus, to take a single example, the word ἰσότιμος (2 P 1^{1}) occurs in Philo, *Leg. Alleg.* ii. 6 (ed. Mangey i. 70, ἰσότιμον αὐτὸ ἡγησάμενος ψυχῇ); *de Sacr. Abelis et Caini* 3 (i. 165, τὸν σοφὸν ἰσότιμον κόσμῳ *); and ἰσοτιμία is found in *de Cherub.* 34 (i. 160), *Vita Mosis* 7 (ii. 86). But more important than resemblance in mere vocabulary is kinship in modes of thought. Thus, if 2 P speaks of God's ἀρετή, in Philo we have the phrases τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ σοφίαν τοῦ θεοῦ (*Leg. Alleg.* ii. 14, i. 75), τὰ περὶ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀρετῶν αὐτοῦ (*Quis Rerum Div. Her.* 22, i. 488), τῆς θείας ἀρετῆς (*ib.* 23, i. 489), τῆς ἀρετῆς τοῦ πάντα μεγάλου θεοῦ (*de Somniis* i. 16, i. 635). Again, Philo supplies parallels to the phrase θείας κοινωνοὶ φύσεως, 2 P 1^{4}—*e.g. Vita Mosis* ii. 11 (ii. 143), ᾔδει γὰρ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ θεοῦ ἵλεω; *de Spec. Leg.* iv. 8 (ii. 343), τῆς μακαρίας καὶ εὐδαίμονος θεοῦ φύσεως; *de Abram.* 28 (ii. 22), οἱ μιμούμενοι τὴν θείαν φύσιν; *de Somniis* i. 28 (i. 647), ὅσοι λογικῆς κεκοινωνήκασι φύσεως. Again, with the phrase τὸν προφητικὸν λόγον in 2 P 1^{19} and with the words of the Epistle as to prophecy, 1^{20} (πᾶσα προφητεία γραφῆς ἰδίας ἐπιλύσεως οὐ γίνεται, οὐ γὰρ θελήματι ἀνθρώπου κ.τ.λ.), we compare the use of the same phrase ὁ προφητικὸς λόγος in, *e.g.*, *Leg. Alleg.* iii. 14 (i. 95), *de Plant. Noe* 28 (i. 347); and similar expressions, such as ὁ προφήτης λόγος (*de Congr. Erud. Grat.* 30, i. 543), στόματι προφητικῷ (*de Mut. Nom.* 24, i. 599), ἐν προφητικαῖς ῥήσεσιν (*ib.* 31, i. 604), ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος (*Leg. Alleg.* iii. 4, i. 89; *ib.* 56, i. 119); and Philo's language about prophecy in, *e.g.*, *Quis Rer. Div. Heres* 52 (i. 510, προφήτης γὰρ ἴδιον μὲν οὐδὲν ἀποφθέγγεται, ἀλλότρια δὲ πάντα ὑπηχοῦντος ἑτέρου); *Vita Mosis* i. 51 f. (ii. 125 f., λέγω γὰρ οὐδὲν ἴδιον ἀλλ' ἅτ' ἂν ὑπηχήσῃ τὸ θεῖον . . . ἐξαίφνης θειοφορεῖται); *de Monarch.* i. 9 (ii. 222, προφήτης θεοφόρητος θεσπιεῖ καὶ προφητεύσει, λέγων μὲν οἰκεῖον οὐδέν . . . ἑρμηνεῖς γάρ εἰσιν οἱ προφῆται θεοῦ καταχρωμένου τοῖς ἐκείνων ὀργάνοις πρὸς δήλωσιν ὧν ἂν ἐθελήσῃ); *de Spec. Leg.* iv. 8 (ii. 343, προφήτης τε μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἴδιον ἀποφαίνεται τὸ παράπαν ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἑρμηνεὺς ὑποβάλλοντος ἑτέρου πάνθ' ὅσα προφέρει . . . ἐπιπεφοιτηκότος δὲ καὶ ἐνῳκηκότος τοῦ θείου πνεύματος κ.τ.λ.).

(2) *Clement.* 2 P 2^{22} (ὗς λουσαμένη εἰς κυλισμὸν βορβόρου) has a close parallel in the proverb quoted by Clement, ὕες ἥδονται βορβόρῳ μᾶλλον ἢ καθαρῷ ὕδατι (*Cohort.* 10, p. 75, ed. Potter; *Strom.* i. 1, p. 317), in the earlier passage a saying of Democritus being added, ἐπὶ φορυτῷ μαργαίνουσι. With the phrase τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ τῶν πάλαι αὐτοῦ ἁμαρτιῶν (2 P 1^{9}) compare *Quis Dives salv.* 40 (p. 957), τῶν μὲν οὖν προγεγενημένων θεὸς δίδωσιν ἄφεσιν, τῶν δὲ ἐπιόντων αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἑαυτῷ; *Strom.* iv. 24 (p. 633), ἀφίενται γοῦν πρὸς τοῦ Κυρίου αἱ πρὸ τῆς πίστεως. Again, with 2 P 2^{19} (ἐλευθερίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπαγγελλόμενοι, αὐτοὶ δοῦλοι ὑπάρχοντες τῆς φθορᾶς) compare *Strom.* iv. 5 (p. 530),

---

* The words which follow—τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἐργαζόμενος κ.τ.λ.—illustrate 2 P 3^{7} (τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ τεθησαυρισμένοι εἰσὶν κ.τ.λ.)

οὐκ ἔτι ἀδιαφόρως βιωτέον οὐδὲ ἀναίδην δουλευτέον τοῖς ἀτιμοτάτοις μέρεσιν ἡμῶν, γαστρὶ καὶ αἰδοίοις, δι' ἐπιθυμίαν κολακευόντων τὸν ἡμέτερον νεκρόν.—The similarity of two other passages in 2 Peter to characteristic passages in Clement is much more important. (i.) In Clement's system faith is the foundation; on this is built a superstructure of good living; 'knowledge,' with the higher virtues which spring from it (ἀπάθεια taking a prominent place among them), is a later stage of growth. See, *e.g.*, the passage at the beginning of *Strom.* vi. where he refers to the purpose of his *Pædagogus*—ὁ παιδαγωγός . . . τὴν ἐκ παίδων ἀγωγήν τε καὶ τροφὴν παρέστησεν, τουτέστιν, ἐκ κατηχήσεως συναύξουσαν τῇ πίστει πολιτείαν καὶ προπαρασκευάζουσαν τοῖς εἰς ἄνδρας ἐγγραφομένοις ἐνάρετον τὴν ψυχήν, εἰς ἐπιστήμης γνωστικῆς παραδοχήν. He bitterly complains of those who divorce faith from conduct, *e.g.* *Strom.* i. 9 (p. 341), μόνην καὶ ψιλὴν τὴν πίστιν ἀπαιτοῦσιν. The ascending series of virtues in 2 P $1^{5f.}$ (πίστις, ἀρετή, γνῶσις, ἐγκράτεια, ὑπομονή, εὐσέβεια, φιλαδελφία, ἀγάπη) is seen at once to have points of contact with that type of Alexandrian thought which finds expression in Clement's writings. With the words of 2 P compare especially Clement, *Strom.* ii. 6 (p. 445), ἡ πρώτη πρὸς σωτηρίαν νεῦσις ἡ πίστις ἡμῖν ἀναφαίνεται, μεθ' ἣν φόβος τε καὶ ἐλπὶς καὶ μετάνοια, σύν τε ἐγκρατείᾳ καὶ ὑπομονῇ προκόπτουσαι, ἄγουσιν ἡμᾶς ἐπί τε ἀγάπην ἐπί τε γνῶσιν; *Strom.* vii. 10 (p. 865), τῷ ἔχοντι προστεθήσεται· τῇ μὲν πίστει ἡ γνῶσις· τῇ τε γνώσει ἡ ἀγάπη· τῇ ἀγάπῃ δὲ ἡ κληρονομία. (ii.) It would be easy to adduce a very large number of passages from Clement illustrating the essential idea of the phrase θειας κοινωνοὶ φύσεως (2 P 1^{4}). In the first place, he constantly dwells on man's relation to God by creation (*e.g.* *Cohort.* 10, p. 78); man cannot be ἄμοιρος θείας ἐννοίας (*Strom.* v. 13, p. 698). In the second place, he raises to the highest place of Christian hope the Platonic idea that 'the end of happiness is ὁμοίωσις θεῷ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν' (*Strom.* ii. 19, p. 482; cf. *e.g.* *Strom.* vii. 3, p. 835). Lastly, he finds the consummation of man's being in θεοποίησις (*e.g.* *Cohort.* 11, p. 89; *Strom.* vi. 14, p. 797, δύναμιν λαβοῦσα κυριακὴν ἡ ψυχὴ μελετᾷ εἶναι θεός; *ib.* 15, p. 803). Clement was a debtor to those who had gone before for much of his characteristic teaching. It is a reasonable conclusion from the parallels with Philo and Clement that the writer of 2 P was influenced in some of his conceptions and in his phraseology by the Christian school of Alexandria as it existed before Clement's time.

In regard to *date*, the *superior* limit is approximately fixed by the fact that the Epistle was known to Origen, probably to Clement, and that it was already accepted by some in the time of the latter as the work of St. Peter. It can hardly, therefore, have been composed quite recently in Clement's, certainly not quite recently in Origen's, time. The latest possible date, therefore, would be about the year A.D. 175. As to the *inferior* limit, the following considerations are pertinent. (1) A literature is growing up, connecting itself with the name of St. Peter. (2) The immoral Gnostic sects are active. (3) St. Paul's Epistles have been collected: they are regarded as Scripture, and, with other Scriptures, they are violently misinterpreted by the heretics. These indications point to a date later than the first quarter of the 2nd cent. We may conclude provisionally that the Epistle was written a few years before, or a few years after, the middle of the 2nd cent., in Egypt, perhaps in Alexandria.

It must be added that a first rate commentary on 2 P is a great want of English theological literature. Such a commentary would have for its primary object the examination in detail of the relation of the language and ideas of 2 P to early Christian literature, and especially to pseudepigraphic and apocryphal documents. Till this work has been accomplished, conclusions as to the place of writing and as to the exact date within the 2nd cent. to which 2 P is to be assigned, must be regarded as tentative.

(2) In what sense is 2 P to be viewed as a *forgery?* When we regard the Epistle from the point of view of those who possess in the NT a fixed and definite collection of apostolic writings, our natural impulse, when we find ourselves unable to maintain its genuineness, is to condemn it as a shameless forgery, composed with the express purpose of gaining, by means of false statements, a place by the side of the genuine Epistle of St. Peter. But it may well be doubted if this verdict is not wholly vitiated by our ignorance of the circumstances of its composition, and by our natural transference of the ideas of a later time to an earlier and different age. The Epistle is closely related to the *Apocalypse of Peter.* It seems itself to refer (1^{15}) to some other related document or documents. If, then, it was part of a literature which connected itself with the name of St. Peter, the Epistle with similar writings may well have been put forward without any sinister motive. The very number of such documents may well have been at the time a sufficient bar to misconception. Their real character may have been perfectly well known to the readers for whom they were primarily intended. In other words, the personation of the apostle, which appears so wicked when 2 P is viewed as an isolated document, may well have been an obvious literary device rather than a religious or controversial fraud.

The religious and theological aspect of the conclusion that the genuineness of the Epistle cannot be maintained, lies outside the scope of this article. The present writer, however, may be allowed to say, that in his opinion the adoption of such a critical verdict can cause perplexity only when the Lord's promise of guidance to His Church is regarded as a charter of infallibility.

LITERATURE.—(1) *THE LIFE OF ST. PETER:* Baronius, *Annales*, 1609; Xavier, *Hist. S. Petri*, 1639; H. A. Birks, *Studies in the Life and Character of St. Peter*, 1887; Couard, *Simon Petrus der Apostel des Herrn.* There is no standard 'Life' of St. Peter. Information must be sought in (i.) articles in Dictionaries (an asterisk in the following list indicates that the Epistles are included in the art. or are treated of by the same writer), *e.g.* **Encyc. Brit.* (Harnack, 1885); *Herzog (J. P. Lange, 1859); *Herzog-Plitt (Sieffert, 1883); Kitto (W. L. Alexander, 1866); Schenkel (Holtzmann, 1871); *Smith (F. C. Cook, 1863); *Winer (1848): (ii.) Introductions to Commentaries on Epistles, *e.g.* Plumptre, Kühl: (iii.) Commentaries on the Gospels, the Acts, Galatians (especially Lightfoot), 1 Corinthians: (iv.) 'Lives of Christ' and kindred books, *e.g.* Bruce, *Training of the Twelve*, 1871; Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, 1884, abridged ed. 1886; Ewald, *Geschichte d. Volkes Israel*, 1864-68, Eng. tr. *History of Israel*, 1883-86; Hort, *Christian Ecclesia*, 1897; Farrar, *Life of Christ*, 1876; Andrews, *Life of our Lord upon the Earth*, 1892; Hausrath, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgesch.*^{3} 1879, Eng. tr. *Times of Jesus*, 1882, *Times of Apostles*, 1895; Keim, *Gesch. Jesu von Nazara*, 1867-72, Eng. tr. *Hist. of Jesus of Nazara*, 1873-83; Lange, *Leben Jesu nach den Evangelien*, 1844-47, Eng. tr. *Life of the Lord Jesus Christ*, 1864; Renan, *Vie de Jésus*, 1863, 17th ed. 1882; Weiss, *Leben Jesu*, 1882, 3rd ed. 1888, Eng. tr. *Life of Christ*, 1883-84; Beyschlag, *Leben Jesu*, 1885-86; Didon, *Jésus Christ*, 1890, Eng. tr. 1893; cf. art. JESUS CHRIST in vol. ii. p. 653: (iv.) Works on the Apostolic Age, *e.g.* V. Bartlet, 1900; Ewald, *Gesch. d. Volkes Israel*, vii.; Farrar, *Early Days of Christianity*, 1882; Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, 1894; Lechler, *Das apost. u. das nachapost. Zeitalter*^{2}, 1857, Eng. tr. *The Apost. and post-Apost. Times*, 1886; Lightfoot, 'St. Paul and the Three,' in comm. on *Galatians*, 1865, 'St. Peter in Rome,' in *Clement*, ii. p. 481 ff., 1890; McGiffert, *Hist. of Christianity in the Apostolic Age*, 1897; Neander, *Planting of the Christian Church*, 1832, Eng. tr. 1841; Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, 1893, *St. Paul the Traveller*, 1895; Rankin, *The First Saints*, 1893; Renan, *Les Apôtres*, 1866, *St. Paul*, 1869, *L'Antichrist*, 1873, *Les Évangiles*, 1877, *L'Église Chrétienne*, 1879; Ritschl, *Die Entstehung der altkath. Kirche*, 1850, 2nd ed. 1857; Stanley, *Sermons and Essays on the Apost. Age*, 1847, 3rd ed. 1874; Weizsäcker, *Das apost. Zeitalter*, 1886, Eng. tr. 1894; cf. art. ACTS OF THE APOSTLES in vol. i. p. 35.

The chief recent works dealing with St. Peter's visit to Rome and collateral matters have been referred to in the body of the art. on PETER. Of older books Baronius, *Annales*, i., 1609, and Spanheim, *Dissertatio de ficta profectione Petri Ap. in urbem Romam*, 1679, may be mentioned; and among works of the present century J. Delitzsch in *SK*, 1874 (pp. 213-260, 'Zur Quellenkritik der ältesten kirchlichen Berichte über Simon Petrus u. Simon Magus'); Langen, *Gesch. der röm. Kirche*, 1881 (i. pp. 40-63); Puller, *The Primitive Saints and the See of Rome*, 1893; Schmid, *Petrus in Rom*, 1879; Windischmann, *Vindiciæ Petrinæ*, 1836.

(2) *THE THEOLOGY OF ST. PETER* (*SPEECHES IN THE ACTS, EPISTLES*): B. Weiss, *Der petrinische Lehrbegriff*, 1855; the relevant sections in works on the Biblical Theology of the NT, *e.g.* Baur, *Vorlesungen*, 1864; Beyschlag, 1891, Eng. tr. 1895 (bk. iii. § 3); Bovon, 1893: Holtzmann, 1896; Pfleiderer, *Das Urchristenthum*, 1887; Reuss, 1864, Eng. tr. 1872: Salmond, *Christian Doctrine of Immortality*, 2nd ed. 1896 (bk. iv. ch. iii.); Schmid, 1853, Eng. tr. 1870; Adeney, 1894: G. B. Stevens, 1899; B. Weiss, 5th ed. 1888, Eng. tr. from 3rd ed. 1882; Dale in *The Atonement*, 1878, pp. 97-148; Briggs in *The Messiah of the Apostles*, 1895, pp. 21-41.

The following list of books dealing with 1 P $3^{19ff.}$ $4^{5f.}$ is given in Charles, *Eschatology*, 1899, p. 376 n.; Dietelmaier, *Historia Dogmatis de Descensu Christi ad Inferos litteraria*, 1741 and 1762; Güder, *Die Lehre von d. Erscheinung Christi unter den Toten*, 1853; Zezschwitz, *De Christi ad Inferos*

Descensu, 1857; Usteri, *Hinabgefahren zur Hölle*; Schweitzer, *Hinabgefahren zur Hölle*, 1886; Hofmann, *Schriftbeweiss*, ii. 335–341; Salmond, *Christian Doctrine of Immortality*, 3rd ed. 1897, pp. 458–488; Spitta, *Christi Predigt an die Geister*; Bruston, *La Descente du Christ aux Enfers*, 1897; Stevens, *Theology of the NT*, 1899, pp. 304–311. To these may be added Pearson on art. v. of the Apostles' Creed with the notes; Plumptre, *The Spirits in Prison*, 1884; Wright, *Biblical Essays*, 1886, p. 138; Delitzsch and Hofmann in *Expos.* 4th ser. vol. iii. 1891, pp. 241–263; Balfour in *Expos. Times*, vii. (1896) 356–359.

(3) *THE RECEPTION OF THE EPISTLES (1 P, 2 P) IN THE CHURCH:* Charteris, *Canonicity*, 1880, pp. 301–318 (based on the next named); Kirchhofer, *Quellensammlung*, 1844, §§ 28, 29; Westcott, *History of the Canon*, 5th ed. 1881; Zahn, *Gesch. des NT Kanons*, 1888, especially I. i. pp. 302–318. On 2 P reference may also be made to Salmon, *Introduction*, 6th ed. 1892, pp. 483–490; Spitta, *Der zweite Brief des Petrus*, p. 533 f.; Warfield, *Southern Presbyterian Review*, Jan. 1882.

(4) *COMMENTARIES:* (i.) On both Epistles: (α) Ancient: Didymus of Alexandria (Migne, *Pat. Gr.* xxxix, Latin version with a few Greek fragments); Œcumenius (Migne, *Pat. Gr.* cxix.); fragments and scholia in C. F. Matthæi, *Nov. Test.* v. 1782, *Scholia ad Eph. Cath.* p. 196 ff.; and in Cramer, *Catena*, 1840. (β) Modern: the Reformation Period, Erasmus, 1516, 1535; Luther, 1523; Calvin, 1551. The 17th and 18th centuries, Grotius, *Annotationes*, 1650; Wolf, *Curæ Philologicæ*, 1741; Bengel, *Gnomon*, 1773. The present century (in alphabetical order)—Alford, 4th ed. 1871; J. T. Beck, 1895; B. Brückner, 3rd ed. 1865; K. Burger in Strack-Zöckler's *Kurzgefasster Kommentar*^{2}, 1895; H. Couard, 1895; Fronmüller in Lange, *Bibelwerk*, 1862, 4th ed. 1890, Eng. tr. 1867; Goebel, 1893; Hofmann, 1875; Huther in Meyer, 1852, Eng. tr. 1881; Keil, 1883; Plumptre in *Camb. Bible for Schools*, 1880; Pott, 1810; M. F. Sadler, 1891; S. D. F. Salmond in Schaff's *Popular Commentary*, 1883; Schott, 1863; von Soden in *Hand-Commentar*^{2}, 1892; A. Wiesinger in Olshausen, *Bibelwerk*, 1 P 1854, 2 P 1862; Wordsworth, new ed. 1872. (ii.) On 1 P only: Clement of Alexandria, *Hypotyposeis* (Zahn, *Forschungen*, iii. pp. 79–83, pp. 93–95), stands at the head of the list. Modern commentaries—F. C. Cook in *Speaker's Commentary*, 1881; Hort (an important fragment on 1^{1}–2^{17}; published posthumously, 1898); R. Johnstone, 1888; A. J. Mason in Ellicott's *Comm. for English Readers*, 1883; Steiger, 1832, Eng. tr. 1836; Theile, 1833; Usteri, 1887. (iii.) On 2 P only: Dietlein, 1851; Harms, 1873; Lumby in *Speaker's Commentary*, 1881; Plummer in Ellicott's *Comm. for English Readers*, 1883; Steinfass, 1863.

(5) *GENERAL (ON THE EPISTLES).*—The relevant sections in the Introductions to the NT, especially the following:—Bleek, Davidson, Hilgenfeld, Holtzmann, Jülicher, Salmon, B. Weiss, de Wette (ed. 1860), Zahn; arts. in Dictionaries, etc. marked with * in (1); also Kitto (1 and 2 Pet., W. Wright); Schenkel (1 P, Holtzmann; 2 P, Schenkel); also the following books and articles:—E. A. Abbott, articles on 2 P in *Expositor*, Jan. Feb. March 1882; Cludius, *Uransichten des Christenthums*, 1808 (pp. 296–311; said to be the first critic to question the authenticity of 1 P); Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, 1895, p. 244 f. (1 P), p. 277 ff. (2 P); Ewald, *Sieben Sendschreiben*, 1870; Farrar, art. on 2 P in *Expositor*, June 1882, *The Early Days of Christianity*, 1882 (i. pp. 121–219 on both Epistles); Gloag, *Introduction to Cath. Epistles*, 1887; Grimm in *SK*, 1872, pp. 657–694 ('Das problem des ersten Petrus-briefes'); Grosch, *Die Echtheit des zweiten Briefes Petri*, 1889 (dates 1 P A.D. 55, 2 P 66–67, and maintains genuineness of latter); Harnack, *Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel* ('Texte u. Untersuch.' ii. 1, 2), 1884 (p. 105), *Die Chronologie*, 1897 (pp. 450–475, 'Die unter dem Namen des Petrus fünf Schriften'); Link in *SK*, 1896 (pp. 405–436, 'Der Dolmetscher des Petrus'); Mayerhoff, *Die petrinischen Schriften*, 1835; McGiffert, *History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age*, 1897 (pp. 482 ff. 596 ff. on 1 P; p. 600 ff. on 2 P); Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, 1893 (pp. 279–295 on date of 1 P); Sanday in *Expositor*, series 4, vol. vii. 1893 (pp. 406–413 on date of 1 P), *Inspiration*, 1893 (especially pp. 346 ff. 382 ff. on 2 P); E. Scharfe, *Die petrinische Strömung der neutestamentlichen Literatur*, 1893 (expansion of art. in *SK*, 1889, pp. 633–670, 'Die schriftstellerische Originalität des ersten Petrusbriefs'); Spitta, *Der zweite Brief des Petrus u. der Brief des Judas*, 1885; Swete, in *Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Mark*, 1898 (pp. xvi–xviii); Warfield, articles on the canonicity and genuineness of 2 Peter in the *Southern Presbyterian Review*, Jan. 1882, April 1883; B. Weiss, in *SK*, 1866 (p. 256 ff., 'Die petrinische Frage, Das verhältniss zum Judasbrief'); Schulze in Zöckler's *Handb. d. theol. Wissensch.* 1883 (i. p. 529 f.).

F. H. CHASE.

PETHAHIAH (פְּתַחְיָה).—1. The head of the nineteenth [LXX eighteenth] priestly course, 1 Ch 24^{16} (B Φεταιά, A Ἀφεσσή). 2. A Levite who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10^{23} (B Φαδαιά, A Φεθειά); introduced by a later hand in Neh 9^{5} (LXX om.). 3. A Judahite officer, who 'was at the king's hand in all matters concerning the people,' Neh 11^{24} (B Παθαιά, A Φαθαιά).

PETHOR (פְּתוֹר; B Φαθουρα, A Βαθουρα).—The home of Balaam (Nu 22^{5}, Dt 23$^{4(5)}$), said (Nu) to be 'on the River' (*i.e.* the Euphrates), and (Dt) to belong to Aram-naharaim (cf. Nu 23^{7}), *i.e.* the region between the Euphrates in its upper course (by and below Carchemish) and the Khabour, some 400 miles N.N.E. of Palestine. It is no doubt the *Pitru*, mentioned by Shalmaneser II. (B.C. 860–825): 'I crossed the Euphrates, and took the city Ana-Ašur-utîr-aṣbat on the other side of the Euphrates, on the Sagur, which the Hittites call *Pitru*' (*KIB* i. 133, l. 37–40; cf. 163, l. 36; 173, l. 85–6); and the *Pedru*, named long before among his conquests by Thothmes III. (W. M. Müller, *As. u. Eur.* 291; *RP*^{2}, v. 38, No. 280). The Sagur is the modern *Sajur*, which flows into the Euphrates from the N.W. at a point about 60 miles N.E. of Aleppo: Pitru or Pethor, if 'on' both the Euphrates (Nu 22^{5}) and the Sajur, must thus have been on the W. bank of the former river at its junction with the Sajur, and therefore, speaking strictly, just beyond the W. border of Aram-naharaim (Dt 23^{4}).* It was, of course, much more nearly N. of Moab than 'east' (Nu 23^{7}); but it must be remembered that the term 'east' is used broadly (see Gn 29^{1}, of Ḥaran, in the same neighbourhood). For 'mountains' (*ib.*) between the Sajur and the Euphrates, Dillm. refers pertinently to Sachau, *Reise in Syr. u. Mesop.* 1883, pp. 159 ff., 165 ff. (cf. also the map). See, further, Schrader, *KAT*^{2} 155 f., *Keilinschr. u. Geschichtsforsch.* 220 f.; Dillm. on Nu 22^{5}; Sayce, *HCM* 274.

S. R. DRIVER.

PETHUEL (פְּתוּאֵל; perhaps, by a copyist's slip, for בְּתוּאֵל *Bethuel*, so LXX [Βαθουήλ] and other VSS, but Vulg. *Phatuel*).—The father of the prophet Joel, Jl 1^{1}.

PETITION.—1. שְׁאֵלָה from שָׁאַל to ask, is tr. 'petition' in 1 S 1$^{17.\ 27}$, 1 K 2$^{16.\ 20}$, Est 5$^{6.\ 7.\ 8}$ 7$^{2.\ 3}$ 9^{12}. In Jg 8^{24} we find the subst. and vb. together, literally 'ask an asking,' EV 'desire a request.' So 1 K 2^{16} (EV 'ask a petition'), 2^{20} (EV 'desire a petition'). In Est 5^{7} 'petition' and 'request' appear as synonyms (Heb. שְׁאֵלָה and בַּקָּשָׁה). 2. מִשְׁאָלָה from the same vb., Ps 20^{5}. 3. The Aram. בָּעוּ, from בְּעָא 'to inquire into,' Dn 6$^{7.\ 13}$: in v.^{12} the subst. is not expressed in Heb. 4. δέησις, 1 Mac 7^{37} 'a house of prayer and petition' (οἶκος προσευχῆς καὶ δεήσεως; RV 'prayer and supplication'). 5. αἴτημα, 1 Jn 5^{15} 'We have the petitions which we desired' (τὰ αἰτήματα ἃ ᾐτήκαμεν, RV 'which we have asked'). 6. *Oratio*, 2 Es 8^{24}.

PETRA.—See SELA.

PEULLETHAI (פְּעֻלְּתַי, B Ἰαφθοσλααθί, A Φολλαθί).—The eighth son of Obed-edom, 1 Ch 26^{5}.

PHAATH MOAB (Φαὰθ Μωάβ), 1 Es 5^{11} (B Φθαλειμωάβ), 8^{31} (B Μααθμ., AV Pahath M.) = Pahath-Moab.

PHACARETH (Φακαρέθ), 1 Es 5^{34} = Pochereth-hazzebaim, Ezr 2^{57}.—The succeeding word belongs to this name as in Cod. B Φ. Σαβειή, and is not a separate name as it is taken by Cod. A and RV 'the sons of Sabie.'

PHAISUR (B Φαισούρ, A Φαισού), 1 Es 9^{22} = Pashhur, the head of a priestly house, elsewhere called Phassurus, 1 Es 5^{25}.

PHALDEUS (B Φαλαδαῖος, A Φαλδαῖος, AV Phaldaius, 1 Es 9^{44} = Pedaiah, Neh 8^{4}.

PHALEAS (Φαλαίας), 1 Es 5^{29} = Padon, Ezr 2^{44}.

PHALIAS (B Φαλίας, A Φιάθας, AV Biatas), 1 Es 9^{48} = Pelaiah, Neh 8^{7}.

---

* See the excellent map of 'Syria, Assyria, and Babylonia,' in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, i. in the art. ASSYRIA.

PHALTIEL (*Phalthiel, i.e.* פַּלְטִיאֵל, cf. 2 S 3^{15}; D *Salatiel*, Syr. *Psaltiel*). — The 'captain of the people,' who had an interview with Esdras at the close of his first vision, 2 Es 5^{16}.

PHANUEL (Φανουήλ, *i.e.* פְּנוּאֵל *Penuel*). — The mother of Anna, Lk 2^{36}.

PHARAKIM (B Φαρακέμ, A -κείμ, AV Pharacim), 1 Es 5^{31}.—His sons were among the temple servants who returned with Zerubbabel. The name is omitted in the parallel lists of Ezr and Neh.

PHARAOH (פַּרְעֹה, Φαραώ).—The term does not occur in the Tel el-Amarna letters, nor perhaps anywhere else in cuneiform literature. In fact, so far as we know, in ancient times it was the Hebrews alone who adopted the term; from Hebrew it passed into Greek, and from Greek into Arabic. In face of these facts it is almost superfluous to mention that Renouf has noted that פַּרְעֹה can, if necessary, be connected with an Arabic and even with a Hebrew root (*PSBA* xv. 421). The word existed in full use in Egyptian, with a purely Egyptian etymology, and there is no need to seek it further. The earliest instance of the title in Hebrew is probably in Ex 15^4, generally assigned by critics to about B.C. 950.

In inscriptions of the Old Kingdom an expression *Pr-ʿo*, 'great house,' is found, and signifies the royal house or estate, especially in titles such as 'superintendent of the gardens of *Pr-ʿo*'; but there is nothing to show that it was then applied to the person of Pharaoh. In the Middle Kingdom, from dynasty 12–16 it still designated strictly the palace and royal establishment rather than the king, yet it is already often followed in writing by the *Vivat*! 'Life, Prosperity, Health.' In the New Kingdom it became at once personal, and was soon a common term for the king: *e.g.* a letter is addressed to Amenhotep IV. (18th dynasty) as 'Pharaoh the Lord.' In the 19th dynasty it is the usual expression for the king in unarchaistic narrative and in the stories, and is followed by the royal personal determinative. Certain hieratic documents show that in the 22nd dynasty it preceded the personal name of the king in dates, thus: 'the *Stn* (king) *Pr-ʿo* (Pharaoh), Shashaqa.' In formal inscriptions the older royal titles persisted to the end, but in demotic the new style alone was used (at least from the 25th dynasty, the period of the Assyrian invasion), and documents exist naming the *Pr-ʿo Nkʾw*, the exact equivalent of 'Pharaoh-Necho.' At the same time the king is always referred to in narrative as *Pr-ʿo*. Probably not much later than this the ʿ*Ayin* was lost. In Old Coptic (of the 2nd cent. A.D.) the descendant of *Pr-ʿo* is simply ⲡⲉⲣⲟ, 'the king,' and the ⲡ being misinterpreted as the def. article, left only ⲉⲣⲟ as the word for king in Coptic. Φερών, given as the name of an Egyptian king in Hdt. II. cxi., is evidently only the royal title *Pr-ʿo*.

The phrase 'Pharaoh king of Egypt,' so common in the OT, is not taken from the Egyptian. In Assyrian, 'Pir'u king of Musri,' named in an inscription of Sargon, seems at first the precise equivalent to it, but Winckler (*Mitth. d. vorderas. Ges.* 1898, i. 3) distinguishes Musri, a north-Arabian land, from Misri, Egypt; so this equation is at least very doubtful.

Shishak is the first king of Egypt whom the Bible definitely names; and it is a guarantee of comparatively early date and a non-Egyptian source for the record in 1 K $14^{25ff.}$, that his name is not there preceded by the title 'Pharaoh.' The Saite kings Pharaoh-Necho and Pharaoh-Hophra are accurately entitled as in contemporary Egyptian. The Ethiopian conqueror Tirhakah is regularly called 'Pharaoh Tirhakah' in Egyptian documents, but in the Hebrew (2 K 19^9) his true position is more accurately defined as 'king of Cush.'

1. The first appearance of the title according to the canonical scheme of the biblical books is in Gn 12^{10-20}. As Abram is to be placed long before the 18th dynasty, the title here seems an anachronism such as is met with in the late Egyptian stories. Another difficulty in the narrative is the mention of Abram's having camels in Egypt. Herodotus refers to camels on the borders of Egypt in the time of Cambyses, which at least testifies to their presence in the writer's own day (5th cent. B.C.), and this, except for the passage in Genesis, is the earliest mention of the animal in connexion with Egypt; it would, however, be easy to believe that camels were known throughout the Persian period and as far back at least as the Assyrian invasions in the 7th cent. (25th dynasty). As the narrative presents no clear feature—famines being frequent — by which Abram's Pharaoh may be distinguished from others, and since Egyptian, as well as Hebrew, chronology is at present exceedingly obscure for the earlier periods, it is obviously useless to attempt his identification.

2. The Pharaoh of Joseph. The long and elaborate story of Joseph presents some very interesting data for consideration, but they are not favourable to the view that it is historically true. Its use of the title 'Pharaoh,' and of *Yĕʾōr*, the late Egyptian name of the Nile, which is derived from the old form *Ytr*, alike preclude an early date for its redaction. Far weightier is the evidence of the names Potiphera (*P-ti-p-Rʿ*, 'the gift of the Sun'), Asenath ([*N*]*es-Neith*, 'belonging to Neith'), Zaphenath-paʿaneah (*Zt-p-ntr-e-f-ʿnkh*, 'Saith the god, "he liveth"!'), which are of forms common after the 21st dynasty, and not occurring at all before it. The name Asenath strongly suggests the times of the Saite dynasties, when the worship of Neith was prominent and all these types of names were in full currency. A genuine Egyptian name of the type of Zaphenath-paʿaneah would have included the name of a specific deity, but at any rate the Hebrew author was so familiar with the formation of Egyptian names that he could introduce appropriately into the formula a new element *p-ntr*, 'the god,' instead of a god's name, without committing a solecism. The relations of Egypt with Palestine from the 10th cent. B.C. onward, and especially in and after the period of the Assyrian invasions, may explain this.

In a priestly inscription of the latest period, at the Cataracts, there is a record, that can scarcely be historical, of a 7 years' famine under one of the earliest kings, perhaps B.C. 3000, but we have no other record of any famine of like duration until Arab times. Our knowledge of Egypt is still very limited. Of the tenure of land in Egypt we know little; of the buying up of the people and their land, and the ultimate arrangement for paying $\frac{1}{5}$th of the produce as a tax to Pharaoh, nothing is known. To seek the prototype of the Pharaoh of Joseph seems a rather thankless task. The chariot may or may not be an anachronism; its employment probably began under the Hyksos. It is usually conjectured that the Pharaoh who raised Joseph to the highest place in the realm and treated his shepherd brethren so well was a Hyksos, 'Shepherd,' king of the 15th or 16th dynasty. But of the Hyksos kings we know practically nothing except that some of them ruled the whole of Egypt, that they worshipped particularly or exclusively the god Set, and that their principal residences were On (Heliopolis) and Avaris (most likely Zaru) in the N.E. of Lower Egypt. Probably other events than those recounted in Genesis brought about the disappearance of the feudal system of the Middle Empire before the New Kingdom. See, further, article JOSEPH.

3. 4. The Pharaohs of the Oppression and the Exodus. On the supposition that these events took place in the 18th or 19th dynasty, 'Pharaoh' is a term which might well be employed by a contemporary historian of them. But *Yĕ'ōr* for the Nile seems to lower the date, and, had the great occurrences been still fresh in the remembrance of the emigrants or of their immediate descendants at the time of writing down the story, the distinctive names of the Egyptian kings concerned, and other definite information, would hardly have been omitted from the narrative. If the account is literally true, or almost so, it presents us with a considerable historical sequence to fit into the Egyptian history of the New Kingdom, a period for which our information is much fuller than usual. Ramses II. of the 19th dynasty is generally (see Driver's discussion in Hogarth's *Authority and Archæology,* 52 ff.) accounted the Pharaoh of the Oppression, and his son and successor, Merenptah, is considered to be the Pharaoh of the Exodus, which some, however (*e.g.* Lieblein, *PSBA*, 1899, 66), would place in the reign of Amenhotep III. or IV. of the 18th dynasty, supporting their argument by the movements of the 'Ḫabiri' (Hebrews ?) in Palestine as disclosed by the Tel el-Amarna letters. The name of Raamses given (Ex 1^{11}) to a store city built by the Hebrews clearly refers to some city built for one of the kings named Ramses. Of these Ramses II. was the greatest; he was also preeminent as a builder. Several cities were called after his name, and one in the Eastern Delta, in the region of Goshen, retained it till a late date. He was also active at Pithom, as is shown by M. Naville's excavation there; but it is by no means clear that he was the founder of it: probably the site was already ancient in his day. The Oppression evidently lasted many years. Ramses II. reigned 67 years, and thus the Exodus may have taken place in the short reign of Merenptah, the son and successor of that aged king. The remarkable fact that the Israelites are named on a monument of Merenptah (see Petrie, *Six Temples*, pls. xiii., xiv.) as destroyed or harried by him, apparently in Palestine, does not disprove this theory, as detachments from the main body might have left Egypt from time to time, and settled and multiplied at Hebron, round the tombs of the patriarchs. Nor is it disproved by the recent discovery of the mummy of Merenptah in the tomb of Amenhotep II., for the biblical narrative does not distinctly state that Pharaoh himself was drowned in the Red Sea. The Israelites are said to have passed through the desert of Sinai, and wandered 40 years in its neighbourhood; and it happens that there are no records extant of Egyptian expeditions to the quarries of Sinai during the reigns of Merenptah and his successor. On the other hand, there is no trace in the Hebrew records of any Egyptian invasion of Palestine before Shishak of the 22nd dynasty; unless indeed, as some think, 'the hornet' of Jos 24^{12}, Ex $23^{27.28}$, Dt 7^{20} refers to the inroad of Ramses III. This king of the 20th dynasty certainly harried the country, and, had the Israelites previously entered it in force, it is hardly probable that his invasion would not be mentioned in the Book of Judges. But it is possible to reconcile the chronology of Judges with a theory that would make the entry of the Israelites into Palestine subsequent to the last campaign of Ramses III. (Petrie, *PSBA*, 1896, p. 243). Also, even on the usual theory, the passage of the Egyptian armies along the coast roads into Syria would leave untouched the highlands of Palestine and the Valley of the Jordan, from which the spread of the Hebrews must, as a matter of fact, have been only gradual. To sum up, the monuments of Egypt give us no record either of the Oppression or of the Exodus. As the story stands, there are passages in it which are difficult to credit, but some modifications would enable us to place it in the time of Ramses II. and Merenptah. See, further, art. MOSES.

5. In 1 Ch 4^{18} there is mention of a 'daughter of Pharaoh' in a genealogy; but not only is her chronological position doubtful, it is even uncertain whether a royal title or a personal name is intended by the expression.

6. In David's lifetime Hadad the Edomite fled to Egypt and was well received by Pharaoh, who gave him the sister of his queen Tahpenes to wife (1 K $11^{14ff.}$). Here the queen's name offers a clue, but at present no such name has been recognized from Egypt. At the end of the 11th cent. B.C. Egypt was ruled by two contemporaneous dynasties, one ruling at Thebes and the other at Tanis (Zoan) in the Eastern Delta, the latter, however, having the suzerainty over the whole country. The power of Egypt must have been small, and no large monuments were raised in that period,

7. Solomon's Egyptian father-in-law (1 K 2^{46} 3^{1}) should likewise be a Tanite king (21st dynasty); according to 1 K 9^{16} he took Gezer and gave it to Solomon.

It is noticeable that Shishak king of Egypt (the founder of the 22nd dynasty) is never called Pharaoh. This is the first occasion in the Bible on which a distinctive name is given to an Egyptian king. It seems as if the vague traditions in the earlier stories were now succeeded by more positive knowledge as to later events. As noted above, Shishak was called by the Egyptians 'Pharaoh Shishak' (*Rec. de Trav.* xxi. 13, l. 1), but the fashion was a new one, and would be little known to foreigners.

8. 'Pharaoh king of Egypt' of the time of Sennacherib and Hezekiah. In both versions (2 K 18^{21} and Is 36^{6}) the Rabshakeh addresses Hezekiah with the words, 'Behold thou trustest on the staff of this bruised reed, even upon Egypt; whereon if a man lean, it will go into his hand, and pierce it: so is Pharaoh king of Egypt to all that trust on him.' Here 'Pharaoh king of Egypt' is a vague way of designating the king, who appears at that time to have been Tirhakah, in 2 K 19^{9} rightly called 'king of Ethiopia.' In Egyptian documents this conqueror of Egypt is regularly designated 'Pharaoh Tahraqa.' It may be questioned whether there is not in the biblical account a confusion between two distinct campaigns of Sennacherib, and whether 'Pharaoh king of Egypt' does not refer to another king reigning in B.C. 701; cf. art. HEZEKIAH in vol. ii. p. 378^{b}. Tirhakah probably did not begin to reign before B.C. 685. F. LL. GRIFFITH.

PHARAOH-HOPHRA.—See HOPHRA.

PHARAOH-NEC(H)O.—See NECO.

PHARAOH'S DAUGHTER.—See PHARAOH, and MOSES, p. 447^{b}.

PHARATHON (Φαραθών).—A place in Judæa, fortified by Bacchides against Jonathan, 1 Mac 9^{50}. The EV separate *Pharathon* from the preceding name, reading 'Timnath, Pharathon,' whereas LXX seems to combine the two—*τὴν Θαμνάθα Φαραθών.* G. A. Smith agrees with the latter, holding that 'evidently one place' is referred to (but see Buhl, *GAP* 206 f.). Pharathon is probably the village *Fer'on* in the low hills west of Shechem, guarding the approach to the main route on the Plain of Sharon, and Timnath may be Timnath-heres. See *SWP* vol. ii. sheet xi. Cf. also art. PIRATHON.

C. R. CONDER.

PHARES.—1 Es 5^5. See PEREZ, *ad init.*

PHARIDA.—1 Es 5^{33} = **Perida** of Neh 7^{57} or **Peruda** of Ezr 2^{55}. See PERIDA.

PHARISEES.—

i. Origin and History of the Pharisees and the Sadducees.
ii. Leading Characteristics of the Pharisees.
  (1) Their scrupulous observance of the Law.
  (2) Their belief in the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, and future retribution.
  (3) Messianic expectations.
  (4) Belief in angels and spirits.
  (5) Doctrine of Divine Providence and freedom of man's will.
  (6) Their separation from the mass of the people.
  (7) The Pharisees and the supremacy of the Gentiles.
iii. The Pharisees and Jesus.
  (1) Their opposition to our Lord.
  (2) Our Lord's criticism of the Pharisees.
Literature.

i. ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE PHARISEES AND THE SADDUCEES.—Though the Pharisees and the Sadducees make their first appearance as distinct parties during the latter half of the 2nd cent. B.C., they represent tendencies which can be traced much further back in Jewish history. When Ezra returned from Babylon (B.C. 458), he found the Jews living in and around Jerusalem divided into two parties on the question of intercourse with foreigners. Those who returned first from exile (B.C. 537) had been more scrupulous in this matter. They seem to have held aloof at first not only from the heathen inhabitants of the land, but also from the descendants of those Jews that had been left in Palestine by Nebuchadnezzar, and to have admitted into the new community only those whose ancestors had been in exile, or who were otherwise able to prove that they were of pure stock (Ezr 2, Neh 7^{6-73}). Gradually, however, they fell away from this strictness; they received into their fellowship their Palestinian brethren and such of the heathen as acknowledged J″ and His commandments; and many of them even entered into alliances of various kinds with those of their heathen neighbours who remained heathen.

That such was the case we learn especially from the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah. Immediately upon his arrival in Jerusalem, Ezra was informed that many of the people had intermarried with the people of the land, the chiefs of the people being most guilty ($9^{1f.}$).* A commission appointed to inquire into the matter took three months to perform its task ($10^{16f.}$). The number of those who had contracted such marriages was very great; the list that was drawn up (10^{18-44}) contains the names of four members of the high priest's family (v.^{18}). Ezra perceived that a grave crisis had arisen in the history of the Jewish community in Palestine; the holy seed was being profaned (9^2); the heathen element might soon become dominant; the danger could be averted only by the adoption of measures that would secure that only such could belong to the community as were of pure Jewish blood. He accordingly demanded that they put away their foreign wives and children, without giving them the opportunity of becoming Jews ($10^{1-5.\ 11}$). Though they pledged themselves to do so ($10^{5.\ 19}$), this measure was not, at least permanently, carried out.† For when Nehemiah first visited Jerusalem (B.C. 444) he found matters exactly as Ezra had found them. The 'nobles of Judah' were in close alliance with the foreign element (Neh 6^{17-19} 3^5); the Sabbath was not strictly kept (10^{31}, cf. $13^{15ff.}$); and mixed marriages were exceedingly common. After taking the precautionary measure of building the wall of Jerusalem, he held an assembly of the people, at which they resolved to separate themselves entirely from all foreigners, and to observe all the LORD'S commandments (9^2 $10^{28ff.}$). He did not, however, compel them to put away their foreign wives and children, but only to pledge themselves to abstain from all mixed marriages in future (10^{30}). But he had not yet gained a complete victory. When he revisited Jerusalem in 432, he found that the high priest Eliashib had renewed his close fellowship with Tobiah ($13^{4ff.}$), that the Sabbath was still desecrated (v.$^{15ff.}$), that many of the people were still marrying foreign wives (v.$^{23ff.}$), and that a grandson of the high priest was son-in-law to Sanballat (v.^{28}). Against these abuses he took active measures. He cast out all Tobiah's household stuff, and had the chambers of the temple purified (v.$^{8f.}$); he renewed his injunctions against Sabbath desecration and the contracting of fresh mixed marriages, and expelled the high priest's grandson from the Jewish community (v.^{28}).* 'Thus,' he adds, 'cleansed I them from all strangers' (v.^{30}). Complete separation from all foreign elements became henceforth the principle of Judaism.

In connexion with these proceedings it is important to notice that the natural leaders of the people, including the members of the high priest's family, who had become a sort of temple nobility, were among the chief offenders, and that it was from them that Nehemiah experienced the greatest active opposition. Backed up by the authority of the Persian king, he was able to crush their opposition, and to establish in Judæa the strict separation which from the first had ruled among the pious exiles in Babylonia. 'The aftertime shows plainly that he accomplished the work of his life. He impressed the stamp of his spirit upon Judaism for all time, and forced it to follow the course he had marked out' (Cornill, *History of the People of Israel*, p. 168; see also Wellhausen, *Isr. und Jüd. Geschichte*^{3}, p. 173). We must not, however, make Nehemiah a Pharisee and Eliashib a Sadducee. In them and their respective adherents we have only, at the most, a preparation for the parties that formed much later. The victory of Nehemiah was the victory of Judaism generally, not of Judaism in its specific Pharisaic form.

Regarding the latter half of the Persian period we have hardly any authentic information. The high priest was probably, under the Persian governor of Syria, the civil as well as religious head of the Jewish community; he and his priestly brethren of higher office along with their families would doubtless form a kind of aristocracy, even as compared with the rest of the priests. Judging from the conduct of some of their successors towards the close of the Greek period, it is very unlikely that their influence was always of an ideal character (cf. the story of Johanan and Bagoses, *Ant.* XI. vii. 1). In spite of the triumph of the exclusive party under Ezra and Nehemiah, there still remained an Israel after the flesh, and a deep gulf between it and the Israel after the spirit.†

---

* We learn from Mal $2^{14f.}$ that some of the Jews had put away their Jewish wives in order to marry foreign women.

† According to the LXX of 10^{44} they put away their foreign wives along with their children.

* According to Josephus (*Ant.* XI. viii. 2 ff.) this expelled priest was Manasseh, for whom Sanballat built the Samaritan temple on Mt. Gerizim.

† For detailed proof drawn from the Psalms see Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden*, p. 184 ff. We need not suppose that only wicked people were opposed to the rigorism of Ezra. Cheyne (*Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*, p. 220) makes the Book of Ruth 'an idyllic story to justify admitting into the community any foreign women who heartily adopted the nationality and religion of their Jewish husbands. . . . It shows that Ezra did not gain an at all complete victory over the friends of mixed marriages.'

The conquest of Persia by Alexander the Great and the setting up of the Greek kingdoms of Egypt and Syria under his successors brought the Jews into close contact with a new and highly developed civilization. During the first half of the Greek period Judæa belonged to Egypt, and the Palestinian Jews, with whom we are mainly concerned, though surrounded by Greek cities, with which they had constant intercourse, do not seem to have been much harmed by such intercourse. It was otherwise when Syria (B.C. 198) became the paramount power. Antiochus III., it is true, favoured the Jews in many ways, and allowed them the enjoyment of unconditional religious freedom (*Ant.* XII. iii. 3. 4). A crisis came, however, when Antiochus Epiphanes ascended the throne (B.C. 175). He resolved to suppress the Jewish religion, and he found a party among the Jews themselves ready to play into his hands. This party contained leading members of the priesthood, several of whom had adopted Greek names, and who, in order to further their own ambitious designs, were prepared to go almost any length in Hellenizing the people. During the reign of Seleucus IV., one Simon, who was 'guardian' of the temple, and who was evidently one of the chiefs of this Hellenizing party, had caused serious trouble to the high priest Onias III. (2 Mac 3–4^{6}). On the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes to the throne, Jason, whose name was originally Jesus (*Ant.* XII. v. 1), supplanted his brother Onias in the high priesthood (B.C. 175) by promising the king a large sum of money; in return for another large sum he also received permission to erect a gymnasium in Jerusalem and to register its inhabitants as citizens of Antioch (2 Mac 4^{7-9}). And now the work of Hellenization began. Jason 'forthwith brought over them of his own race to the Greek fashion. . . . Seeking to overthrow the lawful modes of life, he brought in new customs forbidden by the law; he established a Greek place of exercise under the citadel itself, and caused the noblest of the young men to wear the Greek cap. And thus there was an extreme of Greek fashions, and an advance of an alien religion . . . ; the priests had no more any zeal for the services of the altar; but despising the sanctuary, and neglecting the sacrifices, they hastened to enjoy that which was unlawfully provided in the palæstra, after the summons of the discus; making of no account the honours of their fathers, and thinking the glories of the Greeks best of all' (2 Mac 4^{10-22}; cf. 1 Mac $1^{14f.}$). He even sent money to Tyre to provide a sacrifice for Hercules. After three years Jason was supplanted in the high priesthood by Menelaus, brother of the above-mentioned Simon,[*] who is described in 2 Mac 4^{25} as 'bringing nothing worthy the high priesthood, but having the passion of a cruel tyrant and the rage of a savage beast.' In order to secure his position with the king by means of bribery, Menelaus spoiled the temple of its vessels of gold (4^{32}); the aged high priest Onias, who protested against this sacrilege, was treacherously murdered ($4^{33ff.}$), and a deputation from Jerusalem, which appeared before Antiochus to accuse Menelaus of these and other outrages, was put to death (4^{39-50}). On a false rumour of the death of Antiochus, Jason endeavoured to recover the high priesthood. Thinking that Judæa was in revolt, Antiochus returned from Egypt (B.C. 170), took Jerusalem by storm and gave it up to pillage for three days. He also entered 'the most holy temple of all the earth,' having Menelaus for his guide; he took the holy vessels with his 'polluted hands' and spoiled the temple treasury (5^{11-21}; cf. 1 Mac $1^{20ff.}$). Two years afterwards an even worse fate befell Jerusalem. Returning from a campaign in Egypt, Antiochus sent an officer with a large army to Jerusalem, with orders to slay all that were of full age, and to sell the women and the younger men. These orders were executed most relentlessly. The city was plundered and set on fire; its walls were torn down; such of its inhabitants as had not been put to the sword or made captive fled; only apostates and heathen strangers remained; and the city of David was rebuilt into a strong citadel, the Akra, which was held by a Syrian garrison till B.C. 142 (2 Mac $5^{22ff.}$; cf. 1 Mac $1^{29ff.}$). Soon thereafter a decree was issued by Antiochus suppressing the Jewish religion. The sacrifices in the sanctuary at Jerusalem were forbidden; the Sabbaths and feasts were to be profaned and the sanctuary polluted; their sons were no longer to be circumcised; the sacred books had to be delivered up; altars and temples and shrines for idols were to be built in the cities of Judah, and swine's flesh and unclean beasts were to be offered in sacrifice. These injunctions were rigidly carried out by overseers appointed for the purpose. On the 15th of Chislev (*i.e.* December) B.C. 168 an altar was erected to Zeus Olympius on the altar of J″, and on the 25th a sacrifice was offered on it to the heathen deity. Whether Menelaus officiated as high priest, we cannot tell. Such of the Jews as remained loyal to the law were barbarously put to death, no respect being paid to age or sex (1 Mac $1^{41ff.}$).

Hellenism had evidently made considerable progress not only among the priestly aristocracy and the inferior priests (2 Mac $4^{14f.}$), but also among the people generally (1 Mac $1^{11ff.}$), more especially in Jerusalem and among the young men (cf. *Ant.* XII. v. 1 with 1 Mac 1^{15}). At first there was probably no intention, even on the part of the leading Hellenizers, to apostatize from the national religion; what they desired was to remove from Judaism its narrowness and exclusiveness, to give up the intolerable and, as it seemed to them, barbarous customs of the fathers, so that they might freely participate in the advantages of Greek culture and in the joys of Greek life. But even after Antiochus had taken his extreme measures, many of the Hellenizing party still adhered to him.[*] 'Many of Israel consented to his worship, and sacrificed to the idols, and profaned the Sabbath' (1 Mac 1^{43}; cf. what is said of the 'lawless' and 'ungodly' $3^{5.8}$ 6^{21} 9^{23} 10^{14}; also Dn 8^{23} $11^{30.32}$). After the outbreak of the Maccabæan rising we find them among the 'Macedonian' garrison of the citadel (*Ant.* XII. v. 4, ix. 3) and in the armies of Seron, Ptolemæus, Nicanor, and Gorgias (XII. vii. 1. 3). But, as the Maccabæan rising proves, these measures of Antiochus had shown the mass of the people to what Hellenism was tending and had awakened a powerful reaction.

Apart, however, from this national reaction, the radical Hellenism of the priestly aristocracy had called forth another extreme party, the Hasidæans (see art. HASIDÆANS). This party is, in principle, as ancient as Judaism, but it was opposition to extreme Hellenization that brought them close together into a separate company (*συναγωγή*, 1 Mac 2^{42}), shortly before the Maccabæan rising, and made them all the more resolved to stand by the threatened law. They were the party of those who had laid most to heart the teaching of the scribes (cf. 1 Mac $7^{12.13}$); they were so devoted to the law (2^{42}) as not even to defend themselves when attacked by the Syrians on the Sabbath (v.$^{32ff.}$); they observed strictly the laws as to purification (1 Mac $1^{62f.}$,

---

[*] According to Josephus (*Ant.* XII. v. 1), Menelaus, whose name was originally Onias, was the brother of Jason. According to Wellhausen his Hebrew name was Menahem or Manasseh.

[*] According to Josephus (*Ant.* XII. ix. 7) it was Menelaus that persuaded him to compel the Jews to renounce their religion; cf. 2 Mac 5^{15}.

2 Mac $6^{18ff.}$), and insisted upon complete separation from the Gentiles (2 Mac 14^{38}). Though they were not the first to raise the standard of revolt against the Syrians, they soon associated themselves with Mattathias and his friends in the common cause (1 Mac 2^{42}); but they withdrew from the struggle, when religious freedom was granted and Alcimus, a descendant of Aaron, was made high priest instead of Menelaus ($7^{12ff.}$), and do not seem, at least as a party, to have taken any further share in the war, in spite of the perfidy of Alcimus in putting many of them to death. They were an exclusively religious party, supremely interested, not in the political independence of the nation, but in the strict observance in every respect of the laws and customs handed down from the fathers.

We have dwelt at considerable length on the Hellenizers and the Hasidæans, because these were the progenitors respectively of the Sadducean and Pharisaic parties.

It is during the reign of John Hyrcanus (B.C. 135–105) that we first hear of these as two opposed parties.[*] According to Josephus (*Ant.* XIII. x. 5. 6), Hyrcanus on one occasion invited the Pharisees to a feast, and having entertained them well and put them in good humour, reminded them that they knew he was desirous to be a righteous man and to do all things whereby he might please God, after their manner. If they observed him erring in any way, he requested them to correct him. They all expressed entire satisfaction with him, except one, Eleazar by name, who informed him that, if he would be really righteous, he must lay down the high priesthood and be content with the civil government of the people, and stated, as the reason for making this demand, that they had heard from old men that his mother had been a captive in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes. Not only Hyrcanus, but also all the rest of the Pharisees were indignant at Eleazar for repeating this story, which of course insinuated a suspicion as to the purity of Hyrcanus' descent. But one, Jonathan, a Sadducee, and a great friend of Hyrcanus, assured the latter that Eleazar had simply expressed the sentiments common to all the Pharisees, and advised him to test them by putting to them the question, what punishment Eleazar deserved. On their answering that he deserved stripes and bonds, Hyrcanus was very angry, and concluded that Eleazar had reproached him with their approbation. He accordingly left the party of the Pharisees, abolished the decrees they had imposed upon the people, and punished those that observed them with death.

Though the form of the story as told by Josephus is certainly unhistorical,[†] there is every reason to believe that in the time of Hyrcanus the Pharisees had become a well-defined party and broke decisively with the Hasmonæan princes. The Maccabæan rising, which was originally in defence of religion (1 Mac $2^{27. 50}$), had developed in a way that was little to the mind of 'the pious,' who, as we have seen, had withdrawn from the contest, when religious freedom was granted in the year 163. It gradually became a war, not for the law, but against the ancient aristocracy for the ethnarchy under the Syrians, and ended in the founding of a worldly dynasty. In the course of their struggles, Judas and his brothers were compelled by the necessity of their position to make use of 'profane' means; they entered into alliances with Gentile nations (1 Mac 8^{17} $12^{1ff.}$ 14^{24}), and took the side, now of one, now of another pretender to the Syrian throne; they accepted from the kings of Syria military titles and commands and even the office of high priest ($10^{26ff. 65}$ $11^{27f. 57ff.}$ 14^{38}), and acted generally in accordance with the dictates of worldly prudence. The result was the establishment under Simon of a thoroughly secular State, the civil ruler being at the same time high priest (14^{41-47}). Hyrcanus, whom Josephus calls a disciple of the Pharisees, walked in the footsteps of his predecessors. He renewed the alliance with Rome (*Ant.* XIII. ix. 2, XIV. x. 22) and kept a standing army of foreign troops, with which he accompanied Antiochus Sidetes against the Parthians (XIII. viii. 4). It is true, he destroyed the Samaritan sanctuary upon Mt. Gerizim, and forcibly converted the Idumæans and razed Samaria to the ground; but these were purely political measures, undertaken for the purpose of extending his dominion beyond the narrow limits of Judæa. His high priesthood was a secondary matter. 'For Hyrcanus the tiara had fallen to the rank of a mere decoration; he was a secular prince like the neighbouring heathen kings; his State was a purely secular realm, which was no longer able to pursue spiritual aims, no longer had spiritual concerns' (Cornill, p. 212).

The majority of the people were meanwhile satisfied with this turn of affairs. They were proud not only to enjoy religious freedom, but also to be once more an independent nation, and honoured the valiant princes who had led them to victory (1 Mac 13^{26} $14^{4. 11. 40ff.}$). The ancient aristocracy also, the extreme Hellenizers of the time of Epiphanes, who at first had held out against Judas and his brothers, had either been swept away or had recognized the futility of carrying on the struggle, and along with their adherents came over to the new rulers, to whom they were able, from their birth and attainments, to render considerable service. Taught by experience, they had given up all thought of overthrowing the national religion, and accommodated themselves to the new order of things, which imposed upon them no harsh restrictions, and allowed them the full enjoyment of the good things of this life (cf. 1 Mac 15^{32}). Along with the leading men of the new *regime*,[*] they became the chief supporters of the Maccabæan princes, with whose political aims they were in full sympathy. It is this party, consisting of members of the ancient and the new aristocracy and their adherents, that went by the name of **Sadducees**. They were primarily a purely political party. They were supremely interested in the maintenance and prosperity of the State as a secular State; religion was with them an altogether secondary concern; and they held very lax views on the subject of exclusiveness.

To 'the pious,' on the other hand, the Hasmonæan rule must have become ever more and more obnoxious. Since the outbreak of the Maccabæan rising they had doubtless grown both in numbers and exclusiveness, and were now known by the name, **Pharisees**. These were essentially a purely religious party, although we shall find them occasionally using political means for the attainment of their religious ends. Their fundamental principle was complete separation from everything non-Jewish. In order to secure this separation the law must be scrupulously kept; there must be no adoption of foreign ideas or ways of living; there must be no alliances with other nations; Israel, as the chosen people of J", must live an altogether separated life. The whole tendency of the new dynasty was against this exclusiveness. Hence the opposition to it of the Pharisees. Josephus may be right in making the ostensible ground of their quarrel with Hyrcanus the possession by him of the high priesthood. But the real ground of their opposition to him was much deeper. The Hasmonæans were orthodox worshippers of J", and even compelled neighbouring peoples to become Jews. But the dynasty they had founded was a worldly dynasty; and the Pharisees felt instinctively that in a national State with national politics their ideal was less likely to be realized than even under the rule of the Gentiles. The success of the Maccabæan rising had thus led to the formation of the two parties which played so important a part in the after history of the Jews.*

---

[*] According to *Ant.* XIII. v. 9, they existed as parties as early as the time of Jonathan.

[†] Montet, *Essai sur les origines des partis saducéen et pharisien*, 205 ff.; Wellhausen, *op. cit.* 290.

[*] The frequent occurrence of foreign names at this time among the Jews shows the progress that Hellenism had made among them. The Hasmonæan princes themselves bore foreign, in addition to their Hebrew names: Hyrcanus, Antigonus, Aristobulus, Alexander, Alexandra. For other Greek names at this time see 1 Mac $14^{22. 24}$ 15^{15} $16^{11f.}$; *Ant.* XIII. ix. 2. 'That which was surprising in the case of the first Hellenizing high priests, had, it would seem, become the fashion in the national party, at least among those of higher rank. They had learned to do what the foreigners did, and did not scruple to bear foreign names' (Bertholet, *op. cit.* 230 f.).

Under Alexander Jannæus (B.C. 104–78) the opposition between the Hasmonæans and the Pharisees broke out into open conflict. Jannæus was a man of such an utterly worthless character that he very soon alienated the people from him and made them sympathize with the Pharisees. On one occasion, when, at a Feast of Tabernacles, he was officiating as high priest, the people pelted him with the lemons they were carrying for the celebration, and reviled him as the son of a captive and as being therefore unworthy of his priestly office. At his command his troops cut down 6000 of the people (*Ant.* XIII. xiii. 5). When he returned to Jerusalem from his war with Obâdas, defeated and without an army, there broke out an open rebellion, which lasted for six years, during which 50,000 Jews perished. When, wearied of the contest, he asked the conditions of peace, they demanded his death and called in the aid of the Syrian king, Demetrius III. (Eucairus). Jannæus was totally defeated and fled to the mountains. Moved by sympathy with him in his sore need, and perhaps dreading lest their country should once more become subject to Syria, many of the Jews deserted to him; Demetrius was compelled to retire, and Jannæus took fearful revenge upon his adversaries:—upon his return in triumph to Jerusalem he caused 800 of their chiefs to be crucified (*Ant.* XIII. xiii. 5, xiv. 1. 2). That the leaders in this rebellion were Pharisees, is evident from the fact that they afterwards avenged the execution of the 800 (*Ant.* XIII. xvi. 2), and that Jannæus, when dying, counselled his wife Alexandra Salome to make peace with them and be guided by them (XIII. xv. 5).

Alexandra Salome (B.C. 78–69), during whose reign Hyrcanus II., her eldest son, was high priest, followed entirely her dying husband's advice. She recalled the exiled Pharisees, admitted them to a large share in the government, and reintroduced the Pharisaic practices which John Hyrcanus is said to have abolished (*Ant.* XIII. xvi. 1 ff.; *BJ* I. v. 1 ff.). She also gave to the heads of the scribes a seat in the Sanhedrin along with the priestly aristocracy and the elders. According to later tradition, this was the golden age of Judaism.† But the Pharisees, who, according to Josephus, governed the queen, made a bad use of their authority. They took such fearful vengeance upon the Sadducees that a deputation of the latter, led by Aristobulus, Salome's younger son, presented themselves before her, protesting against the cruel treatment to which they were subjected. They reminded her of the assistance they had rendered her husband, hinted at the readiness with which neighbouring monarchs would receive them into their service, and insisted upon being at least placed in her fortresses. They not only succeeded in having an end put to the reign of terror, but also obtained command of all the fortresses, except three, where, along with Aristobulus, who soon joined them, they awaited the death of the queen to snatch the power out of the hands of the Pharisees (*Ant.* XIII. xvi. 2. 3. 5; *BJ* I. v. 3. 4).

On the death of Alexandra, Aristobulus (B.C. 69–63) soon dispossessed Hyrcanus II. of both the kingship and the high priesthood (*Ant.* XIV. i. 2, XV. vi. 4, XX. x.). He befriended the Sadducees, who were his chief supporters. In the course of the struggle that ensued, both the brothers appealed to the Romans, and presented themselves before Pompey in Damascus, in order to plead their cause. A third party (whom most take to have been Pharisees) also appeared before him, desiring the abolition of the sovereignty altogether, and the restoration of the old sacerdotal constitution (*Ant.* XIV. iii. 2). When at last he was compelled to take the temple-mount by storm (B.C. 63), Pompey entered the Holy of Holies, but left the treasures of the temple untouched. Many of the leaders of the Sadducees were executed; Aristobulus and his children were taken to Rome; and Hyrcanus was restored to his much-curtailed inheritance, not as king, but as high priest and ethnarch, with the nominal control of the civil administration of the country. How the Pharisees regarded this terrible catastrophe we learn from the Psalms of Solomon.* They looked upon it as a Divine punishment of the Sadducean aristocracy and priests, who had called the Romans into the land (8^{12-19}), but were at the same time bitterly enraged against the heathen, who had so impiously defiled the temple and the holy city (Ps-Sol 1, 2, 8, and 17, which seem to refer to Pompey's capture of Jerusalem; cf. Ryle and James, *op. cit.* xliii).

After the loss of national independence, the opposition between the Pharisees and the Sadducees naturally soon lost its political character, and became more and more distinctly religious. The Sadducees, who still formed the majority of the Sanhedrin, attempted, during the ethnarchy of Hyrcanus, to call Herod to account for his lawless proceedings in Galilee, but this attempt only proved their powerlessness (*Ant.* XIV. ix. 1 ff.). When Herod captured Jerusalem (B.C. 37), he put to death 45 of these Sadducean Sanhedrists (*Ant.* XV. i. 2 calls them leaders of the party of Antigonus, cf. *BJ* I. xviii. 4; *Ant.* XIV. ix. 4 says 'all the members of the Sanhedrin' except Sameas); and he still further diminished their power by deposing and appointing high priests according to his own pleasure, and by introducing among the high priestly families his own relations and creatures. When he purged the Sanhedrin in the manner just described, he spared the leaders of the Pharisees, who had advised the citizens to throw open the gates of the city to him (*Ant.* XIV. ix. 4, XV. i. 1); and although they refused to take the oath of allegiance, he merely punished them with a fine (XV. x. 4; XVII. ii. 4). Recognizing their influence with the people, he at first would fain have gained them over to his side, and therefore took pains in several ways to respect their religious feelings (cf. XV. xi. 5. 6); but they simply acquiesced in his rule, as being a Divine judgment upon the people for their sins. Towards the end of his reign, their attitude towards him became one of hostility. They conspired with members of his household to secure his overthrow (XVII. ii. 4), and (B.C. 4) instigated their pupils to cut down the golden eagle, which he had placed over the chief entrance to the temple as a sign of Roman sovereignty. For this offence he caused a number of them to be burned alive (XVII. vi. 2–4; *BJ* I. xxxiii. 1–4).

---

* See Bousset, *Jesu Predigt in ihrem Gegensatz zum Judenthum*, p. 29 ff. The Psalms of Solomon complain bitterly of the Hasmonæans having assumed the office of high priest and the title of king; see Ryle and James, *Ps. of Sol.* on 8^{12} $17^{5ff.}$. Hyrcanus, however, did not call himself king, but 'high priest and head of the commonwealth of the Judæans.'

† Montet, *op. cit.* 277 ff. 'Under Simon ben Shatach [a leading Pharisee and brother of the queen] and queen Salome, rain fell on the eve of the Sabbath, so that the corns of wheat were large as kidneys, the barley corns as large as olives, and the lentils like golden denarii; the scribes gathered such corns and preserved specimens of them in order to show future generations what sin entails' (Talm. Bab. *Ta'anith* 23*a*, in Streane, *The Age of the Maccabees*, p. 72).

* These are of Pharisaic origin, and date, according to Ryle and James, from between B.C. 70 and 40, according to Cheyne between 63 and 45.

When, after the deposition of Archelaus, Judæa passed under the direct rule of the Romans, the latter left internal matters largely in the hands of the Sanhedrin, under the presidency of the high priest, who belonged to the Sadducean party (*Ant.* XX. ix. 1; Ac 5^{17}). The Sadducean aristocrats, with whom the new families raised by Herod to the high priestly dignity had soon mixed, thus regained a considerable measure of power; but in order to stand well with the people, they were compelled to act in respect of all legal questions in accordance with the principles of the Pharisees (*Ant.* XVIII. i. 4). The latter, many of whom sat in the Sanhedrin (Ac 5^{34} 23^{6}), were the real leaders of the people. Under Agrippa I. (A.D. 41–44), who, at least within Palestine, lived the life of a pious Jew, observing strictly the ancient laws and offering daily sacrifices, they had matters very much after their own mind. To please them, Agrippa persecuted the Christians, put James, the brother of John, to death, and cast Peter into prison (Ac 12). When Judæa passed again under the direct rule of the Romans, the Sadducees once more became the nominal possessors of authority. But their doom was sealed. With the destruction of Jerusalem, the high priesthood and the Sanhedrin vanished, and the Sadducees, as a party, disappeared from history.

It was otherwise with the Pharisees.[*] They survived the Temple and the State. They had not, strictly speaking, been a political party within the old commonwealth, and for that very reason, when the latter perished, their influence was not lessened. Their leading Rabbis formed a body, which regarded itself as a continuation of the ancient Sanhedrin. At first it had its seat at Jamnia; it afterwards removed to Galilee, and remained for a long time at Tiberias. The office of president was hereditary in the family of Hillel. The president's authority grew rapidly. He bore the title of the old high priests, *Nasi* or *Ethnarch*, and, later, *Patriarch*; in course of time he was recognized by the imperial government as the head of the Palestinian Jews; from Jews in foreign lands he received gifts of money, which were collected annually by his representatives. These Rabbis separated themselves more and more completely from the Gentiles. The LXX, which had become the Christian's Bible, was supplanted by a more literal translation, that of Aquila. They also became more strict among themselves; the old tendency of the scribes to regulate the whole of life by the law was accentuated. The result was a spiritual slavery such as had never before existed. The communities voluntarily submitted to the new hierarchy; they willed the end, viz. the maintenance of Judaism, and therefore accommodated themselves to the means. As result we have the preservation of Judaism as an international fellowship even after the downfall of the theocracy.

ii. LEADING CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PHARISEES.—(1) *Their scrupulous observance of the law.* According to Josephus they were noted for their accuracy in interpreting the laws (*BJ* I. v. 2, II. viii. 14, *Vita* 38, *Ant.* XVII. ii. 4), and for the scrupulousness with which they kept them (*Ant.* XVIII. i. 3). They held as binding not only the written, but the oral law, the 'traditions of the fathers' (XIII. x. 6, xvi. 2). Like their progenitors, the Hasidæans, they were, speaking generally, the party of the scribes, whose precepts they carried into practice, and whose leaders, latterly, proceeded from their ranks (XV. i. 1, x. 4). The account given of them in the NT is substantially the same as that of Josephus. In the Gospels the Pharisees and the scribes are constantly mentioned in the same connexion, and in such a way as to imply that they practically formed the same party, *e.g.* Mt 5^{20} 12^{38} 15^{1}, Mk 2^{16} $7^{1.5}$, Lk $5^{17.21.30}$ 6^{7} 7^{30} 11^{53} 14^{3} 15^{2}, Jn 8^{3}.[*] The great discourse in Mt 23 (cf. Lk 11^{37-52}) is directed against both the Pharisees and the scribes. Gamaliel is both a Pharisee and a doctor of the law (Ac 5^{34}); the Pharisees form the straitest sect of the Jewish religion (26^{5}), and Saul, a Pharisee (Ph 3^{6}), had been brought up according to the strict manner of the law of the fathers (Ac 22^{3}). Attention is called to their holding the traditions of the elders, especially in regard to the washing of hands and vessels (Mk 7^{1-5}=Mt 15^{2}, Mt $23^{25f.}$, Lk $11^{38f.}$), to their tithing (Lk 18^{12}, etc.), fasting (Mk 2^{18}=Mt 9^{14}, etc.), and strict observance of the Sabbath (Mk $2^{23ff.}$=Mt $12^{1ff.}$, Lk $13^{10ff.}$ $14^{1ff.}$, Jn 5^{1-16} $9^{14ff.}$). The traditions of the elders were even more binding than the commandments of the written law (Mk 7^{8}). In later Jewish writings we find similar statements. The written law had to be explained in accordance with tradition. 'The sword comes upon the world for suppression of judgment; and for perversion of judgment; and for explaining Torah not according to canon (tradition).'[†] 'Words of *Soferim* are akin to words of Torah and more beloved than words of Torah, for (Ca 1^{2}) Thy *Love* is better than *Wine.*' It is added that whereas the Torah contains both *light* and *weighty* precepts, the words of the Soferim are all of the latter class (Rabbi Jochanan in Taylor, *op. cit.* 105). 'It is a greater crime to teach contrary to the precepts of the scribes than contrary to the Torah itself' (*Sanhedrin* xi. 3 in Schürer, *GJV*³ ii. 390 [*HJP* II. ii. 12]). No contradiction was allowed to anything that had once been introduced and laid down by the fathers (*Ant.* XVIII. i. 3).

The Pharisees were thus the strictly legal party among the Jews. Their piety was strictly legal; the essence of religion consisted in the accurate knowledge and scrupulous observance of the law and tradition, which were the norm of all life, national, social, and individual. The Sadducees, while they had a tradition of their own, utterly rejected the traditions to which the Pharisees were so much attached.

(2) *Immortality of the soul, resurrection of the body, and future retribution.* According to Josephus, the Pharisees taught that every soul is incorruptible, but that only those of good men pass over into another body, while those of the wicked are punished with eternal suffering (*BJ* II. viii. 14). They held that there is an immortal vigour in souls, and that under the earth there are rewards and punishments for those that have lived virtuously or viciously in this life; that for the latter there has been appointed an everlasting prison, but the former have the power to return to life (*Ant.* XVIII. i. 3 f.). In the above passages Josephus does not represent the Pharisees as

---

[*] See Wellhausen, *op. cit.* 371 ff.

[*] Such expressions as 'the scribes of the Pharisees' (Mk 2^{16}), 'the Pharisees and their scribes' (Lk 5^{30}), 'the scribes of the Pharisees' part' (Ac 23^{9}), show that there were also non-Pharisaic scribes.

[†] *Pirke Aboth* v. 13; see Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*

believing in the transmigration of souls, but as holding the doctrines, common to Judaism since Dn 12^{2}, of a resurrection of the body and of a future retribution. The Psalms of Solomon also speak only of a resurrection of the righteous. The sinner 'falleth; verily grievous is his fall, and he shall not rise again; the destruction of the sinner is for ever. But they that fear the LORD shall rise again unto life eternal, and their life shall be in the light of the LORD, and it shall fail no more' ($3^{13.16}$). 'The life of the righteous is for ever. But sinners shall be taken away unto destruction' ($13^{9f.}$). 'Therefore is their inheritance hell and darkness and destruction. . . . But the saints of the LORD shall inherit life in gladness' ($14^{6f.}$; cf. 15^{11-15}). The Sadducees denied the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body.

(3) *Messianic expectations.* The doctrine of the resurrection was a cardinal doctrine with the Pharisees, because of its close connexion with their Messianic hopes. They looked for a literal reign of God upon earth, when the power, of which they were meanwhile deprived, would be in their hands; for the Messianic kingdom was to be the kingdom of the saints, and they were the saints. In the Psalms of Solomon we have a good account of these hopes as cherished by them shortly before our Saviour's birth. The Messiah, who is not Divine, is the son of David, and is raised up by God, whose vicegerent he is upon earth. He delivers Israel from the supremacy of the Gentiles (*i.e.* the Romans), whom he destroys with the word of his mouth, and thrusts out the sinners (*i.e.* the Sadducees) from the inheritance of God. He reigns over Israel, evidently in Jerusalem, which he purges and makes holy as in the days of old; the Gentiles also become subject to him. Pure from sin himself, there is no iniquity in his day in the people's midst; they are all holy and the sons of their God. Though his kingdom is really an earthly kingdom, nothing is said of material blessings.* But that their hopes were occasionally of a very materialistic nature, is evident from the prospect which, according to Josephus, they held out to Bagoas, the eunuch (*Ant.* XVII. ii. 4). Naturally the Sadducees were wholly indifferent to such Messianic expectations.

(4) *Angels and Spirits.* The Sadducees denied that there was either angel or spirit; the Pharisees confessed both (Ac 23^{8}).

(5) *Divine providence and freedom of man's will.* According to Josephus, the Pharisees, while making everything dependent on fate and God, taught that the doing of what is right or wrong is for the most part in man's own power, but that fate also co-operates in every action (*BJ* II. viii. 14). They maintained that all things are done by fate, and yet admitted a measure of freedom to man, so that he contributes to the divinely willed result (*Ant.* XVIII. i. 3); or, as it is put in another passage (XIII. v. 9), they taught that some things, but not all, are the work of fate; with regard to some events, it is in man's power whether they happen or not. It is altogether improbable that the Pharisees spoke of 'fate'; but the Psalms of Solomon bear witness to the substantial accuracy of Josephus' statements. 'Verily as for man—his portion is laid in the balance before Thee—he addeth not thereto nor increaseth contrary to Thy judgment, O God' (5^{6}). 'O God, our works are in our choice, yea, in the power of our own soul: to do either righteousness or iniquity in the works of our hands. Whoso doeth righteousness layeth up for himself life at the LORD'S hand: and whoso doeth wickedness is guilty of his own soul to destroy it' ($9^{7.9}$).* The Pharisees believed in the omnipotence and providence of God, and therefore held that in human actions, good or bad, a co-operation of God must be assumed. At the same time they insisted upon the freedom of man's power of choice, and upon man's responsibility. The Sadducees denied 'fate' altogether, and made man the absolute master of his own destiny.

(6) *Their separation from the mass of the people, their distinctive 'Pharisaism.'* On all the above-mentioned points the Pharisees simply held what was common to later orthodox Judaism. But all our sources present them to us as a distinct party within the people, an *ecclesiola in ecclesia.*† This is implied also in the name that they bore. The name, Φαρισαῖοι, is derived from the Aramaic פְּרִישִׁין, *stat. emphat.* פְּרִישַׁיָּא, and denotes 'the separated ones.' Whether this name was given them by their adversaries (Schürer, Montet, Edersheim) or adopted by themselves,‡ it connoted something more specific than the separation from the Gentiles, which, since the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, was characteristic of all who would be genuine Jews. It referred to their separation from the great mass of even their orthodox fellow-countrymen. The latter, however willing, were unable to observe strictly the minute prescriptions of the law as to foods and levitical purity; they were consequently unclean in the eyes of the Pharisees, who, in order to avoid all risk of being defiled, held aloof, as far as possible, from all intercourse with them. '*Parush* is one who separates himself from all uncleanness and from unclean food and from the people of the land, who are not scrupulous in the matter of food' (Nathan ben Jechiel). The Pharisees were thus the Separatists or Purists. The name, however, that they gave themselves was *ḥăbērîm* (חֲבֵרִים 'associates'), a name which also shows that they formed among themselves a close fellowship. A *ḥābēr* is one who, whether learned or unlearned, scrupulously observes the law, written and oral, more especially in respect of levitical purity, tithes, and all other religious dues. According to the OT view each Israelite was the *ḥābēr* (רֵעַ) of the other; the Pharisee acknowledged as his *ḥābēr* only him who scrupulously observed the law. These scrupulous observers of the law, and these alone, were the *ḥăbērîm*, the genuine Israelites. The rest of the people were simply the *'am hā-'āreẓ*, the people of the land, common persons, the vulgar herd. In the Books of Ezr ($9^{1f.}$ $10^{2.11}$) and Neh (10^{28-31}) this name was given to the heathen and half-heathen inhabitants of Palestine as distinguished from the Jews; as used by the Pharisees, it designated the mass of the people as distinguished from themselves, the real Israelites, the Israel according to the spirit.§

They were naturally unable to separate themselves entirely from 'the people of the land,' and had therefore to draw up precise rules regulating their intercourse with them. 'The full *ḥābēr* undertook not to sell to an *'am hā-'ārez* any fluid or dry substance (nutriment or fruit), not to buy from him any such fluid, nor to entertain him as a guest in his own clothes (on account of their possible impurity)' (Edersheim, i. 312). Hillel 'used to say, No boor is a sinfearer; nor is the vulgar [an *'am hā-'ārez*] pious' (*Aboth*, ii. 6); cf. Jn 7^{49}: 'this multitude which knoweth not the law are accursed'; also the fault found with our Saviour on account of His free intercourse with publicans and 'sinners,' Mt 9^{9-13}, Mk 2^{14-17}, Lk 5^{27-32} 7^{36-50}.

---

* See Ryle and James, *op. cit.* lii. ff.; Hühn, *Die messianischen Weissagungen des israelitisch-jüdischen Volkes*, 91 ff.

* See Sir 11^{14}: 'Good things and evil, life and death, poverty and riches are from the Lord' (cf. 33^{7-15}); $15^{11ff.}$: 'Say not thou, It is through the Lord that I fell . . ., it is He that caused me to err . . . (The Lord) left man in the hand of his own counsel. If thou wilt, thou shalt keep the commandments; and to perform faithfulness is of thine own good pleasure. He hath set fire and water before thee; thou shalt stretch forth thy hand unto whichsoever thou wilt. Before man is life and death; and whichsoever he liketh, it shall be given him.'

† According to Josephus (*Ant.* XVII. ii. 4) they numbered above 6000 in the time of Herod.

‡ Wellhausen (*op. cit.* 289) says it was a title of honour and called attention, not so much to their separation, as to their eminent piety.

§ The above paragraph summarizes Schürer, *GJV*^{3} ii. 396–403, a very full and lucid account of the matter; cf. also Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, etc., 42–46; Edersheim, i. 311 f. Schürer remarks that the question, Who is my neighbour? (Lk 10^{29}), was a very important question to a Jew. The *ḥābēr* of a Rabbi was a Rabbi; the *ḥābēr* of a priest was a priest; the *ḥābēr* of an Israelite was an Israelite.

Notwithstanding the fact that they thus separated themselves from the mass of the people, they were not a religious 'sect' (Ac 15^{5} 26^{5}) in the strict sense of the term. Neither in worship nor doctrine did they separate themselves from the Jewish community at large. 'Hillel said, Separate not thyself from the congregation' (*Aboth*, ii. 5). They worshipped in the temple and the synagogue along with their fellow-countrymen, and the views they held as to the law, the resurrection of the body, etc., were by no means peculiar to themselves. They were, indeed, in all respects 'the classical representatives of post-exilic Judaism, (Schürer, *GJV*^{3} ii. 403 [*HJP* II. ii. 25]).

While their separation from the *'am hā-'ārez* shows that the Pharisees were far from being democrats, they were nevertheless, at least ultimately, the popular and most influential party. They had more influence with the multitude than even the king and the high priest (XIII. x. 5, XVII. ii. 4); they had the multitude on their side (XIII. x. 6), so that the Sadducee officials had to act according to their principles (XVIII. i. 4). Even in Roman times, when the high priest was still the head of the Sanhedrin, and the Sadducees had probably the most votes, the Pharisees were the real rulers in respect of legal matters. They had influence especially with women, *e.g.* Alexandra Salome and the female members of Herod's household (XVII. ii. 4). They were also, according to the Gospels, the real leaders of the opposition to our Lord. Several reasons contributed to their popularity. They had more regard to the public than the Sadducees (*BJ* II. viii. 14); they were milder as judges (*Ant.* XIII. x. 6, XX. ix. 1); they shared, and indeed nourished, the national hatred against the Romans; the doctrines they held and taught, their scrupulous observance of the law, and their outwardly strict and severe manner of life caused them to be revered as pattern Israelites (XVIII. i. 3). That they courted this popularity, we learn, not only from the Gospels, but also from such sayings in the *Pirke Aboth* as 'Let thy house be opened wide; and let the needy be thy household' (i. 5); 'Receive every man with a pleasant expression of countenance' (i. 16); and Hillel's saying (quoted above), 'Separate not thyself from the congregation' (ii. 5).

(7) *The Pharisees and the supremacy of the Gentiles.* Though the Pharisees were not a political party, it is unjust to represent them as unpatriotic. Their patriotism, however, was 'religious patriotism' (Cheyne). Their ideal was the kingdom of David. What they desired was not the setting up of a merely independent secular kingdom of Israel, but an Israel reconstituted by means of the law, an Israel over which God reigned in the person of His vicegerent, and from which all 'sinners' were excluded. For the setting up of this Jewish nationality they looked, not to the adoption of political methods, but to a direct interposition of God; the great means whereby they could prepare the way for this Divine interposition was the strict carrying out of the law. So long as this was permitted, they could tolerate even a foreign yoke, as being a Divine punishment for the people's sins; only when this was not permitted, or when their principles were flagrantly outraged, did they resist with force, as in the time of Alexander Jannæus and towards the close of Herod's reign (cf. the Hasidæans in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes). Their use of political means to further their religious ends during the reign of Alexandra Salome shows that they were by no means consistent in the application of their religious principle.

A fairly correct idea of their attitude to the foreign domination may be formed from the Psalms of Solomon. The LORD, who is 'King over the heavens and judgeth kings and rulers' ($2^{34.\,36}$), is 'our King' (5^{22}), He is 'our King henceforth and even for evermore' ($17^{1.\,51}$); He is the King of the expected Messiah (v.^{38}). Because of the people's sins, He has meanwhile given them up to a foreign yoke. In $17^{5.\,6}$ ('Thou, O LORD, didst choose David to be king over Israel, and didst swear unto him touching his seed for ever, that his kingdom should not fail before Thee. But when we sinned, sinners rose up against us; they fell upon us and thrust us out: even they, to whom Thou madest no promise, took away our place with violence'), the allusion is probably to the usurpation of the high priesthood and kingship by the Hasmonæans; but the psalmist writes in the same strain of the overthrow of Jerusalem by the Romans. God not only did not prevent Pompey from casting down fenced walls with a battering-ram (2^{1}), but it was He that brought the Gentiles upon Jerusalem (2^{24} 8^{16}). God's righteousness was manifest in these judgments (2^{16} $8^{7.\,31}$); they were a judging of Israel with chastening (8^{32}; 18^{4} 'Thy chastening is upon us as upon a firstborn son only-begotten'). Still the psalmist does not conceive this foreign domination as lasting. He looks forward with confidence to a restoration of Israel under the divinely raised up, but human, Messiah ($17^{35\text{f.}}$), who puts no confidence in any carnal weapon (v.^{37}), suffers no wicked person or stranger to dwell any more among the people (vv.$^{29.\,31}$), nor any iniquity to be in their midst (vv.$^{29.\,36}$), and judges the nations and the peoples with the wisdom of his righteousness (v.^{31}). 'Blessed are they that shall be born in those days' (17^{50} 18^{7}); but the present generation must wait God's appointed time (7^{9}); they must pray for its speedy advent ($17^{23-25.\,51}$), and be prepared for it by a Divine cleansing (18^{6}: 'The LORD cleanse Israel for the day, when He shall have mercy upon them and shall bless them; even for the day of His appointing, when He shall bring back His anointed').

This was undoubtedly the attitude of the Pharisees generally to the Gentile rule. Such rule was meanwhile to be tolerated, as being a Divine chastisement (the standpoint of Pollio and Sameas, *Ant.* XIV. ix. 4, XV. i. 1); but it was nevertheless a violation of God's sovereignty over the elect people. God alone was king of Israel; there could be no lawful king of Israel, save God's vicegerent, the 'son of David.' In accordance with this principle they were opposed to the Hasmonæan princes (who were neither descendants of David nor of the legitimate high priestly family) and abhorred the rule of Herod and the Romans. To the former the majority of them refused the oath of allegiance (*Ant.* XV. x. 4, XVII. ii. 4); and they questioned the lawfulness of paying taxes to the latter (Mt $22^{17\text{ff.}}$, Mk $12^{14\text{ff.}}$, Lk $20^{22\text{ff.}}$). They thus by their teaching and practice fanned the flame of national hostility to the Romans, and were indirectly responsible for the rebellion against Rome. Josephus is anxious to separate the Zealots entirely from the Pharisees (in *Ant.* XVIII. i. 1. 6 he calls them a fourth philosophic sect), and draws attention to the fact that some leading Pharisees did not approve of their excesses (*BJ* IV. iii. 9); but he is forced to admit that it was a Pharisee, named Zadok, who along with Judas Galilæus formed that party, and that the notions they held were those of the Pharisees (*Ant.* XVIII. i. 1. 6, cf. *BJ* II. viii. 1). The Zealots were the party of political action, and simply carried out the Pharisaic principles to their logical conclusion.

iii. THE PHARISEES AND JESUS. — (1) *Their opposition to our Lord.* The Pharisees and scribes were the first to assume an attitude of hostility and criticism to Jesus. They maintained this attitude all through His public ministry down to the very close; for although in the last days of His life the Sadducees were most prominent, the Pharisaic scribes also took part in His trial and condemnation. They had many reasons to find fault with Him. He claimed authority to forgive sins (Mt 9^{3}, Mk $2^{6\mathrm{f.}}$, Lk 5^{21}), and associated freely with publicans and 'sinners' (Mt 9^{11}, Mk 2^{16}, Lk 5^{30} 7^{39} $15^{1\mathrm{f.}}$ 19^{7}); He and His disciples were indifferent to ascetic practices (Mt 9^{14}, Mk 2^{18}, Lk 5^{33}), and to levitical purity (Mt $15^{1\mathrm{ff.}}$, Mk $7^{1\mathrm{ff.}}$, Lk $11^{37\mathrm{f.}}$), and were not careful to observe the Sabbath in the orthodox fashion (Mt $12^{1\text{-}8.\ 9\text{-}14}$, Mk $2^{23\mathrm{ff.}}$ $3^{1\mathrm{ff.}}$, Lk $6^{1\mathrm{ff.}\ 6\mathrm{ff.}}$ 13^{14} $14^{1\mathrm{ff.}}$, Jn $5^{10\mathrm{ff.}}$ $9^{13\mathrm{ff.}}$). They accused Him of being in league with Beelzebub (Mt $12^{24\mathrm{ff.}}$, Mk $3^{22\mathrm{ff.}}$, Lk $11^{14\mathrm{ff.}}$, cf. Mt 9^{34} 11^{19}), demanded a sign from Him (Mt $12^{38\mathrm{f.}}$ 16^{1}, Mk 8^{11}), and attempted to frighten Him from Galilee into Judæa, where He would be more in the power of the Sanhedrin (Lk 13^{31}, cf. Plummer, *St. Luke*, 348). They put testing questions to Him, *e.g.* as to the way of inheriting eternal life (Lk $10^{25\mathrm{ff.}}$), as to the greatest commandment (Mt $22^{34\mathrm{ff.}}$, Mk $12^{28\mathrm{ff.}}$), and as to the law of divorce (Mt 19^{3}, Mk 10^{2}). These were leading questions meant to test His orthodoxy, and to discredit Him, if possible, with the people (see Swete, *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, p. 202 on Mk 10^{2}: 'probably their intention was simply to place Him in apparent opposition to Moses, who had permitted divorce'). Their most skilful testing question was that as to the lawfulness of paying tribute to Cæsar (Mt $22^{15\mathrm{ff.}}$, Mk $12^{13\mathrm{ff.}}$, Lk $20^{19\mathrm{ff.}}$): whatever answer He gave, He could hardly avoid offending either the Roman authorities or the people. For their alliance with the Herodians in this matter (Mt 22^{16}, Mk 12^{13}), cf. Mk 3^{6}. From their standpoint their opposition to Him was inevitable. They felt instinctively that the whole spirit of His life was in flat contradiction with their most cherished convictions.

(2) *Our Lord's criticism of the Pharisees.* Jesus recognized that the opposition between Himself and the Pharisees was essential, and not only defended Himself against their attacks, but also criticised them keenly. He frequently denounced them as hypocrites (*e.g.* Mt $6^{2.\ 5.\ 16}$ 15^{7} $23^{13.\ 15.\ 23.\ 25.\ 27.\ 29}$, Mk 7^{6}), whited sepulchres (Mt 23^{27}, cf. Lk 11^{44}), the offspring of vipers and serpents (Mt 12^{34} 23^{33}), an evil and adulterous generation (Mt 12^{39} 16^{4}), and blind guides (Mt 15^{14} $23^{16.\ 19.\ 24.\ 26}$); He warned His disciples against their leaven (Mt $16^{6.\ 11\mathrm{f.}}$, Mk 8^{15}, Lk 12^{1}), denied that their righteousness qualified for admission into the kingdom of heaven (Mt 5^{20}), and declared that, while the publicans and harlots were entering the kingdom, they were remaining outside (Mt $21^{31\mathrm{f.}}$). He recognized their official character, and the duty of the people towards them as authorized teachers, but He warned against following their example (Mt $23^{2\mathrm{f.}}$). He also charged them with a great many specific vices, most of which were inherent in Pharisaic Judaism.

The fundamental principle of Pharisaic Judaism was complete separation from everything non-Jewish; hence their separation from the mass of their fellow-countrymen; hence also their devotion to the minute study and scrupulous fulfilment of the law. The law was God's great gift to Israel; their possession of the law was the most signal proof that they were God's chosen people; it separated Israel as a 'holy' people from all other peoples. It was also the only, and the absolutely perfect, means of attaining the Messianic salvation both for the individual and the nation. Life had therefore no other aim and meaning than the study and fulfilment of the law. One evil consequence of this 'idolatry of the law' was the externalizing of religion. God was conceived of mainly as Lawgiver and Judge. The religious relation between God and Israel was purely legal; it was founded on a purely legal compact. Religion was not a fellowship with God, but a strictly legal walk before God. Their zeal for the law was consequently a serving of God for the sake of reward; more especially for the supreme reward of sharing in the glory and bliss of the Messianic age. It was possible to satisfy God's demands perfectly in a legal way; and by doing so they hoped to enjoy the commanding God, whom they obeyed, as a a gracious God. This doctrine of merit led almost of necessity to a great multiplication of precepts, to a hedging or fencing of the law, so as to make its violation almost impossible. They also sought to acquire merit by doing more than was commanded. Moreover, in their keeping of the law, they considered mainly whether a particular action was commanded or forbidden. Their attitude to their almost deified law was external, formal, mechanical. They laid stress not upon the rightness of an action, or upon the disposition from which it was done, but upon its being commanded and upon its formal correctness. They applied this principle even to such matters as fasting and prayer. They attached excessive importance to the precepts relating to foods and levitical purity, because the strict observance of these precepts kept them from defilement. They made the law 'only a manual of religious etiquette.' Their righteousness was thus mere formalism; their righteous man was one who kept the law, written and oral, in an external, but formally correct manner.

Our Lord's whole teaching regarding God as the Father was a criticism of Pharisaic legalism. God is not primarily Lawgiver and Judge, but the heavenly Father. Religion is fellowship with God. The religious bond uniting God and man is grace on God's part, trust and love and heartfelt obedience on the part of man. In the relation between God and man there is no room for the idea of merit (Lk $17^{7\text{-}10}$). God cares for individual sinners *quâ* sinners, and throws the kingdom of heaven wide open to all who are willing to enter in. He sends His Son to seek and to save the lost, and rejoices greatly when any lost one comes back. He rewards men, not according to the quantity of work they have done, but in accordance with His own sovereign grace (Mt $20^{1\text{-}16}$). Our Lord explicitly criticises the externalism of the Pharisees. According to Him, the basis of the ethical life is not an external authority, but the personal relation of an individual to God (cf. Mt $5^{45.\ 48}$ $18^{32\mathrm{f.}}$. Lk 7^{47}). What He demands is not outward correctness, but inner moral life (Mt $23^{25\text{-}28}$, Lk $11^{39\text{-}41}$), the surrender of the whole personality (Mt $22^{37\text{-}40}$), not the mere performance of a number of externally good deeds. That which 'defiles' a man is the evil condition of his own heart (Mt $15^{11\mathrm{ff.}}$, Mk $7^{14\mathrm{ff.}}$). No action is of any moral worth, unless it is the expression of the inward disposition (cf. what is said of almsgiving, prayer, and fasting Mt $6^{2.\ 5.\ 16}$ $9^{14\mathrm{f.}}$). The righteousness of the kingdom of heaven is inward and spiritual; it is the fruit of a renewed heart and of a filial relation to God.

The purely formal ethics of the Pharisees led to a great many other evils. They paid no attention to the ethical content of a law. Ethically indifferent precepts were as important as those bearing on really moral duties, simply because they were contained in the law or tradition. They accordingly busied themselves with minute trifles, to which they even attached greater importance than to the discharge of duties to their fellow-men. They divorced morality and religion (Mt $15^{1ff.}$, Mk $7^{1ff.}$, Mt $23^{23f.}$, Lk 11^{42} 18^{12}, cf. Mt $5^{23f.}$ 9^{13} $12^{10ff.}$: justice and mercy, etc., are opposed by our Lord to a false way of serving God; mercy is better than sacrifice; duty to parents takes precedence of so-called religious duty; to be reconciled to one's brother is more necessary than coming to the altar; the Sabbath is 'sanctified' by doing good; 'the programme of genuine religion': 'genuinely ethical deeds are more important than the observance of ceremonial prescriptions'—Jülicher). Their externalism did not deliver them from the impulses of the natural man, such as covetousness and rapacity (Mt 23^{25}, Mk 12^{40}, Lk 20^{47}, cf. 16^{14}) and the desire of receiving honour from men (Mt $23^{6ff.}$, Mk $12^{38ff.}$, Lk 11^{43} $14^{7ff.}$ 20^{46}); while it led inevitably to casuistry (*e.g.* in respect of the Sabbath;* oaths, Mt 23^{16-22}; duty to God outweighing duty to man, Mt $15^{3ff.}$, Mk $7^{9ff.}$; inventing statutes virtually cancelling more irksome ones, Mt 23^{4}, Lk 11^{46}), ostentation and self-righteousness (Mt 6^{1-18} 23^{5}, Mk 12^{40}, Lk 16^{15} $18^{9ff.}$ 20^{47}), censoriousness (Lk $18^{9ff.}$), and hypocrisy (Mt 23^{25-28}, Mk 12^{40}, Lk $11^{39.\,44}$ 16^{15} 20^{47}). They paid external homage to the great men of the past, but were altogether void of their spirit (Mt $23^{29ff.}$, Lk $11^{47ff.}$). By means of their false interpretations of scripture and their legal conception of religion they shut the kingdom of heaven both against themselves and others (Mt 23^{13}, Lk 11^{52}); while by means of their fencing of the law, they turned the commandments of God (*e.g.* as to the Sabbath), which were given to help men to live a true life (Mk 2^{27}), into heavy burdens, grievous to be borne (Mt 23^{4}, Lk 11^{46}). There were doubtless in our Lord's time many good men among the Pharisees, but the tendency of the whole system was to produce hypocrisy (cf. what is said of proselytes Mt 23^{15}), or, in the case of earnest and sincere souls, self-torture and a sense of estrangement from God (cf. Mt $11^{28ff.}$; see Weber, 320 f.).

LITERATURE. — Schürer, *GJV*^{3} ii. 380 ff. [*HJP* II. ii. 1 ff.], also in Riehm's *HWB*^{2} 1205 ff., 1339 ff.; Wellhausen, *Die Pharisäer und die Sadducäer*, also *IJG*^{3} 157-388; Weber, *Jüdische Theologie auf Grund des Talmud und verwandter Schriften*; Montet, *Essai sur les origines des partis saducéen et pharisien et leur histoire jusqu'à la naissance de Jésus-Christ*; Hausrath, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*^{3} i. 129 ff., also in Schenkel's *Bibellexikon*, iv. 518 ff.; Sieffert, 'Sadducäer und Pharisäer' in Herzog, *PRE*^{2} xiii. 210 ff.; O. Holtzmann, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, 158 ff., also in Stade, *GVI* ii. 394 ff.; Ewald, *GVI*^{3} iv. 357 ff.; Cornill, *History of the People of Israel*, 145 ff.; Edersheim, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, *passim*; Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, i. 322; Davaine, *Le Saducéisme, étude historique et dogmatique*; Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden*, 123 ff.; H. J. Holtzmann, *Lehrbuch der neutest. Theologie*, i. 28 ff., 62 ff.; Jacob, *Jesu Stellung zum mosaischen Gesetz*; Bousset, *Jesu Predigt in ihrem Gegensatz zum Judentum*; Ehrhardt, *Der Grundcharakter der Ethik Jesu im Verhältniss zu den messianischen Hoffnungen seines Volkes*, etc.; Jülicher, *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu*, ii. 54 ff., 459 ff. and *passim*; Bruce, *The Kingdom of God*^{4} 187 ff.; Mackintosh, *Christ and the Jewish Law*, 39 ff.; Fairbairn, *Studies in the Life of Christ*, 165 ff.; Ryle and James, *The Psalms of Solomon*, xlix ff.

D. EATON.

PHARPAR (פַּרְפַּר, B Ἀφαρφά, A Φαρφαρά) is named by Naaman, along with the ABANAH (2 K 5^{12}), as one of the rivers of Damascus. Much has been written on the subject, but its identity is still in doubt. The Arab. Version gives *Taurâ* for Pharpar, but the modern Beirût revision simply transliterates *Farfar*. There is a local belief, for which some antiquity is claimed, that Abanah and Pharpar are represented by *Nahr Baniâs* or *Abaniâs*, and *Nahr Taurâ*, respectively. In favour of this, Dr. Wm. Wright argues in Nelson's *Bible Treasury* (p. 250), quoting the late Dr. Meshaka, one of the most learned of modern Damascenes. The old Arab geographers, however, are unaware of the pre-eminent charms of any two rivers of Damascus. Dimashki (*c.* A.D. 1300) speaks of seven streams into which the waters of *el-Barada* are divided, and mentions among the others, with no special commendation, *Nahr Thaurah* and *Nahr Balniyas* (or *Bānās*). So also Idrisi (A.D. 1154). But even these names are unknown to Istakhri and Ibn Haukal (A.D. 951-978), who refer to only three canals as branching off from the main stream. It is hard to see why Naaman should have ignored the river itself, flowing towards the city with full refreshing current, to extol two of the canals supplied by its waters.

The identity of Pharpar with *el-A'waj* is maintained by Thomson (*Land and Book*, iii. 359, 398, 429). The two main sources of this stream rise on the eastern slopes of Hermon, just under *Ḳaṣr 'Antâr*; the *'Arny* to the north, and the *Jennâny* to the south. Below *Sa'sa'* the latter takes the name *Sabirâny*, which it retains after confluence with the *'Arny*, as far as *el-Kisweh*, on the great *hajj* road. Thence to the lake it is called *el-A'waj* ('the crooked'). In the season of melting snows the volume of water it carries is very great; but later in the year the stream is much attenuated. Escaping from the valley, *el-A'waj* waters the south-eastern part of the plain of Damascus, and, splitting up into several streams, falls at last into *Bahret el-Hijâneh*. In the *Wâdy Barbar* it is natural to detect an echo of the ancient 'Pharpar'; but Thomson errs in making this *Wâdy* tributary to the *Sabirâny*. Such waters as it supplies are carried into the plain north of *Jebel el-Aswad*, while the *Sabirâny* flows to the south. The proposed identification, therefore, loses what support might be derived from similarity of name. It is, however, adopted by G. A. Smith as probable (*HGHL*^{1} 642), and by Baedeker as certain (*Pal.*^{3} 268, 312). Dr. Wright quotes Dr. Meshaka to the effect that *el-A'waj* 'is not a river of Damascus at all. It is distant a ride of 3 hours from the city at the nearest point.' Against this we have the statement of Dimashki (*c.* 1300), 'another river (of Damascus) is called *el-A'waj*,' and the distance from *Bawwabet Ullah* to the nearest point is only 6 miles.

It is futile to seek for the Pharpar in the short stream from *'Ain Fijeh*.

Beside *el-Barada*, with its copious and never-failing supplies, *el-A'waj* may seem hardly worthy of mention. But during the greater part of the year it carries down no mean volume of water; and there is no other stream near the city at all deserving the name of river. It should also be remembered that whatever ministered to the fruitfulness and beauty of any part of the famous plain would be an object of grateful pride to the Damascene soldier.

LITERATURE.—Thomson, *Land and Book*, iii. 429-432; Baedeker, *Pal.*^{3} 268, 312; Nelson's *Bible Treasury*, 250; Guy le Strange, *Pal. under the Moslems*, 235, 238, 265, 266.

W. EWING.

PHASELIS (Φάσηλις)*.—A city on the eastern extremity of the coast of Lycia near the Pamphylian frontier, standing apart, not only geographically, but generally even politically, from the rest of the country. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* v. 36) and Stephanus Byz. actually assign it to Pamphylia; but this is erroneous. It was said to be a Dorian colony; and it became a city of great importance at a very early time, being one of those which shared in the trade with Egypt under Amasis, B.C. 570–526. It struck a series of coins in the 6th and early 5th cent. with a variety of types, among which the most noteworthy are the prow and the stern of a war galley.

---

* See Schürer, ii. 470 ff., 491 f.; Edersheim, ii. 774 ff.

* Φασηλίς wrongly in edd. of 1 Mac 15^{23}, and in some classical authors; but Φάσηλις is right, and is now printed in Strabo, p. 666, Paus. iii. 3. 8 (where older edd. have oxytone), etc. Φασηλίς was the name of a kind of vase or utensil in Alexandria

These coins, which were struck on the Persian standard, cease about B.C. 466, when the Athenian confederacy became powerful on these coasts; but Thucydides (ii. 69) mentions that Phaselis was a place of consequence in the Athenian trade with Phœnicia and the Levant coasts generally. Its coinage began again about B.C. 400, and during the 4th and 3rd cents. the same types were characteristic. During that period it was a more or less independent city; but while Lycia was under the power of the Ptolemies, B.C. 276–204, Phaselis was probably under the same influence; and at the end of that time a radiated head, which is conjecturally taken as representing Ptolemy IV., appears on the prow in the reverse type.

When Seleucid power ended in B.C. 190, Phaselis commenced to use the type of Pallas. About B.C. 168 it began to strike coins with the types of the Lycian confederacy (Κοινὸν Λυκίων), founded in that year (see LYCIA); and in the 1st cent. it also struck coins which are of a different style. There can therefore be no doubt that at least in the period later than B.C. 77 (when it was captured by Servilius Isauricus), it ceased to be a member of the Lycian confederacy; and Strabo mentions that it was not a member in his time (B.C. 64–A.D. 19). But Mr. G. F. Hill, in his *Catalogue of Coins in the Brit. Museum, Lycia*, p. lxvii, thinks there is no reason to deny its membership during the period before B.C. 77. But the mention of Phaselis among the States to which the Roman consul sent letters in B.C. 139 in favour of the Jews (1 Mac 15^{23}), proves that it was at that time a free city, distinct from the Lycian confederacy (which is also mentioned as a recipient of similar letters); and Mr. Hill admits that there is some reason to think that it was not a member of the confederacy about B.C. 100, for it must have been one of the greatest cities of Lycia, yet Artemidorus does not mention it when enumerating the six members of the first class at that period. Now, even its coins with confederacy types do not mention the name ΛΥΚΙΩΝ, as is the case with those of most cities; there are, however, occasional examples of the same omission on the coins of other Lycian cities, even during the early period of the confederacy. But, on the whole, it would appear that Phaselis either never belonged to the confederacy (but merely from alliance and common interest adopted the types), or ceased before 138 to belong to it; and the words of Cicero (*Verr.* ii. 4. 10, 21) suggest that it had originally been a Lycian city, but that it soon allied itself with the Cilician pirates (which led to its capture by Servilius) and separated from the Lycians.

Phaselis stood on a promontory with a very conspicuous mountain behind it. Livy (xxxvii. 23) describes this in vague and hardly accurate terms. He is evidently alluding to the vast ridge of Taurus, which rises from the coast all along the eastern part of Lycia, and is seen by sailors for a great distance out at sea; but he is hardly correct in saying that Phaselis is the first land descried by sailors on the voyage from Cilicia to Rhodes.

No coins of Phaselis are known with certainty under the Roman empire except in the time of Gordian III. (others are probably forged), which shows that it hardly maintained its ancient importance in the post-Christian period. It was a bishopric in the Byzantine time.

W. M. RAMSAY.

PHASIRON (A Φασιρών, ℵ Φασειρών, V Φαρισών).—Name of a Nabatæan tribe (1 Mac 9^{66}). Since most Nabatæan names find easy etymologies in Arabic, it ought to be possible to explain this from that language; the roots, however, which this name recalls, seem rarely used for forming proper names, except, indeed, *fazara*, which gives *Fazārah*, a well-known tribal name. The form *Pashīrōn* of the Peshiṭta version makes it no easier. The name may be corrupt. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

PHASSURUS (B Φάσσορος, A Φάσσουρος, AV Phassaron), 1 Es 5^{25}=Pashhur.

PHEREZITE occurs in AV and RV of 2 Es 1^{21} and in AV of Jth 5^{16} for the more usual PERIZZITE, which is the reading of RV in the latter passage.

PHICOL (פִּיכֹל, Φικόλ).—The captain of the host of Abimelech, who accompanied his master upon the occasion of the latter's entering into treaty with Abraham, Gn $21^{22, 32}$ (E), or Isaac, 26^{26} (J). See ABIMELECH, No. 1.

PHILADELPHIA (Φιλαδέλφεια, WH -ία).—A city in the E. part of Lydia, in the valley of the Cogamis* (an important tributary of the Hermus), on the extreme outermost slopes of Mount Tmolus. It is now a station on the railway, 28¼ miles from Sardis, 64 from Magnesia, 105 from Smyrna (by the detour which the railway makes round Mount Sipylos). It is situated only 650 feet above the sea near the upper end of the low coast valley which runs up from the gulf of Smyrna; and around it on all sides, except the road to Sardis, rise the mountains which form the rim of the great central plateau, or extend out from it towards the sea like fingers. Thus the Cogamis valley is a sort of funnel (like the Lycus valley, with its cities, see LAODICEA) in the flank of the lofty main plateau of Asia Minor. A few miles farther up the course of the river was the old city of Kallatebos, mentioned by Herodotus on the march of Xerxes, whose rank and power were probably transferred to Philadelphia, when it was founded. The name Philadelphia shows that it commemorates Attalus II. Philadelphus (so named from his affectionate and loyal conduct to his elder brother and predecessor, Eumenes II.); and it must have been founded between B.C. 189 (when Eumenes came into possession of this country) and Attalus's death in 138.

The importance of the new city lay in its relation to the cities of the upper plateau. The direct waggon and carriage road from the cities of northern Phrygia to the Ægean ran past Philadelphia to Smyrna; and a considerable part of the fertile district called the Katakekaumene, or Burnt Land, also sent its abundant vintages, fine wines, and other produce by Philadelphia to the same port (though the western Katakekaumene would send direct by Sardis to Smyrna). Strabo seems perhaps to describe Philadelphia as part of the Katakekaumene, but this is hardly accurate geographically; and his expression, on p. 579, that it was on the side of that district, must be taken strictly as denoting the outer side. That district was a broken, irregular country forming part of the great plateau, but on a lower level, like a step leading up to it. The Katakekaumene lay north and north-east from Philadelphia. It derived its name from the extraordinarily fresh and impressive traces of volcanic action which appear in it: great streams of lava, and vast heaps of cinders, looking as if they had just cooled yesterday, surround the three 'funnels' (as Strabo calls them, Devitt, or Ink-pots,* as the Turks now call them), which are the craters of volcanoes that were active down to a comparatively recent time. These blackened and bare rocks and cinder heaps encroach in irregular outline on the rich, green, fertile glens and slopes of the luxuriant country, with its ten cities, from which it derived its other name, Decapolis. Strabo (xiii. p. 628) describes Philadelphia as being constantly subject to earthquakes, so that the walls and houses could hardly stand firm; but modern experience tends to show that there is considerable exaggeration in his picture. He also says that few people lived in the city, but that most lived in the open country, and were engaged in cultivating the very fertile land. This account would suggest a somewhat simple and rustic settlement; but that is hardly the impression that one gets from other facts. Philadelphia was evidently a place of importance in the imperial organization of the province of Asia. It took the name Neokaisareia for a time in the 1st cent., being so styled on coins of Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius, and the name was evidently given to it under Tiberius, who aided it to recover from a great earthquake in A.D. 17. Under Vespasian it was honoured with the title Flavia. In the reign of Caracalla it received the honour of the Neokorate (see PERGAMUM).† Meetings of the Council of the province Asia, with the games called *Κοινὰ Ἀσίας*, were held in it, at least in later time.

---

* So spelt on a coin. Pliny has Cogamus.

Philadelphia was the seat of one of the seven Churches to which were sent special messages through the mouth of John, in the opening of the Apocalypse. In all probability each of the seven is to be understood as the centre and head of a district; and it would be quite a mistake to understand that there were only these seven Churches in the province. Laodicea is certainly to be taken as representative at least of the whole Lycus valley (where the Churches of Colossæ and Hierapolis had long existed), and probably also of southern Phrygia (see LAODICEA). Similarly Philadelphia stands as representative of a district; and there can be no doubt that its district consisted of the neighbouring regions of the plateau, including parts of eastern Lydia and western Phrygia. None of the valley west of it could be in its district, for the Hermus cities would fall either under Sardis or under Thyatira.

These facts, and its abundant coinage, reveal to us rather a rich and powerful city, connected by trade with a large district towards the east and north, for which it formed a centre, and thus well suited to be one of the central Churches of Christianized Asia. It is said that there has been 'set before it a door opened' (Rev 3^8), and the 'open door' doubtless refers to its position on the threshold of the eastern country, and to the rapidity with which the new religion was spreading to the plateau through the cities connected with Philadelphia. On this sense of the 'open door' compare 2 Co 2^{12}.

But it is hardly possible, in our almost complete ignorance of the inner history and circumstances of Philadelphia, to find an intimate connexion between them and the language of the address to the Church. It may, however, be noticed that in the seven letters to these Churches, it is chiefly the faults which are associated with the local circumstances, and which derive light therefrom. In so far as a Church attained Christian purity, its character rises to a higher plane; in so far as it degenerates from that high level, it becomes affected by its earthly surroundings. Now the two Churches which are addressed in terms of almost unmingled praise are Smyrna and Philadelphia; and in those two addresses we find least reference to local history and situation. Philadelphia had kept the word, and not denied the name of God. It is described in Rev 3^8 as having 'a little power'; and this is considered by some commentators to be explained and illustrated by Strabo's description of the actual city as being small. But the allusion to its 'little power' seems rather to point to the Church being a recent foundation, which had not yet acquired great strength in the city, though there is a brilliant opening before it. As a newly founded and small Church it was more likely to escape notice and persecution; and hence it is to be 'kept from the hour of trial,' 3^{10}. It is stated in 3^9 that there was a synagogue in Philadelphia. The Jews of this synagogue had degenerated greatly from the strictness of Hebrew morality and religion, had complied with the pagan customs and ways of living, and had become 'the synagogue of Satan.' Yet this synagogue was to recognize the love that God had bestowed on this Church, and to bow down before it. This apparently implies that the Jews of Philadelphia were in process of rallying to the Christian side. The Church on the whole is rebuked for no faults or weakness; but is exhorted to continue strong and energetic, as it has hitherto been; and to 'hold fast what it has.'* Great rewards are promised to those who are steadfast and win the victory. The name of God, and the name of His city, the new Jerusalem, and the new name of the writer who addresses them, are to be written on all who overcome (on this see PERGAMUM).

Philadelphia was a bishopric under the metropolitan see of Sardis, in the Byzantine period, mentioned in all the lists immediately after Sardis. It grew steadily as the Ægean coast cities tended to dwindle, and the central regions of Asia Minor to grow more important in the Byzantine period. In the last centuries of the empire it rose to a lofty pitch of heroism. It was long the bulwark of the Christians against the encroachments of the Turkish power, whose centre was at Konia or Iconium. Frederick Barbarossa was permitted to enter the city alone by its inhabitants, though they fought for two days against his army, as he was marching across Asia Minor on the fourth crusade in 1190. Andronicus Palæologus (1283–1328) recognized its importance by raising it to the rank of a metropolitan archbishopric, and making it tenth in 'the order of dignity.'† This probably implies that it now became practically the Christian centre of Lydia (in place of Sardis), although the official lists (*Notitiæ Episcopatuum*), with their usual conservatism (see PERGA), continue to mention it, as before, in the list of bishoprics subject to Sardis (sometimes with the added note, 'which was promoted to the rank of a *metropolis*,' as in *Not.* xiii.). In 1306 it stood a long siege by the Seljuk Turks; but, after suffering terribly from hunger, it was relieved by Roger de Flor with his Catalan troops. Again in 1324 it suffered a similar siege, and even greater extreme of hunger; but again was relieved by the Byzantine general, Alexius Philanthropenus. As the Turkish power spread westward, Philadelphia was entirely isolated, but still maintained its proud independence as a free Christian city in a Turkish land, until it was conquered by a combined army of Ottoman Turks and Byzantine imperial troops sent by the submissive emperor, in a year which is given variously between 1379 and 1390.* In 1403 it is said to have been captured by Tamerlane, who built a wall with corpses (the situation of which is still pointed out).

---

* Wrongly called, by almost all travellers and guide-books, Devlit.

† See Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, p. 103 ff. Marquardt (*Röm. Staatsverw.* i. p. 341) is mistaken in saying that it was the seat of a *conventus*; but it was one of the places in the *conventus Sardianus* where the court of the *conventus* might be held by the proconsul.

* On the Jews in Phrygia and Lydia see *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, ch. xv.

† See Parthey, *Notitiæ Episcop.* xi. No. 11, p. 226.

It is remarkable that the city whose noble Christian career is intimated in the message Rev 3^{8-14} should have had the most glorious history of all the cities of Asia Minor in the long struggle against the Turks. Perhaps the only city that could vie with it was Smyrna (also highly praised in Rev); but the resistance of Smyrna was due in part to European aid, while Philadelphia maintained itself with native steadfastness and vigour. It is still to a large extent Christian. 'He that overcometh, I will make him a pillar in the sanctuary of my God, and he shall go out thence no more,' Rev 3^{12}.

The modern name of Philadelphia is Ala-Sheher, the 'reddish city' (or rather parti-coloured, with a reddish-brown tinge), so called from the colour of the hillside that slopes away backwards and upwards behind the city. It was by a mere error, due to a smattering of Turkish, that older travellers reported its name as Allah-Sheher, the City of God, which has led to a good deal of mistaken moralizing. W. M. RAMSAY.

PHILEMON (Φιλήμων).—The correspondent to whom St. Paul addressed the charming letter which bears his name (see the following article). The name occurs with considerable frequency in inscriptions, and is found twice in literature in connexion with Phrygia, viz. in the beautiful legend of Philemon and Baucis (Ovid, *Metam.* viii. 631), and in Aristoph. *Aves*, 762. St. Paul's correspondent was most probably a native of Colossæ (cf. Philem ^{1} with Col 4^{17}); and in Theodoret's time his house was pointed out in that city. Tradition speaks of him as bishop of Colossæ (*Apost. Const.* vii. 46), and the *Menæa* of Nov. 22 record his martyrdom there, by stoning, in company with Apphia, Archippus, and Onesimus, in the reign of Nero. In the case of such facts as these, local tradition may generally be regarded as trustworthy, and here it falls in with the documentary evidence, for the idea that Philemon was of Laodicea is a mere guess.

Philemon was a dear and intimate friend of St. Paul (vv.$^{1.\,22}$), and probably one of his converts (v.^{19}). Of the circumstances of his conversion to the Christian faith we have no record, but it may well have taken place during St. Paul's stay at Ephesus (Ac 19^{26}; but cf. also Ac 16^{6}). From the facts that he owned slaves (see ONESIMUS), and that he was noted for his hospitality and charity to his fellow-Christians (vv.$^{2.\,5-7}$), it is plain that he was a rich man. St. Paul speaks of 'the church in his house' (v.^{2}), and does not scruple to bid him prepare a lodging for him against the time he should arrive in Colossæ (v.^{22}). It only remains to be added that Philemon was so earnest in his work for the gospel, that St. Paul can call him a συνεργός (was this at Ephesus?), and that the tone of the apostle's appeal on behalf of Onesimus would lead us to conclude that he was a man of high and generous character, who might be expected to rise superior to the prejudices of heathendom as to the relations between master and slave. APPHIA may have been his wife, and ARCHIPPUS his son. J. H. BERNARD.

PHILEMON, EPISTLE TO.—

- i. External tradition.
- ii. Transmission of text.
- iii. Purport and analysis of the Epistle.
- iv. Its internal evidence and genuineness.
- v. Its place in St. Paul's life.
- vi. Its attitude to slavery.

i. The earliest certain quotations from this Epistle are found in Origen (cf. *Hom.* xix. *in Jer.* 2, *Comm. Series in Matt.* §§ 66, 72), who expressly ascribes it to St. Paul. That Marcion accepted it is explained by Tertullian (*adv. Marc.* v. 21) as due to its extreme brevity. The Muratorian Canon names among the Pauline Epp. 'ad filemonem unam.' Eusebius counts it among the ὁμολογούμενα (*HE* iii. 25). It must have been included, if we are to judge from the extant documentary evidence, in the earliest collection of Pauline letters. The play upon words (εὔχρηστος . . . ἄχρηστος) of v.^{11} is found again in Theophilus (*ad Autol.* i. 1), and Ignatius (*Eph.* ii., *Magn.* ii.) uses ὀναίμην as it is used in Philem ^{20}; but these last coincidences do not necessarily betray literary connexion, though they suggest it.

ii. The text of the Epistle is attested by the uncials ℵ A C D L P ב (this last unpublished) and F G (these omit v.^{21}-end); and by the Egyptian, Syriac, and Latin VSS (of the OL we have *d e f g m*). Of the cursives it is sufficient to mention 17, 47, 67**, 137 as specially valuable.

iii. This Epistle differs from all the other Pauline Epp. which have reached us, in that it is a strictly private letter written to an individual friend. It is possible, though not certain, that the words ἐγὼ Παῦλος ἔγραψα τῇ ἐμῇ χειρί (v.^{19}) apply to the whole letter, which would thus have been an autograph, and not written by an amanuensis, as was St. Paul's usual habit. The Pastoral Epp., although addressed to individuals, are semi-official in character, and deal with the affairs of the whole Christian society; the nearest parallel in the NT to Philemon is 3 Jn, addressed to 'Gaius the beloved.' This characteristic of Philemon provoked prejudice against it in early times, and Jerome, Chrysostom, and Theodore of Mopsuestia found it necessary to defend the Epistle against the charge of secular triviality, unworthy of St. Paul, and unbefitting, as was argued, a work to be included in the sacred Canon of the NT. But modern critics from Luther to Renan have shown a keener insight, and have found in the contents of the Epistle matter for admiration rather than for depreciation.

The body of the letter is an appeal made by St. Paul to PHILEMON, a citizen of Colossæ, on behalf of ONESIMUS, a runaway slave who had come under the apostle's influence and had embraced the Christian faith. Onesimus seems (v.^{18}) to have been a thief, and would in the ordinary course of things have been subjected to very severe punishment had he come again into the power of his former master Philemon. The apostle, with rare tact and delicacy, which only bring his strong sense of justice into fuller relief, asks pardon for the offender, not only as a personal favour to himself (vv.$^{9.\,11.\,14}$), but on the ground of the brotherhood in Christ of master and slave (v.^{16}). He does not ask directly that Onesimus shall be freed, although he indirectly suggests it (v.^{21}); 'the word *emancipation* seems to be trembling on his lips' (Lightfoot).

An analysis of the letter may be drawn up as follows:—*Salutation* (vv.$^{1-3}$); *thanksgiving* for Philemon's love and faith (vv.$^{4-7}$); *request* that he will receive Onesimus, the bearer of the letter, with kindness (vv.$^{8-17}$); adding the assurance that, so doing, he will gratify the writer, who hopes soon to visit Colossæ (vv.$^{18-22}$); *salutations* and final *benediction* (vv.$^{23-25}$).

---

* 1379 in Muralt, *Chronographie Byzantine*, from whom we take the preceding dates, 1306 and 1324.

The whole Epistle has frequently been compared to a beautiful letter written by the younger Pliny on a similar occasion (Plin. *Ep.* ix. 21), of which a translation is given by Lightfoot (*Col. and Philem.* p. 316).

iv. Considerable as is the external testimony (see i.) to the Pauline authorship of this Ep., the strongest argument for its genuineness is based on its internal evidence of truth, its witness to itself. 'Peu de pages,' says Renan, 'ont un accent de sincérité aussi prononcé. Paul seul a pu écrire ce petit chef d'œuvre.' The vocabulary of the Ep. has indeed been challenged in refutation of this general impression which it leaves upon the mind, and has been described, *e.g.* by Baur, as un-Pauline. As a matter of fact, the only words which do not occur again in St. Paul are *ἀναπέμπειν, ἀποτίνειν, ἄχρηστος, ἐπιτάσσειν, ξενία, ὀνίνασθαι,* and *προσοφείλειν*; and of these all but the last occur elsewhere in the NT or in the LXX.* No serious argument can be based on such a meagre list; and, on the other hand, many phrases in the letter are unmistakably Pauline. Not to lay overmuch stress on the form of salutation (v.^{3}), and farewell (v.^{25}), and the opening thanksgiving (vv.$^{4ff.}$), which are in St. Paul's undoubted style, for these might be imitated by a *falsarius*, the diction all through is that with which we are familiar in the Pauline Epistles. We have the metaphor *ὃν ἐγέννησα ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς* which recalls 1 Co 4^{15}; we have words like *ἐπίγνωσις, παῤῥησία, παράκλησις*; we have *τάχα* which only occurs again Ro 5^{7}; and we have quite a number of coincidences with Eph, Col, Ph; *e.g.* cf. *δέσμιος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ* (vv.^{1} and ^{9}) with Eph 3^{1}, *συνεργός* and *συστρατιώτης* (vv.$^{1.\,2}$) with Ph 2^{25}, *ἀνῆκον* (v.^{8}) with Eph 5^{4} Col 3^{18}, *συναιχμάλωτος* (v.^{23}) with Col 4^{10}, and *ἀδελφὸς ἀγαπητός* (v.^{16}) with Eph 6^{21} Col 4^{7}. On the whole, not only does the artless style of the letter powerfully support its claim to be genuine, but the phraseology is strikingly like that of the other Pauline Epp., and especially Eph, Col, Ph, the Epp. of the first Roman captivity.

v. An obvious link connecting the letter with Colossians is supplied by the proper names which occur in both Epistles. Both purport to come from 'Paul and Timothy'; while writing both Paul is in captivity; in both Archippus is greeted (v.^{1}, Col 4^{17}); Aristarchus, Mark, Epaphras, Luke, Demas join in the salutations with which the letters conclude; Onesimus a 'beloved brother' is to be the bearer of both letters, accompanied as it would seem by Tychicus (v.^{16}, Col 4^{7}). With this agrees the fact that no greeting to Philemon is found in Colossians, because to him a separate letter had been addressed. And as Ephesians and Colossians were intrusted to the same messenger, viz. Tychicus (Eph 6^{21}, Col 4^{7}), we are led to the conclusion that the three Epistles, Eph, Col, Philem, were written at the same time and under the same circumstances. (See EPHESIANS, EPISTLE TO).

A determination of the *place* of writing will help us to determine the *time*. As St. Paul was in captivity, the letter must have been written either from *Cæsarea* (Ac 24–26) or from *Rome* (Ac 28^{30}). Tradition is all in favour of Rome, and the *a priori* arguments which have been alleged on the side of Cæsarea are untrustworthy.

Thus (*a*) it has been urged that Cæsarea being nearer to Colossæ than Rome, it would be more natural that Onesimus should fly there. But, on the contrary, a fugitive could more easily hide himself in the great metropolis. (*b*) If Eph, Col, Philem were carried by the same messenger from Rome, he would arrive first at Ephesus, and yet in Eph we find no commendation of Onesimus. This is explicable only, it has been supposed, on the hypothesis that Onesimus was no longer with Tychicus, having arrived at his destination (Colossæ) before the messengers reached Ephesus. But this would involve an approach from Cæsarea rather than Rome. It is a sufficient answer to this that arguments *e silentio* are very untrustworthy, and that no reason has been assigned why a slave like Onesimus should be singled out for mention in a letter to a Church where he was not known. (*c*) Philem ^{22} suggests that St. Paul intended to go direct to Colossæ, while Ph 2^{24} speaks of his intention of going to Macedonia. This would suggest a starting-point south of Colossæ, so that that place might be visited *en route* to Macedonia.

But we do not know how far the apostle's plans were modified in the interval between the composition of Philemon and Philippians, nor is there any reason why he should not have proceeded from Rome to Colossæ *viâ* Philippi.

The positive arguments, independent of tradition, in favour of Rome are slight. *E.g.* from Eph 6^{19} it appears that St. Paul had a certain amount of freedom while in captivity, which is hardly consistent with what we know of his imprisonment at Cæsarea and of the dangers to which he was there exposed (Ac 23^{21}; but cf. 24^{23}). But leaving that aside, there is at least nothing to forbid us to acquiesce in the traditional belief that it was in Rome that the apostle wrote the three letters Eph, Col, Philem, as it is evidently the place from which he wrote the kindred Epistle to the Philippians (Ph 1^{13} 4^{22}; cf. PHILIPPIANS, EPISTLE TO).

The question as to the priority of Philippians to the group Eph, Col, Philem, is difficult, and there is not a great deal of evidence available. Lightfoot, Sanday (see Smith's *DB*^{2} i. 627), and Hort (*Rom. and Eph.* p. 102) support the view that Philippians was written earlier than Eph, Col, Philem; but the opposite opinion, that it is the latest of the Epp. of the first Roman captivity, has also many defenders, *e.g.* Zahn (*Einleit.* i. 386, 392), Gwynn (*Speaker's Comm.*), and Ramsay (*St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 358), and on the whole it seems to the present writer the more probable.

The reasons for this opinion are the following: (α) It seems from a comparison of Eph with Ph that the conditions of the apostle's imprisonment are represented as more rigorous in the latter Ep. than in the former, which contemplates a state of things like that portrayed in Ac 28$^{30.\,31}$. On the other hand, when Ph was written, he has been put on his trial, and forced to make his *ἀπολογία* (cf. Ph 1$^{16f.}$ 2$^{17.\,23}$). (β) Again, a comparison of Philem ^{22} (*ἐλπίζω γὰρ ὅτι διὰ τῶν προσευχῶν ὑμῶν χαρισθήσομαι ὑμῖν*) with Ph 2^{24} (*πέποιθα ἐν κυρίῳ ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ταχέως ἐλεύσομαι*) taken in connexion with the joyful tone of Ph, despite the trials which the writer has endured, points to the fact that he was much more confident of his release when Ph was written than at the period of writing Philem, and this would naturally arise from the fact that his trial, which had not come on before the group of letters Eph, Col, Philem was despatched, was in progress and was already so far advanced that he could predict the issue with some confidence. (γ) Too much has been made of the fact that Luke and Aristarchus who join in the salutation to the Colossians and to Philemon are not named in Ph, for they are not named in Eph either. Yet still it falls in with the hypothesis that they had departed before Ph was written; and indeed Ph 2^{20} ('I have no man likeminded [*sc.* with Timothy] who will care truly for your state') seems to make it certain that when Ph was despatched the companions who are named in Col, Eph, Philem had departed from the side of the apostle. The only positive argument of any weight which has been urged on the other side is that the similarities between Ro and Ph are much closer than between Ro and Eph, Col, Philemon. Lightfoot, in particular, urges that Philippians resembles the earlier rather than the later group of Pauline letters, and that therefore it must be placed before Eph, Col, Philemon. Such an argument has little force, for on any hypothesis the interval which separates Eph, Col, Philem from Ph is too brief to account for any marked change in style, supposing such to exist. And, on the other side, the undoubted parallels between Ph and the Pastoral Epp. may be brought forward (cf. *e.g.* 1^{23} and 2^{17} with 2 Ti 4^{6}, 4^{8} with 1 Ti 3^{8}, 1^{21} with Tit 1^{11}, 1$^{12.\,25}$ with 1 Ti 4^{15}).

We thus are inclined to place Philemon before Philippians, and therefore it will fall not quite as late in St. Paul's first captivity as that Epistle. The determination of the year of writing will depend on the system of Pauline chronology which is adopted (see CHRONOLOGY, vol. i. p. 420). It is perhaps most probable that it was written in the year A.D. 61.

vi. The conditions of social life which form the background of the Ep. are deeply interesting to the student of history, and the letter derives a peculiar importance from the light which it throws on the attitude of the early preachers of the gospel to the institution of *slavery*. It is not condemned, nor (as has been said already, § iii.) does St. Paul even advocate directly the emancipation of Onesimus. Christianity did not attempt all at once to abolish an institution which was so deep rooted in Roman social life, however inconsistent it was with the religion of the Incarnation. Indeed the revelation of the brotherhood of men in Christ made it especially necessary to emphasize (as the apostles did) the fact that social differences were not thereby obliterated. Even if (which is doubtful) St. Paul was so much in advance of his age as to have grasped the idea that no man has a right to *own* another, to have proclaimed the iniquity of slavery to a world which was not prepared for it would have exposed society to the frightful dangers of a *bellum servile*, on the one hand, and would, on the other, have done more to arouse the hostility of the Roman imperial authorities than any other proclamation could have effected. Christians had to show at the very outset that Christianity was not inconsistent with good citizenship, and that the reforms which it hoped to promote in social life would not be imposed violently from without, but that they would be the outcome of the development of the national conscience, in which the seed of the gospel was to grow and fructify, secretly but surely, as the leaven spreads in the meal. And the event has justified the policy. Slowly and steadily, as Christianity spread, did the condition of the slave improve in imperial Rome; until at last the time came when it was possible for the Church, with a fuller recognition of the implications of the creed, and without danger to her own corporate life, to preach emancipation. And the letter to Philemon is the first indication in Christian literature that the problem of the relation of master to slave must be seriously affected by the new conception of the brotherhood of man, which Christ's apostles had set themselves to proclaim.

---

* *ἐλλογᾶν* (WH) occurs again in Ro 5^{18} (TR in both *ἐλλογεῖν*).

LITERATURE.—Lightfoot on *Colossians and Philemon* is the best; von Soden (*Hand-Commentar*) and Vincent (*Internat. Crit. Comm.*) are also valuable; and Abp. Alexander's comm. in the *Speaker's Comm.* is picturesque and full of matter.

J. H. BERNARD.

PHILETUS (Φίλητος) is mentioned along with Hymenæus in 2 Ti 2^{17} as sharing in the same heresy regarding the resurrection. The nature of that heresy has been already explained in the article on Hymenæus (which see), and it is sufficient to state here that it consisted in doing away with anything in the nature of a bodily resurrection, and resolving all Scripture references to such a state into figure or metaphor. For full particulars regarding the men and their heresy, reference may be made to J. G. Walch, *Miscell. Sacra*, p. 81 ff.; and to F. R. Walch, *Hist. der Ketzereien*, i. 125 ff. See also Ellicott on *The Pastoral Epp. in loc.*, and Burton, *Bampton Lect.*, Note 59, p. 428.

The names of Philetus and Hymenæus occur separately among those of Cæsar's household whose relics have been found in the Columbaria at Rome.

G. MILLIGAN.

PHILIP (Φίλιππος).—**1.** King of Macedonia, B.C. 359–336, and father of Alexander the Great (1 Mac 1^1 6^2). **2.** A Phrygian, who was left by Antiochus Epiphanes as governor of Jerusalem, after he had plundered the temple in B.C. 170 (2 Mac 5^{22}). Philip is described as being 'in character more barbarous than him that set him there,' and he showed his cruelty by burning certain fugitive Jews, who had taken refuge in caves, and scrupled to defend themselves on the Sabbath (*ib.* 6^{11}). He was the first to take measures against Judas Maccabæus (*ib.* 8^8), and is often identified with—**3.** A 'friend' and foster-brother (σύντροφος) of Antiochus Epiphanes (2 Mac 8^{2a}). This view is supported by Zöckler, but the grounds of the identification are somewhat precarious (cf. Rawlinson in *Speaker's Comm.*). Epiphanes on his deathbed gave his ring to Philip, and appointed him chancellor and guardian of his son, Antiochus V. (1 Mac $6^{14f.}$). Lysias, however, gained possession of the young king, and seized the supreme power. Philip, returning with the army from Persia, occupied Antioch, whereupon Lysias, who with Antiochus Eupator was prosecuting the war in Palestine, hastily made terms with Judas Maccabæus and returned to Syria (*ib.* $6^{55\text{-}63}$). Lysias took Antioch, and according to Josephus (*Ant.* XII. ix. 7) put Philip to death. The statement that, on the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, Philip took refuge in Egypt with Ptolemy Philometor (2 Mac 9^{29}), cannot be reconciled with our other authorities; and 2 Mac alludes elsewhere (13^{23}) to Philip's attempt to establish his authority as regent. **4.** Philip V., king of Macedonia, B.C. 220–179. His overthrow in battle is mentioned as one of the great achievements of the Romans (1 Mac 8^5). An able and energetic monarch, he extended his power in Greece and Epirus, and in B.C. 215 made an alliance with Hannibal. The war with Rome, however, was not carried on with much energy, and after some years a hollow peace was made. In the year 200 the Romans again declared war, but gained little advantage till the supreme command was entrusted to T. Quinctius Flaminius, by whom Philip was completely defeated at Cynoscephalæ in Thessaly (B.C. 197), and forced to accept humiliating terms. During the remaining years of his life he attempted to recover something of his former power, but his cruel and suspicious conduct alienated his subjects, while he was continually troubled by disputes between his two sons. He was at last induced to put his younger son Demetrius to death, and dying shortly afterwards was succeeded by Perseus (which see).

H. A. WHITE.

PHILIP (Φίλιππος, *Philippus*).—**1.** THE APOSTLE. One of the Twelve, belonging to Bethsaida of Galilee (Jn 12^{21}), the fourth of those who attached themselves to Christ as followers, and the first whom our Lord directly called (1^{43}). He had probably been, like his fellow-townsmen Andrew and Peter, a disciple of John the Baptist; for his call took place near 'Bethany beyond Jordan, where John was baptizing,' on the day after Christ's interview with Simon Peter, when Jesus purposed (ἠθέλησεν) to leave the district for Galilee ($1^{28.43}$).

Himself 'masterfast,' Philip, either at Bethany or on his arrival, along with Jesus, at Cana, communicates his discovery of the Messiah foretold in the OT to his friend Nathanael, describing Jesus (in accordance with his defective information at the time) as the son of Joseph (1^{45}). Unable to meet directly Nathanael's objection to an alleged Messiah sprung from Nazareth (see NATHANAEL), Philip wisely falls back on experimental evidence, invites Nathanael to 'come and see,' and is the means of his friend's coming, not only into the Master's presence, but under His saving power ($1^{46ff.}$). When the Twelve are chosen, Philip becomes one of the second quartette, at whose head, in each list, his name stands (Mt 10^3, Mk 3^{18}, Lk 6^{14}). He appears thrice otherwise in the Gospel history; and all the references to him (except the bare statement that he was one of the Twelve) are made by his fellow-townsman John, who, writing probably after all his fellow-apostles were dead, appears anxious, in the case of Philip and Andrew, to rescue from oblivion or obscurity, through a few significant reminiscences, some characteristics of those two friends of his youth.

Philip's prompt reply to our Lord's inquiry in Jn $6^{5f.}$ suggests that he had anticipated his Master's compassionate desire to feed the multitude in the wilderness, and had reckoned up (privately, but not unobserved by Jesus) the minimum sum required for the purpose,* without any thought, seemingly, of miraculous intervention. Philip's Greek name, given to him, perhaps, in honour of Philip the tetrarch (Lk 3^{1}), led probably to the 'Greeks who came up to worship at the feast' selecting him as a medium of introduction to Christ; but it was an appropriate coincidence that those who wished to 'see Jesus' should have applied to one who had said to Nathanael, 'Come and see.' Philip's application to Andrew (who also bore a Greek name, and, like Philip, had brought another into Christ's presence), to take part, as principal (Jn 12^{22} RV), in the desired introduction, arose probably not from any doubt as to our Lord's willingness (Jn 10^{16}), but from modesty and a sense of the importance of the occasion. The request of Philip, on the occasion of Christ's address on the night before the Passion (14^{8}), for some such revelation, presumably, of God the Father as Moses had enjoyed (Ex $33^{18ff.}$), indicates the union of earnest religious aspiration with somewhat dull spiritual apprehension. He was seeking after the shadow of a theophany, when the substance of the incarnation was already given to him; just as he had formerly concerned himself about the need of 200 pence, when the riches of Christ's miraculous power were available. Philip's motto appears to have been 'Seeing is Believing,' both in the signification of undue dependence upon testimony addressed to the senses, and in the worthier meaning of an appreciation of the value of experimental evidence. The main lesson to be learned from the incidents of Philip's history as related in the Gospel is this, that while a sincere believer needs to be thoroughly 'proved' (Jn 6^{6}) and instructed before he is fit to 'go forth' as a leader and pastor of the Church; on the other hand, if the portion of truth already apprehended be faithfully held, he may, amid defective knowledge (Jn 1^{45} 'son of Joseph') and imperfect spiritual insight, possess the genuinely missionary spirit, be instrumental in leading others to Christ, and advance the kingdom of heaven.†

Philip's life and work after the Ascension are obscured by the widely prevalent confusion in early times between this apostle and the evangelist Philip, who was one of the 'Seven.'‡ The confusion arose, doubtless, from the wider use, after Pentecost, of the word 'apostle,' as including others besides the Twelve (see APOSTLE). It seems best to accept as reliable the earliest distinct testimony regarding Philip's later career furnished by Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus in the latter part of the 2nd cent., who was likely to have been well-informed. Polycrates (quoted by Eusebius, iii. 31) states that Philip, 'one of the Twelve,' lived as one of the 'great lights of Asia,' and is 'buried at Hierapolis along with his two aged virgin daughters'; and he adds that another daughter, who 'lived in (fellowship with) the Holy Spirit,' was buried at Ephesus.* The statement of Polycrates is supported by the apocryphal *Journeyings of Philip the Apostle* (3rd cent.), which represent Hierapolis as the chief scene of his labours, and associate him significantly with Bartholomew (who is described, however, as one of the Seventy); by Theodoret, the historian, who records in his *Commentary* on Ps 116 [Eng. 117] that 'the apostle Philip controverted the error of the Phrygians' (to whose country Hierapolis belonged); by pseudo-Dorotheus, who states in his *Synopsis* that Philip of Bethsaida preached in Phrygia, and is buried with his daughters in Hierapolis; and by pseudo-Epiphanius, who makes a similar declaration (Lipsius, *Apokr. Apost.* i. pp. 211–213, iii. 25, 26).† In substantial harmony, so far, with Polycrates is his contemporary Clement of Alexandria, who states (*Strom.* iii. 6) that the 'apostles Peter and Philip begat children,' and that the latter apostle 'gave his daughters in marriage' (which would account for the burial of one daughter in Ephesus and not in Hierapolis). The fact of Philip the Evangelist having had four virgin daughters who prophesied, does not invalidate the early testimony to Philip the Apostle having also had notable daughters, although it may have led to confusion on the part of later or less well-informed writers; and the apostle's settlement and labours in Asia Minor harmonize with the introduction of his name on three occasions into the Gospel written at Ephesus by St. John.‡

Regarding Philip's labours prior to his settlement in Hierapolis, the traditions are divergent. The *Journeyings* represent him as travelling through Lydia and Asia; in the apocryphal *Acts of Philip*, Upper Hellas, particularly Athens (where he is said to have abode for two years, and to have founded a Church, appointing presbyters and deacons), and afterwards Parthia, are the scenes of his ministry; while later Latin documents attribute to him the evangelization of the Gauls (Galatians?) and Scythians (Lipsius, iii. 26, 50, E. 19; Fabricius, *Cod. Apoc.* ii. 736). Similarly conflicting are the traditions regarding the manner of Philip's death. A natural decease appears to be indicated by Clement of Alex. (*Strom.* iv. 9), pseudo-Doroth., pseudo-Epiphan., and the Latin *Passio Philippi* (according to the last-mentioned, at the age of

---

* A denarius or 'penny' (about 9½d.) purchased 12 wheat or 36 barley 'loaves' (Mishna, *Peah*, viii. 7 and Rev 6^{6})—round cakes an inch thick and a span in diameter. 200 'pence' would thus procure a scant meal (Jer 37^{21}, Lk 11^{6}) for 5000 men and 2200 women and children.

† Clement of Alex. (*Strom.* iii. 4) records a tradition that Philip was the disciple referred to in Mt 8^{21} as asking Christ for permission 'first to go and bury my father.' If so, the incident belongs to Philip's call, not to discipleship, but to apostleship, when permanent departure from home was involved.

‡ Thus Tertullian (*de Bapt.* 18) speaks of the Apostle Philip being 'snatched away from the eunuch'; the Philip of Ac 6 is referred to in the *Apost. Const.* vi. 7 as συναπόστολος; and in Calendars of the Coptic and Armenian Churches there is a commemoration of Philip as 'Deacon and Apostle' (Assem. *Bibl. Or.* iii. 645; cf. Wright, *Apoc. Acts of Ap.* ii. p. 69 ff., where the history is given of Philip, 'Apostle and Evangelist'). Even Eusebius shares in the confusion (*HE* iii. 31).

* Eus. (*HE* iii. 39) refers to a still earlier testimony in the same direction by Papias, bishop of Hierapolis (first half of 2nd cent.), to the effect that the daughters of Philip the apostle had told him (Papias) about a man raised from the dead in their father's time. As Eus., however, does not quote the exact words of Papias, and as the historian himself confused the two Philips, this reference must be regarded as uncertain.

† In a recently discovered ancient Christian inscription at Hierapolis reference is made to a Church τοῦ ἐνδόξου ἀποστόλου καὶ θεολόγου Φιλίππου (Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, p. 552). Although Philip the Evangelist is sometimes called ἀπόστολος in the wide sense (see above), so formal an ascription of apostleship is not likely to have been made except to one of the Twelve.

‡ The earliest and strongest testimony in favour of the Philip who settled in Hierapolis being the evangelist, is the statement in Eusebius (*HE* iii. 31), that in a dialogue held at Rome early in the 3rd cent. between Caius and Proclus a Montanist, the latter is represented as referring to 'four prophetesses, daughters of Philip, whose tomb, as well as that of their father, was at Hierapolis.' It is, of course, not absolutely impossible that both Philips were buried with their respective daughters in the same city; but, assuming the improbability of such a coincidence, it is a tenable supposition that either Eus. (through his own ideas being confused) misunderstood, so far, Proclus, or that Proclus himself, knowing about 'daughters of Philip' buried at Hierapolis, assumed mistakenly that these belonged to Philip the Evangelist. The tradition, moreover, which identifies the Philip of Hierapolis with the evangelist is neutralized by the counter-tradition, according to which the latter became bishop of Tralles (see next article).

87). Other ancient authorities ascribe martyrdom to the apostle. Pseudo-Hippol., the *Journeyings*, and the Æthiopian *Acts* represent him as crucified head downwards (according to the first document, under Domitian; according to the second, in the reign of Trajan); while several Latin martyrologies and an ancient Irish *Passio* relate that he was first stoned, then crucified (Lipsius, iii. 25, 26, 48, 50, E. 73; Atkinson, *Passions and Homilies from Leabhar Breac*, pp. 112, 358).

LITERATURE (in addition to works referred to).—*Acta Sanctorum*, vol. xiv. p. 7 ff.; Lightfoot, *Colossians*, p. 45 f.; *Expositor*, Jan. 1875, Dec. 1877; A. Maclaren, *A Year's Ministry*, 2nd series; A. B. Bruce, *Training of the Twelve*.

2. PHILIP THE EVANGELIST.—One of the Seven chosen by the primitive Church at Jerusalem, and ordained by the apostles (Ac 6) to take charge of the daily ministration of charity to the Christian widows and other poor (see DEACON). If not a Hellenist Jew, he was a Hebrew with conspicuously liberal sympathies. After the outbreak of persecution, inaugurated with the martyrdom of his colleague Stephen, Philip, hindered in the fulfilment of one office, straightway entered on the work of another. He was one of those who departed from Jerusalem for missionary ministry ($8^{4.5}$). As Stephen was the forerunner of Paul in unfolding the relation of Christianity to Judaism and in repudiating the Jewish claim to a monopoly of Divine favour, so Philip was the precursor of the Apostle of the Gentiles in missionary zeal, and particularly in opening the door of the Church's fellowship to non-Jewish believers. (1) He selected as his first missionary field the (chief) city of Samaria (Ac 8^5 RV), *i.e.* either Sebaste (Samaria) or Neapolis (Sychem). The Samaritans, notwithstanding their partial Hebrew descent and partial acceptance of Judaism (including circumcision), were rigidly excluded from the Jewish Church, and were denied even the privilege, accorded to heathens, of becoming proselytes. To this people Philip, mindful doubtless of our Lord's own Samaritan ministry (Jn 4), proclaimed the Gospel and administered baptism. The inhabitants of the city had long been under the influence of SIMON MAGUS (which see), whom his sorceries had induced them to regard as 'the Power of God which is called Great' (Ac 8^{10}). Philip's preaching, supported by miracles of healing and of dispossession, was successful in transferring Samaritan allegiance from Simon to Christ. The population as a whole were baptized; and Simon himself (although with divided heart, as the issue proved) believed and received baptism. Philip's success in Samaria led to the despatch thither of Peter and John, who completed the work which the evangelist had begun. The first stage was thus reached in the development of the Christian Brotherhood out of a Jewish sect into the Catholic Church. (2) A further service in the same direction was rendered by Philip through his baptism of the Ethiopian eunuch, whom he met, by Divine suggestion and providential arrangement, on the road between Jerusalem and Gaza (Ac $8^{26\text{ff.}}$).[*] This eunuch, who held the high office of treasurer to CANDACE (which see), queen of the Ethiopians, had apparently become, in his native land, a 'proselyte of the gate'[†] to Judaism, and was returning home, after worship in the temple, on the occasion, presumably, of one of the great annual festivals. Philip's conduct in relation to the eunuch notably exemplifies trustful obedience to Divine leadings (Ac 8^{27}), alertness in availing himself of missionary opportunity (8^{30}), and broad-minded disregard of national and religious prejudice (8^{38}). The Ethiopian, as a descendant of Ham, belonged to a despised race (Nu 12^1, Am 9^7), and, if literally a eunuch, was inadmissible into the full membership of the Jewish Church (Dt 23^1). Philip by the reception of this man into the Christian Church, virtually declared that disabilities of race and outward condition have no place there, but that all who believe in Christ are eligible for membership and baptism.[*] It was probably Philip's signal service to the cause of Church extension on these two occasions which led, at least in part, to the designation of him as *the* evangelist (Ac 21^8).

After the baptism of the Ethiopian, Philip evangelized the country between Azotus (Ashdod) and Cæsarea, which, according to tradition, was his birthplace (see documents quoted by Lipsius, *Apokr. Apos.* iii. 2, 40), and where eventually he took up his abode (Ac 21^8). There, along with four virgin daughters who were prophetesses,[†] he was found residing, more than 20 years later, by St. Paul and his friends, who remained for some days as guests in his house, on their way to Jerusalem. During the apostle's protracted imprisonment at Cæsarea we may assume there would be much intercourse (Ac 24^{23}) between Philip and one with whose missionary zeal and broad ecclesiastical views the evangelist would be in full sympathy. Among those who were in Cæsarea along with St. Paul (at least during part of the time) was St. Luke (Ac 27^2); and the details of Philip's early evangelistic ministry, recorded in Ac, were doubtless, at this time, communicated to Luke by Philip himself. The historical credibility, therefore, of the narrative in Ac 8 can be questioned only by those who dogmatically reject all records of what is supernatural (Ac $8^{7.26.39}$).[‡]

In 65 A.D. the revolt which developed into the great Jewish war broke out at Cæsarea; and Philip, like other Jewish Christians, would probably leave Palestine before the fatal issue. We are prepared, accordingly, for traditions which indicate his ultimate settlement elsewhere. These traditions are divergent. (1) The earlier connects the evangelist and his daughters with Hierapolis (see note ‡ on p. 835ᵇ), but is rendered doubtful by the manifest confusion which existed as to the two Philips. It appears to the present writer much less worthy of acceptance than (2) the tradition which represents Philip, with his daughters, as settling at Tralles[§] in Asia Minor, as performing there many miracles, and as becoming ἐπίσκοπος or ἐπίτροπος of the Church which he was mainly instrumental in building up in that city (pseudo-Doroth. *Synopsis*; *Martyr. Basilii*; Joseph. Hymnographus; and other authorities quoted in *Acta Sanctorum*, xxi. p. 608 ff., and by Lips. iii. 2, 3). In favour of the latter tradition is the fact of its being associated, not like the former, with both Philips, but with the evangelist alone. According to most forms of the tradition, he died a natural death at Tralles; but one authority (a Greek *menologium*, quoted by Lips. *l.c.*) represents him as suffering martyrdom there.

---

[*] According to Jerome (*Epist.* 103) and a Roman martyrology (quoted by Lipsius, iii. 3), the baptism took place at Bethsoron, near Hebron.

[†] The word εὐνοῦχος is sometimes applied to a high court-official, without implying castration (Gn 39^1 LXX); but this treasurer, owing to his employment in a confidential capacity under a queen, would most probably be a eunuch literally (see ETHIOPIAN EUNUCH). Such a condition would prevent him from becoming a 'proselyte of righteousness,' but was not incompatible with his admission to worship in the temple as a 'proselyte of the gate' (Is $56^{4.5}$). The supposition that he was a Jew, born in Ethiopia, is hardly consistent with the natural interpretation of the passage. The one argument in its favour, viz. that no such objection seems to have been raised to Philip's procedure as was made in the case of Peter and Cornelius (Stokes, *Acts of the Apostles*, i. p. 412), is met by the fact that the baptism of Cornelius and his household was notorious, having been, in a manner, publicly administered (Ac $10^{24.33}$); whereas the Ethiopian was baptized without witnesses, and the circumstances would probably, at the time, become known only to a limited and sympathetic circle.

[*] According to an old Ethiopic tradition, the eunuch is represented as having evangelized the subjects of Candace or Hendake (Ludolf, *Hist. Æthiop.* iii. 1, 2; Niceph. Callist. *Hist. Ecc.* ii. 6).

[†] Jerome (*Epist.* 108) states that the chambers of the four daughters were still shown at Cæsarea in his day. An ancient Greek *menologium* (quoted by Lipsius, iii. 3) records their names as Hermione, Charitine, Irais, and Eutychiane. Hermione is stated by the same authority to have practised medicine, and to have been thrown, without injury, into a caldron of boiling water in the reign of Hadrian.

[‡] It is open for us, however, although not necessary, to regard the interventions referred to in $8^{26.39}$ as made through natural means; in the former case through a dream, in the latter through a divinely produced impulse of Philip's own mind (Stokes and Holtzmann, *in locis*).

[§] This city is usually understood to be the more celebrated Tralles in Caria; but, if we suppose it to be the other Tralles

LITERATURE.—Ewald, *Hist. of Apostolic Age*; Goulburn, *Acts of the Deacons*; Lipsius, *Apokr. Apostgesch.* vol. iii.; *Acta Sanctorum*, June 6; Stokes, *Acts of Apostles*, vol. i. chs. xvii. xx.

H. COWAN.

PHILIP (HEROD).—See HEROD in vol. ii. pp. 358^b and 359^a.

PHILIPPI (Φίλιπποι).—Philippi, in Turkish *Felibedjik* or Little Philippi, to distinguish it from Philippopolis in Bulgaria, was founded (or rather re-founded, for an earlier town had existed on the site) by Philip of Macedon in the middle of the 4th cent. and called after his name. It was situated in eastern Macedonia—so near Thrace that it is sometimes spoken of as Thracian—on a steep hill rising at the edge of a great plain which stretches far inland to the north and north-west. In the opposite direction stood its port of Neapolis (the modern Kavala), 8 or 9 miles distant, at the nearest point of the coast: the road connecting the two, part of the great Egnatian road which ran across from the Ægean to the Adriatic, passed through a depression in a line of hills which stretch east and south-east of Philippi and cut it off from the sea. An immense marsh lay directly south of the town, fed by the springs which gave it its older name of *Crenides*. At the present time two streams pass one on each side of Philippi, but at some short distance from it,—the larger rising on the east and flowing to the south of the town,—and fall into this lake or marsh, which in turn is itself a source, though not the main one, of the river Dramenica, a tributary of the Strymon. If ancient authorities, however, are to be trusted, this river, known as Angitas or Gangites or Gangas, derived its name from the Philippi branch. Where the country is so marshy, the configuration of the streams may have altered since St. Paul's day.

Philippi, with the rest of the dominions of Perseus, king of Macedonia, fell under Roman domination by the victory of the consul Æmilius Paullus in 168 B.C., whose reorganization of the conquered territory, while it preserved municipal freedom and self-government and diminished taxes, aimed at destroying the political unity of Macedonia by a division into four regions; a division so strictly carried out that an inhabitant of one region could neither intermarry with nor hold property in another. Of these regions the first, which had Amphipolis for its capital, included the whole district east of the Strymon, and therewith Philippi. It is, however, doubtful to what extent this system of tetrarchies survived the formal establishment of Macedonia as a province (A.D. 146).

The event which differentiated the fate of Philippi from that of Macedonia at large was of much later date. In the autumn of B.C. 42 the party which had brought about Cæsar's death in the hope of restoring the republic was finally extinguished in the defeat of Brutus and Cassius by Antony and Octavian (afterwards Augustus) outside the walls of Philippi. The colony of Philippi, *Colonia Augusta Julia* [*Victrix*]* *Philippensium*, was founded, as the name *Julia* implies, in honour of the victory of the cause of Julius Cæsar (cf. Strabo, vii. fr. 41, κατοικία μικρά, ηὐξήθη δὲ μετὰ τὴν περὶ Βροῦτον καὶ Κάσσιον ἧτταν): and the first citizens, if we may judge from the phrase *cohors praet. Phil.* upon the coins, were soldiers of the bodyguard of Antony and Octavian. A second foundation by Augustus after the battle of Actium eleven years later, when many of the dispossessed partisans of Antony in Italy were transplanted to Dyrrhachium and Philippi (Dio, li. 4, § 6), is commemorated by the other title *Augusta*. The territory of the colony included Neapolis.

Each Roman colony was a fresh representation of the Roman people in miniature. The magistrates, elected by the citizens, or rather by the senate of the colony, fulfilled on a small scale the functions of their prototypes in Rome, and like them were attended by lictors bearing *fasces* or bundles of rods: their authority, within their district and over its inhabitants, excluded even that of the governor of the province. And Philippi, besides the normal privileges of all colonies, possessed as well the *ius Italicum*, or exemption for its territory from the rent ordinarily reserved for the Roman state over conquered countries.

About a hundred Latin inscriptions survive from Philippi: the most interesting, *CIL* III. i. 633, records the names of a *collegium* or burial guild recruited from the lower classes (including out of a total of 69, 4 slaves of the *colonia* and 3 of private persons), and entitled *cultores* or *sodales Silvani*. The guild had its *sacerdos*, its *junior* [*sacerdos*], and its *aedilis*, and had erected a temple (the gifts for which are recorded) to its tutelary deity.

Christianity first made its way to Philippi, as far as we know, in the person of St. Paul. Somewhere about A.D. 50, perhaps most probably in the spring of that year (see CHRONOLOGY OF NEW TESTAMENT, vol. i. p. 422), the apostle in the course of his second missionary journey crossed for the first time from Asia, and having set foot on European ground at the seaport of Neapolis, pushed on without delay to the mother city of Philippi, where sufficient stay was made to preach and found a Church. His companions were, from Antioch Silas (Ac 15^{40}), from Lystra Timothy (16^1), from Troas Luke (16^{10}, where the first person plural commences in the narrative).

St. Luke describes Philippi as πρώτη τῆς μερίδος Μακεδονίας πόλις κολωνία, a phrase which, as it stands, must mean *either* 'the first city in rank,' *or* 'the first city they came to,' in (that) district of Macedonia. The objections to either interpretation are serious. (1) Philippi was not the first city in rank, for Thessalonica was the capital of Macedonia as a whole, while in S.E. Macedonia, Amphipolis, distant only 30 miles from Philippi, was not only the capital of the region in the original Roman tetrarchy (see above), but was still in St. Luke's day much more than its equal in importance: Amphipolis had a separate issue of coins for the reign of each of the emperors from Augustus to Nero, while for the same period Philippi was apparently content with two, one under Augustus and one under Claudius. (2) Nor is the translation 'first city to come to' any more satisfactory. As a matter of fact the apostle first set foot in Neapolis; and in so far as Neapolis was Thracian (so Bp. Lightfoot, *Philippians*^{4}, p. 50, n. 1), Philippi must have been the same, since Neapolis was in the territory of Philippi (*CIL* III. i. p. 120). And if the geography of this interpretation is doubtful, its grammar is impossible: πρώτη is never used in this sense without qualifying words (Field, *Notes on the Translation of the New Test. ad loc.*, quoting πρώτη μετὰ τὴν Γαλατίαν, πρώτη . . . πρὸς μεσημβρίαν, πρώτη . . . ἰόντι ἀπ' Ἀχαίης). Moreover, in either translation the τῆς before μερίδος is intolerably awkward, and so the older scribes felt: B drops the article, and the Bezan reviser (D) substitutes for πρώτη τῆς μερίδος the single word κεφαλή.

---

in Lydia, which was also the seat of a bishopric (Hierocles, *Notitiæ Episc.* p. 168), and was distant from Hierapolis only fifteen miles, the proximity of the two cities would account the more easily for Philip the Evangelist, as well as Philip the Apostle, being associated with Hierapolis.

* Ramsay, *Journal of Theological Studies*, Oct. 1899, p. 116, follows Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 192, in adding *Victrix*: but Mommsen, *CIL* III. i. 660, denies the title; and it does not seem to be sufficiently proved from the coins.

Hort (*New Testament in Greek*, Appendix, *ad loc.*) attempted to escape these difficulties by reading Πιερίδος for μερίδος, 'a chief city of Pierian Macedonia.' But if we are to emend, it is better to read πρώτης for πρώτη τῆς, 'a city of the first region of Macedonia and a colony.' This simple emendation—it may have arisen either by the accidental reduplication of the letters τη, or from a misunderstanding of the correction if by mistake πρώτη was written originally, and -της written over it to correct it—occurred first to Joannes Clericus (according to Blass, *Philology of the Gospels*, p. 68, but we have not been able to verify the statement) and to the unnamed friend of an English divine, James Peirce (see Peirce's *Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistle of St. Paul to the Philippians*, ed. 1, A.D. 1725, ed. 2, A.D. 1733, p. 3, and L. M. Artemonius, *Initium Evangelii S. Johannis*, A.D. 1726, pt. i. p. 211); and in our own day has occurred independently to Field, *op. cit.* p. 124, Blass, *loc. cit.* and *Acta Apostolorum*, *ad loc.*, and to the present writer. The only possible objections appear to be (i.) that μερίς does not mean a district or region (Hort, *loc. cit.*); and (ii.) that though Philippi had belonged to the 'first region,' the whole division into tetrarchies had fallen out of memory long before. But as to (i.) μερίς is in fact found as a term for subdivisions of the Egyptian 'nomes' (Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 158, note); as to (ii.) there is nothing in our present knowledge to justify so sweeping an assertion (Ramsay, *ib.*).

St. Paul was always accustomed to commence his mission within the sphere of the religious organization of Judaism. But Philippi—unlike the Cypriot towns, Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Thessalonica, Berœa, Athens, Corinth, Ephesus (Ac $13^{5.14}$ 14^{1} $17^{1.10.17}$ 18^{4} 19^{8})—possessed apparently no synagogue, so small was the number and importance of the Jews there, and on the Sabbath St. Paul found the few Jewish worshippers at prayers beyond the gates of the city by the riverside. If we ask ourselves why under such circumstances St. Paul stopped at Philippi, the most probable answer is that what attracted him was exactly the feature which accounted for the paucity of Jews, namely, that it was not an ordinary Greek town but a Roman colony: Rome and things Roman were uppermost in the mind of St. Paul.

The reading of the Textus Receptus is οὗ ἐνομίζετο προσευχὴ εἶναι, 'where there was accustomed to be prayer'; and Blass's conjecture, *ad loc.*, ἐνόμιζον ἐν προσευχῇ εἶναι, gives a similar sense. The Western authorities, however (ἐδόκει προσευχὴ εἶναι, D; *oratio esse uidebatur*, latt.), as well as Westcott and Hort (ἐνομίζομεν προσευχὴν εἶναι, but no single uncial gives exactly this reading), say nothing about the *habitual* character of the worship there; and it would be possible, if St. Paul's visit could coincide with one of the great Jewish fasts (those of the 4th, 5th, 7th, and 10th months, Zec 8^{19}), to suppose that the riverside worship was due only to the solemnities of the day. Compare Tertullian, *de ieiunio* 16, 'Iudaicum certe ieiunium ubique celebratur, cum omissis templis per omne littus quocumque in aperto aliquando iam precem ad cælum mittunt'; by which we ought perhaps to interpret the more general words of the Decree of the Halicarnassians (Josephus, *Antiquities*, XIV. x. 23), τὰ σάββατα ἄγειν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ συντελεῖν . . . καὶ τὰς προσευχὰς ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ κατὰ τὸ πάτριον ἔθος. Where no seashore was available, any open place, *quocumque in aperto*, appears to have answered the purpose. It will be noted that both authorities specially mention 'prayer' or 'prayers' as the distinguishing mark of this open-air service, just as St. Luke does for Philippi.* On the whole it is more probable that we are to understand that the open space by the river was the normal scene of what Jewish worship there was at Philippi.

That St. Paul 'sat' and so spoke 'to the women who had gathered' there, appears to imply both a contrast to the more formal procedure of a synagogue (St. Paul stands to preach at Pisidian Antioch, Ac 13^{16}, yet see Lk $4^{20.21}$), and also the non-existence of many worshippers beyond the (Gentile) women who here as elsewhere, especially in Macedonia (Ac 13^{50} $17^{4.12}$), were attracted to Judaism. From this class, at any rate, was drawn the first convert, Lydia the purple seller of Thyatira, who was followed by the whole *familia* of which she was the mistress; her house became the home of the apostle and the centre of the Philippian Church (see LYDIA, and cf. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Roman Traveller*, p. 214).

Among the women influenced by St. Paul, either as an attendant at the preaching by the riverside, or simply from the general spread of interest in the strangers and in the novel faith they were propagating in Philippi, was a slave girl, who performed in a small way the functions of an oracle, and gave answers like one under inspiration to whatever questions might be asked of her, her owners, of course, reaping the benefit of the fees paid for the privilege of inquiry.

As the pagan prophetess (like the prophetesses of the Montanists) was conceived of as the passive instrument of the spirit which inspired her, she would speak with its voice, not with her own, and so might be called (as Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 215) *ventriloqua* or ἐγγαστρίμυθος (thus the Witch of Endor in the Fathers is called both πυθώνισσα and ἐγγαστρίμυθος). For several points in the story, compare the description of a false prophet in the Shepherd of Hermas, *Mand.* xi. § 12, μισθοὺς λαμβάνει τῆς προφητείας αὐτοῦ, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ λάβῃ οὐ προφητεύει: § 2, ὡς ἐπὶ μάντιν ἔρχονται καὶ ἐπερωτῶσιν αὐτὸν τί ἄρα ἔσται αὐτοῖς: § 6, ὅλως οὐ λαλεῖ ἐὰν μὴ ἐπερωτηθῇ: § 13, κατὰ γωνίαν αὐτοῖς προφητεύει.

Daily as St. Paul passed to 'the (place of) prayer,' the girl, perhaps from some fixed station at a street corner, annoyed him by following and crying out that he and his companions were, like herself, 'slaves of (the) God,' divinely inspired to preach to the Philippians a 'way of salvation,'—a form of recommendation not at all after the mind of St. Paul,—till at last one day he turned and made use of those powers of exorcism which the early Christians never for a moment doubted that they could wield, 'in the name of Jesus Christ,' over the spirits that 'possessed' such pagan devotees. The girl, whose belief in him was no doubt very real, lost from that day forward her supposed gift; and her owners (the injury to their gains making them keenly susceptible to the injury to their religion) seized Paul and his chief companion, Silas, dragged them to the *forum*,—the great open space in a Roman city on to which the law-courts would look,—and brought them before the magistrates on the double charge of violating public order (ἐκταράσσουσιν τὴν πόλιν) and of preaching rites which for Romans at least, whatever might be the case with others, it would be illegal to accept or carry out (καταγγέλλουσιν ἔθη ἃ οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἡμῖν παραδέχεσθαι οὐδὲ ποιεῖν Ῥωμαίοις οὖσιν).

The magistrates are called ἄρχοντες in Ac 16^{19}, στρατηγοί in $16^{20.22.35.36.38}$; and Prof. Ramsay (*St. Paul*, p. 217, *Journal of Theological Studies*, Oct. 1899, p. 115) sees in St. Luke's employment of the two terms in $16^{19.20}$ a proof that the book never received its finishing touches. ἄρχοντες was the normal Greek word for a supreme board of magistrates. στρατηγός was, in later times at least, used interchangeably with ἄρχων; but it was also the technical rendering of the Latin *prætor* (so ἀντιστράτηγος=*proprætor*); and in some colonies the highest grade of magistrates were actually called after the Roman model *prætores*, so that it has been questioned whether this may not have been the case at Philippi. But it would seem that this usage was confined to the period B.C. and to the oldest group of Roman colonies outside Italy, those in *Gallia Narbonensis*. It must be taken, then, as fairly certain that the official title of the superior magistrates was not *prætor* but as in other colonies *duumvir*. [The inscription *CIL* III. Suppl. No. 7339, which speaks of one who was Quæstor in Bithynia-Pontus, Cerial Ædile, Prætor-designate, Decurion or Senator, at Philippi and in Thrace, refers to the Roman Prætorship]. *Duumvir*, *Duoviri*, can be represented literally in Greek by δυανδρικός, δύο ἄνδρες; but it is beyond question that a writer like St. Luke would avoid, if possible, such awkward literalism. He could only fall back on the rough equivalent στρατηγός: and his use of this Greek phrase in no way proves either that the magistrates at Philippi were *prætores*, or even that they were called so by courtesy.

The trial was never carried to an end (ἀκατακρίτους, Ac 16^{37}); popular feeling had been roused, and the magistrates, in the exercise of their general power to detain and punish suspicious characters (Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht*, 1899, p. 309, n. 1), summarily ordered their lictors to scourge the prisoners. A Roman citizen was by law exempt from a form of punishment which was looked upon as degrading (ὑβρισθέντες ἐν Φιλίπποις, 1 Th 2^{2}); and since on one other occasion at least St. Paul claimed his rights (Ac 22^{25}), it is possible that at Philippi too he made a protest which passed un-

---

[*] There appears to be little or no evidence for any technical use of προσευχή in the sense of an informal 'place of prayer' as *opposed* to 'synagogue.' See art. SYNAGOGUE.

heard or unheeded; but as he suffered scourging altogether not less than three times (*τρὶς ἐραβδίσθην*, 2 Co 11^{25}), it is also possible that for the moment he was silent of set purpose about his citizenship. [If it could be supposed, in face of $16^{37.38}$, that Silas was not a citizen, the motive of his silence would be obvious]. The prisoners were then remanded with special instructions as to their safe custody; and the gaoler, no doubt rightly interpreting this as a warning against too lenient a treatment, threw them into the inner prison and made their feet fast in the stocks.

The *ἐσωτέρα φυλακή* was surrounded entirely by the outer prison, and appears to have had no light and no air except through the door: for illustrations of the inner prison and stocks, cf. (1) Epistle of the Churches of Lyons and Vienne (A.D. 177: Eusebius, *HE* v. 1), *τὰς κατὰ τὴν εἱρκτὴν ἐν τῷ σκότει καὶ τῷ χαλεπωτάτῳ χωρίῳ συγκλείσεις καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ διατάσεις τῶν ποδῶν ἐπὶ πέμπτον διατεινομένων τρύπημα*; (2) Acts of Perpetua (A.D. 202) § 3, post paucos dies recipimur in carcerem et expaui quia numquam experta eram tales tenebras, *ib.* paucis horis emissi in meliorem locum carceris; § 8, die quo in neruo mansimus; (3) Acts of Pionius (A.D. 250) § 11, *οἱ δεσμοφύλακες . . . ἔβαλον αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ἐσώτερον*, but afterwards they were allowed out *εἰς τὸ ἔμπροσθεν*; (4) Eus. *HE* vi. 39, cf. Origen (c. A.D. 250), *τάς τε ὑπὸ σιδήρῳ κλοιῷ καὶ μυχοῖς εἱρκτῆς τιμωρίας καὶ ὡς . . . τοὺς πόδας ὑπὸ τέσσαρα τοῦ κολαστηρίου ξύλου παραταθεὶς διαστήματα κατασπώμενος κ.τ.λ.*; (5) Cyprian, *Ep.* xxxvii. 3, squalorem carceris ac receptaculi poenalis horrorem; xxxix. 2, per decem nouem dies custodia carceris sæptus in neruo ac ferro fuit. Cf. Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht*, p. 302.

At midnight Paul and Silas were singing at their prayers (*προσευχόμενοι ὕμνουν*: Jewish liturgiology is too obscure a subject for us to say whether it formally included prayers for midnight, but Ps $119^{62.164}$ should not be overlooked; in any case, the 'hymns' may probably have been from the Psalter), when an earthquake shook the prison so violently that the bars of all the doors and the fetters of the prisoners gave way. The gaoler, supposing naturally that his prisoners had taken the opportunity to escape, and knowing that he would be held responsible for them, would have committed suicide if St. Paul had not been able to reassure him, and so turn him from his purpose. From that moment, if not before, it is clear that he attributed the convulsion of nature to the prayers and powers of his two prisoners; and he at once professed himself their convert. From the inner prison he removed them to his own house,—a violation of the spirit rather than of the letter of the magistrates' injunctions,—ministered to their temporal wants, and received from them spiritual instruction and baptism. As in Lydia's case, the whole household came over to Christianity with its head.

As soon as day broke, the *duoviri*, doubtless thinking to avoid all further complications by seeing that the objects of the riot left Philippi before the excitement should burst out afresh, sent their lictors to the prison with an order terminating all further proceedings, which, as Roman prisons were used only as places of detention before or during trial, was equivalent to a direct order of release. St. Paul refused to leave in this undignified fashion; he advertised the fact that he and Silas were citizens; and he demanded a personal acknowledgment of their error by the magistrates. This was willingly accorded as the price of the departure of the unwelcome strangers, whose citizenship not only rendered illegal the previous proceedings, but would complicate any future proceedings that the owners or the populace might choose to press against them. St. Paul, though he would not forego a formal farewell to his hostess and his converts, did not further contest the demand that he should leave Philippi, where, indeed, his presence might for the moment hinder rather than further the work of the gospel. But the foundations of a flourishing Church had been laid; and Luke, the writer of the Acts, was (to judge from the dropping of the first person plural between 16^{17} and 20^{5}) left in charge of it.

Five years later (perhaps in A.D. 55) St Paul, on his way to Corinth in the course of the third missionary journey, passed again through Macedonia and exhorted at length the Christians of 'those parts' (*παρακαλέσας αὐτοὺς λόγῳ πολλῷ*, Ac 20^{2}). We may be certain that a visit to Philippi was included, for the time occupied in travelling from Ephesus to Corinth was apparently as much as six months (cf. 1 Co 16^{8} with Ac $20^{2.6}$). On his return from Corinth in the early spring he paid another and unintended visit (Ac 20^{3}), the last of which we have a definite record; and though it delayed the journey to Jerusalem, which he was so anxious to accomplish by Pentecost (Ac 20^{16}), he spent with the Philippian Church the last *pascha* which he was to enjoy in freedom for many years, while his (mostly Gentile?) companions went on and awaited him at Troas. At Philippi the 'we-passages' commence again (20^{5}): St. Luke appears to have joined St. Paul again at this point, and probably stayed by him during the rest of the period of the Acts.

The bonds of peculiar affection which united St. Paul to his Philippian converts are impressed on every line of the letter (see PHILIPPIANS, EPISTLE TO THE) which he wrote to them from Rome, probably at the beginning of his first captivity there (c. A.D. 59–60).

That St. Paul again visited Philippi during the eastern travels implied in the Pastoral Epistles, is not recorded, but may almost be assumed. The apostle journeyed to Macedonia from Ephesus (1 Ti 1^{3}), and the journey would naturally be made *viâ* Troas and Philippi. And if the recorded visit to Troas (2 Ti 4^{13}) belongs, as is probable, to a different and later occasion, the indications of the Pastoral Epistles suggest two visits to Philippi rather than one.

At the beginning of the 2nd cent. the Church of Philippi emerges once more for a moment into the light of history, when it received a visit from one apostolic father and a letter from another. Some time in the reign of Trajan (*i.e.* before A.D. 117), Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, was condemned to death as a Christian, and sent in charge of a guard of soldiers to be thrown to the beasts at Rome. His route, as we know from his Epistles, lay through Philadelphia, Smyrna, and Troas. Thence, like St. Paul, he must have crossed to Neapolis and so reached Philippi (his guards were probably making for one of the Adriatic ports by way of the Egnatian road), since the Church of Philippi 'welcomed' and 'escorted' him, and on his departure wrote two letters, one to the Church at Antioch consoling them for the loss of their bishop, and one to Polycarp of Smyrna asking for copies of as many as possible of the letters which Ignatius had written in Asia Minor.* St. Polycarp's answer is his *Epistle to the Philippians*, the sole source of our knowledge of this episode of Philippian history. We learn from it, further, that scandal had been caused at Philippi by the conduct of the presbyter Valens (the name is singularly frequent in Philippian inscriptions), and his wife, who had apparently, like Ananias and Sapphira, combined to carry out some dishonest financial transaction. Avarice would seem specially reprehensible to a Church which had distinguished itself for liberality as the Philippian Church had done in St. Paul's day (Ph 4^{10-18}; and of Macedonia generally, 2 Co $11^{8.9}$ 8^{1-5}).

Of the subsequent history of the Philippian Church nothing seems to be known till we meet the names of a few of its bishops among the subscriptions to 4th and 5th cent. councils: 'Porphyrius a Macedonia de Philippis' at Sardica in A.D. 344 (the Church of Philippi was therefore Athanasian, not Arian); 'Flaviano Philippensium qui Rufi quoque reuerendissimi Thessalonicensium episcopi locum gerebat' (he signed next after the bishops of Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Ephesus) at the œcumenical Council of Ephesus in A.D. 431; 'Sozon Philippi' at the Latrocinium of Ephesus in A.D. 449, and the same bishop, 'Sozon Philippensis,' at the Council of Chalcedon, which undid the work of the Latrocinium, in A.D. 451.

---

* It is not impossible that this request of the Philippians was the origin of the collection of a *corpus* of the Ignatian letters, and therewith of their preservation for later ages.

LITERATURE.—For the topography—Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, iii. (1835), esp. pp. 214–225; and the Austrian and Bulgarian staff maps of Macedonia. For the secular history—Livy, xlv. 29; Diodorus; Strabo, vii. fr. 41; Dio, li. 4, § 6, and the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, III. i. 633–707, III. *Supplementum*, 7337–7358. For the history of the Philippian Church generally—Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians*^{4}, pp. 47–65, *S. Ignatius and S. Polycarp*^{1}, II. ii. pp. 897–934; Gams, *Series Episcoporum*, p. 429; Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, ii. pp. 66–70. For further discussion and illustration of points in St. Luke's account (Ac 16^{12-40}) see, *e.g.*, the commentaries of Wetstein (1752) and Blass (*Acta apostolorum*, 1895), *ad loc.*; Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, ch. ix.; Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire* (1893), esp. pp. 156–158, and *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen* (1895), pp. 213–226. C. H. TURNER.

PHILIPPIANS, EPISTLE TO THE.—

i. The Church of Philippi.
ii. Time, Place, and Circumstances of Writing.
iii. Contents of the Epistle.
iv. Characteristics of the Epistle.
    Note 1. On Ph 1^1.
    ,, 2. ,, ,, 2^{5-11}.
    ,, 3. ,, ,, 3^{1b-20}.
v. Genuineness and Integrity of the Epistle.
    Literature.

i. THE CHURCH OF PHILIPPI.—On the town see preceding article. The Church of Philippi was founded by St. Paul during his Second Missionary Journey, about the year A.D. 52 [Turner, 50]; it was the first Church which he founded on the soil of Europe (Ac $16^{12ff.}$). On his arrival in the city, according to his custom, he sought out the Jews, who do not appear to have been numerous, for they had no synagogue within the city, only a 'place of prayer' (*προσευχή*) outside the gates, on the banks of the river Gangites. Paul, accompanied by Silas and Timothy, and possibly by Luke (the use of 'we' in Ac 16^{13}, and the graphic character of the whole narrative, betray the hand of an eye-witness), repaired to this place on the Sabbath day and spoke to some women whom they found there. A certain God-fearing proselyte named Lydia [or this may be simply an ethnic name='the Lydian'; see above, p. 177^b], from the city of Thyatira, received the word, and was baptized with her household. Paul and his companions remained for some time in Philippi, continuing to frequent the Jewish place of prayer; there does not appear to have taken place any breach between him and the Jews on this occasion. The incident of the maid with the 'spirit of divination,' and the subsequent arrest of Paul and Silas, led to their abrupt departure, but not until the nucleus of a Christian Church had been formed. The author of the Book of Acts says (16^{40}) that before leaving Philippi, Paul and Silas entered the house of Lydia and comforted 'the brethren.'

Two features in the narrative deserve special notice, for they were not without influence on the subsequent history of the Philippian Church. The first is that the Jews were few in number; the second, that the earliest converts were women. To the first we may ascribe the failure of the Judaizers to gain a footing within this Church; and perhaps the second explains the specially kindly interest taken by the Philippian Church in the personal comfort of the apostle. It may also account for the circumstance that the disputes in the Philippian Church were about personal rather than doctrinal questions. It has been said that the narratives in Ac 16^{13} $17^{4.12}$ indicate—there is some corroborative evidence in the inscriptions—that in Macedonia women held a higher position than elsewhere. Female influence certainly continued strong in the Church of Philippi, for Paul regarded a personal quarrel between two of his female converts as a serious danger to the Church (Ph $4^{2.3}$).

The Church founded by Paul and his companions continued to prosper. It suffered persecution (2 Co 8^2), but remained conspicuously faithful to the gospel of Paul and to Paul himself. If we are to understand 'bishops,' 'deacons' (Ph 1^1) as names of ecclesiastical officers, it appears to have made more rapid progress in organization than other Churches (see on this point below, iv. n. 2). The Churches of Macedonia, and we may be sure Philippi was not an exception, manifested their attachment to Paul by the alacrity with which they collected money for the poor saints of Jerusalem, although they were themselves in deep poverty (2 Co 8^3). The Philippians also sent repeated personal gifts to Paul when he was in Thessalonica and in Corinth (2 Co 8^9, Ph $4^{15.16}$); and, lastly, when he was in Rome their care for him again revived, and they sent a gift through Epaphroditus, who was instructed to remain in Rome and minister to the apostle (Ph 4^{18}).

It is probable that the friendship between Paul and the Philippians was cemented by more frequent intercourse than we know of. Polycarp (*Philip.* iii. 2) speaks of the 'letters' written by Paul to the Philippians; and, although this may be a mere inaccuracy on the part of Polycarp, or even if the plur. ἐπιστολαί may be used to denote a single letter (see Lightfoot, *ad loc.*), it is most improbable that Paul made no written acknowledgment of the repeated gifts. As Philippi lay on the Via Egnatia, he must have frequently received tidings of its Church from friends and messengers (Ac 19^{22}). In the year 57 [Turner, 55] Philippi had two visits from the apostle in person; and it was in Macedonia, and almost certainly in Philippi, that he spent the anxious days of waiting for Titus (2 Co 2^{12} $7^{5.6}$). There also he wrote, in all probability, the Second Epistle to the Corinthians (2 Co 2^{13} 7^5 8^1 $9^{2.4}$). If that was the case, Paul passed one of the most critical seasons in his life, when his entire life-work seemed in danger, among the Philippians; and at such seasons friendships are deepened. A second visit was paid to Philippi when Paul kept the Paschal feast with his converts before leaving for Jerusalem; and the language in Acts suggests that it was with difficulty that he tore himself away from them (Ac $20^{5.6}$).

In his Epistle, Paul expresses a hope that he would again visit the Philippians after his release from his Roman captivity (Ph 2^{24}). Whether this hope was fulfilled we cannot say. If he was released,—as seems more probable,—and the Pastoral Epistles are to be accepted as a genuine record of his subsequent labours, he certainly paid one visit to Philippi after his release (1 Ti 1^3), and probably more than one.

ii. THE TIME, PLACE, AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF WRITING.—When St. Paul wrote the Epistle to the Philippians, he was a prisoner (Ph $1^{7.13.14.17}$), and the place of his captivity was almost certainly Rome. He sends greetings from those of Cæsar's household (4^{22}). A large and active Christian Church is in his neighbourhood, of whose doings he is fully cognizant (1^{14-17}). A number of friends, old and new, are beside him, and appear to have free access to him ($4^{21.22}$); he sends letters and messengers to distant Churches, and messengers come from other lands to visit him (4^{18}). All this is in harmony with his Roman life as described in Acts (28^{30}): it is improbable that he enjoyed the same liberty in Cæsarea, where, moreover, as far as we know, there was no Christian Church. One expression only in the Epistle suggests Cæsarea. In 1^{13} the apostle writes that his bonds had become manifest in Christ ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ πραιτωρίῳ. When in Cæsarea, Paul was confined in the prætorium of Herod (Ac 23^{35}). Usage forbids us to understand *prætorium* as the imperial palace on the Palatine; nor does it seem to have been used (as is held by Ellicott, Meyer, etc.) as a name for the barracks of the imperial guard (see Lightfoot, *Philip.* p. 99). It is a designation, however, frequently given by Latin writers (*e.g.* Tac. *Hist.* ii. 11) and by Josephus (*Ant.* XIX. iii. 1) to the prætorian or imperial guard; and in this sense most modern commentators understand it here. Mommsen (*Berlin. Akadem. Sitzungsberichte*, 1895, p. 495 ff.), who is followed by Ramsay (*St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 357), maintains that it is here a name for the supreme imperial court, before which Paul appeared. This explanation relieves Paul's words of that note of exaggeration which they contain according to the former interpretation; for it is not possible that the knowledge of Paul as a bondsman of Christ should have pervaded the ranks of the immense imperial guard. See, further, art. PRÆTORIUM.

If Paul wrote the Epistle in Rome, it was written between 62 and 64 [Turner, 59 and 61]; or if Harnack's chronology be adopted, between 57 and 59. The probability is that it is the last of the Epistles of the captivity, and that it belongs to its closing period. (Bleek, Lightfoot, Sanday, Hort, *et al.* would place it first among the Epistles of the captivity; the view advocated in this art. is that of Zahn, Gwynn, Ramsay, *et al.*). A good deal had happened in Rome since Paul's arrival. If we accept Mommsen's view (see above), he had already appeared before his judges; and he was looking forward to a speedy settlement of his case (2^{24}). The assumption of Zahn (*Einl. in d. NT*), that when the apostle wrote, the period of *libera custodia* had ended, and that he was in strict durance, rests upon a slender foundation, and is hardly consistent with the free intercourse with his friends implied in 2^{19}.

St. Paul's Roman life, as mirrored in the Epistle to the Philippians, presents that blending of joy and sorrow, of unexpected triumphs and baffled hopes so familiar to the reader of the Book of Acts and of the Pauline Epistles. For years he had longed to see Rome that he might preach the gospel in that great gathering-place of the nations, and communicate some spiritual gift to the Church of the metropolis of the world. He entered Rome, however, in a guise that seemed to mock all his hopes of fruitful apostolic labour; but he was able to assure the Philippians that the frustration was only in appearance; for his bonds in Christ had become manifest in a manner which had spread to wide circles the knowledge of Christ (1^{13}); and his presence as a captive for Christ's sake had quickened evangelistic zeal within the Roman Church (1^{14}). But an element of personal bitterness mingled with his joy at the success of the preaching of the gospel. Some of the preachers whom his inspiring presence had sent forth to preach were animated by feelings of animosity towards himself, and preached Christ 'of faction,' hoping, as the apostle expresses it, to add affliction to his bonds (1^{17}). This can hardly mean that they hoped to increase the rigour of his captivity, for if they had irritated the authorities by their preaching, they would themselves have been the first sufferers; they rather wished to make him feel more acutely the limitations of his captive condition as compared with the unfettered freedom enjoyed by his rivals. It is the opinion of some critics (*e.g.* E. Haupt) that the cause of the hostility of those preachers was simply jealousy of the masterful alien who had become the leader of the Christian community in Rome. Had they been Judaizers, it is urged, Paul could not have rejoiced in their preaching, after his emphatic condemnation of different gospels in the Ep. to the Galatians (1^{6} 5^{2}). It is true that there do not seem to have been in Rome, when Paul wrote to the Romans, Judaizers of the extreme Galatian type. The Roman Church appears to have contained a majority of Gentile Christians, but there must have been in it a considerable minority of Jewish Christians, some of whom were anxious to preserve certain Jewish rites and customs. These may have taken alarm at the immense accession to the strength of the other party by the arrival in their midst of the great representative of anti-legal Christianity. It seems therefore not improbable, and it is certainly more charitable to assume it, that those who preached Christ 'of faction' were under the influence of a more respectable motive than personal jealousy of the apostle. St. Paul might rejoice in their preaching, because through it men heard of Christ who would otherwise not have heard the gospel at all. It was otherwise when, as in the case of the Galatian Judaizers, an attempt was made to substitute a gospel trammelled by legal conditions for the free gospel of the grace of God, which the Galatians had already received.

During his Roman captivity St. Paul was solaced by the society of a number of friends. Timothy, Luke, Epaphroditus, Aristarchus, Epaphras, Tychicus, John Mark, Demas, Jesus Justus, and Onesimus [see separate articles on these names] were all more or less frequent visitors in the hired house (μίσθωμα, Ac 28^{30}) in Rome, and not improbably often lodged under its roof. To a man like Paul, who possessed a genius for friendship, the presence of his friends must have been a source of unfailing joy and comfort; and he owed to their ministrations not only the personal comfort which he enjoyed, but his opportunities of missionary effort in Rome and elsewhere; for he frequently sent them out on apostolic missions. But one expression in the Ep. to the Philippians shows that the element of disappointment was not altogether absent even when he was in the society of his chosen friends, and that they did not always come up to the apostle's high standard of self-forgetfulness in the service of Christ. He writes ($2^{19.\ 20}$), 'I hope in the Lord Jesus to send Timothy shortly. For I have no man likeminded who will care genuinely for your state. For they all seek their own, not the things of Jesus Christ.' It has been said that if these words are to be taken seriously, they show that Paul, like Luther in his old age, fell into a mood of morose complaining, which made him unjust towards his fellow-workers. But we need not apply them to all the friends of whom mention has been made above, only to those, and perhaps few, who happened to be present with him at the time he was writing; some of these appear to have pleaded private business, and to have excited Paul's easily roused indignation by their apparent indifference to a mission which was dear to his heart. '"All,"' writes Jülicher (*Einl. in d. NT*), 'is without doubt hyperbolical. Paul was a man; and he had a right to give expression in his letters to his passing moods.'

It is generally supposed that Epaphroditus was the bearer of the letter to Philippi, and that he was also the amanuensis. Lightfoot's judgment is that 'on the whole it seems most probable' that 4^{3} is an appeal to Epaphroditus, who was by Paul's side and writing down his words, to use his best endeavour to heal the grievous quarrel between Euodia and Syntyche. Others consider this unnatural, and prefer to take *Σύνζυγος* as a proper name, and to explain *γνήσιος* as 'truly called.' The return of Epaphroditus and the fitness of sending thanks for the gifts received, through the person who had brought them, was probably the immediate occasion of the Epistle.

iii. The Contents of the Epistle.—The Epistle begins in St. Paul's usual manner, with this exception, that the bishops and deacons are singled out for special greeting (1$^{1.2}$). The apostle goes on to say that the remembrance of the Philippians always awakens in his heart thankfulness to God, and that his prayers for them are accompanied with joy, because of their fellowship in the furtherance of the gospel from the day they first heard it (vv.$^{3-8}$). A prayer follows, that their love may abound more and more, and that it may be accompanied with knowledge and discernment so that they shall be able to prove things that differ, and be found free of offence unto the day of Christ (vv.$^{9-11}$).

The apostle then turns to his own affairs, which are likewise those of the gospel. His captivity, instead of proving a calamity to the cause of Christ, as might have been feared, had contributed to the spread of the glad tidings, his bonds having become manifest in Christ throughout the whole prætorium and to the rest. His captivity had likewise emboldened many brethren to speak the word of God without fear; and although some of the preachers had been animated by unworthy feelings towards himself, he was able to rejoice that they had proclaimed Christ. For himself, he cherished the confident expectation and hope that Christ would be magnified in him, whether by his life or by his death. Death was to him a more attractive prospect than life, for after death he should be with Christ; but his life was more needful for the Philippians and his other converts, and he felt confident that he would be spared for their sakes. Only one thing could damp the joyful confidence of the apostle, evil tidings of his converts, and he therefore exhorts them to live in a manner worthy of the gospel, and not to be intimidated by adversaries (vv.$^{12-30}$).

An appeal to the Philippians follows, to fulfil the apostle's joy by living lives of brotherly love. They are warned to shun the spirit of faction and vainglory, and to cultivate lowliness of mind. In their Lord Christ, who exchanged the form of God for the form of a servant (Bruce, *Humil. of Christ*, p. 28; see Gifford, *Incarnation*, p. 22 ff., and below, iv. n. 2), they had before them an example of lowliness of mind, and in His subsequent exaltation, a proof of God's approval of the lowly mind (2$^{1-11}$).

The apostle then repeats certain warnings already given against disputings and murmurings, and entreats the Philippians to live as children of God. His absence ought to act as an additional incentive to more strenuous efforts on their part to work out their own salvation with fear and trembling (vv.$^{12-18}$).

The apostle intimates his intention to send Timothy to visit Philippi, that he may comfort them, and bring tidings of them to himself. Timothy is one who will truly care for their welfare; and such men were at the time rare among the apostle's companions, for they all seek their own, not the things of Jesus Christ. The apostle explains that he has sent back Epaphroditus whom the Philippians had sent to minister to him, because Epaphroditus, after a dangerous illness, had been seized with a longing for his home. He had, however, done noble service to the apostle, and deserved the best reception from his fellow-Christians in Philippi on his home-coming. The passage ends with the words, 'Finally, my brethren, rejoice in the Lord' (2^{19}–3^{1a}).

The last words of the former paragraph seemed to indicate that the apostle was about to close his letter. But a new paragraph begins with 3^{1b}, in which he goes on to state that he does not hesitate to repeat warnings formerly given, as he knows that they are a means of safety for his converts. An impassioned invective follows against the 'dogs' of the concision who were always barking at him. Their worship, which they were so eager to introduce among all Christians, was a worship in the flesh, and not by the Spirit of God. Paul had himself possessed, in all their fulness, the fleshly privileges of which the Judaizers boasted, and had renounced them that he might gain Christ in their stead, and experience the power of His resurrection, and that fellowship in Christ's sufferings through which lies the path to a joyful resurrection. The apostle adds that he is aware that his own apprehension of the blessings of the Christian calling is as yet incomplete, but he describes himself as one who is forgetting the things that are behind, and stretching forward to the things which are before. A warning reference follows to some who are spoken of as the enemies of the cross of Christ, not apparently because of their opposition to the gospel, but because of their worldly and licentious lives. These men mind earthly things; but the citizenship of the Christian is in heaven. The passage concludes with a general exhortation to Christian steadfastness (3^{1b}–4^{1}). An entreaty follows to two women, Euodia and Syntyche, who had been formerly fellow-labourers with Paul, to be of one mind in the Lord; and an unnamed true yoke-fellow (or perhaps [see above] a friend named *Synzygus*) is exhorted to labour to bring about the desired reconciliation. All are exhorted to rejoice in the Lord, and to show by their gentle and forbearing behaviour towards all men that they believed their Lord to be at hand. Their needs should be laid before the Lord in prayer, and the peace of God—a better defence than all the devices of men—would stand sentinel over their hearts and thoughts. After another 'finally,' a passage follows which seems to breathe the spirit of the philosophic moralist rather than of the Christian apostle. Let them open their minds and hearts to the contemplation of all true and beautiful thoughts, of all fair deeds wherever they are to be seen (4$^{2-9}$).

St. Paul then gives thanks for the gift the Philippians had sent through Epaphroditus, which he valued because of the spirit of which it was the manifestation, rather than for itself, for he was not in need. The Epistle closes with salutations and the Pauline benediction (vv.$^{10-\text{end}}$).

iv. The Characteristics of the Epistle.—In the Ep. to the Philippians and in the Second Ep. to the Corinthians, St. Paul's personal character is more clearly revealed than in any of his other writings. But the two Epistles disclose different sides of his character. In 2 Co he is writing to adversaries and to lukewarm or suspicious friends, and we mark how acutely he felt personal slights and unworthy accusations. He pleads his own merits and services in a manner which shows that self-esteem was by no means dead within him, and he verges on what appears to the modern reader boastfulness. In writing to the Philippians, he is addressing some of the most trusted friends he had in the world. This trust in his readers gives a pleasing sense of repose to the Epistle. It accounts for the epistolary undress of the language, for the want of plan, for the repetitions, and for the obvious reluctance to leave off. There were some things amiss even in Philippi, and Paul had to administer certain reproofs, but he is less fearful than on other occasions, having a full conviction that God would perfect His good work among them, and reveal His will to them in those matters which were as yet obscure to them. Chapter 3 forms an exception to the general restfulness of tone observable in the Epistle (see Note 3 below). Critics, however, have discovered that there existed a soreness in the mind of the Philippians about Paul's reception of their pecuniary gifts. Zahn (*Einl. in d. NT*) maintains that they had written a remonstrance to him complaining that he had not suitably acknowledged it. Another critic (Holsten) finds in St. Paul's words 4^{10-19} 'thankless thanks.' A third (E. Haupt), however, regards his acknowledgment as a veritable masterpiece of delicate and considerate courtesy. The practice of lauding the courtesy of the apostle has been somewhat overdone. St. Paul could be very courteous, but his courtesy was always kept in strict subordination to his duties as a counsellor and as a reprover. To say not only that he did not desire, but that he did not require the gift, was not precisely the courtesy of the courtier; and was likely enough to bring a shade of disappointment to the countenances of the poor people who had sent it. But the apostle evidently recognized that they were in some danger of exaggerating the value of the money gift. He said, therefore, with all plainness of speech, that to him its value consisted solely in the evidence it gave of their personal affection, and of their willingness to make sacrifices for the cause of God.

NOTE 1.—Ph 1^1 *σὺν ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνοις*. This is the first (unless we take into account the words attributed to Paul in Ac 20^{28}) mention in the NT of bishops. Its presence in a letter purporting to be written by St. Paul has excited suspicion of the genuineness of the letter, as the episcopal office (at least in its monarchical form) is generally admitted to have originated at a later period. It is very doubtful, however, if St. Paul here refers to the holders of a definite ecclesiastical office. When writing to the Thessalonians, he spoke of their leaders as *οἱ προϊστάμενοι* (1 Th 5^{12}). In the Ep. to the Ephesians those exercising episcopal functions are named *ποιμένες καὶ διδάσκαλοι* (Eph 4^{11}). In the Ep. to the Hebrews they are termed *ἡγούμενοι* (He 13^{17}). The apostle here names those 'bishops' who were elsewhere called by other names, but who exercised the same functions. Whether this was the first occasion on which the word was uttered in the Christian Church, we cannot say; probably it had been already given by Paul or by others to Philippian Church rulers; but it was a name, once given, that was likely soon to supersede all others on the principle of the survival of the fittest. It was well known and understood by Greeks; and not less so by the Jews, for it is common in the Septuagint; and it expresses by a single word at once the dignity and the duties of the rulers of the Church.

E. Haupt suggests that the bishops and deacons are here selected for special greeting because they had taken a leading part in arranging for and collecting the gift sent by Epaphroditus. With regard to the two classes of persons named, Haupt writes: 'It is possible that there is no reference here to the offices. In 1 Th 5^{12} the same persons are certainly designated by the expressions *οἱ κοπιῶντες* and *οἱ προϊστάμενοι*; and it is at least probable that the same is the case with regard to the *ποιμένες* and *διδάσκαλοι* of Eph 4^{11}. Clement (*1 Ep.* xlii. 5) ascribes presidency to *ἐπίσκοποι* and *διάκονοι* alike. It is, therefore, possible that here *ἐπίσκοποι* and *διάκονοι* are to be understood as applying to the same persons; and that here as in the other Pauline Epistles, there was as yet no fixed terminology for the office of president' (*Die Gefangenschaftsbriefe*, p. 3). See, further, on the subject of this note, Hort, *Ecclesia*, 111 f.

NOTE 2.—Ph 2^{5-11}. This passage has been pressed into the service of speculative theology, and many attempts have been made to extract from it an apostolic doctrine of the relations of the Divine and human natures of our Lord. It is very doubtful, however, if the apostle had any intention of formulating, or even of hinting at the meaning which his words are supposed to bear. In v.^{4} he had uttered a warning against factiousness and vain glory, and a counsel follows to cultivate lowliness of mind. Of this voluntary choice of lowliness, Christ was their great example, for He had exchanged His heavenly glory for the life of humanity,—for a life which ended in a death of shame.

According to some commentators the words *ὃς ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων οὐχ ἁρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ* refer to the lowliness of spirit exhibited by the Son during His pre-existent life. Although in the form of God, He did not ambitiously snatch at equality with the Father. If this be the meaning, it is a thought strangely foreign to the ordinary thought of St. Paul to hint even at a possible rivalry between the Father and the Son. Nor do the words force us to adopt this interpretation. The word *μορφή* as distinguished from *σχῆμα* denotes that which is essential to the subject, that which properly belongs to its nature; and the words *τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ* need not express a different, but the same idea. Christ being in the form of God, therefore possessed equality with God. The only word which creates difficulty is *ἁρπαγμός*, which, according to its termination, signifies 'a snatching,' not 'the thing snatched.' But substantives in *-μος* are frequently used to describe the concrete thing (*e.g.* *πειρασμός*, *πορισμός*, *δεσμός*). *Ἁρπαγμός* occurs only once in classical writers in a passage in Plutarch (*Mor.* p. 12 A). So we cannot say with certainty whether or not it was ever employed in the passive sense. It was certainly so used by the Greek Fathers, who were writing in their native tongue. In a number of passages the Fathers employ the expression *ἁρπαγμόν τι ποιεῖσθαι* as synonymous with the more ordinary expression *ἅρπαγμά τι ποιεῖσθαι*. If we may so translate *ἁρπαγμός* here, the meaning is that Christ did not regard the equality with God which He possessed, as a prize to be eagerly grasped and retained, but of His own will surrendered it for the condition of lowliness. The verb *κενοῦν* (Ro 4^{14}, 1 Co 1^{17} 9^{15}) refers to this surrender by Christ of His heavenly glory and dignity, and the manner of surrender is explained in the expression that follows—*μορφὴν δούλου λαβών*. To answer the questions of speculative theology as to the exact relation which continued to exist between the 'two natures' of Christ, was entirely foreign to the purpose of St. Paul's exhortation. 'It contains,' writes Zahn (*Einl. in d. NT*), 'hardly more dogmatical teaching than the sentence in 2 Co 8^9.'

NOTE 3.—Ph 3^{1b-20}. This passage does not harmonize either in substance or in tone, with the rest of the Epistle. It almost looks as if it had been torn out of its connexion in the Ep. to the Galatians, or in the 2nd Ep. to the Corinthians. It has certainly more kinship with those Epistles than with the Epistle in which it stands. It consists of a passionate invective against the Judaizers, reminding us of Galatians, followed by a vindication of St. Paul's own position as the possessor of all the privileges of which the Judaizers were fond of boasting.

It is extremely difficult to discover a fitting connexion between it and the preceding paragraph, which concludes with the words, 'Finally, my brethren, rejoice in the Lord.' Some commentators (*e.g.* Bengel, B. Weiss, Klöpper) have seen a link of connexion in the circumstance that Christian joy was obscured by the practice of Judaic rites which diverted the gaze from Christ: 'Gaudium spirituale optimam affert certitudinem contra errores, Judaicos præsertim' (Bengel). But a connexion so delicately hinted, when the Judaizers were in question, is unlike St. Paul. Lightfoot gives up the attempt to establish an inner connexion of the passage with what goes before. He conjectures that the apostle was interrupted when writing the letter. In the interval something occurred in Rome which reminded him of the restless propagandism of the Judaizing missionaries. 'What if they should interfere at Philippi as they were doing at Rome, and tamper with the faith and loyalty of his converts? With this thought weighing upon his spirit he resumes his letter.' But a device of this character rather suggests the interpreter in despair. We prefer the explanation of E. Haupt, who remarks that the fragmentary character of Paul's closing exhortations makes it unnecessary to look for a connexion with the foregoing passage, if a possible danger to the Philippians from the Judaizers was present to his mind. That he is speaking of the Judaizers sufficiently explains the sudden change of tone to severity and solemn warning; for the mention of those plotters against the peace of his Churches always excited the indignation of the apostle. It also accounts for the introduction of the vindication of his own ancestral privileges as a Hebrew of the Hebrews, and as one who had always been found blameless as touching the righteousness which is of the law; for the apostle was aware that it was the invariable practice of the Judaizers to indulge in detraction of himself, whom they regarded as the chief obstacle to their designs upon the freedom of the Church.

v. THE GENUINENESS AND INTEGRITY OF THE EPISTLE.—The genuineness of Philippians was denied by Baur and his scholars Schwegler, Volkmar, etc., and by Hitzig. The mention of bishops and deacons in the greeting betrayed, they maintained, a later date than the lifetime of St. Paul. They found in it, moreover, evident traces of the Gnosticism of the 2nd century. Its teaching regarding the Kenosis of Christ (2^6) was a reflexion of the Valentinian myth of the fall of Sophia from the Pleroma to the Kenoma. In 2^8 they found the Gnostic Docetic teaching about the body of Christ; and in 2^{10} Marcion's doctrine of a *Descensus ad Inferos*. In Clement, who is mentioned in 4^3, they perceived a reference to the Clement of the Clementine Romances. The design of the Epistle, according to Baur, was to repel Ebionite assaults, and to promote unity between the two sections of the Church. The views of Baur with regard to this Epistle possess at present only a historical interest. The Epistle to the Philippians is accepted, if not by all, at least by a great majority of NT critics. Many who reject Ephesians and are doubtful of Colossians (*e.g.* Jülicher, Hilgenfeld, Pfleiderer, Lipsius), accept Philippians as the genuine work of the apostle. Holsten in his latest work (*Paulinische Theologie*, 1898), although he continued to place it among the Epistles wrongly ascribed to Paul, admitted that its teaching is wholly Pauline. A theory was broached recently by Voelter (*ThT*, 1892) that the Epistle is in part the work of Paul, in part by another hand. The genuine parts are, according to Voelter, $1^{1-7.\,12-14.\,18-28}$ 2^{17-29} $4^{10-21.\,23}$. The remaining parts are not genuine. Spitta (*Zur Geschichte u. Lit. d. Urchristenthums*, 1893) also denies the integrity of the Epistle. C. Clemen (*Die Einheit d. paulin. Briefe*, 1894), while rejecting the theory of Voelter and defending the genuineness of the whole of the Epistle, maintains that it consists of two letters of the apostle, written at different times, and made into one by an editor. 2^{19-24} 3^{2}–4^{3} $4^{8.\,9}$ he holds to belong to the second letter. The expression of Polycarp, that Paul wrote 'letters' to the Philippians, is relied upon as giving a certain traditional authority to this theory. Did the portions which are considered as belonging to different letters follow one another consecutively, the theory might deserve some consideration; for two letters by the same author might easily have got fastened together, and would in time have been regarded as one letter. But it is hard to see what motives could have induced an editor to transform two connected letters into a document of artificial piecework. Chapter 3 alone gives some colour to the idea that foreign matter may have found its way into the Epistle, but is not sufficient to lead us to accept Clemen's theory.

LITERATURE.—*INTRODUCTION.*—F. C. Baur, *Paulus der Apostel Jesu Christi*, 1866–67 [Eng. tr. by Menzies, 1873]; A. Hilgenfeld, *Histor.-krit. Einleitung in das NT*, 1875; H. J. Holtzmann, *Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in das NT*, 1885; Theodor Zahn, *Einleitung in das NT*, 1897; F. Godet, *Introduction to the NT*, 1894.

COMMENTARIES.—J. B. Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians*, a revised text, with Introduction, Notes, and Dissertation, 1895; C. J. Ellicott, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians*, 1865; E. Haupt, 'Die Gefangenschaftsbriefe neu bearbeitet,' in Meyer's *Kommentar*^{8}, 1897; A. Klöpper, *Der Brief des Apostels Paulus an die Philipper*, 1893; R. A. Lipsius, *Hand-Commentar*, 1891; Wohlenberg in *Kurzgef. Comm.* 1895; John Eadie, *A Commentary on the Greek Text of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Philippians*, edited by W. Young, Gr. and Eng. 1884; C. J. Vaughan, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians*, Gr. and Eng. 1885; H. C. G. Moule, 'The Epistle to the Philippians,' in *Camb. Bible for Schools*, also *Philippian Studies*, 1897; E. H. Gifford, *The Incarnation, A Study of Philippians ii. 5–11*, 1897; J. A. Beet, *Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Philemon*, 1890; M. R. Vincent, 'Philippians and Philemon' (in *Internat. Crit. Comm.*), 1897.

J. GIBB.

PHILISTIA.—See next article, and PALESTINE.

PHILISTINES (פְּלִשְׁתִּים, in Am 9^{7} and 1 Ch 14^{10} [*Kethîbh*] פְּלִשְׁתִּיִּים; LXX Φυλιστιείμ in the Hexateuch, and ἀλλόφυλοι elsewhere; in Josephus and other Greek writers Φυλιστῖνοι or Παλαιστῖνοι).—'Philistines' is the gentilic plural of פְּלֶשֶׁת, in AV 'Palestina,' 'Palestine,' 'the Philistines,' but in RV always 'Philistia'; in Assyr. '*Palastu*,' '*Pilistu*'; in Gr. Παλαιστίνη, but in LXX always transmuted into the word for 'Philistines' (Ex 15^{14}, Is $14^{29.\,31}$, Ps 60^{8} 83^{7} 87^{4} 108^{9}, Jl 3^{4}). The Hebrew name as well as the Greek has been explained, though with very doubtful warrant, as by derivation denoting 'immigrants.'

1. *The Name.*—It is probably Semitic. It has a peculiar grammatical use. The Hebrew has two usual ways of designating a people as such. One way is by the use of the primitive noun without modification, just as proper names of persons are used. For example, 'Asshur,' 'Assyrian,' 'the Assyrian,' 'the Assyrians' are in Hebrew all alike *Asshur*, this noun denoting either the founder, the country, the nation, or the people, and in each meaning used in the masculine singular, and without the article. But no such use is ever made of any primitive from which *Pĕlishtîm* might be derived. The other way is by the use of the gentilic adjective in the masculine singular, with the article. We have, for example, 'the Moabite,' 'the Jebusite,' 'the Ekronite,' 'the Gittite,' in the singular, alike for an individual and for the people as a whole, though the English versions pluralize words of this class when they denote peoples. In contrast with this, the word *Pĕlishtî* is used in the singular only of individuals, the instances being Goliath (1 S $17^{8.\,10}$ and often) and the Philistine of 2 S 21^{17}, and is always plural when it denotes the Philistine people. Further, it is regularly used without the article, though there are some exceptions, *e.g.* Jos 13^{2}, 1 S 4^{7} 7^{13} 13^{20} $17^{51\text{f.}}$, 2 S $5^{19\text{b}}$ 21^{12} (*Keth.*), 1 Ch $11^{13\text{a}}$, 2 Ch 21^{16}. These facts differentiate this name, in a very marked way, from most other biblical names of peoples.

This differentiation becomes the more marked when we note that it serves to affiliate the Philistine name in certain directions, as well as to sever it in other directions. Perhaps the name *Caphtōrîm* and the six other unusual names mentioned with *Pĕlishtîm* in Gn $10^{13.\,14}$ follow completely the same usage, though the number of instances is too small to be decisive. The word *Rĕphāîm*, when used as a gentilic name, follows the same usage; and the other proper names of the giant peoples follow it in that they are used in the plural (see GIANT, etc.). The name מִצְרִי, denoting the Egyptian people, is plural except in Ezr 9^{1}. The words כּוּשִׁי, 'Ethiopian,' לוּבִי, 'Lybian,' כַּשְׂדִּי, 'Chaldæan,' denoting peoples, are always plural, and are regularly definite without the article. All this is certainly significant of facts in Philistine history. Whether the facts thus signified are recoverable is another question.

2. *Characteristics of the Philistines in the times when they are best known.*—The usage attending the name is not more remarkable than are many of the facts concerning the Philistines themselves, as they appear in the OT.

Their territory extended 'from the Shihor* which is before Egypt, even unto the border of Ekron northward' (Jos $13^{2.\,3}$). Its eastern limit was at Beth-shemesh (1 S 6^{18}). It included possibly 2000 square miles of land, much of it remarkably fertile. Within this territory there were, according to the biblical writers, in the times when the Philistines were prominent, four kinds of inhabitants. First, there were the Philistines proper. Second, there were remnants of the Anakim and the Avvim in Gaza, Gath, Ashdod, etc. (Jos 11^{22} 13^{3}, Dt 2^{23}). These were politically Philistine, as the Anakim at Hebron were politically Amorite. Third, the accounts of the conquest under Joshua and of the subsequent events seem to imply that there were Canaanites living among the Philistines, some of whom were conquered and superseded by Israel (see 3 below). Fourth, some of the southern Geshurites (Jos 13^{2}, 1 S 27^{8}), and perhaps other like tribes, lived within the Philistine territory, near the Egyptian border. It is noteworthy that the Philistines seem to have confined themselves to their own narrow region, even when for decade after decade they held dominion over the wider territories of Israel. It is recorded as an exceptional fact that, after the overthrow of Saul at Gilboa, some of them became resident among the Israelites in the regions beyond Jezreel and Jordan (1 S 31^{7}, 1 Ch 10^{7}).

The Philistines were proficient in agriculture

* That is, either an arm of the Nile (Dillm.) or the *Wâdy el-'Arîsh*, 'river (נַחַל) of Egypt.'

(Jg 15$^{4.5}$, 1 S 6, 2 K 8^{2} etc.). They were skilful in architecture, in sculpture, in the working of iron and of the precious metals, and in other arts (*e.g.* Jg 16$^{25-30}$, 1 S 5. 13$^{19.20}$ 17$^{5.6}$ etc.). At a relatively early date they seem to have had monetary usages peculiar to themselves, witness the 'eleven hundred of silver' (Jg 16$^{5.18}$; cf. 17^{2}). In fine, they are presented to us as relatively a wealthy and highly civilized people. So far as appears, it was only in later times that they engaged largely in commerce and maritime pursuits.

Politically, they had five principal centres, the cities of Ashdod, Gaza, Ashkelon, Gath, and Ekron (wh. see, severally, and see also 1 S 6^{17}, Jos 13^{3}, Zeph 2$^{4-7}$ etc.). It has been inferred that Ashdod possessed a right of hegemony over the others; but the order of mention differs in different places; and, judging by the history, the claim of Gath to the hegemony is much stronger than that of Ashdod. Besides the five, the Philistines had many other cities, the following (which see) being familiar examples: Gerar, Gezer, Timnah, Ziklag, Gob, Gibbethon, Jabneh (2 Ch 26^{6}); and many of them dwelt in unwalled towns (1 S 6^{18}, Dt 2^{23}); but the five principal centres representatively included them all (1 S 6^{18}).

Their political organization was unique. The people of each centre are currently spoken of in the ordinary way in which other nationalities are mentioned, as 'the Ashdodite,' 'the Ashkelonite,' etc. But the centres themselves and their political heads are alike designated by the altogether peculiar word סְרָנִים, *ṣĕrānîm*, tr. 'lords' in AV and RV (Jos 13^{3}, Jg 16^{5} etc.). This word is used only in the plural. It is doubtless the native term, and has no near cognates in the Hebrew, save that a word of the same spelling is used (1 K 7^{30}) of some accessory to the wheels of the laver-bases of Solomon's temple. Here the RV, following Vulg. and many lexicons, tr. by 'axles,' though the word is different from the one rendered 'axletrees' in the same context. Half a dozen opposing derivations have been conjectured for *ṣĕrānîm*, none of them more plausible than the natural suggestion that these five cities and their chiefs were regarded as the centres or representatives of national power; or that *ṣeren* is the Greek *τύραννος*.

The *ṣĕrānîm*, 'lords,' are distinguished from the *sārîm*, שָׂרִים, 'captains' (1 S 18^{30} 29$^{2-9}$, where AV and RV misleadingly translate 'princes' instead of 'captains'). The former are the depositaries of national authority, and the latter the men in actual military command. In particular cases, both offices may or may not have been combined in one person. The LXX prevailingly tr. *ṣeren* by *σατράπης* or *σατραπία*, 'satrap' or 'satrapy,' and *sar* by *στρατηγός*, 'captain,' but sometimes interchange the two, and sometimes tr. *ṣĕrānîm* by *ἄρχοντες*, 'rulers.'

The functions of the *ṣĕrānîm* were both civil and military. We have no account of any one *ṣeren* acting by himself, but only of acts in which the whole body of *ṣĕrānîm* participated. The accounts speak sometimes of the 'armies' and sometimes of the 'army' of the Philistines (1 S 23^{3} 28^{1} 29). Apparently each of the five centres had its independent force, but all were combined, in time of war, under one command. In David's time Gath was especially prominent, and perhaps held the hegemony (1 Ch 20^{6}, RV of 2 S 8^{1}; cf. 1 Ch 18^{1}). King Achish of Gath may have been the Philistine commander-in-chief, though the narrative does not explicitly say so (1 S 29).

We have no information as to whether the office of *ṣeren* was hereditary or elective or perpetuated in some other way, nor as to the relation between this office and that of king. None of the Philistine kings who are mentioned reigned over all Philistia (Gn 20^{2} 26$^{1.8}$, Jer 25^{20}, Zec 9^{5}); they were all local. We are not told whether the *ṣĕrānîm* existed from the earliest times, or whether they continued to exist after the conquest by David. But in the one instance we have of a Philistine king in relations with the *ṣĕrānîm*, the instance of Achish (1 S 28. 29), the king is compelled to submit to the *ṣĕrānîm*. Achish may himself have been *ṣeren* of Gath, as well as king of Gath.

The religion of the Philistines was in some respects unique (see DAGON and BAAL-ZEBUB). They were a very religious people. Their priests and diviners (1 S 6^{2}) had great influence. Their cloud-observing (?) soothsayers (Is 2^{6}) were famous. Their being an uncircumcised people is much emphasized in the biblical records (Jg 14^{3} 15^{18}, 1 S 14^{6} 17$^{26.36}$ 31^{4}, 2 S 1^{20}, Jer 9$^{25.26}$).

They were distinguished especially for military prowess. Pretty full details of their system might be gathered from various parts of the Bible, including mention of their archers, their equipment for heavy armed infantry, their organization into hundreds and thousands, etc. (1 S 31^{3}, 1 Ch 10^{3}, 1 S 29^{2}). The accounts make the impression that they usually fought as infantry, though chariots and cavalry are mentioned (1 S 13^{5}, 2 S 1^{6}, and perhaps Jg 1^{19}). We have descriptions of their savage treatment of the bodies of their fallen enemies (1 S 31, 1 Ch 10), and of the honours with which their women welcomed their warriors returning from victory. But more significant than all matters of detail is the fact that this little nation, with its few hundred square miles of territory, was able again and again to conquer Israel, and to hold Israel in subjection for generations.

In their military operations they seem to have pursued a very definite policy. In the earlier stages of any movement of conquest they practised effective and systematic pillage, as, for instance, in the case of Keilah (1 S 23^{1}), or earlier, after their first great defeat of Saul (1 S 13$^{17.18}$). The indications are, however, that the Israelites increased in population and wealth during the long periods of Philistine oppression, provided they were submissive. From this we may infer that it was the policy of the conquerors, whenever resistance ceased, to abstain from pillage, doubtless exacting tribute instead, and finding it for their own interest to have the tributary people as prosperous as possible.

To secure submission, the Philistines practised the disarmament of the subjected people. We have an instance in the time of Saul (1 S 13$^{19-23}$), and what seems to be an allusion to an earlier instance of the time of Shamgar (Jg 3^{31} 5^{8}). According to the LXX in the first of these passages, the Philistines used this as a method of exacting tribute, suppressing the working of metals in Israel, and then compelling the Israelites to pay an exorbitant price for their tools.

It was the Philistine policy to prevent the existence of a united Israel. As long as David is king of Judah, and has a rival king farther north, they seem to be content. When Israel is divided, the Philistine supremacy is not imperilled. But when it is proposed that David reign over all the twelve tribes, the Philistine armies march at once (2 S 5^{17}). A similar situation had arisen previously, when Samuel became judge (1 S 7^{7}).

Presumably, the Philistines did not achieve all their successes single-handed. It is a familiar fact that in cases of Egyptian invasion, in earlier times, or, later, of Assyrian invasion, it was the custom of the multitudinous little peoples between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean to band together against the common foe. Judging by the numbers of the Israelites, as mentioned in the Hexateuch, the invasion under Joshua was sufficiently formidable to call for similar confederations of the threatened peoples. As a matter of fact, the Bible represents the resistance made to Joshua and, later, to David as being of this character. We shall presently find evidence that in some of the wars of subjugation the Philistine success was due in part to the ability to array many allies against Israel.

3. *The History of the Philistines.*—Beyond dispute, they were immigrants into Palestine. The passages presently to be cited affirm this explicitly. It has been thought to be implied in the etymology of the Hebrew name *Pĕlishtîm* as well as of the Greek Ἀλλόφυλοι. So far, the problem is easy. But the questions whence they migrated, and when and how the migrating stock was modified in its new seats, are questions not so readily answered.

The Philistine language was probably Semitic, although the data whence this conclusion is drawn are restricted. So were certain important elements in their religion and their civilization. This proves either that the Philistines were originally Semitic, or that they changed their language, and to some extent their institutions, under the influence of the Semitic region to which they came.

We are told that they came from Caphtor, as Israel from Egypt, or Aram from Ḳir (Am 9^{7}, Dt 2^{23}); that they were Caphtorim (Dt 2^{23}). They are called 'the remnant of the coast of Caphtor' (Jer $47^{4.5}$). The Caphtorim are said to be one of the seven nationalities begotten by Mizraim (Egypt), and the Philistines are said to have 'come out' from the locality where one or more of the other six were (Gn $10^{13.14}$). The text has the adverb of place 'from where,' not the pronoun 'from whom,' and the two expressions are not in Hebrew convertible. It is not said that the Philistines are descendants of the Casluhim and the others, and there is no need to transpose the clauses or otherwise change the text (but see Dillm. *ad loc.*). The net result from this part of the testimony is that the nucleus of the Philistine people consisted of Caphtorim, who migrated, within known historic times, from regions inhabited by Caphtorim and kindred peoples.

But where was *Caphtor*? The LXX uniformly either transliterate the name or make it Cappadocia. Some have identified Caphtor with Cyprus. This finds some support in the fact that the Egyptian monuments associate the Philistines with the Zakkal, a people from Cyprus, and portray the two as scarcely distinguishable. Ebers, Halévy, and others have strongly held that Caphtor was a region in or near the Egyptian Delta. There is a strong recent trend toward the opinion that Caphtor was *Crete*. See CAPHTOR, CARITES, CHERETHITES AND PELETHITES, CRETE.

The argument for identifying Caphtor with Crete connects itself closely with the phenomena presented by another biblical name. In two relatively late places (Zeph 2^{5}, Ezk $25^{15.16}$) the Philistines are identified, wholly or in part, with the *Chĕrēthîm*, whom the LXX, in these places, make to be the Cretans. In both passages the word *Chĕrēthîm* is used in a punning way, effecting a play on words. The name does not occur elsewhere in the plural, but, in the singular, 'the Cherethite' is once mentioned (1 S 30^{14}) as living in or near the Philistine country, and six or seven times in connexion with 'the Pelethite,' as forming a part of king David's military force (1 Ch 18^{17}, 2 S 8^{18} 15^{18} 20^{7} and *Ḳerê* of ^{23}, 1 K $1^{38.44}$). On the basis of these facts it is affirmed that *Cherethite* is another and earlier name for the Philistines, that they were Cretans, that *Pelethite* is merely a variant form of *Philistine*, and that David's successes were largely due to his having Philistine troops. These conclusions are plausible, though they lack something of being sufficiently proved.

The evidence, however, amounts to a strong probability in favour of the more general fact that the Philistines were originally Aryan pirates, whether from Crete or Cyprus or elsewhere, who forced a settlement for themselves among the Semites and Rephaim of the Mediterranean lowland, and adopted the language, and in part the religion and civilization, of the Semites whom they conquered. Of this we shall find many confirmations as we proceed to consider the evidence as to the date when the migration took place.

Ramses III. of Egypt, contemporary, in part, with Joshua, says that in his eighth year he repulsed an invasion made by six or seven hostile nations. Most or all of these nations have Greek names. They are kin to other Greek peoples, settled on the African coast west of the Delta, who made trouble for Ramses in his fifth and his eleventh years, and who had previously made trouble for his predecessors. The invaders who came in his eighth year came by land and by sea. Those who came by land plundered the Syrian regions, 'beginning with the people of Kheta, of Kadi (Galilee), and Carchemish, Aradus, and Alus,' established a rendezvous 'in the land of the Amorites,' and were defeated by Ramses on the frontier between Egypt and the land of Zahi, that is, the region that we know as the land of the Philistines (Insc. in the Ramesseum at Luxor, as cited by Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, p. 329). Those who came by sea entered the mouths of the Nile, and were there defeated, large numbers of them being captured.

Of these six or seven peoples, two are many times mentioned together, to the extent of being somewhat distinguished from the others. In the sculptures they closely resemble one another. They are, of course, Greek in features and equipment. These two are the Zakkal and the Pulusata, Pulsata, Pulista, Purusata, Purosatha, as the name is variously transliterated. Scholars seem to agree that the Zakkal came from Cyprus. The Pulsata have been identified with the Pelasgi, with the Prosoditæ of Cyprus, and with the Philistines. Some of those who believe that they were the Philistines hold that they came at this time from Crete or Cyprus, and were settled by Ramses, after their defeat, in the cities of Zahi. But it is more in accord with the whole of the evidence to hold that the Pulsata and the Zakkal had then been on this coast for some generations, keeping in communication with their kindred in the various Greek regions, and now making themselves leaders in the movement of the hordes that sought the spoils of Egypt. If the Pulsata of Ramses had then just come from Crete, he would surely have designated them by their Greek name, and not by a Semitic descriptive word. If they had just come from Crete, it is difficult to account for the resemblance which the Egyptians found between them and the Cypriote Zakkal, while this is easily accounted for if the two had long been dwelling among Semitic neighbours on the coast. Other Greek invaders Ramses describes as 'kings,' or as 'peoples of the sea,' but he speaks of the 'leaders of the hostile bands' of the Pulsata and the Zakkal, just as he does in the case of the Edomites ('Effigies at Medînet-abu,' as cited in Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, p. 332). Sayce (*EHH* p. 291) cites Hommel as having found a mention of the Zakkal on the coast near Dor, in a Babylonian document (*WAI* iv. 34, No. 2, lines 2, 6) of the 15th cent. B.C. The writers of the history in the OT certainly thought of the

Philistines as well established in their country before the Exodus (Ex 13^{17} 15^{14} 23^{31}, Jos $13^{2.\,3}$ etc.). Whether they believed that the Philistines were in the land in the time of Abraham and Isaac is not so certain. They designate as Philistine both the land and the people of that date (Gn $21^{32.\,34}$ $26^{1.\,8.\,14.\,15.\,18}$), but it is easy to understand this as a mere geographical use of the term, or as proleptical. On the other hand, however, these Philistines are described as a military people (Gn $21^{22.\,32}$ 26^{26}), and as having other resemblances to the Philistines of later times; and the proofs that the Philistine migration had not begun as early as the time of Abraham are not so decisive as many imagine.

Whenever the Philistine settlements began, they probably began on a relatively small scale. The immigrants came in successive expeditions, and not all at once. In certain matters they accepted the conditions of life which they found on the soil. They became owners of cattle if the people whom they conquered were owners of cattle, and raisers of crops if the conquered were agricultural people. If they conquered Egyptian tributaries, they accepted the suzerainty without which Egypt would have forthwith expelled them. They seem to have accepted the Semitic names of the cities they conquered. At all events, Gaza, Gath, Ashkelon, and several other cities of the region were known by the names still familiar to us, as early as the time of Amenhotep III. of Egypt (Tel el-Amarna letters). There were of them more men than women, and the marrying of native wives began at once. Their peculiar political organization, that of the *ṣĕrānîm*, presumably grew up upon the soil. From the time of Ramses III. they were probably driven from the sea, isolated from their Greek kindred, and compelled to become a non-maritime people. Through these various changes of blood, institutions, government, and external relations, they became at length differentiated as a people by themselves.

The accounts of the conquest by Joshua make the impression that the Philistines were then in their five central cities, but that there were also in the region several independent petty Canaanitish kingdoms; that Israel at that time conquered most of the Canaanite kingdoms, although it failed to permanently hold some of them (Jos $10^{33.\,41}$ $11^{2.\,3.\,16}$ 12^{12} $15^{33\text{-}47}$ $16^{3.\,10}$ etc.); but did not conquer the Philistine cities (Jos $13^{2.\,3}$), though Ekron, Ashdod, and Gaza are by the tenure of promise included in the inheritance of Judah (Jos $15^{45\text{-}47}$ 13^{6}). It is said that Judah, after Joshua's death, conquered Gaza, Ashkelon, and Ekron (Jg 1^{18}), but that the Philistine cities were independent when the struggle of the conquest came to an end (Jg 3^{3}).

The biblical records signalize four periods of oppression of Israel by the Philistines. The first is that in which Shamgar was the deliverer (Jg 3^{31} 10^{11}). This was in the time of the twenty years' oppression by Jabin and Sisera (Jg $4^{2\text{-}4}$ $5^{6.\,7}$). Presumably, a generation or two of prosperity had raised Israel to a position where he was formidable to his neighbours, and so a coalition was formed against him by the Philistines and the many peoples of the north. The Philistine pressure was mainly felt by Judah and Simeon, and it may account for the absence of these two from Deborah's roll-call of the tribes that marched against Jabin. We have no details of the Philistine operations, but there is a suggestion of a disarmament of their enemies, like that which was practised afterwards in the time of Saul (Jg 3^{31} 5^{8}).[*]

The second Philistine oppression of Israel is that mentioned in Jg $10^{6.\,7}$ as occurring before the eighteen years of oppression by the Ammonites. Contrary to common opinion, the writer of this article holds that this was the oppression in which Samson distinguished himself (Jg 13^{2}–16). It began, apparently, before Samson's birth (Jg 13^{5}), while Tola was judge. In the time of Samson's wild youth it was so thoroughly a recognized fact (14^{4} 15^{11}) that it did not prevent relations between Israelite and Philistine families. It ceased when Samson was made judge, after the battle of Lehi ($15^{14\text{-}20}$). During the twenty years of his public life, the Philistines kept on their own side of the border (16), even when plotting against him.

The third Philistine oppression was the one that lasted through the forty years that Eli was judge (1 S 4^{18}, here regarded as corresponding to Jg 13^{1}) and the twenty years that followed (1 S 7^{2}). After the first horrors of conquest were over, the Israelites seem to have prospered under the yoke, if we may judge of the population by the size of the armies (1 S $4^{2.\,10}$ 11^{8} 15^{4}). This oppression ceased after Samuel became judge (1 S $7^{7\text{-}14}$). He defeated the Philistines in a decisive battle. He compelled them to surrender the cities in their country that belonged to Israel, that is, apparently, those that had formerly been Canaanite, and had been conquered by Israel. 'And the Philistines were subdued, and they came no more into the coasts of Israel; and the hand of the Lord was against the Philistines' as long as Samuel remained chief magistrate of Israel, a statement not inconsistent with 10^{5} $13^{3.\,19\text{ff.}}$.

The fourth oppression was that of the time of Saul. It began when Saul had been long enough on the throne for his son Jonathan to have grown to military age (1 S 13^{3}). The account says that they invaded Israel with an army extraordinarily large (1 S 13^{5}). Deal as we may with the numbers given, it appears that they had at that time great respect for the strength of Israel, and had gathered an immense body of allies to assist them. It turned out that their precaution was needless. Saul quarrelled with Samuel. His army melted away from him. With no resistance worthy of the name, the Philistines became masters, and plundered and disarmed Israel at will. Later, however, Israel rallied. During the remainder of his reign Saul waged a series of fierce battles with the oppressors. He perished in the battle of Gilboa, and the Philistine power over Israel became supreme (1 S 31).

Presumably both David and his northern competitor paid tribute to Philistia during the seven and a half years that he reigned over Judah (2 S 5^{5}). Naturally, they interfered to prevent his becoming king over a united Israel. He defeated them in two desperate defensive campaigns (2 S $5^{17\text{-}25}$), and then, in four or more aggressive expeditions (2 S 8^{1} $21^{15\text{-}22}$), reduced them to subjection.

In consequence of the disruption of the kingdom after the death of Solomon, the Philistines became independent, but they never re-established their earlier glory. We hear no more of their *ṣĕrānîm.* Later, in the Assyrian times, they have a king for each of their cities (Zec 9^{5}, Jer 25^{20}, and many passages in the records of Sargon and his successors). In the same later times they seem to be engaged in commerce, dealing especially in Israelitish spoils and slaves (Am $1^{6\text{-}8}$, Jl $3^{4\text{-}8}$, cf. Ob $^{13.\,14.\,19}$, depending, however, on the date one assigns to Joel and Obadiah). Perhaps there are signs of a Greek revival among them (Jl 3^{6}, and the *Yavan* of Sargon).

However their institutions changed, we have frequent mention of the Philistines themselves. Among the cities fortified by Rehoboam were Gath and Mareshah, etc. (2 Ch 11^{8}). The Philistines warred with Israel for Gibbethon (1 K 15^{27} 16^{15}). They were celebrated for their oracles (2 K 1^{2}) and their soothsayers (Is 2^{6}). Some of them paid tribute to Jehoshaphat (2 Ch 17^{11}), after whose death they raided Judah ($21^{16.\,17}$). Philistia was a refuge for fugitives when the invasions of Shalmaneser II., warring with Benhadad and his allies, caused famine in northern Israel (2 K $8^{2.\,3}$). Hazael of Damascus captured Gath (2 K 12^{17}). Ramman-nirâri III. of Assyria conquered Damascus and took tribute from the Philistines. At this point there is a wide gap in the Assyrian records. When they again become available, the Philistines, with a multitude of other nations between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean, have become independent of the Assyrian, and are again being reduced to subjection. Uzziah of Judah is especially prominent among the rebel kings. Later, by intrigue and by arms, Tiglath-pileser, to whom Ahaz of Judah was tributary, reduced Gaza and Ashkelon to tribute (B.C. 734). Under Sargon and Sennacherib there were two parties in the Philistine cities, the one favouring Assyria and the other favouring Hezekiah of Judah, and the latter was crushed. From Sargon to Assurbanipal the Assyrians have much to say concerning their Philistine conquests and subjects. The Philistine military operations of Uzziah and Hezekiah were doubtless connected with Assyrian politics (2 Ch $26^{6.\,7}$, 2 K $18^{7.\,8}$). Their mutual relations to the Assyrians account for the fact that the Israelite historians and prophets, from Amos to Ezekiel, speak of the Philistines sometimes with denunciation, as enemies, but also often as having a common interest (2 Ch 28^{18}, Is 9^{12} 11^{14}, Am 1^{6-8}, Mic 1^{10-15}, Zeph 2^{4-7}, Jer 47^{4-7}, Ezk $16^{27.\,57}$ $25^{15.\,16}$, Am 3^{9} 6^{2} 9^{7}, Zec 9^{5-8}, Jer 25^{18-20}). Gath vanishes from the biblical records (except Mic 1^{10}) from the time of its capture by Uzziah (2 Ch 26^{6}), and is similarly absent from the Assyrian monuments.

---

[*] Moore (*Judges*, pp. 80, 105) argues that Shamgar appears too early as a champion against the *Philistines.*

The Philistines suffered greatly in the struggle between Egypt and Assyria, in the decades when the Assyrian power went down. Herodotus says that Psammitichus I. of Egypt, the contemporary of Manasseh and Josiah of Judah, took Ashdod after a siege of 29 years (ii. 157); that in the later part of his reign Scythian hordes plundered the temple of Venus at Ashkelon (i. 105); that his successor Necho, returning from the battle of Megiddo (when Josiah was slain, B.C. 608), captured Gaza (ii. 159); that when Cambyses invaded Egypt, about B.C. 625, Gaza and the whole coast belonged to the king of the Arabians (iii. 5).

This is practically the close of Philistine history, though the cities and some of the institutions long survived, and the region has been the scene of many interesting events. The Ashdodites came into collision with Nehemiah (Neh 4^{7} 13^{23}). Alexander the Great took Gaza from the Persians. Ptolemy Lagi did notable fighting there. In the Greek accounts of the Maccabæan times the *Allophuloi* and the land of the *Allophuloi* figure prominently, and the land thus described is the Philistine country; but the persons called *Allophuloi* are any heathen in arms against Israel (*e.g.* 1 Mac 3–4). Sketches of the later history are given under the names of the respective cities.

LITERATURE.—Hitzig, *Urgeschichte . . . der Philistäer*; Knobel, *Völkertafel*; Movers, *Phönizier*; Pietschmann, *Phönizier*, p. 261 ff.; Stark, *Gaza und die philistäische Küste*, Jena, 1852. Of more real value are recent works on Palestinian geography and explorations, works which give the text of Egyptian and Assyrian inscriptions, works on the history of the nations mentioned in the Bible, and commentaries on the biblical passages where the Philistines are mentioned. As examples one may specify McCurdy, *HPM* vol. i. sections 166, 54, 192–194; Sayce, *EHH* p. 291, and *HCM* (index); G. A. Smith, *HGHL* ch. ix.; Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, chs. ix.–xiv. etc.; W. Max Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, 387 ff.; Schwally, *Die Rasse der Philistäer*, *ZWTh*. xxxiv. 103 ff.; Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 463 f.

W. J. BEECHER.

PHILOLOGUS (Φιλόλογος).—The name of a Christian greeted by St. Paul in Ro 16^{15} along with Julia, Nereus, Olympas, and others. The name is common among slaves and freedmen, and in inscriptions of the Imperial household (*CIL* vi. 4116). Philologus was commemorated with Patrobas (which see) on Nov. 4. Later legends about him will be found in *Acta Sanctorum*, Nov., ii. 1, p. 222.

A. C. HEADLAM.

PHILOMETOR.—See PTOLEMY VI.

PHILOSOPHY.—

Introduction: the place and function of philosophy; the relations between religion and philosophy; the periods of contact between them.

I. The Problem of Greek Philosophy.—1. First Stage: early Greek thinkers. 2. Second stage: the Sophists; Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. 3. Third Stage: Stoics and Epicureans; Scepticism; Neoplatonism.

II. The Contact of Christianity with Greek Philosophy.—1. The Christian Unity: Christianity and Neoplatonism contrasted. 2. Christianity and the Greek dualism: (i.) the speculative problem; (ii.) the ethical problem. 3. The relation of Christian experience to Greek forms of thought. Reference to the conclusions of the 'historical' school.

The Place and Function of Philosophy.—Man lives, and man thinks about the life he lives. This is the essence of his constitution as man. He is under the constraint of his nature to re-think the life he lives. This is his distinction from the lower animals, who live, but do not think of their life. Admit that man is an animal, and has been produced by evolution. Admit even that there are traces of several mental faculties in the lower animals. Yet the fact remains that for man alone does life present itself as an object of reflexion. For man alone is experience a problem. Philosophy, speaking broadly, is the activity of thought brought to bear on experience as a whole. It is, in Schwegler's phrase, 'the thinking consideration of things.' It is implied in the very fact of experience being a problem that, throughout its manifold and diverse elements, there is a unity of thought, reason, or spirit. If it were not so, experience would not be a problem, for it would never have arisen as a whole out of the succession of separate sensations. It is the task of Philosophy to make explicit this unity which is implicit in human experience. We can see, therefore, in broad outline, the course which the history of Philosophy must take. It is a progress towards unity, towards a synthesis of elements, towards a view of human experience, with its varied contents, from one central standpoint.

The stages of this progress will be marked by the unifying principles which they severally employ. Such a principle, let us suppose, is reached. It serves to explain a number of the particular elements of experience, and to bring them into a harmony which shall be for the time satisfactory to thought and stimulating to action. Soon, however, it is found that this synthetic principle is not adequate to the complexity of life. Elements of experience come into view which refuse to be explained by the alleged universal principle. The harmony which was temporarily reached is broken. Tragic discord appears. The quest for unity has to be resumed with a deeper, sadder, insight, and a larger, more patient wisdom. As we review the history of Philosophy, accordingly, we see that no speculative system is final. Each system, in turn, has failed. We see, moreover, that Philosophy, if we choose to speak paradoxically, must always end in failure. It is the last result of thought to raise questions which thought alone cannot answer, to penetrate to discords which the energy of thought alone cannot reconcile. This very failure of Philosophy, however, is, in the highest sense, its success. Want of finality in Philosophy, inability to comprehend the variety of experience in one formula, is not a mark of weakness, but of strength. It means that thought is not content with abstractions, but is resolute to face the facts of life in their fulness and their mystery. It is essentially the quest for a synthesis of life. The success of the quest consists in so deepening the problem that it is seen that no merely intellectual synthesis is possible. The problem of Philosophy merges into the problem of Religion; and Philosophy points beyond itself.

Religion and Philosophy thus present many features of resemblance and contrast, and have close and intricate mutual relations. Religion *provides* the solution which Philosophy *seeks*. That which is the quest of Philosophy is the realized experience of Religion, a unity in which the profoundest differences in life are actually reconciled, which leaves nothing beyond itself to confound the human spirit, but brings all elements of experience into a perfect spiritual harmony.

Towards religious experience, Philosophy renders a service which is at once apologetic and critical, and is in both aspects helpful and indeed indispensable. Philosophy vindicates the validity and reasonableness of religion. In the words of the Master of Balliol, it provides 'a vindication of the religious consciousness—the consciousness of the infinite—as presupposed in that very consciousness of the finite which at present often claims to exclude it altogether, or to reduce it to an empty apotheosis of the unknown and unknowable' (E. Caird, *Essays on Literature and Philosophy*, vol. i. p. 224). Philosophy at the same time has to consider the form in which this religious experience at any particular epoch clothes itself. And if it shall appear that the form contradicts the universality and comprehensiveness of the experience of which it is the expression, and is, therefore, falsifying and imperilling that experience, Philosophy must ruthlessly assail that form, and break it up, in name of that principle of reconciliation which is the inspiration and the goal both of thought and action. Religion holds an analogous position toward Philosophy, and has a work to do in its behalf, both constructive and critical. Religion discovers the principle for which Philosophy has been seeking, and exhibits it, not as a theory, but as a power, in the freshness and originality of actual life, transforming character and inspiring service. Philosophy, sinking into exhaustion through the inadequacy of the synthesis which it has reached, is rejuvenated at the fountain of religious experience, and is enabled to meet the deepening complexity of its problem with a more comprehensive and more detailed explanation. Religion at the same time has to consider the intellectual synthesis to which its own inspiration has given birth. And if it shall appear that this synthesis has omitted some element in the problem, and has obtained an appearance of harmony by neglecting some source of discord, and is thus stopping the progress of thought short of its goal, Religion must resist the claim of this Philosophy to be absolute, must emphasize the neglected elements of the problem, and must proclaim again the harmony which triumphs over the discords of life,—a harmony found not in intellectual formulæ, but in the verifiable realities of spiritual experience. It follows that Philosophy and Religion can never in their inner meaning be opposed to one another. They are both necessities of the human spirit. Both alike presuppose the spiritual unity which pervades experience, and makes possible both thought and life. Each has its special function in apprehending and realizing this unity; and in their respective functions each is essential to the other. Those periods in which they come into close and conspicuous contact are peculiarly interesting in the history of each. The most important of these occurred in the beginning of the Christian era. In that period, Greek philosophy reached the goal of its long development. In this article we desire to show what that goal was, and how, in reaching it, Greek philosophy asked a question to which Christianity brought the only adequate answer.

i. The Problem of Greek Philosophy.—The movement of Greek thought falls into three well-marked stages. In the first of these, the principle of explanation is sought beyond consciousness. In the second, a spiritual principle has been won, and is used for the comprehension of all existence, and the erection of a system of encyclopædic knowledge. In the third, thought retreats to the standpoint of the individual; the problem of knowledge is raised in its acutest form; the exhaustion of Philosophy overtakes it, and an intense demand is made for a religious solution.

1. *First Stage.*—The early Greek thinker looks out upon nature with joyous curiosity, and asks, 'What is the principle which underlies these multitudinous phenomena?' The earliest philosophies contain brief dogmatic answers to this question. They are not valuable in themselves; but they are interesting as stating the problem of Philosophy, and indicating the goal of thought. They are divided into four schools. The *Ionic School* identified the explanation of all things with one element in nature, saying with Thales (B.C. 640–550), 'all is water'; or with Anaximander (B.C. 611–547), 'all is matter,' τὸ ἄπειρον; or with Anaximenes (B.C. 588–524), 'all is air.' The *Pythagorean School* passed from substance to the proportion which all things bear to one another, and taught that 'all is number.' The *Eleatic School* passed still further on the path of abstraction, from 'substance' and 'number' to 'being,' saying with Xenophanes (B.C. 576–480), 'all is one.' The *Physicists*, in reaction from this abstractness, sought to analyze existence into its material elements. This period closes with Anaxagoras (B.C. 500–428). His great distinction as a thinker is that he relies on the principle of reason, νοῦς, as the principle of explanation. Νοῦς is a world-forming intelligence, acting on the primitive constituents of matter. Thus the first stage in the great movement of Greek philosophy has brought us to a spiritual principle. This is its great achievement, the splendid heritage it hands on to succeeding generations of thinkers. But along with this it also hands on another and less satisfactory heritage, viz. dualism, the opposition of the spiritual and the material, Thought and Extension.

2. *Second Stage.*—At the period of Greek history at which we have now arrived, about the middle of the 5th cent. B.C., we notice that the interest of thought is turning from the outer world of nature to the inner world of the human spirit. Thought, accordingly, becomes anthropological, and seeks the ultimate principles of truth, not beyond, but within man's consciousness of himself.

(*a*) *The Sophists.*—By these men this new departure in the development of Philosophy is inaugurated. One of the most famous of them is Protagoras of Abdera (*c.* 440 B.C.), a pure subjectivist, who taught that there is no absolute standard either of truth or right. Nothing is good or bad by nature (φύσει), but merely by statute (νόμῳ). Another is Gorgias (*c.* 427 B.C.), who taught a rigorous individualism, summed up in a series of paradoxes. Nothing exists; or, if something exists, it cannot be known; or, if it can be known, it cannot be communicated. The work of the Sophists was destructive, and often ethically mischievous, but it was necessary, as a preparation for the great forward movement which Greek philosophy was now to take. Their *merit* is that they have claimed on behalf of man that the principle which is to explain experience must be in harmony with his self-consciousness. Their *defect* is that they have construed man too poorly, and have regarded self-consciousness as little more than individual opinion or feeling.

(*b*) *Socrates* (B.C. 469-399).—In one sense Socrates is a Sophist. He occupies the position of subjectivity, and is a keen critic of conventional customs, institutions, and dogmas. His aim, however, is always positive. He desires to break through mere opinion in order that he may reach universal principles of thought and action. His method accordingly has a double aspect. It is destructive, an 'irony' by which he destroys the conceit of knowledge and convinces of ignorance, which is the 'original' sin of the Socratic theology; but it is also constructive, an obstetric process, whereby universal truth is brought to the birth, and instinct is raised to the rank of clear self-consciousness. In a word, his method is induction, the process whereby is discerned in a mass of particulars what is universal, and therefore fundamental and true. The last result of this method is condensed into the famous Socratic phrase, 'Virtue is knowledge,' knowledge of universal principles of thought and action. In Socrates the problem of Greek philosophy has deepened so as to include the element of man's conscious life. It has become a moral, even a religious problem, how to live life whole, and reach a complete synthesis of experience. Socrates finds the answer in Thought or the Universal. His gospel is 'Salvation by Wisdom.' Defective as it was, the teaching of Socrates declared the supreme worth of man as a spiritual being. It gave direction to the whole subsequent course of Greek thought, till at length the problem became too complex for the Socratic solution.

(*c*) *Plato* (B.C. 427-347) *and Aristotle* (B.C. 385-322).—Socrates attempted no systematization of thought. He was content with enunciating and illustrating a principle. It was the work of Plato and Aristotle to take the Socratic primacy of thought, and from this standpoint to frame systems of knowledge. Their systems have been called 'splendid digressions.' This would be incorrect if it meant that they were not in the main current of Greek thought. It is true, however, that one element prominent in Socrates is lost in them, to reappear with yet stronger emphasis in the post-Aristotelian thinkers, viz. subjectivity. They treat thought as a universal organ. Man as an individual falls into the background. Their problem is that of all Philosophy, to find a unity that shall reconcile all differences; but among these the self-assertion of the individual and the claim of the particular have not found their place.

The Socratic universal principles are in Plato 'ideas,' which are reached by 'reminiscence,' and form the archetypes of all things. Supreme among the ideas is the Good, the ultimate reality, the common ground of all thought and being. The Good is God; but for Plato the question of the personality of God has not arisen. He is moving in the pure ether of speculation, high above the strife and tragedy which make men so eagerly demand or so passionately deny a personal God. Aristotle occupies the same ground as Plato in holding that the universal is the real. But he has a deeper interest than Plato in the phenomenal and the particular. His aim is to bring the universal and particular together, and to exhibit them in their true relations. The formula he uses is that of Form and Matter, εἶδος and ὕλη. Form acts as a plastic artist, taking up the rude amorphous matter, and transforming or rather forming it into actuality. Not only so, but this relation has stages: that which is Form to what is beneath it, being Matter to what is above it. Thus there is a chain of being with mere Matter at one end and pure Form at the other. Pure Form originates the whole movement of existence, but is itself unmoved. It is Thought, in its pure activity, having no object but itself, Very Thought of Very Thought, νόησις νοήσεως. Thus the high level of Greek speculation is theism, not that of the Hebrews with its ethical content, but a theism of thought, in which God abides by Himself in the bliss of perfect knowledge.

Both in Plato and in Aristotle the Unity is magnificent, but it is incomplete. The dualism of Anaxagoras is not yet exorcized. The phenomenal and the individual still fall apart from this sublime transcendental Thought. They must receive their proper place before a true unity can be reached, and when it is, it will not be merely intellectual.

3. *Third Stage.*—In this, the closing period of Greek philosophy, a great change has come over the ancient world. It is the age of world-wide empire, crushing out the earlier civic life. It is therefore also the age of individualism.

In Plato and Aristotle we are aware of an aloofness from the problems that most interest us; but in the post-Aristotelian philosophies we find an affinity with our modes of thought and our general attitude toward life which make them interesting and valuable, though speculatively they are beneath the level of the great encyclopædic systems which immediately preceded them. The Philosophy of this period is intensely and increasingly occupied with the needs of man. To begin with, it is essentially Ethic, and this Ethic is meant to suffice man for religion. As it advances, it becomes more and more religious, till in the end, in Neoplatonism it is avowedly Religion. The systems of this period all logically connect themselves with elements to be found in Aristotle. In Aristotle we have still the Greek dualism unreconciled. Form and Matter, Reason and Sense, are still in opposition. Accordingly we find: (*a*) one system which makes Reason its ruling principle; (*b*) another which chooses Sense for its keynote; (*c*) a third which chooses either element to contradict and destroy the other; (*d*) finally, a system which strives to rise above the antagonism of elements, and makes a leap for unity.

(*a*) The first is *Stoicism*, which regards the soul of the universe as rational, and gives to it the significant title of the Logos. Of this rational whole of things, man is part. He finds salvation, accordingly, in living according to nature, taking his place at the standpoint of all governing Reason. Thus all things work together for his good. Stoicism, to its eternal honour, lays hold of human personality, and attributes to it absolute independence and infinite worth. In this aspect it approximates to Christianity, and formed a mental and moral discipline which prepared the Roman world for the preaching of the gospel. At the same time, Stoicism failed as a redemptive power in the fast-growing corruption of the Roman world. It is 'Salvation by Wisdom,' limited, therefore, to the few, and precarious even in them. Reason fails as a reconciling, unifying principle. See STOICS.

(*b*) The second is *Epicureanism*, which frankly makes matter the ground of all things, sense the ultimate principle of knowledge and action. The Epicurean, like the Stoic, said, 'Live according to nature'; but nature, as he conceived it, was material only, and the end of a life within its limits is no more than pleasure. Such a principle does not necessarily lead to vice; but it may lead to this as well as to virtue; and in any case it fails to organize life into a whole, or quicken it with sustained energy. Epicureanism is the intellectual expression of the decay of moral life in the Roman world. See EPICUREANS.

(*c*) The third is *Scepticism*, which, by keeping rigidly to the individualism which was common alike to Stoicism and Epicureanism, showed that no absolute truth of knowledge, no authoritative rule of action, is possible. Thought and life are reduced to the mere play of opinion and impulse. The only possible attitude toward reality is mere suspense of judgment. Such a position is paralysis both mental and spiritual. Scepticism makes articulate the despair which was brooding over the hearts of men. It is the last utterance of Philosophy, and it is the demand for Religion.

(*d*) The fourth is *Neoplatonism.* The life of man had become hopeless. The demand of the age, therefore, is not now Wisdom for the conduct of life, but Salvation, *σωτηρία*, escape from the dissatisfaction of this life, emergence into a higher sphere. To this demand Neoplatonism makes response. It is at once the climax and the destruction of Greek philosophy. In it Thought, the mighty force which had led the human spirit in its quest for unity, breaks down, and gives up the reins of government. After Neoplatonism barbarism followed, and would have followed more disastrously than it did, had not Christianity succeeded to the place vacated by Greek philosophy. The real advance of Neoplatonism on all preceding systems consists in its conception of the speculative and practical problem. The old Greek dualism of Form and Matter is deepened, and is transformed into that of God and the World, the Infinite and the Finite, Good and Evil. It is thus specifically a religious problem; and Neoplatonism is avowedly a religious solution, a Philosophy which takes up all religions into itself, and claims to be the Absolute Religion. The great precursor of Neoplatonism is Philo Judæus. Its chief exponent is Plotinus (A.D. 204–270).

It is impossible here to give any adequate account of the systems of these men, or of the many systems elaborated through the opening centuries of the Christian era. They all occupy the same standpoint, and exhibit many resemblances in their treatment of the problem which they all alike are designed to solve.

It is important, however, to note the three great doctrines into which all Neoplatonic systems may be condensed.

(i.) *The Doctrine of God.*—God is transcendent, the Absolute, the Original (*τὸ πρῶτον*), the Unlimited (*ἄπειρον*). To Him no finite predicates are applicable. He is beyond all determination by human thought. If we attribute to Him power or goodness, it must be remembered that these designations cannot express His real nature.

(ii.) *The Doctrine of the World.*—Between God and the World, the Infinite and the Finite, there is a great gulf, which Neoplatonism proceeds to fill up with variously conceived schemes of emanation. From the Infinite height there is a descent through less and less perfect beings, till at length crass matter is reached. Only by some such machinery would Neoplatonism allow that God could possibly be the source of material existence.

(iii.) *The Doctrine of Man.*—Man has in him a spark of the divine. He lies, however, immersed in the sensuous sphere. Salvation for him, therefore, consists in escaping from this sphere and rising into that supersensuous sphere to which he truly belongs. This escape is accomplished in a process of purification (*κάθαρσις*) by means of ascetic discipline.

To such a system had the long evolution of Greek thought arrived, when Christianity went forth on its mission. With this system Christianity was confronted as its chief antagonist.

II. THE CONTACT OF CHRISTIANITY WITH GREEK PHILOSOPHY.—1. *THE CHRISTIAN UNITY.* Into the Hellenic world, torn as it was with divisions, hysterically eager for intellectual and moral satisfaction, Christianity entered with the claim to be the unity which men of Hellenic culture, and human hearts everywhere, required and sought for. It differed profoundly, however, from Neoplatonism or any such system, both in the interpretation which it put on the problem and in the nature of the solution it proposed.

(*a*) *The Christian interpretation of the intellectual problem and of the moral need of men.* Beneath the opposition of elements, Form and Matter, Infinite and Finite, which was the deepest conception Greek thought had formed of the problem of life, Christianity pierces to antagonism of wills, the personal will of man in revolt from, and out of harmony with, the personal will of God. This is the hurt of the human soul; this is the secret also of the world's pain and unrest. Greek thought never did justice to personality. Pantheism drew the Hellenic mind like a magnet. Its goal was ever absorption of personal life in the wide sea of impersonal being. The hindrance to such a consummation always lay outside the constitution of man, in the material environment of his soul. Christianity boldly grasped the fact of personality; had for its goal the fulness of personal life in communion with a personal God; and saw the hindrance to this consummation within the personal life itself. Evil, the barrier to unity of God and man, is not outside of man, in the material framework in which he finds himself, but within man, in the determination of his will against the divine will.

(*b*) *The nature of the Christian solution.* In one word, it was Christ. Christianity, whose keynote, like that of Neoplatonism, is unity, whose phraseology often resembles that of Neoplatonism, differs from it by the whole diameter of mental culture and spiritual experience. It approaches the human spirit, not with a theory, scheme, or process, but with a gospel, a declaration whose sum and substance is Christ Jesus, incarnate, crucified, risen. Holding stedfastly before the eyes of men, as the ultimate problem of life, the reconciliation of wills, human and divine, it proclaims the problem solved, the reconciliation achieved through Christ. *Christ is God Incarnate*, not a man who has reached the highest point in a process of *κάθαρσις*, but God, who, in order to effect the reconciliation of man, has entered into humanity, and taken it into union with Himself. The long quest of man for God had ended on the verge of an impassable gulf, across which he vainly sought to cast a rainbow bridge of fair images. In the Incarnation, God of His own proper motion crosses the gulf, and by His own act annihilates the distance. *Christ has died for men.* That which holds God and man apart is not the frailty of man, as though that could be any real hindrance to spiritual and personal fellowship, or as though the removal of it could secure that fellowship. On this rock Neoplatonism wrecked itself as a redemptive power. The root and secret of man's inability to reach God is sin. He does not need to make himself divine in order to hold communion with God. He does need to be delivered from the burden of guilt. This deliverance has come through the sacrificial death of Christ. Guilt is not a feeling of uneasiness at the division man finds in his own nature. It is the consciousness of alienation from God. Sin is not an element in man's subjectivity, a moment in the process whereby he rises out of individualism. It is an objective reality of the spiritual world, which must be taken out of the way before the human spirit can be at one with God. Christ has done this in the deed of sin-bearing. *Christ is risen.* His life, while lifted above time and space, is continued in organic union with those who occupy time and space. He raises them through personal union with Himself into union with God. He in them is the source of a life whose spirit is sonship, whose privilege is communion, whose goal is likeness. The occasional ecstasy, which was the highest privilege possible under Neoplatonism, is replaced by a daily fellowship, without ecstasy but with true and abiding intimacy, open not to a few accomplished spirits, but to all who come to God through Christ.

With this the Christian solution is complete. The problem, constituted by antagonism of the human will to the divine, is solved at length.

2. *CHRISTIANITY AND THE GREEK DUALISM.*—Greek Philosophy, as we have seen in the foregoing sketch, was haunted by a dualism which it sought in vain to overcome. The secret of the failure lay in not conceiving the dualism profoundly enough. Christianity penetrates beneath the dualism of elements to antagonism of wills. The Greek problem lies within the Christian problem. The Christian solution is at the same time also the solution of the Greek problem. This does not mean that Christianity is a philosophy, or has its truth bound up with any special metaphysical system. It is a Religion. But it is a religion which provides the unity sought for by Philosophy.[*] It contains, therefore, implicitly the answer to the question raised by Philosophy.

(i.) *The speculative problem.* The Greek mind presupposed the irreconcilability of form and matter. The utmost effort in the direction of reconciliation was that made by Neoplatonism, the filling up of the gulf by a series of emanations. The Christian teachers, surveying the long toil of the Greeks after wisdom, said in effect, 'The ultimate dualism is not that of form and matter; it is that of the divine and human wills. What hinders man from reaching God is not his material environment, but his sin. Christ has taken away the sin of man. The Incarnate Christ may be reached by any human soul, immediately, at a step, a touch, a look. And when Christ is reached, God is reached.' They found, however, that the Greek mind was hag-ridden by phrases and formulæ, Pleroma, Logos, and what not, all implying the impossibility of getting to God except by a clumsy machinery of emanations. They therefore boldly adopted this nomenclature and baptized it into Christ.

What was supposed to be done by emanations, etc., and never really was done, has been done by Christ. He that hath seen Him hath seen the Father. Do they speak of the Pleroma? He is the Pleroma (so in Colossians). Do they speak of the Logos? He is the Logos (so in the Fourth Gospel). These Greek philosophic terms do not indicate that the Christian leaders who use them are sitting at the feet of Greek metaphysicians. The NT conveys a thought which had another origin than the speculations of a Philo; but, entering the Greek world at the time it did, it uses the terms which expressed the endeavour of the Greek mind, to carry the truth which the Greek mind despaired of reaching. In other words, Christianity, not by emanations or by hypostatized abstractions, but by the living Christ, lifts men to a central standpoint, and enables them to look out on experience as a unity, and to see even in its most material elements no remote antithesis to God, but the manifestation of His mind, the instrument of His purpose. God is self-revealing Spirit. The universe is spiritual to its core. Christ has abolished dualism. Christianity, it cannot be too much insisted on, is not a philosophy; but it is the inspiration and the goal of all philosophy.

(ii.) *The practical problem.* The Greek dualism haunts Greek ethic, and sets Reason and Sense in eternal opposition. The senses, seated in man's material frame, form the great hindrance to virtue. Greek ethic, accordingly, resolves itself very much into various plans for the disposal of the sensual element in man's nature. Neoplatonism preaches the elimination of sense by an ascetic discipline, which shall gradually set the spiritual nature of man free from all perturbation by the senses. Stoicism proclaims the dominion of reason over the passions. Man is to be a despot in the domain of his nature, crushing every uprising of sense with the proud might of reason. Aristotelianism, breathing the classic spirit of Hellenism, teaches that reason is to use sense as an artist uses the material with which he works, and by means of which he elaborates an artistic product.

Tracing evil to the senses as a given element in man's constitution, Greek ethic never deepens toward conviction of sin, has no need or room for redemption, and remains always proud and self-sufficient. Christianity by a deeper analysis traces evil, not to sense as an element in man's constitution, but to will, *i.e.* to the man himself in revolt from God. It therefore accumulates upon man responsibility for moral evil, and deeply humbles him before God. Christian morality, accordingly, has the note of humility and contrition which is absent from Greek ethic. It also exalts man, and holds out to him hope of an attainment far higher than was possible under Greek ethic. Let his will be yielded to God and made one with the divine will. He is then at once placed in a position which is central and supreme. His whole nature, including his material frame, is now a domain wherein the will of God is being progressively realized. The painful and precarious treatment of sense as an alien element is replaced by a process by which every element in man's complex nature is brought into harmony. This process has its human side, requiring strength of will and strenuousness of purpose. It is conducted, however, in the might of a divine energy, and its product, the Christian character, is not a manufactured article in which man may pride himself, but a creation, the work of the Divine Spirit operating immediately upon the surrendered spirit of man.

3. *THE RELATION OF CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCE TO GREEK FORMS OF THOUGHT.*—The after-relations of Christian faith to Greek forms of thought have been made a subject of close and prolonged investigation by the modern school of historical criticism of which Harnack is the great representative, and of which Hatch and McGiffert are leading English examples. The work of this school is of priceless value in respect of its pure historical research. But in so far as it is dominated by certain presuppositions, and is determined by a certain preconceived idea, it seems to the present writer to be mistaken in its results. That dogma is 'in its conception and development a product of the Greek spirit on the soil of the gospel' (Harnack) may in a sense be admitted. At the same time, care must be taken

---

[*] The reference in Col 2^8 is not to be regarded as a condemnation by the apostle of Philosophy in itself. It has in view a definite form of teaching, easily recognizable by the first readers of the Epistle, though affording matter of inquiry and discussion in later times. This teaching was probably of a theosophic Jewish Christian character, not without relation, as Lightfoot and others have shown, to the Gnostic Judaism of the Essenes (see art. COLOSSIANS). Bengel's remark is apposite, 'Philosophia in se est *medium* quiddam: sed tamen facilior abusus ad *fraudem*, in ea præsertim philosophia Judaica, quam tum jactabant et puritati fidei attemperare conabantur' (*Gnomon N.T. in loc.*).

in the application of such a principle to do justice to the original content of the gospel with which later reflections had to deal. In the hands of certain members of the school it may be doubted whether this is secured. In the Hibbert Lecture of the late Dr. Hatch, the problem, as conceived by these writers, is expressed with a clearness which leaves nothing to be desired, viz. 'Why an ethical sermon stood in the forefront of the teaching of Jesus, and a metaphysical creed in the forefront of the Christianity of the 4th cent.?' The conclusion to which the brilliant ability and ripe scholarship of the author are devoted is, that this change, being 'coincident with the transference of Christianity from a Semitic to a Greek soil,' is 'the result of Greek influence.' In plain words, primitive Christianity was simple ethical teaching regarding God and duty, undisturbed by intellectual problems, and absolutely free from speculative elements. Theology, as embodied in the great creeds, is a superstructure of mischievous metaphysic reared by the fruitless subtlety of the Greek intellect, which must be swept away before genuine Christianity can be revealed in pristine beauty and power.

Obviously, then, the question is as to the nature of primitive Christianity. Is it true that it was ethical merely? Is it true that its essence is summed up in the Sermon on the Mount? Is it permissible to lay aside every element in the NT that is not rigidly and exclusively 'ethical'? Is it fair to state the problem as being the transition from the Sermon on the Mount to the Nicene Creed? If the problem be misleading, the conclusions cannot fail to be erroneous. In order to reduce the problem to the simplicity and narrowness of the above statement, the following positions must be maintained. (1) Jesus Christ cannot have been more than a unique religious personality, with deep and true moral instincts, and a high degree of spiritual-mindedness. He cannot have made Himself the centre of His message. His declarations regarding His second coming must have been an afterthought, due to the discovery on His part that His mission was to end in His being rejected and put to death. Here we have to ask: (*a*) Is this a fair account of the Jesus of the Gospels? Can the personality of Christ as presented in those narratives be reduced to the outlines of such a sketch? Take the picture of Jesus drawn by the historical school and place it beside that given in the Gospels, and say if they are duplicates. If that of the historical school be correct, then that of the Gospels is not merely incorrect in certain features, but is a sheer monstrosity, which invalidates the whole Gospel narrative, and makes it valueless for purposes of sober history. (*b*) Is it fair to ignore the self-consciousness of Jesus as gathered into His most pregnant sayings? On what principles of historic research is it permissible to discount the self-assertion of Jesus? Has the Self of Jesus not such a place even in that very Sermon on the Mount as to give an entirely different view of the sermon itself, and an entirely different reading of the problem 'from the Sermon on the Mount to the Nicene Creed'? (2) The religion of the primitive disciples must have been simply Jewish Unitarianism and Jewish Legalism, modified in some of their elements by the teaching of Jesus regarding God and duty. Here again the question is as to matter of fact. Is this the whole truth regarding the first generation of Christians? Is this account a fair interpretation of the narrative in the Acts? Can the life and work of the early Church, its worship, its preaching, its missionary impulse, its labours and martyrdoms, be made intelligible on such a supposition? In particular, is it fair to discount the place which the Risen Christ had in the faith of the early Church? Why was He worshipped, prayed to, trusted, served, and that long before Hellenic influence had touched the Church's creed? Give due weight to the self-consciousness of Jesus, estimate aright the place of the Risen Christ in the life of the early Christians; and the positions of Hatch and McGiffert must be profoundly modified. (3) The conceptions of Christ to be found in the NT writings must be due to peculiarities in the intellectual history of their authors, and cannot express anything in the general belief of Christians. On the face of it, such a proposition is utterly improbable. The NT writings are chiefly letters between correspondents. Whatever may have been the intellectual idiosyncrasies of the writers, it is inconceivable that they do not express a consciousness common to writers and recipients. Indeed, this is expressly claimed by the writers, and Paul insists that his teaching is simply the faith of Christian people as such. The existence of a Pauline or Johannine Christianity which was not that of the Church at large, and, in particular, was not the Christianity of Christ, is an unproved hypothesis, not warranted by the known facts of the NT period, and not required for their interpretation.

If, then, the NT as a whole is substantially correct, both in its narratives of events and in its interpretation of them, the problem for the historian is not 'from the Sermon on the Mount to the Nicene Creed,' but 'from the NT as a whole to the Nicene Creed.' The question at issue is, 'Is there anything in the Nicene Creed which, in respect of the truth sought to be expressed, is not already in the New Testament?'

Go back now to the moral and intellectual situation of the age in which Christianity appeared. Greek philosophy has led men to a fundamental dualism, and has uttered the demand of the human spirit for union with God. Neoplatonism, the last despairing effort of Greek thought, fails to meet the demand. Christianity enters the Hellenic world with the proclamation of that for which Hellenic thought had sought in vain, union with God. This, accomplished in Christ, is its message to the Hellenic world, and to the heart of man as such. A mere amended Judaism would have had no point of contact with the Greek mind, or with the spirit of man anywhere. The personal Christ, Son of God and Son of Man, is the centre of the primitive gospel.

Conceive now Christianity entering the Hellenic world; it will bear a twofold relation to Hellenic culture and to Greek forms of thought. (*a*) It will be influenced by them. It is implicitly the solution of the problem of Greek philosophy. It will thus naturally use the terminology of Greek philosophy, and fill the formulæ of unsuccessful thought with the meanings of a divine revelation. (*b*) It will stiffly refuse to be coerced by them. The Christian idea of union with God, viz. reconciliation through a Person, utterly transcended Greek thought. Again and again, in the centuries preceding Nicæa, the attempt was made to reduce Christianity to a phase of Greek Philosophy. Sabellianism on the one hand, Arianism on the other, were more logically consistent as speculative systems than the fulness of the gospel. Yet Christianity declined to surrender its independence. In the end the Christian experience was gathered into the Nicene Creed, which, in effect, is this: Christianity, stating, in terms borrowed from Greek Philosophy, that which is too great for any system of philosophy, a truth distinctive, unique, a revelation, not a discovery.

LITERATURE.—On the nature and function of Philosophy, E. Caird, *Essays*, 2 vols. 1892. On the relation between Philo

sophy and Religion, E. Caird, *Evolution of Religion*, 2 vols. 1893; and discussions in T. H. Green's *Collected Works* (1888), vol. iii. On the development of Greek Philosophy, the Histories of Philosophy by Schwegler (1847, Eng. tr. 1867), Zeller (1883, Eng. tr. 1886), Ueberweg (7th ed. 1883-86, Eng. tr. from 4th ed. 1872-74), Windelband (*Gesch. der alten Philosophie*, 1888, Eng. tr. 1900; *Gesch. der Phil.* 1892). On Neoplatonism and its relation to Christianity, Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, 1886-90 (Eng. tr. 1894-99). On the relation of Christianity to Greek Philosophy, Hatch, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1888. T. B. KILPATRICK.

PHINEES (Φινεές, *Finees*).—**1.** Phinehas, the son of Eleazar and grandson of Aaron. 1 Es 5^{5} 8$^{2.29}$ (B Φορός, A Φινεές), 2 Es 1^{2b}. **2.** The son of Heli and father of Achias. These three names are mentioned among the progenitors of Ezra only in 2 Es 1^{2a} (cf. the lists in Ezr 7, 1 Es 8): their insertion here is probably an error, since Ezra belonged to the line of Eleazar, and Phinehas son of Eli to the younger branch of the line of Ithamar. **3.** A priest of the time of Ezra, and father of Eleazar, 1 Es 8^{63} (LXX ^{62}). H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

PHINEHAS (פִּינְחָס, LXX Φινεές).—**1.** Son of Eleazar, and his successor in the high priesthood, Ex 6^{25}, 1 Ch 6$^{4.50}$, Ezr 7^{5}, 1 Es 8^{2}, 2 Es 1^{2}. The circumstance by which Phinehas is chiefly remembered (Nu 25) bears a striking analogy to the most decisive crisis in the life of St. Peter. The great confession at Cæsarea-Philippi was scarcely more significant and epoch-making in the growth of Christian discipleship than was that act of fiery zeal at Shittim in the history of the Old Covenant, when for the first time the Mosaic religion came into collision with Baal worship, its future rival. In both cases we have, 'in the fulness of the time,' a great moral decision to be made of world importance, 'Jehovah or Baal,' 'but whom say ye that I am?' Alike at Shittim and at Cæsarea, amidst a general hesitancy and failure to grasp the situation, there is a prompt response on the part of one alone, followed by the pronouncement on that one of a signal blessing of far-reaching import. When 'Israel joined himself unto Baal-peor' it was no ordinary revolt or murmuring. Something more was needed 'to make atonement' than the official execution by man of 'all the chiefs of the people,' or even than the visitation of a plague by God. The Divine want was satisfied by the personal devotion of the young priest who, while others wept helplessly, identified himself with 'the Lord whose name is Jealous' ('He was jealous with my jealousy among them'), and determined for ever the rightful attitude of a whole-hearted servant of J″ towards any encroachments of the abominable idolatries of the heathen. Accordingly we find that the slaying of Zimri and Cozbi was ever after one of the proud and stimulating memories of Israel's past history. In the psalmist's retrospect (Ps 106$^{30.31}$) Phinehas, it is implied, was a second Abraham. His deed of faith 'was counted unto him for righteousness, unto all generations for evermore.' The son of Sirach in his 'praise of famous men' stamps Phinehas as 'the third in glory' after Moses and Aaron, 'in that he was zealous in the fear of the Lord, and stood fast in the good forwardness of his soul when the people turned away, and he made reconciliation for Israel' (Sir 45$^{23-25}$). The slaughter of the apostate Jew and of the king's commissioner at the hands of Mattathias, which initiated the Maccabæan revolt, recalls to the historian the example of Phinehas, and, in his dying exhortation to his sons, Mattathias reminds them how 'Phinehas our father, for that he was zealous exceedingly, obtained the covenant of an everlasting priesthood' (1 Mac 2$^{26.54}$). With respect to this covenant, reasons have been given under the article ABIATHAR for believing that the promise to Phinehas of an everlasting priesthood was conditional, as are all the promises of God, and that, in fact, Abiathar was his last direct representative. The other notices of Phinehas in the Bible history are of lesser importance. Nu 31^{6} (P) states that he accompanied the punitive expedition against Midian, not as commander (Jos. *Ant.* IV. vii. 1), but in his priestly capacity, 'with the vessels of the sanctuary and the trumpets for the alarm in his hand,' in accordance with the law (Nu 10$^{8.9}$; cf. 2 Ch 13^{12}). He was leader and spokesman of the deputation from the western tribes to the eastern concerning the erection of the altar Ed (Jos 22$^{13.30-32}$); and in Jg 20^{28} the civil war between Benjamin and the other tribes is incidentally stated to have occurred during his high priesthood, and that the ark was then at Bethel (so also Jos. *Ant.* V. ii. 10), not at Shiloh as previously and subsequently (Jos 18^{1}, 1 S 4^{3}). Ewald (*HI* ii. 313) notes that the estate given to Eleazar (Jos 24^{33}), being called Gibeath-phinehas, is 'a proof that in popular estimation he ranked even higher than his father.' For this place see art. GIBEAH, 3. According to 1 Ch 9^{20} Phinehas at one time had been superintendent of the Korahite gate-keepers. 'The sons of Phinehas' (Ezr 8^{2}, 1 Es 8^{29}, 1 Es 5^{5}) seems to mean the clan of priests who elsewhere are called sons of Eleazar.

It remains that a brief mention should be made of the legends that gather round Phinehas in Rabbinical literature. His grandfather Putiel (Ex 6^{25}) was identified with Jethro by an absurd etymology, and Phinehas, before his great exploit, had been constantly reproached with his Midianite origin (*Sota*, Gemara, viii. 6, ed. Wagenseil and Targ. of Jonathan). In the Targ. of Jonathan on Nu 25, twelve signs testify to a Divine interposition in the death of Zimri and Cozbi, and the promise of God receives this remarkable addition: 'I will make him the angel of the covenant, that he may live for ever to proclaim redemption at the end of the days.' A combination of this legend with Mal 4^{5} is the probable origin of the widespread belief in the identity of Phinehas with Elijah (Fabricius, *Cod. pseudepig. Vet. Test.* ch. 170; *Seder Olam*, ed. Meyer, pp. 261, 845). He was also identified with the anonymous prophet of Jg 6^{8} (*Seder Olam*, ch. xx.) and with the prophet who denounced Eli (Jerome, *Qu. Heb.* on 1 S 2^{27}). Eusebius (*Chron. An.* 860) blunderingly identifies Phinehas with Eli. Phinehas was also said to have been the author of the last verse of the Book of Joshua, and of an explanation of sacred names (Fabricius, *l.c.*).

2. Younger son of Eli, 1 S 1^{3}. Jos. (*Ant.* V. xi. 2) says that his father had resigned the office of high priesthood to him on account of his old age. It is true that the biblical narrative implies throughout that Hophni and Phinehas performed the active functions of the priesthood, but there seems no other ground for this supposed abdication in favour of the younger son than the fact that the succeeding high priests were descended from him. Hophni was probably childless. Two sons of Phinehas are mentioned, Ahitub (1 S 14^{3}) and Ichabod (1 S 4^{21}). On the other hand, it is almost certain that in 2 Es 1^{2} this Phinehas is reckoned among the high priests. That list alone inserts Heli, Phinees, and Achias (*i.e.* Ahijah) between Amariah and Ahitub. This is evidently an attempt to make a complete list by adding Eli and his successors, who are ignored in Ch, Ezr, and 1 Es. This is not the place to moralize on the excesses of Phinehas and his brother, or on their indulgent father's dignified but feeble remonstrances, or on their miserable death. Their ritual irregularity, however, demands an explanation. They committed two distinct breaches of the law. (*a*) It seems clear that 'the memorial,' which in

animal peace-offerings was the inner fat (Lv 3), was always burnt on the altar first; that is, the Lord received His portion before either priest or offerer took theirs. (*b*) The portion of the animal due to the priest was strictly defined, although neither the law of Lv 7^{34} ('the wave breast and the heave thigh have I taken . . . and given unto Aaron the priest and unto his sons as a due for ever from the children of Israel') nor that of Dt 18^{3} ('they shall give unto the priest the shoulder and the two cheeks and the maw') may have been then in force. The worshippers, however, seem to have resented the impiety more than the greed of the priests. The sin of the young men is graphically summed up in the statement that 'they contemned (נאצו) the offering of the Lord' (1 S 2^{17}, on which see Driver or H. P. Smith).

3. Ezr 8^{33}, 1 Es 8^{63}. Father of Eleazar, one of the two priests who received at Jerusalem the offerings brought by Ezra from Babylon.

N. J. D. WHITE.

PHINOE (Φινόε, AV Phinees), 1 Es 5^{31}=Paseah (Φισόν), Ezr 2^{49}, Neh 7^{51}.

PHLEGON (Φλέγων).—The name of a Christian greeted with others by St. Paul in Ro 16^{14}. He is commemorated with Herodion and Asyncritus (which see) on April 8 (*Acta Sanctorum*, April, i. p. 741). The name was borne by a Greek writer of the 2nd cent. who is stated by Origen to have given some information concerning Christ.

A. C. HEADLAM.

PHŒBE (Φοίβη).—In Ro 16^{1} St. Paul commends Phœbe to the Roman Christians. He describes her as (1) 'our sister,' (2) 'a servant (διάκονος) of the Church that is at Cenchreæ'—the port of Corinth. (3) He asks that they 'receive her in the Lord, worthily of the saints, and 'assist her in whatsoever matter she may have need of them.' (4) He says that she has been 'a succourer (προστάτις) of many,' and of himself in particular. It is generally assumed that Phœbe was the bearer of the Epistle, and the words by which she is introduced (συνίστημι ὑμῖν) imply a formal introduction to the Roman community.

Two points demand a short discussion: (1) How far is διάκονος technical? This is the only place where the office is referred to by name in the NT (for 1 Ti 3^{11} $5^{3\text{ff.}}$ cannot be quoted), but the younger Pliny (*Ep*. X. xcvi. 8) speaks of *ministræ* in the Christian Church, and there are constant references to them under the names of διάκονος (ii. 26) and διακόνισσα (viii. 19, 20, 18) in the *Apostolic Constitutions*. Moreover, the circumstances of Oriental life must have made it necessary that there should be female attendants to perform for women what the deacons did for men, in baptism, in visiting the women's part of the house, and in introducing women to the bishop or deacons (*Apost. Const.* iii. 15, etc.). There is no occasion, therefore, for thinking that the word has not, at any rate to a certain extent, a technical meaning, but we have not sufficient grounds for assuming an order of deaconesses in the later sense. The translation 'servant,' however, is inadequate.

(2) The description of her as προστάτις suggests that she was a person of some wealth and position. This word again is probably technical. It implies the legal representative or wealthy 'patroness.' Her residence at Cenchreæ — the port towards Ephesus—would enable her to exercise the duties of hospitality, and to give other forms of assistance to Christians on their first landing in the country, and to help what must have been a small and struggling Church. She is commemorated on Sept. 3. See *Acta Sanctorum*, Sept., vol. i. p. 602.

A. C. HEADLAM.

PHŒNICIA.—

i. Sources.
ii. The Country—
  (*a*) Its extent and natural features.
  (*b*) Its history.
  (*c*) Greater Phœnicia.
iii. The People.
iv. The Alphabet and Language.
v. Constitution and Government.
vi. Civilization and Commerce.
vii. Religion—
  (*a*) The deities.
  (*b*) Sacred objects and cultus.

i. SOURCES.—The sources of our knowledge of Phœnician history and civilization are contained in—(*a*) *Inscriptions in the Phœnician language*. These are very numerous, amounting to some thousands. They have been found in Phœnicia itself and in Cyprus, Egypt, Greece, the islands of Melita, Gaulos, Sicily, Cossura, Sardinia, and Corsica, as well as in Africa, Italy, France, and Spain. Whilst these are invaluable for the restoration of the language (especially such as have Greek transliterations and translations appended), unfortunately very few are of historical interest, few are of any length, few have been found in Phœnicia itself, and, with one exception, none are earlier than the Persian period. The oldest known is *CIS* No. 5. This is on the fragments of a bowl discovered in Cyprus ('in insula Cypro, casu [ut putamus] reperta') but belonging to a temple of Ba'al not far from Sidon, and on palæographical grounds is assigned to the 9th cent. B.C. It mentions a 'Hiram, king of the Sidonians,' but it remains uncertain to which of the kings of this name it refers. The remaining inscriptions consist mostly of dedications and memorials on tombs, with two or three pertaining to sacrifices. Their chief value lies in the names of kings they contain, and in the proper names containing names of gods.*

(*b*) *The Egyptian hieroglyphic and Babylono-Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions* contain many references to the land of Phœnicia, and give some idea of its relation to foreign powers from the 16th cent. B.C. to the Persian period. The Tel el-Amarna tablets give a glimpse into contemporary history which is valuable and probably characteristic. Much, however, remains to be done in the classification and identification of the geographical names in the cuneiform inscriptions. For the Egyptian much has been done by W. Max Müller.†

(*c*) *References to the Phœnicians, and especially to Tyre and Sidon with their dependencies, in the Old Testament*.—These occur in writings extending over a period of about four centuries (9th to 5th cent. B.C.). They consist partly of short notes ethnographical (more properly geographical) as in Gn 10; archæological or geographical, as in Dt 3^{9}, Jos 13^{4}; historical, as in 1 K 5 and 16; or relating to religion, as in 1 K 11^{5}. In addition to these the longer passages in the books of Isaiah (ch. 23), Jeremiah (chs. 25. 27. 47), and Ezekiel (chs. 26–32) give a striking picture of the commerce and civilization of the chief Phœnician cities at the time when these prophecies were written.[*]

---

* The Phœnician inscriptions are collected in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, pt. i. vols. i. and ii., Paris, 1881–99. Further details as to some of them, and two or three new and recently discovered inscriptions, will be found in the *Oriental Journals* of Germany, Vienna, Paris; in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. v. No. 1, and other journals.

† The references to Phœnicia in the Egyptian inscriptions will be best found in Flinders Petrie's *History of Egypt*, Brugsch's *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, and W. Max Müller's *Asien und Europa*. The Tel el-Amarna tablets are edited by Winckler, *The Tell el-Amarna Letters*. A very useful compendium with much valuable comment is contained in Flinders Petrie's *Syria and Egypt from the Tell el-Amarna Letters*, London, 1898. The best collection of Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions is in Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vols. i.–iv.

(*d*) *Greek writings.*—For fragments of two of the most important writings on Phœnician history we are indebted to Josephus, Eusebius, and others whose writings we have, who may have taken them from the encyclopædic writer Alexander Polyhistor. *Menandros of Ephesus*, who seems to have flourished about the 2nd cent. B.C., wrote a history or chronicle of some at least of the Phœnician cities. The first fragment (in Josephus, *c. Ap.* i. 18 and in part also in *Ant.* VIII. v. 3) contains Tyrian annals, with a list of kings from the early part of the 10th cent. B.C. to the founding of Carthage at the close of the 9th century. A second fragment (*Ant.* IX. xiv. 2) tells of a siege of Tyre under Shalmaneser, and a third (*c. Ap.* i. 21), usually ascribed to Menandros, though he is not explicitly mentioned as the author, gives further chronology and list of kings from a siege of Tyre under Nebuchadnezzar to the accession of Cyrus to the throne of Persia. Three other smaller pieces are of minor importance.

Dios, an otherwise unknown writer, is quoted in Jos. *c. Ap.* i. 17 as having written an accurate history of Phœnicia. The extract given tells of Hiram the contemporary of Solomon. Two or three other authors are mentioned in Greek literature as writers on Phœnician history, but their works have perished.—Quite different in character from the works mentioned seems to have been the Phœnician history of *Philo Byblios*, a writer of the end of the 1st cent. A.D. His work professed to be a translation of the writing of a Phœnician named Sanchuniathon who lived in the period before the Trojan war. The portions of his work preserved for us by Eusebius show him to have been a euhemerist, who in his description of the gods and his cosmogony has used Phœnician material, but has so adapted it to suit his own views that his work can be used only after most searching criticism.—Besides the above works, there are references in Greek writings too numerous to be mentioned here. The *Iliad* mentions 'Sidon,' 'Sidonians,' and 'Phœnicians,' and the *Odyssey* the same, with the addition of 'Phœnicia.' Herodotus tells of Phœnician legends and commerce, and many writers after him have incidental notices of this land and people.—Of *Roman* writers, one deserves mention. In the prologue to the 18th book of Justin's epitome of the history of *Pompeius Trogus* (about the beginning of the Christian era) occur the words, 'Inde (continentur) origines Phœnicum et Sidonis et Veliæ Carthaginisque res gestæ in excessu dictæ.' The only section that remains is in Justin, xviii. 3 ff., and was probably taken from a work of Timagenes (1st cent. B.C.).[†]

(*e*) *Archæological remains.*—Underground Phœnicia is still almost entirely unexplored, though a beginning has now been made at Sidon. Scattered about, however, on the surface of the ancient Phœnician land are remains of walls, fortifications, temples, and tombs, which help to tell the story of bygone days. Of the colonies, Cyprus and Carthage have yielded a large number of articles (vases, statuettes, etc. etc.), which throw light on the arts and daily life of the people. Coins also, and seals, though not in large numbers, are now to be found in museums (see below under 'Civilization and Commerce').

ii. THE COUNTRY.—(*a*) *Extent and natural features.* Although the Phœnicians inhabited cities as far north as Myriandos (in the Gulf of Alexandretta) and as far south as Jaffa (see below) in the Persian period, the earlier Phœnician territory may be said roughly to have been bounded on the north by the river Orontes or Mt. Casius, and on the south by Mt. Carmel. On the east the limits are entirely unknown, but the Bargylos and Lebanon ranges seem to form natural boundaries on that side. Colonists from Sidon, however, appear to have pushed their way as far inland as the neighbourhood of the sources of the Jordan (Jg 18). The land thus consisted of two distinct regions: (1) The hill-country, *i.e.* the slopes of Bargylos (Nusaireyah) and Lebanon. Both these ranges extend from N. to S.: the former from Antioch to the river Eleutheros, the latter from this point to the mountains of N. Galilee and Hermon. They are of limestone, with many other formations, and in some parts reach a height of over 10,000 ft. The scenery is magnificent, especially in the great gorges where the rivers pass down into the plains. The vegetation is luxuriant for a long distance up the slopes, and the many flourishing villages on the side of the Lebanon facing the sea to-day, tell us of one part of Phœnician life which has vanished almost entirely from its history. The chief rivers are the Eleutheros, which separates Bargylos from Lebanon; the Adonis, famous in history; and the Lycos, at the mouth of which still remain the well-known Egyptian and Assyrian inscriptions. But besides these there are many small streams which pour down from every mountain slope, full in the rainy season, empty in the dry, and for this very reason affecting both commercial and military movements. (2) The plains are best known as containing nearly all the cities that have left their mark in Phœnician history. The extreme north is a mere strip of land between the mountains and the sea, and the first great plain is that extending for about 60 miles south from Gabala, with a width varying from 2 to 10 miles, and containing the cities of Arvad and Simyra. The next piece of open country is that from the Lycos river to a few miles below Beyrût, then follow the plains of Sidon, about 10 miles long and 2 broad, Tyre about 20 miles long and from 1 mile to 5 miles broad, and Acre about 8 miles long and 6 broad. These plains as well as the hilly slopes were famous for their cultivation, and there are traces to-day, in the remains that are found, of the industries that were carried on in them. But they owe their fame mostly to the fact that they are the highways along which the trade of the East came to the West. The inscriptions at the mouth of the Lycos, the annals of Egypt and Assyria, and the descriptions of the OT prophets, all bear witness to the constant traffic and frequent invasions that were made possible by this low-lying coast-land of Phœnicia.[*]

---

[*] For a complete list of OT passages referring to Phœnicia, see the *Concordances s.* 'Sidon,' 'Sidonians,' 'Tyre,' 'Arvad,' 'Gebal,' and consult the table in Gn 10; see also CANAAN in vol. i. p. 347. Tyre and Sidon are mentioned in the NT by the Synoptists, Mt 11$^{21.22}$ 15^{21}, Mk 3^{8} 7$^{24.31}$, Lk 4^{26} 6^{17} 10$^{13.14}$, and in Ac 12^{20} 21$^{3.7}$ 27^{3}. In Mk 7^{26} the adjective Συροφοινίκισσα occurs.

[†] The fragments of Menandros are collected in Müller's *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, vol. iv. p. 445 ff., but to Müller's list must be added the paragraph contained in Jos. *Ant.* IX. xiv. 2, and it should be noticed that a part of the first piece is repeated in *Ant.* VIII. v. 3. It will be observed that Josephus says that Menandros wrote of the 'kings of the Greeks and the Barbarians.' The fragment of Dios is contained in the same volume (*Frag. Hist. Gr.* iv. 398), where the author is identified with Ailios Dios; but this is very doubtful. The remains of Philo Byblios are collected, *ib.* iii. 560 ff. The value of his work has been much discussed by scholars. A good essay on the subject is that of W. Baudissin in his *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, vol. i. pp. 1–46. His conclusion is that Philo has taken his material from various sources—some Semitic—and given to it the name of a man of antiquity. Sanchuniathon is a genuine Phœnician name. In any case the work as a whole represents Phœnician religion in its *decline*, not in its origin.

[*] A description of the old Phœnician territory at the present time may be read in Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*; Walpole, *The Ansayrii*; Réclus, *l'Asie Antérieure*; and Baedeker's *Palestine and Syria*.

(*b*) *History of the country.*—The earliest historical mention of the Phœnician land is in the older Egyptian inscriptions, where it appears under the name of *Dahe* (or *Zahi*).* Between B.C. 1587 and 1562 Aahmes reached it in his northern conquests. He also mentions a people called the Fenkhu as workers in his quarries. Thothmes I. (1541–16) overran the whole length of Syria as far as the Euphrates. Thothmes III. (1503–1449) in his 23rd year records a victory over the Fenkhu and other Syrians; in his 29th year another campaign to Retennu, Tunep, Arvad, and Zahi, with much Phœnician spoil; in his 30th year a campaign to Kedesh, Simyra, and Arvad; and in his 34th year a campaign which brought tribute from Zahi, Retennu, and Asi (Cyprus). In the reign of Amenophis III. (1414–1379) Egyptian power seems to have been at its highest, and Phœnicia, with the rest of Syria, was entirely subject to it. The next reign, that of Amenophis IV. (or Akhenaten, 1379–66), is one of decay. The discovery of the Tel el-Amarna tablets has given us a rather fuller insight into the relation of Phœnicia to Egypt than we have had hitherto, for some of the letters contained in these tablets are from or to Egyptian governors and others in Phœnician cities. Thus we have mention of Abimilki of Tyre, Amunira of Beyrût, Khaib, commissioner of Simyra, Ribaddi of Gubla, Shutatna of Akko, Zimrida of Zidon, etc. Nearly all the letters tell the same story of attacks from without and rebellion within, and prove that whether Phœnicia now made a stand for independence or became a prey to other rising empires, it was at this time passing from Egyptian dominion. The Egyptians still made raids into Phœnician territory or marched through it (cf. the inscription of Ramses II. at the mouth of the river Lycos) to attack other enemies, and Phœnicians probably still paid tribute from time to time to Egypt. We have no details of the history of the land at this time. We know, however, that it never formed one united kingdom. Its history is the history of its cities. Of these, Arvad seems to have enjoyed a pre-eminence in the earliest times, and more certainly Sidon a little later. The whole people was sometimes known to foreigners as the Sidonians. The era of Tyre began about B.C. 1197 (according to Jos. *Ant.* VIII. iii. 1); but Arvad and Sidon were still independent cities in the 9th cent.: in the 8th Tyre seems to bear rule over Sidon, Akko, and other cities. Later, Diodorus Siculus (xvi. 41) mentions a united council of men of Arvad, Tyre, and Sidon at Tripolis (native name unknown). This development of the government of cities was not without foreign intervention. The Egyptians had scarcely ceased troubling them when they were brought face to face with danger from a new quarter. It is possible that as early as 1140 Nebuchadnezzar I. of Babylonia invaded their country (cf. Winckler, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 95 and note 18). Tiglath-pileser I. (*c.* 1100) also seems to have reached the Mediterranean coast near Arvad. In the 9th cent. Assurnaẓirpal raided the country, as did his successor, Shalmaneser II., who received tribute from Tyre and Sidon and Byblos (Gebal), as well as from Jehu king of Israel; and Mattanbaal king of Arvad fought with Ahab at the battle of Karkar (854). In the 8th cent. the cuneiform inscriptions record tribute received by Tiglath-pileser III. from Arvad, Tyre, and Gebal; and Menander tells of a siege of Tyre by Shalmaneser IV. which lasted for five years. In the following century Sargon, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon all sent their armies to Phœnicia, and the last named even to Idalion in Cyprus; and in the 6th cent. the new Babylonian empire continued the work of Assyria in the famous siege of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar. With the rise of the Persian empire came a change which greatly benefited the Phœnicians. Cyrus seems to have left them alone, and about this time they again supplied the Jews with materials for building their temple (Ezr 3^{7}). Cambyses enrolled them in a satrapy with Cyprus, Syria, and Palestine, and thus received from them their share of tribute; but was friendly to them, and depended on them entirely for his navy (cf. Herod. iii. 19); nor did he attempt force against them even when they refused to give him ships wherewith to attack Carthage. The Phœnician fleet continued to do good service for the Persians, especially against the Greeks, until 351, when Sidon, under Tabnit, revolted; but Ochus soon brought Phœnicia back to obedience, and its cities continued to flourish under their native kings until after the battle of Issus they fell into the hands of Alexander the Great, Tyre only after suffering a long siege and a cruel punishment. After Alexander's death, Phœnicia fell with Syria to Laomedon, then in 320 to Ptolemy Lagi, and in 314 to Antigonus. In 287 it again passed to the Ptolemies, who held it until 198, when it became part of the Seleucid empire. During all this period Greek manners and customs and language were largely introduced into the country. Finally, after it had shared with Syria in the many vicissitudes of the Seleucid power, in 65 Rome took possession, and Phœnicia was included in the province of Syria under a proconsul or pro-prætor, though Tyre, Sidon, and Tripolis remained free cities with their own elected magistrates and council (cf. Ac $12^{20f.}$). In Mk 7^{24-30} a woman of this country is called a Syro-phœnician; in Mt 15^{21-28} the older name 'Canaanitish' is used. For this section, see, further, the Literature cited in the notes to 'Sources,' above.

(*c*) *Greater Phœnicia.*—A sketch of the history of Phœnicia would be incomplete without a notice of the many ports, especially in the Mediterranean, where its people settled, and from which came many of those articles of commerce which made them renowned. Some of these settlements can be traced back to the 15th cent. B.C. There may have been some before that time; but records fail us. In some of these places the Phœnicians seem to have had real colonies, in others merely 'factories,' where their traders received the wares of the neighbouring country to export them to their own land. Cyprus was very early settled by them, and although the Greeks afterwards took much of the island, the towns of Kition and Idalion flourished up to Roman times (see CYPRUS). The islands of the Ægean Sea (including Crete, Rhodos,

---

* W. Max Müller suggests that this name may be connected with the root زها 'to be beautiful,' ܙܗܐ 'to act well'; cf. צהר 'to shine' (*Asien und Europa*, p. 176). This name begins to go into the background in the 12th cent., and is almost forgotten in the Ptolemaic period. *Kaft* or *Keft* (in the inscription of Thothmes III. etc.) is frequently taken to indicate the Phœnician coast (cf. Sayce in article CANAAN), but Müller (p. 337 ff.) argues strongly for its representing Cilicia. *Canaan* is a geographical term denoting the low land, and seems to have been used by the Phœnicians themselves at one time to denote their land (see CANAAN). The name Φοινίκη given by the Greeks (it occurs in *Odyss.* iv. 83) has given rise to much discussion. It seems to have been used (like Ἑλλάς) for the land where Phœnicians dwelt, whether at home or abroad; thus Euripides (*Tro.* 221) uses it for Carthage. The older derivations of the name Φοίνικες (Phœnicians) from φοῖνιξ, the bird ('phœnix'), or a 'palm,' are fanciful and secondary. Some derive the word from φοινός, 'brownish-red,' as denoting the colour of the skin (Pietschmann, *Gesch. d. Phönizier*, p. 13), a root which reappears in the Latin *Pœnus* ('Punic' of Carthaginians). Some (cf. CANAAN and Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alterthums*, §§ 180, 190, etc.) refer both these names back to the word 'Fenkhu,' which appears in the inscription of Thothmes III. at Karnak. To this Müller objects (p. 208 ff.), that this word was originally only an *Egyptian* term used in a general sense for the northern barbarians. Finally, Ed. Glaser (*Punt und die südarabischen Reiche*, 1899) has revived the view that the name is connected with the 'Punt' (or Powen-at=Poen-at) of the Egyptian inscriptions, a part of South Arabia and East Africa.

Kythera, and many others) were occupied by them—as many scholars hold—even in pre-Homeric times (cf. Bérard, 'Les Phéniciens et les poèmes Homériques,' in *Revue de l'histoire des Religions*, xxxix. 173–228 and 419–460). The advance of the Greeks, and consequent expulsion of the Phœnicians from these islands, seems to have led to an increased interest in the settlements in the West Mediterranean, some of which, at least, had been founded long before. Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Malta, Gaulos, Tarshish, and Gades in Spain, various places in N. Africa, including the famous Carthage, were settled by them, and were in constant communication with the home country. Many of these settlements have been assigned by history and tradition to certain Phœnician cities, *e.g.* Utica and Carthage to Tyre, and Carthage itself seems to have established new trading ports on the opposite coast of the Mediterranean. (For settlements outside the Mediterranean, see paragraph in small type below).

iii. THE PEOPLE.—The origin of the Phœnician people is wrapped in mystery. According to their own traditions of the 5th cent. B.C., they dwelt formerly by the Erythræan Sea (Herod. vii. 89; cf. i. 1), *i.e.* the Indian Ocean, including the Persian Gulf. This tradition is repeated by other classical authors—Strabo, Justin, Pliny, *et al.* Justin enlarges the story by a statement that an earthquake was the cause of their movement, and that they dwelt then near the 'Assyrian lake' (XVIII. iii. 2); and Strabo (who in I. ii. 35 regards the story of the migration as untrustworthy) says (in XVI. iii. 4) that in the Persian Gulf are two islands—Turos and Arados—whose temples resemble those of the Phœnicians, and that the inhabitants of these islands say that the Phœnician islands are named after them, and their towns are settlements from themselves. Sayce (note to Herod. i. 1) suggests that the similarity of names gave rise to the whole legend, and points out that the names are really different, as according to Ptolemy and Pliny the real name of the island in the Persian Gulf was Tylos, while the Phœnician city Tyre was צור, and the Phœnician Arados was properly Arvad. Failing historical evidence, we are led to such testimony as we can get from language, anthropology, and religion. This is avowedly incomplete at the present time; but the material available shows the Phœnicians of the Syrian coast to have been a Semitic people, who took part in the great migration to the West which at different times sent also the Aramæans to Syria and the Hebrews and their kin to Palestine.

It has long been known that the activity of the Phœnicians was not confined to the islands and coasts of the Mediterranean, and it has been suspected that the Phœnicians of the Syrian coast were perhaps only one branch of a race which had settlements in other parts of the Semitic world. A work entitled, *Punt und die südarabischen Reiche*, by Eduard Glaser, the famous traveller in South Arabia, appeared in the end of 1899, in which evidence has been gathered from the records of Egypt and the South Arabian inscriptions to show that these conjectures are supported by history. According to Glaser, the land of Punt, so often mentioned in Egyptian inscriptions, was a large part of the coasts of East Africa and South Arabia. Thence the Egyptians obtained incense, gold, etc. From this land were established several colonies, including Mashonaland and Socotra. But the remains in the former place are evidently Phœnician, various signs indicate the identity of the races inhabiting the land of Punt, and the name itself is identical with 'Phœnician.' Thus we must in future speak of two branches of the Phœnician people, a Northern on the coasts of Syria, and a Southern (of the same race, language, and origin as the Northern) which left the Erythræan Gulf at a very early period, and ceased from that time to influence the other members of the race. The confirmation or otherwise of this theory must depend on the further evidence of the Babylonian and S. Arabian inscriptions.

iv. ALPHABET AND LANGUAGE.—(*a*) The Phœnician *alphabet* is purely consonantal, and consists of 22 characters, written from right to left. Tradition says that this was the first alphabet invented—

> 'Phœnices primi, famæ si creditur, ausi
> Mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris.'—(Lucan).

It is, however, generally recognized that the invention consists in the taking over of signs used originally by other peoples to denote syllables, and the adaptation of these to denote simple sounds, together with the simplification of what were originally pictorial or hieroglyphic characters. Together with this we must recognize that some letters were not taken over directly, but were formed by slight modifications of those thus received (thus the sign for the rough aspirate *ḥ* is formed from that of the simple *h* by the addition of a stroke to the left). Various opinions are held as to the original source. Until lately the favourite view has been that the Phœnicians borrowed their characters from the Egyptian. This was also held in ancient times, and is mentioned in Tacitus—'Primi per figuras animalium Ægyptii sensus mentis effingebant . . . et literarum semet inventores perhibent; inde Phœnicas, quia mari præpollebant, intulisse Græciæ gloriamque adeptos, tamquam reppererint quæ acceperant' (*Ann.* xi. 14). Supporters of this opinion are divided as to whether the Phœnician characters were derived directly from the hieroglyphs or from the hieratic writing. Much has been written of late to show that the Babylono-Assyrian cuneiform is the real source of the Phœnician alphabet. This opinion was also held in early times. Pliny says, 'Litteras semper arbitror Assyriis fuisse, sed alii apud Ægyptios a Mercurio, ut Gellius, alii apud Syros repertas volunt' (*Nat. Hist.* vii. § 37). The widespread use of the cuneiform characters about the time to which is assigned the invention of the Phœnician alphabet, is used to support this hypothesis. A third view held by some corresponds in some degree with the last mentioned by Pliny, and derives the Phœnician characters from the Cypriote, which are connected with the so-called Hittite characters. This opinion is altogether too undeveloped at present to be judged properly. Nor is it easy to decide as to the Egyptian and Assyrian theories. The selection of the characters to which the Phœnician are referred seems arbitrary, and a succession of intermediate forms is wanting. Either view seems to be historically possible, neither proved. The Phœnician alphabet, like most others, seems to have only incompletely represented the sounds of the language. Two words beginning in Phœnician with the same letter are represented in Greek by different letters, צור=Τυρος, צדן=Σιδών. These characters are identical with those found on the Siloam inscription in Judæa and the Moabite Stone, and on early Jewish coins, and may thus be called Canaanitish (in the large sense) as well as Phœnician. The early Greek alphabet was also derived from the Phœnician (cf. Herod. v. 58), though soon altered in many ways to suit the needs of the Greek language.

(*b*) The *language* of Phœnicia is pure Semitic, and belongs to the same branch of that family as the Hebrew, the Moabitish, and the Semitic glosses in the Tel el-Amarna letters, forming with these (and probably other dialects of which we have no remains) the so-called Canaanitish group. The materials for an exact comparison with Hebrew are wanting. The inscriptions (with the single exception of *CIS* i. 5, see above under 'Sources') are later than the 6th cent., and mostly of the 4th and later, when the language had probably suffered a certain amount of decay. The Punic passages in Plautus are of the end of the 3rd cent., and can be used only with care (cf. Nöldeke, *Die semitischen Sprachen*, p. 25 f.), and the vowel letters in the inscriptions are rare. The consonants are the same as in Hebrew, but many words were probably pronounced with different vowel sounds from those used in the same words in Hebrew. The wau conversive with the imperfect, so familiar in Hebrew, is wanting in the Phœnician, which, on the other hand, seems to have formed a kind of pluperfect with *kān* (*CIS* 93). Words, too, that became rare or poetical in Hebrew were in common use in Phœnician. The later language shows the same weakening and confusion of gutturals that marks late Hebrew.

LITERATURE.—On the Phœnician alphabet see de Rougé, *Memoires sur l'origine égyptienne de l'alphabet phénicien*, 1874; Deecke, "Ursprung d. altsemitischen Alphabets aus d. neuassyrischen Keilschrift,' in *ZDMG* xxxi. 102ff.; and cf. Zimmern, *ib.* l. 667 ff.; Isaac Taylor's, *The Alphabet*^{2}, where the Egyptian origin is accepted; Ball, 'Origin of the Phœnician Alphabet,' in *PSBA*, 1893, 392–408; Berger, *L'écriture dans l'antiquité*. Conder, in *The Bible and the East*, p. 74 ff., supports the Cypriote origin.

The inscriptions are collected in the French *Corpus*; the words in them are collected in Bloch's *Phœnicisches Glossar* (Berlin, 1891); and esp. by Lidzharski, *Handbuch d. nordsemitischen Epigraphik* (Weimar, 1898). The words in Plautus are discussed by Gildemeister in Ritschl's edition of Plautus, vol. ii. fasc. 5 (Leipzig, 1884). A fuller discussion of these by Prof. D. S Margoliouth will appear in a forthcoming number of the *Classical Review*. The only grammar of Phœnician is Schröder's *Phœnizische Grammatik* (Halle, 1869). Cf., further, article on LANGUAGE OF OT.

v. CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT.—The Phœnicians never appear in history as one united people under one government. Their political history resolves itself into the history of their chief cities. Naturally a quiet and unwarlike people (Jg 18^7), the country folk were probably content with the simpler forms of local or patriarchal government usual among Eastern peoples, depending for help in time of need upon the city that was nearest to them or which they had originally left as settlers. In the cities the government was more conventional. Kings of Sidon, Tyre, Gebal, Kition, and Idalion are mentioned in the OT, in foreign records, and on the Phœnician inscriptions. From Menander's list of the kings of Tyre we can see that the monarchic power remained in the same family, except when revolutions broke the order of succession. As to the constitution of the court circle, we can only gather from our knowledge of Carthage, and of the Semitic states bordering on Phœnicia, that there existed an aristocracy which probably owed its existence in early times to prominent position in the tribes. In some of the cities a body of ten chiefs (Justin, xvii. 6. 1) seems to have been prominent in international business. This seems to have been part of a larger council of a hundred men. Of the organization of the traders, the most important part of the population, we know nothing. A tradition in Justin (xviii. 3) seems to indicate the presence of a large slave population. Among the different cities it was inevitable that one or another should gain some pre-eminence over the others. This is historically proved by the fact that at one time Sidon gave its name to the Phœnician people as a whole, while in OT times Tyre evidently had some kind of supremacy. For the Persian period Diodorus Siculus (xvi. 41) mentions a federal government with headquarters at Tripolis, where Arvad, Sidon, and Tyre held a common council. Even when under the sway of foreign powers, the chief Phœnician cities seem to have always maintained a large amount of self-government in internal affairs; and under the Romans we know that Sidon, Tyre, and Tripolis retained the rank of 'free cities,' with the right to appoint their own councils and magistrates.

vi. CIVILIZATION AND COMMERCE.—The people were originally, in all probability, largely agricultural. The inscription of Thothmes III. mentions among the spoil of Phœnicia, 'good bread and various bread, corn in grain, flour . . . and all good fruits of the land.' But though the agricultural class doubtless existed throughout its history, it soon yielded in importance to those of the manufacturers, merchants, and seamen, who received raw material from various parts of the known world, and sent it forth again in new and more useful or more beautiful forms, or contented themselves with simply acting as intermediaries with profit to themselves. Their navigation, originally taken up for business purposes, became later a great source of influence and probably of wealth to them, when they provided a navy for their Persian rulers. Phœnicia was essentially mercantile, and was warlike only when commercial life was threatened. Situated on the only part of the Syrian coast that had any pretence to natural harbours, and hemmed in by lofty mountains on the north and east, its people naturally turned to the sea. And so the sea soon carried their ships; its shells gave them their valuable dyes, and its sand the material for their glass. The meeting of the land trade-routes from Asia and Africa, and of the sea-routes from all parts of the Mediterranean, made alike the history and the civilization of Phœnicia. The land-routes existed for natural reasons; the sea-routes were due to the skill and enterprise of the sailors who pushed their way from island to island, and cape to cape, until they reached the southern capes of Spain, and passed through the Straits of Gibraltar. Yet the people do not seem to have been very original or inventive, and their chief merit seems to have been rather the power of adapting and fitting for commercial purposes the arts they learned from others. They had, too, the advantage of being able to collect in one place the products of many lands, and thus of producing an effect on the imagination of peoples which gave them a glory not all their own. Glass was one of the manufactured articles for which they gained much credit, and tradition came to ascribe its invention to them (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 65); but it had been made 'from time immemorial' in Egypt, and the art of making it was probably taken by the Phœnicians from that country. The dyed wares of Phœnicia were renowned throughout the ancient world, and the abundance of the *murex* on their coasts (see COLOURS in vol. i. p. 457) gave full opportunity for the production of the most brilliant colours then known; but the art of dyeing probably came from Babylonia. Their weaving and embroidery were alike famous and sought after; but we are still ignorant as to how much progress in these arts was due to native workers. Gold, silver, iron, tin, and lead were imported by them long before the days of Ezekiel, and were wrought into forms of beauty that were known to the Homeric poems (*Il.* xxiii. 740 ff.; *Odyss.* iv. 618); but their artistic forms show undoubted marks of large foreign influence. Amber, it is now known, was dug in Phœnicia itself, but was also probably received by the ordinary trade-routes from the Baltic, and objects made of it have been found in the ruins of Mycenæ.

The *artistic side* of Phœnician life (with a rather large commercial appearance in it) is well represented in the various objects which have been dug up or discovered in Phœnicia itself, but more extensively in Cyprus and Carthage and a few more of the old Phœnician colonies. The pottery discovered belongs mostly to the Græco-Roman times, and most of its excellences seem to be due to foreign influence. Earlier specimens, supposed to be Phœnician, are both of the painted and incised varieties, but are not at all remarkable. The metal-work is more interesting, and the statuettes of bronze are curious if not particularly beautiful. The bronze bowls of Cyprus and the celebrated cup (discovered at Præneste) of silver, overlaid with gold, with figures in low-relief, alike bear witness to the influence of Egyptian and Assyrian art. The same applies to the seals and cylinders, which do not usually show a very fine finish, and are generally of serpentine, sometimes of glass, etc. The chief feature of this sculpture was the application of colour to give emphasis to certain parts of the figure. Their architecture is only partially known to us from very imperfect remains. A marked feature in their building is the employment of the natural solid rock, as far as possible. This is the case with the old walls of Sidon, much of the funeral architecture, and the famous monolith house of Amrith. There seems to have been no vault in Phœnician architecture, the roof being terraced, as in Syria at the present day. The columns, cornices, and other decorations are almost entirely foreign, largely Egyptian. The tombs were in caves, and sarcophagi were used, and sometimes massive monuments like the so-called 'Hiram's tomb' towered above the burying-place. The architecture of their temples was probably Egyptian. That in all these arts the Phœnicians were reputed to be skilful workmen we know from the OT account of the relations between Solomon and Hiram of Tyre. A namesake of the Phœnician king made for the temple at Jerusalem the two great pillars of bronze, the molten sea, and other objects of beauty and utility (1 K 7 ff.). To reconstruct these from the descriptions given has been a desire of many writers on ancient art, but there is and must be much uncertainty as to the details of the work. See art. PILLAR.

The only *metal* found in Phœnicia itself was iron, but the abundance of minerals in some of their colonies soon made the Phœnicians expert miners. Cyprus contained large quantities of copper, and the island gave its name to this metal. The Sardinian settlements were apparently due to the search after copper and lead. The mines of Thasos were known to Herodotus (vi. 47), and the Spanish colonies were perfect storehouses of gold, silver, copper, tin, iron, and lead.

The attention given to *navigation* naturally gave rise to a large industry in the art of shipbuilding, and it is possible to trace on the Assyrian sculptures and Phœnician vases and coins the development from the rude and small boats first used to the large and well-fitted vessels used in later times, and so warmly eulogized by Xenophon in the *Œconomica* (§ 8). The art of navigation, too, as distinct from the usual hugging of the shore and sailing in the daytime only, seems to have been developed if not invented by these people, to whom the Polar star was known. 'The ships of the sea, with their mariners,' occupy the first place in Ezekiel's description of the pride of Tyre (ch. 27).

From this description by Ezekiel we can easily understand that the private life of the Phœnician traders was one of great luxury. Many of the articles of commerce, in which they traded, found their way into the homes of the people. Little is known of their private life, but there are indications that behind the outward show of wealth and civilization lay a selfish and even cruel spirit. The traffic in slaves was no unimportant part of their commerce, and for the sake of it they would forget 'the covenant of brethren' (Am $1^{9.10}$). Commerce was the life and soul of the people, and the faults as well as the virtues of a purely commercial people marked the Phœnician race (cf. Is 23, etc.).

LITERATURE.—The remains of Phœnician industry and art may best be studied in Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*; Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*, tom. iii. 'Phénicie-Cypre'; L. P. di Cesnola, *Cyprus, its Cities, Tombs, and Temples*; A. P. di Cesnola, *Salaminia*; Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kupros, die Bibel und Homer*; Davis, *Carthage and her Remains*. For fragments of the Phœnician calendar, cf. Conder in *PEFSt*, 1889, p. 22 f.

vii. RELIGION.—The religion of the Phœnicians was polytheistic, nor so far as we can go back do we find any traces of its ever having been monotheistic. In the Tel el-Amarna tablets the Phœnician names contain the names of several of the gods; in the OT, too, the *ba'alim* (plur.) are mentioned. The origins of the gods are unknown. The statements of Philo Byblios in this matter are useless, for everything is made to serve his own euhemerism. The view that Ba'al was the name of an originally one and only god—and that the sun-god—has been shown to be more than doubtful (see art. BAAL). Even the later identification by the Greeks of certain Phœnician gods with their own tells us nothing of their origin and previous history. As Ed. Meyer says (*Gesch. d. Alt.* § 192, note), 'It should never be forgotten that of the Phœnician religion we know very little (*recht wenig*), of the Phœnician mythology proper, nothing at all.' It is a striking fact that one goddess, 'Tanith,' is mentioned about 2000 times in Carthaginian inscriptions, and we know nothing either as to the meaning of the name or the nature of her being. Without attempting to explain the nature of each individual god, it seems clear, however, that some at least took their origin in the worship of the powers of nature (cf. the 'Ba'al of heavens,' the worship of Eshmun and Adonis, the feasts of the seasons of the year, the veneration of objects of nature, etc. [see below]). In this respect they fall in line with other Semitic peoples. Another determining feature in their worship seems to have been their social organization. The existence of various tribes among the Phœnicians has often been asserted, and is in itself very probable, but there is no evidence for it. On the other hand, the city has played a part, larger than in the history of any country, except perhaps the history of Italy in the Middle Ages. That each city had a god of its own is evident. Sometimes he was simply called the Ba'al of that city (see BAAL), sometimes he had a name of his own (as *Melkarth*, the Ba'al of Tyre). Beyond the actuating power of these two factors—reverence for the powers of nature, and the bond of city life—it is difficult, if not impossible, to go in the present state of our knowledge of the early gods of Phœnicia. A striking feature in the names of the gods is the presence of so many appellatives in the names of the best-known (thus *Ba'al*, 'possessor'; *'Adon*, 'lord'; *Milk*, 'king,' etc.). Another characteristic is the recognition of female as well as male deities. By the side of Ba'al is Ba'alat (as early as the Tel el-Amarna tablets 'Ba'alat ša Gubla'), with Milk is Milkat, with El is Elat (see *CIS* 243, 244); but it does not follow that because the masculine and feminine forms of the same words are used, that there is necessarily any special relation between the god and goddess represented by them. A closer relation between two gods seems to be indicated by the compounding of two divine names, as in Milk'ashtart, Ba'almelkart, Ẓadmelkarth, Ẓadtanith, etc.; but whether this has any political or doctrinal significance is uncertain.

In later times Phœnician cities, like other peoples of the ancient world, introduced foreign gods into their temples. Egypt especially furnished its share, and Babylonian deities are not wanting; while in regard to the other nations around them (other Canaanites, Aramæans, etc.), it is often difficult to say whether one has borrowed from the others, or all have received them from a common stock. In Greek times the identification of their own gods with Greek deities did much to change the nature and worship of both.

The relation of the individual (we have no evidence of the tribal relation prominent in Arabia, and undoubtedly present among the early Israelites, cf. TRIBE) to the god is expressed by the various words expressing dependence on or relation to, prefixed to names of gods to form names of persons, *e.g.* עבד־ 'servant of' (which occurs with the name of nearly every Phœnician god known); אש־ 'man of'; בר־ 'branch, member of' (see Bloch, *Phœn. Gloss.* p. 19, note); חי־ (for אחי) 'brother of'; גר־ 'client of'; and once or twice אב־ and אבי־ 'father, *or* my father is' . . . Women's names are also formed by prefixing the following and similar words to the divine names בת־ 'daughter of'; אחת־ and חת־ 'sister of'; אמת־ 'handmaid of'; ארשת־ 'bride of.'

(*a*) *The deities.*—Altogether about 50 names of gods are known from the Phœn. inscriptions (see Lidzbarski, 152 ff.). Of many of these we know nothing but the name. Among the most important are the following (in the order of the Phœn. alphabet):—

ארני (Gr. Ἄδωνις, cf. Heb. אֲרֹנָי), originally an appellative. A god in Byblos, then in Cyprus, where he was also joined with Eshmun. Origen and Jerome identify him with Tammuz (Ezk 8^{14}), who was really a Babylonian god. In some places he is joined with Osiris. For the probable meaning of the Adonis feast, see Baudissin, *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, ii. 188, note.

אל (cf. Heb. אֵל) occurs in several proper names, but it is still doubtful whether it stands for a particular god. Philo of Byblos says that he was the chief god of Byblos, but had neither temple nor cultus. The feminine form אלת occurs on two Carthaginian inscriptions as the name of a goddess with priests of her own.

אשמן (called by the Greeks Ἀσκλήπιος) is not mentioned in the OT, but was worshipped in Sidon, Berytos, Carthage, Cyprus, etc.; and his name occurs frequently in proper names, and compounded with Melḳarth (cf. Ed. Meyer in Roscher's *Lexikon d. Griechischen u. Römischen Mythologie*, i. 1385 f.).

בעל (Gr. Βάαλ, Βῆλος, Βήλ, and in proper names Βάλ) was worshipped also by the Israelites, Philistines, and probably by Moabites. He appears in Palmyrene inscriptions as בול and בל. He was probably also indigenous in Arabia (Nöldeke in *ZDMG* xl. 174), and is evidently connected with the Babylonian Bel. See BAAL. The feminine form בעלת (Gr. Βααλτίς, Βῆλτις) occurs in the Tel el-Amarna tablets as *Ba'alat ša Gubla*. It is as goddess of the same place that she is mentioned four times in *CIS* 1. It seems also to be present in the OT place-names בַּעֲלָה, בַּעֲלַת בְּאֵר, and בְּעָלוֹת.

גד appears in Phœnician inscriptions only in proper names, but occurs as a god in Is 65^{11}, in the מגדל גד of Jos 15^{37}, and in Ezr 2^{12}, also in Aramaic (*ZDMG* xlii. 474), in Arabia (Wellhausen, *Reste d. Arab. Heidentums*^{2}, 146), and probably in Palmyrene, but is unknown to the Babylonians. He was a god of Fortune (see art. GAD); but the city-god Τύχη of Greek inscriptions and coins from Syria, with whom he has been generally identified, is regarded by Baudissin (Herzog-Hauck, vi. 334 f.) as referring more probably to Atergatis.

מלך, originally an appellative,—cf. Molech and Milcom of the Ammonites (see MOLECH),—is mentioned in the Tel el-Amarna tablets in the names Abi-milki, Ili-milki, 'Abd-milki, etc., and in many names in the Phœnician inscriptions. A goddess מלכת is also found in Carthage, Hadrumet, and Sardinia.

מלקרת (=מלך־קרת 'city-king') is not mentioned in the OT, but was the Ba'al of Tyre, and was identified by the Greeks with Ἡρακλῆς (so in *CIS* 122, *c.* 180 B.C.). His temple, according to a tradition in Herodotus (ii. 44), was founded about B.C. 2740. His name is also found in Cyprus, Malta, and Carthage, and in such proper names as Hamilḳar, and is preserved in the Greek Μελικέρτης. In compound names of deities he occurs with Eshmun, Zad, and Resheph (see Ed. Meyer in Roscher's *Lexikon*, ii. 2650 ff.).

סכן occurs in the proper names גרסכן, עברסכן, and סכניתן, which last is also the name Σαγχουνιάθων of Philo's fictitious authority.

ענת (in the Greek part of *CIS* 95 represented by Ἀθηνά) is met with in the OT in the place-names Beth-anoth (Jos 15^{59}), Beth-anath (Jos 19^{38}, Jg 1^{33}), and Anathoth (Jer 1, etc.). As a goddess of war she was known and honoured by the Egyptians in the 17th and 18th dynasties, having, according to Meyer (*ZDMG* xxxi. 718 f.), been taken over from the Hittites. A connexion with the Babylonian Anatu is not proved.

עשתרת (Gr. Ἀσταρτη), identified by the Greeks with Ἀφροδιτη. See ASHTORETH.

צד seems to be connected with the Heb. ציד 'to hunt, fish,' but occurs only in names of men and of compound deities.

רשף occurs in proper names of Cyprus, and meets us in Egypt as *Rashpu*, and is ascribed by Meyer, like *Anath* (see above), to the Hittites. It seems, however, more natural to connect the name with the Hebrew word for 'flame,' and to look upon the deity as a god of storms or lightning. This seems, too, to be confirmed by the combination רשף חץ in *CIS* 10 (cf. Driver, *Deut.* 68, with references).

תנת was the great goddess of Carthage; but though her name occurs some 2000 times in inscriptions, we are ignorant of her nature and origin. Except in two or three inscriptions she is always entitled פן בעל 'face of Ba'al. A compound deity צרתנת occurs in some inscriptions.

As has been noticed in the case of 'Anat and Resheph, it is possible that some of the gods already mentioned were taken from other peoples. In the later period this borrowing certainly took place, and in the inscriptions we find the Babylonian Nergal, the Egyptian Isis, Osiris, Absit (*e.g.* Bastu, cf. Bubastis, Ezk 30^{17}), Horus, and Ptah. In some cases a Phœnician god was joined with a foreign one, as in Melekosir (so Jeremias), but the first part of the name may be only appellative.

(*b*) *Sacred objects and cultus.*—As in other Semitic religions of Western Asia, the most prominent objects of nature had an idea of sanctity attached to them. Whether as themselves containing spirits, who had power over men, or simply as the greatest gifts of the gods, they were regarded with feelings of awe. High places (במות) were chosen for their temples and altars as being especially near the deity; and it was on Carmel (which was known to be sacred in the time of Tacitus, cf. *Hist.* ii. 78) that the priests of Ba'al offered with Elijah (1 K 18). In Greek and Roman writers there are many memories of the earlier sanctity of various Phœnician mountains, from Mt. Casius to Carmel. Waters, too, were regarded with veneration, and some were particularly associated with certain gods, and even named after them (as the Adonis). Springs and rivers, two sources of life in the East, were regarded with peculiar reverence. Trees, too, we find sacred, especially to certain goddesses. The cypress, myrtle, and palm were closely associated with Astarte. This specialization is, however, probably only a development from an earlier form of nature-worship.

The ordinary worship of the Phœnician might be offered in any place in the open air, but was most natural on high places, with trees, and often with a sacred stream. Among these surroundings was built an altar with an *ashera* beside it, and on it the sacrifice was offered. But there is mention in history of temples (*e.g.* the temple of Melkarth at Tyre); and one would naturally expect that those who did so much for the temple of Jerusalem should have had great sanctuaries of their own. Yet it is very doubtful whether the temple ever played a very important part in the worship of Phœnicia, or was ever much more than a prominent adornment of a city. Sacrifices were usual, and human life was offered in the fire and human blood on the altars, but apparently only on important occasions. Various animals, both tame and wild, were offered, and products of the field as well as flesh. Sacred prostitution was also a form of offering common to many acts of Phœnician worship. Vows were made in time of difficulty or danger, and votive offerings (statuettes, tablets, etc.) were common. Feasts, too, were often associated with religious rites. Priests and priestesses officiated, and the king himself was sometimes (if not always) a priest.

LITERATURE.—The articles TYRE, SIDON, TARSHISH, etc., in this Dictionary, as well as articles on several of the gods by Ed. Meyer in Roscher's *Lexikon*, by Baudissin in Herzog's *Realencyclopædie*^{3}, and by various writers in this Dictionary, and in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*; Baethgen, *Beiträge zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, especially pp. 16–65, with Nöldeke's review in *ZDMG* xlii. 470 ff.; Baudissin, *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, i. and ii.; Jeremias in de la Saussaye's *Lehrbuch d. Religionsgeschichte*^{2}, i. 221 ff.; Orelli, *Allgemeine Religionsgeschichte*; Tiele, *Geschiedenis van den Godsdienst in de Oudheid* (Amsterdam, 1893), i. 245 ff.; Ed. Meyer, 'Ueber einige semitische Götter,' in *ZDMG* xxxi. 716 ff.; Hoffmann, *Ueber einige phönikische Inschriften* (Göttingen, 1889); Hommel, *Die altisraelitische Ueberlieferung*, p. 219 ff. [*AHT* p. 219 ff.]; and the following:—

GENERAL LITERATURE.—In addition to the works mentioned and quoted in the different sections of this article, the following are the most important general writings on the subject: Movers, *Die Phœnizier* (a new edition has long been promised, and should become the standard work); Pietschmann, *Geschichte der Phœnizier* (in Oncken's series); Kenrick, *Phœnicia*; Rawlinson, *History of Phœnicia* (and a smaller volume in the 'Story of the Nations' series): the sections dealing with the Phœnicians in the Histories of antiquity of Duncker, Ed. Meyer, and Maspero; cf. Meltzer, *Geschichte der Karthager*.

G. W. THATCHER.

PHŒNIX (Φοῖνιξ, AV Phenice) was a good harbour on the south coast of Crete. When the cornship from Alexandria, bound for either Puteoli or the Portus Augustus beside Ostia at the mouth of the Tiber,[*] on which St. Paul was sailing from Myra towards Italy, had been detained so long on the voyage that it was considered too late in the season to risk the passage across the open sea from Crete to the southern coast of Italy, it was resolved to winter in Crete. When the resolution was come to, the ship was lying in Fair Havens, near the middle of the south coast. The question then arose, where should the ship lie up? The centurion, who evidently had the supreme authority,[†] called a council to advise him on this question; and the opinion of both captain and sailing-master was that they should seek an opportunity and make for the harbour of Phœnix. Paul, whose opinion was also asked (as, though a prisoner, he was treated with much consideration, being a Roman whose appeal to the emperor had been allowed by the procurator governing Palestine, and being also an experienced and practised traveller), strongly urged that they should stay where they were. There must have been good reasons on both sides. The experienced sailors had some ground for their opinion: presumably Phœnix was a better and safer harbour, and quite probably also it was recognized as being the proper place to winter in, if one of the many ships engaged in that trade had to spend the stormy season on that part of their long voyage (as must have been often the case). On the other hand, Paul dreaded the voyage to Phœnix, which therefore must have been some distance away. Winds from the north strike with terrific force on the sea a little south from Crete (though the waters immediately on the coast are protected by the lofty mountains). The danger, then, would be greatest in crossing the great opening of the gulf of Messaria, which begins a few miles west of Fair Havens. It is obvious, therefore, that Phœnix is to be looked for somewhere on the other, or western, side of that gulf.

The centurion, as was right and almost obligatory in his situation,[*] took the advice of the experts; and, when the opportunity of a mild south wind was given, they set sail; but in attempting to run across the gulf of Messaria, they were caught by a tremendous north-easterly gale, which swooped down on them from Mount Ida, and narrowly escaped after a terrible voyage of many days across the open sea.

Phœnix is described by Strabo (p. 475) as being a settlement (κατοικία, denoting a large flourishing village,[†] originally a settlement of colonists or κάτοικοι) on an isthmus. The passage is very obscure, owing to a lacuna; but apparently what Strabo describes as the isthmus was a narrow part of the island of Crete, between the northern and the southern sea, with a small town, Amphimalla, on the northern coast, and Phœnix on the southern. Apparently he considered Phœnix as a settlement in the territory of Lampa or Lappa, a Cretan city of importance, striking coins (Φοίνικα τὸν Λαμπέων). Now the situation of Lappa is practically certain; it was situated in the inner country, where Crete is narrow for a space, before it broadens out again to its western end, at a site called Pólis. On the southern coast of this narrower part of Crete, Phœnix must be sought. Nearly due south from Lappa there is a village, Loutró, with a harbour, described as the safest harbour on the south coast of Crete. Captain Sprat, an experienced surveyor and sailor, was fully convinced, after an exploration of the south coast, that Loutró must be Phœnix, 'because it is the only harbour west of Fair Havens in which a vessel of any size[‡] could find any shelter during the winter months.' James Smith, who defends this view by very convincing arguments, quotes several even stronger assertions of the superiority of Loutró to all other harbours on the south coast. There is some evidence that the tradition of the ancient name remains among the Greeks of the place (Smith's *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, ed. 3, p. 250 ff., App. I. and II.; also p. 86 ff.).

Ptolemy (iii. 17. 3) describes both a harbour Phœnikous and a town near the south coast called Phœnix. His frequent vagueness and want of accuracy make him an unreliable authority; but he places the town and harbour evidently in this part of Crete (see further, below).

Phœnice (*i.e.* Phœnix) is mentioned as a bishopric in the earlier *Notitiæ*, viii. and ix.;[§] and Hierocles gives it in his list of Cretan cities. All three authorities speak of it as beside a place Aradena (or Ariadne, *Not.* ix.): the phrase Φοῖνιξ ἤτοι Ἀραδένα denotes that two distinct places were united as a single bishopric. Now Aradena still retains its ancient name as Aradhena, a place which is not much more than a mile from Loutró. Again, Stephanus Byz. mentions Aradena (Ἀραδήν) as a city of Crete which is also called Anopolis; and about two miles north of Loutró there is a village on high ground with ruins which is called still Anapolis. This is probably to be identified with the Phœnix which Ptolemy distinguishes from the harbour, while Aradhena and Loutró together constitute his harbour Phœnikous, and all three were united in a single bishopric.

---

[*] At that period more probably the former.

[†] That this was so, and that the centurion had authority even over the captain, results from the character of the imperial service (the ship belonged, of course, to one of the imperial corn fleets), in which the military service ranked higher than the naval, and yet was not strictly divided from it. But the centurion exercised his authority with the penalty of severe punishment before him, if he mismanaged; and he therefore would necessarily ask advice on the point of where to winter, and in purely nautical matters would leave the captain and the sailing-master free in their own departments. See Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 324 f.

[*] See the preceding note.

[†] See Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, p. 2 f.

[‡] The ship which is concerned in the question was large, being able to accommodate 268 of a crew and passengers, and a cargo of corn from Alexandria for Rome.

[§] In *Not.* vii., which is the oldest known, there is a lacuna of about 200 names, among which were the Cretan bishoprics.

Again, Hierocles (whose order in enumeration is commonly a very good guide) mentions the island of CAUDA or Clauda (he uses the form Κλαῦδος) next to Phœnix. Now that island is only a few miles due south of Loutró.

Finally, an inscription placed here in the reign of Trajan shows that an imperial ship was spending so long a time at this point of its course between Alexandria and Italy that there was time to erect some considerable work, whose nature is not specified. There can hardly be any doubt that the ship was lying up for the winter, and the imperial freedman who was in authority on the ship employed the crew at some useful work on shore. The sailing-master, *gubernator* (compare κυβερνήτης, Ac 27^{11}), and the ship's sign, *parasemum* (compare παράσημον, Ac 28^{11}), are both mentioned. See Smith, *Voyage and Shipwreck*, 261.

Thus we see that Loutró was beside a harbour where at least occasionally the large ships of that Egyptian corn service wintered.

The identification of Loutró as the harbour called Phœnix in Ac 27^{12} seems beyond dispute, it these accounts of travellers and explorers rest on a sufficiently minute examination of the coast. But the identification is encumbered by one serious difficulty. The harbour of Phœnix is described in Acts as looking towards the south-west and the north-west, *i.e.* apparently as opening towards the west, with a mouth just so wide that the entrance extends up towards north-west and down towards south-west. But the harbour of Loutró opens towards the east, looking between north-east and south-east.

In this difficulty there seem to be only three alternatives open. 1. The harbour of Loutró is formed by a very narrow isthmus connecting a broader peninsula with the mainland; and there is a harbour on each side of the isthmus. As the isthmus runs out south from the mainland, one of these harbours looks east, viz. Loutró, while the other looks west. Bishop Wordsworth has suggested that the western harbour may be the ancient Phœnix, and has pointed out that on the Admiralty chart the name Phinika is given to it. Obviously, most of the arguments for identifying Loutró as Phœnix would apply equally well to this western harbour, which is separated from the other only by a narrow isthmus, and is almost equally near Aradhena and Anapolis. The only difficulty lies in the very positive assertions that Loutró is the only well-sheltered harbour; and certainly the chart represents the western harbour as more widely open. Still it is distinctly desirable that the western harbour should be more closely and critically examined. Sprat, indeed, can hardly have failed to do so, and his weighty authority is almost conclusive (though not quite); but the rest of the evidence depends much on the statements of residents in Loutró; and every traveller knows how prone the Greeks are to emphasize too strongly the arguments which support the identification of their own town with an ancient place of fame; their very love and respect for antiquities lead them to exaggerate the claims of their home.

The conclusion must be that Wordsworth's suggestion is not absolutely disproved, though the evidence accessible at present is against it. Among other things one desiderates careful examination as to whether the coast-line has been modified during eighteen centuries, and whether there are any traces of the western harbour having been used in ancient times.

2. James Smith suggests that the words of Ac 27^{12} βλέποντα κατὰ Λίβα καὶ κατὰ Χῶρον, do not mean, as is commonly thought, 'looking towards south-west and north-west,' but 'looking in the direction in which the south-west and north-west winds blow' (*i.e.* towards north-east and south-east). His rendering is distinctly against the analogy of Greek literary expression; but, considering how little is known of Greek technical sailor language, one cannot feel quite certain that the rendering is absolutely impossible.

3. It has been pointed out[*] that Luke did not actually visit Phœnix (for the ship never went there), but merely speaks on report: his authority was the argument used by the captain and the sailing-master of the vessel in the council which the centurion called. Naturally these arguments were reported to him by Paul; and, even if Luke were wrong, his mistake would prove, not want of observation of a place which he had seen, but misapprehension of the description of a place strange to him, after that description has passed through an intermediate channel. If (as was often the case) the expression of sailors differed from that of literary Greek and of the ordinary landsman, an error might have thus been produced without any one being conscious of it.

The case, therefore, must be pronounced undecided until Sprat's statement (weighty as it is) is confirmed by new and careful examination; but the balance of evidence is strong that Loutró is Phœnix; and in that case the third alternative is perhaps least improbable, though the second is not proved to be impossible. W. M. RAMSAY.

PHOROS (Φορός) = Parosh; 1 Es 5^9 8^{30} (B Φαρές, AV Pharez), 9^{26}.

PHRURAI.—In Ad. Est 11^1 the Book of Esther is called 'the epistle of Phrurai' (ἐπιστολὴ τῶν Φρουραί, A . . . Φρουραιά); cf. Est 9^{26}, and see ESTHER, and PURIM (FEAST OF).

PHRYGIA.—

I. Geographical and Historical.
II. Pauline Geography.
III. Phrygia in Acts 2^{10}.
IV. Christianity in Phrygia.
V. The Jews in Phrygia.

Phrygia (Φρυγία) was the name of a very large country in Asia Minor. On the view which will be here set forth, the noun Phrygia never occurs in the Bible, but only the term 'the Phrygian region' (Ac 16^6 18^{23});[†] and in 2 Mac 5^{22} the ethnic 'Phrygian' is applied to Philip, who was left as governor of Jerusalem by king Antiochus Epiphanes about B.C. 170. In addition to this, a journey right across Phrygia is implied tacitly in Ac 16^{7-9}, and another is briefly described in Ac 19^1 (according to the view to be here explained). But in spite of the very small appearance made by the Phrygian name in the Bible, there are such difficult questions connected with the passages where it occurs that a somewhat long discussion is needed. Moreover, Phrygia had unusual importance in early Christian history, and the monuments of Christianity before the time of Constantine that remain in the country are of unique number, interest, and importance. It can be truly said that the first Christian city was a city of Phrygia.

---

[*] Ramsay, *St. Paul the Trav.* p. 326.

[†] Many scholars regard Φρυγίαν as a noun, not an adjective, in both these passages; others take it as an adjective in 16^6, and a noun in 18^{23}. These opinions will be very fully treated in the sequel.

It will be convenient to classify the following remarks under headings.

I. Geographical and Historical.—The vast country of Phrygia presents so great a variety in natural character that it cannot be described except at too great length. The level of the cities varies from the frontier town Karoura in the coast-valley of the Mæander, 500 ft. above sea-level, to the ancient city, among the monuments of the early kings beside the tomb of Midas, about 4000 ft. Great mountains, plains, and lakes are found in it. The two chief cities of Phrygia in the time of Paul were Laodicea and Apamea (Strabo, p. 576).

Phrygia means the land of the Phryges; and there is a general agreement that (as Herodotus, vii. 73, says) the Phryges were a tribe, or union of tribes, from Macedonia or Western Thrace, who crossed the Hellespont into Asia Minor, and gradually spread their conquests first over the Troad, and then farther east and south over the plateau. In the eastern direction they penetrated at their extremest range of power through the Sangarius valley and up to the banks of the Halys. On the south-east they reached Iconium, which was the last Phrygian city on that side. On the south they were stopped by the Pisidian mountains, the northern ridges of the Taurus range, into which they seem never to have penetrated. On the west the boundaries vary most; but on all sides they vary to an extraordinary degree. Hence, in trying to define what any ancient author means by the name 'Phrygia,' we must begin by inquiring what period is referred to, and what was the usage of the name in that period.

That the country of the Phrygians at an early period was bounded on the north-west only by the waters of the Ægean and the Hellespont is beyond doubt. They were the masters of the sea, according to Diodorus (vii. 11), for 25 years about B.C. 900. Troy is frequently called Phrygian, and there was a large, vaguely defined region along the Hellespont and the Sea of Marmora, called Hellespontine Phrygia. The country beside Mount Sipylos, north of Smyrna, the realm of Tantalos and Pelops, is often called Phrygia by the poets, who reproduce ancient semi-historical myths; and this shows that considerable part of western Lydia once bore the name of Phrygia.

At an early time the irruption of Thracian tribes, such as Thynoi, Bithynoi, Mysoi, across the Bosporus drove a wedge through the country of Phrygia, and separated Hellespontine Phrygia from the inner country, which was henceforth termed Great (Μεγάλη, *Magna*) Phrygia. The Phrygian element and name died out in Lydia also at an early period. The Troad ceased to be called Phrygia; and though the name of Hellespontine Phrygia[*] lingered on for several centuries, the land lost the Phrygian character,[†] and after the time of Alexander the Great it seems to have no longer possessed any claim to be called a distinct and separate country. Strabo still uses the name in A.D. 19. The north-eastern regions of Phrygia Magna were transformed into Galatia during the 3rd cent., first through gradual drifting of the Gauls into that district as the one where there was least resistance to contend with, and finally, about B.C. 232, by general agreement of the surrounding rulers, and especially Attalus I., king of Pergamum, who penned them into this place and acknowledged their right to it, but set limits to their wide-ranging forays. About B.C. 205 a new name, Phrygia Epictetus, *i.e.* Acquired Phrygia, came into existence. It was applied to a region in the north which seems to have been acquired by Attalus I. from Bithynia. According to Strabo (p. 576) it contained six cities at least, Azanoi, Nakolia, Kotiaion, Midaion, Dorylaion, Kadoi. Another name for a special district was Paroreios Phrygia,[*] the great valley in the east between Sultan-Dagh and Emir-Dagh (whose ancient names are unknown), with the cities Ipsos or Julia, Philomelion, Thymbrion or Hadrianopolis, Tyriaion, and many small towns and villages.

A third district was Pisidic Phrygia, or Phrygia towards Pisidia, or Phrygia the Pisidian.[†] The city of Antioch towards Pisidia is the only one assigned to this district by Strabo; but Ptolemy, and probably Polybius, extend it more widely to include Apollonia and other cities in the valleys underneath the northern flanks of Taurus. Strabo clearly says that Paroreios and Pisidian Phrygia were only parts of Great Phrygia, whereas he distinguishes Epictetus as a separate and added country.

Under the Romans, the whole country of Cibyra and most of the valley of the Lysis were reckoned to Phrygia, though previously they had been counted either to Pisidia or to Kabalis or to Milyas. It would also appear that the lower part of the Lycus valley was divided at an earlier time between Lydia (viz. Hierapolis and Hydrela) and Caria (viz. Laodicea and Trapezopolis and Attoudda);[‡] but in the Roman period all these cities came to be classed to Phrygia. On the other hand, Iconium was then classed to Lycaonia (except in the estimation of its inhabitants, see Iconium and Lycaonia), as were also Laodicea Katakekaumene and even perhaps Tyriaion.

In the Roman time Phrygia was divided between two provinces, Asia and Galatia, with thorough Roman indifference to national frontiers in mapping out their province—an indifference which resulted in the final failure of those provincial divisions to attain permanence. These two parts were called *Phrygia Asiana* and *Phrygia Galatica*: for the former name, see Galen, π. τροφ. δυν. iv. p. 312 (Kuhn, vi. p. 515); for the latter, see a notice in a Byzantine Menologion (taken from a good and ancient source) quoted in *Acta Sanctorum*, Sept. 28, p. 563.

That part of Phrygia was included in the province Galatia, though often ignored, is no longer denied by any scholar. A number of inscriptions, enumerating the parts of the province Galatia, mention among them Phrygia; *e.g.* *CIL* iii. 6818, mentions the parts as Galatia, Pisidia, Phrygia, Lycaonia, Isauria, Paphlagonia, Pontus Galaticus, Pontus Polemoniacus; compare *CIL* iii. 6819; Fränkel, *Inschr. Pergam.* No. 451 (the lists vary at different periods as districts were added to or taken from the province). See also Galatia, vol. ii. p. 90 f.

Moreover, several cities which Strabo and Ptolemy assign to Phrygia, *e.g.* Apollonia and Antioch, are shown by their coins and by other means to belong to the province Galatia; and Ptolemy gives the region which he calls Pisidian Phrygia as a part of the province Galatia.

Galatic Phrygia, or the Phrygian region of the province Galatia, was not a very large country. It was a strip of territory extending in considerable length along the front of the Pisidian mountains; and it included the cities of Iconium (in the native usage), Antioch the *Colonia*, Apollonia, and, as Ptolemy says, several others. Asian Phrygia was immensely larger, including all Paroreios and Epictetus and far the larger part of Great Phrygia. In process of time the Pisidian connexion became stronger, and the name Pisidian Phrygia was gradually disused. Antioch ceased to be considered a city of Phrygia and was called 'of Pisidia.' Some of the epigraphic lists of the regions making up the province Galatia omit Phrygia and mention only Pisidia. At last a distinct Roman province Pisidia was constituted about A.D. 295, with the metropolis Antioch and a secondary metropolis Iconium. But in the time of St. Paul, and long after, the view was dominant among the people that Antioch and Iconium were cities of the Phrygian region.[*]

---

[*] Also called Little Phrygia in distinction from Great Phrygia (Strabo, p. 571).

[†] The Phrygian character was probably bound up with the use of the Phrygian language. Iconium called itself Phrygian, because the language was used there (see Ramsay, *Historical Commentary on Galatians*, p. 216).

[*] It is often wrongly said that Paroreios denoted the country west and south from Sultan-Dagh, with the city of Pisidian Antioch. That was Pisidic Phrygia (see following note).

[†] Pisidic Phrygia, Polybius, xxii. 5 14; Phrygia πρὸς Πισιδίᾳ, Strabo, pp. 557, 566, 5797; Phrygia Πισιδία, Ptolemy, v. v. 4.

[‡] Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i. pp. 6, 183 f.

A distinction between High Phrygia and Low Phrygia can be traced in the Roman time from Strabo, A.D. 20, onwards. Low Phrygia was a name that included Hierapolis (Philostratus, *Imagines*, i. 12) and Lake Anava (Strabo, i. p. 49) and the Sangarios (Steph. Byz. *s.v.*), *i.e.* it included those districts that were less elevated above sea-level, while High Phrygia (ἡ ἄνω Φρυγία) was the elevated region of central Phrygia lying between the Sangarios on the north-east and the great road passing close to Hierapolis in the Lycus valley and along the edge of Lake Anava. Aristides speaks of a certain city (probably Akmonia, possibly Synnada) as in High Phrygia. The pair of terms rarely occur in literature; but they clearly were in current local use.

We have seen how Phrygia steadily diminished, losing parts on the west, north-west, north-east, south-east, and south. About A.D. 295 or soon afterwards, when the great province Asia was broken up, two new provinces were formed,[†] Phrygia Prima and Secunda, called also Great and Small,[‡] or Pacatiana and Salutaris: the last pair of names came into use in the latter part of the 4th cent., and soon established themselves in almost universal usage. The name Salutaris is explained by the Byzantine writers as caused by the fact that St. Paul had preached the gospel of salvation there. This is a curious statement: it implies that St. Paul had preached much more in Phrygia Secunda than in Phrygia Prima (which was the western half under the primacy of Laodicea). Now that may be either a belief founded on old authority, or a mere groundless fabrication of the Byzantine time, to explain a curious name. In the former case it would afford valuable evidence bearing on the history of St. Paul, for there was good authority underlying the really old tradition in Asia Minor. In the latter case it would be absolutely valueless. Unfortunately, the latter alternative is pretty certainly true. The name is Latin (*Salutaris*) transformed into a Greek word; but if it had rested on a genuine popular tradition or belief, it would have been Greek, for Greek was the language of the country, and very few can have known Latin in Phrygia. The name *Salutaris* has probably nothing to do with St. Paul or with religion.

The name Phrygia henceforth was restricted within the limits of those two provinces. The district of Cibyra, on the south-west, was given over to Caria, Apamea and Metropolis to Pisidia, and (between 386 and 395) Amorion, Orkistos, and other north-eastern cities to Galatia. In the 8th cent. part of Paroreios was transferred to Galatia, and placed under Amorion as metropolis: it is, however, very doubtful whether this transference affected more than the ecclesiastical organization, for the civil division into provinces (though always retained in the ecclesiastical system) disappeared politically in the 8th cent., and was replaced by the military system of Themes. In the later Byzantine authors much confusion and ignorance is shown in regard to the divisions of Phrygia. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in his treatise *de Thematibus*, defines the extent of Salutaris in a thoroughly erroneous way. Cinnamus (p. 198) speaks of Laodicea *ad Lycum* as on the border of Little Phrygia. Ducas gives the name Great Phrygia to part of the region of Hellespontus (from Assos to the Hellespont), calling it also Low Phrygia: he does not speak of Little Phrygia or of High Phrygia, but apparently he must have treated those names as equivalent, and including both Pacatiana and Salutaris (as Cinnamus evidently does), which he sums up as 'all Phrygia' (see pp. 13, 72). Cedrenus (ii. p. 69), and Nicetas Chon. (p. 68) speak of High Phrygia as evidently including both Pacatiana and Salutaris. In those writers the names are prompted rather by inaccurate antiquarian memory than by real survival of the names in popular usage (see Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, pp. 150–153).

II. PHRYGIA IN PAULINE GEOGRAPHY.—This long enumeration of vicissitudes and changes shows how slow one must be in making assertions as to the meaning of the name Phrygia in any ancient writer, and how carefully the situation and the context must be studied. Accordingly, when in a writer of the 1st cent. we find the statement that a traveller crossed Phrygia, we must not assume forthwith that a journey across Phrygia *Asiana* is meant. The term Phrygia is employed freely in inscriptions of that period, found in the country outside of it, in the sense of Phrygia Galatica; and a writer who follows as a rule local expression may have used this term Phrygia in the same way as local inscriptions do. In such a case we must examine the context to see which division of Phrygia is to be understood. Now in Ac 16^6 Paul is stated to have traversed the region of Phrygia.[*] What part of Phrygia did he traverse? The situation makes this clear. Paul in his journey had reached Lystra.[†] He now went on through Phrygia. It is beyond doubt that the part of Phrygia through which he must go immediately on leaving Lystra was Galatic Phrygia, which began only a very few miles north of Lystra. Moreover, Paul had started on this journey with the deliberate intention of visiting two cities of Galatic Phrygia, Iconium and Antioch; and as we now see, geography makes it clear that he could not possibly proceed onwards from Lystra without going through Iconium and through part of Galatic Phrygia.[‡]

---

[*] In Antioch the memory of its Phrygian character remained as late as the 3rd cent. (see evidence in Ramsay, *Histor. Comment. on Galatians*, §§ 19, 20); but outsiders called it 'of Pisidia' in the 2nd cent. Similarly in Iconium.

[†] Malalas says that Constantine divided Phrygia into two provinces, implying that in 295 only one province, Phrygia, was constituted. If so, Constantine's action is older than A.D. 325, as is shown in *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, pt. i. p. 81; Malalas, in fact, mentions Constantine's act before the Council of Nicæa (A.D. 325), xiii. p. 323.

[‡] Small Phrygia (Μικρὰ Φρυγία) occurs in a few 4th cent. authorities; the name Great Phrygia in this new sense does not occur (our authorities say 'Phrygia' and 'Small Phrygia'), but seems necessarily to follow from the other term.

[*] It is immaterial to the geogr. import whether Φρυγίαν in that passage is to be taken as a noun or (what we think right) as an adjective connected with the following χώραν.

[†] Some say Iconium; but we cannot consider that Ac 16^2 implies that Paul has reached Iconium, for he is still in Lystra in 16^3. Ac 16^1 and 16^6 give the successive stages of travel. This, too, hardly touches the geogr. import.

[‡] This is even clearer on the North-Galatian than on the South-Galatian theory. If Paul were going from Lystra to North Galatia, he must proceed first to Iconium in Galatic Phrygia; and if he were in Iconium, he must go on through part of that country. It may, on that theory, be maintained that Paul went on through Asian Phrygia afterwards; but it must be admitted that he first went through Galatic Phrygia.

Moreover, if a writer of that period desired to be thoroughly clear, he ought to add some expression or epithet to show which part of Phrygia he meant. But this is exactly what Luke does in Ac 16^6. He adds the adjective 'Galatic' to show that he means 'Galatic Phrygia.' It is unfortunate that both AV and RV confuse the expression, and render the Greek adjective by the noun 'Galatia.' Luke never speaks of 'Galatia'; because, like most Greeks, he disliked calling the province by that name, and preferred the expression 'Galatic province or region' (as used in *CIG* 3991).

If Luke had used the noun Phrygia in this place, he would have simply appended the adjective and called the country traversed by Paul 'Galatic Phrygia,' the term quoted above. But he desired to be minutely and pragmatically accurate; and (as is sometimes the case in ancient writers *) in his desire to exclude all possibility of mistake he employed a more cumbrous expression, which becomes obscure to us through our ignorance of the nomenclature of that little known region. A custom existed of designating the various districts included in the vast province GALATIA † as *χῶραι* or regions; *e.g.* the Isaurican region (Strabo, p. 568 f.), the Antiochian region (at this time a kingdom governed by Antiochus, but afterwards incorporated, see Ptolemy, v. 6. 17). Luke follows this custom: he thinks of 'the Phrygian region,' and adds the adjective 'Galatic,' calling it 'the region (which is at once) Phrygian and Galatic,' ‡ *i.e.* the country which ethnologically and according to native Greek expression is Phrygian, while politically and according to Roman provincial classification it is Galatic (*τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν*). Lightfoot was the first to see and to state clearly the right and necessary construction of this expression, and subsequent discussion has failed to shake his decisive argument; but, while he correctly translated it, he failed (owing to the obscurity in which central Asia Minor was then enveloped) to see the right geographical application.

The interpretation of Ac 16^6 affects that of 18^{23}; and on that account Luke expresses his meaning more briefly in the second passage. In that passage, as Dr. Hort says (*Lectures on Colossians and Ephesians*, p. 82), 'he followed his old course (*i.e.* as in ch. 16) through southern Asia Minor, and this time was allowed to follow it right on to Ephesus,' instead of being stopped and turned away north, as in 16^6. He passed now through 'the region of Galatia and Phrygia,' as it is rendered in RV (*τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν*). These words are applied to a more extended journey than those of 16^6, for in 18^{23} the journey through Derbe and Lystra is included, whereas 16^6 begins from Lystra, and includes only the subsequent journey. The difference of order of the words is important: in 16^6 two epithets are attached to one noun which follows them, whereas in 18^{23} an epithet with its noun is connected by *καὶ* with a following epithet (or noun), § and the second epithet (with the preceding noun repeated in thought) indicates a second region (this order in enumerating a list is common in Greek). ‖ Two interpretations of the words have been suggested—

1. *Φρυγίαν* is to be interpreted as a noun, and indicates the country Phrygia, both Asian and Galatic; Luke may be supposed to use *Φρυγία χώρα* in 16^6 to indicate Phrygia as a region of the Galatic province, and *Φρυγία* the noun in 18^{23} to indicate the country Phrygia as a single conception independent of Roman provincial divisions. Then *τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν* would indicate 'the Galatic region' in the sense of the province like *Γαλατικὴ ἐπάρχεια* in the Iconian inscription of A.D. 54–55, *CIG* 3991. Luke would, on this theory, say that Paul traversed the Galatic province and Phrygia (the country). There is a certain simplicity in this view which recommends it; yet for many reasons we are obliged to reject it. The following arrangement seems conclusive. St. Paul, as he traversed the region of Galatia and Phrygia in order, stablished all the disciples: there were disciples in both the region of Galatia and in Phrygia, so that throughout both regions he passed from Church to Church. Now we know positively that he had as yet no Churches in any part of Phrygia except Galatic Phrygia. Moreover, the remarkable reading of the Bezan text Ac 19^1 shows clearly that its originator (whether Luke himself, as Prof. Blass and his supporters hold, or a 2nd cent. reviser, as seems more probable) considered Paul to have arrived at the borders of Asia in 18^{23}, and then, after completing his survey of his Churches, to have begun to return to Jerusalem, when the Spirit bade him turn back again into Asia (*i.e.* the province Asia), the higher parts of which he traversed, and so, finally, came to Ephesus.

We must therefore adopt the following interpretation:—

2. *Φρυγίαν* is an adjective, being the briefer description of the same region which in 16^6 is called with pragmatical minuteness *τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν*. Luke would on this theory say, 'Paul traversed the Galatic region and the Phrygian.' Now, in truth, Paul did traverse two regions of the vast Galatian province, one Lycaonia containing the cities Derbe and Lystra, the other Phrygia with the cities Iconium and Antioch.* The one real difficulty is this: could Roman Lycaonia be called simply 'the Galatic region'? The phrase can be explained and defended only on the supposition that the speaker conceives himself standing or travelling in Lycaonia: Lycaonia consisted of two parts, Roman or Galatic and non-Roman or Antiochian (under king Antiochus): Ptolemy tells us that the latter was called *Ἀντιοχιανὴ* (*χώρα*), and the corresponding term for the other part necessarily would be *Γαλατικὴ χώρα*: the inhabitants of Lycaonia would describe the two divisions of his country by those terms. This explanation may seem rather complicated, but the complexity is due to the real complexity of the divisions at the time. As we see, it is the expression of one who feels himself standing in the country, *i.e.* it must be regarded as the expression used by St. Paul the actual traveller, and caught from his mouth by the listener Luke.

The system of dividing Phrygia into High and Low is probably referred to in Ac 19^1, though the name of the country is not actually mentioned. The journey described in 18^{23}, as we have just seen, carried St. Paul over ground which he had previously traversed and cities where there were already disciples; but there still remained a long stretch of country between him and his goal in Ephesus, viz. the whole breadth of the large province Asia. The journey is resumed in 19^1, where St. Paul is said to have traversed the higher parts (*τὰ ἀνωτερικὰ μέρη*). The term *ἄνω* is often used in Greek to indicate simply the inner country as distinguished from the coast;[*] but this distinction seems not in harmony with Luke's narrative: it is of no consequence to him to distinguish coast and interior: moreover, most of the previous part of the journey was over the high ground of the interior. Here we want some expression suitable specially to describe the part of Asia which he traversed. The word ἀνωτερικός is a rare one, and seems chosen in order to suggest a contrast with certain lower parts;[†] in other words, the meaning is that St. Paul avoided the route through Lower Phrygia, and traversed Higher Phrygia (according to the distinction mentioned above, § I.). This distinction was important: Luke had a definite purpose in defining the part of Phrygia which St. Paul traversed. He makes it clear that the apostle did not follow the longer and easier trade-route by Apamea, Lake Anava, Colossæ, and Laodicea (which led through Lower Phrygia, see above, p. 864), but took the other more direct road (less suitable for wheeled traffic, but better for walking travellers) across High Phrygia, keeping very near a straight line from Metropolis to Ephesus.[‡] That was a point of some importance, for Paul mentions that he had never seen the Churches of Colossæ or Laodicea, which therefore must have been founded by some of his coadjutors (perhaps Timothy).

---

* An instructive example is mentioned by Mommsen (*Res Gestæ D. Aug.* p. 38), '*præcipuam curam ducens sensum animi quam apertissime exprimere nec dubitans gratiæ aliquid detrahere ut vitaret obscuritatem* (Sueton. *Aug.* 86), ut fit, ipso nimio ambiguitatis vitandæ studio incidit in ambiguitatem!'

† See above, p. 864, and vol. ii. p. 87.

‡ The idiomatic English is 'the Phrygian or Galatic Region,' see ii. p. 90, and *Classical Review*, 1898, p. 337.

§ Epithet *or* noun, according as we take *Φρυγίαν* as adjective or as noun; see next sentence.

‖ Examples are given in vol. ii. p. 90, *τῆς Ναβατικῆς χώρας καὶ Ἰτουραίας καὶ Μωαβίτιδος καὶ Ἀρηλίτιδος*, etc.

* Compare the precise and clear definition of 18^{23} by Asterius about A.D. 400, quoted in vol. ii. p. 91.

III. PHRYGIA IN ACTS 2^{10}.—Phrygia is also mentioned in Ac 2^{10} in the list of places whence came the Jews and proselytes who were present in Jerusalem at the Feast of Pentecost shortly after the Crucifixion—'dwellers in Mesopotamia, and in Judæa[§] and Cappadocia, in Pontus and Asia, Phrygia and Pamphylia, in Egypt,' etc. This remarkable list is an insoluble puzzle. It is made on no discoverable principle, either as regards the order of enumeration or as regards the districts mentioned and omitted. The only certain fact about it is that it is quite different in style from the original work of the author of Acts, and must have been derived by him from the earlier authority, or authorities, to whom he owed the narrative of the events described in ch. 2. Some districts where Jews were numerous, and which are certain to have had representatives at Jerusalem, such as Cilicia, are omitted. The names, as a rule, are those of countries, not of Roman provinces; yet Asia is mentioned; this name must denote either the Roman province or a much larger region (see LYDIA); in the former case it would include Phrygia Asiana, in the latter case it would include all Phrygia, both Asiana and Galatica, together with Pamphylia.[‖]

The most probable view is that Asia in this passage means the province (a Roman province being named in this one case, because the name had already established itself in popular Greek nomenclature); and Phrygia is named in addition, partly because it was inhabited by such large numbers of Jews (see below, § V.), partly because Phrygia Galatica, which contained very many Jews, was not included in the province Asia. Similarly, the Lugdunensian Christians wrote to *τοῖς ἐπ' Ἀσίας καὶ Φρυγίας ἀδελφοῖς*, for they desired to include in their address the important Churches of Iconium, Antioch, and probably several in Galatic Phrygia of later foundation (which were not in Asia). On this address, probably, Tertullian models his expression (*adv. Prax.* 1) '*pacem ecclesiis Asiæ et Phrygiæ inferentem.*' There can be no doubt that the Churches of Phrygia Galatica were as important in the 2nd cent. Christianity, as its Jews were in the Jewish world.

IV. CHRISTIANITY IN PHRYGIA.—Christianity was introduced into Phrygia Galatica by Paul and Barnabas on their first missionary journey (Ac 13. 14). Paul revisited, confirmed, and strengthened them (Ac 16^{1-6} 18^{23}). Considering how much space the author of Acts assigns to the account of the formation of these Churches (along with the two Lycaonian Churches), and considering how often Paul visited and consolidated them, we must see that they were regarded as being highly important in the early Church.

Phrygia Asiana was traversed at least twice by St. Paul. On his second journey, accompanied by Silas and Timothy, he went from Pisidian Antioch northwards through the country to near the Bithynian frontier (probably to about Dorylaion, over against Mysia), and then westwards into Mysia and the Troad.[*] Paul was on that journey forbidden to preach in [the province] Asia, so that he cannot have founded any Churches in Asian Phrygia (though, perhaps, we need not interpret the prohibition so strictly as to suppose that he was bound to keep silence absolutely about the gospel on the journey to the Troad: probably the command only implied that he was not to make Asia his sphere of work). On the third journey St. Paul traversed Phrygia Asiana from east to west on a line between Antioch and Ephesus (see above). He probably preached on the journey; but there is no sign of any success; and he was evidently eager to go to Ephesus, and make it the centre for the whole province. Thus in all probability the earliest Churches in Phrygia Asiana were those of the Lycus valley, Colossæ, Laodicea, Hierapolis, founded through the work of his assistants and subordinates (probably Timothy in particular), while he was in Ephesus.

According to tradition of somewhat uncertain value, the Lycus valley was afterwards the scene of missionary work by St. John the apostle and by St. Philip (probably the apostle, though several authorities, especially the later, say he was the deacon). Archippus of Colossæ, the 'fellow-soldier' of St. Paul (Philem ^{2}), was said to have been the first bishop of Laodicea (probably a recollection of his 'ministry, *διακονία*, in the Lord,' Col 4^{17}), and to have been martyred at Chonæ (*i.e.* the later Byzantine representative of Colossæ); and Nymphas or Nympha *Laodicensis* is coupled as an apostle with Eubulus of Rome in the Greek Menæa, and commemorated on 28th February: cf. Col 4^{15}. Heros is said to have been appointed bishop of Hierapolis by St. Philip, Epaphras of Colossæ by St. Paul. These traditions, hardly trustworthy in themselves, are at least evidence that the Lycus valley was the scene of steady and progressive work in the second half of the 1st century. That work was certainly not confined to the valley, but spread up, doubtless, east and north into Phrygia, and perhaps south towards Cibyra, so that LAODICEA must be taken as the centre and representative of a number of young

---

[*] ἄνω is used always in that sense, not ἀνωτερικός.

[†] ἀνωτερικός (except in passages dependent on Ac 19^{1}) is used only by medical writers, Hippocrates and Galen (if we may depend on Steph. *Thesaurus* on this matter). Hobart (*Medical Language of St. Luke*, p. 148) does not fail to observe the confirmation which this word gives to his views.

[‡] *The Church in the Roman Empire before* 170, second or later editions, p. 94, note.

[§] The name Judæa is suspected by Blass, who would substitute on Jerome's authority Syria. It is, of course, not in harmony with the context; but, in a list which is as a whole incomprehensible, it is vain to carp at one incomprehensible detail.

[‖] Pontus and Cappadocia may be regarded as the external boundaries of 'Asia,' taking that term in the sense described in a very difficult passage, Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* v. 28), where it is said that 'Asia,' if its two parts are taken together, extended from the Ægean and Egyptian and Pamphylian Seas to Paphlagonia and Pontus: on the meaning, see *Studia Biblica*, iv. p. 45.

[*] The North-Galatian theory would lengthen the westward journey across Phrygia Asiana, and shorten the northward journey by diverting the route from that country into Galatia.

Churches (as well as those in Colossæ and Hierapolis; see above, p. 831^{a}). Papias and Apollinaris, the great bishops of Hierapolis, Sagaris the bishop and martyr of Laodicea, are evidence of the importance of the Lycus valley in Christian history during the 2nd century.

If Laodicea was such a centre of Christian influence, so also we may be sure were Pisidian Antioch and Iconium. A trace of this work may be observed in the tradition that Bartholomew was the apostle of the Lycaones. It has been pointed out[*] that this must mean, not the people of Lycaonia, whose apostles were Paul and Barnabas, but the tribe of the Lycaones in central Phrygia, west and north-west of Synnada. But far more important and trustworthy evidence is furnished by the Christian inscriptions of Phrygia, which are collected for the central and south-western districts in *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, pt. ii. chs. xii. xvii.[†] The earliest is the famous epitaph of Avircius Marcellus, presbyter or bishop[‡] of the less famous Hieropolis or Hierapolis in the Glaukos valley about A.D. 192. This document mentions St. Paul in such a way as to suggest that he was regarded with special respect in that district, probably owing to its having been first evangelized by his immediate followers and ministers.

The inscriptions fall into three local groups, differing widely in character. One has its chief centre in Eumenea and Apamea, and probably resulted from the influence of the Lycus valley Churches; one is strong in the extreme south-east of Phrygia (and in the adjoining northern part of Lycaonia), and evidently sprang from the influence of Iconium and Antioch; the third is seen in the north of Phrygia in the valley of the Tembris or Tembrogius, and seems connected with the Christianity of the Troad (2 Co 2^{12}),[§] spreading up through Mysia and the province Bithynia. All three therefore seem traceable to a Pauline source. The inscriptions of the third group are more akin to the Montanist type, and those of the first to the Orthodox type,[‖] while those of the second are mostly indifferent, but contain occasional examples like both other classes. The inscriptions of the first two groups throw considerable light on the Christians of the 3rd cent. Already during the 2nd cent., in the Montanist controversy, Phrygia stands out rather as a country where Christians are contending with Christians, than one where missionaries are trying to convert pagans; and the inscriptions of the 3rd cent. set before us Eumenea as a city which was mainly Christian in the period 250–300, in fact as the first Christian city (one may say with great confidence); and, further, they show probably that the prosperity of Eumenea died about the beginning of the 4th cent. Now Eusebius and Lactantius mentioned that a city of Phrygia, whose population was wholly Christian, was destroyed by fire in the persecution of Diocletian, A.D. 301–312; and, though there are some slight discrepancies in details between their statements and probably some exaggeration in the sweeping conclusion, yet the general truth cannot reasonably be doubted; and the coincidence with Eumenian history is so striking that the statements may with the highest probability be applied to it. Apamea, its neighbour and fellow in Christian history, also seems to have sunk in importance to an extraordinary degree about the same time. On the very remarkable type of Christianity developed in those cities, see the full discussion in *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, ch. xii.

Christianity did not spread uniformly over Phrygia. The three local groups of inscriptions are separated by a large district, where the new religion seems not to have grown so strong until the time of Constantine.[*] The Phrygian martyrs who are known by name almost all belong to the period before A.D. 184 (see Neumann's list in *der röm. Staat und die allgemeine Kirche*, p. 283). When Christianity was so strong, the Roman theoretical principle, that Christians should be treated as outlaws, was difficult to carry out; for a formal accusation by an overt prosecutor was ordinarily required, and it would be difficult to find private persons ready to incur the hatred of a united and energetic body like the Christians. But in Diocletian's persecution the government hunted down the Christians, and employed soldiers and officials for that special purpose; and in such a time the cities where Christians were most numerous would suffer most. Even in Diocletian's time individual Phrygian martyrs were little remembered, but only the general facts that whole communities and one entire city were destroyed.

Considering at how early a date Christianity was diffused over large parts of Phrygia, it may seem strange that the ecclesiastical system was so backward there during the 4th cent., except in Galatic Phrygia, where the list of bishoprics can be traced almost complete during that century.[†] The reason lies in two noteworthy facts. In the first place, Phrygia was the country where, above all others, heresy was strongest; but the ecclesiastical lists are of the Orthodox Church. Thus, for example, Kotiaion was a great seat of Christianity in the 3rd cent., and so was the country of the Praipenisseis. Yet neither can be traced in the lists earlier than the 5th cent. The reason is, undoubtedly, that the Orthodox Church had little hold there. We know of either bishops or presbyters at Otrous and Hierapolis in the 2nd cent.; but in the ecclesiastical lists those two cities appear only in the 5th cent. In the second place, Phrygia was regarded by the orthodox writers as rude and uneducated,[‡] because the organization and equipment of the Orthodox Church were in a backward state there. Christianity was so strong in certain parts of Phrygia that the persecution of Diocletian raged there on a vast scale, and almost annihilated people and civilization and organization.

V. The Jews in Phrygia.—The position and history of the Jews in Phrygia is another large subject, which throws much light on the narrative of Acts and on the rapid spread of Christianity in the country. The Jews were much favoured by the Seleucid kings, as trustworthy colonists in the many cities which they founded to maintain their empire in Asia Minor, especially along the routes leading from their capital at Syrian Antioch through Cilicia and Lycaonia into Southern Phrygia[§] and Lydia.

---

[*] *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, pt. ii. p. 709. See also Pontus, and Lipsius, *Apocr. Apost.* ii. 2, 55 ff.

[†] The other districts will be treated in pt. iii. See Cumont's very imperfect list (*Mél. d'Arch. et d'Hist.* 1895).

[‡] He is addressed by a friend as co-presbyter (*συμπρεσβύτερος*), which may be used of a bishop.

[§] Perhaps also with Ac 16^8, according to a tradition that can be traced in the interior of Mysia during the 4th or 5th cent. (see *Acta S. Philetæri*, 19th May; and *Expositor*, Oct. 1888, p. 264). This tradition perhaps led to the Bezan text in Ac 16^7 *διελθόντες* for *παρελθόντες*; and, if so, the tradition must be as old as the 2nd cent. (implying that the statement that Mysia was 'neglected,' or 'passed by,' was regarded at that early date as incorrect in the quarters where the Bezan text originated).

[‖] But one case at least of the most marked northern type occurs, *Cities and Bishoprics*, ii. No. 393.

[*] On the evidence, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, ii. p. 715; also p. 501.

[†] Galatic Phrygia is part of Pisidia in the lists. Those Pisidian bishoprics which can first be traced in the 5th cent. or later were in the mountainous and backward districts.

[‡] See, for example, *Acta S. Hypatii*, 17 June, iv. 249.

[§] Northern Phrygia and Galatia, which were little or not at all under Seleucid power, shared very little in these settle-

Seleucus Nikator (B.C. 301–280) granted them the highest class of rights, equal to those of Macedonian and Greek settlers, in all his colonies; and his successors maintained the privileges of the Jews. Various privileges were conceded to their religious scruples: the entire body of regulations guaranteeing their rights and privileges seems to have remained permanently in force in the cities, and is appealed to as 'the law of the Jews' in an inscription of Apamea as late as the 3rd cent. after Christ.* By one single act Antiochus the Great ordered 2000 Jewish families to be brought from Babylonia and settled in the strong places of Lydia and Phrygia about B.C. 200. When such a course of action lasted for fully a century, it is plain what large numbers of Jews must have been settled in Phrygia, Lycaonia, etc.

These considerations explain how Flaccus, the Roman governor of Asia in B.C. 62, could seize 100 pounds weight of gold at Apamea, and 20 at Laodicea, being contributions from the Jews of Phrygia on the point of being sent up to Jerusalem. These large sums, of course, represented the contributions of great districts, and not simply of the two cities. They are calculated by M. Th. Reinach as together equivalent to 100,000 drachmæ, being the contributions of 50,000 people paying two drachmæ annually.†

According to Dr. Neubauer (*Géographie du Talmud*, p. 315), these Jews had to a considerable extent lost connexion with their country and forgotten their language; the baths and wines of Phrygia had separated the Ten Tribes from their brethren, as the Talmud expresses it; they were readily converted to Christianity; and the Talmud alludes to the numerous converts. These opinions have been strongly confirmed by epigraphic discovery. The Phrygian Jews were strongly affected by their surroundings, and were ready to comply, at least outwardly, with many pagan customs, and especially with the forms of the imperial religion, regarded as the test of loyalty to the Roman empire. They probably were often inclined to magic and forbidden arts (see THYATIRA and Ac 19^{13}). Their frequent tendency to amalgamate Jewish and pagan ideas in an eclectic philosophical system is illustrated at Colossæ (see the Epistle). A Jewess married to a Greek and having an uncircumcised son is mentioned at Lystra (Ac $16^{2.3}$). At the same time there can be no doubt that the Phrygian Jews as a body preserved much of the old Jewish character, and presented in society a much higher and purer moral tone than the pagans; and it was this character that gave them great influence and attracted numerous proselytes. On the whole their existence was not hostile, but favourable, to Christianity. Luke emphasizes every instance of their opposition, but he shows clearly that there was another side to the question: the Jews of Pisidian Antioch were opposed to Paul's placing the Gentiles on an equality with themselves (Ac 13^{45}), but not so much to his doctrines: a great multitude of Jews at Iconium believed. The Jewish and the Christian inscriptions melt into one another in Phrygia, so that it is often difficult to draw a line of distinction. The Phrygian Christians were strongly inclined to Judaism. Every heresy in Phrygia tended to become Judaistic. Novatianism, which seems to have been quite free from any Judaizing character in the West, became strongly tinged with it in Phrygia. The Phrygians regarded the 14th day of Nisan as the great religious day, and seem to have called the festival Azyma, the Unleavened. There is every appearance that the reconciliation between Christians and Jews, which was one great aim of St. Paul's work, was attained far more thoroughly in Phrygia than elsewhere.

Early Phrygian Judaic Christianity thus presents a very remarkable character, which stands in the closest relation with the Pauline Epistles. Its development was arrested by the terrible persecution of Diocletian, which seems to have raged with special fury in that most thoroughly Christianized of countries. As Eumenea was the most thoroughly Christian city, so Apamea was the most strongly Jewish; and they (so far as we can judge) were the greatest sufferers (certainly very severe sufferers) under Diocletian.

W. M. RAMSAY.

PHYGELUS (Φύγελλος, WH Φύγελος).—Mentioned in 2 Ti 1^{15} along with HERMOGENES (wh. see) as among those in Asia who turned away from St. Paul during his last imprisonment in Rome. The phrase 'all they which are in Asia,' proconsular Asia that is, must be qualified in some way, known doubtless to Timothy, and may perhaps be best taken to mean, 'All whose help I asked' (cf. 2 Ti 4^{16}). We cannot tell what Phygelus refused to do, nor can we affirm with certainty that apostasy or declension from the faith is implied. Possibly he was asked to go to Rome to use some influence he had on the apostle's behalf, and refused to admit that St. Paul had any such claims on him. The forcible language used makes it probable, however, that Phygelus was guilty of something worse than merely neglecting to visit the apostle in his imprisonment.

W. MUIR.

PHYLACTERIES, FRONTLETS.—*Phylactery*—so first in the Genevan Bible, 1557, in earlier versions *filateris* (Wyclif) and *philateries* (Tindale, etc.)—comes to us through the Vulgate from the Greek φυλακτήριον. In the Greek of the 1st cent. A.D. this word signified an amulet or charm, which possessed the property of protecting (φυλάσσειν)* the wearer against evil spirits and similar malign influences. Among favourite charms were slips of parchment, written over with a magical spell and placed in a case which was hung round the neck, hence also called περίαπτον, περίαμμα, synonyms of φυλακτήριον.

In His great anti-Pharisaic discourse (Mt $23^{1ff.}$), our Lord charges the scribes and Pharisees with ostentation in the discharge of their religious and social duties, 'for they make broad their phylacteries (πλατύνουσι γὰρ τὰ φυλακτήρια αὐτῶν), and enlarge the borders of their garments (for which see FRINGES in vol. ii. 68 ff.), and love the chief places at feasts,' etc. (Mt $23^{5f.}$ RV). Now there has never been any doubt that the author of the first Gospel here uses φυλακτήρια, which is not found elsewhere in the NT, as the equivalent of the contemporary Hebrew word תְּפִלִּין, *tĕphillîn* (plur. of תְּפִלָּה 'a prayer'), the name then, and by the Jews still, given to two small cases of leather, to be described in the sequel, which were worn by the more ardent legalists of the time, one upon the forehead and the other upon the left arm. This practice, very considerably curtailed, however, is still regarded as one of the most sacred of religious duties by orthodox Jews of the present day (cf. opening paragraph of art. FRINGES).

In this article it is proposed to investigate the origin, history, and significance of the phylacteries,

---

ments. The Jews of North Galatia were probably all late immigrants from Phrygia, etc.

* *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, pt. ii. No. 399 *bis*; see also ch. xv. on 'The Jews in Phrygia.'

† *Textes Relatifs au Judaïsme*, p. 240. He thinks they must represent several years' contribution; but as the two cities stand for all Asian Phrygia and great part of Lydia, it seems not at all impossible that they are the contribution of one year. Adramyttium and Pergamum are the only other two places where Flaccus is said to have seized Jewish money.

* The perverted derivation still met with in some quarters from φυλάσσειν (τὸν νόμον), as if φυλακτήρια = *observatoria*, is now entirely abandoned by scholars.

and for this purpose, on the principle of proceeding from the more familiar to the less, we shall examine—

i. The practice of modern orthodox Judaism;
ii. The alleged Scripture warrant for this practice;
iii. The date of the introduction of the phylacteries;
iv. The manner and extent of the practice in NT times.

i. THE PRACTICE OF MODERN ORTHODOX JUDAISM.—Every male Israelite above the age of thirteen years is required to 'lay (לְהָנִיחַ, Mishua, *Shebu.* iii. 8, 11, etc.) the *tĕphillîn*'—to use the technical expression—at daily morning prayer. To this extent the use of the phylacteries has been curtailed since NT times (see § iv. below). The *tĕphillîn* or phylacteries are two in number, known since the earliest times as the head-phylactery (תְּפִלָּה שֶׁל רֹאשׁ) and the hand-phylactery (ת״ שֶׁל יָד), and consist of two cubical leather boxes or cases, varying in size from ½ to 1½ in. in the side. The material is the prepared skin of a clean animal which has been thoroughly soaked in pure water. A cube-shaped wooden block (טְפוּס [τύπος] Mishna, *Kel.* vi. 7) is employed to give the desired shape and size. To form the head-phylactery, three deep incisions (קְצִיעוֹת) are made in the block, and the moist parchment spread over it and inserted into the incisions. When the material has dried and hardened the block is removed, and a leather case of four compartments, technically 'houses' (בָּתִּים), is the result. Before this, however, two *shins* (שׁ) have been impressed on the soft leather, one with the ordinary *three* prongs on the outer wall of the *báyith*, which, when the phylactery is complete, will be to the right of the wearer, and another with *four* prongs on the outer wall to the left. This fourfold case is now fitted with a leather brim, and into each 'house' is inserted a slip of specially prepared parchment (קְלָף *Shabb.* viii. 3), having written on it, in a special caligraphy, one of the Scripture passages to be cited presently, and each bound round with a few white hairs of a calf or cow. A firm base is supplied by a square piece of thick leather, connected by a flap with the brim, and sewed to the latter by means of twelve stitches (representing the twelve tribes) of clean gut. The four passages of Scripture above mentioned are those which the Jews have always regarded as constituting their warrant for the use of the phylacteries (see ii. below), viz. Ex 13$^{1-10}$ 13$^{11-16}$, Dt 6$^{4-9}$ 11$^{13-21}$. They are inserted in the four compartments in the order represented by the diagram—

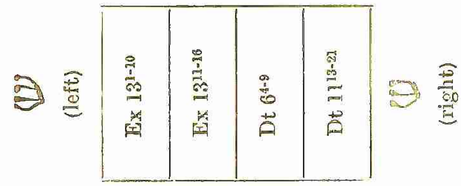

The hand-phylactery is shaped on a similar block without incisions, and consists of a single compartment (בַּיִת *báyith*) with plain walls, fitted with brim, base, and flap as before. The same four passages are written in four parallel columns on a single piece of parchment, and inserted in the *báyith*. Both phylacteries, coloured a deep black, are kept in position by leather straps (רְצוּעוֹת *Yad.* iii. 3), which are passed through the flaps. Both straps are of considerable length, and blackened on the upper side. The head-phylactery is fitted to the wearer's head by having its strap tied at the back of the head into a knot (קֶשֶׁר), of the shape of a *daleth* (ד). One end of the other strap, after being passed through the flap of its phylactery, is formed into a noose by means of a knot of the shape of a *yod* (י). The *shin* of the head-phylactery together with these knots thus make up the letters of the sacred name *Shaddai* (שדי 'Almighty'), to which a mystical significance is attached.

The phylacteries, as has been said, are now worn daily at morning prayer, except on Sabbaths and festival days, which, being themselves 'signs,' render the phylacteries unnecessary on those days. After assuming the *ṭallîth* (see FRINGES), the worshipper proceeds 'to lay the *tĕphillîn*.' The hand-phylactery is laid first. Its position is the inner side of the left arm, which must be bare, just above the elbow, so that, when the arm is bent the phylactery may rest 'upon the heart' (as commanded Dt 11^{8}). The long strap, which passes through the noose, is drawn tight, and wound three times round the arm above the elbow, the worshipper pronouncing the following benediction in Hebrew: 'Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who hast sanctified us by Thy commandments, and hast commanded us to lay the *tĕphillîn*.' The strap is thereafter wound four times, then three times, round the arm below the elbow, in such a manner as to form a four-pronged and a three-pronged *shin* respectively. At this point the head-phylactery is placed in position, so that the case lies in the middle of the forehead just touching the hair, the two ends of the strap hanging down over the shoulders in front, the following benediction being meanwhile repeated: 'Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who hast sanctified us by Thy commandments, and hast given us command concerning the precept of the *tĕphillîn*.'* To this is added, when the adjustment is completed: 'Blessed be His name, whose glorious kingdom is for ever and ever.' Finally, the remainder of the strap of the hand-phylactery is wound three times round the middle finger, and the following is said: 'And I will betroth thee unto Me for ever; yea, I will betroth thee unto Me in righteousness, and in judgment, and in loving-kindness, and in mercy: I will even betroth thee unto Me in faithfulness; and thou shalt know the Lord' (Hos 2^{19}). Prayers over, the phylacteries are taken off in the reverse order, the head-phylactery first, then the hand-phylactery. We cannot here attempt to give even a summary of the exceedingly numerous and minute precepts which have been elaborated and codified by the Jewish authorities regarding the preparation of the materials, the manner of writing, the preservation and inspection, etc., of the *tĕphillîn* (see authorities named in the bibliography at end of article).

ii. THE ALLEGED SCRIPTURAL AUTHORITY FOR THE PHYLACTERIES.—The command to 'lay the *tĕphillîn*' is contained, the Jews maintain, in four passages of the Pentateuch, viz.: Ex 13$^{9.16}$, Dt 6^{8} 11^{18}. It is of the utmost importance for our investigation to obtain an accurate and unprejudiced exposition of these cardinal passages, which we proceed to examine in their order.

(*a*) The bulk of Ex 13 is made up of injunctions regarding the perpetual observance of the Feast of Unleavened Cakes or Mazẓoth (vv.$^{3-10}$), and of the Dedication of the Firstborn (vv.$^{11-16}$). The former, we read, 'shall be for a sign (אוֹת *'ôth*) unto thee upon thine hand, and for a memorial (זִכָּרוֹן *zikkārôn*) between thine eyes, that the law of J" may be in thy mouth: for with a strong hand hath the Lord brought thee out of Egypt' (v.^{9}). Similarly with regard to the dedication of the firstborn, 'it shall be for a sign (*'ôth*, EV 'token') upon thine hand, and for frontlets (טוֹטָפֹת *ṭôṭāphôth*) between thine eyes,' etc. (v.^{16}). Now these two verses are so similar in their phraseology that no sane expositor would hesitate to declare them to be, in the writer's intention, completely identical. The feast of Maẓẓoth and the dedication of the firstborn shall alike serve as perpetual reminders to the Hebrews of the Egyptian deliverance, and of J''s resulting claim upon them.

---

* On the slight variation in the form of these and similar benedictions see Friedländer, *The Jewish Religion*, 1891, note, p. 329 f.; to this excellent work the student is referred for an exposition of the 'sign' of *tĕphillîn* from the orthodox Jewish standpoint. The renderings given above are from Singer's edition of *The Authorized Daily Prayer-Book*, 1892, p. 16.

(*b*) In Dt $6^{6\text{ff.}}$ we read: 'And these words, which I command thee this day (the exact reference of 'these words' will be considered presently), shall be in thine heart; and thou shalt teach (שִׁנֵּן)* them diligently unto thy children. . . . And thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be for frontlets between thine eyes. And thou shalt write them upon the door-posts of thy house, and upon thy gates.' In the second passage from Dt ($11^{18\text{-}20}$) this injunction is repeated with only slight verbal changes (cf. $11^{18\text{a}}$ 'ye shall *lay* these words upon your heart and upon your soul,' with $6^{3\text{a}}$). We have now before us the cardinal passages on which has been based the ancient Jewish custom of the phylacteries. Do they, we must now ask, or do they not command and sanction this custom? The answer is by no means so easy as may at first sight appear, for it is not an affair of exegesis alone, but involves questions of criticism and lexicology.

Thus we note that the language of the passage Ex $13^{3\text{-}16}$ presents a strong Deuteronomic colouring, which has prevented our foremost critics† from assigning it exclusively to J, with which source it has also undoubted affinities. Only two alternatives are possible (cf. Wellh. *Comp. d. Hexat.*^{3} 74). Either we have here a section composed in whole or in part by an editor of the Deuteronomic school (so Kautzsch, Cornill, Bacon), or we have one of several examples of the literary activity of the writer (R^{JE}) who united J and E into a single work, and who must have belonged to 'the circles whence Deuteronomy issued' (Kuenen, *Hexat.* § 9 n. 4, § 13 n. 29).‡ In either case the important result follows, that we have to deal not with two enactments, separated by a couple of centuries, the earlier of which may possibly be understood in a figurative and the later in a literal sense, but with enactments of approximately the same age and reflecting the same religious standpoint.

With regard, further, to the Deuteronomic passages (Dt $6^{6\text{-}9}$ $11^{18\text{-}21}$), various critical difficulties suggest themselves. Whence this unwonted and almost *verbatim* repetition in the course of the same address? Must we hold that in some of the early copies of Dt the verses repeated stood in ch. 6, in others with some variations in ch. 11, and that our present text has inserted a harmonized version of them in both places (so Steuernagel in Nowack's *Handkommentar*, 1898, p. 40)? Or shall we, with the latest commentator (Bertholet in Marti's *Kurzer Hand-Commentar*, 1899, p. 36), regard $11^{18\text{-}21}$ as an insertion which interrupts the connexion between v.^{17} and v.^{22}? The strong adversative with which v.^{22} opens in the original (כִּי אִם ='but,' not as EV 'for') certainly follows awkwardly on vv.$^{18\text{-}21}$, which so far makes for the latter view. The present writer, however, doubts whether either passage is in its original place. Dt 6^{2}, for example, which is parallel to 11^{21}, looks as if originally intended to form the continuation of vv.$^{6\text{-}9}$; this would give the following correspondences: $6^{6.\,8}=11^{18}$, $6^{7}=11^{19}$, $6^{9}=11^{20}$, $6^{2}=11^{21}$. Assuming that both passages are genuine, we should thus have an impressive call to the continued observance of the provisions of the Deuteronomic code placed both at the beginning and the close of the hortatory introduction in chs. 6–11. In any case the characteristic Deuteronomic phrase, 'these words which I command thee this day' (6^{6}), must have here, as it has everywhere else in chs. 5–11, a *prospective* reference to all the provisions of the following code, and not merely to the two preceding verses, as the commentators suppose. The two pairs of passages, then, we have seen, are alike in tone and intention, and that intention is to impress upon those addressed the duty of perpetual observance, in the one case (in Dt) of the whole Torah, in the other (in Ex) of two particular ordinances thereof. The whole and its parts should be continually in their thoughts and on their lips, and should form a never-failing subject for the instruction of their youth.

When we proceed to a closer examination of the special verses, Ex $13^{9.\,16}$, Dt 6^{3} 11^{18}, it is very evident, if our contention as to their authors' motive is correct, that the language of these verses is *figurative throughout*, as, indeed, is usually admitted for Exodus, but denied, or at least questioned, for Deuteronomy. But all figures of speech in Hebrew, as in other tongues, are borrowed from the common objects and processes of nature, or from the familiar facts of human life. So it must be in the case before us. Thus, as regards the 'sign' upon the hand, we have only to recall the widespread practice, among all primitive races, of tattooing or branding various parts of the body with the name or symbol of the deity to whom one wishes to dedicate one's self, and whose protection it is desired to secure (see CUTTINGS IN THE FLESH in vol. i. 538^{b}). Such, doubtless, is the underlying idea of the mark (אוֹת)* of Cain, by which he was placed under the special protection of J'' (see esp. Stade's brilliant essay, 'Das Kainzeichen,' in *ZATW*, 1894, p. 250 ff. In this essay Stade has further shown [p. 310 ff.] that זִכָּרוֹן of Ex 13^{9} is a synonym of אוֹת in this sense).† The forehead,—for such is the meaning of 'between the eyes' in all our passages,—even more than the hands and wrists, was specially adapted for the reception of these religious tokens, and is so used by the most widely scattered savage and semi-savage races at the present day. But even in the canonical and extra-canonical literature of the Hebrews we find undoubted references to this practice. Thus we have the young man who bore on his forehead some mark or token that he belonged to the prophets of J'' (1 K 20^{41}; see Stade, *loc. cit.* 314 f.; and Kittel, *Handkom. in loc.*), Ezekiel's cross (תָּו $9^{4.\,6}$) on the foreheads of the faithful (cf. Rev 7^{3} 14^{1}), the 'token of destruction' (*σημεῖον τῆς ἀπωλείας*) on the forehead of the wicked (Ps-Sol 15^{10}, cf. v.^{8}), while 'the mark of the beast on hand or forehead' (Rev 13^{16} 14^{9} etc.) is familiar to all. These instances more than suffice to give us a glimpse of the circle of ideas which supplied the metaphors of the passages we are considering. The ordinances of the Torah were to serve the same purpose as these *στίγματα* of the ancient cults; they were to be outward and visible tokens of the Hebrews' allegiance to J'' their God, and of J''s special propriety in them.

In three of the cardinal passages, however (Ex 13^{16}, Dt 6^{3} 11^{18}), for the *zikkārôn* of Ex 13^{9} there is substituted a word of uncertain signification, טֹטָפֹת *ṭôṭāphôth*, EV 'frontlets.'

---

* שִׁנֵּן, only here in OT, appears to mean 'to prick with a sharp-pointed instrument,' hence probably = tattoo (see below).

† Except Dillmann; but see his latest editor's view in Dillmann-Ryssel, *Exodus*, pp. 111, 141.

‡ For a conspectus of modern critical opinion regarding Ex $13^{3\text{-}16}$ see Holzinger, *Einleit. in d. Hexat.* 455 f., and the 'Tabellen' accompanying that work.

* These marks were called *στίγματα* by the Greeks (see Stade, *ut sup.*, and Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, 266 ff.); cf. LXX Lv $19^{27\text{f.}}$ *γράμματα στικτά*.

† Cf. Nu $16^{38.\,40}$ (Heb. $17^{3.\,5}$), where אוֹת and זִכָּרוֹן are used interchangeably.

The singular of this word appears as טוֹטֶפֶת in post-biblical Hebrew, and the טוטפת of the MT should in all probability be so pointed.* In form it resembles כּוֹכָב for כַּבְכָּב, by reduplication from a root which must be either טפף or טוף (see König, *Lehrgeb.* II. i. § 60, 6*a*). The latter form is generally preferred on the strength of the Arab. *ṭâfa*, 'to encircle,' but the sense 'fillet, head-band' (so Ges. *Thes.*, Dillm., Driver, etc.) suits neither the descriptive expression 'between thine eyes' nor the circle of ideas from which, we are convinced, the figure in the text is borrowed. The rendering *tĕphillîn* of the Targums is merely a reflexion of the interpretation which had long been current among the Jews (see below). The root טפף is therefore to be preferred, but its significance can only be conjectured. Several modern scholars favour a conjecture, first proposed by Knobel, viz. 'to strike,' then 'to make an incision,' so that *ṭôṭāphôth* would thus also denote *στίγματα* (Klein, 'Die Totaphoth nach Bibel und Tradition,' in *Jahrb. f. protest. Theologie*, vii. (1881) p. 673; Siegfried-Stade, *Lex. s.v.*; Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* i. 134). This conjecture, it may here be added, has the support of the Peshiṭta in Dt 6^{8} 11^{18}, where *ṭôṭāphôth* is rendered by *rûshmâ*, 'a mark,'† which is also used to render Ezekiel's mark and the mark of the beast in Revelation.

In the absence, however, of all trace of the above signification in the extant literature, it is more probable that we have in טפף a root akin to נטף 'to drop,' and actually found in this sense in the Talmudic טִפְטֵף 'to drip *or* drop' (used of wine, oil, blood, etc.); cf. the series המם, הום, נהם, and Arab. *hamhama*, Ges.-Kautzsch, *Heb. Grammar*, § 30*k*.

טֹטֶפֶת is thus akin to נְטִיפוֹת '[ear-]drops' (Jg 8^{26}, Is 3^{19}), as is further confirmed by the rendering of the Samaritan Targum טפין, which must be the Aram. טִפָּא 'a drop' (of blood, etc.; see Levy, *s.v.*). It prob. denoted a '*drop*,' *bead*, or *jewel* worn as an amulet,‡ *i.e.* as a true *φυλακτήριον*. In the Mishna, *Shabb.* vi. 1, 5, *ṭôṭépheth* clearly signifies a jewel worn by Jewish women, attached to their head-dress.§ The Deuteronomic authors, then, do not shrink from the use of another bold metaphor to express the thought that the commands of J″ shall be as constantly present to the thoughts of His people, and as highly prized as the most precious of jewels by their superstitious contemporaries.

The results of our investigations may now be summed up. The passages in Ex and Dt on which the institution of the phylacteries is based cannot be kept apart in such a way that the expressions of Ex are to be taken *figuratively* but those of Dt *literally*. The figurative interpretation of both passages, further, is confirmed by such additional considerations as the following: (*a*) numerous other expressions in the contexts are plainly figures of speech; such are the references to the words of J″ being in the mouth (Ex 13^{9}, cf. Schoettgen's remarks, *Horæ Heb. et Talmud.*, 194 f.) and in the heart (Dt 6^{6}), to the duty of impressing (שָׁנַן 'to prick with a sharp instrument') them upon the children (6^{7}), and of laying them upon the heart and the soul (11^{18}, but see above, § i., for an attempt to do this literally); (*b*) similar expressions elsewhere have never been taken otherwise than figuratively, *e.g.* Dt 30^{14}, Pr 3^{3} ('bind them [kindness and truth] upon thy neck, write them upon the tablet of thine heart'), 1^{9} 6^{21} 7^{3}, Jer 17^{1} 31^{33} etc.; (*c*) there is the impossibility of carrying out the injunctions in the literal sense when these refer to the whole Deuteronomic code, as we saw to be the case even in Dt 6^{8},—a consideration, it may be added, which effectually disposes of the strictly literal interpretation of 6^{10} (=11^{20}).

iii. THE RISE OF THE LITERAL INTERPRETATION OF EX 13^{16} ETC., AND THE DATE OF THE INTRODUCTION OF THE PHYLACTERIES.—We have now to inquire at what period of Jewish history the literal interpretation of the four passages in question took its rise. A strong presumption against a date in the Exile, or even early in the post-exilic period, is furnished by the fact that the phylacteries are unknown to the Samaritan community (see Klein, *loc. cit.* 686 f.; Hamburger, *Realencycl. d. Judenthums*, ii. 1065). The Aramaic form of the name *tĕphillîn* points unmistakably in the same direction. An evident *terminus a quo*, however, is supplied by the figurative passages from Proverbs just cited. These are admittedly echoes of the Deuteronomic teaching (see Driver, *LOT*^{6} 396), and it is incredible that a Jewish writer would have so expressed himself, if the literal interpretation of Dt 6^{6} etc. already held the field. Now the passages in question are all contained in the later section of the book (Pr 1–9), which, if the earlier section (10 ff.) date from the late Persian period, can hardly be earlier than B.C. 300.* Even half a century later, *c.* 250 B.C.,—the provisional date generally accepted for the beginnings of the Alexandrian translation (LXX),—the figurative interpretation was still accepted, at least in Egypt. This we see from the LXX rendering of the crucial טוטפת (*καὶ ἀφάψεις αὐτὰ εἰς σημεῖον ἐπὶ τῆς χειρός σου, καὶ ἔσται ἀσάλευτον πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν σου*, Dt 6^{8}) as something 'immovably fixed' (*ἀσάλευτον*;† cf. Ac 27^{41}, He 12^{28}) before one's eyes, the unchanging subject of one's thoughts.

The *terminus ad quem* is suggested by the famous letter of the pseudo-Aristeas, who represents himself as having been instructed by Eleazar, the then high priest at Jerusalem, in the institutions of Moses. The latter, says Eleazar, in addition to 'the token of remembrance on our garments (see FRINGES) and the texts (*τὰ λόγια*) on doors and gates, commanded us expressly to bind the sign on the hands also' (*καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν χειρῶν τὸ σημεῖον περιῆφθαι*—Hody, 'Aristeæ Historia,' in *De Bibliorum Textibus*, p. xviii; Kautzsch, *Pseudepigraphen*, 'Der Brief d. Aristeas,' v.^{159}), an unmistakable reference to the hand-phylactery, *but to that only*.‡ Unfortunately the date of Aristeas is still *sub judice*. For various reasons we decline to accept the early date, *c.* 200 B.C., advocated by Schürer (*HJP* II. iii. 310), and incline to a date early in the 1st cent. B.C. (cf. Wendland in Kautzsch, *op. cit.*). We thus obtain a period of one hundred and fifty years (B.C. 250–100), to which the introduction of the phylacteries may confidently be ascribed. Now it is more than a coincidence that this is the period which witnessed the growth of that more strict and literal observance of the requirements of the Torah, which is associated with the rise to power and influence of the sect of the HASIDÆANS (wh. see) and of their successors, the Pharisees. The latter, we know, acquired great influence under John Hyrcanus (B.C. 135–105), imposing upon the people their views regarding sacrifice, prayer, and worship generally (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. i. 3), and it may well be that among the observances which the Pharisees then introduced (see *ib.* XIII. xvi. 2), and which were successively abrogated by Hyrcanus and reintroduced by Alexandra (B.C. 78), the practice of 'laying the *tĕphillîn*' had a place. Our conclusion, then, is that the introduction of the phylacteries may with certainty be assigned to the period between B.C. 250 and 100, and conjecturally to the generation embraced by the reigns of Simon the Hasmonæan and his son John Hyrcanus, viz. B.C. 140–105.

---

* It should be noted that the Hebrew text has twice טוטפת and once טטפת, never, as in the Samaritan Pentateuch, טטפות, with express plural termination.

† Which favours the singular pointing, as suggested above.

‡ It is well known that the practice of wearing jewellery in the ears, nose, etc., had its origin in the desire to guard the orifices of the body against the entrance of evil spirits (cf. W. R. Smith, *RS*^{1} 433 f.). As rings could not be inserted in the eyelids as through the ear-lobes and nostrils, the same end was secured by hanging a jewel 'between the eyes.'

§ Cf. the explanation of the Jerus. Gemara in Levy, *s.v.*, 'something worn in the place of the *tĕphillîn*,' *i.e.* on the forehead.

* Toy in the *International Critical Comm.* says *c.* 250 B.C. ('Proverbs,' Introd. xxx); so, too, Wildeboer in Marti's *Hand-comm.*

† For this term and the variant *σάλευτον* (of which Philo gives an ingenious explanation, *Opp.* ii. 358), as also for the renderings of the later Greek versions, see Field, *Origenis Hexapla*, at Ex 13^{16} and Dt 6^{8}.

‡ Have we here an indication that the head-phylactery was of later introduction than the hand-phylactery? The female diviners of Ezekiel's day were in the habit of binding amulets (כְּסָתוֹת, EV 'pillows,' but understood in the former sense by Ephraem Syrus, and the anonymous 'Hebrew' who rendered the word by *φυλακτήρια*, see *ap.* Field's *Hexapla*, *in loc.*) on their wrists, a practice which Hitzig regarded as the precursor of the phylacteries (see the comm. on Ezk 13$^{18ff.}$, and art. KERCHIEF). The late W. R. Smith seems to have shared this view (*Jour. of Philology*, xiii. 286).

iv. THE PHYLACTERIES IN THE EARLY CENTURIES A.D.—By the NT writers, as by Josephus (*Ant.* IV. viii. 3) and by their contemporaries generally, the phylacteries, like the use of the *Shĕma'* (שְׁמַע) in the daily prayers (Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 77, 84 f.),—for both practices doubtless had their rise in the same period and in the same circles,—were regarded as dating from the days of Moses. The practice was, of course, regarded as having scriptural authority, but even the details of the construction of the phylacteries were ascribed to a special revelation to Moses (technically הֲלָכָה לְמֹשֶׁה מִסִּינַי, for which see Hamburger, *Realencycl.* 2nd Suppl. p. 162 ff.). The following details, gleaned from the Mishna,—which may be taken as authoritative for the century ending A.D. 135, although in its present form of somewhat later date,—may be given as illustrating the practice of orthodox Jewish circles in NT times, and as showing, when compared with the details already given in § i., how little change has been introduced since the 1st cent. A.D. In the Mishna, then, we find the same terms applied to the phylacteries as at the present day, *tĕphillā shel rô'sh* and *t. shel yādh* (for the latter also, more correctly, ת״ שֶׁל זְרוֹעַ '*tĕphillā* of the arm,'—*Miḳw.* x. 3, 4). The material was the same (*Kel.* xxiii. 1); the shape square, not round (*Megil.* iv. 8). The head-phylactery, sometimes spoken of as *the* phylactery *par excellence* (*Kel.* xviii. 8, etc.), was already divided into four compartments (*Kel. ib.*), but not more (*Sanhed.* xi. 3), each with its parchment slip (*Shabb.* viii. 3; cf. Justin Martyr, the first Christian writer outside the NT to refer to the phylacteries by name, *Dial. c. Tryphone*, 46, ed. Otto^{1}, ii. 148, *φυλακτήριον ἐν ὑμέσι λεπτοτάτοις γεγραμμένων χαρακτήρων τινῶν*) containing in all probability the same passages as in modern times. Thus the third of the passages in question (Dt 6$^{4-9}$) is expressly described as 'the smallest section (פָּרָשָׁה קְטַנָּה) in the *tĕphillîn*, which is, Hear, O Israel' (*Sanhed.* viii. 3).[*] The writing had to be in the square Hebrew character (אַשּׁוּרִית, lit. Assyrian, *i.e.* Syrian or Aramæan). Women, slaves, and minors (קְטַנִּים) were exempt from the obligation of wearing the phylacteries (*Berakoth*, iii. 3), also all males in the presence of their dead (*ib.* iii. 1), and on Sabbaths and festivals, the latter as greater 'signs' rendering superfluous the observance of the lesser sign of the phylacteries. When not in use the phylacteries were kept in a case (תִּיק, *θήκη*, *Shabb.* vi. 2). From various indications it may be inferred that they were worn during the whole day, the justification for which was found in a mistaken interpretation of Ex 13^{10}. There the Hebrews are enjoined to keep the feast of Unleavened Cakes מִיָּמִים יָמִימָה, *i.e.* not from day to day, every day, but—as the phrase elsewhere signifies and as the context requires—*from year to year* (so correctly Onkelos; also Aquila *ἀπὸ χρόνου εἰς χρόνον*). The Jews, however, referring the command to the phylacteries (v.^{9}), interpret the words as enjoining their use 'from day to day.' This interpretation is most clearly expressed in the Targum (pseudo-)Jonathan to Ex 13$^{9f.}$. After the direction that the hand-phylactery shall lie on the upper part of the left arm, and the head-phylactery in the middle of the upper part of the forehead, we read: 'Thou shalt observe this commandment of the phylacteries in the appointed time, on working days but not on Sabbaths and feast days, and in the day time not in the night time' (*ap.* Walton's *Polyglot*, vol. iv.). The later limitation of their use to the time of the daily prayers was no doubt due to the same causes as brought about a similar curtailment in the wearing of the *ẓiẓith* (see FRINGES in vol. ii. 69^{a}).

It is difficult to say with certainty to what extent this habitual wearing of the phylacteries prevailed among the Jewish people as a whole. That it was the invariable practice of the Pharisees and of the scribes, who belonged almost exclusively to that sect, we may take for granted. On the other hand, the balance of probability is against its adoption by the Sadducees, who may possibly be referred to in the Mishna sentence (*Sanhed.* xi. 3) as saying, 'there is no such thing as *tĕphillîn* (אֵין תְּפִלִּין).' Certainly the Karaite Jews, who claim to be the religious successors of the Sadducees, maintain the figurative interpretation of the injunctions in Ex and Dt (Hamburger, *op. cit.* ii. 1204; Klein, *loc. cit.* 688). The great mass of the people also,—*ὁ ὄχλος ὁ μὴ γινώσκων τὸν νόμον* (Jn 7^{49}),—engrossed in the hard routine of daily toil, paid no heed to this enactment of the scribes (with Jn 7^{49} cf. Talm. Bab. *Berakoth*, 47*b*: 'Who is an *'am-ha'areẓ*? R. Jehoshua says: Every one who does not lay the *tĕphillîn*' [כל שאינו מניח ת״]). Hence we may infer that neither our Lord nor His disciples followed, in this respect, the lead of the Pharisees (cf. Jn 7^{15}). In His denunciation of the latter (*πλατύνουσι γὰρ τὰ φυλακτήρια αὐτῶν*, Mt 23^{5}) our Lord is generally understood to refer to the ostentatious breadth of the straps (רְצוּעוֹת *Yad.* iii. 3, etc.) by which the phylacteries were firmly secured on head and arm, as is expressly stated by the earliest Syriac translators (see *loc. cit.* in the codices of Lewis [Sinaiticus] and Cureton: 'for they make broad the straps of their *tĕphillîn* [ערקא דתפליהון]).' It is probable, however, that this increase in the width of the straps was accompanied by a corresponding increase in the size of the phylacteries proper, and that both are included in the denunciation.

In addition to the Talmud (Mishna and Gemara), we have in the Targums ample evidence of the Jewish belief in the antiquity of the phylacteries, resulting in several cases in amusing anachronisms. Thus Saul's bracelet or armlet (2 S 1^{10}) is converted into 'the phylactery[*] (מוֹטַפְתָּא) which was upon his arm.' The turbans (פְּאֵר) of Ezekiel and his fellow-exiles are changed to phylacteries (Targ. Ezk 24$^{17.\,23}$), while Mordecai is represented as recognizable as a Jew by his phylacteries (Targ. Est 8^{15}).

While we believe that the introduction of the phylacteries was not due to a superstitious belief in their magical virtues as 'appurtenances to make prayer more powerful' (so W. R. Smith, *Jour. of Phil.* xiii. 286, and others), but, as we have shown above, to a mistaken obedience to the letter on the part of over-zealous students of the Torah, it cannot be denied that by the rank and file of the people—from whom, no doubt, the name *φυλακτήρια* proceeded—and even by some of the more educated, the phylacteries were regarded as possessing magical properties. This appears from the repeated mention, in the Mishna, of the *tĕphillîn* alongside of the *ḳĕmîa'* (קָמֵיעַ), which was an amulet also written on parchment by a professional exorcist (see *Shabb.* vi. 2), and worn on the person, from the rendering of Ca 8³ in the Targum,[*] and from various references in the Midrash and Gemara (for which see Klein, 679 f.; Hamburger, art. 'Tephillin').

---

[*] Jerome (*Comment. in Matth. ad* 23^{5}) was evidently mistaken in thinking that the orthodox phylacteries contained the Decalogue. He seems to have confused them with similar *φυλακτήρια* used exclusively as amulets (see below).

[*] This is a preferable rendering to 'bracelet,' which is based on the precarious etymology referred to above (§ ii.).

On the other hand, the Talmud abounds in extravagant eulogy of the religious value of the phylacteries.[†] In the Middle Ages, from the 8th, and especially from the 10th cent. (Hamburger), they were less esteemed; and, in some parts at least, the practice almost became extinct (see Rodkinssohn, תפלה למשה, *Ursprung u. Entwickelung d. Phylacterien-Ritus*, 1883 (Hebrew), to be used with caution, cf. *REJ* vi. 288). The fact that several Jewish scholars of note, beginning with Samuel ben Meir (Rashbam, 1080–*c.* 1150), in their commentaries maintained the figurative interpretation of the cardinal passages, no doubt contributed to the growing disuse of the phylacteries. A return to the earlier practice, however, was gradually effected, and their use is now universal among the orthodox Jews, both of the Polish and Spanish rites. At the age of thirteen years and a day the Jewish boy attains his religious majority, becomes responsible for his actions, and a 'Bar-Miẓvah' (בַּר מִצְוָה, for the history and significance of which see Löw, *Die Lebensalter in d. jüd. Literatur*, 210 ff.). Among the duties and privileges of the Bar-Miẓvah not the least important is that of 'laying' the *tĕphillîn*.

LITERATURE.—The commentaries, esp. Dillmann-Ryssel, *Exodus*, etc.; Dillmann, Driver on *Deuteronomy*; Kalisch, *Exodus* (special dissertation, pp. 223–227). The numerous minute Rabbinical prescriptions will be found in the authoritative works of Maimonides (*Yad Ha-ḥazaka Hilkoth Tephillin*) and Joseph Caro (*Shulḥān 'Aruk*). Extensive excerpts from Maimonides in Ugolinus, *Thes. Antiquitatum Sacrarum*, xxi., containing treatise 'de Phylacteriis Hebræorum.' Of the older discussions the most valuable are those by Buxtorf, *Synagoga Judaica*, pp. 170–185; Spencer, *de Legibus Hebræorum*, etc., Cambridge, 1727, lib. iv. capp. 1–7 ('de natura et origine Phylacteriorum'); Bodenschatz, *Kirchliche Verfassung der heutigen Juden*, iv. 14–19 (with illustrations). Lightfoot, Schoettgen, and similar works on Mt 23⁵. M. Margoliouth, *The Fundamental Principles of Mod. Judaism*, pp. 1–49. Of the articles in Bible Dictionaries perhaps the most important are those by Delitzsch in Riehm's *Handwörterbuch*, etc. (art. 'Denkzettel'), by Ginsburg in Kitto-Alexander's *Biblical Cyclopædia* (art. 'Phylactery'), both illustrated, and by Hamburger, *Realencyclopædie d. Bibel u. Talmud*, vol. ii. (art. 'Tephillin'). The only critical investigation of the subject hitherto has been by Klein, 'Die Totaphoth nach Bibel u. Tradition,' in the *Jahrbücher für protest. Theologie*, 1881, pp. 666–689 (useful collection of material, but critically and exegetically weak). The varying usage of the Middle Ages is given by Rodkinssohn, תפלה למשה, *Ursprung u. Entwickelung des Phylacterien-Ritus bei den Juden* (in Hebrew), 1883 [not seen]. A short exposition of modern Jewish teaching in Friedländer, *The Jewish Religion*, 331–338.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

PHYLARCH (*τὸν φυλάρχην*, 2 Mac 8³²).—There can be but little doubt that this word is not a proper name (as in AV; cf. RVm), but a military title. In Athens the 'phylarchs' had command of the cavalry; and here either a cavalry officer or a commander of auxiliary forces seems to be intended. Zöckler still supports the proper name.

PHYSICIAN.—See MEDICINE, p. 321.

PI-BESETH (פִּי־בֶסֶת, Βούβαστος).—Ezk 30¹⁷, a city in Lower Egypt, the hieroglyphic *Per-Bastet*, 'House of Bastet,' in Copt. *Pubasti*, *Buasti*, etc. The city was named *Bast*; the goddess who dwelt in it was hence called *Bastet*, 'the Bastite,' and thence again was formed the sacred name of the city, viz. *Per-Bastet*, lit. 'the house of the Bastite.' The sacred name was that adopted by the Greeks and Romans; the modern name of the site, Tell Basṭeh, 'the hill of Basteh,' may be derived from the original form.

Bubastis was probably a wealthy and important city from the earliest times. Its mounds are very extensive, and its temple, recently excavated by Naville for the Egyp. Expl. Fund, contained monuments of every period from the 4th Dynasty down to Roman times. It is now entirely deserted, but lies close to the large town of Zagazig, which owes its importance to the railway. Bubastis was capital of the 18th nome of Lower Egypt, the boundaries of which are very uncertain. In history it does not appear until the time of the 22nd Dynasty, founded by Shishak about B.C. 1000, and known as the Bubastite Dynasty, under which Bubastis was the second city of Egypt, Thebes still remaining the first. When that dynasty expired, and Egypt was divided, Bubastis was still the capital of a royal family, which was afterwards considered to be the legitimate 23rd Dynasty. The city was visited by Herodotus, who greatly admired the situation and beauty of its granite temple, and has recorded the existence of a popular and somewhat licentious annual festival held in honour of the goddess Bastet (Hdt. ii. 59 f.). The goddess was figured with the head of a lioness, or later almost invariably of a cat. She was held to be a mild form of Sekhemt, the goddess of destruction. Cats were sacred to her. Her son was named Mahes, 'fierce-eyed lion'; but Nefer-Atum was commonly worshipped as the third member of the Bubastite triad. Mummied cats, sometimes in bronze cases, were very abundant, the cat cemetery having extended over many acres; but antiquity dealers have now plundered what the damp atmosphere of the Delta had spared.

F. LL. GRIFFITH.

PICTURE is AV trⁿ of 1. מַשְׂכִּית Nu 33⁵² (LXX *τὰς σκοπιάς*), Pr 25¹¹ (*ὁρμίσκος*). In the former of these passages RV has 'figured stones' (cf. Lv 26¹). These may have been stones erected for worship,

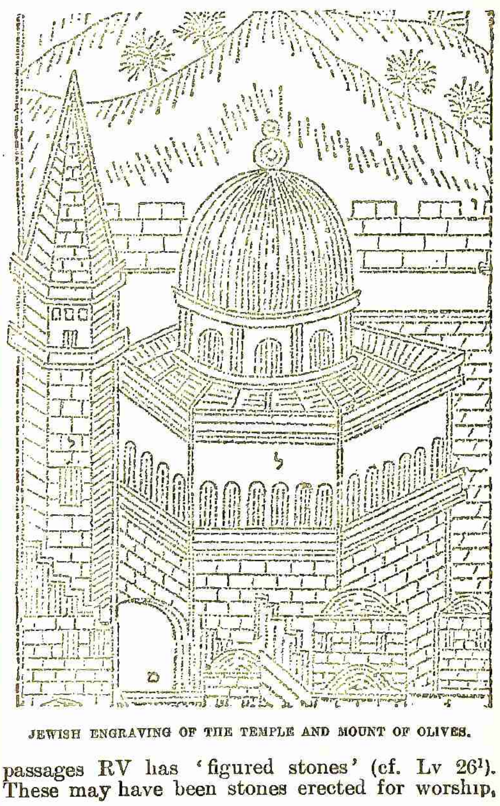

JEWISH ENGRAVING OF THE TEMPLE AND MOUNT OF OLIVES.

---

[*] It is maintained by some, however, that the power of protecting from evil spirits here affirmed is confined to the *mĕzûzā*.

[†] It is unfair, however, to use for polemical purposes such purely academic statements as *Berakoth*, 6*a*, that the Almighty Himself 'lays the tĕphillîn'! (a curious inference from the following passages: Is 62⁸, Dt 33², Ps 29¹¹).

or with a hand or other amulet sign marked upon them for the preservation of fields and vineyards from evil influences. For 'pictures of silver' in Pr 25^{11} RV gives 'baskets (m. filigree work) of silver.' See Lagarde, *Anmerk. z. Gr. Uebersetz. d. Proverb.* 80. 2. שְׂכִיָּה. For עַל כָּל־שְׂכִיּוֹת הַחֶמְדָּה of MT the LXX has *ἐπὶ πᾶσαν θέαν πλοίων κάλλους*, AV 'upon all pleasant pictures,' RV 'upon all pleasant imagery' (m. 'watch-towers'). Siegfried-Stade propose to read סְפִינוֹת (cf. Jon 1^5), 'ships,' for שְׂכִיּוֹת.

Figures were represented either by an image completely separated from its surrounding material, or by a surface in partial relief, or by a line of stain or etching (מְחֻקֶּה) on the surface.

At the present day, when a pious Syrian Jew wishes to have a picture of the temple and the Mount of Olives in his house, he falls upon the device of having a line engraving made up of Scripture quotations, thus avoiding the formal infringement of the second commandment. See engraving on previous page. G. M. MACKIE.

PIECE.—1. A measure: 1 Es 8^{20} 'an hundred pieces of wine' (Gr. *μετρητής*, RV 'firkin,' as the same word is translated in Jn 2^6 AV and RV). See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES. 2. An instrument of war; 1 Mac 6^{51} 'pieces to cast darts and slings' (Gr. *σκορπίδιον*, dim. of *σκορπίος*, a scorpion). In this sense the word is scarcely obsolete. Shaks. *I Henry VI.* I. iv. 15, has—

> 'A piece of ordnance 'gainst it I have placed.'

In Selden's day the word was beginning to be replaced by gun. He says (*Table Talk*, p. 65), 'Sometimes we put a new signification to an old word, as when we call a piece a Gun.'

PIETY.—In Lat. *pietas* signified duteous regard (1) to the gods, (2) to one's parents [cf. the familiar 'pius Aeneas' of Vergil, *Aen.* i. 220, etc.] and inferiors, (3) to one's country; and the Eng. word 'piety' retained all these meanings. We use it now of devotion to God only, although we can prefix an adj. and speak of 'filial piety.' We cannot say with Milton, *Samson Agon.* 993—

> 'The public marks of honour and reward
> Conferred upon me for the piety
> Which to my country I was judged to have shown.'

In AV the only occurrence is 1 Ti 5^4 'If any widow have children or nephews, let them learn first to show piety at home,' where *εὐσεβεῖν* is rendered 'to show piety,' and the tr. is retained in RV. An example of the meaning 'devotion to God' is found in the Preface to AV, 'Piety towards God was the weapon, and the onely weapon that both preserved Constantines person, and avenged him of his enemies.' J. HASTINGS.

PIGEON.—See DOVE.

PI-HAHIROTH (פִּי הַחִירֹת).—When the Israelites turned back from ETHAM, 'in the edge of the wilderness,' they encamped 'before (לִפְנֵי Ex 14^2) *or* beside (עַל v.^{9}) Pi-haḥiroth, between MIGDOL and the sea, before BAAL-ZEPHON.' The name occurs again in the itinerary of Nu $33^{7.8}$. In v.^{8} RV has 'from before Haḥiroth,' instead of 'from before Pi-haḥiroth,' following in this the MT מִפְּנֵי הַחִ׳, which, however, may be a copyist's error for מִפִּי הַח׳ or מִפְּנֵי פִּי הַח׳. All the passages in which Pi-haḥiroth is mentioned belong to P. Unfortunately, the above definition of its position is insufficient to fix its site, for Migdol and Baal-zephon, like most of the places named at the initial stages of the Exodus, are themselves unknown. Even RAAMSES has not been identified, although we know the site of PITHOM. See, further, art. EXODUS in vol. i. p. 803.

The etymology and the meaning of the name Pi-haḥiroth are likewise uncertain, although attempts have been made to explain it from the side both of Egyptian and of Hebrew. The LXX, which finds a proper name in Nu 33^7 (B *ἐπὶ στόμα Ἐπιρώθ*, AF . . . *Εἰρώθ*) ^{8} (BA *ἀπέναντι Εἰρώθ*), treats פי החירת in Ex $14^{2.9}$ as an appellative, *ἀπέναντι τῆς ἐπαύλεως*. The 'farmstead' of this last rendering reminds Sayce (*EHH* 181) of the *ahu* or 'estate' of Pharaoh in the district of Thukut, on which, according to a letter dating from the 8th year of Merenptah, the Edomite herdsmen were allowed to settle. Naville has proposed to make Pi-haḥiroth = *Pi-Qerhet*, 'the house of the goddess Qerhet,' the name of a sanctuary in or near Pithom, but to this there are philological objections. The Pesh., Targ., and Sa'adya take פ׳ as the construct of פֶּה 'mouth,' while חירת, according to the first, means 'trenches *or* canals,' according to the other two, 'mountains *or* rocks.' For modern conjectures see Dillm.-Ryssel on Ex 14^2, which, along with Sayce (*HCM* 252 ff.) and Driver (in Hogarth's *Authority and Archæology*, 57, 61), may be consulted on the question of the site. J. A. SELBIE.

PILATE.—Pontius Pilatus (*Πόντιος Πειλᾶτος*) was the fifth* Roman procurator of Judæa. After the deposition (A.D. 6) of Archelaus, his territory, which included Judæa, Samaria, and Idumæa,† was erected into an imperial province in charge of an officer of the equestrian order with the title of *procurator*. In the Gospels, Pilate is called simply *governor* (*ἡγεμών*); but Josephus specifically calls the ruler *procurator* (*ἐπίτροπος*; *Ant.* XX. vi. 2, *BJ* II. viii. 1, ix. 2, etc.),‡ as also does Tacitus (*Ann.* xv. 44). His official residence was in the palace of Herod in Cæsarea (cf. Ac 23^{35}); but at the time of the feasts he usually went up to Jerus., probably occupying there also the palace of Herod.§ The military force under him consisted of about three thousand men at Cæsarea, besides small garrisons scattered throughout the country, and a cohort (500 men?) stationed in Jerusalem.‖ His judicial authority was supreme, except in the cases of Roman citizens, where appeal lay to the emperor, while his chief duty concerned the financial administration and the collection of taxes for the imperial treasury. The Judæan procurators thus exercised much higher authority than officers of the same name in most Roman provinces, where they presided merely over the finances. Similar administrative functions, however, were entrusted to the eparchs of Egypt and the procurators of Noricum, Rætia, and a few other exceptional peoples.¶

But while Judæa was thus directly governed by Rome, a large measure of local self-government was allowed, especially to urban communities. In Jerus. the Sanhedrin was the supreme court of the nation, and as many judicial functions as possible were retained by it. Death sentences, however, required the governor's confirmation, and were executed by him (cf. Jos. *Ant.* XX. ix. 1, *BJ* II. viii. 1). The tolerant Roman rule showed much respect for the customs and prejudices of the Jewish people. It aimed at as large liberty as was consistent with order and tribute. Most of the difficulties in Judæa arose from the religious zeal and intractable disposition of the Jews themselves. On the other hand, their liberties were liable at any moment to be overruled, if necessity seemed to require it; and the procurators were generally men who grievously abused their authority. The nation itself also was divided, and in an almost constant state of tumult. The recollection of these facts is necessary in order to appreciate the position of Pilate when Christ was brought before his bar.

---

* Some count him the sixth procurator, reckoning as the first Sabinus who took charge during the absence of Archelaus (Jos. *Ant.* XVII. ix. 3, x. 1); but Sabinus, as procurator in Syria under Varus, merely acted to secure Cæsar's interests after the death of Herod, and while the cause of Archelaus was yet in doubt.

† Except the towns of Gaza, Gadara, and Hippos (Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 39).

‡ Jos. also calls the governor *ἔπαρχος* (*Ant.* XIX. ix. 2, etc.), *προστησόμενος* (*Ant.* XX. vii. 1), *ἐπιμελητής* (*Ant.* XVIII. iv. 2), as well as *ἡγεμών* (*Ant.* XXVIII. iii. 1).

§ See PRÆTORIUM.

‖ See Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 49–57; cf. Ac 21^{31}, Jn 18^{12}.

¶ Comp. authorities cited by Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 45; also Mommsen, *Provinces of the Rom. Emp.* ii. 201.

Of Pilate's origin we know nothing,* though it has been inferred, from his *nomen* Pontius, that he belonged to an ancient Samnite family whose name frequently appears in Roman history.† His *cognomen* has, however, been derived from *pileatus*,—one who wore the *pileus*, the cap of manumitted slaves,—and the inference has been drawn that he was a freedman, or descended from one. But his appointment as procurator makes this improbable, since such officers were uniformly of equestrian rank.‡ Hence others derived *Pilatus* from *pilum*, a javelin. His *prænomen* is unknown, nor does his name appear in history apart from his residence in Judæa. He was preceded in office by Coponius (A.D. 6–9?), Marcus Ambivius (A.D. 9–12?), Annius Rufus (A.D. 12–15?), and Valerius Gratus (A.D. 15–26), and was appointed (Eus. *HE* i. 9) in the twelfth year of Tiberius (A.D. 26), and continued in office ten years (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. iv. 2).§ The unusual length of time during which he and Gratus held office was, in accordance with the policy of Tiberius, based on the opinion that governors who had already enriched themselves, would be better for the people than new ones whose avarice was yet unsatisfied (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. vi. 5). Tacitus (*Ann.* i. 80, iv. 6) also notices the long governorships under Tiberius. Pilate came therefore to Judæa contemporaneously with the appearance of John the Baptist, and his rule covered the period of Jesus' ministry and of the first establishment of Christianity in Judæa.

Pilate's administration was marked by events which show both the difficulties of his task and the small effort which he made to understand the Jews or accommodate himself to their prejudices. The first disturbance (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. iii. 1, *BJ* II. ix. 2, 3) probably occurred soon after his entrance on office. To satisfy the Jews, the Romans had directed their soldiers not to carry to Jerus. upon their standards the usual image of the emperor; but Pilate sent the army to Jerus. to winter, and directed that the standards, with the images upon them, should be taken by night into the sacred city. This seemed to the Jews a direct violation of their religious laws. Forthwith multitudes hastened to Cæsarea to implore the governor to remove the images. For five days he refused to heed them, and on the sixth he admitted them to his presence, but suddenly ordered his soldiers to surround them, and threatened them with instant death if they persisted in their request. To his astonishment the Jews threw themselves on the ground, and declared that they would rather die than endure the violation of their laws. Pilate, of course, had not intended so great a massacre, and was forced to direct the removal of the images. Another disturbance arose from Pilate's use of the money contributed to the temple treasury, to build aqueducts to Jerusalem. It has been suggested that his real object was to provide water for an army besieging the city (cf. Müller, *Pont. Pil.* p. 16). At any rate the project aroused violent opposition, and when Pilate came to Jerus. the people clamoured against his design. On this occasion, however, he silenced the tumult by introducing disguised soldiers into the crowd, who, at a signal, drew their clubs and scattered the multitude (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. iii. 2). The incident, referred to in Lk 13^{1}, of the 'Galilæans whose blood Pilate mingled with their sacrifices,' is not mentioned by other authorities. Doubtless Pilate ordered them to be slain in the outer court of the temple, perhaps on account of some riot, while they were celebrating one of the feasts. This appeared to some an unusual judgment of Providence upon these men; and the incident illustrates the disturbed state of the country, the frequent severity of Pilate's measures, and the odium in which the governor was held. The sedition in which Barabbas took part (Mk 15^{7}, Lk 23^{19}) is another example of the turbulent state of the community; while still another incident, characteristic of Pilate's rule, is described by Philo (*ad Gaium*, 38). Philo makes Agrippa relate to Caligula that Pilate once hung gilt shields in the palace of Herod in Jerus., on each of which was inscribed the name of the donor and of him in whose honour the shield was dedicated. But even this aroused the fury of the Jews. Their chief men, including four sons of Herod, besought him to remove the objects of offence; and, when he refused, they wrote to Tiberius, who ordered the procurator to take the shields to Cæsarea. Philo makes Agrippa describe Pilate as 'inflexible, merciless, and obstinate.' He says that the Jews' threat to communicate with Tiberius 'exasperated Pilate in the greatest possible degree, as he feared lest they might go on an embassy to the emperor, and might impeach him with respect to other particulars of his government — his corruptions, his acts of insolence, his rapine, and his habit of insulting people, his cruelty, and his continual murders of people untried and uncondemned, and his never-ending, gratuitous, and most grievous inhumanity.' This is doubtless a one-sided representation. In the Gospels Pilate manifests a strong desire to do justice, and he was not more arbitrary or cruel than many other Roman officials. But he also appears in the Gospels, as in Philo, passionate and fierce, uniting obstinacy with weakness, seeking his ends by unworthy devices, and restrained in his desire to do justice by dread both of his turbulent subjects and of the effect of an appeal from them to the emperor. All accounts agree in testifying to the hearty dislike which existed between him and the Jews.

Pilate's share in the trial of Jesus is related briefly in Mt and Mk, but somewhat more fully in Lk; while Jn records further details which explain and confirm the Synoptic accounts. The governor evidently had some previous knowledge of Jesus, as his wife also probably had (Mt 27^{19}). The Lord's ministry indeed had been mainly in Galilee, so that probably He had only within a short period before his arrest come under Pilate's notice. But it is incredible, in view of the interest lately aroused by Jesus in Judæa, and the necessary watchfulness of the government, that His presence had not been reported to the procurator; and at the trial it is expressly stated that Pilate 'knew that for envy they had delivered him unto him' (Mt 27^{18}). But when, early in the morning, the representatives of the Sanhedrin, which had already condemned Jesus to death for blasphemy, brought Him to Pilate for permission to have Him put to death, and refused to enter the governor's residence lest they should be defiled (Jn 18^{28}), Pilate went out * to them and demanded what charge they brought against the prisoner. They seem to have expected him to confirm their sentence without inquiry, a fact which illustrates the large authority conceded by the Romans to the native court. But Pilate refused to act without reasons. When they suddenly cried, 'If this man were not an evil-doer, we should not have delivered him up unto thee' (Jn 18^{30}), he contemptuously remarked, 'Take him yourselves, and judge him according to your law,' thus forcing them to admit that they could not secure their purpose except through him. His position fully warranted this haughty expression of authority; but he was probably actuated in this instance by the desire to do justice, or at least to prevent the injustice which they intended (Mt 27^{18}). The Jews therefore, being forced to present charges, and knowing the uselessness of bringing the charge of blasphemy, made three accusations, viz. perverting the nation, forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar, and claiming to be Christ, a king (Lk 23^{2}). The latter two, and perhaps the first, were matters with which the civil authority would naturally deal. Pilate therefore asked Jesus, 'Art thou the king of the Jews?' Jesus replied in the affirmative, but to the accusing cries of the Jews He was silent. The governor was impressed by His demeanour, though acknowledging so grave a charge, as that of no ordinary prisoner. So he led Jesus within the palace, and privately examined Him (Jn 18^{33-38}).† In this interview the disposition and character of Pilate specially appear. Jesus freely answered his questions, and explained the entirely unworldly nature of His kingdom. He dealt with the Roman throughout as with one not actuated by malice, but placed in circumstances where he could escape guilt only by courageously obeying the truth (cf. also Jn 19^{11}). For this, however, Pilate was not prepared. His ejaculation, 'What is truth?' (Jn 18^{38}) was the utterance of a worldly mind, entirely sceptical of the worth of real religious and moral principles. But he was convinced that Jesus was politically harmless, and ought not to be sacrificed to Jewish malice and fanaticism. So he resolved to save Him. Yet he was afraid peremptorily to release Him: a fear which is perfectly intelligible in view of the evident determination of the chief priests, the serious charges they had presented, the large tolerance always shown to Jewish prejudices, as well as of the suspicious character of Tiberius and the excellent grounds of complaint which the Jews already had against the governor. Therefore Pilate began the series of feeble devices, which the Synoptists record, to secure the release of Jesus by a popular verdict, or at least to free himself from participation in His death. He first brought Him forth, and declared that he found no fault in Him (Jn 18^{38}). But this unexpected announcement evoked from the priests and bystanders the cry, 'He stirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Judæa, and beginning from Galilee even unto this place' (Lk 23^{5}). Hearing that Jesus was from Galilee, and impressed by the fury of their desire, Pilate thought to rid himself of the case by transferring it to Herod Antipas, who was then in Jerusalem. He was the more willing to do this because the relations between him and Herod had been strained, and he desired to show his friendliness. But Herod, perhaps out of compliment to Pilate, refused to accept jurisdiction, only indicating by his mockery of Jesus his contempt for the prisoner's claims (Lk $23^{7ff.}$). Pilate thus found himself compelled to adjudicate. He again declared his conviction of the prisoner's innocence, and appealed to Herod's refusal to pass sentence in confirmation of his own judgment. He proposed therefore to please the Jews by chastising Jesus, but his own conscience by releasing Him (Lk $23^{14ff.}$). It was a weak compromise, and certain to satisfy no one. Meanwhile the multitude, doubtless increased by new arrivals, some of whom hardly understood the purpose of the assemblage, began to clamour (Mk 15^{8}) that Pilate should, according to his custom at the feast,* set free some notable prisoner. Knowing the popularity of Jesus, Pilate hoped through this custom to prevent the purpose of the chief priests, and asked if he should release Jesus. But he was foiled by the priests persuading the people to demand the release of a certain Barabbas, who was probably popular as a leader of sedition against the government (Mt 27^{20}). It was apparently at this point that Pilate, having taken his seat on the chair of judgment (see GABBATHA),† received the message from his wife,‡ which doubtless added a superstitious feeling to the force of his conviction that Jesus ought to be released (Mt 27^{19}). But he had already yielded his true ground and could not recover it. When again he asked whom they would choose for release, they unitedly cried 'Barabbas.' When he next inquired what they wanted him to do with Jesus, the cry arose, at the instigation of the priests, 'Crucify him.' Shocked by their fierceness, the governor protested against so extreme a penalty. 'Why? What evil hath he done? I have found no cause of death in him. I will chastise and release him' (Lk 23^{22}). But they clamoured for crucifixion. Pilate appears to have been simply overborne by their fierceness and the threatening aspect of affairs. His fault was moral weakness. Yet the peculiar character of his government and the known tolerance of Rome toward Jewish prejudices make it quite intelligible that unwillingness to anger the Sanhedrin should outweigh with such a man the feeble sense of duty. His handwashing (Mt 27^{24}, cf. Dt 21^{6-8} though the act was a natural symbol) was but the weak device of a superficial mind, as he sought to calm his conscience by throwing the guilt of the transaction upon others.

---

* The Germanic legends mention several towns as the birthplace of Pilate. One of the most widespread locates his birth in Mayence, as the illegitimate child of a king (variously styled Cyrus, Tyrus, and Atus), who sent him, because of a murder, to Rome, whence, because of another murder, he was sent to Pontus, from which place he derived his name. There he served the emperor by conquering the wild tribes of that region; whereupon Herod made him his co-regent, and was in turn overcome by him. See G. A. Müller, *Pont. Pil.* p. 48 ff.

† See Pauly's *RE* under 'Pontii.'

‡ The case of Felix, who was a freedman, is remarked upon by Tacitus as if quite unusual.

§ He must have been removed early in A.D. 36, since Vitellius, after sending Pilate to Rome, attended a passover in Jerus. (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. iv. 3), and shortly after began the expedition against Aretas, king of the Nabatæans, which, however, was prevented (*Ant.* XVIII. vi. 4) by the news of Tiberius' death (early in A.D. 37). Pilate's appointment therefore is to be dated A.D. 26, since Josephus states that he ruled ten years.

---

* Being only a procurator, Pilate had no quæstor, and therefore conducted the trial himself.

† This narrative of John's is absolutely necessary to explain the Synoptic account of Pilate's conduct.

* The origin of this custom is unknown. Schürer (*HJP* I. ii. 60) states that it 'was grounded on a special authorization of the emperor, for the right of remitting a sentence was not otherwise given to the governors.' He cites Hirschfeld, *Sitzungsb. d. Berl. Akad.* 1889, p. 439; and Merkel, *Abhandl. aus d. Gebiete des. röm. Rechts*, 1 Heft, 1881. Friedlieb (*Archäol.* 110) thinks it was done at every feast, but St. John (18^{39}) limits it to the passover. Some suppose it was a Jewish custom retained by the Romans, and Pilate's language in Jn ('Ye have a custom,' etc.) seems to confirm this view. Others think it was of Roman origin, and connect it with Livy's statement ($v.^{13}$) that, at the feast of the gods called *Lectisternium*, prisoners were freed.

† The *βῆμα* (Mt 27^{19}), which had been put on 'a place called the Pavement, but, in the Hebrew, Gabbatha' (Jn 19^{13}). Those who identify Pilate's residence with the fortress Antonia suppose this place to have been the elevated, paved ground between the fortress and the temple (see PRÆTORIUM). Those who identify Pilate's residence with Herod's palace suppose the *βῆμα* to have been placed on a mosaic floor (*λιθόστρωτον*, 'spread with stones'), which was called in Aram. *Gabbatha* (גַּבְּתָא 'elevation') from the elevated position which it, with perhaps the *βῆμα* upon it, occupied. Cæsar (Suet. *Jul.* 46) is said to have carried a portable pavement on which to place his judgment-seat; and St. John's mention of the pavement with the *βῆμα* seems to imply that it had some connexion with the delivery of a judicial sentence, and gave formality to Pilate's final decision. See GABBATHA.

‡ Originally magistrates were not allowed to take their wives to the provinces, but the rule had ceased to be observed, as is shown by the failure of an effort to enforce it mentioned by Tacitus (*Ann.* iii. 33, 34).

But, though Pilate yielded to their request, and delivered Jesus to his soldiers to be scourged preparatory to crucifixion, St. John's narrative (19^{1-16}) shows that the governor's conscience was not yet silenced. Once again he sought to satisfy the Jews by the spectacle of Jesus bleeding and mocked, declaring that even yet he had discovered in the prisoner, though under torture, no cause of death. When they still cried 'Crucify him,' Pilate became sullen and angry. In bitter satire, and as though about to dismiss the whole case, he bade them do the foul deed themselves. Then first they brought forward a religious charge, apparently feeling that now they needed only to work on the governor's sentiments and make him realize how serious the case appeared to them. 'We have a law, and according to our law he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God.' But the words roused afresh Pilate's superstition. Again, and now with evident anxiety and fear (Jn 19^{8}), he privately examined Jesus, this time concerning His origin. The silence of Jesus to these inquiries further wrought on Pilate's mind, and, though he tried to induce Jesus to speak by boasting of his own power, he again made an effort to release Him. But the Jews, now fully realizing that they must conquer the impression which Jesus had made on Pilate by bringing to bear a stronger motive, taunted the governor with infidelity to the emperor in favouring a pretended king; and this appeal to Pilate's political ambitions proved decisive. He resolved to silence his convictions. Resuming his seat on the *Bema*, he satirically and sullenly presented Jesus to them as their king. Thereupon he had at least the grim satisfaction of hearing his turbulent subjects vigorously forswear their political freedom and profess their allegiance to the emperor (Jn 19^{15}). Then he finally delivered Jesus to crucifixion; but it was quite in keeping with Pilate's character and with the violence which he had done to his own convictions, that he obstinately refused to change the title on the cross, its very offensiveness to the Jews being a merit in his eyes (Jn 19^{22}).

Thus Pilate appears a typical specimen of a worldly man. The good in him was unsupported by moral principle, and overborne by personal and political considerations. Compelled to take the leading part in a transaction where high moral qualities were supremely demanded, he proved himself to be without them, and made a great crime possible by his feebleness of character. This is quite consistent with his bravado and recklessness on other occasions. Christ's judgment upon Pilate (Jn 19^{11}) is also the verdict of history.

Pilate's rule was brought to its close by an ill-judged attempt to suppress a harmless movement in Samaria (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. iv. 1). A certain impostor summoned the Samaritans to Mount Gerizim by promising to show them the sacred vessels which Moses was alleged to have hidden there. They came armed, and collected in a village called Tirabatha. But Pilate fell upon them, and caused many, both then and subsequently, to be slain. Thereupon the Samaritans appealed for redress to Vitellius, the legate in Syria, pleading that no political sedition had been intended. Vitellius ordered Pilate to repair to Rome to answer the complaints against him; but before the procurator reached the capital, Tiberius had died. Thereafter Pilate disappears from authentic history. Traditions, however, concerning him existed in the Church, and finally took the shape of fantastic legends. Eusebius (*HE* ii. 7 and *Chron.*) relates, on the authority of certain unnamed earlier writers, that Pilate fell into such misfortunes under Caligula that he committed suicide; and later authorities repeat the statement. The Apocr. literature elaborated the story (see Tischendorf, *Evang. Apoc.*, Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol. viii.). According to one version ('Παράδοσις Πιλάτου'), Tiberius summoned Pilate to Rome to answer the charge of crucifying Christ. When, at the examination before the Senate, Tiberius uttered Christ's name, the statues of the gods fell to the ground; whereupon Tiberius ordered war to be made against the Jews, and Pilate to be beheaded. The latter, however, with his wife, died a penitent, and was assured by a voice from heaven of his forgiveness. According to another and probably later account (*Mors Pilati*), Pilate appeared before Tiberius in the Saviour's tunic, which protected him from the emperor's fury. When he was stripped of it, Tiberius condemned him to death, but Pilate killed himself. His body was cast into the Tiber, but the evil spirits so disturbed the waters that the Romans carried the body to Vienne and sank it in the Rhone.[*] Thence, for the same reason, it was removed to the territory of Losania (Lausanne), but was finally sunk in a pit surrounded by mountains. Thus the legend connected itself with the mountain opposite Lucerne (supposed to have been named originally *Pileatus*, because surmounted often by a hat-shaped cloud, but corrupted by connexion with the legend into *Pilatus*; see Ruskin, *Mod. Painters*, v. 128; Müller, *Pont. Pil.* pp. 52, 53) where the body of Pilate is said to lie in a lake on the mountain, and at times emerge and go through the motion of washing the hands. The legend exists in various forms, however (see Müller, *ib.*), and attached itself to several localities. In one of the later accounts Pilate is said to have been executed by Nero (see Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 88 n.). The 'tendency' of the earlier legends was to represent the Roman Government in its treatment of Pilate as vindicating the Christians and Christ; while the disposition to represent Pilate as becoming himself a Christian[†] explains, perhaps, the belief of the Coptic Church that he died a saint and martyr.[‡]

Pilate's wife is said to have been named Claudia Procula or Procla. Christian tradition made her a proselyte to Judaism (*Gosp. of Nic.* 2). That she became a Christian is also a very old tradition (Orig. *Hom. on Mt.* 35). In the Gr. Church she became a saint, honoured on Oct. 27th. Some have even identified her with the Claudia of 2 Ti 4^{21}. Her dream may be assumed to indicate that she had heard of Jesus and His beneficent life and deeds.

That Pilate made a report to Tiberius concerning Jesus is affirmed by Justin (1 *Ap.* 35) and Tertullian (*Ap.* 21), as well as by later writers (*e.g.* Eus. *HE* ii. 2), and Apocr. literature. Some report from the governor to the emperor is probable; but it is doubtful if the early Fathers rested their appeal to it on any certain knowledge of its existence, or of its preservation in the archives. Certainly the extant *Acta Pilati* are spurious. Eusebius relates (*HE* ix. 5) that in the great persecution under Maximin, *Acts of Pilate* derogatory to Christ were forged and circulated by the pagans; but none of these have survived.

LITERATURE.—G. A. Müller, *Pontius Pilatus der fünfte Prokurator von Judäa* (Stuttgart, 1888), gives a table of earlier literature, enumerating 110 treatises and articles. The 17th and 18th cents. were especially rich in literature about Pilate (see Müller). Note, besides Müller, P. J. de Mounier, *De Pont. Pil. in causa servatoris agendi ratione* (1825); G. Warneck, *P. P. der Richter Jesu Christi, ein Gemälde aus der Leidensgesch.* (1858); R. Rosières, *Ponce Pilate* (1883); Arnold, *Die neron. Christenverfolg.* pp. 116–120, on Tacitus' reference to P. (1888); Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 39–87; Keim, *Jesus of Naz.*, Eng. tr. i. p. 229 f., vi. p. 79 ff.; Leyrer in Herzog's *RE*², art. 'Pilatus'; Waltjer, *P. P. eene Studie* (Amsterdam, 1888); Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Mess.* bk. v. ch. xiv. and App. vi.; Ollivier, 'P. P. et les Pontii' (*Rev. Bib.* v. pp. 594–600); Lange, *Life of Lord Jesus Christ*, Eng. tr. 1864, vi. 414 ff.; Weiss, *Life of Christ*, Eng. tr. iii. 343 ff.; Farrar, *Life of Christ*, Pop. ed. 1894, p. 588 ff., and *Life of Lives*, 1900, p. 494 ff.; Stalker, *Trial and Death of Jesus Christ*, 1894, p. 43 ff.; Andrews, *Life of Our Lord upon the Earth*, new ed. 1892, p. 528 ff.; Gilbert, *Student's Life of Jesus*, 1898, pp. 363 ff., 367 ff.; Cox, 'A Day in Pilate's Life,' in *Expos.* ser. II. vol. viii. (1884) 107 ff.; Macgregor, 'Christ's Three Judges—Pilate,' in *Expos.* ser. VI. vol. i. (1900) p. 59 ff.; Taylor Innes, *Trial of Jesus Christ, a legal Monograph*, 1899; Carpenter, *Son of Man among the Sons of Men*, 1893, p. 33 ff.; Quandt in *Voice from the Cross*, Eng. tr. by Macintosh, 1888, p. 99 ff.; Simcox, *Cessation of Prophecy*, 1891, 287 ff.; Maclaren, *Wearied Christ*, 1893, p. 222 ff.; Macmillan, *Mystery of Grace*, 1893, p. 217 ff. See also R. A. Lipsius, *Die Pilatus-Akten, kritisch untersucht* (1871); Tischendorf, *Pilati circum Christum judicio quid lucis afferatur ex Actis Pilati* (1855); Creizenach, *Pilatus-Legenden* (1874); Harnack, *Die Chronol. d. altchrist. Lit.* i. 603 ff.

---

[*] 'Pilate's tomb,' a curious monument, 52 ft. high, is still shown at Vienne.

[†] Tertullian (*Ap.* 21) says Pilate at or immediately after Christ's death was 'already a Christian in his own convictions' (*jam pro sua conscientia Christianus*), and in the first Gr. form of the *Gosp. of Nicod.* (*Acts of Pilate*) he is described as 'uncircumcised in flesh but circumcised in heart.'

[‡] He and his wife are honoured by the Copts on June 25th (Stanley, *East. Ch.* p. 13; Müller, *Pont. Pil.* p. 7).

G. T. PURVES.

PILATE, ACTS OF.—See last paragraph of preceding art. and NICODEMUS (GOSPEL OF).

PILDASH (פִּלְדָּשׁ, Φαλδάς).—One of the sons of Nahor, Gn 22²² (J). The personal name פלדשו has been read in the Nabatæan inscriptions (*ZDMG* xiv. 440). The proposal of Knobel to connect *Pildash* with the Ῥιπάλθας of Procopius (*de Ædificiis*, ii. 4) is rejected by Dillmann.

PILHA (פִּלְחָא, B Φαδαείς, A Φαλαεί).—One of those who sealed the covenant, Neh 10²⁴.

PILL.—See PEEL.

PILLAR.—1. מַצֵּבָה, Arab. *nuṣub* or *nuṣb*, plur. *anṣâb*, from the Semitic root נצב, meaning 'to set upright.' 2. נְצִיב, from the same root, employed in Gn 19²⁶ to describe the pillar of salt into which Lot's wife was transformed. 3. עַמּוּד, rendered in Greek by στήλη (also employed by LXX in Gn 19²⁶). This Hebrew word occurs in Jer 27¹⁹ in the sense of 'column,' which is probably its only signification, whereas מַצֵּבָה means any upright stone. More frequently עַמּוּד is rendered by the Greek στύλος (Ex 13²¹, Jg 20⁴⁰, Job 27¹¹), or by the word κίων, Jg 16²⁵·²⁶. 4. חַמָּן (used in plur.), pillar dedicated to sun-worship. Cf. the Carthaginian בעל חמן, Baethgen, *Beiträge zur sem. Rel.* p. 25 ff. (cf. חַמָּה 'sunglow' = sun in Job 30²⁸). On ָן see Gesen.²⁶ § 85 n. The plur. occurs in Ezk 6⁴·⁶, Is 17⁸ 27⁹, Lv 26³⁰, 2 Ch 14⁴·⁷. It may have been a later equivalent of מַצֵּבָה (so Kittel). LXX did not understand the term, variously rendering by ξύλινα χειροποίητα, τεμένη, βδελύγματα, and εἴδωλα.

The term מַצֵּבָה is nearly always used in association with religious cultus,[*] and signifies the upright stone which, in the pre-exilian and pre-Deuteronomic worship of Israel, was the never failing accompaniment of the Heb. sanctuary or *bāmāh*. It consisted of rough unhewn stone, and was the symbol of the Divine presence or *numen*, which was considered in some sense to reside in or be attached to it (see Jos 24²⁶·²⁷). Upon it the blood of the sacrificed victim or the oil of the vegetable offering was poured or smeared (cf. Gn 28¹⁸).

There is clear evidence that in the primitive sanctuary of the early Semites the upright stone served as altar and Divine symbol in one; but in the later and more developed form of the cultus, both among Semites and other races, the altar and stone-symbol came to be separated the one from the other. This probably arose from the fact that it was found convenient to have a separate place for the reception and slaughter of the victim, and to this another motive came to be superadded in connexion with the larger and more important sanctuaries, viz. the need of having an erection which should be *conspicuous* to a large concourse of beholders who witnessed in silence the solemn act of slaughter. The further need to provide for the reception and disposal of the blood gave rise to special arrangements in this particular apparatus of worship. That the distinction between altar and stone-symbol arose very early in the history of primitive Israel is clearly revealed by the facts of language, since it is quite evident that מִזְבֵּחַ 'altar' or place of slaughter, belongs to early as well as late Hebrew. These views are established by archæological evidence. Primitive dolmens have been discovered provided with hollows formed for drink-offerings, and intended to serve as altars. Stones were also used by the ancient Palestinian inhabitants for the worship of ancestral manes as well as to mark the place of burial. See Nowack in *Heb. Archäol.* i. p. 92, who cites from the researches of Noetling and Schumacher in *ZDPV* ix. 268, and *Zeitsch. für Ethnol.* xix. 37 ff.; and Conder, *Heth and Moab*, pp. 238, 266 ff. The Rev. James Sibree has informed the present writer that many similar stones have been found in Madagascar.

Much obscurity hangs over the origin of the unhewn stone representation of deity. It has been generally held that that origin is to be found in the primitive fetish worship of which many illustrations have been collected by Prof. Tylor[*] and other writers from Africa, India, and ancient Hellas. Theophrastus (4th cent. B.C.) describes the superstitious Greek as passing the anointed stones in the street, taking out his oil-phial and pouring its contents on them, and then, after falling on his knees to worship, going on his way (*Char.* xvi.). Survivals of stone-worship were to be found even in quite recent times among the remote mountain peasants of Norway (Tylor, *ib.* p. 167). Accordingly the employment of the stone-symbol among the primitive Semites may be regarded as part of a well-nigh universal tradition of antiquity. In ancient Arabic polytheism we find the stone *nuṣb* or the group of *anṣâb*. The blood of the sacrificial victim was smeared upon the stone. The idea involved in this act was evidently, as Robertson Smith suggests, that of bringing 'the offering into direct contact with the deity, and in like manner the practice of stroking the sacred stone (*e.g.* that of the Kaaba) with the hand is identical with the practice of touching or stroking the garments or beard of a man in acts of supplication before him.'

---

[*] The exception Is 6¹³ is far from certain. The last clause of the verse is omitted in LXX BA* though supplied in Luc. text and by a later hand in A. The preceding relative clause, with its ἅπ. λεγ. שלכת and the unique use of מצבת, appears to the present writer to have been mutilated at some early date.

[*] *Primitive Culture*, vol. ii. p. 161 ff. It is by no means easy to define the meaning of 'fetish.' Usually it is explained as meaning the material thing, as a stone, which is made the object of worship. Others deny this, treating the fetish as a magical 'medium whereby one is placed in closer connexion with the deity, and in which divine powers reside.' See Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgesch.*² i. p. 14. This writer remarks with much truth that it is not any or every object of sense-perception to which the term can be applied, 'but only the individual, one might say, accidental object which attracts the attention of the savage.' There is no essential distinction between the fetish and the idol. The distinction is merely one of external form. The former is a rude natural object accidentally found, the latter is carved or painted by human hands. In both cases the spirit, which is the object of worship and whose help is sought, is supposed to be in some way incorporate in the material. Siebeck, *Lehrbuch der Religionsphilosophie*, p. 64, contrasts this view with the more advanced conception which regards the idol as the *symbol* and not the seat of deity. It may here be remarked, in order to prevent misunderstanding, that the expression 'stone-symbol' is not used in this exclusive sense in this article. The stone among the early Semites *not only represented but incorporated* the *numen* of the deity. See Robertson Smith, *RS*² p. 204 ff.

The stone might represent a male or female deity, but it must not be inferred that the plurality of stones represented always a plurality of deities. Probably it represented as a rule a single object of worship, just as the twelve stones erected by Joshua at Gilgal (Jos 4^{20}), and the same number by Moses (on the occasion of the covenant sacrifice at Sinai, Ex 24^{4}), for the twelve tribes of Israel, represented the one God, Jehovah. According to Wellhausen (*Reste arab. Heid.*^{2} p. 102) it was customary in oaths to swear 'by the *anṣâb* which stand around such and such a god.' In an interesting passage in which Herodotus describes the mode in which the ancient Arabs ratify a solemn covenant (iii. 8), he speaks of seven stones on which the sacrificial blood was smeared in honour of Dionysus and the heavenly (goddess), probably meaning the sun and moon (so Abicht). In the interesting narrative of Nilus quoted by Robertson Smith (*RS*^{2} p. 338), the camel chosen as a victim is bound upon a rude altar of stones piled together. Probably this may be regarded as the most primitive type of Arabian or Semitic sacrifice.

The sacred stone (or stones) was not conveyed by the nomadic clan from place to place in its wanderings, like an ark or some movable *simulacrum*, but remained stationary, since the stone may be considered to have focussed the presence and personal power of the deity that owned and occupied the *Temenos*, *Ḳodesh* (or *Ḥaram*), as the hallowed spot was named by Greek or Semite respectively. Such a spot was frequently one of special fertility accompanied by a sacred spring and tree. Frequently the *maẓẓēbā* consisted of a large natural upright rock of irregular shape. The two pillars of Heracles (the Greek equivalent of Baal) consisted probably of enormous cliff-like rocks situated by the Straits of Gibraltar. Numerous examples of such natural blocks of stone *in situ* are given in *RS*^{2} p. 110 (see especially the footnote). Among these is the notable stone-symbol of the goddess *al Lât* (see *Kinship and Marriage*, p. 292 ff.). Doughty gives a description of his visit to *eṭ-Ṭâif*, where he saw this and two other sacred stones (*Arabia Deserta*, ii. p. 515 ff.). The interesting fact that goddesses were also worshipped under these stone-symbols clearly proves that Movers is wrong in ascribing to them a phallic origin and character.[*] They can only be explained as one of the many forms of fetishism out of which polytheistic cultus grew.

Any stone of this character would mark a *Bêth-el.* Hence such stones came to be called by the Greeks *βαίτυλοι* or *βαιτύλια*.[†] In Is 57^{6} we have an interesting reference to the wide prevalence of this worship of sacred stones, on which drink-offerings were poured and to which meal-offerings were offered. In the wâdis, the winter-torrents made these boulders smooth and round. See Cheyne's note, *ad loc.*, in *SBOT*.

It was not at every spot that such sacred pillars were erected. There must be a special manifestation of the Divine presence in order to render the worship valid, because the place had thus become invested with special sanctity. Not simply fertile oases with trees and flowing spring coming from the depths of the soil, but also special events, as battles, signal deliverances and visions, were tokens of God's presence. Thus after the battle of Michmash, Saul ordered a great stone to be rolled (1 S 14^{33}) which served as an altar (v.^{35}); Bethel, according to JE, became a consecrated spot through the vision of Jacob, who in consequence set up the stone pillar and poured oil upon it (Gn 28^{18}).

These passages sufficiently illustrate the primitive character of the pre-exilian Hebrew *maẓẓēbā* which formed the indispensable accompaniment of every sanctuary (Hos 3^{4}). The early pre-exilian code of legislation preserved in Ex 20^{25} sought to keep intact the stone's primitive condition. It was to remain unhewn and no iron instrument was to desecrate it, either because the stone itself was sacrosanct like the sacred enclosure in which it stood, or perhaps, as Nowack suggests (*Heb. Archäol.* ii. p. 17), because the profaning hand of man drove the *numen* out of the stone. If we are to believe the statement of the Mishna tract *Middoth* (iii. 1), the altar of burnt-offering in Herod's temple was formed of unhewn stones. Throughout the earlier portion of OT narrative we constantly meet with allusions to the stone pillars of the local sanctuaries, *e.g.* Shechem (Jos 24^{26}), Ramoth-gilead (Gn 31^{45}), Gilgal (Jos 4^{5}), Mizpeh (1 S 7^{12}), Gibeon (2 S 20^{8}), En-rogel (1 K 1^{9}). Sometimes the stone gave the name to the spot, as Eben-'ezer (1 S 7^{12}, cf. 4^{1}). Here again, as in the case of 1 S 14^{33} (already mentioned), the erection of the stone at a particular spot follows the manifestation of Divine power in His people's signal victory. That the rough stone (*maẓẓēbā*), as the symbol of Jehovah, differed in no respect from that which was erected to represent Baal, is quite certain. Baal worship and Jehovah worship at the local *bāmôth* were inextricably blended in the pre-Deuteronomic period, as the oracles of Hosea clearly testify (Hos 2^{16} the genuineness of which Wellhausen and Nowack unnecessarily surrender). The *maẓẓēbôth* of Baal were destroyed in Samaria by the reforming zeal of Jehu (2 K $10^{26.27}$).

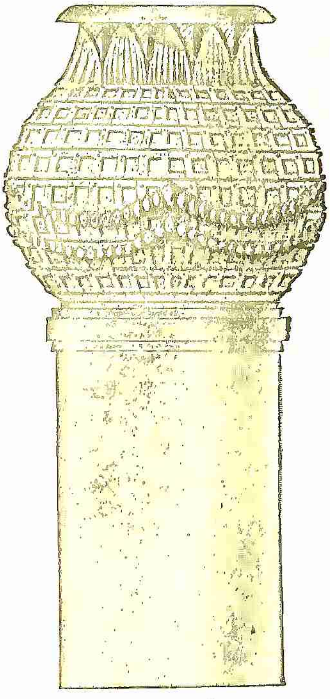

BRAZEN PILLAR.

Whether there is any reference to the stone-symbol in the designation of Jehovah by the name 'rock' in many poetical passages in the OT (Ps

---

[*] Comp. *RS*^{2}, p. 456 ff. (additional Note D).

[†] On these *bêtyls* as wonder-working stones endowed with magic powers, see Pietschmann, *Gesch. der Phönizier*, p. 206, and François Lenormant, *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, iii. 31–53.

18^{32}, 1 S 2^2, Dt $32^{4ff.}$, Is 30^{29}), it is not easy to determine. The name for rock here is צוּר, which also enters into proper names which have their parallels in Assyrian (Schrader, *COT* ii. p. 326). The balance of evidence is on the whole against this attractive supposition. In the first place, the occurrence of such names in Hebrew is late (Buchanan Gray observes that they occur only in P and never in JE or Judges *). In the second place, צוּר is not the term associated with the sacred symbol by the Hebrews, but אֶבֶן; but אֶבֶן is never employed in personal proper names. Probably, therefore, we should regard the use of צוּר in the personal names and in the poetical passages as figurative only, Jehovah being regarded as a safe and strong place of refuge (Ps 27^5 61^3), or as affording shadow from oppressive heat, cf. Is 32^2. See, further, art. Rock.

In Phœnician cultus we frequently notice the presence of *twin pillars.* Thus we find twin pillars erected in Solomon's temple † by Hiram the Tyrian artificer (1 K 7^{15-21}). Similar twin pillars are exhibited on coins which portray the temple at Paphos, and also they represented the deity Melkarth at Tyre. The latter are specially described by Herodotus (ii. 44), who paid a personal visit of inspection to this famous Tyrian shrine of Hercules (Melkarth). According to Herodotus, this temple was sumptuously wrought and furnished. One of the pillars was of refined gold, and the other of emerald (or more probably, as Abicht suggests, of green glass), the latter emitting a bright light at night-time, perhaps for the mariners at sea. To the same category belong the bronze pillars of the temple of Hercules at Gades (גָּדֵר), another Phœnician settlement, described by Strabo.

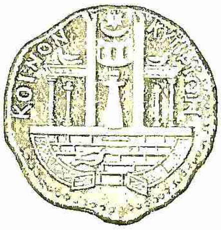

TWIN PILLARS IN TEMPLE OF APHRODITE AT PAPHOS.

Respecting Phœnician stones, sometimes called נציב, see Pietschmann's *Gesch. der Phönizier*, pp. 204–213. Among the varied forms of these Phœnician *stelæ*, some of which were worked into a square shape tapering at the top (see illustration below), special mention should be made of the *votive stelæ*, erected by individuals as the result of a vow to the deity in order to secure some desired object. Many of them have no inscription. Others bear a legend which would nearly always be somewhat of the following character: 'To the Rabbat, the Tanit-P'nê-Ba'al and the Adon, the Baal-Ḥammon, as N.N. son of N.N. has vowed, since they have heard his voice; may they bless him.' It is possible that this may have been the real character of the memorial stone erected by Absalom (2 S 18^{18}, 'Now Absalom in his life time had reared up for himself the *mazzébeth* which is in the king's dale; for he said, I have no son to keep my name in remembrance; and he called the *mazzébeth* after his own name, and it is called Absalom's monument (יָד) unto this day'). It may have been rather a votive stone than merely memorial, erected in anticipation of his attempt to seize the throne. There is no necessity, with Löhr, to suppose that this *mazzēbā* was originally the mark of an old Canaanite sanctuary, and that its significance as a Divine symbol has been transformed into something else by the writer; see Smend, *Alttest. Religionsgesch.*² p. 132 and footnote.

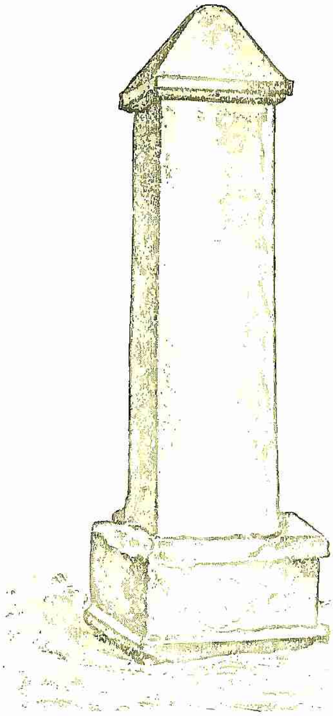

PHŒNICIAN MAZZEBAH.

The erection of the *mazzēbā* as a stone-symbol was forbidden in the Deuteronomic code (Dt 16^{22}, 'Neither shalt thou set thee up a *mazzēbā*, which the Lord thy God hateth'), which belongs to about the year B.C. 621 in Josiah's reign. Hereafter it became illegitimate. The reference to the pillar to Jehovah at the border of Egypt in Is 19^{19}, 'there shall be a *mazzēbā* at the border [of Egypt] to the Lord,' must be regarded as pre-exilian and pre-Deuteronomic, though it is probable that the chapter in which it occurs has been affected by later influences. See art. Altar.

Literature.—Besides the literature referred to, consult Wellhausen, *Reste ar. Heid.*² pp. 101, 141; Dillmann on Gn 28^{18}, Dt 16^{21}; Driver on Dt 16^{21}; Smith on 1 S 6^{14}; Conder, *Syrian Stone Lore*, new ed. 1896, p. 86.

Owen C. Whitehouse.

PILLAR, PLAIN OF THE.—In Jg 9^6 we read that the men of Shechem and all the house of Millo made Abimelech king 'by the plain (AV; RV 'oak,' RVm 'terebinth') of the pillar that was in Shechem' (עִם־אֵלוֹן מֻצָּב אֲשֶׁר בִּשְׁכֶם; LXX B πρὸς τῇ βαλάνῳ τῇ εὑρετῇ τῆς στάσεως τῆς ἐν Σικίμοις [A om. τῇ εὑρετῇ and the second τῆς]; Aq. ἐπὶ πεδίου στηλώματος; Vulg. *juxta quercum quæ stabat in Sichem*). The correct rendering is undoubtedly 'the terebinth of the pillar' (see Oak No. 3 and Plain No. 2), although it is doubtful whether this can be obtained from the MT מֻצָּב. The latter word is held by some (*e.g.* Studer) to be a noun synonymous with מַצֵּבָה; but even so the absence of the article has to be accounted for. It is possible that, inserting the article, and punctuating differently, we should read הַמַּצָּב (cf. 1 S 13^{23} $14^{1ff.}$, 2 S 23^{14}); but, upon the whole, the best course appears to be to emend, with Moore (followed by Budde), to הַמַּצֵּבָה 'the *mazzēbā* terebinth.' Abimelech, as Moore appositely points out, was thus acclaimed at the sanctuary of Shechem, as Saul was at that of Gilgal (1 S 11^{15}). The name was in all probability purposely obscured by the Massoretic reading and punctuation מֻצָּב. The *mazzēbā* mentioned in Jg 9^6 is perhaps the same as is called in Jos 24^{26} 'a great stone' (אֶבֶן גְּדוֹלָה).

---

* *Hebrew Proper Names*, p. 194, cf. also 195 f.

† On the difficulties of the text of 1 K 7^{15-22} dealing with the two pillars in the portico of Solomon's temple, Jachin and Boaz, see Klostermann, Kittel (cf. Jer 52^{21-23}), and Benzinger, *ad loc.* The last is especially useful on the archæological details and religious significance. See also the figured representations in his *Commentary*, p. 44, and in his *Heb. Archäol.* pp. 245, 249 f. The Babylonian parallels to the names of the two pillars may be found in Schrader, *COT* i. p. 174.

J. A. SELBIE.

PILLOW.—1. כְּבִיר 1 S $19^{13.16}$ [only]. Michal, according to AV and RV, put a pillow of goats' hair at the head of the teraphim which she had laid in David's bed. The LXX (ἧπαρ) reads כְּבִיר as כְּבַד (constr. of כָּבֵד 'liver'); and this is adopted by Jos. (*Ant.* VI. xi. 4), who describes, somewhat fancifully, how the palpitation of the goat's liver under the bed-clothes conveyed to Saul's messengers the impression that David was gasping for breath. The root כבר, from which כְּבִיר is derived, probably means to 'intertwine *or* net,' so that כְּבִיר הָעִזִּים would signify something woven or netted from goats' hair. Hence one or other of the two renderings proposed in RVm ('quilt *or* network') should probably be adopted in preference to the text. A number of commentators (*e.g.* Sebastian Schmidt, Ewald, Keil) think the reference is to a mosquito-net (κωνωπεῖον) spread over the face of a person sleeping. But, as Driver points out, in Jth 10^{21} 13^9, where this Greek term is used of the CANOPY (wh. see) of Holofernes' bed, the κωνωπεῖον is fixed upon the στύλοι or bedposts. In favour of the rendering 'quilt' we have the employment of a cognate Heb. term מַכְבֵּר in 2 K 8^{15} for the coverlet which Hazael used to smother Benhadad. But it must be confessed that the description of Michal's action in 1 S 19^{13} is not clear enough to determine the sense of כְּבִיר. The following term מְרַאֲשֹׁתָיו (AV 'for his bolster,' RV 'at the head thereof') does not define the position in which the כְּבִיר was placed with reference to the head, whether over, or under, or around it; it simply implies proximity (see, further, Driver, Löhr, and H. P. Smith, *ad loc.*). 2. It is this word מְרַאֲשׁוֹת which is rendered by AV 'pillow' in Gn $28^{11.18}$, but RV gives more correctly 'under his head' (LXX πρὸς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ). The other occurrences of the Heb. expression in the same sense are 1 S $26^{7.11.16}$, in all of which AV has 'at his bolster,' RV 'at his head' (in v.^{12} read מִמְּרַאֲשֹׁתָיו for מְרַאֲשֹׁתֵי שָׁאוּל; AV 'from Saul's bolster,' RV 'from Saul's head'; LXX ἀπὸ πρὸς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ); 1 K 19^6, where both AV and RV render מְרַאֲשֹׁתָיו by 'at his (Elijah's) head' (AVm 'bolster'; LXX πρὸς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ). 3. כְּסָתוֹת (LXX προσκεφάλαια) Ezk 13^{18} (AV, RV 'pillows'). The meaning appears to be 'fillets' or 'bands,' used as amulets or charms, for instance in the process of divination. See art. KERCHIEF, also PHYLACTERIES, p. 872^b, and cf. the Comm. of Davidson or Bertholet, *ad loc.* 4. προσκεφάλαιον. 'Pillow' is the correct tr. of this word in 1 Es 3^8, where we are told that the three pages of Darius each wrote his sentence, sealed it up, and put it under the king's pillow. The only other Biblical occurrence of this Gr. term (in addition to the LXX of Ezk $13^{18.20}$ above) is Mk 4^{38}, where we read that Jesus was in the stern asleep 'on a pillow' (so AV, but RV 'on the cushion,' Gr. ἐπὶ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον). The reference appears to be to the cushion used by rowers (Cratin. *Hor.* 18, Hermipp. *Strat.* v.); see the Comm. *ad loc.*

J. A. SELBIE.

PILTAI (פִּלְטַי, B om., A Φελητεί).—The head of the priestly house of Moadiah in the time of Joiakim, Neh 12^{17}. It is possible that we should emend to פַּלְטִי, *Palti*; cf. Nu 13^9, 1 S 25^{44}, 2 S 23^{26}.

PIN.—Jg $4^{21.22}$ RV for AV 'nail.' The Heb. is יָתֵד (LXX πάσσαλος). In 5^{26}, by an unaccountable inconsistency, RV retains 'nail,' although the Heb. is the same, and relegates 'tent-pin' to the margin. On the other uses of the word יָתֵד see art. PADDLE. The tent-pins, to which the ropes of the tent were fastened (Is 33^{20}), were not of metal but of wood, as among the Bedawîn at the present day (see Moore, *ad loc.*). For the question whether the description of Jael's action in $4^{21.22}$ is not due to a prosaic misunderstanding of 5^{26} (Wellh. *Comp.* p. 222; W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} p. 132; Stade, *GVI*^{2} i. p. 178 n.), see artt. JAEL and SISERA.

PINE TREE.—The trⁿ in AV of two Heb. expressions—1. עֵץ־שֶׁמֶן *'ēẓ-shemen* (Neh 8^{15}), RV 'wild olive.' We incline to the rendering 'fatwood trees' for this expression in this and the other passages in which it occurs. This would include all the resinous trees of Palestine and Syria, especially the pines. See OIL TREE.

2. תִּדְהָר *tidhhār* (Is 41^{19} 60^{13} RVm 'plane'). There is nothing in the etymology to indicate the tree intended. *Dardâr* in the Arab., which is used for both the elm and the ash, is cited by the *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*; but this is from a different root, *dărdăr*, not *dăhăr*, and really sheds no light on the question. Theodotion (Qᵐᵍ) transliterated תדהר by θαδδάρ, while Symmachus rendered it πτελαιαν, *i.e.* πτελέαν, 'elm.' In the LXX there are five trees named where there are three in MT; possibly two of the names are doublets. The reading of RVm (and Cheyne) 'plane' does not seem to have any foundation. The same is true of Gesenius' rendering 'oak.' This he obtains from the radical signification of *dahr* (Arab.) = 'age' or 'duration'; but the Heb. [דָּהַר] *dāhar*, has not, so far as we know, any such meaning. Perhaps the best refuge for our ignorance would be a textual or marginal transliteration *tidhhār*, as suggested in the case of *tĕ'ashshûr* in the same passage (see BOX TREE), and *'algummîm* (see ALGUM).

G. E. POST.

PINNACLE (πτερύγιον, diminutive of πτέρυξ, 'wing'; so lit. 'little wing'; Vulg. *pinnaculum* and *pinna* respectively in Mt 4^5 and Lk 4^9, the only two places where the Gr. word occurs in NT).—That part of the temple enclosure (τὸ ἱερόν, not ὁ ναός) to which the devil took our Lord for the purpose of tempting Him.

πτερύγιον is used in the LXX to translate the following Heb. words:—1. כָּנָף *kānāph*, wing or border, as of a garment, Nu 15^{38}, 1 S 15^{27} 24^4. 2. סְנַפִּיר *ṣĕnappîr*, fin of a fish, Lv 11^9. Aristotle in περὶ ψυχῆς, i. 5. 14, has the word in this sense. 3. קָצָה *ḳāẓāh*, Ex 28^{26} (AV 'border,' RV 'edge' of breastplate).

In NT it stands for some part of the roof of the sanctuary or of the temple proper, perhaps the S.E. corner, from which the widest and most impressive view was obtained. The part meant was well known, as the use of the article τὸ (πτερύγιον) shows, but the word is used in this connexion only, and we have no means of definitely fixing its connotation. Opinions, which differ widely, may be arranged in two main classes.

(*a*) Those which make the pinnacle a part of the sanctuary or temple proper (ὁ ναός). Meyer (on Mt 4^5) argues that the use of τοῦ ἱεροῦ, not τοῦ ναοῦ, shows that the temple proper cannot be meant; but he forgets in this criticism that ἱερόν is a general word which embraces the sanctuary and also the adjoining buildings; it therefore covers ναός, though it includes more. It has this more extensive meaning in Mt 12^6 24^1, Mk 13^3, Lk 21^5 22^{52}, though in some other passages it seems to denote the buildings around, to the exclusion of the temple proper, as in Mt $21^{12.14}$ 26^{55}, Mk 14^{49}, Lk 19^{47} 21^{37} 22^{53} 24^{53} etc. In Mt 4^5 and Lk 4^9 it may be used in the broad or in the narrow sense—the word itself proves nothing. The sense here must accordingly be ascertained from the context, or the probabilities of the case. Those who seek the pinnacle somewhere in the sanctuary differ as to its exact situation. (1) Luther, Beza, and Grotius place it on the parapet surrounding the roof; such a fence had by law (Dt 22^8) to be placed on the roof of all buildings, to prevent accident by falling. (2) The ridge or the highest point of the roof, say Fritzsche and Winer. (3) According to Paulus, it is the gable or pediment of the roof, and it gets its name from its shape Λ. (4) Krebs, Keim, and generally the older expositors identify the so-called pinnacle with the roof. (5) Lightfoot (*Hor. Heb.* on Mt 4^5) holds that the summit of the אוּלָם (*'ulām*) or porch, which extended on both sides of the sanctuary on the east, is what we are to understand. This porch was, he says, like a wing of the temple, and the top of it was like its wing.

(*b*) Others hold that a part of some out-building is what is meant. Here again, as before, there are differences as to the details. (1) Wetstein and Michaelis think that Solomon's porch on the east of the temple (see Jos. *Ant.* XXI. ix. 7) is what is meant. (2) The Στοὰ βασιλική on the south side of the temple area (see Jos. *Ant.* XV. xi. 9) is what B.-Crusius, Arnoldi, and Meyer take the word to stand for. From this portico, according to the account of Josephus (see above), the view below is a deep and giddy one. This is the opinion to which Lightfoot is most inclined next to his own.

When, however, we remember that the sanctuary was on the highest of a series of terraces, so that its roof would command valleys and mountains around Jerus., and even beyond Jordan, it is much more natural and impressive to make the sanctuary roof the scene of this temptation. Meyer objects that, on account of its being covered with pointed spikes, put there to keep the birds away, Christ could not have been placed there; but the priests are known to have ascended to this roof (*Middoth*, ch. 4; *Tannith*, Talm. Bab. fol. 29).

T. W. DAVIES.

PINON (פִּינֹן).—An Edomite 'duke,' Gn 36^{41} (A Φινές, *D* Φεινών, E Φινών)=1 Ch 1^{52} (B Φεινών, A Φινών). It is the same name which appears in Nu 33^{42} as **Punon** (פּוּנֹן), one of the stations of the Israelites. See PUNON.

PIPE, in the sense of a tube, occurs in AV and RV of Zec 4^2 (מוּצָקוֹת), and in AV (RV has 'spouts') of v.^{12} (צַנְתְּרוֹת) in connexion with the golden candlestick which the prophet saw in a vision, and which had a bowl at the top filled with oil for supplying its seven lamps by means of *pipes* leading to them. For 'pipe' in the sense of a musical instrument see MUSIC.

J. WORTABET.

PIRAM (פִּרְאָם 'wild ass'?).—The king of Jarmuth who joined other four kings against Gibeon, but was defeated by Joshua at Beth-horon and afterwards put to death at Makkedah along with his allies (Jos $10^{3ff.}$). According to Hommel (*Anc. Heb. Trad.* 223 n.), *Pir'am* is identical with *Pir'u*, the name of an Arabian king in the time of Sargon. Sayce (*EHH* 225 n.) compares the Egyp. *Pi-Romi*.

PIRATHON, PIRATHONITE (פִּרְעָתֹנִי, ὁ Φαραθωνείτης, Luc. Ἐφρααθωνίτης), Jg $12^{13.15}$.—Abdon, a minor judge, was a Pirathonite, *i.e.* a native of Pirathon 'in the land of Ephraim, in the hill-country of the Amalekites,' a district either anciently held by the Amalekites, or seized by them on one of their invasions from the south. Benaiah, one of David's mighty men, belonged to the same town, 2 S 23^{30}, 1 Ch 11^{31} ὁ Φαραθωνεί, 27^{14} ὁ ἐκ Φαραθών. It is generally identified with *Fer'ata*, 6 miles S.W. of Samaria (a site also proposed for Ophrah); some prefer *Fer'on*, due W. of Samaria. Smith suggests that Pirathon was a fortress at the head of the Wady Far'ah, *HGHL* 355, cf. 350 f.; Moore is inclined to look for it in Benjamin, as Abdon is a Benjamite family in 1 Ch $8^{23.30}$ 9^{36}. Pirathon was one of the places fortified by Bacchides, 1 Mac 9^{50} καὶ τὴν Θαμνάθα Φαραθών. It appears that καὶ τήν has fallen out of the text before Φ. here. The other fortresses in this verse are all ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ, so that Φ. can hardly be the same as Pirathon above; unless the author made the mistake of introducing a Samaritan town into his list of Judæan forts. See also Jos. *Ant.* XIII. i. 3.

G. A. COOKE.

PISGAH.—This word (which always has the def. art. הַפִּסְגָּה) is not found by itself, but in the expressions רֹאשׁ הַפִּסְגָּה and אַשְׁדֹּת הַפִּסְגָּה. The first of these occurs in four passages, two of which refer to Moses (Dt 3^{27} 34^1). In art. NEBO (MOUNT) it is pointed out that 'the top (head) of Pisgah' and 'Mt. Nebo' are alternative designations (in D and P respectively) of the same spot, and the situation is described. The two other passages are Nu 21^{20} 23^{14}. In Nu 21^{20} a station in the journeyings of the children of Israel is described as 'the top of Pisgah which looketh down upon the desert' (AV 'toward Jeshimon,' cf. RVm); and according to Nu 23^{14} Balak brought Balaam, after sacrificing on the high places of Baal, or at Bamoth-baal (22^{41}), 'into the field of Zophim, to the top of Pisgah.'

The second expression is found Dt 3^{17} 4^{49}, Jos 12^3 13^{20}. RV renders 'slopes of Pisgah,' with 'springs' in the margin; AV has 'Ashdoth-pisgah,' except in Dt 4^{49}, where it has 'the springs of Pisgah.' In Jos 10^{40} 12^8 הָאֲשֵׁדוֹת occurs by itself, and is rendered RV 'slopes,' AV 'springs'; and אֶשֶׁד is the first word of Nu 21^{15}—RV 'slope of the valleys,' AV 'stream of the brooks.' From these versions it will be seen that the unusual word from the root אשד has been variously interpreted. In Aramaic אשד means 'to pour' [it is the Targ. rendering of שפך in MT], and hence אֶשֶׁד and אֲשֵׁדוֹת are interpreted as places where water is poured down, *i.e.* the sloping sides of hills, or as pourings forth, *i.e.* streams or springs.

The AV, in treating it as a proper name, follows the LXX, which renders uniformly Ἀσηδώθ (Μηδώθ is a variant in B of Jos 12^8 and A of 13^{20}). The hesitation of AV is like that of the Vulgate, which renders *radices montis Phasga* in Dt, and *Asedoth* in Joshua. The *Onomasticon* takes it as the name of a city in the tribe of Reuben, and adds 'adpellatur autem addito cognomento Asedoth Fasga, quod in lingua nostra resonat abscisum.' (Cf. Eus. [Lag. 206]: λέγεται δὲ Ἀσηδὼθ Φασγὼ ὅ ἐστι λαξευτή.) It also asserts (*s.v.* 'Abarim') that a district was still called Φασγώ, Fasga (*Onom.* Lag. ed. pp. 124, 125, 237). No trace of such a district has been found on the eastern side of the Dead Sea, but a very similar name is applied to a promontory on the western shore (*Ras Feshkah*); and in its neighbourhood is the Neby Musa of Moslem tradition.

The renderings of LXX for Pisgah call for some comment. In the second group (those containing *'Ashdôth-happisgāh*) we find Φασγά or Φασχά three times, and τὴν λαξευτήν in Dt 4^{49}. In the first group (those containing 'top of Pisgah') we find Φασγά once (Dt 34^1), but Nu 21^{20} τοῦ λελαξευμένου, and Nu 23^{14}, Dt 3^{27} (both B) Λελαξευμένου.

The root פסג occurs only once in the Massoretic text of OT (Ps 48[14]) in Targ. Jerus. as a verb 'to divide' (MT נתח and the ἅπ. λεγ. בתר of Gn 15[10]), and פסגא denotes 'a portion.' The word λαξεύω (which is used of hewing and dressing stone) is the LXX rendering of the MT פסל in the command to hew the second tables of stone (Ex 34[1.4], Dt 10). In the *Onomasticon* it is regarded as a translation of Pisgah, and the '*abscisum*' of Jerome (see the passages given above) seems to indicate a mountain with precipitous sides. Pisgah as seen from the heights of the Moabite plateau would not suggest the idea of a mountain cut off from its fellows, but as seen from the Dead Sea and Jordan Valley its steep sides justify the epithet '*abscisum*,' which may be taken as an interpretation of λαξευτήν and Pisgah. There is another alternative suggested by the similarity between פסל and פסגה, viz. that the LXX translation is due to a confusion of consonants. It may further be noted that the different renderings of the LXX are not found in different books, but that in both Numbers and Deut. Pisgah is translated in one place as a proper noun, and in others explained by the Greek verb λαξεύω.

A. T. CHAPMAN.

PISHON (פִּישׁוֹן, Φεισών, *Phison*).—See EDEN. In Assyrian *pisannu* means 'water-channel.'

PISIDIA (Πισιδία) was a country in the southern part of Asia Minor, bounded by Lycia on the west, Phrygia on the north, and Pamphylia on the south, while on the east it passed in a vague, indefinite way into the land of the Isaurian or Tracheiotic tribes. Its greatest length, east to west, was about 120 miles, and its greatest breadth about 50. On the north and south Pisidia was originally well defined by its relation to the Taurus mountains: in this part Taurus is a broad tract of many lofty ridges intersected by valleys, some of large size along the course of considerable rivers or the margin of lakes, others mere glens among the hills. Where the mountains are merged definitely in the great plateau on the north, or sink to the level coast-land on the south, Pisidia ended. Several of those large valleys bore special names, such as Kabalis, Milyas the land of the Milyes or Milyai, the country of the Etenneis (more strictly Hetenneis, transformed in Greek into two separate names attached to two parts of the country, Etenneis and Katenneis), the country of the Orondeis, the country of the Homonades: sometimes those districts were called by their special names, but often they were summed up as parts of Pisidia.

In the course of Roman history the name Pisidia was changed from a strictly geographical to a political term. Pisidia was merely a part of the great province Galatia in the 1st cent. after Christ. In A.D. 74 the larger half of Pisidia was taken from the province Galatia and attached to the new double province of Lycia-Pamphylia. It was then reckoned part of Pamphylia; and that name now gradually came to be used as including many cities which previously were purely Pisidian; while the name Pisidia was more especially applied to the part of that country which was still in the province Galatia, and Pisidia steadily encroached on PHRYGIA until in practice the whole of Galatic Phrygia was called Pisidia. Antioch and Apollonia, originally cities of Phrygia, then came to be called cities of Pisidia. Still later, probably under Diocletian, the whole of southern Galatia was formed into a province Pisidia, to which were attached western Lycaonia and another slice of Phrygia with the cities of Apamea and Metropolis. Thus we find Iconium called a city of Pisidia in the 4th cent. by Ammianus Marcellinus. About 372 another new province Lycaonia was constituted out of parts of the provinces Isauria, Pisidia, and Galatia (eastern Lycaonia and Isauropolis from the first, western Lycaonia and parts of eastern Pisidia from the second, Glavama or Egdaumana from the third); and henceforth the name Pisidia was used to denote the diminished province with Antioch as capital.

In the time of St. Paul, Pisidia was still used in its old and strict sense to indicate the whole great group of mountain valleys in the Taurus, which politically formed part of the province Galatia. Paul traversed Pisidia on his way from Perga to Antioch (Ac 13[14]), and again on his return journey from Antioch to Perga (Ac 14[24]). On the former occasion Pisidia is not named, probably for the reason that Paul and Barnabas were going straight to Antioch and did not preach by the way. On the second occasion 'they passed through Pisidia and came to Pamphylia'; the two names are here used as political terms, one being a region of the province Galatia (see vol. ii. pp. 87, 90 f.), the other the small procuratorial province on the coast.

In Ac 13[14] the true text is 'Pisidian Antioch'* (not Antioch of Pisidia), that being a way of distinguishing it from the many other Antiochs, abbreviated from the fuller description 'a Phrygian city towards Pisidia': the region (of the province) of which Antioch was metropolis is mentioned Ac 13[49]: it was (Galatic) PHRYGIA.

If Paul preached in Pisidia, the brevity of the reference rather suggests that the work was unimportant and unsuccessful. He found there no 'door opened unto him' (2 Co 2[12]). A rude, little-educated, rustic population was not favourable to his teaching; and there is no reason to think that Pisidia was early Christianized. The only part where there are any pre-Constantinian Christian inscriptions, is that which lies closest to Apamea;† and the new religion is likely to have spread there from that great seat of early Christianity (see PHRYGIA).

Yet a Pauline tradition seems either to have remained alive from the first or to have grown up later in Pisidia. The modern name of the imposing but wholly desolate and unpopulated ruins of Adada is Kara Bavlo. The word Kara (literally 'black,' metaphorically in common usage 'terrible' or 'strong') is often applied to ancient sites. The name Bavlo is now applied to the modern town 5 or 6 miles south of Kara Bavlo, which has replaced it as the seat of government. Plainly the name was carried with the population from the old site to the new; and the old city was henceforward distinguished as Kara Bavlo. Now it is evident and certain that Bavlo is merely the modern pronunciation of the apostle's name Παῦλο'; and clearly this name was the popular local designation of Adada, derived from the patron saint. And it is highly probable that this local identification of Adada with the apostle's name is to be connected with the fact that Adada is the one important city in Pisidia on the direct road from Perga to Antioch; and that the name attests a local legend that St. Paul passed that way and taught in the city. A remarkable and very early ruined church stands near the road leading to the south about a mile or two from the city.

One other trace of Pisidia has been left on the NT. When St. Paul speaks of the 'perils of rivers' and 'perils of robbers' which he had been exposed to, no locality is likely to have been so prominent in his mind as Pisidia. It was still barely conquered when he traversed it. Augustus had found it necessary to plant in it several colonies, Cremna, Comama, Olbasa, Parlais, to keep down its unruly tribes. Its mountain fastnesses were the natural haunt and refuge of robbers; and the inscriptions bear testimony to this. Some examples are quoted in the *Church in the Roman Empire before 170*, p. 23 f.; see also Conybeare and Howson's scholarly work on St. Paul (though it indicates a different route across Pisidia).

---

* Ἀντιόχειαν τὴν Πισιδίαν, ℵABC, Tisch., Westcott and Hort, etc.

† Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, pt. ii. p. 498.

LITERATURE.—As to Pisidian ethnology and language hardly anything is known; Ramsay, 'Inscriptions en Langue Pisidienne,' in *Revue des Universités du Midi*, 1895, p. 353, has published the only known monuments of the language; but they contain hardly anything more than proper names, revealing a few grammatical forms. The proper names, Grecized in form, which occur in Greek inscriptions, are of remarkable and peculiar character: many Greek inscriptions of Pisidian cities are given by Sterrett in his *Wolfe Expedition* and his *Epigraphic Journey in Asia Minor*; by Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens* (containing also splendid accounts and photographs of sites and monuments).

W. M. RAMSAY.

PISPAH (פִּסְפָּה, B Φασφαί, A Φασφά).—An Asherite, 1 Ch 7^{38}.

PIT in OT represents twelve Heb., and in NT two Gr. words. **1, 2.** From the root באר, only in Piel, 'make distinct *or* plain':—(*a*) בְּאֵר (possibly from idea of *coming to light* or *appearing*), commonly rendered 'well,' indicating a deep shaft containing water. It corresponds with Arab. *bî'r*. It is once used of the *pits* whence bitumen was taken, בֶּאֱרֹת חֵמָר (Gn 14^{10}). The dark, cold depths, from which, if one fell in, escape would be so difficult, doubtless suggested the figures 'pit of destruction' (Ps 55^{23}), 'pit' (Ps 69^{15}), 'narrow pit' (Pr 23^{27}). (*b*) בּוֹר the usual word for 'cistern,' which should take the place of 'pit' (RVm) in Lv 11^{36}, 1 S 13^{6}, 2 K 10^{14}. When empty, the *bōr* was frequently used as a place of confinement (Gn $37^{22ff.}$, Zec 9^{11}). It is rendered 'dungeon' in Gn $40^{15ff.}$, Is 24^{22} RVm, La $3^{53.55}$; so also Jer 38^{6} (RVm 'pit'), which may explain the figure in Ps 40^{2}. בֵּית הַבּוֹר (Ex 12^{29}, Jer 37^{16}) is a prison cell. Thus it comes to be used for the universal prison of the tomb (Pr 1^{12}, Ps 28^{1} 30^{3}, Is 14^{15} 38^{18}, Ezk 26^{20} etc.). The pit in which Benaiah slew the lion (2 S 23^{20}, 1 Ch 11^{22}) and the pit, prepared against the necessities of a dreaded siege, into which Ishmael cast his slaughtered victims (Jer $41^{7.9}$), were probably large empty reservoirs. The hole out of which stones have been quarried (Is 51^{1}) is often used as a cistern.

3. גֵּב (from גוב 'to dig') corresponds with the Arab. *jubb*, a deep well or cistern or ditch. The word occurs in 2 K 3^{16}, where the most likely sense is 'trenches' (RV), and in Jer 14^{3}, where 'pits' should surely be 'cisterns' (possibly also in same sense [so Klost.] in Jer 39^{10} 52^{16} ‖ 2 K 25^{12}).

4. גֶּבֶא (from גָּבָא ? 'to gather together') a cistern, as in Is 30^{14} RV; but in Ezk 47^{11} probably a marsh or pool.

5. גּוּמָּץ (an Aram. loan-word) occurs only in Ec 10^{8} 'He that diggeth a pit shall fall into it'; cf. the parallel in Pr 26^{27}, where the word used is שַׁחַת; root גמץ Syr. and Aram. = 'to dig.'

6. פַּחַת (from an unused root פָּחַת 'to excavate'), probably an excavation, or deep cleft with gloomy recesses in which one might hide (2 S 17^{9}). It is rendered 'hole' in Jer 48^{28}, and doubtless because of its forbidding aspect it is associated with those things which inspire terror (Is 24^{17}, Jer 48^{43}, La 3^{47} RV, etc.). Into some such opening the body of Absalom was thrown (2 S 18^{17}).

7. שְׁאוֹל. In each of the three cases where AV renders 'pit' (Nu $16^{30.33}$, Job 17^{16}) 'Sheol' is preferable (see art. HADES).

8. 9. 10. From the root שׁוּחַ 'to sink or subside':—(*a*) שׁוּחָה, in Jer 2^{6} of the pits which enhanced the perils of the desert march; fig. in Pr 22^{14} 23^{27} (AV and RV 'ditch'), Jer $18^{20.22}$. (*b*) שַׁחַת, the pit in which snares are set to take wild beasts, and so metaph. the cunning designs of a man's foes to compass his undoing (Ps 7^{15} (ditch) 9^{15} 35^{7} 94^{13}, Pr 26^{27}, Ezk $19^{4.8}$). It is also used as equivalent to *the grave*, which is destined to entrap all living (Job $33^{18ff.}$, Ps 30^{9} 55^{23}). 'Pit' (RVm) should take the place of 'corruption' in Job 17^{14}, Ps 16^{10} 49^{9}, and Jon 2^{6} (RVm); of 'destruction' Ps 103^{4}, and of 'grave' Job 33^{22}. In Job 9^{31} it seems to indicate a receptacle of filth, while in Is 51^{14} it clearly denotes a dungeon. (*c*) שִׁיחָה occurs thrice (Ps 57^{6} 119^{85}, Jer 18^{22}), fig. in each case, of the subtle and malevolent schemes of enemies.

11. 12. From the root שָׁחָה 'to bow down':—(*a*) שְׁחוּת only once, fig. (Pr 28^{10}). (*b*) שְׁחִית (Ps 107^{20}, La 4^{20}). In the former case, instead of 'destructions,' we may read with Delitzsch (*in loc.*) 'pits,' referring to the sufferings into which they had sunk. In the latter it again refers to the successful designs of the enemy.

In the NT the terms used are—**1.** *βόθυνος* (= *βόθρος*, any hole or hollow in the ground, as, *e.g.*, the trench in which a tree is planted), Mt 12^{11}. In Mt 15^{14}, Lk 6^{39}, AV renders 'ditch'; RV uniformly 'pit.'

2. *φρέαρ*, an artificial well, cistern, reservoir, or, generally, pit. In Lk 14^{5} (RV), where the empty well is doubtless intended, and Jn $4^{11.12}$ it is rendered 'well.' In Rev $9^{1ff.}$ it is used figuratively of the pit of the abyss. Empty wells are often left uncovered and unguarded near the villages, and especially around deserted sites in Palestine, and form a serious danger to the traveller, particularly in the dark. See, further, the following article.

W. EWING.

PIT (metaphorical).—As might be expected, the metaphorical use of this word is most frequent in the poetical and prophetical books of the Bible, and in passages where an elevated style is natural. It stands in the EV (see the preceding article) for a number of Heb. words, and the utter lack of consistency in the translation is well exemplified in Pr 22, in the 14th verse of which 'pit' is the rendering of שׁוּחָה, whilst in 23^{27} בְּאֵר is represented by 'pit,' and שׁוּחָה by 'ditch.' The shades of meaning may be classified as follows:—

1. In a solitary instance, Is 51^{1}, 'the hole of the pit (בּוֹר)' refers to Sarah, the ancestress of the nation, the quarry from which it was digged.

2. Very frequently the *pit* is a stratagem or device by which an enemy is injured. Ezk $19^{4.8}$ justifies the conclusion that the figure was suggested by the pits in which wild animals are captured. The Heb. words used in this sense are—בְּאֵר, בּוֹר, פַּחַת, שׁוּחָה, שַׁחַת, שְׁחוּת, שְׁחִיתָה, שִׁיחָה. See Ps 9^{15} 35^{7} 119^{85}, Pr 22^{14} 23^{27} $28^{10.17}$ etc.

3. From this sense the transition is easy to that of the miserable condition or the ruin into which one falls—the roaring pit (בּוֹר שָׁאוֹן) of Ps 40^{2}, the watery pits (מַהֲמֹרוֹת) of Ps 140^{10}, the *βόθρος* of Sir 12^{16}, the *βόθρος ᾅδου* of Sir 21^{10}.

4. A wretched underground dungeon thoroughly deserves this name. It is found at Is 24^{22} (בּוֹר), Zec 9^{11} (בּוֹר), Wis 10^{13} (*λάκκος*, here used, is the LXX rendering of בּוֹר, Joseph's dungeon, Gn 41^{14}).

5. The *grave* is often entitled 'the pit.' Here, again, a variety of Heb. words are employed—בְּאֵר, בְּאֵר שַׁחַת, בּוֹר, שְׁאוֹל, שַׁחַת, בְּלִי שַׁחַת. Such passages as Ezk 32^{23} call up the picture of a huge *columbarium* with graves in the sides. But here and elsewhere it is not easy to distinguish between this signification and the one mentioned under No. **6**.

6. Hades, the realm of shades, situated beneath the earth, and tenanted by thin, unsubstantial ghosts, bears this name. At Is 14^{15} the *pit* (בּוֹר) is obviously the same as 'hell,' *i.e.* Hades (שְׁאוֹל).

7. In the Apocalypse the abode of the devil and his angels is conceived of as a vast underground abyss, communicating with the surface of the earth by a great shaft, which is opened or closed from above by God's angels sent forth for the purpose. For this *pit*, or *bottomless pit*, φρέαρ, φρέαρ τῆς ἀβύσσου, ἡ ἄβυσσος, see Rev $9^{1.2.11}$ 11^7 17^8 $20^{1.3}$, and cf. art. ABYSS. J. TAYLOR.

PITCH (זֶפֶת, כֹּפֶר, πίσσα) may denote either *mineral* pitch (bitumen), or the *vegetable* pitch obtained from resinous trees. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xiv. 25, xvi. 23) reserves the word *pix* for the latter, while the former is called *pissasphaltus*. The words rendered 'pitch' in Scripture apparently refer to mineral pitch, an inflammable, viscous substance, composed of a mixture of hydro-carbons, and found now in a more liquid, now in a more solid state (see BITUMEN).

כֹּפֶר occurs in Gn 6^{14} as the name of the substance with which the ark was covered both within and without. The word has a variety of meanings elsewhere in OT, and its usage here is connected with the simple sense of the verb כָּפַר ('to cover'), which appears in the same verse as the cognate of the noun, and is tr^d 'to pitch.' LXX has ἀσφαλτώσεις τῇ ἀσφάλτῳ, and ἄσφαλτος is elsewhere the rendering of חֵמָר ('bitumen').

זֶפֶת in Ex 2^3 is one of the substances with which the ark of bulrushes was daubed, the other being חֵמָר. It might seem from the Hebrew as if two distinct substances were referred to, but LXX combines both in the translation ἀσφαλτοπίσσα. The distinction between זֶפֶת and חֵמָר is probably that between the more liquid and the more solid varieties of bitumen.

In Is 34^9 זֶפֶת (LXX πίσσα) occurs twice in the prediction of the desolation of Edom. 'The streams thereof shall be turned into pitch, . . . and the land thereof shall become burning pitch.' The mention of 'brimstone' in the same verse, and the fact that bitumen occurs along with sulphur near the Dead Sea, suggest that here also bitumen is meant.

In Apocr. πίσσα occurs thrice. Sir 13^1 refers to the defilement caused by touching pitch. In Three^{23} pitch is mentioned among the substances used in kindling Nebuchadrezzar's fiery furnace. Bel ^{27} describes how Daniel slew the dragon by putting into its mouth lumps of pitch, fat, and hair, that had been boiled together. JAMES PATRICK.

PITCHER (כַּד *kad*, LXX ὑδρία; in La 4^2 נֵבֶל, LXX κεράμιον, as in NT).—A vessel for holding water (Gn $24^{14ff.}$), carried by girls on their shoulders (v.^{15}). These vessels were made of earthenware (Jg $7^{19.20}$), and sufficiently wide-mouthed to admit a torch (Jg $7^{16.19.20}$). It was in a *kad* that the widow of Zarephath kept her meal (1 K 17^{12}), although the word is translated 'barrel' in AV and RV; and the vessels of water (also called 'barrels') which Elijah caused to be poured over his sacrifice at Carmel were *kaddîm*. In the figurative description of death in Ec 12^6 the pitcher is said to be broken at the fountain. The *nēbel* of Jeremiah was an earthen vessel in shape resembling a skin bottle, and probably had a narrower neck than the *kad*. As both vessels were made to be carried, they had usually a pair of handles. The pitcher borne by the man who led the apostles to the place where the Passover was to be prepared was a κεράμιον (Mk 14^{13}, Lk 22^{10}). The Samaritan woman's waterpot was a *hydria* of earthenware (Jn 4^{28}), smaller than the stone *hydriæ* of Cana (Jn 2^6), which do not seem to have been equally portable. In Is 5^{10} κεράμιον of LXX represents Heb. בַּת (EV 'bath'); in Jer 35^5 it represents *nēbel* (RV 'pots,' AV 'bowls').

The Egyptian *gad* or *gai* (Copt. κελωλ) was an earthenware vessel resembling the *kad*, with side handles, and sufficiently wide-mouthed to serve as a receptacle for fruit or other solids (*Papyrus Anastas.* iv. 14), while commonly used for water or beer, as in the story of Anpu and Bata. Pitchers of this kind have been figured by Bliss (*A Mound of Many Cities*, pp. 118, 120), and by Petrie in his sketches of Palestinian pottery; see *Tell el Hêsy*, p. 40, pl. vii. figs. 123, 125, ix. fig. 190. See art. POTTERY.

The English word 'pitcher' is derived from the French. The vessel is called *pichier* in the Languedoc, and this has its root in the Latin *picarium* or *bicarium*, from which we also have got the word 'beaker.' The word does not occur in Middle English to the writer's knowledge, the water vessel being an *euwere* or ewer; see *Boke of Curtasye*, 641. It had, however, become common in Elizabethan English, as in the familiar Shakspearean phrase in *Taming of Shrew*, IV. iv. 52, and *Richard III.* II. iv. 37. A. MACALISTER.

PITHOM (פִּתֹם; B Πειθώ, A Πιθώμ).—In Ex 1^{11} it is said that the Israelites built for the Pharaoh of the Oppression the cities of 'Pithom and RAAMSES,' to which the LXX adds, 'and On, which is Heliopolis.' They are called עָרֵי מִסְכְּנוֹת, usually rendered 'treasure (AV) *or* store (RV) cities,' but the exact signification of the term is doubtful, and the LXX makes it πόλεις ὀχυραί, 'strong *or* fortified cities' (see also 1 K 9^{19}, 2 Ch 8^4, where the same Heb. is tr., in the first passage π. τῶν σκηνωμάτων, and in the second π. ὀχυραί). The site of Pithom has been the subject of much controversy, which, however, has been finally set at rest by the excavations of Dr. Naville for the Egypt Exploration Fund in 1883.

Herodotus (ii. 158) describes the canal made by Necho to connect the Red Sea with the Nile as starting 'a little above Bubastis' (now Zagazig), and passing 'Patumos, a city in the Arabian nome' (Πάτουμον τὴν Ἀραβίην πόλιν). 'Arabia,' or the Arabian nome, was the 20th nome of Lower Egypt, called Sopd-Qemhes in Egyptian, whose capital was Qosem or Goshen, now Saft el-Henna. Patumos is evidently the Pa-Tum or Pi-Tum, 'the house of Tum'—the ancient sun-god of Heliopolis—of the Egyptian texts. At Dendera the city of Pi-Tum is described as in the land of Ro-Abt, 'the entrance to the East,' a name which Dr. Naville suggests may be the origin of the Greek 'Arabia,' when used to denote the 20th nome (see Mariette's *Denderah*, iv. 75. 12). The name Pi-Tum is first found in monuments of the age of the 19th dynasty; thus a letter dated in the 8th year of Meneptah II. the son and successor of Ramses II., and translated by Brugsch (*History of Egypt*, Eng. tr. 2nd ed. ii. p. 133), speaks of Edomite nomads being allowed to pass the Khetam or 'fortress of Meneptah in the land of Thuket' (Succoth), which protected the eastern frontier of Egypt, and to feed their flocks near 'the lakes (*birkata*) of Pi-Tum of Meneptah in the land of Thuket' (*Select Papyri in the Hieratic character from the Collections in the British Museum*, pl. cxxv.–vi.).

Chabas had already, in 1864, pointed out that the Pithom of the OT must correspond with an Egyptian Pi-Tum, and suggested that its site should be sought at Abu-Kêshêd or Tel el-Maskhûta in the Wady Tumilât, 17 kilometres south-west of Ismailiya (*Mélanges*, p. 162), a suggestion which he afterwards withdrew in favour of Tmui el-Emdid, the ancient Thmuis. So far as the form of the name was concerned, however, the conclusion of Chabas was soon afterwards confirmed by the publication of various geographical texts by Brugsch, Dümichen, Mariette, and others, from which it appeared that the capital of the 8th nome of Lower Egypt, Nefer-Abt, had the civil name Thuket and the sacred name Pi-Tum. Tum, the setting sun, was worshipped there under the form of a serpent, and its chief temple was accordingly termed Pi-Qereḥt, 'the house of the snake.' According to Brugsch (*Zeitschrift für Ægypt. Sprache*, 1876, p. 127), the sacred lake or canal bore the name of 'Crocodile Lake' (*Kharmu*), the domain-land being Annu or On.

Brugsch first showed that Thuket is the biblical SUCCOTH, the Egyptian *th* being, as elsewhere, represented by the Hebrew ס, and the vocalization of the name having been assimilated to that of the word which means 'booths' in Hebrew (*Zeitschr. für Ægypt. Sprache*, 1875, p. 7). Succoth was the first stage of the Israelites in their flight from Egypt before they encamped at ETHAM, the Egyptian Khetam or 'fortress,' which commanded the approach to 'the wilderness' (Ex 12^{37} 13^{20}). Pithom, accordingly, must have been in or adjoining the land of Goshen.

When the Fresh-water Canal was made almost on the lines of the old canal of Seti I. and Necho, it passed through the Wady Tumilât, and skirted the ruins of Tel el-Maskhûta ('the mound of the Image'). Various monuments of the age of Ramses II. were discovered in the Tel, including the one from which it derived its name, and were removed to Ismailiya. Lepsius had already proposed to see in the Tel the site of the city of Raamses (*Chronologie*, p. 348); and Maspero, who published some of the inscriptions in 1877 (*Revue archéologique*, nouv. sér. xxxiv. p. 320), arrived at the same conclusion. But the study of the monuments at Ismailiya, all of which were dedicated to Tum by Ramses II., led Dr. Naville to suspect that the Tel really represented Pithom, and not Raamses, and accordingly he commenced excavations on the spot. The result was the discovery of a temple, as well as of storehouses, private habitations, the walls of the city, and various inscriptions. The city and temple proved to have been built by Ramses II. of the 19th dynasty, and to have lasted down to the Roman era. They proved also to be the Pi-Tum or Thuket of the hieroglyphic texts.

The discovery was important, as it not only settled the site of Pithom, and so threw light on the route of the Israelites, but it also showed that Ramses II., the builder of Pi-Tum, must have been the Pharaoh of the Oppression. Unless we deny the historical character of Ex 1^{11}, the date of the Exodus is definitely fixed.

Dr. Naville's discoveries further showed that Pithom changed its name in the Greek age. It became Heroopolis, which the Romans abbreviated into Ero, as is proved by inscriptions, which confirm the statement of Stephanus Byzantinus (*s.v.*) that the Heroonpolis of Strabo was also known as Hêrô. An explanation is thus afforded of the reading of the LXX in Gn 46^{28} 'he sent Judah before him unto Joseph to meet him at Heroonpolis in the land of Ramesses,' where, it is noticeable, the Coptic version substitutes 'Pithom the city' for Heroonpolis. D'Anville (*Mémoires sur l'Égypte*, p. 121 ff.) long ago suggested that Heroopolis was to be sought at Tel el-Maskhûta, and the suggestion was adopted by Quatremère, Champollion, and others. In the inscription of the obelisk of Hermapion, quoted by Ammianus Marcellinus (Champollion, *Grammaire égyptienne*, p. 361), 'the son of Tum' is translated 'son of Hêrôn' (or 'Hêrô'). Pi-Tum or Heroopolis was the capital of the 8th nome of Lower Egypt; consequently Herodotus was mistaken in placing Patumos in 'Arabia.' It adjoined the Arabian nome, but was not actually in it. The high priest of its temple had the title of *Herti-sonti*.

The city was in the form of a square, containing about 55,000 square yards. The temple of Tum occupied a small space in the south-western angle of the enclosure, and seems never to have been finished. To the north was a series of brick buildings, in which Dr. Naville sees storehouses in which the provisions were gathered 'necessary for armies about to cross the desert, or even for caravans and travellers which were on the road to Syria.' The chambers composing them had thick walls, and were without communication with one another, the access to them being from the top. The whole city was ruthlessly levelled when the Romans formed a camp on the site of it, and founded the later Heroopolis on the north-eastern edge of the camp immediately to the south of the present Fresh-water Canal.

LITERATURE.—Naville, *The Store-City of Pithom and the Route of the Exodus*, first memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund, 1885; Jacques de Rougé, *Géographie ancienne de la Basse-Égypte*, 1891; Sayce, *HCM*, 1894, pp. 239 ff., 250 ff.; H. Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique de l'ancienne Égypte*, 1879; see also Driver in Hogarth's *Authority and Archæology*, 1899, pp. 54 f., 61, 68; Ball, *Light from the East*, p. 109 f.; Dillm.-Ryssel on Ex 1^{11}.

A. H. SAYCE.

PITHON (פִּיתוֹן).—One of the sons of Micah, the son of Merib-baal, 1 Ch 8^{35} (BA Φιθών) ‖ 9^{41} (פִּיתֹן, B Φαιθών, A Φιθών).

PITIFUL.—Pity is the same word as piety, the Eng. having followed the Old Fr. in separating the one word *pictas* into *piété* 'piety,' and *pitié* pity. The adj. 'pitiful' was formed after the separation, and is simply 'full of pity.' But pity may be given or received, and 'pitiful' is used about 1611 in three ways: (1) showing pity, compassionate; (2) exciting or deserving * pity, miserable; (3) contemptible, despicable, the modern use of the word. Shaks. has all three—

(1) *Rich. III.* I. iii. 141—

> 'I would to God my heart were flint, like Edward's;
> Or Edward's soft and pitiful, like mine.'

(2) *Othello*, I. iii. 161—

> ''Twas passing strange,
> 'Twas pitiful, 'twas wondrous pitiful.

(3) *Hamlet*, III. ii. 49—'That's villainous; and shows a most pitiful ambition in the fool that uses it.' In AV 'pitiful' is used only in the first sense, *compassionate*; La 4^{10} 'The hands of the pitiful women have sodden their own children' (נָשִׁים רַחֲמָנִיּוֹת, LXX γυναικῶν οἰκτειρμόνων); Sir 2^{11} 'The Lord is . . . very pitiful'; Ja 5^{11} 'The Lord is very pitiful' (πολύσπλαγχνος, RV 'full of pity'); 1 P 3^{8} 'Be pitiful' (εὔσπλαγχνοι, RV 'tender-hearted').

The subst. 'pitifulness' occurs in Job 16 $^{\text{heading}}$ in the sense of misery.

J. HASTINGS.

PITY.—See COMPASSION. In Ezk 24^{21} 'that which your soul *pitieth* (marg. 'pity of your soul') is equivalent to 'object of affection' (cf. v.^{25}). There is a play upon words in the Heb. (*maḥmad 'ênêkhem umaḥmal naphshĕkhem*).

PLACE OF TOLL.—See TOLL (PLACE OF).

PLAGUE (*i.e.* πληγή 'blow,' 'stroke').—A general term for a penalty inflicted by God. It is often used as a synonym of 'pestilence,' but is usually more comprehensive and used of other punishments as well as diseases. It is employed to indicate the last of the Egyptian plagues (Ex 11^{1}), and is here the tr. of נֶגַע *nega'*, literally 'a stroke.' In Lv 13 and 14 this word occurs 59 times as descriptive of leprosy, as also in Dt 24^{8}. It is used (in the verbal form) of Divine chastisement in general in Ps $73^{5.14}$, as a synonym of 'pestilence' in 1 K 8^{37-38} and Ps 91^{10}, and it denotes the punishment inflicted on Pharaoh in the matter of Sarah in Gn 12^{17}.

The word נֶגֶף is six times translated 'plague.'

---

* Cf. Fuller, *Holy Warre*, 4, 'We leave them in a state most pitifull, and little pitied.'

It is used in Jos 22^{17} of the plague of Baal-peor; in Nu 16^{46-47} [Heb. 17^{11-12}] of that following the rebellion of Korah. Elsewhere its meaning is more general, as in Ex 12^{13} 30^{12}, Nu 8^{19}. The verb נגף (AV 'plague') in Ps 89^{23} is tr^{d} by RV 'smite.'

In Nu 11^{33} the judgment at Kibroth-hattaavah is called מַכָּה *makkāh*, a word usually translated 'wound,' 'smiting,' 'chastisement,' etc. In Dt 28^{61} it is employed for any disease inflicted as a penalty, as in Lv 26^{21}, Dt 28^{59} 29^{22}. In 1 S 4^{8} it refers to the plagues of Egypt, and in Jer 49^{17} 50^{13} is used of the plagues to be inflicted on Babylon and Edom, over which the enemies of these countries are to hiss in derision and astonishment.

In 22 other passages 'plague' is the rendering of מַגֵּפָה *maggēphāh*, used of the Egyptian plagues in Ex 9^{14}; of the disease that slew the spies, Nu 14^{37}; or that which slew the rebels who followed Korah, Nu $16^{48.\ 49-50}$ [Heb. $17^{13.\ 14.\ 15}$]; of Baal-peor, Nu $25^{8.\ 9.\ 18}$ 26^{1} 31^{16}, Ps 106^{29-30}; of the infliction on the Philistines, 1 S 6^{4}; and of that which followed David's census, 2 S 24^{21-25}, 1 Ch 21^{17-22}. It is also prophetically employed of the punishment of those that neglect the ceremonial law, Lv $14^{12.\ 15.\ 18}$.

'Plague' in Hos 13^{14} is *deber*, usually tr. 'pestilence.' In 1 Co 15^{55} κέντρον, 'sting,' appears to be the rendering of דֶּבֶר; the LXX in Hosea uses κέντρον as the translation of קֶטֶב, and δίκη as that of *deber*.

In NT the issue of blood is called a 'plague' in Mk 5^{29-34}, where the Greek term is μάστιξ, literally a 'scourge.' This word is used of other diseases in general in Mk 3^{10}, Lk 7^{21}. In RV the word πληγή is 12 times rendered 'plague' (AV wants it in 9^{18}). See, further, MEDICINE, p. 324.

A. MACALISTER.

PLAGUES OF EGYPT.—The judgments inflicted upon the Egyptians by God on account of their oppression of the Israelites and refusal to release them. They are detailed in Ex 7^{8}–12^{31}, and given in epitome in Ps 78^{42-51} 105^{27-36}. In the longer narrative ten successive plagues are enumerated: (1) the turning the river into blood, (2) frogs, (3) lice, (4) flies, (5) murrain, (6) boils, (7) hail, (8) locusts, (9) darkness, (10) the slaying of the first-born. In Ps 78 the list consists of 1, 3, 2, 8, 7, 5, 10; that in Ps 105 includes 9, 1, 2, 4, 3, 7, 8, 10. Philo gives them in the following order: 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 4, 5, 10, but that is to suit an obviously artificial classification (*Vit. Mos.* i. 17). The Jewish teachers use as a mnemonic the words דצך עדש באחב, the initials of the plagues in the order given in the text.

Egyptian history is silent concerning these as well as the other incidents of the Exodus; but that is not surprising. There were, however, evidently several ancient versions of the story, which have been collated and combined by those to whom we owe the text in its present form. It is probable that the groundwork of the narrative (J) was a document giving an account of *seven* plagues, viz. 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10. The infliction of each of these is preceded by an interview of Moses with Pharaoh at which its onset is threatened; and the sign is brought to pass by Jahweh directly (see art. MOSES, p. 439^{b}). With this is combined another version (E), whose record embraced *four*, possibly *six* plagues, viz. 1 (Ex $7^{15b.\ 17b.\ 20b}$), 7 (8^{22-23}), 8 (10^{12-14}), 9 (10^{20-23}); there are also traces of its influence in the account of 10, and perhaps in that of 3. Moses in these is the thaumaturgist, and works by stretching forth his hand or his rod (see art. MOSES, p. 441^{a}). The third component document (P) couples Aaron with Moses; and, in general, attributes the carrying out of the miracle to him and his rod. The accounts of *six* plagues 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 10 seem to be taken in whole or in part from this (see art. MOSES, p. 443^{a}). It will be seen from this analysis that 3 and 6 are peculiar to P, 4 to J, and 9 to E. 1, and possibly 10 are found in all three, 2 and 5 in P and J, and 7 and 8 in J and E. This list suggests the possibility that the list set forth in the Massoretic text may contain reduplicated narratives.

The district affected by the plagues is called in Ps $78^{12.\ 43}$ 'the Field of Zoan' (שְׂדֵה־צֹעַן). This may be either a limitation to the eastern part of Lower Egypt, or, more probably, a poetical synecdoche. J and P in several places refer the influence of these visitations to all the land of Egypt, meaning probably Lower Egypt. In 4, 5, 7, 9, 10 the immunity of the land of Goshen is specially mentioned. The interval between the first plague and the Exodus is not stated. The actual duration of the 1st and 9th plagues is given, but not of the others. It has been supposed that the first was connected with the early stages of the Nile overflow, possibly the end of June, and that the others occurred at intervals between that time and the following Passover, which was the definite terminus in point of time. The presumption in the narrative is that of a fairly regular and quick succession of stroke upon stroke.

The plagues have been variously classified. Philo divides them into four groups: 1st, those in which God asserts His power over the grosser elements, earth and water, intrusting the bringing of the plagues to Aaron (=1, 2, 3); 2nd, plagues of air and fire inflicted by Moses (=7, 8, 9); 3rd, one plague hurtful to mankind inflicted by both together (=5); 4th, those inflicted directly by the hand of God (=4, 6, 10). The first three were admonitory, characterized by uncleanness and discomfort; those following were more or less destructive to property and injurious to man, leading up to the overwhelming catastrophe of 10.

The story of the plagues is preceded by the account of a series of signs which Moses was instructed to perform: these were twofold: (1) two were for the purpose of attesting the reality of his Divine mission to his own countrymen; (2) the other was for the purpose of influencing Pharaoh. With the former pair, the conversion of his *own rod* into a serpent, and the leprous hand, we are not at present concerned. The last, the conversion of *Aaron's* rod into a serpent, is a part of the same group of signs as the plagues. This sign Moses caused to be performed in the presence of the advisers of Pharaoh, who are called חֲכָמִים *ḥăkāmîm* 'learned men,' מְכַשְּׁפִים *mĕkashshĕphîm* or 'sorcerers,' and חַרְטֻמִּים *ḥarṭummîm* or 'sacred scribes.' While the first two names are undoubtedly Semitic, the last may possibly be the name of an order of Egyptian priests, a derivative of the native name *ḥrdot*, but this is unlikely. In the Gr. these are called ἐπαοιδοί [in Dn 1^{20} σοφισταί]; see, further, in vol. ii. p. 773^{a} note **. There is a tradition that two of these were chosen to confront the two wonder-working Israelites, namely, Jannes and Jambres (see vol. ii. p. 548). These last two names occur in very many forms both in Jewish and Gentile literature. When these variants are compared, the constant elements are *Ane* or *Ani* and *Mre* or *Mri*, which are two of the commonest names found on the monuments of the 19th and of the immediately succeeding dynasties. In Lieblein's list, *Ani* or some allied form of the name occurs 24 times, and *Mri* 23 times. The *Gospel of Nicodemus* calls them ἄνδρες θεράποντες. It is suggestive that *Ambres* was the name of an Egyptian medical book known to Numenius and Clement (see Horapollo, i. 38).

The first sign, that of changing a rod into a serpent, was the converse of the common magical trick of rendering snakes rigid like rods. The African *Psyllæ*, who had control over serpents either by natural power or artificially by the use of herbs (Ludolf, *Hist. of Ethiopia*, Gent's tr. ix. p. 49), are mentioned by many classical writers: Herodotus (iv. 173), Dio Cassius (li. 14), Lucan (*Phars.* ix. 890, 925), Ælian (*de Nat. Anim.* xvi. 27), Vergil (*Æn.* vii. 753), Solinus Polyhistor (*Memor.* xl.), Aulus Gellius (xvi. 2), Silius Italicus (i. 411, iii. 302, v. 354, viii. 498), Pliny (vii. 2), and several others. The same form of serpent-charming is still practised in Egypt and North Africa, and has been described by several travellers, for example, von Schubert (ii. 116), Trotter (p. 174), Antes (p. 15), etc. For other observations on the snake as symbol and wand, see Böttiger's *Kleine Schriften*, 1837, p. 112. The writer has seen both a snake and a crocodile thrown by hypnotism into the condition of rigidity in which they could be held as rods by the tip of the tail.

(1) The First Plague, **the defilement of the river**, was a severe blow to Egyptian prejudices. The river was a god to whom offerings were made (Stern, *Zeitschr. Ægypt. Spr.* 1873, 129) and adorations addressed (Maspero, *Hymne au Nil*, 1868). According to the narrative in J and E, the transformation was confined to the water of the river, killing its fish ($7^{17-18.\ 21.\ 24.\ 25}$), but P states that it extended to the canals, pools, ponds, and cisterns of wood and stone (v.^{19}). It is noteworthy that vessels of earthenware are not mentioned, and perhaps this may be connected with the statements of Alpinus (*Med. Æg.* i. 16*b*), Norden (i. 52), Sonnini (i. 124), Troilo (472), and Volney (i. 20), that it is only in earthenware vessels that the discoloured waters of the Nile-flood become clear and can be kept clear. See also Galen, *de Simpl. Med. Facult.* i. 3, § 2. The former narrative (JE) says that the people dug beside the river for supplies, and although it says nothing of the kind of water in these wells, it does not say that it was blood; the latter (P) declares that the water in these also was changed into blood, and Philo paraphrases this by comparing these wells to blood-vessels, from which the blood was flowing, as in a hæmorrhage. Volney says that the water found by digging wells is brackish and unfit for use (i. 16). Such a change was plainly miraculous, and this is also shown by its definite duration of seven days and its sudden disappearance.

In the normal condition of the river, as its waters rise in the third week of June, they become discoloured. This has often been described by travellers. Abd-al-latîf says that the water becomes green from the fragments of vegetable matter suspended in it, and remains discoloured until August (de Sacy's tr., p. 333), and Makrizi refers to this alteration in colour and to the offensive exhalations from the water at a later stage (quoted by de Sacy, p. 345). Vansleb adds that in process of time the water changes in colour from green to a dull ochreous red (1677, p. 53). Many other travellers confirm this observation. See Maillet, p. 57; Tourtechot, 14; Hartmann, 128; Pococke, i. 199; Savary, 1786, ii. 179. The last author speaks of the unwholesomeness of the waters in this stage, and this is confirmed by Pruner (p. 21). These changes in colour are probably due to the wasting down of some great accumulation of vegetable matter high up in the river, like the *Sudd* or great Nile dam described by Sir S. Baker (*Lake Albert Nyanza*, ii. p. 329). Ehrenberg attributes the red coloration to a minute organism, *Sphæroplea annulina* Agardh, which multiplies in the water after the inundation, and he has described a large number of cases of red discoloration of water in Poggendorf's *Annals* for 1830, p. 477. This reddening of ponds by minute organisms is not uncommon. Swammerdam tells us that he saw a pool in the Bois de Vincennes made crimson by minute crustaceans. Schuyl describes the same at Leyden, and Hjaerne at Dalecarlia (*Bybel der Natuure*, 1737, pp. 89, 90). The present writer has seen a similar discoloration in a pool in the Phœnix Park, Dublin, on account of enormous quantities of a species of *Peridinium*. The example in 2 K 3^{23} may be quoted here. It has recently been shown that in many of these coloured animals the pigment is contained in parasitic bacteria.

Changes in the water of the Nile were not unknown in the legendary history of Egypt. Manetho states that in the days of Nephercheres (about B.C. 4000) the Nile for eleven days flowed with honey. Eusebius mentions the same change as occurring in the reign of a nameless king 200 years earlier.

The plague must have been a serious calamity to the whole population, not only on account of the lack of water, but also because of the killing of the fish, as these formed an important element in the diet of the Egyptian. There is a little obscurity in the description, arising probably from the different standpoints of the original authors of the narratives. In v.^{17} Moses was instructed to say to Pharaoh that he would cause the plague by smiting with his rod on the waters (E), while in v.^{19} (P) Aaron is instructed to bring the plague by stretching forth his rod.

The plague lasted seven days and was apparently then suddenly removed. It was imitated by the magicians, which seems to imply that not all the water of the land was transformed. As to the time of year of its occurrence, if the phenomenon had any relation to the natural discoloration, it probably took place about the height of the flood in the month of Epiphi (beginning June 25), or, if Ehrenberg's hypothesis be adopted, probably in the month of Thoth, beginning about the 29th August.

(2) The Second Plague, that of the **frogs** (Ex 8^1, J, P), was preceded by an interview with Pharaoh, at which Moses announced the visitation. This was at once brought upon the land by the agency of Aaron stretching forth his hand. Frogs are in most years plentiful in the Nile, and the ponds and canals connected with it, but do not usually wander far from the water; but now they suddenly swarmed on the land, invading the houses, even the bed-chambers, ovens, and kneading-troughs. In Ps 78^{45} they are said to have destroyed the Egyptians, hence some Rabbinical authorities suppose these were other than ordinary frogs, but the word used, *ẓĕphardēaʽ* (LXX βάτραχος), is the name of the ordinary amphibian. It was noticed by some Hebrew writers that while the word is used in the plural in general, it is singular in v.^{6}, literally, 'and the frog ascended,' hence Akiba says in *Semoth Rabbah* that there was but one frog, so rapidly prolific that it filled the whole land. The word is obviously used as a collective, as it occasionally is in Arabic. The magicians imitated the miracle, but, as more than one commentator remarks, when the land was full of frogs, who could tell those brought by the Israelites from those of their Egyptian imitators? The plague must have been one of great irritation, not only from the discomfort, but from the croaking noise which at times frogs utter continually. The Nile frogs make a sharp sound like two pieces of wood striking together (Hasselquist, pp. 68, 254, 304). The frog was not reckoned unclean by the Egyptians, nor was it specially venerated in Lower Egypt as far as is known. In the Egyptian language the figure of a frog was used as a numerical symbol for 100,000 with the phonetic value *ḥfnu*. In Upper Egypt there was an obscure goddess represented with a frog's head and named

Ḥkt, but we know little of her, except that in the Middle Empire the superintendents of nomes in Upper Egypt are called her priests, especially about the 12th dynasty. Horapollo says that the frog was the symbol of Ptaḥ because it is the representative of man in embryo (*Hierogl.* i. 25), but there is no native confirmation of this. A frog-headed figure, called 'Ka, the father of waters,' is figured by Wilkinson and thought by him to be a form of Ptaḥ (iii. 15). In *Papyrus Ebers* lii. a frog boiled in oil is recommended as an external application for swelling of the abdomen.

Several species of frog inhabit the Nile, the commonest being *Rana esculenta*, *R. Nilotica*, and *R. Mosaica*. They are called in Egyptian *'bĕnh* and in Coptic ⲭⲣⲟⲩⲣ. The sagacity of the Egyptian frog is said to exceed that of all others. See Ælian, *Variæ Historiæ*, i. 3.

Plagues of frogs were known in ancient times. Pliny (viii. 43), Orosius (iii. 23), Ælian (*de Nat. Anim.* ii. 36), Diodorus (iii. 29) give instances of these. Athenæus quotes from Heraclides Limbus an account of an invasion of frogs in Pæonia and Dardania, which drove out the inhabitants; and Justinus, in his epitome of Trogus Pompeius (xv. 2), speaks of a similar occurrence in Thracia Abderitis. Showers of frogs are often referred to by the old writers. Ælian tells us that he experienced on his way to Dicæarchia a fall of rain mixed with tadpoles and mud (*Hist. Anim.* ii. 56). Several such occurrences are referred to in Beyerlinck's *Theatrum*, under the head of *Pluviæ extraordinariæ*. See also Valentinus Albertus, *de Pluvia Prodigiosa*. Similar occurrences are reported in recent times, one in London, in the *Mirror* for 4th Aug. 1838. Several others are collected in Andrews' *Book of Oddities*, 1892, and some well-authenticated Scottish instances are given in the *Glasgow Herald* for 19th July 1894 and several succeeding issues. A plague of toads in the upper Nile Valley is reported by Haggard (*Under Crescent and Star*, 1895, p. 279). For Egyptian frogs see Seetzen (*Reisen durch Syrien*, etc., 1854, iii. pp. 245, 350, 364, 490, 501); see also Cameron, *Across Africa*, i. 267.

At Moses' entreaty the frogs were removed, and their dead bodies were gathered in heaps which made the land to stink, and probably gave rise to plagues. Appius tells us that when the people of Antareia had offended Apollo, he sent, among other plagues, an immense host of frogs, which, when they decomposed, poisoned the waters and caused a pestilence which drove them from their homes (*de rebus Illyricis*, 4). See also Ælian, *de Nat. Anim.* xvii. 41.

(3) (4) The Third and Fourth Plagues consisted of *insect pests*, the former of כִּנִּים *kinnîm*, or כִּנָּם *kinnām*, tr. lice AV and RV, 'sand flies or fleas' RVm; the latter of עָרֹב *'ārôbh*, tr. flies AV and RV. The account of the Third Plague is derived from P (Ex 8^{16-19}), that of the Fourth from J (v.$^{21-31}$). The *kinnah* was probably a stinging fly, mosquito or gnat, such as was, and still is, common in Egypt (Herodotus, ii. 95). A cognate word is applied in *Peah* to a grain-fly. This plague was sent without any warning to Pharaoh, and was brought about by Aaron smiting the dust with his rod, as God commanded him. The insects attacked man and beast (v.^{17}), devouring them (Ps 78^{45}). The interpretation in AV and RV, 'lice,' is an ancient one, as it is found in Jos. *Ant.* II. xiv. 3, and in many other Jewish writings. LXX renders the Heb. words by *σκνῖφες*, *σκνῖπες*, or *κνῖπες*, the name given to small insects found in figs and other fruits (Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant*, ii. 9, iv. 17), and the Vulgate calls them *ciniphes*. *Κνῖπες* and *ψῆνες* are mentioned by Aristophanes as fig-parasites (*Aves*, 590). Philo (*Vita Mosis*, i. 17) says that they were small insects which not only pierced the skin, but set up intolerable itching and penetrated the eyes and nose. Origen describes them as little flying insects (*Hom. in Ex.* iv. 6). That they were not lice in the ordinary sense of the word is shown by their attacking beasts as well as men, for none of the three species of human pediculi will live and multiply freely on animals. It has been argued in favour of the ordinary interpretation that they came out of the dust, but while lice are not generated naturally in dust, the eggs of some species of the common small stinging flies are found in dried pools. Most travellers in Egypt speak of these gnats as one of the most troublesome of pests (see Troilo, 774; Prosper Alpinus, *Hist. Nat. Ægypti*, i. 4. 3; Wittman, ii. 135; Scholz, 93; Lepsius, 93; Russegger, iii. 13; Lane, i. 4, and others). Such flies are always worst after the recession of the inundation in October (Hartmann, i. 250), the larvæ living in pools and the perfect insects emerging as these dry up.

The magicians were unable to cope with these insects or to produce them, as they themselves were attacked by them, so they called them the 'finger of God.' In Egyptian *dd ntru*=the phrase in the text, is found in several papyri (see Papyrus 438 Boulaq), and is used of anything sent by the divinity. The magicians meant thereby that the plague was sent by their own gods, not by Moses.

The account of the plague is imperfect, as there is no mention of Pharaoh's entreaty for its removal, or of Moses' intervention for this purpose; but in the case of the Fourth Plague, that of the *'ārôbh* or 'swarms' ($8^{20ff.}$, P), these lacunæ are supplied. There Moses is recorded to have threatened the infliction, and the LORD is said to have brought up the swarms, and at Pharaoh's entreaty they were afterwards removed. The nature of these pests is not mentioned, nor is there any reference to the magicians. These insects are called by LXX and Symmachus *κυνόμυια*, 'dog-flies,' interpreted by Jerome in the last paragraph of his epistle to Sunnia and Fretela '*omne genus muscarum*,' as if it were *κοινόμυια*. Aquila in Ps 78 calls them *πάμμικτος*, 'a mixed multitude,' a word used of crowds of men by Æschylus, *Persæ*, 53, 'a motley host.' Josephus (*Ant.* II. xiv. 3), Jerus. Targums, Sa'adya, and other Hebrew authorities call them different kinds of pestilent animals, but, as Knobel remarks, some *particular* creature must be meant.

Flies of many kinds abound in Egypt and are common pests, as testified by Sonnini (ii. 320), Carne (i. 77), Rüppell (73), etc. Such swarms are often brought up by the south wind, filling the houses and appearing in clouds. Comparison of the descriptions of these two plagues given in the passage renders it probable that 3 and 4 are both accounts of the one plague given by different writers. Ps 105 groups them together, while Ps 78 makes no mention of the *kinnîm*. With this plague began the sundering of the land of Goshen from the rest of Egypt.

(5) (6) In like manner there is a probable connexion between the Fifth Plague (Ex $9^{1ff.}$, J), the **murrain**, and the Sixth (9^{8}, P), the **boils**. Neither of these is explicitly mentioned in Ps 78 or 106, unless they are the 'evil angels' mentioned between the hail and the tenth plague in the former; and, considering the connexion between disease and demonology in the Jewish mind, this is probable. Plague 5 was heralded by an announcement to Pharaoh, while there was no such for 6. The Fifth was sent directly from the hand of the LORD, while Moses and Aaron are the instruments in the Sixth. It is also explicitly stated that 6 was upon beast as well as man (v.^{10}). All these considerations strengthen the probability that these

are respectively the Jahwistic and Priestly records of the one plague.

The nature of the murrain is not given; it was דֶּבֶר כָּבֵד מְאֹד 'a very grievous pestilence' (see PESTILENCE and PLAGUE, pp. 755, 865), but the word *deber* is too general to give a definite idea of its species. Leyrer has conjectured that it might be anthrax or milzbrand (Herzog, *RE*, viii. p. 251). It was a disease affecting flocks, herds, camels, horses, and asses, evidently very fatal (though v.^{26} shows that 'all' is not literally intended). Severe cattle plagues have been recorded in Egypt by many writers. Pruner says that splenic fever, anthrax, and rinderpest occasionally prevail, and speaks of an epidemic of the last in March 1842, which lasted nine months, and was very destructive, but it did not affect camels or horses. Camels are not very liable to epizootic diseases, but suffer sometimes from tuberculosis, and often from itch (102 ff.). They were, however, at the time of Moses not plentiful in Egypt, if they were found there at all (see Chabas, *Études sur l'Antiquité Historique*, 1873, p. 398 ff.; and Dillm. on Gn 12^{16}). Lepsius mentions the same outbreak of cattle-plague in 1842, which had been fatal to 40,000 oxen (p. 14); and it is also graphically described by Mrs. Poole (*The Englishwoman in Egypt*, i. 59, 114; ii. 32).

We have no mention of the removal of this plague, which probably worked itself out; but immediately succeeding it, if not a part of the same infliction, was the outbreak of the שְׁחִין *shĕḥîn* or 'boils' on mankind and beast. This came without warning, Moses and Aaron being instructed to sprinkle handfuls of the ashes of a furnace towards heaven. Although probably for the most part derived from P, there are signs of the influence of E in v.^{8}. This plague affected all classes, but we do not read that it was very fatal. Its nature has been discussed already in MEDICINE, p. 324, and references to similar diseases in Egypt will be found in Niebuhr (*Descr. d'Arabie*, i. 133). Little blister-like swellings on the skin are described by Döbel (*Wanderungen*, ii. 184); a more severe form is recorded by Berggren (*Reisen in Æg.* ii. 121). Similar diseases are described by Vansleb (*Voyage en Egypte*, 1677, p. 58), Volney (*Travels*, Eng. tr. i. 248), Wittman (who notices the pestilential effects produced by the putrid carcases of camels, horses, etc., around the Ottoman camp, leading to malignant fever, etc., and whose 'Medical Journal' is most valuable), *Travels with the Turkish Army*, 1803; Russegger (i. 247); Seetzen (*Reisen*, iii. 204, 209, 377), etc. In view of the recently discovered capacity of mosquitos and gnats to carry contagion, it is striking to note that disease of man and beast so quickly followed the swarms of flies. Josephus puts the distemper of animals as a supplement to the plagues of the swarms.

(7) (8) Egypt was essentially an agricultural country, as we can gather from the monuments, especially from the tomb-pictures; therefore the two plagues which followed affected the material prosperity of the country in its most vital point. The Plague of the hail was foretold to Pharaoh by Moses at his next interview (9^{18}, J), and by the warning he gave the Egyptians the opportunity of saving their cattle. On the day following, Moses, by God's command, stretched forth his hand to heaven (v.^{22}, E), and the storm of lightning and hail burst over the land, beating down the crops, breaking the trees, and killing the cattle left by the murrain (v.^{25}). Visitations of this kind, though not unexampled, are exceedingly rare in Egypt (see HAIL, vol. ii. p. 282). Pruner saw hail showers only three times in twelve years, and these were slight, while he knew of only one fatal case of lightning stroke in that time (p. 36). Sonnini describes a thunderstorm accompanied by snow (hail?) in January (ii. 133), Niebuhr in December (i. 497), as also Thevenot (i. 344). Wittman says that on 20th November 1801 'we had a tremendous storm of rain, thunder, and lightning, which began at two o'clock and continued near two hours' (p. 577). Another storm occurred in March. Lepsius relates that in December 1843 there was a sudden storm growing into a hurricane 'such as I had never seen in Europe,' and a hail which made the day dark as night (p. 26). Monconys also describes a lightning storm in January (p. 180); Pococke notes lightning and rain in the Fayyum in February (p. 92). Seetzen experienced it also in March (iii. 98); Vansleb heard thunder only twice in Egypt, in January and May 1673 (p. 39).

The destruction of the cattle was due to their being in the field in spite of the warning. Niebuhr says that the herds are put out in the field from January to April (i. 142), and Hartmann that they are generally kept in their stalls from May to the end of November (i. 232). See also Diodorus Siculus, i. 36). The date of this plague is fixed by v.$^{31.\,32}$ (E), which say that it happened when the barley was in the ear and the flax in bud ('bolled,' AV), but the wheat and spelt were not yet in ear, or sufficiently forward to be destroyed. Flax is sown usually in mid-November or December, rarely as late as in January (Russegger, i. 231), and flowers in February (v. Schubert, ii. 137; Forskål, *Flora*, p. xliii) or March (Russegger); it is usually pulled in April (Seetzen, iii. 241), according to Wilkinson about 110 days after sowing. Knobel quotes Sicard for its flowering as early as December, but this must have been exceptional. Denon found the barley in flower in December (p. 143). Sonnini says that the barley is nearly a month earlier than the wheat (ii. p. 20), and Brown, that the wheat is beginning to bud at the end of January (ii. p. 138). Wheat, spelt, and barley are generally sown in November. The barley harvest is early in March, sometimes 90 days after sowing. In Olivier's journey to the Pyramids in April, he found the barley already cut, the flax mostly pulled, but the wheat was ripening (iii. 125). Von Schubert (ii. 175) and Forskål confirm these observations, and state that the barley is ripe by the end of February or beginning of March, while the wheat is not ripe until April (*Flora*, p. xliii). The spelt (AV 'rye') ripens at the same time as the wheat (Forskål, p. xxvi). The deduction from these data is that the plague took place probably about the middle of January. Confirmatory observations as to the ripening of crops in Egypt will be found in Radziwill (*Hierosolymita Peregrinatio*, Brunsberg, 1601, 159), Nordmeyer (*Comment. Calendar Ægypt.*, Göttingen, 1792, 23-29), Shaw (ii. 171).

The Eighth Plague, that of locusts (Ex 10$^{4\text{-}6.\,12\text{-}15}$, J, E) followed while yet the devastation of the last plagues was fresh in the memories of the people, who said to Pharaoh, 'Knowest thou not that Egypt is destroyed?' (v.^{7}). Pharaoh was warned of its imminence, but Moses and Aaron were driven from his presence (v.^{11}). The plague followed the stretching forth of Moses' hand (v.^{12}) or rod (v.^{13}) over the land, and the locusts were brought from the Arabian side by an east wind. The coming of locusts from the East has been mentioned by Shaw, as it was in olden time by Agatharchides (*Mare Rubrum*, ch. v.) and Diodorus (iii. 29). Strabo likewise speaks of the locust-eaters of the Galla country, to whom the west wind drives the great clouds of these insects on which they live, and the unwholesome nature of that food (xvi. p. 772).

The species of locust was the אַרְבֶּה *'arbeh*, or common migratory locust (see above, p. 130^{a}).

The peculiarity of the plague was their coming in such immense numbers, for Egypt is by no means so liable to devastation by locusts as Syria; and they swept clean all the remnants of vegetation that the hail had left, including the wheat and the spelt. The ground was darkened, that is, concealed by the multitude of the locusts. Burckhardt has described such a locust-plague in the Ḥaurân (*Syria*, p. 381). Lepsius also, in March 1843, while engaged in opening a sarcophagus in a mummy pit, was suddenly overshadowed by a cloud of locusts from the south-west, which darkened the heavens (p. 45). Denon saw in May an immense mass of locusts flying from east to west a little over the ground (p. 286). Volney's description of the locust-plague in Syria is well known (i. 305).

At Pharaoh's entreaty Moses prayed for their removal, which was accomplished by a strong wind from the Mediterranean, which swept them into the Red Sea, for, destructive as they are, they are the sport of the winds so much that 'tossed like a locust' is a proverbial expression (Ps 109[23]).

For other references to locusts in Egypt see Tischendorf's *Reise im Orient*, i. 252; Shaw, 165; Hasselquist, 254; Niebuhr, 168; Forskål, 81.

(9) **The Plague of darkness** was sent without warning, and was brought on by Moses stretching forth his hand (10[21-23], E). For three days the land was covered with a palpable cloud which shut out all light from sun, moon, and stars. This condition is described in the words וְיָמֵשׁ חֹשֶׁךְ 'that one may feel (the) darkness' (LXX *ψηλαφητὸν σκότος*). Of this plague there is a graphic account in Wis 17.

It has been supposed that the author of J did not know of this plague, from the words 'only this once' in v.[17], but it may have been immediately after the locusts, as if a part of the same visitation. The condition of darkness referred to is strikingly like that brought about by the severer form of the electrical wind *ḥamsin*. This is a S. or S.W. wind that is so named because it is liable to blow during the 25 days before and the 25 days after the vernal equinox (*ḥamsin*=50). It is often not so much a storm or violent wind as an oppressive hot blast charged with so much sand and fine dust that the air is darkened. It causes a blackness equal to the worst of London fogs, while the air is so hot and full of dust that respiration is impeded. There are excellent accounts of these storms of darkness in Prosper Alpinus, *Medic. Ægypt.* i. 7; Savary, ii. 229; Niebuhr, i. 468; Legh, 48; v. Schubert, ii. 409; Ruppell, 270; Sonnini, ii. 166; Pruner, 35; Wittman, ii. 54; Volney, i. 47; Pococke, i. 306. Denon says that it sometimes travels as a narrow stream, so that one part of the land is light while the rest is dark (p. 286). In such a way the Land of Goshen was left unclouded while the rest of Egypt was dark. As the first plague showed God's power over the river, so did this over the light of the sun, who as *Ra* was one of Egypt's chief deities. At Pharaoh's request this plague was also removed. Three days is not an uncommon duration for the *ḥamsin*.

(10) **The Death of the Firstborn.**—In his last interview with Pharaoh, Moses was dismissed from his presence with the threat of death if he again appeared on behalf of Israel, whereupon he announced God's last judgment (11[4]). The plague followed at midnight on that day. God claimed all the firstborn of humanity as His own, and ordained that in Israel they were to be redeemed by sacrifice (13[13]). In this plague the unredeemed firstborn of Egypt were sacrificed in one great slaughter. It affected all classes from Pharaoh on the throne to the maid at the mill (11[5], J), to the captive in the prison (12[29], J, P) as well as the domestic cattle. By this final catastrophe the obstinacy of Pharaoh was overcome, and, as Moses had foretold, the Egyptians not only freed Israel, but commanded their exodus.

There are many traditional and historical records of sudden outbreaks of plague. See Syncellus (i. 101–103), Diodorus (40), Thucydides (ii. 48), Procopius (ii. 22), etc. Modern outbreaks in the month of April, or a little after the vernal equinox, are reported by Bruce (iii. 715), Sonnini (i. 277), Tobler (*Lustreise*, i. 137), Legh (113). It is worthy of note that many authorities say that the plague often is worst at the time of the *ḥamsin* wind (Prosper Alpin. i. 7; Thevenot, i. 375; v. Schubert, ii. 138; Lane, i. 3; and Pruner, p. 419). The coexistence of cattle disease with the plague is mentioned by Döbel (*Wanderungen*, ii. 205).

The account of this plague bears internal evidence that it is compiled from materials from all three sources.

This catastrophe has been regarded by some as a sudden outbreak of *pestis siderans*, but according to the narrative it cannot have been a natural plague, but on account of the peculiarities in its course and incidence it was evidently a direct interposition, and one the memory of which was meant to have a lasting effect on the conduct of Israel (13[14. 15]).

In reviewing the narratives of these Divine judgments, we have seen not only that there are reasons to believe that they consisted of eight episodes, 1, 2, 3 (4), 5 (6), 7, 8, 9, 10, but that there is a certain thread of connexion running through the series. If the first took place towards the end of the period of high Nile in August, it is probable that the second occurred in September, which is still the month when frogs are most abundant. The insect plagues may conjecturally be supposed to follow in October or November, and the disease plagues in December. The notes of time of the hail-plague give us surer ground to refer it to January. The locusts and the darkness intervened between this and the 14th of Abib (the date of the Exodus).

In some of the series, and possibly in all, it is to be noted that the Divine power used the ordinary seasonal phenomena in a miraculously intensified form as the instrument of judgment. If the narrative of J, which confines the blood-change to the Nile, be taken as the oldest account, it is possible that it may have been due to some special detachment of a dam of vegetable matter like the *Sudd* above referred to. This, with the organisms which must exist in myriads in it, might well have caused the discoloration and fœtor of the waters. Such a mass of organic matter with its concomitant animal life would be the condition under which frogs would multiply rapidly, and may have been the antecedent used to bring about the condition of the Second Plague. The decomposing masses of frogs could not fail to have been the best possible breeding grounds of very many kinds of insects, a veritable 'motley multitude' fulfilling the name of the Fourth Plague. The results of recent bacteriological observations show how great a factor in the spread of disease these insects are, and so 5 and 6 would follow as the sequences of 3 and 4. The Seventh inaugurates a new series, and is followed by the two other plagues, depending on atmospheric conditions. The onset of the east wind brought the locusts, and the shift to the west removed them, while the dropping of the wind to the south-west brought up the dreaded *ḥamsin*, carrying the plague in its train.

In the Apocalyptic visions of the trumpets and vials (Rev 8 ff.) much of the imagery is taken from the story of the Plagues in Egypt.

LITERATURE.—Abd-al-latif, *History of Egypt*, French tr., Paris, 1810; Antes, *Manners and Customs of the Egyptians*, London, 1800; Berggren, *Reisen in Europa u. im Morgenlande*,

Leipzig, 1834; Brown, *Eastern Travels*, Lond. 1753; Bruce, *Travels to discover the Sources of the Nile*, Edinb. 1790; Carne, *Letters from the East*, London; de Maillet, *Description de l'Égypte*, Paris, 1735; Denon, *Voyage dans l'Égypte*, Paris, 1802; Dillmann-Ryssel, *Exodus und Leviticus*, Leipzig, 1897; Döbel, *Wanderungen durch Eur., Asien*, etc., Eisenach, 1851; Eichhorn, 'de Ægypti Anno Mirabili,' in *Comment. Soc. Regiæ Göttingensis*, 1817, iv. p. 35; Forskål, *Descriptio Animalium quæ itinere Orient. observavit.*, Havniæ, 1775, also *Flora Ægyptiaco-Arabica*, Havniæ, 1775; Hartmann, *Comment. de Geographia Africæ*, Götting. 1791; Hasselquist, *Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, Lond. 1766; Knobel, *Exodus*, Leipzig, 1857; Lane, *Modern Egyptians*; Legh, *Narrative of a Journey in Egypt*, London, 1817; Lepsius, *Briefe aus Ægypten*, Berlin, 1852; Monconys, *Journal de ses Voyages*, Lyon. 1665; Niebuhr, *Description d'Arabie*, Amsterdam, 1774; Olivier, *Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman*, etc., Paris, 1801; Pococke, *Description of the East*, Lond. 1743; Pruner, *Krankheiten des Orients*, Erlangen, 1847; Rüppell, *Reise in Nubien*, etc., Frankfort-a.-M. 1829; Russegger, *Reisen in Europa*, etc., Stuttgart, 1841–48; Savary, *Letters on Egypt*, London, 1786; Scholz, *Biblisch-Kritische Reise in Palästina*, Leipzig, 1823; von Schubert, *Reisen in dem Morgenland*, Erlangen, 1838; Seetzen, *Reisen durch Syrien*, etc., Berlin, 1854–59; Shaw, *Travels and Obs. in Barbary*, etc., Oxford, 1738; Sonnini, *Voyages dans l'Égypte*, Paris, 1799; Thevenot, *Travels in the Levant*, London, 1687; Tobler, *Wanderungen nach Palästina*, Gotha. 1859; Tourtechot, Sieur de Granger, *Relation du Voyage fait en Égypte*, Paris, 1745; Troilo, *Orientalische Reisebeschreibung*, 1671; Trotter, *Mission to the Court of Morocco*, Edinburgh, 1881; Vansleb, *Nouvelle Relation d'un Voyage fait en Égypte*, Paris, 1677; Volney, *Travels through Syria and Egypt*, Eng. tr. London, 1787; Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of Ancient Egyptians*, London, 1876; Wittman, *Travels in Egypt with the Turkish Army and the English Mission*, London, 1803. There is very little of value in the Talmudic or Rabbinic literature.

A. MACALISTER.

PLAIN.—This word (as a subst.) stands in AV, in some cases inaccurately, for several very different terms in the Heb., which it has been the aim of RV, though with only partial success, to express and distinguish correctly. The following are the words which are tr^{d} 'plain' in AV:—

1. אָבֵל 'meadow' in Jg 11^{33} ('the plain of the vineyards,' RV 'Abel-cheramim').

2. אֵלוֹן 'oak' (in accordance with an old Jewish interpretation), in 'plain(s) of Moreh,' Gn 12^{6}, Dt 11^{30}, and 'of Mamre,' Gn 13^{18} 14^{13} 18^{1}, RV in each case 'oak(s),' marg. 'terebinth(s)'; also in Jg 4^{11} $9^{6.\,37}$, 1 S 10^{3} (RV as before). See MOREH.

3. בִּקְעָה (from בָּקַע 'to cleave'), *a broad plain between hills* ('a surrounding of hills seems necessary to the name Biḳ'ah, as if land *laid open* in the midst of hills,' *HGHL* 655, where mention is also made of a small upland plain, surrounded by mountains, on the E. of Jordan, called the *Beḳ'a*, or [dimin.] the *Bukei'a*; see also Stanley, *SP*, App. § 5). In AV *biḳ'āh* is rendered 'plain' in Gn 11^{2}, Neh 6^{2} ('the plain of Ono'), Ezk $3^{22.\,23}$, Am 1^{5} (RV 'valley'), Dn 3^{1} (Aram. בִּקְעָא,—'the plain of Dura'). Elsewhere in AV and RV 'valley,' by which, however, must then be understood not a ravine (גַּיְא), but a *broad vale*. The *Biḳ'āhs* mentioned by name in the OT are those of Jericho, Dt 34^{3} ('the Kikkār [see below], (even) the *plain* of Jericho'); of Mizpeh, Jos 11^{8} (prob. the *Merj 'Ayūn*, N.W. of Dan, between the Litāni and the Ḥasbāni); of Lebanon, Jos 11^{17} 12^{7} (probably the broad flat plain between Lebanon and Hermon, even now called in Arabic by a nearly corresponding word, *el-Beḳā'a*); of Megiddo, 2 Ch 35^{22}, Zec 12^{11} (the plain of Esdraelon, girt by hills on all sides; see *HGHL* 385 f.); of Ono, Neh 6^{2} (7 m. S.E. of Joppa); of Aven, Am 1^{5} (the broad plain between Lebanon and Hermon; see AVEN); and of Dura, Dn 3^{1} (near Babylon). *Biḳ'āhs* without names are referred to in Gn 11^{2}, Ezk $3^{22.\,23}$ 8^{4} $37^{1.\,2}$ (in the vision of the dry bones: prob. the same as the *biḳ'āh* of 3^{22} etc.); the word occurs also, without reference to specific localities, in Dt 8^{7} 11^{11}, Ps 104^{8}, Is 40^{4} (see RVm), 41^{18} 63^{14} (all). The retention of the two renderings 'plain' and 'valley' in RV is to be regretted; but it is no doubt due, at least in part, to the fact that there is no exactly corresponding English term. 'Plain' is, on the whole, preferable to 'valley.'

4. כִּכָּר (properly *a round*, *e.g.* of metal, *i.e.* a 'talent,' or of bread, *i.e.* a loaf or round cake), used specifically of the 'round,' or as we should probably say, the 'oval,' of Jordan, the (approximately) oval or oblong basin into which the depression (*el-Ghôr*) through which the Jordan flows expands, as it approaches the N. end of the Dead Sea: it must also, if the 'cities of the *kikkār*' are rightly placed at the S. end of the Dead Sea, have included the Dead Sea itself.[*] The expressions used are 'the *kikkār* of Jordan,' Gn $13^{10.\,11}$, 1 K 7^{46} (=2 Ch 4^{17}), and 'the *kikkār*' alone, Gn 13^{12} $19^{17.\,25.\,28.\,29}$, Dt 34^{3} (cited above), 2 S 18^{23}. The word occurs also, perhaps in the same sense, in Neh 3^{22}; but probably in a more general sense in 12^{28} (see Comm.: AV 'the plain country'). In RV always 'Plain' (usually with a capital P) Cf. *SP* 284, 287, 488; *HGHL* 505 f. No doubt this is the region meant by ἡ περίχωρος τοῦ Ἰορδάνου in Mt 3^{5}; for LXX renders כִּכָּר by ἡ περίχωρος in Gn and 2 Ch (ἡ π. τοῦ Ἰορδάνου in Gn $13^{10.\,11}$), and by τὰ περίχωρα in Dt.

5. מִישׁוֹר *a smooth and level tract of country* (from יָשַׁר 'to be level'): the general meaning of the word appears well from Ps 26^{12} 27^{11} ('a path of *evenness*'), 143^{10} (RVm), also from 1 K $20^{23.\,25}$ (where it is opposed to the 'hills'), Is 40^{4} RVm ('level'; ‖ בִּקְעָה), Zec 4^{7}. With the art., this word is used specifically of the elevated plateau, or table-land, of Reuben or Moab, E. of the Dead Sea, Dt 3^{10} 4^{43}, Jos $13^{9.\,16.\,17.\,21}$ 20^{8}, Jer $48^{8.\,21}$ (in the prophecy on Moab), 2 Ch 26^{10}. AV and RV in all these passages render 'plain,' except Dt 4^{43}, Jer 48^{21} 'plain country,' and 2 Ch 26^{10} AV 'plains.' RV has sometimes the marg. 'Or, *table land*.'

6. עֲרָבָה *steppe* (in poetry, Is $35^{1.\,6}$ 40^{3}, Jer 17^{6} *al.*), with the art., as a proper name, הָעֲרָבָה, the 'Ărābāh, the name given to the gravelly, sandy, and generally unfertile floor of the valley through which the Jordan runs, and which extends southwards to the Gulf of 'Aḳabah (see ARABAH; and *HGHL* 483 f.), now called *el-Ghôr* (the Hollow, or Depression), in AV nearly always 'the plain,' in RV 'the Arábah,' Dt $1^{1.\,7}$ 2^{8} (here of the same valley, S. of the Dead Sea, now *el-'Arăbah*), $3^{17.\,17}$[†] $4^{49.\,49}$ 11^{30} (AV 'the champaign'), Jos 3^{16} 8^{14} (see Dillm.) $11^{2.\,16}$ $12^{1.\,3.\,3.\,8}$ $18^{18.\,18}$ (AV 'Arabah,' RV 'the Arabah'), 1 S 23^{24}, 2 S 2^{29} 4^{7} 15^{28}, 2 K 14^{25} 25^{4} (=Jer 39^{4}=52^{7}), Ezk 47^{8} (AV 'the desert'), Am 6^{14} (AV 'the wilderness'), Zec 14^{10}, RV (fig. of a *level*; MT, however, as Baer shows, points both here and in Is 33^{9} without the art., *i.e.* 'like a steppe'); see also Is 33^{9} RVm.

The same word, in the plural, occurs also in the two expressions, 'the plains—better *steppes*, or *desert parts*—of Moab,' Nu 22^{1} $26^{3.\,63}$ 31^{12} $33^{48.\,49.\,50}$ 35^{1} 36^{13}, Dt 34^{1} (see Driver), v.^{8}, Jos 13^{32}, and 'of Jericho,' Jos 4^{13} 5^{10}, 2 K 25^{5} (Jer 39^{5} 52^{8}), of the parts of the same depression, on the opposite sides of the Jordan, in the latitude of Jericho. In the case of the plur., RV retains the rendering 'plains': in 2 S 15^{28} 17^{16} ('plains of the wilderness'), however, it follows the Kethibh (עַבְרוֹת for עַרְבוֹת), and renders 'fords' (with marg. 'plains'). There may not be a precise English equivalent; but 'plains,' it should be remembered, does not at all express the distinctive idea of the Hebrew word (bare, desolate, and unfertile soil; cf. *HGHL* 483, 485).

7. הַשְּׁפֵלָה (from שָׁפֵל *to be low*), the *lowland*, the technical designation of the low hills and flat valley land stretching down towards the Mediterranean Sea in the W. and S.W. of Judah. This term is in AV rendered 'plain' only in Jer 17^{26}, Ob ^{19}, Zec 7^{7}; 'low plains' in 1 Ch 27^{28}, 2 Ch 9^{27}; 'vale' in Dt 1^{7}, Jos 10^{40}, 1 K 10^{27}, 2 Ch 1^{15}, Jer

---

[*] Cf. under LOT, pp. 150, 151.

[†] Here, as also 4^{49b}, Jos 3^{16} 12^{3b}, 2 K 14^{25}, the 'Sea of the Arabah,' *i.e.* the Dead Sea; cf. Ezk 47^{8}, Am 6^{14}.

33^{13}; 'valley(s)' in Jos 9^{1} $11^{2.16.16}$ 12^{8} 15^{33}, Jg 1^{9}, Jer 32^{44}; 'low country' in 2 Ch 26^{10} 28^{18}: in RV it is rendered uniformly 'lowland.' The reference in all these passages is the same, except in Jos $11^{2.16b}$, where the context shows that a locality further to the N. must be intended, probably a group of similar low hills, between Carmel and the high central range of Samaria (*HGHL* 49 and 203 n.). The LXX represents השפלה mostly by ἡ πεδινή (cf. 1 Mac 3^{40}), but by ἡ Σεφηλα in Jer 32^{44}, 33^{13}, Ob ^{19}, 2 Ch 26^{10}, which also occurs in 1 Mac 12^{38} (AV 'Sephela,' RV 'the plain country').

The region commonly known as 'the Shephēlāh' must have been a fairly definite one: in Jos 15^{33-44} it forms a distinct district of Judah (side by side with the 'Negeb,' v.$^{21ff.}$, the 'hill country,' v.$^{48ff.}$, and the 'wilderness,' v.$^{61f.}$), and 39 (40) Judahite cities contained in it are enumerated, those at present identified being (beginning at the N.) Gimzo (a little S.E. of Lydda), Aijalon, Gedērah, Eshtaol, Ẓor'ah, Beth-shemesh, 'En-gannim, Ẓanoaḥ, Jarmuth, Socoh, 'Adullam, Marēshah, 'Eglon and Lachish (W.S.W. of Marēshah), and Beth-tappuaḥ (a little W. of Ḥebron): Adida (included in it in 1 Mac 12^{38}) is a little N. of Gimzo (Ḥaditheh); Emmaus (*ib.* 3^{40}) is very near Aijalon; and Timnah (2 Ch 28^{18}) is close to 'En-gannim. All these cities are between the high central range of Judah on the E. and the Philistine plain on the W. The W. limit of the 'Shephēlāh' has, however, been disputed. It has generally (*e.g.* by Dillm. on Jos 15^{33}) been held to include the Philistine plain, and the Phil. cities are certainly enumerated after those of Judah in Jos 15^{45-47}; on the other hand, Ob ^{19}, Zec 7^{7}, and 2 Ch 28^{18} imply that it was outside the Phil. territory. Hence G. A. Smith insists strongly that though the term may sometimes have been used more widely, it was limited more properly to the intermediate region indicated above, consisting of a mass of 'low hills,' varied often by stretches of 'flat valley land,' which, as viewed from the Phil. plain and the sea, appear 'buttressing the central range all the way along,' but which are separated from it in fact by a well-defined series of valleys, running from Aijalon to near Beer-sheba' (*HGHL* 49, 211 ff.; cf. Buhl's criticism, *Geogr.* 104, with Smith's reply, *Expositor*, Dec. 1896, pp. 404–406). This 'maze' of hills 'curves round the Phil. plain from Jaffa to Gaza like an amphitheatre': it is pierced by five important valleys running up from the plain into the heart of Judah: viz. (1) the road from Joppa and Lydda, through the hollow Vale (עֵמֶק) of Aijalon, and then up through the hills, past the two Beth-ḥorons, to Gibe'on and Michmash; (2) the Wādy eṣ-Ṣurār, or valley (נַחַל) of Soreḳ, up past Beth-shemesh and Ḳiriath-je'arim, to Jerusalem (the course taken by the modern railway from Jaffa); (3) the Wādy eṣ-Sunṭ, leading up from Tell eṣ-Ṣāfi, through the Vale (עֵמֶק) of Elah, past Socoh, and then either up the Wādy el-Jindy to Bethleḥem, or (turning S.) along the Wādy eṣ-Ṣur, past 'Adullam, to Ḳe'ilah; (4) the Wādy el-Afranj leading up from Ashdod, past Eleutheropolis, to Beth-tappuaḥ and Ḥebron; and (5) the Wādy el-Ḥesy, starting a little N. of Gaza, passing Lachish, and leading up to a point 6 miles S.W. of Ḥebron. The historical and strategical importance of these valleys is well drawn out in *HGHL* 209–236: the first, especially, is a route along which have passed many times the hosts of both invading and defeated foes.

8. τόπος πεδινός, Lk 6^{17}; RV 'a level place.'

Of the words rendered 'plain,' even in RV (Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6), each, it will now be seen, has a definite and distinctive meaning of its own: the environs of Jericho are indeed described (from different points of view) as a *kikkār*, a *biḳ'āh*, and *'ărābōth*; but the *mishōr*, for instance, could never have been called a *biḳ'āh*, nor could a *biḳ'āh*, speaking generally, have been called an *'ărābāh*; and the 'plain' (*mishōr*) inhabited by the Moabites (Jer 48^{8}) was geographically quite distinct from the 'plains' (*'ărābōth*) of Moab. The only term which really corresponds completely to our 'plain' is *mishōr*.

S. R. DRIVER.

PLAIN.—The only unfamiliar occurrence of the adj. is in Gn 25^{27} 'Jacob was a plain man, dwelling in tents.' As RVm ('or *quiet* or *harmless*, Heb. *perfect*') shows, the Heb. (תָּם) is the epithet so frequently applied to Job and tr^{d} 'perfect' (Job 1^{1-8} 2^{3} 8^{20} $9^{20.21}$; cf. 9^{22}, Ps 37^{37} 64^{4}). The idea expressed by the word is completeness or flawlessness. 'In the present context,' says Dillmann, 'it can neither mean morally blameless nor ἄπλαστος, ἁπλοῦς, *simplex*, simple, unsophisticated; for Jacob, in what follows, appears always, on the contrary, as sly and cunning.' He compares the German *fromm* (pious), and considers the meaning to be ἥμερος, 'quiet' or 'peaceful,' in antithesis to 'wild.' The tr. 'plain' is from the Geneva Bible, which has the marg. alternative 'simple and innocent.' 'Simple' is Tindale's word, and the marg. note in Matthew's Bible reads, 'He is simple that is without craft and decept and contynueth in belevyng and executynge of godes wyll.'

J. HASTINGS.

PLANE TREE.—Gn 30^{37}, Ezk 31^{8}, AV 'chestnut,' Sir 24^{14}. See CHESTNUT.

PLANT, PLANTS.—See NATURAL HISTORY.

PLAY.—The verb to play had a wider use formerly than now. Tindale has: Ex 1^{10} 'Come on, let us playe wisely with them, lest they multiply'; Ex 5^{5} 'Beholde, there is much people in the londe, and ye make them playe and let their worke stonde'; Ex 10^{2} 'the pagiantes which I have played in Egipte, and the miracles which I have done amonge them.' And in AV to 'play' is used in the sense of to 'sport,' not only of 'boys and girls' (Zec 8^{5}) or a 'sucking child' (Is 11^{8}), but of men and women in worship. Thus Ex 32^{6} 'The people sat down to eat and to drink, and rose up to play' (לְצַחֵק,* quoted in 1 Co 10^{8} παίζειν); 1 S 18^{7} 'The women answered one another as they played' (הַמְשַׂחֲקוֹת,† RV 'in their play'); 2 S 6^{5} 'And David and all the house of Israel played before the Lord on all manner of instruments made of fir wood [or, better, 'with all their might, even with songs,' reading, with parallel passage in 1 Ch, בְּכָל־עֹז וּבְשִׁירִים instead of בְּכֹל עֲצֵי בְרוֹשִׁים], even on harps,' etc. (the playing here is not playing *on* the instruments as AV, but sporting and dancing to the accompaniment of the music on the instruments, as shown in 1 Ch 13^{8}; RV 'with all manner of instruments'). See GAMES.

The phrase 'play the man' occurs in 2 S 10^{12} 'Be of good courage, and let us play the men for our people' (חֲזַק וְנִתְחַזֵּק, LXX ἀνδρίζου καὶ κραταιωθῶμεν), a phrase which comes from the Douay Bible, where, however, it is the tr. of the first

---

* This verb צחק in its Qal conjug. is the usual verb in Gn (where alone it is found) meaning to laugh (Gn 17^{17} $18^{12.13.15\,bis}$ 21^{6}); in its Piel conjug. it occurs Gn 19^{14} 21^{9} (RVm 'play') $39^{14.17}$ (followed by בְּ) where it is tr. 'mock'; 26^{8} 'sport'; and Jg 16^{25} 'make sport.'

† This, a later form of צחק, is the verb translated 'play' (in the sense of sport) throughout the rest of OT (except Is 11^{8} 'the sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp,' שִׁעֲשַׁע), 1 S 18^{7}, 2 S 2^{14} $6^{5.21}$, 1 Ch 13^{8} 15^{29}, Job 40^{20} 41^{5} (here and in the following passage with בְּ = 'play with.' Followed by לְ, שחק means 'mock at,' *e.g.* Ps 37^{13} 59^{8}, Pr 31^{25}, Job 5^{22}. Margoliouth surely forgets this when [p. 17 of *The Origin of the 'Original Hebrew' of Ecclesiasticus*] he renders לְ שחק 'played with'), Ps 104^{26}, Zec 8^{5}.

Heb. word, 'Play the man, and let us fight for our people,' after Vulg. 'Esto vir fortis et pugnemus.' The phrase is not uncommon, especially in echoes of this passage, as Foxe, *Martyrs*, vii. 550, 'At the stake Latimer exhorted his fellow-sufferer, Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man'; Herbert, 'The Church Porch,' lxxvii.—

> 'In brief, acquit thee bravely, play the man:
> Look not on pleasures as they come, but go;
> Deferre not the least virtue: life's poore span
> Make not an ell by trifling in thy wo.'

J. HASTINGS.

PLEAD.—To plead in AV never means to pray or beseech, but always to argue for or against a cause. Thus Job 16^{21} 'O that one might plead for a man with God,' and 19^{5} 'If indeed ye will magnify yourselves against me, and plead against me my reproach.' The verb most frequently tr. 'plead' is רִיב, which is also rendered 'contend,' 'strive with' or 'strive against,' etc. It is the verb used in Job 13^{19} 'Who is he that will plead with me' (RV 'contend with me'); Is 1^{17} 'Plead for the widow'; 3^{13} 'The Lord standeth up to plead'; Jer 2^{9} 'I will yet plead with you, saith the Lord'; 2^{29} 'Wherefore will ye plead with me?'; Hos 2^{2} 'Plead with your mother, plead.' Amer. RV usually prefers 'contend.'

The subst. 'pleading' has the same meaning in Job 13^{6} 'Hearken to the pleadings of my lips' (רִבוֹת).

Plead is to be traced back to Lat. *placitum*, an opinion (fr. *placere*, to please); in Low Lat. a writ summoning a court of justice, in the form *quia tale est nostrum placitum*, 'for such is our pleasure.' Then *placitum* came to mean the court so convened, and also the pleading or business done at it. *Placitum* became *plait* in Fr., whence Eng. 'plea' and 'plead.' An older spelling of plead is 'pleate,' found in Ps 35^{1}, Pr. Bk. (in mod. editions printed 'plead'). J. HASTINGS.

PLEASURE as a verb is found in 2 Mac 2^{27} 'for the pleasuring of many' (*διὰ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν εὐχαριστίαν*, AVm 'to deserve well of many,' RV 'for the sake of the gratitude of the many'); and 12^{11} 'promising both to give him cattle, and to pleasure him otherwise' (*ὠφελήσειν αὐτούς*, RV 'to help his people'). The Rhemish translators speak (on Lk 16^{9}) of 'the farmers whom the il steward pleasured.' Cf. Shaks. *Timon*, III. ii. 63—'I count it one of my greatest afflictions that I cannot pleasure such an honourable gentleman.' J. HASTINGS.

PLEDGE.—1. חֲבֹל (once Ezk 18^{7} חֲבֹלָה) noun, חָבַל verb (LXX *ἐνεχύρασμα, -μός, ἐνεχυράζω*). The primary meaning of this root is 'to bind,' hence 'to hold one by a pledge.' The taking of a pledge for the repayment of a loan was sanctioned by the Law (Ex 22^{26} [Book of the Covenant], cf. Dt $24^{6.\,10\text{ff.}}$, where, however, in v.$^{10\text{ff.}}$ the term for 'pledge' is עֲבֹט, see below); but it was enacted that when this pledge consisted of the large square outer garment or cloak called *simlah* or *salmah*, it must be returned before nightfall, since this garment often formed the only covering of the poor at night (cf. the reproaches uttered in Am 2^{8}, Job 22^{6} 24^{9}, and see Ezk $18^{6.\,12.\,16}$ 33^{15}). In Pr 20^{16} we read, 'Take his garment that is surety for a stranger, and hold him in pledge (AV and RVm 'take a pledge of him') *that is surety* for strangers' (m. 'a strange woman' [following *Ḳerê*], so AV, omitting 'that is surety'). The same saying recurs in 27^{13}, where both AV and RV have 'a strange woman.' The Heb. reads לְקַח־בִּגְדוֹ כִּי־עָרַב זָר וּבְעַד נָכְרִיָּה (נָכְרִים) חַבְלֵהוּ; LXX of 27^{13} (20^{16} is wanting) *ἀφελοῦ τὸ ἱμάτιον αὐτοῦ, παρῆλθεν γάρ· ὑβριστὴς ὅστις τὰ ἀλλότρια λυμαίνεται.* This appears to be a reflection on the folly (cf. Pr 22^{27}) of becoming responsible for another man's debt (see Toy, *ad loc.*, who would read, 'for a stranger *or* strangers' [masc. sing. or plur., not fem. sing.] in both passages). It was forbidden to 'take the mill or the upper millstone to pledge,' as this was tantamount to taking 'a man's life to pledge,' Dt 24^{6} (see Driver's note). A similar provision is found in v.^{17}, which forbids taking the widow's garment (בֶּגֶד) in pledge; cf. Job 24^{3}, where the taking of the widow's ox is condemned.

2. עֲבֹט occurs four times, Dt $24^{10.\,11.\,12.\,13}$ (LXX *ἐνέχυρον*). In vv.$^{10.\,11}$ it is prescribed that when an Israelite lends to his neighbour on the security of a pledge, he is not to go into the house for the purpose of fetching his pledge, but the borrower is to have the right of selecting the article. Vv.$^{12.\,13}$ contain the same provision as Ex $22^{26\text{f.}}$ (see above). The primary sense of the root עבט (Qal 'borrow or pledge,' LXX *δανείζομαι*; Hiph. 'lend on pledge,' LXX *δανείζω*) is doubtful.

The word 'pledge' is also introduced by RV in Hab 2^{6} as tr. of עַבְטִיט in the phrase וּמַכְבִּיד עָלָיו עַבְטִיט (LXX *καὶ βαρύνων τὸν κλοιὸν αὐτοῦ στιβαρῶς*): RV 'and that ladeth himself with pledges' (*sc.* which he has taken from the nations, and whose restitution is at last compelled [cf. Job $20^{10.\,15.\,20}$]). AV 'thick clay' and Vulg. *lutum denseum* are due to understanding עַבְטִיט as two words, עַב (constr.) and טִיט 'clay,' cf. Ex 19^{9} בְּעַב הֶעָנָן 'in a thick cloud.'

3. ערב, Qal and Hithp., 'to be surety,' 'to give a pledge,' 'to make a wager.' Thus in 2 K 18^{23} = Is 36^{8} the Rabshakeh says in his message to Hezekiah, 'Now, therefore, I pray thee, give pledges (AVm 'hostages') to my master the king of Assyria' (הִתְעָרֶב, *μίχθητε*). The correct sense is undoubtedly that given in RVm 'make a wager,' by handing over a pledge to be forfeited in case of failure to furnish men to mount the 2000 horses offered by the Assyrian king. The noun עֲרֻבָּה is tr. 'pledge' in 1 S 17^{18} 'Look how thy brethren fare and take their pledge' (אֶת־עֲרֻבָּתָם תִּקָּח, A *ὅσα ἂν χρήζωσιν γνώσῃ*, Luc. *καὶ εἰσοίσεις μοι τὴν ἀγγελίαν αὐτῶν*), *i.e.* 'bring back some token of their welfare' (Driver), which had probably been agreed upon beforehand. This yields an excellent sense, and there appears to be no sufficient reason (with many scholars, including H. P. Smith) to doubt the correctness of the MT. The cognate form עֵרָבוֹן (LXX *ἀρραβών*, cf. the NT use of this word for the 'earnest' of the Spirit in 2 Co 1^{22} 5^{5}, Eph 1^{14}; see art. EARNEST) is used in Gn $38^{17.\,18.\,20}$ of the pledge (consisting of his staff and signet ring) which Judah gave to Tamar as security for the fulfilment of his promise to send her a kid. J. A. SELBIE.

PLEIADES.—The three passages (Am 5^{8}, Job 9^{9} 38^{31}) which contain the proper noun כְּסִיל (*Kĕsîl*, Orion) also mention כִּימָה (*Kîmā*), and the Eng. Versions have in each case taken the latter to be the Pleiades, their rendering, 'the seven stars,' in the first of these passages, obviously pointing to the asterism which they call Pleiades in the other two.* The Pleiades are a group of stars, seven larger and some smaller, in the constellation of the Bull, near the ecliptic, belonging to the northern hemisphere. To the ancients the rising and setting of this group announced respectively the beginning and end of the season of navigation. Hence their name is usually derived from the Greek *πλέω*, 'to sail,' though others would connect it with *πλέος*, 'full,' and understand the reference to be to their being apparently closely packed together. Josephus, in one of his rare references to astronomical phenomena, employs 'the setting of the Pleiades' to mark a date (*Ant.* XIII. viii. 2). The common Arabic name for these stars is *el-negm*, *i.e.* the star group *par excellence*, because they serve the nomads and peasants as calendar and time-measurer, especially by their monthly conjunctions with the moon. It has been shown recently that in Egypt the rising of the Pleiades was watched for astronomical purposes 'even in pyramid times,' and that three Greek temples—the archaic temple to Minerva at Athens (B.C. 1530), the Hecatompedon (B.C. 1150), on whose site the Parthenon was subsequently built, and the temple of Minerva at Sunium (B.C. 845)—were orientated, the first two to the rising and the third to the setting of η Tauri in the Pleiades [see Lockyer, pp. 418, 419].

---

* Lockyer, *The Dawn of Astronomy*, p. 134, remarks: 'The seven stars are held by many to mean the Pleiades, and not the Great Bear; but this, I think, is very improbable.' Yet Lockyer has admitted, p. 133, that the Pleiades are mentioned in Job 38^{31}, and there is no good reason why the original word should have diverse senses in the two passages.

The verb *kûm*, from which *Kîmā* must be derived, is not found in biblical Hebrew. In Syriac the cognate verb is frequently employed in the sense of 'heaping up.' In Arabic *kumat* = 'a heap.' In Assyrian *kimtu* = 'a family.' The name *Kîmā* would thus seem peculiarly appropriate to the Pleiades. The ancient VSS of the Bible, though somewhat wavering, are on the whole in favour of the identification. The LXX at Job 9⁹ has Ἀρκτοῦρον, at Job 38³¹ Πλειάδα, at Am 5⁸ it follows a corrupt text. The Pesh. and the Targ. retain the Hebrew word. Aq., Symm., and Theod. all use Πλειάδα at Am 5⁸. Jerome varies between *Hyades* (Job 9⁹), *Pleiades* (Job 38³¹), and *Arcturus* (Am 5⁸). An attempt has been made by Hoffmann ('Versuche zu Amos,' *ZATW*, 1883) to prove that *Kîmā* is Sirius. The chief arguments are that Sirius, Orion, the Hyades, and the Pleiades—the order which, on this interpretation, is followed at Job 38³¹·³²—are ranged in the sky in this order, almost in a straight line; and, moreover, that an accurate picture of natural phenomena is thus obtained. 'Dost thou keep bound the refreshing influences of Sirius, and dost thou let loose the outpourings of Orion?' The reference would then be to the rise and overflow of the Nile, which was heralded each year by the heliacal rising of Sirius on the day of the summer solstice. But this interpretation depends partly on the conjectural alteration of the word מוֹשְׁכוֹת into מסכות, which we have felt constrained to reject [see art. ORION], and partly on a mistaken derivation and explanation of מַעֲדַנּוֹת (LXX δεσμόν), which does not mean outpourings, but 'bands,' 'links,' 'knots.'

As might have been expected, this conspicuous group of stars arrested the attention and exercised the imagination of many peoples. The Australian saw in them a group of girls playing the corroboree. The North American Indian thought of them as dancers. There is some reason for believing that at one time in Egypt they were connected with Isis. The Greeks represented them as sisters flying before Orion: the maidens prayed for deliverance from the giant hunter, and were heard by the gods, who changed them into doves, and placed them amongst the stars. In this mythology their names are Electra, Maia, Taygete, Alcyone, Celæno, Sterope, and Merope. The Arabs pictured them as a group of riders mounted on camels; and Wetzstein (in App. to Delitzsch's *Book of Job*) points out that they named the star immediately in front of the cluster *ḥadi*, *i.e.* the singer who rides in front of a troop of camels and stimulates them to swift movement by his song. The Persians compare them to a cluster of jewels or a necklace. Their mention in the Bible has no mythological tinge. At Am 5⁸, Job 9⁹, the constellations are adduced as forming part of that wonderful complex of creation the existence of which bears testimony to the Maker's almightiness. At Job 38³¹ they are signs of the seasons, and the recurrence of these seasons year by year is altogether beyond the control of man. He cannot tie the bands which hold this group together—another proof of that impotence which should lead him willingly to submit to God.

LITERATURE.—Hoffmann's article quoted above; Cheyne, *Job and Solomon*, 1887, p. 290; Cox, *Book of Job*, 1885, p. 518; Delitzsch, *Book of Job*, Eng. tr. 1866; Com. on *Job* by A. B. Davidson (1884), or E. C. S. Gibson (1899). Duhm, *Das Buch Hiob*, 1897, follows Gustav Bickell, *Das Buch Job*, 1894, in omitting the verse Job 9⁹ from the text.

THE END OF VOL. III.

A
Dictionary of the Bible

VOLUME IV

PREFACE

IN issuing the last volume of the DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE, the Editor desires to record his sense of the goodness of God in enabling him to carry it through to the end, and to beseech His blessing on the use of it, that His Name may be glorified. He desires also very heartily to thank all those who have been associated with him in its production. He thanks the Publishers for their confidence at the beginning, for the liberty they have left him, and for the perfect courtesy of all their intercourse with him. He thanks the Printers also, Messrs. MORRISON & GIBB, and their employees, for their skilful workmanship and their patient personal interest. And he thanks all the Authors. Chosen because they were believed to be able to give the best account of the subjects entrusted to them, they have done their work in such a way as to vindicate their choice; while the relations between them and the Editor have been most agreeable throughout. He thanks them all, but especially those with whom he has been most closely associated in the oversight of the work—Dr. JOHN A. SELBIE, Dr. S. R. DRIVER, Dr. H. B. SWETE, and Dr. W. SANDAY. There is another, Dr. A. B. DAVIDSON, but he has passed beyond the voice of earthly gratitude.

⁂ While this volume completes the DICTIONARY as announced, an Extra Volume is in preparation, to contain Indexes and certain subsidiary articles of importance.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

I. General

Alex. = Alexandrian.
Apoc. = Apocalypse.
Apocr. = Apocrypha.
Aq. = Aquila.
Arab. = Arabic.
Aram. = Aramaic.
Assyr. = Assyrian.
Bab. = Babylonian.
c. = *circa*, about.
Can. = Canaanite.
cf. = compare.
ct. = contrast.
D = Deuteronomist.
E = Elohist.
edd. = editions or editors.
Egyp. = Egyptian.
Eng. = English.
Eth. = Ethiopic.
f. = and following verse or page; as Ac $10^{34f.}$
ff. = and following verses or pages; as Mt $11^{28ff.}$
Gr. = Greek.
H = Law of Holiness.
Heb. = Hebrew.
Hel. = Hellenistic.
Hex. = Hexateuch.
Isr. = Israelite.
J = Jahwist.
J″ = Jehovah.
Jerus. = Jerusalem.
Jos. = Josephus.
LXX = Septuagint.
MSS = Manuscripts.
MT = Massoretic Text.
n. = note.
NT = New Testament.
Onk. = Onkelos.
OT = Old Testament.
P = Priestly Narrative.
Pal. = Palestine, Palestinian.
Pent. = Pentateuch.
Pers. = Persian.
Phil. = Philistine.
Phœn. = Phœnician.
Pr. Bk. = Prayer Book.
R = Redactor.
Rom. = Roman.
Sam. = Samaritan.
Sem. = Semitic.
Sept. = Septuagint.
Sin. = Sinaitic.
Symm. = Symmachus.
Syr. = Syriac.
Talm. = Talmud.
Targ. = Targum.
Theod. = Theodotion.
TR = Textus Receptus.
tr. = translate or translation.
VSS = Versions.
Vulg. = Vulgate.
WH = Westcott and Hort's text.

II. Books of the Bible

Old Testament.

Gn = Genesis.
Ex = Exodus.
Lv = Leviticus.
Nu = Numbers.
Dt = Deuteronomy.
Jos = Joshua.
Jg = Judges.
Ru = Ruth.
1 S, 2 S = 1 and 2 Samuel.
1 K, 2 K = 1 and 2 Kings.
1 Ch, 2 Ch = 1 and 2 Chronicles.
Ezr = Ezra.
Neh = Nehemiah.
Est = Esther.
Job.
Ps = Psalms.
Pr = Proverbs.
Ec = Ecclesiastes.
Ca = Canticles.
Is = Isaiah.
Jer = Jeremiah.
La = Lamentations.
Ezk = Ezekiel.
Dn = Daniel.
Hos = Hosea.
Jl = Joel.
Am = Amos.
Ob = Obadiah.
Jon = Jonah.
Mic = Micah.
Nah = Nahum.
Hab = Habakkuk.
Zeph = Zephaniah.
Hag = Haggai.
Zec = Zechariah.
Mal = Malachi.

Apocrypha.

1 Es, 2 Es = 1 and 2 Esdras.
To = Tobit.
Jth = Judith.
Ad. Est = Additions to Esther.
Wis = Wisdom.
Sir = Sirach or Ecclesiasticus.
Bar = Baruch.
Three = Song of the Three Children.
Sus = Susanna.
Bel = Bel and the Dragon.
Pr. Man = Prayer of Manasses.
1 Mac, 2 Mac = 1 and 2 Maccabees.

New Testament.

Mt = Matthew.
Mk = Mark.
Lk = Luke.
Jn = John.
Ac = Acts.
Ro = Romans.
1 Co, 2 Co = 1 and 2 Corinthians.
Gal = Galatians.
Eph = Ephesians.
Ph = Philippians.
Col = Colossians.
1 Th, 2 Th = 1 and 2 Thessalonians.
1 Ti, 2 Ti = 1 and 2 Timothy.
Tit = Titus.
Philem = Philemon.
He = Hebrews.
Ja = James.
1 P, 2 P = 1 and 2 Peter.
1 Jn, 2 Jn, 3 Jn = 1, 2, and 3 John.
Jude.
Rev = Revelation.

III. English Versions

Wyc. = Wyclif's Bible (NT *c.* 1380, OT *c.* 1382, Purvey's Revision *c.* 1388).
Tind. = Tindale's NT 1526 and 1534, Pent. 1530.
Cov. = Coverdale's Bible 1535.
Matt. or Rog. = Matthew's (*i.e.* prob. Rogers') Bible 1537.
Cran. or Great = Cranmer's 'Great' Bible 1539.
Tav. = Taverner's Bible 1539.
Gen. = Geneva NT 1557, Bible 1560.
Bish. = Bishops' Bible 1568.
Tom. = Tomson's NT 1576.
Rhem. = Rhemish NT 1582.
Dou. = Douay OT 1609.
AV = Authorized Version 1611.
AVm = Authorized Version margin.
RV = Revised Version NT 1881, OT 1885.
RVm = Revised Version margin.
EV = Auth. and Rev. Versions.

IV. For the Literature

AHT = Ancient Hebrew Tradition.
AJSL = American Journal of Sem. Lang. and Literature.
AJTh = American Journal of Theology.
AT = Altes Testament.
BL = Bampton Lecture.
BM = British Museum.
BRP = Biblical Researches in Palestine.
CIG = Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum.
CIL = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
CIS = Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum.
COT = Cuneiform Inscriptions and the OT.
DB = Dictionary of the Bible.
EHH = Early History of the Hebrews.
GAP = Geographie des alten Palästina.
GGA = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
GGN = Nachrichten der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.
GJV = Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes.
GVI = Geschichte des Volkes Israel.
HCM = Higher Criticism and the Monuments.
HE = Historia Ecclesiastica.
HGHL = Historical Geog. of Holy Land.
HI = History of Israel.
HJP = History of the Jewish People.
HPM = History, Prophecy, and the Monuments.
HPN = Hebrew Proper Names.
IJG = Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte.
JBL = Journal of Biblical Literature.
JDTh = Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie.
JQR = Jewish Quarterly Review.
JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JRL = Jewish Religious Life after the Exile.
JThSt = Journal of Theological Studies.
KAT = Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Test.
KGF = Keilinschriften u. Geschichtsforschung.
KIB = Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek.
LCBl = Literarisches Centralblatt.
LOT = Introd. to the Literature of the Old Test.
NHWB = Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch.
NTZG = Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte.
ON = Otium Norvicense.
OP = Origin of the Psalter.
OTJC = The Old Test. in the Jewish Church.
PB = Polychrome Bible.
PEF = Palestine Exploration Fund.
PEFSt = Quarterly Statement of the same.
PSBA = Proceedings of Soc. of Bibl. Archæology.
PRE = Real-Encyclopädie für protest. Theologie und Kirche.
QPB = Queen's Printers' Bible.
RB = Revue Biblique.
REJ = Revue des Études Juives.
RP = Records of the Past.
RS = Religion of the Semites.
SBOT = Sacred Books of Old Test.
SK = Studien und Kritiken.
SP = Sinai and Palestine.
SWP = Memoirs of the Survey of W. Palestine.
ThL or *ThLZ* = Theol. Literaturzeitung.
ThT = Theol. Tijdschrift.
TS = Texts and Studies.
TSBA = Transactions of Soc. of Bibl. Archæology.
TU = Texte und Untersuchungen.
WAI = Western Asiatic Inscriptions.
WZKM = Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes.
ZA = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.
ZAW or *ZATW* = Zeitschrift für die Alttest. Wissenschaft.
ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
ZDPV = Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
ZKSF = Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung.
ZKW = Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft.
ZNTW = Zeitschrift für die Neutest. Wissenschaft.

A small superior number designates the particular edition of the work referred to, as *KAT*^{2}, *LOT*^{6}.

MAP IN VOLUME IV

Canaan as divided among the Twelve Tribes . . . *facing page* 1

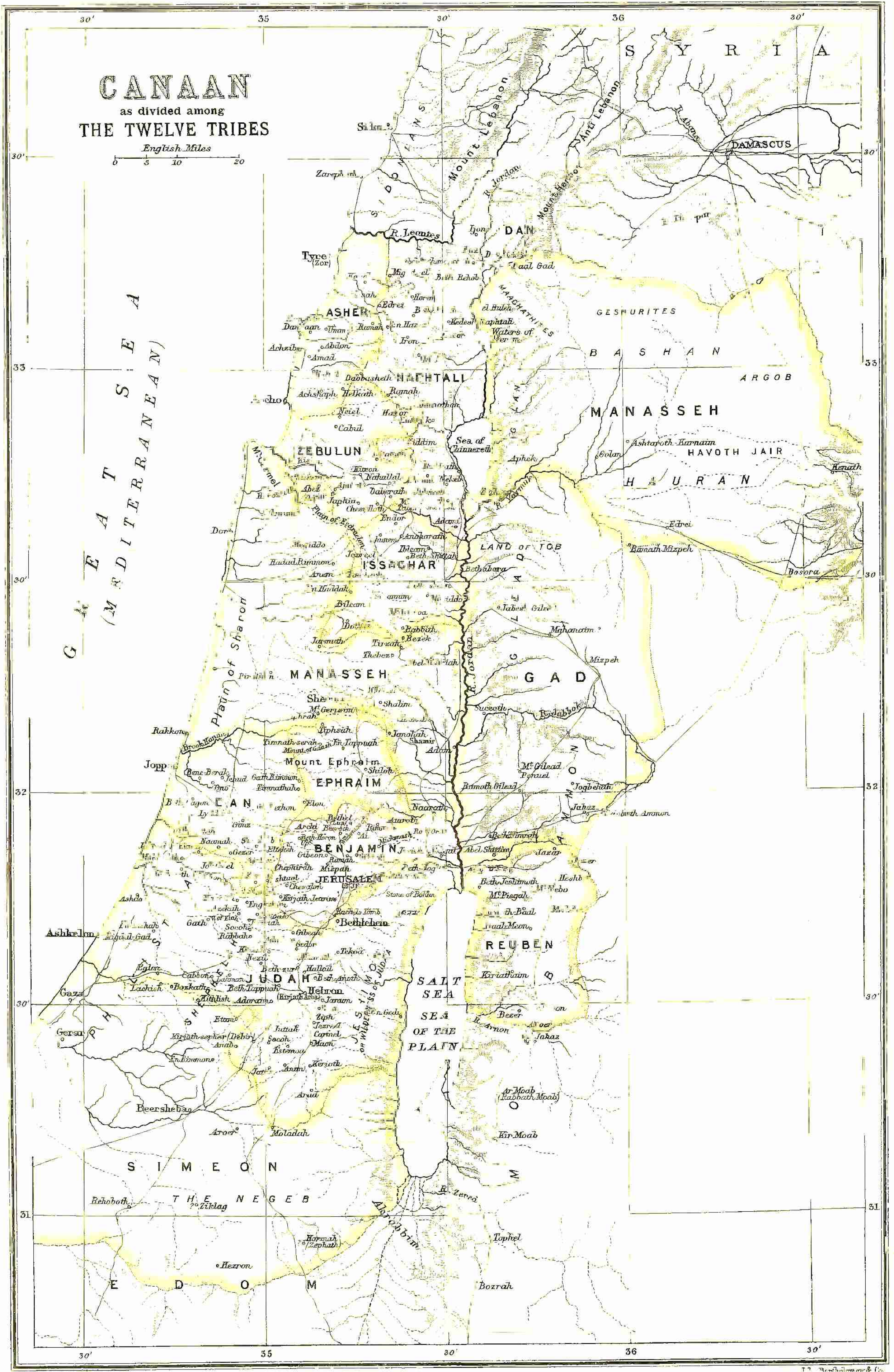

CANAAN
as divided among
THE TWELVE TRIBES

English Miles

0 5 10 20
SYRIA
DAMASCUS
Mount Lebanon
Anti Lebanon
Mount Hermon
R. Abana
R. Jordan
SIDONIANS
Sidon
Zarephath
R. Leontes
Tyre (Zor)
DAN
Ijon
Baal Gad
Beth Rehob
MAACHATHITES
GESHURITES
BASHAN
ARGOB
MANASSEH
HAVOTH JAIR
Ashtaroth Karnaim
Golan
HAURAN
Kenath
Edrei
Ramath Mizpeh
Bosora
ASHER
Achzib
Abdon
Accho
Achshaph
Helkath
Cabul
Kedesh
Waters of Merom
Hazor
NAPHTALI
Sea of Chinnereth
Aphek
R. Yarmuk
ZEBULUN
Mt. Carmel
Nahallal
Daberath
Japhia
Endor
Plain of Esdraelon
Dor
Megiddo
Jezreel
ISSACHAR
Beth Shittah
Hadad Rimmon
LAND OF TOB
GILEAD
Jabesh Gilead
Mahanaim
Mizpeh
Bileam
Bezek
Tirzah
Thebez
Jarmuth
Plain of Sharon
MANASSEH
GAD
Shechem
Mt. Gerizim
Shalim
Succoth
R. Jabbok
Tiphsah
Rakkon
Brook Kanah
Timnath-serah
En Tappuah
Janohah
Shamir
Adam
Joppa
Mount Ephraim
Shiloh
EPHRAIM
Mt. Gilead
Penuel
Jogbehah
AMMON
Bene-Berak
Jehud
Gath Rimmon
Ono
Timnathah
Ramoth Gilead
Rabbath Ammon
DAN
Elon
Naarath
Bethel
Ai
Jahaz
Gimzo
Beth-Horon
Gibeon
Ramah
Mizpah
BENJAMIN
Abel Shittim
Jazer
Gezer
JERUSALEM
Kirjath Jearim
Beth Jeshimoth
Heshbon
Nebo
Mt. Pisgah
Ashdod
Stone of Bohan
Bethlehem
Rachel's Tomb
Ashkelon
Gath
Socoh
Gibeah
Beth-Baal
Baal Meon
REUBEN
Tekoa
Eglon
Lachish
Cabbon
Halhul
JUDAH
Beth Tappuah
Hebron (Kirjath Arba)
Adoraim
SALT SEA
SEA OF THE PLAIN
Kiriathaim
En Gedi
WILDERNESS OF JUDAH
Gaza
PHILISTIA
SHEPHELAH
Etam
Ziph
Carmel
Maon
Juttah
Kiriath-sepher (Debir)
Anab
Eshtemoa
Gerar
En Rimmon
Kerioth
Arad
Bezer
R. Arnon
Aroer
Jahaz
Ar Moab (Rabbath Moab)
Beersheba
Aroer
Moladah
Kir-Moab
MOAB
SIMEON
THE NEGEB
Rehoboth
Ziklag
R. Zered
Akrabbim
Hormah (Zephath)
Tophel
Hezron
EDOM
Bozrah
35
36
30′
33
32
31

The Edinburgh Geographical Institute

J. G. Bartholomew & Co.

DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE

PLEROMA (πλήρωμα; Lat. *plenitudo, supplementum, pleroma*; AV and RV 'fulness').—A word of common Greek usage, which is raised to a semi-technical meaning in relation to God in certain books of the NT connected with Asia Minor (Ephesians, Colossians, John (prol.)). This meaning may have been given to it first by St. Paul; but his absolute use of it in Col 1^{19}, without any explanation added, suggests that it was already in use among the false teachers against whom he is writing. Lightfoot conjectures that it had a Palestinian origin, representing the Hebrew מלא.

The word itself is a relative term, capable of many shades of meaning, according to the subject with which it is joined and the antithesis to which it is contrasted. It denotes the result of the action of the verb πληροῦν; but πληροῦν is either (*a*) to fill up an empty thing (*e.g.* Mt 13^{48}), or (*b*) to complete an incomplete thing (*e.g.* Mt 5^{17}); and the verbal substantive in -μα may express either (1) the objective accusative after the verb, 'the thing filled or completed,' or (2) the cognate accusative, 'the state of fulness or completion, the fulfilment, the full amount,' resulting from the action of the verb (Ro 11^{12} 13^{10} 15^{29}, 1 Co 10^{26}). It may emphasize totality in contrast to its constituent parts; or fulness in contrast to emptiness (κένωμα); or completeness in contrast to incompleteness or deficiency (ὑστέρημα Col 1^{24}, 2 Co 11^{9}, ἥττημα Ro 11^{12}). A further ambiguity arises when it is joined with a genitive, which may be either subjective or objective, the fulness which one thing gives to another, or that which it receives from another.

In its semi-technical application it is applied primarily to the perfection of God, the fulness of His Being, 'the aggregate of the Divine attributes, virtues, energies'; this is used quite absolutely in Col 1^{19} (ἐν αὐτῷ εὐδόκησεν πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα κατοικῆσαι), but further defined (1) as πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος, 'the whole completeness of the Divine nature,' in Col 2^{9}, (2) as πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ θεοῦ, 'the whole (moral) perfection which is characteristic of God,' in Eph 3^{19}. Secondarily, this same πλήρωμα is transferred to Christ; it was embodied permanently in Him at the Incarnation (Col 1^{19}); it still dwells permanently in His glorified Body, ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικεῖ σωματικῶς (Col 2^{9}); it is τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χριστοῦ (Eph 4^{13}), the complete, moral, and intellectual perfection to which Christians aspire and with which they are filled (Eph 4^{13}, Col 2^{9} ἐστὲ ἐν αὐτῷ πεπληρωμένοι. Cf. Jn 1^{16} ἐκ τοῦ πληρώματος αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς πάντες ἐλάβομεν, where πλήρωμα is the state of Him who is πλήρης χάριτος καὶ ἀληθείας, 1^{14}, cf. Lk 2^{40} πληρούμενον σοφίας). This indwelling emphasizes the completeness with which the Son represents the Father; it is the fulness of life which makes Him the representative, without other intermediary agencies, and ruler of the whole universe; and it is the fulness of moral and intellectual perfection which is communicable through Him to man; it is consistent with a gradual growth of human faculties (Lk 2^{40}), therefore with the phrase ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν of Ph 2^{7}, which is perhaps intended as a deliberate contrast to it [KENOSIS]. One further application of the phrase is made in Eph 1^{23}, where it is used of the Church, τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν πληρουμένου. Here the genitive is perhaps subjective—the fulness of Christ, His full embodiment, that fulness which He supplies to the Church—emphasizing the thoroughness with which the Church is the receptacle of His powers and represents Him on earth. The analogy of the other uses of the word with the genitive of the person (Eph 3^{19} 4^{13}), and the stress throughout these books on Christians being filled by Christ (Eph 3^{19} 4^{13} 5^{18}, Col 1^{9} 2^{10} 4^{12}, Jn 1^{16} 3^{34}), favours this view. But the genitive may be objective, 'the complement of Christ,' that which completes Him, which fills up by its activities the work which His withdrawal to heaven would have left undone, as the body completes the head. The analogy of the body, the stress laid on the action of the Church (Eph $3^{10.21}$), St. Paul's language about himself in Col 1^{24} (ἀνταναπληρῶ τὰ ὑστερήματα τῶν θλίψεων τοῦ χριστοῦ), support this, and it is impossible to decide between the two. The former view has been most common since the thorough examination of the word by Fritzsche (*Rom.* ii. pp. 469 ff.) and Lightfoot (*Col. ad loc.* and Additional Note), and is still taken by von Soden (*Hand-Comm. ad loc.*) and Macpherson (*Expositor*, 1890, pp. 462–472). But the latter view, which was that of Origen and Chrysostom, has been strongly advocated of late by Pfleiderer (*Paulinism*, ii. p. 172), T. K. Abbott (*International Critical Comm. ad loc.*), and most fully J. A. Robinson (*Expositor*, 1898, pp. 241–259).

Outside the NT the word occurs in Ignatius in a sense which is clearly influenced by the NT, and apparently in the meaning of the Divine fulness, as going forth and blessing and residing in the Church (*Eph.* Inscr. τῇ εὐλογημένῃ ἐν μεγέθει θεοῦ πατρὸς πληρώματι, and *Trall.* Inscr. ἣν καὶ ἀσπάζομαι ἐν τῷ πληρώματι, almost = ἐν Χριστῷ [but see Lightfoot, *ad loc.*]).

In Gnosticism the use becomes yet more stereotyped and technical, though its applications are still very variable. The Gnostic writers appeal to the use in the NT (*e.g.* Iren. I. iii. 4), and the word retains from it the sense of totality in contrast to the constituent parts; but the chief associations of πλήρωμα in their systems are with Greek philosophy, and the main thought is that of a state of completeness in contrast to deficiency (ὑστέρημα, Iren. I. xvi. 3; Hippol. vi. 31), or of the fulness of real existence in contrast to the empty void and unreality of mere phenomena (κένωμα, Iren. I. iv. 1). Thus in Cerinthus it expressed the fulness of the Divine Life out of which the Divine Christ descended upon the man Jesus at his baptism, and into which He returned (Iren. I. xxvi. 1, III. xi. 1, xvi. 1). In the Valentinian system it stands in antithesis to the essential incomprehensible Godhead, as 'the circle of the Divine attributes,' the various means by which God reveals Himself: it is the totality of the thirty æons or emanations which proceed from God, but are separated alike from Him and from the material universe. It is at times almost localized, so that a thing is spoken of as 'within,' 'without,' 'above,' 'below' the Pleroma: more often it is the spirit-world, the archetypal ideal existing in the invisible heavens in contrast to the imperfect phenomenal manifestations of that ideal in the universe. Thus 'the whole Pleroma of the æons' contributes each its own excellence to the historic Jesus, and He appears on earth 'as the perfect beauty and star of the Pleroma' (τελειότατον κάλλος καὶ ἄστρον τοῦ πληρώματος, Iren. I. xi. 6). Again, each separate æon is called a πλήρωμα in contrast to its earthly imperfect counterpart, so that in this sense the plural can be used, πληρώματα (Iren. I. xiv. 2); and even each individual has his or her Pleroma or spiritual counterpart (τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτῆς of the Samaritan woman,—Heracleon, *ap.* Origen, xiii. p. 205; *ap.* Stieren's *Irenæus*, p. 950). Similarly it was used by Ophite writers as equivalent to the full completeness of perfect knowledge (*Pistis Sophia*, p. 15). It thus expressed the various thoughts which we should express by the Godhead, the ideal, heaven; and it is probably owing to this ambiguity, as well as to its heretical associations, that the word dropped out of Christian theology. It is still used in its ordinary untechnical meaning, *e.g.* Theophylact (p. 530) speaks of the Trinity as πλήρωμα τοῦ θεοῦ; but no use so technical as that in Ignatius reappears.

For fuller details cf. Suicer's *Thesaurus, s.v.*; Lightfoot, *Col.* ('Colossian Heresy' and Additional Note); Smith's *Dict. Christ. Biogr. s.vv.* 'Gnosticism,' 'Valentinus'; *Cambridge Texts and Studies*, i. 4, p. 105. W. LOCK.

PLOUGH, PLOUGHSHARE.—See AGRICULTURE in vol. i. p. 49.

PLUMBLINE, PLUMMET.—A line or cord with a heavy weight attached, used by masons when erecting a building, to ascertain if the walls are perpendicular. The plumbline used by the Syrian masons is a cord passing freely through a hole in the centre of a cylindrical piece of wood about 3 in. long; at one end of the cord is a hollow cone of copper filled with lead. The cord is fastened to a ring inserted into the centre of the base of the cone-shaped plummet, the diameter of the base being the same as the length of the cylinder of wood. One end of the piece of wood is applied to the face of the wall, and the plummet is allowed to descend slowly. If the rim of the base just touches the surface of the stones the wall is perpendicular. Several Heb. words are rendered plummet or plumbline. 1. אֶבֶן, literally, a stone, probably showing that the original plummet was a suspended stone, Is 34^{11}. In Zec 4^{10} the expression אֶבֶן הַבְּדִיל (see Nowack, *ad loc.*), a stone of tin, a plummet, is used. 2. אֲנָךְ Am $7^{7.8}$. The etymology of this word is doubtful. There are similar words in cognate languages for 'lead,' 'tin' (cf. *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*). 3. מִשְׁקֶלֶת in 2 K 21^{13}, מִשְׁקֹלֶת Is 28^{17}, a weight. In all the Scripture references to 'plummet' or 'plumb-line,' the term is used metaphorically, *e.g.* in Am 7^{8}, where J″ is to set a plummet in the very midst of His people (*i.e.* apply to it a crucial moral test), and whatever does not conform to its standard will be destroyed (Driver, *ad loc.*). W. CARSLAW.

POCHERETH-HAZZEBAIM.—Amongst the 'children of Solomon's servants' who returned with Zerubbabel are mentioned the בְּנֵי פֹכֶרֶת הַצְּבָיִם, Ezr 2^{57}=Neh 7^{59} (בְּנֵי פ׳ הַצְּבָיִים). The LXX, misunderstanding the passage, divides into two proper names (in Ezr B υἱοὶ Φασράθ, υἱοὶ Ἀσεβωείν, A Φακεράθ, Ἀσεβωείμ; in Neh B υἱοὶ Φακαράθ, υἱοὶ Σαβαείμ, A . . . Φαχαράθ . . .). In 1 Es 5^{34} the LXX has υἱοὶ Φακαρὲθ Σαβ(ε)ίη. See PHACARETH. The Heb. *pochereth-haẓẓebaim* means 'hunter of gazelles.' J. A. SELBIE.

POET.—Only Ac 17^{28} 'As certain even of your own poets have said, For we are also his offspring.' By 'your own poets' (οἱ καθ' ὑμᾶς [WH marg. ἡμᾶς after B, 33 etc., Copt.] ποιηταί) Lightfoot thinks St. Paul meant poets belonging to the same school as his Stoic audience (*Dissertations on Apost. Age*, p. 288 f.). The words have been traced to Cleanthes' *Hymn to Zeus*, 5, where we read, 'For Thine offspring are we (ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ γένος ἐσμέν), therefore will I hymn Thy praises and sing Thy might forever. Thee all this universe which rolls about the earth obeys, wheresoever Thou dost guide it, and gladly owns Thy sway.' Than in this 'sublime hymn,' says Lightfoot (*Dissert.* p. 306), 'heathen devotion seldom or never soars higher.' Cleanthes belongs to the 4th cent. B.C. The exact words of St. Paul's quotation (τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν) have been found in another Stoic's writings, the *Phænomena* of Aratus of Soli (of the 3rd cent. B.C.), and the form of the apostle's expression, '*some* of your own poets,' may mean that he knew the words to be found in more than one poet.

In 1 Co 15^{33} and Tit 1^{12} quotations have been discovered from other Greek poets, but they partake rather more of the character of common proverbs than the quotation from Cleanthes or Aratus. The first (φθείρουσιν ἤθη χρήσθ' ὁμιλίαι κακαί) has been traced to the *Thais* of Menander, a comic poet of the 3rd cent. B.C. The line is iambic trimeter, and the form χρήσθ' of the TR is necessary for the scansion; χρηστά is, however, the form in almost all MSS, and adopted by almost all editors, so that the feeling for the metre of the line was not present when the apostle wrote. The second (Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί) is a complete hexameter verse, and comes from the Περὶ χρησμῶν of Epimenides, who lived about B.C. 600. It is also found in the *Hymn to Zeus* of Callimachus.

These fragments of Greek verse exhaust the poetry (if the word is to be used in its usual connotation) of the NT. It is extremely probable, however, that many of our Lord's sayings were cast in the forms of Hebrew poetry. See the articles by Briggs on 'The Wisdom of Jesus the Messiah' in the *Expos. Times*, vol. viii. (1897) pp. 393 ff., 452 ff., 492 ff., vol. ix. (1898) 69 ff., and less fully in his *Study of Holy Scripture* (1899), p. 373 ff. J. HASTINGS.

POETRY (HEBREW).—

Introduction.
i. The Form of Heb. poetry.
  A. Poems written in Prose.
  B. Poems written in Verse.
    1. The External evidence.

2. The rules for the form of Heb. poetry: (*a*) the line; (*b*) the verse; (*c*) parallelism; (*d*) metre: the *kinah* and other kinds of verse; (*e*) the scale for the lines; (*f*) strophes; (*g*) subordinate matters of form.

ii. The Material of Heb. poetry.
  A. The different species of poetry.
  B. The employment of poetry.
    1. Folk-poetry: (*a*) in family life; (*b*) in the life of the community; (*c*) in the religious life; (*d*) in the national life.
    2. The poetry of the Prophets.
    3. Artistic poetry.

Poems are works of art, whose substratum is supplied by human speech. Since they make their impression only through oral utterance, which from its very nature dies away, they require for their perpetuation—differing in this from the works of plastic art—the medium of writing. By the signs of the latter they can afterwards be reproduced with more or less fidelity, in proportion to the sufficiency of the system of writing and the state of preservation of the script in which it has reached us. Like every work of art, the poem has for its chief source the creative imagination of its author; in every instance a strong element of invention enters into its construction. Its aim is æsthetic enjoyment, it seeks to work upon the senses, the emotions, the imagination, of the hearer. An ulterior purpose, namely, to influence directly the will and conduct of those who happen to make acquaintance with the poem, is, strictly speaking, outside the scope of poetry, as of art in general. But although a discourse whose interest is judicial, political, or social, has certainly, in spite of all the rhetorical art expended upon it, no claim to be called a poem, yet the border-line is a shifting one. There are edifying, didactic, political compositions, which in spite of their underlying 'tendency' do not cease to be poems in the fullest sense, while the claim of others to this title may be disputed.

The aim of poetry may be reached without the employment of special, external, palpable means such as distinguish the language of poetry from that of daily use. There are poems free from the trammels of verse, composed in simple prose, nay, in recent times the employment of the prose form in poetry is more common than that of verse. This is the case above all with the drama, and in the next place with the epos in the form of the novel; it is only for lyric poetry that the use of the prose form constitutes a great exception.* In ancient times the employment of verse was the rule for every species of poetry; where the prose form prevails, it will generally be found to be in compositions which lie upon the dubious borderline referred to above.

The question *whether poetry has a place in the Holy Scriptures* could be raised as long as men held fast to the strict verbal inspiration doctrine. From that standpoint the admixture of so strongly human and subjective an element might appear to contradict the purely Divine and objective origin of the words of the Bible. Better knowledge now teaches us that no device of human language is to be declared incapable of employment in Scripture. Yet poetry will not be the rule there, for neither of the two collections of books that make up the Bible is arranged from the point of view of art, but from that of religious value; they are collections not of national *belles lettres* but of Sacred Writings. At the same time, however, *the Old Testament* embraces all that has come down to us of the literature of the people of Israel in its early days, so that for our knowledge of the poetry and the poetical art of the ancient Hebrews we have to turn solely to this collection of their Sacred Writings.

i. THE FORM OF HEBREW POETRY.—*A. POEMS WRITTEN IN PROSE.*—Prose-poems are not absent from the OT, yet the border-lines for their recognition are hard to draw. If all fiction could be called poetry, then the tale of the woman of Tekoa (2 S 14^{5-7}) would have to be included in this category, and still more the story told by the prophet Nathan (2 S 12^{1-4}). But in both these narratives we have simply rhetorical artifices, both give themselves out in the first instance as bare statements of actual occurrences. It is otherwise with Jotham's fable (Jg $9^{8ff.}$), which presents itself within the framework of his address as a didactic composition, and is to be placed on the same plane as the parables of Jesus in the New Testament. The Books of Jonah, Ruth, Esther, and the Daniel narratives in Dn 1–6, are regarded by modern OT science as products of Jewish novel-writing, of which further instances, outside the Canon, have come down to us in the Books of Judith, Tobit, 2 Maccabees, etc.* But their quality as poetry stands and falls with the verdict reached by criticism, for, the moment their contents are declared to be historical, they lose all claim to this title. In any case, it is to be observed that these prose-poems one and all belong to a late period; but, on the other hand, the prologue and the epilogue of the Book of Job, which in contradistinction from the speeches in chs. 3–41 are composed in prose, show that the date alone does not decide the procedure in this matter. The reason for this difference of form will have to be examined below (see pp. 9^b and 10^a).

B. POEMS WRITTEN IN VERSE.—1. *The External Evidence.*—Far more prominent are the poems composed in verse, and of these alone we mean to speak in what follows. That the ancient Hebrews possessed and consciously employed in poetry prescribed poetical forms constructed for that special purpose, may be proved with certainty from the OT itself. The evidence is found first of all in the peculiar expressions used to designate poetry, the poet and his activity (cf. especially the roots משׁל and שׁיר), in the application of these peculiar terms to certain compositions (cf. the numerous introductions and superscriptions, such as Ex 15^1, Jg 5^1, Nu $21^{17.27}$), in the statement that certain passages were recited to the accompaniment of music, and sometimes of dancing, *e.g.* Ex 15^{20}, 1 S 18^6; cf. also many of the titles of the Psalms. We are carried a point beyond this by the alphabetical poems, in which equal poetical units are clearly separated from one another through their initial letters being arranged so as to form the Heb. alphabet. Most important are Pss 111 and 112, in which each several line bears a new letter, and next to these are to be reckoned those poems in which, like Pss 25. 34. 145, Pr 31^{10-31}, a letter is given to each verse. The Synagogue tradition (*Shabbath* 103*b*, *Sopherim*, ch. 12; cf. Strack, *Prolegom. crit. in Vet. Test. Heb.* p. 80) at least testifies to and enjoins the writing in distinct lines of the songs Ex 15, Dt 32, Jg 5, 2 S 22, no doubt because these are called 'songs' in the titles they bear. But this is to recognize expressly the poetical form of these passages.

2. *The rules for the form of Heb. poetry.*—**a. The line.**—Far more uncertain than the fact that the Hebrews possessed a form of composition specially devised for use in poetry is the question as to the rules of this form, or, in other words, as to the metrical system of the ancient Hebrews. On this subject there is no tradition worthy of the name, rather must the laws of Heb. metre be deduced from the poems themselves. Fortunately,

---

* Cf. *e.g.* Hardenberg (Novalis), *Hymnen an die Nacht*.

* Cf. C. A. Briggs (*General Introd. to Study of Holy Scripture*, New York, 1899, p. 341 ff.), who calls these books 'prose works of the imagination.'

there are two factors that from the first stand out as indubitably established. The first of these is the *line* (στίχος), externally authenticated, as has just been said, by Pss 111 and 112, as well as by the circumstance that in the MSS some poems are written stichically, and latterly also by the newly discovered fragments of the Heb. Sirach, which are likewise written in *stichoi*. It is the fundamental rule of all metrical composition, the one indispensable condition, that the continuous flow of the discourse should be divided into short word-groups, which, as far as the sense is concerned, have a certain independence. It is only in highly developed forms of poetry that the independence of the lines, in this matter of the sense, is more or less superfluous. The limit for the length of these lines is one imposed by nature, namely, that each line should be capable of being pronounced in *a single* easy breath. Such lines detach themselves from one another with perfect clearness in all the poetical parts of the OT, and there cannot be a moment's doubt that it is not the logic of the discourse but an artificial design that has divided the flow of the language in this way. In Hebrew, especially, the end of the line uniformly coincides with a break in the sense, and even the accentuation of our texts is seldom wrong as to the correct division. It is possible to have poems which employ no other method as to their form than such a separation into the briefest units that give a complete sense, although these do not stand in an exact rhythmical relation to one another or mutually unite themselves into uniform groups. This is exemplified, for instance, in a number of Goethe's finest poems, such as *Der Gesang der Geister über den Wassern*, *Grenzen der Menschheit*, *Ganymed*, *Prometheus*, etc.

b. The verse.—As well established as the line is the second higher poetical unit, the *verse*. In Heb. poetry a plurality of lines, in by far the majority of instances two of these, regularly combine to form a verse. This unit is likewise witnessed to by tradition. The sign for the close of the verse (the double point סוף פסוק) is undoubtedly the earliest addition made to the consonantal text, and is handed down along with the latter, where accents, vowels, and diacritical points are wanting. The division by פסוקים is already witnessed to in the Mishna (*Megillah* iv. 4). The verse-division, to be sure, is not confined to the poetical sections of the OT, but is carried through everywhere. But it is a circumstance of extreme importance that in the poetical sections the verse-divider does not stand at the close of each *stichos*, but regularly (with extremely rare exceptions) includes several of these. And though it happens frequently that several metrical verses are combined in a single Massoretic verse, on the other hand it is one of the rarest occurrences to find the verse-divider wrongly separating *stichoi* of the same verse from one another.

c. Parallelism.—The connecting agency, however, which unites the verse-members so as to form the verse, was not clearly recognized and defined till last century. The merit of this belongs to Bishop Lowth in his epoch-making book, *De sacra poesi Hebræorum*, which appeared in the same year (1753) as Astruc's *Conjectures*. There in his Prælectio xix., p. 237,* he says:—

> 'Poetica sententiarum compositio maximam partem constat in æqualitate, ac similitudine quadam, *sive parallelismo*, membrorum cujusque periodi, ita ut in duobus plerumque membris res rebus, verbis verba, quasi demensa et paria respondeant.'

From this passage came the term *parallelismus membrorum*, which has since then been generally employed. We have to do here not with a formal contrivance like rhyme, assonance, alliteration, regularly changing length of the lines (cf. the dactylic distich), but with a connexion by means of the sense, which finds its full expression only in parallelism, and, at the same time, in parallelism separates itself from what precedes and what follows. Lowth continues quite correctly—

> 'Quæ res multos quidem gradus habet, multam varietatem, ut alias accuratior et apertior, alias solutior et obscurior sit';

but by distinguishing three kinds of parallelism, *synonymous*, *antithetic*, and *synthetic*, as well as by the very name 'parallelism,' which was capable of being misunderstood, he contributed at the same time to encourage too narrow a conception of the phenomenon.* Nor is it any advantage to complete the scheme, as H. Ewald in particular has sought to do; all this has only a casual value as compared with the general principle established, that the individual *stichoi*, which themselves each form a unit of sense, combine in the verse to form a larger unit. The possible variety of relation between the *stichoi* is endless.

A wider background for this phenomenon has lately been gained by observing that the same rule holds good in the poetry of the ancient Babylonians and Assyrians, and, perhaps in a less developed form, also in that of the ancient Egyptians. Schrader † assumes that Israel took over this principle, along with much else, from Mesopotamia, and Briggs (*op. cit.* p. 368) also considers this extremely probable. Still the possibility remains that this poetical rule is the common heritage of a large group of the nations of antiquity.‡

It is radically wrong to see in the parallelism merely a rhetorical phenomenon, and to disregard it accordingly, as need may be, in conducting metrical investigations. In this way one overlooks the fact that the parallelism is founded on the previous separation of the *stichoi*. It is possible, of course, to take the sense-parallelism and apply it to a prose composition, at the same time dispensing with a uniform separation into lines, and in this way to weaken it down to a purely rhetorical form, but, when coupled with that separation, the parallelism assumes the character of a fixed device of art. The best proof of this is found in the circumstance that for nearly 2000 years men felt and recognized the Psalms and other poetical portions of the OT to be poems, without having any clear consciousness of the device employed to constitute them so. It is a specially happy providence that this device is so connected with the contents that it had practically to be handed down along with these.

---

* Compare with this the more detailed discussion in the *Preliminary Dissertation* to Lowth's works on Isaiah, 1778 [German by Koppe, 1779 ff.].

* Still the distinguishing of three possibilities has a certain logical value. In the unpublished second part of the present writer's *Akademische Antrittsvorlesung*, 1873 (cf. *SK*, 1874, p. 764, Anm.), an attempt is made to explain the *parallelismus* by going back to the word מָשָׁל as a term for poetical discourse. If this Heb. word means originally 'comparison, likeness,' bipartition and parallelism find their ground in the nature of the case. The result of a comparison may be one or other of three kinds. It may disclose (1) equality or resemblance, *e.g.* Pr 10^{26} $11^{16.22.30}$, (2) inequality, unlikeness, or opposition, *e.g.* Pr $10^{1\cdot25}$, (3) a more or less, a better or worse, etc., by which a movement, a progress is given, *e.g.* Pr 12^{9} $15^{16.17}$ 16^{8} 17^{1} 19^{1}, as also 11^{31} 15^{11}. There can be hardly any doubt that the parallel verse exhibits its greatest independence and purest development in the various apophthegms of Pr 10 ff., which all fall under this threefold scheme. The circumstance that, at least in their written form, these belong to the later products of Hebrew literature, is certainly no adequate objection to the view put forward in the above-cited lecture, that the fundamental rule for the form of Heb. poetry is borrowed from the apophthegm. Yet it is so hopeless a task to reach any probable pronouncement regarding these first beginnings that the present writer is no longer disposed to maintain that former view.

† His article in the *Jahrb. f. prot. Theol.* i. (1875) p. 121 ff., is still well worthy of study.

‡ Cf. W. Max Müller, *Die Liebespoesie der alten Ægypter*, 1899, p. 10, Anm. 1.

d. Metre: the Ḳinah and other kinds of verse.—From what has just been said, it is self-evident that *the length of the lines* is not a matter of indifference. These must be fashioned in a certain uniform relation to one another, in order to produce the impression of rhythmic units. The sure proof that the Heb. poet consciously fixed the length of the lines is found in the circumstance that for a special occasion that presented itself in the life of the people he uniformly chose a special length of line. This is established in the case of the קִינָה, the Hebrew lament for the dead, *i.e.* the songs which women as mourners (מְקוֹנְנוֹת Jer 9^{16}) sang at funerals in ancient Israel. These were uniformly composed in verses of two members, the length of the first of which stands to that of the second in the proportion of 3:2, giving rise to a peculiar limping rhythm, in which the second member as it were dies away and expires. These verses are very sharply distinguished from the others, in which equal length of verse-members in the same verse is the rule. For proof of the correctness of these observations the present writer's art. 'Das hebräische Klagelied' in *ZATW*, 1882, pp. 1–52, may still suffice, if it be read with care. It will not do either to unite the two unequal *stichoi* into a single 'long line,' or to pronounce it a matter of indifference whether the longer line comes first or last.* Equally established beyond all doubt is the original connexion of this kind of verse with the popular lament for the dead. When Briggs (*op. cit.* p. 381) says, 'there is no propriety in the name,' and, further, supposes that the name was given to it by the present writer 'because apparently he first noticed it in the Book of Lamentations,' the one remark is as mistaken as the other. The second of the two merely proves that Briggs has not followed our argument, which is founded rather upon the fact that the prophets, whenever they introduce the mourning women speaking in person (Jer $9^{18.\,20}$ 38^{22}),† or when they themselves in their symbolical actions assume the rôle of the mourning women (Am 5^{1}, Ezk 19, etc.), uniformly choose this measure.‡ The objection that David does not employ it in his lament for Saul and Jonathan (2 S $1^{17\text{ff.}}$) can be urged only by one who holds that David meant to take the place of the mourning women at the obsequies, or to attach himself to their lamentations. And when Grimme (*loc. cit.* p. 549) suggests that the earliest employment of this measure should rather be sought for in the oracles of the priests, not only must we first wait for proof that the ancient oracles were composed in it,§ but must ask, further, which was the earlier in Israel, the funeral or the oracle, and whether it is likely that this form of verse was originally learned by the mourning women from the lips of the priests as they pronounced their oracles, to be afterwards copied from the women by the prophets. Woman is the most conservative of all social forces, and if even at the present day in an Arab nursery the *ḳinah* verse is still to be heard from the lips of the mother (as reported by Snouck-Hurgronje), there is nothing more probable than that in this a recollection has been preserved of a time when it was *par excellence* the verse of women.*

But now that it has been thus shown that in one particular case Hebrew poets consciously fixed the length of their verses and shaped it accordingly, we must conclude that in the case of other verses (or lines) as well they had a clear consciousness of one or more different lengths. And, as a matter of fact, examination shows that throughout wide tracts the individual lines have the usual length of the first member of the *ḳinah* verse; amongst others this is by far the predominating length all through the Book of Job. Elsewhere we may observe a longer line than the prevailing one, something like double the length of the shorter *ḳinah* line.

e. The scale for the lines.—But although one cannot avoid recognizing the facts just mentioned, it yet remains a very difficult task to determine the *scale* by which the Heb. poet measured the length of his lines. Here comes in the attempt to establish a metrical system for Heb. poetry, which during the last centuries has again and again attracted amateurs and scholars. The theories put forward as the basis of this system exhaust all the possibilities that are to hand, and at the present day almost all of them still stand unreconciled side by side. Some have counted, marked quantity, accented, or combined the first or the second of these processes with the last. Others have taken now the syllable and now the word as the fundamental unit. Others have sometimes been content to take the traditional pronunciation with the vocalization and accentuation, and to interpret metrically, and reduce to rule what lies before us in the Massoretic text. At other times, upon the ground of a fixed theory, all liberties with the text have been considered allowable, the accent has been shifted, the vocalization altered in whole or in part, and changes of the consonantal text proposed to a greater or less extent. Systems have been constructed, which leave much licence open, licence partly of a purely arbitrary kind and partly in strict subordination to the system; there have been other systems, again, which permit no deviation to the right hand or to the left, but yield metres carried through with the utmost rigour. Space forbids our going into all these manifold attempts, nor does the case require it.† We must confine ourselves to a brief description of the most important of the systems put forward at present, indicating at the same time the difficulties involved, and we shall finally draw a number of conclusions whose probability we believe it necessary to maintain.

J. Ley‡ operates with the *word-accent*. Every word that conveys an idea has a tone-syllable, certain words may have more than one. Every tone-syllable forms, along with the preceding unaccented syllables and the following syllable of the falling tone, *one* metre. The number of unaccented syllables makes no difference, so that a significant word of a single syllable may have the same metrical value as a whole series of syllables. The kind of verse is determined by the number of such metres, as pentameter, hexameter, octameter, decameter, and, further, assumes a much greater variety of forms through the possibility of divers cæsuras. The unit ('verse') for Ley (1887) is the verse formed by parallel lines; the cæsuras serve to divide the individual lines from one another. In this way it becomes possible to unite lines of very different lengths in the same verse. Ley accepts the traditional vocalization and accentuation, but has lately proposed a moderate number of changes of the text.

---

* Both these things have been done recently by Grimme (*ZDMG*, 1896, p. 545 f.). The examples he adduces in justification of his procedure appear to us to be altogether inadequate. Some of them are due to faulty scansion, in others a false length is given to the lines by a wrong division of the context, some are cited from a corrupt unemended text, others are to be explained in accordance with *ZATW* ii. p. 7, No. 3. No agreement seems possible between the present writer and Grimme, for not only would this necessitate the acceptance of the metrical system of the latter, but Grimme's 'fünf-hebiger Vers' is something quite different from the *ḳinah* verse.

† Cf. *ZATW*, 1883, p. 299 ff.

‡ Grimme (*ZDMG*, 1897, p. 693) declares that one might as well assert that the Greek hexameter is properly a mourning strain because it is in it that the women lament for the dead Hector. Yes, no doubt, were it not that the rest of the Iliad also is written in hexameters. In the same place he seeks to prove that Jer $9^{1\text{-}18}$ is wholly composed in the *ḳinah* measure, but his argument breaks down completely. Only 8^{23}–9^{5} was originally an independent poem in this measure.

§ The examples which Grimme (*ZDMG*, 1897, p. 707 f.) brings forward and scans exactly (Gn 25^{23} $27^{28\text{f.}\,39\text{f.}}$) may be, according to his system, pentameters, but they have nothing whatever to do with the 'mourning verse' noted by the present writer.

* For the later history of the *ḳinah* measure in the OT cf. the present writer's art. 'The Folk-Song of Israel in the mouth of the Prophets' in *The New World*, 1893, p. 28 ff.

† Cf., for the earlier attempts, Saalschütz, *Von der Form der heb. Poesie*, 1825; Budde, 'Ueber vermeintliche metrische Formen in der heb. Poesie,' in *SK*, 1874; Briggs, *General Introduction*, p. 361 ff. All the modern systems are fully explained and criticised in Ed. König's *Stilistik*, *Rhetorik*, *Poetik*, etc., 1900.

‡ *Grundzüge des Rhythmus, des Vers- und Strophenbaues in der heb. Poesie*, 1875, *Leitfaden der Metrik der heb. Poesie*, 1887, and a great number of articles in various periodicals. Ley has constantly sought to perfect his system.

G. Bickell[*] applies the Syriac metre to the OT, holding the next to the last syllable, as in Syriac, to be as a rule the tonic one, and frequently altering the vowel-pronunciation. He *counts the syllables* of each line, and then makes rises and falls interchange with perfect regularity, in such a way that all lines with an even number of syllables are trochaic, and all with an odd number iambic. He everywhere ends by carrying through with the utmost exactness the metre assumed, and in order to reach this result proposes numerous alterations on the consonantal text, when the liberties taken with the vowel-pronunciation prove insufficient.

H. Grimme[†] bases his system upon a new theory of the accent and the vowels, which above all attributes to the vowel-signs a very different value from that assigned to them on the doctrine held in other quarters. He thus abides by the traditional written signs, but understands them quite differently. His metrical system is at once *quantitative* and *accentual*. It is quantitative, because, in accordance with an ingeniously carried out system of '*moræ*,' he attributes to each syllable and to each syllabic beat a definite quantity, a definite number of '*moræ*' (Lat. *mora*, 'lapse of time,' 'stop'). Every final principal-tone syllable of a '*Sprechtakt*' counts as a rise; whether other syllables are to be reckoned rises or not is determined by counting, according to fixed rules, the value of the '*moræ*' of the syllables which fall within the same sphere. The number of rises determines the species of verse. Grimme recognizes verses (*i.e.* lines) with 2, 3, 4, 5 rises, but the verse with 2 rises occurs only as an accompanying metre to that with 4 and 5 rises. Grimme, like Ley, is relatively sparing in the matter of changes of the text.

All the above systems are worked out with extreme care, and in the opinion of their authors leave no unexplained residuum. The earliest two (those of Ley and Bickell) have each found many adherents, the third is yet too recent to have done so. Still, in the majority of instances, perhaps even without exception, the declarations of adherence given in by other writers have regard merely to the acceptance of a metrical system and to principles, but not to the complete systems elaborated by their respective authors. Thus C. A. Briggs, the principal English-speaking champion of Hebrew metre, declares that his views 'correspond in the main with those of Ley.'[‡] A similar attitude towards Duhm (*i.e.* Bickell) is assumed by Cheyne.[§] As a matter of fact, in these systems the leading possibilities are represented in such a way that everyone will feel himself more or less in sympathy with one view or another.

The circumstance that theories so diametrically opposed are able time after time to maintain themselves side by side, and that each of them can be held up as the infallibly correct one, is due to the peculiarly unfavourable conditions under which we have to work in this matter. (*a*) We have to do with a text originally written without vowels, and whose living sound was first marked at a very late period by additional points and lines. One is entitled to question the correctness of this vowel-pronunciation and accentuation, and there will be a disposition to draw the boundaries of this incorrectness narrower or wider according to the needs of a metrical system, without its being possible for an opponent to adduce conclusive evidence in favour of the contrary position. (*b*) It is equally certain that the consonantal text of the OT has suffered seriously, not only through mistakes but frequently also through conscious well-intentioned editing. Since the latter was always undertaken from religious points of view and would have little regard to the artistic form of the poems included in the collection of Sacred Writings, its employment must have been fraught with specially serious issues in the sphere with which we are dealing. Here again it is impossible to set objective limits to the changes which, upon the ground of an assumed metre, may be proposed with a view to the restoration of the original text. But, on the other hand, a metrical system which finds an easy application to the traditional text, including all the disfigurations it has undergone in the course of time, only shows by this that it is itself untenable. (*c*) Finally, all information about the music of the ancient Hebrews has been lost to us. But music was originally always combined with poetry, and protected the metrical form, just as, on the other hand, it helped what was defective.[*] This aid, too, we must entirely dispense with.

Under such conditions subjectivity finds here an open field without any sure boundaries. But this awakens the imagination and fires the courage. Besides, we have here to do with a subject akin to mathematics, a subject giving scope for playing with numbers. It is a fact perhaps too little observed, that all departments of study akin to this offer a special incentive to the ingenuity. We need only recall the subject of Chronology. One must have at some time gone deeply for himself into the question of Hebrew metre and triumphed over the temptation to lose oneself there, before he can understand the attraction wielded by such speculations. Since the present writer has had this experience he has no finished metrical system to offer, nor can he attach himself unreservedly to any of the others that have been proposed, although he cheerfully concedes that to each of the above-named champions of metre we are indebted for much stimulus and help. He can therefore merely indicate what he considers probable, and emphasize some points which appear to him worthy of attention.

(1) As regards *the scale for the length of the lines*, the vastly preponderating probability appears to belong to the theory of Ley, who counts the 'rises' without taking account of the 'falls.' In favour of this there is first of all the practice of vowelless writing, with irregular, in olden times doubtless very sparing, introduction of the vowel-letters, as contrasted with the regular employment

---

[*] *Metrices biblicæ regulæ exemplis illustratæ*, 1879, *Carmina veteris testamenti metrice*, 1882, and a great number of later publications in which he introduces many changes and improvements on his earlier attempts at scansion.

[†] 'Abriss der biblisch-hebräischen Metrik,' in *ZDMG*, 1896, pp. 529–584; 1897, pp. 683–712, etc.; cf. his book *Grundzüge der heb. Accent- und Vocallehre*, Collectanea Friburgensia, fasc. v, Freiburg i. d. Schweiz, 1896.

[‡] *General Introduction*, p. 370, where at the same time an account is given of Briggs' earlier metrical contributions.

[§] In Haupt's *SBOT*, 'Isaiah,' p. 78.

[*] Cf. W. Max Müller, *Liebespoesie der alten Ægypter*, p. 11: 'We, scanning Epigoni, forget only too often that the lost melody was the main thing.'

of these for the long vowels in Arabic. An exact measurement of a verse by syllables could hardly have been carried out with such a method of writing, and, conversely, if it came into use, it must in course of time have brought about a corresponding transformation of the writing. Further, great weight must be laid upon the circumstance that the lines (*stichoi*) in Hebrew are without exception separated from one another by the sense. Where a perfectly exact, rigorously self-asserting system of metre is used, in course of time the separating of units of sense into single lines comes to be regarded as superfluous, and the sense flows over from one line into another. We may compare, for instance, classical hexameters or ode-measure, and modern rhyming verse. The same view is favoured if we compare the Bab.-Assyrian and Egyptian poetical methods which, so far as one can yet see, are likewise to be brought under the above rule.[*] In general it may be added that a comparison ought to be made neither with extremely refined systems like the classical, nor decaying ones like the Syrian, but with primitive systems, even if these stand ethnologically far apart. The two-membered alliterative verse of the ancient Germans, which likewise takes account only of rises, appears to us to present the closest analogy, when, that is to say, it is looked at from the purely formal point of view, and without regard to the peculiar device by which the lines are connected.

(2) As regards *the non-accenting or the accenting of words*, much latitude must be conceded to the living language and to music, so that it would be very difficult to lay down strict and inviolable rules according to which this or that word is under certain circumstances to be non-accented or accented. In this way verse-members which appear to the eye very unequal may yet from the rhythmical point of view be counted of equal value.[†]

(3) We have, moreover, *no certain guarantee for the intention to carry through with perfect uniformity the measure which in general rules in a poem.* It is possible that it was considered legitimate to admit at times a line with four rises beside one with three, and conversely to introduce a whole verse with a different length of line, or finally to put a verse of three lines alongside of others with only two. On this whole subject cf. what W. Max Müller (*op. cit.* p. 11) has established for Egyptian, and Zimmern (*ZA* xii. 382) for Babylonian poetry.

(4) In general, one receives the impression that *in the older poems greater freedom rules than in the later ones.*[‡] An unerringly regular parallelism, exact counting of the rises in verses of uniformly identical construction, all this is, nearly without exception, the mark of later poems. The gap was, no doubt, filled up by music, which always accompanied poetry in early times, whereas in later times learned scansion with the pen in the hand and without regard to musical sound appears to have been the rule. But, on the other hand, one is entitled to make stricter demands on lyrical poetry in the narrowest sense, especially on dance-songs such as perhaps meet us in Canticles, than on longer didactic poems like the Book of Job, which can hardly at any time have been sung.

(5) The more decided and sharply cut any particular measure is, the more confidently may this be used *as a medium for restoring the text.* Thus, for instance, one may undertake the work of textual criticism on the *ḳinah*-measure with surer results than in the case of an evenly-flowing measure, because the peculiar limping form of the *ḳinah* must have demanded closer attention on the part of the poet. In any case, we should do well, in all textual criticism which deals with anything beyond superfluous expletives, to assure ourselves of strong support on other grounds besides metrical, and not repose too much confidence in emendations based on metrical grounds alone.

(6) Finally, it must always be kept steadily in view that the quality and the effect of poetry are still in by far the majority of instances secured for the texts by the *parallelism*, even where regularity in the measure is not carried out. Hence one must guard against assigning too great importance to metrical regularity.

f. Strophes.—We must deal more briefly with the use of *strophes*, *i.e.* larger formal units embracing several verses. The first to put forward a special strophe-theory was Fr. Köster in his article, 'Die Strophen oder der Parallelismus der Verse der heb. Poesie,' in *SK*, 1831, pp. 40-114. His example was widely followed, and, long before the stricter verse-theories were put forward, the division of the OT poems into strophes of lengths more or less equal or artistically interchanging was prosecuted as nothing short of a pastime. The results correspond exactly to those described above (pp. 6 and 7^{a}) in the case of verse-theories. The variety of conclusions and the contradictions between them are perhaps even greater in this instance than in that. Here too in varying degrees may be seen mere strophic arrangement of the material received from tradition, alternating with a re-shaping of the text based upon a settled theory; great irregularity alternating with the strictest attention to rule; simplicity in the form obtained alternating with the extreme of artificiality; recognition of the parallel verse as the basis of the strophe alternating with acceptance of the line as the fundamental unit, reaching even to the denying and destruction of the parallel verse, etc. At present, in addition to the before-named leading upholders of different verse-theories, who also all put forward a special strophe-theory, the most prominent place is occupied by *D. H. Müller*, with a most ingeniously worked-out strophic system based upon three fundamental principles—the *responsio*, the *concatenatio*, and the *inclusio*.[*] In opposition to the line followed by him, a disposition at present prevails, following the lead of Bickell, Duhm, and others, to rest content, wherever possible, with the simplest strophic framework, consisting of four lines, equal to two verses each of two parallel members.

That Hebrew poetry has a strophic arrangement is generally taken for granted as self-evident. The right to make this assumption is open, however, to serious question. It scarcely needs to be proved that there is such a thing as poetry that makes up verses but not strophes. But in this case the postulate of strophes is already satisfied beforehand. For the parallel verse is really a strophe, a higher unit produced by the union of smaller units, the lines. No metrical forms are shown by experience to resist more the reduction to a strophic formation than such double structures which have an inward completeness of their own. It may suffice to remind the reader of the two-membered alliterative verse of the Old German poetry and the dactylic distich of the Greeks and Romans. Upon this ground one may not, indeed, be able to dispute the possibility of strophes of a higher order, but in all probability these will form the exception, and parallel verses without any further union will be the rule.

---

[*] For the former cf. H. Zimmern, *ZA* viii. 121 ff., x. 1 ff.; for the latter W. Max Müller, *Die Liebespoesie der alten Ægypter*, 1899, p. 10 ff. Whether, in this state of things, the actual relation of the falls to the rises can be reduced to summary formulæ is another question. This will depend mainly upon the structure of the particular language. Thus Zimmern now (*ZA* xii. 382 ff.) thinks he can build the Bab. poetic rhythm practically upon the foundation of the *Ionicus a minori*. But when the result is to obtain in all six different feet admissible in the same verse, when from one to three falls are possible between two rises, when occasionally (cf. *Schöpfung*, iv. 4, p. 389) two more falls are elided in accordance with an assumed licence, there is certainly enough of field-room. Zimmern (p. 383) tells us that Sievers has succeeded in 'proving' the existence in Heb. poetry of a pronounced 'uniform rhythm.' Since his observations for Babylonian are based upon work carried on in common with Sievers, and he several times emphasizes the agreement between it and Hebrew, the above remark as to Zimmern's scheme will probably hold good also of Sievers' observations on Hebrew, with which the present writer has not yet made acquaintance.

[†] Cf. for instance in the Old Germ. poem *Heliand* v.^{22} with v.^{5} or v.^{9}, or the two halves of v.^{39} or v.^{269} with one another.

[‡] W. Max Müller (*op. cit.* p. 10) says rightly: 'To me it is a very suspicious circumstance that the Song of Deborah and the latest Psalms still continue to be measured *in one and the same fashion.*'

[*] *Die Propheten in ihrer ursprünglichen Form*, 2 vols., Wien, 1896, *Strophenbau und Responsion*, Wien, 1898. Müller's system has been adopted and contributions made in support of it by F. Perles, *Zur heb. Strophik*, Wien, 1896, and J. K. Zenner, *Die Chorgesänge im Buche der Psalmen*, 2 parts, Freiburg i. B., 1896.

Further, the strophe-theory finds, at all events, no support from *tradition*. In particular, the term סלה (appended 71 times in the Psalms and in Hab 3) cannot be urged in its favour. No significance attaches to the so-called *alphabetical poems*, a species of acrostics in which the letters א–ת are made to succeed one another at the opening of sections of equal length. These prove, as was emphasized above (p. 4^a), the presence of *stichoi* (in Pss 111, 112), but nothing more. If we can distinguish the single *stichos*, we can also count, according to the length designed for the poem, two (Pss 25. 34. 145, Pr 31^{10-31}) or four (Ps 9 f. 37) *stichoi*, and, if the *ḳinah*-measure is an established fact (cf. La 3, where each verse bears a letter, but each letter is repeated three times), we may include two (La 4) or three (La 1. 2) of these verses under a single letter. At most it may be said that the verse as a unit is witnessed to when in Ps 119 the same letter commences eight successive verses of two lines each. But this is yet a long way from the same thing as a strophe of eight verses or sixteen lines.*

It is generally left entirely out of sight that any new metrical unit must have a new formative medium. No one thinks of proving the existence of the latter. True, indeed, one framework of this kind is occasionally to be encountered in the OT, namely, the *recurring verse* or *refrain*. It must be admitted that this is in a high degree adapted to mark off strophes, especially when, as in Ps 42 f. ($42^{6.11}$ 43^5), at regular intervals it interrupts a sharply defined measure in the other verses by a different structure of verse. With always diminishing strength and importance the refrain occurs, further, in Pss 80. 46. 39. 57. 59. 49. 99. 56. 62. 67. But even if one were disposed to assume and carry through a fixed strophic structure in all these poems, upon the ground of the refrain, after all only about a dozen of the hundreds of Heb. poems would have been proved to be strophic, while the conclusion regarding the others must at best be to the effect that they are not constructed strophically.

As a special basis for the division into strophes, it is the custom simply to fall back everywhere upon the contents. A metric strophe is supposed to coincide with a section constituted by the sense, the supposition being that the poet divided his material into sections whose length, in virtue of certain rules, showed a rhythmical correspondence with one another. This assumption, however, is all the harder, since *the contents* have already done their part in the formation of the parallel verse. Not only so, but this very parallelism gives to Heb. poetry in general the impression of aphorisms linked together, and renders it extremely difficult for the poet to exhibit a finely-articulated strictly progressive development of thought. Still the possibility of the nearest and easiest approach to this may be conceded, namely, that a single repetition of the parallelism, combining two verses of two lines, might fall rhythmically upon the ear, and that at the same time an idea seemed to exhaust itself in two parallel verses.* Deeper-reaching divisions of the sense could scarcely succeed in striking the ear as rhythmic units.

On the other hand, it is equally true that the theory of strophes is not to be refuted by postulates; the evidence of facts must decide. But any one who has convinced himself from the literature of the subject what finely artificial structures, with ever new forms, have been successively proved to underlie the same poems, and after being long forgotten have had their place taken by as artificial successors, will not waive his right to a radical scepticism on this subject. The charm of playing with numbers makes itself felt here almost more strongly than in the instance of verse; and the results, the more artistically these work themselves out, as in recent times those of Müller and Zenner, make their impression much more, being carefully printed, upon the eye, than upon the ear. The following sentences may serve for guidance and caution in this sphere of inquiry.†

(α) Under no conditions must the search for strophes lead to the abandonment of the certainly ascertained unit, the parallel verse, as has been frequently done (*e.g.* by Delitzsch, Merx, Diestel). Never must the end of a strophe break up a verse, and the verse, not the *stichos*, must remain the measure of the strophe.

(β) A great risk incurred by the search for strophes is this, that in their favour the *sense* of a poem might be divided wrongly and thus the poem receive a wrong interpretation. The endeavour should be to get first at the sense and its pauses, and then to ask whether strophe-like forms are the result.

(γ) We must not obstinately persist in carrying through rigorously a division which upon the whole is uniform, such as that into four lines. The possibility is not absolutely excluded that it was considered legitimate to interrupt this uniformity occasionally by verses of two or of six lines. This practice is assumed by Zimmern for Bab. poetry (cf. p. 7^a footnote *), and, as another instance, it may be frequently noted in the Old Germ. poetry. Hence we must be cautious in the way of excising or of adding lines and verses, upon the ground of the strophic measure.

(δ) Conversely, a succession of sections of the most varied extent are not to be called strophes, by a misapplication of a term which denotes a rhythmic whole. This practice has been frequently followed, and is so still.‡

(ε) We must not demand strophes everywhere, but must, in the first place, make a distinction according to the different species of poetry. That dance-songs such as are found in Canticles should be strophic is not indeed necessary, but is extremely probable; that the Book of Job should exhibit strophes throughout is the unlikeliest thing in the world. Likewise the age of the poem must be taken into account; strophes and a more regular structure of these will be looked for rather in later than in earlier times.

---

* A device of a precisely similar kind has lately been shown to exist in the Bab.-Assyr. literature (*ZA*, x. 1 ff.). Every 11th time the same syllable stands at the commencement of a two-membered verse, and the initial syllables of 25 sections each of 11 verses form a connected sentence. Yet Zimmern does not think of taking each of these long sections as a strophe, but concludes that every two verses make a strophe (of 4 lines), and that the 11th verse always stands by itself. It may be modestly asked whether each verse should not rather be taken by itself and the strophic structure given up.

* Cf. the Otfried strophe of the Old High Germ. poetry, which consists of two rhyming couplets.

† Cf. earlier statements of the present writer's views in *ZATW*, 1882, p. 49 ff., and *Actes du sixième Congrès international des Orientalistes*, Leyden, 1884, p. 93 f.

‡ Thus C. A. Briggs (*op. cit.* p. 390) cites, as 'a fine specimen' of Old Egypt. strophe-formation, a poem whose twenty strophes exhibit the following number of lines: 12, 14, 8, 7, 13, 8, 9, 11, 9, 15, 14, 9, 10, 5, 11, 13, 10, 6, 10, 18. So we find strophes of from 5 to 18 lines ranged side by side!

(ζ) Above all, we may recognize in a regular interchange of the length of lines an indication pointing to strophe-formation, because we have here a new formative method. Hence it is no fortuitous circumstance that the *ḳinah* verse which is composed of unequal members lends itself with special readiness to strophe-like forms such as meet us in La 1. 2. 4 and Ps 42 f. For here the equiponderance is restored by repetition of the unequal pairs.

Upon the whole, in this matter too little will do less harm than too much, and doubt will be more prudent than blind confidence.

g. Subordinate matters of form.—*Rhyme*, as well as the other things we have spoken of, has frequently been claimed as a medium employed in Heb. poetry.[*] The Heb. language has at its disposal a great number of sonorous endings and flexional additions used to denote a particular grammatical or logical relation. These would supply quite extraordinary facilities for the employment of terminal rhyme for poetical purposes. Yet, as is generally admitted, rhyme never became the prevailing medium of poetry. But it is self-evident that, where the same logical relations govern a series of lines, rhyme *must* come in with more or less regularity. As illustrations, Job 10^{9-18} (cited by Sommer) and Ps 6 (cited by Briggs) may serve, although in neither instance is the rhyme satisfactory throughout. Here and there the poet himself may have been conscious of it and thus indulged in a species of by-play; but in reality the occurrence of rhyme has scarcely any more significance than attaches to J. Chotzner's (*PSBA*, Jan. 8, 1884) collection from the OT of a whole series of the finest dactylic hexameters. In spite of these, one will hardly agree with Chotzner's conclusion that the Greeks borrowed the hexameter of the Homeric poems in Asia Minor from their Heb. slaves (Jl 3^6). Thus, then, textual alterations ought not to be proposed in certain passages in order to make the rhyme frequently occurring in these perfectly uniform.

Assonance and *Paronomasia* play a large and unquestionably a conscious rôle in the OT. But they belong to rhetorical, not to strictly poetical devices. All these phenomena receive exhaustive treatment in the Dissertation of I. M. Casanowicz, *Paronomasia in the Old Test.*, Boston, 1894.

That, finally, Hebrew, like other languages, has in a certain measure its peculiar poetical vocabulary and grammar is a matter of course, but can be simply mentioned here.

ii. THE MATERIAL OF HEBREW POETRY.—*A. THE DIFFERENT SPECIES OF POETRY.*—In the literature of Israel the *drama* is wholly wanting. This peculiarity it shares with the whole Semitic literature, whereas in that of the Indo-Germanic peoples the drama three times over sprang up quite fresh and independent from the germ, namely on Indian, Greek, and German soil. This may perhaps be set down to a certain one-sidedness of disposition, a want of objectivity on the part of the Semites. The belief, to be sure, has often been cherished that precisely the OT itself forms an exception to this rule, and that it contains two dramas, *Canticles* and *Job*. In the case of the former of these, this opinion is based upon a false conception of the book, which is rather a collection of lyric (in fact, marriage) songs;[†] in the case of the latter it is based upon a false definition of the drama.[*] It is only in chs. 3-41 that the Book of Job is disposed as a dialogue, and this disposition it shares with the majority of Plato's philosophical works, which no one thinks it necessary on that account to call dramas. Nay, the latter from beginning to end follow the method of dialogue, whereas in Job the whole *action*, from which the drama takes its name, is given in narrative form in chs. 1. 2. 42.[†]

Further, L. Diestel (art. 'Dichtkunst' in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexicon*, i. [1869] p. 609) denies that anywhere in Semitic literature can the *epos* be found any more than the drama. This has since been shown to be incorrect, as on Bab.-Assyrian soil quite an extensive epic literature, whose contents are mythological, has been found composed in poetic form. But for Heb. poetry, so far as this is represented in the OT, Diestel's contention remains true. The OT enshrines a small number of historical poems or fragments of such—it may suffice to name the Song of Deborah in Jg 5—but this is lyric, not epic, poetry. Pss 105-107 are quite secondary productions, versification of the ancient popular history for liturgical purposes; they are litanies, not epics. The Jewish works of fiction of later times, the Books of Ruth, Jonah, Esther, Dn 1-6[‡] are wholly in prose. The strongest evidence is furnished by the narrative proper in the Book of Job, the so-called prologue and epilogue in chs. 1. 2. 42. Although it is practically certain that these were borrowed from the mouth of the people,[§] and are thus no secondary work, but an original one composed in the form current among the people for such subjects, these passages are written in prose, although this is unusually lofty or, if one will, has the breath of poetry. They share also with other narrative passages the characteristic that the *direct speech* of the parties acting occasionally reaches at the most critical points poetic expression (Job 1^{21}, cf. elsewhere Gn 9^{25-27} $21^{6b.7}$ 25^{33} $27^{27-29.39f.}$, Jg 15^{16}). It is difficult to regard these intermingled lines of verse as the last remnants of an originally poetic composition. We may rather find here an indication that poetry had with the Hebrews a wholly subjective, *i.e.* lyric, tinge, but that it was not in use for objective epic description. We must reckon with this fact, without being able to offer any sufficient explanation of it. Perhaps, however, in this matter the common Semitic tendency is upon the side of the Hebrews, the exceptional development upon that of the Babylonians and Assyrians.[||]

Such we consider to be the state of the case, and C. A. Briggs alone appears to come to a different conclusion. But even when he represents Jotham's fable (Jg 9^{8-15})—to take the most extensive illustration—as written in metre (see his metrical division of it, *op. cit.* p. 416 f.), this does not go essentially beyond what was said above. For here we have direct address and at least gnomic poetry, even if it is written in prose.[¶] But when the two Creation narratives (P's in Gn 1 and J's in 2^{4}–4), as well as the two forms of the story of the Flood (Gn 6–8), are declared to be poetical passages, metrically composed (Briggs, *op. cit.* p. 559 f.), this gives rise to a new, otherwise unheard of, state of things. *Before* any examination of these passages, the objection lies to hand that one cannot see why then Gn 9 and 11^{1-9} are not to be regarded as poetical, and, most pertinently of all, ch. 5, the Sethite table which forms the transition to the story of the Flood. But when one looks more closely at the passages in question, it becomes plain that the whole doctrine of the form of Heb. poetry, as explained above, must be radically transformed before these narratives can be forced into metrical forms. We find them dominated neither by stichical division nor by parallelism. Nothing is proved by the circumstance that here and there the tone of the language rises and takes a certain poetical flight, or that here and there a few lines are capable of scansion, or that the relation between certain clauses may claim the name of parallelism. In reality the primitive history of both sources (P and J) is, so far as the form is concerned, not otherwise constructed than the following history of the patriarchs, etc., and is transmitted to us as history, not poetry, just as strictly as that is.* The conclusion, then, holds that the poetically composed epos as well as the drama is wanting in Hebrew literature.

---

[*] Cf., for early times, G. Sommer, *Biblische Abhandlungen*, 1846, p. 85 ff., and for modern, C. A. Briggs, *op. cit.* p. 373 ff.

[†] Cf. the present writer's Commentary on Canticles in the *Kurzer Hdcomm. z. AT*, xvii. (1898) p. xii ff.

[*] Cf. the present writer's Commentary on Job in Nowack's *Handkomm.* ii. 1 (1896), p. vi f. J. Ley's rejoinder (*Neue Jahrb. f. das klass. Altertum*, etc., Leipzig, Teubner, Jahrg. 1899, ii. Abth. p. 295 ff.) only shows that he has not rightly apprehended the point on which we are at issue.

[†] The above remarks are not of course meant to exclude the recognition of a dramatic element in many passages in the OT, including even the Bk. of Job. The present writer could assent to the remark of C. A. Briggs (*op. cit.* p. 419), 'the dramatic element is quite strong in Hebrew poetry,' but not to the heading 'Dramatic Poetry,' nor to the statement (p. 420) that the dramatic element reaches its climax in the Song of Songs.

[‡] Cf. above, p. 3^b.

[§] Cf. Budde, *Comm.* p. vii ff.

[||] So also Grimme, *ZDMG*, 1897, p. 684.

[¶] Parallelism proper is wanting, it is simply the rhetorical construction, with fourfold repetition of the same scene (cf. such a passage as Job 1^{13-19}) that gives the appearance of rhythm. The alterations made by Briggs on v.^{15} are warranted, however, even without a metrical scheme, only we must read וְתֵצֵא and

Accordingly, only *one* of the leading varieties of poetry, the earliest and the simplest of them, was cultivated in Israel, namely the *lyric*. At the same time it must not be forgotten that a secondary variety of this, namely *gnomic* poetry, which we might call 'thought-lyric,' likewise attained to a rich development.

B. THE EMPLOYMENT OF POETRY.—For the sake of brevity, we shall seek here to combine as far as possible a sketch of the history of OT poetry with a schematic survey of the poems that have come down to us. Only the folk-poetry of early times needs to be handled in any detail; the other survivals of Heb. poetry will be found treated of in this Dictionary in separate articles.

1. *Folk-Poetry.*—This is everywhere the oldest form of poetry. Poetry as an art never makes its appearance till later epochs. The saying of J. G. Hamann (1730–1788), 'Poetry is the mother-tongue of the human race,' which was more fully explained and established by his pupil J. G. Herder (1744–1803), and has in recent times been emphatically asserted especially by Ed. Reuss (cf. Herzog's *RE*^{2} v. [1879] p. 671 f.), finds everywhere its complete justification. Poetry is in point of fact older than prose; all the most ancient utterances of different nations are couched in poetry. One may lay down the rule: *in the case of a primitive people all discourse that is intended for publicity or for memorial purposes will be found clothed in a poetical form.* To these two categories belongs everything of a religious character, and it must be borne in mind that in the life of ancient peoples much that appears to us secular bears the stamp of religion. In this way poetry has its home in Israel as elsewhere:—

(*a*) *In family life.*—What specially come into view here are the *wedding-song* and the *lament for the dead.* Of the former of these we possess a whole collection of fine specimens, which, thanks to a mistaken exegesis, found their way into the Canon of the Sacred Writings, in the book which is called in Hebrew שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים and, in English, Canticles or the Song of Solomon. Though these songs are of late origin, yet they will have preserved, as genuine folk-songs, the quality of early times with essential fidelity.* A *contrafactum* † of the wedding-song of older days is exhibited by the prophet Isaiah at the beginning of his Parable of the Vineyard ($5^{1ff.}$).—Of the lament for the dead we possess only *contrafacta*, applied to historical persons and personifications, first in the mouth of the prophets and then in the Book of Lamentations (chs. 1–4). See fuller details on this point above, i. *B* 2 **d**, p. 5. In the case of lamentations for the dead, women alone were the composers and the performers (מְקוֹנְנוֹת, חֲכָמוֹת, Jer 9^{16}), who sought to increase their collection of dirges and handed down their art by instruction (v.^{19}). At weddings, on the other hand, young men and young women seem to have contended for the pre-eminence.‡ From the official lament we ought certainly to distinguish exceptional cases when an accomplished friend might dedicate a eulogy to the dead, such as has come down to us in David's fine lament for Saul and Jonathan (2 S $1^{17ff.}$), and in a lament for Abner of which at least a few lines have survived (2 S $3^{33f.}$). Whether it was the custom to use songs to celebrate other important events and festivals in the family life, such, for instance, as weaning (cf. Gn 21^{8}) and circumcision, we have no means of determining.

(*b*) *In the life of the community.*—That even the industrial life of the Israelitish farmer and nomad was interpenetrated with song we may assume without further question. Examples are thinly scattered. From the earliest times we have the *Song of the Well* (Nu $21^{17f.}$).§ From the life of the agriculturist Is 65^{8} has preserved some words of a *vintage blessing.* Harvest songs, too, may be taken for granted, in view of the harvest feasts and the proverbial joy of harvest (Is 9^{3}), and perhaps the feast of sheep-shearing (1 S $25^{4ff.}$, 2 S $13^{23ff.}$) had also its special songs. If our interpretation of the difficult text Jg 5^{11} is correct, the rehearsal of songs is presupposed even there as part of the shepherd's life. People did not like to be made 'the subject of verse' (מָשָׁל, cf. Is 14^{4}, Mic 2^{4}, Hab 2^{6}) or 'of music' (נְגִינָה, cf. La 3^{14}, Job 30^{9}, Ps 69^{12}). Hence the '*taunt-song*' must have been much in vogue. Even for early times its use is not to be denied, while for a later period a short specimen of quite a unique kind has been preserved in the song upon the forgotten courtezan, Is 23^{16}, which sounds as if it belonged to the category of *drinking-songs* mentioned in Ps 69^{12}, but presupposed also in Am 6^{5} and 2 S 19^{35}. At least no banquet proper (מִשְׁתֶּה, *συμπόσιον*) can well have been without music, including songs. It is not necessary to suppose, indeed, that on such occasions only pronounced drinking-songs were sung; rather will the want have frequently been met in early times by national songs. A special class of composers and singers, whose services were called into requisition on such occasions, is named in Nu 21^{27} (הַמֹּשְׁלִים). By this Hebrew name we are to understand a guild of 'travelling singers,' rhapsodists such as flourished in ancient Greece and on German soil, who not only had a rich repository of national saga and heroic poems, but also treated their

---

וַתֹּאכַל 'and there came out fire and devoured.' By the way, Grimme (*ZDMG*, 1897, p. 512), too, represents Jotham's fable as written in verse, although he gives a somewhat different arrangement of it.

* It appears to us that Briggs is in general inclined to draw too lightly the boundaries of poetical form, confusing, as he does, rhetorical and metrical forms. This remark applies also very specially to many NT passages to which he gives a metrical arrangement.

* Cf. Budde, 'Das Hohelied' in *Kurzer Hdcomm.*

† This is the name applied to the church songs of the close of the Middle Ages, which were composed in imitation of the measure, melody, and words of familiar secular songs.

‡ Cf. the description, for modern Syria, by Wetzstein (*Ztschr. f. Ethnol.*, 1873, p. 287 ff.).

§ For evidence that this is not a properly historical poem, but a song such as it was customary to sing at the discovery of new springs in the desert, as well as for an attempt to restore its original form, see Budde in *The New World*, 1895, p. 136 ff.

audience to songs of a more or less wanton or frivolous character. At the royal court 'singing men and singing women' are taken for granted as part of the regular *personnel* (2 S 19^{35}). To the category under consideration belongs also the single certain ancient trace of *gnomic poetry* which has come down to us, namely Samson's riddle (Jg 14^{14a}), along with its solution, and Samson's reply in v.^{18}. Such displays of wit may have been much in vogue as 'social games' at merrymakings. That, along with these, proverbs and wise saws also had wide currency among the people we may take for granted. No doubt the collection of these in the Book of Proverbs dates from later times, but all the same this may embody very ancient material, altered or not, as the case may be. The oracle, which under the title of 'the last words of David' interrupts the context in 2 S 23$^{1-17}$, must have a late date assigned to it; the saying of Jahweh about Moses in Nu 12$^{6-8}$ appears to have been before the mind's eye of the writer. Another example of the same species is found in the words of Samuel in 1 S 15$^{22f.}$ It must be added that all three of the last cited passages tend to pass over into the following divisions—the religious, the national, and the prophetical.

(*c*) *In the religious life.*—In the first place it is extremely probable that the ancient *priestly oracle*, where it did not simply, by the casting of the lot, give the answer 'yes' or 'no' to the question put, was couched in verse. A classical example is furnished by Gn 25^{23}, an oracle, indeed, which belongs at the same time to our next division. Likewise for the cultus proper we have examples that are both ancient and certain. These are, in the first place, *the Aaronic blessing* (Nu 6$^{24-26}$), then *the formulæ pronounced at the taking up and the setting down of the ark of J"* (Nu 10$^{35f.}$),* and finally *Solomon's words in dedicating the temple* (1 K 8$^{12f.}$), which must be supplemented and restored after the LXX (8^{53}). How far the religious service, *i.e.* in particular the sacrificial actions, was even in ancient times embellished by special songs, cannot now be determined. All that have come down to us emanate exclusively from the temple at Jerusalem in post-exilic times, as far at least as the form in which they now lie before us is concerned. But as surely as the religious gatherings were joyous feasts (Dt 12$^{7. 12. 18}$), with equal certainty may we conclude that even in early times music and poetry must have assumed their rôle at these, whenever any sanctuary obtained a name and a brilliant equipment, and considerable bodies of worshippers came together.

(*d*) *In the national life.*—Here we may distinguish the state of rest on the one side, and of activity, *i.e.* war, on the other. To the first category belong the extremely numerous *eulogistic and denunciatory sayings* in which a people celebrates its own qualities and its superiority to other peoples; or separate divisions or groups of a people may express their own distinctive characteristics. This species of poetry is extraordinarily widespread and everywhere highly developed, but most of all amongst Israel's relations, the ancient Arabs. It may exhibit all degrees, from empty unmeaning braggadocio up to the finest and loftiest poetical utterance. In the OT it begins with the boastful *song of Lamech* (Gn 4$^{23f.}$), which occurs in the primitive genealogical table inherited from the Kenites (קין), and is a genuine type of the original form of this species as found in the mouth of a small tribe. Then come the *sayings of Noah* (Gn 9$^{25-27}$), in which Israel (שם) maintains its prestige over against the wealthy Phœnician (יפת) and the slave Canaan (כנען). Here for the first time this species clothes itself in the form of the 'blessing,' in which, suitably to the quality of our sources, which look at everything from the religious view-point, it meets us in by far the majority of instances. The characteristic of his half-brother *Ishmael* is defined by Israel in the words put into the mouth of Jahweh in Gn 16$^{11f.}$, which can hardly have retained their original form. So Israel states his relation to his twin brother *Edom* in the oracle of Gn 25^{23}, and separately for each in the double blessing of 27$^{27-29}$ and v.$^{39f.}$, very much, of course, to the prejudice of the brother. The more extensive *oracles of Balaam* (Nu 23$^{7-10. 18-24}$ 24$^{3-9. 15-24}$), which show indications that they have undergone several expansions, make glorious promises to Israel, in contrast to Moab, and even, further, to other nations. But this species shows its finest development in the two poems in which each of the tribes of Israel has its dignity and its special quality assigned to it in relation to the other tribes, namely the *Blessing of Jacob* (Gn 49) and the *Blessing of Moses* (Dt 33). It is by no accident that these two oracles have been put into the mouth of these two particular men, for Jacob is the fleshly and Moses the spiritual father of Israel, and they alone can pass judgment upon all their sons. The Blessing of Moses presupposes the Blessing of Jacob, and on the basis of the altered relations brought about by time (perhaps in the first half of the 8th cent.) gives it a new form. Thus, then, from the two sources, J and E, the older and the younger compositions are taken over. The older, the Blessing of Jacob, may have been compiled from separate sayings that were current about the different tribes. The self-consciousness of the tribe in which the finished poem took its rise, namely Judah, at last gave the general tone to the whole. Numerous sayings of the same kind, characterizing towns and hamlets, meadows, and clans, must have been current. A relic of these has survived in the now sorely mutilated saying about the city of Abel-beth-maacah, 2 S 20$^{18f.}$.

The principal specimen of the real historical folk-song is the fine *Song of Deborah*, Jg 5. This attaches itself closely, at the same time, to the preceding species, being as it is a poem in which praise and blame are distributed, from v.^{12} onwards. First of all, praise is given to Deborah, who by her recruiting-song has called to the battle, and then to Barak as the commander (v.^{12}). This is followed by an enumeration of the tribes who put in an appearance (vv.$^{13-15a}$), with censure and ridicule of those who kept at a distance (vv.$^{15b-17}$). Next a tribute is paid to the valour of the tribes of Zebulun and Naphtali (v.^{18}), the city of Meroz is cursed (v.^{23}), while to the Kenite woman Jael is awarded the palm for the greatest deed of personal heroism (v.$^{24ff.}$). We have here, at least from v.^{6} onwards, the primitive mode of a song that grew up in the life of the nation as a whole. We are directly reminded of the distribution of the rewards of victory after the battles of Platæa and Mykale. Of other war-songs we possess only fragments (Nu 21$^{14f. 27-30}$, Jos 10$^{12f.}$) or very brief extracts compressed into a single verse, such as *the Song at the Passage of the Red Sea* (Ex 15^{21}), and that which was sung in honour of *Saul and David when they defeated the Philistines* (1 S 18$^{6f.}$). Similarly, the substance of a *song of triumph over Samson* is put into the mouth of the Philistines in Jg 16$^{23f.}$. On the other hand, it is clear that the *Song contained in Ex 15$^{1-20}$* is a late composition in Psalm style, expanded from the short v.^{21} and really meant to take the place of this; and in like manner *David's triumphal song* in 2 S 22 = Ps 18 is a late insertion.

As a feature of the real life of ancient times it is to be noted that in Ex 15^{21} as well as in 1 S $18^{6f.}$ it is the women, or rather the maidens, who meet the returning warriors with songs, and the same custom is presupposed in Jg 11^{34}, in the story of Jephthah. Among the Arabs at the present day a victory is still followed by a sword-dance, performed by a maiden to the accompaniment of a song.

---

* Cf. further, *Actes du dixième Congrès de Orientalistes*, iii. (Leyden, 1896), p. 18 ff.

It is an extremely important circumstance that Nu 21^{14}, according to the note wherewith it is introduced, is derived from ספר מלחמות יהוה, **the Book of the Wars of Jahweh**, *i.e.* of the wars of Israel, which, as such, are the wars of Israel's God (cf. 1 S 25^{28}). We have thus to do here with a collection of ancient war-songs which already lay before the ancient historian as a source, and thus to a certainty mark the beginning of writing amongst the Hebrews. Side by side with this source we read in Jos 10^{13b} of a ספר הישר or **Book of the Upright**, from which v.$^{12-13a}$ is said to be cited. From it, according to 2 S 1^{18}, is cited also *David's lament for Saul and Jonathan*, no less than *Solomon's words in dedicating the Temple*, according to the LXX of 1 K 8^{53}, where *ἐν βιβλίῳ τῆς ᾠδῆς* = בְּסֵפֶר הַשִּׁיר, and the last Heb. word is doubtless corrupted from הַיָּשָׁר. Here, then, we have to do with an ancient song-book, which contained more than war-songs, and whose composition, or at least completion, must be brought down as far as the time of Solomon. We have no room to complain that more of the contents of these two books have not come down to us, when we consider that Charlemagne's collection of Old German songs has been completely lost.

2. *The Poetry of the Prophets.*—That the prophets availed themselves of poetical composition is self-evident from the first. For their utterances were intended for publicity, and, as time went on, more and more for being treasured in the memory, while at the same time the prophetic movement grew out of the popular soil, which was completely saturated with poetry.* The prophets have accordingly not suffered to escape their notice any of the manifold forms of poetry that unfolded themselves in the midst of the people. At the same time, thanks to the great variety of entrances upon the scene made by the writing prophets of whose literary activity more extensive remains have come down to us, we must, even in the matter of poetical form, distinguish a number of possibilities which show a marked divergence from one another.

(*a*) The prophet may adopt the poetical forms current in other social circles, and come forward himself as a poet, thus playing a strange part, as in the extremely frequent prophetical laments (cf. above, i. *B*, d), or the isolated marriage-song, Is $5^{1f.}$ (cf. above, ii. *B*, a). But, even apart from these special cases, later prophecy has a special fondness for interrupting a prophetical address by songs, whether these are sung by the prophet himself, as happens with special frequency in Deutero-Isaiah, or are put into the mouth of other persons, as happens repeatedly in Is 24–27, and as has been done by a redactor in Is 12. In all these instances the language necessarily follows the laws of strictly poetical composition, because it attaches itself to fixed forms taken as a model.

(*b*) The prophet may communicate Divine oracles, which he has himself received. Here again strict, measured form is natural.

(*c*) The prophet may speak in his own name, taking for his basis, and expanding, Divine oracles. Betwixt these last two possibilities the great mass of prophetical passages continually oscillates; and transition cases occur, in which it is impossible to draw the boundaries sharply.

(*d*) The prophet may himself tell of his entrance upon office and what happened in connexion with it, such as the conversations he held. To this category belong, for instance, the accounts of visions such as we have in Am 7 ff., the appearances beheld by an Ezekiel or a Zechariah, etc., but no less the experiences of Hosea (chs. 1–3), not to speak of the little Book of Isaiah, whose kernel is the story of the prophet's meeting with king Ahaz (6^{1}–9^{6}), and some things related of Jeremiah (*e.g.* $18^{1ff.}$).

(*e*) Another author may tell about the prophet in such a way that the latter becomes the hero of the story. In such instances it is relatively indifferent if occasionally it is the prophet who speaks of himself in the third person, but this is scarcely a likely contingency. To this last category belong Am $7^{10ff.}$, Is 20, and in a much less degree chs. 36–39, but, above all, large sections of the Book of Jeremiah, particularly from ch. 26 onwards. If these last-named sections at last expand into a life of Jeremiah, nay, into a history of his times, if Is 36–39 was mainly taken from a popular work of history and appended to the older Book of Isaiah, it is evident that we have now reached the sphere of prose pure and simple. But even in these sections there are prophetical discourses which by a stretch may be said to lead us back to the realm of poetry.

Besides, personal endowments must be taken into account. One might have the full consciousness of a call to the prophetic office and yet be no born poet. Then it might happen that at one time the prophet would put on the unwonted poetic harness and go earnestly to work for a while, only to relapse presently into heedlessness, while at another time he would disdain to use it at all and would employ prose. Something of this kind may be observed, for instance, in Ezekiel.

Under such conditions the literary form in the prophetic writings continually vacillates to and fro, and we meet also with transition forms betwixt prose and poetry, which it is difficult to class with certainty. The possibility of a careless treatment of poetical rules, giving rise to an imperfect type or mixed species of discourse, is open to Hebrew as well as to any other language, nay, it lies nearer to hand in it than in many other languages. The stichic structure only needs to be neglected for the discourse to flow on with tolerable freedom from restraint, while the parallelism is retained as far as possible and by its peculiar undulating progress always makes itself felt. Grimme (*ZDMG*, 1897, p. 683 f.) is wrong, then, when he rejects *in toto* the idea of a 'rhythmic prose'; the dilemma by which he attempts a *reductio ad absurdum* of it is not cogent for those who do not accept his system. His argument fails in particular to do justice to the parallelism of the thought. For an analogy to the above-named mixed species, we may compare our own doggerel verse or rhymed prose.

For the prophetical books, then, a sliding scale must be adopted, with many indefinable transitions. The poetical form will be most strictly observed in the cases described above under (*a*) and, a little less, (*b*); the prophet himself will move with more freedom in those included under (*c*); the instance cited under (*d*) will give ample scope for the intermixture of prose; finally, in the last case prose will be the form started with, which will only occasionally make way for poetry. Details would be out of place here.

3. *Artistic Poetry.*—To this category belong in a certain sense the whole of the poetical books, for these were all either composed or collected in full view and with clear consciousness of their artistic

---

* Cf., for the origin of earlier and later prophecy, the present writer's American Lectures, *The Religion of Israel to the Exile*, New York and London, Putnam, 1899, Lect. iii. and iv.

form. This took place, without exception, in later post-exilic times. But at the same time there is scarcely one of them which had not its roots in the ancient folk-poetry. Along with lyric poetry, the gnome and the Wisdom literature occupy the forefront in this arena.

(*a*) *Lyric Poetry.*—(1) **The Song of Songs.**—This belongs, as was pointed out above (p. 10), wholly to the realm of folk-poetry. It is a collection of popular wedding-songs, belonging to a late period. But it owed its retention in the Canon simply to the circumstance that it was taken to be an extremely ingenious allegorical poem with a religious meaning, and that its author was assumed to be Solomon. It is not an impossible suggestion that, because of this conception, the book underwent here and there editorial revision.[*] See, further, art. SONG OF SONGS.

(2) **The Book of Lamentations.**—Here, truly, poetry as an art rules, till artificiality is reached in the alphabetic arrangement. But this art is based on the employment by the prophets of the popular lament for the dead, and is an imitation of the latter. A higher degree of art than that found in chs. 1. 2. 4 is present in ch. 3, which is meant to be, as it were, a central peak between the other chapters; ch. 5, again, is popular, and alien in subject and form from the rest.[†] See, further, art. LAMENTATIONS.

(3) **The Psalms.**—In this collection we have to recognize the Temple hymn-book of the post-exilic community, the religious lyric with artistic development. Only in a single instance has a secular song strayed into this company, namely Ps 45, also a wedding-song, but one of quite an artificial character. More frequent is gnomic poetry, although with a decidedly religious application; cf. *e.g.* Ps 1. But even here the popular basis is not wanting. In its purest form this meets us in the collection known as the *Pilgrim Songs*, Pss 120–137. Psalms outside the collection proper are found in Hab 3, which exhibits the same kind of titles and technical terms as meet us in the Psalms; in 2 S 22=Ps 18; in 1 S 2^{1-10} wrongly put in the mouth of Hannah; further, suitable to the situation are Ex 15^{1-20} (cf. above); the Song of Moses, Dt 32; Is 12. Perhaps also Nah 1 was originally an alphabetical psalm (see art. NAHUM for a defence of this view). In the so-called *Psalms of Solomon* (which see) there has come down to us, although only in the Greek language, another small collection of psalms from the 1st cent. B.C. The title '*Psalms of Solomon*' expresses nothing more than that they are secondary, as compared with the canonical Psalms, which as a whole are attributed by tradition to *David*.

On the titles found in the Book of Psalms see art. PSALMS, p. 153 ff.

(*b*) *The Wisdom Literature.*—(1) **The Book of Proverbs** unites in itself *gnomic poetry* of the most diverse kinds and with the most varying degrees of development. The basis and the kernel (chs. 10–22^{17}, also chs. 25–29) are supplied by the two-line *māshāl*, which in form and contents is certainly the oldest structure of this species, and in its origin is distinctly popular. To this were appended, towards the end, more elaborate species, apophthegms expressed at greater length, enigmatical and numerical sayings, and finally (31^{10-31}) an alphabetical eulogy of the virtuous woman. At the beginning of the book (chs. 1–9) we have a connected series of pædagogical-philosophical didactic discourses, in which Wisdom and Folly personified are introduced. For details see art. PROVERBS.

(2) **The Book of Job** is based upon a popular story, and gives to the problem raised in this a new turn which it carries artistically through the conversations of chs. 3–42^{6}. The form adopted is essentially the same as is found in Pr 1–9, but the poet has succeeded in giving to this a lyric movement throughout, and has even cast the different speakers in so plastic a mould and kept them so well apart as to give rise to the appearance of a dramatic performance (cf. above, p. 9). Beyond any doubt, the Book of Job is the highest product of the poet's art to be found in the OT. It brings to a focus, as it were, all that Heb. poetry could contribute, and stands out as one of the noblest poetical compositions of any age, or any people. See, further, art. JOB.

(3) **Qoheleth.**—This book takes its place as a counterpart to Pr 1–9, as a philosophical didactic poem, but has an essentially different point of view. Belonging to a very late period, it does not stand high poetically; both language and verse-structure leave much to be desired. See, further, ECCLESIASTES.

(4) To the same species belongs the **Book of Sirach.** This is probably older than Qoheleth, it stands higher as regards language and form; from the religious standpoint it is more valuable, if less original in its views. It concerns us here because recently a considerable part of its contents has been recovered in the original Hebrew (see SIRACH). With this book we may bring our survey to a close.

K. BUDDE.

POISON (חֵמָה *ḥēmāh*, 5 times, Dt $32^{24.33}$, Job 6^{4}, Ps 58^{4} 140^{3}; רֹאשׁ *rōʾsh*, in Job 20^{16}; LXX θυμός except in Ps 140^{3}, where it is ἰός as in NT; Vulg. *indignatio* Job 6^{4}, *caput* Job 20^{16}, *furor* Dt 32^{24}, Ps 58^{4}, *venenum* Dt 32^{33}, Ps 140^{3}, Ro 3^{13}, Ja 3^{8}).—The commonest signification of *ḥēmāh* is fury or the heat of anger, in which sense it occurs over 100 times in the OT. In some of these passages the ideas of anger and of poison are united, as in Is 51^{17-22}, where the cup of God's wrath is spoken of; see also Job 21^{20}, Jer 25^{15}, etc. Luther translates 'fervent lips' of Pr 26^{23} by *giftiger Mund.* The Greek word θυμός likewise primarily means that part of human nature which is affected with passion or anger. The Hebrew idea is therefore that poison is a substance which causes fatal heat and irritation, and in nearly every instance in the OT the material referred to is the venom of serpents or scorpions; see Dt $32^{24.33}$, Job 6^{4} 20^{16}, Ps 58^{4} 140^{3}, and in the NT Ro 3^{13}.

Six species of poisonous snakes occur in Palestine, *Vipera Euphratica*, *V. Ammodytes*, *Daboia xanthina*, *Echis arenicola*, *Naja Haje*, the hooded cobra common in the southern border countries, but not often found in the cultivated tracts; and *Cerastes Hasselquistii*, the horned viper, very common, and often found lurking in hollows of the ground. Tristram has seen it in the imprints made on soft ground by camels. The Israelites were therefore well acquainted with the effects of poisonous wounds inflicted by these, as well as by the scarcely less dreaded centipedes and scorpions. In Egypt poison was likewise chiefly associated with serpent bites. In the Book of the Dead (c. 149, l. 27 ff.) the poison of the serpent *Rtwk* is called *shmnt*, which comes from a root which also means to be hot, or to produce fever.

The natives of the neighbouring countries had, like most races of savage or semi-civilized man, learned to utilize this poison to render their darts and arrows more destructive. This was an ancient practice (cf. *Odyssey*, i. 261; Soph. *Trachiniæ*, 574), and it is referred to in Job 6^{4}. This usage has shown itself in the change of meaning in the word τοξικός, possibly also in that of ἰός, although it is now generally held that in its Homeric sense as an arrow it is connected with the Sanskrit *ishus*, while in its Sophoclean sense as a poison, '*εἶτα φοινίας ἐχθρᾶς ἐχίδνης ἰός*,' it is related to the Sanskrit *vishas*.

---

[*] Cf. the present writer's *Comm.*, p. xx f.

[†] Cf. *Kurzer Hdcomm.*

The poison of insect bites is mentioned directly in Wis 16^{9} and implicitly in other passages. The word *rōʼsh* occurs 11 times, but is usually translated 'gall' ('venom' in Dt 32^{33}, 'poison' in Job 20^{16}, 'hemlock' in Hos 10^{4}). It was most probably a poisonous plant, and one which communicates its bitterness and poisonous properties to water (Jer 8^{14} 9^{15}); but in the absence of more definite information it is not easily identified. Perhaps the poppy is the plant indicated (see GALL in vol. ii. 104), but the grapes of gall of Dt 32^{32} are most probably the fruit of *Calotropis procera*.

Metaphorically, the influence of evil speech is said to be the deadly poison of that unruly evil, the tongue, Ja 3^{8}. The forked tongue of the snake was believed to be the darter of its venom before the structure of the poison fangs was known; cf. Job 20^{16} 'he shall suck the poison of asps, the viper's tongue shall slay him.'

The administration of poison internally for suicidal or homicidal purposes is not mentioned in NT or OT. In 2 Mac 10^{13} there is, however, one instance given—that of the suicide of Ptolemy Macron. Poisoning and sorcery were, as they still are in savage and semi-savage countries, closely connected in ancient times and in the NT. Sorcerers are called *φαρμακοί*, as in LXX Ex 7^{11} 9^{11} 22^{18} and eight other passages, as well as in Rev 21^{8} 22^{15}; and sorcery is *φαρμακία* in Gal 5^{20}. Sorcery in the OT is, however, more directly connected with incantation, as implied by its root כשׁף. See MAGIC, vol. iii. p. 210. Josephus (*Ant*. XVII. iv. 1), in describing the death of Pheroras, says that the Arabian women were skilful in compounding poisons; but the art of poisoning was in ancient times much more commonly employed among Indo-European than among Semitic peoples.

In the appendix to St. Mark's Gospel (16^{18}) one of the promises made to 'those that believe,' is that if they drink any deadly thing (*θανάσιμόν τι*), it shall not hurt them—a promise which, according to Papias (*ap*. Eus. *HE* iii. 39), was fulfilled in the case of Joseph Barsabbas.

The word 'poison' in English is borrowed from the French *poison*, which originally meant a potion or remedy. In the *Roman de la Rose*, l. 2043, it is thus used—

> 'Car ge sais par quel poison
> Tu seras tret à garison';

but from the 13th cent. it has been used in English in the sense of a deadly drug. See the passage in Langtoft's *Chronicle*, where he describes the administration of 'puson' to Ambrosius. This, though written in a sort of French, is the work of an Englishman; see also Britton, ed. Nichols, i. 34, where the word is spelled 'poysoun.'

For notes on the history of poisons in ancient times see Schulze, *Diss. sistens toxicologiam veterum plantas venenatas describentem veteribus cognitas*, Halæ, 1788. A. MACALISTER.

POLE.—The brazen serpent was displayed upon a pole (Nu 21$^{8.\,9}$ AV, the only occurrence of the word 'pole' in the Bible). The Heb. is נֵס (LXX *σημεῖον*), which appears to mean primarily 'a flagstaff,' and is used in a transferred sense for the banner itself. RV tr. 'standard.' See, further, art. BANNER.

POLL.—The poll (of Teut. origin, Scotch *pow*) is the head, especially its rounded back part. Thus Shaks. *Hamlet*, IV. v. 196—'All flaxen was his poll'; and Bacon, *Essays*, p. 122, 'Not the hundred poll will be fit for an helmet.' The word is thence used in very early English for the person, as Piers Plowman, B. xi. 57, 'Pol bi pol'=individually. A poll-tax is a tax on each person, and a poll or polling is a census or record of persons. The subst. is used in AV only in the phrase 'by the poll' (Nu 3^{47}) or 'by their polls' (Nu 1$^{2.\,18.\,20.\,22}$, 1 Ch 23$^{3.\,24}$). Cf. Shaks. *Coriol*. III. iii. 9—

> 'Have you a catalogue
> Of all the voices that we have procured
> Set down by the poll?'

The Heb. word is always גֻּלְגֹּלֶת *gulgoleth*, which in the places where it is rendered 'poll' as well as in Ex 16^{16} (AV 'for every man,' AVm 'by the poll or head,' RV 'a head') and 38^{26} (AV 'A bekah for every man,' AVm 'a poll,' RV 'a head') means the head or the person in counting, taxing, etc., but elsewhere means the head as severed from the body (2 K 9^{35}, 1 Ch 10^{10}), or the skull as broken with a stone (Jg 9^{53}). The idea in the Heb. word as in the Eng. is *roundness*.*

To 'poll the head' is to make it look more rounded by cutting off the hair. The expression occurs in 2 S 14$^{26\,ter}$ (Heb. [גִּלַּח] in Piel, usually tr. 'to shave') and Ezk 44^{20} (Heb. כָּסַם, its only occurrence); and 'to poll' by itself in Mic 1^{16} 'Make thee bald and poll thee for thy delicate children' (Heb. גֹּז, usually to 'shear'). Cf. Wyclif's (1388) tr. of Job 1^{20} 'Thanne Joob roos, and to-rente his clothis, and with pollid heed he felde doun on the erthe'; and 1 Co 11^{5} (1380), 'Forsoth ech womman preiynge, or prophesyinge, the heed not hilid, defoulith hir heed; forsoth it is oon, as yif sche be maad ballid, *pollid, or clippid*.'

In Jer 9^{26} 25^{23} 49^{32} RV changes 'that are in the utmost corners' into 'that have the corners of their hair polled,' in accordance with AVm. See HAIR, vol. ii. p. 284^{a}. J. HASTINGS.

POLLUTION.—See PURIFICATION.

POLLUX.—See DIOSCURI.

POLYGAMY.—See MARRIAGE.

POLYTHEISM.—See GOD, and IDOLATRY.

POMEGRANATE (רִמּוֹן *rimmōn*, *ῥόα*, *granatum*).—There can be no doubt of the identity of this tree. Its Arab. name, *rummân*, is plainly of the same origin. Its botanical name is *Punica Granatum*, L., of the order *Granateæ*. It is 10–15 feet high, with oblong lanceolate deciduous leaves, a woody-leathery top-shaped calyx, five to seven scarlet petals, very numerous stamens in several rows, and an ovary with two tiers of cells, three in the lower and five in the upper tier. The fruit is apple-shaped, crowned by the lobes of the woody calyx, yellowish or brownish, with a blush of red, and contains very numerous angular seeds, surrounded by a juicy pulp. It grows wild in N. Syria and possibly in Gilead. The fruit is of two varieties, the sweet and the acid. The pomegranate is repeatedly mentioned in the Ḳoran as one of the trees of Paradise. It is constantly alluded to in Arab stories.

The Scripture allusions to the pomegranate are also frequent. The spies brought pomegranates (Nu 13^{23}). The Israelites in the wilderness of Zin (Nu 20^{5}) lamented the pomegranates of Egypt, along with its figs and vines. Moses, in recounting the good things of Canaan, did not forget them (Dt 8^{8}). Saul abode under a pomegranate tree (1 S 14^{2}). Solomon compares the temples of his bride to a piece of the fruit (Ca 4^{3}), and her whole person to an orchard of them (v.^{13}). The beautiful flower is alluded to (6^{11} 7^{12}), and the juice or wine as a beverage (8^{2}). The withering or barrenness of this tree was a sign of desolation (Jl 1^{12}, Hag 2^{19}). The fruit was embroidered (Ex 28^{33}), and sculptured (1 K 7^{18}, etc.). It was also sculptured on the Egyptian monuments. It is mentioned in Sir 45^{9}. Numerous places were named from this tree, as Rimmon (Jos 15^{32}), Gath-rimmon (21^{25}), En-rimmon (Neh 11^{29}). The pomegranate is as extensively cultivated and as highly prized now as in ancient times. The beautifully striped pink and crystal grains are shelled out, and brought to table on plates. The acid sort is served with sugar. Rose-water is sometimes sprinkled over the grains. The juice of the acid sort is sweetened as a beverage, and also used in salads. The rind is used in tanning. It is also a powerful anthelmintic, principally against the tape-worm. A knife used in cutting the rind turns black, as does also the section of the rind, from the formation of tannate of iron. G. E. POST.

---

* This perhaps explains the name GOLOOTHA, 'the place of a skull,' Mt 27^{33}, Mk 15^{22}, Lk 23^{33} (RV), Jn 19^{17}.

POMMEL (from Old Fr. *pomel*, dim. of *pomme*; Lat. *pomum*, an apple) is the tr. in 2 Ch $4^{12\,bis.\,13}$ of גֻּלָּה *gullah*, which in the parallel passage, 1 K $7^{41\,bis.\,42}$, is tr. 'bowl.' RV gives 'bowl' in 2 Ch also. The reference is to the 'bowl- or globe-shaped portion of capitals of the two pillars in the temple' (*Oxf. Heb. Lex.*), so that *pommel* (which like the Heb. word contains the idea of roundness) is not unsuitable. Wyclif uses the word, not only of the round end of the handle of a sword, but of the whole handle, Jg 3^{22} 'the pomel (1388 *ether hilte*) folwide the yren in the wound.' In Pr 25^{11} (1388) he uses it in the orig. sense of an apple, 'A goldun pomel (Vulg. *mala aurea*) in beddis of silver is he that spekith a word in his time.' J. HASTINGS.

POND.—See POOL.

PONTIUS PILATE.—See PILATE.

PONTUS (Πόντος) was a name used in a vague and loose way to designate certain large tracts of country in the north-eastern part of Asia Minor adjoining the Black Sea (which was often called by the Greeks '*the* Sea'). Originally, the name was applied to all or any part of the Black Sea coasts; and the Attic orators regularly use it of the Tauric Chersonese (Crimea) and the Cimmerian Bosporus;* and comparatively late writers also, such as Trogus, Diodorus, etc., sometimes apply the name to those remote parts. Herodotus, vii. 95, on the other hand, speaks of the Greeks of Pontus contributing 100 ships to the fleet of Xerxes in 480 B.C., obviously meaning the south Euxine coasts in general; and Xenophon in the *Anabasis* uses it of the eastern parts of the south coast. The term, as thus applied, was rather a mere description than a real name. It was only at a late period, and through political circumstances, that 'Pontus' began to have a definite sense as a geographical name.

i. THE FIRST KINGDOM OF PONTUS.—In the confusion that followed on the death of Alexander the Great, an adventurer named Mithridates managed to found a new state beyond the Halys in north-eastern Asia Minor, about B.C. 302. He assumed the title of king probably towards the end of B.C. 281, and was afterwards known as Ktistes, 'the Founder.' In later times the vanity of the dynasty descended from him invented the story of a legendary kingdom in older times, ruled by a Persian noble family; but that older kingdom rests on no historical basis. The kingdom ruled by the Mithridatic dynasty was, to a great extent, part of the country previously called Cappadocia: it also included some of the mountain tribes near the Black Sea coasts, and part of Paphlagonia. But, as a political unity, it required a name. Polybius in the 2nd cent. B.C. called it 'Cappadocia towards the Euxine,' and Strabo mentions that some called it 'Pontus,' and some 'Cappadocia towards the Pontus.'* Such elaborate names could never establish themselves in common use: Cappadocia was fixed as the name of the kingdom which included the centre and south of the country hitherto embraced under that title, and Pontus as the name of the northern kingdom which was ruled by the Mithridatic dynasty for 218 years, B.C. 281-63. The extent of the name varied according to the varying bounds of the kingdom, which was sometimes larger (including Armenia Minor, etc.), sometimes smaller.

The meaning of the name Pontus changed in B.C. 64. It had previously designated a kingdom, and that kingdom in that year ceased to exist. The Romans then incorporated part of the former kingdom in the empire, constituting it along with BITHYNIA as the double province *Bithynia et Pontus*, which continued to exist with hardly altered limits for more than three centuries until the reorganization of the provinces by Diocletian.

The rest of the old kingdom of Pontus was broken up by Pompey into a number of parts, which were treated in diverse ways; several self-governing cities were constituted; Comana was governed by a priest; Gazelonitis and Pontic Armenia were bestowed on Deiotarus, the Galatian chief and king. The rapid vicissitudes of that part of Pontus in the following years cannot here be followed up in detail. Pharnaces, son of Mithridates the Great, had been made by Pompey king of Bosporus, ruling over the countries on the north-eastern coasts of the Euxine; but he took advantage of the civil wars to reinstate himself in his father's realm of Pontus, till he was defeated by Cæsar in B.C. 47. The kingdom of Pontus was reconstituted by Antony in B.C. 39, and given first to Darius, son of Pharnaces, and afterwards, in B.C. 36, to Polemon.† Polemon founded a dynasty of kings who ruled over Pontus until A.D. 63.

ii. HISTORY OF PONTUS IN NEW TESTAMENT TIMES.—The new Pontic dynasty touched Christian history in several noteworthy ways; and it also was distinguished by coming into relationship with the reigning emperors, Caligula and still more nearly Claudius. The second wife of Polemon I. was Pythodoris, daughter of Antonia and granddaughter of Antony the Triumvir. Pythodoris reigned as queen of Pontus in her own right after her husband's death in B.C. 8 until some time after A.D. 21; but the history of the kingdom is quite unknown in her reign, and an interval seems to have occurred at her death. Her daughter Tryphæna reigned in association with her own son, Polemon II., during part of the reigns of Caligula, Claudius, and Nero. The one date which is certain is that Caligula ‡ made Polemon II. king of Pontus and Bosporus in A.D. 38. Previously, Tryphæna seems to have lived for some time in Cyzicus, and she had married Cotys, king of Thrace (who died in A.D. 19). She perhaps retired to the neighbourhood of Iconium at some time during the reign of Claudius. Her father, Polemon I., had at one time governed a kingdom or state in the south,

---

[*] Bosporus was the term which afterwards was employed to designate those regions when formed into a kingdom.

[*] Καππαδοκία ἡ περὶ τὸν Εὔξεινον, Polyb. v. 43. 1; ἡ πρὸς τῷ Πόντῳ Καππαδοκία, Strab. p. 534.

[†] Son of Zenon, the rhetor of Laodicea in the Lycus valley, see vol. ii. p. 86.

[‡] Caligula's grandmother, Antonia, was half-sister of Tryphæna's grandmother. The first year of Tryphæna and Polemon ended (according to the current Pontic year) in autumn 38; and their coins are known as late as their eighteenth year (Imhoof-Blumer in *Zft. f. Numism.* xx. p. 268; Wroth, *Catalogue of Brit. Mus., Pontus*, p. 47), A.D. 54–55.

containing Iconium and great part of Cilicia Tracheia; and presumably some estates near the city may have remained in possession of the family.* The remarkable story contained in the *Acta Pauli et Theclæ* mentions this queen Tryphæna as present at a great imperial festival in Pisidian Antioch under the reign of Claudius, and calls her a relative of the emperor. She could hardly be present at that festival of the provincial cult of the emperor, unless she were resident in the southern part of the province Galatia (of which part Antioch was capital), or, perhaps, on the frontier in the Cilician kingdom, which was given to Polemon by Claudius in 41 (see below); and she was a near connexion of the emperor Claudius, whose mother was Antonia, half-sister of Tryphæna's grandmother.

The residence of Tryphæna near Iconium under Claudius can only have been temporary, as she appears with the title of queen on Pontic coins in the year A.D. 54–55, when Nero was emperor. According to the story (which is probably founded on fact) in the *Acta* above mentioned, she protected Thecla, St. Paul's Iconian convert, and was converted to Christianity by her protégée. The name Tryphæna evidently lasted in Christian tradition; and we find a martyr Tryphæna at Cyzicus, which was at one time very closely associated with the queen (*Acta Sanct.* 31 Jan. p. 696).

The dynasty of Polemon is also connected with the legends about the Apostle Bartholomew. According to one legend he preached in Bosporus, the kingdom of Polemon I., and from A.D. 38 to 41 of Polemon II.; and afterwards in Armenia Magna, where he suffered martyrdom in the city Ourbanopolis. Now Polemon II. received a Cilician kingdom in exchange for Bosporus in A.D. 41; and the capital of that kingdom was Olba, a Hellenized form of a native name Ourwa or Oura, called also Ourbanopolis.† His brother Zenon was made king of Armenia Magna in A.D. 18 under the name of Artaxias.

Another legend makes Bartholomew preach in Lycaonia, or in Upper Phrygia and Pisidia. Part of Lycaonia with Iconium was ruled by Polemon I., and the inhabitants of Iconium considered it a Phrygian city. The most probable foundation for this legend is that Bartholomew preached to the Phrygian tribe called the Inner Lycaones; see Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, pt. ii. p. 709. A third legend transports the scene of Bartholomew's preaching to India, but still assigns the name Polemios or Polymios to the king of the country, and Astreges or Astyages to his brother; and these are evidently mere distortions of the names Polemon and Artaxias.

It seems impossible that so many links should have been forged by tradition connecting the dynasty of Polemon with the early history of Christianity, unless there had been some historical reality out of which legend could draw its material. It would be out of place to investigate the subject further here. The discovery of the first traces of connexion was made by von Gutschmid in the *Rhein. Museum*, 1864, p. 170 (where he wrongly made Tryphæna the wife of Polemon). See also Lipsius, *Apocryphen Apostelgeschichten*, ii. 2, p. 55 ff.; Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire before 170*, ch. xvi.; and on the Polemon dynasty, Mommsen, *Ephem. Epigraph.* ii. p. 259 ff.; Hill in *Numism. Chron.* 1899, p. 181 ff.; also many other recent papers quoted in these works.

In A.D. 63 the government of Nero came to the conclusion that the kingdom of Pontus had been raised to such a level of peace and order that it might safely be taken into the empire. The western part was incorporated as a region of Galatia, and the eastern part was incorporated in Cappadocia (see below). Polemon II. still retained the title of king, with a kingdom in Cilicia Tracheia, where he presumably went to reside after A.D. 64.

Polemon II. became connected with NT history in another way. In 41 the kingdom of Olba (including a large part of Cilicia Tracheia) was given him by Claudius in exchange for Bosporus;‡ and he retained this Cilician kingdom at least as late as 68, for a coin of Olba bearing his name was struck under Galba (though he had lost the kingdom of Pontus in 63). Berenice, daughter of Herod Agrippa I. (Ac 12), sister of Herod Agrippa II. (Ac 26), and widow of her uncle Herod of Chalcis, married Polemon, king of Cilicia, after inducing him through desire of her wealth to submit to circumcision; but she soon tired of him and abandoned him, whereupon he ceased to conform to the Jewish law.* This is evidently the same Polemon II. who was king of Pontus. Josephus does not mention the date; and above, in vol. ii. p. 360 f., the view is stated (following Smith's *DB* ii. *s.v.* 'Pontus,' and other authorities), that the marriage with Polemon was earlier than the interview of St. Paul with Berenice and her brother Agrippa. But that early date for the marriage is not certain, for Josephus speaks of Polemon as being king of Cilicia, and presumably living there, when the marriage occurred; and this implies a date after A.D. 63, for up till that year Polemon doubtless lived in Pontus, and would have been called king of Pontus rather than king of Cilicia. Berenice had been long a widow, as Josephus says,† when she married Polemon: now her husband, Herod of Chalcis, died in A.D. 48–49.

Thus in the 1st cent. A.D. the name Pontus had two distinct meanings: it might denote either the kingdom of Polemon, or the Roman province united with Bithynia. Further, there were other two uses of the name in the 1st cent. after Christ which are revealed to us by inscriptions. The kingdom of Polemon, though called Pontus, did not embrace nearly all the old Mithridatic kingdom of Pontus. Apart from the Roman province Pontus, a great part of western Pontus had been attached to the province Galatia, one part in B.C. 2 (with the cities Amasia and Sebastopolis), another in A.D. 35 (with the city Comana Pontica).‡ This district, then, had to be distinguished from Pontus the province and Polemon's Pontus, and the method of distinction is clearly shown in many authorities: the province was called Pontus simply, Polemon's Pontus was called Pontus Polemoniacus (a name which remained in use for centuries after the death of the last king Polemon), and the part included in the province Galatia was called Pontus Galaticus. Those names are used in Ptolemy's geography and in many inscriptions of the 1st and 2nd cents.: they may be compared with the division of Lycaonia during the same period into two parts, one ruled by king Antiochus and called Lycaonia Antiochiana or simply Antiochiana (a name that continued in use late in the 2nd cent. and occurs in Ptolemy), and one attached to the province Galatia and called Lycaonia Galatica or simply Γαλατικὴ χώρα (see LYCAONIA, and on another similar pair of parts see PHRYGIA).

Still a fourth Pontus is mentioned by Ptolemy and in inscriptions, as Pontus Cappadocicus. This included the regions that lay east of Polemoniacus, between the Euxine Sea and Armenia; and it had been comprised in the dominions of Polemon I., whose realm extended so far as to embrace even Bosporus. Some modern authorities consider on account of the name Cappadocicus that it was not in the dominions granted to Polemon II. in A.D. 38. Queen Pythodoris had married Archelaus king of Cappadocia after the death of Polemon I., and there is much obscurity as to the fate of the Pontic realm in the later years of the queen and immediately after her death until A.D. 38; and the opinion has been held by some that the eastern regions were attached to Cappadocia and assigned specially to Archelaus, so that at his death in A.D. 17 Pythodoris continued to reign over only the western part of Polemon's former kingdom. But this is very improbable; for Bosporus was included along with Pontus in the kingdom of Polemon II. from 37 to 41, and if so, eastern Pontus also would naturally be comprised in his dominions. Moreover, Archelaus' kingdom was made into a Roman province in A.D. 17, but Trapezus and Cerasus, two cities of Pontus Cappadocicus (Trapezus being made capital of it by Trajan), dated from A.D. 63 as era, and this era must according to analogy be interpreted as the year when they were taken into the Roman Empire by being incorporated in a province. Now A.D. 63 was the year when Polemon's Pontic kingdom was taken into the empire, and the cities of Polemoniacus date from that year as era (so Zela and Neocæsareia); hence Cerasus and Trapezus would seem to have been included in the kingdom of Polemon II.; and if so, then presumably all Cappadocicus was similarly included. The difference of name, Polemoniacus and Cappadocicus, in that case, probably began only in A.D. 63, and was due to the fact that the eastern half of the kingdom was attached to the province Cappadocia and named accordingly, while the western half was attached to the province Galatia, and retained its former name Polemoniacus in distinction from the older Pontus Galaticus. An inscription, dating probably between 63 and 78, mentions Pontus Polemoniacus and Pontus Galaticus as parts of the province Galatia;[*] but does not mention Pontus Cappadocicus, thus proving that the latter was not in Galatia; and, as we know that Trapezus by that time was Roman, Cappadocia is the only province to which it could have been attached. Such is the probable sequence of events.

---

* See GALATIA, vol. ii. p. 86.

† On these names for Olba see Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 364.

‡ Dion Cass. 60. 8. See GALATIA, vol. ii. p. 86 f.

* Josephus, *Ant.* xx. vii. 3.

† Πολὺν χρόνον ἐπιχηρεύσασα, xx. vii. 3.

‡ Gazelonitis must also be added, as stated above.

Subsequently, Pontus Galaticus and Polemoniacus, after being included in the united provinces of Galatia and Cappadocia from about A.D. 78 to 106, were attached permanently to Cappadocia, when the two provinces were again separated by Trajan. Such is the arrangement described by Ptolemy. Yet the three names, Pontus Galaticus, Polemoniacus, Cappadocicus, persisted, with their separate capitals, Amasia, Neocæsareia, Trapezus, implying that they were considered for administrative purposes as distinct regions of the vast province of Cappadocia, to which all three were henceforward attached.

iii. THE NAME PONTUS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.—When the name Pontus occurs in the NT, what are we to understand by it amid this puzzling complicacy of three or even four distinct regions, all bearing the name? As we have seen, the simple name Pontus, without any qualifying epithet, was regularly employed to designate the Roman province united with Bithynia;[†] and the writers of the NT seem to have observed this rule of ordinary usage. In 1 P 1[1] Pontus is clearly the province. Few could doubt this; and Hort has proved it beyond all question in his posthumous edition of part of the Epistle. Similarly, when the Jew Aquila, who bore a Roman name, is called a man of Pontus, Ac 18[2], it is practically certain that the province Pontus is meant. The Roman name demands a Roman connexion. The suggestion that he was originally a slave from Pontus Polemoniacus, who had been set free in Rome, seems impossible, as the freedman would not retain his slave nationality: the statement that Aquila was a man of Pontus, implies a lasting and present characteristic. Equally improbable is it that Pontus Galaticus is meant; for in the imperial system that district was merely a part of the province Galatia. In fact, there is practically no doubt that the intention in Ac 18[2] is to state that Aquila, though in recent time resident in Rome, was a provincial from Pontus, and not one who originally belonged to the city. The question then arises whether Aquila was a *civis Romanus* of the province Pontus (as St. Paul was a *civis Romanus* of the province Cilicia). That, however, is impossible, for he ranked to the Romans as a Jew, not as a Roman: the edict of Claudius, Ac 18[2], would not have applied to him if he had been a Roman either by birth or as the freedman of a Roman master;[*] but, being a Jew by nation, a provincial residing in Rome, he was expelled by the terms of the edict.

The remaining case is not so clear. In Ac 2[9] among the Jews and proselytes in Jerusalem at the Feast of Pentecost are mentioned 'dwellers in Judæa and Cappadocia, Pontus and Asia.' That list presents many difficulties, and is probably not composed by the author of Acts, but quoted by him from an older authority to whom he was indebted for the account of an incident which he himself had not seen (see PHRYGIA, vol. iii. p. 867). Hence it is not possible to say whether Pontus there means the Roman province united with Bithynia, or the whole country with its three distinct parts. But the former is much more probable, for Jews tended to prefer the peaceful and civilized countries, finding them much more suitable for trade and residence; and therefore it is exceedingly unlikely that there were many, if any, Jews in Polemoniacus in the year A.D. 29 or 30. Pontus Galaticus with the great city of Amasia would be more likely to contain Jews. But there is no possibility of reaching certainty about that unique and peculiar passage; and, being unique, it is less important.

iv. SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY IN PONTUS.—The Churches of Pontus addressed by St. Peter (1 P 1[1]) were evidently mainly composed of converted pagans. When that Epistle was composed, it must be concluded that Christianity had already taken strong root in Pontus, as contrasted with its feeble hold on LYCIA and PAMPHYLIA, which are not addressed in the Epistle.[†] Pontus lay so far from the earliest lines of the Christian propaganda that the strength of the new religion in it is, certainly, to be regarded as an argument in favour of a date later than A.D. 64.[‡] It is highly probable that Christianity spread thither by sea from the Asian coasts, and even from Rome (as Hort in the remarkable essay appended to his posthumous edition of 1 Peter is inclined to believe), for it is improbable that any missionary movement occurred at so early a date on the lines leading north from Syria or Cilicia through the barbarous lands of Cappadocia and Pontus Polemoniacus. Thus it was the cities of the *Ora Pontica* or Pontic coast lands which earliest received the new religion; and probably Amastris was its chief centre at first. By A.D. 111–113 it had spread so strongly in the province Pontus that Pliny, governor of *Bithynia et Pontus*, when making a progress through Pontus, wrote to Trajan *Ep.* 96 (probably from Amastris, where he wrote the following letter, 98), giving a remarkable account of the spread of Christianity. He says that many persons, men and women, of all ages and every rank in the state, not merely in the great cities, but also in the villages and on farm lands, were affected by the new superstition, the temples were to a great extent deserted, the sacrificial ritual had been for a long time interrupted,

---

[*] *CIL* iii. Suppl. 6818, with the remarks in Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 253.

[†] Except, of course, where the context imposed another sense without any need for a distinctive epithet. Κοινὸν Πόντου on coins of Neocæsareia the capital of Polemoniacus means only that region: similarly, on coins of Zela τοῦ Πόντου. Πρώτη Πόντου on coins of Amasia means Pontus Galaticus.

[*] Many excellent authorities, in defiance of this obvious and inevitable fact, regard him as a freedman. See Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*, p. 418 ff.

[†] The failure of Cilicia is due to its being part of the province Syria-Cilicia, and not included in the special group of provinces contemplated, viz. Asia Minor.

[‡] See *The Church in the Roman Empire before 170*, p. 284.

and few persons were found to buy animals for sacrifice. This state of the province was of long standing (*diu*), and some who were accused declared that they had abandoned Christianity 20 or 25 years ago.* Hence we cannot believe that less than 40 to 50 years had elapsed since the evangelization of the province began. While it is evident that Pliny is speaking of the province in general, it is noteworthy that it was in Pontus that he finally became so strongly impressed with the evil, and wrote to Trajan for advice about it. Towards the middle of the 2nd cent. Lucian confirms the testimony of Pliny (not that any confirmation is needed to establish the truth of that official report), alluding incidentally to Pontus, the native country of Alexander the impostor of Abonouteichos, as 'filled full with Epicureans and atheists and Christians' (*Alex.* 25). Like Phrygia, Pontus appears in the 2nd cent. as a region where Christianity was so strong that its history was no longer that of a militant religion against paganism, but rather of a contest of sect against sect. The heretic Marcion was born at Sinope in Pontus about 120. Aquila, the translator of the OT into Greek, was also a native of Pontus.

From the coast lands of the province, however, Christianity spread inland only slowly. Incidentally we observe here that it is necessary to distinguish carefully between the different meanings of the name Pontus, for neglect to do so has led some good scholars into needless difficulties. Thus, when Gregory Thaumaturgus was made bishop of Neocæsareia in Pontus about A.D. 240, he is said to have found only seventeen Christians in the country;† and, though no reliance can be placed on the exact number, still a clear tradition, doubtless trustworthy, is implied that Gregory had gone to a practically pagan country. This has been often set in opposition to the facts implied in 1 P 1^{1} and in Pliny. But Gregory preached in Pontus Polemoniacus, whose capital was Neocæsareia, while the older authorities speak of the province; and the contrast between the rapid spread in the one and the failure in the other is due to the tendency of the new religion to be restricted to the imperial bounds, to prefer civilized regions to uncivilized (Polemoniacus being remote and backward compared to the province), and to flourish best in districts where there had long been a strong Jewish element to prepare the soil.

Still the inner lands of Pontus appear to have been Christianized to a considerable extent during the 3rd cent. by the work of Gregory Thaumaturgus and other less famous missionaries. Such martyrs as Theodorus Tiro at Amasia, Theodorus the Soldier at Heracleopolis‡ and Eukhaita, with many others,§ are mentioned in the latest persecutions under Diocletian, Maximian, and Licinius. Before the time of Constantine the ecclesiastical system in all the districts of Pontus had been organized to a very considerable degree of completeness, not indeed so perfectly as in Pisidia and Lycaonia, but more thoroughly than in Galatia (see GALATIA, vol. ii. p. 85). For example, Hierocles gives a list of five cities in Pontus Polemoniacus, and three of these were represented at the Council of Nicæa in A.D. 325. But, as a whole, the evidence points to the 3rd and even the 4th cents. as the period when Christianity spread through inner Pontus, while the 1st and 2nd cents. were the time when the seacoast, *i.e.* the province Pontus, was evangelized. Hence it is on the coast, at Sinope, that we find an early martyr, like Phocas the bishop of Trajan's persecution.*

About A.D. 295 Diocletian reorganized the provincial system and broke up the large provinces. The Pontic districts were then completely rearranged. The province Pontus was partitioned between Paphlagonia and Diospontus. The latter, which was afterwards named Helenopontus, after the mother of Constantine, contained also parts of Paphlagonia, Pontus Galaticus, and Polemoniacus. Pontus Polemoniacus retained its name, but was reduced in size, losing Zela to Diospontus, and Sebasteia to Armenia Minor. Pontus Galaticus disappeared entirely, losing Amasia, etc., to Diospontus, Sebastopolis-Heracleopolis to Armenia Minor, Comana, Ibora, and Zela to Polemoniacus, and probably some parts to Galatia the Byzantine province. The ecclesiastical organization followed this new arrangement. W. M. RAMSAY.

POOL is the tr^{n} in OT of three Heb. words.—**1.** אֲגַם *'ăgam*, 'pond' of stagnant or muddy water, from [אגם] to be troubled or muddy. The 'ponds,' RV 'pools,' of Egypt (Ex 7^{19} 8^{5} *διώρυγες*, *paludes*), were probably the sheets of stagnant water left by the inundation of the Nile. In Ps 107^{35} 114^{8} the word is rendered 'standing water,' RV 'a pool of water' (*λίμνη*, *stagnum*); in Is 14^{23} 35^{7} 41^{18} 42^{15} 'pool' or 'pools' (*ἕλος*, *palus*, *stagnum*); and in Jer 51^{32} it is put for 'reeds,' or reedy places (*συστέματα*, *paludes*). In Is 19^{10}, whilst the Vulg. renders by *lacuna*, the LXX has *ζῦθος*, 'beer' (see art. FISH-POOL). **2.** מִקְוֶה *miḳveh*, or מִקְוָה *miḳvah*; a place where waters flow together, from קוה (Niph. 'assemble'). The word is tr^{d} differently upon each occasion of its use. In Gn 1^{10} it is rendered the 'gathering together' (of the waters) when the earth and the seas were created (*τὰ συστέματα*, *congregationes* [*aquarum*]). In Ex 7^{19} the 'pools,' RV 'ponds' (*τὰ ἕλη*, *lacus*), of Egypt were probably reservoirs for the storage of water, as opposed to the stagnant water (*'ăgam*) left by the inundation. In Lv 11^{36} it is translated 'plenty,' RV 'gathering' (of water) (*συναγωγή*, *congregatio* [*aquarum*]). In Is 22^{11} the 'ditch,' RV 'reservoir' (*ὕδωρ*, *lacus*), made between the two walls at Jerusalem appears to have been formed by damming up the valley.

3. בְּרֵכָה *bĕrēkhah*, a 'pool,' or an 'artificial tank'; hence the Arabic *birket*, and the Spanish *al-berca*. The LXX generally tr. the word by *κολυμβήθρα*, but in four instances (2 S 2^{13} 4^{12}, 1 K 22^{38}, 2 K 20^{20}) by *κρήνη* and in one (Ca 7^{4}) by *λίμνη*. The Vulg. has *piscina* and once (Neh 2^{14}) *aquæductus*. In the NT (Jn $5^{2.\ 4.\ 7}$ 9^{7}) *κολυμβήθρα* is used. In Ps 84^{6}, where the plural occurs, AV reads 'filleth the pools,' whilst RV has 'covereth it with blessings' (*i.e. bĕrākhôth* instead of *bĕrēkhôth*); with this may be compared the 'valley of Berachah,' *κοιλὰς εὐλογίας*, *vallis benedictionis*, 2 Ch 20^{26}.

The pools were formed by building a dam across a valley, or by excavation; and they were supplied by surface drainage, by springs, or by water brought from a distance by conduits. They allowed the water to deposit any sediment it contained; and they were often connected with aqueducts and baths. They also frequently supplied water for irrigation, and were open to the air. The pools near towns were usually rectangular in form, and had their sides lined with water-tight cement. They were sometimes surrounded by porticoes (*στοαί*), in which bathers undressed themselves and lounged before or after bathing. The pool of Siloam had four such porticoes, and remains of them have been found by excavation ; Bethesda, which was a *double* pool, had five porticoes (Jn 5^{2}), one on each of the four sides, and the fifth in the middle between the two pools.

---

* *Viginti quoque*, editio princeps; *viginti quinque*, conjecture.

† Gregory Nyss. *Vit. Greg. Thaum.* xlvi. pp. 899, 954 (ed. Migne)

‡ Wrongly called Heracleia in the extant *Acta* (the best being the Armenian, translated by Conybeare, *Monuments of Early Christianity*, p. 224): it bore the double name Sebastopolis-Heracleopolis, and was not far from Eukhaita; see *Acta Sanctorum*, 7 Feb. vol. ii. pp. 23, 891.

§ In the *Martyrolog. Hieronym.* the martyrs' names are often very corrupt (see Duchesne's Index, *s.vv.* Amasia, Neocæsarea, Sebastia); see also the Syriac *Martyrology*, 18th Aug.

* The best *Acta* are the Armenian in Conybeare's *Monuments of Early Christianity*, p. 103; see also *Acta Sanctorum*, July 14. vol. iii. p. 600 ff.

Pools are mentioned in the Bible at Hebron (2 S 4^{12}), Gibeon (2 S 2^{13}), Samaria (1 K 22^{38}), and Heshbon (Ec 2^{6}); and in general terms in Is 14^{23} 19^{10} and Nah 2^{8}. At or near Jerus. there were several pools : the Upper P. (2 K 18^{17}, Is 7^{3} 36^{2}) ; the Lower P. (Is 22^{9}) ; the Old P. (Is 22^{11}) ; the King's P. (Neh 2^{14}) ; the P. of Siloah, RV Shelah (Neh 3^{15}), apparently the same as the P. of Siloam (Jn 9^{7}) ; the 'P. that was made' (Neh 3^{16}) ; 'a' P., RV 'the' P. made by Hezekiah (2 K 20^{20}) ; and the P. of Bethesda (Jn $5^{2.4.7}$). Josephus also mentions the Serpents' P. (*BJ* v. iii. 2) ; Solomon's P. (*BJ* v. iv. 2) ; the P. Amygdalon, and the P. Struthius (*BJ* v. xi. 4). Many of the ancient pools may still be seen in Palestine. The best known are those at Hebron and Jerusalem, and the 'pools of Solomon,' near Bethlehem, which are possibly the 'pools of water' (Ec 2^{6}) that Solomon constructed to irrigate his gardens and orchards. These pools are three in number, and they have been formed by building solid dams of masonry across the valley of Urtas. They have a total capacity of 44,147,000 gallons, and are so arranged that the water from each of the higher pools can be run off into the one immediately below it. The water was conveyed to Jerusalem by a conduit.

C. W. WILSON.

POOR.—1. This word, especially when it represents the Heb. עָנִי, is used sometimes with a semi-religious connotation, the nature of which it is the object of the present article to explain. In order to understand the term satisfactorily, it is necessary to bear in mind the meaning of the cognate verb, Heb. עָנָה, Arab. *'anā* (*'anāw*). The Arab. *'anā* means *to be lowly*, *submissive*, *obedient*, especially by becoming a captive, and so the ptcp. is often used simply in the sense of *a captive* * : the Heb. עָנָה means analogously *to be humbled*, Is 31^{4} (RV 'abase himself'), in the causative conj. *to humble*, *mishandle*, esp. by depriving of independence, or liberty, or recognized rights (EV usually 'afflict') : cf. Gn 16^{6} (RV 'dealt hardly'), Jg 19^{24} ('humble'), —in both, parallel with 'do to her (them) that which is good in thy (your) eyes,' Gn 31^{50} (of the maltreatment of wives by a husband), Ex $22^{22.23}$ (of the ill-treatment of a widow or orphan), Jg $16^{5.6.19}$ (of ill-using Samson) ; and often of the ill-treatment of a nation in bondage, as Gn 15^{13} (‖ 'to serve'), Ex $1^{11.12}$ (cf. v.^{13} 'make to serve') ; see also 2 S 7^{10} (Ps 89^{22}), Ps 94^{5}.†

2. The subst. *'ānī* (EV mostly 'afflicted,' or 'poor') thus means properly *one humbled* or *bowed down*, especially by oppression, deprivation of rights, etc., but also, more generally, by misfortune : as the persons thus 'humbled' would commonly be the 'poor,' the term came to denote largely the class whom we should call the 'poor,' and 'poor' is thus one of the conventional renderings of the word : it must, however, be remembered that *'ānī* does not really *mean* 'poor,' and that while in the English word 'poor' the prominent idea is the poverty of the person or persons so described, in the Heb. *'ānī* the prominent idea is that of the ill-treated, or the miserable : in other words, the *'ānī*, while often, no doubt, a person in need, was primarily a person suffering some kind of social disability or distress.

3. רָשׁ *rāsh*, is the Heb. word which expresses distinctively the idea of poverty ; but this occurs only 1 S 18^{23}, 2 S $12^{1.3.4}$, Ps 82^{3} (RV 'destitute'), Ec 4^{14} 5^{8}, and 15 times in Proverbs. It is worth noticing (Rahlfs, p. 75) that *'āshīr*, 'rich,' never appears as the opposite of *'ānī*, while it is the true antithesis of *rāsh* (2 S $12^{1.2.4}$, Pr 14^{20} 18^{23} $22^{2.7}$ 28^{6}).

'Poor' is also sometimes the tr. of *'ebyōn*, 'needy'; and often that of *dal* (prop. *thin*, *reduced*, *feeble*) : cf. Driver, *Parallel Psalter*, pp. 450, 452. *'Ebyōn* is once opposed to *'āshīr*, Ps 49^{2} ; and *dal* is opposed to it 5 times, Ex 30^{15} Pr 10^{15} 22^{16} 28^{11} Ru 3^{10}.

It is to be regretted that there is no English word which would both suit all the passages in which *'ānī* occurs, and also indicate its connexion with *'ānāh*, *'innāh*, and *'ŏnī*.

4. In the laws of Ex 22^{25}, Lv 19^{10} (=23^{22}), Dt 15^{11} $24^{12.14.15}$, now, *'ānī* is used as a purely colourless designation of the persons whom we should describe as the 'poor.' But in the prophets and poetical books, esp. the Psalms, we see gradually other ideas attaching themselves to the term. Thus allusions are made, especially by the prophets, to the oppression of the *'ăniyyīm*, at the hands of a high-handed and cruel aristocracy (Am 8^{4} [Heb. marg.], Is $3^{14.15}$ 10^{2} 32^{7} [Heb. marg.], Ezk 16^{49} [in Sodom], 18^{12} 22^{29} ; Job $24^{4.9.14}$, Pr 30^{14}) ; so that they become the objects of special regard on the part of a righteous king (Jer 22^{16}, Ps $72^{2.4.12}$), or individual (Ezk 18^{17}, Is 58^{7}, Zec 7^{10}, Ps 82^{3}, Pr 22^{22} $31^{9.20}$; cf. Pr 14^{21} [Heb. text], Dn 4^{27}), and especially of Jehovah (Is 14^{32}, cf. v.^{30} ; implicitly, also, in the other passages quoted).

5. Comp. the allusions to the oppressions of the 'needy' (אֶבְיוֹנִים) in Am 2^{6} 4^{1} 5^{12} $8^{4.6}$, Is 32^{7}, Jer 2^{34} 5^{28} and elsewhere, and of the 'reduced' (דַּלִּים, EV 'poor') in Am 2^{7} 4^{1} 5^{11} 8^{6}, Is 10^{2} etc. (both words often in parallelism with *'ăniyyīm*) ; and the manner in which it is promised that they will be in a special degree under the protection of the ideal king (Ps $72^{4.12.13}$, Is 11^{4}), and that—like the *'ăniyyīm* in Is 14^{30}—they will be the first to benefit, when society is regenerated, and J″ establishes His ideal kingdom (Is 14^{30} 25^{4} 29^{19}).

6. So in Ps 18^{27} God is spoken of as saving the 'afflicted (*or* humbled) people' (עַם עָנִי), but as abasing the 'haughty eyes' ; and in Is 26^{6}, when the tyrannical city has been destroyed, it is mentioned, as a special ground for satisfaction, that the *'ānī* and the *dallīm* may then tread unmolested over its ruins. *'Ānī* is used also of Israel, suffering in the wilderness or in exile or war, and regarded as implicitly or ideally righteous, and eliciting in consequence Jehovah's compassion, Ps 68^{10}, Is 41^{17} 49^{13} 51^{21} 54^{11}, cf. Hab 3^{14}. In Zeph 3^{12} the ideal Israel of the future, who survive after the coming judgment has removed from Jerusalem the 'proudly exulting' ones, so that none will any more be 'haughty' in God's holy mountain, are characterized as a 'humbled and poor people' (עַם עָנִי וָדָל), who will 'take refuge' in the name of J″, and (v.^{13}) be free from all iniquity. Perhaps, indeed, the expression means also Israel generally in Is 26^{6}.

7. These passages show that *'ānī* ('afflicted,' 'poor'), as also its frequent parallel *'ebyōn* ('needy'), and, though somewhat less distinctly, *dal* (EV also mostly 'poor'), came gradually to imply more than persons who were merely in some kind of social subjection, or material need : they came to denote the *godly* poor, the suffering righteous, the persons who, whether 'bowed down,' or 'needy,' or 'reduced,' were the godly servants of Jehovah. It is evident that in ancient Israel, especially in later times, piety prevailed more among the humbler classes than among the wealthier and ruling classes : indeed the latter are habitually taken to task by the prophets for their cruel and unjust treatment of the former. In particular, as Rahlfs (p. 89) observes, *'ānī* acquired thus, not indeed a religious *meaning*, but a religious *colouring*. This colouring appears most frequently in the Psalms : note the following passages, in which, if they are compared carefully with the context, it will become evident that the *'ăniyyīm* (frequently ‖ with the 'needy') are substantially identical with those who are elsewhere in the same Psalms called 'the godly,' 'the righteous,'

---

* See Rahlfs, עָנִי *und* עָנָו *in den Psalmen*, 1892, pp. 67–69.

† Comp. the cognate subst. *'ŏnī*, *state of being humbled* or *bowed down*, EV 'affliction,' Gn 16^{11} 31^{42}, Ex $3^{7.17}$, Is 48^{10} *al.*

'the faithful,' etc.: Ps 9^{12} (Heb. text*; RV) $10^{2.9.9.12}$ (Heb. text*; RV) [comp. 9^{10} 'those that know thy name' and 'that seek after thee,' 10^{17} 'the humble' (see below)]; 12^{5} [see v.[1] 'the godly,' 'the faithful']; 14^{6a} [v.[b] 'for J″ is his refuge']; 18^{27} 22^{24} 25^{16} ('I am solitary and *'ānī*'; cf. 69^{29} 88^{15}), 34^{6} $35^{10.10}$ (delivered by J″), 37^{14} (cf. v.[12]), 40^{17} $=70^{5}$ ('I am *'ānī* and needy'; so 86^{1} 109^{22}), $74^{19.21}$ 102^{title} 109^{16} 140^{12}; see also Is 66^{2}, Job 34^{28} $36^{6.15}$ (cf. the cognate subst. *'ŏnī*, AV 'trouble,' or 'affliction,' in Ps 9^{13} 25^{18} 31^{7} 88^{9} $119^{50.92.153}$, of the Psalmists' own sufferings: also 44^{24} $107^{10.41}$). Most of these passages—indeed, except Ps 18^{27}, probably all—are post-exilic; and reflect the social and religious conditions of the post-exilic community: the religious 'colouring' of *'ānī*, which had been previously in process of acquisition, was then confirmed. The troubles of which the *'ānī* complains are, however, not *poverty*, but chiefly social and religious wrongs.

8. From *'ānī* is to be carefully distinguished a word with which it has been sometimes very needlessly confused, *'ānāw*. While *'ānī* means one who is 'humbled' or 'bowed down' by adverse external circumstances, *'ānāw* means one who is 'humble' in disposition and character, 'humble-minded' (Cheyne, *OP*, 98), or, to speak more specifically, one who *bows* voluntarily under the hand of God, and is 'submissive to the Divine will' (Cheyne, *Introd. to Is.* 64 f., 266). It thus, unlike *'ānī*, has from the beginning an essentially moral and religious connotation. In AV and RV it is mostly rendered 'meek'; but meekness is predicated of a person's attitude towards other men, whereas *'ānāw* denotes rather a man's attitude towards God; so that 'humble' would be the better rendering. *'Ānāw* is less common than *'ānī*: it occurs in Nu 12^{3} (of Moses); in the prophets, Am 2^{7} 8^{4} (Heb. text†), Is 11^{4} 29^{19} 32^{7} (Heb. text‡) 61^{1}, Zeph 2^{3}; in the poet. books, Ps 9^{18} (Heb. text‡), 10^{17} 22^{26} $25^{9.9}$ 34^{2} 37^{11} ('the humble shall inherit the earth'), 69^{32} 76^{9} 147^{6} 149^{4}, and the Heb. margin of Pr 3^{34} (opposed to לֵצִים 'scorners'), 16^{19} (opposed to 'the proud'; cf. Sir 10^{14} [Heb.]),—in all, of the 'humble,' either as victimized by wicked oppressors, or as the objects of Jehovah's regard, and recipients of His salvation.§ The cognate subst. *'ănāwāh* occurs Ps 18^{35} (of J″), 45^{4},‖ Zeph 2^{3} ('seek righteousness, seek *humility*'), Pr $15^{33}=18^{12}$ ('before honour is *humility*'), 22^{4}.

9. The Heb. marg. (*Ḳerê*) substitutes thrice (Am 8^{4}, Is 32^{7}, Ps 9^{18}) *humbled* ('poor') for *humble* of the text (*Kethîbh*); and five times (Ps 9^{12} 10^{12}, Pr 3^{34} 14^{21} 16^{19}) *humble* for *humbled* ('poor') of the text (*Kethîbh*),—in each case, it seems (cf. Rahlfs, p. 54 f.), deeming the correction to express an idea better suited to the context (in Am 8^{4}, Is 32^{7}, Ps 9^{18} the parallel clause has *needy*; in Pr 3^{34} 16^{19} *humble* forms evidently a juster antithesis to 'scorner' and 'proud' than *afflicted* or 'poor'). The correction is certainly right in Pr 3^{34} 16^{19}, probably also in Am 8^{4}; in the other passages it does not seem to be necessary.

10. The two terms which have been here discussed seem, in fact, to have been two of the more prominent and distinctive designations of a *party* in ancient Israel, which appears to have first begun to form itself during the period of the later pre-exilic prophets, but which, during the Exile and subsequently, acquired a more marked and distinctive character—the party, viz., of the faithful and God-fearing Israelites, who held together, and formed an *ecclesiola in ecclesia*, as opposed to the worldly and indifferent, often also paganizing and persecuting, majority. The Psalms, especially the Psalms of 'complaint,' abound with allusions to these two opposed parties, the opposition between which seems to have been intensified in the post-exilic period, till it culminated, in the age of Antiochus Epiphanes, in the struggle between the nationalists and the Hellenizers. The God-fearing party are described by many more or less synonymous designations, such as 'those that fear (or love) J″,' 'those that seek (or wait for) J″,' 'the servants of J″,' the 'godly' (*ḥăsîdîm*), the 'righteous,' etc.; from the point of view of their social condition they are specially the *'ăniyyîm* or (to adopt the conventional rendering) the 'poor,' from the point of view of their character they are the *'ănāwîm* or the 'humble.' The party opposed to them are the 'wicked,' the 'evil-doers,' the 'proud,' the 'haters,' 'enemies,' or 'persecutors' of the Psalmists and their co-religionists, who are described as 'seeking their life' and 'delighting in their hurt,' etc., and as setting themselves in various ways to dishonour Jehovah, and bring reproach upon His servants (cf. Cheyne, *JRL* pp. 114–125).* The former party was that out of which a considerable number of the Psalms appear to have sprung, especially those which possess a *representative* character, and in which the Psalmist seems to give expression not simply to his own experiences and spiritual emotions, but also to those of a circle of similarly circumstanced godly compatriots.

See, further, Grätz, *Die Psalmen* (1882), 20–37 (whose view, however, that the *'ănāwîm* were Levites, is not probable); Isidore Loeb, 'La Littérature des Pauvres' in *REJ*, 1890–92 (Nos. 40–42, 45, 46, 48), also published separately, Paris, 1892 (clever: exemplifies very fully the characteristics of the 'poor,' especially in the Psalms, but exaggerates the idealism of the Heb. poets, and also generalizes too freely); Rahlfs, *op. cit.* Hupfeld (on Ps 9^{13}) contended that עָנִי and עָנָו were used without any distinction of meaning, both signifying *afflicted*, with the collateral idea of *humble*; but this view is antecedently improbable, and not required by the facts.† Ges. (*Thes.*) treated both words as meaning properly *afflicted*, but regarded *'ānāw* as having always the collateral idea of *humble, meek*. Recent scholars, as Delitzsch and Cheyne (both on Ps 9^{13}), Lagarde, *Mitth.* i. 81, Rahlfs, pp. 62–66, 73–80 (cf. König, *Lgb.* ii. 134, 76), more correctly distinguish *'ānī*, 'bowed down,' from *'ānāw*, 'one who bows himself,'—Del. and Cheyne, however, thinking also that, as affliction is the school of humility, and a man may be 'bowed down' with consent of his own will, *'ānī* acquired secondarily the sense of 'humble.' It seems best, with Rahlfs, to keep the words entirely distinct: the *'ăniyyîm* were, no doubt, known to be also 'humble,' and so could be opposed to the 'proud,' Ps 18^{27}, or classed with the 'stricken in spirit,' Is 66^{2}; but the fact is not expressed by the term used. It would be easier, if necessary, to *read* one word for the other, than to give one word the meaning of the other. The LXX preserves, on the whole, a consciousness of the distinction between the two words: the translators render *'ānī* (*Kt.*) by πένης 13 times, by πτωχός 38 times, by ταπεινός 9–10 times, by πραΰς only Zeph 3^{12}, Zec 9^{9}, Is 26^{6}; and *'ānāw* (*Kt.*) by πραΰς 8 times, by πένης 3 times, by πτωχός 4 times, by ταπεινός 4 times: in view, however, of the frequency with which י and ו are confused in LXX (Driver, *Samuel*, lxv–lxvii), we cannot be sure that they always read the Heb. text exactly as we do. In the Targ., also (especially in the Psalms, Rahlfs, p. 56 f.), the greatly predominant rendering of *'ānī* is 'poor,' 'distressed,' etc., while that of *'ānāw* is 'humble' (עִנְוְתָן). And the Vulg. nearly always renders *ānī* by *pauper*, *egenus*, *inops*, but *'ānāw* by *mitis* or *mansuetus*.

S. R. DRIVER.

POPLAR occurs twice in EV (Gn 30^{37}, RVm 'styrax,' Hos 4^{13}). The Heb. לִבְנֶה, *libneh*, signifies 'a white tree.' The LXX in Genesis gives *στυράκινος*=*storax*, and in Hosea λεύκη='poplar.' The authority of the Arab. *lubna*, which signifies the *storax*, may be considered decisive as to the meaning of the Hebrew. *Styrax officinalis*, L., of the order

---

* The Heb. marg. (*Ḳerê*) has in these passages *the humble* (RVm 'meek'): see § 9.

† The Heb. marg. (*'ăniyyê*), followed by RV, yields, however, a more suitable sense here; it would also be better to read *'ăniyyê* in 2^{7} (cf. Is 10^{2}).

‡ Heb. marg. (*Ḳerê*) *the poor*; see § 9.

§ With Is 61^{1} (LXX, wrongly, πτωχόι, and so in the quotation, Lk 4^{18}) cf. Mt 11^{5}=Lk 7^{22}.

‖ Where 'ride on *on behalf of . . . meekness* (humility)' means that the king addressed is to take the field on behalf of the humble against their proud oppressors (see Cheyne or Kirkpatrick, *ad loc.*).

* Rahlfs, following Ewald, calls attention (pp. 5–29) to the numerous similarities of expression and situation characterizing in particular the group of Psalms, 22. 25. 31. 34. 35. 38. 40. 69. 71. 102. 109; he assigns the group (p. 30 ff.) to the close of the Exile or shortly after.

† The note is much abbreviated (the sentence on the original difference of עני and ענו being added) in Nowack's revised ed. of Hupfeld's *Comm.* (1888).

Styracaceæ, is a shrub or tree 6 to 20 feet high, with ovate to round-ovate leaves, glabrescent at upper, and white-woolly at lower, surface. It bears numerous snowy-white flowers, resembling orange blossoms, 1 to 2 inches broad, and a green drupe-like berry. The officinal storax is the inspissated juice of the inner layer of the bark. It has an agreeable vanilla-like odour. It was formerly employed in medicine as a stimulant expectorant, but is little used now. The name *libneh*, 'white,' is well justified by the snowy-white under surfaces of the leaves, and the wealth of beautiful white blossoms. No wild tree of the country is more ornamental than this. It is common in thickets from the coast to the subalpine regions. In Syria it is called *ḥauz*. It has been objected to the rendering 'styrax' (Hos 4^{13}) that it is not large enough to give the 'shadow' required, and that therefore 'poplar' should be retained. We have, however, indicated that *Styrax officinalis* attains a height of 20 feet, and such trees would give a better shade than the tall, cylindrical poplar. Moreover, the poplar is a tree of valleys and plains, growing only by water-courses, while *Styrax* grows on dry hillsides, in localities similar to those of the oak and terebinth. G. E. POST.

PORATHA (פּוֹרָתָא ; B *Φαραδάθα*, ℵ *Φαραάθα*, A *Βαρδάθα*).—The fourth of the sons of Haman, who were put to death by the Jews (Est 9^8). The name is probably Persian, and the LXX reading suggests that the true form is Poradatha (פּוֹרְדָתָא = 'given by fate'?).

PORCH.—A covered entrance to a building. It is generally outside the main building, and so differs from vestibule which is inside, and from which doors open into the several apartments of the house. Two words in OT denote porch, viz. Heb. אֵילָם (*'êlām*), found in Ezk 40 only, and אוּלָם (*'ûlām*), which occurs in 1 K, 1 and 2 Ch, Ezk, and Joel. As to the identical meaning of these Heb. words see under ARCH.

There is another Heb. word מִסְדְּרוֹן (*misdĕrôn*), which EV tr. by porch (Jg 3^{23} 'Then Ehud went into the porch'). This word is not used elsewhere; and while we do know that some part of a house is denoted, we have no means of saying what part. The versions render little if any aid, nor do the cognates throw any light on the meaning. The root is סֵדֶר (*seder*), a row, series, order. So מִסְדְּרוֹן (*misdĕrôn*) might be expected, according to its etymology, to denote something built in line with or according to the form of something else, such as a wing, built along the outside walls of a porch, with sides at right angles to the main building.

The word *'ûlām* or *'êlām* is variously applied in OT.

1. It is used of the porch erected to the east of Solomon's temple, 1 K 6^3 and 7^{19}, and 2 Ch 15^8 $29^{7.17}$. It was 20 cubits long by 10 broad; its height is not given in 1 K, but in 2 Ch 3^4 it is said to be 120 cubits high. Now, a porch 20 cubits long, 10 broad, and 120 high would be a monstrosity; indeed the whole verse as it stands is senseless. Kautzsch, Bertheau, Oettli, and Kittel attempt a reconstruction, and all agree that 120 for the height is an evident mistake; A of the LXX, the Syr., and Arab. versions have 20, which is likely enough to be correct, though Bertheau prefers reading 30. Aug. Hirt (*Der Tempel Salomo's*, p. 4), together with the above authorities, excepting Bertheau, decide for 20. If the text is to be upheld, it is to be explained, as by Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. p. 42), according to the well-known leaning of the Chronicler to exaggeration; but in this case the exaggeration is one which makes the writer ridiculous, and it is far better to emend the text. The similarly situated porch of Ezekiel's temple has the same name, Ezk 40^{48} 41^{15} (read with Cornill, sing. 'porch'). **2.** The same word is employed for each of the two porches belonging to Solomon's palace, the 'porch of pillars' 1 K 7^6, and the 'throne porch' (or place of judgment), 1 K 7^7. **3.** In Ezk the word stands for the two large apartments, one lying at the inner end of the outer gate, the other at the outer end of the inner gate. It is in this connexion that the form *'êlām* is mostly, though not exclusively, employed. Of these minor porches there were in all six: one at each of the three outer (N. E. S.), and one at each of the three corresponding inner gates.

In NT three separate Gr. words are translated in EV 'porch.'

1. Mk 14^{68} 'And he (Peter) went into the porch.' The Gr. word (*προαύλιον*) denotes a covered way leading from the street into the court of a house; a sort of passage. 'Forecourt' is the word given in RVm. **2.** Mt 26^{71} 'And when he (Peter) was gone out into the porch.' This passage is parallel with the former, and, though *πυλών* usually means door, doorway, there can be no doubt that it has here the same signification as *προαύλιον* in Mk. **3.** Jn 5^2 'Now there is in Jerus. by the sheep gate a pool, which is called in Heb. Bethesda, having five porches.' These porches (*στοαί*) are simply five covered ways joining the street with a pool. In three other places, in each case in the phrase '**Solomon's porch**,' is the word *στοά* found (Jn 10^{23}, Ac 3^{11} 5^{12}). This was a portico on the eastern side of the temple building, hence called by Jos. (*Ant.* XX. ix. 7) *στοὰ ἀνατολική*, and supposed by him to have survived the destruction of the temple in B.C. 586, and to go back to Solomon's own day (*ib.* XIV. xi. 5, XX. ix. 2; *Wars*, V. v. 1). It is generally agreed that this eastern porch, as well as the other porches existing in our Lord's time, were due to Herod's restoration; yet, if this porch was built so near the time of Josephus, it is singular that he should have thought it to be the work of Solomon. T. W. DAVIES.

PORCIUS FESTUS.—See FESTUS.

PORCUPINE.—See BITTERN.

PORPOISE.—See BADGER.

PORT.—This word has in its time played many parts. It has meant (1) carriage of the body, demeanour (from Lat. *portare*, to carry); (2) a harbour (from Lat. *portus*); (3) an entrance, a gate (from Lat. *porta*, through Fr. *porte*); and (4) a wine (from Oporto, in Portugal). Of these meanings (1) and (3) are now almost obsolete. In AV the only occurrence of the word is Neh 2^{13}, where it means 'gate,' the same Heb. word (שַׁעַר) being translated 'gate' in the same verse. In Ps 9^{14} Pr. Bk. there is an instance of the same meaning, 'That I maye shewe all thy prayses wyth in the portes of the daughter of Syon.' Knox often uses the word, sometimes adding 'gate' as if the classical 'port' might not be familiar. Thus, *Hist.* p. 408, 'They caused to keep the Ports or Gates and make good Watch about the Towne'; *Works*, iii. 311, 'Let every man put his sworde upon his thygh, and go in and out from porte to porte in the tentes; and let every man kil his brother, his neyghbour, and every man his nigh kynsman'; p. 323, 'They begynne to syncke to the gates of hell and portes of desperation.' Davies quotes Scott's line in *Bonnie Dundee*—

> 'Unheuk the West Port, and let us gae free.'

J. HASTINGS.

PORTER (שׁוֹעֵר, in Ezr 7[24] Aram. תָּרָע; LXX *πυλωρός* and *θυρωρός*, NT *θυρωρός*) occurs frequently in our English versions, especially in the Bks. of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah. It has always the sense of *gatekeeper* (French *portier*), being a derivative from *porta*, 'a gate.' Owing to the ambiguity of the Eng. word, which also means *the carrier of a burden* (French *porteur*, from *porter*, 'to carry'), it would have been well if 'gatekeeper' had been uniformly adopted as the rendering of the Heb. and Gr. terms. RV has at least 'doorkeepers' in 1 Ch 15[18] 16[38] 23[5] 26[1. 12. 19], 2 Ch 8[14].

For the employment of 'porters' in public or private buildings, as well as at sheepfolds (Jn 10[3]), see art. GATE in vol. ii. p. 113[a]; and for the duties and the organization of the Levitical 'porters,' see art. PRIESTS AND LEVITES. J. A. SELBIE.

POSIDONIUS (Ποσιδώνιος).—An envoy sent by Nicanor to Judas Maccabæus (2 Mac 14[19], cf. 1 Mac 7[27-31]).

POSSESS.—The verbs *possidēre* and *possidĕre* are said to be distinguished in Latin, the former meaning to 'have in possession,' 'own,' the latter to 'take possession of,' 'win.' The Eng. verb 'to possess' adopted both meanings. In AV it nearly always means 'to take possession of,' 'win.' This is sometimes evident, as Nu 13[30] 'Let us go up at once and possess it'; Jos 13[1] 'There remaineth yet very much land to be possessed.' But sometimes it is not so, as Gn 22[17] 'Thy seed shall possess the gate of his enemies'; Lk 18[12] 'I give tithes of all that I possess'; 21[19] 'In your patience possess ye your souls';* 1 Th 4[4] 'That every one of you should know how to possess his vessel in sanctification and honour.' Cf. Fuller, *Holy Warre*, 14, 'The Saracens had lately wasted Italy, pillaged and burned many churches near Rome it self, conquered Spain, invaded Aquitain, and possessed some islands in the mid-land-sea'; and Ac 1[18] Rhem. 'And he in deede hath possessed a field of the reward of iniquitie.'

Sometimes the meaning is to 'enter into possession,' 'inherit,' as Job 7[3] 'So am I made to possess months of vanity' (כֵּן הָנְחַלְתִּי לִי); Zec 8[12] 'I will cause the remnant of this people to possess all these things' (וְהִנְחַלְתִּי, RV 'I will cause . . . to inherit').

So 'to be possessed of' a thing is to inherit it, to have it in possession, Jos 22[9] 'the land of their possession, whereof they were possessed.' Cf. Fuller, *Holy Warre*, 213, 'Charles subdued Manfred and Comadine his nephew . . . and was possessed of Sicilie, and lived there.' The active form is found in Knox, *Hist.* 265, 'Them hee possessed in the Land of Canaan.'

To be possessed with a spirit (of good† or evil) is in Ac 8[17] 16[16] simply to be 'held' by the spirit, but elsewhere means to be under the influence of a demon (*δαιμονιζόμενος*). See next article.

J. HASTINGS.

POSSESSION means the control or mastery of the will of an individual by another and superhuman personality. This is a familiar feature in early Jewish psychological beliefs, bound up with the prevalent demonology and angelology of pre-exilian and post-exilian Israel. See art. DEMON in vol. i., and for NT especially, p. 593.

That psychological relations were in primitive times construed in material and spatial forms need not be argued here. It is obvious even from a superficial examination of the language employed. Thus in 1 S 16[16] the 'evil spirit from God' is said to be *upon* (עַל) Saul, and the same preposition is employed in Is 61[1] of the spirit with which God inspires the prophet. Cf. the use of the phrase 'the hand of the LORD was upon . . .' The spirit of God passed into (צָלְחָה בְּ) Saul when he prophesied (1 S 10[10] 18[10]). On the other hand, in 1 S 16[14] the evil spirit is said to terrify (בִּעֵת) Saul. In the vision of Micaiah the deceiving spirit proceeds from the presence of Jehovah, and is 'in the mouth' of His prophets (1 K 22[22]).

The same language, therefore, is employed of Divine inspiration as of possession by an evil spirit. The supernatural agency was considered to pass into the individual and take possession of him, and he became visibly affected thereby. The lips of the prophet were for the time under the control of the Divine supernatural will, which spake by the mouth of the holy prophets (Lk 1[70]; but the same power might also cause dumbness, cf. vv.[20. 22]). While admitting that in some cases we have no more than the inevitable language of metaphor, the cumulative evidence of analogy leads us to refrain from pressing this view unduly. Thus the necromancer was considered to be occupied for the time by the spirit of the dead, and was said to be בַּעַל אוֹב, though language in this case appears to invert the relation (see *Necromancy* under SORCERY). Similarly, the demon or evil spirit was believed to enter or pass out of the human subject or to be driven out. While subject to his influence, the individual was said to be *δαιμονιζόμενος* (in Arab. مجنون *mejnûn*, or possessed by a *Jinn*). Demon-possession was manifested by anything abnormal in personal appearance, especially in the strange look of the eyes. Among the many stories about Jân related by Doughty in his *Arabia Deserta* (vol. ii. p. 188 ff.) the following statement by Amm Mohammed is a good illustration:—

> 'Last year a jinn entered into this woman, my wife, one evening: and we were sitting here, as we sit now; I, and the woman, and Haseyn. I saw it come in her eyes, that were fixed, all in a moment; and she lamented with a labouring in her throat. . . . This poor woman had great white rolling eyes, and little joy in them' (p. 191).

Anything of an unhealthy nature, such as an uncanny expression; any disease, and especially epilepsy or insanity, was ascribed to demon-possession. Epilepsy, in fact, derives its name (*ἐπίληψις, ἐπιληψία*) from having been regarded as due to an assault by demons (cf. Mk 9[18]). In New Hebrew the epileptic patient is called נִכְפֶּה 'overpowered' (cf. Syr. ܟܒܝܫܐ). In the NT the demon was said to 'bind' (*δεῖν*), seize and rend (*καταλαβεῖν* and *ῥήσσειν* in the graphic passage Mk 9[18]), enter and pass out of (*εἰσέρχεσθαι* and *ἐξέρχεσθαι*) the human subject. The terms predicated of the human subject may be found in art. DEMON, vol. i. p. 593. Animals were likewise affected, Mk 5[13].

Among the Jews and other nations of antiquity magical formulæ were employed in which the potent names of supernatural powers were recited. Among the Jews this was chiefly the name of Jehovah varied in all possible forms, while among the Christians the name of Christ was so employed. See article MAGIC and also EXORCISM

---

* The Greek of this familiar passage is ἐν τῇ ὑπομονῇ ὑμῶν κτήσεσθε τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν. There is a various reading κτήσασθε for κτήσεσθε well supported and adopted by Tischendorf. But with either form the meaning is 'gain possession of,' 'win' (RV), not 'hold in possession,' which would demand the perf. tense. The Vulg. gives *possidebitis*, after which Wyc. 'ye schulen welde'; Tind. has 'With youre pacience possesse youre soules,' and he is followed pretty closely by subsequent versions, the meaning probably always being 'win.' But that the modern misunderstanding is not very modern may be shown from Clement Cotton's tr. of Calvin's *Isaiah* 40[2] (p. 400), 'He is earnest in giving of hope to the godly, wishing them to possesse their soules in patience, until the Prophets were sent unto them with this joyfull and comfortable message.' The Latin is *qua patienter devorent moræ tædium.*

† Cf. Tindale's *Works*, i. 97, 'The Faith only maketh a man safe, good, righteous, and the friend of God . . . and possesseth us with the Spirit of God.'

Other remedies of a material character were also used. It is doubtful whether in Ja 5^{14} there is anything of a magical or semi-magical character, implying a belief in demon-possession. It should be noticed, however, that in this case the 'name' was invoked, just as in exorcisms.

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

POST.—i. *Door or gate-post.*—**1.** אֵיל, rendered 'lintel' in 1 K 6^{31} (RVm 'posts'), where, probably, the stone case of the door is intended; as also in Ezk 40 and 41, where RV prefers 'jambs' to AV 'posts.' It is derived from איל as indicating what *projects* in front of or around the door. **2.** אַמָּה (possibly from אַם in a metaphorical sense), once rendered by AV 'posts' (Is 6^4); RV substitutes 'foundations.' **3.** מְזוּזָה, from an unused root זוז 'to move oneself about,' applied to the post on which the hinges turn. In later times the name was transferred to the small cylinder attached to the doorpost, containing a strip of parchment on which are written these two passages, viz. Dt 6^{4-9} and 11^{13-21}. Every pious person on passing out or in touches this reverently, and then kisses his finger. **4.** סַף, from root סָפַף 'to spread out,' rendered 'post' three times in AV (2 Ch 3^7, Ezk 41^{16}, Am 9^1). In each case RV rightly substitutes 'threshold.'

On the doorposts the blood of the lamb was sprinkled (Ex 12^7 etc.); and here the words of the law were to be written (Dt 6^9 etc., see No. **3**, above). Moslems copy the Jews in writing verses from the Koran on their doorposts. The German Temple Christians in Palestine have engraved a text of Scripture over every doorway in their colonies. A servant who wished not to avail himself of the law of freedom was brought by his master 'unto God,' 'unto the doorpost,' and had his ear pierced with an awl (Ex 21^6). A special sanctity seems in the East always to gather round the doorway (see art. THRESHOLD). To this it may be due that while the woodwork of the temple was of Lebanon cedar, the doorposts were made of native-grown olive (1 K 6^{33}).

ii. *Carrier of letters or despatches.*—רָץ, pl. רָצִים ('runners'), once (2 K 11^{13}) רָצִין, from רוּץ 'to run.' The 'runners' formed the royal guard (1 S 22^{17}, see art. GUARD), kept the king's house, and were available for other service (1 K $14^{27\text{ff.}}$, 2 K 10^{25} $11^{4\text{ff.}}$). From them were chosen the couriers, who conveyed royal mandates throughout the kingdom (2 Ch 30^6, Est $3^{13.15}$). Those of the Persian monarch were mounted on 'swift steeds' (Est $8^{10.14}$ RV[*]). The swiftness characteristic of this service gives point to the saying of Job 9^{25} 'My days are swifter than a post.'

W. EWING.

POT.—See FOOD in vol. ii. p. 40, *s.* 'Vessels.'

POTIPHAR (פּוֹטִיפַר; LXX in Gn 37^{36} A Πετρεφῆς, E Luc. Πετεφρῆς, in 39^1 ADE Luc. Πετεφρῆς;[†] Vulg. *Putiphar*).

The name is generally regarded (*e.g.* by Ebers, in Smith, *DB*² I. ii. 1794ᵃ) as a Heb. abbreviation of **Potiphera** פּוֹטִי פֶרַע, in which case it would be Egyp. *P'-dy-p'-R'*, and mean 'He whom the Ra (or the Sun-god) gave'; see Sethe, *De aleph prosthetico in lingua æg. verbi formis præposito*, 1892, p. 31 (a reference, for which the writer is indebted to Mr. F. Ll. Griffith), who quotes as parallel formations *P'-dy-'Imn* 'He whom Ammon gave,' *P'-dy-'st* 'He whom Isis gave.' Sethe also observes that in Greek transcriptions the first two syllables are commonly represented by Πετε-, as in Πετεφρῆς itself, Πετεῆσις, Πετεασταρτη, Πετεχῶνσις, Πετόσιρις, etc., and refers, for a long list of such names, from papyri and other sources, to Parthey, *Æg. Personennamen*, 1864, p. 79 ff. Lieblein's proposal (*PSBA*, 1898, p. 208 f.) to identify 'Potiphar' with the isolated and uncertain *Pt-ber* (p. 24 n.*), does not make the etymology any clearer.

The name of the 'officer' (סָרִיס, lit. *eunuch*) of Pharaoh, and 'captain of the body-guard' (שַׂר הַטַּבָּחִים; see vol. ii. p. 768ᵃ n. ‡), to whom Joseph was sold by the Midianites (Gn 37^{36}), and who appointed Joseph to wait upon the prisoners confined in the state-prison (*ib.* p. 768 n. ‖), which was in his house ($40^{1\text{ff.}}$); in the existing text of Gn, also, the Egyptian who made Joseph superintendent of his household, and whose wife made the advances to Joseph which the latter rejected ($39^{1\text{ff.}}$).

It is doubtful whether these two personages are not in reality distinct. Gn 37^{36} $40^{1\text{ff.}}$ belong to E, and $39^{1\text{ff.}}$ to J; and there are strong reasons (cf. *ib.* pp. 767ᵇ, 768 n. §) for supposing, as is done by nearly all modern critics, that the words 'Potiphar, an officer (eunuch) of Pharaoh's, the captain of the guard' in 39^1, are an addition made by the redactor, who identified Joseph's 'master,' mentioned in ch. 39, with Potipbar, the 'captain of the body-guard,' of 37^{36} $40^{3\text{ff.}}$; if this view be correct, the original narrative of ch. 39 (J) knew nothing of 'Potiphar,' but simply mentioned 'an' (unnamed) 'Egyptian,' to whom the Ishmaelites sold Joseph. It may be noticed that, in the existing narrative, the description, 'an Egyptian,' attached in 39^1 to 'Potiphar, an eunuch of Pharaoh's,' etc., seems a rather pointless addition, whereas, standing alone, it would have an adequate *raison d'être*.

The 'captain of the guard' was not a specially Egyptian office; the same title (with only רַב for שַׂר) being used also of a chief officer of Nebuchadnezzar (2 K 25^8 *al.*; see above, ii. 768ᵃ n. ‡). The number of court- and state-officials mentioned in Egyp. inscriptions is very great (Ebers, *Æg. u. die Bb. Mose's*, p. 300; and esp. Brugsch, *Die Ægyptologie*, 1889, pp. 213 f., 222–227, 243 f., 299–301); but the office attributed to Potiphar does not appear to have been definitely identified: perhaps it was that of 'the general and eldest of the court' of the Hood-papyrus, an important official, whom Brugsch (p. 213) and Maspero (*Journ. As.* 1888 (xi.), p. 273) identify with the ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ, often mentioned in the Ptolemaic period; see Grenfell, *Greek Pap.* 1896, 38. 1, 42. 1; M. L. Strack, *Die dyn. der Ptol.* 1897, p. 219 ff., Inscr. Nos. 77 (=*CIG* 4677), 95, 97 (*CIG* 2617), 108 (*CIG* 4893), 109, 111, 171; Jos. *Ant.* XII. ii. 4 (cf. 2).[*] Eunuchs were apparently not as common in ancient Egypt as in other countries, though they seem to be represented on the monuments (Ebers, *l.c.* p. 298); it is, however, possible that *ṣārīṣ* is used in the more general sense of *officer*,—neither the 'captain of the body-guard,' nor the chief butler or baker (to both of whom the same term is applied in $40^{2.7}$), holding a kind of office which would be very naturally deputed to a eunuch (though cf. Jos. *Ant.* XVI. viii. 17,—cup-bearers at Herod's court): Ges., however (*Thes.* p. 973), doubts this general application of the term; and LXX, at any rate, have σπάδων in 37^{36} and εὐνοῦχος in 39^1. If the name Potiphar did not occur in the original text of ch. 39, the question of his marriage does not arise; it may be mentioned, however, that (assuming the word *ṣārīṣ* to have its proper force) cases are on record, in both ancient and modern times, of eunuchs being married (Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i. 290; Ebers, p. 299).

On the narrative of ch. 39 enough has been said above, vol. ii. pp. 768ᵃ, 772. It is remarkable that names of the form 'Potiphera,' 'Potiphar' (if this be rightly regarded as really the same name), appear first in the 22nd dyn. (the dyn. of Shishak),* and are frequent only in the 26th dyn. (B.C. 664–525); it is thus at least doubtful how far either one or the other really springs from the age of Joseph (see, further, vol. i. 665^{b}, ii. 775^{a}).

---

[*] The rendering '*swift* steeds' is probable, but not certain רֶכֶשׁ (a rare synonym of סוּס) denotes a species of horse possessed of some valuable quality, which may likely enough have been *swiftness*.

[†] The form Πεντεφρῆς is also found, as in ed. Ald., and a 15th cent. MS *ap.* Lagarde, *Gen. Graece* [cf. p. 20]; Philo, i. 134, 604 (Mang.); Cramer, *Anecd. Par.* ii. 174. 25 (Parthey, p. 78). But it is certainly false (Griffith).

[*] Of course שׂר הטבחים means properly 'chief (or superintendent) of the slaughterers (*or* cooks [1 S 9^{23}])'; and, in spite of 2 K 25^8 etc., it *might* in Genesis have this meaning (cf. LXX ἀρχιμάγειρος): in this case, the expression might (as Mr. Griffith suggests) denote the 'royal cook,' an official who acquired at Thebes in the New Empire many important administrative functions—leading expeditions to the quarries, investigating tomb-robberies, etc. (see Erman, *Ægypten*, Index, *s.v.* 'Truchsess'; and comp. above, vol. ii. p. 774, the note on *Āb*).

S. R. DRIVER.

POTIPHERA (פּוֹטִי פֶּרַע; LXX A Πετρεφῆς, E Luc. Πετεφρῆς;† Vulg. *Putiphare*; on the etym. see under POTIPHAR).—The priest—*i.e.*, no doubt, the chief priest—of ON (which see),—*i.e.* of the famous and ancient temple of the Sun, at On,—whose daughter Asenath was given by Pharaoh to Joseph for a wife (Gn $41^{45.50}$ 46^{20}). S. R. DRIVER.

POTSHERD.—This is the translation in Job 2^{8}, Ps 22^{15}, Pr 26^{23}, and Is 45^{9} *bis* of חֶרֶשׂ *ḥeres*, which is rendered 'sherd' in Is 30^{14}, Ezk 23^{34}, but elsewhere (usually with כְּלִי) 'earthen vessel.' Potsherd occurs also in Sir 22^{7} as tr. of ὄστρακον, which is the LXX word for *ḥeres* in Job 2^{8}, Ps 22^{15}, Pr 26^{23}, Is 30^{14}. The Eng. word, which is a sherd (shred) or fragment of pottery, is illustrated by Skelton's (Skeat's *Specimens*, 143)—

> 'But this madde Amalecke,
> Lyke to a Mamelek,
> He regardeth lordes
> No more than potshordes'—

and Spenser, *FQ* VI. i. 37—

> 'They hew'd their helmes, and plates asunder brake,
> As they had potshares bene.'

In translating, the distinction has to be made between 'earthen vessel' and 'fragment of earthen vessel.' The latter is the meaning, according to *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*, in Job 2^{8} 41^{22}, Is 30^{14}, Ezk 23^{34}. RV makes two changes. Job 41^{30} AV 'sharp stones are under him' is changed into 'his underparts are like sharp potsherds'; Pr 26^{23} 'a potsherd' becomes 'an earthen vessel.' J. HASTINGS.

POTTAGE (נָזִיד *nāzîd*, LXX ἕψημα, Vulg. *pulmentum*).—A kind of thick broth made by boiling lentils or other vegetables with meat or suet, usually in water, but sometimes in milk. Robinson says that lentil pottage made in this manner is very palatable, and that he 'could very well conceive, to a weary hunter, faint with hunger, they (lentils) might be quite a dainty' (i. 167). Thomson speaks of its appetizing fragrance, which it diffuses far and wide; and he gives an account of a meal in which this pottage was eaten out of a saucepan placed on the ground in the middle of the company, a cake of bread, doubled spoon-fashion, being dipped in the pot to carry the pottage to the mouth. 'European children born in Palestine are extravagantly fond of it' (*L. and B.* i. 252). The pottage prepared by Jacob was of the red lentil (see FOOD, vol. ii. 27), hence Esau's emphatic 'the red, this red' (Gn 25^{30}). For a mess of this, called in He 12^{16} βρῶσις μία ('a mess of meat'), Esau sold his birthright. Labat in his account of the visit of the Chevalier d'Arvieux to Hebron in 1660 says that at the entrance to St. Helena's Church, now a mosque, there is a great kitchen where pottage is daily prepared of lentils and other vegetables in commemoration of this event, which is supposed to have taken place here (?), and is freely distributed to all comers; 'We have partaken of it' (ii. p. 237). This practice does not seem to be kept up at the present day.

Pottage was known in Egypt at an early period, and was called *āshā* (Copt. ⲟⲟⲩϣ). Wilkinson has copied a tomb-painting representing a man cooking this food (ii. 34, fig. 301, 9). In Palestine a variety of vegetables entered into its composition, as in Scotch broth. Apparently the globe cucumber (*Cucumis prophetarum*), a common plant about Samaria, was sometimes used to thicken it; and we are told in 2 K 4^{39} that one of the 'sons of the prophets' mistook פַּקֻּעֹת שָׂדֶה, probably the violently purgative *Citrullus colocynthis*, for this plant. The colocynth is common in the Shephēlah and about the shores of the lower Jordan Valley, but not in the middle higher lands (see FOOD, vol. ii. p. 28).

The prophet Haggai names pottage with bread, wine, and oil as the common articles of diet which a priest, bearing holy flesh, would be likely to touch inadvertently with the skirt of his garment (2^{12}). *Nāzîd*, being chiefly made of vegetables, differs from *pārāḳ* (only in const. *pĕraḳ*, Is 65^{4} *Kethibh*), which seems to have been a kind of minced collops made of meat disjointed, or finely cut up and boiled in water (cf. 'mortrewes and potages' below). *Ḳerê* has *mĕraḳ*, as in Jg $6^{19.20}$, a name which is also applied to the same dish. Some suppose these to be soup poured over broken bread.

The word 'pottage' was originally the same as the French *potage* and spelled like it, as in Chaucer's *Prologue to the Pardoners Tale*, 82, and Piers Plowman, who writes 'potage and payn (bread) ynough' (Text B. xv. 310), 'mortrewes (pounded meat) and potages' (*ib.* xiii. 41). In the *Boke of Curtasye*, whose date is uncertain, probably about 1460, potage is the first course at dinner (iii. 765), and is to be eaten without 'grete sowndynge' (i. 69). In the 1557 ed. of Seager's *Schoole of Vertue* (iv. 444), it appears with two t's, and it is spelled as we now have it in all editions of the English Bible from 1560 to the present. In Russell's *Boke of Nurture*, dating from about 1460, there is a section on different kinds of potages. A. MACALISTER.

POTTER, POTTERY.—The art of the potter (Heb. יוֹצֵר or יֹצֵר, ptcp. of יָצַר 'to form *or* fashion'; Gr. κεραμεύς) can be traced back to a very early date in Egypt, and within recent years there have been considerable 'finds' in Palestine of specimens of pottery, some of which are much older than the date of the Israelite conquest. Upon the ground especially of the discoveries at *Tell el-Ḥesy* (? Lachish), Flinders Petrie has sought to construct a complete history of the pottery of Palestine, which he divides into three periods (see the following article, and compare Petrie and Conder in *PEFSt*, 1891, p. 68 ff.; also Nowack, *Lehrb. der Heb. Arch.* i. 265 ff.; Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 261 ff.). The products of the potter's industry would naturally be little used by the Israelites during the nomadic period of their existence, when vessels of skin or of wood must have been found more serviceable than those of earth (Nowack, *l.c.* p. 242; Benzinger, *l.c.* p. 214). Even after they entered Canaan, the Israelites appear to have been slow to adopt the vessels of the potter; a skin is still used for holding milk (Jg 4^{19}), wine (1 S 16^{20}), or water (Gn $21^{14f.}$); the Heb. in the first two of these passages is נֹאד, in the third חֵמֶת, the Gr. in all three is ἀσκός. The earliest mention of pottery in the OT is in 2 S 17^{28}, where, amongst the articles brought to David during his flight from Absalom, were 'earthen vessels' (כְּלֵי יוֹצֵר; B σκεύη ὀστράκινα, A om.).

---

* For the name 'Petu-baal' cited above, vol. ii. 774^{a} n. ¶, is very doubtful, Mr. Griffith informs the writer, in both meaning and date. It is properly *Pt-ber* (Lieblein, *Dict. des Noms Hiérogl.* No. 553); and 'though *ber* is the correct spelling for Baal, there is no determinative to show that it was intended for that. *Pt*, also, is not the same as *P'-dy* (in *P'-dy-'Imn*, etc., above); and it is difficult to find a meaning for it. The name is at present known only to occur once; and it may be wrongly copied, or may not be a compound at all. The period to which it belongs is also quite uncertain: it may be that of the Hyksos; but it may also be earlier, or much later.'

† Also Πεντεφρῆς, ed. Ald., and the MS cited p. 23 n. †; Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 21. 9; Cramer, *Anecd. Par.* ii. 175. 14; Fabric. *Cod. Pseudepigr.* ii. 86 (Parthey, p. 78).

Both in the OT and in the Apocrypha there are allusions to the various processes carried on by the potter. He treads the clay (חֹמֶר) with his feet (Is 41^{25}, Wis 15^{7}), kneads it like dough and places it upon the wheel, or rather wheels (אָבְנָיִם Jer 18^{3}; LXX *ἐπὶ τῶν λίθων*, implying a reading הָאֲבָנִים). The *'obnayim* (a dual form used elsewhere only in Ex 1^{16} of the 'birth-stool') consisted, as the name implies, of *two* discs of wood, connected by a wooden pivot, and arranged the one above the other, the under wheel being the larger of the two. The wheels, which were capable of being revolved in opposite directions, were set in motion by the foot of the potter, who sat at his work. All these points, as well as the processes of firing and glazing, are referred to in Sir $38^{29ff.}$ (cf. the illustrations in Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyp.* 1837, iii. 164). The first of these processes, the firing, perhaps explains Ps 22^{15} 'My palate [reading חִכִּי for כֹּחִי 'my strength'] is dried up like a potsherd' (חֶרֶשׂ, *ὄστρακον*). The glazing process, in which the oxide of lead obtained in the course of refining silver was chiefly employed, gives point to the saying of Pr 26^{23} 'Fervent [or perhaps 'smooth,' see Toy, *ad loc.*] lips and a wicked heart are like an earthen vessel overlaid with silver dross' (כֶּסֶף סִיגִים מְצֻפֶּה עַל־חָרֶשׂ; LXX *ἀργύριον διδόμενον μετὰ δόλου ὥσπερ ὄστρακον ἡγητέον*).

Under the later kings the industry of the potter was so familiar as to furnish the prophets with figures in addressing their hearers. The classic instance of this is Jer 18, where the prophet describes how he paid a visit to the house of the potter,* and found him fashioning a work on the wheels. 'And when the vessel that he made of the clay was marred in the hand of the potter, he made it again another vessel, as seemed good to the potter to make it' (v.^{4}). The lesson drawn is, 'Cannot I do with you as this potter? saith the LORD. Behold, as the clay in the potter's hand, so are ye in mine hand, O house of Israel' (cf. Is 29^{16} 45^{9} 64^{8}, Wis $15^{7ff.}$, and the famous argument of St. Paul in Ro $9^{20ff.}$, a passage which will be fully discussed in art. PREDESTINATION, along with which it will be well to refer to Sanday-Headlam's 'Romans' in *Internat. Crit. Comm. ad loc.*). Again, in Jer $19^{1ff.}$ a potter's earthen bottle (בַּקְבֻּק יוֹצֵר חָרֶשׂ, LXX *βικὸς πεπλασμένος ὀστράκινος*) is purchased by the prophet, and afterwards broken in typical allusion to the approaching irretrievable ruin of the nation (cf. Ps 2^{9}=Rev 2^{27}, Is 30^{14}).

A guild of potters is mentioned by the Chronicler (1 Ch 4^{23}). In P the 'earthen vessel' (כְּלִי חֶרֶשׂ) is repeatedly mentioned: Lv 6^{28} [Heb. ^{21}] as used for boiling the flesh of the sin-offering; 11^{33} as defiled by contact with unclean animals; $14^{5.\,50}$ one of the two birds offered on behalf of the cleansed leper or leprous house is to be killed 'in an earthen vessel over running water' [*i.e.* so as to let the blood drop into the vessel and mingle with the water contained in it]; 15^{12} as defiled by an issue; Nu 5^{17} as used to contain the water in the jealousy ordeal. In all these instances the LXX has *σκεῦος ὀστράκινον* except in Lv 14^{5} and Nu 5^{17}, in both of which it has *ἄγγιον ὀστράκινον*. In Jer 32^{14} we read of a legal document (the deed of purchase of Hanamel's field) being kept in an earthen vessel.

The figure of the potter at work is more or less consciously present in a number of instances where the verb יצר is employed to describe the Divine activity in creating or fashioning men or other objects: Jahweh forms man of dust from the ground, Gn 2^{7}; beasts and birds from the ground, v.^{19}; Israel as a people, Is 27^{11} $43^{1.\,21}$ 44^{21} $45^{9\,bis,\,11}$ 49^{5} (even from the womb) 64^{7}; the individual Israelite, Is 43^{7}; Jeremiah in the womb, Jer 1^{5}; the eye of man, Ps 94^{9}; the locust, Am 7^{1}; Leviathan, Ps 104^{26}; the dry land, Ps 95^{5}; the earth, Is $45^{18\,bis}$; the mountains, Am 4^{13}; the universe (הַכֹּל), Jer 10^{16}=51^{19}. The figure appears to be lost sight of, and יצר simply='form,' in such instances as Is 45^{7} the forming of light, Ps 74^{17} summer and winter, Zec 12^{1} the spirit of man, Ps 33^{15} the hearts of men. יצר is also used figuratively of fashioning, *i.e.* foreordaining, an event or situation, Is 22^{11} 37^{26} (=2 K 19^{25}) 46^{11}, Jer 33^{2}, cf. Ps 139^{6}.

The potter's clay and the vessels fashioned from it are emblems in Scripture of what is feeble or of little value. In Dn 2^{41} the feet of the image seen in vision by Nebuchadnezzar are described as part of iron and part of potter's clay (Aram. חֲסַף דִּי־פֶחָר; Theod. B simply *ὀστράκινον*, $\text{A}^{\text{a ? (mg)}}$ *ὀστράκινον κεραμίου*; LXX *ὀστράκου κεραμικοῦ*), which leads to the interpretation, 'the kingdom shall be partly strong and partly broken' (RVm 'brittle,' Aram. תְּבִירָה, Theod. *συντριβόμενον*, LXX *συντετριμμένον*). In La 4^{2} we have the forcible contrast: 'The precious sons of Zion, comparable to fine gold, how are they esteemed as earthen pitchers, the work of the hands of the potter' (לְנִבְלֵי־חֶרֶשׂ מַעֲשֵׂה יְדֵי יוֹצֵר, LXX *εἰς ἄγγια ὀστράκινα, ἔργα χειρῶν κεραμέως*). Again, in 2 Co 4^{7} St. Paul declares, 'We have this treasure [*sc.* the ministry entrusted to him] in earthen vessels' (*ἐν ὀστρακίνοις σκεύεσιν*), perhaps in allusion especially to the weak bodily frame of the apostle. 'In a great house there are not only vessels of gold and of silver, but also of wood and of earth,' 2 Ti 2^{20} (*σκεύη ὀστράκινα*); cf. also Is 29^{16} 45^{9}.

Zec 11^{13} is a difficult passage, especially when considered in connexion with Mt $27^{9f.}$. The Massoretic text is thus rendered in RV: 'The LORD said unto me, Cast it unto the potter, the goodly price that I was prised (*sic*) at of them. And I took the thirty pieces of silver and cast them unto the potter in the house of the LORD.' Instead of אֶל־הַיּוֹצֵר 'unto the potter,' Gesenius (*Thes.*) follows the Syr. in reading אֶל־הָאוֹצָר 'into the treasury.' This is adopted also by G. A. Smith, Wellhausen, Nowack, and others. The LXX has *εἰς τὸ χωνευτήριον*, 'into the smelting furnace.' The words אוצר and יצר might all the more readily be confused owing to the tendency of א to pass into י between two vowels. It is not improbable, however, that the Massoretes purposely obscured the reading אוצר from a feeling that the paltry wage which was unworthy of the prophet's acceptance could not fittingly be cast into the treasury of God. In like manner the chief priests in Mt 27^{6} say of the thirty pieces of silver returned by Judas, 'It is not lawful to put them into the treasury, since it is the price of blood.' Accordingly, they took counsel and bought with them the potter's field to bury strangers in. In this Mt characteristically discovers a fulfilment of prophecy, and it is manifestly the prophecy of Zec 11^{13} that is in view, although it is attributed to Jeremiah, and quoted in a form that agrees neither with the MT, of which we have just quoted the translation, nor with the LXX. The substitution of *Jeremiah* for Zechariah is no doubt simply due to a *lapsus memoriæ*, which might occur all the more readily in view of the allusions to the *potter* in Jer 18 and 19, and the narrative of the purchase of a *field* from Hanamel in $32^{6ff.}$. The following are the readings of the LXX (B) of Zec 11^{13} and of the professed quotation in Mt $27^{9f.}$ (according to WH's text)—

Zec 11^{13}.	Mt $27^{9f.}$
Καὶ εἶπεν Κύριος πρὸς μὲ, Κάθες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ χωνευτήριον, καὶ σκέψομαι (A	Καὶ ἔλαβον τὰ τριάκοντα ἀργύρια, τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ τετιμημένου ὃν ἐτιμήσαντο ἀπὸ

---

* Situated probably near the gate Harsith (Jer 19^{2} RV), or 'gate of the potsherds' (?), a name perhaps derived from the quantity of potsherds thrown out there. See HARSITH.

Zec 11^{13}.	Mt $27^{9f.}$.
σκέψαι αὐτό) εἰ δόκιμόν ἐστιν, ὃν τρόπον ἐδοκιμάσθη (B^{*fort} Aℵ︎Q ἐδοκιμάσθην) ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. καὶ ἔλαβον τοὺς τριάκοντα ἀργύρους καὶ ἐνέβαλον αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν (A om. τόν) οἶκον Κυρίου εἰς τὸ χωνευτήριον.	υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ, καὶ ἔδωκαν (A^{*vid} ἔδωκεν, ℵ ἔδωκα) αὐτὰ εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν τοῦ κεραμέως καθὰ συνέταξέν μοι Κύριος.

RV in Mt 'And they (marg. 'I') took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him that was priced, whom (certain) of the children of Israel did price (marg. 'whom they priced on the part of the sons of Israel'), and they (marg. 'I') gave them for the potter's field, as the Lord appointed me.' The reading 'potter' is thus retained (although there appears to be in the context a consciousness also of the reading 'treasury'), the language is accommodated to cover the purchase by the priests of the potter's field, and the passage has manifestly a Messianic character imposed upon it (see, further, Wellhausen, *Die kleinen Propheten, ad loc.*, and arts. AKELDAMA, and QUOTATIONS E *d* and J *a*). J. A. SELBIE.

POTTERY.—Materials for the study of the pottery of Southern Palestine from 1700 to 300 B.C. were furnished by the systematic excavation of the mound Tell el-Ḥesy by Petrie and Bliss, 1890–93 (see art. LACHISH). At this site was found a series of superimposed mud-brick towns, eight in number, each distinguished by its own types of pottery. The already-dated foreign types (Greek and Phœnician) furnished a scale for approximately dating the local ware with which they were associated, or which they overlaid. The results obtained at Tell el-Ḥesy have since been confirmed and amplified by extensive excavations at three other mounds, Tell Zakarîya, Tell eṣ-Safi, and Tell ej-Jndeideh, as well as at Jerusalem. Briefly, these results are as follows. The pre-Seleucidan pottery may be divided into three groups—(1) earlier pre-Israelite; (2) later pre-Israelite; (3) Jewish.

(1) *The earlier pre-Israelite* ware has been found, unmixed with other styles, on the rock or virgin soil at three sites. The types include—(*a*) large bowls with very thick brims, the interior being faced with red or yellow and burnished with lines sometimes crossing; (*b*) large jars with flat disc bottom, invecked necks, and ornamented with a cable-moulding; (*c*) jars with surfaces scraped over with a comb and having ledge-handles of a wavy shape. These handles are typical of certain Egyptian pottery, regarded by Petrie as prehistoric; he suggests a Lybian origin. All these characteristics come down to later times, especially the patterned burnishing, which is found in a debased form in Jewish jars.

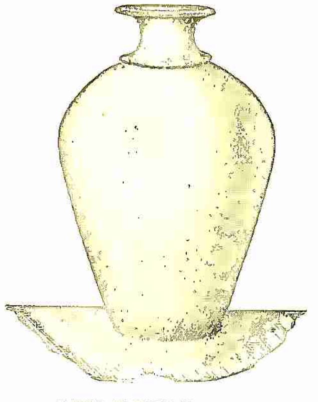

EARLY PRE-ISRAELITE JAR.

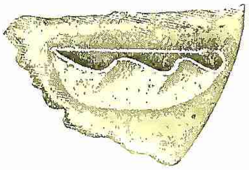

LEDGE-HANDLE.
(Early Pre-Israelite.)

(2) *The later pre-Israelite* ware comes down to Jewish times, and is found in connexion with known 'Phœnician' types, ranging from about 1400 to 1000 B.C., and with Mycenæan ware of the same period. The most characteristic native forms are—(*a*) the open lamps and bowls, both with rounded bottom, often found purposely buried in groups; (*b*) ware with painted ornament, consisting chiefly of birds, zigzags, and spirals; (*c*) small flasks with pointed bottoms; (*d*) stands for holding these; (*e*) female figurines (*teraphim*).

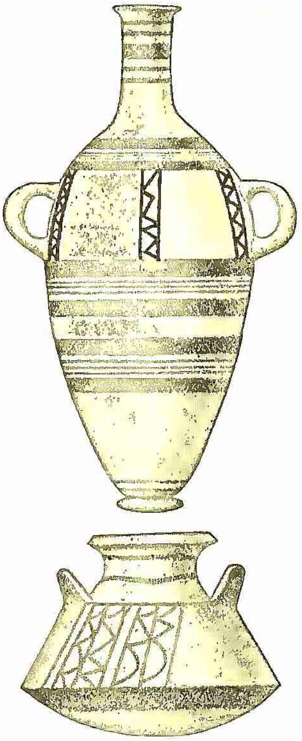

LATER PRE-ISRAELITE PAINTED WARE.

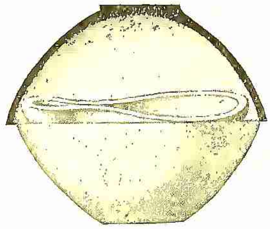

BOWLS (BURIED) WITH LAMP.

(3) The ware we call *Jewish* appears to be characteristic of the later Jewish monarchy, when the

local pre-Israelite and the Phœnician types had blended and had become debased. The commonest types are—(*a*) cooking pots (blackened with smoke), with large wide mouths and small handles; (*b*) open lamps, with thick disc bases; (*c*) tiny rude black jugs; (*d*) flasks with long neck and stand, out of all proportion to the small body; (*e*) large jars with ribbed handles, stamped. The stamps are of three classes: stars of various forms; ellipse containing name of the owner or maker in old Hebrew letters; royal stamps. The latter show a creature in two varieties, one with two expanded wings, the other with four. The second type is clearly a *scarabæus*. Above the symbol is invariably the legend למלך; below, the name of a town, as שוכה. As this ware appears to date from the time of the Jewish monarchy, the reading 'Belonging to the king of Shocoh' is untenable. Accordingly we should rather read: 'To the king: (dedicated by) Shocoh.' Thus far three names of known towns have been recovered, Shocoh, Hebron, and Ziph, as well as the name ממשת, which is not mentioned in the Bible. As to the exact meaning of the stamp, several hypotheses have been brought forward. From the discovery of these stamped handles at Jerusalem it has been argued that they belonged to jars containing oil, wine, or other tribute sent to the capital by the towns mentioned. The wide geographical distribution (such as the finding of the stamp with Shocoh at five different sites) suggests that the place-names were those of royal potteries, situated at Hebron, Ziph, Shocoh, etc.

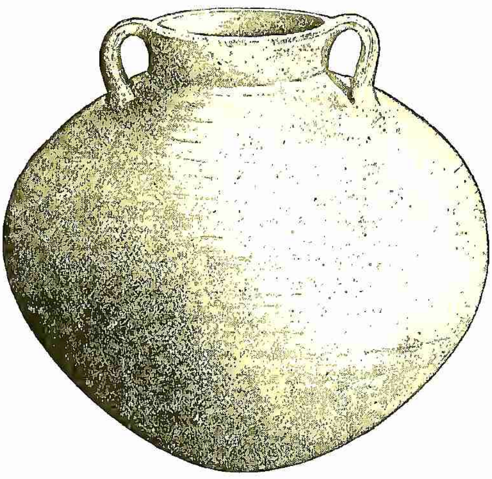
JEWISH COOKING POT.

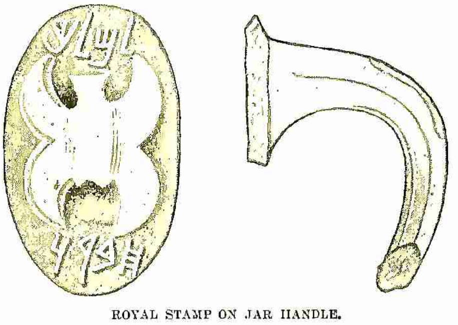
ROYAL STAMP ON JAR HANDLE.

Associated with the above-mentioned Jewish types we find Greek pottery, chiefly ribbed bowls, and large amphoræ with loop handles. The red and black figured ware was also imported.

The *post-Seleucidan* pottery of Palestine has not been as carefully studied as the earlier types. The Seleucidan forms are similar to those found at Alexandria. Rhodian jar-handles stamped with Greek names are common. Roman sites contain the well-known ribbed amphoræ, and tiles with the stamp of the tenth legion: LEG(IO) X. FRE(TENSIS), are common about Jerusalem. In Christian graves are found many closed lamps, stamped with elaborate patterns, sometimes showing crosses or a Greek inscription, as ΛΥΧΝΑΡΙΑ ΚΑΛΑ.

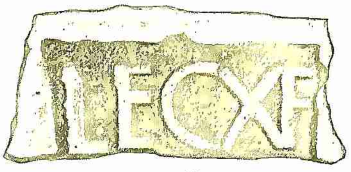

STAMP OF THE 10TH LEGION.

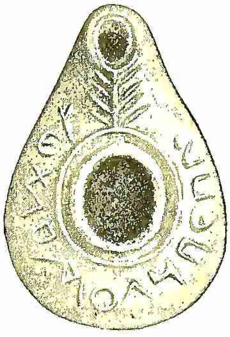
CHRISTIAN LAMP.

The same general type extended to Arab times. Finally, we have the Arab glazed ware, found in Crusading sites, such as Blanche Garde at Tell eṣ-Ṣafi.

LITERATURE.—Petrie, *Tell el-Hesy*; Bliss, *Mound of Many Cities*; Reports on the Excavations at Tell Zakariya, Tell eṣ-Ṣafi, and Tell ej-Judeideh, *PEFSt*, 1899–1900; also the forthcoming volume on these Excavations.

F. J. BLISS.

NOTE.—The above illustrations are reproduced with the kind permission of the Palestine Exploration Fund Committee.

POTTER'S FIELD. — See AKELDAMA and POTTER.

POUND.—See MONEY, vol. iii. p. 428ᵃ, and WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

POVERTY. — A. IN OLD TESTAMENT. — The paucity of abstract terms in Hebrew is illustrated by the fact that the words translated 'poverty' in EV occur chiefly in the Book of Proverbs, and other post-exilic works. These are (*a*) from חסר, 'to lack':—חֶסֶר, מַחְסוֹר (cf. חֹסֶר, חֶסְרוֹן), ἔνδεια, ὑστέρημα, etc., *egestas*, etc.; (*b*) from רושׁ:—רֵאשׁ, רִישׁ, רֵישׁ, πενία, *egestas*, etc. The poor are frequently mentioned, the following terms being so translated: (*c*) מַחְסוֹר [cf. (*a*)]; (*d*) רָשׁ, ptcp. of רושׁ [cf. (*b*)], πένης, πτωχός, etc., *pauper*, etc.; (*e*) from ענה 'be bowed down':—עֲנֵה (Aram.), עָנִי 'afflicted,' 'poor,' עָנָו 'humble,' 'lowly' (see art. POOR), πένης, πτωχός, πραΰς, ταπεινός, etc., *pauper*, etc.; (*f*) from אבה 'crave':—אֶבְיוֹן 'needy,' πένης, πτωχός, etc., *pauper*, etc.; (*g*) from דלל 'hang down':—דַּל 'weak, depressed,' in Gn 41^{19} of *lean* cows, πένης, πτωχός, ταπεινός, etc., *pauper*, etc.; (*h*) מִסְכֵּן (Aram.) only in

Ecclesiastes, 'poor,' *πένης*, *pauper*; (*i*) the obscure and doubtful חֵלְכָה, חֵלְכָּאִים, in Ps $10^{8.10.14}$, perhaps 'hapless,' *πένης*, *πτωχός*, *pauper*.

The *causes of poverty*, apart from sloth, thoughtlessness, and extravagance, were specially—(i.) Failure of crops and loss of cattle through bad seasons; thus the Shunammite left her homestead, by Elisha's advice, to avoid a famine (2 K 8^{1-7}, cf. Neh 5^{3}). At such times the townsfolk would suffer from the high price of food, and the falling off of trade through the destitution of the farmers. (ii.) Raids and invasions. (iii.) Loss of property through the violence of the nobles, supported by corrupted law courts, *e.g.* Naboth's vineyard (1 K 21) and the appropriation of the Shunammite's land during her absence. (iv.) Ruinous taxation and forced labour (*corvée*) (Neh $5^{4.5}$). (v.) Extortionate usury, which took advantage of the distress caused by bad seasons and heavy taxes to lend at high interest on the security of land. In many instances the debtors could not pay, and forfeited land and liberty to their creditors (Neh 5^{1-5}).

In considering the *character and extent of poverty*, stress must be laid on the influence of polygamy and slavery. The almost universal habit of early marriage which seems to have existed amongst freemen, together with concubinage and polygamy, checked the growth of that destitution amongst unmarried women which is the most painful feature of modern poverty. Indeed, if the principles of family and clan life had been loyally carried out, a free Israelite could want only when the whole family or clan were destitute. But actual practice mostly fell far short of this ideal.

Again, with us, the last resort of the poor is either the workhouse, or crime, or slow starvation; in ancient Israel, the destitute became slaves. Indeed, the class corresponding to the great bulk of our poorer workers for wages, both domestic and industrial, was the slave-class. Hence the article SLAVE deals with the condition of the greater portion of the poor. There were, however, slaves whose position was much more honourable and comfortable than that of English labourers, and there were poor who were not slaves. The existence of slavery added to the resources of the poor man by enlarging his credit: he and his family could offer their persons as security for loans.

Again, the mere lack of means, if it did not amount to absolute destitution, was far less distressing than with us, because so little was needed in the way of house, furniture, clothes, firing, or even food.

The classes of the poor most often mentioned are widows and orphans, and the *gērīm*, or resident aliens. The former suffered because the family ties were not as real as they were supposed to be, the latter because they had no actual family ties, and the bond of hospitality was soon strained to breaking point (Lv 19^{10}, Dt 14^{29}, Ps 94^{6}, Jer 22^{3}, Zec 7^{10}, Mal 3^{5}). See art. GER.

As regards poverty, however, the conditions were very different in the four great periods of OT history. (1) *The Nomadic period.* In a nomad tribe there were richer and poorer and slaves; but the bond of brotherhood in the tribe was kept alive by the constant necessity of mutual help and defence; and distressful poverty was possible for the individual only when the fortunes of the whole tribe were at a very low ebb.

(2) *The Judges and the Early Monarchy.*—During this period the clan and family system maintained a great, though perhaps diminishing, vitality; and its influence, as we have said, was against the growth of poverty. The great majority of free Israelite families held land; they might suffer from bad seasons, and from invasion, or the oppression of powerful fellow-countrymen;* whole families might be swept away by plague or famine, carried away captive by the enemy, or reduced to slavery by native oppressors; but with certain exceptions (see below) there was little permanent poverty. Gideon says (Jg 6^{15}) 'My clan (*lit.* 'thousand') is the poorest (הַדַּל) in Manasseh, and I am the least in my father's house'; but the context shows that Gideon was fairly well off. It is probably not a mere accident that the first mention in history of a class of poor freemen comes soon after the establishment of the Monarchy. 1 S 22^{2} tells us that there resorted unto David 'every one that was in distress (אִישׁ מָצוֹק), or in debt, or discontented.'

In this period, however, certain classes of landless poor seem to have arisen. When the frontier receded through the successful attack of a neighbouring tribe, the Israelite refugees would seek shelter amongst their brethren. They could not always be provided with land, and probably formed a large portion of the *gērīm*, the *gēr* in this case being an Israelite settled in a strange tribe. In this period, too, the Levites are apparently both landless and poor, *e.g.* Micah's Levite, Jg 17. 18, and the Levite of Jg 19, both of whom were *gērīm*; cf. LEVI. The scant references to the poor in the older (JE) legislation, the Ten Commandments, the Book of the Covenant, etc., *e.g.* Ex 22^{25} 23^{6}, indicate that poverty was not very widespread in this period.

(3) *The Later Monarchy.*—We learn from the prophets of the 8th cent. that as the Israelite kingdoms advanced in wealth and civilization, pauperism developed. The rich added 'house to house, and field to field' (Is 5^{8}), and the landless poor multiplied.

The growth in luxury led to an increase of the artisan class and the town population generally. When the tide of prosperity ebbed, these classes bore the brunt of bad times. The prophets tried to keep the land for the peasant farmers, but their efforts were futile. Deuteronomy shows that poverty was a serious and widespread evil (10^{17-19} $14^{28.29}$ 15. $23^{19.20}$ 24^{10-21} 26^{12-15}), and frequently refers to the Levites as an impoverished class ($12^{12.19}$ 18). The Deuteronomic legislation attempted to remedy the evil, but it came too late.

(4) *After the Exile.*—The community in Palestine was poor as a whole, and Neh 5 shows that the nobles and priests profited by the misfortunes of the peasants to absorb their land. The general tone of the Psalms, and the use of the term *'ānāw*, 'lowly,' for the pious Jews, suggest that the bulk of the people were permanently poor. See art. POOR. The Priestly Code shows great consideration for the poor (Lv $5^{7.11}$ etc. 19^{9-15} 23^{22} 25).

As the Jews passed from the rule of the Persians to that of the Greek kings of Egypt and Syria, the bulk of the people, whether in the Dispersion or in Syria, became subject, in a measure, to the general conditions of social life; and the information as to the poor in the ancient classical world will apply to that extent to the scattered Jews. But in most cities, as in Alexandria, and in many country districts, the Jews formed communities bound by racial and religious ties. Such ties are very real, especially in small societies, when those who own them are in the midst of aliens of another faith. Poverty might be prevalent, but would be much alleviated by mutual helpfulness. In Jewish Galilee and Judah there were the agricultural settlements, where social conditions were comparatively simple; and the intensely Jewish city of Jerusalem, whose size implies a large poor population. The Bk. of Sirach, the work of a Jerusalem Jew, implies a measure of poverty and emphasizes the helplessness of the poor before the oppression of the rich (7^{32} $10^{30.\,31}$ $13^{3.\,18}$ 21^{5} 29^{22} 35^{13} 41^{2}); but conveys the impression that the wrongs and sufferings of the poor about B.C. 200 were far less grievous than in the time of Amos and Isaiah.

---

* Cf. Nathan's parable, in which the rich man robbed his poor neighbour (2 S 12^{1-6}).

As regards *provision for the poor*, there was first of all, perhaps most efficacious of all, the possibility of finding sustenance in slavery, a fate probably regarded with less horror, and carrying with it less disgrace, than the modern workhouse. Before this, the poor might have recourse to their family or clan. In early times, when each clan inhabited its own district, the claims of poorer members commanded recognition; but as time went on, and the clan system broke up, this resource became less and less to be relied on. The successive codes sought to remedy the evil by various enactments. In Ex $22^{25\text{-}27}$ loans are to be without interest, so also Dt $15^{7.\,8}$ $24^{10.\,13}$, Lv $25^{35.\,37}$; cf. Ps 15^{5} etc.; and in Ex 23^{11} the poor are to have the produce of the land in Sabbatical years, so also Lv 25^{6}. In Deuteronomy tithes are to be given to the poor (14^{28} $26^{12.\,13}$); who are to be entertained at the great Feasts ($16^{11.\,14}$; cf. Neh 8^{10}); to be allowed to glean, and to have something left to glean, to have the right to take what grew in the corners of fields, and any sheaves that might be forgotten ($24^{19.\,21}$); cf. Lv $19^{9.\,10}$, Ru 2^{2}. The most serious attempt to deal with poverty was the Law of the Jubilee Year in the Priestly Code (Lv $25^{25\text{-}54}$; cf. Dt $15^{12\text{-}15}$), which, if carried out, would have secured the periodical restoration of the landless poor to freedom and their return to the land, but this law remained an ideal. These various provisions were supplemented by ALMSGIVING (which see).

B. IN NEW TESTAMENT.—The term 'poverty, *πτωχεία*, *paupertas*, *inopia*, is used only in 2 Co $8^{2.\,9}$, Rev 2^{9}, where it has a general or figurative sense; but the 'poor,' *πένης* (2 Co 9^{9}), *πενιχρός* (Lk 21^{2}), *πτωχός* (frequently, especially in the Gospels and Ja 2), *pauper*, etc., are often mentioned. As regards poverty, the NT period did not differ in any essential features from the Greek period. On the one hand, the exactions of the Herodian and Roman officials were probably more severe than those of the Greek rulers; on the other, the duty of almsgiving was more diligently inculcated as a religious duty which would be richly rewarded. In this respect the Christian Church followed in the steps of the synagogue. The Church at Jerusalem made an abortive experiment in communism (Ac 2^{44} 4^{32}), which probably aggravated its poverty; and gave opportunity for the collection for 'the poor saints at Jerusalem' which St. Paul organized amongst his Gentile converts (Ro 15^{26}, Gal 2^{10}). The early Christian Churches followed the example of the synagogues in holding it a duty to provide for their poor (Ro 12^{13}, 1 Ti 6^{18}, 1 Jn 3^{17} etc.; cf. art. 'Alms' in Smith and Cheetham's *Dict. of Christian Antiquities*). But Ja $2^{2\text{-}6}$ shows that this duty was often neglected. In later times the Jews have usually set an example to Christendom by their care for their poor co-religionists.

While we read that 'the common people (*ὁ πολὺς ὄχλος*, Mk 12^{37}, cf. Jn 12^{9}) heard' Jesus 'gladly,' we are not told that His actual disciples were poor; they rather seem to have belonged to the lower middle class—fishermen owning boats, tax-collectors, etc. The early Church included many poor, and few rich, powerful, or distinguished members (1 Co 1^{26}); but Prof. Orr, in his *Neglected Factors in the Study of the Early Progress of Christianity*, maintains that the strength of the Church lay in the middle classes. Cf. ALMSGIVING, FAMILY, GLEANING, SABBATICAL YEAR, TITHES.

W. H. BENNETT.

POWER (chiefly חַיִל, כֹּחַ, עֹז; *δύναμις*, *ἐξουσία*).*—**1.** All the power in the universe is traced in Scripture to a spiritual source. God created all things by His word; and the word being the expression of the will, it is the spiritual God Himself who is the ground and origin of all that is (Gn 1. 2, Ps 33^{9} 148^{5}, Pr $8^{27\text{ff.}}$, Is $40^{12\text{ff.}}$, Jer 32^{17}, Jn $1^{3.\,10}$). While God is the Creator of the world, and continually rules all the agents in it for His own ends, there is real power made over to nature. There is no pantheistic identification of nature's power with God's. According to Gn 1, the earth has the function assigned to it of bringing forth grass and herbs, and the trees and all the living creatures bring forth fruit 'after their kind': nature follows its own laws (cf. He 6^{7}). Or, again, the sea has a place and power which are definitely fixed, indeed, but are thereby proved to be real (Job 38^{11}, Pr 8^{29}). In like manner there is true power, though it is derivative, committed to man. He was made 'in the image of God' (Gn $1^{26\text{f.}}$), and so his original endowment includes the gift of power like God's. It is proved by his exercising dominion over the other living creatures (1^{28}), and by his possessing freedom of choice ($2^{16\text{f.}}$). The power of man is lost by sin (Gn 2^{17}, 1 S 28^{20}, Ro $7^{18\text{ff.}}$ etc.). Nevertheless, he is treated in every condition as a rational and moral being; the wicked are commanded on almost every page of Scripture to bestir themselves, to repent and turn to God.

2. God continually upholds the world by His power in *Providence*, *i.e.* (*a*) in the *preservation*, (*b*) in the *government* of the creation. (*a*) The fact of the world's persistence amid change, and while everything in it is characterized by transiency, is referred to the direct action of the Divine Will (Gn 8^{22}, Ps $104^{29\text{f.}}$ 139, Jer 14^{22}, Ac 17^{28}, He 1^{3} etc.). Then (*b*) God's government of the world consists in His guiding all its processes for certain predetermined ends. Thus He causes grass to grow 'for the cattle,' and herb 'for the service of man' (Ps $104^{14\text{f.}}$). Human success is due to the favouring presence and power of God, and serves for the fulfilment of the Divine purposes, both as respects the earthly life (Jos $1^{11\text{ff.}}$) and the higher life of the soul (Ro $8^{28\text{ff.}}$, Ph 2^{13}). All the ways of men are justly recompensed by the Almighty (Jer 32^{19}). Wickedness is overruled and brought to naught on the earth, a feature of God's providential action which is naturally emphasized in OT. God fulfils His purpose of love in spite of all opposing agents, whether visible or invisible, angelic or Satanic (Ro $8^{38\text{f.}}$).

3. Special displays of power made by the Almighty. Israel was often saved by God from its enemies, the signal deliverance from Egyptian bondage which He effected for His people 'by a mighty hand and by an outstretched arm' being the type of these supernatural interventions (Dt 5^{15}). The chosen people were guided in their career, and kept together as a nation, a remnant at least being preserved. God revealed His laws and ordinances; and these, duly honoured, were calculated to realize the highest good to the nation, to impart the blessing of 'life' and all that that implies (Dt $28^{1\text{ff.}}$ $30^{15\text{ff.}}$, Ps $19^{7\text{ff.}}$, Pr 3). These influential manifestations of the Divine Will lead up to the completed revelation in Christ, who is superior to every world-power, and whose gospel is 'the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth' (Ro 1^{16}). The full manifestation of His power occurs when 'the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ: and he shall reign for ever and ever' (Rev 11^{15}). The personality of Jesus in the

---

* Broadly speaking, *δύναμις* in NT is power, and *ἐξουσία* authority to wield it. See Mason, *Conditions of Our Lord's Life on Earth*, p. 98 f.; Lightfoot on Col 1^{13}; Swete on Mk 2^{10}.

Gospels presents throughout the characteristics of spiritual power. He exhibits the unequalled power of perfect righteousness and love, *e.g.* in drawing disciples to Himself with a few words (Mt $4^{18\text{ff.}}$, Mk 2^{14}), refuting learned and influential adversaries, so that they could not answer Him a word or venture to question Him (Mt 22^{46}, Mk 12^{34}, Lk 14^{6} 20^{40}), driving out of the temple a crowd of those who dishonoured the building (Mt 21^{12}), working miracles in kindness to men and for the furtherance of faith (Mt 11^{5} etc.), extending pity and forgiveness to penitent sinners, and thereby raising them to a new and better life (Lk $7^{47\text{ff.}}$). These qualities of holiness and love in Jesus appear at their best when He is under trial; His endurance of the cross proves them to be stronger than death. Hence it is when He is 'lifted up' that He 'will draw all men' unto Him (Jn 12^{32}). Then the resurrection of Christ proves His power over death and His glory as the triumphant Son of God (Ac 2, etc.).

4. Power restored in man. God works in man for the restoration of the soul's own power, and hence the believer should 'work out his own salvation with fear and trembling' (Ph $2^{12\text{f.}}$). At length the full power of the soul is recovered through the aid of the Holy Spirit (Ro $8^{1\text{ff.}}$, Gal $5^{16\text{ff.}}$). See HOLY SPIRIT. For the attainment of this end in man we have thus (*a*) the activity on God's side, and (*b*) the activity of man. (*a*) There is a providential leading or drawing by the Father before men can come to Christ (Jn 6^{44}). Then through the death of Christ believers become dead to the power of sin: there is a breach with it in principle (Ro 6), or sanctification is begun. 'Not that anything in human nature was actually changed as by magic in the moment when Christ died, but in the completion of this holy life there was established a universal and personal principle of victory (a *δύναμις σωτηρίας*), which is able wherever it is received to break sin in the *σάρξ* and kill the natural selfishness, so that the man may walk no longer *κατὰ σάρκα*, but *κατὰ πνεῦμα*' (Beyschlag). Furthermore, through the resurrection of Christ men obtain power to accept salvation (1 Co 15^{17}): faith not actuated by the risen, living Christ, but only by man's own natural endeavours, is 'vain' or powerless. The life of faith throughout its progress derives its power from the believer's communion with the risen and glorified Christ (Ro 5^{10}, 2 Co $3^{17\text{f.}}$, Gal 2^{20}). Again, our Lord's resurrection imparts the power of a great hope; Christians have a sure hope beyond the present world. And they are empowered in consequence to be righteous in the world and worthy of their high calling, so that their hope may be fulfilled. (*b*) On man's side there has to be fervent prayer accompanied with righteousness (Ja 5^{16}), faith which overcomes the world (1 Jn 5^{4}), and to which nothing is impossible (Mt 17^{20}); and love, which leads to the keeping of Christ's words (Jn 14^{23}), and which casts out fear (1 Jn 4^{18}). Or man has to walk in the Spirit (a process which presupposes the peace of forgiveness), and then he obtains the amplest power, shown by his not fulfilling the lust of the flesh (Gal 5^{16}), and by his bringing forth the varied fruits of the Spirit, or growing without cessation into the likeness of Christ (Gal $5^{22\text{f.}}$). By the interaction of these Divine and human means power is obtained by the Christian for the performance of any manifest duty, and the possession of sufficient power should be assumed. Christ is to him the Bread of Life, strengthening for the accomplishment of all righteousness (Jn $6^{27\text{ff.}}$, Ph 4^{13}), as food supplies the body with power for all its physical acts; though in neither case can we comprehend the steps of the process (so Dods in 'Expositor's Bible,' *John*, i. 220 n.).

A passage that has created much discussion is 1 Co 11^{10} 'For this cause ought the woman to have power (*ἐξουσίαν*, RV '*a sign of* authority') on her head because of the angels.' The apostle's argument seems to he, Because the woman was derived from (v.^{8}) and was created for (v.^{9}) the man, therefore she should have on her head a covering in token that she is under the authority of the man. The abstract 'authority' is put for the concrete 'sign of authority.' Then a new encouragement is added. If women will not do this out of natural seemliness, let them remember that the angels are present (cf. art. HEAD, vol. ii. p. 317^{a}) in their assemblies, and for their sakes, the messengers of order, cover their heads. This is the interpretation of almost all modern expositors. For the presence of angels at Divine worship, see especially Meyer, *in loc.*

For **Powers** see under DOMINION.

G. FERRIES.

POWER OF THE KEYS.—The ecclesiastical connotation of these words must not be altogether identified with the meaning of them in the NT passage (Mt 16^{19}) from which they are taken, although the first is included in the second. And the language about the keys in that passage must be distinguished again from the language about 'binding and loosing' which follows.

The image of the keys is not infrequent in Scripture (cf. Is 22^{22}, Rev 1^{18}). 'The key (מפתח, also קלידי) to the prophets, as well as to the Rabbis, was the symbol of physical and moral authority and power' (Wünsche, *Neue Beiträge*, p. 195). The kingdom of heaven, here to be understood of the Messianic theocracy about to be established, is likened to a house or palace, of which our Lord promises that St. Peter shall be the chief steward or major-domo, who is entrusted with full authority over everything which the house contains. The keys are not merely those of the outer doors of the house, which give the holder power to admit or to eject; the porter's office is only a part of the authority committed to St. Peter. They are the keys of inner chambers also, giving command, for example, of the 'treasures' from which it will be his duty (Lk 12^{42}) to feed the household. As the house is at the same time 'the kingdom,' it is evident that the authority is of very wide range. In the passage of Isaiah, which offers the nearest parallel (though it is to be observed that the sing. is there used, not the plur.), the thought of the key suggests an indisputable power of ingress and egress, both for the holder and for others at his discretion—a power (as interpreted in Rev 3^{2}) of granting or withholding opportunities and facilities of various kinds.

In this last view the 'power of the keys' leads on naturally to the power of 'binding and loosing,' which, though not the same as the power of the keys, may be regarded as one of the chief exercises of that power. The 'binding' and 'loosing' is not the binding and loosing of persons but of things—not 'whomsoever thou shalt loose,' but 'whatsoever.' To 'bind' (לאסור), in rabbinic language, is to forbid; to 'loose' (להתיר) is to permit. Lightfoot says that 'thousands of examples' of this usage might be produced. One instance may suffice. 'Concerning the moving of empty vessels [on the Sabbath day], of the filling of which there is no intention; the school of Shammai binds it, the school of Hillel looseth it' (Hieros. *Shabb.* fol. 16, 2, quoted by Lightfoot, *Exercit. upon St. Matt.* p. 238). It is the power of laying down the law for his fellow-disciples, like a true Rabbi, which is thus bestowed upon St. Peter. Or perhaps it is more exact to say that it is the power of interpreting in detailed application the law which God has laid down in general terms. Authority is given him to say what the law of God allows, and what it forbids; and the promise is added that his ruling shall be upheld in heaven,—and is consequently to be regarded as binding upon the consciences of Christians. The power of binding and loosing is in fact the power of legislation for the Church.

The gift of 'the keys' is not expressly bestowed on any one else besides St. Peter, but the legislative power is afterwards extended to others (Mt 18^{18}). It is not certain who are the persons there addressed. 'The disciples' mentioned in v.^{1} are doubtless the apostles, or at any rate include some of the apostles; but it is not easy to prove that the power of binding and loosing is there bestowed upon them exclusively. That opinion, however ancient and however widely held, involves the further conclusion that the promises which follow, and upon which the binding and loosing power is made to depend, are to be similarly restricted. It is, according to this interpretation, to the apostles alone that Christ promises that the prayer of two of them shall be heard, and that where two or three are gathered in His name, He will be there. This is difficult to suppose. We must accordingly conclude that the binding and loosing power first bestowed upon St. Peter is not represented in NT as an exclusive privilege of the apostles. It is the common privilege of the Christian society—even of a small branch of it—when acting in agreement (v.^{19}) and solemnly assembled in (or 'to') Christ's name as its ground of union (v.^{20}). In this case, however, the power appears to be connected with judicial discipline over individual members of the society. The 'binding and loosing' are not, in this case any more than elsewhere, to be interpreted as the absolving and retaining of sins; they seem to mean the prescribing what the offender is to do and not to do. But, in case of his refusal to comply with these requirements of 'the Church,' he is to be treated as 'a heathen man and a publican,' *i.e.* as excommunicate; and the resistance to the authority of the Church is to be considered as resistance to the will of Heaven. The prayer of the slighted Church will be heard, for Christ Himself is present at the gathering, and Heaven will give its sanction to the sentence (see interesting parallels in Wünsche, p. 218).

There is, accordingly, a close connexion between the authority to bind and loose and the authority to absolve and retain sins (Jn 20^{23}). The discipline which prescribes what the sinner must do, on pain of encountering a sentence at once earthly and heavenly, cannot but involve a 'power of the keys' in the (inaccurate) sense which that term has borne in the Church since patristic times.

Christians of all ages have rightly seen a signal instance of St. Peter's use of the keys in the admission of Cornelius to the Church. He thus 'opened' the door indeed to the Gentiles, 'and no man' has ever since 'shut' it to them. But there is no reason to think that this one act was all that was in our Lord's mind when He made the promise; nor is it likely that He referred only to the authority to baptize at discretion exercised by the apostle. The whole of his chief-stewardship was included in the promise; and both in his appointments of other Christians to sacred offices, in the administration of the Christian sacraments at large, and in his expositions of Christian truth, he was exercising the power of the keys.

An equally signal instance of 'binding and loosing' on a large scale is the regulation laid down by St. Peter, along with 'the apostles and the elders,' for the discipline of the Gentile Christians in regard to meats and manner of life (Ac 15^{28}). They 'loosed' for them all other kinds of food; they 'bound' for them 'things offered to idols, and blood and things strangled, and fornication.' Similarly, at a later time, St. Paul at Corinth 'loosed' even the eating of things offered to idols,—though he 'bound' it in certain circumstances (1 Co $10^{25\text{f.}}$),—and laid down various rules concerning marriage (1 Co 7), and concerning public worship (1 Co 11–14). 'So ordain I in all Churches' is his formula (1 Co 7^{17}).

Of 'binding and loosing' in relation to the individual, the case which we are able to follow with the greatest degree of clearness is that of the incestuous man at Corinth; which recalls with remarkable exactness the language of Mt $18^{18\text{f.}}$. St. Paul was evidently surprised that the Church of Corinth had not dealt with the case on its own responsibility. It ought to have 'mourned,' with a view to the removal of the offender (1 Co 5^{2}). The 'mourning' he would have expected was clearly a public and united humiliation of the Church before God, to the intent that God might 'take away' the man who had done the deed (see Godet, *ad loc.*). In answer to the solemn and concerted prayer, a stroke from heaven would have fallen upon him, as upon Ananias and Sapphira, or, without such prayer, upon the profaners of the Eucharist at Corinth itself (1 Co 11^{30}). Probably this appeal to God would have been preceded or accompanied by an act of formal separation from the sacramental fellowship of the Church; certainly by an exclusion of the sinner from social intercourse with the brethren (1 Co 5^{11}). As the Corinthian Church had not thus acted, the apostle informs them of his own intended procedure, with which he demands that they should co-operate. Though absent from them in body, he calls upon them to assemble; he himself will spiritually be present in the assembly, armed with 'the power (not merely with the authority) of our Lord Jesus.' The sentence which he has already passed upon the man 'in the name of the Lord Jesus' will then be formally pronounced. He will be 'delivered unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord.' Delivery to Satan was not a rabbinical formula for excommunication in any form (Lightf. *Exercitations, ad loc.*). The phrase is probably derived from Job 1^{12} 2^{6}. St. Paul seems to have intended that either by a judicial death, or by some wasting disease, the man should be so punished as to bring him to repentance (cf. 1 Ti 1^{20}). The discipline seems to have had the desired effect. The majority of the Corinthian Church (2 Co 2^{6}) administered a 'rebuke' to the man,—which was probably excommunication in its less severe form ('reproof with the Babylonian writers was the same with excommunication,' Lightf. p. 183). The man was overwhelmed with sorrow,—so much so that the apostle feared lest the excess of it should be fatal to his soul (2 Co 2^{7}). He bids the Corinthians therefore 'forgive and comfort him.' He himself, acting as Christ's representative (*ἐν προσώπῳ Χριστοῦ*) has already forgiven him, though he will not consider his forgiveness as absolute (*εἴ τι κεχάρισμαι*) until the Corinthian Church has joined in it. The solemn gathering 'in the name of the Lord,' the confidence that His 'power' would be present to ratify what was done by His representatives upon earth, the punishment and the release, all appear to be directly based upon the language of our Lord recorded by Mt.

Of the exercise of discipline in less unusual cases we naturally have scantier evidence in NT. Perhaps the most interesting reference to it is that in Ja $5^{14\text{f.}}$. The sick man is there advised to call for the presbyters of the Church, who are to pray over him, 'anointing him with oil in the name.' In answer to this action of the Church represented by its local heads, the writer says that the sick man will recover (for to interpret *σώσει* and *ἐγερεῖ* otherwise seems impossible in the context), and adds that 'if he have committed sins,' *i.e.* obviously, grave and marked sins, 'he shall be forgiven' (*κἂν ἁμαρτίας ᾖ πεποιηκώς, ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ*). That the *ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ* is a promise of what God will do in answer to the prayer of the presbyters, and not an instruction to the presbyters themselves, seems to be required by the structure of the sentences. It is parallel in sense to *σώσει* and *ἐγερεῖ*. If St. James had intended the word to mean that the presbyters were to absolve the man, he would probably have put it in the imperative, like *προσκαλεσάσθω* and *προσευξάσθωσαν*. But the forgiveness of God is a blessing granted to the faithful prayers of the presbyters; and, in order to encourage such prayers, the apostle proceeds to insist upon the value of them. 'Confess therefore your sins one to another, and pray one for another,' he says, 'that ye may be healed.' By 'one to another' he means 'to your fellow-men,' *i.e.* not to God only. It is clear that he cannot mean mutual confession in the ordinary sense of the term, for (1) he assumes that the prayers to which he ascribes such efficacy are those of 'righteous men,' not those of men who 'have committed sins'; (2) the special object with which the prayers are to be offered (not indeed the contents of the prayers, which are directly connected with forgiveness) is 'that ye may be healed' (*ὅπως ἰαθῆτε*); if, therefore, the prayers are to be in the strict sense mutual prayers, it is implied that both parties, praying and prayed for, are alike sick, and the mutual confession would be only between sick man and sick man, which is absurd. Evidently, the sick man is exhorted to make his confession to the presbyters whom he has called in, and they in turn are exhorted to pray for his forgiveness, upon which his recovery is made to depend, and are reminded what power their prayers have, if only they are what they ought to be. The apostle selects from the OT history the example of one who exercised the 'power of the keys' upon a national scale, both 'shutting' and 'opening' the stores of heaven for his people. Though but 'a man of like passions with us,' Elijah by his (unrecorded) prayers shut up the rain from his guilty countrymen for three years and a half; and on their showing signs of repentance, he opened it again for them. We need not therefore wonder (such is St. James' argument) if, when we confess our sins to beings of the same make as ourselves, their intercession is able to obtain for us the remission of them. (On the rabbinic view of Elijah and the 'Keys,' see Wünsche, p. 195).

Our accounts of life within the Christian communities of the first age are so fragmentary that we cannot be surprised at not finding many references to the penitential discipline which existed among them. That there should have been some power on earth answering to what was occasionally exhibited even in OT times—as in the absolution of David by Nathan (2 S 12^{13})—is only what was to be expected in the covenant of grace. When Christ claimed to forgive sins as 'the Son of Man,' the multitudes 'glorified God which had given such authority *unto men*' (Mt 9^8). The last word may mean either that the authority to absolve was committed by God to men, to use on His behalf; or that by delegation of such an authority God had bestowed a blessing upon men: in other words, the 'men' spoken of may be either the holders of the authority, or those on whose behalf it was given. But in either case it was recognized that the assurance of forgiveness had been made accessible in a new way; and Christ, in His first appearance to the assembled Church after His resurrection, gave His disciples to understand that the authority which He had exercised in relation to absolving and retaining of sins was henceforth vested in them, as the continuators of His own mission (Jn $20^{21f.}$). It is not an exhaustive interpretation of these words which would see in them only a commission to impose or to remove ecclesiastical censures. All acts of the Christian society, according to the NT conception of it, are fraught with spiritual efficacy.

It may be added that some eminent interpreters consider the 'laying on of hands' in 1 Ti 5^{22} to be the sign of absolution (see art. LAYING ON OF HANDS); but the interpretation is far from certain. A. J. MASON.

PRÆTORIAN GUARD.—See PRÆTORIUM.

PRÆTORIUM (Gr. *τὸ πραιτώριον*).—This Lat. word, adopted in the later Gr., signified originally the general's (*prætor's*) tent (*e.g.* Livy, *Hist.* vii. 12, x. 33). Then it was applied to the council, composed of the chief officers of the army, which assembled in the general's tent (*e.g.* Livy, *Hist.* xxvi. 15, xxx. 5, xxxvii. 5); then to the official residence of the governor of a province (*e.g.* Cic. *in Verr.* II. iv. 28, II. v. 35; Tert. *ad Scap.* 3); then, in the post-Augustan age, to any princely house (*e.g.* Juv. *Sat.* x. 161), and even to a large villa or country-seat (*e.g.* Suet. *Octav.* 72, *Calig.* 37, *Tib.* 39; Juv. *Sat.* i. 75; Statius, *Sylv.* I. iii. 25); and finally to the imperial bodyguard, whose commander was *præfectus prætorio* or *prætorii* (*e.g.* Tac. *Hist.* i. 20, ii. 11, 24, iv. 46; Suet. *Nero*, 9; Pliny, *NH* xxv. 2). No certain example occurs of its application either to the prætorian camp or barracks or to the emperor's residence in Rome, though it was often used of the emperor's residence away from Rome.

In AV the word appears only once (Mk 15^{16}); but in the Gr. of NT it is used in Mt 27^{27} (AV 'the common hall'; marg. 'governor's house'; RV 'the palace'), Mk 15^{16} (AV 'the hall, called Prætorium'; RV 'within the court which is Prætorium'; marg. 'palace'), Jn 18^{28} (AV 'the hall of judgment'; marg. 'Pilate's house'; RV 'palace'), 18^{33} and 19^9 (AV 'judgment hall'; RV 'palace'), Ac 23^{35} (AV 'Herod's judgment hall'; RV 'Herod's palace'), Ph 1^{13} (AV 'in all the palace'; marg. 'Cæsar's court'; RV 'throughout the whole prætorian guard').

In the Gospels the term denotes the official residence in Jerus. of the Roman governor, and the various tr^{ns} of it in our versions arose from a desire either to indicate the special purpose for which that residence was used on the occasion in question, or to explain what particular building was intended. But whatever building the governor occupied was the Prætorium. It is most probable that in Jerus. he resided in the well-known palace of Herod, since Philo (*ad Gaium*, 31) states that Pilate hung there the shields which offended the Jews (see PILATE), and Josephus (*BJ* II. xiv. 8, II. xv. 5) speaks of Gessius Florus as living in 'the king's palace,' and since in Cæsarea (see Ac xxiii. 35) Herod's palace is known to have been used for the same purpose. Herod's palace in Jerus. was a magnificent structure in the upper or western part of the city, and was connected by a causeway over the valley of Tyropœon with the western wall of the temple. It is described by Josephus (*BJ* V. iv. 4, *Ant.* XV. ix. 3) in admiring terms. It was surrounded by a wall, rising to the height of 30 cubits, and adorned with towers at equal distances. The enclosure was large enough to contain a small army. The building had two marble wings, called by Herod the Cæsareum and the Agrippeum. It contained large rooms within and spacious porticoes without. It was sumptuously furnished, and was surrounded by a beautiful park. Here the governor with his guards lived when in Jerus., while the regular garrison occupied the castle of Antonia; and it was doubtless before this building that the Jews presented themselves with the demand for Jesus' execution. Tradition, indeed, has placed the residence of Pilate in the lower city, a short distance north of the temple. Not a few also have identified it with the castle of Antonia (Rosenmüller, *Alterthumskunde*, II. ii. 228; Caspari, *Introd.* p. 225; Wieseler, *Chron. Syn.*, Eng. tr. p. 372; Weiss, *Life of Christ*, iii. 346 n.; Westcott, *St. John*)—partly because tradition has located the house of Pilate near the site of the castle; partly because, since the castle was the regular barracks for the garrison, and was sufficiently large for the purpose, it is thought probable that the governor also used it; and also because many identify 'the place called the Pavement, but, in the Hebrew, Gabbatha,' with the elevated, paved area between the castle and the temple (see GABBATHA). But, for the reasons given above, the identification with Herod's palace is probably to be preferred (so Meyer, Winer, Alford, Schürer, Edersheim, and others). In like manner, as already observed, Herod's palace in Cæsarea was used as the Prætorium there. The expression in Ac 23^{35} ('Herod's Prætorium') is abbreviated from 'the prætorium of Herod's palace,' and thus describes both the particular building and the purpose for which it was used.

In Ph 1^{13} 'in the whole Prætorium' has been very variously explained. Many commentators, ancient and modern, have tr^{d} it 'palace' (so AV), coupling it with 4^{22}, where allusion is made to believers who belonged to 'Cæsar's household.' But no other instance appears of the application of the term to the emperor's residence in Rome. Such an application would have been intolerable to the Romans, since it would have shocked the republican traditions under which the empire was organized. Hence many, as Perizonius (*De orig. signif. et usu vocc. prætoris et prætorii*, 1687, *Disquisitio de prætorio*, 1690), Clericus, Michaelis, Hoeleman, Wiesinger, Milman, Weiss, Ellicott, Meyer, understand it of the barracks of the prætorian guard (*castra prætorianorum*). But Lightfoot (*Com. on Phil.* p. 99) has shown that neither can this use of the word be established. Wieseler (*Chron. d. Apost. Zeit.* p. 403), followed by Conybeare and Howson, refers it, not to the prætorian camp, but to the barracks of the palace guard, which Augustus established (Dio Cass. liii. 16) in the imperial enclosure on the Palatine hill; but, after the establishment of the *castra prætorianorum* by Tiberius, the word would naturally refer to it, if to any barracks. The following phrase (*τοῖς λοιποῖς πᾶσιν*) also more naturally describes persons than places, *λοιπός* being never in NT applied to places (Ellicott, *in loc.*). Presumably, therefore, 'prætorium,' too, is descriptive of persons. Hence Lightfoot has ably defended the meaning 'prætorian guard.' St. Paul is supposed to have been chained to soldiers of the guard, and thus, through the change of guards, his message spread throughout the whole body of soldiers. This meaning of Prætorium is frequent, and has been adopted in Ph 1^{13} in RV. Recently, however, Mommsen (*Sitzungsb. der König. preuss. Acad. d. Wissensch.* 1895, p. 495, etc.), followed by Ramsay (*St. Paul the Trav.* p. 357), has proposed another view. He considers it improbable that St. Paul was put in charge of the prætorian guard. He believes that Julius, the centurion who brought Paul to Rome, belonged to the corps of *milites frumentarii* or *peregrini*, a corps drafted from legions in the provinces, whose duty it was to supervise the corn supply, and also probably to perform police service: and that Julius probably delivered his prisoners to the commander of his corps, *princeps peregrinorum*, whose camp perhaps was already, as it was afterwards, on the Cælian hill. But while St. Paul was not in charge of the prætorian guard, his case came before the prætorian council, consisting of the *præfecti prætorio* and their assistants. This council then, according to Mommsen and Ramsay, is the *prætorium* alluded to by the apostle, and *τοῖς λοιποῖς πᾶσιν* refers to the audience at the trial.*

G. T. PURVES.

PRAISE IN OT.—'Praise,' whether as a verb or a noun, has various applications in the OT, but its commonest use is to denote an act of homage or worship offered to God by His creatures, particularly by man. The object of this article will be mainly to examine the meaning and usage of the terms which our English versions render by 'praise,' and to sketch, as far as the data enable us to do so, the occasions, the modes, and the history of praise in Israel.

i. THE TERMS.—1. הלל. The original sense of this root is perhaps 'break out (in a cry),' especially of joy (cf. the name *Hallel* applied to Ps 113–118, the Aram. הִילּוּלָא 'marriage-song,' and the Assyr. *alâlu* 'shout for joy'; see also Cheyne, *OP* 460), although it is possible that, as W. R. Smith (RS^{1} 411) suggests, among the Semites 'the shouting (*hallel*) that accompanied sacrifice may, in its oldest shape, have been a wail over the death of the victim, though it ultimately took the form of a chant of praise (*Hallelujah*).' The idea of *making a noise* is what appears to be prominent. The same writer points out that the roots הלל 'to chant praises' and ילל 'to howl' are closely connected, and he thinks it possible that shouting in mourning and shouting in joy may have both been primarily directed to the driving away of evil influences. The sense of 'praise' is conveyed by the above root in the Piel הִלֵּל. This may have for its object (1) *man or woman*: Gn 12^{15} (J) 'they praised (LXX *ἐπῄνεσαν*, AV 'commended') her (Sarah) to Pharaoh'; Pr 27^{2} 'let another man praise thee (LXX *ἐγκωμιαζέτω σε*), and not thine own mouth'; 28^{4} 'they that forsake the law praise (LXX *ἐγκωμιάζουσιν*) the wicked'; $31^{28.31}$ the virtuous woman is praised by her husband and by her works (LXX in both *αἰνεῖν*, but in $v.^{31}$ a different reading from that of MT is followed: *καὶ αἰνέσθω ἐν πύλαις ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς*, 'and let her husband be praised in the gates'); Ca 6^{9} (here and in the following passages, unless otherwise noted, LXX *αἰνεῖν*) of the Shulammite; 2 S 14^{25} of Absalom's beauty (*αἰνετός*); 2 Ch 23^{12} of king Joash. (2) The object is once *a false god*: Jg 16^{24} of the Philistines praising (*ὑμνεῖν*) Dagon; (3) very frequently *God* (אֱלֹהִים or יהוה): Ps 69^{34} (where 'heaven and earth, the seas, and everything that moveth therein' are called on to praise Him; cf. Ps 148); often of public worship in the sanctuary: Is 62^{9}, cf. 64^{11} (*εὐλογεῖν*), Ps 22^{22} (*ὑμνεῖν*, cf. $v.^{26}$ *ὁ ἔπαινός μου*) 35^{18} 84^{4} 107^{32} 109^{30} 146^{2} 149^{3}. Sometimes the object is 'the name of Jahweh *or* of God' (שֵׁם יהוה or שֵׁם אֱלֹהִים, *τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ*): Ps 69^{30} 74^{21} 145^{2} 148^{5}, Jl 2^{26}; or His word (דָּבָר, *λόγος*, *ῥῆμα*): Ps 56^{4} (*ἐπαινεῖν*) $^{10\,bis}$ [$v.^{10b}$ may be an editorial addition, so Hupfeld, Cheyne *et al.*]; or the object may be unexpressed: Jer 31 [Gr. $38]^{7}$, Ps 63^{5} (*ἐπαινεῖν*). The expression 'praise ye Jah' (Hallelujah, in Ps 135^{3} הַלְלוּ־יָהּ [*αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον*], elsewhere always as one word הַלְלוּיָהּ, Ἀλληλουιά [once Ps 104^{35} הַלְלוּיָה, LXX omits here]) has generally a liturgical application and is mostly confined to late psalms. It occurs at the beginning of Ps 106. 111. 112. 113. 135. 146. 147. 148. 149, and at the end of 104. 105.

---

* Mommsen denies that *στρατοπεδάρχης* (AV captain of the guard), found Ac 28^{16} in some authorities (cf. Blass, *ad loc.*), but omitted by WH, Tisch., and RV, could have been applied to a *præfectus prætorio*. This reading is evidently 'Western,' and Mommsen finds in the text of the Stockholm Latin MS ('Gigas'), *princeps peregrinorum*, at least a 2nd cent. interpretation of it, one which confirms his inference that the *castra peregrinorum* had been established in Rome in St. Paul's time. Positive evidence, however, for the existence of this corps and camp, under this name, appears only in the time of Severus, and the Latin MS may interpret the Gr. text before it by the light of later custom; while *στρατοπεδάρχης* itself was evidently a popular title, and really supplies no information as to who took charge of the apostle.

106. 113. 115. 116. 117. 135. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. See, further, art. HALLELUJAH. Instead of the direct object, הלל is generally followed, in the writings of the Chronicler, by ליהוה, in the account of the technical Levitical (or priestly) function of praising Jahweh: 1 Ch 16^{4} 23$^{5.30}$ 25^{3}, 2 Ch 5^{13} 20^{19} 29^{30} (*ὑμνεῖν*) 30^{21} (*καθυμνεῖν*), Ezr 3^{11}; but the simple יהוה occurs in Ezr 3^{10}, as it does also in Neh 5^{13} (Nehemiah's own Memoirs). The object is unexpressed in Neh 12^{24} (Chronicler), cf. 1 Ch 23^{5}, 2 Ch 7^{6} ('when David praised by their ministry,' LXX *ἐν ὕμνοις Δαυεὶδ διὰ χειρὸς αὐτῶν*) 8^{14} 23^{13} ('the singers also played on instruments of music and led the singing of praise' וְהַמְשׁוֹרְרִים בִּכְלֵי הַשִּׁיר וּמוֹדִיעִים לְהַלֵּל, LXX *οἱ ᾄδοντες ἐν τοῖς ὀργάνοις, ᾠδοὶ καὶ ὑμνοῦντες αἶνον*) 31^{2}, in all of which הלל has its technical sense.—Similarly, the passive sense 'be praised' is conveyed by the Pual, and once (Pr 31^{30}) by the Hithpael: (1) of *human subjects* and *things*: Pr 12^{8} 'a man shall be praised (AV; RV 'commended,' LXX *ἐγκωμιάζεσθαι*) according to his wisdom'; Ps 78^{63} 'their maidens were not praised' (in marriage-song; see Cheyne *ad loc.*), so Aquila *οὐχ ὑμνήθησαν*, Symm. and Theod. *οὐκ ἐπῃνέθησαν*, but LXX *οὐκ ἐπένθησαν*, 'did not raise the dirge'; Ezk 26^{17} of Tyre the 'praised (AV; RV 'renowned') city' (LXX *ἡ πόλις ἡ ἐπαινετή*); (2) of *God*, only in ptcp. (מְהֻלָּל) with gerundive force = 'to be praised,' 'worthy of praise': 2 S 22^{4} (*αἰνετὸν ἐπικαλέσομαι Κύριον*) = Ps 18^{3} (*αἰνῶν ἐπικαλέσομαι Κύριον*), Ps 48^{1} 96^{4} (= 1 Ch 16^{25}) 145^{3} [in these last four the LXX has *αἰνετός*]; in Ps 113^{3} the subject is His name (*αἰνεῖται τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου*).

The noun for 'praise' from the root הלל is תְּהִלָּה (once מַהֲלָל, Pr 27^{21} 'the fining pot is for silver and the furnace for gold, and a man [is to be estimated] according to his praise,' where לְפִי מַהֲלָלוֹ probably means 'according to his reputation' [so Toy *et al.*, cf. LXX *ἀνὴρ δὲ δοκιμάζεται διὰ στόματος ἐγκωμιαζόντων αὐτόν*; see *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* for other possible explanations]). The word תְּהִלָּה is used (1) of *praise offered to J"*, sometimes individual, but more frequently general and public: Ps 34^{1} 48^{10} (both *αἴνεσις*) 65^{1} ('unto Thee stillness is praise [לְךָ דֻמִיָּה תְהִלָּה], O God, in Zion,' but text and tr. are both doubtful; LXX *Σοὶ πρέπει ὕμνος*, 'praise is a fitting tribute to thee'; see Comm. *ad loc.*, and Driver, *Par. Psalter*), 71^{6} (*ὕμνησις*), ^{8} (*αἴνεσις*), 100^{4} (*ὕμνοι*); particularly of praise as *sung*: Ps 22^{3} ('O Thou that sittest [throned] upon the praises of Israel,' an imitation of יוֹשֵׁב הַכְּרוּבִים, the idea perhaps being that the praises, ascending like clouds of incense, form, as it were, the throne upon which J" sits [so Kirkpatrick *et al.*, but see Duhm *ad loc.*, and cf. the LXX *σὺ δὲ ἐν ἁγίοις κατοικεῖς, ὁ ἔπαινος Ἰσραήλ*]), 33^{1} (*αἴνεσις*), 40^{3} (*ὕμνος*), 106^{12} Neh 12^{46} (both *αἴνεσις*), Is 42^{10} (*δοξάζετε τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ*). (2) The word תְּהִלָּה is used for a *song of praise* in the title of Ps 145 (*αἴνεσις*); cf. the New Heb. name for the Book of Psalms, סֵפֶר תְּהִלּוֹת or תְּהִלִּים 'ס, or תִּילִין. (3) It is used of *qualities, deeds, etc., of J" which demand praise*: Ex 15^{11} נוֹרָא תְהִלֹּת 'terrible in praises' (*i.e.* in attributes that call for praise; LXX *θαυμαστὸς ἐν δόξαις*), cf. Ps 9^{14} ('that I may show forth all Thy praise'), 78^{4} ('telling the praises of the LORD'), 79^{13} ('we will show forth Thy praise'), 102^{21} ('that men may declare His praise in Jerusalem'), 106^{2} ('who can show forth all His praise?'), v.^{47} = 1 Ch 16^{35} ('to triumph in Thy praise') [in the last six passages LXX *αἴνεσις*], Is 43^{21} ('this people shall show forth My praise,' LXX *ἀρετάς*), 60^{6} ('they shall proclaim the praises of the LORD,' LXX *τὸ σωτήριον Κυρίου εὐαγγελιοῦνται*), 63^{7} ('I will make mention of the praises of the LORD,' LXX *ἀρετάς*). (4) תְּהִלָּה may = *renown, fame, glory*, or *the object of these*: (*a*) of J": Hab 3^{3} 'the earth was full of His praise' (מָלְאָה הָאָרֶץ תְּהִלָּתוֹ, LXX *αἰνέσεως αὐτοῦ πλήρης ἡ γῆ*) ‖ 'His glory covered the heavens' (כִּסָּה שָׁמַיִם הוֹדוֹ, LXX *ἐκάλυψεν οὐρανοὺς ἡ ἀρετὴ αὐτοῦ*), cf. Dt 10^{21} 'He is thy praise,' Jer 17^{14} 'Thou art my praise' (both *καύχημα*); (*b*) of other objects: Israel or Jerusalem, Dt 26^{19} (*καύχημα*), Is 62^{7} (BA *ἀγαυρίαμα*, Theod. *καύχημα*), cf. 60^{18} ('thou shalt call thy walls Salvation and thy gates Praise,' *i.e.* probably 'thy fame or renown shall take the place of protecting walls'; LXX *κληθήσεται Σωτήριον τὰ τείχη σου, καὶ αἱ πύλαι σου Γλύμμα*), and 61^{11} (*ἀγαλλίαμα*); Moab, Jer 48 [Gr. 31]^{2} (*ἀγαυρίαμα*); Damascus, 49^{25} [Gr. 30^{14}], LXX follows a different reading; Babylon, 51 [Gr. 28]^{41} (*καύχημα*). Is 61^{3} 'the garment of praise' (מַעֲטֵה תְהִלָּה) is doubtful. It may = 'praise (renown) as a garment' (Delitzsch) or 'a splendid garment' (Dillmann), but perhaps the clauses should, with Bickell, Cheyne, Oort, Duhm, be arranged thus: שֶׁמֶן שָׂשׂוֹן תַּחַת מַעֲטֵה אֵבֶל תְּהִלָּה תַּחַת רוּחַ כֵּהָה 'oil of joy for the garment of mourning, a song of praise for a failing spirit.' The LXX has *δόξαν ἀντὶ σποδοῦ, ἄλιμμα εὐφροσύνης τοῖς πενθοῦσι, καταστολὴν δόξης ἀντὶ πνεύματος ἀκηδίας.*

In Lv 19^{24} the fruit of trees offered in the fourth year of their bearing is קֹדֶשׁ הִלּוּלִים ליהוה (lit. 'holiness of praise to J",' LXX *ἅγιος αἰνετὸς τῷ Κυρίῳ*), cf. Jg 9^{27} [the only other occurrence of the Heb. word], where the Shechemites hold a vintage rejoicing or merry-making (וַיַּעֲשׂוּ הִלּוּלִים, LXX B *ἐποίησαν ἐλλουλείμ*, A *ἐπ. χορούς*) in the house of Baal-berith.

2. The root ידה whose primary sense is 'throw *or* cast.' The only occurrence of the Qal is in Jer 50 [Gr. 27]^{14} 'shoot at her' (Babylon; יְדוּ אֵלֶיהָ, LXX *τοξεύσατε ἐπ' αὐτήν*), but perhaps we should read here יְרוּ. This sense is borne also by the Piel in the only two passages where this stem occurs, namely, La 3^{53} (וַיַּדּוּ־אֶבֶן בִּי 'and they cast stone(s) at me,' LXX *καὶ ἐπέθηκαν λίθον ἐπ' ἐμοί*) and Zec 2^{4} [Eng. 1^{21}] (לְיַדּוֹת אֶת־קַרְנוֹת הַגּוֹיִם, LXX, by confusion with the Heb. word for 'hands,' reads *εἰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν τὰ τέσσαρα κέρατα*). All the other occurrences of the root show the Hiphil and Hithpael (the latter only in P, the Chronicler, and Daniel) stems, which have the sense of 'praise' or 'confess,' a sense which it is somewhat difficult to connect with the primary signification, although it has been suggested that the connecting link may be found in *gestures* accompanying the act of praise.

The Hiph. הוֹדָה (cf. Palmyrene מודא 'render thanks,' frequent in votive inscriptions) is used occasionally of praising *men*: Gn 49^{8} of Judah [with play upon name, '*Judah*, thee shall thy brethren praise' (*jōdûkha*), LXX *αἰνεῖν*]; Ps 45^{17} of the king (AV 'praise,' RV 'give thanks'); 49^{18} 'men praise thee when thou doest well to thyself' (both *ἐξομολογεῖσθαι*); Job 40^{14} of Job, spoken ironically by the Almighty (LXX *ὁμολογεῖν*, AV and RV 'confess'). This sense of 'confess' is borne by the Heb. word also in 1 K 8$^{33.35}$ = 2 Ch 6^{24} (all *ἐξομολογεῖν*), ^{26} (*αἰνεῖν*), Ps 32^{5} (*ἐξαγορεύειν*), Pr 28^{13} (*ἐξηγεῖσθαι*); cf. [in Hithp.] Ezr 10^{1} (*προσαγορεύειν*), Neh 1^{6} 9$^{2.3}$ (all *ἐξαγορεύειν*), Dn 9^{4} (LXX and Theod. *ἐξομολογεῖσθαι*) ^{20} (LXX *ἐξομολογεῖσθαι*, Theod. *ἐξαγορεύειν*), Lv 5^{5} 16^{21} 26^{40}, Nu 5^{7} (all *ἐξαγορεύειν*).—Much more frequently the object of praise is *God*: Gn 29^{35} where J explains the name *Judah* (which he takes as = 'praised,' as if from Hoph. of ידה) by the saying he puts in the mouth of Leah, 'this time will I praise (Heb. *'ôdeh*) the LORD' (*ἐξομολογήσομαι Κυρίῳ*); very frequently, especially in Ps and Ch, of praise offered in the ritual worship, the object being Jahweh explicitly or implicitly: *e.g.* Is 12^{1} (*εὐλογεῖν*), ^{4} (*ὑμνεῖν*), 38$^{18f.}$ (*αἰνεῖν, εὐλογεῖν*), Jer 33 [Gr. 40]^{11}, Ps 7^{17} 9^{1} 30$^{9.12}$ 32$^{5.11}$ (all *ἐξομολογεῖσθαι*). Ps 76^{10} 'surely the wrath of man shall praise Thee, the residue of wrath shalt Thou gird upon Thee' (AV and RVm 'restrain') is doubtful. The MT reads כִּי חֲמַת אָדָם תּוֹדֶךָּ שְׁאֵרִית חֵמֹת תַּחְגֹּר, LXX *ὅτι ἐνθύμιον ἀνθρώπου ἐξομολογήσεταί σοι, καὶ ἐγκατάλιμμα ἐνθυμίου* *ἑορτάσει σοι.* Duhm emends חֲמַת to אֻמּוֹת, and כִּי to כֹּל, and in the next clause follows the LXX in reading תָּחֹג לָךְ, thus obtaining the sense, 'all the tribes of men shall praise Thee, the residue of the tribes shall keep (pilgrimage) festival to Thee.' Wellhausen makes the same change, תָּחֹג לָךְ, in the last clause; on חמת he remarks that by this word the *pious* are meant, but that the pronunciation and the meaning of the word are quite uncertain. Ps 139^{14} reads 'I will praise (RV 'give thanks unto') Thee, for I am fearfully and wonderfully made' (lit. 'fearfully wondrous,' there being no 'made' in the Hebrew [Driver, *Par. Psalter*]). The LXX (BA *ἐξομολογήσομαί σοι ὅτι φοβερῶς ἐθαυμαστώθης*, but ℵ* *ἐθαυμαστώθην*), the Syr. and the Vulg. (*quia terribiliter magnificatus es*) have '*Thou* are fearfully wondrous,' and this is adopted by Wellh. in *SBOT*, *i.e.* נִפְלֵיתָ for נִפְלֵיתִי. The more radical emendations proposed by Duhm appear to be uncalled for.—In other instances the object is the *name* of God: Is 25^{1} (*ὑμνεῖν*), Ps 44^{8} 54^{6} 99^{3} 138^{2} 142^{7}; or His *wonders* (פֶּלֶא, *τὰ θαυμάσια*) Ps 89^{5} (all *ἐξομολογεῖσθαι*). Instead of a simple accusative, הודה may be followed by לְ, always referring to the ritual worship, *e.g.* לְשֵׁם Ps 106^{47} 'to give thanks unto Thy holy name,' cf. 122^{4} 140^{13} (all *ἐξομολογεῖσθαι*); לְזֵכֶר קָדְשׁוֹ (*τῇ μνήμῃ τῆς ἁγιωσύνης αὐτοῦ*) Ps 30^{4} 97^{12} (AV 'at the remembrance of His holiness,' RV 'to His holy name,' both *ἐξομολογεῖσθαι*); ליהוה 1 Ch 16$^{4.7.41}$ (all *αἰνεῖν*), 23^{30} (*ἐξομολογεῖσθαι*), 25^{3} (where הודה and הלל occur together, LXX *ἀνακρουόμενος ἐξομολόγησιν καὶ αἴνεσιν*), 2 Ch 5^{13} (similarly *ἐξομολογεῖσθαι καὶ αἰνεῖν*) 7^{6} 20^{21} 30^{22} (Hithp.), Ps 33^{2} 92^{1} (all *ἐξομολογεῖσθαι*) 105^{1}=1 Ch 16^{8}=Is 12^{4} (*ὑμνεῖν*); cf. the familiar 'Give thanks to J″ for He is good' (הוֹדוּ לַיהוה כִּי־טוֹב, *ἐξομολογεῖσθε τῷ Κυρίῳ, ὅτι χρηστός* or *ἀγαθός*) Ps 106^{1} 107^{1} 118$^{1.29}$ 136^{1}, 1 Ch 16^{34} (here, perhaps by a scribal error, *ἀγαθόν*), cf. Jer 33 [Gr. 40]^{11}.

It will be observed that very frequently both AV and RV render הודה by 'give thanks to' instead of 'praise,' and in many instances (2 Ch 7$^{3.6}$ 20^{21}, Ps 7^{17} 9^{1} 33^{2} 44^{8} 45^{17} 52^{9} 54^{6} 57^{9} 108^{3} 109^{30} 111^{1} 118$^{19.21}$ 119^{7} 138$^{1.2}$ 139^{14} 142^{7} 145^{10}, Is 12$^{1.4}$, Jer 33^{11}), although not uniformly, RV substitutes 'give thanks to' for AV 'praise.' It might be well to adopt this rendering in all instances where הודה describes a religious exercise, except those in which 'confess' is the appropriate sense, and to retain 'praise' for הלל.

The noun from this root is תּוֹדָה 'praise,' 'thanksgiving.' It is used of giving praise to J″ by confession of sin: Jos 7^{19} JE; תֶּן־לוֹ תוֹדָה, *δὸς τὴν ἐξομολόγησιν*, cf. Ezr 10^{1}; but especially of the songs of thanksgiving, in liturgical worship: Ps 26^{7} (*αἴνεσις*), 42^{4} (*ἐξομολόγησις*), 69^{30} (*αἴνεσις*), 95^{2} 147^{7} (both *ἐξομολόγησις*), Jon 2^{9} (*αἴνεσις καὶ ἐξομολόγησις*), Neh 12^{27} (ℵ *ἐξομολόγησις*, BA om.). In all these instances both AV and RV have 'thanksgiving'; in Ps 100 title and v.^{4} (both *ἐξομολόγησις*) AV has 'praise,' RV 'thanksgiving.'—The word תּוֹדָה is used in Neh 12$^{31.38.40}$ of the 'two companies that gave thanks' (שְׁתֵּי תוֹדֹת, *δύο περὶ αἰνέσεως*), and possibly a similar sense ('choirs') is intended in Jer 30 [Gr. 37]^{19} (AV and RV 'out of them shall proceed thanksgiving,' LXX B *ᾄδοντες*). In several instances תּוֹדָה means a thank-offering: Am 4^{5} (*ὁμολογία*), Lv 7$^{12.13.15}$ (*θυσία* [*τῆς*] *αἰνέσεως*) 22^{29} (זֶבַח־תּוֹדָה, *θυσία εὐχή*), 2 Ch 29^{31} 33^{16} (both *αἴνεσις*), Ps 50$^{14.23}$ (the latter verse reads in AV 'whoso offereth praise glorifieth Me,' RV 'whoso offereth the sacrifice of thanksgiving,' Driver [*Par. Psalter*] 'he that sacrificeth thanksgiving,' LXX *θυσία αἰνέσεως δοξάσει με*) 56^{12} 107^{22} 116^{17}, Jer 17^{26} (all *αἴνεσις*) 33^{11} (*δῶρα*). A doubtful form occurs in Neh 12^{8} 'Mattaniah who was over the thanksgiving,' AV and RV; AVm '*i.e.* the psalms of thanksgiving'; RVm '*or* the choirs.' The Hebrew is עַל־הֻיְּדוֹת, for which LXX, evidently by a confusion with the Heb. word for 'hands,' gives *ἐπὶ τῶν χειρῶν*; the Vulg. has *super hymnos*. Ewald, Bertheau, Keil, and Oettli read the abstract noun הֻיְּדוֹת, Olshausen reads the infin. הוֹדוֹת. It is not improbable that JEDUTHUN (which see) also belongs to this root, and that it was originally a musical term and not a proper name.

As 'give thanks to' was suggested above as the most suitable rendering for הוֹדָה in its liturgical sense, 'thanksgiving' might be adopted for תּוֹדָה, and 'praise' retained for תְּהִלָּה.

3. In two instances, Jg 5^{2} and Ps 72^{15}, where AV has 'praise,' RV substitutes 'bless,' which is the more exact rendering of ברך, the verb employed (LXX in both *εὐλογεῖν*).

4. זמר, only in Piel. According to Hupfeld (*Psalmen*, 1862, iv. 421 f.), the original reference of this root* (which in the Heb. literature known to us is used either of playing or singing [cf. Lat. *canere*]) is to the *hum* of a stringed instrument, and מִזְמוֹר, used in 57 titles as a designation of psalms, would be, properly, a song *sung to a musical accompaniment.* It is this word מִזְמוֹר which the LXX reproduces by *ψαλμός* (whence *psalm*) from *ψάλλω*, the usual LXX equivalent for זמר, and in Cod. Alex. (A) the Book of Psalms is entitled *ψαλτήριον* (whence *Psalter*). The word זמר, with two exceptions (Jg 5^{3}, in the Song of Deborah, 'I will sing praise [*ψαλῶ*] to the LORD,' ‖ שִׁיר; and Is 12^{5} 'sing [*ὑμνήσατε*] unto the LORD, for He hath done excellent things') is confined to the Book of Psalms, where it occurs in the following collocations: (*a*) with לְ and אֱלֹהִים or יהוה, usually rendered in EV by 'sing praise(s) unto'; LXX in this and in all the following constructions, unless otherwise noted, *ψάλλειν*: Ps 27^{6} 101^{1} 104^{33} 105^{2}=1 Ch 16^{6} (*ὑμνεῖν*) [in all these ‖ שִׁיר] 9^{12} 30^{5} [both ‖ הודה] 47^{6} ('to our king') 66^{4} 71$^{22f.}$ ('to Thee,' ‖ אוֹדְךָ) 75^{10} (‖ הגיד) 146^{2} (‖ הלל); once אֶל־ instead of לְ, Ps 59^{18} 'unto Thee, O my strength, will I sing praises'; or with לְשֵׁם 'to the name of God': Ps 18^{50}=2 S 22^{50} (‖ אוֹדְךָ) 92^{2} (‖ לְהוֹדוֹת) 135^{3} (‖ הללויה);—(*b*) with an object, either a pronominal suffix, 'sing Thee,' 'praise Thee in song': Ps 30^{13} 57^{10} 108^{4} 138^{1} (all ‖ אוֹדְךָ); or an accusative, God or the Lord: Ps 47^{7} 68^{33} (‖ שִׁיר) 147^{1}; His name: 7^{18} (‖ אודה) 9^{3} 61^{9} 66^{4} 68^{5} (‖ שִׁיר); the glory of His name: 66^{2}; His power (גְּבוּרָה): 21^{14} (‖ שִׁיר); once the accusative of the song: 47^{8} (זַמְּרוּ מַשְׂכִּיל 'make ye melody with a skilful strain,' LXX *ψάλατε συνετῶς*);—(*c*) absolutely: 57^{8} (‖ שִׁיר) 98^{4} (‖ רוע, פצח, רנן) 108^{2} (‖ שִׁיר). Instrumental accompaniment to the song appears in 108^{3}, and the word is used directly of playing upon an instrument in 33^{2} 71^{22} 98^{5} 144^{9} 147^{7} 149^{3}.

Two nouns (besides מִזְמוֹר) from the root זמר are found in the OT.—(1) זִמְרָה, which is used of instrumental music in Am 5^{23}, where 'the melody of thy harps' (זִמְרַת נְבָלֶיךָ, *ψαλμὸν ὀργάνων σου*) is ‖ 'the noise of thy songs' (הֲמוֹן שִׁרֶיךָ, *ἦχον ᾠδῶν σου*); but of singing in Is 51^{3} (תּוֹדָה וְקוֹל זִמְרָה, *ἐξομολόγησιν καὶ φωνὴν αἰνέσεως*), and prob. in Ps 81^{3} (שְׂאוּ־זִמְרָה 'take up the melody,' *λάβετε ψαλμόν*) and 98^{5} (קוֹל זִמְרָה 'the voice of melody,' *φωνῇ ψαλμοῦ*). In both the last instances, however, there is, in any case, an instrumental accompaniment implied.—Like תְּהִלָּה and תּוֹדָה (see above), זִמְרָה is used also for the *subject* of song: Ex 15^{2}, Is 12^{2}, Ps 118^{14} עָזִּי וְזִמְרָת(י) יָהּ 'Jahweh is my strength and my [theme of] melody.' It may be noted that while MT is exactly the same in all three passages, LXX reads in Exodus [*ὁ Κύριος*] *βοηθὸς καὶ σκεπαστής*, in Isaiah *ἡ δόξα μου καὶ ἡ αἴνεσίς μου Κύριος*, in Psalms *ἰσχύς μου*

---

* Its relation, if any, to זמר Qal='trim *or* prune' is obscure (see Hupfeld, *Psalmen*, *loc. cit. supra*, footnote). It is uncertain whether in Ca 2^{12} עֵת הַזָּמִיר means 'the time of the singing (of birds)' or 'the time of the pruning (of vines).' The LXX (*καιρὸς τῆς τομῆς*) and other versions take the latter view.

καὶ ὕμνησίς μου ὁ Κύριος.—(2) A by-form of the same word is זָמִיר. Its occurrences are: 2 S 23^{1} [in the epithet applied to David נְעִים זְמִרוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל, AV and RV 'the sweet psalmist of Israel,' RVm 'pleasant in the psalms of Israel'; on the construction see Driver on 2 S 8^{10}. H. P. Smith, who renders 'the Joy of the songs of Israel' (cf. Cheyne, *OP* 22, 'the darling of Israel's songs'), thinks the translation 'the sweet singer of Israel' can hardly be obtained from the Heb. expression. The LXX has *εὐπρεπεῖς ψαλμοὶ Ἰσραήλ*]; Job 35^{10} ['none saith, Where is God my Maker, who giveth songs in the night'?, *i.e.* perhaps (Dillm., Dav.; differently Duhm), who by sudden acts of deliverance gives occasion for songs of triumph in the midst of the night of trial; LXX, reading or interpreting differently, *ὁ κατατάσσων φυλακὰς νυκτερινάς*]; Is 24^{16} ['from the uttermost parts of the earth have we heard songs (LXX *τέρατα*), Glory to the righteous']; Is 25^{5} ['the melody of the terrible ones' (זְמִיר עָרִיצִים) ‖ 'the noise of strangers' (שְׁאוֹן זָרִים; both wanting in LXX), *i.e.* their hostile song of triumph, 'shall be brought low']; Ps 95^{2} ['let us shout unto Him with melodies' (בִּזְמִרוֹת נָרִיעַ לוֹ; LXX *ἐν ψαλμοῖς ἀλαλάξωμεν αὐτῷ*) ‖ 'let us come to meet His face with thanksgiving' (נְקַדְּמָה פָנָיו בְּתוֹדָה; LXX *προφθάσωμεν τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐξομολογήσει*)]; 119^{54} ['Thy statutes have been (the subject of) melodies to me' (זְמִרוֹת הָיוּ־לִי חֻקֶּיךָ; LXX *ψαλτὰ ἦσάν μοι τὰ δικαιώματά σου*)].

AV and RV usually render the verb זמר by 'sing praises.' For the nouns זִמְרָה and זָמִיר they give 'song,' except in Is 51^{3}, Am 5^{23} where both have 'melody,' Ps 81^{3} 95^{2} where both have 'psalm,' and Ps 98^{5} where RV has 'melody' and AV 'psalm' (for 2 S 23^{1} see above). Driver (*Par. Psalter*) consistently renders the verb throughout the Psalms by 'make melody,' and the nouns by 'melody,' and probably no closer equivalents in English could be found for the Hebrew terms.

5. שבח in Piel and Hithp. only; a late word, confined to Psalms (4 t.) and Ecclesiastes (once). Its Aram. form is found in Daniel (see below). It is doubtful whether it should be connected with שבח (Piel and Hiphil) = 'to still *or* calm' (in Pr 29^{11} of anger, in Ps 65^{8} 89^{10} of the sea). Gesenius would find the connecting link in the notion of *stroking* or *smoothing*, hence 'to soothe with praises' (cf. the expression used of prayer, חלה אֶת־פְּנֵי פ׳ 'to make the face of any one sweet *or* pleasant'). Its occurrences are: Ps 63^{4} ['my lips shall praise Thee' (LXX *ἐπαινεῖν*) ‖ 'I will bless Thee' (אֲבָרֶכְךָ) and 'I will lift up my hands' (אֶשָּׂא כַפָּי)] 117^{1} (א *αἰνεῖν*, A *ἐπαινεῖν*) 147^{12} (*αἰνεῖν*; both ‖ הלל) 145^{4} (B *ἐπαινεῖν*, A* *αἰνεῖν*; ‖ הגיד), Ec 4^{2} (*ἐπαινεῖν*; 'I praised the dead which are already dead'), Dn 2^{23} (*αἰνεῖν*; ‖ הודה, of Daniel praising God when the secret of Nebuchadnezzar's dream had been revealed to him) 4$^{34.37}$ (*αἰνεῖν*; in v.^{34} ‖ ברך 'bless' and הדר 'honour'; in v.^{37} ‖ רומם 'extol' and הדר; of Nebuchadnezzar praising God after the restoration of his reason) 5$^{4.23}$ (Theod. in both *αἰνεῖν*, so LXX in v.^{23}, but in v.^{4} *εὐλογεῖν*; of Belshazzar and his guests praising the gods of gold and silver, etc.).—The Hithp. = 'make the subject of praise *or* boast' occurs in Ps 106^{47} = 1 Ch 16^{35} (לְהִשְׁתַּבֵּחַ בִּתְהִלָּתֶךָ 'that we may make our boast of Thy praise'; LXX in Psalms *τοῦ ἐνκαυχᾶσθαι ἐν τῇ αἰνέσει σου*, in 1 Chronicles *καὶ καυχᾶσθαι ἐν ταῖς αἰνέσεσίν σου*).

The verb שבח in Piel is everywhere rendered in AV 'praise,' and so in RV except in Ps 117^{1} [but not, inconsistently enough, 147^{12}] 145^{4}, where we have 'laud.' This last term, which is that employed in Driver's *Par. Psalter*, might, with advantage, be adopted uniformly, at least in the Psalms, where there are so many words that receive in the English versions the one rendering 'praise.' See art. LAUD.

ii. HISTORY OF PRAISE IN ISRAEL.—Like sacrifice and other branches of the cultus, the praise offered to Jahweh had in early times a more unconventional and spontaneous character than it afterwards assumed, especially in the second Temple. From the first, both vocal and instrumental music were employed in this exercise, of which heartiness and loud noise (cf. the meaning of *tĕhillāh* above) were leading characteristics. A typical example is the song of the children of Israel after the passage of the Red Sea (Ex 15), which, although in its present form it contains much that belongs to a later age, yet is undoubtedly to some extent archaic, while the description of the part played by Miriam and the women, with their timbrels and dances (v.$^{20f.}$), may be regarded as a true picture of the manners in ancient Israel (cf. also the Song of Deborah in Jg 5, one of the most ancient of the undoubtedly genuine relics of early Heb. poetry). So in 2 S 6^{5} (=1 Ch 13^{8}) 'David and all the house of Israel played before the LORD with all their might, even with songs [reading, with 1 Ch 13^{8}, בְּכָל־עֹז וּבְשִׁירִים for בְּכָל־עֲצֵי בְרוֹשִׁים of 2 S 6^{5}, cf. the same phrase בְּכָל־עֹז used in v.^{14} of David's dancing] and with harps and with psalteries, and with timbrels, and with castanets, and with cymbals.' In short, praise to God, whether upon the occasion of any great act of deliverance, or when the people assembled at the sanctuaries either of the Northern or the Southern kingdom, partook largely of the noisy character of vintage and bridal rejoicings (Jg 9^{27}, Lv 19^{24}, Ps 78^{63}). When the prophet Amos denounces the crass unspiritual worship of his day, he delivers this message from Jahweh, 'Take thou away from Me the noise of thy songs, for I will not hear the melody of thy harps' (Am 5^{23}, cf. 8^{10}). Isaiah promises to the people, 'Ye shall have a song as in the night when a holy feast is kept, and gladness of heart as when one goeth with a pipe to come unto the mountain of the LORD, to the Rock of Israel' (Is 30^{29}). The author of La 2^{7} can say of the rude plundering Chaldæan soldiery in the temple, 'They have made a noise in the house of the LORD as in the day of a solemn assembly.' The same impression is conveyed by some of the phrases which occur in the musical titles of the *earlier* psalms. For instance, Ps 57. 58. 59. 75 are set to the tune of *Al-tashḥeth*, 'destroy not,' probably the opening words of a vintage song (Is 65^{8}). Cf., further, on this point W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} 209, 223 f.

We should have *individual* songs of praise in the Song of Hannah (1 S 2$^{1ff.}$) and the Song of Hezekiah (Is 38$^{10-20}$), were it not that neither of these can be supposed to have belonged originally to their present context (see on the former, Driver, *Text of Sam.* 21 f., and on the latter, Cheyne, *OP* 117 f., and cf. the analogous cases of the Prayer of Jonah and the Psalm of Habakkuk).

As to the arrangements for praise in the pre-exilic Temple, we have no precise information. In particular, we are left very much in the dark as to how far any *special class* performed or directed this service. The statements on this subject contained in the Books of Chronicles are unfortunately of little use, owing to the tendency of the Chronicler to antedate the institutions of his own day. But while it will be generally admitted that the part he attributes to David is greatly exaggerated, it is probable enough that this king, whose skill as a musician is witnessed to in Am 6^{5}, as well as in 2 S 6$^{5.14}$, used his talents in organizing the Temple music, whether he furnished to any appreciable extent the hymns used or not. It is undoubtedly the case that, down to the Exile, praise was the privilege of the congregation at large (Cheyne, *OP* 194), but this is not inconsistent with at least the rudiments of the elaborate system which we meet with in Chronicles having been in existence in pre-exilic times. It is hardly likely that the singers, who are first expressly named in Neh 7^{44} (=Ezr 2^{41}), and of whom 148 (128) returned, or were believed to have returned, with Zerubbabel, represent a class that had been instituted during the Exile, when no elaborate cultus was possible, or during the early years of the Return, when the circumstances were by no means favourable to such a new departure. It seems more reasonable to conclude that they were the representatives or descendants of singers who had performed this office in the pre-exilic Temple (see art. PRIESTS AND LEVITES, p. 74^{b}). But it is equally beyond question that after the Return the whole system of praise was re-organized by Ezra and Nehemiah.

At the Return the singers appear to have formed a single guild, 'the sons of Asaph'* (Neh 7^{44}=Ezr 2^{41}), and are distinguished from the Levites (Ezr $10^{23f.}$, Neh $7^{1.73}$. In Neh $12^{27f.}$ the musical service at the dedication of the wall is divided between the Levites and 'the sons of the singers'). Such passages as Neh $11^{15-19.\ 22.\ 23}$ $12^{8.\ 9.\ 24.\ 25}$, where the singers are included among the Levites, do not belong to the Memoirs of Nehemiah, at least in a pure form, and their account approximates to the condition of things represented in 1 Ch $15^{16ff.}$ 23^{3-5}, 2 Ch 29^{25} etc. (cf. Ezr 3^{10}, where 'the Levites the sons of Asaph' is the phrase of the Chronicler). The guild of Asaph at a later period shared the musical service with the Korahites (cf. 2 Ch 20^{19} and the titles of Ps 42–49 and 84. 85. 87. 88), who, by the time of the Chronicler, have become porters and doorkeepers (1 Ch 9^{19} $26^{1.\ 19}$ etc.). The Chronicler himself is acquainted with three guilds,—HEMAN, ASAPH, and JEDUTHUN or ETHAN (1 Ch $6^{33.\ 39.\ 44}$ 15^{17} $16^{41f.}$ $25^{1ff.}$), to whom a Levitical origin is attributed, Heman being descended from Kohath, Asaph from Gershom, and Ethan from Merari (1 Ch 6^{33-47}). These three the Chronicler characteristically represents as choirmasters appointed by David, to whom the whole organization of the service of praise is attributed, and who is said to have divided the singers into 24 courses (1 Ch $6^{31ff.}$ 15^{16-19} 16^{4} $25^{1ff.}$, 2 Ch 5^{12} 29^{25}, cf. Sir 47^{9}).

When we pass to the question of the use of a hymnal or similar forms in the Temple service, we encounter fresh uncertainties. Whatever view be taken of the contents of the Psalter (and there is a growing tendency to increase the proportion not only of post-exilic but of Maccabæan psalms), it will be generally admitted that, in its present form, the whole collection bears marks of having been intended for use in the *second* Temple. To what extent it may contain older (possibly even Davidic) psalms, which have been adapted for later congregational use, to what extent Nehemiah found the work of collecting already done for him, and how far a later hand, say that of Simon the Maccabee (Cheyne, *OP* 12 and *passim*), is responsible for the book as we now have it, are questions that cannot be said to be yet finally decided. Even so cautious a scholar as W. R. Smith was inclined to think that certain 'facts seem to indicate that even Book I. of the Psalter did not exist during the Exile, when the editing of the historical books was completed, and that in psalmody as in other matters the ritual of the second Temple was completely reconstructed' (*OTJC*² 219). 'It would be absurd to maintain that there were no psalms before the Exile. But it is not absurd to question whether Temple-hymns can have greatly resembled those in the Psalter' (Cheyne, *OP* 213 f.).

It is a fair question whether praise was not offered in the SYNAGOGUE as well as in the Temple. This is usually denied (see Gibson, *Expositor*, July 1890, pp. 25–27, and cf. Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 76, where the parts of the Synagogue service are enumerated), but Cheyne (*OP* 12, 14, 363) urges forcible considerations in favour of a different conclusion. There is all the less difficulty in conceiving of the Psalter as a manual of praise in the Synagogue when we observe that, even in post-exilic times, praise might be offered at other times and places than public worship. Thus, not only was Ps 118 sung in the Temple on high festival days (as on the eight successive days of the Feast of Booths and that of the Dedication), but the *Hallel* (Ps 113–118), of which it forms a part, was sung in two sections (113. 114. and 115–118) in every dwelling-place where the Passover was celebrated. It is to the singing of the second part of the *Hallel* over the fourth and last cup that the ὑμνήσαντες of Mt 26^{30}, Mk 14^{26} refers. Again, the 'Songs of the Ascents' (Ps 120–134) are perhaps most plausibly explained as 'Songs of the Pilgrimages,' *i.e.* songs with which the caravans of pilgrims enlivened their journey to the stated festivals. See, further, Duhm, 'Psalmen' (*Hdcom.*), p. xxiv.

How far in post-exilic times the general body of the people took part in the public service of praise is not clear, but the analogy of other parts of the ritual suggests that they participated in it to a very limited extent. In Sir $50^{16ff.}$ (referring to the time of Simon the high priest) the people 'fell down upon the earth on their faces to worship the Lord' and 'besought the Lord Most High in *prayer*' (cf. Lk 1^{10}, Ac 3^{1}). It is of *the sons of Aaron* that it is said that they 'shouted and sounded the trumpets of beaten work,' while '*the singers* also praised him with their voices.' This corresponds closely with 2 Ch 7^{3} 'all the people . . . bowed themselves with their faces to the ground upon the pavement and worshipped and gave thanks unto the LORD (וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲווּ וְהוֹדוֹת לַיהוָה, καὶ προσεκύνησαν καὶ ᾔνουν τῷ Κυρίῳ), saying, For he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever.' Even this last formula appears to be in this instance not so much the language of praise as of *prayer*. A similar remark applies to 1 Mac 4^{55} 'all the people fell upon their faces and worshipped and gave praise (ηὐλόγησεν) unto heaven, which had given them good success.' So in 2 Ch 29^{28} '*all the congregation worshipped*, and *the singers sang*, and the trumpets sounded' (on all these passages see Büchler, as cited in the Literature below). On the other hand, that some part in the service of praise was taken by the people is clear from such a liturgical direction as 'let all the people say Amen, Hallelujah' (Ps 106^{48}, cf. 1 Ch 16^{36}, where the citation of this Psalm is followed by the affirmation, 'and all the people said Amen, and praised the Lord'). Moreover, it is extremely probable that, in antiphonal psalms like Ps 118, the congregation as well as the Levitical choirs took part. Büchler (*ZATW* xix. [1899] p. 103 n.) will have it that the call in Ps 150^{3} 'praise him with the sound of the trumpet' (*shôphār*, 'horn,' mainly a secular instrument, whereas the official sacred trumpet is *ḥăẓôẓĕrāh*, cf. Driver, *Joel and Amos*, p. 144 f.) is addressed not to the Levites but to the congregation. He compares Ps $81^{3f.}$, and Jth $16^{1ff.}$ where Judith leads off and all the people take up the song.

Many psalms, *e.g.* 95. 96. 98. 99. 100, not to speak of the Hallelujah psalms (which are all post-exilic), were evidently composed from the first for liturgical use, and others may have been transformed from a more private and individual use to be the expression of the church-nation's praise. It is of course only to a limited extent that the Talmudic accounts of the service of praise in the Temple can be accepted as correct even for the closing period of OT history, but there is good reason to believe that the list given in *Tamid* (vii. 4) of the psalms that were sung on each day of the week, at the morning sacrifice, is an ancient one. These psalms were as follows: Sunday 24 (B *τῆς μιᾶς σαββάτων*), Monday 48 (B *δευτέρᾳ σαββάτου*), Tuesday 82, Wednesday 94 (B *τετράδι σαββάτων*), Thursday 81, Friday 93 (B *εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ προσαββάτου ὅτε κατῴκισται ἡ γῆ*), Sabbath 92 (Heb. שִׁיר לְיוֹם הַשַּׁבָּת, B *εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ σαββάτου*). See, further, Neubauer, *Stud. Bibl.* ii. 1 ff. The singing and playing of the Levites on these occasions was accompanied by the blowing of silver trumpets (*ḥăẓôẓĕrôth*) by two priests (cf. Nu 10^{1-10}, Ezr 3^{10}, Neh 12^{35}, 1 Ch 15^{24} 16^{6}, 2 Ch 5^{12} 7^{6} 29^{26-28}, Sir 50^{16}).

---

* This guild gives its name to one of the collections in the Psalter, consisting of Ps 50 and 73–83.

See, further, on the whole subject, the articles MUSIC, PRIESTS AND LEVITES, PSALMS, TEMPLE, WORSHIP.

LITERATURE.—On the Heb. terms see the *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*, to which the first part of the present article has very special obligations. On the history, etc., of praise: Büchler, 'zur Gesch. d. Tempelmusik u. d. Tempelpsalmen,' in *ZATW* XIX. [1899] i. 96 ff., ii. 329 ff., XX. i. 97 ff.; Köberle, *Die Tempelsänger im AT*, 1899; Cheyne, *OP*, 1889, *passim*; W. R. Smith, *OTJC*², 1892, esp. pp. 190–225; Van Hoonacker, *Le sacerdoce lévitique*, 1899, *passim*; Nowack, *Lehrb. d. Heb. Arch.*, 1894, i. 271 f.; Schürer, *GJV*³, 1898, ii. 240 ff., 293 ff. [*HJP* II. i. 225 ff., 290 ff.]; and the Commentaries on the Psalms.

J. A. SELBIE.

PRAISE IN NT.—Praise (*αἶνος, ἔπαινος* (1 P 2^{14} = תְּהִלָּה), *αἴνεσις, δόξα, ἀρετή, αἰνεῖν, ἐπαινεῖν, δοξάζειν*) plays a large part in the NT, both the praise of God by angels and by men, and the praise of man by God and his fellow-man.

i. The praise of God is the work of the angels (Lk $2^{13.14.20}$ 19^{38}), and also of man. The chief object of the existence of the redeemed is to show forth the praises of Him who called them out of darkness into light (1 P 2^{10}): Gentiles join now in the work of praise (Ro 15^{9-11}); and all, Jew and Gentile alike, exist to the praise of the glory of His grace (Eph 1^{3-14}, Ph 1^{11}, 2 Th 1^{10}, 1 P 2^{12}): Christians offer their sacrifice of praise to God (He 13^{15}): universal praise will be the characteristic of the last day (Rev 19^{8}): whereas failure to give God praise for His mercies is the note of heathenism (Ro 1^{21}, Rev 11^{17} 14^{7} 16^{9}, cf. Ac 11^{23}). The *subjects* of praise are God's intrinsic excellences (*ἀρετάς*, 1 P 2^{10}, where see Hort); His universal gifts of creation, of providence, of redemption (Rev $15^{3.4}$, Ac 2^{44} and *passim*); His promises to individuals (Ro 4^{20}); His blessings to individuals, especially for the miracles of our Lord's lifetime (Lk 18^{43} 19^{37}, cf. 2 Co 1^{3}). One idiomatic phrase in the mouth of the 'Jews' *δὸς δόξαν τῷ θεῷ* (Jn 9^{24} 'Give God the praise' AV, 'Give glory to God' RV) is remarkable, meaning, 'Confess thy sins' (cf. Joshua's words to Achan in Jos 7^{19}), and implying that truthful confession of the real facts of life brings glory to God.

The *tone* of praise to God is specially marked in the Gospel of St. Luke, the Acts, the Ep. to the Ephesians, and the Apocalypse. It finds its expression in semi-rhythmical language and formal hymns (see HYMN), and also in doxologies. The latter were primarily liturgical (cf. 2 Co 1^{20} *δι' αὐτοῦ τὸ Ἀμὴν τῷ θεῷ πρὸς δόξαν δι' ἡμῶν*), and are adaptations from existing Jewish liturgies. The fountainhead of them may perhaps be traced to 1 Ch 29^{10}, from which originated two types—(*a*) beginning with the word 'Blessed' (*εὐλογητός*, *i.e.* blessworthy, worthy of receiving blessing), implying 'an intelligent recognition of His abiding goodness, as made known in His past or present acts,' Lk 1^{68}, 2 Co 1^{3} 11^{31}, Ro 1^{25} 9^{5}, Eph 1^{3} (where see Lightfoot), 1 P 1^{3} (where see Hort); (*b*) ascribing to God glory (power, might, dominion) for ever. This is the commoner type in the NT and in subsequent Christian liturgies: the simplest form *ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν* (Ro 11^{36}) is varied by the several writers to suit the exact context (Gal 1^{3}, Ro 16^{27}, Ph 4^{20}, Eph 3^{21}, 1 Ti 1^{17} 6^{16}, 2 Ti 4^{18}, He 13^{21} [see Westcott, Additional Note], 1 P 4^{11} 5^{11}, 2 P 3^{18}, Jude ^{25}, Rev 1^{6} 5^{13} 7^{12}), and it left its ultimate mark on the Lord's Prayer in the addition of the doxology, perhaps originally made when that prayer was used in Eucharistic worship (Chase, *The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church*, 'Texts and Studies,' I. iii. pp. 168–174).

On praise as a part of public worship, see art. CHURCH in vol. i. p. 428ᵃ, art. HYMN in vol. ii., and cf. the preceding article.

ii. 'The idea of man as praised by God is not distinctly recognized in the OT' (Hort on 1 P 1^{7}). There God is spoken of as well pleased with men; but the NT goes beyond this in the word 'praise,' which implies not only moral approbation, but the public expression of it. The difference may have arisen from our Lord's life; He had moved about among men, accepting praise and homage where it was simple and genuine (Mt 21^{16}); giving His own praise without stint to John the Baptist (Mt 11^{11}), to all acts of faith (Mt 8^{10} 9^{22} 15^{28} 16^{8}, Lk 7^{9}), to good and loyal service (Mt $25^{21.23}$, Lk 19^{17}), to all generosity of gift (Mk 12^{43} 14^{6}), to self-devotion (Lk 10^{41}), to prudence (Lk 16^{8}). Hence the ascended Lord is represented as sending His messages of praise as well as of blame to the Seven Churches of Asia (Rev 1^{4}); and the praise of God is the ultimate verdict to which Christians appeal (1 P 1^{7}), which will correct hasty judgments of men, and be the true praise exactly appropriate to each man's actions (1 Co 4^{1-5} *ὁ ἔπαινος*): the true Jew, who bears rightly the name of Judah (='praised'), is he whose praise comes from God not from men (Ro 2^{29}, where see Gifford in '*Speaker's*' *Com.*).

The praise of man *by his fellow-men* is naturally of more doubtful value. On the one hand it is liable to be unreal, shallow, flattering, and to lead to a false self-satisfaction; our Lord avoided the shallow praise of the crowds, and of individuals who did not weigh the meaning of their words (Lk 18^{19}); He warned His followers against the desire for such praise (Mt 6^{1}, Lk 6^{26}); He traced the rejection of the truth by the Pharisees to the fact that they sought honour from each other, and did not seek the honour that comes from the only God (Jn 5^{41-44}, cf. 12^{43}): St. Paul refused to seek glory from men (1 Th 2^{6}), and was ever on his guard against pleasing men (Gal 1^{10}).

On the other hand, St. Paul appeals to the consideration of any praise of men as a proper incentive to Christians (*εἴ τις ἔπαινος*, Ph 4^{8}): the proper function of human government is the praise of well-doers (Ro 13^{3}, 1 P 2^{14}): St. Paul praises whole Churches for their virtues (1 Co 11^{2} and *passim*): he lavishes the highest praises on each of his fellow-workers (1 Co 4^{17} and *passim*): their praise runs through all the Churches (2 Co 8^{18}): his aim is, and that of all Christians should be, to provide things honest in the sight of men as well as of God (2 Co 8^{21}, Ro 12^{17}). Praise of men is treated as a danger when it stands in antithesis to the praise of God; but when it reflects the praise of God in the mirror of the Christian's conscience, it is a welcome incentive to good.

W. LOCK.

PRAYER.—An attempt will be made to treat the subject historically, keeping separate the evidence supplied by different portions of the Bible as to human practice and Divine teaching on the subject of Prayer. With regard to the OT, it will be assumed, for the purpose of the article, that the books which it contains, whatever their respective dates may be, are on the whole trustworthy guides as to the religious beliefs and practices of the periods which they describe.*

---

* It can scarcely be denied, however, that a writer like the Chronicler is apt to antedate the beliefs and practices of his own age.

I. In the Old Testament.—i. *Prefatory.*—It will first be necessary to limit the subject of inquiry. Prayer (תְּפִלָּה) may be understood widely, so as to include every form of address from man to God, whatever its character. Hannah's song (1 S 2) is a thanksgiving, yet it is introduced by the words 'Hannah prayed and said,' and the prayer of Hab 3 is a psalm. But address by way of petition must form the main subject of this article, though it is impossible to isolate this division of prayer, see, *e.g.*, Is 63^7–64^{12}, where praise, thanksgiving, pleading, confession, and supplication are blended.

Certain axioms with regard to prayer are taken for granted, viz. (1) God hears prayer; (2) God is moved by prayer; (3) prayer may be not merely a request, but a pleading, or even an expostulation. It may here be added that OT prayer is little occupied with what becomes the main subject of prayer in NT, viz. spiritual and moral needs. This remark, however, applies only partially to the Psalms.

The terms for 'prayer' must next be considered. The verbs are: **1.** קָרָא בְּשֵׁם (Gn 4^{26}, where see Dillmann's note), or simply קָרָא; this is the oldest and simplest phrase. It is perpetuated in NT (*ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα*, Ac 2^{21} 9^{14} *al.*). The correlative word is עָנָה 'answer' (sometimes wrongly, *e.g.* Hos $2^{21.\,23}$, tr. 'hear'), Gn 35^3 and Psalms, *passim.* It signifies an answer either by external or spiritual help, or by inward assurance. **2.** הִתְפַּלֵּל primarily of intercessory prayer, Gn 20^7, Job 42^{10}, but also of prayer generally, 1 S 1^{27} and elsewhere. From this verb comes the common name for prayer in its widest sense, תְּפִלָּה, noticed above. **3.** פָּגַע, lit. 'to fall upon,' so 'to approach' in order to supplicate. See Is 53^{12}, where the 'approaching' is on behalf of others, and cf. *ἐντυγχάνειν* in NT. **4.** שָׁאַל 'to ask' (*a*) for some grace or deliverance, (*β*) for information or guidance. The correlative is again עָנָה 1 S 28^6. **5.** חִלָּה אֶת־פְּנֵי יי Ex 32^{11}, an anthropomorphic phrase ('make the face sweet *or* pleasant'), never literally tr. in AV, but rendered 'beseech,' etc. **6.** זָעַק 'cry,' used of those who pray for the redressing of a wrong.

Another detached point may be taken before entering on the historical treatment, viz.—

Postures in Prayer.—(1) *Standing.* This was the commonest attitude, *e.g.* Abraham, Gn 18^{22}; Hannah, 1 S 1^{26}. It continues in NT times (but cf. below on Acts); and in Jewish usage the *Shemoneh Esreh* had the name of *Amidah* (standing), because the congregation stood during their recital.

(2) *Kneeling*, Ps 95^6; Solomon, 1 K 8^{54}; Daniel, Dn 6^{10}; see, further, art. KNEEL.

(3) *Prostration, i.e.* kneeling with face bent to the ground in case of urgency, Nu 16^{45}, 1 K 18^{42} (and in NT Mt 26^{39}).

(4) *Sitting*, 2 S 7^{18}, a doubtful instance (but see H. P. Smith, *ad loc.*). In addition to these postures of the body the attitude of the hands should be noticed. These were: (1) *lifted*, Ps 63^4 (cf. 1 Ti 2^8), and (2) *spread out, i.e.* with open upturned palms symbolical of the act of receiving from God, Ex 9^{29}, Is 1^{15}.

ii. *Patriarchal Religion.*—Leaving these prefatory matters, we come to prayer as it appears in patriarchal religion. 'Then began men to call upon the name of the LORD' (Gn 4^{26}). This first notice is of real importance. There had been abundant consciousness of God before, but tradition fixed the commencement of habitual prayer at the beginning of the third generation. Thence we pass over a long interval to Abraham, and enter with him into the fullest and freest exercise of prayer. (1) His prayer is dialogue. It consists not merely in man drawing near to God, but God to man, inviting it and disclosing His purposes. The same thing occurs in the case of Moses, and something of the kind is supposed in certain psalms, where God Himself speaks, *e.g.* Ps 91. (2) Intercession is prominent in patriarchal prayer, Gn 17^{18} 18^{23-32} 20^7; cf. below on prophets as intercessors. (3) There are also personal prayers: Gn 15^2, a prayer for a son; Gn 24^{12}, Eliezer's on his journey; more prominent still in Jacob's life. Jacob's first prayer was a vow, Gn 28^{20}; his prayer in Gn 32^{9-12} is in fear of Esau; his wrestling with the angel (32^{24}) is described in Hos 12 ('made supplication') as involving prayer. (4) Patriarchal blessings are prayers. When man blesses man, it is (*a*) primarily a vision of the Divine purpose for the person blessed and a declaration of it; it is prophetic (*e.g.* Gn 49^1), but it is (*b*) also a prayer. This is especially clear in a blessing attributed to the next period, Dt 33, *e.g.* v.^{11}. As blessing is partly prayer, so also is cursing, as will be seen in considering the imprecatory psalms; cf. also Neh 13^{29}; Sir 4^6, where the curse is called a supplication. (5) The oath in Gn 14^{22} ('I have lift up mine hand') is a kind of prayer, being an imprecation, not on another, but on the speaker in case of his failing in his intention. The phrase becomes so fixed in common use that without regard to its original meaning it is even used of God Himself, Ezk 36^7. (6) The vow. See art. VOW.

iii. *The Law.*—The evidence of the Law as to prayer is negative. With one exception (Dt 26^{1-15}), there is nothing about prayer in the Law. There is no ordinance as to the employment of the formulæ (or charms) common in the ritual of other nations. This did not tend to the undervaluing of prayer, but rather kept it in its proper place. It is not recognized as a means of doing service, but it is left to be a spontaneous expression of human needs. The lasting effect of this negative teaching may be seen in *Berakhoth* iv. 4. If prayers are said only to fulfil a duty (as a charge), they will not be heard by God. But to return to the exception, the formulæ of worship in Dt 26. Even these are not strictly prayers, vv.$^{5-11}$ are a thanksgiving, vv.$^{13.\,14}$ a profession of past obedience, and v.^{15} alone contains supplication. Vv.$^{13.\,14}$ are strangely like the so-called prayer of the Pharisee in Lk $18^{11.\,12}$. There also is the claim of past obedience, and in respect to the same point, viz. the payment of tithe (the hallowed things). But we cannot doubt that private prayer was habitually connected with sacrifice from early times. Instances are spread over the OT, *e.g.* Abraham (Gn 12^8), Solomon (1 K $3^{4.\,5}$), Job (42^8). There remains for consideration the typical character of incense. Incense (see INCENSE) was taken up into Hebrew usage from the stock of primitive religious customs among the nations around, and was originally an anthropomorphic form of propitiation by sweet odours (cf. Dn 2^{46}). But as time went on it was regarded as typical of prayer and associated with it. See Ps 141^2, and in NT Lk 1^{10}, Rev 5^8 8^3. But if the Law teaches nothing about prayer, the lawgiver teaches much. No biblical life is fuller of prayer than that of Moses. The history of his call (Ex 3. 4) gives prayer in the form of 'colloquy' with God as noticed above. There are his private prayers in times of difficulty (Ex 5^{22}, Nu 11^{11-15}), and, above all, his frequent intercessory prayers (1) for Pharaoh to obtain relief from plagues; (2) for Israel in all the times of the murmuring and rebellion, *e.g.* Ex 32^{11-13}. What Moses did not lay on Israel as a precept he taught them by example, though it may be doubted whether access to God in prayer was not looked upon as the prerogative of a prophet.

iv. *The Period of the Kingdom.*—This may be taken next, though in the intermediate time Jos

7[6-9] 10[14] and Jg 6 are to be noted, and the raising up of judges is almost always introduced by the phrase, ‘the children of Israel cried unto the Lord.’ Samuel next appears to carry on the great intercessory tradition. In Jer 15[1] Moses and Samuel stand together as chief representatives of this form of prayer. And the narrative justifies the Divine words. Twice over Samuel makes great efforts of intercession for the nation (1 S 7[5-12]); and again in regard to their desire for a king throughout chs. 8 and 12. He testifies himself to his continuous pleading for them, and expresses his sense that it is part of the obligation of his prophetic office, ‘God forbid that I should sin against the Lord in ceasing to pray for you’ (1 S 12[23]). Besides his national, there is also his personal intercession. The rejection of Saul grieved Samuel, and he cried unto the Lord all night, 15[11]. And something of prayer is implied in the mourning for Saul, recorded in 15[35] and 16[1]. David, being himself regarded as a prophet, is represented as praying without an intercessor. This appears in 2 S 7[18-29]. It is hardly necessary to prove that both the lesser and the greater prophets of the kingly period are regarded as intercessors. It is mainly in this character, as intercessor for a nation perishing by famine, that Elijah stands before us in the great drama of 1 K 18. And the test which is there applied to decide between Jehovah and Baal is, which of the two hears prayer. Intercession, as part of the prophetic function, will come out more clearly still when we deal with the prophets who have left writings; but there is a special interest in finding it in men of action, such as Samuel, Elijah, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and another leader who was not a prophet, namely, Nehemiah. Their prayer is not merely to put the matter in the Lord’s hand, but to strengthen themselves for action.

The Books of Samuel and Kings contain prayers which suggest the subject of the place of prayer. The ark denoted the local presence of God, and therefore the place of prayer. So Hannah (1 S 1) and David (2 S 7) resort thither. But as sacrifice is offered at ‘high places,’ prayer may be offered there also. So Samuel at Mizpah (1 S 7[5]), and Solomon at Gibeon (1 K 3). When the temple is dedicated, it is as a house of prayer, if, notwithstanding its affinities to Deut., we may take 1 K 8 as in some degree representing the mind of the founder. If, however, the prayer belongs in form and spirit to another period, it is no less worthy of attention in two important respects. (1) At the dedication of the centre of a great sacrificial cultus, not a word is said in the prayer about the sacrifices, but only about prayer to be offered there, or ‘toward’ that ‘place.’ For prayer ‘toward’ a place, cf. Ps 28[2], Dn 6[10]; and, even for Islam, Jerusalem was at first the Kibla. The temple is the house of prayer in Is 56[7]; and it will be seen to have been so regarded in NT. (2) The other point to notice in Solomon’s prayer is the apparent conflict of two conceptions—that of some local habitation of God therein, and that of the impossibility of limiting His presence.—We have also two prayers attributed to Hezekiah—the first in Is 37[16-20], offered in the temple, a prayer for God’s glory in the spirit of Ps 115; the second (Is 38[3]) a prayer for himself, recalling his righteousness in the spirit of Ps 26, yet none the less accepted.

v. *The Exile and Return.*—Ewald (*Hist. Isr.* (Eng. tr.) v. 23) has justly emphasized the importance assumed by prayer in this period. There were two main causes for this. (1) The necessary cessation of sacrifice after the destruction of the temple. This threw the burden of worship wholly on prayer. (2) A sense of abandonment by God, which produced earnestness in seeking for an explanation of His dealings, and a return of His favour. The evidence in support of Ewald’s assertion is twofold—(*a*) the great prayers extant from this period; (*b*) the personal habits of individuals recorded in the narrative. (*a*) *Great prayers extant.* First and greatest is Is 63[7]–64[12]. The prophet comes forward and ‘leads the devotions of the Church of the Exile.’ The prayer is remarkable as appealing to the Fatherhood of God, 63[16] 64[8]. The other four are, Ezr 9[5-15] chiefly confession; Neh 1; Levites’ prayer in Neh 9, in the form of historical retrospect (cf. Ps 106); Daniel’s confession, Dn 9. On these last four some general remarks may be made. Confession is prominent, acknowledgment of the sin of Israel and the righteousness of God. They are cast in the same model, and contain the same phrases. Fasting has become connected with prayer (cf. Zec 7[5]). The confession in these prayers is representative confession, *e.g.* Nehemiah (Neh 1[6]) takes the sins of Israel upon himself and confesses them as a whole. He is an intercessor, but he does not stand apart; he regards himself as involved in the guilt. (*b*) *Personal habits of individuals.* Ezra at the river Ahava (Ezr 8[21-23]) relies on prayer for the safety of his expedition. As to Nehemiah, it is unnecessary to show in detail that constant prayer is the characteristic of his journal. It is his resource in difficulty and discouragement, and takes a distinctly personal character, ‘remember me, O my God.’ Again, Dn 6 is an illustration of how prayer to God had become a distinctive mark of the Jews in exile. In it the enemies of Daniel decide to find their opportunity, and on it base their attack. In this narrative (Dn 6[10]) we first find unmistakable mention of the hours of prayer as afterwards practised by the Jews, though perhaps Ps 55[17] may be taken to denote them. As is usually the case in ritual, an endeavour was made to find sanction for the three hours of prayer in the earliest times, and Gn 19[27] 24[63] 28[11] were referred to by the Jews for this purpose.

vi. *The Prophets.*—‘The Latter Prophets,’ *i.e.* the prophetic writings, may now be considered as a whole, and without reference to date, in order to see what special characteristics are to be attributed to the prayers of prophets. It has already been seen that the latter were intercessors in virtue of their calling. The ground of this was twofold. The prophet was an acceptable person; but, further, he had the Spirit (*e.g.* Ezk 2[2]), and the possession of it enabled him not only to interpret the mind of God to man, but also the mind of man to God (cf. Ro 8[26]). The prophet thus knew what the needs of the nation were, much better than the nation itself. Intercession in the OT is not generally the duty of the priest. For an exception see Jl 2[17], Mal 1[9]; and in Apocr. 1 Mac 7[36-38], when, of course, prophets had ceased to exist. Beyond this general intercessory function we may trace three special aspects of prayer in the prophetical writings, which may be illustrated almost exclusively from Jeremiah. (*a*) *Personal prayer.* In Jeremiah intermixed with and in reference to the difficulties and trials of his own mission (*e.g.* Jer 20). (*b*) *Seeking to know.* It is by prayer (in part, at least) that the prophet obtains the Divine revelations, Jer 33[3] 42[4] (where ten days pass before the answer is reported). (*c*) *Interceding to avert* present or predicted evil. See Am 7 and Jer 14. 15. The latter passage is an important example. In ch. 14 we have—(1) intercession, vv.[2-9]; (2) answer forbidding intercession, [10-12]; (3) renewed pleading in spite of prohibition; (4) renewed Divine threatenings, [14-16]; (5) a wail from the prophet ending in fresh intercession, [17-22]. To this again comes an answer (15[1-9]) of final condemnation; but even this does not close the dialogue of prayer, which continues to 15^{21}. This record of intercession throws a light upon the inner life of the prophets, and their intimate relations with God, which we hardly find elsewhere in OT. The limits here set to intercession are an anticipation of 1 Jn 5^{16}. And the persistence of the prophet, although rejected, is nevertheless an inspired persistence.

vii. *Psalms, Proverbs, Job.* — Although the prayers in the Psalter exceed in amount and variety all other prayers in OT, yet they do not contribute to our study of the subject so much as they would do if the circumstances and persons from which they proceeded were known to us. Although the title 'Prayers of David' is implied in the subscription closing the second book (Ps 72^{20}), yet only one psalm in these two books (Ps 17) is entitled 'a prayer.' And in the whole Psalter only five (including Ps 17) are so described. *Tehillim* (praises), not *tephilloth* (prayers), is the recognized name of the book; but the latter would be almost as accurate a title as the former. Prayer in the Psalms will be considered under six heads. (1) Prayer is regarded in the Psalms as the *pouring out of the heart*, 42^4 62^8 102 (title) 142^2. Outside the Psalter, see 1 S 1^{15} and 7^6 compared with La 2^{19}. That which is poured out may be either the heart or its musing (שִׂיחַ, AV 'complaint'). In prayer the psalmist does not so much go before God with fixed orderly petition, as simply to pour out his feelings and desires, whatever they are, sweet or bitter, troubled or peaceful. (2) As a consequence of this aspect, *various moods are blended* in prayer. It passes from praise and commemoration to complaint, supplication, confession, despondency. Few psalms are entirely prayers in a strict sense. There is, however, another reason for the rapid transitions which occur. In some cases the moment of a felt answer to prayer is marked in the Psalm itself by transition to praise. Here we have an approach to the colloquy in prayer noticed in the cases of Abraham, Moses, and Jeremiah. In 143^7 an answer is distinctly expected; again in 6^{8-10} it is received, as also in 31^{22-24}. For strongly marked transitions see 57^{6-11} 69^{30-36}. There is a sense that God has heard, and that is equivalent to His granting the petition, cf. 1 Jn 5^{15}. Yet this answer sometimes fails, and psalms from which it is absent strike us as abnormal, *e.g.* Ps 88. Here we come near what is frequent in Job, prayer struggling in the darkness, without a reply. It is that 'shutting out' of prayer which is described in La 3^8. (3) *National* and *personal* prayer, how far can they be distinguished? Some prayers in the Psalter are evidently national, *e.g.* 60. 79. 80. But while 44 is no less evidently national, 'I' and 'me' occur in vv.^{6} and ^{15}. Hence it is evident that the 1st pers. sing. is no proof that a psalm, *e.g.* 102, is personal. It may well be an expression of the complaint and needs of the nation. It may almost be said that the psalmist never felt himself alone, but always connected his personal joys or griefs with those of the nation. Cheyne (*OP* 276) quotes a Rabbinic saying, 'In prayer a man should always unite himself with the community.' The question then will generally be which of the two elements predominates, not which is exclusively present. (4) *Material and external blessings are the principal subjects of prayer in the Psalms.* Account must be taken, in considering this matter, of changes which have taken place in the meaning of words by the legitimate spiritualizing effect of Christian use. 'Say unto my soul, I am thy salvation' (35^3) is a good instance of how a prayer for temporal deliverance has come to acquire the appearance of being a prayer for spiritual blessing. But although the Psalms are far more largely occupied with temporal and material than with spiritual needs, yet there are distinctly spiritual topics of prayer which fill a considerable place in them. These are: (*a*) Communion with God, prayer for the intercourse of prayer, as in 63. (*b*) Forgiveness of sins, besought with the greatest earnestness in 51 for its own sake, but more frequently taking the form of prayer for that deliverance from suffering and chastisement which was held to mark the forgiveness of sin (see art. SIN IN OT). (*c*) Ps 119 stands on a different footing. It contains much prayer for a knowledge of God's will. The prayer for quickening ('quicken' occurs 11 times) seems distinctly to have a spiritual sense. The 'He' division, with its initial verbs in Hiphil, is almost entirely prayer. The development of prayer in a spiritual direction has been carried some way in the Psalms, and prayer for external blessings has been cast in a form which will lend itself afterwards to spiritual interpretation. We must not, however, suppose that prayer of this kind differentiates the Psalms from the prayers of all other religions. Prayer for spiritual and moral gifts is found elsewhere (Tylor, *Prim. Culture*, vol. ii. pp. 373, 374). (5) *Urgency of Prayer.* There is a feeling that God must be induced to hear. This comes out in the anthropomorphic phrases which speak to Him as though He needed to be awakened, urged, or persuaded. We can scarcely suppose that this is, all of it, no more than a sacred irony. While NT put aside the thought of awakening Him, it retained that of pleading. On this subject see Ps 28^1 44^{23}, and in correction of these Ps 121 throughout. (6) *Prayer of imprecation*, for vengeance. This is both frequent and urgent. It occurs in the highest strains of devotion, *e.g.* Ps 69^{22-28}, as well as in psalms of a lower level, *e.g.* 59. It reaches its extreme point in 109. In this Psalm attempts have been made to explain it away, but here no separate dealing is possible with a conception which enters into the tissue of so many psalms. It is certainly remarkable that the phrase which above any expresses the absorption of the psalmist in prayer ('I am prayer,' 109^4) should occur where it does. Various considerations may help us to bear with this feature, but one is sufficient here. The devout Israelite of that day believed deeply in God, was perhaps more closely conscious of Him than we are, and yet looked out on a world of treachery, cruelty, and lust. The vision which we have before us of a future retribution in another life was entirely shut out from him. If his sense of justice was not dead, how could he help crying out for some manifestation of Divine righteousness by way of retribution, even apart from human instinct for revenge? An inspiration which ran counter to such desires would have disturbed the very foundations of his faith. See, further, art. PSALMS, p. 160.

Proverbs.—Only two points need be noticed: (1) Three passages in which the character of the person praying determines the acceptance of the prayer, $15^{8.\,29}$ 28^9. This feeling, legitimate as it is, and admitted in the formularies of to-day, would tend to grow into that mistaken view of the matter which is corrected in the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican. (2) The prayer of Agur (30^{7-9}), with its modest request for the middle state on account of the effect of riches and poverty on his relation with God. Cf. the prayer of Socrates (Plato, *Phædrus*, *sub fin.*, and also Thom. Aquinas, *Summa*, ii. 2, lxxxiii. 5).

Job.—The earlier part of the book is in the form of a dialogue between Job and his friends; but in fact, when his friends pause, it is often the case that Job, instead of answering them, turns away to God, and lets his address to God stand as an answer to them. Thus, much of the book is prayer. See chs. 6. 7. 9. 10. 13. 14. The boldest of these is 10. Though full of doubt, rebelliousness, and half-way to renouncing God, it is nevertheless prayer. These chapters are, in fact, prayer for what at times is the most urgent of all needs, some explanation of pain and suffering. It is prayer for wisdom. So, long afterwards, St. James, writing to those who have fallen into manifold trials, bids them ask wisdom from God, that they may understand the purpose of His discipline (Ja 1^{2-5}).

To sum up, the axioms stated at the outset have been abundantly justified. It has plainly appeared that God hears and is moved by prayer, especially by persistent pleading prayer. This was the conviction not only of the mass of the nation, but also of a large number of highly gifted persons. Their experience of prayer, as attested by their writings, must always constitute an important element in that portion of the evidences for the being of God which is drawn from human consciousness. In the spiritual sphere it corresponds to the testimony which St. John gives to God manifest in the flesh, 1 Jn 1^{1-4}.

II. IN THE APOCRYPHA.—The Apocr. as a whole confirms strongly what has been said as to the increased prominence of prayer after the Exile. The Apocr. books incorporate, or even consist of prayers. The Additions to Esther are mainly two long prayers of Esther and Mordecai. See also Bar 1^{15}–3^{8}; the Prayer of Azarias (Abednego) prefixed to the Song of the Three Children; and the Prayer of Manasses: the two narratives Tobit and Judith both attest the power of prayer. In Tobit the miraculous interpositions and the happy issue of the story are entirely the result of the simultaneous prayers of Tobit and Sarah recorded in To 3, see esp. 3^{16}. And the place given to prayer in an ideal Jewish family is shown by the paternal injunctions of To 4^{19}. The Book of Tobit, although a fiction, engages respect and interest by its high moral tone; but the same cannot be said of the Book of Judith, in which the prayer of the heroine is tainted with the treachery which is glorified throughout the book. Her prayer in Jth 9^{10} is prayer for the success of deceit, and it would be hard to find anything baser in conception than her pretended scheme of inquiring by prayer as to the sins of her countrymen, that she may tell Holofernes when to attack them, Jth $11^{17.\ 18}$. The necessity of washing, before prayer, for those living among the heathen appears in Jth $12^{7.\ 8}$. In 1 Mac we pass from fiction to history. As Ezr-Neh showed prayer in men of action, so also 1 Mac, *e.g.* 4^{30-33} 5^{33} and 11^{71-72}, prayer was the secret of the Maccabæan victories. That it was so, is nowhere better expressed than in 2 Mac 15^{27}, 'contending with their hands and praying unto God with their hearts.' The notice of Mizpeh in 1 Mac 3^{46} as an ancient place of prayer, links the prayer and victory of Judas with those of Samuel in former time, and is proof of the surviving holiness of the ancient sanctuaries. 2 Mac does but renew in legendary guise the evidence of 1 Mac as to the frequency of prayer in the great patriotic struggle. But it contains two passages which favoured, if they did not suggest, later developments in Christian times. With 2 Mac 12^{40-45} before them as canonical Scripture, it is no wonder that men thought they had ample justification for offering sacrifice (in the Mass) on behalf of the dead. And the vision of Onias and Jeremiah (2 Mac 15^{12-14}) was a clear testimony to the intercession of saints on behalf of the living. Cf. also Bar 3^{4} if the text be correct.

The sapiential books of the Apocr. should next be considered. The Book of Wisdom from 9^{1} onward is a continuous address to God, and may be regarded as a prayer, though the character of supplication is not clearly discernible beyond the end of ch. 9. But $16^{27.\ 28}$ contains a beautiful illustration with regard to prayer. As manna had to be gathered at daybreak, lest it should melt in the heat of the sun, so we must rise at daybreak to gather spiritual food by prayer.

If the Book of Wisdom contributes little, Sirach compensates, as might be expected from the respective origin of the two books. It contains prayers, *e.g.* 22^{27}–23^{6} (personal); 36^{1-17} (national); 50^{22-24} partly thanksgiving, the source of Rinkart's famous hymn, 'Nun danket alle Gott.' Sir $7^{10.\ 14}$ 28^{2-4} prepare the way for our Lord's teaching on prayer, and may have been present to His mind: 38^{9-14} was certainly in St. James' mind when he wrote Ja 5^{14-16}. Sir 38^{34} may perhaps be the source of the proverb, 'Laborare est orare.' Taking the book generally, it is remarkable that the principal subject of prayer in Sirach is the forgiveness of sins, thus advancing the movement begun in OT to spiritualize the aims of prayer.

One more book of Apocr. requires notice, an apocalypse, the so-called 2 Esdras. Though chs. 3–14 inclusive are certainly post-Christian, and therefore do not, like the books hitherto considered, illustrate inter-Testamental Jewish thought, there is much that is of great interest in them, and not least in regard to prayer. The question is raised in $7^{102-112}$ (RV text) whether the intercession of prophets and leaders which had played so great a part in the history of Israel will not also be availing in the day of judgment, and the answer is a twice-repeated negative.

III. IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.—It will be convenient to state at once the main points in which the doctrine of prayer makes advance in NT. (1) Further development of prayer for spiritual blessings. It is the light here thrown on the possibilities of a higher life by the example and teaching of Christ which enlarges and raises the scope of prayer. (2) Extension of the guidance of the Holy Spirit to all believers, enables them for prayer. Power in prayer was a characteristic of the prophets in the OT, because they had the Spirit. Now all can pray, because all have the Spirit. (3) Prayer in the name of Jesus. This is absolutely new (Jn 16^{24}). The verse just cited gives the turning-point in the history of prayer. It does not divert prayer from the Father to the Son, but gives new access to the Father. Thus the normal idea of prayer is to pray in the Spirit, through the Son, to the Father.

NT words for 'prayer' must be briefly noticed. **1.** Prayer to God with implication of worship is *προσεύχεσθαι*. **2.** *εὔχεσθαι* barely exceeds an earnest wish, and needs *πρὸς τὸν θεόν* to give it the sense of prayer as in 2 Co 13^{7}. Its subst. *εὐχή* means a vow except in Ja 5^{15}. **3.** *δέομαι, δέησις*, though used of supplication to God even by our Lord Himself (Lk 22^{32}), may also be used of prayer to man (*e.g.* Lk 9^{40}), which is not the case with *προσεύχεσθαι*. **4.** *αἰτεῖν*, a simple word belonging to our childlike relation (Lk 11^{11}), contains no thought of worship; in RV always 'ask,' but disguised in AV by five different renderings, namely 'ask,' 'desire,' 'beg,' 'crave,' 'require.' The mid. voice (*αἰτεῖσθαι*) gives intensity to the request (see Mayor on Ja 4^{3}). **5.** *ἐρωτάω*, usually explained as involving a certain freedom in the manner and form of request. **6.** *ἐντυγχάνειν, ὑπερεντυγχάνειν*, tr. 'intercede,' though the sense is primarily to draw near the person addressed, and only secondarily on behalf of another. See below under 'Epistles.'

i. *Gospels.*—The example and teaching of our Lord: (1) His personal example. His prayer was real prayer, not merely offered by way of example to disciples, but as real and intense as any ever uttered. Nothing brings out His true humanity more than His dependence on the Father in prayer. His prayers may be considered under three heads: (α) *At or before the great events of His life on earth:* at Baptism (Lk 3^{21}); before choice of apostles (Lk $6^{12.13}$); before transfiguration, which is almost represented as the effect of prayer (Lk 9^{29}); before Gethsemane (Jn 17, the earlier verses of which refer to the consummation of His own work); during the agony (Lk 22^{39-46}, He 5^{7}). It is to be observed that, for these notices, we are mainly indebted to St. Luke, and his special interest in our Lord's teaching as to prayer will appear under other heads also. (β) *Prayer before performance of miracles:* implied in the case of Lazarus, Jn $11^{41.42}$; probably implied Mk 7^{34}. Cf. Mt 17^{21}(TR); but much more frequent in miracles wrought by disciples. (γ) *Intercessory prayer:* for disciples and future believers, Jn 17^{6-26}, and continued after ascension, Ro 8^{34}, He 7^{25} (this continued intercession is not denied by Jn 16^{26}, which merely guards against the thought that our prayer is of itself unacceptable; His heavenly intercession is but another aspect of our asking in Jesus' name); prayer for individuals: St. Peter, Lk 22^{32}; soldiers at the cross, Lk 23^{34}. See Monrad, *World of Prayer*, p. 72, Eng. tr.

(2) The Lord's direct teaching in various ways. This may be considered under the following heads: (α) the Lord's Prayer; (β) parables; (γ) incidental sayings; (δ) last discourses.

(α) **The Lord's Prayer.** — There are grounds which appear to the present writer to be sufficient, but which cannot be stated here, for believing that the prayer was given on two occasions, and in two distinct forms. The latter circumstance would seem to show that stress was not laid on the repetition of the exact words, but on the teaching which the prayer conveyed as to the topics, proportion, and order of all prayer. There is but one clause in the Lord's Prayer relating to temporal wants, and even that not merely to the wants of the individual ('give *us*'). Moreover, it is capable of including spiritual needs, and is constantly so interpreted. On the other hand, it does legitimate prayer for temporal wants. In this connexion notice the direction given Mt 24^{20}. This tendency of the Lord's Prayer to fix desires on spiritual things is summed up in one of the *agrapha* quoted by Origen, *Sel. in* Ps 4^{4} LXX (Lomm. xi. 432) and elsewhere, and probably authentic, 'Ask the great things, and the little things shall be added to you; ask the heavenly things, and the earthly things shall be added to you' (Resch, *Agrapha*, Logion 41). Another characteristic of the Lord's Prayer is its *catholicity*. There is nothing of particularism in it. It is already conscious of its world-wide destiny. A merely Jewish prayer of this date would certainly have been addressed to the Lord God of Israel (of our fathers), and would have contained a petition for the nation. See Latham, *Pastor Pastorum*, p. 416. See, further, art. LORD'S PRAYER.

(β) *Parables.*—(1) Two parables on importunity in prayer. This characteristic of prayer has already been taught by OT, and is here approved by our Lord. The 'Friend at Midnight' (Lk 11^{5-8}) follows immediately the delivery of the Lord's Prayer. While it should be interpreted in the broadest way of all prayer, it may have special application to teachers, as being a prayer for bread for others. The second parable, the Importunate Widow (Lk 18^{1-8}), has throughout a special reference to the prayer of suffering believers in expectation of the Second Advent. The need of importunity in prayer expressed in both parables should be interpreted with Trench's words before us, 'We must not conceive of prayer as an overcoming of God's reluctance, but as a laying hold of His highest willingness' (*Parables*, xviii., the substance of which comes from the passage of Dante which he quotes, *Parad.* xx. 94–99). (2) A parable on right disposition in prayer follows immediately in Lk 18^{9-14}. Compare above on Dt 26^{13-15} under OT. In this parable we see a great step in advance. Under the new covenant a profession of ritual righteousness has no longer any place in prayer. On the contrary, we have Lk 17^{10}, which may, like the precept of forgiveness which it follows, have been spoken with reference to prayer and its conditions. It should be observed that these parables are preserved by St. Luke alone, and to them may be added the prayer of the prodigal son, 'Father, I have sinned,' etc. (Lk $15^{18.19}$).

(γ) *Incidental sayings.*—(1) As to conditions of prayer. One of these is *humility*, as in the parable referred to above, Lk 18^{14}. Another is *forgiveness* of our brother men. This condition of prayer had already been strikingly stated in Sir 28^{2-4}. Mt $6^{14.15}$ and Mk $11^{24.25}$ do but repeat it, and the parable of the Unmerciful Servant grows out of the same root. A third condition of prayer is *to avoid outward show and to avoid repetition.* Our Lord's practice throws light on both these requirements. We read of His retirement to the mountain for prayer. Privacy in a house is difficult to obtain in the East. The other direction does not forbid all repetition. Words may be repeated to express urgent entreaty, as in Mt 26^{44}. A fourth condition is more important and more difficult of explanation—that of *faith.* It is obvious that faith must be a condition; a prayer which is, so to speak, an experiment, will not be answered. But Mk 11^{24} 'All things whatsoever ye pray and ask for, believe that ye have received them and ye shall have them,' seems to represent faith not merely as 'sine qua non,' but as 'cum qua semper.' Literally interpreted, the words would assign to every believer a kind of vicarious omnipotence. In interpreting any saying of our Lord, it must be remembered that the words as spoken by Him were not isolated, and were addressed to those who had heard other words which limited and explained them. It is reasonable to receive this saying with the explanation which St. John puts upon it, 1 Jn $5^{14.15}$ ('if we ask anything according to his will, he heareth us'). The illustrations used to emphasize the power of prayer in faith, viz. the uprooting of mountains and trees, are taken from the language of the Jewish schools; and the same source supplies a parallel expression, 'If a person applies his whole attention during prayer, he may be sure that his prayer has been granted' (R. Samuel in *Berakhoth*, tr. p. 111). It is probable that our Lord, foreseeing that the power of prayer would be undervalued, preferred to state its force in this almost paradoxical way. It will follow that assurance of receiving the *precise* thing asked for is not what is required. There is a great instance in Ac 12 which may be taken here by anticipation. The Church is gathered together praying continuously and earnestly for the release of St. Peter. But when he is released and sent back to them, they keep him outside the gate because they cannot believe that their prayer has been granted. Yet who will say that that prayer was not a prayer of faith? The last condition of prayer to be mentioned is not a universal one, but carries special promise, namely, the condition of *union* in prayer, Mt $18^{19.20}$. It does not necessarily imply public prayer, for two persons are enough. The effect of this saying appears in the frequent mention of united prayer in Acts.

(δ) *Last discourses.*—As in all other respects these discourses give new and distinctive teaching, so in respect of prayer. It is henceforth to be *in Jesus' name.* 'Thus is given not a mere devotional form, but a new ground on which the worshipper stands, a new plea for the success of his petitions; and, in fact, a wholly new character to prayer, since it must be brought into unison with the mind of Him in whose name it is presented' (T. D. Bernard, *Central Teaching of Jesus Christ*, p. 156; and see preceding page). As this teaching was not possible in the early days when the Lord's Prayer was given, 'in Jesus' name' was not added to it. But that prayer being His, and in accordance with His will, is a prayer in His name, without the addition of 'through Jesus Christ,' which the Church has never presumed to make. This instance shows that the direction is not to be taken in a narrow, verbal way.

(3) Finally, the Gospels afford us teaching on prayer given in an entirely different way. Under (1) the Lord's example was considered on its human side, teaching about prayer by His own prayer. But even during His ministry the Divine nature, though in a certain sense hidden, began to show itself, and He is the recipient of prayer from those who need His help. Their requests are not described by the highest term προσεύχομαι, but by δέομαι, δέησις. But since these requests were made to the Son of God, His way of dealing with them instructs all who pray. (*a*) Requests are granted where there is faith. 'Believe ye that I am able to do this?' (*b*) Granting requests is delayed to produce importunity and test character (Mk 7^{27}). A saying of Seneca's well illustrates the difference between what the Stoic thought of the attitude of importunate prayer and the way in which Christianity regards it: 'Nihil carius emitur quam quæ precibus emta est.' Christianity would substitute 'nihil dulcius.' (*c*) Man's ignorance in prayer is insisted on in the case of the sons of Zebedee, Mt 20^{22}; and it is shown by experience in the case of St. Peter, whose request is granted that he may learn that it was presumptuous, Mt 14^{28-31}, cf. Ro 8^{26}. Here it may be added that the disciples who had asked Jesus daily and hourly for help and guidance while He was with them in the flesh, evidently continued to do so after God had 'exalted him to be a Prince and a Saviour.' St. Stephen says, 'Lord Jesus, receive my spirit'; and Christians are described by St. Paul as those who 'call upon (or invoke in prayer) the name of our Lord Jesus Christ,' 1 Co 1^{2}, cf. Ac 9^{14} 22^{16}. It is therefore going too far to say with Origen (*de Orat.* 15) that all prayer must be offered to the Father. Yet it is the case that Jesus teaches His disciples to pray, not to Himself, but to the Father in His name. Liddon (*Bampton Lectures*, note F) appears to press his argument further than a consideration of the whole evidence will justify.

ii. *Acts.*—The teaching and guidance given by our Lord manifests its results in the Acts and Epistles. Acts will show its external results in the Church as a whole, not, however, without some evidence of private practice. The Epp. will give its inward effect on the devotional life of individuals, especially of St. Paul, but here also something may be gathered as to external and corporate usages.

(1) Acts supplies notices of *times and places of prayer.* St. Peter observes the sixth hour (Ac 10^{9}), and he and St. John go up to the temple at the ninth hour, which is described as the hour of prayer (Ac 3^{1}). It is probable that the gathering described in Ac 2^{1} was for worship, and this is fixed by 2^{15} as having taken place at the third hour, so we have recognition of all the three Jewish hours of prayer.

In the matter of prayer, as in most other external matters, the Christian body remained at first within the pale of Judaism. To ordinary observers they were only a new sect (αἵρεσις) of Judaism. They had their private worship (Ac 2^{42}), but they did not on that account forsake the temple; and it is possible that they still attended the synagogues, though there is no evidence on this point beyond the practice of St. Paul on his missionary journeys (in which case he had a special object in view), and Ja 2^{2} (where 'synagogue' may mean a distinctively Christian assembly, cf. He 10^{25}). But with regard to the private worship of Christians, there is ample evidence in Acts, *e.g.* 4^{23-30} where the actual prayer used is recorded, and 12^{12} the assembly for prayer in the house of Mary the mother of Mark. Two farewell prayers from St. Paul's life may be added—the one at Miletus with tears and embraces (Ac 20^{36}), the other on the beach at Tyre (Ac 21^{5}). In both these cases they *knelt* in prayer. Kneeling is also the attitude of St. Stephen (Ac 7^{60}), St. Peter (Ac 9^{40}), and St. Paul (Eph 3^{14}). On the other hand, our Lord's words had authorized *standing* to pray (Mk 11^{25}).

(2) *Fulfilment of prayer.*—Acts is remarkably strong in its testimony on this point. There are: the release of St. Peter (Ac 12), the sending of St. Peter to Cornelius (10^{4}), the preservation of the crew and passengers who sailed with St. Paul (27^{24}). And there are the cases in which prayer is recorded as the means of working miracles (9^{40} 28^{8}). Passing to the Epp. we may take here the great instance of non-fulfilment of believing prayer, the thrice-repeated prayer of St. Paul to be delivered from the thorn in the flesh (2 Co $12^{8.9}$). Yet the prayer was not frustrate; what was granted was the power to rejoice in the infirmity.

(3) *Prayer in connexion with laying on of hands.*—In Acts there are mentioned three more or less distinct uses of the laying on of hands: (α) in healing as by Ananias (9^{17}), St. Paul (28^{8}); (β) as a complement to baptism by St. Peter and St. John at Samaria (8^{17}) and St. Paul at Ephesus (19^{6}); (γ) on appointment to ministries (6^{6} 13^{3}). Now in each of these three classes of instances, though not in every instance, there is a distinct mention of prayer, as though to show that those who use the form are not in possession of the gift so as to transfer it at their will, but rather have authority to ask for it to be given. See, further, art. LAYING ON OF HANDS.

(4) The passages in which prayer accompanies *the appointment to ministries* naturally raise another question. In Ac 13^{3} 14^{23} *fasting* accompanies prayer, cf. Lk 2^{37}. The connexion between fasting and prayer has already been observed in OT, but was it continued in the Apostolic Church? These two passages go in that direction, and it would be natural that the Christians should not abandon a practice in which as Jews they had been trained, and which appeared to have a possible sanction from Mt 9^{15}. But, in considering fasting as subsidiary to prayer, it should be observed that in four passages where it appears in that light in AV, viz. Mt 17^{21}, Mk 9^{29}, Ac 10^{30}, 1 Co 7^{5}, RV, following textual evidence, omits all mention of the subject. See, further, art. FASTING.

(5) One other point of interest from Acts is that prayer here bears out what was said under OT of prayer as *colloquy with God.* Such is the prayer in the visions of Ananias (Ac 9^{13-16}) and St. Paul (Ac 22^{17-21}).

iii. *The Epistles and Apocalypse.*—(1) *St. James.*—This Ep. takes up and applies to daily life the teaching of the gospel, and is especially related to Mt. Hence there is much as to prayer. The need of faith in prayer, and the fatal effect of doubting (Ja 1^{6-8}, observe same word [διακρίνομαι] for 'doubt' as in Mt 21^{21}); the neglect of prayer, and character of wrong prayer (Ja $4^{2.3}$), are put in a practical way.

But the most important passage is Ja 5^{13-18}. There in an emphatic position almost at the close of the Epistle we have the recommendation of a particular act of prayer on the part of the elders of the congregation, accompanied with the use of oil (in accordance with the early apostolic practice described Mk 6^{13}). This prayer is not only to effect bodily but also spiritual healing. The sufferer's sins will be forgiven. And then the power of prayer is still further urged, and the example of Elijah given. Intercession for one another is to be the rule of the Church (cf. 1 Jn 5^{16}).

(2) *Epp. of St. Paul.*—Only a few points can be noticed. (*a*) The *co-operation of the Holy Spirit* in prayer comes out clearly. In Ro 8^{15} the Spirit enables us to cry 'Abba, Father,' and in v.^{26} intercedes for us (*ὑπερεντυγχάνει*) along with our defective prayers. There is a special fitness in the use of *ἐντυγχάνω* (and its compound) with regard to the Spirit (as here) and the Son (v.^{34} and He 7^{25}), as it signifies close approach. For the help of the Spirit in prayer see also Eph 6^{18} and Jude ^{20}. Further, the gift of tongues was used in prayer as well as in praise (1 Co $14^{14.15}$). The distinction which St. Paul here draws between the office of his (own) spirit and his mind in prayer is well illustrated by Thom. Aquin. ii. 2. lxxxiii., who says that prayer is 'rationis actus.' There must be some arrangement of petitions (*ordinatio*), and for this the mind must take part. (*β*) The *reciprocal prayer of St. Paul and his converts.* He constantly prays for them, he tells them so, and they pray for him. His prayer for them is sometimes in anxiety and sometimes with joy (Ph 1^{4}). It included mention of persons by name, *e.g.* Timothy and Philemon, and no doubt countless others. He looks on this reciprocal prayer as a bond. He begins and often closes his Epp. with mention of it. He regards the circumstances of his own life and his movements as in part determined by the prayers of the saints (2 Co 1^{11}, Philem ^{22}). (*γ*) Prayer is *striving*, an *ἀγών* (like Jacob's wrestling), see Ro 15^{30}, Col 2^{1} and 4^{12}. (*δ*) Some light is given as to the prayers of *the congregation.* There is the injunction in 1 Ti 2^{1}, where we find the rudiments of a fixed order of prayer. Clem. Rom. 61 shows how this command was obeyed. The chapter above quoted, 1 Ti 2, gives negatively in v.^{8} the same conditions of acceptable prayer 'without wrath and doubting' as are given positively in Mk 11^{25}, where forgiveness and faith are required for prayer. 'Wrath' here means refusal to forgive; such a condition condemns a literal use of the Imprecatory Psalms. (*ε*) In the Pastoral Epp. prayer has already become the *special duty of a certain class* (1 Ti 5^{5}).

(3) *Ep. to Hebrews.*—The great lesson here is *freedom of access to God in prayer.* This Christ has obtained for us (He 4^{16} 10^{22}). The latter verse reminds us that the baptized no longer need the ritual washing of their bodies before prayer (see above on prayer in Apocrypha).

(4) *Epp. of St. John.*—Here again is the same thought as in He 4^{16}, expressed by the same word (*παῤῥησία*). But in 1 Jn there is no question of entrance and approach (*εἴσοδος, προσέρχεσθαι*); we are already near. Thus *παῤῥησία* has more distinctly its primary sense of 'freedom of utterance' in prayer. See 1 Jn $3^{21.22}$, where the promises of the certain fulfilment of prayer given in Jn $14^{13.14}$ $15^{7.16}$ $16^{23.24}$ are concentrated and dwelt upon. The still stronger repetition of this assurance in 1 Jn $5^{14.15}$ explains any difficulty that might attach to it, by substituting 'according to His will' for 'in His name.' These two conditions are really equivalent. We cannot truly associate ourselves with Christ in prayer (in His name) without His spirit of entire submission to the Father's will.

(5) *The Apocalypse.*—Here the prayer for vengeance (Rev 6^{10}) is an echo of Lk 18^{1-8}, but it is the prayer of the dead (cf. Bar 3^{4}). In Rev 5^{8} and 8^{3} the prayers of the saints are offered to God, but this is the prayer of the living which ascends from the earth. This prayer is mediated, being offered in one case by the elders, and in the other having incense added to it by angels. For this idea (common among the Jews) cf. To $12^{12.15}$. The passages in Revelation are clearly symbolical, and do not warrant man in addressing angels for such a purpose. The mistranslation of Vulg. (Job 5^{1}) probably encouraged the error. For the connexion of prayers and incense see above, p. 39^{b}. Lastly, the Apocalypse ends with a prayer from the highest level of Christian faith and hope befitting the place assigned to it at the end of the Canon. It is a threefold prayer. It is the prayer of the Spirit, which animates all faithful prayer under the NT (22^{17}). It is the prayer of the Bride, *i.e.* the Church (*ib.*). It is also the prayer of the individual, the writer of the book (22^{20}). All other prayer resolves itself at last into prayer for the coming of the Lord Jesus, which will accomplish all desires.

LITERATURE.—Jerus. Talmud, *Berakhoth*, tr. Schwab; Origen, *de Oratione Libellus*; the artt. in Herzog on 'Gebet,' 'Gebet bei den Hebräern'; Bp. Monrad, *World of Prayer*, tr. Banks. The standard works on Biblical Theology, *e.g.* Oehler, Schultz, Beyschlag, have very scanty references to Prayer. Modern works on the efficacy of Prayer are not mentioned, being outside the scope of the present article. E. R. BERNARD.

PRAYER OF MANASSES. — See MANASSES (PRAYER OF).

PREACHER.—See ECCLESIASTES.

PREACHING (Heb. קְרִיאָה, Jon 3^{2}, from קָרָא 'cry out,' 'proclaim'; Gr. *κήρυγμα*, 'the message proclaimed,' from *κηρύσσω*, 'declare as a herald,' 'preach'; in NT used in marked distinction from *διδαχή*, 'teaching,' and *διδάσκω*, 'teach,' and always preserving in some degree the idea of the root-word *κήρυξ*, 'herald'). — Strictly speaking, Christian preaching is the proclamation of the gospel, which is to be followed by the more elaborate but less startling process of teaching. This limitation is observable in the NT accounts of our Lord's ministry where He first appears *preaching*, *i.e.* proclaiming the advent of the kingdom of God (*e.g.* Mt 4^{17}), following on the preaching of John the Baptist (*e.g.* Mt $3^{1.2}$), and then proceeds to *teach* the nature and laws of the kingdom (*e.g.* Mt 5^{3}). The word *εὐαγγελίζω* is frequently used for Christian preaching, as the declaration of glad tidings (*e.g.* Lk 3^{18}). But although the NT words rendered 'preaching' have this limitation of meaning, it would be undesirable to confine the consideration of the subject of preaching to the cases in which they are strictly applicable, that subject, as we now understand it, including all instruction in religion which takes the form of popular discourse, and especially that which is associated with public worship.

i. JEWISH PREACHING.—Of the two streams of religious life and practice that are seen in the history of Israel—the priestly and the prophetic—preaching attaches itself to the latter. The sumptuous pageantry of the sacrifices spoke to the eye and taught by dramatic representation. The prophet was emphatically the preacher. In the earlier periods, indeed, his teaching is usually by means of the brief oracle. But the great 8th cent. prophets composed and delivered elaborate discourses. They were preachers before they were writers, falling back on the pen only when the living voice was silenced: in the case of Jeremiah, for the preservation of the warnings which his contemporaries refused to hear (Jer 30^{2}); in the case of Ezekiel, because the circumstances of the Exile compelled the prophet to resort to literary channels for making his message known. Still even Ezekiel's prophecies may have been originally spoken (see Smend, *Der Prophet Ezechiel*, xxii.). On the other hand, Ewald held that Ezekiel wrote his oracles instead of speaking them because he felt a decay of the prophetic spirit (*Prophets of the OT*, iv. 2, 9). For the most part, at all events, the prophecies contained in OT are written discourses which had been preached or which were intended for preaching. Still there are two important differences between this preaching of the prophets and what we understand by the term to-day. (1) The preaching of the prophets was not a normal function of public worship taking its place in the ritual of the sanctuary. It was an utterance demanded by special crises, or prompted by a special revelation, and spoken in the court or the market-place, wherever the prophet could find the audience he was urged to address. (2) For the most part it dealt with public questions, national sins, judgments, and deliverances, rather than with individual conduct and need (see W. R. Smith, *Prophets of Israel*, Lect. II.). In Ezekiel, on the other hand, more personal preaching appears (see Cornill, *Der Prophet Ezechiel*, pp. 51, 52).

For a closer approach to what is commonly understood as preaching, we must come to the period of the return from the Captivity. The law is now the centre of the religion of Israel, and the law is now popularized in public teaching. The very meaning of the word rendered law (תּוֹרָה *instruction*) points in this direction. Accordingly, the Divine instruction given through priests or prophets at an earlier period is called by the same name (Hos 4^{6}, Am 2^{4} [see Driver's note]). With the rise of the synagogue, preaching becomes a recognized function of public worship. The need of translating the Heb. text into the vernacular introduced the interpreter, who followed the reader sentence by sentence in the case of the law, but with a division into longer passages with the prophets (Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 81; *Megilla*, iv. 4, 6, 10). The Targum thus originated prepared for the more lengthy exposition. While the Halacha is didactic and suited to the schools, the Haggada contains the legends and allegories which would be more acceptable to the popular audience in the synagogue service. In the time of Philo the popular discourse was the chief part of the service (see Schürer, II. ii. 76). There was no one appointed preacher. According to Philo, 'some (τις) priest who is present (ὁ παρών), or some one of the elders, reads the sacred laws to them, and expounds (ἐξηγεῖται) each of them separately till eventide' (Fragm. in Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* viii. 7). Indeed we learn from the same authority that any competent person (ἀναστὰς τις τῶν ἐμπειροτάτων) could take this part of the service (*de Septentario*, c. 6, Mang. ii. 282). From the latter passage it would seem that the preacher stood up to speak, the word ἀναστάς being used. But possibly Philo is thinking only of his act of rising to present himself before the people and offer his discourse. In delivering his sermon the preacher was seated in an elevated place (Lk 4^{20}; Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge*, p. 337; Delitzsch, *Ein Tag in Capernaum*, p. 127 f.).

ii. CHRISTIAN PREACHING.—John the Baptist was acknowledged as a prophet, and he revived the prophet's mission of preaching to the people apart from the normal religious services. His work consisted chiefly in preaching and baptizing, though with the necessary addition of private conversation with inquirers (Lk 3^{10-14}). The burden of his message was the call to repentance, and the announcement of the approach of the kingdom of God, with a promise of the forgiveness of sins (Mt 3^{1}, Mk 1^{4}). This was the burden of the earlier preaching of Jesus (Mk $1^{14.\,15}$). This earlier preaching of our Lord was carried on in the synagogues of Galilee (Mk 1^{39}). The incident in the Nazareth synagogue of which we have a full account, indicates that our Lord's method was to found His discourse on the portion of Scripture He had previously read (Lk $4^{16\text{f.}}$). This would be in accordance with the custom at the Sabbath meeting. When He preached in the open air it was under freer circumstances. Then, though He would frequently appeal to the OT in confirmation of His words, and especially in arguing with the scribes in the form of an *argumentum ad homines*, He did not adopt the method of the exposition of Scripture; He would start immediately from His great topic 'the kingdom of God,' and expound that. The evangelists are careful to point out the transition from this public teaching to the private training of the inner circle of disciples. His method was not the same in the two cases. It cannot be said that He had any esoteric doctrine which He deliberately withheld from the uninitiated, although His language on one occasion seemed to indicate this (Mk $4^{11.\,12}$), because He always invited all capable hearers (*e.g.* Mk $4^{9.\,22.\,23}$). The public discourse more often took the form of parable; the private instruction was more direct and conversational. But even when delivering a public discourse Jesus was always liable to interruption, and this would frequently develop into discussion. Moreover, the reports of our Lord's discourses preserved in the Gospels appear to be abbreviated in some cases, or perhaps we have salient points, memorable epigrams, etc., selected from His discourses rather than full reports of them. Sometimes, as in the case of the Sermon on the Mount, it may be that we have a number of the sayings of Jesus uttered on various occasions collected and strung together by the reporter (perhaps Matthew in his *Logia*; see MATTHEW). In Lk we more often meet with utterances springing out of incidents, the event and the saying being both given by the third evangelist. For these reasons we cannot look to the Gospel accounts of the teachings of Jesus to furnish us with typical sermons. Still those accounts not only contain the teachings themselves, they illustrate our Lord's method of preaching—(1) His freshness and originality (διδαχὴ καινή, Mk 1^{27}); (2) His tone of authority (ὡς ἐξουσίαν ἔχων, Mk 1^{22}); (3) His winning grace—a point characteristically noted by the third evangelist (ἐθαύμαζον ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις τῆς χάριτος, Lk 4^{22}); (4) His graphic picturesqueness in illustration (Mk 4^{33}).

The Book of Acts supplies several specimens of apostolic preaching. In the earliest instances the text and starting-point are found in some event, *e.g.* the 'tongues' at Pentecost (Ac $2^{14\text{f.}}$), the healing of the lame man at the gate of the temple (Ac $3^{12\text{f.}}$). The OT is appealed to for the confirmation of what is said (*e.g.* Ac $2^{14.\,25.\,34}$ 7^{42} 8^{32}). With his marvellous versatility St. Paul employed the same method when speaking to pagans at Athens, illustrating his words by a citation from classic literature (Ac 17^{28}), though personally he attached unique importance to the inspiration of the OT, and cited this to Jews in the manner of the other apostles (*e.g.* Ac $13^{40.\,47}$ 15^{15}). In substance the preaching of the apostles to Jews was a declaration of the Messiahship of Jesus with the confirmation of two arguments—(1) The resurrection; (2) the OT predictions. On this followed promises of the forgiveness of sins (*e.g.* Ac 2^{38} 3^{19}), and salvation through Christ (*e.g.* 4^{12}). The essential genuineness of the early speeches in Acts is proved by the fact that they do not contain the Pauline doctrine of the Atonement, which was not developed at the time in which they are dated (Lechler, *Apost. and post-Apost. Times*, i. 266 f.). They refer to the death of Christ, charging the Jews with the crime, pointing out that it was predicted by the prophets, and therefore was foreknown by God and in His counsels, and showing that in spite of it the resurrection proved Jesus to be Christ. The apostolic preaching to the heathen, represented especially by St. Paul, exposes the absurdity of anthropomorphic polytheism (*e.g.* Ac 14^{15}), idolatry (17^{29}), and sorcery (19^{19}); declares the spirituality and fatherhood of God ($17^{24\text{f.}}$); denounces sin, and warns of judgment to come through one whom God has appointed (17^{31}); offers deliverance through faith in Jesus Christ (16^{31}). The allusions to the definite preaching of Jesus Christ are very brief. But it is evident that there must have been some account of His life, death, and resurrection in St. Paul's preaching. Gal 3^{1} plainly points to this. Similarly, if the second Gospel is St. Mark's record of 'the preaching of Peter,' it is plain that that apostle preached the facts of the life of Jesus.

In the churches of NT times great freedom of utterance was allowed. The right to preach depended on gifts, not on offices. At Corinth, in particular, the gift of prophecy, to which St. Paul assigns the first place (1 Co 14^{1}), was found among the private members, and was freely exercised in the assembly (v.^{31}). Nevertheless, the duty of admonishing the assembly rests especially with the leading authorities (*e.g.* 1 Th 5^{12}). The chief functions of the elders or bishops was, not preaching, but the administration of practical affairs. But ability to teach is recognized, at all events, by the time of the Pastoral Epistles as the one necessary qualification of a bishop (1 Ti 3^{2}) which is not also shared by the deacon. In course of time it was considered improper for a presbyter to preach in the presence of the bishop, universally so in the West (Possid. *Vit. S. Aug.* v.; *Conc. Hisp.* ii. (A.D. 619) can. 7), but not universally in the East, only *in quibusdam ecclesiis* (Jerome, *ad Nepot.* Epist. 2).

W. F. ADENEY.

PREDESTINATION.—

- i. The Terms.
- ii. Predestination in OT.
  - 1. Fundamental OT ideas.
  - 2. Cosmical Predestination in OT.
  - 3. Soteriological Predestination in OT.
- iii. Predestination among the Jews.
- iv. Predestination in NT.
  - 1. The Teaching of Jesus.
  - 2. The Teaching of the Disciples.
  - 3. The Teaching of St. Paul.
- v. The Bible Doctrine of Predestination.
- Literature.

i. THE TERMS.—The words 'predestine,' 'predestinate,' 'predestination' seem not to have been domiciled in English literary use until the later period of Middle English (they are all three found in Chaucer: *Troylus and Cryseyde*, 966; *Orisoune to the Holy Virgin*, 69; tr. of *Boëthius*, b. 1, pr. 6, l. 3844; the Old English equivalent seems to have been 'forestihtian,' as in Ælfric's *Homilies*, ii. 364, 366, in renderings of Ro 1^{4} 8^{30}). 'Predestine,' 'predestination' were doubtless taken over from the French, while 'predestinate' probably owes its form directly to the Latin original of them all. The noun has never had a place in the English Bible, but the verb in the form 'predestinate' occurs in every one of its issues from Tindale to AV. Its history in the English versions is a somewhat curious one. It goes back, of course, ultimately to the Latin '*prædestino*' (a good classical but not pre-Augustan word; while the noun '*prædestinatio*' seems to be of Patristic origin), which was adopted by the Vulgate as its regular rendering of the Gr. προορίζω, and occurs, with the sole exception of Ac 4^{28} (Vulg. *decerno*), wherever the Latin translators found that verb in their text (Ro 1^{4} $8^{29.\,30}$, 1 Co 2^{7}, Eph $1^{5.\,11}$). But the Wyclifite versions did not carry 'predestinate' over into English in a single instance, but rendered in every case by 'before ordain' (Ac 4^{28} 'deemed'). It was thus left to Tindale to give the word a place in the English Bible. This he did, however, in only one passage, Eph 1^{11}, doubtless under the influence of the Vulgate. His ordinary rendering of προορίζω is 'ordain before' (Ro 8^{29}, Eph 1^{5}; cf. 1 Co 2^{7}, where the 'before' is omitted apparently only on account of the succeeding preposition into which it may be thought, therefore, to coalesce), varied in Ro 8^{30} to 'appoint before'; while, reverting to the Greek, he has 'determined before' at Ac 4^{28} and, following the better reading, has 'declared' at Ro 1^{4}. The succeeding Eng. versions follow Tindale very closely, though the Genevan omits 'before' in Ac 4^{28} and, doubtless in order to assimilate it to the neighbouring Eph 1^{11}, reads 'did predestinate' in Eph 1^{5}. The larger use of the word was due to the Rhemish version, which naturally reverts to the Vulg. and reproduces its *prædestino* regularly in 'predestinate' (Ro 1^{4} $8^{29.\,30}$, 1 Co 2^{7}, Eph $1^{5.\,11}$; but Ac 4^{28} 'decreed'). Under this influence the AV adopted 'predestinate' as its ordinary rendering of προορίζω (Ro $8^{29.\,30}$, Eph $1^{5.\,11}$), while continuing to follow Tindale at Ac 4^{28} 'determined before,' 1 Co 2^{7} 'ordained,' as well as at Ro 1^{4} 'declared,' m. 'Gr. determined.' Thus the word, tentatively introduced into a single passage by Tindale, seemed to have intrenched itself as the stated English representative of an important Greek term. The RV has, however, dismissed it altogether from the English Bible and adopted in its stead the hybrid compound 'foreordained' (cf. art. FOREKNOW, FOREORDAIN) as its invariable representative of προορίζω (Ac 4^{28}, Ro $8^{29.\,30}$, 1 Co 2^{7}, Eph $1^{5.\,11}$),—in this recurring substantially to the language of Wyclif and the preferred rendering of Tindale. None other than a literary interest, however, can attach to the change thus introduced: 'foreordain' and 'predestinate' are exact synonyms, the choice between which can be determined only by taste. The somewhat widespread notion that the 17th cent. theology distinguished between them, rests on a misapprehension of the evidently carefully-adjusted usage of them in the *Westminster Confession*, iii. 3 ff. This is not, however, the result of the attribution to the one word of a 'stronger' or to the other of a 'harsher' sense than that borne by its fellow, but a simple sequence of a current employment of 'predestination' as the precise synonym of 'election,' and a resultant hesitation to apply a term of such precious associations to the foreordination to death. Since then the tables have been quite turned, and it is questionable whether in popular speech the word 'predestinate' does not now bear an unpleasant suggestion.

That neither word occurs in the English OT is due to the genius of the Hebrew language, which does not admit of such compound terms. Their place is taken in the OT, therefore, by simple words expressive of purposing, determining, ordaining, with more or less contextual indication of previousness of action. These represent a variety of Hebrew words, the most explicit of which is perhaps יָצַר (Ps 139^{16}, Is 22^{11} 37^{26} 46^{11}), by the side of which must be placed, however, יָעַץ (Is $14^{24.\,26.\,27}$ 19^{12} 19^{17} 23^{9}, Jer 49^{20} 50^{45}), whose substantival derivative עֵצָה (Job 38^{2} 42^{3}, Jer 23^{19}, Pr 19^{21}, Ps 33^{11} 107^{11}, Is $14^{25.\,26}$ $46^{10.\,11}$, Ps 106^{13}, Is 5^{19} 19^{17}, Jer 49^{20} 50^{45}, Mic 4^{12}) is doubtless the most precise Heb. term for the Divine plan or purpose, although there occurs along with it in much the same sense the term מַחֲשָׁבָה (Is 18^{11} 29^{11} 49^{50} 50^{45} 65^{8}, Jer 51^{29}, Mic 4^{12}, Ps 9^{26}), a derivative of חָשַׁב (Gn 50^{20}, Mic 2^{3}, Jer 18^{11} 26^{3} 29^{11} 36^{3} 49^{50} 50^{45}, La 2^{8}). In the Aramaic portion of Daniel ($4^{17.\,24}$) the common later Hebrew designation of the Divine decree (used especially in an evil sense) גְּזֵרָה occurs: and חֹק is occasionally used with much the same meaning (Ps 2^{7}, Zeph 2^{2}, Ps 105^{10}=1 Ch 16^{17}, Job 23^{14}). Other words of similar import are זָמַם (Jer 4^{28} 51^{12}, La 7^{19}, Zec 1^{6} $8^{14.\,15}$) with its substantive מְזִמָּה (Job 42^{2}, Jer 23^{20} 30^{24} 51^{11}); חָפֵץ (Ps 115^{3} 135^{6}, Pr 21^{1}, Is 55^{11}, Jon 1^{14}, Jg 13^{23}, La 2^{25}, Is 53^{16}) with its substantive חֵפֶץ (Is 46^{10} 44^{28} 48^{14} 53^{10}); חָרַץ (Job 14^{5}, Is $10^{22.\,23}$ 28^{22}, Dn $9^{26.\,27}$ 11^{36}); חָתַךְ (Dn 9^{24}); הוֹאִיל (1 S 12^{22}, 1 Ch 17^{27}, 2 S 7^{29}). To express that special act of predestination which we know as 'election,' the Hebrews commonly utilized the word בָּחַר (of Israel, Dt 4^{57} $7^{6.\,7}$ 10^{15} 14^{2}, Is $41^{8.\,9}$ $43^{10.\,20}$ $44^{1.\,2}$ 45^{4}, Jer 33^{24}; and of the future, Is 14^{1} $65^{7.\,15.\,22}$; of Jehovah's servant, 42^{1} 49^{7}; of Jerusalem, Dt $12^{14.\,18.\,26}$ 14^{25} 15^{20} $16^{7.\,15.\,16}$ $17^{8.\,10}$ 18^{6} 31^{11}, Jos 9^{27}, 1 K $8^{14.\,48}$ $11^{13.\,32.\,56}$ 14^{21}, 2 K 21^{7} 25^{27}) with its substantive בָּחִיר (exclusively used of Jehovah's 'elect,' 2 S 21^{6}, 1 Ch 16^{13}, Ps 89^{4} $105^{6.\,43}$ $106^{5.\,23}$, Is 42^{1} 43^{20} 45^{4} $65^{9.\,15.\,22}$), and occasionally the word יָדַע in a pregnant sense (Gn 18^{19}, Am 3^{2}, Hos 13^{5}, cf. Ps 1^{6} 31^{7} 37^{18}, Is 58^{3}, Neh 1^{7}); while it is rather the execution of this previous choice in an act of separation that is expressed by הִבְדִּיל (Lv 20^{24} 20^{26}, 1 K 8^{53}).

In the Greek of the NT the precise term *προορίζω* (Ac 4^{28}, 1 Co 2^{7}, Ro $8^{29.\,30}$, Eph $1^{5.\,11}$) is supplemented by a number of similar compounds, such as *προτάσσω* (Ac 17^{26}); *προτίθημι* (Eph 1^{9}) with its more frequently occurring substantive, *πρόθεσις* (Ro 8^{28} 9^{11}, Eph 1^{11} 3^{11}, 2 Ti 1^{9}); *προετοιμάζω* (Ro 9^{23}, Eph 2^{10}) and perhaps *προβλέπω* in a similar sense of providential pre-arrangement (He 11^{40}), with which may be compared also *προεῖδον* (Ac 2^{31}, Gal 3^{8}); *προγιγνώσκω* (Ro 8^{29} 11^{2}, 1 P 1^{20}) and its substantive *πρόγνωσις* (1 P 1^{2}, Ac 2^{23}); *προχειρίζω* (Ac 22^{14} 3^{28}) and *προχειροτονέω* (Ac 4^{41}). Something of the same idea is, moreover, also occasionally expressed by the simple *ὁρίζω* (Lk 22^{22}, Ac $17^{26.\,31}$ 2^{23}, He 4^{7}, Ac 10^{42}), or through the medium of terms designating the will, wish, or good-pleasure of God, such as *βουλή* (Lk 7^{30}, Ac 2^{23} 4^{28} 13^{36} 20^{27}, Eph 1^{11}, He 6^{17}, cf. *βούλημα* Ro 9^{19} and *βούλομαι* He 6^{17}, Ja 1^{18}, 2 P 3^{9}), *θέλημα* (*e.g.* Eph $1^{5.\,9.\,11}$, He 10^{7}, cf. *θέλησις* He 2^{4}, *θέλω*, *e.g.* Ro $9^{18.\,22}$), *εὐδοκία* (Lk 2^{14}, Eph $1^{5.\,9}$, Ph 2^{13}, cf. *εὐδοκέω* Lk 12^{32}, Col 1^{19}, Gal 1^{15}, 1 Co 1^{21}). The standing terms in the NT for God's sovereign choice of His people are *ἐκλέγεσθαι*, in which both the compos. and voice are significant (Eph 1^{4}, Mk 13^{20}, Jn $15^{16.\,16.\,19}$, 1 Co $1^{27.\,27}$, Ja 2^{5}; of Israel, Ac 13^{17}; of Christ, Lk 9^{35}; of the disciples, Lk 6^{13}, Jn 6^{70} 13^{18}, Ac 1^{2}; of others, Ac 1^{24} 15^{7}), *ἐκλεκτός* (Mt [20^{16}] 22^{14} $26^{22.\,24.\,31}$, Mk $13^{20.\,22.\,27}$, Lk 18^{7}, Ro 8^{33}, Col 3^{12}, 2 Ti 2^{10}, Tit 1^{1}, 1 P 1^{1} [2^{9}], Rev 17^{14}; of individuals, Ro 16^{13}, 2 Jn $^{1.\,13}$; of Christ, Lk 23^{35}, Jn 13^{18}; of angels, 1 Ti 5^{21}), *ἐκλογή* (Ac 9^{15}, Ro 9^{11} $11^{5.\,7.\,28}$, 1 Th 1^{4}, 2 P 1^{10}),—words which had been prepared for this NT use by their employment in the LXX—the two former to translate בָּחַר and בָּחִיר. In 2 Th 2^{13} *αἱρέομαι* is used similarly.

ii. PREDESTINATION IN OT.—No survey of the terms used to express it, however, can convey an adequate sense of the place occupied by the idea of predestination in the religious system of the Bible. It is not too much to say that it is fundamental to the whole religious consciousness of the Biblical writers, and is so involved in all their religious conceptions that to eradicate it would transform the entire scriptural representation. This is as true of the OT as of the NT, as will become sufficiently manifest by attending briefly to the nature and implications of such formative elements in the OT system as its doctrines of God, Providence, Faith, and the Kingdom of God.

1. *Fundamental OT ideas implying Predestination.*—Whencesoever Israel obtained it, it is quite certain that Israel entered upon its national existence with the most vivid consciousness of an almighty personal Creator and Governor of heaven and earth. Israel's own account of the clearness and the firmness of its apprehension of this mighty Author and Ruler of all that is, refers it to His own initiative: God chose to make Himself known to the fathers. At all events, throughout the whole of OT literature, and for every period of history recorded in it, the fundamental conception of God remains the same, and the two most persistently emphasized elements in it are just those of might and personality: before everything else, the God of Israel is the Omnipotent Person. Possibly the keen sense of the exaltation and illimitable power of God which forms the very core of the OT idea of God belongs rather to the general Semitic than to the specifically Israelitish element in its religion; certainly it was already prominent in the patriarchal God-consciousness, as is sufficiently evinced by the names of God current from the beginning of the OT revelation,—*El*, *Eloah*, *Elohim*, *El Shaddai*,—and as is illustrated endlessly in the Biblical narrative. But it is equally clear that God was never conceived by the OT saints as abstract power, but was ever thought of concretely as the all-powerful Person, and that, moreover, as clothed with all the attributes of moral personality,—pre-eminently with holiness, as the very summit of His exaltation, but along with holiness, also with all the characteristics that belong to spiritual personality as it exhibits itself familiarly in man. In a word, God is pictured in the OT, and that from the beginning, purely after the pattern of human personality,—as an intelligent, feeling, willing Being, like the man who is created in His image in all in which the life of a free spirit consists. The anthropomorphisms to which this mode of conceiving God led were sometimes startling enough, and might have become grossly misleading had not the corrective lain ever at hand in the accompanying sense of the immeasurable exaltation of God, by which He was removed above all the weaknesses of humanity. The result accordingly was nothing other than a peculiarly pure form of Theism. The grosser anthropomorphisms were fully understood to be figurative, and the residuary conception was that of an infinite Spirit, not indeed expressed in abstract terms nor from the first fully brought out in all its implications, but certainly in all ages of the OT development grasped in all its essential elements. (Cf. the art. GOD).

Such a God could not be thought of otherwise than as the free determiner of all that comes to pass in the world which is the product of His creative act; and the doctrine of Providence (פְּקֻדָּה) which is spread over the pages of the OT fully bears out this expectation. The almighty Maker of all that is is represented equally as the irresistible Ruler of all that He has made: Jehovah sits as King for ever (Ps 29^{10}). Even the common language of life was affected by this pervasive point of view, so that, for example, it is rare to meet with such a phrase as 'it rains' (Am 4^{7}), and men by preference spoke of God sending rain (Ps $65^{9\text{f.}}$, Job 36^{27} 38^{26}). The vivid sense of dependence on God thus witnessed extended throughout every relation of life. Accident or chance was excluded. If we read here and there of a מִקְרֶה it is not thought of as happening apart from God's direction (Ru 2^{3}, 1 S 6^{9} 20^{26}, Ec 2^{14}, cf. 1 K 22^{34}, 2 Ch 18^{33}), and accordingly the lot was an accepted means of obtaining the decision of God (Jos 7^{16} 14^{2} 18^{6}, 1 S 10^{19}, Jon 1^{7}), and is didactically recognized as under His control (Pr 16^{33}). All things without exception, indeed, are disposed by Him, and His will is the ultimate account of all that occurs. Heaven and earth and all that is in them are the instruments through which He works His ends. Nature, nations, and the fortunes of the individual alike present in all their changes the transcript of His purpose. The winds are His messengers, the flaming fire His servant: every natural occurrence is His act: prosperity is His gift, and if calamity falls upon man it is the Lord that has done it (Am $3^{5.6}$, La 3^{33-38}, Is 47^{7}, Ec 7^{14}, Is 54^{16}). It is He that leads the feet of men, wit they whither or not; He that raises up and casts down; opens and hardens the heart; and creates the very thoughts and intents of the soul. So poignant is the sense of His activity in all that occurs, that an appearance is sometimes created as if everything that comes to pass were so ascribed to His immediate production as to exclude the real activity of second causes. It is a grave mistake, nevertheless, to suppose that He is conceived as an unseen power, throwing up, in a quasi-Pantheistic sense, all changes on the face of the world and history. The virile sense of the free personality of God which dominates all the thought of the OT would alone have precluded such a conception. Nor is there really any lack of recognition of 'second causes,' as we call them. They are certainly not conceived as independent of God: they are rather the mere expression of His stated will. But they are from the beginning fully recognized, both in nature—with respect to which Jehovah has made covenant (Gn $8^{21.22}$, Jer $31^{35.36}$ $33^{20.25}$, Ps 148^{6}, cf. Jg 5^{22}, Ps 104^{9}, Job $38^{10.33}$ 14^{5}), establishing its laws (חֻקּוֹת Job $28^{25.28}$, Is 40^{12}, Job 38^{8-11}, Pr 8^{29}, Jer 5^{22}, Ps 104^{9} 33^{7}, Jer 40^{26})—and equally in the higher sphere of free spirits, who are ever conceived as the true authors of all their acts (hence God's proving of man, Gn 22^{1}, Ex 16^{4} 20^{20}, Dt $8^{2.16}$ 13^{3}, Jg $3^{1.4}$, 2 Ch 32^{31}). There is no question here of the substitution of Jehovah's operation for that of the proximate causes of events. There is only the liveliest perception of the governing hand of God behind the proximate causes, acting through them for the working out of His will in every detail. Such a conception obviously looks upon the universe teleologically: an almighty moral Person cannot be supposed to govern His universe, thus in every detail, either unconsciously or capriciously. In His government there is necessarily implied a plan; in the all-pervasiveness and perfection of His government is inevitably implied an all-inclusive and perfect plan: and this conception is not seldom explicitly developed (cf. art. PROVIDENCE).

It is abundantly clear on the face of it, of course, that this whole mode of thought is the natural expression of the deep religious consciousness of the OT writers, though surely it is not therefore to be set aside as 'merely' the religious view of things, or as having no other rooting save in the imagination of religiously-minded men. In any event, however, it is altogether natural that in the more distinctive sphere of the religious life its informing principle of absolute dependence on God should be found to repeat itself. This appears particularly in the OT doctrine of faith, in which there sounds the keynote of OT piety,—for the religion of the OT, so far from being, as Hegel, for example, would affirm, the religion of fear, is rather by way of eminence the religion of trust. Standing over against God, not merely as creatures, but as sinners, the OT saints found no ground of hope save in the free initiative of the Divine love. At no period of the development of OT religion was it permitted to be imagined that blessings might be wrung from the hands of an unwilling God, or gained in the strength of man's own arm. Rather it was ever inculcated that in this sphere, too, it is God alone that lifts up and makes rich, He alone that keeps the feet of His holy ones; while by strength, it is affirmed, no man shall prevail (1 S 2^{9}). 'I am not worthy of the least of all thy mercies' is the constant refrain of the OT saints (Gn 32^{10}); and from the very beginning, in narrative, precept and prophetic declaration alike, it is in trust in the unmerited love of Jehovah alone that the hearts of men are represented as finding peace. Self-sufficiency is the characteristic mark of the wicked, whose doom treads on his heels; while the mark of the righteous is that he lives by his faith (Hab 2^{4}). In the entire self-commitment to God, humble dependence on Him for all blessings, which is the very core of OT religion, no element is more central than the profound conviction embodied in it of the free sovereignty of God, the God of the spirits of all flesh, in the distribution of His mercies. The whole training of Israel was directed to impressing upon it the great lesson enunciated to Zerubbabel, 'Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of hosts' (Zec 4^{6})—that all that comes to man in the spiritual sphere, too, is the free gift of Jehovah (cf. art. FAITH).

Nowhere is this lesson more persistently emphasized than in the history of the establishment and development of the kingdom of God, which may well be called the cardinal theme of the OT. For the kingdom of God is consistently represented, not as the product of man's efforts in seeking after God, but as the gracious creation of God Himself. Its inception and development are the crowning manifestation of the free grace of the Living God working in history in pursuance of His loving purpose to recover fallen man to Himself. To this end He preserves the race in existence after its sin, saves a seed from the destruction of the Flood, separates to Himself a family in Abraham, sifts it in Isaac and Jacob, nurses and trains it through the weakness of its infancy, and gradually moulds it to be the vehicle of His revelation of redemption, and the channel of Messianic blessings to the world. At every step it is God, and God alone, to whom is ascribed the initiative; and the most extreme care is taken to preserve the recipients of the blessings consequent on His choice from fancying that these blessings come as their due, or as reward for aught done by themselves, or to be found in themselves. They were rather in every respect emphatically not a people of their own making, but a people that God had formed that they might set forth His praise (Is 43^{23}). The strongest language, the most astonishing figures, were employed to emphasize the pure sovereignty of the Divine action at every stage. It was not because Israel was numerous, or strong, or righteous, that He chose it, but only because it pleased Him to make of it a people for Himself. He was as the potter, it as the clay which the potter moulds as he will; it was but as the helpless babe in its blood cast out to die, abhorred of man, which Jehovah strangely gathers to His bosom in unmerited love (Gn $12^{1.3}$, Dt 7^{6-8} 9^{4-6} $10^{15.16}$, 1 S 12^{22}, Is $41^{8.9}$ 43^{20} 48^{9-11}, Jer $18^{1f.}$ 31^{3}, Hos 2^{20}, Mal $1^{2.3}$). There was no element in the religious consciousness of Israel more poignantly realized, as there was no element in the instruction they had received more insisted on, than that they owed their separation from the peoples of the earth to be the Lord's inheritance, and all the blessings they had as such received from Jehovah, not to any claim upon Him which they could urge, but to His own gracious love faithfully persisted in in spite of every conceivable obstacle (cf. art. KINGDOM OF GOD).

In one word, the sovereignty of the Divine will as the principle of all that comes to pass, is a primary postulate of the whole religious life, as well as of the entire world-view of the OT. It is implicated in its very idea of God, its whole conception of the relation of God to the world and to the changes which take place, whether in nature or history, among the nations or in the life-fortunes of the individual; and also in its entire scheme of religion, whether national or personal. It lies at the basis of all the religious emotions, and lays the foundation of the specific type of religious character built up in Israel.

2. *Cosmical Predestination in OT.*—The specific teaching of OT as to predestination naturally revolves around the two foci of that idea which may be designated general and special, or, more properly, cosmical and soteriological predestination; or, in other words, around the doctrines of the Divine Decree and the Divine Election. The former, as was to be expected, is comparatively seldom adverted to—for the OT is fundamentally a soteriological book, a revelation of the grace of God to sinners; and it is only at a somewhat late period that it is made the subject of speculative discussion. But as it is implied in the primordial idea of God as an Almighty Person, it is postulated from the beginning and continually finds more or less clear expression. Throughout the OT, behind the processes of nature, the march of history and the fortunes of each individual life alike, there is steadily kept in view the governing hand of God working out His preconceived plan—a plan broad enough to embrace the whole universe of things, minute enough to concern itself with the smallest details, and actualizing itself with inevitable certainty in every event that comes to pass.

Naturally, there is in the narrative portions but little formal enunciation of this pervasive and all-controlling Divine teleology. But despite occasional anthropomorphisms of rather startling character (as, *e.g.*, that which ascribes 'repentance' to God, Gn 6^{6}, Jl 2^{13}, Jon 4^{2}, Jer $18^{8.\,10}$ $26^{3.\,13}$), or rather, let us say, just because of the strictly anthropomorphic mould in which the OT conception of God is run, according to which He is ever thought of as a personal spirit, acting with purpose like other personal spirits, but with a wisdom and in a sovereignty unlike that of others because infinitely perfect, these narrative portions of the OT also bear continual witness to the universal OT teleology. There is no explicit statement in the narrative of the creation, for example, that the mighty Maker of the world was in this process operating on a preconceived plan; but the teleology of creation lies latent in the orderly sequence of its parts, culminating in man for whose advent all that precedes is obviously a preparation, and is all but expressed in the Divine satisfaction at each of its stages, as a manifestation of His perfections (cf. Ps 104^{31}). Similarly, the whole narrative of the Bk. of Genesis is so ordered—in the succession of creation, fall, promise, and the several steps in the inauguration of the kingdom of God—as to throw into a very clear light the teleology of the whole world-history, here written from the Divine standpoint and made to centre around the developing Kingdom. In the detailed accounts of the lives of the patriarchs, in like manner, behind the external occurrences recorded there always lies a Divine ordering which provides the real plot of the story in its advance to the predetermined issue. It was not accident, for example, that brought Rebecca to the well to welcome Abraham's servant (Gn 24), or that sent Joseph into Egypt (Gn 45^{8} 50^{20}; 'God meant [חשׁב] it for good'), or guided Pharaoh's daughter to the ark among the flags (Ex 2), or that, later, directed the millstone that crushed Abimelech's head (Jg 9^{53}), or winged the arrow shot at a venture to smite the king in the joints of the harness (1 K 22^{34}). Every historical event is rather treated as an item in the orderly carrying out of an underlying Divine purpose; and the historian is continually aware of the presence in history of Him who gives even to the lightning a charge to strike the mark (Job 36^{32}).

In the Psalmists and Prophets there emerges into view a more abstract statement of the government of all things according to the good pleasure of God (Ps 33^{11}, Jer 10^{12} 51^{15}). All that He wills He does (Ps 115^{3} 135^{6}), and all that comes to pass has pre-existed in His purpose from the indefinite past of eternity ('long ago' Is 22^{11}, 'of ancient times' Is 37^{26}=1 K 19^{25}), and it is only because it so pre-existed in purpose that it now comes to pass (Is $14^{24.\,27}$ 46^{11}, Zec 1^{6}, Job 42^{2}, Jer 23^{20}, Jon 1^{14}, Is 40^{10}). Every day has its ordained events (Job 14^{5}, Ps 139^{16}). The plan of God is universal in its reach, and orders all that takes place in the interests of Israel—the OT counterpart to the NT declaration that all things work together for good to those that love God. Nor is it merely for the national good of Israel that God's plan has made provision; He exercises a special care over every one of His people (Job $5^{15\text{f.}}$, Ps 91. 121. 65^{3} 37. $27^{10.\,11}$ 139^{16}, Jon 3^{5}, Is 4^{3}, Dn 12^{1}). Isaiah especially is never weary of emphasizing the universal teleology of the Divine operations and the surety of the realization of His eternal purpose, despite the opposition of every foe ($14^{24\text{-}27}$ 31^{2} 40^{13} $58^{8\text{-}11}$)—whence he has justly earned the name of the prophet of the Divine sovereignty, and has been spoken of as the Paul, the Augustine, the Calvin of the OT.

It is, however, especially in connexion with the OT doctrine of the Wisdom (חָכְמָה) of God, the chief depository of which is the so-called *Ḥokhmah* literature, that the idea of the all-inclusive Divine purpose (עֵצָה and מַחֲשָׁבוֹת) in which lies predetermined the whole course of events—including every particular in the life of the world (Am 3^{7}) and in the life of every individual as well (Ps $139^{14\text{-}16}$, Jg 1^{5})—is speculatively wrought out. According to this developed conception, God, acting under the guidance of all His ethical perfections, has, by virtue of His eternal wisdom, which He 'possessed in the beginning of his way' (Pr 8^{22}), framed 'from everlasting, from the beginning,' an all-inclusive plan embracing all that is to come to pass; in accordance with which plan He now governs His universe, down to the least particular, so as to subserve His perfect and unchanging purpose. Everything that God has brought into being, therefore, He has made for its specific end (Pr 16^{4}, cf. $3^{19.\,20}$, Job 28^{23} 38. 41, Is $40^{12\text{f.}}$, Jer $10^{12.\,13}$); and He so governs it that it shall attain its end,—no chance can escape (Pr 16^{33}), no might or subtlety defeat His direction (Pr $21^{30.\,31}$ 19^{21} 16^{9}, cf. Is $14^{24.\,27}$, Jer 10^{23}), which leads straight to the goal appointed by God from the beginning and kept steadily in view by Him, but often hidden from the actors themselves (Pr 20^{24}, cf. 3^{6} $16^{1\text{-}9}$ 19^{21}, Job 38^{2} 42^{3}, Jer 10^{23}), who naturally in their weakness cannot comprehend the sweep of the Divine plan or understand the place within it of the details brought to their observation —a fact in which the OT sages constantly find their theodicy. No different doctrine is enunciated here from that which meets us in the Prophets and Psalmists,—only it is approached from a philosophical-religious rather than from a national-religious view-point. To prophet and sage alike the entire world—inanimate, animate, moral—is embraced in a unitary teleological world-order (Ps 19^{33} 33^{6} 104^{24} 148^{8}, Job 9^{4} 12^{13} 37); and to both alike the central place in this comprehensive world-order is taken by God's redemptive purpose, of which Israel is at once the object and the instrument, while the savour of its saltness is the piety of the individual saint. The classical term for this all-inclusive Divine purpose (עֵצָה) is accordingly found in the usage alike of prophet, psalmist, and sage,—now used absolutely of the universal plan on which the whole world is ordered (Job 38^{2} 42^{3}, cf. Delitzsch and Budde, *in loc.*), now, with the addition of 'of Jehovah,' of the all-comprehending purpose, embracing all human actions (Pr 19^{21} and parallels; cf. Toy, *in loc.*), now with explicit mention of Israel as the centre around which its provisions revolve (Ps 33^{11} 107^{11}, cf. Delitzsch, *in loc.*; Is 14^{26} 25^{1} $46^{10.\,11}$), and anon with more immediate concern with some of the details (Ps 106^{13}, Is 5^{19} 19^{17}, Jer 49^{20} 50^{45}, Mic 4^{12}).

There seems no reason why a Platonizing colouring should be given to this simple attributing to the eternal God of an eternal plan in which is predetermined every event that comes to pass. This used to be done, *e.g.*, by Delitzsch (see, *e.g.*, on Job $28^{25\text{-}28}$, Is 22^{11}; *Biblical Psychology*, I. ii.), who was wont to attribute to the Biblical writers, especially of the *Ḥokhmah* and the latter portion of Isaiah, a doctrine of the pre-existence of all things in an ideal world, conceived as standing eternally before God at least as a pattern if not even as a quasi-objective mould imposing their forms on all His creatures, which smacked more of the Greek Academics than of the Hebrew sages. As a matter of course, the Divine mind was conceived by the Hebrew sages as eternally contemplating all possibilities, and we should not do them injustice in supposing them to think of its 'ideas' as the *causa exemplaris* of all that occurs, and of the Divine intellect as the *principium dirigens* of every Divine operation. But it is more to the point to note that the conceptions of the OT writers in regard to the Divine decree run rather into the moulds of 'purpose' than of 'ideas,' and that the roots of their teaching are planted not in an abstract idea of the Godhead, but in the purity of their concrete theism. It is because they think of God as a person, like other persons purposeful in His acts, but unlike other persons all-wise in His planning and all-powerful in His performing, that they think of Him as predetermining all that shall come to pass in the universe, which is in all its elements the product of His free activity, and which must in its form and all its history, down to the least detail, correspond with His purpose in making it. It is easy, on the other hand, to attribute too little 'philosophy' to the Biblical writers. The conception of God in His relation to the world which they develop is beyond question anthropomorphic; but it is no unreflecting anthropomorphism that they give us. Apart from all question of revelation, they were not children prattling on subjects on which they had expended no thought; and the world-view they commend to us certainly does not lack in profundity. The subtleties of language of a developed scholasticism were foreign to their purposes and modes of composition, but they tell us as clearly as, say, Spanheim himself (*Decad. Theol.* vi. § 5), that they are dealing with a purposing mind exalted so far above ours that we can follow its movements only with halting steps,—whose thoughts are not as our thoughts, and whose ways are not as our ways (Is 55^{8}; cf. $40^{13.28}$ 28^{29}, Job $11^{7f.}$, Ps 92^{5} $139^{14f.}$ 147^{5}, Ec 3^{11}). Least of all in such a theme as this were they liable to forget that infinite exaltation of God which constituted the basis on which their whole conception of God rested.

Nor may they be thought to have been indifferent to the relations of the high doctrine of the Divine purpose they were teaching. There is no scholastic determination here either; but certainly they write without embarrassment as men who have attained a firm grasp upon their fundamental thought and have pursued it with clearness of thinking, no less in its relations than in itself; nor need we go astray in apprehending the outlines of their construction. It is quite plain, for example, that they felt no confusion with respect to the relation of the Divine purpose to the Divine foreknowledge. The notion that the almighty and all-wise God, by whom all things were created, and through whose irresistible control all that occurs fulfils the appointment of His primal plan, could govern Himself according to a foreknowledge of things which—perhaps apart from His original purpose or present guidance—*might haply* come to pass, would have been quite contradictory to their most fundamental conception of God as the almighty and all-sovereign Ruler of the universe, and, indeed, also of the whole OT idea of the Divine foreknowledge itself, which is ever thought of in its due relation of dependence on the Divine purpose. According to the OT conception, God foreknows only because He has predetermined, and it is therefore also that He brings it to pass; His foreknowledge, in other words, is at bottom a knowledge of His own will, and His works of providence are merely the execution of His all-embracing plan. This is the truth that underlies the somewhat incongruous form of statement of late becoming rather frequent, to the effect that God's foreknowledge is conceived in the OT as 'productive.' Dillmann, for example, says (*AT Theologie*, p. 251): 'His foreknowledge of the future is a productive one; of an otiose foreknowledge or of a *prœscientia media* . . . there is no suggestion.' In the thought of the OT writers, however, it is not God's foreknowledge that produces the events of the future; it is His irresistible providential government of the world He has created for Himself: and His foreknowledge of what is yet to be rests on His prearranged plan of government. His 'productive foreknowledge' is but a transcript of His will, which has already determined not only the general plan of the world, but every particular that enters into the whole course of its development (Am 3^{7}, Job $28^{26.27}$), and every detail in the life of every individual that comes into being (Jer 1^{5}, Ps 139^{14-16}, Job $23^{13.14}$).

That the acts of free agents are included in this 'productive foreknowledge,' or rather in this all-inclusive plan of the life of the universe, created for the OT writers apparently not the least embarrassment. This is not because they did not believe man to be free,—throughout the whole OT there is never the least doubt expressed of the freedom or moral responsibility of man,—but because they did believe God to be free, whether in His works of creation or of providence, and could not believe He was hampered or limited in the attainment of His ends by the creatures of His own hands. How God governs the acts of free agents in the pursuance of His plan there is little in the OT to inform us; but that He governs them in even their most intimate thoughts and feelings and impulses is its unvarying assumption: He is not only the creator of the hearts of men in the first instance, and knows them altogether, but He fashions the hearts of all in all the changing circumstances of life (Ps 33^{15}); forms the spirit of man within him in all its motions (Zec 12^{1}); keeps the hearts of men in His hands, turning them whithersoever He will (Pr 21^{1}); so that it is even said that man knows what is in his own mind only as the Lord reveals it to him (Am 4^{13}). The discussion of any antinomy that may be thought to arise from such a joint assertion of the absolute rule of God in the sphere of the spirit and the freedom of the creaturely will, falls obviously under the topic of Providential Government rather than under that of the Decree (see Providence): it requires to be adverted to here only that we may clearly note the fact that the OT teachers, as they did not hesitate to affirm the absolute sway of God over the thoughts and intents of the human heart, could feel no embarrassment in the inclusion of the acts of free agents within the all-embracing plan of God, the outworking of which His providential government supplies.

Nor does the moral quality of these acts present any apparent difficulty to the OT construction. We are never permitted to imagine, to be sure, that God is the author of sin, either in the world at large or in any individual soul—that He is in any way implicated in the sinfulness of the acts performed by the perverse misuse of creaturely freedom. In all God's working He shows Himself pre-eminently the Holy One, and prosecutes His holy will, His righteous way, His all-wise plan: the blame for all sinful deeds rests exclusively on the creaturely actors (Ex 9^{27} 10^{16}), who recognize their own guilt (2 S $24^{10.17}$) and receive its punishment (Ec 11^{9} compared with 11^{5}). But neither is God's relation to the sinful acts of His creatures ever represented as purely passive: the details of the doctrine of *concursus* were left, no doubt, to later ages speculatively to work out, but its assumption underlies the entire OT representation of the Divine modes of working. That anything—good or evil—occurs in God's universe finds its account, according to the OT conception, in His positive ordering and active concurrence; while the moral quality of the deed, considered in itself, is rooted in the moral character of the subordinate agent, acting in the circumstances and under the motives operative in each instance. It is certainly going beyond the OT warrant to speak of the 'all-productivity of God,' as if He were the only efficient cause in nature and the sphere of the free spirit alike; it is the very delirium of misconception to say that in the OT God and Satan are insufficiently discriminated, and deeds appropriate to the latter are assigned to the former. Nevertheless, it remains true that even the evil acts of the creature are so far carried back to God that they too are affirmed to be included in His all-embracing decree, and to be brought about, bounded and utilized in His providential government. It is He that hardens the heart of the sinner that persists in his sin (Ex 4^{21} 7^{3} $10^{1.27}$ 14^{4} 14^{8}, Dt 2^{30}, Jos 11^{20}, Is 69^{10} 63^{17}); it is from Him that the evil spirits proceed that trouble sinners (1 S 16^{14}, Jg 9^{23}, 1 K 22, Job 1); it is of Him that the evil impulses that rise in sinners' hearts take this or that specific form (2 S 16^{9} 24^{1}, 1 K 12^{15}). The philosophy that lies behind such representations, however, is not the pantheism which looks upon God as the immediate cause of all that comes to pass; much less the pandaimonism which admits no distinction between good and evil; there is not even involved a conception of God entangled in an undeveloped ethical discrimination. It is the philosophy that is expressed in Is 47^{5} 'I am the Lord, and there is none else; beside me there is no God. . . . I am the Lord, and there is none else. I form the light and create darkness; I make peace and create evil; I am the Lord that doeth all these things'; it is the philosophy that is expressed in Pr 16^{4} 'The Lord hath made everything for its own end, yea, even the wicked for the day of evil.' Because, over against all dualistic conceptions, there is but one God, and He is indeed God; and because, over against all cosmotheistic conceptions, this God is a Person who acts purposefully; there is nothing that is, and nothing that comes to pass, that He has not first decreed and then brought to pass by His creation or providence. Thus all things find their unity in His eternal plan; and not their unity merely, but their justification as well; even the evil, though retaining its quality as evil and hateful to the holy God, and certain to be dealt with as hateful, yet does not occur apart from His provision or against His will, but appears in the world which He has made only as the instrument by means of which He works the higher good.

This sublime philosophy of the decree is immanent in every page of the OT. Its metaphysics never come to explicit discussion, to be sure; but its elements are in a practical way postulated consistently throughout. The ultimate end in view in the Divine plan is ever represented as found in God alone: all that He has made He has made for Himself, to set forth His praise; the heavens themselves with all their splendid furniture exist but to illustrate His glory; the earth and all that is in it, and all that happens in it, to declare His majesty; the whole course of history is but the theatre of His self-manifestation, and the events of every individual life indicate His nature and perfections. Men may be unable to understand the place which the incidents, as they unroll themselves before their eyes, take in the developing plot of the great drama: they may, nay, must, therefore stand astonished and confounded before this or that which befalls them or befalls the world. Hence arise to them problems—the problem of the petty, the problem of the inexplicable, the problem of suffering, the problem of sin (*e.g.* Ec 11^{5}). But, in the infinite wisdom of the Lord of all the earth, each event falls with exact precision into its proper place in the unfolding of His eternal plan; nothing, however small, however strange, occurs without His ordering, or without its peculiar fitness for its place in the working out of His purpose; and the end of all shall be the manifestation of His glory, and the accumulation of His praise. This is the OT philosophy of the universe—a world-view which attains concrete unity in an absolute Divine teleology, in the compactness of an eternal decree, or purpose, or plan, of which all that comes to pass is the development in time.

3. *Soteriological Predestination in OT.*—Special or Soteriological Predestination finds a natural place in the OT system as but a particular instance of the more general fact, and may be looked upon as only the general OT doctrine of predestination applied to the specific case of the salvation of sinners. But as the OT is a distinctively religious book, or, more precisely, a distinctively soteriological book, that is to say, a record of the gracious dealings and purposes of God with sinners, soteriological predestination naturally takes a more prominent place in it than the general doctrine itself, of which it is a particular application. Indeed, God's saving work is thrown out into such prominence, the OT is so specially a record of the establishment of the kingdom of God in the world, that we easily get

the impression in reading it that the core of God's general decree is His decree of salvation, and that His whole plan for the government of the universe is subordinated to His purpose to recover sinful man to Himself. Of course there is some slight illusion of perspective here, the materials for correcting which the OT itself provides, not only in more or less specific declarations of the relative unimportance of what befalls man, whether the individual, or Israel, or the race at large, in comparison with the attainment of the Divine end; and of the wonder of the Divine grace concerning itself with the fortunes of man at all (Job $22^{3f.}$ $35^{6f.}$ 38, Ps 8^4): but also in the general disposition of the entire record, which places the complete history of sinful man, including alike his fall into sin and all the provisions for his recovery, within the larger history of the creative work of God, as but one incident in the greater whole, governed, of course, like all its other parts, by its general teleology. Relatively to the OT record, nevertheless, as indeed to the Biblical record as a whole, which is concerned directly only with God's dealings with humanity, and that, especially, a sinful humanity (Gn 3^9 6^5 8^{21}, Lv 18^{24}, Dt 9^4, 1 K 8^{46}, Ps 14^1 51^5 130^3 143^2, Pr 20^9, Ec 7^{20}, Is 1^4, Hos 4^1, Job 15^{14} 25^4 14^4), soteriological predestination is the prime matter of importance; and the doctrine of election is accordingly thrown into relief, and the general doctrine of the decree more incidentally adverted to. It would be impossible, however, that the doctrine of election taught in the OT should follow other lines than those laid down in the general doctrine of the decree,—or, in other words, that God should be conceived as working in the sphere of grace in a manner that would be out of accord with the fundamental conception entertained by these writers of the nature of God and His relations to the universe.

Accordingly, there is nothing concerning the Divine election more sharply or more steadily emphasized than its graciousness, in the highest sense of that word, or, in other terms, its absolute sovereignty. This is plainly enough exhibited even in the course of the patriarchal history, and that from the beginning. In the very hour of man's first sin, God intervenes *sua sponte* with a gratuitous promise of deliverance; and at every stage afterwards the sovereign initiation of the grace of God—the Lord of the whole earth (Ex 19^5)—is strongly marked, as God's universal counsel of salvation is more and more unfolded through the separation and training of a people for Himself, in whom the whole world should be blessed (Gn 12^3 18^{18} 22^{18} 26^4 28^{14}): for from the beginning it is plainly indicated that the whole history of the world is ordered with reference to the establishment of the kingdom of God (Dt 32^8, where the reference seems to be to Gn 11). Already in the opposing lines of Seth and Cain (Gn $4^{25.26}$) a discrimination is made; Noah is selected as the head of a new race, and among his sons the preference is given to Shem (Gn 9^{25}), from whose line Abraham is taken. Every fancy that Abraham owed his calling to his own desert is carefully excluded,—he was 'known' of God only that in him God might establish His kingdom (Gn 18^{19}); and the very acme of sovereignty is exhibited (as St. Paul points out) in the subsequent choice of Isaac and Jacob, and exclusion of Ishmael and Esau; while the whole Divine dealing with the patriarchs—their separation from their kindred, removal into a strange land, and the like—is evidently understood as intended to cast them back on the grace of God alone. Similarly, the covenant made with Israel (Ex 19–24) is constantly assigned to the sole initiative of Divine grace, and the fact of election is therefore appropriately set at the head of the Decalogue (Ex 20^2; cf. $34^{6.7}$); and Israel is repeatedly warned that there was nothing in it which moved or could move God to favour it (*e.g.* Dt 4^{37} 7^7 8^{17} 9^4 10^{11}, Ezk 16^1, Am 9^7). It has already been pointed out by what energetic figures this fundamental lesson was impressed on the Israelitish consciousness, and it is only true to say that no means are left unused to drive home the fact that God's gracious election of Israel is an absolutely sovereign one, founded solely in His unmerited love, and looking to nothing ultimately but the gratification of His own holy and loving impulses, and the manifestation of His grace through the formation of a heritage for Himself out of the mass of sinful men, by means of whom His saving mercy should advance to the whole world (Ps 8^7, Is 40. 42. 60, Mic 4^1, Am 4^{13} 5^8, Jer 31^{37}, Ezk 17^{22} 36^{21}, Jl 2^{28}). The simple terms that are employed to express this Divine selection —'know' (יָדַע), 'choose' (בָּחַר)—are either used in a pregnant sense, or acquire a pregnant sense by their use in this connexion. The deeper meaning of the former term is apparently not specifically Hebrew, but more widely Semitic (it occurs also in Assyrian; see the *Dictionaries* of Delitzsch and Muss-Arnolt *sub voc.*, and especially Haupt in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, i. 14, 15), and it can create no surprise, therefore, when it meets us in such passages as Gn 18^{19} (cf. Ps 37^{18} and also 1^6 31^8; cf. Baethgen and Delitzsch *in loc.*), Hos 13^5 (cf. Wünsche *in loc.*) in something of the sense expressed by the scholastic phrase, *nosse cum affectu et effectu*; while in the great declaration of Am 3^2 (cf. Baur and Gunning *in loc.*), 'You only have I known away from all the peoples of the earth,' what is thrown prominently forward is clearly the elective love which has singled Israel out for special care. More commonly, however, it is בחר that is employed to express God's sovereign election of Israel: the classical passage is, of course, Dt $7^{6.7}$ (see Driver *in loc.*, as also, of the love underlying the 'choice,' at 4^{37} 7^8), where it is carefully explained that it is in contrast with the treatment accorded to all the other peoples of the earth that Israel has been honoured with the Divine choice, and that the choice rests solely on the unmerited love of God, and finds no foundation in Israel itself. These declarations are elsewhere constantly enforced (*e.g.* 4^{37} 10^{15} 14^2), with the effect of throwing the strongest possible emphasis on the complete sovereignty of God's choice of His people, who owe their 'separation' unto Jehovah (Lv $20^{24.26}$, 1 K 8^{33}) wholly to the wonderful love of God, in which He has from the beginning taken knowledge of and chosen them.

It is useless to seek to escape the profound meaning of this fundamental OT teaching by recalling the undeveloped state of the doctrine of a future life in Israel, and the national scope of its election,—as if the sovereign choice which is so insisted on could thus be confined to the choice of a people as a whole to certain purely earthly blessings, without any reference whatever to the eternal destiny of the individuals concerned. We are here treading very close to the abyss of confusing progress in the delivery of doctrine with the reality of God's saving activities. The cardinal question, after all, does not concern the extent of the knowledge possessed by the OT saints of the nature of the blessedness that belongs to the people of God; nor yet the relation borne by the election within the election, by the real Israel forming the heart of the Israel after the flesh, to the external Israel: it concerns the existence of a real kingdom of God in the OT dispensation, and the methods by which God introduced man into it. It is true enough that the theocracy was an earthly kingdom, and that a prominent place was given to the promises of the life that now is in the blessings assured to Israel; and it is in this engrossment with earthly happiness and the close connexion of the friendship of God with the enjoyment of worldly goods that the undeveloped state of the OT doctrine of salvation is especially apparent. But it should not be forgotten that the promise of earthly gain to the people of God is not entirely alien to the NT idea of salvation (Mt 6^{37}, 1 Ti 4^8), and that it is in no sense true that in the OT teaching, in any of its stages, the blessings of the kingdom were summed up in worldly happiness. The covenant blessing is rather declared to be *life*, inclusive of all that that comprehensive word is fitted to convey (Dt 30^{15}; cf. 4^1 8^1, Pr 12^{28} 8^{35}); and it found its best expression in the high conception of 'the favour of God' (Lv 26^{11}, Ps 4^8 $16^{2.5}$ 63^4); while it concerned itself with earthly prosperity only as and so far as that is a pledge of the Divine favour. It is no false testimony to the OT saints when they are described as looking for the city that has the foundations and as enduring as seeing the Invisible One: if their hearts were not absorbed in the contemplation of the eternal future, they were absorbed in the contemplation of the Eternal Lord, which certainly is something even better; and the representation that they found their supreme blessedness in outward things runs so grossly athwart their own testimony that it fairly deserves Calvin's terrible invective, that thus the Israelitish people are thought of not otherwise than as a 'sort of herd of swine which (so, forsooth, it is pretended) the Lord was fattening in the pen of this world' (*Inst.* II. x. 1). And, on the other hand, though Israel as a nation constituted the chosen people of God (1 Ch 16^{13}, Ps 89^4 $105^{6.13}$ 106^5), yet we must not lose from sight the fact that the nation as such was rather the symbolical than the real people of God, and was His people at all, indeed, only so far as it was, ideally or actually, identified with the inner body of the really 'chosen'—that people whom Jehovah formed for Himself that they might set forth His praise (Is 43^{20} $65^{9.15.22}$), and who constituted the real people of His choice, the 'remnant of Jacob' (Is 6^{13}, Am 9^{8-10}, Mal 3^{10}; cf. 1 K 19^{18}, Is $8^{16.18}$). Nor are we left in doubt as to how this inner core of actual people of God was constituted; we see the process in the call of Abraham, and the discrimination between Isaac and Ishmael, between Jacob and Esau, and it is no false testimony that it was ever a 'remnant according to the election of grace' that God preserved to Himself as the salt of His people Israel. In every aspect of it alike, it is the sovereignty of the Divine choice that is emphasized,—whether the reference be to the segregation of Israel as a nation to enjoy the earthly favour of God as a symbol of the true entrance into rest, or the choice of a remnant out of Israel to enter into that real communion with Him which was the joy of His saints,—of Enoch who walked with God (Gn 5^{22}), of Abraham who found in Him his exceeding great reward (Gn 15^1), or of David who saw no good beyond Him, and sought in Him alone his inheritance and his cup. Later times may have enjoyed fuller knowledge of what the grace of God had in store for His saints—whether in this world or that which is to come; later times may have possessed a clearer apprehension of the distinction between the children of the flesh and the children of the promise: but no later teaching has a stronger emphasis for the central fact that it is of the free grace of God alone that any enter in any degree into the participation of His favour. The kingdom of God, according to the OT, in every circle of its meaning, is above and before all else a stone cut out of the mountain 'without hands' (Dn $2^{34.44.45}$).

iii. PREDESTINATION AMONG THE JEWS.—The profound religious conception of the relation of God to the works of His hands that pervades the whole OT was too deeply engraved on the Jewish consciousness to be easily erased, even after growing legalism had measurably corroded the religion of the people. As, however, the idea of law more and more absorbed the whole sphere of religious thought, and piety came to be conceived more and more as right conduct before God instead of living communion with God, men grew naturally to think of God more and more as abstract unapproachableness, and to think of themselves more and more as their own saviours. The post-canonical Jewish writings, while retaining fervent expressions of dependence on God as the Lord of all, by whose wise counsel all things exist and work out their ends, and over against whom the whole world, with every creature in it, is but the instrument of His will of good to Israel, nevertheless threw an entirely new emphasis on the autocracy of the human will. This emphasis increases until in the later Judaism the extremity of heathen self-sufficiency is reproduced, and the whole sphere of the moral life is expressly reserved from Divine determination. Meanwhile also heathen terminology was intruding into Jewish speech. The Platonic πρόνοια, προνοεῖν, for example, coming in doubtless through the medium of the Stoa, is found not only in Philo (περὶ προνοίας), but also in the Apocryphal books (Wis 6^7 14^3 17^2, 3 Mac 4^{21} 5^{30}, 4 Mac 9^{24} 13^{18} 17^{22}; cf. also Dn $6^{18.19}$ LXX); the perhaps even more precise as well as earlier ἐφορᾶν occurs in Josephus (*BJ* II. viii. 14), and indeed also in the LXX, though here doubtless in a weakened sense (2 Mac 12^{22} 15^2, cf. 3 Mac 2^{21}, as also Job 34^{24} 28^{24} 22^{12}, cf. 21^{16}; also Zec 9^1); while even the fatalistic term εἱμαρμένη is employed by Josephus (*BJ* II. viii. 14; *Ant.* XIII. v. 9, XVIII. i. 3) to describe Jewish views of predestination. With the terms there came in, doubtless, more or less of the conceptions connoted by them.

Whatever may have been the influences under which it was wrought, however, the tendency of post-canonical Judaism was towards setting aside the Biblical doctrine of predestination to a greater or less extent, or in a larger or smaller sphere, in order to make room for the autocracy of the human will, the רשׁות, as it was significantly called by the Rabbis (*Bereshith Rabba*, c. 22). This disintegrating process is little apparent perhaps in the Book of Wisdom, in which the sense of the almightiness of God comes to very strong expression (11^{22} 12^{8-12}). Or even in Philo, whose predestinarianism (*de Legg. Allegor.* i. 15, iii. 24, 27, 28) closely follows, while his assertion of human freedom (*Quod Deus sit immut.* 10) does not pass beyond that of the Bible: man is separated from the animals and assimilated to God by the gift of 'the power of voluntary motion' and suitable emancipation from necessity, and is accordingly properly praised or blamed for his intentional acts; but it is of the grace of God only that anything exists, and the creature is not giver but receiver in all things; especially does it belong to God alone to plant and build up virtues, and it is impious for the mind, therefore, to say 'I plant'; the call of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob was of pure grace without any merit, and God exercises the right to 'dispose excellently,' prior to all actual deeds. But the process is already apparent in so early a book as Sirach. The book at large is indeed distinctly predestinarian, and such passages as 16^{26-30} 23^{20} 33^{11-13} $39^{20.21}$ echo the teachings of the canonical books on this subject. But, while this is its general character, another element is also present: an assertion of human autocracy, for example, which is without parallel in the canonical books, is introduced at 15^{11-20}, which culminates in the precise declaration that 'man has been committed to the hand of his own counsel' to choose for himself life or death. The same phenomena meet us in the Pharisaic Psalms of Solomon (B.C. 70–40). Here there is a general recognition of God as the great and mighty King ($2^{34.36}$) who has appointed the course of nature (18^{20}) and directs the development of history (2^{34} 9^4 17^4), ruling over the whole and determining the lot of each ($5^{6.18}$), on whom alone, therefore, can the hope of Israel be stayed (7^3 17^3), and to whom alone can the individual look for good. But, alongside of this expression of general dependence on God, there occurs the strongest assertion of the moral autocracy of the human will: 'O God, our works are in our own souls' election and control, to do righteousness or iniquity in the works of our hand' (9^7).

It is quite credible, therefore, when Josephus tells us that the Jewish parties of his day were divided, as on other matters, so on the question of the Divine predestination—the Essenes affirming that fate (εἱμαρμένη, Josephus' affected Græcizing expression for predestination) is the mistress of all, and nothing occurs to men which is not in accordance with its destination; the Sadducees taking away 'fate' altogether, and considering that there is no such thing, and that human affairs are not directed according to it, but all actions are in our own power, so that we are ourselves the causes of what is good, and receive what is evil from our own folly; while the Pharisees, seeking a middle ground, said that some actions, but not all, are the work of 'fate,' and some are in our own power as to whether they are done or not (*Ant.* XIII. v. 9). The distribution of the several views among the parties follows the general lines of what might have been anticipated—the Essenic system being pre-eminently supranaturalistic, and the Sadducean rationalistic, while there was retained among the Pharisees a deep leaven of religious earnestness tempered, but not altogether destroyed (except in the extremest circles), by their ingrained legalism. The middle ground, moreover, which Josephus ascribes to the Pharisees in their attempt to distribute the control of human action between 'fate' and 'free will,' reflects not badly the state of opinion presupposed in the documents we have already quoted. In his remarks elsewhere (*BJ* II. viii. 14; *Ant.* XVIII. i. 3) he appears to ascribe to the Pharisees some kind of a doctrine of *concursus* also—a κρᾶσις between 'fate' and the human will by which both co-operate in the effect; but his language is obscure, and is coloured doubtless by reminiscences of Stoic teaching, with which philosophical sect he compares the Pharisees as he compares the Essenes with the Epicureans.

But whatever may have been the traditional belief of the Pharisees, in proportion as the legalistic spirit which constituted the nerve of the movement became prominent, the sense of dependence on God, which is the vital breath of the doctrine of predestination, gave way. The Jews possessed the OT Scriptures in which the Divine lordship is a cardinal doctrine, and the trials of persecution cast them continually back upon God; they could not, therefore, wholly forget the Biblical doctrine of the Divine decree, and throughout their whole history we meet with its echoes on their lips. The laws of nature, the course of history, the varying fortunes of individuals, are ever attributed to the Divine predestination. Nevertheless, it was ever more and more sharply disallowed that man's moral actions fell under the same predetermination. Sometimes it was said that while the decrees of God were sure, they applied only so long as man remained in the condition in which he was contemplated when they were formed; he could escape all predetermined evil by a change in his moral character. Hence such sayings as, 'The righteous destroy what God decrees' (*Tanchuma* on דברים); 'Repentance, prayer, and charity ward off every evil decree' (*Rosh-hashana*). In any event, the entire domain of the moral life was more and more withdrawn from the intrusion of the decree; and Cicero's famous declaration, which Harnack says might be inscribed as a motto over Pelagianism, might with equal right be accepted as the working hypothesis of the later Judaism: 'For gold, land, and all the blessings of life we have to return thanks to God; but no one ever returned thanks to God for virtue' (*de Nat. Deorum*, iii. 36). We read that the Holy One determines prior to birth all that every one is to be—whether male or female, weak or strong, poor or rich, wise or silly; but one thing He does not determine—whether he is to be righteous or unrighteous; according to Dt 30^{15} this is committed to one's own hands. Accordingly, it is said that 'neither evil nor good comes from God; both are the results of our deeds' (*Midrash rab.* on ראה, and *Jalkut* there); and again, 'All is in the hands of God except the fear of God' (*Megilla* 25*a*); so that it is even somewhat cynically said, 'Man is led in the way in which he wishes to go' (*Maccoth* 10); 'If you teach him right, his God will make him know' (Is 28^{26}; Jerus. *Challah* i. 1). Thus the deep sense of dependence on God for all goods, and especially the goods of the soul, which forms the very core of the religious consciousness of the writers of the Old Testament, gradually vanished from the later Judaism, and was superseded by a self-assertiveness which hung all good on the self-determination of the human spirit, on which the purposes of God waited, or to which they were subservient.

iv. PREDESTINATION IN NT.—The NT teaching starts from the plane of the OT revelation, and in its doctrines of God, Providence, Faith, and the Kingdom of God repeats or develops in a right line the fundamental deliverances of the OT, while in its doctrines of the Decree and of Election only such advance in statement is made as the progressive execution of the plan of salvation required.

1. *The Teaching of Jesus.*—In the teaching of our Lord, as recorded in the Synoptic Gospels, for example, though there is certainly a new emphasis thrown on the Fatherhood of God, this is by no means at the expense of His infinite majesty and might, but provides only a more profound revelation of the character of 'the great King' (Mt 5^{35}), the 'Lord of heaven and earth' (Mt 11^{25}, Lk 10^{21}), according to whose good pleasure all that is comes to pass. He is spoken of, therefore, specifically as the 'heavenly Father' (Mt 5^{48} $6^{14.26.32}$ 15^{13} 18^{35} 23^{9}, cf. $5^{16.45}$ $6^{1.9}$ $7^{11.21}$ $10^{32.33}$ 12^{50} 16^{17} $18^{14.19}$, Mk $11^{25.26}$, Lk 11^{13}) whose throne is in the heavens (Mt 5^{34} 23^{22}), while the earth is but the footstool under His feet. There is no limitation admitted to the reach of His power, whether on the score of difficulty in the task, or insignificance in the object: the category of the impossible has no existence to Him 'with whom all things are possible' (Mt 9^{26}, Mk 10^{27}, Lk 18^{27}, Mt 22^{29}, Mk 12^{24} 14^{36}), and the minutest occurrences are as directly controlled by Him as the greatest (Mt $10^{29.30}$, Lk 12^{7}). It is from Him that the sunshine and rain come (Mt 5^{45}); it is He that clothes with beauty the flowers of the field (Mt 6^{28}), and who feeds the birds of the air (Mt 6^{26}); not a sparrow falls to the ground without Him, and the very hairs of our heads are numbered, and not one of them is forgotten by God (Mt 10^{29}, Lk 12^{2}). There is, of course, no denial, nor neglect, of the mechanism of nature implied here; there is only clear perception of the providence of God guiding nature in all its operations, and not nature only, but the life of the free spirit as well (Mt 6^{6} 8^{13} 24^{22} 7^{7}, Mk 11^{23}). Much less, however, is the care of God thought of as mechanical and purposeless. It was not simply of sparrows that our Lord was thinking when He adverted to the care of the heavenly Father for them, as it was not simply for oxen that God was caring when He forbade them to be muzzled as they trod out the corn (1 Co 9^{9}); it was that they who are of more value than sparrows might learn with what confidence they might depend on the Father's hand. Thus a hierarchy of providence is uncovered for us, circle rising above circle,—first the wide order of nature, next the moral order of the world, lastly the order of salvation or of the kingdom of God,—a preformation of the dogmatic *schema* of *providentia generalis*, *specialis*, and *specialissima*. All these work together for the one end of advancing the whole world-fabric to its goal; for the care of the heavenly Father over the works of His hand is not merely to prevent the world that He has made from falling into pieces, and not merely to preserve His servants from oppression by the evil of this world, but to lead the whole world and all that is in it onwards to the end which He has appointed for it,—to that παλιγγενεσία of heaven and earth to which, under His guiding hand, the whole creation tends (Mt 19^{28}, Lk 20^{34}).

In this divinely-led movement of 'this world' towards 'the world that is to come,' in which every element of the world's life has part, the central place is naturally taken by the spiritual preparation, or, in other words, by the development of the Kingdom of God which reaches its consummation in the 'regeneration.' This Kingdom, our Lord explains, is the heritage of those blessed ones for whom it has been prepared from the foundations of the world (Mt 25^{34}, cf. 20^{23}). It is built up on earth through a 'call' (Mt 9^{13}, Mk 2^{17}, Lk 5^{32}), which, however, as mere invitation is inoperative (Mt 22^{2-14}, Lk 14^{16-23}), and is made effective only by the exertion of a certain 'constraint' on God's part (Lk 14^{23}),—so that a distinction emerges between the merely 'called' and the really 'chosen' (Mt 22^{14}). The author of this 'choice' is God (Mk 13^{20}), who has chosen His elect (Lk 18^{7}, Mt $24^{22.\ 24.\ 31}$, Mk 13^{20-22}) before the world, in accordance with His own pleasure, distributing as He will of what is His own (Mt $10^{14.\ 15}$); so that the effect of the call is already predetermined (Mt 13), all providence is ordered for the benefit of the elect (Mt 24^{22}), and they are guarded from falling away (Mt 24^{24}), and, at the last day, are separated to their inheritance prepared for them from all eternity (Mt 25^{34}). That, in all this process, the initiative is at every point taken by God, and no question can be entertained of precedent merit on the part of the recipients of the blessings, results not less from the whole underlying conception of God in His relation to the course of providence than from the details of the teaching itself. Every means is utilized, however, to enhance the sense of the free sovereignty of God in the bestowment of His Kingdom; it is 'the lost' whom Jesus comes to seek (Lk 19^{10}), and 'sinners' whom He came to call (Mk 2^{17}); His truth is revealed only to 'babes' (Mt 11^{25}, Lk 10^{21}), and He gives His teaching a special form just that it may be veiled from them to whom it is not directed (Mk 4^{11}), distributing His benefits, independently of merit (Mt 20^{1-16}), to those who had been chosen by God therefor (Mk 13^{20}).

In the discourses recorded by St. John the same essential spirit rules. Although, in accordance with the deeper theological apprehension of their reporter, the more metaphysical elements of Jesus' doctrine of God come here to fuller expression, it is nevertheless fundamentally the same doctrine of God that is displayed. Despite the even stronger emphasis thrown here on His Fatherhood, there is not the slightest obscuration of His infinite exaltation: Jesus lifts His eyes up when He would seek Him (11^{41} 17^{1}); it is in heaven that His house is to be found (14^{2}); and thence proceeds all that comes from Him (1^{52} 3^{13} $6^{31.\ 32.\ 33.\ 38.\ 41.\ 49.\ 50}$ 6^{58}); so that God and heaven come to be almost equivalent terms. Nor is there any obscuration of His ceaseless activity in governing the world (5^{17}), although the stress is naturally thrown, in accordance with the whole character of this Gospel, on the moral and spiritual side of this government. But the very essence of the message of the Johannine Jesus is that the will (*θέλημα*) of the Father (4^{34} 5^{30} $6^{38.\ 39.\ 40}$ 7^{17} 9^{31}, cf. 3^{8} 5^{21} 17^{24} $21^{22.\ 23}$) is the principle of all things; and more especially, of course, of the introduction of eternal life into this world of darkness and death. The conception of the world as lying in the evil one and therefore judged already (3^{18}), so that upon those who are not removed from the evil of the world the wrath of God is not so much to be poured out as simply abides (3^{36}, cf. 1 Jn 3^{14}), is fundamental to this whole presentation. It is therefore, on the one hand, that Jesus represents Himself as having come not to condemn the world, but to save the world (3^{17} 8^{12} 9^{5} 12^{47}, cf. 4^{42}), and all that He does as having for its end the introduction of life into the world ($6^{33.\ 51}$); the already condemned world needed no further condemnation, it needed saving. And it is for the same reason, on the other hand, that He represents the wicked world as incapable of coming to Him that it might have life ($8^{43.\ 21}$ 14^{17} 10^{33}), and as requiring first of all a 'drawing' from the Father to enable it to come ($6^{44.\ 65}$); so that only those hear or believe on Him who are 'of God' (8^{47}, cf. 15^{19} 17^{14}), who are 'of his sheep' (16^{26}).

There is undoubtedly a strong emphasis thrown on the universality of Christ's mission of salvation; He has been sent into the world not merely to save some out of the world, but to save the world itself (3^{16} 6^{51} 12^{47} 17^{21}, cf. 1^{29}, 1 Jn 4^{14} 2^{2}). But this universality of destination and effect by which it is 'the world' that is saved, does not imply the salvation of each and every individual in the world, even in the earlier stages of the developing salvation. On the contrary, the saving work is a process (17^{20}); and, meanwhile, the coming of the Son into the world introduces a crisis, a sifting by which those who, because they are 'of God,' 'of his sheep,' are in the world, but not of it (15^{19} 17^{14}), are separated from those who are of the world, that is, of their father the devil (8^{44}), who is the Prince of this world (12^{31} 14^{30} 16^{11}). Obviously, the difference between men that is thus manifested is not thought of as inhering, after a dualistic or semi-Gnostic fashion, in their very natures as such, or as instituted by their own self-framed or accidentally received dispositions, much less by their own conduct in the world, which is rather the result of it,—but, as already pointed out, as the effect of an act of God. All goes back to the will of God, to accomplish which, the Son, as the Sent One, has come; and therefore also to the consentient will of the Son, who gives life, accordingly, to whom He will (5^{21}). As no one can come to Him out of the evil world, except it be given him of the Father (6^{65}, cf. 6^{44}), so all that the Father gives Him ($6^{37.\ 39}$) and only such (6^{65}), come to Him, being drawn thereunto by the Father (6^{44}). Thus the Son has 'his own in the world' (13^{1}), His 'chosen ones' (13^{18} $15^{16.\ 19}$), whom by His choice He has taken out of the world (15^{19} $17^{6.\ 14.\ 16}$); and for these only is His high-priestly intercession offered (17^{9}), as to them only is eternal life communicated (10^{21} 17^{2}, also $3^{15.\ 36}$ 5^{24} $6^{40.\ 54}$ 8^{12}). Thus, what the dogmatists call *gratia præveniens* is very strikingly taught; and especial point is given to this teaching in the great declarations as to the new birth recorded in Jn 3, from which we learn that the recreating Spirit comes, like the wind, without observation, and as He lists (3^{8}), the mode of action by which the Father 'draws' men being thus uncovered for us. Of course this drawing is not to be thought of as proceeding in a manner out of accord with man's nature as a psychic being; it naturally comes to its manifestation in an act of voluntary choice on man's own part, and in this sense it is 'psychological' and not 'physical'; accordingly, though it be God that 'draws,' it is man that 'comes' (3^{21} $6^{35.\ 41}$ 14^{6}). There is no occasion for stumbling therefore in the ascription of 'will' and 'responsibility' to man, or for puzzling over the designation of 'faith,' in which the 'coming' takes effect, as a 'work' of man's (6^{29}). Man is, of course, conceived as acting humanly, after the fashion of an intelligent and voluntary agent; but behind all his action there is ever postulated the all-determining hand of God, to whose sovereign operation even the blindness of the unbelieving is attributed by the evangelist ($12^{39f.}$), while the receptivity to the light of those who believe is repeatedly in the most emphatic way ascribed by Jesus Himself to God alone. Although with little use of the terminology in which we have been accustomed to expect to see the doctrines of the decree and of election expressed, the substance of these doctrines is here set out in the most impressive way.

From the two sets of data provided by the Synoptists and St. John, it is possible to attain quite a clear insight into the conception of predestination as it lay in our Lord's teaching. It is quite certain, for example, that there is no place in this teaching for a 'predestination' that is carefully adjusted to the foreseen performances of the creature; and as little for a 'decree' which may be frustrated by creaturely action, or an 'election' which is given effect only by the creaturely choice: to our Lord the Father is the omnipotent Lord of heaven and earth, according to whose pleasure all things are ordered, and who gives the Kingdom to whom He will (Lk 12^{32}, Mk 11^{26}, Lk 10^{21}). Certainly it is the very heart of our Lord's teaching that the Father's good pleasure is a *good* pleasure, ethically right, and the issue of infinite love; the very name of Father as the name of God by preference on His lips is full of this conception; but the very nerve of this teaching is, that the Father's will is all-embracing and omnipotent. It is only therefore that His children need be careful for nothing, that the little flock need not fear, that His elect may be assured that none of them shall be lost, but all that the Father has given Him shall be raised up at the last day. And if thus the elective purpose of the Father cannot fail of its end, neither is it possible to find this end in anything less than 'salvation' in the highest sense, than entrance into that eternal life to communicate which to dying men our Lord came into the world. There are elections to other ends, to be sure, spoken of: notably there is the election of the apostles to their office (Lk 6^{13}, Jn 6^{70}); and Christ Himself is conceived as especially God's elect one, because no one has the service to render which He has (Lk 9^{35} 23^{35}). But the elect, by way of eminence; 'the elect whom God elected,' for whose sake He governs all history (Mk 13^{20}); the elect of whom it was the will of Him who sent the Son, that of all that He gave Him He should lose nothing, but should raise it up at the last day (Jn 6^{39}); the elect whom the Son of Man shall at the last day gather from the four winds, from the uttermost parts of the earth to the uttermost part of heaven (Mk 13^{27}): it would be inadequate to suppose that these are elected merely to opportunities or the means of grace, on their free cultivation of which shall depend their undecided destiny; or merely to the service of their fellow-men, as agents in God's beneficent plan for the salvation of the race. Of course this election is to privileges and means of grace; and without these the great end of the election would not be attained: for the 'election' is given effect only by the 'call,' and manifests itself only in faith and the holy life. Equally of course the elect are 'the salt of the earth' and 'the light of the world,' the few through whom the many are blessed; the eternal life to which they are elected does not consist in or with the silence and coldness of death, but only in and with the intensest activities of the conquering people of God. But the prime end of their election does not lie in these things, and to place exclusive stress upon them is certainly to gather in the mint and anise and cummin of the doctrine. That to which God's elect are elected is, according to the teaching of Jesus, all that is included in the idea of the Kingdom of God, in the idea of eternal life, in the idea of fellowship with Christ, in the idea of participation in the glory which the Father has given His Son. Their choice, and the whole development of their history, according to our Lord's teaching, is the loving work of the Father: and in His keeping also is the consummation of their bliss. Their segregation, of course, leaves others not elected, to whom none of their privileges are granted; from whom none of their services are expected; with whom their glorious destiny is not shared. This, too, is of God. But this side of the matter, in accordance with Jesus' mission in the world as Saviour rather than as Judge, is less dwelt upon. In the case of neither class, that of the elect as little as that of those that are without, are the purposes of God wrought out without the co-operation of the activities of the subjects; but in neither case is the decisive factor supplied by these, but is discoverable solely in the will of God and the consonant will of the Son. The 'even so, Father; for so it seemed good in thy sight' (Mt 11^{26}, Lk 10^{21}), is to our Lord, at least, an all-sufficient theodicy in the face of all God's diverse dealings with men.

2. *The Teaching of the Disciples.*—The disciples of Jesus continue His teaching in all its elements. We are conscious, for example, of entering no new atmosphere when we pass to the *Epistle of James.* St. James, too, finds his starting-point in a profound apprehension of the exaltation and perfection of God,—defining God's nature, indeed, with a phrase that merely repeats in other words the penetrating declaration that 'God is light' (1 Jn 1^{5}), which, reflecting our Lord's teaching, sounds the keynote of the beloved disciple's thought of God (Ja 1^{17}),—and particularly in a keen sense of dependence on God (4^{15} 5^{7}), to which it was an axiom that every good thing is a gift from Him (1^{17}). Accordingly, salvation, the pre-eminent good, comes purely as His gift, and can be ascribed only to His will (1^{18}); and its exclusively Divine origin is indicated by the choice that is made of those who receive it—not the rich and prosperous, who have somewhat perhaps which might command consideration, but the poor and miserable (2^{5}). So little does this Divine choice rest on even faith, that it is rather in order to faith (2^{5}), and introduces its recipients into the Kingdom as firstfruits of a great harvest to be reaped by God in the world (1^{18}).

Similarly, in the *Book of Acts,* the whole stress in the matter of salvation is laid on the grace of God (11^{23} 13^{43} $14^{3.26}$ 15^{40} 18^{27}); and to it, in the most pointed way, the inception of faith itself is assigned (18^{27}). It is only slightly varied language when the increase in the Church is ascribed to the hand of the Lord (11^{21}), or the direct act of God (14^{27} 18^{10}). The explicit declaration of 2^{47} presents, therefore, nothing peculiar, and we are fully prepared for the philosophy of the redemptive history expressed in 13^{48}, that only those 'ordained to eternal life' believed—the believing that comes by the grace of God (18^{27}), to whom it belongs to open the heart to give heed to the gospel (16^{14}), being thus referred to the counsel of eternity, of which the events of time are only the outworking.

The general philosophy of history thus suggested is implicit in the very idea of a promissory system, and in the recognition of a predictive element in prophecy, and is written large on the pages of the *historical books* of the NT. It is given expression in every declaration that this or that event came to pass 'that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets,'—a form of statement in which our Lord had Himself betrayed His teleological view of history, not only as respects details (Jn 15^{25} 17^{12}), but with the widest reference (Lk 21^{22}), and which was taken up cordially by His followers, particularly by Matthew (1^{22} $2^{15.23}$ 4^{14} 8^{17} 12^{17} 13^{35} 21^{4} 26^{56}, Jn 12^{38} 18^{9} $19^{24.28.36}$). Alongside of this phrase occurs the equally significant 'δεῖ of the Divine decree,' as it has been appropriately called, by which is suggested the necessity which rules over historical sequences. It is used with a view now to Jesus' own plan of redemption (by Jesus Himself, Mt 8^{51}, Lk 2^{49} 4^{43} 9^{22} 13^{33} 17^{25} 24^{7}, Jn 3^{14} 10^{16} 12^{34}; by the evangelist, Mt 16^{21}), now to the underlying plan of God (by Jesus, Mt 24^{6}, Mk $13^{7.10}$, Lk 21^{9}; by the writer, Mt 17^{10}, Mk 9^{11}, Ac 3^{21} 9^{16}), anon to the prophetic declaration as an indication of the underlying plan (by Jesus, Mt 26^{58}, Lk 22^{37} $24^{26.44}$; by the writer, Jn 20^{9}, Ac 1^{16} 17^{3}). This appeal, in either form, served an important apologetic purpose in the first proclamation of the gospel; but its fundamental significance is rooted, of course, in the conception of a Divine ordering of the whole course of history to the veriest detail.

Such a teleological conception of the history of the Kingdom is manifested strikingly in the speech of St. Stephen (Ac 7), in which the developing plan of God is rapidly sketched. But it is in such declarations as those of St. Peter recorded in Ac 2^{23} 4^{28} that the wider philosophy of history comes to its clearest expression. In them everything that had befallen Jesus is represented as merely the emerging into fact of what had stood beforehand prepared for in 'the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God,' so that nothing had been accomplished, by whatever agents, except what 'his hand and his counsel had foreordained to come to pass.' It would not be easy to frame language which should more explicitly proclaim the conception of an all-determining decree of God governing the entire sequence of events in time. Elsewhere in *the Petrine discourses* of Acts the speech is coloured by the same ideas: we note in the immediate context of these culminating passages the high terms in which the exaltation of God is expressed ($4^{24f.}$), the sharpness with which His sovereignty in the 'call' (προσκαλέομαι) is declared (2^{39}), and elsewhere the repeated emergence of the idea of the necessary correspondence of the events of time with the predictions of Scripture (1^{16} 2^{24} 3^{21}). The same doctrine of predestination meets us in the pages of *St. Peter's Epistles.* He does, indeed, speak of the members of the Christian community as God's elect (I 1^{1} 2^{9} 5^{13}, II 1^{10}), in accordance with the apostolic habit of assuming the reality implied in the manifestation; but this is so far from importing that election hangs on the act of man that St. Peter refers it directly to the elective foreknowledge of God (I 1^{2}), and seeks its confirmation in sanctification (II 1^{10}),—even as the stumbling of the disobedient, on the other hand, is presented as a confirmation of their appointment to disbelief (I 2^{8}). The pregnant use of the terms 'foreknow' (*προγινώσκω*) and 'foreknowledge' (*πρόγνωσις*) by St. Peter brought to our attention in these passages (Ac 2^{23}, 1 P $1^{2.20}$), where they certainly convey the sense of a loving, distinguishing regard which assimilates them to the idea of election, is worthy of note as another of the traits common to him and St. Paul (Ro 8^{29} 11^{2}, only in NT). The usage might be explained, indeed, as the development of a purely Greek sense of the words, but it is much more probably rooted in a Semitic usage, which, as we have seen, is not without example in OT. A simple comparison of the passages will exhibit the impossibility of reading the terms of mere prevision (cf. Cremer *sub voc.*, and especially the full discussion in K. Müller's *Die Göttliche Zuvorersehung und Erwählung*, etc. pp. 38 f., 81 f.; also Gennrich, *SK*, 1898, 382–395; Pfleiderer, *Urchristenthum*, 289, *Paulinismus*, 268; and Lorenz, *Lehrsystem*, etc. 94).

The *teaching of St. John* in Gospel and Epistle is not distinguishable from that which he reports from his Master's lips, and need not here be reverted to afresh. The same fundamental view-points meet us also in the Apocalypse. The emphasis there placed on the omnipotence of God rises indeed to a climax. There only in NT (except 2 Co 6^{18}), for example, is the epithet παντοκράτωρ ascribed to Him (1^{8} 4^{8} 11^{17} 15^{3} $16^{7.14}$ $19^{6.15}$ 21^{22}, cf. 15^{3} 6^{10}); and the whole purport of the book is the portrayal of the Divine guidance of history, and the very essence of its message that, despite all surface appearances, it is the hand of God that really directs all occurrences, and all things are hastening to the end of His determining. Salvation is ascribed unvaryingly to the grace of God, and declared to be His work (12^{10} 19^{1}). The elect people of God are His by the Divine choice alone: their names are from the foundation of the world written in the Lamb's Book of Life (13^{8} 17^{8} 20^{12-15} 21^{22}), which is certainly a symbol of Divine appointment to eternal life revealed in and realized through Christ; nor shall they ever be blotted out of it (3^{5}). It is difficult to doubt that the destination here asserted is to a complete salvation (19^{9}), that it is individual, and that it is but a single instance of the completeness of the Divine government to which the world is subject by the Lord of lords and King of kings, the Ruler of the earth and King of the nations, whose control of all the occurrences of time in accordance with His holy purposes it is the supreme object of this book to portray.

Perhaps less is directly said about the purpose of God in the *Epistle to the Hebrews* than in any other portion of NT of equal length. The technical phraseology of the subject is conspicuously absent. Nevertheless, the conception of the Divine counsel and will underlying all that comes to pass (2^{10}), and especially the entire course of the purchase (6^{17}, cf. 10^{5-10} 2^{9}) and application ($11^{39.31}$ 9^{15}) of salvation, is fundamental to the whole thought of the Epistle; and echoes of the modes in which this conception is elsewhere expressed meet us on every hand. Thus we read of God's eternal counsel (*βουλή*, 6^{17}) and of His precedent will (*θέλημα*, 10^{10}) as underlying His redemptive acts; of the enrolment of the names of His children in heaven (12^{23}); of the origin in the energy of God of all that is good in us (13^{21}); and, above all, of a 'heavenly call' as the source of the whole renewed life of the Christian (3^{1}, cf. 9^{15}).

When our Lord spoke of 'calling' (*καλέω*, Mt 9^{13}, Mk 2^{17}, Lk 5^{32}, and, parabolically, Mt $22^{2.4.5.9}$, Lk $14^{8.9.10.12.13.16.17.24}$; *κλητός*, Mt 22^{14} [20^{16}]) the term was used in the ordinary sense of 'invitation,' and refers therefore to a much broader circle than the 'elect' (Mt 22^{14}); and this fundamental sense of 'bidding' may continue to cling to the term in the hands of the evangelists (Mt 4^{21}, Mk 1^{20}, cf. Lk 14^{7}, Jn 2^{2}), while the depth of meaning which might be attached to it, even in such a connotation, may be revealed by such a passage as Rev 19^{9} 'Blessed are they which are bidden to the marriage supper of the Lamb.' On the lips of the apostolic writers, however, the term in its application to the call of God to salvation took on deeper meanings, doubtless out of consideration of the author of the call, who has but to speak and it is done (cf. Ro 4^{17}). It occurs in these writers, when it occurs at all, as the synonym no longer of 'invitation,' but rather of 'election' itself; or, more precisely, as expressive of the temporal act of the Divine efficiency by which effect is given to the electing decree. In this profounder sense it is practically confined to the writings of St. Paul and St. Peter and the Epistle to the Hebrews, occurring elsewhere only in Jude ^{1}, Rev 17^{14}, where the children of God are designated the 'called,' just as they are (in various collocations of the term with the idea of election) in Ro $1^{6.7}$, 1 Co 1^{2}, Ro 8^{28}, 1 Co 1^{24} (cf. Ro 1^{1}, 1 Co 1^{1}). *Κλητός*, as used in these passages, does not occur in the Epistle to the Hebrews, but in 3^{1} *κλῆσις* occurs in a sense indistinguishable from that which it bears in St. Paul (Ro 11^{29}, 1 Co 1^{26}, Eph 1^{18} $4^{1.4}$, Ph 3^{14}, 2 Th 1^{11}, 2 Ti 1^{9}) and St. Peter (2 P 1^{10}); and in 9^{15} (cf. special applications of the same general idea, 5^{4} 11^{8}), *καλέω* bears the same deep sense expressed by it in St. Paul (Ro $8^{30.30}$ 9^{11-24}, 1 Co 1^{9} $7^{15.17.18.18.20.21.22.22.24}$, Gal $1^{6.15}$ $5^{8.13}$, Eph $4^{1.4}$, Col 3^{15}, 1 Th 2^{12} 4^{7} 5^{24}, 2 Th 2^{14}, 2 Ti 1^{9}) and in St. Peter (I 1^{15} $2^{9.21}$ 3^{9} 5^{10}, II 1^{3}, cf. *προσκαλέω*, Ac 2^{39}, and in the language of St. Luke, Ac 13^{2} 16^{10}). The contrast into which the 'called' (3^{1}) are brought in this Epistle with the 'evangelized' ($4^{2.6}$), repeating in other terms the contrast which our Saviour institutes between the 'elect' and 'called' (Mt 22^{14}), exhibits the height of the meaning to which the idea of the 'call' has climbed. It no longer denotes the mere invitation,—that notion is now given in 'evangelize,'—but the actual ushering into salvation of the heirs of the promise, who are made partakers of the heavenly calling, and are called to the everlasting inheritance just because they have been destined thereunto by God (1^{14}), and are enrolled in heaven as the children given to the Son of God (2^{13}).

3. *The Teaching of St. Paul.*—It was reserved, however, to the Apostle Paul to give to the fact of predestination its fullest NT presentation. This was not because St. Paul exceeded his fellows in the strength or clearness of his convictions, but because, in the prosecution of the special task which was committed to him in the general work of establishing Christianity in the world, the complete expression of the common doctrine of predestination fell in his way, and became a necessity of his argument. With him, too, the roots of his doctrine of predestination were set in his general doctrine of God, and it was fundamentally because St. Paul was a theist of a clear and consistent type, living and thinking under the influence of the profound consciousness of a personal God who is the author of all that is and, as well, the upholder and powerful governor of all that He has made, according to whose will, therefore, all that comes to pass must be ordered, that he was a predestinarian; and more particularly he too was a predestinarian because of his general doctrine of salvation, in every step of which the initiative must be taken by God's unmerited grace, just because man is a sinner, and, as a sinner, rests under the Divine condemnation, with no right of so much as access to God, and without means to seek, much less to secure, His favour. But although possessing no other sense of the infinite majesty of the almighty Person in whose hands all things lie, or of the issue of all saving acts from His free grace, than his companion apostles, the course of the special work in which St. Paul was engaged, and the exigencies of the special controversies in which he was involved, forced him

to a fuller expression of all that is implied in these convictions. As he cleared the whole field of Christian faith from the presence of any remaining confidence in human works; as he laid beneath the hope of Christians a righteousness not self-wrought but provided by God alone; as he consistently offered this God-provided righteousness to sinners of all classes without regard to anything in them by which they might fancy God could be moved to accept their persons,—he was inevitably driven to an especially pervasive reference of salvation in each of its elements to the free grace of God, and to an especially full exposition on the one hand of the course of Divine grace in the several acts which enter into the saving work, and on the other to the firm rooting of the whole process in the pure will of the God of grace. From the beginning to the end of his ministry, accordingly, St. Paul conceived himself, above everything else, as the bearer of a message of undeserved grace to lost sinners, not even directing his own footsteps to carry the glad tidings to whom he would (Ro 1^{10}, 1 Co 4^{19}, 2 Co 2^{12}), but rather led by God in triumphal procession through the world, that through him might be made manifest the savour of the knowledge of Christ in every place—a savour from life unto life in them that are saved, and from death unto death in them that are lost (2 Co $2^{15.\ 16}$). By the 'word of the cross' proclaimed by him the essential character of his hearers was thus brought into manifestation,—to the lost it was foolishness, to the saved the power of God (1 Co 1^{18}): not as if this essential character belonged to them by nature or was the product of their own activities, least of all of their choice at the moment of the proclamation, by which rather it was only revealed; but as finding an explanation only in an act of God, in accordance with the working of Him to whom all differences among men are to be ascribed (1 Co 4^{7})—for God alone is the Lord of the harvest, and all the increase, however diligently man may plant and water, is to be accredited to Him alone (1 Co $3^{5\text{f.}}$).

It is naturally the soteriological interest that determines in the main St. Paul's allusions to the all-determining hand of God,—the letters that we have from him come from Paul the evangelist,—but it is not merely a soteriological conception that he is expressing in them, but the most fundamental postulate of his religious consciousness; and he is accordingly constantly correlating his doctrine of election with his general doctrine of the decree or counsel of God. No man ever had an intenser or more vital sense of God,—the eternal (Ro 16^{26}) and incorruptible (1^{23}) One, the only wise One (16^{27}), who does all things according to His good-pleasure (1 Co 15^{38} 12^{18}, Col $1^{19.\ 15}$), and whose ways are past tracing out (Ro 11^{33}); before whom men should therefore bow in the humility of absolute dependence, recognizing in Him the one moulding power as well in history as in the life of the individual (Ro 9). Of Him and through Him and unto Him, he fervently exclaims, are all things (Ro 11^{36}, cf. 1 Co 8^{6}); He is over all and through all and in all (Eph 4^{6}, cf. Col 1^{16}); He worketh all things according to the counsel of His will (Eph 1^{11}): all that is, in a word, owes its existence and persistence and its action and issue to Him. The whole course of history is, therefore, of His ordering (Ac 14^{16} 17^{26}, Ro $1^{18\text{f.}}$ 3^{25} 9–11, Gal 3. 4), and every event that befalls is under His control, and must be estimated from the view-point of His purposes of good to His people (Ro 8^{28}, 1 Th $5^{17.\ 18}$), for whose benefit the whole world is governed (Eph 1^{22}, 1 Co 2^{7}, Col 1^{18}). The figure that is employed in Ro 9^{22} with a somewhat narrower reference, would fairly express St. Paul's world-view in its relation to the Divine activity: God is the potter, and the whole world with all its contents but as the plastic clay which He moulds to His own ends; so that whatsoever comes into being, and whatsoever uses are served by the things that exist, are all alike of Him. In accordance with this world-view St. Paul's doctrine of salvation must necessarily be interpreted; and, in very fact, he gives it its accordant expression in every instance in which he speaks of it.

There are especially *three chief passages* in which the apostle so fully expounds his fundamental teaching as to the relation of salvation to the purpose of God, that they may fairly claim our primary attention.

(*a*) The first of these—Ro $8^{29.\ 30}$—emerges as part of the encouragement which the apostle offers to his readers in the sad state in which they find themselves in this world, afflicted with fears within and fightings without. He reminds them that they are not left to their weakness, but the Spirit comes to their aid: 'and we know,' adds the apostle,—it is no matter of conjecture, but of assured knowledge,—'that with them that love God, God co-operates with respect to all things for good, since they are indeed the called according to [His] purpose.' The appeal is obviously primarily to the universal government of God: nothing takes place save by His direction, and even what seems to be grievous comes from the Father's hand. Secondarily, the appeal is to the assured position of his readers within the fatherly care of God: they have not come into this blessed relation with God accidentally or by the force of their own choice; they have been 'called' into it by Himself, and that by no thoughtless, inadvertent, meaningless, or changeable call; it was a call 'according to purpose,'—where the anarthrousness of the noun throws stress on the purposiveness of the call. What has been denominated 'the golden chain of salvation' that is attached to this declaration by the particle 'because' can therefore have no other end than more fully to develop and more firmly to ground the assurance thus quickened in the hearts of the readers: it accordingly enumerates the steps of the saving process in the purpose of God, and carries it thus successively through the stages of appropriating foreknowledge,—for 'foreknow' is undoubtedly used here in that pregnant sense we have already seen it to bear in similar connexions in NT,—predestination to conformity with the image of God's Son, calling, justifying, glorifying; all of which are cast in the past tense of a purpose in principle executed when formed, and are bound together as mutually implicative, so that, where one is present, all are in principle present with it. It accordingly follows that, in St. Paul's conception, glorification rests on justification, which in turn rests on vocation, while vocation comes only to those who had previously been predestinated to conformity with God's Son, and this predestination to character and destiny only to those afore chosen by God's loving regard. It is obviously a strict doctrine of predestination that is taught. This conclusion can be avoided only by assigning a sense to the 'foreknowing' that lies at the root of the whole process, which is certainly out of accord not merely with its ordinary import in similar connexions in the NT, nor merely with the context, but with the very purpose for which the declaration is made, namely, to enhearten the struggling saint by assuring him that he is not committed to his own power, or rather weakness, but is in the sure hands of the Almighty Father. It would seem little short of absurd to hang on the merely contemplative foresight of God a declaration adduced to support the assertion that the lovers of God are something deeper and finer than even lovers of God, namely, 'the called according to *purpose*,' and itself educing the joyful cry, 'If God is for us, who is against us?' and grounding a confident claim upon the gift of all things from His hands.

(*b*) The even more famous section, **Ro 9. 10. 11**, following closely upon this strong affirmation of the suspension of the whole saving process on the predetermination of God, offers, on the face of it, a yet sharper assertion of predestination, raising it, moreover, out of the circle of the merely individual salvation into the broader region of the historical development of the kingdom of God. The problem which St. Paul here faces grew so directly out of his fundamental doctrine of justification by faith alone, with complete disregard of all question of merit or vested privilege, that it must have often forced itself upon his attention,—himself a Jew with a high estimate of a Jew's privileges and a passionate love for his people. He could not but have pondered it frequently and deeply, and least of all could he have failed to give it treatment in an Epistle like this, which undertakes to provide a somewhat formal exposition of his whole doctrine of justification. Having shown the necessity of such a method of salvation as he proclaimed, if sinful men were to be saved at all (1^{18}–3^{20}), and then expounded its nature and evidence (3^{21}–5^{21}), and afterwards discussed its intensive effects (6^{1}–8^{39}), he could not fail further to explain its extensive effects—especially when they appeared to be of so portentous a character as to imply a reversal of what was widely believed to have been God's mode of working heretofore, the rejection of His people whom He foreknew, and the substitution of the alien in their place. St. Paul's solution of the problem is, briefly, that the situation has been gravely misconceived by those who so represent it; that nothing of the sort thus described has happened or will happen; that what has happened is merely that in the constitution of that people whom He has chosen to Himself and is fashioning to His will, God has again exercised that sovereignty which He had previously often exercised, and which He had always expressly reserved to Himself and frequently proclaimed as the principle of His dealings with the people emphatically of His choice. In his exposition of this solution St. Paul first defends the propriety of God's action (9^{6-24}), then turns to stop the mouth of the objecting Jew by exposing the manifested unfitness of the Jewish people for the kingdom (9^{30}–10^{21}), and finally expounds with great richness the ameliorating circumstances in the whole transaction (11^{1-36}). In the course of his defence of God's rejection of the mass of contemporary Israel, he sets forth the sovereignty of God in the whole matter of salvation—'that the purpose of God according to election might stand, not of works, but of Him that calleth'—with a sharpness of assertion and a clearness of illustration which leave nothing to be added in order to throw it out in the full strength of its conception. We are pointed illustratively to the sovereign acceptance of Isaac and rejection of Ishmael, and to the choice of Jacob and not of Esau before their birth and therefore before either had done good or bad; we are explicitly told that in the matter of salvation it is not of him that wills, or of him that runs, but of God that shows mercy, and that has mercy on whom He wills, and whom He wills He hardens; we are pointedly directed to behold in God the potter who makes the vessels which proceed from His hand each for an end of His appointment, that He may work out His will upon them. It is safe to say that language cannot be chosen better adapted to teach predestination at its height.

We are exhorted, indeed, not to read this language in isolation, but to remember that the ninth chapter must be interpreted in the light of the eleventh. Not to dwell on the equally important consideration that the eleventh chapter must likewise be interpreted only in the light of the ninth, there seems here to exhibit itself some forgetfulness of the inherent continuity of St. Paul's thought, and, indeed, some misconception of the progress of the argument through the section, which is a compact whole and must express a much pondered line of thought, constantly present to the apostle's mind. We must not permit to fall out of sight the fact that the whole extremity of assertion of the ninth chapter is repeated in the eleventh (11^{4-10}); so that there is no change of conception or lapse of consecution observable as the argument develops, and we do not escape from the doctrine of predestination of the ninth chapter in fleeing to the eleventh. This is true even if we go at once to the great closing declaration of 11^{32}, to which we are often directed as to the key of the whole section—which, indeed, it very much is: 'For God hath shut up all unto disobedience, that he might have mercy upon all.' On the face of it there could not readily be framed a more explicit assertion of the Divine control and the Divine initiative than this; it is only another declaration that He has mercy on whom He will have mercy, and after the manner and in the order that He will. And it certainly is not possible to read it as a declaration of universal salvation, and thus reduce the whole preceding exposition to a mere tracing of the varying pathways along which the common Father leads each individual of the race severally to the common goal. Needless to point out that thus the whole argument would be stultified, and the apostle convicted of gross exaggeration in tone and language where otherwise we find only impressive solemnity, rising at times into natural anguish. It is enough to observe that the verse cannot bear this sense in its context. Nothing is clearer than that its purpose is not to minimise but to magnify the sense of absolute dependence on the Divine mercy, and to quicken apprehension of the mystery of God's righteously loving ways; and nothing is clearer than that the reference of the double 'all' is exhausted by the two classes discussed in the immediate context,—so that they are not to be taken individualistically but, so to speak, racially. The intrusion of the individualistic-universalistic sentiment, so dominant in the modern consciousness, into the interpretation of this section, indeed, is to throw the whole into inextricable confusion. Nothing could be further from the nationalistic-universalistic point of view from which it was written, and from which alone St. Paul can be understood when he represents that in rejecting the mass of contemporary Jews God has not cast off His people, but, acting only as He had frequently done in former ages, is fulfilling His promise to the kernel while shelling off the husk. Throughout the whole process of pruning and ingrafting which he traces in the dealings of God with the olive-tree which He has once for all planted, St. Paul sees God, in accordance with His promise, saving His people. The continuity of its stream of life he perceives preserved throughout all its present experience of rejection (11^{1-10}); the gracious purpose of the present confinement of its channel, he traces with eager hand (11^{11-15}); he predicts with confidence the attainment in the end of the full breadth of the promise (11^{15-32}),—all to the praise of the glory of God's grace (11^{33-36}). There is undoubtedly a universalism of salvation proclaimed here; but it is an eschatological, not an individualistic universalism. The day is certainly to come when the whole world—inclusive of all the Jews and Gentiles alike, then dwelling on the globe—shall know and serve the Lord; and God in all His strange work of distributing salvation is leading the course of events to that great goal; but meanwhile the principle of His action is free, sovereign grace, to which alone it is to be attributed that any who are saved in the meantime enter into their inheritance, and through which alone shall the final goal of the race itself be attained. The central thought of the whole discussion, in a word, is that Israel does not owe the promise to the fact that it is Israel, but conversely owes the fact that it is Israel to the promise,—that 'it is not the children of the flesh that are the children of God, but the children of the promise that are reckoned for a seed' (9^{8}). In these words we hold the real key to the whole section; and if we approach it with this key in hand we shall have little difficulty in apprehending that, from its beginning to its end, St. Paul has no higher object than to make clear that the inclusion of any individual within the kingdom of God finds its sole cause in the sovereign grace of the choosing God, and cannot in any way or degree depend upon his own merit, privilege, or act.

Neither, with this key in our hand, will it be possible to raise a question whether the election here expounded is to eternal life or not rather merely to prior privilege or higher service. These too, no doubt, are included. But by what right is this long section intruded here as a substantive part of this Epistle, busied as a whole with the exposition of 'the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth, to the Jew first and also to the Greek,' if it has no direct concern with this salvation? By what chance has it attached itself to that noble grounding of a Christian's hope and assurance with which the eighth chapter closes? By what course of thought does it reach its own culmination in that burst of praise to God, on whom all things depend, with which it concludes? By what accident is it itself filled with the most unequivocal references to the saving grace of God 'which hath been poured out on the vessels of his mercy which he afore prepared for glory, even on us whom he also called, not from the Jews only, but also from the Gentiles'? If such language has no reference to salvation, there is no language in the NT that need be interpreted of final destiny. Beyond question this section does explain to us some of the grounds of the mode of God's action in gathering a people to Himself out of the world; and in doing this, it does reveal to us some of the ways in which the distribution of His electing grace serves the purposes of His kingdom on earth; reading it, we certainly do learn that God has many ends to serve in His gracious dealings with the children of men, and that we, in our ignorance of His multifarious purposes, are not fitted to be His counsellors. But by all this, the fact is in no wise obscured that it is primarily to salvation that He calls His elect, and that whatever other ends their election may subserve, this fundamental end will never fail; that in this, too, the gifts and calling of God are not repented of, and will surely lead on to their goal. The difficulty which is felt by some in following the apostle's argument here, we may suspect, has its roots in part in a shrinking from what appears to them an arbitrary assignment of men to diverse destinies without consideration of their desert. Certainly St. Paul as explicitly affirms the sovereignty of reprobation as of election,—if these twin ideas are, indeed, separable even in thought: if he represents God as sovereignly loving Jacob, he represents Him equally as sovereignly hating Esau; if he declares that He has mercy on whom He will, he equally declares that He hardens whom He will. Doubtless the difficulty often felt here is, in part, an outgrowth of an insufficient realization of St. Paul's basal conception of the state of men at large as condemned sinners before an angry God. It is with a world of lost sinners that he is representing God as dealing; and out of that world building up a Kingdom of Grace. Were not all men sinners, there might still be an election, as sovereign as now; and there being an election, there would still be as sovereign a rejection: but the rejection would not be a rejection to punishment, to destruction, to eternal death, but to some other destiny consonant to the state in which those passed by should be left. It is not indeed, then, because men are sinners that men are left unelected; election is free, and its obverse of rejection must be equally free: but it is solely because men are sinners that what they are left to is destruction. And it is in this universalism of ruin rather than in a universalism of salvation that St. Paul really roots his theodicy. When all deserve death it is a marvel of pure grace that any receive life; and who shall gainsay the right of Him who shows this miraculous mercy, to have mercy on whom He will, and whom He will to harden? (See REPROBATE).

(*c*) In Eph 1^{1-12} there is, if possible, an even higher note struck. Here, too, St. Paul is dealing primarily with the blessings bestowed on his readers, in Christ, all of which he ascribes to the free grace of God; but he so speaks of these blessings as to correlate the gracious purpose of God in salvation, not merely with the plan of operation which He prosecutes in establishing and perfecting His kingdom on earth, but also with the all-embracing decree that underlies His total cosmical activity. In opening this circular letter, addressed to no particular community whose special circumstances might suggest the theme of the thanksgiving with which he customarily begins his letters, St. Paul is thrown back on what is common to Christians; and it is probably to this circumstance that we owe the magnificent description of the salvation in Christ with which the Epistle opens, and in which this salvation is traced consecutively in its preparation (vv.$^{4.5}$), its execution ($^{6.7}$), its publication ($^{8-10}$), and its application ($^{11-14}$), both to Jews ($^{11.12}$) and to Gentiles ($^{13.14}$). Thus, at all events, we have brought before us the whole ideal history of salvation in Christ from eternity to eternity—from the eternal purpose as it lay in the loving heart of the Father, to the eternal consummation, when all things in heaven and earth shall be summed up in Christ. Even the incredible profusion of the blessings which we receive in Christ, described with an accumulation of phrases that almost defies exposition, is less noticeable here than the emphasis and reiteration with which the apostle carries back their bestowment on us to that primal purpose of God in which all things are afore prepared ere they are set in the way of accomplishment. All this accumulation of blessings, he tells his readers, has come to them and him only in fulfilment of an eternal purpose—only because they had been chosen by God out of the mass of sinful men, in Christ, before the foundation of the world, to be holy and blameless before Him, and had been lovingly predestinated unto adoption through Jesus Christ to Him, in accordance with the good-pleasure of His will, to the praise of the glory of His grace. It is therefore, he further explains, that to them in the abundance of God's grace there has been brought the knowledge of the salvation in Christ, described here as the knowledge of the mystery of the Divine will, according to His good-pleasure, which He purposed in Himself with reference to the dispensation of the fulness of the times, to sum up all things in the universe in Christ,—by which phrases the plan of salvation is clearly exhibited as but one element in the cosmical purpose of God. And thus it is, the apostle proceeds to explain, only in pursuance of this all-embracing cosmical purpose that Christians, whether Jews or Gentiles, have been called into participation of these blessings, to the praise of the glory of God's grace,—and of the former class, he pauses to assert anew that their call rests on a predestination according to the purpose of Him that works all things according to the counsel of His will. Throughout this elevated passage, the resources of language are strained to the utmost to give utterance to the depth and fervour of St. Paul's conviction of the absoluteness of the dominion which the God, whom he describes as Him that works all things according to the counsel of His will, exercises over the entire universe, and of his sense of the all-inclusive perfection of the plan on which He is exercising His world-wide government—into which world-wide government His administration of His grace, in the salvation of Christ, works as one element. Thus there is kept steadily before our eyes the wheel within wheel of the all-comprehending decree of God: first of all, the inclusive cosmical purpose in accordance with which the universe is governed as it is led to its destined end; within this, the purpose relative to the kingdom of God, a substantive part, and, in some sort, the hinge of the world-purpose itself; and still within this, the purpose of grace relative to the individual, by virtue of which he is called into the Kingdom and made sharer in its blessings: the common element with them all being that they are and come to pass only in accordance with the good-pleasure of His will, according to His purposed good-pleasure, according to the purpose of Him who works all things in accordance with the counsel of His will; and therefore all alike redound solely to His praise.

In these outstanding passages, however, there are only expounded, though with special richness, ideas which govern the Pauline literature, and which come now and again to clear expression in each group of St. Paul's letters. The whole doctrine of election, for instance, lies as truly in the declaration of 2 Th 2^{13} or that of 2 Ti 1^{9} (cf. 2 Ti 2^{19}, Tit 3^{5}) as in the passages we have considered from Romans (cf. 1 Co 1^{26-31}) and Ephesians (cf. Eph 2^{10}, Col 1^{27} $3^{12.15}$, Ph 4^{3}). It may be possible to trace minor distinctions through the several groups of letters in forms of statement or modes of relating the doctrine to other conceptions; but from the beginning to the end of St. Paul's activity as a Christian teacher his fundamental teaching as to the Christian calling and life is fairly summed up in the declaration that those that are saved are God's 'workmanship created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God afore prepared that they should walk in them' (Eph 2^{10}).

The most striking impression made upon us by a survey of the whole material is probably the intensity of St. Paul's practical interest in the doctrine—a matter fairly illustrated by the passage just quoted (Eph 2^{10}). Nothing is more noticeable than his zeal in enforcing its two chief practical contents—the assurance it should bring to believers of their eternal safety in the faithful hands of God, and the ethical energy it should arouse within them to live worthily of their vocation. It is one of St. Paul's most persistent exhortations, that believers should remember that their salvation is not committed to their own weak hands, but rests securely on the faithfulness of the God who has called them according to His purpose (*e.g.* 1 Th 5^{24}, 1 Co $1^{8f.}$ 10^{13}, Ph 1^{6}). Though the appropriation of their salvation begins in an act of faith on their own part, which is consequent on the hearing of the gospel, their appointment to salvation itself does not depend on this act of faith, nor on any fitness discoverable in them on the foresight of which God's choice of them might be supposed to be based, but (as 1 Th 2^{13} already indicates) both the preaching of the gospel and the exercise of faith consistently appear as steps in the carrying out of an election not conditioned on their occurrence, but embracing them as means to the end set by the free purpose of God. The case is precisely the same with all subsequent acts of the Christian life. So far is St. Paul from supposing that election to life should operate to enervate moral endeavour, that it is precisely from the fact that the willing and doing of man rest on an energizing willing and doing of God, which in turn rest on His eternal purpose, that the apostle derives his most powerful and most frequently urged motive for ethical action. That tremendous 'therefore,' with which at the opening of the twelfth chapter of Romans he passes from the doctrinal to the ethical part of the Epistle,—from a doctrinal exposition the very heart of which is salvation by pure grace apart from all works, and which had just closed with the fullest discussion of the effects of election to be found in all his writings, to the rich exhortations to high moral effort with which the closing chapters of this Epistle are filled,—may justly be taken as the normal illation of his whole ethical teaching. His Epistles, in fact, are sown (as indeed is the whole NT) with particular instances of the same appeal (*e.g.* 1 Th 2^{12}, 2 Th 2^{13-15}, Ro 6, 2 Co 5^{14}, Col 1^{10}, Ph 1^{21} $2^{12.13}$, 2 Ti 2^{19}). In Ph $2^{12.13}$ it attains, perhaps, its sharpest expression: here the saint is exhorted to work out his own salvation with fear and trembling, just because it is God who is working in him both the willing and the doing because of His 'good-pleasure'—obviously but another way of saying, 'If God is for us, who can be against us?'

There is certainly presented in this a problem for those who wish to operate in this matter with an irreconcilable 'either, or,' and who can conceive of no freedom of man which is under the control of God. St. Paul's theism was, however, of too pure a quality to tolerate in the realm of creation any force beyond the sway of Him who, as he says, is over all, and through all, and in all (Eph 4^{6}), working all things according to the counsel of His will (Eph 1^{11}). And it must be confessed that it is more facile than satisfactory to set his theistic world-view summarily aside as a 'merely religious view,' which stands in conflict with a truly ethical conception of the world—perhaps even with a repetition of Fritzsche's jibe that St. Paul would have reasoned better on the high themes of 'fate, free-will, and providence' had he sat at the feet of Aristotle rather than at those of Gamaliel. Antiquity produced, however, no ethical genius equal to St. Paul, and even as a teacher of the foundations of ethics Aristotle himself might well be content to sit rather at his feet; and it does not at once appear why a so-called 'religious' conception may not have as valid a ground in human nature, and as valid a right to determine human conviction, as a so-called 'ethical' one. It can serve no good purpose even to proclaim an insoluble antinomy here: such an antinomy St. Paul assuredly did not feel, as he urged the predestination of God not more as a ground of assurance of salvation than as the highest motive of moral effort; and it does not seem impossible for even us weaker thinkers to follow him some little way at least in looking upon those twin bases of religion and morality—the ineradicable feelings of dependence and responsibility—not as antagonistic sentiments of a hopelessly divided heart, but as fundamentally the same profound conviction operating in a double sphere. At all events, St. Paul's pure theistic view-point, which conceived God as in His providential *concursus* working all things according to the counsel of His will (Eph 1^{11}) in entire consistency with the action of second causes, necessary and free, the proximate producers of events, supplied him with a very real point of departure for his conception of the same God, in the operations of His grace, working the willing and the doing of Christian men, without the least infringement of the integrity of the free determination by which each grace is proximately attained. It does not belong to our present task to expound the nature of that Divine act by which St. Paul represents God as 'calling' sinners 'into communion with his Son,' itself the first step in the realization in their lives of that conformity to His image to which they are predestinated in the counsels of eternity, and of which the first manifestation is that faith in the Redeemer of God's elect out of which the whole Christian life unfolds. Let it only be observed in passing that he obviously conceives it as an act of God's almighty power, removing old inabilities and creating new abilities of living, loving action. It is enough for our present purpose to perceive that even in this act St. Paul did not conceive God as dehumanizing man, but rather as energizing man in a new direction of his powers; while in all his subsequent activities the analogy of the *concursus* of Providence is express. In his own view, his strenuous assertion of the predetermination in God's purpose of all the acts of saint and sinner alike in the matter of salvation, by which the discrimination of men into saved and lost is carried back to the free counsel of God's will, as little involves violence to the ethical spontaneity of their activities on the one side, as on the other it involves unrighteousness in God's dealings with His creatures. He does not speculatively discuss the methods of the Divine providence; but the fact of its universality—over all beings and actions alike—forms one of his most primary presuppositions; and naturally he finds no difficulty in postulating the inclusion in the prior intention of God of what is subsequently evolved in the course of His providential government.

v. The Bible Doctrine of Predestination.—A survey of the whole material thus cursorily brought before us exhibits the existence of a consistent Bible doctrine of predestination, which, because rooted in, and indeed only a logical outcome of, the fundamental Biblical theism, is taught in all its essential elements from the beginning of the Biblical revelation, and is only more fully unfolded in detail as the more developed religious consciousness and the course of the history of redemption required.

The *subject* of the Decree is uniformly conceived as God in the fulness of His moral personality. It is not to chance, nor to necessity, nor yet to an abstract or arbitrary will,—to God acting inadvertently, inconsiderately, or by any necessity of nature,—but specifically to the almighty, all-wise, all-holy, all-righteous, faithful, loving God, to the Father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, that is ascribed the predetermination of the course of events. Naturally, the contemplation of the plan in accordance with which all events come to pass calls out primarily a sense of the unsearchable wisdom of Him who framed it, and of the illimitable power of Him who executes it; and these attributes are accordingly much dwelt upon when the Divine predestination is adverted to. But the moral attributes are no less emphasized, and the Biblical writers find their comfort continually in the assurance that it is the righteous, holy, faithful, loving God in whose hands rests the determination of the sequence of events and all their issues. Just because it is the determination of God, and represents Him in all His fulness, the decree is ever set forth further as in its *nature* eternal, absolute, and immutable. And it is only an explication of these qualities when it is further insisted upon, as it is throughout the Bible, that it is essentially one single composite purpose, into which are worked all the details included in it, each in its appropriate place; that it is the pure determination of the Divine will—that is, not to be confounded on the one hand with an act of the Divine intellect on which it rests, nor on the other with its execution by His power in the works of creation and providence; that it is free and unconditional—that is, not the product of compulsion from without nor of necessity of nature from within, nor based or conditioned on any occurrence outside itself, foreseen or unforeseen; and that it is certainly efficacious, or rather constitutes the unchanging norm according to which He who is the King over all administers His government over the universe. Nor is it to pass beyond the necessary implications of the fundamental idea when it is further taught, as it is always taught throughout the Scriptures, that the *object* of the decree is the whole universe of things and all their activities, so that nothing comes to pass, whether in the sphere of necessary or free causation, whether good or bad, save in accordance with the provisions of the primal plan, or more precisely save as the outworking in fact of what had lain in the Divine mind as purpose from all eternity, and is now only unfolded into actuality as the fulfilment of His all-determining will. Finally, it is equally unvaryingly represented that the *end* which the decreeing God had in view in framing His purpose is to be sought not without but within Himself, and may be shortly declared as His own praise, or, as we now commonly say, the glory of God. Since it antedates the existence of all things outside of God and provides for their coming into being, they all without exception must be ranked as means to its end, which can be discovered only in the glory of the Divine purposer Himself. The whole Bible doctrine of the decree revolves, in a word, around the simple idea of purpose. Since God is a Person, the very mark of His being is purpose. Since He is an infinite Person, His purpose is eternal and independent, all-inclusive and effective. Since He is a moral Person, His purpose is the perfect exposition of all His infinite moral perfections. Since He is the personal creator of all that exists, His purpose can find its final cause only in Himself.

Against this general doctrine of the decree, the Bible doctrine of ELECTION is thrown out into special prominence, being, as it is, only a particular application of the general doctrine of the decree to the matter of the dealings of God with a sinful race. In its fundamental characteristics it therefore partakes of all the elements of the general doctrine of the decree. It, too, is necessarily an act of God in His completeness as an infinite moral Person, and is therefore eternal, absolute, immutable—the independent, free, unconditional, effective determination by the Divine will of the objects of His saving operations. In the development of the idea, however, there are certain elements which receive a special stress. There is nothing that is more constantly emphasized than the absolute *sovereignty* of the elective choice. The very essence of the doctrine is made, indeed, to consist in the fact that, in the whole administration of His grace, God is moved by no consideration derived from the special recipients of His saving mercy, but the entire account of its distribution is to be found hidden in the free counsels of His own will. That it is not of him that runs, nor of him that wills, but of God that shows mercy, that the sinner obtains salvation, is the steadfast witness of the whole body of Scripture, urged with such reiteration and in such varied connexions as to exclude the possibility that there may lurk behind the act of election considerations of foreseen characters or acts or circumstances—all of which appear rather as results of election as wrought out in fact by the *providentia specialissima* of the electing God. It is with no less constancy of emphasis that the roots of the Divine election are planted in His unsearchable love, by which it appears as *the supreme act of grace*. Contemplation of the general plan of God, including in its provisions every event which comes to pass in the whole universe of being during all the ages, must redound in the first instance to the praise of the infinite wisdom which has devised it all; or as our appreciation of its provisions is deepened, of the glorious righteousness by which it is informed. Contemplation of the particular element in His purpose which provides for the rescue of lost sinners from the destruction due to their guilt, and their restoration to right and to God, on the other hand draws our thoughts at once to His inconceivable love, and must redound, as the Scriptures delight to phrase it, to the praise of His glorious grace. It is ever, therefore, specifically to the love of God that the Scriptures ascribe His elective decree, and they are never weary of raising our eyes from the act itself to its source in the Divine compassion. A similar emphasis is also everywhere cast on the *particularity* of the Divine election. So little is it the designation of a mere class to be filled up by undetermined individuals in the exercise of their own determination; or of mere conditions, or characters, or qualities, to be fulfilled or attained by the undetermined activities of individuals, foreseen or unforeseen; that the Biblical writers take special pains to carry home to the heart of each individual believer the assurance that he himself has been from all eternity the particular object of the Divine choice, and that he owes it to this Divine choice alone that he is a member of the class of the chosen ones, that he is able to fulfil the conditions of salvation, that he can hope to attain the character on which alone God can look with complacency, that he can look forward to an eternity of bliss as his own possession. It is the very nerve of the Biblical doctrine that each individual of that enormous multitude that constitutes the great host of the people of God, and that is illustrating the character of Christ in the new life now lived in the strength of the Son of God, has from all eternity been the particular object of the Divine regard, and is only now fulfilling the high destiny designed for him from the foundation of the world.

The Biblical writers are as far as possible from obscuring the doctrine of election because of any seemingly unpleasant corollaries that flow from it. On the contrary, they expressly draw the corollaries which have often been so designated, and make them a part of their explicit teaching. Their doctrine of election, they are free to tell us, for example, does certainly involve a corresponding *doctrine of preterition*. The very term adopted in NT to express it—ἐκλέγομαι, which, as Meyer justly says (Eph 1[4]), '*always* has, and must *of logical necessity* have, a reference to *others* to whom the chosen would, without the ἐκλογή, still belong'—embodies a declaration of the fact that in their election others are passed by and left without the gift of salvation; the whole presentation of the doctrine is such as either to imply or openly to assert, on its every emergence, the removal of the elect by the pure grace of God, not merely from a state of condemnation, but out of the company of the condemned—a company on whom the grace of God has no saving effect, and who are therefore left without hope in their sins; and the positive just reprobation of the impenitent for their sins is repeatedly explicitly taught in sharp contrast with the gratuitous salvation of the elect despite their sins. But, on the other hand, it is ever taught that, as the body out of which believers are chosen by God's unsearchable grace is the mass of justly condemned sinners, so the destruction to which those that are passed by are left is the righteous recompense of their guilt. Thus the discrimination between men in the matter of eternal destiny is distinctly set forth as taking place in the interests of mercy and for the sake of salvation: from the fate which justly hangs over all, God is represented as in His infinite compassion rescuing those chosen to this end in His inscrutable counsels of mercy to the praise of the glory of His grace; while those that are left in their sins perish most deservedly, as the justice of God demands. And as the broader lines of God's gracious dealings with the world lying in its iniquity are more and more fully drawn for us, we are enabled ultimately to perceive that the Father of spirits has not distributed His elective grace with niggard hand, but from the beginning has had in view the restoration to Himself of the whole world; and through whatever slow approaches (as men count slowness) He has made thereto—first in the segregation of the Jews for the keeping of the service of God alive in the midst of an evil world, and then in their rejection in order that the fulness of the Gentiles might be gathered in, and finally through them Israel in turn may all be saved—has ever been conducting the world in His loving wisdom and His wise love to its destined goal of salvation,—now and again, indeed, shutting up this or that element of it unto disobedience, but never merely in order that it might fall, but that in the end He might have mercy upon all. Thus the Biblical writers bid us raise our eyes, not only from the justly condemned lost, that we may with deeper feeling contemplate the marvels of the Divine love in the saving of sinners no better than they and with no greater claims on the Divine mercy; but from the relatively insignificant body of the lost, as but the prunings gathered beneath the branches of the olive-tree planted by the Lord's own hand, to fix them on the thrifty stock itself and the crown of luxuriant leafage and ever more richly ripening fruit, as under the loving pruning and grafting of the great Husbandman it grows and flourishes and puts forth its boughs until it shall shade the whole earth. This, according to the Biblical writers, is the end of election; and this is nothing other than the salvation of the world. Though in the process of the ages the goal is not attained without prunings and fires of burning,—though all the wild-olive twigs are not throughout the centuries grafted in, —yet the goal of a saved world shall at the end be gloriously realized. Meanwhile, the hope of the world, the hope of the Church, and the hope of the individual alike, is cast solely on the mercy of a freely electing God, in whose hands are all things, and not least the care of the advance of His saving grace in the world. And it is undeniable that whenever, as the years have passed by, the currents of religious feeling have run deep, and the higher ascents of religious thinking have been scaled, it has ever been on the free might of Divine grace that Christians have been found to cast their hopes for the salvation alike of the world, the Church, and the individual; and whenever they have thus turned in trust to the pure grace of God, they have spontaneously given expression to their faith in terms of the Divine election.

See also ELECTION, REPROBATE, WILL.

LITERATURE.—The Biblical material can best be surveyed with the help of the Lexicons on the terms employed (esp. Cremer), the commentaries on the passages, and the sections in the several treatises on Biblical Theology dealing with this and cognate themes; among these last, the works of Dillmann on the OT, and Holtzmann on the NT, may be especially profitably consulted. The Pauline doctrine has, in particular, been made the subject of almost endless discussion, chiefly, it must be confessed, with the object of softening its outlines or of explaining it more or less away. Perhaps the following are the more important recent treatises:—Poelman, *de Jesu Apostolorumque, Pauli præsertim, doctrina de prædestinatione divina et morali hominis libertate*, Gron. 1851; Weiss, 'Predestinationslehre des Ap. Paul,' in *Jahrbb. f. D. Theol.* 1857, p. 54 f.; Lamping, *Pauli de prædestinatione decretorum enarratio*, Leov. 1858; Goens, *Le rôle de la liberté humaine dans la prédestination Paulinienne*, Lausanne, 1884; Ménégoz, *La prédestination dans la théologie Paulinienne*, Paris, 1885; Dalmer, 'Zur Paulinischen Erwählungslehre,' in *Greifswälder Studien*, Gütersloh, 1895. The publication of Karl Müller's valuable treatise on *Die Göttliche Zuvorersehung und Erwählung*, etc. (Halle, 1892), has called out a new literature on the section Ro 9–11, the most important items in which are probably the reprint of Beyschlag's *Die Paulinische Theodicee* (1896, first published in 1868), and Dalmer, *Die Erwählung Israels nach der Heilsverkündigung des Ap. Paul.* (Gütersloh, 1894), and Kuhl, 'Zur Paulinischen Theodicee,' in the *Theologische Studien*, presented to B. Weiss (Göttingen, 1897). But of these only Goens recognizes the double predestination; even Müller, whose treatise is otherwise of the first value, argues against it, and so does Dalmer in his very interesting discussions; the others are still less in accordance with their text (cf. the valuable critical note on the recent literature in Holtzmann's *NT Theologie*, ii. 171–174).

Discussions of the doctrine of post-Canonical Judaism may be found in Hamburger, *Real-Encyc.* ii. 102 f., art. 'Bestimmung'; Weber, *Jüd. Theol.* 148 ff., 205 ff.; Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 14 f. (cf. p. 2 f., where the passages from Josephus are collected); Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus*, i. 316 ff., art. 'Philo' in Smith and Wace, 383^{a}, and *Speak. Com.* on Ecclesiasticus, pp. 14, 16; Ryle and James, *Psalms of Solomon* on 9^{7} and Introd.; Montet, *Origines des partis saducéen et pharisien*, 258 f.; Holtzmann, *NT Theologie*, i. 32, 55; P. J. Muller, *De Godsleer der middeleeuwische Joden*, Groningen, 1898; further literature is given in Schürer.—For post-Canonical Christian discussion, see the literature at the end of art. ELECTION in the present work, vol. i. p. 681.

B. B. WARFIELD.

PREDICTION.—See PROPHECY, p. 120 f.

PRE-EXISTENCE OF SOULS.—The only hint in NT of a belief in the existence of human souls prior to birth is in Jn 9^{2}, where the disciples of Jesus put the question, 'Rabbi, who did sin, *this man*, or his parents, that he should be *born* blind?' The *primâ facie* interpretation of this passage certainly is that the disciples believed it possible that the soul of this man had sinned before the man was born. Many commentators, as, *e.g.*, Dr. David Brown, hold this to be untenable, because 'the Jews did not believe in the pre-existence of souls.' If by this is meant that this belief did not form part of the older Jewish religion, that would be correct, for the tenor of OT teaching is distinctly traducian. In Gn 2^{7} we are taught that the soul of the first man was due to the Divine in-breathing; and Gn 5^{3} tells that 'Adam begat a son, after his image.' But to affirm that Jews in Christ's time did not believe in pre-existence, is simply inaccurate. The disciples of Jesus had at all events *some* points of affinity with the Essenes; and Josephus expressly states that the Essenes believe that the souls of men are immortal, and dwell in the subtlest ether, but, being drawn down by physical passion, they are united with bodies, as it were in prisons (*BJ* II. viii. 11). In Wis 8^{11} the doctrine is clearly taught: 'A good soul fell to my lot: nay rather, being good I came into a body that was undefiled.' Philo also believed in a realm of incorporeal souls, which may be arranged in two ranks: some have descended into mortal bodies and been released after a time; others have maintained their purity, and kept aloft close to the ether itself (Drummond, *Philo Judæus*, i. 336). In the Talmud and Midrash, pre-existence is constantly taught. The abode of souls is called *Guph*, or the Treasury (אוֹצָר), where they have dwelt since they were created in the beginning. The angel Lilith receives instruction from God as to which soul shall inhabit each body. The soul is taken to heaven and then to hell, and afterwards enters the womb and vivifies the fœtus. (Weber, *Lehren des Talmud*, 204, 217 ff. [*Jüd. Theologie auf Grund des Talmud*^{2}, etc. 212, 225 ff.]).

Whence did Judaism derive a creed so much at variance with its earlier faith? Most probably from Plato. There are some scholars, however, who find support for the doctrine even in the OT: *e.g.* Job 1^{21} 'Naked came I from my mother's womb, and naked shall I return thither.' To find pre-existence here, one must suppose the mother's womb to be the abode of souls, and 'I' to be the naked soul. Sir 40^{1} seems to be explaining the word 'thither' in Job 1^{21}, when it says, 'Great travail is created for every man, from the day they go forth from their mother's womb to the day of their return to the *mother of all living*.' Again, in Ps 139^{13-15} some scholars find an account of the origin, first, of the body, then of the soul: 'Thou hast woven me in the womb of my *mother*. My substance was not hid from thee, when I was formed in the secret place, when I was wrought in the deeps of the *earth*.' Since the doctrine of pre-existence is not in the line of Revelation, most divines are reluctant to admit that it is taught in these passages. Dr. Davidson on Job 1^{21} says, 'The words "my mother's womb" must be taken literally; and "return thither" somewhat inexactly, to describe a condition similar to that which preceded entrance upon life and light.' And as for Ps 139^{15}, Oehler, Dillmann, and Schultz prefer to interpret it of the formation of the *body* in a place as dark and mysterious as the depths of the earth. The passage in Jn 9^{2} simply represents the earlier creed of the disciples. There is no evidence that it formed part of their mature Christian faith.

J. T. MARSHALL.

PREPARATION DAY (ἡ παρασκευή).—In the Gospels the day on which Christ died is called 'the

Preparation' (Mt 27^{62}, Mk 15^{42}, Jn 19^{31}), 'the day of (the) Preparation' (Lk 23^{54}), 'the Jews' Preparation (day)' (Jn 19^{42}), 'the Preparation of the passover' (Jn 19^{14}). In Mk and Lk it is further defined by the clauses, 'that is, the day before the Sabbath' (*προσάββατον*), and 'the Sabbath drew on.' 'The Preparation' therefore appears to have been the regular name for the sixth day of the week as 'Sabbath' was for the seventh. This is confirmed by Jos. (*Ant.* XVI. vi. 2), where it is said that Augustus relieved the Jews from certain legal duties on the Sabbath and on 'the Preparation which preceded it from the ninth hour.' In Jth 8^6 mention is made of *προσάββατα* as well as *σάββατα*, and also of *προνουμηνίαι* (day preceding the festival of new moon); cf. also the LXX in Ps 92 (93) title: *εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ προσαββάτου.* In the Talm. also the sixth day is called עֲרוּבְתָּא (evening), and the same word is used in the Syriac Gospels (*'ărûbhtâ*); while, in ecclesiastical writers beginning with the *Teaching of the Apostles* (viii.), *παρασκευή* is the regular name for Friday, as it still is in modern Greek. The title naturally arose from the need of preparing food, etc., for the Sabbath (see SABBATH). It was apparently applied first to the afternoon of the sixth day and afterwards to the whole day.

The phraseology in Jn 19^{14} ('it was the Preparation *of* the Passover') is, however, held by many expositors to indicate that by this term St. John meant the preparation *for* the paschal feast, *i.e.* Nisan 14. Some conclude that he used the term differently from the Synoptists, and as equivalent to the rabbinic עֶרֶב הַפֶּסַח (passover-eve); this being part of the alleged difference between him and them as to the date of Christ's death. Westcott (*Introd. to Gosp.* 1875, p. 339), on the other hand, argues that the Synoptists also meant 'preparation *for* the passover.' But the latter view forces their language, and St. John's phrase may properly mean 'the Preparation (day) of the paschal feast,' *i.e.* the Friday of passover-week. This is made the more probable by the Synoptists' use of it, and by its appearance, as the name for Friday, in so early a work as *The Teaching of the Apostles.* Its use in Jn $19^{31.\,42}$ also best accords with this interpretation.

G. T. PURVES.

PRESBYTER.—See BISHOP, CHURCH GOVERNMENT, and following article.

PRESBYTERY (*πρεσβυτέριον*).—The Gr. word is used in NT for the Jewish Sanhedrin (Lk 22^{66}, Ac 22^5). See SANHEDRIN. It also occurs once where the connexion shows that it refers to the body of elders in a church, Timothy receiving a spiritual gift through the imposition of the hands of the presbytery (1 Ti 4^{14}). This implies a certain corporate unity in the collective action of the elders. Wherever the eldership appears in NT there is a plurality of elders. We have no means of discovering how many there were in each presbytery. The only numerical reference to the subject in NT is descriptive of the heavenly presbytery (Rev 4^4 etc.), where the number 'twenty-four' is evidently mystical, referring perhaps to the double of the 'twelve,' which is drawn from the twelve tribes of Israel, or the twelve patriarchs together with the twelve apostles, or to the twenty-four courses of the priests (Simcox, *Rev.* p. 31). Probably the number would vary according to the size of the church, as the number of elders in a synagogue varied according to the population of Jews in its locality.

We have no evidence that in the earliest times there was a presbytery in every church. The references to discipline in Romans, Galatians, and esp. in 1 and 2 Corinthians, show that if presbyteries existed in the churches addressed they were not very prominent or powerful. The silence of St. Paul on the subject suggests the inference that at Corinth, at all events, and possibly also elsewhere, no presbytery had yet been formed. On the South-Galatian theory, however, Ac 14^{23} would indicate that there must have been elders in the churches to which the Ep. to Gal. was sent. At first the presbytery was almost, if not entirely, confined to Jewish churches (Hatch in *Dict. Chr. Ant.* art. 'Priest,' p. 1699 f.). Still the title *πρεσβύτερος* and the organization of local government in Gr. cities, still more the use of this title in religious guilds, must have prepared for the acceptance of a presbytery in Gentile circles of Christians (Löning, *Die Gemeindeverfassung*, p. 9). Even among the Jews, however, it does not appear that there were elders in connexion with every synagogue (Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 27). It is reasonable, therefore, to conclude that at first the organization of a presbytery proceeded more rapidly in some churches than in others.

In teaching, of course, the presbyters would have acted separately according to their individual gifts and opportunities. It would be in government and discipline that the corporate presbytery discharged its principal functions. These appear to have been the chief functions of the presbyters, as they are the most frequently referred to. It was not every elder who undertook the work of teaching (1 Ti 5^{17}); but there is no indication that any of the elders were excepted from the duty of ruling. The function of exercising a general oversight of their church is implied in the use of the words *ἐπισκοπεῖν* (1 P $5^{1\text{ff.}}$) and *ἐπισκοπή* (Clem. Rom. 1st Ep. xliv. 1) for the duties of elders. At Jerusalem the presbytery served as a board of church finance, the contributions for the poor being delivered into the hands 'of the elders' (Ac 11^{30}). These elders acted jointly at the 'Jerusalem council,' where they appear associated with the apostles—'the apostles *and* the elders, *with* the whole church' (Ac 15^{22}). The reference to the ordination of Timothy shows that in performing that function the elders acted in concert (1 Ti 4^{14}). The analogy of the synagogue would suggest that in the discharge of their administrative and judicial functions the presbyters were united into a council, corresponding to the local Jewish *συνέδριον*. We have no account of the way in which they came to a decision. The precedent of the Sanhedrin would suggest that they would discuss questions and decide by vote. There is no indication that there was ever a serious discord in a presbytery during NT times. The question of the presidentship in the primitive presbytery is most obscure. St. James is president of the church at Jerusalem; but his case is altogether exceptional. As the brother of Jesus, he seems to have had a personal pre-eminence given to him. It does not appear that he was a presbyter. No similar pre-eminence is seen in any other church. The apostles, when they visit a church, naturally take the lead. But that is only temporary. The emergence of one elder over the head of his brethren with the exclusive use of the name 'bishop,' which was previously given to a plurality, if not to the whole, of the elders, is not found in NT, nor does it appear before the 2nd cent. In the NT the presbytery seems to consist of a body of elders of equal rank. See BISHOP, CHURCH, CHURCH GOVERNMENT, ELDER.

W. F. ADENEY.

PRESENT.—See GIFT.

PRESENTLY in AV always means 'at once' instead of, as now, 'soon, but *not* at once.' It occurs in 1 S 2^{16} (כַּיּוֹם, AVm 'as on the day,' RVm 'first'); Pr 12^{16} (בַּיּוֹם, AVm 'in that day,' RVm 'openly'); Sir 9^{13} (no Greek, RV omits); Mt 21^{19}

(*παραχρῆμα*, RV 'immediately'); 26^{53} (*παραστήσει μοι*, AV 'will presently give me,' RV 'will even now send me'); Ph 2^{23} (*ἐξαυτῆς*, RV 'forthwith'). In the same sense it is used also in the Preface to AV, as 'Neither were we barred or hindered from going over it again, having once done it, like Saint Hierome, if that be true which himself reporteth, that he could no sooner write anything, but presently it was caught from him and published, and he could not have leave to mend it.' Cf. Fuller, *Holy Warre*, 178, 'The Dominicanes and Franciscanes . . . were no sooner hatched in the world, but presently chirped in the pulpits'; and *Holy State*, 14, 'Base is their nature who . . . will let go none of their goods, as if it presaged their speedy death; whereas it doth not follow that he that puts off his cloke must presently go to bed.'

J. HASTINGS.

PRESIDENT occurs in EV only in Dn $6^{2.\ 3.\ 4.\ 6.\ 7}$, as tr^{n} of סרך (only in plur. סָרְכִין, emphat. סָרְכַיָּא), which is probably a loanword from some Persian derivative of *sar* 'head,' and thus='chief' (Prince, *Dan.* p. 234). Daniel is said to have been one of the three 'presidents' who were set by Darius over the 120 satraps of his empire. Theod. renders in the above passage by *τακτικοί* except in v.^{7}, where he has *στρατηγοί*; LXX by *ἡγούμενοι* in v.^{2}, where alone the term is directly translated.

PRESS (*ὄχλος*) is used for a crowd in Mk 2^{4} $5^{27.\ 30}$, Lk 8^{19} 19^{3}; RV always 'crowd.' Cf. Jn 5^{13}, Tind., 'Iesus had gotten him selfe awaye, because that ther was preace of people in the place'; Elyot, *Governour*, ii. 292, 'Such noble courage was in great kynge Alexander, that in hys warres agayne Darius, he was sene of all hys people fightynge in the prease of his enemyes bare heded'; and Spenser, *FQ* I. iii. 3—

> 'Yet she most faithfull ladie all this while
> Forsaken, wofull, solitarie mayd,
> Far from all peoples preace, as in exile,
> In wildernesse and wastfull deserts strayd,
> To seeke her knight.'

The verb to press is used in the same sense: Gn 19^{9} 'They pressed sore upon the man, even Lot, and came near to break the door' (יִפְצְרוּ בָּאִישׁ; but in v.^{3} AV 'press upon,' RV 'urge,' and in 33^{11} AV and RV 'urge,' the same word is used figuratively); 2 Mac 14^{9} 'Be careful for . . . our nation which is pressed on every side' (*τοῦ περιϊσταμένου γένους ἡμῶν*, RV 'our race, which is surrounded by foes,' RVm 'is hardly bestead'); Mk 3^{10} 'Insomuch that they pressed upon him for to touch him' (*ὥστε ἐπιπίπτειν αὐτῷ*, AVm 'rushed upon him,' RVm 'fell upon him'); Lk 5^{1} 'As the people pressed upon him to hear the word of God' (*ἐν τῷ τὸν ὄχλον ἐπικεῖσθαι αὐτῷ*); 8^{45} 'The multitude throng thee and press thee' (*οἱ ὄχλοι συνέχουσί σε καὶ ἀποθλίβουσι*, RV 'the multitudes press thee and crush thee'). From this it is easy to pass to the sense of urgent endeavour, as Lk 16^{16} 'Since that time the kingdom of God is preached, and every man presseth into it' (*πᾶς εἰς αὐτὴν βιάζεται*, RV 'every man entereth violently into it'); and Ph 3^{14} 'I press toward the mark' (*κατὰ σκοπὸν διώκω*, RV 'I press on toward the goal'). In Ac 18^{5} we have an application of the same meaning, but more figurative: 'Paul was pressed in the spirit and testified' (*συνείχετο τῷ πνεύματι*, edd. *τῷ λόγῳ*, RV 'was constrained by the word'). Cf. Lv 21^{17} Tind. 'No man of thi seed in their generacions that hath any deformyte apon him, shall prese for to offer the bred of his God'; Lk 14^{7} Tind. 'He put forthe a similitude to the gestes, when he marked how they preased to the hyest roumes'; Holland, *Marcellinus*, p. 70 (ed. 1609), 'Whiles the barbarous enemies preassed on all in plumpes and heapes.'

J. HASTINGS.

PRESS, PRESSFAT.—See FAT and WINE.

PREVENT.—This word is more frequently used in AV than in any previous version. It does not occur in Wyclif, and in Tindale but rarely. The AV was translated at the time of its greatest popularity. Its meaning is, after the Lat. *prævenire* and the Fr. *prévenir*, 'to be before,' 'to anticipate.' Very often the word has practically the opposite of its modern meaning. In a note to Jn 3^{18} the Rhemish translators say, 'The obstinate Heretike is condemned by his owne judgement, preventing in him self, of his owne free wil, the sentence both of Christ and of the Church.' The Heb. verb so translated in AV is always [קדם], chiefly in the Piel, twice (Job 41^{11}, Am 9^{10}) in the Hiphil. The Greek verbs are *φθάνω* (Wis 4^{7} 6^{13} 16^{28}, 1 Th 4^{15}), or *προφθάνω* (1 Mac 10^{23}, Mt 17^{25}), and once *προκαταλαμβάνω* (1 Mac 6^{27}).

1. *To be before, anticipate:* Ps 88^{13} 'In the morning shall my prayer prevent thee' (LXX *προφθάσει σε*, Vulg. *præveniet te*, Cov. 'cometh my prayer before thee,' Perowne 'cometh to meet thee,' RV as Cov. 'shall come before thee'); $119^{147.\ 148}$ 'I prevented the dawning of the morning and cried' . . . 'mine eyes prevent the night watches' (LXX *προέφθασάν με . . . προέφθασαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου*, Vulg. *præveni in maturitate . . . prævenerunt oculi mei*, Purvey 'I befor cam in ripenesse . . . myn eyen befor camen to thee ful eerli,' Cov. 'Early in the mornynge do I crie unto the . . . myne eyes prevente the night watches,' Cheyne 'I forestalled the daylight and cried for help . . . mine eyes outgo the night watches,' de Witt 'I am up before dawn . . . mine eyes forestall every watch in the night'); Wis 4^{7} 'Though the righteous be prevented with death, yet shall he be in rest' (*ἐὰν φθάσῃ τελευτῆσαι*, Vulg. *si morte præoccupatus fuerit*, Cov. 'be overtaken with death,' Gen. 'be prevented with death,' RV 'though he die before his time'); 6^{13} 'She [Wisdom] preventeth them that desire her, in making herself first known unto them' (*φθάνει τοὺς ἐπιθυμοῦντας προγνωσθῆναι*, Vulg. *Præoccupat qui se concupiscunt, ut illis se prior ostendat*, Cov. 'She preventeth them that desyre her,' RV 'She forestalleth them that desire to know her'); 16^{28} 'We must prevent the sun to give thee thanks' (*δεῖ φθάνειν τὸν ἥλιον*, Vulg. *oportet prævenire solem*, Gen. 'We oght to prevente the sunne rising to give thankes unto thee,' RV 'We must rise before the sun to give thee thanks'); Mt 17^{25} 'When he was come into the house, Jesus prevented him, saying, What thinkest thou, Simon?' (*προέφθασεν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰησοῦς*, Vulg. *prævenit cum Iesus*, Wyc. 'Jhesus came bifore hym,' Tind. 'Iesus spake fyrst to him,' Cov. 'Iesus prevented him,' RV as Tind. 'Jesus spake first to him'); 1 Th 4^{15} 'We which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not prevent them which are asleep' (*ὅτι . . . οὐ μὴ φθάσωμεν τοὺς κοιμηθέντας*, Vulg. *non præveniemus eos qui dormierunt*, Wyc. 'schulen not come bifore hem that slepten,' Tind. 'shall not come yerre they which slepe,' Gen. 'shal not prevent them which slepe'; RV 'shall in no wise precede them that are fallen asleep').

The following quotations illustrate this first meaning:—

Udall, *Erasmus' Paraphrase*, fol. vii., 'the Gentyles that wer far of do prevente the Jewes which wer thought to be next unto God'; Hall, *Contemplations*, ii. 122, 'When he was upon the sea of Tiberius . . . they followed him so fast on foot that they prevented his landing'; North's *Plutarch*, 879, 'The conspirators, having prevented this danger, saved themselves'; Mk 14^{8} Rhem. 'She hath prevented to anoint my body to the burial'; Milton, *Hymn on the Nativity*—

> 'See how from far upon the eastern rode
> The star-led Wizards haste with Odours sweet;
> O run, prevent them with thy humble ode,
> And lay it lowly at his blessed feet;
> Have thou the honour first thy Lord to greet.'

2. *To anticipate for one's good:* Job 41^{11} 'Who hath prevented me that I should repay him?' (מִי הִקְדִּימַנִי וַאֲשַׁלֵּם,* Vulg. *Quis ante dedit mihi ut reddam ei?*, Cov. 'Who hath geven me eny thynge afore hande, that I am bounde to rewarde him agayne?' RV 'Who hath first given unto me, that I should repay him?'); Ps 21^{3} 'Thou preventest him with the blessings of goodness' (LXX *προέφθασας αὐτὸν ἐν εὐλογίαις χρηστότητος*, Vulg. *prævenisti eum in benedictionibus dulcedinis*; Wyc. 'thou wentist beforn him in blessingus of sweetnesse,' Cov. 'thou hast prevented him with liberall blessinges'); 59^{10} 'The God of my mercy shall prevent me' (LXX *ὁ θεός μου, τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ προφθάσει με*, Vulg. *Deus meus, misericordia ejus præveniet me*, Gen. 'My merciful God will prevent me'; Perowne, 'My God with his loving kindness shall come to meet me'); 79^{8} 'Let thy tender mercies speedily prevent us' (LXX *ταχὺ προκαταλαβέτωσαν ἡμᾶς οἱ οἰκτειρμοί σου*, Vulg. *cito anticipient nos misericordiæ suæ*, Gen. 'Make haste and let thy tender mercies prevent us,' de Witt 'Let thy mercies with speed come to meet us'); Is 21^{14} 'They prevented with their bread him that fled' (LXX *ἄρτοις συναντᾶτε τοῖς φεύγουσιν*, Vulg. *cum panibus occurrite fugienti*, Wyc. 'With loeves agencometh to the fleende,' Purvey 'Renne ye with looves to hym that fleeth'; Cov. 'Meet those with bread that are fled,' Gen. 'Prevent him that fleeth with his bread,' Cheyne 'With his bread meet the fugitive,' Skinner 'Meet the fugitive with bread [suitable] for him'; RV 'The inhabitants of Tema did meet the fugitives with their bread' [so Dt 23^{4} AV itself for same Heb.]).

Illustrations of this meaning are:

Pr. Bk. (1549) *End of Communion*, 'Prevent us, O Lord, in all our doings with thy most gracious favour'; *Art. X.* 'We have no power to do good workes pleasaunt and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christe preventyng us'; Archbishop Hamilton's *Catechism*, fol. xvii, 'We prevenit nocht God with our lufe, luffand him first, bot he prevenit us first with his lufe'; Udall, *Erasmus' Paraphrase*, fol. xcvii, 'Whereas the gospell of my death shall bee preached throughout all the worlde, this woman also shall be mencioned, whiche, with a godly and an holy duety hath prevented my sepulture and buriall'; Hall, *Works*, 466, 'He whose goodnesse is wont to prevent our desires will not give denialls to our importunities'; Ro 12^{10} Rhem. 'With honour preventing one another.'

3. *To get before or forestall so as to hinder:* 2 S 22^{6} ‖ Ps 18^{5} 'The snares of death prevented me' (LXX *προέφθασάν με σκληρότητες* [Ps 18^{5} *παγίδες*] *θανάτου*, Vulg. *prævenerunt* [Ps 18^{5} *præoccupaverunt*] *me laquei mortis*, Wyc. 'There wenten before me the gnaris of deth,' Dou. 'The snares of death have prevented me,' RV 'The snares of death came upon me'); 22^{19} ‖ Ps 18^{18} 'They prevented me in the day of my calamity' (LXX *προέφθασάν με ἡμέραι θλίψεώς μου* [Ps 18^{18} *ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κακώσεώς μου*], Vulg. *Prævenit* [Ps 18^{18} *prævenerunt*] *me in die afflictionis meæ*, Cov. in Ps 18^{18} 'They prevented me in the tyme of my trouble,' Cheyne ['Parchment' ed.] 'They surprised me in the day of my calamity,' RV 'They came upon me in the day of my calamity'); Job 3^{12} 'Why did the knees prevent me?' (LXX *ἵνα τί δὲ συνήντησάν μοι τὰ γόνατα*; Vulg. *Quare exceptus genibus?* Gen. 'Why did the knees prevent me?' RV 'Why did the knees receive me?'); 30^{27} 'The days of affliction prevented me' (LXX *προέφθασάν με ἡμέραι πτωχίας*, Vulg. *prævenerunt me dies afflictionis*, Cov. 'The dayes of my trouble are come upon me,' Dou. 'The dayes of affliction have prevented me,' RV 'Days of affliction are come upon me'); Am 9^{10} 'The evil shall not overtake nor prevent us' (LXX *οὐ μὴ ἐγγίσῃ οὐδὲ μὴ γένηται ἐφ' ἡμᾶς τὰ κακά*, Vulg. *non veniet super nos malum*, Driver 'come in front about us'); 1 Mac 6^{27} 'If thou dost not prevent them quickly, they will do greater things than these' (*ἐὰν μὴ προκαταλάβῃ αὐτούς*, Vulg. *Nisi præveneris eos*, Cov. 'If thou dost not prevent them,' RV 'If ye are not beforehand with them'); 10^{23} 'What have we done that Alexander hath prevented us in making amity with the Jews to strengthen himself?' (*προέφθακεν ἡμᾶς*, Vulg. *præoccupavit nos*, Cov. 'hath prevented us,' RV 'hath been beforehand with us'); 2 Mac 14^{31} 'Knowing that he was notably prevented by Judas' policy' (*ὅτι γενναίως ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐστρατήγηται*, Vulg. *fortiter se a viro præventum*, Cov. 'When he knewe that Machabeus had manfully prevented him,' RV 'When he became aware that he had been bravely defeated by the stratagem of Judas').

Take the following as illustrations:

Fuller, *Holy Warre*, 214, 'Was he old? let him make the more speed, lest envious death should prevent him of this occasion of honour'; *Holy State*, 154, 'Expect not, but prevent their craving of thee'; Adams, *Exposition upon 2nd Peter*, 55, 'Satan's employment is prevented, when he finds thee well employed before he comes'; Knox, *Works*, iii. 319, 'Peter was synckinge downe, and loked for no other thyng but present death, and yet the hande of Christe prevented hym'; Milton, *Sonnets*—

> 'Doth God exact day-labour, light denied?
> I fondly ask. But Patience, to prevent
> That murmur, soon replies, God doth not need
> Either man's work or his own gifts.'

J. HASTINGS.

PREY.—Prey, from Lat. *præda*, booty (perhaps from *præ-hendo*, to seize beforehand), through Old Fr. *praie*, *preie*, is now narrower in meaning than formerly. In AV it includes *booty* or *spoil*. Heb. words properly denoting a wild beast's prey are (1) טֶרֶף *ṭereph*, from טָרַף to tear, to rend (the verb itself is tr. 'prey' in Ps 17^{12} 'Like as a lion that is greedy of his prey,' יִכְסוֹף לִטְרֹף, AVm 'that desireth to ravin,' Cheyne 'longing to tear in pieces'). *Ṭereph* is tr. 'prey' in Gn 49^{9}, Nu 23^{24}, Job 4^{11} 24^{5} (RV 'meat'), Ps 76^{4} 104^{21} 124^{6}, Is 5^{29} 31^{4}, Ezk $19^{3.6}$ 22^{25-27}, Am 3^{4}, Nah $2^{12.13}$ 3^{1}. This is also the proper meaning of (2) חֶתֶף *ḥetheph* (from [חָתַף] to seize), and it is so tr. in its only occurrence, Pr 23^{28} 'She also lieth in wait as for a prey,' AVm 'as a robber,' which is the RV text, RVm 'as for a prey.' Also (3) עַד *'ad* (from עָדָה to attack?), means 'prey,' and is so tr. in Gn 49^{27}, Is 33^{23}, Zeph 3^{8}, its only occurrences (against the view of Hitzig and others that it is עַד in this sense that appears in אֲבִי־עַד of Is $9^{5\,(6)}$, see Dillmann, *ad loc.*). And (4) אֹכֶל *'ōkhel*, which means 'food,' is legitimately tr. 'prey' in Job 9^{26} 39^{29}. But all the remaining words mean *booty* or *spoil* taken in war or snatched as one's share. The chief word is בַּז *baz* (from בָּזַז to plunder, take as spoil; the verb itself is rendered 'take for a prey' in Dt 2^{35} 3^{7}, Jos $8^{2.27}$ 11^{14}, Est 3^{13} 8^{11}; 'make a prey' in Ezk 26^{12}; and 'prey upon' in Jer 30^{16}). A late form of *baz*, בִּזָּה, is tr. 'prey' in Neh 4^{4} ('give them for a prey,' RV 'give them up to spoiling,' Amer. RV 'for a spoil'), Est $9^{15.16}$ (RV 'spoil'), Dn 11^{24} (so RV). The common word שָׁלָל *shālāl* (from שָׁלַל to plunder, the Hithpolel is tr^{d} 'make oneself a prey' in Is 59^{15}), which over sixty times is rendered 'spoil,' is tr^{d} 'prey' in Jg $5^{30\ ter}$ $8^{24.25}$ (RV 'spoil'), Is 10^{2} (RV 'spoil'), Jer 21^{9} 38^{2} 39^{18} 45^{5} (so RV). The only remaining word is מַלְקוֹחַ *malḳôaḥ*, which simply means something captured (from לָקַח to take), which is given as 'prey' in AV and RV in Nu $31^{11.12.26.27}$, Is $49^{24.25}$: in Nu 31^{32} AV gives 'booty,' RV 'prey.'

For prey meaning booty cf. Merlin (in Early Eng. Text. Soc.), ii. 152, 'So thei entred in to the londe, and toke many prayes, and brent townes and vilages, and distroyed all the contrees'; Chapman, *Iliads*, ii. 205—

> 'Come, fly
> Home with our ships; leave this man here to perish
> with his preys';

---

[*] The LXX is different, *τίς ἀντιστήσεταί μοι καὶ ὑπομενεῖ*; St. Paul therefore is nearer to the Heb. than to the LXX in Ro 11^{35} *τίς προέδωκεν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἀνταποδοθήσεται αὐτῷ;*

and Shaks. *II Henry VI.* IV. iv. 51—

'The rascal people, thirsting after prey,
Join with the traitor, and they jointly swear
To spoil the city and your royal court.'

J. HASTINGS.

PRICE (from Lat. *pretium*, worth, value, through Old Fr. *pris*, *preis*) means in AV the worth of a person or thing in the widest sense, and not in money only. See especially Mt 13^{46} 'When he had found one pearl of great price' (*ἕνα πολύτιμον μαργαρίτην*), and 1 P 3^{4} 'the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price' (*πολυτελές*). Cf. Chaucer, *Sir Thopas*, 185, 'Men speke of romances of prys'; He 13^{4} Tind. 'Let wedlocke be had in pryce in all poyntes.'

The verb to price (spelt 'prise') occurs in Zec 11^{13} 'A goodly price that I was prised at of them.' Cf. Mt 27^{9} Rhem. 'They tooke the thirtie pieces of silver, the price of the priced, whom they did price of the children of Israel.' J. HASTINGS.

PRICK.—See GOAD in vol. ii. 194^{b}.

PRIESTS AND LEVITES.—

1. The names *kōhēn* and *lēwî*.
2. The priesthood in the earliest times.
3. The priesthood from David to Josiah.
4. The priesthood according to Deuteronomy.
5. The priesthood from Josiah's reform to the Exile.
6. The priesthood in Ezekiel's State of the future.
7. The priesthood from Ezekiel to Ezra.
8. The priesthood according to the law contained in the 'Priestly Writing.'
    - a. The priests in the Law of Holiness and in particular *tôrôth*.
    - b. The Aaronite priests.
    - c. The high priest.
    - d. The Levites.
    - e. The serving women.
    - f. The revenues of the priests and Levites.
    - g. The date of the priestly system in the 'Priestly Writing.'
9. The priesthood from Ezra to the Chronicler.
10. The priesthood after OT times.
    - a. Priests and Levites.
    - b. The revenues of the priests and Levites.
    - c. The duties and offices of the priests.

Literature.

[Throughout this article the abbreviation *Gesch.*, when not preceded by an author's name, stands for Baudissin's *Geschichte des alttest. Priesterthums*, Leipzig, 1889. Whenever a citation consists simply of an author's name and the number of a page, the reference is to that work of his whose title will be found in the Literature at the end of the article.]

1. THE NAMES *KŌHĒN* AND *LĒWÎ*.—The name for 'priest' in the OT is *kōhēn* (כֹּהֵן). The same word (כהן) is met with in Phœnician inscriptions as the official name of the priest, as well as the feminine form כהנה. The corresponding word in Arabic, *kâhin*, is employed to designate the soothsayer. It is *per se* quite conceivable that the priests of the Hebrews were originally soothsayers (Stade, *GVI*, Bd. i., Berlin, 1887, p. 471; cf. Kuenen, *De Godsdienst van Israël*, Bd. i., Haarlem, 1869, p. 101). There are, certainly, no traces in the OT of ecstatic conditions on the part of the priests, but one of their most important functions in the earlier history of Israel was the giving of oracles by means of the lot. A reference to this is to be discovered in the Urim and Thummim which are described as still present in the dress of the high priest. But the Arabic usage is not decisive for the original meaning of the word *kōhēn*; the sense borne by *kâhin* may be secondary, for the Arabs borrowed largely, in matters connected with the cultus, from the Israelites (so also Van Hoonacker, *Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 235 f.). The ecstatic form of prophecy appears in the OT coupled with priestly functions only in the story of the youth of Samuel, to whom God speaks in a revelation, while he is officiating as priest at the sanctuary (1 S 3$^{4ff.}$). This unusual coupling of the priestly and the prophetic office may be due in this instance to the combination of two conceptions of the person of Samuel: one of which thought of him, as is the case for the most part in the story of his youth, as priest; whereas the other, which alone has survived in the narratives relating to his later activity, thought of him as prophet.

The root meaning of the word *kōhēn* does not appear to speak in favour of its being a designation of the 'seer.' Derived from a verb *kāhan*, probably equivalent in meaning to *kûn* 'stand,' *kōhēn* will be explained most simply as 'he that stands.' In other instances, too, the expression 'stand (עמד) before Jahweh' is used of the priestly office, especially of the service at the altar which the priest performs standing. This last, then, is perhaps what is referred to also in the name *kōhēn*, which will then designate the priest as offerer, or, since 'stand before one' is said of service in general, as servant of the deity. This general conception deserves the preference, because in ancient times it is not the offering of sacrifice but other functions that appear as the special duty of the priests. The sense of 'servant' is obtained for *kōhēn* also by Hitzig (on Is 61^{10}), who connects the word with the Pi'el *kihēn* (Is 61^{10} = הֵכִין 'make ready'; elsewhere, indeed, *kihēn* is a derivative from *kōhēn* [see Ewald, *Heb. Sprache*, § 120*e*]), to which he assigns the sense '*parare*, *aptare*, and then *ministrare*.'

The word *kĕmārîm* (כְּמָרִים) is used in the OT only of heathen priests. It answers to the word כמר found in Aramaic inscriptions, Syr. *kûmrâ* 'priest,' and hence in the OT is manifestly a word borrowed along with their idolatry from the Aramæans.

In Deuteronomy the priests are called 'Levite priests' (הַכֹּהֲנִים הַלְוִיִּם), and already in a very ancient narrative in the Bk. of Judges (chs. 17 f.) we find a 'Levite' (לֵוִי) regarded as having a special call to priestly functions. In like manner the Jehovistic book of the Pentateuch (JE) contains a tradition, according to which Moses assigned priestly rights to the 'sons of Levi' (Ex 32$^{26ff.}$ [whether 32$^{25ff.}$ belonged to the original Jehovistic book has, indeed, been doubted by Kuenen, *De boeken des ouden verbonds*^{2}, Leiden, 1887 ff., § 13, note 21]; cf. Jos 13$^{14. 33}$ 18^{7}, see *Gesch.* p. 100 f.). In the prophetical writings the name 'Levites' occurs for the first time in the Bk. of Jeremiah (33$^{17ff.}$ 'Levite priests' הַכֹּהֲנִים הַלְוִיִּם), in a section which is wanting in the LXX, and is pretty certainly not the work of Jeremiah, but, judging from v.^{24}, was probably composed by an exile in Babylon. During the Exile the term 'Levites' is witnessed to by Ezekiel. But, in view of Jg 17 f., there can be no doubt of the higher antiquity of the term, even apart from the passages cited above, regarding which doubts have been expressed whether they belong to the pre-Deuteronomic elements of the Jehovistic book. The Bk. of Dt presupposes the name as generally current, and Dt 33, in which (vv.$^{8-11}$) Levi is represented as holder of the priesthood, dates to all appearance from a period prior to the Fall of Samaria.

The view of the author of the Deuteronomic law (18^{1}), as well as that expressed in the Blessing of Moses (Dt 33$^{8-11}$), and in the tradition embodied in the 'Priestly Writing' of the Pentateuch (also in Jos 13$^{14. 33}$ [JE?]), is that the term 'Levites' indicates that the priests belong to a tribe of Levi. The origin of this priestly designation and this tribal name is obscure. The Blessing of Jacob, which as a whole is not earlier than the monarchical period, presupposes a tribe of Levi without any allusion to its call to priestly functions (Gn 49$^{5-7}$). On the other hand, the OT contains certain indications which appear to presuppose that the word *lēwî* was once regarded as the official name of the priest. In the Jehovistic book Aaron as distinguished from Moses is called 'the Levite' (Ex 4^{14}), although the two are conceived of as brothers. In this passage there is certainly no reason to pronounce (with Nowack, p. 99) the designation an interpolation introduced under the influence of the Priests' Code, for such an influence would have led to Aaron's being called, not 'the Levite,' but 'the priest.' The Levite who figures in Jg 17 f. is of the tribe of Judah, and hence, apparently, does not belong to a special tribe of Levi, unless perhaps he belonged to Judah merely as a settler, as appears to be the interpretation adopted in what should probably be pronounced a gloss, namely, 17^7 (cf., however, *Gesch.* p. 184 f.). In any case, it is conceivable that the word *lēwî* was originally an official name, and only came afterwards to be treated as the patronymic for the particular family or guild which was considered to have been called to priestly service. At all events the coincidence of a tribal name with the priestly designation cannot be accidental, and accordingly one may not assume on the ground of Gn $49^{5ff.}$ that there was a tribe of Levi which afterwards disappeared, and that the Levitical priests have no connexion with it.

If the word *lēwî* was once an official name, then it might be possible that a reminiscence of this original sense has survived in an explanation of the word found in the Priests' Code (Nu $18^{2.\,4}$), although in itself this explanation is nothing more than a word-play. According to this passage, those who belong to the tribe of Levi are to attach themselves (*yillāwû, nilwû*) to Aaron, for the service of the tabernacle. The word *lēwî* is, as a matter of fact, probably to be derived from *lāwāh*, 'to twine, to attach oneself,' and might perhaps be used to designate an escort 'attaching itself,' such as the troop that escorted the wandering sanctuary of the nomad period of Israel's history (so *Gesch.* p. 73 f., following others, especially de Lagarde). The word would thus be not strictly a designation of the priest, but of a body from which by preference the priests were chosen. Since a special body with a genealogical connexion had presumably to be conceived of as set apart for the above-named duty of escorting the ark, it might happen in the end that *lēwî* was taken as the tribal name of this body.

This explanation of the word *lēwî* as an official name, finds, however, no certain support in the history that has come down to us, and it must always remain a difficulty to conceive of an alleged tribal name having originated from an official name, especially as in Gn 49 we have a view of the tribe of Levi presented in which there is no allusion to its being a priestly tribe. For this reason also it is not likely that *lēwî* is the name for foreigners, say Egyptians, who had 'attached' themselves to the Hebrews (so, following others, Renan, *Hist. du peuple d'Israël*, vol. i., Paris, 1887, p. 149 f., who makes Levi = *inquilinus*; see, further, on this point, *Gesch.* p. 70 f.). Besides, the view that the Levites were originally non-Israelites is extremely improbable, for the reason that Moses, the deliverer of Israel, who is reckoned to the tribe of Levi, was certainly a Hebrew. Moreover, Levi, the father of the tribe, is represented as son of one of those two wives of Jacob whose birth was equal to his own, and who were his relations. Levi's descent then was regarded as a pure Hebrew one. Hence, taking everything into account, the more probable conclusion is that *lēwî* was at first actually a tribal name, and only afterwards in a secondary way came to be treated as the official name of the priests because these were chosen from this tribe. It is not impossible that the tribal name *Levi* is connected with the name *Leah* (לאה) which is given as that of the mother of Levi (Wellhausen, *Geschichte Israels* [*Prolegomena* ^{1}], 1878, p. 149; Stade, *ZATW*, 1881, p. 115 f.), in which case it may remain an open question whether in *Leah* we are to find, with Stade (*l.c.*, following Wetzstein), an animal name, 'wild cow.' The difficulty involved in the circumstance that Gn $49^{5ff.}$ is acquainted with a tribe of Levi but does not represent it as a priestly one, is not to be obviated by the assumption that this passage relates to pre-Mosaic conditions (so Van Hoonacker, *Sacerdoce*, etc. pp. 309, 311); for all the other sayings in the so-called Blessing of Jacob have to do with the time when Israel was settled in Canaan, and even the scattering of Levi among Israel, spoken of in Gn 49^7, presupposes the settlement. There remains hardly any resource but to suppose that to the author of Gn $49^{5ff.}$ the want of a Levitical tribal territory presented itself so strongly as a punishment occasioned by the conduct of the father of the tribe, that he did not look beyond this penal condition of things to the honourable priestly vocation of the members of this tribe. What the conduct of the tribe had really been which occasioned the unfavourable judgment passed upon it, is a question we cannot answer. It is held by H. Guthe (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, Freiburg i. B., 1899, p. 169 f.) that certain descendants of a non-priestly dowerless tribe of Levi had procured maintenance for themselves by undertaking priestly functions, and that in this way *Levi* became a priestly appellation. But this view, which might otherwise be a possible one, can hardly be regarded with favour, because such a condition of things would not account for the relatively ancient tradition as to the relations of the tribe of Levi to the person of Moses (see below, § 2).

The above is the result of a consideration of the OT data. But if it should be established that in the Minæan inscriptions the word *lawi'u* is a term for 'priest,' and that this is connected with the OT *lēwî* (Fr. Hommel, *AHT*, London, 1897, p. 278 f.), it will be necessary after all to think of the latter as an official name, and that an ancient Semitic one (otherwise Van Hoonacker, *Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 312 ff.).

On *bĕnê ha-lēwî* and *bĕnê ha-lĕwiyyîm* (rare and late for the usual *bĕnê lēwî*), forms in which *lēwî* is treated as a gentilic name, see Ed. König, 'Syntaktische Excurse zum AT,' in *SK*, 1898, p. 537 ff.

2. The Priesthood in the earliest Times.—As everywhere in the history of religion, there may be recognized also in the beginning of Hebrew history a period when no special priestly class existed. Of course it is upon an artificially constructed basis that the view presented in the 'Priestly Writing' (P) of the Pentateuch rests, according to which neither sanctuary nor sacrificial acts nor a priestly class had any existence before the Divine revelation given through Moses. Even in the narratives of the Jehovistic book, relating to the pre-Mosaic period, there are scarcely to be discovered any reminiscences of the then condition of the cultus; but these narratives will hardly be wrong in representing relations which still persisted at a later period, as the only ones present in the patriarchal period, as when they describe the head of the family in the patriarchal house as exercising the priestly function of offering sacrifice. Besides this, we have in the Jehovistic book a single mention, during the patriarchal period, of inquiring at an oracle (Gn 25^{22}), and also one reference to the giving of tithes (Gn 28^{22}). Both these allusions imply the existence of a sanctuary with a priest in charge of it. Here the narrators

have momentarily forgotten the ancient situation which is assumed elsewhere, yet without expressly naming the priest on either occasion. The author of the prologue of the Bk. of Job, again, introduces his hero, whom he conceives of as a shepherd-prince living in remote antiquity in the land of Uz, as offering sacrifices for his family (Job 1^{5}; cf. 42$^{8f.}$, and contrast 12^{19} *kōhănîm*). The story of Gn 14$^{18\text{-}20}$, where Abraham is represented as giving tithes to Melchizedek the priest-king of Salem, is, in its present form, a glorification of the later priesthood of Salem, *i.e.* Jerusalem.

According to a narrative contained in the Jehovistic book, Moses instituted a special priestly body when he set apart the 'sons of Levi' for this purpose (Ex 32$^{26ff.}$). In the first instance, Moses himself, according to this book, performs the sacrificial act (Ex 24^{6}). In that descriptive narrative, which makes him receive the Divine revelations in the holy tent outside the camp to which the people went 'to seek Jahweh' (Ex 33$^{7ff.}$), the function of communicating oracles appears as a distinction conferred only upon Moses personally. But in this way he is clearly thought of as the presiding authority over the holy tent—in other words, as a priest. The Priestly Writing, on the other hand, makes Moses officiate as priest only upon the occasion of the instalment of the priests in their office (Ex 29); and from this point onwards, according to this source, priestly functions are discharged only by Aaron and his sons, who are selected from the body of the tribe of Levi for this purpose. According to a prophetical discourse interpolated into the older text of the history of the youth of Samuel (1 S 2$^{27f.}$), God, during the bondage in Egypt, revealed Himself to the fathers' house of Eli, the priest of Shiloh, and chose this house out of all the tribes of Israel, to be priests. Here too, then, without any mention indeed of Aaron or Levi, appears the conception of an institution of the priesthood in the time of Moses. This conception, in the form in which it here makes its appearance, cannot be of quite recent origin, since in opposition to the later claims of the Zadokite priesthood, which existed from the time of Solomon, it represents the Elidæ, who were different from these, as the original legitimate priests. It is in itself quite credible that Moses, in his arrangements for the Israelitish nation and its cultus, made provision for the performance of religious service by a special body, and it is a very plausible supposition that he who is represented as belonging like Aaron to the tribe of Levi, selected his own family for this office. Among the ancient Arabs as well, the priesthood was largely in possession of special families, which did not belong to the tribe amongst whom they exercised their office (Wellhausen, *Reste*^{2}, p. 130 f.). Guthe (*Geschichte*, p. 21 f.) opposes the view that Moses belonged to the tribe of Levi, and holds that the priestly tribe first originated in Canaan. This later origin, however, is difficult to prove, and along with it the objections fall, which are brought against a genealogical connexion between Moses and the priestly tribe.

If *lēwî* actually stood originally for the retinue of the sacred ark, only individuals from this body would have been priests proper. Apart from this, it is in any case not incredible that Moses should have destined his own family in the narrower sense to be priests, but that he should have chosen precisely the family of his brother Aaron is less likely. Aaron, it is true, is not only represented in P as the father of the priests, but even in JE as 'the Levite' *κατ' ἐξοχήν* (Ex 4^{14}). Yet he does not appear to be known to all the strata of this last book; and in all the passages where mention is made of him he is a less individualized figure, to which features from the later history are transferred in a prefigurative way (*Gesch.* p. 199). It is not impossible that in his case we have to do with a personification, although no satisfactory explanation of his name *'Ahărōn* has yet been discovered. With *'ărôn* the designation of the sacred ark (a combination proposed, following the lead of others, by Renan, *l.c.* p. 179), this name can hardly, in view of the different way in which it is written, have anything to do.

In an ancient gloss to the narrative in the Bk. of Judges about the Levite who first on Mt. Ephraim and afterwards at Dan officiated as priest, this Levite, to whom the priesthood at Dan traced its descent down to 'the carrying captive of the land' (*i.e.* down to the overthrow of Ephraim in the Assyrian period), is described as a 'son of Gershom the son of Moses' (in Jg 18^{30} *Mĕnashsheh* is an alteration of the original *Mōsheh*). Here, then, Moses himself may be viewed as father of the priests in general. But all the same it is difficult to understand the person of Aaron as a purely fictitious one, because there is no apparent reason why the priesthood should have exchanged the more glorious descent from the lawgiver for descent from a brother of his. Moses has been supposed to be referred to in Dt 33^{8} as the representative, and then, presumably, as the father, of the priesthood; but the context of this passage favours rather a reference to Aaron in this capacity (*Gesch.* p. 76), in harmony with which is the circumstance that Dt 33 probably had its origin in Ephraim, and we find traces that it was in Ephraim that Aaron first came to be looked upon as father of the priests (see below, § 3, on the bull-worship of Aaron).

If really from the time of Moses one special body was regarded as called to the priesthood, yet it is by no means the case that from that time it alone exercised priestly functions. Long after Moses, it is not contested that men of non-Levitical descent discharged the priest's office occasionally or even permanently. In the latter case they probably passed as adopted into the tribe of Levi, which accordingly we are not to think of as having originated in a purely genealogical way. Only, one can hardly, with Wellhausen, appeal in favour of this to what is said in Dt 33^{9} about Levi's having renounced his kinship. Seeing that in this passage the denying of his sons is also spoken of, the reference must be understood not of the loosening of connexion with a family, but of impartial official action, without regard to family interests, in allusion to the narrative of Ex 32$^{27.\,29}$ (*Gesch.* p. 77; Sellin, p. 110 ff.; Van Hoonacker, *Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 133). As in Dt 33 the whole tribe of Levi appears as in possession of the priesthood, so elsewhere down to a late period no trace is to be found of a distinction between Levites and priests proper.

No special weight is to be laid on the circumstance that, according to the statement of one source of the Jehovistic book, Moses employed 'young men of the children of Israel' to offer sacrifice (Ex 24^{5}; it is impossible that either here or in 1 S 2$^{13.\,15}$ *na'ar*, in its sense of 'servant,' can be a designation of the priest as the servant ['*ministre*'], namely, of the cultus or of the people 'in the celebration of Divine worship' [so Van Hoonacker, *Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 140 f.]), for this happened prior to the appointment (recorded, indeed, as it seems, by a different narrator) of the Levites to the priestly service (Ex 32$^{26ff.}$). As early as the arrival at Sinai we read in Ex 19$^{22.\,24}$ (a narrative in any case from another hand than 32$^{26ff.}$) of priests (*Gesch.* p. 58 ff.) without being told whether these are to be thought of as Levites or not. It is mentioned in the Jehovistic book, as an arrangement in force all through the lifetime of Moses, that his attendant, Joshua, who is represented as of non-Levitical descent (Nu 13^{8}, P), did not depart out of the holy tent (Ex 33^{11}). The Ephraimite Micah, in the period of the Judges, appoints as priest in his private sanctuary, first of all one of his sons (Jg 17^{5}). Gideon, of the tribe of Manasseh (Jg $6^{26f.}$), and Manoah of the tribe of Dan (13^{19}), offer sacrifice with their own hands. Under Saul the Israelites pour out the blood of the captured animals at the altar stone without any priestly interposition (1 S 14^{34}). At a still later period the non-priestly prophet Elijah sacrifices with his own hand (1 K $18^{30ff.}$). While the sacred ark, in the course of its wanderings, tarried in the house of Abinadab, who was plainly no priest, it was served by his sons (1 S 7^{1}, 2 S $6^{3f.}$; the emendation of Van Hoonacker, *Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 171, is unwarranted). Of the ancient priestly prerogative of the father of the house, a relic was preserved down to the latest times of the Jewish cultus, in the slaughtering of the Paschal lamb by the father of the house without any priest taking part in the ceremony (Ex $12^{6ff.}$ [P] vv.$^{21ff.}$ [JE]), although it is true, at the same time, that the sacrificial character of the Paschal lamb had been obliterated.

Sacrificing was, then, manifestly, in early times not the exclusive function of a priestly class. The latter was certainly in existence. Yet even for admittance to this no special descent was requisite. Samuel, by birth an Ephraimite, yet, according to the representation contained in the history of his childhood, becomes, in fulfilment of a vow of his mother, a servant of Jahweh, clothed with the priestly ephod, at the sanctuary at Shiloh (1 S $1^{1ff.}$ $2^{11.18}$). The fact that Samuel becomes a priest in consequence of a vow, shows that he was not one by descent; and the representation of the Chronicler (1 Ch $6^{13.18}$), according to which he is a Levite, is not, with Van Hoonacker (*Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 265 f.) and Girdlestone ('To what tribe did Samuel belong?' in *Expositor*, Nov. 1899, pp. 385–388), to be justified, as if Samuel were a Levite from Ephraim. In the descriptions of Samuel's later life he appears not as a priest, but as one who, in the extraordinary capacity of *shōphēṯ* and *nābîʼ*, presents the offerings of the people (1 S $7^{9f.}$ $16^{2ff.}$). A priestly class is presupposed by the oldest collection of laws, the so-called Book of the Covenant (Ex 22^{8}), and yet, in an enactment later prefixed to this, the general right to sacrifice is assumed in the demand made of the Israelites as a whole: 'An altar of earth thou shalt make unto me, and shalt sacrifice thereon thy burnt-offerings and thy *shĕlāmîm*-offerings' (Ex 20^{24}). When, on the other hand, in the Jehovistic book the people of Israel is called 'a kingdom of priests' (Ex 19^{6}), this is certainly to be understood not of the actual exercise of priestly rights, but in a transferred sense as meaning that the whole of Israel stands in a priestly relation to God.

Where a professional priest was not available, young men appear to have, by preference, replaced the father of the house in the exercise of his priestly function, or even to have acted as priests for a larger body. Of Moses we found it recorded that he appointed young men to offer sacrifice. The Ephraimite Micah installs one of his sons as priest. Certain traces appear to point to a preference at one time for making firstborn sons priests, or even to indicate that in earlier times the whole of the firstborn sons were regarded as destined for holy service—an idea which certainly can hardly at any time have been strictly carried out in practice. The circumstance that Samuel, according to the story of his childhood, was a firstborn son, is of no importance, because it was not as such that he was set apart for priestly functions, but in consequence of a vow of his mother. But in the ancient code, the Book of the Covenant (Ex 22^{28} [Eng. ^{29}]), the demand is made that the firstborn son be given to Jahweh. The spirit of this book, whether it belongs to the time of the Judges or to the earlier monarchical period, appears to exclude the interpretation that the firstborn is to be offered in sacrifice to the deity; and then there remains scarcely any other possibility except to understand the 'giving' to mean consecration to holy service (*Gesch.* p. 55 ff.; Smend, *Alttest. Religionsgeschichte*^{2}, Freiburg i. B., 1899, p. 282 f., note 3; cf. Kamphausen, *Das Verhältnis des Menschenopfers zur israel. Religion*, Bonn, 1896, p. 66). In the Priestly Writing it is said of the Levites that they are 'given' to Jahweh (Nu 8^{16}), and even the consecration of Samuel is described by the term 'given' (1 S 1^{11}).

In spite of this freedom in the matter of sacrificial arrangements, from early times it was considered an advantage in the regular and constant service of a sanctuary to have a 'Levite' for priest. When one of these happens to pass the sanctuary of Micah the Ephraimite, the latter gives the preference to him as priest over his own son (Jg $17^{7ff.}$); and the Danites who wish to establish for themselves a new sanctuary in their new home, do not let the opportunity slip to obtain by force the services of this same Levite ($18^{15ff.}$). Even if in the time of Moses a single family amongst the Levites had possession of the priesthood proper, in subsequent times, at all events, this was viewed not as their exclusive privilege, but as that of the Levites in general. Nevertheless, the term 'Levite' nowhere occurs as the exact equivalent of 'priest,' a circumstance which is not without importance in its bearing upon the origin of the term. The above-named Micah the Ephraimite is represented as saying, 'The Levite has become my priest' (Jg 17^{13}).

As to the instalment in the priestly office, even that ancient narrative in the Bk. of Judges mentions certain formalities which in a modified form are retained in the later ceremonial law of the Pentateuch. Micah 'fills the hand' of one of his sons, so that he becomes his priest (Jg 17^{5}). He does precisely the same thing afterwards to the Levite (v.^{12}). Wherein this 'filling of the hand' consisted is not clear. It has been suggested that it means the handing over of the earnest money (Vatke, Wellhausen), which appears to be favoured by the fact that the Levite who renders priestly services to Micah certainly speaks of himself as 'hired' by the latter (Jg 18^{4}). This hiring, however, need not refer to a sum of money paid down, but may consist in the arrangement about an annual salary, clothing, and maintenance (17^{10}). It is not at all likely that Micah hired his own son with a piece of earnest money, and in any case the narrator in the Jehovistic book (Ex 32^{29}) was not thinking of earnest money when he makes Moses say to the sons of Levi themselves: 'Fill your hands to-day for Jahweh.' Still less likely is it that the expression 'fill the hand' refers to the handing over of the arrows which are alleged to have been used in giving the priestly oracle (Sellin, p. 118 f.). This interpretation is based upon Ex 32^{29}, where, however, *lĕ-Jahweh* standing alone cannot mean 'on behalf of Jahweh' (*sc.* take hold of the arrows), but shows that 'fill your hand' refers in some way to a consecration to Jahweh, an instalment into service related to Him (still another interpretation of the 'filling the hand' in Ex 32^{29} is adopted by Van Hoonacker, *Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 135). In the Priestly Writing the expression 'fill the hand' is retained in speaking of instalment into the priestly office (Ex 28^{41} *al.*), and the term 'fill-offering' (*millûʼîm*, Ex 29^{22} *al.*)

is used of the offering which was presented at the consecration of Aaron and his sons to the priestly office. This offering has the characteristic rite that Moses places certain portions of the sacrificial animal upon the hands of Aaron and his sons—in other words, fills the hands of those about to be consecrated with these portions of the sacrifice. What are specified are the parts of the animal which in sacrifice were burned upon the altar or which fell to the priests. The consecration ceremony was meant thus to express that the priest is empowered to lay these pieces upon the altar, or, as the case may be, to take them for himself. Accordingly, it is, to say the least, not improbable that the expression 'fill the hand,' used of installation in the priestly office, had in view from the first such a handing over of sacrificial portions as pointed to the priestly functions (*Gesch.* p. 183 f.; so also Weinel, art. 'משח und seine Derivate,' in *ZATW* xviii. [1898] p. 61). Such a solemn introduction to office might well be employed even by the layman Micah in the case of the Levite, as of one who was not installed by him as a priest in general but as his own priest (otherwise Nowack, p. 121).

But it may be, further, that the expression 'fill the hand' had not originally a special reference to introduction to the priestly office, for in Assyrian the corresponding *kâtû mullû* has the general sense of 'give, appoint, enfeoff, present' (Nowack, p. 120 f., following Halévy; cf. on the Assyrian expression, Frd. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handwörterb. s.v.* מלא, p. 409). Even if the above was the original sense of the Hebrew expression, it was no longer understood in Ex 32^{29}.

In early times the priest, even when he was a young man, was called by the title of honour, 'father' (Jg 17^{10} 18^{19}). The priests who served at any of the sanctuaries of ancient Israel were marked outwardly by the linen ephod they wore (1 S 2^{18}). They lived, as we learn in the case of Eli and Samuel, in the sanctuary (1 S $3^{2ff.}$). There they offered the sacrifices on the altar, a work in which at the more frequented places of worship they were assisted by servants (1 S $2^{13.15}$). Portions of the offerings presented were assigned them for their maintenance (1 S $2^{13ff.}$); whether these were definitely fixed (*Gesch.* p. 208, and against this Nowack, p. 125), or were left to the pleasure of the offerer, can scarcely be determined.* At the private sanctuaries, as we are told of Micah the Ephraimite, the owner of the sanctuary paid his priest a salary and supplied his clothing and his food (Jg 17^{10}). While the offering of sacrifice was in early times open to others as well as to the priests, it is only of professional priests that it is recorded that they gave oracles. Micah's Levite consults God at the request of others (Jg 18^5; on the giving of oracles by the priests among the ancient Arabs, see Wellhausen, *Reste*², p. 131 ff.).

As would appear from what we hear of Ahijah (Ahimelech) the descendant of Eli (1 S 14^3), and his son Ebiathar (ABIATHAR) the priest of Nob (1 S 23^6), it was only the chief priest of a considerable sanctuary who had another ephod different from the linen one, by means of which he gave oracles (1 S $14^{18f.}$, where for *'ărôn* read *'ēphôd*). In this must have been kept the oracle-lots, the prototype of the Urim (cf. 1 S 28^6) and Thummim of the later high priest. In the Blessing of Moses (Dt 33^8), Thummim and Urim are thought of as the special dower of Levi, and probably more specifically as that of Aaron. The name *thummim*, 'right,' points to the fact that the giving of priestly oracles originally served mainly the interests of the administration of justice, which was in the last resort the task of the priests. In order to decide a difficult lawsuit the parties are required by the Book of the Covenant to appear 'before God' (Ex 22^8), *i.e.* to appeal to a decision by the priestly lot. The same place which bears the name *Ḳādēsh*, 'sanctuary,' is called also *'Ên-mishpāṭ*, 'well of decision' (Gn 14^7).

In the administration of justice, but no doubt also in the indication of what was ritually proper, and in general of what was well-pleasing to the deity, will thus have consisted the *tôrāh*, 'instruction' or 'direction' (see LAW IN OT, vol. iii. p. 64^b), which from ancient times appears as the duty of the priests (Dt 33^{10}). It has been suggested that the root-word (*hôrāh*) in this notion of 'instructing' should be traced back to the casting of the sacred lots. But this is scarcely probable in view of the use of *tôrāh* also for the teaching of the prophets, which has nothing to do with oracles obtained by lot. Rather had *hôrāh*, which is used of shooting arrows (1 S 20^{36} *al.*), the meaning of 'aim at something,' and then 'lead to a goal,' 'point out something' (Gn 46^{28}), 'instruct' (*Gesch.* p. 207, note 1).

When they settled in Canaan, the Israelites had taken over the sacred places of the Canaanites and set up the worship of Jahweh at them. These sanctuaries did not all enjoy the services of a Levitical priest, as we see from the fact that a son of Micah the Ephraimite acted as priest. The numbers of the Levites were probably insufficient to meet the needs of such service. They will have settled only at the more important sanctuaries. A reminiscence of this is preserved in the Priestly Writing of the Hexateuch, which conceives of specially appointed Levitical or priestly cities. Some of the names of cities specified in this connexion clearly point to ancient places of worship (cf. below, § 8, f *end*, and g).

The most important sanctuary in the time of the Judges was the temple at Shiloh, whose annual festivals were resorted to by a wide circle of worshippers. There officiated Eli and his house, which traced back its priestly rights to the time of the Exodus from Egypt (1 S $2^{27f.}$), and thus at all events belonged to the category of the Levites. It may be that the house of Eli also laid claim to descent from the priestly brother of Moses, namely Aaron; so at least the matter was viewed by those in later times who traced the descent of the Elidæ to Ithamar a son of Aaron (1 Ch 24^3). But it may be also, as we have seen, that originally the priest of the Exodus, and even the ancestor of the house of Eli was held to be Moses himself, for whom his brother might come to be substituted only in after-times (Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*¹, p. 146 f.). In the history of the childhood of Samuel, Eli is introduced abruptly (1 S 1^9); a passage paving the way for the mention of him must have been lost, and in this his genealogy was probably given. Eli, as no doubt was the case equally with the head of the family elsewhere, held the position of chief priest in the temple, as may be gathered from the relation to him of Samuel and of his own sons. Eli's sons perished in the wars with the Philistines, and with them probably also the sanctuary of Shiloh, which is never afterwards mentioned as existing (1 S $4^{11ff.}$). The house of Eli was not, however, completely extinguished; a great-grandson of his, Ahijah the son of Ahitub, the son of Phinehas, the son of Eli, bore the ephod in the time of Saul (1 S 14^3). He is evidently identical with the son of Ahitub whom another source calls Ahimelech. This Ahimelech, apparently as chief priest, had his residence, along with his fathers' house, at Nob (1 S $21^{2ff.}$ $22^{9ff.}$), the 'city of the priests' (22^{19}). Here then it would appear that the ancient priestly family of the Exodus gathered itself together after the downfall of Shiloh. Renan (*Histoire*, i. 420, note 1) finds difficulty in the identification of Ahijah with Ahimelech, because the priests of Nob can, he thinks, hardly have belonged to the family of the priests of Shiloh. But why not, and why should it be necessary to impute an error to 1 K 2^{27}, where Ebiathar (Ahimelech's son) is reckoned to the house of Eli? There was similarly at Dan a Levitical priesthood which traced its descent to the before-mentioned Levite of Micah the Ephraimite, and consequently to Moses (Jg 18^{30}).

---

* We find traces that among the Phœnicians and the Babylonians, as was doubtless the case with all highly developed cults, the priests had their allowance from the offerings (see F. C. Movers, *Das Opferwesen der Karthager, Commentar zur Opfertafel von Marseille*, Phönizische Texte, Theil ii., Breslau, 1847, pp. 118, 126 ff.).

3. The Priesthood from David to Josiah.—When David had acquired for his capital the Jebusite citadel, he conferred upon it the distinction of transferring the sacred ark to the summit of its hill, the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite. By this act he established a royal sanctuary of which the king was the proprietor, in the same sense in which the private person Micah was the owner of the sanctuary set up by him. David and, subsequently to the building of the temple by Solomon on Mt. Zion, his successors assumed a kind of chief priestly position at the sanctuary of Jerusalem.* David presented offerings, manifestly discharging priestly functions in person, for it is said that he 'made an end of offering' (2 S $6^{17\text{f.}}$); he pronounced the liturgical blessing (v.^{18}), and danced in the priestly garb, the linen ephod, before the ark of the covenant (v.^{14}). Of Solomon, too, it is recorded that, at the dedication of the temple, he offered sacrifice (1 K $8^{5.\ 62\text{ff.}}$), and that three times in the year he offered burnt-offerings, and peace-offerings and 'sweet smoke' (1 K 9^{25}). There is no mention of priests on this occasion; their presence may, however, be taken for granted as self-evident, for, of course, Solomon could not, without help of some kind, have overtaken all the dedicatory offerings. From the above statements, then, it is not clear to what extent Solomon in his offering discharged priestly functions in person. But it is difficult to suppose him to have acted in this matter differently from David. In any case the blessing which, standing by the altar, he pronounced upon the people (1 K 8^{55}) is a priestly act. Of the first king of the Northern kingdom, Jeroboam, we are expressly told that he ascended the altar of Bethel and made the offering (1 K 12^{33}), although he too had priests at his command (v.^{31}). The position of the kings of the Northern kingdom in relation to its chief sanctuary at Bethel will have been practically the same as that of the kings of Judah to the temple at Jerusalem. Under Jeroboam II. Amaziah the priest at Bethel speaks of the sanctuary there as a royal one (Am 7^{13}); Amaziah, that is to say, officiated under the king's commission. Of one of the later kings of Judah, Ahaz, it is expressly recorded that he ascended the temple altar, kindled the offering, poured out the drink-offering, and sprinkled the altar with the sacrificial blood (2 K $16^{12\text{f.}}$). Consequently it is at least not an incorrect condition of things that is presupposed in Chronicles when we are told how Uzziah, the second predecessor of Ahaz, offered incense upon the altar of incense (2 Ch $26^{16\text{ff.}}$). All that belongs to the later standpoint of the Chronicler is the notion that this offering by the king in person was an illegitimate encroachment upon the priestly privileges, and that Uzziah was on that account punished with leprosy; perhaps also the assumption of a special altar for incense bespeaks a later viewpoint.

At least the earliest kings looked upon the Jerusalemite priests as subordinate officials whom they could appoint and depose. From the massacre which Saul perpetrated amongst the priests at Nob who held with David (1 S $22^{16\text{ff.}}$), none escaped of the family of Eli but Ebiathar, who fled for refuge to David, carrying with him the oracle-ephod (1 S 22^{20} 23^{6}). He was installed by David as priest in attendance on the sacred ark on Mt. Zion. Along with him Zadok is named as David's priest (2 S 8^{17}, where read 'Ebiathar son of Ahimelech'). Both have their sons at their side as priests (2 S $15^{27.\ 36}$). Ebiathar must have held the higher rank of the two, for we are told in 1 K 2^{35} that Solomon, after deposing Ebiathar, gave his post to Zadok. Ebiathar, with his son Jonathan, had taken the side of Adonijah when the latter conspired against his father David (1 K $1^{25.\ 42\text{ff.}}$). By command of David, Zadok anointed Solomon king (1 K $1^{32\text{ff.}}$), and Ebiathar was banished. He retired to his landed property at Anathoth (1 K $2^{26\text{f.}}$), where in the time of Jeremiah we still find a priestly family settled, to which Jeremiah himself belonged (Jer 1^{1} $32^{6\text{ff.}}$). Accordingly Jeremiah was probably a descendant of Ebiathar, and thus of the ancient priestly family which dated its possession of the dignity from the time of the Exodus (see above, § 2).

The house of Zadok continued in possession of the Jerusalemite priesthood. This we know from the exilian prophet Ezekiel, who constantly speaks of the Jerusalemite priests as 'the sons of Zadok.' What was Zadok's descent is not clearly to be seen. This much only is plain, that he did not belong, like Ebiathar, to the old-privileged priestly family, for a prophecy, put into the mouth of an unnamed man of God in the time of Eli, announces that God, after He had chosen in Egypt the fathers' house of Eli for the priesthood, had now rejected this house, and would appoint for Himself a trustworthy priest who should walk after Jahweh's heart and mind, for whom Jahweh would build an enduring house, and who should walk before Jahweh's anointed for ever (1 S $2^{27\text{ff.}}$). This prophecy is in 1 K 2^{27} understood of the installation of Zadok in the Jerusalemite priesthood, and was certainly so intended from the first, for—the only other conceivable supposition—to refer it to the priestly Samuel will not answer, seeing that Samuel is never represented as a king's priest. Thus, then, Zadok did not belong to the family or the fathers' house of Eli, and consequently not to the ancient priesthood. Zadok cannot, therefore, as Poels supposes, have really belonged, although, to be sure, later generations represented him as belonging, to an ancient Aaronite family, namely that of the Eleazarites. This family, according to Poels, had discharged the priestly duties at Nob, and when the national sanctuary was transferred to Jerusalem, Zadok came from Nob to the capital (so, already, essentially, Movers, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die biblische Chronik*, Bonn, 1834, p. 294 f., according to whom Zadok was at first chief priest in the Mosaic tabernacle at Gibeon [which Poels identifies with the sanctuary of Nob]). It is maintained by Van Hoonacker (*Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 168 ff.) that according to 1 S 2^{27} the house of Eli was chosen 'non pas isolément,' but, together with others, as one particular family of the priesthood which included a plurality of families; but this notion is read into the text. Zadok is called the son of Ahitub (2 S 8^{17}). In the state of the case just described, we are not to think of this Ahitub as the same as the grandson of Eli (1 S 14^{3}). The above-cited oracle of the man of God gives undoubtedly the correct account of Zadok, for in later times, when the sons of Zadok had exclusive possession of the priesthood, men would not have attributed to them a prestige as priests less lofty in its origin than that of the Elidæ who had now fallen into the background. Under these circumstances it may be doubted whether Zadok was a Levite at all. No certain decision can be pronounced, because we do not know how much is included in the expression 'fathers' house' of Eli in the above oracle. If it means the same thing as 'sons of Levi,' then Zadok was no Levite; but it may be intended in a narrower sense, perhaps, to mean the house of Aaron. Since even prior to the time of David, as we saw from the story of the Levite of Micah the Ephraimite, it was considered desirable to have a Levite for priest, David is unlikely to have overlooked this advantage in the selection of Zadok, who primarily was his priest. Subsequent generations naturally did full honour to the genealogy of Zadok, whose descent was traced back to a son of Aaron, nay, to his eldest son Eleazar (1 Ch 24^{3}). In the circumstance that the later writers made the Elidæ to be descended from another son of Aaron, namely Ithamar (1 Ch, *l.c.*), there is preserved a reminiscence of the difference in the descent of the two priestly families.

---

* Among the Assyrians as well the king was at the same time the chief priest (see Alf. Jeremias, *Die bab.-assyr. Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode*, Leipzig, 1887, p. 97, note 1).

The descendants of Ebiathar, when expelled from the priesthood at Jerusalem, are hardly likely to have all remained settled at Anathoth. Probably a portion of them found employment at the sanctuaries of the Northern kingdom, where they took part in the official worship of Jahweh under the figure of a bull. In this way we may explain the narrative in the Jehovistic book, which attributes to Aaron a part in bull-worship, Ex $32^{1ff.}$ (*Gesch.* p. 199; so previously Th. Nöldeke, *Untersuchungen zur Kritik des AT*, Kiel, 1869, p. 55, note). At all events the Northern kingdom too had an organized priestly body, as may be gathered from the story that, after the downfall of Samaria, a priest from amongst the exiles was sent back to Ephraim, to instruct the inhabitants of the land in the worship of the god of the land, *i.e.* Jahweh (2 K $17^{27f.}$).

Besides Ebiathar and Zadok and the son of Ebiathar and the son of Zadok, there is mention of another otherwise unknown 'Ira as priest under David (2 S 20^{26}). According to the traditional text he was a *Jairite*, *i.e.* belonged to a Gileadite family, and was consequently no Levite; but perhaps the statement should be emended to the effect that he was a *Jattirite*, *i.e.* belonged to the priestly city Jattir in Judah (so [following Thenius, *ad loc.*] *Gesch.* p. 192, and Löhr, *ad loc.*), in which case the possibility is not excluded that he was a Levite. In addition to him, David's own sons are called in 2 S 8^{18} *kōhănîm*. In itself there is nothing impossible in the view that David appointed members of his own non-Levitical family to be actual priests, for we see from the picture of Samuel as a priest that at that time and probably for long afterwards the priestly status was not at all bound up with a special descent. But, on the other hand, against understanding *kōhănîm* in the literal sense, when applied to David's sons (as is done by Löhr and H. P. Smith, *ad loc.*), is the circumstance that just immediately before (v.^{17}) the priests of David, namely Zadok and Ebiathar, have been already enumerated amongst the other court officials. Hence it is perhaps probable rather that the sons of David only bore the title of *kōhănîm* in the same way as, in the time of Solomon, we find Zabud, a son of Nathan (probably the son of David), called '*kōhēn*, friend of the king' (1 K 4^{5} [Van Hoonacker, *Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 280 f., and Benzinger, *ad loc.*, following B and Luc. of the LXX, strike out the כהן; but Kittel, *ad loc.*, defends its genuineness]), where in any case 'friend' is a title. But *kōhēn* can scarcely be the title of a court official in the sense of 'representative,' *scilicet*, of the king (so Klostermann, *ad loc.*, who reads 2 S 8^{18} *kōhănê ha-melekh*). As little justification is there for giving up the statement in Samuel in favour of the different expression of the Chronicler (1 Ch 18^{17}), as is done by Van Hoonacker, *Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 275 f. Hitzig's emendation of *kōhănîm* to *ṣōkhĕnîm*, 'administrators' (Is 22^{15}), which is adopted afresh by Cheyne, rests upon the correct impression that from the context it must be a court office that is in view, and the emendation is not demonstrably wrong. Yet it would be surprising if in two passages copyists erroneously introduced the word *kōhēn* in a context where this word must have struck them as strange. Perhaps, then, *kōhēn* is in both instances the original reading after all. Such a title as *kōhēn* may be an imitation of the Phœnicians, amongst whom members of the royal house were often invested with priestly offices (so Movers, and similarly Ewald; see *Gesch.* p. 191 f., and cf., further, Driver on 2 S 8^{18}, who is not quite decided as to the sense of *kōhănîm* in this passage, although he believes that it means *priests* of some kind).

Although the Judæan kings always reserved for themselves a kind of chief priestly position, yet in view of the importance of the temple at Jerusalem as the central sanctuary, and the considerable number of priests which such a sanctuary presupposes, it is hardly possible to avoid supposing that amongst the Jerusalemite priests there was one who claimed the first place, as had already been done at Shiloh by the head of the priestly family. The priest who evidently claimed this first place is in the Books of Kings called for the most part simply 'the *kōhēn*'; so Jehoiada (2 K $11^{9f.}$ *al.*), Urijah ($16^{10f. 15f.}$), and Hilkiah (22^{10} *al.*). The same title is given in Is 8^{2} to Uriah, and in Jer 29^{26} to Jehoiada.* Along with this we have once in Kings (2 K 25^{18} = Jer 52^{24}) the term 'head-priest' (*kōhēn hā-rō'sh*) applied to Seraiah. This title in this instance (differently in 2 S 15^{27} where we should read *ha-kōhēn hā-rō'sh*) is certainly not due to later insertion (Nowack, p. 107, note 1), for in that case the designation 'high priest,' sanctioned by the Priests' Code of the Pentateuch, would have been employed. The title 'head-priest,' found nowhere else except in Ezr 7^{5} and in Chronicles, where it occurs along with 'high priest,' is certainly, for the very reason that it is not found in the Priests' Code, derived from earlier antiquity. On the other hand, it is possible that the title by which the later high priest is distinguished, namely *ha-kōhēn ha-gādôl*, which is once applied to Jehoiada (2 K 12^{11}) and thrice to Hilkiah ($22^{4. 8}$ 23^{4}), is due to antedating of this title on the part of the redactor of Kings who wrote during the Exile, or it may even be a later insertion. The Deuteronomic law uses the simple title 'the *kōhēn*' to designate the chief priest.

The dignity and influence of the chief priest of Jerusalem must even in early times have been great. This comes out especially in the commanding rôle which, about the middle of the 9th cent. B.C., was played by the chief priest Jehoiada in connexion with the overthrow of queen Athaliah and the proclamation of her grandson Joash as king, in whose name Jehoiada at first directed the government (2 K $11^{4ff.}$ 12^{3}).† The authority of the chief priest, however, scarcely extended, as a rule, beyond the sphere of the temple at Jerusalem, besides which there continued to exist even in Judah other places of worship with their own priests, down to the time of Josiah's reformation. Yet the prediction above referred to regarding the downfall of Eli's house represents the survivors of this house as begging of the royal priest to put them into one of the priests' offices that they might obtain a morsel of bread (1 S 2^{36}). This may indicate that the chief priest of Jerusalem, so long as the existence of the smaller sanctuaries of Judah was not opposed in the interest of the temple at Jerusalem, exercised a certain supremacy over these, and made appointments to their staff of priests. It can scarcely be that we are to think of reception of the Elidæ into priestly offices at Jerusalem, where the Zadokites would be very slow to suffer the intrusion of strangers.

---

* It may, indeed, be doubted whether in Jeremiah the reference is to the same Jehoiada, who was chief priest under Joash. Renan (*Hist.* ii. [1889] 323, note) and Van Hoonacker (*Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 158 f.) contest it; but see Hitzig and Graf on Jer 29^{26}.

† Tradition furnishes no warrant for reconstructing the history with Renan (*Hist.* ii. 323, 409, note 1), who introduces, alongside of Jehoiada the priest, in 2 K 11^{4}, an officer of the guard of the same name. No priest, it is true, had the right to summon the army, but the priest Jehoiada could act in accord with the chiefs of the army. That the latter allowed themselves to be led by him is an indication of the respect paid to his position.

Alongside of the head-priest Seraiah there is mention in 2 K 25^{18} (Jer 52^{24}) of Zephaniah as *kōhēn mishneh* (*kōhēn ha-mishneh*), lit. 'priest of the repetition,' *i.e.* probably representative of the head-priest. The same title occurs in 2 K 23^{4}, where, instead of the plural *kōhănê ha-mishneh*, the singular is to be read with the Targum, since a plurality of 'priests of the second rank,' beside the high priest, who is here named, and the keepers of the threshold, would come in strangely when there has been no mention of priests of the first rank (it is therefore not permissible, with Van Hoonacker, *Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 162, to find in the *kōhănê ha-mishneh* the Levites of the Priestly Writing). The Zephaniah in question appears in Jer 29$^{25f.}$ as principal overseer of the police arrangements in the temple. The **keepers of the threshold** (*shōmrê ha-ṣaph*) are also named in 2 K 25^{18} (Jer 52^{24}) along with the head-priest and the 'second' priest; according to this passage the keepers of the threshold were three in number. Plainly we must think here of a fairly exalted priestly office, different from the humbler station of the post-exilian doorkeepers (*shō'ărîm*), of whom there were a great many (2 Ch 34^{9} confuses these with the keepers of the threshold who are reckoned among the Levites). The keepers of the threshold already appear in the time of Joash (2 K 12^{10}) as having to guard the entrance to the inner fore-court with the altar of burnt-offering. According to this same passage as well as 2 K 22^{4}, one of the duties of the keepers of the threshold was to collect the people's contributions to the temple. We must suppose that other priests or temple attendants were at their command in the discharge of their duties, which could scarcely have been overtaken by only three persons. Beyond all doubt we have in the keepers of the threshold to do with an actual pre-exilian priestly office, for it is an office which is unknown in later times.

According to 2 K 19^{2} (Is 37^{2}), the priestly body was arranged in groups as early as the time of Hezekiah, for here we read of 'elders of the priests,' who can be nothing else than chiefs of groups.

In only a few passages, apart from Chronicles, where post-exilian relations are everywhere transferred to earlier times, are Levites named during the monarchical period. In 1 S 6^{15} and 2 S 15^{24} they appear as bearers of the ark of Jahweh, just as in the Priestly Writing and in Deuteronomy. The first of these passages, where the Levites make their appearance quite abruptly, is manifestly interpolated. On the other hand, in the second passage the Levites, who are found here in the retinue of the priest Zadok, are not out of place; but it must be confessed that the text of the whole passage is corrupt, and on this account doubt is here again cast upon the presence of the Levites. In Kings there is only a single mention of Levites, namely in 1 K 8$^{3f.}$. Here they are clearly thrust into the text by means of a later interpolation (the close of v.^{4} is found in the LXX only in A), for it is said first of all that priests took up the ark, the tent of meeting and its vessels, and only afterwards is the supplementary remark made that priests *and Levites* did this. All the same, however, the term 'sons of Levi' for those who were entitled to exercise the priestly office was known to the author of Kings, who blames Jeroboam for making priests 'from among all the people, which were not of the sons of Levi' (1 K 12^{31}).

The existence of a class of sanctuary attendants, different from the priests or subordinate to them, and who were called 'Levites,' cannot be proved for the monarchical period. But there are clear enough allusions, during this period, to temple attendants or slaves. According to Jos 9^{23}, the **Gibeonites**, on account of the fraud they perpetrated upon the Israelites, were pronounced by Joshua accursed and degraded to be serfs, namely hewers of wood and drawers of water for the house of his God. This passage, from the mention of 'the house of God' (not 'tabernacle,' as in the Priestly Writing), is seen to be from the Jehovistic book (differently P in v.^{21}, cf. v.^{27} [JE and P, with a Deuteronomic addition]). In this account of the institution of temple-slaves the writer of the Jehovistic book is thinking unquestionably of those that belonged to the Jerusalem temple as κατ' ἐξοχήν the house of God, and thus anticipates the temple and its set of attendants. Saul had not quite succeeded in exterminating the Gibeonites (2 S 21$^{1ff.}$); what survived of them belonged no doubt to the remnants of the Canaanites in the midst of Israel, of whom it is related that Solomon put them to forced service (1 K 9$^{20f.}$). Even in the post-exilic period there were still '**servants of Solomon**,' along with other temple-slaves, the **Nethinim**, *i.e.* 'those given' (Ezr 2$^{54ff.}$ *al.*). After the Exile we hear also of Nethinim, who are said to have been given by David and the princes 'for the service of the Levites,' *i.e.* for the temple (Ezr 8^{20}).

Even the pre-exilic period would appear to have been acquainted with other grades, in addition to this lowest grade, of sanctuary attendants, who were also distinct from the priests proper. In the time of Nehemiah there was in the new community a large body of **temple-singers and doorkeepers**, who were then, or at a later period, considered to have returned from the Exile with Zerubbabel (Neh 7$^{44f.}$ = Ezr 2$^{41f.}$). It is difficult to suppose that these groups of sanctuary servants took their rise in the cultus-lacking period of the Exile, and equally so to believe that they were a new creation during the miserable beginnings of the restored religious service in the period between the First Return and the advent of Nehemiah. The post-exilic temple-singers and doorkeepers are therefore, in all probability, descendants of those who had discharged the same offices in the pre-exilic temple (so also A. Kuenen, *Hist.-krit. onderzoek naar het ontstaan en de verzameling van de boeken des Ouden Verbonds*, vol. iii. Leiden, 1865, p. 288 f.; and especially Köberle, whose assumptions, however, regarding the pre-exilic period go much farther).

4. The Priesthood according to Deuteronomy.—The relations of the cultus *personnel* at the close of the monarchical period are unquestionably portrayed in the Deuteronomic law, not but that the attempt is made by the legislator to modify these relations upon the ground of the centralization of the cultus for which he contends. The Deuteronomic law in its primitive form, which

has to be recovered from the present Bk. of Dt, is that book of the law which was found in the temple in the reign of Josiah, and which was the occasion of his reform of the cultus. The law-book proper is in any case contained in chs. 12–26. As a whole it cannot be much older than the date of its discovery, since its standpoint and its language both point to the time of Jeremiah. A ritual code proper it is not, rather are regulations about the cultus treated of only in so far as they touch the one demand of the legislator directly affecting the cultus, namely that for a single sanctuary, or have a bearing upon the social relations about which he is concerned. Even the demand for a single place of worship is not really made in the interest of the cultus, but rather in that of the form of the belief in God. In the course of his legislation, which is not directed specially from the point of view of the Divine service, the author of the Deuteronomic law is far from giving a complete picture of the existing priestly relations, or of those to be established. In what he says about them there are gaps which must be filled up from what we know from other sources. This cannot be done with complete certainty on all points.

The priests are constantly referred to in Dt as 'the Levite priests' (*ha-kōhănîm ha-lĕwiyyîm*, 17[9.18] 18[1] *al.*). The legislator evidently has in view, in this expression, a special descent, for in 21[5], in an older enactment, as it seems, borrowed by the author, there occurs the other expression, 'the priests, the sons of Levi' (so also 31[9]). The same inference follows from 18[1] 'the Levite priests, the whole tribe of Levi,' where the second designation is probably in apposition with the first, in which case the author of the Deuteronomic law would not distinguish between 'Levite priests' and 'Levites.' Since he recognizes only the one place chosen by Jahweh, namely Jerusalem, as a place of worship, it is only there that in his estimation real priests are to be found. But he knows of Levites who live scattered up and down in the land, and appears to be willing to concede to the whole of these, if they come to reside at Jerusalem, the same rights at its temple as the Levite priests who are settled there. Such at least is the simplest way of understanding Dt 18[6ff.]: 'And if a Levite come from any of thy gates out of all Israel, where he sojourneth, and come with all the desire of his soul unto the place which Jahweh shall choose, to minister there in the name of Jahweh his God like all his brethren, the Levites, who stand there before Jahweh, he shall eat the same portion [as they].' This last expression appears to refer to the priest's right to the sacrificial portions mentioned in v.[3f.] and to the *rēʼshîth.* Every Levite thus appears to acquire priestly rights as soon as he takes up his abode at Jerusalem. It is true that 18[7] does not say that [the Levite] serves there 'like all his brethren the Levite priests,' but 'like all his brethren the Levites.' Hence the interpretation is not absolutely excluded that the passage means to say that every member of the tribe of Levi who comes to Jerusalem may discharge functions there, according to his special station, whether as priestly or as serving Levite, and that he is entitled to the payment corresponding to the particular service rendered (so Van Hoonacker, *Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 174). This explanation, however, is not a probable one, because even in this passage there is not the slightest hint of any distinction amongst the Levites; and the expression here used of the Levites at Jerusalem, 'stand before Jahweh,' appears also outside Dt as the designation of the specifically priestly service (Ezk 44[15]).

In Dt 21[5] it is prescribed that the 'priests, the sons of Levi,' are to assist in the atoning ceremony for a murder that has been committed in the neighbourhood of a city of Israel; those meant then are apparently priests from this particular city. In like manner in 24[8], where the treatment of leprosy is entrusted in quite general terms to the Levite priests, the existence of priests outside Jerusalem appears to be presupposed, for the Jerusalem priests could hardly have exercised the supervision in question for the whole country. Both these passages, which appear to be out of harmony with the Deuteronomic conception that there are priests only at Jerusalem, are probably borrowed from older laws which recognized a priesthood scattered up and down throughout the land.

A distinction between priests and Levites is equally unknown to the expansions of the Deuteronomic law. The parenetic introduction to Dt assumes that the tribe of Levi, after the destruction of the golden calf (10[1], cf. 9[16ff.]), was chosen by Jahweh to bear the ark of the covenant, to stand before Jahweh to serve Him, and to bless in His name (10[8]). This serving (*shārēth*) and blessing are specially priestly functions. The meaning of this passage might, indeed, be that these functions and the bearing of the ark (which, according to another conception, that of the Priests' Codex [see below, § 8 d], is not a specially priestly office) were divided amongst different branches of the tribe of Levi. But in the passage belonging to some redactor of the Deuteronomic law, 31[9], the ark is borne by 'the priests, the sons of Levi,' while in v.[25] its bearers are the Levites. The preservation of the law is, according to 31[25f.], the business of the Levites; according to v.[9] (and 17[18]), it is the business of the priests, the sons of Levi (the Levite priests). Everywhere here there appears to be no difference recognized between Levites and priests. In ch. 27, which is also a section belonging to a redactor of the Deuteronomic law, the same persons who in v.[9] are called Levite priests, appear to be called in v.[14] Levites (but cf., on this passage, Kautzsch, p. 288). Taking everything into account, neither in the Deuteronomic law nor in the additions to it is 'Levite' employed as the special designation for a class of temple-servants subordinate to the priests. The supposition is, indeed, not absolutely excluded that priests and temple-servants are both included in the name 'Levites,' but even this is not likely. Rather would it appear that all through the Bk. of Deuteronomy we are to understand by Levites those only who are called to the priesthood proper. There can, indeed, be no doubt, after what we know from the Jehovistic account in the Bk. of Joshua (see above, § 3) about temple-slaves, that the author of the Deuteronomic law and those who expounded his law were acquainted with lower grades of temple-servants, but to all appearance they did not reckon these among the Levites.

In the words of Dt 26[3] 'the priest who shall be in those days,' there appears to be an allusion to one special priest, a chief priest. In 17[12], on the other hand, 'the priest' may be taken rather as a typical [designation for any priest (although it is against this interpretation that in v.[9] we have the sing. 'the judge' side by side with 'the Levite priests' in the plural). Certainly in the redactory addition to the narrative introduction to Deuteronomy, namely 10[6], a chief priest is taken for granted: 'Aaron died, and his son Eleazar became priest in his stead,' *i.e.* Eleazar then became *chief* priest, he was *a* priest already (*Gesch.* p. 88 f.).

If no undoubted mention of a chief priest can be found in the Deuteronomic law proper, still less does it speak of the other priestly dignities which, according to the Books of Kings (see above, § 3), already existed in the pre-exilic period. This shows the incompleteness of the Deuteronomic data regarding priestly relations.

Deuteronomy shows a distinct advance upon the older relations witnessed to in the Jehovistic book, in this, that no longer do we hear of lay priests. It is plainly assumed in Dt that only Levite priests are entitled to offer sacrifice. The whole duty of the priests is summed up in the expression 'serve Jahweh' (*shārēth Jahweh*, 17^{12} 21^{5}, also *shārēth* absolutely, $18^{5.\,7}$), or in the equivalent expression, 'stand before Jahweh' ($18^{5.\,7}$). To this service belongs the pronouncing of the blessing upon the people (21^{5} 10^{8}). Besides their special functions in connexion with the cultus, the priests are entrusted with the supervision of leprosy (24^{8}). Further, the priest has to give a hortatory address to the host of Israel before it moves out to battle ($20^{2\text{ff.}}$). The ancient priestly task of giving judicial decisions still persists in Deuteronomy. To deal with difficult lawsuits, a superior court is established at Jerusalem ($17^{8\text{ff.}}$), in which Levite priests have a seat along with a lay judge (*shōphēṭ*). By the body of judges mentioned in 19^{17} as consisting of priests and a plurality of *shōphĕṭîm*, we should probably understand the local court. According to the decision of 'the priests, the sons of Levi,' shall every controversy and every offence be judged, hence the priests have to take part in the atoning ceremony performed when a man has been murdered by an unknown hand (21^{5}). Moreover, according to a passage, whose place as a constituent of the primitive Deuteronomy is not uncontested, 'the priests, the sons of Levi,' have to see to the preservation of the book of the law (17^{18}; cf. 31^{9} and also v.^{26}).

The tribe of Levi has, according to Dt, no inheritance in the land; Jahweh is their inheritance, *i.e.* the Levite priests are to live by their holy service ($18^{1\text{f.}}$ *al.*, also in the introduction 10^{9}). Personal ownership of land on the part of a Levite is not thereby excluded (18^{8}). As he discharges his holy office, certain specified portions of the sacrifices and the dedicated gifts fall to the officiating priest. He receives the shoulder, the cheek, and the maw of all offerings in cattle and sheep (18^{3}). The priest is to have the *rē'shîth*, the best, of corn, must, oil, and (cf. 15^{19}) wool of sheep (18^{4}). According to $26^{10\text{f.}}$, however, the whole of the *rē'shîth* did not fall to the priest, at least not that of the fruit of trees (vv.$^{2.\,4}$); on the contrary, a feast is to be made of this, which does not, however, exclude the supposition that a portion of this meal had to be given to the priest. In what relation this *rē'shîth* stands to the tenth, and whether the regulations about the *rē'shîth* belong to the original elements of the Deuteronomic law, is not quite clear (Nowack, p. 126); there is no mention of the officiating priest having a share of the meals held with the tithes.

Quite peculiar weight is laid by the author of the Deuteronomic law on injunctions of kindness to the Levites. These manifestly cannot have in view the Levites who exercise priestly functions at Jerusalem, for they had their fixed perquisites from the offerings, and did not require kindness. Rather has the lawgiver in his mind the Levites of the country who did not discharge holy services, and he refers to them clearly in the expression, 'the Levite that is within thy gates' ($12^{12.\,18}$ *al.*). It is expressly enjoined that the Levites, along with other needy persons, are to be invited to the meals held with the tithes ($14^{27.\,29}$), to the sacrificial meals ($12^{12.\,18\text{f.}}$ 26^{11}), especially to the joyous celebration of the festivals ($16^{11.\,14}$), and that the third year's tithe is to be given to them and to other needy ones (26^{12}). One is not, as it is expressed in these enactments, to 'forsake' the Levite (12^{19} 14^{27}), who is thus in need of religious charity. It is not clear at the outset what kind of Levites outside Jerusalem the author of the Deuteronomic law has in view in the above injunctions. It is generally supposed that he refers to the country Levites in general, in so far as these, owing to the centralization of the cultus demanded by the Deuteronomic law, would be deprived of their former income derived from the numerous places of worship in the country, the *bāmôth*. But it is not at all likely that the author of the Deuteronomic law should confess to so special an interest in the priests of the *bāmôth* service which he prohibits, and which was largely mingled with idolatry. Moreover, he evidently conceives of the Levites, who are commended to charitable support, as already in destitution; it is not as of the future but as of something present that he speaks, when he refers to the Levite 'who is within thy gates.' Probably he is thinking of those Levites who had not taken part in the service on the high places, and yet, as not belonging to the Jerusalem priesthood, were excluded from officiating in the cultus of the temple. He may also have had this class specially in view in speaking of the Levites to whom he desires to open the entrance to the cultus at Jerusalem whenever they take up their abode there. That there were such Levites in the time of Josiah is not to be doubted. The priestly family to which Jeremiah belonged lived at Anathoth, probably traced its origin to the Elidæ (see above, § 3), and can hardly be supposed to have been admitted by the Zadokite priests at Jerusalem to a share in the temple service. On the other hand, it is not conceivable, at least in the case of Jeremiah himself, that he took part in the *bāmôth* service, and thus his priestly descent brought him no income. Other Levites, too, may have found themselves in the same situation.

The attitude of the author of the Deuteronomic law to the non-Jerusalemite Levites is of great importance for the forming of a judgment on his legislation and its origin. It is accordingly, in the opinion of the present writer, improbable that the author of the Deuteronomic law belonged, as is mostly held at present, to the Jerusalemite priesthood, and it is further extremely probable that although, like the prophets long before him, he stands up for Jerusalem as the legitimate place of worship, the cultus forms he describes are not specifically Jerusalemite. To this may be ascribed many of the differences between the Deuteronomic prescriptions and those of other codes in the Pentateuch. In any case the author of the Deuteronomic law, in view of the many points of contact between Jeremiah and the laws in Dt, must have stood near to the circle in which Jeremiah moved, that is to say, at once the prophetical and the non-Jerusalemite Levitical circle. The circumstance that it was Hilkiah, the chief priest under Josiah, who caused the 'book of the law' (*i.e.* Deuteronomy), which he found in the temple during the execution of some repairs, to be submitted to the king (2 K $22^{8\text{ff.}}$), is no evidence that this book was the genuine expression of the then aims of the Jerusalemite priesthood. We have no reason to doubt that Hilkiah *bonâ fide* regarded the book which he had found, and whose origin he need not have known, as the ancient book of the law, and gave weight to it as such, without regard to the convenience or inconvenience of its contents. Besides, we may suppose that the requirement of the centralization of the cultus, which underlies the whole of Dt, was so extremely welcome to the Jerusalemite chief priest that it would go less against the grain for him to take into the bargain other requirements which did not exactly serve the special interests of the Jerusalemite priesthood. Further, we have no reason to think of Hilkiah as prejudiced in favour of this special interest.

5. THE PRIESTHOOD FROM JOSIAH'S REFORM TO THE EXILE.—The requirements of Dt on behalf of the Levites were not carried out to their full extent in Josiah's reform. Even from this circumstance it may be inferred that Hilkiah, under whose guidance probably the reform was conducted, is not to be credited with the formulating of the Deuteronomic legislation. A consistent carrying out of the letter of the Deuteronomic prescriptions would have required that, after the abolition by Josiah of all places of worship except the temple at Jerusalem, all non-Jerusalemite Levites who desired it should be equally admitted to the cultus at Jerusalem; for Dt sets up no distinction amongst the Levites outside Jerusalem, between those who are entitled to this and those who are not. Notwithstanding, in so far as the narrative in Kings is correct, and in this instance its correctness hardly admits of doubt, nothing like a general admission of Levites took place. Hilkiah, if he was the moving agent in formulating Dt, must thus either have failed to carry out thoroughly his own aims, or he did not in the Deuteronomic programme give correct expression to these aims. Little probability attaches to either of these suppositions.

According to the narrative of Kings (2 K 23), Josiah, in his purification of the cultus by the suppression of the *bāmôth* worship, appears to have distinguished between three categories of priests outside Jerusalem. The kĕmārîm he deposed (v.[5]). By these are meant, in accordance with the uniform OT use of this word (see above, § 1), and in view of the way in which the *kĕmārîm* are introduced in connexion with the suppression of the Baal worship which found expression in the adoration of sun, moon, and stars—idolatrous priests. The *kōhănîm* from the cities of Judah were assembled by the king (v.[8]), but he did not permit the priests of the high places to ascend the altar of Jahweh at Jerusalem, but allowed them to 'eat *mazzôth* in the midst of their brethren' (v.[9]). By this is perhaps meant that they had to remain in their respective places and there find their bread. In this sense the expression would certainly be somewhat strange, and there would be no indication then that these *bāmôth* priests were treated with any less severity than the *kĕmārîm*, although it must be assumed that they were. We must therefore suppose that the expression 'eating of *mazzôth*' has reference to some favour shown them in the matter of maintenance (*Gesch.* p. 225 f.). Of a third class of non-Jerusalemite priests there is not express mention; but since it is said that the *kōhănîm* (in a body) were assembled at Jerusalem, and then the special treatment of the *kōhănîm* of the high places is indicated, the assembling can hardly have had any object except to separate these *bāmôth* priests from other non-Jerusalemite priests who had not been priests of the high places. Kuenen (*ThT*, xxiv. [1890] p. 27) objects, indeed, to this explanation, with apparent right, when he says that then the order of words in 2 K 23[9] would require to be *'akh kōhănê ha-bāmôth lō' ya'ălû*. But the contrast is between 'he *brought* to Jerusalem' (v.[8]) and 'the priests of the high places *went not up*,' so that the order of words (*'akh lō' ya'ălû*) can be justified also on our view. Those non-Jerusalemite priests who had not been priests of the high places were then probably admitted by Josiah, in accordance with the directions of Dt regarding the Levites, to a share in the cultus at Jerusalem. If this was done, the requirements of Dt were satisfied in the spirit, although certainly not to the extent of what, taken in the letter, they might express. On the other hand, if by the priests of the high places (v.[9]) who were excluded by Josiah from the service of the altar, we are to understand all non-Jerusalemite Levites, it must be held that the Deuteronomic demands in favour of the admission of the non-Jerusalemite Levites had no regard paid to them at all. Considering the impression which the law made upon Josiah, this is not exactly probable, for Dt demands in no ambiguous terms that the non-Jerusalemite Levites should be admitted to some share in the holy service. It is possible, no doubt, that in the narrative of Kings the admission of non-Jerusalemite Levites to the cultus is passed over in silence, not without intention, because it might appear objectionable to the author. In the cities of the old kingdom of Samaria, which were likewise purified of the *bāmôth*, Josiah, according to the narrative of Kings, offered all the *bāmôth* priests upon the altars (v.[20]). Whether this bloody measure was literally carried out may indeed be doubted. On other points the story of the reform of the cultus makes the impression of being based upon good authority. For instance, in the mention of the eating of *mazzôth* (or whatever may have been the original expression in what is perhaps now a corrupt text) by the former priests of the high places in the midst of their brethren, the author must have had in view a special arrangement no longer clearly intelligible to us, which cannot have been invented by him after the analogy of certain relations in which the priests found themselves at a later period, or which were known from other sources.

The Bk. of Jeremiah calls the prophet's relatives at Anathoth *kōhănîm* (1[1]); they would have been called in Dt *Levites*. Besides this, in a passage which it is difficult to assign to Jeremiah himself, the Deuteronomic expression 'Levite priests' is employed (33[18]), and in the same place there is mention of 'the Levites, the priests, my (*sc.* Jahweh's) ministers' (v.[21]), or, more briefly, 'the Levites that minister to me' (v.[22]). The Bk. of Jeremiah bears no witness to the existence of a class of Levites distinct from the priests. But it certainly witnesses to an organization of the priestly body. There is mention of elders of the priests (19[1]), the office of chief superintendent in the temple (20[1] 29[25f.]), as well as that of keeper of the threshold (35[4]). The priests, even the higher grades of them, appear to be still regarded as court officials; at least the chief superintendent Zephaniah (29[25f. 29]) makes his appearance as a messenger of king Zedekiah (21[1] 37[3]).

6. THE PRIESTHOOD IN EZEKIEL'S STATE OF THE FUTURE. — During the Exile, the prophet Ezekiel, the son of Buzi, of priestly descent (Ezk 1[3]), drew up a set of statutes for the future theocracy. These statutes are thoroughly imbued with a priestly spirit, and in view of the commanding position which is assigned in them to the sons of Zadok, the Jerusalemite priestly family, there can be no doubt that Ezekiel himself belonged to this family.

In the State of the future, in what shall then be the sole existing temple, that at Jerusalem, he permits (44[15f.]) none but the Levite priests (cf. 43[19]), the sons of Zadok, to enjoy priestly rights, to offer to Jahweh fat and blood, to enter His sanctuary and to approach His table; this prerogative is to belong to them because they kept the charge of the sanctuary of Jahweh when the children of Israel went astray. The prophet's meaning clearly is, that the Zadokites kept the service of Jahweh pure when the people deviated into idolatry—a statement which, of course, has only a measure of truth, for the intrusion of idolatry into the temple at Jerusalem in the reign of Manasseh cannot have taken place without some complicity on the part of the Jerusalemite priests. The Zadokites are contrasted by Ezekiel with the Levites who went astray from Jahweh when Israel apostatized, who left the service of Jahweh for that of idols. They are to bear their iniquity, they shall not approach Jahweh to exercise the office of priest to Him, nor approach His holy things; on the contrary, they are to take the place of the foreigners who have hitherto been allowed to enter the sanctuary as keepers of it, and in their room they are to keep watch at the doors of the temple, to be ministers of the house, to slay the burnt-offering and the sacrifice of the people, and to stand before them (the Israelites) to minister to them ($44^{6ff.}$). Besides slaughtering the victims, the 'ministers of the house,' *i.e.* the non-Zadokite Levites, have, further, to cook the sacrifices of the people (46^{24}).

It is plain that by the non-Zadokite Levites, Ezekiel means the former priests of the high places, who had abetted the people's practice of idolatry on the high places. For this they are to be deprived of their former priestly rank and degraded to the position of temple-servants. From this it may be seen that Josiah's reform had not been able to destroy the former *bāmôth* priests' claim to priestly rights. They could, in face of that reform, appeal to the enactment of Dt, whereby an equal share in the priestly service at Jerusalem was open to all Levites who might come to attach themselves to the cultus there.

The explanation of Ezekiel's 'Levites' as the former priests of the high places has been rightly maintained, especially by Graf, Kuenen, and Wellhausen. On the other hand, one cannot infer, as has been done by the writers just named, from Ezekiel's presentation of the case, that up till then there were in the temple at Jerusalem no other servants of the priests or of the temple beyond the foreigners spoken of. Ezekiel demands merely that the foreigners who had previously given service in the sanctuary, and who are known from the Jehovistic passages in the Bk. of Joshua (see above, § 3) as temple-slaves, should have their place taken in future by the former priests of the high places. But besides such servants, there may, even prior to the time of Ezekiel, have been Israelites, possibly even Levites in particular, who held in the temple a position subordinate to the priests and intermediate between them and the laity. Ezekiel speaks of a degradation not of the Levites as a body, but only of those of them who had been priests of the idol-worship. Only in a later passage (48^{11}) does he say of the 'Levites' generally, in distinction from the sons of Zadok, that they 'went astray,' but, after the previous description of the manner of this going astray, it may be so put for the sake of shortness. That besides those who went astray and the Zadokites there is yet another group of Levites recognized by Ezekiel, namely those who had even at an earlier period occupied the position now assigned to the former *bāmôth* priests, of this there is certainly nowhere a clear expression. One might think to deduce it from $40^{45f.}$, where—before the degrading of the idolatrous Levites is spoken of—a distinction is made between 'the priests, the keepers of the charge of the house,' and 'the priests, the keepers of the charge of the altar, which are the sons of Zadok, who from among the sons of Levi draw near to Jahweh to minister to him' (*Gesch.* p. 106). Smend (*ad loc.*) and Kuenen (*ThT*, 1890, p. 23) would refer the words 'these are the sons of Zadok' to both the preceding definitions of the *kōhănîm*, so that by 'keepers of the charge of the house' we should not have to understand Levites as distinguished from Zadokites. This does not appear to the present writer to be permissible, seeing that in 44^{11} it is expressly said of the Levites that they are to be 'ministers of the house,' and in 44^{14} that it is they that are to be 'keepers of the charge of the house' (cf. 46^{24}), whereas 44^{16} says of the sons of Zadok that they are to draw near to the table of Jahweh, which corresponds to the definition 'to keep the charge of the altar.' Kuenen appears to be decidedly wrong when, in answer to the present writer's distinguishing of two classes of priests in $40^{45f.}$, he objects that the south hall and the north hall in $40^{45f.}$, of which the first is for the keepers of the charge of the house, and the second for the keepers of the charge of the altar, are, according to 42^{13}, both intended for the priests proper, 'who draw near to Jahweh,' *i.e.* the Zadokites. The south hall and the north hall of $40^{45f.}$ are quite different from the north halls and south halls of 42^{13} (observe hall*s* to the north and hall*s* to the south,' both times in the plural). The two single halls of $40^{45f.}$ lie outside the inner gate, *i.e.* the south gate and the north gate leading to the inner fore-court, by the side of the gate (v.^{44}). The north halls and south halls of 42^{13} are situated opposite the inner fore-court, *i.e.* outside the latter, on its north and south sides (see Smend, *ad loc.*). From 42^{13} it cannot then be inferred that the *kōhănîm* mentioned in $40^{45f.}$ are all to be regarded as Zadokites. But even if in this passage a distinction is already made between priests of first and second rank, it is possible that there is in this a proleptic reference to the later statements about the degrading of the priests of the high places. If so, it is certainly surprising that only in 40^{45} are even the lower class spoken of as *kōhănîm.* The two classes are elsewhere distinguished by Ezekiel in the same fashion, but the designation *kōhănîm* for the lower class occurs no more after the rule has been laid down in ch. 44 that the Levites who went astray are no longer to discharge priestly services. On the contrary, $45^{4f.}$ speaks of 'the priests, the ministers of the sanctuary, who draw near to minister to Jahweh,' and, along with these, of 'the Levites, the ministers of the house.' Therefore it seems to follow from the peculiar form of designation, *kōhănîm*, applied only in $40^{45f.}$ to the lower class, that the distinction of *kōhănîm* of two grades was familiar to Ezekiel from already existing relations (so Van Hoonacker, *Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 195), but that in his later utterances he purposely avoided giving to the lower class the name of 'priests,' after he had denied the priestly character to the apostate Levites who were assigned to this class. That there should have been a second class of priests even prior to the Exile is not astonishing in view of the various priestly dignities recognized in the Bks. of Kings (see above, § 3). If this were really the case, the priests of secondary rank will, of course, have been different from the foreigners, the temple-slaves. The latter are required by Ezekiel to be in future wholly discarded. His Levites, *i.e.* the former priests of the high places, are, on this presupposition, to discharge in the future cultus the duties which hitherto have been discharged by the priests of the second rank and the foreigners.

A chief priest is not known to the future theocracy of Ezekiel any more than a king, but only a 'prince' (*nāsî*), to whom certain priestly prerogatives belong, as they had done to the pre-exilic king. The prince may upon certain occasions enter the east gate of the inner fore-court, but not this court itself; he is to defray the cost of the daily offering and the material for the offerings at the great festivals, and for the people (*Gesch.* p. 129 f.). 'The priest' who officiates at the atonement for the sanctuary on the first day of the first and seventh months ($45^{19f.}$) can hardly be the chief priest (Smend, *ad loc.*), but may rather be regarded as the particular Zadokite who happens to officiate. It has frequently been assumed that these ordinances of Ezekiel imply the non-existence of a '**high priest**' up to his time. It may be, indeed, that prior to Ezekiel no priest bore the exact title 'high priest'; but there can be no doubt, from the account of things in the Bks. of Kings, that prior even to the Exile there was a *chief* priest at Jerusalem. In Ezekiel's theocracy Jahweh is directly present, hence it has no room for a human king, and is just as little in want of a single priestly mediator (this also against Van Hoonacker, *Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 368, who holds that Ezekiel intends, by the emphasis he lays on Zadok as the father of the Jerusalemite priesthood, to recognize in his State of the future a 'high priest' such as Zadok was). Ezekiel's temple has no sacred ark, to which such a priest had to draw near, but God Himself dwells in the temple. It may be that in the words, 'Away with the tiara (*miẓnepheth*, elsewhere only as the designation of the high priest's turban in the Priests' Code, cf. *ẓānîph* in Zec 3^{5}), hence with the crown' (Ezk 21^{31} [Eng.^{26}]), there is a distinct rejection both of the kingship and of the high priesthood expressed (*Gesch.* p. 118 f.). At all events, in view of the dropping of the title of 'king' in Ezekiel's theocracy, it would not be surprising if he meant a hitherto existing high priesthood to be also discarded.

Ezekiel gives special injunctions to the priests. They are to perform the holy service, clothed in linen, not in wool, in order to avoid sweat ($44^{17f.}$). This official dress they are to put off when they go out to the outer court, that they may not sanctify the people with their holy garments (v.^{19}). In like manner, in order to avoid sanctifying the people, it is enacted that the priests are to boil the guilt-offering and the sin-offering and to bake the *minḥāh* in chambers of the inner court, but not to bring them into the outer court ($46^{19f.}$). Their hair they are neither to let grow long nor to shave off, but to cut; when they go into the inner court they may not drink wine ($44^{20f.}$). They may not marry a divorced woman, but only a virgin of the house of Israel or the widow of a priest (v.^{22}). They are not to defile themselves with dead bodies except in the case of the nearest relations; in the event of such defilement the priest is not to be allowed to enter the inner court and present his sin-offering till the seventh day after his purification (v.$^{26f.}$). An injunction, which was indeed of general application (cf. Ex 22^{30}), is addressed with special emphasis to the priests, namely that they are not to eat of animals that have died of themselves or been torn (v.^{31}). Amongst the functions assigned to the priests, besides the offering of sacrifice, there is the instruction of the people in the difference between holy and profane, clean and unclean, as well as the giving of judicial decisions (v.$^{23f.}$).

The principle already laid down in Dt, and repeated by Ezekiel, that the priests are to have no inheritance in the land of Israel, that Jahweh is their inheritance (44^{28}), is not carried through consistently by Ezekiel. He assigns to the priests the land immediately surrounding the temple, as a holy *tĕrûmāh* or 'portion' to dwell on ($45^{1ff.}$ $48^{10ff.}$); the Levites receive the district touching on the priests' land (45^{5} 48^{13}). The land of the priests and Levites is an inalienable possession (48^{14}). Besides this the priests have, as in Dt, but after a different arrangement, definite portions assigned them of the sacrifices and sacred gifts. The *minḥāh*, the sin-offering and the guilt-offering they have to consume in the chambers of the temple (42^{13} 44^{29}). Every 'devoted thing' in Israel falls to them (44^{29}), and, in the case of the consecrated gifts, the best (the *rē'shîth*) of all the first-fruits of everything, and of every heave-offering (*tĕrûmāh*), of everything of all heave-offerings, along with which special mention is made, further, of the best (the *rē'shîth*) of the dough (44^{30}). By the heave-offering appears to be meant vegetable products of the land, along with the first-fruits already mentioned. Of the heave-offering also only the *rē'shîth* is assigned to the priest. What is to be done with the rest is not indicated, perhaps it goes to the State (*Gesch.* p. 126 f.).

7. THE PRIESTHOOD FROM EZEKIEL TO EZRA.—Ezekiel's ordinances were of an ideal character, calculated upon a hoped-for restoration of the theocracy. During the Exile, when there was no holy service performed, we learn nothing about the condition of the priestly arrangements. Only Deutero-Isaiah speaks of 'holy princes' (43^{28}), by which probably priest-princes are meant, and in that case a priesthood organized in different grades is presupposed, such as we make acquaintance with in Kings. A prophet writing in the period after the Return, who appears to have belonged to the school of Deutero-Isaiah, but can scarcely have been identical with him, rises to the broad-minded expectation that Jahweh in the future will take to Himself even Gentiles 'for priests, for Levites' (Is 66^{21}, where read לַכֹּהֲנִים לַלְוִיִּם; see *Gesch.* p. 249 f.). Whether the prophet understands the terms 'priests' and 'Levites' to be identical in meaning, or distinguishes between them (so, recently, again, Van Hoonacker, *Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 206 ff.), is not perfectly clear; but the probability is that the two terms are regarded as equivalent, as otherwise there would be an anti-climax in the order 'priests, Levites.' The statement assumes the simplest character if one emends (with Kuenen, Duhm [*ad loc.*], Kittel [*ad loc.*], and Cheyne [*Introd. to the Book of Isaiah*, London, 1895, p. 377]) לַכֹּהֲנִים לְוִיִּם 'for Levite priests.'

From the post-exilic community we have authentic information about the condition of the priesthood, first of all from Haggai and Zechariah in the second year of king Darius (Hystaspis), B.C. 520. Both these prophets speak of Joshua, the head of the priestly body, as '**high priest**' (*ha-kōhēn ha-gādôl*, Hag $1^{1.12.14}$, Zec $3^{1.8}$ *al.*), a designation of which we have found hitherto only isolated occurrences in Kings, without having any guarantee from these that we are entitled to look upon it as a pre-exilic title. When, in the vision of Zechariah, the Satan accuses the high priest, his complaint is repelled by the angel of Jahweh, in the name of Jahweh 'who has chosen Jerusalem' (Zec 3^{2}). The high priest then is clearly viewed as the representative of Jerusalem, and thus, in all probability, of the whole community. Without the high priest, Zechariah cannot portray the consummation of all things under the *Ẓemaḥ*, *i.e.* the Messiah. He thinks of a priest as standing on the right (LXX) of the future king (6^{13}). In another passage in this same prophet, the Messiah himself appears to be represented as in possession of priestly prerogatives, when it is said of Joshua and his companions, *i.e.* the rest of the priests, that they are 'men of the sign,' in allusion to the coming of the *Ẓemaḥ*, under whom the sin of the land is to be taken away in one day ($3^{8f.}$). To Joshua the promise is made that, if he will walk in Jahweh's ways and keep His charge, he shall judge Jahweh's house (*i.e.* Israel; *tādîn* would scarcely be used of the management of the temple [Wellhausen, Nowack], although the temple appears to suit better the mention of 'courts' in the same context), keep His courts, and have a place to walk among those who stand before God (3^{7}). Joshua is thus thought of as the culminating head of the people, the director of the cultus, the mediator between the community and God. The high priest is manifestly conceived of by Zechariah as anointed (as in the Priests' Code), for the 'two sons of oil' of Zec 4[14] can hardly stand for anything else than the Davidically descended Zerubbabel and the high priest Joshua.

All this marks a view of the dignity of the chief priest which is diametrically opposed to the programme of Ezekiel, and which cannot be understood as a direct expansion of what we have learned from Dt or the prophets or the historical books to have been the development of things hitherto. Of course, through the restoration of Israel, after the Exile, the dignity of the chief priest acquired extra elevation, because he was now head of the community with no longer a king by his side. But in spite of all this it appears to the present writer inconceivable, that in the course of the 52 years which had elapsed since Ezekiel in the five and twentieth year of his captivity (B.C. 572) had his vision of the new Jerusalem with its new ordinances (40[1]), the high priestly dignity should have made its appearance as a wholly new creation. If Ezekiel is silent about a chief priest, this is—as the statements in the Bks. of Kings show — plainly not because there had been no chief priest at Jerusalem up till then, but is due to an intentional reaction against a then actually existing office. But even if this be so, the rank of the chief priest must, in the interval between Dt and Zechariah, or even between Ezekiel and Zechariah, have been raised in a way of which there is no evidence in the sources as yet adduced, and which is not intelligible on the ground simply of the changed circumstances. We shall have to return later on to inquire to what influence this alteration is to be ascribed (see below, § 8 g).

In Haggai the priests are asked for *tôrāh*, *i.e.* oral direction, and this with reference to the distinction of clean and unclean (2[11ff.]). From the fact that the reply is given by word of mouth, it does not follow that there was as yet no written *tôrāh* at all on this subject; even where such exists, oral direction as to its application in any particular case is still requisite. By Zechariah, too, it is regarded as the business of the priests—as well as the prophets—to give information about a question affecting religious observances (7[3]).

Neither Haggai nor Zechariah make any mention of Levites alongside of priests. Our first authentic witness to Levites is in the time of Ezra. According to the account given in Ezra's own Memoirs (indicated hereafter by M, which stands also for the Memoirs of Nehemiah), Ezra was accompanied to Palestine by two priestly houses, that of Gershom of the sons of Phinehas, and that of Daniel of the sons of Ithamar (Ezr 8[2] M). No Levites came forward at first to join him (v.[15] M). It was only at Ezra's special request that 38 Levites were at length prepared to go with him (v.[18f.] M). Of the Nethinim, 'whom David and the princes had given for the service of the Levites,' there went with Ezra 220 men (v.[20] M). The fact that so few Levites, and these only after much pressing, consented to follow Ezra, must have been due to special circumstances. The Levites, who in Ezr and Neh are everywhere sharply distinguished from the priests, must be understood to be those whom Ezekiel had called Levites in the narrower sense, *i.e.* the descendants of the non-Jerusalemite priests of the high places. The station which Ezekiel had assigned to them in the State of the future must have presented few attractions. Still the distinction between priests and Levites among those who returned with Ezra can scarcely be based merely upon the ordinance proposed by Ezekiel, but, like the appearance of the high priest in Zechariah, is probably to be attributed to the influence of another classification which had meanwhile come into force (cf. below, § 8 g). But even apart from such, and even if there was no thought of introducing the ideal constitution of Ezekiel, the situation was not a favourable one for these 'Levites.' As Ezra himself, according to what is quite a credible account of his descent (Ezr 7[1f.]), was a Zadokite, the descendants of the former priests of Jerusalem would, as a matter of course, take the lead amongst the returned exiles, so that other 'Levites,' who were not in a position to claim that they belonged to the priestly aristocracy, must give way to them.

The Memoirs of both Ezra and Nehemiah make a distinction, which the Bks. of Ezr and Neh do not make everywhere throughout, between the Levites and the **singers** and **doorkeepers** of the temple (*e.g.* Ezr 10[23f.] M; see *Gesch.* p. 142, and cf. below, § 9). These are classes which meet us for the first time in the post-exilic period (the 'singers' of Ezk 40[44] are based upon a textual error, see Smend, *ad loc.*; otherwise Köberle, p. 17 ff.). But it is not likely that these classes constitute a really new phenomenon, which first took its rise in the Exile, for, during a period when there was neither temple nor cultus, professional classes like these can scarcely have been formed. And as little—even if the representation given in Neh 7 (? M) = Ezr 2, that already amongst those who returned with Zerubbabel there were singers and doorkeepers, should be incorrect—can these classes have come into being for the first time under the wretched conditions that marked the beginnings of the cultus in post-exilic Jerusalem. Rather, it may be inferred, in the post-exilic singers and doorkeepers we have to do with the descendants of doorkeepers and singers of the pre-exilic temple, just as in the **Nethinim** with descendants of pre-exilic temple-slaves. The post-exilic singers, doorkeepers, and Nethinim are consequently an argument in favour of the existence of a numerous non-priestly *personnel* of servants in the pre-exilic temple.

In a statistical account of the Astarte temple, inscribed on stone, found on the site of the ancient Kition, and belonging perhaps to the 4th cent. B.C. (*CIS*, I. 86A and B), there is mention of a whole series of different servants of the temple, who correspond in part to the Jerusalem temple-servants: those who had charge of the curtains, gatekeepers, those who had to attend to the slaying of the sacrificial victims, female singers or dancers (עלמת). A *personnel* of a similar kind was, in fact, required by every considerable temple.

The post-exilic Levites in the narrower sense, on the other hand, cannot be identified with any office in the pre-exilic temple. Although the class known in post-exilic times as 'Levites' owed its origin, to all appearance, to the programme of Ezekiel, yet the presence of special doorkeepers, alongside the Levites, in the post-exilic temple, shows that the Levites had not become precisely what he intended, for he had assigned to them the charge of the temple doors (see above, § 6). From the same circumstance it may be inferred with probability that the class of doorkeepers existed prior to Ezekiel, and that he intended to amalgamate his Levites with these. If the list contained in Neh 7 is what in the present text it gives itself out to be, namely a catalogue of those who at the first returned from the Exile with Zerubbabel (Neh 7[7]), the first *gôlāh* that returned already included all the above classes of sanctuary servants. Along with 4289 priests the list mentions 74 Levites, 148 (128) singers, 138 (139) doorkeepers, 392 Nethinim and sons of

Solomon's servants (Neh $7^{39\mathrm{ff.}}$, cf. Ezr $2^{36\mathrm{ff.}}$). But perhaps the probability is greater that we have to do here with a list of the population of Judah at the time of Nehemiah. The very small number of Levites will have to be explained in this passage in the same way as in the notice regarding those that returned with Ezra (see above). Another list (Neh 11^{10-19}), which likewise has reference perhaps to the time of Nehemiah (the Chronicler, at all events, understands it so), gives, amongst the numbers of those dwelling in Jerusalem, for the priests 1192; for the Levites, to whom the singers are here reckoned, 284; for the doorkeepers 172. This list, however, as it does not distinguish between Levites and singers, may not have been drawn up till after the time of Nehemiah. Ezra himself says nothing of singers and doorkeepers having returned with him; it is only in the later narrative, Ezr 7^{7}, that they are mentioned, but without any statement of their numbers, amongst the different classes of those who accompanied Ezra. It may be that they had already returned in such numbers, that, when Ezra set out, there were either no more singers and doorkeepers in Babylon at all (Vogelstein, p. 38 f.), or none that were prepared to go with him. On the other hand, 220 Nethinim returned with Ezra (Ezr 8^{20} M).

The same list in Neh 7, whose date is uncertain, lays great stress on the priests being able to prove their priestly genealogy; the families that could not do this were excluded from the priesthood (v.$^{63\mathrm{ff.}}$). What was demanded in the matter of this genealogy is not evident from the expressions used, whether perchance descent from Zadok had to be proved, in accordance with the ordinance of Ezekiel, or from Aaron, as is required by the Priests' Code.

The above were the constituent elements of the service of the temple, when, according to the usually accepted date, in B.C. 445 or 444, during the governorship of Nehemiah, Ezra caused the Law to be read aloud in solemn assembly (Neh 8 ff.). This law—probably the whole Pentateuch, otherwise only the so-called Priests' Code, *i.e.* the ceremonial law contained in the middle books of the Pentateuch—contained also regulations regarding the priesthood which up till then had not possessed normative force, at whatever time they may have originated. In the position, however, answering to that in the Priests' Code, which was assumed by the high priest in the new Jewish community, even before the arrival of Ezra (see above), we shall have to recognize an influence exerted, prior to its public promulgation, by the legislation of the Priests' Code which was gradually arranged or collected, if not composed, by the scribes in Babylon. In this Code, as is well known, the high priest has a unique position given to him. The influence of the same legislation is probably to be traced likewise in the explicit distinction between priests and Levites amongst those who returned with Ezra, and still more clearly in the circumstance that some priests who returned with Ezra traced their descent to Aaron (Ithamar), but not to Zadok (Phinehas). This influence of the Priests' Code upon the relations of the new community prior to Ezra's appearance in Palestine, is enough to exclude the view, which is sometimes put forward, that Ezra composed the Priests' Code after his arrival, *i.e.*, according to the usual chronology, between the years B.C. 458 and 445 or 444. At least the rudimentary stage of the Priests' Code must be placed, in view of the position of the high priest in the time of the prophet Zechariah, not less than about a century before the time of Ezra.

In all probability the publication of the Law was preceded by the appearance of the short prophetical writing which has come down to us under the name *Malachi*, which is derived from one of its catch-words, or may even be a title of honour given to its author. It was probably written after the arrival of Ezra, as it occupies itself with the question of the mixed marriages, which, so far as we know, was first agitated by him. The covenant with the priests is called in Malachi the covenant with Levi or with the Levites ($2^{4.8}$), which does not agree with the terminology of the Priests' Codex, and hence appears to point to a date prior to its publication. It cannot, surely, be supposed that, with reference to an oppression of the serving Levites by the priests, the latter are reminded by Malachi that Jahweh has entered into covenant with the whole tribe of Levi (Vogelstein, p. 24 f.), for what Malachi complains of is not ill-treatment of the Levites by the priests, but that the priests handle the *tôrāh* wrongly and with respect of persons ($2^{8\mathrm{f.}}$), *i.e.* of course in their dealings with the community. Malachi calls those who present the offerings 'sons of Levi' (3^{3}), and betrays no acquaintance with the term 'Levites' in the special sense of the Priests' Code, namely as the appellation of a class of inferior ministers of the sanctuary. The terminology of the Priests' Codex had thus, at all events, not become current in the time of Malachi. It is true that in Malachi the paying of the tithes is demanded, not for the holding of feasts, as in Dt, but for the store-house of the temple, as 'food,' *i.e.* for those who live by their temple service ($3^{8.10}$). This agrees with the requirement of the Priests' Code published by Ezra, but this particular ordinance may have come into force even prior to the publication of the Code.

8. The Priesthood according to the Law contained in the 'Priestly Writing.'—We do not know what was the compass of the law-book which obtained recognition under Ezra. Probably we should understand by it the whole Pentateuch. The narrative of the reading of the law and the binding of the people to obey it is scarcely, it is true, taken directly from the Memoirs of Ezra, but certain traces indicate that it goes back to these. The indications which the narrative of the reading of the law gives as to its contents point in part (the prohibition of marriage with the Canaanites, Neh 10^{31}) to Deuteronomy, or even to the still older legislation contained in the Jehovistic book, but in great measure to enactments which are to be found only in the code contained in that source of the Pentateuch which it has become customary to call as a whole the 'Priestly Writing' (Neh $8^{15.18}$ $10^{34.36\mathrm{ff.}}$). This portion of the law of Ezra is a new factor which, at whatever time it may have originated, had not hitherto obtained public recognition or been generally known. It is true that in certain new ordinances regarding the situation of the priests, introduced in the period between the First Return and the arrival of Ezra (see above, § 7), influences are to be traced which proceeded from this code, whether already in existence or in process of coming into being.

The Priestly Writing occupies itself more than any of the collections of laws that had hitherto obtained validity, with the relations of the priesthood, and, on this account and because of its having undeniably originated in the circle of the priests, may be called after them. Its legislation, which deals mainly with ritual, is not, indeed, specially designed for the priests. It is not meant to be a manual of rules for the discharge of the priestly service. These, indeed, are not fully given on many points; rather are the readers or hearers it has in view, primarily the members of the congregation. The latter, however, are instructed mainly about the organization of the holy service and of those who perform it, about the rights and duties appertaining to the priests. Nevertheless, for the sake of brevity, the law contained in the 'Priestly Writing' may be called, after the example of others, the Priests' Code.

a. *The priests in the Law of Holiness and in particular 'tôrôth.'*—It is owing only to redaction by a single hand that the Priests' Code has reached a harmonious character; this redaction has clearly welded it together from a variety of components. Even the views it gives of the priestly relations have not been all cast in one mould. In those components of the Priests' Code which manifestly are to be recognized as the oldest, the so-called 'Law of Holiness,' *i.e.* the main stock of Lv 17–26, as well as particular *tôrôth* akin to this, which were perhaps originally combined with it or may have had currency by themselves (Lv 6 f., 11 [12–15. 27], Nu $5^{11ff.}$ 6^{1-21} 15^{37-41}), we hear only of 'the priests' or 'the priest,' namely the one officiating; but the priests are not more clearly defined as to their descent, and there is no mention of Levites or other sanctuary servants along with them. It is a later process of redaction that has introduced into these passages the designation of the priests with reference to Aaron and his sons. In Lv 6^{7} (Eng.^{14}) 'sons of Aaron' appears to stand in the place of an original 'the priest,' for this subject is followed in v.$^{8\,(15)}$ by the singular of the verb. The quite isolated mention of the Levites in these portions (Lv 25^{32-34}) is certainly an interpolation. On the other hand, even the original Law of Holiness probably contained very minute prescriptions as to purity on the part of the priests (Lv $21^{1ff.}$). This law appears, further, to have been acquainted with a chief priest, for the connexion of the section which lays down special rules for his purity (Lv $21^{10ff.}$) with the Law of Holiness scarcely admits of a doubt (it is doubted, indeed, by H. Weinel, 'משח und seine Derivate,' in *ZATW*, 1898, p. 28 ff.). In favour of this connexion is the expression, not used elsewhere in the Priests' Code, 'the priest who is greater than his brethren' (v.^{10}). To the older elements probably belongs also the prescription that this first priest is not to leave the sanctuary in the event of a bereavement (Lv 21^{12}), which presupposes that he lives in the sanctuary (as Eli did), a view which is taken nowhere else in the Priests' Code.

To what date these oldest components of the Priests' Code should be attributed it is hard to decide. At present they are usually assigned to the Exile, near the time of Ezekiel. So much is unquestionably right, that the Law of Holiness still existed as a collection by itself during the Exile, and that it received then its conclusion which fits only that period (Lv $26^{3ff.}$) But, beyond this, it does not follow necessarily from the special points of contact between Ezekiel and this law, that both belong to nearly the same period. These points of contact may be due to the fact that Ezekiel made quite a special use of the Law of Holiness, and specially attached himself to it. The demand which stands at the head of this law (Lv $17^{1ff.}$), that all slaying of animals must take place before the sanctuary (which was afterwards brought by a redactor into relation to the tent of meeting, which was not originally mentioned), could be obeyed only at a time when there were more sanctuaries than one (so, following Dillmann, *Gesch.* p. 47). This would lead us to think of the pre-Deuteronomic period. That the author of the Deuteronomic law was acquainted with the *tôrāh* about leprosy which has come down to us in Lv 13 f., outside the specially so-called 'Law of Holiness,' but belonging to those special *tôrôth* akin to this law (see above), is not improbable, seeing that, at all events, some leprosy-*tôrāh* entrusted to the priests is known to him (Dt 24^{8}).

If the Law of Holiness originally presupposed the existence of a plurality of sanctuaries, it remains doubtful whether it thinks of a single chief priest for all the sanctuaries, or assumes that there will be a number of chief priests taking charge of the different sanctuaries.

b. *The Aaronite priests.*—The other components of the Priests' Code exhibit a harmonious system of organization of the priesthood; although even here, in matters of detail, differences of various strata and innovations are not to be overlooked. A priesthood, according to the Priestly Writing, first came into being in Israel in the time of Moses, when the one legitimate place of sacrifice, the tent of meeting, was by Divine direction established. Previously, according to this writing, the fathers of Israel had offered no sacrifices, and consequently required no priests. Moses installed as priests his brother Aaron and the latter's sons. Only to the descendants of these do the priestly rights pass on. The terms 'sons of Aaron' and 'priests' are thus synonymous (Ex 28^{41} 29^{44} $40^{12ff.}$ etc.). Only two of Aaron's sons, Eleazar and Ithamar, perpetuate the family. A preference, however, is given to the sons of Eleazar above those of Ithamar, when, on the occasion of a propitiatory action on the part of Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the covenant of an everlasting priesthood is entered into only with him and his seed (Nu $25^{12f.}$).

For the exercise of the holy office the sons of Aaron are provided with a special *priestly attire*, Ex $28^{40ff.}$—linen breeches and a long coat (*kĕthōneth*), besides a girdle and a turban. The upper garments are, according to Ex 39^{28}, to be all of *shēsh*, *i.e.*, borrowing an Egyptian term, *byssus*, therefore white, till we come to the girdle, which, according to Ex 39^{29} (if here it is the girdle of the priests in general and not that of the high priest that is spoken of), is composed of the four colours of the sanctuary, namely white, crimson, blue-purple, and red-purple. At all events, according to Josephus (*Ant.* III. vii. 2), the white ground of the priest's girdle had flowers of the four colours wrought into it. Shoes, which are nowhere mentioned, are apparently not to be worn by the priests while performing the sacred office; they probably go barefooted (Ex 3^{5} [JE]), just as the Phœnician priests wore not shoes but linen socks (Pietschmann, *Gesch. der Phönizier*, Berlin, 1889, p. 223). The white garments of *shēsh* correspond to the linen robe, the *'ēphōd bad*, which in olden times was worn by the Hebrew priests (1 S 2^{18}). Linen was the material of the priest's dress also among the Babylonians (Gunkel, *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft*, i. [1898] p. 297) and the Egyptians (Aneessi, p. 102 ff.; Renan, *Hist. du peuple d'Israël*, i. 149; *Gesch.* p. 70 f.). The employment of *shēsh* instead of the more common linen is to be set down as a later refinement.

The *ritual functions* of the priests, specified in the Priests' Code, are of a manifold character. The priests have to sprinkle the blood of the victim in the sanctuary (Lv $1^{5.\,11.\,15}$ etc.), to offer the sacrifices (*i.e.* lay them upon the altar and cause them to go up in the sacred fire (Lv $1^{7-9.\,12f.\,15-17}$ etc.); they alone may accomplish the *kappārāh* ('covering') effected by the presentation of the offerings (Lv $4^{26.\,35}$ etc.). On the other hand, the killing, flaying, and cutting up of the victim is, according to the Priests' Code (differing in this from Ezekiel), the business of the person making the offering, even should he be a layman (Lv $1^{5f.}$ *al.*; see *Gesch.* p. 114 f.). The priests have, further, to pour out the drink-offering (Nu 6^{17}), they have to perform the whole service connected with the altar of burnt-offering (Ex 30^{20}) and (spoken with special reference to Aaron) the altar of incense (Ex $30^{7f.}$). Only an Aaronite, and 'no stranger' may offer incense at all (Nu 17^5 [Eng. 16^{40}]). The Aaronites alone have charge of the table of shewbread (Lv 24^8, spoken specially of Aaron) and the candlestick (Ex 27^{21}). From Ex $30^{7f.}$, Lv 24^3, Nu $8^{2f.}$ it does not result that, according to another older enactment, only the high priest had charge of the candlestick (Vogelstein, p. 63). When 'Aaron' alone is spoken of here, it is as the representative of the priesthood in general. As such he performs in the Priests' Code the whole of the priestly service, and in other passages as well he is named alone as standing for the priests in general. Ex 27^{21} 'Aaron and his sons' will not be incorrect, then, as the explanation of the other passages which speak of Aaron alone. Only the priests may go within the sanctuary (Ex 30^{20}). A 'stranger,' *i.e.* a non-Aaronite, who approaches the altar or the space inside the curtain shall die (Nu 18^7). Amongst the holiest articles which may be approached only by holy persons, *i.e.* only by the priests, is reckoned even the laver in the fore-court (Ex $30^{28f.}$).

Even *outside the sanctuary* there are special duties assigned to the priests. They have to remove the ashes from the altar to a clean place without the camp (Lv 6^4 [Eng. ^{11}]); they have (specially Eleazar, but this while Aaron was yet alive) charge of the holy anointing oil (Nu 4^{16}, which is perhaps to be assigned to a redactor, see Dillm. *Numeri*, etc., 1886, p. 14 f.). They alone may pronounce the blessing upon the people (Nu $6^{22ff.}$), and in war or at the festivals are to blow with the sacred trumpets (Nu $10^{8ff.}$ 31^6). They have to watch over the distinction between holy and profane, unclean and clean, and to instruct the children of Israel in all statutes which Jahweh has spoken to them through Moses (Lv $10^{10f.}$), whereby probably those statutes are specially intended which have regard to holy and profane, clean and unclean.

The priests have, further, to pronounce the curse on the woman who is accused of adultery, and to give her the water of bitterness to drink (Nu $5^{15ff.}$); they have to reconsecrate the head of the Nazirite who has been defiled (Nu 6^{11}), to determine the presence of leprosy in human beings, in houses, and in clothes, as well as to pronounce the declaration of cleanness from leprosy, and, in the latter case, to carry out the sprinkling of the man to be cleansed with the sacrificial blood, as well as the sprinkling and pouring out of oil (Lv 13 f.). At the slaying and burning of the red heifer, from whose ashes the water of purification for those who have been defiled by touching a dead body is to be prepared, the priest (Eleazar in the lifetime of Aaron) is to be present; he has to sprinkle the blood, and to throw various ingredients into the burning (Nu $19^{3ff.}$). The priests have, further, to determine the valuation of persons that have been vowed (Lv 27^8), of vowed unclean beasts (v.$^{11f.}$), of the consecrated house (v.^{14}) or field (v.$^{16ff.}$).

Aaron and his sons are *installed in office* by a solemn consecration, with 'filling of the hand,' *i.e.* by the presenting of a dedicatory offering placed in their hand, the 'fill-offering' (Ex 29, Lv 8 *al.*; cf. on the filling of the hand, above, § 2). That this act of consecration is to be repeated in the case of every priest afterwards is not said, and how far this was actually done is questionable (Schürer, p. 231 f., note 25). In other passages an anointing of the priests is spoken of (Ex 28^{41} 30^{30} *al.*). But at the same time the title 'the anointed' as an expression of honour is used only of the high priest (Lv $4^{3.5.16}$ *al.*). At the ceremony of consecrating the priests there is mention only of the anointing of Aaron (Ex 29^7), and the anointing is viewed as the sign of the high-priestly succession (v.^{29}).

Clearly we have to do here (as Wellhausen was the first to see) with two strata of the Priests' Code; one of which assumes the anointing of all priests, the other only that of the high priest. Through combining the two views, the description has originated which makes it appear as if originally all priests were anointed, while in future the high priest alone is to be anointed (*Gesch.* pp. 25, 48 f.). Nowhere in the OT outside the Priests' Code is the anointing of ordinary priests assumed, but that of the high priest is assumed in several passages (Weinel in *ZATW*, 1898, p. 28).

Full priestly rights belong to such Aaronites as are *free from bodily defects.* No one who suffers from any such blemish is to go within the sanctuary or approach the altar. On the other hand, even such persons are entitled, like the other Aaronites, to eat of the holy and the most holy offerings (Lv $21^{16ff.}$). On pain of being cut off, the priests have to refrain from sacrificing and from eating of the sacrificial flesh as long as they are tainted with any *Levitical uncleanness* (Lv $22^{2ff.}$). The prohibition which applied to all Israelites (Lv $17^{15f.}$) against eating the flesh of an animal that had died of itself or been torn, is addressed with special emphasis to the priests (Lv 22^8). Before performing the sacred office they have to wash their hands and feet in the brazen laver (Ex $30^{19ff.}$ $40^{31f.}$), and may not, before going into the sanctuary to perform their duties, drink wine or strong drink (Lv $10^{8f.}$). They are forbidden to marry a harlot, a polluted, or a divorced woman (Lv 21^7). A priest's daughter who by harlotry has profaned the office of her father is to be burned with fire (v.^{9}). The priests are forbidden to defile themselves through the dead, with the exception of defilement by the corpse of the nearest blood relations (Lv $21^{1ff.}$). In all cases of bereavement they are forbidden to exhibit signs of mourning by making a baldness upon their heads, cutting their beards at the corners, or making cuttings in their flesh (v.^{5}).—These prescriptions for the maintaining of purity on the part of the priests are found to a large extent in the Law of Holiness, and may already have belonged to its main stock, and thus have been merely adopted by the Priests' Code.

c. *The high priest.*—At the head of the priestly body stands, in the time of Moses, his brother Aaron, and in later times always one of the descendants of the latter (Ex $29^{29f.}$ etc.). After the death of Aaron the functions of chief priest are undertaken by his eldest son Eleazar, who in turn is succeeded by his son Phinehas (Nu $25^{11ff.}$); which seems to assume an arrangement for the succession of the firstborn. Aaron, like the other priests, usually bears the simple title *ha-kōhēn* (Ex 29^{30} 31^{10} etc.). There are few passages in which the chief priest receives the name of honour 'the anointed priest' (*ha-kōhēn ha-māshîaḥ*, Lv $4^{3.5.16}$ 6^{15}; cf. *Gesch.* p. 26; these passages, and, in general, the majority of those in P in which an anointing is mentioned, are considered by Weinel [*ZATW*, 1898, p. 30 ff.] to be additions). Equally seldom, three times only, does the chief priest bear the title 'high priest' (*ha-kōhēn ha-gādôl*, Lv 21^{10}, Nu $35^{25.28}$). The high-priestly dignity is clearly thought of as conferred for life (Nu $35^{25.28}$). With solemnities lasting for seven days each new high priest is to be installed in office, with putting on of the holy attire, anointing, and filling the hand (Ex $29^{29f.}$); he has on this occasion, like Aaron on the day of his anointing, to offer a *minḥāh* (Lv $6^{13ff.}$; so at least according to the present text, see Dillm. *ad loc.*).

The chief priest is distinguished by two minutely described *official costumes*. One of these is wholly of linen. He wears this only when he goes into the Holy of Holies on the Day of Atonement (Lv 16$^{4.\ 23.\ 32}$). In discharging the rest of his functions, he has to wear above the white *kĕthōneth* of *shēsh* worn by all the priests, a variegated dress of the four colours of the sanctuary, blue-purple, red-purple, crimson, and white, interwoven with gold (Ex 28$^{6ff.}$, Lv 8$^{7ff.}$ *al.*). The different parts of this dress are described in detail, yet their exact structure is not quite clearly recognizable. Above his under-garment the high priest wears his distinguishing ephod, kept together at the shoulders by a couple of clasps formed of *shōham* stone, upon each of which are engraved six names of the tribes of Israel (cf. art. EPHOD). Upon his breast, above the ephod, the high priest wears the four-cornered *ḥōshen* suspended by little chains. Set in this externally are twelve precious stones in four rows, having engraved upon them the names of the twelve tribes. The *ḥōshen* must be conceived of as a species of pocket (cf. art. BREASTPLATE OF THE HIGH PRIEST), for in it are deposited the Urim and Thummin, which evidently are to be thought of as tangible objects (cf. art. URIM AND THUMMIM). Upon the hem of the upper-garment (*mĕ'îl*) which was attached to the ephod, there hang alternately pomegranates and little bells. In the front of his turban (*miznepheth*) the high priest wears upon his forehead a golden diadem inscribed 'Holy to Jahweh.' The high priest alone is entitled to carry the Urim and Thummim (Ex 28^{30}, Lv 8^{8}), and to pronounce the 'judgment of the Urim' before Jahweh; and by this decision, as that of a Divine oracle, Israel has to abide (Nu 27^{26}).

None but the high priest may go into the Holy of Holies on the yearly Day of Atonement, to make propitiation for the priests and the congregation, and carry through the ceremony with the two goats, in which he has to make atonement also for the sanctuary (Lv 16$^{6ff.}$, cf. Ex 30^{10}). Above all, it rests with him alone to make atonement for his own guilt and that of his house (Lv 4$^{3ff.}$, cf. 9$^{8ff.}$), as well as for the community as a whole (Lv 4$^{16ff.}$, cf. 9$^{15ff.}$; differently, as it would appear, Nu 15^{25}, see *Gesch.* p. 27, note). He has to offer a daily *minḥāh* (Lv 6$^{12-16}$, where 'on the day of his anointing' [v.^{13}] is probably a later addition, by which the daily offering is transformed into one offered once for all at the time of his installation in the priestly office). Moreover, he has to take his share in the service rendered by the other priests (Ex 27^{21}). The rôle of *mediator*, apart from the above-mentioned atoning transactions, he assumes by bearing upon his breastplate the names of the children of Israel, when he goes into the sanctuary (Ex 28^{29}).

The high priest Eleazar is named in the first rank, along with Joshua, the prince of the tribes (Nu 34$^{17ff.}$, cf. Jos 14^{1}). At his word, spoken by means of the Urim, the whole congregation is to go out and come in (Nu 27$^{20ff.}$). After the death of the high priest the manslayer is safe to leave the city of refuge (Nu 35$^{25.\ 28}$). The duration of the high priest's office is treated in this enactment as an epoch at whose close certain questions that have remained open are to be regarded as now settled (the interpretation proposed in *Gesch.* p. 28, and approved by Van Hoonacker, *Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 340, finds no justification either in the Priests' Code or in the OT generally). The high priest holds no other position of secular authority. When Moses and Aaron together number the people (Nu 1$^{3.\ 17}$), Aaron acts in this matter simply as the brother of Israel's leader.

Special *injunctions regarding purity* are laid upon the high priest, which are stricter than those for the rest of the priests. Like the latter, they are found in the Law of Holiness. According to them, 'the priest who is greater than his brethren' may marry only a virgin of his people, and not, as is permitted to the other priests, a widow (Lv 21$^{13ff.}$). He is not to defile himself through any dead body, even that of a father or mother (v.^{11}). He is forbidden, as a sign of mourning, to let his hair grow long or to rend his clothes (v.^{10}).

If the high priest have brought guilt upon the people through any sin of his, he has to present a sin-offering, with ceremonies specially prescribed for this particular case (Lv 4$^{3ff.}$), because a sin on the part of the spiritual head of the people is looked on as bringing special trouble upon the whole community. Sins affecting the priesthood, *i.e.* violations of the laws given to the priests, have to be expiated by Aaron and his sons (Nu 18^{1}; not by the high priest alone [Benzinger, p. 422], but by him and the rest of the priests).

d. *The Levites.*—The Aaronite priests are, in the Priests' Code, a special family of the tribe of Levi. The designation 'Levites' is only in isolated instances used of all that belong to this tribe, including the Aaronites (Ex 6^{25}, Lv 25$^{32f.}$, Nu 35$^{1ff.}$); it is usually applied to the non-Aaronite Levites alone. The whole tribe is, like the other tribes, divided into 'fathers' houses' with their heads or princes (Ex 6^{25}, Nu 3$^{14ff.}$). The tribe as a whole is considered as consecrated to God, this by way of compensation for the firstborn of man in Israel who all rightfully belonged to the Deity (Nu 3$^{12f.}$ *al.*). The Levites in the narrower sense are not, like the Aaronites, servants of Jahweh, but are given to the priests or to Jahweh for the service of the tabernacle, as is emphatically expressed in the designation of the Levites as *nĕthûnîm*, 'given' (Nu 3^{9} 8^{19} 18^{6}), which clearly stands in some relation to the name applied to the foreign temple-slaves in the Bks. of Ezr and Neh, namely, *Nethinim*. In other passages, without the term *nĕthûnîm* being employed, it is said of the Levites that they serve the dwelling-place of Jahweh, or that they serve Aaron, or the congregation. Here, as in the case of the priestly service, the verb *shārēth* is used, but not, as in that case, absolutely, but with the object of service: the 'dwelling-place,' *i.e.* the tent of meeting, 'Aaron,' or 'the congregation' (Nu 1^{50} 3^{6} 16^{9} 18^{2}). The Levites minister to the priests 'before' the tent of meeting. The Levites are forbidden to approach, like the priests, the vessels in the inner sanctuary or the altar; by doing so they would bring death upon themselves and upon the priests (Nu 18$^{2f.}$). The technical term for the service of the Levites is *shāmar*, 'guard,' which suits the Levites of the Priests' Code in so far as they, in the arrangement of the camp, have to encamp with the priests immediately around the tabernacle, so that in point of fact they do guard the latter (Nu 1$^{50.\ 53}$ *al.*). A 'stranger,' *i.e.* one who is neither priest nor Levite, who intrudes into this circle round the holy dwelling-place, shall die (Nu 3^{38}). The standing employment of the verb *shāmar* for the service of the Levites indicates clearly that the prescription for the (purely ideal) arrangement of the camp corresponds to some actual duties performed by those whom the Priests' Code calls Levites. Surely the *shāmar* of the Levites has some connexion with the work of the doorkeepers of the temple in the Bk. of Ezra. The Levites are called in the Priests' Code directly *shomrê mishmĕreth*, 'guardians' of the sanctuary or 'the dwelling-place' of Jahweh (Nu 3$^{28.\ 32}$ 31$^{30.\ 47}$). In Nu 3^{38} the term is extended even to the priests, with reference to the arrangement of the camp. Besides, the same verb *shāmar* is employed in an untechnical sense, in a few isolated instances in the Priests' Code (Nu 3^{10} 18^{7}), of the priestly service in general (so also in the post-exilic Zechariah), and then, further (so *shāmar* is used in the Priests' Code), of the service of God in general, *i.e.* of one's attitude towards His commandments (Gn 26^{5}). All this shows that we have here to do with a very ancient terminology, which probably reaches back far beyond the time when there was a special class of doorkeepers of the temple. Perhaps it preserves a trace that the Levites were originally the 'guarding' escort of the sacred ark, which would be quite conceivable, even if the name *lēwî* has nothing to do with this duty (see above, § 1). In any case, it may be gathered from the above use of *shāmar* that the guarding of a sanctuary in some form was at one time the essential task of the Levites. It has been suggested that it was the guarding of a divine image, as was the main duty of the priest among the ancient Arabs (Wellhausen, *Reste*^{2}, p. 130). But there appears to be a special reference to the escorting of the sacred ark, which accompanied Israel in their journeyings and campaigns, in the remarkable term, likewise used very occasionally of the Levites' service, *ẓābā'*, 'to render military service' (Nu 4^{23} *al.*).

When the host of Israel is upon the march, the Levitical family of the Kohathites has charge of carrying the tabernacle and its vessels, after these have been covered by the priests from the view of the Levites, who may not look upon them (Nu $4^{5ff.}$). None but Levites may attend to the carrying and the setting-up of the tabernacle; any non-Levite doing so must be put to death (Nu 1^{51} $18^{4.22}$). Hence the service of the Levites is spoken of as a 'covering' for the children of Israel, that no plague come upon them when they come nigh to the sanctuary (Nu 8^{19}). Then it is the Levites who, according to Ex 38^{21}, under the direction of the Aaronite Ithamar, take charge of the 'numbering of the dwelling of the testimony,' *i.e.* the keeping account of the gifts offered for its construction. There is no indication of any other duties performed by the Levites than those of carrying the tabernacle, encamping around the sanctuary, and keeping the account just mentioned. Wherein, apart from encamping round the sanctuary, consisted the charge assigned to the Levites over the dwelling of the testimony and all its vessels and everything belonging to it (Nu 1^{50}), or 'the keeping of the charge' of the dwelling of the testimony and its vessels (Nu 1^{53} 3^{8} *al.*), or the 'work' of the Levites 'about the tabernacle' (Nu 4^{3}), or their 'service' about the dwelling or the tabernacle (Nu $3^{7f.}$ 4^{23} *al.*)—is not indicated. Thus we do not learn what the Levites have to do when the sanctuary is set up and the service is being conducted in it, and thus have, further, no indication of what is to be the work of the Levites once Israel has reached the goal of its wanderings and attained to a settled mode of life. It may only be supposed from the designation of the Levites' work as 'service of the congregation,' that the intention of the law was to assign to the Levites some kind of intermediate function between the congregation and the priests. The lower services at the sanctuary, once it was set up, appear also to be pointed to in Nu 1^{50}, where the service of the tabernacle is presented as a duty distinct from that of carrying it.

The data regarding *the period of service of the Levites* are not harmonious. In Nu $4^{3ff.}$ it is given as from the thirtieth to the fiftieth year; Nu 8^{23-26}, on the other hand, enacts that the Levites have to serve from their twenty-fifth year, and it is added that from their fiftieth year onwards they are no longer to serve, but to assist their brethren (the serving Levites). This enactment is clearly a later addition (*Gesch.* p. 34).

In Nu $8^{5ff.}$ a ceremony for *the installation of the Levites* is described: the children of Israel (no doubt the elders) lay their hands upon them as upon an offering, and the Levites are waved before Jahweh as a gift of the Israelites—a representation which manifestly results from the conception of the Levites as a substitute for the offering of the firstborn of man. They are to be treated in this ceremony—which cannot be thought of as literally performed, but simply gives expression to a theory—like those sacrificial portions which fall to the priests, because the Levites also are given to the latter to be their own (so rightly A. Van Hoonacker, *Le vœu de Jephthé*, Louvain, 1893, p. 40 ff.).

The 'tribe of Levi,' *i.e.* probably the Levites and also the Aaronites, is exempted from being numbered amongst the children of Israel (Nu 1^{49} 2^{33}), *i.e.* from military service.

Sins affecting the sanctuary, *i.e.* any defilement of it, have to be expiated by the Aaronites and Aaron's father's house, the Kohathites, that branch of the Levites who have to carry the holiest vessels (Nu 18^{1}). The Levites, without distinction, have to expiate the sins of their service (Nu 18^{23}).

The *distinction between priests and Levites* is not represented as having gained validity without opposition. The narrative of the rebellion of the Levite Korah against Aaron and Moses (Nu 16) serves to exhibit this distinction as one divinely determined: the prerogatives of Aaron are established in opposition to Korah. In this account, however, a still older narrative, belonging to another stratum of the Priests' Code, may be disentangled, in which Korah stands up, not for the prerogatives of the Levites as against the Aaronites, but for those of the whole congregation as against the Levites. To this older stratum attaches itself the narrative of Nu $17^{6ff.}$, in which the budding of Aaron's rod confirms the unique position, not of the Aaronites, but of the whole tribe of Levi (*Gesch.* p. 34 ff.; cf. art. KORAH, DATHAN, ABIRAM).

e. *The serving women.*—Only in a single passage in the Priests' Code is there mention of serving women (Ex 38^{8}). They minister at the door of the tabernacle; and this service, like that of the Levites, is described by the term *ẓābā'*; but wherein it consisted we have not a word of information. We learn merely that these women were provided with mirrors of brass. The only other reference in the whole of the OT to such women as serving at the sanctuary is in 1 S 2^{22b} (wanting in LXX except in A and Luc.), where they are introduced as if they had been in existence in the time of Eli at Shiloh; but as in this passage the 'tent of meeting' is spoken of, as in the Priests' Code, whereas, in other passages, at Shiloh a built temple is presupposed, we have to do, no doubt, with an interpolation based upon the Priests' Code.

f. *The revenues of the priests and Levites.*—The priests, like the Levites, have a fixed revenue assigned them in return for their services. It is presupposed in this that they are without possessions, *i.e.* they have not, like the other tribes, a tribal territory (Nu $18^{20.23f.}$ 26^{62}).

The priests' dues from the offerings, the *tĕrûmôth*, 'heave-offerings' (Nu $18^{8.19}$), are calculated on a more liberal scale than in Dt and even than in Ezk, or at all events they are specified more exactly than in the latter book, which does not name the tithe and the firstlings. The skin of the burnt-offering falls to the officiating priest (Lv 7^{8}); from the *shĕlāmîm*-offerings he is entitled to a cake (v.^{14}), as well as to the wave-breast and the heave-thigh (Ex $29^{27f.}$ *al.*); in the case of the *shĕlāmîm*-offering of the Nazirite he receives not only the wave-breast and heave-thigh, but also the shoulder of the ram and two cakes as a wave-offering (Nu $6^{19f.}$). Of the 'holy,' *i.e.* not 'most holy,' offerings the male and female members of the house of Aaron are to eat in a clean place the wave-breast and the heave-thigh, and in general the *tĕrûmôth* that fell due of these offerings (Lv $10^{14f.}$, Nu 18^{19}); the priest who presents the offering may thus bring these portions into his house and there distribute them. The members of the priest's house who are entitled to participate in these meals are exactly specified; any one who by mistake and without warrant eats of the holy thing is to restore to the priest what he has taken, with a fifth part added to it (Lv $22^{10ff.}$). Every *tĕrûmāh* belongs to the particular priest to whom on any occasion one hands it over, and not to the whole of the priests (Nu $5^{9f.}$). Of the 'most holy' offerings—the *minḥāh*, the guilt-offering, and the sin-offering—nothing may be taken into the priests' houses; whatever portion of these does not find its way to the altar, or is not in certain specified instances burned (Lv 6^{23}), is to be eaten only by Levitically clean male Aaronites in the holy place, according to the different regulations for the respective offerings, it may be by the priest who presents the offering, it may be by all male Aaronites (Lv 2^{3} 5^{13} 6^{19} etc.). The shewbread also, as most holy, is to be eaten by male Aaronites in the holy place (Lv 24^{9}).

Besides the above, the priests have firstling-dues. To them belong the firstborn of clean beasts; those of unclean beasts and of man are to be redeemed (Nu $18^{15ff.}$). The redemption price, for arriving at which a mode of reckoning is given, probably falls, as a logical consequence, to the priests, although this is not expressly stated (*Gesch.* p. 41). In later times, at all events, it was so arranged (Schürer, p. 254). In the case of the firstborn of clean beasts, the flesh, in so far as this is not the portion of the altar, falls to the priest, and may be eaten by him and the male and female members of his household (Nu $18^{17f.}$). The *rē'shîth* that has to be offered of oil, must, and corn, as well as the first-fruits (*bikkûrîm*) of everything, belong to the priests; all clean persons in the priest's house, male and female, may eat of them (Nu $18^{11ff.}$). The question whether *rē'shîth* and *bikkûrîm* have both to be paid from the same products of the ground may remain open (*Gesch.* p. 124 ff.; Schürer, p. 245). The two leavened firstling-loaves of the Feast of Pentecost, along with the two lambs to be added as a *shĕlāmîm*-offering, are assigned to the priest (Lv 23^{20}). Further, of the devoted things that which is called *ḥērem* belongs to the priests (Nu 18^{14}); likewise in the year of jubilee there falls to them the field regarded as *ḥērem*, which has been dedicated, not redeemed, and yet sold (Lv 27^{21}). The *rē'shîth* of dough, which, according to Nu 15^{17-21}, is to be paid to Jahweh, is probably to be understood as falling to the priests, although this is not expressly said. In the case of a withholding of the proper dues, restitution has to be made to the priest, with the addition of a fifth part (Lv 5^{16}). If any one has unwittingly taken from his neighbour anything belonging to him, and if restitution to the injured party is not possible, the articles which require to be restored belong to the priest who offers the guilt-offering for the offender (Nu 5^{8}).

Of sacred dues the tenth belongs to the Levites, who in turn have to pay a tenth of this to the priests (Nu $18^{21.24ff.}$). Originally, according to Nu 18^{30}, all that was in view here was the tenth of field and vineyard produce. It appears to be a later expansion when Lv $27^{32f.}$ demands, in addition to this, the tenth of cattle and sheep. Priests and Levites receive a fixed percentage of the spoil taken in war (Nu $31^{28ff.}$).

The Priests' Code enjoins, further, in what is perhaps an addition subsequent to the time of Nehemiah, a *tax for the sanctuary* (Ex $30^{11ff.}$; see *Gesch.* p. 219 f.); this does not fall to the priests, but is spent on the 'service of the tent of meeting,' *i.e.* for the expense of the regular cultus.

The idea that the tribe of Levi has no inheritance finds strange expression in the purely theoretical and evidently late added (*Gesch.* p. 42 f.) statement (Nu $3^{41.45}$) that Jahweh has taken to Himself the cattle of the Levites in place of the firstborn of the cattle of the children of Israel. The matter is meant thus to be viewed as if the Levites had not an absolute property in their cattle, but only the usufruct of them. In speaking of the possession of cattle the Priests' Code is thinking of the injunction (which is not quite in harmony with the absence of possessions on the part of the tribe of Levi) that 48 cities in the Promised Land should be set apart for the tribe of Levi to dwell in, along with the surrounding pasture lands to feed their cattle (Nu $35^{1ff.}$). These cities, with their houses and pasture lands, are an inalienable possession; whatever may have been sold of them is redeemable at any time, and, if it is not redeemed, it returns to the Levites in the year of jubilee (Lv $25^{32ff.}$). The carrying out of this enactment about Levitical cities is recorded in a narrative in the Bk. of Joshua (ch. 21), belonging to the Priestly Writing; and here a distinction, not found in the earlier directions, is made between Levitical and priestly cities; the sons of Aaron receive 13 of the 48 cities.

g. *The date of the priestly system in the 'Priestly Writing.'*—Even apart from the older elements (P^{1}, see above, § 8 a) which detach themselves from the main body of the Priests' Code, the date of the priestly system exhibited by this Code is not a single one. In general the consistent character of the system (P^{2}) is not to be denied, but certain smaller constituents detach themselves as clearly new to it (P^{3}). But, even after the removal of these elements, everything (in P^{2}) is not of one cast; in the view taken of the Levites, for instance, apart from an innovation (Nu 8^{5-22} [see, further, below] and vv.$^{23-26}$ [see above, § 8 d]), there is no mistaking the presence of two different strata (in Nu 16, cf. ch. 17; see, further, below).

At present it is commonly held that the whole of the priestly system of the Priests' Code, and in general this whole Code itself, belongs to the post-exilic period, and that Ezekiel's enactments regarding the priests, especially his distinction between Levites and priests, paves the way for the Priests' Code (so the adherents of the Graf hypothesis). On one point there can be no doubt, namely this, that the affinity between the law of Ezekiel and the Priests' Code is so great that it can be explained only by the dependence of one of these upon the other. For the priority of Ezekiel it is quoted as decisive that in his State of the future he knows no high priest such as stands at the head of the priestly body in the Priests' Code. Ezekiel, it is argued, does not mention the one unique function assigned to the high priest in the Priests' Code, namely the propitiatory transactions on the Day of Atonement, and it is hard to suppose him to have been acquainted with them. But the law concerning the Day of Atonement in Lv 16 bears quite a peculiar character which, *e.g.* in the conception of AZAZEL (which see), distinguishes it from the rest of the Priests' Code. This law has its place immediately before the Law of Holiness (Lv 17-26), which, as it appears to the present writer necessary to assume, was incorporated in the system of the Priests' Code, not by the real author of P^2 but by a later redactor; probably the section contained in Lv 16 was also a later addition (*Gesch.* p. 128 f.), and so were also, in that case, as a matter of course, the merely brief allusions to the Day of Atonement which are found elsewhere in the Priests' Code. Ezekiel has no Day of Atonement, but merely certain propitiatory transactions on two days every year, which look like a first step towards the Day of Atonement. There is no period at which the law of the Day of Atonement, of which there is not a trace in the pre-exilic history, can be more readily conceived to have originated than during the great chastening of the Exile, or even it may be shortly thereafter. Zec 3^{9} appears to contain the earliest allusion to the Day of Atonement. If the function assigned by the Priests' Code to the high priest on the Day of Atonement is a later insertion, the original high priest of this Code has no station left to him but that of *primus inter pares*. Even the distinctive dress he wears appears to mean nothing more (see below). A chief priest, however, was, beyond all doubt, found at Jerusalem prior to Ezekiel (see above, § 3). As to the further argument in favour of the priority of Ezekiel's system to that of the Priests' Code, namely that Ezekiel was the first to introduce the distinction between priests and Levites, this rests upon an interpretation, which *per se* is a possible one, but which is not to be deduced unconditionally from the language of Ezekiel. It is true that Ezekiel gave a new arrangement to the station of those Levites who had formerly been priests at the high places, but his language by no means excludes or even renders improbable the supposition that in the pre-exilic temple there were other Levites besides these, or that there were, besides the foreign temple-slaves, other temple-servants not called Levites, or priests of the second rank side by side with the priests proper, *i.e.* the Zadokites (see above, § 6). We will seek to show further, below, that Ezekiel's designating of the priests as 'Zadokites,' in contrast to their being called in the Priests' Code 'Aaronites,' is by no means an evidence of Ezekiel's priority.

On two points, it is true, the Priests' Code contains regulations affecting the priests which cannot be separated from its system (P^2), and which yet undoubtedly go beyond what is found in Ezekiel. In the Priests' Code the tenth falls to the Levites and the tenth of the tenth to the priests, to whom belong also the firstborn of clean beasts. Ezekiel says nothing about either of these things. But in the Deuteronomic regulations it is clear that neither the tenth nor the firstborn are considered as belonging to the Levites or priests (cf., further, below).

Other differences between the law of Ezekiel and that of the Priests' Code appear to the present writer to speak necessarily in favour of the priority of the Priests' Code, or at least of the system represented by it. In this Code the killing, flaying, and cutting up of the sacrificial animal has to be done by the layman presenting the offering (Lv $1^{5f.\ 11f.}$ etc.; see *Gesch.* p. 114); in Ezekiel the Levites have to perform the killing. There can be no doubt that in this instance the Priests' Code represents the earlier custom, which was based upon the view that by slaying his sacrifice the offerer himself presents his gift to the deity, and thereby expresses the fact that it is meant for him. In Ezekiel, on the other hand, this action is undertaken by the Levites as a class intermediate between laity and priests, in order to remove the layman a stage further from sacred functions. Vogelstein (p. 67), indeed, reverses the chronological order, and holds that the flow of an anti-Levite current has withdrawn from the Levites the slaying of the sacrificial victims; but surely the slaughter by the hand of the sacrificing layman is a relic of primitive times when every Israelite was entitled to offer sacrifice. Besides, by setting down the killing of the animal by the lay offerer as a later custom, a very improbable course would be given to the development of the practice in this matter (as it cannot be imagined that the regulations of the Priests' Code we are considering are due to a later alteration of the text); that is to say, the Chronicler, who makes the Levites take part in the slaying of the victims (see below, § 9), would, on this view, have taken a step backwards from the Priests' Code in the direction of Ezekiel. The practice of later times in regard to the temple service appears, indeed, to have excluded both laymen and Levites from the slaying of the sacrificial animals, and to have reserved this for the priests alone (Büchler, *Priester*, 136 ff.); it is probably a matter of pure theory when the Talmud, in agreement with the Priests' Code (Vogelstein, p. 68, note 1), represents laymen as performing the act of slaughter. Amongst the ordinances of Ezekiel which go beyond the Priests' Code in the sense of keeping the laity at a distance, besides the one we have considered, there are the enactments that the priests are not to come out amongst the people with their holy garments or with the sacrificial portions, lest the people be hallowed thereby—regulations which are wanting in the Priests' Code. We find expressed here a materialistic conception of holiness as if it were something that could be transferred by external contact. The same conception shows itself in the Priests' Code only, on what is not an impossible explanation, in the case of the sin-offering (whoever touches the flesh of this offering 'becomes holy' [?], Lv 6^{20} [Eng.^{27}]), and the 'most holy' offerings in general (Lv 6^{11} [Eng.^{18}]; cf. Ex 29^{37} 30^{29}). But in these passages the thought of 'becoming holy' (*Heiligwerden*) by touching can hardly be really present, rather would it appear that it is 'being holy' (*Heiligsein*), *i.e.* 'being a priest,' that is specified as the condition of touching (see Baudissin, *Studien zur semit. Religionsgeschichte*, ii., Leipzig, 1878, p. 54 f. note). The post-exilic Haggai ($2^{11f.}$) denies that contact with the skirt of a garment in which one carries holy flesh makes holy; but he does not deny that direct contact with sacrificial flesh has this effect. In this way he does not, as Kuenen (*ThT*, 1890, p. 17) supposes, contradict Ezekiel; and, therefore, we may not infer from Haggai's language that Ezekiel's view was an older one, which was abandoned in the post-exilic period (and so also in the Priests' Code, on the assumption of its post-exilic composition).

It is alleged that Ezekiel was not acquainted with Lv $21^{1ff.}$, where, perhaps, the priest is forbidden (although this is extremely questionable) to defile himself for a dead wife. But this does not follow (Nowack, p. 115, note 1) from the fact that in Ezk $24^{15ff.}$ mourning on the part of the priest for his wife is assumed as a matter of course, for it is not mourning in general that is forbidden in Lv $21^{1ff.}$, but only certain specified mourning customs, besides the defilement by the corpse (v.^{5}; cf. Ezk 44^{20}; cf. Joh. Frey, *Tod, Seelenglaube und Seelenkult im alten Israel*, Leipzig, 1898, p. 74 f.).

Ezekiel's arrangements about the Levitical and priestly land are much more practical than in the Priests' Code. In Ezekiel's State of the future, priests and Levites live in the immediate neighbourhood of the temple where they have to serve; according to the Priests' Code they are distributed among different cities throughout the land, where they have nothing to do. It is hardly conceivable that the author of the Priests' Code should have so changed for the worse the arrangements of Ezekiel, if these were the earlier. Rather does the Priests'

Code in this instance still adhere more than Ezekiel to the conditions which really existed in the pre-exilic period. Amongst the priestly cities named in Jos 21 (P), is Anathoth, which we know from Jeremiah as a city where priests lived. Among the Levitical cities are, further, included the six Cities of Refuge. The latter were old sanctuaries to whose altar the manslayer fled. Besides, in the case of four of these Cities of Refuge which are named in Jos $21^{13ff.}$, it may be shown either from history or from the names themselves that they were places of worship (Hebron, Shechem, Kadesh, Ramoth [probably identical with Mizpah of Hos 5^1]).

If the system represented by the Priests' Code is prior to Ezekiel, then the silence of the latter about the tenth and the firstborn as priestly dues, can be explained only by assuming that these particular ordinances had not obtained practical recognition before Ezekiel's time, and that he purposely passes them over, presumably because he had doubts as to the possibility of carrying them out. He is silent also as to the tithe-meals of Dt, and the sacrificial meals which, according to Dt, are to be held with the firstborn of cattle and sheep. He must have been acquainted with both these regulations, and has thus not sought to interfere with the treatment of the tenth and the firstborn. The old view, as represented in the Jehovistic book (Gn 28^{22}), is that the tenth is to be given to the Deity. The same demand is expressly made by the Book of the Covenant (Ex 22^{29}) in the case of the firstborn of cattle and sheep. The arrangement in the Priests' Code, in so far as it assigns tithes and firstborn to the servants of the Deity, comes nearer to this view than the common meals of Dt (see Dillmann on Lv 27^{33}). The term 'tenth' can originally have been applied only to an impost, and not to the material for a sacrificial meal (so also Van Hoonacker, *Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 393). Only in this particular is something secondary to be recognized in the Priests' Code, namely that it assigns the tenth—differently with the firstborn—not, or at least only indirectly, to the proper servants of the Deity, namely the priests, but in the first instance to the servants of the sanctuary, the Levites.

That the priestly legislation of the Priests' Code (P^2) is to be placed prior to Ezekiel, appears to the present writer to result also from the circumstance that it shows no regard to the special conditions of the *personnel* of the sanctuary at the Return from the Exile. In the early days of the Jewish colony, at all events at the time of Ezra, if not earlier, we find, alongside of the priests, these classes—Levites, singers, and doorkeepers (both these originally distinct from the Levites), and Nethinim; the Priests' Code, on the other hand, knows only the two classes—priests and Levites. The Levites, called in the Priests' Code *nĕthûnîm*, are evidently intended to replace the foreign Nethinim who are no less disapproved of in the Priests' Code indirectly than they are in the direct polemic of Ezekiel. It may be seen from the narrative portions of the Bk. of Joshua which belong to the Priestly Writing, that the latter does not, indeed, mean to set aside the Nethinim entirely; for in Jos 9^{21}, which evidently belongs to this source, it is said that the inhabitants of Gibeon and the neighbouring cities were set aside by the princes of Israel to be hewers of wood and drawers of water 'for the congregation.' These serfs are thus looked upon here, not as servants of the temple or the priests, but as servants of the congregation, *i.e.* the laity. As far as the temple service is concerned, their place is to be taken by the Levites. But the latter have in this matter, as it would appear, to discharge the functions, not so much of the Nethinim as of the post-exilic doorkeepers, for they are called 'keepers.'—It is difficult to suppose that a legislator, who was face to face with the complicated relations of the temple *personnel* in post-exilic times, should have imagined that he could come to an adjustment with them by simply throwing all non-priestly temple-servants, without any further argument or justification, into a single class.

In particular, upon any theory which makes the Priests' Code exilic or post-exilic, we miss in it that regard we should expect to the former priests of the high places, who, since the centralization of the cultus under Josiah, gave rise to difficulties. Josiah sought to exclude them from the Jerusalem cultus, but evidently was unable to set aside their pretensions to a share in the priestly service in the temple; for Ezekiel considered it necessary to announce to them in unambiguous terms that it was God's decree that they should be removed from the priesthood. In Ezra's time only a few of the descendants of the old priests of the high places, those who, in Ezekiel's terminology, are called 'Levites,' had accommodated themselves to the position assigned to them. It is true that the Priests' Code contains a clear trace of a conflict between the Levites and the priests, in the narrative of the rebellion of the Levite Korah against Moses and Aaron. But that the conflict here spoken of has regard to the claims of the deposed priests of the high places is not to be gathered. On the contrary, Korah cannot be the representative of these whilom *bāmôth* priests, for in the post-exilic period the Korahites belong to the singers or to the doorkeepers (1 Ch 6^{22} 9^{19} *al.*), and hence not to the Levites in the sense of that term as used by Ezekiel, and in the Memoirs of Ezra and Nehemiah, whose use of the term is fashioned upon Ezekiel's model. Instead of a conflict between former priests of the high places and the old Jerusalem priests, one might see in the narrative about Korah the description of a conflict in the time after Ezra, when the singers were reckoned to the Levites. This is the view of Vogelstein (p. 45 ff.), who, upon the ground of very precarious combinations, places an attempt of these later Levites to seize the right of offering incense, in the time of the high priest Johanan I. (the son of Joiada) and the Persian satrap Bagoses, who probably belong to the reign of Artaxerxes II. (B.C. 404–359). But the narrative of Korah's rebellion, *i.e.* the later account of the Priests' Code about this rebellion (see above, § 8 d *end*, and cf., further, below), can scarcely be separated from the Priests' Code of Ezra (P^2) and assigned to a later innovation (P^3); for then the law of Ezra would merely have contained a narrative giving expression to the priestly prerogatives of the whole tribe of Levi as against the rest of the congregation. But this is not to be supposed, seeing that the Priests' Code (P^2) everywhere insists most distinctly on the priestly rights of the Aaronites alone. This it does, in the opinion of the present writer, not in opposition to claims of non-Jerusalemite priests, which do not come into view with P^2 at all, but rather—and so also in the story of Korah—in opposition to pretensions put forward by the *personnel* at the Jerusalem temple who were not counted as belonging to the (Zadokite) priestly family.

The duties of the Levites of the Priests' Code and their relations to priests and people are so vaguely defined as to give rise to the impression that these 'Levites,' as servants of the priests, are simply an innovation of the legislator, not corresponding at all to the actually existing relations. In other words, the legislator appears to have written at a time when, in addition to a special priestly family, namely the Aaronites of the

Priests' Code, there was not a class, who from their descent might be called Levites, serving as lower officials at the sanctuary; and the employment of Levites for this office appears to be a matter of pure theory on the part of the legislator, whose system elsewhere also is based in large measure upon ideal construction. He appears to substitute the name 'Levites' for the lower grade of sanctuary servants, singers, and doorkeepers. In the priestly system of the Priests' Code, so far as this has a real basis, the only parties in view would, in this way, be the *personnel* of the old Jerusalem temple — a circumstance most easily capable of explanation if this system took its rise at a time when one had no motive for taking into consideration the non-Jerusalemite priests or their descendants.

The Priests' Code is acquainted, on the other hand, with a class amongst the *personnel* of the sanctuary with which we meet nowhere in the post-exilic period, namely the **serving women** (see above, § 8 e). These may be connected with the consecrated women, the *ḳĕdēshôth* of the ancient Canaanite sanctuaries, who in certain pre-exilic periods were found even in the Jerusalem temple (*Gesch.* pp. 36 f., 179 f.; cf. Ismar J. Peritz, 'Woman in the ancient Hebrew Cult,' in *JBL*, 1898, pt. ii. p. 145 ff.), although a legislator of the Jahweh religion could not think of women at the sanctuary serving the purpose of the Canaanite *hierodouloi*, but only as employed in cleaning and such like. A later age did away with these serving women entirely, as tending to recall the *hierodouloi*, and as furnishing occasion for moral abuses.

The designation chosen for priests in the Priests' Code, namely 'Aaronites,' appears to the present writer to point to the time before Josiah's reform, or at least before Ezekiel. Its result was that a priestly family returned with Ezra, which traced its descent, not, like the Zadokites, to the family of Phinehas or Eleazar, but to that of Ithamar (Ezr 8^2 M), and thus did not belong to the old Jerusalem priesthood. The real existence of such non-Zadokite 'Aaronites' is also probable from other indications. As we found occasion to conclude (see above, § 3, cf. § 2) from the history of Eli's descendant Ebiathar, who was banished to Anathoth, and of the priests at Anathoth in Jeremiah's time, who probably traced back their descent to Ebiathar, the priesthood of Anathoth, in distinction from the house of Zadok, held itself to be derived from the ancient priestly family at the time of the Exodus, and perhaps from Aaron. Consequently, the enactment of the Priests' Code, that the sons of Aaron are all entitled to exercise the priestly office, was not, when the new community was set up, fitted to serve the special interest of the Zadokites, for it required these to treat even those priests who did not belong to their family as equally entitled to sacred functions with themselves. Now there can be no doubt that the author of the priestly legislation of the Priests' Code (P^2) belonged to the priesthood of Jerusalem, for otherwise he could not be so familiar as he is with the ritual of the one legal place of worship, the tabernacle, *i.e.* the antedated single temple. But it is extremely improbable that a Zadokite of the period after Ezekiel should, in divergence from this prophet, have conceded to non-Zadokite priests equal rights with the Zadokites. The substitution of the ancient Aaron for the relatively modern Zadok cannot be a mere play with names on the part of an exilic or post-exilic legislator, for, as Ezr 8^2 shows, there were actually non-Zadokite 'Aaronites.' While the adherents of the Graf hypothesis had hitherto for the most part seen in the term 'Aaronites' simply an archaism for 'Zadokites,' Kuenen (*ThT*, 1890, p. 28 ff.), latterly agreeing with Oort, the present writer, and Vogelstein, came to the conclusion we have reached. The connotation of the term 'Aaronites' is—and this not merely in theory, but as applied in practice—even in the post-exilic period wider than that of 'Zadokites.' Kuenen, accordingly, following Oort and Vogelstein, held that a compromise took place between the Zadokites after Ezekiel's time and non-Zadokite priestly families, and that to this compromise the enactments of the Priests' Code owed their origin (so also Schürer, p. 239, note 49; cf., for the same explanation, as the first after Oort [1884], Stade, *GVI* ii., Berlin, 1888, p. 104). But it is not at all likely that on the one hand Ezekiel's distinction between non-Zadokite Levites and Zadokites should have gained acceptance, as it undoubtedly did, to such an extent that a new class, 'the Levites,' was formed out of the former priests of the high places; but that, on the other hand, this same distinction found so little acceptance that, in direct opposition to it, new regulations were introduced, by which non-Zadokites had to be admitted into the number of the priests. About the year 572 Ezekiel had made the first attempt to have all non-Zadokite Levites declared to be sanctuary servants. A movement of non-Zadokite priestly families must, as Oort and his followers think, have formed itself in opposition to this ordinance, and must have been not without effect, so that, when Ezra returned in the year 458, Ezekiel's limitation of the priesthood was already forgotten so far that a non-Zadokite family of priests joined Ezra, and no opposition was offered to the recognition of their priestly rights. Of a decisive contest of the non-Zadokite priestly families with the Zadokites in this matter, tradition shows no trace, and the development subsequently to Ezekiel's time is much more easily explained if the rule entitling all Aaronites to the priesthood was an older one, with which an adjustment had to be made. With what right the house of Ithamar, which does not appear in the history prior to Ezr 8^2 (M), was traced back to Aaron, as is done in the Priests' Code, it is impossible to say (cf. Nowack, p. 105, note 2). But it is not likely that the connexion of Ithamar with Aaron was first put forward after the Ithamarites under Ezra had gained entrance to the priesthood, for in that case it would not be intelligible by what other title this entrance could have been gained by the Ithamarites in opposition to the Zadokites and to the statutes of Ezekiel. Seeing that the family of Eli in any case was, even in pre-exilic times (in view of 1 S 2^{36}, and probably also 1 K 2^{27}, the oracle of 1 S $2^{27ff.}$ cannot be exilic or post-exilic), traced back (1 S $2^{27f.}$) to the priest of the Exodus (who is not, indeed, named), the assumption is, to say the least, not improbable that even in pre-exilic times there were non-Zadokite priests who traced their descent to Aaron as the priest of the Exodus. The very same conclusion results from the account in the Jehovistic book of Aaron's part in the worship of the golden calf, for he is thus presented as the type, nay probably also as the ancestor, of the priests of the Northern kingdom. If from pre-exilic times there were 'Aaronites' who did not belong to the house of Zadok, the fact that the name 'Aaron' or 'sons of Aaron' is employed by a legislator belonging to the priesthood of the only legitimate sanctuary, the temple of Jerusalem, for this very priesthood, appears to the present writer to be intelligible only at a time when the participation of non-Jerusalemite 'Aaronites' in the temple cultus did not form the subject of question, because at that time they did not desire such participation, *i.e.* at a time when, besides the temple at Jerusalem, there were other sanctuaries at which they could discharge priestly service—in other words, before Josiah's reform.

The Priests' Code appears to the present writer to betray quite clearly the circumstance that, at the time when it was written, all Aaronites did not *de facto* enjoy priestly rights, but only that branch to which (so Ezr $7^{1ff.}$) the Zadokites were reckoned, namely the branch of Phinehas (cf. Ezr 8^2 M). In Nu $25^{12f.}$ it is only to Phinehas, of all the Aaronites, that an everlasting priesthood is promised. And yet Ezra had to admit priests who were not reckoned to the house of Phinehas. This appears to us to be explicable only on the supposition that that saying about the everlasting priesthood of Phinehas alone belongs to a different age from that of Ezra. This cannot be the age after Ezra, for the non-Zadokite Ithamarites who under him were admitted to the priesthood at Jerusalem were not afterwards removed from this office (*Gesch.* p. 139). No doubt the Zadokites, as is shown by the term *Sadducees* derived from their family name, formed still later a special priestly aristocracy; but this does not authorize our taking, with Kuenen (*ThT*, 1890, p. 37), the promise of an everlasting priesthood to Phinehas alone, as a later interpolation, for the everlasting priesthood was from the time of Ezra not an exclusive characteristic of Phinehas, *i.e.* of the Zadokites.

In the narrative of the Priests' Code regarding the destruction of two of Aaron's sons, Nadab and Abihu, without issue (Lv 10^{1-7}, Nu 3^4 26^{61}, cf. Lv 16^1), we should apparently find either a reminiscence of priestly families that actually died out (so, fancifully, Ad. Moses, *Nadab und Abihu oder der Untergang der Sauliden und des grössten Theils des Stammes Benjamin*, Berlin, 1890: Nadab=Abinadab, 1 S 7^1; Abihu=Abiel, 1 S 9^1), or even a polemic against the claim of certain families to belong to 'Aaron.' If the latter is the case, the genuineness of the genealogy of these families, which went back to Nadab and Abihu, would be denied, since these sons of Aaron perished without leaving any issue behind them. It is impossible to find in the narrative of their fate any indication of conditions pointing to a particular period of time, unless we are to hold, with Oort (p. 331), that the 'strange fire' which Nadab and Abihu brought 'before Jahweh' has reference to their participation in *bāmôth* worship. The effect of this would be that in this narrative the Aaronite families Nadab and Abihu would stand for the non-Jerusalemite priests (as 'Aaron' stands elsewhere for the priests of the bull-worship) who were displaced by Aaron's son Eleazar, whom the Zadokites regarded as their ancestor. Such an interpretation, however, is not very probable, for the 'strange fire' is at least offered to Jahweh, which appears to presuppose that it is offered at the legal sanctuary and not in the high places (see, further, art. NADAB).

The designation of the priests as 'Aaronites' does not belong to the oldest strata of the Priests' Code, even apart from the Law of Holiness and the *tôrôth* akin to it. In a version of the story of Korah which has been worked over, and which does not belong to the Jehovistic book but to the Priests' Code, Korah is regarded as the champion of the congregation against Moses and Aaron (Nu 16^3), *i.e.* the Levites. Here the Levites as a body are thought of as priests, just as in the narrative of the rod that blossomed (Nu $17^{16ff.}$) Aaron is the representative of the tribe of Levi, which in its totality is thought of as invested with priestly prerogatives. In opposition to this older conception of the Levites as priests, the main body (P^2) of the Priests' Code seeks to establish the exclusive right of the Aaronites, *i.e.*, in the view of the legislator, the Jerusalem priesthood.

A different procedure, again, is followed by a recent addition to the legislation, which seeks to present the Levites as more like the priests. We refer to what evidently was never carried into actual practice, the consecration of the Levites (Nu $8^{5ff.}$), which is intended to be an analogue to the consecration of the priests. This representation, which shows a higher estimate of the Levites, will belong to the exilic or post-exilic period (P^3), when by 'Levites' were understood the families of the former priests of the high places, and it was desired to give to these a priest-like rank corresponding to their pretensions.

Among the later elements of the Priests' Code would have to be reckoned also the description of the vestments of the high priest, if we are to see in the latter an investiture with the insignia of royalty, of which, of course, there could be no word before the post-monarchical period, when the high priest was the only visible head of Israel. But the purple in the high priest's robe can hardly be the symbol of royalty; the principal colour of the high priest's garments is not *red-* but *blue-*purple. The diadem, to be sure, is a sign of princely rank, but 'holy princes' (*sārîm*) appear already in the exilic 'Isaiah' (43^{28}), surely not as a new creation of the Exile. The chief priest of royal Tyre assumed a very high dignity as 'next after the king' (Movers, *Die Phönizier*, II. i. 1849, p. 542 ff.). The circumstance that the high priest of the Priests' Code bears, as the most important item in his attire, the Urim and Thummim, is not favourable to an exilic or post-exilic date for the composition of the passage embodying this view, for the post-exilic period had no Urim and Thummim (Neh 7^{65}). The priests in old Israel were in possession of them prior to the overthrow of the Northern kingdom (Dt 33^8). Perhaps these insignia, and probably also the sacred ark, were lost when the temple was destroyed by Nebuchadrezzar. That the author of the Priests' Code had before his mind's eye the post-exilic high priest as also the secular head of the community, does not follow from Nu 27^{21} (Benzinger, p. 423), where it is said that Joshua and all the children of Israel and the whole congregation are 'to go out and come in at the word of Eleazar.' Eleazar gives this direction on the ground of the Urim and Thummim, that is, God issues His commands through him. No other means of ascertaining the will of God was open to the congregation after the death of Moses; there is no thought here of a ruling position occupied by the high priest himself, least of all of the position of the post-exilic high priest who had not the Urim and Thummim at all. The circumstance that in Nu 34^{17} and Jos 14^1 the priest Eleazar is mentioned first, before Joshua, among the heads of the people, is due to the fact that Eleazar, as Aaron's son, stands in a closer relation to Moses, the former leader of the people, than does Moses' servant Joshua or any of the other then princes of the people (on the relation between the high priest in P and in the post-exilic period, cf. Van Hoonacker, *Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 324 ff.).

It is scarcely possible to arrive at a definite date for the various strata of the priestly system in the Priests' Code, and thus for the Priests' Code as a whole. The probable conclusion from the preceding considerations, if these are justified,—differing from what is reached on the view of the case adopted by the majority of modern critics,—would be that the main stock of the Priests' Code (P^2) is prior to Ezekiel, and, in that case, belongs probably even to the period preceding Josiah's reform of the cultus. The programme of Ezekiel, which in one way or other is of decisive importance for the dating of the Priests' Code, appears to the present writer to be intelligible, if the prophet considers an older cultus-legislation to have been abolished with the overthrow of the ancient temple, and if he substitutes a new system for use in his new temple. But it appears difficult to comprehend how a legislator posterior to Ezekiel should have displaced the law of the prophet written down for the new Israel by a legislative scheme of his own. On the other hand, again, it is readily intelligible that through the impulse of the law of Ezekiel, and owing to the new conditions and the new conceptions that grew up during the Exile, expansions and modifications should have been made by exilic priests upon an ancient law, in order to fit it for application to the new community. The form of the Bk. of Ezekiel, apparently intermediate between Deuteronomy and the Priests' Code, is more simply explained if Ezekiel is dependent, not only, as he clearly is, upon Deuteronomy and Jeremiah, but also upon an older code emanating from the Jerusalem priesthood, than if he makes an original start in dealing with the cultus. The same remark applies to his language, which on the one hand recalls Deuteronomy and Jeremiah, and on the other hand the Priests' Code.

The different views held as to the date of the system of the Priests' Code do not affect essentially the actual history of the priesthood itself except on a few points, as, for instance, in the view which is to be taken of the position of the chief priest prior to the time of Ezekiel, if the Code is to be placed thus early. This is owing to the fact that the organization of the priesthood in the Priests' Code is of a theoretical character, for as a whole it does not fit the real conditions of any period whatever. Of much more importance is the question of the date of the Priests' Code for the history of sacrifice.

But, whatever date may be fixed for the redaction of the system of this legislation, it will not be possible to avoid the conclusion that the whole body of ritual set up in it could not have taken its rise in its special form—*i.e.* in its deviation from Dt and Ezk—during the relatively short period between Ezekiel (B.C. 572) and Ezra (B.C. 458), namely some 110 years, but that it represents a long development of cultus-practice as well as cultus-language. The beginnings of this development go back in any case to the pre-exilic period, and are not unintelligible there, when we consider, what to the mind of the present writer is clear, that the Deuteronomic law did not emanate from the priesthood at Jerusalem, in which case no specimen of the cultus-language and cultus-practice of this priesthood prior to Ezekiel has been preserved outside the Priests' Code, and when we note, further, that Jeremiah (8^8) is acquainted with a literary activity exercised in the way of giving form to the *tôrāh*, an activity of which he disapproves, and which therefore cannot be taken to refer to the codifying of the Deuteronomic law, with which the prophet undeniably sympathized. What incurs his disapproval can scarcely be anything else than the resolving of God's will, which he interprets ethically ($7^{22f.}$), into ritual demands. Here, then, in Jeremiah we find pretty clear traces of a priestly literary activity answering to the rise of the Priests' Code. These literary productions, however, as may be gathered from the same reference in Jeremiah, have not yet gained the position of a generally accepted ceremonial law. Even the Deuteronomic law betrays no acquaintance with this last, but knows only of some particular *tôrāh* for the priests (Dt 24^8), which may afterwards have been taken over by the Priests' Code (see above, § 8 a). On the other hand, a point which cannot be more fully discussed here, the redaction of the Deuteronomic law and the position it assigns to this as a farewell address of Moses, presupposes an acquaintance with the Priests' Code, and an acceptance of it as the law proper, of which Dt is meant to appear as a recapitulation. The redaction of Dt is, in view of its relations to the Deuteronomic law, not to be placed at a very great distance from the latter; it cannot belong to so late a period as the rise of the new post-exilic community.

If the system of the Priestly Writing is earlier than the Exile, and thus probably prior to Josiah's reform, it can have originated at such a time purely as an ideal picture sketched by a Jerusalem priest, and not, or at least only very partially, as a description of the actually existing state of things. At whatever time the Priests' Code was written, the first unmistakable trace which at the same time is capable of being dated with certainty, of the influence of the system embodied in it, is to be found in the place given to the high priest in Zechariah, and the first evidence of its close is found in the reading aloud of the law in the time of Ezra.

9. THE PRIESTHOOD FROM EZRA TO THE CHRONICLER.—After the Pentateuch had, under Ezra, obtained recognition as the lawbook, we find, as could not but have been expected, that the relations of the sanctuary servants were moulded according to the finished system set forth in the Priests' Code. The Deuteronomic views of these relations, not being rounded off into one well-compacted whole, must give place to this system.

Thus, with the author of the chronicle written between B.C. 300 and 200, *i.e.* in the Books of Chronicles and in the redaction by his hand of the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, we find the relations of the *personnel* of the sanctuary, as these had existed in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, modified in various points, in order to bring them more into harmony with the requirements of the Priests' Code. The Chronicler transfers the relations existing in his own time without distinction to earlier times, as if everything had been in force in the same way from the time of David downwards. It is possible, indeed, that his descriptions do not in every single point correspond to the actual conditions of his own day. It cannot, however, be inferred from this, with Van Hoonacker, that the Chronicler portrays the pre-exilic conditions as these really existed, for this conclusion is opposed by all that we know from earlier writings. The Chronicler may be assumed to have used for the pre-exilic history, at least indirectly if not directly, ancient sources that have not come down to us, but for his account of the condition of the priesthood prior to the Exile he certainly had no such sources at his disposal. Wherever this account exhibits a deviation from the conditions after the Exile, the Chronicler evidently puts forward, as a rule, not something corresponding to any actual state of things, but only what appeared to him desirable. His descriptions tend to glorify the Levites, to whom he everywhere shows regard even more than to the priests. Probably he was himself a Levite, and, in view of his special interest in the temple singers, he may have belonged to this group of the Levites.

The Chronicler is acquainted with 24 divisions or families of priests, which, after his manner, he carries back to the time of David (1 Ch $24^{7ff.}$). Since in the list of these divisions, as it lies before us, the first place is occupied by the family of Joiarib, from which the Hasmonæans sprang, it may perhaps be inferred that this list was first drawn up in the Hasmonæan period (Schürer, p. 237, note 44). These 24 priestly families are referred to, in some instances clearly, in others at least to all appearance, by the terms *maḥlĕḳôth*, 'divisions' (1 Ch 24^{1} $28^{13.21}$, 2 Ch 8^{14} [23^{8}?] $31^{2.15f.}$); *bêth 'ābôth*, 'fathers' houses' (1 Ch $24^{4.6}$ *al.*); and *mishmārôth*, 'watches' (2 Ch 31^{16}), this last occurring already in Nehemiah (13^{30} M). According to the Rabbinic tradition, the 24 classes, with which Josephus (*Ant.* VII. xiv. 7; *Vita*, 1) is acquainted as still existing in his time, are held to have been in existence from the time of the Exile (Schürer, p. 232 f.). This cannot be quite correct. The list in Neh $7^{39ff.}$ names only four priestly families (cf. Ezr 10^{18-22}), and two returned with Ezra (Ezr 8^{2} M). But Neh 12^{1-7} mentions, for the time of Zerubbabel and Joshua, 22 divisions of priests, and the same, with one omission, are given in Neh 12^{12-21} for the time of Joiakim the son of Joshua. Neh 10^{3-9}, on the other hand, names 21 divisions, in which, indeed, the names show changes (cf. Ed. Meyer, p. 168 ff.). Those four families in Neh 7 should therefore probably be thought of as falling into subdivisions. The two groups that returned with Ezra do not necessarily represent other two families besides those four; they are representatives of the two great branches into which, according to the Priests' Code, the whole body of priests falls, namely Phinehas (or Eleazar) and Ithamar, *i.e.* Zadokites and non-Zadokites. The heads of the 21 to 24 divisions are spoken of as *rā'shîm* of fathers' houses (Neh 12^{12}, 1 Ch $24^{4.6}$), with whom we should probably identify the priest-princes (*sārîm*) of Ezr $8^{24.29}$ M, 10^{5}, 2 Ch 36^{14}.

The Chronicler divides the singers likewise into 24 classes (1 Ch 25), and appears to have designed to give in like manner, for the Levites in general, a list of 24 classes, which has certainly not reached us in a correct form in the present text of 1 Ch 23^{6-24}. Since the division of the Levites into 24 classes is witnessed to in the period posterior to the OT (Jos. *Ant.* VII. xiv. 7; cf. Schürer, p. 242, and, on the other side, Van Hoonacker, *Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 41 ff.), these statements of the Chronicler are probably due to the circumstance that with him the classes of singers and Levites are practically identical (see below, § 10). Divisions of the Levites, without specification of the number of these, are presupposed by the Chronicler in various ways (*maḥlĕḳôth*, 1 Ch $28^{13.21}$ *al.*; *mishmārôth* of the Levites [singers] and *maḥlĕḳôth* of the doorkeepers, 2 Ch 8^{14}; [*bêth*] *'ābôth* of the Levites, 1 Ch 9^{34} *al.*), and even Nehemiah (13^{30} M) speaks of *mishmārôth* of the Levites. The heads of the divisions of the Levites, like those of the priests, are called by the Chronicler *sārîm* (Ezr 10^{5}, 1 Ch $15^{4ff.}$ *al.*) or *rā'shîm* (Neh $12^{22f.}$, 1 Ch $9^{33f.}$ [of the singers and doorkeepers, vv.$^{14-32}$] *al.*). In the Priests' Code *nāsî'* is the designation of the heads of the Levitical fathers' houses (Nu $3^{23ff.}$), along with which we find *rā'shîm* used of the heads of the whole tribe of Levi (Ex 6^{25}).

In the position of the high priest no essential change can be traced since the time of Ezra. The very first of the post-exilic high priests assumed the place claimed for him in the Priests' Code. Nehemiah ($3^{1.20}$ M, 13^{28} M) and the Chronicler give to the high priest the title of *ha-kōhēn ha-gādôl* (2 Ch 34^{9}), the Chronicler has also the older title [*ha*-] *kōhēn ha-rō'sh* (Ezr 7^{5}, 2 Ch 19^{11} *al.*). In addition, the Chronicler employs the designation, not found in the Pentateuch, 'prince (*nāgîd*) of the house of God' (1 Ch 9^{11} *al.*; cf. 'prince of Aaron,' 1 Ch $27^{16f.}$), which marks the later time when the high priest was at the same time the head of the political community. Usually, however, the Chronicler (1 Ch 16^{39}), as well as Nehemiah (Neh 13^{4} M), calls the high priest simply 'the priest,' as is likewise done frequently in the Priests' Code.

By the Chronicler, as in the Priests' Code, the priests recognized are the Aaronites, including both the Eleazarites and the Ithamarites (1 Ch $24^{3ff.}$ *al.*). The equalizing of the latter with the Zadokites (*i.e.* Eleazarites), which as a necessary concession to the system of the Priests' Code appears to have been first recognized under Ezra (Ezr 8^{2} M), has thus become permanent.

A difference, as compared with the conditions in the time of Ezra, reveals itself with the Chronicler only in regard to the inferior *personnel* of the temple, and in some points concerning the relation of this to the priests. A distinction between Levites on the one hand and **singers and doorkeepers** on the other, such as we noted (see above, § 7) in the time of Ezra, is no longer made. The written source in which the Chronicler would appear to have found at the same time the Memoirs of Ezra and those of Nehemiah, appears to have still made this distinction, seeing that even outside the Memoir passages in the Bks. of Ezr and Neh the singers are only very occasionally, and the doorkeepers not at all, reckoned to one comprehensive class, the Levites (*Gesch.* p. 143 f.). On the other hand, for the Chronicler singers and doorkeepers are subdivisions of the one class, the Levites (1 Ch $6^{16ff.}$ [note v.^{32}] 9^{26} *al.*, see *Gesch.* p. 151 ff.). C. C. Torrey (*The Composition and Historical Value of Ezra-Nehemiah*, Giessen, 1896, p. 22 f.) is decidedly wrong when he denies the existence of a difference in this respect between the Chronicler and the older portions of the Bks. of Ezra and Nehemiah (see above, § 7). Still less, in view of the material evidence that exists, can it be held, with Köberle and Van Hoonacker (*Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 49, cf. 70), that the reckoning of the singers and doorkeepers to the Levites, as we find done by the Chronicler in the Bks. of Chronicles themselves and in his working over of the sources of Ezr and Neh, is presupposed by Ezra and Nehemiah as existing, and rests even upon a pre-exilic application of the name 'Levites' to those classes of sanctuary servants. On the contrary, the application of the name 'Levite' even to the singers and doorkeepers is plainly introduced through the influence of the Priests' Code, which knows of only the one class besides the priests, namely the Levites. The Nethinim, who under Ezra were received into the community (Neh 10^{29}), appear to have disappeared at the time of the Chronicler, who mentions them only once, namely at the time of the founding of the first post-exilic community (1 Ch 9^{2}). Whether they were removed from the service of the sanctuary or by a genealogical device were absorbed among the Levites can scarcely be determined, but even here the influence of the Priests' Code is unmistakable.

For the priests the Chronicler sometimes uses the expression, which is somewhat strange for him, *ha-kōhănîm ha-lĕwiyyîm*. It is not, indeed, quite certain that he actually uses it, for the copulative *waw* may easily have dropped out between the two appellations just quoted, and the readings of the MSS vacillate (*Gesch.* p. 154 ff.). But there is an *a priori* probability in favour of the reading without *waw*, for this form of expression is just what does not correspond with the ordinary usage of later times, and in any case in 2 Ch 30^{27}, where it is said of the 'Levite priests' that they blessed the people, this reading is undoubtedly correct, since blessing is the function of the priests exclusively. In this instance, by way of exception, the terminology of Dt has again forced itself to the front, as in like manner the designation 'Levites' is also occasionally still used by the Chronicler in a wider sense so as to include the priests (*Gesch.* p. 136). In the employment of the title 'Levite priests' we may find an approximation of the position of the Levites to that of the priests, which would have to be viewed as a concession to the pretensions of those whom Ezekiel and Ezra called Levites, namely the descendants of the deposed priests of the high places.

Such a raising of the dignity of the Levites would not be without analogies in Chronicles. In point of fact they have in these books a more priest-like standing. This is shown, in particular, by the services they have to render at the offering of the burnt-offering on the Sabbaths, and at the new moons and great festivals (1 Ch 23^{31}), and by their (in an exceptional way) helping the priests to flay the victims on the occasion of extraordinary offerings for the whole people (2 Ch 29^{34}). From the latter passage it may be inferred that the service of the Levites at the offering of the burnt-offering also on holy days consisted in the flaying, and, it may be, in accordance with Ezekiel's enactment, the slaying of the victims. At all events, in Chronicles it is the Levites who undertake the killing and flaying of the Paschal lambs, hand to the priests the blood for sprinkling (2 Ch $30^{16ff.}$ $35^{6.\,10f.}$), and attend to the roasting of the Paschal offering (2 Ch $35^{13f.}$); whereas in the Priests' Code it is the head of the house who kills and roasts the Paschal lamb (Ex $12^{6ff.}$; *Gesch.* p. 163). On the other hand, in 2 Ch $29^{22.\,24}$ it is the priests who slay the sacrifices, probably because we have here to do with extraordinary sacrifices for the whole people. By the 'Kohathite Levites' who prepare the shewbread (1 Ch 9^{32}), the Chronicler appears to mean not the Aaronites (who, to be sure, belonged to the Kohathites), to whom alone that duty falls in the Priests' Code (but cf. *Gesch.* p. 161 f.). While, further, in the Priests' Code the duty of teaching belongs only to the priests, this duty, particularly that of instructing in the *tôrāh*, is assigned in Neh 8^{7-9} (cf. v.^{11}), 2 Ch $17^{8f.}$ 35^{3} also to the Levites (*Gesch.* p. 163 f.). The more priest-like position of the Levites finds quite peculiar expression in the fact that in Chronicles not only the priests, as in the Priests' Code, but also the Levites are called holy (2 Ch 23^{6} 35^{3}; cf., further, Ezr 8^{28} M, where already the Levites seem to be included [with the priests] in the 'Ye are holy to Jahweh').

Regarding the service of the *doorkeepers* in particular, we learn that they had daily to set in all 24 watches, under four chiefs belonging to the doorkeepers, at the four quarters of the temple (1 Ch 26^{12-18})—an arrangement which, although given as existing in the time of David, will really have reference to the temple of Zerubbabel. As concerns the *singers*, Büchler (*ZATW*, 1899, p. 97 ff.) seeks to prove that the data regarding temple music and temple singing were not found in the authority used by the Chronicler, and are thus added by himself. This is not impossible; but so sharp a distinction between the Chronicler and his authority (the lost Midrash on Kings), with which we are wholly unacquainted, appears to the present writer incapable of being carried out.

There is, moreover, an 'external activity,' *i.e.* one outside the sanctuary, assigned to the Levites in Chronicles (1 Ch 26^{29}). They are employed as overseers and, like the priests, as judges (1 Ch 23^{4} 26^{29} *al.*). In particular, their charge of measures is referred to in 1 Ch 23^{29} (*Gesch.* p. 162). While the Priests' Code fixes the commencement of the Levites' service at their thirtieth, or, according to an innovation, their twenty-fifth year, they have, according to 1 Ch $23^{24ff.}$ and other passages, to serve from their twentieth year onwards—an arrangement which the Chronicler is aware is a deviation from the legal statute, and which he seeks to justify as a change made by David.

In the matter of the *revenues* falling to the priests and Levites, from the time of Ezra an attempt was made to carry out the prescriptions of the Priests' Code. But the setting-up of **Levitical cities** was as little carried into practice after Ezra as it had been up till then. When the Chronicler represents these cities as having existed in the time of David (1 Ch 13^{2}) and later, this is simply due to his theory, which he forgets in 2 Ch 23^{2}, where the Levites, at the accession of Joash, are assembled out of all the cities of Judah. Nor is the meaning of the *migrāsh* of the Levitical cities quite clear to the Chronicler (2 Ch 31^{19}). According to Neh 7^{73} = Ezr 2^{70}, and other passages, in the post-exilic period priests, Levites, singers, doorkeepers, and Nethinim dwelt dispersed in various localities, which did not, however, bear the character of the Levitical cities of the Priests' Code. So also in the period subsequent to the OT, the priests did not all live at Jerusalem: the Maccabees came from Modein (1 Mac 2^{1}), to which, indeed, they had retired from Jerusalem only in consequence of the troubles under Antiochus Epiphanes; and the priest Zacharias (Lk $1^{39f.}$) had his home in the hill-country of Judah (cf. Büchler, *Priester*, pp. 159–205: 'Die Priester ausserhalb Jerusalem's'). The doorkeepers, according to 1 Ch 9^{25}, betook themselves every seven days, according to their divisions, from their villages to Jerusalem to perform their service. The Levites and singers (and so, no doubt, the priests also) in Nehemiah's time possessed at their places of residence fields, from whose produce they supported themselves when their dues were not paid (Neh 13^{10} M), and probably in general when they were not on duty, for the tenth in the time of Nehemiah was paid at the temple (Neh $13^{5.\,12f.}$ M), and thus will hardly have extended to the Levites and priests outside Jerusalem. The Nethinim lived in Nehemiah's time on the OPHEL (which see) at Jerusalem (Neh $3^{26.\,31}$ M); the (officiating) priests had houses in Jerusalem, situated apparently on the temple area (Neh 3^{28} M).

On the subject of the dues falling to the temple *personnel*, we have a certain amount of information for the time of Nehemiah. The latter tells us in his Memoirs (Neh 13^{5}) that before his departure from Jerusalem the tenth of corn, must, and oil was paid and deposited in the storehouses as the portion of the Levites, temple-singers, and doorkeepers, which three classes received the tenth, and the priest the *tĕrûmāh*. The *tĕrûmāh* here might possibly mean the tenth of the tenth, but linguistic usage favours rather our referring it to the handing over of the first-fruits. In that case the paying of the tenth of the tenth to the priests is not witnessed to for the time of Nehemiah. The tenth of the tenth in Neh 10^{38-40} owes its presence apparently to a later hand (*Gesch.* p. 171 f.), to which is due also the additional enactment, which perhaps suits even the time of Nehemiah, but in any case is characteristic of the later development, that an Aaronite priest is to superintend the operations of the Levites, as they receive the tithes (v.^{39}). After a while remissness in paying the tithes set in, so that Nehemiah at his second visit had to adopt drastic measures in order to bring the payment of them into force again (Neh $13^{10ff.}$ M). There is no mention in Nehemiah of the tenth of cattle. The demand for this made by the Priests' Code is probably an innovation, the result of purely theoretical construction, and is perhaps not earlier than the period subsequent to Nehemiah. The Chronicler, on the other hand, is acquainted with the requirement of the tenth of cattle (2 Ch 31^{6}). Priests and Levites were appointed by Nehemiah to take charge of the wood that had to be delivered at fixed times, and of the *bikkûrîm* (Neh $13^{30f.}$ M). According to Neh 10^{35} those contributions of wood for the requirements of the altar of burnt-offering were imposed upon the priests, the Levites, and the people—a prescription which is not contained in the Pentateuch, although this passage in Nehemiah appeals to the Torah (but cf. Lv $6^{5f.}$).

The Chronicler or his predecessor in the redaction of the Memoirs of Nehemiah had no longer a clear understanding of the whole of the regulations respecting dues. It is impossible to gain a distinct view from the confused picture he draws (*Gesch.* p. 169 ff.). Only in Chronicles is there any allusion to a tenth of honey (2 Ch 31^5); the tenth of dedicated gifts which is likewise mentioned (v.^{6}), rests upon a confusion of the tenth with the *tĕrûmāh.* The various kinds of dues are most concisely enumerated in Neh 12^{44}, a passage regarding which it is doubtful whether it belongs to the Memoirs of Nehemiah. Three species are named in it: *tĕrûmôth, rē'shîth,* and tenth. On this is based the Talmudic distinction of three kinds of dues, which finds no direct support in the Torah.

10. THE PRIESTHOOD AFTER OT TIMES.—Several further developments in the relations of the *personnel* of the sanctuary still show themselves in the period subsequent to the OT.

a. *Priests and Levites.*—The consequence of the inclusion of the singers and doorkeepers among the Levites was that these two classes, which at the time of Ezra and Nehemiah were much more numerous than the Levites so-called in the narrower sense, dispossessed these of their unique character. At least the tendency to this result is already discoverable in the OT in Chronicles, where singers and doorkeepers play a more important part than the Levites so-called in the narrower sense, so that one might be tempted to suggest that the latter had even for the Chronicler merely a theoretical existence (Vogelstein, pp. 30, 102 ff.). It is doubtful whether in 1 Ch 9^{14-34} other 'Levites' (vv.$^{14.\ 33f.}$) besides the doorkeepers (vv.$^{17.\ 22.\ 26}$) and the singers (v.^{33}) are assumed to exist (*Gesch.* p. 157 f.). The Talmud at all events knows only two kinds of Levitical service, that of song and that of watching in the temple (cf. Maimonides, *ap.* Vogelstein, p. 85; and, further, Büchler, *Priester*, p. 118 ff., esp. 136 ff.). This is a result that is not surprising in view of the origin of the Levites in the narrower sense. The ancient, *i.e.*, as would appear, pre-exilic (see above, § 3 *end*), classes of sanctuary servants included, besides the priests, only the singers and doorkeepers. The class known to Ezekiel and in the time of Ezra as 'Levites' was an artificial creation, which served only the purpose of disposing of the old non-Jerusalemite priests. In so far as these were not, like the Ithamarites, admitted to the post-exilic priesthood, they received as 'Levites' an intermediate place, which is hard to define, between the priests on the one hand and the singers and doorkeepers on the other. Thus it came about that at last the Levites *κατ' ἐξοχήν* were absorbed in the singers and doorkeepers, who constituted the only two surviving professional classes of Levites. In this way the arrangement gained ground, which the author of the Priests' Code, if we judged rightly, had in view. He thought of his Levites as singers (for he reckons to them the singer-family of the Korahites) and doorkeepers (for he employs to describe their service the technical term 'keep'). Of any other kind of Levites he for his part seems to know nothing, and the close of the history of the Israelitish cultus *personnel* knows as little.

In fixing the position of the cultus *personnel*, a later age accepted on other points as well the simpler and more natural arrangement, and disregarded ordinances which had for some time enjoyed validity, thanks to an artificial theory or to historical confusion. The *tenth* as a sacred due is readily intelligible if it is either devoted to a sacrificial meal (as proposed in Dt), or even given to the priests, as representatives of the deity, but not when it falls to subordinate servants of the sanctuary. The Priests' Code, which assigns it to the Levites, shows by this very circumstance that the name 'Levites' was originally a designation of the priests (*Gesch.* p. 52 f.). After the tithe regulation of the Priests' Code had been actually put in force under Nehemiah in later times, according to the testimony of Josephus (*Ant.* XX. viii. 8, ix. 2; *Vita*, 12, 15) and the Talmud (see the references in Graetz, *Monatsschrift*, 1886, p. 97 ff.), the tithes were withdrawn from the Levites and assigned exclusively to the priests (cf. Van Hoonacker, *Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 40). The Mishna (*Maaser sheni*, v. 6) appears, indeed, to assume as the correct practice that some receive the first tenth and others the *tĕrûmāh* of the tenth. The first class could be only the Levites (Schürer, p. 258, note 44); but then this description, as it seems, would not correspond with the actually existing relations of later times. It is possible that, as Vogelstein (p. 72 ff.) holds, the tradition handed down in the Mishna, to the effect that the high priest Johanan abolished 'the prayer of thanksgiving and confession at the tithe,' refers to the abolition of the paying of the tithe to the Levites, and that by this Johanan is to be understood the contemporary of the Persian satrap Bagoses (cf. above, § 8 g; so also Van Hoonacker, *Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 401, who, according to his chronological scheme [p. 60 f.], regards this Johanan as a contemporary of Ezra; on the other hand, Biberfeld, p. 18, holds that the Johanan who abolished the tithe prayer was John Hyrcanus). Our earliest evidence that the priests received the tenth comes from a much later time. Josephus (*l.c.*) assumes it as a matter of right that the priests receive the tenth, and complains only that some priests take it by force. He is speaking of the time of Agrippa II. Since Josephus describes the priests as taking the tithe at the hands of the laity, he cannot have in view the tenth that had to be paid by the Levites to the priests. He appears thus to be quite unacquainted with the paying of the tenth to the Levites as a usual thing. From the fact that the Talmud looks upon it as a punishment that the tithe was withdrawn from the Levites and paid to the priests instead, which was the custom after the destruction of the temple (Graetz, *Monatsschrift*, 1886, p. 107 f.), it has been inferred by Graetz (*l.c.* p. 98 ff.) that the offence in view as punished may be the presumption of the Levites, who—but only the temple singers—in the time of Agrippa II. succeeded in obtaining the right to wear the linen garment of the priests (see below). The historical motive for deviating from the law cannot be determined, but it is readily conceivable that any opportunity would be seized for altering the awkwardly complicated tithe law of the Priests' Code.

Not only the tithe but other previous rights were withdrawn from the Levites. They were no longer trusted with the whole of the *watch service* of the temple, but had, according to the Mishna, to keep watch only on the outside at 21 points, whereas the three stations in the inner court were occupied by priests. The guard supplied by the Levites was under the control of a captain of the temple, *i.e.* a priest (*Middoth* i. 1, 2).

Seeing that the Nethinim, who apparently were no longer even in the time of the Chronicler employed as a special class for the service of the temple, although still mentioned at a later period, are not mentioned in connexion with the temple service, the *lower services* must have been discharged by others. Philo assigns not only the watch service but also the cleaning of the temple to the *νεωκόροι*, *i.e.* the Levites; for other duties, growing boys of the priests were employed (Schürer, p. 279). In addition, we hear (*Sukka* iv. 4; *Tamid* v. 3) of 'attendants' (חַזָּנִים), without its being clear whether they were Levites (so Büchler, *Priester*, p. 149 ff.) or non-Levites that were thus employed. In any case the only class of Levites that could enter into consideration would be the doorkeepers, for the singers were doubtless regarded as holding too dignified a position to have such a name applied to them.

Shortly before the destruction of the temple, the *singers* succeeded in obtaining from Agrippa II. and the Sanhedrin permission to wear the 'linen' garment of the priests (Jos. *Ant.* XX. ix. 6). The desire to do this was not new; according to 1 Ch 15^{27}, 2 Ch 5^{12}, in the time of David and Solomon not only the singers but the Levites in general wore the priestly *byssus* robe—a statement which shows merely that at the time of the Chronicler this practice was an object of desire. Agrippa II. not only granted the desire of the singers, but allowed a portion of the Levites, by whom only *doorkeepers* can be meant, to learn the singing of hymns (Jos. *l.c.*), *i.e.* to hold an equal place with the division of singers.

It is to the Levites apparently that we should refer the designation οἱ γραμματεῖς τοῦ ἱεροῦ, 'the teachers of the law of the temple,' which occurs in the letter of Antiochus the Great, *ap.* Jos. *Ant.* XII. iii. 3. As these γραμματεῖς are named between the ἱερεῖς and the ἱεροψάλται, they can hardly be other than Levites (Sam. Krauss, p. 675). The mention of them tallies with what we learn from Neh 8$^{7-9}$ about the instruction in the Torah which was given by the Levites.

b. *The revenues of the priests and Levites.*—The dues demanded for the priests by the Priests' Code were augmented by that imposed by Deuteronomy upon sheep's wool (*Chullin* xi. 1, 2). By combining the requirements of Dt with those of the Priests' Code, the income of the priests was further augmented, inasmuch as those portions of the sacrificial victims which, according to Dt, fell to the priests, had at a later period to be paid to them from all animals that might legitimately be offered in sacrifice, even when these were slaughtered for a common use, namely the foreleg, the cheek, and the maw of cattle, sheep, and goats (*Chullin* x. 1; cf. Schürer, p. 255). The *bikkûrîm* were more specifically defined as having to be paid from seven sources, adopted from Dt 8^{8}, namely wheat, barley, grapes, figs, pomegranates, olives, and honey. According as the parties concerned resided near to or far from Jerusalem the *bikkûrîm* were to be handed over fresh or dried, and were to be brought in general processions to Jerusalem (Schürer, p. 249). A distinction, based on Neh 12^{44}, was made between the *bikkûrîm* and the *tĕrûmāh* in the narrower sense, *i.e.* the due levied on the best not only of the above seven kinds but on all fruits of field and tree. There was no fixed measure prescribed for these dues, but on an average they were to amount to $\frac{1}{60}$th of one's income. This *tĕrûmāh* was to be eaten, according to Nu 18^{12}, by priests alone (Schürer, p. 249 f.). The due to be presented of dough was also more specifically defined, as well as the products of the ground which had to be regarded as tithable (Schürer, p. 250 ff.).

According to the Mishna (*Menaḥoth* x. 4), a portion of the firstling sheaf that was waved by the priest before Jahweh (Lv 23$^{10\text{ff.}}$) falls to the priest—an arrangement of which there is no indication in the OT. According to Josephus (*Ant.* IV. iv. 4), the redemption price for the vow of one's own person is considered to belong to the priests, whereas in the Priests' Code (Lv 27) this is not expressly said, as it is in the case of the *ḥērem.* Perhaps the statement of Josephus is inexact; as a rule, at least the things vowed appear to have been used for general cultus purposes (Schürer, 256 f.).

In one point the practice of later times took a turn less favourable to the temple-servants than the Priests' Code had intended. Not only the so-called second tenth, *i.e.* the one which, upon the ground of the tithe regulations in Dt was levied besides the tithe of the Levites, but also the tithe of cattle, are required by the Rabbinical rules to be devoted to sacrificial meals at Jerusalem. The latter thus did not fall, as is unquestionably the intention of the Priests' Code, to the Levites and priests (Schürer, p. 251 f., note 22).

Those dues of the priests which did not consist of portions of the offerings, and which were not therefore necessarily brought to Jerusalem, were paid 'everywhere where there was a priest,' *i.e.* on the spot to any priest who happened to be present, and this was enjoined to be continued even after the destruction of the temple (Schürer, p. 257).

c. *The duties and offices of the priests.*—The enactments concerning the priests were in later times simply made more precise, upon the basis of the Priests' Code; for instance, the *laws about their marriage* (Schürer, p. 227 f.), and *the requirements of freedom from bodily blemish* (*ib.* p. 230 f.). It would appear that in later times it was, not indeed a law but a custom that the principal priests married only the daughters of priests (Büchler, *Priester*, p. 88 ff.). A particular *age for admittance* to the priestly service was no more fixed in the period following the OT than is done by the Priests' Code in the case of the Aaronites; but, as a matter of practice, those admitted required apparently to have passed their twentieth year (Schürer, p. 231).

Among the priestly duties, *the blowing of trumpets* takes a wider scope than in the Priests' Code or the statements of the Chronicler, according to which this ceremony was practised only in war and at the regular festivals and on special festive occasions. In later times it took place also in connexion with the sabbatical and daily offerings (Jos. *Ant.* III. xii. 6), and to announce the beginning of the Sabbath from the battlements of the temple (*BJ* IV. ix. 12; cf. Schürer, p. 278 f.). In addition to the *washing*, required in the Priests' Code, of hands and feet in the brazen laver before performing the sacred office (on the mode of performing this washing see Büchler, *Priester*, p. 74, note 1), the priests had in later times to take a plunge-bath every morning before commencing the work of the day (Schürer, p. 283). In the last days of the temple it would appear that the higher ranks of priests took no part in the work of sacrifice, with the exception of the offerings presented by the high priest on the feast days, as this non-participation in sacrificial work is to all appearance to be assumed in the case of the priest Flavius Josephus (Büchler, *Priester*, p. 70 ff.).

The 24 *divisions of priests*, of which we know as early as Chronicles, served for the performance of the cultus to which they attended in turn. The 24 divisions are distinguished, in the literature posterior to the OT, as the *mishmārôth*, from the subdivisions not mentioned in the OT, the *bāttê 'ābôth.* Each principal division included, according to tradition, from five to nine subdivisions (Schürer, p. 235 f.). A principal division is called in Greek πατριά (Jos. *Ant.* VII. xiv. 7), or ἐφημερία (Lk 1$^{5.8}$), or ἐφημερίς (Jos. *Vita*, 1); a subdivision, φυλή (Jos. *Vita*, 1). Each of the 24 divisions went on duty for a week, the exchange with the next division taking place on the Sabbath. At the three great annual festivals all the 24 divisions officiated simultaneously (Schürer, p. 279 f.)

The position of the *high priest* underwent a change towards the close of the Jewish hierarchy through respect being no longer paid to the office as one that was to be held for life and to be hereditary. The elevation of the Hasmonæans to the high-priestly dignity had already marked a breaking with the past, for thereby the hereditary succession of high priests was interrupted. The Hasmonæans sprang from the priestly class of Joiarib (1 Mac 2^1 14^{29}). Whether the latter was reckoned to the Zadokites or not, cannot be determined. In the lists contained in the Book of Nehemiah ($12^{1-7.\ 12-21}$) it holds a subordinate position; a list, perhaps not earlier than the time of the Hasmonæans (cf. above, § 9), found in 1 Ch $24^{7\text{ff.}}$, assigns to it the first place. In one of the recently discovered fragments of the Hebrew original text of Jesus Sirach, namely $51^{12c(9)}$, the house of Zadok is highly exalted: 'O give thanks unto Him that chose the sons of Zadok to be priests' (S. Schechter and C. Taylor, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira, Portions of the Book Ecclesiasticus*, Cambridge, 1899). The whole hymn to which this passage belongs, namely vv.$^{12c(1)-12c(15)}$, is omitted in the Greek translation of the grandson of Jesus Ben Sira, perhaps as Schechter (p. 35 f.) suggests (cf. Th. Nöldeke, *ZATW*, 1900, p. 92), because in the interval between the composition of the original text and that of the translation (*i.e.* between *c.* 200 and 130 B.C.) the family of the previous Zadokite high priests had been superseded by the Hasmonæans. But after this latter event the high priesthood again became hereditary in the Hasmonæan line. At a later period Herod and the Romans set up and deposed high priests at their pleasure. From these non-acting high priests arose the group known as ἀρχιερεῖς. But the custom was always rigidly adhered to of selecting the high priests only from certain special priestly families (Schürer, p. 215 ff.). The anointing of the high priest, which is ordained in the Priests' Code, was not in later times carried out in the case of all high priests, perhaps it was in general omitted; the Mishna knows of high priests who were installed in office simply by clothing them with the official robes (*Horajoth*, iii. 4; cf. *Gesch.* p. 140; Schürer, p. 232, note 26; Weinel, *ZATW*, 1898, p. 66 f.; Van Hoonacker, *Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 351 f.). The high priest, who, during the period of Jewish independence, was the head also of the State, was at least in later times president of the Sanhedrin, and in so far also the representative of the people in political matters in dealing with the Romans. As regards his participation in the performance of the cultus, it was a later custom for him to offer the daily offering during the week preceding the Day of Atonement; any other share he might take in the work of sacrifice was simply according to his pleasure (*Joma* i. 2). Josephus states that the high priest offered as a rule on the Sabbath, at the new moon, and at the yearly festivals (*BJ* v. v. 7; Büchler, *Priester*, p. 68 ff., doubts whether in later times the high priest offered except at the yearly festivals). The daily *minḥāh*, which according to the original intention of Lv $6^{12\text{ff.}}$ he had to offer (see above, § 8 c), was not always offered by the high priest in person, but he defrayed the cost of it (Jos. *Ant.* III. x. 7, where ἱερεύς can be none but the high priest), a duty which Ezekiel imposed upon the 'prince.' In the Roman period a conflict arose on the question of the keeping of the high priest's robes (Jos. *Ant.* XV. xi. 4, XVIII. iv. 3, XX. i. 1, 2); when Jerusalem was taken, his robe of state fell into the hands of the Romans (*BJ* VI. viii. 3).

Besides the high-priestly office, we hear in the Rabbinical literature of an exalted priestly office, that of the *ṣĕgan* (סְגָן), of which there is no mention in the OT. The *ṣĕgan* has usually been viewed as the high priest's substitute, who had to take his place if he was prevented by Levitical uncleanness from discharging the duties of his office. But the existence of a standing *vicarius* for the high priest is rendered improbable by the statement of the Mishna (*Joma* i. 1) that seven days before the Day of Atonement 'another priest' was to be set apart to act for the high priest in the event of his being prevented from officiating. It is not at all likely that this statement in the Mishna relates to an earlier practice, and that afterwards (subsequent to the year A.D. 63) the *ṣĕgan* was appointed as substitute for the high priest (Büchler, *Priester*, p. 113), for there is nothing known of such a change. Since the LXX usually reproduces the word *ṣĕgānîm*, which is used in the OT for non-priestly officials, by στρατηγοί, Schürer (p. 264 f.) is probably right in seeing in the *ṣĕgan* the captain of the temple (στρατηγὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ), who is repeatedly mentioned in the NT and by Josephus, and in attributing to him the principal oversight of the external order of the temple. Yet *Joma* 39^a (Büchler, *Priester*, p. 105) looks upon the *ṣĕgan* as in some measure the representative of the high priest. The *ṣĕgānîm* in the plural (*Bikkurim* iii. 3) are doubtless, like the στρατηγοί (Lk $22^{4.\ 52}$), heads of the temple police subordinate to the *ṣĕgan*. In the Mishna (*Bikkurim* iii. 3) there are mentioned as going to meet the festive procession which accompanied the *bikkûrîm*—the *paḥôth* (פחות), the *ṣĕgānîm*, and the *gizbārîm*. It may be inferred that by the first of these designations, as by the two following, priests are intended, although *paḥôth* is used also for secular governors. But a special priestly office can hardly be connoted by the word, which apparently corresponds to the NT ἀρχιερεῖς (Schürer, p. 266). The *gizbārîm* (גִּזְבָּרִים, *Peah* i. 6 *end*) or γαζοφύλακες (Jos. *Ant.* XV. xi. 4, XVIII. iv. 3) had charge of the rich temple treasures. From the description of the Chronicler, it appears necessary to hold that in his time the administration of the temple revenue and capital was in the hands of the Levites. At a later period the higher posts as treasurers appear to have been held by priests, for the *gizbārîm* appear as high temple officials alongside of the *ṣĕgānîm* (*Bikkurim* iii. 3), and Josephus (*Ant.* XX. viii. 11) names the γαζοφύλαξ, *i.e.* probably the head of the treasurers, immediately after the high priest. It is possible that the Chronicler, in his account of the management of the temple treasury, has, in his preference for the Levites, arbitrarily put these in the foreground (but cf. Ex 38^{21}). But, seeing that in the matter of other duties and rights the Levites were in point of fact displaced in later times by the priests, the same may have happened with the holding of treasury offices. Under Nehemiah (Neh 13^{13} M) a priest was at the head of the treasurers (*i.e.* those who were set over the *'ôẓārôth*, 'storehouses'), among whom only one is stated to have been a Levite. Sam. Krauss (p. 673 f.) doubts, however, whether the *gizbārîm* were priests, they being, as far as is known to the present writer, nowhere directly called such. To the treasury officials probably belonged also the *'ămarkĕlîn* (אמרכלין), who, without a more particular definition of the term, are mentioned in the Mishna only once, along with the *gizbārîm* (*Shekalim* v. 2), and are named also in later literature, as a rule, together with the *gizbārîm* (Schürer, p. 270 f.). Sam. Krauss (p. 673) holds the *'ămarkĕlîn* also to have been laymen, drawing this inference from the Midrash *Wajikra Rabba* (Par. V. ch. v. 3; in A. Wünsche's *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, Liefer. 26, 1884, p. 36), according to which the *'ămarkōl* had a right to partake of the holy things, but not, like the high priest, of the offerings. But Schürer (p. 270) is probably right in referring to *Tosefta Horajoth, end* (*Tosefta*, ed. by M. S. Zuckermandel, 1880, p. 476, *bottom*), where in a graduated list the *'ămarkōl* and the *gizbār* are above the ordinary priest, the latter is above the Levite, and this last again above the Israelite, *i.e.* the layman (cf. also Graetz, *Monatsschrift*, 1885, p. 194). It is correct, however, that the official name *'ămarkōl* is used to designate the office not only of priest, but of administrator in general (Büchler, *Priester*, p. 100 ff.; Schürer, p. 270). According to Büchler (p. 90 ff.), there were, in addition to the regular priestly *gizbārîm* and *'ămarkĕlîn*, others who were selected from the successive divisions of officiating priests; but no express testimony is known of the use of these two names for heads of these divisions.—Only in the Jerusalem Talmud is the office of the *ḳatoliḳin* (קתוליקין, καθολικοί) named (Schürer, p. 271).

The cultus was, according to the Law, to be performed by all priests; but in course of time the different functions became so complicated and in part difficult, that, according to the Mishna, they were apportioned among different priestly officials, and certain duties, such as that of preparing the shewbread and the incense, became hereditary in particular families (Schürer, p. 275 ff.).

In addition to their service in the temple, the priests are known to Josephus as administrators of the most important concerns of the community, under the presidency of the high priest (*c. Apion.* ii. 21). He has in view primarily Jerusalem. But in all cities there were, according to him (*Ant.* IV. viii. 14), as Moses had enjoined, men of the tribe of Levi appointed, two for each court of seven, to assist the members as ὑπηρέται. Such an enactment is not found in the Pentateuch; Josephus must then have in view arrangements existing in his own time in Judæa under the Romans (differently Van Hoonacker, *Sacerdoce*, etc. p. 45 f.). From the designation ὑπηρέται it is more likely that these two assessors were Levites (Schürer, p. 178) than that priests are meant (Büchler, *Priester*, p. 180). According to the Mishna (*Sanhedrin* i. 3), priests are in certain instances to be called in as judges (cf. Jos. *c. Apion.* ii. 21). This judicial activity of the priests, perhaps also of the Levites, is a continuation of the corresponding duties assigned to the priests in Deuteronomy and Ezekiel, and to the priests and Levites in Chronicles. In the last resort this species of activity on the part of the *personnel* of the sanctuary goes back to the practice, with which we make acquaintance in the Book of the Covenant, of having certain lawsuits decided at the sanctuary, by means of the oracle of the Deity communicated by the priests.

LITERATURE.—Jn. Lightfoot, *Ministerium Templi quale erat tempore nostri Salvatoris descriptum ex scriptura et antiquissimis Judæorum monumentis* (Opera, Roterodami, 1686, vol. i. pp. 671-758); Joh. Lundius, *Die alten jüdischen Heiligthümer, Gottesdienste und Gewohnheiten, für Augen gestellet, in einer ausführlichen Beschreibung des gantzen Levitischen Priesterthums*, etc., *itzo von neuem übersehen, und in beygefügten Anmerckungen, hin und wieder theils verbessert, theils vermehret durch Joh. Christoph. Wolfium*, Hamburg, 1738; Joh. Gottloh Carpzov, *Apparatus historico-criticus antiquitatum sacri codicis et gentis hebrææ uberrimis annotationibus in Thomæ Goodwini Mosen et Aaronem*, Francofurthi et Lipsiæ, 1748.—On various points connected with the subject: Blasius Ugolinus, *Thesaurus antiquitatum sacrarum*, vols. ix. xii. and xiii., Venetiis, 1748, 1751, and 1752, especially 'Pauli Frid. Opitii commentarius de custodia templi nocturna,' vol. ix. cc. DCCCCLXXIX-MLXXVI; 'Joh. Sauberti de sacerdotibus et sacris Ebræorum personis commentarius,' vol. xii. cc. I-LXXX; 'Jonæ Krumbholtz Sacerdotium Ebraicum,' *ib.* cc. LXXXI-CXX; 'Blas. Ugolini Sacerdotium Hebraicum,' vol. xiii. cc. CXXXV-MCLVI.—K. H. Graf, 'Zur Geschichte des Stammes Levi,' in Merx' *Archiv für wissenschaftliche Erforschung des Alten Testamentes*, Bd. i. 1867-1869, pp. 68-106, 208-236; S. I. Curtiss, *The Levitical Priests, a contribution to the criticism of the Pentateuch*, Edinburgh and Leipzig, 1877, also *De Aaronitici sacerdotii atque Thoræ elohisticæ origine dissertatio historico-critica*, Lipsiæ, 1878; Oort, 'De Aäronieden,' in *ThT*, Jaarg. xviii. 1884, pp. 289-335; W. W. Grf. Baudissin, *Die Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Priesterthums untersucht*, Leipzig, 1889, on pp. xi-xv of which see a fuller list of the Literature on the history of the OT priesthood since 1806, to which may be added: J. M. Jost, *Geschichte des Judenthums und seiner Secten*, Abtheilung i., Leipzig, 1857, pp. 146-156 ('Der jüngere Priesterstand'), p. 156 f. ('Leviten'), pp. 158-167 ('Gottesdienst-Ordnung im Tempel'), pp. 168-186 ('Gottesdienst der Synagoge und gottesdienstliche Handlungen'); Graetz, 'Die letzten Tempelbeamten vor der Tempelzerstörung und die Tempelämter,' in *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, Jahrg. xxxiv. 1885, pp. 193-205, also 'Eine Strafmassregel gegen die Leviten,' *ib.* xxxv. 1886, pp. 97-108; Heinr. Biberfeld, *Der Übergang des levitischen Dienstgehaltes auf die Priester* (Leipziger Dissertation), Berlin, 1888.—More recent works: E. Kautzsch, article 'Levi, Leviten,' in Ersch and Gruber's *Allgemeine Encyklopädie*, Section ii. Thl. xliii. 1889, pp. 282-293; H. Vogelstein, *Der Kampf zwischen Priestern und Leviten seit den Tagen Ezechiels*, Stettin, 1889; A. Kuenen, 'De geschiedenis der priesters van Jahwe en de ouderdom der priesterlijke wet,' in *ThT*, Jaarg. xxiv. 1890, pp. 1-42 [=*Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Biblischen Wissenschaft*, tr. by K. Budde, Freiburg i. B. 1894, pp. 465-500]; Ch. Piepenbring, 'Histoire des lieux de culte et du sacerdoce en Israel,' in *Revue de l'histoire des Religions*, Ann. xii. t. xxiv. 1891, pp. 1-60, 133-186 (a *résumé* of the Reuss-Wellhausen view of the history); Bruno Baentsch, *Das Heiligkeitsgesetz Lv xvii-xxvi*, Erfurt, 1893, pp. 142-144 ('Die heiligen Personen'); J. H. Breasted, 'The development of the priesthood in Israel and Egypt, a comparison,' in *The Biblical World*, new series, II. i., July 1893, pp. 19-28 [not seen]; I. Benzinger, *Hebräische Archäologie*, Freiburg i. B. 1894, pp. 405-428; W. Nowack, *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Archäologie*, Freiburg i. B. 1894, Bd. ii. pp. 87-130: Ad. Büchler, *Die Priester und der Cultus im letzten Jahrzehnt des Jerusalemischen Tempels*, Wien, 1895 (see a review of this work by Schürer in *ThLZ*, 1895, col. 516 ff.); Samuel Krauss, 'Priests and worship in the last decade of the temple at Jerusalem,' in the *JQR*, vol. viii. 1896, pp. 666-678; Ed. Meyer, *Die Entstehung des Judenthums*, Halle a. S. 1896, pp. 168-183 ('Die Geistlichkeit'); H. A. Poels, *Examen critique de l'histoire du sanctuaire de l'arche*, tome i., Louvain, 1897, pp. 292-301 ('Les prêtres de Nob'); E. Sellin, *Beiträge zur Israelitischen und jüdischen Religionsgeschichte*, Heft ii., Leipzig, 1897, pp. 109-121; E. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi* [Eng. tr. from 2nd ed., under title *History of the Jewish People in the time of Jesus Christ*, 5 vols., Edin., T. & T. Clark, 1885-1890], Bd. ii., Leipzig, 1898, pp. 214-299 ('Die Hohenpriester,' 'Die Priesterschaft und der Tempelcultus'); Ad. Büchler, 'Zur Geschichte des Tempelcultus in Jerusalem,' in *Recueil des travaux rédigés en mémoire du Jubilé Scientific de M. Daniel Chwolson*, Berlin, 1899, pp. 1-41 (I. 'Die Verloosung der Dienstgeschäfte'; II. 'Simon, der Gerechte'; III. 'Die Signale im Tempel für die einzelnen Dienstgeschäfte'); T. K. Cheyne, 'The priesthood of David's sons,' in *Expos.*, Fifth series, ix. [1899] pp. 453-457; A. Van Hoonacker, *Le sacerdoce Lévitique dans la loi et dans l'histoire des Hébreux*, London and Louvain, 1899 (cf. *ThLZ*, 1899, col. 359 ff.), 'Les prêtres et les lévites dans le livre d'Ezéchiel,' in *Rev. bibl. internat.* 1899, ii. pp. 177-205 [not seen]; Fr. v. Hummelauer, *Das vormosaische Priesterthum in Israel*, Freiburg i. B. 1899; J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*^{5}, Berlin, 1899, Kap. 4 ('Die Priester und Leviten'), Kap. 5 ('Die Ausstattung des Klerus') [1st ed., under title 'Geschichte Israels,' 1878, pp. 123-174].

On the high priests, see Literature in Schürer (*l.c.* p. 214), and add B. Pick, 'The Jewish High Priests subsequent to the return from Babylon,' in the *Lutheran Church Review*, 1898, i. pp. 127-142, ii. pp. 370-374, iii. pp. 550-556, iv. pp. 655-664 [not seen].

On the temple singers: Justus Köberle, *Die Tempelsänger im Alten Testament*, Erlangen, 1899 (cf. *ThLZ*, 1899, col. 676 ff.); Ad. Büchler, 'Zur Geschichte der Tempelmusik und der Tempelpsalmen,' in *ZATW*, xix. 1899, pp. 96-133, 329-344, xx. 1900, pp. 97-135.

On the Nethinim, see Literature in Schürer, *l.c.* p. 279, note 94.

On the *kĕmārîm*: Christoph. Braunhardt, *Dissertatio philologica de* כמרים *seu hierophantis Judæorum ex 2 Reg. 23. 5*, Wittebergæ, 1680; Conr. Ikenius, *Dissertatio theologico-philologica de Cemarim ad illustrationem locorum 2 Reg. 23. 5, Hos. 10. 5, Zeph. 1. 4*, Bremæ, 1729.

On the priests' dress: Joh. Braun, *Vestitus sacerdotum Hebræorum*^{2}, Amstelod. 1701; 'Bened. David Carpzovii dissertatio de pontificum Hebræorum vestitu sacro,' in Ugolinus, *Thesaurus*, vol. xii. cc. DCCLXXXV-DCCCX; further, on the same subject, some other dissertations, *ib.* vols. xii. and xiii.; F. de Saulcy, 'Recherches sur le costume sacerdotal chez les Juifs,' in *Revue archéologique*, nouv. série, vol. XX. 1869, pp. 100-115; V. Ancessi, 'Les vêtements du grand prêtre et des lévites' (*L'Égypte et Moïse*, première partie), Paris, 1875. Cf., further, the Literature cited in Schürer, *l.c.* p. 263 f. note 6.

On the priesthood among the ancient Arabs: J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*^{2}, Berlin, 1897, pp. 130-140 ('Heilige Personen'); among the Babylonians: Friedr. Jeremias in Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*^{2}, Freiburg i. B. 1897, Bd. i. p. 203 f.; among the Phœnicians: F. C. Movers, *Die Phönizier*, Bd. i., Bonn, 1841, pp. 676-690.

WOLF BAUDISSIN.

PRIEST IN NT.—1. The word 'priest' (ἱερεύς) is used in the NT of the sacrificing ministers of any religion. The priest of Zeus is mentioned in Ac 14^{13}, the priest of the true God in Mt 8^4. References, indeed, are numerous in the NT, especially in the Gospels, to the priests of the OT. In Lk $1^{5.8}$ allusion is made to the twenty-four ἐφημερίαι into which they were divided, and to the assignment of certain of their duties by lot. The NT throws little light, however, on the standing of the priests generally, or on the service they rendered to the nation. The Gospels speak almost exclusively of those whom they call the ἀρχιερεῖς, or chief priests. The high priest was chosen, as a rule, from one of a small number of priestly families, and, when the office ceased to be held for life, there might be a number of persons entitled by courtesy to the name. An ex-high priest, if a man of unusual force of character, might actually exercise a greater influence in the direction of ecclesiastical or political affairs than the proper holder of the office, and either overshadow the latter in the common mind, or practically share his distinction. It is thus we must explain such expressions as Lk 3^2 ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Ἄννα καὶ Καϊάφα = 'in the high priesthood of Annas and Caiaphas,' and the part taken by Annas (while Caiaphas was titular high priest) in the trial of Jesus (Jn 18^{13}). So also in Ac 4^6 the dignity of the high priesthood is reflected on if not extended to all the members of the γένος ἀρχιερατικόν; there was a kind of aristocracy among the priests, and it was from it that the high priest proper was chosen. Though the ἀρχιερεῖς made common cause with the Pharisees in their hostility to Christianity, they were themselves on the Sadducæan side (Ac 5^{17}), and the most determined opposition to the preaching of the resurrection came from them. Probably the inferior members of the priestly order, who had but a nominal share in its prerogatives, were more free from its prejudices; it would be among them that the great multitude of priests was found which 'became obedient to the faith' (Ac 6^7). On the whole subject of the Jewish priests in NT times, see Schürer, *GJV*^{3} ii. 214-305 [*HJP* II. i. 195-305], and the preceding article, esp. § 10c.

2. A more important subject is that which is suggested by the use of the word 'priest' in the interpretation of the *Christian* religion. In the NT it is only in the Epistle to the Hebrews that Jesus is spoken of as ἱερεύς, μέγας ἱερεύς, and ἀρχιερεύς—terms which are not to be distinguished from each other, the last two only signifying Christ's eminence in the priestly character. In the highest sense of the term, so to speak, He is a priest. But what is a priest? In the Ep. to the Hebrews, it may be said, the priest is the person through whom and through whose ministry people draw near to God, through whom they are 'sanctified'; that is, made a people of God, and enabled to worship. The writer does not think of such a thing as a religion without a priest. Men are sinful men, and without mediation of some kind they cannot draw near to God at all. The people of God had mediators under the OT, and they have a mediator under the NT. It is on the character of the mediator that the character of the religion depends. If he is imperfect the religion will be imperfect; there will be no real or permanent access to God, no real liberation of the conscience. But if he is what he should be, then the perfect, and therefore the final, religion has come. The conscience will be effectually purged, sin as a barrier between God and man will be effectually removed, the way into the holiest of all will be opened, and the covenant realized in the abiding fellowship of God and His people. It is from this point of view that the writer works out the contrast between the OT and the NT. The Jewish religion was a true one, for God had given it; but it was not *the* true and therefore not the final one, for its priesthood was imperfect. Everything about it was imperfect. The priests themselves were imperfect. They were mortal men, and could not continue because of death. They were sinful men, too, and had to offer for their own sins before they could offer for those of the people. The sanctuary was imperfect, a ἅγιον κοσμικόν, not the real dwelling-place of God. The sacrifices were imperfect; the blood of bulls and goats and other animals, whatever its virtue, could not make the worshippers perfect touching the conscience; that is, could not bring them to the desired goal of a fearless peace toward God. The very repetition of the sacrifices showed that the work of removing sin had not really and once for all been achieved. And, finally, the access to God was imperfect. The priests had no access at all into the Holiest Place, and when the high priest did enter on one day in the year it was no abiding entrance; the communion of the people with God, which his presence there symbolized, was lost, it might be said, as soon as won; he came out from the shrine and the veil closed behind him, 'the Holy Ghost this signifying, that the way into the holiest of all had not yet been made manifest.' Everything in the old religion had imperfection written upon it—the imperfection involved in the nature of its priests (οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐτελείωσεν ὁ νόμος, He 7^{19}).

It is in contrast with this that Christ's priesthood is set forth. Christianity is the perfect and final religion, because Christ is the perfect priest. An OT foundation for this doctrine is found in Ps 110^4, where the Messiah is addressed by God as 'a priest for ever, after the order of Melchizedek.' Perhaps one should call it rather a point of attachment than a foundation, for though it probably served the writer's purpose in arresting the attention of his readers, the ideas which he connects with the priesthood of Christ are not, strictly speaking, derived from it. The order of Melchizedek is contrasted with that of Aaron: the two orders exclude each other. Christ is not a priest after the order of Aaron upon earth, and afterwards, in heaven, a priest after the order of Melchizedek: being what He is, the Son of God, in the sense understood in this Epistle, His priesthood can be of the Melchizedek order alone. In Him and through His ministry a fellowship with God has been realized on the behalf of men which is perfect and which abides. The word which is used to express this in the Epistle is αἰώνιος. Inasmuch as He is the true priest, Christ's blood is the blood of an *eternal* covenant, He offered Himself through *eternal* spirit, He has become the author of *eternal* salvation, has obtained *eternal* redemption, and enables men to get hold of the *eternal* inheritance (5^9 $9^{12.14.15}$ 13^{20}). All these are ways of indicating the perfection and finality of His priesthood, *i.e.* of His function to mediate between the holy God and sinful men, and to realize in Himself, and enable sinful men to realize, a complete and abiding fellowship with God.

Among the aspects or constituents of Christ's priesthood on which the writer lays emphasis are these. (1) His *commission*, He 5^4. God must appoint the priest, for he is to be the minister of His grace. No man can take this honour to himself. The writer seems to find the Divine commission in the psalms quoted in He $5^{5f.}$ (Ps 2^7 110^4), but he connects these immediately in v.$^{7f.}$ with what seems to be a reference to the agony in Gethsemane, as though it were there, historically, that Jesus received this high and hard calling. (2) His *preparation*. This is a point on which great stress is put. To be a merciful and trustworthy high priest (2^{17}), it is necessary that he should be to the utmost possible extent one with those whom he represents before God. Hence he becomes like them a partaker of flesh and blood (2^{14}), is tempted in all points like us (4^{15}), learns obedience by the things which he suffers (5^{8}), knows what it is to worship with others and to wait upon God ($2^{12f.}$), and at last to taste death. Sin apart (4^{15}), nothing human is alien to him; in virtue of his nature and his experience he can sympathize with us; through suffering, especially, he has been made 'perfect,' *i.e.* been made all that he ought to be as a 'captain of salvation,' or a priest to stand before God for sinful men, able truly to enter into their case. On the word 'perfect' (*τελειῶσαι*) see Davidson, *Hebrews*, p. 207 f. (3) His *offering*. Every priest is appointed to offer gifts and sacrifices (8^{3}) for sins (5^{1}), and this one also must have something to offer. What is it? In a word, it is himself. This is more easily said than interpreted. There is a passage in the Epistle (10^{4-9}) in which, following Ps 40^{7-9}, what Christ did is contrasted with 'sacrifices and offerings and whole burnt-offerings and sin-offerings,' as 'doing the will of God'; and it is said that Scripture puts away the first to establish the second. From this it is often inferred that Christ's work was not sacrificial, and especially that His death is not to be conceived as an offering for sin; sacrifice, it is said, is abolished to make room for obedience. But this is certainly not the contrast in the writer's mind. The conception of offering or sacrifice is essential to him, and to Christ as priest. This priest, like every other, *must* have somewhat to offer. Indeed, immediately after the remark that He puts away the first (the OT sacrifices) to establish the second (the doing of God's will), he adds, 'in which will we have been sanctified *through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all.*' What He opposes is not sacrifice and obedience *simpliciter*, but the OT sacrifices, in which the victims were involuntary, and the offering therefore morally imperfect, not to say meaningless, and Christ's willing sacrifice of Himself, which was an act of obedience to the Father. As a voluntary act of obedience this sacrifice had a significance and a moral worth which no animal sacrifice could have. But the obedience involved in it was not simply the obedience required of man as such; it was the obedience required of the Son whom the Father had commissioned to be the mediator of a new covenant, the restorer of fellowship between Himself and sinful men; in other words, it was *the obedience of a priest*, who had '*to annul sin by the sacrifice of himself*' (9^{27}), to be '*offered once for all to bear the sins of many*' (9^{28}), to enter into the sanctuary '*through his own blood*' (9^{12}), '*by one offering* to perfect for ever them that are being sanctified' (10^{14}). In short, it is not sacrifice and obedience that are blankly contrasted here, but unintelligent will-less animal sacrifice, and the sacrificial obedience of the Priest who willingly dies to make purgation of sins (1^{3}). As the perfect priest Christ made once for all the perfect sacrifice for sin; that is why the Levitical sacrifices have passed away. (4) The *scene of His ministry*, or the *sanctuary*. The true offering is made in the true sanctuary, *i.e.* heaven. It is there that Christ appears in the presence of God for us. It is there, in His person, that there is realized the abiding fellowship of God and man into which the gospel calls us. But this does not mean that what has been spoken of under the head of His offering, namely His death, is not included in His priestly work. To break the work of the perfect priest into pieces in this way is foreign to the writer's mode of thought. The priest's work, his offering, is not consummated till he enters with it (and by means of it) into God's presence; it is then that he is in the full sense a priest. Hence Christ is conceived as exercising His priestly function in the sanctuary above; but He could not be priest there except in virtue of the commission, the preparation, and the offering, which have just been described. All these therefore *belong* to the conception of the priesthood as much as what is done in the heavenly sanctuary itself. (5) His *intercession*. He is able to save to the uttermost those who draw near to God through Him, seeing He ever liveth to make intercession for them. In what the intercession consists is nowhere explained. The writer to the Hebrews does not define it as the perpetuating, or making prevalent for all time, of an atoning work achieved on earth; he does not conceive of the atoning work as achieved at all except through the entrance of the priest into the presence of God *διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος*. On the other hand, it seems to be less than what he means, if we say that His mere appearing in God's presence, even with the virtue of His sin-annulling work in Him, is itself the intercession — a continuous and prevailing plea with God to receive even those who have sinned into fellowship with Himself, and not to let sin annul His covenant. It is a fair inference from 4^{16} (that we may find grace *for timely succour*), taken in connexion with what precedes, that the intercession of the great High Priest is not a continuous unvarying representation of man before God, but relates itself sympathetically to the variously emergent necessities and crises of individual life. (6) The *result* of Christ's priesthood. The result is, in a word, the establishment of the new covenant between God and man. In Christ, and on the basis of His work, God is our God again, and we are His people. Because Christ is all that a priest should be, the new relation of God and man realized in Him is all that such a relation should be; Christianity is a new, but also the final, because the perfect religion. There are various ways in which this is expressed in detail. Those who have the perfect priest are freed from the fear of death (2^{15}); can come with boldness to God's throne and find it a throne of grace (4^{16}); have a hope of immortality that nothing can shake, knowing as they do that Jesus has entered within the veil as their forerunner (6^{20}); have an assurance, in the indissoluble life of Christ (7^{16}), in the priesthood which as founded on it never passes to another or can never be trenched upon by another (7^{24}), and in the intercession of their deathless representative, that complete salvation awaits them; in their worship are made perfect as touching the conscience, *i.e.* completely delivered from sin as that which hinders access to God (9^{9-14}). And as the blessings of the covenant are infinite, so the deliberate and wilful rejection of them, and the relapse from the fellowship with God assured in Christ to any inferior religious standpoint ($6^{4ff.}$ $10^{26ff.}$), is the unpardonable sin.

3. The Epistle to the Hebrews does not attribute to believers as priests any of the special functions involved in the unique priesthood of Christ. In Ex 19^{6} Israel is spoken of as מַמְלֶכֶת כֹּהֲנִים, *i.e.* God's people are His kingdom, and they are priests, with the right of access to Him. As the NT point of view is that there is only one people of God through all time, this conception is found in the NT also: see especially Rev 1^{6} 5^{10} 20^{6}, 1 P $2^{5.9}$ (*ἱεράτευμα ἅγιον, βασίλειον: βασιλείαν, ἱερεῖς τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ*). In substance, the same thing is meant when we read in Hebrews of the right to 'draw near with boldness,' or in Eph 2^{17} that through Christ all Christians alike have 'their access (*τὴν προσαγωγήν*: the characteristic privilege of the new religion, Ro 5^{2}, 1 P 3^{18}) in one spirit to the Father.' To the Father: for in experience the

sonship of believers and their priesthood are one and the same thing. Sonship and priesthood are two figures under which we can represent the characteristic relation of man to God, his characteristic standing toward God, in the new religion instituted by Christ. Formally distinguishable, they are really and experimentally the same. Christ Himself was perfect priest only because He was true Son of God; His priesthood, though it was His vocation, was grounded in His nature: it had nothing official in it, but was throughout personal and real. So it is with the priesthood of believers: it also is involved in sonship, is one element or function of sonship, and only as such has it any meaning. The writer to the Hebrews speaks of Christians as offering to God sacrifices of praise, the fruit of lips making confession to His name. He bids them remember beneficence and charity, for with such sacrifices God is well pleased. So St. Peter says Christians are a holy priesthood to offer spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God through Jesus Christ (1 P 2^{5}); and St. Paul bids the Romans present their bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, which is the rational worship required of them (Ro 12^{1}). Praise, self-consecration, charity,—if we include Rev 8^{3}, we may add, after the analogy of Ps 141^{2}, prayer,—these are the only sacrifices which the priestly people of God may offer now. There is no such thing in the NT as a sacrifice for sin except the sacrifice which Christ offered once for all.

4. The NT does not apply the word *ἱερεύς* to any Christian minister, nor indeed to any Christian at all, except so far as the people of God are spoken of as a 'royal priesthood.' It is easy to see why. Christianity is what it is—a perfect and abiding fellowship with God—because it is realized in the Eternal Son of God. It cannot be realized or guaranteed in any other. He is the Mediator of it, to whom it owes its character. To introduce into it, no matter how we define their relation to Him, *official* mediators, is to relapse from the Melchizedek priesthood to the Aaronic; it is in principle to apostatize from Christianity. The pictorial use of language borrowed from the old religion is, of course, intelligible enough. St. Paul, *e.g.*, can speak of himself as *ἱερουργῶν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ*, discharging a sacred function toward the gospel, and presenting the Gentiles as an offering to God (Ro 15^{16}; cf. Ph 2^{17}). But there is not, as in the nature of the case there could not be, any trace in the NT of a Christian priest making sacrifice for sin, and mediating again (in the Aaronic, official, mortal, never perfect, and never to be perfected fashion) between God and man.

LITERATURE.—Schürer, as above; the books on NT theology, Weiss, Pfleiderer, Beyschlag, Holtzmann; the commentaries on Hebrews, esp. the extended notes in Davidson; Bruce, *Ep. to the Hebrews*, and art. HEBREWS in this Dictionary; Milligan, *Ascension and Heavenly Priesthood*; Westcott, *Hebrews*; also *Priesthood and Sacrifice* (Report of Conference at Oxford), edited by W. Sanday, 1900.

J. DENNEY.

PRINCE is the AV tr. of no fewer than 16 Hebrew or Hebraized terms in OT and 3 Greek ones in NT.

1. נָשִׂיא, lit. 'exalted one' from נָשָׂא 'lift up.' This word is practically confined (the only exceptions are Ex $22^{27\,(28)}$ [J or E], 1 K 8^{1} 11^{34} [both R^{P}], and Pr 25^{15}) to the writings of P, the Chronicler, and Ezekiel. It is used in Gn 17^{20} (LXX *ἔθνη* 'nations') 25^{16} (*ἄρχοντες*) of the twelve 'princes' descended from Ishmael; in 23^{6} it is put by P in the mouth of the 'children of Heth' as a designation of Abraham (LXX *βασιλεύς*); in 34^{2} it is applied to Shechem the son of Hamor (*ἄρχων*; so, or *ἄρχοντες*, in the LXX of all the following passages, unless otherwise noted); in Nu 25^{18} of a prince of Midian; in Jos 13^{21} of the princes of Sihon. It is especially frequent for the heads of the Isr. tribes: Ex 16^{22} 34^{31}, Lv 4^{22} (AV and RV in these three passages 'rulers'), Nu 2^{3} $7^{2ff.}$ 31^{13} etc., Jos $9^{15.\,18.\,19.\,21}$ 17^{4} $22^{14.\,30.\,32}$, so also 1 Ch 2^{10} 4^{38} 5^{6} 7^{40} etc., cf. Ex 22^{27} $^{(28)}$ ('Thou shalt not revile God nor curse a ruler of thy people'), and 1 K 8^{1} (A *ἐπησμένοι*, prob. error for *ἐπηρμένος*, Aq.'s tr. of נָשִׂיא in Ex 22^{28}; B om.) = 2 Ch 5^{2} (*ἄρχοντες*), where the princes of the fathers' houses of the children of Israel were assembled by Solomon. In 1 K 11^{34} the term *nāsî'* is used of Solomon himself ('I will make him prince,' נָשִׂיא אֲשִׁיתֶנּוּ, LXX *ἀντιτασσόμενος ἀντιτάξομαι*), and in Ezr 1^{8} the Chronicler applies it to Sheshbazzar. In Ezk not only is it used of the king of Judah ($12^{10.\,12}$ $21^{30\,[\text{Eng. }25]}$ [*ἀφηγούμενος*]), and of Isr. and foreign princes (7^{27} $21^{17\,[\text{Eng. }12]}$ [*ἀφηγούμενοι*] 26^{16} 30^{13} 32^{29} etc.), but *han-nāsî'* is the special designation of the head of the future ideal State (34^{24} 37^{25} [both *ὁ ἄρχων*] 44^{3} [*ὁ ἡγούμενος*] $45^{7.\,16.\,17.\,22}$ $46^{2.\,4.\,8.\,10.\,12.\,16.\,17.\,18}$ $48^{21.\,22}$ [all *ὁ ἀφηγούμενος*]). For the later Talmudic use of *nāsî'* as the technical title for the president of the Sanhedrin see art. SANHEDRIN; Kuenen, *Gesamm. Abhandl.* [Budde's tr.] p. 58 f.; Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 180 ff.; Weber, *Jüd. Theologie*, p. 140. The title *nāsî'* was also assumed by Simeon bar-Cochba (the leader of the Jewish revolt A.D. 132), whose coins are stamped 'Simeon *nāsî'* of Israel' (see art. MONEY in vol. iii. p. 430^{b}, and Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 299).

2. שַׂר occurs with extreme frequency. The verbal form שׂרר is found 4 times in Qal (Jg 9^{22}, Is 32^{1}, Pr 8^{16}, Est 1^{22}), twice in Hithp. (Nu $16^{13\,bis}$), and once in Hiph. (Hos 8^{4}). In Jg 9^{22} and Hos 8^{4} it is pointed in MT as if from שׂוּר, but see König, i. 328, 352. It is uncertain whether this is the primitive root = 'have power,' 'exercise rule,' or whether it is a denominative from שַׂר. Amongst other applications, שַׂר [in the following passages reproduced in LXX, unless otherwise noted, by *ἄρχων*] is used of officers or rulers whether military Ex 18^{21} (AV and RV 'rulers'), Nu 21^{18}, Is 21^{5}, 2 Ch 32^{21} ‖ נָגִיד (AV and RV 'captains'), or civil 1 Ch 27^{31} (*προστάται*, AV and RV 'rulers'), cf. 29^{6} etc., particularly of royal officials Gn 12^{15}, 2 K 24^{12}, Hos 3^{4}, Ezr 8^{25}; of the chiefs of foreign nations Jg 7^{25} 8^{3} (Midian), 1 S 18^{30} (Philistines); of leaders in war 1 S 22^{2} (*ἡγούμενοι*, AV and RV 'captains'), cf. 2 S 24^{4} and Neh 2^{9} (*ἀρχηγοί*); of the 'ruler of the city' Jg 9^{30}, cf. 1 K 22^{26} (*βασιλεύς*, AV and RV 'governor'), Neh 7^{2}; of the chief of the eunuchs Dn $1^{7f.\,9ff.}$ (*ἀρχιευνοῦχος*); the chief of the butlers or bakers Gn $40^{2.\,20}$ (*ἀρχιοινοχόος, ἀρχισιτοποιός*), etc.; the head of the priestly or Levitical classes Ezr 8^{29} 10^{5}, 1 Ch $15^{16.\,22}$ etc.; the directors of the post-exilic community Neh 4^{10}, cf. Ezr 9^{1} 10^{14}, Neh 11^{1}. With the sense of 'prince' proper, שַׂר is mainly post-exilic, Est 1^{14}, Job 29^{9} (*ἁδροί*) ‖ נְגִידִים, Ps $119^{23.\,161}$; of the Messiah, 'the prince of peace' Is 9^{6} (A *ἄρχων εἰρήνης*, B follows a different text); of the guardian angels of the nations Dn $10^{13.\,20.\,21}$ 12^{1} (Theod. in all *ἄρχων*, LXX in first three *στρατηγός*, in last *ἄγγελος*); of God Dn 8^{11} ('prince of the host,' *ἀρχιστράτηγος*) ^{25} ('prince of princes,' LXX follows a different text).

The noun '**princess**' in EV always represents שָׂרָה (cf. the proper name SARAH). Its only two occurrences in AV are 1 K 11^{3} (of the seven hundred wives of Solomon; LXX *ἄρχουσαι*), La 1^{1} (of Jerusalem 'princess among the provinces'; LXX *ἄρχουσα*). To these RV adds Est 1^{18} (AV 'ladies,' LXX *τυραννίδες*). There are only two other occurrences of שׂרה in the Hebrew Bible. The one is Jg 5^{29} חַכְמוֹת שָׂרוֹתֶיהָ (AV and RV 'her wise ladies,' Moore [cf. his note on the text], 'the sagest of her princesses'; LXX *ἄρχουσαι*); the other is Is 49^{23} (AV and RV 'queens,' AVm 'princesses'; LXX *ἄρχουσαι*).

3. נָגִיד. The root meaning is probably 'one *in front*,' 'a leader.' This word is used in general of rulers or princes in Job 29^{10} (AV and RV 'nobles,' LXX wants this verse) 31^{37} (LXX follows

a different text), Ps $76^{12\,(13)}$ (ἄρχων), Pr 28^{16} (βασιλεύς). More particularly it is the designation of (*a*) *the king of Israel:* Saul 1 S 9^{16} 10^{1} [the use of נָגִיד is peculiar to the earlier of the two narratives of Saul's election, מֶלֶךְ 'king' being used in the other; the same distinction is observed in the LXX ἄρχων and βασιλεύς]; David 13^{14} (ἄρχων; in the following passages ἡγούμενος unless otherwise noted) 25^{30}, 2 S 5^{2} (εἰσηγούμενος) 6^{21} 7^{8}, 1 Ch 11^{2} 17^{7}, 2 Ch 6^{5} [in all these passages relating to Saul and David, RV has 'prince,' AV has 'captain' in all except 1 S 25^{30}, 2 S 6^{21} 7^{8}, 1 Ch 11^{2} 17^{7}, 2 Ch 6^{5}, where it has 'ruler'], Is 55^{4} (AV and RV 'leader,' RVm 'prince,' LXX ἄρχων); Solomon 1 K 1^{35} (AV 'ruler'), 1 Ch 29^{22} (AV 'chief governor,' LXX βασιλεύς); Jeroboam 1 K 14^{7}; Baasha 16^{2}; Hezekiah 2 K 20^{5} (AV 'captain'); Abijah 2 Ch 11^{23} (AV 'ruler'); cf. the choice of Judah 1 Ch 28^{4} (AV 'ruler,' LXX ἐν Ἰούδᾳ ᾑρέτικεν τὸ βασίλειον).—(*b*) *A foreign ruler or prince:* the prince of Tyre Ezk 28^{2} (ἄρχων); perhaps also 'the prince that shall come' Dn 9^{26} (? Antiochus Epiphanes, see below; Theod. ὁ ἡγούμενος ὁ ἐρχόμενος, LXX βασιλεία ἐθνῶν).—(*c*) *A high temple official:* Pashhur Jer 20^{1} (AV 'chief governor,' RV 'chief officer'); cf. 1 Ch 9^{11}, 2 Ch 31^{13} 35^{8} (AV and RV 'ruler(s'), LXX in last ἄρχοντες), Neh 11^{11} (AV and RV 'ruler,' LXX ἀπέναντι οἰκοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ); the high priest Dn 11^{22} ('the prince of the covenant'), and perhaps $9^{25.\,26}$ (AV in v.^{25} 'the Messiah the prince,' RV 'the anointed one, the prince'; Theod. χριστὸς ἡγούμενος). The prince in v.^{25} is frequently understood of Cyrus, and in v.^{26} of Epiphanes, but Bevan argues in favour of understanding the reference in both instances to be to the high priest, the first being to Joshua the son of Jozadak (Ezr 3^{2}, Hag 1^{1}, Zec 3^{1}), and the second [reading יִשָּׁחֵת עִם 'shall be destroyed with,' for עַם יַשְׁחִית 'the people shall destroy'] to Jason, the brother and successor of Onias III.—(*d*) *A ruler in other capacities.* This use of the word is late: the 'ruler' of each tribe 1 Ch 27^{16}, 2 Ch 19^{11}; the 'ruler' of the Korahites 1 Ch 9^{20}; the 'leader' of the Aaronite warriors 1 Ch 12^{27}; the 'leader' of an army division 1 Ch 13^{1} 27^{4} (AV and RV 'ruler,' LXX ἄρχων), 2 Ch 11^{11} ('captain' of a fortress) 32^{21} (in the Assyrian army; AV and RV 'leaders,' LXX ἄρχοντες); the 'ruler' over the temple treasuries 1 Ch 26^{24} (ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν θησαυρῶν), cf. 2 Ch 31^{12} (ἐπιστάτης). In 2 Ch 28^{7} the 'house' (הַבַּיִת) of which Azrikam was ruler (AV 'governor'), is probably the palace; cf. the familiar אֲשֶׁר עַל־הַבַּיִת Is 22^{15} 36^{3}, 1 K 4^{6}, 2 K 15^{5} etc.

4. נָדִיב, lit. 'willing,' *e.g.* נְדִיב לֵב 'willing of heart' Ex $35^{5.\,22}$, 2 Ch 29^{31}; רוּחַ נְדִיבָה 'a willing (AV and RV 'free') spirit' Ps $51^{14\,(12)}$; cf. the use of the verb נָדַב 'to volunteer' Jg $5^{2.\,9}$, 2 Ch 17^{16}, Neh 11^{2}, and the noun נְדָבָה 'freewill offering' Ex 35^{29} 36^{3}, Ezr 1^{6} *et al.* Hence נָדִיב may mean *generous* or *noble* in disposition: Pr 17^{26} (AV 'princes,' RV 'the noble,' ‖ צַדִּיק), v.^{7} (LXX δίκαιος; AV and RV 'a prince' is quite misleading, see Toy, *ad loc.*), Is $32^{5.\,8}$ (AV and RV 'the liberal'; opposed here, as in Pr 17^{7}, to נָבָל). The word is used of noble or princely rank in Nu 21^{18} (the Song of the Well; AV and RV 'the nobles,' LXX βασιλεῖς, ‖ שָׂרִים 'princes,' ἄρχοντες. In the following passages, unless otherwise noted, ἄρχων is used by LXX to tr. נָדִיב), 1 S 2^{8} ('to make them sit with princes, μετὰ δυναστῶν λαῶν), Job 12^{21}=Ps 107^{40} ('He poureth contempt upon princes') 21^{28} ('Where is the house of the prince?' B οἶκος ἄρχοντος, but A οἶκος ἀρχαῖος) 34^{18}, Ps $47^{10\,(9)}$ $83^{12\,(11)}$ (AV and RV 'nobles') $113^{8\,bis}$ 118^{9} 146^{3}, Pr 8^{16} (‖ שָׂרִים, LXX μεγιστᾶνες and τύραννοι respectively) 19^{6} (AV and RVm 'prince' seems preferable to RV 'liberal man'; LXX βασιλεῖς) 25^{7} (δυνάστης), Ca 7^{1} ('O prince's daughter,' B θύγατερ Ναδάβ, A θυγ. Ἀμιναδάβ).

5. נָסִיךְ (Assyr. *nasîku*), from root נסך 'install' (cf. Ps 2^{6} נָסַכְתִּי מַלְכִּי עַל־צִיּוֹן 'I have installed my king upon Zion'), occurs 4 times in OT: Jos 13^{21} 'the princes (AV 'dukes,' LXX ἄρχοντες [but the Gr. text is confused]) of Sihon'; Ezk 32^{30} 'the princes (ἄρχοντες) of the north'; Mic $5^{4\,(5)}$ 'eight principal men' (נְסִיכֵי אָדָם, RVm 'princes among men,' LXX δήγματα ἀνθρώπων); Ps $83^{12\,(11)}$ 'make their princes (‖ נְדִיבִים, see above; LXX ἄρχοντες) like Zebah and Zalmunna.' In Dn 11^{8} נְסִיכֵיהֶם, which is rendered in AV and RVm 'their princes,' is much more likely from another נָסִיךְ, a by-form of נֶסֶךְ, and means 'their molten images' (so RV, *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* etc.; cf. LXX and Theod. τὰ χωνευτά). We reach the same result by simply changing the Massoretic reading to נִסְכֵּיהֶם. See, further, Bevan, *ad loc.*

6. אֲחַשְׁדַּרְפְּנִים (Ezr 8^{36}, Est 3^{12} 8^{9} 9^{3}) or אֲחַשְׁדַּרְפְּנַיָּא (Dn $3^{2.\,3.\,27}$ $6^{2.\,4.\,5.\,7.\,8}$) is uniformly rendered by RV satraps, while AV gives 'lieutenants' in the passages in Ezra and Esther, 'princes' in those in Daniel. See art. LIEUTENANT.

7. חַשְׁמַנִּים in Ps $68^{31\,(32)}$ is rendered by both AV and RV 'princes.' The LXX has πρέσβεις 'ambassadors,' Vulg. *legati*; but all these renderings are purely conjectural, founded upon the context. Probably we ought, with Nestle (*JBL*, 1891, p. 152), to emend to בַּשְּׁמָנִים 'they shall come with oils *or* ointments' (so Duhm, *et al.*).

8. כֹּהֲנִים is rendered 'princes' in AV of Job 12^{19}, but there is no reason for departing from the usual meaning 'priests' (so RV, LXX ἱερεῖς).

9. סְגָנִים Is 41^{25} 'he (Cyrus) shall come upon princes (RV 'rulers,' RVm 'deputies') as upon mortar.' The LXX has ἄρχοντες. *Ṣĕgānîm* (found only in the plural) is a loan-word from the Assyrian, where it appears as *šaknu* 'prefect' of a conquered city or province. For the other OT uses and the later meaning of *ṣĕgānîm* see art. PRIESTS AND LEVITES, p. 96^{b}.

10. פַּרְתְּמִים, a Persian loan-word, probably=*fratama*, 'first,' occurs 3 times: Dn 1^{3} 'certain of the children of Israel, even of the seed royal and of the nobles' (AV 'princes'; LXX ἐκ τῶν ἐπιλέκτων, Theod. B ἀπὸ τῶν φορθομμείν, A . . . πορθομμείν, Symm. and Pesh. tr. 'Parthians'); Est 1^{3} (AV and RV 'nobles,' ‖ שָׂרִים; LXX ἔνδοξοι); 6^{9} 'one of the king's most noble princes' (אִישׁ מִשָּׂרֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ הַפַּרְתְּמִים, LXX ἑνὶ τῶν φίλων τοῦ βασίλεως τῶν ἐνδόξων).

11. קָצִין (=Arab. *ḳāḍī*, from *ḳaḍā* 'to decide,' 'to pronounce a sentence') is a term used of both military and civil leaders: Jos 10^{24} ('the chiefs of the men of war'), Jg $11^{6.\,11}$ (of Jephthah), Pr 6^{7} (in a saying about the ant, joined with שֹׁטֵר and מֹשֵׁל), Is 1^{10} $3^{6.\,7}$ 22^{3}. The OT passages where it is tr. 'prince' in AV are: Pr 25^{15} 'By long forbearing is a prince (RV 'ruler,' RVm 'judge') persuaded' (LXX ἐν μακροθυμίᾳ εὐοδία βασιλεῦσιν; there appears to be no sufficient reason for Toy's and Frankenberg's emendation of the last two words of the MT יְפֻתֶּה קָצִין to יִשְׁקֹט קֶצֶף or יְשֻׁ׳ קֹצֵף 'is anger [*or* an angry man] pacified'); Mic $3^{1.\,9}$ 'ye princes (RV 'rulers') of the house of Israel' (LXX οἱ κατάλοιποι; in both verses ‖ רָאשִׁים 'heads'); Dn 11^{18} 'a prince (RVm 'captain') shall cause the reproach offered by him to cease.' The reference is to the Roman general Lucius Scipio who defeated Antiochus the Great at Magnesia, B.C. 190 (see Bevan, *ad loc.*). There is nothing in Theod. or the LXX text here corresponding to the word קָצִין.

12. 13. רַב, which is especially familiar as the first part of official titles like RAB-MAG, RAB-SARIS, RAB-SHAKEH (see the artt. on these names), is twice tr. 'prince' in AV: Jer 39^{13} 41^{1} of the princes (RV 'chief officers') of the king of Babylon; LXX in the first passage [46^{3}] ἡγεμόνες, in the second the term is dropped. In Dn $4^{33\,(36)}$ $5^{1.\,2.\,3.\,9.\,10.\,23}$ $6^{18\,(17)}$ the form רַבְרְבָן occurs. Both AV and RV render uniformly by 'lords' except in $5^{2.\,3}$ where AV has 'princes'; Theod. has μεγι-

στâνες in every instance, so LXX in 5^{23} and $6^{18\,(17)}$, om. in the other passages.

14. 15. רָזוֹן (cf. the proper name REZON, 1 K 11^{23}) only Pr 14^{28} 'in the want of people is the destruction of the prince' (LXX *δυνάστης*); elsewhere רֹזֵן, namely Jg 5^{3} 'Give ear, O ye princes' (B *σατράπαι*, A adds *δυνατοί*), Ps 2^{2} (*ἄρχοντες*, AV and RV 'rulers'), Pr 8^{15} (*δυνάσται*) 31^{4}, Hab 1^{10} (*τύραννοι*), Is 40^{23} (*ἄρχοντες*). In all these passages רָזוֹן or רֹזֵן is ‖ מֶלֶךְ 'king,' except in the last, where רֹזְנִים is ‖ שֹׁפְטֵי אֶרֶץ 'judges of the earth.' Cf. Arab. *razīn*, 'grave,' 'steady,' from *razuna*, 'to be heavy.'

16. שָׁלִישׁ is once (Ezk 23^{15}) tr. 'prince.' A better rendering would be 'officer' or 'captain.' The word, which means literally 'third' (cf. the LXX, but not in above passage, *τριστάτης*), is usually explained to have denoted originally the man who, in addition to the driver, stood beside the king on his war-chariot, holding his shield or the like. But the adequacy of this as an explanation of the general usage of the term is questioned by Dillmann (on Ex 14^{7}), Kraetzschmar ('Ezechiel' in Nowack's *Hdkomm.*), and others. Kraetzschmar prefers to make the meaning simply *third in military rank* (comparing the obsolete titles 'first lieutenant,' 'second lieutenant'), or to regard *shālīsh* as a loan-word. The term occurs frequently elsewhere in OT in the same sense (*e.g.* Ex 14^{7} 15^{4}, 2 K 9^{25} 10^{25} 15^{25}, AV and RV always 'captain').

In the NT the terms rendered in AV 'prince' are **1.** *ἀρχηγός*:—Ac 3^{15} 'ye killed the Prince (AVm and RVm 'Author') of life.' 'Author' appears to be the better rendering here (cf. He 2^{10} 'the author [AVm and RVm 'captain'] of their salvation'). The only other instance where *ἀρχηγός* is tr. 'prince' (AV and RV) is Ac 5^{31} 'Him did God exalt with his right hand to be a Prince and a Saviour.' The Gr. term occurs once more in NT, namely in He 12^{2} 'Jesus the author (AVm 'beginner,' RVm 'captain') and finisher (RV 'perfecter') of our faith,' where the meaning is probably 'leader' or '*antesignanus*.' **2.** *ἄρχων*: Mt 9^{34} 12^{24}, Mk 3^{22} of (Beelzebub) 'the prince of the demons'; Mt 20^{25} 'the princes of the Gentiles,' cf. 1 Co $2^{6.\,8}$ 'the princes of this world' (*οἱ ἄρχοντες τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου*); Jn 12^{31} 14^{30} 16^{11} 'the prince of this world' (*ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου*); Eph 2^{2} 'the prince of the power of the air' (*ὁ ἄρχων τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος*; on this expression see art. SATAN); Rev 1^{5} 'the Prince of the kings of the earth' (*ὁ ἄρχων τῶν βασιλέων τῆς γῆς*, probably a reminiscence of Ps 89 (88) ^{27}). **3.** *ἡγεμών* is tr. 'prince' only in Mt 2^{6} 'thou art not the least among the princes of Judah.' On the surprising variations between St. Matthew's quotation and the original passage Mic 5^{1}, and the possible explanation of these, see art. QUOTATIONS, i. D. J. A. SELBIE.

PRINCESS.—See PRINCE, No. 2, *ad fin.*

PRINCIPALITY.—In Jer 13^{18} מְרַאֲשֹׁות (from ראשׁ the head) is tr. 'principalities,' apparently in the sense of privilege, pre-eminence, as in Jer. Taylor, *Worthy Communicant*, i. 83, 'If any mystery, rite, or sacrament be effective of any spiritual blessings, then this is much more, as having the prerogative and illustrious principality above everything else.' This is better than the tr. 'from your head' or 'from your heads' of the previous versions (Vulg. *de capite vestro*, LXX *ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς ὑμῶν*); but the meaning is evidently, as in AVm and RV, 'head-tires.'

In 2 Mac 4^{27} 5^{7} the high priesthood is called the 'principality,' *i.e.* principal office or supreme power (*ἀρχή*). Cf. Milton, *Reform*, ii. 'The Bishops of Rome and Alexandria, who beyond their Priestly bounds now long agoe had stept into principality.'

For the 'principalities' (*ἀρχαί*) of Ro 8^{38}, Eph 1^{21} (*ἀρχή*, RV 'rule') 3^{10} 6^{12}, Col $2^{10.\,15}$, Tit 3^{1} (RV 'rulers'), see DOMINION in vol. i. p. 616^{b}.

J. HASTINGS.

PRINCIPLE.—See ELEMENT in vol. i. p. 682^{a}.

PRISCA or **PRISCILLA** (Πρίσκα, Πρίσκιλλα).—The wife of AQUILA. The name is Latin, Priscilla being the diminutive form. In the three places in Acts where the word is used ($18^{2.\,18.\,26}$), the form is always Priscilla; in the three places in St. Paul's Epistles (Ro 16^{3}, 1 Co 16^{19}, 2 Ti 4^{19}) it is in the best MSS always Prisca. In Ac $18^{18.\,26}$, Ro 16^{3}, 2 Ti 4^{19} the wife's name appears first, in the other two places the husband's.

There is some variation in the MSS and VSS. In Ac 18^{26} ℵABE vulg. boh. read Πρίσκιλλα καὶ Ἀκύλας; DHLP, etc., gig, syrr, sah. read Ἀκ. καὶ Πρ. In Ro 16^{3} and 2 Ti 4^{19} the evidence for Πρίσκα is preponderating; in 1 Co 16^{19} Πρίσκα is read by ℵBMP vulg. codd., boh. arm.; Πρίσκιλλα by ACDEFGKL and most later MSS, vulg. codd., syrr, Chrys., Thdrt., Dam. and TR; the former reading is undoubtedly right. In 2 Ti 4^{19} there is a curious addition after Ἀκύλαν in 46, 109, and 109 lat. *Λεκτραν* (*sic*) *τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ Σιμαιαν* (*sic*) *καὶ Ζηνῶνα τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ.*

The variations in the text of Ac $18^{1\text{-}27}$ have been examined very carefully by Harnack, who shows that the longer text (usually called the Western, or by Blass *β*) is clearly formed out of the shorter, and suggests that it has been modified by an interpolator who objected to the too great prominence given to a woman, and has made the position of Priscilla less prominent. With his conclusion we may compare the remarks of Ramsay (*Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 101) on the omission of Damaris in the Western text, Ac 17^{34}.

Prisca is always mentioned with her husband. He is described as a Jew of Pontus, and a tentmaker. St. Paul is associated with them first at Corinth, whither they had retired after the decree expelling the Jews from Rome. After remaining there about eighteen months, they went with St. Paul to Ephesus, and remained there while he went on to Jerusalem. At Ephesus they were concerned in the instruction of Apollos, and seem to have remained throughout St. Paul's residence, their house being used for Christian meetings. Later, probably in consequence of the uproar in the theatre, when there seem to have been considerable riots, they returned to Rome, where again their house was used for Christian worship; and ultimately we again find them at Ephesus. These numerous changes between Rome, Ephesus, and Corinth have caused difficulty to critics, who have for this and other causes suggested that Ro 16 was really addressed to Ephesus. A sufficient explanation is, however, afforded by the nomadic character of the Jewish world in general, of Aquila and Priscilla in particular, and by their occupation as Christian missionaries interested in the spread and support of the Christian Churches. They were evidently persons of prominence in the early Christian community. St. Paul speaks of them with affection, and says that they had endangered their lives for his sake (Ro 16^{4}).

The above is all that we learn from the New Testament, but the traditions of the Roman Church, where the name Prisca was of considerable importance, suggest the possibility of some interesting discoveries being made. The name occurs in two connexions.

(1) There is a church on the Aventine bearing the name of St. Prisca which gives a title to one of the Roman cardinals. This church bore the name of the *Titulus St. Priscae* from the 4th to the 8th cent. (*Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, i. 501, 517^{45}); later, under Leo III. (795-816), it is called the *Titulus Aquilae et Priscae* (*ib.* ii. 20). There are legendary *Acts of St. Prisca*, dating from the 10th cent., in which it is stated that the body of St. Prisca was translated from the place on the Ostian Way where she had been buried and transferred to the Church of St. Aquila and Prisca on

the Aventine (*Acta Sanctorum*, Jan. ii. p. 187). An inscription of the 10th cent. (*C. Ins. Christ.* ii. p. 443) also calls it *domus Aquilae seu Priscae.*

(2) In the legendary account of Pudens, Pudenziana, and Praxedis, Priscilla is stated to have been the mother of Pudens (*Acta Sanct.* May, iv. 295).

(3) One of the oldest of the catacombs of Rome is the *Cœmeterium Priscillae*, outside the *Porta Salaria*, and there seems to be some evidence to connect the name Prisca with the Acilian gens, members of which were buried there.

Now it has been noticed that the name Prisca in four out of six places is mentioned before that of her husband. Hort, following out this point, suggests that she was a member of a distinguished Roman family who had married a Jew. This would account both for the prominence given to her, and the connexion of the name with one of the oldest cemeteries. A more plausible suggestion is that both Prisca and Aquila were freedmen of the Acilian or some other gens; that through them Christianity had reached a distinguished Roman family, whose name they had taken, and that this accounted for the prominence of the name Prisca in the early Church. More discovery and investigation are needed, but the point of interest is that the name Prisca in some way or other occupied a prominent position in the Rom. Church.

An interesting suggestion, which has the merit of novelty, has been made by Professor Harnack, that in Priscilla and Aquila we have the authors of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Prisca and Aquila were, we know, teachers of prominence who had turned Apollos to Christianity; they belonged to the intimate circle of St. Paul's friends; they were close friends of Timothy, and personally received St. Paul. They had for some time been connected with a small Christian community in Rome, and the Epistle to the Hebrews was clearly, he argues, written to Rome, and not to the Church as a whole, but to a small circle within the Church. They were with Italian connections, but living outside Italy. In the Epistle there is a curious interchange of 'We' and 'I.' Lastly, the authorship of Priscilla will explain why the writing is now anonymous. The Church of the 2nd cent. objected very strongly to the prominent position of women in the Apostolic age. This had caused the gradual modification of various passages in the Acts, and the desire to separate this work from the name of Priscilla. The whole argument is as ingenious as Professor Harnack always is, but it does not succeed in being quite convincing.

LITERATURE.—De Rossi, *Bull. Arch. Christ.* Ser. i. No. 5 (1867), p. 45 ff., Ser. iv. No. 6 (1888–89), p. 129; Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*; Hort, *Rom. and Eph.* pp. 12–14; Plumptre, *Biblical Studies*, p. 417; Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*, pp. xxvii, 418 ff.; Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, 268 f.; Harnack, *Sitzungsberichte der K. Preussichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1900, i., and *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums*, 1900, p. 10.

A. C. HEADLAM.

PRISON.—Joseph was imprisoned in an Egyptian prison (בֵּית הַסֹּהַר, perhaps 'house of enclosure,' *i.e.* walled, or 'fortress,' cf. cognate Syriac סהרתא 'palace,' and Targumic סחר 'to go round,' 'surround'; *ὀχύρωμα, δεσμωτήριον*; *carcer, custodia*, Gn 39^{20-23} $40^{3.5}$ [JE]; also בּוֹר 'pit,' EV 'dungeon'; λάκκος, *ὀχύρωμα*; *lacus, carcer*, Gn 40^{15} 41^{14} [JE]; in 40^{3}, בֵּית שַׂר הַטַּבָּחִים 'house of the captain of the executioners,' *i.e.* the guard). 'Fortress' suggests the use, always common, of fortresses as prisons; 'house of the captain of the guard' suggests that the care of prisoners was one of the duties of that official. Ebers, *Ægypten*, p. 317 ff., identifies this 'fortress' with that at Memphis, mentioned in inscriptions as the 'White Wall'; see, further, art. JOSEPH in vol. ii. p. 768^{a}, note ‖. In Egypt, in addition to the royal prisons, the great temples had prisons of their own (Erman, *Life, etc.* p. 304). Imprisonment is mentioned as a penalty; and the great gold and other mines of Ethiopia and Sinai, which were worked by convicts and captives under conditions of barbarous cruelty, were really vast prisons (Maspero, *Dawn, etc.* 337). Joseph's brethren are said (Gn $42^{17.19}$) to have been kept in custody, מִשְׁמָר, *φυλακή*.

Samson was imprisoned by the Philistines in a בֵּית הָאֲסוּרִים (Kt. אֲסִירִים) 'house of those who are bound,' *οἶκος τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου, carcer*, Jg $16^{21.25}$. The terms כֶּלֶא (בֵּית), בּ׳ כְּלִיא, בּ׳ כְּלוּא 'house of confinement,' *φυλακή*, are used of the places of imprisonment of Micaiah, 1 K 22^{27}; Hoshea (in Assyria), 2 K 17^{4}; Jehoiachin (in Babylon), 2 K 25^{27}; and Jeremiah, Jer $37^{4.18}$ etc.; also in Is $42^{7.22}$. Jeremiah's place of confinement is also called מַטָּרָה 'place of guard,' *φυλακή, carcer*; and בֵּית אֵסוּר, 37^{15}=בֵּית הָאֲסוּרִים (see above, Samson). In 2 Ch 16^{10}, Jer 29^{26}, מַהְפֶּכֶת (AV 'prison,' *φυλακή*), etc., should be 'stocks.' Zedekiah was imprisoned at Babylon in a בֵּית פְּקֻדָּה 'house of inspection,' *οἰκία μύλωνος, domo carceris*, Jer 52^{11}. Other terms used are מַסְגֵּר 'enclosure,' *ὀχύρωμα, φυλακή*, etc. *carcer*, Ps 142^{7}, Is 24^{22} 42^{7}; עֹצֶר, rather 'oppression,' Is 53^{8}; מִשְׁמָר='ward, custody,' Gn 42^{19}. 'Prison' is supplied in Is 61^{1}. The case of Samson suggests buildings like the Roman *ergastulum*, in which malefactors and slaves were confined and kept at work. Jeremiah's prison was at one time part of the palace, 32^{2}, cf. 37^{21}, 1 K 22^{27}, Neh 3^{25}, 2 K 25^{27}; at another a private house, Jer 37^{15}. As מַטָּרָה in Jer 32^{2}='guardhouse,' it seems that the care of prisoners was one of the duties of the body-guard, and that the prisoners were confined in rooms attached to their quarters. The 'pit' (בּוֹר, Jer 38^{6-11}, cf. Gn 37^{24}) may have been an empty cistern, or possibly an *oubliette*.

Our available evidence points to places of confinement being parts of palaces, temples, fortresses, etc., rather than special buildings set apart for the purpose. For the crimes punished by confinement, and the conditions and treatment of prisoners, see CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS in vol. i. p. 525, *s.* 'Imprisonment.'

In NT, John the Baptist (Mt 14^{3} etc.), Peter (Ac 5^{19} etc.), Paul and Silas (16^{23} etc.), and others were confined in a *φυλακή* 'prison, place of guarding'; John (Mt 11^{2}), Paul, etc. (Ac 16^{26}) in a *δεσμωτήριον* 'prison,' 'place of bonds.' The apostles (Ac 5^{21-23}) were confined in the *δεσμωτήριον*, also *τήρησις* (5^{18}) 'place of keeping.' In Ac 12^{7} *οἴκημα* 'house,' is tr^{d} 'prison.' According to Jos. (*Ant.* XVIII. v. 2), John was imprisoned at the royal fortress of Machærus. The prison at Jerusalem mentioned in Ac 5 was under the control of the priests, and probably attached to the temple or the high priest's palace. Paul was imprisoned in the fort Antonia (Ac 23^{10}) at Jerusalem, in the Prætorium (or Palace) of Herod at Cæsarea (Ac 23^{35}). At Rome he was allowed to live in his 'own hired house' (Ac 28^{30}), doubtless in charge of a soldier. Before his trial, however, he may have been transferred to prison, perhaps the *carcer* specially so called (named in mediæval times *Mamertinus*), and consisting of a larger oblong upper storey and a smaller circular underground dungeon—the *Tullianum*. This *carcer* may have been Paul's place of confinement in his second imprisonment. Cf. 'Carcer' in Smith's *Dict. of Class. Antiquities.*

On 'the spirits in prison' of 1 P 3^{19} see vol. i. p. 754^{a} and vol. iii. p. 795. W. H. BENNETT.

PRIVY, PRIVILY.—These words, which came into the Eng. language through the Old Fr. *prive*, have now been displaced (except in some compounds) by 'private,' 'privately,' which were taken direct from the Lat. *privatus*, and which are also found in AV. Cf. Mk 4^{22} Tind. 'There is nothinge so prevy that shall not be opened' (AV 'nothing hid which shall not be manifested'); Jn 7^{10} Tind. 'Then went he also up unto the feast; not openly, but as it were prevely' (AV 'in secret'); Erasmus, *Exposition of the Crede*, 'By the spirite he doth understand and meane privye or secrete grace of faythe'; More, *Utopia*, 43, 'Howe should a man, that in no parte of his apparell is like other men, flye prevelie and unknowen?'

To be privy to a thing (1 K 2^{44}, Ac 5^{2}) is simply to have a knowledge of it. Cf. Calderwood, *History of the Church of Scotland*, 140, 'Argile came to St. Andrews the day following, privie, as appeared, to the purpose'; *Bishops' Bible*, Ps 19^{11} 'Who can knowe his owne errours? Oh clense thou me from those that I am not privie of'; Spenser, *Shep. Cal.* viii. 153—

> 'Ye carelesse byrds are privie to my cries.'

J. HASTINGS.

PROCHORUS (Πρόχορος).—One of the 'seven' appointed, Ac 6^{5}. Later tradition made him bishop of Nicomedia, and a martyr at Antioch. He was commemorated by the Latins on April 9, by the Greeks on July 28. See Baronius, i. *ad ann.* 44; *Acta Sanctorum*, Ap., i. 818. There is published in *Magna Bibliotheca Patrum*, Colon. Agr. 1618, i. 49–69, a spurious *Historia Prochori, Christi Discipuli, de vita B. Ioannis Apostoli.*

A. C. HEADLAM.

PROCONSUL (Lat. *proconsul*; Gr. ἀνθύπατος).—The technical term for the governor of a senatorial province, used Ac $13^{7. 8. 12}$ of Sergius Paulus in Cyprus; 18^{12} of Gallio at Corinth; 19^{38} of the governors of Asia. Some little difficulty has been felt by the use of the plural in the last case, but it quite normally expresses what is habitual: 'If any man has a definite charge, there are law courts and judges,' as we should say. The proconsuls were of two classes—those who were ex-consuls, viz. the rulers of Asia and Africa, who were therefore correctly (according to republican usage) proconsuls, and those who were only ex-prætors. For fuller details see under PROVINCE.

A. C. HEADLAM.

PROCURATOR.—The technical term to describe the office held by Pontius Pilate and the other governors of Judæa. The word means originally a bailiff or steward; under the empire it was used for the imperial officials, sometimes of equestrian rank, sometimes only freedmen, who were appointed in the provinces to collect the imperial revenue or *fiscus*. In imperial provinces they managed the whole of the revenue; in senatorial provinces, where there were quæstors, only that part which belonged to the emperor. Even in senatorial provinces their authority had a tendency gradually to increase, and they obtained judicial powers in revenue cases; but in addition to that there were certain provinces which were governed directly by a procurator, who possessed all the powers of an ordinary governor. The provinces so governed were usually those in a transitional state—provinces which had not been thoroughly romanized, and were passing from the rule of one of the *reges socii* to the conditions of a province. The following provinces were governed in this way (at any rate at certain periods):—Mauritania, Rhætia, Noricum, Thrace, Cappadocia, the Maritime Alps, the Alps of Savoy, and Judæa. These provinces, governed by procurators, were in some sense subordinate to the governor of the neighbouring province: for instance, Cappadocia was subordinate to Galatia, and Judæa to Syria. With this limitation, the procurator had the full power of the governor. He commanded such troops as were within his province, he held the power of life and death, and full judicial, administrative, and financial authority.

The technical term in connexion with Judæa is given in Tacitus, *Annal.* xv. 44: *Christus Tiberio imperitante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio adfectus est.* The proper Greek translation would be ἐπίτροπος, but in the NT we find the vaguer term ἡγεμών, which might include rulers of other categories (Mt $27^{2. 11. 14. 15. 21. 27}$ 28^{14}, Lk 3^{1} 20^{20}, Ac $23^{24. 26. 33}$ $24^{1. 10}$ 26^{30}). In Josephus we find both ἐπίτροπος and ἡγεμών.

A. C. HEADLAM.

PROFANE.—The Eng. word comes from Lat. *profanus* (through Fr. *profane*), which is taken to be *pro* 'before' and *fanum* 'the temple,' hence outside the temple limits,[*] outside the limits of that which is holy, unholy, secular.[†]

The incorrect spelling *prophane* became common in the 16th cent., and is the spelling in the 1611 ed. of AV everywhere except Ezk $23^{38. 39}$, 1 Mac 3^{51}, 2 Mac 6^{5}, Ac 24^{6}.

The Heb. word so tr^{d} in AV is חִלֵּל to pollute, with its derivatives חֹל pollution, and חָלָל (adj.) polluted. Once also (Jer 23^{11}) the verb [חָנֵף], and once (Jer 23^{15}) its deriv. חֲנֻפָּה are tr^{d} '[is] profane' and 'profaneness.' AVm gives 'hypocrisy' in the second passage, Amer. RV prefers 'ungodliness.' In Greek, the verb is βεβηλόω and the adj. βέβηλος. The subst. βεβήλωσις is thrice (Jth $4^{3. 12}$, 1 Mac 1^{48}) tr^{d} 'profanation.' The ptcp. ἀποδιεσταλμένος is also tr^{d} 'profane' in 2 Mac 6^{5} (RV 'abominable'). In 2 Mac 4^{13} the subst. tr^{d} 'profaneness' is ἀναγνεία. Finally in 2 Es we find the vb. *profanare* tr^{d} 'to profane' (10^{22}), and the adv. *irreligiose* tr^{d} 'profanely' (15^{8}). See UNCLEAN, UNCLEANNESS.

J. HASTINGS.

PROFESS, PROFESSION.—The verb to 'profess' and the subst. 'profession' have acquired a narrow 'professional' meaning; in AV they still have the sense of 'speak out,' 'declare openly' (from *profiteri*, ptcp. *professus*). Thus Dt 26^{3} 'I profess this day unto the Lord thy God, that I am come unto the country which the Lord sware unto our fathers for to give us' (הִגַּדְתִּי); Mt 7^{23} 'And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you' (ὁμολογήσω αὐτοῖς); 1 Ti 6^{12} 'Thou hast professed a good profession before many witnesses' (ὡμολόγησας τὴν καλὴν ὁμολογίαν, RV 'didst confess the good confession'); He 3^{1} 'Consider the Apostle and High Priest of our profession' (τῆς ὁμολογίας ἡμῶν, RV 'of our confession,' that is, says Rendall, 'whom our Christian confession of faith acknowledges in this character').

J. HASTINGS.

PROGNOSTICATOR.—In Is 47^{13} the 'monthly prognosticators' (מוֹדִיעִים לֶחֳדָשִׁים, AVm 'that give knowledge concerning the months') are mentioned along with the 'astrologers' and the 'star-gazers' as unable to help Babylon in her hour of need. The meaning of לֶחֳדָשִׁים is probably 'at (the) new moons,' the reference being to the forecasts which it was usual to make at that season of what was likely to happen during the coming month. The lucky and unlucky days of each month were duly noted in the Assyrian and Babylonian calendars, and reports were given in monthly by the official astronomers and astrologers (cf. Sayce in *TSBA* iii. p. 229, and see also art. ASTROLOGY in vol. i. p. 194^{a}). The LXX has nothing answering to '*monthly* prognosticators,' the text reading in such a way that the 'astrologers' are called on to stand forth and save their votaries, and the 'star-gazers' are challenged to make known (ἀναγγειλάτωσαν, representing somehow מוֹדִיעִים) what is going to happen.

J. A. SELBIE.

PROLOGUE.—The Book of Sirach opens with a preface by the author's grandson, which bears in BA the title πρόλογος (C πρ. Σιράχ, ℵ om.). For its contents see art. SIRACH. The opening verses of the Fourth Gospel are also frequently called the Prologue to that Gospel. See JOHN (GOSPEL OF).

PROMISE.—The word 'promise' is used in Scripture with the same latitude as in language generally, but the present art. takes account only of the technical or semi-technical sense of it which comes into view when we read of 'the promise' without any qualification. God is the author of the promise, and it is spontaneously put forth on His part; this is what is signified by ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι as opposed to ὑπισχνεῖσθαι, the latter signifying *to come under an obligation, as part of a contract.* The promise was originally given to Abraham; and though, in its largest scope, it covers the whole future guaranteed to him by God, it is defined at different times in different ways. Sometimes the thing promised is the possession of a country—Canaan is 'the land of the promise' (He 11[9]); sometimes it is the birth of a son or of a numerous posterity, a seed like the stars of heaven or the dust of the earth (Gn 13[16] 15[5])—Isaac is the first of 'the children of the promise' (Ro 9[8]); more generally it is a divinely-secured greatness and felicity so conspicuous that all nations will make it a standard of congratulation (Gn 12[2f.]). The OT, though the promises of God may be said to be the contents of His covenant (so that St. Paul speaks of 'the covenants of the promise,' Eph 2[12]), does not make much use of this category to interpret the experience of Israel. The future of the nation does depend on God, but it is seldom related to His 'promise' in the technical sense with which we are here concerned. There is an approach to the general idea in Jer 29[11] 'I know the thoughts that I think toward you, saith the Lord, thoughts of peace and not of evil, *to give you a future and a hope.*' This conception of some good unrealized, but to be realized through faith in the sure word of God, is what is meant by the promise. But there is a nearer approach still to the technical sense in Ps 105[42] 'He remembered *his holy word, and Abraham his servant.*' The whole future of Israel, all the deliverances wrought for it, are here conceived as bound up in something which God said to Abraham; the history of the nation is the revelation of what was involved in the primitive promise, and not only its revelation but its fulfilment. It is a witness to God's faithfulness to His word.

---

[*] Cf. Ezk 42^{20} 'to make a separation between the sanctuary and the profane place.'

[†] Cf. Tymme's tr. of Calvin's *Genesis*, on 47^{7} 'When Jacob is saide to blesse the king, Moses thereby meaneth not a common and prophane salutation, but a godlie and holie prayer of the servant of God.'

It is at this point that the NT takes up the idea. We see in the *Magnificat* and in the *Benedictus* how pious souls in Israel were preoccupied with it: 'He hath holpen Israel his servant *that he might remember mercy* (*as he spake unto our fathers*) *toward Abraham and his seed for ever*' (Lk 1[54f.], cf. v.[73] '*the oath which he sware unto Abraham our father*,' etc.). In NT times, however, the significance of the promise was determined *ex eventu*; it had been at last fulfilled in Christ, and it was by looking at Christ that men discovered what it meant. 'For how many soever are the promises of God [the separate blessings into which the one all-embracing ἐπαγγελία can be resolved] in him is the Yea,' that is, the Divine confirmation and fulfilment of them all (2 Co 1[20]). The substance of NT teaching on this subject can be arranged under these heads: (1) the contents of the promise; (2) the heirs of it; (3) the conditions of its fulfilment.

(1) The *contents* of the promise are always related to Christ, but they are defined in various ways under the influence of various OT ideas. Sometimes the original idea of a 'country of our own' reappears, a land in which we shall not be strangers and pilgrims as on earth, 'a city with foundations,' rather 'the city with the foundations,' a rest like the Sabbath rest of God, into which we may enter after we have traversed the wilderness, an eternal inheritance. This may be said to be the aspect of the promise which pervades the Epistle to the Hebrews. See He 11[9-16] 4[1] 9[15]. In the preaching of St. Peter, as we find it in the early chapters of Acts, it is the Risen Jesus, made by God 'both Lord and Christ,' in whom the promise has been fulfilled, and its contents may be said to be mainly the two divinely-bestowed possessions of the Christian Church—the forgiveness of sins and the gift of the Holy Ghost. The latter is specially spoken of as 'the promise of the Father' (Lk 24[49], Ac 1[4]); Jesus has received from the Father 'the promise of the Spirit' (Ac 2[33]), and it is with this in view that St. Peter says, 'the promise is unto you and your children' (2[39]). There is no doubt here a reference to the fact that Jesus had promised to send the Spirit to His disciples; but the last passage quoted shows how this special promise of Jesus coalesced in the apostle's mind with the great Messianic promises in which the future of Israel was assured.—When we pass to St. Paul we find at first a general conception of the same character. The promise made to the fathers God has fulfilled in all its import (ἐκπεπλήρωκεν, Ac 13[33]) by raising up Jesus—the raising up having reference either to the bringing of Jesus on to the stage of history, or to the Resurrection; in either case it is 'according to promise' that God has 'brought to Israel the Saviour Jesus' (Ac 13[23]). At a much later date, as he stands before Agrippa, St. Paul can represent himself as involved in such troubles 'for the hope of the promise made by God to our fathers' (Ac 26[6], cf. 28[20] 'for the hope of Israel I am bound with this chain'). The hope of Israel, all that God has promised to do for it, is in these passages regarded as bound up in the Risen and Exalted Jesus. What the content of that hope is, it would require an exposition of all the apostle's theology to show; for Christ and the promise are practically synonymous terms. All that is in Christ is meant by the promise; all the promises of God are summed up in Christ. Special aspects of this are set in relief by St. Paul as by other NT writers. Thus he speaks of Christians as sealed with the Holy Spirit of the promise (Eph 1[13]), and as receiving the promise of the Spirit through faith (Gal 3[14]). The gift of the Spirit has something of promise in it; it is the earnest of a heavenly inheritance, an inheritance with the saints in the light (Eph 1[14], Col 1[12]); as the spirit of sonship it is the assurance that we are joint heirs with Christ, and shall yet be conformed to the image of God's exalted Son (Ro 8[15-17]), and have an entrance into that kingdom of God which for St. Paul is always a transcendent and glorious mode of being. In Gal 3 'the promise of the Spirit,' or the Spirit as the essential blessing of the promise, has its peculiar value in this, that it is the principle of a new life and righteousness to which sinful men could never attain on any other terms.—Other references to the promise in the NT are more dubious, though Tit 1[2] Ja 1[12] 2[5] (the crown of life, the kingdom which God hath promised to them that love Him) are in the line of that conception of the promise which was common to St. Paul with all primitive Christians. On the other hand, a distinctively Johannine thought has availed itself of this mode of expression in 1 Jn 2[25].

(2) The second question concerns the *heirs* of the promise: to whom is it given? It was given at first to Abraham, or to Abraham and his seed. Isaac and Jacob were 'heirs with him of the same promise' (He 11[9]). It might seem as if 'the seed of Abraham' were an expression not capable of two interpretations, and yet the proper interpretation of it was the great subject of controversy in the primitive Church. Even when the promise was seen to be fulfilled in Jesus, it seemed obvious to say that it was fulfilled to Israel—that Israel alone had a part in it. Even St. Paul can say that Jesus Christ was a minister of the circumcision, on behalf of the truth of God, to confirm the promises of the fathers, *i.e.* belonging to the fathers, because made to them (Ro 15[8]). In enumer-

ating the prerogatives of Israel, he says frankly, 'to whom belong the promises' (Ro 9^4). In describing the pre-Christian condition of a Gentile Church he says its members had been 'strangers to the covenants of the promise,' and therefore without hope. No pagan people had that kind of assurance as to its own future which pious Israelites derived from the word of God, and hence the pessimism with which paganism generally contemplated the issues of human existence. It was the work of St. Paul to show that the promise was not subject to physical or historical limitations, and that no physical or historical accident, such as Jewish birth or upbringing, could give one a claim as of right against God for its fulfilment. The chief passages in which he deals with the problem are Gal 3 and Ro 9–11. In the former he discusses rather the conditions on which the promise is inherited, to which we shall refer below, and comes to the conclusion that all who are Christ's by faith are Abraham's seed, the Israel of God, and heirs according to promise. In the latter he is confronted with the fact that the promise—to judge by the results of his own preaching—is not being fulfilled to those to whom it belongs, and is being fulfilled (according to him) to those to whom it does not belong. What strikes one most in this extraordinary passage is the extent to which St. Paul's heart is on the side of those against whom he argues. Thus, after proving in ch. 9 that no man can claim unconditionally that God shall fulfil the promise to him, and in ch. 10 that the Jews, by persistent disobedience, have forfeited all title to be counted God's people and the heirs of His promise, he falls back in ch. 11 on the abstract theological principle that the gifts and calling of God are without repentance. It is as if he said—After all, there is no denying that Israel is God's people. God has given them the promise, and He cannot deny Himself. In spite of all their unbelief they are beloved for the fathers' sakes; God will remember His oath to Abraham, and 'so all Israel shall be saved.' Such faith may well seem bewildering to Gentiles who calmly assume that the promise is their own *ab initio*, and ignore even the historic prerogative of the Jew. But to the last the Jew was to St. Paul the root, the first-fruits; and the Gentiles were only *συμμέτοχα τῆς ἐπαγγελίας* (Eph 3^6), not its original and proper heirs.—In later NT writings the echoes of this conflict die away, and the scope of the promise is universalized as instinctively as Christ is felt to be Lord of all. 'The promise,' in short, is a historically conditioned way of conceiving the grace of God, and once the critical stage had been passed—as it was in St. Paul's lifetime—the discussions as to its range lost interest. Men could question who were the true heirs of the promise, but not under the same forms who were the objects of the redeeming love of God in Christ.

(3) The *conditions* on which the promise are fulfilled are discussed in various connexions. As already remarked, the very idea of *ἐπαγγελία* is spontaneity on the part of the promiser. The promise is of grace. In Ro 4 and Gal 3 St. Paul labours to show that it is subject to no control on the part of law, or of works of law. In Galatians he gives a historical proof of this. The promise was given to Abraham, and to his faith, 430 years before the law was heard of; and this late intrusion of law, whatever it may mean, cannot mean that we must *earn* the fulfilment of the promise; if this were the case it would be an *ἐπαγγελία*—a free spontaneous motion on the part of God—no more. In Ro 4 the proof is rather speculative or experimental than historical. Certain ideas and experiences hang together, and certain others do not. Promise, grace, and faith are parts of one whole; wages, debt, and works are parts of another whole; but these two wholes, and the parts of them, exclude each other. Hence the promise, in all the fulness of its content, explained above, is fulfilled, not to works of law, not to merit, but to faith in Jesus Christ. All that God holds out to us becomes ours as in faith we attach ourselves to Him. Where the blessings of salvation are presented as 'promise,' there is always, of course, the suggestion that they are not yet realized, and hence faith (when this conception is prominent, as in the Epistle to the Hebrews) assumes some of the characteristics of hope and of patience. We read of those who 'through faith and patience' inherit the promises; we have 'need of patience' that after 'having done the will of God' we may receive the promise (He 6^{13} 10^{36}). It is part of the heroism of faith that having God's promise to go upon it can maintain a strong conviction as to the things it hopes for, and give reality to things unseen (He 11^1). It is the mark of an evil time that scoffers ask, in regard to the one great promise of the NT, *ποῦ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπαγγελία τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ*, 2 P 3^4.

J. DENNEY.

PROPER.—Like the Lat. *proprium*, from which it is derived through the Fr. *propre*, 'proper' means *one's own*. Thus Udall, *Erasmus' Paraphrase*, i. 77, 'Onely God chaungeth the myndes and heartes of riche men, that they will cherefully eyther cast awaie that which they doe possesse, or els possesse them as common and not proper'; Tindale, *Expositions*, 124, 'Forsooth I have no goods, nor anything proper, or that is mine own; it is the convent's'; Rhem. NT, note on Mt 9^5 'The faithlesse Jewes thought (as Heretikes now a daies) that to forgeve sinnes was so proper to God, that it could not be communicated unto man'; and especially Adams, *Works*, i. 69, 'Salvation is common, as St Jude speaketh, ver. 3, "When I gave all diligence to write unto you of the common salvation"; but few make it proper to themselves: that God is *my* salvation and *thy* salvation, this is the comfort.' This meaning occurs in AV five times. For 1 Ch 29^3 see PECULIAR. The other instances are Wis 18^{21} 19^6, Ac 1^{19}, 1 Co 7^7. The Gr. is always *ἴδιος*. RV adds Wis 2^{23} and Jude ^{6} where the Gr. is also *ἴδιος*.[*]

Another meaning, a derivative of the above, is 'of good appearance,' 'handsome,' as in Fuller's *Holy War*, ii., 'What a pitie is it to see a proper Gentleman to have such a crick in his neck that he cannot look backward'; and in *Holy State*, 319, of the 'Embassadour,' he says 'He is of a proper, at least passable person.' This is the sense of 'proper' in He 11^{23} 'By faith Moses, when he was born, was hid three months of his parents, because they saw he was a proper child' (*ἀστεῖον τὸ παιδίον*; RV 'goodly'—see FAIR).

J. HASTINGS.

PROPHECY AND PROPHETS.—Under this heading four subjects fall to be treated: the history of prophecy; the psychology of prophecy; the prophetic teaching; and the verification in history of the prophetic ideas of the future.

A. *THE HISTORY OF PROPHECY.*
  - i. THE ORIGIN OF PROPHECY.
  - ii. THE NAME PROPHET.
  - iii. HISTORICAL STEPS.
    1. The Age of Samuel.
    2. The Early Monarchy.
    3. The Age of the Literary Prophets.
    4. The Decline and Expiry of Prophecy.

B. *THE PROPHETIC MIND.*
  - i. THE IDEA OF THE PROPHET.
  - ii. INSPIRATION.
  - iii. THE FALSE PROPHETS.

---

[*] See Deissmann on *ἴδιος* in *Bibelstudien*, p. 120 f. (Eng. tr. p. 123 f.).

- C. *THE TEACHING OF THE PROPHETS.*
    - i. GENERAL TEACHING.
    - ii. PREDICTIVE PROPHECY.
        - 1. Prediction in General.
        - 2. Messianic Prophecy.
- D. *INTERPRETATION AND FULFILMENT OF PROPHECY.*
    - i. PROPHECY POETICAL AND IDEAL.
    - ii. PROPHECY MORAL AND CONTINGENT.
    - iii. PROPHECY NATIONAL AND RELATIVE LIKE OT RELIGION.

A. *THE HISTORY OF PROPHECY.*—Hebrew prophecy, though the deepest movement of the human spirit and in many ways the most mysterious, has, like other movements of the spirit, a history. There is the period of its obscure beginnings; the period of its highest purity and loftiest achievements; and the period of its decline and expiry, when its work being accomplished other agencies in the education of mankind took its place. Its expiry can be spoken of only in the sense that it ceased to be a creative power; its results remain an imperishable heritage of the race, and the agencies in Israel that succeeded it, such as scribes and proverbialists or wise men, were only the conduits and channels that distributed the waters of its great stream over the individuals of the nation.

i. ORIGIN OF PROPHECY.—Something to which the general name of prophecy might be given seems to have existed among all peoples. It originated from beliefs or feelings common to men everywhere, such as (1) that there was a supernatural, a God or gods, on whose will and power the wellbeing and the destiny of men depended; (2) that these supernatural powers had communion with men and gave them intimations of their will and their purposes; and (3) that these intimations were not given to men indiscriminately, but to certain favoured men, who communicated them to others. Having these beliefs, ordinary men or States desirous of living or acting in accordance with the mind of the deity, and particularly when in perplexity in regard to what lay in the future, had recourse to those through whom the deity spoke, and consulted them.

The supernatural powers, it was supposed, gave intimation of their will and disposition towards men in two ways: (1) in an external way, by objective signs or *omens* in the region of nature, as by the flight or cry of birds. These creatures coming from heaven were the bearers of a message from heaven. Other creatures also were the means of significant indications from the deity, for example, in the way they met a man, or the side, the right or the left, from which they crossed before him.* In all countries the sacrificial victim offered to the gods was held to exhibit signs from them, particularly in the convulsive movements of the liver and entrails of the freshly slain creature (Ezk 21). Less commonly omens were observed outside the animal world, *e.g.* in the rustling of the leaves of trees (Dodona; cf. Gn 12^{6}, Jg 9^{37}, 2 S 5^{24}). In the East the movements and conjunctions of the stars were regarded as prophetic, though in this case the influence on man's destiny may have been supposed to be exerted by the stars themselves, which, however, were often identified with deities. (2) Besides this external or objective revelation, there was an inward revelation given in the mind of man. In this case the deity possessed the man, inspired him, and spoke through him. It is possible, indeed, that the animal omens may have sometimes been regarded as forms assumed by the deity or as possessed by him. And from the curious feelings of antiquity regarding the *rapport* existing between animals and men, the animals may sometimes have been supposed to come to men not as messengers of the deity, but on their own impulse, knowing themselves what they told to men (W. R. Smith, *RS*^{2} 443). But this, if true, belongs to a different circle of ideas. Examples of this second kind of revelation are common in the heathen world, as the Pythia in Greece, the *kâhin* in Arabia, the sibyl, and the like. Even in Greece this inward inspiration was considered something higher than divination by omens, and in ancient times, at least, the Oracle subserved high ethical and national ends. The divine omens were not intelligible to ordinary men, hence they required persons either of special endowment, or of skill acquired from tradition or by practice, to interpret them. Such persons, augurs, soothsayers, diviners, or prognosticators (Is 47), might be called prophets of the deity to men. The Pythia, being wholly overpowered by the deity, uttered her oracles with no consciousness of their meaning. The oracles were often enigmatic, requiring an interpreter. The interpreter was called *prophet* (προφήτης, in which the *pro* is not temporal).

The methods of divination practised in Israel will have more affinity with those usual among the Shemitic peoples than with those of the general heathen world.* The feelings prevalent in the East appear from the fact that a message from the deity might be brought to one by a person of another nation (Jg 3^{20}, 2 K 3$^{12ff.}$); from the frequent mention of diviners, as among the Philistines (1 S 6^{2}, Is 2^{6}), and of localities to which they had given names (Jg 7^{1} 9^{37}); from the weight laid on omens (Jg 6^{37} 7^{5}, 2 S 5^{24}), and particularly on dreams (Jg 7$^{11ff.}$, 1 S 28^{6}); and from the use of the oracle by the sacred lot (Jg 8^{27} 17^{5} 18^{5}, Ezk 21^{21}). An exhaustive list of the practices appears to be given in Dt 18$^{10.11}$. The passage states that the practices were in use among the aboriginal tribes which Israel dispossessed; but as these tribes had been absorbed into Israel and formed one people with it, the practices no doubt continued to maintain themselves in Israel. The difference might be that they were now performed in the name of *J″*, and not in that of the native deities. The terms describing the practices are used by Heb. writers rather indiscriminately, but perhaps three distinct forms can be discovered: (1) the oracle gained by certain methods from a god or idol (קסם), (2) interpretation of omens (נחשׁ), and (3) utterances of one possessed or inspired by the deity. (1) The oracle was common, perhaps, to most of the Shemitic peoples; at least it appears in Arabia and Babylon, as well as in Israel. Mesha of Moab, too, states that Chemosh gave him commandments, but the method of receiving them is not indicated (cf. Ezk 21^{29}). Lots (which were usually headless arrows or rods) were shaken and drawn in the presence of the idol, *e.g.* Hobal at Mecca, and the teraphim (one image) by Nebuchadnezzar (Ezk 21^{21}). The question put by the inquirer usually took the form of an alternative, 'yes' or 'no,' 'this' or 'that,' though several possibilities might be proposed. In the story of Nebuchadnezzar the alternative was 'Rabbath-ammon' or 'Jerusalem,' and the decision came out 'Jerusalem.' In method the sacred lot in Israel, Urim and Tummim, did not differ. This also gave a reply to an alternative proposed. It is possible that LXX of 1 S 14$^{41.42}$ suggests the original reading: 'And Saul said, If the guilt be in me or in Jonathan my son, give Urim, O Lord God of Israel; but if thou say it is in my people Israel, give Tummim.' The first time Saul and Jonathan were taken and Israel left; the second time Jonathan was taken and Saul left. The form of the sacred lot is unknown, and in later times its real nature seems to have been forgotten. Nebuchadnezzar drew the lots before the teraphim, certainly an image. In Israel the ephod was used, and hence the ephod is supposed by many to have been an image of *J″*. Ephod and teraphim are named together (Jg 17^{5}, Hos 3^{4}), but it remains uncertain whether they were things different though used together, or things of the same class, the two names being cumulative, or the one used as interpretative of the other. In the time of Saul and David the ephod was in common use; later it fell into desuetude. Hosea, however, mentions it as one of the appliances of religion in his day, and certainly not with approbation (3^{4}). If the root *ḳaṣam* originally referred to this particular kind of divination, its use ceased to be exact. Saul uses the word of divination by the *'ôb* (1 S 28^{8}), and the canonical prophets call the false prophets *ḳôsĕmîm*, diviners, and their oracles *ḳeṣem*, divination (pl. *ḳĕsāmîm*), even when these prophets spoke (as they thought) by inspiration of *J″* or by dreams. (2) The root *naḥash* (used in Piel נִחֵשׁ) appears to be used properly of divination from omens. Joseph divined with a cup, the significant indications being afforded by the play of light in the fluid, or by the bells and movements of the fluid itself, or, as some think, by the behaviour of oil poured into the cup of water (Gn 44$^{5.15}$). The word as well as its noun is used of divination by omens, but the different kinds of omen are not discriminated (Lv 19^{26}, Nu 23^{23} 24^{1}); in an enfeebled sense the word meant to infer from signs or indications generally (Gn 30^{27}, 1 K 20^{33}). (3) Oracles by inspiration or possession by deity were common to the heathen and to Israel. And here manticism and prophecy come in contact. The two agree in form, and have to be distinguished by other tokens, *e.g.* by the god in whose name the oracle was given, and perhaps by the fact that in the mantic ecstasy the consciousness was overpowered and lost, while in prophecy there was only exaltation of mind and loss of the consciousness of external things.

---

* Ahlwardt, *Chalef el Aḥmar*, p. 45 ff.

* An excellent account of general heathen manticism is given in K. Köbler, *Der Prophetismus der Hebräer, u. die Mantik der Griechen*, 1860. The work of P. Scbolz, *Götzendienst u. Zauberwesen bei den alten Hebräern u. den benachbarten Völkern*, 1877, is less critical.

The other things mentioned in Dt $18^{10ff.}$ are of the nature of magic or sorcery, and were always proscribed in the religion of J″ (Ex 22^{18}, 1 S $28^{3.9}$), though they continued in Israel till very late times. Saul names as legitimate sources of knowledge of the will of the deity, dreams, Urim, and prophets (1 S 28^{6}). Unlike divination, which seeks to ascertain the mind of the deity, magic was a means of binding superhuman powers (chiefly demonic or chthonian), either to restrain them from injuring oneself, or to constrain them to injure others, and put them under a spell, or to reveal what to mortal man was unknown. The magical means might be—(1) protective, such as amulets (Gn 35^{4}, Is $3^{3.19}$); or (2) both protective and constraining, such as formulas of incantation (Ps $58^{4f.}$, Dt 18^{11}, Is $47^{9.12}$); and (3) necromancy. The last had several forms: (*a*) consulting the *'ôb*, (*b*) consulting the *yid'ōni*, and (*c*) consulting the dead. The forms (*a*) and (*b*) are embraced in (*c*), though whether they exhaust (*c*) is somewhat uncertain (Is 8^{19} 29^{4}, Lv 20^{27}). Cf. W. R. Smith, *Jour. of Philology*, vol. xiii. 273 ff., xiv. 113 ff.; and Driver on Dt $18^{10ff.}$.

ii. THE NAME PROPHET.—In 1 S 9^{9} it is said, 'He that is now called "the prophet" (נביא *nābî'*) was beforetime called "the seer" (ראה *rô'eh*).' The passage is an annotation, much later in date than the context, and cannot have been written before the name 'prophet' had been long current and attached to a succession of men. The radical meaning of the word *nābî'* is uncertain. Two terms are used for 'seer,' *rô'eh* and *ḥôzeh* (חזה), though without difference of sense. The annotator's remark might be supposed an inference from the fact that in the ancient record before him Samuel is called 'the seer.' Still that fact is of importance; and the possibility that there was a time when the word 'seer' was in common use may seem supported by the other fact that the word 'vision' (חזון, חזיון, etc.) connected with 'seer' is used all down the literature for 'prophecy,' the term 'prophecy' (*nĕbû'ah*) connected with 'prophet' being a late word (Neh 6^{12}, 2 Ch 9^{29} 15^{8}). Much weight may not be due to this consideration, and on the other side may be urged the extraordinary rarity of the word 'seer,' though this again may be explained by supposing that all references to early times in which 'seer' might have been expected to occur belong to writings which are posterior to the time when the word 'prophet' had become the usage.* The author of the annotation 1 S 9^{9} is familiar with 'prophets' who were great isolated personages, like Elijah and probably the canonical prophets; and he considers the 'seer' Samuel to have been quite like one of these. This is certainly true of Samuel, though how far true of other seers of his day, if such existed, may be doubtful. The seer was an isolated personage like the great prophets. But, further, the characteristic of the true 'prophet' was that he pursued national religious ends. Samuel did this with more splendid initiative than the greatest of his successors. He created the nation by giving it a king; they only sought to preserve it. But the seers of his day, if there was such a class, may have ministered rather to personal and private interests, as Samuel himself seems to have done on some occasions (1 S 9). In 1 S 3^{1} it is said that 'vision' when Samuel was young 'was not widely diffused'; but 'vision' is here used of true prophecy such as the author was familiar with in his own time. History leaves us in complete ignorance in regard to the seers. In fact, the only 'seer' we know of is Samuel, and his history is told us in a very fragmentary way. The historian gives a beautiful picture of his birth and childhood, narrating how he was dedicated by his mother to the Lord, and how J″ spoke to him in Shiloh as He did to the canonical prophets afterwards (1 S 1–3); but the narrative is suddenly broken off, and when we hear of Samuel again he is already an old man, dwelling in Ramah, and known as 'the seer.' We learn from Jer 7^{12} that the house at Shiloh was at some time completely overthrown—no doubt at the hands of the Philistines; and Samuel driven from there took up his abode at Ramah. Though called a priest, the rôle of prophet was that accepted by him, as it is that usually assigned to him (1 S 9^{15}, Jer 15^{1}, Ps 99^{6}, Ac 3^{24}); and it was in the exercise of his rôle as prophet—statesman in the kingdom of God—that he interfered in so decisive a manner in the national politics. It is true that the religion of J″ did not as a rule create new agencies, but served itself of those already existing, into which it infused its own spirit, which gradually threw off all heathen elements originally belonging to them. There may have been a class of 'seers' in the time of the Judges whose methods may not have been greatly unlike those in use among other Shemitic peoples. But we know nothing of them. Samuel is the only 'seer' known to history.

The meaning of the root and the form נביא is uncertain. (1) The form is not likely a *pass.* ptcp., but more probably, like קציר *harvester* and many words of similar form, has active sense. The word itself *nabî'* occurs in Arab., but may be a loan-word from Heb., as it is in other dialects (Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Korans*, p. 1). (2) The sense of the word is obscure. The root has probably no connexion with נבע *to bubble up*, as if *nābî'* were one who bubbles up under inspiration (Ges., Kuenen, *Prophets*, 42, cf. Ps 45^{1}). The root *naba'a* in Arab. means to *come forward* or into prominence, and causative (conj. ii) to *bring forward*, specially to do so by speech, *to announce*; and in Eth. *nababa* means *to speak* (Dillm. *AT Theol.* p. 475). The word *nābî'* therefore would mean *he who announces*, or brings a message. The term, however, has not in usage the general sense of announcer or speaker, but always means one who speaks from God, *i.e. a prophet*, and the Hithp. frequently means to speak in an excited manner, to rave (μαίνομαι). This connotation might suggest the question whether the root *nābā'* did not originally express some mental emotion, the reflexive forms (Niph. Hithp.) meaning to exhibit or display this emotion, as is the case with so many reflexives, *e.g.* נאנח *to groan*, התאבל *to exhibit grief*, התאנף *to show anger*. It is usually supposed, however, that the verbal forms are denominatives from *nābî'*. In this case the original verbal root would not be found in Heb., and the word *nābî'* would either be an old noun surviving after the verbal root was lost, or else a new word learned from the Canaanites. The word *nābî'* is said (1 S 9^{9}) to have become a substitute for *rô'eh* 'seer,' and unfortunately the literature is all later than the time when *nābî'* with its derivatives had become the usage. The 70 elders of Nu 11 (according to Wellhausen, *Comp.*^{2} 102 f., J working on older materials) 'prophesy' quite after the manner of the 'prophets' of the days of Samuel (1 S 10) or of Ahab (1 K 22), *i.e.* their 'prophesying' is a joint exercise. It is possible that 'prophets' of this kind may have appeared in the earliest times, though we do not hear of them. Others (*e.g.* Kuenen, *Proph.* ch. 15) are inclined to think that the name *nābî'* is Canaanite, and borrowed by the Hebrews, who applied it to the bands of enthusiasts of Samuel's day because they seemed to resemble the Canaanite 'prophets.' But the existence of Canaanite 'prophets,' *i.e.* bands of Dervish-like enthusiasts, is purely conjectural. We do not hear of such 'prophets' till 200 years later, and these are not Canaanite, but the priest-prophets of the Tyrian Baal maintained at the cost of Jezebel (1 K 18^{19}). Wellhausen (*Hist.* p. 449) remarks: 'Among the Canaanites such Nebiim—for so they are styled—had long been familiar.' It would not be easy to furnish the evidence. Again, the prophetic movement in the days of Samuel was a religious national one, and it is not just probable that the Hebrews would borrow terms from the Canaanites to describe it, particularly as the Canaanites were more than probably in league with the Philistines (1 S 31^{10}). The Can. and Heb. languages must have been virtually identical; at the same time the root-word appears to exist in Assyr., *e.g.* in Nebo the interpreter of the gods, and *nabu* to announce (Delitzsch, *Assyr. HWB*), and the term may have entered Canaan from Babylon. The date when the change from 'seer' to 'prophet' took place cannot be ascertained, and the change itself is difficult to explain. Possibly as persons of individuality and power arose among the 'prophets' they took a more independent position like that of 'seer,' though the name 'prophet' continued attached to them. Some personages like Gad bore both names (2 S 24^{11}).

The term *rô'eh* is used chiefly of Samuel, 7 times out of 9 (twice of Hanani, 2 Ch $16^{7.10}$). The word *ḥôzeh* is more common, 2 S 24^{11}, 2 K 17^{13}, Am 7^{12}, and often in the Chronicler, who affects archaic phraseology, *e.g.* 1 Ch 21^{9} (Gad), 2 Ch 9^{29} 12^{15} (Iddo), 2 Ch 19^{2} (Jehu), 2 Ch 29^{30} (Asaph), 1 Ch 25^{5} (Heman), 2 Ch 35^{15} (Jeduthun). In the plur. both *rô'îm* and *ḥôzîm* are used as parallel to 'prophets,' Is 29^{10} (a gloss), 30^{10}, Mic 3^{7}

* For example Gn 20^{7} (Abraham), Ex 15^{20} (Miriam), Nu $11^{26ff.}$ (Eldad and Medad), Dt 18^{15}, Jg 4^{4} 6^{8}, 1 S 3^{20}, cf. 2^{27}.

2 Ch $33^{18.19}$. The seers were so named from having visions, and possibly the priest Amaziah applied the name *ḥôzeh* to Amos (7^{12}) on account of the visions which he narrated ($7^{1ff.}$). On *ḥôzeh* (Arab. *ḥâzi*) cf. Hoffmann, *ZAW*, 1883, pp. 90–96; and on *kâhin* (=*ḥâzi*) Wellhausen, *Reste*^{2}, p. 130 ff.

iii. HISTORICAL STEPS.—1. *Time of Samuel.*—In the Book of Judges, beyond the reference to Deborah (Jg 4), and a 'prophet' in the days of Midianite oppression (6^7, cf. 1 S 2^{27}), nothing is said about prophets. Deborah was a 'prophetess,' and 'judged,' that is, ruled or governed, Israel. Both terms, 'prophetess' and 'judge,' imply that Deborah played a political rôle. She was a mother in Israel, and took the leadership in a national crisis. In the times of Samuel men called 'prophets' appear to have existed in great numbers.

(*a*) Those called 'prophets' in this age formed communities; they were cenobites, though not celibates (2 K 4^1). They are first mentioned in connexion with Saul at Gibeah of God, Saul's home (1 S 10^5). When dismissing him Samuel predicted that he would meet a band of prophets coming down from the high place with music, and engaged in 'prophesying' (1 S $10^{5.10}$). Another company had its home at Ramah, where Samuel himself dwelt (1 S 19^{18}). It has usually been supposed that the term *naioth* means 'dwellings,' and describes such a prophetic settlement (2 K 6^{1-7}, see NAIOTH). In the times of Elijah and Elisha other localities are mentioned as residences, *e.g.* Bethel (2 K 2^3), Jericho (2 K 2^5), and Gilgal (2 K 4^{38}, cf. 2 K 6^1). The residenters are called 'prophets' and 'sons of the prophets,' *i.e.* members of the prophetic societies (a single member is *ben-nābî*, Am 7^{14}). Between Samuel and Elijah (1 K 20^{35}) no mention is made of the 'sons of the prophets,' though it is probable that the succession was still maintained. Amos, a hundred years after Elijah, appears to be acquainted with prophetic societies (7^{14}), and at all times prophets continued to be numerous (1 K 22^6 18^4). As at the places named as residences there was a 'high place' or sanctuary, it was probably around these sanctuaries where J″ was worshipped that the prophets settled. In early times the distinction between priest and prophet does not seem to have been sharp. The Arab. *kâhin* was both seer and priest. Samuel was both priest and prophet. Jeremiah and Ezekiel both came out of priestly families. The connexion, indeed, of priests and prophets was always close (Is 8^2). Those prophets whom Jer. denounces as false act in concert with the temple priesthood. Pashhur, who put Jer. in the stocks, was prophet as well as priest (Jer 20^{1-6}); and it was the 'priests and prophets' who arraigned Jer. before the princes for blasphemy against the temple (Jer 26).

(*b*) The multiplication of 'prophets' at this epoch indicates a rising spirit of devotion to J″, and fervour in His service. Some have supposed that this new fervour and religious elevation were due to the influence of Samuel, and that the origin of the prophetic societies must be traced to him. But all that we have history for is that Samuel was in close relation with the prophetic communities. We see him on some occasions at their head (1 S 19^{20}); but that he did not usually reside among the 'prophets' appears from the statement that when David fled to him at Ramah the two together then went and dwelt at Naioth (19^{18}). It is evident that the prophets looked up to him and learned from him; but it is also evident that he felt that the impulses which moved them were common also to himself, and he was not ashamed to direct them, and share in their prophesyings (cf. Elisha, 2 K 4^{38}). It is probable, therefore, that the rise of the 'prophets' was due to something which swept both Samuel and the people into the same stream of national-religious enthusiasm.

(*c*) This can hardly have been anything else than the crisis that had arisen in the nation's fortunes. The people had been subdued by the Philistines, and were threatened with national extinction. And in Israel of this age national and religious were virtually the same thing. The idea of later prophets, that national autonomy might be lost, while the religion of J″ remained, had not yet been reached. It was J″ that created Israel, and made it a nation; faith in Him was the bond of its national existence, and the hour of the nation's peril awoke a new religious-national fervour. The nation's fortunes and history was from the beginning the great lesson-book in which men read the nature of J″ their God, and His disposition towards them (2 S $21^{1ff.}$ $24^{1ff.}$). The national disasters were evidence of J″'s anger, and they awoke the national conscience. The 'prophets' were not individual enthusiasts; they were inspired by common sentiments, and animated each other, and, as a society, reacted on the surrounding population. Their 'prophesying' was a kind of public worship at the high place or sanctuary, to which they went up with pipe and song, as continued to be done in after-days (Is 30^{29}). And the songs were not songs without words. They had religious contents, as much as those of the singers who afterwards 'prophesied with harps' in the temple (1 Ch $25^{2.3}$, cf. 2 S 23^1). However rude, they would be celebrations of 'the righteous acts of J″, the righteous acts of his rule in Israel' (Jg 5^{11}). They would be such songs as were afterwards collected in 'the Book of the Wars of J″' and in 'the Book of the Upright' (Bk. of Jashar). Some of the poetical fragments still to be found in the historical books may well belong to this age. Whether writing was practised by the 'prophets' may be uncertain (though cf. 1 Ch 29^{29}); but if they did not write, they prepared by their 'prophesying' a language for the literary prophets who came after them. In Amos, the oldest literary prophet, we find a religious nomenclature already complete; we find also in him, almost more than in his successors, the prophetic mannerism and *technique*, such as the phrases 'oracle of J″' (נאם '), 'thus saith J″,' and much else. It is not too much to suppose that it was in these 'schools of the prophets' all down the history that this nomenclature and technique were formed.

(*d*) The new prophetism was a national-religious movement, though the emphasis lay on the religious aspect of it. Like their great successors, the prophets hoped that the national restitution would be the shape in which the religious regeneration would verify itself. Nevertheless, the national claimed expression. The monarchy was the creation of prophecy, not merely in the sense that the prophet Samuel, by inspiration of J″, gave the people a king. The national direction of prophecy embodied itself in the kingship. The first king of Israel was a prophet as well as the second. When Saul turned to go from Samuel, God gave him another heart, and when he met the prophets the spirit of God came on him and he prophesied. His excitation was not mere contagious sympathy. There was mind under it; it was the thought awakened by Samuel of his high destiny and of the task before him taking fire from contact with the national-religious enthusiasm of the prophets. The exclamation of the populace, Is Saul also among the prophets? has been taken as an expression of wonder that a solid yeoman like Saul should join himself to a company of ranting enthusiasts. This view is wholly improbable. It was not in this way that religious exaltation was looked on in the East. It was just the visible excitation that suggested to the onlooker that the enthusiast was possessed by the deity. Even the insane, just because he had no mastery over his mind, which seemed moved by another, was held inspired. A multitude of passages show the popular reverence for the prophets, *e.g.* 2 K 4$^{\text{1ff. 8ff.}}$ (cf. 6^{1} 9^{1}), particularly 2 K 4$^{\text{42ff.}}$ which describes how a person 'brought the man of God bread of the first fruits,' as people did to the sanctuary of J″ (cf. 1 K 12$^{\text{21ff.}}$). Neither can Amos' disclaimer of being a prophet or one of the sons of the prophets mean that 'he felt it an insult to be treated as one of them.'[*] Amos (7^{14}) merely states a historical fact, viz. that he had not been an isolated prophet such as Elijah and others were, nor a member of one of the 'prophetic schools,' but had been suddenly called from behind the flock to 'prophesy' to God's people Israel. The respect with which he mentions prophets elsewhere as God's greatest gift to the people (2^{11} 3^{7}), is sufficient evidence of his feeling.[†]

2. *Early Monarchy.*—During the time of the Judges and the early monarchy the means of ascertaining the will of J″ was chiefly the sacred lot and ephod. This was employed by Gideon (Jg 8^{27}) and Micah (Jg 17. 18), by Saul, and by David and his priests in the early period of his history (1 S 23$^{6.\,9}$). At a later time it is little referred to, the king's advisers being the prophets. Side by side with this there existed seers through whom J″ spake. The Arab. *kâhin* or seer was also supposed to be possessed by a spirit, which spake through him (Wellhausen, *Reste*^{2}, 134). The seer was absorbed into the class of 'prophets,' and the name 'prophet' remained common to the isolated individual and the member of the community. And from this time forward the will of J″ was chiefly asked at the mouth of the prophet (1 K 14$^{\text{1ff.}}$). The early waters of prophetism may have been somewhat turbid, but they gradually ran clear, and became that stream of ethical prophecy to which there is nothing like in the religious history of mankind. J″ spake in the mind of man and to his mind; the prophet stood in the council of God. The two ways of ascertaining the will of J″ in the age of Samuel are reflected in the two narratives of the election of Saul. Both narratives ascribe the institution of the monarchy to the will of J″, but in the one (1 S 9^{1}–10^{16} 11) his will is declared through prophetic inspiration, in the other (1 S 8. 10$^{\text{17ff.}}$ 12) through the oracle of the lot. The latter tradition, though further removed from the actual events, is at least true to the historical conditions of the period.

The true causes of the rupture between Samuel and Saul can scarcely be ascertained. The prophetic spirit in Saul never obtained the mastery within him, it was always in conflict with contrary currents in his nature. Latterly the spirit became troubled and obscured, and its place was taken by an evil spirit from God (cf. 1 K 22$^{\text{21ff.}}$). David was a man according to God's heart, that is, in all things subject to the will of J″ (cf. 1 S 15^{22}), and the prophets are found supporting his throne. Special designations are given to some of them suggestive of the offices they performed, *e.g.* mention is made of 'the prophet Gad, David's seer' (2 S 24^{11}, 1 Ch 21^{9}, 2 Ch 29^{25}). These prophets indirectly influenced the government and acted on the affairs of the kingdom as a whole, although through the king (2 S 24^{11} 7$^{\text{1ff.}}$ 12$^{\text{1ff.}}$, 1 K 1$^{\text{22ff.}}$). So long as the prophets and kings were in accord this may have continued, but when kings arose who were mere national rulers and unprogressive or retrograde in religion,—of course no king of that age was irreligious in the sense of neglecting the traditional religion,—naturally the prophets, at least those among them who were ethically progressive, took another side. It might have been well for the peaceable development of the kingdom of J″ if the prophets and rulers had always been in harmony, and it might seem a calamity when a dissidence arose between them; but undoubtedly, though the disagreement was often fruitful of trouble and revolution, it contributed to the independence of the prophetic order. Prophecy resumed the 'national' element in it, which it had divested itself of and delegated to the monarchy, and stood forth against all classes and functions as the immediately inspired guardian of the kingdom of J″ in all its interests. Moses was the type of the true prophet (Hos 12^{13}, Dt 18^{15}).

3. *The Canonical Prophets.*—Prophets like Nathan, Elijah, and Elisha, following the example of Samuel, directly interfered in the government of the State. Nathan determined the succession to the throne (1 K 1$^{\text{22ff.}}$); Elijah denounced the dynasty of Omri, and Elisha set in motion the revolution that overthrew it (2 K 9). The latter prophet was the very embodiment of the national spirit in the Syrian wars, and took the field in the campaign against Moab (2 K 3$^{\text{11ff.}}$). Elijah and he were the national bulwark—'the chariots of Israel and the horsemen thereof' (2 K 2^{12}). But after Elisha the prophets withdraw from external national, and party, conflicts. They no more head revolutions. Nevertheless, they remain statesmen as much as their great predecessors. They could not cease to be politicians as long as the kingdom of J″ had the form of a State. They oppose, warn, and counsel kings and State parties according to the exigencies of the time. Hosea, indeed, thinks the monarchy impotent for good, if it has not been from the beginning the source of all evil (13$^{\text{10ff.}}$). But Isaiah, so long as the State was independent, warned Ahaz against involving his kingdom in the struggles of the nations, in the collision of which his country would be crushed (Is 7); and when the dream of independence had passed away he resisted with equal strenuousness the meditated revolt of Hezekiah and the Egyptian party against the Assyrian power (Is 30$^{\text{1ff.}}$ 31$^{\text{1ff.}}$). The same principles guided Jer. and Ezk. in the Chaldæan age (Jer 21^{9} 38^{2}, Ezk 17). But the only weapon which the prophets now use is the word of God which is in their mouth. Jer., though set over the nations to pluck up and break down, wields only the word of J″, which is like a hammer breaking the rocks in pieces (Jer 1$^{9.\,10}$ 23^{29}), and which has a self-fulfilling energy (Is 55$^{\text{10ff.}}$). J″ hews the people by the prophets, and slays them with the words of His mouth (Hos 6^{5}). But in this age new thoughts, difficult to account for, filled the minds of the prophets. Formerly, J″, as God and ruler of His people, rejected dynasties, and by the prophets overthrew them (Hos 13^{11}); now, it is the conviction of all the prophets, both of the north and south, that J″ has rejected the nation, that Israel as an independent State is doomed to perish. Side by side with this thought, or as a consequence of it, another thought appears. The complex notion 'national-religious' seems reflected on and analyzed, and the 'religious' assumes such preponderating weight that the 'national' appears of little value. The ideal kingdom of J″ is a religious community faithful to the Lord. Another thing, closely connected with the two just mentioned, is the lofty spiritual and ethical conception of J″ God of Israel reached by the prophets of this age, and, what is but the obverse side of it, their severe judgment on the moral condition of the people. This lofty con-

---

[*] Wellhausen, *Hist.* 293. Wellhausen's remark that 'the point of the story narrated of Saul (1 S 19$^{\text{22ff.}}$) can be nothing but Samuel's and David's enjoyment of the disgrace of the naked king' (p. 268), is merely the cynical sally of a modern humourist.

[†] This view of Am 7^{14} is rightly taken by J. C. Matthes, art. 'The False Prophets,' *Mod. Rev.*, July 1884. See also J. Robertson, *Early Relig. of Israel*, p. 90.

ception of J″ and this pure ideal of what His people must be, cannot be an unmediated and inexplicable leap upward of human religious genius, neither can it be a sudden divine creation. It did not, like Jonah's gourd, grow up in a night. History, unhappily, does not enable us to follow its growth. But it is the perfect efflorescence of a tree whose roots stood in the soil of Israel from the beginning, whose vital energies had always been moving towards flower, and which burst forth at last in the gorgeous blaze of colour which we see. The wealth of ethical and religious teaching found in the prophets of this age has led to a reaction against the former idea that prophecy was specifically prediction, and the view has become prevalent that the true function of the prophet was to be a teacher of ethical and religious truths. This view is also one-sided. The prophets never cease to be 'seers'; their face is always turned to the future. They stand in the council of J″ (Am 3^{7}, Jer 23^{22}), and it is what He is about to do that they declare to men. Their moral and religious teaching is, so to speak, secondary, and due to the occasion. Their conviction is that the destruction of the nation is inevitable, and they dwell on the nature of J″ and on the moral declension of the people to impress their conviction on the nation—'prepare to meet thy God, O Israel' (Am 4^{12}). Or, as their conviction of the inevitableness of the nation's doom does not seem absolute, but is crossed, at least at times, by the possibility or even the hope that it might be averted (Am $5^{14.\,15}$, Is 1^{18}, Jer $36^{1\text{-}3}$), they impress on the people the mind and life which is acceptable to J″—that which is good, and what the Lord requires of them (Mic 6^{8})—that they may repent, and that His judgments may be arrested. Or, when the foreboding of near destruction again oppresses them, they look beyond the dark and tempestuous night that is gathering to the day that will dawn behind it (Is $8^{16\text{ff.}}$),—for though J″ will destroy the sinful kingdom He will not destroy the house of Jacob (Am 9^{8}),—and they dilate on the righteousness and the peace and the joy of that new age (Is $9^{1\text{-}6}$, Hos $2^{18\text{ff.}}$). The prophets now employ writing, and the short, drastic oracles of former times (1 S 15^{22}, 1 K 11^{31} 21^{19}) give place to discourses of considerable length. By writing they could influence many whom their voice could not reach, and the written word became a permanent possession of the godly kernel of the people, upholding them in the midst of the darkness when God's face was hidden, and being when the calamities were overpast a witness that God had still been with them (Is $8^{16\text{ff.}}$, Ezk 2^{5}). The instances of Deuteronomy and the roll of Jeremiah show that a writing produced a far more powerful impression than the spoken word of the prophet.

A strange and interesting phenomenon in the history of prophecy is what is called **'False' Prophecy.** The true prophets, whose word history and God's providence verified, and to which the religious mind of mankind has set its seal, laid emphasis on the 'religious' element in the complex 'national-religious' idea. The unity J″ and the nation had to their minds become disrupted, and J″ now stood opposed to the nation. The 'false' prophets continued to lay the chief emphasis on the 'national' side; hence they might be called nationalistic prophets rather than false, though, of course, their anticipations were often disproved by events. The question whether these prophets were retrograde or only unprogressive, will be answered differently according to the view taken of the development of religion in Israel. There is no reason to suppose that they had personally sunk below the level of their own time. They stand on the same level with the body of the people. The charge of the canonical prophets is that the nation as a whole had declined from the purer moral and religious ideal of early times (Hos 2^{7}, Is 1^{21}). And this charge is certainly true. For, admitting that the people by entrance upon the Canaanite civilization had attained to a broader and fuller human life, and admitting even that the conception of J″, by taking up into it some of the thoughts connected with the native gods, became enlarged and enriched, mixture with the Canaanites produced a deterioration both in the life and religion of Israel. It is this deterioration that seems to the true prophets so fateful in regard to the destinies of the nation. And it is on this question of the national future that conflicts arise between the true prophets and the false. It is in this region, too, that another new phenomenon in the history of prophecy appears in this age—the persecution of the prophets. Former prophets, like Samuel, Elijah, and Elisha, were embodiments of the 'national-religious' spirit, and carried the people with them. The new outlook of the prophets regarding the national destinies enraged the populace. The prophets seemed to them madmen; their predictions that J″ would destroy His people were incredible; they were traitors, and sought not the welfare of the people, but their hurt (Jer 38^{4}). The prophets probably might have preached as they liked about the nature of J″ and the kind of service pleasing to Him, if they had not gone further and drawn inferences as to the destinies of the nation. Jehoiakim showed his indifference to Jeremiah's preaching, or his contempt for it, by throwing his book piecemeal into the fire; it was only when at the end of the roll he found the assertion that Nebuch. would come and destroy the land (Jer 36^{29} $25^{9.\,10}$), that he ordered the prophet's arrest. On another occasion Jer. was seized and beaten on the suspicion that he was falling away to the Chaldæans, and flung into a dungeon because his gloomy anticipations disheartened the men of war in the city (38^{4}). And it was because of his prophecy of national disaster (1 K 22) that Ahab ordered Micaiah to be confined on bread and water till he came back (he did not come back!). It was not their religious opinions but their political threats that drew persecution on the prophets (Am $7^{10\text{ff.}}$). The persecution was the convulsive effort of the 'national-religious' spirit to maintain itself. No doubt many of the people were impatient of the prophets' general teaching, or contemptuous of it: they burlesqued their manner (Is $28^{9.\,10}$), and ironically invited the interposition of the Lord with which the prophets threatened them (Is $5^{18.\,19}$); they imposed silence on them (Am 2^{12}, Mic 2^{6}), and told them to have done with the Lord of hosts in their hearing (Is $30^{9\text{-}11}$); but it was mostly when the prophets entered the political region, or when to the general mind they seemed guilty of sacrilege (Am $7^{12.\,13}$, Jer 7^{14} $26^{7.\,8}$), that harsher measures were adopted. No doubt the persecution of the prophets by Ahab at the instigation of Jezebel was on account of their opposition to the introduction of the Baal worship. But even this persecution seems to have been transient, for shortly before his death we observe Ahab on the best of terms with the prophets (1 K 22). If the 400 mentioned here are 'false,' or merely nationalistic, prophets, probably many of them had opposed the Baal cultus if for no higher reason than that J″ was the national God. The persecution by Manasseh, of whom we know so little, would be for similar reasons, because the prophets opposed the Assyrian cults which the king so ardently patronized.

4. *The Expiry of Prophecy.*—Many things contributed to the decline and final failure of prophecy.

(*a*) The prophets bore some resemblance to a progressive political party in a State. So long as abuses exist, and privilege leads to injustice and oppression of the weaker classes, such a party is strong. Its power lies in attack. But when abuses have been removed, and the reforms demanded have been conceded and placed upon the statute book, the function of the party of progress has ceased. Now, the evils against which the prophets contended had, externally at least, been removed by the reform of Josiah. Deuteronomy received the sanction of the king and government, and became the law of the State. This was a triumph of prophetic teaching on morals and religion; but if it was thus a witness to the power of prophecy in the past, it was virtually a deathblow to it for the future. For by embodying the practical issues of the prophetic principles in law, having State authority, it superseded the living prophetic word. No doubt even after Deut. became State law Jer. continued to be a prophet. He perceived that the reform was merely external, and he continued to demand something more inward—not reform but regeneration.

(*b*) Again, the great prophets from Amos to Jeremiah had traversed the whole region of theology and morals. Little could be added to what they had taught concerning J″ and His purposes, concerning man and his destiny. Those who came after them could do little more than combine their principles into new applications and uses. And in point of fact such prophets as Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah are almost more theologians than prophets.*

(*c*) Another thing which contributed to the expiry of prophecy was the fall of the State. With the destruction of Jerusalem, the nation, the subject of prophecy, ceased to exist. Its destruction was the seal set to the truth of prophecy, to its teaching on God and the people, and its task was done. If in a sense prophecy had destroyed the nation it had saved religion. For by teaching that it was J″ who brought ruin on the State it showed that the downfall of the nation was not the defeat but the triumph of J″. The gods of the nations, Chemosh, Asshur, and Merodach, perished with the nations of whose spirit they were the embodiments, but Jehovah rose the higher over the ruins of Jerusalem. He was seen to be the God of Righteousness, the moral Ruler of the world—

> Jehovah of Hosts was exalted in judgment,
> And the Holy God sanctified in righteousness
> (Is 5^{16}).

When Israel perished as a nation, and was scattered over every land, the *idea* of Israel just by being detached from the nation became clearer; the conception of Israel, of its place in the moral history of mankind, took the place of Israel, and the second Isaiah, operating with this conception, —the servant of the Lord,—is still a prophet. No doubt with all his brilliancy much of his book is theological deduction from his lofty conception of J″, but in one respect he is what all the great prophets were, an 'interpreter' of history, and by far the profoundest. He stands at the end of Israel's history, and looking back he reads its meaning, which is that its sufferings as servant of the Lord have atoned for its sins as a mere part of mankind.

(*d*) Although at the Restoration the gorgeous anticipations of the second Isaiah had been disappointed, the idea of what Israel was, its consciousness of itself and its meaning in the religious life of mankind still maintained themselves. The eschatological hope remained indestructible. This hope had sometimes a national element in it, the idea of a political supremacy of Israel over the other nations, but it was mainly the hope of religious supremacy as the people of God (Is 61^6). Israel had become a purely religious idea, its mission was to be the light of the nations—salvation was of the Jews. And this great eminence and triumph God would confer upon it by a sudden interposition, when He would plead its cause and 'justify' it by showing it to be in the right in its time-long plea against the nations—a plea which in other words was the religious history of mankind (Is $50^{4\text{ff.}}$). And what remained for Israel was to prepare for God's interposition, and be worthy of it by doing His will. Thus, when Israel was merely a religious community with no national life, prophecy became altogether detached from history and took the form of reflective and theological combinations of former prophecies. Its theme was the eschatological hope, and it occupied itself with searching what, and what manner of time this hope would be realized (Dn 9^2, 1 P 1^{11}). Prophecy becomes Apocalyptic. Apocalyptic continues to share all the great ideas of prophecy: it regards history as the expression of God's moral rule of the world; it regards God as purposing and foreseeing all its great movements; and it supposes Him to reveal His purposes to His servants from the beginning. Hence, instead of looking back over history, Apocalyptic plants itself in front of history, turning history into prophecy, and locating all its great movements in the mind of some ancient seer, Enoch, Moses, Baruch, Daniel, or Ezra. Apocalyptic is thus always pseudepigraphic; but the date of an Apocalypse can generally be guessed from the fact that up to his own time the author is pretty accurate, having history to rely on, while from his own time on to the end he can only forecast or calculate.

In the times when prophecy had virtually ceased there are occasional references to it. The references are of two kinds. Generally they are expressions of sorrow that the people has no more the guidance of the prophet in its perplexities and darkness, and of the hope that a prophet will again arise; but once at least prophecy is spoken of with dislike. In the one case the true prophet is thought of, in the other the misleading false prophecy. See on the one hand Ps 74^9, 1 Mac 4^{46} 9^{27} 14^{41}; cf. La 2^9, Pr 29^{18}: on the other hand Zec 13^{1-6}; cf. La 2^{14} 4^{13}.

The prophets of the OT may be grouped thus—

i. PROPHETS OF THE ASSYRIAN AGE.
  Jonah (referred to 2 K 14^{25}).
  Amos, *c.* 760–750.
  Hosea, *c.* 750–737.
  Isaiah, 740–700.
  Micah, *c.* 724 and later.
  Zephaniah, *c.* 627.
  Nahum, *c.* 610–608.

ii. PROPHETS OF THE CHALDÆAN PERIOD.
  Jeremiah, *c.* 626–586.
  Habakkuk, *c.* 605–600.
  Ezekiel, *c.* 593–573.

iii. PROPHETS OF THE PERSIAN PERIOD.
  Is 13–14 21^{1-10} 34–35 ?.
  Deutero-Isaiah, *c.* 540.
  Haggai and Zechariah, 1–8, *c.* 520.
  Malachi, *c.* 460–450.

Probably later, at all events after the Restoration, Joel, Jonah, Obadiah (in present form), Is 24–27, Zec 9–14.

B. *THE PROPHETIC MIND.*—Many questions arise regarding the mind of the prophet which can hardly be answered, but allusion may be made to some of them.

i. THE IDEA OF THE PROPHET.—A number of things are said of the prophet which might serve as partial definitions. Such definitions are different at different times, the prophet being regarded from various sides. In inquiring into the prophetic mind, it is the prophet's own idea of himself that is of interest; but his idea of himself did not differ from the people's idea of him, though in his own case the idea was based on his consciousness, in the case of the people on their observation. Both believed that the prophet was one who spoke the word of J″. When threatened with death Jer. said to the people, 'For of a truth J″ has sent me unto you to speak all these words in your ears' (Jer 26^{15}); and the people's idea of their prophets, if not of Jer., was the same: 'the word shall not perish from the prophet' (Jer 18^{18}).

---

* Wellhausen remarks (*Reste*², 137) that with the revelation of the Koran the function of the *kâhin* or seer came to an end, and he disappears.

Certain names applied to the prophet are suggestive of ideas entertained of him. (1) One of the oldest and most common of these designations was **man of God.** The name is used of Samuel (1 S 9^{6}), of Elijah and Elisha, and of others (1 K 12^{22} 13, Jer 35^{4}), and often of Moses. The name implies close relation to God; the prophet is near to God (Am 3^{7}, Jer $23^{22.\ 28}$). The Shunammite made a little chamber for Elisha, because he was 'a holy man of God' (2 K 4). Holiness is nearness to God; whether in this age it already connoted moral purity (Is 6^{5}) may be uncertain; the 'man of God' at any rate suggested this, for the widow of Sarepta said to Elijah, 'What have I to do with thee, thou man of God? art thou come to call my sin to remembrance?' (1 K 17^{18}). The name 'man of God' suggests both the ethical basis of prophecy and the religiousness of the prophet. All the prophets pass moral judgments on their contemporaries, *e.g.* Nathan on David (2 S 12) and Elijah on Ahab, and the pages of the literary prophets contain little else than such judgments. And Jeremiah at last goes so far as to say that the mark of a true prophet is just that he passes such a moral condemnation on his time; this of itself authenticates him (Jer $28^{8.\ 9}$). How deeply the moral entered into the prophet's own idea of prophecy is seen in Is $6^{5\text{ff.}}$, cf. Mic 3^{8}. But the notion of religiousness or godliness suggested by the name 'man of God' is even more important. The prophet's 'call' was less appointment to an office as we call it, than to a religious life-task. His prophesying was lifted up into his own personal religious life. The fountain of prophecy was communion with God. This is seen in Jer., in whom prophecy and piety melt into one another. (2) Another common designation of the prophet is **servant of God** or **of J″**. The name is given to prophets in general (2 K 9^{7}), to Elijah (1 K 18^{36}), Isaiah (20^{3}), and others (1 K 14^{18}, 2 K 14^{25}), particularly to Moses. The service is usually public, in the interests of God's kingdom. The name 'servant of J″' is given also to Israel. Israel is the great servant of J″—his ministry is to mankind, that of the individual prophets is to the narrower world of Israel itself. And in like manner both Israel and the prophet are called *messenger of J″*—the one to the nations (Is $42^{18.\ 19}$), and the other to Israel (44^{26}). The term 'messenger' is used mostly in late writings (Hag 1^{13}, Mal 3^{1}), but the consciousness of being 'sent' is common to all the prophets—'Go and tell this people' (Is 6^{9}, Jer 26^{15}). The prophet feels he has a commission to the people as much as Moses felt he had a commission to Pharaoh. (3) Another name given to the prophet is **interpreter.** The name, though rare (Is 43^{27}), is descriptive of the position of the prophet in regard to history and God's providence. God speaks in events, and the prophet interprets Him to men. Prophecy arises out of history, keeps pace with it, and interprets it. God is the author of Israel's history, and His meaning in it, His disposition towards the people as expressed in it, reflects itself in the prophet's mind. And as it reflects itself it awakens in him the sense of the people's evil; and being one with them he becomes the conscience, particularly the evil conscience, of the people. Events are never mere occurrences; God animates them; each great event of history is a theophany, a manifestation of God in His moral operation. The eyes of ordinary men do not perceive this meaning, and when suddenly confronted with some unexpected issue they exclaim, 'Verily thou art a God that hidest thyself, God of Israel, the Saviour' (Is 45^{15}). Further, no event is isolated; each has resulted from something preceding it, and will issue in consequences following it. History is a moral current, and at whatever point in it the prophet stands he feels whence it has come and whither it is flowing. Of course, the prophet is not a mere interpreter of history or institutions.* To suppose so would be to give him the second instead of the first place; the mind of man is greater than institutions or history, and it is in it above all that God will reveal Himself. And even the institutions and history are not mere miraculous Divine creations; men concurred in founding the institutions, and they have their part in making the history. Events furnish the occasion of the prophet's intuitions, but they do not set bounds to them. Indeed we often see the prophet's mind outrunning history, filling the events around him with a profounder meaning than they actually contain. His own mind is full of great issues, great ideals of the future; and eager to see their realization he animates the events occurring in his day with a larger significance than they have, thinking they will issue in the final perfection for which he yearns. If he proves at fault in regard to the *time*, he rightly divines the moral connexion of the events of his day with the perfection of the end. Other names, such as 'seer,' 'watchman' (Jer 6^{27}, Ezk 3^{17}), need not be dwelt upon.

There are several passages, belonging to different dates, which might be taken as definitions of 'prophet.' In Am $3^{7.\ 8}$ it is said, 'The Lord God doeth nothing without revealing his counsel to his servants the prophets.' Jer. (23^{22}) varies this by saying that the prophet stands 'in the council' of J″, and knows His purpose (Job 15^{8}). The passage states two things, viz. that J″ reveals His mind and purpose to the prophets, and that He does so particularly in reference to the future. When great events are about to happen, involving the destinies of the people, the sensibility of the prophet is quickened and feels their approach, and he stands forth to announce them. Thus Amos and Hosea appear as heralds of the downfall of the kingdom of the North; Micah and Isaiah, when the storm-cloud of Assyrian invasion was rising on the northern horizon, and Jeremiah when the empire of the East was passing to the Chaldæans, and the downfall of Judah was nigh at hand. Among other passages referring to prophecy on its predictive side, Is $41^{4.\ 21\text{ff.}}$ (cf. $45^{18.\ 19}$) deserves mention. Here predictive prophecy is claimed for J″ and Israel and denied to the idols and their peoples, and the power to predict as well as the fact of having truly predicted is proof that J″ is God. J″ is the first and the last; He initiates the movements of history, and He brings them to an end. From the beginning He foresees the end. But it is His relation to Israel that causes Him to announce it beforehand. For Israel is His servant, and His purpose can be fulfilled only through the co-operation of men, to whom it must be revealed. The conception of a living God in moral fellowship with men involves in it prophecy having reference to the future. Here again prophecy is lifted up into the sphere of personal religious life.

The passage Dt $18^{9\text{-}22}$, though not excluding prediction, places prophecy on a broader basis. Prophecy is due to two things: (1) to that yearning of the human spirit to know the will of the deity, and to have communion with him, common to men everywhere. This yearning created many kinds of diviners, who by external means inferred what was the mind of deity. But it is not in this way, but in one higher and worthier, that the true God satisfies the yearning of His people's heart (Nu 23^{23}). However profusely signs of Him and of His mind be scattered over nature, there is a more immediate intercourse between Him and men. He speaks to the mind of man directly; there is a communion of spirit with spirit. J" puts His words in the prophet's mouth, who speaks them in His name (Dt $18^{18.19}$). (2) And the reason for employing a prophet as mediator between J" and the people is that the people shrank from hearing the voice of J" speaking to them directly. He spoke the ten words in the people's ears at Horeb, but Israel said, 'Let me not hear again the voice of the Lord my God, that I die not' (18^{16}). An extraordinarily lofty place is assigned here to the prophet: his words are as much the words of J" as if J" spoke them immediately with His own voice (cf. Nu 12^{2}). But these words of Moses, 'A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you like unto me,' contain other points illustrating the idea of 'prophet.' The term 'raise up' (cf. Am 2^{11}) is used of the judges, and in many ways the prophets were the successors of the judges. The prophet is immediately raised up. The Divine act is reflected in his own consciousness in the crisis named his 'call.' His position is a personal one. He is not a member of a caste inheriting an office. He may be taken from any class: from the priesthood, like Samuel, Jer., and Ezek., and probably others; from the aristocracy of the capital, like Isaiah from the population of the country townships, like Micah and Urijah of Kiriath-jearim (Jer 26); or from those that followed after the flock, like Amos. Women, too, might be prophetesses, as Miriam, Deborah, and Huldah (2 K 22). The singular 'a prophet' may be used collectively of a line of prophets (Hos 12^{13}), or more probably as there was usually only one great prophet at one time the reference may be to the individual prophet in each age. In the words 'like unto me' the prophet is put on the same plane with Moses; and so far as the scope of his functions extended this is the best definition. It may be said that we really do not know what Moses was like; and to say that the prophet was 'like Moses,' is to explain the unknown by the more unknown. We know at least what Moses was thought to be like in the age of the Deuteronomist and earlier—he was one faithful *in all God's house* (Nu 12^{7}); and the prophet's oversight was equally broad. Prophecy was not an institution among other institutions, like priesthood and monarchy; it founded the monarchy, and it claimed in the name of J" to correct and instruct priests as well as kings. Tholuck * has defined the prophet as 'the bearer of the idea of the theocracy.' The definition is true in the sense that the prophets do not claim to be originators, they have inherited the principles which they teach; but it touches the prophet only on his intellectual side. The prophet was more than a teacher, and the theocracy was life as well as truth. The prophet was not only the bearer, he was the embodiment of the idea of the theocracy. This idea, which is that of the communion of the living God with mankind, was realized in him and through him in Israel. Though he could be distinguished from Israel he was, in truth, Israel at its highest. The prophets were not persons who stood as mere objective Divine instruments to the people whom they addressed; they were of the people; the life of the people flowing through the general mass only reached its flood-tide in them. Every feeling of the people, every movement of life in it, sent its impulse up to them; every hope and fear was reflected in their hearts. And it was with hearts so filled and minds so quickened and broad that they entered into the communion of God.

---

* This seems the idea of v. Hofmann, *Weissagung u. Erfüllung*.

One other passage may be referred to which expresses very clearly the main element in the idea of prophet. In Ex 7^{1} J" speaks to Moses, 'See, I have made thee God to Pharaoh, and Aaron thy brother shall be thy prophet' (P). In Ex 4^{16} (J) a similar statement occurs, 'He (Aaron) shall be thy spokesman to the people; he shall be to thee for a mouth, and thou shalt be to him God.' Moses 'inspired' Aaron, and Aaron spoke his words to Pharaoh and the people. So all the prophets, *e.g.* Is 30^{2} 31^{1}, regard themselves as the 'mouth' of J".

ii. INSPIRATION.—When Samuel dismissed Saul he said to him, 'Thou shalt meet a band of prophets; and the spirit of the Lord will come mightily upon thee, and thou shalt prophesy with them, and shalt be turned into another man' (1 S $10^{5.6}$). The term 'prophesy' describes the excited demeanour and utterance of the prophets, and the 'spirit' is regarded as the cause of this. Of course, the prophets did not utter mere sounds, but words with meaning; but it is the personal exaltation of the prophet himself, who has become another man, and not specially the contents of his utterance, that is ascribed to the 'spirit.' The man on whom the spirit comes, oftener performs deeds than speaks words. The 'spirit of the Lord' came on Samson, and he rent the lion as he would have rent a kid (Jg 14^{6}); it came on Saul, and he slew his oxen and sent the fragments throughout Israel, calling to war with Ammon (1 S 11^{6}); similarly it came on Gideon (Jg 6^{34}), Jephthah (11^{29}), and others, and they went out to war and judged Israel. The spirit of the Lord suddenly carries Elijah away, one knows not whither (1 K 18^{12}), and men fear that it may cast him upon some mountain or into some valley (2 K 2^{16}); and with 'the hand of the Lord' upon him he kept pace with Ahab's chariots (1 K 18^{46}). Probably the conception of God and that of the spirit of God always corresponded to one another. In early times God was conceived more as a natural than a spiritual force; His operation, even when He might operate on the ethical side of man's nature, was physical. Hence 'spirit' connotes suddenness and violence in the Divine operation. When one is seen performing what is beyond man to do, or what is beyond himself in his natural condition, both to himself and to the onlooker he appears not himself, he is another man; he is seized and borne onward by a power external to him—the spirit of the Lord is upon him. One under the spirit is always carried away by an impulse, sudden, and often uncontrollable. Hence the terms descriptive of the spirit's operation suggest suddenness and violence; it 'comes upon' (היה על 1 S $19^{20.23}$), 'comes mightily upon' (צלח 1 S $10^{6.10}$), 'falls upon' (Ezk 11^{5}), 'descends and rests on' (נוח Nu $11^{25.26}$), 'puts on' a man as a garment (לבשׁ Jg 6^{34}, 2 Ch 24^{20}), 'fills' him (Mic 3^{8}), and the like. Similarly it is said that the 'hand of the Lord' comes upon him (Ezk 1^{3}, 2 K 3^{15}), and overpowers him (Is 8^{11}). All these expressions describe the phenomena visible to the onlooker, or experienced by the prophet. But it is the complex manifestation that they describe; they do not analyze it, nor answer the question, Where amidst these phenomena is the point at which the spirit operates?

It is remarkable that in the literary prophets little reference is made to the spirit, and the references made are rather allusive than formal and direct. Hosea (9^7) calls the prophet 'the man of the spirit'; Isaiah ($30^{1.2}$, cf. Job 26^4) uses 'spirit of J″' as parallel to 'mouth of J″'; and Micah (3^8) declares himself full of power 'by the spirit of J″' to declare unto Jacob his transgression.[*] But other prophets, including Amos and Jer., do not express the idea. The explanation of this fact is probably this: in this age the violent excitation usual in early prophecy had almost disappeared; it was the violent impulse to speak or act that 'spirit' particularly connoted, and hence references to spirit are rare. Isaiah on one occasion (8^{11}) speaks of the 'hand' of J″ being upon him, which may refer to some unusual elevation (though cf. Jer 15^{17}), but the 'power' which Micah was conscious of was probably moral, though whether intermittent or not may be uncertain. Some have supposed that in this age the spirit was regarded as a permanent possession of the prophet, and for that reason not specially alluded to.[†] In Nu 11^{25} the spirit that was upon Moses is spoken of, part of which rested on the elders, and they prophesied. Their prophesying was momentary and under great excitation; but whether the 'spirit' was considered a permanent possession of Moses or not is not clear (cf. v.^{25} with v.^{29}). And the same uncertainty remains with regard to the 'spirit' that was on Elijah (2 K $2^{9ff.}$). In Is $11^{2ff.}$ the spirit of J″ is said to descend and rest upon the Messiah, giving him discernment, counsel, and might in rule, as well as the fear of the Lord; and this spirit would seem a permanent possession, though revealing itself as occasions required. But the failure of the canonical prophets to refer to the spirit is scarcely due to their thinking of it as a permanent power indwelling in them; it is rather due to their not thinking of the spirit specially at all. The cessation of the ecstasy left the prophet his proper self; he was conscious of being an independent individual person, and as such he entered into fellowship with God. He was no more driven or overpowered by an impulse from without, which superseded his proper self; his communion with God was a communion of two moral persons. God, it is true, did not speak to him face to face and externally as He did to Moses, but He spoke no less really to his mind. The nature of the communion is clear from the dialogues in Is 6 and Jer 1. In its full perfection it is seen in Jeremiah, who should be taken as the true type of the prophet.

---

* *Die Propheten u. ihre Weissagungen*, p. 12.

At a later time references to the spirit again recur, particularly in Ezekiel. How far the trances of Ezekiel were real, being partly due to a natural constitutional temperament, and how far they are mere literary embodiment of an idea, may be disputed. In the latter case the idea they express would be the one running through all his prophecies, the transcendent majesty and power of God, and the nothingness of the 'child of man,' who is a mere instrument in the hand of God. In this late age various ideas of the spirit prevail. A prophet like Joel goes back to the early forms of prophecy, and reproduces the ancient idea of the spirit ($2^{28ff.}$ [Heb. $3^{1ff.}$]). In other passages the spirit appears a permanent possession, being like the gift bestowed on one when consecrated to an office (Is 61^1); while in others still the spirit seems generalized into the Divine enlightenment and guidance given to Israel through its leaders and prophets all down its history (Is 59^{21} 63^{10}, Hag 2^5). But amidst some variety of conception certain ideas of the spirit always remain: the spirit is something external to man, something Divine, something bestowed by God on man.

Taking into account what has been said above of the 'spirit,' it appears that what has been called the *prophetic state* varied at different times. Two periods can be distinguished, though not separated from one another by any sharp line of demarcation: the early prophetic period, and the period of the literary prophets. (1) In the early period mental excitation was common, though the excitation might be of various degrees; self-consciousness was not lost, and memory of what was experienced remained; the NT rule that 'the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets' was in most cases verified. The revelation in this period often took the form of dream and vision. The OT couples these two together (Nu 12^6, Jl 2^{28} [Heb. 3^1]). Dream and vision are not identical, but they differ chiefly in degree—the degree to which the senses are dormant, and the consciousness of what is external is lost, and reflective control over the operations of the mind is suspended. The prophets regard their dreams and visions as something objective in the sense that they are caused by God (Am $7^{1ff.}$). But in attempting to analyze the prophetic mind we must remember that dreaming and seeing a vision are forms of *thinking*; the contents of the dream and vision are not objective, as things seen with the bodily eye are objective, they are creations of the mind itself. Perhaps the best idea of the prophetic mind in this period or in this condition might be got by reflecting on the phenomena of the dream. Now, it is in this period that the phraseology current all down the prophetic age originated, and it is the phenomena of this period that it describes—such phraseology as 'see,' 'vision,' 'hear,' 'the word of the Lord,' and such like. In this early time prophets did 'see' and had 'visions'; they did 'hear' the 'word of the Lord,' just as one sees persons and things, and hears words audibly in a dream. The terms truly describe the mental experiences of the prophet, and are not mere figures of speech. But in the time of the canonical prophets visions and dreams virtually ceased, though the prophetic language still remained in use. It is quite possible that in some cases the literary prophets still had visions and 'heard' words, but certainly they use the ancient phraseology in a multitude of instances when they had no such experience. Jer. alludes with aversion to the 'dreams' of the false prophets. It is possible that these dreams were in some cases real, being due to the agitations produced by the political crises of the time. If so, it is another evidence that these prophets still occupied a position which the true prophecy had long abandoned. (2) Perhaps the best idea of the mental state of the prophet in the purest stage of prophecy would be got by considering the condition of the religious mind in earnest devotion or rapt spiritual communion with God. Even the earliest prophets intercede with God (Am 7, cf. Ex 32^{11}); and Oehler has drawn attention to the fact that the communication of a revelation to them is often called 'answering' them—the same expression as is used in regard to prayer (Mic 3^7, Hab $2^{1ff.}$, Jer 23^{35}). The prophets asseverate very strongly that it is the word of God which they speak. But it is doubtful if any psychological conclusions can be drawn from their language. For it is to the *contents* of their prophecies that they refer; and though it might seem strange that they do not allude to any mental operations of their own, the analogy of the devout worshipper suggests an explanation. A person in earnest prayer to God and communion with Him, though his mind will certainly be profoundly exercised, when light dawns on him, or certitude is reached, or conduct becomes plain, will also feel and say with certainty that it was God who gave him the result he reached. It might be rash to say that the experience of such a devout mind is perfectly analogous to that of the prophetic mind, but the analogy is probably the nearest that can be found.

---

[*] Some scholars regard the phrase *by the spirit of J″* as an explanatory gloss (Well., Nowack, etc.). The sense of את is uncertain; it may mean *with*, *by the aid of*, Gn 4^1, Job 26^4, or it may be accus. sign: 'full of power, even the spirit of J″,' RVm.

[†] Giesebrecht, *Die Berufsbegabung der alttest. Proph.*

It may be said, therefore: (1) that the prophet's mind in revelation was not passive, but in a state of activity. Even the 'call' to prophesy was not addressed to a mind empty or unoccupied with the interests of the nation. The 'call' came to the three great prophets through a vision (Is 6, Jer 1, Ezk 1), but it is recognized that the 'vision' contains strictly nothing new; it is a combination of ideas and thought-images already lying in the mind. Isaiah, for example, had often thought of the Holy One of Israel, the King, previous to his vision; he had often considered the sinfulness of the people, which he himself shared; and no doubt he had forecast the inevitable fate of the people when J″ arose to shake terribly the earth. These thoughts probably occupied his mind at the moment of his call, for it came to him as he worshipped J″ in the temple, and beheld His glory (cf. also Jer 1^{4-10}). Neither can the *compulsion* of which the prophets speak be regarded as anything physical. Even when Amos says, 'The Lord God speaks, who can but prophesy?' the constraint is only moral. And similarly when Jer. says, 'Thou didst induce (or entice) me, and I was induced' (20^{7}), he refers to the conflict in his own mind described in 1^{4-10}; and even when he speaks of the word of J″ being as a fire in his bones, compelling him to speak, when, to avoid persecution, he had resolved to be silent, there is nothing more than such moral constraint as was felt by the apostles in the early days of the Church, or by one now with earnest convictions. Again, the allegation, often made, that the prophets did not understand their own oracles, can hardly be substantiated. The passage 1 P $1^{10\text{ff.}}$ says that the prophets 'searched what time or what manner of time the spirit of Christ which was in them did point unto'; but first, it speaks of the prophets as a body, and of the spirit common to them all. It does not say that any prophet searched his own prophecies. The apostle probably generalizes the instance referred to in Dn 9^{2}, where Daniel searches the prophecies of Jeremiah. Further, the point to which the search was directed was the *time* or *manner of time*, nothing else. And this point, if indicated at all, was indicated so obscurely that it had to be inferred from the other contents of the prophecy (cf. Mt 24^{36}). (2) The kind of operation of the prophetic mind when reaching or perceiving truth was intuition. In the early times of prophecy the excitation or comparative ecstasy was common. This elevated condition of the intuitive mind was natural to an Oriental people, and in an early age. It was a thing particularly natural when truth was new; when convictions regarding God, and man's duty in moments of great personal responsibility or national trial, were for the first time breaking on the human mind. But, on the other hand, it is equally natural that as prophecy became more regular and acquired the character of a stable institution, such accompaniments of revelation in the mind would gradually disappear. And the same effect would follow from the gradual accumulation of religious truths. These were no longer altogether new. As fundamental verities they had entered into the consciousness of the nation. What was new was only the application of them to the particular crisis in the individual's life or the nation's history, or that further expansion of them needful in order to make them applicable. But this was always new. No truth uttered by a prophet has attained the rank of a maxim of reflection or a deduction from prior truths. The prophet never comes before men inferring. His mind operates in another way. The truth reached is always a novelty to him, so that he feels it to be an immediate communication from God. But it is vain to speculate how the Divine mind coalesces with the human, or to ask at what point the Divine begins to operate. Some have argued that the operation was dynamical, that is, an intensification of the faculties of the mind, enabling it thus to reach higher truth. Others regard the Divine operation as of the nature of suggestion of truth to the mind. What is to be held, at all events, is that revelation was not the communication of abstract or general religious ideas to the intellect of the prophet. His whole religious mind was engaged. He entered into the fellowship of God, his mind occupied with all his own religious interests and all those of the people of God; and his mind thus operating, he reached the practical truth relevant to the occasion.

iii. THE FALSE PROPHETS. — Reference has already been made in the historical sketch to the so-called false prophets, but the phenomenon of false prophecy has points of connexion also with the prophetic mind. A hard-and-fast line of demarcation between true and false prophecy can hardly be drawn. The fact that prophecy was the embodiment of a religious-national spirit accounts for what is called false prophecy. When the spirit that animated the prophet pursued predominantly national ends, he was a false prophet; when the ends pursued were religious and ethical the prophet was true, because in the religion of J″ the national was transient, and the ethical abiding.

In early times men everywhere felt the nearness of the supernatural; the Divine, with its manifestations, was all about them. Those who seemed or who professed themselves to be inspired were accepted as being so (cf. the reception given to Ehud by the king of Moab, Jg $3^{20\text{f.}}$). The spirit of the time was not critical; it was reverent, or, as we might now say, credulous. In the first conflict which we read of between true and false prophecy (1 K 22) the 400 prophets of Ahab were false and Micaiah true, but Micaiah did not consider the pretensions to inspiration of his opponent Zedekiah to be false. He was inspired, but it was by a lying spirit from the Lord (1 K $22^{22.\,23}$). This lying spirit was put by J″ in the mouth of the prophets of Ahab that they might entice him to his destruction. The explanation given by Ezekiel (Ezk 13. 14) is similar: J″ deceives the prophet that He may destroy him and his dupes alike (14^{9}). But J″'s deception of the prophets in order to destroy them and those who consult them is in punishment of previous evil (1 K 22^{8}, Ezk 14^{1-11}, 2 S 24^{1}). A profounder conception of the ethical nature of J″, and a dislike to regard Him as the author of evil (cf. 2 S 24^{1} with 1 Ch 21^{1}), combined perhaps with a more critical judgment of their contemporaries, led others to a different explanation. To Jeremiah the false prophet is not inspired by a lying spirit from J″, he is not inspired at all. He speaks out of his own heart, and has not been sent (Jer $23^{16.\,21.\,25.\,26}$). Micah goes further and analyzes the prophet's motives: he speaks what men wish to hear (2^{11}, cf. Is $30^{10\text{ff.}}$), and for interested ends—'When they have something to chew with their teeth they cry, Peace; but whoso putteth not into their mouth, they preach war against him' (3^{5}). And the priest Amaziah (Am 7^{12}) seems to have formed his idea of the prophets as a whole from this class.

There are several kinds of false prophecy of little interest except as casting light on the religious condition of the people, *e.g.* prophecy by other gods than J″, a thing perhaps not very prevalent in the prophetic age; and prophecy as a professional means of gaining a living. There were persons who assumed the hairy mantle and affected prophetic phraseology, *ne'ûm J″*, 'saith J″' (cf. Jer 23^{31} *yin'ămû ne'ûm*, Ezk 13$^{6.7}$), apparently for the sake of bread (Mic 3^{5}). It was customary to bring presents to the seers and prophets in ancient times when people consulted them (1 S 9^{8}, 1 K 14^{3}, 2 K 8$^{8f.}$; cf. Nu 22^{7}), and the practice not unnaturally led to deterioration in the prophetic class. But in relation to the question of the 'prophetic mind,' the only 'false' prophecy of interest is that which we see among prophets all professedly and alike prophets of J″. Men who alike regarded prophetic truth as something revealed by J″ in the heart, are found not infrequently to give forth as the word of J″ conflicting judgments. They advised contrary steps in a political emergency, or they predicted diverse issues in regard to some enterprise on which they were consulted. Ahab's 400 said, 'Go up to Ramoth-gilead, for J″ shall deliver it into the hand of the king'; but Micaiah said, 'I saw all Israel scattered upon the mountains' (1 K 22$^{12.17}$). Jer. predicted that the Chaldæan supremacy would last 70 years, while Hananiah prophesied that in two years' time the exiles would return, with Jehoiachin at their head (Jer 28). To us now, with our ideas of the prophet, and looking back to him as a great isolated and almost miraculous personage, divinely accredited, two things seem surprising, *first*, that any one should suppose himself a true prophet of J″ who was not; and, *second*, that the people failed to discriminate between the true and the false. As to the first point, it is very difficult to discover on what plane of religious attainment those called false prophets stood, and what kind of consciousness they had. Evidently, they had lofty conceptions of J″ in some of His attributes. These were perhaps more His natural attributes, such as His power, than those of His moral being. It is here perhaps that the point of difference lies—J″ was not to them absolutely or greatly a moral being, He was a natural force, and His operation in a way magical: they thought His mere presence in the temple guaranteed its inviolability. They were Jehovists, but J″ was to them greatly a symbol of nationality, and they were fervid nationalists. Such feelings coloured their outlook into the future, making them the optimists that they were, always crying, Peace and Safety! Further, in whatever way the true prophet was assured that he spoke the word of J″, the evidence was internal. He had the witness in himself. It was a consciousness, something positive, but not negative. The person who wanted it had no consciousness of the want. The case is similar to, if not identical with, what is still familiar in religious experience.

As to the second point, the people's failure to discriminate between the true and false prophets, it is evident that they had no criterion by which to decide. There was usually nothing in the mere prophecy or prediction on one side or the other to carry conviction. They had to bring the criterion with them in their own minds, *i.e.* to go back to the principles on which the prophecy was based—He that is of the truth heareth my words. The condition of the people's mind can be observed in Jer 18^{18}. Here we see that the people believed in prophecy as the word of J″, and in their prophets; but Jeremiah, who contradicted these prophets, they considered a deceiver and no lover of his country. Their state of mind appears even more clearly from Jer 28. Hananiah predicted that the Exile would be over in two years, while Jeremiah said it would last two generations. Naturally, the people gave their voice for Hananiah, and for the moment Jeremiah was put to silence. There were several things which it has been supposed might have served as external criteria of true prophecy: (1) the prophetic ecstasy; (2) miracle; and (3) fulfilment of the prediction. But all these things when used as tests to discriminate between one prophet and another were liable to fail.

(1) The ecstasy in greater or less degree was a thing natural to an Oriental people; in the early prophetic period it was common; it was, however, no essential element in prophecy. It was no evidence that a prophet was true, neither was it any evidence that he was false, though if evidence at all it was rather evidence that he was false, at least in later times, for in the ethical prophecy of the 8th century it rarely appears. Ewald, indeed, has observed that the ecstasy was liable to be a source of false prophecy, for one subject to such a condition might think himself inspired by J″ when he was not.

(2) Miracle might certainly be an evidence and test of true prophecy, *e.g.* in the conditions proposed by Elijah at Carmel; but such conditions were rarely possible. In the OT miracle means wonder; it is something extraordinary, nothing more. The force of a miracle to us, arising from our notion of Law, would not be felt by a Hebrew, because he had no notion of natural law. Further, the ancient mind was reverent, or superstitious, and felt itself surrounded by superhuman powers. It was not J″ alone or His servants that could work wonders; the magicians in Egypt also did so (Ex 7$^{11.22}$ 8^{7}). Again, even when J″ empowered one to give a sign or wonder, the meaning of the wonder might be ambiguous. In Dt 13$^{1ff.}$ a prophet is supposed permitted to work a miracle at the same time that he advocates worship of other gods than J″; but the miracle so far from authenticating him as true has quite another purpose: it is to prove the people whether they love J″ with all their heart. To one who knows and loves J″ no miracle will authenticate another god. And to all this has to be added the fact that from Amos downwards miracle plays hardly any part in the history of prophecy (though cf. Is 7^{11} 38$^{7ff.}$), while it was just in the last days of the kingdom of Judah that false prophecy was most prevalent.

(3) The test of fulfilment of the prophetic word is proposed in Dt 18^{21}. But this criterion was one which was serviceable less to individuals than to the people, whose life was continuous and extended. As a guide to the conduct of individuals at the moment when the prediction was uttered it could be of little service. Occasionally predictions were made which had reference to the near future, as when Micaiah predicted Ahab's defeat at Ramoth-gilead, or when Jeremiah foretold the death of Hananiah within the year. But usually the prophecies bore upon the destinies of the State, and had reference to a somewhat indefinite future. This peculiarity perplexed men's minds, and led to the despair or the disparagement of prophecy. They said, 'The days are prolonged, and every vision faileth'; or if they did not go so far they said of the prophet, 'The vision that he seeth is for many days to come, and he prophesieth of the times that are far off' (Ezk 12$^{22-28}$). While, therefore, in the prolonged life of the people the event might ultimately be seen to justify the prophet (Ezk 2^{5}), some more immediate test was necessary for the guidance of the individual. Such a test is proposed by Jeremiah. The test lies in the relation of the prophecy to the moral condition of the people. The prophet who predicts disaster and judgment needs no further authentication: the nature of his prophecy proves him true; the prophet who prophesies Peace, let the event justify him! (Jer 28$^{8.9}$). The interesting

thing in all this is that so far as religious certitude was concerned the people of Israel were exactly in the same position as ourselves. Neither the supernatural nor anything else will produce conviction apart from moral conditions of the mind. This is perhaps a truism because the conviction required was not mere intellectual belief, but religious faith in a person and in His word.

False prophets are defined to be those by whom J″ did not speak, and true prophets those by whom He spoke. The definition is true on both its sides, and there are instances when nothing more can be said. But usually it is possible to go a step further back. The opposite way of stating the point has also a truth in it: J″ did not speak by certain prophets because they were false. His speaking or not speaking was not a mere occurrence, isolated and in no connexion with the previous mind of the prophets and their religious principles. It is extremely difficult to realize the condition of people's minds at any time in Israel. There were many planes of religious attainment. There were worshippers of other gods than J″; and there were those who combined J″ and other gods in their worship (Zeph 1). There were worshippers of J″ to whom J″ was little more than a symbol of their nationality. There were worshippers of J″ who, in addition to regarding Him as the impersonation of their nationality, ascribed to Him lofty natural attributes, such as power, but who reflected little if at all on the moral aspects of His being. And there were those to whom the moral overshadowed all else, and who regarded J″ as the very impersonation of the moral idea. Scholars will dispute how far moral conceptions of J″ prevailed among the people from the first, and also how much moral teaching was set before them at the beginning. But the great lesson-book in which thoughtful men read was the national history and fortunes. This was written by the finger of God. In the prosperous days after David little advance might be made; men settled on their lees. But by and by God sent unto them 'them that pour off' (Jer 48^{12}). The disasters suffered in the obstinate Syrian wars from Omri onwards awoke the conscience of men, revealing the nature of J″, and directing the eye to the national sores; for at all times national disaster and internal miseries were felt to be due to the displeasure of God (2 S $21^{1ff.}$ 24^{18}, 1 K 17^{1}). Thus, though history casts little light on its growth, there arose a society educated in the things of God, and it was out of this society that the true prophets were called; for the idea that the breadth and wealth of religious and moral conceptions in a prophet like Amos were all supplied to him by revelation after his call, will hardly be maintained. Those who stood on a lower plane were not suited for the purposes of J″, and He did not speak by them. They came forward in His name, but it was mainly national impulses that inspired them.

There are three lines on which Jeremiah opposes the other prophets: the political, the moral, and the personal. (1) The false or national prophets desired that Israel should take its place among the nations as one of them; be a warlike State, ride on horses, build fenced cities, and when in danger seek alliances abroad. Jeremiah and the true prophets instead of all these things recommend quiet confidence and trust in J″ (Is 7^{9} 17^{7}). (2) The national prophets had not a stringent morality. Jeremiah charges some of them with being immoral (Jer 23^{14}). But what characterized them all was a superficial judgment of the moral condition of the nation, which was but the counterpart of their inadequate conception of the moral being of J″. The condition of society did not strike them as at all desperate. Hence they preached Peace, and healed the hurt of the people slightly. On the other hand, the words of Micah, 'I am full of power to declare to Jacob his transgressions' (3^{8}), might be taken as the motto of every true prophet. It is possible, even true, that the demands of the true prophets were ideal, that they could not be realized in an earthly community, that it was the spirit of the future yet to be that was reflecting itself in their hearts—a future that even to us is still to be; and it is not impossible that the people felt this and passed by their words as impossible of realization (Jer 2^{25})—a very lovely song of one that hath a pleasant voice (Ezk 33^{32}). (3) With his tendency to introspection Jeremiah analyzes his own mind; and that naïve feeling of former prophets, that they spoke the word of J″, is to him a distinct element of consciousness. He knows that he stands in the council of J″, and he is certain that the false prophets have not his experience ($23^{28.\,29}$). He does not hesitate to go further and assert that those prophets whom he opposes are conscious that they have no true fountain of inspiration within them. Their prophetic manner, 'saith J″,' is affectation (23^{31}), and there is nothing personal in the contents of their oracles, which they steal every one from his neighbour (23^{30}). The prophets of this time speak of their 'dreams,' and it is possible that the crisis in the nation's history agitated them and produced mental excitation; but it is evident that they represented a phase of prophecy which had long been overcome. It is strange that, from the days of Micaiah ben Imlah under Ahab down to the fall of the Judæan State, no change seems to have taken place in the position and principles either of the true prophets or of the false.

C. *THE TEACHING OF THE PROPHETS.*—The idea of the 'prophet,' one who speaks from God (B. i.), leaves a very extended sphere of action to the prophet. The prophet is always a man of his own time, and it is always to the people of his own time that he speaks, not to a generation long after, nor to us. And the things of which he speaks will always be things of importance to the people of his own day, whether they be things belonging to their internal life and conduct, or things affecting their external fortunes as a people among other peoples. And as he speaks to the mind and consciousness of the people before him, he speaks always with a view to influence it. On many, perhaps on all occasions, the most powerful means of exerting an influence on the mind of his time may be what he is able to reveal to it of the future, whether the future be full of mercy or of judgment; but whether he speaks of the present or the future the direct and conscious object of the prophet is to influence the people of his own generation. For this purpose the prophet reviews, not only the forces and tendencies operating in his own nation, but all the forces, moral and national, operating in the great world outside (Jer 1^{10}).

Influenced partly by the great apologetic use made of the prophecies in the NT, interpreters were for long accustomed to lay almost exclusive stress upon the predictive element in prophecy, so that prophecy and prediction were considered things identical. The function of the prophet was supposed to be to predict the Messiah and the things of His kingdom; and the use of the prophecies was to prove that Jesus was the Messiah, or more generally to show the supernaturalness of revelation. However legitimate such a use of the prophecies may be, modern interpreters have rightly felt that it failed to take into account a very large part of their contents. The religious and moral teaching of the prophets was overlooked. Hence in modern times a different view has arisen, to the effect that the function of the prophet was to teach moral and religious truth. But this view is equally one-sided with the other. To us now to whom the apologetic use of prophecy has become less necessary, the moral teaching of the prophets may seem the most important thing in their prophecies. But if any prophetic book be examined, such as Amos or Hos 4–14, or any of the complete prophetic discourses contained in a prophet's book, such as Is 1. 5. 6. 2–4, it will appear that the ethical and religious teaching is always secondary, and that the essential thing in the book or discourse is the prophet's outlook into the future. The burden of the teaching of all the great canonical prophets is: (1) that the downfall of the State is imminent; (2) that it is J″ who is destroying it; and (3) that the nation which shall overthrow it, be it Assyria or Babylon, is the instrument of J″, the rod of His anger, raised up by Him to execute His purpose. And the prophet's religious teaching regarding the nature of J″, and the duty and sin of the people, is subordinate, and meant to sustain his outlook into the future and awaken the mind of the people to the truth of it (cf. above A. iii. 3). This may be said also of such a NT prophet as John the Baptist, and in a sense even of our Lord. The Baptist's theme was, The kingdom of heaven is at hand; and his ethical teaching, Repent! Bring forth fruits meet for repentance! was designed to prepare men for entering into the kingdom. And our Lord's theme was the same, the coming of the kingdom of God; and His moral teaching, such as the Sermon on the Mount, was intended to show the nature of the kingdom and the condition of mind necessary to inherit it. Of course, the outlook of the prophets was not bounded by the downfall of the State. Their outlook embraces also that which lies beyond, for the great events transacting around them, being all moral interpositions of J″, seem to them always to issue in the coming in of the perfect kingdom of God; and this final condition of the people is virtually their chief theme.

i. General Teaching.—In general, the prophets may be characterized as religious idealists, who appealed directly to the spirit in man; who set the truth before men and exhorted them to follow it, not out of constraint, but in freedom of spirit, because it was good, and the will of their God. They never dreamed of legislative compulsion. The law recognized by Amos is the law of righteousness and humanity written on all men's hearts, whether Jew or heathen; the law of Hosea is the law of love to Him who had loved the people and called His son out of Egypt. The prophets really occupied the Christian position; they demanded with St. Paul that men's conduct and life should be the free expression of the spirit within them, a spirit to be formed and guided by the fellowship of God and the thankful remembrance of His redemption wrought for them. Later prophets perceive that man's spirit must be determined by an operation of God, who will write His law on it (Jer 31^{33}), or who will put His own spirit within him as the impulsive principle of his life (Is 32^{15}, Ezk $36^{26ff.}$). Hence ritual has no place in the prophetic teaching, that which is moral alone has any meaning. No doubt the prophets assail abuses in ritual worship as well as in social life, and men more practical than they embody their principles in legislative form, for the prophets, instead of being mere expounders of the Law, are indirectly the authors of the Law; but when this legislation, even though an embodiment of prophetic teaching, is elevated by authority into State or ecclesiastical law, however necessary the step might be, it is a descent from the NT position occupied by the prophets.

The special teaching of the individual prophets is treated under their respective names. Here only two or three general points can be alluded to.

(1) The prophets all teach that J″ alone is God of Israel, and that He is a moral Being, whose acceptable service is a religious and righteous life (Mic 6^{8}), and not mere ritual (Hos 6^{6}, Is $1^{10ff.}$, Jer $7^{21ff.}$, 1 S 15^{22}). Questions have been raised whether in these points the prophets follow a law, such as the Decalogue, or whether the moral Decalogue be not, in fact, a concentration of their teaching. All classes of the people agreed with the prophets that J″ was the particular God of Israel, but a theoretical monotheistic faith cannot have prevailed among the mass of the people. Such a faith, though only informally and indirectly enunciated by them, evidently prevailed among the prophets from Elijah downwards; but how much older the belief may be and how widely it was entertained among the people, the very scanty history scarcely enables us to determine. Perhaps too much stress may be laid on the value, particularly in early times of simple thought, of an abstract monotheism. What was important was the nature of J″, the closeness of relation to Him which conditioned human life, and the worshipper's feeling that He was *his* God; whether other beings to be called gods existed, and were served by the nations, was practically of little moment. Even the polytheism of the heathen sometimes came practically near to monotheism. Worshippers usually devoted themselves to one out of the many gods known in their country; they usually, therefore, thought of him as god alone, and gradually assigned all the distinctive attributes of other deities, *i.e.* virtually of deity, to him. And one can conceive how particularism or monolatry, the idea that J″ was the particular God of Israel and of Israelites, may have had in a rude age an educative and religious influence which an abstract monotheism might not have exerted. To it may be greatly due that extraordinary sense of the presence of J″ in the people's history and the individual's life, that personal intimacy with God, characteristic of OT religion.

So far as the *worship* of J″ is concerned, it is remarkable that Elijah, though contending against Baal worship, is not said to have assailed the calves. The history of Elijah is a fragment, and it may be precarious to draw conclusions from the historian's silence. Even Amos does not refer formally to the calves; he condemns the ritual worship as a whole, and threatens with destruction the seats of calf-worship; and his condemnation of the whole probably applies to the details; at least it is wholly inept to infer that he saw no evil in the calves. Hosea is the first to condemn them expressly, and in Judah Isaiah in like manner often assails images (Is 2^{8} 17^{8}). When the early prophets assail the worship at the *high places*, it is the nature of the worship that they attack, not the multiplicity of altars. But Jer. and Ezek., along with Deut., go further, and condemn the high places themselves; they are Canaanite and heathen (Dt 12^{2}, Jer 2^{7}, Ezk $20^{27ff.}$).* The prophets' attacks on sacrifice are in opposition to the exaggerated worth assigned to ritual by the people. Their position is not, as is often said, that sacrifice without a righteous life is an abomination to J″, but rather this: that sacrifice as a *substitute* for a righteous life is an abomination. It is a question of service of J″: and J″ desires a righteous life so much more than sacrifice, that He may be said not to desire sacrifice at all (Hos 6^{6}).

(2) Though the prophets use the word 'covenant' little down to the time of Deut. and Jer., the idea they express of the relation of J″ and Israel is the same. J″ says in Am 3^{2} 'You only have I known of all the

---

* In Mic 1^{5} LXX reads 'sin of Judah' for 'high places of Judah.'

families of the earth.' J″'s choice of Israel was a conscious, historical act. With this all the prophets agree. No motive is assigned for the choice, and no purpose to be served by Israel thus chosen is referred to. In Amos for all that appears, the choice of Israel is virtually an act of what is called sovereignty. In Hosea the act is regarded as due to J″'s love (11^1). This makes the act moral, and explains it, though the love itself is necessarily inexplicable. In Deut. the love is denied to be due to anything in Israel, and seems just explained by itself (Dt 7^8). In Isaiah the idea of a purpose had in view in the choice begins to appear. J″ is the universal sovereign, and His making of Israel His people was in order that He might be recognized as God and alone exalted (2^{11}). In Isaiah sin is insensibility to J″ the King, levity and self-exaltation; and religion is recognition of J″ and His benefits, a constant consciousness of Him and trust in Him. While Jer. shares Isaiah's idea of what true religion is (9^{24}), he speaks of Israel being chosen 'that they might be unto me for a people, and for a name, and for a glory.' In other words, Israel was chosen that by its character it might reflect moral fame upon its God, that is, make known J″ to the world of men, if not by active operations, by showing in its own character the nature of its God. The prophet of Is 40 ff. often expresses the same idea (43^{21} 44^{23}), but he adds to it the conception of an active operation of Israel in making J″ known to the nations (Is 42^{1-4} 49^{1-6} $60^{1\text{ff.}}$). This is the highest generalization regarding Israel's place in the religious history of mankind, and the purpose of J″ in its election.

(3) The prophets address themselves to the nation; but in appealing to the whole they appeal to each individual, though no doubt specially to those whose conduct is influential in shaping the destiny of the whole. J″ chose a nation because His idea of mankind, of which He will be God, is that of a social organism. It is this organism of which He is God. But though the relation might seem to be with the ideal unity, it operated in disposing all the parts making up the unity rightly to one another. And in this way each individual felt J″ to be his God. It is absurd to argue that the nationalism of OT religion excluded individual religion. But the later prophets feel that a true social organism can be created only out of true individual members, and they begin to construct a whole out of single persons. Many things united to work in this direction. The nation no longer existed, but the individuals remained, and J″ and religion remained. Moreover, personal piety, such as was seen most conspicuously in Jer., but was not confined to him, was a great creative force; the sense of relation to God made powerful men, and the sense of the relation in common united them. Reflexion also did something. Ezekiel saw the practical need of reconstructing a people, and recognized this to be his task. He felt himself in a certain way a Pastor with a care of individual souls. And he saw the need of creating independent individual personalities by disentangling them from the national whole and its doom—'All souls are mine, saith J″; as the soul of the father so also the soul of the son.' But, however individualistic the operations of the prophets of this age were, they never abandon the idea of founding a new social organism. Individualism is but the necessary stage towards this. J″ is God of mankind, not of an inorganic mass of individual men.

ii. PREDICTIVE PROPHECY.—As the prophets are absorbed in the destinies of the kingdom of God, it will be chiefly *momenta* in its history and development and its final condition that will form the subject of their predictions. They will have little occasion to refer to the future of individuals, or to predict events in their history. There are instances: *e.g.* Samuel predicted some things that would happen to Saul, which the history declares did happen (1 S 9. 10). Jer. predicted the death of Hananiah within the year, which took place (Jer 28). But most of the predictions relate to the history of the State and its destinies. Micaiah predicted the defeat and death of Ahab at Ramoth-gilead (1 K 22). Isaiah predicted the failure of the Northern coalition to subdue Jerusalem (Is 7); he also predicted the overthrow in two or three years of Damascus and Northern Israel before the Assyrians (Is 8. 17). In like manner he predicted the failure of Sennacherib to capture Jerusalem; while, on the other hand, Jer. predicted the failure of the Egyptians to relieve Jerusalem when besieged by Nebuchadnezzar. And in general, apart from details, the main predictions of the prophets regarding Israel and the nations were verified in history (*e.g.* Am 1. 2). The chief predictions of the prophets relate (1) to the imminent downfall of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah; (2) to what lies beyond this, viz. the restoration of the kingdom of God; and (3) to the state of the people in their condition of final felicity. To the last belong the Messianic predictions. It is Israel, the kingdom and people of God, that is properly the subject of prophecy, but other nations are involved in its history; *e.g.* Assyria is the instrument in the hand of J″ in humiliating Israel, and Babylon is the obstacle which has to be removed before its Restoration, and thus these kingdoms and others become also the subject of prophecy.

1. *Prediction in general.*—There are two questions in connexion with prophetic prediction which have given rise to discussion: first, how are the prophetic anticipations as to the future to be explained? and second, what is the explanation of the prophet's feeling that the events which he predicts, *e.g.* the downfall of the State, the coming of the day of the Lord, and the inbringing of the perfect kingdom of God, are imminent? As to the first point, it must be obvious that the prophetic anticipations or certainties cannot be explained as the conclusions of a shrewd political insight into the condition of the people or the nations at the time. Neither can the anticipations of the nation's dissolution be the mere pessimistic forebodings of a declining and exhausted age, for the material and political condition of the North in the time of Amos, and of the South in the early days of Isaiah, was not such as to suggest such gloomy outlook. And least of all can it be pretended that the predictions are only apparent, being, in fact, written *post eventum.* It has been suggested that the human mind, or at any rate some rarely endowed minds, possess a faculty of presentiment or divination, and that it is to this faculty that the prophet's anticipations or certainties in regard to the occurrence of future events are due. Certainly, belief in the possession of such a faculty by peculiarly gifted persons has been prevalent in different ages and among different peoples, but anything like scientific proof of the existence of the faculty has probably never been offered. It would be remarkable if such a large number of persons as the prophets of Israel should all be endowed with this extraordinary faculty. And it would be even more strange if a faculty of this kind, the operation of which appears to be blind and unrational, should be found to manifest itself so generally just in the purest period of prophecy, at the time when prophecy had thrown off all naturalistic and physical characteristics and become purely ethical. Probably, if any one of the data of this supposed faculty of presentiment were analyzed, it would be found to be the result of a

complex process. There would be, first, a peculiar temperament, suggesting events sad or joyous; then certain facts presented to the mind, and then the unconscious operation of the mind on these facts, the whole resulting in the presentiment or vaticination. There may be obscure capacities in the mind not yet explored; and there may be sympathetic *rapports* of human nature with the greater nature around, and of man's mind with the moral mind of the universe, which give results by unconscious processes; and if there be such faculties and relations, then we may assume that they would also enter into prophecy, for there is nothing common or unclean in the nature of man. In point of fact such presentiments as we can observe to be authentic are chiefly products of the conscience or moral reason; and Jer., as has been said, insists that true prophecy in general is based on moral grounds and consists of moral judgments. And certainly all the prophets, in analyzing their intuitions of the future and laying them before the people, usually present them in the form of a moral syllogism. Thus Mic $3^{9ff.}$, after enumerating the misdeeds and oppressions of the heads of the house of Israel says, 'Therefore on your account shall Zion be plowed like a field.' And Is $5^{11ff.}$, having described the luxuriousness and ungodly levity of his day, says, 'Therefore hath hell enlarged her maw.' Everywhere the menacing future is connected with the evil past by *therefore.** Cf. Am 1. 2.

The other question, How is it that the prophets bring in the consummation and final perfection of the kingdom of God immediately on the back of the great events in the history of the people and the nations taking place in their own day? may not be susceptible of a single answer. (1) An explanation has been sought in what is called the *perspective* of prophecy. Just as one looking on a mountainous region sees a hill which appears to rise up close behind another, but when he approaches nearer he finds the second to have receded a great way from it; so the prophet sees great events close behind one another, though in history and time they are far apart. This is an illustration, but no explanation. The explanation is usually found in the theory of prophetic vision. But in the literary prophets, vision in any strict sense has little place. The prophetic perception, however, was of the nature of intuition, and something of the peculiarity referred to may be due to this. (2) In the period of the canonical prophets it is less events that suggest religious ideas and hopes than ideas already won that explain events. The prophets are not now learning principles, but applying them. Their minds are full of religious beliefs and certainties, such as the certainty of a reign of righteousness upon the earth; and Riehm has suggested that it is their eager expectations and earnest longings that make them feel the consummation to be at hand. (3) Another point may be suggested. It is only in general amidst convulsions that rend society that the prophets come forward. These convulsions and revolutions were the operation of J″, and His operations had all one end in view, the bringing in of His kingdom, and thus to the prophets these great movements seemed the heralds of the full manifestation of J″. For the movements had all moral significance: they were a judgment on His people, which would so change them as to lead into the final salvation (Is $29^{9ff.\ 17ff.}$ $30^{19ff.}$ $31^{5ff.}$), or they were the judgment of the world, removing the obstacle to the coming of His kingdom (Is 40 ff.); and thus the present and the final were organically connected, the chain was formed of moral links. Further, the prophets appear to entertain and operate with general conceptions. Israel is not merely a people, it is the people of God. Babylon is not only a hostile nation, it is the idolatrous world. The conflict between them in the age of Cyrus is a conflict of principles, of Jehovism and idolatry, of truth and falsehood, of good and evil. It is not a conflict having great moral significance, it has absolute significance, and is final: 'Ashamed, confounded, are all of them that are makers of graven images; Israel is saved with an everlasting salvation' (Is 45^{16}).

2. **Messianic Prophecy.**—The term Messianic is used in a wider and a narrower sense. In the wider sense the term is virtually equivalent to Eschatological, and comprehends all that relates to the consummation and perfection of the kingdom and people of God. In the narrower sense it refers to a personage, the Messiah, who is, not always, but often, a commanding figure in this perfect condition of the kingdom. The conception of a final condition of mankind could hardly have arisen before a general idea of the nature of the human economy had been reached. Insight into the meaning of human history, however, was not attained in Israel by reflection on the life of mankind, but by revelation of the nature of God. God was the real maker of human history. Hence, when so broad a view as that of human life or history as a whole is taken, it is, so to speak, secondary: it is a reflection of the view taken of God, of His Being, and therefore of what the issue will be when He realizes Himself in the history and life of mankind. So soon as the conception of the perfect ethical Being of J″ was reached, there could not but immediately follow the idea also that human history, which was not so much under His providence as His direct operation, would eventuate in a kingdom of righteousness which would embrace all mankind. The way, no doubt, in which this is conceived is that this kingdom of righteousness is first realized in Israel, and that through Israel it extends to all mankind —for the nations come to Israel's light (Is 60). But it is the unity of God that suggests to men's minds the unity of mankind; and the moral being of God that suggests the moral perfection of mankind. And such ideas hardly prevailed before the prophetic age.

The Messianic in the narrower sense is part of the general doctrine of the Eschatology of the kingdom (see ESCHATOLOGY). The 'Messianic' in this sense is hardly a distinct thing or hope. The Messiah is not an independent figure, unlike all other figures or personages, and higher than they; on the contrary, He is always some actual historical figure idealized. The term means 'anointed,' and only two personages received anointing—the king, and possibly the priest; though no doubt the term 'anointed' was used more generally in later times (Ps 105^{15}). The OT is occupied with two subjects—Jehovah and the people, and the relation between them. The Eschatological perfection is the issue of a redemptive movement. Now, the only redeemer of His people is J″—salvation belongeth unto the Lord. The Eschatological perfection is always due to His operation—the perfection consists in His perfect presence among His people, for the idea of salvation is the fellowship of God and men. But, on the other hand, the people are not passive. The goal is set before them, and they strive towards it. J″ awakens ideals in their mind, and aspirations after them; and in contrast to such ideals the imperfections of the present are felt, and an effort made to overcome them. But it is characteristic of the redemptive operations of J″ that He influences the people and leads them forward, through great personages whom He raises up among them. Such persons are different in different ages—judges, prophets, kings, and the like. These He enlightens so that they give the people knowledge, or He endows them by His spirit with kingly attributes, so that they govern the people aright (Is $11^{1ff.}$ 28^{6} $32^{1ff.}$), and lead them on to the final perfection. But J″ always remains the Saviour; and if there be any mediatorial personage it is J″ in him, the *Divine* in him, that saves. Naturally, the most exalted and influential personage is the king: he has the people wholly in his hand; the ideal is that he reigns in righteousness and secures peace (Is $32^{1ff.}$). The Messiah is mainly the ideal King. Thus the Eschatological perfection may be supposed reached in two ways: *first*, J″ the only Saviour may come in person to abide among His people for ever. In the earlier prophets His coming is called the day of the Lord—a day of judgment, and eternal salvation behind the judgment. What precise conception the prophets formed of the coming of J″ may not be easy to determine. But it was not merely a coming in wonderful works, or in the word of His prophets, or in a spiritual influence upon the people's minds, it was something objective and personal. In later prophets, such as Ezek. and the post-exile prophets, it was a coming to His temple; and when He comes Jerusalem is called *Jehovah Shammah*, 'the Lord is there' (Ezk 48^{35}, Hag $2^{7ff.}$, Mal 3^{1}). Examples of such representations are Is 40^{1-11} 'The Lord cometh with might, his arm ruling for him; the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together,' and Ps $102^{15.16.22}$. But, *secondly*, sometimes the manifestation of J″ is not considered immediate and in person: He is manifested in the Davidic king. The Davidic king may then be called *Immanuel*, 'God with us,' and *El Gibbor*, 'God mighty' (Is 7. 9. 11). In NT both these classes of passages are interpreted in a Messianic sense. To NT writers Christ had approved Himself as God manifest in the flesh, and even such passages as were spoken by the OT writer of J″ are regarded as fulfilled in Him and spoken of Him, for no distinction was drawn between these two things (*e.g.* Is 40^{1-11} in Mk 1^{2}, Ps 102 in He $1^{10ff.}$).

---

* The arguments by which Giesebrecht, *Berufsbegabung*, 13 ff., supports the theory of a 'faculty of presentiment' have little cogency. This faculty is supposed to reveal itself particularly on the approach of death (Gn 27. 49). The contemporaries of most great religious personages have attributed to them a prophetic gift. The answer of John Knox to those who credited him with such a gift is worth reading: 'My assurances are not marvels of Merlin, nor yet the dark sentences of profane prophecy. But, *first*, the plain truth of God's word, *second*, the invincible justice of the everlasting God, and *third*, the ordinary course of His punishments and plagues from the beginning, are my assurances and grounds.' *History*, p. 277 (Guthrie's ed.).

(*a*) *The Monarchy.*—J″ is represented at all times as Saviour; and this idea is of special importance, because it lays the foundation for both the work and person of the Messiah, as the word is ordinarily used. During the monarchy the prominent figure in the salvation of the people or in ruling it when saved by J″ is the Davidic king. The true king of Israel is J″: Israel is the kingdom of God; and this is a general eschatological idea, suggesting what the kingdom will be when it is fully realized and J″ truly reigns (Ps 96–99). But it is the Davidic monarchy that is Messianic in the narrower sense. This unites two lines—the Divine and the human. The Davidic king is the representative of J″; truly to represent Him, J″ Himself, the true king, must be in him and manifest Himself through him (Is 9^{1-6} $11^{1ff.}$). But, on the other hand, both David and his rule were suggestive. (1) He was himself a devout worshipper of J″, endowed with the spirit of the knowledge and the fear of the Lord (Is 11^{2}). (2) He subdued the peoples and extended the limits of his kingdom till for that age it might be called an empire, suggesting the universality of the kingdom of God (Ps 2^{8} $72^{8ff.}$, Zec 9^{10}). (3) His rule was just and the end of his reign peaceful, suggesting the idea of a ruler perfectly righteous, and a reign of peace (2 S $23^{3ff.}$, Is 9^{5-7} 2^{4}, Mic 5^{5}, Ps $72^{3.7}$, Zec 9^{10}). (4) Finally, he founded a dynasty, which suggested the idea of the perpetuity of the rule of his house over the kingdom of J″ (Is 9^{7}, Ps 72^{5}). Such points may not have struck men's minds in David's own age, but in later and less happy times, when his reign was idealized, they were noticed, and entered into the conception of the future king and kingdom of J″. The promise given by Nathan to David takes up the first and fourth of these points —the close relation between J″ and those of David's house who shall sit upon the throne, and the perpetuity of the rule of his family (2 S $7^{11ff.}$). This promise is the basis of all subsequent prophecy regarding the Davidic king. Such passages as Ps 2 take up the promise, 'I will be to him a father, and he shall be to me a son,' while the prophecies Is 7–11 are founded on the promise, 'Thy throne shall be established for ever.' It was during the Syro-Ephraimitic war (B.C. 735 f.) that the idea of a special future king of David's house was expressed by Isaiah. The Northern coalition meditated the deposition of the Davidic dynasty, but the prophet's faith in the promises given to David enabled him to foresee that though his house should share the humiliations of the people and be cut down to the ground, yet out of the root of Jesse a new shoot would arise on whom the spirit of the Lord would rest (Is 11). From this time forward there is a special Messianic hope, that is, the hope of an extraordinary king out of the house of David. This hope, though in some periods not referred to, continues to prevail to the end of the people's history. Subsequent prophets repeat, but add little to, Isaiah's ideas, *e.g.* Mic 4. 5 (though the age of the passages is disputed), Jer $23^{5.6}$ 30^{9}, Ezk 17^{22-24} $34^{23ff.}$ 37^{22-28}. Prophets prior to Isaiah, as Am 9^{11}, Hos 3^{5}, do not seem yet to have reached the idea of a special king of David's house; and other prophets before the Exile, Nahum, Zephaniah, and Habakkuk, though some of them refer to the final condition of the people and the world, do not allude to an expected future king.*

(*b*) *The Exile.*—After the destruction of the monarchy and the abasement of the Davidic house the hope of a great ruler out of that house for a time disappears (*e.g.* in Is 40 ff.). The general eschatological hope of the perfection and felicity of the people is even more brilliant than before, but no great personage is referred to as ruler of the saved people. J″ Himself is the Saviour and the everlasting King, who feeds His flock like a shepherd (Is 40^{11}). And the sure mercies of David—the privileges and the mission of the Davidic house—are now transferred to the people (Is $55^{3f.}$). Circumstances turned the thoughts of the prophets in other directions. God's providential treatment of Israel suggested to them new conceptions. They reflected on the meaning of the history of Israel and its sufferings, and on its place in the moral history of mankind. And there arose the great conception of '**the Servant of the Lord.**' The phrase expresses the highest generalization on the meaning of Israel in the religious life of mankind—Israel is the Servant of J″ to the nations, to bring to them the knowledge of God. Scholars do not universally accept this interpretation, but they agree that the ideas expressed by the prophet in regard to the Servant have been more than verified in Christ. Of these ideas the two chief are: *first*, that the Servant is the missionary of J″ to the nations—he bringeth forth right to the nations, that the salvation of J″ may be to the ends of the earth (Is 42^{1-4} 49^{1-6} etc.);

---

* The Targum interprets Hos 3^{5} of the Messiah.

and *second*, by his sufferings he atones for the sins of the members of the people (Is 53, cf. 40^2). The Servant is the 'word' and spirit of J″ incarnated in the seed of Abraham. This incarnated word will yet redeem all Israel and be the light of the nations. Here again it is the *Divine* that saves; the word of J″, the true knowledge of the true God, implanted once for all in the heart of mankind in Israel, which will accomplish that whereto it is sent (Is 55^{10}). As Delitzsch remarks, the Servant of the Lord, though strictly not a Messianic figure at all in the narrower sense, contributes more elements, and those of the profoundest kind, to the Christological conception realized in our Lord than all other figures together. The ideal of the Davidic king is that of a ruler just and compassionate, whose rule secures righteousness and peace and the wellbeing of the poor and meek (Is 11^{1-9}): whether in Is 9^{1-7} he be the saviour or only ruler of a people saved by J″ may be disputed. But in connexion with the Servant of the Lord deeper conceptions appear, such as that of atonement for sin through the suffering of the guiltless, and the idea that the highest glory is the reward of him who loses his life for others (Is 53^{12}). In former prophets, who foresee both the rejection and the restoration of the people, the restoration is unmediated by any atonement beyond the people's repentance: God forgives their sins of His mercy and restores them. In Deutero-Isaiah the Servant atones for the sins of the people, and their restoration follows. Former prophets, owing to the people's misconceptions of the meaning of ritual, assail the sacrifices; Deut.-Is. combines the sacrificial idea with the sufferings of the Servant, lifting the idea out of the region of animal life into that of human life. These two figures, the Davidic king and the suffering Servant, supply the chief contents of the idea of the Christian Messiah. It is strange how little impression the conceptions of the prophet of the Exile seem to have made upon those who followed him. While his universalism—the idea that Israel is the missionary of J″ to mankind that His salvation may be to the end of the earth—entered into the thought of the people and profoundly influenced it, his conception of atonement through the innocent bearing the sins of the guilty hardly if at all reappears. There may be a far-off echo of it perhaps in the Rabbinic idea that the merit of great saints may avail for others. In the OT period the suffering Servant was never identified with the Davidic king. The idea that the royal Messiah suffers *for* the sins of his people does not appear. No doubt Immanuel, who appears amidst the Assyrian desolations, shares the hardships of his generation, living on thick milk and honey like all those left in the land (Is 7); and in Zec 9^9 Zion's king shares the character of the saved people, being meek and lowly and a prince of peace, but nothing is said of suffering in behalf of others.

(*c*) *Post-exile Period.*—At the Restoration the general eschatological hope, as it appears in Haggai and Zechariah, was that so soon as the temple was finished J″ would return to it in glory; at His manifestation He would shake all nations, who would turn to Him, and His universal kingdom would come (Hag 2^6, Zec $1^{16ff.}$ $2^{10ff.}$). Side by side with this hope, however, the more special Messianic hope of a ruler from David's house also appears (cf. Ezk $34^{11. 23}$). This ruler appears to be Zerubbabel (Hag $2^{22f.}$). But with the Restoration the priest becomes more prominent. The calamitous history of the nation sank deep into the popular mind, and seemed to be the seal set to the prophetic teaching regarding the people's sin. And from henceforth the sense of sin in the people's mind was deeper; and that view of sacrifice according to which it was a propitiation for sin assumed a larger prominence, and the other idea of it as a gift for God's acceptance sank proportionally. It was really the nation's history that impressed men with the sense of their sinfulness rather than the ceremonial enactments of the ritual law. The developed ritual expressed the new conscience of sin, it did not create it. The royal and the priestly now appear united in the final ruler. In Ps 110 he is a crowned priest. In the passage Zec 6^{9-13} it is uncertain whether the Branch (the Davidic ruler) is to be 'a priest upon his throne' or to have a priest associated with him (RVm). But the Davidic king continues to be the Messianic figure of the post-exile period, *e.g.* in Ps 2. 72—both late passages—Zec 9, and particularly in the *Psalms of Solomon* (Ps 17. 18, *c.* 100–50 B.C.). A great part of the Psalter is eschatological in the general sense. The Psalmists' minds are filled with the eschatological ideas of the prophets, now become the faith of the people—the idea of the manifestation of J″, the judgment of the world, the redemption of the people of J″ and their eternal blessedness, with the participation of the nations in their salvation; but it is only in a few psalms that the personal Messiah is referred to, *e.g.* Ps 2. 72. 110; cf. 89. 132. It is uncertain when the title **Messiah** began to be given to the expected future king. The term can scarcely have been a proper name or special title for the future king in the time of the Exile, for Deutero-Is. uses it of the Persian king, 'Thus saith the Lord to his anointed (מְשִׁיחוֹ messiah), to Cyrus' (Is 45^1). But the name was used quite currently of the expected king or saviour in the age of Christ, for even the woman of Samaria employs it, 'I know that Messiah cometh' (Jn 4^{25}). The title has been supposed by some to be given to the expected king in Dn 9^{25}, but more probably it is applied there to some high priest. It was perhaps Ps 2 that suggested the special application of the title to the expected king, 'The kings of the earth set themselves against the Lord and his Messiah.' The title 'Son of God' seems taken from the same psalm, both being employed in St. Peter's confession, 'Thou art the Messiah, the Son of the living God.' The psalm is based on Nathan's prophecy, and appears to be a directly Messianic passage, and probably belongs to a late date. The only creative book in post-exile times is Daniel. Chap. 2 is eschatological in the general sense, the stone cut out from the mountains that brake in pieces the image being a symbol of the kingdom of God which shall destroy the world-kingdom in its successive historical forms. It is less certain whether this general point of view be maintained in ch. 7, or whether the personal Messiah be referred to in the phrase 'a son of man.' The former interpretation is the more probable, the expression 'a son (or, child) of man,' *i.e.* a man, being used as a symbol of 'the people of the saints of the Most High' to whom the kingdom is given. The spirit of man shall animate this kingdom, whereas the kingdoms of the world are animated by the spirit of the wild beast. Very soon, however, the phrase 'son of man' was interpreted to mean the Messiah, as appears from the Bk. of Enoch.*

The Messianic is usually held to circle round the three great figures—the prophet, priest, and king. But the basis is broader than this: the Messianic age being the time of the perfection of the people of God, any factor that enters into the life of men as an essential element of it may be idealized and made prominent. The prophet or prophecy is typical of the general eschatological state of the people of God, for then J″ will pour out His spirit on all flesh (Jl 2^{28}, Jer 31^{34}, Is 54^{13}), and the prayer of Moses, 'Would that all the Lord's people were prophets!' shall be answered. But otherwise the prophet is not directly a Messianic figure (on Dt 18^{14} see above in B. i.); he is the herald of the advent of J″ to Zion (Is 40^{3}) or to His temple (Mal 3^{1}). The Servant of the Lord is in a lofty sense a prophetic figure; but he is not a prophet like other prophets with a message for any particular time or circumstances, nor does he give particular teaching or predict particular events. He is the bearer of the whole revelation of the true God, the 'word' of God incarnate (Is $49^{1\text{ff.}}$), and therefore prophet of J″ to the world.* The priest or priesthood is also predictive of the general eschatological condition of the people, for 'they shall be a kingdom of priests and an holy nation' (Ex 19^{6}), the two ideas suggested by priesthood being holiness and privilege to draw near to God (Nu 16^{5}). But even in Zec $3^{8.9}$ the atoning function of the priest appears still only typical of J‴s own act of forgiveness, who will remove the iniquity of the people in one day. The Servant of the Lord makes himself an offering for sin (Is 53^{10}), but he does not appear to be regarded as a priest. Besides these three great figures, however, there is another who contributes to the perfect ideal realized in Christ, viz. the saint or holy one, that is, the individual righteous man. It is particularly the personal character and experience of this figure, his faith in God, his struggles with adversity and death, his hopes of immortality, that come prominently to the light. It is he who says in Ps 16, 'I have set the Lord ever before me: because he is at my right hand, I shall not be moved. For thou wilt not give over my soul to Sheol; nor suffer thine Holy One to see the pit.' It is he also who speaks in Ps 40, 'Sacrifice and offering thou wouldst not. Then said I, Lo, I am come to do thy will, O my God; yea, thy law is within my heart. I have preached righteousness in the great congregation.' In Ps 22^{22} a speaker says, 'I will declare thy name unto my brethren: in the midst of the congregation will I praise thee. For he hath not despised nor abhorred the affliction of the afflicted, nor hid his face from him.' The ideas in this passage differ from those in Is 53. The afflictions of the sufferer are not borne for others. But he suffers innocently and wrongly; and the interposition of J″ to deliver him is so signal, and gives such a revelation of what J″ is, that they that behold it turn unto Him—all the ends of the earth shall remember, and turn unto the Lord (v.^{27}). Such lofty expectations were scarcely likely to be connected with any individual personage, however outstanding; more probably the sufferer in the psalm is the true people of J″ personified, as in Deutero-Isaiah.

---

* There has been considerable controversy lately over the meaning of the phrase 'the son of man' in the Gospels; cf. Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, vi. 188; Schmiedel in *Protest. Monatshefte*, 1898; Lietzmann, *Menschensohn*, 1896; Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, p. 191. See L. A. Muirhead in *Expos. Times*, Nov., Dec. 1899; and art. SON OF MAN.

In a sense, great part of the OT is Messianic. For it is just the peculiarity of OT that it struck out lofty moral and redemptive ideals, on occasions the most diverse, and in connexion with personages and in circumstances very various. These ideals were ultimately combined together to express the being of Him who was the ideal on all sides. But this Messianic of OT was, so to speak, unconscious. The writers had not the future king in their mind. They were speaking of other persons, or they were uttering presentiments, or what seemed to them religious necessities, or projecting forward brilliant spiritual hopes and anticipations. There was a spirit in them broader than the hope of a future person—a spirit as broad as the kingdom of God in all its needs, in all its endowments, and in all the possible height of its attainment. The history of the people's mind from the Restoration onward is mainly the history of a reflection on these ideals. They tried these ideals by the conditions of the present, and found that they and the present world were incompatible, and they projected them into the future, and thus the ideals became prophetic. Further, they had received the hope of a great deliverer, and he became a centre around whom the ideals, whether of glory or holiness or even of suffering, could be gathered, and they attached them to him. The woman of Samaria, for example, regards the Messiah as one that 'will declare unto us all things.'

KINDS OF MESSIANIC PASSAGES.—The question put in regard to any passage by historical exegesis is, What did the Heb. writer mean? What personage had he in his mind in the passage? There may thus be several classes of Messianic prophecies. (1) Directly Messianic prophecies. In these the prophet or writer had the expected future Messiah actually present to his own mind. Examples are Is 7. 9. 11, Mic 4. 5, Jer $23^{5.6}$ 30^{9}, Ezk $17^{22\text{-}24}$ $34^{23\text{ff.}}$ $37^{22\text{-}28}$, Zec 3^{8} 6^{12} $9^{9\text{ff.}}$, Ps 2. 72. 110, and other passages. Is 7 is denied by many to be Messianic (see IMMANUEL), while Is 9. 11, though generally admitted to be Messianic, are held by some to be later than Isaiah (see ISAIAH). In Is 9. 11 it is not taught that the Messiah is God, but that J″ is fully present in him. The general eschatological idea was that the presence of J″ in person among men would be their salvation; the prophet gives a particular turn to this general idea, representing that J″ shall be present in the Davidic king. The two are not identified, but J″ is fully manifested in the Messiah. The passage goes very far; and though the Christian doctrine of incarnation contains a positive conception in it which OT saints did not reach, theology is obliged to limit that positive by negations which seem rather to neutralize it; and though the phrase 'became' man is used, it is affirmed at the same time that the two natures remained distinct, and that the Divine suffered no change and no confusion or composition with the human. (2) Indirectly Messianic passages. These are passages in which the writer had some OT officer or personage in his mind, but spoke of him according to the idea of his office or function or character; and this ideal is transferred to Christ in the NT, as being actually realized only in Him, or at least in Him first. Examples are what is said of 'man' in Ps 8, of Israel as Servant of the Lord in Is 40 ff., Ps 22, of the 'prophet' in Dt 18, of the saint or holy one in Ps 16. 40, and much else. Such passages are sometimes called typically Messianic, the idea being that OT personages, such as king, prophet, and the like, were types, that is, designed prophetic suggestions, of the Messiah in some of his essential redemptive functions or experiences. The exegesis of Calvin gave vogue to this method of interpretation, and applied it to passages to which it is scarcely applicable, *e.g.* Ps 2. 72. According to this interpretation Ps 2 is supposed spoken of some actual king of Israel; but as its language transcends what was verified in any ordinary king, it had a more proper fulfilment in Christ. Ps 2, however, could hardly have been spoken of an actual king; the universalism of its ideas, *e.g.* 'the kings of the earth' who oppose J″ and His Anointed, the extent of the King's inheritance as the Son of J″, viz. 'the nations' and 'the ends of the earth,' and the final kindling of J‴s anger, all mark it out as an eschatological and directly Messianic passage. The same is true of Ps 72. Very confused language is used by interpreters in regard to these so-called typical prophecies (see *Expositor*, Nov. 1878). NT does not recognize any class of *indirect* Messianic prophecies, for God being the speaker in the OT the person in whom the language was fulfilled must be the person of whom it was spoken. So far as the Heb. writer is concerned, he had in his mind *either* the expected future Messiah, *or* he had some OT person. In the latter case, if his language transcends what could be realized in the OT personage, he spoke ideally, that is, according to the religious idea of the personage or his function or his experience.

D. *INTERPRETATION AND FULFILMENT.*—There are certain peculiarities in the language and thought of the prophets which have to be taken into account in interpreting their writings, and in considering how their predictions or constructions of the future have been or will be fulfilled. These peculiarities so struck early writers on prophecy that they devoted great attention to them, fancying that the prophetic writings were constructed on a particular plan, which had special purposes in view. Hence they speak greatly of what they call the 'structure' of prophecy, and lay down elaborate rules for the way in which prophecies relating to a distant future must have been expressed, in order that when fulfilled they might be recognized to have been genuine supernatural predictions.* The language also, as well as the form, was thought to differ from that of ordinary literature, symbols being greatly used instead of plain expressions. This artificial way of regarding the prophecies was greatly due to the apologetic or evidential use made of them. But there is nothing in the form of the prophecies so special that it deserves the name of 'structure'; neither is symbol to any great extent employed instead of ordinary language. The prophets were practical teachers, such as we might expect men of their nation and time to be, and their prophetic addresses are cast in the form that would be most easily understood by their hearers. They were usually men of powerful imagination, and hence their language is poetical and to some extent figurative; and they were men living under a particular kind of constitution or dispensation, and in certain conditions of the world, and their ideas naturally are clothed in the forms suggested by their OT constitution, and those conditions of the ancient world in which they lived. This OT constitution and these conditions of the ancient world have passed away, but the religious ideas and truths expressed by the prophets still remain and live. Obviously, to *interpret* the prophets we must read them literally, endeavouring to throw ourselves back into their circumstances and the conditions of the world around them, and into their mind in such conditions: if we fail to do this, and fasten our attention only on their ideas and truths as valid for other times than theirs, we do not interpret but only *apply* their prophecies. Some points bearing on fulfilment may be briefly alluded to.

---

* By the time of Deutero-Isaiah the idea of the 'word' of God had become generalized; it is the true knowledge of the true God, and this is the *torah* of the Servant to the nations.

* *e.g.* John Davison, *Discourses on Prophecy.*

i. The prophecies are poetical. They are not poetical in so strict a sense as books like Job and the Psalms are: the parallelism is not so exact, and the lines are not so uniform in length. Many parts of the early prophets are no doubt poetical even in form, and some modern commentators make great efforts to bring the present text of the prophecies into strictly poetical measure, assuming that it had this form originally; but their operations appear in many cases to be arbitrary. The approximation to poetical form appears less in later prophets, though the style still remains elevated. Though poetical the prophecies are not allegorical. When Is 2, for example, says that the day of the Lord shall be on all lofty mountains, and on all cedars of Lebanon and oaks of Bashan, these things are to be understood literally, and not allegorized into things human, such as great States, the higher ranks of society, or persons of eminence. Neither are the prophecies written in symbolical language. It has been said, for example, that 'mountain' in prophecy is a symbol for kingdom, and the like.* There is no evidence for this. 'Mountain' is a figure for any great obstacle in the way (Is 40^{4} 41^{15}, Zec 4^{7}) of whatever sort it be, but is no stereotyped symbol for kingdom. A beginning of fixed symbolism is made in Daniel, where 'horn' is a symbol for king or kingdom, and the usage is continued in the Apocalypse; but in Zec 1^{18} 'horn' is still merely a figure for any instrument of pushing and overthrow. The prophecies are poetical in the sense that they are imaginative and often ideal. Thus, in predicting the destruction of some great city at present full of life, the prophet will draw a picture of desolation with all its mournful characteristics—'their houses shall be full of doleful creatures; wolves shall cry in their castles, and jackals in the pleasant palaces' (Is 13^{21}); 'the pelican and the porcupine shall lodge in the chapiters thereof' (Zeph 2^{14}, Is $34^{13\text{ff.}}$). Such passages merely express the idea of complete desolation; the details are not predictions, but part of the expression of the idea. Similarly, in predicting the capture of Babylon by the Medes the prophet gives an ideal picture of the sack of a city—'their infants shall be dashed in pieces, and their wives ravished' (Is 13^{16}). We know that these things did not actually happen, for Cyrus entered Babylon 'in peace.' In some cases it may be difficult to say whether a passage be of this ideal kind, or be merely of the nature of a threat, *e.g.* Am 7^{17} spoken of Jeroboam, and Jer $22^{18\text{f.}}$ of Jehoiakim. A margin of uncertainty will remain in connexion with these ideal prophecies. The details given in the prophecy form a true and natural picture of such a thing as that predicted, and some of them may be realized, and the question may be put, Are these details thus realized to be regarded as a fulfilment of the prediction, or are they merely due to the nature of the case? Under the belief that in such prophecies the details are merely an expression of the idea, and that the idea exhausts the prediction, Dr. Arnold propounded a theory of fulfilment *ex abundanti*. For example, the prophecy Zec 9^{9}—'Behold, thy King cometh unto thee; lowly, and riding upon an ass,' merely by its details expresses the idea that the Messiah will not be a man of war, but humble and a prince of peace, and would have been fulfilled in Christ's mind and bearing, though none of the external details had been verified; the fact that Christ entered Jerusalem riding on an ass was a fulfilment *ex abundanti*, and due to a special providence of God.* Of course, the special fulfilment in this case may have been intentional on the part of Christ. In that case we must suppose that Christ's consciousness of being the Messiah spoken of was so powerful that it prompted Him to act in the character described. His action was merely His consciousness expressing itself by an irresistible impulse; it was not a matter of calculation intended to impress the multitude.

ii. Another thing which might modify fulfilment was this: the prophecies were designed to influence the conduct of the people; they were moral teaching, of the nature of threats or promises, which might be revoked or fulfilled according to the demeanour of those to whom they were addressed. Thus Jer 26^{12} says, 'The Lord sent me to prophesy against this city all the words which ye have heard. Now therefore amend your ways, and obey the voice of the Lord your God; and the Lord will repent him of the evil which he hath pronounced against you.' Prophecy was to such an extent moral, and meant to influence men's conduct, that threatenings of evil were rarely absolute. Jonah predicted in what seemed an absolute manner the destruction of Nineveh in forty days; but on the repentance of the people the threatened evil was averted. Jer 18 expressly formulates the moral and contingent character of prophecy, saying, in the words of J″, 'At what time I shall speak concerning a nation, to pluck up and destroy it; if that nation, against whom I have pronounced, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil which I sought to do unto them. And at what instant I speak concerning a nation to build and plant it; if it do evil in my sight, I will repent of the good wherewith I said I would benefit them. Now therefore go, speak to the men of Judah, Behold, I frame evil against you: return ye now every one from his evil way.' This moral character of prophecy was well understood in Israel, as appears from the intervention of the elders in behalf of Jeremiah: 'Then rose up certain of the elders, and said, Micah the Morashtite prophesied in the days of Hezekiah, saying, Zion shall be plowed like a field! Did Hezekiah and all Judah put him to death? Did they not fear the Lord, and entreat his favour, and the Lord repented him of the evil which he had pronounced against them?' (Jer 26^{17}). The principle was also well understood in the early Church, for Jerome remarks that many of the prophecies were given, 'not that they should, but that they should not, be fulfilled.' They were threatenings of evil designed to influence conduct and avert the very evils threatened. There were, no doubt, prophecies which were absolute. The promises of God were so; those that contained statements of His grace, as that the house of David should for ever bear rule in His kingdom, and many others which depended on His will alone. Even some of these contained an element of contingency in them, to this extent, that the conduct of men might retard although not invalidate their fulfilment; while on the other hand threatenings, though long delayed, might eventually be fulfilled because men persevered in their evil ways or returned to them.

---

* Fairbairn, *On Prophecy*, p. 496.

* 'Two Sermons on the Interpretation of Prophecy' in *Sermons*, vol. i. p. 373, London, 1845.

Moreover, another thing is evident: moral threats or promises could be made only to a subject also considered moral. The predictions of the prophets against foreign nations, though often having the form of threats against their capital city or their land, are really not directed against these material things, but against what might be called the national personality, the moral subject which the nation was, with its spirit and influence in the world of the prophet's day. The prophets deal only with moral forces; to them there are no other forces. The world is a moral constitution, and States are moral personalities. Ezekiel conceives them as existing after their disappearance from the world, just as individual persons do after death. It is this national personality that prophecy threatens with destruction; and when Babylon, for example, came under the power of the Persians, the prophecies against it were fulfilled, although not a brick was thrown down from its walls nor a bar broken in one of its brazen gates. These material things, no doubt, embodied and expressed the spirit of Babylon; but they were nothing in themselves, and might equally embody and express the wholly different moral personality of the Persians.* In point of fact, the material details of the prophecies against the nations were in many instances not verified. Is 17^{1} says, 'Behold, Damascus is taken away from being a city, and it shall be a ruinous heap'; but Damascus has probably never ceased to be a city. Here again, no doubt, interesting questions have been raised. Micah's prophecy about Jerusalem was eventually fulfilled; Babylon is at this day a desolation. And Bacon suggested the idea of what he called a 'germinant' fulfilment, *i.e.* one going on through time. At any rate, in the first place the prophetic threat must be held to have been directed against the national personality, and to have been fulfilled in the main in its destruction; and secondly, in endeavouring to reach a conclusion in regard to the material details, the instances in which they have not been verified must be considered, as well as those in which they seem to have received verification. Apart from the uncertainty incident to such historical investigations, it is to misapprehend the nature of prophecy to treat these material details as having great evidential value. Prophecy concerns itself with the world as moral. The evidence of prophecy rather lies in the broad general movement of religious thought which it presents, showing that a divine power had laid hold of the whole mind of man, creating in it lofty religious ideals, quickening its aspirations, giving it an onward and forward look towards a religious perfection, stirring up the heart of the creature to cry after Him who created it, and long for His perfect revelation upon the earth (Jn $14^{8ff.}$).

iii. The above remarks refer mainly to prophecies that have already been fulfilled; but the same principles apply to prophecies still awaiting fulfilment, *i.e.* prophecies regarding the final condition of the people of God. The moral and religious element was the essential part of the prophecy, the form in which the principle was to verify itself was secondary. The form was of the nature of an embodiment, a projection or construction, and the materials of which the fabric is reared are those lying to the hand of the prophet in each successive age. The imagination of the prophet operates largely in these constructions. Still it is chiefly the moral imagination. When, for example, all the evils existing in the prophet's day are banished and every desirable good introduced (Am 9^{13}, Jl 3^{18}, Ps 72^{16}), this is not due to the desire for sensuous pleasures, it is rather the expression of the writer's general view of the universe. The world was to his view a moral constitution, the physical being nothing but a mode of expressing or a medium for transmitting the moral and spiritual; the miseries of men and all the outward evils of life were the result of moral disorder; and simultaneously with the disappearance of moral evil physical evil would also cease; and with the perfection of the people of God the external world would be transfigured, and be the perfect minister to the needs of mankind. Thus, while the moral and the spiritual in the prophetic constructions of the future are absolute and permanent, the constructions which embody them are perishable and change. Just as some temple of God embodies and expresses spiritual conceptions, but is constructed out of materials at the architect's disposal in his own day, which materials decay, and in a later age have to be replaced by materials of that age, leaving, however, the spiritual ideas still visibly embodied; so the projections of one prophet, constructed out of the state of the world, and of the nations in his day, decay with the changes of the world, and have to be replaced by a later prophet with materials from the world of his day. In Is 7 ff. the prince of peace is born and grows up amidst the desolations of the Assyrian invasion, and sitting on the throne of David establishes a reign of righteousness and peace without end (Is 9^{7}); while in Is 40 ff. the everlasting kingdom of God is introduced by the destruction of Babylon, the idolatrous world, and the restoration of Israel, the Servant of the Lord, who shall be the light of the nations (Is 60). The construction of the former is that of a moral politician; the construction of the latter, that of a religious thinker, almost a theologian. Thus prophecy, while maintaining its spiritual principles unchanged from age to age, by substituting one embodiment of these principles for another age after age, seems itself to instruct us how to regard these embodiments or constructions. They are provisional and transient. They sustain the faith and satisfy the religious outlook of their day, but they have no finality. Even the prophets of the NT are probably no more final in their constructions than those of the OT, *e.g.* in the Apocalypse and Ro 11. They rear their fabrics out of the materials of their own day, as the OT prophets did (cf. vol. i. p. 737).

Thus we have to distinguish between Prophecy and Fulfilment. Prophecy is what the prophet in his age and circumstances and dispensation meant; fulfilment is the form in which his great religious conceptions will gain validity in other ages, in different circumstances, and under another dispensation. Certain elements, therefore, of the relative, the circumstantial, and the dispensational must be stripped away, and not expected to go into fulfilment. Every prophet speaks of the perfection of the kingdom of God, looks for it, and constructs an ideal of it. We are still looking for it. The fundamental conceptions in these constructions are always the same,—the presence of God with men, righteousness, peace, and the like,—but the fabrics reared by different prophets differ. They differ because each prophet, seeing the perfect future issue out of the movements and conditions of his own time, constructs his ideal of the new world out of the materials lying around him: the state of his people; the conditions of the heathen world in his day (Mic $5^{4.5}$, Is $60^{6ff.}$); such facts as that Israel was the people of God, that the kingdom of God had the form of a State, and that the seat of Jehovah's rule was Zion. These relative elements are not to be called figurative, they are essential parts of the prophet's conceptions, and are all to be understood literally. Israel was not a symbol to him meaning the people of God or Church, neither was it to him a type of this. Israel *was* the people of God. Neither were Moab, Edom, Babylon, or Egypt symbols of the foe of the people of God nor types of the hostile world. Each of them to the prophet *was* such a foe. But in all cases the names are used literally, though along with their religious connotation. And what the prophet was able to say of the partial and relative of his day may, of course, be applied to the universal and absolute now—to the Church of God on the one hand, and the hostile world on the other. With the coming of Christ the national, relative and imperfect stage of religion, as it was in OT, passed away; religion became universal, absolute, and perfect. The Apostolic principles of interpretation seem something like these: (1) They assume that in Christ and Christianity religion has become final and perfect; the development has reached the end in view. And their arguments from OT are very much the analysis of this general assumption. (2) God is the author of Scripture; the OT is the word of God. (3) The Divine consciousness is one, embracing the end and the beginning alike: in speaking any word God had always the Christian consummation in view. Truth is also one; when a truth is seen in any aspect it is that truth that is seen. (4) Scripture being the word of God, its whole meaning is religious and spiritual. The circumstances amidst which it was spoken, and the person of whom or to whom, are of no importance. It is the spiritual meaning alone of the words that is the word of God. Historical exegesis accepts these principles, and merely adds another. It assumes that the OT writer had in every passage which he wrote a meaning in his own mind, and that he desired to convey this meaning to his contemporaries; and it asks, what did the Hebrew writer mean? What would the people of his day understand from his words?

---

* See remarks on Ezekiel's prophecy against Tyre, *Ezekiel*, p. 190 (Camb. Bible).

LITERATURE.—The OT Theologies, particularly Oehler, Schultz, and Dillmann; John Smith, *Select Discourses*, 1821; John Davison, *Discourses on Prophecy*^{6}, 1856; Knobel, *Der Prophetismus der Hebräer*, 1837; Ewald, *Die Propheten des alten Bundes*, vol. i. 1840 (2nd ed. 1868, trans. 1875); Hofmann, *Weissagung und Erfüllung*, 1841; Hengstenberg, *Christologie des alten Test.*^{2} (trans. 1854); Patrick Fairbairn, *Prophecy*, 1856; Baur, *Geschichte der alttest. Weissagung*, 1860; Bertheau, 'Die alttest. Weiss. von Israel's Reichsherrlichkeit (*Jahrbb. f. deutsche Theologie*, 1859-60); Oehler, articles 'Prophetenthum,' 'Weissagung,' and 'Messias,' in Herzog, *Encycl.* (recast by v. Orelli in Herzog^2); Tholuck, *Die Propheten und ihre Weissagungen*, 1861; G. F. Oehler, *Das Verhältniss der alttest. Prophetie zur heidnischen Mantik*, 1861; Dillmann, *Die Propheten des alten Bundes nach ihrer politischen Wirksamkeit*, 1868, and article 'Propheten' in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexicon*; Payne Smith, *Prophecy a Preparation for Christ* (Bamp. Lect.), 1869; Kuenen, *De Profeten en de Profetie onder Israel*, 1875 (trans. 1877); Castelli, *Il Messia secondo gli Ebrei*, 1874; Duhm, *Die Theologie der Propheten*, 1875; Bruston, *Histoire Critique de la Littérature Prophétique*, 1881; Bredenkamp, *Gesetz und Propheten*, 1881; von Orelli, *Die alttest. Weissagung von der Vollendung des Gottesreichs*, 1882 (trans. under title *OT Prophecy of the Consummation of God's Kingdom*, 1885); König, *Der Offenbarungsbegriff des alten Test.* 1882 (cf. criticism in Riehm and Giesebrecht), and *Hauptprobleme der altisr. Religionsgeschichte*, 1882; W. Robertson Smith, *The Prophets of Israel*, 1882; C. A. Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*, 1886; Stanton, *The Jewish and Christian Messiah*, 1886; Delitzsch, *Messianische Weissagungen*, 1890 (trans. 1891); Darmesteter, *Les Prophètes d'Israël*, 1892; Kirkpatrick, *Doctrine of the Prophets*, 1892; Driver, *Sermons on OT*, 1892; Cornill, *Der israelitische Prophetismus*, 1894 (trans.^{3} 1898); Giesebrecht, *Beiträge zur Jesaiakritik*, 1890, and *Die Berufsbegabung der alttest. Propheten*, 1897 (cf. Skinner's notice in *Crit. Review*, ix. 34 ff.); Schwartzkopff, *Die Prophetische Offenbarung*, 1896; Löhr, *Der Missionsgedanke im alten Test.* 1896; F. H. Woods, *The Hope of Israel*, 1896; Wellhausen, *Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte*^{3}, 1897; Volz, *Die vorexilische Jahweprophetie u. der Messias*, 1897; Hühn, *Die Mess. Weissagungen*, 1899; Rud. Kittel, *Profetie und Weissagung*, 1899; Riehm, *Messianic Prophecy*^{3} (containing exhaustive literature), 1900.

A. B. DAVIDSON.

PROPHETESS (נְבִיאָה, *προφῆτις*).—The conditions that were necessary to qualify for the prophetic office in the OT sense were not such as to exclude women from the latter (see the preceding article, p. 114^a, and cf. Ae 2^{17}). The following prophetesses are mentioned in Scripture: Miriam, Ex 15^{20}, cf. Nu 12^2 (both JE); Deborah, Jg 4^4; Huldah, 2 K 22^{14} (=2 Ch 34^{22}); Noadiah, Neh 6^{14} (but cf. LXX, which has the masc. *τῷ Νοαδίᾳ τῷ προφήτῃ*); Anna, Lk 2^{36}. 'The prophetess' of Is 8^3 is probably simply 'the prophet's wife.' Prophecy in the NT sense was, of course, also a gift exercised by women (cf. Ac 21^9, 1 Co 11^5). 'The woman Jezebel which calleth herself a prophetess' (Rev 2^{20}; see vol. ii. p. 656^b) may have claimed the gift of prophecy in either the OT or the NT sense. See also art. WOMAN.

J. A. SELBIE.

PROPHET IN NT (*προφήτης, -εύειν, -εία*: never *μάντις* or cognate words except Ac 16^{16} *μαντευομένη* of the possessed girl at Philippi).—The *προφήτης* in classical Greek is one who speaks for another—the interpreter either of the ecstatic *μάντις* or of the god himself, so that he is near akin to the *ἐξηγητής*, though with more definite reference to a person than to things. Of *loci classici* may be mentioned Æsch. *Eum.* 19: *Διὸς προφήτης ἐστὶ Λοξίας πατρός* (so Plato, *Rep.* 427 C: *πάτριος πρ.*), and Plato, *Tim.* 71 E f., where he contrasts the *προφήτης* with the *μάντις*. The same sense of 'interpreter' is found in Philo (*e.g. Quis rer. div.* 52, *De spec. legibus*, 8), though he ascribes to him the ecstasy assigned by Plato to the *μάντις*. This blending of the two, which practically merges the *προφήτης* in the *μάντις*, was a current belief even among Christians (Justin, Athenagoras) in spite of 1 Co 14, esp. v.^{32}, till it was partly discredited by Montanist fanaticism; and in our own time it may be traced in every theory of inspiration which fails to realize the full co-operation of the prophet's understanding.

In NT, too, the word *προφήτης* keeps its general sense of an interpreter of God's message. But the prediction which most impressed the vulgar (so roundly even Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 12: *ἡ προφητεία πρόγνωσίς ἐστιν*—in truth it is nearer *ἐπίγνωσις*) was a very small part of the message. Agabus predicted the famine and St. Paul's imprisonment (Ac 11^{28} 21^{10}), the Apoc. is called a *προφητεία*, and the OT prophets are naturally cited more or less from the side of prediction. But the prophet's proper work is rather (1 Co $4^{3.24.25}$) edification and consolation, revealing the secrets of the inner life and incidentally converting unbelievers, though, strictly speaking, prophecy is the sign (1 Co 14^{22}) for believers. And because the prophet edifies the Church, not only himself, prophecy is a better gift (1 Co $14^{5.39}$) than that of tongues, and more earnestly to be coveted, though still but a transitory gift (1 Co 13^8), not abiding like faith, hope, and love. On the *method* (scarcely the only method) of edification we get a hint in Ac 13^2, where prophets are ministering (*λειτουργούντες τῷ Κ.*—compare Timothy's appointment, 1 Ti 1^{18} 4^{14}) when they receive the command to separate Barnabas and Saul. This seems to imply some such position as we find in the *Didaché* (10), where the prophet (if there be one) is the proper person to conduct the public worship, and the only person free to give thanks in what words he thinks fit.

The prophets ranked next to the apostles (1 Co 12^{28}, Eph 4^{11}), and are even coupled with them (Eph 2^{20} 3^{5} ἀπ. κ. προφ. in this order will be NT prophets) as receivers of revelation and layers of foundations. Prophecy was not an office, but a special gift, coming not from men, but straight from Christ (καὶ αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν, Eph 4^{11}), and it might come to women too (Ac 21^{9}, 1 Co 11^{5}). The prophet spoke ἐν πνεύματι (Eph 3^{5}, Apoc. *e.g.* 1^{10}: contrast ἐν ἐκστάσει of the trances, Ac 10^{10} 22^{17}), because the divine Spirit worked in him, 1 P 1^{11}, 1 Co 12^{11}; and he was also πνευματικός (1 Co 14^{37}, where πνευματικός at least includes προφήτης), because his human spirit was in full activity, and so steadily (ὑποτάσσεται, 1 Co 14^{32}) controlled the gifts of the Spirit that he was quite able to speak (Ro 12^{6}) only in proportion to the faith that was in him.

Neglect of this self-restraint is visible at Corinth (1 Co 14$^{29-31}$, prophets *need* not all speak together), and may help to account for the early warning in 1 Th 5^{20}. Later on 1 Jn 4^{1} speaks of ψευδοπροφῆται, and the woman Jezebel (Rev 2^{20}) implies false prophets in Asia. So also the *Didaché* (11) is very stringent in its cautions about prophets.

Of prophets expressly so called in NT, there are Agabus, the groups at Antioch, Judas and Silas, and the four daughters of Philip. We need not go further; but the last prophets we read of (Anon. *ap.* Eus. *HE* v. 17) are Quadratus and Ammia in Philadelphia, perhaps in Hadrian's time. See, further, Selwyn, *The Christian Prophets*, 1900.

H. M. GWATKIN.

PROPITIATION.—This word occurs in AV only three times: Ro 3^{25} as the tr. of ἱλαστήριον (ὃν προέθετο ὁ θεὸς ἱλαστήριον,—most probably [see Sanday-Headlam] an adj. masc., 'whom God set forth to be propitiatory' [RVm]), and 1 Jn 2^{2} 4^{10} as the tr. of ἱλασμός (αὐτὸς ἱλασμός ἐστι περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν; ἀπέστειλε τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἱλασμὸν περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν); to which RV adds a fourth, He 2^{17} (a merciful and faithful high priest . . . εἰς τὸ ἱλάσκεσθαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ λαοῦ, 'to make propitiation [AV 'reconciliation'] for the sins of the people'). It will be the object of the present article, firstly, to explain the meaning of the Greek words used, in the light of their usage in the LXX; and, secondly, to examine the ideas associated with the Heb. words which they represent commonly in the LXX.

1. Ἱλαστήριον is in OT the regular rendering of כַּפֹּרֶת (in EV 'mercy-seat'), Ex 25$^{16\,(17)}$ (here ἱλαστήριον ἐπίθεμα), vv.$^{17-21\,(18-22)}$ 31^{7} etc.: ἱλασμός stands for (*a*) כִּפֻּרִים (EV 'atonement'), Lv 25^{9} ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ ἱ. (τοῦ ἐξιλ. Lv 23$^{27.\,28}$), Nu 5^{8} ὁ κριὸς τοῦ ἱ.; (*b*) חַטָּאת 'sin-offering,' Ezk 44^{27} (so 45^{19} ἐξιλασμός); (*c*) סְלִיחָה 'forgiveness,' Ps 130^{4}, Dn 9^{9} (Theod.); so ἐξιλ. Sir 5^{5} (Heb. סליחה); (*d*) אַשְׁמָה 'guilt,' Am 8^{14} (falsely): ἱλάσκομαι stands seven times for סָלַח 'to forgive,' as 2 K 5^{18}, Ps 25^{11} (for which ἵλεως εἶναι is more common), and three times for כִּפֶּר, Ps 65^{3} 78^{38} 79^{9}, which, however, is far more frequently represented by the (intensive) compound ἐξιλάσκομαι (variously construed: see §§ 5, 7–10; and Westcott, *Epp. of St. John*, pp. 83–85). The use of the term in He 2^{17} in connexion with the high-priest shows that ἱλ. must there be regarded as the equivalent of כִּפֶּר, not of סָלַח (which is never said of the high-priest, or indeed of any human subject).* Ἱλάσκομαι is common in classical Greek, where, however, it is construed regularly with an accus. of the deity (or person) propitiated (as *Il.* i. 100, 444, 472, μολπῇ θεὸν ἱλάσκοντο; Hdt. v. 47, θυσίῃσι αὐτὸν ἱλάσκονται, viii. 112, Θεμιστοκλέα χρήμασι ἱλασάμενοι): in the LXX, on the contrary, this usage is not found except Gn 32^{20}, Zec 7^{2} (ἐξιλ. τὸ πρόσωπον), and Pr 16^{14} (ἐξιλ. αὐτόν, fig. of wrath), the word (ἐξιλ.), when used of a human subject (§§ 10, 11), being commonly construed absolutely, with περί of the person on whose behalf the propitiatory act is performed. The difference marks a difference between the heathen and the Biblical point of view: though the idea of propitiating God may be indirectly involved in the phrases used in the OT, it is very much less prominent than in the heathen writers; the propitiatory sacrifice, or rite, has indeed generally for its aim the restoration of God's favour, and the 'forgiveness' of the worshipper (Lv 4^{20} etc., § 12*b*), but there is not the same thought of directly appeasing one who is angry, with a personal feeling, against the offender, which is implied when the deity is the direct object of the verb (cf. Cremer, *Wörterb.*; Westcott, p. 85; Kalisch, *Lev.* i. 316–318). In other words, the difference corresponds with the fact that the higher Biblical conception of God is more spiritual and less anthropomorphic than that of heathen writers.

2. The facts that have been quoted make it evident that the Greek terms rendered 'propitiation' correspond to the Heb. כִּפֶּר and derivatives. These words hold an important place in the theological terminology of the OT; and though they are generally rendered in EV by '(make) atonement' (or 'reconcile,' 'make reconciliation,' in Lv 6^{30} 8^{15} 16^{20}, Ezk 45$^{15.\,17.\,20}$ AV; Dn 9^{24} AV and RV), the idea expressed by the Heb. is certainly rather that of 'propitiation' than of 'atonement' (*i.e.* 'at-one-ment,' setting at one, reconciliation [see Shaks. *Rich. III.* I. iii. 36]); and hence they will be properly considered under the present heading.

It is much to be regretted that the link connecting OT and NT, supplied by (ἐξ)ιλάσκομαι, should have been neglected in EV; and that words which clearly correspond should have been rendered 'propitiation' in the NT, but 'atonement' in the OT. 'Atonement' is now an unsuitable rendering of *kipper*, for two reasons. (1) Since AV of 1611 was made, the word has changed its meaning; and whereas it formerly (see Murray) expressed the idea of *reconciliation*, it now suggests chiefly the idea of *making amends* or *reparation*. Hence in the one passage in AV of NT in which 'atonement' occurs (Ro 5^{11}, for καταλλαγή), the Revisers have done rightly in substituting for it 'reconciliation' (which, with 'reconcile,' is used elsewhere, in AV itself, for compounds of ἀλλάσσω, Mt 5^{24}, Ro 5$^{10.\,10.\,11}$ 11^{15}, 1 Co 7^{11}, 2 Co 5$^{18.\,18.\,19}$, Col 1$^{20.\,21}$, Eph 2^{16}). But (2) even in its older sense of 'reconciliation,' it does not properly represent *kipper*; for *kipper* does not mean to 'reconcile,' nor is it ever represented in LXX by compounds of ἀλλάσσω.

3. The root-meaning of כָּפַר is probably *to cover over*; for the Arab. *kafara*, though not very common, has this meaning in various applications (Lane, *Arab. Lex.* p. 2620).

In Syr. *kephar*, and esp. the Pael *kappar*, means *to wipe* or *wipe away*, as Pr 30^{20} to *wipe* the mouth, to *wipe away* tears, the stain of sin, etc., hence fig. *to disperse, destroy* (delere), as darkness Ephr. i. 9, a race or nation, etc. (P. Smith, *Thes. Syr.* col. 1797–9); and W. R. Smith (*OTJC*^{1} 438 f., more briefly, ^{2}380, 381) adopts this as the primary meaning of the Heb. *kipper*,—explaining Gn 32^{21} (see § 5) as meaning properly to '*wipe clean* the face,' blackened by displeasure, as the Arabs say 'whiten the face.' The Heb. *kipper*, however, as a theological term, in any case implies a metaphor,—and it does not greatly signify, in explaining it, whether we start from the idea of *covering over* or from that of *wiping out*: in either case, the idea which the metaphor is intended to convey is that of *rendering null* and *inoperative*. There are analogies in the OT for each explanation; sin is spoken of, viz. as *covered* (כִּסָּה,—an ordinary, untechnical word for 'cover'), Ps 32^{1} ('covered in respect of sin'), 85^{2}, Neh 3^{37} (Heb. 4^{5}) [*borrowed* from Jer 18^{23}, with *kipper* (§ 9) changed to *kiṣṣāh*]; and as *wiped* (or *blotted*) *out* (מָחָה), Is 43^{25} 44^{22}, Jer 18^{23} (=Neh 3^{37} [4^{5}]), Ps 51$^{1.\,9b}$ 109^{14}. (It is difficult not to think that the Arab. and Syr. senses of the root spring ultimately from a common origin,—*e.g.* from the idea of *wiping over*: in both languages, it is remarkable that the word acquires the further derived idea of *disown, deny, be a disbeliever*; hence 'Kafir,' properly an *infidel*).—The Arab. ii. conj. (*kaffara*) occurs often in the Ḳoran of God's *effacing*, or forgiving, sin; and *kaffārat* (Ḳor. $5^{49. 91. 96}$) means the *expiation* of a crime, broken vow, etc. (Lane, 2620, 2622; Lagarde, *Bildung der Nom.* 231 ff.); but these words may be borrowed from Judaism (Hirschfeld, *Beiträge z. Erklär. d. Ḳor.* p. 90). The Assyr. *kuppuru*, also a ritual term ('sühnen'), seems to mean properly *to wipe off*: see Haupt, *JBL*, 1900, pp. 61, 80, and esp. Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Bab. Relig.* pp. 92, 123, etc.

---

* The *construction*, however, with an acc. of the sin, is, as Ritschl rightly remarks (p. 212), not that of the legal (§ 10), but of the non-legal (§ 9; Ps 65^{3}) LXX usage.

4. The Heb. *kipper* is, however, never used in a purely literal sense (like כִּסָּה), but always * in a figurative or *moral* application, viz. with the collateral idea—which in course of time became the preponderant if not the exclusive idea—of either *conciliating* an offended person, or *screening* an offence or an offender.

Cf. Oehler, *OT Theol.* § 127: '*Kipper*, and the cognate substantives, represent the propitiation (Sühne) as a *covering*; the guilt is covered, or, as it were, withdrawn from the sight of the person propitiated, so that the guilty person can now approach him without danger.' Riehm, in his exposition of the term, uses commonly the expression 'protecting covering' (schützende Bedeckung),—an expression which no doubt reads more into the word than it actually denotes—for, as Schmoller (p. 282 f.) observes, *kipper* is *con*tegere and *ob*tegere, but not *pro*tegere, being never used, for instance, in the ordinary sense of 'protecting,'—but which is still a useful and suggestive paraphrase (cf. *ib.* 235 n., 279, where it is allowed that 'protection,' though not denoted directly by *kipper*, is nevertheless an indirect *consequence* of it). Schmoller, in his exposition, starts with the idea of *covering over* (obruere), in the sense of causing to disappear, making unobserved, inoperative, etc. These explanations, though they start with the idea of 'covering,' differ little in the end from that which would be reached by starting with the idea of 'wiping out'; but it is a question whether some modern writers do not press the idea of 'cover' unduly, and understand it in a too literal sense (cf. §§ 15, 17).

5. *Kipper* is used in *three* applications, which it is necessary to distinguish. (1*a*) A *human* subject is the agent, and the object was originally, it seems, the face of the offended person, though, in actual usage, it is mostly the offended person (or personified agency) himself; the means is a gift, an entreaty, conciliatory behaviour, etc. The most primary example of this application appears to occur in Gn $32^{20\ (21)}$ (J), where Jacob says of Esau, 'I will *cover* his face with a present,' *i.e.* *conciliate* him (𝔊 ἐξιλάσομαι), the figure being that of a person whose eyes are blinded by a gift so as not to notice something (cf. for the figure, Gn 20^{16} כְּסוּת עֵינַיִם; Ex 23^{8} כִּי הַשֹּׁחַד יְעַוֵּר פִּקְחִים; Job 9^{24} פְּנֵי שֹׁפְטֶיהָ יְכַסֶּה). Hence, 'face' being omitted, *kipper* acquires the general sense of *to conciliate*, *propitiate*, *appease*: Ex 32^{30} 'peradventure I shall *make propitiation* (אֲכַפְּרָה) for your sin' (viz. by intercession, v.$^{31f.}$; 𝔊 ἐξιλάσωμαι περί), fig. Pr 16^{14} (of a king's wrath, threatening death) 'but a wise man will *propitiate* it' (viz. by conciliatory behaviour; 𝔊 ἐξιλάσεται), Is 47^{11} (of calamity) 'thou shalt not be able to *propitiate* it' (‖ שַׁחְרָהּ 'to charm it away'; but Grätz, Buhl, Cheyne, שַׁחֲדָהּ 'to bribe it away,' cf. Pr 6^{35} Heb.), viz. either by a bribe (Is 13^{17}) or by religious ceremonies.

6. Here may be best explained the subst. *kōpher*, prop. *a covering* (viz. of an offence), hence a *propitiatory gift*, but restricted by usage to a gift offered to propitiate or satisfy the avenger-of-blood, and so the *satisfaction offered for a life*, *i.e.* a *ransom*,—the *wehrgeld*, 'protection-money,' rigorously prohibited by Hebrew law in the case of murder, but admitted in certain other cases, and evidently a well-known institution: Ex 21^{30} (JE); 1 S 12^{3} (a bribe to screen a murderer; so Am 5^{12}); Ex 30^{12} P (a half-shekel, to be paid by every one, at the time of a census, as the כֹּפֶר נַפְשׁוֹ, or 'ransom of his soul (life),' to avert a plague,—such as might be apprehended [cf. 2 S 24] under the circumstances: cf. § 11 *h*); Nu $35^{31. 32}$ P (not to be accepted from a murderer); Pr 6^{35} (offered in vain for the life of an adulterer; ‖ 'bribe'); 13^{8} ('the ransom of a man's soul (life) is his riches'); 21^{18} ('the wicked is a ransom for the righteous' [see 11^{8}]); Is 43^{3} (Egypt said poetically to be the 'ransom,' which J″ gives to Cyrus in lieu of Israel: ‖ 'Seba instead of thee'); Ps 49^{7} ('no man can redeem [יִפְדֶּה] a brother from death, or give God a *kōpher* for him'); fig. of the discipline of suffering (conceived as delivering from death), Job 33^{24} (‖ 'redeem him [read פְּדֵהוּ] from going down into the pit'), 36^{18} [all].

7. This use of *kōpher* illustrates 2 S 21^{3}. Here David says to the representatives of the murdered Gibeonites, 'Wherewith shall I *make propitiation* (אֲכַפֵּר; 𝔊 ἐξιλάσωμαι)?' a money *kōpher* is refused (v.^{4}), and the *kōpher*, which (though the word is not actually used) is demanded, and given to J″ (v.^{6b}; cf. v.^{1} 24^{1}), consists of the lives of Saul's seven sons: comp. also Nu 35^{33} (P), where it is said that blood unjustly shed 'profanes' and 'defiles' a land, and that a 'covering,' or propitiation, cannot then be made for the land (לָאָרֶץ לֹא יְכֻפַּר; 𝔊 οὐκ ἐξιλασθήσεται ἡ γῆ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος), except by the blood of the murderer.

8. There is an analogous group of cases, (1*b*) in which the verb is in the *passive* voice, the subject being the iniquity, and the means a purifying rite, a sacrifice, or repentance, the effect of which is that the offence is conceived as hidden, cancelled, or made inoperative: Dt 21^{8b} ('and the blood shall be "covered" (*i.e.* *annulled*) * for them,' viz. by the symbolical execution of the murderer, vv.$^{6. 7}$; 𝔊 ἐξιλασθήσεται αὐτοῖς), 1 S 3^{14} ('the iniquity of Eli's house shall not be "covered" † (𝔊 ἐξιλασθήσεται) by sacrifice or *minḥāh* for ever'), Is 6^{7} ('thy sin shall be "covered" †,' viz. by the coal from the altar touching the prophet's lips; 𝔊 περικαθαριεῖ: ‖ 'thine iniquity shall depart'), 22^{14} ('Surely this iniquity shall not be "covered" † for you, until ye die': 𝔊 ἀφεθήσεται), 27^{9} † (through the abandonment of idolatry; 𝔊 ἀφαιρεθήσεται), Pr 16^{6} † (through amendment of life; 𝔊 ἀποκαθαίρονται: cf. 28^{13b}, Ezk $18^{21. 22}$). ‡

9. (2) In the *second* class of cases in which *kipper* is used, the subject is *God*, the object is either the offender or the offence, the question of means does not here arise, but the *motive*, in so far as it is indicated, is the free grace of God,—represented, however, sometimes as called into activity by a purifying or expiatory rite: the idea of the verb then is that God 'covers,' *i.e.* *treats as covered*, *overlooks*, *pardons*, *condones*, the offender or the offence. So (*a*) the object being the *offender*, Dt 21^{8a} (J″, after the symbolical expiatory rite, vv.$^{6. 7}$, is entreated to 'cover' [AV 'be merciful to,' RV 'forgive'; 𝔊 ἵλεως γενοῦ] the people, guilty [implicitly] of an untraced murder), 32^{43} (rather differently: 'will "cover" his land,' *i.e.* cancel or remove the stain of bloodshed attaching to it, by the slaughter of those who have shed it; 𝔊 ἐκκαθαριεῖ; AV 'be merciful unto,' RV 'make expiation for': ‖ 'avenge the blood of his servants, and requite vengeance to his adversaries'), Ezk 16^{63} ('when I "cover" thee (*i.e.* act propitiously towards thee; 𝔊 ἐν τῷ ἐξιλάσασθαί με σοι), with regard to all that thou hast done'), 2 Ch 30^{18} (EV 'pardon'; 𝔊 ἐξιλάσθω ὑπέρ); and (*b*) the object being the *offence*, Jer 18^{23} (EV 'forgive'; 𝔊 ἀθῳόω), Ps 65^{3} § (𝔊 ἱλάσῃ τὰς ἀσεβείας), 78^{38} ('annulleth iniquity and destroyeth not'; 𝔊 ἱλάσεται ταῖς ἁμ.), 79^{9} §

---

* Except indeed Is 28^{18}, where—unless, with some moderns, וְתֻפַר or וְהֻפַר [from פָּרַר; cf. 24^{5}] is to be read—it is used of *annulling* a treaty (𝔊 ἀφέλῃ; EV 'be disannulled')—a sense which may be derived either from the idea of *covering over*, *obliterating* (Ges.), or from that of *wiping* or *blotting out* (cf. Pesh. נתכפר 'be wiped out').

* EV 'forgiven,' which no doubt expresses fairly the general sense, but obliterates the distinctive character of the Heb. word used (cf. § 15, towards the end).

† EV 'purged,' substituting an idea not at all contained in the Heb. RVm 'Or, *expiated*.'

‡ Comp. for the thought Sir $3^{3. 30}$ (Heb. צדקה תכפר חטאת) 35^{3} (Swete 32 (35) ^{5}).

§ EV 'purge away': see the last note but one.

(𝔊 ἱλάσθητι ταῖς ἁμ.), Dn 9^{24} (RVm 'purge away'; Theod. ἀπαλεῖψαι τὰς ἀδικίας [= LXX] καὶ τοῦ ἐξιλάσασθαι ἀδικίας),—the object in all these cases being either 'iniquity' or 'transgression,' and there being no reference to any propitiatory rite. Cf. (though with a reference to sacrifice) Sir 34^{19} (Swete 31 (34) ^{23}).

10. (3) The *third* class of cases in which *kipper* is used belongs to the distinctively *legal* terminology (almost entirely Ezk and P: 𝔊 nearly always ἐξιλάσκομαι περί: EV mostly 'to make atonement'; see § 2). Here the subject is the *priest,*[*] the means usually a sacrifice, though occasionally it is (see § 11 *h–m*) some other act or offering, regarded as vindicating the holiness of the community in which Jehovah dwells, and hence as reinstating it in His favour: the object is *never the sin*, but (as commonly understood) the person (or thing) on whose behalf the propitiation is made, the verb—which is construed mostly with עַל or בְּעַד, and only rarely, in some of the cases in which the object is something material (the altar or the sanctuary), with a direct accusative (Lv $16^{20.\,33a}$, Ezk $43^{20.\,26}$ 45^{20} [𝔊 ἐξιλ. with accus.])—being interpreted as signifying properly to *cover up* (cf. כִּסָּה עַל, and סָכַר בְּעַד), or *screen, by a* כֹּפֶר, or *covering* (propitiatory) *gift* (so Riehm, 30–32; Dillm.; Schmoller, though undecidedly, p. 284).

Wellh. (*Compos.*^{2} 336), observing the analogy, as regards the subject and the means, with the cases grouped under (1), supposes that the object was originally 'Jehovah's face' (cf. Gn 32^{20}, cited § 5; and the phrase חִלָּה אֶת־פְּנֵי י׳, lit. 'make sweet the face of J″,' EV 'beseech,' or 'entreat the favour of,' Ex 32^{11}, 1 S 13^{12}, 1 K 13^{6} etc.), but that in process of time the object came to be omitted, and the verb was construed absolutely, *to perform a propitiatory rite (kippurim)*: construed with an accus., it would then mean (analogously with עִפֵּר, etc., Ges.-Kautzsch, § 52*h*) *to affect with a propitiatory rite.* So far as the ideas associated with the word are concerned, it is indifferent which of these explanations of the construction is adopted.

11. We must next consider of what different sacrifices, or other rites, *kappēr*, in this third class of cases, is predicated. It is predicated, viz.,

(*a*) of the *burnt*-offering, Lv 1^{4} 14^{20} 16^{24}; cf. Ezk $45^{15.\,17}$.

(*b*) of the *guilt*-offering (אָשָׁם), Lv $5^{16.\,18}$ 6^{7} 7^{7} 14^{18} (see vv.$^{12.\,14}$), vv.$^{21.\,29}$ (see vv.$^{21.\,25}$) 19^{22}, Nu 5^{8}.

(*c*) of the *sin*-offering, Ex $29^{36.\,37}$ 30^{10}, Lv $4^{20.\,26.\,31.\,35}$ $5^{6.\,13}$ 6^{30} $8^{15.\,34}$ 10^{17} 14^{19} 16 (14–15 times [on v.^{10} see Kalisch, Dillm., and above, i. 199*n.*]) 23^{28}, Nu 15^{28} $28^{22.\,30}$ 29^{5}, Ezk $43^{20.\,26}$ 45^{20}, 2 Ch 29^{24}, Neh 10^{33}.

(*d*) of the *sin*-offering and the *burnt*-offering together, Lv 5^{10} 9^{7} $12^{6f.\,8}$ 14^{31} $15^{15.\,30}$, Nu 6^{11} 8^{12} (cf. v.^{21b}) $15^{24f.}$.

(*e*) of blood in general (as containing the 'soul,' or life), Lv 17^{11} H ('I have given it to you upon the altar to *make propitiation* for your souls; for the blood, it *maketh propitiation* by means of the soul [life]'): cf. 6^{30} 8^{15} 16^{27}; also 14^{53}, where the blood of the slain bird (with other ceremonies) 'makes propitiation' for the leprous house.

(*f*) of the 'ram of installation (מִלֻּאִים),' and the bread, offered at the consecration of the high-priest, Ex 29^{33} (see vv.$^{19\text{-}25.\,32}$).

(*g*) of the *meal*- and *peace*-offering, only in Ezk $45^{15.\,17}$ (possibly, also, though not probably, of the meal-offering in Lv $14^{20.\,31}$: see § 13).

Kappēr is attributed, further, to

(*h*) the half-shekel, to be paid by every one at a census, as the *kappēr* of his 'soul' (life), Ex $30^{15.\,16}$ (probably [cf. Riehm, 24 f.; Dillm.] as an acknowledgment of membership in the theocracy, upon an occasion when the sins and imperfections of individuals would come prominently under Jehovah's notice); cf. § 6.

(*i*) the appointment of the Levites as authorized representatives of the Israelites to perform menial duties about the sanctuary, Nu 8^{19} (lay Israelites, approaching the holy vessels, etc., would do so at risk of their lives [cf. 18^{22} $1^{51.\,53}$]: the Levites, doing it on their behalf, prevent Jehovah's wrath from manifesting itself in a plague [cf. the same expression in Ex 30^{12}], and are therefore said to 'make propitiation' on their behalf).

(*j*) the incense by which Aaron appeased Jehovah's anger, and arrested the plague, Nu $16^{46f.}$ (Heb. $17^{11f.}$).

(*k*) the punishment of a conspicuous offender, Nu 25^{13} (the occasion on which Phinehas, interposing with the sword, 'turned away' Jehovah's 'wrath' from the Israelites, and arrested the plague: see v.^{11}).

(*l*) the offering of the spoil taken from the Midianites, Nu 31^{50} ('to make propitiation for our souls before J″'; probably, as in Ex $30^{15.\,16}$, in view of the numbering of the men of war, v.^{49} [where the phrase is the same as in Ex 30^{12}; cf. also v.^{54b} with Ex 30^{16b}]).

(*m*) the blood of a murderer, making expiation for blood unjustly shed, Nu 35^{33}.

All these passages belong to P.

12. The following additional facts with regard to the usage of *kipper* deserve also to be noted.

(*a*) It is construed with מִן 'from' of the offence (or uncleanness),—RV 'as concerning,' 'because of,' 'for,' but more probably (so Riehm, 50 f.; Schmoller, 254 f., 284; cf. Dillm. on Lv 4^{26}) to be understood in the sense of '(clearing) from' ('shall make propitiation for him *from* his sin'), Lv 4^{26} $5^{6.\,10}$ 14^{19} ('from his uncleanness'), $15^{15.\,30}$ $16^{16.\,16.\,34}$, Nu 6^{11}; and with עַל 'on account of,' Lv 4^{35} $5^{13.\,18}$ 6^{7} 19^{22} (RV 'as touching,' 'concerning,' 'for').

(*b*) It is followed by 'and it shall be forgiven him (them),' in the case of the sin-offering, Lv $4^{20.\,26.\,31.\,35}$ $5^{10.\,13}$, Nu $15^{25.\,28}$ (cf. v.^{26}); and in the case of the guilt-offering, Lv $5^{16.\,18}$ 6^{7} 19^{22}. (These are the only passages in the Law, except Nu $30^{5.\,8.\,12}$, in which סָלַח 'to forgive,' occurs).

(*c*) It is closely associated (but only where predicated of the *sin*-offering) with 'to be clean' (טָהֵר), or 'to cleanse' (טִהַר), Lv $12^{7.\,8}$ $14^{20.\,52.\,53}$ $16^{19.\,30}$, Nu 8^{21}, Ezk 43^{26}, cf. 2 Ch 30^{18};

with 'to sanctify,' Ex $29^{33.\,36.\,37}$, Lv 8^{15} 16^{19}, Nu 6^{11};

and with 'to free from sin' (חִטֵּא), Ex 29^{36} (EV, very inadequately, 'cleanse'), Lv 8^{15} (EV 'purified'!), $14^{49.\,52}$ [see v.^{53}] of the leprous house (EV 'cleanse'), Nu 8^{21} (RV 'purified from sin'), Ezk $43^{20.\,22}$ ('cleanse,'—of the altar, as Ex 29^{36}) 45^{20} (see v.^{18}),—in all the cases with חִטֵּא, of a material object, which the Hebrews regarded as capable of being infected with sin (Schmoller, 222, 261).

(*d*) Cf. *kippurim*, 'propitiation' (EV 'atonement'), used (α) of a sin-offering, Ex 29^{36} 30^{10}, Nu 29^{11}; (β) of a guilt-offering, Nu 5^{8}; (γ) in the expression 'day of propitiation (atonement),' Lv $23^{27.\,28}$ 25^{9}; (δ) 'propitiation-money,' of the half-shekel paid at a census, Ex 30^{16}. It is probable also (whatever the ultimate origin of the term may have been) that the idea of propitiation was felt to attach to *kappōreth* (EV 'mercy-seat'); cf. what is said on this subject in *Leviticus* (in Haupt's *SBOT*), p. 80 f.

(*e*) The object of *kipper* is usually an individual or the community; but sometimes it is a *material* object,—in particular the altar of burnt-offering, (at the time of its consecration) Ex $29^{36.\,37}$, Lv 8^{15}, Ezk $43^{20.\,26}$, (on the annual Day of Atonement) Lv $16^{18.\,20.\,33}$; the sanctuary (on the same occasion), Ex 30^{10b} [in v.^{10a} the prep. has probably a *local* force], Lv $16^{16.\,20.\,33}$, Ezk 45^{20}; a house infected with leprosy, Lv 14^{53}; cf. of the goat sent to Azazel, Lv 16^{10} (see Dillm.).

---

[*] Or sometimes (Lv 1^{4} 17^{11}, Ex $30^{15.\,16}$, Nu 31^{50} 35^{33}) the *offering*; but the difference is immaterial.

13. It does not fall within the scope of the present article to investigate the character or *rationale* of SACRIFICE, except in so far as this is expressed by the term *kappēr*. Confining ourselves therefore to this, we may draw from the data collected in §§ 10–12 the following conclusions with regard to the significance of this term in its legal or ceremonial applications (which are to be carefully distinguished from the *extra*-legal usages, analyzed in §§ 5, 7–9). In the legal terminology it is especially associated with the *sin*-offering, of which it designates the most distinctive and characteristic operation; it is also frequently, though not so characteristically, predicated of the *guilt*-offering (the *āshām*), that differentiated type of sin-offering prescribed for cases in which injury has been done to the rights of another person. To the *burnt*-offering, offered alone, it is attributed only in Lv 1^{4} 14^{20} 16^{24} (cf. Ezk $45^{15.\ 17}$; also Job 1^{7} 42^{8}), on the ground, it seems, that, though not a proper propitiatory sacrifice, it was a mark of the worshipper's devotion, and, being offered 'for his favour (acceptance) before J″' (Lv 1^{3} לִרְצֹנוֹ), and accepted (וְנִרְצָה לוֹ) accordingly, moved Him to regard him graciously, and to overlook his moral insufficiency; elsewhere it is not attributed to it expressly,* but only (§ 11 *d*) when it is closely associated with the sin-offering, for the purpose (as seems to be frequently the case) of enhancing the significance of the latter; and, indeed, Lv 14^{20} 16^{24} (cf. vv.$^{3.\ 5}$) might almost be regarded as falling under this category. Ezekiel ($45^{15.\ 17}$) attributes it to the *peace*- and *meal*- offering; in H, also, it is attributed to the peace- (and burnt-) offerings, in virtue of what is said about the 'blood' in Lv 17^{11} (cf. v.^{8}); in the system of P it is not attributed directly to either of these, for the meal-offering in Lv $14^{20.\ 31}$ holds such a secondary place that it cannot be treated with any confidence as participating in the *kappārā*. The *kappārā* is specially the function of the *blood* (see Lv 17^{11} [H]; and cf., in the ritual of the sin-offering, Ex 30^{10}, Lv 4. $6^{30\,(23)}$ 8^{15} $16^{15f.\ 18f.\ 27}$, Ezk 43^{20} $45^{19f.}$), on account, as is expressly said in Lv 17^{11}, of its being the seat of the 'soul' or life, the most precious, and also the purest and most immaterial gift that can be offered to God; the only exception (among sacrifices) being one that proves the rule, viz. (Lv 5^{13}) the vegetable offering allowed as a substitute for the usual sin-offering, when the latter was beyond the means of the offerer. Hence the later Rabb. *dictum* (*Yōmā* 5*a*) אֵין כַּפָּרָה אֶלָּא בְּדָם 'there is no *kappārā* except with blood' (cf. He 9^{22}),—which, however, is not true universally (see the cases, § 11 *h–m*, esp. Ex $30^{15f.}$), but only in so far as sacrifice is concerned.

14. The *effect* of the *kappārā* is a purification, sometimes from sin, sometimes (Lv 12. 14. 15, Nu 6) from merely ceremonial defilement, sin being regarded as a stain, and the defilement, whether ritual or moral—for in P the two are not clearly distinguished (see LAW, vol. iii. p. 72^{a}; and cf. Schmoller, 280)—being conceived as either made invisible and inoperative, or else as actually obliterated; it is regarded as withdrawn from Jehovah's eyes (cf. Ps 51^{9a}; and contrast 90^{8}); it no longer comes between Him and man: He neither sees nor imputes it. The aim of the priestly legislation is to maintain the ideal holiness of the theocratic community (LAW, *ib.* p. 70 f.); and the *kappārā* is the primary means by which this is effected. Sometimes cleansing (moral or ceremonial) is expressly mentioned as the effect of the rite (see § 12 *e*; and note esp. Lv 16^{30} 'on this day shall propitiation be made for you *to cleanse you*; from all your sins *ye shall be clean* before J″'). As prescribed for the priests (Ex 29^{33}, Lv 9^{7}) and Levites (Nu 8^{21}), before admission to their sacred duties, it is a readily intelligible rite of preliminary lustration (Riehm, 76 f.; Schmoller, 234 f., 245). Enjoined for a *material* object, the altar or the sanctuary, its aim is to secure or maintain its holiness: the altar, prior to its consecration, is regarded as affected by the natural impurity of human workmanship, which has to be removed; the sanctuary, frequented as it was by a sinful and unclean people, is contaminated by their sins, and accordingly requires a periodical purification (Riehm, 54–57; Schmoller, 221 f., 242, 262); the leprous house (Lv 14^{53}) is conceived as tainted by sin (§ 12 *c*); the 'scape-goat,' offered by the sinful people, requires to be purified before it can discharge the solemn functions assigned to it (Riehm, 55; Dillm.; etc.). On the part of God the effect of the *kappārā* is more particularly specified,—at least in the sin- and guilt-offering,—as *forgiveness*,—conditional, as we may suppose would be understood by the more spiritual Israelites, on the penitence of the offerer, though this is not stated in the laws as distinctly and regularly as might be expected (cf. Lv 5^{5} 16^{21}, Nu 5^{7}; Schultz, *OT Theol.* ii. 99 f.): it should, however, in this connexion be remembered that *kappēr* was in general possible only for *unintentional* (or *venial*) sins* (above, vol. i. 201^{b} note; Schultz, i. 382 f., 388 f., 394 f., ii. 87–89: cf. Ezk 45^{20}, where 'erreth' = sins inadvertently). Sins committed wilfully, 'with a high hand' (Nu $15^{30f.}$), *i.e.* in a spirit of presumptuous defiance, challenging God's anger, lie outside the sphere within which the *kappārā* ordinarily operates; hence, as predicated of the *regular* Levitical sacrifices, it is never described as *appeasing* God (cf. § 2 *end*), nor is it ever implied that the offerer of such a sacrifice is outside God's dispensation of grace, or the object of His *wrath*; the cases § 11 *j k* are exceptional; at most (§ 11 *h i l*) it may be said to be a means of *averting* it (Riehm, 30, 37, 85; *AT Theol.* 132; cf. Schultz, i. 394).

15. From what has been said, it will be seen that *kipper* is a difficult word to represent satisfactorily in English. 'Cover'—or 'wipe out,' if that view of the original sense of the word be adopted—is too colourless: 'make atonement' (at-one-ment, reconciliation) may express a *consequence* of *kipper*, but it is not what the word itself denotes. It has always—or almost always—a religious, and mostly a ritual colouring: it is to *cover* (metaphorically) by a gift, offering, or rite, or (if God be the subject) to *treat as covered*: the ideas associated with the word are thus to *make* (or *treat*) *as harmless, non-existent*, or *inoperative*, to *annul* (so far as God's notice or regard is concerned), to *withdraw from God's sight*, with the attached ideas of *reinstating in His favour, freeing from sin*, and *restoring to holiness*,—especially (but not exclusively), when the subject is a human agent, by the species of sacrifice called the 'sin-offering.' It is a stronger, more significant synonym of חִטֵּא to 'un-sin,' and טִהַר to 'purify' or 'cleanse.' There appears to be no one English word which combines, or suggests, ideas such as these. Even to 'make propitiation' accentuates somewhat unduly a particular side, or aspect, of what is involved in *kipper* (cf. § 1 *end*); though the fact that the ideas just indicated were associated with the word *in conjunction with a rite*, would point rather naturally in the direction of such a meaning, which the nearly habitual rendering of the LXX, (ἐξ)ιλάσκομαι, shows was felt to attach to the word in the 3rd cent. B.C. Nevertheless, esp. in view of the LXX, and NT ἱλασμός, this is on the whole the best rendering of *kipper* in its ritual sense, the cases grouped under §§ 8, 9 being represented, for consistency, by *deal propitiously*

---

* The extra-legal passage, 1 S 3^{14} (§ 8), is not evidence of the ideas associated with *kipper* in the ceremonial system of P.

* See, however, Lv 6^{2-7} 19^{20-22}, Nu 5^{6-8}.

with, or *be propitious to*. Whether, in actual usage, there was any consciousness of the primary sense, to 'cover,' is extremely doubtful: in all probability, *kipper* was felt to express only the derived ideas which have been indicated (cf. Schmoller, 283 f.).

16. To return briefly, before concluding, to the use of the term in the NT. The death of Christ is represented in the NT under *three* main aspects: as a *λύτρον*, *ransoming* from the power of sin and spiritual death (see REDEEMER); as a *καταλλαγή*, setting 'at one,' or *reconciling*, God and man, and bringing to an end the alienation between them; and as a *propitiation*, breaking down the barrier which sin interposes between God and man, and enabling God to enter again into fellowship with him. 'Propitiation' is in the OT attached especially to the sin-offering, and to the sacrifice of the blood (or life); and Christ, by the giving up of His sinless life, annuls the power of sin to separate between God and the believer, by a sacrifice analogous to those offered by the Jewish priests, but infinitely more efficacious (see, further, ATONEMENT, MEDIATION, RECONCILIATION).

17. It remains only to notice briefly the different view of *kappēr* which is developed by Ritschl, *Rechtfertigung u. Versöhnung*², ii. 70–80 (on *kōpher*), 184–210. *Kappēr*, Ritschl argues (p. 198 f.), is attributed to *all* offerings, but forgiveness (implying the presence of sin) only to the sin- and guilt-offering: it is thus a false generalization to suppose that its purpose is the removal of sin; and this conclusion is confirmed by the fact that there are many cases of purely *physical* uncleanness for which, nevertheless, a sin-offering involving it is prescribed. In fact, *kappēr* has essentially (p. 203) *no relation to sin*; the 'covering' of persons, spoken of in the priestly law, does not mean the covering of their guilt, but their *protection*, in order, viz., that—in accordance with the principle that 'no man can see me and live' (Ex 33^{20}; cf. Gn 32^{30}, Ex 19^{21} 20^{19}, Dt 5^{24}, Jg $6^{22.23}$ 13^{22}, Is 6^{5})—they may be able to appear before God without risk of their lives; the necessity of such 'protection' depends, however, not upon man's sinfulness, but upon his 'creatureliness'; he needs it, not as *sinful*, but only as *created*, and *finite*. Sin is not the ground of the *kappārā*, but merely (in the sin- and guilt-offering) its occasion. It follows that, upon Ritschl's view, *kipper* ought not to be translated 'make propitiation' (or 'atonement') at all: accordingly, he condemns (p. 199 f.) the rendering 'sühnen' as introducing 'only confusion,' and considers (p. 186) that the LXX, in rendering (ἐξ)ιλάσκομαι, substituted for the Heb. a Greek word which was not really its equivalent.

This theory is controverted at length by both Riehm (esp. pp. 37 f., 46–8, 51 f., 57–9, 72–81, 83–6, but also elsewhere) and Schmoller (pp. 266–9, 274–81); cf. also Schmidt, *PRE*² xvi. 365 f.; and in spite of the ability with which Ritschl writes, it is impossible not to think that it is a one-sided one, depending in some parts upon a combination of elements which are not combined together in the OT, and in others emphasizing features and principles which do not really, in the legislation as a whole, possess the prominence and significance which are attached to them. The crucial question undoubtedly is, What does the *kappārā* 'cover'? Ritschl's view that, as it is predicated of the burnt- and peace-offering, in which there is no question of sin, it must cover man's creatureliness, which cannot subsist in God's presence without such 'protection,' introduces an idea which is nowhere brought into connexion with sacrifice. To approach God (with sacrifice) is by no means identical with 'seeing' Him (in the sense implied in the passages quoted), nor is it ever represented as endangering life: the principle of Ex 33^{20} etc. is never referred to in the legislation of P; and the cases in which life is represented as endangered are connected not with the omission of a sacrifice, but with some irreverence or irregularity in the discharge of sacred offices, or with some other specific act of disrespect towards God (Ex $28^{35.43}$ $30^{20.21}$, Lv 8^{35} $10^{1f.6.7.9}$ 15^{31} $16^{2.13}$ 22^{9}, Nu $4^{15.19.20}$ 17^{10} $18^{3.22.32}$; cf. 1^{53} 8^{19} 18^{5}). In preference therefore to having recourse to an explanation both artificial in itself and also with so little support in the usage of the ritual legislation, it seems better to suppose that though the burnt-, peace-, and meal-offerings were not offered *expressly*, like the sin- and guilt-offerings, for the forgiveness of sin, they nevertheless (in so far as *kipper* is predicated of them) were regarded as 'covering,' or neutralizing, the offerer's unworthiness to appear before God, and so, though in a much less degree than the sin- or the guilt-offering, as effecting *kappārā* in the sense ordinarily attached to the word, viz. 'propitiation.'* The great rarity with which *kappēr* is attributed to any but the sin- and guilt-offerings, and the fact that, where its effects are specified, they are always either the forgiveness of sin or the removal of uncleanness, are additional arguments in support of the ordinary view. It is also to be observed that Ritschl's theory implies that *kappēr* expresses the idea of 'protection' far more directly and distinctly than can be deemed probable: 'protection,' as said above (§ 4), may be a secondary and indirect consequence of *kappēr*, but it is not at all the primary and immediate sense of it (not even in Dt 32^{43}; Ritschl, p. 72 f.). The fact that *kipper* is used with reference to the removal of physical uncleanness proves, not that it stands in no relation to sin (for חִטֵּא, to 'free from sin,' is used in exactly the same connexions, § 12 *c*), but that the Hebrews understood the term 'sin' in a wider sense than we do, and included in it material, as well as moral, defilements.

LITERATURE.—The two very full discussions that have been referred to, Riehm, *Der Begriff der Sühne im AT*, 1877 (reprinted from *SK*, 1877, pp. 7–92: see also his *AT Theol.* 130–147), and Schmoller, *SK*, 1891, Heft 2, pp. 205–288; Schultz, *OT Theol.* i. 397–400, and *Amer. Journ. of Theol.* iv. (1900), 285–91, 301–4, 309–13; Dillm. on Lv 4^{20}; Wellh. *Compos.*² 335 f.; Smend, *AT Rel.-gesch.* 321; Nowack, *Arch.* ii. 220; A. B. Davidson, '"Atone" in Extra-ritual Literature,' *Expos.*, Aug. 1899, p. 92 ff. Schultz's view of the ritual sense of *kipper* approximates to that of Ritschl, though he rejects the idea that an ethical motive is never involved in it: he would render the term by 'consecrate' (*weihen*); man is by nature weak, and consequently (physically and morally) unworthy to draw nigh unto God: the priest, by the 'covering' rite, draws a veil over the creaturely unworthiness of the offerer,—and also, if the case requires it, over his sin; the 'consecration' (*Weihung*), thus provided for him, is, as it were, a 'wedding-garment,' enabling him to draw near to the high and holy God without danger.

S. R. DRIVER.

PROSELYTE (*προσήλυτος*, from *προσέρχεσθαι*: lit. 'advena,' *i.e.* visitor, new comer).†

i. *The term 'proselyte.'*—*προσήλυτος* is the usual LXX rendering of גֵּר [see GER],‡ *i.e.*, originally, one who takes up his residence in a foreign land, and so puts himself under the protection of a foreign people, as a client; particularly a foreigner thus residing in Palestine.* The classical equivalent is ἔπηλυς or ἐπηλύτης (*advena*); but the technical name of such a foreign resident was μέτοικος (*incola*), to which LXX πάροικος [μέτοικος occurs Jer 20^3 only] corresponds. In NT (Mt 23^{15}, Ac 2^{10} 6^5 13^{43}) προσήλυτος is commonly understood to mean a foreign convert to the Jewish religion, a *proselyte* in our sense of the word.† It seems to have lost all connexion with residence in Palestine, for the proselytes referred to in Ac 2^{10} 13^{43} live in foreign lands.

---

* The use of the term רֵיחַ נִיחוֹחַ 'savour of tranquillizing *or* contentment,' of the burnt-, as of the meal- and peace-offerings (Lv $1^{9.17}$ $2^{3.16}$ 3^{5} *al.*), also implies *something* of the nature of a propitiation (cf. Gn $8^{20f.}$).

† The etymology is suggested in such expressions as ἐὰν δέ τις προσέλθῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς προσήλυτος Ex 12^{48} (Lv 19^{33}, Nu 9^{14}); ὁ προσελθὼν προσήλυτος ἐν ὑμῖν Ex 12^{49}; though more often in such phrases as הַגֵּר הַגָּר [אֲשֶׁר יָגוּר] בְּתוֹכְכֶם other participles are used, viz. προσκείμενος (Lv 16^{29} $17^{8.10.12.13}$, Nu $15^{15.16.26.29}$ 19^{10}, Jos 20^{9}), προσγενόμενος (Lv 18^{26}, cf. Nu 15^{14}), γεγενημένος (Lv 20^{2}), προσπορευόμενος (Lv 19^{34}); once only προσηλυτεύοντες (Ezk 14^{7} [Aq. Ps 5^{5} 120^{5}]), while Ezk 47^{22} gives τοῖς προσηλύτοις τοῖς παροικοῦσιν ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν. This last is like the rendering of 'the *gēr* who is in thy gates' in Ex 20^{10}, Dt 5^{14} ὁ προσήλυτος ὁ παροικῶν ἐν σοί.

‡ גֵּר is eleven times translated πάροικος (Gn 15^{13} 23^{4}, Ex 2^{22} 18^{3}, Dt 14^{21} $23^{7(8)}$, 2 K 1^{13}, 1 Ch 29^{15}, Ps 38 $(39)^{12}$, 118 $(119)^{19}$, Jer 14^{8}; cf. Ps 104 $(105)^{12}$ גּוּר); twice γειώρας (Ex 12^{19}, Is 14^{1}); once ξένος (Job 31^{32}). Job 19^{15} has γείτονες for גָּרִים. προσήλυτος

When did the word lose the local (political) and gain this final technical (religious) sense? Its meaning in the LXX is somewhat disputed. Geiger (*Urschrift*, p. 353 ff.) maintains that it is there strictly equivalent to *gēr* in its original sense, while W. C. Allen (*Expositor*, 1894, x. 267–275) argues that the LXX uses the word consistently in the final sense of *proselyte*. This wide divergence of view is possible because the Hebrew word *gēr* itself becomes almost equivalent to proselyte in P. ‡ The ideal of Judaism is that there shall be no uncircumcised alien in the Holy Land. But it cannot be proved that προσήλυτος connects itself consistently with these OT approaches of *gēr* to its final (Mishnic) sense. It is true that πάροικος stands for *gēr* in several passages where the sense 'proselyte' would be especially inappropriate, as where Israel, or an Israelite, is called a *gēr* in a foreign land (Gn 15^{13}, Dt 23^7, Gn 23^4, Ex 2^{22} 18^3), or in God's land (Ps 39^{12} 119^{19}, 1 Ch 29^{15}), where God is Himself a *gēr* (Jer 14^8), or where the law for the *gēr* differs from that for the home-born (Dt 14^{21} *contra* Lv 17^{15}). But on the other hand no very obvious reason for the rendering exists in 2 S 1^{13}; and—what is more important—Israelites are elsewhere called προσήλυτοι in Egypt (Ex 22^{21} 23^9, Lv 19^{34}, Dt 10^{19}), or in God's land (Lv 25^{23}); the word is closely parallel to πάροικος (Lv $25^{23.35}$); circumcision is specially required of a προσήλυτος before he can eat the Passover (Ex 12^{48}); and in two passages where a proselyte proper is meant, the Aramaic word γειώρας is used (Ex 12^{19}, Is 14^1).§

It is certain that the LXX προσήλυτος, even if he is often a circumcised convert, remains always a foreign resident in Palestine. Of an application of the word to a convert to Judaism who still resides in a foreign land there is no trace.‖ This distinguishes the LXX use from that of the NT. In an interesting mistranslation of Is 54^{15} LXX reads, 'Behold, proselytes will come to thee through me, and will sojourn with thee, and will flee to thee for refuge.' ¶ The religious sense blends with the local, but does not displace it. It is therefore impossible to make the word simply equivalent to 'convert.' The tendency of the LXX to translate *gēr* by προσήλυτος is stronger than its sense of this later technical meaning. No difference of usage appears between early and late parts of the LXX. The word occurs in the Apocryphal books only in To 1^8 ℵ (from Dt 14^{29} 26^{12}). The absence of a common technical use of the word seems to be indicated by the fact that it is not used of unmistakable proselytes, from Ruth to Achior (Jth 14^{10}), or in the frequent expressions of hope for the conversion of the heathen.

Philo* understands the LXX προσήλυτος in the sense of 'convert.' Those who have changed to the better order Moses calls προσήλυτοι, because they have come to a new and God-pleasing constitution (ἀπὸ τοῦ προσεληλυθέναι καινῇ καὶ φιλοθέῳ πολιτείᾳ, *de Monarch.* i. 7). But he prefers the word ἔπηλυς (ἐπηλύτης, ἐπήλυτος), often, as in this passage, substituting it for the other in the course of his discussion (so also in *de Vict. Off.* 10, *Quæs. in* Ex 22^{20}, *de Cher.* 31. 33. 34), more often still using it throughout (*de Septenario* 14, *de Creat. Prin.* 6, *de Caritate* 12, *de Pœnit.* 2, *de Execrat.* 6). Bertholet (p. 288) is surely mistaken in saying that ἔπηλυς has a wider meaning than προσήλυτος, for the distinction in *Quæst. in* Ex 22^{20} between ἐπήλυδες *of place* (χώρας), and those *of laws and customs* (νομίμων καὶ ἐθῶν), is made solely in order to explain the two uses of the word προσήλυτος in Ex $22^{20\,(21)}$, and the argument would be wholly without force if the two words were not synonymous. Philo allows the possibility of the local meaning of προσήλυτος (ἔπηλυς) in order to explain its application, figuratively, to Israel in Egypt. The literal word in this connexion was μέτοικος or ξένος (*de Vita Mos.* i. 7, *de Carit.* 13. 14). Compare his interpretation of Lv 25^{23} (*de Cher.* 31–34): the wise man is but an ἔπηλυς and πάροικος in the world; God is the only *citizen*, and on the contrary the foolish man is altogether a fugitive.

Philo's preference for the word ἔπηλυς prevents us from supposing that the word προσήλυτος was current in his circle, though it hardly warrants the opinion that ἔπηλυς was the current technical name of the Greek converts to Judaism of whom he speaks. It was probably simply the more natural word by which to convey the sense of the LXX to his readers. In Philo, then, the religious interprets and practically displaces the local use of the word, but a common technical use of it, such as the NT seems to presuppose, he does not reveal.

Josephus often refers to actual proselytes,† but without using the name; and he not infrequently alludes to OT passages in which the *gēr* is commended to charity,‡ but cites them only as providing for the poor, or for the foreigner (ξένος, ἀλλόφυλος, ἀλλοτριόχωρος). Are we to infer that Philo knew, as Josephus did not, a class of Greek converts to Judaism to whom the humane injunctions of the law applied, who had lost their natural friends and helpers for the sake of religion, and were especially needy and deserving of friendly consideration on the part of Jews?

ii. *Words and phrases descriptive of proselytes.*—Instead of a fixed technical word for foreign converts to the Jewish religion, the Old Testament and Jewish literature give various descriptive phrases, some of which may well be gathered together here, since they contain in themselves an interpretation of Jewish proselytism. The proselyte is a *gēr* who is circumcised (Ex 12^{48}), or who joins himself to the house of Jacob (Is 14^1); he is one who enters into the assembly of Jahweh (Dt 23^8 'in the third generation,' cf. v.^{3}); he is

---

never translates any other root, but is found without Hebrew equivalent in Lv 17^3, Dt 10^{18a} 12^{18}; Is 54^{15} gives an interesting mistranslation. Ἐπήλυτος occurs only in Job 20^{26}.

* ὁ προσήλυτος is distinguished on the one side from the native Israelite (ὁ αὐτόχθων, ὁ ἐγχώριος, οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραήλ), and on the other from the foreigner (ὁ ἀλλότριος, ὁ ἀλλογενής). The distinction from ὁ πάροικος is less clear, and does not perfectly correspond to that between *gēr* and *tôshāb*.

† So Theodoret: προσηλύτους δὲ ἐκάλουν τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἐθνῶν προσιόντας καὶ τὴν νομικὴν πολιτείαν ἀσπαζομένους; and Suidas: οἱ ἐξ ἐθνῶν προσεληλυθότες καὶ κατὰ νόμον ποθήσαντες πολιτεύεσθαι.

‡ See, *e.g.*, Lv 17–19 (H), Nu 15 (P). The principle is, one law for home-born and *gērîm*, Ex 12^{49}, Nu 9^{14} $15^{15.16.29.30}$.

§ So Schürer, *GJV*³ iii. 125 f.; Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten u. d. Juden zu den Fremden*, 1896, p. 259 ff. The word γειώρας is used by Justin (*Dial. c. Tryph.* c. 122 [γηόρας]) and Julius Afri. (*ad Aristidem*) of proselytes; but Philo read it in Ex 2^{22} (LXX πάροικος) of Moses in Midian (*de Confus. Ling.* 17), hence it also cannot have been a recognized technical title. Does Josephus mistake it for the name of a town? (ὁ [τοῦ] Γιώρα Σίμων, *BJ* II. xix. 2, etc.).

‖ ἐν τῇ γῇ ὑμῶν Lv 19^{33}, Nu 9^{14} 15^{14}, ἐν ὑμῖν Ex 12^{49} etc.

¶ ἰδοὺ προσήλυτοι προσελεύσονταί σοι, etc.

* See Bertholet, *l.c.* pp. 285–289.

† *e.g.* Helena, Izates, and Monobazus (*Ant.* XX. ii.–iv.); Fulvia (*Ant.* XVIII. iii. 5); cf. *c. Ap.* ii. 11, 29, 37, *Ant.* XIII. ix. 1, xi. 3; *BJ* II. xx. 2, VII. iii. 3, etc.

‡ *e.g. Ant.* III. xii. 3 (Lv 25^6), IV. viii. 21 (Dt 24^{21}, Lv $19^{9\ 10}$), viii. 22 (Dt $14^{28.29}$ 26^{12}), viii. 38 (Dt $24^{14.15}$).

a foreigner [בֶּן־הַנֵּכָר, ὁ ἀλλογενής] who has 'joined himself to J″* to minister to him, and to love the name of J″, to be his servant—every one who so keeps the Sabbath as not to profane it, and who lays hold on my covenant' (Is 56$^{3.6}$); he is a *nokhri* (ξένος) who 'comes to take refuge under the wings of J″' (Ru 2$^{11.12}$, cf. ^{10}; see also Apoc. Bar 41^{4}). Only in Est 8^{17} are converts spoken of as those who 'become Jews' [מִתְיַהֲדִים, LXX περιετέμνοντο καὶ ἰουδάϊζον]. Achior (Jth 14^{10}) believed in God, was circumcised, and added to the house of Israel (προσετέθη πρός, as Is 14^{1}). See also the forms of expression in such passages as Is 2$^{2-4}$, Jer 3^{17} 4^{2} 12^{16} (cf. Is 45^{23} 65^{16}),† Zeph 3^{9}, Is 44^{5}, 1 K 8$^{41-43}$, Ru 1^{16}, Zec 8$^{20-23}$ 9^{7} 14$^{16-19}$, Is 19$^{18-25}$, To 14$^{6.7}$. A convert could be described as one who turned to J″, swore by the name of J″, prayed to Him, sought and kept His law, especially the Sabbath and the prohibition of eating blood. Circumcision could not be omitted by one who would join himself to Israel. Almost without exception (but see Zeph 2^{11}, Is 19$^{18-25}$) the supposition is that converts will live in Israel's land.‡ They are circumcised *gērîm*.

Philo regards proselytes as those who leave polytheism and adopt the worship of one God. He describes them as changing to the better order, as migrating to piety, journeying to a good colony, deserting to God or to the truth, wandering to truth and to the honouring of the One who is worthy of honour, as fugitives to God, and suppliants, as those who change to the constitution (πολιτεία) of the Jews. The mind of a proselyte (Ex 23^{9}) is alienation (ἀλλοτρίωσις) from polytheism and familiarity (οἰκείωσις) with the worship of the One and Father of all.§ Having come to the worship of the true God they come to possess all virtues, wisdom, temperance, modesty, etc. (*de Pœnit.* 2), they will have a secure place in heaven, and meanwhile are to be especially cared for, since they have cut themselves off from their natural relationships, and since the God-pleasing conduct (θεοφιλὲς ἦθος) should be a greater ground of friendship than anything else (*de Carit.* 12; *de Pœnit.* 1).

Josephus describes the proselyte as one who changes his life to the customs (ἔθη) of the Jews (*Ant.* XX. ii. 1); who is carried over to their laws (νόμους), or is taught to worship God as the Jews do (τὸν θεὸν σέβειν ὡς Ἰουδαίοις πάτριον ἦν, XX. ii. 3); who has come to the Jewish laws (νομίμοις προσεληλυθὼς τοῖς Ἰουδαϊκοῖς, XVIII. iii. 5), or simply becomes a Jew (εἶναι Ἰουδαῖος, XX. ii. 4); one whom the Jews have brought over to their religious observances, and made in a sense part of themselves (*BJ* VII. iii. 3). All but a few of the women of Damascus had been brought under the Jewish religious worship (θρησκεία)—*BJ* II. xx. 2. The Idumæans and Ituræans were circumcised, and lived according to the laws of the Jews (XIII. ix. 1, xi. 2; cf. XIII. xv. 4, XV. vii. 9; *c. Ap.* ii. 11, 29). Religion is with Josephus, not indeed simply a matter of race, but essentially one of ancestral custom and fixed habit of life, and a change of religion is a change of custom.

Apoc. Bar speaks of those 'who have forsaken vanity and fled for refuge beneath thy wings,' in contrast to those who have 'withdrawn from thy covenant and cast from them the yoke of thy law' (41$^{3.4}$);‖ and refers to them again as 'those who before knew not, but afterwards knew life and mingled with the seed of the people which had separated itself' (42^{5}).

Much uncertainty must be acknowledged regarding the use of the phrase the '*devout*' or '*God-fearers*' (יִרְאֵי י״ה, οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν [κύριον], οἱ σεβόμενοι τ. θ.) as the technical name either for proselytes in general or for a certain class of proselytes. In Judaism (after Dt 6$^{2.13.24}$ 10$^{12.20}$, Lv 19$^{14.32}$ 25^{17} etc.) it became so far a standing phrase for Israelites, or the *true* Israelites, themselves, that it would seem inappropriate as a distinctive designation of converts, or half converts, from heathenism (see Ps 15^{4} 22$^{23.25}$ 25$^{12.14}$ 31^{19} 60^{4} etc., Mal 3^{16} 4^{2}, Sir 2$^{7-17}$ 6$^{16.17}$ 34$^{13-15}$ etc., Ps.-Sol 2^{37} 3^{16} 4^{26} etc.).* It is indeed commonly held that in Ps 115$^{11.13}$ 118^{4} 135^{20} proselytes are distinguished by this title from the Israelitish laity and priesthood.† But this is not certain. The phrase may be a comprehensive and summary one, as it probably is in Ps 22^{23} (so in Three ^{69}, cf. $^{61-63}$, ^{10} [LXX Dn 3$^{90.83-85.33}$], Rev 19^{5} (11^{18}?), where it is equivalent to 'servants of the Lord'). 2 K 17$^{32.33}$ does indeed suggest that heathen might fear J″ and at the same time serve their own gods; but this is perhaps an ironical description of the Samaritan religion.

It is Acts which seems most clearly to imply a technical use of the phrase. Σεβόμενοι or φοβούμενοι, with or without τὸν θεόν, is commonly regarded as designating such non-Jews as held to the Jewish synagogue worship and observed the most elementary Jewish laws of food and purity and Sabbath observance, without entering by circumcision into the Jewish community. Such a class, distinct from Jews on the one side and from casual travellers to Jerusalem on the other, Josephus once mentions as contributing to the wealth of the temple (*Ant.* XIV. vii. 2, σεβόμενοι τὸν θεόν).‡ Yet the references to them here and in Acts are indefinite enough, so that Bertholet (pp. 328–334) can argue that they are nothing but circumcised proselytes, while on the other hand O. Holtzmann (*NT Zeitgesch.* p. 185) declares that προσήλυτος is the technical name of (uncircumcised) φοβούμενοι. They are distinguished from Israelites (Ac 13^{16}), children of Abraham's race (13^{26}), the Jews (13^{43} 17^{17}), and these two classes together composed the synagogue audiences at Antioch of Pisidia and at Athens. The 'God-fearers' seem to be identified with proselytes in 13^{43}, for οἱ σεβόμενοι προσήλυτοι can hardly be different from οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν of vv.$^{16.26}$. Schürer himself recognized the identification in Riehm's *Handwörterbuch*^{2} (1894), art. 'Proselyten,' but denies it again in the 3rd ed. of his *GJV* (1898) iii. p. 124 ff., where he argues against Bertholet that proselytes proper are included in the first category, that of Jews or Israelites. This might indeed be used in common speech to include all the circumcised, whether of Jewish birth or not, but the phrase 'children of the race of Abraham' (v.^{26}) seems more explicit. But, on the contrary, 'the devout Greeks' of Thessalonica (17^{4}) were hardly a different class from the 'Greeks' whom St. Paul found in the synagogues at Iconium (14^{1}) and Corinth (18^{4}). St. Paul carries out his threat to leave the Jews and go to the Gentiles by going to the house of Titius Justus, one of the σεβόμενοι (18^{7}), who could therefore hardly have been circumcised. As to Lydia (16^{14}) and 'the devout women' of Antioch (13^{50}), we cannot determine the degree of their connexion with Judaism; but Cornelius is unmistakably an uncircumcised foreigner (ἀλλόφυλος, 10^{28}), with whom a Jew could have no free intercourse (11^{3}). Bertholet is obliged to say that the phrase φοβούμενος τὸν θεόν ($10^{2.22}$) is not used of him in its technical sense. It is true that its use here, in connexion with other descriptive words, and especially in v.^{35} ('he that fears him and works righteousness'), does not suggest the technical name of a definite class of men. But surely Cornelius would have been found in the synagogue on the Sabbath (see $10^{2.22}$), and he is not to be distinguished from the class of foreigners informally connected with Judaism, with whom the other passages acquaint us. Another such is the centurion who loved the Jewish nation and built them a synagogue (Lk 7^{2-9}); and another, the eunuch who came to Jerusalem to worship (Ac $8^{27ff.}$), but who could not, if he would, enter into the assembly of the Lord (Dt 23^1); others are mentioned in Jn 12^{20}.

---

* See Zec 2^{11}, Est 9^{27}.

† Cf. Dt 6^{13} 10^{20}.

‡ Naaman is hardly an exception, since he can worship J″ in a foreign land only by taking some of J″'s land with him (2 K 5$^{17.18}$).

§ See references above.

‖ So Philo contrasts proselytes with apostates (οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων ἀποστάντες, *de Pœnit.* 2).

* See references in Cremer's *Wörterbuch*, s. φοβέω.

† Bertholet (p. 181 f.), Baethgen (*Die Psalmen*) on Ps 115^{11}; Wellhausen (*PB*). This interpretation goes back to Theodoret, Ibn Ezra, Rashi.

‡ These are 'the Greeks who honour our customs' (*Ant.* III. viii. 9); those who have a 'zeal for our religion' (*c. Ap.* ii. 29).

Bertholet is probably right in insisting that there was only one sort of convert, the circumcised foreigner, who undertook to fulfil the whole law (Gal 5^3). He recognizes, too (pp. 298–300, 334), the undoubted fact that Cornelius was a representative of a large class of Greeks who were attracted by certain beliefs of Judaism, and adopted certain of its customs, were recognized by Jews as religious and virtuous men, but did not cross the strict line which still separated Jew from Gentile. But it seems probable that he is mistaken in combating the common view that such Greeks were called 'God-fearers.' It is true that, in the absence of evidence of the common use of the word 'proselyte' itself, we might be tempted to find in ὁ φοβούμενος an earlier technical name for the proselyte proper, as Cremer seems to do[*] on the basis of 2 Ch 5^6 LXX. But for this the evidence is too slight.

The number of foreigners who had come in some measure under the Jewish religion was, according to Josephus (*Ant.* XIV. vii. 2; *c. Ap.* ii. 29) and Philo (*Vita Mos.* ii. 4), very large.[†] Schürer's careful collection and investigation of the evidence of inscriptions[‡] proves that there were Greek religious societies in the first centuries after Christ, of so-called 'worshippers of the Most High God,' who got their name and their monotheistic faith from the Jews, and yet held to many elements of Greek religion. They were a result, in Schürer's opinion, of Jewish propaganda, but remained part Jewish, part Greek, in very varying proportions. One who belonged to such a society could well have σεβόμενος, or *metuens*, inscribed on his tomb.[§]

The 'God-fearers,' then, are not proselytes in any proper sense, in spite of Ac 13^{43}, which, if not due to an early textual error, is an indication of a somewhat free, untechnical use of προσήλυτοι itself, such as the LXX would suggest. If the latter be allowed here, the question might arise whether all the 'proselytes' in 2^{10} were certainly circumcised. The question is made the harder by the uncertainty whether the phrase applies only to the Romans (Zahn) or to all those named in vv.$^{9.10}$ (Holtzmann, etc.), and whether they were then permanent residents in Jerusalem (v.^{5}), or pilgrims to the feast.

The phrase *Proselytes of the Gate* has nothing whatever to do with the σεβόμενοι τὸν θεόν. It is simply a late Rabbinical title (after Ex 20^{10}, Dt 5^{14} etc.) for sojourners in Israel's land (the original *gērîm*). Earlier, in the Mishna, such a person is *gēr tôshāb* (cf. Lv 25^{47b}).[‖] In distinction from these, the proselyte was called by late Rabbis the '*Proselyte of Righteousness*,' while in the Mishna he is simply the '*gēr*.'[*]

Although there were among the heathen many who were attracted by the monotheism and morality of Judaism, and attended the synagogue services, yet these were not in our sense proselytes. A heathen could become a Jew only by circumcision, hence there was but one order of proselytes proper. Lardner had already made the correct observation: 'There was but one sort of proselytes among the Jews (the circumcised), and Cornelius was not a proselyte but a Gentile.'[†] But that the word προσήλυτος was applied exclusively to these in NT times is not certain.

iii. *The Duties and Rights of Proselytes, i.e.* of circumcised foreigners, were ideally the same as those of circumcised Jews (Ex 12^{49}). Philo gives abundant evidence that a Greek became a proselyte only by a violent and absolute break with his past life and associations.[‡] So Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 5) says that proselytes learn to despise the gods, cast off the fatherland, and hold parents, children, brothers, in contempt. The story of Izates is not in conflict with this.[§] His first Jewish adviser dissuaded him from circumcision, telling him that he could worship the deity (τὸ θεῖον σέβειν) without it. But this only meant that it was better for him to remain a heathen and not to become a Jew. The second adviser encouraged him to become a proselyte.

If circumcision was the decisive step in the case of all male converts, there seems no longer room for serious question that a bath of purification must have followed, even though early mention of such *proselyte baptism* is not found.[‖] The law (Lv 11–15, Nu 19) prescribed such baths in all cases of impurity, and one who came with the deep impurity of a heathen life behind him could not have entered the Jewish community without such cleansing. As long as the temple stood, an offering made a third (in case of women a second) rite in connexion with the proselyte's reception.

According to Dt $23^{2\,(1)\,ff.}$ full entrance into the assembly of the Lord was denied entirely to eunuchs (but see Is 56^{3-5}), bastards,[¶] Ammonites, and Moabites; while admittance was granted to children of the third generation in the case of the Edomite and the Egyptian. It is not clear how far this principle may have been applied in later times, or just what restrictions it implied.[**] Certainly, the Passover could be observed after circumcision (Ex 12^{48}).

Various practical limitations of the rights of proselytes (in respect to marriage, etc.) which later Rabbis discuss, probably belong to the intensified racial feeling which followed the rise of Christianity and the fall of Jerusalem. The proselyte seems to have been feared rather than sought or welcomed by the Judaism of the Talmud.[††]

The proselyte would, of course, have needed *instruction*, both before and after his admission to the Jewish community. One might be tempted to find evidence of early catechetical instruction in such passages as Ps 15. $24^{3ff.}$ 34^{13-15},[*] Is 33^{14-16} etc. In Harnack's opinion we have in Διδ. 1^{1-3a} 2^{2}–5^{2} and fragments in chs. 8 and 13, a book of instruction for Jewish proselytes called 'The Two Ways.'

---

[*] *Wörterbuch, s.* προσήλυτος, φοβέω.

[†] See confirmatory evidence in Bertholet, p. 298 ff., and Schürer.

[‡] *Die Juden im bosporanischen Reiche und die Genossenschaften der σεβόμενοι θεὸν ὕψιστον ebendaselbst*, 1897.

[§] Against Bertholet, p. 332.

[‖] The *gēr* and *tôshāb* are distinguished in Ex $12^{45.48}$, Lv 25^{47a}, Nu 35^{15} etc., but are closely associated (cf. Gn 23^4, Lv $25^{23.35}$, 1 Ch 29^{15}, Ps 39^{13}, and Lv $25^{6.45}$).

[*] To Schürer belongs the credit of having corrected current misconceptions on this matter.

[†] *Works*, vol. vi. pp. 522–533, cf. xi. pp. 306–324. Lardner also saw that the distinction of 'proselytes of the gate' and 'of righteousness,' and the construction of the Noachic commands for the former, were recent.

[‡] *De Vict. Offerent.* 10, *de Creat. Prin.* 6, *de Carit.* 12, etc. See other references above.

[§] *Ant.* xx. ii. 2–4.

[‖] Baptism of converts is not mentioned by Philo or Josephus, but the Mishna presupposes it. See also Arrian, and *Sib. Or.* iv. 164; Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 319–324 (cf. BAPTISM, III. *a*).

[¶] On the meaning of the Heb. *mamzēr* in Dt $23^{3\,(2)}$, see Driver, *ad loc.*, and Nestle in *Expos. Times*, Feb. 1900, p. 235.

[**] See Philo, *de Carit.* 13 end (cf. Ezk 47^{22} 'which shall beget children among you').

[††] See Bertholet, pp. 339–349; Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 334 ff.; Weber, *Die Jüdische Theologie* (Index, *s.* 'Proselyten').

With the disappearance of a definite second order of 'Proselytes of the Gate,' the question of special rules for them falls away for the biblical period. The so-called 'seven commands of the children of Noah,' which the Talmud holds to be valid for the *gēr tôshāb*,[†] are a product of legal theorizing, and could never have been enforced by the Jewish authorities of NT times on the Greeks and Romans who lived in Palestine.

As the σεβόμενοι τὸν θεόν were Gentiles, the Jewish authorities would hardly attempt to give detailed rules for their life. They would rather accept whatever measure of homage Greeks paid to their religion as contributing to its glory, and would, according to their generosity of disposition, recognize and admire moral rectitude and even religious reverence among the heathen. For such recognition of ethnic religion and morality the OT prepared the way.[‡]

The apostolic decree of Ac $15^{28.\ 29}$, cf. vv.$^{19.\ 20}$ 21^{25}, no doubt prohibits some of the heathen practices which were most offensive to Jews,[§] but cannot be identified with any known or probable Jewish rules for the σεβόμενοι. It was only Christians who had to face the problem of providing a *modus vivendi* between Jews and Gentiles. That Jews did not eat with even the best of the σεβόμενοι the story of Cornelius is striking proof. The Jewish customs which the σεβόμενοι seem chiefly to have observed were the Sabbath, the kindling of lights (before Sabbath, so as not to violate Ex 35^{3}), the fasts, certain food laws, contributions to the temple,[‖] charity to the poor, and other moral virtues.[¶]

iv. *The History of Jewish Proselytism* cannot even be sketched within the limits of this article.[**] Although the prophets furnished the universal faith which must underlie missionary effort; and though Judaism cherished the hope that J" would be recognized by all nations, yet it is only among the Jews of the Greek Dispersion that anything like a propaganda can be found. According to the ruling view, which Pharisaism represented, the conversion of the heathen was to be accomplished by God rather than by man. It belonged to eschatology. The Book of Jonah uncovers and rebukes the deep-seated reluctance of Judaism to go to the heathen with a message for their salvation. In the Dispersion outward and inward conditions favoured a more open and generous attitude. Jews could not but be influenced by the breadth of Greek thought, and Greeks were drawn by the mere spectacle of a people who held a monotheistic faith and led a moral life. The Hellenistic-Jewish literature was no doubt in part aimed at heathen readers, and meant to persuade them of the falsity of polytheism and idolatry, and the truth of the sacred books, the laws, and the doctrines of Judaism.[††] The synagogues were open to foreigners, and were the most effective agency in the propagation of Judaism (cf. Ac 15^{21} fulfilling v.^{17}). Whether the temple at Leontopolis had a similar effect it is hard to say (cf. Is $19^{19ff.}$?).

It is extremely difficult to measure the results of such efforts. The number of those who were more or less influenced by Judaism was no doubt very great. The number of circumcised proselytes may have been relatively small, but, on the other hand, it may have helped to fill out the great multitude of Jews who were to be found in Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy.

In Palestinian Judaism it is hard to find evidence in the time of Christ of that zeal of which Mt 23^{15} speaks. There is evidence of large accessions to the Jewish community during the latter part of the Persian and the beginning of the Greek periods,[*] a result perhaps of the impulses of which Is 40 ff., Ruth, Jonah, and such Psalms as 22. 47. 65–67. 83 are expressions, which the work of Ezra and Nehemiah only temporarily repressed. The use of Aramaic, the language of neighbouring peoples, is a fact worthy of consideration in this connexion. A reaction and a closing of doors came with the reign of Antiochus IV. and the rise of the Pharisaic party.

The Maccabæan princes revived the old method of proselytizing by force. So John Hyrcanus, having conquered Idumæa, permitted the inhabitants to remain in the land if they would be circumcised and adopt the laws and customs of the Jews.[†] The similar forcible conversion of the Ituræans by Aristobulus[‡] is regarded by Schürer[§] as referring to Galilee. At the beginning of the Maccabæan wars this had still been a heathen country, with a few scattered communities of Jews in it, who could be transferred bodily to Judæa (1 Mac 5^{9-54}). The earliest references to these Jewish converts in Galilee are found in 2 Ch $30^{10.\ 11}$ (cf. 13^{2}, 2 Ch 15^{9}).[‖] 'It is hardly to be doubted that the proper Judaizing of Galilee is essentially the work of Aristobulus I.' (B.C. 105–104). The strong Jewish community in Rome is plausibly traced to Numenius and his embassy (1 Mac 14^{24} $15^{16ff.}$).[¶]

But of a proselytizing work by Pharisees their literature gives us little information. The story of Helena and Izates remains isolated. Saul may be cited as a Pharisee who was zealous for the extension of his religion, but his effort was not to make converts from heathenism, but to prevent Christians from converting Jews. St. Paul's Jewish-Christian adversaries were proselytizers (Gal 1^{6-10} 3^{1} 5^{2-12} etc.), and perhaps reveal the quality in Pharisaism which Mt 23^{15} condemns.

The Pharisaic ideal remained one of separation. Such propaganda as they attempted seems to have aimed at the realization of the hope that no uncircumcised alien should render Israel and its land and temple unclean.[**] It does not reflect the surprising generosity of Dt $23^{7.\ 8}$, Is 19^{18-25}, Zec 9^{7} toward Israel's traditional foes.[††] The expectation of a future missionary era (Enoch 91^{14}?) is rare. Proselytism was a sort of conquest or subjugation, for the benefit of the conquerors, not of the conquered,[‡‡] and it is fair to say that the Jewish proselyte did not form a link between the Jews and the Gentiles, but emphasized and widened the difference. Nor did the proselyte prepare the way for Christianity. He may well have been the worst of St. Paul's enemies, while the σεβόμενος, who did not count as a Jew at all, was the first of his converts. Josephus gives an interesting illustration of the truth that it was the narrow Jews who insisted on proselytism, while his own more liberal temper was satisfied that every one should worship God according to his preference.* Only a few could recognize that the worship of one God and the practice of righteousness (Ac 10^{35}) were more important than the observance of legal rites, beginning with circumcision, which were essentially tribal in character. In the common Jewish judgment these Greeks were dogs who ate the crumbs that fell from their masters' table, and only a prophet could see in them a greater faith than Israel's. But in reality the best influence of Judaism is to be found in that large class of heathen to whom it taught the worship of one God and the pursuit of virtue, and not in the class of actual converts.

---

[*] Note גר, and see Bertholet, p. 193.

[†] *Aboda Zara* 64*b*; Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. p. 318 f. These were (1) judgments (obedience to them); and prohibition of (2) blasphemy, (3) idolatry, (4) unchastity, (5) murder, (6) stealing, (7) eating blood.

[‡] *e.g.* Melchizedek, Job, Ps 88. 89, cf. 1 K 5^{11} (4^{31}), Mal 1^{11}, Ps 65^{2}, Bk. of Jonah. So also the account of creation (Gn $1^{26ff.}$, Is 42^{5}, cf. St. Paul's use of it in Ac $17^{24ff.}$), and such hopes as Zec $9^{1.\ 10}$ 14^{9}, Jl $2^{28.\ 32}$, Is $25^{7.\ 8}$, Ps $47^{8.\ 9}$ $22^{27.\ 28}$.

[§] See Lv 17^{10}–18^{30}, Ezk $33^{25.\ 26}$, Zec 9^{7} etc.

[‖] Cf. Gal 2^{10}, Ac 24^{17}, Ro $15^{25ff.}$, 1 Co 16^{1-3} etc.

[¶] Philo, *Vita Mos.* ii. 4; Jos. *Ant.* XIV. vii. 2, *c. Ap.* ii. 39.

[**] See Bertholet, *l.c.*; Löhr, *Der Missionsgedanke im Alten Test.* 1896; Siegfried, 'Prophetische Missionsgedanken und jüdische Missionsbestrebungen,' in *Jahrb. Prot. Theol.* 1890.

[††] See Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. 248 ff.

[*] See Wellhausen, *Isr. und jüd. Geschichte*, p. 160 (3rd ed. p. 199 ff.).

[†] *Ant.* XIII. ix. 1, cf. XV. vii. 9.

[‡] *Ant.* XIII. xi. 3, XV. 4.

[§] *HJP* I. i. 293 f., Index, p. 91; *GJV*³ ii. 5–7; followed by Wellhausen, Bertholet, etc.

[‖] The Book of Judith also indicates isolated Jewish towns amid heathen surroundings.

[¶] Schürer, *HJP* I. i. p. 266 ff.; Bertholet, p. 227 ff.

[**] See Ezk 44^{9}, Is 52^{1} 35^{8}, Nah 1^{15}, Zec 14^{21}, Jl 3^{17}, Ps.-Sol 17^{30}, cf. Rev 21^{27} 22^{15}.

[††] It is very difficult to determine the historical conditions that produced these exceptional utterances.

[‡‡] The Jews were always ready to say to those whose help they needed, 'Come with us, and we will do you good.' See Nu 10^{29-32} (JE).

LITERATURE.—Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden* (1896); Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. pp. 291–327, cf. p. 219 ff., iii. 270–320 (cf. *GJV*^{3} § 31); Allen, 'On the Meaning of προσήλυτος in the Septuagint' (*Expositor*, 1894, pp. 264–275); A. B. Davidson, 'They that Fear the Lord,' in *Expos. Times*, iii. (1892), 491 ff.; J. Strauss, 'Table-Fellowship of Jew and Gentile,' in *Expos. Times*, iv. (1893), 307 ff. On later Rabbinical views see Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, *Die Agada der palästinensischen Amoräer* (Index, *s.* 'Proselyten'); Weber, *Die Jüdische Theologie* (Index, *s.* 'Proselyten'); Hamburger, *Real-Ency.* (art. 'Proselyt').

F. C. PORTER.

PROVE.—There are several Heb. and Gr. verbs translated 'prove' in AV, but they fall into two classes, according as the Eng. word means (1) to test, put to the proof; or (2) to bring forward proof, demonstrate. The first is the more primitive meaning, as well in the Lat. *probare* and the Fr. *prover* as in the Eng. 'prove.' It has now gone out of use, but in AV it is rather more frequent than the second meaning. A familiar example is Mal 3^{10} 'Prove me now herewith, saith the Lord of Hosts, if I will not open you the windows of heaven, and pour you out a blessing.' Cf. Udall, *Erasmus' Paraphrase*, i. 67, 'Jesus thought good to prove how much his scholars had profited by hearing so muche communicacion, and by seeing so many miracles . . . therefore he demandeth of them, saying, Whom doe men talke that the sone of man is?' and p. 103, 'Pilate perceyvyng that though he proved all wayes and meanes yet he prevayled nothyng . . . he assoyled Jesus before that he condemned hym.' This, as Skeat remarks, is the meaning of 'prove' in the proverb, 'The exception proves the rule' = Lat. *exceptio probat regulam*; the idea that an exception *demonstrates* a rule is, as he says, plainly absurd. See also Driver, *Parallel Psalter*, 452 f.

J. HASTINGS.

PROVERB.—i. *The connotation of the term 'Proverb.'* The proverb is a familiar phenomenon, but when the question is put, What is its place in the system of devices that enter into the employment of language, a correct reply will hardly be found in the literature dealing with the use of proverbs. An attempt will be made in the present article to furnish a satisfactory answer. We assign the proverb to the category of *synecdochical* expressions, regarding it as a species of the *totum pro parte*. The proverb is a general proposition, which throws its light upon a number of single instances. This is confirmed by the biblical usage in two ways—(*a*) It happens more than once in the OT that one and the same sentence is in one passage put into the mouth of the general subject 'they' (Germ. *man*, Fr. *on*), and in another is called a 'proverb.' In 1 S 19^{24b} we read, 'Wherefore they say, Is Saul also among the prophets?' whereas in the parallel passage (10^{12b}) we find, 'Therefore it became a *māshāl*, Is Saul also among the prophets'? Again, in Jer 31^{29} we read, 'In those days they shall say no more, The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge,' but in Ezk 18^{2} we find in place of this, 'What mean ye, that ye use this *māshāl* in the land of Israel, The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge?' (*b*) But even the meaning of *māshāl* appears to the present writer to show that the sayings to which this designation is applied were general propositions. For in art. PARABLE (IN OT) we consider we have proved that the original sense of *māshāl* was 'likeness' or 'identity,' and as the usual form of an identification is the combination of subject and predicate, *māshāl* became an expression for a judgment in general. What, then, is the Hebrew *māshāl* but a general proposition? In this way we may explain the use of *māshāl* also for an authoritative utterance in Nu 23$^{7. 18}$ 24$^{3. 15. 20f. 23}$, Job 27^{1} 29^{1}. From this point *māshāl* could readily attain to the meaning 'proverb,' which it possesses also, *e.g.*, in the recently-discovered Heb. text of Sir 47^{17a}, where we read משל, Syr. ܡܬ̈ܠܐ, Gr. *παροιμίαι*, Vetus (= Vulgate) Latina *proverbia*.

ii. *The general proposition and the proverb in the narrower sense in their mutual relations.*—These two belong to the same category, and the border-line between them cannot always be sharply drawn; but the essential difference between a general proposition and a proverb is this, that the proverb has entered more upon the stage of *unconscious* existence. Prominent representatives of the two groups are the following: (*a*) *General sentences* such as 'Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn' (Dt 25^{4}). This sentence is, so to speak, on the way to go over to the camp of the proverbs (cf. 1 Co 9^{9}, 1 Ti 5^{18}), but it has not yet reached this goal. Other general sentences of the same kind occur in 1 S 15^{22} ('To obey is better than sacrifice'), 1 K 20^{11b}, Jer 13^{23} 23^{28b}, Ps 62^{10a}, 2 Ch 25$^{8b\beta}$, cf. Lk 1^{37}.—(*b*) But such sayings as the following have more certainly attained to the stage of current use, and are therefore *proverbs* in the more special sense: 'as Nimrod a mighty hunter [*i.e.* warrior or conqueror] before the LORD,' Gn 10^{9b}, cf. 22^{14b}, Jg 8^{21a}, 1 S 10^{12} (‖ 19^{24}) 24^{14}, 2 S 5^{8b} 20^{18}, Is 32$^{6a\alpha}$, Jer 31^{29}, Ezk 12^{22} 16^{44b} 18^{2}, Job 2^{4b}, Lk 4^{23}, Jn 4^{37} (ὁ λόγος, κ.τ.λ.), 2 P 2^{22} (*παροιμία*).—The genetic relation of the two groups is this, that the general sentences form a *wider circle*, from which the proverbs stand out as an *élite*, and *the two concentric circles* form a constant parallel.—There is even a passage in the OT where the characteristic of currency which belongs to the proverb proper has clear expression given to it. We refer to 1 S 24^{13}, where the sentence 'Out of the wicked cometh forth wickedness' is called מְשַׁל הַקַּדְמֹנִי, *i.e.* 'the proverb of the ancients' (cf., on the collective sense of the singular, König, *Syntax*, § 256e). What can this mean but that this judgment has been long passed, and preserved during the centuries? It is the same when in 2 S 20^{18} we read, 'They were wont in *old* time to speak, saying, They shall surely ask counsel at Abel.' On the other hand, the OT contains a remark from which we see that general sentences might be regarded as the product of reflexion. In the passage (Ec 12$^{9-12}$) where the Preacher says that he sought out many parables (מְשָׁלִים, lit. 'sentences'), he adds, 'Much study is a weariness of the flesh.' So in the Heb.

---

* *Vita*, 23, 31, and cf. *Ant.* IV. viii. 10, x. xi. 7, XVI. vi. 8, *c. Ap.* ii. 33, 40; Philo, *de Monarch.* i. 7 (cf. Jer 2^{11} 18$^{13-15}$, Mic 4^{5}).

text of Sir 13^{26b} we read 'Study and meditation is wearisome thought,' where in the Greek version this 'study' is specialized as εὕρεσις παραβολῶν, 'invention of parables.'

iii. *The form of the proverb.*—The following varieties of form are to be noted—(*a*) Some of these sentences are *affirmative*, and serve to commend the individual to whom the general judgment is applied. This is illustrated by the very first proverb we encounter in the Bible, namely, 'as Nimrod a mighty conqueror in the estimation of Jahweh' (Gn 10^{9b}). Another *māshāl* may have a *negative* character, and pass a taunting criticism on the persons to whom such a negative *māshāl* refers. This is the case with the sentence, 'Wherefore they that speak in proverbs say, Come unto Heshbon,' etc. (Nu 21^{27}), or with the question, 'Is Saul also among the prophets?' (1 S 10^{12} ‖ 19^{24}). A taunting oracle of this kind is also to be spoken over the king of Babylon, when that city at last reaps the reward of her tyranny (Is 14^{4} 'Thou shalt take up this parable against the king of Babylon, and say, How hath the oppressor ceased, the golden city ceased!'). The same phenomenon occurs in Hab 2^{6}, and a similar negative *māshāl* is spoken about disobedient Israel in Mic 2^{4}. Hence a formidable threat, occurring not rarely in the OT, is that some one shall be made the subject of a *māshāl*. Thus Israel, if it persists in its impiety, is to be a 'proverb' (Dt 28^{37}). The other examples are: 1 K 9^{7}, Jer 24^{9}, Ezk 14^{8} (לִמְשָׁלִים), Ps 44^{15} 69^{12}, Job 17^{6} (לִמְשֹׁל), 2 Ch 7^{20}.

(*b*) Another *formal* difference amongst proverbs shows itself in their varying *lengths*. A judgment is naturally expressed, of course, in a single simple sentence, and so we find it not only in that 'proverb of the ancients' in 1 S 24^{14}, but in the great majority of the proverbs contained in the historical and prophetical books of the Bible. Jer 31^{29} and Ezk 12^{22} 18^{2} are exceptions, for in these the sentences are made up of two simple statements: for instance in the *māshāl* 'The days are prolonged, and every vision faileth' (Ezk 12^{22}). From this formal point of view we naturally obtain a rule of considerable importance for determining the *date* of the proverbs contained in the 'book of *mĕshālîm*' (Pr $1^{1.6}$ $26^{7.9}$). That the Book of Proverbs does not form a unity is evident even from the titles which we meet with in 10^{1} 22^{17} 24^{23} 25^{1} 30^{1} 31^{1}. For whoever prefixed to the 10th chapter the title 'the Proverbs of Solomon,' did not suppose that proverbs of Solomon were contained also in chs. 1–9. Now, the section 10^{1}–22^{16} possesses this formal characteristic, that the sentences contained in it are, with the exception of 19^{7} (cf. $21^{25f.}$), expressed in *isolated distichs*, and although in these sentences causal ($16^{12.26}$ 19^{19} 21^{25} 22^{9}) or final (15^{24} 16^{30}) clauses make their appearance, yet they form a part of the particular distich. But in the section 22^{17}–24^{34} groups of four, five, six, or more *stichoi* are more frequent. On the other hand, in chs. 25–29 the sentence is again frequently expressed by isolated distichs ($25^{11.12.14ff.23ff.}$, esp. chs. 28 and 29), or by tristichs ($25^{8.13}$), although tetrastichs also occur (perhaps in $25^{2f.4f.}$, certainly in $^{6f.9f.21f.}$) The last two chapters of the book contain as a rule larger groups of lines, and exhibit also such devices as the alphabetical poem (31^{10-31}). But the isolation of the sentences is almost entirely wanting in chs. 1–9. There the teacher of wisdom develops his ideas almost always in connected expositions (cf. $1^{8f.10-19}$ $2^{1-9.10f.}$ etc.). From these considerations alone the conclusion may be drawn with much probability that in the section 10^{1}–22^{16} we have the oldest collection of sayings (so recently also Wildeboer in his essay, *De Tijdsbepaling van het boek der Spreuken*, 1899, p. 7). See, further, the following article. This rule that the extent of the clauses in which a sentiment is expressed, increased in general as time went on, is favoured also when we compare the groups of sayings of Ben Sira ($1^{1-20.21-26.27-30}$ 2^{1-18} etc.). The Book of Qoheleth, which, in the opinion of the present writer (cf. *Einleitung*, pp. 433–435), was written still later, is likewise composed for the most part of continuous expositions. Post-biblical Jewish works also exhibit proverbs only of that kind which are inwoven in a continuous text, as pearls are wont to be set in gold. Such is the case in the tractate *Pirḳê Aboth* (lit. 'chapters of the fathers'), which is perhaps the oldest portion of the Mishna.

iv. *The material of the Biblical proverbs.*—This may be best illustrated by indicating the *spheres* from which the particular sayings are drawn. These are mainly five—

(*a*) From the *Mineral* Kingdom we have the following: 'The waters wear the stones' (Job 14^{19}), the Hebrew pendant to 'gutta cavat saxum'; 'A word fitly spoken (is like) apples of gold in pictures of silver' (Pr 25^{11}); 'Iron sharpeneth iron' (27^{17})'; 'In the fire is the gold tried' (Sir 2^{5}); 'Gold has ruined many' (8^{2c}); 'Whoso toucheth pitch it shall cleave to his hand' (13^{1a}, Heb. text translated by C. Taylor); 'What fellowship shall earthen pot have with kettle, when, if this smite that, it is dashed in pieces?' (13^{2c}); 'What is heavier than lead,' etc.? (22^{14}); 'Sand and salt and a mass of iron is easier to bear than a man without understanding' (v.^{15}).

(*b*) From the *Vegetable* Kingdom we note first of all the proud question by which Jeremiah distinguishes himself from his rivals: 'What is the chaff to the wheat?' (23^{28b}). To the same category partially belongs also the saying about the eating of sour grapes (Jer 31^{29}, Ezk 18^{2}), as well as the following sentences: 'Better is a dinner of herbs where love is, than a stalled ox and hatred therewith' (Pr 15^{17} ‖ 17^{1}); 'Wine is a mocker' (Pr 20^{1}); 'Drowsiness shall clothe (a man) with rags' (23^{21b}); cf. 'Seek not to be a mighty man at wine' (Sir 34^{25}); 'Like a new wine, so is a new friend' (9^{10c}); and 'Wine and women will make men of understanding to fall away' (19^{2a}).

(*c*) From the *Animal* Kingdom are derived the following general sayings and proverbs: first comes the caution, 'Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn' (Dt 25^{4}); next, the earnest question, 'Can the leopard change his spots?' (Jer 13^{23}); to which may be added the general sayings, 'Go to the ant, thou sluggard; consider her ways, and be wise' (Pr 6^{6}); 'Where no oxen are, the crib is clean' (14^{4}, cf. Sir 26^{7}); 'A whip for the horse, a bridle for the ass, and a rod for the fool's back' (26^{3}); 'Skin for skin' (Job 2^{4}); 'Doth the wild ass bray when he hath grass?' (6^{5}); 'Small among flying creatures is the bee, and her fruit is the chief of sweetmeats' (Sir 11^{3}); 'Who will pity (?) a charmer that is stung?' (12^{13a} translated from the Heb. by C. Taylor); 'All flesh loveth its kind' (13^{15a} כל הבשר יאהב מינו; cf. the Arabic, 'One camel kneels again in the place of another,' *ap.* Schultens, *Gram. Arab.* p. 297; ἧλιξ ἥλικα τέρπει; 'Pares cum paribus facillime congregantur'; 'Qui se ressemblent s'assemblent'; 'Birds of a feather flock together'); 'What fellowship shall wolf have with lamb?' (Sir 13^{17a} מה יחובר זאב אל כבש); 'Flee from sin as from a serpent,' etc. (21^{2a}); 'The true proverb, The dog is turned to his own vomit again, and, The sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire' (2 P 2^{22}).

(*d*) Other sayings in the Bible which border on the realm of proverbs, or belong to it, are borrowed from the *human* sphere: and if it is desired to divide this large group into its particular species, these may be given as follows:—(*α*) Many proverbs are derived from the life of the *individual.* To this category belong the frequently cited 'As Nimrod,' etc. (Gn 10^{9b}); 'Is Saul also among the prophets?' (1 S 10^{12} ‖ 19^{24}); 'As is the mother, so is her daughter' (Ezk 16^{44b}); 'Treasures of wickedness profit nothing' (Pr 10^{2a}; cf. the Arab. *maṯalun*, 'Poverty is better than unlawful riches and unrighteous gain,' *ap.* Schultens, *Gram. Arab.* p. 284; 'Ill-gotten goods do not prosper'; 'Bien mal acquis ne profite pas'); 'The memory of the just is blessed,' etc. (Pr 10^{7} $13^{11. 20a}$); 'Righteousness exalteth a nation' (14^{34}); 'A soft answer turneth away wrath' (15^{1}); 'In all *labour* there is profit' (14^{23a}), cf. the following negative parallels: 'The *sluggard* will not plough by reason of the cold,' etc. (20^{4a} 22^{13} 24^{33} 26^{13-16}); 'A sluggard may be compared to a dirty stone' (Sir 22^{1}; cf. the Arabic saying, 'Sloth and much sleep lead away from God, and bring poverty,' *ap.* Schultens, *Gram. Arab.* p. 281 f.); 'It is better to dwell in a corner of the housetop than with a brawling *woman* in a wide house' (Pr 21^{9}; similar sayings about women are found in v.^{19} 25^{24} 27^{15}, cf. the extravagant hyperbole in 'I would rather dwell with a lion and a dragon than in a house with an angry woman' (Sir 25^{16})); 'A *friend* will not be known (יורע) in prosperity,' etc. (Sir 12^{8}, translated by C. Taylor); 'Whoso diggeth a *pit* shall fall therein' (Pr 26^{27}, and similarly Ec 10^{8}, Sir 27^{26}; cf. 'He who digs a pit for another, may soon fall himself therein,' or 'celui qui creuse la fosse y tombera'); 'Give to a brother, and let thy soul fare delicately' (Sir 14^{16a}, Heb. text תן לאח וג'); 'A slip on a pavement is better than a slip with the tongue' (Sir 20^{18a}); 'A *lie* is a foul blot in a man' (v.^{24a}; cf. the Arabic, 'The tongue of the dumb is better than the tongue which speaks lies,' *ap.* Schultens, *Gram. Arab.* p. 284); 'He who multiplies words occasions sin' (*Pirḳê Aboth*, i. 17); 'A rough (or boorish) man fears not sin' (אֵין בּוּר יְרֵא חֵטְא, *ib.* ii. 5); 'Whoso makes much flesh makes many worms' (*ib.* ii. 7; cf. Is 14^{11b} 66^{24b}, Job 7^{5a} 17^{14b} 21^{26b} 24^{20a} 25^{6a}).—(β) Other proverbs draw a lesson from the life of *nations* or other wider circles of the human race: 'They shall surely ask counsel at *Abel*' (2 S 20^{18}); 'Can the *Ethiopian* change his skin?' (Jer 13^{23}); 'As the man is, so is his strength' (Jg 8^{21a}); 1 S 24^{14}; 'The vile person will speak villainy' (Is 32^{6a}); Jer 31^{29} = Ezk 18^{2}.—(γ) In that observation of human life which led to the constructing of proverbs, regard has also been had to the life of the *warrior*, as in 'As Nimrod,' etc. (Gn 10^{9b}), and in 'Let not him that girdeth on (his harness) boast himself as he that putteth it off' (1 K 20^{11b}); the conduct of the *trader* is noted in 'skin for skin' (Job 2^{4}, cf. the case of Shylock); the sphere of the *physician* is in view in 'Physician, heal thyself' (Lk 4^{23}); and the hard lot of the *husbandman* suggests the lesson, 'One soweth and another reapeth' (Jn 4^{37}).

(ε) From the religious or *supra-human* sphere the following sayings are derived: 'In the mount of the LORD it is seen' [*i.e.* Divine Providence is exercised; see, further, art. JEHOVAH-JIREH] (Gn 22^{14b}); 'The blind and the lame must not come into the house' (*i.e.* the temple, 2 S 5^{8b}); 'The days are prolonged, and every vision faileth' (Ezk 12^{22}); 'God hath power to help' (2 Ch 25^{8}; cf. 'With God nothing is impossible,' Lk 1^{37}). This noting of the *spheres* from which the biblical proverbs are derived, prepares us for recognizing the *origin* of these—

v. *The source of the proverbs of the Bible.*—This was twofold—one source formal, and one material. Their formal source lay in the ability of the human mind to *compare* the objects of its observation, and, from comparison of the various phenomena, to draw *conclusions.* The material source was the sum of experiences gathered by men in the different spheres of their environment. Both sources were in the last resort opened up by God himself. For the human capacity for separating off points of difference and combining similarities, was a feature in the Divine image which was bestowed on man at his creation (Gn $1^{26f.}$ 2^{7}), and which survived the Fall (Gn $5^{1.3}$ 9^{6}, 1 Co 11^{7}, Ja 3^{9}); cf. 'The spirit of man is the candle of the LORD' (Pr 20^{27a}), and '(God) gave man understanding' (Sir 38^{6} ויתן לאנוש בינה). And is not the same God the final author of the experiences which form the material substratum of the biblical proverbs? Hence the aged appear as Jahweh's representatives in the congregation (Lv 19^{32} 'Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head, etc., and fear thy God'). They are celebrated also elsewhere as possessors of wisdom, cf. Pr 1^{8} 6^{20}, Job 12^{12} ('with the ancient is wisdom') $15^{9f.}$, although in the opinion of Elihu this rule is not without exceptions ($32^{7f.}$). So also Ben Sira: 'Miss not the discourse of the aged, for they also learned of their fathers' (Sir 8^{9a}); and the Preacher drew his sayings (מְשָׁלִים Ec 12^{9}) from the experiences of his long life (1^{13} 7^{26}); cf. the exhortation, 'Let our lord consult only his *old* men' (Tel el-Amarna Letters, ed. Winckler, No. xli. 11), and the Arabic, 'Length of experience is increase of knowledge' (*ap.* Schultens, *Gram. Arab.* p. 281). Hence we need not wonder that in the Bible itself proverbs are viewed as legitimate elements in its contents. Like the information of the husbandman spoken of in Is 28^{26}, they have their original source in the Divine arrangement of the world and disposition of history.

vi. *Proverbs outside Scripture.*—From the same standpoint as above it is explicable how the proverbs of the Bible agree essentially with those which we find in the *post-biblical* Jewish writings and in the literary treasures of *other nations.* Further materials for comparison beyond what have been already cited from both these classes of writings will be found in the Literature.

LITERATURE.—J. Buxtorf, *Florilegium Hebraicum*, 1648; R. J. Fürstenthal, *Rabbinische Anthologie*, 1835; J. Fürst, *Perlenschnüre aramäischer Gnomen und Lieder*, 1836; L. Dukes, *Rabbinische Blumenlese*, 1844, and *Zur rabbinischen Spruchkunde*, 1851; C. Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*², Cambridge, 1897, *Appendix*, Camb. 1900; S. Schechter, *Aboth de Rabbi Nathan*, Vindobonæ, 1887; Gabirol's ספר מבחר הפנינים, *A Choice of Pearls*, originally, compiled from the Arabic, translated into Hebrew, with a faithful Eng. tr. by B. H. Asher, London, 1859; Freytag, *Arabum proverbia*, 1838–43; the Ethiopic *Book of the Philosophers*, portions of which are given in Dillmann's *Chrestomathia Æthiopica*, p. 40 ff.; G. Gerber, *Die Sprache als Kunst*, Bd. ii. (1885) p. 405 ff.; W. Budge, *Oriental Wit*, etc., London, 1899, p. 31 ff.

ED. KÖNIG.

PROVERBS, BOOK OF.—

Introduction.
- i. Analysis of the book.
- ii. Unity and Authorship.
- iii. Dates of the various components of the book.
- iv. Relation of the Massoretic text to the Versions.

Literature.

The Book of Proverbs (מִשְׁלֵי שְׁלֹמֹה; LXX title Παροιμίαι, subscr. B Παροιμίαι, A Π. Σολομῶντος, ℵ Π. Σαλ.) belongs, with Job and Qoheleth, to the Wisdom literature. In harmony with the character of the Hebrew *Ḥokhmah* (wisdom), which is inspired by religious motives, this book as a whole has a decidedly religious character, although we find also that many maxims have found their way into it which bear upon ordinary prudence of conduct, and are the result of purely human experience. See, further, art. WISDOM.

i. ANALYSIS OF THE BOOK.—The Book of Proverbs falls into a number of parts which are clearly distinct, and which are partially marked off by special titles—

(1) Chs. 1–9, which form the introduction to the

book which now follows. In 1^1 Solomon is named as the author of the proverbs, but v.^{6} appears also to announce the intention of publishing 'words and riddles of the wise.' The author of these chapters exhorts the reader, whom he addresses as 'my son,' to give himself with all earnestness to the pursuit of wisdom, and to flee folly, which is thought of predominatingly as consisting in sensual indulgences. In ch. 8 Wisdom is introduced speaking in person, while in ch. 9 'Madam Folly' is opposed to 'Madam Wisdom,' and the two are represented as issuing rival invitations to men. It is not possible to regard these chapters as a collection of various exhortations intended as words of introduction to books of proverbs (Bertheau), nor have we any right to assume that they contain serious interpolations (Hitzig). On the contrary, the unity of diction and of the whole mode of presentation, as well as the equally evident unity in the train of ideas throughout these chapters, point to a single author.

(2) Ch. 10^1–22^{16}, the 'proverbs of Solomon' (מִשְׁלֵי שְׁלֹמֹה 10^{1a}; LXX om.), forming the real kernel of the book. Each verse, consisting usually of seven, sometimes eight, rarely nine to eleven, words, forms a saying complete in itself and independent. In chs. 10–15 the *antithetic* parallelism predominates, in chs. 16–22^{16} the *synthetic*, along with which we find also the *synonymous*, in which the second member limits or expands or continues the first.

(3) Ch. 22^{17}-24^{22}. These 'words of the wise' (22^{17-21}) contain maxims and warnings which only exceptionally are comprised in a single verse; usually they extend to two, sometimes three, once even seven, verses. They are again addressed, like $1^{7ff.}$, to 'my son,' a form of address which is found in (2) only in the corrupt passage 19^{27}. The rigid poetical rhythm of (2) is not prominent in this section, here and there it is wanting entirely.

(4) Ch. 24^{23-34}. This appears to be an appendix to (3). It is headed, 'These are also words of the wise,' and may perhaps be reduced to seven sayings and exhortations, comprised for the most part in one verse, although the second consists of two, and the seventh of five, verses.

(5) Chs. 25–29, with the heading, 'These also are proverbs of Solomon, which the men of Hezekiah, king of Judah, collected,' 25^1. Here again, as a rule, each verse makes up a proverb (so always in chs. 28. 29), although at times two, in 27^{23-27} even five, verses have to go together. Some of the sayings are duplicates of proverbs contained in 10^1–22^{16}. The parallelism is not regular as in (2), but these sayings are distinguished by the pithiness of their contents and the rich imagery of their language. The religious character recedes far into the background; notably in chs. 25–27, they are for the most part sayings bearing purely upon a prudent direction of the conduct of life.

(6) Ch. 30, entitled 'Words of Agur,' made up, as to form and contents, of enigmatical sayings, and a few numerical proverbs such as meet us elsewhere only in 6^{6-19}. The title in 30^1 is manifestly corrupt (cf. Frankenberg or Wildeboer *ad loc.*, and art. AGUR).

(7) Ch. 31^{1-9}, exhortations to 'Lemuel, king of Massa' (see LEMUEL and MASSA), spoken by his mother. These may really be reduced to a single saying consisting of eight verses, in which the mother cautions her son against wine and women, and exhorts him to rule righteously (cf. Mühlau, *De Proverb. quæ dicuntur Aguri et Lemuelis origine atque indole*, Lipsiæ, 1869, and Kuenen, *Onderzoek*^{2}, § 95, note 10). The book closes with—

(8) Ch. 31^{10-31}, an alphabetical poem, standing by itself, without any connexion with what precedes, devoted to a panegyric on the virtuous housewife.

ii. UNITY AND AUTHORSHIP.—It is beyond question that in the present book we have to do not with a collection of proverbs which took their rise in the mouth of the people, but with artificially constructed poetry. Delitzsch has pointed to the saying contained in 1 S 24^{14} [Eng. ^{13}], 'Out of the wicked cometh forth wickedness,' as a specimen of the folk-proverb. The latter wants the rhythmical form, and is generally marked by pregnant brevity; cf. also 1 S 10^{12}, 1 K 20^{11}, Jer 31^{29}, Ezk 18^2, Lk 4^{23}, Jn 4^{37} (see the preceding article). But for such sayings we seek in vain in the Book of Proverbs. This is generally recognized to be the case, as is shown by the inquiry as to the authorship of our book and its sayings. From the titles in 10^1 25^1 22^{17} 24^{23a} 30^1 31^1 (cf. 1^6) it results with certainty that the traditional view, which credits Solomon with the authorship of our book and its individual parts, must be rejected. It must, further, be admitted that no principle can be distinguished upon which the proverbs are arranged. Sometimes, indeed, sayings of similar purport are brought together, which collectively make up a series of admonitions; or sayings in which the same word recurs are found in juxtaposition; but these are only isolated occurrences. Finally, it is a significant circumstance that the same proverbs are repeated in identical or almost identical terms in different parts of the book compare 21^9 with 25^{24}, 18^8 with 26^{22}, 20^{16} with 27^{1f}, 22^3 with 27^{12}, 19^{24} with 26^{15}, $17^{3a}=27^{21a}$, $19^{1a}=28^6$, $15^{18a}=29^{22a}$, $22^{28a}=23^{10a}$, $24^{33.34}=6^{10.11}$, $22^{23a}=23^{11b}$, 24^6 compared with 20^{18b} and 11^{14b}; nay, even within the same division such repetitions make their appearance, *e.g.* $14^{12}=16^{15}$, $10^{2b}=11^{4b}$, $10^{15a}=18^{11a}$, $11^{21a}=16^{15b}$, $15^{33b}=18^{12b}$, and oft.; cf. Delitzsch, *Comm.* p. 21 ff.; Nowack (in the *Kgf. Hdbch.*), p. xxiv; Cornill, *Einleitung*^{2}, p. 225; Driver, *LOT*^{6}, p. 397. The phenomena just noticed necessitate the assumption that the different parts of our book belong to different authors, and consequently exclude the authorship of Solomon.

But although the book in its present form does not proceed from Solomon, may not particular portions of it be assigned directly or indirectly to him? One title (10^1) plainly credits him with the authorship of 10^1-22^{16}, while another (25^1 'proverbs of Solomon, which the men of Hezekiah, king of Judah, collected') ascribes chs. 25–29 at least indirectly to him. But these titles simply give expression to the tradition that prevailed at a particular period, while the fact that the men of Hezekiah are spoken of in the third person would appear to indicate that this note does not proceed from themselves, nay, the way in which Hezekiah is spoken of not as 'king,' but as 'king of Judah,' suggests that the note was written down at a time when there was no longer a king of Judah (cf. Baudissin, *Die. alttest. Spruchdichtung*, p. 11). We need not then regard it as impossible that we have to do with a literary fiction which attributed proverbs to Solomon, perhaps in order to enhance their value, just as the books of Qoheleth and Wisdom are also ascribed to him. Such a tradition is all the more intelligible, because not only was Solomon regarded as the beau ideal of wisdom, but in 1 K 4^{32} it is expressly stated that he spoke three thousand proverbs. This passage, in fact, has been sought to be used in support of the Solomonic authorship of our book, but (*a*) the Book of Proverbs contains only nine hundred and thirty-five verses, (*b*) 1 K 4^{32} says only that Solomon *spoke* three thousand proverbs, (*c*) this passage does not lead us to suppose that the contents of these proverbs belonged to the religious and moral sphere, rather would they appear from v.^{33} to have dealt with subjects of quite a different kind. Consequently the author of 1 K 4^{32} cannot have meant his remarks to apply to our book, although it is quite conceivable that the tradition that Solomon was the author of the Book of Proverbs, or of particular portions of it, goes back for its basis to this passage.

Against the Solomonic authorship of the portions designated above (2) and (5), the contents of the proverbs contained in them are rightly urged: in $14^{28.\ 35}$ $16^{10.\ 14f.}$ $20^{2.\ 8.\ 26.\ 28}$ 21^2 22^{11} $25^{2f.\ 5f.}$ $29^{4.\ 14}$ it is not a king that speaks of himself, but another that speaks of the king, and the experiences underlying these proverbs are scarcely conceivable in the days of Solomon, rather do they point to later times; in 14^1 18^{22} $19^{13f.}$ $21^{9.\ 19}$—proverbs dealing with married and domestic life—monogamy is uniformly presupposed, and unquestionably the thought of a harem is far from the mind of the author; proverbs like those contained in 11^{28} $15^{16.\ 25}$ 16^8 are unlikely in the mouth of the splendour-loving Solomon, etc.

Under these circumstances we must disregard the titles, and seek from internal evidence alone to date the composition of our book and of its parts.

iii. DATES OF THE VARIOUS COMPONENTS OF THE BOOK.—Which of the above divisions of the Book of Proverbs are we to make our starting-point? Hitzig and Hooykaas have taken 1^7–9 to be the oldest portion, holding that when 10^1–22^{16} were collected, 1^7–9 already existed. But simple comparison of the parallel passages in the two divisions does not justify such a conclusion; see Comm. on 18^{22} and 8^{35}; 14^1 and 9^1; 19^{12b} and 3^{12}; 9 and 10^1; 12^2 and 3^{21} 5^2 8^{12}; 12^8 16^{22} 19^{11} and 3^4 13^{15}; and cf. Kuenen, *l.c.* § 96, note 10. On the other hand, a comparison of the form of the proverbs and the conception of wisdom in these two divisions leads to the conclusion that the first division must be the more recent. The strict form of the *māshāl*, with its didactic tendency, as this appears throughout the second division, is suppressed in the first, and in its place a fuller presentation of the *parenesis* prevails. To regard a periodic structure such as we find here as older than the simple form of the distich in the second division is all the less possible, seeing that this first division also lets it be clearly seen that meanwhile wisdom has become a subject in the schools, where 'the wise' gathered their pupils around them as their 'sons,' a feature which is wanting in the second division. If one takes into account, finally, that in chs. 1–9 wisdom is thought of as an independent personality, who was with God even prior to the creation of the world, as the first of His works, who stood by His side as superintendent at the creation, and who now plays her rôle on earth among the children of men, whereas in the second division wisdom is partly prudent conduct and partly the fear of God by which one ensures for himself the blessing of God, namely long life, prosperity, etc., there can be no doubt that the second division (10^1–22^{16}) and the fifth (chs. 25–29), which are both attributed to Solomon, are older than the first (chs. 1–9).

The relation of the second and the fifth part *to one another* is not easy to determine. In chs. 25 ff. we find not only distichs, but also brief oracular discourses in which several verses are combined to express an idea (cf. $25^{23\text{-}28}$ and $27^{23\text{-}27}$), while, further, in these chapters the rhythm is several times wanting or at least imperfect (cf. 25^8 $26^{18f.}$). On these grounds it has generally been held that the fifth part is more recent than the second, in which we encounter nothing but distichs of uniformly pure rhythm. Hooykaas believes it possible to reach the same result by a comparison between the verses common to the two divisions, but an unprejudiced examination by no means establishes this conclusion, nay, Reuss (*La Bible*, vi. 149) actually calls 'the collection of the men of Hezekiah *the best part of the book*.' Viewed more exactly, the case stands thus: sometimes it is the second, sometimes the fifth, division that has preserved the original form of a proverb (cf. Kuenen, *l.c.* § 96, note 5). Very significant is the circumstance that in chs. 25–27 wisdom appears throughout as practical prudence of conduct, without any special religious tinge. This suggests that the fifth division, although as a collection more recent than the second, yet contains in part older proverbs than the latter (cf. Frankenberg, *Sprüche*, p. 8).

The third and fourth divisions are by general consent regarded as more recent than the second and fifth: instances of oracular discourses extending to five ($24^{30\text{-}34}$), nay, even to seven ($23^{29\text{-}35}$), verses, are found here again, while the rhythm is unmistakably less pure and complete than in these other divisions. As in the first division, so also here we find the form of address 'my son' (cf. $23^{15.\ 19.\ 26}$ and oft.); here as well as there the parenetic tone prevails, and, whereas in the second and fifth divisions wisdom is a human quality, it appears here as the sum of God's requirements from man, it is even personified as in the first division, and hence can say, 'My son, give me thine heart, and let thine eyes delight in my ways' (23^{26}). Finally, in verses like 23^{18} $24^{14.\ 20}$ the thought of a retribution in the world beyond appears to emerge: 'The wicked hath no future, and the candle of the transgressor is put out,' a conception which is still strange to $10^{1ff.}$ and $25^{1ff.}$.

The appendixes chs. 30. 31 consist of three independent pieces, which undoubtedly belong to a somewhat late period, and are in fact probably the latest in the whole book. We are led to this conclusion by the very form of the proverbs they contain: in 30–31^9 there is a manifest effort to express ideas in single short sententious poems marked by the extreme of art, and often enigmatically expressed. The contents, too, point to a late date: in $30^{1ff.}$ we find a deeper consciousness of the inadequacy of man's knowledge of God and of divine things than meets us anywhere else except in Qoheleth and partially in Job; moreover, the notion that appears in $30^{5f.}$ of a fixed written revelation, from which nothing is to be taken and to which nothing is to be added, equally points us to a late period, subsequent at all events to Deuteronomy.

The alphabetical poem ($31^{10\text{-}31}$) shows by this very device, which is peculiar to it, that we have to do with a relatively late literary product. To determine more specifically its date from its contents is unfortunately not possible.

The determination of the period to which 10^1–22^{16} and *chs. 25–29* belong, is peculiarly difficult owing to the circumstance that historical allusions are practically wanting in them. Ewald (*Gesch. d. Volk. Isr.* iii. 598 ff.) has, indeed, discovered in $28^{2f.}$ $29^{2.\ 4.\ 11.\ 12.\ 16}$ allusions pointing us to the last years of the Northern kingdom, but there is no *necessity* to suppose these proverbs to have originated then; at the most it may be conceded simply that they would be intelligible if emanating from this period (cf. the Books of Amos and Hosea). The date of the rise of these collections is not, however, to be determined on the ground of particular sayings which, like the above, held good at various periods of time, but from the whole character of the collections. This has escaped the notice of those who, like Baudissin, have adduced in particular the sayings about the king in order to prove that these chapters originated during the times of Israel's independence. It has to be admitted that analogous sayings are found also in Sirach; but these are distinguished, we are told, from those we are dealing with, in so far as they contain warnings of the danger of intercourse with the great rather than point to the benefit arising from such (cf. Pr 16$^{12f.\ 15}$). In confirmation of this date for the main stock of our book, we are pointed, further, to the mention in pre-exilic time (cf. Is 3^{3}, Jer 18^{18}, Dt 16^{19}) of 'the wise' along with priests and prophets (so Ewald, Oehler, Hooykaas, Delitzsch, and others). These 'wise,' it is held, were evidently divided into two classes—the one with a more secular tone, indifferent or even hostile to religion; the other with a religious character, concerned more with individual than with national principles and aims. From the sphere of the latter, chs. 10$^{1ff.}$ and 25$^{1ff.}$ are supposed to have emanated, whereas it is to the first class that the unfavourable judgment passed by the prophets upon 'the wise' applies (cf. Is 5^{21} 29^{14}, Jer 4^{22} 8^{9} 9$^{22f.}$ and oft.). But neither have we any evidence that these 'wise' exercised a literary activity, nor is it probable that the above distinction existed. Kuenen (*l.c.* § 97, note 14) has pointed out that the prophets, by way of opposition to the anti-theocratic 'wise,' never mention this other class of religiously disposed 'wise' who are supposed to have been so nearly akin to themselves in their aims, nor characterize them as allies in their conflict with godlessness and immorality. But even if this presupposition, which is intended to show the *possibility* of a pre-exilic composition, were correct, as we have shown it is not, yet this *possibility* would not be converted into a *reality* simply by pointing to these sayings about the king or to any particular sayings, because it is by no means inconceivable that sayings belonging to the pre-exilic period should have been taken over into collections originating at a much later date. Consequently the question about the date of 10$^{1ff.}$ and 25$^{1ff.}$ can be determined only by taking into account the whole character of these collections. It is a characteristic circumstance that these proverbs agree in their religious and ethical requirements with those of the prophets, and yet on the other hand differ from the latter in some not unessential points: we find the same estimate of sacrifice in Pr 15^{8} 21$^{3.\ 27}$ as in Am 5$^{18ff.}$, Hos 6^{6}, Ezk 1$^{11ff.}$; the same praise of humility and warning against pride in Pr 11^{2} 14^{29} 15$^{1.\ 4.\ 18.\ 25.\ 33}$ 16$^{5.\ 18f.}$ 17^{19} 18^{12} 19^{11} 21^{4} 22^{4} as compared with Is 2^{11}, Am 6^{8}, Hos 7^{11}, Mic 6^{8} and oft.; the same denunciation of those who oppress the poor, and the same commending of care for the latter in Pr 14^{31} 17^{5} 18^{23} 19$^{1.\ 7}$ 22$^{2.\ 7}$ 28$^{3.\ 6.\ 27}$ 29^{13} as compared with Am 4$^{1ff.}$, Hos 5$^{10f.}$, Mic 2^{8} etc. Like the prophets, these proverbs see in the fear of God the foundation of all piety and morality, and in numerous passages they exhort men to this fear. But whereas the prophets deal essentially with the national life and apply to it their demands for righteousness, etc., the proverbs treat of matters belonging to the sphere of individual and domestic life. A serious displacement has even taken place in so far as the unique relation between Jahweh and Israel, which the prophets never lost sight of, has here disappeared, and the individual conception of religion has taken the place of the national: not Israel and the peoples, but the upright and the ungodly, the proud and the humble, the understanding and the foolish, are the contrasted categories with which the proverbs have to do. Whereas the prophets are Jahweh's advocates in His conflict with the gods of the heathen, and have to plead His cause to Israel when it turns from Him to the service of these, in the proverbs monotheism holds undisputed sway, and the consequences that result from it are not defended, but assumed as self-evident, and only the practical points of view insisted upon: He is the Creator of poor and rich (14^{31} 22^{2} 29^{13}); the Omniscient (15$^{3.\ 11}$ 16^{2} 17^{3} 21^{2} 24$^{11f.}$); He directs all things, the actions of men (16$^{1.\ 9.\ 33}$ 19^{21} 20^{24} 21$^{1.\ 30f.}$ 29^{26}) as well as their fortunes, etc. In view of this displacement of the subject of religion, it is quite comprehensible why in these proverbs there is likewise no mention of the Messianic deliverance which the prophets expected for the nation; rather is the central position occupied by the belief in individual retribution, as this had been growing up since the days of Jeremiah and Ezekiel (cf. Pr 10$^{3.\ 24.\ 29f.}$ 11$^{3\text{-}8.\ 31}$ 12$^{2f.\ 13.\ 21}$ 13^{6} 15^{29} etc.). As in some of the Psalms, the godly are cautioned against the envy awakened by the prosperity of the wicked, and have their attention directed to the righteousness of Jahweh which will manifest itself in the future.

Views such as we have briefly sketched are not conceivable as contemporaneous with the preaching of the prophets—it is not without justification that Kuenen (*l.c.* § 97, note 15) calls the ethico-religious train of ideas represented by the composers of these proverbs an anachronism if referred to the period of the prophets—but only in the post-exilic period, a period in which Law and Prophecy are raised above all doubt, and hence not the slightest attempt is made to prove their truth, while at the same time there is an evident attempt to apply the results of the prophetic teaching to real life. In this the composers of the proverbs are quite in agreement with the tendency that prevailed in the post-exilic time.

As an objection to fixing the date then, the character of this period as one of narrow legal piety has, indeed, often been urged; but this view scarcely needs nowadays to be seriously refuted: books like Ruth and Jonah, whose post-exilic composition hardly any one now doubts, and a large portion of our Psalms show that it is quite incorrect to characterize the post-exilic period in such a way. What is true of the time of the Maccabæan wars we have no right to transfer to the whole preceding period back to the Exile; in this earlier period very different currents flowed side by side. But we lack the necessary data for fixing more definitely the period when 10$^{1ff.}$ and 25$^{1ff.}$ were composed, whether towards the end of the Persian or at the beginning of the Greek period.

Later in any case than these portions, as we have said already, is first of all the introduction (*chs. 1–9*), in which Wisdom and Religion are actually identified, and the former is personified. In the latter circumstance it has been sought to discover the influence of the Greek doctrine of ideas, but this notion is rightly rejected by Kuenen, Baudissin, and others; the contrast of the personified Folly shows that we have to do manifestly with a purely poetical personification. But Baudissin (*l.c.* p. 20) rightly adds: 'The mythologizing freedom with which Wisdom is portrayed as playing a rôle in the presence of God or upon earth, is not according to the ancient Hebrew manner, but recalls the Haggadic creations of the Rabbinic literature.' That we have actually before us a period more advanced than in 10$^{1ff.}$ and 25$^{1ff.}$ follows from the conception that here meets us of the guests of 'Madam Folly' as in the depths of Sheol (9^{18}). The latter, which was originally simply the abode of departed souls, has become synonymous with hell. In view of the close affinity in spirit and tendency between these chapters and Sirach, no very long period can have intervened between the composition of the two. We shall not be far wrong if we fix upon *c.* 250 B.C. as the date of the origin of these chapters, and therewith of our book as a whole. To bring the date further down (cf. Geiger, *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen*, p. 61 ff.) is impossible, inasmuch as no reason is then evident why Sirach itself was not admitted into the Canon. It cannot, indeed, be made out with certainty how far the book edited by the author of the introduction extended. While Delitzsch regards 24^{23}-29 as the first considerable addition, to which afterwards chs. 30. 31 were appended (cf. Driver, *LOT*, ch. viii.), others, like Cornill, ascribe the publication of the whole book, or, like Wildeboer, almost the whole with the exception of ch. 31 or $31^{10ff.}$, to the author of chs. 1-9 (cf. the Comm. on 1^{6}).

iv. RELATION OF THE MASSORETIC TEXT TO THE VERSIONS.—The MT shows marked deviations from the LXX, the Syr. Version, the Targum, and the Vulgate, although the deviations of the last three almost all go back to the LXX.

The Targum is entirely dependent upon the Peshiṭta, nay, it has practically arisen from it, hence the strong Syriac colouring of its language. Its author has at the same time plainly striven to approximate his rendering to the MT (cf. S. Maybaum in Merx' *Archiv*, ii. 66 ff., and Nöldeke, *ib.* 246 ff.).

The Peshiṭta exhibits such close agreement with the LXX, that one can hardly avoid supposing that the author in making his translation had the help of the LXX (cf. H. Pinkuss in *ZATW*, 1894, pp. 65 ff., 161 ff.).

The case of the Vulgate is similar to that of the Peshiṭta: Jerome evidently called in the LXX to aid the accomplishment of his task of translation.

As to the LXX itself, apart from particular readings, this Version is distinguished from the MT by (1) a number of additions and omissions, and (2) a difference in the order of the proverbs from 24^{22} onwards. Whether the *plus* of the LXX always goes back to a Heb. original, or whether we have to do with later additions, is often hard to decide. In cases where such LXX additions are wanting in the Vulgate, it is natural to suppose that they are late—a conclusion which need not surprise us in view of the long-continued bloom of the proverb literature. Regarding the reason for the different order followed in the LXX, it is impossible to get beyond conjectures (cf. P. de Lagarde, *Anmerkungen zur griechischen Uebersetzung der Proverbien*, Leipzig, 1863).

LITERATURE.—The *Einleitungen* of Cornill^{2} (p. 222 ff.), Ed. König (p. 406 ff.), Strack (p. 130 ff.); Wildeboer, *Litt. d. AT*, 362 ff.; Kuenen, *Onderzoek*^{2}, 59 ff.; Driver, *LOT* ch. viii.; Cheyne, *Job and Solomon*, 1887, p. 117 ff., *Founders of OT Criticism*, 1893, p. 337 ff.; Hooykaas, *Gesch. van de beoefening der Weisheid onder de Hebreën*, 1862; A. J. Baumgarten, *Étude critique sur l'état du texte du livre des proverbes*, 1890; R. Smend, *Alttest. Religionsgeschichte*^{2}, 483 ff.; W. T. Davison, *The Wisdom Literature of the OT*, 1894; A. B. Davidson, art. 'Proverbs' in *Encyc. Brit.*^{9}, cf. *Expos.* May 1880, p. 321 ff.; C. G. Montefiore, 'Note upon the Date and Religious Value of the Proverbs' in *JQR*, July 1890, p. 430 ff.; Baudissin, *Die alttest. Spruchdichtung*, 1893; W. Frankenberg, 'Ueber Abfassungs-Ort und -Zeit sowie Art u. Inhalt von Prov. 1–9' in *ZATW*, 1895, p. 104 ff.).

Commentaries.—A. Schultens, 1748; Hitzig, 1858; Ewald, 1867; A. Kamphausen (in Bunsen's *Bibelwerk*), 1868; Delitzsch, 1873; Nowack (in *Kgf. Hdbch.*), 1883 (a recasting of the 1st ed. by Bertheau); Dyserinck, 1884; Strack (in Strack-Zöckler's *Kgf. Comm.*), 1888, 2nd ed. 1899; Wildeboer (in Marti's *Kurzer Hdcomm.*), 1897; Frankenberg (in Nowack's *Hdkomm.*), 1898; Toy (in the *Internat. Crit. Comm.*), 1899.

W. NOWACK.

PROVIDENCE is twice used of the foresight and care of God, Wis 14^{3} 17^{2}, and once of the forethought of man, Ac 24^{2}. The Gr. is πρόνοια and the Vulg. *providentia*. Providence is used as a title of God in late classical writers, but never in Scripture. On the other hand, it is probably the modern use of the word as a Divine title that has caused its disuse in reference to man's forethought. Cf. the note to Lk 12^{22} in Rhem. NT, 'He forbiddeth not competent providence but to much carefulnes.' The Rhem. translators chide Beza for calling 'God's prescience or foreknowledge (in the Greeke πρόγνωσις) *God's providence*' (note on Ac 2^{23}). See following art., and art. GOD.

J. HASTINGS.

PROVIDENCE.—According to the OT the *creation* is continued in the *preservation* of the world by God, who gives or withdraws life according to His will (Gn 2^{17} 6^{3}). He gives offspring (Ps 127^{3}) even against hope (Gn 15^{5} 18^{10} 25^{21}, 1 S 1^{27}). He forms man's spirit within him (Zec 12^{1}). Man's life is at every moment dependent on God (Is 31^{3}, Job 34^{14}, Ps 139^{16}, 104^{29}), and man in his weakness apart from God is likened to the grass (Ps 90^{5}, Is 40^{6}). God saves life (Ps 18^{17}, Gn $8^{1.21}$), or He destroys it (Gn 7^{23} 19^{29}, Ex 12^{29}). He gives food to man and beast, and rules all the forces of nature (Jer 3^{3}, Ps 145^{16}, Job 38^{38-41}, Jl 1^{20}, Ps 136^{7-9} 29). This preservation of nature and man is the background of God's Providence in the kingdom of God, for nature serves His purposes, reveals His power and wisdom (Ps 8. 19), and shows His glory and goodness (Ps 104. 147^{17-19}). The thunder is His voice (Am 1^{2}), locusts are His army (Jl 2^{25}), He makes Canaan a fertile land (Ps 65^{10}). Although the regularity of natural phenomena is recognized (Ps 104^{9}, Jer $33^{20.25}$), yet there is no order of nature apart from God's will. Therefore miracles are taken for granted, for God does whatever He wills (Is 55^{11}), and nothing is too wonderful for God (Gn 18^{14}, Dt 8^{3}). The relation of God's Providence to man's free will is a subject of greater difficulty. While man's freedom and responsibility are emphasized (Gn 17^{2}, Ps 1, Is 1^{16}, Jer 21^{8}); his prayers are recognized as having power with God (Gn 18^{23} 24^{12} 25^{21}, Ex 8^{8} 9^{28} 10^{17}); and a blessing is regarded as having force in spite even of change of mind (Gn 27^{27-33}, Ex 12^{32}); yet all power is with God, for God is the potter and man is the clay (Jer 18^{6}); and God sends man evil and good alike (Am 3^{6}, La 3^{38}, Is 45^{7}). The lot of the nation, and of individuals in it, is determined according to a law of recompense, and all human action is directed by God to further His own ends, especially for the benefit of His people (Gn 50^{20}, Ex 3^{21}). Although a man's heart may devise his way, yet it is God that directs his steps (Pr 16^{9}); and so God can scorn the plans of the mighty (Ps 2^{4}). God's action in and by man is through His Spirit, which blinds as well as enlightens, hardens in sin as well as renews in righteousness. This belief in Providence was one of the leading marks of Heb. piety: rebuking pride (Hag 2^{8}, Ps $44^{4.7}$ 127^{1}); forbidding fear and despondency (Ps $33^{10.11.16}$ 60^{12} 77^{11} 94^{12} 118^{6} 144^{3}), and bringing courage and hope to suffering saints (Ps 121^{4} 127^{2} 91^{7} 66^{9}). While the fulfilment of His purpose of salvation for His people is God's immediate work, yet the action of God in the history of other nations is also acknowledged (Am 9^{7}, Dt 2^{22}, Is 46^{11} 48^{15}). There are problems of God's Providence that excite doubt and compel inquiry. The fact of heredity is affirmed (Dt 5^{9}, Ex $20^{5.6}$, Jer 32^{18}), and its difficulties are discussed (Jer 31^{29}, Ezk 18^{1}). God is regarded as Himself hardening men in sin, and the question is raised, How can He righteously condemn them (Is 6^{9}, Pr 16^{4}); the answer is given that the hardening is a penalty of sin (Ezk 12^{2}, Ps 18^{26}, La 3^{39}). The suffering of the righteous contradicts the assumption of a moral order on earth, which invariably rewards the righteous and punishes the wicked (Jer 12^{1}, Job 21^{7}, Ps 22. 73, Hab 1). This problem is fully discussed in the Book of Job. Suffering may be regarded as a discipline (Dt 8^{2}, Hos 2^{14}, Jer 35^{13}, Is 27^{8}). In later books the difficulty is somewhat relieved by the hope of individual resurrection, but the best answer to the question is given in the idea of vicarious suffering (Is 53). Doubt regarding God's ways in Providence is regarded as brutalizing (Ps 73^{22}); and in Ecclesiastes we have the nearest approach to scepticism in OT.

The NT takes for granted the teaching of the OT on Providence. Jesus teaches a beneficent

Providence to all men, good and bad (Mt 5^{45}); and encourages His disciples to trust in and pray to God as Father (Mt 6^{9}). As God cares for the flowers of the field and the birds of the air, so will He care for them (Mt 6^{25-33}). Nothing can befall them without God's knowledge (Mt $10^{29.30}$). The prayer of faith will be answered (Mt 7^{7-11}=Lk 11^{9-13}, Mk $11^{23.24}$=Lk 17^{6}). Even for daily bread prayer is to be made (Mt 6^{11}). This is not a new doctrine of God's Providence, only a more immediate application of it to individual believers than is found in OT, which is mainly concerned with the chosen nation. Jesus' miracles are also to be regarded as *signs* of God's Providence. St. Paul in Romans sketches the course of God's dealings with the individual believer from the beginning in foreknowledge to the end in glorification (Ro $8^{29.30}$, cf. Eph 1^{4-14}); and affirms as the law of Providence that 'all things work together for good to them that love God' (Ro 8^{28}). On the wider stage of human history he traces the fulfilment of a Divine purpose in the inclusion of Jew and Gentile alike in sin, that righteousness might be of faith only (Ro 1–3); and in the temporary rejection of the Jew resulting in the call of the Gentile first of all, and followed finally by the restoration of the Jew also (9–11). In the Ep. to the Hebrews an independent interpretation of God's Providence is given, in which the sufficiency and supremacy of Christ in relation to OT ritual especially is proved. Finally, in the Apoc. the course of contemporary history, presented in symbolic forms, is for the comfort and hope of persecuted believers interpreted as God's immediate action for the establishment of the kingdom of Christ. See, further, artt. ESSENES, PHARISEES, STOICS.

LITERATURE.—Oehler or Schultz, *OT Theology*; Weiss or Beyschlag, *NT Theology*; Wendt, *Teaching of Jesus*; Sabatier, *Apostle Paul*; Pfleiderer, *Paulinism*; Comm. on Romans, Hebrews, Apocalypse, Job, Ecclesiastes, *ad locc. cit. supra.*

A. E. GARVIE.

PROVINCE (Lat. *provincia*, Gr. ἐπαρχία).—The technical term used to describe the administrative divisions of the Roman empire; so Ac 23^{34} 'And when the governor had read the letter, he asked of what province he was'; Ac 25^{1} 'Now when Festus was come into the province.' The original meaning of the word was the sphere within which a magistrate (whether consul or prætor) exercised his *imperium* or sovereign power; so it could be used of the division between the two prætors of the different classes of legal business; so again we get such phrases as the following: *Consulibus Italia provincia decernitur*, where Italy is described as the sphere within which the consuls are to exercise their jurisdiction. It was only in B.C. 227, with the acquisition of Sardinia and Sicily, that the word *provincia* acquired its later sense, and the definition of a province came to be a division of the Roman empire with definite boundaries, under a standing chief magistrate, paying tribute in taxes to the supreme power. Under the Republic these provinces had been governed by proconsuls or proprætors under the supervision of the senate; on the establishment of the empire the proconsular *imperium* over all provinces was vested in the emperor, and by an agreement which he made with the senate the provinces were divided into two classes. The older, more peaceable provinces, where there was no need of any large military force, called the *provinciæ inermes*, were left in the hands of the senate; the frontier provinces, where military operations were necessary, were governed directly by the emperor through his lieutenants.

The governors of the senatorial provinces were appointed by lot from those who had held the office of *prætor* or *consul*, or as they were technically called the *consulares* and *prætorii*, or in some cases from those who had not yet attained that rank. Two provinces, Asia and Africa, were 'consular,' *i.e.* held by ex-consuls, the remainder were 'prætorian,' but all senatorial governors alike bore the name of PROCONSUL. The governors appointed by the senate were in theory the most distinguished and honourable; they were allowed 10 or 12 fasces; they had higher rank and larger salary; but their appointment was only for a year, they had no military command, and practically possessed only the appearance of power.

The governor of an imperial province is called by historians incorrectly *proprætor*; his proper title was *legatus Augusti*, lieutenant of the emperor, or more fully *legatus Augusti pro prætore*, πρεσβευτὴς καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ. They were of two classes—those of consular rank or *consulares* (ὑπατικοί), and *prætorii*, those who possessed only prætorian rank. The latter were appointed to provinces where there was only one legion, the former to the larger and more important commands.

The arrangements concerning the provinces were liable to be changed according to the needs of the empire. If rebellion or invasion threatened any senatorial province, or if its finances fell into disorder, it would be transferred to the emperor, at any rate temporarily, and the emperor would very likely compensate the senate by giving them some other province in return. Instances of change will be given below.

The following are Roman provinces mentioned in the NT:—

Senatorial—	
Macedonia, enrolled B.C. 146	(Imperial from Tiberius to Claudius).
Achaia, B.C. 146	(Imperial B.C. 15–A.D. 14).
Asia, B.C. 133.	
Bithynia (with part of Pontus), B.C. 74	Senatorial to A.D. 111.
Cyprus, B.C. 27	(Imperial B.C. 27–22, then Senatorial).
Crete and Cyrenaica, B.C. 74.	
Imperial—	
Syria, B.C. 64	Of the First Class.
Galatia, B.C. 25	Of the Second Class.
Pamphylia and Lycia, B.C. 25	
Egypt, B.C. 30.	
Judæa	Under Procurators.
Cappadocia, A.D. 17	

The position of Egypt demands a slight reference. Its great wealth, and the importance of its corn trade, made Augustus give it special treatment. The country was the emperor's private property (*patrimonium Cæsaris*), and was governed by a *præfectus* of equestrian rank. No senator was allowed to enter the province.

Certain small provinces (Judæa and Cappadocia, for example) were governed by imperial PROCURATORS. They were generally districts which had been only recently added to the empire, and were not thoroughly romanized. Judæa was so treated during the intervals when it was not governed by native kings; ultimately it was definitely incorporated in the province of Syria.

One further form of *provincia* may be mentioned. In cases of great and serious emergency a special command might be given to some distinguished officer, embracing more than one province, or perhaps superior to the governors of several provinces: such was the position of Corbulo in the East, of Germanicus and possibly Quirinius in Syria.

If we pass to the internal government of the provinces, we notice first the concentration of power in the hands of the governor. He was the principal military, judicial, and administrative authority. Except in the case of Africa, he commanded all the troops, whether legions or auxiliary: he went from place to place to hold courts, the province being divided into *conventus* for that purpose (cf. Ac 19^{38}). The finances, however, were not directly in his hands. The proconsuls in senatorial provinces were assisted by a quæstor, while a *procurator* appointed by the emperor collected all taxes belonging to the *fiscus* or emperor's purse; in imperial provinces all the finance was in the hands of the *procurator*. The provinces were variously divided: in Macedonia, for example, there were four divisions apparently called locally μερίδες (Ac 16[12]), but the unit of administration within the province was, at any rate in all the settled Greek districts such as Asia and Achaia, the city. A city implied not only the actual town, but also all the land which belonged to it and was its territory. The cities were of two main classes—Roman cities or 'colonies,' the inhabitants of which had either full civic or Latin rights. These in the East were garrisons of the Romans, often inhabited by veteran soldiers. Such were Corinth, Philippi (Ac 16[12]), Lystra, Antioch in Pisidia. The second class of cities were non-Roman; they were either *civitates fœderatæ et immunes* or *civitates stipendiariæ*. The former were cities like Athens, which were supposed to be independent allies. No proconsul might enter Athens with his *fasces*, or any symbol of his power. The Greek cities seem generally to have preserved their old constitution. Outside the limits of the cities were the imperial estates, administered by imperial freedmen and slaves; and in less advanced districts, peoples whose organization was tribal, administered from some common religious centre or market, round which they were grouped. For religious and social purposes, for the worship of the emperor and the celebration of games, there existed representative bodies, the council of the province (τὸ Κοινὸν τῆς Ἀσίας, etc.), with their principal officer the high priest, the Asiarch, Galatarch, etc. (Ac 19[31]). These bodies had considerable social but little or no political influence.

The general condition of the provinces, at any rate during the 1st cent. of the empire, was good. Order was preserved. The taxation was definite and fixed. The governors were paid, and redress was comparatively easy if they were guilty of exactions. The country was prosperous, even if the taxation was heavy; and it was not until a later period that attacks from without and decrease of prosperity within broke down the economic prosperity of the empire.

LITERATURE.—W. T. Arnold, *The Roman System of Provincial Administration*; Mommsen and Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung und Staatsverfassung*; Furneaux, *Annals of Tacitus*; Schürer, *GJV* ^{2} i. 378, 379 [*HJP* i. i. 327 ff., ii. 45 f.].

A. C. HEADLAM.

PROVOKE, PROVOCATION.—To provoke (*provocare*), lit. to 'call forth,' is in AV to excite any emotion or activity, good or bad. Hence we find 2 Co 9[2] 'Your zeal hath provoked very many,' and Col 3[21] 'Fathers, provoke not your children' (both ἐρεθίζω). For the orig. meaning of 'stir up,' cf. Jer 43[3] Cov. 'Baruch the sonne of Nerias provoketh the agaynst us.' Cf. also Erasmus, *Crede*, p. 15, 'It is a great spoore to prycke and provoke a man to profyght and go foreward in ony scyence or crafte: the love of the teacher'; and p. 99—'Saynte Paule provokyng the Galathians from vengeance to humanite and gentylnesse.' *Provocation* is always used in AV in a bad sense. In Ps 95[8] the Heb. is MERIBAH, which see.

J. HASTINGS.

PSALMS, BOOK OF.—The most important book, and in modern Heb. Bibles the first in order, of the third section of the OT Canon—that known as *Kĕthubhim* or *Hagiographa*. It has been thought that in the time of our Lord the Bk. of Psalms furnished a name for the *Kĕthubhim* as a whole (see Lk 24[44] and cf. Jos. *c. Ap.* i. 8, who speaks of 'the remaining four books' as containing 'hymns to God and precepts for human life'). It is not probable, however, that at this stage in the history of the Canon the title 'psalms' would be so used. The order of the books in the Hagiographa, moreover, has varied greatly. The earliest Rabbinic list (*Baba Bathra* 14*b*) gives the order as Ruth, Psalms, Job, Proverbs, etc., Ruth apparently being placed before Psalms because it contained an account of David's ancestry. Jerome (*Prol. Gal.*) gives the order as Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, etc.; but this is not in accordance with prevailing Heb. tradition. In many MSS, especially the Spanish, the Books of Chronicles come first, then Psalms, Job, Proverbs, etc. The usual order is that of the German MSS followed in the printed edd. of the Heb. Bible—Psalms, Proverbs, Job (the poetical books, sometimes known by the technical name אמת, 'Truth,' formed by the initial letters of the three books Job, Proverbs, Psalms), followed by the five *Megilloth* or rolls, the narrative books coming last (see Ryle, *Canon of OT*, p. 229 ff.). The present article will deal with the Name and Number of the psalms, the Formation of the Collection, the Date and Authorship, the Titles and the Poetical Construction of the psalms, the Moral and Religious Ideas prevailing in the Psalter, the Text and Versions, and finally with the Literature of the subject.

i. NAME AND NUMBER.—No name for the psalms collectively is found in the book itself or in the text of the OT. The nearest approach to such a designation is found in the name given to a portion of the Psalter in the subscription to Ps 72 (v.[20])—'The prayers (תְּפִלּוֹת) of David, son of Jesse, are ended.' The word 'prayer' must here be understood in its broadest sense as any turning of the heart towards God in supplication or in praise. See also 1 S 2[1] and Hab 3[1]. Ps 17. 86. 90. 102 and 142 are also called 'prayers' in their several inscriptions. The title for the book used by the Jews is סֵפֶר תְּהִלִּים (shortened תִּלִּים, apocop. תִּלִּי, Aram. תִּלִּין), *i.e.* Book of Praises, a name which was current in the time of Origen and Hippolytus, though the genuineness of the passage in which the latter discusses the general introduction to Psalms has been questioned. In that passage the name stands transliterated into Greek as Σέφρα Θελλείμ, and in Eus. *HE* vi. 25 Origen's title of the book is preserved as βίβλος ψαλμῶν Σφαρθελλείμ. Jerome confirms this by describing (in the preface to his *Psalt. juxta Heb.*) the Heb. title as *Sephar Tallim*. Eusebius elsewhere transliterates Σέφηρ Θιλλήν. The word which thus appropriately gave a name to the whole book is found once only in the Heb. text as a title, Ps 145 being called תְּהִלָּה a Song of Praise. The regular plural of this word is *tĕhillôth*, Ps 22[3], this feminine form being distinguished from the masc. *tĕhillîm*, in that the former points more distinctly to the subject-matter, the latter to the form of the composition. Cf. Baethgen, who distinguishes (Pref. to Comm. p. iii) between *ein Buch der Gesänge* and *ein Gesangbuch*.

The usual name for a separate psalm is מִזְמוֹר *mizmôr*, found in the titles of 57 psalms, from the third—probably the first in the earliest collection—onwards. The word by its derivation indicates that which is to be sung to a musical accompaniment, and in practice it is used only of a religious song. The more general word שִׁיר *shîr*, used for secular songs in Is 23[16] and Am 8[10], is found in combination with *mizmôr* 13 times in the titles; 5 times the order is *shîr mizmôr*, and 8 times this order is reversed. Once (Ps 46) the word *shîr* is used alone, and once it occurs in the form *shîrāh* (Ps 18). The word corresponding to *mizmôr* in Greek is ψαλμός, properly a song to the accompaniment of stringed instruments; and the usual title of the book in the LXX is βίβλος ψαλμῶν. But in Cod. Alex. we find ψαλτήριον, which is properly the name of a stringed instrument, adopted as a title of the book; hence Eng. 'Psalter.' The usual Greek title is quoted in St. Luke's writings, Lk 20^{42}, Ac 1^{20}. The Syriac name *Kĕthâbâ de-mazmûrê* preserves a name which is not found in the OT as a plural, and which did not prevail as a collective title in subsequent Jewish usage.

The number of the psalms is 150, both according to the MT and the LXX. But the same total is preserved with a different arrangement in detail. Only the first eight psalms and the last three are marked by the same number in the two versions, the Greek combining Ps 9 and 10 in one, also Ps 114 and 115, whilst it divides Ps 116 and Ps 147 each into two parts severally numbered. This may be more clearly shown by the following table:—

	Heb.	LXX
Psalms	1–8	1–8
	9. 10	9
	11–113	10–112
	114. 115	113
	116	114. 115
	117–146	116–145
	147	146. 147
	148–150	148–150

The arrangement of the Greek is followed in the Vulg. and in some of the older Eng. VSS. In the LXX is found an additional psalm (151) with the following title: 'This psalm was written by David with his own hand, though it is outside the number, *composed* when he fought in single combat with Goliad.' It runs as follows:—

'I was small among my brethren,
And youngest in my father's house,
I used to feed my father's sheep.
My hands made a harp,
My fingers fashioned a psaltery.
And who will declare unto my Lord?
He is Lord, He it is who heareth.
He it was who sent his angel
And took me from my father's sheep,
And anointed me with the oil of his anointing
My brethren were goodly and tall,
But the Lord took no pleasure in them.
I went forth to meet the Philistine,
And he cursed me by his idols.
But I drew the sword from beside him;
I beheaded him and removed reproach from
the children of Israel.'

The psalm has no pretensions to genuineness, some of its phrases being obviously adaptations of the language of 1 S, but something is to be learned by comparing and contrasting it with the canonical psalms. Certain apocryphal psalms, drawn from Syrian sources, are given by Wright (*PSBA*, June 1887), including the above with four other psalms. One of these, in which a poet speaking in the first person is supposed to represent the feelings of the nation when Cyrus gave permission to the exiles to return from Babylon, is quoted at length by Baethgen (*Introd.* p. xl).

The different methods of numbering, indicated above, point to a various arrangement of material which there is good reason for thinking has been much more extensive. Ps 1 and 2 are found together in some copies. In Ac 13^{33} the Western reading preserved in D, 8, and some Lat. MSS known to Origen, describes what we call the second as the first psalm, whilst Justin (*Apol.* i. 40) quotes the whole of both psalms together as one prophetic utterance. As will be seen below, the distinction between Ps 9 and 10 and between 42 and 43 should never have been made; the latter two psalms are found together in several Heb. MSS. These facts, together with others to be mentioned, prepare us for the phenomenon of composite psalms.

ii. Formation of the Collection.—The Psalter, as we now have it, is divided into five books, including respectively Ps 1–41, 42–72, 73–89, 90–106, 107–150. These divisions are marked in RV, and have been recognized by the Jews from at least the 2nd cent. of our era; it is not to be understood, however, that they represent the original lines of demarcation in the formation of the Psalter. The close of each 'book' is marked by a doxology, appended 'after the pious fashion, not uncommon in Eastern literature, of closing the composition or transcription of a volume with a brief prayer or word' (W. R. Smith, who adduces parallels from the Diwan of the Hodalite poets, to show how the limits of an older collection of poems may be marked by the retention of a doxological phrase). This explanation unquestionably applies to the three doxologies, 41^{13}, $72^{18.\,19}$ and 89^{53}; these are clearly separable from the psalms at the end of which they are respectively found. It is not clear that 106^{48}, at the end of Book iv., has precisely the same history; whilst the fifth book has no closing doxology, Ps 150, which is itself a full ascription of praise, being understood to obviate the necessity for such an addition. The fivefold division is recognized in the *Midrash Tehillin* on Ps 1^{1}, which undoubtedly embodies a tradition much earlier than the commentary itself. Jerome, also, in his *Prolg. Galeat.* distinguishes between the *quinque incisiones* and the *unum volumen* of the psalms. The passage from Hippolytus which refers to this subject cannot be urged as certainly genuine. The presence in the LXX version of the doxology at the end of the fourth book, with its liturgical addition, 'And let all the people say Amen,' unquestionably points to a fivefold division as more or less clearly marked in at least the 2nd cent. B.C., but it is not probable that this division was made by the final redactor of the Psalter himself setting in their respective places four doxologies to mark the limits of the various collections. On the contrary, evidence is forthcoming to show that the Psalter gradually grew into its present shape, and several of the stages by which the final result was reached can be distinctly traced. The chief evidence for this gradual compilation of the Psalter is as follows:—

a. The existence of duplicate editions of the same psalm. Compare Ps 14 with 53, 40^{13-17} with 70, 108 with 57^{7-11} and 60^{5-12}. The collections in which these duplicates severally occur must at one time have existed separately.

b. The use of the names of God in the various books is such that it cannot be considered accidental or without significance. The facts in brief are these. In Book i. the name J″ occurs 272 times, Elohim, used absolutely, only 15; in Book ii. the case is reversed, Elohim being found 164 times, J″ only 30 times. The figures in Book iii. are more complex, and it is found necessary to divide it into two parts, so that in Ps 73–83 J″ occurs 13 times, Elohim 36, while in 84–89 J″ is found 31 times, Elohim only 7 times. In Books iv. and v. J″ is used almost alone (339 times); the only exceptions being in Ps 108 (found also in earlier collections) and Ps 144, which there are other reasons for holding to be composite. That this prevailing use of one or other name is due (at least in part) not to the author but to editorial modification, is made probable by the fact that we have a Jahwistic and an Elohistic recension of the same psalm (cf. 14 and 53, also 40^{13} and 70); whilst the repetition of the phrase 'God, thy God' in 43^{4} 45^{7} and 50^{7} appears to have arisen from the much more appropriate 'J″, thy God.' The phraseology of some psalms appears to have been drawn directly from certain passages in the Law, with an alteration only in the Divine name used. Cf. Ps 50^{7} with Ex 20^{2}, Ps 71^{19} with Ex 15^{11} etc.

c. Another argument is drawn from the titles and the way in which the psalms are assigned in groups to various authors, those in Books i.–iii. having for the most part some kind of designation, whilst those in Books iv. and v. are generally anonymous.

d. The editorial note in Ps 72^{20} 'The prayers of David, the son of Jesse, are ended,' seems to prove conclusively that the compiler of the collection in question knew of no other Davidic psalms, whereas several that are found in later books are ascribed to David.

e. The rarity in Books iv. and v. of the musical notes and directions so common in the earlier books points to a difference in the history of their compilation.

f. Another argument has been drawn from the general character of the subject-matter in the various collections. It is thus expressed by Kirkpatrick: 'Speaking broadly and generally, the psalms of the First Division (Bk. i.) are *personal*, those of the Second (Bks. ii. and iii.) *national*, those of the Third (Bks. iv. and v.) *liturgical*. There are numerous exceptions; but it is in the First Division that personal prayers and thanksgivings are chiefly to be found; in the Second, prayers in special times of national calamity (44. 60. 74. 79. 80. 83. 89), and thanksgiving in times of national deliverance (46–48. 75. 76. 65–68); in the Third, psalms of praise and thanksgiving for general use in temple services' (95–100. 105–107. 111–118. 120–136. 146–150), *Introd.* pp. xlii, xliii.

Is it possible, then, more minutely to trace the stages by which the various sections of the Psalter assumed their present shape? It is noteworthy that in Bk. i. all the psalms are assigned to David, with the following exceptions: Ps 1 is introductory, and was probably prefixed to the collection as a suitable preface. The absence of a title to Ps 2 seems to point to a separate history, and perhaps accounts for its having been joined in many copies to Ps 1. Ps 10, which is anonymous, belongs to Ps 9, as is seen by the acrostic arrangement. Ps 33 is assigned to David in the LXX, but it was originally anonymous, and appears to be of distinctly later date than the rest.

In Bks. ii. and iii. all the psalms bear titles except Ps 43 (which, as the refrain shows, is part of 42) and 71. They fall, not quite symmetrically, into groups. Eight psalms together (42–49) are assigned to 'the sons of Korah,' and a supplement of a few Korahitic psalms is found in 84. 85. 87. One psalm 'of Asaph' (50) stands alone, followed later by a group of eleven Asaphic psalms 73–83. Ten psalms of David are found together (51–70, all Davidic except 66 and 67); Ps 86, which is also ascribed to David, may be shown to be a mosaic of sentences adopted from other psalms. One psalm (72) is assigned to Solomon, one to Heman, and one to Ethan.

In Bks. iv. and v., on the other hand, the rule is that the psalms are anonymous, the only exceptions being that the 90th psalm is ascribed to Moses, the 127th to Solomon, whilst a few additional ones, 17 in all, bear the name of David.

The history to which these facts appear to point may be sketched somewhat as follows. The earliest collection consisted of Ps 3–41 or the bulk of the Psalms now so numbered, bearing generally the name of David. The significance of that designation will be considered later; enough now to say that it does not necessarily imply that David himself was the author of every psalm—and to these were added Ps 1 and 2 and probably some others. The next in order were Levitical collections 'Korahite' or 'Asaphite,' and these were combined in due course by an 'Elohistic' editor, who added a few 'Davidic' and other psalms. A conjecture of Ewald is supported by many moderns, that Ps 51–72 originally stood after Ps 41, forming one collection of 'Davidic' psalms, with the editorial note 72^{20} found naturally at its close. The Levitical psalms would then follow in their order—Korahite 42–49, Asaphite 50. 73–83, Korahitic supplement 84–89. W. R. Smith marks the following stages in the process of forming the Psalter as it now exists:—

a. The formation of the first Davidic collection, with its closing doxology, Ps 1–41.

b. The second collection with doxology and subscription, Ps 51–72.

c. The twofold Levitical collection (Ps 42–49. 50 and 73–83).

d. Elohistic redaction and combination of *b* and *c*.

e. Addition to *d* of non-Elohistic supplement and doxology, Ps 84–89. (See *OTJC*^{2} 201).

Without adopting this precise arrangement, which has, however, much to recommend it, it may be assumed that by some such process—probably one not so accurate and precise as modern critics theoretically construct—the psalms in the first three books were gathered and arranged. Ps 90–150 are viewed by most modern scholars as one division or collection, but certain lines of stratification may easily be perceived in it. One exquisite little group of psalms is found in 120–134, the 'Songs of Ascents,' which in all probability at one time existed as a separate 'hymn-book.' Another break is found in the doxology appended to Ps 106, whatever may have been its precise history. Then Ps 92–100 possess a character of their own, and groups of *Hodu* and *Hallelujah* psalms may be discerned, though it is not likely that these ever existed as separate collections.

No precise rules can be given for the order in which the psalms are found. A certain broad outline of chronological order is perhaps discernible; sometimes psalms are grouped together which refer to the same subject-matter, *e.g.* the psalms of the Theophany of which Ps 98 forms a centre. The same musical designation appears to have caused the grouping of the *Maschil* psalms 42–45. 52–55, whilst those inscribed *Michtam* are found together in 56–60. Sometimes the occurrence of a word or phrase seems to link one psalm with another, and some writers, of whom Wordsworth, Forbes, and occasionally Delitzsch, may be named as examples, attach much significance to this. But it is undesirable to build any elaborate theories upon the arrangement of lyrics the present collocation of which must have had a long history. Experience shows how gradual and irregular has been the arrangement of many modern hymn-books, in days when much greater symmetry and more formal arrangement might be looked for than in the Psalter.

The dates of these several collections can be determined only in the most general way, and even so with a considerable measure of uncertainty. It is perhaps possible to fix a *terminus a quo* and *ad quem*, a superior and inferior limit, to mark the period within which the whole work must have been carried out. And first, for the superior limit.

The earliest collection is that of 'Davidic' psalms, numbered 1–41. If Ps 1 and 2 were included in the collection when it was first made, also 25 and 33, it is tolerably certain that this was not done till after—probably not long after—the return from Captivity. Ps 1 is almost certainly post-exilic. The language of 14^{7} 'Oh that the salvation of Israel were come out of Zion,' does not necessarily imply the Bab. Captivity, and the verse may be a liturgical addition. Ps 25^{22}, which forms an addition to an acrostic arrangement, breathes a similar prayer, and shows that the psalm in its present condition cannot be very early. The subject of Ps 16 does not necessitate a post-exilic date, but if a doctrine of immortality be implied in it, such a date is most probable. Some other psalms in this collection—notably 31 and 39—point at least to the period of the later monarchy. The history of Temple-music, moreover, so far as that is ascertainable from the documents before us, hardly seems to admit of the production of such a finished collection of Temple-songs before the Exile. The Chronicler must be understood as describing in 1 Ch 15 and 16 the institutions of his own time, of which David only laid the early foundations. That a guild of Temple-singers existed before the captivity of Judah is probable enough, but the collection as a whole—compare the titles to Ps 24 and 28 in the LXX—implies a stage of advancement in Temple psalmody which can hardly have been reached till after the Return. This does not imply, of course, that no previous collection of sacred songs had ever been made. It is possible, though hardly probable, that in the time of Solomon some steps had been taken in this direction. But we are dealing with the Psalter as it has come down to us, and we should name the period shortly after the Exile as the earliest possible and the most probable date for the formation of the first collection of psalms. The next may very well have taken place in the time of Nehemiah, and the work appears to have been very gradually accomplished during the succeeding centuries by stages which we cannot exactly trace, but some idea of which has been furnished above.

What, then, is *the inferior limit of date* in the carrying out of this work? Here a number of arguments have to be examined, the investigation of which is in itself instructive, and the material thus furnished is sufficient to warrant tolerably definite conclusions.

a. The bearing of 1 Ch 16 upon the date of the Psalter. The date of the Chronicler may be roughly taken as about B.C. 300. In ch. 16, in the course of an account of the bringing up of the ark to the city of David, the writer puts a psalm into the mouth of David as appropriate to such an occasion. The psalm is not directly attributed to David as the tr. of v.^{7} in AV would imply. The phraseology only emphasizes the fact that David took especial care concerning the giving of thanks: 'On that day did David make it his chief work to give thanks unto the Lord by the hands of Asaph and his brethren.' A psalm follows, however, which consists of 105$^{1-15}$ 96 and certain verses ($^{1.47.48}$) from Ps 106. Apparently, therefore, the Chronicler had these psalms—possibly a collection containing these psalms—before him when he wrote. V.^{36} seems distinctly to imply that the writer adapted the doxology to his purpose, changing the imperfects into perfects, 'And all the people said Amen, and praised the Lord.' If this were the case, the conclusion is clear, that Ps 106 was written, perhaps Bk. iv. formed, somewhere in the 4th cent. B.C. Closer examination shows, however, that this is not quite so certain. Cheyne contends (*Origin of Ps.* p. 457) that vv.$^{34-36a}$ were only liturgical formulæ, not composed solely for use in Ps 106, but freely attached to many psalms. It may be replied that the connexion between 1 Ch 16^{36} and Ps 106^{48} as a whole appears too close to be accidental, and we can hardly conceive that the psalmist adapted the phraseology of the Chronicler, though Ryle seems to favour this view (*Canon of OT*, p. 129). It is possible, as Cheyne suggests, that additions were made to the various books after the collections had been provisionally closed, and this possibility must not be summarily excluded. It is possible, again, and for some reasons probable, that vv.$^{8-36}$ did not form part of the original text of 1 Ch 16. V.^{7} joins very naturally to v.^{37}, whilst the words of the psalm do not fit in very appropriately with the phraseology of the seventh verse, when its meaning is rightly understood. This suggestion, originally made by Reuss, is favoured by Baethgen, and the possibility of its acceptance prevents the argument from being conclusive. Given both texts as they stand, it seems difficult to resist the conclusion that Ps 106, with its doxology complete, was before the Chronicler as he wrote.

β. The evidence afforded by the LXX is much more trustworthy, and rests upon a broader basis. It is true that we cannot be quite certain when the tr. of the Hagiographa was completed. That the whole work was begun and the tr. of the Pent. executed about B.C. 250 seems tolerably clear; but Cheyne and some others are disposed to bring down the inferior limit for the completion of the tr. of the Hagiographa very late. All Cheyne will admit is that it was finished 'at any rate before the Christian era.' The evidence of the prologue of Sirach, however, will hardly admit of a later date for the tr. of the Psalter than B.C. 150. The author of this preface, writing about B.C. 130, thrice mentions 'the law, the prophets, and the other books' (or an equivalent expression), and he speaks of his grandfather, Jesus son of Sirach, as having been familiar with these as sacred writings. This indicates a third class of sacred Scriptures, the canon of which was not necessarily complete in the time of Siracides, say B.C. 180. But that the Psalter was included among these can hardly be questioned, even though it were not in its present form. References in 1 and 2 Mac, as we shall see, confirm this supposition. But granted that the evidence is not conclusive, and bringing down the date for the tr. of the Psalter even so low as B.C. 100, it is clear that a considerable interval must be allowed for the accomplishment of the various processes passed through between the completion of the latest collection in Heb. and its rendering into Greek. Sanday (Bampt. Lect. on *Inspiration*, Lect. V. Note A, p. 271) marks as many as nine such processes. The number is probably excessive; but if the history of the formation of the Psalter has been at all correctly indicated, several stages must separate the composition of, say, one of the psalms in the Elohistic collection and its inclusion in the LXX. The smaller group of Korahite or Asaphic psalms would be collected, then would come the larger Elohistic collection, the addition of title, the embodiment of the smaller collection in the full Psalter of 150 psalms, the numeration, the formation of titles as found in the Greek,—these are some of the steps which must have been successively taken. Probably not much time needs to be allowed for some of them, some may even have been contemporaneous, but reflection shows that an interval of, at least, one or two decades must be allowed between the completion of the Heb. Psalter and its tr. into Greek.

γ. A further argument may be drawn from 1 Mac 7^{16}, which quotes Ps 79—usually accounted one of the latest in date—with the formula usual in citing Scripture—*κατὰ τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἔγραψεν*. For a psalm thus to be recognized and quoted as Scripture, implies the lapse of a considerable interval since its composition. Not much reliance for our purpose can be placed on the statement of 2 Mac 2^{13}, which records how Nehemiah, 'founding a library, gathered together the books about the kings and prophets, and the books of David (*τὰ τοῦ Δαυεὶδ*) and letters of kings about sacred gifts.'

δ. Indirectly, the so-called 'Psalms of Solomon' (which see) furnish evidence from another point of view. These psalms possess a distinct character of their own. If they may be placed, as most modern scholars are inclined to place them, about the middle of the 1st cent. B.C., a considerable interval must be allowed as elapsing between their composition and that of the latest canonical books. Even a superficial reader must be struck by the contrast between these 'psalms of the Pharisees' and those of the canonical psalter. Kirkpatrick speaks of them as 'separated by an impassable gulf.' This is strong language; but on the two great subjects of the future life and the Messianic hope the contrast is so striking, that if argument from growth and development of thought is worth anything at all, this is a case in which great reliance must be placed upon it.

Passing by other arguments of more questionable value, such as that from the musical titles, which were certainly unintelligible to the Gr. translators, and that from the language of the Chronicler concerning the Levitical guilds of singers, we may perhaps come to the following conclusion:—The Psalter is a collection of religious poetry chiefly, though not entirely, intended for use in public worship, and very gradually compiled. The earliest stage of the final process dates from shortly after the Exile, one step succeeding another through the compass of some three centuries, till the collection was virtually closed in the first half of the 2nd cent. B.C. Ryle represents the prevailing view of modern scholars when he says, 'The time of its final promulgation in its present form and of its first recognition as part of the people's Scriptures, may well have been that of the great religious revival that accompanied the success of the Maccabæan revolt, and the downfall of the Hellenizing party among the priests and nobles' (*Canon of OT*, p. 127). The exact form of the conclusion reached is somewhat dependent on the decision of questions concerning the date and authorship of individual psalms, a subject intimately bound up with that just discussed, to which accordingly we now pass.

iii. DATE AND AUTHORSHIP. — Care must be taken not to confuse date of compilation and date of composition, and sometimes a distinction must be made between the date of composition of the original psalm and the date to be assigned to it in its present form. Many of these lyrics were handed down orally, and, in particular, some of those that were connected with public worship may have been long current in a narrower circle before they found a place in a smaller or larger collection of psalms. Further, the phenomena of the Psalter, as we have it, prove conclusively that modifications were freely made in existing compositions, whether to make them suitable for public worship or to adapt them to the new circumstances of a new time.

It is not the object of this article to describe the history of lyric poetry amongst the Hebrews. But no intelligent judgment can be formed as to the probable date of these particular sacred songs, without a brief survey of what is known from other sources concerning the history of this form of literary composition in Israel.

The history of the people begins with an outburst of song. The deliverance from Egypt at the Red Sea was an event which made a deep impression on the ritual, the literature, and the national life of Israel. It was signalized, according to Ex 15, by a song 'which Moses and the children of Israel sang'—a pæan not unworthy of the great occasion. It is found as part of the 'second Elohist's' narrative, doubtless handed down from earlier days, and is fitted into its place by v.[19]. That the whole song in its present form is antique seems hardly likely. Ewald, Dillmann, Delitzsch, and Driver agree that vv.[1-3] give the ruling strain of the ancient hymn, while the language of vv.[13] and [17b] seems to point to later days, when the early deliverance was triumphantly recalled. The 'Song of Moses' in Dt 32 may with some confidence be assigned to the 8th cent. B.C. It is not Mosaic in its point of view; v.[7f.] are enough to show that the settlement in Canaan is an event of the far past. Driver would fix the date about the time of Jeremiah, and some features point in this direction. But it is near enough for the present purpose, if it be assigned generally to the period of the monarchy. The remarkable poem given at length in Jg 5, known as the Song of Deborah, is generally recognized as one of the oldest fragments of Heb. literature. Kuenen describes it as contemporaneous with the events it celebrates, and most critics acknowledge the absence of anachronisms and the strong impression of reality which this ode leaves upon them. The date of Hannah's song in 1 S 2 cannot easily be determined. Judged by modern ideas, it seems little suited for the occasion on which it is said to have been uttered, except so far as it sets forth the Divine exaltation of the lowly, or may be considered to possess a prophetic character. That it was composed after the establishment of the monarchy seems clear from v.[10]. The lament over Saul and Jonathan ascribed to David in 2 S 1 may be taken as genuinely Davidic. It contains nothing inconsistent with the occasion, none of those indications of a later point of view sometimes found lurking in a single clause or allusion, whilst the date of the compilation of the book, so far as can be gathered, would point to an early origin for the elegy. Other indirect evidence as to the handing down of such songs from early times may be drawn from the mention of the 'book of Jashar' and the 'teaching of the song to the children of Judah' in v.[18]. The 'last words' of David, found in 2 S 23, do not stand on quite the same footing, since these later chapters form an appendix to the book which may be much later in date.

Other lyrics which have come down to us embedded in prophetic literature — with which psalmody is closely connected—are the thanksgiving of Is 12, the dirge of Hezekiah in Is 38, the prayer of Habakkuk in Hab 3, and that of Jonah in Jon 2. It is impossible to enter into detailed questions of criticism, yet the objective evidence afforded by the dates of these poems, if they could be fixed, would be important, for these would serve as landmarks to judge of compositions when removed from their setting. Is 12 probably belongs to the period of Hezekiah. The dirge in ch. 38 may well be of the same date. It was apparently added by the compiler of Is 36-39 to the historical narratives drawn from 2 Kings. Cheyne compares the language of the dirge with that of Job, and holds it to be exilic, inserted on the principle that psalms in any sense illustrative of historical incidents might be quoted as if actually connected with them. The prayer of Habakkuk is considered by many critics to be a late addition, but there is no valid reason why it should not belong to the 6th cent. B.C. The general character of Jon 2 seems to mark it out as a cento of phrases drawn from earlier psalms. It has none of the freshness and force to be expected in a composition of the time of Jonah the prophet.

Gathering this hasty survey to a close, it may be said in a word that the highly elaborated poetical composition entitled 'The Lamentations,' though not by Jeremiah, and perhaps not of single authorship, may—allowing for the slightly varying dates of its different parts — be with some confidence placed soon after the Exile, in the course of the 6th cent. B.C. The finished acrostic arrangement, no less than the language and style, points to an advanced stage of poetical composition. See, further, art. POETRY (HEBREW).

If these results are only approximately correct, they furnish valuable data for further investigation. We cannot obtain as much information concerning the history of music and song in connexion with temple-worship. The notes of the Chronicler, written long after the event, though in many cases drawn from original sources, hardly enable us to determine how far the services which were inaugurated by David had developed in the earlier period of the monarchy. Some of the descriptions seem to give a picture of the full organization known to the Chronicler, of which David established merely the rudiments. Delitzsch laid it down that there were three chief epochs of psalmody in Israel—the time of David, of Jehoshaphat, and of Hezekiah; but in our records it is difficult to distinguish the stages of growth in the music and worship of the sanctuary. It seems clear, however, that the position discernible after the Exile (Ezr 2^{41} and Neh 7^{44}) implies considerable previous development, at least under the later monarchy, though its exact degree is doubtful. On the other hand, the outburst of song in the time of the Maccabees, of which many recent critics have much to say, while probable enough, is hypothetical only. The theory is likely enough *a priori*, and possesses some slight indirect confirmation from history (cf. 2 Mac 2^{14}), but its historical basis is not strong enough to bear any solid superstructure. The evidence of Jer 33^{11} is by no means unimportant where external evidence is so scanty; pointing, as it does, to a measure of liturgical development and the use of formulæ in worship during the Chaldæan period, which may form a fixed point in dealing with the psalms.

Let us next examine the titles so far as these bear on authorship. The facts are these. One psalm is attributed to Moses, 73 to David (in the five books respectively, 37. 18. 1. 2. 15), 2 to Solomon, 12 to Asaph, 11 to the sons of Korah, 1 to Heman, and 1 to Ethan. In fourteen cases the historical circumstances of composition are alluded to (cf. Ps 3. 7, etc.). These cease in the later books. Those that have come down to us are sometimes taken from the historical books, and sometimes present difficulties, as in the mention of 'Cush,' Ps 7. The LXX contains some additional titles. The following psalms, anonymous in the Heb., are in it ascribed to David, 33. 43. 67. 91. 93–99. 104; Ps 138 and 139 are inscribed in cod. A *τῷ Δαυεὶδ Ζαχαρίου*, while 146. 147, and 148 have the title *Ἀγγαίου καὶ Ζαχαρίου*. The historical references peculiar to this version are often curious or obscure, *e.g.* Ps 27 *πρὸ τοῦ χρισθῆναι*, Ps 29 *ἐξοδίου σκηνῆς*, Ps 66 *ἀναστάσεως*, whilst Ps 76 and 80 are entitled *πρὸς τὸν Ἀσσύριον* and *ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου*, and Ps 144 *πρὸς τὸν Γολιάδ*. This version contains also, it may be said in passing, notices of the days on which certain psalms were recited in public, as Ps 92 in the Heb. is spoken of as a Sabbath-psalm. Ps 24 was sung on the first day of the week, 48 on the second, 94 on the fourth, and 93 on the day before the Sabbath.

The anonymous psalms, called 'orphans' in later days, were by the later Jews provided with parents by being attributed to the author named in the nearest previous psalm (see Jerome, *Epist.* 139 *ad Cyprianum*). In all probability it is on this principle that so many psalms in the first book came to be attributed to David, and in later times Moses was credited with all the psalms 91–100, extending, that is, from the 'Mosaic' 90th psalm to the 101st, which bears David's name. The usage by which the whole Psalter came to be attributed to David, so that the popular name 'David' was applied to the whole collection in He 4^{7} is easily intelligible, and has been frequently paralleled since in the names of 'Wesley's' and other popular hymn-books.

The time when these titles were added cannot be exactly determined. Some would be prefixed at the time of the earlier compilations, others when the collections of collections were made. Several of the titles in the LXX show, what one or two psalms in the Heb. exhibit, a combination of inconsistent traditions, both as regards author and occasion. As a whole, the titles represent an early, but far from contemporary tradition, and are for the most part uncritical in character, as may be shown by the following considerations.

1. Some of the psalms assigned to David cannot by any possibility be his. Compare, *e.g.*, the Aramaisms of 103. 122. 139 and 144; but especially those of 139, a psalm which must be amongst the latest in the Psalter. Other explanations have been given of these Aramaisms which cannot be considered satisfactory; but if they are supposed to originate in the Northern Kingdom, Davidic authorship is equally set aside.

2. Some psalms ascribed to David are evidently late because of their obvious borrowings from earlier psalms. These are tame in style, lacking the fresh vigour associated with the Davidic period, though often with a plaintive beauty of their own (cf. Ps 86).

3. The acrostic psalms 25. 34 and 37 cannot be David's. It is conceivable that this artificial style of composition came into use early, but it is not probable. Known examples of it are late, and some other features in the acrostic psalms of the first book—*e.g.* the condition of the State, the exhortations to patience under oppression, as in Ps 37—make so early a date impossible.

4. The mention of the temple in 5^{7} 27^{4} etc. must be considered as an evidence of date. It has been contended (*e.g.* by Delitzsch, *Psalms*, vol. i. pp. 160, 161) that הֵיכָל might be applied to the Davidic tabernacle; but it is only by a certain straining of language that a word for 'palace' could be applied to a tent, even though that tent were the dwelling-place of God. The phrase God's 'holy hill,' moreover, seems to imply that the sanctuary had been established upon Zion for some considerable time (see Driver, *LOT*^{6} p. 375). The early use of these expressions might, however, perhaps be allowed, if all other features of the psalms in question favoured a Davidic authorship. But this is not the case. The language which describes a period of oppression and fear (Ps 9^{13} etc.) requires a good deal of adaptation before it will fit David's position, and the same may be said of the descriptions of the kind of foes against which the psalmist had to contend. Traditional interpretation may have accustomed readers to think of David under persecution by Saul, or at the time of Absalom's rebellion, but close examination shows that much of the language is inappropriate in David's mouth. Often there is a superficial resemblance to the circumstances of David's life, combined with real incompatibility. See, *e.g.*, Ps 20 and 21, which refer to the king, but could not have been written by king David in relation to himself; Ps $55^{12.13}$, which might seem to point to Ahithophel, but that so many phrases of the psalm (vv.$^{3.9.10}$, and the phraseology, carefully considered, of $^{12\text{-}14}$) are incompatible with David's position. Many of the psalms ascribed to David are not the language of a monarch at all, but the plaintive complaints of one who is crushed under a government which he has no power to modify, and from which he cannot escape. Isolated expressions such as are found in $51^{18.19}$ may be explained as liturgical additions to an originally Davidic psalm, while 69^{35} might conceivably be understood of David's time; but some violence is required in each case. And putting together (1) the separate phrases which betray a later date, (2) the kind of trials to which the psalmist is exposed, (3) the condition of society exhibited, (4) the maturity of theological thought often manifested,

it will be seen that a strong case is made out against at least a large number of the psalms attributed in the titles 'to David.'

Is it to be said, then, that *David wrote none of the psalms that have come down to us*? Wellhausen's dictum has often been quoted, that 'the question is not whether the Psalter contains post-exilic, but whether it contains any pre-exilic psalms,' and that question is by many answered in the negative. It will be safer to conduct the inquiry upon critical principles cautiously applied.

First, little or no reliance is to be placed on the titles as indicative of authorship. For it is not certain that the לְדָוִד is to be understood of personal authorship (compare the title 'of the sons of Korah,' where the preposition is admittedly not the *Lamed auctoris*). It is probable that a title originally given to one or two psalms in a book was afterwards affixed separately to all in a collection. And the arguments above alleged show that many of the titles must have been affixed in a crude and superficial way. But the same cannot be said of the general reputation of David as a psalmist. This must have rested upon a tolerably substantial basis. It has been said that David was noted only as a musician, not as a poet. The passages 1 S 16^{18}, 2 S 1^{17} 3^{33} 6^{14}, and Am 6^{5} are said not to imply more than this. But the Chronicler makes David to have been the founder of psalmody, see 1 Ch $15^{23.25}$, 2 Ch 7^{29}, and compare Ezr 3^{10}, Neh 12^{36}.

Further, it has already been seen that David was confessedly the author of the elegy of 2 S 1, and the 18th psalm is attributed to him in 2 S 22. It is said that the first of these poems is not of a religious character, but that does not constitute a proof that the writer could not compose a religious poem, and for literary purposes its evidence is valid. David was the writer of verses which, as literature, are parallel with the psalms, whilst early tradition ascribes to him the composition of psalms also. Taking, then, the 18th psalm as a kind of test case, how stands the evidence? (*a*) *External Evidence.* If the 22nd ch. forms an integral part of 2 S, the testimony to Davidic authorship is early and strong. If—as there is reason to suppose—chs. 22 and 23 constitute a later addition to the book, their evidence is greatly weakened. It is not easy to determine whether the text as given in the psalm is earlier or later than that found in the history. Baethgen inclines to hold that the psalm gives the earlier form of text, but that the two have been handed down independently. On the other hand, it is much more probable that the brief historical introduction with which Ps 18 opens was taken from the history than *vice versâ*. (*β*) *Internal Evidence.* The contents of the psalm suit well the early monarchy, and can, in fact, with difficulty be applied to any other period. The vigour and freshness which characterize the style have convinced Ewald and many other critics of the Davidic authorship. The only arguments on the other side have been drawn from v.^{27}, which might very well have come from David's pen, and vv.$^{49.50}$, which do unquestionably point the other way, though there is nothing in them absolutely incompatible with Davidic authorship. The theory adopted by Cheyne and others who support a much later date is that the writer, with marvellous ability and success, throws himself back into the life of the conquering hero of many centuries before, and the poem was 'conjecturally ascribed to the idealized David not long before the Exile.' This conclusion appears to spring from the assumed premiss that 'from the point of view of the history of art, not less than from that of the history of religion, the supposition that we have Davidic psalms presents insuperable difficulties.' The conjunction of internal and external evidence furnishes a fair, though not conclusive, case in favour of the Davidic authorship of Ps 18, such as would reasonably be accepted in the case of any similar document in classical literature, and it can be overruled only by considerations drawn from a general view of OT religion, such as cannot be discussed here.

It is obvious that a decision on the question of the 18th psalm will carry many others with it. If this psalm be not David's, probably none from his pen has come down to us; if it be, the way is open to examine other psalms for which a similar claim is made, rejecting such as are condemned by internal evidence. The only other psalm of which mention can be made here is the 110th. Older expositors, such as Delitzsch and Ewald, held it to be Davidic, or of the Davidic age, but the tendency of modern criticism is to assign to it a much later date. The terseness, vigour, and occasional obscurity of its phraseology favour an early origin, and its occurrence in the fifth book of the Psalter, which tells in favour of a late date, is not absolutely inconsistent with an earlier. Decision upon the point is bound up with the exposition of v.^{1}. If the opening words may be understood in the sense that the Messiah is objectively regarded as the psalmist's Lord, David may be regarded as the speaker. If, as many hold, this is impossible, the theocratic priest-king must be addressed by the psalmist as his lord, and the Messianic reference can only be indirect and typical, and Davidic authorship is excluded. It has been attempted to support the first of these theories by the language of 2 S 23^{2-5} and the prophecy recorded in 2 S 7, but these do not present a close parallel to the kind of Messianic reference proposed. An argument, conclusive to the minds of many, is drawn from our Lord's quotation of this psalm as recorded in the Synoptic Gospels. This quotation shows at least that the current Jewish opinion regarded the psalm as Messianic, but it does not exclude—(1) the supposition that an *argumentum ad hominem* was intended sufficient for the purpose which Christ had in view, or (2) the fact that the argument to be drawn from the psalm holds good, if for 'David' the general word 'psalmist' were substituted. A study of the whole use of OT made by Christ in His teaching shows that the questions of date and authorship with which criticism is chiefly concerned were not before the mind of our Lord as He spoke, nor was it His object to pronounce upon them.

In general, the conclusion reached upon the subject of Davidic psalms seems to be as follows. It cannot certainly be proved that David wrote any psalms; the probability is that he wrote many; it is not likely that all these were lost; some of those extant which are ascribed to him are appropriate in his lips; external evidence ascribes the 18th psalm to David, and if it be his, it is probable that others also should be attributed to him; and in determining the number of these, internal evidence drawn from contents, style, allusions, etc., is the sole criterion. The judgment of critics proceeding upon these lines naturally varies considerably. Baethgen, with some hesitation, admits 3 psalms as Davidic, Schultz 10, Ewald 17, Delitzsch 44, while Driver (*LOT*^{6} 380) sums up by saying—'A *non liquet* must be our verdict; it is possible that Ewald's list of Davidic psalms is too large, but it is not clear that none of the psalms contained in it are of David's composition.' The arguments above adduced would lead to the conclusion that from ten to twenty psalms—including 3. 4. 7. 8. 15. 18. 23. 24. 32, and perhaps 101 and 110—*may* have come down to us from David's pen, but that the number can hardly be greater and may be still less. The 90th psalm cannot have been written by Moses, nor the 72nd and 127th by Solomon. The titles in these cases must be understood as indicative of the subject-matter. The reference of certain psalms to Asaph, Heman, Ethan, and the sons of Korah, is to be understood from the point of view of compilation rather than of authorship. If these psalms were taken from collections associated with the Levitical guilds known by these historical names in the time of the second temple, the titles become easily intelligible. It creates difficulties to press the meaning of the preposition as *Lamed auctoris*, and to suppose (*e.g.*) that the family or guild of 'Korah' were either separately or conjointly authors of psalms. It is quite possible that the free multiplication of the title לְדָוִד is due to the same habit on the part of those who formed the several collections. Compilers would think more of the source from which the psalms were actually derived than of the presumably remote original author, especially in days when personal authorship was not dwelt upon as in a later time.

On the general subject of the age of the Psalms, Cheyne hardly allows one to be pre-exilic; the scattered references to monarchy he applies for the most part to the time of the Maccabæan revival. In this he stands almost alone amongst English critics, though the general tendency of criticism is to assign a continually increasing majority of the psalms to the post-exilic period. Cornill probably represents the prevailing opinion of contemporary scholars when he describes (*Einleitung*, p. 221) the Psalter as representing a reaction of the old Israelitish pious feeling against the stiffening formalism of the time of Ezra and his successors, a proof that the religious genius of Israel in the 3rd and 4th centuries B.C. had not been quenched by the growing influence of what was later known as Pharisaism. The historical allusions which are found in some psalms are not for the most part decisive, and these cease to have any weight if the possibility of later impersonation and idealization is freely conceded. Taking the language of the psalms as it stands, however, the nearest approach to definiteness on the ground of historical allusions would be found in Ps 46 as applied to the overthrow of Sennacherib, Ps 74 and 79 to the period of the Maccabees. Ps 68, which by earlier critics was assigned to the reign of Jehoshaphat, almost certainly belongs to the period of the Second Temple, and Ps 118, which has generally been considered as especially suitable to the return from Captivity, is confidently assigned by Cheyne to the Maccabæan period. Ps 45, which most critics place during the monarchy, is understood by the same writer of Ptolemy Philadelphus. If historical allusions are not decisive, neither will the evidence of parallel passages avail much. If the dates of Job, of Deut., and of certain chapters of Isaiah could be fixed, the dates of a few psalms might be approximately determined; *e.g.* Ps 8 was written before the Book of Job, and Ps 90 after Deuteronomy. The date of Jer. is well known, but a comparison between the language of the psalms and the prophet (cf. Ps 1 with Jer $17^{7.8}$) makes it difficult to say which can claim the priority. A certain group of psalms, *e.g.* 69, may with some confidence be assigned to the period of Jeremiah.

In only a very few cases can linguistic evidence be considered as decisively characteristic of late date; Ps 139 is probably the best example of this. The criterion of style is too subjective and too differently estimated by different critics to be relied upon as evidence of date. Arguments drawn from the stage of theological thought visible in the psalms depend upon the view taken of the history of OT theology, and opinion can hardly be considered ripe enough on this subject for it to be employed with certainty. The psalms themselves form no inconsiderable portion of the evidence by means of which that history is to be traced out, and it is clear that the vicious circle must be avoided which would conclude that a given psalm 'cannot be of early origin because the ideas it contains cannot have been promulgated so early.' The state of religious thought and life manifested in the writings of the prophets Amos and Hosea presupposes a long religious history, the nature of which has not yet been made sufficiently clear to allow of sweeping dogmatic assumptions. And, apart from a belief in the supernatural, the history of religion shows how frequently the *vates*, whether bard or prophet, has been before his time in his religious intuitions and aspirations. Certain *general* conclusions may, however, be given, which will guide us approximately to the time when the psalms as a whole were composed. A few being probably Davidic, a considerable number, especially in the earlier books, are pre-exilic, but the greater proportion of these date after the 8th cent. B.C. The large majority of the psalms may be with confidence assigned to the period during and shortly after the Exile, some few to the 3rd and even the 2nd cent. B.C.

Are any Maccabæan psalms included in the Psalter? This much debated question has received very various answers. There is an *a priori* probability in favour of the existence of such psalms and of their inclusion in the Psalter, if the Canon of OT were not closed too early to admit them. The strong probability is that the Canon was not virtually closed till about B.C. 100, and the Psalter may have been kept open even after the various collections were formed, in the sense that a few later psalms might find their way in after a collection possessed a separate existence. The evidence of Josephus and of 2 Mac may be taken as indirectly confirming the *a priori* probability that the Maccabæan times would furnish a vigorous psalmody. The evidence of the 'Psalms of Solomon' shows that the true spirit of psalm-composition existed even later, though the hopes and ideals of the psalmist had altered. When we examine the extant psalms, however, difficulties arise. Those which appear most likely to have sprung from Maccabæan times, such as 44. 74. 79. 83, are found, not in the later, but in the earlier or middle collections. It is possible, but not easy, to understand how a psalm composed B.C. 150 made its way into Book ii. and was labelled, not in the Heb. only, but in the Greek, as a psalm of Asaph. It is urged by some that the language of these psalms may be appropriately understood of earlier desolations than those of the time of Antiochus. But in Ps 74^{8}, for example, the phrase מוֹעֲדֵי אֵל (though understood by the LXX of feasts) seems distinctly to point to the synagogues of a later period, while 74^{9} connects itself naturally with 1 Mac 4^{46} 9^{27} 14^{41}. The argument drawn from the repeated use of חֲסִידִים, on the other hand, has been too much pressed, as if it must necessarily refer to the time when the *Ḥasidim* became a recognized party, when 'the company of the Hasidæans, mighty men of Israel,' offered themselves 'willingly for the law' (1 Mac 2^{42}). It by no means follows that all mention of 'the pious ones' is to be taken as distinctly Maccabæan.

The history of opinion displays considerable diversity of opinion on this question. Theodore of Mopsuestia, holding the Davidic origin of the psalms generally, taught that David projected himself in the spirit of prophecy into the times of the Maccabees, so that some of the psalms faithfully picture that period. Calvin attributed Ps 44. 74 and 79 to the period in question; Hitzig and Olshausen enlarged this short list to embrace the greater portion of the Psalter, including all psalms from 73 to 150. Reuss assigned several psalms to a still later period—that of John Hyrcanus, B.C. 135-107. Cheyne indicates some twenty-five psalms as Maccabæan, including 20. 21. 33. 44. 60. 61. 63. 74. 79. 83. 101. 108. 115–118. 135–138. 145–150. His criteria of 'a uniquely strong church feeling,' an 'intensity of monotheistic faith,' and an 'ardour of gratitude for some unexampled stepping forth of the Lord J" into history,' are not susceptible of specific and decisive application to Maccabæan times. The first criterion mentioned by Cheyne—the existence of 'some fairly distinct allusions to Maccabæan circumstances'—would be decisive if its occurrence could be clearly proved. But the allusions are held by such critics as Gesenius, Ewald, Dillmann, and Hupfeld to be anything but distinct. In our judgment the number of Maccabæan psalms cannot be large, but the bare possibility that a few such psalms were included in the Psalter before the Canon was closed should be left open. If any psalms of the 2nd cent. B.C. are found in our present collection, the internal evidence which would assign 44. 74. 79. 83 to this period may be held to outweigh the unquestionable difficulties arising from their place in the second and third books.

iv. TITLES.—It has been found convenient to discuss such of the titles as bear on the question of authorship already; the present section will therefore be devoted to an examination of those words or phrases, mostly musical notes, which require explanation. For the sake of convenience, they are given in alphabetical order, following the EV.

'Aijeleth hash-Shaḥar, Ps 22 עַל־אַיֶּלֶת הַשַּׁחַר, LXX *ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀντιλήμψεως τῆς ἑωθινῆς*, *i.e.* 'concerning the morning aid' (אֱיָלֻת); so Targum, which refers to the *Tamid*, the perpetual morning sacrifice; Jerome, *pro cervo matutino* (so Aq.). 'Upon' here signifies 'set to the tune of' (RV), the name of the song being prob. 'Hind of the Dawn.' W. R. Smith compares Arabic usage in thus describing melodies; also Ephraem in the Syriac. Baethgen understands the morning to be viewed as 'the hind in its swiftness.'

'Alâmôth, Ps 46; cf. 1 Ch 15^{20} 'psalteries set to Alamoth' (RV), עַל־עֲלָמוֹת, LXX *ἐπὶ τῶν κρυφίων*, 'about the hidden things' (עֲלֻמוֹת), so Targum; Jerome, after Aq., *pro juventutibus*. In 1 Ch, LXX transliterates *ἀλαιμώθ*. Ges. and most moderns derive from *'almah*, 'damsel,' and render 'with accompaniment of damsel voices,' or 'in soprano.' Baethgen holds that this interpretation is not suitable to Ps 46. Rashi understands it of a musical instrument, as modern viola or tenor-violin. Cf. 'Double-bass,' corresponding to *Sheminith*, which see. It is a question whether the closing words of Ps 48 *'al-muth*, which will hardly bear the translation 'unto death,' should not be read as *'alâmôth* and taken as part of the title of the following psalm.

'Al-taschith (AV), *'Al-tashheth* (RV), Ps 57. 58. 59. 75, אַל־תַּשְׁחֵת, LXX *μὴ διαφθείρῃς*; Jerome *ut non disperdas*. As in RV, this must be understood to mean 'set to the tune of, Destroy not.' Possibly these words may form the beginning of an old vintage-song, such as we find described in Is 65^{8}, when the new wine is found in the cluster, 'and one saith, Destroy it not, for a blessing is in it'; but this is mere conjecture (see *OTJC*² p. 209).

Ascents.—See *Degrees*.

Chief Musician, for the.—Found in 55 psalms, beginning with Ps 4. See also Hab 3^{19}. Heb. לַמְנַצֵּחַ, LXX *εἰς τὸ τέλος* (connect with לָנֶצַח 'for ever'?). Other Gr. VSS, *εἰς τὸ νῖκος*, Jerome *Victori*; following apparently the meaning of a kindred Aram. root. The verb נצח is found in 1 Ch 15^{21} in reference to music, and is rendered 'to excel' in AV, 'to lead' the singing in RV. In 1 Ch 23^{4} it means 'to preside over' the work in question. The meaning of the title, therefore, apparently is that the psalm was to be given to the precentor or leader of the choir, and was intended to be sung in the temple-service.

Dedication, A Song at the d. of the house, Ps 30, Heb. שִׁיר־חֲנֻכַּת הַבַּיִת, LXX *ἐκστάσεως*.—The order of words in this title suggests that in its present form it combines two several traditions; it is at the same time a psalm *lĕ-David* and a song for the dedication of 'the house.' It is possible that the two may be combined; not, however, when the site was chosen for the temple (Hengstenberg), for this was not the dedication of a house; nor (probably) at some re-consecration of the palace after Absalom's rebellion and David's absence. The most probable supposition, if the psalm is to be referred to David's lifetime, is that of Delitzsch, who refers it to the house mentioned in 2 S 5^{11}, and supposes that about this time the king was recovering from severe sickness. It is known, however (*Sopherim* xviii. 2), that this psalm was used by the Jews from an early date at the feast of *Ḥănukkah*, the 'dedication' mentioned in 1 Mac 4^{54} and Jn 10^{22}, and Baethgen and many moderns consider that this clause of the title was added later as an after-thought. It has been questioned whether this is consistent with the ignorance of its meaning shown by the LXX. The probability is that the clause refers to a liturgical use of the psalm, not to its original composition.

Degrees, Songs of, Ps 120. 122–134 שִׁיר הַמַּעֲלוֹת; in 121 לַמַּעֲ׳; LXX *ᾠδὴ τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν*, Jerome *canticum graduum*, whence AV 'degrees,' RV 'ascents.'—Grammatically, the form of the title in Ps 121 is the more correct, if שִׁיר is to be understood of an individual psalm. W. R. Smith and Cheyne understand it collectively=שִׁירֵי, properly the title of the whole group, the plural 'ascents' indicating that the title of the group has come to be affixed to each psalm separately. The following meanings have been attached to this ambiguous phrase:—

1. The return from Babylon (Ewald). See Ezr 7^{9}, in which we read of 'the going up from Babylon,' and cf. Ezr 2^{1}. The use of the plur. 'goings up' is explained to refer to more than one journey, under Cyrus and Artaxerxes (Ezr 2 and 8); or to the number of caravans, cf. *οἱ ἀναβαίνοντες* of Jn 12^{20}. It is hardly likely, however, that the plural would be used of the one event which so signalized itself in the memory of the people, and the subject-matter of at least Ps 122 and 134 is unsuitable to this connexion.

2. The going up to the annual festivals in Jerusalem. The word *ma'ălah* is not elsewhere used of these journeys, but the cognate vb. עלה is (Ps 122^{4} *al.*). The psalms are for the most part suitable in subject for such a purpose, either directly (see 122. 132. 133) or indirectly. Herder, Reuss, W. R. Smith ('Pilgrimage songs'), and Baethgen may be mentioned as amongst those who favour this explanation.

3. Fifteen steps led from the women's court to the men's court in the temple, and the Talmud (*Midd.* ii. 5, *Sukkah* 15*b*) says that these corresponded to the songs of degrees; not, however, that the psalms were named after the steps, or that the Levites sang these particular psalms upon the steps. This explanation of the name has, however, been held by some (*e.g.* Armfield, who has written a monograph upon the subject).

4. Delitzsch favours the interpretation which finds an allusion to the peculiar style or structure of the psalms, the repetition of a word or phrase, with a gradual ladder-like ascent as to a climax—'a step-like progressive rhythm of thoughts.' Compare the structure of the 'triolet' in more

recent literature. Against this, however, it may be urged that not all these psalms exhibit this structure (see 132); that it is found in some other psalms (*e.g.* 29); and that nowhere else is this technical use of the word found.

5. *Im höhern Chor* (Luther) to be sung 'in louder tones'; so R. Sa'adya Gaon, and cf. 2 Ch 20[19] *lĕ-mā'lah* (diff. word from מַעֲלָה), 'with a loud voice *on high*' (AV), 'an exceeding loud voice' (RV).

6. An explanation, first given by Rashi, has lately been revived by Schiller-Szinessy, which refers the word to the 'liftings-up' or 'goings-up' of the heart in adoration and trust. See 121[1] 123[1] 130[1].

It will be gathered from the above sketch that no certain meaning can be given to the title of this group of lovely psalms. The second explanation is, on the whole, the most probable.

Gittith, Set to the, Ps 8. 81. 84, Heb. עַל־הַגִּתִּית, LXX ὑπὲρ τῶν ληνῶν, Jerome *pro* (*in*) *torcularibus* (גִּתּוֹת).—The Targ. explains of a musical instrument which David brought from Gath, or of the form of a wine-press. Generally understood to indicate the name of a tune, possibly set to a vintage-song, a meaning which the LXX and Jerome may possibly have had in view in their renderings. Ewald understands it to mean 'the March of the Gittite guard.'

Higgaion (הִגָּיוֹן).—This word does not occur in any of the titles, but is found in Ps 9[16] and is conveniently considered here. It occurs in connexion with *Selah* (which see), and the double phrase is rendered by LXX ᾠδὴ διαψάλματος. It is found in the text of Ps 92[3], where Cheyne renders 'with sounding music upon the harp.' The root הגה from which the word is probably derived means to emit a deep, murmuring sound, and is used of a lion in Is 31[4], of a dove in Is 38[14], and of a mourner in Is 16[7]. Also in a secondary sense of meditation or device in Ps 19[14], La 3[62]. Kimchi explains *Higgaion* from this secondary meaning of the root; but it is in all probability a musical term derived from the primary meaning, possibly indicating a '*forte* burst of joyous music.'

Jonath-'elem-rĕḥoḳim, Ps 56 עַל־יוֹנַת אֵלֶם רְחֹקִים, LXX ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων μεμακρυμμένου, a tr. which supposes that Israel is intended by the word יוֹנָה *dove*, and אלם is quite misunderstood. Like so many others of these enigmatical phrases, this is in all probability the name of a melody to which the psalm is to be sung. With the reading אֵלִים the phrase may be interpreted 'the dove of the distant terebinths'; with present pointing, as in RVm, 'the silent dove of them that are afar off.'

Maḥălath, Ps 53; *Maḥălath lĕ'annôth*, Ps 88, Heb. עַל־מַחֲלַת, or with addition of לְעַנּוֹת, LXX ὑπὲρ Μαελέθ (τοῦ ἀποκριθῆναι) as pr. name, see Gn 28[9], 2 Ch 11[18], Jerome *pro choro, per chorum* (after Aq. Theod. Symm.). Considerable uncertainty attaches to the rendering of this phrase. If it does not indicate the name of a tune (Ibn Ezra), or the sadness of the melody to which the psalm was sung (Delitzsch), the choice lies between understanding *maḥălath* as (1) akin to *maḥălah*, 'sickness' or 'calamity' (Ex 15[26]), so Targ.; or (2) as a musical instrument (Rashi, Ges., Lowe). Neither etymology nor the probabilities of the case can be said to point decidedly in either direction.

Maschil.—Found prefixed to 13 psalms, viz. 32. 42. 44. 45. 52–55. 74. 78. 88. 89. 142. Heb. מַשְׂכִּיל, LXX συνέσεως, εἰς σύνεσιν. Cf. 47[7] זמרו משכיל, 'make melody in a skilful strain' (cf. RVm); Targ. 'with good understanding.' Gesenius renders, 'a didactic poem,' which does not fit many of the psalms mentioned above. Delitzsch understands it as indicating a 'contemplative' psalm (השכיל prop. 'consider,' 'attend to,' cf. Ps 101[2] [RVm] 106[7]); Rashi interprets by reference to 2 Ch 30[22], the Levites that 'had good understanding (*or* were well skilled) [apparently in music] for J".' So far as etymology serves us, the title probably indicates a contemplative composition, but in process of time the original meaning probably passed away and it came to mean little more than a poem (cf. ποίημα).

Michtam, Ps 16 and 56–60 מִכְתָּם, LXX στηλογραφία.—So Gesenius, who says כתב = *scribere*, כתם = *inscribere*; the meaning in Eng. would imply a carefully-fashioned, 'emblazoned' psalm; but this meaning of the root כתם is wholly uncertain. Another suggested derivation connects with כֶּתֶם and would give the rendering 'a golden psalm'; so Luther. The word is also used in Is 38[9] of Hezekiah's dirge, but it is not easy to detect any features which the various compositions to which the word is applied possess in common.

Muth-labben, Ps 9 עַל־מוּת לַבֵּן, LXX ὑπὲρ τῶν κρυφίων τοῦ υἱοῦ, Vulg. *pro occultis* (Jer. *pro morte*) *filii*, Targ. 'concerning the death of man (who came forth) between (the armies).' All these tr^ns show that the phrase was not understood, and the ignorance of the ancients is shared by the moderns. Grammar will not allow of the rendering 'death of the son,' *i.e.* Absalom, even if such a meaning were appropriate. In all probability this is the name of a tune; but whether it should be rendered 'Die for the son' or (with other pointing) 'Death makes white,' it is impossible to say, and cannot really signify.

Nĕginoth.—Found in six psalms—4. 6. 54. 55. 67. 76 בִּנְגִינוֹת, and once in 61 עַל־נְגִינַת, cf. Hab 3[19], LXX ἐν ψαλμοῖς, Jerome *in psalmis*. The word means unquestionably 'on stringed instruments'; it is always found after the phrase 'For the chief musician,' and indicates that the psalm is to be sung to an accompaniment of stringed music, cf. 1 Ch 15[21]. *Neginath* is generally understood as the same word with an old feminine ending (Ges.); or, according to Massoretic punctuation, closely joined with *lĕ-David*, it would mean 'in the Davidic style of stringed music.'

Nĕḥiloth, Ps 5 אֶל־הַנְּחִילוֹת, LXX ὑπὲρ τῆς κληρονομούσης, as if הַנַּחֲלָה, Jerome *pro hæreditatibus*. Generally understood as = חֲלִילִים, meaning 'to the accompaniment of flutes' or wind-instruments. That flutes were used in worship, is shown by Is 30[29]. Baethgen objects that the usual word for flute might be expected here, and understands Neḥiloth as the name of a tune.

Remembrance, To bring to, Ps 38 and 70 לְהַזְכִּיר, LXX εἰς ἀνάμνησιν (adding in 70, εἰς τὸ σῶσαί με κύριον), Jerome *in commemorandum, ad recordandum.* Is it to be understood, however, that God is to remember the psalmist, or the psalmist to remember God? Both views have been taken. The Targ., followed by Delitzsch, finds a reference to the *Azkarah* (ἀνάμνησις) part of the sacrifice of the Minḥah, when a portion was thrown upon the fire and the smoke was supposed to bring the worshipper into the Divine remembrance. See Lv 24[7. 8], and connect with title in LXX περὶ σαββάτου. But the word is found in 1 Ch 16[4], when certain Levites were appointed to minister before the ark, and 'to record' (AV), 'celebrate' (RV), as well as to thank and praise J"; and perhaps this more general meaning of worshipping, in the sense of not forgetting the Divine benefits, is the more probable meaning here.

Shĕminith, Ps 6 and 12 עַל־הַשְּׁמִינִית, LXX ὑπὲρ τῆς ὀγδόης, 'upon the octave *or* the eighth,' cf. 1 Ch 15[21]. The phrase either refers to a special kind of stringed instrument with eight strings, or means perhaps 'in the bass,' cf. *'al-'Alâmôth*=soprano. 'In a lower octave,' the reverse of the modern octave (Lowe).

Shiggaion, Ps 7 שִׁגָּיוֹן, LXX ψαλμός—μετὰ ᾠδῆς, Jerome *pro ignoratione* (after Theod. Symm., and see Ps 19[12] 'errors').—The word is found in the plural in Hab 3^1. As derived from שׁגה 'to wander,' Ewald, Delitzsch, and others give the meaning of a 'dithyrambic song,' one characterized by various feelings or rhythms. Gesenius, with hesitation, renders *cantus suavis*. There appears to be nothing either in etymology, tradition, or the character of the two psalms in question to guide modern readers definitely to the meaning of this word.

Shoshannim, Shushan-'Eduth, Ps 45 and 69 עַל־שֹׁשַׁנִּים, Ps 60 עַל־שׁוּשַׁן עֵדוּת, Ps 80 אֶל־שֹׁ׳, LXX *ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀλλοιωθησομένων* (שֹׁשַׁנִּים from root שׁנה 'to change'), Jerome *pro liliis testimonii*.—Rashi understands as an instrument of six strings. Probably the name of a tune (Ibn Ezra and moderns) 'set to the melody of Lilies, or Lilies of the Testimony.' 'Pure as a lily is the Testimony,' *i.e.* the Law (Ewald).

Song of Loves, Ps 45 שִׁיר יְדִידֹת, LXX *ᾠδὴ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ*.—The allegorical interpretation which is suggested by the Gr. is of very early origin, and is based upon the use of language found in Hosea and elsewhere in OT, and recognized by St. Paul in Eph 5^{32}. The Targ. renders 'Thy beauty, O King Messiah.' The feminine plural termination must not be understood literally as of king's daughters (Hengstenberg), nor of a marriage-feast, nor in an erotic sense, for the word is a noble one; but according to the Heb. idiom it corresponds to a neuter abstract, and the phrase would mean 'A song of that which is lovely.' It is to be understood, like Canticles, of a pure and holy earthly love which may be understood to symbolize and prepare the way for a higher affection still.

To Teach, Ps 60 לְלַמֵּד, cf. Dt 31^{19}, where Moses is commanded to teach a song to the Israelites, and 2 S $1^{17.18}$, where it is said that David 'bade them teach the children of Judah *the song of* the bow' (the word 'bow' is omitted in B of LXX)—a martial song, to be sung at the practice of arms? These parallels would seem to show that the title *lĕ-lammed* means that this psalm, like many others, was to be taught to Israel.

v. POETICAL CONSTRUCTION.—Heb. poetry, it is well known, is not constituted by rhyme. Neither, like Anglo-Saxon and other verse, is it marked by regularly recurring assonance, though occasionally this feature is present. Neither, again, is metre an essential feature of Heb. psalmody. It has been questioned among scholars—though only a small minority are prepared to answer in the affirmative—whether metre, implying lines consisting of a fixed number of syllables, is recognizable at all in OT poetry, as, confessedly, both rhyme and metre are characteristic of Jewish poems of the Middle Ages. But though metre is not discernible in Psalms, it does not follow that rhythm is excluded. The rhythm of thought in the well-known *parallelismus membrorum* is, of course, an essential feature, and rhythm of language matching the thought is readily perceptible, though no rules can be laid down for its determination. There is a rhythm in all the finest prose, not the less impressive for being irregular. In Psalms the rhythm of language more nearly approaches regularity than the rhythm of carefully constructed prose, but it defies analysis and systematization. The prevailing form is the couplet of two corresponding lines, though the triplet and quatrain are used from time to time. On this subject Driver says: 'The poetical instincts of the Hebrews appear to have been satisfied by the adoption of lines of *approximately* the same length, which were combined, as a rule, into groups of two, three, or four lines, constituting *verses*, the verses marking usually more distinct pauses in the progress of thought than the separate lines' (*LOT*^{6} p. 362). (For the details of this subject see Driver's chapter just quoted and art. POETRY). It may, however, be briefly said here that the chief attempts to trace out a more regular metrical system in Psalms than the above remarks allow, are those of J. Ley (*Metr. Formen der Heb. Poesie*, 1866, and *Grundzüge des Rhythmus in der Heb. Poesie*, 1875), Gustav Bickell (*Carmina VT metrice*, 1882, and articles in *ZDMG*, 1891–1894), and, more recently, H. Grimme ('Abriss der biblisch-hebräischen Metrik' in *ZDMG*, 1896, pp. 529–584, and 1897, pp. 683–712). Ley seeks to establish a metre which depends upon accents, and relies upon alliteration, assonance, and rhyme as subordinate features. Bickell seeks to prove that the measure of the verse is marked by regular alternation of accented and unaccented syllables; but he accomplishes this only by an excessive modification, not to say mutilation, of the text, and by a violent use of unnatural elisions. Grimme's system is described in art. POETRY, p. 6^b. C. A. Briggs holds Ley's views in a modified form. He says, 'The accent may be used as a principle of measurement to a very large extent in Heb. poetry, but it is not an absolute law; for whilst many poems and strophes are uniform in this respect, the poet breaks away from it and increases or diminishes the number of accents, as well as words, to correspond with the movements of his thought and motion' (*Bibl. Study*, p. 263).* This does not greatly differ from the mode of statement adopted by Delitzsch, which is accepted in this article. 'Heb. poetry is not metrical, *i.e.* it is not regulated by the laws of quantity and by the number of syllables; strong accents, which give prominence to the logically most important syllables, produce a very great variety of rhythms in the series of syllables that form the *stichoi*; the ictus of the verse is regulated by the logical movement; and the rhythm is the purely accentuating rhythm of the oldest kinds of national poetry' (*Psalms*, vol. i. p. 31, note, Eng. tr.).

There is one stage of poetical construction intermediate between the unit—couplet, triplet, or quatrain—and the completed lyric. It is the strophe or stanza, whichever name be considered most appropriate for a section of the poem, marking a clearly defined movement in the thought, and consisting of a measured number of lines. Moulton, in his *Literary Study of the Bible*, uses the term 'sonnet' to describe this feature of Heb. poetry, but the accepted connotation of the word makes it generally unsuitable, and it would be quite out of place in the psalms. Sometimes the close of the strophe is marked by a refrain, or a nearly exact repetition of verse or phrase at more or less regular intervals. Some of the most clearly marked examples of this are, 'Why art thou cast down, O my soul?' in $42^{5.11}$ 43^5; 'The Lord of hosts is with us' in $46^{7.11}$; 'Turn us again, O Lord of hosts' in $80^{3.7.19}$; 'O that men would praise the Lord for his goodness' in $107^{8.15.21.31}$. In the 136th psalm the refrain, 'his mercy endureth for ever' occurs as the latter half of every verse. Less readily recognized examples may be found in $39^{5.11}$ 'Surely every man is vanity'; $56^{4.10}$ 'In God will I praise his word'; $57^{5.11}$ 'Be thou exalted, O God, above the heavens'; $62^{1.5}$ 'My soul, wait thou only upon God'; $99^{5.9}$ 'Exalt the Lord our God, for he is holy.' In some of these cases, however, the repetition of a phrase is rather the indication of a style which meets us markedly in the Songs of Ascents, than the occurrence of a refrain such as marks the close of a strophe. Frequently it is clear that a psalm naturally divides itself into sections, where no refrain or poetical device marks the several pauses. The first three psalms would sufficiently illustrate this, particularly the second, in which the arrangement of vv.$^{1-3.4-6.7-9.10-12}$ commends itself at once. Driver holds that in many cases these sections are 'to be regarded as logical rather than poetical units, and as not properly deserving—even in its modified sense—the name of strophes.' The construction of Heb. poetry, however, is such that it is always more or less difficult to make the distinction between thought and form; and as the length of line depends largely upon the movement of thought, so also with the length of what in prose would be called a section, but in the irregularly but rhythmically constructed poetry of Israel, may be called a strophe or a stanza. See, further, art. Poetry, p. 7 ff.

---

* Slightly modified in *Study of Holy Script.* (1899) p. 369 f.

Several psalms are *acrostic*, or alphabetical, in their arrangement. Sometimes successive verses begin with the letters of the Heb. alphabet in order; sometimes half-verses, or pairs of verses, are thus marked, and in the 119th psalm eight verses are found to each letter. In Ps 9–10 we find two verses to a letter, but the scheme is not complete. In 9[20] ק takes the place of כ, Ps 10 begins with ל, and the last four pairs of verses close with ק, ר, ש, ת, the intervening verses not being arranged alphabetically, though their number exactly corresponds with the number of letters passed over. In Ps 25 one verse is found to each letter, though ו is missing, and an extra verse is added at the end. In Ps 37 two verses occur to each letter (with slight irregularity), in 111 and 112 half a verse. In 34 and 145 the single-verse arrangement is found, with slight irregularities, which may be accounted for by a corruption of text. It might be supposed that so artificial an arrangement of matter would form a sure sign of late date, of a 'silver age' and fading poetic power, but this hardly appears to be the case. One of the most elaborate and complete instances is found in the 'Lamentations,' which is considerably earlier than many of the psalms. In Latin poetry the acrostic arrangement is found in early times (see Cicero's reference to Ennius, quoted by Delitzsch, i. 204); and Hitzig, who allows only fourteen Davidic psalms, includes 9 and 10 amongst them. The alphabetical psalms do not, as a rule, exhibit much poetic fire or vigour in comparison with psalms which are strictly lyrical in character. But this may be due to the subject and the mode of treatment adopted, for single phrases in the 119th psalm might easily be quoted which are full of imaginative fervour and power. If we cannot say with Delitzsch that the acrostic arrangement is 'full of meaning in itself,' it may be admitted with Driver that it was 'sometimes adopted by poets as an artificial principle of arrangement, when the subject was one of a general character, that did not lend itself readily to logical development.'

It is needless to say, however, that it is not in their form and construction that we find the true poetry of the psalms, though this is of such a character as to aid in securing for them the universality which is one of their chief features. The form of Heb. poetry bears rendering into other languages better than the poetical literature of any other nation. But the poetry of the psalms does not lie in their artistic form. The word 'artistic,' indeed, is out of place here. Artifice hides itself abashed in the presence of deep religious feeling. It is not merely that the predominating tone and spirit of the book is religious; religion has laid its strong uplifting hand upon every string of the psalmist's harp, every touch of the psalmist's fingers. The literary characteristics which charm us in the great poets of the world are indeed present. Lofty imagination marks some of the descriptions—'Who coverest thyself with light as with a garment, who stretchest out the heavens like a curtain.' 'He rode upon a cherub and did fly; yea, he did fly upon the wings of the wind.' Fancy appears in slighter touches, often unnoticed—'In Salem is his leafy covert, and his (rocky) lair in Zion.' The varied metaphors of the psalms have furnished religious life with brightness and picturesque variety for more than two thousand years. The terebinth planted by the streams, the hind panting for the water-brooks, the sun going out like a bridegroom from his chamber, the Divine Shepherd tending His flock alike in the pleasant pasture and the lonely and gloomy ravine,—these familiar images are not more striking than the thousand less noticed pictures, sketched in outline only: the crowned and anointed guest at the banquet of life spread in the very wilderness amongst foes; the harassed and overthrown forces of the enemy scattered over hillside and plain, like the ten thousand flakes 'when it snoweth in Zalmon'; or Death the shepherd herding among his flock in Sheol those who had arrogantly defied his power—yet the psalmist knows of a mightier Shepherd still, who shall 'redeem my soul from the power of Sheol, for he will receive me.' Some of the poetical effect is doubtless peculiar to the Hebrew, the picturesqueness of some of the words, and occasionally the variety of its synonyms, or the play of tenses, alternating one with another, like lights and shadows upon the hillside, or the changing colours upon the burnished neck of the dove. But the simplicity of diction which imparts such sublimity to a phrase—'with thee is the well-spring of life: in thy light we shall see light'; the depth of human feeling which can be felt like a beating pulse on every page—'Fervently do I love thee, J″, my strength!'—'Deep calleth unto deep at the noise of thy cataracts; all thy waves and billows are gone over me'; the concrete directness with which the most abstract truths of religion are set forth—'In the hand of J″ there is a cup, and the wine foameth; surely the dregs thereof, all the wicked of the earth shall drain them out and drink them';—'He shall cover thee with his pinions, and under his wings shalt thou take refuge'; these words appeal to the heart of the world, and their power is as great for the Englishman as for the Israelite. But the reason for this is not chiefly, though it is partly to be found in these poetical characteristics. The Psalter lives in virtue of its unique religious power and beauty, and on its theology something must now be said.

vi. Religious and Ethical Ideas.—In the following paragraphs the Psalter will be treated as one whole. Owing to the uncertainty which attaches to the dates of the several psalms, it is impossible to trace out, according to the methods of biblical theology, the growth and development of religious ideas in the psalmists' minds, if, indeed, any marked growth took place. If the book is entirely post-exilic, the 'hymn-book of the second temple,' no decided theological development—except, perhaps, on the subject of the future life—would be expected. If, as we have seen reason to believe, the Psalter contains an anthology of sacred lyrics, extending over many centuries, a progress of thought might be looked for. But the method of the psalmist is not dialectic. He moves, not in the atmosphere of theology, but of religion. And whilst creeds change, litanies remain the same. It would be going too far to say that no variety, no advancement, in moral and religious ideas is discernible, but for the purposes of this brief examination it may be neglected. The Psalter is concerned with the deep, elemental ideas of religion—God, man, and the communion of man with God; joy and trouble, hope and fear, good and evil, their present conflict and future destiny; the human soul in all its moods and the Divine power and grace in all its aspects,—and it is proposed to describe a few characteristics only of the way in which these great themes are treated.

1. The leading feature in the doctrine of God—to speak theologically—which distinguishes the psalms is the clearness with which the Divine Personality is conceived, and the vividness with which it is depicted. 'J" liveth, and blessed be my Rock' is written on the book, within and without. The chief service which the psalms have rendered to the religion of the world is the preservation of the idea of the living God, without any impairing of His absolute and inconceivable glory. The thinker elaborates his abstract conceptions of the Divine till they dissolve into thin air; the boor imagines 'such a one as himself,' and lowers the Godhead into a 'magnified and non-natural' manhood. Isaac Taylor says that 'metaphysic theologies, except so far as they take up the very terms and figures of the Heb. Scriptures, have hitherto shown a properly religious aspect in proportion as they have been unintelligible; when intelligible they become—if not atheistic, yet tending in that direction.' No sacred book of any nation has solved this fundamental problem of all religion, how to preserve at the same time the Infinity and the Personality of God, as has the Psalter.

The psalmist is not afraid of 'anthropomorphisms.' He not only employs forms of speech which seem almost necessary, such as 'his eyes behold, his eyelids try, the children of men,' but he represents God as thinking upon man, so that the Divine thoughts are greater in number than the sand; as seated in the heavens with earth for His footstool, as bowing the heavens to come down, whether for judgment or deliverance; as spreading His broad wings of defence over His own people, scattering dismay and destruction among their enemies, and returning again on high in triumph, when He has 'led into captivity his captives,' bringing with Him the spoils of victory. But no reader of the psalms finds his ideas of Divine majesty lowered, or the Divine glory dimmed and shadowed, by these modes of speech. The Rabbi disdains them, the Alexandrian philosopher explains them away, the hypercritic finds only 'mythology' in them; the wise and devout man knows that nowhere else—except in the words of Jesus of Nazareth—is he brought so directly into the presence of the living God, as inexpressibly lofty and pure as He is near and gracious and tender.

The 'attributes' of God are not described in the psalms, but God in His varied attributes is made known as in the mirror of the worshipper's soul. Righteousness is pre-eminent, but it is blended with mercy, as if the pious heart had never conceived of the two asunder. 'J", thy loving-kindness reacheth unto the heavens, thy faithfulness unto the clouds. Thy righteousness standeth like the mountains of God; thy judgments are a great deep. How precious is thy loving-kindness!' (Ps 36). Loving-kindness is shown, according to the psalmist's view, by God's rendering to every man according to his work (62[12]); yet it is an equally true explanation of the same חֶסֶד to define it as 'salvation,' or expand it into the clause 'J" hath dealt bountifully with me' (13[5. 6]). One of the most striking illustrations of the features upon which we have been dwelling is the attributing to the Most High God of עֲנָוָה 'humility.' The English word is a bold one to employ in this connexion, but it better expresses the psalmist's thought than 'condescension.' It is found but once, in 18[35] 'thy lowliness hath made me great,' but the same quality is dwelt upon in God's humbling Himself to regard the heavens and the earth, and it is not far removed from that yearning 'pity' with which the Father God pities His children. The word 'sympathy' is not found in the Psalter, but that for which the word stands sheds rays across the gloom of dirge-like psalms (39 and 88), and shines like a radiant sun in the glow of such psalms as 27. 40. 103, and 146. And the marvel is that He who bends so low to lift the downcast, the degraded, and the sinner, is He whose 'kingdom ruleth over all,' and for whom the whole Psalter, as well as the 99th psalm, provides the refrain, *Holy is He.*

2. The manifestation of God in nature—to use a modern phrase—is not, properly speaking, a theme of the psalms. The nature-psalms are well known: the 8th and 19th, the 29th and 93rd, the 65th and 104th have taught mankind many lessons. But the pictures of nature come in by the way. For the psalmist, nature is not so much a revelation, as the frame of a picture which contains one. Occasionally the eye wanders to the frame and dwells upon it, but it is only in passing. The picture itself is concerned with the human soul and its relation to the living God. And if the psalms are a wonder of literature because of the unique picture of God which they present, in contrast with the highest conceptions of which man thus far had shown himself capable, no less remarkable is their portraiture of man. The Heb. psalmist might seem to be a child by the side of the Hindu sage and the Greek philosopher, but neither of these could sound the human heart as he has done. The complexities, the inconsistencies, the paradoxical contradictions which characterize human life are all here. 'What is man that thou art mindful of him, or the son of man that thou visitest him?' The littleness and the greatness of man are there, in a line; discerned, almost unconsciously to himself, by the poet, because his eye was fixed, not on man but on God. The first and last verses of the 8th psalm give the keynote to its music, and that of the whole Psalter, and man falls into his place, so small in himself, so great in his relation to God. 'Nothing is more easy than to take a high view of human nature, *alone*, or a low view, *alone*; there are facts and appearances in abundance to account for and justify either. But the view of the Psalms combines them; man's littleness and insignificance, in relation to the immense universe about him, and to its infinite and everlasting God; man's littleness in his relation to time, to his own short passage between its vast before and after, his feebleness, his misery, his sin: on the other side, man's greatness, as the consummate work of God's hands, thought worthy of His care, His choice, His provident and watchful regard; man's greatness and responsibility, as capable of knowing God and loving Him, of winning His blessing and perishing under His judgment; man's greatness even as a sinner able to sink so low, and yet to rise by repentance out of the deepest degradation and most hopeless ruin' (R. W. Church).

3. There may at first sight appear to be an inconsistency between the language of various psalms on the subject of sin. The deepest contrition is portrayed in the 32nd and 51st; the utmost confidence, sounding perilously like self-righteousness, in the 7th, 18th, and 101st. It may be thought that here is a mark of varying date, Israel's sense of sin deepening as history advanced; or that the contrast is between the language of men of different temperaments, or the same man in different moods. But the inconsistency is only apparent. The assertion of integrity is relative, not absolute. It is that of the *ḥasid*, the 'godly' man, who is determined to keep well within the bounds of the covenant which is the charter of national religion, or is conscious of having done so. The same man may bow low in humility before God and confess

his sins; just as the nation—for in the opinion of many the 'church-nation' is the speaker in the 'I' of the psalms—may at one moment plead the sacredness of the bond which binds it to J″, and at another deplore its own unfaithfulness to covenant-vows.

That the ethical view of the psalmist was limited is unquestionable; he was the child of his own age. Ethics was as yet too little personal, and the individual sense of wrong-doing was, for the most part, neither deep nor poignant. The life of the community—for better, for worse—was more important; and it is no easy matter sometimes to distinguish between the passages in which the psalmist speaks in his own name and those in which his personality is merged in the national life. The tendency of modern criticism is to minimize the personal element in the Psalms (see Smend, 'Ueber das Ich der Psalmen' in *ZATW*, 1888, pp. 49–147; and Cheyne, who says in *Origin of Ps*. p. 265: 'In the psalmists, as such, the individual consciousness was all but lost in the corporate—the Psalter is a monument of church-consciousness'; and notes, pp. 276, 277). It is not necessary to recoil to the other extreme in reaction against the excessive individualism of some schools of interpreters. There are psalms in which the personal note is unquestionable (3. 4. 6. 18. 27, etc.). Others, again, are as clearly national (44. 46. 76); whilst in others the references to trouble or to joy may be such that they might apply equally well to personal or to national experience (31. 86. 118); or the psalm written by an individual for himself might be used in worship by the community. Eminent modern critics (W. R. Smith, Driver, Cheyne) are content to understand the 51st psalm 'as a prayer for the restoration and sanctification of Israel in the mouth of a prophet of the Exile.' But such a view not merely runs counter to traditional exegesis, but appears to many, including the present writer, to fail to do justice to the language of such a psalm. Deep sense of sin and contrition on account of it, though not very frequently expressed in the psalms, forms an essential part of the religious life therein depicted. Some of the 'penitential' psalms, so-called, may refer to trouble rather than transgression, but the psalmist's religion cannot be understood if it be resolved into a sense of national humiliation and distress.

4. This is confirmed by the closeness of personal communion with God, which is the characteristic privilege of the devout soul in these poems, and the means by which that fellowship is to be restored, when it has been lost or impaired. The joy is spiritual when the avenue of communion is open; the sorrow is spiritual when that avenue is closed and darkened; the means by which the soul may meet again with its God are spiritual also. The Israelite is a member of a community in which sacrifice is a recognized institution; he does not disparage it, but if he has learned the lessons it has to teach, he knows that alone it is not sufficient. The well-known expressions of the 40th, the 50th, the 51st psalms—'Thou desirest not sacrifice, else would I give it'; 'Would I eat the flesh of bulls or drink the blood of goats?'—do not stand alone. There is no inconsistency between these psalms and 'I will go into thy house with burnt-offerings, I will offer bullocks with goats,' in the 66th. The 51st psalm, as it now stands, contains a recognition of ceremonial sacrifices in vv.[19. 20], and even if these are not by the same author as v.[17], 'the sacrifices of God are a broken spirit,' the same temple-congregation could chant both alike without thought of contradiction. But the spiritual note is the deeper and the more characteristic. The psalmist has learned in the school of the prophet rather than of the priest, his plea is God's mercy, his hope for that sense of personal intercourse which can be enjoyed only when Divine forgiveness has removed the sense of personal sin. The heaviness and pain before confession (32[3. 4] 40[12]) is as deep as his assurance of the readiness of God to forgive is complete and his joy when forgiven rapturous (40[2. 3] 103[8-13]). The 130th is not the only 'Pauline' psalm, and if its language and that of other psalms expresses the contrition of a community, it can only be said that the mourners for sin of all ages, in the most spiritual religion the world has ever known, have found no language more appropriate to express their penitential sorrow and the rapturous joy of forgiveness than is to be found in the psalms.

5. Another characteristic of the 'lower level of morality' which is said to mark the psalms is found in the particularism which belongs to many of them. The national confidence in J″ has a reverse side which is not always admirable. The tone which the psalmists, like the prophets, adopt towards other nations than Israel, varies. Sometimes they are simply marked out for judgment and punishment (Ps 2. 9. 68). Sometimes, though more rarely, they are represented as in some sense gathered in within the pale now occupied by Israel alone (Ps 22. 67. 87). Sometimes bitter resentment is expressed which sounds personal rather than national—the expression of fierce joy over the destruction of hated enemies, rather than the grave anticipation of righteous judgment upon evil. The *Imprecatory* psalms are better understood than they once were. Those who read into them a coarse vindictiveness are now seen to be no less wide of the mark than those who in a mistaken zeal contended that all the utterances of godly men in an inspired Bible must be justifiable by the highest standard. But the solution of a moral difficulty is not found in a timid compromise between extremes. The strong language of Ps 7. 35. 69. 109 and some others is not to be blamed as an exhibition of a personally revengeful spirit. The law condemns this as well as the gospel; and in the psalm which contains the strongest language, the writer disclaims such culpable resentment (109[4. 5]). The psalmist, as a member of a covenant-keeping community, was at liberty to identify himself with the friends of God and to count those who opposed him as God's enemies also (139[21. 22]). Not always does he specify the ground of his anger and prayers for their destruction, as in Ps 83, 'Against thee do they make a covenant . . . O my God, make them like whirling dust, as stubble before the wind'; but it is legitimate, in at least the majority of passages, to read in that thought when unexpressed. The psalmist would be simply unable to take the purely individualistic standpoint of modern times, which makes language such as we find in the 35th psalm for us unnatural and wrong.

It does not therefore follow that the spirit of the imprecatory psalms is justifiable by the standard of the NT. It may indeed be well to consider whether the OT saints, in the vigour and simplicity of their piety, did not cherish a righteous resentment against evil which the more facile and languid moral sense of later generations would have done well to preserve. 'O ye that love J″, hate evil,' is an exhortation that belongs, not to one age, but to all time. But the point in question is the relation, not to evil deeds, but to evil men. And here it must be clearly recognized that the moral level of the old dispensation is necessarily lower than that of the new. The Christian does not stand in relation to the world as the Jew did to the nations around him. The blessings of the New Covenant are not material as were many of the blessings promised under the Old; and the curses which are pronounced on those who refuse to inherit a blessing differ correspondingly. The prospect of a future life—to take one point only—alters the whole question of retribution and destiny. Without any spirit of Pharisaism or consciousness of superior virtue—which would be grossly out of place—the Christian cannot use the language of the imprecatory psalms as it stands, but interprets it in its spirit by reserving his wrath for the evil in himself and others, and striving to blend with it something of his Saviour's yearning compassion for the evil-doer.

6. The problems of life opened up by the question of evil do not figure largely in the psalms. The suffering of the righteous, the apparent impunity of the wicked, do not often disturb the psalmist's mind. The moods expressed are those of thankfulness for mercies bestowed, sorrow in trouble, present or impending, prayer for deliverance, help, and guidance, not the anxiety of doubt or the half-bitter, half-eager cry of the seeker after truth who would believe, but cannot. The spiritual wrestlings of Job and the incredulous scepticism of Ḳoheleth in his darker hours hardly find any echo in the Psalter. The psalmist's mental exercises are described as mere transient moods, trying enough while they lasted, but not seriously affecting the foundations of his faith. The 73rd and the 77th psalms are the chief examples of this. The 38th, 88th, and other sorrowful psalms describe trouble of outward life and of inward spirit, but not such as arises from intellectual doubt or the undermining of faith in God. It is interesting to notice the way in which relief comes, when the question has once been raised as to whether the ways of Providence are equal and success precisely proportioned to character. In the 77th psalm the righteous man, who appeared to be forgotten and forsaken by God, falls back upon history, and recalls the deliverances wrought out for God's chosen people in the past. He rebukes, therefore, himself for his 'infirmity,' and renews his confidence in the 'right hand of the Most High.' Here there is no examination of the 'problem' at all as such; the theory that God rewards the righteous and punishes the wicked, which is so fiercely assailed in Job, is never questioned here. The writer of the 73rd psalm goes deeper. His perplexity arises rather from the prosperity of the wicked than the suffering of the righteous, but the problem in both cases is the same. His conclusion is emphatically announced at the beginning. 'Surely (אַךְ), God *is* good to Israel and to men of clean heart.' The mode of deliverance is described in vv.$^{15-17}$. In the sanctuary light came. But it came chiefly in the form of an emphatic re-statement of the prevailing theory of Providence. The wicked will be punished, all the more overwhelmingly because of delay in judgment. This psalmist holds with the writer of Ps 92 that only the dull and foolish fail to understand that if the workers of iniquity flourish, it is that they shall be destroyed for ever.

Another kind of solution may seem to be suggested by vv.$^{23-26}$. The psalmist finds his own portion in the presence and favour of God, and this is so strongly expressed that it might seem as if he had attained, by a sublime reach of faith, the doctrine of immortality. A similar conclusion is suggested by Ps 16, in which the same line of thought and religious experience is followed. Ps 17^{15} and 49^{15} are also held to express in briefer phrase the expectation that the righteous will enjoy life in the presence of God beyond the grave. It is certain that this was not the prevailing view of the writers of the psalms. The whole cast of these devout utterances would have been altered if any such expectation had formed a part of their working creed. The strain of the 6th, 30th, 39th, and 88th psalms is not the language of a passing mood. 'In death there is no remembrance of thee; in Sheol who shall give thee thanks?' The 'dust' cannot praise God; in the 'grave,' in 'darkness,' in 'Abaddon,' in the 'land of forgetfulness,' God cannot be praised, because He cannot be known by 'shades,' men who have passed away from the happy light of life. The evidence of silence is equally strong, though not so readily noticed. A blank is found in the creed of the psalmists, as of the OT writers generally, when life beyond the grave is in question. The exceptions in the psalms above referred to do not invalidate the rule. Translated with severe accuracy and closely restricted to their exact declarations, the passages 73^{23} 17^{15} and 49^{15} do not prove any clear anticipation of a future life. It may be otherwise with 16^{9-11}, but the more satisfactory way of treating all these passages is to consider them together. Thus handled, they show us the path by which the faithful servant of God was travelling upwards from amidst the twilight of a dispensation in which was no clear revelation of a future life. He could not believe that the pit of corruption or the shadowy half-existence of Sheol was to be the end of all for the friend of God. One who had set J″ always before him, and desired none in heaven or earth in comparison with his God, could not be left in darkness and forgetfulness, it must be that he should behold God's face in righteousness and be satisfied with His likeness. One who had God for his portion must have Him for ever. God was *his* God, and the psalmist anticipated the reasoning of the Saviour, 'He is not the God of the dead, but of the living.' Nevertheless, this was but a reach of faith. No revelation had been given, no doctrine could be taught, no complete assurance could be enjoyed. The hope was a bright, reassuring and not deceptive gleam of sunshine. But it was a gleam only. It was enjoyed for a moment and the clouds gathered in again. Not the clouds of denial or despair, but the impenetrable veil of vapour which hid from the saints of the Old Covenant God's will concerning the future. It does not follow that the psalmist's religion is of a low and feeble type because this element in it is for the most part missing. Its vigour is shown in the tenacity of his faith without the 'comfortable assurance' of later days. The Christian, for whom 'the resurrection of the dead and the life of the world to come' is an essential article of creed, may find a fuller meaning in the words of the psalmist than he himself dared to find in them, and wonder the more that he who knew so little believed so much and conquered in so hard a battle upon comparatively slender fare.

7. The hopes of the psalmists, like those of the prophets, were directed, not to a future life of the individual in heaven, but to the future of the community on earth. The subject of Messianic psalms can be adequately treated only in connexion with Messianic prophecy, of which they form a part. See under the articles MESSIAH and PROPHECY. The principles which should determine views of prophecy in general are here concerned, and they are better studied on the more extended field and in the more explicit utterances of the prophetical books. The psalms which have usually been termed (in a somewhat conventional sense) 'Messianic' are 2. 8. 16. 45. 72. 89, and 110. The list may vary slightly, but when it is examined it is inevitable that the questions should arise, Why include precisely these and no others? And what is meant by the term Messianic? For if mention of a personal king ruling on earth is essential, all these psalms cannot claim the title;

and if a larger sense of the term be intended, others have as good a right to be found in the list.

The older exegesis, which made the language of the Psalter generally, and of some psalms in particular, to be the language of Christ Himself, has for some time been discredited. Delitzsch, who may be taken to represent modern 'orthodox' scholarship, finds only one psalm, the 110th, directly Messianic in the sense that it contains prophecy immediately pointing to the person of a coming Anointed One, who was fully to set up God's kingdom on earth. All other references, as in the 2nd, 45th, and 72nd psalms, he understands primarily of Isr. monarchs, so that the words contain prophecy only in an indirect or typical sense. The tendency of criticism is to deny even this smaller measure of Messianic reference. 'All these psalms,' says Cheyne, referring chiefly to 2. 72, and 110, and in a lesser degree to some others, 'are only Messianic in a sense which is psychologically justifiable. They are, as I have shown, neither typically nor in the ordinary sense prophetically Messianic.' The 2nd and 110th psalms may claim the designation in the sense that 'the idealization of historical persons which they present presupposes the belief in an ideal Messianic monarchy, now or at some later time to be granted to Israel' (*Origin of Ps.* pp. 339, 340). That is, type and prophecy are alike excluded from the Psalter. The psalmists disregarded history, preferring to 'idealize'; their David is not the true David, their Moses is not the true Moses; and they had no right to find in the monarchs of their own time a type and pledge of future glory, and no power directly to prophesy concerning it. If this be so, the term 'Messianic' is hardly worth retaining, and its employment is likely to mislead.

Perhaps we may see in these views another instance of extreme reaction against a mistaken exegesis. The time when Ps 45[6] could be quoted as proof direct of the divinity of Christ has gone by. The hopes and prayers of Ps 72 are understood as hopes and prayers in which no direct vision of a King or Messiah was before the mind of the singer. It is even doubted by some of the most truly Christian interpreters whether 'the oracle of J" unto my lord' in Ps 110[1] can mean that the speaker was the theocratic king, and his 'lord' a greater King yet to come. The 'Son' in Ps 2[12], if indeed that word occur at all in the obscure phrase נַשְּׁקוּ־בַר (see art. KISS), is no longer understood as the Son of God incarnate, and the 'Son' who is unquestionably mentioned in v.[7] is not supposed to be Jesus of Nazareth. But it by no means follows that no psalms are either prophetically or typically Messianic. The exegesis which finds in Ps 45 an epithalamium for some monarch unknown, is bound to confess that here is no ordinary wedding-song, and that the writer of it had thoughts which soared not only far above the occasion, but far above those of most of his contemporaries. The beneficent prince of Ps 72 is not a Jehoshaphat or a Jeroboam with a halo round his head, unwarrantably placed there by a court-poet in a dream. In whatever way the details of Ps 110 be understood, the priest-king of no Aaronic type, who was to gather around him an army of youths, clad not in mail but in holy festal apparel, multitudinous and brilliant as the dewdrops born from the womb of the morning, is not a phantom of imagination, suggested by the idealization of Simon the Maccabee. But is it possible at the same time to preserve the limits of sober exegesis and to believe in the prophetic message of the Psalms? The evangelists and apostles held a view of the Psalter, which they so often quoted, that cannot be defended if neither by way of prophecy nor of type is Christ contemplated in the Psalms at all.

A method of solving the difficulty is sometimes described as the theory of 'the double sense,' a phrase which seems to imply that the obvious meaning of the words as read refers to contemporary persons and events, whilst some deep-lying, mystical significance lies behind this, in which reference is made to Christ and the New Covenant. Now words can have but one meaning, though they may have not only a twofold but a manifold application. And it is not by a mystical sleight-of-hand, unintelligible to the plain reader, that a Messianic significance is to be found in the psalms. The first duty of the interpreter is to find the simple meaning of the words as they stand, as they were intended by the psalmist, and would be understood by his contemporaries. But the reason why this is not the end, as it is the beginning of exegesis of the psalms, is that the dispensation under which they were written did not stand alone, it was part of an organism, and the writers knew it. The Old Covenant proclaimed its own insufficiency, and pointed continually onwards. Consequently, when inspired writers handled certain themes, they did so in a way that would have been unintelligible but for this underlying consciousness. And often, when they were not themselves consciously glancing forwards, subsequent events shed a richer light upon their words, and enabled those who came after to make a much more complete and significant application of the words which they had spoken. When the glance of the psalmist fell directly upon the future culmination of the kingdom of God upon earth, his words are prophetically Messianic; when he was chiefly concerned with the present, but as part of an organism not yet completed, his words may be styled indirectly or typically Messianic. If the statement of Schultz be admitted, 'There is positively not one NT idea that cannot be shown to be a healthy and natural product of some OT germ, nor any truly OT idea which did not instinctively press towards its NT fulfilment' (*Old Test. Theol.* vol. i. p. 52, Eng. tr.)—a position which not many will care to dispute—the principles just laid down do but declare that in a growing plant the relation of the parts to the whole is best discerned in the maturity, not in the infancy of the growth. The seed is the prophecy of the plant, stem and buds and flowers, to those who know its nature. And the *ἵνα πληρωθῇ* of NT means that the earlier stage existed in order that the later might reach its ripe and full-orbed development.

The question whether certain psalms are rather to be considered directly or indirectly Messianic is one for the exegete. It may, however, be admitted that the number of direct prophecies is, at most, very small, and it may well be that the Psalter contains hardly a single instance. For, though psalmists and prophets had much in common, there were important differences between them. The very attitude of the psalmist makes it unlikely that he will look directly into the future. The 2nd and 110th psalms are those which partake most of this character, and the 2nd psalm in almost any case, the 110th if the theocratic king is not the speaker but the person addressed, can be most easily understood as only typically Messianic. But the monarch of Israel was a real type, and could seldom or never be considered as the psalmist considered him, without reference to the substance of which he was but the shadow. Take the idea of 'sonship,' for example. The promise was made in 2 S 7 that the king should be a 'son' of God: which of them came near to realizing this? And the inspired bard of the Old Covenant uses words concerning the filial character and promised triumphs of the chosen nation with their king at their head, which were never actually accomplished till He who was Son indeed was declared to be such by the resurrection from the dead, when it was said to Him, 'This day have I begotten thee.' This is no mere historical parallel, for the parallel is not obvious, but it is the full development of the plant which the psalmist spoke of in its germ and early growth. And such a psalm is truly Messianic.

But the name must not be confined to psalms in which there is specific mention of a coming personal king. This particular feature of the 'age to come' is not prominent in the Psalter, as it is in the Psalms of Solomon. The Messianic ideas of the OT are many. The kingdom is often spoken of, when there is no mention of the king. The Theophany or manifestation of the glory of J″ upon the earth is another form which the hope of Israel wore; and the good time coming is sometimes described as a new and better Covenant which was to take the place of the old. Sometimes this golden age of the future is described in its effect upon nature, the fields and streams and fruits of the earth; sometimes upon the nations, which either willingly or unwillingly, in submissive alliance or as conquered enemies, are to help to swell the triumph of Israel. Though in all this there may be no mention of a personal Redeemer or Ruler, such language is in a real, perhaps the best sense of the word, 'Messianic.' The psalms which tell of the coming of J″ to earth in beneficent judgment (96–98) are most truly a part of the Messianic prophecy. Christ Himself showed how unexpected lessons might be learned regarding His Person and work from the passage Ps 118^{22}, and it is needless to adduce the frequent quotations of the 2nd, 16th, and 110th psalms which are found in the sermons and letters of the apostles. Doubtless the psalmists, like the prophets, were able but feebly to understand how their high vaticinations were to be accomplished. Often they had little idea that 'not unto themselves but unto us they did minister,' in their rapt flights of joyful hope. But not the less did they aid in throwing subtle but significant chains of spiritual connexion across from the earlier days to the later, from the Old Covenant to the New; they aided in the growth of that marvellous spiritual organism, the development of that kingdom of God, the full glory of which has not dawned upon the earth even yet: and it is not difficult for the devout Christian, with such thoughts in his mind, to be convinced that he cannot fully understand the Psalter, unless he hears the voice of one who explains 'how that all things must needs be fulfilled which are written in the law of Moses, and the prophets, and the psalms, concerning ME.'

The Psalms have sometimes been classified according to their subject-matter, but any such arrangement is open to obvious objections. The subdivisions necessarily overlap, and many psalms refuse to be classified. Hupfeld in his *Introduction* deals with this subject, and Bleek (6th ed. by Wellhausen, p. 467), also Driver, *LOT*^{6} p. 368 f. The analysis might run somewhat as follows: i. Songs of Praise to Jehovah; (*a*) as God of nature, Ps 8. 19^{1-6}. 29. 65. 104; (*b*) in relation to man, as God of Providence, 103. 107. 113. 145. ii. Didactic Psalms, on the moral government of the world, etc., Ps 1. 34. 37. 49. 73. 77; and of a more directly ethical character, 15. 24^{1-6} 32. 40. 50. iii. National Psalms, including (*a*) prayers in disaster, *e.g.* 44. 60. 74. 79. 80, etc., and (*b*) thanksgivings for deliverance, *e.g.* 46. 47. 48. 66. 68. 76, etc. iv. Purely historical Psalms, 78. 81. 105. 106. 114. v. Royal Psalms, 2. 18. 20. 21. 45. 72. 101, etc. vi. The more directly personal Psalms are of very various character: sometimes (*a*) they contain prayers for forgiveness or recovery from sickness, 3. 4. 6. 7. 22; sometimes (*b*) thanksgiving predominates, as in 30. 40. 116; or (*c*) the prevailing strain is one of faith or resignation, *e.g.* 16. 23. 27. 42. 121. 139; or the law is praised, as in 1. 19^{7-14} 119, or the house of God, as in 84. 122. 132. Such a classification, however, can hardly be considered to be of use, except in a very general and superficial way.

vii. TEXT AND VERSIONS.—The Massoretic text of the OT, it is now generally admitted, stands in need of frequent emendation. From the 7th cent. A.D. onwards, the Heb. text has been preserved with scrupulous fidelity, passing at times into extreme punctiliousness. But the early origin of this text is unknown, we possess no MSS earlier than the 10th cent. of our era, and the Massoretes represent for us only one line of textual transmission. The materials, however, for textual criticism are scanty. In the case of the NT, these are so abundant that conjectural emendation has little or no place in sound criticism. In the OT beyond the Massoretic notes, the only help is to be derived from the ancient versions. Hence scholars have been driven to adopt conjectures, more or less probable, in specially difficult passages; and as the science of textual criticism is still young, no sufficiently complete consensus of opinion has been arrived at with respect to the text in these cases.

As regards the Psalms, the chief ancient version to be consulted is, as elsewhere, the LXX. The Psalter is contained in cod. ℵ, B (except Ps 105^{27}–137^{6}), and A (except 49^{19}–79^{10}). The Greek tr. of the Psalms, though not equal to that of the Pent., is at least up to the general average of the LXX. In places it is quite at fault, but not so frequently as in the Prophets, and in some passages its help is valuable. The frequent difficulty of ascertaining the original reading of the Greek itself is one of the chief drawbacks to its critical use. The Targum of the Psalms is of uncertain date, since it embodies some early tradition, but in its present form cannot date earlier than the 7th or 8th cent. A.D. The Pesh. Syriac version (2nd cent.?), though in the main agreeing with the Heb., is often of service by the support which it gives to the LXX. The later Gr. VSS, so far as extant, are not of much critical value. Jerome's version of the Psalms is rendered from the Heb., while that retained in the Vulg., a representative of the Old Lat., was translated from the Greek. Jerome's renderings are sometimes of considerable value, and shed light on the history of the text, when they do not enable us to reconstruct it. The Eng. versions may be briefly mentioned, though their history is generally familiar. The Pr. Bk. version of the Psalms is taken from the Great Bible (first ed. 1539), which was a revision of Matthew's Bible, the Psalms in which was the work of Coverdale. Coverdale's tr. was made from the Zürich Bible and the Vulg., and accordingly in it the traces are to be found of LXX readings which have made their way through the Lat. into the Pr. Bk. version. The AV of 1611, which is far more accurate, did not displace the earlier version to which congregations had become accustomed, and which is undoubtedly better fitted for melodious chanting in public worship. The RV of 1885 represents a much nearer approach to accuracy of rendering, and is invaluable as an adjunct to AV, though it has not yet displaced it. Many of the renderings approved by modern scholarship are to be found not in the text, but in the margin, since a two-thirds majority of the Revisers was necessary to effect an alteration. A very useful work has been recently (1898) published by Driver, entitled the *Parallel Psalter*, in which the Pr. Bk. version is given on one page, with a new version by Dr. Driver himself opposite. The book contains a valuable Introduction and Glossaries. The Camb. Univ. Press published in 1899 *The Book of Psalms, containing the Pr. Bk. version, the AV, and the RV, in parallel columns.* The metrical versions of the Psalms in English alone are exceedingly numerous, but neither Milton, nor Keble, nor less known poets who have attempted metrical renderings, can be said to have attained any great success.

It is beyond the scope of this article to illustrate the need of textual criticism in detail, or its probable effects. But the following are a few examples of familiar passages in which corruption is probable or has been suspected. Ps 2^{12}, where the word בַּר with the meaning 'son' is not Hebrew. None of the ancient VSS adopt this rendering, and Jerome translates '*Adorate pure.*' In Ps 8^2 the word תְּנָה can hardly be the correct reading. In 22^{16} the Heb. reads כארי, which means 'like a lion'; the rendering 'pierced' is a tr. of כארו; so the LXX, Vulg. and Syriac. Symm., as now appears, followed the MT. Sometimes a gloss may have crept into the text, as in 49^{14}, where the clause 'the upright shall have dominion over them in the morning' reads like a later insertion. In Ps 48^{14} על־מות is untranslatable as it stands. In 55^{19} and 77^{10} there is an abruptness in the existing text which points to a probable error. Ps 68 abounds in difficult passages, some of which may be due to textual corruption. The opening of Ps 87 is so abrupt that it is thought mutilation must have taken place, or that our psalm is only a fragment. The irregularities in some of the acrostics (*e.g.* Ps 37) are probably due not to the author, but to confusion in transcription or transmission. The present form of some of the musical notes in the titles is not improbably due to the ignorance of scribes, who blundered in the transmission of archaic and unfamiliar words.

It is not intended to assume that in all of these cases corruption has certainly occurred, or to adduce them as more than a few salient illustrations of a large and difficult subject. So long as external evidence remains as scanty as at present, the uncertainty which proverbially attends all attempts of 'subjective' criticism, proposing conjectural emendations, must be expected to continue.

viii. The LITERATURE of the subject is portentously large. Even excluding the mass of devotional commentaries and annotations, and limiting attention to exegetical and critical literature only, a detailed history of exposition would run to very great length. The following selection from the works on the Psalms, which the piety and learning of centuries have accumulated, may be of some service. A section of Delitzsch's Introduction is devoted to the subject (vol. i. p. 64, Eng. tr. by Eaton). Amongst the Fathers, the most important commentaries are those of Athanasius, Gregory of Nyssa, Ambrose, Jerome, and esp. Chrysostom and Augustine. Ignorance of Hebrew on the part of nearly all the early Fathers of the Church, and their un-critical and un-historical methods of exegesis, mar the effect of their devout and often spiritually instructive comments. In the Middle Ages, the Jewish exegetes are more important than the Christian. Amongst these may be named Rashi (11th cent.), Ibn Ezra (12th cent.), and David Kimchi (13th cent.); other later Jewish writers were used by the scholars who helped to prepare the way for the Reformation of the 16th cent. At the time of the Reformation, says Delitzsch, the rose-garden of the Psalter also began to diffuse its odour as in the renewed freshness of a May morning.' The Psalms formed the hymn-book of the Reformed Churches, and it is matter of history how largely the cause of the Reformers was advanced by the hymns of Luther and the tr. of Marot (1543) and Beza (1562). Luther's notes on some of the psalms (*Operationes*) exhibit his evangelical insight and spiritual power, but Calvin's *Commentary* (1557) is more complete as well as more sound and masterly, and may still be consulted with great advantage. In more modern times, Rosenmüller's *Scholia* (1798–1804), though only a compilation, rendered excellent service at the time of their publication, and amongst the works of the last half-century the following may be mentioned:—de Wette (1811–56); Hitzig (1863–65); Olshausen in *Kurzgef. Exeg. Handbuch* (1853); Hengstenberg (1847, 1852); Hupfeld (1855–62, 2nd ed. by Riehm, 1867–71, 3rd by Nowack, 1888); Ewald, *Dichter d. AB* (1839, 1866); Delitzsch (5th ed. 1894); Moll in Lange's *Bibelwerk* (1869–71); Reuss (2nd ed. 1899); Grätz, *Krit. Komm.* (1882); Schultz in *Strack's Komm.* (1888, 2nd ed. by Kessler, 1899); Baethgen in Nowack's *Hand-Komm.* (1892); Duhm in Marti's *Kurzer Hand-Commentar* (1899). Ewald, Delitzsch, and Moll have been translated into English. Amongst recent Eng. commentators may be mentioned Perowne (6th ed. 1866); Jennings and Lowe, *The Psalms with Critical Notes* (1884); Cheyne, *The Book of Psalms* (1888), and *The Origin of the Psalter*, Bampton Lectures (1891); De Witt (1891); Maclaren in *Expositor's Bible* (1890–92), and Kirkpatrick in *Cambr. Bible* (1893–95). The sections on the Psalms in the several Introductions to OT should not be neglected. The following may be named as representative: Wellhausen-Bleek (6th ed. 1893), Riehm (ed. Brandt, 1889), Driver (6th ed. 1897), Cornill (3rd and 4th ed. 1896); Strack (5th ed. 1898), König (1893), Wildeboer (*Litt. d. AT*, 1897). Neale and Littledale have collected in 4 vols. (1860–74) Notes from the primitive and mediæval writers; and Spurgeon in his *Treasury of David* has made a similar compilation, chiefly from the Puritans (1870–85). Other books of interest are: Fausset, *Horæ Psalmicæ* (1885); Forbes, *Structural Connexion of Psalms* (1888); Binnie, *The Psalms, their Origin, Teaching, and Use* (1886); Alexander, *Witness of Psalms to Christ*, Bampt. Lect. (3rd ed. 1890); E. G. King, *The Psalms in Three Collections*, pt. i. 1898; Cheyne, *The Christian Use of the Psalms*, 1899. Amongst separate articles besides Smend's in *ZATW*, 1888 (see above, p. 160^a), or monographs are Baethgen's in *SK*, 1880; Giesebrecht in *ZATW*, 1881; G. Beer has written on *Individual- u. Gemeindepsalmen* (1894); A. Rahlfs, *עני und ענו in den Psalmen*, 1892; Stade, 'Die messian. Hoffnung im Psalter' in *Ztschr. f. Theol. u. Kirche*, 1892, p. 369 ff.; Coblenz, *Ueber das betende Ich in den Psalmen*, 1897; B. Jacob, 'Beiträge zu einer Einl. in die Psalmen' in *ZATW*, 1896–97; Wellhausen, 'Bemerkungen zu den Psalmen' in *Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten*, vi. (1899) 163–187; W. T. Davison, *The Praises of Israel* (1893), enlarged ed. 1898.

Of critical editions of the Heb. text of the Psalms may be mentioned that in the Baer-Delitzsch series (Leipzig, 1880), and that of Wellhausen in Haupt's *SBOT* (1895; Eng. tr. of this text by Furness in *PB*). The Camb. Univ. Press has published separately, *The Psalms in Greek* from vol. iii. of Swete's *OT in Greek.*

W. T. DAVISON.

PSALMS OF SOLOMON.—This name was given at an uncertain date (certainly before the 5th, perhaps before the 2nd cent.) to a collection of 18 psalms dating from 1st cent. B.C., and extant in a Greek version of a Hebrew original.

i. NAME.—The name of Solomon is not, seemingly, attached to these psalms for any very definite reason. They themselves make no pretence to Solomonic authorship. Unless the real author's name was Solomon, which is *possible*, the most likely explanation is that it seemed a natural and obvious name to attach to a collection of psalms which was circulating anonymously. That the book owes its preservation to the selection of this name may be regarded as certain.

ii. MANUSCRIPTS.—It is preserved in eight MSS, uniformly in company with the other sapiential books (Pr, Ec, Ca, Wis, Sir). These eight MSS are —(1) R (Vatican, Gr. 336); (2) H (Copenhagen, Gr. 6); (3) M (Moscow Synod, Gr. N. 147); (4) P (Paris, Gr. 2991 A); (5) V (Vienna, Gr. Theol. 7); (6. 7) at Mt. Athos; (8) in the *Bibliotheca Casanatensis* at Rome. None of them is older than the 10th cent. It was formerly contained in the Codex Alexandrinus (A, of 5th cent.). There are no ancient versions in other languages.

iii. HISTORY.—There is no single clear Patristic quotation from the book as we have it. The Book of Baruch has a section (4^{36}–5) which is derived in large part from one of these psalms (No. 11), but naturally without acknowledgment. The Gnostic book *Pistis Sophia* and the 4th cent. Latin writer Lactantius both quote certain odes of Solomon, which were very probably an appendix to our book, of Christian origin; but the 18 Greek psalms are nowhere cited. Mention of the book occurs only in lists of apocryphal writings, and in two Byzantine writers of the 12th cent., John Zonaras and Theodore Balsamon. David Hoeschel, librarian at Augsburg, was the first modern who called attention to the book, and it was first printed after his death, in 1626, by the Jesuit de la Cerda in his *Adversaria Sacra*. There have been many editions since. The best text, for the formation of which all the known eight MSS have been used, is that of O. von Gebhardt in *Texte u. Unters.* (1895): text only. The Cambridge University Press has issued a text (1899) based upon Cod. R, with the variants of all the MSS used by Gebhardt. The fullest English edition is that of Ryle and James (1891), containing text, translation, introduction, and notes.

iv. DATE, CHARACTER, etc.—It is agreed by the large majority of modern scholars that these psalms belong to the period of Pompey's invasion of Palestine and siege of Jerusalem (B.C. 63). The second psalm describes his death in unmistakable terms.

It is also commonly agreed that the psalms were written (1) in Palestine, (2) in the Hebrew language, (3) by a Pharisee. The first of these three points is assumed on grounds of general probability, supported by the subjects of the psalms, and the fact that they seem intended for synagogal use. The second depends on a large number of linguistic peculiarities, and is demonstrated by the existence of a number of passages which can be best explained as mistranslations of a Hebrew text. In favour of the third the following reasons may be urged:—There is a strong polemic element in the psalms; many invectives are directed against a party who are called *sinners* (ἁμαρτωλοί) or *transgressors* (παράνομοι), while the party to which the psalmist belongs are the *righteous* (δίκαιοι) or *holy* (ὅσιοι). The party of the sinners is in power, and has usurped David's throne and the priesthood. The holy things are polluted, and secret enormities are prevalent. The party of the sinners is also rich and prosperous, while the *saints* are for the most part poor.

All these points are strikingly appropriate to the Hasmonæan rule in its latter days, and to the Sadducean party. On the other hand, the distinctive Pharisaic doctrines and aspirations are maintained and cherished by the psalmist. The ideal of a theocracy, the hope of a Messiah, the expectation of a retribution, and the views expressed about free will, are all of them just such as the Pharisees are known to have held.

v. CONTENTS OF THE PSALMS.—

Ps 1. Deals shortly with the sin and punishment of Jerusalem.
2. The siege of Jerusalem; the sins which led to it; the death of the besieger; the justice of God.
3. A contrast between the righteous and the sinner.
4. A description and denunciation of the 'men-pleasers' (ἀνθρωπάρεσκοι).
5. God's mercy to the righteous.
6. The fearlessness of the righteous.
7. A prayer for God's chastening.
8. The sins of Israel, and their punishment: a prayer for restoration.
9. God's justice and man's free will.
10. The blessedness of affliction.
11. The restoration of Israel. This psalm coincides largely with Baruch 5, which seems to be derived from it.
12. The deceitful tongue: its deeds and its punishment.
13. The preservation of the righteous and the destruction of the sinner.
14. God's faithfulness to the righteous; the sinner's insecurity.
15. The deliverance of the righteous; the sinner's fall.
16. Confession of sin; praise for deliverance; and prayer for future guidance.
17. The kingship of God; the overthrow of David's throne; the kingdom of the Messiah.
18. God's love to Israel; anticipations of Messiah's rule; praise of God as the Lord of the heavens. This last portion ends abruptly, and seems not connected with the rest of the psalm. It may possibly be a fragment of a 19th psalm.

The most important of these psalms are 2. 4. 8. 11. 17. 18.

vi. MESSIANIC TEACHING.—The Messiah of these psalms is figured as a king of the seed of David, who is to appear in God's good time to drive out the Romans (*Gentiles*) and Sadducees (*sinners*), to restore the dispersed tribes and renew the glories of Jerusalem and its temple, and subdue and convert the Gentiles. He will reign in holiness and justice, not by force of arms. He is anointed (χριστός) king and priest, but he is not divine.

The new features in this description are mainly two. (1) Messiah is a person. Excluding Dn 7 as of disputed interpretation, we have this point plainly stated for the first time in the literature of Palestine. The oldest portion of *Sib. Orac.*, which comes from Egypt, has a somewhat similar description of a coming king (iii. 652 ff.). (2) The epithet χριστός is here first applied to him.

We may see in this presentation of Messiah a result of the brilliant victories of the Maccabees, which had reawakened in the popular mind the hope of a Jewish monarchy. But this is only part of the truth.

A designation of Messiah which appears in these psalms, and elsewhere only in La 4^{20} and Lk 2^{11}, is χριστὸς κύριος. A probable view of it is that, as in Lamentations, it is a faulty rendering, and should be χ. κυρίου.

The interest and importance of these psalms is very considerable. They throw much light on the aims and thoughts of the Pharisees of our Lord's time; they mark an important stage in the development of the Messianic idea; and they illustrate in very many points the diction of the NT and of the LXX.

In literary merit they do not stand very high. The longer psalms are the best; the shorter ones are like centos from the Davidic psalter. Still we gain a favourable impression of the author: while he is a strong and unsparing partisan, he is clearly also a pious and humble-minded man.

LITERATURE.—A list of editions and notices will be found in Ryle and James's edition; since the date of that, Gebhardt's as well as the Camb. text have appeared (see above), and also a pamphlet by Frankenberg (*Die Datierung der Ps. Sol.*, Giessen, 1896), and a German version by Prof. Kittel in Kautzsch's *Apokr. u. Pseudepigr. d. AT.*

M. R. JAMES.

PSALTERY.—A stringed instrument of music, described in art. MUSIC in vol. iii. p. 459^b. The Gr. ψάλλειν, to harp, gave ψαλτής a harper, and ψαλτήριον a harp (used in the widest sense). The LXX uses ψαλτήριον as the tr. of five Heb. words—(1) כִּנּוֹר Gn 4^{21} (EV 'harp'), Ps 49^4 (EV 'harp') 81^2 149^3 (EV 'harp'), Ezk 26^{13} (EV 'harp'); (2) נֶבֶל or נֵבֶל Neh 12^{27}, Ps 33^2 57^8 92^3 108^2 144^9 150^3, Is 5^{12} (AV 'viol,' RV 'lute'); (3) נְגִינָה Is 38^{20} (EV 'stringed instruments'); (4) פְּסַנְתֵּרִין or פְּסַנְטֵרִין Dn $3^{5.\,7.\,10.\,15}$; (5) תֹּף Job 21^{12} (EV 'timbrel'). From ψαλτήριον was formed Lat. *psalterium*, from which (through Old Fr. *psalterie*) came Eng. 'psaltery.' The spelling in Chaucer (following the middle-Eng. pronun.) is *sautrye*, as *Milleres Tale*, 27—

'And al above ther lay a gay sautrye,
On which he made a nightes melodye
So swetely, that al the chambre rong.'

Wyclif has a variety of spelling: sautree, sautrie, sawtree, sawtrye, and psautrie are all found in the Wycliffite versions. The eccles. Lat. *psalterium* was both a psaltery and a song sung to the psaltery, and then also the book of songs or the Psalter.

J. HASTINGS.

PSALTIEL.—2 Es 5^{16} (RVm). See PHALTIEL.

PSYCHOLOGY.—An initial prejudice on this topic, arising out of an extravagant claim made by some writers on its behalf, has first of all to be removed. To frame a complete and independent philosophy of man from the Bible is impossible. The attempt cannot commend itself to any judicious interpreter. The psychology of the Bible is largely of a popular character, and not a scientific system. Moreover, the Bible implicitly takes for granted much that men have thought out for themselves on this theme. But the relation of the psychology to the content of revelation is very close. It is essential to the other doctrines of Scripture—its directly religious doctrines—that these be expressed in terms of such underlying thoughts on man's nature and constitution as are implied in the Bible itself. For in terms of some conception of man—some psychology more or less systematic—must all religious and theological statements be couched. But the religious teachings of the Bible have always suffered injustice when they have been forced (as is so commonly the case) to take shapes derived from systems of thought and theories of man other than those of Scripture. How constantly all through the Christian centuries Christian doctrines have been run into the mould of the prevailing philosophies, is proverbial. In the earliest age of Christian speculation Plato and Plotinus shaped almost all Bible interpretation. In the Middle Ages, Aristotle ruled the Scholastic Theology, and his sway extended down to and beyond the Reformation. Leibnitz and Descartes had their age of influence in the 17th and 18th centuries. Kant and Hegel control the forms of thinking of many cultured theologians in our own day. But when we seek to work out a Biblical Theology, when we aim at presenting the result of Scripture exegesis in our statement of revealed doctrine, we are bound to defer to the Scripture way of thinking. We can rid ourselves of the mistake which so long vitiated Theology, only by observing those ideas of Life and of the Soul which the Scripture-writers themselves assume in all their statements. To ascertain the science of human life, if it may be so called, to put together such simple psychology as underlies the writings of Scripture, cannot be an unnecessary task. Theology is not truly biblical, so long as it is controlled by non-biblical philosophy, and such control is inexcusable when it is seen that a view of human nature, available for the purpose, is native to the source from which Theology itself is derived. Two things are assumed here, without further explanation. The one is, that such materials, of this kind, as the Scriptures give, cannot form a complete or independent structure. They cannot be rightly treated except in close connexion with the proper and principal theme of the Bible. They cannot be treated abstractly or separately. They occur in the record of a revelation of Divine dealings with man for his redemption. They must be treated, therefore, in line with the history and development of these dealings. The other is, that they are on the whole uniform, that one fairly consecutive and connected system of ideas on the topic holds through the whole Bible. The proof of this will come out in the exposition. It is an OT system of thought. Even among the older apostles in the NT the same order of thought rules. Only in the case of the Pauline writings is there any marked change or advance, consistent enough, however, in its development of the original ideas.

Rothe has said[*] that we may appropriately speak of a 'language of the Holy Ghost.' Cremer, who quotes the remark, expounds it thus: 'The spirit of the language assumes a form adequate to the new views which the Spirit of Christ creates and works.'[†] Without attention to this element of progress it is impossible to read biblical psychology aright. This alone explains the transition from terms in the earlier Scriptures that are rather physical than psychical, to those in the later Scriptures that are more deeply charged with spiritual meaning. A progressive religious revelation is intimately connected with the growth of humanity, casts growing light upon the nature and prospects of man, will therefore be increasingly rich in statements and expressions bearing upon the knowledge of man himself, and especially of his inner being. It is in the latest records of such a revelation that the terms expressive of the facts and phenomena of man's nature should be correspondingly enriched, diversified, and distinguishable in their meaning. It is on this principle that in the sketch which follows so much attention is given to the Pauline anthropology.

i. The Bible account of *man's origin* first claims our attention. What strikes one is the unity and simplicity of the conception. We are warned off, by the primal passage (Gn 2^{7}), from any sharp analysis. 'The LORD God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul.' There are two elements or factors specified from which God formed man—'dust from the ground'; 'breath of the Almighty,'—and the result is a unity. The OT has no definite, single word (unless we except גְּוִיָּה, which occurs 13 times, namely Gn 47^{18}, Jg $14^{8.\ 9}$, 1 S $31^{10.\ 12\ bis}$, Neh 9^{37}, Ps 110^{6}, Ezk $1^{11.\ 23}$, Nah $3^{3\ bis}$, Dn 10^{6}; see art. BODY) for the '**body**' apart from the soul. Indeed the term '**soul**' is sometimes used for the corpse (Lv 21^{11}, Nu 6^{6} $9^{6.\ 7.\ 10}$ 19^{13}). In this primal passage, therefore, the expression 'man became a living soul' has a characteristic simplicity. We must not identify 'soul' here with what it means in modern speech, or even in later biblical language. In primitive Scripture usage it means not the 'immaterial rational principle' of the philosophers, but simply 'life embodied.' So that here the unity of the created product is emphatically expressed. The sufficient interpretation of the passage is that the Divine inspiration awakes the already kneaded clay into a living human being. Cf. Ezekiel's vision (ch. 37), where there is, first, the reconstruction of the animal frame—bone, sinews, flesh, skin; and only after this the 'breath' comes upon them, and they live.

Now, this account of the origin of man is fitted to exclude certain dualistic views of his nature with which the religion of revelation had to contend. 'It directly contradicts the doctrine of the pre-existence of the soul' (Schultz, *OT Theology*, ii. 252, Clark, Edin. 1892). Whether, indeed, the formation of man's frame and the inbreathing of his life be taken as successive or simultaneous moments in the process of his creation, the description is exactly fitted to exclude that priority of the soul which was necessary to the transmigration taught by Oriental religions, or, to the pre-existence theory of the Greek schools. There is here no postponement or degradation of the earthly frame in favour of the soul, as if the soul were the man, and the body were only the prison-house into which he was sent, or the husk in which for a time he was concealed. According to this account, the synthesis of two factors, alike honourable, constitutes the man.

That neither the familiar antithesis, soul and body, nor any other pair of expressions by which we commonly render the dual elements in human nature, should occur in this *locus classicus*, is a fact which helps to fix attention on the real character of the earlier OT descriptions of man. The fact is not explained merely by the absence of analysis. Rather is it characteristic of these Scriptures to assert the solidarity of man's constitution—that he is of one piece, and not composed of separate or independent parts. This assertion is essential to the theology of the Bible—to its discovery of human sin, and of Divine salvation. In a way not perceived by many believers in its doctrines, this idea of the unity of man's nature binds into consistency the Scripture account of his Creation, the story of his Fall, the character of Redemption, and all the leading features in the working out of his actual recovery, from his Regeneration to his Resurrection.

---

[*] *Zur Dogmatik*, p. 238 (Gotha, 1863).

[†] Cremer's *Wörterbuch der NT Gräcität*, Vorrede, p. 5 (Gotha, 1886).

Later Scriptures suggest a more definite and separate idea of the body. In Job 4^{19} we have בָּתֵּי־חֹמֶר 'houses of clay,' imitated perhaps in 2 Co 5^{1} *ἡ ἐπίγειος . . . οἰκία τοῦ σκήνους*; also in Dn 7^{15} 'grieved in my spirit in the midst of my body' (נִדְנֶה sheath), 2 P 1^{4} *τοῦ σκηνώματός μου.* In the OT Apocrypha the pre-existence idea is, once at least, suggested, Wis $7^{19.20}$ 'a good soul fell to my lot, and being good . . . came into a body undefiled.'* The NT uses freely the Greek duality, which has become the modern one, 'soul and body'; and though the OT 'flesh and soul' does not occur in the NT, 'body and spirit' can take its place. Then, in the progress of redemption, it at last appears that the discrepancy between the two is resolved, when the redeemed *πνεῦμα* shall put on *σῶμα πνευματικόν* (1 Co 15^{44}), 'a spiritual body,' which is by no means the same as a 'bodiless spirit' (see BODY).

ii. Let us now pass on to the biblical treatment of *sin and salvation*, and show how these affect the various elements of human nature as more specifically distinguished through them, especially the terms 'flesh,' 'soul,' and 'spirit.'

Flesh.—Besides the more obvious literal meanings of this term already discussed in a separate article, it acquires a psychological importance when we ask whether its general OT sense is morally unfavourable, and what is the origin and force of the peculiar meaning it has in St. Paul, as the principle, or a seat of the principle, of sin in man. From the first application of 'flesh' to fallen man (Gn 6^{3}) there is nothing in the OT which identifies it with the principle of evil. 'Not a single passage can be adduced wherein *bāsār* is used to denote man's sensuous nature as the seat of an opposition against his spirit and of a bias towards sin' (Müller, *Christian Doct. of Sin*, i. 323). It is true that 'flesh' is used for human kind in contrast to higher beings and to God (*e.g.* Gn 6^{3}, Ps 78^{39}), and, so used, brings out his frailty and finitude. It is true also that 'flesh' as a constituent of human nature means the perishable, animal, sensuous, and even sensual element of it (*e.g.* Ec 5^{6}, Is 40^{6}); but which of these ideas is prominent in any passage must be learned from its connexion and context. It is further true that in its meaning of 'natural kinship' there is often an implied contrast with something better—'Israel after the flesh' (1 Co 10^{18}). But the conclusive proof that nothing of moral depreciation is necessarily implied in this use of 'flesh,' is its application to Christ as designating His human in contrast with His Divine nature. 'The word was made flesh' (*ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο*, Jn 1^{14}). 'Who was manifest in the flesh, justified in the spirit' (1 Ti 3^{16}); 'made of the seed of David according to the flesh, declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the spirit' (Ro $1^{3f.}$). But in the Pauline Epistles a specific meaning of the term emerges. In certain well-known passages it denotes the principle which resists the Divine law, as contrasted with the 'mind' consenting to the law that it is good, and which, even in the regenerate, makes war against 'the spirit.' Here we have a very marked ethical significance given to the term 'flesh.' Nor is it the only term of its kind used to denominate the evil principle in man's nature as now under sin. 'The old man,' 'the body of sin,' 'the body of the flesh,' 'the law in the members,' 'our members which are upon earth,' are kindred expressions, more or less closely denoting the same thing, although 'the flesh,' in its counterpoise to 'the mind' and to 'the spirit' respectively, is the leading expression (Ro 7^{23} 8^{6}, Gal 5^{17}).

How is it, then, that this term 'flesh,' properly denoting the lower, corporeal or physical element in human nature, should come to denote the being of sin in that nature? Is it because this physical element is the main seat, or the original source of evil in man? But, according to St. Paul, it is not in the physical alone that sin has its seat. There are sinful desires of the mind as well as of the flesh (Eph 2^{3}). There is defilement of 'the spirit' (2 Co 7^{1}). There are works called 'of the flesh' which have nothing to do with sensuality, *e.g.* hatreds, variance, emulation, wraths, factions, divisions, heresies (Gal 5^{20}, 1 Co $3^{1.3}$). The apostle calls by the name of 'fleshly wisdom' what was evidently speculative tendency derived from the Greek schools (2 Co 1^{12}). There were heretics at Colossæ whose ruling impulse he calls their 'fleshly mind,' though they were extreme ascetics, attached to some form of Gnosticism (Col $2^{18.21.22.23}$).

It might indeed be maintained that if we assume the physical nature in man to be the source of evil in him, it would be easy to explain how the whole man under that influence should be called 'the flesh' or 'the body of sin.' But this assumption will not tally with the treatment of man's bodily nature in these writings. Any view implying the inherent evil of matter is radically opposed to the whole Bible philosophy. It is as opposed to the Scripture account of its beginning in the race, as it is to our experience of its first outbreak in the individual. In Genesis the first sin is represented as the consequence of a primary rebellion against God. The earliest manifestations of evil in children are selfishness, anger, and self-will. Again, that the corporeal nature is necessarily at strife with the spiritual, is a view which cannot be reconciled with the claims made upon 'the body' in the Christian system. Throughout St. Paul's Epistles, Christians are enjoined 'to yield their members instruments of righteousness unto God' (Ro 6^{13}), to 'present their bodies a living sacrifice' (Ro 12^{1}), to regard their bodies as 'members of Christ,' and as 'the temple of the Holy Ghost' (1 Co $6^{15.19}$); that the body is for the Lord, and the Lord for the body (1 Co 6^{13}). Still more impossible is it to reconcile with such a view the Christian revelation concerning the future of the redeemed, and the consummation of redemption. If sin were the inevitable outcome of man's possession of a body, redemption ought to culminate in his deliverance from the body, instead of in its change and restoration to a higher form (Ph 3^{21}). To say that the matter of the body is, or contains, the principle of sin, and then to say, as St. Paul does (Ro 8^{11}), that the last result of the Redeemer's Spirit indwelling in us shall be to quicken these mortal bodies, would be flat self-contradiction. But the view which connects sin with the material body is neither Hebrew nor Christian. It is essentially alien to the whole spirit of revelation. No doubt, at a very early period in Christian history, chiefly through the influence of the Greek and some of the Latin Fathers, it obtained such hold of Christian thought that it continues to colour popular modes of conception and speech to the present day. One of the most obvious examples is that men imagine they are uttering a scriptural sentiment when they speak of welcoming death as the liberation of the soul from the body. Yet the idea of St. Paul is exactly the reverse, when he declares that even the redeemed, who have the first-fruits of the Spirit, groan within themselves waiting for the adoption, *i.e.* for the redemption of their body (Ro 8^{23}). Two additional reasons why the apostle cannot be held as tracing man's evil to the corporeal element, may be summed up in the words of Julius Müller: 'He denies the presence of evil in Christ who was partaker of our fleshly nature, and he recognizes its

* Compare *ib.* 9^{15} *φθαρτὸν γὰρ σῶμα βαρύνει ψυχήν.*

presence in spirits, who are not partakers thereof. Is it not, therefore, in the highest degree probable that, according to him, evil does not necessarily pertain to man's sensuous nature, that *sarx* denotes something different from this?' (*l.c.* i. 321).

Taking, then, the two meanings of the term 'flesh,' we note how impossible it is, in a way of mere ratiocination, to develop the one out of the other. The attempt to get the ethical significance which St. Paul gives to it out of the elementary Hebrew conception of the perishable or earthly part of man, signally fails. It leaves out the clearly biblical account of the change in human nature caused by the Fall. It is quite inadequate to explain how selfishness, wrath, pride, and other non-fleshly sins, bear prominently the name 'works of the flesh.' To assert, for instance, that *sarx* from its primary meaning, 'living material of the body,' came by a natural process of thought and language to mean 'the principle of sin,' is to assume human nature to be subject to sin by its physical constitution — a view wholly untenable, because at variance with the most radical conception of the Bible from its earliest to its latest writings.

Yet there must be some connexion between the two ideas. Otherwise we fall into mere tautology, and obtain the profound conclusion that 'the flesh' is sinful human nature. If 'the flesh' be nothing else than just this condition of human nature which is to be explained, then the whole of St. Paul's subtle and acute deduction would be 'nothing but the most wretched argument in a circle' (Pfleiderer). Now, it is quite certain the apostle means to posit a principle of sin in man, 'the sin that dwelleth in me,' 'the law in my members.' It is further clear that the law or principle of sin is one thing, and that the flesh, or native constitution of man in which it inheres, is another. It is certain that the sacred writer as little develops the principle of sin out of the mere physical flesh, as he identifies the one with the other. It is impossible to deny a very pointed reference to the lower element of human nature in this important key-word of the Pauline theology. But what misleads is the supposition that the lower and higher elements in man were conceived of by St. Paul as they were by the Greeks or are by ourselves; that the antithesis, material and immaterial, is at the basis of the distinction. So long as this idea prevails, it will be impossible to get rid of the suspicion that in 'the flesh' of the Pauline Epistles we have something which connects sin essentially with the material element in man's constitution. Let us get rid of this idea. Substitute for it the proper biblical antithesis, — earthly and heavenly, natural and supernatural, that 'flesh' is what nature evolves (this term being understood, of course, in a theistic sense), 'spirit' what God in His grace bestows,— then we can see how the idea of 'flesh,' even when ethically intensified to the utmost, is appreciably distinct from the notion of evil necessarily resident in matter. The great saying of our Lord in Jn 3^6 is probably the source of apostolic doctrine on the point: 'That which is born of the flesh is flesh.' 'Flesh' has become the proper designation of the race as self-evolved and self-continued. Human nature as now constituted can produce nothing but its like, and that like is now sinful. 'Flesh,' therefore, may be appropriately used for the principle of corrupt nature in the individual, for the obvious reason that it is in the course of the flesh, or, of the ordinary production of human nature, that the evil principle invariably originates. Thus the phrase is some explanation of the condition of man's nature, which it describes. It is no objection to this view, but rather a confirmation of its correctness, that it grounds the Pauline use of *sarx* on the underlying doctrine of hereditary corruption. 'Flesh' is that through which man in his natural state is descended from a sinful race and inherits a sinful nature, and the term is used to denote that nature. On the other hand, 'spirit' is that through which and in which God implants the new Divine life of holiness, and the term therefore is used to denote that life. See FLESH.

Soul and Spirit.—Let us now direct our attention to what is usually considered the *crux* of our topic, and which, from the exaggerated use made of it by some writers, has led others to explode or reject biblical psychology altogether. The question raised is whether the Scripture makes a tenable and consistent distinction between *soul* and *spirit*. This is the real question which underlies that of the so-called trichotomy of the Bible Does the Bible conceive of human nature as threefold, as made up of body, soul, and spirit? The only relevant question is the one above stated. In what sense and to what extent does the Bible recognize a distinction between *soul* and *spirit*? A large number, probably a majority, of exegetes have been in the habit of concluding that there is no real distinction, that the terms are synonymous, or at least interchangeable, and that nothing can be asserted beyond a shadowy, poetic distinction which enables the sacred writers to employ them in parallelism. But when we face the facts we are forced to a different conclusion. In the Pauline Epistles it is undoubted that a real distinction is asserted. The natural or unconverted man is said to be *soulish*, the renewed man *spiritual* (*ψυχικός, πνευματικός*, 1 Co $2^{14.15}$; cf. Jude^{19} *ψυχικοί, πνεῦμα μὴ ἔχοντες*). Again, St. Paul asserts that the body which all men carry to the grave is *soulish*, but the body of the resurrection is *spiritual* (*ψυχικόν, πνευματικόν*, 1 Co 15^{44}); that the first man was made a living *soul*, the last Adam a quickening *spirit* (v.^{45}). The distinction of the adjectives is repeated in v.^{46}.

Now, a fact of this sort emerging in such decisive and culminating passages of St. Paul's writings compels us to reconsider the usage. If we adhere rigidly to the conventional idea that there is no real distinction in the terms 'soul' and 'spirit' beyond that of parallelism, we must go on to hold St. Paul to have introduced, in important passages of his writings, an arbitrary and baseless antithesis. For this we are certainly not prepared, and are thrown back upon the conclusion, which has great and growing probability in its favour, that from OT usage there was real distinction latent in the employment by biblical writers of the terms *soul* and *spirit*, which distinction was recognized and emphasized in these leading passages of St. Paul. What the distinction is, it may not be easy to determine with precision. Precision is perhaps not present in the case at all. But there can remain little doubt in the mind of a careful reader of Scripture that a distinction makes itself felt from the first and throughout. Even in the relation of both terms to physical life the distinction is felt. To this both *pneuma* and *psyche*, like *rûaḥ* and *nephesh*, of which they are the Greek equivalents, originally belong. *Nephesh* is the subject or bearer of life, *rûaḥ* is the principle of life; so that in all OT references to the origin of living beings we can distinguish *nephesh* as life constituted in the creature, from *rûaḥ* as life bestowed by the Creator.

No doubt, the 'life' indicated by these terms is that of man and the lower animals alike. A 'living soul' is a living creature in general, or an animated being. It is used in Gn $1^{20.30}$ in a wide sense of creatures that have life, and the same expression is used in Gn 2^7 to denote the result, even in man, of the Divine creative breath. So, also, *rûaḥ* and its kindred term *nĕshāmāh* are used for the principle of life, in man and brute alike. It is the '*nĕshāmāh* of life' that makes man a living soul (*l.c.*). It is the '*rûaḥ* of life' that animates all creatures threatened by the Flood (6^{17}), and all those which entered into the ark (7^{15}). It is the *nishmath-rûaḥ* of life those had which perished in the waters (7^{22}). These passages prove that no distinction is made between the life-principle in animals generally and in man.

But, what is of more importance, they call attention to a usage which is practically uniform of putting 'spirit' (*rûaḥ* or *nĕshāmāh*) for the animating principle, and 'soul' or 'living soul' (*nephesh ḥayyah*) for the animated result. This primary distinction of the two terms, when applied to physical life, has passed over from the Hebrew of the OT to their Greek equivalents in the NT, and suggests a reason for their respective employment, even when the meaning goes beyond the merely physical. If *psyche* thus means the entire being as a constituted life, we can see why it is used in such a connexion as that of Jn 10^{11} 'He giveth his life for the sheep' (*psyche*, not *zōē*, nor *pneuma*). If *pneuma* is the life-principle, we see the propriety of its use in Jn 19^{30} 'He gave up the ghost' (*pneuma*). When we pass from this primary application of the two terms to a higher, in which they refer not to physical life alone, but also to the life of the mind, both terms denote almost indifferently the inner nature. For this purpose they are used throughout the OT and generally even in the NT with no sharp distinction, but freely interchanged and combined. As, for instance, when each is used alone, 'Why is thy spirit so sad?' 'Why art thou cast down, my soul?' (1 K 21^5, Ps 42^{11}); 'Jesus was troubled in spirit'; 'My soul is exceeding sorrowful' (Jn 13^{21}, Mt 26^{38}); 'To destroy both soul (*psyche*) and body'; 'The body without the spirit (*pneuma*) is dead' (Mt 10^{38}, Ja 2^{26}). Or, again, when the two terms occur together, in the manner of other terms of Hebrew poetry, 'With my soul (*nephesh*) have I desired thee in the night; yea, with my spirit (*rûaḥ*) within me will I seek thee early' (Is 26^9); 'My soul (*psyche*) doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit (*pneuma*) hath rejoiced in God my Saviour' (Lk $1^{46.47}$); 'Stand fast in one spirit (*pneuma*), with one soul (*psyche*) striving for the faith of the gospel' (Ph 1^{27} RV). These last quoted passages prove it quite impossible to hold that 'spirit' can mean exclusively or mainly the Godward side of man's inner nature, and 'soul' the rational or earthward. The terms are parallel, or practically equivalent expressions for the inner life as contrasted with the outer or bodily life. The whole usage makes for the ordinary bipartite view of human nature, and not at all for any tripartite theory. No doubt, however, the underlying distinction found in the primary or physical application of the terms gives propriety to their usage all through; and, when firmly grasped, prepares us to understand the expanded meaning which they receive in the later Scriptures.

All through Scripture 'spirit' denotes life as coming from God, 'soul' denotes life as constituted in the man. Consequently, when the individual life is to be made emphatic, 'soul' is used. 'Souls' in Scripture freely denotes persons. My 'soul' is the Ego, the self, and when used like 'heart' for the inner man, and even for the feelings, has reference always to special individuality. On the other hand, 'spirit'—seldom or never used to denote the individual human being in this life—is primarily that imparted power by which the individual lives. It fitly denotes, therefore, when used as a psychological term, the innermost of the inner life, the higher aspect of the self or personality. Thus the two terms are used, over the breadth of Scripture, as parallel expressions for the inner life. The inner nature is 'soul' according to its special individual life; it is 'spirit' according to the life-power whence it derives its special character. The double phrase 'soul and spirit' presents the man in two aspects as his life is viewed from two different points.

So much for the use of the two words in the Scripture at large. But when we come to certain NT writings—mainly though not exclusively Pauline—a still more definite meaning has set in. The adjective 'psychic' or 'soulish' has taken a force not perceptible in its root-word. It has become almost equivalent to 'carnal.' In Ja 3^{15} a wisdom is spoken of which is 'earthly, soulish (RV sensual), devilish.' Of certain predicted opponents of the gospel, it is said (Jude^{19}) that 'they are soulish (AV and RV sensual; RVm natural *or* animal), not having the Spirit.' St. Paul terms the unregenerate who cannot discern the things of the spirit of God a 'soulish' man (1 Co 2^{14}). The body which we wear at present—'the body of our humiliation' (Ph 3^{21})—is a 'soulish' body, and shall be sown in the grave as such (1 Co 15^{44-46}). The corresponding adjective 'pneumatic' or 'spiritual' has now taken on, in the parallel passages, a religious sense, and denotes what belongs to the *pneuma* in that sense, viz. that which is derived from the spirit of God—the spirit of the regenerate life. It is plain that if we would not accuse these NT writers—especially St. Paul—of introducing groundless distinctions, we are drawn to admit a real difference of the terms from the first, in the general or wider sense already described.*

Spirit.—On a closely similar line of exegetical investigation we explain the Scripture use of this term. It is an entirely original biblical term for the highest aspect of man's life. It is almost inseparable from the idea of man's relation to God, whether in creation or in redemption. All through the OT it is the supreme term for human life. God is spirit, and man has spirit. 'The spirit returns to God who gave it' (Ec 12^7). In this way the psychology of the Bible is distinguished from all ethnic systems. In this it stands entirely alone, and is thoroughly consistent with itself from first to last. 'Spirit' is not so used by Plato, by Philo, by the earlier Stoics, by Plotinus and the Neo-Platonists, nor indeed anywhere out of the circle of Bible thought. It denotes the direct dependence of man upon God. The peculiarly biblical idea is the attribution to man, as the highest in him, of that which is common to man with God. 'Spirit' is the God-given principle of man's life, physical, mental, and spiritual. Where modern analysis imports a false element into it, is when an attempt is made to represent πνεῦμα as a separable constituent of man's being, as something which can be wanting, dead, or dormant on the one hand, restored or confirmed on the other. Indeed the whole character of the Bible psychology is mistaken in such attempts to distinguish spirit, soul, heart, and the like as separate faculties. They are diverse aspects of one indivisible inner life.

When we come to the Pauline writings, and those associated with them in the NT, we find that a certain improvement or addition to the force of this term has come in; yet one completely in harmony with its original meaning. That in man which is 'spiritual' is, frankly and fully, that which is influenced by the spirit of God—by the new spirit of regeneration. 'Spirit' is more entirely used of the renewed man, though there is still a clear and appreciable distinction maintained between the two. 'The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit that we are the children of God' (Ro 8^{16}). Yet so almost complete is the identification, that our translators find it difficult—throughout the Epistles—to determine where the term spirit should be distinguished by a capital letter. The advance consists in the fact that, whereas from the first, man's life is dignified as the direct inbreathing of the Almighty,—*nĕshāmāh* or *rûaḥ* from God,—his new life is now signalized by a term identical with that bestowed on the Third Person of the Holy Trinity. It is one of the central doctrines of Christianity concerning the theanthropic person of the Son, that, as head of the new humanity, He becomes a life-giving πνεῦμα—a quickening spirit. At every point in the unfolding of the Bible anthropology this doctrine of the *pneuma* in man will be found distinctive. It forms a central element in the Divine Image in which he was created, and at the climax of redemption it is the appropriate designation of the man as renewed in Christ. See SPIRIT.

---

* See this discussed in ch. v. of the present writer's *Bible Doctrine of Man*, Edin. 1895.

Heart is a term used with much clearness and consistency throughout Scripture, for the inner, the real, the hidden and ruling element in man's nature. Translated into modern language it denotes, in one of its most frequent applications, 'principles of action.' It is always sufficiently distinguished from Being or Personality. From the first it is said that 'every imagination of the thoughts of man's heart is evil' (Gn 6^5), *i.e.* his 'principles of action' are gone wrong, but it is never said that the personality is corrupt or destroyed. Again, it is the great promise of restoration, 'a new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you' (Ezk 36^{26}), *i.e.* new principles will be implanted; yet it is not another or a different personality that is given. There is not such a sharp distinction in Bible speech as that which we have introduced into modern language between the *head* and the *heart*. There is no marked separation of the rational and intellectual elements in man's nature from the emotional or volitional. Although there is, to some extent, a distinction of this kind between לֵבָב and נֶפֶשׁ, all inward elements of whatever sort may be included under heart: even such as good judgment and clear perception are, at least in the OT, considered as qualities of heart. In the writings of the older apostles the OT idea of 'heart' is still the ruling one. Indeed, in these NT writings the Greek terms for the intellectual life of man are used for the more general OT terms 'Heart,' 'Soul,' and the like, without any precision whatever. Thus the LXX, on occasion (*e.g.* Dt 6^5, B), uses διάνοια for *lēbhābh*. St. Mark (12^{33}) uses σύνεσις for *nephesh*. St. Luke introduces διάνοια along with καρδία, ψυχή, and ἰσχύς (10^{27}). See HEART.

It is plain, however, that in the writings of St. Paul and those allied to him, these Greek expressions for the intellectual elements in man have acquired more place, although no very marked precision. In especial, St. Paul has a firm conception of MIND (νοῦς) as the highest expression for man's mental or intellectual faculty, as that which in man, under grace, is appealed to by the Divine law (Ro $7^{23.25}$), and as that, on the other hand, which is to be distinguished from the *afflatus* or influence upon him of the supernatural (1 Co $14^{14.15}$). Then there is introduced in these writings a free use of the similar and related terms in which the Greek language was so rich, σύνεσις understanding, λόγος reason, διαλογισμός reasoning, νοήματα thinkings, φρόνημα minding or disposition, but scarcely any one of these used with strictness or accuracy. See MIND.

The one instance in which a Greek term of this character is introduced and adhered to in the NT, is συνείδησις or **conscience.** It is once used by the LXX in the OT (Ec 10^{20}), where it is also introduced by our translators on the margin, but obviously rather with the meaning 'consciousness' than 'conscience.' The force of it in Wis 17^{11} ('a witness within,' RV) is more nearly our own. To trace the advance of the term from its literal meaning of 'self-consciousness' to its full ethical import, would take us outside of biblical matter altogether. Its clear and full recognition in pagan literature is significant. Lightfoot speaks in somewhat strong terms of this word as the 'crowning triumph of ethical nomenclature,' which 'if not struck in the mint of the Stoics, at all events became current coin through their influence.' He cites it as a special instance of 'the extent to which Stoic philosophy had leavened the moral vocabulary of the civilized world at the time of the Christian era.' Now its use in the NT precisely corresponds to this estimate. It does not occur in the Gospels except in Jn 8^9, a passage which the best scholarship does not hold to be genuine. It occurs twice in the addresses of St. Paul recorded in Acts; plentifully in the Epistles of Paul and of Peter and in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and in all these places its force is equivalent to that which it still bears in modern speech. Were we to bring it into line with the older biblical usage, it might be reckoned a function of πνεῦμα so far as it signifies 'self-consciousness'; and of καρδία when regarded as moral approval or disapproval. In confirmation of this it is to be noted that St. John uses καρδία (1 Jn 3^{19-21}) in a connexion where St. Paul would have used νοῦς or συνείδησις. The use of conscience, however, is so definite and consistent as to force us to the conclusion that it was introduced into the NT as a full-fledged idea. See CONSCIENCE.

The system of thought thus sketched belongs essentially to the OT. It is what Continental writers call a 'psychology of the Hebrews.' In our outline, this fact is rather concealed by the almost disproportionate attention given to the important modifications made on it by the Apostle Paul. But the system itself is the ruling one, not only throughout the OT but in the writings of the older apostles in the NT. The Greek terms supplied by the Septuagint are taken up in their OT meanings, and from these the writers seldom or never depart. The leading psychological notions are those attached to the simple terms spirit, soul, flesh, heart. These four are the *voces signatæ* of the entire Scripture view of man's nature and constitution. They are all grouped round the idea of life, or of a living being. The first two—soul and spirit—represent in different ways, or, from different points of view, the life itself. The last two—flesh and heart—denote respectively the life-environment and the life-organ,—the former, that in which life inheres; the latter, that through which it acts. So much for their simple and primary meaning. In their secondary meaning they are grouped as follows: spirit, soul, flesh are expressions for man's whole nature viewed from different points. They are not three natures. Man's one nature is really expressed by each of them, so that each alone may designate the human being. Thus man is *flesh* as an embodied perishable creature. 'All flesh is grass, and all the goodliness thereof as the flower of the field' (Is 40^6). Man again is *soul*, as a living being, an individual responsible creature, 'All souls are mine' (Ezk 18^4). Once more, man is *spirit*. More commonly, however, he is said to have or possess 'spirit' as his life-principle. 'Heart' stands outside this triad, because man is never called a 'heart,' or men collectively spoken of as 'hearts.' 'Heart' never denotes the personal subject, but always the organ of the personality.

Again, the four terms may be thus grouped: 'spirit,' 'soul,' 'heart' may be used to denote, each of them, one side of man's double-sided nature, viz. his inner or higher life. Over against any one of these may stand 'flesh'; as representing his nature on its outer or lower side, so that the combination will express in familiar duality the whole of man as 'flesh and spirit,' 'flesh and soul,' or 'flesh and heart.' The two latter combinations are the ruling ones in the OT. Thus 'soul' and 'flesh' occur. 'My soul thirsteth for thee, and my flesh longeth for thee' (Ps 63[1]). 'My flesh in my teeth, and my life (soul) in my hand' (Job 13[14]). 'His flesh hath pain, and his soul mourneth' (Job 14[22]). A land entirely stripped of its trees and of its crops is said be 'consumed soul and body' (Is 10[18] Heb. 'from the soul and even to the flesh'). Equally characteristic is the conjunction of 'flesh' with 'heart' for the whole human being. Aliens wholly unfit for God's service are described as 'uncircumcised in heart and flesh' (Ezk 44[7. 9]). The man whose whole being is given to pleasure 'searches in his heart how to cheer his flesh' (Ec 2[3] RV). 'Remove sorrow from thy heart and put away evil from thy flesh' (Ec 11[10]). The *summum bonum* of human life is when a 'sound heart is the life of the flesh' (Pr 14[30]), an expression which reminds one of the classic *mens sana in corpore sano*. This dualism of the OT is clinched in the memorable description of its final form, when 'the dust returns to the earth as it was, and the spirit to God who gave it' (Ec 12[7]).

The distribution of parts, however, is not invariably or rigidly dualistic. For along with such as those now quoted we have also various trinal phrases, *e.g.* 'My soul longeth . . . for the courts of the Lord; my heart and my flesh crieth out unto the living God' (Ps 84[2]). 'My heart is glad and my glory rejoiceth, my flesh also dwelleth in safety' (Ps 16[9]). 'Mine eye is consumed with grief, yea, my soul and my belly' (RV 'body,' Ps 31[9]). Yet, dual or trinal though the terms may be, the intention is essentially bipartite, viz. to express in man the inner and the outer, the higher and the lower, the animating and the animated all resting upon the primal contrast of what is earth-derived with what is God-inbreathed.

Such is a condensed account of the Bible treatment of psychological terms and ideas, which also goes a long way to fix the biblical teaching about Man. At most of the important points, the Bible view of man's nature coincides with that of human psychology at large. Scripture frankly and fully confirms the view which places man among the animals, but at their head. It makes man differ in no respect as to the origination of his physical frame, but in two most important particulars it distinguishes man altogether from the animals—in the direct and immediate connexion of his origin with God, and in his survival of death (see artt. ESCHATOLOGY and RESURRECTION).

LITERATURE.—M. F. Roos, *Fundamenta Psychologiæ ex S.S. collectæ* (1769); Olshausen, 'De Naturæ humanæ trichotomiâ,' in his *Opuscula Theologica* (Berlin, 1834); Böttcher, *De inferis . . . ex Hebræorum et Græcorum opinionibus* (Dresden, 1845); J. T. Beck, *Umriss der biblischen Seelenlehre* (1843, 1877, Eng. tr., Clark, Edin. 1877); Franz Delitzsch, *System der biblischen Psychologie*² (Leipzig, 1861, Eng. tr., Clark, Edin. 1867); H. H. Wendt, *Die Begriffe Fleisch und Geist in bibl. Sprachgebrauch* (Gotha, 1878); Ellicott, 'The Threefold Nature of Man' in *The Destiny of the Creature and other Sermons* (London, Parker, 1863); J. B. Heard, *The Tripartite Nature of Man*⁵ (Clark, Edin. 1882); E. White, *Life in Christ*, A Study of the Scripture Doctrine on the Nature of Man (London, E. Stock, 1878); W. P. Dickson, *St. Paul's Use of the Terms Flesh and Spirit* (Glasgow, 1883); Laidlaw, *The Bible Doctrine of Man* (revised ed., Clark, Edin. 1895). The reader may consult also the *Old Testament Theologies* of Oehler and Schultz, and the *New Testament Theologies* of Bernhard Weiss and Beyschlag; cf., further, Gifford, *Romans*, 49-52; Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*, 181; Driver, *Sermons on OT*, 1 ff.

J. LAIDLAW.

PTOLEMAIS (Πτολεμαΐς) is the NT name of the old Canaanitish stronghold ACCO (which see). It received this name from Ptolemy II. Philadelphus when, after the conquest of Syria and the death of Alexander the Great, it came into his possession. For several hundred years, throughout its independence during the wars of the Maccabees, and under the dominion of Rome, when it received the privileges of a Roman city, this title supplanted the original name. At Ptolemais, Jonathan Maccabæus was treacherously captured (1 Mac 12[48]); and the Greeks had built there a splendid temple to Jupiter. It is only once noticed in the NT, in connexion with the missionary journey of St. Paul from Tyre to Cæsarea (Ac 21[7]). There was a small band of Christian converts in the place, and it is recorded that the Apostle abode with them one day. Ptolemais was favourably situated as regards both sea and land approaches. On the occasion of the Apostle's visit, we are told that he came by sea, having sailed from the harbour of Tyre, and that he proceeded on foot to Cæsarea and from thence to Jerusalem. But there is every likelihood, judging from Ac 11[30] 12[25] 15[2. 30] 18[22], that he must have passed several times through the city, by the ancient land-route along the coast that connected Cæsarea by means of the rocky pass of the Ladder of Tyre with Antioch.

Josephus (*Ant.* XIV. xv. 1) tells us that Herod landed at Ptolemais on his voyage from Italy to Syria. It may be mentioned that there is another Ptolemais, the capital of Pentapolis in Cyrenaica, of which the celebrated Synesius, the pupil of Hypatia of Alexandria, was bishop early in the 5th century. In the extremely interesting series of his letters which are still extant, there is one addressed to all Christian bishops throughout the world, in which he announces that he had excommunicated, at a Diocesan Synod, Andronicus, the governor of the place, on account of his crimes against the Church.

As it was a seaport town, the Jews, who were not a maritime people, took very little interest in the Syrian Ptolemais, and therefore it hardly figures on the pages of Scripture. But in mediæval times it rose into great fame under the name of Acre, which is closely connected with its original name of Acco, and has obscured all the other names imposed or altered at different times by foreigners. Elsewhere in the Holy Land sacred memories almost obliterate secular ones; but here it is the reverse. The civil history of Acre is decidedly Western, as is the prominent headland on which it is situated, which pushes itself farther out from the monotonous coast than any other place in Palestine, except Carmel. On this projecting shoulder of the Holy Land the town occupies so commanding a position that Napoleon called it the Key of Syria. At a distance it presents the appearance of a strongly fortified European town, but its architectural features inside are thoroughly Oriental in character. At the time of the Crusaders it was the Castella Peregrinorum, the principal landing-place of pilgrims to Jerusalem; and it was the last foothold of the Crusaders on the sacred soil. Here was the principal seat of the great knightly orders of St. John of the Temple and the Hospital, who gave it the French name of St. Jean d'Acre. It had a large share in the feudal and ecclesiastical wars of Europe, and in the unhappy political intrigues of the Republics of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa. It has been subjected to numerous sieges, from the days of Baldwin, the founder of the shortlived dynasty of the Latin sovereigns of the Eastern empire, to those of Napoleon, whose destiny was here first marred by defeat. Saladin, Cœur de Lion, and Sir Sydney Smith performed feats of valour in connexion with this fortress. The last siege took place in 1840, when Sir Charles Napier, fighting for the Turks, took the town from the Egyptians under Ibrahim Pasha.

Acre never recovered the bombardment of the English fleet; and it is now a dull, ruinous town of about 10,000 inhabitants. It is the market-place of the Syrian wheat trade; and the bread manufactured from the rich crops grown on the surrounding plain of Acre is proverbially said to be 'the best in the Holy Land'; thus maintaining still the reputation it had acquired in the days of Israel, when the Patriarch cast the blessing of his son into its local mould, 'out of Asher his bread shall be fat.' The shallow *Nahr N'amân*, the ancient Belus, which falls into its broad bay, recalls the Greek story of the chance invention of glass on its banks; and the patriarchal promise to the lot of Issachar of 'the treasures hid in the sands,' which may have had something to do with the ancient classical tradition. The view from the shattered ramparts is very extensive and beautiful, comprising on the one side the opposite headland of Carmel, reflected in the blue waters of the curved bay, and on the other the dark green plain along the coast up to the white promontory of the Ladder of Tyre; the distant snow-clad Lebanon range fading northwards in the clouds; while the eastern horizon is closed up by the shadowy hills of Galilee.

LITERATURE.—Conder, *Tent-Work in Palestine*, pp. 188-192; Stanley, *SP* pp. 264-266; Bovet, *Egypt, Palestine, and Phœnicia*, pp. 383-385.

HUGH MACMILLAN.

PTOLEMY (Πτολεμαῖος, a metric alternative for the Ion. πολεμήϊος, 'warlike') I., surnamed Σωτήρ, 'Preserver' (on account of his defence of the Rhodians in B.C. 306; Paus. i. 8. 6; or by the Confed. of the Cyclades, who claim the credit, according to Inscript. 373 in Michel's *Recueil*—see Mahaffy, *Emp. Ptol.* 110 f.), was the son of Lagus and Arsinoë, a reputed concubine of Philip of Macedon. He was born about B.C. 367, and upon the death of Alexander (1 Mac 1^{6-9}) he assumed the satrapy of Egypt. For the intricate details of the wars that preceded his assumption of royalty in B.C. 305, see Mahaffy, *op. cit.* 27-58; Droysen, *Hellenismus*; Niese, *Gesch. der Griech. Staaten*, pt. i.—by each of whom the original authorities are given. He abdicated in B.C. 285 in favour of his second son, and died two years later, with his dynasty firmly established by his wise and vigorous administration upon the throne of Egypt. In the course of his campaigns he several times traversed or occupied Palestine. In B.C. 320 (Cless in Pauly, art. 'Ptolemy'), or more probably eight years later, he took advantage of the Sabbath law to seize Jerusalem on that day (Jos. *Ant.* XII. i.), but so ingratiated himself with the people that many of them accompanied him to Egypt and settled there (Jos. *c. Ap.* i. 22; Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* ii. 393). They were employed partly as mercenaries; and in Alexandria a kind of citizenship and a special quarter of the city appear to have been assigned them (Jos. *Wars*, II. xviii. 7). Such migrations to Egypt occurred three or four times during this reign; and the favour with which the Egyp. rule was regarded in Palestine was largely due to the kindness with which the settlers were treated, and to the comparative avoidance of interference with their religious practices. It has been assumed (*e.g.* by Cheyne) that Is 19^{18-25} (this passage may allude to the Jewish temple at Heliopolis founded in the time of Ptol. VII.) was written in the time of this king, and he is generally held to be 'the king of the south' referred to in Dn 11^5, where the RVm is to be preferred.

R. W. MOSS.

PTOLEMY II. (afterwards known as Φιλάδελφος, 'brother-loving,' from the title adopted by his sister and wife, Arsinoë), the youngest son of Soter, succeeded his father in B.C. 285. He continued his father's policy, and, instead of Hellenizing Egypt, treated the country rather as a private estate to be administered wisely in the interest of its proprietor. On the series of coins which he struck at Tyre the earliest date that occurs is B.C. 266 (Poole, *Coins of Ptol.* xxix.); and consequently his first Syrian war took place at least two or three years earlier. From that time Palestine formed a permanent part of his kingdom, his right to hold it as an inheritance from his father having been unrecognized before. Among the cities which he founded were Philotera to the south of the Lake of Galilee (Polyb. v. 70), Philadelphia on the site of Rabbah (Jerome, *in Ezek.* 25), and Ptolemais on the site of Acco (pseudo-Aristeas in Merx, *Archiv*, i. 274; Droysen, *Hellenismus*, iii. 2. 305). In these foundations his principal object seems to have been to conciliate the people, and to furnish himself with centres of influence. A second Syrian war soon after B.C. 250 was provoked by an attempt on the part of Antiochus II. to annex the country; but of its details nothing is known with certainty, except that Philadelphus lost no part either of his dominions or apparently of his supremacy by sea in the Eastern Mediterranean. He died in B.C. 247. The reign of Philadelphus was a brilliant literary epoch in Alexandria. At his court, as officials of the Museum and Library which his father founded and he fostered, gathered many of the most eminent writers, artists, dilettanti, of the period: and thus was provided a place for the fusion of Jewish and Greek ideas, and a means of introducing the latter into Palestine itself. It is not impossible that the story of the origin of the LXX is so far correct, that the Pent. and perhaps also Joshua were translated during his reign and under royal patronage: see SEPTUAGINT. Dn 11^6 is to be interpreted of Philadelphus; but the latter part of the verse is so vague and even so difficult of translation that there is ground for suspicion that the text is corrupt. It has been conjectured that Ps 72 was written soon after the accession of Philadelphus as an expression of the anticipations which his reputation warranted, and Ps 45 in honour of his marriage with the daughter of Lysimachus, king of Thrace; but neither conjecture has much support.

R. W. MOSS.

PTOLEMY III. (first styled Εὐεργέτης, 'benefactor,' in a decree of the synod of Canopus in B.C. 238) succeeded his father Philadelphus in B.C. 247. Soon after his accession, to avenge the murder of his sister at Antioch, he engaged in the third Syrian war, during which his conquests led him far into the East, and on his return from which he is alleged to have offered sacrifices in Jerus. (Jos. *c. Ap.* ii. 5). In B.C. 229 the control of the Jewish taxes was entrusted to Josephus, nephew of Onias II., according to an account (Jos. *Ant.* XII. iv. 1-5), for which there is probably some historical basis, and which is an evidence of the mildness and consequent popularity of the Egyp. rule. Of the later history of Euergetes only the scantiest information has been preserved. He appears to have devoted himself principally to the internal development of his kingdom, which was at the height of prosperity in B.C. 222, when he was murdered by his son (Justin, xxix. 1), or more probably died a natural death (Polyb. ii. 71). Dn 11^{7-9} is to be interpreted of Euergetes, the middle verse relating to the act by which he won his title—the restoration of the Egyp. idols carried off by Cambyses nearly three centuries before.

This king must not be confounded with the Euergetes of the Prologue to Sirach. The data of time show that the latter must have been Euergetes II., known also as Physcon, who was admitted by his brother to conjoint sovereignty in B.C. 170, and died in B.C. 117. R. W. Moss.

PTOLEMY IV. (Φιλοπάτωρ, strictly 'fond of his father,' though the title appears to have been given in the belief that he was designated for the throne by his father) succeeded his father Euergetes in B.C. 222. In the fifth year of his reign he was forced into an expedition to recover Palestine from Antiochus the Great, who was completely defeated in a battle near Raphia. Dn $11^{11.12}$ is a summary of the campaign. A treaty of peace was made with Antiochus (Polyb. v. 87), and Ptolemy returned homewards. At Jerus., according to a story in 3 Mac., he attempted to enter the Holy of Holies against the indignant protests of the people, but fell in a fit on its threshold. Renouncing his purpose, he returned to Alexandria, where his rage against the Jews showed itself in an edict commanding them to practise idolatry on pain of degradation from citizenship. So many refused, that in an access of wrath he gave orders for all the Jews in Egypt to be collected at Alexandria to be put to death. The royal design was again thwarted by supernatural occurrences: and a national feast was appointed to commemorate the deliverance. The last statement may be regarded as authentic, and it is not unlikely that the Jews under this king lost some of their privileges, and joined the Egyp. natives in uneasiness and insurrection (Polyb. v. 107, xiv. 12); but very little reliance can be safely placed on 3 Mac. Of the rest of his reign, which terminated in B.C. 205, little is recorded beyond his extreme licentiousness and his Napoleonic love of building.

R. W. Moss.

PTOLEMY V. (Ἐπιφανής, 'illustrious') had no sooner succeeded his father, Philopator, in B.C. 205, than Antiochus the Great took advantage of the Egyp. king's minority to seize Palestine. Ptolemy's general, Scopas, was sent to recover the country, but was defeated near the sources of the Jordan, and compelled to surrender at Sidon (Jerome, *in Dan.* 11^{15}). Many of the Jews were led by the concessions of Antiochus (Jos. *Ant.* XII. iii. 3) to transfer to him their allegiance, and the country passed finally from under the control of Egypt. When the Romans forbade Antiochus to attack Ptolemy, he conciliated both, but retained his conquests by betrothing his daughter Cleopatra to the Egyp. king (B.C. 198). The marriage was celebrated in B.C. 193, the Syrian princess receiving as her dowry the royal share of the taxes of the conquered provinces, but no right of interference in their government. On the death of Antiochus, Ptolemy decided to invade Syria, but before his preparations were complete was poisoned in B.C. 182, or the early part of the following year. Dn 11^{14-17} is to be interpreted of these relations between Ptolemy and Antiochus; but 11^{14b} must refer to a futile attempt to restore the independence of Israel (Bevan, *in loc.*) rather than to a preference for Antiochus by a party amongst the Jews, for in that case the phrases, so far as they are intelligible, are contrary to fact. R. W. Moss.

PTOLEMY VI. (should be reckoned as VII., as there is evidence of the brief reign of an older brother: for the authorities and the present state of the question, see Mahaffy, *Emp. Ptol.* 329 f.—surnamed Φιλομήτωρ, 'lover of his mother') spent the first seven years of his reign under the regency of his mother, Cyprus being meanwhile under the governorship of Ptolemy Macron (2 Mac 10^{13}), who afterwards transferred his allegiance to Syria. Soon after her death he took the government into his own hands; and amongst the envoys who came for the occasion was Apollonius, who was instructed to discover the feelings of the Egyp. court towards Syria (2 Mac 4^{21}). In B.C. 173 the king married his sister Cleopatra. Two years later he was defeated on the borders of Egypt by Antiochus IV., who overran the country (1 Mac $1^{18f.}$) and got possession of the king. The latter's brother, Euergetes II., was at once raised to the throne by the people of Alexandria, and, when Antiochus retired, reigned conjointly with his brother (B.C. 170). In B.C. 163 Philometor was driven out of Egypt by his brother, but restored soon after by order of the Roman senate, the kingdom being divided and Cyrene assigned to Euergetes. From B.C. 154 there was peace between the brothers. About the same time must be dated the foundation of the temple of Onias, near Heliopolis (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. iii. 1–3), the circumstances of which are an evidence of the king's popularity amongst and favour to the Jews. To the same conclusion point his employment of Jewish generals (Jos. *c. Ap.* ii. 5), his relation to the Jew Aristobulus (2 Mac 1^{10}), who is identified with the Alexandrian philosopher of the same name by Clemens Alex. (*Strom.* v. 14. 97) and Eusebius (*Præp. Evang.* viii. 9), and possibly also the dedication of Ad. Est 11^{1}. When Alexander Balas was trying to establish his authority over Palestine, he sought alliance with Philometor (1 Mac 10^{51-58}), whose daughter Cleopatra was given him in marriage about B.C. 150. With a view to take advantage of the rivalry between Balas and Demetrius (1 Mac 11^{1}), or more probably in anger at the suspected treason of the former (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. iv. 6), Ptolemy again invaded Syria, and attached to himself Demetrius by promises of support and of marriage with Cleopatra; but, after making himself master of Antioch, he retained the crown of Syria for himself. Balas was defeated in battle, and killed in the course of his flight; but Ptolemy was wounded mortally, and only lived to have his enemy's head presented to him, in B.C. 146 (1 Mac 11^{8-18}; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. iv. 8). Dn 11^{25-30} is to be understood of the wars between Philometor and Antiochus IV.

R. W. Moss.

PTOLEMY VII. (more correctly IX., the young son of Cleopatra II. having reigned for a few months, assumed the title of Euergetes II., possibly at his coronation at Memphis, but was better known amongst his Greek subjects by the nickname of Physcon, 'fat-paunch') succeeded to sole rule in B.C. 146 or the following year, and died about thirty years afterwards. Justin and Strabo describe him as tyrannous to his subjects, and as shrinking from no crime; but the papyri (cf. especially Mahaffy in vol. iv. 192 ff. of Petrie's *Hist. of Egypt*) represent him as extending the commercial bounds of Egypt, and as upholding law and order within it. There are indications in two texts from Athribis (cf. also Grenfell's *Papyri*, i. 74 f.) that he protected and was popular amongst his Jewish subjects. If so, the evidence against the theory that 3 Mac. records persecutions during his reign is increased. In the Prologue to Sir. the editor of the Gr. version states that he came to Egypt in the 30th year of Euergetes (B.C. 133, the reckoning being from the commencement of the joint reign of the brothers), and implies that by that time the entire OT had already been translated for the benefit of the Jews in Egypt, probably with special reference to the needs of those resident in the great centre of Leontopolis. The task appears to have been begun in the reign of

Philopator, possibly earlier, and may have been completed shortly before the visit of the writer of the Prologue.

Literature.—Of Ptolemaic literature a good summary to 1895 is given in Wachsmuth's *Einleitung in das Studium der alten Geschichte*, 579 ff., whilst the articles, especially by Cless and by Wilcken, in the new edition of Pauly's *Realencyclopädie*, ed. Wissowa, are invaluable. The principal sources are Justin's *Epitome*; Pausanias, bk. i.; Jerome, *Com. on Dan. xi.*; Plutarch's *Life of Cleomenes*; Josephus, Diodorus, Polybius, and Livy, of which any edition with a good index will furnish a list of the scattered passages referring to the Ptolemies. Careful and ingenious use is made of inscriptions by Mahaffy in his *Empire of the Ptolemies*, and in his sketch of the Ptolemaic Dynasty in the fourth volume of Petrie's *Hist. of Egypt*. Amongst the best connected histories are Droysen's *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, and Strack's *Dynastie der Ptolemäer*. For the inscriptions, in addition to the memoirs of the Egypt Exploration Fund, Wilcken's *Archiv für Papyrus-forschung*, Mahaffy's *Petrie Papyri* in 3 vols. of 'Cunningham Memoirs' of the Royal Irish Academy, Revillout's *Revue Egyptologique* and *Mélanges*, should be consulted. A great wealth of papyri has accumulated in the British Museum and the Louvre, at Leyden, Turin, Rome, and elsewhere, and these are gradually being edited in separate memoirs or in one of the Egyptological periodicals by Grenfell, Hunt, and others; but only a comparatively small proportion relate to the period of the Ptolemies. For further or more general literature reference should be made to the bibliographical note at the close of the article on Egypt, vol. i. p. 667.

R. W. Moss.

PUAH.—1. (פּוּעָה; Φουά) Ex 1^{15}, one of the Hebrew midwives in Egypt. Philo (*Quis rerum divin.* p. 389 f., ed. 1613) identifies this name with 2, perhaps rightly, and explains, Φουὰ ἐρυθρὰν ἑρμηνεύεται. 2. (פּוּאָה; Φουά) Jg 10^1, of the tribe of Issachar, father of the minor judge Tola. Puah is called 'son of Dodo,' for which LXX and Syr. give the improbable rendering, 'son of his [Abimelech's] uncle.' A recension of LXX, represented by 8 minuscles, renders . . . υἱὸν Φουὰ υἱὸν Καριὲ [Καρηὲ] πατραδέλφου αὐτοῦ, κ.τ.λ.; hence Hollenberg (*ZATW* i. 104 f.) concludes that Puah was the son of קָרֵחַ (cf. 2 K 25^{23}, Jer 40^8), and that the name has fallen out of MT. Moore (*Judges*, p. 273) suggests that Καριέ is only a corruption of *Issachar*; the MT is probably right. 3. In the lists of Issachar, Gn 46^{13}, Nu 26^{23} (פֻּוָּה Puvah), 1 Ch 7^1 (פּוּאָה), Puah appears as the brother, not the father of Tola. Both are probably names of clans rather than of individuals.

The meaning of Puah is uncertain. The name has been connected with the Arab. فُوَّة *fûh*, a plant yielding a red dye, 'madder,' the *Rubia tinctorum* of Linn. In Talm. פּוּאָה is used in this sense, *e.g.* *Shabb.* 89*b*, *Erub.* 26*c*. See Löw (*Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, 251). If this be so, the connexion with Tola, 'the crimson worm,' is interesting. Lagarde (*Mittheil.* iii. 1889, 281) takes *puah* to be a sea-weed = φῦκος, and explains that Issachar's son was so called because he used sea-weed in dyeing; Issachar dwelt by the sea (Dt 33^{19}). But the *rubia tinct.* is not a sea-weed.

G. A. Cooke.

PUBLICAN (τελώνης, from τέλος, 'tax'; Lat. *publicanus*).—In the widest sense the word *publicanus* stands for any one who has business connexions with the State. It is usually employed in a narrower and more specific sense for a farmer-general of the revenue—by preference a man of equestrian rank (who was also sometimes designated 'manceps,' *e.g.* Cicero, *Div. in Cæcilium*, 33, and 'redemptor,' *Div.* ii. 47). The name was also given to the agents of the farmer of the revenue, whom he employed in collecting the taxes. In Palestine the taxes went to the imperial treasury (*fiscus*), not to that of the senate (*ærarium*). Under the procurator the Judæan taxes were paid through that official, whose primary function was the superintendence of the revenue. In the territories assigned to the petty kings and tetrarchs, such as that of Herod Antipas, the payment was made to those authorities. Even separate cities were allowed to collect their own taxes. An inscription in Greek and Aramaic at Palmyra, giving the custom tariff of a number of articles in the time of Hadrian, shows that the town had a certain authority in determining the details of its own taxation (Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 67 ff.).

The publican leased the customs of a particular district for a fixed annual sum, gaining what the revenue yielded in excess of that amount, and being required to make good any deficiency. In earlier times even direct taxes had been farmed (Jos. *Ant.* XII. iv. 1, 3, 4, 5). But this was no longer the case in NT days. The publicans of whom we read in the Gospels were engaged in collecting the custom dues on exports (Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, ii. p. 261 ff.). Pliny mentions that merchants from Arabia paid custom dues at Gaza (*HN* xii. 63–65). In Jericho there was an ἀρχιτελώνης, possibly himself the farmer of the customs of that important trade centre. Most of the NT publicans could only have been tax-collectors, subordinate to the official who more strictly bore the name 'publicanus.' Publicans formed themselves into companies (*societates publicanorum*), each member taking a quarter, or a lesser share, of the collecting and its profits or losses, according to the amount of capital invested. In the time of the Cæsars the contract was for five years.

It is evident that such a system as this would be liable to abuse, especially in a neglected and ill-governed province. It is expressly stated in the Palmyra inscription that the authorities should prevent the lessee of the customs from exacting anything beyond what was required by the law. Differences having arisen, a fixed tariff for a number of articles appears on the inscription to prevent misunderstandings and undue exactions. The unpopularity of the publican was partly due to his being a servant of the hated Roman government. This would be the case especially in Judæa under the procurators. The case of Galilee under Herod Antipas was somewhat different; and yet the Herods were dependent on and subservient to Rome. For a Jew to engage in collecting the revenues that went to support the foreign domination, was regarded as peculiarly mean and unpatriotic. If he grew rich it was on the spoils wrung from his brethren by the oppressor. Consequently men who had a due regard for their own good name would shrink from accepting the office. This would lead to its falling into the hands of persons of doubtful reputation. Then the farming of the customs was a direct incentive to dishonesty. In Rabbinical literature the tax-gatherer is commonly treated as a robber. In NT publicans and sinners are commonly coupled as forming but one class. It would not be fair to accept the popular judgment on this matter as an unprejudiced assertion of the truth. Still, our Lord's gracious treatment of the publicans is no indication that He wished to clear their character from calumny, for He was equally gracious to persons of notoriously bad character when He saw signs of amendment. Levi had been a publican, but he left his previous occupation on becoming a disciple of Jesus (Lk $5^{27.28}$). Zacchæus declared that he had mended his ways, and was in the practice of making ample recompense for his previous extortions at the time when he met with Jesus (Lk 19^8). Our Lord's ministry was peculiarly acceptable to publicans (Lk 15^1). We have no reference to any men of this class in the apostolic period. Acts and the Epistles never name the publicans.

Literature.—Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 17; Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, ii. 261–270, 289–293; Pauly, *Real-Encyc.*, art.

'Publican'; Leyrer in Herzog's *Real-Encyc.*, art. 'Toll'; Herzfeld, *Handelsgeschichte der Juden*, etc. 159 ff.; Naquet, 'Des impôts indirects chez les Romains,' etc. (Bursian's *Jahresberichte*, xix. 466 ff.); Cagnat, 'Étude historique sur les impôts indirects Romains,' etc. (*ib.* xxvi. 245 ff.); Vigié, *Études sur les impôts indirects Romains*; Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, i. 515 ff.

W. F. ADENEY.

PUBLIUS, or more correctly Poplius (Πόπλιος), the leading man in Malta when St. Paul was cast on the island by shipwreck. He was both rich and hospitable, and his father was among those who were healed by the apostle (Ac $28^{7.8}$). He is described as ὁ πρῶτος (rendered 'the chief man' in AV and RV), a title which seems to have been peculiar to Malta, but which has been proved from inscriptions to have had a technical significance there. These inscriptions, however, leave it doubtful whether the title indicates the chief magistrate of the island or one with an honorary rank. He may have been the delegate of the prætor of Sicily, to whose jurisdiction Malta belonged. The name Poplius is the Gr. form of the prænomen Publius, but in this instance it may be the Gr. rendering of the nomen Popilius. Tradition says that he was the first bishop of Malta, and that afterwards he became bishop of Athens.

W. MUIR.

PUDENS (Πούδης, but a few cursives give Σπούδης; *Pudens*).—A Christian at Rome in the time of St. Paul's last imprisonment there, who sends greeting from him to Timothy (2 Ti 4^{21}). This is all that is certainly known of him, but conjecture has been rife in attempting to identify him with others of the same name. The name is Roman, often borne by Romans of good family, and common in the early Christian centuries. Thus we find—(1) Aulus Pudens, a soldier, the friend of Martial, and husband of a British lady, Claudia (Mart. *Epigr.* iv. 13; xi. 53). (2) Titus Claudius Pudens, husband of Claudia Quintilla, whose inscription to a lost child has been found between Rome and Ostia (*CIL* vi. 15,066). (3) Pudens, a son of Pudentinus, a Roman who gave the site for a temple which the British king Cogidubnus erected to Neptune (*CIL* vii. 17). (4) Mævius Pudens, employed by Otho to corrupt Galba's friends (Tac. *Hist.* i. 24). (5) Pudens, a Roman knight, killed at the siege of Jerusalem (Jos. *BJ* VI. ii. 10). (6) Pudens, a Roman senator, said by Roman tradition to have been the host of St. Peter at Rome (Baronius, *Ann. Eccl. ad* A.D. 44, *Martyr. Rom. ad* May 19; Lipsius, *Apocryph. Apostel-leg.* ii. 1. 207, 418). (7) Pudens, father of Pudentiana and Praxedes, *c.* A.D. 160.

The Greek *Menæa*, appealing to the authority of Dorotheus, regards Pudens as having been one of the seventy disciples, who afterwards accompanied St. Paul on his missionary journeys, and was beheaded under Nero. His memory is honoured with that of Aristarchus and Trophimus in the Greek Church on April 14. The Roman Church tended to identify him with the host of St. Peter (6), who was apparently confused with (7) (see *Acta Sanctorum* for May 19, where the editor distinguishes between the two). English writers have attempted to identify him with (1) and (3). This is possible, but cannot be regarded as proved (cf. art. CLAUDIA). So many of the name were soldiers, that the conjecture may be hazarded that Pudens was one of the soldiers who had been in charge of St. Paul, perhaps one to whom he had been chained while a prisoner.

W. LOCK.

PUL (פּוּל, Φούλ, Φουά, Φαλώχ, Φαλώς).—The Assyrian Pulu. See TIGLATH-PILESER.

PUL.—Is 66^{19}. See PUT, p. 177^{a}.

PULPIT.—This term occurs only in Neh 8^{4} ‖ 1 Es 9^{42} in connexion with the reading of the Law, when Ezra is said to have stood 'upon a pulpit of wood' (עַל־מִגְדַּל־עֵץ, LXX βῆμα ξύλινον). The Heb. word מִגְדָּל, which is frequent in the sense of 'tower' (cf. AVm and RVm at Neh 8^{4}), means any *elevated* structure. Ezra's 'pulpit,' like its Latin original, *pulpitum*, probably corresponded rather to what we should call a 'platform' or 'stage.'

J. A. SELBIE.

PULSE (זֵרֹעִים *zērōʻîm*, זֵרְעֹנִים *zērʻōnîm*, Dn $1^{12.16}$).—The words in the original do not refer to any special plant, or even order of plants, but only to *things sown*. The purpose of Daniel and his companions was to be tried on a purely vegetable diet. An Arab. word of similar meaning, but more restricted, is *ḳuṭnîyyeh* (pl. *ḳaṭânî*), which is defined as 'grains, with the exception of wheat, barley, raisins, and dates,' or as 'those grains which are cooked, as lentils, mâsh (*Vigna Nilotica*), horse beans, beans, and chick peas.' The latter definition would correspond well with the Eng. 'pulse,' which refers to the edible seeds of the order *Leguminosæ*. It is said that they are called by this name in Arab. from the root *ḳaṭan*, 'to dwell,' because they last well, or because they are necessary to those who dwell in houses. Other authorities define *ḳaṭânî* to be *khilf*, *i.e.* all summer vegetables, which would make the exact equivalent of *zērōʻîm* and *zērʻōnîm*.

'Pulse' in 2 S 17^{28} is not in the Heb. original. The word 'parched' (קָלִי = *roasted* or *toasted*) occurs twice in this verse, once after *ḳemaḥ* = 'meal,' following wheat and barley, and tr^d 'parched *corn*' (see WHEAT); and again, after beans and lentils, and tr^d 'parched *pulse*.' It is customary to roast immature chick peas (Arab. *ḥummus*) in the oven, and eat them. The natives are exceedingly fond of them when prepared in this way. The allusion in the above passage is doubtless to grains roasted in the oven or toasted over the fire. See PARCHED.

G. E. POST.

PUNISHMENTS. — See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.

PUNITES (הַפּוּנִי, B ὁ Φουαεί, A Φουαί).—The gentilic name from PUVAH, Nu 26^{23}. See PUAH, No. 3. Siegfried-Stade suggest that the Heb. name should perhaps be pointed פֻּנִּי.

PUNON (פּוּנֹן, B Φεινώ, A Φινώ, F Φινών).—A station in the journeyings of the children of Israel, mentioned only in Nu $33^{42.43}$. The LXX renders it in the same way as PINON, the name of one of the 'dukes' of Edom (Gn 36^{41}). Eusebius (*s.v.* Φινών) and Jerome (*s.v.* 'Faenon') speak of it as formerly a city of the dukes of Edom, and identify it with a place between Petra and Zoar, called Φαινών, where mines were worked (*Onomast.* ed. Lag. pp. 155 and 288).

A. T. CHAPMAN.

PURAH (פֻּרָה ?'branch'=פֻּארָה Is 10^{33}; ?'winepress'=פּוּרָה Is 63^{3}; LXX Φαρά).—Gideon's 'servant,' lit. 'young man' (נַעַר, LXX παιδάριον, Vulg. *puer*), *i.e.* armour-bearer, Jg $7^{10f.}$; cf. 9^{54}, 1 S $14^{1.6}$, 2 S 20^{11}.

G. A. COOKE.

PURCHASE.—To purchase (from Old Fr. *pourchasser*, *i.e.* *pour* 'for' and *chasser* 'to chase') is to pursue after a thing, hence to acquire. The sense is now narrowed to acquiring by payment. For the wider meaning cf. Melvill, *Diary*, p. 42, 'Mr Andro Melvill . . . with grait difficultie purchassit leave of the kirk and magistrates of Genev . . . and takin jorney cam hamwart'; Knox, *First Blast* (Arber's reprint, p. 7), 'The veritie of God is of that nature, that at one time or at other, it will pourchace to it selfe audience'; *Article* xxv.

'They that receave them unworthyly purchase to them selves damnation.' This wider meaning is also seen in Ac 20^{28} 'the church of God which he hath purchased with his own blood' (ἣν περιεποιήσατο); and in 1 Ti 3^{13} 'They that have used the office of a deacon well purchase to themselves a good degree' (περιποιοῦνται, RV 'gain'). Cf. Ps 84^{3} in metre—

'The swallow also for herself
Hath purchased a nest.'

J. HASTINGS.

PURGE.—Like Lat. *purgare* and Fr. *purger*, the verb to 'purge' was formerly used in the widest sense of to cleanse or purify. Hence Ps 51^{7} 'Purge me with hyssop, and I shall be clean,' referring to the ceremony of dipping a bunch of hyssop (see HYSSOP) in blood and sprinkling the leper or defiled person (Lv 14^{4}, Nu 19^{18}); Mt 3^{12} 'He will throughly purge (RV 'cleanse') his floor'; Mk 7^{19} 'purging all meats' (RV 'making all meats clean,' *i.e.* ceremonially, see Swete's note); Jn 15^{2} 'Every branch that beareth fruit, he purgeth it' (RV 'cleanseth it'); He 1^{3} 'when he had by himself purged our sins' (RV 'made purification of sins'). Cf. the tr. of 1 Jn 3^{3} in Udall, *Erasmus' NT*, 'And every man that hath thys hope in him, purgeth himself, even as he also is pure'; Wyclif's tr. of Ja 4^{8} 'ye synners clense the hondis, and ye double in soule purge ye the hertis'; and the Act of Henry VIII. (1543) prohibiting Tindale's Translation, 'The person or persons being detecte or complained on, shal be admitted to purge and trie his or theyr innocency by other witnesse.' J. HASTINGS.

PURIFICATION.—See UNCLEAN.

PURIM (פּוּרִים or יְמֵי הַפֻּרִים).—A Jewish festival of whose origin and institution we have an account in the Book of Esther. There we are informed that the festival had its rise in the resting and rejoicing of the Jews in Persia after their slaughter of their enemies on 13th Adar, in the 12th year of king Ahasuerus (*i.e.* Xerxes, B.C. 473). That was the day which Haman, the grand vizier, had chosen by *lot* (=*pur*, Est 3^{7}) for the extermination of the Jews throughout the Pers. empire. Owing to the fact that in Susa the conflict was renewed on 14th Adar, the 'day of feasting and gladness' in that city fell on the 15th. It was therefore enacted, as we learn from what appears to be an interpolation (9$^{20-32}$), by an ordinance of Mordecai, the successor of Haman, confirmed by Esther the queen (who were chiefly instrumental in procuring the deliverance), that there should be an annual celebration of the feast in all time coming, among the Jews and their seed, both on 14th and 15th Adar; 'that they should make them days of feasting and gladness, and of sending portions one to another and gifts to the poor.' No religious services were enjoined, and the observance seems to have been at first merely of a convivial and charitable nature; but ultimately it was accompanied with the reading of the Bk. of Esther in the synagogue, the whole congregation joining enthusiastically in the closing passages relating to Mordecai's triumph, and, at the mention of Haman, hissing, stamping, gesticulating and crying out, 'Let his name be blotted out; let the name of the wicked perish,' while the reader pronounced the names of Haman's ten sons all in one breath to indicate that they expired at the same moment. This reading of 'the Megilla,' preceded and followed by a special benediction, commencing in each case with the words, 'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, king of the universe,' takes place both on the evening of the 13th of Adar, which is observed as a fast-day (called 'the Fast of Esther,' traceable from the 9th cent.; cf. 9^{31} 4^{3}), and on the morning of the 14th, which along with the 15th is devoted to celebrations of a festive and social character, as enjoined in Scripture, but without any prohibition of labour. To the influence of the Bk. of Esther the festival seems to have largely owed its popularity (Buxtorf, *Syn. Jud.* 24, and Ginsburg in Kitto's *Cycl.*). Apart from that book, the following are the only allusions to the subject that have been discovered in ancient literature. Referring to the commemoration of the victory over the Syrian general Nicanor on 13th Adar (B.C. 161), 2 Mac (15^{36}), which was probably written a little before the beginning of the Christian era, mentions that the anniversary fell on the day before 'Mordecai's day.' 1 Mac (about a century earlier) is silent on the point, although it mentions (7^{49}) the institution of 'Nicanor's day.' Josephus, writing about the close of the 1st cent. A.D., gives an account of the feast (*Ant* XI. vi. 13), and mentions that in his day it was observed by the Jews throughout the world on the 14th and 15th Adar, which days they called Φρουραίους. In the *Meg. Taanith* (xii. 31), which existed in the 2nd cent. A.D., these two days are also mentioned as 'the days of Purim,' when 'mourning is forbidden.' By some 'the Feast of the Jews' (Jn 5^{1}, cf. 4^{35} 6^{4}) is identified with Purim; but the inference is questionable, as the latter never had any special connexion with Jerus., and was not likely, as actually celebrated, to be very attractive to the Saviour (but see Milligan-Moulton on Jn 5^{1}).

With regard to the historical origin of Purim, there has been during the last half-century a growing tendency to reject the narrative in the Bk. of Esther, largely owing to the difficulty of finding any Persian word with which the name Pur can be identified. Various theories have been advanced to show that the festival had quite a different origin.

1. According to Reuss (*Gesch. AT*, § 473), following J.D. Michaelis (*Gesch. AT*), it may have grown out of the Nicanor-festival on 13th Adar, the latter losing its historical significance in the course of an eventful century or two, and thus becoming a preparatory fast to 'Mordecai's day,' whose strong hold upon the popular mind (notwithstanding the misgivings of the Great Synagogue, *Meg.* LXX. 4) was due to the popularity of the Bk. of Esther, with which it was so closely connected. This theory, however, leaves the *Purim* mystery unsolved, and it is negatived by the fact that even so late as in the *Meg. Taanith* (xii. 30) the 13th Adar is spoken of as 'Nicanor's day.'

2. J. Fürst (*Kanon AT*) and E. Meier (*Heb. Wrtb.*) trace Purim directly to a Pers. spring-festival (adopted by the Jews in Susa), and suppose the name to be connected with Pers. *bahar*=spring. Zunz (*ZDMG* xxvii.) takes a similar view, regarding the Bk. of Esther as designed to invest the festival with a Jewish character when it could no longer be got rid of; while Meyboom gives the idea a practical form by supposing Haman to be an emblem of winter overcome by the sun (Esther) and the moon (Mordecai).

3. Hitzig (*Gesch. Isr.*) observes that *Phur* in mod. Arabic=New Year (cf. *pûrva=the first*), and argues for a New Year's festival of Parthian origin which the Bk. of Esther (after B.C. 238) was designed to commend to the Jewish nation generally, its historical elements, such as they are, being derived from the early Arsacid, not the Achæmenid period.

4. A more remarkable theory is that which was originated by von Hammer in 1827 (*Wien. Jahrbuch Lit.*), and elaborated and developed by Lagarde in his 'Purim,' *Ein Beitrag zur Gesch. der Religion* (1887), according to which the feast is a Judaic transformation of the old Zoroastrian Farwardigân (Festival of the Dead), observed on the last ten days of the year, including five intercalary days. Lagarde (while also ascribing an influence to the μαγόφονια of Herod. iii. 79, and to a *Fest des Unbürtigen*) endeavours to make out a linguistic connexion between the Pers. name just mentioned and the various phases of the Greek name by which Purim is represented in the Septuagint (viz. φρουραί, φουρδία, φουρμαία, φρουραίοι), finding in these the elements of New-Pers. *Pôrdigân*, which he identifies with the φουρδιγάν, mentioned by the Byz. Menander as a Pers. feast in the 6th cent., and inferring the original Gr. form to have been φρουδαιά=Heb. *Purdaia* (פּוּרְדַּיָא), while he explains away the Heb. פּוּר by supposing that the original reading (3^{7}) may have been, not פּוּר הוּא, but פַּרְמָנָה (*pharmanah*)=Pers. *firman* (edict). Renan takes a similar view (Livre iv. *Hist. du P. d'Isr.*), tracing the name to Pers. *Fourdi* (Aram. *Pourdaï*, Heb. *Phourdim=Phourim*), and supposes the festival to have acquired its halo of Jewish romance in the time of the Maccabees. The etymological argument, however, is very precarious, popular usage in such a case being little influenced by corruptions of text,

and the various Gr. readings being too easily accounted for by the errors of Alexandrian copyists to justify us in using them to correct such a good Heb. text, even if the derivation from *Farwardigân* were better supported than it is (for objections see Halévy in the *Rev. des Études Juives*, 1887, who derives the LXX forms from the Gr. φρουρά=*guard*).

5. Another theory which has been recently advanced with no less confidence is that of Grätz (*Monatsschrift Ges. u. Wiss. d. Jud.* xxxv. 10–12). He traces Purim to Heb. פּוּרָה (*pûrah*)=wine-press, supposing the feast to have been due to the adoption by the Jews in Palestine (in the reign of Ptolemy IV. Philopator, B.C. 222–205, through the Hellenizing influence of Joseph the tribute-collector,—Jos. *Ant.* XII. iv.) of the Gr. festival Πιθοιγία=jar-opening, corresponding to the *Vinalia* of the Romans, alleging in support of his theory the riotous mirth and the making of presents of wine which characterized that Bacchanalian season. The linguistic argument, however, is seen to be more apparent than real when it is noticed that *wine-press* suggests, not *spring* (when the *Anthesteria* were held, of which the *Pithoigia* formed part), but *autumn*, and that the *Anthesteria* lasted for *three* days. Moreover, it is scarcely conceivable that such a Gr. institution could have gained in the course of a generation or two such a strong hold on the affections of the Jews as to resist the anti-Hellenic reaction which set in under the Maccabees within half a century afterwards.

6. Still more recently Zimmern (*ZATW*, 1891) has derived the Feast of Purim from the Bab. *Zagmuku* (otherwise *Akitu*), an ancient New Year's festival, celebrated with great pomp and mirth in the opening days of Nisan (cf. Est 3^7). This was remarkable chiefly for an *assembly* (Assyr. *puḫru*, easily passing into the meaning of feast, cf. κοινή and *cœna*, *convivium*) of the gods, which was held under the presidency of the Bab. tutelar deity *Marduk*, *Merodach* (cf. *Mordecai*), in a chamber forming part of a larger room (*Ubšugina=room of the puḫru*) in his temple *Ê-Sagila*, for the purpose of settling the fates of the king and the whole nation for the coming year (cf. the *lot* of Est 3^7 9^{24}). This celebration represented a similar mythical assembly of the gods, supposed to be held in a mysterious spot in the far East, which, again, had its prototype in a convivial assembly of the gods on the eve of the creation (see art. BABYLONIA, vol. i. 217^a), at which Marduk was appointed to overcome the rival power *Tiâmat*, and carry out the work of creation. In this connexion Marduk is significantly called 'the arranger of the *puḫru* of the gods.' In *Tiâmat* Zimmern thinks we may find the original of *Haman* (as in *Marduk* of *Mordecai*); and in the story of the Bk. of Esther he sees a Jewish transformation of the Bab. legend (Bel and the Dragon), the change of date from Nisan to Adar being due to the desire to keep it a month earlier than the solemn Passover.

Confirmation of this theory in a modified form is offered by Jensen (*WZKM* vi. 47 ff. 209 ff.; see also his communication to Wildeboer, quoted by the latter in his Comm. on 'Esther' in Marti's *Kurzer Hdcomm.* p. 173), who suggests the identification of Haman with an Elamite god Humba-ba=*Hummam* (corresponding to the Bab. Marduk), of Haman's wife *Zeresh* with Hummam's consort *Kiriša*, and of *Vashti* with an Elamite divinity *Wasti*, while at the same time pointing out that *Esther* =Bab. *Istar*, and that *Hadassa* in Bab.=*bride*. He also makes out *Istar* to be a cousin of *Marduk*, as Esther of Mordecai. With this mythology he connects the Bab. New Year's epic which celebrates, in twelve parts, the changing fortunes of Eabani (Marduk), and he finds in the Bk. of Esther a combination of these and other elements of a more popular character relating to the Babylonian conquest of the Elamites, the whole being wrought up by Jewish fancy amid Pers. surroundings.

Wildeboer, while accepting this theory, combines with it the idea of a festival of the dead (All-Souls'-Day), as suggested by Lagarde above, and applied by Schwally (*Leben nach dem Tode*, 42 ff.). Hence the feastings and fastings and sending of gifts—repasts and offerings for the dead being a usual accompaniment of such commemorations in Persia and elsewhere; hence, too, the absence of the name of God from a story intended for such semi-heathenish rites, as its introduction in such a connexion would have given offence to the religious authorities and prevented its admission to the synagogue.

A different version of the same theory is given by Br. Meissner (*ZDMG*, 1896). He traces back the Jewish festival through its Persian medium to the festivities referred to by Berosus under the name of Σάκαια, which he identifies (on doubtful etymological grounds) with the Bab. Zagmuk, as popularly understood and observed. In the celebration of this festival, which was of so merry a character that Istar, the goddess of love, naturally acquired a more prominent place in it than Marduk, it was usual for a slave, arrayed in royal apparel, to rule over the nobles for five days, and something like a reversal of the ordinary social relations took place. Meissner supposes the Jews to have become acquainted with it in Susa, and to have appreciated it so much in their state of subjection as to perpetuate it in a form that was specially fitted to glorify their own nation.

In the *Expositor*, Aug. 1896, Mr. C. H. W. Johns calls attention to the fact, as brought out by Peiser in the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliot.* vol. iv. p. 107, that the Assyr. word *puru* means 'term of office,' 'turn,' and holds Purim to be derived from *Puru*, which is free from the ineffaceable guttural in *puḫru*, as the common designation of the New Year's feast on its *secular* side (in connexion with the accession of officials), as distinguished from its sacred names and associations, with which the Jews could have no sympathy.

According to a conjecture of M. J. de Goeje's, favoured by Kuenen, the story of Esther is derived from the same Persian tradition as the tale of *The Thousand and One Nights*, which has a similar heroine in Scheherazade.

The word *Pur* has sometimes been supposed to belong to the same root as Pers. *pâre* and Lat. *pars*, but Halévy traces it to a lost Aram. word פּוּרָה, from root פרר=to break in pieces, after the analogy of other Semitic tongues, in which the idea of 'lot' is closely related to that of fraction, or partition, with which he connects the distribution of gifts at the feast. Another suggestion is that it may have denoted some object (cf. *urn*, *dice*, *cards*) used, in casting lots,—such as Dieulafoy (*Rev. des Ét. Juives*, 1888) claims to have discovered in the excavations of the Memnonium at Susa, in the shape of a quadrangular prism, bearing different numbers on its four faces, which he thinks may have been used for casting lots, the name *pur* (like Sanskrit *pur* 'fulness,' Pers. *pur* 'full,' Lat. *plenus*, Fr. *plein*) having reference to its *solid* form. But Jensen (quoted by Wildeboer as above) derives the word from Assyr. *pūru* or *būru=stone*, used in a metaphorical sense analogous to that of גּוֹרָל and ψῆφος.

In subsequent times the Feast of Purim has often been the means of sustaining the faith of Jewish communities when in imminent danger of destruction at the hands of their enemies, of which we are reminded by the Cairene Purim (*Furin al-Mizrayim*) and the Purim-Vincent, designed to commemorate the deliverance of the Jews in Cairo and Frankfort in 1524 and 1616.

It may be added that the distinction between 'Great Purim' and 'Little Purim,' referring to the two celebrations that used to take place in leap-year, in Adar and Ve-Adar respectively, cannot be traced to an earlier period than the 2nd cent. A.D.

LITERATURE.—Besides the authorities cited above, see the literature referred to in art. ESTHER, and, further, Derenbourg, *Hist. de la Pal.* 442 ff.; W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2}, 184 n.

J. A. M'CLYMONT.

PURITY.—This word, in subst. form, is not found in AV or RV of OT, and occurs only twice in NT, 1 Ti 4^{12} 5^2 (ἁγνεία), the RV adding, however, a third instance when it accepts (with ℵ B) καὶ τῆς ἁγνότητος at 2 Co 11^3. The form 'pureness' occurs once in NT, 2 Co 6^6 (ἁγνότης), and three times in OT, Job 22^{30}, Is 1^{25}, Pr 22^{11} (Heb. being *bōr* in the two former passages, and *ṭâhôr* in the last, and the LXX reproduction being nearest to exactness in the ὁσίας χεῖρας of Proverbs). In all these instances the use of 'purity' is ethical. This ethical use is one of the functions of all the Heb. and Gr. words constituting the family of *purity*, though it would be an error to say that any one of these words is never used ceremonially; even *bārar* (primarily= 'separate') is ceremonial in at least one passage, Is 52^{11}. And, of course, there is the literal use also, as, for instance, to describe gold when free from alloy (Ex 25^{11} *et al.*, *ṭâhôr*, καθαρός; cf. Rev 21^{21}). But the Eng. translators have preferred 'purity' and its family for the ethical region (though they have never so used 'purification,' and have not restricted 'purify'), and have preferred 'clean' (though 'cleanness' is almost always ethical) for the double office of ethical and ceremonial. In the Gr. usage there are similar preferences. Ἁγνός, ἁγνεία, ἁγνότης, ἁγνῶς (Ph 1^{17} only, RV 'sincerely') are in NT exclusively ethical, though not so exclusively ἁγνίζω, and not at all ἁγνισμός (Ac 21^{26} only); in LXX ἁγνός is almost always ethical, though never ἁγνίζω, ἁγνεία, or ἁγνισμός (Jer 6^6 is doubtful; Heb.='rest for your souls,' LXX rendering ἁγνισμός, which may be intended to mean national purification from idolatry); ἁγνότης and ἁγνῶς do not occur; while καθαρός, *ṭâhôr*, is in LXX mainly ceremonial, and in NT, as is natural, nearly always ethical; indeed, in Tit 1^{15} (πάντα καθαρὰ τοῖς *καθαροῖς*) the idea of ceremonial or Levitical impurity, already ignored in the spiritual Psalms (*e.g.* Ps 119), is overtly surrendered (cf. Mt 15$^{11-20}$, Mk 7^{15}). Ἁγνός and its immediate correlates are doubtless connected with the more comprehensive family of ἅγιος, but form at the same time a distinct branch confined to one aspect of holiness, ***holiness*** and *purity* remaining so far distinct throughout OT. Ἅγιος, *ḳādôsh*, 'holy,' as separate, as related to God, who is absolutely separate from all evil, is in OT used fundamentally, not of ethical qualities, but of position—the position of God as *unapproachable* in majesty, power, and goodness; the position of men as *consecrated* to and by God, and therein and thereby summoned to be *separate*, in God-likeness, from all the defilements of heathenism (Lv 19^{2} 11^{44}); and, finally, the position of material things as related to the service of God or the consecrated position of men. One of the most prominent of the defilements of heathenism was sensuality, and to this the family of ἁγνός stands especially opposed, both in classical Greek (cf. ἁγνή with Artemis in Homer, and the use of ἁγνός in Soph. *Antig.* 880, and Dem., *adv. Neær.* 59, 78) and in sacred Greek (cf. 4 Mac 18$^{7.8}$, and 2 Co 11^{2}, Tit 2^{5}); yet it often takes a wider sweep and covers purity of motive (Ja 4^{8}, 1 P 1^{22}), and of character generally (1 Co 11^{3}, Ja 3^{17}, 1 Jn 3^{3}, and in LXX Ps 11 (12)^{6} 18 (19)^{9}, Pr 20^{9}).

In NT ἁγνός and καθαρός may perhaps be distinguished (see Westcott on 1 Jo 3^{3}) as predominantly connoting *feeling* and *state* respectively, ἁγνός (cf. ἅζομαι) implying a shrinking from pollution, while καθαρός expresses simply the fact of cleanness. Hence the ἁγνίζει ἑαυτόν in 1 Jn 3^{3} and the ἁγνίσατε καρδίας in Ja 4^{8} penetrate more deeply towards the root of the matter than the καθαρίσατε χεῖρας of the latter passage, or even than the καθαρίζει ἡμᾶς of 1 Jn 1^{7}, the καθαρίσῃ ἡμᾶς of 1 Jn 1^{9}, and the καθαρίσῃ λαόν of Tit 2^{14}, in proportion as the purification by the man of his external acts, or the purification by the external influence (if we may so speak) of God or Christ, has less to do with internal and personal feeling than the effort of the man upon his inner life. Westcott also distinguishes ἁγνός and καθαρός from ἅγιος, in that the latter is 'holy absolutely in itself or in idea,' while ἁγνός and καθαρός 'admit the thought or the fact of temptation or pollution.' So 'a man is ἅγιος in virtue of his divine destination (He 10^{10}) to which he is gradually conformed (He 10^{14}),' while he is καθαρός or ἁγνός according (we may add) as we regard his state or the internal discipline by which, on the human side, the state is attained. If these distinctions hold, we shall, with Westcott, interpret the phrase 'even as he is pure' (ἁγνός), 1 Jn 3^{3}, not of God (of whom ἁγνός could not be predicated), but of Christ in the light of the discipline of His human life.

Another word, which AV translated 'pure' in 2 P 3^{1} ('your pure minds'), and which is very closely allied to ἁγνός, is εἰλικρινής (-εια or -ια), a word of uncertain etymology (see Lightfoot on Ph 1^{10}), but of no uncertain significance. It is now, in RV, in all five passages where it occurs, rendered by 'sincere' (or its subst.), that is, *unmixed*, a sense which it bears in the only place where it is found in LXX, Wis 7^{25}, Wisdom being there spoken of as an 'unmingled effluence of the glory of the Almighty.' Trench (*NT Synon.*^{8} p. 309) is probably correct in distinguishing εἰλικρινής from καθαρός, as denoting (the former) freedom from the falsehoods of life and (the latter) freedom from its pollutions. Ὅσιος, which is associated with words for 'purity' at He 7^{26}, has special reference to piety, *i.e.* reverence for the acknowledged sanctities of law and religion. See CLEAN, HOLINESS, and UNCLEAN.

J. MASSIE.

PURPLE (אַרְגָּמָן *'argāmān*; Aram. אַרְגְּוָן *'argĕwān* (Dn 5$^{7.16}$); Arab. *urjuwân*; πορφύρα, *purpura*).—This dye was extracted from the shell-fish *Murex trunculus*, L., and *M. brandaris*, L., and sometimes from *Purpura hæmastoma*. Large heaps of the shells of these molluscs are found near Tyre, and outside the south gate of Sidon. The dye was known as Tyrian purple. It was extracted from the throat of the animal, each one yielding a single drop. The exact colour is uncertain, as the art of extracting the dye is lost. The fluid is at first white, then, by exposure, becomes green, and finally reddish purple. The purple (πορφυροῦν) robe (ἱμάτιον) of Jn 19^{2} (cf. πορφύραν, Mk 15^{17}) is called scarlet (χλαμύδα κοκκίνην) in Mt 27^{28}. See, further, art. COLOURS in vol. i. p. 457^{b}.

G. E. POST.

PURSE.—See BAG.

PURTENANCE (an abbrev. of 'appurtenance,' from Lat. *apertinere*, through Old Fr. *apartenir*, *apurtenaunse*) means properly whatever pertains to, and in its single occurrence in AV (Ex 12^{9}) is used for the intestines of the Passover lamb (RV 'inwards'). The tr. is from Tindale. Wyclif has 'entrayls.' Cf. *Babees Book*, p. 275, 'Kydde roste with ye heed and the portenaunce on lamb and pygges feet, with vinegre and percely theron.'

J. HASTINGS.

PURVEYOR, *i.e.* 'provider' (Fr. *pourvoyeur*, from Old Fr. *proveoir* or *porveoir* = Lat. *providere*), occurs only in To 1^{13} of Tobit, who obtained grace and favour in the eyes of Enemessar and became his *purveyor* (ἀγοραστής). The ἀγοραστής (lit. 'buyer') was the slave who had to buy provisions for the house (Xen. *Mem.* I. v. 2); cf. the Lat. *obsonator* (Plaut. *Mil.* III. i. 73; Sen. *Ep.* 47).

J. A. SELBIE.

PUT (AV Phut, except in 1 Ch 1^{8}, Nah 3^{9}).—Name of an African nation; פּוּט, LXX Φούδ in Gn, Ch (A in Ch Φούτ, Genes. Cotton. Φούθ), in the Prophets Λίβυες (except Nah 3^{9}, where the rendering φυγή appears,* with a false division of the verse); the marginal additions of Q (Marchalianus) twice explain the name fancifully as στόμα; Vulg. *Phuth*, *Phut* (Ch), in the Prophets *Libyes*, *Libya* (Ezk 30^{5}—so AV in Jer and Ezk).

In Gn 10^{6}, 1 Ch 1^{8}, Put is the third son of Ham. In the Prophets, warriors from Put are principally associated with the armies of Egypt as auxiliaries. Jer 46^{9} 'Cush and Put, that handle the shield, and the Ludim, that handle and bend the bow,' are among 'the mighty men' of Egypt. In Ezk 30^{5} we have a similar enumeration of auxiliaries beginning with Cush and Put. In Nah 3^{9} Thebes (No-amon) has Ethiopia and Egypt as 'her strength,' Put and Lubim as her 'helpers.' A distinction seems to be made here between the subjects of the Ethiopian-Egyptian empire and the independent tribes, living farther off, who appear to have served the Pharaohs only as mercenaries. In Ezk 27^{10} Tyrus is said to have had Persia and Lud and Put in her army. An employment of E. African mercenaries in Tyrus is strange, although it does not present greater difficulties than the connexion with various other remote nations, like Persia (but see below). In Ezk 38^{5}, however, the circumstance that in the army of the Northern prince Gog from Magog 'Persia, Cush, and Put' appear among the various barbarians from Asia Minor, is very surprising. If we do not wish to accuse the prophet of senselessly accumulating here all obscure names of remote nations known to him, it is most natural to assume a corruption of the text, due to a reader's having enlarged it from other passages (from 27^{10} ?). A blunder of the scholarly Ezekiel, who displays such a wide knowledge of geography, especially in ch. 27, is not very probable. Otherwise, Put would be another country than the one usually designated (see below). The passage must certainly be used with caution. On the other hand, Is 66^{19} seems to come in here : '**Pul** and Lud, that draw the bow,' as the most remote nations. The reading Φούδ for Pul in the LXX (ℵ Φούθ) confirms the evident emendation to *Put*.

---

* This blunder seems to be one of the rare instances where the Egyptian tongue influenced the Alexandrian translators. פוט does not exist in Hebrew, nor does it mean 'to flee' in the Semitic languages, but Coptic has πωτ 'to run, to flee.' Some MSS read Φούδ also in Ezk 27^{10}; see Field, *Hexapla*.

These biblical passages are insufficient to determine the situation of the country. However, apart from the difficult and doubtful name Lud, we see the Libyans repeatedly distinguished from Put, *e.g.* in Gn 10^{13} (see LEHABIM) and Nah 3^9 (see LUBIM), also in Ezk 30^5, where we must read *Lub* instead of *Cub*, after the LXX. Therefore the guess of the LXX at the Libyans has little probability. We have rather to look to the east of Africa.

The best interpretation of the name, which is now being more and more generally accepted, is the identification with the country *Punt* (or rather *Puent* ?) of the Egyptian inscriptions.* The Persian list of tributary countries in Naksh-i-Rustam (Spiegel, *Pers. Keilinschr.*^{2} 119) enumerates Kushiya, Putiya, and Masiya (Babylonian translation *Pûṭa, Kûšu, Maṣṣû*), confirming the view that *Puṭ* (with assimilation of the *n*) was the form of the name used by all Semites, and that it signified a part of N. Eastern Africa. The Egyptians pronounced *t* after *n* regularly with a sound which the Greeks translated by δ (cf. Φούδ with the correct rendering, not of the Hebrew, but of the Egyptian pronunciation), the Semites by ט. So *Pûṭ* stands for *Pu*(*n*)*t*, quite regularly.

The Egyptian inscriptions mention this country of Punt (later form *Pune*) very frequently after *c.* 3000 B.C. According to the latest investigations, it comprised the whole African coast of the Red Sea from the desert E. of Upper Egypt to the modern Somali country.† Parts of it, evidently only those in the north (between Souakin and Massoua ?), were tributary to the great conquering Pharaohs of the 18th dynasty. Whether the masters of Egypt in prophetic time extended their power so far south is uncertain. But at all times there was intercourse and commerce between Egypt and the southern rich parts of Punt both by land, through the Nubian desert, and by water. We have various inscriptions referring to commercial naval expeditions sent by the Pharaohs, especially in the 12th, 18th, and 20th dynasties, of which that in the time of queen *Ḥa't-sheps*(*o*)*ut* has become most famous by the fine pictures illustrating it upon the walls of the temple of Deir el-Bahri in Western Thebes. Already in the 5th dynasty king Assa received a member of the African dwarf-tribes from Punt. The treasures of Punt were : slaves, cattle, gold (from a region called 'Aman), ivory, ebony, ostrich- feathers and -eggs, rare live animals (especially monkeys), greyhounds for hunting, gum, and a number of fragrant substances from various trees or shrubs. The incense needed by the Egyptians for the divine worship and for cosmetics formed the most important product of the country. The parts of Punt producing it were called 'the incense-terraces' (or 'stairs'), apparently situated on the Abyssinian coast (incense in sufficient quantity grows only E. of Bâb el-Mandeb), but it would be wrong to limit Punt to these regions. The inhabitants were rude nomadic shepherds, some of them negroes or mixed with negroes, but mostly of the pure Hamitic race, *i.e.* near relatives of the Egyptians and the other white Africans. Consequently their descendants are the desert tribes called *Troglodytæ* (better *Trogodytæ*) or *Ichthyophagi* by the Greeks, *Bedja* by the Arabs in the north, Saho and Afar (Danakil) on the Abyssinian coast.* They can hardly have formed a large contingent of the Egyptian armies, because the desert regions north of Abyssinia were too thinly populated. Only the archers of the region *Maza* (*Maṣiya* of the Persians, see above), more inland, *i.e.* nearly in the modern province of Taqa, were as popular as policemen and guards as the Nubas are in modern Egypt ; this country of the Mazoyu is frequently separated from Punt. But the prophets speaking of Put-Punt evidently did not consider the scanty population of this country. To them it represented all Africa east of Egypt and Ethiopia (*i.e.* the Nubian Nile valley, not modern Ethiopia or Ḥabesh), an endless and mysterious part of the world. The Phœnicians (cf. Ezk 27^{10}) may have extended their commercial connexions to what the Greeks called the 'coasts of the aromata,' after the completion of Necho's canal between the Nile and the Red Sea ;† before that time the difficulties must have been too great to allow a direct contact.

Commentators who wished to follow the translation of the LXX, compared the Coptic name ⲫⲁⲓⲁⲧ 'Libya (especially the western part of the Delta), Libyan' (thus Knobel and, following him, Dillmann). The hieroglyphic equivalent of *Phaiat* has not yet been found, but the word looks like a (plural ?) denominative from a feminine noun ending in *-et*. This would not at all agree with the *ṭ* (ט) of the Semites, unless an *n* had been assimilated (see above). The Greek translators of the prophets may have thought of this name, nevertheless. See, however, above, the objections from the biblical passages and the confirmation of the reading *Pûṭ* from the Persian inscription. Some Egyptologists compare the Egyptian expression for 'foreign warriors,' which they erroneously read *pet*, *pite*, etc. But the Amarna tablets have shown that this expression 'bowmen' was *pedate* (singular 'a troop of bowmen' *pedite*(*t*), derived from *pide*(*t*) 'bow'). Consequently neither the Coptic ⲫⲁⲓⲁⲧ nor the Semitic *Puṭ* agrees with these formations. How the comparison of 'a river Phut in Mauretania' (*i.e.* Morocco, which was never even known to the Egyptians !) in Josephus (*Ant.* I. vi. 2) ‡ was seriously considered by modern commentators, remains a mystery.§

W. MAX MÜLLER.

---

* Due to G. Ebers in his *Aegypten und die Bücher Mose's*, p. 64, accepted, *e.g.*, by Stade (*de Isa. vat. Æth.*). On the weak attempt at contradiction by Dillmann, see the present writer's *Asien*, p. 115.

† A great mass of earlier literature on the much discussed situation of this country is antiquated. Formerly scholars tried to identify Punt with Southern Arabia, then (after Maspero) they located it on both sides of the Red Sea. The latest literature will be found in Krall, *Das Land Punt* ('Sitzungsberichte Akad. Vienna,' cxxi. 1890); Naville, *Deir el-Bahari*, iii. ; W. M. Müller in *Mittheil. vorderas. Gesells.* iii. 1898, 148 (cf. *Asien und Europa*, ch. 7). Glaser (*Mittheil. vorderas. Gesells.* iv. etc.) unfortunately uses some very antiquated sources.

* If we have a right to compare the tribes more to the south-east, we might speak also of the Gallas. The frequent comparison of the Somalis with the 'Punti' is erroneous. The Somalis lived originally only on the eastern coast of modern Somaliland, *i.e.* at too great a distance. Some writers have tried to find in Punt the original African seat of the 'Phœnicians.' But this idea rests only on the accidental similarity of a Latin pronunciation (Punicus for Phœnicus). No ethnologic connexion between those African savages and the highly cultured Asiatic nation can be found. The position of the Phœnicians in Gn 10 among the Hamites seems to be due to other reasons than those of ethnology.

† See *Mittheil. vorderas. Gesells.* iii. 152, on the completion of the canal.

‡ Called *Phthuth* Ptol. iv. 1, 3 ; *Fut* Plin. v. 1, and known thus also to Jerome.

§ Winckler (*Forschungen*, i. 513) has raised the question

PUTEOLI (Ποτίολοι, modern Pozzuoli).—The great commercial port of Italy, in what is called now the Bay of Naples, but was at one time called the *Sinus Puteolanus*. It was at this port that St. Paul landed on his journey to Rome (Ac 28[13]). There were already brethren there, and he and St. Luke were entreated to tarry with them seven days. Its name is of doubtful origin, but is attributed either to the putrid smell of the sulphurous springs close by, or to the wells (*putei*) of the place. Cicero, like St. Paul, landed there when he came from Sicily (*pro Planc*. 26). It was the resort of trade from all parts, notably from the East, and the corn supplies for the capital were landed here. Josephus speaks of himself as having landed there after being shipwrecked (*Vit*. 3), and gives its other name of Dicæarchia. There must have been a Jewish population in the place (cf. Jos. *Ant*. XVIII. vi. 4), and this may perhaps account for the presence of Christians there. Some of the ruins of the ancient mole, at which the apostle must have landed, are still in existence.

H. A. REDPATH.

PUTHITES (הַפּוּתִי, B Μειφειθείμ, A 'Ηφιθείν).—One of the families of Kiriath-jearim, 1 Ch 2[53]. See GENEALOGY, iv. 38.

PUTIEL (פּוּטִיאֵל, Φουτιήλ).—The father-in-law of Aaron's son Eleazar, Ex 6[25] (P). About Putiel we hear nothing more in the OT, and the meaning of the name is uncertain. Gray (*HPN* 210) classes it amongst the late and artificial names characteristic of the lists of P and the Chronicler. It may be half-Egyptian half-Semitic (='he whom El gave,' see Dillm.-Ryssel, *Exodus*, *ad loc.*), but even if so, it will not bear all the weight of the argument that Hommel (*AHT* 293, 295) builds upon it in regard to the early history of Israel and the character of the Priests' Code. J. A. SELBIE.

PUVAH.—See PUAH.

PYGARG (דִּישֹׁן *dīshōn*).—*Dīshōn* occurs only once (Dt 14[5]). It is the fifth name in the Heb. list. In B of the LXX it comes third in order (πύγαργος), *yaḥmûr* and *'aḳḳō* being left out, although AF reproduce these by βούβαλος and τραγέλαφος. Both Eng. VSS have adopted 'pygarg' for *dīshōn*, but AVm has 'dishon *or* bison.' We have no certain knowledge of the animal intended by *dīshōn*, except that it is to be inferred, from its position in the list, that it was an antelope. If, of the four antelopes found in the deserts contiguous to Pal., *Gazella Dorcas*, L., corresponds to *ẓěbi*, *Antilope leucoryx*, Pall., to *tě'ō*, we may adopt *A. Addax*, Licht., for *dīshōn*. This species is over 3½ feet high at the shoulders, and shaped like the reindeer. Its horns are spiral, 2½ feet long. Its colour is white, with the exception of a black mane, and a tawny colour on the shoulders and back. It is uncertain whether the fourth antelope, *Alcephalus bubalis*, Pall., is mentioned in Scripture (see UNICORN). G. E. POST.

PYRAMID.—Simon the Maccabee is said to have erected a magnificent monument to his parents and his (four) brothers at Modein. This consisted partly of seven pyramids (πυραμίδας), six set up one opposite another, with the seventh (intended apparently for Simon's own monument) probably standing by itself at one of the ends, 1 Mac 13[28] (cf. Jos. *Ant*. XIII. vi. 6). Pyramid-graves are, of course, most familiar to us in Egypt, but they were not uncommon elsewhere. There is probably a reference to such graves in Is 14[18] 'all the kings of the earth, all of them, lie in honour, each one in his own house.' The Bible contains no certain special allusion to the pyramids of Egypt, the reference in Job 3[14], which has been conjectured, being very doubtful (see Dillm. *ad loc.*).

PYRRHUS (Πύρρος: lit. 'fiery-red').—Amongst the companions of St. Paul who accompanied him on his last journey to Jerusalem from Philippi was Sopater of Berœa, who in the RV is described as 'son of Pyrrhus' (Ac 20[4]). The word Πύρρου is omitted in TR in accordance with the later authorities, but it is read by all the different classes of older documents (ℵABDE vulg. boh. sah. Or.), and must clearly have formed part of the original text. Blass (*ad loc.*) points out that this is the only case in the NT in which a patronymic is added after the Greek fashion, and that perhaps it implies that Sopater was of noble birth. A. C. HEADLAM.

PYTHON.—The reading πύθωνα in Ac 16[16] is attested by the overwhelming evidence of ℵABC* D*. The inferior reading πύθωνος, found in C³D² EHLP, is easily explained. The accusative form was not understood. Hence the more intelligible construction with the genitive (cf. Lk 4[33]). The reading πύθωνα is obviously the right one (so Lachm. Tisch. WH, Blass).

The name Πύθων as a Greek term must be connected with that of the district Πυθώ in Phocis, which lay at the foot of Parnassus where the town Delphi was situated. Its geographical association with the Delphic oracle over which Apollo presided gave rise to the adjective Πύθιος as an epithet of Apollo. His priestess was called ἡ Πυθία. Also the name Πύθων, derived from this local connexion, was bestowed on the serpent whom the god was believed to have slain when he took possession of the Delphic oracle. According to Apollodorus (I. iv. 1) this oracle was formerly in possession of the goddess Themis, and the mysterious chasm, from which the intoxicating and inspiring exhalations issued, was guarded by this serpent, whom Apollo destroyed. The connexion of the serpent with wisdom and soothsaying is based on demonology (see MAGIC in vol. iii. pp. 209 (footnote), 210). Cf. Gn 3[1], Mt 10[16].

In the present passage it is clear that what is implied is that the girl was considered to be possessed of a soothsaying demon. In the language of the OT she would probably be called a בַּעֲלַת אוֹב (1 S 28[7]). The word אוֹב, however, is employed by itself to convey this meaning, and is reproduced in the LXX by ἐγγαστρίμυθος (Lv 19[31] 20[6. 27]). The Syriac version on Ac 16[16] renders by ܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܨܡܐ 'soothsaying spirit' (lit. 'spirit of soothsaying'). See art. SOOTHSAYING; cf. also *Necromancy* under SORCERY.

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

---

whether the *Puṭu-yaman* mentioned in the fragmentary annals of Nebuchadnezzar does not come in here. This 'Greek-Putu' is mentioned among remote countries in the midst of the sea, which aided Egypt under Amasis against the Babylonians, and this reminds Winckler of Nah 3[9]. But the necessary addition *yaman* (Greek) shows that this country (Winckler supposes Lesbos, suitably to his restoration of the name of the prince, viz. [*Pitta*]*kû*(*s*), or Caria) is to be distinguished from the ordinary Pût of the Bible, the Persians and Babylonians. Perhaps the Put of Ezk 27[10] [ch. 38[5]] might be explained after Winckler, so that we should have two countries called Put—one in Africa, another in the north.

Q

QOHELETH.—See ECCLESIASTES.

QUAIL (שְׂלָו [*Ḳerê* שְׂלָיו] *sělāw*, in Nu 11^{31} plur. שַׂלְוִים, which implies a sing. שַׂלְוָה *salweh*; ὀρτυγομήτρα, *coturnix*; Arab. *selwa*).—A well-known migratory bird, *Coturnix vulgaris*, L. A few individuals remain in Egypt and the Holy Land throughout the year. The migrators arrive in abundance, on their way north towards the beginning of March, and again on their way south in November. Some pass through without stopping, while others remain to breed. Their arrival is heralded by their peculiar call, especially early in the morning and at sunset. They migrate in vast flocks, crossing the Arab. desert, flying for the most part at night. They also cross the Mediterranean, selecting as their places of passage the narrowest portions, as that between Africa and Malta, Sicily, and the Greek islands, etc. They always fly with the wind. Their bodies are so heavy in comparison with the power of their wings that they cannot cross very long reaches of the sea. Many perish, even in the short passage, and those which arrive safe are excessively fatigued. Quails are twice mentioned in connexion with the Wilderness Journeyings (Ex 16^{13} [P], Nu $11^{31.32}$ [JE], cf. Ps 105^{40}). Those which supplied the Israelites came in spring, while on their way northwards. Tristram has shown that they would naturally follow up the Red Sea to its bifurcation, and cross at the narrowest part into the Sinaitic peninsula. A sea wind would bring them in immense numbers into the camp which the Israelites occupied at that time. The miracle consisted in their being directed to the right time and place. Quails, when migrating, begin to arrive at night (Ex 16^{13}), and are found in large numbers in the morning (Nu $11^{31.32}$). Their great exhaustion on their arrival makes it easy to believe all that is said in the narrative as to the numbers which the Israelites captured, and the ease with which they were taken.

The quail belongs to the order *Gallinæ*, family *Phasianidæ*. Its predominant colour is brown, shaded and mottled with rufous and grey, with edgings of black. A buff line extends down over each eye, and another down the centre of the head. Its length is 7½ inches. Its flesh is succulent. It is popularly known in Syria as the *fûrri*, an onomatopoetic word, referring to the whirring of its wings as it takes to flight. See, further, Dillm.-Ryssel on Ex 16^{13}. G. E. POST.

QUAKE.—To quake (from the same root as 'quick' [=alive], 'quicken,' cf. *Piers Plowman*, 'Quook as hit quyke were') is to shake, usually with fear (so always in AV, where the transit. sense does not occur). Thus He 12^{21} 'Moses said, I exceedingly fear and quake' (ἔκφοβός εἰμι καὶ ἔντρομος). George Fox in his *Journal* says, 'Justice Bennet of Derby was the first that called us Quakers, because I bid them tremble at the word of the Lord. This was in the year 1650.' Fox had used the verb 'quake,' which probably struck the Justice's ear as odd because already antiquated in this sense. Yet RV retains it everywhere, and adds Mt 28^{4} 'For fear of him the watchers did quake' (for AV 'shake,' Gr. σείω, which is trd 'quake' in AV and RV at 27^{51}). Amer. RV introduces 'quake' also at Ps 18^{7}. J. HASTINGS.

QUALITY is used in Ad. Est 11 heading in the sense of rank: 'The stock and quality of Mardocheus.' Cf. Shaks. *Henry V.* IV. viii. 95—

> 'The rest are princes, barons, lords, knights, squires,
> And gentlemen of blood and quality.'

QUARREL.—Like Lat. *querela*, from which it comes, through Old Fr. *querele*,* 'quarrel' originally meant a complaint or cause of complaint. Thus Hall, *Works*, ii. 155, 'It was thy just quarrell, O Saviour, that whiles one Samaritane returned, nine Israelites were healed, and returned not.' Then it was used for any cause or *case* that had to be pursued or defended, as in Golding's *Calvin's Job*, 559, 'Although Job had a just and reasonable quarrell, yet did he farre overshote himself'; and p. 573, 'Sometymes we will be ashamed to mainteyne a good quarrell, bycause wee see that men do but make a mocke at it.' This is the sense in which the word is used in AV: Lv 26^{25} 'I will bring a sword upon you that shall avenge the quarrel of my covenant' (RV 'execute the vengeance'); 2 K 5^{7} 'See how he seeketh a quarrel against me' (RVm 'an occasion'); Mk 6^{19} 'Herodias had a quarrel against him' (AVm 'an inward grudge,' RV 'set herself against him,' Gr. ἐνεῖχεν αὐτῷ); except in Col 3^{13} 'If any man have a quarrel against any,' where the meaning is rather 'complaint,' as AVm and RV; Gr. μομφή.

The verb 'to quarrel' occurs in AV Preface in the transit. sense of oppose, object to. Cf. Melvill, *Diary*, 370, 'At the quhilk word the King interrupts me, and crobbotlie quarrels our meitting, alleaging it was without warrand and seditius.' The modern intrans. meaning of the verb is found in Sir 31^{29}, and RV introduces it at Pr 20^{3}.

J. HASTINGS.

QUARRY.—In 1 K 6^{7} it is said that the temple was built of stone made ready 'at the quarry' (RV; AV has 'before it was brought thither,' RVm 'when it was brought away'). The MT, whose correctness is not above suspicion, is אֶבֶן שְׁלֵמָה מַסָּע; LXX λίθοις ἀκροτόμοις ἀργοῖς; Vulg. *de lapidibus dolatis atque perfectis*. The rendering 'quarry' or 'quarrying' for מַסָּע is probably correct (cf. the use of the root נסע in Hiphil in 1 K 5^{31} $^{[\text{Eng.}\ 17]}$ and Ec 10^{9}), and the meaning is that the huge stones spoken of in $5^{31\,(17)}$ were dressed before leaving the quarry (for this practice cf. Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 237). For the process of quarrying as carried on by the Egyptians in early times, see Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 383 f., and *passim*. It is evident that 1 K 6^{7} breaks the connexion, and this verse is probably a later addition (so Benzinger, Kittel, *et al.*). The statement contained in it gave rise to a variety of fanciful legends tending to the glorification of the temple and its builder (see Benzinger, *Comm. ad loc.*).

The only other occurrence of 'quarry' in the EV is in Jg $3^{19.26}$. According to v.^{19}, Ehud turned back from 'the quarries that were by Gilgal,' and after the assassination of Eglon he 'escaped while they tarried, and passed beyond the quarries,' v.^{26}. AVm and RVm offer as an alternative rendering 'graven images'; LXX has τὰ γλυπτά; Vulg. in v.^{19} 'reversus de Galgalis, *ubi erant idola*,' in v.^{26} 'Locum *idolorum*.' The Hebrew is פְּסִילִים, which is used as plural to פֶּסֶל, and is employed of images of gods in wood, stone, or metal, Dt $7^{5.25}$ 12^{3}, Is 21^{9} 30^{22}, 2 Ch 34^{4}. Moore, who considers that 'quarries' is an unwarranted translation, proposes rendering '*sculptured stones* (probably rude stone images).' They may be the same as the stones which, according to popular tradition, Joshua erected to commemorate the passage of the Jordan (Jos 4^{20}), or, possibly boundary stones, marking the last Moabite outpost (cf. Jg 3^{26}). See, further, Budde ('Richter' in *Kurzer Hdcom. ad loc.*), who thinks the *Pĕṣîlîm* probably marked the Jordan ford at Gilgal, and that the ford was known by this name. For Jos 7^{5} (RVm) see SHEBARIM.

---

* The spelling has been assimilated to the distinct word 'quarrel,' a square-headed crossbow bolt (Low Lat. *quadrellum*).

In Is 51^{1} מַקֶּבֶת בּוֹר (lit. 'excavation of a pit') is used for *quarry* in a fig. sense: 'Look unto the rock whence ye were hewn, and to the hole of the pit (εἰς τὸν βόθυνον τοῦ λάκκου) whence ye were digged.' On a Rabbinical conceit regarding this passage see PETER (FIRST EPISTLE OF) in vol. iii. p. 795^{b}. See, further, art. STONE. J. A. SELBIE.

QUARTUS (Κούαρτος).—Mentioned with Erastus, the treasurer of Corinth, as joining in St. Paul's greeting to the Church of Rome, Ro 16^{23}. He is commemorated Nov. 3. Later traditions will be found in *Acta Sanctorum*, Nov., i. p. 585.

A. C. HEADLAM.

QUATERNION (τετράδιον) means a group consisting of four persons or things. The Greek word is a ἅπαξ λεγ. in NT, being found only in Ac 12^{4} παραδοὺς τέσσαρσιν τετραδίοις στρατιωτῶν φυλάσσειν αὐτόν, Vulg. *quatuor quaternionibus*. A Roman watch consisted, Polybius tells us, of four men (vi. 33: τὸ φυλακεῖόν ἐστιν ἐκ τεττάρων ἀνδρῶν), and Vegetius (*de Re Militari*, iii. 8) writes: 'De singulis centuriis quaterni equites et quaterni pedites excubitum noctibus faciunt.' The same author goes on to explain that the night was divided into *four* watches of three hours each; cf. Jerome, *Epist.* 140. 8 (ed. Vallarsi). It seems that one member of the quaternion watched (while the other three slept) through each watch. It appears from Jn 19^{23} (cf. *Ev. Petr.* 9) that a τετράδιον was on guard during the Crucifixion, and from Mt 27^{65} (ἔχετε κουστωδίαν) perhaps that the same quaternion was on duty at the time of the Resurrection; but see GUARD, 4.

Τετράδιον occurs in Philo (*adv. Flaccum*, ii. 533. 25, ed. Mangey) with the same colouring as in NT, στρατιώτην τινα τῶν ἐν τοῖς τετραδίοις φυλάκων, and fairly frequently in late authors in the sense of a quire of a book containing four double leaves, *i.e.* sixteen pages. The Latin form *quaternio* is rare, and occurs only once in the Vulgate, if we may trust Dutripon. The Peshiṭta of Ac 12^{4} ('sixteen soldiers') misses the clear reference to Roman military custom. On this subject cf. Marquardt and Mommsen, *Handb. der röm. Alterthümer*, v. 407 (ed. 1876). W. EMERY BARNES.

QUEEN.—1. The usual Heb. term for 'queen' in the OT is מַלְכָּה (in Dn 5^{10} Aram. stat. emph. מַלְכְּתָא); LXX βασίλισσα; with the verb מלך 'to be queen,' Hiph. 'to make queen,' Est $2^{4.\ 17}$. For מְלֶכֶת see art. QUEEN OF HEAVEN. The other words so translated in AV are—2. גְּבִירָה (lit. 'mistress,' cf. Is 24^{2}) 1 K 11^{19} (LXX μ(ε)ίζων) 15^{13} (ἡγουμένη), 2 K 10^{13} (δυναστεύουσα), 2 Ch 15^{16} (LXX om.), Jer 13^{18} (οἱ δυναστεύοντες) 29 [Gr. 36]^{2} (βασίλισσα) [RV in the last two passages 'queen-mother']. 3. שֵׁגָל (שָׁגַל='ravish'; cf. Dt 28^{30}, Is 13^{16}, Zec 14^{2}) only in Ps 45^{9} (βασίλισσα), Neh 2^{6} (παλλακή).* The Aram. form of the word is found in Dn $5^{2f.\ 23}$ (Theod. in all παλλακή, LXX om.). 4. שָׂרָה (lit. 'princess,' cf. AVm) Is 49^{23} (ἄρχουσαι). In NT βασίλισσα is alone found—Mt 12^{42}, Lk 11^{31}, Ac 8^{27}, Rev 18^{7}.

In ordinary cases of synonyms it is well to trace the usage of each word in the original; but as in this case the same Hebrew word is used to convey more than one meaning of our English 'queen,' it will conduce to clearness and also be found more suggestive if the usage of the English word in our Bibles be taken as our guide. This has three meanings: the queen reigning in her own right, the queen as the wife of the reigning king, and the queen as the mother of the reigning king.

i. *The queen reigning in her own right.*—The general tendency of the Semitic as of the other groups of nations in strictly historical times has been for women to take other than the first place in governing, and this tendency is very conspicuous in the history of Israel. Possibly the general close connexion in Semitic States of the king with the god (see KING, i. 2) made it appear unseemly that a woman should rule; and though among the Northern Arabians queens seem to have been frequent, as well as in the Southern Arabian kingdom of Sheba (see McCurdy, *HPM* § 334), there is no trace in Israel of any official recognition of women as being capable of the chief government. It is just possible, indeed, that the word Hammolecheth * (1 Ch 7^{18}), usually understood as the proper name of a Manassite woman, should be translated 'the queen' (so Targ. and many Rabbis, *e.g.* Kimchi and R. Solomon b. Melek, Vulg.), but corroborative evidence is wholly lacking. The position of Deborah as 'judge' (for parallels in Arabian history see W. R. Smith, *Kinship*, pp. 104, 171) was quite abnormal, and presumably due solely to her personal vigour and character. So too Athaliah, who reigned (מָלְכָה) over Judah six years (2 K 11^{3}, 2 Ch 22^{12}), was a mere usurper, and traded on her earlier influence and position. Hence 'queen' in this first sense is used only of the non-Israelitish queen of SHEBA (מַלְכַּת שְׁבָא 1 K $10^{1\text{-}13}$, 2 Ch $9^{1\text{-}12}$, Mt 12^{42}, Lk 11^{31}), CANDACE, queen of Ethiopia (Ac 8^{27}), and Babylon personified (Rev 18^{7}).

ii. *The queen as the wife of the reigning king.*—Queen in this sense also is hardly found in Israelitish history. In Egypt (1 K 11^{19}) Pharaoh gives Hadad to wife the sister of Tahpenes the queen (הַגְּבִירָה, but the text is very doubtful). In Persia Vashti (Est 1) and Esther (Est 2 and *passim*) are successively called the queen (מַלְכָּה) of Ahasuerus. And again 'queen' is used in Neh 2^{6} in reference to the royal consort (שֵׁגָל) of Artaxerxes Longimanus. In Dn $5^{2.\ 3.\ 23}$, however, שגל is used of royal wives of lower rank. In Israel, on the contrary, 'queen' in this sense is used only indirectly and in poetry. So מְלָכוֹת (βασίλισσαι) in Ca $6^{8.\ 9}$ of wives who enjoyed some higher (perhaps more legal) status than mere concubines (פִּילַגְשִׁים, παλλακαί). In Ps 45^{9} שֵׁגָל is used of the one legitimate wife.

iii. *The queen as the mother of the reigning king* (אֵם הַמֶּלֶךְ 1 K 2^{19}, 2 K 24^{15}).—Strange as it is to modern ideas that the queen-mother should be the queen *par excellence*, it is very common in the East (*e.g.* China in our own time), and perhaps almost the necessary result of polygamy (see FAMILY in vol. i. p. 847^{a}).† 'Queen' occurs in this sense in the Bible of a non-Israelite only in Dn $5^{10\ bis}$, where the mother (apparently) of Belshazzar is so called (מַלְכְּתָא);‡ but it is used more often of Israelites. In fact the queen-mother appears to have had a regular official status both in the Northern and in the Southern kingdom, which in part accounts for the frequency with which the name of the mother of the king is recorded (see below), and the importance attached to some of her actions. The actual term 'queen' (גְּבִירָה) is used only of Jezebel (2 K 10^{13} prob.), Maacah (1 K 15^{13}=2 Ch 15^{16}), and Nehushta (Jer 13^{18} 29^{2}). The semi-royal state, however, of Bathsheba, Solomon's mother, is shown in 1 K 2^{19}, where Solomon sits on his throne and sets a throne for 'the king's mother,' and she sits on his right hand. The importance, too, of Maacah, Asa's 'mother' (*i.e.* probably grandmother), who had retained her influence from the reign of Abijah, is shown by the mention of her idolatry, and of Asa's destruction of the monstrous figure that she had made (1 K 15^{13}= 2 Ch 15^{16}).

---

* Possibly in Jg 5^{30} (end) שֵׁגָל should be read for שָׁלָל (so Ewald, followed by Bertheau, Oettli, Renan, Kautzsch. For other proposed emendations of the text see Moore, *ad loc.*).

* The reading, however, is not certain. The Peshiṭta (which some think to be in Chronicles a Jewish Targum of 3rd cent. A.D.) reads *Maacah*.

† So among the negroes of West Africa the mother has incomparably more influence than the wife. See Miss M. H. Kingsley, *West African Studies*, 1899.

‡ Commentators have compared Amastris, the wife of Xerxes and mother of Artaxerxes I. (Herod. vii. 61), and Parysatis, the wife of Darius and mother of Artaxerxes Mnemon and Cyrus (Xen. *Anab.* I. i. 1).

Athaliah has been already mentioned. Nehushta, from Jeremiah's bitter words in Jer 22^{26}, appears to have used her official position to take an active part against Jeremiah and his policy of submitting to the Chaldæans.

From Jer 13^{18} the queen-mother appears to have worn a crown (עֲטָרָה, *στέφανος*) more or less like the king's, but the 'head tire' (RV) is a translation of a doubtful reading. In Jg 5^{30}, Ewald, by a slight textual change, renders 'for the neck of the queen' (see Moore, *in loc.*).

For the names of the mothers of the kings of Judah see GENEALOGY in vol. ii. p. 126^{b}. In the case of the kings of Israel the only names found are Zeruah the mother of Jeroboam I. (1 K 11^{26}) and Jezebel the mother of Ahaziah (presumably, cf. 1 K 22^{52}) and Joram (prob. 2 K $3^{2.13}$ 10^{13}).

A. LUKYN WILLIAMS.

QUEEN OF HEAVEN, THE.—מְלֶכֶת הַשָּׁמַיִם *m^ele-kheth hash-shāmayim*, or in a few MSS מְלֶאכֶת הַשּׁ׳ *m^ele'kheth*, etc.; *τῇ στρατιᾷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*, 'the host of heaven,' in Jer 7^{18}, but *τῇ βασιλίσσῃ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*, 'the queen of heaven,' in Jer 44 [Gr. 51] $^{17.18.19.25}$, except א* in v.^{25} *τῇ Βάαλ*; in v.^{15} two late cursives give as the rendering of the Heb. represented by '(Then all the men which knew that their wives burned incense) unto other gods,' *θεοῖς ἑτέροις τῇ στρατιᾷ τοῦ οὐρ.*; with a few exceptions the other LXX MSS have no equivalent for 'unto other gods'; Aq., Symm., and Theod. in 7^{18}, and Symm. in 44 $[51]^{18}$ *τῇ βασ. τ. οὐρ.*; *reginæ cœli*, but also in Jerome (Kuenen, *Abhandl.* p. 187, Germ. tr.), *militiæ cœli*; Syr. (Lee), 'for the worship (ܦܘܠܚܢ) of heaven' in 7^{18} $44^{17.18.25}$, 'for the queen (ܡܠܟܬ) of heaven' in 44^{19}; Targ. כוכבת שמיא 'star(s) of heaven'; according to Jastrow, *the planet Venus*.

The reading מְלֶאכֶת *m^ele'kheth* is set aside by common consent as a late emendation due to the tradition that מלכת here was to be interpreted as מלאכת. The pointing מְלֶכֶת *m^elekheth*, is sometimes explained as an intentional variation of *malkath*, 'queen-of,' meant to suggest that a false goddess was not a legitimate queen, just as *ham-Melekh*, 'the king,' when used of a false god, receives the vowels of *bosheth*, 'shame,' and becomes *ham-Molekh*. But more probably the pointing indicates that מְלֶכֶת was identified with מְלֶאכֶת 'work,' the silent Aleph having dropped (as sometimes happens, Ges.-Kautzsch ^{26}, § 23. 3).

M^elekheth, thus identified, was taken by the Syriac, also by Kimchi, in the sense of 'service' or 'worship,' in which it is found in 1 Ch 9^{13} etc.; but it is clearly not the worship, but the object of worship. It was no doubt intended by the punctuators to be taken in the sense of 'the host of heaven.' Probably *m^elekheth* itself was not understood to mean 'host' directly; but the punctuators equated the unusual phrase *m^elekheth hash-sh.* to the more common phrase *ẓĕbā hash-sh.* (Jer, etc.), being partly influenced by the references in Gn $2^{2.3}$ to Creation as God's *m^elekheth*. This view was taken by the LXX in Jer 7^{18} (unless the unlikely view be adopted that the LXX here and in 44 $[51]^{15}$ read *ẓĕbā hash-sh.*), and perhaps by the Targ., and was recognized as an alternative by Jerome; cf. above. It has been recently revived by Stade, mainly on the ground that elsewhere Jeremiah speaks of the Jews as worshipping 'other gods' or 'the host (*ẓābā*) of heaven,' and that therefore this phrase should denote a group of objects of worship; cf. also the statement that Manasseh 'built altars for all the host of heaven in the two courts of the house of Jehovah,' 2 K 21^{5}. But most critics, *e.g.* Budde (*Rel. of Isr.* p. 162), Cornill (*SBOT*), Giesebrecht (*Jer.*), Kautzsch (*AT*), Kuenen, hold that the original meaning was 'queen of heaven,' and the proper pointing is *malkath*. The pointing *malkûth*, 'kingdom,' has met with little acceptance. It is pointed out that the phrases 'worship of other gods . . . of the host of heaven' may equal 'idolatry, star worship,' and are in no way evidence against the existence of a popular and widespread cult of a particular goddess.

According to 7^{18} 44 $[51]^{15-30}$ this goddess was offered incense and cakes which 'pourtrayed' her, and had been worshipped by the ancestors of the Jews of Jeremiah's time, and by their kings and princes in the cities of Judah, and in the streets of Jerusalem. The Jewish women were specially devoted to this worship.

This 'queen of heaven' can scarcely be a collective term for the stars, and is usually identified with the moon, or some planet or fixed star; most commonly with the Assyrian *Ishtar*, the planet Venus (also, however, connected with the moon). 'Queen, or princess, of heaven' apparently occurs as a title of Ishtar, and she is styled 'Lady of Heaven,' *bilit sam-i-i*, in the Amarna Tablets (Winckler, p. 48 f.); and our goddess may be the Atar-samain (Athar-Astarte), worshipped in North Arabia. Cf. the divine title *Ba'al Shamayin* in Aramaic inscriptions. See ASHTORETH in vol. i. pp. 168^{b}, 169^{b}. At Athens cakes in the shape of a full-moon (*σελῆναι*) were offered to the moon-goddess Artemis; and in Arabia similar offerings were made to the goddess Al-Uzza, whose star was Venus, and to the sun (Kuenen, 208). St. Isaac of Antioch (d. *c.* 460) tells us that the Syrian women worshipped the planet Venus from the roofs of their houses, as a means of preserving and increasing their beauty. *Ishtar* seems to have been identical with *Ashtoreth*; but probably this worship of the 'queen of heaven' was not the ancient Canaanite cult of Ashtoreth, but a new worship of the goddess with her Assyrian name and rites, due to the political supremacy of Assyria in the reign of Manasseh.

The title *Regina Cœli* has been given to the Virgin Mary; and at Mukden, the Sacred City of China, there is a temple to the 'Queen of Heaven.' Cf. ASHTORETH.

LITERATURE.—See ASHTORETH in vol. i. p. 168^{b} note *, p. 169^{b} note *; and add Giesebrecht, *Jeremiah*, on 7^{18}; W. H. Bennett, *Jeremiah xxi.-lii.*, ch. xv. This article is largely indebted to Kuenen's Essay.

W. H. BENNETT.

QUESTION.—The modern sense of 'interrogation' is found in the Synoptic Gospels in the phrase 'ask a question,' Mt $22^{35.46}$, Mk 12^{34}, Lk 2^{46} 20^{40}, the Gr. being always the verb *ἐπερωτάω* standing alone. In Lk 2^{46} Tindale has 'bothe hearynge them and posinge them,' but the meaning is not different, since 'pose' is used in its old sense of interrogate, as in Bacon, *Hist. Henry VII.* 119, 'She posed him and sifted him, to try whether he were the very Duke of York or no.' Tindale was followed by all the Eng. VSS till the Rhem. and Auth., when 'pose' had become antiquated in this sense. The sense of interrogation is found also in

2 Es 8^{55} 'And therefore ask thou no more questions concerning the multitude of them that perish' (Noli ergo adicere inquirendo). A slightly different meaning is found in 1 Es 6^{30} 'Without further question' (*ἀναμφισβητήτως*); with which may be compared 1 Co $10^{25.27}$ 'Asking no question for conscience' sake' (*μηδὲν ἀνακρίνοντες διὰ τὴν συνείδησιν*).

The phrase 'to call in question' is in AV more than to dispute; it means to accuse, to bring into judgment. Thus Ac 19^{40} 'We are in danger to be called in question for this day's uproar' (*κινδυνεύομεν ἐγκαλεῖσθαι*, RV 'we are in danger to be accused'); 23^{6} 'Of the hope and resurrection of the dead I am called in question' (*ἐγὼ κρίνομαι*; so 24^{21}). See CALL in vol. i. p. 344ᵃ, and cf. Winthrop, *Hist. of New Eng.* i. 172, 'The governour wrote to some of the assistants about it, and, upon advice with the ministers, it was agreed to call them [the offenders] in question.'

Elsewhere the subst. 'question' is used either in the sense of discussion, dispute, or else the subject of discussion, matter of dispute. Thus (1) *Discussion, dispute* (Gr. always *ζήτησις*), Jn 3^{25} 'Then there arose a question between some of John's disciples and the Jews about purifying'; 2 Ti 2^{23} 'Foolish and unlearned questions avoid.' Cf. Ac 28^{29} Wyc., 'Jewis wenten out fro him, havynge miche questioun, *or seking* (Purvey, *ethir* musyng) among hem silf.' Also Shaks. *Henry V.* I. i. 5—

> 'The scrambling and unquiet time
> Did push it out of farther question.'

(2) *Subject of debate*, 1 K 10^{1} ‖ 2 Ch 9^{1} 'She came to prove him with hard questions' (בְּחִידוֹת, lit. 'with riddles,' see RIDDLE); 1 K 10^{3} ‖ 2 Ch 9^{2} 'And Solomon told her all her questions' (דְּבָרֶיהָ, lit. 'her matters'); cf. Mk 11^{29} 'I will also ask of you one question' (*ἕνα λόγον*, AVm 'one thing,' RVm '*Gr.* word'). Elsewhere only *ζήτημα* and only in Acts, as Ac 23^{29} 'Whom I perceived to be accused of questions of their law.' Cf. Shaks. *Hamlet*, III. i. 56—

> 'To be, or not to be: that is the question.'

The verb 'to question' occurs only in the phrase 'question with one' (once 'question among themselves,' Mk 1^{27}), which often meant to dispute, argue with, as Shaks. *Merch. of Venice*, IV. i. 70, 'I pray you, think you question with the Jew'; but in AV it seems never to mean more than 'inquire of.' Thus Lk 23^{9} 'Then he questioned with him in many words (*ἐπηρώτα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν λόγοις ἱκανοῖς*), but he answered him nothing.'

J. HASTINGS.

QUICK, QUICKEN.—Although the adverb 'quickly' in the sense of *speedily* is of frequent occurrence in AV, neither 'quick' nor 'quicken' is ever found with that meaning.

In Is 11^{3} and some passages in the Apocr. the meaning of 'quick' is *acute* or *active*. Thus Is 11^{3} 'And shall make him of quick understanding in the fear of the LORD' (וַהֲרִיחוֹ, RV 'His delight shall be in the fear of the Lord,' RVm as AV, see esp. Delitzsch, *in loc.*); Wis 7^{22} 'Wisdom . . . taught me . . . for in her is an understanding spirit . . . quick' (*ὀξύ*, Vulg. *acutus*, RV 'keen'); 8^{11} 'I shall be found of a quick conceit in judgment' (*ὀξὺς ἐν κρίσει*, Vulg. *acutus in judicio*). With these passages cf. Knox, *Hist.* 377, 'Many wondred at the silence of John Knox, for in all these quick reasonings hee opened not his mouth'; Melvill, *Diary*, 77, 'Efter ernest prayer, maters war gravlie and cleirlie proponit, overtures made be the wysest, douttes reasonit and discussit be the learnedest and maist quick.' We still retain this sense slightly modified in 'quick-witted,' of which an example may be quoted from Tindale, *Pent.* Prologe to Lv (p. 297), 'Allegoryes make a man qwick witted and prynte wysdome in him and maketh it to abyde, where bare wordes go but in at the one eare and out at the other.' In Sir 31^{22} the meaning is rather *active* than acute, 'In all thy works be quick' (*γίνου ἐντρεχής*).

Elsewhere the meaning is *living*, mostly in direct opposition to *dead*, as Nu 16^{30} 'If . . . they go down quick into the pit,' compared with v.^{33} 'They . . . went down alive into the pit' (Heb. in both חַיִּים, AV follows Tindale, RV 'alive' in both); Ps 55^{15} 'Let them go down quick into hell' (RV 'alive into the pit'); clearly in the phrase 'the quick and the dead,' Ac 10^{42}, 2 Ti 4^{1}, 1 P 4^{5}. Cf. Jn 7^{38} Wyc., 'Flodis of quyke watir schulen flowe of his wombe'; Knox, *Works*, iii. 232, 'Thair upon followit sa cruell persecutioun, under the name of justice, that na small noumber wer burnit quick'; Barlowe, *Dialogue*, 58, 'It is enacted throughoute Suytzerland among the Oecolampadyanes, and in dyvers other places, that whosoever is founde of the Anabaptystes faction, he shall be throwen quycke into the water, and there drowned'; Tindale, *Expositions*, 189, 'As there is no sin in Christ the stock, so can there be none in the quick members, that live and grow in him by faith'; Fuller, *Holy State*, 9, 'He that impoverisheth his children to enrich his widow, destroyes a quick hedge to make a dead one.'

In He 4^{12}, though the same Gr. word (*ζῶν*) is used as in the passages quoted above, the meaning is more than merely living, rather *alive*, almost *lively*, 'For the word of God is quick and powerful' (Rhem. 'lively and forcible'). And this is nearest of all to the derivation of the word, its base being the Teut. *kwika*, 'lively,' cognate with Lat. *vivus*. Cf. Milton, *Areopag.* (Hales' ed. p. 7), 'Against defaming it was decreed that none should be traduc'd by name . . . and this course was quick enough, as Cicero writes, to quell both the desperate wits of other Atheists, and the open way of defaming, as the event shew'd.'

To quicken is to *give life to*, whether physically or spiritually. In OT it is always the tr. of חִיָּה (Piel of חָיָה to live), which also means to preserve life, but when trᵈ 'quicken' in AV always means to bless with spiritual life. In NT the Gr. is either *ζωοποιέω* or its compound *συνζωοποιέω* (Eph 2^{5}, Col 2^{13}, trᵈ 'quickened together with'). In Jn 5^{21} the physical and spiritual meanings are placed side by side, 'For as the Father raiseth up the dead and quickeneth them; even so the Son quickeneth whom he will.'

J. HASTINGS.

QUICKSANDS (Ac 27^{17}, RV Syrtis).—The Syrtes, Major and Minor, are situated on the N. coast of Africa, in the wide bay between the headlands of Tunis and Barca. They consist of sandbanks occupying the shores of the Gulfs of Sidra on the coast of Tripoli, and that of Gabes on the coast of Tunis or Carthage. They have been considered a source of danger to mariners from very early times, not only from the shifting of the sands themselves, but owing to the cross currents of the adjoining waters. Thus in the *Æneid* of Virgil (iv. 40 f.) we find them referred to—

> 'Hinc Gætūlæ urbes, genus insuperabile bello:
> Et Numidæ infræni cingunt, et inhospita Syrtis.'

In the last voyage of St. Paul on his way to Italy the ship in which he and his companions were sailing was at the mercy of the tempest, and was drifting before the N.E. wind EURAQUILO, after leaving the shelter of the island of Cauda. There was every reason, therefore, to fear that they might be driven on the Syrtis, which was situated to the leeward of their course; but owing (it may be supposed) to the rotatory movement of the wind they were driven into the sea of Adria (Ac 27^{27}).*

E. HULL.

QUINTUS MEMMIUS.—See MEMMIUS (QUINTUS).

QUIRINIUS, CENSUS OF. — The statement of St. Luke (2^{1-3}) as to how the birth of Christ came to take place at Bethlehem rather than at Nazareth, has produced an amount of discussion of which the world is rather weary. We should have had less of this, if apologists had not been ready to admit, and opponents eager to maintain, that to prove that the evangelist has here made a misstatement, is to imperil, if not demolish, the authority of his Gospel as an inspired writing. Nothing of the kind is at stake. We have no right to assume that inspiration secures infallible chronology; and St. Luke bases his claim to be heard, not on inspiration, but on the excellence of his information and his own careful inquiry (Lk 1^{1-4}). Yet even well-informed and careful writers sometimes make mistakes, and he may have done so here.

There is no serious difficulty about the statement that Augustus ordered that there should be a general census throughout the Roman Empire (2^1). It is true that there is no direct evidence, independent of Luke, of any such decree; and we know that in some provinces no census was held during the reign of Augustus. Nevertheless there is evidence that periodic enrolments were made in Egypt (*Clas. Rev.* Mar. 1893); and a Roman census in Judæa at the time indicated, in consequence of general orders issued by Augustus, is not improbable (Suet. *Aug.* 28, 101, *Cal.* 16; Tac. *Ann.* i. 11. 5, 6; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* iii. 2. 17). The real difficulty is about the parenthetical remark in v.^{2}.

There has been much discussion about the text of v.^{2}, but the right reading is certainly *αὕτη ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου*: 'This took place as a first enrolment, when Quirinius was governor of Syria.'† And this remark is made in order to distinguish this census from the one in A.D. 6, 7, when Q. certainly *was* governor and conducted the census (Ac 5^{37}, Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. i. 1, ii. 1). But it is hard to see how Q. could be governor when Herod died in B.C. 4. From B.C. 9 to 6 Sentius Saturninus was governor;‡ from B.C. 6 to 4 Quinctilius Varus. After that nothing is clear till A.D. 6, when P. Sulpicius Quirinius succeeds and holds the census of Ac 5^{37}. Bergmann, Mommsen, Zumpt, and others have shown that this governorship of Q. was probably not his first, but that he was in office during part of the interval between B.C. 4 and A.D. 6, viz. B.C. 3, 2. But it still remains as incredible as ever it was that Q. was governor *before the death of Herod*; and until that is established we must admit that Luke is at least a year wrong in his chronology. Even Zahn, who denies the *later* governorship of Q., and asserts that only one census was taken, viz. in B.C. 4 to 2 (to which he refers both Lk 2^2 and Ac 5^{37}), is obliged to place the census after Herod's death. No help on this point is obtained from the oft-quoted testimony of Justin Martyr, who in three passages places the birth of Christ *ἐπὶ Κυρηνίου*, and in one of them says that the birth at Bethlehem may be learned *ἐκ τῶν ἀπογραφῶν τῶν γενομένων ἐπὶ Κυρηνίου τοῦ ὑμετέρου ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ πρώτου γενομένου ἐπιτρόπου* (*Apol.* i. 34, 46; *Dial.* 78). But it should be noted that Justin calls Q. *ἐπίτροπος*, *procurator*, not *legatus*, as he was in A.D. 6. The word which Luke uses is indefinite (*ἡγεμονεύω*), and might be employed of any kind of ruler; but in the only other place in which he uses it (3^1) it is of the *procurator* Pontius Pilate. Until Judæa became a Roman province in A.D. 6 there would be no *procurator* in the strict sense; but Q. may have had some military position in Syria even before the death of Herod, and also have been concerned with the census. And this is perhaps Luke's meaning; he may not be giving a mere date. In any case Christians who were inventing an explanation of the birth at Bethlehem would not be likely to attribute it to Roman and heathen causes. The error, if there be one, has probably foundation in fact; and, moreover, is not the result of confusion with the later census A.D. 6, 7, which Luke himself notices Ac 5^{37}.

The general result is that if a mistake has not been proved, neither has it been disproved. If the accuracy of Luke in many other details were not so conspicuous, one would say that there probably is some mistake. But the error would not be great, if Q. held some office in Syria B.C. 3, 2, and helped to complete a census which was begun before the death of Herod. And there is no error, if Christ's birth is to be placed B.C. 6 (vol. i. p. 405), and Q. was in command in Syria then, which would be the right time for the first of a series of enrolments, of which that in Ac 5^{37} was the second.*

LITERATURE.—See the commentaries of Farrar and Godet; the *Lives of Christ* by Andrews, Didon, Edersheim, Keim, and B. Weiss; the articles 'Cyrenius' in Smith, *DB*^{2}, and 'Schätzung' in Herzog; the monographs of Zumpt on 'Das Geburtsjahr Christi,' 1869 (*Bibl. Sacra*, 1870), and of Zahn, 'Die Syr. Statthalterschaft und d. Schätzung des Quirinius,' in *Neue Kirchl. Ztsft.* 1893; and above all, Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 105 ff., and Ramsay, *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* 1898. See also Haverfield in *Class. Rev.*, July 1900, p. 309.

A. PLUMMER.

QUIT is both an adj. and a verb. **1.** The adj., as Skeat shows, is oldest. It comes from Old Fr. *quite* (mod. *quitte*), which is the Lat. *quietus* in its late sense of *free from obligation*. This is the meaning of the word in AV, where it occurs: Ex 21^{19} 'If he rise again, and walk abroad upon his staff, then shall he that smote him be quit' (נִקָּה); 21^{28}, Jos 2^{20} (both נָקִי). Cf. Udall's *Erasmus' Paraph.* ii. 279, 'But he that sticketh his brother with the darte of a venemous tongue, although he be quitte by mannes lawes from the crime of manslaughter, yet by the law of the gospel he is giltie of manslaughter'; Jer 25^{29} Cov. 'ye shall not go quyte.'

2. The verb came from Old Fr. *quiter* (mod. *quitter*), a derivative of Lat. *quietare*. In AV it is used only reflexively, 'quit yourselves like men' (1 S $4^{9\,bis}$, Heb. הֱיוּ לַאֲנָשִׁים), 'quit you like men' (1 Co 16^{13}, Gr. *ἀνδρίζεσθε*). To 'quit oneself' is to discharge one's obligations; on every man lie the obligations of a man. Cf. Milton, *Samson Agon.* i. 1709—

'Samson hath quit himself
Like Samson.'

J. HASTINGS.

QUIVER represents more than one Heb. word. **1.** Gn 27^3 for תְּלִי *tĕlî* [Samar. תלית *tĕlith* (?)], a *ἅπαξ λεγ.* meaning literally, if a genuine Heb. word, 'that which is hung,' either a *quiver* (LXX [*φαρέτρα*], pseudo-Jon.) or a *sword* or *knife* (Onk., Pesh., Abulwalid). 2. Usually for אַשְׁפָּה *'ashpāh*, perhaps a loan-word from Assyr. *išpatu*, literal meaning unknown.

The quiver was a very conspicuous part of the equipment of the Eastern warrior; on the Assyr.

---

* If the wind in this case had been anti-cyclonic (which is probable) the direction would have changed from N.E. to E. and from E. to S.E. and from this to S. and S.W., which would have driven the ship into the sea of Adria.

† The name is Quirinius, not Quirinus; see Furneaux on Tac. *Ann.* ii. 30. 4; and *ἡγεμονεύοντος* may='was commanding' an army (but cf. the use of the word in Lk 3^1).

‡ Tertullian (*adv. Marcion*, iv. 19) says that the census was taken by Saturninus; yet he himself places the birth of Christ B.C. 3 (*adv. Jud.* 8).

* Perhaps the possibility of a slip of the pen, *Κυρηνίου* for *Κουιντιλίου*, like 'Barachiah' for 'Jehoiada' (Mt 23^{35}), is just worth mentioning.

reliefs in the British Museum the Assyr. soldier is always an archer, and *Elam* his foe regularly *bears the quiver* (Is 22^{6}). The famous mounted archers of the East are perhaps alluded to in Job 39^{23} 'the quiver rattleth *upon him*' (RVm), *i.e. upon the horse*, and the terror caused by them is vividly portrayed in Jer 5^{16} 'Their quiver is as an open sepulchre'; cf. Jer 6^{23} 'They ride upon horses.' The LORD Himself has a quiver in which He hides His chosen instruments (Is 49^{2}). When the moment comes for the execution of His judgments, His arrows fly suddenly to the mark (Ps 64^{7}). There is a parallel for these metaphors in the speech of al-Hajjāj, the Khalifa Abd al-Melik's governor, to the disaffected inhabitants of Cufa (A.H. 75); 'The Prince of the Believers has spread before him the arrows of his quiver, and has tried every one of them by biting its wood. It is my wood that he has found the hardest and the bitterest, and I am the arrow which he shoots against you' (Stanislas Guyard, 'Mohammedanism,' in *Encycl. Brit.* xvi. 571). Another metaphor in the OT is that a man's home circle (?) is his quiver, and his sons, born while he himself is still young, are his arrows (Ps 127^{5}); cf. La 3^{13}, where, conversely, arrows are called 'sons of the quiver' (RVm).

3. In the Pr. Bk. version Ps 11^{2} reads '[They] make ready their arrows *within the quiver*' (עַל יֶתֶר *'al yether*). This translation, though supported by LXX (*εἰς φαρέτραν*) and Vulg., is wrong. AV and RV (so Pesh.) have rightly 'upon the string.'

4. Ancient authority is strong for translating שְׁלָטִים *shĕlāṭîm*, 'shields' (EV) as 'quivers' (2 S 8^{7} =1 Ch 18^{7}, 2 K 11^{10}=2 Ch 23^{9}, Ca 4^{4}, Jer 51^{11}, Ezk 27^{11}). The latter rendering suits Jer 51^{11} 'fill *the quivers*,' but it is more probable that in all these passages שְׁלָטִים has the more general meaning, 'arms, equipment' (cf. *Expository Times*, x. (1898) 43 ff.).

W. EMERY BARNES.

QUOTATIONS.—In OT there are few definite quotations, but the Bible writers freely introduced matter which they found ready to hand. Several books, such as those of the Hexateuch, Jg, 1 and 2 S, etc., are made up, in fact, of previously existing documents (see HEXATEUCH, etc.). Shorter extracts are also frequent, esp. poems, such as the Song of Lamech (Gn $4^{23.24}$), the Blessing of Jacob (Gn 49^{2-27}), the Song and the Blessing of Moses (Ex 15^{2-18}, Dt 33^{2-29}), etc.; or portions of songs, as Jos $10^{12b-13a}$. In a few instances only is the source mentioned, as 'the Bk. of Jashar' (Jos 10^{13b}, 2 S 1^{18}, 1 K 8^{53} LXX), 'the Bk. of the Wars of J"' (Nu 21^{14}). Sometimes they were probably popular songs handed down by oral tradition (Nu 21^{17}). Often a writer incorporates the language of an earlier writer, as frequently throughout the Psalms, so much so that certain phrases came to be traditional, such as 'praise ye J",' 'for His mercy endureth for ever.' It is not always certain whether passages common to two writers are copied from one by the other, or are both taken from one common source, as Is 2^{2-4}=Mic 4^{1-3}, which is evidently foreign to the context of Is (note the minatory tone of 2^{5-22}), and, if taken by Isaiah from Micah, proves Is 2 to have been written not earlier than Hezekiah's reign (cf. Jer 26^{18} with Mic 3^{12} contextually connected with Mic 4^{1}), and is therefore believed by many to belong to some earlier unknown document. It is also probable that Is 15-16^{12} is derived from an earlier source (see 16^{13}), and such passages suggest the inquiry whether the insertion of earlier material by biblical writers may not have been much more frequent than is commonly supposed.

i. QUOTATIONS FROM OT IN NT.—These are very frequent and very various in character. Turpie puts them at 275; but this does not include the very great number of passages incorporated into the language of NT writers, esp. in the Apocalypse.

A. Quotations are *usually from LXX*—(*a*) even though differing more or less considerably from MT (1) in pointing, as Ac 15^{17} [Am 9^{12}] (אָדָם 'man' for אֱדוֹם 'Edom'), He 11^{21} [Gn 47^{31}] (מַטֶּה 'staff' for מִטָּה 'bed'); (2) in reading, as Ac 15^{17} (יִדְרְשׁוּ 'seek' for יִירְשׁוּ 'possess') (Ac 2^{27} [Ps 16^{10}] agrees with LXX in following Ḳerê חֲסִידְךָ 'Thy holy one' for Kethibh חֲסִידֶיךָ 'Thy holy ones'); (3) by a probably inaccurate tr. of words, as Ac 2^{27} [Ps 16^{10}] (*διαφθορά* 'destruction' for שַׁחַת 'pit'), Ro 10^{20} [Is 65^{1}] (*ἐμφανὴς ἐγενόμην* 'I was made manifest' for נִדְרַשְׁתִּי 'I was sought'); and of phrases, as He 2^{6-8} [Ps 8^{4-6}] (*ἠλάττωσας αὐτὸν βραχύ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους* 'Thou madest him a little lower than the angels' for וַתְּחַסְּרֵהוּ מְּעַט מֵאֱלֹהִים 'Thou hast made him but little lower than God'); (4) by other differences which cannot easily be accounted for, but are probably due to various readings, as Ro $9^{27.28}$ [Is $10^{22.23}$], where, besides other variations, LXX seems to have read יִוָּשַׁע for יָשׁוּב, and דָּבָר for כִּלָּיוֹן and כָּלָה, and in He $10^{37.38}$ [Hab $2^{3.4}$], where LXX probably read עלפה (with 531 K) for עֻפְּלָה, and חָפְצָה for יָשְׁרָה. In He 10^{5} [Ps 40^{7}] it was suggested by Kennicott that אָזְנַיִם (Heb. text) is a corruption of אז גוה (LXX). If so, it would seem probable that אז itself was inserted by error from the following line, and that LXX read גוה only; but the Heb. reading with all its difficulty better suits the context, the contrast being between obedience and sacrifice (cf. 1 S 15^{22}). (*b*) Sometimes when the argument depends on LXX as distinct from Heb., as in He 1^{7} [Ps 104^{4}], where Heb.='Who maketh for his messengers winds, for his ministers a flaming fire.' Cf. also Ac 2^{27}, He 2^{7} 10^{5}. (*c*) Generally even by writers conversant with the Heb. as St. Paul and St. John (see I, *f*, *h*). (*d*) To a large extent even when the quotation points to a knowledge of Heb., showing that the writer, even though he had the Heb. before him, or in his mind, still reproduced in part the familiar language of LXX, as Mt 2^{18} [Jer 31 (38) ^{15}] (*κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὀδυρμός*, LXX *κλαυθμοῦ κ. ὀδυρμοῦ*), 12^{18-21} [Is 42^{1-4}], where after a quotation, which is an independent tr. of Heb. differing in almost every word from LXX, the last verse agrees exactly with LXX, though the latter follows a different text in all three words (*κ. ἐν* [LXX *ἐπὶ*] *τ. ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ἔθνη ἐλπιοῦσι* 'and in his name shall the Gentiles hope' for וּלְתוֹרָתוֹ אִיִּים יְיַחֵלוּ 'and the isles shall wait for his law'). It is also possible that this may be the insertion of an early editor of Mt, or a various reading of Heb. followed also by LXX (see J, *a*; cf. Ro 9^{9}).

B. Quotations are occasionally *independent translations from the Heb.*—(*a*) because they were so found in the documents which the writer incorporates, as Lk 1^{17} [Mal 3^{1} and $4^{5.6}$] (*ἑτοιμάσαι*—פִּנָּה for LXX *ἐπιβλέψεται*; *ἐπιστρέψαι*—הֵשִׁיב for *ἀποκαταστήσει*; *πατέρων*—אָבוֹת for *πατρός*), 2^{23} (see J, *a*); (*b*) for the sake of the argument, as Jn 19^{37} [Zec 12^{10}] (*εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν*—אֵת אֲשֶׁר דָּקָרוּ for *ἀνθ' ὧν κατωρχήσαντο* from variant רָקְדוּ), Ro 9^{17} [Ex 9^{16}], where St. Paul prefers the rendering of הֶעֱמַדְתִּי by *ἐξήγειρά σε* 'did I raise thee up' to *διετηρήθης* 'thou wast preserved,' Ro 12^{19} [Dt 32^{35}] (*ἐμοὶ ἐκδίκησις*—לִי נָקָם for *ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκδικήσεως*); (*c*) probably because the writer was better acquainted with the Heb. of the book quoted *memoriter*, as Ro 11^{4} etc. (see I, *h*).

C. The only quotations *in Aramaic or Hebrew-Aramaic* are the words on the Cross, Mt 27^{46}, Mk 15^{34} (see I, *a* (1), (2)), unless we include the words *μαρὰν ἀθά* 'our Lord cometh' (1 Co 16^{22}), probably a well-known Christian salutation. See MARANATHA.

D. Some few quotations are based upon *an Aramaic interpretation of the Hebrew*, and suggest the inquiry whether they and others also may not possibly be derived from some intermediate source of the nature of a Targum; or whether, on the other hand, the interpretation was merely influenced by current Aram. usage. Had an Englishman of to-day to translate Milton's 'silly sheep' into French, he would very probably give the first word its modern meaning. In 1 Co 15^{54} [Is 25^{8}] לָנֶצַח 'for ever' is translated according to the Aram. meaning of the root εἰς νῖκος 'in victory.' In 1 Co 2^{9} [Is $64^{3.\,4}$] מְחַכֵּה 'that waiteth for' is apparently read as Aram. מחבב 'that loveth' [but see J, *a*]. It is possible that Mt $2^{6.\,23}$ should be traced to some sort of Targumic influence, or at any rate some current traditional interpretation, with which the evangelist's readers were familiar. In the first the words οὐδαμῶς ἐλαχίστη seem an intentional emphatic denial of the original words [Mic 5^{2}]. Bethlehem had by the very fact of Messiah's birth become *by no means* the least. Ἡγεμόσιν is either from a variant (see J, *a*), or at any rate a less literal translation. But the substitution of γῆ Ἰούδα for 'land of Ephratah' looks like a slip of memory, and suggests that the whole is a bold paraphrase of the evangelist himself (for parallels see G). Mt 2^{23} is evidently from Is 11^{1} (נֵצֶר 'branch' being from the same root as Ναζωραῖος 'Nazarene'), and suggests a traditional interpretation of the passage in this sense.

E. Apart from B, C, and D, variations from LXX are due to (*a*) *slips of memory*, (*b*) *errors of transcription*, (*c*) *literary corrections*, (*d*) *exegetical alterations*. But it is not always easy to determine which, or in case of (*c*) and (*d*) to say how far they were intentional. In quotations from memory, and even in those copied, there is a natural tendency to correct, unconsciously, according to familiar language and familiar ideas. We should probably be right, when quotations are short, in assigning to (*a*) verbal changes, considerable perhaps in number, but unimportant in their bearing, as Jn 1^{23} [Is 40^{3}] (ἑτοιμάσατε τ. ὁδὸν Κυρίου, εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τ. τρίβους τ. θεοῦ ἡμῶν becomes the single phrase εὐθύνατε τ. ὁδὸν Κυρίου, which gives the full sense more briefly). Probably Βαβυλῶνος for Δαμάσκου in Ac 7^{43} [Am 5^{27}] is a slip of memory of either St. Stephen or his reporter, the two captivities being confused (cf. the error about the burial-places of the patriarchs in 7^{16}). We have a striking example of (*b*) in He 3^{9} [Ps 95^{9}], where ἐν δοκιμασίᾳ is read for ἐδοκίμασαν (LXX), the error being facilitated by ἐν τ. παραπικρασμῷ above (unless it is an error of a very early copyist). Under (*c*) we should class corrections of Hebraisms and other clumsy constructions, as Lk 3^{5} [Is 40^{4}], where εὐθεῖαν (ὁδόν) is altered so as to agree with ὁδούς added by St. Luke in the next phrase, and ἡ τραχεῖα into αἱ τραχεῖαι. In He 8^{10} 10^{16} [Jer 31^{33}] δώσω is omitted so as to give διδούς its proper participial construction (cf. Lk 8^{10}). To this head we might also refer rhetorical expansions, such as the insertion of λέγει ὁ θεός or the like in Ac 2^{17} 7^{49}, Ro 12^{19} (in He 10^{30} spurious) 14^{11}, 1 Co 14^{21}, 2 Co 6^{17}. To (*d*) would belong the very frequent changes of person, tense, etc., so as to make the quotation more directly applicable. Thus in 2 Co 6^{18} [2 S $7^{8.\,14}$] αὐτῷ and αὐτός become ὑμῖν and ὑμεῖς, and υἱόν is boldly changed into υἱοὺς κ. θυγατέρας, so that Nathan's words respecting David's son become a promise of God to Christians (cf. Ac 1^{20}). In Lk 23^{46} [Ps 31^{5}] the future παραθήσομαι naturally becomes the present παρατίθεμαι in the mouth of our Lord, and in Mk 14^{27} (Mt 26^{31}) [Zec 13^{7}] the imper. πατάξατε becomes the ind. 1st pers. fut. because the action is referred by Christ to God Himself. Sometimes words are added to give a special turn to the quotation, as τὸν ἄγρον in Mt 27^{10} [Zec 11^{13}] to refer to the field bought with Judas' money (unless this is a variant of Heb.; see J, *a*). In He 10^{37} [Hab 2^{3}] the insertion of ὁ converts a Hebraism into a Messianic prophecy. Sometimes words are omitted, and so the quotation gets a more general and dogmatic character, as with μοῦ in Ro 1^{17}, Gal 3^{11} [Hab 2^{4}] (in He 10^{38} it is transposed). Apparently it had already become a common doctrinal formula. In Gal 3^{13} [Dt 21^{23}] the omission of ὑπὸ θεοῦ makes the statement a general principle, or it may be due to reverence (see Lightfoot, *in loc.*). Still more frequently words were altered. In Gal 4^{30} [Gn 21^{10}] the substitution of τ. ἐλευθέρας for μου Ἰσαάκ brings out more forcibly the contrast between bondage and freedom. In 1 Co 3^{20} [Ps 94^{11}] the quotation would be far less applicable without the correction of ἀνθρώπων into σοφῶν. St. Paul, no doubt, felt the verse to imply that, however wise men might be, God saw their folly. In Eph 4^{8} [Ps 68^{18}] ἔλαβες . . . ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ is boldly altered into ἔδωκε . . . τ. ἀνθρώποις, the latter being probably regarded as an inference from the former, and the statement of v.^{11} clearly depends upon St. Paul's rendering. With this we might compare Lk 21^{20} (contrast Mk 13^{14}), where the manner of fulfilment of Christ's prophecy has been read, but probably unconsciously, into the prophecy itself. Sometimes by abbreviation the words of the original come to be differently applied. Thus in 1 Co 14^{21} [Is $28^{11.\,12}$] the words represented by κ. οὐδ' οὕτως εἰσακούσονταί μου are made to refer to 'other tongues,' etc., instead of to the refusal to listen to the words of kindness spoken by God through the prophet to which the 'other tongues' stand in direct contrast. In Ac 3^{22} the phrase κατὰ πάντα ὅσα is applied quite differently from its original in Dt 18^{16}. In 1 P $3^{14.\,15}$ [Is $8^{12.\,13}$], by changing αὐτόν to τ. Χριστόν, the words are applied to those addressed in the Epistle, but the passage is not cited as a quotation. Even supposing that such changes were to a large extent unconscious, there is enough to show that the writers of NT allowed themselves the greatest freedom in their treatment of the language of OT.

F. *Combined Quotations.*—These are far commoner than is often realized, and are of various kinds. Frequently we find several passages strung together consecutively, as Ro $3^{10\text{-}18}$, where there are six separate quotations so combined; cf. He $1^{5\text{-}14}$ etc. In Mk 11^{17} (Mt 21^{13}, Lk 19^{46}) a direct quotation from Is 56^{7} is followed by an allusion to Jer 7^{11}. So far had they been from fulfilling Isaiah's prophecy, that they were acting in the spirit of Jeremiah's contemporaries. Still more frequently different quotations are mixed together. Thus in Ro 9^{33}, St. Paul, probably quoting from his recollection of the Heb., mixed together the sayings about the stone in Is 8^{14} and in 28^{16}, giving the latter, by so doing, a sense *contrary to the original*; or the mixture may have been intentional. However precious Christ was to those who believed, He would prove to many merely a rock of stumbling. For the somewhat similar combination of Is 28^{16}, Ps 118^{22}, and Is 8^{14} in 1 P $2^{6.\,7}$ see H, *c*. More often the combination suggests that the quotation is made from memory, as Gal 3^{8} from Gn 12^{3} 18^{18}, Ac 3^{25} from Gn 22^{18} 12^{3}, Jn 19^{36} from Ex 12^{46} and Ps 34^{20}. The seven words of Jn 6^{31} seem derived from three distinct sources (Ps 78^{24}, Ex 16^{15} 16^{4}), and Ac 13^{22} from at least four (Ps 89^{20}, 1 S 17^{58} 13^{14} 2^{35}). Very frequently a mere phrase or even a word is inserted from a similar passage. Thus in Mt 21^{5} in a quotation from Zec 9^{9} the opening words εἴπατε τ. θυγατρὶ Σιών are from Is 62^{11}. Curiously enough, in the same quotation St. John ($12^{14.\,15}$) begins with μὴ φοβοῦ, apparently from Is 40^{9} (Heb.). In Lk $4^{18.\,19}$ [Is

$42^{1.\,2}$] *ἀποστεῖλαι τεθραυσμένους ἐν ἀφέσει* is adapted from Is 58^{6} (LXX). In Ac $3^{22.\,23}$ [Dt $18^{15.\,16.\,18.\,19}$] *ψυχὴ . . . ἐξολοθρευθήσεται ἐκ τ. λαοῦ* is substituted from Lv 17^{4}, this and similar phrases being common and easily remembered. In Ac $7^{6.\,7}$ [Gn $15^{13.\,14}$] *ἀλλοτρίᾳ* is from Ex 2^{22}. In Ac $7^{33.\,34}$ [Ex $3^{5.\,7.\,8.\,10}$] *στεναγμοῦ* is from Ex 2^{24}. In Ro $11^{26.\,27}$ [Is $59^{20.\,21}$] *ὅταν ἀφέλωμαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν* is slightly altered from Is 27^{9}.

G. *Paraphrastic Quotations* (see also D and E, *d*).—In some cases the language of a passage of OT is merely paraphrased to express some new thought, as in Ro 10^{6-8}, which is based upon Dt 30^{12-14}. Here the original *εἰς τ. πέραν τ. θαλάσσης* is changed to *εἰς τ. ἄβυσσον*, to express the contrast between the descent of Christ in the Incarnation, etc., and His Resurrection, and thus to show that the inward revelation spoken of in Deut. was made possible by Christ and through faith in Him. Certain quotations are believed to be merely references to the general tenor of Scripture, as Jn 7^{38}, which some, on the other hand, regard as a paraphrase of such passages as Is 58^{11}. Similarly, Eph 5^{14} may possibly be a paraphrase of Is $60^{1.\,19.\,20}$. Some have supposed Ja 4^{5} to be a paraphrase of some such passage as Wis $6^{11.\,23}$, but most commentators take the words as a rhetorical question by St. James (as RV). On Mt $2^{6.\,23}$ see D.

H. *Indirect Quotations* (see also D).—It is quite possible that quotations, even though avowedly from Scripture, were taken *directly* from some other source. The possibility of that in 1 Co 2^{9} being from some Aram. document has been already suggested under D. It may here be further noticed that the awkwardness of the construction, unsuited to the context, makes it likely that St. Paul is quoting it as he found it ready to hand, not himself adapting it from the original. It has been thought by some that Eph 5^{14} may be a quotation from some early Christian document, but the words *διὸ λέγει* make this improbable (see G). It is also remarkable that some quotations are made with the same variants by different writers, or by the same writer twice. (*a*) In some cases the variant may be looked upon as traditional, as the omission of *μοῦ* [Hab 2^{4}] in Ro 1^{17}, Gal 3^{11}, and probably the order of the commandments in Mk 10^{19} (?), Ro 13^{9}—adultery, murder, theft—for adultery, theft, murder of Ex $20^{13\text{ff.}}$ (LXX), or murder, adultery, theft of Dt 5^{17-19} (LXX) and of both (Hebrew). (*b*) In other cases the agreement may be a coincidence. Thus Mt 18^{16}, 2 Co 13^{1} abbreviate Dt 19^{15} (LXX) in nearly the same language. This possibly had become almost a proverb. (*c*) The agreement may point to a variant in Heb., as Ro 9^{33} (10^{11}), or in LXX, as Mk 12^{26}, Ac 7^{32} (see J, *a*, *b*). (*d*) In other cases, again, one writer has presumably copied another. Thus Mt and Lk retain many of the peculiarities of the quotations of Mk. It seems likely also that 1 P $2^{6.\,7}$ was influenced by Ro 9^{33}. Both agree (1) in the combination of Is 28^{16} and 8^{14}; (2) in the reading *ἰδοὺ τίθημι* (against LXX), which can hardly be an independent translation of Heb., because, whereas St. Paul's mixed quotation is from Heb. throughout (see F), St. Peter, except when he agrees with St. Paul, follows LXX. The agreement of Ro 12^{19} and He 10^{30} with MT לִי for לְיוֹם of LXX and Sam. Pent., proves that the writer of Hebrews, who shows otherwise no knowledge of Heb., must have copied the quotations either from Romans or from some intermediate source. There are no variants of LXX. Still more remarkable is the quotation of Pr 10^{12} in 1 P 4^{8} as compared with Ja 5^{20}. In 1 P it is evidently a rather curious and independent rendering of Heb. (כֹּל being translated by *πλῆθος*); the LXX is quite different. In James we have obviously a reference to this very translation. If, as is generally believed, James is earlier than 1 P, both quotations and reference are derived from some other document. (*c*) When a writer quotes a passage twice with the same variant, as in Ro 9^{33} 10^{11}, He 8^{10} 10^{16} (omission of *δώσω*), the most probable explanation is that he consciously or unconsciously copied his own correction.

I. *Manner of quotation in different books* (*or sources*) *of NT.*—(*a*) *Synoptic Tradition.* (1) In Mk out of 20 quotations (excluding reference in 12^{19}), of which all but one are sayings of our Lord, 16 are either exact, or very slightly altered, quotations of LXX. Of the remaining four 1^{2b} is probably an early interpolation into Synoptic tradition, not being in the corresponding place in either Mt or Lk, and breaking the obvious connexion between 1^{2a} and 1^{3}; Mk $12^{29.\,30}$ [Dt $6^{4.\,5}$] is the great שְׁמַע, which from its frequent use in devotion was probably known to Greek Jews in its Heb. form, and was hence independently translated; 14^{27} contains words of Christ which, if quoted as in LXX, would have lost all point; in 15^{34} we have words of Christ in their original Hebrew-Aramaic form. The following translation, though influenced by LXX, aims at greater literalness (*εἰς τί* for *ἵνα τί*, repetition of *μου*, non-addition of the curious *πρόσχες μοι*). It seems that the writer, while he had received and retained a few sayings of our Lord as actually uttered, generally used LXX as a matter of course. (2) Mt reproduces *all* the Synoptic quotations, except the doubtful Mk 1^{2b}, and very nearly as he finds them, but with a slight tendency (perhaps unconscious) to assimilate to LXX, Heb., or Aram., as perhaps in 19^{18} (order of LXX in Dt, of LXX and Heb. in Ex and Dt), 22^{32} (+*εἰμι* LXX), 22^{37} (*ἐν*=Heb. ב for *ἐξ*; *διανοίᾳ*, a LXX transl. of לֵבָב for *ἰσχύος*), 22^{44} (*κάθου* LXX), 27^{46} (אֵלִי (?) Heb. and Aram. for אֱלֹהַי; לְמָה (?) Aram. for Heb. לָמָּה). The following translation is a little less bold, as also the reference to Dt 25^{5} in 22^{24}. (3) Lk out of 19 Synoptic quotations (excluding Mk 1^{2b}, which Lk has in quite a different connexion) omits 8 and treats the rest with greater freedom, chiefly for literary reasons, as 3^{4-6} (where the continuation of the quotation increases the rhetorical effect. See also E, *c*). For the same purpose he abridges in 8^{10} 10^{27} 20^{17} 18^{20} 19^{46}. In the last he, *so far only*, agrees with Mt. In 10^{27} he apparently combines Mk $12^{29.\,30}$ and Mt 22^{37}, reading *ἐξ . . . καρδίας* and *ἐν . . . ψυχῇ*, etc., and both *ἰσχύϊ* and *διανοίᾳ*. 20^{17} is altered so as to agree exactly with LXX. The word *κάθου* in 20^{43}, though also in Mt, probably comes therefore from the same source. (*b*) *The portions common to Mt and Lk and not to Mk.* Quotations are found only in the account of the Temptation (Mt $4^{4.\,6.\,7.\,10}$, Lk $4^{4.\,10.\,11.\,12.\,8}$), and are based in both on LXX. The 1st quotation is exact in Lk, in Mt longer, and *part only*, that not common with Lk, varies from LXX; the 2nd is abbreviated in both, but esp. Mt, which omits the whole clause *τοῦ διαφυλάξαι σε—ὁδοῖς σοῦ*, Lk retaining the first three words. Both split up the quotation into two parts, Mt adding *καὶ* before *ἐπὶ*, Lk *καὶ ὅτι*. The third is exact in both. In the fourth *both* substitute *προσκυνήσεις* for *φοβηθήσῃ*. The kind of assimilation thus exhibited, in connexion with the difference in the order of the temptations, suggests that in both the quotations were taken, not from LXX, but from some other common source, probably preserved by oral tradition. (*c*) *Original quotations of Mt.* These exhibit considerable variety of character, 3 only (27^{35b} is an interpolation from Jn 19^{24}) being derived from LXX, 21^{16} [Ps 8^{2}] exactly, where Heb. עֹז was inappropriate, or at least ambiguous; 1^{23} [Is 7^{14}] (notice, besides the doubtful *παρθένος*, *ἐν γαστρί*, *Ἐμμανουήλ* so spelt) with several alterations, probably through fault of memory; 18^{16} (adds πᾶν before ῥῆμα) much abridged. The rest are from the Heb., as 2^{15} 8^{17}, though often showing the influence of LXX (see A, *d*), as 2^{18} 11^{10} 12^{18-21} 13^{35} 21^{5}; and often very singularly paraphrased, as 2^{6} 2^{23} $27^{9.10}$ (see D; E, *d*). (*d*) *Quotations of a 'Gospel of the Infancy'* (originally Aramaic?). Lk 2^{24} is, curiously enough, an exact quotation from LXX, though from Lv 5^{11}, not Lv 12^{8}, the passage actually referred to, and is probably an insertion by St. Luke into the earlier translation of an original Aram. document; 1^{17} is a paraphrastic reference to Mal $4^{5.6}$ 3^{1}, based on Heb. (see B); 2^{23} depends apparently on a variant of Heb. (see J, *a*). (*e*) *The Original quotations of Lk*, 4^{18} and 23^{46}, are both from LXX; the first a combination of Is $61^{1.2}$ 58^{6}, with a slight change of order and construction, the second with necessary alteration of the text. (*f*) *St. John's Gospel.* Quotations are marked by brevity and freedom, with a tendency to attach more importance to mystical and hidden meanings than to the literal sense of the words; usually from LXX, as $10^{3.4}$ 12^{38}, but occasionally from Heb., as 13^{18} 19^{37} (see B), in both of which differences between LXX and Heb. are very great; but often so unlike either as to make it uncertain which the writer had in his mind, as 12^{40} (ἰάσομαι LXX, but see J, *a*). On 7^{38} see G. Combined quotations are frequent (see F), as 6^{31} $12^{14.15}$ 15^{25} [Ps 35^{19} or 69^{4} and 109^{3}] 19^{36}. There are only 4 quotations common to any of the Synoptists, 1^{23} 8^{17} 12^{15} 12^{40} (Mt 27^{35} is spurious); of these the second and third to Mt only. In all there is an independent rendering, and in 12^{15} a different combination. (*g*) *The Acts.* Quotations are all from LXX, often quite exact, as in the long quotations, 2^{25-28} $2^{34.35}$; though differing greatly from Heb., as $7^{42.43}$; sometimes following a different text, as $15^{16.17}$ (see A, *a* (1) (2)); frequently abbreviated, as 1^{20} $3^{22.23}$ 7^{40} 13^{34} 13^{41} $15^{16.17}$; sometimes expanded, as 2^{17-21} (for literary effect), and often combined, as 3^{25} 13^{22} etc. (see F). On $7^{42.43}$ see E, *a*. (*h*) *St. Paul's Epistles.* Quotations are usually from LXX, as Ro $9^{27.28}$, but knowledge is shown of Heb., as Ro 9^{17} (see B, *b*) 10^{15} (ὡραῖοι) 11^{4} 12^{19}. In Ro, and to a less extent in 1 Co, the quotations from Pent. and Ps are very largely exact from LXX; those from the prophetical and historical books vary considerably from LXX, are usually free, but often contain elements from Hebrew. It would seem probable that the former are usually *copied* from LXX, the rest *quoted memoriter.* In Ro, out of 31 quotations from Pent. and Ps, only 9 are not practically exact, and of those 10^{6-8} is a mere paraphrase, and Ro 9^{17} 12^{19} are intentionally taken from Heb.; out of 22 quotations from hist. and proph. books only 3 are exact. In 1 Co, out of 9 quotations from Pent. and Ps, 4 are exact; out of 9 from hist. and proph. books, only one. The change of ἀνθρώπων to σοφῶν in 3^{20} [Ps 94^{11}], though difficult, is probably intentional (see E, *d*). The distinction here pointed out is remarkably illustrated in Ro 3^{10-18}, where the single quotation from Is ($59^{7.8}$, Pr 1^{16} is not in LXX) has 2 important variants from LXX, ὀξεῖς (LXX ταχινοί) and ἔγνωσαν (LXX οἴδασιν), suggesting a *memoriter* quotation, whereas the 5 quotations from Ps are practically exact from LXX. In Ro 3^{10}, Ec 7^{20} is combined, by probably a slip of memory, with the phrase οὐδὲ εἷς from Ps 14^{3} or 53^{3} (Heb. LXX has οὐκ ἔστιν ἕως ἑνός). Of the other Hagiographa, Pr $25^{21.22a}$ is quoted from LXX exactly in Ro 12^{20}, Job 5^{13} from Heb. in 1 Co 3^{19}. For the remarkable quotation in 1 Co 2^{9} see H. In the other Epistles the quotations are too few to make any satisfactory generalizations possible. On Eph 4^{8} 5^{14} see E, *d*, and G, H. (*i*) *Epistle to the Hebrews.* With the exception of 10^{30} (see H), quotations are all from LXX, very numerous and generally exact, suggesting that variations are either intentional alterations, as 8^{10} (10^{16}) 10^{38} (see E, *c*, *d*), or errors of transcription, as 3^{9} (see E, *b*). We have, however, most probably memoriter quotations in 9^{20}, where τοῦτο for ἰδού looks like an unconscious imitation of the words of institution (cf. Mk 14^{24} etc.), and 12^{20}, where θηρίον for κτῆνος can hardly be regarded as an independent translation of בְּהֵמָה. (*j*) *St. James.* Of six possible quotations, three, 2^{8} 2^{23} 4^{6}, are certainly from LXX, and nearly exact; 2^{11} may possibly be an independent translation of Heb.; 5^{20} is certainly so, but is probably from some intermediate source (see H); 4^{5}, if a quotation at all, is from an unknown source (see G). (*k*) *First Ep. of St. Peter.* Though quotations are taken partly, but seldom very exactly, from LXX, as 2^{9} 3^{10-12} $3^{14.15}$ (see E, *d*), the influence of the Heb. is frequently apparent, as $1^{24.25}$ [Is 40^{6-8}] (αὐτῆς for ἀνθρώπου of LXX), 2^{22} [Is 53^{9}] (εὑρέθη δόλος for δόλον), 4^{8} (where LXX is quite different, but see H). $2^{6.7}$ is probably connected, directly or indirectly, with Ro 9^{33}, and proves little (see H). (*l*) *Second Ep. of St. Peter.* The only quotation, 2^{22}, is from Heb., nearly every word differing from LXX. (*m*) *The Apocalypse* contains no definite quotations, but is full of the thoughts and ideas and even language of OT. This last seems in general to point to Heb. rather than to LXX, as in 1^{6}, where βασιλείαν, ἱερεῖς is evidently a translation of מַמְלֶכֶת כֹּהֲנִים Ex 19^{6} (LXX has βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα), 1^{7} (μετά, with Aram. of Dn 7^{13}, for LXX ἐπί; οἵτινες αὐτὸν ἐξεκέντησαν, from Zec 12^{10}, for ἀνθ᾽ ὧν κατωρχήσαντο, cf. Jn 19^{37}), 1^{15} (suggested by Dn 10^{6}) which has no special LXX word. So 11^{4} (cf. Zec $4^{2.3.14}$) 14^{8} [cf. Is 21^{9}] 14^{8} [cf. Jl 3^{13}]. In 6^{15} we find the phrase πᾶς δοῦλος καὶ ἐλεύθερος instead of συνεχόμενος κ. ἐγκαταλελειμμένος of 1 K 21^{21} (LXX 20^{21}). On the other hand, there are some signs of direct or indirect LXX influence, as in 2^{7} (παραδείσῳ, Gn 2^{8} etc.) 6^{14} (βιβλίον, cf. Is 34^{4} LXX) 18^{2} (δαιμονίων, cf. Is 13^{21} LXX), etc.

J. *The bearing of NT quotations on textual criticism.*—(*a*) When a quotation agrees with Heb. but has a single word or phrase agreeing with LXX, this may have come, not from LXX itself, but *from a various reading of Heb.*, followed also by LXX. Thus in Jn 12^{40} ἰάσωμαι may point to a variant אֶרְפָּא for רָפָא. In Mt 12^{21} the words κ. ἐν τ. ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ἔθνη ἐλπιοῦσι, agreeing exactly with LXX (though so different from Heb.), whereas all the earlier part of the quotation follows a totally different rendering of Heb., may point to בִּשְׁמוֹ גּוֹיִם יְיַחֵלוּ; but see A, *d*. Even where a quotation differs more or less from both LXX and Heb. the difference may have arisen from a various reading of the latter. Thus in Mt 2^{6} ἡγεμόσιν is often referred to a reading אַלּוּפֵי for אַלְפֵי (see D). Lk 2^{23} points to a reading יִתְקַדֵּשׁ לִי כָּל־זָכָר for קַדֶּשׁ־לִי כָל־בְּכוֹר; Ro 9^{33} [Is 28^{16}] (10^{11}) to הַמַּאֲמִין לוֹ לֹא יֵבוֹשׁ for הַמַּאֲמִין לֹא יָחִישׁ. Even if the insertion of לוֹ is merely a mental error, it shows that St. Paul had the Hebrew in his mind, and therefore got καταισχυνθήσεται, not from LXX καταισχυνθῇ, but from יֵבוֹשׁ, which LXX also reads. Mt $27^{9.10}$ may have been based on a text reading אֶל בֵּית הַיֹּצֵר, with 590, 168, 251, K 2, R, for אֶל הַיּוֹצֵר (but see E, *d*), and possibly כִּדְבַר יי for בֵּית יי. It is important also to notice that Mt does not support the otherwise probable reading of אוֹצָר 'treasury' for יֹצֵר 'potter.' 1 Co 2^{9} seems originally due to a difference of text, שָׁמְעָה הָאֹזֶן for שָׁמְעוּ לֹא הֶאֱזִינוּ, עָשָׂה אֱלֹהִים וו for אֱלֹהִים זוּלָתְךָ יַעֲשֶׂה, and לִמְחַבֵּב for לִמְחַכֵּה (see D) (on Mt 2^{6} see D, and on Mt 12^{21} see A, *d*). (*b*) When a quotation follows LXX almost exactly, but agrees with Heb. in a word or phrase, it raises the suspicion that it follows *a different reading of LXX*, as in Ac 13^{47} [Is 49^{6}] (τέθεικα for δέδωκα of LXX, and omission of *εἰς διαθήκην γένους*, which is apparently an interpolation from Is 49^8); in Mk 12^{26}, Ac 7^{32} (omission of *εἰμι*; the ultra-Hellenistic speech of St. Stephen is the last place to suspect the influence of Heb. text). The mere fact of a certain number of MSS of LXX agreeing with a quotation is of practically no importance, because they were so frequently altered into agreement with NT quotations. We have the most striking example in Ps 14^3 (13^3 LXX), where the whole cento of quotations in Ro 3^{13-18} has found its way into B and some other MSS of LXX, and hence through the Vulg. into the English Prayer-Book Psalter. (*c*) It is just possible that quotations may throw light on questions connected with the text of NT itself, as He 3^9; see E, *b*.

ii. QUOTATIONS IN NT FROM THE APOCRYPHA AND PSEUDEPIGRAPHICAL JEWISH LITERATURE.—These are not cited as Scripture, and with the exception of Jude ^{14} [*Bk. of Enoch* i. 9, tr. by R. H. Charles, Oxford] are not directly cited at all; but there are several references, such as in Lk 12^{16-20} (cf. Sir $11^{18.\,19}$) 14^{7-10} (cf. Sir $13^{9.\,10}$), Jn 6^{35} (cf. Sir 24^{21}), Ro 12^{15} (cf. Sir 7^{34}), He 1^3 (Wis 7^{26}) $4^{12.\,13}$ (cf. Wis 7^{22-29}), Ja 1^{19} (Sir 5^{11}).

iii. QUOTATIONS FROM PAGAN WRITERS.—These are very few, and not always easily recognized. Thus that of Ac 17^{28b} is found both in Aratus, *Phænom.* 5, and in the *hymn* of Cleanthes *to Zeus*, 5. The quotation in 1 Co 15^{33} is mentioned by Lucian, *Am.* 43, as a saying of Menander from his *Thais*. The quotation of Tit 1^{12} is said by early Christian writers to come from a lost work of Epimenides, called *περὶ χρησμῶν*, but is now found in the *hymn* of Callimachus (an Alexandrian poet of 3rd cent. B.C.) *to Zeus*, 8. In 1 Co 12^{12-27} we have probably a reference to the fable of Menenius Agrippa. But it is very uncertain whether these quotations, etc., point to a wide knowledge of pagan literature on St. Paul's part, or would not rather from their proverbial character have been generally known by men of very moderate culture (see Farrar's *Life of St. Paul*, vol. i. Exc. iii.).

LITERATURE.—Turpie, *The OT in the New* is, in spite of the one-sided aims of the writer and many inaccuracies, a very useful book when used with proper reference to good critical editions and commentaries, and has been of great service in writing this article. The quotations of OT are taken from *OT in Greek*, edited by H. B. Swete, Cambridge, those of NT usually from the revised text of Greek Test., Oxford. See also L. Cappellus, *Quæst. de loc. parall. Vet. et Nov. Test.* 1650; Surenhusius, ספר המשוה *sive βίβλος καταλλαγῆς*, 1713; Roepe, *de Vet. Test. Loc. in apost. libr. allegatione*, 1827; Tholuck, *Das Alt. Test. i. NT*³, 1849; Kautzsch, *de Vet. Test. loc. a Paulo allegatis*, 1869; C. Taylor, *The Gospel in the Law*, 1869; Monnet, *Les citations de l'anc. test. d. les ép. de S. Paul*, 1874; Böhl, *AT Citate in NT*, 1878; Toy, *Quotations in the NT*, 1884; Vollmer, *Die AT Citate bei Paulus*, 1895; Johnson, *The Quotations of the New Test. from the Old*, 1896; Dittmar, *Vetus Test. in Novo*, i. 1899; cf. also Jowett, *St. Paul's Epistles*³, 1894, vol. i. 185 ff.; Swete, *Introd. to Old Test. in Greek*, 1900, p. 381 ff.; and Thackeray, *St. Paul and Contemp. Jewish Thought*, 1900, p. 181 ff.; and for special NT books, Allen, 'The OT Quotations in St. Mark' in *Expos. Times*, Jan. 1901 (xii. 187), and 'The OT Quotations in St. Matthew,' *Expos. Times*, March 1901 (xii. 281); Lightfoot, *Notes on Epistles of St. Paul*, pp. 176 ff., 216 f.; Westcott, *Hebrews*, p. 67 ff.; Mayor, *James*, p. lxix ff. The subject is dealt with in all the Manuals for Bible study.

F. H. WOODS.

R

RAAMA (רַעְמָא only 1 Ch 1^9) or **RAAMAH** (רַעְמָה).—Son of Cush and father of Sheba (Saba) and Dedan (Gn 10^7, 1 Ch 1^9), also mentioned by Ezekiel (27^{22}) as a trading community by the side of Sheba. The LXX (in Gn A Ῥεγχμά; in 1 Ch BA Ῥεγμά; in Ezk B Ῥαμά, AQ Ῥαγμά) identified the word with *Regma*, mentioned as a *city* by Ptolemy (vi. 7, 14) on the Persian Gulf, which is probably identical with Regma, which Steph. Byz. (ed. Westermann, p. 242) describes as a city or a *gulf* in the Persian Gulf. This latter form of the word (in most MSS practically indistinguishable from the other) may very well be Greek, meaning 'breach.' The above identification is accepted by most authorities, including Glaser (*Skizze*, ii. 325), who adds, however (p. 252), that the name is spelt in inscriptions with a *jîm*. It is at present impossible to say whether there is any connexion between the place mentioned by the Greek geographers and the tribe mentioned in Genesis or not. Dillmann thinks Raama may be the Ῥαμμανῖται of Strabo (XVI. iv. 24), in S. Arabia, N.W. of *Chatramotitæ* (=Ḥaḍramaut; see HAZARMAVETH).

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

RAAMIAH (רַעַמְיָה; B Ναaμιά, A Ῥεελμά).—One of the twelve chiefs who returned with Zerubbabel, Neh 7^7. In the parallel passage, Ezr 2^2, the name is Reelaiah (רְעֵלָיָה, B Ῥεελειά, A Ῥεελίας), and in 1 Es 5^8 RESAIAS (which see). It is impossible to decide with certainty what was the original reading, although רעליה probably represents it more nearly than רעמיה.

RAAMSES, RAMESES (רַעַמְסֵס Ex 1^{11}; רַעְמְסֵס Gn 47^{11}, Ex 12^{37}; LXX Ῥαμεσσή [D om. in Gn 47^{11}]).—The city of Raamses was, like Pithom, built by the Israelites for the Pharaoh of the Oppression (Ex 1^{11}), who has been shown by Dr. Naville's discovery of the site of Pithom to have been Ramses II. of the 19th dynasty (see PITHOM). It was from Raamses or Rameses that the Israelites started when they fled from Egypt; and as the next stage in their journey was Succoth (Ex 12^{37}), Raamses could not have been far from Pithom. It must also have been in the land of Goshen, as is indeed expressly stated in Gn 47^{11}, where Goshen is called proleptically 'the land of Rameses.' According to LXX of Gn 46^{28} 'the land of Rameses' [D om.] included also Heroopolis or Pithom.

Qosem or Goshen was the capital of the 20th nome of Lower Egypt, and is now represented by Saft el-Henna, at the western end of the Wady Tumilât, north of Belbês, and a little to the east of Zagazig. The 8th nome, of which Pithom was the capital, adjoined the 20th to the east. We should therefore probably look for the site of Raamses somewhere between Belbês and Tel el-Maskhûta. The latter was identified with Raamses by Lepsius, and the identification was perpetuated for a time in the name of Ramses given to the place by the French engineers during the construction of the Fresh-water Canal. Dr. Naville's excavations proved, however, that Tel el-Maskhûta is Pithom, and consequently the site of Raamses must be sought elsewhere.

The city is mentioned in the Egyptian texts. We learn from them that it was built, like Pithom, by Ramses II., from whom it derived its name; and a letter of the scribe Panbesa, translated by Brugsch (*History of Egypt*, Eng. tr. ii. pp. 96–98) and Goodwin (*RP*, 1st ser. vi. p. 11 ff.), gives a long and glowing description of it. Its canals are said to be 'rich in fish, its lakes swarm with birds, its meadows are green with vegetables.' The canal on the banks of which it stood communicated with the sea, and was called Pa-shet-Hor, 'the mere of Horns.' Brugsch at one time wished to identify it with Tanis (Zoan), where there seems to have been a Pi-Ramessu or 'temple of Ramses,' erected by Ramses II., but the discovery of the position of Pithom obliged him to change his mind. An unedited papyrus in the possession of M. Golénischeff, moreover, distinguishes it from Tanis, and places it between Tanis and Zaru (on the eastern frontier) in a list of the towns of the Delta. 'The land of Rameses' seems to have taken its name from the city.

LITERATURE.—Jacques de Rougé, *Géographie ancienne de la Basse-Égypte*, 1891; H. Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique de l'ancienne Égypte*, 1879; Dillmann-Ryssel on Ex 1^{11}; Driver in Hogarth's *Authority and Archæology*, 1899, p. 55; Ball, *Light from the East*, p. 109 f.
A. H. SAYCE.

RABBAH.—1. (רַבָּה; Jos 13^{25} B Ἀράδ, A Ῥαββά; 2 S 11^{1} $12^{27.29}$ Ῥαββάθ; 1 Ch 20^{1} Ῥαββάν; Am 1^{14} Ῥαββά; Jer $49[30]^{3}$ Ῥαββάθ; Ezk 25^{5} *τὴν πόλιν τοῦ* Ἀμμών), or more fully **Rabbath-benē-Ammon** = 'Rabbah of the children of Ammon' (רַבַּת בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן; Dt 3^{11} *ἡ ἄκρα τῶν υἱῶν* Ἀμμών; 2 S 12^{26} 17^{27}, Ezk 21^{20} Ῥα(β)βὰθ *υἱῶν* Ἀμμών, Jer $49[30]^{2}$ Ῥαββάθ). The chief and, in fact, the only city of the Ammonites mentioned in the OT. It was situated about 25 miles N.E. of the north end of the Dead Sea, in the fruitful valley which forms the upper course of the Jabbok (*ez-Zerḳa*), now called the *Wādy 'Ammān* (Buhl, *GAP* 48, 260 f.). Under Ptolemy II. (Philadelphus) the city was rebuilt and called Philadelphia, but the original name seems never to have been completely lost, and is still preserved in the modern *'Ammān*.

Apart from the isolated notice in Dt 3^{11}, where a passing reference is made to it as the site of the bed or sarcophagus of Og king of Bashan, and the statement in Jos 13^{25} that it lay outside the eastern border of the tribe of Gad on the east of Jordan, no allusion is made in the OT to the capital of the Ammonites until the reign of David. According to the narrative of 2 S 10^{1}–11^{1} 12^{26-31} (which appears in a condensed and less accurate form in $8^{2f.}$, see SAMUEL, BOOKS OF) an embassy was sent by David to condole with Hanun king of Ammon on the death of his father Nahash. The envoys, however, were grossly insulted by the Ammonite king and his servants, who, in view of the growing power of the Israelite monarch, were inclined, perhaps not unnaturally, to suspect the motives of his embassy. This treatment of the envoys could have but one result, and the Ammonites therefore at once summoned to their aid those southern tribes of the Aramæans who were their more immediate neighbours on the east of Jordan. Meantime the Israelite army, under the command of Joab, had lost no time in invading the country of the Ammonites. Their intention, doubtless, was to lay siege to Rabbah itself; for though he was aware (2 S 10^{7}) of the alliance between the Ammonites and Aramæans, Joab does not appear to have realized either the strength or the position of the Aramæan force that was opposed to him, until he had actually come within striking distance of the Ammonite capital (vv.$^{8.9}$). The Aramæans, however, as we learn from the Chronicler (1 Ch 19^{7}), had penetrated as far south as Medeba, and now threatened to cut off his retreat across the Jordan. Thus hemmed in 'before and behind,' Joab perceived that his only hope of safety lay in assuming the offensive. He therefore divided his army into two, and, having entrusted Abishai with the task of holding the Ammonites in check, himself led 'all the picked men of Israel' in an attack on the more powerful Aramæans. The combined movement was completely successful: the Aramæans fled discomfited, and their example was soon followed by the Ammonites, who took refuge in Rabbah. Joab, however, did not follow up his advantage, but retired with the army to Jerusalem. In the following year David took the field in person against the Aramæans, who had reassembled under Shobach, captain of the host of Hadadezer, at Helam (probably not far from Damascus), and defeated them with great slaughter (vv.$^{15-19}$). The way was now clear for the renewal of the war with the Ammonites, and Joab, with the whole army and the ark (11^{11}), was despatched across the Jordan to ravage the land of the Ammonites, and to lay siege to Rabbah (11^{1}). If, as the biblical narrative seems to imply, both the sons of Bathsheba were born during this period, the siege of Rabbah must have lasted nearly two years. The aim of the besiegers was doubtless to starve out the city, rather than to take it by storm ($11^{20.21}$): the actual fighting was probably confined to the occasions on which the beleaguered garrison attempted a sortie. It was by exposing Uriah the Hittite to one of these sallies that Joab was able to effect David's plan for getting rid of the former (vv.$^{15-17}$).

The fate of the city was finally sealed by the capture of the spring of water from which the inhabitants derived their water supply (12^{27} reading עֵין הַמַּיִם 'spring of waters' for עִיר הַמַּיִם 'city of waters,' so Klostermann; but see Cheyne [*Expos. Times*, vol. ix. p. 143 f.], who would read here and in the preceding verse עִיר מִלְכֹּם 'the city of Milcom'): only in this way can we harmonize Joab's message (v.$^{27f.}$) with the phrase 'the royal city' (עִיר הַמְּלוּכָה) in v.^{26}. By the latter phrase is probably meant the royal castle or citadel, situated at the apex of the lofty triangular plateau, which seems to have formed the site of the ancient Rabbah. 'The two sides are bounded by wādies which diverge from the apex, where they are divided by a low neck of land, and thence separating, fall into the valley of the Jabbok, which forms the base of the triangle' (Oliphant, *The Land of Gilead*, p. 259 f.). The precipitous character of the wādis—on the one side there is a drop of 300 ft., on the other of 400 ft.—precluded any access to the streams below, save at the (? artificial) depression which separated the citadel from the rest of the city. Hence the capture of the latter virtually placed the city at the mercy of Joab, and assured him of its speedy downfall.* He thereupon despatched messengers to David, bidding him collect the rest of his forces, and superintend the final assault of the city, 'lest,' he adds, 'I take the city, and my name be called upon it'—in token, namely, of its conquest by him. (See, further, on this passage, vol. i. p. 344^{a}). David at once responded to Joab's appeal, and shortly after his arrival the city was taken, together with much spoil, including the crown of Milcom (LXX), the god of the Ammonites. (For a full discussion of the treatment of the inhabitants of Rabbah by David, see Driver, *Notes on Samuel*, pp. 226–229).

From the few scattered notices of Rabbah in the writings of the prophets from the 8th cent. onwards, we gather that the city once more reverted to the possession of the Ammonites. Thus Amos, in his denunciation of Ammon ($1^{14f.}$), prophesies the destruction of the wall and palaces of Rabbah, while similar language is used by Jeremiah ($49^{2.3}$) shortly before the siege of Jerusalem, and by Ezekiel (25^{5}). It is noticeable that the latter regards Rabbah as no less important politically than Jerusalem itself (21^{20} [Heb.^{25}]).

---

* The reading of the Hebrew text 'city of waters' is usually explained as referring to the lower town. But (1) the phrase itself is an unlikely one to be applied to a *part* of the city, (2) there is no reference elsewhere to a division of the city, and (3) the explanation seems due to the present condition of the ruins of *'Ammān*, which date, at earliest, from Roman times.

In the 3rd cent. B.C. Rabbah was still a place of considerable importance. After its capture by Ptolemy Philadelphus (B.C. 285–247) it was called Philadelphia, and the surrounding district Philadelphene or Arabia Philadelphensis (Ritter, *Die Erdkunde*, xv. pt. ii. p. 1154 f.). According to Polybius (v. 71), the city underwent a severe and protracted siege under Antiochus the Great, who succeeded in capturing it only through the agency of a captive. The latter revealed the existence of the subterranean passage by which the garrison of the citadel obtained their water supply: the passage was accordingly blocked up, and the garrison forced to surrender. The same authority makes use of the old name *Rabbatamana* (Ῥαββατάμανα), while Stephen of Byzantium states that it was formerly called *Amana*, and afterwards *Astarte*. Josephus describes it as the most easterly border-town of Peræa (*BJ* III. iii. 3), and Strabo especially notes it as one of the localities inhabited by a mixed population. It formed one of the cities of the Decapolis, and in the middle of the 4th cent. Ammianus Marcellinus classes it with Bostra and Gerasa as one of the fortified great cities of Cœle-Syria (Ritter, *l.c.*). Philadelphia, later, became the seat of a Christian bishop, forming one of the nineteen sees of 'Palæstina tertia' (Reland, *Pal.* 228). Of the Arabic geographers, Mukaddasi (A.D. 985) describes 'Ammān as the capital of the Belkā district, lying on the border of the desert. He mentions the castle of Goliath as situated on the hill overhanging the city, and containing the tomb of Uriah, over which is built a mosque. Yâkût (iii. 719), in A.D. 1225, mentions it as the city of the emperor Dakiyânûs (Decius): he further relates the Moslem legend, according to which 'Ammān, the founder of the city, was the son of Lot's brother ('Ammān = 'he who is of the uncle'). Abulfeda (A.D. 1321) also assigns the founding of the city to Lot (Guy le Strange, *Pal. under the Moslems*, p. 391 f.). Coins of the city exist with the head of Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161–180) and the legend 'Philadelphia of Hercules of Cœle-Syria'; but, save for a few rude stone monuments, nothing remains in the way of architecture 'which can be referred with any certitude to a pre-Roman period' (see *Survey of E. Pal.* pp. 19–64, where a full description is given of the present site; see also Baedeker^{3} pp. 170–172; Merrill, *East of Jordan*, p. 398 f.).

2. (Jos 15^{60} הָרַבָּה; B Σωθηβά, A Ἀρεββά; *Arebba*). A city of Judah, apparently near Kiriath-jearim.

J. F. STENNING.

RABBI, RABBONI.—From רַב, primarily 'master' in contrast with slave (*Aboth* i. 3; *Sukka* ii. 9; *et al.*), was formed, by the addition of the pronominal suffix, רַבִּי (Ῥαββί, Ῥαββεί WH), 'my master,' the use of which as a title of respect by which teachers were addressed occurs first within the last century before the destruction of Jerusalem. The Mishna contains several instances of this mode of address (*Nedarim* ix. 5; *Rosh hashana* ii. 9; *Berachoth* ii. 5, 7; *et al.*). In a similar way was formed **Rabboni** (Ῥαββονί Mk 10^{51}, Ῥαββουνί Jn 20^{16}, Ῥαββουνεί WH) from רַבָּן or רִבּוֹן (used of God in *Taanith* iii. 8), an Aramaic form of the title used almost exclusively to designate the president of the Sanhedrin, if a descendant of Hillel, from the time of Gamaliel I. (*Aboth* i. 17). In later times the title of Rabbi appears to have been conferred officially upon such as were authorized in Palestine to decide ritual or legal questions (*Baba mezia* 86*a*; *Sanhedrin* 13*b*), the corresponding Babylonian title being Rab or Mar; but there is no evidence of its use in this sense before or in the time of Christ. Its suffix, however, quickly lost its specific force by a process of which parallels are afforded in several languages; and in the NT the word occurs simply as a courteous title of address. Rabboni is even more respectful; and in the two passages where it is used of Christ (Mk 10^{51} and Jn 20^{16}) the pronominal force may not have entirely disappeared. Neither word occurs in classical use, in the LXX or other Gr. version of the OT, or in the Apocrypha. In the NT the shorter title is applied to Christ in Mt $26^{25.49}$, Mk 9^{5} 11^{21} 14^{45}, Jn $1^{38.49}$ 3^{2} 4^{31} 6^{25} 9^{2} 11^{8}; to John Baptist in Jn 3^{26}; whilst in Mt $23^{7.8}$ Christ forbids His disciples to covet or use it. In Jn 1^{38} a parenthesis states its equivalence in meaning with διδάσκαλε, which is in turn cited in Jn 20^{16} as a synonym of Rabboni. RVm implicitly supports this explanation in Mt 23^{8}, where, however, the text reads καθηγητής, a word whose primary meaning of 'guide' naturally suggests that of 'teacher.' See, for further details and for literature, Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 315 ff., and cf. Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, 267, 272 ff.

R. W. MOSS.

RABBITH (הָרַבִּית with art.; B Δαβειρών, A Ῥαββώθ).—A town of Issachar (Jos 19^{20}), probably the modern *Râba*, on the south part of the range of Gilboa. See *SWP* vol. ii. sheet ix.; Mühlau in Riehm's *HWB* 1252; Guérin, *Samarie*, i. 336; Buhl, *GAP* 204.

C. R. CONDER.

RABBONI.—See RABBI.

RAB-MAG (רַב־מָג; B Ῥαβαμάθ, א* Ῥα'μάτ, א$^{c.a.(?)}$ Βαμάτ, A Ῥαβαμάκ, Q Ῥαβαμάγ [in Jer 39 (46)^{13} Q^{mg} Ῥοβομόγ]; Vulg. *Rebmag*).—The title (as is now generally admitted) of a Babylonian official, apparently Nergal-sharezer, who was present at the taking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar in the 11th year of Zedekiah king of Judah, together with all the rest of the princes (Jer 39 [Gr. 46]^{3}) and all the chief officers (v.^{13}) of the king of Babylon. Whether the Nergal-sharezer who is here mentioned, and who apparently bears the title, be the Neriglissar of the Greeks, who came to the throne of Babylon in the year B.C. 560 (16 years later), is uncertain, but not by any means improbable. The explanation of the title Rab-mag is a matter of considerable uncertainty. Gesenius explains מָג as *magian*, 'the name of the priests and wise men among the Medes, Persians, and Babylonians' [the inclusion of the Babylonians was pardonable before the inscriptions were made out]. G. Rawlinson and others have compared the title Rab-mag with the Babylonian *Rubû êmga*, or, more correctly, *Rubû êmqu*; but this, apart from its improbability in consequence of the difference of form, cannot be the original of the term, as it is not a title in the true sense of the word—it simply means 'the deeply-wise prince.' Another etymology for the second element is that of Fried. Delitzsch (cf. also Siegfried-Stade and *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*), who suggests that it is the same as the Assyr. *maḫḫû*, 'soothsayer'; but the objections to this are the differing double consonant, and the absence of the compound *rab-maḫḫû*. The most probable of the proposed originals appears to the present writer and others to be the title *rab-mugi* (see Pinches in S. A. Smith's *Keilschrifttexte Asurbanipals*, Heft ii. 1887, p. 67, note to l. 89; Sayce, *HCM* p. 456; Winckler, *Orient. Litteraturztg.* 1898, p. 40). This word occurs in the text translated by Pinches (K 824, edge, 9) in the accusative (*muga*), and also in the oracles to Esarhaddon (*WAI* 61. l. 26*a*) in the phrase *atta ina libbi mugi*, 'thou (art) in the midst of the princes (?),' the two lines which follow being 'I (the goddess Ištar) in the midst of my flock (?) advance (and) rest.' A nasalized form, *rab mungi*, also occurs.

T. G. PINCHES.

RAB-SARIS (רַב־סָרִיס; B Ῥαφείς, A Ῥαβσαρείς, in 2 K 18^{17}; BA Ναβουσαρείς, ℵ* Ναβουσεείς, ℵ¹Q Ναβουσαρίς, Q^mg Ῥαβσαρίς, in Jer 39 $[46]^{3.13}$; Vulg. *Rabsaris*, *Rabsares*).—This, like RAB-MAG, is now generally and rightly held to be a title, and not a name (see RV). **1.** An Assyrian officer who went with the Tartan and the Rab-shakeh, whilst Sennacherib was at Lachish, to demand on behalf of his royal master the surrender of Jerusalem, which was at the time besieged by the Assyrian forces (2 K 18^{17}). **2.** A Babylonian named Sarsechim [?; see art. NERGAL-SHAREZER], who, with 'all the princes' of Nebuchadnezzar, was present at the taking of Jerusalem by that king in the 11th year of Zedekiah king of Judah (Jer 39^{3}). **3.** A Babylonian named Nebushazban, who, after the taking of the city, gave authority, with other of the princes of Babylon who are mentioned, for the release and return of Jeremiah, thus enabling him to be taken home and to dwell with his own people (Jer 39^{13}).

The usual biblical explanation of the word is 'chief of the eunuchs,' or, perhaps with greater probability, 'chief eunuch,' an explanation that agrees with the information yielded by the other Semitic languages, Arabic and Aramaic having practically the same word with this meaning, and also verbs derived therefrom. The word סָרִים, with its plural סָרִיסִים, is of frequent occurrence in the Hebrew, and not only means 'a eunuch,' but also 'courtier' in general, 'chamberlain.' In 2 K 25^{19} it indicates an officer who commanded a division of the army, and POTIPHAR, who was certainly a married man, is called the סָרִים of Pharaoh in Gn 39^{1}. The Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions, however, do not furnish us with any word that contains this idea. A רבסרס, Rabsaris, named Nabû-šarra-uṣur, eponym for the year B.C. 683, is named on the tablet 81-2-4. 147 (Berger, *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles Lettres*, 1886, p. 201; *CIS* tom. i. fasc. 1, pp. 43, 44), but this title is not rendered in the Assyrian text which accompanies the Aramaic inscription. Winckler (in *Unters. z. altor. Gesch.* 1889, Exkurs v. p. 138) gave the explanation that this word was simply a transcription of the Assyro-Babylonian *rabû-ša-rêši*, a suggestion that was afterwards confirmed by the discovery of the title in question on the British Museum tablet 82-7-14, 3570, written *rubû-ša-ri-e-šu* (read *-rêšu*); cf. *Academy*, June 25, 1892. This expression means 'chief of the heads' or principal men,* and being apparently not a usual title, we may perhaps conclude that it was not often given, and may have been one of great honour. Of its age nothing can be said,—the earliest date known is B.C. 683,—and how long it had been in use before then cannot even be guessed. As to the etymology, that is very simple. The first component part is the common Assyro-Babylonian word *rabû*, meaning, in compounds, 'chief,' equivalent to the Heb. רַב. The second word is the particle *ša*, meaning 'of,' and the third is *rêšu* 'head' (the Heb. רֹאשׁ), seemingly one of the numerous short words of masculine form which were the same in the plural as in the singular. Whether the Heb. סָרִים is derived from *ša-rêšu*, without the *rab*, and obtained the meaning of 'eunuch' from the circumstance that many of those who bore the title Rab-saris had authority over the eunuchs, or whether the Hebrews assimilated this Assyro-Babylonian title to a word already well known in their language, and common Semitic property, is unknown; but the former would seem to be the more probable. In any case the word as used in 2 K 18^{17} and Jer $39^{3.13}$ must be held to represent the Assyro-Babylonian *rabû-ša-rêšu*, whatever opinion be held with regard to the other passages where it occurs. It is noteworthy that the sibilants are in both cases ס, for which the Assyro-Babylonian has *š*, affording another proof that the sound transcribed by the latter was often not *sh*, but simply *s*, in later times, in Assyria and Babylonia.

T. G. PINCHES.

RAB-SHAKEH (רַבְשָׁקֵה; Ῥαψάκης, Ῥαβσάκης; *Rabsaces*).—The title of the officer sent by Sennacherib with the Tartan and the Rab-saris to demand the surrender of Jerusalem, at that time besieged by the Assyrian forces (2 K $18^{17.19.26-28.37}$ $19^{4.8}$, Is $36^{2.4.11-13.22}$ $37^{4.8}$). He came, with a great army, accompanied by the other dignitaries who are mentioned, from Lachish, and 'called to the king.' In response to the summons, the officials of Hezekiah's court replied, and the Rab-shakeh pronounced to them a long and insolent message to their royal master, increasing the violence of his tone when requested to speak in Aramaic, and not in Hebrew 'in the ears of all the people that are on the wall.' From this it will be seen that this official was one of some attainments, as, besides his native Assyrian, he must have known Hebrew very well; and the remonstrance of the Jewish representatives of the king who were parleying with him implies that he knew Aramaic also, probably because it was the language of a large section of the Assyrian people, and therefore, in a sense, a second mother-tongue to him. The first opinion of scholars concerning the title Rab-shakeh was that it meant 'chief of the cupbearers';* but there must have been considerable doubt as to the correctness of this rendering, as such an official would hardly have been sent on an errand of this kind. When, therefore, the cuneiform inscriptions began to be more thoroughly studied, the suggestion was made that the Rab-shakeh of the passages quoted was the same as the *rab-saki* of the texts. This word is a compound, consisting of *rab*, const. case of *rabû*, 'chief,'=the Heb. רַב, and *saki*, plural of *saku*, from the Akkad. *saga*, 'head,' the whole meaning 'chief of the heads,' or 'captains' (cf. RAB-SARIS). The list of names of officials printed in *WAI* ii. pl. 31, No. 2, mentions the *rab-saki* between the *rab-šumgar* or *rab-segar* ('chief of the supply?') and the *saki* or *rêšē*, 'officers' or 'captains.' In the time of Tiglath-pileser the Šut-saki who was sent to Tyre as *rab-saki* received tribute from Mētenna of that city, from which it may be concluded that the Rab-shakeh or Rab-saki was a military officer of high rank, regarded as possessing some ability as a diplomat. The *Rab-kiṣir*, 'chief of a force,' also often bore this title (tablet K 1359, col. i. 36, ii. 7, 10, iii. 1, iv. 11). See Schrader, *KAT*² 319, 320 [*COT* ii. 3, 4]; Sayce, *HCM* 441, 442.

T. G. PINCHES.

RACA occurs Mt 5^{22} only, and in its Greek form is variously spelt—ῥακά (WH, with cod. B), ῥαχά (Tisch. with codd. ℵ*D). It is the Aramaic, רֵיקָא, a form of רֵיקָן 'empty' (Heb. רֵיק), the first *a* in the Greek being due to a Galilæan change. The χ in Tischendorf's spelling is, like the first χ in Ἀχελδαμάχ (Ac 1^{19}, codd. ℵA), due to the assimilation in the pronunciation of *Koph* to the aspirated *Kaph* (Dalman, *Gramm. des Jüd.-Pal. Aramäisch*, pp. 66, 138, 304). *Raca* appears to be a word of contempt, 'empty,' so 'worthless,' intellectually rather than morally, like the worthless (רֵיק), empty-headed fellows whom Abimelech at Shechem hired to be his followers, Jg 9^{4}; like the κενός, Ja 2^{20}, the empty-head, who boasts of a faith which is intellectual only; or like the 'ignorant,' called by the Rabbis רֵיקָא, because, for example, they could not conceive how God could build the gates of Jerusalem of gems 30 cubits high and 30 cubits broad (Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus*, i. 538). Obviously, as rebuked by Christ, it is an advance upon mere angry feeling (ὀργιζόμενος), in proportion as utterance is less self-controlled than silence; and, on the other hand, it does not betray so complete a loss of self-control as the word of climax, the more positive μωρέ, 'fool,' *i.e.* godless, good-despising fool, moral reprobate.*

---

* Cf. Dn 1^{3}, where the 'master of his eunuchs' (רַב־סָרִיסָיו, LXX and Theod. ἀρχιευνοῦχος) seems to have had charge of 'the seed royal and the nobles.'

* See Gesenius (Tregelles' tr.), *s.v.* Luther's translation is generally, in accordance with this, *Erzschenke*.

But the precise force of *Raca*, as compared with that of repressed anger and of 'fool,' cannot be estimated apart from the gradations of court or penalty from which Christ draws His analogical illustrations; and these gradations are too readily taken for granted as historical and intelligible, even by some of the foremost commentators in England and in Germany. It is quite commonly assumed (1) that Christ uses κρίσις for the local or provincial court in a Jewish town or village; (2) that such a court could try cases of murder; (3) that it could punish the murderer, but only with the sword; (4) that the Sanhedrin (συνέδριον) alone could inflict 'the more painful and degrading punishment of stoning'; (5) that γέεννα τοῦ πυρός was the valley of Hinnom, and that in it the corpses of criminals were burned, the most degrading and most abhorred punishment of all. But, as a matter of fact, there is, outside this passage itself, no trustworthy evidence for any of these assumptions (see, for instance, GEHENNA, vol. ii. p. 119^{b}). It is true that the Talmud may be quoted for the second assumption (cf. *Sanhedrin* i. 4, as referred to in Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 154); but this evidence is shaken, first, by the extreme improbability of the statement in the light of the fact that no execution was permitted, even to the Sanhedrin, except by consent of the Procurator (cf. Jn 18^{31}); and secondly, by the important qualification that the Talmud is often purely academic, speaking of things that ought to be as though they were. The Talmudic passage just cited was not written down till the 2nd cent. A.D., and represents what, in the opinion of the Rabbis, ought to be the procedure, and what would be in an ideal Judah under Rabbinical rule. The same statement is made by Maimonides 1000 years later, when it could not be historically true.† Accordingly, it appears impossible to estimate, with any confidence, the exact relations of 'the judgment,' 'the council,' 'the gehenna of fire,' in our Lord's picture, and therefore, so far, the exact relations of the three stages of anger. Two salient points, however, emerge like headlands out of the mist. (1) Christ hands over all anger, even silent anger, to be tried as a murderous act, to be tried (it should be added) on its merits (cf. ἔνοχος τῇ κρίσει), and not *ipso facto* and at once condemned. (2) Christ is no verbal Pharisee. That it is not the utterance of a word, but the spirit of the utterance, that is reprehended, is plain from the fact that He can use ἀνόητοι, a word, like St. James's κενέ, practically identical with *Raca*, when rebuking the spiritual dulness of two of His immediate followers (Lk 24^{25}).

J. MASSIE.

RACAL.—Amongst those to whom David is said (1 S 30^{29}) to have sent a share of the spoil after his return to Ziklag, are mentioned 'they that were בְּרָכָל'; but probably the last word ought to be corrected, after the LXX (ἐν Καρμήλῳ), to בְּכַרְמֶל, 'in Carmel' (of Judah, Jos 15^{55}, 1 S 25^{2}). So Wellhausen, Driver, Budde, Löhr, H. P. Smith, *et al.*

RACE.—See GAMES in vol. ii. p. 108.

RACHEL, once (Jer 31^{15} AV) Rahel* (רָחֵל 'a ewe,' Gn 31^{38} *al.*; Ῥαχήλ; *Rachel*).—The younger daughter of Laban, whom Jacob, arriving at Ḥaran (Gn 29^{1-8}), meets, as she comes to water her father's sheep (v.$^{9ff.}$), at a well in the open country (v.^{2}). Impressed by her beauty, and deeply in love with her (29^{17-20}), Jacob agrees to serve Laban for seven years, if he may then have her for his wife; but Laban, at the end of the stipulated time, fraudulently substitutes his elder daughter, Leah, and only consents to give him Rachel as well upon his agreeing to serve him seven years more (29^{21-30}). Leah, though less loved by her husband than Rachel, is blessed with four children; this arouses in her younger sister feelings of discontent and envy, and petulantly reproaching Jacob she bids him take her handmaid, Bilhah, as a concubine (cf. $16^{2f.}$), that she may be 'built up'—*i.e.* (16^{2}) obtain a family—from her (30^{1-4}). Two sons, Dan and Naphtali, are born accordingly to Bilhah: the explanations given of their names ($30^{6.8}$) are meant to indicate Rachel's recognition that God had now, at least in a measure, granted her her due, and that she had won, after her long 'wrestlings' with her sister, His favour and blessing. 'The struggle of these two women for their husband gives us a strange picture of manners and morals, but must not be judged by our standard' (Payne Smith): at the same time, so far as the temper and attitude of Rachel are concerned, it is only fair to remember that Leah was not the wife of Jacob's choice, but had been forced by fraud into what was really Rachel's own rightful place in his house. Rachel's anxiety to have a son of her own is, however, evinced before long in her eagerness to obtain some of the youthful Reuben's mandrakes, or love-apples ($30^{14f.}$). At last, the long-delayed hopes are accomplished, and Joseph is born (30^{22-24}).

Six years later (31^{41}), when Jacob meditates quitting the service of Laban (31^{1-3}), both wives endorse cordially his reasons for doing so ($31^{4ff.\,14-16}$), and accompany him. Rachel, at once unscrupulous and superstitious, steals her father's teraphim (31^{19}), hoping, no doubt, that they would bring her and her husband prosperity; 31^{33-35} describes the ready wit by which she conceals the theft from her indignant father. Rachel is next mentioned on the occasion of Jacob's meeting with his brother Esau (33^{1-15}), when the superior affection which he still felt for her is shown by the position assigned to her and Joseph ($33^{1.2.7}$). Her death, shortly afterwards, at the time of Benjamin's birth, soon after Jacob left Bethel, is recorded in 35^{16-20} (cf. 48^{7}). She and her sister Leah are alluded to in Ru 4^{11} as foundresses of the house of Israel, and types of wedded happiness and prosperity. Like Rebekah (Gn 24), Rachel at first (Gn 29) produces a favourable impression upon the reader: she is attractive, not only in person, but also evidently in manner and address; she stirs Jacob's deepest affections; their long and patient waiting, followed by a cruel disappointment, enlists our sympathies; but the sequel shows that, like her aunt, she is not exempt from the family failings of acquisitiveness and duplicity.

The Isr. tribes are grouped around Leah and Rachel; so it is evident that they both possess a *tribal* as well as a personal significance. For speculations as to what historical facts may, from this point of view, be supposed to be represented by them —*e.g.* the growth of 'Israel' out of elements more or less originally distinct—see Ewald, *Hist.* i. 371-6; Stade, *GVI* i. 145 ff.; Wellh. *Hist.* 432; Guthe, *GVI* (1899), pp. 5 f., 40-42; and cf. BENJAMIN, vol. i. p. 272b, JACOB, vol. ii. p. 533 f.

---

* It seems better to take this word as the voc. of μωρός, one of the LXX translations of *nābāl*, 'fool' (cf. the practical atheist of Is 32^{6}), than as a transliteration of the ptcp. מֹרֶה 'murmuring,' 'refractory,' Nu 20^{10} (LXX ἀπειθεῖς), there being no evidence that the latter was a common Heb. word of opprobrium. (See FOOL).

† On this particular point the present writer is indebted to a private letter from Dr. Neubauer.

* As regularly in the 'Great Bible' (1539-41) and the Geneva Version (1560); Coverdale (1535) and the 'Bishops' Bible' (1568), however, have regularly 'Rachel.'

Rachel's grave.—In Gn 35^{16} it is said that Rachel died when there was yet 'a distance (?) of land' (כִּבְרַת הָאָרֶץ) to go to Ephrath; and in v.^{19} (cf. 48^{7}) Jacob is said to have buried her 'in the way to Ephrath (that is Beth-lehem),' and (v.^{20}) to have 'set up a pillar' (*maẓẓēbāh*)—*i.e.* here, as often in Phœn. (*CIS* I. i. 44, 46, 57, etc.), a sepulchral monument—'upon her grave: that is the pillar of Rachel's grave unto this day.' The locality must consequently have been well known when the narrative (E) was written; and, in fact, it is mentioned as a well-known spot in 1 S 10^{2}, and also alluded to in Jer 31^{15} (where the prophet poetically imagines Rachel, the mother of Joseph and Benjamin, as weeping over the captivity of the last remnants of her nation, as on their way to exile they passed near her tomb; cf. 40^{1}).* The spot which, from at least the 4th cent.,† has been shown traditionally as the site of Rachel's grave, is about four miles S. of Jerusalem and one mile N. of Beth-lehem; here there is now the *Ḳubbet Rāḥēl* or 'dome of Rachel,' a stone structure, of comparatively modern date, exactly like an ordinary Moslem 'wely,' or tomb of a holy person, about 23 ft. square, surmounted by a dome, and containing an apparently modern sarcophagus; on the E. an oblong chamber and court have been recently added.‡

A serious difficulty, however, arises in this connexion. In 1 S 10^{2} Rachel's tomb is described quite clearly as being on the 'border of Benjamin,' *i.e.*, obviously, the N. border between Benjamin and Ephraim, not far from § *Bethel* (v.^{3}), which was 10 miles N. of Jerusalem; and a site in the same neighbourhood is strongly favoured by Jer 31^{15}, where Rachel is represented as weeping at (or near) *Ramah*, 5 miles N. of Jerusalem.‖ The distance which כברת הארץ was understood to express is uncertain; but it can hardly (cf. 2 K 5^{19}) have been as much as 15 or 16 miles. We seem, therefore, reduced to one of two conclusions: either (Knob., Graf, Stade, *ZAW*, 1883, pp. 5-8; Riehm, *HWB*^{2}, 1281 f.; Holzinger, *al.*) Ephrath, though elsewhere identified with Beth-lehem (Ru 1^{2} 4^{11}, Mic 5^{2}), is here the name of a place near Ramah (in which case the words 'that is Beth-lehem' in 35^{19} 48^{7} will be an incorrect gloss); or (Nöld., Del., Dillm.) there were two different traditions as to the site of Rachel's grave—one tradition (1 S 10^{2}, Jer 31^{15}) placing it near Ramah, the other (Gn 35^{19} 48^{7}) placing it near Beth-lehem. As Rachel has otherwise no connexion with Judah, while she is connected closely with Joseph and Benjamin, the former alternative is perhaps the more probable (Buhl, *Geogr.* 159, does not decide between them).

S. R. DRIVER.

RADDAI (רַדַּי; B Ζαδδαί, B^{ab} Ζαβδαί, A Ῥαδδαί).—The fifth son of Jesse, 1 Ch 2^{14}.

RAG, RAGGED.—The words properly translated 'rag' are (1) קְרָעִים, pieces torn off, from קָרַע to rend, which is tr^{d} 'rags' in Pr 23^{21}, but in 1 K $11^{30.31}$, 2 K 2^{12} simply 'pieces,' being preceded by the verb; (2) מְלָחִים, worn-out clothes, from [מָלַח] to wear out, tr^{d} 'rotten rags' in Jer $38^{11.12}$, the only place where it occurs; (3) ῥάκος, tr^{d} 'rag' in Ad. Est 14^{16}. In Is 64^{6} 'All our righteousnesses are as filthy rags' (כְּבֶגֶד עִדִּים), the word tr^{d} 'rags' (בֶּגֶד) is simply 'clothing,' 'a garment' ('from the filthy clothing of the leper to the holy robes of the high priest'—*Oxf. Heb. Lex.*); RV 'as a polluted garment.' The specific allusion here is to a *vestis menstruis polluta*; cf. Is 30^{22}.

The root meaning of the Eng. word 'rag' is neither 'torn' nor 'worn,' but *rough, shaggy* (Swed. *ragg* or *rugg*, rough hair), whence the adj. **ragged** was used as we now use 'rugged' in the sense of jagged, applied to rocks, etc. So in AV Is 2^{21} 'the tops of the ragged rocks'; and Sir 32 $^{\text{heading}}$ 'Of a ragged and a smooth way.' Cf. Shaks. *Rich. II.* v. v. 21—

'How these vain weak nails
May tear a passage through the flinty ribs
Of this hard world, my ragged prison walls.

And Milton, *L'Allegro*, 9—

'There, under ebon shades and low-browed rocks,
As ragged as thy locks.'

J. HASTINGS.

RAGAU.—See following article.

RAGES (Ῥάγοι [ℵ in To $9^{2.5}$ Ῥάγαι] τῆς Μηδίας).—Now *Rai* near Teheran. The city, whose ruins occupy a space about 4500 yards long by 3500 broad, gave its name to Media Ragiana, and commanded the approach to the Caspian Gates. The size and thickness of its walls, and the number of towers with which they are flanked, must have made it one of the strongest fortresses of the Persian empire. According to the Vendidad it was colonized by the advancing Aryans after they had left Hyrcania and before they reached Khorassan, and it was there that they were mingled with two other races and so first came into contact with heretics. An old tradition asserted that Zoroaster was born there (see de Harlez, *Introduction à l'étude de l'Avesta*, Paris, 1882). In the Behistun Inscription Darius calls it Ragâ in Media, and states that the Median pretender Frawartish or Phraortes fled to it after his defeat; he was, however, captured, and after being tortured was sent to Ecbatana to be impaled. At a later date Alexander passed through it in pursuit of Darius Codomannus, eleven days after leaving Ecbatana. It was rebuilt or enlarged by Seleucus I., who gave it the name of Europus (Strabo, XI. xiii. 6), which was supplanted by that of Arsacia after the Parthian conquest. In the age of Isidorus (§ 7) it was still 'the greatest city in Media.' In Strabo and Arrian the name appears as *Ragæ*; Ptolemy (vi. 5) makes it *Ragæa*.

Rages is often mentioned in the Bk. of Tobit. Tobit left there ten talents of silver (1^{14} 4^{1}), and Tobias, accompanied by the angel Raphael, started for Rages in quest of this deposit, which was finally recovered by the angel (5^{5} $6^{9.12}$ 9^{2}). According to Jth $1^{5.15}$ **Ragau** (Ῥαγαύ, evidently another form of *Rages*) was the scene of the decisive battle in which Nebuchadnezzar 'king of the Assyrians' defeated and slew Arphaxad the Median prince. It is possible that in the story of Arphaxad we have a distorted reminiscence of the overthrow and capture of Frawartish.

A. H. SAYCE.

RAGUEL.—1. The AV form (LXX Ῥαγουήλ), in Nu 10^{29}, of REUEL. See HOBAB and JETHRO. 2. The father of Sarah, the wife of Tobias, To $3^{7.17.18}$ 14^{12}. The name, which is the same as the Heb. *Reuel*, occurs as that of an angel in Enoch xx. 4.

RAHAB (רָחָב, Ῥαάβ).—The heroine of the adventure of the spies sent by Joshua to ascertain the strength of Jericho and the feeling of the people there. The story of her reception of the two young men, and the clever devices by which she hides them, contrives their escape, and baffles the pursuit ordered by the king of Jericho, is told in Jos 2, assigned by critics to JE (vv.$^{10.\ 11}$ D^2), and exhibiting all the ease and grace of that narrative, all its power of delineating life and character. A few lively touches bring the whole scene vividly before us, and suggest much that is not told in detail. We see the house on the wall, probably near the gate of the city, and convenient for resort, certainly convenient for escape. On the roof are drying stalks of flax, an indication of the inmate's busy toil, possibly of a particular trade. Here she dwells alone, but she has a father and mother, and brothers and sisters residing in the town. She is a harlot, for the word זוֹנָה applied to her (LXX *πόρνη*; Vulg. *meretrix*) refuses to be softened down to 'innkeeper' (Josephus, Chrys., Chald. VS), but she may have combined with this unhappy calling the more honourable occupation of weaving and dyeing. She had evidently been brought into communication with the outside world, and had heard of events going on beyond the Jordan, which had caused the terror of Israel to fall upon the inhabitants of Canaan. She was convinced that the God of the Hebrews would open a way for His people into Jericho. In this belief she obtained a promise from the spies of protection for herself and family in return for her help. A scarlet line hanging from the window by which they had escaped was to be the sign that the house, with all its inmates for the time, should be spared. The Israelites would be guiltless of the blood of any member of Rahab's family caught outside the house.

---

* Mt $2^{17f.}$ is, of course, an *application*, not an interpretation, of the prophecy.

† See the Itinerary of the Bordeaux Pilgrim, A.D. 333 (in the series of the *Pal. Pilgrims' Text Soc.* i. 26 f.), and the Pilgrimage of Paula (*ib.* p. 6, at the end of the vol.) in Jerome's *Ep. ad Eustochium* (ed. Bened. iv. 2, 674; ed. Vallarsi, i. 692).

‡ See, further, Robinson, *BRP* i. 218, iii. 273; Bäd.^{2} 129 f.; *PEF Mem.* iii. 129 f. (with a view).

§ The terms of 1 S 10^{2-5} hardly enable us to fix its site more specifically: see an attempt by Schick, *ZDPV* iv. (1881) p. 248 f. (=*PEFSt*, 1883, p. 111); abandoned *PEFSt*, 1898, p. 19.

‖ It may be worth observing that, though Jos 18^{13} (P) makes the N. border of Benjamin pass close to the S. of Bethel, 1 K 15^{17} seems to imply that the S. border of the N. kingdom was at Ramah; see also Jg 4^{5}.

Joshua kept the agreement to the letter (Jos $6^{17.\ 22.\ 23\text{-}25}$), and the narrative states 'and she dwelt in the midst of Israel unto this day.'

'A nation's gratitude long preserves the names of those who by opportune information open for a besieging host the path to victory' (Ewald, who cites a parallel instance soon to follow, Jg $1^{22\text{-}26}$, and illustrates from profane history, *HI* ii. 247, Eng. tr.). In fact the conduct of Raḥab was recognized with gratitude and kept long in memory by Jew and Christian alike. According to a rabbinical tradition she married Joshua himself, and became the ancestress of seven prophets (Lightfoot, *Horæ Heb. ad Mt* 1^5). Christian estimates of her worth are even more remarkable. One NT writer places her in the roll of the heroes of faith (He 11^{31}), another quotes her as justified by works (Ja 2^{25}). Clement of Rome declares she was saved through her faith and her hospitality, and claims for her the gift of prophecy, since the scarlet line foretold redemption by the blood of Christ (*ad Cor.* i. 12). The same allegorical interpretation is assumed by all ancient ecclesiastical writers (see Jacobson, *Pat. Ap.*, who cites Just. Mar. *Tryph.* cxi.; Iren. iv. 20. 12; Origen, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and Theodoret). None of these writers, any more than the NT, think it necessary to change 'harlot' into 'innkeeper' with Josephus and Chrysostom. Irenæus, in his reference to her, recalls how publicans and harlots were admitted into the kingdom of heaven. We know nothing of her after-conduct, but we may well believe that the faith which an apostle could praise was accompanied by a true conversion.

As to Raḥab's lie to the king, and her betrayal of her own countrymen, all that need be said is, that while neither can be approved, both may be extenuated by her situation.

The most interesting question in connexion with this woman arises from the mention of a *Raḥab* (Ῥαχάβ) in the genealogy of Mt 1^5 'And Salmon begat Boaz of Rahab' (RV), which thus makes her an ancestress of our Lord. The patristic age seems to have taken the identification with Rahab of Jericho for granted. But in the 11th cent. Theophylact could write, 'There are some who think Rachab to be that Rahab the harlot who received the spies of Joshua the son of Nave.' A Dutch professor, G. Outhov, urged difficulties in the way of identification (in the *Biblioth. Brem. hist. philol. Theol.* ch. iii. p. 438), and was answered by Wolf (*Cur. philol. et crit. in Mt* 1^5). That the Ῥαάβ of the LXX and of Hebrews and James should be Ῥαχάβ in Matthew appears at first improbable. But the latter has the support of Josephus, who always speaks of Rahab as ἡ Ῥαχάβη. A second objection would be more serious if it rested on the mention of Raḥab alone, but it is a chronological difficulty not affected by the question of her identity, and may therefore be dismissed here. There is no improbability in the marriage of Raḥab to Salmon son of Nahshon (Nu 7^{12}, 1 Ch 2^{10}) (see Alford on Mt 1^5). The difficulty arises from the names Boaz, Obed, Jesse being made to bridge the interval between Raḥab and David.

LITERATURE.—In addition to authorities already cited, see Bengel, Lightfoot, and Olshausen on Mt 1^5; Mill, *Descent and Parentage of the Saviour*; Patrick, Grotius, Hitzig, Keil, Dillmann, and Steuernagel on Jos 2 and 6; Schleusner, *Lex. NT*, *s.v.* πόρνη.

A. S. AGLEN.

RAHAB (רַהַב).—A mythological and symbolical term meaning 'the raging monster,' 'the impetuous one,' which occurs 6 times in OT (RV).

As a verb, רהב is found twice in Qal: Pr 6^3 'importune thy friend' (AV 'make sure' [Toy remarks that '*importune* is hardly strong enough; *beset, besiege, assail* better express the impetuosity involved in the Heb. term']; LXX παρόξυνε τὸν φίλον σου); Is 3^5 'the child shall behave himself proudly' (Cheyne, *PB*, 'the boy shall be insolent'; LXX πρόσκόψει τὸ παιδίον); and twice in Hiphil: Ca 6^5 'thine eyes have overcome me' (RVm 'make me afraid' [so Budde, *setzen mich in Schrecken*]; AVm 'have puffed me up'; Duhm, *regen mich auf* [so Siegfried-Stade, *erregen* (*geschlechtlich*)]; LXX ἀνεπτέρωσάν με; but it is very doubtful whether these last three renderings are possible; probably 'confuse' or 'perturb' [Syr. ܪܗܒ] is the meaning, see Driver, *LOT*^{6} 446 n.); Ps 138^3 'Thou didst encourage me' (Driver, *Par. Psalter*, 'Thou makest me proud'; LXX πολυωρήσεις με).—The noun רַהַב is used in Ps 90^{10} [only] 'their pride' (AV, following Kimchi, interprets the root here falsely in the sense of 'strength' [so in Is 30^7 and Ps 138^3]; LXX τὸ πλεῖον αὐτῶν [by confusion with רָבָּם]), and the adjective רָהָב (in plur.) in Ps $40^{(4)\,5}$ [only] 'the proud' (LXX ματαιότητας).

1. The first occurrence of רַהַב we shall examine is Job 9^{13} אֱלוֹהַּ לֹא־יָשִׁיב אַפּוֹ תַּחְתָּיו שָׁחֲחוּ עֹזְרֵי רָהַב; LXX B αὐτὸς γὰρ ἀπέστραπται ὀργήν, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκάμφθησαν κήτη τὰ ὑπ' οὐρανόν; RV 'God will not withdraw his anger, the helpers of Rahab [m. 'or *arrogancy*, see Is 30^7'] do [m. 'or *did*'] stoop under him'; AV '(If) God will not withdraw his anger, the proud helpers [m. 'Heb. *helpers of pride* or *strength*'] do stoop under him.' The meaning distinctly appears to be, 'God withdraws not his anger (till it has accomplished its purpose); even the helpers of Rahab bowed [note the perf. שָׁחֲחוּ, referring to some definite occasion] under him; how much less can I (Job) stand before him.' What now is the allusion? There can be little doubt that it is to the mythical conflict in which the Creator was said to have vanquished the supposed primeval dragon of the deep. This myth is most familiar to us in the Babylonian Creation-epos, where there is a very detailed account of the victory of Marduk over Tiâmat (cf. *tĕhôm*, Gn 1^2) and her eleven 'helpers' (see art. BABYLONIA in vol. i. p. 220^b f.; Sayce, *HCM* 63 ff.; Ball, *Light from the East*, 2 ff.).

From the use of *Rahab* for the raging sea monster (who appears, in certain forms of the myth current amongst the Jews, to have been thought of not as finally destroyed, but as imprisoned in the sea, and destined to be slain at last by Jahweh's sword, Is 27^1; cf. the Egyptian myth of the defeat of the serpent Apopi) the transition is easy to the application of the term to the sea itself. So in 2. Job 26^{12}, where, however, the same mythological allusion underlies the two parallel clauses, 'He quelleth the sea with his power, and by his understanding he smiteth through Rahab' (בְּכֹחוֹ רָגַע הַיָּם וּבִתְבוּנָתוֹ מָחַץ רָהַב; LXX B ἰσχύι κατέπαυσεν τὴν θάλασσαν, ἐπιστήμῃ δὲ ἔστρωται τὸ κῆτος); RV 'He stirreth up [m. 'or *stilleth*'] the sea with his power, and by his understanding he smiteth through Rahab'; AV (wrongly)

'He divideth the sea with his power, and by his understanding he smiteth through the proud' [m. 'Heb. *pride*']. Cf. Ps 74^{12-15}. 3. Very similar is Is 51^{9} הֲלוֹא אַתְּ־הִיא הַמַּחְצֶבֶת רַהַב מְחֹלֶלֶת תַּנִּין; LXX B *οὐ σὺ εἶ ἡ ἐρημοῦσα θάλασσαν, ὕδωρ ἀβύσσου πλῆθος*; RV 'art thou (*sc.* the arm of the LORD) not it that cut Rahab in pieces, that pierced the dragon?'; AV 'art thou not it that hath cut Rahab and wounded the dragon?' The reference here appears to be to the destruction of the Egyptians, under the figure of a monster (see SEA MONSTER), at the Red Sea (cf. v.^{10} 'art thou not it which dried up the sea, the waters of the great deep; that made the depths of the sea a way for the redeemed to pass over?'). 4. One other parallel to this is Ps $89^{10(11)}$ אַתָּה דִכִּאתָ כֶחָלָל רָהַב; LXX *σὺ ἐταπείνωσας ὡς τραυματίαν ὑπερήφανον*; AV and RV 'Thou hast broken Rahab [m. 'or *Egypt*'] in pieces, as one that is slain.' The meaning of this clause is interpreted by what follows, 'Thou hast scattered thine enemies with the arm of thy strength,' and this again by the preceding verse, 'Thou rulest the pride of the sea; when the waves thereof arise, thou stillest them.' There *may* be a veiled allusion to Egypt here, as in Is 51^{9}, but such a conclusion is not necessary.

5. In our next example the epithet *Rahab* is applied to Egypt, Is 30^{7} וּמִצְרַיִם הֶבֶל וָרִיק יַעְזֹרוּ לָכֵן קָרָאתִי לָזֹאת רַהַב הֵם שָׁבֶת; LXX *Αἰγύπτιοι μάταια καὶ κενὰ ὠφελήσουσιν ὑμᾶς· ἀπάγγειλον αὐτοῖς ὅτι ματαία ἡ παράκλησις ὑμῶν αὕτη*: RV 'for Egypt helpeth in vain and to no purpose; therefore have I called her Rahab that sitteth still' [lit. (Ges. § 141 *c*) 'Rahab, they are a sitting still']. Driver (*Isaiah*², 'Men of the Bible' series, p. 59 n.) takes *Rahab* as a poetical title expressing 'the idea of inflation and pride.' So Cheyne (*Prophecies of Isaiah*², i. p. 172) speaks of it as expressing the 'boisterousness' or 'arrogance' of the Egyptians as a people; he cites Pliny's description of them as 'ventosa et insolens natio.' Isaiah declares that the name *Rahab* had better be changed to *Shêbeth* ('sitting still,' 'inaction'); Egypt is a blustering do-nothing, prompt with high-sounding promises, but utterly incapable of carrying these out. If this passage belongs to Isaiah, and if the MT be correct (but see Cheyne, *SBOT*, 'Isaiah' *ad loc.*, and *Intro. to Is.* p. 253; Budde on Job 9^{13}; and Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, p. 39), it is probable that no mythological allusion underlies the passage, but that רַהַב simply means 'boastfulness' though with allusion to *Rahab* as a name of Egypt. 6. Either through the influence of this passage, or more probably owing to a conception of Egypt as akin to the mythological sea monster, because lying ensconced amidst its rivers and canals (cf. Ezk 29^{3}), *Rahab* appears as a designation of Egypt in Ps 87^{4} אַזְכִּיר רַהַב וּבָבֶל; LXX *μνησθήσομαι Ῥαὰβ καὶ Βαβυλῶνος*; AV and RV 'I will make mention of Rahab (RVm 'or *Egypt*') and Babylon as those that know me.'

Gunkel (*Schöpf. u. Chaos*, 40) finds an allusion to Rahab also in Ps $40^{5(4)}$ 'Happy is the man that maketh the LORD his trust, and respecteth not the proud (*rĕhābîm*).'

LITERATURE.—The Comm. on the above cited Scripture passages, esp. Dillmann, Davidson, Budde, and Duhm on *Job*, Dillmann, Delitzsch, and Cheyne on *Isaiah*, and Delitzsch and Duhm on *Psalms*; Cheyne, *Job and Solomon*, p. 75 f., 'Isaiah' in *SBOT*, 102 f., *PB* 156 f., 205 f., and his art. 'Dragon' in *Encyc. Bibl.*; Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, *passim*, esp. p. 30 ff.

J. A. SELBIE.

RAHAM (רָחַם; B Ῥάμεε, A Ῥάεμ, Luc. Ῥάαμ).—A descendant of Caleb, 1 Ch 2^{44}.

RAHEL.—See RACHEL.

RAIMENT.—The early subst. 'arrayment' was often in middle Eng. spelt 'araiment,' and the *a* dropping off left 'raiment,' which is found as early as *Piers Plowman*. Raiment, being treated as a mere synonym of 'apparel,'[*] is used in AV to translate many Heb. and Gr. words, which are often plu. (as *τὰ ἱμάτια*, Mt 17^{2} 27^{31}, Mk 9^{3}, Lk 7^{25} 23^{34}, Jn 19^{24} etc.), the word having a collective force. Occasionally, however, it was used in the singular and in the plural: thus, Ezk 9^{2} Cov. 'There was one amongst them, that had on him a lynninge rayment'; Ps 109^{17} Pr. Bk. 'He clothed him self with cursyng lyke as with a rayment.' Also Ex 39^{41} Tind. 'His sonnes raymentes to ministre in'; Hall, *Works*, i. 818, 'He sends varietie of costly rayments to his Father.' See DRESS.

J. HASTINGS.

RAIN (מָטָר is the usual Heb. term. יוֹרֶה [in Jl 2^{23} Ps 84^{7} מוֹרֶה] 'the early rain,' falling Oct.–Nov., is opposed to מַלְקוֹשׁ 'the latter rain,' from March to April, Dt 11^{14}, Jer 5^{24}, Hos 6^{3}. גֶּשֶׁם, a *burst of rain*, is sometimes used, esp. of the heavy winter rains [cf. Driver on Am 4^{7}; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 64]. The NT terms are *ὑετός* and *βροχή* [only Mt $7^{25.27}$]).—In the beautiful passage Is $55^{10.11}$ we have an expression of the blessing accompanying rain in Eastern countries, not so much appreciated in our own humid climes. In Palestine the fruitfulness of the soil, the supply of the springs and rivers, the pasturage for the flocks and herds, indeed life itself, is dependent on the fall of the 'former and the latter' rain. The descent of rain is used as an illustration of the blessings following upon the spread of the kingdom of Christ (Ps $72^{6.7}$); while the presence of clouds and wind without rain is likened to a man 'who boasteth himself of his gifts falsely' (Pr 25^{14} RV). Rain in harvest time was regarded as phenomenal and portentous (1 S 12^{17}, Pr 26^{1}).

In Palestine nearly the whole of the rainfall of the year occurs in the winter months, or from November to March inclusive; during the remaining months the rain is slight and intermittent. In the rainy season the falls are usually heavy, and are accompanied by thunder and lightning, while the wind comes from the W. or S.W. Northerly and easterly winds are generally dry.[†] Snow falls on the tableland of western Palestine and of Moab, and to a greater depth in the Lebanon, but is almost unknown along the seaboard of Philistia and the plain of Sharon; on Sunday night, 20th January 1884, snow fell to a depth of 2 ft. and upwards around Jerusalem;[‡] this is mentioned only in order to dispel the general belief that snow never falls on the Holy City.

Conder disputes the view that the seasons in Palestine have changed since OT times.[§] He says, 'As regards the seasons and the character and distribution of the water-supply, natural or artificial, there is, apparently, no reason to suppose that any change has occurred; and with respect to the annual rainfall (as observed for the last ten years[‖]) it is only necessary to note that, were the old cisterns cleaned and mended, and the beautiful tanks and aqueducts repaired, the ordinary fall would be quite sufficient for the wants of the inhabitants and for irrigation.'[¶] While this is doubtless true, there can be no question that during the 'Pluvial period,' which extended from the Pliocene down through the Glacial into the commencement of the present or 'Recent' epoch, the rainfall must have been greater and the climate colder and more humid than at the present day. Snow now falls on the summits of Jebel Mûsa and Jebel Katarina in the Sinaitic peninsula, giving rise to the perennial streams which descend from the former of these mountains.[*] The following is a table of the rainfall at Jerusalem during 20 years:—

---

[*] As the AV translators varied their language as much as possible, we find three different renderings of the one word *ἐσθής* in Ja $2^{2.3}$: 'in goodly apparel' (*ἐν ἐσθῆτι λαμπρᾷ*), 'in vile raiment' (*ἐν ῥυπαρᾷ ἐσθῆτι*), and 'the gay clothing' (*τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὴν λαμπρὰν*). RV has 'clothing' throughout here.

[†] The connexion of the rainfall and direction of the wind is not very well known, though undoubtedly the S.W. wind is the most humid.

[‡] *Mount Seir, Sinai*, etc. 170 (1885).

[§] *Tent-Work in Palestine*, ch. xxiv. 334.

[‖] From 1870–1880.

[¶] *Ib.* p. 366. On the other hand, Tristram appears to consider that the rainfall has diminished since the time of the Crusaders. *Land of Israel*², 319.

TABLE OF THE RAINFALL AT JERUSALEM FROM 1861 TO 1880.

Year.	Fall in Inches.	Year.	Fall in Inches.
1861	27·30	1871	23·57
1862	21·86	1872	22·26
1863	26·54	1873	22·72
1864	15·51	1874	29·75
1865	18·19	1875	27·01
1866	18·55	1876	14·41
1867	29·42	1877	26·00
1868	29·10	1878	32·21
1869	18·61	1879	18·04
1870	13·39	1880	32·11

The above observations, taken by Chaplin, show how extremely variable is the rainfall in this part of Palestine;[†] the amount varying between 13·39 inches in 1870 and 32·21 inches in 1878; the average for these 20 years is about 20 inches; and the number of days on which rain fell varied from 36 in 1864 to 68 in 1868. The results are not dissimilar to those of the eastern counties of England north of the Thames. These results may be considered as the mean between those of the Lebanon on the north and of the Sinaitic peninsula on the south, the rainfall being greater in the former region than in the latter. Between these two Jerusalem occupies a nearly central position; and the amount of rain is consequently of an intermediate character. E. HULL.

RAINBOW (קֶשֶׁת, *τόξον*, *ἶρις*).—No definition is needed of this familiar phenomenon, which Ezekiel describes (1^{28}) as 'the bow that is in the cloud in the day of rain'; and no explanation is called for of the optical laws according to which it is produced. The Scripture references to the rainbow are few, and, with one exception, comparatively unimportant. They allude, as a rule, to its brightness, or to the brilliance of its colours. In Ezekiel's vision (*l.c.*) it is the glory of God that is likened to the appearance of the rainbow. In Sir $43^{11.\,12}$ the beauty of the rainbow is given as a reason for praising God who has made it, and whose hands have stretched it out. In Sir 50^{7} the high priest Simon, the son of Onias, is compared to the rainbow among other glorious objects. In one of the visions of the Apocalypse (Rev 4^{3}) there is 'a rainbow round about the throne, like an emerald to look upon,' and in another (10^{1}) there is an angel with 'the rainbow upon his head.'

The most important of the Scripture allusions to the rainbow is that in Gn $9^{13\text{ff.}}$, where it is introduced at the close of the story of the Deluge as a token of the covenant in which God promised that He would never again destroy the world by a flood. The passage as it stands is capable of two interpretations. It may convey either (*a*) the unscientific idea that the rainbow was *created* after the Flood, or (*b*) the idea that the rainbow, already created, was then *appointed* to have a new significance as a symbol of mercy. Those who regard the narrative as strictly historical, can of course adopt only the latter of these views. But when we take into account such considerations as those given under FLOOD (which see), it seems best to regard the whole story of the Deluge, including that of the rainbow, as a piece of Semitic folk-lore, which, under the guidance of Divine inspiration, 'assumed a Hebrew complexion, being adapted to the spirit of Hebrew monotheism, and made a vehicle for the higher teaching of the Hebrew religion' (Driver in Hogarth's *Authority and Archæology*, p. 27). In an early Sumerian hymn the rainbow is said by Sayce (*Expos. Times*, vii. 308) to be called 'the are which draws nigh to man, the bow (*qastu*) of the deluge,' and the Chaldæan account of the Flood tells how—

> 'Already at the moment of her coming the great goddess (Istar)
> Lifted up the mighty bow [*] which Anu had made according to his wish.'

The significance of the rainbow as a token of God's covenant with men may be variously viewed. קֶשֶׁת and *τόξον* (Sir 43^{11} 50^{7}) are the regular words for the bow as a weapon of war, and the rainbow may have been regarded as God's bow, formerly used in hostility (as in Ps 7^{12}, Hab $3^{9.\,11}$), and now laid aside. Or it may have appeared to be a link between heaven and earth; or, more probably, its suggestiveness as an emblem of hope may have arisen simply from the contrast between its beauty and brightness and the forbidding gloom of the rain-clouds. In any case, the story of the rainbow is worthy of its place in Scripture. Though poetic rather than literal, it was a beautiful and fitting vehicle for conveying to men in the childhood of the world the truth that God's mercy glories against judgment, and is the ground of all human hope.

Though the Babylonian Flood legend affords the closest parallel to the biblical story of the Deluge and the rainbow, some interesting correspondences may be gathered from the mythology of other nations. In the *Iliad* we find (*a*) the simple view of 'rainbows that the son of Kronos hath set in the clouds' (xi. 27), and (*b*) the conception of Iris as the personified messenger of the gods (iii. 121). In the Lithuanian account of the Flood the rainbow is sent as a comforter and counsellor to the surviving couple. In the Edda the rainbow (*Asbrû*, *Bif-röst*) is conceived of as a heavenly bridge which is to break at the end of the world. Akin to this, but with a biblical colouring, was the German belief of the Middle Ages, that for a number of years before the day of judgment the rainbow will no longer be seen.

> 'So the rainbow appear
> The world hath no fear
> Until thereafter forty year.'

The popular tendency to connect Christian and mythological conceptions is seen in the fact that in Zante the rainbow is called 'the girdle, or bow, of the virgin.'

The extravagant theory of Goldziher, that the history of Joseph is a solar myth, is fittingly crowned by the supposition that the 'bow' of Joseph (Gn 49^{24}) is the rainbow (*Mythology among the Hebrews*, 169–70).

LITERATURE.—Sayce, 'Archæological Commentary on Genesis,' in *Expos. Times*, vii. 308, 463; Ryle, 'Early Narratives of Genesis,' *ib.* iii. 450; Nicol, *Recent Archæology and the Bible*, 71; Dillmann, *Genesis, in loc.*; Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, Eng. tr. 580, 731–734; Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, i. 11, 12, 81, 201.

JAMES PATRICK.

RAISIN.—See VINE, and FOOD in vol. ii. p. 32^{b}.

RAKEM.—See REKEM.

---

[*] The elevation of Jebel Mûsa is 7373 feet; that of Jebel Katarina 8551 feet.

[†] 'On the Fall of Rain at Jerusalem,' by J. Glaisher, *PEFSt*, Jan. 1894, p. 39.

[*] The word rendered 'bow' by Sayce (*l.c.* 463) is, however, very uncertain, other Assyriologists, as Zimmern (*ap.* Gunkel, *Schöpf. u. Chaos*, 427), Jensen (*Kosmol.* 381; *KIB* vi. 241), rendering 'Geschmeide,' 'Intaglio.' Still, this may possibly *denote* the rainbow (Ball, *Light from the East*, 40 n.).

RAKKATH (רַקַּת; B Ὠμαθαδακέθ, the *-δακέθ* representing רקת by confusion of ר with ד, and the first part of the compound standing for חמת 'Hammath'; A 'Ρεκκάθ).—A 'fenced city' of Naphtali, Jos 19^{35}. The later Rabbis placed it at or near Tiberias (see Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* 208 f.).

C. R. CONDER.

RAKKON.—See ME-JARKON.

RAM (רָם 'lofty,' 'exalted').—**1.** An ancestor of David, Ru 4^{19} (Ἀρράν), Mt $1^{3.4}$ (Ἀράμ, hence AV ARAM, as in Lk 3^{33}, where RV, following WH Ἀρνεί, has ARNI). In 1 Ch 2^{9} (Ῥάμ) ^{10} (B Ἀρράν, A Ἀράμ) he is called the *brother*, but in vv.^{25} (B Ῥάν, A Ῥάμ) ^{27} (B Ἀράμ, A Ῥάμ) the *son* of Jerahmeel. See GENEALOGY, IV. 5. **2.** The name of the family (מִשְׁפָּחָה) to which Elihu belonged, Job 32^{2} (B Ῥάμ, A Ῥαμά, C Ἀράμ). It is quite uncertain whether *Ram* should be taken as a purely fictitious name, coined by the author of the Elihu speeches, or whether it is that of an unknown Arab (?) tribe. In Gn 22^{21} Aram is a nephew of BUZ (cf. 'Elihu the Buzite'), and some (*e.g.* Wetzstein, Knobel, Ewald) have supposed that *Ram* is a contraction for *Aram*, in support of which 2 Ch 22^{5} is appealed to, where *Ramites* (הָרַמִּים) is supposed to be shortened from *Aramites* (אֲרַמִּים, the reading of 2 K 8^{28}); but this seems hardly likely. In the passage just referred to, it is more probable that the initial א has been changed by a scribal error into ה, as has happened in several other instances in the OT. Rashi, by a Rabbinical conceit, makes Ram = Abraham.

J. A. SELBIE.

RAM.—See BATTERING-RAM, and SHEEP.

RAMS' HORNS.—See MUSIC in vol. iii. p. 462ᵃ.

RAMS' SKINS.—See DYEING.

RAMAH (הָרָמָה, always with definite art. except in Neh 11^{33} and Jer 31^{15}).—This word, with its various modifications and compounds Ram, Ramah, Ramoth, Ramathaim, Arimathæa, is derived from the root רום 'to be lofty.' It appears as a 'high place' four times (Ezk $16^{24.25.31.39}$). As a proper name it is used of—

1. (B Αραηλ, A Ῥαμα) One of the fenced cities of the tribe of Naphtali (Jos 19^{36}). It is not otherwise mentioned in OT. Robinson (iii. 79) has identified it as *Râmeh*, a village on the great route between *'Akka* and Damascus, and about 8 miles W.S.W. of *Safed*. The village lies upon the southern lower cultivated slope of the mountain whose ridge forms a boundary between Upper and Lower Galilee, but still several hundred feet above the plain. It is a large village, surrounded by extensive olive groves, and has no traces of antiquity within or around. It is mentioned by Eusebius (*Onom.* 288, 9) and Jerome (*ib.* 146, 19), Brocardus (c. 6) and Adrichomius (p. 123).

2. (Ῥαμα) One of the cities on the boundary of the tribe of Asher near Tyre (Jos 19^{29}). 'And the border turned to Ramah, and to the fenced city of Tyre.' Robinson (iii. 64) considers there is no question (and in this he is followed by Guérin, *Galilée*, ii. 125 f., and *SWP*) that Ramah of Asher is represented by the modern village of *Râmia*. It is situated about 12 miles due east of the Ladder of Tyre, as the crow flies. It stands upon an isolated hill, in the midst of a basin with green fields, surrounded by higher hills. The south-western portion of the basin has no outlet for its waters; which therefore collect in a shallow, marshy lake, which dries up in summer. It is a small stone village with a few figs and olives: there are cisterns and a large *birket* for water-supply. There are many sarcophagi about the hillside, some of unusual size. One of the lids measured 7½ feet long and 2 feet broad. Robinson considered the remains generally 'a striking monument of antiquity.' West of *Râmia* is a lofty hill called *Belât*, on which are extensive ruins, and remains of a temple of which ten columns are still standing. There is no trace of Ramah of Asher in any historical records except the bare mention of the name by Eusebius and Jerome. Cf. Buhl, p. 231 n.

3. (Ῥεμμωθ, Ῥαμα) 2 K 8^{29} = 2 Ch 22^{6}. In this case *Ramah* is an abbreviation of RAMOTH-GILEAD (which see).

4. (Ῥαμα, in Hos 5^{8} *τὰ ὑψηλά*) A city of Benjamin which is possibly (see below) also identical with No. 6, the birthplace and home of Samuel, but for convenience of consideration it is taken separately. It is given in the list of 14 cities and their villages allotted to Benjamin (Jos 18^{25}), the greater number of which have been identified north of Jerusalem. The first three are Gibeon (*el-Jib*, 5 miles N.N.W. of Jerusalem and 3 miles west of *er-Râm*), Ramah (*er-Râm*, 2600 feet, 5 miles due north of Jerusalem and near the main road to north), Beeroth (*el-Bîreh*, 10 miles north of Jerusalem near main road to north). Isaiah (10^{29}) enumerates the positions that will be successively taken up by the king of Assyria as he approaches Jerusalem after laying up his carriages (*i.e.* baggage) at Michmash: 'They are gone over the pass: they have taken up their lodging at Geba; Ramah trembleth; Gibeah of Saul is fled.' The Levite (Jg 19^{13}), passing Jerusalem with his concubine when the day was far spent, passed on to Gibeah (*Tell el-Fûl*, 2 miles south of *er-Râm*), which was short of Ramah. The Palm-tree of Deborah was between Ramah and Bethel in the hill-country of Ephraim (Jg 4^{5}). *Beitîn* (Bethel) is 5 miles N. of *er-Râm*.

From these notices it seems to follow that *er-Râm* is the modern equivalent of Ramah. The distance from Jerusalem (5 miles as the crow flies) accords with the account of Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomast.* 287, 1; 146, 9: 6 m. N. of Jerusalem) and of Josephus (*Ant.* VIII. xii. 3).

After the separation of the kingdoms, Baasha king of Israel (1 K $15^{17\text{f.}}$) went up against Judah and built (fortified) Ramah, 'that he might not suffer any one to go out or come in to Asa king of Judah,' showing that Ramah commanded the high road leading to Jerusalem; but Asa secured the assistance of Benhadad king of Syria, who smote the northern cities of Israel, so that Baasha desisted from building Ramah, and Asa took away the stones and the timber and built with them Geba of Benjamin and Mizpah (2 Ch 16^{1-6}). From this it would appear that Ramah was more suitable for defence towards the south than towards the north. After the destruction of Jerusalem, Ramah is mentioned as the place (Jer 40^{1}) where the captain of the guard over those who were carried away captive from Jerusalem loosed Jeremiah from his chains. Ramah was very near to Geba and Gibeah: see Is 10^{29} cited above, and cf. 'Blow ye the cornet in Gibeah and the trumpet in Ramah' (Hos 5^{8});[*] 'The children of Ramah and Geba' (Ezr 2^{26}, Neh 7^{30} [LXX Αραμα]).[†] It was also the traditional site of Rachel's tomb: 'A voice was heard in Ramah . . . Rachel weeping for her children' (Jer 31^{15}: cf. above, p. 193ᵃ). The Ramah of Neh 11^{33} is, in all probability, the same place.

Er-Râm is a small village in a conspicuous position on the top of a high white hill, with olives: it has a well to the south; west of the village is a good *birket* with a pointed vault; on the hill are cisterns. At *Khân er-Râm*, by the main road, is a quarry; and drafted stones are used up in the village walls (*SWP* iii. 155). The height of the village is about 2600 feet.

---

[*] But in 1 S 22^{6} 'Saul was sitting in Gibeah . . . in Ramah' render 'in Gibeah . . . *on the height*' (Keil, Kirkp., etc., RVm), even, indeed, if we should not read, with LXX (ἐν Βαμα) and H. P. Smith, 'on the *high place*.'—S. R. D.

[†] In 1 Es 5^{20} we find *Kirama* (Κ(ε)ιραμά) instead of *Ramah*.

C. WARREN.

5. Ramah of the South (רָאמַת נֶגֶב; Βαμεθ (A Ιαμεθ) *κατὰ λίβα*).—'Height of the south,' a city of Simeon (Jos 19[8]), at its extreme southern limit, apparently another name for BAALATH-BEER, with which it is in apposition in this passage. It appears to be the same as **Ramoth of the South** (1 S 30[27], LXX here also has the singular, Ῥαμα νότου). The verse is not contained in the parallel list (in the description of Judah), Jos 15[26-32] (after v.[32]); and in the transcript in 1 Ch 4[28-33], though (v.[33]) Baal (=Baalath-beer: LXX Βαλατ) is mentioned, the alternative name 'Ramah of the South' is not given. Nor is it mentioned by Eusebius or Jerome. Its situation is quite uncertain. It has been placed on a low ridge called Kubbet el-Baul, about 35 m. S. of Hebron, on the main route from Hebron to Petra; or (Tristram, *Bible Places*, 23) at Kurnub, a little further to the S. (see Rob. ii. 197, 198, 202); but either identification rests upon slight grounds (cf. Dillm. on Jos 15[24]; Buhl, 184).

6. 1 S 1[19] 2[11] 7[17] 8[4] 15[34] 16[13] 19[17f. 22f.] 20[1] 25[1] 28[3]; in 1 S 1[1], also, **Ramathaim**,* 'the double eminence,' or 'the two Ramahs' (הָרָמָתַיִם: LXX in all the passages quoted (+19[22a]), except 19[19. 22b. 23] 20[1], has Αρμαθαιμ, which it also inserts in 1 S 1[3] after 'his city': comp. 1 Mac 11[34] Ῥαμαθεμ [so MSS; A א corruptly Ῥαθαμειν], Pesh. ܪܡܬܝܢ). The birthplace, residence, and burial-place of Samuel (1 S 1[1] 7[17] 28[3]). The question of its site is difficult; and there have been many claimants for it. All that we definitely know about it is that it was on an eminence, as its name 'Ramah' implies, and that it was in the hill-country of Ephraim, not too far either from Shiloh, the sanctuary to which the parents of Samuel went up yearly to sacrifice (1 S 1), or from Bethel, Gilgal, and Mizpah (Neby Samwîl), the places visited by Samuel in his annual circuits as judge (1 S 7[16. 17]). Although this has been doubted, it is also extremely difficult to avoid identifying it with the unnamed city where Saul found Samuel (1 S 9), and which is spoken of as if it were the seer's habitual residence (vv.[6. 18]).

As regards antiquity, Eusebius writes (*Onom.* 225, 11 ff.): 'Αρμαθεμ Σειφα [as LXX]. The city of Elkana and Samuel. It lies near Diospolis [Jerome, *ib.* 96, 18, adds, 'in the district of Timnah' (in regione Thamnitica)]; thence came Joseph, said in the Gospels to be from Arimathea.' And in 1 Mac 11[34] Ramathem is mentioned, together with Aphærema (Ephraim, 5 m. N.E. of Bethel) and Lydda (=Diospolis), as three toparchies which had belonged to Samaria, but were in B.C. 145 transferred to Judæa. These notices would agree with a site *Beit-Rima*, a village on a hill 13 m. E.N.E. of Lydda (Diospolis), and 2 m. N. of Timnah (Tibneh), proposed originally by Furrer in Schenkel's *Bibellexicon* (cf. Schürer, i. 183), and adopted by G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 254, and Buhl, 170. It is true, Eus. says '*near* Diospolis': but the word need not be understood too strictly;* and there are other passages in which the 'district of Timnah' is reckoned by him as belonging to the ὅριον Διοσπόλεως (219, 84=Jerome 92, 4; 239, 93-4=Jerome 107, 12-14: so Timnah itself, 260, 4 =156, 7). Beit-Rima is 12 m. W. of Shiloh, and 12 m. N.W. of Bethel, on the W. edge of the hill-country of Ephraim.†

Another possible site for Ramah would be *Râm-allah*, 3 m. S.W. of Bethel, and 12 m. S.W. of Shiloh, now a large Christian village, standing on a high ridge, with rock-cut tombs, and overlooking the whole country towards the W. as far as the sea (*BRP* i. 453 f.; *PEF Mem.* iii. 13). This was suggested by Ewald (*Hist.* ii. 421), with the remark that its present name, 'the high place of God,' seems still to mark it as a place of ancient sanctity. Râm-allah has not the same support of tradition that Beit-Rima enjoys; but (if Ramah be the city of Samuel of 1 S 9) it seems to agree better with the terms of 1 S 9[4end. 5]; for Râm-allah, though, if it were Ramathaim, it would be in 'the hill-country of Ephraim' (1 S 1[1]), might also, as seems to be implied of the city in 1 S 9 (vv.[4end. 5]), be regarded as being in Benjamin (cf. Jg 4[5]). Saul would probably, on his route home to Gibeah, pass naturally near Rachel's sepulchre, on the (N.) 'border' of Benjamin (1 S 10[2]), somewhere near er-Râm (No. 4), and might also 'meet' naturally men 'going up' to Bethel (v.[3]), whether his starting-point were Beit-Rima or Râm-allah.

Of other, less probable identifications, the following may be mentioned:—

(1) Ramleh. The traveller of to-day, as he journeys through the Maritime Plain from Joppa to Jerusalem, is assured by his dragoman, when he reaches Ramleh (12 m. S.E. of Joppa, 2 m. S.W. of Lydda), that this is the Arimathæa of the Gospels. As Robinson (*BRP* ii. 234-41) shows at length, there is no ground for this identification. Ramleh is no ancient city; it was built by Suleimân, after he had destroyed Lydda, in the 8th cent. A.D.; and it is first mentioned (acc. to Robinson, p. 234) in 870 (under the form *Ramula*) by the monk Bernard. The name Ramleh signifies *sand*; and has no etymological connexion whatever with Ramah, *high*. Ramleh is also in the Maritime Plain, not, like Ramathaim, in the 'hill-country' of Ephraim.

(2) Neby Samwîl, the commanding and conspicuous eminence (2935 ft.) above Gibeon, 4½ m. N.W. of Jerusalem. Procopius (*c.* 560) mentions a monastery of 'St. Samuel' in Palestine (though without indicating its site); and in the Crusaders' time a church of 'St. Samuel' was built (A.D. 1157) at Neby Samwîl, which, with Moslem additions (including a minaret), remains, though partly in a ruined state, to the present day; close by, and once probably in the nave of the church, is the cenotaph of the prophet, now a Moslem wely (cf. Robinson, *BRP* i. 459 f.; *SP* 214 f.; *Tent-Work*, 258 f.; *PEF Mem.* iii. 12 f., 149-152, with views). The Ramah of Samuel was identified, at least provisionally, with Neby Samwîl by Mr. (afterwards Sir G.) Grove (in Smith's *DB*). The tradition connecting the place with Samuel is, however, very late; and Neby Samwîl is much more probably Mizpeh (Rob. i. 460; *HGHL* 120; Buhl, 167 f.).

(3) Other identifications that have been proposed are Sôba, on an elevated conical hill, 5 m. W. of Jerusalem (Robinson, ii. 7-10); the Frankenberg, or Jebel Fureidis, the ancient Herodium, 4 m. S.E. of Bethlehem (Ges. *Thes.* 1276[a]); er-Râm, said

---

* 'Ramathaim-zophim' (הָרָמָתַיִם צוֹפִים) is grammatically impossible. Of course the expression cannot mean 'the heights of the views' (!), as the reader of *Tent-Work* (p. 257) is gravely informed. LXX for צוֹפִים has Σειφα, showing that the final ם has arisen by dittography from the following word. Read either 'a man of Ramathaim, a Zuphite (צוּפִי; see 1 S 9[5]) of the hill-country of Ephraim' (Wellh., Driver, Löhr); or (though this is not the usual way of designating a person's native place in the OT) 'a man of the Ramathites (מִן־הָרָמָתִים: 1 Ch 27[27]), a Zuphite,' etc. (Klost., Budde, H. P. Smith). The dual 'Ramathaim,' though by no means unparalleled (cf. *Kiriathaim, Gederothaim*), is remarkable, in view of the sing. *hā-Rāmāh* in v.[19] and everywhere else.

* Lydda, as Robinson, *BRP* ii. 240, observes, though 11 miles from Joppa, is said in Ac 9[38] to be 'near' to it.

† Elsewhere, however (146, 25 f.; 288, 11 f.), Eus. and Jerome identify Arimathæa with a Ῥεμφις or Remfthis, also ἐν ὁρίοις Διοσπόλεως,—supposed to be the village of Rantieh, 6 m. N of Lydda.

to be a little N. of Beth-lehem, and E. of the so-called 'Rachel's tomb,' but not known to Rob. (ii. 8 *n.*) or marked on the *PEF* map (Bonar, *Land of Promise*, 114); Ramet el-Khalîl, 1 m. N. of Hebron (van de Velde, *Syr. and Pal.* ii. 50); and the two heights ('Ramathaim') of 'Alîa (2960 ft.) and Bireh (2980 ft.), 3 m. W.S.W. of Beth-lehem—the latter ½ m. S. of the former, but without a name on the *PEF* map (Schick, *PEFSt*, 1898, p. 16 f., with map). But it is incredible that any of these places can have been regarded as being in *Ephraim* (1 S 1^{1}); and, except the first, they are all connected with the identification of 'Rachel's sepulchre' in 1 S 10^{2} with the place now shown as 'Rachel's tomb,' 1 m. N. of Beth-lehem, which (see p. 193^{a}) seems impossible.
S. R. DRIVER.

RAMATHAIM, RAMATHAIM-ZOPHIM.—See RAMAH, No. 6.

RAMATHITE (הָרָמָתִי; B ὁ ἐκ Ῥαήλ, A ὁ Ῥαμαθαῖος).—Shimei the Ramathite was over the vineyards of king David, 1 Ch 27^{27}. Which of the Ramahs enumerated in art. RAMAH is in view here, must remain uncertain.

RAMATH-LEHI.—See LEHI.

RAMATH-MIZPEH (רָמַת הַמִּצְפֶּה; B Ἀραβὼθ κατὰ τὴν Μασσηφά, A Ῥαμὼθ . . . Μασφά).—Mentioned in Jos 13^{26} only as one of the limits of the tribe of Gad to the north, Heshbon being the limit to the south. It may be identical with Mizpah (and Mizpeh) of Gilead (see MIZPAH, No. 1).
C. WARREN.

RAMESES.—See RAAMSES.

RAMIAH (רַמְיָה 'Jah is high'; Ῥαμιά).—One of the sons of Parosh who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10^{25}, called in 1 Es 9^{26} HIERMAS.

RAMOTH.—**1.** In Ezr 10^{29} AV and RVm read 'and Ramoth' (*i.e.* וְרָמוֹת; B καὶ Μημών, A καὶ Ῥημώθ) for JEREMOTH (*i.e.* יְרֵמוֹת) of RV. In 1 Es 9^{30} the name is HIEREMOTH. Jeremoth or Ramoth was one of the sons of Bani who had married a foreign wife.

2. (רָאמוֹת, BA om.) A Gershonite Levitical city in Issachar, 1 Ch $6^{58\,(73)}$, apparently = REMETH of Jos 19^{21} and JARMUTH of Jos 21^{29} (see artt. on these names). **3.** For 'Ramoth of the south' (רָמוֹת נֶגֶב) see RAMAH, No. 5. **4.** For 'Ramoth in Gilead' (Dt 4^{43}, Jos 20^{8} 21^{38}, 1 Ch $6^{65\,(80)}$) see RAMOTH-GILEAD.
J. A. SELBIE.

RAMOTH-GILEAD.—A prominent city east of the Jordan belonging to the tribe of Gad, and first brought to our notice in the assignment of the Cities of Refuge, Dt 4^{43}, Jos 20^{8}. It was also a Levitical city, Jos 21^{38}. In four passages, the three just mentioned and 1 Ch 6^{80} [Heb.^{65}], all referring to this assignment, the form 'Ramoth in Gilead' (רָמוֹת בַּגִּלְעָד [in Dt 4^{43}, Jos 20^{8}, 1 Ch 6^{65} רָאמוֹת]) is used, but elsewhere it is simply Ramoth-gilead (רָמוֹת גִּל׳). Another early notice of this place belongs to the time of Solomon, and makes it the headquarters of one of the commissariat officers of that king, 1 K 4^{13}. See, also, RAMAH, No. 3.

Although it is mentioned as a well-known city, we have no account, in the Bible or elsewhere, of its origin. The greater its importance the more conspicuous it would naturally be; and this we find was the case, in the wars between the Syrian kings of Damascus and the Hebrews. Of these wars we have the fullest account of those occurring between B.C. 900 and B.C. 800, particularly during the reigns of Ahab, Ahaziah, Jehoram, and Jehu, kings of Israel. Although the southern kingdom sometimes acted as an ally, the brunt of these wars fell upon the Northern kingdom, since from its nearer position it was more especially interested in them than the kingdom of Judah. In one of these wars Ahab, king of Israel, was killed, 1 K 22^{34-37}, and at a later time his son Jehoram (Joram) was wounded, and was carried to Jezreel, 2 K $8^{28.\,29}$, in the neighbourhood of which he was shortly afterwards murdered by Jehu, who, by the directions of Elisha, had been anointed king of Israel.

In Hos 6^{8} * there is mentioned a city named Gilead, about whose identity there has been difficulty; but the probability is that Ramoth-gilead † is meant, the first word having been dropped, a thing well known in the history of OT double names.

The Babylonian Talmud (*Makkoth* 9*b*) places the Cities of Refuge in pairs, so that those on the east of the Jordan are opposite those on the west of that river. Shechem, being the middle one of the three west of the Jordan, should have Ramoth-gilead nearly opposite it on the east of the Jordan, and this would place its site at Gerasa, the modern *Gerash.* There is no reason for supposing that the Talmud in this case went out of its way to state something that was contrary to fact, especially at a time when the misstatement could so readily have been pointed out.

The main route from Shechem to the country east of the Jordan and on to Damascus is by the Damieh ford and Wâdy Ajlun. A carriage road with a very easy grade could be made along this valley, and this was the route by which the kings of Israel went back and forth with their chariots to fight the Syrians.

The attempt of Ewald and Conder to locate Ramoth-gilead at *Reimun* in the Gilead hills has little in its favour. This place has neither water nor ancient ruins, it is not a point where a prominent city would be built, it is not on or near the road from Shechem to the east, and the military operations carried on at Ramoth-gilead could never have taken place here. Nearly the same can be said of *es-Salt,* another rival for the site of Ramoth-gilead. It has no ruins, and only a spring for water-supply, while Gerash has a large living stream running directly through the town. It ought to be stated that both these places were suggested for the site in question before the east Jordan country had been thoroughly explored. It seems now, however, that the results of modern research should have weight above the casual observations of a former period.

The testimony of Eusebius and Jerome, which frequently is of great service in determining topographical questions, is in this case conflicting, for one places Ramoth-gilead 15 miles west, and the other the same distance east of Philadelphia. (1) Ramoth-gilead, if placed at Gerash, where the writer is fully convinced it should be placed, would be suitable for a City of Refuge, because it would be on the main road of that part of the country. (2) For the same reason, and, moreover, because it was a central and wealthy city, it would be a suitable station for a commissariat officer. (3) Here chariots could be used freely, which is not true of es-Salt. (4) This identification confirms Jewish testimony that Ramoth-gilead was opposite Shechem. (5) It would confirm Jewish tradition that Gerash was identical with Ramoth-gilead. See a full discussion of this question in the writer's *East of the Jordan*, pp. 284-290.

LITERATURE.—Dillmann, *Genesis*, ii. 269; Buhl, *GAP* 262 (both locate Ramoth-gilead in the ruins of *el-Jal'ud*, some 6 miles N. of es-Salt); Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* 55, 250 (inclines to identify with es-Salt); Baedeker, *Pal.* 287; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 586 ff. (would locate near the Yarmuk, farther north than the usual sites); Merrill, *East of the Jordan*, 284 ff.; Tristram, *Land of Israel*, 477, 552; Oliphant, *Land of Gilead*, 212; Conder, *Heth and Moab*^{3}, 179 ff., *Bible Places*, ed. 1897, 394 f.; G. A. Cooke, *ap.* Driver, *Deut.* 'Addenda,' p. xx.
SELAH MERRILL.

RANGE.—To 'range' is to 'set in ranks' (the words are cognate: Fr. *rang*, Old Fr. *reng*, a row, of German origin), and a 'range' is a 'rank' or 'row.' When ranges or ranks of men scoured a country they were said to 'range' the country. That is the only use of the verb in AV, viz. in Pr 28^{15} 'As a roaring lion and a ranging bear.' Cf. Barnes, *Sonnets*, li.—

---

* Possibly also in Jg 10^{17}.

† Some MSS of Luc. recension have Γάλγαλα (Gilgal). See Nowack, *ad loc.*

> 'Who, like a rangying lyon, with his pawes
> Thy little flocke with daily dread adawes';

Golding, *Calvin's Job*, p. 579, 'It is a pity to see what man is; for he is so fraught with evill, that assoone as he hath a litle libertie given him, by and by he raungeth out on the one side or on the other, and will not hold the right way, but gaddeth astray, ye even or ever he thinke it.'

The subst. signifies: (1) files or rows of soldiers, 2 K 11$^{8.15}$, 2 Ch 23^{14} ('Have her forth of the ranges,' Heb. שְׂדֵרוֹת); (2) the extent of one's ranging or roaming, Job 39^{8} 'The range of the mountains is his pasture' (יְתוּר); and (3) a grate or stove with rows of openings on the top for carrying on several processes at once, Lv 11^{35} 'ranges for pots' (כִּירַיִם, RV 'range,' RVm 'stewpan'). Cf. Spenser, *FQ*. II. ix. 29—

> 'It was a vaut ybuilt for great dispence,
> With many raunges reard along the wall,
> And one great chimney, whose long tonnell thence
> The smoke forth threw.'

J. Hastings.

RANSOM is the tr. in OT of the Heb. words כֹּפֶר, from כִּפֶּר 'to cover,' hence 'to propitiate,' 'to appease' (so AV and RV in Ex 30^{12}, Job 33^{24} 36^{18}, Ps 49^{7}, Pr 6^{35} 13^{8} 21^{18}, Is 43^{3}; and RV alone in Ex 21^{30}, Nu 35$^{31.32}$, 1 S 12^{3}, where AV renders respectively 'sum of money,' 'satisfaction,' and 'bribe'); and פִּדְיוֹן, from פָּדָה 'to redeem' (so AV in Ex 21^{30}, RV 'redemption').* The verbal form פָּדָה is also occasionally rendered by 'ransom' instead of by the more usual 'redeem' (so AV and RV in Is 35^{10}, Hos 13^{14}, and RV in Ps 69^{18}, Is 51^{11}, Jer 31^{11}), and the same is true in two cases (AV in Is 51^{10}, Jer 31^{11}) of the parallel term גָּאַל.

In NT the word occurs only in Mt 20^{28}=Mk 10^{45} (where it renders the Gr. λύτρον), and 1 Ti 2^{6} (where it takes the place of the rare word ἀντίλυτρον). In both cases it is used of Christ's gift of Himself for the redemption of men. 'The Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many.' 'There is . . . one Mediator between God and men, *himself* man, Christ Jesus, who gave himself a ransom for all.'

For the understanding of these NT passages the OT offers us two possible conceptions, corresponding in general to the different Heb. equivalents of the Gr. λύτρον.† On the one hand, if regarded as taking the place of some word from the stems פדה or גאל, it may refer to the money payments required under the law to secure the release of persons from slavery (*e.g.* Ex 21^{8}, Lv 25$^{47-49}$; cf. 1 P 1$^{18.19}$, Gal 3^{13}, and the passages cited under Redemption). On the other hand, if taken as the equivalent of כֹּפֶר (lit. 'covering,' hence 'propitiatory gift'—restricted, however, by usage to a gift offered as a satisfaction for a life; see art. Propitiation, § 6), it may denote the ransom paid by an offender either to man (Ex 21^{30}, Nu 35$^{30.32}$, Pr 6^{35}) or to God (Ex 30^{12}, Ps 49^{7}) in order to save the life which he has forfeited by his wrongdoing.‡

Those exegetes who regard λύτρον as suggesting פדה or גאל, interpret Mk 10^{45} after the analogy of 1 P 1$^{18.19}$, and understand Jesus as teaching that His life is the ransom price by which He redeems His disciples from bondage (so Wendt [*Teaching of Jesus*, ii. p. 226 ff.], who thinks of deliverance from suffering and death; Beyschlag [*NT Theol.* i. p. 153], who thinks of freedom from sin). This view is possible even if we take λύτρον as the tr. of כֹּפֶר (so Briggs [*Mess. Gosp.* p. 111], who cites Is 43^{3} 'I have given Egypt as thy ransom,' where the context makes it clear that the thought is of deliverance from captivity. The כֹּפֶר paid by J" to Cyrus releases Israel; cf. the parallel 'Seba *instead of* thee'). In this case we must regard the ransom as paid to the one who holds the prisoners captive. The older interpreters, taking the figure literally, taught that Christ's death was a ransom paid to Satan. Modern exegetes either think of the recipient as an impersonal power, such as death (Wendt), 'sin and evil' (Briggs), or 'that ultimate necessity which has made the whole course of things what it has been' (Sanday, *Romans*, p. 86), or else, relying on the figurative character of the language, refuse to raise the question at all (cf. Westcott, *Hebrews*, p. 296).

The other interpretation, starting with כֹּפֶר as a propitiatory gift offered in satisfaction for a life, makes God the recipient of the ransom. Thus Ritschl, following Ps 49^{7} and Mk 8^{37}, thinks of the life of Jesus as a precious gift, offered to God in order to ransom from death those who were unable to provide a sufficiently valuable כֹּפֶר for themselves (so Weiss, *Bibl. Theol.* p. 101; Runze, *ZWTh*, 1889, p. 148 ff.; Cremer, *Bib.-Theol. Wörterb.* p. 594). In this case the thought is clearly of deliverance from penalty, and the nearest parallel is to be found in Mt 26^{28}, where Jesus compares His death to a covenant sacrifice, offered for the remission of sins upon the occasion of the establishment of the new covenant between God and the disciples. (Cf. Tit 2^{14}, He 9^{12}, 1 P 1$^{18.19}$, where the combination between the ransom and the sacrificial figures is clearly found). The exact meaning will vary according as we associate ἀντί with λύτρον alone (Cremer), or with the whole clause (Ritschl, Weiss). In the first case the comparison will be between the life of Jesus and that of the many whose place it takes; in the latter it will merely express the fact that, in laying down His life, Jesus takes the place of the disciples in doing that which they ought to do for themselves.

Whichever interpretation we take, it is important not to isolate the death of Jesus from the life which precedes it. It is not the death as such which is a ransom, but the death considered as the culmination and completion of a previous career of ministry. This is clearly shown by the preceding context, 'The Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many.' We have here the same combination of suffering and service which meets us in the OT in the Suffering Servant of Is 53. It is clear, therefore, that the gift of which our Lord speaks should not be confined to the death on the cross, but includes also His 'entire Person and service which He gives in ministry' (Briggs, p. 111; so Weiss, Wendt).

It is to be noted that while Mk 10^{45} speaks of the life of Christ as given for many, 1 Ti 2^{6} gives the ransom a universal significance: 'Christ Jesus . . . who gave himself a ransom for all.'

See, further, under Redemption, Salvation.

Literature.—Ritschl, *Rechtf. und Vers.* ii. pp. 68–88; Runze, *ZWTh*, 1889, p. 148 ff.; Weiss, *Bibl. Theol.* p. 74 [Eng. tr. p. 101]; Beyschlag, *Neutest. Theol.* i. p. 149 [Eng. tr. i. p. 152]; Wendt, *Lehre Jesu*, ii. p. 509 ff. [Eng. tr. ii. p. 226 ff.]; Cremer, *Bibl.-*

---

* Elsewhere only Ps 49^{8} (AV and RV 'the redemption of their soul [life]'); cf. כֶּסֶף פִּדְיוֹם Nu 3$^{49.51}$ (*Kethibh*) [all], RV 'redemption-money.'

† This word stands in the LXX for derivatives of פדה in Ex 21^{30b}, Lv 19^{20}, Nu 3$^{46.48.49.51}$ (cf. v.^{12}) 18^{15}; of גאל in Lv 25$^{24.26.51.52}$ 27^{31}; for כֹּפֶר in Ex 21^{30a} 30^{12}, Nu 35$^{31.32}$, Pr 6^{35} 13^{8}; and for מְחִיר 'price' in Is 45^{13}.

‡ The distinction between the Heb. terms is not always maintained, for פִּדְיוֹן נֶפֶשׁ is virtually = כֹּפֶר; see Ex 21^{30}, Ps 49$^{7.8}$, also Job 33^{24} if (as is probable) פרעהו is an error for פְּדָהוּ.

Theol. Wörterb. s. λύτρον; Westcott, *Hebrews*, 229 ff.; Briggs, *Mess. Gosp.* p. 110 ff. For similar ideas among the later Jews, cf. Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, p. 313 ff.

W. ADAMS BROWN.

RAPE.—See art. CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS in vol. i. p. 522^{b}.

RAPHA, RAPHAH.—1. In RVm these names are substituted for 'the giant' in 1 Ch 20$^{4. 6. 8}$ (הָרָפָא) and in 2 S 21$^{16. 18. 20. 22}$ (הָרָפָה) respectively. It is there said that certain Philistine champions, slain by David's heroes, were born to the *rāphāh* in Gath. The word is certainly a common noun, and not a proper name. If used individually, 'the giant' is probably the Goliath whom David slew. But more probably the noun is a collective, and denotes the stock of the giants, rather than any one person. The plural of this word, or at least a plural of this stem, is REPHAIM (which see).

2. For Raphah (AV Rapha), a descendant of Saul, 1 Ch 8^{37}, see REPHAIAH, No. 4.

W. J. BEECHER.

RAPHAEL (רְפָאֵל; LXX Ῥαφαήλ, 'El has healed') is not named in the Hebrew Scriptures, and in the LXX only in Tobit. His functions may best be learned from his own words in To 12$^{12-15}$, where, combining the different versions, we read, 'I am Raphael, one of the seven angels who stand and serve before the throne of God's glory, presenting the prayers of saints. I brought the memorial of your prayers and tears before the Holy One. When thou didst bury the slain, I was with thee; and now God hath sent me to heal thee.' On this passage we would observe: (1) The 'seven angels,' of whom Raphael declares himself one, were probably Raphael, Gabriel, Uriel, Michael, Izidkiel, Hanael, and Kepharel. We read in Rev 8^{2} of 'the seven angels who stand before God'; and in 1^{4} of 'the seven spirits who are before the throne' (but this passage is understood by most expositors to refer to the Holy Spirit, cf. 5^{6}); and 'which are sent forth into all the earth,' 5^{6}. (2) These seven are the archangels, the princes of the angelic host. They stand near the throne of glory, and were conceived to be the only angels who are permitted to enter within the radiance. Gabriel describes himself (Lk 1^{19}) as one that 'stands in the presence of God.' (3) The doctrine of Divine aloofness, which was pushed to extreme lengths in late Judaism, has, here in Tobit, reached thus far, that God does not Himself hear prayer. He was thought, as Epicurus also taught, to be engaged in higher pursuits. Prayers which by their importunity or worth reach heaven, are heard by the angels of the Presence, and are carried to the throne by them, and then they are commissioned to execute the answer. There is no clear evidence in Tobit that prayer was presented *to* the angels; though Cod. B in To 3^{16} almost implies this, where we read, 'The prayer of both was heard before the glory *of the great Raphael.*' All the other versions read 'before the glory *of God.*' The Book of Tobit does not assign to Raphael any intercessory mediation. He is simply a messenger, reporting to the Ineffable man's prayers and tears, cf. Ae 10^{4}, Rev. 8^{3}. (4) Raphael served holy men as a *guardian angel.* When Tobias was in danger of losing his life for burying Jews who had been massacred in Nineveh, Raphael 'was with him,' protecting him. But the unique feature of the Book of Tobit is that Raphael is said to have assumed a human form, claiming to be a kinsman of Tobit, and travelling as guide with him from Nineveh to Ecbatana. While the wedding festivities of Tobit and Sarah were being celebrated, Raphael went forward to Rages in Media, for the money which Tobias had, years before, deposited with his friend Gabael, and eventually Raphael brought the bridal pair safe home. Before taking his leave Raphael assures Tobias that when he seemed to them to eat and drink, they were under an illusion, To 12^{19}. (5) The chief characteristic of Raphael was as a *healer of men's maladies.* Tobias, the father of Tobit, was afflicted with *leucoma* in the eyes; and Sarah was possessed by the demon Asmodæus, who had, on the first night of marriage, slain seven husbands who had been married to Sarah. By the fumes of the heart and liver of a fish burnt on embers, Raphael instructed Tobit how to expel the demon, and to use the gall of the same fish to cure Tobias' blindness.

In Enoch 10 Raphael and Michael both receive a commission from God to punish the fallen angels, who had married human wives. The reason why Raphael was bidden to cast the angels into cavities, and cover them for ever with rugged stones, was, that he might *heal* the earth, which had been defiled by the enormities of the 'watchers.' Jewish tradition names Raphael as the third of the angels who appeared to Abraham in Gn 18, his duty being to impart to Sarah 'strength to conceive seed,' cf. He 11^{11}, Ro 4^{19}. The Midrash speaks of a *Book of Noah* (see vol. iii. p. 557^{a}), which was one of the earliest treatises on medicine. The origin of this book is said to have been that after the Flood men were afflicted with various diseases, and God sent the angel Raphael to disclose to Noah the use of curative plants and roots (Rönsch, *Buch der Jubiläen*, 385 f.). Thus was Raphael true to his name, 'El has healed.'

J. T. MARSHALL.

RAPHAIM (A Ῥαφαίν, ℵ Ῥαφαείν, B om.).—An ancestor of Judith, Jth 8^{1}.

RAPHON (Ῥαφών).—A city in Bashan, 'beyond the wādy' (*πέραν τοῦ χειμάρρου*), near which Timotheus sustained a defeat at the hands of Judas Maccabæus (1 Mac 5^{37}). It is no doubt the *Raphana* of Pliny (*HN* v. 16), but the site has not yet been identified.

C. R. CONDER.

RAPHU (רָפוּא 'healed'; Ῥαφού).—The father of Palti, the spy selected from the tribe of Benjamin, Nu 13^{9}.

RASSES (BA Ῥασσείς, ℵ Ῥαασσείς, Lat. *Cod. corb.* and Vulg. *Tharsis* [=Tarsus], Old Lat. *Tyras et Rasis*, Syr. *Thiras* (Gn 10^{2}) *and Raamses* (Ex 1^{11})).—Among the peoples which Holofernes subdued are mentioned 'the children of Rasses' (Jth 2^{23}). Some think the Vulg. *Tarsus* is original, the Greek a corruption, the Old Lat. and Syr. a union of the two. Fritzsche suggested *Rhosos*, a mountain chain and city south of Amanos, on the Gulf of Issus. Ball adds the possibility of *Rosh* (Ezk 38$^{2. 3}$ 39^{1}). Eastern Asia Minor seems to be the general region which the connexion suggests.

F. C. PORTER.

RATHUMUS (Ῥάθυμος), 'the story-writer' or 'recorder,' 1 Es 2$^{16. 17. 25. 30}$, is the same as 'Rehum the chancellor' of Ezr 4$^{8. 9. 17. 23}$. The LXX of Ezra has merely transliterated the Aramaic title; 1 Es has either taken it as a proper name (*καὶ Βεέλτεθμος*, ^{16}), or tr^{d} it as a title (*ὁ* [*γράφων*] *τὰ προσπίπτοντα* ^{17}), or combined both these renderings (^{25}). See BEELTETHMUS, CHANCELLOR.

RAVEN (עֹרֵב *'ōrēbh*, *κόραξ*, *corvus*, Arab. *ghurâb*).—Both the Heb. and Arab. roots mean 'to be black.' The Arab. root also contains the idea of *leaving home.* From these two meanings the raven has come to be a bird of specially evil omen to the Arabs, who attribute to his presence the worst of presages of death and disaster. They are especially superstitious about the *ghurâb el-bên*, which they say is marked with white on his black coat, or has a red beak and legs. What bird is meant by these descriptions is not quite clear. It is probably fabulous.

The raven is the first bird mentioned by name in the Bible (Gn 8^{7}). The Heb. implies that the raven went out and stayed, probably feeding on carcasses. The LXX and Vulg. seem to imply that it went out and stayed until the waters were dried up, and then returned. But there would have been no reason for its returning then. The raven was unclean (Lv 11^{15}, Dt 14^{14}). It is in part a carrion bird, and therefore uneatable. Ravens were commanded to feed Elijah, and did so (1 K 17^{4-6}). See article ELIJAH in vol. i. p. 688^{b}. God is twice said to provide for young ravens (Job 38^{41}, Ps 147^{9}). There is nothing especially significant in this. It is implied in the previous and succeeding verses that God provides for other wild animals. The stories that ravens neglect their young are fabulous. The allusion to the carrion-eating propensities of ravens (Pr 30^{17}) is true to nature. They are always found among the birds and animals which assemble around a carcass in Palestine. They, however, capture and eat lizards, hares, mice, etc. Their black colour is compared with that of the hair of the Shulammite's lover (Ca 5^{11}). They are among the ill-omened creatures which symbolize the desolation of Edom (Is 34^{11}). Ravens are not wholly flesh-eaters. On the contrary, they are very fond of chick peas and other grains, by devouring which they do vast damage to the farmers.

The term *'ōrēbh*, as well as *κόραξ*, is not confined to the raven. It doubtless includes all birds after its kind (Lv 11^{15}). Of these, besides *Corvus corax*, L., the raven, there are in Palestine *C. affinis*, Rüpp., the Fantail Raven; *C. cornix*, L., the Hooded Crow (Arab. *zâgh*); *C. agricola*, Trist., the Syrian Rook; *C. monedula*, L., the Jackdaw (Arab. *ḳâḳ*); *Garrulus atricapillus*, St. H., the Syrian Jay or Garrulous Roller (Arab. *'aḳâḳ*); and *Pyrrhocorax alpinus*, Koch, the Alpine Chough. Most of these eat vegetable food as well as animal, including grubs, worms, etc. To all would apply the words of Christ (Lk 12^{24}) in regard to God's provision for them, although they neither sow nor gather into storehouses. G. E. POST.

RAVEN, RAVIN.—To 'raven' is to seize with violence, to prey upon with greed or rapacity, and so 'raven' or 'ravin' is plunder or prey. The word comes from Lat. *rapina* plunder, through Old Fr. *ravine*, whence also Eng. 'ravine' a mountain gorge, and 'rapine' plunder. There is no connexion with the bird, the raven, whose name is of native origin, Anglo-Sax. *hrefn*.

The verb occurs in AV in Gn 49^{27} ('ravin,' intrans.), Ezk $22^{25.27}$ ('ravening,' trans.), the Heb. being טָרַף to *tear as prey*. As a subst. 'ravin' is found in Nah 2^{12} 'The lion . . . filled his holes with prey, and his dens with ravin' (טְרֵפָה); and 'ravening' in Lk 11^{39} 'Your inward part is full of ravening and wickedness' (ἁρπαγή, RV 'extortion'). The adj. is either 'ravening' (Ps 22^{13}, Mt 7^{15}) or 'ravenous' (Is 35^{9} 46^{11}, Ezk 39^{4}).

An example of 'ravin' in the sense of 'plundering' is Udall, *Erasmus' Paraph.* i. 17—'Mekenesse obteyneth more of them that geve wyllyngly and of theyr owne accorde, then violence and ravine can purchase or obtayne by hooke and croke'; and in the sense of 'plunder,' 'booty,' Spenser, *FQ* I. xi. 12—

> 'His deepe devouring jawes
> Wide gaped, like the griesly mouth of hell,
> Through which into his darke abysse all ravin fell.'

J. HASTINGS.

RAZIZ (Ῥαζείς).—The hero of a narrative in 2 Mac $14^{37ff.}$. Nicanor, having been informed against Razis (who is described as 'an elder of Jerusalem, a lover of his countrymen, and a man of very good report, and one called "father of the Jews" for his goodwill towards them'), sent a band of soldiers to apprehend him. He escaped arrest by committing suicide, the circumstances of which are described in revolting detail in 2 Mac. His conduct is criticised adversely by Augustine (*Ep.* civ. 6) in opposition to the Donatists, who admired it, as the author of 2 Mac. evidently did.

RAZOR (תַּעַר 'knife,' Nu 6^{5} 8^{7}, Ps 52^{2}, Is 7^{20}, Ezk 5^{1}; מוֹרָה 'razor,' Jg 13^{5} 16^{17}, 1 S 1^{11}).—It is not likely that originally there was any distinction between razors and knives, the same word תַּעַר being used in many passages for both, but a special word for razor (מוֹרָה, Arab. *mûs*) is used in the stories of Samson and Samuel. In the above passages the LXX uniformly tr. תַּעַר by *ξυρόν*, and מוֹרָה by *σίδηρος* except in Jg 16^{17} where B has *σίδηρος* but A *ξυρόν*. In early times razors were probably made of bronze, as other cutting instruments were. In Wilkinson's *Anc. Egypt.* 1878, vol. ii. p. 333 note, it is said of the barber, 'his instruments and razors varied at different times, being sometimes in shape of a small short hatchet with recurved handle; other instruments knife-shaped were also employed.' Forty years ago a peculiarly shaped razor, with a straight fixed handle, was in use in Syria; now European razors are universally used. W. CARSLAW.

REAIAH (רְאָיָה 'Jah hath seen').—**1.** The eponym of a Calebite family, 1 Ch 4^{2} (B Ῥαδά, A Ῥειά), probably to be preferred (so Bertheau and Kittel; Gray [*HPN* 236] is more doubtful) to HAROEH, 1 Ch 2^{52} (הָרֹאֶה 'the seer,' B Αἰώ, A Ἀραά). **2.** The eponym of a Benjamite family, 1 Ch 5^{5} (AV Reaia; BA Ῥηχά, Luc. Ῥαιά). **3.** A Nethinim family name, Ezr 2^{47} (B Ῥεήλ, A Ῥαιά)=Neh 7^{50} (B Ῥαεά, A Ῥααιά)=1 Es 5^{31} JAIRUS.

REAPING.—See AGRICULTURE.

REBA (רֶבַע).—One of the five kinglets of Midian who were slain by the Israelites, under Moses, Nu 31^{8} (Ῥόβοκ), Jos 13^{21} (B Ῥόβε, A Ῥέβεκ). Like his companions, he is called in Numbers a מֶלֶךְ ('king'), but in Joshua a נָשִׂיא ('prince,' 'chieftain').

REBECCA.—The NT and modern spelling (from the Gr. Ῥεβέκκα) of the name which is spelt in OT REBEKAH. The only occurrence of 'Rebecca' is in Ro 9^{10} (both AV and RV).

REBEKAH, in Ro 9^{10} REBECCA (רִבְקָה, *i.e.* *Ribhḳāh*; in Arab. *a cord with loops for tying lambs* or *kids*, from *rabaḳa*, *to tie* or *bind fast*; LXX and NT Ῥεβεκκα, Vulg. *Rebecca*).—Daughter of Bethuel, the son of Naḥor and Milcah, and consequently great-niece of Abraham (Gn $22^{20.23}$); sister of Laban, and subsequently wife of Isaac. The idyllic story of the circumstances through which Rebekah became Isaac's wife is told by J, in his usual picturesque style, and at the same time with stress on the providence which overruled them (vv.$^{7b.12}$ [lit. 'cause it to meet—*i.e.* happen successfully—before me,' so 27^{20}]$^{14.27.48.50.51.56}$), in Gn 24. In accordance with Eastern custom (MARRIAGE, vol. iii. p. 270), the betrothal is arranged without Isaac's own personal intervention: Abraham sends his principal and confidential servant (v.^{2})—called in E ($15^{2f.}$) Eliezer—to find a wife for his son, not from among the Canaanites around him, but from his own relations in 'the land of his nativity': the servant proceeds accordingly to Aram-naharaim, to the 'city of Naḥor' (*i.e.* Ḥaran: cf. LABAN, vol. iii. p. 13^{b}); as he reaches the well outside the city (v.[11]), he prays for a sign by which he may know Isaac's destined bride; and the damsel who fulfils it proves to be Rebekah. Laban and Bethuel, satisfied by the evidence of their uncle's prosperity (vv.[22. 30. 35]; cf. v.[10] [RV], v.[53]), and of Isaac's prospective wealth (v.[36b]), and recognizing in what had happened the hand of Providence (vv.[50. 51 *end*], — 'spoken,' viz. by the facts), agree to the servant's proposal; Rebekah herself consents to return with him (v.[57f.]), and so she becomes Isaac's wife, consoling him after his mother's death (v.[67]).*

Like Sarah, Rachel, and Hannah, Rebekah was at first barren; and her barrenness ceased only after Isaac's entreaty (25[21]),—according to the chronology of P (25[20. 26]),—20 years after her marriage. On the oracle, received by her (25[23]), shortly before the birth of her twin sons, see JACOB, vol. ii. p. 526. The next incident in Rebekah's life that we read of is on the occasion of Isaac's visit to Gerar (26[6-11]), when, fearing lest her beauty (cf. 24[16]) might attract admirers, and his own life be endangered in consequence, he passed her off as his sister (cf. Gn 20; and ISAAC, vol. ii. p. 484[b]). Jacob was Rebekah's favourite son (25[28]); and Gn 27 (JE) tells of the deed of treachery by which the ambitious and designing mother, 'sacrificing husband, elder son, principle, her own soul, for an idolized person,' secured for him his father's blessing (see more fully, on this narrative, JACOB, vol. ii. p. 527). After this, she prompted Jacob to flee to his uncle Laban, in order to escape Esau's vengeance, vv.[43-45]: in the paragraph from P which follows (27[46]–28[9]), however, the motive upon which she urges his visit to Ḥaran, is that he may obtain a wife, not, like Esau (cf. 26[34. 35] P), from among the natives of Canaan, but from among Laban's daughters (see, further, *ibid.*). An isolated, and very possibly misplaced, notice (35[8]) states that Deborah, Rebekah's nurse, who had accompanied her long before from Ḥaran (24[59]), died after Jacob's return to Canaan, and was buried below Bethel. The death of Rebekah herself is not specially mentioned; but in 49[31] (P) she is said to have been buried in the cave of Machpelah.

S. R. DRIVER.

RECAH.—In a genealogy contained in 1 Ch 4, the sons of Eshton (v.[12]) are described as 'the men of Recah' (אַנְשֵׁי רֵכָה), a place which is not mentioned elsewhere in the OT, and is quite unknown. The LXX has B Ῥηχάβ, A Ῥηφά.

RECEIPT OF CUSTOM (*τελώνιον*, RV 'place of toll'), Mt 9[9], Mk 2[14], Lk 5[27]. See PUBLICAN, TAXES, TOLL. For 'receipt' in the sense of 'place for receiving,' see Mandeville, *Travels*, 112, 'Men have made a lityle Resceyt, besyde a Pylere of that Chirche, for to resceyve the Offrynges of Pilgrymes'; and Shaks. *Macbeth*, I. vii. 66—

> 'Memory, the warder of the brain,
> Shall be a fume, and the receipt of reason
> A limbeck only.'

RECHAB, RECHABITES (רֵכָב, בֶּן ר׳, (בְּנֵי) בֵּית הָרֵכָבִים), אַנְשֵׁי רֵכָב; LXX Ῥηχάβ [B in 2 S 4[5. 6. 9] Ῥεκχά, in 1 Ch 2[55] Ῥηχά]; and Ἀρχαβεὶν in B, Ἀλχαβεὶν or Χαραβεὶν in A, Ῥαχαβεὶν in Q; Vulg. *Rechab, Rechabitæ*).—*Rēkhābh* is often explained as meaning 'a rider,' on camels, *i.e.* a name for a nomadic tribe. The names ברךכב (of a man), רככאל (of a god), are found in Aramaic inscriptions (Lidzbarski, *Nordsem. Epigraph.* pp. 246, 369). The biblical *Rēkhābh* may be a contraction for רככאל.

1. Rechab (in Jos. *Ant.* VII. ii. 1, *Θάννος*) ben-Rimmon the Beerothite, a captain of one of the 'bands' following Ishbosheth. He and Baanah murdered Ishbosheth, carried the news to David, and were put to death by his orders; 2 S 4[5ff.] J[1] (Budde). Cf. BAANAH, ISHBOSHETH.

2. 3. Rechab in 1 Ch 2[55] 'Hammath, the father of the house of Rechab,' and Rechab in Neh 3[14], 'Malchijah ben-Rechab,' sometimes reckoned as separate individuals, are to be identified with the following—

4. Rechab, Rechabites.—A clan of the Kenites, in later times, probably after the Return from the Captivity, incorporated in the tribe of Judah, *i.e.* in the restored Jewish community in Palestine, 1 Ch 2[3. 55].

The view that the Rechabites were a religious sect, founded by Jehonadab (2 K 10[15-28], Jer 35), is improbable; although Dillmann, Oehler, Schultz, etc., speak of him as 'the founder of the Rechabites.' It is not likely that the founder of the Rechabites would himself be described as '*ben-Rechab*'; moreover, 1 Ch 2[55] speaks of Hammath (AV Hemath) as the 'father of the house of Rechab.'

This clan is traced back (1 Ch 2[55]) to Hammath (חַמַּת='hot spring,' LXX B *Μεσημά*, A *Αἱμάθ*), a descendant of Hur, the son of Caleb, *i.e.* a clan of the Calebite branch of the Kenites. The view of Bertheau (*in loco*), that Rechab was the actual father and Hammath the grandfather of the Jehonadab of 2 K 10, etc., is contrary to all analogy. Jos 19[35] (P) mentions a town *Hammath* in Naphtali. As a settlement of Kenites under Heber and Jael existed somewhere in that district in the time of Deborah (Jg 4[17] 5[24]), and the Rechabites belonged to the Northern Kingdom in the time of Jehu, it is possible that the Rechabites had some connexion with this town before they migrated to Judah. It is clear, however, from Jer 35 that they were a nomad tribe up to the fall of the Southern Kingdom. Moreover, according to Kittel (*SBOT*), 1 Ch 2[55] is part of a late addition to Chronicles.

The Rechabites appear in the OT on three occasions. First, in the person of Jehonadab ben-Rechab (*i.e.* 'the Rechabite'), in 2 K 10[15ff.]. Jehonadab showed his zeal for the exclusive worship of Jehovah by associating himself with Jehu in his fierce persecution of the devotees of Baal. Josephus reproduces the biblical narrative in *Ant.* IX. vi. 6, and mentions Jehonadab, but does not say that he was a Rechabite. The second incident is narrated in Jer 35. Some time after the reign of Jehu, probably about the period of the Fall of Samaria, the Rechabites had migrated to Judah. When Nebuchadrezzar invaded Judah in the reign of Jehoiakim, the Rechabites took refuge in Jerusalem, probably encamping in some open space within the walls. Jeremiah utilized their presence to provide an object-lesson for his fellow-countrymen. Amongst other prohibitions, their clan-laws forbade them to drink wine. The prophet invited the clan under their chief, Jaazaniah ben-Jeremiah ben-Habazziniah, to meet him in a chamber attached to the temple, and offered them wine. They refused on the ground that their 'father' Jonadab ben-Rechab had forbidden them to drink wine, build houses, sow seed, or plant vineyards, and had commanded them to live in tents. They stated that they had always obeyed these commands, and had entered Jerusalem only through sheer necessity. Josephus does not reproduce this incident, nor does he anywhere mention the Rechabites.

The Rechabites therefore regarded Jonadab much as the Israelites regarded Moses. They traced to him their clan-law. It is not likely, however, that he originated the customs which he made permanently binding. In his time the Rechabites, of whom he was doubtless chief, were a nomad clan pasturing their flocks in the less occupied districts of the Northern Kingdom; they and their chief were zealous worshippers of Jehovah. In the natural course of events they would have followed the example of the Israelites, once their fellow-nomads, and settled down as farmers and townsmen. Probably the process was beginning in the time of Jonadab; but that chief nipped it in the bud, and induced his followers to make their ancient nomadic habits matters of religious obligation. He had no leanings to asceticism, and his ordinances were not intended to make his followers ascetics. He forbade wine, but the term 'wine' is to be understood strictly; there is no prohibition of any other intoxicant. His motives would be twofold. First, the nomad regards agriculture and city life as meaner, less manly, less spiritual than his own. Jonadab wished to keep his clan to the higher life. Moreover, when the Israelites surrendered nomad life to settle on the land and in towns, they corrupted their worship of Jehovah by combining it with the superstitious and immoral rites of the Canaanite baals, to whom, as they thought, they owed their corn and wine and oil, Hos 2[8]. Recently, under Ahab and Jezebel, the worship of Baal had greatly developed. The cultivation of corn and of the vine seemed to lead directly to baal-worship; and it would seem to Jonadab that by cutting off his people from any connexion with agriculture he would preserve the purity and simplicity of their ancient worship of Jehovah.

---

* Which, however, though only according to P, had taken place three to four years previously (17[17] 23[1] 25[20]).

Probably the Rechabites were still in Jerusalem when the city was taken by Nebuchadrezzar, and some of them shared the Captivity and the Return of the Israelites. Under stress of circumstances, they would be obliged to finally surrender their ancestral customs, so that in Neh 3[14] we find Malchijah the Rechabite engaged under Nehemiah in rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem. Malchijah is styled 'ruler of the district of Beth-haccherem,' *i.e.* of the 'House of the Vineyard.' The very obscure verse 1 Ch 2[55] describes 'The families of scribes that dwelt at Jabez'—a town in Judah—'the Tirathites, the Shimeathites, the Succathites,' as 'Kenites that came of Hammath, the father of the house of Rechab.' This points to the settlement of some Rechabites in late post-exilic times at Jabez as 'scribes.' The Vulgate regards the words rendered 'Tirathites,' etc., as titles of three classes of scribes, 'canentes atque resonantes, et in tabernaculis commorantes' = 'singers, makers of an echo or of a ringing sound [? chorus], and dwellers in tents,' but the words are proper names (so LXX), and denote three clans of the men of Jabez.

The promise of Jer 35[18f.] that because the Rechabites had kept the laws of Jonadab, 'Jonadab ben-Rechab shall not want a man to stand before me for ever,' might lead some later Rechabites to revert to their ancient clan customs. It would also lead those who lived like other Jews to keep up the memory of their descent from the ancient Rechabites. Jeremiah does not expressly state that the fulfilment of his promise is dependent on the continued observance of the laws of Jonadab. But, on the other hand, this promise and its implied conditions would naturally lead communities or individuals which observed some or other of these laws to adopt the name 'Rechabite,' and to imagine a genealogy connecting them with Rechab. Thus, in modern time, a Total Abstinence Society, whose members live in houses and do not abjure corn or oil, styles itself the 'Rechabites.' Probably this is the explanation of the statement of Hegesippus (*ap.* Eus. *HE* ii. 23), that 'one of the priests of the sons of Rechab, the son of Rechabim, who are mentioned by Jeremiah the prophet,' protested against the murder of James the Just, especially as Epiphanius (*Hær.* lxxviii. 14) substitutes Symeon the brother of James for the Rechabite (so E. H. Perowne in Smith's *DB*). The name had become a term for an ascetic. A similar view explains the fact that travellers—Benjamin of Judæa, 12th cent.; Wolff, 1829; Pierotti, *c.* 1860—have found tribes in Syria and Arabia claiming the name Rechabite and professing to observe the laws of Jonadab. These tribes are probably connected with the ancient Rechabites in just the same way as the Total Abstinence Society mentioned above. Moreover, as words for 'horseman,' 'camel-rider,' in Heb., Aram., and Arab., are derived from the root *rkb*, it is easy to see how tribes might be called 'Rechabites' without any connexion, real or imaginary, with the Old Testament clan.

In Ps 71 (LXX 70) the LXX has the title Τῷ Δαυεὶδ, υἱῶν 'Ιωναδάβ (R 'Αμιναδάμ), καὶ τῶν πρώτων αἰχμαλωτισθέντων, 'To David, of the Bnê Jonadab (R Aminadam, *i.e.* Aminadab) and of those first carried away captive.' This title has sometimes been adduced as evidence of the existence and importance of the Rechabites in the 3rd or 2nd cent. But the origin, text, and meaning of the title are too uncertain to warrant any such conclusion. Jonadab may be the cousin of David; or, as the reading of R suggests, a scribe's error for some other name.

The devotion of the Rechabites to Jehovah is illustrated by the zeal of Jonadab and by the fact that all the names of individual Rechabites known to us include the Divine name Jehovah, viz. Habazziniah, Jaazaniah, J(eh)onadab, Jeremiah, and Malchijah. It has generally been supposed that the Kenites were led to adopt the worship of Jehovah through their association with the Israelites; and that the zeal of Jonadab, like that of Jehu, was inspired by the teaching of Elijah and Elisha. But recent scholars, *e.g.* Budde, have pointed out the close association of Jehovah with Sinai, and of Moses with the Kenites (see JETHRO, HOBAB), and have suggested that the Israelites adopted the worship of Jehovah from the Kenites, and that the Kenites, and therefore the Rechabites, were by ancient practice and tradition the most devoted followers of Jehovah in Israel; hence the zeal of Jonadab. It should be noted, however, that the only direct evidence for the connexion of the Rechabites with the Kenites is the very late and obscure passage in Chronicles.

As the Rechabite laws are simply the ordinary customs of nomads,—for primitive nomads the regular use of wine was impossible,—it is easy to find numerous parallels to them. Probably even the prohibition of wine is not strictly and directly religious, but merely a means for preserving the nomadic life. Hence Mohammed's prohibition of wine and similar laws or taboos (cf. *RS* 484 f.) are not real parallels. Of others commonly cited is the statement of Diodorus Siculus (xix. 94, *c.* 8 B.C.), that the Nabatæan Arabs forbade sowing seed, planting fruit-trees, using or building houses, under pain of death. Cf., further, JEHONADAB, JEREMIAH, KENITES, TIRATHITES, SHIMEATHITES, SUCCATHITES.

5. In Jg 1[19] the LXX has for 'because they had chariots (*rekhebh*) of iron,' 'because *Rechab* commanded them'; an obvious mistake.

LITERATURE.—W. H. Bennett, *Jeremiah xxi.-lii.* p. 44 ff.; Budde, *Rel. of Isr. to the Exile*, p. 19 ff. (for connexion of J" with the Kenites); Dillmann, *OT Theol.* p. 172; Oehler, *OT Theol.*, Eng. tr. ii. 195; E. H. Perowne, art. 'Rechabites' in Smith's *DB* (views of Patristic and other commentators, travellers' tales of 'Rechabites' in Syria and Arabia); Schultz, *OT Theol.*, Eng. tr. i. 91, 163; Smend, *Alttest. Religionsgesch.*^{2} 93 f.; *RS* 484 f.

W. H. BENNETT.

RECONCILIATION (καταλλαγή).—The general doctrine of the ATONEMENT has been dealt with under that title (vol. i. p. 197), and the biblical phraseology under PROPITIATION (p. 128). The present art. is concerned with the reconciliation made by Christ between God and men; and the question specially to be investigated is, whether it is subjective only, our reconciliation to God, or objective also, God's reconciliation to us. The Gr. word occurs four times in NT, Ro 5^{11} 11^{15} and 2 Co $5^{18.\ 19}$, and in all these places it is used objectively to describe the new relation between God and humanity brought about by the work of Christ (see Cremer, *Bibl.-Theol. Lex. s.v.*). This is, perhaps, most clearly seen in Ro 5^{11} δι' οὗ νῦν τὴν καταλλαγὴν ἐλάβομεν, 'through whom we have now received the reconciliation.' The reconciliation must have been already an accomplished fact before it could be received, *i.e.* before faith or feeling could have anything to do with it. So in Ro 11^{15} the κατ. κόσμου is plainly the favourable attitude of God towards the world through His turning away from Israel. In 2 Co $5^{18.\ 19}$ the διακονία τῆς καταλλαγῆς and the λόγος τῆς καταλλαγῆς are the means appointed by God to bring men to a knowledge of what He has done for them in Christ. And what is that? What is 'the word of reconciliation'? It is 'that God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself.' That this refers to an objective matter of fact, not a subjective state of feeling, is plain from the exhortation based on it: 'Be ye reconciled to God.' Besides, how was God in Christ reconciling the world to Himself? By 'not imputing unto men their trespasses.' But this was only the negative side of it. The positive is reserved to clinch the argument at the close: 'For God made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him' (2 Co 5^{21}). But if this is the meaning of the reconciliation in the two most important of the passages that bear on it,—the doing on God's part of all that needed to be done to make it right for Him to receive us back into favour,—the reconciliation cannot have respect to us alone, nor can the whole purpose of the work of Christ be exhausted in the moral effect it has upon us as a pathetic display of the love of God. Moreover, according to Ro 3^{22}, the primary object of the work of Christ was not to display the *love*, but the *righteousness* of God. That righteousness had been obscured by the forbearance of God in the past, and might still further be obscured in the future by His forgiving men on the ground of their faith in Jesus. They had been tempted, and might again be tempted, to doubt the reality of His wrath against sin, unless it were made clear that in forgiving it to men God had dealt seriously with it in the propitiatory work of Christ.

1. *The Need of Reconciliation on the part of God.*—The subject has already so far been discussed, and passages have been cited both from OT and NT ascribing anger, wrath, indignation, jealousy, and even hate to God (see art. ANGER OF GOD in vol. i. p. 97 ff.). But something may be added to what is there said of the reluctance theologians have long shown to take such passages seriously. In their recoil from the extreme anthropomorphism of fiery writers like Tertullian, they have, from Origen downwards, often rushed to the opposite extreme, and conceived of God not only as a Being 'without parts,' but also 'without passions.' But anthropomorphism has at the heart of it a truth of priceless worth, for man was made in the image of God (Gn 1^{26}), and therefore, spiritually considered, their natures are essentially akin. As we appreciate and apply this truth in Christology, we make it easier to see the possibility of an Incarnation. If the Divine and the human natures were disparate, it is hard to see how there could be a union of God and man; but if they are essentially akin, the difficulty is at least sensibly relieved. But if this help is available for Christology, it is available for Theology also. For then, what Edward White calls 'the Buddhism of the West,' according to which God is conceived as a Being of passionless repose, sublimely raised above all the fluctuations of feeling to which we are subject, gives place to a truer conception of God, more human and therefore more Divine. (See the Excursus on the 'Sensibility of God' in Ed. White's *Life in Christ*, p. 255, and Bushnell's Sermon on 'the Power of God in Self-Sacrifice' in *The New Life*).

We are here concerned, however, not with the Divine sensibility in general, but with that particular form of it implied in the anger or wrath of God. What is meant by that? Our answer to the question will turn in part on the view we take of the way in which God governs the world, and in part on the view we take of our own nature in comparison with God's. If we think that God administers a law above and apart from Himself, as a judge administers the law of his country, we must interpret all that Scripture says of His anger or wrath in some non-natural sense, for these are emotions which, even if he had them, a judge would not betray. The more perfect he is as a judge, the more carefully will he suppress them. His decisions will tell us nothing of his personal feelings, but only of his determination to uphold the law of the land. Now this is just how the great majority of theologians, from Origen and Augustine down to our own day, have dealt with the language of Scripture about the anger of God. They have taken it in a thoroughly non-natural sense, as if it told us nothing of the personal feeling of God, but only of His judicial determination to punish and put down wickedness (see Simon, *Redemption of Man*, pp. 223-229). But this is not how the Scriptures speak, and therefore we may be sure it is not the view they take of God's relation to the world. They give free vent to God's personal feelings regarding the character and conduct of men, from which we may safely infer that they did not regard Him primarily as our Judge, but as our Father, the Father of our spirits, and our Judge in virtue of His Fatherhood; for as every father is head over his own house, so is God Head over all (1 P 1^{17}). In other words, His relations to us are personal, and His government direct. There is no law over and above Him, or between Him and us. The law He upholds is that of His own life, and therefore of ours, for our life is but our finite share in His. Hence His Divine displeasure, when we do anything to disturb it. It is Him and not merely ourselves we grieve, when we fall out of right relations to Him; and against Him we chiefly offend, even when we do wrong to others. 'Against thee, thee only, have I sinned, and done that which is evil in thy sight' (Ps 51^4).

The nearest human analogue we have to the moral government of God is that of the family, and the best clue we have to the feeling of God when we deliberately do wrong is the bitter disappointment of a father who has loved and lived for his children, when they have rebelled against him, until the filial bond between them is strained almost to the breaking. And the Divine Father feels it the more, because, though we may cease in spirit to be His children, He cannot cease to be our Father. He cannot consent to stand in any lower relation to us, and can only express His astonishment that we should behave as we have done. 'Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth, for the Lord hath spoken: I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me' (Is 1^2). That is what sin means to God. Is it any wonder that He should hate it, and plead with His rebellious children as He does: 'Oh, do not this abominable thing which I hate' (Jer 44^4).

But even pathos like that will be lost on us, unless we further see what the Fatherhood of God involves, namely, that His nature and ours are essentially akin, so that, allowance being made for our moral imperfection, from our own experience we may safely infer His. If man was made in the image of God, a good man must be a good guide to right thoughts about God. If a good man may be angry, so may God. A good man's anger will never be mere blind rage, nor mere personal resentment, but as moral indignation it may rise to any height; and the better he is, the higher it will rise, in the presence of deliberate wrong-doing. And that being so, it were surely strange to conclude that if he were altogether perfect, his anger would entirely disappear. There would disappear from it only what defiled it before—the smoke, but not the flame; as we see in the one perfect Man of the whole race—the Man, Christ Jesus. Was He never angry? Did not He look round on His enemies 'with anger, being grieved for the hardness of their hearts'? (Mk 3[5]). And can we conceive Him denouncing the hypocrites of His day in cold, unimpassioned language? Is not His indictment against them instinct with moral indignation, the fire of which we feel as we read it still? We cannot doubt the reality of His anger. Why, then, should we doubt the reality of God's? Was not God in Christ denouncing the Pharisees, as well as reconciling the world to Himself? And does not the one fact go far to determine how the other should be understood?

2. *The Possibility of Reconciliation on the part of God.*—But many demur to a mutual reconciliation, not only because they doubt the reality of God's anger, and see no *need* of reconciliation on the part of God, but also because they doubt its *possibility*, for reconciliation implies a change of feeling, and there can be no change in God. This, however, is confusion of thought. It is to misunderstand the nature of God's unchangeableness. God is not a mere mechanical force, but a living, moral mind. It is His character that is unchangeable, not His feelings, nor His actions. These *must* change with the changing character and conduct of His creatures, just because He changeth not. In any relevant sense of the word, it is not He that changes, but we. If we obey not, He abideth faithful. He cannot deny Himself, and therefore He must deny us, when we defy Him. In fact this apparent change in God proves His real unchangeableness, just as an apparent unchangeableness would prove a real change. (See Dorner on 'the Divine Immutability' in *System of Christian Doctrine*, i. 244 ff., iv. 80).

1. But both the need and the possibility of reconciliation on the Divine side seem to many forbidden from another point of view. There seems no room for it in the Christian conception of God. God is Love, and love is incapable of anger or hostility. But if God is love, love must be more than a mere emotion. It is a character, and a character is made up of likes and dislikes, attractions and repulsions, according to its affinity for, or aversion to, the character and conduct of those with whom it comes in contact. In other words, God is a person, not a force. He can, and does, discriminate between the righteous and the wicked. 'The eyes of the Lord are upon the righteous . . . the face of the Lord is against them that do evil' (Ps 34[15.16]). That does not mean that He does not love even them that do evil, but it does mean that His love is capable of hostility. How, indeed, can God love us *for our good* without showing His hostility to what would do us harm? When a river is dammed back by some obstruction thrown in its way, it chafes against it, and poetically we say it is angry. But it is not mere poetry to say that when the Divine love is held back by our sin, so that it can no longer flow forth to bless us as it would, it chafes against the obstacle, and cannot bear to be balked of its benign purpose concerning us. Love is goodness in earnest to make others good, and when it cannot have its way it is grieved, when it is deliberately thwarted it is angry, and, as Coleridge says—

> 'To be wroth with one you love
> Doth work like madness in the brain.'

It is here that Simon (*Redemption of Man*, p. 216 ff.), who has done so much to define and defend the reality of God's anger, has lost his way. According to him, 'love and wrath are mutually exclusive'; that is, they cannot both be felt *for* one and the same person at one and the same time, though they may both be felt *by* one and the same person towards different persons. 'A father may become angry with one of his children, and, to that extent, cease loving him, without therefore ceasing to love the rest. At the moment of intensest indignation with the one he may turn with tenderness to the rest. Not otherwise with God.' It is true, he adds that a man who is angry because his love has been repelled, 'will also, even whilst angry, carefully search for means of vanquishing the indifference, and converting the contemptuous aversion into loving regard. This is what a *loving being*, a *loving God*, can do, but it is misleading to ascribe it to love' (*ib.* p. 261). But surely, as Scott Lidgett has pointed out (*The Spiritual Principle of the Atonement*, p. 250 f.), it is contrary to the most familiar experience of life to say that love must either be requited or withdrawn. Life is full of unrequited and even outraged love that has never been withdrawn. Witness the way in which a mother will cling to a reprobate son, and for all the wrong he has done her never give him up while she lives. Nor is the love that will not let him go love in general, but distinctively her love for him. How could her love for her other children supply the energy required to seek reconciliation with him from whom, by the supposition, it has been withdrawn? It is a moral impossibility. Simon's mistake is due to his making too much of love as a mere emotion, forgetting that in its deepest and divinest sense it is a character, a moral determination of the whole being towards another. As a character, love may survive the mere enjoyment of its own satisfaction. Satisfaction may give place to dissatisfaction and the severest displeasure. These may be the only emotions proper to it for the time being, but it cannot enjoy these, cannot even endure them, and, in its own interest as well as that of its object, it will seek their removal, and, if possible, out of its own resources provide a propitiation. That is precisely what God has done for us. 'Herein is love, not that we love God, but that God loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins' (1 Jn 4[10]).

2. But this brings us, in the second place, to what seems to many the greatest difficulty of all. That God should both require and provide propitiation seems to be a contradiction, and from the fact that God did provide it they infer that *He* did not require it—that is, did not need to be propitiated. It was provided by but not for Him. God did not, and could not, propitiate Himself. So W. R. Dale puts it. 'God Himself provided the ransom; He could not pay it to Himself' (*Atonement*, p. 357). To whom, then, or to what, was it paid? To the eternal law of righteousness, says Dale, as if there could be any such law above or apart from God, or as if propitiation had anything to do with impersonal law, or could be made at all outside personal relations. The difficulty is due to the assumption that God both provided *and offered* the propitiation—an assumption very commonly made, and made decisive of the whole matter. Thus W. N. Clarke says: 'If we wish to hold a doctrine that is real, we must choose between the two directions for the action in the work of Christ; we cannot combine them. There may be action that takes effect on God to influence Him, but we may be sure that it originates somewhere else than in God Himself; and there may be action that originates in God, but we may be sure that it takes effect upon some other. God does not influence Himself. If we choose or judge between these two directions, there can be no doubt as to the result. In the work of Christ, was God the actor, or was God acted upon? For we are at war with reality if we attempt to affirm both. We cannot hesitate about our answer. God was the Actor' (*Present-Day Papers*, 1900, vol. iii. p. 238). But God was not the Actor in the *whole* transaction. God provided the propitiation, but He did not offer it to Himself. Christ offered it, *acting not as God's representative, but as ours.* (See Cremer on ἱλάσκεσθαι). God gave humanity in Him the means of making propitiation, but God

did not propitiate Himself. Nor is there any difficulty here but such as meets us everywhere in the spiritual life. It is only the supreme example of a universal spiritual law. Thus, *e.g.*, God both requires and gives repentance—or rather power to repent, for of course He does not repent for us. And so with every other grace, as the very word implies. The grace is *in* us, but it is *of* God. God worketh in us both to will and to do of His good pleasure. He neither wills nor acts for us, but enables us to will and act in the line of His own good pleasure. So in the work of reconciliation. God made it possible to humanity by the gift of Christ, but Christ as the Head and Representative of the race actually accomplished it. The principle underlying it is identical with the principle which underlies our whole religious life, and finds instinctive expression in the language of prayer, wherein we virtually ask God to fulfil His own law in us, to fulfil in us all the good pleasure of His goodness and the work of faith with power. (See, especially, Simon, *Redemption of Man*, ch. ix.). If this is a paradox, it is a paradox inherent in our very existence, as finite creatures, who have yet a certain moral independence over against God; and on its religious side it has never been better expressed than in Augustine's words: '*Da quod jubes, et jube quod vis*' (*Conf.* x. 29).

LITERATURE.—Cremer, *Bibl.-Theol. Lex.*, articles on καταλλάσσω, καταλλαγή, ἱλάσκομαι, ἱλασμός; Trench, *Synonyms* on the same; Thom in *Expos. Times*, iv. 335 f.; Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*, 129 f.; Sartorius, *Divine Love* (Eng. tr.), 128 ff.; Lechler, *Apost. and Post-Apost. Times*, ii. 39 ff., 141 ff.; Bp. Ewing in *Pres.-Day Papers*, iii.; Gracey, *Sin and Salvation*, 238 ff.; T. Binney, *Sermons*, ii. 51 ff.; Simon, *The Redemption of Man*, ch. v., and *Reconciliation by Incarnation* (1898); Scott Lidgett, *The Spiritual Principle of the Atonement*, ch. v.; and on the Eng. word, *Expos. Times*, v. 532 ff.

A. ADAMSON.

RECORD.—To record a thing is to call it to mind (Lat. *recordare*, *i.e.* *re* and *cor* the heart, through Old Fr. *recorder*). This primitive meaning, 'call to mind' or 'meditate on' is found, *e.g.*, in Erasmus, *Crede*, 47, 'After that thou shalte have dylygently recorded these thynges, and called them well to remembraunce, then have recourse hether agayne unto me'; Tindale, *Expositions*, 110, 'Therefore care day by day and hour by hour earnestly to keep the covenant of the Lord thy God, and to recorde therein day and night.' A similar meaning, 'bear in mind,' is common in Wyclif. Thus Gn 19^{29} 'Whan forsothe God had subvertid the citees of that regioun, he recordide of Abraham' (1388 'he hadde mynde of Abraham'); Pr 31^{7} 'Of ther sorewe recorde thei no more' (1388 'Thenke thei no more on her sorewe').

We may call a thing to mind either by speaking about it or by writing it down. The former meaning is now obsolete, but AV has preserved one example: 1 Ch 16^{4} 'He appointed certain of the Levites to minister before the ark of the Lord, and to record, and to thank and praise the Lord God of Israel' (Heb. לְהַזְכִּיר, lit. 'to cause to remember,' RV 'to celebrate'; the AV tr^{n} is as old as Wyclif; the 1388 version gives 'have mynde of the werkis of the Lord').

The phrase 'call to record' means 'cause to testify,' Dt 30^{19} 'I call heaven and earth to record this day against you' (הַעִדֹתִי בָכֶם), 31^{28}; and 'take to record' has the same meaning: Is 8^{2} '(And) I will take unto me faithful witnesses to record' (וְאָעִידָה לִּי); Ac 20^{26} 'Wherefore I take you to record this day, that I am pure from the blood of all men' (μαρτύρομαι ὑμῖν, which is incorrectly taken by AV, after Tindale, in the classical sense of 'call one to witness' [which would need ὑμᾶς], but rightly by RV, as by Wyclif, in the sense, known only to very late Greek, of 'testify').

The subst. 'record' is used in AV, usually in the sense of *witness*, whether the person who witnesses (μάρτυς, 2 Co 1^{23}, Ph 1^{8}) or the testimony itself (μαρτυρία, Jn 1^{19} $8^{13.\,14}$ 19^{35}, 1 Jn $5^{10.\,11}$, 3 Jn ^{12}). In the same sense is used the phrase 'bear record,' a frequent tr. of μαρτυρέω 'to give testimony.'

J. HASTINGS.

RECORDER, THE (הַמַּזְכִּיר, lit. 'the remembrancer'; LXX ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων, (ὁ) ἀναμιμνήσκων, ὑπομιμνήσκων, (ὁ) ὑπομνηματογράφος).—An officer of high rank in the Israelite kingdom. His functions are nowhere precisely defined, but the importance of his office is shown by the fact that he is mentioned along with the commander-in-chief, the chief secretary, and other leading officials at the courts of David and Solomon (2 S 20^{24} 8^{16} = 1 Ch 18^{15}, 1 K 4^{3}). In the reign of Hezekiah he appears as the king's representative together with the prefect of the palace and the chief secretary (2 K $18^{18.\,37}$ = Is $36^{3.\,22}$), while the holder of the same office under Josiah formed one of the commission appointed to superintend the repairing of the temple (2 Ch 34^{8}). The 'recorder' is often supposed to have been a historiographer, but Benzinger (*Arch.* 310), Nowack (i. 308), Kittel (on 1 K 4^{3}), *et al.*, argue plausibly that his duty was to *remind* the king of important business by preparing matters for his consideration and laying them before him. Under David and Solomon the office was filled by Jehoshaphat the son of Ahilud; under Hezekiah, by Joah the son of Asaph; and under Josiah, by Joah the son of Joahaz.

J. F. STENNING.

RECOVER.—The verb 'to recover' (Old Fr. *recovrer*, Lat. *recuperare*) is still in use transitively in the sense of regaining something that has been lost, whether persons (Is 11^{11}, Jer 41^{16}), territory (as 2 S 8^{3}, 2 K 14^{28}, 1 Mac 10^{52}), or other possessions (as Hos 2^{9}, 1 Mac 2^{48}); also of regaining health (Jer 8^{22}), strength (2 Ch 13^{20}, Ps 39^{13}), sight (Lk 4^{18}). But it is no longer used with the person to be restored to health as direct object, as it is in AV, 2 K $5^{3.\,6.\,7.\,11}$, Is 38^{16} 39^{1}, Jth 14^{7}. Cf. Shaks. *Jul. Cæs.* I. i. 28, 'I am indeed, sir, a surgeon to old shoes; when they are in great danger I recover them'; Defoe, *Crusoe*, 520, 'Our men in the Pinnace followed their orders, and took up three men; one of which was just drowning, and it was a good while before we could recover him.'

The intrans. use is also found in AV, to which RV adds Jn 11^{12} 'The disciples therefore said unto him, Lord, if he is fallen asleep, he will recover,' for AV 'he shall do well'; RVm 'he shall be saved' (Gr. σωθήσεται, Vulg. *salvus erit*).

J. HASTINGS.

RED.—See COLOURS in vol. i. p. 457^{b}.

RED DRAGON.—See REVELATION (BOOK OF).

RED HEIFER.—Of the numerous forms of ceremonial uncleanness which occupy so important a place in the priestly legislation, that arising from contact with, and even proximity to, a dead body was regarded as the most grievous, requiring a specially efficacious medium of lustration for its removal. To provide such a medium is the object of the unique enactment of Nu 19—unique in its title (see below), in its provisions, and, one is tempted to add, in the amount of discussion to which it has given rise.

The precise relation to each other of the two sections of this chapter is not easy to determine. According to Wellh. (*Comp. d. Hex.*^{3} 176, approved by Kuenen, *Hex.* 96) vv.$^{14-22}$ form an appendix to vv.$^{1-13}$, giving more precise instruction regarding the application to particular cases of the general Torah embodied in the latter. The more elaborate and peculiar title of the first section, however—viz. חֻקַּת הַתּוֹרָה 'the statute of the law (*Tôrah*),' Nu 19^{2} 31^{21} only—and other indications rather suggest that this section, vv.$^{1-13}$, is the younger of the two,[*] and belongs to the secondary strata of P (P^{s}). Neither section, it should be noted, presents that historical setting which is characteristic of the legal ordinances of the main stock of P. Such a setting, however, was supplied by later Jewish tradition. The rite of the red heifer, according to Josephus, was instituted by Moses on the death of Miriam (see Nu 20^{1}, the chapter immediately *following* its institution in the Hebrew text), and the ashes of the first victim were used to purify the people at the expiry of the thirty days of mourning (*Ant.* IV. iv. 6).

---

[*] According to the authors of the *Oxford Hexateuch* (1900) vv.$^{14\text{ff.}}$ are derived from a corpus of priestly *tôrôth* or decisions

i. The preparation of the ashes of the red heifer.
ii. The purpose and manner of their application.
iii. The origin and significance of the rite.
iv. The red heifer as a type of Christ.

i. *The procedure to be followed* in the preparation of the ashes is laid down in outline in vv.$^{1-10}$. Detailed instructions—a few of the more important of which are noted in the sequel—will be found in the special treatise of the Mishna devoted to the subject (see Literature at end of art.). The ashes are to be those of a victim with special qualifications of sex, colour, and condition, the ultimate grounds for which have formed the subject of endless debate among Jewish and Christian scholars. The sacrificial victims were predominantly males, in the case of the sin-offerings for the congregation, a he-goat (Lv 9^{3}) or a young bullock (4^{23}); here, as in the ancient and allied rite by which the land was purified from the defilement of an untraced murder (Dt 21$^{1ff.}$), a heifer or young cow was prescribed. According to a widely supported view (Bähr, Kurtz, Keil, Edersheim, etc.), the female sex, as the immediate source of new life, was chosen in order to furnish a more suggestive contrast in a rite associated with death. This and similar explanations, however, seem to us to introduce a train of thought much too advanced for ceremonies bearing such evident marks of a great antiquity (see iii. below) as do those of Nu 19 and Dt 21. We ought rather, in these cases, to see in the choice of the female sex the desire to offer the most precious and therefore the most efficacious victim, the females, as the breeders of the herd, being the more valuable in the estimation of a pastoral people —a view reflected in the composition of Jacob's present to Esau (Gn 32$^{14f.}$; cf. Dillm.-Ryssel, *Ex.-Lv.*^{3} 429).*

The age, by Rabbinic prescription, might range from two to five years (*Parah* i. 1); the colour must be red (אֲדֻמָּה, cf. Zec 1^{8} of horses), or rather reddish brown.† The heifer, further, had to be without spot or blemish of any kind, 'upon which never came yoke' (v.^{2}), rightly paraphrased by Josephus as 'a heifer that had never been used to the plough or to husbandry' (*Ant.* IV. iv. 6; cf. Dt 21^{3}, and the epithets ἄζυγες, *injuges*, applied to sacrificial victims by classical writers). The cost was defrayed from the half-shekel temple tax (*Sheḳāl.* iv. 2).

Not the high priest, who dared not risk the contagion of uncleanness, but his representative, Eleazar, had to bring the victim forth 'without the camp' (v.^{3})—that is, in actual practice, from the temple hill, by the so-called Red Heifer bridge, across the Kidron to the Mount of Olives. A rite so sacrosanct, and therefore entailing ceremonial defilement on the place and persons concerned, had to be performed at a distance from the sanctuary (cf. the barren valley of Dt 21^{4}). At a spot secure from possible contamination by graves, the heifer was slain by a second person in the presence of the priest, who, dipping his finger in the warm blood, sprinkled thereof seven times in the direction of the sanctuary, *i.e.* the temple. A pyre having been previously constructed of various fragrant woods,* the complete carcass of the heifer—'her skin, and her flesh, and her blood, with her dung' (v.^{5})—was burned thereon. At a certain stage (see *Parah* iii. 10) an interesting part of the ceremony took place. This was the casting, by the directing priest, of 'cedar wood (אֶרֶז), and hyssop, and scarlet' into the midst of the burning mass. According to later authorities, these items consisted of a thin piece of so-called 'cedar'—in reality a piece of the fragrant wood of the *Juniperus Phœnicea* (see CEDAR) or *J. Oxycedrus* (Löw, *Aram. Pflanzennamen*, p. 57)—a cubit in length, a bunch of aromatic hyssop or wild marjoram, and a strip of woollen cloth dyed scarlet, which bound the juniper and hyssop together (*Parah* iii. 10. 11, with commentaries; Maimonides, *de Vacca Rufa*).

When the whole pyre was reduced to ashes, these were collected by a third clean person—the two previous participants having been rendered unclean, in modern phrase 'taboo' (see below, iii.), by contact with the sacrosanct victim, and deposited by him 'without the camp in a clean place' (v.^{9}). The ashes (not of the red heifer alone, be it noted, but these mixed with the ashes of the fragrant woods) were now ready to be used as the law prescribed. All the three participants in the ceremony were unclean (or taboo) till sundown, after which time, having bathed their persons and washed their clothes, they were again ceremonially clean (vv.$^{7. 8. 10}$)—that is, they were again admitted to the society of their fellows, and to participation in the cultus.

ii. The *purpose* of the ashes prepared as above is expressly declared to be 'for (the preparation of) a water of separation' (לְמֵי נִדָּה v.^{9}; RVm 'a water of impurity'). The meaning of these words was early misunderstood. The LXX, followed by all the chief ancient versions, connecting נִדָּה *niddāh* with the Aramaic form of the Heb. נזה 'to sprinkle,' rendered the phrase by ὕδωρ ῥαντισμοῦ 'water of sprinkling,' Jerome's *aqua aspersionis*, Luther's *Sprengwasser*. In reality the verb נָדָה (see Is 66^{5}) denoted in the technical language of the priests 'to exclude from the cultus,' in post-biblical Hebrew 'to excommunicate'; hence the substantive *niddāh* denotes 'that which excludes from the cultus,'† viz. ceremonial uncleanness or impurity. *Mê niddāh* (lit. 'water of exclusion') accordingly signifies *water for removing the uncleanness* which is the cause of this exclusion; in other words, as suggested by RVm, 'water [for the removal] of impurity.' The mode of preparation was of the simplest: 'for the unclean they shall take of the ashes of the burning of the sin-offering, and running water shall be put thereto in a vessel' (v.^{17} RV). This simple procedure was later elaborated with the most ingenious detail, if we are to believe the statements of the Mishna, to which the student is referred (*Parah* iii. 2–5). A clean person—according to *Parah* xii. 10, an adult male, not a female, though the latter might hold the vessel—took a bunch of hyssop, dipped it in the 'water of impurity,' and sprinkled the house in which a death had taken place, and all the persons and utensils therein, except such of the latter as were provided with lids, or were otherwise closed against the contagion of uncleanness (v.^{15}). The same lustration was required in the case of uncleanness con-

---

—hence the signature P^{t}—codified independently of the main stock of P (P^{s}). See *op. cit.* ii. 218 f., and cf. i. 152 f., and art. NUMBERS.

* For other explanations of the comparative sacredness of the cow, see W. R. Smith, *RS*^{1} 280, ^{2} 287, and reff. there.

† The later Jewish authorities by a false exegesis, which took *tĕmîmāh*, 'physically perfect,' as a qualification of the preceding adjective 'perfectly red,' considered the presence of even two hairs of another colour as disqualifying (*Parah* ii. 5; cf. Rashi and other commentators, *in loc.*).

* Four are named in *Parah* iii. 8: אֶרֶז and אֹרֶן (Assyr. *êrinu*, 'cedar'), two species of juniper (probably), בְּרוֹשׁ 'cypress,' and fig.

† Ibn Ezra appears to be the first to grasp the true connexion between the verb and the substantive. See his comm. *in loc.* Rashi kept to the traditional view למי הזייה 'for water of sprinkling.' The commentaries of both exegetes are found in the ordinary Rabbinic Bibles.

tracted by every one who had occasion to touch a dead body, whether the person had died a natural or a violent death, and by every one who had touched even a bone of the human body or a grave (v.^{10}).

By a separate enactment (Nu 31^{19-24}; note esp. חֻקַּת הַתּוֹרָה v.^{21}), which likewise bears every indication of belonging to the latest stratum of the priestly legislation, the 'water of impurity' had to be employed on the return from a campaign for the cleansing of the soldiers and their captives (31^{19}), including their clothes and *impedimenta* (v.^{20}). The spoil, also, of precious and useful metals taken from the enemy, after a preliminary purification by being passed through the fire, had to be finally purified by the application of the 'water of impurity' (v.$^{22f.}$).

In the case of unclean persons the sprinkling was performed on the third and seventh days following that on which the uncleanness had been contracted. On the seventh day 'at even' or sundown, after having bathed their persons and washed their clothes, they were once more clean. The ban of exclusion from the cultus was finally removed, and the persons affected resumed their place in the holy community of J".

iii. *Origin and significance of the rite.*—Although the chapter before us may, or rather must, have assumed its present form at a comparatively late period, the essential part of the ceremony of lustration may be confidently affirmed to be of extreme antiquity, for the mystery attaching to the beginning and the end of life, and to the blood as the vehicle of life, has impressed mankind from the earliest days. In all forms of primitive religious thought a dead body is conceived as a source of real, if undefined, danger to all in proximity to it. Itself in the highest degree unclean, in modern phrase taboo, it becomes an active source of uncleanness, and renders taboo everyone and everything about it. These death taboos, as they may be called, were in full force among the ancient Hebrews, as among the other nations of antiquity, and the means used to remove the taboo were to a large extent identical. Primarily, as Robertson Smith has pointed out, 'purification means the application to the person of some medium which removes a taboo, and enables a person to mingle freely in the ordinary life of his fellows' (*RS*^{1} 405). The most widely distributed medium is, of course, water, but for aggravated cases of uncleanness this medium was supposed to acquire increased potency through the addition of ashes (see the reff. to ancient writers quoted by Bähr, *Symbolik*, ii. 495, and Knobel in Dillmann's commentary, *in loc.*). Here, then, we have the origin of the essential part of the Hebrew rite.

Closely connected with this circle of ideas is the universal belief of primitive man that sickness and death are caused by harmful and malevolent spirits whose anger he has incurred (cf. DEMON, vol. i. p. 590^a). An interesting survival of this primitive mode of thought may, we venture to think, be found in the ritual of the red heifer. Much laboured ingenuity has been expended in finding suitable symbolical meanings for each of the 'cedar wood, hyssop, and scarlet' which were added to the burning pyre. According to some, cedar, hastily assumed to be the majestic cedar of Lebanon, is the symbol of pride, as hyssop of humility; according to others, cedar, the incorruptible wood, was chosen 'as typical of eternity of life, hyssop of purification from the power of death, and scarlet thread to show the intensity of life in the red heifer.' The true explanation, it seems to us, is to be found in the primitive conception referred to above. We have here a meaningless survival, of which innumerable parallels will occur to students of comparative religion, from the time when the fragrant woods, such as juniper and cypress and the aromatic plants of the mint family, were supposed to act as a protection against the harmful unseen powers that were the cause of death[*] and hovered about the dead. The scarlet cloth is to be explained either by the fact that a special healing virtue was assigned in antiquity to the scarlet dye (Delitzsch,[†] art. 'Sprengwasser' in Riehm's *HWB d. bibl. Alterthums*^{2}), or by the universally prevalent idea of red, the colour of the sacred blood, as the taboo colour *par excellence* (Jevons, *Introd. to Hist. of Religion*, 67 ff.; Trumbull, *The Blood Covenant*, 236 f.).[‡] The line of thought along which we have sought to explain this confessedly difficult part of the ritual, to the exclusion of the advanced symbolical interpretation hitherto current, finds further justification in the use of a sprinkler, consisting of a bunch of hyssop, tied to a handle of juniper wood by a similar strip of scarlet cloth, in sprinkling a house, as well as a person, that was to be declared free from the plague of leprosy (Lv $14^{51ff.}$).

While we have thus endeavoured to trace the origin of the ritual of the red heifer to its source in an atmosphere of primitive religious thought common to the Hebrews of the pre-Mosaic age with other races on a similar plane of development, it must not be forgotten that the rite received a higher and fuller interpretation in being admitted into the circle of the priestly legislation of the post-exilic age. Uncleanness and sin, sin and death, are now associated ideas (for the whole subject, see art. UNCLEANNESS). The red heifer has become a sin-offering (vv.$^{9.17}$) of a unique kind; part of the blood is sprinkled towards the dwelling-place of J", from whose worship those 'unclean from the dead' are temporarily excluded, the rest is burned with the victim to heighten the expiatory efficacy of the ashes. The rite in all its details becomes a powerful object-lesson, teaching the eternal truth that a holy God can be served only by a holy people.

It is no longer possible to ascertain the extent to which the 'water of impurity' was actually used as a medium of lustration by the mass of the Jewish people. Even such sober investigators as Delitzsch and Dillmann have pointed out the difficulties in the way of an extended application of the ritual of Nu 19 in a thickly peopled country. Again, what are we to make of the statement (*Parah* iii. 5) that only seven or nine red heifers were slain in all—the first by Moses, the second by Ezra, and the rest later? The probability is that, like many other of the more stringent requirements of the Levitical code, the observance was confined to the more ardent legalists in Jerusalem. Jewish tradition represents this and other rites regarding uncleanness as ceasing to be observed about fifty years after the destruction of the temple (Hamburger, *Real-encycl. d. Judenthums*, i. 874). The red heifer, it may be remarked finally, has given her name to the second chapter of the Koran, 'the surah of the heifer,' in which, however, Mohammed in his usual fashion has confused the two heifers of Nu 19 and Dt 21 (see *sur.* ii. 63 ff.).

iv. *The red heifer as a type of Christ.*—It was natural that the early Church should see in the expiatory rite of Nu 19 a prefiguring of the atoning work of our Lord. The first to give literary expression to this idea, which has received such detailed elaboration at the hands of successive generations of typologists, is the author of the

---

[*] In comparatively recent times in our own country, a juniper tree planted before a house was regarded as a preventive of the plague.

[†] Delitzsch is apparently the only writer who has sought to assign other than a purely symbolical significance to these three elements. See, besides the above article, his commentary on He 9^{13}, and cf. Nowack, *Arch.* ii. 289, note 1.

[‡] If we could be sure that the red colour of the heifer was as old as the practice of burning for the sake of the ashes, the choice would probably have to be explained by the same association of ideas. The oxen sacrificed by the ancient Egyptians had also to be red, a single black or white hair disqualifying an animal for the sacrifice (Plutarch, *Isis et Osiris*, 31; Herod. ii. 38, cited by Frazer, *Golden Bough*, i. 306, 2nd ed., 1900, ii. 312).

Epistle to the Hebrews in the familiar passage $9^{13\text{ff.}}$. In the Epistle of Barnabas we find a whole chapter (ch. 8) devoted to this subject, in the course of which the writer shows an intimate acquaintance with contemporary Jewish practice as reflected in the Mishna (see esp. *Parah* iii. 2, 3). 'The calf is Jesus,' the juniper wood is His cross, while the scarlet wool, the hyssop, and other details receive a more or less appropriate interpretation.

LITERATURE.—The comm. on Nu 19, esp. Dillmann; the treatise *Parah* (Lat. tr. with commentaries in Surenhusius' Mishna, vol. vi., English in Barclay's *Talmud*, p. 300 ff.), which forms the basis of Maimonides' treatise הלכות פרה, edited with Lat. tr. and notes by A. C. Zeller, *de Vacca Rufa*, 1711; Spencer, *de legg. Heb. rit.* ii. 15, 'de vitula rufa,' etc.; Bähr, *Symbolik des Mosaischen Cultus*, 1839, i. 493-512; Kurtz in *SK*, 1846, p. 629 ff.; Edersheim, *The Temple*, etc. p. 304 ff.; works on Biblical archæology, esp. Haneberg, Keil (i. 385 ff.), and Nowack (ii. 288 ff.); art. 'Sprengwasser' by Delitzsch in Riehm's *HWB d. bibl. Alterthums*², and 'Reinigungen' by König in *PRE*².
A. R. S. KENNEDY.

RED HORSE.—See REVELATION (BOOK OF), p. 239.

RED SEA (יַם־סוּף Ex 10^{19} and often; also הַיָּם Ex $14^{2\,bis.\,9}$, Is $51^{10\,bis}$ 63^{11} etc.; יַם־מִצְרַיִם Is 11^{15}; LXX *ἡ ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα*, with the equivalent amongst Latin geographers *Mare Rubrum*, also *Mare Erythræum*).—The origin of the name 'Red Sea' is uncertain, though several reasons for it have been assigned, such as the colour of the corals which cover its floor or line its shores; the tinge of the Edomite and Arabian mountains which border its coasts, and the light of an Eastern sky reflected on its waters. Dean Stanley considers that the name as applied to the Gulfs of Suez and Aḳabah is comparatively modern, as it was used to designate the waters of the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf before it was applied to the arm which extends northwards of the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb;* and in the former application it is used by Berosus and Herodotus.† The Hebrew name *Yam Ṣûph* (see art. SUPH) appears to have been used from very early times. The origin of the name is not of much importance, since the name itself is in universal use.

The Red Sea is one of the most remarkable of oceanic gulfs on the globe, owing to the fact that it receives the waters of no river, while the evaporation from its surface is necessarily enormous. It must, therefore, be fed by the influx of water from the Indian Ocean through the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb; but as such a condition of supply would long ere this have resulted in the conversion of the whole basin into a mass of solid rock-salt, it is inferred that an outward current flows into the Indian Ocean beneath the surface inward current.

The length of the Red Sea from the Straits to the head of the Gulf of Suez is about 1350 miles, and the extreme breadth in lat. 19° N. 205 miles. Towards its northern end it bifurcates into two narrow gulfs—those of Suez and Aḳabah (Ælanitic Gulf), between which rises the mountainous region of Sinai. The waters are clear and of a deep blue colour; and, as might be expected, are more saline than those of the ocean in the proportion of 4 to 3·5; the relative densities being 1·030 and 1·026 at a temperature of 60° Fahrenheit.

The waters of the Red Sea are crowded with living forms, and their high temperature (where not deep), combined with extreme purity, being favourable to polyp life, coral reefs abound, either lining the shores or rising as islands above the surface. The navigable channel from Suez to the Straits lies nearly in the centre of the basin, and in lat. 21° N., where the greatest depth is found, the bed descends to a depth of 1200 fathoms.

That the bed of the Red Sea is becoming shallower by the gradual rise of the land, admits of the clearest proof. Raised beaches containing shells and corals now living in the water are found at various levels up to many feet above the present surface; as, for example, along the cliffs of Nummulite limestone above Cairo and other parts of Lower Egypt, as well as along the shores of the Gulf of Suez and Aḳabah. The most remarkable of these beaches is that which is found at a level of 220 ft., and was first recognized by Oscar Fraas. Still more recently, and probably within the human and pre-historic period, the waters of the Red Sea stretched up the Isthmus of Suez into the great Bitter Lake, as the floor of the canal when being cut in 1867 laid open beds of rock-salt and strata, with recent shells and corals.* At the close of the Eocene period the whole surface of Egypt was under the waters of the ocean, and the Red Sea and Mediterranean waters were continuous. The fauna of the Red Sea and of the Mediterranean are now highly dissimilar: that of the former partaking of the character of the Indian Ocean; that of the latter, of the Atlantic. This process of differentiation has been naturally proceeding from the time when the two seas were disconnected by the uprising of the land in Miocene and Pliocene times, and the formation of the Isthmus of Suez.†

The biblical history of the Red Sea is chiefly connected with the Exodus (which see); but we have an interesting reference to it later in the time of Solomon and Hiram, king of Tyre, illustrating the essentially different habits of the Israelites and Phœnicians. These latter, from the time they settled on the coast of Syria, became a maritime nation, extending their trade and founding colonies all round the Mediterranean, while inland their extent of territory was extremely limited. The Israelites, on the other hand, were not a seafaring people; and consequently, when Solomon had extended his rule over Edom, and as far south as the Ælanitic Gulf, and was desirous of having a fleet, to navigate the waters of the Red Sea and to trade with Ophir for gold and other commodities; and when Elath (*Aila* of Strabo) and Ezion-geber were fortified, and the latter made a seaport town, his own subjects being ignorant of nautical affairs, he was obliged to have recourse to the assistance of Hiram, with whom he had preserved friendly relations. This appeal was not made in vain, and Hiram sent his servants, 'shipmen that had knowledge of the sea,' to man the fleet in the trade with Ophir (1 K $9^{26.\,27}$). After this event the Red Sea drops out of biblical history; Elath was for a time lost to the kingdom of Israel on the revolt of Edom against Joram (2 K 8^{20}), and, though regained by Azariah (14^{22}), it finally passed into the hands of the Syrians (*Kethibh*) or the Edomites (*Ḳerê*) in the reign of Ahaz (16^{6}). Some ruins on an island at the head of the gulf are supposed to mark the site of this once important seaport.
E. HULL.

REDEEMER, REDEMPTION.—With two exceptions (AV in Ps 136^{24} [פָּרַק, lit. *to break* or *tear away*, a common Aram. word for *rescue, deliver*, in Heb. also La 5^{8}], RV 'delivered'; and AV and RV in Neh 5^{8} [קָנָה *to buy*, so RVm]), 'redeem' is the tr. in OT of the Heb. פָּדָה and גָּאַל, with their derivatives. פדה (better, for distinction from גאל, rendered 'to ransom') is used of the money payments required under the Law for the redemption of the firstborn (so Nu 3^{46-49} $18^{15ff.}$; cf. Ex $13^{13.15}$, Lv 27^{27}), or for the release of persons from slavery (so Ex 21^{8}, Lv 25^{47-49}); and גאל 'to redeem' (in a legal sense), of the recovery of property which had passed into other hands (so Lv 25^{26}, Ru $4^{4ff.}$), or of commutation of a vow (Lv $27^{13.15.19.20}$) or a tithe (Lv 27^{31}).

---

* Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*⁵, 5 (note).

† Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies*, i. 109. Sayce (*HCM* 255 ff.) maintains that *Yam Ṣuph* as used by Heb. writers means only the Gulf of Aḳabah, and that its application in Ex $15^{4.\,22}$ to the 'sea,' which the Israelites crossed on leaving Egypt, rests upon a mistake. This view, which the present writer is persuaded is entirely erroneous, was adopted by Sayce in order to support his theory that Mount Sinai lay amongst the Edomite mountains east of the Gulf of Aḳabah. See, further, art. SINAI.

* The writer considers that this was the condition of the Isthmus at the time of the Exodus. Such a view, borne out by observation, renders the account of this event intelligible, but does not necessitate the inference that the waters of the Red Sea and the Mediterranean were at that time connected.

† For an account of the raised beaches of the Red Sea coast and of Lower Egypt, see Hull, 'On the Physical Geology of Arabia Petræa,' *PEF Mem.* 69 ff. (1886).

In the Prophets and the Psalms both גָּאַל and פָּדָה are used figuratively, with the general meaning 'deliver,' of the saving activity of God, as shown in the history of Israel (so Is 29^{22} [פדה] 48^{20} 52^{9}, Ps 77^{15} [all גאל]) and in the experience of individual Israelites (Ps 34^{22} [פדה]). Cremer (*Wörterb.* p. 596) finds, in the use of these words rather than others which might have been chosen, a suggestion of the property relation conceived to exist between J″ and Israel. Cf. Ps 74^{2} 'Remember thy congregation, which thou hast purchased of old, which thou hast redeemed (גאל) to be the tribe of thine inheritance'; so Dt 9^{26}, 2 S 7^{23}, 1 Ch 17^{21} (all פדה), Is 52^{3} (גאל). [A similar idea appears in the NT περιποιεῖσθαι (Ac 20^{28}), περιποίησις (Eph 1^{14}, 1 P 2^{9}), and ἀγοράζω (1 Co 6^{20} and often); but these words correspond in the LXX to הֶחֱיָה, סְגֻלָּה, and קָנָה, never to גאל or פדה]. In the great majority of cases, however, the idea of a money payment falls altogether into the background, and the words are used in the purely general sense of 'save,' 'deliver.' To 'ransom' or 'redeem' means to deliver from any calamity or misfortune, however that deliverance may be brought about.

More specifically, redemption is thought of as deliverance from adversity (2 S 4^{9}, 1 K 1^{29}, Ps 25^{22} [all פדה]), oppression and violence (Ps 72^{14} [גאל]), captivity (Zec 10^{8-10} [פדה], Ps $107^{2.3}$ [גאל]), or death (Ps 49^{15} [פדה], 103^{4}, Hos 13^{14} [both גאל], Job 5^{20} [פדה]). It is specially associated with the deliverance from Egypt (Dt 7^{8} 13^{5} 24^{18}, Mic 6^{4} [all פדה]), and with the (idealized) deliverance from Babylon (Is 35^{9} 62^{12} 63^{4} [all גאל]). In a single instance only is it used of redemption from sin (Ps 130^{8} [פדה]).

The noun 'redeemer' is the tr. in OT of the part. גֹּאֵל (*gô'ēl*, properly *one who asserts a claim* or has the right of 'redemption,' esp. one who vindicates the right of a murdered man, *i.e.* the 'avenger of blood,' hence the next-of-kin, Nu 5^{8}, Ru 2^{20} *al.*, 1 K 16^{11}), and is applied in our VSS, in a figurative sense, to God only. It is a favourite term of Deutero-Isaiah, who often speaks of J″ as the *Gô'ēl* of Israel (so 41^{14} 43^{14} $44^{6.24}$ 47^{4} 48^{17} $49^{7.26}$ $54^{5.8}$ 59^{20} 60^{16} 63^{16}), and magnifies the freeness and the greatness of His deliverance. Cf. Is 52^{3} 'Ye were sold for nought, and ye shall be redeemed without money'; Is $54^{7.8}$ 'For a small moment have I forsaken thee; but with great mercies will I gather thee. In overflowing wrath I hid my face from thee for a moment; but with everlasting kindness will I have mercy upon thee, saith J″ thy redeemer.' Outside of Isaiah, the term *gô'ēl* is not applied to God except in Ps 19^{14} 78^{35}, Job 19^{25}, Pr 23^{11}, Jer 50^{34}. In the last three cases it is used in the special sense of advocate or vindicator. J″ is here represented as doing for the oppressed what the human *gô'ēl* would do, if he were living. So in the familiar passage Job 19^{25} 'I know that my redeemer liveth,' the true rendering should be, 'I know that my vindicator liveth' (so RVm), *i.e.* the one who will see that I have justice after I am gone. See, further, art. GOEL, and A. B. Davidson's note on Job 19^{25}.

In NT the words for 'redeem' are ἀγοράζω and λυτροῦμαι, with their derivatives. The former means lit. 'to buy,' 'to purchase,' by which terms it is uniformly rendered in RV (1 Co 6^{20} 7^{23}, 2 P 2^{1}, Rev 5^{9} $14^{3.4}$ [all]) and AV in all passages except Rev 5^{9} $14^{3.4}$. This is akin to the figurative use of קנה 'buy' or 'purchase,' in the OT, of the deliverance of Israel from bondage, Ex 15^{16}, Is 11^{11}, Ps 74^{2} (cf. 78^{54}), though קנה is not represented in the LXX of these passages by ἀγοράζω. In the compound form ἐξαγοράζω, 'to buy from or out of,' it acquires the technical meaning 'redeem,' and is so used twice by St. Paul (Gal 3^{13} 4^{5}) of Christ's deliverance of those who were under the curse of the law. 'Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, having become a curse for us. For it is written, Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree.' Here Christ's shameful death on the cross is regarded as the ransom price paid for the deliverance of those who were held prisoners under the law and subject to its curse. Cf. Rev 5^{9}, where the redeemed are said to be purchased unto God (not from God) with the blood of the Lamb.

The more common NT word is, however, λυτροῦμαι (from λύτρον, 'a ransom'), with its derivatives, λυτρωτής, λύτρωσις, ἀπολύτρωσις. These follow the usage of the OT גָּאַל and פָּדָה, being sometimes used in the technical sense of 'ransom' (*e.g.* 1 P $1^{18.19}$), but more frequently in the purely general sense of 'deliver.' Thus λύτρωσις is used in Luke of the Messianic deliverance from misfortune and sorrow. So Lk 1^{68} 2^{38}, cf. 24^{21}. More particularly of the salvation to be wrought at the Parousia, Lk 21^{28} (ἀπολύτρωσις, cf. Ro 8^{23} the redemption of the body; Eph 1^{14} the redemption of God's own possession. In Eph 4^{30} the phrase 'day of redemption' is used as a synonym for Parousia). In other passages which follow the thought of Ps 130^{8}, the reference is clearly to redemption from sin. So in Eph 1^{7}, Col 1^{14}, redemption is associated with forgiveness. In Ro 3^{24} it is connected with justification. In Tit 2^{14} Christ is said to have given Himself for us 'that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a people for his own possession, zealous of good works.' In this narrower sense redemption is frequently connected with the death of Christ. Thus He 9^{15} speaks of 'a death having taken place for the redemption of the transgressions that were under the first covenant.' Cf. Eph 1^{7} 'redemption through his blood'; Ro $3^{24.25}$ 'redemption . . . through faith in his blood,' and esp. 1 P $1^{18.19}$ 'Knowing that ye were redeemed, not with corruptible things, as with silver or gold, from your vain manner of life handed down from your fathers; but with precious blood, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot, even the blood of Christ.' Here the technical meaning of λυτροῦμαι reappears. The blood of Christ is represented as the ransom price (λύτρον, cf. Mk 10^{45}) by which Christians are redeemed from their former sinful life. Observe that in 1 P $1^{18.19}$, as in Tit 2^{14} and He 9^{15}, the thought is not primarily of deliverance from punishment, but of deliverance from sin. See, further, under RANSOM.

The term 'redeemer' (λυτρωτής) is found in NT only in Ac 7^{35}, where it is used of Moses (so RVm; AV and RV tr. 'deliverer'). In the LXX λυτρωτής stands for גֹּאֵל in Ps 18 $(19)^{14}$ 77 $(78)^{35}$ [all].

For a fuller discussion of the biblical idea of redemption, see SALVATION, SAVIOUR.

LITERATURE.—Cremer, *Bib.-Theol. Wörterb.*, s. λυτρόω; Ritschl, *Rechtf. und Vers.* ii. p. 222 ff.; Beyschlag, *Neutest. Theol.* i. p. 386 (Eng. tr. i. p. 395 f.); Stevens, *Pauline Theol.* (1892) p. 227 ff.; Orr, *Christian View of God and the World* (1893), p. 333 ff.; Hort, *1 Peter* (1898), p. 78 ff.; Briggs, *Messiah of Apostles*, p. 47 ff., and *Study of Holy Scripture*, 1899, p. 647 ff.; Abbott, *Ephesians and Colossians*, pp. 11-13; Westcott, *Hebrews*, pp. 295, 296; Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*, p. 86; Driver on Dt 7^{8} 19^{6} and *Par. Psalt.* 453 f.

W. ADAMS BROWN.

REED.—There is as much uncertainty in regard to the signification of the Heb. words used to designate the various sorts of aquatic and marsh plants, grouped under the above general term, as there is about the English term itself. Two of these, *'āḥū* and *sūph*, have already been discussed under FLAG. There remain the foll. four:—

1. אַגְמֹן, אַגְמוֹן *'agmōn*. This word seems to be derived from אֲגַם *'agam*, the same as the Arab. *'ajam*, denoting 'a troubled or muddy pool' (Is 14^{23} אַגְמֵי־מָיִם), such as reeds and rushes grow in, and thence a *reed* from such a pool (Jer 51^{32}, RVm '*marshes*, Heb. *pools*'). *'Agmōn* is tr^{d} in Job 41^{2} AV 'hook,' RV 'rope'; Job 41^{20} AV 'caldron,' RV 'burning rushes'; Is 58^{5} 'bulrush,' RV 'rush.' The word is used metaphorically for the lowly, and tr^{d} 'rush' (Is 9^{14} 19^{15}). The LXX κρίκος='ring,' ἄνθραξ='coal,' μικρός='small,' τέλος='end,' give us no clue to the signification of *'agmōn*. Unfortunately, there is nothing in the etymology which is any more helpful. The expression 'bow down his head like a bulrush' (Is 58^{5}) would exclude the true rushes, which are stiff, erect plants. There are several rush-like plants to which it would well apply, as the Twig Rush, *Cladium mariscus*, L.; *Cyperus longus*, L., and a number of the *Scirpi*, all of the order *Cyperaceæ*; the Common Reed, *Phragmites communis*, L., of the *Gramineæ*; the Flowering Rush, *Butomus umbellatus*, L., of the *Alismaceæ*; and the Bur Reed, *Sparganium ramosum*, Huds., of the *Typhaceæ*. The expression 'canst thou put an *'agmōn* (AV 'hook,' RV 'rope') into his nose?' (Job 41^{2}) may be explained as referring to the ring which is passed through the nostrils of bulls to lead them. This is usually of iron. Sometimes it is of tough, twisted withes. It may be that it was sometimes made of rushes. But this also gives no light as to the particular kind. The tr^{n} 'rush' is admissible only if we take it in its widest and most general sense.

2. גֹּמֶא *gōme'*. The Heb. root signifies 'to swallow *or* imbibe.' *Gōme'* occurs in connexion with its marshy place of growth (Job 8^{11}, LXX πάπυρος, AV and RV 'rush,' RVm 'papyrus'). The ark in which Moses was placed was made of *gōme'* (Ex 2^{3}). The LXX says only θῖβις = 'wicker basket,' without mentioning the material of which it was made; AV and RV 'bulrushes,' RVm 'papyrus.' What were the 'vessels of *gōme'*'? (Is 18^{2}, AV 'bulrushes,' RV 'papyrus'). That boats for sea voyages were made of papyrus is improbable. But the passage does not require that. The allusion in the expression 'sea' is doubtless to the Nile, the greater branches of which, as well as the main stream, are called by the Arabs *baḥr*='sea.' The Blue Nile is *el-baḥr el-azraḳ*, and the White Nile *el-baḥr el-abiad*, while the united stream is called *baḥr en-Nîl* far more frequently than *nahr* (river) *en-Nîl*. This being understood, the vessels must be considered as boats or skiffs or canoes. The LXX seems to have another text, and gives ἐπιστολὰς βιβλίνας='letters on parchment.' We have profane testimony as to the use of papyrus, which is here generic for sedges, etc., for boats (Plin. *Nat. Hist.* xiii. 22; Theophrast. *Hist. Pl.* iv. 8), sails, mats, cloths, coverlets, and ropes. *Gōme'* is mentioned in one other passage along with *ḳāneh* (Is 35^{7}, LXX ἕλος='a swamp,' AV and RV 'rushes'). If we adopt 'rush' as the generic expression to represent *'agmōn*, it would be better to take 'sedge' as an equivalent generic expression for *gōme'*. This will include the papyrus, *Cyperus Papyrus*, L., the *babîr* or *bardî* of the Arabs; *C. alepecuroides*, Rotb., a species growing to the height of a man or taller, in the marshes of Egypt and the Ḥûleh, and used in making mats, etc.; the Club Rush, or Bulrush, *Scirpus maritimus*, L., which grows as large as the last, and is used for similar purposes; *S. mucronatus*, L.; *S. lacustris*, L.; and *S. littoralis*, L.; and the Twig Rush, *Cladium mariscus*, L., which has been mentioned under *'agmōn*. The papyrus is the largest and finest of all. It grows from creeping root stocks, which produce tufts of sterile, linear leaves at the surface of the mud or water. The culms are 10 to 15 ft. high, and 2 to 3 in. thick at the base, which is enclosed in imbricated, brown sheaths. These are leafless, or end in a broad, lanceolate limb. The culm is triquetrous above, and ends in an umbel 8 to 15 in. broad, subtended by an involucre of numerous lanceolate leaves. The spikelets are only a third of an inch long, of a pale fawn colour. This noble sedge is the ornament of the Ḥûleh swamps, and the finest of the *Cyperaceæ* of Bible lands, perhaps of the whole world. It used to be common in Lower Egypt, but has now disappeared.

3. קָנֶה *ḳāneh*. This is undoubtedly the equivalent, neither more nor less general, of the Eng. 'reed.' Both are generic for all tall grasses, and more or less for grass-like plants. The word *ḳăna* in Arabic came to signify a spear, from the long reed which constitutes its handle. Such reeds grow in great profusion in the cane brakes of the Lower Euphrates and Upper Nile. Egypt and the Holy Land are pre-eminently lands of tall grasses and canes. Among the most notable of the *Gramineæ* of the Holy Land are *Arundo Donax*, L., called in Arabic *ḳaṣab fârisî*=the Persian Reed. This noble grass often attains a height of 15 to 20 ft. Its silky panicle, swaying gracefully to and fro in the wind, may well have been the 'reed shaken by the wind' (Mt 11^{7}). Immense brakes of this cane are found on the borders of the streams about the Dead Sea, in the Jordan Valley, Ḥûleh, and along the irrigation canals and rivers throughout the land. Another noble grass is *Saccharum Ægyptiacum*, Willd., called in Arabic *ghazzâr*. It resembles the Pampas Grass of the Argentina in the beauty of its silky panicles, which are often borne on stalks 10 to 15 ft. high. Others are *Panicum turgidum*, Forsk.; *Erianthus Ravennæ*, L., the Woolly Beard Grass; *Ammophila aranaria*, L.; *Phragmites communis*, the true Reed, known in Arabic as *ghâb and bûs*; *Eragrostis cynosuroides*, Rœm. et Schultz, the famous *Ḥalfâ*, from which Wady Halfa in Nubia derives its name. This latter attains a height of 6 to 10 ft., and has a beautiful panicle. It forms dense brakes in marshy regions, from the latitude of Jaffa and *Ghôr es-Ṣâfieh* to Egypt and the Upper Nile.

Ḳāneh is tr^{d} by various words—(1) 'Reed' (*e.g.* 1 K 14^{15}). The allusion to the 'bruised reed' (2 K 18^{21}) shows a keen insight into the facts of nature. The grasses have hollow stems. A slight force is sufficient to crush them in, and then their elasticity and strength are gone. Yet even such, by God's help, may be saved from fracture (Is 42^{3}, Mt 12^{20}). The reed is spoken of as growing in marshes (Job 40^{21}). The 'wild beast of the reeds' (Ps 68^{30} AVm and RV) is probably either the crocodile or (cf. Job 40^{21}) the hippopotamus; in either case it is a symbolical designation of Egypt (cf. Ezk 29^{3}, Ps 74^{14}). See Driver, *Parallel Psalter*, p. 190, n. 7. The stronger kinds of reeds, such as *Arundo Donax*, L., were used for walking staffs (Ezk $29^{6.7}$, Is 36^{6}). This sort was, and still is, used for measuring purposes (Ezk $40^{3.5}$ etc. [cf. Rev 11^{1} $21^{15f.}$]. This one was 6 cubits and 6 palms long. The Gr. κάλαμος was also a measure of $6\frac{2}{3}$ cubits). (2) 'Stalk (of grain)' (Gn $41^{5.22}$). (3) 'Bone' (Job 31^{22}), from the fact of this being a tube like the hollow stems of grasses. (4) 'Beam of a balance,' thence the *balance* itself (Is 46^{6}), probably because the cross beams of balances were sometimes made of reeds. (5) The 'branches of a lampstand,' probably because these were tubular (Ex $25^{31.32}$). Possibly these tubes carried oil, as in the case of the seven pipes (מוּצָקוֹת) of the lampstand in Zechariah's vision (Zec $4^{2.12f.}$). (6) 'Cane' (Is 43^{24}), RVm 'calamus.' The fuller form is קָנֶה הַטּוֹב *ḳāneh haṭṭōbh*, 'sweet cane' (Jer 6^{20} RVm 'calamus).' (7) 'Calamus' (Ca 4^{14}, Ezk 27^{19}). The fuller form is קְנֵה־בֹשֶׂם *ḳĕnēh-bōsem* = 'sweet calamus' (Ex 30^{23}). Calamus is not indigenous in Syria and Palestine. This is noted in Jer 6^{20}, where it is said that it comes 'from a far country.' Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xii. 48) says, 'Scented calamus, also, which grows in Arabia, is common both in India and Syria, that which grows in the last country being superior to all the rest. At a distance of 150 stadia from the Mediterranean, between Mount Libanus and another mountain of no note (and not, as some have supposed, Antilibanus), there is a valley of moderate size, situate in the vicinity of a lake, the marshy swamps of which are dried up every summer. At a distance of 30 stadia from this lake grow the sweet-scented calamus and the rush.' This indication of locality would probably refer to the Lake of Ḥems, and the swamps of the Upper Orontes. But no modern botanist has detected *Acorus Calamus* there. Nor have we been able to identify 'scented calamus' with any of the reeds or rushes which grow there. The precision of Jeremiah's language seems to forbid the idea that he spoke of any indigenous plant.

4. עָרוֹת *'ārōth* (Is 19^{7}) is tr^d in AV 'paper reeds,' RV more properly 'meadows,' see art. MEADOW in vol. ii. p. 307 note †; LXX χλωρός. There is no authority for identifying this with the papyrus.

G. E. POST.

REED GRASS (Gn $41^{2.18}$).—RV for אָחוּ, AV 'meadow.' The same word is tr^d in Job 8^{11} 'flag,' RVm 'reed grass.' See FLAG 1.

REELAIAH.—See RAAMIAH.

REELIAS (A Ῥεελίας, B Βορόλειος or -είας, AV Reelius), 1 Es 5^{8}, corresponds in position to Bigvai in Ezr 2^{2}, Neh 7^{7}; but the form of the name is nearer to Reelaiah (A Ῥεελίας) in the same verse of Ezra, or Raamiah in that of Nehemiah.

REFINER, REFINING.—1. The verb זָקַק in Qal is used in Job 28^{1} of gold, and in 36^{27} of rain (see Dillm. *ad loc.*); in Piel it is used in 1 Ch 28^{18} of gold, in 29^{4} (cf. Ps 12^{6}) of silver; and in Pual of settled wine, Is 25^{6}. 2. The most usual word for 'refine' is צָרַף. The only occurrence in AV of 'refiner' is Mal $3^{2.3}$ (מְצָרֵף). צָרַף occurs both in a literal, Ps 66^{10}, Jer 6^{29}, Zec 13^{9}, and in a metaphorical sense, Ps 26^{2}, Is 1^{25} 48^{10}, Dn 11^{35} (cf. Driver, *Par. Psalt.* 458 f.). 3. πυροῦσθαι Rev 1^{15} 3^{18} (RV 'be refined'); cf. 1 P 1^{7}, with Hort's note.

The ancient Egyptians, as described by Wilkinson, purified gold by putting it into earthen crucibles with lead, salt, a little tin, and barley bran, sealing the crucibles with clay, and then exposing them to the heat of a furnace for five days and nights. Refining silver by cupellation is a very old process. The silver mixed with lead is put into a crucible made of bone-earth, and placed in a reverberatory furnace. As the oxide of lead forms, it is blown off by bellows, and towards the end of the process the thin covering of oxide becomes iridescent and soon disappears, and the pure bright surface of the silver flashes out. This process of refining silver is referred to in Jer 6^{29}. The reference in Mal 3 is to the purifying influence of affliction on the people of God; their sinful impurities gradually disappear, and at last the Divine image is reflected from the soul, as the face of the refiner from the surface of the purified silver.

W. CARSLAW.

REFRAIN.—The verb 'to refrain' is now used only intransitively, to abstain from. This use is found twice in AV, Ec 3^{5} 'A time to embrace, and a time to refrain from embracing'; and Ac 5^{38} 'Refrain from these men.'* But the primitive meaning of 'refrain' is to curb or restrain (Old Fr. *refrener*, Lat. *refrenare*, from *re* back, and *frenum* a bridle, a curb), and this is the usual meaning of the word in AV. So Udall, *Erasmus Paraph.* i. 97, 'Jesus refreyned them, saying, Why be ye grieved with this woman?'; Ex 32^{14} Tind. 'And the Lorde refrayned him selfe from that evell, which he sayde he wolde do unto his people'; Ja 1^{26} Wyc. 'If ony man gessith hym silf to be relegious and refreyneth not his tunge' (AV 'bridleth not'); Elyot, *Governour*, ii. 215, 'Injurie apparaunt and with powar inforced eyther may be with lyke powar resisted, or with wisedome eschued, or with entreatie refrained.'

J. HASTINGS.

REFUGE, CITIES OF (עָרֵי מִקְלָט, עָרֵי הַמּ׳, or, more fully עִיר מִקְלַט הָרֹצֵחַ; LXX (αἱ) πόλεις (τῶν) φυγαδευτηρίων, or the cities are said to be φυγαδευτήρια or εἰς φυγαδευτήριον; a fuller description (Jos $21^{21.36}$) is ἡ πόλις τοῦ φυγαδευτηρίου (ἡ) τοῦ φονεύσαντος; Vulg. *civitates confugii, civitates* (*urbes*) *ad confugiendum, urbes fugitivorum* (*in fugitivorum auxilia* or *præsidia, ad fugitivorum subsidia*).—*Names and location.*—The names and location of these cities are given with great definiteness, and their distribution was such as would best accommodate the entire country. There were three on the west of the Jordan —Hebron in the mountains of Judah, Shechem in Mount Ephraim, Kedesh in Mount Naphtali; and three on the east of the river—Bezer in the plain belonging to Reuben, Ramoth in Gilead belonging to Gad, Golan in Bashan belonging to Manasseh (Jos $20^{7.8}$). See under each of these names. There is every reason to believe that the early Jewish tradition (Neubauer, *Géog. du Talmud*, p. 55), which placed these cities in pairs nearly opposite each other on the east and on the west of the Jordan, is correct, so that Bezer should be found near Dhiban, Ramoth in Gilead at Gerasa,—the modern Jerash with which it has been identified (*East of the Jordan*, pp. 284–290),— and Golan, not yet located with certainty, about due east from Kedesh. For greater convenience there seems to have been a provision (Dt 19^{3}) that the principal roads to these cities should be kept open, and the inference is, although this is not stated, that they were likewise properly marked. The distance to be travelled could hardly have exceeded 30 miles at most, and was easily passed over in a day.

Origin and purpose.—In the state of society then existing, the appointment of such places of refuge was wise and wholly in the line of justice. If a man took the life of another, he himself must be slain by the nearest relative. No other law was known; justice could be satisfied in no other way. It was seen, however, that if this law were carried out hastily in every case, men might suffer death who were really innocent. Hence a trial must be had, and meantime asylums provided where alleged criminals would be safe until their case could be properly adjudged. The plan did not result, as might be supposed, in giving these places a bad character by filling them with murderers. On the contrary, these six cities were of the highest rank in every way: they were all Levitical cities—Shechem and Hebron being royal cities, and Hebron in addition a priestly city. Each city, according to the (ideal?) legislation of

---

* There is also a doubtful example in Sir 4^{23} 'Refrain not to speak, when there is occasion to do good' (Gr. μὴ κωλύσῃς λόγον, RV 'Refrain not speech'): cf. Job 29^{9} 'Princes refrained talking.'

P, was to have a suburb of a little more than half a mile in extent in every direction, so that the refugees might not be absolutely confined within the city's walls (Nu 35^{5}).

This privilege of asylum was evidently not designed for wilful murderers. A wilful murderer was to be put to death at once, and these cities were for those who had taken life unintentionally (בִּבְלִי־דַעַת Dt 4^{42}, Jos 20$^{3.5}$ [D^{2}], בִּשְׁגָגָה Nu 35$^{11.15}$, Jos 20$^{3.9}$ [all P]). That there was to be a strict trial (Nu 35$^{12.24}$) is sufficient proof that some persons who had committed wilful murder availed themselves of this possible chance of escaping with their lives (Nu 35^{12}). The trial took place where the accused had lived or was well known, and not necessarily in the place where he had sought refuge; and this is shown by the fact that, if proved innocent of wilful murder, the authorities were to see him safely back to the city of refuge after the trial was over. The law of murder and of unintentional killing is fully stated in Nu 35$^{16-28}$. After being taken back to the city of refuge to which he had fled at first, the offender was bound to remain there until the death of the then reigning 'high priest' (an expression which is taken by many to imply that the passage in its present form reflects the usage or the theory of a late age in Israel's history), after which he was free to return to his own home. During that period, however, if accidentally or otherwise he passed beyond the suburb limits of the city of refuge, the avenger of blood might slay him. No payment of money was ever allowed to interfere with the strict fulfilment of this penalty (Nu 35^{32}). Besides these regularly appointed cities of refuge, the temple at Jerusalem, or possibly the altar (see ALTAR) alone, enjoyed a similar prerogative, as is shown by the cases of Adonijah and Joab (1 K 1^{50} 11^{28}; cf. Ex 21$^{12ff.}$). As a ground of their action, we must presuppose a well-understood custom or sentiment, which gave to the altar the right of asylum in cases of life and death.[*]

It is a curious fact that in the later history of the Hebrews very little is said to show how generally homicides availed themselves of the refuge thus afforded. It may have been such a matter of course that nothing was ever said about it. The provision so carefully made by the Hebrews to shield those who had committed no intentional wrong had its counterpart among the Greeks and Romans, and may be looked upon as one of the most humane features of ancient civilization, where, in the general administration of affairs, cruelty and injustice, as we regard them, were frequently conspicuous. See, further, art. GOEL.

S. MERRILL.

REFUSE.—The verb 'to refuse' frequently has in AV its earlier meaning of 'reject,' especially *as unfit for use*, which is still retained in the subst. 'refuse.' Thus Ps 118^{22} 'The stone which the builders refused (RV 'rejected'[†]), is become the head stone of the corner'; Is 8^{6} 'Forasmuch as this people refuseth the waters of Shiloah that go softly.' So Knox, *Works*, iii. 210, 'He that refuseth not himself, and takis not up his croce, and followis me, is not worthie of me'; p. 317, 'Peter was permitted once to sincke, and thryse most shamefully to refuse and denye his Maister'; Tindale, *Pent.* Prologe to Exodus, 'an abjecte and a castawaye, a despised and a refused person'; *Expos.* 101, 'None of them, that refuseth not all that he possesseth, can be my disciple'; Mt 24^{40} Tind. 'Then two shalbe in the feldes, the one shalbe receaved, and the other shalbe refused.'

The origin of the word is difficult to trace. Trench (*English Past and Present*, 306) says unreservedly, 'To refuse is *recusare*, while yet it has derived the *f* of its second syllable from *refutare*; it is a medley of the two'; and perhaps he is right.

J. HASTINGS.

REGEM (רֶגֶם; B Ῥάγεμ, A Ῥέγεμ).—The eponym of a Calebite family, 1 Ch 2^{47}.

REGEM-MELECH (רֶגֶם מֶלֶךְ; B Ἀρβεσεὲρ [A Ἀρβεσεσὲρ, ℵ$^{c.a}$ Ἀρβεσὲρ, Q Ἀρβεσεὲ] ὁ βασιλεύς).—One of a deputation sent to consult the priests about the propriety of continuing to observe the fast of the fifth month in commemoration of the destruction of the temple by the Chaldæans, Zec 7^{2}. The text of this passage is dubious, especially as concerns the words *Bethel* (AV 'house of God') and SHAREZER (which see).

REGENERATION.—In the NT this subject is uniformly regarded in its concrete or experimental aspect: hence the abstract idea hardly occurs. Where it does, the term παλινγενεσία (so Tisch. WH, παλιγγ. TR) alone is employed. This word is not found in LXX, but it has a history in Classical and Hellenistic Greek, being used mainly in the figurative sense of complete *renovation* (ἀνακαίνωσις, cf. Ro 12^{2}, Tit 3^{5}). It is this idea of restoration to pristine state that meets us in the nearest equivalent to the term found in LXX, ὑπομενῶ ἕως πάλιν γένωμαι, Job 14^{14}. But in pre-Christian usage it is not the individual so much as the world, or a nation, that is generally the subject of the entire change of condition denoted by παλινγενεσία. Thus Basil (*Hom.* iii. *in Hexæm.*) says that the Stoics ἀπείρους φθορὰς κόσμου κ. παλιγγενεσίας εἰσάγειν (cf. Philo, *de Incorr. mundi*, 3. 14. 17; *de Mundo*, 15), what M. Aurel. (xi. 1) calls ἡ περιοδικὴ π. τῶν ὅλων. Similarly, Philo calls Noah and his sons, παλιγγ. ἡγεμόνες κ. δευτέρας ἀρχηγέται περιόδου (*Vit. Moys.* ii. 12; cf. 1 *Clem.* ix. 4). National restoration is a sense found in Jos. (*Ant.* XI. iii. 9, ἡ ἀνάκτησις κ. παλιγγ. τῆς πατρίδος); and this, in the fuller sense of the Messianic renewal of Palestine (and of the whole world, or dependent thereon, ἀποκατάστασις πάντων), seems to reappear in Mt 19^{28}, one of the two NT occurrences of παλινγ. (cf. Dalm. 145). Even in Classical usage, however, the term does sometimes refer to the lot of the individual, denoting restoration to life in a literal or a figurative sense. Plutarch uses it several times in the former sense, *i.e.* in relation to the transmigration of souls (*de Esu carn.* ii. 4. 4, ὅτι χρῶνται κοινοῖς αἱ ψυχαὶ σώμασιν ἐν ταῖς παλιγγενεσίαις); and Agrippa is quoted by Philo (*Leg. ad Gaium*, 41) as addressing the emperor Gaius as follows: τὸν . . . τεθνεῶτα τῷ δέει ζωπυρήσας καθάπερ ἐκ παλιγγενεσίας ἀνήγειρας. In more figurative wise Cicero (*ad Att.* vi. 6) calls his restoration to his lost life of dignity and honour *hanc* παλιγγ. *nostram*; and Olympiodorus, speaking of memory, says, παλιγγ. τῆς γνώσεώς ἐστιν ἡ ἀνάμνησις. Hence, on the whole, παλιγγ. in non-biblical usage seems to denote a restoration of a lost state of well-being, amounting to re-creation or renovation.

If we could be surer of the Rabbinic use (esp. in relation to proselytes) of such an idea in the time of Christ, we should probably get further light on the exact connotation of *παλιγγ.* and kindred expressions as they emerge in the NT. Among the latter the following are prominent: *ἀνακαίνωσις* (Ro 12^{2}, and esp. Tit 3^{5}), with the verb *ἀνακαινοῦσθαι* (Col 3^{10}, 2 Co 4^{16}) and its synonym *ἀνανεοῦσθαι* (Eph 4^{23}); *ἀναγεννᾶν* (1 P $1^{3.\,23}$) [which does not occur elsewhere in extant Greek literature uninfluenced by the NT itself, though the Philonean tract, *de Incorr. mundi*, 3, has *ἀναγέννησις* as a synonym for the Stoic *παλιγγενεσία* of the world, and Porphyry has *ἀναγεννητικός* (*Ep. ad Aneb.* 24)]; *γεννηθῆναι ἄνωθεν* (Jn $3^{3.\,7}$, cf. *γενν. γέρων ὤν* or *δεύτερον*, v.^{4}); *καινὴ κτίσις* in the concrete sense (2 Co 5^{17}, Gal 6^{15}, Eph 2^{10} 4^{24}), and its practical equivalents, *καινὸς ἄνθρωπος* (Eph 2^{15} 4^{24}), *νέος ἄνθρ.* (Col 3^{10}); *τέκνα θεοῦ γενέσθαι* (Jn 1^{12}), *γεννηθῆναι ἐκ τ. θεοῦ* (Jn *passim*), *ἐκ τ. πνεύματος*, or *ἐξ ὕδατος κ. πνεύματος* (Jn $3^{5.\,6.\,8}$); and, finally, *γεννᾶν* (*τινα*) *διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγ.*, used of the preacher of the Word (1 Co 4^{15}, cf. Gal 4^{19}). A single passage from an early Christian Father may be subjoined, as showing the influence of the NT upon his language, and also the relation of the biblical idea of Regeneration to certain other cognate ideas. Clement of Alex., speaking of the restoration of a sinful woman, writes (*Strom.* ii. *ad fin.* p. 424): *ἡ δὲ μετανοήσασα, οἷον ἀναγεννηθεῖσα κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν τοῦ βίου, παλιγγενεσίαν ἔχει ζωῆς, τεθνηκυίας μὲν τῆς πόρνης τῆς παλαίας, εἰς βίον δὲ παρελθούσης αὖθις τῆς κατὰ τὴν μετάνοιαν γεννηθείσης.* It has sometimes been thought that the idea of religious regeneration in this life was one 'in the air' in the 1st cent.; and the phrase *in æternum renatus taurobolio*, in connexion with Mithraic worship, has been cited as evidence. But Hort thinks it, as well as the *παλιγγενεσία* of the Hermetic writings, to be dependent on Christian usage. Nor can the fact that Osiris was addressed as one who 'giveth birth unto men and women a second time,' be cited to the contrary: for this clearly refers to renewed life beyond the grave, not to spiritual regeneration in this life. The origin of this latter notion and phraseology is rather to be sought in the OT and its Rabbinic developments. The phrase 'new creation,' adopted by St. Paul, occurs repeatedly in the Midrashim with various applications (see Dalm. *Worte Jesu*, 146), and a proselyte is compared to a newborn child in the Talmud (Jebamoth 62*a*; see Wünsche, *Erläut. der Evangg.* 506); cf. Hort, *First Ep. of Peter*, p. 33. The present article will deal with the following points:—

---

[*] As to the relation of Dt 4$^{41ff.}$ to 19$^{1ff.}$, and on the whole subject, see Driver, *Deut.* 233.

[†] The Gr. of the Sept. is ἀπεδοκίμασαν, the Lat. of the Vulg. *reprobaverunt*; Wyc. translates 'repreveden,' Cov. and Gen. 'refused,' Douay 'rejected,' Bish. 'refused.' The passage is quoted in Mt 21^{42}, Mk 12^{10}, Lk 20^{17} where the Gr. is always ἀπεδοκίμασαν, and the Vulg. *reprobaverunt*; Wyc. has 'repreveden' in Mt and Lk, but 'dispisid' in Mk; Tind. has always 'refused' or 'did refuse,' Rhem. and AV 'rejected.' The passage is also quoted in Ac 4^{11} and 1 P 2^{4}, but with less verbal exactness. Thus Ac 4^{11} Gr. ἐξουθενηθείς, Vulg. *qui reprobatus est*, Wyc. 'which was reproved,' Tind. 'cast a syde,' Rhem. 'rejected,' Bish. 'set nought,' AV and RV 'set at nought'; 1 P 2^{4} Gr. ἀποδεδοκιμασμένον, Vulg. *reprobatum*, Wyc. 'reproved,' Tind. 'disalowed' (so Cov., Cran., Gen., Bish., AV), Rhem. 'reprobated,' RV 'rejected.'

'Regeneration' characteristic of the NT.
A. Old Test. Adumbrations.
  i. In (*a*) national, (*b*) personal religion.
  ii. In the case of Proselytes.
B. New Test. Presentation.
  i. In the Synoptics.
  ii. In St. James.
  iii. In St. Peter (relation to Baptism).
  iv. In Epistle to Hebrews.
  v. In St. Paul.
  vi. In St. John.
C. Connected Summary.
Literature.

The idea of Regeneration belongs to the NT rather than the OT. Indeed, some would confine it, in any proper personal sense, to the former exclusively. But this would be to confuse the implicit and explicit forms of the doctrine and experience, and to break the genuine continuity of biblical religion. This continuity, along with progressive development of form, it must be our care to trace between OT and NT, as well as between the several types of presentation in the NT itself.

A. OLD TEST. ADUMBRATIONS.—i. OT religion being originally a matter of the nation rather than the individual, all the forms under which it was conceived were highly objective. Things to be done or avoided are prominent; and all as tending to avoid rupture of the normal relation or covenant between the people and J″. At first little stress is laid on the state of the inner life, on ethical as contrasted with ritual purity. But when, under the influence of the prophets of the 8th cent. and later, the ethical element in religion came fully to light, the old idea of religion, as a dutiful relation between man and God, became charged with new spiritual meaning, and afforded the deepest and most adequate notion of piety imaginable. For it went below the level of mere deeds, to the attitude of soul of which they were as the fruit.

(*a*) The stages in the process may be traced as follows. As the older notion of salvation or well-being had been largely that of external *national* prosperity, taken as the expression of the favour of J″; so the chief means of its purification and deepening was national adversity. This turned attention, first to the moral conditions of the favour of the Holy One of Israel, and then to the intrinsic blessedness of righteousness itself, apart even from its normal external concomitants of peace and prosperity. At the same time, the break-up of national welfare caused the individual to attain to a new consciousness of his personal relations to J″, and so to a more spiritual piety. These changes, as they affected both Israel and the individual Israelite, reached their crisis in the experiences of the Exile. During and after it the spiritual harvest, the first-fruits of which are to be seen even in the pre-exilic prophets, was gathered in by the sifted Church-nation. Chief among the new ideas acquired were (1) the thought of sin as a besetting power, ever apt to mar the normal relations between J″ and His people; (2) the idea that a profound change of temper or attitude in Israel as a whole was needful; (3) the conviction that an evil so inherent as the stiff-neckedness and uncircumcision of heart discovered in Israel could be met only by Divine and supernatural agency, working upon the very springs of conduct (cf. Dt 10^{16} $30^{1\text{-}6}$). In fact, the vision of a renovation of feeling and will as needful to Israel, of national regeneration as the pre-requisite and the essential blessing of the longed-for Messianic age, began to possess the better minds following in the wake of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Yet even in those great prophets the bestowal of the regenerate heart is thought of largely as a special intervention to meet an exceptional need, as it were at a stroke; and its primary reference is collective rather than personal. Ephraim is overheard acknowledging the effect of the Divine discipline as salutary, and adding, 'Turn thou me, and I will turn' (Jer 31^{18}): and then the prophet looks forward to the bright day of national restoration, when the covenant shall become 'a new covenant,' as being divinely inscribed on the heart or inner life of the people ($31^{31\text{ff.}}$). Then 'they shall be my people, and I will be their God: and I will give them one heart and one way, that they may fear me for ever' ($32^{38\text{f.}}$ 24^{7}). Similarly Ezekiel: 'And I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean: from all your filthiness and from all your idols will I cleanse you. A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you: and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you an heart of flesh. And I will put my spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes' ($36^{25\text{-}27}$ 11^{19}). Here we get, as never before, the idea of a new responsiveness of heart divinely produced—the essence of regeneration. But the regeneration is still viewed as national rather than individual (cf. the prophecy of the Valley of Dry

Bones, Ezk 37^{1-14}), though the effects on the individuals composing the nation are often clearly present to mind (Jer 31^{34}, Is 54^{13} 60^{21}). And, above all, it is felt to be still future (contrast Ezk 18^{31}), a blessing of the Messianic age.

(*b*) But while this is true of OT religion as a whole, even after the Exile, there are traces of *individual* piety going far beyond it, and virtually anticipating the NT experience of regeneration. Transferring the idea of religion, as a dutiful relation between Israel and its God, from the nation to the individual conscience, this deeper piety gave the holiness loved of J″ a most vital meaning. It saw in 'walking humbly with one's God,' the inmost secret of 'doing justly and loving mercy.' All sprang from the 'contrite and humble spirit' indwelt of the Holy One of Israel (Is 57^{15} 66^{2}). 'The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit,' a spirit broken by the sense that it was 'truth in the inward parts' that could alone satisfy the Holy One (Ps $51^{17.6}$). And along with this begins to appear the sense of a nature radically prone to sin, and so in need of more radical aid from the Searcher of hearts before covenant obedience could become possible (Ps 51^{5}, Job 14^{4} 'Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean? Not one'). There arises a cry for the 'mercy' and 'lovingkindness' of God, to draw the heart to Himself, and so create the very state of spirit with which He could commune. 'A clean heart,' 'a right' (steadfast) or 'free (willing) spirit'—on which turned 'the joy of thy salvation'—are all traced to the presence of God's 'holy Spirit' at work on the soul (Ps $51^{1.10-12}$). Here we have the high-water mark of piety on OT lines, or rather piety under OT forms, but already outgrowing its limits. For with the emergence of the ideas of religion as primarily a state of the heart, of the radical tendency to sin native to frail human nature, and of the grace of God, in renewing and quickening power, as alone adequate to man's need,—with this the old national religion is transcended, and a new covenant becomes indispensable. Here, then, the experience, not to say the doctrine, of regeneration is already virtually present: it lacks only the objective basis furnished by the revelation in Christ, to give it that steady and assured quality which is the prerogative of NT 'faith.'

ii. As Israel's slowness to realize the idea of regeneration was in part due to its overshadowing sense of a specially favoured relation to J″ attaching to Abraham's seed, as such; so we may suppose that the accession to exilic and post-exilic Israel of a growing number of those who had no such natural advantage, must have stimulated reflexion on the subjective conditions of fitness for communion with J″. It may be true that the sense in which *proselytes* were first spoken of as 'born' to or in Messianic Zion (Is $49^{21f.}$ 44^{5}, Ps $87^{5f.}$) was mainly that of formal adhesion to the sacred people. Yet the patent greatness of the change of belief and conduct involved in the adhesion, must have tended to develop thought upon the spiritual and ethical senses in which a man might become a 'new' man, as it were by birth out of one world into another. Such reflexion would further be fostered by the rites through which the change of condition was achieved, particularly the ablution or baptism by which proselytes were admitted to Israel. And all this would easily coalesce in devout minds with the promise in Ezk $36^{25f.}$ touching the sprinkling of Israel itself with clean water, and the new heart associated therewith, as marking the piety of the great age that was to come. When, then, John the Baptist appeared, to usher in the fulfilment of Mal $3^{1ff.}$, there must have been a widespread feeling that his baptism meant a radical change of heart even in Israel (cf. Jn $1^{25ff.}$). Still, the Diviner side of Ezekiel's prophecy, the baptism with the Holy Spirit, waited upon the coming of the Mightier One, Messiah Himself (Mt 3^{11}, Lk 3^{16}, Jn 1^{33} 3^{25}). And it was the deeper experience of the Holy Spirit, in specifically Christian form, that brought regeneration to light as implicit in the contrite heart and spirit, and placed it, the Divine side of the fact of true repentance, in the centre of NT teaching (cf. Jn $3^{3.5}$).

B. NEW TEST. PRESENTATION.—i. *The Synoptics.*—In Jesus' own public teaching the idea appears only in implicit forms, chiefly that of a radical repentance or change of heart (*μετάνοια*) towards God and towards sin—the great condition, in the prophets also, of restoration to Divine fellowship. But in that teaching there are also hints that the change is more complete than anything hitherto realized, in keeping with the advance in the revelation conditioning it. Man must choose between two lives, a lower and a higher: to find or save the one, he must be ready to lose the other. And it is implied in the parable of the Prodigal Son that the spiritual life of sonship is in fact 'dead' or null (Lk 15^{24}) in every child estranged by sin and selfhood. It is needful that even honest disciples 'turn and become as little children' in order truly to enter the Kingdom, in which it is the crown of blessedness to be genuine children of the heavenly Father (Mt 18^{3} 5^{45}). The parable of the Sower implies that the specific life of the Kingdom arises in the human heart by the sinking in of the gospel, and its producing, as it were, a new root of personality; and it is intimated, though only in private to chosen disciples, that true 'faith' is dependent on a Divine factor at work behind the human (Mt 16^{17}). This latter case suggests that the merely implicit form in which the profound truth of regeneration occurs in Christ's ordinary preaching is due, partly at least, to its popular character, as adjusted to the needs of the poor and simple, in contrast to theologians like Nicodemus.

ii. *St. James.*—The exact sense of the words (1^{18}), 'of set purpose he brought us forth by the word of truth, that we should be first-fruits, as it were, of his creatures' (*βουληθεὶς ἀπεκύησεν ἡμᾶς λόγῳ ἀληθείας, εἰς τὸ εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἀπαρχήν τινα τῶν αὐτοῦ κτισμάτων*), has been much debated. St. James is addressing the Israel of God, conceived much in the way in which an ancient prophet thought of the true Israel within Israel. He thinks of all 'Israelites indeed,' though he has in mind chiefly those who already believe in Jesus as Messiah (cf. Jn 1^{47} 3^{21}); for both alike have in principle one religion, that of 'doers of the word' (the revealed will of God), of such as visit the fatherless and widows, and keep unspotted from the world (1^{22-27}). To his eye, then, this people of loving obedience is what Israel's God had meant Israel to be (Is $43^{20f.}$), 'My people, my chosen, the people which I formed for myself (LXX, *ὃν περιεποιησάμην*), that they might set forth my praise.' So, of those who fear J″ and regard His name it is said (Mal 3^{17}), 'And they shall be to me . . . in the day which I make, for a special possession' (*ἔσονταί μοι . . . εἰς περιποίησιν*). This is very much the idea on which St. Peter dwells so lovingly, of 'a people for God's own possession,' quickened into new life through the word of the living God (1 P 1^{23} 2^{9})—though he has professed Christians alone in view. Like ideas occur also in Eph 1^{10-14}, but decisively universalized as to the scope of 'God's own possession' (cf. 2 Th $2^{13f.}$, esp. if we read *ἀπαρχήν* instead of *ἀπ' ἀρχῆς*, with BFG ^{gr} P minn. f. vg. syr. hl., *al.*); while the notion of God's saints being first-fruits, as it were, of His full and final possession of His creatures in general, appears quite explicitly in Ro 8^{19-23}. There creation is represented as awaiting 'the revealing of the sons of God' ('the Regeneration,' in the collective sense of Mt 19^{28}), who, as already having 'the first-fruits of the Spirit,' may themselves be styled God's first-fruits (cf. Rev 14^4 21^5). Thus spiritual Israel, now in process of rallying to Messiah Jesus, seemed to St. James 'the first-fruits' of God's final reign. As for 'the word of truth' to which this Israel owed its being, it was the revealed will of God active in conscience (= 'the inbred word,' 1^{21}, or simply 'the word,' $1^{22f.}$ = God's 'law,' known as spirit and not as letter, 'perfect law, that of liberty,' 'royal law,' 1^{25} 2^{8-12} 4^{11} = 'the truth,' in an ethico-religious sense, 3^{14} 5^{19}, cf. Jn $8^{31f.}$ 17^{17}). It was the sort of 'word' that meets us in the Sermon on the Mount, the final practical issue of OT revelation for the conscience (cf. 'the word of truth' in Ps 119^{43}; also v.^{160} 'the sum of thy word is truth'). Yet it is not to be confined to the specifically Christian gospel: it denotes, rather, the element common to that and the law as it lived in the unsophisticated consciences of Jews like those who meet us in Lk 1–2.

St. James has in mind, then, not individual regeneration, but rather the collective being of a People devoted to the Divine Will, and of which believers on Jesus Messiah were the typical members—a People which thus could be styled 'first-fruits, as it were, of God's creatures.'* His argument is that God cannot stultify Himself by tempting to evil. He is the author of good, and changeth not. And since it was with full intention that He brought forth† or constituted the godly community gathering to the name of Jesus Messiah, He must not be thought of as the author of seductive temptations. The emphasis still falls, as in pre-Christian references to regeneration, on the collective quickening traceable to the Divine initiative, rather than on the individual—though this latter is implied in the exhortation to 'receive the inborn word (*ἔμφυτον λόγον*, cf. Wis 12^{10} *ἔμφυτος ἡ κακία αὐτῶν*),‡ which is able to save your souls.' Accordingly, such rudiments of our doctrine as occur in James, represent a stage midway between typical OT and typical NT statements on the subject.

iii. *St. Peter.*—The Petrine doctrine stands between that of St. James on the one hand, and that of St. Paul on the other. The OT associations of collective blessing (cf. his reference to 'seasons of recovery' or 'restoration,' *ἀνάψυξις*, *ἀποκατάστασις*, in Ac $3^{19. 21. 26}$) are still prominent in the language chosen (1 P 2^9); while yet the idea of 'regeneration,' and that of individuals, by the Divine 'seed' or 'word of God,' is firmly grasped (1^{23} cf. ^{3}, cf. parable of the Sower). The disciple seems possessed by his Master's teaching as to the child-spirit and the Divine fatherhood (2^2 1^{17}). The Divine parentage involved in the new life is appealed to as a reason for love of the brethren ($1^{22f.}$): being regarded as a congenital law of their new being—an idea which recurs in 2 P 1^4, where renewed human nature is set forth as 'in a true sense not God-like merely, but derivatively Divine' (Hort, cf. 1 Jn 3^9).

'The word' by which this comes about is clearly that of the gospel (1 P 1^{25}); and, answering to this, the definite act of confession in baptism is thought of as objectively sealing the salvation thus wrought (see BAPTISM in vol. i. p. 244^a). Water, says he, doth now, in antitype to Noah's preservation, play its part in salvation, as Christian baptism—'not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the appeal toward God of a good conscience, through the resurrection of Jesus Christ,' man's surety at God's right hand (1 P 3^{21}). The sense of this passage, and particularly the meaning here given to the word *ἐπερώτημα*, seems fixed by Ro $10^{9f.}$, He 10^{22}. 'For with the heart man trustfully believeth unto (the attaining of) Righteousness (*i.e.* Justification = Salvation in God's sight, *implicitè*); but with the mouth man maketh confession unto (the attaining of) Salvation' (*i.e.* formal possession of salvation, *explicitè*). 'Salvation,' in this context (Ro $10^{9f.}$), refers to objective membership of the Messianic Community or Church, the proper unit or subject of the New Covenant. Into this Body of the Christ, St. Paul says elsewhere (1 Co 12^{13}), Christians are through baptism incorporated 'by one Spirit.' 'The Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father,' seals, often by objective manifestations, the sincerity of the believer's confession. Similarly He 10^{22}, 'Let us draw near (as favoured worshippers) with a true heart, in *full assurance of faith*, having our *hearts sprinkled* (by blood, $9^{13f.}$) *from an evil conscience*, and the *body washed with pure water*.' Thus every obscure element in 1 P $3^{18. 21}$ is elucidated. Christ, though 'put to death in (the sphere of) flesh,' was 'quickened in (the sphere of) spirit'—and so became for others 'a quickening spirit' (*πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν*, 1 Co 15^{45}). Baptism, then, as the consummation of the believer's appropriation of Christ, means no mere bodily cleansing (like Levitical ablutions), but the appeal of a cleansed conscience (see 1^2 with 3^{18}; cf. He $9^{13f.}$), directed in 'full assurance of faith' to God (cf. Eph 3^{12} *προσαγωγὴν ἐν πεποιθήσει*). It corresponds to the 'living hope' due to Christ's resurrection, spoken of in 1^3 (cf. Col 2^{12}). 'The promise of the eternal inheritance' (He 9^{15}), for which worshipful appeal is made to God's covenant fidelity in the Mediator, was conceived to be received 'in earnest' in the manifestation of Holy Spirit power (Ac 2^{33})—'anointing' or 'sealing' the believer unto the day of perfected redemption (2 Co $1^{21f.}$, Eph $1^{13f.}$ 4^{30}). Thus 'baptism,' as a living experience, could be alluded to in Tit 3^5 as a formal 'washing of regeneration and renovation (in virtue) of Holy Spirit,' 'poured forth richly' at the solemn crisis of confession, where 'Salvation,' as an objective state, took full effect (*ἔσωσεν ἡμᾶς διὰ λουτροῦ παλινγενεσίας καὶ ἀνακαινώσεως πν. ἁγίου*). Baptism was a rite for the Church or sacred community as such, and for the individual in relation to it and its privileges; 'by the washing of water' were its members, as 'cleansed' 'by means of the word' (cf. Jn 15^3), formally admitted to the sphere of consecrated life resting on Christ's sacrifice (Eph 5^{26}, Ro $10^{8f.}$).

St. Peter seems also, by the time he wrote 1 P, to have caught in his own way St. Paul's deep, mystical thought in Ro $6^{4f.}$, where identity with Christ's 'resurrection' life, on the part of the regenerate, is made to grow out of spiritual union with Him in His death to sin (consummated in His crucifixion, see 1 P 2^{24}). For 1 P $4^{1. 2. 6}$ contains the essential idea of spiritual quickening through judgment in the flesh. And this process is extended by him, alone among NT writers, even to certain souls in Hades, namely, those suddenly cut off in the days of Noah—a fate conceived (as it seems) to have given them less than the normal probation of mankind, and that in an age of but dim light (1 P $3^{19f.}$ 4^6; see, further, art. PETER, FIRST EPISTLE OF, in vol. iii. p. 795).

---

* Jer 2^3 'Israel (is) holiness unto the LORD, the first-fruits of his increase'—*ἀρχὴ γεννημάτων αὐτοῦ*, which parallels *ἀπαρχήν τινα τῶν αὐτοῦ κτισμάτων*; and for the personal sense of *κτίσματα*, cf. Sir $36^{19f.}$, where *ὁ λαός σου* is described in the next line as *τὰ κτίσματά σου*.

† The idea occurs elsewhere, *e.g.* Sir 36^{17} (derived from Dt $32^{6. 18}$, Ex 4^{22}) *Ἰσραὴλ ὃν πρωτογόνῳ ὡμοίωσας*. In Ja 1^{18} the verb *ἀπεκύησεν* is used to mark an antithesis to the thought of 1^{15}, where this metaphor was employed of sin as parent of death.

‡ Cf. Barn. i. 2, *οὕτως ἔμφυτον τῆς δωρεᾶς πνευματικῆς χάριν εἰλήφατε*, and ix. 9, *οἶδεν ὁ τὴν ἔμφυτον δωρεὰν τῆς διαθήκης αὐτοῦ θέμενος ἐν ἡμῖν*.

iv. *The Epistle to the Hebrews.*—Though this Epistle contains, as we saw, much bearing on the new consciousness, yet it has no formal doctrine of 'regeneration' as the deepest aspect of the Messianic blessing. True, it uses metaphors of life developing from infancy to maturity (5^{12-14}, with its allusions to 'milk' and 'solid food'); but there is no stress on the image involved. The categories of thought are mainly of an OT character—apart from the writer's own 'Alexandrine' strain (see below, *C*, *ad fin.*; cf. 'those once illumined,' 'having tasted God's word as good,' 6^{4}). Hence we get a parallel to Ja 1^{18} in the 'congregation of the firstborn (who are) enrolled in heaven.' Hence also the central place of repentance, as marking the beginning of the new relation to God—'repentance' as the negative side of the change represented on its positive side by 'faith' ($6^{1.\,6}$). 'Repentance,' however, is taken by this writer in a deep and inward sense, in which it amounts to a 'new heart' wherein the Divine Law is by Divine grace made inherent, according to Jeremiah's great prophecy of the New Covenant ($9^{6\text{ff.}}$ 10^{16-18}).

v. *St. Paul.*—The Pauline doctrine of Regeneration contains the essence of its author's unique experience of Jesus the Christ, as effecting at once revolution and renovation in his inner life. The difficulty here is to prevent this central aspect of Paulinism from involving us in an exposition of that system as a whole. We shall try, however, to indicate its place in the organism of St. Paul's soteriology as allusively as possible.

Beyond all question, 'faith' was to him the very soil or subjective condition of that new good which came through the gospel. Faith was such receptivity as enabled God to give 'his ineffable gift' to the soul. As such, it answers to 'the good ground,' the 'honest and good heart,' as the state of soul adapted to 'the word of God,' in Christ's parable. But St. Paul, viewing things in a more subjective way, proceeds to illumine the inner factors and stages of the great process from the standpoint of personal appropriation, as one who was himself the conscious soil in which it had come about. The good of which such 'faith' or vital trust is receptive in Christ, is variously set forth by St. Paul as the righteousness of a rectified relation to God, including forgiveness of sins (see JUSTIFICATION); cleansing or consecration (sanctification in principle: see SANCTIFICATION); participation in the Divine life, as the life of the Christ, or Spirit-life; and hence realized sonship to God, as embracing all else. So arranged, the series passes from the more objective to the more subjective aspects of the one simple yet complex fact, which, rooted at the heart of St. Paul's experience, had made a new man of him. And the most adequate conception of it is that which represents the new relation to God in its most inward, vital, and causal aspect—the birth of a new manhood or personality within the old individual, Saul. It is this which ever emerges in St. Paul's most spontaneous and personal utterances. Such are the great outbursts in Gal 2^{20} and 2 Co 5^{15-17}—passages familiar, yet in virtue of their experimental depth so little 'known' in the biblical sense. 'I have been crucified with Christ; yet I live; (and yet) no longer I, but Christ liveth in me: and that (life) which I now live in the flesh, I live in faith, (the faith) which is in the Son of God.' And again: 'He died for all, that they who live should no longer live unto themselves, but unto him who for their sakes died and rose again. . . . Wherefore if any man is in Christ, (he is) a new creature (*καινὴ κτίσις*): the old things are passed away; behold, they are become new.' In these and like passages St. Paul speaks as a prophet, not as a schoolman. He affirms: he has no thought of what he may seem implicitly to deny. The life in him was above all new; and it was of Divine initiation or grace. But that did not mean that there was no psychological continuity between the old Saul and his faculties, and the new Paul and his: nor did it exclude the responsible co-operation of his own volition throughout. The affirmations are experimental and unembarrassed by reflective considerations of verbal consistency. We may see, moreover, from other passages that what is here in the background was not overlooked by St. Paul, but entered into the body of his thought, coming out in turn as occasion arose. Thus when he speaks of 'a new creature' (Gal 6^{15}, 2 Co 5^{17}), or says, 'the old things are passed away; behold, they are become new,' he simply means that his experience had utterly changed in colour and perspective. No factors had been eliminated: but the resultant was new; and this by the operation of a new factor determining all afresh and in a new synthesis. The new factor was the quickening grace of God in the Christ, the Spirit of Christ, the (Holy) Spirit, or most fully 'the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus.' This, by overcoming 'the law of sin and death,' naturally at work, had produced a new spiritual life in him, and so made him a 'new man' in Christ Jesus. The way by which this had come about is laid bare in Ro 7, a chapter of deep psychological and also autobiographic significance. From it we gather that even in his unregenerate state, while the law of sin operative in 'the flesh'—the sensuous and self-willed side of his nature—actually swayed his will, he was already conscious of another and deeper element in his being, protesting against the flesh and sympathizing with the claims of God's law. This 'inner man' (*ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος*, 7^{22}=*ὁ νοῦς*, $7^{23.\,25}$=*τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, 1 Co 2^{11}; cf. Ro 8^{10}), however, has only a latent or potential existence so long as it is overridden by 'the flesh'—'the law of the mind,' by the law or principle active in the fleshly members (7^{23}). The spirit is as good as dead in the man Saul as a moral personality, being outside the centre of volition as long as 'the flesh' is there enthroned in power; and so it is generally ignored in St. Paul's references to 'the natural man,' who is called summarily 'dead in trespasses and sins,' because morally 'alienated from the life of God' (Eph $2^{1.\,5}$ 4^{18}). But when the life of God succeeds in quickening this half-inanimate spiritual faculty with a kindred passion for the righteousness of God, then it springs to life (Ro 8^{10}) and gains control of the will: a new personality arises from the new union of the will and the higher element dependent on and akin to the Divine: the man lives anew with a fresh type of moral life—that being dominant which before was subject, and *vice versâ*. With this psychological reversal may be compared the earlier change from the rudimentary 'life' of irresponsible innocence to the 'death' of a divided heart, wherein the lower elements hold sway (Ro 7^{9-11}). Now, however, the man is conscious of the issues at stake and the forces of both kinds at work in and upon him: and the whole deliverance has a vividness and finality proportionate to his prior sense of the death in bondage to sin (7^{24}).

As this experience of renovation came to St. Paul under the forms of the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus the Christ, so regeneration is set forth in terms of the same. The 'new man' or 'new creature' is so 'in Christ'; and Christ is in him. Hence 'the Spirit of God' or 'Holy Spirit,' the quickener of the new life (1 Co 6^{11} 12^{3}), can also be called 'the Spirit of Christ' (Ro 8^{9}) or 'the Spirit of his Son' (Gal 4^{6}). Hence also the specific condition of the 'new man,' in contrast to the 'old' (Col $3^{9\text{f.}}$, Eph 4^{22-24}), is that of sonship and installation into sonship (*υἱοθεσία*, Ro 8^{15-29}) after the likeness of Christ's.

Still this regenerate or filial life is not complete at the time when it is given, coincidently with the self-committal of faith. It has a course of growth to go through, analogous to that of natural life. It begins with spiritual immaturity and proceeds to maturity of will and insight. The 'babe' (*νήπιος*) in Christ is one who perceives only the broadest outlines of the Father's ways and will, and may still be confused by the films of his old fleshly blindness; whereas the full-grown or 'perfect' man (*τέλειος*) is one to whom experience has brought enlightenment and discrimination of conscience (Ph $1^{9f.}$ 3^{12-16}): he is actually and not only potentially 'spiritual' (*πνευματικός*). And each stage has its own spiritual nutriment, its 'milk' or its 'solid food' (1 Co 3^{1-3}).

(vi.) *St. John.*—The term 'regeneration' does not actually occur in St. John's writings, though it does virtually in one passage of his Gospel ($3^{3.7}$), in the phrase *γεννηθῆναι ἄνωθεν*, which is best rendered 'born anew' (cf. v.^{4} *δεύτερον εἰσελθεῖν . . . καὶ γεννηθῆναι*). This shade of thought, while proper to the context, and while probably appropriated by St. John as the root of his own thinking on the matter, is not the one most characteristic of his own doctrine. It is not so much the fact of a new beginning in the Christian life, as the inherent nature of that life as due to its Divine origin, that occupies this apostle's mind. His favourite emphasis is seen in the phrase 'to be begotten of God' (*γεννηθῆναι ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ*). God Himself is the veritable Father of the Christian believer, the kindred fontal source of his new life, with its inherent Divine virtue (*τὸ γεγεννημένον ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ*). This virtue manifests itself in certain vital functions, wonderful and Divine by reason of their distinctness from the average conduct of human nature, as St. John saw it about him, radically determined by the world of sense, that source of seductive pleasures and ambitions. The world, so regarded, stood at the rival pole of being to the Father; so that 'to be of the world' and 'to be of God' were mutually exclusive states or spirits, by which the soul might be possessed and characterized (1 Jn 2^{16}).

Such birth from God is conceived by St. John as a single initial fact, carrying in itself abiding issues of a like nature. This is expressed by the use of perfects, like *γεγέννηται, ὁ γεγεννημένος* (1 Jn 2^{29} 3^{9} 4^{7} $5^{1.4.18}$, cf. Jn $3^{6.8}$), as distinct from aorists (*ὁ γεννηθεὶς ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ* describes Christ in immediate contrast to the believer, *ὁ γεγεννημένος ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ*, 1 Jn 5^{18}). The rarer cases in which the aorist occurs, are those which simply contemplate regeneration as the decisive fact constitutive of spiritual sonship in the believer (Jn $1^{12f.}$, cf. $3^{3.5.7}$). The main passage in question is Jn $1^{12f.}$: 'But as many as received him (the Logos), to them gave he prerogative to become children of God (*ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν τέκνα θεοῦ γενέσθαι*), even to them that were believers on his name (*τοῖς πιστεύουσιν εἰς κ.τ.λ.*); who were born, not of blood of human parents, nor of fleshly volition, nor of a human father's volition, but of God' (*οἳ οὐκ ἐξ αἱμάτων οὐδὲ ἐκ θελήματος σαρκὸς οὐδὲ ἐκ θελήματος ἀνδρὸς ἀλλ' ἐκ θεοῦ ἐγεννήθησαν*). This is, in form and in context, an absolutely general statement; so much so, that it seems impossible to refer it primarily to belief in Jesus the Christ at all, but rather to the universal approach of the Logos to the human soul, prior even to the Incarnation (see 11^{52} for a similar thought). This is a most important aspect of the Johannine doctrine of regeneration: it not only fits in with the universality of his thought, but also confirms with his authority what is urged below, namely, that 'regeneration' may properly be predicated of the experience of saints under the Old Covenant. Yet the language in which St. John states this very truth of the wider regeneration, effected wherever the Logos is welcomed by the soul, is significantly coloured by his habitual speech in terms of the final manifestation of the Logos in Jesus the Christ ('believers on his name').

As a rule, then, regeneration is, to St. John, actually conditioned by personal trust in Jesus, or, more specifically, in Him as the Christ, the Son of God ($1^{12f.}$ 20^{31}, 1 Jn 5^{1}). Further, it is assumed to take formal or consummated effect (as in the case of Jesus' own Messiahship) in the experience of baptism. Just as he says, 'This is he who came under the condition of water (*δι' ὕδατος*) . . . even Jesus Christ' (1 Jn 5^{6})—words used in close connexion with the Spirit as Messiah's endowment and witness (vv.$^{6-8}$, cf. Jn 3^{34}); so baptism is to him the normal condition under which believers come to rank as 'children of God,' in virtue of a manifest sealing by Holy Spirit power. As the Father had 'sealed' the Son (Jn 6^{27}) with the Spirit's witness, in response to His obedience of self-consecration at the Baptism (1 Jn 5^{5-9}), so, apparently, St. John thought of the Messianic gift of the Spirit, usually manifest at baptisms in the Apostolic Age, as definitively 'sealing' (cf. above, (iv.)) the believer's confession of personal trust and consecration by 'an unction from the Holy One' (*i.e.* Christ, 1 Jn $2^{20.27}$).* Such a reading of his Master's mind, as expressed by the reference to water in the words to Nicodemus, may be implied by St. John's return to the topic of baptism a few verses later on ($3^{22.25ff.}$), and certainly corresponded to the experience of the Apostolic Age—though hardly to that of later times. Naturally, the conjunction has no relation to the baptism of infants, where the essential element of belief on Christ's name is lacking. But, in relation to the conditions contemplated by the apostle, the definite line drawn by baptism between the filial status of Christian believers and what went before, is of great moment for his thought as to regeneration. It does not, indeed, annul his recognition of children of God awaiting the gospel to gather them into Christ's one flock (Jn 11^{52} *ἵνα καὶ τὰ τέκνα τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ διεσκορπισμένα συναγάγῃ εἰς ἕν*), and so of a deep dualism of moral state among mankind at large, a predisposition to accept or to reject the Light definitively revealed in Christ, according to the attitude to God implicit in each of two types of conduct (3^{18-21}). But all this, taken along with the absolute form in which the tests of kinship to God are set forth in his Epistles ('every one that doeth righteousness,' 'that loveth,' 1 Jn 2^{29} 4^{7}, cf. 3 Jn ^{11}), suggests that St. John distinguished between a virtual, though latent, and an explicit or conscious sonship. The latter was the specific blessing brought by the gospel of Christ, the *assurance* or *knowledge* of Divine sonship, after which even the best of men had before sought in vain. In this respect the revelation in Christ was crucial. As Light, in an absolute moral sense, He brought all to a crisis or decision (*κρίσις*), forcing all hearts to reveal their inmost affinities—whether for 'the world' and self, or for God and His righteousness and love. Implicit regeneration, where it already exists, thus passes into explicit regeneration.

The more definite and psychologically mature character of the NT experience of Regeneration, as compared with that of the godly under the OT, is hinted in the words, 'I came that they may have Life, and have it in abundance' (10^{10}, cf. 4^{14}).

---

* As has been well said, 'the disciples are in a true sense *Christ's* in virtue of the life of "the Christ"' (Westcott, *The Epistles of St. John*, xlv).

It connects itself also with the Johannine emphasis on the specifically new presence of the Spirit with the Christian as such. Here two passages in the Gospel are crucial. Commenting on Christ's words, 'He that believeth on me . . . out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water,' St. John adds: 'But this spake he of the Spirit, which they that believed on him were to receive—for (the) Spirit was not yet (given), because Jesus was not yet glorified' ($7^{38f.}$). Then, in the great Farewell Discourse (Jn 14^{16}) he records his Master's promise that He would give the disciples 'another Helper' or Paraclete, to supply what would be lacking of conscious support through the removal of His own bodily presence. This implies something fresh to their experience, and yet Jesus adds: 'Ye (already) have (experimental) knowledge of him, for at your side he abideth and in you he is' (*ὑμεῖς γινώσκετε αὐτὸ, ὅτι παρ' ὑμῖν μένει καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστίν*). Here the contrast is a religious rather than a metaphysical or theological * one: it is a matter of the disciples' consciousness rather than of the Spirit's real presence. They had implicit experience of His action, in their very experience of oneness of heart with their Master: in a little while this was to blossom out into recognition of His presence and support as the very ground of their assurance of abiding spiritual union with their glorified Lord and a share in His sonship. This is the thought which St. Paul grasped so firmly and expresses in the words, 'the Spirit himself beareth witness with our spirit that we are children of God' (Ro 8^{16}, cf. $^{26f.}$). But it is also what St. John has in mind in saying that 'not yet was the Spirit,' *i.e.* the Spirit-consciousness of full sonship which marked Christians after Pentecost (7^{39}, cf. Ac 19^{2}).

St. John's doctrine of salvation, then, centres in Regeneration. In it man's true or ideal destiny is realized through the initiative of the heavenly Father or the Spirit, responded to by the moral receptivity of obedience in the human heart or will: potential sonship becomes actual in a Life of communion that is at once human and Divine (10^{35}). Every man has the potency of two diametrically opposed personalities in him, by his natural birth. The one has, as it were, the start of the other, realizing itself along the line of sensuous, egoistic tendency—the line of least resistance morally. It is thus 'of the earth' (3^{31}), 'of the world' (15^{19} $17^{14.\ 16}$, 1 Jn 2^{16} 4^{5}), 'from below' (8^{23}), the sphere of 'the ruler of this world' (14^{30}). Those, then, in whom it reigns are morally 'children of the devil' (1 Jn $3^{8.\ 10}$, cf. Jn 8^{44}). The other personality or character, on the contrary, owes its origin and vitality to God and that spiritual order of His which gradually dawns upon our ken with the emergence of reason and conscience. Thus it is, when produced in a man by Divine grace (6^{44})—though not without the co-operation of human volition ($3^{20f.}$ 5^{40} 8^{44})—a life 'from heaven' (3^{27}), 'not of the world' (15^{19} $17^{14.\ 16}$), 'from above' (like the Son himself, 8^{23}), 'of God' (1 Jn 3^{9} $5^{4.\ 18}$) or 'of the Father' (1 Jn 2^{16}). To save one of these lives is to lose the other (12^{25}): the life of the one means the death of the other (as in the Synoptics).

C. CONNECTED SUMMARY.—Regeneration is the final form in which biblical religion conceives that profound spiritual change whereby sinful man comes into real and abiding communion with God. Accordingly, one must recognize in regeneration the virtual synonym of various other soteriological terms, such as Repentance, Conversion, Justification, or Forgiveness, and even Consecration or Sanctification in that radical sense which constitutes the believer as such 'a saint.' But as 'regeneration' sets forth the change in question in a specially inward or vital way, it hardly emerges as an explicit doctrine in the OT, and does so but gradually even in the NT. We have seen that in Christ's own ordinary preaching, as given in the Synoptics, regeneration is set forth in purely religious and ethical fashion, in terms of the will rather than in a manner more abstract. This popular aspect of the matter meets us again in early Judæo-Christianity, before highly trained minds like St. Paul and the writer to 'Hebrews' had brought the categories of Rabbinic and Hellenistic psychology to bear on the data of Christian experience. Repentance, not regeneration, stands in the forefront of the early preaching in Acts, as also of that under which 'the Hebrews' had believed (He $6^{1.\ 6}$); and thereby men were qualified for entrance into the Messianic community in baptism, in which they received the 'seal' of the Spirit's manifested gifts. The more inward and secret operation of the Spirit, implied in penitence and trust, had not as yet received due notice. This side of things, indeed, was largely hidden from those whose outlook and conception of Salvation were still primarily eschatological.

Hence St. Paul's unique experience of the gospel as power of God in the soul, and as an essentially present Salvation, marks an epoch in the NT doctrine of Regeneration. His deeply self-revealing consciousness of sin gave him to see, traced within, the process by which new moral energy was received, and to realize the Divine quickening involved in man's experience of repentance and faith. He saw that human nature embraced two principles, opposed in tendency to each other, and competing for the control of man's settled personal will. In actual human nature the lower or sensuous (*ψυχικόν*) and self-centred principle, called 'the flesh' (*σάρξ*), had the upper hand and determined the quality of man's moral life: and the outcome was 'death' towards God and His righteousness. But in Jesus Christ, who was a 'second' or new type of manhood, of heavenly origin (*ὁ δεύτερος ἄνθρωπος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ*), and 'spiritual' in contrast to the 'sensuous' or 'earthy' type of Adamic manhood (1 Co $15^{45\text{-}47}$), a new basis was laid for humanity. To believers this Saviour became 'a quickening spirit' (*πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν*), turning the scale decisively against 'the flesh,' and setting free, as if by a resurrection, the enthralled higher nature (*νοῦς* or *πνεῦμα*), before as good as dead, by filling it with Divine energy or life (*πνεῦμα ἅγιον*) akin to His own, in virtue of which He rose victorious over death. A man so vivified by the Spirit of God, and after the likeness of Christ, was in very deed a new moral being (*καινὴ κτίσις*), a son of God, by Divine re-creative action and adoption. The Spirit replaced the flesh as prime determinant of will and conduct; and therewith 'the old man,' the moral state of the individual by nature, gave way to 'the new man,' the state in which the human will is in harmony with the Divine in principle, and normally so in practice likewise. 'Cleaving to the Lord,' the soul 'is one spirit' with Him (1 Co 6^{17}), animated by one and the same life that is in Christ, the Head of the new humanity, a life that is essentially of God and Divine.

This deeper idea of Salvation seems certainly to have left its trace on St. Peter's later thought, to judge by 1 P. Possibly also it affected the form in which St. John himself interpreted the new Life which had been manifested, first among the original disciples, and then in them. Yet there were elements in St. John's doctrine proper to his own experience, both of his Master's teaching and of the Light and Life in himself and others. He shared with St. Paul the idea of moral dualism as rooted in a dualism of elements in human nature. On the one hand man was related to 'the world' of sense and of self (the flesh), on the other he was akin to God, as sensitive to His word and so potentially His 'child' in deed and in truth. St. Paul thought most of the new experience in itself, speaking of the regenerate man as a 'new (moral) creature,' or as a 'son' in respect of definite status and privileges in relation to God through faith in Christ and by virtue of the Spirit (2 Co 5^{17}, Gal 3^{26} 4^{1-7}, Ro $8^{14-17.\ 29}$). Thus it is a question of a new status or condition into which a man is brought by a definite act, Adoption (*υἱοθεσία*), by which the transition is made from the opposite states of serfdom, wretchedness, alienation, death (Gal $3^{3.\ 5.\ 7}$, Ro 7^{24} $8^{6f.\ 14}$): so that the full effect of such adoption waits upon man's emancipation from 'the bondage of corruption' in 'the redemption of our body' (Ro 8^{20-23}). St. John, on the other hand, thought rather of the intrinsic nature of the 'eternal life' quickened in believers, of the wonder and glory of its origin in God—the Divine nature germinating as 'seed' in the human soul, and by a new birth begetting a new personality. Thus it is his writings which present the most classic statement of the doctrine of Regeneration, as 'that work of the Holy Spirit in a man by which a new life of holy love, like the life of God, is initiated.'

---

* The usual reading *ἔσται*, instead of *ἐστίν* (BD* 1. 22. 69. 251. 254 it $^{\text{pler}}$ syr. cur. pesh. go Tat $^{\text{arab.}}$ Lcif), is probably due to failure to see this, and the consequent attempt to harmonize the statement with the future (*δώσει*) above.

Aside from this main line of development stand St. James and the writer 'to Hebrews.'

The former thinks of the origin of the higher life in the soul in terms of the Wisdom literature of the OT and of writers like Philo.* 'The word of truth,' 'the inborn word,' or 'the wisdom from above,' is the medium of God's creative action on the soul, by 'the Spirit which he hath caused to dwell in us' ($1^{18.\ 21}$ 3^{17} 4^{5}). To the latter, men are essentially 'spirits,' placed by 'the Father of spirits' in the body, to be disciplined and purified with a view to conscious sonship, and so to the 'glory' of the spiritual and real world of which the visible is but the poor shadow ($12^{9.\ 23}$ 2^{10} 12^{5-8}). Hence the work of grace is set forth as moral enlightenment and purification of the conscience (6^{4} 10^{32} 9^{14} 10^{2}), believers being 'those who have been illumined.' The vital and dynamic aspects are not, indeed, absent (5^{11}–6^{6}); but the renewal effected in the fundamental change of heart which the NT everywhere recognizes in Repentance (6^{6}), is to him a matter of divinely-given insight into the realities of the moral and spiritual world, and a corresponding obedience. The Christian 'tastes the word of God to be good,' and as he feeds upon the oracles of God he gains an ever more refined perception of shades of moral and spiritual truth (6^{4} 5^{14}). This, the writer's own emphasis (as distinct from his readers' type of thought), is Hellenistic and 'Alexandrine,' being largely paralleled in the so-called Epistle of Barnabas, as well as in 1 Clement and a good deal of 2nd cent. Christian literature.

But differently as the NT writers do, in some respects, conceive the great experience whereby the moral centre of gravity in a man's life changes from self to God, they are unanimous on one cardinal point. And that is the constant relation of the 'word of God,' made vital to the conscience and heart, as the means, and of faith as the condition of the change.

LITERATURE.—The special literature of this subject is rather scanty. Considerable sections on it exist in the larger works on biblical theology (*e.g.* Weiss and Holtzmann in particular), as also in systems of Dogmatic (*e.g.* Rothe, Thomasius, Martensen, Dorner). But attempts at a strictly historical and genetic account of the biblical doctrine, on the basis of an adequate literary criticism, are singularly few: J. Köstlin's art. 'Wiedergeburt,' in *PRE*² xvii. 75 ff., seems the best available, but is no longer sufficient. The *Angus Lecture* on 'Regeneration' (1897), so far as it deals with the biblical material, is quite uncritical and conventional. Much matter bearing on our doctrine is to be found in studies of the doctrine of the several NT writers, often under other, but kindred, headings, *e.g.* Adoption, Conversion, Faith, Justification, Repentance, Sonship. As examples may be cited, J. B. Mayor, *Epistle of James*, appended Comment on 'Regeneration,' pp. 186–189; A. B. Bruce, *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, chs. x.–xiii., and esp. ch. xvii., 'The Christian Life' (though it unduly minimizes St. Paul's recognition of growth in the new life); Westcott, *Epistles of St. John*, added Note on 'Children of God,' p. 122 ff.

J. V. BARTLET.

REGISTER.—See GENEALOGY, vol. ii. p. 121.

REHABIAH (רְחַבְיָה and רְחַבְיָהוּ 'Jah is wide').—The eponym of a Levitical family, said to be descended from Eliezer, one of the sons of Moses, 1 Ch 23^{17} 24^{21} (LXX Ῥααβιά) 26^{25} (B Ῥαβίας, A Ῥααβίας).

REHOB (רְחוֹב and רְחֹב).—**1.** (B Ῥαάβ [2 S Ῥοώβ], A Ῥοώβ) A town at the northern end of the valley of the Jordan, most probably the same as BETH-REHOB (which see), of which the exact site is unknown. In P's narrative of the spies Rehob is mentioned (Nu 13^{21}) as the most northerly limit of their explorations, and is further defined as 'at the entering in of Hamath,' *i.e.* at the entrance of the great depression between the mountains of Lebanon and Hermon, which connects Palestine and Cœle-Syria. P's phrase, therefore, 'from the wilderness of Zin unto Rehob,' is merely a variation of the more usual formula 'from Dan to Beersheba.' With this agrees the notice in Jg $18^{27f.}$, where the new settlement of the Danites at Laish (or Leshem, Jos 19^{47}) is described as situated 'in the valley that lieth by Beth-rehob.' In the reign of David the valley of Beth-rehob (2 S 10^{6}) or Rehob (v.^{8}) was the seat of a petty Aramæan kingdom (cf. 1 S 14^{47}, LXX Lag.), like the neighbouring Beth-maacah or Abel of Beth-maacah. Robinson (*BRP*² iii. p. 371) identified the town with the ruins of *Hunîn* in the valley of Huleh; but this site is too far south. More probable is the view of Buhl (*GAP* p. 240), who suggests that it corresponded to the later *Paneas* (Bāniās). It is true that many writers have identified this town with the ancient Dan (Reland, *Palæstina*, p. 918 f.; Thomson, *Land and Book*, ii. 547; and recently G. A. Smith, *HGHL* pp. 473, 480 f.); but, in view of the explicit statement of Eusebius (*OS*² 275. 33, 249. 32, cf. Jerome, *ib.* 136. 11) that Dan was four miles distant from Paneas, we should probably identify Dan with the modern Tel el-Ḳāḍī (*ḳaḍi*='judge'=*Dan*).

2. (B Ῥαάβ, A Ῥοώβ) A town belonging to the tribe of Asher, the exact site of which is unknown. It was presumably near to great Zidon (Jos 19^{28}), and was afterwards assigned, together with its suburbs, to the Gershonite Levites (Jos 21^{31}, 1 Ch 6^{75}). It is therefore to be distinguished from—

3. (B Ῥαaύ, A Ῥαώβ), which is also mentioned as belonging to Asher, and was apparently near the seacoast (Jos 19^{30}). According to Jg 1^{31} Rehob was one of the cities which were still retained by their Canaanite inhabitants. Very possibly it is the city referred to in the Egyptian lists cited by Müller (*Asien u. Europa*, p. 153).

LITERATURE.—Thomson, *Land and Book*, ii. 547; Robinson, *BRP*² iii. p. 371; *SWP* i. p. 139 ff.; Baedeker³, p. 265 f.; G. A. Smith, *HGHL*, *l.c.*; Buhl, *GAP* pp. 65 f., 112 f., 237–240; Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 400; Moore, *Judges*, p. 339 f. and p. 51 f.

4. (Ῥαάβ) The father of Hadadezer, king of Zobah (2 S $8^{3.\ 12}$).

---

* Philo represents God and the Logos as sowing in the womb of the soul the seed of virtues, and so making it pregnant and bear: *e.g. Leg. alleg.* iii. 51, διατίττει γὰρ τότε τῇ ψυχῇ ὁ σπερματικὸς κ. γεννητικος τῶν καλῶν λογος ὀρθός.

5. (ℵ Ῥοόβ, A Ῥοώβ, B om.) One of those who sealed the covenant (Neh 10^{11}).

J. F. Stenning.

REHOBOAM (רְחַבְעָם 'the people is enlarged,' or perhaps ''Am is wide,' cf. *Rehabiah* [see Gray, *HPN* 52, note 1, 59 f.]; Ῥοβοάμ, *Roboam*).—The narrative of this reign is contained in 1 K 11^{43}–12^{24} 14^{21-31}, 2 Ch 9^{31}–12. 'Ample in foolishness (רחב אולת) and lacking understanding, Rehoboam by [his coun]sel let loose [the peo]ple' (Sir 47^{23}, Cowley and Neubauer's translation). Such is the judgment of the son of Sirach, as he pauses in his 'praise of famous men' for the inevitable notice of the collapse of Israel as a world power, and the frustration of the proud hopes of Solomon that had found expression in the name he had bestowed on his heir. The Christian historian, who recognizes that the function of the chosen race was to be the custodian of the oracles of God and source, according to the flesh, of the Saviour of the world, can easily perceive that this *præparatio Evangelii* was, humanly speaking, rendered possible only by that checking of the material development of the nation of Israel which resulted from the disruption of Solomon's empire. But to the Jewish patriot the maiming of his country's life must always have seemed an unmixed evil. The apparent immediate cause—Rehoboam's fatuous insolence—was merely the pretext for the revolution that took place on his accession. As is the case in every other turning-point of history, the true cause of the issue must be sought for beneath the surface, in social and religious forces which had been at work long before.

There was, in the first place, the *political* question. It was the normal condition of things that Ephraim should envy Judah, and Judah vex Ephraim. From the time of the earliest settlement in Canaan the North and the South had stood apart. The Bk. of Judges exhibits the northern tribes welded together by common resistance to the various oppressors. Judah never joins them, even when the attack comes from the south. It may have been that co-operation was difficult owing to the line of Canaanitish fortresses, such as Jebus, Gezer, and Ekron, that extended across the country from east to west. It may have been that the spirit of nationality was weaker in Judah and Simeon as a consequence of their greater laxity with regard to intermarriage with and adoption of native families; if indeed we should not rather regard it as a cause of this laxity. Be that as it may, we find the distinction between Israel and Judah noted in the first army raised by Saul (1 S 11^{8}), and immediately after Saul's death an open breach occurred. David laboured hard to break down this antagonism. His transference of the seat of government from the purely Judahite Hebron to Jerusalem was a compromise with the northern tribes. Yet in his reign Israel twice rebelled. David's policy was continued by his successor; Solomon's division of the land for commissariat purposes (1 K $4^{7\text{ff.}}$) was evidently an attempt to obliterate the old tribal boundaries. That this attempt was in some degree successful may be inferred from the fact that the boundary between the dominions of Rehoboam and Jeroboam so ran as to include in the southern kingdom a portion of Benjamin, and the greater part of the southern settlement of Dan. A succession of monarchs of the commanding personality of David or Solomon might have completed the unification of the tribes, but Solomon presumed too much on his personal prestige. The odious levy of forced labour, and that, too, for the adornment of an upstart capital, and the ceaseless exactions for the supply of the royal table (LXX 1 K 12^{24p}), had long rankled in the hearts of the proud Ephraimites. Add to this that the character of Solomon's successor, as one 'not fit to be a ruler nor to be a prince' (LXX 1 K 12^{24t}), must have been well known for many years. Everything, indeed, indicates that all preparations had been made for a revolution the moment Solomon should die. The Ephraimite Jeroboam, supported by a prophet's nomination and the favour of his tribe, was biding his time in Egypt, and treated there not as a runaway official, but as an exiled prince (LXX 2 K 12^{24e}). The temper of the northern tribes was further shown in their determination to appoint Rehoboam independently, if at all, and in their selection of Shechem, the chief sanctuary of Ephraim, as the place of assembly, thus ignoring the recent centralization of civil and religious administration at Jerusalem.

This political movement was supported by a *religious* agitation in which two elements, ecclesiastical and prophetical, may be discerned: on the part of the priests of the high places jealousy of the exclusive claims of the new temple at Jerusalem, and on the part of the prophets a nobler zeal for Jehovah, called forth by the lax eclecticism of Solomon in his later years. As we see from the attitude of Nathan, the prophets had not cordially approved of the building of the temple, and they now probably thought that there was more chance of the national worship being preserved in its purity in the north. Rehoboam's subsequent conduct, indeed, quite justified these alarms. He added to his father's innovations by sanctioning the erection of pillars of Baal and the worst abominations of heathenism (1 K $14^{23.24}$), such as did not find a place in the northern kingdom until the reign of Ahab fifty years later. The Chronicler's account of Jeroboam's expulsion of priests and Levites, and of the rallying of the orthodox Israelites round Rehoboam (2 Ch 11^{13-16}), is quite unsupported by Kings, which (12^{17}) merely states that Rehoboam's subjects included some residents of northern extraction. The special animus of the revolting tribes against the temple at Jerusalem possibly underlay their parting taunt, 'Now see to thine own house, David.' Josephus (*Ant.* VIII. viii. 3) understood it thus, 'We only leave to Rehoboam the temple which his father built.' Ahijah and Shemaiah were right. 'It was a thing brought about of the Lord'; the pure monotheism of which Israel was privileged to be the exponent would have been sapped and destroyed by foreign cults, if the later Solomonic policy had received no check. In after times this was forgotten; and the later prophets, thinking solely of the political consequences of the disruption, refer to it as a supreme calamity (Is 7^{17}, Zec 11^{14}).

The most important event in this reign is the invasion of Palestine by Shishak. This was one of the direct consequences of the division of the nation. Sesonchis, as Manetho calls him, the first monarch of the 22nd dynasty, reversed the policy of his predecessor Psusennes, and displayed unfriendliness towards Solomon by sheltering his adversaries Hadad and Jeroboam. Notwithstanding the fact that Shemaiah had forbidden the employment of the huge army (reduced in LXX, B, to 120,000 men) which Rehoboam had mustered by the following year (LXX 1 K 12^{24x}) in order to recover the kingdom he had lost, yet 'there was war between Rehoboam and Jeroboam continually' (1 K 14^{30}). In all probability Jeroboam, harassed by these border forays, called in the aid of his former protector. The fifteen towns which Rehoboam is said to have fortified (2 Ch 11^{6-10}) are, with two exceptions, south of Jerusalem, as though an attack might be expected from that quarter. The invasion took place in Rehoboam's fifth year, and the prophetical historian justly sees in this humiliating calamity the scourge of God for the continued and aggravated national apostasy. The statement of the Chronicler (2 Ch 11^{17}) that Rehoboam's defection did not occur until his fourth year, and the story of his subsequent repentance (12^{6}), are obviously designed to bear out the theory of the original orthodoxy of the kingdom of Judah (see Abijah's speech, 2 Ch 13^{10}), as well as to heighten the moral and dramatic effect of the story. Jerusalem does not seem to have stood a siege. Resistance was hopeless. Shishak (herein acting treacherously, according to Josephus) utterly denuded the temple and royal palace of their treasures, including the famous golden shields of Solomon's guard, to which the LXX (2 S 8^{7}, 1 K 14^{26}) adds the golden shields taken by David from Hadadezer. Dean Stanley well points out that there is a grave irony in the historian's account (1 K 4^{28}) of how the elaborate ceremony which had been observed with regard to the golden shields was continued in the case of their brazen substitutes. We learn from the Chronicler (2 Ch 12^{3}) both the number of Shishak's host, to which Josephus adds 400,000 infantry, and also the nationalities of which it was composed—Libyans, Sukkiim (=troglodytes, LXX and Vulg.), and Ethiopians. Ewald (*HI* iv. 45) conjectures that Edom also joined in the invasion (see Jl 3^{19}). There may still be seen on the south wall of the temple of Amon at Karnak an inscription—now partially defaced—which deals with this expedition. It gives the list of towns subjugated by Shishak. Some difficulty has been caused by the inclusion in this list not only of places in the south, such as Shocoh, Gaza, Keilah, and perhaps Jerusalem, but also of many towns of Israel as far north as Megiddo. This does not contradict the biblical narrative, which confines itself to the invasion of Judah; but it seems scarcely reconcilable with the hypothesis that Shishak invaded Palestine as Jeroboam's ally. However, Maspero (*Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute of Great Britain*, vol. xxvii. p. 63) points out that 'the king of Israel in imploring the aid of Shishak against his rival had thereby made himself vassal to Egypt. This would suffice to make his towns figure at Karnak among the cities subjected in the course of the campaign.' This is a more likely solution of the difficulty than Rawlinson's supposition (*Speaker's Com. in loc.*), that these were Canaanite or Levitical towns which had taken Rehoboam's side. The names on this list are engraved on cartouches, over which appear the heads of men of various types, representing the inhabitants of each town. Considerable interest was formerly excited by one of these names, which Maspero transliterates *Jaoud-ha-maluk* or *Judham-melek*. This was rendered by Rosellini 'king of Judah' (!), and the inference was a tempting one, that in the annexed figure we had a veritable portrait of Rehoboam himself. But Brugsch (*Geogr. Ins.* I. ii. p. 62), followed by Maspero, interprets it as the name of a village in Dan, Jehud, now el-Yehûdîyeh, near Jaffa. 'The name bears the sign for "country," not for "person."' See, further, *Struggle of the Nations*, 774.

Some minor matters remain to be discussed. From Kings we learn the name of Rehoboam's chief wife only, MAACAH. But the Chronicler gives details about his domestic affairs, noting the name of a second wife, MAHALATH, and perhaps of a third, ABIHAIL, who is mother of Mahalath according to the RV, but another wife of Rehoboam according to AV and RVm. Josephus reduces the number of his concubines to thirty.

The rise in Judah of the power of the queen-mother is probably to be attributed to Rehoboam's uxoriousness. His conduct towards his sons, which is praised by the Chronicler, may have rendered the accession of Abijah easier, but was not wise in the best sense of the term.

According to the MT of 1 K 14^{21} and 2 Ch 12^{13} Rehoboam was 41 years of age at his accession, and reigned 17 years. He would then have been born before Solomon came to the throne. Rawlinson would read, with some MSS, 21 in this passage, on the ground, perhaps, that the insolence of Rehoboam to the Israelites is more like the conduct of a petulant youth than of a man of mature age. More weight must be given to the second Greek account, which in 1 K 12^{24a} says that Rehoboam was 16 years of age at his accession, and that he reigned 12 years. The statement of Abijah (2 Ch 13^{7}) that Rehoboam was 'young and tender-hearted' (רַךְ־לֵבָב, *i.e.* 'fainthearted,' see Dt 20^{8}) at the time of the rebellion must not be pressed.

There is one other important chronological difference between the second Greek account and our present Hebrew text. In the latter, Jeroboam, even if he took no personal share in the negotiations with Rehoboam (1 K 12^{20}), certainly left Egypt immediately after Solomon's death; whereas in LXX 1 K $12^{24d\text{-}f}$ the marriage of Jeroboam to Shishak's sister-in-law, and the birth of his son Abijah, occur in Egypt after Rehoboam's accession. But this whole story is in a very confused condition, and is antecedently less probable than that preserved in the common text. See JEROBOAM; and cf. Swete, *Int. to OT in Gr.* 248 f.

N. J. D. WHITE.

REHOBOTH.—1. The name given by Isaac to a well of which he was allowed by Abimelech's herdmen to take peaceable possession. This was after two previous wells dug by Isaac's servants had led to strife, and the name of the third was called *Rĕḥōbōth* (רְחֹבוֹת 'wide spaces,' LXX Εὐρυχωρία) because, said Isaac, 'now the LORD hath made room (*hirḥîbh*) for us,' Gn 26^{22} (J). Palmer (*Desert of the Exodus*, 383) describes a very ancient well on the north-east side of the *Wādy es-Sa'di* (eight hours south of Beersheba), which he is inclined to identify with the Rehoboth of this passage. The name *Ruhaibeh* still lingers in the neighbourhood, being applied to a wādy close by. The objections of Robinson (*BRP*^{2} i. 197) to this identification are strangely pointless. It is not improbable (cf. König and Sayce in *Expos. Times*, xi. [1900] pp. 239, 377) that the Rehoboth of Gn 26^{22} is also the *Rubûti* or *Rubûte* of the Tel el-Amarna letters (Winckler, Nos. 183 and 239; Petrie, 256 and 260), although Sayce (in *Early Israel*, 289) and Petrie (*Syria and Egypt from the Tell el-Amarna Letters*, 180) prefer to make *Rubûti*=Rabbah of Jos 15^{60}, and Hommel (*AHT* 234 f.) identifies it with Kiriath-arba (Hebron), which he supposes to have been called *Roba'ôt*, 'the four quarters.'

2. In the list of kings of Edom contained in Gn $36^{31\text{ff.}}$ one of the names is Shaul 'from Rehoboth of the River' (מֵרְחֹבוֹת הַנָּהָר v.^{37}; LXX [A; B is defective here] ἐκ Ῥοωβὼθ τῆς παρὰ ποταμόν, and so A in the parallel passage 1 Ch 1^{48}, B om.). The situation of this Rehoboth is quite uncertain. It is not even clear whether it should be sought in Edom or elsewhere. The *Notitia Dignitatum* (c. 29) makes it Edomite, and Eusebius and Jerome (in the *Onomasticon*) locate it in Gebalene, *i.e.* Idumæa; but the analogy of other OT passages where 'the River' (הַנָּהָר) is spoken of absolutely, would lead us to think of the Euphrates, in which event Rehoboth might be *Rahaba* on the western bank of that stream, somewhat to the south of the Chaboras. Winckler (*Gesch.* i. 192) would (doubtfully) place it between Palestine and Egypt, understanding the נָהָר here to be the *Wādy el-'Arîsh*, the 'River (נַחַל wādy) of Egypt' of Nu 34^{5} etc.

The name *Rĕḥōbōth*, owing to its meaning, would be likely to be very widely diffused (see Knobel on Gn 36^{37}, and cf. W. Max Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, 134).

J. A. SELBIE.

REHOBOTH-IR (רְחֹבֹת עִיר, AV 'the city Rehoboth,' AVm 'the streets of the city'; LXX A ἡ Ῥοωβὼς πόλις, *D*^{a} Ῥοωβὸθ π., E Ῥοωβὼθ π.; Vulg. *plateæ civitatis*).—One of the four cities built by Asshur (RV by Nimrod) in Assyria, the others being Nineveh (regarded as the later capital), Resen (Rêš-êni, Sayce), and Calah, now Nimroud (Gn 10^{11}). There has been much discussion as to the identity of this site, and Assyrian literature has not furnished us with any geographical city-name with which it could be identified. Indeed it is hardly likely that we should come across it there, except under a different form, for neither of the component parts of the name is really Assyrian, *Rĕḥōbōth*, as Delitzsch has shown, being *rêbitu*, 'broad, open spaces,' whilst *'ir* would be represented by the common word *âlu*, 'city.' It has been objected that the Heb. scribe would not have translated *rêbitu*, but would have transcribed it, just as he has transcribed *Resen*, without the guttural; for the Assyrians as a rule pronounced neither the soft guttural ח, nor the ע. This, however, cannot be regarded as conclusive, for the Heb. scribe has, to all appearance, translated, and not transcribed, the Assyrian *âlu* in the word *'ir*, 'city.' It would therefore seem that we must not transcribe, but translate, the Heb. *Rĕḥōbōth-'ir*, and this, in Assyrian, would be *rêbet âli*, 'the broad spaces (squares) of the city,' and regard the expression, with Delitzsch, as referring to the name of Nineveh, which immediately precedes. Delitzsch compares the Heb. expression with the *rêbit Ninua*, 'broad place of Nineveh,' in Esarhaddon l. 23, and the probability is that he is right in his identification. Through this part of the city, probably a suburb, Esarhaddon caused the heads of the kings of Kundi and Sidon to be carried in procession with singing, etc.; and, as he thus specially mentions it, it must have been a sufficiently important place. It is apparently this same place of which Sargon, Esarhaddon's grandfather, speaks in his Cylinder Inscription, l. 44, in connexion with the peopling of Magganubba: 'The city Magganubba, which lay like a pillar at the foot of the mountain Musri, above the springs and the broad place of Nineveh' (*rêbit Ninâ*). This text would therefore seem to make Magganubba the old name of Dûrsargina or Khorsabad, and the *rêbit Ninâ* must have lain between that city and Nineveh, but much nearer to the latter. If the places referred to are named in the order in which they actually occurred, their relative positions would be (1) the mountain Musri, (2) the city Magganubba, (3) the springs, (4) the *rêbit Ninâ*, (5) Ninâ or Nineveh itself.

LITERATURE.—Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 261; Schrader, *COT* i. p. 101; Riehm, *Handwörterbuch*; and the *Calwer Bibellexikon*, *s.v.* T. G. PINCHES.

REHUM (רְחוּם).—**1.** One of the twelve heads of the Jewish community who are said to have returned with Zerubbabel, Ezr 2^{2} (B om., A Ἰρεούμ). In the parallel passage Neh 7^{7} the name appears, perhaps by a copyist's error, as NEHUM (LXX Ναούμ); in 1 Es 5^{8} it is ROIMUS (LXX Ῥόειμος). **2.** 'The chancellor,' who, along with Shimshai the scribe and others, wrote a letter to king Artaxerxes, which had the effect of stopping for the time the rebuilding of Jerusalem, Ezr 4$^{8. 9. 17. 23}$. In 1 Es 2^{16} he is called RATHUMUS. The title for CHANCELLOR (בְּעֵל־טְעֵם, lit. 'lord of judgment'), being misunderstood by the LXX, appears in the latter passage as a proper name (Ῥάθυμος καὶ Βεέλτεθμος); see BEELTETHMUS. In Ezr 4^{8} B has Ῥαοὺλ βαδαταμέν, in v.^{9} Ῥαοὺμ βάαλ, and in v.^{17} Ῥαοὺμ βαλγάμ, while A has uniformly Ῥεούμ· βααλτάμ. **3.** A Levite who helped to repair the wall, Neh 3^{17} (B Βασούθ, ℵA Ῥαούμ). **4.** One of those who sealed the covenant, Neh 10$^{25\ (26)}$ (Ῥαούμ). **5.** (רְחֻם) The eponym of a priestly family which returned with Zerubbabel, Neh 12^{3} (BA om., ℵ$^{c.a\ (mg)}$ Ῥεούμ). The name רחם in this last instance is not improbably a textual error for חרם HARIM, cf. v.^{15}. J. A. SELBIE.

REI (Heb. רֵעִי, probably = 'the LORD is a friend'; Pesh. ܕܥܝܘ [*sic*, ܕ and ܪ being confounded]; LXX B Ῥησί, A Ῥησεί; Vulg. *Rei*, *Rhei*).—According to the MT of 1 K 1^{8} this is the name of one of the influential supporters of Solomon at the critical moment when Adonijah was preparing to dispute the succession to the throne. It is impossible to be quite certain that the reading is correct, but the balance of evidence is in its favour. Lucian's Σαμαίας καὶ οἱ ἑταῖροι αὐτοῦ οἱ ὄντες δυνατοί rests on a different division of the Hebrew letters, not a different text—רֵעָיו הַגִּ׳ instead of רֵעִי וְהַגִּ׳. Jos. *Ant.* VII. xiv. 4, has ὁ Δαουίδου φίλος, thus making Shimei into the 'friend,' the royal official of 2 S 15^{37} 16^{16}, and, with Lucian, getting rid of Rei altogether. But if Josephus is supposed to be following a Heb. original pretty closely, that original would here be רֵעַ הַמֶּלֶךְ or רֵעֵה הַמֶּלֶךְ, and it is not easy to believe that the much longer form of the MT, רֵעִי וְהַגִּבּוֹרִים אֲשֶׁר לְדָוִד, has grown out of this. Klostermann's conjectural emendation, שְׁלֹמֹה וְרֵעָיו (*Die Bücher Sam. u. Kön.* p. 263), scarcely commends itself (see Benzinger, *ad loc.*), nor is there sufficient support for Winckler's (*Gesch.* ii. 247) identification of Rei with 'Ira, or, as he would spell it, Ya'ir of 2 S 20^{26}.

As to the pair of names, Shimei and Rei, Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. p. 266, note) thought that they might belong to the two brothers of David, Shammah and Raddai, who are mentioned 1 S 16^{9} 17^{13}, 1 Ch 2^{14}. But the double alteration of שַׁמָּה into שִׁמְעִי and רַדַּי into רֵעִי is somewhat unlikely. Perhaps one may add that the LXX Ῥησί seems to have originated in a mistaken reading of צ for ע.

Assuming that Rei must stand in the text, it is fairly certain that the man thus designated was an officer of the royal guard. The important part played by these troops in determining the succession to the throne, as well as the mention of the *gibbôrîm* immediately after Shimei and Rei, points in this direction. J. TAYLOR.

REINS.—This name for the kidneys is now obsolete, though RV retains it in all its 18[*] occurrences in AV. It comes from Lat. *renes* the kidneys, through Old Fr. *reins*, while 'kidneys' is of Scand. origin. The word was always used with some freedom. Thus Cov. translates Ezk 29^{7} 'Yff they leaned upon the, thou brakest, and hurtdest the reynes of their backes'; and in AV it is once used for the loins (Is 11^{5}). This indefiniteness and not any sense of its becoming antiquated must have led the AV translators to use the word only figuratively, to express those feelings or emotions which were understood by the Hebrews to have their seat in the kidneys. Only in the marg. of Lv 22^{4} is the literal use found. The lit. sense is common enough in writers of the day and later. Thus Bacon, *Essays*, p. 205, 'Bowling is good for the Stone and Reines'; and Milton, *PL* vi. 346—

> 'For Spirits, that live throughout
> Vital in every part—not, as frail Man,
> In entrails, heart or head, liver or reins—
> Cannot but by annihilating die.'

'When,' says Driver (*Par. Psalter*, 454), 'it is said of God that he trieth (or seeth) the "hearts and reins" (Ps 7^{9}, Jer 11^{26} 17^{10} 20^{12}), it is implied that He is cognizant of man's emotions and affections, not less than of his thoughts.' See KIDNEYS.

J. HASTINGS.

REKEM (רֶקֶם).—**1.** One of the five kinglets of Midian who were slain by the Israelites, under Moses, Nu 31^{8} (BA Ῥόκομ), Jos 13^{21} (B Ῥόβοκ, A Ῥόκομ). Like his companions, he is called in Numbers מֶלֶךְ ('king'), but in Joshua נָשִׂיא ('prince,' 'chieftain'). **2.** Eponym of a Calebite family, 1 Ch 2^{43} (B Ῥέκομ, A Ῥόκομ) ^{44} (LXX follows a different reading, B having Ἰεκλάν and A Ἰερκαάν, a repetition of the name in the preceding clause, which appears in Heb. as *Yorkĕ'âm*: see JORKEAM). **3.** The eponym of a clan of Machir, 1 Ch 7^{16} (AV and RV Rakem, but this is simply the pausal form, רָקֶם, of the Heb.

---

[*] To the 15 in the Concordances add 2 Es 5^{34}, Wis 1^{6}, 1 Mac 2^{24}, which we have found in the Apocrypha. A new Concord. to the Apocr. is much needed. Cruden gives only one of those three. The S.P.C.K. Concord. is a reprint of Cruden.

name; LXX om.). **4.** A city of Benjamin, mentioned with Irpeel and Taralah, Jos 18^{27} (B Νακάν, or perhaps om., A Ῥέκεμ). The site has not been identified.

RELIGION.—For the religion of Israel, see God, Israel. It is referred to in AV under the name of 'the Jews' religion' (ὁ Ἰουδαϊσμός) in 2 Mac 8^{1} 14^{38} (nearer the beginning of this verse the same word is tr^{d} 'Judaism'), as well as in Gal $1^{13.\ 14}$, but the thought is rather of the outward forms than the inner spirit. We read also in 2 Mac 6^{24} of going to a 'strange religion' (εἰς ἀλλοφυλισμόν). Elsewhere in AV the word is used generally of the outward manifestation of religious life, the Gr. words being ἁγνεία (1 Mac 14^{36} marg.), λατρεία (1 Mac 1^{43} $2^{19.\ 22}$), and θρησκεία (Ja $1^{26.\ 27}$). This sense of the *outward expression* attached strongly to the word throughout the time of the English translations of the Bible from Wyclif to AV (though Tind. has 'devocion' in Ja $1^{26.\ 27}$). See Trench's remarks in *Study of Words*, p. 9 f., *English Past and Present*, p. 249 f., and *Select Glossary*, p. 183 f.; and cf. Elyot, *Governour*, ii. 191, 'He therfore nat onely increased within the citie Temples, alters, ceremonyes, preestes, and sondry religions, but also . . . he brought all the people of Rome to suche a devocion, or (as I mought saye) a supersticion, that . . . they by the space of xlii yeres (so longe reigned Numa), gave them selfe all as it were to an observaunce of religyon'; and Latimer, *Sermons*, 392, 'For religion, pure religion, I say, standeth not in wearing of a monk's cowl, but in righteousness, justice, and well doing.' J. Hastings.

REMALIAH (רְמַלְיָהוּ; Ῥομελίας).—The father of king Pekah, 2 K $15^{25ff.}$ $16^{1.\ 5}$, 2 Ch 28^{6}, Is $7^{1ff.}$ 8^{6}. He appears to have been of humble origin, hence the disparaging allusion to Pekah as 'the son of Remaliah' in Is 7^{4} (cf. 1 S 10^{11} 'the son of Kish'; $20^{27.\ 30}$ 22^{13} 25^{10} 2 S 20^{1} 'the son of Jesse'; 1 S 22^{12} 'thou son of Ahitub').

REMETH (רֶמֶת; B Ῥέμμας, A Ῥαμάθ).—A town of Issachar, near En-gannim, Jos 19^{21}; called in 1 Ch $6^{58\ (73)}$ Ramoth, and in Jos 21^{29} (possibly by a wrong vocalization) Jarmuth. It appears to be the present village *Râmeh*, on a hill to the south of the plain of Dothan. See *SWP* vol. ii. sheet viii. C. R. Conder.

REMISSION.—See Forgiveness.

REMPHAN.—See Rephan.

RENDING OF GARMENTS.—See Mourning.

REPENT, REPENTANCE (נִחַם, שׁוּב, μετανοεῖν, ἐπιστρέφειν, μεταμέλεσθαι; נֹחַם, μετάνοια, ἐπιστροφή).—The usual meaning of נִחַם (? from an onomatopoetic root signifying to *pant* or *groan*) is to change one's mind or purpose out of pity for those whom one's actions have affected, or because the results of an action have not fulfilled expectation. In this sense repentance is attributed not only to man, but to God (Gn 6^{6}, Ex 32^{14}). With reference to sin, נִחַם is found only in Jer 8^{6} and Job 42^{6}. The idea of repentance from sin is in other cases expressed by the verb שׁוּב 'to turn.' Though the change in the direction of the will is here in the foreground, a change in inner disposition is always presupposed. The turning from sin is emphatically a matter of conduct, but it is also a matter of the heart (Jl 2^{12}), and it has as its elements enlightenment (Jer 31^{19}), contrition (Ps $51^{3ff.}$), longing for God's forgiveness, and trust in God (Hos 14^{2}). In their direct appeals to the people, the prophets naturally think of repentance in a purely ethical way as a function of the will: Ezekiel even calls upon them to make themselves a new heart and a new spirit (Ezk 18^{31}). But reflexion on the facts of experience quickly leads to the discovery that the will is not the only, or even the main, factor in the case. Behind the will lie the spiritual forces that move it to action, and behind these again, God. Moreover, the new life, which is the positive side of repentance, cannot be called into being by the mere fiat of the will. The spiritual facts and forces, in and through which God is working, thus advance into the foreground, and the prophets are led from the causality of the will to the causality of God, from the ethical to the religious standpoint. God Himself creates the new heart (Ps 51^{10}, Ezk $36^{25ff.}$); His law converts the soul (Ps 19^{7}); His people turn when He turns them (Jer 31^{18}). In despair of a generation bound by the tradition and habit of evil, Jeremiah looks into the future for some new manifestation of Divine power, which shall effect a radical change in the inner disposition of the people (Jer 31^{33}).

Beyond a genuine repentance the prophets know of no other condition attaching to God's forgiveness and favour (Dt $30^{1ff.}$, Jer 17^{8}, Ps 32^{5}). And the idea of repentance is set up in its moral purity, everything merely external and statutory being stripped away. In primitive Hebrew religion the offender brought a gift to God to appease Him; he fasted, rent his garments, and by an attitude of mourning and humiliation sought to make his prayer for pardon impressive and effectual. But of all this the prophets and psalmists will hear nothing. God does not desire such things (Hos 5^{6} 6^{6}, Is $1^{11ff.}$, Jer 6^{20} $7^{4ff.}$ 14^{12}, Ps 50^{10}). The sacrificial forms with which atonement was associated are ignored as worthless or condemned as noxious (Am 5^{25}, Mic $6^{6ff.}$, Jer $7^{21ff.}$, Ps 40^{6} 51^{16}). The sacrifice pleasing to God is that of a broken and contrite heart (Ps $51^{17f.}$). No attempt is made by the prophets to take the sacrificial system into the service of a purer faith, whether by a process of moral reinterpretation, or by going back on an original but forgotten meaning. In process of time the system was to some extent ethicised; but its atonement (which presupposed repentance in the transgressor) was available only for sins of inadvertence (Nu $15^{27.\ 30}$). The place of repentance as condition of forgiveness is not due to any idea of its meritorious character. The idea of merit—which never attaches itself to a genuine moral act, but always to some external form or accompaniment—is foreign to the spirit of the OT. If God forgives, it is because it is His nature and prerogative to do so (Is 43^{25}); and that He will not reject the prayer of the penitent is accepted as self-evident to the moral sense.

In the later Judaism the idea of repentance is not indeed lost sight of, but, in Pharasaic circles at least, external acts of penitence, such as fasting, have usurped the place of the inner spirit, and to these acts the idea of merit has attached itself. In the preaching of the Baptist it again emerges in its pristine moral purity, as the one condition of escape from approaching judgment (Mt $3^{8f.}$).

There are two words in the NT which convey the idea of repentance, μετανοεῖν and ἐπιστρέφειν, though, as we shall see, the idea appears also under other forms of expression. These words derive their moral content not from Greek but from Jewish and Christian thought, nothing analogous to the biblical conception of repentance and conversion being known to the Greeks. If respect be had to their literal meaning, the first presents repentance in its negative aspect, as a change of mind, a turning from sin; the second, in its positive aspect, as a turning to God. Both have, however, much the same content of meaning. Christ began His ministry with a call to repentance (Mt 4^{17}). The call has as its motive the nearness of the kingdom, participation in which requires as its condition the new disposition (Mt 18^{3}). It is addressed, not as in the OT to the nation, but to the individual; and not merely to those guilty of flagrant sin, but to all (Lk 13^{3}). The inner and radical character of the change required is illustrated by the figure of the tree and its fruits. The first four Beatitudes may be taken as descriptive of elements in a true repentance. Poverty of spirit, sorrow for sin, meekness, hunger and thirst for righteousness, are all characteristics of the soul that is turning from sin to God. In the parable of the Prodigal Son, Jesus draws a picture of the true penitent. Such is assured of the forgiveness and welcome of the Father, whose love, indeed, has anticipated his return, and gone out to seek and save (Lk 15^{4}). That God accepts the penitent follows at once from His own nature, and from the moral appropriateness of a humble and contrite spirit. The Father cannot but rejoice over the recovery of a lost son (Lk 15^{24}); and the spirit of the publican in the temple as plainly carries with it justification as the spirit of the Pharisee condemnation (Lk 18^{14}). Of fasting or other external accompaniments Christ knows nothing.

Although Christ began His ministry with the call to repentance, it cannot be said that it appears in His teaching as the fundamental requirement. Exhibiting the righteousness of the kingdom of God, and revealing the love of the heavenly Father, He requires rather *faith* in His message, leaving the particular form of the response to be determined in correspondence with each man's character and history. Repentance accordingly falls into the background before the wider idea of faith (Lk 7^{50}). In the apostolic speeches in Acts, and in the Apocalypse, repentance most frequently appears in its ethical sense; but side by side with this use we have that which treats it as a result of Divine activity—an experience rather than an act (Ac 3^{19}). In the latter case the idea of repentance passes into that of conversion (*ἐπιστρέφεσθαι*, the *conversio intransitiva* of theologians as distinguished from *conversio transitiva*), the ethical activity of the individual being subordinated to the Divine causality. The problem of the relation of the two sides, which exercised the Church later, giving rise to such conceptions as *virtus indeclinabiliter et insuperabiliter*, *gratia cooperans*, etc., is not raised in the New Testament.

In the Pauline Epistles repentance is considered more as an experience than as an act, and this experience is described in a manner peculiar to the apostle as a death and resurrection with Christ, or as a putting off of the old man and a putting on of the new. The believer is buried with Christ in baptism, and raised with Him into a new life in the Spirit (Ro $6^{2ff.}$, Col 2^{12}). The result of this new creation is a new walk and conversation; sin is in its principle destroyed. In this profound conception, which also gives its content to the apostle's idea of faith, the place of Christ in the experience of conversion, together with a certain mystical element in that experience, comes to expression.

The word 'repent' does not once occur in the Johannine writings, having dropped even from the Baptist's preaching. The idea is not, however, absent, but appears under the form of the new birth, which takes the place of the Synoptic *μετάνοια* as the condition of entrance into the kingdom (Jn 3^{3}). The causality of the will here wholly disappears, together with those psychological elements characteristic of repentance as a process of turning, and the new life stands out as the result of a transcendent and mysterious act of God's creative power (Jn 3^{8}). The natural and the supernatural, the fleshly and the spiritual, are opposed in a way that excludes all mere renewal, or any *transition* from the old life to the new. The human and ethical side, however, finds expression in the idea of faith, which here, as in the NT in general, implies an active turning from sin to God (Jn $4^{7ff.}$ 9^{38}, 1 Jn 1^{8}).

LITERATURE.—Works on *OT Theology* by Schultz and Smend: on *NT Theology* by Weiss, Beyschlag, and Holtzmann; Sieffert, *Die neuesten theol. Forschungen über Busse und Glaube*; Cremer, *Bib.-theol. Wörterbuch*; Wrede, art. '*μετάνοια* Sinnesänderung?' in *Ztschr. f. NT Wissenschaft*, i. (1900) p. 66 ff.

W. MORGAN.

REPHAEL (רְפָאֵל 'El has healed'; LXX Ῥαφαήλ, cf. RAPHAEL of To 3^{17} $5^{4ff.}$).—The eponym of a family of gatekeepers, 1 Ch 26^{7}. The name belongs to a class of late formations; see Gray, *HPN* 225, 311.

REPHAH (רֶפַח; Ῥάφη).—The eponym of an Ephraimite family, 1 Ch 7^{25}.

REPHAIAH (רְפָיָה 'Jah has healed,' cf. *Rephael*).—1. A Judahite mentioned in the royal genealogy, 1 Ch 3^{21} (B Ῥαφάλ, A Ῥαφαιά). 2. One of the chiefs of the 500 Simeonites who went on the expedition to Mt. Seir, 1 Ch 4^{42} (Ῥαφαιά). 3. A descendant of Issachar, 1 Ch 7^{2} (B Ῥαφαρά, A Ῥαφαιά). 4. A descendant of Saul, 1 Ch 9^{43} (Ῥαφαιά), called in 8^{37} RAPHAH (B Ῥαφαΐ, A Ῥαφαιά). 5. One of those who helped to repair the wall, Neh 3^{9} (Ῥαφαιά).

REPHAIM (רְפָאִים; *γίγαντες*, Ραφαειμ, Ῥαφαειν [Dt $2^{11.20}$, Jos 15^{8}, 2 K 23^{23}]).—The word used in Hebrew to describe the early giant peoples of Palestine. Many regard *rāphā'* as a proper name, forming the gentilic adjective *rĕphā'î*, of which *rĕphā'îm* is the plural. It is more in accord with the use of the word, however, to regard *rāphā'* as a concrete noun, and *rĕphā'îm* as the direct plural either of this or of the corresponding abstract noun. It is used as the geographical name of a certain valley (see next art.). In Gn 14^{5} the syntax indicates that it is a proper name, definite without the article. The statement is strictly that 'they smote Rephaim,' that is, they smote a region of that name, the region, of course, being so named from the character of its inhabitants. Everywhere else the word is strictly a common noun, definite or indefinite as the case may be, substantially equivalent to our English word 'giants.' For the derivation of this meaning from the stem idea, and for an account of the *rĕphā'îm*, see GIANT.

The word *rĕphā'îm* is also used to denote the inhabitants of the world of the dead (Job 26^{5}, Ps 88^{10}, Pr 2^{18} 9^{18} 21^{16}, Is 14^{9} $26^{14.19}$), being here nearly the equivalent of the English word 'ghosts,' in the popular sense of that word. *Rĕphā'îm* in the sense of ghosts is used only in the plural, and, like *rĕphā'îm* in the sense of giants, has the ordinary syntax of a common noun, definite or indefinite. The two are from the same stem. Schwally (*Leben nach dem Tode*, 64 f.) supposes a connexion between רְפָאִים 'ghosts' and רְפָאִים 'extinct giants.' W. R. Smith (quoted by Driver, *Deut.* p. 40) suggests that the 'old giants were still thought to haunt the ruins and deserts of East Canaan'; see also Schwally in *ZATW*, 1898, p. 132 ff.

W. J. BEECHER.

REPHAIM, VALE OF (עֵמֶק רְפָאִים; Κοιλὰς Ῥαφαειμ, *κ. τῶν Τιτάνων*, *κ. τῶν γιγάντων*, Ἔμεκ Ῥαφαειν, *φάραγξ στερεά*).—A locality near Jerusalem. The Hebrew word here used for valley denotes an arable valley. So we may at once dismiss all theories that would make it either a plateau or a steep-sided ravine; though it is quite possible that it may have been a system of arable valleys, rather than a single valley. Different opinions have been held concerning it, but really the evidence all bears in one direction. The northern extremity of the vale of Rephaim was just over the western ridge of the upper part of the ravine of the son of Hinnom (Jos $15^{8.9}$ 18^{16}). Josephus (*Ant.* VII. xii. 4) says that it was 'the valley which extends to the city of Bethlehem, which is twenty furlongs from Jerusalem.' It is puzzling to know how he measures his twenty furlongs; but that Bethlehem had strategic relations with the vale of Rephaim is confirmed by 2 S 23^{13}, 1 Ch 11^{15}. This is not in contradiction with the statement that David, getting to the rear of the Philistines when they were encamped in the vale of Rephaim, 'smote them from Geba until thou come to Gezer' (2 S 5^{25}, 1 Ch 14^{16}); for the effect of his strategic movement might be to compel them to move from their camp and attack him; or, while encamped to the south-west of Jerusalem, they might have had outposts as far north as Geba or Gibeon.

But the sacred writer evidently thought of the vale of Rephaim as somewhat extensive, for he twice says that the Philistines spread themselves there (2 S $5^{18.22}$, 1 Ch $14^{9.13}$). Hence the locality referred to is probably the system of small valleys which supply the southern affluent of the Nahr Rûbîn, a stream which flows into the Mediterranean some distance south of Joppa. One branch of this affluent starts near Jerusalem and another near Bethlehem, the two uniting about three miles south-west of Jerusalem. The vale of Rephaim may well be these two, with their tributaries. It was natural that invading Philistine armies should march up the valley of the Nahr Rûbîn to attack Jerusalem.

The name doubtless indicates that this region had been occupied especially by *rĕphā'îm*, at some period before Joshua's conquests. Its celebrity is mainly connected with events that occurred soon after David had been made king of all Israel in Jerusalem. In two successive campaigns the Philistines attacked him here, and were defeated (2 S 5^{17-21}, 1 Ch 14^{8-12} and 2 S 5^{22-25}, 1 Ch 14^{13-16}). The first of these two campaigns was of the most desperate character (2 S 23^{13-17}, 1 Ch 11^{15-19}). See G. A. Smith, *HGHL* p. 218. W. J. BEECHER.

REPHAN (LXX BA Ῥαιφάν, Q Ῥεφάν, in Am 5^{26}; WH Ῥομφά, variants Ῥεμφάμ, Ῥεμφάν [AV *Remphan*], Ῥαιφάν, Ῥεφάν, in Ac 7^{48}).—This word replaces the כִּיּוּן of the Heb. text, and there is much difference of opinion as to the reason of this change. Influenced by the fact that the LXX tr. was made at Alexandria in Egypt, some have contended that the translators substituted for the word *Chiun* (apparently pronounced by them, more correctly, *Kewan*), the meaning of which was probably obscure to them, an Egyptian equivalent term, viz. *repa*-[*n-neteru*], a title of the god Set, identified with Saturn; but this, besides being a hardly probable hypothesis itself, is also unlikely on account of the etymological difficulties involved. The general opinion at present is, that *Rephan* is simply a mistake for, or an alteration of, the *Kewan* (*Chiun*) of the Heb. text, *K* having been replaced by *R*, and *ph* (φ) substituted for ו, with the sound of *v*, sharpened to something resembling *f*. There is no doubt that this is the best of all the explanations proposed, for *Kewan* would seem to be nothing else but the Semitic-Babylonian *Kaawanu*, for an older *Kayawanu*, 'the planet Saturn.' That a Babylonian etymology is to be sought rather than any other, may be regarded as indicated by the fact that SICCUTH in the first part of the verse is apparently from the Akkad. *Sakkut* or *Sak-uš*, the latter being one of the non-Semitic names of Saturn, translated by *Kaawanu* in Babylonian. In addition to this, Saturn was also called *Ṣalam*, *Ṣalme*, as 'the dark star,' a name which recalls the expression צַלְמֵיכֶם, 'your images,' which, in the Heb., immediately follows *Chiun* (=*Kaawanu*=*Rephan*), and would furnish a parallel to the translation of מַלְכְּכֶם ('your king') after Siccuth, by 'Moloch' in the LXX. As has been already shown (see NIMROD, NISROCH, etc.), the Hebrew scribes were accustomed to distort the names of heathen deities, apparently to show their contempt for them, and there is but little doubt that this has been done in the present case. No name resembling Rephan or Remphan as the pronunciation of the ideographs for Saturn has as yet been found in Akkadian or Semitic-Babylonian.

LITERATURE.—Schrader in *SK*, 1874, pp. 324-335, and in Riehm's *HWB*; Delitzsch in the *Calwer Bibellexicon*, under 'Chiun,' and in *Assyr. HWB* 569^b (end of art. 'Salmu'); and the Comm. on Amos and Acts. T. G. PINCHES.

REPHIDIM (רְפִידִים and רְפִידִם; LXX Ῥαφιδείν, Eus. Ῥαφιδίμ; Vulg. *Raphidim*).—A station between the wilderness of Sin and the wilderness of Sinai (cf. Ex 17^1 with 19^2). The same order is given in the itinerary of Nu 33; but two additional stations are there given, Dophkah and Alush (vv.$^{12-14}$), between Sin and Rephidim. These are the only passages in which the name occurs, and from them it appears that Rephidim is outside the wilderness of Sinai, and that the people, when encamped there, have not yet reached the mount of God.

The events recorded in connexion with this place are: (1) the people strive (ריב) with Moses and 'tempt' (*i.e.* prove, נסה) the LORD because there is no water to drink (Ex 17^{1-7}); (2) the defeat of Amalek (vv.$^{8-16}$); (3) the visit of Jethro when he counsels Moses about appointing judges (Ex 18). The first two are expressly, the third may be by inference (cf. 19^2), assigned to Rephidim.

Now, in the account of the first event, the smitten rock is described as being in Horeb ('I will stand before thee upon the rock in Horeb,' Ex 17^6). Also in 18^5 Jethro comes to Moses 'where he was encamped at the mount of God.' According to internal evidence in both these narratives, the people are already at Horeb the mount of God, and the difficulty of harmonizing these statements with those introduced with reference to the situation of Rephidim is apparent.

The first of these events has been discussed in the art. MERIBAH, where the similarity between it and another event (Nu 20^{1-13}) assigned to a period after leaving Sinai is pointed out. In the account of the third event, the description of the persons appointed, on Jethro's advice, to assist Moses in judging the people, resembles that in Dt 1^{9-17} (note especially the verbal coincidences of Ex 18^{21} with Dt 1^{15}). In Deuteronomy the appointment is said to have been made at the departure from Sinai—at which time the reference to ordinances and laws (Ex 18^{20}) would be appropriate, and it has been suggested that Ex 18 was at one time read in connexion with Nu 10^{29-32} (see Driver on Dt 1, at p. 15 of *Intern. Crit. Comm.*, and Dillmann on Ex 18). These remarks illustrate what has been said in art. EXODUS AND JOURNEY TO CANAAN, vol. i. p. 804^b and 805^a.

The foe which Israel encounters in Rephidim is Amalek, a tribe which is generally described in Scripture as dwelling on the southern border of Palestine though occasionally found farther north (see AMALEK). Supposing that the Israelites on leaving Egypt went eastwards, they would pass by the territory which is ordinarily assigned to Amalek, whereas if they made the detour to the south, involved in visiting the traditional Sinai, the Amalekites must have wandered much farther to the south. A question here arises similar to that suggested by the mention of Midian, in connexion with Sinai, and considerably strengthens the argument in the note on the art. MIDIAN. Comparing that note with what is here said, it follows that the acceptance of the traditional site of Sinai involves *two* hypotheses of migration (one for Amalek as well as one for Midian), while the site there suggested for Sinai assigns a uniform geographical position for both. See also art. PARAN.

A. T. CHAPMAN.

REPROBATE.—The word 'reprobate' occurs only once in AV of OT, viz. Jer 6^{30} (RV 'refuse'). It there represents the Heb. נִמְאָס, and is used in connexion with the figure of smelting or refining metal. People who are incurably bad, from whom no discipline, however severe, can smelt out the badness, are compared to base metal which can only be thrown away. The assonance of the Heb. (נִמְאָס . . . כִּי מָאַס) is preserved in LXX (*ἀργύριον ἀποδεδοκιμασμένον . . . ὅτι ἀπεδοκίμασεν αὐτοὺς κύριος*), but lost in Vulg. (argentum *reprobum* . . . quia *projecit*). It is from the Vulg. that the rendering 'reprobate' comes, the Greek equivalent of which is found in a similar passage in Is 1^{22}, describing the degeneracy of Israel: *τὸ ἀργύριον ὑμῶν ἀδόκιμον*='your silver is not proof,' cannot stand the test (AV 'is become dross,' which exactly reproduces Heb.). In this place Vulg. also gives *argentum tuum versum est in scoriam*. In both cases people are regarded as 'reprobate,' or unable to pass muster in God's judgment, not in virtue of an eternal decree of reprobation, but as having reached a last and hopeless degree of moral debasement. It is the same with the use of *ἀδόκιμος* in NT. This is usually rendered 'reprobate,' and is always passive. The most instructive instance is perhaps Ro 1^{28} 'As they did not think fit on trial made (*οὐκ ἐδοκίμασαν*) to keep God in their knowledge, God gave them up to a reprobate mind' (*εἰς νοῦν ἀδόκιμον*). This means a mind of which God can by no means approve, one which can only be rejected when it comes into judgment. The marg. of AV ('void of judgment') brings out in accordance with the context *why* the *νοῦς* is *ἀδόκιμος*: the mind which God rejects is one whose moral instincts are perverted, and which does not serve the purpose of a moral intelligence any longer; but this is not what the term *ἀδόκιμος* itself expresses. It might be thought that there was here a more active relation of God to the state in question than is found in Isaiah and Jeremiah, but that is doubtful. There is no dooming of men *ab initio* to reprobation; under God's government, and in the carrying out of His sentence on sin, evil works itself out to this hopeless end. The simple passive sense of the word is apparent also in the three instances in 2 Co 13^{5-7}. The test of true Christianity is that Christ is in men; those who can stand this are *δόκιμοι* ('approved'); those who cannot are *ἀδόκιμοι* ('reprobate'). Here the test is to be applied by Christians to themselves; in 1 Co 9^{27} (where AV renders *ἀδόκιμος* 'castaway' and RV 'rejected') the final judgment by God is in view; St. Paul subjects himself to the severest discipline that he may not at the last day be unable to stand trial. It would have been an advantage for some reasons to keep the rendering 'reprobate' here also.

The relations in which one is *ἀδόκιμος*, or the trials which he cannot stand, may be variously conceived. Thus in 2 Ti 3^{8} we have 'reprobate concerning the faith.' The men who are thus characterized are described also as *κατεφθαρμένοι τὸν νοῦν*. This expression unites in itself what we distinguish as ethical and intellectual elements. The men in question are men whose moral sense is perverted, and whose minds are clouded with speculations of their own; when they are brought into relation to 'the faith' (which in the Pastoral Epp. includes something like the Christian creed as well as the Christian religion) they are *ἀδόκιμοι*—cannot stand the trial. Similarly in Tit 1^{16} when certain persons are described as *πρὸς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἀδόκιμοι* the meaning is: put them to the test of any good *work* (as distinct from fine profession) and they can only be rejected. The same sense results from the only other passage in NT, He 6^{8}. The soil which receives every care from God and man, and yet produces only thorns and briars, is *ἀδόκιμος*. It is rejected as useless for cultivation.

Taken together, these passages support the idea that men may sink into a condition in which even God despairs of them—a condition in which He can do nothing but reprobate or reject them. But they do not support the conception of an eternal decree of reprobation in which the destiny of man is related solely to the will of God. No one who claims to hold this view will ever admit that another can state it without caricature, but it may be given in Calvin's words (*Inst.* III. xxii. 11): 'Si non possumus rationem assignare cur suos misericordia dignetur, nisi quoniam ita illi placet, neque etiam in aliis reprobandis aliud habebimus quam ejus voluntatem.' Apart from the speculative objection that if salvation and reprobation are related in exactly the same way to the will of God there is no difference between them, all the distinctions of the human world being lost in the identity of the Divine, it is obvious that this presents a conception of reprobation remote from that suggested by Scripture. Nor can it be said that the Calvinistic doctrine of reprobation is a necessary inference from the true doctrine of election. The true doctrine of election is experimental. It expresses the truth (which every Christian knows to be true) that it is God who saves, and that when He saves it is not by accident, or to reward human merit, but in virtue of His being what He is—a God who is eternally and unchangeably Redeemer. But while the Christian can say out of his experience that God in His infinite love has come to him, and made sure to him a redeeming mercy that is older than the world, faithful and eternal as God Himself, no one can say out of his experience that God has come to him and made sure to him that in that love he has neither part nor lot. In other words, election has an experimental basis, but reprobation has not. It is true that men are saved because God saves them—true to experience as to Scripture; but it is not true to experience that men are lost because God ignores or rejects them. The form in which the truth is put may be inadequate even in the case of election; but in the case of what is called reprobation there is no verifiable truth at all. For older theological opinion on this subject see Calvin, *Inst.* III. chs. xxi.-xxiii.; Hill, *Lectures in Divinity*, iii. 41 f.; Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, ii. 320 f. See also ELECTION, PREDESTINATION.

J. DENNEY.

REPROOF, REPROVE.—The verb (from Lat. *reprobare* through Old Fr. *reprover*) means—**1.** *To disapprove of, reject*, as in Ps 118^{22} Wyc. (1388) 'The stoon which the bilderis repreueden'; Mk 8^{31} Tind. 'And he beganne to teache them, how that the sonne of man must suffre many thinges, and shuld be reproved of the elders, and of the hye prestes and scribes.' There is no example of this meaning in AV. **2.** *To disprove, refute*, as Shaks. *Venus*, 787—

> 'What have you urged that I cannot reprove?

and *II Henry VI.* III. i. 40—

> 'Reprove my allegation, if you can;
> Or else conclude my words effectual.'

Of this meaning there are probably some examples in AV, as Job 6^{25} 'How forcible are right words!

but what doth your arguing reprove?' Is 37^{4} 'It may be the Lord thy God will hear the words of Rabshakeh . . . and will reprove the words which the Lord thy God hath heard,' though in these and other like places *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* takes the meaning to be simply 'rebuke.' **3.** *To convict*, as Jer. Taylor, *Great Exemplar*, Pref. p. 14, 'God hath never been deficient, but hath to all men that believe him given sufficient to confirm them; to those few that believed not, sufficient to reprove them.' So in AV, Jn 16^{8} 'He will reprove the world of sin' (Wyc. 'repreuve,' Tind. 'rebuke,' Gen. 'reprove,' Gen. marg. 'convince,' AVm 'convince,' RV 'convict'); cf. Jn 8^{46} Wyc. 'Who of you schal repreuve me of synne?' (Tind. 'can rebuke,' AV 'convinceth,' RV 'convicteth'); 2 Ti 4^{2} 'Reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long-suffering and doctrine.' **4.** *To chide, rebuke*, the mod. meaning, as Pr 9^{8} 'Reprove not a scorner, lest he hate thee: rebuke a wise man, and he will love thee.'

Reproof is used mostly in the sense of *rebuke*, but there is a possible example of *conviction* in 2 Ti 3^{16} ('profitable for doctrine, for reproof [πρὸς ἐλεγμόν], for correction, for instruction in righteousness'); and a probable example of *disproof, refutation* in Ps 38^{14} ('Thus I was as a man that heareth not, and in whose mouth are no reproofs'; RVm 'arguments'). J. HASTINGS.

REPTILE.—See NATURAL HISTORY in vol. iii. p. 492^{a}.

REQUIRE.—Sometimes in AV as in mod. English to 'require' is to *demand*, as 1 S 21^{8} 'The king's business required haste': cf. Mk 5^{7} Tind. 'I requyre the in the name of God that thou torment me not.' This is especially the case in the freq. phrase of requiring one, or one's blood, at another's hand; cf. Bar 6^{35} Cov. 'Though a man make a vow unto them [the idols] and kepe it not, they will not requyre it.' But the sense of *demand* does not lie, as now, in the verb itself, but in the context. To require (from Lat. *requirere* through Old Fr. *requerir*) is first to seek after, and then to request or entreat. It may be used to translate a verb of demanding, as Driver (*Par. Psalter*, 480) suggests that in Ps 40^{6} 51^{6} it may perhaps correspond to Münster's *postulavi* and *exigis*,* but of all the Heb. and Gr. words it is used to tr. in AV there is none that means more than *seek after* or *ask*. That it means no more than ask or entreat in some places is evident, as Ezr 8^{22} 'I was ashamed to require of the king a band of soldiers' (RV 'ask'). Cf. Tindale, *Expos.* 151, 'He giveth abundantly unto them that require it [mercy] with a faithful heart.' Cov. after rendering 'Gedeon sayde unto them, One thinge I desyre of you, every man geve me the earinge that he hath spoyled' (Jg 8^{24}), adds, 'And the golden earynges which he requyred' (8^{26}). Cf. Berners, *Froissart*, ch. ix. 'Then the queen was greatly abashed, and required him all weeping of his good counsel,' and Chapman, *Odysseys*, xx. 215—

> 'For she required
> His wants, and will'd him all things he desired.'

Knox frequently speaks of requiring a thing *humbly*, as *Hist.* 199, 'We required your Highnesse in most humble manner'; so Calderwood, *Hist.* 145, 'I protest and most humbly require,' and *Psalms in Metre*, Ps 143^{1}—

> 'O hear my prayer, Lord,
> And unto my desire
> To bow thine ear accord,
> I humbly thee require';

and the end of *A Dialog betweene Christ and a Sinner*, by William Hunnis—

> '*Sinner*—Through this sweet grace thy mercie, Lord,
> We humblie doo require.
> *Christ*—By mercie mine I you forgive,
> And grant this your desire.'

J. HASTINGS.

REREWARD.—The 'rereward,' *i.e.* rearguard, was the last of the three main divisions of an army, the 'vanguard' (=*avant-ward*) or 'forefront' being the first. The word comes from Old Fr. *arerewarde, i.e. arere* (mod. *arrière*) 'behind' (from Lat. *ad-retro*) and *warde*, a variety of Old Fr. *garde* (which came from Old High Ger. *warten* to watch over). RV retains the word in all its occurrences (Nu 10^{25}, Jos $6^{9.13}$, 1 S 29^{2}, Is 52^{12} 58^{8}) but spells it 'rearward.' It is always spelt 'rereward' (sometimes with a hyphen) in AV, and it is always a substantive. Cf. Hakluyt, *Voyages*, ii. 20, 'Because . . . it was bootlesse for them to assaile the forefront of our battell . . . they determined to set upon our rereward.' Berners (*Froissart*, p. 376, Globe ed.) uses 'rearband' in the same sense: 'The Bishop of Durham with the rearband came to Newcastle and supped.' J. HASTINGS.

RESAIAS (Ῥησαίας, AV Reesaias), 1 Es 5^{8}, corresponds to Reelaiah, Ezr 2^{2}, or Raamiah, Neh 7^{7}. ΡЄЄΛΙΑ has apparently been read as ΡЄϹΑΙΑ.

RESEN (רֶסֶן; *AD* Δάσεμ, E Δάσεν; Vulg. *Resen*).—The last of the four cities built by Asshur (RV by Nimrod), between Nineveh and Calah (the modern Nimroud), and further described in Gn 10^{12} as 'the great city' (RV). Various conjectures have been made as to the position of this settlement. The Byzantine authors and Ptolemy identified it with Rhesina or Rhesaina on the Khabour, probably the Arab. *Ras el-'Ain*—an impossible identification, this site being 200 miles W. of the two cities between which Resen is said to have lain. A better identification is that of Bochart, which makes Resen to be the Larissa of Xenophon (*Anab.* iii. 4), though whether, as he argues, 'Larissa' be an adaptation of 'Laresen,' *i.e.* 'Resen's (ruins),' is a matter of doubt. It is worthy of note that Xenophon describes Larissa, like Resen in Gn 10^{12}, as 'a great city.' The identification of the name, however, and that of the site, are two different things. On the one hand, there is the possibility, maintained by some, that Larissa may be Nimroud (Calah), and, on the other, the probability that the ruins described by Xenophon—and the city Resen—may be represented by the remains known as Selamîeh, an ancient site situated about three miles N. of Nimroud, and between that city and the mounds of Nineveh (Kouyunjik). These remains have the advantage of being situated in the tract where, according to Gn 10^{12}, Resen really lay. As Sayce has pointed out, the name of Resen occurs, under the form Rêš-êni, in a list of 18 cities or small towns from which Sennacherib dug canals communicating with the river Khouser or Khosr, in order to supply them with drinking-water. Whether this be the Resen of Genesis or not is uncertain,—in all probability it was a comparatively unimportant place, and situated too far north. Moreover, such a name as Rêš-êni, 'fountain-head,' must have been far from rare in ancient Assyria, as is Ras el-'ain in countries where Arabic is spoken at the present day. The Greek forms are apparently corrupt, and due to the likeness between ר and ד.

LITERATURE.—Bochart, *Geograph. Sacr.* iv. 23; Delitzsch, *Paradies* 261; Schrader, *COT* i. 83; Sayce in the *Academy* for 1st May 1880. T. G. PINCHES.

---

* Only once is *exigere* used in Vulg. (Gn 31^{39}) to express 'require at the hand of,' elsewhere *quærere* or *requirere* nearly always.

RESH (ר).—The twentieth letter of the Hebrew alphabet, and as such employed in the 119th Psalm to designate the 20th part, each verse of which begins with this letter. It is transliterated in this Dictionary by *r*.

RESHEPH (רֶשֶׁף; B Σάραφ, A Ῥάσεφ).—The eponym of an Ephraimite family, 1 Ch 7^{25}.

RESPECT OF PERSONS.—See ACCEPT, vol. i. p. 21.

REST.—In the Scriptures rest is ascribed to God, and also to man in a variety of aspects; and the underlying conception in each case is the necessary relation of the rest of man to that of God.

1. At the close of His creative activity God rested, it is said, from all His work which He had made (Gn 2^{2} שָׁבַת [see SABBATH, *ad init.*], usually rendered in LXX by καταπαύειν, but sometimes by ἀναπαύειν). This implies the twofold thought that creation, with all that the creative process involved, was completed once for all, and that God was satisfied with the work at that stage accomplished. But this assertion of rest on the part of God contains no denial of subsequent action, no theory as to such action, and is consistent with ceaseless activity (Jn 5^{17}, cf. Th. Aquin. *Summ. Theol.* Qu. 73. 2). The apparent silence or inactivity (שָׁקַט) on the part of God in presence of the impiety of men is the rest of One who is watchful and will strike at the fitting time (Is 18^{4}).

2. The rest (נוּחַ, מְנוּחָה) promised by J″ the covenant-God to the people of Israel is the rest of a settled dwelling-place. But the rest of the people in this case is coincident with the rest of God; for with the permanent settlement of the ark by a man of rest (1 Ch 22^{9}) God is represented as entering into His rest and the people into theirs, which is also His (2 Ch 6^{41}, Ps 132$^{8.\,14}$). Into this rest some did not enter because of disobedience (Ps 95^{11}, He 4^{6}).

3. In addition to this national rest, a rest of a more spiritual and individual character is spoken of. To Moses the promise of the Divine presence with a settled abode as a goal is the guarantee of rest (Ex 33^{14}). Jeremiah offers it (מַרְגּוֹעַ) to his countrymen on condition of their walking in the eternal paths (Jer 6^{16}), in harmony with the will of God given of old (cf. Is 28^{12}, where we find מְנוּחָה || מַרְגֵּעָה). Those who do so are by a kindred word described as the quiet or restful ones (Ps 35^{20}). Because obedience to the will of God is the secret of rest, it cannot be possessed by the unrighteous, whose normal condition is a restlessness like that of the waves of the sea (Is 57^{20}).

4. To men worn out with worrying toils and struggling under burdens too heavy for them (the immediate reference being probably to the Pharisaic burdens), Christ promised rest (Mt 11$^{28-30}$). It is His own rest that He offers to those who with a meek and lowly heart recognize the will of His Father as the law of the inner life, and take His yoke upon themselves. It is not a rest *from* toil but *in* toil (Jn 5^{17}), not the rest of inactivity but of the harmonious working of all faculties and affections—of will, heart, imagination, conscience—because each has found in God the ideal sphere for its satisfaction and development.

5. The teaching of Scripture as to future rest is most explicitly set forth in He 4$^{1-11}$ and Rev 14^{13}. Taking up the creative rest of God (שָׁבַת) along with the rest referred to in Ps 95^{11} (מְנוּחָה) (both words being rendered in LXX καταπαύειν), the author of the Ep. to the Hebrews argues thus: God rested at the creation of the world, and subsequently promised to Israel the rest of a settled abode. That something more than an external rest was, however, implied, is proved by the fact that at a later period He swore that they should not enter into His rest. As that promise still held good and was yet unfulfilled, a Sabbath rest (σαββατισμός) to the people of God remained (He 4^{9}), which had been unappropriated or only partially appropriated by the past. Into that rest believers now enter (He 4^{3}); but because it is the very rest of God Himself (He 4^{10}), its full fruition is yet to come. The rest of the blessed dead is not merely the rest of the grave (Job 3$^{13.\,17}$), it is a rest from toils (ἐκ τῶν κόπων, Rev 14^{13}), but not from work, a rest only 'from sorrow and trouble and hard service' (Is 14^{3}). In all these forms of rest God and man are indissolubly related. The rest of God the Creator is set forth as the condition and type of the rest of man. The rest of J″ is one with that of His people. The rest offered to men by Christ is His own rest, which is also that of His Father. The blessed rest of man is rest in God, with God, nay, the very rest of God. See, also, SABBATH, p 317.

LITERATURE.—Späth in *Schenkel's Bib.-Lex.* vol. v. 118; Cremer, *Bib.-Theol. Lex.*^{4} 826–828; Trench, *NT Synonyms*^{12}, 146, 147; A. B. Davidson, *Hebrews*, 97–101.

JOHN PATRICK.

RESTITUTION.—See CRIMES and next article.

RESTORATION in RV corresponds to 'restitution' in AV, as rendering of the noun *apokatastasis*, which occurs but once in the NT, Ac 3^{21} ἀποκατάστασις τῶν πάντων. The times spoken of by the prophets are here described as times of restoration, when Christ shall reign over a kingdom in which none of the consequences of sin will any longer appear. The same word in its verbal form occurs in Mt 17^{11} and in the LXX of Mal 4^{6} of the moral restoration or spiritual revolution inaugurated or attempted by John the Baptist. This restoration was a foreshadowing of the true *apokatastasis*, which is to be realized in the case of all who will recognize the authority of the Messiah and become members of His kingdom. The word *palingenesia* (παλινγενεσία) is used by our Lord, Mt 19^{28}, in precisely the same sense of the restoration of the whole creation. The subject of the new genesis comes under the influence of the transforming power of the Holy Spirit by which he is renewed day by day. See Trench, *Synonyms of the NT*^{10}, p. 65. The word is also used by Josephus, *Ant.* XI. iii. 9, of the restoration of the country of the Jews under Zerubbabel. It became a favourite term in later Jewish Apocalyptic writings, and was no doubt in common use in the Jewish Apocalypses current in the time of our Lord. That the word should be employed in the Hebrew Gospel of Matthew and not in the writings of the other evangelists is natural enough, so that there is no need of the hypothesis of interpolation, nor yet of the assumption of any particular Jewish-Christian sources. The prophecy of Caiaphas (Jn 11^{52}) supposes the offer of the Saviour's salvation to all,—it may be in another state of existence to those who have not had it here,—but not necessarily its acceptance by all. Among the words of Jesus which seem to favour the restorationist view may be mentioned Jn 12^{32}, where, however, the lifting up, like that of Jn 3^{14}, effects a *drawing*, which secures salvation only for those who look or believe. It has been maintained, *e.g.* by Pfleiderer (*Paulinism*, i. 274–276), that the idea of a restitution in the sense of a literal restoration of all things is taught by St. Paul in Ro 11^{32} and 1 Co 15^{22}. But in these passages St. Paul simply insists upon this, that only believers shall share in that perfected kingdom of God in which God is all in all. It might, of course, be argued, if the general scope of Divine revelation would allow of it, that the believers who shall share in those blessings will at last be found to embrace all mankind. But it cannot be said that these passages contribute any evidence for or against that view. See Weiss, *Biblical Theology of NT*, ii. 73. Such biblical passages were understood by Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa, even by Chrysostom (see *Homily* on 1 Co 15[28]) and other Fathers, by Erigena, most of the mystics and theosophists, as they have been in modern times by Schleiermacher, Erskine of Linlathen, Maurice, Farrar, etc., not as teaching absolutely the final salvation of all men, but as pointing to the ultimate restoration of all as at least a possibility.

In the Pastoral Epistles there are three very interesting passages, 1 Ti 2[4] 4[10], Tit 2[10], in which God's saving will is described as universal. This, however, is the will of God concerning men who are themselves possessors of a will, which may resist and reject as well as accept what the gracious will of God has designed for them. The same explanation must be given of Eph 1[9. 10], Col 1[20], which represent the gathering into one and reconciling of all as the purpose and good pleasure of God. This Divine plan is realized only in Christ, and applies therefore only to those who are in Christ. What is taken into account here is only God's purpose, and not what is actually realized in the world of human freedom. The whole scope of Scripture shows that the realization of the Divine will regarding man is conditioned by man's voluntary acceptance of the terms proposed. The universal purpose of God is well described by Martensen as 'an ἀποκατάστασις *a parte ante*' which has its development as an ἀποκατάστασις *a parte post*, under condition of man's free will, only when the *possibility* of eternal condemnation has been confessed. He would regard the opposition of biblical passages, on the one hand seemingly universalist, on the other hand seemingly in favour of eternal retribution, as an antinomy like that of freedom and predestination.

It is now generally admitted by the best exegetes of all schools that the doctrine of the restoration of all cannot be supported by NT texts. The ablest and most candid advocates of this theory seek to ground their position on what they regard as necessary conclusions as to the nature and character of God, or on psychological and ethical doctrines of the constitution and destiny of man.

LITERATURE.—Jukes, *The Second Death and the Restitution of all Things*, London (1869), 1888; Martensen, *Christian Dogmatics*, Edin. 1866, pp. 474–484; Farrar, *Eternal Hope*, London, 1878, *Mercy and Judgment*, London, 1881; Pusey, *What is of Faith as to Everlasting Punishment?* London, 1880; Cox, *Salvator Mundi: Is Christ the Saviour of all Men?* London, 1877; Row, *Future Retribution*, London, 1887; Maurice, *Theological Essays*, London, 1854; Fyfe, *The Hereafter*, Edin. 1890; Salmond, *The Christian Doctrine of Immortality*, Edin. 1895, 4th ed. 1901; Beet, *The Last Things*, London, 1897.

J. MACPHERSON.

RESURRECTION. — *Introductory.* — The NT subst. ἀνάστασις from which, through Vulg., we obtain the term 'resurrection,' gives, so far as its strict sense goes, an incomplete account of the Biblical doctrine. The essential idea is restoration of life in its fulness to a person whose existence has not been absolutely cut off, but so mutilated and attenuated as to be unworthy to be described as life. The name 'resurrection' given to this act of God is drawn from the fact which immediately struck the eye in cases where renewal of life took place. The rising up of the body (ἀνέστη, 2 K 13[21] LXX) is taken as the symbol of the whole fact. But the essential matter is the renewal of life, hence in Rabbinic תְּחִיָּה (revival) is more frequent than תְּקוּמָה (resurrection). See Buxtorf, *s.v.*, who says that some distinguished the former as the proper word to be used of the resurrection of the righteous. Delitzsch in his Hebrew NT frequently renders ἀνάστασις by תְּחִיָּה. Cf. the use of ζωοποιεῖν in Jn 5[21] and elsewhere. In LXX cf. ζωοποίησις (only in Ezr 9[8. 9]) used of revival of the nation.

The development of the Biblical doctrine of resurrection starts from a previous belief that death was not the end of existence but was the end of life, a distinction which it is difficult for modern thought to apprehend. This was itself the result of the fusion of two opposing beliefs, as has been ably shown by Charles (*Eschatology*, chs. i.–iii.). On the one side there were survivals of a primitive belief, common to the Hebrews with other nations, according to which the dead were not mere shades, but still active and powerful. On the other side was the teaching of Gn 2[7], that the soul was but the result of the indwelling of the Divine Spirit in the earthly body; leading logically to the conclusion that the withdrawal of the spirit at death must involve the break up of the existence of the individual. But this latter conclusion was not generally adopted, and with certain exceptions (Ec 3[20. 21]) the soul was believed to persist or subsist after the breath of life had been withdrawn. The question before us, therefore, is not that of the immortality of the soul, which in some form or other is the starting-point, not the subject, of the present inquiry. The advances made by the two peoples, Hebrew and Greek, in the doctrine of a future life show a strong contrast. The Greek advance, represented in Biblical literature by the Bk. of Wisdom only, was due mainly, though not entirely, in the limited circle affected by it, to the consciousness of intellectual vigour and the difficulty of conceiving intellectual activity arrested and annihilated, as in the belief of the Homeric age it undoubtedly was. In the Hebrew advance, it was the development of religious vigour and experience which made men feel that existence in Sheol, as generally understood, could not be their final lot. Again, to the Greek it appeared that the body was in some respects a hindrance to the intellectual life, and that the serenity needed for reflexion was disturbed by bodily passions; hence the resumption of the body presented no attractions. The Hebrew, from his less intellectual point of view, felt nothing of this, and was therefore able to retain his instinctive perception that the body was essential to the life of man, and to require that, if life was to be restored, the body should be restored also. The history of the doctrine of the resurrection in the OT is that of a slow hesitating development. In the NT there is undoubtedly development, but the doctrine is not merely developed within human thought, but revealed to it from without by a fact which assured it—the resurrection of Jesus Christ. In the present article that event will not be dealt with in its historical aspect, nor with regard to its place in Christology and in Christian evidences (see art. JESUS CHRIST), but only in its relation to the doctrine of the resurrection of mankind. The order of treatment will therefore be—(i.) the expectation of resurrection as developed in the OT and Apocrypha; (ii.) the effect on this expectation of (A) the teaching, (B) the resurrection of Jesus; (iii.) the place thenceforward assigned to the doctrine in apostolic teaching.

i. THE EXPECTATION OF RESURRECTION AS DEVELOPED IN THE OT AND APOCRYPHA. — Martha's words, 'I know that he shall rise again in the resurrection in the last day' (Jn 11[24]), set before us the general belief of the Jews (excluding Sadducees) in the time of Christ.* But how had this belief been arrived at? Its development in OT has been so often and so fully dealt with (*e.g.* Schultz, *OT Theology*, II. ch. xxii.; Salmond, *Chr. Doct. Immortality*, bk. ii.), that only an outline will be necessary.

---

* The disciples' inability to understand 'what the rising again from the dead should mean' (Mk 9[10]) does not controvert the statement above. It arose from their unwillingness to conceive a suffering Messiah, and so to expect His death, which was the necessary preliminary to His rising again.

A. *OLD TESTAMENT.*—1. *Stages of development.*—(*a*) The religious life of the individual Hebrew was subordinate to that of the nation. It is in the sphere of national life that we first find those religious conceptions which ultimately come to be appropriated by the individual, *e.g.* Justification (see Is 45^{25}). This holds good of the expectation of resurrection, and Hos 6^{2} may be taken as a typical passage. Ezk 37 belongs to the same class. One prophecy of national resurrection is of a special and peculiar character, viz. Is 53^{10}. While granting that the Servant of the LORD is primarily Israel idealized, we have here the prolongation of life after death described in so individual a way, that when once the thought is admitted that the Servant is a Person representing the nation, the prophecy becomes a prophecy of individual resurrection. It will be observed that in Hosea and Ezekiel it is a figurative resurrection, namely, the recovery of national life, which is spoken of, and not a literal one, and the whole conception depends on the nation being considered as a person capable of life and death. But it thus becomes clear that the notion of literal resurrection as a possible thing was a very early one, inasmuch as the literal conception of an event must precede its figurative application. The miracles of Elijah and Elisha (1 K 17, 2 K 4), even for those who refuse to accept them as facts, testify to the notion of resurrection being in men's minds. (*b*) The second stage of thought, later in logical if not in chronological order, is a transitional one. In it the notions of individual and national resurrection appear side by side—Is 26^{19}. Compared with 26^{14}, this verse must be understood as a prayer for the resurrection of individuals. See Dillmann, *ad loc.* (*c*) In Dn 12^{2} the resurrection of individuals stands out alone and clear. The passage probably refers to the faithful and the apostates of Maccabæan times (cf. 11$^{32\text{ff.}}$), and resurrection is predicted for both classes, without, however, any implication of resurrection for Gentiles. The form of expression and its connexion with a time of trouble and deliverance seem to show dependence on Is 26^{16}. The passage likewise introduces for the first time the resurrection of sinful Israelites with a view to retribution.

2. By the side of these stages of thought shown in prophetic utterances we must place the reflexions of psalmists and wise men. They will best be considered under the head of *lines of thought*, in which the doctrine of resurrection was developed. In every case it must be borne in mind that it is not the renewal of an existence which has been cut off, nor merely the restoration of a body which is aspired to, but the deliverance of an existent personality from Sheol, and its re-endowment with life in all its powers and activities. (*a*) *Communion with God.* Of this the psalmists were conscious, yet before them lay Sheol with the entire cessation, according to the popular belief, of any such relation to Him (Ps 6^{5} 30^{9}). Some of them surmount the barrier. Such a communion must partake of the nature of Him who admits it, and therefore be eternal. Two of the psalms which express most strongly the delight of fellowship with God, viz. 16 and 17, are those in which the hope of life after death reaches its least ambiguous expression (16^{10} 17^{15})—least ambiguous, because here and everywhere in similar passages in the Psalms it may possibly be temporary preservation from literal and physical death which is intended, as is certainly the case in Ps 68^{20}. But very widely in the Psalter there exists the feeling that life means more than the continuance of the soul in the body. And this fact should be taken into account in interpreting all Psalm passages in which life and death are referred to. (*b*) *Need of retribution.* Under this head we must consider not only the Psalms but also the Prophets and Job. It makes itself felt in various ways. (1) In connexion with Messianic hopes. The more vivid and glorious these become, the more needful is it that the dead Israelites should not be thought to be debarred from partaking in their fulfilment. The idea of the dispersed who are alive being gathered to partake in the great restoration is abundantly expressed (Is 60 and elsewhere); and it is only a step further to gather them from the underworld for the same purpose. That is indeed the connexion of the prayer and promise in Is 26^{19} and Dn 12^{2}, already cited. The thought comes out much more clearly in Eth. Enoch 51; and when the doctrine of a temporary Messianic reign on earth grows into shape, the resurrection of the righteous to share in it is usually placed at its beginning. Hence arises the expectation of two distinct resurrections, which will be examined below. (2) Besides retribution of blessing for the righteous, retribution for the wicked came also to be felt as a necessity. For the Psalmist it had been enough to pray for vengeance on them in this life, or to think of them as shut up for ever in Sheol (Ps 49^{14}); and for the Prophets it was enough to expect a 'day of the LORD,' in which they would receive their punishment here, and be swept away. But in Dn 12^{2} resurrection for unfaithful Israelites with a view to their punishment appears for the first time, and it is obvious that from this starting-point an expectation of resurrection and judgment for mankind generally would naturally proceed. (*c*) There is another aspect of retribution, which does not look at reward or punishment, but rather at the reversal of mistaken human judgments. There must be a higher tribunal to appeal to, and to reach it man must be brought out of Sheol. Further, the dealings of God Himself require a justification which He cannot fail to give. This is in the main the line of expectation in Job. The sufferer is dying with an unjust condemnation upon him, and with no sign of regard from God. In Sheol he will still be cut off from God. He rises to the thought, and throws out the wish (14$^{13\text{ff.}}$), that there may be release from Sheol, and later on is assured that 'his redeemer (*gō'ēl*) lives,' and that he himself will see God (19^{25}). All this implies, first of all, literal death, and then restoration to life after death, *i.e.* resurrection in the proper sense of the word.*

These three tendencies of thought which were at work in the mind of Israel during and after the Exile seem to spring naturally out of the previous OT religion, and not to require any extraneous influence to account for the shape which they took. No doubt, such a passage as *Yasna* lx. 11, 12 is sufficient proof of a clear and lofty doctrine of resurrection in Persian religious thought.† But at the most such belief among their foreign rulers did no more than stimulate the home-born expectation of resurrection in the breast of Israel.

B. *APOCRYPHA.*—The variations which the doctrine of resurrection underwent in the inter-Testamental period are various and complicated. Their inconsistencies may be gathered from the brief summary of them in art. ESCHATOLOGY, vol. i. p. 748^b: for a full account of their phases, Charles, *Eschatology* (Jowett Lecture), chs. v.–viii., should of course be studied. See especially an admirable summary in *Book of Enoch*, ed. Charles, ch. 51, note.

---

* It must be confessed that both the text and the exegesis of this passage are still involved in considerable obscurity. See the *Comm.*, especially those of Dillmann, A. B. Davidson, and Duhm.

† 'In order that our minds may be delighted and our souls the best, let our bodies be glorified as well, and let them, O Mazda, go likewise openly (to Heaven) as the best world of the saints devoted to Ahura, and accompanied by Asha Vahista, who is righteousness the best and most beautiful, and may we see thee and may we approaching come round about thee, and attain to entire companionship with thee.'—*Sacred Bks. of the East*, vol. xxxi. p. 312.

Three of the deutero-canonical books require a few words, viz. Sirach, Wisdom, 2 Maccabees, as representatives of widely divergent views. The earliest of these (Sirach) is on the lines of Ecclesiastes, not rising beyond the old popular conception of Sheol. The immortality of man is distinctly denied in Sir 17^{30}. The contrary statement in 19^{19} is omitted in BℵAC (followed by RV). It is found, however, in the Complutensian text, and in the very important MS, Ho 248. Apparently, the only immortality expected is (1) that of the nation, and (2) for the individual a good name, 37^{26}. The three passages which appear to imply a better hope (46^{12} 48^{11} 49^{10}) are capable of being otherwise interpreted; cf. Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode*, § 40.—In direct opposition to Sirach is Wisdom, see Wis 2^{23} $3^{1ff.}$. But the expectation of immortality in this book is probably drawn from Greek philosophy much more than from Psalms or Prophets. A belief in the pre-existence of souls is held to be involved in it (Wis 8^{20}), and resurrection of the body is nowhere contemplated.*—On the other hand, 2 Mac. expresses the assurance of such a resurrection not only as an opinion, but as the motive and support of martyrdom. The persecutor can mutilate the body, but God will restore it intact (2 Mac 7^9 $11^{14.\,36}$ 14^{46}). And 12^{44} shows that the author had a Sadducean denial of resurrection confronting him, such as is implied by the silence of 1 Mac. in regard to everything relating to a future life. Thus we have in these three books severally (1) the ancient view of Sheol as the end of man, (2) the expectation of immortality for the soul alone, (3) belief in the resurrection of the body. It may be added that in 2 Mac. for the first time ἀνάστασις occurs in the Gr. Bible in the sense of 'resurrection' (but cf. Ps 65 title).—2 Es. need not be discussed here, as it is entirely post-Christian. For the pseudepigraphic literature the reader has already been referred to ESCHATOLOGY.

ii. EFFECT OF THE TEACHING AND RESURRECTION OF JESUS ON THE EXPECTATION OF RESURRECTION IN ISRAEL.—In the first place there may be room for doubt as to the precise character of this expectation. May 2 Mac. be taken as the expression of it? Was it regarded as a return to life under previous physical conditions in order to partake in a Messianic kingdom upon the present earth subjugated and renewed? It is to this that a survey of OT prophecy seems to lead, and it is this which seems to be in the minds of the apostles so far as we can judge by their utterances in the Gospels. It has indeed been shown by Charles (*Eschatology*, Jowett Lect. p. 238) that such a view is more properly characteristic of the 2nd cent. B.C. than of the 1st. The portions of Eth. Enoch which belong to the 1st cent. B.C. declare that the Messianic kingdom is of only temporary duration, and that the goal of the risen righteous is not this transitory kingdom, but heaven itself (*op. cit.* p. 201 ff.). Yet the literature of a period is not decisive as to popular belief, and the expectation of the kingdom of God in the Gospels appears to be more in harmony with the earlier eschatology. Even if 'the doctrine of the resurrection current among the cultured Pharisees in the century preceding the Christian era was of a truly spiritual nature,' it had not laid hold of the mass of the people. The character of the resurrection belief to be gathered from the Mishna (for which see Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*² pp. 369, 370) is probably better evidence of Jewish popular opinion in the time of Christ than any portion of Eth. Enoch, though it seems too much to say with Weber, that Enoch cannot in any case serve as authority for the exhibition of Jewish theology (*op. cit.* p. xv). Assuming, then, that the popular conception of resurrection was return to life under previous physical conditions in order to participate in a Messianic kingdom, we have to observe how this would be affected by the teaching and resurrection of Jesus.

A. *TEACHING OF JESUS.*—In the Synoptics the resurrection is taken for granted. There the discourses of Jesus seldom if ever communicate doctrine. Doctrine is presupposed. The discourses are practical, and it is in connexion with conduct, and judgment upon conduct, that the resurrection comes before us. However, a new view of life and death is implied in Mt 9^{24} 'the damsel is not dead, but sleepeth,' and to enforce this teaching may have been in part the object of the three miracles of raising the dead. There is another more important exception to the absence of direct teaching, the answer to the Sadducees (Mt $22^{23\text{-}32}$, Mk $12^{18\text{-}27}$, Lk $20^{27\text{-}38}$), which was evidently felt by those who recorded it to be of the highest importance. As an answer to the difficulty raised by the Sadducees, the words of the Lord are in a measure confirmatory of Eth. Enoch 51^4 ('they, *i.e.* the righteous, will all become angels in heaven'). But the Lord goes on to attack the position of His adversaries, and to prove, not indeed that there will be a resurrection, but that the conditions of it exist. The souls of the patriarchs are still truly alive, because acknowledged by God Himself (Ex 3^6) to be in relation to Him; cf. Lk $1^{54.\,55.\,72}$. Their resurrection in the body is indeed a further step, but follows inevitably from the love of God (see Swete on Mk 12^{26}). The narrative of Luke extends the thought of this relation of man to God from the souls of the patriarchs to all men, and to this striking utterance St. Paul probably refers in Ro $14^{7.\,8}$.—In the Fourth Gospel the treatment of the doctrine of resurrection is different. There it forms part of Christ's doctrinal system, both as to the spiritual revival which is its necessary condition (Jn $5^{24.\,25}$), and as to His own share in effecting it ($5^{28.\,29}$ $6^{39.\,40.\,44.\,54}$). In this latter particular we may compare the expectation of Eth. Enoch, which had connected the resurrection with the coming of the Son of Man (Eth. Enoch 51^1 61^5). This claim of Christ is concentrated in the words, 'I am the resurrection and the life,' Jn 11^{25}. In Martha's words and Christ's reply the old and the new doctrines meet, and the old is taken up and transformed into the new, losing nothing and gaining much. A serious difficulty, however, arises on this teaching. If resurrection is presented (Jn 6^{40}) as the necessary ultimate result of believing on the Son of God, the resurrection of unbelievers must, it is evident, stand on some other footing. To deny it altogether would be to fall into the fallacy of arguing from denial of the antecedent to denial of the consequent. But it must clearly be different in character. What is the difference? The question will recur below in considering St. Paul's presentation of the doctrine in Ro 8^{11}. A resurrection of the wicked is plainly presupposed in Christ's teaching as to the Judgment, Mt $25^{32ff.}$.

---

* Teichmann (*Die Paulinischen Vorstellungen von Auferstehung und Gericht*) endeavours to show that in 2 Co 5 St. Paul has abandoned his early Judaic belief in a literal resurrection, under the influence of Hellenic thought, and especially of the Book of Wisdom, cf. 9^{15}. See pp. 11–75 for the whole argument, which, though ingeniously worked out, is nevertheless unconvincing.

It is, moreover, distinctly affirmed in Jn $5^{28.\,29}$. The excision of these verses as proposed by some critics (Charles, *Eschatology*, p. 371) is an arbitrary method of getting rid of the difficulty. The solution seems to lie in the doctrine of two resurrections different in nature if not in date, which is implied in Lk 14^{14} 20^{35}, where see Plummer's notes (*Internat. Crit. Comm.* on Luke). The causation, so to speak, of the resurrection of the righteous from the dead (ἡ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασις) will be different from that of the rising of the wicked, though in both cases it proceeds from Christ as its author.

B. *RESURRECTION OF JESUS, AND ITS EFFECT ON THE DOCTRINE OF RESURRECTION.*—Of greater moment than any result of verbal teaching was the change in the doctrine produced by the resurrection of Jesus. The Jewish expectation, if it has been rightly estimated above (i. A.), would have been fulfilled by a return to life such as that of Lazarus, with a body subject to all its previous conditions. This and the two preceding raisings from the dead had appeared to confirm the popular view. And the Lord Himself had accommodated His teaching to the same expectation in Mt 18^{8}, though, as we have seen, He had incidentally rebuked it in Lk 20^{35}. But when He had risen, it was clear that the body with which He had risen was in some ways released from previous material conditions. He could pass through a closed sepulchre (implied by Mt 28^{2}), and closed doors (Jn 20^{26}), and be present at no great interval in different and distant places (cf. Lk 24^{15} and 24^{34}). It was the same and yet with a certain difference which was enough in some cases to delay or hinder recognition (Mk 16^{12}, Jn 20^{14} 21^{4}). As against this alteration in the character of His risen body, it might be urged that He asked for and received food (Lk $24^{41\mathrm{ff.}}$, Ac 10^{41}). But in these cases the purpose of the moment was to convince the disciples that what they saw was not a phantom; cf. Mt 14^{26}. This, with a view to the persons dealt with, could best be done by taking food. If there be resurrection of the body, there is no reason why such a body should not have the power of taking food without depending on it. Once cross the boundary of the present sphere of existence, and we are in a realm where we can no longer say 'this is impossible.' Indeed it was the reality and identity of His risen body which the Lord had to insist on; the difference was evident, and spoke for itself. To sum up, the effects of His resurrection were these—(1) It assured men of what till then had been a hope imperfectly supported by Scripture warrant, and therefore contested by an influential school of thought (the Sadducees). (2) It raised and enlarged that hope; cf. 1 P 1^{3}. Whatever influence the lofty predictions of Eth. Enoch (*Similitudes*) may have had among the studious and learned, it is probable that the people generally had interpreted resurrection as a renewal of this present life under its previous conditions. Christ's resurrection showed that it meant entry into an entirely new phase of existence. (3) It brought the doctrine of resurrection from the background of religious thought to the very front. The gospel of Jesus Christ demanded acceptance on the ground of His resurrection. It was that which declared (ὁρίζειν) Him to be the Son of God (Ro 1^{4}), and set the final seal of Divine acceptance on His teaching and life; and, as was afterwards realized, on the sacrifice of His death. The gospel which the apostles preached was the gospel of the resurrection (cf. Ac 4^{2}), though this combination of words does not actually occur. Confession of Jesus as Lord, and belief in His resurrection, are the only things necessary for salvation, Ro 10^{9}.

iii. THE PLACE THEREAFTER ASSIGNED TO THE DOCTRINE OF THE RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD IN APOSTOLIC TEACHING.—To this the preceding remarks naturally lead us on. In two respects the doctrine presented itself to men of the apostolic age differently from the way in which we regard it. (1) To the apostles the expectation of the Second Coming in their own lifetime, arising from such sayings as Mt 24^{34}, superseded in some measure the expectation of resurrection for themselves and for those whom they addressed, yet the strong Sadducean opposition to the gospel is expressly attributed to the apostles' teaching as to the resurrection (Ac 4^{2}). (2) On the other hand, the sense of the new life imparted to them by the words of Christ and the gift of the Spirit, with the example before them in the Person of Christ of how this life could triumph over death, made the resurrection in its aspect of quickening (ζωοποιεῖσθαι) an already present fact. They were already risen with Christ, death was brought to nought (2 Ti 1^{10}), and the subject of their preaching was 'this life' (ἡ ζωὴ αὕτη, Ac 5^{20}). But for later ages of the Church the literal resurrection has appeared to be the important thought, and the mystical resurrection has lost the freshness which it had when grown men entered by baptism into the new life, from the bondage of Judaism or the superstition and vice of heathenism (Ro $6^{4.\,5}$). But the question as to apostolic teaching is really not a general one, but special, and to be answered almost entirely from the Pauline Epistles. The Catholic Epistles and Hebrews contribute very little. It is when St. Paul turns to the Gentiles that the doctrine of the resurrection assumes a fresh prominence. It is not merely, as in Judæa, that witness must be given that Jesus is risen, to men who expect already resurrection for themselves; but the idea of resurrection is here a new one, and there is no previous belief in which the resurrection of the Lord can find its place. Popular Hellenic thought on the subject was vague, and apparently but little influenced by the doctrine of retribution taught in the mysteries (Salmond, *Chr. Doct. Immortality*, p. 135 note). Philosophic thought was simply concerned with the possible immortality of the soul, and uniformly discarded the prospect of a renewed existence in the body except by way of transmigration, a totally different conception from that of resurrection. In his discourse at Athens, St. Paul carried the Stoics with him throughout, until he came to the words 'in that he raised him from the dead,' Ac 17^{31}. Then some mocked, and Paul departed from among them. Hence in both his Epistles to the most distinctly Greek of the Churches which he addresses (Corinth), St. Paul enters fully on the question of resurrection. It was apparently at Corinth, first of all, that the mystical sense of resurrection, described above, usurped the place of the literal sense. It is to St. Paul that we owe the clear presentation of both the literal and the mystical views of resurrection as truly compatible. As examples of the mystical sense, besides Ro $6^{4.\,5}$ (already referred to), we have Col 2^{12} 3^{1}, Eph $2^{5\mathrm{f.}}$. The last-named passage carries the mystical union with Christ beyond His resurrection to His ascension. And it is in reference to the mystical resurrection that we are to understand the baptismal hymn, 'Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall shine upon thee,' Eph 5^{14}. It is easy to see how such language, if it stood alone and without its complement, might give occasion to the teaching of Hymenæus and Philetus that the resurrection was past already, 2 Ti 2^{18}. It was therefore absolutely necessary for St. Paul to emphasize also the literal sense of the doctrine, which he does in 1 Th 4^{16}, 2 Co 5, Ph 3^{21}, but especially in 1 Co $15^{12\text{-}58}$. In the latter passage he first shows that faith in the resurrection of the dead is vital to the gospel, because the resurrection of Christ is vital to it, and that cannot be maintained if the resurrection of those who are in Christ is denied. Then he meets the difficulties which Greek thought, more subtle and critical than Jewish, felt so strongly—'How are the dead raised, and with what manner of body do they come?'

In further examination of the Pauline doctrine, three questions will present themselves, which must be dealt with successively—(1) In what respects, if at all, does the teaching of St. Paul on the subject go beyond the teaching of Christ? (2) Is his teaching consistent with itself? (3) Does it include a doctrine of two resurrections?

(1) The principal thought which we owe to 1 Co 15 is that of a spiritual (*πνευματικόν*) as distinguished from a natural (*ψυχικόν*) body, namely, a body which is adapted to be the organ of a personality in which it is no longer the soul (*ψυχή*) but the spirit (*πνεῦμα*), which is supreme. This is in full correspondence with the account given in the Gospels of the risen Christ, but needed to be definitely stated (cf. 1 P 3^{18} RV). The analogies by which the possibility of such a body is indicated (vv.$^{39-41}$) are to be regarded as (*a*) popular illustrations, (*b*) examples of the inexhaustible resources of God, and are not adduced as arguments. The crux of the doctrine is, 'What continuity is there between the natural body resigned at death, and the spiritual body received at the resurrection?' For this, another analogy is brought forward—that of the seed and the wheat plant; and here again we have an illustration which must not be pressed too closely. It does not imply that the writer believed that there really is as it were a seed in the dead body out of which the new body will be developed (cf. Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*^{2} p. 369; Hughes, *Dict. Islam*, art. 'Resurrection'). Nor do St. Paul's words necessarily imply that view of the doctrine which from the Apologists onwards was general in the Catholic Church, namely, that the matter which constituted the former body at the time of death will be collected, and that the former body will thus be reproduced in all its members. The passage lends itself quite as readily to Origen's suggestion of a 'ratio quæ salva est' (Or. *de Principiis*, II. x. 3); see Westcott, *Gospel of Resurrection*, ii. § 7. In considering the difficulties attending the idea of the preservation of identity in the body, it must not be forgotten that difficulties also attend the conception of a continuous identity of the soul.

(2) *Is St. Paul's teaching consistent with itself?*—It is urged by Teichmann (*op. cit.*) that St. Paul's view in 1 Thess. is purely Judaic (*echt Jüdische*). It is true that he says nothing in 1 Thess. of the 'change' which is so prominent in the teaching of 1 Co 15, but this is no proof that it did not then form part of his expectation. 1 Co 15 is described by the same writer as 'a compromise'; and strongly contrasted with 2 Co 5, a contrast which must now be examined. (*a*) In 2 Co 5^2 the resurrection body is described as 'our habitation which is from heaven,' an expression which is not strictly consistent with the resurrection or retention of the former body as in 1 Co 15. But the inconsistency is no more than is allowable in speaking of a really indescribable event. The notion of a previously prepared body brought to the soul to be animated by it surely could not have definitely presented itself to the apostle's mind without being at once discarded. And it is further to be observed that vv.$^{1.2}$ have verbal coincidences with Mk 14^{58}, which, although a partly inaccurate statement of Christ's words, may very well have been known to St. Paul and have influenced his choice of expressions. (*b*) 2 Co 5^1 has been held to imply that St. Paul expected the resurrection body immediately upon his death. But this is not proved by his use of the present tense (*ἔχομεν*), which only expresses the certainty of his hope. Nor is it proved by *ἐὰν καταλυθῇ*, for *ἐάν* need not here, as in some cases, be rendered 'whenever,' but may retain its strictly conditional force, and so express the doubt which St. Paul still felt as to whether his 'earthly house' will really be dissolved by death, or be changed at the Lord's coming without dissolution. Nor, again, does his expectation of being with the Lord as soon as he leaves the body (5^8) imply that his resurrection would then take place (if indeed the term 'resurrection' be applicable to such a view, which is hardly the case), for, in another Epistle in which he expresses the same expectation of being immediately with Christ in case of death (Ph 1^{23}), he makes it perfectly clear that the change of the body of humiliation into the body of glory does not occur until the Second Coming (Ph $3^{20f.}$). It may be replied that the change described in Ph $3^{20f.}$ refers only to those who shall be alive at the Coming, among whom St. Paul has again begun to include himself (cf. Ph 1^{25}). But this can hardly be pressed in face of his definite expectation for himself of resurrection from the dead in Ph 3^{11}. We therefore conclude that he expects to be with the Lord before the Parousia in a disembodied state. Teichmann's arguments are largely based on a detached note on 2 Co 5 in Schmiedel's *Hand-Commentar*, pp. 200–202, and on Schmiedel's exegesis generally. It should be added as a supplementary consideration that the supposed abandonment by St. Paul of belief in an intermediate state would present a serious difficulty in view of the miracles of raising the dead recorded in NT. It is surely inconceivable that a soul already invested with a glorified body should be recalled to exchange it for an earthly one.

(3) *The two resurrections.*—We have already seen under OT that this expectation belongs to the earlier stages of the doctrine. First came the hope of resurrection for righteous Israelites, and it was only by degrees that the expectation was extended to wicked Israelites, and afterwards to the Gentiles. In Lk 14^{14} we have perhaps some sanction given to a distinction between the resurrection of the righteous and that of the wicked, and in Lk 20^{35} they that are accounted worthy to attain that world and the 'resurrection from the dead' are spoken of as (all of them) 'sons of God.' The conclusion to be drawn is, not that Christ taught that only the righteous will be raised, but that their resurrection is to be thought of as separate from that of the wicked. This distinction seems to be confirmed by Jn 5^{29}, and to be followed by St. Paul in Ac 24^{15}. With this clue we can scarcely fail to see the same thought in 1 Th 4^{16}, where the resurrection of the dead in Christ is spoken of quite without reference to any general resurrection, though this must not be inferred from the word 'first.' This word is correlative to 'then' (*ἔπειτα*), which introduces as the second event the 'rapture' of the living. Again, in 1 Co $15^{23.24}$ there seems to be a distinction between the phrases 'they that are Christ's' and 'the end,' which latter expression may cover the general resurrection and the judgment. Lightfoot (on Ph 3^{11}) distinguishes firmly between *ἡ ἐξανάστασις ἡ ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἀνάστασις ἐκ νεκρῶν* on the one side, and *ἡ ἀνάστασις τῶν νεκρῶν* on the other; the former two phrases being equivalent to *ἀνάστασις ζωῆς*, and the latter phrase to *ἀνάστασις κρίσεως*, Jn 5^{29}. And indeed it would be hard to explain St. Paul's words, Ph 3^{11} 'if by any means I may attain,' if we suppose that what he desired to attain to was merely that resurrection which is certain for all. The only other explanation of such an aspiration

is that he had given up belief in a resurrection of the wicked. On the whole, it appears that there must be some distinctive character in the resurrection to life, both as to causation and nature, which has not yet been brought out adequately in theology. Thus we are led to return to the difficulty stated above (ii. A) as arising from the teaching of the Lord in Jn 5 and 6. Christ's promise to raise His hearers in the last day is conditioned by belief on the Son (Jn 6^{40}), and their resurrection is represented as an act of grace extended to them by Christ (Jn 5^{21} $6^{44.\,54}$), although it is also said that 'all who are in the tombs shall hear his voice and shall come forth' (5^{29}). Now St. Paul's teaching distinctly follows the same line: 'He that raised up Christ Jesus from the dead shall quicken also your mortal bodies through (or because of) his Spirit which dwelleth in you' (Ro 8^{11}), which limits this Divine operation to those in whom the Holy Spirit dwells. 1 Co 15^{44-46} is a fuller statement of the same thought. The body there spoken of is spiritual, *i.e.* a fit organ for the spirit, a description which cannot refer to any but the saved. 1 Co 15^{22} has been quoted on the other side as proving that all (both righteous and wicked) shall be made alive in Christ. But 'all' probably means all who are already in relation to Christ as believers. See Meyer, *Kommentar*^{8}, ed. Heinrici, on the verse. It must be acknowledged that the line of teaching in the above passages makes strongly at first sight for a resurrection of the righteous only, and, in short, for the doctrine of conditional immortality. But inasmuch as this view can be carried through only by dint of very rough dealing with the text of the NT in several passages, *e.g.* Jn 5^{29}, it may be concluded that while 'life' (Jn 6^{40}) and its equivalent, the indwelling Spirit (Ro 8^{11}), are both the cause and the earnest of resurrection for believers, they are nevertheless not indispensable to such a resurrection as is involved in the presentation of the rest of mankind in an embodied state before their Judge.

(4) From the doctrine of two resurrections, in whatever form it be accepted, arises the question, Will there be an interval between them, and if so what occurs in it? 1 Co 15^{24-26}, arguing from Ps 110^{1}, seems to imply that there is an interval during which Christ subdues all His enemies. A much more definite statement occurs in Rev 20^{4-6}, where the interval is a thousand years—'the rest of the dead lived not till the thousand years should be finished.' In this passage the first resurrection is placed at the beginning of the millennium, and at the end of it follows not a second resurrection but the 'second death.' It is beyond the scope of this article to show that in the first three centuries belief in a millennial reign of Christ on earth was generally accepted in the Church. See esp. Justin, *Dial.* lxxx. 1; Iren. v. 33 ff. The interpretation given by Augustine[*] to Rev 20^{1} is that the first resurrection is the spiritual awakening which began to work in mankind after the coming of Christ, *i.e.* the resurrection in its mystical aspect; and that the millennium of Rev 20 is the period from that awakening onwards. He supports this explanation of the reign of the saints by the constant use in NT of 'kingdom' as equivalent to the Church militant. This is hardly satisfactory as an exposition of the passage in question. It is rather an exposition of passages in the Prophets and the sayings of Christ which underlie Rev 20; and as such it has real value. The history of the Church has been a history of the subjugation of the world to Christ, slow but progressive. Such a view, however, if adopted in reference to Rev 20, would contradict the identification of 'the first resurrection' with 'the resurrection of the just,' which must, so far as we can see, be taken in other passages to mean a literal resurrection. The interpretation of Rev 20 is beset with difficulties and contradictions, which are well stated by Milligan, *Lectures on Apoc.*, Lect. vi. The suggestion of a considerable interval of time between the resurrection of the just and that of the unjust has therefore no secure basis. The significant contribution of the Apocalypse is the clearness with which the resurrection of the wicked for judgment appears in it, which can hardly be dismissed on the ground that the book is ultra-Judaic. See, further, art. MILLENNIUM.

There remains to be dealt with in a few words what is probably the latest book in the Canon (1 Jn 3^{2}). St. John first disclaims knowledge of the nature and conditions of our future state, and then in three words, *ὅμοιοι αὐτῷ ἐσόμεθα* ('we shall be like him'), gives the substance of the Christian doctrine of the resurrection of the dead. Our resurrection will be on the pattern, so to speak, of His. Not only does His resurrection answer all doubts as to the possibility of resurrection for us, but it also answers sufficiently the questions in which those doubts express themselves, namely, as to 'how' and 'wherewith.' In one respect the parallel between His resurrection and ours appears to fail. But a little reflexion will show that the difference involved in the reanimation of a body not yet decayed, as was the case in His resurrection, and the clothing of the soul with a body which has to be reconstituted, is of no great weight, inasmuch as the change which passed on the Lord's human body at resurrection must have been of so fundamental a character, that although outward identity was preserved, yet the natural body had given place to something wholly different.

The extenuation of the Christian doctrine of the resurrection of the dead into a natural or conferred immortality of the soul to avoid perplexities arising from the limitation of our knowledge, evacuates the force of St. Paul's teaching as to the ideal sanctity of the human body, *e.g.* 1 Co 6^{14}, and sacrifices the moral value of a sense of its high destiny. Again, it breaks up the Pauline conception of man as body, soul, and spirit, all capable of being preserved entire without blame (1 Th 5^{23}). Even if we hesitate to accept St. Paul's psychology, we must confess that the only self which we know is a self constituted of body as well as soul. St. Paul's expression of Christian hope is not deliverance from the body, but redemption of the body. The redemption of the body is the last stage in the great process of adoption (*υἱοθεσία*) by which we are made 'sons of God' (Ro 8^{23}).

LITERATURE.—W. R. Alger, *Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life*, with Bibliography by Ezra Abbott (the latter also pub. separately); Schultz, *OT Theology* (Eng. tr.), vol. ii. pp. 382–398; Beyschlag, *NT Theology* (Eng. tr.); Schürer, *HJP* § 29, 'Messianic Hope'; Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode*; Teichmann, *Die Paulinischen Vorstellungen von Auferstehung und Gericht*; Cheyne, *Origin of the Psalter*, Lect. viii. part ii.; Commentaries on 1 and 2 Co, especially Meyer's *Kommentar*, ed. Heinrici, Schmiedel's *Hand-Commentar*, and Klöpper's *Second Corinthians*; articles in Herzog, *PRE*^{2}, by Kübel, and in Hauck, *PRE*^{3}, by Schaeder; articles on ESCHATOLOGY in present work; Westcott, *The Gospel of the Resurrection*; Sir G. G. Stokes, *Immortality of the Soul* (a short pamphlet). By far the most important modern works are Salmond's *Christian Doctrine of Immortality*; and, on different lines, Charles' *Eschatology, Hebrew, Jewish, and Christian*, with which should be read the same author's *Book of Enoch*. See also Thackeray's *Relation of St. Paul to Contemp. Jewish Thought*, ch. v. (published after the foregoing art. was in type). Fuller accounts of the literature will be found at the end of the three articles on ESCHATOLOGY.

E. R. BERNARD.

REU (רְעוּ; LXX and NT Ῥαγαύ, hence AV in Lk

---

[*] 'De hoc ergo regno militiæ, in quo adhuc cum hoste confligitur, et aliquando repugnatur pugnantibus vitiis, aliquando et cedentibus imperatur, donec veniatur ad illum pacatissimum regnum, ubi sine hoste regnabitur; et *de hac prima resurrectione quæ nunc est*, liber iste (*sc.* Apoc.) sic loquitur.'—Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, xx. 9; and see also vi.–x., which are full of interest throughout.

3^{35} Ragau).—The son of Peleg, Gn 11^{18-21}, 1 Ch 1^{25}, Lk 3^{35}. The ethnological signification of the name is uncertain. Von Bohlen has even suggested its identity with *Rhages* in Media; Ewald (*Hist.* i. 268, Eng. tr.) conjectures *Arghana* at the sources of the Tigris; some think of *Rughwa* in the Shammar mountains in Arabia (see Sprenger, *Geog. Arab.* 233, 294), others of the Aramæan *Ru'ua* in S. Babylonia, often mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions from the time of Tiglath-pileser II. onwards (see Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 238 ff.; Schrader, *KAT*^{2} 117 [*COT* i. 102]). Mez (*Gesch. der Stadt Ḥarrân*, 23) makes Reu the name of a god; but see Dillm. *Genesis, ad loc.* J. A. SELBIE.

REUBEN (רְאוּבֵן; LXX Ῥουβήν [E in Gn 30^{14} Ῥουβίμ]; but Jos. *Ant.* I. xix. 7, etc. Ῥούβηλος, Syr. [Lee] ܪܘܒܝܠ *Rûbîl*, and similarly [so Dillmann on Gn 29^{32}] in Arab. and Eth. Versions and some Gr. MSS Ῥουβίλ, Ῥουβήλ).—The etymology is quite uncertain; MT spelling makes the name = 'Behold a son.' Gn 29^{32}, playing upon the form of the word, finds in it a suggestion of 'He hath looked upon my distress' (*rā'ā b^e'onyî*), and possibly also of 'He will love me' (*ye'ĕhābhanî*). Josephus (*l.c.*) states that the word meant, 'It had happened to her according to the compassion of God,' *i.e.* *El*. None of these derivations are probable. Baethgen (*Beiträge*, p. 159) prefers the reading Reuben, and sees in it a strengthened form of the Arabic proper name *Ru'ba*, found in an African inscription as the name (in the form *Rubatis*) of a Palmyrene. If *Reubel* is read, he would explain it as *re'u-bel* or *re'u-b-el*, 'seen by [cared for by] Bel or El,' and not, as some have taken it (with Gad and Asher), as the name of a god. Dillmann (on Gn 29^{32}) prefers the reading *Reubel*, and connects it with Arab. *ri'bâl*, 'wolf'; Ball (on Gn 29^{32}, *SBOT*) suggests a connexion with the Egyptian *ra-uban*, but prefers to derive from Arab. *ra'ûb*, 'a chief who mends matters, a big, portly chief,' from *ra'ba*, 'to mend.' The form רב־אל occurs as a proper name in Aramaic inscriptions (Lidzbarski, p. 367); and it seems possible that, whichever reading is preferred, the root רב 'great' underlies the word (note Reuben's position as firstborn). Cf. Lagarde, *Onom. Sacra, s.v.*; Gray, *HPN* pp. 65, 124.

In J, Reuben is the firstborn of Jacob, and the son of Leah, Gn 29^{32}; he finds mandrakes for her, 30^{14}; and lies with Bilhah, the slave-girl whom Rachel gave to Jacob as a concubine, 35^{22}. Perhaps in the original narrative of J this episode was placed after Jacob's death, and was a legitimate incident of Reuben's succession to his father (Addis, but cf. below). In the Blessing of Jacob (possibly incorporated by J in his work), Gn $49^{3f.}$, in the text as it stands, Reuben is the firstborn, and is denounced for the act of incest.

In E, Reuben appears only in the story of Joseph, as making an unsuccessful attempt to save him from his other brothers, $37^{22.29}$,* and as offering his sons as pledges for the safety of Benjamin.

In P, Reuben is Leah's son and Jacob's firstborn, 35^{23}, $46^{8.9}$=R, etc., 1 Ch 2^1. Gn 48^5 apparently implies that the birthright was transferred from Reuben and Simeon to Ephraim and Manasseh. This is expressly stated of Reuben in 1 Ch 5^1, and his incest is given as the reason.

Reuben is often regarded as merely the eponymous ancestor of the tribe, and the primitive traditions as tribal history cast in the form of personal narrative. See next article.

W. H. BENNETT.

REUBEN (Tribe), REUBENITES, CHILDREN OF REUBEN, derivatives, etc., of *Reuben*, *Roubel*, etc.—(Cf., throughout, GAD for the treatment of matters common to the two tribes, which is not, as a rule, repeated here).

i. EARLY HISTORY.—The relation of Reuben to the other tribes is indicated genealogically by the statement that Reuben was the firstborn, the son of Leah, that he committed incest with Bilhah, and that the birthright was transferred to Ephraim and Manasseh; *i.e.* in early times Reuben was the most powerful tribe and enjoyed the hegemony, which passed at a later period to Ephraim and Manasseh. The incest incident is variously interpreted. Either the tribe retained a lax sexual morality abandoned by its fellows; or it in some way assailed the rights of the Bilhah tribes, Dan and Naphtali. If the latter view is taken, the reference must be to events before the Exodus; otherwise it is impossible to determine whether these traditions refer to events before or after the Conquest. In the narrative of the rebellion of the Reubenite chiefs Dathan and Abiram against Moses (Nu 16, JE), we may have a reminiscence of an attempt of Reuben to assert its ancient rights as premier tribe.

As a 'son' of Leah, Reuben is grouped with Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulun, and Dinah. This arrangement does not agree with any known geographical or political conditions, and may be a reminiscence of the state of affairs before the Exodus.

In P, etc. (Gn 46^9, Ex 6^{14}, Nu 26^5, 1 Ch 5^3), the sons or clans of Reuben are Hanoch, Pallu, Hezron, and Carmi; and, at the Exodus, the prince of Reuben is Elizur ben-Shedeur (Nu 1^5 2^{10} 7^{30} 10^{18}), and the Reubenite spy is Shammua ben-Zaccur (Nu 13^4). Buchanan Gray (*HPN* p. 197) is inclined to regard Shaddaiur [Shedeur] as one of a set of names which are 'archaic artificial formations,' not improbably created by the author of P, rather than 'names actually current at any period.' He seems to favour a similar view as to Elizur (p. 199). P also tells us that Reuben numbered 46,500 (Nu 1^{21} 2^{11}) at the first census, and at the second 43,730 (Nu 26^7). Reuben occupies the first place in Nu $1^{5.20}$ 26^5, but the fourth place in 2^{10} 7^{30} 10^{18}. In the order of marching in the wilderness, Reuben headed the 'camp of Reuben,' which was on the south side, and also included Gad and Simeon, Nu 2^{10}.

ii. THE CONQUEST.—Reuben was associated with Gad in the occupation of Eastern Palestine, in co-operation with the other tribes in the Conquest of the West, and in the return across the Jordan, and the various incidents connected with the erection of a great altar (see GAD ii.).

iii. THE TERRITORY OF REUBEN; cf. GAD iii., *Map* and *Table of Cities*.—Besides minor references, we have two main accounts of the territory: (*a*) Nu $32^{37.38}$ (JE) 'The Reubenites built Heshbon, Elealeh, Kiriathaim, Nebo, Baal-meon (their names being changed), and Sibmah: and gave other names* unto the cities which they builded.' These cities lie in a district about midway between the Jabbok and the Arnon, but nearer to the southern stream. Dibon and Aroer, given to Gad in the preceding paragraph, are to the south of the Reubenite cities; so that the territory of Reuben seems to have been an *enclave* in that of Gad. There is no trace of these cities being called by different names either before or after—*Beth-baal-meon* is only a variant of *Baal-meon*. The writer cannot intend to tell us that the Reubenites gave to their cities the names of foreign gods, Nebo and Baal; so that those given are the ancient names, and the new names are not mentioned here or anywhere else. Perhaps, as Dillmann suggests, the writer meant that the Reubenites did not use such names, but substituted others unconnected with the worship of false gods. This list may indicate the geographical relations of Gad and Reuben at some flourishing period of the Israelite monarchy. (*b*) Jos 13, P (using earlier sources ?). The northern boundary of Reuben is a line drawn about E.N.E. eastwards from the northern end of the Dead Sea, or due E. from some point on the Jordan a little farther north. The line passed a little north of Heshbon. The W. boundary is the Dead Sea and the Jordan, the S. boundary is the Arnon, the E. boundary is not defined. As far as they have been identified, the cities assigned to Reuben elsewhere in P (Jos 20. 21) and in 1 Ch 6 fall in this district. The statements of P may not rest upon any actual knowledge of historical geography, but state a theory as to the legitimate claims of Reuben. (*c*) In 1 Ch 5$^{8.\ 12}$ the Chronicler (so Kittel, *SBOT*) tells us that a Reubenite clan Joel (so apparently) occupied Aroer, as far as Nebo and Baal-meon; but also mentions a Gadite clan Joel. If these statements rest on ancient tradition, we have a trace of the confusion arising from the close association of the two tribes: clans and territories were reckoned sometimes to the one, sometimes to the other.

---

* In 37^{21} *Reuben* has been substituted for *Judah* by an editor.

* 'Gave other names' often omitted by critics as a gloss.

TABLE OF CITIES ASSIGNED TO REUBEN.

	Assigned to									Remarks.
	Reuben.					Gad.	Moab.			
	Nu 32$^{37.\ 38}$.	Jos 13$^{15\text{-}23}$.	Jos 20^{8}.	Jos 21$^{36.\ 37}$.	1 Ch 5^{8}.		Is 15. 16, etc.	Jer 48.	Stone.	
Aroer . . .		? [a]		=1 Ch 6$^{78.\ 79}$	*	Nu 32^{34}		*	*	[a] '*from.*'
Ashdoth-pisgah [b] .		*								[b] RV 'slopes of Pisgah.'
Bamoth-baal . .		*							* [c]	[c] Beth Baal.
Beth-baal-meon .	* [d]	*			* [d]		Ezk 25^{9} [d]	* [e]	*	[d] Baal-meon.
Beth-jeshimoth .		*					Ezk 25^{9}			[e] Beth-meon.
Beth-peor . .		*								
Bezer . . .			*	*	*			* [f]	*	[f] Bozrah.
Dibon . . .		*				Nu 32^{34} 33$^{45.\ 46}$	*	*	*	
Elealeh . . .	*						*	*		
Heshbon . .	*	*				Jos 20^{8} 21^{39}	*	*		
Jah(a)z(ah) . .		*		*			*	*	* [g]	[g] Taken from Israel.
Kedemoth . .		*		*						
Kiriathaim . .	*	*						*	*	
Medeba . . .		*					*		* [g]	
Mephaath . .		*		*				*		
Nebo . . .	*						*	*	* [g]	
Sibmah . . .	*	*					*	*		
Zereth-shahar .		*								

The district assigned to Reuben is described under MOAB.

iv. HISTORY AFTER THE CONQUEST.—It is difficult to determine how far Reuben had a history separate from that of Gad. In Nu 32 and in the narratives in Joshua, Reuben and Gad are constantly associated, and, as we have seen, were somewhat intermingled in their territorial settlements. This relationship probably arose out of the arrangements made during the period of the Conquest, and were not due to any previous special connexion between the two tribes; Reuben is a 'son' of Leah, Gad of Zilpah, Rachel's slave. P's usual grouping (Nu 2^{10} etc.)—Reuben, Simeon, Gad—in the history of the Exodus is a reflexion of later conditions. Reuben and Gad [Gilead] are mentioned consecutively in the Song of Deborah as having both held aloof from the war against Sisera. The two tribes are also associated in 2 K 10^{33} as 'smitten' by Hazael, and in 1 Ch 5^{26} as carried captive by Tiglath-pileser. On the other hand, they are kept quite separate in the Blessing of Jacob (Gn 49) and the Blessing of Moses (Dt 33); and the latter document shows us that Gad was flourishing when Reuben had been reduced to insignificance. Probably Gad and Reuben were associated at the Conquest, and through the proximity of their territories; but, after the Conquest, the prevailing tendency to lapse from national unity to tribal isolation loosened the ties between the two eastern tribes, till Reuben was overwhelmed by some catastrophe, and its remnants became absorbed in Gad.

Apparently, at and immediately after the Conquest, Reuben was still an important tribe. In the Song of Deborah it is referred to before Gad, and at greater length—

'By the watercourses of Reuben
There were great resolves of heart.
Why satest thou among the sheepfolds,
To hear the pipings for the flocks?
At the watercourses of Reuben
There were great searchings of heart.
Gilead abode beyond Jordan' (Jg 5$^{15\text{-}17}$).*

Thus, at this time, Reuben was still much occupied with flocks and herds, perhaps altogether a pastoral, semi-nomadic people; and was too little interested in its western kinsfolk to join the muster against Sisera.

In Jg 20. 21 (R^{Px} on JE) the eastern tribes take part in the war against Benjamin. The Blessing of Jacob, a document of the early monarchy (B.C. 1000–850), opens by referring to Reuben; thus, according to MT—

'Reuben, thou art my firstborn, my might, and the beginning
of my strength;
The pre-eminence of dignity, and the pre-eminence of power.
Uncontained as water, thou shalt not have the pre-eminence;
Because thou wentest up to thy father's bed:
Then defiledst thou it: he went up to my couch.'

The sense is obscure, and the text doubtful; but the lines seem to suggest that at this time Reuben was still powerful; but in bad odour with the other tribes, possibly on account of lax sexual morality (Dillmann), or for political reasons, or because the tribe had in some way violated some Israelite tradition as to religious observances. Jos 22 may be based on some such reminiscences.

---

* Moore (*PB*) emends the text and translates—

'Great were the dissensions in the divisions of Reuben.
Why didst thou remain amid ash-heaps,
Listening to pipings at sheepfolds?
Gilead sat still beyond Jordan.'

Another view is that these lines are an explanation, after the event, of the ruin of the tribe; but, if this were the case, we should expect some more definite and circumstantial reference to the calamity.

In 1 Ch 5$^{9f.\ 18-22}$, according to Kittel (*SBOT*), part of the material added by the Chronicler to his sources, we read that, in the time of Saul, the Reubenites had much cattle, and in conjunction with Gad and Eastern Manasseh possessed themselves of the cattle and conquered the territory of the Hagrites, and 'dwelt in their stead till the Captivity' (see HAGRITES). The same stratum of Chronicles (so Kittel) makes the following statements as to the Reubenites in the reign of David. In 1 Ch 12$^{23.\ 37}$ amongst the Israelites who came to David at Hebron to make him king were 120,000 from the Eastern tribes; and, according to 1 Ch 26^{32}, David appointed 2700 Levites of Hebron as ecclesiastical and civil officials over these tribes; and 1 Ch 27^{16} states that the chief of the Reubenites in his reign was Eliezer ben-Zichri. No doubt the Reubenites often engaged, with varying success, in border warfare with the neighbouring tribes; and tradition may have preserved reminiscences of a victory over the Hagrites. The statistics are probably obtained by the Chronicler's familiar conjectural reconstruction of history.

Kittel, however, considers that the statement of 1 Ch 11^{42}, that among David's mighty men was the Reubenite chief Adina ben-Shiza with thirty followers, is derived from some ancient source no longer extant.

According to an ancient source preserved in 1 K 4$^{7-19}$, Solomon divided the country into twelve districts, three of which lay east of Jordan. The southernmost is described as 'the land of Gad (so Benzinger with LXX [B]; MT has 'Gilead'), the country of Sihon';* Reuben, in common with the majority of the tribes, is not mentioned. At the disruption Reuben fell to the Northern kingdom, 1 K 11^{31}.

In the Blessing of Moses (Dt 33), a document composed in the Northern kingdom under either Jeroboam I. or II., Reuben is still mentioned first; perhaps, however, only through the influence of the earlier Blessing of Jacob. The verse runs—

> 'Let Reuben live, and not die;
> Yet let his men be few' (RV).†

This verse implies that Reuben had become altogether insignificant. So, too, the Moabite Stone mentions most of the Reubenite cities as occupied or conquered by Moab; it speaks of the Gadites, but does not name Reuben. Hence before the time of Mesha (a younger contemporary of Ahab), Reuben had long lost the country to the east of the Dead Sea, if it ever held it, and was merged in Gad. When or how Reuben lost its power and prosperity we do not know; the change may have been gradual. On the one hand, Reuben was the outpost of Israel towards the S.E. deserts, it was exposed to hostile neighbours on both its southern and eastern frontiers, and constantly bore the brunt of the predatory habits of the Bedawin; on the other, it was largely isolated from the other tribes geographically, and, according to the 'Blessings,' had alienated their sympathies. Reuben may have suffered through the weakening of the power of Israel in the latter part of the reign of Solomon, and at the time of the disruption.

The Chronicler (1 Ch 5$^{6.\ 22.\ 26}$) associates the Reubenites with Gad and E. Manasseh, as occupying E. Palestine, till the two and a half tribes were carried captive by Tiglath-pileser, and mentions Beerah ben-Baal of the clan Joel as chief of the Reubenites at that time. No doubt a remnant of Reuben remained amongst the Gadites up to this captivity.

Certain indications suggest that other Reubenite clans took refuge in Judah, and became merged in that tribe. Two of the clans of Reuben as given in P and Chron. bear the same names as two clans of Judah, viz. Hezron and Carmi,* Gn 46$^{9.\ 12}$, 1 Ch 4^{1}; and P also mentions (Jos 15^{6} 18^{17}) the stone of Bohan the Reubenite as a landmark on the boundary between Judah and Benjamin.

Ezk 48$^{6.\ 31}$ makes provision for Reuben in the restored Israel; and Reuben is one of the twelve tribes enumerated in Rev 7^{5}. Besides GAD, cf. MOAB. W. H. BENNETT.

REUEL (רְעוּאֵל; LXX Ῥαγουήλ).—**1.** A son of Esau by Basemath, Gn 36$^{4.\ 10.\ 13.\ 17}$, 1 Ch 1$^{35.\ 37}$. **2.** Ex 2^{18}, Nu 10^{29} (AV in the latter Raguel). See HOBAB and JETHRO. **3.** The father of Eliasaph, the prince of Gad, Nu 2^{14}, called (probably by mistaking ר for ד) DEUEL in 1^{14} 7$^{42.\ 47}$ 10^{20}. The LXX has everywhere Ῥαγουήλ. **4.** A Benjamite, 1 Ch 9^{8}.

REUMAH (רְאוּמָה; A [B is wanting here] Ῥεηρά, *D* Ῥεημά).—The concubine of Nahor, Abraham's brother, Gn 22^{24}.

REVELATION.—See BIBLE.

REVELATION, BOOK OF.—

- i. Introduction.
    - 1. Title.
    - 2. Canonicity.
    - 3. History of Interpretation.
- ii. The Nature of Apocalyptical Writings.
    - 1. Daniel: (*a*) occasion and message; (*b*) underlying faith; (*c*) source and authority of the message; (*d*) plan of the book.
    - 2. Characteristics of Apocalypses in comparison with Prophecy: (*a*) situation and message; (*b*) dualistic theology; (*c*) element of prediction; (*d*) pseudonymous authorship; (*e*) literary material and form; (*f*) literary composition and history; (*g*) apocalyptical dogmas.
    - 3. Inferences as to Methods of Interpretation.
    - 4. Book of Rev. as an Apocalypse: (*a*) likeness to Jewish Apocalypses; (*b*) unlikeness; (*c*) remaining questions.
- iii. Contents and Composition of Revelation.
    - 1. Contents.
    - 2. Plan: (*a*) introduction; (*b*) plan of chs. 1-3; (*c*) plan of chs. 4-22; (*d*) experiences of the seer, (1) place and movement, (2) heavenly scenes, (3) form of inspiration.
    - 3. Sources: (*a*) Old Testament (chs. 18. 21–22^{5} 1$^{12-20}$); (*b*) Jewish apocalyptical tradition (chs. 4. 11$^{1-13}$ 12. 13. 17).
- iv. Historical Situation.
- v. Teachings of Revelation.
    - 1. Predictions: (*a*) general; (*b*) details, (1) fall of Rome, (2) saving of the faithful, (3) fall of Satan, (4) the thousand years.
    - 2. Religious Ideas (Theology): (*a*) God; (*b*) Christ's person and work; (*c*) the Christian life.
- vi. Relation of Rev. to other NT Books.
    - 1. St. Paul.
    - 2. Synoptic Gospels.
    - 3. Gospel and Epistles of St. John.
- Conclusion.

i. INTRODUCTION.—1. *Title.*—The first word of the Book of Revelation gives the current title not only to this book, but to the class of literature to which it belongs. The word 'apocalypse' does not occur again in Rev., and does not here signify a literary product. The title which the book suggests is rather 'the words (*or* the book) of the prophecy of John' (1^{3} $22^{7.\,10.\,18.\,19}$). Certainly the title 'Apocalypse of John' (ℵC, etc.) implies a different use of the word 'Apocalypse' from that which the NT attests. The book is introduced not as the Apocalypse of John, but as 'an apocalypse of Jesus Christ.' God is the ultimate author of the revelation. He gave it to Christ, and Christ, through His angel, to His servant John, who therefore testifies to that which is ultimately 'the word of God,' and more immediately 'the testimony of Jesus Christ,' though it can also be called 'whatsoever things he saw' (1^{2}, cf. $^{11.\,19}$). The phrase 'apocalypse of Jesus Christ' here means, not a revelation of Him (*i.e.* the Parousia, as in 1 Co 1^{7}, 2 Th 1^{7}, 1 P $1^{7.\,13}$ 4^{13}), nor a revelation concerning Him, but a revelation by Him concerning the future (cf. Gal $1^{12.\,16}$, where the revelation is by Christ, but also concerning Him —a self-revelation).

---

* 'Og,' etc., is a late gloss. The last clause of v.^{19} is obviously corrupt both in MT and LXX; Benzinger emends 'A prefect-general was appointed over all the prefects.'

† Improbable renderings are: 'And let *not* his men' (RVm), and 'May he not die, or his men become few' (Dillm.). See, further, on this passage, art. SIMEON (Tribe).

* Unless we read Chelubai in 1 Ch 4^{1}.

2. *Canonicity.*—There is probably no trace of Rev. in the Apostolic Fathers (Zahn, *Gesch. d. NT Kanons*, i. 954 f.). Ign. *ad Eph.* xv. 3 does not necessarily imply Rev 21^{3}; still less does *ad Phil.* vi. 1 require Rev $3^{12\text{ff.}}$. Papias is the first to attest, not the apostolicity, but the credibility of Rev., according to Andreas, bishop of Cæsarea (Cappadocia), who in his commentary cites two remarks of Papias on Rev 12^{7}. Their source, however, is unknown, and Euseb. does not directly mention any reference to Rev. by Papias (*HE* III. xxxix.). He does, however, say that Papias based his chiliasm on apostolic statements, which he took literally, instead of figuratively as he should have done. It is true that when Irenæus appeals in favour of the reading 666 (13^{18}) to presbyters who had seen John (*Hær.* V. xxx. 1; Euseb. *HE* V. viii. 5), we naturally think of Polycarp or Papias as his authority. But this is not a matter about which Iren. would naturally remember what, as a boy, he had heard the aged Polycarp say; and if he had been able to appeal to Polycarp, he would have done so by name. It is probably tradition rather than recollection on which he rests.

Justin (*Dial.* lxxxi. 15) is the first to declare that Rev. is by 'John, one of the apostles of Christ' (cf. Euseb. IV. xviii. 8). Melito, bishop of Sardis (170), wrote a lost work on the 'Rev. of John' (Euseb. IV. xxvi. 2). This is important, since Sardis is one of the seven Churches. Theophilus cited Rev. (Euseb. IV. xxiv. 1), and so did Apollonius (Euseb. V. xviii.). Irenæus was a defender of the apostolic authorship of the Gospel, Epistles, and Rev. of John (for Rev. see *Hær.* IV. xx. 11, V. xxxv. 2, 'John the Lord's disciple,' elsewhere simply 'John,' I. xxvi. 3, IV. xiv. 2, etc., or without name). Iren. took his high estimation of the book with him to the West. It was regarded as 'sacred Scripture' by the Churches in Lyons and Vienne in A.D. 177 (Euseb. V. i. 10, 58; Zahn i. 201, 203 f.). Tertullian cites Rev. frequently, and attests its recognition in Africa, as by 'the Apostle John' (*c. Marcion.* iii. 14. 25). Clement of Alex. cites it and other apocalypses also, and puts value upon them. So also does Origen, in spite of his opposition to chiliasm, which he escapes by allegorical interpretation.

For the Roman Church, the eschatology of Hermas is significant for its independence of Revelation. The book stands, however, in the *Muratorian Canon* without suspicion ('John, too, in the Apocalypse, although he writes only to seven Churches, yet addresses all'); and after the elaborate defence of it by Hippolytus against Caius, its canonicity remained established for the Western Church.

But though hardly any other book in the NT is so well attested in the 2nd cent., there were already those who denied its authority, and its place in the Canon of the Eastern Church was long uncertain. The objections appear to have rested on dogmatic grounds, though they required to be maintained by a denial of the apostolic authorship of the book. Marcion, as was inevitable, rejected the book because of its strongly Jewish character (Tert. *c. Marcion.* iv. 5). On the other hand, the Montanists, with their high appreciation of the new Christian prophecy and the strongly eschatological type of their Christianity, held the book in high esteem; and it was in opposition to them that the well-known, long-remaining antipathy of the Eastern Church to Rev. was developed.

Epiphanius (*Hær.* li. 33) tells of a sect which rejected John's Gospel and Rev., and ascribed both to Cerinthus. He calls them *Alogi*, which suggests that the reason for their criticism was the Logos Christology, in which the Gospel, the First Epistle, and Rev. agree. The sect would then be anti-Gnostic, as the choice of Cerinthus for the author would indicate. Epiph. says they supported their view by the fact that there was no Christian Church at Thyatira [Rev 2^{18}], where this sect had its seat. They are further described as being averse to the sensuous and extravagant form of the apocalyptical language, the significance of angels, etc.

Irenæus (III. xi. 9) describes a certain sect which rejected John's Gospel on account of its doctrine of the Paraclete, and not only contended against false prophets, but would exclude prophecy from the Church altogether. Since this ground for the rejection of the Gospel would be even more conclusive against Rev., and since Epiph. himself says that the *Alogi* opposed the Spirit and denied its gifts, Zahn (i. 223–227, 237–262, ii. 967–973) concluded that this was the same sect that Epiph. called Alogi, and that it was an anti-Montanist, rather than an anti-Gnostic, movement. Now Epiph. probably got his information about the Alogi from Hippolytus (*c.* 190–235 A.D. at Rome), who knew a sect which rejected both books because of the support which the Gospel, in its doctrine of the Spirit, and Rev. in its prophetic character, gave to Montanism. Against these Hippolytus wrote in defence of the Gospel and Revelation. He also wrote another book against Caius, a presbyter of Rome, in defence of Revelation. This Caius, in a controversial writing against Proclus the Montanist (Euseb. II. xxv. 6, III. xxviii. xxxi. 4, VI. xx. 3), had evidently rejected Rev., ascribing it, as the Alogi did, to Cerinthus. The citation in Eusebius (III. xxviii. 2) reads: 'Cerinthus, through revelations professing to have been written by a great apostle, brings before us marvels which he falsely claims were shown to him through angels, asserting that after the resurrection there would be an earthly kingdom of Christ, and that men dwelling in Jerusalem will again be subject to desires and pleasures. And being an enemy to the Scriptures of God, he said that a period of a thousand years would be spent in nuptial festivities.' The long dispute as to whether this referred to our Rev. must be regarded as ended by the publication, by J. Gwynn (*Hermathena*, vi. 397–418), of fragments of the reply of Hippolytus to Caius, from which it is evident that Caius, who was not one of the Alogi (not a heretic), argued in detail against the harmony of Rev. with the rest of the NT, using some of the arguments of the Alogi, and in all probability ascribing it, and not some other apocalypse, to Cerinthus (so Zahn, Bousset, Holtzmann, etc., against Gwynn).

Zahn dates the writing of Caius against Proclus about A.D. 210, and the reply of Hippolytus in defence of Rev. about 215. It is evident that Caius did not question the Gospel of John. After this, no Western Church writer seriously questioned Rev. (though see Jerome's position, below).

In the East, Dionysius of Alexandria (A.D. 255), a pupil of Origen, wrote a temperate and scholarly criticism (Euseb. VII. xxv.), in which he argues that Rev. is not by John the apostle. He reviews previous criticisms, evidently among others that of Caius, mentioning the hypothesis that Cerinthus was its author. He does not reject the book out and out, since others valued it, but cannot himself understand it; and proves, by an elaborate comparison as to literary character, language, and composition, that it is not by the author of the Gospel and the First Epistle of John. It is indeed by some holy and inspired man whose name was John. There were many of that name (*e.g.* John Mark), and it is said, he adds, that there are two monuments in Ephesus, each bearing the name of John. The ground of the rejection of its apostolicity by Dionysius was probably in part a sense of its difference from John's Gospel, in part the Hellenist's aversion to sensuous hopes, and to the chiliasm which made room for such hopes.

Eusebius, who gives the argument of Dionysius at some length, evidently sympathized with his view, though his own judgment wavers. He inclines to ascribe Rev. to the Presbyter John of whom Papias wrote (Euseb. III. xxxix. : 'It is probably the second [John], if one is not willing to admit that it is the first, that saw the Apocalypse'). His doubt as to the place of the book, whether among the *Homologoumena* (accepted) or among the *Notha* (rejected), is expressed in III. xxv. 4. He emphasizes the rejection of the book by good churchmen, and does not mention the almost certain use of it by Papias, or the elaborate defence of it by Hippolytus. Yet he cites many words in its favour.

After Euseb. the opposition to Rev. was for a time general in the Syro-Palestinian Church. Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech.* iv. 33-36) does not name it among canonical books; nor does it appear in the Canon 60 of the Synod of Laodicea (*c.* 360?), nor in Canon 85 of *Apost. Const.* viii. (Zahn, ii. 177 ff., 197 ff., 191 ff.); nor is it in the list of Gregory of Nazianzus (*ib.* 216 f.), nor in the so-called *Synopsis* of Chrysostom (*ib.* 230). Neither Chrysostom nor Theodore of Mopsuestia mentions the book, and Theodoret does not accept it. It does not appear in the *Chronography* of Nicephorus, or in the *List of 60 books* (*ib.* 298, 290 f.). The Nestorian and Jacobite Churches did not receive it (Bousset, p. 25).

The question as to the origin and significance of this attitude of the Syro-Palestinian Church leads back to the striking fact that Rev. (with 2 and 3 Jn, 2 P, Jude) did not originally stand in the Syriac NT (Peshiṭṭa). It has been supposed that it was still wanting in the Philoxenian version, but Gwynn argues that the version he edited belonged to that translation (*The Apocalypse of St. John in Syriac*, 1897). Was the book, then, wanting in the Canon of the Syrian Church from the beginning? An affirmative answer is made doubtful by the apparent references to Rev. in Ephraem. It is not certain, however, that Ephraem used Rev., the question being involved in questions of text and of authenticity (see Bousset, 21-23). Gwynn (pp. c-cv) believes that the book was excluded 'by ignorance rather than of set purpose' from the Peshiṭṭa Canon, and remained unknown to Syriac-speaking Christians for perhaps four centuries, except to the few who could read it in Greek, among whom he reckons Ephraem. Even after translation into Syriac, the book never became familiarly known in any of the Syrian Churches. Their religious thought and rich liturgical literature remained practically uninfluenced by it. Bousset thinks the dominance of another type of eschatology, the Apocalypse of Antichrist, helped to effect the exclusion of Revelation.

The Greek Church yielded only slowly to the decision of the Western, and admitted the book into its Canon. In Egypt, where the opposition first developed in orthodox circles, it was sooner overcome. Athanasius, and others after him, recognized the book. The first Eastern commentary, that of Andreas, belongs to the 5th cent., and the next, that of Arethas, to the 9th. Each begins with a defence against doubts as to the canonicity of the book.

In the West, after the elaborate defence of Hippolytus, Jerome alone shows the influence of Eastern doubts. The Eastern Church, he says, receives Hebrews; the Western, Revelation. He inclined to accept it (*Ep. ad Dardanum*, 129), but elsewhere (*in Psalm.* 149) he puts it in a middle class between canonical and apocryphal. This suggestion did not bear fruit until Carlstadt (1520), at the beginning of the Reformation, made a threefold division of NT books, corresponding to that of the OT in Hebrew, and put in the third, least authoritative, class (with the OT '*Hagiographa*'), 2 and 3 John, 2 Peter, Jude, James, Hebrews, Revelation. Of these seven, which are 'of third and lowest authority,' Rev. stands last, on the verge of being apocryphal.

Luther at first (Preface in Translation of NT, 1522) expressed a strong aversion to the book, declaring that to him it had every mark of being neither apostolic nor prophetic. Apostles spoke clearly, without figure or vision, of Christ and His deeds; and no prophet in the OT, to say nothing of the NT, deals so entirely with visions and figures. It is comparable only with 4 Ezra (2 Esdras), and he cannot see that it was the work of the Holy Spirit. Moreover, he does not like the commands and threats which the writer makes about his book ($22^{18.\,19}$), and the promise of blessedness to those who keep what is written in it (1^3 22^7), when no one knows what that is, to say nothing of keeping it, and there are many nobler books to be kept. Moreover, many Fathers rejected the book; and though Jerome says it is above all praise, and has as many mysteries in it as it has words, yet he cannot prove this. 'Finally, every one thinks of it whatever his spirit imparts. My spirit cannot adapt itself to the book, and a sufficient reason why I do not esteem it highly is that Christ is neither taught nor recognized in it, which is what an apostle ought before all things to do.' Later (1534), Luther finds a possibility of Christian usefulness in it, and gives its message in words well worth quoting: 'Briefly [Rev. teaches that] our holiness is in heaven where Christ is, and not in the world before our eyes, as some paltry ware in the market. Therefore let offence, factions, heresy, and wickedness be and do what they may; if only the Word of God remains pure with us, and we hold it dear and precious, we need not doubt that Christ is near and with us, even if matters go hardest: as we see in this Book that through and above all plagues, beasts, evil angels, Christ is still near and with His saints, and at last overthrows them' (translation of Westcott, *Canon*, 1889, p. 483). He still thought it a hidden, dumb prophecy, unless interpreted, and upon the interpretation no certainty had been reached after many efforts. His own interpretation of the book as anti-Papist may have led him to a more favourable opinion of it. But he remained doubtful about its apostolicity (Preface to Revelation in the edition of 1545), and printed it, with Hebrews, James, Jude, as an appendix to his New Testament, not numbered in the index. The other three doubtful books, 2 and 3 John and 2 Peter, it was not so natural to separate from 1 John and 1 Peter. In this way these four books were printed in Luther's Bible as late as the 17th cent. So also in Tindale's New Testament. 'In general the standpoint of the Reformation is marked by a return to the Canon of Eusebius, and consequently by a lower valuation of Hebrews, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, James, Jude, and Revelation' (Holtzmann, *Einleitung*, p. 157).

Zwingli regarded Rev. as 'not a Biblical book'; and even Calvin, with his high view of inspiration, does not comment on 2 and 3 John and Revelation. Only gradually was the effort to maintain such a deutero-canonical class of books in the NT given up, as the dogmatic displaced the freer and more historical attitude toward the Bible.

In general it may be said that Rev. has maintained its place in the Canon, in spite of doubts and assaults, not because of its extravagant claims to inspiration and authority, not because of its visionary form, and not because of its eschatology, but rather in spite of all these, which were marks also of the many apocalypses, Jewish and Christian, that the Church rejected.* Nor can it be said that belief in its apostolic authorship kept the book in the NT, for this was very early denied, and could as easily be set aside, as, for example, that of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, which the Church rejected. The real reason, for the sake of which apostolic authorship was maintained, was the consciousness that, on the whole, the religious faith and feeling of the book predominate over its apocalyptical form, and give to apocalyptical language, which the majority cannot understand or accept in its literal sense, practically the value of figure for the emotional expression of Christian faith and hope. It is really as Christian poetry, rather than as the disclosure of mysteries of the unseen world and of the future, that the book has been valued, and, because valued, preserved and canonized by the Christian Church.

A book, however, which has been canonized because of its general contents, and the spirit behind its form, will inevitably be used by many for its details literally taken. So used, Rev. has often had a harmful influence, setting thought upon useless tasks, and stimulating self-centred and morbid hopes and fears. If one puts over against this the wonderful ministry of comfort and strength in times of trial which the book has rendered, he may find justification both for the doubts and for the final decision of the Church regarding its canonicity.

3. *History of Interpretation.*—The history of the interpretation of Rev. is an interesting chapter in

---

* Christianity has been in certain sects and at certain times apocalyptical in temper, but not on the whole. Many apocalypses were treasured as sacred by sects and at times, which were left aside by the Church as a whole and in the end.

Church history;[*] but it is an inseparable part of a much larger chapter which it would be quite impossible to write here. Harnack (*Hist. of Dogma*, i. 129 ff., 167 ff.) describes the two contrasted, though not mutually exclusive, conceptions of Christianity, the eschatological and the spiritual, the relations of which make one of the chief themes in the history of Christian thought. The earlier eschatological view gave way, especially under the influence of Greek thought, to the spiritual conception of salvation. Chiliasm, of which Rev. was the one clear and authoritative source, 'is found wherever the gospel is not yet Hellenized.' It is evident that where Hellenistic views prevailed Rev. must be either rejected or spiritually interpreted.

Among chiliasts, besides Cerinthus, the heretic, are Papias, Justin, Irenæus, Hippolytus, Tertullian—the early defenders of the authority of Revelation. Origen, on the other hand, could receive the book and yet oppose a chiliastic conception of Christianity. The Eastern Church in general, as we have seen, followed the easier method of rejecting or neglecting the book. In the West, Victorinus (*c.* 303) commented on the book in a chiliastic (*i.e.* literal) sense; but a greater influence was exerted by the Commentary of Tyconius (before 380), whose interpretation is spiritualistic. Through him 'the Latin Church finally broke with all chiliastic inclinations and all realistic eschatology' (Bousset, 63). The 'thousand years' denote the present period of the Church between the First and the Second Coming of Christ. He was followed by Augustine (*de civitate Dei*, xx. 7-17) and Jerome.

The possession of world-rulership by the Church took away the ground for chiliastic hopes, and removed both the circumstances and the temper out of which Rev. came. There was, however, a revival of the prophetic spirit in the Middle Ages, in reaction against ecclesiasticism and the secular spirit.

From the protesting order of the Franciscans, who attempted to recover the character and spirit of apostolic Christianity, came a chiliastic interpretation of Rev. about A.D. 1200, by Joachim of Floris. In Commentaries on Jeremiah and Isaiah under his name the end of the world was fixed at 1240 (Rev 11^{3} 12^{6}) and then at 1290. The woman (Rev 17) was already interpreted of the Romish Church by these pre-Reformation reformers, and this, together with a like application of the beasts of ch. 13 to Rome and the Pope, inevitably became a standing feature of Protestant commentators from Luther onwards; with exceptions, such as Grotius (1644) and Hammond (1653-1659).

Over against this enticing but flagrant misuse of the book, Catholic scholars in part sought for other historical applications of these figures (Turks, Mohammed, etc.); but in part made a beginning of a more correct method of interpretation by seeking in events of the author's own time, in the Jews and the Roman empire, for the clue to his predictions.

So especially Alcazar (1614), a Spanish Jesuit of Antwerp, who maintained that Rev 1-11 was aimed against Judaism, chs. 12 ff. against Rome. This correct effort to interpret Rev. in the light of the events of its own time was carried forward by Grotius, Hammond, Clericus (1698), Wetstein (1752) and others, at first with too much reference to Judaism and the fall of Jerusalem, but finally with a growing recognition of Rome as the object of the book's denunciations (Semler (1769, etc.), Corrodi (1780), Eichhorn (1791)). The reference to Nero, in the wounded head (ch. 13), which had been found already by Victorinus (303), and again in a Jesuit commentary (Juan Mariana), was introduced into Protestant exegesis by Corrodi. This so-called *contemporary-historical* (by some called '*præterist*') method of interpretation (*i.e.* by reference to historical events of the writer's own time) was most fully carried to completion in the great works of Lücke (*Versuch einer vollstandigen Einleitung in die Offenbarung*, 1832, 2nd ed. 1852), Bleek (*Vorlesungen über die Apok.* 1862), and Ewald (Comm. in Latin, 1828, *Die Johann. Schriften*, 1862). So also Volkmar (1862), Düsterdieck (Meyer, 1859-87).[†]

In general these writers date the book before 70 (Rev 11^{1-13}); regard it as written chiefly against Rome; and find in it a prediction of the return of Nero. The interpretation of the number 666 as *Nero Cæsar* seems to have been made independently by several scholars (Fritzsche, Benary, Hitzig, Reuss, Ewald (?)). With this understanding and dating of Rev., Baur affirmed its apostolicity, and made it a monument of the original Jewish Christianity.

Against this method conservative theologians still attempted either new interpretations of the book as a summary of Church history (the '*Church-historical*' or '*continuously historical*' method, Hengstenberg, Ebrard, etc.), or a reference of its predictions to events still future, the end of the world (the *endgeschichtliche*, '*futurist*' method, Kliefoth, Zahn). A method which is in some sense intermediate between these is one that sees in Rev. not definite events in Church history, but symbolic representations of good and evil principles, their conflict and the coming victory of the good (Auberlen's *reichsgeschichtliche Methode*).

A similar standpoint is occupied by Milligan (*Commentary on the Apocalypse; The Rev. of St. John*, Baird Lectures, 1886; *Discussions on the Apocalypse*, 1893; *The Bk. of Rev.* [Expositor's Bible], 1899. The Apoc. embraces the whole period from the First to the Second Coming of the Lord. It sets before us within this period the action of great principles and not special incidents. We must interpret in a spiritual and universal sense that language of the Apoc. which appears at first sight to be material and local). So also Benson (*The Apocalypse*, 1900) maintains that Rev. unveils Jesus Christ as present in this world, and His enemies, Satan and his agents, who are all principles not persons or historical characters, 'the principles which maintain the self-deceiving half of human nature in its death struggles with a Divine Wisdom which slowly vanquishes it' (p. 176).

It is, of course, true that beneath every book there are certain fundamental beliefs and hopes capable of being generalized and taken out of all historical relations. It is true also, as we shall see, that the allusions, for example, to Nero are not so clear as we should expect of one who set out to describe him in symbol. But the principles which these writers look for are still less clearly symbolized, and it is a fundamental mistake to proceed upon the assumption that such principles are everywhere intended, and also that the teachings of Rev. must agree with all other teachings of the NT and with the judgment of the Christian consciousness. The history of the book in the Canon might well have kept others from the bondage of this assumption, as it kept Luther and the early Reformers. But the assumption is no longer possible for those who approach Biblical study in a historical spirit. For such, the effort to find in the book allusions to events of its author's time is natural, and this method is destined to general acceptance. Of late, however, a growing conviction has arisen that this *contemporary-historical* method is not sufficient by itself to solve all the problems of the book.

The first question to arise concerned the unity of the book. As prophetic books like Isaiah and Zechariah and apocalypses such as Enoch are composite, it was natural to raise the question with reference to Rev., and to remove by literary analysis the unevenness in structure and the want of harmony, both in historical references and in doctrinal views, that had troubled interpreters. Theories of composite origin have been advanced in two general forms: (1) The book is in its present form a unity, but its author made use of various documentary or traditional sources, of Jewish or Christian origin, incorporating them in his work. (2) The present book is the result of one or more revisions of an older Jewish or Christian apocalypse, or more than one.

Weizsäcker, who gave the impulse to this effort at literary criticism, held the former of these two views:[*] 'We have in this writing, which is as certainly pseudonymous as are all apocalypses, a compilation, which in its origin is already a compilation; and in its various strata, which certainly reach far back, it testifies in itself alone to an extensive practice of (Christian) prophecy' (*Theol. Lit.-Zeitung*, 1882). The first efforts after detail were, however, made on the basis of the second theory.—Völter, a pupil of Weizsäcker, in a series of works (*Die Entstehung der Apok.* 1882, 1885; *Das Problem der Apok.* 1893), attempted to construct a primitive apocalypse of A.D. 65–66, which the author revised after Nero's death. Three or four other revisers added to the work, to the last of whom the letters are due. Völter argues on the basis of (1) want of formal and material connexion, (2) reference to different historical situations, (3) doctrinal differences, especially as to Christology. Some of his observations are just, but his solution of the difficulties is arbitrary and unconvincing.—Vischer (*Die Offenbarung Johannis, eine jüdische Apokalypse in christlicher Bearbeitung*, 1886) put forth a simpler and more attractive hypothesis, which, appearing with Harnack's hearty approval, won many adherents. He believed Rev 4^{1}–22^{5} to be a Jewish apocalypse set in a Christian framework (1–3. 22^{6-21}) with a slight Christian revision (5^{9-14} 7^{9-17} 12^{11} $13^{9.10}$ $14^{1-5.12.13}$ 15^{3} 16^{15} 17^{14} $19^{9.10.13b}$ 20^{4-6} 21^{5b-8} and all references to the Lamb). His starting-point is Biblico-theological, the presence in the book of Jewish by the side of Christian ideas. Harnack (*Nachwort*) admits that this does not in itself involve Jewish authorship, but regards that hypothesis as necessary in this case.

---

[*] See Lücke, *Einl. in die Offenbarung*², 1853; Holtzmann, *Hand-Commentar*, iv. p. 280 ff.; Bousset, *Kommentar*, pp. 51-141.

[†] To Lücke was especially due the recognition of the fact that Rev. is not an isolated book, but is one of a class, that it belongs in kind to the Jewish apocalypses, and is to be interpreted as they are. The fact that Daniel contains allusions to the Greek empire and to Antiochus Epiphanes was a strong reason for accepting the apparent references in Rev. to Rome and Nero.

[*] The history of these efforts has been told by Holtzmann, *Jahrb. f. Prot. Theol.* 1891; Barton, *AJTh*, 1898; A. Meyer in *Theol. Rundschau*, 1897; and in fuller detail by Rauch, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 1894, and Bousset, *Komm.* p. 127 ff.

Weyland (*Omwerkings en compilatie-hypothesen toegepast op de Apocalypse van Johannes*, 1888) elaborated Vischer's theory by supposing two Jewish sources. The oldest (ב) contained (omitting slight and obvious Christian words or phrases) 10. 11^{1-13} 12. 13. 14^{6-11} 15^{2-4} 16. (part, esp. $^{13.14}$) 19^{11-21} 20. 21^{1-8}, *i.e.* the little book, Jerusalem and the two witnesses, the appearance of the dragon and beasts and their final overthrow, the last judgment and the new world. The later source (א) contained $1^{10.12-17.19}$ 4. 5^{1-7} 6. $7^{1-8.9-17}$ (part) 8. 9. 11^{14-18} $14^{2.3}$ 15^{5} $16^{17b.-20}$ 14^{14-20} 17. 18. 19^{1-6} 21^{9-27} 22^{1-11}, *i.e.* the seven seals and trumpets, the fall of Babylon (Rome), and the new Jerusalem. These were united by a Christian redactor who added (besides occasional phrases) $1^{1-9.18.20}$ 2. 3. 14^{1-5} 16^{1-17a} 19^{7-10} $22^{7a.12.13.16-22}$.

Weizsäcker in his *Apostolic Age* rejected these and similar efforts at analysis, and held to his original suggestion that the book is a unity; but its author has made use of various older materials, apocalyptical visions, fragmentary in character, and has introduced these in such a way as often to interrupt his plan. Such pieces are $7^{1-8.9-17}$ 11^{1-13} $12^{1-11.12-17}$ 13. 17.

Sabatier (*Rev. de Théol. et de Phil.* 1887, and *Les origines litteraire et la composition de l'apoc. de St. Jean*, 1888) defends a similar view. The Christian writer introduced foreign oracles into his work, viz.: 11^{1-13} 12^{1}–13^{18} 14^{6-20} 16^{13-16} 17^{1}–19^{2} (18^{24}?) 19^{11}–20^{10} 21^{9}–22^{5}.

Very similar is the view of Schoen (*L'origine de l'Apoc.* 1887).

This view of the composition of Rev., which does justice both to its general unity of plan and style and to the breaks in its plan and the contrasts in its thought, and does not attempt the impossible task of reconstructing complete lost books, has gained the adherence of an increasing number of competent critics. It is the view of Jülicher (*Einleitung in d. NT*, 1894). It is also the view of Gunkel and of Bousset, though these two scholars have carried the problem of the interpretation of Rev. on to a new phase.

On the other hand Spitta (*Offenb. Johannis*, 1889), who had reached his main conclusions independently before the appearance of Völter's work, attempts an elaborate analysis in which every verse and word is ascribed to its source.

The basis of our present book is held by Spitta to be a primitive Christian apocalypse, containing the letters and the seals ($1^{4-6.9-19}$ 2–3. [omitting the conclusion of each letter, 2^{7}, etc.] 4–6. 8^{1} 7^{9-17} $19^{9b.10}$ $22^{8.10-13.16-18a.20b.21}$). He believes that this was written by John Mark, about 60 A.D. To this a later Christian added two older Jewish apocalypses; one is from the time of Caligula ($13^{3.14}$ refers to an illness from which he recovered; 616 [13^{18}] = Γάϊος Καῖσαρ), occasioned by his effort to erect his image in the temple ($13^{5-8.12ff.}$). It contains (*a*) 7^{1-8} 8^{2-5}, (*b*) 8^{6}–9^{21}, (*c*) (9^{15}) 10^{1-7}, (*d*) $11^{(15)19}$ 12^{1-17} 12^{18}–13^{18} 14^{1-11} 16^{13-20}, (*e*) 19^{11}–$21^{1.5a.6a}$. The other Jewish source is put back to the time of Pompey (Israel's first conflict with Rome, and the danger of the temple). It is composed of (*a*) $10^{1b.2a.8a.9b-11}$, (*b*) $11^{1.13.15.17.18}$, (*c*) $14^{14.20}$ 15^{2-4}, (*d*) 15^{5}–$16^{12.17.21}$, (*e*) $17^{1-5.6b}$ 18^{1}–19^{8}, (*f*) 21^{9}–$22^{3a.15}$. All other parts are from the hand of the reviser.

Spitta's work contains much that is of great value, but scholars generally agree that such minute analysis is impossible, that the book has a greater unity than this theory admits, and that in particular to ascribe the seven seals, trumpets, and bowls to three different hands is to overlook one of the unmistakable characteristics of the final writer. Yet Briggs (*Messiah of Apostles*, 1895, chs. 9–15) goes even further in this direction. His analysis but not his view as to authorship [epistles, seals, bowls, and probably trumpets being attributed by Briggs to one *author*, the Apostle John (pp. 303, 369)] is followed by Barton (*AJTh*, 1898).

It is not to be concluded that the many laborious and ingenious efforts at literary analysis have been without value, even though they have led to no agreeing result. There has been increasing agreement as to certain general points. The book, though probably the work of one writer, is not the original product of one mind or one occasion. It contains sections which appear to be foreign to the rest, and may well be of Jewish origin, though the line between Jewish and Jewish-Christian is one impossible to determine. 7^{1-8} 11^{1-13} 12. 13. 17 quite certainly belong to this category, and there are other sections which may have been taken by the writer in practically finished form from apocalyptical tradition (*e.g.* 18. 20. 21^{9}–22^{5}). This result, however, important as are its bearings on the interpretation of the book, since it relieves us of the necessity of finding one type of religious thought or one historical situation in all parts, by no means solves all or even the more important problems of historical exegesis.

Gunkel (*Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit: Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung über Gen. 1 und Apoc. Joh. 12* (1895)) sharply formulated one of these outstanding problems—that concerning the ultimate origin, the first meaning, and subsequent history of that traditional material from which apocalyptical writers drew. He criticized both the methods in which critical scholars had treated the book—that which looks everywhere for figurative references to historical events of the writer's time, and that which devotes itself to literary analysis as an end. Acknowledging that some of the apocalyptical figures are allegories of current events (Dn 7. 8, Enoch 85 ff., 4 Ezr 11 f., Rev 13. 17), and also that criticism must separate some sections from their setting, he yet urges that tradition largely fixes the form of the figures, and that the apocalyptical writer uses them not with freedom, but with reverence; not creating them as a poetical embodiment of well-known persons and events, but seeking in them for the clue to the mystery of the present and future. The history of tradition is therefore more important than the history of literary composition. Tradition is, in fact, the real author of an apocalypse, and it is this fact that gives the writer his deep conviction of the truth of his predictions. Except where it is expressly indicated, it is not to be assumed that references to historical persons and events are hidden behind the apocalyptical imagery. With reference to most of such images (*e.g.* 9^{1-11} 9^{13-21} 11^{3-13} $16^{13.14.16}$ 6^{9-11} (cf. 4 Ezr 4^{35}) $11^{1.2}$ 6^{1-8} 16. 6^{12-17}), Gunkel declares the contemporary-historical method bankrupt. Even in ch. 13, where the first beast is the Roman empire, and in ch. 17, where the woman is the city (Rome), many details are not to be explained historically. Here Gunkel carries his opposition to the ruling method so far as to deny the almost universal opinion of critics that Nero is indicated by the beast and its number (pp. 210 ff., 336 ff.). Of Gunkel's specific argument, which is to illustrate and vindicate his method, viz. that Rev 12 is ultimately an otherwise lost Babylonian myth of the birth of Marduk, the conqueror of the Dragon, more will be said below. Other elements taken from Babylonian mythology Gunkel found, especially in chs. 13 and 17, but also in the seven angels, stars, candlesticks, eyes (p. 294 ff.), the twenty-four elders (302 ff.), Harmagedon (263 ff.), the number 3½ (266 ff.), the number 666 (374 ff.).

Bousset adopted Gunkel's method in *Der Antichrist in der Ueberlieferung des Judentums, des neuen Testaments und der neuen Kirche* (1895), and attempted to show that an essentially fixed apocalypse of Antichrist, originating in Judaism, can be traced from the New Test. down through the Middle Ages; and that this tradition is essentially independent of Rev., though Rev. at certain points shows dependence upon it. In his *Kritisch-exegetische Kommentar* (Meyer, 1896), Bousset, on the question of composition, follows the method of Weizsäcker, regarding the book as a unity, but seeing in many sections apocalyptical fragments introduced by the writer from existing tradition, in part Jewish in origin. In several of these fragments Bousset finds parts of the Antichrist-tradition (7^{1-8} 11^{1-13} 13^{11-17} 14^{14-20}); others also may well be of Jewish origin ($13^{1-10.18}$ 17 [with which should probably go also 16^{12-21} and 18], 21^{9}–22^{5}), while 12 is of foreign but apparently not of Jewish origin. Bousset's treatment of various matters of detail will be mentioned in the course of this article.

Holtzmann (*Einleitung in d. NT*^{3}, 1892; *Hand-Commentar*^{2}, 1893) recognizes indications of a double historical background (soon after the death of Nero, and in the reign of Domitian), but does not go beyond the recognition of two or more streams in the book, and holds chiefly to the contemporary-historical method of interpretation, though now recognizing also the importance of tradition as a source of the writer's material (*Lehrbuch der neutest. Theol.* i. 463-476).

The relative value of the three methods of interpretation last discussed—the *contemporary-historical*, the *literary-critical*, and the *tradition-historical*—is still a matter of debate (see Wellhausen, *Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten*, vi. 1899, pp. 215-249, and Gunkel, *Zeitschr. f. wissenschl. Theol.* 1899). Each in a measure limits or controls the application of the other, and the right of each, within its bounds, may fairly be said to be established. Yet they do not, taken together, wholly cover the ground. On two general lines, much work remains to be done. One is the psychological study of apocalyptical writing, the other is the historical relations of the Christianity of Rev.,—esp. the relation of its eschatology to that of Jesus and to that of St. Paul, and the relation of its Christology and Soteriology to the Pauline and the primitive apostolic. Gunkel at first put forward his tradition-historical method as also a psychological explanation of the apocalypse. The writer's belief in the truth and inviolable sanctity of his mysterious message could arise only from actual vision (which the nature of the material and the tendency of the modern mind exclude), or from the real antiquity of the material, before which the writer himself stood with awe. But Gunkel himself is now inclined to allow the actuality of visionary experiences (as psychologists recognize them) in connexion with the writing of apocalypses (see the Introduction to his translation of 4 Ezra in Kautzsch's *Pseudepigraphen d. AT*, 1900, and Preface to the 2nd ed. of his *Wirkungen des Heiligen Geistes*, 1900). The most significant effort in this direction, and the occasion of Gunkel's modification of his former position, is Weinel's *Wirkungen des Geistes und der Geister*, 1899.

On the other hand, the question so vital to an understanding of the beginnings of Christianity, whether the Christology and Soteriology of Rev. are Pauline, anti-Pauline, or independent of Paulinism, remains quite unanswered; as does the other still more vital question whether the eschatology of Rev. (given as the dictation of Jesus, 1^{1} 22^{16}) is based on that of the Gospels, and ultimately on the teaching of Jesus, or is the source of the eschatology which the Gospels wrongly ascribe to Him.

The final problem of the interpreter is, of course, to get back as fully as possible into the mind of the writer. Two main paths are now open that lead toward this result in the case of Revelation. (1) The study of apocalyptical literature in general; (2) the study of the contents, plan, sources (so far as known), historical situation, and teachings of the book itself. These two paths will be pursued in the following discussion. Two other paths invite exploration—(1) the psychological study of trance and ecstatic conditions and phenomena in religious history, (2) the origin and relations of the apocalyptical and the spiritual types of Christian thought in the 1st cent. These two paths must be opened by further research, in the latter case most of all in the Gospels, before results can be summarized in an article like the present.

In following the two main paths just indicated, the following presuppositions will be in part assumed as a result of the history of criticism, in part, it is hoped, proved by the discussion—(1) Rev. is an apocalypse among others, and is to be viewed and interpreted as such. (2) Rome is that embodiment of evil against which the book is chiefly directed, whose overthrow it immediately predicts. (3) The book makes use of apocalyptical materials from various (often probably from Jewish) sources, so that the question as to the place of a given section in the writer's plan, its meaning in his use of it, is to be kept distinct from the question of its original meaning and use, and the interpreter at many points has a twofold task. (4) It may not infrequently happen that the writer receives from tradition details which have no meaning at all for him, but which he retains as parts of the picture. The traditional meaning is in such cases the only one for which we need to search; and often we can only say that it belongs to tradition, since the clue to its meaning is lost. (5) In such cases, and in various others, the possibility is open that the writer uses such material for its poetic value, and not because of a reverence which prevents his altering it.

ii. THE NATURE OF APOCALYPTICAL WRITINGS.—The Book of Rev. calls itself a prophecy, and its author classes himself among prophets; but the book is called by us an apocalypse, and we have applied this title to certain other Jewish books, and some Christian adaptations and imitations of them, which we distinguish somewhat sharply from prophecy. Our interpretation and estimation of Rev. is deeply affected by this classification. What, then, is the apocalypse in its distinction from prophecy? We cannot avoid some preliminary discussion of this question (though see, further, APOCRYPHA i., APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE, PROPHECY), as it bears on the nature of our book and the way in which it should be used. There are still some who class Rev. with the prophetic rather than with the apocalyptical writings of Israel (*e.g.* Zahn), and there are some who class it with apocalypses, but regard the apocalyptic as a higher form of inspiration than the prophetic (see Terry, *Biblical Apocalyptics*, 1898, pp. 11, 12). Since such views strongly affect interpretation, it is essential to understand the historical relation of the two forms of writing and the place of Rev. in relation to them.

The transition from prophecy to apocalypse was effected in the OT itself. It was not a sudden but a gradual transition, nor is the contrast at the end an absolute one. The change is usually traced to Ezekiel for its beginning. Daniel is the oldest book which has complete apocalyptical form; and it remains the classical example and type of this kind of writing. Yet anticipations of certain marks of this literature can be found in earlier prophets, especially in Isaiah (*e.g.* Vision of God, ch. 6; description of Day of J″, ch. 2; perhaps the inviolability of Jerusalem), and genuinely prophetic traits are not wanting in Daniel (cf. 9^{1-19}), or even in other apocalypses from Bk. of Enoch to 4 Ezra. The character of the Book of Daniel deserves somewhat close attention because of its fundamental significance and many special points of contact with Revelation.

1. *Book of Daniel.*—(*a*) *Occasion and message.*—The Bk. of Daniel appeared during the religious persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes. Its aim was the encouragement of patient endurance and fidelity amid persecution. It taught this lesson in part by stories (historics) illustrating the safe-keeping by God of those who resist the temptations and endure the violence of the world-power in its hostility to God; in part by predictions of the approaching end of the power now threatening and afflicting the people of God.

Antiochus shall die by a judgment of God (8[25] 9[26. 27] 11[27. 45]) after about 3½ years (8[14] 9[27] 12[7. 11. 12]), and the Greek world-empire shall be overthrown (2[34. 35. 44. 45] 7[11. 26]). This is to be accomplished not by human effort, but by God directly (2[34. 44. 45] 8[25] 7[9ff. 22. 26]), or through Gabriel and Michael, who contend with the gods of heathen nations (10[13]–11[1] 12[1]). After this a time of trouble shall follow, testing the Jewish people, including some of the dead, and dividing the good from the wicked (12[1-4. 10]). Then shall be established the kingdom of God, which is the world-kingdom of Israel, and is to endure for ever.

(*b*) *Underlying faith.*—The general foundation on which this message rests, the underlying doctrine of the book, is monotheism, the faith that all power is God's; that 'the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will' (4[17. 25. 32] 5[21]), and that times and seasons are in His hand, fixed by His purpose. This faith requires the inference that God's rule must and at last shall be recognized by all kings and nations, and that He must, in the end, take His kingdom to Himself (2[44]), and rule it through His own people (7[13. 14. 22. 27]). But the very fact that the realization of God's rule is future reveals the dualistic element which stands over against monotheism in the theology of the book. The contrast between the present and the future, between this age and the age to come, reaches beyond the visible into the invisible world, and is connected with contrast and conflict there, finds there, indeed, its explanation. The seer who would understand the present perverse and intolerable course of history, with heathen nations at the head and Israel at the tail, must not only have the veil lifted that hides the future developments of God's fixed plan, but must see behind the scenes those actions in the angelic world by which man's history may be influenced, in some sense, and for a time, even against God's plan.

(*c*) *Source and authority of the message.*—Whence did the writer gain his certainty of the near approach of the fall of the existing world-empire, and the realization of the kingship of God, and of the beings and actions in the angel-world which explain present evils and are to effect their end? The predictive parts of Daniel (chs. 7–12) could well be described, like Rev 1[1], as 'revelations of God through his angel Gabriel to his servant Daniel.' Gabriel's communications are in part in the form of interpretations of dream-visions (chs. 7. 8, cf. 2), but once he interprets an OT prediction after Daniel has studied it and prayed over it (ch. 9), and once Gabriel appears to Daniel after a three weeks' fast, and declares to him directly (not through figure) mysteries of the spirit-world and of the future (chs. 10–12).

The visions are described as real experiences, time and place being given, and the deep emotions of the seer described (7[15. 28] 8[15-18. 27] 9[3. 20] 10[7-10. 15-19]). The experiences seem to lie in the region of sleep or on its borderland (7[1. 2] 8[18] 10[9]). Their subjective reality seems to be in a measure confirmed by the intense seriousness which characterizes the book, and the writer's evident belief in the value and Divine origin of his message.

But, on the other hand, the book is unquestionably pseudonymous, and the visions contain, in the form of Gabriel's disclosures about the future, much that was to the author really, and of course consciously, history. Is this consistent with the impression that the writer is describing really visionary, ecstatic experiences, or does it compel us to assume that the vision is throughout a literary form? The problem is really a psychological one. How are we to explain the form of the book, that of visions and angelic interpretations, so as to explain both the fact that these consist largely in history disguised as prediction, and the fact of the writer's emotion and conviction as to their contents? It is evident that this form served the writer's practical purpose, for it showed that the present insupportable condition of his people was foreknown and determined by God, and it gave a ground for belief in the truth of predictions of really future events. But the emotion and conviction of the writer seem inconsistent with his use of a purely artistic, not to say artful, form of composition.

We are undoubtedly helped towards a solution of the problem by the fact, whose significance we owe to Gunkel, that the predictions of the apocalypse are not novelties, but rest in part on tradition. The foresight of Daniel comes to the writer, at least in part, through the study of the older prophets. The interpretation of the 70 weeks of Jer 25[11f.] 29[10] is certainly of central significance in the book (ch. 9). But it is probable also that symbolical figures such as those of chs. 7 and 8 (cf. 2) were not invented *de novo* by the author, but came to him from the past, and were regarded by him as mysterious types and forecasts of human history, in which he could find the future the more surely because he could find in them the past. The pseudonymous form becomes both less offensive to us and more intelligible if we suppose that the writer was actually searching in ancient prophecies, and in apocalyptical traditions to him no less ancient, for previsions of the actual course of post-exilic Jewish history, in order that he might the more firmly believe and the more surely convince others that the present crisis is not a break in the plan of God, but a necessary stage in its unfolding, and that the promised deliverance is near. It is possible also in this case to suppose that the interpretation came in connexion with deep emotional experiences.

(*d*) *Plan of the composition.*—Daniel is characterized by an unmistakable unity of tone and general teaching; but unity in plan and in detail is not obvious, and various efforts to prove composite authorship have been made. In fact the book is made up of ten quite distinct pieces, largely independent of each other (divided according to chapters, except the 10th, which includes chs. 10–12). Distinct apocalypses could easily be made of chs. 2. 7. 8. 9. 10–12. It is, however, the prevailing and probable view that the book, as we have it, comes from one author; that the enemy of God and His people is everywhere Antiochus, and the hope everywhere that of his speedy overthrow and the rulership of Israel over the nations. The book, then, has no chronological sequence throughout; it does, however, describe the present distress and the coming deliverance on the whole with increasing definiteness and detail in the successive figures. Ch. 7 is more explicit than ch. 2, while ch. 8 describes the Greek empire unmistakably, and chs. 10–12 give almost a direct history (though still in vision form) of Antiochus IV. This plan is accounted for as serving well the admonitory aim of the writer, which the stories also evidently serve. His plan is to give a clearer and fuller disclosure of the future as the book proceeds, but to enforce constantly in varied forms the lesson of the reality of God's rule and the safety of patient and enduring trust in Him amid present troubles. There is no anxiety about exact consistency throughout. The overthrow of the Greek kingdom is at first the deed of God alone, but in the last vision Michael is the deliverer. At first the consummation seems to follow directly upon the fall of Antiochus, but in ch. 12 a period of trial for Israel intervenes before its glory. The stories teach a present deliverance for the faithful, but at the end martyrdom and a deliverance only after death come into view.

2. *Characteristics of Apocalypses in comparison with Prophecy.*—On the basis of this description of Daniel we may attempt a brief discussion of the characteristics of apocalyptical literature in general in comparison with OT prophecy.

(*a*) *Situation and message.*—In the case of the apocalypse the situation is always one in which the righteous are in trouble, because of the rule of a foreign power, and usually also because in the Jewish community itself those who have power and prosperity are the wicked, not the righteous. The message is that deliverance is soon to come, and for this men are to wait in patience and trust. The pre-exilic prophets, on the contrary, spoke in times of national prosperity and confidence of a coming day of J″, which would be a day of judgment on Israel at the hand of a foreign power. The message was one of repentance and righteousness that the threatened judgment might be averted, the sentence recalled. The prophets predicted primarily judgment, not deliverance; the prediction was conditional, not fixed; and the practical inference was repentance, not patience. The change of message belonged in part to the change of situation which the Exile itself effected.

(*b*) *The dualistic theology.*—Bousset rightly calls 4 Ezr 7^{50} 'The Most High has made not one world, but two,' the inner principle of the apocalypse. The sharp contrast in which the kingdom of this world, which is the kingdom of Satan, is set over against the kingdom of God, can be partly explained as a result of tendencies within Judaism; but it seems probable that the Persian dualistic religion must be taken into account in order to explain this strange departure from the otherwise strongly marked monotheism of Judaism (see esp. Stave, *Einfluss des Parsismus auf den Judentum*, 1898). In contrast to this dualistic tendency the older prophets were far more consistently, even if less theoretically and consciously, monotheistic, for they believed in the actual rule of the God of righteousness in present world-history as well as in the coming age, in the visible and not only in the invisible realm. They therefore saw evidence of the nearness and reality of God's rule in the presence and growth of the power of good; while the tendency of the apocalypse was to see in the growing power of evil the evidence that God's intervention, His reversal of human history, was at hand.

(*c*) *The element of prediction.*—Unfulfilled prophecy is the foundation upon which the whole structure of the apocalypse was built. This was both the problem and the reliance of Jewish faith and hope. What was spoken must be literally accomplished. Of conditional prediction the apocalypse knows nothing. The prophets' predictions of judgment had been fulfilled by the Exile, but their predictions with reference to the return from exile had never been fulfilled by the actual return; hence it must be that these hopes of the renewed land, the united tribes, the royal power and glory of Israel, were still to be realized. What the prophecies really meant, in view of their apparent contradiction by events, when and how their fulfilment was to come about, it was the task of the apocalyptic scribe to discover. Ezekiel took a decided step towards apocalypse when, on the basis of the words of Zephaniah and Jeremiah concerning the Scythians, he predicted the final assault of Gog and his wild hosts upon Jerusalem and their overthrow, and thus established one of the fixed elements in apocalyptical dogma (Ezk 38^{17} 39^{8}). Haggai and Zechariah still looked for a human explanation of the failure of the hopes, and found it in the delay in rebuilding the temple; Malachi, in imperfect offerings and withheld tithes. But in Daniel the reason is found no longer in the fault of man but in the plan of God. The 70 years are 70 weeks of years, and the unalterable time for the end is only just now drawing near. 4 Ezra reinterprets the fourth beast of Dn 7 to prove that Rome also was included in the predestined course of history before the end could come ($12^{11.12}$). Only in the Bk. of Jonah do we have a protest against the dominant apocalyptic by a surviving prophetic spirit. Here the prediction is of judgment, its aim to produce repentance, and the result the success of the preaching, with the failure of the prediction. Yet even a book written in part to prove that prediction is ethical in aim and conditional in result could be used by Jews as if its predictions were magical and inviolable (To $14^{4.8}$, B). The fault of the prophet Jonah, which the book uncovers and rebukes, was the fault of Judaism and its apocalypses. The Bk. of Jonah is a true utterance of the spirit of prophecy in unavailing protest against the narrowness, the jealousy, and the revenge that inspire much of the apocalyptic writing. Prophecy is fulfilled by every evidence in history of the rule of a righteous and merciful God, whether anticipated or not, whether for the benefit of Jews or of Gentiles. Apocalypse sees the hand of God and the vindication and glory of the seer only in a literal correspondence between predictions and events, and only in the fall of a Nineveh and the glory of Zion and Israel.

(*d*) *Pseudonymous authorship.*—It corresponds perfectly to the contrast just described that prophecy should be a personal and direct form of speech, the apocalypse a pseudepigraphic and mysterious form of writing. The prophet stood before his people and spoke in his own person. The authority of his speech was in no small measure that of his personality. He spoke first and wrote afterwards, but wrote as he spoke, in the first person. When, in the Exile and after it, prophets followed who repeated what others had said, or gave expression to the common faith, and had no peculiar message, their names were unimportant, and many of them wrote anonymously (Is 40–66, Malachi, Zec 9–14, etc.). Daniel is the first example of that pseudonymous prophetic writing which characterizes the whole apocalyptical group. It embodies the Jewish worship of prediction. Yet the moral earnestness and religious elevation of books like Daniel and 4 Ezra make it difficult for us to regard them as fictions, and certain considerations may help us to understand how this form of writing could be used by such men, although we must at best put their work far below the simplicity and openness of genuine prophecy. The fact that the apocalyptical writer was a serious student of ancient prophecies, whose sacredness he reverenced, and whose secrets he believed he could in a measure expound, suggests that he did not regard his thoughts as his own. The fixed and really ancient character of such apocalyptical traditions as those of the dragon of the deep, makes conceivable such a writer's evident faith in his predictions, which would be psychologically incredible if the visions were pure works of the imagination. Furthermore,—and this is an observation of great importance,—no apocalypse gives the impression of entire unity and harmony. Not only the writer's own studies of OT prophets, not only his own interpretations of apocalyptical imagery, but those of others before him are at his command, and furnish the materials of his book. Not only traditions, but writings form his sources. These materials may already have connected themselves with Enoch, or Moses, or some other great name. So that one may venture to say that the pseudonymity of these books has some basis in actuality. The hiding or sealing of the book until the end (Dn $12^{4.9}$ 8^{26} (10^{14}), Assump. Mos. 1^{16-18}) belongs to the pseudepigraphic form, accounting for the appearance of the book so long after the time of its assumed origin. Yet this may also express the actual fact of the ancient character of the writer's sources. The writers could not have put forth this material altogether in their own names, for it is not as a whole their invention. They are largely compilers and commentators, and have a deep reverence for their sources. Yet this observation, which we owe to Gunkel, must be modified in view of those figures which are unmistakably and even explicitly constructed for the purpose of setting forth in allegorical form the history of the past, especially of the recent past, as foreseen by the supposed ancient author. Dn 7 contains, no doubt, traditional material of the sort just described, but it has been freely re-shaped so as to contain the history of four successive world-empires. If the original form of the tradition contained only one dragon of the deep, how can we be sure that the description of the one like a man was not part of the writer's elaboration of his material, rather than, as Gunkel affirms, part of the tradition itself? And if so, his belief in the forecast it contains preceded his use of the tradition and determined his use of it.

(*e*) *Literary material and form.*—The apocalypse is characterized by the use of striking figures, not only strange and unnatural, but evidently mysterious in character, seen in dreams and visions, interpreted by angels, and yielding secrets of the future course of history. Although prophecy is full of figurative forms of speech, freely fashioned, or poetically and rhetorically applied, yet these figures have neither the strange unearthly character nor the mysterious value of the distinctively apocalyptical symbols. These latter, at least in part, go back to primitive mythological formations. This connexion is quite unmistakable in Zech., where a mass of this material suddenly meets us. The four winds, messengers and agents of God, and the seven planets, His eyes, which run to and fro through the whole earth, are still clearly to be perceived as the underlying foundation of figures which the prophet applies to the historical situation, and to the two men, Joshua and Zerubbabel, on whom he fixes his high hopes (2^{8-11} 6^{1-8} $4^{2-6a.\ 10b-14}$). Yet Zech. uses such material as poetry, while in Daniel it has value as mystery, containing, for one who could interpret it, the secrets of the future. The vision and its interpretation by an angel comes therefore to be of supreme value, and revelation is conceived of in this half-sensible and wholly supernaturalistic way. Ezekiel here also leads the way. His vision of God is more sensible than Isaiah's, and his inspiration more external and supernaturalistic than Jeremiah's (cf. Ezk 1 with Is 6, and Ezk 2. 3 with Jer 1).

(*f*) *Literary composition and history.*—After Daniel, the Jewish apocalypses appear to be in no case proper unities. Most of them have been adapted by revision to use in later and changed conditions, and all of them, including Daniel, appear to be based in their first writing on older materials which they embody, without serious effort to build them into a harmonious structure. The Bk. of Enoch is a compilation of Enoch literature, having indeed a certain rough plan as it now stands, but without real unity. Even chs. 1–36 contain three distinct descriptions of the Messianic consummation (chs. 5. 10. 25), which, in connexion with the description of Sheol (ch. 22), form anything but a continuous and consistent picture. Almost all forms of the Jewish hope are contained in this book: that in which the Messiah occupies the central place, that in which he is subordinate, and that in which he is wholly absent; that in which the scene and character are purely earthly, that in which they are properly heavenly (angelic); that in which the heavenly precedes the earthly and finally descends to earth (37–70), and that in which the heavenly follows after the earthly in chronological succession (91^{12-17})—the chiliastic scheme. In general the apocalypses are not characterized by a thoroughgoing unity of scheme, nor even by a consistent unity of teaching, and cannot be understood except by the recognition of independent sources, and also, in some cases, editorial revision. Here we have especially to do with the additions of Christian hands, since through them alone these books, after Daniel, have reached us. In some cases this Christian revision has gone but a little way (Enoch, Assump. Mos., Apoc. Bar); while in some cases the Jewish apocalypse is found in a radical Christian revision (Asc. of Isaiah, Test. XII. Patriarchs). The questions as to literary analysis and the presence of a considerable Christian element are still very variously answered, especially in the case of Enoch 37–70 (71) and 4 Ezra.

(*g*) *Apocalyptical dogmas.*—The religious teachings of the prophets, individual and distinct as they are, can be summarized only in some such statement of their moral and religious principles as Mic 6^{8} ('to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God'), in connexion with such a formulation of their preaching of repentance in view of the threatened judgment as Zech. gives (1^{4} $7^{9ff.}$ connecting v.^{9} with v.^{7}). But in the apocalypses not principles so much as details become fixed in dogmas. Daniel's general scheme for the future is unchanged: a coming Day of J", which is near at hand, and comes when evil is at its height; the overthrow of the world-kingdom, the sifting of the Jewish people, and the possession by the righteous of kingship over the nations and lasting blessedness. To this were added, from Ezekiel, a final assault of the outstanding heathen upon Zion, in which they are gloriously and finally vanquished; from various prophecies, the expectation of the return of the ten tribes and the gathering of the dispersed Jews; and details regarding the renewed land and city, such as Deutero-Isaiah, Ezekiel, Haggai, and others suggested.

Within this general scheme some important differences were possible. The Messiah is sometimes conceived of as God's agent in establishing his kingdom on earth (*e.g.* Ps-Sol 17, Enoch 37–70), sometimes as king after the kingdom has been set up by God, *e.g.* Enoch 90, 4 Ezr 7^{28}, Apoc. Bar 29; and sometimes all is done by God alone, and there is no king beside him (*e.g.* Daniel, Enoch 1–36, Assump. Mos. 10).

The place of the individual in this eschatological scheme is differently estimated. Sometimes, and in general one may say in earlier times, nations are the chief actors, and it is the problem of Israel that events are to solve. Increasingly the individual claimed consideration, and the suggestions of Dn $12^{2.\ 3.\ 13}$ were followed and elaborated. An eschatology of the individual was developed in connexion with the national, and gradually threatened to subordinate the national to itself. At first it was enough that the righteous dead should arise to have the part they deserved in the glory of the nation. But at some time the effort to claim for the individual a more than earthly and temporary future, and perhaps also the effort to ascribe to the coming age a more than earthly glory, produced a strain and at last a break in the traditional hope. There came to be two consummations, the earthly, the world-rule of Israel, the Messianic kingdom, which would come to an end and be followed by the heavenly and eternal. Of this break of the one hope into two our earliest record is in the Apocalypse of Ten Weeks in Enoch 93^{1-10} 91^{12-17}. Cf. 4 Ezr $7^{28f.}$, Apoc. Bar 40^{3}, Secrets of Enoch 33, and see MILLENNIUM. In connexion with this scheme, the lot of the soul after death became a subject of apocalyptical research and vision by the side of the lot of Israel and Zion (4 Ezra).

The idea that the visible and human world was to be understood by the invisible and angelic that lay about and beneath and above it, led the apocalyptical writers not only to a developed angelology, in part Persian in origin, but also to researches in the mysteries of nature, especially in reference to the movements of the planets, most of all those of the moon, such as are elaborated in Enoch 72–79. 82. 41^{2-9} 43. 44. 59. 69. But while some apocalypses are concerned with such speculations, others move back in the opposite direction to an almost prophetic earnestness of moral denunciation and exhortation (*e.g.* Enoch 91–104),

(3) *Inferences as to Methods of Interpretation.*—From this brief study of the nature of the apocalypse certain inferences follow as to the method of interpretation.

(*a*) *Not 'futurist.'*—The apocalypse has to do with the present and the immediate, not the remote future. Its predictions are to be understood as referring to actual or imminent historical factors and events.

(*b*) *Contemporary-historical.*—Some of the figures of the apocalypse are invented or freely adapted in order to represent historical persons, nations, and events. These are to be explained in accordance with their origin by the events which they describe. From them we may hope to get the clearest light upon the date of the writing.

(*c*) *Tradition-historical.*—Some of the figures are borrowed from the OT or from older apocalypses or traditions. In such cases the interpreter must distinguish between the original meaning of the figure and the present author's purpose in using it. He may have used it because in the main it lent itself to his application, but he may have preferred not to change it, either from artistic instinct or from reverence. It is a mistake, then, to assume that every detail had a meaning to him, and to insist on finding it. Perhaps some features of the picture were as much a mystery to the writer of our book as they are to us. Sometimes we can guess quite plausibly what the *original* meaning was, although we cannot tell whether the writer of our book gave it a meaning or not.

(*d*) *Literary-critical.*—The unity of an apocalypse cannot be assumed. The ancient material just alluded to may be introduced almost entire from some unknown source. Later readers might weave together distinct oracles, especially if they passed under the same name; and editorial comments or changes are always possible in the effort to adapt an apocalypse to the changed conditions or the changed beliefs of a later time. Literary criticism must, however, be held in check by the fact that a writer often himself used ancient traditional materials only partly harmonious with his own time and teaching, and fitted them but imperfectly into his plan.

(*e*) *Poetical.*—The underlying religious faith and the immediate practical aim of an apocalyptical writer (to encourage faith amid trial, to recall apostates, to guard readers against the influence of foreign thought and life, etc.), must not be lost sight of in the study of the mysteries of the unseen or future world which he would unveil. The question is always to be asked how far the strange accounts of the unseen world and of coming events were of literal, and how far of figurative or poetic value to the writer himself. There was something of the poet in the apocalyptical seer. He was seldom simply a scribe and a literalist. The greater the variety and the less the outward consistency of his visions, the less probably were they regarded by him as literally true. In connexion with this the question must arise as to the psychical experience of the apocalyptical writer, the possibility of some actual visionary experiences among the many which must be regarded as fictitious, a mere literary form. Thus Gunkel believes that such genuine experiences lie behind some of the visions in 4 Ezra (2 Esdras), more in the first three visions (chs. 3^1–9^{37}) and less in the last three (11–14).

4. *Rev. as an Apocalypse.*—We may now notice certain points of likeness and of unlikeness which a general comparison of Rev. with the Jewish apocalypse suggests, and certain points of uncertainty which form the main problems in the following discussion.

(*a*) *Likeness of Rev. to Jewish apocalypses.*—The Bk. of Rev. is written to encourage faith and endurance amid trials and persecution. These trials are at least chiefly due to the rule of Rome, though within the Christian communities directly addressed there are false as well as true members. The message of the book is one of repentance only in the case of indifferent or wavering believers ($2^{5.16}$ $3^{3.14}$ [and Jews, 11^{13}?]). It is not a message of repentance for those whose sin is chiefly denounced ($9^{20.21}$ $16^{9.11}$ 22^{11}), but of deliverance and reward for those who endure a little longer; and of judgment and destruction for the evil power and its adherents. The situation and message are those of apocalypse, and not those of prophecy.

Apocalyptical, also, is the contrast between the present and the coming age; the conviction that evil must increase, and that its violence is a sign of the nearness of the end; the belief that evil has its source and strength in the world of spirits, and that angelic conflicts and triumphs precede or accompany those among men.

Rev. contains an abundance of that striking and highly wrought imagery which characterizes an apocalypse. These images are in part borrowed from Zech. and Daniel and other OT writers; in part, presumably, from the storehouse of apocalyptical traditions. That they are not used simply as poetical ornament, but have for the writer in part a mysterious value, is at all events a natural first impression. The facts that the book is so largely made up of such imagery, and that it is put in the form of vision, and is interpreted to the seer by angels, make up the most obvious resemblance between this book and the Jewish apocalypses. The literary materials and form are largely apocalyptical. That this resemblance is not merely formal but deep-going, is suggested by the extraordinary claims with which the book is sent out (1^{1-3} $22^{18.19}$). In its supernaturalistic conception of inspiration the book is apocalyptical rather than prophetic ($1^{10ff.}$ $4^{1ff.}$ etc.).

In its scheme of the future, the contents of its prediction, the book has an obvious likeness to the Jewish books of this class: the coming of the day of the Lord Christ, when evil is at its height; the overthrow of the world-kingdom, Rome; the sifting of the Christian people; the earthly Messianic age, in which the saints (Christian martyrs) will possess the kingdom and reign with Christ; the final assault and overthrow of the powers of evil, the Gog of Ezekiel's prediction; the general resurrection and judgment, and the new heaven and earth with individual and eternal awards: this is simply the Jewish scheme in its Messianic and chiliastic form, with Jesus as the Messiah, and His servants as the saints and heirs. Over against such likenesses in form and substance no difference can be sufficient to sever the relationship between our book and other apocalypses. Lücke was the first fully to establish the relationship. Zahn (*Einleitung in d. NT*, ii. 1899) is the last—one is tempted to say, will be the last—real scholar to deny it. He may at least teach us to be on our guard against false inferences from this undeniable literary relationship.

(*b*) *Unlikeness of Rev. and Jewish apocalypses.*—Rev. is a *Christian* apocalypse. What and how great unlikenesses does this involve? Two general considerations would lead us in opposite directions with reference to this question. The Christian religion as the Baptist prepared the way for it, as Christ founded it, and as St. Paul preached it, was undoubtedly in essential respects a return to prophecy, not only from the law, but also from the national and sensuous hopes of Judaism. The Baptist and Jesus announced not the fall of Rome, but the fall of Jerusalem, just as Amos and Hosea announced the approaching fall of Samaria, and Micah and Jeremiah that of Jerusalem; and for the same reason, in the same way, with the same motive, the call to repentance and righteousness. Jesus was a prophet in His belief in this world as God's world, and in good as already the ruling power in it, and also in the directness and personal authority of His words, the immediateness and inwardness of His relation to God, His eye for the supernatural in spiritual and not in magical manifestations. We should certainly hope that the new Christian prophecy would be truly prophetic in character, and not apocalyptical. But, on the other hand, we know that the early Christian Church found itself fully at home in Jewish apocalypses. It was the Jews who threw away their apocalypses, Christians who preserved them almost without change, applying to the second coming of the Messiah what Jews had imagined of His first coming. How early this happened the NT and even the Gospels give evidence. We cannot, therefore, assume that the Christian apocalypse is essentially unlike the Jewish. The Christian element may be an entirely superficial one, the mere identification of the coming Messiah with Jesus, and of the redeemed with the Christian Church.

Looking at the book itself, the most obvious unlikeness to the Jewish apocalypse, after the identifications just named, is the letters to the seven Churches. To be sure, they are introduced by a highly coloured Christophany, based on Zech. and Daniel, and are given in the form of a direct communication of the exalted Christ through the Spirit. Yet they have to do with actual, concrete conditions; they praise and blame, encourage and warn, with close discrimination and intense moral earnestness, so that we feel the prophetic spirit behind the partly apocalyptical form. Their warnings are aimed, not at foreign powers, but at the Christian communities; and the judgment they predict, though not itself conditional, is nevertheless the basis of a teaching of repentance. These are not like the letters of St. Paul, but they are far less like the Epistle of Baruch to the nine and a half tribes (Apoc. Bar 78–87).*

(*c*) *Remaining questions as to the relation of Rev. to the apocalypses.*—Certain points remain at which the question of likeness or unlikeness between Rev. and Jewish apocalypses cannot be answered by a general view, but only, if at all, by closer study.

(1) *Pseudonymity.*—The Jewish apocalypses are all pseudonymous, and contain accounts, in direct or figurative form, of the past course of history, in the form of predictions by the assumed author.

> 'Who can compare the name John [$1^{1.4.9}$ 22^8] with Enoch or Moses, or even with Daniel, Baruch, and Ezra? The authors of those books dated themselves centuries back, veiled themselves in the sacred names of the remote past, and turned to a credulous public of their time without even pretending any personal relation to it whatever. Here, on the contrary, a man speaks to seven Churches of the province of Asia and gives them his book, who is most accurately acquainted with their present conditions; and he speaks to them under the name, John, which was borne there about A.D. 70–100 by the most conspicuous ecclesiastical personality; and this he does according to tradition about A.D. 95, so in the lifetime of the famous John of Ephesus, or according to any conceivable hypothesis in the lifetime of the personal pupils of this John' (Zahn, *Einleit.* ii. p. 584 f.).

This is Zahn's chief objection to classing Rev. with the apocalypses, to the very essence of which, he says, belongs pseudonymity. 'The representation of the development of world-history under the form of an ante-dated prediction, if it is present at all in Rev., is a wholly subordinate element in it.' With this sentence Zahn makes his position insecure. A certain amount of antedated prediction, or at least of history in the form of vision, can hardly be excluded from the picture of the Roman empire in Rev 13 and 17; but pseudonymity has such visions for its most characteristic product and one of its reasons for being. Even as a subordinate element in the book, comparable to the place of chs. 11. 12 in the Apoc. of Ezra, such visions suggest the possibility of pseudonymous authorship, which in the case of a Christian apocalypse might well choose an apostolic name. Weizsäcker therefore thinks we should start from the fact 'that among all similar writings of Jewish and ancient Christian origin, we know not a single one which bears the name of its own author.' Even Hermas is hardly a unity, and professes a greater than its actual age. This does not make it impossible that John wrote under his own name. 'But a strong presupposition always remains that the general practice of this art-form is followed in this case also' (*Apostolic Age*, ii. p. 174).

The question of pseudonymity, and the connected question whether and how far Rev. contains history in the form of vision, remains open at this preliminary stage of our discussion.

(2) *Composite character.*—So also must the question of *composite character* be regarded as opened, and not closed, by a general comparison of Rev. with the Jewish apocalypses.

Does Rev. share this common characteristic of the apocalypse? The book has often been praised for its architectural construction, but there are various indications of seams or breaks in its structure, and neither in the historical situation which it reflects (before or after 70; soon after Nero or under Domitian) nor in the type of religious thought which it represents (Jewish or Pauline [universalistic] Christianity; primitive Jewish, or developed [Hellenistic] Christology) is unity of impression easily gained. The course of recent investigation abundantly vindicates the proposition that the question of likeness or unlikeness between Rev. and the apocalypses in the matter of unity and sources is at present an open one.

(3) *Nature of vision.*—A third uncertainty concerns the question of the nature of the visions, the narrative of which makes up the book. All apocalypses are composed largely of accounts of visions and their interpretation by angels. The question, how far this is a literary (artistic) form, and how far really ecstatic experiences were connected with their authorship, is one that should not be answered too confidently and sweepingly even with reference to the Jewish apocalypses. Zahn accepts the visions of Rev. as actual experiences literally described, while he regards the visions of other apocalypses as artistic fictions. The difference is to him that between true and false prophecy. Others, the majority, judge the vision to be everywhere, at least in this age, a literary form, and point for evidence especially to the many repetitions or imitations of OT and other traditional materials which they contain, and to the many visions which simply embody history in allegorical form, to account for which real vision is a wholly unnecessary supposition.

---

* Cf. the possible companion letter to the two and a half tribes in Bar $1^{1\text{-}3}$ 3^9–4^{29}.

Recent investigation, however, showing the large dependence of the visionary upon memory, does not allow us to say with confidence of the abundance of OT allusions in Rev., 'This is literary art, and not the way in which living vision in the spirit expresses itself' (Weizsäcker).

Three important questions, then, are opened by the general comparison of Rev. with Jewish apocalypses: Is it pseudonymous? Is it a literary unity, or is it composite? Are its visions actual, or a literary form? The questions converge in the effort to recover the author's personality, and the method and purpose or spirit of his work, the self-consciousness of the man. Weizsäcker, to whom the recent course of criticism is directly due, gives his answer to our questions in this summary fashion: 'The Apoc. of John was not written by the apostle. It is also not the record of a revelation or a vision which the author experienced on a day. It is, further, not the work of a homogeneous conception' (*Apostolic Age*, ii. 174).

iii. CONTENTS AND COMPOSITION OF REVELATION.—1. *Contents of the Book.*

The Book of Rev. reads briefly as follows:—An introduction, giving title, author, address, and subject (1^{1-8}), is followed by the appearance of Christ to John at Patmos, and the charge to write to the seven Churches (1^{9-20}), to each of which a letter is dictated by Christ (or His angel-spirit), in which the Church is praised or blamed with reference to past trials and heathen influences, and in view of a greater trial soon to come in connexion with the approaching coming of Christ (2. 3). The seer then sees heaven opened, and, being summoned up thither, he sees and describes the throne of God, and the twenty-four elders, seven spirits, and four living beings, who praise God the creator (4). He sees the sealed book in God's hand, and the Lamb as if slain with seven horns and seven eyes (the spirits of God) appears amid the praises of the highest angels and of all creation, as the one who alone can open the seven seals (5). He opens six seals. The first four introduce four horsemen who seem to be agents of judgment (war, famine, pestilence). The fifth reveals the prayers of martyred souls for vengeance; the sixth an earthquake, which brings destruction to nature and terror to men (6). Before the destructive powers (winds) are loosed, 12,000 from each of Israel's twelve tribes are sealed (7^{1-8}), and John sees a countless multitude of all nations who have passed through the great tribulation, in heavenly blessedness (7^{9-17}). The seventh seal brings silence in heaven (8^{1}). Then 'the seven angels' appear (8^{2}), and, after the prayers of the saints have again been offered before God (8^{3-5}), six of the angels sound their trumpets. The first four bring forth earthquake and volcanic phenomena with destructive effect upon a third of earth, sea, rivers, and heaven (8^{6-12}). The remaining three are to be three woes (8^{13}). The fifth (first woe) brings demonic locust-beings from the abyss, under their king Apollyon, who torment unsealed men five months (9^{1-12}). The sixth brings armies of cavalry from the Euphrates, destroying one-third of men (9^{13-21}). Before this second woe is declared to be past [in 11^{14}], the seer receives a new commission and message, a little book which he eats (10); and it is revealed to him that Jerusalem, except the temple and inner court, will be trodden by the Gentiles 42 months, and that 'the two witnesses' will prophesy during that time, and then be killed, and after 3½ days raised to heaven (11^{1-14}). The seventh trumpet (third woe) sounds, and heavenly voices announce the establishment of the kingdom of God and Christ (11^{15-18}). Storm and earthquake follow the opening of God's heavenly temple (11^{19}). The seer then beholds the unavailing effort of the dragon Satan to destroy the Messiah at His birth; the dragon's fall from heaven, and his persecution of the woman who bore the child, and of her other seed (12^{1-17}). Out of the sea comes a beast with ten horns and seven heads, whom the dragon equips with his own authority. He wars against the saints and is worshipped by all other men (13^{1-10}). This worship is furthered and enforced by another beast out of the earth with miraculous powers, who stamps men with the number of the beast, 666 (13^{11-18}). Over against these evil powers the Lamb is seen with the 144,000 undefiled on Mt. Zion (14^{1-5}). Angels announce the eternal gospel of the worship of God in view of judgment to come, the fall of Babylon, the punishment of the worshippers of the beast, the blessedness of martyrs (14^{6-13}). One like a son of man [Messiah or angel ?] reaps the earth with his sickle, and another angel gathers the grapes into the winepress of God's wrath (14^{14-20}). Seven angels, after the heavenly praises of the redeemed are heard, pour out seven bowls containing the seven last plagues, the sixth of which brings remote nations to the last war at Har-Magedon, and the seventh an earthquake which destroys cities, divides Babylon, destroys nature (15. 16). The city is then seen as a woman seated on a scarlet beast, at last wasted and destroyed by the beast and its 10 horns (17^{1-18}). Angels utter prophetic woes over Babylon, announcing its fall because of its persecution of prophets and saints (18). After heavenly rejoicings over the city's fall, and the readiness of the Lamb's bride (19^{1-10}), the Messiah appears as warrior and king, the two beasts are cast into the lake of fire, and their followers destroyed (19^{11-21}). Satan is bound, while Christ and the risen martyrs reign 1000 years. Satan is loosed, and brings remote peoples to a final war against Jerusalem. They are destroyed, and he is cast into the lake of fire (20^{1-10}). The general resurrection and judgment follow (20^{11-15}). The new heaven and earth, the new Jerusalem, and final blessedness in it, are described (21^{1}–22^{5}). The conclusion consists of attestations and admonitions regarding the Divine authorship and sanctity of the book (22^{6-21}).

2. *Plan of the Book.*—(*a*) *Introductory.*—There are two main methods by which plan and order are discovered in the visions of 4^{1}–22^{5}. The *recapitulation* method (from Tyconius and Augustine to recent times) finds no progress in the successive sevens (seals, trumpets, and bowls) which form the main structure of this section, but repetition under varying forms. The seals bring already the last judgment (6^{12-17}) and the final blessedness (7^{9-17}). Among more recent critics, however, the view prevails that the seventh in each series is developed in the new series of seven that follows. The seventh seal contains the remainder of the book, and is unfolded in seven trumpets, of which the seventh includes all that follows to the end (10^{7}), but is unfolded in the seven bowls (Lücke, Bleek, Ewald, etc.). In this scheme ch. 7 appears as an interlude between the sixth and seventh seals, and 10–11^{13} as a similar insertion between the sixth and seventh trumpets. The bowls are not interrupted in the same way, but before and after them are visions which give the same impression of standing outside of the writer's ruling scheme (12–14. 17–19^{10}).

Holtzmann represents the structure of the book in the following scheme (*Comm.* p. 295):—

	1^{1-8} Introduction.	
1^{9}–3^{22} The seven Letters.		
4^{1}–5^{14} Heavenly scene of the visions.		
6^{1-17} Six seals.		
		7^{1-17} The sealed and the blessed.
8^{1-5} The coming forth of the trumpets out of the 7th seal.		
8^{6}–9^{21} Six trumpets.		
		10^{1}–11^{14} Destiny of Jerusalem.
11^{15-19} Seventh trumpet.		
		12^{1}–14^{5} The great visions of the three chief foes and the Messiah-kingdom.
	14^{6-20} Return to the earlier connexion.	
15^{1}–16^{1} Transition to the bowls.		
16^{2-21} Seven bowls.		
		17^{1}–19^{10} The great Babylon.
19^{11}–20^{15} Final catastrophes.		
		21^{1}–22^{5} The new Jerusalem.
	22^{6-21} Conclusion.	

It is to be noticed that the sections at the right contain most of the material which Weizsäcker and others regard as of earlier origin, and that of which Jewish authorship can be most plausibly affirmed. The supposition that they were inserted by the writer, and that he was not able to bring them into the sevenfold scheme which he chose, is a natural one. Holtzmann, however, says that if this was the case, these sections have at all events been assimilated to the rest in style, and connected with it by various references, so that the lines of separation do not remain sharply defined.

By the side of this we may well place in bare outline the analysis of Zahn (*Einl.* ii. 587 ff.), which, as he believes, demonstrates the unity of the book 'in spite of all lack of literary art.'

Introd. (1^{1-9}). *First Vision*, 1^{10}–3^{22} (Letters). *Second Vision*, 4^{1}–8^{1} (Seals), with two Episodes, (*a*) 7^{1-8}, (*b*) 7^{9-17}, before the seventh. *Third Vision*, 8^{2}–11^{18} (Trumpets), with two Episodes, (*a*) 10^{1-11}, (*b*) 11^{1-14}, before the seventh. *Fourth Vision*, 11^{19}–14^{20}. *Fifth Vision*, 15^{1}–16^{17} (Bowls). *Sixth Vision*, 17^{1}–18^{24} (Judgment on Babylon), 16^{18-21} introduces it, and $19^{1-8.\ 9-10}$ concludes it and introduces the *Seventh Vision*, 19^{11}–21^{8} (Judgment and Awards). *Eighth Vision*, 21^{9}–$22^{5\ (or\ 15)}$ (a description not of the new heaven and earth of 21^{1-8}, but of the world during the 1000 years' reign of Christ, 20^{4-6}). Conclusion, $22^{6\ (or\ 16)-21}$.

(*b*) *Plan of chs.* 1–3.—The construction of these chapters gives the greatest evidence of conscious and careful literary art, and no doubt may fairly predispose the reader to look for art throughout. The introductory verses (1^{1-8}) contain a remarkably complete statement of the source, character, and contents of the entire book, and prepare us to recognize such summary, anticipatory introductions elsewhere. The ultimate author of the revelation is God, who gave it to Christ, who sent an angel to signify it to John. It can therefore be called 'the word of God,' 'the testimony of Jesus,' or 'the things which John saw.' Its contents are 'the things which must happen quickly'; that is, it is a prediction, but of the immediate not the remote future. Its readers are God's servants, who are blessed if they hear and keep what is written. More expressly 'the seven Churches in Asia' are addressed, and in saluting them the author completely sums up his theology. It is in some sense trinitarian (vv.$^{4.5}$), and the kingly exaltation of Christ through resurrection, the saving effect of His death, and the destination He made possible for believers, are described. The central message of the book, the coming of Christ, and that in its judicial aspect, is expressly announced, perhaps by God, who, at all events, as the real author of the revelation, adds in the first person His attestation. It is not, indeed, impossible to divide this introduction into independent parts (1–3. 4–6. 7. 8), and suppose them to have introduced separate apocalypses (cf. Spitta, Briggs). But it can hardly be denied that the whole is admirably adapted to introduce the book.

The vision of Christ (1^{9-20}) brings before us the priestly and kingly One, who lives amid His Churches and possesses or rules them. The letters are introduced by descriptions of Christ which are in most cases borrowed from the vision, and close with promises 'to him that overcometh,' which in most cases anticipate the fuller descriptions of chs. 19–22. The selection of descriptive features from the vision of Christ in several cases fits the special message of the letter; and this is sometimes, but not so often and clearly, the case with the selection of the reward. (1) The description, 2^1 (from $1^{16a.\,13a}$), is referred to in 2^5. The reward, 2^{7b} (cf. 22^2), has no obvious relation to the letter. (2) The description, 2^8 (from $1^{17b.\,18a}$), fits both the message, 2^{10b}, and the reward, 2^{11b} (cf. 20^6). (3) The description, 2^{12} (from 1^{16b}), is referred to in 2^{16}. The reward, 2^{17b} (only in part, if at all, parallel to 22^4, cf. 19^{12}), may possibly stand in contrast to the eating of things sacrificed to idols (2^{14}). (4) The description, 2^{18} (from $1^{14b.\,15a}$, but 'Son of God' is here only), prepares for 2^{23}. The reward, 2^{26-28} (in part parallel to 20^4, cf. 12^5 19^{15} 22^{16}), could relate to the letter if Jezebel's teaching included submission to Rome. (5) The description, 3^1 (from 1^{16}, cf. 2^1 1^4), has no special relation to the letter. The reward, 3^5 (cf. 6^{11a} $7^{9b.\,13}$ 17^8 $20^{12.\,15}$ 21^{27}, Mt 10^{32}), is connected with v.^{4} and perhaps v.^{1}. (6) The description, 3^7 (not from the vision, cf. Is 22^{22} [cf. 1^{18}]), is used in v.^{8}. The reward, 3^{12} (cf. 14^{1b} 22^4 $21^{2.\,10}$ $19^{12.\,16}$), has no obvious connexion with the letter (Bousset compares v.^{12a} with v.^{7b}). (7) The description, 3^{14} (not from the vision, cf. 1^5, Col $1^{15ff.}$, Jn 1^3), may prepare for the severity of the letter (cf. v.^{19}). The reward, 3^{21} (cf. 20^{4-6} 1^6 $2^{26f.}$ 5^{10} 22^3), connects with v.^{20} (cf. Lk $22^{29.\,30}$).

That the writer is working as an artist is evident, and a reason may have determined his choice of titles and promises where it is no longer evident. The last title is perhaps the highest, and the last reward also represents a climax. The first reward suggests Eden; the second, the Fall; the third, the Wilderness; the fourth, the Kingdom; but though the intention to represent the fulfilment of successive stages of OT history is wholly conceivable, the evidence for it is not convincing.* No evident reason for the changed position of the sentence, 'He that hath an ear,' etc., in the last four letters, is manifest. Of the historical conditions described in the letters something will be said further on. But, in spite of unmistakable references to local conditions, each letter is a message of the spirit to 'the Churches.' They were not sent separately or meant to be read separately, but have each a representative and all together a complete character, which the number seven itself suggests.

Chs. 1–3 show not only a conscious artistic purpose, but in more details than can here be noted and still more in total effect they show a high order of poetic instinct and skill.

(*c*) *Plan of chs.* 4–22.—The choice of three series of sevens in the representation of the coming woes and judgment shows the same mind that addressed the Churches as seven. To assign these sevens to different sources (Spitta, Briggs), is to miss one of the most evident marks of unity in the book. It is more likely, *e.g.*, that the author made seven seals out of an original four (see below) than that he found his sevens ready made. But what is to be said of the two twofold interludes inserted between the sixth and seventh seals and trumpets ($7^{1-8.\,9-17}$ 10. 11^{1-13})?

The first two of these visions not only interrupt the plan, but are apparently inharmonious with each other. In one (7^{1-8}) a definite number of Jews are sealed before the coming of evil, in order to be kept from it; in the other (7^{9-17}) a countless number from all nations have already come through trials and death to heavenly blessedness. The first could well be of Jewish origin (based on Ezk $9^{4ff.}$), and describe the literal safe-keeping of Jews in the troubles of the last days. Did our writer believe that Jews would play a distinct rôle in the end? This is possible (cf. St. Paul in Ro 9–11), but it is more probable that he adopts a Jewish apocalyptical fragment applying it to the Christian community, and understanding it not in a literal sense. This would account for the fact that the four winds (7^1) are never loosed. We have not a whole but a part ($9^{14f.}$ is related, but different). We have indeed an allusion to the sealing (9^4, cf. 14^1) as if to prevent our supposing the section a later insertion. But there the sealed can only be all true Christians, as in 14^{1-5} the 144,000 are. If Rev 7^{1-8} applies a Jewish oracle to the Christian community, the deliverance it assumes may well be no more literal than the rest, and its meaning in the author's intention may be wholly like the meaning of 7^{9-17}. Not deliverance from death, but deliverance through death, is, in fact, the promise of the book. These two visions, then, contrasted as they are, and of different origin, may have meant the same thing to the author. They are assurances of escape and salvation, inserted here, after the beginning of evils but before their culmination, to serve the practical purpose of encouragement. The second one seems to describe by anticipation nothing less than the final heavenly blessedness, for no such host had as yet passed through trial (martyrdom?) to heaven, and 6^{9-11} seems to prevent the supposition that those who had already died were in possession of their final glory.

Our inference in regard to ch. 7 is, then, that the writer introduces foreign (in part Jewish) fragments into his book, apparently interrupting his plan, but not without a purpose. He is writing even more to encourage true Christians than to warn apostates, and so will not let assurance and promise wait until its proper place, when judgment has run its course, but will anticipate deliverance, setting light over against dark in his picture, though dark must predominate.

---

* Trench (*Epistles to the Seven Churches*, N.Y. 1862, p. 287 f.), who proceeds with a new series, thus: fifth, individual's lot at the Day of Judgment; sixth, in companionship with the redeemed; seventh, in communion with God.

Turning to the second pair of insertions, we notice that ch. 10 seems to describe nothing less than a new beginning of the prophet's activity, a new commission and inspiration. It seems meant to explain the new and strange nature of the oracles that follow. Perhaps 10$^{3.4}$ may serve to explain the writer's departure from the plan of developing the seventh of one series of judgments in the form of a new series of seven. Instead of the seven thunders which he heard, he is charged to write the contents of the little book of prophecies over many peoples. Yet this apparent change of plan is not a real break in the order, since it is still affirmed that the seventh angel's trumpet will bring the end (10^{7}).

The second section, 11$^{1-13}$, is still preliminary, as 11^{14} (cf. 9^{12}) clearly indicates. Its strange character is evident. Yet it may well have been meant to serve the same purpose as 7$^{1-17}$, and indeed it falls into two similar parts. 11$^{1.2}$, like 7$^{1-8}$, assures Christians, the true worshippers in the true temple of God, that they will escape from the evils of the last days. Undoubtedly in their origin these verses referred to the real temple and to Jewish worshippers. This must have been a Jewish oracle uttered some time before A.D. 70. But our author can have used it only as a figure, precisely like the sealing of the 144,000. Its unprepared and fragmentary character are explicable if it was to the writer symbol, not reality. Not otherwise must we judge 11$^{3-13}$. In our writer's plan it must mean that those who do not in the outward sense escape the evil, but because of their testimony and work against the power of evil suffer and die, will nevertheless rise in glory and be avenged upon their enemies (not unlike 7$^{9-17}$). Of course this does not explain the origin of the section. It is full of unexplained allusions, and is clearly part of a larger whole. Its Jewish origin is unmistakable. Bousset regards it as a part of the apocalyptical tradition of Antichrist. It suggests an elaboration of the expectation of the return of Elijah for a work of protest and reform (Mal 4$^{5.6}$, Mt 17^{17} 11^{14}), and the similar hope of the return of Moses based on Dt 18$^{15.18}$ (Mt 17^{3}). But since our writer introduces it, not as an incident in the direct development of the drama, but in an interlude and for its general message of encouragement in faithful testimony unto death, it is natural to raise the question whether he took the details literally, and expected the two prophets and especially the conversion of the majority of the Jewish people after a partial judgment upon them (v.^{13}). How, indeed, could a Christian, in view of the prediction of Christ, even before A.D. 70, have taken literally either the expectation that the temple would be exempt from desecration by the heathen, or that only a tenth of the city would fall? Still less possible would the literal sense of the oracle be after 70. It is true that a Christian hand has touched the narrative (v.^{8} end), but it is not probable that the resurrection of the two witnesses is shaped after that of Christ (v.^{11}). In its strongly Jewish character, its evident date (before 70), much earlier than the book as a whole, its unprepared insertion, apparently only for its general thought of faithful testimony, martyrdom, and heavenly reward, the section is very instructive regarding the literary manner of the author (see below, iii. 3).

The seventh trumpet must be the third woe (11^{14}), and it must bring the consummation (10^{7}). Its contents cannot therefore be given in 11$^{15-18}$, but must include the rest of the book. The third woe cannot be less than the last conflict with the powers of evil and their overthrow, which forms the theme of chs. 12–20 (see 12^{12}). In 11$^{15-18}$ we have, therefore, an anticipation in a heavenly chorus of the consummation which is not yet fully come (as in 15$^{2-4}$ 19$^{1-7}$); a superscription for chs. 12–20.

The general plan of chs. 11^{15}–22^{5} is clear. After an introductory anticipation of the kingdom of God and the wrath and destruction that must precede its coming (11$^{15-19}$), Satan, the real power of evil, is introduced, and his present peculiar aggressiveness is explained in such a way as to make it a ground of special hope, not of discouragement. He has been cast down from heaven, and knows that his time on earth is short (ch. 12). The chief agents of Satan in his persecution of Christians—Rome, the empire and the religion—are then introduced (ch. 13). Before judgment against the evil powers begins, the author, according to his custom, inserts various anticipatory passages: a vision of the blessedness of the saints with Christ (vv.$^{1-5}$); a review of the entire teaching of the book (vv.$^{6-13}$): its gospel, the sole worship of God in view of judgment to come; its prediction, the fall of Rome, and the eternal punishment of those who yield to Roman life and cultus; the supreme Christian duty, patience, endurance in Christian life and faith, and the promises of heavenly blessedness for martyrs; then a general vision of judgment in two acts, the reaping of grain and the gathering of grapes (vv.$^{14-20}$). The seven bowls are introduced as finishing the wrath of God (15^{1}, cf. 'it is done,' γέγονεν, 16^{17}). They lead up to the destruction of Rome. But for this great event the writer has larger resources of description at his command. The vision of the woman seated on the dragon shows that it is her own evil demon that will turn against the city, and with its ten horns, which are ten kings, destroy her (ch. 17). Her fall will fulfil the language of prophecy against Babylon and Tyre (ch. 18). It will be finally effected—the end having been once more anticipated in heavenly praises (19$^{1-10}$)—at Christ's coming and by Him (19$^{11-21}$). Then, the beasts having been destroyed, Satan's own judgment must come, a preliminary binding and a final destruction (ch. 20). Then at last the consummation so often anticipated will be an actuality (21–22^{5}).

Although the writer connects ch. 17 and 21$^{9ff.}$ with one of the angels of the bowls, yet it must be evident that we are not to judge this section (12–22^{5}) as consisting of the seven bowls (developing the seventh trumpet), and some introductory and concluding sections; for the prelude and postlude would in this case far overbalance the piece itself both in length and in interest and power. On the other hand, the theme of 12–22^{5} being the fall of Rome, the present Satanic power, and with it the deliverance and blessedness of faithful Christians, it is clear that chs. 12. 13 and 17–22^{5} form the solid framework of the structure. Ch. 19 brings the beasts of ch. 13 to judgment; ch. 20 brings the Satan of ch. 12 to an end; 21–22^{5} brings to actuality the anticipation of 11$^{15-17}$. To set aside the passages put in the right-hand column in Holtzmann's scheme for the sake of carrying out the plan of developing the seventh of each series by a new series of seven, would sacrifice the most important parts of the section, in which order and movement are most evident. We must conclude that the writer, in the second half of his book, renounced that plan as not adequate for his material, as ch. 10 may have been meant to suggest. The seven bowls, in fact, form the least original and impressive part of this section, being dependent on the seven trumpets and inferior to them in effectiveness (see below). The seven bowls do not furnish the plan of this section. But we may fairly ask whether we are to give to the sevens quite such significance in the earlier part of the book as is commonly done. If both the seventh seal and the seventh trumpet include all that follows in the book (as also the seventh bowl is simply more fully described in chs. 17-19), then we should not divide by sevens, since this would cut off the announcement of the seventh from its development. The seventh should open, not end, a new section, and the separation of the seventh from the sixth by passages of vital importance (not mere interludes in character) seems to indicate this intention on the part of the writer. Chs. 7 and 10 seem most evidently to mark transitions.

Some such outline as this may therefore with reserve be suggested—

I. Preliminary judgments (4–9).
  1. Visions of the actors (4–6).—
    a. God (4); *b.* Christ (5); *c.* Destructive powers (6).
  2. Promises of deliverance out of coming evils (7).
  3. The judgments (one-third, without producing repentance, 8. 9).
II. Final judgments (10–22).
  1. The prophet's new commission (10).
  2. Vision of deliverance for true worshippers of God, and esp. for martyrs (11^{1-14}).
  3. Prelude, summarizing the action (11^{15-19}).
  4. Visions of the actors (12. 13 [14^{1-5}?]).—
    a. Satan (12); *b.* Roman empire and emperor-worship (13); [*c.* The Lamb and His followers (14^{1-5})].
  5. Promises and warnings (14 [or 14^{6-20}]).
  6. The judgments (15-20).—
    a. Upon the earth, leading up to the fall of the city, Rome (15. 16. 17^{1}–18^{24} [19^{1-10}?]); *b.* Upon the demon-beasts of the Roman empire and religion and their followers (19^{11-21}); *c.* Upon Satan and all that belongs to him (20).
  7. The new world and city (21^{1-8} 21^{9}–$22^{5(9?)}$).*

Titles or superscriptions quite frequently summarize the contents of following visions:—1^{1-8} sums up the whole book, 8^{2} is a title, and 8^{3-5} an anticipation of the effect of the trumpets ($8^{6\text{ff.}}$), and the bowls are similarly introduced ($15^{1.\,2-4}$). 11^{15-18} is a summary title of chs. 12–22; $18^{2.\,3}$ summarizes 18^{4-24}; 19^{1-10} summarizes 19^{11}–22^{21}; 21^{1-8} summarizes 21^{9}–22^{5} ($21^{1.\,2}={}^{9-21}$, ${}^{3.\,4}={}^{22}$–22^{5}, ${}^{5-8}=22^{6-21}$).

Yet though we find evidence of a general order in the book which the artistic structure of chs. 1–3 prepares us to look for, we must take account of various departures from any strict order, if we would understand the spirit of the writer. Though the interruption of the sevens by chs. 7 and 10–11^{13} is not due to a want of plan, yet here and in various anticipatory voices, visions, and comments (*e.g.* 11^{14-18} 14^{1-5} 15^{2-4} 19^{1-10} 12^{11}) we find evidences of the practical impulse to encourage and admonish, rather than artistic reflexion. In the failure to observe strict chronological sequence the book is indeed only like Daniel and other apocalypses. There is here as in Daniel a progress towards greater concreteness and detail. In 6^{12-17} the final day of God's wrath seems already come. It is described again in 14^{14-20}. The fall of Rome is announced in 14^{8} as if accomplished; more fully described in 16^{17-21}; still predicted in 17^{16}; announced in 18^{2}, predicted still in 18^{4-24}. Again the letters seem to assume that though trials have been endured, martyrdom is almost wholly future (2^{13}); but in 5^{9-11} many souls of martyrs are seen, and $7^{9\text{ff.}}$ implies a multitude, as 20^{4-6} also does.

(*d*) *Experiences of the seer.*—We have already met with evidence that the author used some ancient materials for their general thought, and not in a literal sense. Before passing to a more detailed study of his use of material, it is important to ask whether he gives a consistent picture of his own experiences.

(1) *The position and movements of the seer.*—

He is on earth in $1^{9\text{ff.}}$; in 4^{1} he is summoned up into heaven, where he may be conceived as remaining through ch. 9 (cf. 6^{9} $8^{1.\,2}$ etc.), though earth is not out of his sight ($6^{12\text{f.}}$ 7^{1} etc.). That he is literally in heaven is clearly implied in $5^{4\text{f.}}$ $7^{13\text{f.}}$. But in 10^{1}, without a break ('and I saw'), he appears to be on earth (so $10^{4.\,8}$). Earth appears to be the scene of the action in 11^{1-13}, but in 11^{15} voices in heaven are heard, and in v.^{19} the temple in heaven is seen to be open. In 12 the seer seems to be in heaven (?), but in 13 and probably in 14^{1-13} he is on earth. If we read ἐστάθην in 12^{18} (13^{1}), we have a definite reference to the seer's position, comparable to 1^{9}. But the judgment scene 14^{14-20} suggests heaven. Again chs. 15. 16 give a heavenly scene. In 17^{3} an angel carries John away in the spirit into a wilderness to see the woman (Rome), and in 21^{10} to a mountain to see Jerusalem descending out of heaven. $18^{1.\,4}$ indicate that the seer is on earth. In 19^{1-10} he seems to be in heaven, but in v.^{11} on earth again (for he sees heaven open, as in 4^{1}); so also in 20^{1} 21^{2}, and probably in $21^{10\text{f.}}$.

There is so little law in these movements, and so little care to make the connexion clear, that one might infer that our writer leaves such references as they stood in his different sources; but this would mean that the vision was to him a form, not a reality.

(2) *The heavenly scenes.*—

The scenery in heaven is not clearly described. Ch. 4 pictures a throne of God, with 24 elders on thrones around it, seven lamps before it which are the seven spirits of God, before it a glassy sea, and, in the midst of it and around it, four living creatures. Here in the midst of the throne stood the Lamb (ch. 5), whose seven eyes are the seven spirits of God, of which the seven lamps were already a symbol. About the throne and the elders and living beings are myriads of angels (5^{11} 7^{11}). Here also are the multitudes who have come out of great tribulation (7^{9-17}). Of them, however, it is said not only that they are before the throne of God, but that they serve Him in His temple. 3^{12} has prepared us for the conception of a temple in heaven, and in 6^{9} we have suddenly been made aware of 'the altar,' beneath which are the souls of martyrs. Now the trumpets are sounded by 'the seven angels which stand before God,' 8^{2} (cf. 1^{4-6}). These did not appear in the scene just drawn, unless they are the same as 'the seven spirits,' as 1^{4} might indicate. The altar is mentioned again, and, perhaps in distinction from it, 'the golden altar which is before the throne,' the altar of incense (8^{3-5}). From the horns of this 'golden altar which is before God' comes the voice which directs the angel of the sixth trumpet ($9^{13\text{f.}}$). The seventh trumpet reveals the original scene (the throne and elders and living beings, 11^{15-18}); but then we read, 'there was opened the temple of God that is in heaven,' and in it the ark of His covenant was seen (11^{19}). After this the 24 elders appear only in 14^{1-5} and 19^{1-8}, two somewhat similar passages, though 15^{2-4} may have the same setting (cf. 4^{6}). One of the four living creatures is mentioned in 15^{7} in connexion with the temple; but more often the temple scenery stands by itself. Out of the temple comes the angel who summons the reaper (14^{15}) and the angel who is to gather the grapes (14^{17}), whom another angel from the altar directs (14^{18}). Out of the temple come the seven angels, having the seven last plagues, and the temple is filled with smoke from the glory of God, so that it could not be entered, although open (15^{5-8}). A great voice from the temple commands them (16^{1}); 'the altar' affirms the justice of the judgment (16^{7}), and the final, 'It is done,' comes 'out of the temple and from the throne,' uniting the two (16^{17}).

It is not easy to unite in one picture the conception of God as sitting on a throne surrounded by His court, and of His dwelling, in heaven as on earth, in the temple's holiest place, from which His voice or messengers issue forth. Since the scenery of the throne is that of the seals, and the temple scenery that of the bowls, it is natural to think of this unharmonized element as due to sources. The author has mixed the scenes somewhat (15^{7} could be an insertion, as the angels came out of the temple already having seven plagues, vv.$^{1.\,6}$); but he does not harmonize them, or paint a heaven that can be imagined. The new Jerusalem must also have been in heaven (3^{12} 21^{2}), though the seer beholds it only as it descends to earth ($21^{11\text{f.}}$). The description of the new heaven and earth resolves itself into the description of a city, and in this there is no temple (21^{22}), but the throne remains the final seat of God ($20^{4.\,11}$ 21^{5} 22^{1-3}). If the writer had wished to paint a clear, consistent picture, he could easily have done so. The inference that he took his descriptions as they were, and valued them as poetical not literal accounts, is surely a natural one.

---

* It is evident that 17^{1} and 21^{9} are meant to mark the beginnings of parallel sections, and it is possible that the likewise parallel 19^{10} and 22^{9} are meant to mark their close.

(3) *Form of inspiration.*—The same freedom and disregard of formal consistency is evident in the representation of the way in which the seer received his revelations. There is no set way, no fixed medium.

The first verses seem explicit, yet leave us uncertain whether we are to conceive of the writer as receiving Christ's revelation through angel (1^{1}) or by vision ('all the things that he saw,' 1^{2}, cf. 1^{19}). The letters are given by Christ in the first person. Yet they are introduced by a description of Christ in the third person, and the expression 'hear what the spirit saith to the Churches' suggests that the letters are dictated to John by an angel-spirit in the name of Christ. The voice which John hears at first ($1^{10f.}$) must be the voice of Christ Himself (cf. 1^{19}). The same voice summons John into the open heaven (4^{1}). He is there 'in the spirit' (4^{2}, as in 1^{10}). But it does not appear to be Christ Himself who shows him what is to come. Christ appears as an actor in the drama of the future, not as the seer's interpreter. Not till 16^{15} is His voice heard again, and then not till 22^{7} (?). In 17^{1} one of the seven angels of the bowls summons John and carries him away in the spirit into a wilderness to see the judgment upon Rome. This is the sort of angel guidance that 1^{1} would lead us to expect, but which we look for thus far in vain. This angel fulfils his function as interpreter (17^{7-18}); but then we hear another angel announcing Babylon's fall (18^{1-3}); another voice from heaven pronouncing the prophetic denunciation over her (18^{4-20}); and still another angel predicting the fall by deed and word (18^{21-24}). Then are heard various voices from heaven (19^{1-8}); and only then, in $19^{9.10}$ ('and he says to me'), does the original angel-guide speak again. He then rejects John's impulse to worship him (cf. Asc. Isaiah 7^{21} $8^{4.5}$) with the words, 'I am a fellow-servant of thee and thy brothers who have the testimony of Jesus; worship God: for the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy' (19^{11}). The last clause is often struck out as a gloss by critics (Bousset, Hilgenfeld, etc.), but this is venturesome. 'The spirit of prophecy' should mean the spirit from God which inspires the prophet; that is, in this case, the angel himself (cf. 22^{6}). So he would say, 'I am only one of you who have the testimony of Jesus; indeed this testimony constitutes my very being.' The angel-spirit of prophecy is simply the personified testimony of Jesus, the word of Jesus Himself. As a messenger this angel is on an equality with John,—because his message is wholly and simply the message of Christ. There follow visions of the first and of the final judgments (19^{11}–20^{15}), and an introductory (summary) vision of the consummation (21^{1-8}), in which are heard the words of God Himself (vv.$^{5-8}$); and then 'one of the seven angels who had the seven bowls' (not the same one as before?) carried John in the spirit to a mountain to see the new Jerusalem. It is this angel who measured the city and showed John the details of the vision (21^{15-17} 22^{1}), so that when 22^{6} begins 'and he said to me,' it can be only the angel that speaks (one of the 'spirits of the prophets'); but in v.^{7} his words become Christ's words, 'behold, I come quickly.' No wonder John would again worship him, but again he classes himself with the prophets. As a person he is only a revealer, a voice; but his words are those of Christ. So when he speaks again ($22^{10ff.}$) his words again become Christ's words (vv.$^{12ff.}$). Now it is to be observed that the seven angels of the bowls (ch. 15), two (?) of whom are the imparters of these last prophecies of the book, naturally lead us back to 'the seven angels which stand before God,' to whom the trumpets are given (8^{2}), and these again to the seven lamps burning before the throne, which are the seven spirits of God (4^{5}), from whom (1^{4}), as from God and Christ, John's message comes. When now Christ is described as 'he that hath the seven spirits of God' (3^{1}), and is pictured as the Lamb with seven eyes 'which are the seven spirits of God sent forth into all the earth' (5^{6}), we have certainly significant indications of what the writer meant by calling his book an 'apocalypse of Jesus Christ,' and of his idea of the inspiration of a Christian prophet. Angels, however realistically described, are hardly more than a means of expressing the fact that the writer was somehow conscious of having a message from Christ for the Churches. Any further interpretation of his consciousness must be deferred until we have studied the sources and relationships of his materials.

Any set and consistent form of representing his experiences, however, the author seems purposely to avoid. Apart from $17^{1ff.}$ $21^{9ff.}$ we have no indication of a special interpreting angel, taking the part of Gabriel in the Bk. of Daniel. The speakers in the book are very many. The underlying faith in the kingship of God and of Christ, and its ultimate triumph, are expressed in heavenly choruses, led by the twenty-four elders and the four cherubim, but joined in by multitudes of angels and of glorified men (4^{8-11} 5^{9-14} 7^{9-12} 11^{15-18} 12^{10} $14^{2.3}$ 15^{2-4} $19^{1-7(8)}$). One of the elders instructs John in 5^{5} and 7^{13-17}. Often it is simply 'a voice from heaven' that he hears ($10^{4.8}$ 14^{13} 18^{4} 21^{3}, cf. 16^{17}), or from the horns of the altar ($9^{13f.}$), or from the altar itself (16^{7}). He records words of God, 1^{8} $^{(7?)}$ 21^{5-8} 16^{17} (?); of Christ, $1^{11.19.20}$ 2. 3. 16^{15} $22^{7.12ff.}$; of the spirit, 14^{13} 22^{17}. There are beatitudes uttered by Christ (16^{15} $22^{7.14}$), by a voice from heaven (14^{13}), by the angel-guide (19^{9}), by John (1^{3}). Sometimes he seems to interrupt the story of what he had seen with a direct word of his own to the reader (2^{7a} etc. $13^{9.10}$ 13^{18} 14^{12}, cf. 17^{9} ?). Among the other voices that are heard are those of the souls of martyrs (6^{10}): of various angels undefined (7^{2} $14^{6.8.9.15.18}$ 19^{17} etc.); of 'the angel of the waters' ($16^{5f.}$); an eagle (8^{13}); the rod (?11^{1}). At the beginning and at the end the book is declared to be from Christ Himself, His testimony ($1^{1.2}$ 22^{16}). The part which the angels perform might almost be regarded as pictorial, since the writer reduces the significance of these beings, who are the uniform actors and speakers in the Jewish apocalypses, to that of messengers of Christ. He is the primary and final actor in the book (opens the seals, ch. 5 f., and executes the judgment, $19^{11ff.}$), and He is the real speaker.

Here also, as in the case of the place and movements of the seer and the heavenly scenery, a variety of sources might explain the diversity of the representation, but we must also suppose the author to be relatively indifferent to formal consistency. He must, one is forced to think, have taken the external language of apocalypses in a figurative or poetic way. The only other hypothesis would seem to be that of composite origin (as held by Völter, Spitta, etc.); but the effort to bring consistency out of the book by analysis and the reconstruction of sources out of which it was gradually and unskilfully put together, fails to do justice to the unity of style and even of plan which the book has been found to exhibit. Moreover, this effort has been made by many able men, and, according to the prevailing opinion of scholars, has failed.

In order, however, to test the possibility of a free, more or less poetic, use of traditional apocalyptical material, we must examine our author's use of tradition at various points more closely.

3. *Sources.*—(*a*) *Old Testament.*—Although Rev. contains no direct citations from the OT, it is full of OT language from the beginning to the end. An impression of its dependence on OT phraseology may be gained from the text of Westcott and Hort, or from that of Nestle, in which such allusions or reminiscences are printed in a distinct type. In the corresponding list of references in WH's Appendix, pp. 184–188, out of the total number of 404 verses in the book about 265 verses contain OT language, and about 550 references are made to OT passages.* The material is still more fully gathered by Hühn (*Die altiest. Citate und Reminiscenzen im NT*, 1900).

Nothing is more important for the understanding of our author's mental and literary processes than a close study of his use of OT language.

The bearing of such study upon the interpretation of our book can here only be suggested by illustrations. One of the simplest cases is the prophetic denunciation of the fall of Babylon (Rome) in ch. 18. It is composed almost wholly of material taken from the prophetic woes over Babylon (Is 13. 14, Jer 50. 51), Tyre (Is 23, Ezk 26–28), and, in a slight degree, Edom (Is 34). Even the admonition that might seem to have direct reference to the historical situation, 'Come forth, my people, out of her,' etc. (18^{4}), is directly borrowed from prophetic utterances (Jer $51^{6.9.45}$ 50^{8}, Is 48^{20} 52^{11}), and has there rather than here its historical explanation. Yet the chapter does not make the impression of being a laborious piece of patchwork. It has a unity of its own and a high degree of impressiveness, and seems to be the work of one whose mind is filled with the language of prophecy, and who draws abundantly, and of course consciously, from his storehouse, and yet writes with freedom and from a strong inner impulse of his own, and elaborates with his own conceptions the themes which the prophetic words contain. So he makes out of the old a product in a real sense new, a poetical whole. But what shall we say of his putting this product into the mouth of angels? It is easier to attribute such a literary composition to a poet than to a voice from heaven. Even the action of the angel in 18^{21} rests on the symbolic act of Jeremiah ($51^{63.\,64}$). And if our writer says that he hears and sees these things, must we not judge the nature of his vision by its contents? A literal voice from heaven this certainly cannot be, and we seem shut up to two possibilities regarding it: either the angels and the voice from heaven belong wholly to the poetry of the piece, its literary form, or they express the writer's own interpretation of the strong impulse, as if from without, under which he wrote.

---

* The allusions agree in part with the Heb., in part with the LXX. WH mark 33 references as distinctly from Heb. (and Chald.), 15 as from LXX; 5 are marked Heb. and LXX, *viz.* 4 references to Ex 19^{16} (4^{5} 8^{5} 11^{19} 16^{18}) and one to Zec $3^{1f.}$ (12^{9}). Schürer (^{3} iii. 323) cites 9^{20} 10^{5} 13^{7} 20^{4} as citations from Daniel, which follow Theodotion more closely than LXX. See Bludau, 'Die Apokalypse und Theodotions Daniel-Uebersetzung,' in *Theol. Quartalschrift*, 1897, pp. 1–26. Salmon (*Introd. to the NT*, p. 662 f.) argues that the citations in Rev. show a nearer relationship to Theod. than to LXX, referring to 9^{20} 10^{5} 12^{7} 13^{7} 19^{6} $20^{4.11}$; on the other side, 1^{14} 19^{16}. Cf. Swete, *Introd.* p. 48 f.

Another instructive illustration of the author's use of the OT is to be found in his description of the new Jerusalem, 21^{1}–22^{5}. This is largely taken from the anticipations of the prophets of the Exile, Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah, with reference to the return and the rebuilding of Jerusalem. Features are added from other sources. Here, as in ch. 18, the impression is not that of mere clipping and piecing, but rather that of the work of a mind full of the Messianic language of the prophets, writing out of a genuine and deep religious and poetic emotion, with a dependence on the OT which is free, not slavish, and yet with very little real inventiveness. Yet this also is shown to the seer by an angel, who seems to be in general the speaker (see 21^{15} ὁ λαλῶν, 22^{6}); and an action of his is described $21^{15\text{-}17}$ which is taken from Ezekiel ($40^{3\text{ff.}}$). In this case, more clearly than in ch. 18, we may suspect a certain limitation of the author's imagination by his sources, which is not inconsistent with a large measure of freedom in the use of them. He has mastered the OT material of this sort, and can use it effectively, but cannot go much beyond it. How otherwise can we explain the emphatically Jewish picture of a future which was certainly to this writer universal in scope; the presence still of thoroughly earthly features in a consummation which must surely, in the writer's view, be heavenly; the appearance still of nations and kings and their wealth after heaven and earth have passed away? He has little but the old familiar national and earthly language at command for the description of that which heaven contains for Christian hope. He can describe the Christian heaven only in Jewish language. But though bound in language he is not bound in thought. He knows no more impressive and expressive language (nor do we); but the language is poetry to him, it is figurative, not literal, chosen for its poetic worth and emotional effect, which belonged to it, indeed, partly because it was old and familiar. It must of course be recognized that the most powerful imagination comes quickly to an end if it attempts to leave the earth in its descriptions of heaven. Religious faith and hope cannot do better than take the language which the greater souls have created, which generations have shaped, which age has hallowed, and use it not for its literal but for its emotional and poetic worth, to symbolize and suggest inexpressible realities.

Jewish literature furnishes other similar collections of OT Messianic imagery (To 13, etc.); and the possibility that some earlier (Jewish) mind had already shaped the material in 21^{9}–22^{5}, and that our author, in $21^{1\text{-}8}$, introduces and summarizes this section, and adds his own concluding sentences ($22^{6\text{-}21}$), is to be considered.

A still more striking illustration of our author's dependence on OT language, yet his freedom in the use of it, both in combination and in application, is his description of Christ in $1^{12\text{-}20}$. Almost all of it is taken from Daniel, but it unites in a most surprising way features from the descriptions of the one like a son of man, and of the Ancient of Days, in Dn 7, with still more from the angel (Gabriel) in Dn 10. The seven golden candlesticks and the seven stars are without parallel in Daniel. Something can be said, however, as to their source and use. The former was of course a familiar OT symbol (Ex 25^{37} 37^{23}) which Zech. (4^{2}) uses in an unearthly sense, explaining that the seven lamps are the seven eyes of J", which run to and fro through the whole earth (4^{10b} following v.^{6a}). He sees by the candlestick two olive-trees (4^{3}), and evidently interprets their two branches as signifying Zerubbabel and Joshua, so that the two trees are the Davidic and the Aaronic houses. These two men, Zech. would say, have the eyes of the Lord upon them in favour and blessing. But this is a free application by the prophet to the historical present and to his practical purpose of a symbol which originally, no doubt, pictured the seven planets and the way in which their light was constantly replenished by the oil from ever-growing trees. It was a mythological symbol (Gunkel, *Schöpfung*, pp. 122–131), which Zech. used as poetry, not interpreting all of the symbol (4^{2b}), and perhaps adding a feature for the sake of the interpretation (4^{12}). Now in Rev 1^{20} the writer chooses to identify the seven lamps with the seven churches among which Christ is and moves. But in 4^{5b} he sees seven lamps burning before the throne of God, which are, he explains, the seven spirits of God, affirmed in 1^{4b} to be before God's throne (cf. 8^{2}); and even in the letters (3^{1}) Christ is described as the one who has the seven spirits of God and the seven stars, so that this interpretation of the lamps was in his mind by the side of the other. When, still further, we read that the Lamb has 'seven eyes, which are the seven spirits of God sent forth into all the earth' (5^{6}), with evident allusion to Zec 4^{10b}, we are able to realize how far from a slavish literalness and formal consistency our author's use of OT figures is. Finally, Zech.'s figure reappears in 11^{4}, where the two witnesses are declared to be 'the two olive-trees and the two candlesticks [what two?] standing before the Lord of the earth,' a free identification for a purpose, similar in kind to that of Zech. himself, this time certainly made not by our author, but by some source.

Our writer cares much for OT prophetic language, and cannot easily add much to it, but he applies it freely to new uses. Note esp. that we have in Rev. no such anxious effort to interpret an OT prediction, assuming the necessity of its literal fulfilment, as Dn 9 contains. The relation of 11^{4} to Zec 4, and of 20^{8} to Ezk 38 f., is wholly different.

Other illustrations could readily be given,—such as the relation of ch. 4 to Is 6 and Ezk 1,—but enough has been presented to justify the following presuppositions with reference to passages in our book which contain imagery not derived from the OT—(1) that such imagery, if it is at all elaborate, is not the author's free invention, but is borrowed from some literary or oral prophetic traditions; (2) that the writer does not feel bound to leave it as it is, but is free to combine and interpret it to suit his own purpose, so that the interpreter must distinguish sharply between the present use of the symbols and their original use. If this distinction is necessary in 21-22^{5} and $1^{9\text{-}20}$, it will be no less necessary in $11^{1\text{-}13}$ 12. 13, etc.

(*b*) *Jewish apocalyptical traditions.*—The line that separates uncanonical from OT material in Rev. is not a sharp one. It would indeed be natural that Jewish apocalyptical traditions should consist largely of expositions and elaborations of OT material. The picture of the throne of God (ch. 4) is unquestionably based upon that of Ezk 1. 10 and Is 6 (cf. also the probably older passages, Ex 24^{10}, 1 K 22^{19}). The four living creatures, cherubim, are taken directly from Ezekiel, and, in spite of differences, need no other explanation. It is of course not to be assumed that they have no history before and after Ezekiel (cf. the four presences in Enoch 40 and Apoc. Bar 51^{11} 21^{6}, and the four angels in Enoch 87$^{2. 3}$ 88^{1} 90^{31}). For the seven lamps which are the seven spirits of God we have already found points of connexion in the OT, but we need to adduce such passages as To 12^{15}, Enoch 90^{21}, in order to realize how fixed an element in apocalyptical imaginations these seven spirits (or angels, archangels) were. The use of the article in Rev 1^{4} 4^{5b} 8^{2} is itself proof of the familiarity of the conception. That foreign speculations, Persian or Babylonian, lie behind it is probable (see Cheyne, *OP* 281 ff., 323 ff., 334 ff.; Gunkel, *Schöpfung*, 294–302, and *Archiv f. Religionswissensch.* 1898, 294–300; Stave, *Parsismus*, 216–219). It is therefore a natural inference that the twenty-four elders, clothed in white, sitting on thrones and crowned, come from tradition, and are not an invention of the author. They represent probably not the Christian Church, twelve tribes and twelve apostles (though 21^{14} may indicate the writer's desire to add the Christian to the Jewish twelve), but the glory and power, especially the reigning or judicial power of God, His heavenly court. They are associated, as are the seven spirits and the four cherubim, with God and His throne, not with the creation (see Gunkel, *Schöpfung*, 302–308). Is 24^{23} gives probable evidence of the antiquity of the conception (cf. Is 63^{9}, LXX). With the general description of God's throne should be compared, *e.g.*, Enoch 14. 71, Secrets of Enoch 29. 22.

We have already found reasons for regarding 11$^{1-13}$ as a Jewish oracle (or two fragments of a Jewish apocalypse), used by our author in a sense wholly different from its original literal meaning. It is a most convincing illustration of our author's union of dependence on traditional forms of expression, and independence of the traditional use and meaning of such forms.

The great sign in heaven which ch. 12 presents can be accounted for only in a very slight degree on the basis of the OT. Yet nowhere is the writer's dependence upon traditional material more certain. Assuming that he did not invent these figures, it is not difficult to understand what he meant to say by the use of them. The chapter contains a picture, in some sense an explanation, of Satan's present power in the world, and his fierce hostility to the Christian Church; and at the same time the assurance that his power is soon to end. Christ escaped his hands, and is with God. Satan has already been cast down from his old place in heaven, and no longer brings accusations against the saints before God; and, though he is now all the more determined in his assaults upon Christ's brethren on earth, his reign is doomed to a speedy end. This application of the figure, however, by no means explains its origin. Many of its details can be fitted to this use only by violence, if at all, and could not have been devised for the purpose. What then was the source, and of what sort was the writer's use of this material?

Gunkel's book must be regarded as little short of epoch-making in its significance for the interpretation of this chapter, even though serious doubt be felt regarding certain of his conclusions. He offers convincing proof of the long and widespread influence in Hebrew literature of the Babylonian myth of creation—the victory of Marduk, the god of light (the sun), over the chaos-beast Tiâmat, the dragon of the deep. He traces the transition from a cosmological to an eschatological use of the conception, on the principle, which explains many features of the Jewish hope, that God will make the last things as the first (Barn. 6^{13}); and the interpretation of the dragon as a historical instead of a natural power. In this way the myth becomes a poetic expression of the expectation that the hostility of the world-ruling nation against Israel will come to a supreme manifestation; that then J″ will intervene directly, or through the angel Michael, and again, as at the beginning, the dragon will be bound or slain (cf. Is 51$^{9. 10}$ 27^{1}). 'The beast that comes up out of the abyss' (Rev 11^{7}) is this well-known figure in Jewish eschatology. It could be regarded as a symbol, or representative of the hated nation, as in Dn 7 it becomes four beasts, to describe the four successive masters and enemies of the Jewish nation, and as in Rev 13 it is the Roman empire; or it could be more distinctly and personally conceived, as in Rev 12, as the Satan who gives the hostile kingdom its evil power. It could also be conceived of as a *man* in whom evil reaches its height (Antichrist, perhaps Rev 11^{7}).

Gunkel is not contented, however, with this general and probable identification of the dragon of ch. 12. He proceeds to defend two much more dubious positions. *First*, that our chapter rests ultimately upon, and follows closely, a part of the Babylonian myth of which we have no other remaining record—the account of the birth of Marduk, his escape from the dragon who knows him to be his destined destroyer, and the dragon's fierce persecution of his goddess-mother during the period of the boy's growth to maturity, 'the three and a half times,' from the winter solstice to the spring equinox [?]. *Second*, that in contrast to the free poetic use of such material in the earlier prophetic and poetic books of the OT, we find in the apocalypses an increasing tendency to look upon these ancient and mysterious figures with awe, and to believe that they really contained, and could reveal to one who had wisdom, the explanation of present evil and the secrets of its coming end. This reverence for apocalyptical traditions explains, Gunkel contended, what nothing else but literal vision could explain, the confident belief of these writers in their own predictions. He finds, therefore, in such sources as these not only an illustration of the literary method of the seer, but an explanation of his self-consciousness, a psychological account of apocalyptical writings. Both of these positions of Gunkel are insecure, and from the second one he has himself in part withdrawn. The freedom with which we have found our author combining and modifying OT materials renders it hazardous to attempt to reconstruct his sources when they are unknown, and also prevents the assumption that he looked upon such materials with awe and derived from them his revelation.

It is not probable that the material in Rev 12 stands in its original form and order. Gunkel himself recognized that v.^{6} and vv.$^{7-16}$ offer two variants. Wellhausen (*Skizzen und Vorarbeiten* 6 Heft, p. 215 ff.) regards $^{1-6}$ and $^{7-14}$ as doublets, and would distinguish two actions in the original story which are here confused. 1. In heaven, the dragon wars with the angels, or with the sun, moon, and zodiac (vv.$^{3. 7. 1}$), is conquered and cast down to earth with his angel host (vv.$^{8. 9. 4a}$). 2. On earth, he makes war with the woman who bears the son (^{4b} is already an earthly scene), the son is snatched up to heaven (^{5}), the woman flees into the wilderness, the dragon pursues her there, but must leave her ($^{6=13-16}$), and turns against those of her seed who did not escape with her. There must then have followed an account of the overthrow of the dragon by the rescued Messiah after His growth to maturity. Something like this, Wellhausen thinks, was a Jewish apocalypse of the siege of Jerusalem. It described how the remnant (the woman) had escaped out of the city and been rescued through great dangers; how the Romans (dragon) had turned against those who remained in Jerusalem, who are to be destroyed (Rev 11$^{1. 2}$ is, however, a fragment of the same time which anticipates the rescue of those, the Zealots, who occupied the temple itself during the siege). The fall of the Roman power itself must follow at the hand of the Messiah, who has been born, according to prophecy, in Palestine, but was translated at once to heaven, so that He will come as a heavenly being, according to the more transcendental Messianic hope of late Judaism. So Wellh. offers a *literary-critical* and *contemporary-*

historical explanation of ch. 12 in opposition to Gunkel's *tradition-historical* explanation.

We may regard Wellhausen's analysis as plausible, for the war in heaven and the casting of the dragon down to earth must originally have preceded his persecution of the woman (vv.^{4a} and ^{13} suggest this order). But Gunkel is surely right in denying that the figure is the pure invention of the Jewish writer, whom he as well as Wellh. accepts. Its history goes further back, and its original connexion with a sun-myth is highly probable. It is a striking fact that Greek mythology in its story of the birth of Apollo, and the attempt of the dragon Pytho to kill his mother (Dieterich, *Abraxas*, p. 117 ff.), and also the Egyptian story of the birth of Horus (Bousset, p. 410 f.), contain striking points of likeness to Rev 12, so that Gunkel's resort to a postulated Babylonian story may not be necessary. In all of these sun-myths, however, the flight of the woman is before the birth of the child, and for its rescue from the dragon.

The questions left open by these recent discussions of the chapter are many, and the hypothesis of a Jewish Messianic use of a heathen sun-myth, and then a Christian adaptation of the Jewish form, leaves room for much diversity of opinion in detail; yet it is a wholly credible hypothesis, and the actual history of the tradition here embodied is probably more rather than less complex than the theory.

Heathen may well be the description of the woman (v.^{1}) and of the dragon (vv.$^{3.4a}$), his effort to engulf the woman, her wings, and the wilderness to which she flies ($^{14\text{-}16}$). Jewish (certainly not Christian) may be the idea of the birth and immediate translation of the Messiah to God (v.^{5}),* so also the office of Michael (^{7}), and perhaps a change of order by which the woman's flight is made to follow the birth of the child. The Hebrew language, according to Wellh. and Gunkel, lies behind the Greek of the chapter. Christian is v.^{11}, and, moreover, so plainly out of keeping with the rest, as almost to prove that the Christian writer is using material already shaped (cf. Vischer). The verse contains the message of our writer, and is one of his characteristic anticipatory sayings. Christian may also be the change of order by which Christ's birth and ascension are made to precede the casting of the dragon out of heaven (cf. Jn 12^{31} 14^{30} 16$^{11.33}$, 1 Jn 3^8, Col 2^{15}). This gives Christ an earlier and higher part in the drama than the Jews ascribed to their Messiah.

In answer to the question as to the writer's use of this uncanonical material, we are bound to conclude that it was as free and poetical as his use of OT conceptions. V.^{11} gives us the clue. The victory of Christian faith over the world through martyrdom is the counterpart on earth, the interpretation for man, of the victory of Michael over the dragon in heaven. The place of Michael here, where we should expect only the direct deed of Christ, shows both the extent of the writer's dependence on tradition and the confidence with which he finds a Christian meaning behind unchanged Jewish forms.

Are we not to see, then, in ch. 12 any reference to historical factors and events? Wellhausen's exact determination of the history here symbolized is far from convincing, and, moreover, it fails to explain many features in the picture. It need not, however, be doubted that the dragon was, at some point in the genesis of the chapter, regarded as a symbol of the Roman empire. His seven crowned heads and ten horns mean world-rulership, and his persecution of the woman's seed is the same persecution with which our whole book deals. So far, indeed, even Gunkel allows the presence of contemporary history in ch. 12.

The case is a more complex one in chs. 13 and 17, but the difference is one of proportion and degree. Traditional elements are here in abundance, and beyond dispute, yet the reference to Rome is more specific and detailed. Gunkel admits the latter element here (as in Dn 7. 8, Enoch 85-90, 4 Ezr 11. 12, Apoc. Bar 53 ff.), but restricts it within narrow limits, and will by no means allow that these figures were freely invented allegories, every feature of which can be explained as a reference to contemporary history. He differs from the ruling critical opinion most radically in his refusal to recognize any allusion to Nero. Two questions must be kept quite distinct in the study of these chapters: (1) the question how much is due to apocalyptical tradition, and how much is re-shaped or invented for the sake of the application of the traditional figures to Rome; and (2) the question whether this application is made by the writer of our book, or was already present in the—possibly Jewish—sources from which he drew.

The seven heads and ten horns appear in each case (12^3 13^1 17^3). The Roman world-empire was meant by all. Yet the differences are so great that one must conclude that more or less independent traditions lie behind the three chapters, even if they are ultimately traced to one root. The seven heads and ten horns sum up the outfit of the four beasts in Dn 7, though they do not need that explanation. We can well suppose the numbers to have been symbolic at first, but the effort to apply them to individual kings, and so to estimate the nearness of the end, was inevitable. There is evidence in the chapters of different efforts of that kind.

In 12^3 it is the seven heads that are kings, in 13^1 it is the ten horns, but in 13^3 the smitten head must mean a king. The latter is commonly interpreted (by Victorinus, and by modern scholars from Eichhorn, Lücke, Bleek, down to Holtzmann and Bousset) of Nero's death, which ended the Julian dynasty, and seemed likely for a time to bring the empire to an end in anarchy. Gunkel thinks the Hebrew original read 'the first head,' hence Julius Cæsar, whose death threatened the empire, but issued in its greater power (cf. Dn 8^8 on Alexander's death). In 17$^{10.11}$ the seven heads are the seven kings of Rome, and the writer feels bound by that number even when he needs to add an eighth. The ten horns, on the other hand, are apparently allied kings.

The evidence of later adaptations or interpretations of given figures is often clear. The seven mountains of 17^{9b} is so clearly such an addition for the sake of the identification of the woman with the city Rome, that one is the more inclined to find in vv.^{15} and ^{18} also allegorical interpretations, and to question whether the woman was originally invented as a figure of Rome. She is now, of course, the city Rome (vv.$^{5.6}$), and may have been created in that sense; but even if so, not, we may be almost certain, by our author.

The second beast in 13$^{11\text{ff.}}$ is evidently now the prophet or priest (priesthood) of Roman emperor-worship (cf. 16^{13} 19^{20} 20^{10}). But here also older traditions are to be supposed. Bousset regards this as a Jewish figure of Antichrist (*Komm.* Excursus on ch. 13, *Antichrist*, p. 121), and a Jewish apocalyptical writer may very well have interpreted as Antichrist the religion of emperor-worship, and put this by the side of the beast who stood for the empire itself as its helper in evil. None of the many attempts to find a definite person in the second beast (Vespasian, Simon Magus, Paul!, etc.) have made any approach to success. The personal interpretation of the first beast, however, as signifying Nero, has become almost a fixed assumption of critics. Gunkel's attack upon this stronghold of the *contemporary-historical* method has not changed the prevailing opinion (see Bousset, Holtzmann, etc.). It has, however, served to emphasize the fact that if the beast from the abyss is here *by some one* made a symbol of Nero, yet the beast was not first *invented* for this use, and it is not certain by whom, whether by our author or by a source, the identification was made. The opinion, indeed, does not go beyond probability. In view of the embodiment of the supernatural power of evil in Antiochus Epiphanes in Daniel, it is not possible to settle the question by a general appeal to 'congruity, analogy, proportion,' and a sarcastic thrust at the famous critics who have 'placed T. Claudius Nero along with Christ, Satan, Death, Hades, the Church, and other powers and principles which constitute the *Dramatis Personæ* of the Apocalypse' (Benson, p. 159). But it must be said that the evidence is of a wholly different sort from that which Daniel furnishes, with its detailed history of Antiochus (chs. 8. 11), and is not such as we should expect if the writer had set out to indicate his belief that Nero would return from the grave, and be the demonic power of evil in the last assault of evil against good. On the origin and history of the belief in Nero's return the fullest investigation is that of Zahn (*Zeitsch. f. kirchl. Wissensch. u. k. Leben*, 1885-86). See also Bousset, *Komm.* p. 475 ff., and Charles, *Ascension of Isaiah*, pp. li–lxxv.

---

* Bousset omits the Jewish link in the chain because this feature has no parallel in the Jewish Messianic hope.

The chief evidence that Rev. refers to this expectation is in ch. 17. The return of one of the seven kings as an eighth, who is nevertheless also the beast himself (v.^{11}), suggests this more or less current expectation. In the ten kings of v.^{12} it is possible to find the Parthian kings, with whom it was believed that Nero would return against Rome. And the idea that the city Rome would be destroyed by the very beast that represents her empire, in league with outside kings (vv.$^{16.17}$), is difficult to explain at all apart from the Nero myth, which would perfectly explain it. If Nero be found here it is natural to infer that v.^{8} describes in general terms his death, return, and final destruction. Yet this formula ('was, and is not; and is about to come up out of the abyss, and to go into perdition') so fully sums up the general apocalyptical theory of the power of evil (the history of the chaos-dragon, Gunkel), and seems shaped so clearly in contrast to the formula which sums up the nature of God ('who was, and who is, and who is to come'), that the reference to Nero may be, if present at all, secondary. The verse in which our author's hand is most clearly seen (v.^{14}) so interrupts this Nero story with an anticipation of $19^{19\text{ff.}}$ (for how are the ten kings to be overcome by the Lamb and His followers before they assist the beast in the destruction of Rome?) as to suggest that Nero was not in his mind, but here, as in 12^{11}, only the Christian conflict with evil. So also the interpretation of the slain and healed head in 13^{3} is uncertain, and even the number 666 gives no secure support to this historical reference. The Greek solution of this riddle, ΛΑΤΕΙΝΟΣ, '(THE) LATIN,' which is as old as Irenæus, though not adopted by him, is still held by many; but the Hebrew נרון קסר Nero Cæsar, — which in a Latin spelling נרו קסר would yield 616, an early variant, — has far the larger number of advocates. Yet קיסר is the proper spelling of *Cæsar*, which would make 676. And when in answer to this objection it is said that an apocalyptical writer would prefer 666 to 676, because of its symmetry, and because it corresponds to the number of the name Jesus (ΙΗΣΟΥΣ=888), it is natural to ask whether 666 might not have been chosen at first outright for its symbolic meaning, to signify the one who persistently falls short of holiness or perfection (seven), as Jesus goes beyond it in the fulness of His character and power (so Milligan, *Baird Lecture*, p. 328; Briggs, *Messiah of the Apostles*, p. 324). So the number 3½, the length of the reign of evil (Dn 7^{25} 12^{7}, Rev $11^{2.3.11}$ $12^{6.14}$ 13^{5}) needs no other explanation than the symbolism of the broken seven: the power of evil will be cut off in the midst and come to an untimely end. If, however, the number is to be interpreted by *gematria*, another view claims serious attention. Zahn (*Zeit. f. kirchl. Wissensch. u. k. Leben*, 1885, p. 568 ff.) argued that Irenæus opposed the reading 616 because those who held it did so for the sake of applying it to Caligula (ΓΑΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ=616)—an interpretation which Iren. rejected. Holtzmann (Stade's *Geschichte*, ii. 388 ff.), Spitta, and Erbes independently (as Zahn predicted) came to the conclusion that this was, in fact, the original reading and meaning of the number, and that ch. 13 is part of a Jewish oracle of Caligula's time. In fact no ruler since Antiochus Epiphanes so filled the rôle of Antichrist in the Jewish mind as he who attempted to have his image erected in the temple. To him 13^{4-6}, and to the priesthood of his worship vv.$^{14.15}$, would admirably apply. Moreover, he recovered from what seemed a fatal illness at the beginning of his reign. Bousset does not wholly reject the hypothesis that a Caligula apocalypse underlies this chapter (*Komm.* pp. 433–5). Other interpretations of the number 666 must here be passed by, though Gunkel's 'the chaos of old' may be mentioned. The number does not prove, and can hardly be said to give substantial support to the identification of the beast with Nero.

Beyond the unmistakable general reference to Rome, it is hard to find history in our author's visions; and this reference had certainly been given already to the figure of the beast, and in all probability by Jews. Events during the last half of the century must have led Jewish apocalyptical writers to many more expressions of their hatred of Rome and visions of its overthrow than have survived. Indeed, Pompey is already called the dragon in Ps-Sol 2^{29} (see Assump. Mos., 4 Ezra, Apoc. Bar). Our author and the Christian communities for which he writes have reason to share the Jewish hatred of Rome, and enter into the inheritance of various Jewish expressions of it. Our author has, as it were, eaten the book of past prophecies against peoples and nations before he utters his own. The ancient language has, as we have seen, often the value of poetry to him; but it is impossible, though we might wish it, to refer the polemic against Rome only to sources used by our author, or to resolve it into a figure of the war against evil in general.

iv. Historical Situation.—We have already seen that the date of separate oracles in our book cannot be assumed to be the date of the book as a whole. 11^{1-13} is from some time before 70, but is not literally used by our author. The figurative application of this oracle to the safe keeping of the true people of God would be more natural after the event of 70 had disproved its literal sense. Ch. 13 *may* have been shaped in Caligula's reign, or soon after Nero's death. 17^{10} must have been written under the sixth emperor of Rome, *i.e.* Nero, counting from Julius Cæsar, or his successor, counting from Augustus, but Nero's successor might be regarded as Galba, or as Vespasian. That one more emperor is expected only shows that the number seven is fixed; and that he is to reign a short time could be inferred from the nearness of the end, and does not require the knowledge on the writer's part that the reign of Titus was in fact short. But if v.^{10} comes from Vespasian's reign (and so is consistent with 11^{1-13}), must not v.^{11} have been added by some later hand? The writer, it would seem, already lives under the eighth emperor (Domitian), and adds this verse in order to adjust what was written under Vespasian (v.^{10}) to his own time by so adding an eighth as not to overpass the fixed number, seven. On the basis of this verse Harnack (*Chronologie*, p. 245 f.) confidently dates the book under Domitian. Yet it is possible that the writer of v.^{10}, under Vespasian, expected the return of Nero, one of the seven, as an eighth, who, coming back after death out of the abyss, could be regarded as the very demon spirit of Rome, the beast itself. But even if, in this way, with Bousset, we date ch. 17 as a whole under Vespasian, this also may be the date only of a source.

Though historical allusions do not fix the date, yet, taken in connexion with other indications of age, the date ascribed to the book by Irenæus (V. xxx. 3), 'near the end of the reign of Domitian,' *i.e.* about A.D. 93–96, is to be preferred to that which was for some time the ruling view of critics, A.D. 66–69 (Lücke, Bleek, etc.). It is not in sections clearly dependent upon apocalyptical tradition, but in those more original, and especially in the letters, that we should confidently expect to find indications of the author's own time. In spite of the ideal and typical significance of the seven Churches, actual conditions unquestionably meet us here. Persecution past and future forms the background of the letters. The writer was (not *is*) in the little island of Patmos 'on account of the word of God and on account of the testimony of Jesus,' *i.e.* probably not in order to receive his revelation (cf. 1^{2}), but because of his Christian preaching (cf. 6^{9}), that is, in banishment (see 1^{9a}). But the banishment of a conspicuous Christian seems to disclose a definite movement against Christianity in Asia Minor on the part of Rome such as we do not know of before Domitian. There are persecutions already past (Ephesus, 2^{3}; Pergamum, 2^{13}, had its martyr; Philadelphia, $3^{8.10a}$; in Smyrna and Philadelphia at the hands or at the instigation of Jews, 2^{9} 3^{9}); yet this past persecution could be that under Nero. A renewed and greater trial, of world-wide scope (3^{10}), is soon to come. At present the Roman world tempts rather than compels Christians to adopt a heathen manner of life and heathen worship. (Is this present quiescence in the writer's mind when he says that the beast 'was, and is not; and is about to come up out of the abyss, and go into perdition' (17^{8})?) Imprisonment and death are anticipated for the faithful, and for this the letters, indeed the whole book, will prepare them. Its theme is the glory and reward of martyrdom. The heretical teachings which are condemned in Pergamum (the teaching of Balaam) and in Thyatira (that of Jezebel) result in heathen ways of living rather than in doctrinal errors, though they seem to have based their worldliness on some sort of gnosis (2^{24}). It is uncertain whether 'Nicolaitan' was the proper name of this sect (possibly derived from the NICOLAS of Ac 6^{5}) or only the Gr. name for Balaamites (so Schürer, who appeals to the νίκη of Jos. *Ant.* IV. vi. 6). Schürer argues with much force that JEZEBEL was the priestess of the Chaldean Sibyl, Sambethe, who had a sanctuary at Thyatira (*Theol. Abhandl. C. von Weizsäcker gewidmet*, 1892, pp. 37–58). To this hypothesis it has been objected (Bousset, Zahn) that the impression is given that she is directly under the discipline of Christ (vv.$^{21-23}$), that the church is at fault for allowing her (v.^{20}), and that the sphere of her activity is the Christian community (vv.$^{20.24}$), so that a false Christian prophetess rather than a heathen is indicated. The wife of the bishop (Zahn) she surely need not be. Satan's throne in PERGAMUM (2^{13}) may refer to the worship of Asklepios there, whose symbol was the serpent, or to the fact that here emperor-worship was first introduced, with temple and priesthood. The latter would better explain the martyrdom of ANTIPAS (unless he were killed by a mob), and would better fit the figure of the second beast ($13^{11ff.}$) Cæsar-worship was Rome's worst deed, and resistance to it was that overcoming even to death which our book urges by entreaty, threat, and promise (15^{2} $16^{5f.10}$ 17^{6} $19^{20f.}$ 20^{4-6}).

Although the effort to force emperor-worship upon Jews goes back to Caligula (A.D. 39–40), the total impression is that of a late, not an early time. To the actual destruction of Jerusalem there is no reference. The condition of the churches (forgetfulness, indifference, worldliness) points to a relatively late time. It seems necessary to suppose that St. Paul's position as founder and unquestioned leader of the church in Ephesus is a thing entirely past. That church has had a new founding (Weizsäcker). If 17^{8} expresses the belief in the return of Nero from hell, this is a late form of the belief in his return, after the possibility of his being alive had passed.

V. TEACHINGS OF THE BOOK.—1. *Predictions.*—The question what the author of Rev. intended to say about the future (and it was to reveal future things that he wrote, 1^{1} 4^{1} etc.) is complicated by the difficulty of distinguishing between the meaning of his sources and his meaning in the use of them, and the related difficulty of distinguishing between figure and reality in his use of language. That all is literal our discussion thus far makes it impossible to admit. Are we prepared, with the spiritual interpreters of all ages, to say that all is figure (as now Milligan, Benson, etc.)? Or shall we say, 'Rev. is not a poem, an allegory, but the figurative alternates with that which is to be taken very earnestly and literally; the latter much predominates' (Jülicher, *Einl.* 172)? Our review of the writer's use of OT and other materials must rather incline us to put the predominance on the other side.

(*a*) *General.*—The undoubtedly real elements in our writer's prediction are the speedy coming of God (1^{8} 14^{7} 21^{5}) in judgment, with or in the coming of Christ as judge and ruler of the world (1^{7} $22^{7.20}$). This coming Christ will divide true from false Christians, and reward each according to his deeds (2^{23} 22^{12}). Through Him also God will judge and destroy the tempting and oppressive power of evil dominant in the world, the Roman empire ($19^{11ff.}$), and Satan himself, whose authority Rome possesses, whose spirit Rome embodies (ch. 20). All who belong to her shall perish with her. Those who hold fast the faith during the present tribulations and the greater ones soon to come, and who endure in patience and faith even to death itself, shall be rewarded with special glory and power, and especially close association with Christ and His royalty (6^{11} 14^{1-5} 20^{4-6}). But the destination to be with Christ and God in blessed and eternal nearness and fellowship is at last for all the faithful alike ($2^{7.11.17.26-28}$ $3^{5.12.21\,(\text{cf. }20)}$ 5^{10} $7^{9ff.}$ 14^{13} 21–$22^{5.14}$).

(*b*) *Details.* — Turning to details, we have to attempt to draw the line between figure and reality, especially in reference to the fall of the power of evil, and the events that lead up to it, the saving of the faithful and the heavenly or angelic background of the action.

(1) *The fall of Rome.*—In the first half of the book six seals and six trumpets bring forth the preliminary powers and acts of the Divine judgment over evil. But neither in their special character nor in their sequence do they make the impression of describing literal events.

The first four seals introduce horsemen who are derived, one can hardly doubt, from Zec 1^{8-11} 6^{1-8}, and so ultimately from the four winds, well fitted to serve as destructive messengers of God. They are summoned forth by the four living creatures,[*] who were originally the four winds driving the storm-cloud, God's chariot (Ezk 1^{4} etc.). In 7^{1} the four winds are destructive forces, and since in $9^{14.15}$ four angels are loosed which then appear as hosts of cavalry (cf. 20^{8}), we may infer that the four winds symbolized the nations that are to execute the Divine judgment in some final war (cf. the use of the winds as symbols of Israel's dispersion, Ezk 5^{10} 12^{14} 17^{21}, Zec 2^{6} 7^{14}).

Of the four seals, however, two introduce warriors (Romans and Parthians?), and two famine and pestilence. A fourfold enumeration of the plagues which God will send upon His people in the last days is found in the Prophets (Jer $15^{2.3}$, Ezk 14^{21}, cf. $5^{12.17}$), and quoted in Rev 6^{8b}.[†]

---

[*] It is less natural to suppose that John is addressed, for he is already there, and needs only to look.

[†] It is tempting to suppose that this originally ended the description of the four horsemen, and explained that *to each of them* was given a fourth of the earth to destroy (cf. Ezk 5^{12}).

The fifth seal discloses the prayers of the martyrs for vengeance, which are a real agent of judgment in the Hebrew view (see below). The sixth is an earthquake.

Earthquake and volcanic phenomena furnish the imagery of the first four trumpets, and, in part, of the fifth and sixth.

J. T. Bent ('What St. John saw on Patmos,' *Nineteenth Century*, 1888, pp. 813–821) argues that 6^{12-17} 8^{7-12} $16^{2.7.17-21}$ describe actual phenomena seen at the eruptions of the island volcano, Santorin, within sight of Patmos; and that $9^{1ff.17.18}$ are poetic amplifications of the same theme. Much in Bent's article is fanciful, yet the imagery, esp. of Rev 8, fits Santorin well (see Fouqué, *Santorin et ses éruptions*, 1879, esp. pp. 22–31, 38 ff.). Nothing could be more like the pit of the abyss than the crater of this volcano, and nothing better fitted to suggest demonic agency than the smoke darkening sun and air, the sulphurous vapours which killed the fish in the sea, and blinded and even killed men, the masses of molten rock cast up and falling into the sea like a great mountain or the star Wormwood, the reddening of the sea, the rise and disappearance of islands (see also B. K. Emerson, *Bulletin of the Geol. Society of America*, March 1900). But Santorin is 80 miles from Patmos. Only the highest points of the island Thera, and the smoke of the eruptions, could have been seen. Bent refers for details to reports of refugees. Eruptions took place in B.C. 197 and A.D. 46 (Fouqué, pp. 3–9).

Account must be taken of OT parallels. Hühn finds the following parallels with the Egyptian plagues:—(1) Ex 7^{17-21}, cf. Rev 8^{8-11} 16^{3-6}; (2) Ex 7^{27}–8^{2}, cf. Rev 16^{13}; (6) Ex 9^{8-11}, cf. Rev 16^{2}; (7) Ex 9^{18-26}, cf. Rev 8^{7} 11^{19} 16^{21}; (8) Ex 10^{4-15}, cf. Rev 9^{3-11}; (9) Ex 10^{21-23}, cf. Rev 8^{12} $9^{1.2}$ 16^{10}. Prophetic passages like Is 2, Am $8^{8.9}$, Jl $2^{2-10.30.31}$ $3^{15.16}$, Is $13^{10.13}$ $34^{4.9.10}$ etc., are to be adduced; and poetic descriptions of the coming of God, in which the imagery of storm (Ex $19^{16ff.}$) is connected with that of earthquake and volcano, Jg $5^{4.5}$, Ps 18^{7-15} etc.

Was earthquake more than a symbol in our writer's eschatology? Was it the literal power that was to overthrow Rome, and even destroy the present world (cf. 6^{14} with 21^{1})? The fifth trumpet begins with volcanic imagery ($9^{1.2}$) and passes on to locusts, which at the end seem to symbolize warriors (9^{3-11}). The sixth trumpet begins with armies of horsemen, but the powers by which the horses kill men are the volcanic powers of fire and smoke and brimstone (9^{13-21}). The bowls lead more directly to the fall of Rome. Following the same order as to place as the trumpets (1. earth; 2. sea; 3. rivers; 4. sun; 5. under-world(?); 6. Euphrates), with fewer volcanic features in the first five, and a somewhat closer relation to the Egyptian plagues, they lead up in the sixth to an invasion of distant kings, and in the seventh to an earthquake again, in which Rome's fall seems to be involved (16^{19}). Ch. 17 seems clearly to ascribe Rome's fall to an assault of kings. But when, in $19^{11ff.}$ the beasts are overthrown in an attack, with the kings of the earth as allies, upon Christ and His army, we are ready to ask whether both earthquake and invasion were not figure, while this is actuality.

Again, the final attempt of Satan is made by means of armies of distant nations, whom he brings against Zion, but they are destroyed, not by arms, but by fire from heaven (20^{7-10}).

It is to be remembered that both earthquake and the invasion of barbarian hordes were very real dangers, and the most terrible that always threatened the Mediterranean civilizations. A seer could well look for a literal overthrow of Rome from either source, especially as prophetic eschatology had already made free use of both, and that with the same blending of the two that is found here (see, *e.g.*, Zeph 1^{15-18}, Jl 2^{1-11}, Hag $2^{21.22}$, Is 13$^{(10.13)}$ 34$^{(4.9.10)}$), and could easily enlarge either into a world-embracing catastrophe. Yet either or both would also serve admirably as figure for events and forces supernatural (demonic and angelic) in character. And the more freely our author passes from one to the other, and even blends the two, the more probable is it that he means neither.

(2) *The saving of the faithful.*—Here also details are difficult to adjust in a literal scheme, and the acceptance of a largely poetical form of representation is almost inevitable. Twice the 'souls' of the martyred dead are spoken of (6^{9} 20^{4}), and here only in the NT do we read of the 'souls' of the dead. Once they are seen in heaven (?, see Spitta, pp. 89, 296 ff.) beneath the altar, where the blood of a sacrifice would be (Ex 29^{12}, Lv 4^{7} etc.), in which the soul was seated according to Heb. notions (Lv 17^{11}). They are praying for vengeance, and are given a white robe, and bidden to rest a little longer, since their number is not yet full. Does the writer think of the souls of martyrs as literally in this location, or does he thus vividly picture the reality and efficacy of their prayers for vengeance, pictured otherwise in 5^{8} and 8^{3-5}? (cf. 4 Ezr 4^{35}). Cf. the cry of the uncovered blood of the slain to God for vengeance (Gn 4^{10}, Ezk $24^{7f.}$, Job 16^{18}); also the effective prayers of the oppressed (Ex $22^{23f.}$, Dt 9^{9} 24^{15}, Sir $35^{13ff.}$, Ja 5^{4}); sometimes angels are the bearers of such prayers (Zec 1^{12}, To $12^{12.15}$). See esp. Enoch 9. 15^{2} 22^{5} 40^{6} $47^{1.2}$ $97^{3.5}$ 99^{3} 104^{3}. When they are seen again it is said that they *lived* and reigned with Christ for the 1000 years. As *souls*, then, they were not truly living, but this life is due to a resurrection (20^{4-6}). On the other hand, in 7^{9-17} the martyrs—or perhaps rather all who have kept the faith amid tribulation (v.^{14})—appear in their white robes in heaven, joining with angels in the worship of God, in a glory and blessedness which can be nothing less than final. And yet the description of the consummation in 21–$22^{5.14.15}$ has not this setting (the heavenly throne of God, the elders, and living beings and angels), but is simply earthly (after the OT) in its features. In the former passage the saints are with God, in this God descends to be with men ($21^{3.22f.}$). We note also that there are still 'the kings of the earth' who can bring their treasures to the new Jerusalem (21^{24-26}); and though there shall not enter into it anything unclean (21^{27} = Is 52^{1} etc.), yet outside of the city gates are the wicked (22^{14}), whose part, however, according to 21^{8}, is in the lake of fire, the second death.

The earthly features of the new Jerusalem in the new earth are especially strange in a chiliastic eschatology. We should expect the 1000-years' reign of Christ and the martyrs to fulfil the earthly Messianic hopes of prophecy, and the final consummation should be heavenly. Zahn actually holds, accordingly, that 21^{9}–$22^{5\ (15)}$ is a description not of the final blessedness, but of the condition of the world during the 1000-years' reign. There is, in fact, no escape from this violent conclusion, no way of harmonizing this picture with that of 7^{9-17}, and with the condition of things implied in 19^{19-21} 20^{11-15} 21^{1}, except by taking it throughout as poetry. It is in form an almost purely Jewish description of what is to our author a Christian and heavenly consummation. It has always been used as poetry by Christians, and, so used, has proved inspiring.

The hope of this writer has often been declared to be narrowly Jewish-Christian, and Vischer and others have felt that the only way in which justice can be done to the evident universality and spirituality of some parts of the book is by separating it into independent parts. Undoubtedly, the Jewish language is due to Jewish writers. *E.g.* 7^{1-8} suggests that Jewish Christians form the nucleus of the new community, and retain a sort of separateness and primacy, while the multitudes from other nations are added to them. So in 11^{1-13} Judaism appears to be only chastened for its sins; but the great majority repent and are saved. And, finally, the new Jerusalem remains Jewish (21^{12}). Its gates are for the tribes of Israel who enter into the city, while believing nations walk by its light, bring gifts to it, but do not dwell within its walls; are healed by the leaves of its trees of life, but do not eat their fruit (21^{24}–22^{2}).[*]

But in spite of the writer's high valuation of the name 'Jew' (2^{9} 3^{9}), and in spite of a certain parallel for such a doctrine of the eschatological primacy of Jews in the expectations of St. Paul (Ro 11), it appears quite certain to the present writer that Rev. knows no such distinction; that in 7^{1-8} and 11^{1-13} it is no longer Judaism, but Christianity, the true 'Jews' and heirs to Israel's promises, to whom the writer applies undoubtedly Jewish oracles, and that the Jewish language in chs. 21. 22, wholly borrowed, as it is, from the OT, is used as poetry to picture the heavenly blessedness of Christians.

(3) *The fall of Satan.*—In chs. 12–20 the distinction between fact and figure in our writer's predictions is involved especially in the question how he conceived of the angelic and demonic beings whose deeds and fortunes form the background of the action. Here we read of the birth and ascension of Christ; Satan and his angels cast out of heaven by Michael and his hosts; the persecution of Christians by Satan through the beasts who represent Rome's empire and cultus; the fall of Rome introduced by last plagues (15. 16), described in symbol (17), and in prophetic language (18); the overthrow of the two beasts and their followers by Christ; the binding of Satan; the 1000-years' reign of Christ and risen martyrs; the loosing of Satan, who with a great army (Gog and Magog) assails the holy city and is destroyed; the general resurrection and judgment, when Death and Hades, with condemned men, are cast into the lake of fire, where the beasts and Satan are.

In this outlook one thing which must be taken literally is the fall of Rome. Even if Jews in large part shaped the various oracles against the godless city, our writer could not have put chs. 17. 18 into his book if he had not meant to say what is there so unmistakably said, nor can 13. 14^{8} 16^{19} have any other meaning. But the judgment upon Rome, which forms the concrete historical contents of chs. 12–20, is set in a frame, or double frame, of deeds in the angelic world. Chs. 12 and 20 form the outside setting, or, shall we say, the underlying stratum, the real cause and end of evil. The fall of Satan from heaven, his last assaults upon men (Christians), his imprisonment in the abyss, his release and last onslaught and final overthrow, are the events that ultimately explain the evil of the present, and bring evil to its absolute end. Chs. 13 and 19^{11-21} form the inner framework about the historical reality or the upper stratum, just below the surface of observed facts. The two beasts are not identical with the Roman empire and emperor-worship, but are the representatives of these in the spirit-world; they are not an abstract symbol of Rome, but a concrete (personal) embodiment of Rome. They are demonic beings, pictures of the evil spirit-power of Rome. This is probably the correct view of the beasts in Dn 7 also, since Professor N. Schmidt (*JBL*, 1900, part i.) has made probable the identification of the 'one like a man' with the angel prince of Israel, the Michael, who is described as gaining Israel's victory over the angel representatives of the nations (chs. 10–12). That the beasts are angelic beings is suggested by the demons that come out of their mouths ($16^{13.14}$), and by the difference between their punishment and that of the armies that fight for them ($19^{20.21}$). But though distinct from Rome the beasts are not apart from it. We mistake the Jewish idea of the angelic counterpart if we give it independent significance. The beast's power is Rome's power, and Rome's fall is the fall of the beast. Yet the two are not one, and it is possible that the writer used the figure of ch. 17 to express his belief that Rome was to fall at the hand of its own evil genius, by the fruits of its own sin. It was the woman sitting on the beast, against whom the beast itself would at last turn in hatred. The demonic nature of the beast is here quite clear. The actual Satanic power in the writer's experience was Rome, and his hope was for its fall; but though it was the agent and embodiment of Satan's hatred and power against God's people, yet its fall will bring only the binding, not the destruction, of Satan. He has other resources, and will be given an opportunity to make one more effort before the end comes. The arrangement of material compels us to regard the threefold judgment upon Satan, one past (connected with Christ's birth and ascension), two future, a preliminary binding connected with the fall of Rome, and a final destruction, as expressing realities in the author's mind no less than the fall of Rome itself, to which he gives a definite place in this larger drama of the Christian conquest of evil. But reality need not mean materiality. Caution is needed in interpreting the angelology of our book. We have already observed how little actuality, apart from Christ, has the angel who speaks for him (*e.g.* $22^{6ff.}$). In the letters we have messages from Christ to the Churches, but in form they come from the angel who represents Christ, through John, to the angels who represent the Churches. In spite of the difficulty of supposing that John and his writing must mediate between two angels, it remains probable that the angel of the Church is a real angel, conceived not as ruling over the Church, not as its heavenly guardian, but as its heavenly counterpart, personating its actual character, and hence worthy of praise and blame, not different from the Church itself ideally or abstractly conceived. John's writing of the message of the Christ-angel is, of course, for the sake of the actual Church, which is really addressed (note the use of the second person singular). It can be spoken of as a writing to the angel, in accordance with the heavenly setting of the vision, only because the angel is the heavenly presence and personal representation of the actual Church in its actual character. Against the contrary arguments of Zahn and others it remains that 'angel' is used throughout the book in the literal sense, and that no human official could be so completely identified with the Church. The intervention of John's book between two angels does not prove that they were not angels, but reveals the sense in which our writer ascribes reality to them.

---

[*] Baur, Holtzmann, etc.

In order rightly to estimate the significance of the angelic and demonic framework or background of our writer's predictions we should study its history, for it is no free invention or original insight of his. This eschatology, with its union of earthly (political) and unearthly (angelic) beings and events has far-reaching roots, and one would need a far more complete review than can here be attempted of the angelology, demonology, and eschatology of the OT and of Judaism in order to view it in the right light. In this picture are blended many elements from originally independent sources of which the history can only imperfectly be traced. Gunkel has done a very great service in his study of the history of the Babylonian myth of the creation of the world by the slaying or binding of the chaos beast, the dragon of the deep, by the god of light. He has shown how in the OT certainly (Is $51^{9f.}$ 27^{1}, Dn 7, etc.), and not improbably in Babylonia, this cosmological myth became eschatological, the last things were to be like the first, the dragon was to rise in a new conflict against God and be again overcome before the new creation. He has also shown how this myth, though retaining features of its original sense, the conception of creation as the binding and confining of the ocean (cf. Pr. Man ^{3}, 'who has bound the sea by the word of thy commandment; who hast shut up the deep and sealed it by thy terrible and glorious name,' with Rev 9^{1} 20^{3}), became, especially in its eschatological use, a figure of the world-kingdom that oppressed the people of God. Its future assault would be literally by war, not by tempest (see the union in Dn 7^{1}). It is evident how perfect an expression of this final form of the dragon-myth is contained in the words, 'the beast that thou sawest was, and is not; and is about to come up out of the abyss, and to go into perdition' (Rev 17^{8}). But this leads us over to an idea not Babylonian in origin, that the gods of the nations are angels (demons) (Dt 4^{19} 32^{8} LXX, Sir 17^{14}), and that these angels of the nations are responsible for their sins against Israel. Daniel contains this idea in a developed form. The beasts which in ch. 7 suggest the chaos dragon in his late eschatological and political form, give place in chs. 10–12 to angel princes of the nations whom Israel's prince, Michael, is to overthrow. So also in the late apocalypse, Is 24–27, the Babylonian dragon of the deep (here three monsters probably stand for three nations) is to be slain by God in the last judgment (27^{1}); but before this (or parallel to it) is the punishing of the angelic counterparts of earthly kings, and, very significantly, their imprisonment for a time in the pit before their final punishment ($24^{21.22}$). That the coming day of J″ includes a heavenly judgment over these spiritual powers of the world-kingdoms, is seen also in Is $34^{4.5}$, Ps 82. 58 (?). Both in Is 24^{21}, cf. $^{19.20}$, and in $34^{4.5}$ earthquake phenomena are the manifest sign of this judgment upon angel beings. That Persian eschatology influenced Jewish at this point is quite beyond serious question. (See esp. Stave, *Parsismus*, p. 145 ff.). There we find the conception of a struggle between good and evil spirit powers, becoming especially severe at the end when the Satanic leader, Angra Mainyu, assails the abode of Ahura Mazda, the good god. He is overthrown, either by the god himself or by the Parsee Messiah, Soshyos, and is held in imprisonment for a time before he is destroyed. The resurrection and the creation of the new heaven and earth are additional elements in the Parsee eschatology parallel to the Jewish. The idea of the fall of Satan from heaven through an ambitious attempt to be like God is used poetically in application to the fall of Babylon in Is 14^{12-15}, with evident allusion to a myth describing the failure of the morning star to mount the eastern sky. See also Secrets of Enoch $29^{4.5}$, and cf. Enoch $68^{4.5}$.

The Bk. of Daniel introduces a further element, the essential embodiment of the demonic power of evil in a man (Antiochus IV.). This human, not simply national, incarnation of the power of Satan may have had an important history in Jewish thought before it comes to light in the early Christian expectation of Antichrist (2 Th 2^{3-12}, 1 Jn 2^{18}, Δ.δ. 16, etc.; cf. Apoc. Bar $40^{1.2}$). Bousset (*Der Antichrist*, 1895) has made probable the Jewish origin of this conception as an outgrowth or modification of the Babylonian dragon myth, probably originating with Daniel.

Another line of development connects itself with Gn 6^{1-3}, and is found in combination with some of those already traced in Enoch 1–36. 83–90. The points of contact with Rev. here are close enough to deserve a more careful scrutiny.

The Book of Enoch (ch. 6 ff.) contains an account—probably the blending of two accounts—of the fall of angels from heaven, on the basis of Gn 6^{1-3}, and of the binding of their leader (Azazel or Semjaza) by one of the four archangels in darkness beneath rocks or under the hills of the earth, with his associates. At the last judgment they are to be taken thence and cast into the abyss of fire ($10^{4-6.9-13}$). If they had not been bound, man would have perished from the earth (10^{7}). But though the greater powers of evil are chained, lesser powers, the evil spirits, half human, proceeding from their sons, the giants, continue, and to them disease and all sorts of evil are ascribed. In the dream vision of chs. 83–90 the same conception is found. Here we read of the fall of a star from heaven and then of other stars ($86^{1.3}$), and of the violent deeds of their sons. Then one of the four great angels binds in an abyss the first star that fell, and his followers likewise ($88^{1.3}$). This is before the Flood. During the whole period of human history these fallen angels lie bound in the earth; but the evils under which Israel groaned are due to the misdeeds of the 'seventy shepherds.' These are angel representatives of the kingdoms to which the Jews were in subjection from the Exile onwards ($89^{59ff.}$), who transgress their commission as chasteners of Israel. At the last judgment the stars that first fell are brought before God, then the seventy shepherds, and all are cast into the same abyss of fire (90^{21-25}, so 100^{4}). Into a like abyss, but not the same one, apostate Israelites were cast (90^{26}). Then the old house (Jerusalem) was taken away, and the new house was brought and erected by God (97^{27-29}). Certain points of likeness between this apocalypse and Rev. are evident: the two sorts of angelic powers of evil, Satan and his angels accounting for the evil of the world in general, and angels of the nations explaining the particular and present sufferings of the Jews. But the binding of Satan in the abyss is at the beginning of human history, not at the beginning of the Messianic reign. The idea that evil angels are confined under the earth may well have been an inference from the phenomena of earthquake and volcano, cf. *e.g.* Enoch $67^{4ff.}$. The same conception, depending on Enoch, though with variations, is found in later parts of Enoch ($39^{1.2a}$ 54^{1-6} 67–69), in Bk. of Jub., ch. 5, Secrets of Enoch 18^{7} (cf. chs. 7. 18. 29), Jude ^{6}, 2 P 2^{4}. In Enoch 18^{11}–21^{10} the fallen and imprisoned angels are seven stars that transgressed the commandment of God by not rising at the appointed time; and though ch. 19 declares them to be the angels of Gn 6^{1-3}, one suspects a different origin, namely, in planets or meteors. The possibility of Greek influence on the eschatology of Enoch is not to be denied (Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 1893).

Comparing the eschatology of Rev 12–22 with these earlier OT and Jewish conceptions, we are struck most of all by the free union of elements of an originally diverse origin. Ch. 12 stands nearest to the Babylonian myth, even though one hesitate to adopt Gunkel's bold reconstruction. The dragon is a water beast (v.^{15}). He is cast out of heaven with his host by Michael, in a war which can have been nothing but an effort to dispossess God. But his fall here follows the birth and ascension of Messiah; and by this change of order which appears to have been due to our John himself, what was a history of the world became a history of Christianity, and the fundamental victory over evil, upon which hope rests, was not that effected by God at creation, but that achieved by Christ through His resurrection. In 9^{1-11} the allusions to the demonic powers, with Apollyon at their head, who are confined in the abyss, seem to rest on a wholly different conception.

The Satan of chs. 12 and 20 is certainly more than a representative of Rome, and these two chapters must be intended to put the present evil power and its coming fall into relation to an ultimate principle of evil, which Rome only for a time embodies. Through the birth and ascension of Christ a victory has been achieved over the power of evil in heaven. After Rome's fall, there still remains a final victory to be achieved over the power of evil in the world. So much we may safely say the writer intends in a literal sense.

(4) *The thousand years.*—This leads to the question of the significance to him of the 1000-years' reign of Christ and the martyrs. It is a part of the last conflict against evil. While Satan is bound in the abyss, Christ and His saints reign over the world, subduing the remaining powers of evil. It is true that in Jewish apocalypses the idea of a temporary earthly reign of Messiah (or of Israel) arose in the effort to conceive of the final consummation in more transcendental, heavenly terms, and yet provide for the literal fulfilment of the national, earthly hopes of Israel. In Enoch 91 Messiah does not appear, but an earthly Messianic age is followed after a final judgment by a consummation of heavenly character. In 4 Ezr 7 Messiah has to do only with the earthly kingdom, not with the heavenly which follows it after 400 years. But in Rev. the 1000 years has no such significance. Our writer does not need it for the literal fulfilment of the

earthly and national features of the prophetic hope, for he uses these freely in a figurative sense of the new heaven and earth (21. 22). He does not need it in order to give Messiah His rights, for the Lamb is still on the throne in the final consummation ($21^{22.23}$ $22^{1.3}$). Holtzmann, indeed, declares that the idea that this 1000-years' reign is a period of peace and rest is the only proper enrichment of Biblical theology in our book, since in St. Paul the interval between the coming of Christ and the consummation is a period of the progressive conquest of evil (1 Co 15^{20-28}). But where in Rev. is the suggestion that peace and rest characterize the 1000 years? It is here also a reigning of Christ, and the reward of martyrs is a share in His power. St. Paul expresses the common expectation of the Christian's part in this reign of Christ in 1 Co $6^{2.3}$. There is every reason to suppose that judging and ruling characterize the 1000 years in Revelation. The difference between this first resurrection and the second is not the difference between a preliminary earthly and a final heavenly rest. For the final consummation, as we have seen, is described by our author in thoroughly earthly (Messianic) terms poetically taken. It is the difference between power and blessedness. In other words, the 1000-years' reign here corresponds closely to the Jewish expectation of the time when the sword of justice and vengeance should be in the hands of the righteous (Enoch 91^{12} $90^{19.34}$, cf. $95^{3.7}$ 96^{1} 98^{12} $99^{4.6}$ 99^{16}–100^{3} 38^{5}, Dn 7^{22}).

In Rev $2^{26.27}$ 3^{21} the rule of those who overcome is promised; but is this more literally meant than the other promises ($2^{7.17}$ etc.)? In 1^{6} 5^{10} it seems to be said that Christians are already a kingdom and priests reigning on the earth. The brief episodal treatment of the 1000 years in 20^{4-6} as part of the account of Satan's overthrow, prevents our giving it the significance in the writer's mind that has often been given to it. The possibility cannot be wholly excluded that it stands here because it stood in some account of Satan's overthrow, which our author adopted, as he did so much else, for its general meaning, not for its detail. We shall perhaps be better able to estimate its meaning to him as we turn from his predictions to his religious conceptions. It is certain that the *overcoming* with which John is most concerned is first Christ's overcoming of sin through His death and exaltation, then the Christian overcoming of the evil life and false worship of the world and its hatred and persecutions, by patience and faith even unto death. And this overcoming is so referred to in the midst of the description of Satan's fall from heaven (12^{11}), and of the fall of Rome (17^{14}), that we wonder after all at the end whether this is the reality and those the figure; whether, not of course originally but to our writer,—the one who inserted such verses as these,—this did not express their real meaning. It is certain that he believed chiefly in the triumphant vindication of Christian faith, both in the case of individuals who endured unto death, and of the world which was now in the power of evil. The conviction that death could only bring the faithful soul to its God, and that the future could only see God and Christ manifestly enthroned over the universe, our author held with all the intensity of his being, and expressed in all the variety of form with which the literature of hope furnished him, without too much anxiety about formal consistency. That Christ's conquest of evil involved the fall of Rome, but that the fall of Rome was not the end of evil itself, but the beginning and guarantee of its end, we may also regard as secure.

2. *Religious ideas* (*theology*) *of Revelation.*—The biblico-theological study of Rev. should proceed, according to the modern view of this discipline, largely by the comparative method. We are not to assume that the author had a theology of his own; and we are most concerned to know the sources and influence of the Christian ideas of the book, and how they fit into the history of Christian thought. This is far more an average book, that is, an embodiment of average beliefs and hopes, than the letters of St. Paul or the Gospel of St. John. It expresses the faith and the temper of Christianity in the early years of its conflict, its struggle for existence against a hostile world. As its message is one of a speedily coming judgment and deliverance, its underlying theology will concern the persons through whom, and the way in which, salvation is to be effected. God and Christ, redemption past and to come, are its themes. The general conception of the deliverer and the deliverance will be determined by the conception of the evil from which men desire to be delivered. The theology of our author will be fundamentally determined by the question whether he conceives of the evil chiefly as political or as religious. The answer to this question is not altogether easy. Although Rome now embodies the spirit of evil itself, and is endowed with its authority, yet on the one hand it is through its religion that its evil power is exerted (2^{13} $13^{11\text{ff.}}$), and on the other hand it is only a temporary representative of the ultimate evil power, the Devil and Satan, the destroyer (9^{11}), the deceiver of the whole world (12^{9}), the real persecutor of the saints ($12^{12.17}$). Titius is doubtless, on the whole, right in suggesting that the political view of evil and salvation seems to be offered to the writer by some of his sources, but that it is disavowed by him (*Die neutest. Lehre von der Seligkeit*, iv. 35); yet the case is not wholly clear, and the central problem in the interpretation of the Christianity of the book lies just here. The fall of Rome would seem to be a chief act in that Divine judgment which is to bring blessedness to the faithful. But this Jewish 'apocalyptical connexion of politics and religion' is not the teaching of the book as a whole, otherwise Christ's person and work, and the Christian conduct and hope, must have been determined by the goal of political world-rulership. It is not, indeed, decisive that 'the conduct of the faithful is not political, but is characterized exclusively by patience (13^{10} 14^{12})' (Titius); for this is true also in the Bk. of Daniel, the occasion of which, like that of Rev., is not war, but religious persecution. Here literal world-rulership is unquestionably hoped for, and yet the conflict with the beast, as in Rev., 'is carried on, on the one side by executions, and on the other by quiet martyrdom' (cf. Dn $11^{33\text{ff.}}$). Many Jews expected that world-rulership was to come to them through God's direct intervention, upon purely religious conditions on their part. Nor can we say with confidence that the literal world-rulership of the saints was not in our author's mind ($2^{26.27}$ 3^{21} 5^{10} 20^{4-6}). When the Roman empire is regarded as the Satanic power, it is not easy to escape the conception of a kingdom of the saints which shall literally displace it. Nevertheless, it remains true that for our author the ultimate evil power is not Rome but Satan, and that the final struggle and victory are in the spiritual realm. It is not the world-rulership of Rome, but its blasphemous claims, that made it the present agent of Satan's power. Both by temptation and by violence it endangered the Christian life and the Christian faith. Any power that opposed the sole worship of the one God, whether Jewish (2^{9} 3^{9}) or Roman (2^{13} 13^{6} etc.), is Satanic.

(*a*) *God.*—The fundamental faith of the book is, then, that God alone is to be worshipped, since He alone is eternal and all-powerful. Monotheism is the basis on which the apocalyptical hope rests, since this is always only the hope that the real kingship of God will soon become manifest and actual. God is He who was, and who is, and who is to come ($1^{4.8}$ 4^{8}, cf. 11^{17}), while the power of evil 'was, and is not; and is about to come up out of the abyss, and to go into perdition' ($17^{8.11}$). The difference between these two definitions saves the Christian faith which this book represents from dualism. The doctrine of God is Christianity's great inheritance from Judaism, and is given here not only in Jewish terms, but in the Jewish spirit. God is the Creator (4^{11} 10^{6} 14^{7}), omnipotent [*παντοκράτωρ*] (1^{8} 4^{8} 11^{17} 15^{3} $16^{7.14}$ $19^{6.15}$ 21^{22}; elsewhere in NT only 2 Co 6^{18}). Fear, not love, is the temper of worship (14^{7} 15^{4} 19^{5} 11^{18}). God is indeed described as one to be feared, one whose coming self-manifestation will be in wrath and judgment ($6^{16.17}$ 11^{18} $14^{9-11.19.20}$ $15^{7.8}$ 16^{1} 19^{15}). He is a King who is absolute in power and just in His judgments. This justice is His supreme quality, on which faith and hope rest (6^{10} 15^{3} 16^{7} $19^{1.2}$).

(*b*) *Christ.*—Christ is conceived as one equal to His task, which is threefold. (1) He is to overthrow the Roman empire (19^{11-21}) and its allies (17^{14}), and so is described as warrior and king, wholly in Jewish terms. He is the lion of the tribe of Judah (5^{5}, cf. 22^{16}), with a sword in His mouth (1^{16} $2^{12.16}$ 19^{15}, Is 11^{4}), the destined ruler of the heathen ($2^{26f.}$ 12^{5} 19^{15}, Ps 2^{9}, cf. Ps-Sol 17^{26}). (2) But since the real power of evil is not Rome but Satan, Christ must be conceived not only as the greatest of kings, 'King of kings and Lord of lords' (17^{14} 19^{16} 1^{5}), as God is in the OT (Dn 2^{47}), but as one supreme in the world of spirits. So in the first vision of Him (1^{9-20}), He appears as an angelic being, like Gabriel in Dn 10, but above him, since He applies to Himself (1^{17} 2^{8} 22^{13}) the name 'the first and the last,' which belongs to God (1^{8} 21^{6}, Is 41^{4} 44^{6} 48^{12}). He is 'the living one' (1^{18}), as God also is ($4^{9.10}$ 10^{6}); the One who has already, by His resurrection, gained the mastery over those powers of evil which are the last of all to be destroyed, Death and Hades (1^{18}, cf. 20^{14}, 1 Co 15^{26}). The second vision of Christ (5^{1-14}) shows still more clearly His superiority to all angelic powers, even those that stand closest to the throne of God. He only of them all can open the book of the Divine purposes. The seven spirits of God are His eyes (5^{6}), or are in His hand (3^{1}). This elevation is His,—just as in Ph 2^{5-11},—because of His redemptive death (5^{9}). The whole creation joins in ascribing to Him praises as to God (5^{9-14}, cf. $1^{5b.6}$ 7^{10}).

The angel-like and God-like nature of the risen Christ is the best proof that our writer's view went beyond the political. Such a One as this was not needed for the overthrow of Rome. Yet it is a striking fact that the victory over spirit powers of evil is not, as we should expect, expressly ascribed to Christ. The demon-beasts of Rome are taken and cast into the lake of fire, but by whom is not said ($19^{19.20}$), though it is the sword in Christ's mouth that slays their followers (v.^{21}). The dragon recognized in Christ his deadly foe ($12^{4f.}$), but it is Michael who cast him down from heaven (12^{7-9}), 'an angel' who chained him in the abyss (20^{1-3}, cf. 9^{1-11}); fire from heaven devoured his hosts, and it is not said who cast him, and after him Death, into the lake of fire ($20^{10.14}$). So the key of the abyss is in an angel's hand (9^{1} 20^{1}) in spite of 1^{18}. Our writer does not feel the need of formally displacing the angel by Christ in these Jewish figures. Angelology had already influenced the Jewish conception of Messiah in Enoch 37 ff. (see 46^{1}) on the basis of Daniel. But in general Michael retained his place as Israel's heavenly representative, defender, priestly intercessor. Bousset suggested (*Der Antichrist*, p. 151) that Jewish speculations about Michael may have influenced early Christian ideas about Christ, and Lueken (*Michael*, Göttingen, 1898) has made the hypothesis probable. In our book, however, Michael is not displaced, but performs one of his chief functions ($12^{7ff.}$); on the other hand, the worship of angels is expressly forbidden (19^{10} $22^{8.9}$); and Christ is, with God—in spite of 19^{10} 'worship God'—the object of the worship of angels and men alike. While angels are classed with men, Christ is classed with God; and various titles and expressions carry us beyond not only the Messianic but also the angelological speculations of Judaism. He is once called 'the Son of God' (2^{18}, but see also 2^{27} $3^{5.21}$, cf. 1^{6} 14^{1}); once, 'the beginning of the creation of God' (3^{14}), as only the Divine wisdom is called in OT (Pr 8^{22}), and as Christ is called only by St. Paul in the NT (Col 1^{15}). He is called once also the Word of God (19^{13}), and even this Johannine (Hellenistic) title is surpassed by the title of eternity, 'the first and the last' (1^{17} 2^{8} 22^{13}). Yet one hesitates to put stress on the pre-existence which these titles imply, because the resurrection so supremely marks Christ and conditions His exaltation ($1^{5a.18}$ 2^{8} $5^{9ff.}$). A cosmical significance and fitness to deal with the cosmical principle of evil the writer certainly wishes to affirm. He would seem almost to identify Christ and God if, as seems probable, he adds to Jewish sources the expressions 'and of his Christ' (11^{15}), 'and of the Lamb' (22^{3}), without feeling the need of changing the following words to plurals. Yet close as is the association, closer and more abiding than in 1 Co 15^{20-28}, subordination remains, and is expressed in simple and unreserved fashion (1^{1} $2^{7.27}$ $3^{2.12.14.21}$).—(3) But it is neither the world-empire, nor its demon-gods, nor Satan himself that furnished the chief task of Christ. The Christian community was His greatest deed. He created it by His redeeming death (1^{6} $5^{9.10}$), and is first and last the Lord of the Churches, knowing them as they are (2^{2} etc.), ruling them in love, but with severity ($2^{16.23}$ 3^{19}), their Lord (11^{8} 14^{13} $22^{20.21}$). For Him the perfected community is destined as a bride (19^{7-9} $21^{2.9}$). Believers are His servants (1^{1} 2^{20}), as they are the servants of God (7^{3} 10^{7} 11^{18} etc.). The name which most expresses what Christ is to the Christian is the 'Lamb,' used twenty-nine times in the book. The figure of a lamb as if slain, *i.e.* with throat cut as if about to be sacrificed, the author is able to use in such a way that it gives an impression of power and excites feelings of reverence and awe. Although the Lamb slain is a striking Christian transformation of the Lion of Judah's tribe ($5^{5.6}$), yet lion-like rather than lamb-like qualities remain dominant. The seven horns and the seven eyes picture kingly power and Divine knowledge. The Christian Messiah is one crucified, indeed, but nevertheless kingly and powerful, a stern warrior and righteous judge (6^{16} 14^{10} 17^{14}). His place is near the throne of God ($5^{6.6}$ $7^{9.17}$), and at last upon it ($21^{22.23}$ 22^{1-3}). Although the name Jesus is commonly used (1^{9} 12^{17} 17^{6} 19^{10} 20^{4} 22^{16}), yet the reference is to the heavenly, not the earthly life. Neither allusions to the birth of Christ (12^{1-5}, cf. 5^{5} 22^{16}), nor to His death ($5^{9f.}$, cf. Is 53; 1^{7}, cf. Zec 12^{10}, Dn 7^{13}), indicate a use of the Gospel accounts. The fact of the death, however, is of vital significance. The crucifixion was the crowning sin of Jerusalem (11^{8}), but the slaying—the blood of the Lamb—is that through which He made men a kingdom, priests, unto God (1^{6} 5^{10}). This effect is explained as a purchase (redemption), 5^{9} $14^{3.4}$ (cf. 1 Co 6^{20} 7^{23}), with which the reading, λύσαντι ἐκ, in 1^{5} ('loosed'), would correspond. But it is also said that the redeemed had 'washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb' (7^{14}, cf. 22^{14} ℵA, and the less probable reading, λούσαντι ἀπό, in 1^{5}).

The figure of the slain Lamb itself pictures the fact of the atoning significance of the death, but does not give us a definite theory regarding it. It is not certain whether the Paschal lamb is in mind (Ex $12^{3ff.}$, 1 Co 5^{7}), or Is 53^{7} (as probably in Jn $1^{29.36}$). The vicariousness of Christ's death is not indicated, and the contact with St. Paul's thought at this point seems formal rather than real.

(*c*) *The Christian life.*—The divergence of the thought of our book from St. Paul becomes still more evident when we note that the white garments which the redeemed wear signify moral purity ($3^{4.5}$). It is the duty of the Christian Church to array itself in white. The fine linen, bright and pure, is the righteous deeds of the saints (19^{8}). Such raiment can be, as it were, bought of Christ (3^{18}), or given (6^{11} 19^{8}); but its possession is evidently regarded more from the moral than from the ritual point of view. There is no such reflexion upon the relation of gift and duty in the Christian life as in St. Paul; but by the side of praise for redemption by Christ's blood, is an almost legalistic conception of salvation by works. In the letters, works are required by Christ ($2^{2.5.19.23.26}$ $3^{1.2.8.15}$, cf. 14^{13} 18^{6} $20^{6.12.13}$ 22^{12}, Holtzmann). They are *His* works (2^{26}), the keeping of His words or commands

(3^{8}), as well as God's words (1$^{2.\,9}$ 12^{17} 14^{12} 20^{4}), of which Jesus is a witness (1^{5} 3^{14}). To keep God's commands is to keep the testimony of Jesus (1$^{2.\,9}$ 12^{17} 19^{10} 20^{4}) or His faith (14^{12}). Pure morals (2$^{14.\,20}$ 3^{4} 14$^{4.\,5}$) and a pure worship (2$^{14.\,20}$ 13$^{12\text{ff.}}$ 14$^{9\text{f.}}$) are enjoined, over against heathen influence; and, to keep these in such a time, patience, endurance, fidelity were the most needed virtues. 'The patience and the faith of the saints' (13^{10}) are closely related virtues. That faith and patience alike mean fidelity is evident (2^{13} 14^{12} 2$^{10\text{b}}$ 17$^{14\text{b}}$). They were most manifest in martyrdom. As Christ, through the shedding of His blood, proved Himself a 'faithful witness,' and attained as a reward His place of power, so Christians gain the highest glory through a martyr death. Its power as an example is one of the clearest interpretations given by our author to Christ's death (see 7^{14} 12^{11} 3^{21} 20$^{4\text{-}6}$). The point of view of reward is that from which salvation is predominantly regarded (2^{7} etc., 'to him that overcometh,' 11^{18} 22^{12} 7$^{14\text{ff.}}$).

vi. RELATION OF REV. TO OTHER NT BOOKS.—1. *St. Paul.*—The question in what relation the Christology and Soteriology of Rev. stand to Paulinism is one to which a confident answer is impossible until we know better how to answer the questions both of source and of influence with reference to St. Paul's thought at these points. If St. Paul is the author of the 'higher Christology,' Rev. must be under his influence, and certainly the expression 'the firstborn from the dead' (1^{5}) suggests Col 1^{18} (cf. 1 Co 15^{20}), though Bousset believes that Ps 89^{28} (LXX) accounts for it. To the same verse, Col 1^{18} (cf. v.^{15}), the expression 'the beginning of the creation of God,' points (3^{14}). Yet these parallels are far from conclusive. Both St. Paul and Rev. exalt Christ above angels as a reward for His earthly life and death (Ph 2$^{5\text{ff.}}$, Rev 5$^{9\text{ff.}}$).

If St. Paul was the first to connect the forgiveness of sin with the death of Christ, the thought of Rev. is in some sense due to him; but St. Paul's originality at this point is an open question (1 Co 15$^{3.\,11}$), and the effect of the death of Christ is here described in a wholly un-Pauline way. Again, the universality of the gospel owed most to the championship of St. Paul, but Weizsäcker is justified in saying that in Rev. Judaism has become universalistic and free from law, not in the Pauline way, but in a way of its own. The thought of Rev 5^{9} is that of Eph 2^{13}, but dependence is not evident.

There are many points of contact between the two writers in eschatology, but none that cannot be explained from the common basis of Jewish and primitive Christian conceptions. It is not probable that we are to infer from Rev 7$^{1\text{-}8}$ 11$^{1\text{-}13}$ an expectation like St. Paul's of the final repentance and salvation of the Jewish people (Ro 11^{26}); it is, however, possible. St. Paul expects a literal renewal of the world (Ro 8$^{18\text{-}22}$, cf. Rev 21^{1}); also (before this?) an interregnum of Christ (1 Co 15^{25}) when He and His (6$^{2.\,3}$) will overcome all powers hostile to God (Rev 20$^{4\text{-}8}$); the last foe to be destroyed is death (1 Co 15^{26}, Rev 20^{14}). It is a striking fact that while the literalness of these expectations is not to be questioned in St. Paul's case, in Rev. we feel ourselves to be everywhere on the border line between fact and figure. None of these parallels is so striking as the contrast between St. Paul's attitude towards Rome and that of Revelation (Ro 13$^{1\text{-}7}$, 2 Th 2^{7}). Even at this point, however, we cannot think of an intentional polemic against St. Paul. Antichrist has taken on a Roman instead of a Jewish character by the course of events. The effort of Baur and Volkmar to prove the presence of an anti-Pauline polemic in the book cannot be regarded as successful. The Christianity of the John of Rev. is neither national nor legal in a Jewish sense (*e.g.* 5^{9} 7$^{9\text{ff.}}$ 21$^{24\text{ff.}}$ 2$^{14.\,20}$ 21^{22}). The absoluteness of its freedom from Judaism, *i.e.* of its conviction that Christians are the true Jews, is seen in the fact that it can adopt without change such thoroughly Jewish pictures as 7$^{1\text{-}8}$ 11$^{1\text{-}13}$, taking for granted their figurative application to the Christian community. Its conception of faith and of works is neither St. Paul's nor is it aimed against St. Paul's conception.

We may agree with Jülicher that the Christianity of Rev. is neither Pauline nor anti-Pauline; and that, as far as one can speak of the religious conceptions of the book outside of the eschatological circle, they can be understood as a simple development of the primitive form in which the gospel came through Jewish believers to Jews. It must, however, be a late, not an early development.

2. *The Synoptic Gospels.*—The traditional defence of the apostolicity and truth of Rev. by the claim that it is only an elaboration of the eschatological teachings of Jesus, especially in Mt 24 [–25] = Mk 13 = Lk 21 + 17$^{20\text{-}37}$ + 12$^{35\text{-}48}$, must now be reconsidered and tested in view of a growing inclination on the part of scholars to regard these chapters as due to an elaboration of the simpler teachings of Jesus regarding the future, under the influence of the eschatological conceptions, inherited from Judaism, of which Rev. is a product and record. The parallels are, of course, unmistakable; but for the historical interpretation of them we must wait for further studies in the Gospels, and in the history of those traditions of the life and teachings of Jesus out of which the Gospels came.

Holtzmann (*Einl.* 422) adduces the following parallels: Mk 13$^{7.\,8}$ = Rev 6$^{4\text{-}8.\,12}$, Mk 13^{10} = Rev 14^{6}, Mk 13^{13} = Rev 2^{28}, Mk 13^{19} = Rev 16^{18}, esp. Mk 13$^{24.\,25}$ = Rev 6$^{12\text{-}14}$ 8^{12} 9$^{1.\,2}$, Mk 13^{28} (still more closely Mt 27^{30}) = Rev 1^{7}, Mk 13^{27} = Rev 7^{1}, Mk 13^{31} = Rev 6^{14} 17^{17} 21^{1}, and apparent contrasts between Rev 11^{1} and Mk 13^{14}, Rev 10$^{5.\,6}$ 14^{15} and Mk 13^{32}.

Von Soden (*Abhandlungen*, p. 132), on the basis of various parallels (Rev 13^{10} Lk 21^{24}, Rev 6^{10} Lk 18^{7}, Rev 6^{16} Lk 23^{30}, Rev 3^{3} 16^{15} Lk 12^{39} [= Mt 24^{43}], Rev 3^{20} Lk 12^{36} 14$^{15\text{-}24}$, Rev 1^{19} Lk 21^{36}, Rev 3^{3} 14$^{7.\,15}$ Lk 12$^{39\text{f.}\,46}$, Rev 1^{1} 22^{6} Lk 18^{8}, Rev 1^{3} 22^{10} Lk 21^{8}, Rev 19^{9} Lk 14^{15}, Rev 22^{7} Lk 11^{28}, Rev 16^{15} Lk 12^{37}), regards it as probable that the Christian editor of Rev. was familiar with Luke's Gospel. He thinks (p. 158 f.), on the other hand, that Matthew used Rev. in its present form because of the parallel use of words and phrases in many passages (cf. *e.g.* Mt 5^{12} Rev 19^{7}, Mt 8^{26} Rev 21^{8}, Mt 20^{16} 22^{14} Rev 17^{14}, Mt 16^{19} Rev 1^{18} 3^{7} 9^{1} 20^{1}, Mt 27^{53} Rev 11^{2} 21^{2} 22^{19}, Mt 2^{6} Rev 1^{17}, Mt 19^{17} 23^{3} 28^{20} [to keep, τηρεῖν, commands of Christ] 26^{18} Rev 1^{3} 22^{10}, Mt 16^{19} 18^{18} [λύειν] Rev 1^{5}, Mt 26^{52} Rev 13^{10}, Mt 24^{30} Rev 1^{7}, Mt 24^{12} Rev 2$^{4.\,19}$ 3$^{15\text{f.}}$, Mt 2^{2} Rev 12^{1}, Mt 2^{11} Rev 21^{24}, Mt 2$^{16\text{-}18}$ Rev 12$^{4.\,17}$). Such parallels as Holtzmann adduces between Rev. and Mk 13 are referred by von Soden and many others to common or related Jewish apocalyptical sources.

3. *The Gospel and Epistles of St. John.*—The relation between Rev. and the other Johannine writings has been obscured by critical attacks and apologetic defence. Zahn's extravagant statement, that the common use of the name Logos (Jn 1$^{1.\,14}$, 1 Jn 1^{1}, Rev 19^{13}) outweighs all the irreconcilable contradictions which have been found between the ideas of Rev. and those of the other Johannine writings, is anything but conclusive, although the importance of this point of connexion is to be recognized. Even Zahn admits the difficulty of the problem presented by the *difference of style*, but thinks that both John and Rev. betray a Hebrew author, and that the same man might write differently as a prophet and as a historian and teacher. It is really by appeal to a supernatural agency that Zahn reconciles the books. In the Bk. of Revelation St. John is in ecstasy and receives everything in vision, the form as well as the material (p. 614 f.). So the books are not by the same real author, after all; and how would Zahn estimate the relative value of the work of John and that of the Spirit? In regard to the peculiar style of Rev., with its departures from grammatical rules, certainly in part intentional,

perhaps in the effort to give the effect of the Hebrew prophetic style, see especially Bousset, *Komm.* pp. 183–208.

That Rev. is not by the author of the Gospel and the First Ep. of John appears to the present writer little less than a certainty. There are, indeed, ideas common to these books. We have already noticed the common use of all the Johannine writings by the Montanists because John promises the prophetic spirit, and Rev. is a product of it; and the common rejection of all by the so-called Alogi, though later opponents of Montanism were contented to reject Revelation. There are also Johannine forms of expression in Rev. (see, *e.g.*, 3^{20b}, Jn 17^{23}, Rev $2^{26.\,27}$ 3^{21}, Jn $15^{9f.}$ 17^{18} 20^{21}). But so there are here Pauline forms of expression. Indeed the thought-world of our author is related to one side of St. Paul's, while John and 1 John are related to another; and while it is not impossible that both Rev. and John presuppose St. Paul, between these books themselves little but contrast can be discovered, both in thought and in expression.

Bousset has sought to prove a linguistic relationship such as to justify the belief that Rev. came from the same circles in Asia Minor from which the Johannine writings came. The John of Asia Minor was, he believes, not the apostle, but the presbyter John; and though neither the Gospel nor the Apocalypse was written by him, Bousset supposes that both rest in some way upon him. That the John of Asia Minor was the apostle remains, however, still the more probable supposition (see the elaborate argument of Zahn, *Forschungen*, vi. 1900, pp. 175–217). But the inference that the John of Rev. must in that case be the apostle, is weakened by the observation that the apocalyptist does not speak with the authority of his own person. The authoritative author of his book is Christ. All that the author claims for himself is that he is a genuine prophet. The common idea 'that he appears as a special authority before his readers rests on fancy' (Jülicher, *Einl.* 176). It is not he but Christ who criticizes and commends the Churches. There remains, of course, the other possibility, that, like other apocalypses, this also is pseudonymous, issued in the apostle's name. But we should in that case confidently look for clear references to the apostle's experiences, whereas the writer regards himself everywhere as a prophet, and seems to look upon the apostles from without (21^{14}, cf. 18^{20}). That the apostle was the author of Rev., and therefore not of John (Baur, etc.), is now urged anew, chiefly on the ground of external testimony, by B. W. Bacon (*Introd. to NT*, 1900); but, though not impossible, it can never be so established as to be a weighty presupposition for the solution of the problem of the Gospel. That the writer of Rev. need not have known Jesus, remains a strong indication that he did not know Him.

In distinction from the Gospel, the Apocalypse can be historically interpreted and estimated without regard to the question of its author, *i.e.* of its final author; but a book of this class cannot be understood at all apart from the stream of apocalyptical tradition out of which it comes, of which it is in large measure a product. Of its authorship nothing more than guesses can be given. With the nature of the book itself and the resulting method of its interpretation it is possible to deal more positively.

Conclusion.—The historical value of this book as a witness to early Christianity, and the temper and expectation with which it faced its long struggle against the world, cannot be over-estimated. The religious value of apocalypses in general lies not in their form or forecast, but in the religious faith that they express. The special religious worth of Rev. lies first of all in its Christianity and then in what results from this; in the fact that though chiefly apocalyptical it is partly prophetic in character, that though largely dependent on tradition it is not wholly without the marks of a creative spirit (Bousset, p. 11). 'The book has its imperishable religious worth because of the energy of faith that finds expression in it, the splendid certainty of its conviction that God's cause remains always the best and is one with the cause of Jesus Christ; but it is unreasonable to treat the detail of its phantasies as an authentic source for a history of the past or the future' (Jülicher, p. 168).

The form of the book is uncongenial to us; but a fair historical judge will not condemn it for its form, which the age supplied, and which served the age. We shall do best justice to the form if we regard it as practically poetical. The line which must be drawn for a true appreciation of our book is not the rough line between literal and figurative speech, but the far more delicate one between pictures consciously fashioned to express spiritual realities, and visions of persons and actions literally taken, but *valued* for the spiritual realities that lie behind them. This is an important distinction, but does not involve a fundamental contrast. Our author is a poet, whether consciously or not, since, whether taken as word-pictures or as actualities his visions were to him, as they are to us, symbols of spiritual realities, of Christian faiths and hopes.—But, apart from form, are the faiths and hopes of the book fully Christian? It is hard not to judge the hatred of Rome and the desire for vengeance as in some measure a departure from Christ. The difference between His announcement of the fall of Jerusalem and this prediction of the fall of Rome is just the deeper-lying difference between prophecy and apocalypse. Christ would not allow the kingdom of God to be put into contrast and competition with the kingdom of Cæsar (Mk 12^{14-17}). St. Paul followed His contradiction of Judaism at this point (Ro 13^{1-7}, so 1 P 2^{13-17}); but the writer of Rev. seems hardly to escape altogether the Jewish confusion of religion with politics. To use the money of the realm, or rather to engage in transactions involving papers which must be attested by the official stamp (χάραγμα) of the emperor (Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien*, 1897, pp. 68–75), seemed to him the worship of the beast (13^{17}). With this goes also the absence of love, and with it again the absence of hope for men. The missionary spirit of Christianity is not here. Christians are to hold fast what they have, and the sinful world will be more sinful still until its speedy destruction. To the union of religion with politics belonged, in the Jewish mind, the hope that the saints would in the end rule over the world (20^{4-6}). Whether it is possible to regard this millennial reign as taken by our author from some Jewish source for its underlying idea, or whether we must regard him as adopting the reality with the form, through the influence of his attitude towards Rome, it is in either case impossible not to regret the influence of these verses upon Christian history. To this criticism, however, two things are to be said. One is that as events, especially the Exile, brought about the transition from prophecy to apocalypse in Judaism, so events put Christianity at this crisis in the attitude of self-defence against the threatened extinction of its faith at the hands of Rome. The other consideration is that it was not for its chiliastic hope, but in spite of it, that Rev. held its place in the Christian Canon; and it has not been this that has given the book its power.

It is the Christianity, not the Judaism, of the book that has made and kept for it a place in

Christian Scriptures. It aimed to put Christ at the centre of religious faith and hope. His words are the complete law of God, His testimony is the full contents and inspiration of prophecy. The Churches are under His eye, and responsible only to Him. He also opens the book of God's final purposes for mankind. His birth, death, and resurrection began that victory of good over evil, which His coming and reign will bring to a glorious completion, for His coming is the coming of God. The power and abiding worth of the book is in this splendid faith, against all appearances, in the kingship of Christ and God; in the strong hope which maintained itself amid persecution and unto death; and in the intensity of emotion through which the language, though both our ignorance and our knowledge make it in part less impressive than it was at first, has still the power, and in many passages the unimpaired power, to stir in us an answering hope and faith.

LITERATURE.—The principal books in which a historical understanding of Rev. has been furthered, and several of the important articles and discussions regarding it, have been named in the course of this article. The text may be studied with the help of Weiss (*Die Johan. Apoc.: Textkrit. Untersuchungen*, 1891), Gwynn (*The Apocalypse of St. John*, 1897), and Gregory (*Text-Kritik d. NT*, 1900); the older critical view (contemporary-historical) in the Commentaries of Lücke, Bleek, and Ewald. In America, Stuart's *Commentary* (1845) defended this general method, with some 'church-historical' features. Of recent critics the works of Vischer, Spitta, Gunkel, and Bousset are most deserving of study. The Commentaries of Bousset (Meyer's Series, 1896) and Holtzmann (2nd ed. 1893) are of the greatest value. See also the *Introductions* of Holtzmann, Jülicher, Zahn, and Bacon; also the *Histories of the Apostolic Age* by Weizsäcker (ii. 18 ff. 161–205), McGiffert, and Bartlet; the *NT Theologies* of Weiss, Beyschlag, Stevens, Holtzmann, Titius (*Die neutest. Lehre von der Seligkeit*, iv. 1900), and artt. on Apoc. by Harnack in *Encyc. Brit.*^{9} and Bousset in *Encyc. Bibl.* Of other books bearing in an important way upon the understanding of Rev., reference may be made again to Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos* (1895); Bousset, *Der Antichrist* (1895, in English, *The Antichrist Legend*, 1896); Lueken, *Michael* (1898); Weinel, *Wirkungen des Geistes*, etc. (1899). FRANK C. PORTER.

REVENGE, REVENGER.—See AVENGE, and GOEL.

REVEREND.—In earlier English there is no difference in meaning between 'reverend' (from Lat. *reverendus*, pass. ptcp. of *revereri* to fear, revere) and *reverent* (through Old Fr. *reverent*). Only the form 'reverend' occurs in AV: Ps 111^9 'Holy and reverend is his name' (קָדוֹשׁ וְנוֹרָא שְׁמוֹ; LXX *ἅγιον καὶ φοβερόν*, Vulg. *sanctum et terribile*), and 2 Mac 15^{12} 'Reverend in conversation' (*αἰδήμονα τὴν ἀπάντησιν*, Vulg. *verecundum visu*, RV 'reverend in bearing'). RV maintains the mod. distinction between 'reverend'=to be revered, and 'reverent' (as from act. ptcp.)=revering. It retains 'reverend' in Ps 111^9 and 2 Mac 15^{12} and adds Ph 4^8 marg. (Gr. *σεμνός*, RV 'honourable'); and it also introduces 'reverent' into Tit 2^3 'reverent in demeanour' (*ἐν καταστήματι ἱεροπρεπεῖς*, AV 'in behaviour as becometh holiness'). The older versions that use the word always spell it 'reverent' (Bish. in Ps 111^9, Gen. and Dou. in 2 Mac 15^{12}).

J. HASTINGS.

REVIVE.—In some of the examples of 'revive' in AV it is evident that the meaning is literally to come back to life from the dead (or transitively to bring back to life). Thus 1 K 17^{22} 'The soul of the child came into him again, and he revived'; 2 K 13^{21} 'When the man was let down and touched the bones of Elisha, he revived, and stood up on his feet'; Neh 4^2 'Will they revive the stones out of the heaps of the rubbish which are burned?'; Ro 14^9 'Christ both died, and rose, and revived.' And, even when this is not the meaning, the word carries greater force than it now bears to us. Thus Ro 7^9 'When the commandment came, sin revived, and I died.' Cf. Erasmus, *Commune Crede*, 89, 'It is more probable by the deade to understonde those that have departed from theyr bodies afore the daye of judgemente (for as sone as they shall be revived and risen agayne, they shall be judged)'; Lk 15^{24} Rhem. 'This my sonne was dead, and is revived'; and Shaks. *I Henry VI.* I. i. 18—

> Henry is dead, and never shall revive.'

J. HASTINGS.

REZEPH (רֶצֶף; B Ῥάφεις, B^{ab} Ῥάφες, A τὴν Ῥάφεθ, 2 K 19^{12}; BQ^{mg} Ῥάφεθ, ℵQ* Ῥάφες, A Ῥάφεις, Is 37^{12}; Vulg. *Roseph* 2 K 19^{12}, *Reseph* Is 37^{12}).—Mentioned in the message of the Rabshakeh of Sennacherib to Hezekiah, when demanding the surrender of Jerusalem, with Gozan and Haran, and the children of Eden which were in Telassar. The district in which this town was situated belonged, for several centuries, to Assyria, and its name occurs, as was to be expected, many times in the Assyrian records, generally under the form *Raṣappa* (also *Raṣapa* and *Raṣapi*). The site is now represented by *Ruṣâfa*, between Palmyra and the Euphrates, and is thought to be the Ῥησάφα of Ptolemy (v. 15). The earliest mention of the place in the Assyrian records is in the Eponym Canon, where we learn that Ninip-kibsi-uṣur was the prefect in B.C. 839. From B.C. 804 to 774, the prefect was Igi-guba-êreš, or Ninip-êreš, who, judging from the length of his term, and the fact that he was twice eponym, must have enjoyed the confidence of his superiors to an unusual degree. Other prefects mentioned as having held the office of eponym were Sin-šallim-anni in 747, and Bêl-êmur-anni in B.C. 737. As all the above-named prefects of Rezeph have Assyrian names, it is very probable that they were, without exception, Assyrians. The tablet K 9921, however, mentions a governor (*bêl piḫati*) named Abda',* who seems to bear a native name, and probably held office at a later date than the eponyms whose names are given by the Assyrian Canon. The district was an important trade-centre in ancient times, as the tablets and lists from Nineveh show.

LITERATURE.—Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 297; Schrader in Riehm, *HWB*, *s.v.*, *COT* ii. 11. T. G. PINCHES.

REZIN (רְצִין).—No doubt the name was originally spelled רצוֹן, *i.e.* *Rezon* or *Razon*. The LXX Ῥαασσών (in Kings, but in Isaiah Ῥασεὶν or Ῥασὶν disputes the place) points to the *o* sound; so does the Assyrian *Ra-ṣun-nu* and the Pesh. ܪܨܘܢ.

1. From 2 K 16^5 and Is 7$^{1-9}$ we learn that Rezin, king of Damascus, and PEKAH, king of Israel, planned an attack on Judah. This was in the year B.C. 734. Damascus and Israel were vassal States, subject to the suzerainty of Assyria. In III Raw. 9, No. 3, Tiglath-pileser (see Winckler, *Keilinsch. Textb.* p. 17) enumerates the articles paid him in tribute by *Ra-ṣun-nu* of Damascus and Menaḥem of Samaria. The two tributaries were now anxious to throw off the yoke. Naturally they sought to enlist the aid of their neighbour Judah, which, for all that appears, was at this time nominally independent of the great king. Meeting with a refusal, the confederates moved forwards against Ahaz. We have no reliable information as to the earlier events of the campaign. The assertion in 2 K 16^6 that Rezin 'recovered Elath to Syria, and drove the Jews from Elath; and the Syrians came to Elath and dwelt there unto this day,' is obviously an error. The Syrians had nothing to do with that district, which came rather within the sphere of Edom. The original אדום (Edom) of the text has been corrupted into ארם (Aram), ארומים (Edomites) into ארמים (Aramæans, Syrians), and when once this was done the inser-

---

* Probably there should be a vowel at the end ('*Abda'u*, or, perhaps, *Abda'i*). Cf. עַבְדָּא and its variant עַבְדִיָּה.

tion of the king's name, Rezin, easily followed. It should be noted that according to 2 Ch 26[17] the Edomites were actively hostile to Ahaz. All, then, that we really know of the beginning of the campaign is that the two kings, of whom Rezin was the more active and powerful, advanced with their troops against Jerusalem and besieged it. Isaiah endeavoured to allay the intense alarm which this caused amongst the citizens, but his efforts did not meet with much success. Ahaz, at all events, put more confidence in foreign intervention than in the prophet's assurance of Divine protection. He 'took the silver and the gold that was found in the house of the LORD, and in the treasures of the king's house, and sent it for a present,' *i.e.* as tribute, to Tiglath-pileser, entreating his immediate help. The Assyrian was only too delighted with the pretext for interference. His approach was the signal for the murder of Pekah by his own subjects (2 K 15[30]), who then accepted the great king's nominee, HOSHEA, as their sovereign: 'I took the land of Bit-Chumria [Beth-Omri] . . . the whole of its people. I carried away their possessions to Assyria. Pekah their king did they dethrone, and I set Hoshea to rule over them' (III Raw. 10, No. 2, in Winckler). Turning against Damascus, he encountered a more determined resistance. 2 K 16[9] states that he 'took it, and carried the people of it captive to Kir, and slew Rezin.' But the Assyrian monarch himself informs us that the siege lasted more than a year. It ended in B.C. 732. Schrader (*COT* i. 257) says that Rawlinson found the slaying of Rezin mentioned on a block, which was unfortunately left behind in Asia and has since disappeared.

Winckler (*Alttest. Untersuch.* pp. 74, 75) identifies 'the son of Ṭabeel' (Is 7[6]) with Rezin. He explains Ṭabeel (*Ṭâb-El*) as meaning 'El is wise,' and argues from the equivalent name *Eliada* (1 K 11[23]) and from the *Ṭab-rimmon* of 1 K 15[18] that such a name as *Ṭâb-El* was not uncommon amongst the kings of this dynasty. And since 'the son of Remaliah' in Is 7[6] means Pekah, he holds that 'the son of Ṭâb-El' in Is 7[7] means Rezin. Damascus, too, being the predominant partner, the chief profit of the expedition would fall to its king. The series of Damascene kings, therefore, according to him is as follows:—

Circa 950 B.C.	Rezon.
From about 885–844	Bir-'idri, the Ben-hadad of the Bible.
From 844 to about 804 (?)	Hazael.
804 (?)–744 (?)	Mari'—in the Bible, Ben-hadad.
743 (?)–?	Tâb-El.
?–732	Rezin.

But the identification on which this depends is precarious. Obviously the periphrasis, 'the son of Remaliah,' is intended to be contemptuous. It recalls the fact that Pekah was a usurper, entirely unconnected with the royal family. Probably, then, 'the son of Ṭâb-El' is also a scornful title, hurled at one who was a mere puppet in the hands of the two kings. If Ṭâb-El had been a king of Damascus, it would have been no derogation to Rezin's dignity to be entitled his son.

2. In Ezr 2[48] = Neh 7[50] 'the children of Rezin' (בְּנֵי רְצִין) are mentioned amongst the Nethinim. The LXX has *υἱοὶ* Ῥασών: the *υἱοὶ Δαισάν* of 1 Es 5[31] is evidently a mere scribe's error, resulting from the common confusion of ד and ר. Guthe, in Kautzsch's *Apokr.*, unhesitatingly restores the 'Rezin' in this passage. J. TAYLOR.

REZON (רְזוֹן 'prince'), son of Eliada, was one of the generals of that Hadadezer, king of Zobah, whom David overthrew (2 S 8[3ff.]). Falling into disfavour with his master, as David had done with Saul, he fled from him. A band of freebooters attached themselves to his standard; and, beginning in this feeble fashion, he eventually became strong enough to seize Damascus, where he founded a dynasty. During his own lifetime he proved a thorn in the side of Solomon (1 K 11[25]), and the kings who traced their descent from him were amongst the most persistent and troublesome of Israel's adversaries.

The question has been raised whether *Rezon* is the correct name. LXX A, it is true, supports that form with Ῥαζών; but B has Ἐσρώμ 1 K 11[14(23)], which apparently corresponds to חֶצְרוֹן, to which also the Pesh. ܚܙܪܘܢ may point. Moreover, the חֶזְיוֹן of 1 K 15[18] seems to occupy much the same position in the genealogy as the רְזוֹן of 1 K 11[23]. Hence the conjecture that חֶזְרוֹן (*Hezron*) should be substituted for the רְזוֹן (*Rezon*) and the חֶזְיוֹן (*Hezion*) of these two passages respectively. On the other hand, it must be remembered that the Greek for חֶזְרוֹן would most likely have been Ἐζρώμ rather than Ἐσ.; cf. Ἀζεὶν for חֶזְיוֹן and Ῥασεὶν for רְצִין. The three kings, Hezron (our *Rezon*), Tab-rimmon, and Ben-hadad, must also have enjoyed very long reigns if they occupied the entire interval from David to Asa. In the absence, therefore, of absolutely conclusive evidence, we are not at liberty to alter the form of the name or to assume the identity of Rezon and Hezion.

The integrity of the text and the reliableness of the statements in 1 K 11[23-25], the only passage where this prince is named, are also disputed. Internal evidence, coupled with the fact that LXX (B, Luc.) omit the words, proves that 'when David slew them of Zobah' is no part of the original text. Kittel (*Hist. of the Hebrews*, ii. 53) points out that even in the MT it looks as though vv.[23-25a] had been interpolated between v.[22] and v.[25b], and that in the LXX (B, Luc.) the whole episode is connected with v.[14]. But the connexion with v.[14] is as unsuitable as that with v.[22]. In either case it interrupts the Hadad narrative, and gives the impression of a gloss. This, however, is not to say that it is unhistorical. J. TAYLOR.

RHEGIUM (Ῥήγιον), the modern Reggio, was an important and ancient Greek colony near the south-western extremity of Italy, and close to the narrowest point of the straits separating that country from Sicily, opposite Messana (Messina) and about 6 to 7 miles distant from it. It was a much more important place in the ancient system of coasting navigation than it is in modern times. The whirlpool of Charybdis near Messana, and the rock of Scylla some miles from Rhegium round the promontory north of the town, were reckoned much more dangerous then; and ships had often to lie at Rhegium waiting for a suitable wind, and avoiding the currents which in certain circumstances run very strong in the straits. Hence the Dioscuri, the patrons and protectors of sailors, were much worshipped at Rhegium, and are represented on its coins: the mariners of the ships that put in at Rhegium would often make or discharge their vows to the 'Twin Gods' in the town.

Rhegium occupied not merely an important but also a dangerous and exposed situation. A great city in the 6th and 5th cents. B.C., it was totally destroyed, and its inhabitants sold as slaves, by Dionysius of Syracuse in 387. Again in 280-270 it was destroyed. Campanian troops, received as a garrison into the city, murdered the male population and made themselves masters of the place, till they were captured and exterminated by a Roman army, and the town was given back to the scanty remnant of its former population. Henceforth it was in alliance with Rome as a *civitas* *fœderata.* After this it is mentioned only incidentally amid the Roman wars. It narrowly escaped the forfeiture of its territory to the soldiers of the triumvirs after the battle of Philippi, being spared by Augustus probably from a desire to keep at this important harbour a population accustomed to navigation and friendly to himself; and in the Sicilian War (B.C. 38–36) it rendered good service both to his fleet and his army, and was rewarded with the title of Julium Rhegium and an increase of population (with other accompanying advantages). Strabo mentions it as a flourishing town about A.D. 20. It presented a curious mixture of Greek and Roman population and life, shown in its mixed Greek and Latin inscriptions. It was the terminus of one of the great Roman roads, a branch of the Appian Way, diverging from it at Capua, built probably by the prætor Popilius in B.C. 134 and called Via Popilia. The actual point of crossing to Sicily was at the *Columna* or *Statua*, 6 miles or more north of Rhegium.

The ship in which St. Paul sailed from Malta to Puteoli, the 'Dioscuri'[*] (a name of good omen), lay for a day in the harbour of Rhegium, waiting till a south wind arose, which carried it to Puteoli on the morrow after it sailed (δευτεραῖοι). Probably some of the sailors on the 'Dioscuri' took the opportunity of thanking the Twin Gods in the city for their successful voyage at that early season of the year, and praying for equal luck to their destination. The manœuvre by which the ship reached Rhegium seems quite clear; and yet has caused much trouble and variety of opinion. The ship must have had a favourable wind from Malta, otherwise it would not have attempted the crossing over the open sea so early in the year. This wind carried it to Syracuse, but there it had to lie for three days, which proves that the wind had shifted and was then against it. It then sailed to Rhegium; and, as it had to wait in Rhegium till a south wind set in, the wind with which it reached Rhegium cannot have been south. The expression περιελθόντες, which Luke uses, shows that the wind was so far unfavourable that the ship could not run a straight course (εὐθυδρομεῖν, Ac 16^{11} 21^{1}), but had to tack, running out north-eastwards towards Italy and then back to the Sicilian coast. This is the explanation of a practical yachtsman, James Smith, in his *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul.* The explanation of περιελθόντες as 'sailing round the Sicilian coast' seems certainly wrong. The reading περιελόντες in ℵ* B seems to be a corruption, accepted through failure to understand the true text; it can hardly be rendered 'weighing anchor' (which is the suggested rendering), for in Ac 27^{40} it has an accusative following it in that sense, as Blass points out; moreover, it is of great consequence in Ac 27^{40} to give that information (see Smith, *op. cit.*, on the passage), but here it is unnecessary. W. M. RAMSAY.

RHEIMS VERSION.—See VERSIONS.

RHESA (Ῥησά).—A son of Zerubbabel, Lk 3^{27}.

RHODA (Ῥόδη).—The name means 'Rose.' When St. Peter was miraculously released from prison he went to the house of Mary the mother of Mark. A damsel (παιδίσκη) of the name of Rhoda came to the door, but opened not the gate for gladness, and ran in and told how Peter stood before the gate. She was accused of being mad, but persisted in her statement (Ac 12^{13-15}). Nothing further is known of her. The name is fairly common both in literature and inscriptions, and was often given to slave girls. A. C. HEADLAM.

RHODES (Ῥόδος) ranks among the most brilliant of the many brilliant cities of ancient Greece. The city was founded in B.C. 408, at the extreme north-eastern point of the island of Rhodes, when the three ancient cities, Lindus, Camirus, and Ialysus, were concentrated in the new foundation. It enjoyed an admirable situation and a splendid climate. The commercial aptitude of the population knew how to use its advantages by wise laws and just dealings with their competitors and allies in the trade of the eastern Mediterranean. Rhodes was at its highest pitch of power in the 2nd cent. B.C., having been made mistress of great part of Caria and Lycia in the settlement of 189, after the defeat and expulsion from Asia Minor of Antiochus and the Seleucid power. The city was, however, too powerful to suit the Roman policy. In B.C. 166 the Carian and Lycian cities were declared independent by Rome; and another blow was struck at Rhodian commercial supremacy by making DELOS a free port in the same year. The result of these disasters is to be observed in the diminution and alteration of Rhodian coinage about that time. But Rhodes continued to maintain its commerce. It was relieved of Delian competition by the great massacre of the Romans in Delos by Mithridates in B.C. 87; and by continuing loyal to Rome in that critical time, when almost every other Greek city joined Mithridates, it recovered favour and was permitted to regain part of its Carian possessions. In the Roman civil wars Rhodes from B.C. 47 to 43 supported the cause of Cæsar, and suffered severely in consequence. C. Cassius captured the city in 43, and exacted 4500 talents from its people; and another Cassius in 42 burned all the Rhodian ships except thirty, which he manned with crews of his own and took away. Rhodes henceforth was a city devoid of real power; and it sank practically into a common provincial town of the Roman empire, though it ranked as a free city under the early emperors (except for a short time under Claudius, who took away its freedom and afterwards restored it again). Yet Strabo mentions (p. 652) that it was the most splendid city known to him in respect of harbours, streets, walls, and other equipment. Such was its condition in the time of St. Paul. Shortly afterwards Vespasian made it a part of the province Lycia.

Rhodes is mentioned in the NT only as a point where St. Paul touched on his voyage from Troas to Cæsarea, Ac 21^{1}. The route along the coast between the ports of the province Asia on the one side and those of Syria or Egypt on the other, was probably the most frequented seaway in the whole of the Mediterranean. The voyage was marked by a number of stopping-points,—Cos, Patara, etc.,—where the ordinary ships engaged in the trade called as a matter of course; and these are mentioned in Ac 20 and 21, with the exception of MYRA (which is given in the Western Text only). Rhodes was one of them; and the ship on which St. Paul and the whole body of delegates were sailing touched there between Cos and Patara. This is all in the customary form. Hundreds of ships did the same every year. An excellent illustration is supplied by the voyage of Herod, about B.C. 14, from Palestine by Rhodes, Cos, Chios, and Mitylene, to Byzantium and Sinope (see Jos. *Ant.* XVI. ii. 2).

Rhodes was also, beyond all doubt, one of the ports of call on the voyage from Alexandria to

---

[*] Luke saw or heard the ship (a Roman imperial vessel) called by its Latin name *parasemo Geminis* or *Castoribus* (compare the inscription *CIL* iii. No. 3, *navis parasemo Isopharia*, *i.e.* whose sign was the Pharian Isis) in the Greek translation παρασήμῳ Διοσκούροις (where the dative represents the Latin ablat. absol., as in *consule Cicerone*, ὑπάτῳ Κικέρωνι); and the formula remains in his text to puzzle those commentators who study only literary Greek and neglect technical language.

Puteoli or to Ostia. It is, indeed, not mentioned in the voyages of that class described under MYRA, but none of those narratives gives a list of harbours, and we may assume with confidence that in each case Rhodes was a port where the ship called (unless in exceptional circumstances). That is proved by the voyage of Vespasian from Alexandria to Rome in A.D. 70, which was by way of the Lycian coast and Rhodes, as is seen by comparing Dion Cassius, lxvi. 8, with Zonaras, xi. 17, and Jos. *BJ* VII. ii. 1. The voyage of Herod the Great in B.C. 40 from Alexandria to Rome by Pamphylia and Rhodes is also a good illustration.* Herod evidently passed east and north of Cyprus, like the ship in Ac 27^{1-4}; but it was the stormy season, and the over-sea voyage, common in the summer season, could not then be risked: see MYRA, where these two voyages may be added to the examples quoted.

Rhodes is also mentioned in 1 Mac 15^{23} among the States to which the Romans sent letters on behalf of the Jews about B.C. 138 (see PHASELIS, LYCIA, DELOS, etc.). Only self-governing free States were thus addressed; and Rhodes, as almost the greatest maritime State of the eastern Mediterranean, was of course included. The ships carrying Jews from the west and from the Ægean coasts and cities to and from Jerusalem, for the Passover, would all, as we have seen, call in ordinary course at Rhodes. Such ships are implied in Ac 18^{18-22} 20^{3}. It may be taken as practically certain that in a great commercial centre like Rhodes there would be Jews resident; but hardly any memorial of them has been preserved.

In Ezk 27^{15} the Septuagint reads 'Sons of the Rhodians were thy merchants'; where AV and RV have 'The men of Dedan were thy merchants' (traffickers, RV). There can be little doubt that the Septuagint text in this passage is a change made by translators in the 3rd cent. B.C., who had no knowledge of the desert carrier tribe Dedan, but were familiar with the Rhodians as the greatest merchants of their time in the Levant (see DEDAN). In Gn 10^{4} and in 1 Ch 1^{7}, also, the Septuagint text has 'Rhodians' (Ῥόδιοι) as the fourth of the sons of Javan; but RV, following the Hebrew text, has Dodanim in the former place and Rodanim in the latter (AV Dodanim in both places). Among the sons of Javan, Rhodes, which was inhabited by Greeks (though by Dorians, not Ionians; see DODANIM), would be quite suitable; and the Septuagint text is accepted by most moderns in those two places.

The island of Rhodes is about 43 miles long from N.E. to S.W. by 20 miles where the breadth is greatest; its nearest point is about 12 miles from the mainland. The famous *colossus* was a statue of the sun-god, 105 feet in height, which stood at the harbour entrance. It was erected to commemorate the success of the Rhodians in withstanding the siege by Demetrius Poliorcetes in B.C. 280; but it fell during an earthquake in 224, and the fragments remained lying, shown as a curiosity till A.D. 672, when the Arab general who conquered Rhodes is said to have sold them to a Jew of Emesa. The island was soon afterwards reconquered by the Byzantine arms, and remained in Christian hands for many centuries. The most interesting and glorious period of Rhodian history in many respects began in 1310, when the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem took the city from the Byzantine empire, and founded a State, including several of the neighbouring small islands and some towns on the mainland, especially Halicarnassus and Smyrna (the latter being taken in 1345, and held till 1403). The Knights of Rhodes were engaged in ceaseless warfare with the Turks. The city, which was very strongly fortified by the Knights, was besieged unsuccessfully in 1440, 1444, and 1480; but at last, in 1522, the Knights surrendered on honourable terms to Sultan Suleiman, and retired to Crete, then to Sicily, and finally to Malta. The modern town of Rhodes is full of memorials of the time of the Knights, and contains hardly any apparent traces of its older history. Its harbours have been allowed to become choked with sand, and its trade is quite insignificant.

W. M. RAMSAY.

RHODOCUS (Ῥόδοκος).—A Jew who betrayed the secrets of his countrymen to Antiochus Eupator. He was detected and imprisoned, 2 Mac 13^{21}.

RIBAI (רִיבַי; LXX in 2 S Ῥειβά, in 1 Ch B Ῥεβιέ, A Ῥηβαί, ℵ Ῥαβειαί).—The father of Ittai (1 Ch Ithai) the Benjamite, one of David's thirty heroes (2 S 23^{29}=1 Ch 11^{31}).

RIBLAH.—1. (רִבְלָה, once, Jer 52^{10}, רִבְלָתָה; LXX 2 K 25^{21} Ῥεβλαθά, elsewhere Δεβλαθά, and other corrupt forms).—The name of a place in the 'land of Ḥamath,' now *Ribleh*, in the Beḳā'a, or broad vale between the two ranges of Lebanon and Hermon, on the right bank of the Orontes, about 100 miles N.N.E. of Dan, 65 miles N. of Damascus, and 50 miles S.S.W. of HAMATH (which see). It was at Riblah that Pharaoh-necoh, three months after his defeat of Josiah at Megiddo (B.C. 608), in some way obtained the presence of his successor, Jehoaḥaz, and threw him into chains that he might no longer reign in Jerusalem (2 K 23^{33}). Riblah is also mentioned as the place which, at the close of the siege of Jerusalem (B.C. 586), was Nebuchadnezzar's headquarters, and to which Zedekiah, and other prisoners taken out of the captured city, were brought for punishment (2 K $25^{6f.}$= Jer $39^{5.6}$=Jer $52^{9f.}$; 2 K $25^{20.21}$=Jer $52^{26.27}$). Riblah is now nothing more than a 'miserable' village of 40–50 houses (Rob. *BRP* iii. 543); but Robinson (*ib.* p. 545) points out how, from its situation, on the banks of a mountain stream, and in the middle of a vast and fertile plain, and also on the great road leading from Egypt and Palestine to Babylon, it was a suitable resting-place, whether for the army of Necoh, who had designs on Babylon, or for Nebuch., while watching the operations that were taking place in Judah. See, further, on the modern Ribleh, Sachau, *Reise in Syrien* (1883), 55–57. 'Riblah' is likewise read by most modern scholars (Ges., Ew., Smend, Cornill, etc.), with 4 MSS, in Ezk 6^{14} for 'Diblath' (מִמִּדְבַּר רִבְלָתָה): 'I will make the land desolate from the wilderness (on the S. of Judah) to Riblah (in the far North),' the expression being regarded as a designation of the whole extent of Palestine, to its ideal limits, and Riblah being perhaps mentioned instead of the usual 'entering in of Ḥamath' (Nu 34^{8}, 2 K 14^{25}, Am 6^{14}, Ezk 47^{20} *al.*), on account of its having become prominent at the time (B.C. 592—see Ezk 1^{2}). If the 'approach to Ḥamath' is rightly placed at the *N.* end of the broad vale between Lebanon and Anti-Libanus, where, as the traveller from the S. approaches Riblah, he finds himself entering a new district, and sees the country towards Ḥamath open out before him (see esp. van de Velde, *Narrative*, 1854, ii. 470; and cf. Rob. *BRP* iii. 568; Moore, *Judges*, 80, 82; also Jos 13^{5},* Jg 3^{3}), this reading will be quite natural. Other scholars, however, doubt whether the Isr. territory can ever have been regarded as extending as far as the N.

---

* Jos. *Ant.* XIV. xiv. 2 f.; *BJ* I. xiv. 3.

* Which implies that the 'approach to Ḥamath' was at some distance from a place at the foot of Mount Hermon. The opinion (Rob. iii. 569; HAMATH, vol. ii. p. 290^{a}) that the expression denoted the approach to Ḥamath, not from the S., but from the *West*, is hardly probable (cf. Keil on Nu 34^{8}).

end of Lebanon, and think the 'approach to Ḥamath' must be supposed to have denoted, somewhat vaguely, a more S. part of the vale of Cœle-Syria (Keil and Dillm. on Nu 34^{8}; Buhl, *Geogr.* 66, 110; notice Reḥōb in Nu 13^{21}): in this case Riblah is certainly a more N. point than would be expected; on the other hand, if the reading be not adopted, Diblath (RV 'Diblah') must be the name of a place otherwise unknown, which is hardly likely in such a connexion.

2. Nu 34^{11} (הָרִבְלָה, with the art.: LXX *ἀπὸ Σεπφαμαρ Βηλα* for מִשְּׁפָם הָרִבְלָה). One of the places mentioned on the (in parts) obscurely-defined ideal borders of the promised land, Nu 34^{1-15}. It is described as being on the E. border, somewhere between Ḥaẓar-ʿēnān—which (Ezk 47^{17} 48^{1}) was on the 'border' of the territory of Damascus, and was to be (Nu $34^{9.10}$) at the N.E. corner of Israel's territory—and the Sea of Chinnereth (*i.e.* the Sea of Galilee). There is difficulty in determining the site; for the places mentioned on the N. border of Israel, in both Nu 34^{7-9} and Ezk 47^{15-17}, are very uncertain; and while some scholars (Robinson, Knob., Conder) think that this border may be drawn (approximately) across the *N.* extremity of Lebanon (Ḥaẓar-ʿēnān being then situated at one of the sources of the Orontes—either [Keil] the spring of Lebweh, 22 m. S.W. of Riblah 1 [Rob. iii. 532], or [Conder, *Heth and Moab*^{3}, 8, 11 f.] ʿAin el-ʿAsy, 11 m. S.W. of Riblah 1), others (Buhl, 66 f.; cf. RIBLAH 1) consider this to be too far N., and think that it should be drawn across the *S.* extremity of Lebanon (Ḥaẓar-ʿēnān being then either Bâniâs itself, or el-Ḥadr, 9 m. E. of it).* The Riblah of Nu 34^{11} is, however, some place between Ḥaẓar-ʿēnān and the Sea of Galilee; so that upon none of these suppositions can it be identical with Riblah 1 (which is to the N. even of ʿAin el-ʿAsy). No Riblah in a suitable situation seems at present to be known. The suggestion (Wetzst.; see Dillm.) to read (after LXX) 'to Harbel' (הַרְבֵּלָה) for 'to Riblah,' and to identify Harbel with Harmel (or Hörmül), a place about 8 miles S.W. of Riblah (see Sachau's map, or the one in Bäd., Route 31), does not really lessen the difficulty of the verse.

S. R. DRIVER.

RICHES.—See WEALTH.

RID.—The original meaning of 'rid' is to *rescue* (Anglo-Sax. *hreddan*, cf. Dutch *redden* and Germ. *retten*), and this is its meaning in five of its six AV occurrences (Gn 37^{22}, Ex 6^{6}, Lv 26^{6}, Ps 82^{4} $144^{7.11}$). Cf. Gn 37^{22} Tind. 'When Reuben herde that, he went aboute to ryd him out of their handes and sayde, let us not kyll him'; Tind. *Expos.* 77, 'Because we be ever in such peril and cumbrance that we cannot rid ourselves out, we must daily and hourly cry to God for aid and succour'; Jer 15^{21} Cov. 'And I will ryd the out of the hondes of the wicked, and delyver the out of the honde of Tirauntes.' In the remaining passage the meaning is *clear out, drive out*, Lv 26^{6} 'I will rid evil beasts out of the land' (RV 'cause evil beasts to cease out of the land'), which is the modern meaning. The process by which the word thus practically reversed its meaning (from *rescue* to *destroy*) may be illustrated from Spenser, *FQ* I. i. 36—

> 'Unto their lodgings then his guestes he riddes,'

where the meaning is neutral, *removes*. Cf. also Lv 14^{36} Cov. 'The preast shall commaunde them to ryd all thinge out of the housse,' and Udall, *Erasmus' Paraph.* i. 52, 'With these men the Pharisees consulted by what meanes they might ridde Jesus out of the waye.' J. HASTINGS.

RIDDLE (חִידָה, from root חוד [*Oxf. Heb. Lex.* compares Arab. حَادَ 'decline, turn aside, avoid,' hence perhaps *riddle* as *indirect*, obscure]; verb denom. חוּד 'to propose an enigma'; חוּד חִידָה 'to put forth a riddle,' Ezk 17^{2}: LXX *αἴνιγμα, πρόβλημα*; Vulg. *enigma, problema, propositio*) is closely related in the OT to the PROVERB (מָשָׁל), which for the most part is represented in the LXX by *παραβολή*—PARABLE. It has been suggested, indeed (Oort in Cheyne's *Job and Solomon*, p. 127), that some of the proverbs were originally current among the people as riddles, such as 'What is worse than meeting a bear? Meeting a fool in his folly' (Pr 17^{12}); 'What is sweet at first, and then like gravel in the mouth? Bread of falsehood' (Pr 20^{17}). Like the proverb or the parable or the allegory, the riddle served a more serious and didactic purpose than we usually associate with the word. The didactic usage is found throughout the whole of the OT. It is seen in Nu 12^{8}, where Jehovah chides Aaron and Miriam for their opposition to Moses, and says to the honour of the great Lawgiver, 'Mouth to mouth speak I to him, plainly and not in *riddles*' (בְּחִידֹת). In Ps 49^{4} the Psalmist says, 'I will incline mine ear to a parable (לְמָשָׁל): I will propound my riddle (חִידָתִי) upon the harp,' and the subject of the psalm—the transitoriness of godless prosperity and the blessedness of a hope in God—justifies his application of the words. In Ps 78^{2} the same didactic purpose is manifest. The Psalmist proposes to set forth the early history of Israel in parable and riddle for the instruction of his own age and time: 'I will open my mouth in a parable (בְמָשָׁל): I will utter riddles (חִידוֹת) from the olden time.' This parabolic use of the history of Israel by the Psalmist is taken by the evangelist (Mt $13^{34.35}$) as justifying the employment of parables by Jesus to set forth the kingdom of heaven: 'All these things spake Jesus in parables to the multitudes, that the word might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet saying, "I will open my mouth in parables: I will declare things hidden from the foundation of the world,"' which last words are a variation from the LXX 'riddles from the beginning' (*προβλήματα ἀπ' ἀρχῆς*). This didactic purpose attributed to the riddle is well illustrated in Pr 1^{6} by its association with words of like purport: 'To understand a parable (מָשָׁל), and an obscure saying (מְלִיצָה), the sayings (דִּבְרֵים) of the wise and their riddles (חִידֹת).' In the Wisdom books of the Apocrypha it is perhaps natural to find examples of the didactic usage. In Wis 8^{8} it is said in praise of Wisdom: 'She understandeth subtleties of speeches and interpretations of riddles' (*στροφὰς λόγων καὶ λύσεις αἰνιγμάτων*); in Sir $39^{2.8}$ it is said of the man who meditates in the law of the Most High, 'He will keep the discourse of the men of renown, and will enter in amid the subtleties of parables (*ἐν στροφαῖς παραβολῶν*). He will seek out the hidden meaning of proverbs (*ἀπόκρυφα παροιμιῶν*), and be conversant in the riddles of parables' (*ἐν αἰνίγμασι παραβολῶν*), these last words being inverted in 47^{15}, where Solomon is apostrophized as filling the earth with 'parables of *riddles*' (*ἐν παραβολαῖς αἰνιγμάτων*). The association of the *riddle* with the *parable* is found in Ezk 17^{2}, where the prophet is commanded 'to put forth a riddle (חוּד חִידָה), and utter a parable' (מְשֹׁל מָשָׁל, LXX *παραβολήν*),—the saying being called a riddle because it requires interpretation, and a parable because of the comparison it contains of the kings of Babylon and Egypt to two great eagles, and of their treatment of Israel to the cropping of the cedar of Lebanon. There are still two occurrences of the word 'riddle' in the Prophets, where it is not so easy to say whether the didactic or the more special usage is exemplified

---

* Dillm. and Keil adopt intermediate views. Dillm. (p. 213) would not draw it N. of the present road from Bêrût to Damascus; Keil takes it as far N. as Lebweh.

In Dn 8^{23} the king of fierce countenance that is to arise, by whom Antiochus Epiphanes is meant, is credited with the gift of 'understanding riddles' (מֵבִין חִידוֹת); and in Hab 2^{6} the prophet, speaking of the proud and ambitious man who seeks to make nations and peoples his own, asks, 'Shall not all these take up a parable (מָשָׁל), and an obscure saying (מְלִיצָה), riddles (חִידוֹת), against him?'

The riddle in the more special sense of a puzzle to sharpen the wits, or a paradoxical question to stimulate interest, is found in the OT, and bulks largely in the Talmud and later Jewish literature. With riddles the Jews have been wont from an early period in their history to display their intellectual ingenuity, or test the wisdom of the learned, or entertain festive occasions and hours of leisure. Deutsch (*Literary Remains*, p. 47), speaking of the Haggadah of the Talmud, refers to the *Pilgrim's Progress*, and says that Bunyan in his account of his own book unknowingly describes the Haggadah as accurately as can be—

> 'Would'st thou divert thyself from melancholy?
> Would'st thou be pleasant, yet be far from folly?
> Would'st thou read *riddles* and their explanation?
> Or else be drowned in contemplation?
> . . . . . . O then come hither
> And lay this book, thy head and heart together.'

The riddle is not, however, confined to Jewish literature. The riddle of the Sphinx is familiar from classical antiquity. It was a riddle that Tarquin the Proud acted when by striking off with a staff the heads of the tallest poppies in his garden he gave Sextus the hint to put out of the way the chief citizens of captured Gabii. The riddle as an amusement at feasts and on convivial occasions among the Greeks and Romans is mentioned in the pages of Athenæus and Aulus Gellius. (See Bochart, *Hierozoïcon*, iii. 384).

It was at his wedding feast that Samson proposed the terms of his famous riddle (Jg 14). He gave his Philistine friends seven days to find it out, promising if they should be successful thirty fine linen wrappers and thirty gala dresses (v.^{12}; Moore's *Commentary*, p. 335), and requiring from them the same if they should be unsuccessful. They accepted the terms, and Samson propounded his riddle—'Out of the eater came something to eat, and out of the strong came something sweet?' How far a riddle was fair, the solution of which required a knowledge of incidents so special as Samson's encounter with the lion and its sequel, need not be discussed. Their deceit and the treachery of his wife put the Philistines in possession of the secret. 'What,' they asked, 'is sweeter than honey, and what is stronger than a lion?' At once he saw he had been duped, and in a satirical vein he exclaimed, employing still the language of riddles: 'If ye had not ploughed with my heifer, ye had not found out my riddle.'

Solomon with his high repute for wisdom in other things is credited also with skill in the solution of riddles. The Queen of Sheba on her visit to Jerusalem proved him with riddles (1 K 10^{1} = 2 Ch 9^{1}). And Solomon 'told her all her questions, there was not anything hid from the king which he told her not' (1 K 10^{3} = 2 Ch 9^{2}). Josephus tells a similar tale of Hiram king of Tyre. Solomon and Hiram were on the most friendly terms. 'What cemented the friendship between them,' says Jos. (*Ant.* VIII. v. 3), 'was the passion both had for wisdom; for they sent riddles (προβλήματα) to one another, with a desire to have them solved; and in these Solomon was superior to Hiram, as he was wiser in all other respects.' In another passage of his writings the Jewish historian (*c. Apion.* i. 18. 17), records the testimony of Dius the historian of the Phœnicians, who says that Solomon when he was king at Jerusalem sent riddles (αἰνίγματα) for Hiram to guess, and desired that he would send others back for him to find out, the condition being that he who failed should pay a fine to him who was successful. And as Hiram was unsuccessful, he had a large amount to pay. At length he found a man of Tyre, Abdemon by name, who was able to guess the riddles proposed by Solomon, and himself propounded others which Solomon could not solve, thus recovering for his sovereign the money he had lost. None of these riddles have survived, and therefore we have no means of estimating their character as hard questions.

There are to be found, however, in the Proverbs bearing the name of Solomon, sayings that appear to be of the nature of riddles. The riddle of the insatiable things is one of these (Pr $30^{15.16}$). 'The horse-leech (but see art. HORSE-LEECH) hath two daughters, crying, Give, give. There are three things that are never satisfied, yea, four things say not, It is enough.' What are these? And the answer is, 'The grave, and the barren womb, the earth that is not filled with water, and the fire that saith not, It is enough.' This is followed by the riddles of the four mysterious things (Pr 30^{18-20}), of the four intolerable things (Pr 30^{21-23}), of the four little wise things (30^{24-28}), and of the four stately things (30^{29-31}). Riddle and interpretation alike exhibit precise observation of nature, and convey at the same time moral instruction.

To the riddles of the OT fall, perhaps, to be added the words of the mysterious writing on the wall on the night of Belshazzar's feast (Dn 5^{25-28}), MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN (which see). The inscription is to be read according to recent authorities, 'A mina, a mina, a shekel and half minas.' Vv.$^{26-28}$, says Bevan (*The Book of Daniel*, p. 106), are plays upon the words of the inscription; in v.^{28} the play is a double one. *Mina*—God hath *numbered* thy kingdom and finished it. *Shekel*—thou hast been *weighed* in the balance and hast been found wanting. *Half mina*—thy kingdom hath been *divided* and given to the Medes and *Persians*.

The parable is one of the unique features of the teaching of Christ (παραβολή in the Synoptists; παροιμία in St. John), but the riddle, except in so far as the evangelist Matthew justifies instruction by parables with a reference to Ps 78^{2}, is not expressly mentioned. Only once in the NT is the riddle expressly named, and in that instance (1 Co 13^{12}) the mention of it is obscured in EV. The meaning is—'Now we see through a glass, in a riddle' (ἐν αἰνίγματι), in contrast to the direct vision of spiritual realities, 'face to face.' In the Revelation of St. John there is a riddle which remains an enigma in spite of all attempts to solve it: 'He that hath understanding let him count the number of the beast; for it is the number of a man, and his number is six hundred and sixty and six.' Following the method known among the Jews as *Gematria*, by which a number is obtained from the numerical values of the letters of a name, it has been found that the Hebrew transliteration of *Neron Cesar* yields a total of 666. Although adopted by many modern interpreters, this solution of the riddle has not attained general acceptance any more than others which have been proposed from a much earlier time (see Bengel, *Gnomon*, p. 1095 ff.; Milligan, Baird Lectures on *The Revelation of St. John*, p. 321 ff., and art. REVELATION [BOOK OF] above, p. 258). In the Talmud and Rabbinical literature there is no lack of riddles. In fact the Jews exhibit a *curiosa felicitas* in this department which is unique. 'A large number of famous sayings,' says Abrahams

(*Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, pp. 386, 387), 'are put in the form of riddles. Who is mighty? Who is a fool? Who is happy? A whole class of popular phrases in the Talmud and Midrash are nothing more nor less than folk-riddles, the chief exponents being women and children; but distinguished Rabbis also utilized this language of wisdom. Ethical works of the Middle Ages abound in philosophical riddles. Riddles found their way into the prayer-book for the Passover Eve. It goes without saying, therefore, that many Hebrew riddles of the Middle Ages were serious intellectual exercises.' To keep up attention and to stimulate interest while the intricate subtleties of the law are being expounded, such an assertion as this would be announced—'There was a woman in Egypt who brought forth at one birth "six hundred thousand men."' The interpretation follows: the woman was Jochebed, the mother of Moses, who was himself equal to the whole armed host of Israel who came out of Egypt. Talmudic lore records a story of Rabbi Jehuda, sage and saint, akin to that related of Tarquin the Proud. The emperor Antoninus Pius sent him a message to say the imperial exchequer was empty: how could it be replenished? The Rabbi took the messenger into the garden and tore up the big radishes and planted young ones in their place. He did the same with the turnips and the lettuces. The emperor understood the hint; he dismissed the old officials and put new in their place. Many of the riddles that thus delighted the Jewish fancy seem trivial enough. For example: 'The fish is roasted with his brother, is placed in his father, is eaten with his son, and thereafter is helped down with his father,' where his 'brother' is the salt which comes like himself from the sea, his 'father' is the water from which he is taken, and his 'son' the sauce in which he is served! Riddles whose solution depends upon the numerical values of the Hebrew letters are common. 'Take 30 from 30 and the remainder is 60.' The explanation is that 30=שְׁלֹשִׁים: remove ל, whose numerical value is 30, and the remainder is שִׁשִּׁים =60. The letters of the Hebrew alphabet have also a lingual meaning, and a good example of a riddle whose solution depends upon such a meaning is the following: 'There was a she-mule in my house: I opened the door and she became a heifer.' To be solved thus: From the Hebrew for 'she-mule' פִּרְדָּה take away the letter ד (Daleth=door) and there remains פָּרָה 'heifer.'

Plays upon words scarcely come under the scope of this article. They are found most abundantly in the Prophets and in the rhetorical passages of Job, but they occur also with considerable frequency in the Proverbs, and they are to be met with, though rarely, in the Psalms. In those plays upon proper names which are found in the etymological explanations of the name of the lawgiver of Israel (Ex 2^{10}; cf. Jos. *c. Apion.* i. 31), of the name of Samuel (1 S 1^{20}), and many more, the Talmud is said to be especially rich. (Upon 'Paronomasia in the OT,' see Casanowicz, *JBL* (1891), pp. 105–167).

LITERATURE.—For the usage of the Hebrew word חִידָה see *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*; Delitzsch, *Zur Geschichte der Jüdischen Poesie*; Cheyne, *Job and Solomon*; Toy, *Proverbs*. On Biblical and Talmudic riddles—Hamburger's *RE*; Löw, *Die Lebensalter*; Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*; Wünsche, *Die Räthselweissheit bei den Hebräern.* T. NICOL.

RIDICULOUS.—Only Sir 34^{18} 'He that sacrificeth of a thing wrongfully gotten, his offering is ridiculous.' The meaning is active, *derisive, mocking* (Gr. προσφορὰ μεμωκημένη, RV 'his offering is made in mockery'). Cf. Shaks. *Love's Labour's Lost*, iii. 78, 'The heaving of my lungs provokes me to ridiculous smiling.'

RIGHTEOUSNESS IN OT.—The idea of Righteousness is one of the most complex and difficult of the ruling ideas of the OT. The subject may be introduced by one or two statements of a general nature. (1) Righteousness in the OT is strictly a personal attribute. There are a few instances where the word is used of things, but these are undoubtedly secondary (see below, p. 274^{a}). So also are the cases where it is applied to a social aggregate like the people of Israel; these arise either through personification of the community, or through the virtues of representative individuals being conceived as leavening the mass. (2) The personal relations indicated by the term are of three kinds: forensic, ethical, and religious. Righteousness, *e.g.*, may denote (*a*) a forensic right, as when Judah says of Tamar, 'she *has been in the right* against me' (Gn 38^{26}); or (*b*) a moral state, as Gn 6^{9} 'Noah was a *righteous*, blameless man in his generation'; or (*c*) a direct relation between man and God, as in Gn 15^{6} 'Abraham believed J″, and he counted it to him for *righteousness*.' But under each of these heads the notion breaks up into a great variety of distinct applications, while the figurative extensions of (*a*) into the spheres of (*b*) and (*c*) create subtle distinctions which at times defy classification. (3) It may be remarked that the history of the idea in the OT exhibits a development in almost exactly the opposite direction to that observed in the case of Holiness. Holiness (which see) is primarily a religious term, which gradually acquires ethical content under the influence of the revelation of God as a Being of perfect moral purity. Righteousness, on the contrary, belongs in the first instance to the region of moral ideas, and becomes a technical term of religion by a process whose outlines can be traced in the OT.—It will be convenient in the present art. to treat the subject under three main divisions, corresponding broadly to three stages in this development; viz. (i.) The meanings of Righteousness in ordinary popular speech; (ii.) the conception of Righteousness in the pre-exilic prophets (Amos to Jeremiah); and (iii.) the theological developments of the idea, chiefly in exilic and post-exilic writings.

The Hebrew words expressing the idea of Righteousness are the following derivatives of the root צדק:—

1. The adj. צַדִּיק; LXX δίκαιος, etc.; EV 'righteous,' more rarely 'just,' etc.

2. The abstract nouns צְדָקָה and צֶדֶק, which appear to be practically interchangeable; LXX δικαιοσύνη, etc.; EV 'righteousness,' more rarely 'justice,' etc.

[The Aram. צִדְקָה appears in Dn 4^{24}].

The verbal forms are much less frequently used, viz.:—

3. The Qal צָדַק (22 times in MT); LXX δίκαιος εἶναι, δικαιοῦν (pass.), etc.; EV 'be righteous,' 'be justified,' 'be just,' etc.

4. The Hiphil הִצְדִּיק (12 times, always in a declarative sense except Is 53^{11}, Dn 12^{3}); LXX δικαιοῦν, etc.; EV 'justify,' etc.

5. The Piel צִדֵּק (5 times, with the sense 'make out to be in the right,' or 'make to appear in the right'); LXX δικαιοῦν, etc.; EV 'justify.'

6. The Hithpael (refl.) הִצְטַדֵּק (Gn 44^{16}); LXX δικαιοῦν (pass.); EV 'clear ourselves.'

7. The Niphal נִצְדַּק (Dn 8^{14}, of the Temple); LXX καθαρίζειν (pass.); EV 'be cleansed.'

The Greek and English terms given above represent only the prevalent usage of LXX and EV respectively. With regard to the latter, it may be said that the words 'righteous' and 'righteousness' cover approximately the uses of צדק in the OT. Out of some 520 instances where the Heb. root appears, about 400 are rendered in AV by 'righteous,' 'righteousness,' or 'righteously.' In over 100 cases 'just,' 'justice,' 'justify' are employed, sometimes appropriately enough, but at other times quite arbitrarily (cf. *e.g.* Gn 6^{9} with 7^{1}, or Am 2^{6} with 5^{12}). There are, besides, a few miscellaneous renderings, which it would serve no useful purpose to tabulate. On the other side, 'righteous' stands for יָשָׁר ('upright') in Nu 23^{10}, Job 4^{7} 23^{7}, Ps 107^{42}, Pr 2^{7} 3^{32} 14^{9} 15^{19} 28^{10} (similarly the adv. Ps 67^{4} 96^{10}). RV has rectified some of those anomalies: for instance, except in Nu 23^{10}, 'righteous,' etc., never are used except for some form of צדק. The usage of the LXX is marked by somewhat greater diversity, as was to be expected from the variety of circumstances in which the different books were translated. In the great majority of cases, however, the Heb. terms are represented by δίκαιος and the cognate words, although other renderings are frequent, as ἄμεμπτος, καθαρός, πιστός, εὐσεβής, κρίσις, ἔλεος, ἐλεημοσύνη (the last two are instructive). And, conversely, δίκαιος, etc., are used for such words as יָשָׁר, נָקִי ('innocent'), חֶסֶד ('kindness'), אֱמֶת ('truth,' 'fidelity'), מִשְׁפָּט ('judicial decision,' 'judgment'), etc. A certain freedom of translation is, no doubt, permissible in view of the extreme versatility of the Heb. notion, and its association with numerous parallelisms; and these Heb. synonyms have naturally to be taken into account in forming conclusions regarding the OT idea of righteousness. Cf. Hatch, *Essays in Bibl. Gr.* 49.

i. RIGHTEOUSNESS IN COMMON LIFE.—In the earliest historical literature—the documents J and E of the Hex., and the oldest sources of the Bks. of Samuel and Kings—the words for 'righteousness' occur, not very frequently, but in connexions which convey a pretty complete idea of what they meant in everyday life. Here the most prominent aspect of the notion is the *forensic*, although this by no means excludes an ethical and religious reference. In early Israel, law, morality, and religion were closely identified, all three resting largely on traditional custom or being embodied in it. Morality consisted in conformity to the conventional usages of the society to which a man belonged (Gn 26^{9}, 2 S 13^{12} etc.); the administration of justice was the enforcement in individual cases of the acknowledged rules of social order; and, again, these rules were invested with religious sanctions as expressing the will of J″. Thus a man's legal rights were a measure of the morality of his conduct, and at the same time all rights existing between men were also rights before J″. When it is said that the forensic element preponderates, what is meant is that questions of right and wrong were habitually regarded from a legal point of view as matters to be settled by a judge, and that this point of view is emphasized in the words derived from צדק. This, indeed, is characteristic of the Heb. conception of righteousness in all its developments: whether it be a moral quality or a religious status, it is apt to be looked on as in itself controvertible and incomplete until it has been confirmed by what is equivalent to a judicial sentence. Now, within the forensic sphere we can distinguish three aspects of righteousness which are of fundamental importance for the subsequent history of the idea; and these may be illustrated from almost any period of the language.

(1) Righteousness means, in the first instance, being *in the right* in a particular case. Of the two parties in a controversy, the one who has the right on his side is designated as הַצַּדִּיק, and the one in the wrong as הָרָשָׁע: Dt 25^{1} 'If there be a quarrel between men, and they bring it to the judgment-seat, and (the judges) judge them, they shall justify the צַדִּיק and condemn the רָשָׁע'; cf. 16^{19}, Ex $23^{7.8}$, Is 5^{23} 29^{21}, Pr 17^{15} $18^{5.17}$ 24^{24} etc. Similarly, a person accused or suspected of wrongdoing is צַדִּיק if he is innocent and רָשָׁע if guilty (Gn 20^{4}, 2 S 4^{11}, 2 K 10^{9}, Pr 17^{26}). It makes, of course, no difference whether the case is actually submitted to a judge or not; all questions of right and wrong are conceived as capable ideally of being so settled, and the intrinsic merits of the dispute are described by the same terms; see Ex 9^{27} ('J″ is *in the right*, and I and my people are *in the wrong*'); 1 S 24^{17}, 1 K 8^{32} (cf. Ex 2^{13}). Thus צְדָקָה (צֶדֶק in this sense appears to be later) denotes the right or innocence of an incriminated person, his claim to justification, the validity of his plea (2 S 19^{29} 26^{23}, Neh 2^{20}).* In these cases righteousness is an inherent quality, not depending on the decision of the judge, but at the most demanding recognition by him. And although the conception is essentially forensic, it is obviously one to which ethical ideas readily attach themselves. Righteousness comes to mean *unimpeachable moral conduct* (Gn 30^{33}—a difficult case); and in this sense it may be predicated of a man's whole life, the righteous man being one who is blameless before an ideal tribunal; see 1 K 2^{32} 3^{6}, Gn 7^{1}, 6^{9} (P) $18^{23\text{ff.}}$, Dt 9^{4-6}, La 4^{13} etc. In this application a religious reference is probably always included, the ideal tribunal being that of God.

Legal phraseology is naturally transferred to the case of mere *debate*: Job 11^{2} 33^{12}; here to 'justify' means virtually to admit the force of one's arguments (27^{5}). With this may be connected the use of the words to express correctness in prediction (Is 41^{26}), or truthfulness in speech (Is $45^{19.23}$ 63^{1}, Ps 52^{5}, Pr 8^{8} 12^{7} 16^{13}); although other explanations are here possible (see below, p. 274).

(2) Righteousness, however, has a second sense, which is purely forensic; it means the *legal status* established by a public judgment in one's favour: Is 5^{23} 'take away the righteousness of the righteous from him' (cf. 10^{2}). Examples of this kind are rare in allusions to secular jurisprudence; but the distinction plays a very important part, as we shall see, where forensic analogies are transferred to men's standing before God; and it could hardly be drawn so clearly there unless it had some basis in ordinary judicial administration.*

(3) Lastly, righteousness is the quality expected *of the judge* in the exercise of his office. His fundamental duty is to 'justify' (הִצְדִּיק='declare in the right') him who is in the right, and to condemn (הִרְשִׁיעַ) him who is in the wrong (Dt 25^{1}, 2 S 15^{4} etc.); and, if the circumstances require it, to inflict punishment on the wrong-doer (Dt 25^{2}; cf. 2 S 12^{5} etc.). In this he is said to manifest צֶדֶק (Dt 1^{16} $16^{18.20}$, Lv 19^{15}, Is $11^{4.5}$ 16^{5}), or in a common phrase to execute מִשְׁפָּט וּצְדָקָה.† The temptations to which a judge was mainly exposed being bribery and 'respect of persons,' his righteousness consists essentially in his rising superior to such influences and deciding each case with absolute impartiality on its merits. Stress, however, is naturally laid on the duty of redressing the wrongs of the poor and defenceless; hence judicial righteousness is frequently equivalent to deliverance or protection. This idea lies, indeed, in the verb שָׁפַט itself, which means not only to judge, but also to vindicate or defend (1 S 24^{15}, Is 1^{17} etc.).

The forensic sense of righteousness illustrated above appears to be fundamental in Heb., and goes back to a remote period in Semitic antiquity. It is found in a phrase closely corresponding to OT usage in one of the Tel el-Amarna tablets (15th or 14th cent. B.C.), where Abdḫiba of Jerusalem says, *sa-du-uḳ ana ia-a-ši aš-šum amilûti Ḳa-ši*='I am *innocent* with respect to the Kashi' (*KIB* v. 306 f.). That a similar usage prevailed in Aramaic and Phœnician is shown by the inscriptions in both languages (see Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsem. Epigraphik*, p. 357). The forensic conception of righteousness appears, therefore, to be characteristic of the northern group of Semitic dialects. In Arabic, on the other hand, the root has no forensic

---

[*] The fem. of the adj. צַדִּיק is nowhere used; in the only instance where the right of a woman is concerned the simple verb is employed; Gn 38^{26} (צָדְקָה מִמֶּנִּי).

[*] It may here be pointed out that it is doubtful if the adj. צַדִּיק bears this sense of outward justification even in the religious sphere (Kautzsch). It seems confined to the inherent character on which a legal right is based, but not to include the status which results from a vindication of that right. In other words, it is used of the godly as *entitled* to Divine justification, but not as actually *justified*. Kautzsch thinks there are exceptions in Is 40–66 and 24-27; but that is not quite clear. Zec 9^{9} would be a case in point if the meaning is to be determined by the following epithet נוֹשָׁע ('*vindicated* and victorious'; G. A. Smith, *Twelve Prophets*, ii. 466). On some doubtful cases in the Psalms, see below, p. 278.

[†] This expression was probably used originally of judicial action (2 S 8^{15}, Jer 22^{15} 23^{5}, Ezk 45^{9}), but was extended to moral conduct in general (Gn 18^{19}, Ezk $18^{5.19.21}$, and very often). In Dt 1^{16} etc. (above) צֶדֶק is partly the personal virtue of the judge, partly the objective right which is the result of his just action; the word appears first in Hosea and Isaiah. It is possible that this judicial sense of righteousness (3) is less primitive than that described under (1). At least the cases are few where the *adj.* is applied to a *human* judge (though often to God as the Supreme Judge of men). 2 S 23^{3} is a clear example; on Zec 9^{9} see the last note; other possible cases are Jer 23^{5}, Ezk 23^{45}.

associations. The verb *ṣadaḳa* means to speak the truth; *ṣaddaḳa*, to attribute truth to a speaker, to accept or homologate his statement; *ṣaddîḳ* is one who is habitually veracious, and *ṣadîḳ* a true or sincere friend. All these uses embody the ethical idea of *trustworthiness* or genuineness; and a reflexion of this moral sense is probably to be recognized in some peculiar subsidiary applications, as when the verb is employed of eyes and ears that faithfully perform their functions, or of earnestness or steadiness in battle 'as opposed to a false show of bravery,' or of the desperate running of a hunted animal (see Lane, *Lexicon*). *Ṣadâḳ*, the marriage gift from husband to wife, was originally a pledge of friendship; and even the much discussed *rumḥ ṣadḳ* possibly means a *trusty* lance, and not a straight or sound or hard lance (Wellhausen, *GGN*, 1893, p. 434), though Nöldeke considers that in this case the meaning 'straight' is certain (*Fünf Mo'allaqāt*, 2, p. 40).

It has commonly been held that the varied senses of righteousness can be reduced to the single idea of 'conformity to a norm,' resting ultimately on the physical analogy of *straightness*. But the notion of 'conformity to a norm' could hardly be primitive; and, even if all the uses of צדק could be brought under it, it would not thereby be proved to be fundamental, since all legal and ethical terms necessarily imply a reference to a norm. It is indeed very doubtful if straightness be the concept originally expressed by the root. Certainly, nothing of the kind can be inferred from the cases in the OT where the word is used of material objects. *Just balances*, *weights*, etc. (Lv $19^{15.36}$, Dt 25^{15}, Job 31^{6}, Ezk 45^{10}), are simply such balances, etc., as justice demands (cf. Am 8^{5}), just as *sacrifices of righteousness* (Dt 33^{19}, Ps 4^{5} 51^{19}) are sacrifices rightly offered. The phrases *paths of righteousness* (Ps 23^{3}) and *gates of righteousness* (118^{19}) are so obviously figurative that they do not fall to be considered here at all. The evidence from Arabic is equally inconclusive. Here the discussion has turned largely on the use of *ṣadḳ* as an epithet of the lance (see above). It happens, however, to be applied in particular to the *knots* of the lance reed (cf. *ṣadḳ'ul-ku'ûb*, Muall. Antara, 48), where, if the word describes any physical quality at all, it must be *hardness*; unless, indeed, *ka'b* be understood as a section of the reed between two knots (Nöldeke, *ib.*). On the whole, perhaps, the idea of hardness best accounts for the higher developments of the idea both in Arabic and Hebrew. The transition from hardness to trustworthiness is easy and natural, while the same analogy in the legal sphere might denote unimpeachableness of conduct on the part of a suitor, or steadfastness of character on the part of the judge. But these speculations are of little account; the meanings of righteousness in OT have to be ascertained from usage, and the fundamental usages appear to be those stated in the preceding paragraphs.

ii. RIGHTEOUSNESS IN THE PROPHETS.—Although the prophets were the great champions and exponents of righteousness in Israel, it is not easy to say precisely in what respect their teaching marks an advance on the current notions examined in the last section. In their use of terms they adhere closely to the common forms of speech: the צַדִּיק is still the man whose cause is just, and צְדָקָה and צֶדֶק continue to be used of forensic right or judicial rectitude. Nevertheless it is clear that the whole idea is elevated to a higher plane in the teaching of the prophets, and acquires a significance at once more ethical and more universal. The difference of standpoint is partly to be explained by the state of things which the prophets saw around them. By the 8th cent. the old consuetudinary morality had broken down under the pressure of far-reaching economic changes which had affected disastrously the life of the people. Large numbers of Israelites had been dispossessed of their holdings, and in consequence deprived of their civil and religious rights; the poor were defrauded and ground down by the rich, and even the forms of law had been turned into a powerful engine of oppression. In face of a situation like this, it is evident that the prophetic ideal of righteousness must rest on deeper foundations than mere use and wont. It rests, in fact, on the ethical character of J″. What is distinctive of the prophets is the conviction that social righteousness is the necessary and inexorable demand of J″'s moral nature. So intense is this conviction that the idea of abstract right seems to stand out before their minds as an objective reality, a power that may be resisted but can never be defeated. 'Never before,' says Wellhausen, 'had this been proclaimed with such tremendous emphasis. Morality is that through which alone all things subsist, the sole reality in the world. It is no postulate, no idea, it is at once necessity and fact,—the most living, personal energy,—Jahwe, the God of Forces.'[*] This is most clearly to be seen in Amos, the father of written prophecy; but all the prophets move on the lines laid down by him, and mean by righteousness substantially what he means, although they may not give it the same central position which it occupies in his book. It may suffice to note the following points. (1) The prophets are concerned in the first instance with that exercise of righteousness on which the well-being of the community most depends, *the public administration of justice*. Amos demands that right (מִשְׁפָּט) be set up in the gate (5^{15}); that right roll down like waters, and righteousness like a perennial stream (5^{24}); and complains bitterly of those who turn righteousness to wormwood, *i.e.* turn the fount of justice into a source of wrong and misery (5^{7} 6^{12}). Isaiah and Micah hurl their invectives against the ruling classes for their perversion of justice and legalized plunder of the poor (Is 1^{17} $3^{14\text{f.}}$ 5^{23} $10^{1\text{f.}}$, Mic $2^{1\text{f.}\,8\text{f.}}$ $3^{1\text{-}3.\,9\text{f.}}$), and Jeremiah denounces the rapacity and misgovernment of the kings ($22^{13.\,15}$ $23^{1\text{f.}}$; cf. Ezk $34^{3\text{ff.}}$). Cf. further, Hos 10^{12}, Is 1^{21} 5^{7}, Jer 22^{3} etc. A well-governed State, repressing all wrong and violence, and securing to the meanest his rights as a member of J″'s kingdom, is the embodiment of the prophetic ideal of righteousness. At the same time, the spirit which ought to preside at the seat of judgment is conceived as a principle pervading the whole life of the nation, and regulating the relations of its different members and classes. Civic righteousness is perhaps more a function of the community, a sound and normal condition of the body politic, than a rule of individual conduct; although the latter is, of course, included (Hos 10^{12}, Jer 4^{2}). (2) In their conception of what constitutes righteousness, the prophets are not dependent on a written code,[†] and still less on the technicalities of legal procedure. Their appeal is to the moral sense, the instinctive perception of what is due to others, the recognition of the inherent rights of human personality. The idea is far broader than what we usually mean by right or justice; it includes a large-hearted construction of the claims of humanity; it is, as has been said, the humanitarian virtue *par excellence*.[‡] And this is true not only in private relations, but also in the sphere of judicial action. The righteousness of the judge appears pre-eminently in his vindication of the widow, the orphan, and the stranger, the oppressed and defenceless classes generally (Is 1^{17} etc.). In Amos the צַדִּיק is always the poor man, with no influence at his back, who must therefore look to the judge to maintain his rights. This feature might be considered accidental, arising from the injustice to which the poor were subjected at that time. But it is important, nevertheless, as exhibiting an aspect of the Heb. idea of judicial righteousness which is apt to be overlooked by us. It denotes not merely the neutral impartial attitude of mind which decides fairly between rival interests, but a positive energy on the side of right, a readiness to protect and succour those who have no help in themselves. (3) Righteousness in this ethical sense is not only rooted in the moral instincts of human nature, but is a reflexion of the character of J″. It is what He requires of men, what He has looked for in vain from Israel (Is 5^{7}), that in which He delights, which He seeks to produce on earth (Jer 9^{24}). The inflexibility of this Divine demand for social righteousness is one of the most impressive things in prophecy. Ritual service is as nothing in J″'s sight; He despises and hates it when offered by men of immoral life. But the claims of righteousness are absolute, and the nation that will not yield to them, though it be the chosen people of Israel itself, must perish. Further, this righteousness, being based at once on the nature of man and the nature of God, is universal in its range. It has its witness in the human conscience everywhere (Am 3^{9}), and determines the destiny of other nations as well as of Israel (1^{3} 2^{3} etc.). It is, in short, the moral order of the universe, and the supreme law of J″'s operations in history. (4) As the lack of righteousness is the cause of Israel's destruction, so the presence of it is a constant feature of the Messianic salvation to which the prophets look forward. 'A king shall reign in righteousness, and princes decree justice' (Is $32^{1f.}$). The Messiah's kingdom shall be established in righteousness (9^{7}), and He shall judge the poor in righteousness ($11^{4.5}$), etc. Cf. Jer 22^{15} 23^{5} 33^{15}, Hos 2^{21} (?), Is 1^{26} $32^{16f.}$ 33^{5} etc. (5) Righteousness as a personal attribute of J″ is not named by the prophets so frequently as one might expect. The adj. צַדִּיק is not used in this sense till a comparatively late period (Zeph 3^{5}, Jer 12^{1}). Amos never mentions the righteousness of J″, though the image of the plumb-line in $7^{7.8}$ shows that the conception was in his mind (cf. Is 28^{17}). Isaiah speaks of a judgment 'overflowing with righteousness' (10^{22}), and of the Holy God as 'sanctifying himself by righteousness' (5^{16}), *i.e.* showing Himself to be God through the exercise of judicial righteousness. The idea is common to all the prophets. From the special circumstances in which their work was carried on, they dwell chiefly (if not exclusively) on the *punitive* side of the Divine righteousness, the side which it presents to the guilt of Israel (Hos 6^{5}* 10^{4}, Hab 1^{12}). Righteousness, in short, is here equivalent to *retribution*, although retribution is not regarded as an end in itself, but only as a step in the carrying out of a redemptive purpose.

---

[*] *Isr. u. jüd. Gesch.*^{3} 109.

[†] The idea of righteousness as obedience to the written law of God, which bulks so largely in the later writings, appears in Dt 6^{25}; cf. 24^{13}, Zeph 2^{3}.

[‡] Cf. the combination of צְדָקָה with חֶסֶד ('kindness') in Hos 10^{12}, Jer 9^{23}.

These appear to be the chief features of the idea of righteousness which is characteristic of the pre-exilic prophets. It is not yet to be called strictly a religious conception, inasmuch as its human side consists of moral qualities displayed by men in their relations to one another, and the righteousness of men before God is an idea hardly represented in the prophets. But it makes the religious development possible, and some anticipations of that development in the prophetic writings will have to be considered under the next head.

iii. RIGHTEOUSNESS IN THE SPHERE OF RELIGION.—We come now to consider the different forms assumed by the idea of righteousness as expressing relations existing immediately between God and man. These are based on the monotheistic principle, interpreted by the help of the forensic categories described above (under i.). J″ is the supreme Ruler and Judge of the universe, and His judgments are seen in history or providence. But the ordinary course of providence could not always be accepted as the final expression of the mind of the Judge; it is usually in some great crisis, some decisive interposition of J″ felt to be impending, that the ultimate verdict is looked for. Meanwhile nations and men are on their trial, they are severally in the right or in the wrong before God, and in the final day of reckoning the issues will be made clear, and the justice of the Divine government fully vindicated. Although all the elements of this conception are present in pre-exilic prophecy, the special applications of it now to be dealt with belong mostly to a later period, and are the result of certain currents of thought which come to the surface in the age of the Exile. There are three things to be looked at: the righteousness of Israel; the righteousness of the individual; and the righteousness of God.

1. *THE RIGHTEOUSNESS OF ISRAEL.*—The question of Israel's right against other nations is one little considered by the earlier prophets. It was doubtless a factor in the popular religion, revealing itself in that eager longing for the day of J″ which Amos rebukes (5^{18}). From that point of view it was a matter of course that J″ should maintain the cause and right of His people, and moral considerations hardly entered into the feeling. The prophets, on the other hand, were too much concerned to impress on Israel a sense of its utter unrighteousness before God to pay much heed to the violation of right involved in its subjection to nations morally worse than itself. In the 7th cent., however, partly as a consequence of the Deuteronomic reformation, the idea of a righteous Israel begins to exert an influence on prophetic thought (cf. Dt 6^{25}). The first prophet to treat the matter expressly from this point of view is Habakkuk (the idea is latent in Nahum), who uses the technical terms צַדִּיק and רָשָׁע to designate Israel and its heathen oppressors respectively ($1^{4.13}$; cf. 2^{4}: see the Comm.), and appeals to J″ to redress the wrongs suffered by His people. But it was the Exile that brought the question to the front in the prophetic interpretation of history. The Divine sentence had gone forth confirming the moral verdict of the prophets on the nation's past, and the more spiritual part of the people acknowledged the just judgment of God in what had befallen them (La 1^{18}). But there still remained the promise of a glorious future, in which the righteousness of J″ would be displayed not less than in the judgment now past. Israel, therefore, has a right which, though obscured for the present, is recognized by J″, and will be vindicated by Him in due time. Wherein does this righteousness of Israel consist?

Deutero-Isaiah.—The answer to this question is given by the writer of Is 40-55 in a manner which went far to fix the sense of righteousness for all subsequent theology. The prophet looks to his people's restoration from exile as a final disclosure of the righteousness both of Israel and of J″, and an event fraught with the most blessed consequences for humanity. That Israel has been, and is, in the wrong before God is explicitly acknowledged in the ironical challenge of 43^{26} ('that thou mayest be in the right'), and is implied in many passages besides. But its sin has been forgiven, the punishment endured has been adequate (40^{2}), and, in spite of the unpreparedness of the people, J″ brings near His salvation (46^{13} 51^{5} 52^{10}); the hidden right of Israel, which exists amidst all its unworthiness and shortcoming, is about to be made manifest. And here, in accordance with forensic usage, the idea of righteousness is resolved into two perfectly distinct conceptions. On the one hand it denotes the inherent right of Israel's cause at the bar of the Divine judgment (as in i. (1)); and on the other hand the external vindication of that right through a judicial intervention of J″ (i. (2)). In the latter sense righteousness means justification ($54^{14.17}$ $45^{8.24}$), and is practically equivalent to salvation, the deliverance of the people being regarded as the execution of a Divine sentence in its favour.* The idea of the inherent righteousness of Israel, however, is more difficult, and several elements appear to enter into it. (*a*) Israel is in the right, first of all, as having *suffered wrong* at the hands of the world-power. The triumph of Babylon has been the triumph of brute force over helpless innocence (47^6 52^{3-5}), and a violation of the moral order of the world. On this ground alone Israel has a plea before the Judge of all the earth, it has a right (מִשְׁפָּט) which does not escape the notice of J″ (40^{27}; cf. Mic 7^9). (*b*) Righteousness includes, in the second place, a way of life in accordance with the law of God. Of the better part of the people it is said that they follow after righteousness (51^1) or know righteousness (51^7), just as it is said of another section that they are far from righteousness (46^{12}).* Similarly, in 53^{11} it is said of J‴s righteous Servant that by his knowledge he shall make many righteous, *i.e.* bring them to a moral condition conforming to the Divine will. (*c*) There is, perhaps, yet another element to be taken into account: Israel is in the right in virtue of its being identified with the cause of J″, the only true God. Israel is J‴s witness, His client in the great controversy between the true religion and idolatry, His servant and His messenger whom He has sent ($43^{10.12}$ 44^8 $41^{8.9}$ 42^{19} etc.). As the organ of J‴s self-revelation, the nation represents the cause that must ultimately triumph, and is therefore essentially in the right. This vocation of Israel is described as perfectly realized in the ideal Servant of the Lord (49^3), whom J″ has called in righteousness (42^6) and appointed for a light of the Gentiles, that His salvation might be to the ends of the earth (49^6; cf. $42^{1.4}$). The Servant's confidence that he shall be justified ($50^{8.9}$ 49^4) rests on the consciousness of his election, and the unique relation which he holds to the redemptive purpose of J″.

---

* Read ומשׁפטי כאור יצא.

* In 41^{2}, where it is said of Cyrus that 'right meets him at every step,' צֶדֶק bears the sense of right vindicated on the field of battle, *i.e.* 'victory' (see the Comm.).

The same distinction between inherent and external righteousness is met with in chs. 56-66, which are assigned by some scholars to a later date. Thus in the sense of justification (salvation, prosperity, etc.) the nouns occur in 56^{1b} 58^8 59^9 $61^{3.10f.}$ $62^{1f.}$ (cf. 48^{18}, possibly an interpolated passage in the earlier part). Of inherent right, the adj. is used in 57^1 60^{21}; the substantives in 56^{1a} 58^2 $64^{4f.}$; the aspect most prominent appears to be obedience to the law.—The idea of civic righteousness in the sense of the pre-exilic prophets appears in $59^{9.14}$.

The sense of Israel's right against the nations appears likewise in other post-exilic writings, particularly in the Psalter, where the antithesis of 'righteous' and 'wicked' sometimes denotes Israel and the heathen respectively; cf. Ps 7^{10} 14^5 31^{18} 33^1 $52^{6f.}$ 75^{10} 94^{21} $97^{11f.}$ $118^{15.20}$ etc. etc. But here it is no longer possible to separate between the national and individual references of the idea of righteousness; and it is therefore better to deal with the subject after we have considered—

2. *THE RIGHTEOUSNESS OF THE INDIVIDUAL.*—That individual righteousness was an idea familiar in early times to the Israelites, is sufficiently clear from such passages as 1 S 26^{23}, 1 K 8^{32}, Is $3^{10.11}$ (?if genuine), etc.† It may be true that the individual was hardly felt to possess an independent religious status before God. His life and his interests were seen to be merged in those of his family or the community (1 S 3^{13} etc.); and it was perhaps not expected that his outward fortunes should correspond exactly with his moral condition. At all events, there is no evidence that the inequalities of providence in this sphere pressed severely on religious thought till towards the Exile, when a growing sense of personal right begins to assert itself (Dt 24^{16}, 2 K 14^6). In the remarkable prophetic experience of *Jeremiah*, religion appears to resolve itself into a personal relation of the individual soul to God. And it is noteworthy that immediately he is confronted by the gravest problem of Jewish theology,—Why is it that the man who is right with God has to suffer affliction and injustice in the world? 'Too righteous art thou, O J″, for me to contend with thee; yet of judgments would I speak with thee: Wherefore is the way of the wicked prosperous?' etc. (12^1).

Ezekiel.—Besides the general tendency of thought referred to in the last paragraph, there were two special reasons for the rapid growth of individualism in the exilic and post-exilic ages. One was the dissolution of the State, in consequence of which the principle of collective retribution was necessarily suspended, and each man became directly accountable to God for his own sins (Jer $31^{29f.}$, Ezk 18^{2-4}). But another and more permanent cause was the introduction of the written Law as the basis of religion. The Law makes its appeal in the first instance to the individual conscience, and, although the aim of the Deuteronomic covenant was to make of Israel a righteous *nation* through obedience to the Divine will (Dt 6^{25}), its immediate effect was only to set up a standard of righteousness which served as a test of the individual's relation to God. The influence of these two facts is very apparent in the conception of righteousness which meets us in the Bk. of Ezekiel. Except in a few instances ($16^{51f.}$ 23^{45} $45^{9f.}$) the words 'righteous' and 'righteousness' are there used solely to denote the religious condition of individual persons in the sight of God ($3^{20ff.}$ 13^{22} $14^{14.20}$ $18^{5ff.}$ $21^{3f.}$ $33^{12ff.}$). Sometimes even the plu. צִדְקוֹת is employed of the separate virtues or good deeds, which when integrated make up the religious character (3^{20} 18^{24} 33^{13}; cf. Is 33^{15} 64^5). In form the idea is purely legal, consisting in obedience to the precepts of the written Law; its content, as given in 18^{5-8} 33^{15} etc., is mainly but not exclusively ethical. And to this conception of righteousness there is attached a rigorous theory of individual retribution; according as a man's state is when the judgment overtakes him, so will his destiny be: the righteous shall live, and the wicked shall die.

Book of Job.—Ezekiel's doctrine of retribution was formulated with express reference to the final judgment which determines whether a man is to be admitted into the perfect kingdom of God or excluded from it. When the principle was extended to the ordinary course of providence, it was found to be contradicted at many points by experience. Hence arose the most serious stumbling-block to the faith of OT believers—the inequalities, the seeming injustice, of God's providential dealings with men. This problem emerges in many forms (see Hab $1^{2-4.13}$, Is 53, Mal $3^{15.18}$, Ps 37. 39. 49. 73, etc.), but nowhere is it treated with such penetration and such intensity of feeling as in the Bk. of Job. Job, a typically pious man, acknowledged to be such by the Almighty and the Satan, as well as by his fellow-men, is suddenly visited by a series of calamities which, on the current view of providence, could only be explained as the punishment due to heinous sins. This view is upheld, in the discussion which ensues, by the three friends, and is partly shared by Job himself. His mind is dominated by the thought of God as his adversary in a lawsuit; or rather his chief complaint is that the Almighty constitutes Himself both accuser and judge, while there is no umpire who can lay his hand upon them both ($9^{32ff.}$). He feels himself to be the victim of an accusation brought against him by an all-powerful antagonist; and his contention is that the accusation is unjust—that he is in the right and God in the wrong in this unequal quarrel. This, of course, as the other disputants are quick to point out (8^3 34^{17} 36^3 37^{23} 40^8), is to impugn the judicial righteousness of God; and such a position is to them simply inconceivable. 'How can a man be in the right against God?' they ask (4^7 5^{14} 25^4); and Job retorts with bitter irony, 'How indeed! seeing He is the

---

* Many commentators take the word in these passages in the sense of outward justification. But the parallelism in 51^7 ('in whose heart is my law') strongly favours the more ethical meaning, and this ought in fairness to rule the interpretation of 51^1. 46^{12} is more doubtful.

† On an Aramaic inscription of the 7th cent. B.C. (Nerab ii. 2) the following words are put into the mouth of a dead priest: 'For my righteousness before him, he (the god) gave me a good name and lengthened my days' (Hoffmann, *ZA*, 1896, p. 221 f.).

Omnipotent against whom there is no redress' (9^{2}). Thus to the friends the question at issue is the righteousness of Job, which they ultimately deny; while to Job himself it is the righteousness of God in His providential dealings with men: 'he condemns God that he himself may be in the right' (40^{8}, cf. 34^{5}). Although he is forced to acknowledge that God has pronounced him guilty, he is nevertheless perfectly sure of his own righteousness (27^{6}), by which he means in the first instance his 'just cause against God' (35^{2}), his innocence of the unknown transgressions laid to his charge by his irresistible opponent. 'I am innocent—in the right' is his constant cry ($9^{20f.}$ 13^{18} 34^{5} etc.). But behind this formal and purely forensic sense of righteousness there lies a deeper question, viz. What constitutes the righteousness of a man before God, or what entitles him to a sentence of justification in the shape of temporal prosperity? On that point there does not appear to be any fundamental difference between Job and his friends. Righteousness means morality combined with piety—loyal and whole-hearted obedience to the will of God. Observance of the written Law is obviously excluded by the conditions of the poem; but it is assumed that God's will is known, and that a man may so fulfil it as to be righteous. Job is a man perfect and upright, fearing God and shunning evil (1^{1} etc.). That his outer life had been morally correct was known to all the world; what was known to himself alone and God was that there had been no hypocrisy or secret infidelity in his heart ($29^{12ff.}$ 31^{1-35}); his morality had been inspired by religion, by reverence, and perfect allegiance to his Creator. On that point the testimony of his conscience is clear and unwavering; and it is the undoubted teaching of the book that this plea of Job's is valid, and that the real problem lies where Job's argument places it, in the mystery of the Divine government. We are not here concerned with the solution which the author intends to suggest, but it can hardly consist, as some have thought, in the undermining of Job's consciousness of innocence, and his being convicted of a subtle kind of sin in the shape of self-righteousness. It is rather to be looked for in the remarkable distinction which the patriarch is led to draw between the God of Providence who condemns and persecutes him, and the God to whom his heart bears witness, who is even now his friend, and must yet appear as his avenger, though it be after his death (16^{19-21} 19^{25-27}). Job is enabled in some degree to maintain his fellowship with God apart from outward tokens of His favour, sustained only by the witness of his conscience, and the nascent hope of seeing Him as He is, in another state of being.

It has already been pointed out that in this book the terms for righteousness are employed of *being in the right* in argument; cf. 11^{2} 27^{5} 32^{2} $33^{12.32}$. Note also the occasional use of צֶדֶק in the sense of external justification (=prosperity), 8^{6} 29^{14} [?] 33^{26} 36^{7}.

Proverbs and Ecclesiastes.—In the two remaining canonical *Ḥokhmah* books the conception of righteousness is as distinctly individualistic as in Job or Ezekiel. A very common theme in the Proverbs is the contrast between the 'righteous' (צַדִּיק—sing. or plu.) and the 'wicked' (רָשָׁע).[*] Here the righteous do not form a *party* (as often in the Psalms); they are a *class*, comprising all who follow the moral ideal taught by the wise men. All men, in short, are divided by the Proverbialists into good and bad, and 'righteous' is simply one of the commonest designations of the good part of mankind. It follows that the idea of righteousness presented in the book is essentially ethical, though no doubt with a strong dash of utilitarianism, the virtues chiefly insisted on being those which experience shows to be necessary for the welfare of society, and therefore most immediately beneficial to the individual who practises them. At the same time the moral system has a religious background. The written Law is the supreme standard of morality or righteousness. Moreover, one of the chief objects of the writers is to inculcate the doctrine of individual retribution in the ordinary course of Divine providence. However the fact may be explained, the difficulties surrounding this question are ignored in the Proverbs, and the law of retribution is regarded as fully manifested in the present life: 'The righteous shall be requited in the earth, much more the wicked and the sinner' (11^{31}). Hence the idea of righteousness appears to have lost the eschatological reference which it frequently has in other parts of OT, and (what is more remarkable) it has all but lost the sense of outward justification, such as we meet with occasionally even in the Bk. of Job. Although it is constantly asserted that righteousness is the way to honour, wealth, prosperity, etc., it does not seem ever to be *identified* with these external tokens of God's approval except in 21^{21b} 8^{18}. In Ecclesiastes the same conception of righteousness as the supreme moral category prevails; cf. 3^{17} 7^{15} 8^{14} $9^{1.2}$. The sayings most characteristic of the author are these two: 'Be not righteous overmuch' (7^{16}), and 'There is not a righteous man upon the earth that doeth good and sinneth not' (7^{20}). The latter is perhaps the only passage in OT where righteousness is treated as equivalent to sinlessness; the former exhibits a reaction against the casuistries of Pharisaic legalism. The vacillation of the book on the subject of retribution (contrast 7^{15} 8^{14} 9^{2} with 3^{17} 9^{1} etc.) raises difficult critical questions which need not be considered here.[*]

The Psalms.—It is very difficult to analyze and classify the varied aspects of human righteousness presented in the Psalter. For one thing, it is impossible (as was said above) to draw a sharp line of division between the righteousness of the nation and that of the individual. The point of view most characteristic of the Psalms is intermediate between these two. In a large number of passages the distinction of צַדִּיק and רָשָׁע is applied to two parties within the community; the 'righteous' being the religious party who have regard to the Covenant, and the 'wicked' the godless and wealthy anti-theocratic party who set religion and morality at defiance.[†] Here the idea of righteousness is partly national, since the 'righteous' represent the true ideal Israel; partly individual, inasmuch as the party is formed by those members of the nation who accept the Law as their rule of life. In some cases, indeed, it is difficult to say whether the contrast intended be one within the nation or between the nation and the rest of the world. The ungodly in Israel are animated by the same spirit as the heathen that know not God, and conversely the qualities of the righteous are the same whether the predicate be extended to the people as a whole or restricted to a portion of it.

With regard to the conception of righteousness implied by this contrast, the following points have to be noted. (*a*) The conflict of parties is, first of all, a conflict of religious first principles. The righteous are distinguished by their faith in the moral government of the universe. They trust in J″ (16^{1} 26^{1} 22^{9}), and consciously identify themselves with His cause in the world; they stake their existence on the conviction that ‘there is a God that judgeth in the earth’ (58^{11}), and that ‘in the end judgment must be given for righteousness’ (94^{15} Wellhausen). The wicked, on the contrary, are practical atheists. They deny, not perhaps the existence of God, but His providential action (14^{1} 53^{1}), and acknowledge no higher authority than their own lawless wills (12^{4} 59^{7} 64^{5} 94^{7}). Thus the Divine decision in their favour for which the Psalmists pray will be the vindication of that view of the world to which they have committed themselves—the proof that they are *in the right* in the fundamental beliefs on which their life is based. (*b*) The sphere in which the contrast is wrought out is that of personal and social morality; hence there is a constant reference, tacit or expressed, to the moral character of the suppliants. They are those who practise righteousness and justice (106^{3} 119^{121}); they appeal to their integrity (7^{8} 25^{21} 41^{12}); they claim to be upright, or upright of heart (32^{11} 33^{1} 37^{18} 64^{10} 97^{11} 140^{13}), and innocent (94^{21}); to have clean hands and a pure heart ($18^{20.\,24}$ 24^{4}); cf. $17^{1\text{ff.}}$ $26^{1\text{ff.}}$. On the other hand, the wicked are cruel, unjust, deceitful, bloody-minded, adulterous, avaricious, etc.; men who, with no fear of God before their eyes, trample every social obligation under their feet.[*] (*c*) Another element in the Psalmists’ sense of righteousness is the fact that they suffer wrong at the hands of their enemies (7^{1} 10^{2} $22^{7\text{ff.}}$ 31^{15} 69^{26} 119^{86} 125^{3} 143^{3} etc.). The outrages perpetrated by the heathen nations on Israel, and by the rich upon the poor within Israel, are a violation of the moral order of the world which cannot pass unpunished under the just government of J″; the oppressed are, *ipso facto*, in the right against their oppressors. (*d*) Lastly (as in Deutero-Isaiah and elsewhere), righteousness bears the sense of *justification* through the judicial interposition of J″, usually in the form of a restoration of temporal prosperity. So in 24^{5} ‘he shall receive blessing from J″, and *righteousness* from the God of his salvation’ (cf. 17^{15} 35^{27} 37^{6} $112^{3.\,9}$ etc.); in 23^{3} ‘paths of righteousness’ means ‘paths of prosperity’ (118^{19} 132^{9}).[†]

---

[*] See 3^{33} 10 *pass.* (11 times), $11^{8.10.23.31}$ $12^{5.7.10.12.21.26}$ $13^{5.9.25}$ $14^{19.32}$ $15^{6.28.29}$ $21^{12.18}$ $24^{15f.}$ 25^{26} $28^{1.12.28}$ $29^{2.7.16.27}$. There are many other contrasts, as *sinner* 13^{21}, *evil-doers* 21^{5}, *fools* 10^{21} etc.; and many synonyms, as *wise* 9^{9} 11^{30} 23^{24}, *good* 2^{20}, *upright* 21^{18} etc.

[*] Both in Proverbs and Ecclesiastes there are references to the public administration of justice, where of course the idea of righteousness has the ordinary legal applications: cf. Pr $17^{15.26}$ $18^{5.17}$ 24^{24} 25^{26}, 8^{15} 16^{12} 25^{5} 31^{9}, Ec 3^{16} 5^{8}.

[†] Cf. 1^{5} 5^{12} $11^{3.5}$ 32^{11} $34^{17.20.22}$ 37 *pass.* 55^{22} 64^{10} 69^{28} 92^{12} 112^{6} 140^{13} 141^{5} etc.

Now, while all these elements may enter more or less into the Psalmists’ consciousness of being in the right,—that consciousness on which they base their expectation (or explain their experience) of deliverance (4^{1} 7^{9} 17^{1} $18^{20.\,24}$ etc.),—they are not of equal importance. The second (*b*) far outweighs the others. Righteousness is in the main an ethical word, describing the condition of those whose lives are governed by regard for the moral law. To the question in what sense morality constitutes righteousness before God, the Psalms, of course, furnish no direct answer. The chief consideration, no doubt, is that obedience to the written Law was the condition of acceptance with J″ under the Covenant. This thought is often expressed ($19^{7\text{ff.}}$ 78^{7} 99^{7} 103^{18} 105^{45} 119 *pass.*, etc.), and may be presumed to be always in the mind of the writers. At the same time it is to be observed that only the ethical (as opposed to the ceremonial) elements of the Law enter into the conception of righteousness, a fact which shows that the influence of the prophets still lives in the devotional poetry of Judaism. Nor is there anything in the Psalms that can properly be called self-righteousness or legalism in a Pharisaic sense, *i.e.* the Psalmists do not think of their good works as giving them an absolute title to justification. They do not (like Job) maintain their right *against* God—‘in thy sight shall no man living be in the right,’ 143^{2}—they are ever conscious of defect and sin cleaving to all they do; and merely plead the steadfast direction of their will towards the ethical ideal as evidence of their fidelity to J″. Righteousness, in fact, is a relative term, meaning *in the right* as against some other, not absolute moral perfection in the sight of God. In 106^{31}, where a single good action is said to be ‘counted’ for righteousness, the word has doubtless a sense approaching to *merit* (cf. Gn 15^{6}); but here the Pauline maxim has to be borne in mind that the ‘reckoning’ of a reward is of grace, not of debt (Ro 4^{4}). It is a manifestation of grace on the part of J″ that He renders to a man according to his works (62^{12}).

This is not the place to examine the moral ideal of the Psalmists in detail (see ETHICS); it is in all important features the common property of post-exilic Judaism, and it has its centre in the individual life. Only one point needs to be adverted to, in order to guard against a possible misconception. It is found that in connexion with the idea of righteousness considerable emphasis is laid on the humane virtues. In 112^{4} ‘righteous’ and ‘merciful’ occur together in the description of the God-fearing man; in v.^{9} of the same Psalm charity to the poor is mentioned as a condition of righteousness; in 37^{21} $112^{5.\,9}$ the righteous is characterized by willingness to lend and to give.[*] Now, it is a well-known fact that in later times righteousness acquired the special sense of mercy or even almsgiving (see below), and it might be supposed that in the passages just cited we have the first indication of that important change of meaning. It is very doubtful if this view be correct. In reality, the phenomenon in question is little different from a feature we have already remarked in the prophetic conception of righteousness. To say that the righteous man is merciful, etc., is not the same thing as to identify righteousness and mercy; all that is meant is that mercifulness is one feature of the ideal righteous character; and any stress laid on such virtues in particular passages is amply explained by the prominence assigned to them in the moral code of Judaism.

Some additional illustrations of the various kinds of human righteousness may here be given from the later writings of OT.—In Mal 3^{18} the two parties in the restored community are distinguished as the ‘righteous’ and the ‘wicked’ respectively (as in Psalms).—In 3^{20} righteousness means *justification* through a return of prosperity; as also Jl 2^{23}: ‘the early rain *in token of justification*’ (לִצְדָקָה,—less probably, *in just measure*); Dn 9^{24} (‘everlasting righteousness’).—In Is 24^{16} 26^{2} צַדִּיק is a predicate of the nation of Israel; in 26^{7}, perhaps of the theocratic party.—In 26^{9} the idea seems to be that when J″ rouses Himself to the exercise of His judicial functions, the inhabitants of the world will learn what true piety is.—Is 64^{5}, Dn 9^{18} express a sense of the worthlessness of the works of righteousness (צְדָקוֹת) performed by the people; the consciousness of being in the right (often so powerful in the Psalms) cannot maintain itself in the face of prolonged national misfortune. Dn 8^{14} (נִצְדַּק) is a peculiar case: the cleansing of the sanctuary is considered as a *justification*, a vindication of its rights against the heathen who had profaned it.

3. *THE RIGHTEOUSNESS OF GOD.*—In the OT righteousness is never predicated of any other deity than J″, the God of Israel.[†] It appears to be regarded

---

[*] Righteousness in judgment is emphasized, *e.g.*, in the portraits of the king, 45^{7} 72^{2} (cf. 58^{1} $82^{2\text{f.}}$ 99^{4} etc.). In 72^{3} $85^{10.\,11.\,13}$ the word possibly means the ideal state of a well-ordered commonwealth, bringing peace and prosperity in its train (cf. Is 45^{8}).

[†] As was remarked above, צַדִּיק (the adj.) does not appear to have this sense; it refers to the inherent state or character of those who are in the right, whether it has been manifested by external providential acts or not. $118^{15.\,20}$ are hardly exceptions.

[*] The same combination is met with in Proverbs (cf. 12^{10} 21^{21} 29^{7}), and perhaps in Job (29^{14}).

[†] In Ps 58. 82 many commentators find the unfamiliar idea expressed that the government of the world has been delegated by J″ to inferior, semi-divine beings, the gods of the heathen. To the unrighteous judgment of these subordinate deities is ascribed the perversion of right which prevails on earth. If this view were correct (which is doubtful), it would certainly show that righteousness was *expected* of all beings to whom Divine honours were paid; but such a representation hardly conflicts with the statement made above.

not as a natural attribute inseparable from the very notion of Godhead, but as one which J″ alone has proved Himself to possess in the positive revelation of Himself through the history of Israel (see Is $45^{19\text{ff.}}$). The idea has its roots in the fundamental institutions of the Hebrew religion. From the time of Moses, J″ was regarded as the fountain of right in Israel, the King and Judge of His people, dispensing justice continuously through His accredited representatives (Dt 1^{17}).* The development of the idea is due chiefly to influences emanating from the prophets. It belongs to their view of J″ as an ethical Person having an independent character of His own, in contrast with the gods of the heathen, who were conceived even by their worshippers as arbitrary and capricious beings, subject to incalculable humours and swayed by self-interest. The righteousness of J″ is the steadfastness of His character, to be seen, first of all, in His inflexible determination to punish Israel for its sins (Is 28^{17} etc.). It comes to light in the moral order of the universe, which is just J″ Himself operating in history in a way that answers to the sense of right which He has implanted in human nature. In Zeph 3^5 His moral rule is described as having the constancy and uniformity of the natural law that brings in the dawn: 'J″ is righteous in the midst of her; he doeth no iniquity; morning by morning he bringeth his judgment to light, nothing is missing' (cf. Hos 6^5 'my judgment goeth forth as the light'). In a similar and nearly contemporary passage we read: 'The Rock, his work is perfect, for all his ways are judgment; a God of faithfulness and without iniquity; righteous and upright is he' (Dt 32^4).

This prophetic conception of the Divine righteousness receives a remarkable expansion in the hands of Deutero-Isaiah. The most suggestive passage is 45^{19-21} 'Not in secret have I spoken, in a place of the land of darkness; I have not said to the seed of Jacob, Seek me in the waste. I, J″, speak righteousness, proclaim uprightness . . . A righteous God and a Saviour (אֵל צַדִּיק וּמוֹשִׁיעַ) there is not except me' (cf. v.^{23} 'righteousness is gone forth from my mouth,—a word that shall not return'; and 63^1 'I that speak in righteousness, mighty to save'). Here two things are to be noted: first, that righteousness is a feature not merely of J″'s judicial action, but of His whole manner of revealing Himself in history; and, secondly, that beyond the universal moral order of the world it embraces a redemptive purpose, which, however, is ultimately coextensive with the destiny of mankind. The fundamental thought would seem to be the trustworthiness and self-consistency of J″'s character,—His being ever true to His own nature and purpose,—and along with that His straightforwardness in the revelation of that purpose to Israel. In the same profound ethical sense the words are used in 41^{10} 42^6 45^{13}: the upholding of Israel, the election of the ideal servant, and the raising up of Cyrus, are all moments in one comprehensive purpose of salvation which J″, in virtue of His righteousness, steadily pursues to its glorious issue.† Elsewhere than in Deutero-Isaiah, this precise sense of righteousness is rarely met with in OT (see Zec 8^8, Neh 9^8, and those passages in the Psalms where righteousness is parallel to faithfulness). Its indirect influence, however, has been very great, as appears from the remarkable way in which the Psalmists emphasize the gracious aspect of the attribute (see below).

The teaching of Deutero-Isaiah on this subject stands somewhat apart from the rest of the OT, and represents a standpoint hardly reached by subsequent writers. Righteousness appears to be conceived as a moral attribute expressing what J″'s character is in itself, apart from His legal relations with men; and it is difficult to trace a connexion between this view of righteousness and the commoner forensic conceptions about to be considered. Smend describes it as 'die Zuverlässigkeit mit der er sich als der Helfer Israels beweist' (*Rel.-gesch.*^{2} 394; cf. 1st ed. 421 ff.), and seems to derive it from the idea of J″'s being in the right in His controversy with Israel (see (*a*) below). Dalman treats it simply as a manifestation of judicial righteousness on the part of God ((*b*) below). Were it not hazardous to depart from the forensic usage which is so prevalent in Hebrew, one might be tempted to suppose that we have here to do with an independent development of the notion parallel to what is found in Arabic.

For the most part, however, the idea of Divine righteousness is based on legal analogies applied to the relation between J″ on the one hand and Israel or mankind on the other. Here, again, there are two cases to be distinguished. (*a*) Not infrequently, in the prophets and elsewhere, J″ appears as the *plaintiff* in a legal action, pressing His suit against Israel, and calling for the judgment of an ideal tribunal (Is 1^{18} 43^{26}, Mic 6^2 etc.). When in this connexion the word 'righteous' is employed of J″, it denotes that He is *in the right* and His adversary in the wrong in the controversy between them. The adj. has this sense in the mouth of Pharaoh, Ex 9^{27} ('J″ is in the right,' etc.). It is so used also in the following passages, where the righteousness of J″ is acknowledged in the punishment of Israel's sin: La 1^{18}, Ezr 9^{15}, Neh 9^{33}, 2 Ch 12^6, Dn 9^{14}. Similarly, צְדָקָה in Dn $9^{7.16}$, צְדָקוֹת in 1 S 12^7, Mic 6^5;* and the verb in Ps 51^6 ('that thou mayest be in the right in thy sentence'). By an extension of meaning parallel to what we have already noted in the secular sphere, this sense of righteousness might readily pass over into that of ethical perfection; and there are a few instances where the word is possibly to be so understood; cf. again Zeph 3^5, Dt 32^4, Zec 8^8; also Neh 9^8, Ps 145^7 etc.

(*b*) The prevalent conception of the OT is that in which J″ is represented not as one of the parties in a lawsuit, but as the supreme Judge, who sits enthroned above the confusion and strife of the world, and dispenses absolute justice in the end to all His creatures. Righteousness, accordingly, is pre-eminently the *judicial* attribute of God; it is that which pertains to Him as 'the Judge of all the earth' (Gn 18^{25}). J″ is a righteous Judge (Jer 11^{20}, Ps 7^{11}); judges the world in righteousness (Ps 9^8 96^{13} 98^9); He sits on a throne judging righteousness (9^4); righteousness is the foundation of His throne (89^{14} 97^2); cf. 11^7 36^6 48^{10} 50^6 71^{19} 97^6 111^3 etc. Hence the word may be expected to have the same range of meaning as the ordinary OT conception of judicial righteousness, which we have seen to be a somewhat wider idea than its modern equivalent. (*a*) It includes of course, first of all, the cardinal virtues of the judge: *e.g.* love of right (Jer 9^{23}, Ps 11^7 33^5 99^4); rigorous impartiality in the distribution of punishment or reward (Job 8^3 36^3 37^{23}); and unerring recognition of men's true moral condition (Jer 11^{20} 20^{12}, Ps 7^9; cf. Is 11^3 of the Messiah).† Its action is naturally two-sided:

---

* As expressions of the righteous will of J″, the precepts of the Law are sometimes spoken of as themselves 'righteous' (Dt 4^8, Ps 19^9, and often in Ps 119). So in Dt 33^{10}, and perhaps elsewhere (Ps 5^9 119^{40} etc.), the righteousness of J″ means that which He requires of man, or that which is prescribed in the Law. Some writers have thought it strange that this Divine attribute is nowhere mentioned in the Pent. in connexion with the Mosaic legislation, which, from one point of view, might seem the most signal exhibition of J″'s righteousness in the whole history of Israel. The explanation probably lies in the essentially prophetic character of the conception referred to in the text above. By the prophets the term is applied not to the legislative activity of J″, but to His dealings in providence.

† Cf. also 42^{21} 'J″ was pleased, for his righteousness' sake, to magnify revelation,' etc. Less significant, but still noteworthy, are 41^{26} 43^9, where the terms are applied to predictions as verified by the event.

* צְדָקוֹת in Jg 5^{11}, Ps 11^7 103^6 is probably different (=manifestations of judicial righteousness, in a sense favourable to Israel).

† 'Die göttliche *Zedakah* ist diejenige Gesinnung, welche in ihrer Bethätigung den wahren, d. i. sittlichen Werth oder Unwerth einer Persönlichkeit (oder einer Gemeinschaft) in absolut richtiger Weise anerkennt' (Diestel, *JDTh*, 1860, p. 179).

towards the wicked it is vengeance (Jer 11^{20} 20^{12}, Is $59^{16f.}$, Ps 129^{4} etc.), while for the righteous it means vindication and deliverance; and usually the two sides of the idea will be displayed in the same act of judgment, the deliverance of the righteous being effected through the destruction of the wicked. (*β*) But frequently the second is so emphasized that the other is almost or quite left out of view; and this tendency is so pronounced as almost to bring about a transformation of the whole idea of Divine righteousness. Thus in virtue of His righteousness J″ establishes the righteous (Ps 7^{9}), and pleads the cause of His people (Mic 7^{9}); He answers their prayer by terrible things in righteousness (Ps 65^{5}), etc. So in the many places where the righteousness of God is referred to as an object of praise (Ps 7^{17} 22^{31} 35^{28} 40^{10} 51^{15} $71^{15f. 19}$ 89^{16} 145^{7}), it is not the abstract justice of J″'s dealings that calls forth adoration, but His proved readiness to help and bless His people. This aspect of righteousness may be defined as the *justifying activity* of God. (*γ*) Once more, the name righteousness is given to the *act* of justification in which the Divine attribute is manifested, and to its external consequences as seen in the lot of the justified. In other words, righteousness is synonymous with salvation (Is 46^{13} $51^{5. 6. 8}$ $59^{16f.}$, Ps 40^{10} 51^{16} $71^{15f.}$ 98^{2} etc.). This objective righteousness is spoken of indifferently as that of God the Justifier, or of men the justified [*] (cf. Ps 111^{3} with 112^{3}, and see the passages cited above amongst the illustrations of human righteousness). It should be added that in many cases the context hardly determines whether it be the subjective attribute in the Divine mind or the outward embodiment of it in providence which is to be understood.

It is evident that the OT writers know nothing of the sharp contrast often drawn by theologians between the righteousness and the mercy of God. Righteousness and saving activity, so far from being opposed to each other, are harmonious principles of action in the Divine nature; J″ is a righteous God *and* a Saviour (Is 45^{21}). Accordingly, the Psalmists constantly appeal to the righteousness of God, not only for judgment (22^{32} 35^{24}), but for deliverance (31^{1} 71^{2} 143^{11}), for quickening (5^{8}), for the answer to prayer (143^{1}), etc. Again, righteousness is frequently associated with other attributes expressing the gracious attitude of J″ to His people, *e.g. mercy* or *grace* (חֶסֶד Ps $36^{6. 10}$ 89^{14} 103^{11} 145^{17}), *faithfulness* (אֱמֶת, אֱמוּנָה Zec 8^{8}, Ps 36^{6} 40^{10} 88^{12} 89^{14} 96^{13} $119^{137. 142}$ 143^{1}), *compassion* (חַנּוּן 116^{5}), *goodness* (145^{7}), etc. These parallelisms are not to be pressed so far as to identify righteousness with grace or faithfulness; all that is implied is that in J″'s providential action various attributes meet, so that the same act may from different points of view be regarded as an exercise of righteousness, or of faithfulness, or of mercy. Still they suffice to show that in the mind of the writers there was no sense of opposition between righteousness and grace in God. How far their idea is from mere retributive justice,—the *constans et perpetua voluntas suum cuique tribuendi*,—appears with almost startling force from the singular wish of Ps 69^{27} that the wicked may not come into J″'s righteousness (*i.e.* have no share in His justifying activity), or the not less remarkable prayer of $143^{1. 2}$ 'Answer me in thy righteousness. And enter not into judgment with thy servant: for in thy sight shall none living be in the right.' [†] Nay more, the principle of retribution is in Ps 62^{12} expressly deduced not from the righteousness of God, but from His grace: 'to thee belongeth grace: for thou requitest each man according to his works'; here the meaning must be that it is an act of condescending grace on the part of God to take cognizance of the differences in human conduct.

On the other hand, however, these examples do not justify certain extreme theories that have sometimes been built upon them. They do not, *e.g.*, warrant the definition of righteousness as God's fidelity to the Covenant (Kautzsch, Riehm, etc.). No doubt, faithfulness to covenant obligations is a part of the ethical righteousness of J″ when once a covenant has been established; but there is nothing to suggest that the attribute comes into play only with the covenant relation, or that its sphere of exercise is confined to the maintenance of the Covenant with Israel. Again, it is an exaggeration to deny that retribution is an element of the Divine righteousness. This has been done by Diestel and Ritschl, who hold that the righteousness of God has a positive reference only to the purpose of salvation, and that retribution has merely an accidental connexion with it in so far as the punishment of the wicked may be necessary for the establishing of the righteous. The distinction here attempted to be drawn is illusory. The punishment of sin is directly connected with the Divine righteousness in such passages as Is 5^{16} 10^{23} 28^{17}, Ps 7^{11} 50^{6}, 1 K 8^{32} etc.; and if this does not more frequently occur, the reasonable explanation is that the matter was too self-evident to require to be insisted on. But the mistake of both these theories, as of others that might be mentioned, is that they tend to dissociate an OT idea from the historic institutions in which it was incorporated in Hebrew thought, and try to reconstruct it on the unsafe foundation of an abstract definition. The language of the OT is not scholastic but practical; its writers do not analyze and expound ideas, but express in vivid popular speech the spiritual truths by which their religious life was sustained. That the Divine righteousness was mainly conceived by them as a judicial attribute is beyond dispute, and they must be presumed to include under it all that the term would imply if used of a human judge,—the punishment of the guilty as well as the vindication of the innocent. The prominence which is given to the latter aspect of the notion is certainly a fact of the utmost significance for theology, but it involves no departure from the analogy of secular justice as administered in ancient Israel. If it be considered that the Psalmists and other writers were accustomed to look on a judge as the natural protector and patron of the oppressed, and, further, that they were always confident in the substantial justice of their own cause before God, there need be no difficulty in recognizing the essentially judicial character of their conception of the Divine righteousness, although to their minds it presents on the whole the aspect of grace.

Another point may be referred to. The OT does not appear to teach a justification of sinners as such. In Protestant theology, according to Ritschl, justification is a *synthetic* judgment of God, expressing, that is, His resolve, for the sake of Jesus Christ, to treat as righteous those who have no righteousness in themselves. Assuming that to be a correct statement of the evangelical doctrine, we have merely to observe that the OT does not proceed quite so far. It rather leads us to think of justification as an *analytic* judgment, a declaration of righteousness by God in favour of such as are inherently in the right. Those who are justified are, in fact, sinful men,—though never, of course, 'wicked' (רְשָׁעִים), — but still, in the relative sense in which the word is used, they are the 'righteous'; and it is *quâ* righteous, not *quâ* sinners, that they are objects of the justifying decree of God. It is true that in the actual experience of OT believers this order of ideas is generally reversed. The consciousness of being in the right is seldom strong enough to be long maintained in the absence of the outward marks of God's approval in the shape of temporal good fortune; the case of Job is quite exceptional. The external justification, therefore, as a rule comes first in the thought of OT writers; and from it they derive the assurance that they are inherently righteous before God. And as the withdrawal of outward prosperity is a proof of sin in the righteous, so the act of justification is equivalent to the pardon of sin; cf. Job 33^{26}, where the conversion of a sinner under the chastening hand of the Almighty is said to be followed by the restoration of his righteousness. Thus the teaching of the OT may be said to culminate in the thought of righteousness as a gift of God, an idea appearing most clearly perhaps in Ps 24^5 69^{28}, Is 46^{13} 51$^{5.8}$ 56^1. In these passages we find the nearest approximation to what we mean by 'imputed' righteousness. The idea of the righteousness of one person being imputed to another is, it need hardly be said, entirely foreign to the OT.

---

[*] 'Gottes Gerechtigkeit hat einen mehr ursächlichen, aktiven, die menschliche einen mehr sekundären und receptiven Charakter, jene ist eine Kraft, diese ein Zustand' (Duhm on Ps 112).

[†] Here 'enter into judgment' apparently means to appear as the accuser in a legal process (Wellhausen). The Psalmist does not shrink from the judgment of God, in which His צְדָקָה is operative, but only from a controversy with the Almighty, like that in which Job so recklessly engaged.

In late Hebrew the word צרקה underwent a remarkable change of meaning, for a full account of which the reader is referred to the valuable treatise of Dalman cited below (under Literature). A few points may here be noted.

(1) In the sphere of private morals צרקה became almost equivalent to the OT חֶסֶד; *i.e.* it denoted any exercise of benevolence which goes beyond a man's legal obligations. Obviously, this is a development of the humanitarian aspect of the idea which we have seen to be prominent in the prophets and the Hagiographa, and it reaches its climax in the sense of *almsgiving* (see Mt 6^1). Dalman considers that the word had this sense in the Aramaic dialect before its adoption by the Jews, but this is hardly proved by the examples he adduces (p. 18). It is not necessary to take the original צְדָקָה in Dn 4^{24} as anything else than right living; and the occurrence of the later sense in the Targ. (Gn 18^{19}) is no sure evidence of an independent Aramaic development. It seems more natural to suppose that the usage of the Targ. registers a change which the idea had undergone in the religious thought of later Judaism.

(2) In the judicial sphere צרקה has ceased to be a properly judicial attribute. It is a consideration which comes in to moderate the operation of strict justice (דִּין), so that the question is actually raised, and answered with much ingenuity, how, in accordance with OT injunctions, צרקה is to be exercised in judgment.* This, of course, applies equally to the Divine righteousness and to that of a human judge. Here, again, we have the one-sided exaggeration of a single element in the old Hebrew notion of judicial righteousness. Originally it included both the exercise of impartial justice and a readiness to espouse the cause of the oppressed. Eventually — partly through the parallel development in the sphere of private morals, and partly, as Dalman observes (p. 18), from a more developed sense of formal right—the two ideas proved to be incompatible, and the name צרקה was appropriated to that which, strictly speaking, has nothing to do with a judge's functions at all.

The question arises, To what time can these changes, or the beginnings of them, be traced back? Here the evidence of the LXX is of importance. Where the reference is to righteousness manifested by God to man, צרקה is not infrequently rendered by ἐλεημοσύνη (Dt 6^{25} 24^{13}, Ps 24 (23)^5 33 (32)^5 103 (102)^6, Is 1^{27} 28^{17} 59^{16}, Dn 9^{16}) or ἔλεος (Is 56^1). For human righteousness we have only ἔλεος in Ezk 18$^{20.22}$ and ἐλεημοσύναις (=alms) in Dn 4^{24}. On the other hand, δικαιοσύνη stands for חֶסֶד in Gn 19^{19} 20^{13} 21^{23} 24^{27} 32^{10}, Ex 15^{13} 34^7, Pr 20^{28}, Is 63^7. These facts indicate a tendency to confuse the ideas of צרקה and חסד, though they do not show it to be far advanced; something must be allowed for the difficulty of rendering in another language the peculiar shades of meaning assumed by the Hebrew term.—In the original Hebrew of Ben Sira, the later sense of צרקה appears (3^{14} 3^{30} [cf. Pr 16^6] 7^{10} 40^{17}), alongside of the more general OT sense (12^3 16^{14} 44^{13} 51^{30}): some passages are ambiguous (40^{24} etc.).—Since the OT probably contains writings of more recent date than the Greek translation of the Pent., or even the age of Ben Sira (*c.* 200 B.C.), it would not be surprising if in some parts of the Canon the idea of righteousness were found to have undergone the transformations just described. Yet, as has been already said, it is doubtful if this is the case. The OT emphasizes humanity or mercy as an element in the ethical ideal; but it is this ethical ideal itself, and not any particular virtue, which is described by the term righteousness. So again in the administration of justice: righteousness, with whatever latitude of meaning, is always an attribute proper to the judge, never a foreign influence brought in to modify judicial action. There is no foundation in OT for the rabbinical maxim, 'Where judgment is there is no room for צרקה, and where צרקה is there is no judgment' (Dalman, p. 6).

LITERATURE.—Diestel, 'Die Idee der Gerechtigkeit, vorzüglich im AT' (*JDTh*, 1860, 173–253); Ortloph, 'Ueber den Begriff von צֶדֶק und den wurzelverwandten Wörtern im 2ten Theil des Pr. Jes.' (*Zeitschr. für die ges. luth. Th. u. K.* 1860, 401–426); Kautzsch, *Ueber die Derivate des Stammes* צדק, etc. (1881); Orelli, 'Einige ATliche Prämisse zur NT Versöhnungslehre: II. Die Gerechtigkeit Gottes' (*Ztschr. für Kirchl. Wiss. u. K. Leben*, 1884, 73 ff.); Koenig, 'Essai sur l'évolution de l'idée de justice chez les prophètes Hébreux' (*Annales du Musée Guimet*, 1894, 121–148); Dalman, *Die richterliche Gerechtigkeit im AT* (1897).

The OT Theologies of Oehler^3 (1891), 176 ff., 285 ff.; Schultz^4 (1889), 420 ff., 540 ff.; Riehm (1889), 270 ff., 283 ff.; Dillmann (1895), 270 ff., 435 f.; Bennett (1896), 103, 173; Marti, *Geschichte der Israel. Religion* (1897), 134 ff., 170; Smend, *Lehrbuch der AT Religionsgesch.*^{1} (1893), 410–423, ^{2}(1899), 388–394 (the best statement); Ritschl, *Rechtfertigung u. Versöhnung*^{3}, ii. 102 ff., 265 ff.; G. A. Smith, *Isaiah* (Expositor's Bible), ii. (1890) 214 ff.; W. R. Smith, *Prophets*^{2}, 71 f., 389.

J. SKINNER.

RIGHTEOUSNESS IN NT.—The words denoting 'righteous' and 'righteousness' in NT, δίκαιος and δικαιοσύνη, primarily signify what is conformable to an ideal or standard, agreement with what ought to be. These terms naturally take their colour from the system of morals in connexion with which they are used. Righteousness will be a very noble or a very commonplace virtue, according to the standards by which men measure character and conduct. Accordingly we find that, in profane Greek, righteousness is chiefly a social virtue. Usage and custom prescribe the standard of righteousness and measure its elevation. In NT, however, righteousness is, above all things, a religious word; it is rightness according to the Divine standard; it is conformity to the will and nature of God Himself. Since, therefore, the character of God is conceived in NT teaching as absolute moral perfection, righteousness in men becomes a name for that disposition and method of life which accord with God's holy will; in short, righteousness is Godlikeness.

The adjective δίκαιος occurs with nearly equal frequency in the Synoptic Gospels and in the Pauline Epistles. The noun δικαιοσύνη occurs seven times in Matthew, once in Luke, and not at all in Mark, and is more frequently used by St. Paul than by all the other NT writers combined. In studying the NT concept of righteousness it will be convenient to begin with the Synoptic Gospels, with special reference to the teaching of Jesus, then to consider the Pauline usage, and finally to notice that of other NT writers. We shall thus be led to a general estimate of the NT doctrine.

(*A*) RIGHTEOUSNESS IN THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS.—We may here take as our starting-point that saying of Jesus to His disciples: 'Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven' (Mt 5^{20}). The righteousness which He required was in some essential respect higher than that which was current in the life and ideals of the Jewish people of His time. We must therefore briefly describe the popular Jewish idea of righteousness. That idea grew out of the current conception of God and of His revelation. Righteousness was thought to consist in obedience to commandments, and the nature of the Divine commands was viewed quite superficially. The rich young man who came to Jesus asking what he should do to inherit eternal life, is an illustration of the view which the Jews took of the commandments (Mt $19^{16ff.}$). He said that he had kept them all. His conception evidently was that to refrain from the outward sins which they forbade—stealing, lying, Sabbath-breaking, and the like—was to keep the commandments. Only a superficial conception of the import and bearing of the commandments could have permitted him to make the claim that he had kept them all from his youth. The same faulty notion of the real moral requirements of the law lay at the root of the pride and self-righteousness of the Pharisees. They were able to think themselves righteous only because they measured themselves by an imperfect standard, an inadequate idea of the high demands which the law made upon the inner life. Religion was conceived as a legal affair, and therefore righteousness consisted primarily in the observance of all the rites and ceremonies prescribed in the law, and in refraining from all the acts which the law forbade.

---

* Some of Dalman's illustrations are very striking (p. 5 f.). *E.g.* it is said that a judge exercises 'righteousness' when he pays out of his own pocket the fine he has imposed on a poor man.

Righteousness was thus placed too much in externals and too little in the state of the heart. It exaggerated the ritual features of religion, and overlooked its deeper spiritual requirements upon conduct and life. Either of two results might flow from this externalism in religion—results which would be equally detrimental to a healthy religious life. On the one hand, if one supposed himself to have done all that was required, he would easily fall a prey to spiritual pride, for had he not achieved this lofty height of goodness by his own exertions? On the other hand, if a man felt that he had failed to do the Divine will and to win acceptance with God, he would naturally become hopeless and despondent. We accordingly find that the religious life of the Jewish people, to a great extent, oscillated between self-righteousness and despair. Jesus must therefore have demanded something vastly superior to this observance of ritual, this conformity to commandments and prohibitions, when He said, 'Seek ye first God's kingdom and righteousness' (Mt 6^{33}). What then is that true righteousness, that δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ, which Christ requires and fosters in the lives of His disciples? This question can best be answered by appeal to the Sermon on the Mount, a collection of the sayings of Jesus, some of which were uttered on various occasions. They are grouped together as illustrating chiefly the nature and demands of 'God's kingdom and righteousness.' In the 'beatitudes' are described the qualities which fit men for the kingdom of God—the characteristics which constitute true righteousness. They are such as spiritual poverty, a sense of one's weakness and sin; meekness, mercifulness, purity, and peacemaking. They are qualities which stand opposed to pride, presumption, and selfishness. They are, above all, qualities of the inner life. They describe what a man is in the secret springs of his motives and dispositions (Mt 5^{3-9}).

The true righteousness is a heroic virtue. It is founded in strong convictions of truth and duty, and is willing to suffer, if need be, for the truth (Mt 5^{10-12}). The truly righteous, the sons of the kingdom, have a saving, illuminating power. They are the world's 'salt' and 'light.' They preserve the world from moral corruption, and they shed abroad upon men the light of love and helpfulness (Mt 5^{13-16}). Again, the true righteousness is not a destructive, but a constructive principle. The righteousness of Christ's kingdom will not break with the past. It will conserve all that was true and good in OT religion, and build upon it. It requires that the earlier and imperfect system of Judaism should not be rejected, but fulfilled. Its true ideal content is to be developed out of the limited and provisional form in which it had been apprehended in earlier times, into its destined universality and spirituality. The Divine law which has been revealed is to be observed and taught in its essential spiritual content, and not merely in its outer form, and thus the righteousness of the sons of the kingdom will 'exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees' (Mt 5^{17-20}).

Then follow several illustrations of the true righteousness. The law prohibiting murder had commonly been taken merely as a prohibition of an overt act. Not to kill another was to obey it. But Jesus places right and wrong, not in overt acts, but in inner motives. He who cherishes murder and hate—the passions from which murder springs—is, morally speaking, a murderer. From hate murder would spring were there no outward constraint preventing it. But he who would commit an overt act of sin but for an outward restraint, has really committed it in his heart already (Mt 5^{21-26}). The same principle holds good respecting sensual passion. The impure thought, the carnal desire, is itself, in God's sight, the act of adultery. Every effort must be made, every necessary self-denial endured, by those who would be truly righteous, to break the power of evil thought and to exclude impurity from the heart (Mt 5^{27-32}).

Three further illustrations are given. The first concerns truthfulness. The Jews had been accustomed to make a fictitious distinction between oaths taken in J″'s name, which they had regarded as sacred, and other oaths, which they had felt at liberty to violate. Jesus discountenances not only this false distinction, but all such profane appeals to sacred names or objects. Those who confirm their assertions and promises by such oaths thereby betray the fact that their simple word is not regarded as binding, and thus show themselves not to be really truthful. The simple assertion should be enough. The honest man's word is as good as his most solemn oath. Be absolutely truthful, says Jesus, and the meaning and occasion of these irreverent oaths in common use will completely disappear (Mt 5^{33-37}). The next illustration respects revenge. The OT civil law of retaliation—which, at best, was a rude kind of justice incident to an undeveloped ethical code—was commonly construed as a permission to take private revenge. This disposition to do the offender an injury like that which he has done, Jesus discountenances. Better suffer injustice, He says, than resort to revenge, which springs from hate, and is wholly incompatible with love (Mt 5^{38-42}). The third illustration deals with the contrast of love and hate. From the OT maxim, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour,' many had drawn the inference, 'Thou shalt hate thine enemy.' Then, by making 'neighbour' mean 'friend,' it was easy to find in the maxim a justification for hatred towards personal enemies. This inference Jesus utterly repudiates. The righteousness of the kingdom requires that we should love all men; that we should seek the good even of our enemies. We may not hate even those who injure us. The gospel has no place for hatred, because it is essentially un-Godlike. God hates no one; He blesses all, even the wicked. So must the man do who possesses God's righteousness. Love is the essential principle of moral perfection, and hatred is the opposite of love. This love which finds its perfect exemplification in the character and action of God is the law of the Christian life. The Christian ideal is completeness of love; conformity to the moral completeness of God's own perfectly loving character (Mt 5^{43-48}).

The next group of passages illustrates how men are to 'do their righteousness.' The first illustration is drawn from alms-giving. Beneficence is not to be ostentatious. Those who give alms to be seen of men must do so from selfish motives. They, indeed, obtain their appropriate reward, but it is not the Divine approval (Mt 6^{1-4}). The next example is prayer. A false righteousness leads men to perform their devotions in public that they may create the impression that they are unusually pious. The true inner righteousness dictates that men pray in secret. Nor is prayer to be based on the idea that God is a reluctant Giver whose favour is to be won by the wearisome repetition of the same wish or cry. God is, on the contrary, a willing Giver who knows all our wants in advance, and only desires that we be willing to receive His mercies. A simple sincere request is therefore enough. Then follows the model prayer illustrating the true spirit, as well as the simple form of prayer (Mt 6^{5-15}). Jesus then shows that fasting performed with a mere semblance of humility and sorrow is no part of true righteousness, but that it may be such when practised unostentatiously from real inward contrition (Mt 6^{16-18}). Then follows a series of striking contrasts between the worldly and selfish spirit and supreme concern for the spiritual life. The latter must be placed first, and must subordinate to itself all other interests. Every life must have one main direction. There can be but one supreme choice. That should be made central in life which is truly central. Other things, so far as needful, God will supply. Seek, then, first His kingdom, and His righteousness; and all those things shall be added unto you (Mt 6^{19-34}).

It is not necessary for our present purpose to follow this series of sayings further. It illustrates, better than isolated uses of the words 'righteous' and 'righteousness' could do, the real content of Jesus' doctrine of righteousness as the Synoptic tradition has preserved it. It does not, indeed, yield us any formal definition of righteousness, but it shows us what righteousness is by exhibiting its characteristics and by showing how it expresses itself in human conduct. It leaves no doubt that the righteousness of the kingdom is essentially Godlike character. If it is not precisely identical with love, it is, at any rate, absolutely inseparable from it. Love is the completeness (τελειότης) of God, and the completeness of character in men consists in love. Righteousness appears to be conceived of as the different kinds of right action which have their spring in love. Righteousness is never presented in our sources as a mere judicial principle in contrast to mercy or grace. It is right conduct and right character, both of which are grounded in love. Nor does the word bear the semi-formal sense in which we shall find it employed by St. Paul. It is not thought of under the form of a *status* or relation; it is used rather in the simple ethical sense, to include the qualities of a character which is acceptable to God.

(*B*) RIGHTEOUSNESS IN THE WRITINGS OF ST. PAUL.—In several instances the phrase δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ is used to denote an attribute of God. In Ro 3^5 St. Paul asks the rhetorical question: 'But if our unrighteousness commendeth the righteousness of God, what shall we say?' The context shows that the 'righteousness of God' here means essentially the same as the faithfulness or truthfulness of God (cf. vv.$^{3.\,4}$). His righteousness is His faithfulness to His own nature and promises. If men are untrue to Him, their falseness will but set His righteousness in the stronger relief. Again, in $3^{25.\,26}$ St. Paul speaks of the ἔνδειξις τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ which God has made in the death of Christ, and which should prevent men from supposing that because God treated leniently the sins of men in past times, He is indifferent to sin or lightly regards it. Here, then, δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ must denote that self-respecting quality of holiness in God, that reaction of His nature against sin, which must find expression in condemnation of it. Righteousness in this sense is the reaction of God's holy nature against sin which expresses itself in the Divine wrath (ὀργὴ θεοῦ).

In the prevailing use of the word by St. Paul, however, righteousness means the state of acceptance with God into which one enters by faith. This is its meaning in Ro 1^{17} 'For therein (in the gospel) is revealed a righteousness of God by faith unto faith; as it is written, But the righteous shall live by faith'; also in Ro $3^{21.\,22}$ 'But now apart from the law a righteousness of God hath been manifested, being witnessed by the law and the prophets; even the righteousness of God through faith in Jesus Christ unto all them that believe.' We cannot accept the view of some, that in these passages also 'the righteousness of God' refers to the character of God, although we grant that between the idea of righteousness as an attribute of God and righteousness as a gift of God, a state of acceptance with God into which God introduces one, there is an essential connexion (cf. Sanday-Headlam on Ro 1^{17}). The righteousness which God confers has its ground in the righteousness of God. The state of acceptance into which the believer is represented as inducted is a state of fellowship and harmony with God. The conditions of being accounted righteous are such as God's perfect character prescribes. These conditions may be summed up in the word *faith*. Now faith is, in St. Paul's view, a personal relation with God mediated through Christ. It involves by its very nature spiritual union with God, obedience to His will, and increasing likeness of character to Him. There is thus a close connexion between the righteous character of God and the righteous *status* which He reckons as belonging to believers on condition of faith. But, formally considered, they are quite different.

The meaning of δικαιοσύνη now under consideration explains the meaning of justification (δικαίωσις), and of the reckoning of faith for righteousness (Ro 4). *To justify* means in Pauline phraseology, to regard and treat one as righteous; to confer the gift of righteousness: in other words, to declare one accepted with God. This judgment of justification God pronounces upon condition of faith. The phrase 'to reckon faith for righteousness' is a periphrasis for 'to justify.' To declare righteous upon condition of faith, means the same as to reckon faith for righteousness. In both cases the meaning, expressed in a somewhat formal and legal way, is simply this: that faith is the necessary condition of a gracious salvation. Salvation is a free gift; faith is its humble and thankful acceptance. St. Paul is fond of conceiving this process of salvation in forensic forms of thought, and of interpreting it by judicial analogies. This tendency is due to his OT and Rabbinic training. None the less does he lay stress upon its ethical and spiritual significance. If justification is a 'forensic act,' there corresponds to it and is involved in it a spiritual renewal. If righteousness is a gift or a state, it is also a character. It is an inward state as well as an outward one. It would be a great mistake to represent St. Paul's doctrine of salvation as predominantly legal or forensic. He has indeed brought over from his Jewish training the legal conception of righteousness as an acquittal before God and of justification as the decree of acquittal, but his intensely ethical principles of grace and faith put quite a different content into these thought-forms from what they have in Jewish theology. Essentially, St. Paul is far more of a mystic than of a legalist, though he still speaks, to some extent, the language of legalism in which he had been born and trained. Cf. Thackeray, *Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought*, 87 ff.

The question arises: If faith is reckoned for righteousness, is it because faith is synonymous with righteousness or a substitute for it? Faith is not righteousness in the sense of being so inherently excellent that it may be regarded as equivalent to righteousness. The power and value of faith are in its object. Faith is great because it allies man with God. Faith is union with Christ, and this union involves and guarantees increasing Christlikeness, and Christlikeness *is* righteousness. The imputation of faith for righteousness involves a gracious treatment of man on the part of God; it is an anticipatory declaration of what the grace of God will increasingly realize in those who in faith open their lives to the power of the Divine life. Justification means an entire forgiveness and an increasing attainment of righteousness.

(*C*) RIGHTEOUSNESS IN THE JOHANNINE WRITINGS.—In one passage only in the Fourth Gospel is the word δίκαιος applied to God: 'O righteous Father, the world knew thee not, but I knew thee' (17^{25}). The idea of God's righteousness here appears to be that it is the quality which prevents Him from passing the same judgment upon Christ's disciples which He passes upon the sinful world. Upon this equitableness of God, Jesus bases His confidence in asking that special blessings be conferred upon His disciples. The thought is similar in 17^{11}, where the Father is designated as ἅγιος. As the One who is absolutely good,—wholly separate from all that is sinful and wrong,—God is besought to guard from evil those whom He has given to His Son. In both these cases the righteousness or holiness of God is conceived of, not as a forensic or retributive quality, but as God's own moral self-consistency, His faithfulness to His own equity.

In 1 Jn (1^9 2^{29}) God is described as δίκαιος, and, in both cases, in a sense closely akin to that which we have found in the Gospel. 'If we confess our sins, he is faithful and righteous (πιστὸς καὶ δίκαιος) to forgive us our sins' (1^9). The correlation of the word δίκαιος with the word πιστός, as well as the entire context, shows that righteousness here is that quality of God which would certainly lead Him to forgive those who repent. It would be inconsistent in God—contrary alike to His promises and to His nature—not to forgive the penitent, and to exert upon his life the purifying influences of His grace. In the remaining passage (2^{29}), the term 'righteous' has a broader meaning, and designates the moral perfection of God in general, as the type and ideal of all goodness in man: 'If ye know that he (God) is righteous, ye know that every one also that doeth righteousness is begotten of him.' Since God is essentially righteous, those who are begotten of Him must also be righteous. A similar thought is presented in 3^7, but in the reverse order: 'He that doeth righteousness is righteous, even as he (Christ) is righteous.' As against the Gnostic over-emphasis of knowledge, the apostle insists that the mere intellectual possession of truth is not enough. Truth, or righteousness, is not merely something to be known, but something to be done (1^6 3^{21}). The man is righteous who walks in the truth as his native element (2 Jn ^{4}, 3 Jn $^{3.4}$); in whom the truth dwells, controlling and guiding him (Jn 8^{44}, 1 Jn 2^4); who belongs to the truth and draws from it the strength and inspiration of his life (Jn 18^{37}, 1 Jn 2^{21} 3^{19}). Doctrine and life are inseparable.

(*D*) RIGHTEOUSNESS IN OTHER NT WRITINGS.—There is nothing characteristically different in the conception of righteousness in the minor types of NT teaching from what we have already found. The word is almost always used in the practical, religious sense of the good life which Christ in the gospel requires and imparts. Both James and Hebrews allude to righteousness in the sense of a gift of God on condition of faith (Ja 2^{23}, He 11^7), but both these Epistles generally speak of it as that good life which the Christian loves and seeks. In the Petrine Epistles righteousness is the holy life in contrast to sin, as in 1 P 2^{24} 'that we, having died unto sins, might live unto righteousness.' In Revelation righteousness is predicated of the judgment (19^{11}, cf. 15^4), and is said to be 'done' (cf. 1 Jn) by those who are righteous in the world to come (22^{11}).

From this sketch it appears that the NT presents the idea of righteousness mainly in two ways: (1) as a quality of God's nature and action, and (2) as the character which God requires of man. The first of these ideas is the logical basis of the second. What God requires is grounded in what God is. What, now, is the actual content of that Divine righteousness which is the test and measure of all good life in men? What is the ethical nature of God? St. John replies that it is love, and the whole NT conception of God agrees with this answer. Righteousness is an activity or aspect of love. When it is used to denote more especially the law and penalty side of God's nature, it is the self-respecting, self-preservative aspect of holy love—love as it appears in forbidding all sin and enjoining conformity to the perfect standard of uprightness. Righteousness is an element of love, without which love would be mere benevolence or good-nature. But since love is eternally holy, and is a consuming fire to all sin, justice and judgment are the foundation of God's throne. In the NT, righteousness is sometimes used more comprehensively to denote the equity or uprightness of God in general, His correspondence to what He ought to be; sometimes more narrowly to denote the judicial aspect of His nature and action. In the latter sense it may be defined as the self-respect of perfect love.

LITERATURE.—The NT idea of righteousness is more or less fully discussed in all Commentaries and Biblical Theologies. The Pauline doctrine is carefully considered in Meyer and Sanday-Headlam on *Romans*, and in Morison on *Romans Third*. The general subject receives attention in the *NT Theologies* of Baur, Weiss, Beyschlag, Bovon, and Holtzmann, and special aspects of it in Wendt's *Teaching of Jesus*, Bruce's *Kingdom of God*, and *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, and Stevens' *Pauline Theology*. A careful study of the words will be found in Cremer's *Bib.-Theol. Lex. of NT Greek*.

G. B. STEVENS.

RIMMON (רִמּוֹן).—The name of a Syrian deity mentioned as occupying a temple in Damascus during the activity of Elisha in Israel (2 K 5^{18}). It appears in such compound proper names as Hadad-rimmon (Zec 12^{11}) and Tab-rimmon (1 K 15^{18}). LXX reads Ῥεμμάν and the Vulg. *Remmon*. It has been interpreted as 'pomegranate' by Movers (*Die Phönizier*, i. 197 f.) and Lenormant (*Lettres assyriologiques*, ii. 215, r. 1). But the name is now identified with the Bab.-Assyr. deity *Rammân*, god of wind and weather, of the air and clouds, of thunder, lightning, and storm. He is designated in the inscriptions as AN. IM, that is, 'god of the celestial regions,' and on reliefs and seals he is figured as armed like Jove with thunderbolts. Rammân is sometimes derived from רום or רָמַם, and thus taken to mean 'the high,' 'majestic' one (cf. Baudissin, *Studien*, i. p. 307); again it is derived from the stem רעם 'thunder,' and supposed to be = 'the thunderer' (Schrader, *Jahrb. f. prot. Theol.* i. 334 ff.). The correct derivation of the word is that advocated by Pinches from a Bab.-

Assyr. root *ramâmu*, 'roar,' 'thunder' (cf. Del. *HWB* 624). For Syria and the west, in a comparative list of deities, *Hadad, Adad, Daddu, Dada, Addu* appear as special names for Rammân (Bezold, *PSBA*, June 7, 1887). The identification of *Hadad* or *Adad* of Syria with *Rammân* of Babylonia-Assyria is established by the fact that these two names are represented by one and the same ideogram in several proper names (cf. Pinches, *PSBA*, 1883, pp. 71–73). Rimmon is then a Hebraized form (the word for 'pomegranate') of the Bab.-Assyr. name *Rammân*, and is identical with the Syrian god *Hadad* or *Adad*. The importance of this deity in Syria is seen in the fact that his name heads the list of four gods of the North Syrian kingdom of *Panammû* to whom his son *Bar-Rakûb* offered prayer (cf. *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, vol. i. p. 61). For a detailed description of the latest utterances on the etymology of the name, and the attributes and relations of Rammân, see Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 156–164. It may be that the compound (Heb.) form Hadad-Rimmon (in Bab.-Assyr. *Adad-Rammân*) arose, as suggested by Baethgen (*Beitr. z. sem. Relig.-Gesch.* 75), in a manner similar to Adonis-Osiris in Cyprus. Such combination would be self-explanatory to the population of all Western Asia. To this 'prince of the power of the air' was dedicated the eleventh month, the rain-month Shebat. In the Bab. pantheon, Rammân appears as the son of Anu and Anatu.

LITERATURE.—Baudissin, *Stud. z. sem. Relig.-Gesch.* i. 306–308; Tiele, *Bab.-Assyr. Gesch.* ii. 525, n. 3; Schrader, *COT* i. 196 f.; Delitzsch-Smith, *Chald. Genesis*, 269 f.; Winckler, *Gesch Bab. u. Assyr.* 164, 166; Baethgen, *Beitr. zur sem. Relig.-Gesch.* 75; Winckler, *Alttest. Untersuch.* 69; Delitzsch, *Calwer Bibellexicon*, art. 'Rimmon; Riehm, *HWB*, art. 'Rimmon'; Meyer, *Gesch.* i. 175, 182; Hilprecht, *Assyriaca*, 76 ff.

IRA M. PRICE.

RIMMON (רִמּוֹן 'pomegranate,' Ῥεμμών).—A Beerothite, the father of Baauah and Rechab, who murdered Ish-bosheth, the son and successor of Saul (2 S $4^{2.5.9}$).

RIMMON.—**1.** The rock (רִמּוֹן(הָ) סֶלַע, ἡ πέτρα (τοῦ) Ῥεμμών) in the eastern highlands or wilderness (*midbār*) of Benjamin, whither the remnants of the Benjamites (Jg 20^{45} 21^{13}) fled. It has been identified by Robinson (i. 440) as a lofty rock or conical chalky hill, visible in all directions, on the summit of which stands the village of *Rummôn*. It forms a remarkable object in the landscape as seen from the village of *Jibâ*, some 6 miles distant. It is about 4 miles east of *Beitîn* (Bethel) (cf. van de Velde, *Memoir*, 345; *SWP* ii. 292). A place of this name is mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome as existing in their day 15 miles north of Jerusalem (*Onomast. s.* 'Rimmon').

2. (רִמּוֹן) A city in the south of Judah, towards the border of Edom, Jos 15^{32} (Ἐρωμώθ); in 19^{7} (B Ἐρεμμών, A Ῥεμμώθ) counted to Simeon; in Zec 14^{10} (Ῥεμμών) named as lying to the far south of Jerusalem. In the first two of these passages Rimmon is coupled with Ain (in the first with, in the second without, the conjunction ו), cf. 1 Ch 4^{32}. In Neh 11^{29}, on the other hand, we read **En-rimmon** ('spring of the pomegranate'), and there are good grounds for holding that this is the correct reading in all the other passages as well. See EN-RIMMON.

Van de Velde (*Mem.* 344) has identified Rimmon and En-rimmon with *Umm er-Rumâmîn*, between Beit-Jibrîn and Bîr es-Seba, very nearly at the distance mentioned by Eusebius. He mentions that Grotius and Rosenmüller suppose, as a solution of the difficulty, that Ain and Rimmon were near together, and in later years united in one. 'Ain is probably identical with a site only half a mile north of *Umm er-Rumâmîn*, now called *Tell Khewelfeh*, and opposite another ancient site, *Tell Hora*. Between the two *tells* is a copious fountain filling a large ancient reservoir, which for miles around is the chief watering-place of the Bedawin population of this region. A city at the base of which such a remarkable fountain existed would well derive its name from "the fountain," and its vicinity to *Rimmon* would justify both its distinct enumeration and its collective appellation.' *SWP* (iii. p. 397) confirms this, stating that *Khan Khuweilfeh* is an extensive ruin near *Bir Khuweilfeh*. Caves, cisterns, broken pillars, shafts, and traces of walls are found. The ruins extend along the valley and on the higher ground. The well is large, lined with well-dressed stones, and resembling the Beersheba wells. The *tell* has an artificially-levelled platform, and seems to have formed a fortress. The water-supply is perennial. At *Khan umm er-Rumâmîn* there are heaps of well-dressed stones, many of which are drafted. There are also several large lintel stones, and part of a stone apparently representing the seven-branched candlestick. These remains probably belong to the Byzantine period (*SWP* iii. 398).

3. In Jos 19^{13} one of the boundaries of Zebulun is given as 'Rimmon that stretched to the Nēʿāh' (רִמּוֹן הַמְּתֹאָר הַנֵּעָה; AV wrongly 'Remmon-methoar to Neah'). In 1 Ch $6^{77\,[\text{Heb. } 62]}$ the name appears as **Rimmono** (רִמּוֹנוֹ), and in Jos 21^{35} as **Rimmonah** (for which, by a textual error, MT has **Dimnah** [which see]). See Dillm. *Joshua, ad loc.*

Robinson proposes to identify Rimmon with the village of *Rummâneh*, north of Nazareth, and this site has since been accepted. *Rummâneh* is a small village built of stone, and containing about 70 Moslems. It is situated on a low ridge above the plain, and there are a few olive trees around. The water-supply is from cisterns and a well. There are rock-cut caves, and traces of ancient remains in the village (*SWP* i. 417).

C. WARREN.

RIMMONO.—See RIMMON, No. **3.**

RIMMON-PEREZ (AV Rimmon-parez, following, with LXX and Vulg., the pausal form given in the MT of Nu $33^{19.20}$ רִמֹּן פָּרֶץ; LXX Ῥεμμὼν Φάρες (also Ῥαμμὼν and Ῥεμμὼθ Φ.), Vulg. *Remmonphares*).—One of the twelve camping places of the children of Israel, mentioned only in the itinerary of Nu 33, between Hazeroth and Moseroth. Ewald identifies it with Rimmon in the south of Judah (Jos 15^{32} etc.), and some of the names following are referred by him to the same region. He thinks it probable that the Israelites made their way for some distance into the southern part of the country, afterwards allotted to Judah and Simeon, and that in this portion of the itinerary a trace may be found of such a campaign; cf. Nu 14^{45} 21^{1-3}, and HORMAH. The second part of the name may have been added in commemoration of a victory gained at this place, after the analogy of BAAL-PERAZIM.

A. T. CHAPMAN.

RING (usually טַבַּעַת *ṭabbaʿath*; δακτύλιος).—The rings of the tabernacle and its furniture are spoken of as having been cast (Ex $25^{12\,al.}$), and this sense of moulding appears in the cognate Arabic *ṭabaʿa* 'to print,' *maṭbaʿah* 'printing press.' Rings are referred to in connexion with the boards for the corners of the tabernacle (Ex 26^{24}); there are also rings through which bars pass to keep in position the upright boards for the sides of the tabernacle (v.^{29}). Similarly, rings were attached to the ark of the covenant (25^{12}), to the brazen altar ($27^{4.7}$), to the altar of incense (30^{4}), and were used for fastening on the high priest's breastplate (28^{23}).

In Est 1^{6} and Ca 5^{14} גְּלִיל is translated 'ring' in AV and RV, but a preferable rendering would be 'cylinder' or 'rod.' The 'rings' (גַּבִּים) of Ezk 1^{18} are *felloes* (so RVm; cf. 1 K 7^{33}). In RV the more general term 'ring' is used instead of 'ear-ring' (נֶזֶם; see Ear-Ring) in Gn 24^{22} 35^{4}, Job 42^{11}, Ex $32^{2.3}$. In Ezk 16^{12}, where RV gives 'ring' for 'jewel' of AV, the allusion may be, not to a ring in the nose, but to the custom still prevailing among the Bedawin, in the case of a favourite child, of fastening an ornamental ring, jewel, or bead to a lock of hair over the brow and allowing it to dangle down as a protective charm nearly as far as the eyes. The ear-ring as worn by the Bedawin is about an inch and a half in diameter, and opens with a hinge like a bracelet, so that when closed it clasps the outer ear. The hasty removal of such ornaments is translated 'break off' (פרק) in Ex 32^{2}. The ring (*ṭabbaʿath*) appears as an ornament in Is 3^{21}, and as a gift for sacred purposes in Ex 35^{22}, Nu 31^{50} (both P).

Signet-ring.—In closest connexion with the general meaning of 'ring' is the special sense of signet-ring: Gn 41^{42}, Est $3^{10.12}$ $8^{2.8.10}$, in which *ṭabbaʿath* is the equivalent of חוֹתָם *ḥôthām* in Gn 38^{18} (in v.^{25} חוֹתֶמֶת), Ex $28^{11.21.36}$ $39^{6.14.30}$, Jer 22^{24}, Hag 2^{23}, Job 38^{14} 41^{7}, Ca 8^{6}; עִזְקָא *ʿizḳā* in Dn 6^{17}; *δακτύλιος* in Lk 15^{22}, and *σφραγίς* in Ro 4^{11}, 1 Co 9^{2}, Apoc. *passim*, etc. See art. Signet.

Both in biblical usage and in modern custom there are several important meanings connected with the employment of signet-rings.

1. *Irrevocable testimony*, Jer 32^{44}, Ro 4^{11}, 1 Co 9^{2}.—Where the art of writing is limited to the educated few, as is the case still in the East, the difficulty of affixing the signature is got over by the use of a seal. In front of every Turkish police-court men sit with paper and ink ready to write out a statement of evidence or form of appeal, and one or two men are usually to be met with who have seals for sale and are expert in cutting monograms for brass seals. When a village is divided into two parties, as in the case of a dispute about a right of way through private property, it is customary to present to the local magistrate two papers covered with the seals of those who thus witness for and against the road.

2. *Delegated authority.*—Thus Pharaoh took off his ring and put it upon Joseph (Gn 41^{42}), and Ahasuerus gave his ring to Haman (Est 3^{10}). Hence the figurative description of Zerubbabel as a signet of the Lord (Hag 2^{23}). Thus in an Oriental custom-house a junior clerk borrows the seal of a busy higher official, and an indolently obliging censor leaves in the mission press his seal which gives to books the right of circulation in the empire.

3. *Completion.*—From its being affixed to the end of a document as a testimony to the truth of what is stated, the act of applying the seal gave a sense of finality to what was thus sealed (Dn 9^{24} 12^{4}).

4. *Inviolability* (Job 14^{17}, Eph 4^{30}, Rev 5^{2}).—A sense of sanctity was connected with anything sealed.

The veneration felt towards anything guarded by a seal was illustrated some years ago at Sidon. A coasting vessel had gone on the rocks near that town, and a few days afterwards there was washed ashore a small bag of gold coins, which the captain had received from a British merchant in Beyrout, with instructions to deliver it over to another merchant in Jaffa. The bag was found on the Sidon beach by a Syrian peasant; and though such a treasure, washed up at his feet from the sea, might in itself have been regarded as sent from God to him, he shrank from breaking the seal. He walked the intervening distance of twenty miles in order to deliver the money to its owner in Beyrout.

Arabic tales abound in accounts of things kept secret and wonders wrought by seals of power, the most celebrated being the wishing seal of king Solomon.

In the Book of Job there occur several beautiful figurative applications of the signet, such as the sealing up of the stars (9^{7}) as of something folded away and laid out of sight, the sealing of instruction in night visions (33^{16}) like the imprinting of a mould upon clay, and the sealing up of man's hand (37^{7}) as expressing the limitation of human power. See also art. Seal, Sealing.

G. M. Mackie.

RINGSTRAKED.—So the adj. עָקֹד *ʿāḳōd* is tr^{d} in all its occurrences, Gn $30^{35.39.40}$ $31^{8.8.10.12}$. The root verb עקד is found once, Gn 22^{9} 'Abraham . . . *bound* Isaac his son,' so that the primary idea is 'banded' or 'striped.' The adj. is used of striped cattle, goats, or sheep. The LXX tr. *διάλευκος* except in $31^{8.8}$ *λευκός*, and it is followed generally by the Vulg. (*albus*) and most English versions 'white'; but Tind. has 'straked' in 31^{8}, and then the Bishops' Bible gives 'ringstraked' throughout. The word does not seem to occur in Eng. literature elsewhere. See Strake. J. Hastings.

RINNAH (רִנָּה).—A Judahite, one of the sons of Shimon, 1 Ch 4^{20}. The LXX (B Ἀνά, A Ῥαννών) makes him the son of Hanan, taking the following בֶּן־חָנָן thus (*υἱὸς Φανά* [Ἀνάν]) instead of making it a proper name, Ben-hanan, as AV and RV.

RIPHATH (רִיפַת; A Ῥιφάθ, *D* Ἐριφάθ).—One of the sons of Gomer, Gn 10^{3}. The parallel passage, 1 Ch 1^{6}, reads **Diphath** (דִּיפַת, so RV, but AV Riphath); but this is certainly an ancient scribal error, easily explicable as due to an interchange of ר and ד. The LXX (B Ἐρειφάθ, A Ῥιφαέ) and Vulgate (*Riphath*) support this view.

The ethnographical sense of Riphath is uncertain. Perhaps the view of Josephus (*Ant.* I. vi. 1) that the Riphæans (*i.e.* Paphlagonians) are meant is still the most plausible. Bochart and Lagarde think of the Bithynian river Rhebas, which falls into the Black Sea, and the district Rhebantia in the Thracian Bosporus; but, as Dillmann remarks, this appears to be too far west for the position of Riphath between Ashkenaz (? Phrygia) and Togarmah (? W. Armenia). A widely-held opinion, which makes its appearance as early as the Book of Jubilees, identified Riphath with the fabulous Riphæan mountains, which were supposed to form the northern boundary of the earth.

J. A. Selbie.

RISSAH (רִסָּה; B Δεσσά, AF Ῥεσσά).—A camping place of the children of Israel, noted only in Nu $33^{21.22}$. It has been proposed to identify it with *Rasa* in the Peutinger Tables, on the road from the Gulf of Akabah to Jerusalem, or with Ῥῆσα of Jos. *Ant.* XIV. xiii. 9, xv. 2, *BJ* I. xiii. 8; but according to some MSS this place is Θρῆσα.

A. T. Chapman.

RITHMAH (רִתְמָה; LXX Ῥαθαμά; Vulg. *Rethma*, Nu $33^{18.19}$).—The first of the twelve stations following Hazeroth which are given in Nu 33 only. The name seems to be connected with רֹתֶם (AV and RV 'juniper,' RVm 'broom'), and to indicate a place where that shrub was found in abundance. Such are noted by Robinson (*Wady Abu Retamât*) and Palmer (*Wady Erthâme*), but any definite identification of this or of the eleven following stations must be regarded as very uncertain.

A. T. Chapman.

RIVER.—In the OT this is the AV rendering of the following words: 1. יְאוֹר or יְאֹר, an Egyptian loan-word, which in the singular is always (except in Dn $12^{5\,bis.6.7}$, where it means the Tigris) used of the Nile: Gn $41^{1.2.3\,bis.17.18}$, Ex 1^{22} $2^{3.5\,bis}$ $4^{9\,bis}$ $7^{15.17.18\,ter.20\,bis.21\,ter.24\,bis.25.28}$ [Eng. 8^{3}] $8^{5\,(9).7\,(11)}$ 17^{5} [all JE], Am 8^{8} 9^{5},* Is $19^{7\,ter}$ $23^{3.10}$, Jer 46 [Gr. 26] $^{7.8}$, Ezk $29^{3b.9}$, Zec 10^{11}. In all these passages the LXX renders by *ποταμός* (in Ezk $29^{3b.9}$, Zec 10^{11} *ποταμοί*) except Is $23^{3.10}$, where a different text appears to have been followed. The plur. יְאֹרִים is used of the Nile arms or canals: Ex 7^{19} $8^{1\,(5)}$ [both

---

* The prophet's allusion in these two passages to the rise and the fall of the Nile (יְאֹר מִצְרַיִם) is quite obscured by the AV rendering 'flood.'

P], Is 7^{18} 19^{6} 37^{25}=2 K 19^{24}, Nah 3^{8}, Ezk 29$^{3.\,4\,bis.}$[*]$^{5.\,10}$ 30^{12}, Ps 78^{44}. The LXX has in all these passages ποταμοί (in Is 7^{16}, Ezk 29$^{4\,bis.\,5}$ ποταμός) except Is 19^{6}, which reads αἱ διώρυχες τοῦ ποταμοῦ, and 37^{25}, where the text is mutilated. The same word יְאֹרִים is used of watercourses in general in Is 33^{21} (διώρυχες), and is even applied once to shafts or tunnels cut in the rock by the miner, Job 28^{10} (cf. נַחַל in v.^{4}).

2. נָהָר (LXX in the following passages ποταμός, unless otherwise noted), the most general term for river, occurs some 120 times in the OT. It is uncertain whether it is derived from a root נהר 'to flow,' or whether the latter is a denominative from נָהָר, which may be a loan-word (cf. Assyr. *nâru*, 'stream,' 'river'). It is used of rivers in general in Nu 24^{6} [JE], Job 14^{11} 40^{23}, Ps 74^{15} 78^{16} etc.; very frequently of particular rivers: the river of Eden and its branches Gn 2$^{10.\,13.\,14}$; the Nile Is 19^{5}; esp. the Euphrates (נְהַר־פְּרָת) Gn 15^{16}, Dt 1^{7}, Jos 1^{4}, which is often called הַנָּהָר as **the river** κατ᾽ ἐξοχήν (cf. the title 'the great river,' הַנָּהָר הַגָּדוֹל, in Gn 15^{16}, Dt 1^{7}, although this title is once, Dn 10^{4}, applied to the Tigris), Gn 31^{21}, Ex 23^{31}, Nu 22^{5}, Jos 24$^{2.\,3.\,14.\,15}$ [all E], Ezr 8^{16}, Neh 2$^{7.\,9}$ 3^{7} (and Aram. נְהַר, emphat. נַהֲרָא, Ezr 4$^{10.\,11.\,16.\,17.\,20}$ and oft.), prob. also Gn 36^{37} (P; see Rehoboth, No. 2), without the art. (poet.) in Is 7^{20}, Jer 2^{16}, Mic 7^{12}, Zec 9^{10}, Ps 72^{6}; the river of Gozan 2 K 17^{6} 18^{11}, cf. 1 Ch 5^{26}; the rivers of Cush Zeph 3^{10}. The reference is probably to *canals* in the following: the Chebar Ezk 1$^{1.\,3}$ 3$^{15.\,23}$ 10$^{15.\,20.\,22}$ 43^{3}; the Ahava Ezr 8$^{21.\,31}$; the 'rivers' of Babylon Ps 137^{1}; the gates of the 'rivers' of Nineveh Nah 2^{7} (BA πύλαι τῶν πόλεων, ℵ* π. τ. ποταμῶν), as נְהָרוֹת is used of the canals of Egypt in Ex 7^{19} 8$^{1\,(5)}$ (in both ∥ יְאֹרִים). In Job 28^{11} 'he (the miner) bindeth the streams (נְהָרוֹת) that they trickle not,' the reference is to underground water which is prevented by the use of lime or clay from percolating into the mine (A. B. Davidson, *ad loc.*). The נַהֲרַיִם in **Aram-naharaim** (Gn 24^{10}, Dt 23^{4} [both Μεσοποταμία], Jg 3^{6} [B ποταμοὶ Συρίας, A Σ. Μεσοποταμία ποταμῶν], Ps 60 [title; Μεσοποταμία Συρίας]) was probably meant by the Hebrew writers to have a dual sense ('Aram *of the two rivers*,' these being probably [see Dillm. on Gn 24^{10}] the Euphrates and the Chaboras), but the original ending may have been a plural one (ם ִ—), as would appear to be implied by the Tel el-Amarna *Na-ri-ma*, *Naḫrima*, and the Egyp. *Nhrima*.

3. נַחַל (etym. uncertain) is used either (*a*) of a torrent of rushing water or (*b*) of a valley through which a torrent flows or has flowed, a 'torrent-valley' (modern *wādy*).[†] For this latter sense cf. Gn 26$^{17.\,19}$, Nu 13$^{23.\,24}$ 21^{12} 32^{9}, Dt 1^{24} 2^{36a} (see Driver's note; so Jos 12^{2} 13$^{9.\,16}$ [same phrases]; v.^{b} is uncertain [see Driver's note], so Jos 12$^{2\,(2nd\ time)}$) 3$^{12.\,16\,(2nd\ time)}$ 4^{48} [as 2^{36a}], 2 K 10^{33}. For AV 'river(s)' RV substitutes the very misleading tr. 'brook(s)' in Nu 34^{5}, Dt 10^{7}, Jos 15$^{4.\,47}$ 16^{6} 17^{9} 19^{11}, 1 K 8^{65}, 2 K 24^{7}, 2 Ch 7^{8}, Am 6^{14}, Ezk 47^{19} 48^{26}, and the equally misleading 'valley' in Dt 2$^{24.\,36\,bis}$ 3$^{8.\,12}$ 4^{48}, Jos 12$^{1.\,2\,bis}$ 13$^{9\,bis.\,16\,bis}$, 2 K 10^{33}. The use of נַחַל in the sense (*a*) above (reproduced by the LXX in the following passages, unless otherwise noted, by χειμάρρους or χείμαρρος) may be illustrated by its application to the Kishon Jg 4$^{7.\,13}$ 5$^{21\,ter}$, Ps 83$^{10\,(9)}$; to Elijah's stream Cherith 1 K 17$^{3.\,4.\,5.\,6.\,7}$, which was liable to dry up in summer, cf. Sir 40^{13} (ποταμός); to water bursting from the rock Ps 78^{20} (∥ מַיִם). Prefixed to another word, it is often used in the sense (*b*) above: *Naḥal* Arnon Nu 21^{14} [here plur.], Dt 2^{24} (φάραγξ)^{36} 3$^{8.\,12.\,16}$ 4^{48}, Jos 12$^{1.\,2}$ 13$^{9.\,16}$, 2 K 10^{33}; *N.* Eshcol ('Wādy of the Cluster') Nu 32^{9}, Dt 1^{24} (both Φάραγξ βότρυος); *N. hashshiṭṭim*, 'Wādy of the Acacias' Jl 4 (3)^{16} (χειμάρρος τῶν σχοίνων); *N.* Besor 1 S 30$^{9.\,10.\,21}$; *N.* Gad 2 S 24^{5}; *N.* Gerar Gn 26^{17}; *N.* Zered Nu 21^{12}, Dt 2$^{13.\,14}$ (LXX in last five passages φάραγξ); *N.* Jabboḳ Gn 32^{24}, Dt 2^{37} 3^{16}, Jos 12^{2}; *N.* Ḳidron 2 S 15^{23}, 1 K 2^{37} 15^{13} 18^{40}, 2 K 23$^{6.\,12}$, 2 Ch 15^{16} 29^{16} 30^{14}, Jer 31 (38)^{40} (νάχαλ); *N.* Ḳanah Jos 16^{6} 17^{9} (φάραγξ); *N.* Soreḳ Jg 16^{4} (B Ἀλσωρήχ, A ὁ χειμαρρο(υ)ς Σωρήχ); *N. ha-'Arabah* Am 6^{14} [dub.; Wellh. would read *N. Miẓraim*; LXX ὁ χειμαρρο(υ)ς τῶν δυσμῶν]. The familiar **river** (RV 'brook' except in Jth 1^{9} 'river') **of Egypt** is *N. Miẓraim* (modern *Wādy el-'Arîsh*). See Egypt (River of). נַחַל is once, Job 28^{4}, used of a *miner's shaft* (cf. the use of יְאֹרִים in v.^{10}).

4. 5. יוּבַל, by-form אוּבָל or אֻבָל (root יבל 'flow' [?]). The former occurs only in Jer 17^{8} 'he shall be as a tree planted by the waters (מַיִם, ὕδατα), and that spreadeth out his roots by the river' (עַל־יוּבַל, ἐπὶ ἰκμάδα, 'to moisture'); the latter only in Dn 8$^{2.\,3.\,6}$ (Theod. transliterates τὸ Οὐβάλ, LXX has ἡ πύλη).

6. אָפִיק, from a root אפק 'to hold,' is a poetical word, whose nearest English equivalent is perhaps 'channel,' the original idea being that of holding or confining waters.[*] It thus denotes, primarily at least, the stream-bed rather than the stream. Its occurrences are: Ps 18$^{15\,(16)}$ (where for 'channels of waters,' אֲפִיקֵי מַיִם, we should read, as in 2 S 22^{16}, 'channels (*i.e.* bed) of the sea,' א׳ יָם. The LXX has in the latter ἀφέσεις θαλάσσης, and in the former πηγαὶ ὑδάτων) 41^{1} (AV and RV 'brooks,' LXX πηγαί) 126^{4} (AV and RV 'streams,' LXX χειμάρρους), Jl 1^{20} 4 (3)^{16} (in both AV 'rivers,' RV 'brooks,' LXX ἀφέσεις), Ca 5^{12} (AV 'rivers,' RV 'brooks,' LXX πληρώματα), Job 6^{15} (א׳ נְחָלִים 'channel of torrents,' LXX χειμάρρους), Is 8^{7} (AV and RV 'channels,' LXX φάραγξ), Ezk 6^{3} 31^{12} 32^{6} 34^{13} 35^{8} 36$^{4.\,6}$ (AV in all the Ezekiel passages has 'rivers,' RV 'watercourses,' LXX φάραγξ in all except 31^{12}, where it has πεδίον).

7. פֶּלֶג, from root [פלג] 'divide,' cf. the proper name Peleg and the explanation of it given by J in Gn 10^{25}. This word means an artificial *watercourse*, a *canal* formed for the purpose of irrigation. Its occurrences are: Job 29^{6} ('rivers of oil,' LXX simply γάλα); Ps 1^{3} (AV 'rivers,' RV 'streams,' LXX διέξοδοι) 46^{4} ('there is a river [נָהָר] whose streams [פְּלָגִים, LXX ὁρμήματα, arms or branches led from the river through the surrounding land] make glad the city of our God') 65$^{10\,(9)}$ (ποταμός, see below) 119^{136} ('mine eyes run down with rivers [LXX διέξοδοι] of waters'), borrowed from or quoted in La 3^{48} (LXX ἀφέσεις. The figure in these two passages is probably that of the tears in their flow tracing furrows on the cheek); Pr 5^{16} ('should thy springs be scattered abroad, thy streams of water [LXX ὕδατα] in the street?' an exhortation to conjugal fidelity, addressed probably to the husband, who is cautioned against seeking pleasure from sources outside his own house; see the various interpretations discussed in Wildeboer or Toy) 21^{1} ('the king's heart is in the hand of the Lord as the watercourses'; so RV, which brings out the meaning more clearly than the AV 'rivers'; LXX ὁρμὴ ὑδάτων); Is 30^{25} (LXX ὕδωρ διαπορευόμενον, ∥ יִבְלֵי מַיִם) 32^{2} ('as rivers of water in a dry place,' LXX ὕδωρ φερόμενον). There is some doubt as to Jg 5$^{15.\,16}$ and Job 20^{17}. In the former of these passages AV has 'for (m. 'in') the divisions of Reuben,' RV 'by the watercourses of Reuben,' פלגות being here and in Job 20^{17} taken in both versions as the plural of פְּלַגָּה, a supposed by-form of פֶּלֶג, but it is not improbable that we should at least in Jg 5 vocalize פְּלֻגּוֹת (cf. 2 Ch 35$^{5.\,12}$), giving the meaning of 'divisions' in the sense of *clans* or *families*. In Jg 5^{15} the LXX has μερίδες, and in v.^{16} διαιρέσεις, while in Job 20^{17} it reads ἄμελξις

---

[*] Cornill, following the LXX, deletes the last clause of the MT, in which יְאֹרִים occurs a third time.

[†] See Driver on Am 5^{24}.

[*] The word אָפִיק is used figuratively of the bones of the hippopotamus, as being hollow, Job 40^{18}, and of the furrows between the scales of the crocodile, 41$^{7\,(15)}$.

νομάδων, after which Duhm emends **to** חֲלֵב נָוֹת 'milk of the pastures.' But Dillm., Budde, and most tr. 'streams,' viz. of honey, etc., as explained in v.^{b} (cf. 29^{6}). In Ps 65$^{10(9)}$ 'the river of God' (פֶּלֶג אֱלֹהִים) is the channel or conduit by which rain is poetically supposed to be conducted from its reservoirs in the heavens (cf. Job 38^{25} 'Who hath cleft a conduit for the rain?'). See Driver, *Par. Psalt. ad loc.*

8. תְּעָלָה. The proper meaning of this word is 'conduit' (from Hiphil of עלה), and it is so rendered by both AV and RV in 2 K 18^{17} 20^{20}, Is 7^{3} 36^{2} (LXX, except Is 7^{3}, where 'conduit' is not expressed, *ὑδραγωγός*). In Job 38^{25} AV has 'water-course,' RV 'channel' (poet. for rain), LXX *ῥύσις*; in Ezk 31^{4} AV 'little rivers,' RV 'channels' (for irrigation), LXX *συστέματα*. In 1 K 18$^{32.35.38}$ the same Heb. term is used for the 'trench' round Elijah's altar (LXX *θάλασσα*); but in Jer 30 [Gr. 37]^{13} 46 [Gr. 26]^{11} it (really a diff. word) means either *new flesh* or *plaister* (something *coming up*, or *placed on* the wound); LXX *ὠφελ(ε)ια*, confusing with תּוֹעָלָה from √ יעל.

In the NT 'river' occurs only in Mk 1^{5}, Jn 7^{38},* Ac 16^{13}, Rev 8^{10} 9^{14} 16$^{4.12}$ 22$^{1.2}$, in all of which it is the tr. of *ποταμός*. The imagery of Rev 22$^{1f.}$ is borrowed from Gn 2$^{9f.}$ and from the vision in Ezk 47.

Rivers serve in Scripture, as they have done in all ages, to fix boundaries: Gn 15^{18}, Ex 23^{31}, Nu 34^{5}, Dt 1^{7} 3$^{8.16}$ 11^{24}, Jos 1^{4} 12^{1} 15^{4} 16^{8} 17^{9} 19^{11}, Jg 4^{13}, 2 S 10^{16}, 1 K 4$^{21.24}$ 8^{65}, 2 K 10^{33} 24^{7}, Ezr 4^{10}, Neh 2^{7} etc.; they are utilized for bathing Ex 2^{5}, for drinking 7$^{18.21}$, 1 K 17$^{4.6}$, for fishing Ex 7$^{18.21}$, Lv 11$^{9.10}$, Ec 1^{7}, Ezk 29$^{4.5}$, and for irrigation (see above); they serve as means of defence Nah 3^{8}, and as a highway for navigation Is 18^{2}; a river side appears as a place of prayer in Ac 16^{13}.

Besides the instances of figurative employment of the word 'river' which have been referred to above, the following may be noted:—In Jer 46$^{7.8}$ the rising of the Nile is used as a symbol of an Egyptian invasion; cf. the similar use in Is 8^{7} of 'the river' to typify the invading hosts of Assyria, and the language used in Jer 47^{2}; in Is 43^{2} (cf. Ps 66^{12}) rivers are a type of danger or affliction; in Is 59^{19} a manifestation of Jehovah is compared to a נָהָר צָר, the probable rendering being that of RV 'He shall come as a rushing stream, which the breath of the LORD driveth' (AV 'when the enemy shall come in like a flood, the spirit of the LORD shall lift up a standard against him'; see the Comm. *ad loc.*); in Ps 46$^{5(4)}$ a river (נָהָר) is a type of Jehovah's favour; in Job 29^{6}, Ps 119^{136}, La 3^{48} (all פַּלְגֵים), Mic 6^{7}, Job 20^{17} (both נְחָלִים) 'rivers' typify abundance; in Am 5^{24} righteousness is compared to a perennial torrent (נַחַל); a well-spring of wisdom and a flowing torrent (נַחַל) are coupled in Pr 18^{4}; a river (נָהָר) is a symbol of peace in Is 48^{18} 66^{12}; the breath of Jehovah is compared in Is 30^{28} to an overflowing torrent, and in v.^{33} to a torrent of brimstone (both נַחַל).

The נַחֲלֵי בְלִיַּעַל, lit. 'torrents of Belial,' of 2 S 22^{5} is a doubtful phrase. It is generally explained as 'torrents of worthlessness (=wickedness),' but Cheyne (*Expositor*, 1895, p. 435 ff., see also *Expos. Times*, viii. [1897], p. 423 f., and *Encyc. Bibl.* art. 'Belial') discovers a mythological allusion in the expression and renders it 'streams of the underworld,' identifying *Belial* with the Babylonian goddess *Belili*, whom he connects with the underworld. Hommel agrees with this identification, but Cheyne's interpretation is opposed by Baudissin and Jensen (see *PRE*^{3}, *s.* 'Belial,' and the articles by all four scholars in the *Expos. Times*, ix. pp. 40 ff., 91 f., 283 f., 332, 567).

For the river system of Palestine, see **vol. iii.** p. 642 f., and for an account of particular rivers the articles under their respective names.

J. A. SELBIE.

RIVER OF EGYPT.—See EGYPT (RIVER OF), and add that in RV of Am 8^{8} 9^{5} the Nile is called the 'River of Egypt' (יְאֹר מִצְרַיִם, AV badly 'flood').

RIZIA (רִצְיָא; B *Ῥασειά*, A *Ῥασιά*).—An Asherite, 1 Ch 7^{39}.

RIZPAH (רִצְפָּה; LXX *Ῥεσφά*, except 2 S 21^{8}, where A has *Ῥεφφάθ*).—A concubine of king Saul. She is called the daughter of Aiah (2 S 3^{7} 21^{8}), which may imply that she was a descendant of that Hivite clan in the S.E. of Palestine from which Esau is said to have taken one of his wives (Gn 36$^{2.24}$ [R]).

When the Philistines struck down the kingdom of Saul, and David established himself in Hebron, Rizpah must have withdrawn to Mahanaim among the few who clung to the ruined house. For (2 S 3$^{6-11}$) when Abner held towards Ishbosheth the position, and was suspected of cherishing the designs, of a Mayor of the Palace, some who doubted his loyalty accused him of having entered into an intrigue with his dead master's concubine. The sting of the accusation lay in the fact that such an alliance was regarded at that period as a sure step toward claiming the throne (cf. 2 S 16^{22}, and especially 1 K 2^{22}).

At a later period in David's reign (the exact date of the incident is uncertain, since the story is found in an appendix to the history of David), a three years' famine fell upon the land (2 S 21$^{1ff.}$). The oracle, when consulted, decided that J″ was angry with His people, and that the cause of that anger was to be found in the fact that Saul, instead of remaining true to the oath of the congregation (Jos 9), had deprived the Gibeonites of the privileges which the oath secured them, and had oppressed this clan. David accordingly approached the Gibeonites with offers to stanch the feud. These rejected all money compensation, and, denying that they had any quarrel with Israel at large, demanded the blood of the guilty house. Seven descendants of Saul—five of them sons of Merab; two, Armoni and Mephibosheth, sons of Rizpah—were thereupon seized and delivered over to their vengeance. The Gibeonites brought them up to Gibeon, which, from its name 'the hill of God,' evidently bore a sacro-sanct character, and there exposed* the seven before J″. To the rock on this hill the unhappy Rizpah resorted, and, spreading her mourning cloak of sackcloth, kept dreary watch beneath her dead to scare from their prey the wheeling vultures of the daytime, the prowling jackals of the night. The judicial execution had taken place in the early days of barley harvest. It lends a sharper touch to the picture, if one can see the reapers come and go in the fields, while above them the silent woman crouched beside her dead, whose death was to avert the curse from those fields. For she must watch on the height until the merciful rain of heaven signalled the end. The fall of rain is not inserted as a mere mark of the length of her guard; it is not 'the periodic rains in October' which are referred to. Probably it is mentioned as the sign from which men concluded that the famine-drought was broken, that the sacrifice was effectual, that the anger of J″ was averted from His land, and that now at last the mother might cease from her fearful watch.

A. C. WELCH.

---

* The quotation 'Out of his belly,' etc., may represent the general sense of such OT passages as Is 44^{3} 55^{1} 58^{11}, Jer 2^{13}, Ezk 36$^{25ff.}$ 47$^{1ff.}$, Jl 2$^{18f.}$ 3$^{1f.}$, Zec 13^{1} 14^{8}—the series resting ultimately (Westcott) on Ex 17^{6}, Nu 20^{11}.

* The word used is rare and uncertain in its meaning. It occurs again Nu 25^{4}. The likeliest sense is the general one 'exposed.' Probably the method of actual execution was not mentioned, because so well known as to need no detailed explanation. See, further, art. HANGING.

ROAD (Anglo-Sax. *rad*, a journey, literally 'a riding,' from *ridan* to ride) is found in AV only once, 1 S 27^{10} 'Whither have ye made a road today?' The sense is a riding into a country with hostile intent, a 'raid'* (so RV). Cf. Calderwood, *Hist.* 143, 'All who were under the danger of the lawes for the roade of Ruthven were charged to crave pardon'; and Spenser, *FQ* VI. viii. 35—

> 'In these wylde deserts where she now abode,
> There dwelt a salvage nation, which did live
> Of stealth and spoile, and making nightly rode
> Into their neighbours borders.'

See WAY. J. HASTINGS.

ROBBER, ROBBERY.—See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS, vol. i. p. 522^b.

ROBBERS OF CHURCHES.—See CHURCHES (ROBBERS OF).

ROCK.—In the OT this is the AV tr. of the following terms:—**1.** חַלָּמִישׁ, properly 'flint.' AV renders by 'rock' only in Job 28^9 'he (the miner) putteth forth his hand upon the rock (RV 'flint,' AVm 'flinty rock'), he overturneth the mountains by the roots' (cf. v.^{10} 'he cutteth out channels among the rocks,' צוּרוֹת). The combination צוּר ח׳ 'rock of flint' (so AV and RV, LXX *πέτρα ἀκρότομος*, cf. Wis 11^4) occurs in Dt 8^{15}, and ח׳ צוּר (‖ סֶלַע), lit. 'flint of rock' (AV and RV 'flinty rock,' LXX *στερεὰ πέτρα*) in 32^{13}. In the only other two instances in which the Heb. word occurs, ח׳ stands alone: Ps 114^6 (‖ צוּר; AV and RV 'flint,' LXX *ἀκρότομος*), Is 50^7, where it is used as a symbol of firmness, 'therefore have I set my face like a flint' (*στερεὰ πέτρα*; cf. Ezk 3^9 'as an adamant harder than flint [צֹר, *πέτρα*] have I made thy forehead'). See, further, art. FLINT.

2. [כֵּף] only in plur. כֵּפִים. This, which is perhaps an Aram. loan-word (כֵּיפָא *kêphā*, cf. the NT *Kephas*, see art. PETER in vol. iii. p. 756), occurs only in Jer 4^{29} 'they climb up upon the rocks' (for refuge; LXX *πέτραι*), and in Job 30^6 of one of the dwelling-places of a race of outcasts (‖ חֹרִים 'caves'; on cave-dwellers or *Troglodytes*, see Driver, *Deut.* 37 f.), cf. 24^8 'they embrace the rock (צוּר, *πέτρα*) for want of a shelter.' In 30^6 the LXX has a shorter text than the Hebrew, the whole verse reading *ὧν οἱ οἶκοι αὐτῶν ἦσαν τρῶγλαι πετρῶν*.

3. מָעוֹז is once rendered 'rock' by AV, namely Jg 6^{26} 'build an altar upon the top of this rock' (m. 'strong place,' RV 'strong hold,' B *τὸ Μαουέκ*, A *τὸ ὄρος Μαώχ*). The reference is probably to a natural stronghold rather than to a fortification (Moore). The word מָעוֹז 'place of refuge' (if from √ עוז) or 'strong place' (if from עזז) occurs elsewhere only in the Prophetical books (21 times) and in Proverbs (once) and Psalms (9 times). For צוּר מָעוֹז, applied to God, see below. Cf. also art. MAUZZIM.

4. סֶלַע, the nearest English equivalents of which are 'cliff' and 'crag.' The ideas of steepness and inaccessibility are connected with the word, at least in earlier passages, although in later ones it has at times a more general sense. In the following passages סֶלַע is used (LXX, wherever 'rock' is expressed, has *πέτρα*, unless otherwise noted): Nu $20^{8\,bis.\,10\,bis.\,11}$ [all P], Neh 9^{15}, Ps 78^{16} (v.^{15} צוּר), of the rock struck by Moses; in the similar narrative, Ex $17^{6\,bis}$ [E] צוּר is used, and so in Dt 8^{15}, Ps 78^{15} (v.^{16} סֶלַע)^{20} 105^{41} 114^6, Is $48^{21\,bis}$ [on the later Jewish legends regarding this rock, see below on 1 Co 10^4]. In Nu 24^{21} [JE] the words of Balaam with reference to the Ḳenites, 'strong is thy dwelling-place, and thy nest (*ḳen*, a characteristic word-play) is set in the rock,' allude to the safety of birds and their nests on inaccessible cliffs, cf., for the same figure, Ca 2^{14}, Jer 48 [Gr. 28]^{26} 49 [Gr. 29]^{16}, Ob^3, Job 39^{28}. Dt 32^{13} [JE] 'He made him to suck honey out of the crag' (סֶלַע; ‖ 'oil out of the rock of flint,' צוּר חַלָּמִישׁ) has in view the stores of honey that are found in Palestine in the caves and fissures of the dry limestone rocks (cf. Ps 81^{16} צוּר), and the fact that the olive flourishes even in rocky soil (cf. Job 29^6 צוּר, LXX *τὰ ὄρη*); see Driver, *Deut. ad loc.* The סֶלַע of Jg 1^{36}, 2 K 14^7, Is 16^1 42^{11} (in the first two passages with the art. in both MT and LXX) is very frequently taken to be Petra, the rock-built capital of Edom (see art. SELA). But while this might suit the two passages in Isaiah (but see Dillm. *ad loc.*), and is very appropriate to 2 K 14^7, it appears quite impossible to fit such an identification to the situation of Jg 1^{36}. There are strong reasons for taking '*the* cliff' in this last passage to be some prominent cliff near the south end of the Dead Sea, perhaps the modern *eṣ-Ṣafieh* (see Buhl, *Gesch. d. Edom.* 20, and Moore, *Judges, ad loc.*). In Jg 6^{20} (probably a late interpolation) סֶלַע, but in v.^{21} צוּר (and so in 13^{19} of Manoah's sacrifice), is used of the rock on which Gideon offered his sacrifice; the fissure of the cliff ETAM was one of Samson's places of refuge, Jg $15^{8.\,11.\,13}$, cf. $20^{45.\,47}$ 21^{13} the crag RIMMON to which the Benjamites fled, 1 S 13^6 the crags where the Israelites took refuge from the Philistines, 23^{25} the crag in the Wilderness of Maon to which David fled from Saul [on *Sela-hammahleḳoth* of v.^{26} see art. under that name], 1 Ch 11^{15} the rock at Adullam, Is 2^{21} (‖ צוּר, and so in vv.$^{10.\,19}$) the crags to which men are to flee from before the LORD, Jer 16^{16} the refuge from which the Israelites are to be hunted, 48 [Gr. 31]^{28} the crags for which Moab is to abandon her cities (cf. 21^{13}). Crags are spoken of as the haunt of bees Is 7^{19} (cf. Dt 32^{13} above), conies (*Hyrax Syriacus*) Pr 30^{26}, wild goats Job 39^1, Ps 104^{18}, cf. 1 S 24^2 (צוּר); sepulchres are hewn in rocks, Is 22^{16}; a rock is a type of hardness, Jer 5^3 'they have made their faces harder than a rock'; precipitation from a rock appears as a form of execution in 2 Ch 25^{12} (*κρημνός*), cf. (?) Jer 51 [Gr. 28]^{25}, and see art. HANGING in vol. ii. p. 298^b; the feet set upon a rock typify security, Ps $40^{3\,(2)}$, cf. 27^5 $61^{3\,(2)}$ (both צוּר); crags were splintered by the storm in Elijah's vision, 1 K 19^{11}; the shadow of a great crag is grateful in a weary land, Is 32^2; cliffs are strong places of defence, Is 33^{16} [for the two crags of 1 S 14^4 see BOZEZ and SENEH]; the clefts of the rocks in the wādis were the scene of the sacrifice of children, Is 57^5; in a hole of the rock Jeremiah was to hide his girdle, Jer 13^4; the word of the LORD is compared to a hammer that breaketh a crag in pieces, Jer 23^{29}; in Ezk 24^7 the blood of Jerusalem's idolatrous sacrifices is compared to blood shed upon a bare rock (*ἐπὶ λεωπετρίαν*), which does not sink into the earth but continues to cry to heaven for vengeance, cf. the threatening in the following verse; Ezk $26^{4.\,14}$ declare that Tyre is to become a bare rock (צְחִיחַ סֶלַע, *λεωπετρία*), there being here a punning allusion to the name of the city (Tyre = צֹר = צוּר = 'rock'); the question 'do horses run upon crags?' introduces in Am 6^{12} a reproach for conduct of a thoroughly unnatural kind.

5. צוּר is best reproduced by 'rock,' having all the senses (except, of course, the geological one) which that word bears in English. In many instances it is synonymous with סֶלַע (see the numerous parallel occurrences of the two terms quoted above), but there are some passages where צוּר occurs in which סֶלַע could not have been suitably used, at least by early writers. Besides the occurrences of the word which have been already noted, צוּר is used: of the rock where Moses had a partial vision of the glory of Jahweh, Ex $33^{21.\,22}$

---

* Raid is of Scand. origin. Raid, says Skeat, was the northern Border word, 'road' being used in the south; but the first quotation above is Scottish, and yet 'road' is used.

[J]; of the rocky summit (κορυφὴ ὀρέων) from which Balaam looked down upon the camp of Israel, Nu 23^{9} [JE]; of the rock OREB where the Midianite prince Oreb was slain, Jg 7^{25} (Σούρ), Is 10^{26}; of the rock where Saul's seven sons were 'hanged' (see HANGING in vol. ii. p. 298^{b}) by the Gibeonites, and where Rizpah kept her ghastly watch, 2 S 21^{10}; in Job 14^{18} the removing of the rock out of its place is an accompaniment of the wearing down of a mountain by slow natural forces, while in 18^{4} the question 'shall the rock (τὰ ὄρη) be removed out of its place?' is tantamount to 'shall the constitution of the world be subverted?'; the custom of cutting inscriptions on rocks, of which so many examples are known, is referred to in Job 19^{24}; rocks are the shelter of a class of outcasts, Job 24^{8}, see under No. 2, above; in Pr 30^{19} the way of a serpent over a rock (*i.e.* its mysterious movements, without the aid of feet) is one of the four things which the writer cannot understand; Jehovah is to be a stone of stumbling (אֶבֶן נֶגֶף) and a rock of offence (צוּר מִכְשׁוֹל) to both the houses of Israel; in Is 51^{1} Abraham is called the rock (see vol. iii. p. 795^{b}, 'Additional Note') whence Israel was hewn; the perennial snow on the rocky summit of Lebanon is mentioned in Jer 18^{14}; the rocks are broken asunder (Nowack [emending the text] 'kindled') by the fury of the LORD, when it is poured out like fire, Nah 1^{6}.

We have reserved till now those passages in which the term 'rock' is figuratively used of God. These are the following. The word סֶלַע is used in 2 S 22^{2} [=Ps 18$^{3\,(2)}$ (στερέωμα)] 31$^{4\,(3)}$ (κραταίωμα) 42$^{10\,(9)}$ ('Αντιλήμπτωρ) 71^{3} (στερέωμα). The term employed is צוּר in Dt 32$^{4.\,15.\,18.\,30.\,31}$ (all θεός, cf. v.^{37}), 1 S 2^{2} (? δίκαιος), 2 S 22^{3} (φύλαξ) ^{32} (κτίστης) [=Ps 18$^{32\,(31)}$ (θεός)] ^{47} (φύλαξ) [=Ps 18$^{47\,(46)}$ (θεός)] 23^{3} (θεός), Ps 19$^{15\,(14)}$ (βοηθός) 28^{1} (θεός) 31$^{3\,(2)}$ (θεὸς ὑπερασπιστής) 62$^{3\,(2).\,7\,(6).\,8\,(7)}$ (all θεός) 71^{3} (θεὸς ὑπερασπιστής) 73^{26} (θεός) 78^{35} (βοηθός) 89$^{27\,(26)}$ (ἀντιλήμπτωρ) 92$^{16\,(15)}$ (θεός) 94^{22} (βοηθός) 95^{1} 144^{1} (both θεός), Is 17^{10} (βοηθός) 26^{4} (? μέγας) 30^{29} (θεός) 44^{8} (LXX om.), Hab 1^{12} (LXX om.). In some of these passages it has been contended that *ẓur* has the force of a proper (Divine) name. Hommel, for instance, in support of his claim that a certain class of personal names found in P, which have been widely suspected of being late and artificial, are *bona fide* ancient Hebrew survivals, brings forward two compound names to show the existence in early times of a Divine name *Ẓur*. These are *Ẓuri-ʿaddana*, from a S. Arabian inscription not later than B.C. 800, and *Bir-* (or *Bar-*) *Ẓur*, from Zinjerli (8th cent. B.C.). But, while Hommel has rendered a service by calling attention to these names, one does well to remember that, whatever they may prove for *the period and the place to which they belong*, it is very questionable whether they justify the inference that *Ẓur* was used in a similar sense by the early Hebrews, and it remains as doubtful as before whether names like *Pedahẓur*, *Eliẓur*, *Ẓuriel*, and *Ẓuri-shaddai*, Nu 1$^{5.\,6.\,10}$ 3^{35} [why are these the only instances in the OT of compounds with *ẓur*, and why are they confined to P?], were at any time, and much more in *early* times, prevalent in Israel. To the present writer the probability appears to be that, as far as the OT is concerned, Dt 32 is the source to which all the above passages may be traced back; and neither in Dt 32$^{4.\,18}$ nor in Hab 1^{12}, the passages which plead most strongly in favour of Hommel's view, does it seem to be necessary to take *ẓur* as a Divine name in the proper sense. The circumstance that *ṣelaʿ* and *ẓur* are both employed in the sense we are examining (sometimes even side by side, *e.g.* Ps 18$^{3\,(2)}$ [cf. v.^{23}] 71^{3}), strengthens the conclusion that in all the instances cited we have to do simply with one of those metaphors of which Hebrew writers are so fond. 'It (*ẓur*) designates Jehovah, by a forcible and expressive figure, as the unchangeable support or refuge of His servants, and is used with evident appropriateness where the thought is of God's unvarying attitude towards His people. The figure is, no doubt, like *crag*, *stronghold*, *high place*, etc., derived from the natural scenery of Palestine' (Driver, *Deut.* 350; similarly Bertholet and Steuernagel. Hommel's contentions will be found stated in his *AHT*, pp. 300, 319 f., where he opposes the views of G. Buchanan Gray contained in *HPN*, 195 f.; Gray replies to Hommel in the *Expositor*, Sept. 1897, p. 173 ff.: cf. also Whitehouse's view, as expressed in art. PILLAR in the present work, vol. iii. p. 881^{a}).

In the NT 'rock' always represents πέτρα. Its occurrences are as follows: Mt 7$^{24\text{f.}}$ ‖ Lk 6^{48} [*] as a type of a sure foundation, in Jesus' simile of the two buildings; Mt 16^{18} 'upon this rock I will build my church' [this passage is exhaustively discussed in art. PETER in vol. iii. p. 758]; Mt 27^{51} the rocks were rent by the earthquake at the Crucifixion; Mt 27^{60} ‖ Mk 15^{46} Joseph's tomb was hewn out in the rock, cf. Is 22^{16}; Lk 8$^{6.\,13}$ part of the seed scattered by the sower fell ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν, 'upon rock,' which is interpreted by the ἐπὶ τὰ πετρώδη of Mt 13$^{5.\,20}$ [the expression means places where only a thin coating of soil covered the underlying rock, hence RV appropriately 'rocky places'; AV infelicitously 'stony places,' which suggests ground in which a number of loose stones were found]; Ro 9^{33} 'As it is written, Behold I lay in Zion a stone of stumbling (λίθον προσκόμματος) and a rock of offence (πέτραν σκανδάλου),' where Is 8^{14} and 28^{16} appear to be in view as in 1 P 2$^{6\text{-}8}$; in Rev 6$^{15\text{f.}}$ the caves and rocks of the mountains play the same part as in Is 2$^{18\text{ff.}}$ and as the mountains and hills in Hos 10^{8} (cf. Lk 23^{30}). Finally, there is 1 Co 10^{4}, where St. Paul says of the Israelites who were led by Moses through the wilderness that 'they did all drink the same spiritual drink, for they drank of a spiritual rock that followed them: and the rock was Christ' (ἔπινον γὰρ ἐκ πνευματικῆς ἀκολουθούσης πέτρας, ἡ πέτρα δὲ ἦν ὁ Χριστός). Not only does St. Paul here spiritualize the smitten rock and the water that flowed from it, giving to these a Eucharistic sense (cf. the foreshadowing of Baptism which he discovers in the Passage of the Red Sea and the Pillar of Cloud, v.^{1}, and St. Peter's treatment of the Deluge and the Ark, 1 P 3$^{20.\,21}$), [†] but he has drawn upon later Jewish expansions of the OT story. Neither in Ex 17$^{6\text{ff.}}$ nor in Nu 20$^{8\text{ff.}}$ is it hinted even that the water continued to flow from the rock after the temporary occasion for it had passed (contrast the case of Jg 15^{19}). Jewish *haggāda*, however, went much beyond this, describing how the rock accompanied the Israelites all through their march (cf. St. Paul's ἀκολουθούση πέτρα), and how, wherever the Tabernacle was pitched, the princes came and sang to the rock, 'Spring up, O well, sing ye unto it,' whereupon the waters gushed forth afresh (*Bammidbar rabba* Nu 21$^{17\text{f.}}$; Delitzsch in *ZKW*, 1882, p. 455 ff.; Driver, *Expos.* Jan. 1899, p. 15 ff.; Thackeray, *St. Paul and Contemp. Jew. Thought*, 204 ff.; the Comm. on 1 Corinthians; cf., for instances of similar Jewish fancies, Schürer, *GJV*^{3} ii. 343 [*HJP* II. i. 344]).

RV substitutes 'rocky ground' for AV 'rocks' in Ac 27^{29} as tr. of τραχεῖς τόποι (lit. 'rough places'), and 'hidden rocks' for AV 'spots' (Vulg. *maculæ*) in Jude ^{12} as tr. of σπιλάδες [the AV rendering was, no doubt, influenced by the parallel passage 2 P 2^{13}; see the Comm. *ad loc.*]. J. A. SELBIE.

---

[*] In the last clause of this verse the true reading is διὰ τὸ καλῶς οἰκοδομῆσθαι αὐτήν (RV 'because it had been well builded'), not τεθεμελίωτο γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν (AV 'for it was founded upon a rock'), which has been introduced from Mt 7^{25}.

[†] St. Paul follows similar methods of interpretation and argument in Ro 10$^{5\text{ff.}}$ and Gal 4$^{22\text{ff.}}$

ROD (מַטֶּה *maṭṭeh*, מַקֵּל *maḳḳēl*, שֵׁבֶט *shēbeṭ*, מִשְׁעֶנֶת *mish'eneth*; ῥάβδος).—The rod or staff in the hand is the chief emblem of Oriental travel. Thus Jacob setting out for Paddan-aram left everything behind him except his *maḳḳēl* (Gn 32^{10}), the Israelites kept the first Passover feast *maḳḳēl* in hand (Ex 12^{11}), and Elisha sent his *mish'eneth*, the companion of his journeys, on before, as if it had been a living friend, to represent him in the chamber of death (2 K 4^{29}). The modern Syrian peasant when on a journey carries a staff slightly longer than that used in Europe. He invariably holds it by the thin end, with the hand an inch or two down and the thumb often resting on the top. Such a manner of grasping the stick is suggestive of defence; and by the way in which he raises himself by means of it in the steep and rough mountain path, and pushes himself along when travelling on the dusty road of the hot plain, it is evident that the walking-stick is also meant to be a support on the journey. Protection from danger and something to lean upon,—such are the two original meanings of the rod or staff.

In EV the word *maṭṭeh*, used literally, is translated 'rod' when referring to the rod of Moses (Ex 4^2 and oft.), of Aaron (Ex $7^{10.\,12}$ and oft.), of the heads of the tribes (Nu $17^{2\text{-}10}$), of Jonathan (1 S $14^{27.\,43}$), and is tr. 'staff' in Gn $38^{18.\,25}$, Is $10^{15.\,24}$ 28^{27} (as a kind of *flail*) 30^{32} (for *punishment*), Hab 3^{14}.

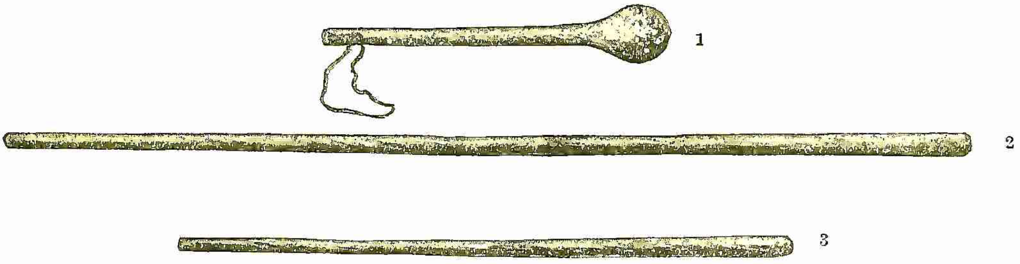

1. Shepherd's rod or, rather, club (*shēbeṭ*).
2. Shepherd's staff (*mish'eneth*).
3. Common staff (*maṭṭeh*, *maḳḳēl*, or *mish'eneth*).

In the Heb. *maṭṭeh* is coupled with *shēbeṭ* in Is 9^4 (of taskmaster; fig. of oppressor; cf. $10^{5.\,24}$ 14^5) 10^{15} 28^{27} 36^6, and with *maḳḳēl* in Jer 48^{17} in such a way as to imply that the terms were practically interchangeable under ordinary circumstances.

It is in the primitive usage of the shepherd's life that a distinction is found between the 'rod' and the 'staff.' The shepherd carries both, but for different purposes. In Ps 23^4 the 'rod' (*shēbeṭ*) is a club about 2½ ft. long, made from an oak sapling, the bulging head being shaped out of the stem at the beginning of the root.[*] The shepherd's *shēbeṭ*, frequently with large-headed nails driven into the knob, is his weapon against men and animals when in the wilderness with his flock. It is worn either suspended by a thong from the waistband or inserted in a special sheath or pocket in the outer cloak; cf. Lv 27^{32}, and Mic 7^{14}, Ezk 20^{37} (last two fig.). The *shēbeṭ* was, further, the staff of authority (not necessarily of a king), Jg 5^{14} and perhaps Gn 49^{10}. It is seen in the sculptures of Assyrian and Egyptian kings, and was the original of the military mace and the baton and truncheon of office. The Heb. word is translated 'sceptre' in Gn 49^{10}, Nu 24^{17}, Ps 45^6, Is 14^5, Ezk $19^{11.\,14}$, Am $1^{5.\,8}$, Zec 10^{11}, and in RV of Ps 125^3. See SCEPTRE.

These meanings of power, authority, punishment, or correction are exemplified in 2 S 7^{14}, Job 9^{34} 21^9 37^{13} (AVm), Ps 2^9, Is 11^4. In Is 11^1 the expression 'a rod (חֹטֶר, of which the only other occurrence is Pr 14^3, where see Toy's note) out of the stem of Jesse' is more appropriately rendered in RV 'a shoot out of the stock of Jesse,' where the figure is that of a cut-down stump, which will put forth a single flourishing 'rod.' Compare, for the figure, מַטֶּה in Ezk $19^{11.\,12.\,14\,bis}$ (blooming up into a *shēbeṭ*, sceptre of rule).

Along with his 'rod' or club (*shēbeṭ*) the shepherd had also his 'staff' (*mish'eneth*), which was a straight pole about 6 ft. in length. Its service was for mountain climbing, for striking troublesome goats and sheep, beating leaves from branches beyond the reach of his flock, and especially for leaning upon. As he stood clasping the top of his stick with both hands, and leaning his head against it, his conspicuous and well-known figure gave confidence to the sheep grazing around him among the rocks and bushes of the wilderness. The *mish'eneth* is essentially something to lean upon. Thus it is the word used for Elisha's staff (2 K 4^{29}), and it indicates the untrustworthiness of Egypt as a reed of cane for Israel to lean upon (Is 36^6), instead of upon the strength of God. In Nu 21^{18} the *mish'eneth* is used by the nobles in digging a well (see LAWGIVER); the angel who appeared to Manoah carried a *mish'eneth* (Jg 6^{21}); in Zec 8^4 the *mish'eneth* is characteristic of old age.

'He that leaneth upon a staff' (מחזיק בפלך, B κρατῶν σκυτάλης) of 2 S 3^{29} should probably be 'he that handleth the spindle' (see Driver, *ad loc.*), if the text be correct, which H. P. Smith (*Sam. ad loc.*) doubts. The references to *maḳḳel* are generally to the ordinary staff[*] for a journey [in Hos 4^{12} 'their staff declareth unto them,' there is reference to the practice of *rhabdomancy*], at once protective and supporting. Examples are Jacob's staff (Gn 32^{10}), the staff of the Passover feast (Ex 12^{11}), Balaam's staff (Nu 22^{27}), with which he could support himself by resting the end of it on the front of the broad Oriental saddle; also probably the staff in David's hand when he went out to meet Goliath (1 S 17^{40}), for being then on a journey he would have laid aside the more cumbrous shepherd equipment.

In NT ῥάβδος has the twofold meaning of a staff for a journey (Mt 10^{10}, Mk 6^8, Lk 9^3, He 11^{21}) and a rod for chastisement (1 Co 4^{21} [cf. the verb in 2 Co 11^{25}], Rev 2^{27} 12^5 19^{15}).

G. M. MACKIE.

RODANIM, reading of MT in 1 Ch 1^7 for the Dodanim of Gn 10^4, answering to the Ῥόδιοι of the LXX in both passages. See DODANIM.

---

[*] This manufacture of the *shēbeṭ* from a young tree might suggest that in the metaphorical use of *shēbeṭ* (Arab. *sabṭ*), 'tribe,' the reference is to various seedlings with a common origin—the tribes of the children of Israel. It is to be noted, however, that *maṭṭeh* is equally (183 t.) used for 'tribe,' and possibly the original reference in both cases is to a company led by a chief with a *staff*. See, further, on the relation between *shēbeṭ* and *maṭṭeh*, Driver in *Journ. Philol.* xi. (1882) 213 f.

[*] This is also the word used in Gn $30^{37\text{ff.}}$ of the sticks employed by Jacob in his cattle-breeding artifices.

ROE.—This word occurs once in AV (Pr 5^{19}, RV 'doe') as the equivalent of יַעֲלָה *ya'ălāh*; see Doe. In all other places where 'roe' occurs in AV (2 S 2^{18}, 1 Ch 12^{8}, Pr 6^{5}, Ca $2^{7.9.17}$ 3^{5} 4^{5} 7^{3} 8^{14}, Is 13^{14}) it is the trⁿ of *ẓĕbî* or *ẓĕbîyyāh*, and in these RV also gives 'roe,' but in every passage except 2 S 2^{18} and 1 Ch 12^{8}, with marginal note, 'gazelle,' which is undoubtedly the correct rendering. See Gazelle. G. E. Post.

ROEBUCK.—This word, wherever it occurs in AV (Dt $12^{15.22}$ 14^{5} 15^{22}, 1 K 4^{23}), is the equivalent of צְבִי *ẓĕbî*, LXX δορκάς. RV has in all these passages consistently trᵈ *ẓĕbî* 'gazelle' (see Gazelle). 'Roebuck' is the proper trⁿ for יַחְמוּר *yaḥmûr*, which is rendered by AV 'fallow deer' (Dt 14^{5}, 1 K 4^{23}). Tristram (*Fauna and Flora*, p. 4) says that *yaḥmûr* is used by the natives of Carmel for the roebuck, which is still found there. One of the districts of Carmel is known as *Yaḥmûr*, perhaps from the former abundance of this animal. Conder says that the roebuck is called *ḥamûr* in Gilead. The people about *Ḳâna* and *'Alma*, north of Carmel, call it *wa'l*, which is one of the names of the ibex or wild goat, which animal, however, is not now found there. In N. Africa *yaḥmûr* is synonymous with *baḳar el-waḥsh*, *Alcephalus bubalus*, Pall. From these facts two things are evident—(1) That 'fallow deer' is not a correct trⁿ of *yaḥmûr*. The fallow deer is אַיָּל *'ayyāl* (see Hart). The first three animals of the list (Dt 14^{5}) are *'ayyāl*, correctly trᵈ in both AV and RV 'hart'; *ẓĕbî*, AV incorrectly 'roebuck,' RV correctly 'gazelle'; and *yaḥmûr*, AV incorrectly 'fallow deer,' RV correctly, as we believe, 'roebuck.' The LXX (B) gives us no help, as it has only ἔλαφος and δορκάς, the equivalents of *'ayyâl* and *ẓĕbî*, and drops out *yaḥmûr* from the lists. (2) That *bubale* (LXX AF βούβαλος), as proposed by some, is also not a correct trⁿ for *yaḥmûr*. The *bubale* is not now found west of the Jordan, and only rarely east of it. The roebuck is found in considerable numbers on both sides of this river. The *bubale* is not called *yaḥmûr* where found on the confines of Palestine. The roebuck is so called both east and west of the Jordan. It is most numerous in the thickets, in the wâdis of Carmel and N.W. Galilee.

The roebuck, *Cervus capreolus*, L., is shaped like a gazelle. Its full length is 3 ft. 10 in. from the tip of the nose to the end of the rump; height at shoulder 2 ft. 4 in., at rump 2 ft. 6 in. The horns are about as long as the face, on a line with it, and have three short branches. The eyes are almond-shaped, with point forward. There is no external tail. The coccyx is 2 in. long, but is covered by the rump fat. The colour is grey, with a reddish-brown shade towards the posterior part of the rump, and white between the thighs and on the belly. (See figure of a specimen in *PEFSt*, July 1890, p. 171). G. E. Post.

ROGELIM (רֹגְלִים; Ρωγελλείμ, A in 2 S 17^{27} Ῥωγελείμ).—The native place of Barzillai the Gileadite. The exact site is unknown; it probably lay in the north of Gilead (2 S 17^{27} 19^{31}).

ROHGAH (*Kethîbh* רוהגה, corrected by *Kerê* to רָהְגָּה; B om., A Ὀγά).—An Asherite, 1 Ch 7^{34}.

ROIMUS (Ῥόειμος), 1 Es 5^{8}, corresponds to Rehum, Ezr 2^{2}, or Nehum, Neh 7^{7}.

ROLL.—See Writing.

ROMAMTI-EZER (רוֹמַמְתִּי עֶזֶר).—A son of Heman, 1 Ch $25^{4.31}$. There is reason to believe that this and five of the names associated with it are really a fragment of a hymn or prayer (see Genealogy, III. 23 n.; and cf. Kittel in *SBOT*, and W. R. Smith, *OTJC*² 143 n.).

ROMAN (Ῥωμαῖος, esp. Ac $16^{21.37.38}$ 22^{25-29} 23^{27}).—Roman citizenship (*civitas*) might be held in NT times (*a*) by birth, from two Roman citizens united in *justæ nuptiæ*. There was no *connubium*, or right of *Roman* marriage (unless specially granted), except with a Roman woman. If the union were un-Roman (with a Latin woman, a foreigner, a concubine) or unlawful (with a slave, etc.), it gave no *patria potestas*, and the children followed the mother's condition. It might also be held (*b*) by manumission in certain cases, or (*c*) by grant, either to entire cities or districts, or to individuals in reward of political or other services, as to a soldier on his discharge. Under Claudius, however, Messalina sold the *civitas*, and the price gradually fell (Dio, lx. 9) to a ridiculous figure. The chief captain (Ac 22^{28}) bought it at a high price; but if St. Paul was born free, it must have been held at least by his father (Ramsay, *St. Paul*, 30 f.). The franchise of Tarsus (Ac 21^{39} Ἰουδαῖος, Ταρσεύς) would not imply the *civitas* as a matter of course, for Tarsus was an *urbs libera* (Pliny, *NH* v. 27).

The most practical advantage of the *civitas* in NT times was that no citizen could be scourged (lex *Valeria* B.C. 509, lex *Porcia* of uncertain date) or put to death by any provincial authority without the right of appeal to the emperor. Even the *præfectus prætorio* could not condemn him to *deportatio*, and the emperor himself commonly had him executed by the sword, reserving the cross, the fire, and the beasts for slaves and other low people. It was illegal when Paul and Silas were scourged at Philippi (Ac 16^{37}), and when Paul was to have been examined at Jerusalem by scourging (Ac 22^{24} μάστιξιν ἀνετάζεσθαι). In both cases ἀκατάκριτος is *re incognita* (Ramsay, *St. Paul*, 225), for it would not have been less illegal after condemnation. Of the other two scourgings mentioned in 2 Co 11^{25} nothing further is known.

The right of appeal to the emperor seems to continue neither the old *provocatio ad populum*, which was limited even in republican times by the *quæstiones perpetuæ*, and had now become obsolete, nor the old *intercessio* of the tribunes, which was purely negative, and limited by the first milestone from Rome. It seems rather to rest on the general authority of the emperor, under the lex *de imperio*, to do almost anything he should consider *ex usu reipublicæ*, etc. The appeal was not granted quite as a matter of course. Festus confers (Ac 25^{12}) with his assessors before deciding (v.^{25} ἔκρινα). Once granted, it stopped the case. The governor could not even release the accused (Ac 26^{32}). His only duty was to draw up a statement of the case (*apostoli, litteræ dimissoriæ*—Festus asks Agrippa's help in doing this) and send him to Cæsar. St. Paul is delivered to a centurion, σπείρης Σεβαστῆς—one of the legionary centurions employed on detached service at Rome, and therefore called *peregrini* from the Roman point of view, and by him handed over at Rome to his chief, the στρατοπεδάρχης (Ac 28^{16}, but om. WH) or *princeps peregrinorum* (so Mommsen: not the *præfectus prætorio*).

The accused might be kept before trial in (*a*) *custodia publica*, the common jail, though a man of high rank was frequently committed to (*b*) *custodia libera* as the guest of some citizen who would answer for his appearance. Intermediate was (*c*) *custodia militaris*, where one end of a light chain (ἅλυσις) was constantly fastened to his right wrist, the other to the left wrist of a soldier (so St. Paul, Ac 26^{29} 28^{20}, Eph 6^{20}, 2 Ti 1^{16}). In this case he might *either* be kept in strict custody (2 Ti 1^{17}, where Onesiphorus needs diligent search to find St. Paul), *or* allowed to live in his own lodgings and receive in them what company he chose (Ac 24[23] 28[30]). The actual trial was before the emperor (often in person) and his *consiliarii*; and each count of the indictment was separately examined. 2 Ti 4[17] seems to say that the *prima actio* against St. Paul had been a failure, though the apostle has no hope of escape on the second.

A false claim of citizenship was a capital crime (Suet. *Claudius*, 25).

LITERATURE.—Mommsen, *Römische Staatsrecht*, 1876-77, and (for peregrini) *Berlin. Akad. Sitzungsber.* 1895, p. 501; Willems, *Droit public Romain*, 1883; Karlowa, *Römische Rechtsgeschichte*, 1885; W. M. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, 1895.

H. M. GWATKIN.

ROMAN EMPIRE (most nearly *orbis terrarum*, *ἡ οἰκουμένη*, Lk 2[1]; and its people *genus humanum*, as Tac. *Ann.* xv. 44 'odio humani generis.' *Imperium populi Romani* does not cover the free cities, and *Romania* seems first found Ath. *Hist. Ar.* 35, and Orosius, *Hist. e.g.* vii. 43).—Augustus left the Empire bounded by the Rhine and the Danube, the Euphrates, the African desert, the Atlantic, and the North Sea. These limits he recommended to his successors, and they were not seriously exceeded till Trajan's time, except that the conquest of Britain was begun by Claudius in 43, and finished as far as it ever was finished at the recall of Agricola in 85. Germany had recovered its independence in 9 A.D. by the defeat of Varus, and the conquest of Parthia was hardly within the range of practical politics.

Not Rome destroyed the ancient nations, but their own wild passions and internecine civil strife. The Greeks could make nothing of the liberty Flamininus gave them, the Gauls were no better, and even Israel—the one living nation Rome did crush—was in no very different case in Judæa. Rome came in as often as not to keep the peace; and when the Empire settled down, it seemed quite natural that 'all the world' should be subject to her. Virgil and Claudian sing with equal enthusiasm her everlasting dominion; and even the Christians firmly believed that nothing but Antichrist's coming would end it (2 Th 2[6f.]). So, though she had mutinies enough of armies, Israel was almost the only rebel nation. She could mass her legions on the great river frontiers, and leave a score of lictors to keep the peace of Asia, a garrison of 1200 men to answer for the threescore States of Gaul. She no more ruled the world than we rule India by a naked sword.

Hence there was a vast variety even of political *status* within the Empire. Some cities had the Roman *civitas* (see ROMAN), others only the *jus Latii*; some, like Athens, were in theory free and equal allies of Rome, while others had no voice in their own taxation. Italy had the *civitas*, and was supposed to be governed by the Senate, whereas a senator could not even set foot in Egypt without the emperor's permission. Some provinces were governed by senatorial proconsuls or proprætors, others by *legati Augusti pro prætore*, or, like Egypt or Judæa, by a *præfectus augustalis*, or a *procurator* of lower rank. Some regions, again, had client kings, like Mauretania, Judæa under the Herods, or Thrace. True, the Empire was steadily levelling all this variety. The client kingdoms disappeared—Galatia as early as B.C. 25, Chalcis (held by Agrippa II.) as late as 100. The autonomy of the *urbes liberæ* was commonly respected—Hadrian was archon twice at Athens; but the Roman *civitas* was steadily extended till Caracalla gave it in 212 to all free inhabitants of the Empire.

Broadly speaking, the Eastern half of the Empire was Greek, the Western Latin. The dividing line may run pretty straight from Sirmium to the altars of the Philæni. But Greek was dominant in parts of the West,—Massilia, Sicily, and the coasts of Southern Italy,—and was in most places the language of culture and of commerce, whereas Latin in the East was not much more than an official language. Nor was either Latin or Greek quite supreme in its own region. Latin had perhaps displaced by this time the Oscan and other dialects of Italy; but it had only well begun the conquest of Spain, Gaul, and the Danube countries. Greek was opposed by the rustic languages of Thrace and the interior of Asia Minor, such as the Lycaonian (Ac 14[11]) and the Galatian. Further East it had tougher rivals in Aramaic and Coptic, which it was never able to overcome, though Alexandria was a Greek city, and Galilee almost bilingual in the apostolic age. The distribution of the Jews resembled that of the Greeks in being chiefly Eastern, and in following the lines of commerce westward: but their great centres were Syria and Alexandria within the Empire, Babylonia beyond it.

Rome was never able to make a solid nation of her Empire. In Republican times her aim was utterly selfish—to be a nation ruling other nations, and getting all she could out of them. The Republic broke down under the political corruption this caused, and the proscriptions completed the destruction of healthy national feeling. The Empire had higher aims from the first, and the sense of duty to the conquered world increased on it as time went on; but it could neither restore nor create the patriotism of a nation. The old Roman nation was lost in the world; and if the world was lost in Rome, it did not constitute a new Roman nation. Greeks or Gauls might call themselves Romans, and seem to forget their old people in the pride of the Roman *civitas*; but Greeks or Gauls they remained. Every province of the Empire had its own character deeply marked on the society of the apostolic age and on the Churches of the future. Galatia was not like Asia, and Pontus or Cilicia differed from both. There were peoples in great variety; but the old nations were dead, and the one new nation was never born.

Yet the memory of nations put the Empire in a false position. It belonged, like the Christian Church, to the universalism of the future; but the circumstances of its origin threw it back on the nationalism of the past. Augustus came in after the civil wars as a 'Saviour of Society,' sustained by the abiding terror of the proscriptions. Hence he was forced into a conservative policy very unlike the real tendency of the Empire to level class distinctions, to replace local customs by uniform laws and administration, and to supersede national worships by a universal religion. The Empire was hampered by Republican survivals, degraded by the false universalism of Cæsar-worship. Augustus had to conciliate Rome by respecting class-feeling, and by leaving Republican forms of government almost unaltered. He was no king, forsooth (not *rex*, though called *βασιλεύς* in the provinces, Ac 17[7], 1 P 2[13. 17]),—only *princeps*, the first citizen of the Republic. The consuls were still the highest magistrates, though those who gave their names to the year were replaced during the year by one or more pairs of *consules suffecti*. Prætors, quæstors, etc., went on much the same, and even the anarchical power of the tribunes was not limited by law till the reign of Nero, though the popular assemblies vanished after that of Augustus. The Senate deliberated as of old under the presidency of the consuls, and the emperor himself respectfully awaited their *Nihil vos moramur* at the end of the sitting. It still governed Italy and half the provinces, and furnished governors for nearly all—deep offence would have been given if any one but a senator had been made *legatus Augusti pro prætore.* Above all, the Senate could legislate without interference from tribunes or *Comitia.* It elected all the magistrates (from the time of Tiberius), and even the emperor owed to it his constitutional appointment. So far as forms went, the State was a Republic still, and became a real one for a moment when the government lapsed to the consuls at an emperor's death. The name *respublica* lasted far past 476.

But the emperor was not only master, but fully recognized as such. The liberty of the Senate was hardly more than liberty to flatter him. The pillars of his power were three. He had (1) the *imperium proconsulare*, which gave him full military and civil power in the great frontier provinces, where most of the army lay. The rest were left to the Senate; but as his *imperium* was defined to be *majus*—superior to that of ordinary proconsuls—he practically controlled them too. The power was for life, and was not forfeited in the usual way by residence in Rome. He held also (2) the *tribunicia potestas*, also for life, and without limitation to the first milestone out of Rome. This made his person sacrosanct, and gave him the *jus auxilii*, by which he cancelled decisions of magistrates, and the *intercessio*, by which he annulled decisions of the Senate. He had also (3) other powers conferred separately on Augustus, but afterwards embodied in a *lex regia* or *de imperio* for his successors. A fragment of the law passed for Vespasian is preserved (*CIL* vi. 930), and two of its clauses run—

> '*Utique, quæcumque ex usu reipublicæ, majestate divinarum, humanarum, publicarum privatarumque rerum esse censebit, ei agere, facere jus potestasque sit, ita uti divo Augusto Tiberioque Iulio Cæsari Augusto Tiberioque Claudio Cæsari Augusto Germanico fuit; utique quibus legibus plebeive scitis scriptum fuit ne divus Augustus &c. tenerentur, iis legibus plebisque scitis imperator Cæsar Vespasianus solutus sit, quæque ex quaque lege, rogatione divum Augustum &c. facere oportuit, ea omnia imperatori Cæsari Vespasiano Augusto facere liceat.*'

Thus the emperor was not arbitrary. He was subject to law like any other citizen, unless dispensed by law. True, he could alter law by getting a *senatus consultum*, or by issuing his *edict* as a magistrate. He could also interpret it by a rescript or answer to a governor who asked directions; his *acta* were binding during his reign, though the Senate might quash them afterwards; and, as we have seen, he had large discretionary powers. But by law he was supposed to govern, and by law he commonly did govern. The excesses of a Nero must not blind us to the steady action of the great machine, which was so great a blessing to the provincials. Moreover, though the Senate was commonly servile enough, it was no cipher even in the 3rd century. It represented the tradition of the past, the society of the present; and every prudent emperor paid it scrupulous respect. If an emperor is called bad, it need not mean that he was incompetent (Tiberius was able enough), or that he oppressed the provinces (Nero did not). It means that he was on bad terms with the Senate, and, therefore, with the strong organization of society which culminated in the Senate. Nero did himself more harm by fiddling and general vulgarity than by murders and general vileness. Society was always a check on the emperor, and in the end it proved the stronger power. If Diocletian shook off the control of the army, he did it only by a capitulation to the plutocrats of society.

The religious condition of the Empire was not like anything in modern Europe. It had no established or even organized Church, for the regular worships were local, except that of the emperor. Priesthoods might run in families or be elective, or sometimes any one who knew the ritual might act as priest; but the priests were not a class. Taken as he commonly was from the higher ranks of society, the priest was first of all the great senator or local magnate, so that his priesthood was only a minor office. The priests were not a clergy, except in the irregular Mithraic and other Eastern cults, where they were not yet taken from the higher classes. Nevertheless, there were sharp limits to Roman toleration, though persecution was not always going on. Intolerance, indeed, was a principle of heathenism, laid down in the Twelve Tables, and impressed by Mæcenas on Augustus. Rome had her gods, whose favour had built up the Empire, and whose wrath might overthrow it: so no Roman citizen could be allowed to worship other gods without lawful authority, which could be given only by the Senate. Gradually all national gods obtained recognition, so that the pantheon of the Empire became a large one; but the individual was as strictly as ever forbidden to go outside it. Thus we get the anomaly of persecution without a persecuting Church.

The emperor's own position was equally unlike that of modern sovereigns. He held the office of *Pontifex Maximus* in permanence after the death of Lepidus, B.C. 12. This gave him a dignified position as head of the college of pontiffs, which superintended the State religion; and it gave him by law or usurpation the appointment of pontiffs, vestals, and flamens. But these were only local officials; with the priests in the provinces and with the irregular Eastern cults the *Pontifex Maximus* had no direct concern. Complete as was the identification of Church and State in Rome, the office gave its holder no exorbitant power over religion.

The strength of his position was not official but personal—vaguely indicated by the title *Augustus* (Σεβαστός, Ac $26^{21.\ 25}$). The courtly fiction that the Julian house was descended from the gods might do service for a time; but the truth came out clear at Vespasian's elevation. If he was a tough old general with no romance about him, who died with a scoff on his lips at his own divinity, he was none the less the impersonation of the glory of the world and Rome; and this is what made the emperors divine, and kept them so in spite of absurd deifications like those of Claudius and of Poppæa's infant. Emperor-worship might be fashion; but it was also a real cult sustained by genuine belief. If courtiers placed Augustus among the household gods, courtiers did not keep Marcus there in Constantine's time. Kings were counted gods from the Pharaohs of Egypt to the Jubas of Mauretania; and the Greeks had worshipped great men from Lysander (B.C. 403) onward, till deification became a cheap compliment for kings and their favourites. Rome understood better than the Greeks the difference between gods and men—*deus* is a much more definite word than θεός; yet even she deified legendary kings. But Romulus was the last of them, and she never deified the heroes of the Republic. Flamininus was a god in Greece; but Scipio was no more than a man at Rome; and even Sulla was only *Felix*, not *Augustus.* To the last she reserved the honour for emperors and their near relations, for the worship of Hadrian's favourite Antinous was rather Eastern and Greek than Roman. Yet in the goddess Roma the spirit of the State was worshipped long before the honours of deity were pressed on the dictator Cæsar by a grateful people and a servile Senate. Cæsar's murder was a warning to Augustus; and he called himself *Divi Filius*, but not *Divus.* He allowed the Asiatic cities to build temples to him after the battle of Actium, but required them to join with him the goddess Roma. Other cities followed: first in Asia in apostolic times was

Pergamum, 'where Satan's seat is' (Rev 2^{13}). Such cities were called *νεωκόροι* or temple wardens of Augustus, as Ephesus (Ac 19^{35}) was *νεωκόρος* of Artemis. Before long a *Commune Asiæ* (*τὸ κοινὸν τῆς Ἀσίας*) was formed, with a chief priest or ASIARCH (in looser sense, as Ac 19^{31}, unless these be past Asiarchs) in each city, and over them an elected Asiarch (in the strict sense) or chief priest of the province. Other provinces did likewise, as Bithynia, Galatia, Phœnicia, etc., and in B.C. 12 the 60 States of Gaul organized a *Commune*, meeting annually at the confluence of the Rhone and the Saône. These provincial assemblies were powerful enough—the priests were always magnates—to answer some of the purposes of representative government. They could complain of a bad governor, and often obtain his recall. In Italy, and especially in Rome, the worship of the emperor was chiefly represented by that of his genius or his virtues: only at his death he was formally placed among the gods by the Senate. '*Reliquos deos accepimus*,' says Valerius Maximus, '*Cæsares dedimus*.' This deification was the rule, though emperors who displeased the Senate were not deified when the honour could safely be refused them; and it can be traced well into Christian times, certainly till Jovian (364), and perhaps as late as Theodosius, though long before that time the emperor had ceased to be a real divinity, even among the heathens.

If the Empire was the greatest of hindrances to the gospel, it was also the greatest of helps. We must look below its superficial tolerance in the Apostolic Age, below the deeper enmity proclaimed by Nero's persecution. The single fact that the Empire was universal went far to complete the fulness of time for Christ's coming. Rome put a stop to the wars of nations and the great sales of slaves resulting from them, to the civil strife of cities and their murderous revolutions. Henceforth they were glad to live quietly beneath the shelter of the Roman peace. Intercourse and trade (witness the migratory Jews) were easier and freer than ever since in Europe till quite recently. It was settled peace, too, such as never came again till after Waterloo. Whole provinces hardly saw the face of war for generations together. Roman law went with Roman citizenship; and Latin civilization overspread the West, while Greece under Roman protection completed her conquest of Asia within Mount Taurus.

Historically, the Empire is the great barrier which won for civilization a respite of centuries by checking at the Rhine the tide of Northern barbarism, and at the Euphrates the two thousand years' advance of Asiatic barbarism through Parthian and Saracen and Turkish times, beginning with Alexander's retreat from the Sutlej, B.C. 327, and ending only at the repulse of the Turks from Vienna in 1683. During that momentous respite Rome gathered into herself the failing powers of the old world, and fostered within her the nascent powers of the new. This was her work in history—to be the link between the ancient and the modern—between the heathen city-states of the ancient world and the Christian nations of the modern. Her weakness was not political. Emperors might rise and fall, but the Empire itself did not perish when emperors rose and fell no more. It was not military: generals might blunder, but nearly to the end no enemy could face a Roman legion in the shock of battle. It was partly economic, in slavery and bad taxation; partly educational, in the helpless hark back to the mere words of the past; partly also administrative. Christian thought is even now profoundly influenced by the fact that the Empire had no good police. Brigands were plenty in Judæa (*ληστής* 15 times in NT, of which 2 Co 11^{26} may refer to Gentile regions), and, though other provinces were better off, the evil increased as time went on, and the emperor lost control of the administration. Hence arbitrary severities and laws of atrocious cruelty against such offenders as were unlucky enough to be caught. The Empire was by far the worthiest image of the kingdom of God yet seen on earth, but its imperfections are writ large on every form of Christian thought which looks on power as the central attribute of deity. After all, the Empire was the passing of the ancient world. With all their grandeur, its rulers were only the *καταργούμενοι* (1 Co 2^{6}).

LITERATURE.—See ROMAN: and add Boissier, *Religion romaine*; Westcott's *Comm. on St. John's Epp.* ('The Two Empires'); Lightfoot, *Ignatius*, iii. 404; and authorities quoted by them, to which add Fustel de Coulanges, *La Gaule romaine*; and E. G. Hardy, 'The Provincial Councils from Aug. to Diocl.,' in *Eng. Hist. Rev.* v. 221.

H. M. GWATKIN.

ROMANS, EPISTLE TO THE.—

- i. Place of the Epistle in tradition. Genuineness.
- ii. Time and Place of writing.
- iii. Occasion and Purpose: (1) Jews in Rome; (2) Christians in Rome; (3) Apostolic foundation; (4) Jewish or Gentile readers? (5) Letter or Treatise? (6) Relation to other letters of the group.
- iv. Sketch of main arguments, and Analytical Table.
- v. Importance of the Epistle.
- vi. Theology and characteristic ideas: (1) God, Attributes and Will—Law, Christ; (2) Man under sin; (3) Man under law and under grace, the Spirit; (4) Man's admission to grace, faith, justification; (5) Grace and the moral life; (6) The Christian community and its Institutions.
- vii. Materials for personal history of St. Paul.
- viii. Transmission of the Text. Integrity.
- Literature.

i. PLACE OF THE EPISTLE IN TRADITION.—What has been remarked of 1 Corinthians applies equally to this Epistle. But definite traces of its language occur already in 1 Peter, fainter but still distinct traces in Hebrews, and probable distinct traces in James, though here the case is less clear, and Mayor, in his edition of *James*, contends for the priority of the latter (see for details, and traces in Jude, Sanday-Headlam, lxxi ff.). The Epistle was well known to Clem. Rom. (nine passages are distinctly traceable), Ignatius (twelve), Polycarp (six), Justin Martyr (seven), and apparently to Gnostic writers (Naassenes, Valentinians, and Basilides) quoted by Hippolytus. For details, see Sanday-Headlam, who add some very instructive quotations (thirteen, of which seven seem indisputable) from *Test. of xii. Patriarchs.* The first reference to our Epistle by name is that by Marcion, who included Romans in his collection of Pauline Epistles (see below, § viii.). We may safely repeat here what was said on 1 Corinthians (which see), that the Epistle to the Romans has been recognized in the Christian Church as long as any collection of St. Paul's Epistles has been extant. In the Muratorian and other early lists our Epistle stands seventh among the Pauline Epistles, *i.e.* last among the Epistles addressed to *Churches* as distinct from individuals. Its present position at the head of the list appears first in the 4th cent. (see on 1 Cor., § 1, and Sanday-Headlam, lxxxiv ff.). Another important direct quotation is in Irenæus, *Hær.* III. xvi. 3, and in IV. xxvii. 3, an 'elder,' the pupil of men who had seen the apostles, is represented as quoting Ro $11^{17.\ 21}$ ('Paulum dixisse') and 3^{23}. Marcion, it is true, omitted chs. 15. 16, and certain other passages; but neither he nor any other heretic impugned the authority of the Epistle, which is included in all the ancient versions. But no weight of external attestation could be more eloquent than the style and character of the Epistle itself. Its very difficulty is of a nature which raises it above the plane of arti ficiality. For this difficulty springs from no clumsiness of expression or confusion of thought, but from the depth of the questions handled and the originality of their treatment. It is the most 'Pauline' of all the writings which bear St. Paul's name. Accordingly, critics who have set down almost every other writing of the NT as anonymous, have allowed that this Epistle, along with those to the Corinthians and Galatians, is really from the hand of St. Paul. The somewhat reckless criticism of Bruno Bauer produced little or no effect upon the body of critical opinion in Germany. In more recent times the hypercriticism of the Dutch school of Loman and others, and the extreme theories of Steck (on these see 1 CORINTHIANS, § 4; also Sanday-Headlam, pp. lxxxvi–lxxxviii), have failed to shake the main body of representative critics in their estimate of our Epistle.

ii. TIME AND PLACE OF WRITING.—The ministry of St. Paul as recorded in Acts falls into three periods: (*a*) The Antiochene (Ac 13–18^{23}), when Antioch was his headquarters. Towards the end of this period (Ac 16–18) he founds the great Churches of the Ægean region. (*b*) The Ægean or Ephesian period (Ac 18^{24}–21^{10}), when he transfers his residence to Ephesus; at the end come his second visit to Corinth and his last voyage to Jerusalem. (*c*) The period of captivity (Ac 21^{11}–28) at Cæsarea and Rome. To the first period belong the Epistles to the Thessalonians, written from Corinth; to the second, the four Epistles to the Galatians, Corinthians, and Romans. The third period is that of the 'captivity group,' Philippians, Colossians, Ephesians, Philemon. Our Epistle was in all probability the last of its group,—certainly it is later than 1 and 2 Corinthians. It was written from Corinth, where (assuming that 16^{23} belongs to our Epistle, see below, § viii.) St. Paul was the guest of the Gaius of 1 Co 1^{14}.

Phœbe, possibly the bearer of the letter, was a 'deaconess' of Cenchreæ, the eastern port of Corinth. Moreover, St. Paul was on the eve of departure from Corinth with the alms collected by him in Macedonia and Achaia (15$^{25.26}$) for the 'poor saints' of Jerusalem. From the latter place he was hoping to visit Rome, and afterwards Spain (15^{28}; cf. 2 Co 8$^{1.2}$, Ac 24^{17} 20^{22} 19^{21}). It was after the winter, which St. Paul had probably spent in Corinth (1 Co 16^{6}), for he proposed *to sail* to Syria (Ac 20^{3}) and to reach Jerusalem before Pentecost (Ac 20^{16}). But Ro 15 contains no allusion to the plot of the Jews which at the last moment forced him to change his route (Ac 20^{3}). The exact year in which the Epistle was written depends upon the dates to be assigned to 1 and 2 Cor. (see 1 CORINTHIANS, § 6 and reff., and CHRONOLOGY OF NT). If, as the present writer inclines to believe, the chronology of Lightfoot, etc., is not definitely superseded, the Epistle dates from just before the Passover of the year 58. If the whole scheme has to be shifted back two years, then the corresponding date in 56 must be adopted. The point may, for the purpose of this article, be left in suspense. The relative date, *i.e.* with reference to the other Epistles, is the point of real importance for the historical explanation of our Epistle. On this point the limits of doubt are narrow. There is no question but that Romans belongs, with 1 and 2 Cor., to the Ægean period (see above), in contrast to 1 and 2 Thess., which belong to the Antiochene period, and to Philippians, Colossians, Ephesians, Philemon, which come after St. Paul's captivities had begun. There is, moreover, no doubt that Romans was written on the eve of St. Paul's departure from the Ægean region, and therefore was preceded in time by both Epistles to the Corinthians. The point which is less absolutely certain is the relation of Romans to Galatians. It is not so very important to subdivide the alternative hypotheses which agree in supposing Romans to follow Galatians. If Lightfoot's view of the close psychological relation between 2 Corinthians and Galatians remains unshaken in itself, and is not outweighed by general chronological considerations, we have a very intelligible historical situation for the origin of Romans (see below, §§ iii. v.). Even if Galatians has to be placed at the beginning of the Ephesian period (Weiss, etc.) or at the close of the Antiochene period (Ramsay, Rendall, etc.), we lose, no doubt, something of the dramatic unity of situation, but we may still regard Romans as the mature expression and expansion of the thoughts struck out at white-heat in Galatians. But the relation is wholly reversed if (with Clemen, *Chronol. der Paul. Briefe*) we regard Galatians as presupposing Romans. This view is part of a general rearrangement of Pauline chronology discussed in the art. 1 CORINTHIANS, vol. i. p. 485. Its direct proof is drawn from the relation of the treatment of circumcision, the law, etc., in our Epistle to that in Galatians, which is supposed to represent an exacerbation of the apostle's attitude. The view to be maintained below (§§ iii.–vi.) seems quite as legitimate an inference from the facts, and in itself more in accord with our general knowledge of St. Paul's thought and temper. If the reader finds it unsatisfactory, he may remember that he has the hypothesis of Clemen to fall back upon.

iii. OCCASION AND PURPOSE.—In order to estimate the occasion and purpose of our Epistle, we must *first* ask, For what readers was it meant? and, *secondly*, What was the apostle probably desirous to say to such readers at this particular time? This necessitates a glance at the antecedents of Roman Christianity.

The Christian body to which our Epistle is addressed was clearly not, like that of Thess. or even of Gal., of recent origin (1$^{8.13}$ 15^{23} 16^{7}). In view of features of the Epistle, to which attention will presently be drawn, its origin is to be sought in connexion with the existence of a Jewish community in Rome.

1. *Jews in Rome.*—The first known connexion of the Jews and Romans was in the 2nd cent. B.C., under the Maccabees (1 Mac 8$^{17ff.}$ 12$^{1ff.}$ 14$^{16.24}$ 15$^{15ff.}$). Jewish embassies had gone to Rome, and had obtained treaties of alliance (B.C. 161, 144, 141, 129). Probably their earliest settlements in Rome date from this period,—though there is no need to seek a special occasion at Rome at a period when Jews were beginning to find their way all over the civilized world. Cicero (*pro Flacco*, 59) tells us of a large Jewish community in Rome, which sent annual subsidies to Jerusalem. The captives brought by Pompey from the East (B.C. 61) swelled their numbers. Many of these gained enfranchisement (Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium*, 23), and these are probably the *Libertini* who supported a synagogue of their own at Jerusalem (Ac 6^{9}). Their worship was expressly tolerated by Julius, Augustus, and Tiberius. They occupied, according to Philo, a quarter of their own beyond the Tiber. But there is evidence of synagogues, and therefore of Jewish residents, in other parts of the city also. Josephus tells us how 8000 Jews in Rome supported the complaints against the rule of Archelaus in Judæa (A.D. 2–4; *Ant.* XVII. xi. 1; *BJ* II. vi. 1). The satires of Horace, Juvenal, and Persius show that the Jews were far from popular in Rome; while yet, partly from the attraction which foreign rites had for the superstitious, partly, no doubt (Schürer, *HJP* § 31, v.), from the more serious attraction of the fusion of a higher morality and a purer theism than were to be found elsewhere, they did not

lack very numerous adherents ('Unus multorum,' Hor. *Sat.* I. ix. 71). A temporary expulsion, A.D. 19, by Tiberius, did not long check their growing numbers and importance in the city (see, for details, Schürer, *Gemeindeverfassung*, and *HJP* § 31, i. ii.; Berliner, *Gesch. der Juden in Rom*, 1893; Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*, Introd. § 2, and authorities cited by them).

2. *Origin of Christianity in Rome.*—A movement which so profoundly stirred Judaism at its religious centre could not fail to find an early response in the Jewish community at the centre of the world's intercourse. At every great festival at Jerusalem, Roman Jews would be present (ἐπιδημοῦντες, Ac 2^{10}, *i.e.* ἐν πανηγύρει, as Demosth. *c. Mid.* p. 584). This was the case at the first Christian Pentecost. We may see in the mention of the Roman Jews of Ac 2^{10} a significant hint of what may possibly have happened. 'Some who had gone forth from Rome as Jews may well have returned there as Christians' (W. H. Simcox). But we must look rather to the constant stream of movement to and fro than to the result of so momentary an impression as that of this one festival. 'It would take more than they brought away from the Day of Pentecost to lay the foundations of a church.' The origin of the Roman Church is to be looked for in the steady though obscure circulation, kept up among the Jews as among other classes, between Rome and the provinces. Aquila and Priscilla may have been Christians before their expatriation from Rome, A.D. 51, 52. It was, at any rate, in the class to which they belonged that the seed of the vast tree of Roman Christianity was first sown and grew (see also Sanday-Headlam, p. xxvii, for details from Ro 16).

3. *Apostolic foundation of the Roman Church.*—There is no need to assume that any apostle first planted the gospel in Rome, nor do the facts permit the supposition. St. Paul is not, in writing to the Romans (15^{20}), building upon the foundation laid by another. He is, on the contrary, discharging an unfulfilled portion of his mission as Apostle to the Gentiles (11^{13} $1^{6.14}$). The Roman Church, then, had hitherto lacked apostolic leadership and, so far as our Epistle informs us, organization on any permanent basis (see below, § vi. 5, and art. 1 CORINTHIANS, vol. i. p. 490). It is true that early tradition ascribes the foundation of the Roman Church to St. Peter, and a less ancient but still somewhat early tradition ascribes to that apostle a twenty-five years' episcopate of the Roman Church. The highly contentious character of the questions here at issue, their extraordinary complexity, and their secondary bearing upon our main subject, forbid anything but the slenderest discussion of them in this article. But it may be said, with reference to the first-named tradition, that the earliest testimony on the subject ascribes the foundation of the Roman Church to St. Peter and St. Paul *jointly*; it is 'Petro-Pauline,' *i.e.* ascribes nothing to St. Peter which it does not equally ascribe to St. Paul. Moreover, it hinges primarily on the *martyrdom* of the two apostles at Rome. Clement, writing soon after 95 ($5^{4ff.}$), couples the death of the two apostles in a context suggestive of martyrdom; he does not expressly locate their death at Rome, but speaks of it as if it were within the direct knowledge of those on whose behalf he is writing. Ignatius (*ad Rom.* iv. 3) is less explicit; he suggests that the two apostles had given instructions to the Roman Christians. His language exemplifies the habitual association of the two names. This is stronger still in Dionys. Cor. (in Eus. *HE* II. xxv. 8); he makes the two plant the Church of *Corinth* as well as that of Rome. Irenæus (and perhaps Hegesippus, *ap.* Eus. *HE* IV. xxii.) knows that the Roman Church claims the two apostles as its founders. Tertullian (*Præscr.* 36) speaks of the two apostles as having 'poured into that Church all their doctrine along with their blood.' His Roman contemporary, Caius, knows the τρόπαια of the two apostles on the Vatican and by the Appian Way. We must notice, lastly, the interesting statement in the *Prædicatio Pauli*, quoted by pseudo-Cyprian (*De rebapt.*, Hartel, vol. iii. p. 90), that after long separation the two apostles met and suffered together in Rome. It is a very improbable suggestion of Lipsius, that this stream of tradition owes its origin to the attempt to harmonize the relations of the two apostles, and that it presupposes the Clementine tradition in which the anti-Pauline tradition of SIMON MAGUS at Rome was incorporated. This latter tradition is closely connected with the tradition which ascribes to St. Peter a *special* connexion with the Roman Church, *i.e.* as distinct from St. Paul. Whether it is possible to separate them, so as to exhibit the story of St. Peter's twenty-five years' episcopate, without any dependence on the legend which brings Simon Magus to Rome (which in turn seems wholly due to a well-known mistake of Justin, see *Dict. Chr. Biog.* art. 'Simon Magus'), is a most intricate question. An inadequate discussion of it would be worthless, an adequate discussion would transgress the proportions of this article. Suffice it, then, to say that the question of importance for our purpose is whether St. Peter can be credibly held to have come to Rome as early as the reign of Claudius (41–54). There are two possible sources for this supposition. The one is the statement of Justin, that Simon came to Rome in this reign. But, apart from the mistake upon which Justin founded this statement, neither Justin, nor Irenæus, nor Tertullian after him, know anything of the Roman conflict of Simon with St. Peter. The other source is the idea that St. Peter, on leaving Jerusalem (Ac 12^{17}), came to Rome shortly before the death of Herod Agrippa I. (*i.e.* about A.D. 42); the Lord having (*as inferred from that text*) commanded the apostles to remain twelve years in Jerusalem. Neither of these alternatives proves any foundation in fact for so early a visit of St. Peter to Rome.

On the whole, we conclude that the Petro-Pauline tradition is the only one which goes back to the 1st cent., that it is presupposed by the tradition of the Roman conflict between St. Peter and Simon, and by the tradition of St. Peter's twenty-five years' episcopate, and that its foundation in fact is the martyrdom of both apostles at Rome. This was the 'foundation' of the Roman Church in the sense in which the 'foundation-stone' of a building is often laid after the actual foundations have been long in progress. The two apostles 'consolidated the Church with their blood.' There is therefore no primitive tradition which brings St. Peter to Rome before St. Paul, or any long time before the usually accepted date of his martyrdom. (See Lipsius, *Apokr. Apostelgesch.* vol. ii., and *Quellen der röm. Petrussage*; Erbes, 'Todestage der Apostel Paul. und Pet.' in *Texte und Untersuch.* xix. 1; Lightfoot, *St. Clement*, vol. ii. p. 490 ff.; the very careful and fair discussion in Sanday-Headlam, *Intr.* § 3; and Chase in art. PETER in vol. iii. of the present work).

4. *Composition of the Body addressed by St. Paul.*—We must assume as the basis of discussion that St. Paul was not wholly ignorant of the composition and general state of the Church to which he was writing. The names and data of ch. 16, which we believe to be an original part of the Epistle (see below, § viii.), and the sureness of touch which

marks all St. Paul's references to the readers of this Epistle, are enough to carry us thus far. The Epistle, then, is certainly meant for *readers of Gentile origin.* St. Paul counts the Romans, as such, as Gentiles; see $1^{7f.}$ *ἐν οἷς ἐστε καὶ ὑμεῖς*, v.^{13} *ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσιν*, cf. $15^{15ff.}$. The readers are expressly described as Gentiles 11^{13-32}, especially *ὑμῖν λέγω τοῖς ἔθνεσιν*, while he speaks of the Jews in the third person $9^{1ff.}$ $11^{23.\,28.\,31}$. These passages are quite conclusive, and would justify a verdict if taken alone.

But there are other passages which show with equal clearness that St. Paul is contemplating *readers Jewish in their religious education and ideas.* (1) The general argument of the Epistle, levelling down the Jew, *both* under law *and* under grace, to the footing of the Gentile, is more intelligible as addressed to Christians of Jewish habits of thought. The careful discussion of Abraham's righteousness suggests a similar origin. Nor, be it observed, is there any suggestion of anti-Pauline agitators in the Roman Church to account for this line of argument (as in Galatians). Add to this the assumption of knowledge ($5^{1ff.}$) as to Adam and his heritage of death, the pains taken (3^{8} 6^{1}) to rebut the imputation of antinomianism, and to show (ch. 11) that the rejection of Israel may be but the necessary step to their eventual acceptance. (2) The dialectical form in which Jewish difficulties are carefully faced, and paradoxes especially abhorrent to the Jewish mind repelled with *μὴ γένοιτο* ($3^{1.\,3}$ 4^{1} $7^{7.\,13}$ $9^{14.\,30}$ $11^{1.\,11}$, cf. Gal 2^{17}); the *προεχόμεθα* of 3^{9} (cf. 4^{1}, and $7^{5.\,6}$ in conjunction with the expansion, vv.$^{7-25}$, also 9^{10}). (3) Here we must emphasize the express statement 7^{1-5} that the readers had lived under the Law, and in 'oldness of letter,' and that by the death of Christ they had been discharged from their allegiance to the Law. This passage was regarded by Mangold (*der R.-Brief u. s. gesch. Voraussetzungen*, 1884) as the immovable corner-stone of the Jewish-Christian character of the Roman Church. It seems to explain St. Paul's readiness throughout to make use of *Jewish* concessions ($2^{2ff.}$ $3^{2f.\,19.\,29f.}$ $4^{1ff.}$ $6^{16ff.}$) and his regard for objections natural to a Jewish mind.

In any case, there is not the smallest evidence in the Epistle that St. Paul apprehended hostility on the part of his readers (see 6^{17} 16^{17}). He writes as a Jew to Jewish, but not to inveterately prejudiced readers. The *Judaism* of the Dispersion was, in many places (*e.g.* Berœa), milder and less *pratiquant* than that of Palestine. The Jewish *Christianity* of the Diaspora may well have stood, in many cases, in an analogous relation to that of the *πτωχοὶ ἅγιοι* (Ac 21^{20c}). Evidently, the Jewish influence which had moulded the religious temper of the Roman Church was not, as in Galatia and Corinth, of a recently imported or aggressive type.

How, then, are we to combine the two classes of evidence? Partly we might explain their divergence by St. Paul's habit of treating one portion of a Church as if it represented the whole; *e.g.* at Thessalonica, Corinth, and Ephesus there were numerous Jewish Christians, but St. Paul addresses the Churches, especially the first and last named, as wholly Gentile.

But the mere assumption of a mixed composition does not quite account for the phenomena. The readers are treated by St. Paul as a homogeneous body. Even in ch. 14 the distinction between the strong and the weak is not to be simply identified with that between Gentile and Jew. The Roman community as a whole is treated as Gentile in its elements, but Jewish in its ideas and feeling. Now, a class of men corresponding to this description existed all over the Hellenistic Jewish world in the PROSELYTES, the *σεβόμενοι* of Acts, who, without as a rule accepting circumcision, frequented the synagogues, observed the moral law, worshipped the God of Israel, and were instructed in the Scriptures. It was among these, according to Acts, that the gospel everywhere made its first heathen conquests. Probably the Roman Church was no exception. If so, there would of course be, as at Corinth, etc., a nucleus of Christian Jews, and, by the time when our Epistle was written, numbers of heathen might well have become proselytes directly to the Christian body without previously passing through the intermediate stage of Jewish proselytism. Still it was the proselytes who gave the tone to the community, and they owed their all, as Christians, to the influence and training of Christian Jews. We are compelled to form hypotheses in this matter, and it is this hypothesis which best satisfies the conditions of our problem. The old Tübingen alternative of anti-Pauline Jewish, or anti-Jewish Pauline Christianity, is not imposed upon us either by the facts of history or by the internal evidence of the letter itself. (On this subject see also Hort, *Romans and Ephesians*, pp. 19–33; Beyschlag in *SK*, 1867; Schürer's art. on 'Romans' in *Encyc. Brit.*^{9}).

5. *Letter or Treatise?*—This being assumed, we may approach the question of the writer's purpose. St. Paul would not fail to see that the future of Gentile Christianity in the Roman world depended to no small extent upon the future of the Christian body in the imperial city. We accept the suggestion of Ramsay, that St. Paul had early grasped the importance of the Roman empire as a vehicle for the dissemination of the gospel. To commend his own gospel—the gospel of the Gentiles—to a community like that at Rome, was no hopeless task. To this end a *personal visit* to Rome was the obvious means, and this he had long resolved to pay (1^{11}). But a letter such as this would pave the way for a successful visit, and meanwhile it would accomplish much. Hence its reasoning conciliatory tone (12^{3} $15^{5f.}$ etc.), specially characteristic of a period of reaction from a critical contest, when the apostle's own desire for peace was, moreover, finding concrete expression in the great λογία ($15^{25.\,30ff.}$). It was, then, no mere arbitrary choice which led St. Paul to address this, his greatest letter, to Rome. The Epistle is not a systematic treatise which might with equal appropriateness have been addressed to any Church. It has, primarily at least, in view the idiosyncrasy of the Christian community at Rome (see below, § v.).

6. *Relation to other Epistles of the group.*—Our Epistle comes at the close of a period of deep agitation, reflected in the Epp. to the Corinthians and Galatians, and summed up in 2 Co 7^{5} *ἔξωθεν μάχαι, ἔσωθεν φόβοι.* Referring for details to the articles on those Epistles, it will suffice to say that many of 'the circumcision' had never in their hearts acquiesced in the recognition (Ac 15, Gal 2^{3}) of a Christianity emancipated from the Law, or frankly recognized the apostleship of St. Paul. At Corinth the latter question had been brought into prominence, in Galatia the former and deeper question. The Epistle to the GALATIANS stands in the closest relation to our Epistle, and its main ideas must be grasped as a preliminary to the understanding of Romans (see below, § v.). 'To the Galatians, the apostle flashes out in indignant remonstrance the first eager thoughts kindled by his zeal for the gospel, striking suddenly against a stubborn remnant of Judaism. To the Romans he writes at leisure, under no pressure of circumstances, in the face of no direct antagonism, explaining, completing, extending the teaching of the earlier Epistle, by giving it a double edge directed against Jew and Gentile alike' (Lightfoot). The agitators of Galatia had insisted upon the Law as a necessary and permanent scheme of righteousness and salvation

for mankind. Laid down by God as the condition of man's communion with Himself, it could not be set aside by any subsequent covenant. Man could only appear before God as a faithful doer of the Law. St. Paul in reply had addressed himself to two main points: (1) to prove that the Law could not, and that faith alone could, make man righteous in God's sight; (2) to show the true position of the Law in the history of God's dealings with man. Righteousness, he argues, is a free gift from God to man, and as such was accorded to Abraham on the sole condition of faith in an unconditional promise. The inheritance of this promise passes not by any earthly law of succession, but to those who resemble Abraham in his faith. The Law, being of long subsequent date to the Promise, could not be meant to affect its fulfilment. It was given for a temporary purpose, pending the fulfilment of the Promise, namely, to prepare men for the fulfilment by bringing out and making men feel their essential sinfulness and helpless inability to approach God with any claim to righteousness of their own. The righteousness which they could not earn is accorded as the fulfilment of the promise to Abraham's faith in Christ. Like the promise itself, it is unconditional, demanding nothing on our part but faith. To go back to circumcision is to abandon the attitude of faith, and to refuse to see that in Christ the Law has fulfilled its purpose, and has an end. 'Behold, I Paul say unto you, that if ye accept circumcision, Christ shall profit you nothing' (Gal 5^{2}, cf. the whole of ch. 3). This is the central thought worked out in Romans, but fortified and enlarged by a wider outlook upon history, a profound application to the principles of the moral life, and a comprehensive philosophy of the history of revelation. In this latter part of our Epistle (chs. 9–11) the school of Baur saw its principal purpose. This is a mistake. But it is essential to St. Paul's argument to show that the righteousness of faith, by excluding the Jewish 'boast,' does not involve a reversal of God's 'gifts and calling.'

iv. ARGUMENT OF THE EPISTLE, AND ANALYSIS.—The theological part of the Epistle extends from 1^{15} to the end of ch. 11. It treats successively the Theology of (1) Redemption (1^{11}–5), (2) of the Christian life (6–8), and (3) of history (9–11). The Theology of Redemption comprises two themes, summed up and contrasted in 5$^{12-21}$, viz. the 'wrath of God' (1^{10}–3^{20}) and the righteousness of God (3^{21}–5^{11}). The wrath of God is the correlative of man's need of redemption. 'First comes the statement that the world up to that moment had been, morally speaking, a failure' (Mozley, *Miracles*, Lect. vii., a remarkable passage on our Epistle). A moral creed was there, but not a corresponding life. Among Jews and Gentiles alike the facts are the same: 'knowledge without action.' The utmost the knowledge of right could do for man was to confound him with a sense of utter self-condemnation. And this self-condemnation was but the perception of an awfully real fact—the wrath of God revealed in all its fearful intensity, not only upon the careless Gentile, but upon the privileged Jew, whose privilege (none the less real because of his apostasy, 3$^{1-8}$) only heightened his personal guilt. But God's dealings with men, His self-revealed character, had not only led men to fear His holiness, but had also from the first led men to look upon Him as a Saviour. His long series of mercies to His people had led them to look forward to something in the future, some deliverance more final, more complete, more marvellous, than His mighty works of old. God was pledged to redeem, and God was righteous (see below, § vi. (1)). The OT revelation had led men to hold to the righteousness of God as containing the promise of salvation; the gospel declares it as an accomplished fact. And the universality of the wrath of God before Christ only brings out that redemption, when it came, was the sole outcome of the righteousness of God, and not in any degree the achievement of man. God's *righteousness* has as its correlative the *fact* of Redemption. The redeeming work of Christ, then, wherein God appears as 'righteous and making righteous' (3^{26}), humbles man even more completely than did the antecedent revelation of wrath—their boast is shut out, not (only) by a law of works, but (even more completely) by a law of faith. The privilege of the Israelite has no place in the sight of God.

And this strange result, so far from revoking the word of God in the OT, is really its fulfilment. This gospel of faith, this levelling of privilege, was preached before the Law, before any characteristic institute of Judaism was ordained. The whole story of Abraham—the boasted father of Jewish privilege—makes this clear (ch. 4). 'Well, then, my readers,' the apostle concludes, 'let us all make this gift of God our own' (see Beet on ἔχωμεν, 5^{1}). Peace with God is ours, founded on the certainty of God's love for us—a certainty created in our hearts by the Spirit of God Himself, but no mere subjective certainty; for actual recorded fact speaks plainly to us of that love—a love transcending all probable limits of human devotion. We can trust God to complete what He has begun, and live in joyful hope, however the appearances of life are against us.

True, the experience of history, so far, has been that of a world-wide heritage of death and sin. But the act of weakness which bequeathed that heritage to man has now been superseded by an act of Divine power fraught with the promise of Righteousness and Life to all who receive the abundance of its grace (5$^{12-19}$).

In this great twofold division of human history, how subordinate a part was played by Law! It forms the last episode of the heritage of death, aggravating the disease in order to intensify man's want of the Remedy (5^{20}).

St. Paul has done half his work, and what he has done is 'more than half of the whole.' He has shown that the wall of sin no longer shuts out the soul from God, that access to God is ours, that the Christian Life is made possible.

But it remains for him to place the Christian Life itself before our eyes, and this he does in the second great section. And, first of all, he takes it in the concrete (ch. 6). The twofold question, 'Shall we sin?' (vv.$^{1-15}$) at first sight answers itself—no one would say that the Christian is to sin. But the weight of the question really turns on the *reason why*? These chapters (6–8) give us the fundamental principles of Christian ethics. And, first of all, he shows us that 'the grace wherein we stand,' which he has hitherto viewed negatively as Justification, *i.e.* Forgiveness of sin, is on its positive side union with Christ. If we were united to Him by Baptism, the rite resembling His Death, we shall further be united with Him by something corresponding to His Resurrection, viz. a new vital energy—καινότητι ζωῆς; only, we must realize this—allow the new life of Christ to wield our limbs. For we are no longer under an external compulsion, but instinct with an indwelling Force—'not under law, but under grace.'

Our obedience to the will of God will be not *less* complete for this reason,—but *far more*. 'If,' he continues, 'you seem to take what I have said as a paradox, I will make my meaning plain by an unworthy metaphor. You have to choose between slavery and slavery—nay, you have made your choice—you have renounced slavery to sin. Well, then, you are slaves of righteousness, slaves of

God: you cannot, if you look back on the past, repent your choice. You are dead in Christ, and when a person dies, he passes out of the control of law. You then, in dying with Christ, died to the law, and are alive to Christ alone' (6^{15}–7^{4}).

St. Paul passes from the concrete picture of the Christian life to the consideration of the forces which are at work in it (7^{5}–8). He employs the method of difference, comparing the pre-Christian life *at its very best*, *i.e.* as lived under Divine law, with the Christian life; the old life under the letter with the new life in the Spirit. This contrast is tersely stated in $7^{5.6}$, then life under law is characterized in 7^{7-25}, and life in the Spirit in ch. 8. In $8^{12f.}$ the question asked in 6^{1}, so far as it needs an explicit answer, is formally answered.

The connexion of 9–11 with the general argument of the Epistle may be best seen if we consider how they are anticipated in 3^{1-8}. That this is so can be readily proved. The Rejection of Israel, then, was a fact which apparently collided with the main thought of the first section—the Righteousness of God. The Righteousness of God was apparently, to St. Paul, above all God's consistency with, or truth to, His revealed character and purpose. And the absolute levelling of Jew and Gentile—especially the *levelling down* of the Jew to the position of the Gentile as the object of God's wrath—had the look of a revocation of express promise, the going back upon God's own covenant. Was, then, God a 'covenant-breaker'?—μὴ γένοιτο. Yet to St. Paul the difficulty was a very real one, and had to be explained. His fundamental explanation is found in 9^{6-29} and 11^{1-10}—viz. that the proper party to the Divine covenant, the true heir to the Promises, is not Israel after the flesh, but the believing few—or, rather, all who by their faith prove themselves true sons and heirs of Abraham (see ch. 4), and that this has been made plain by God all along. But there is the equally important thought that the calling in of all nations—without which the Divine promises from Abraham downwards would not be satisfied, nor the Truth of God really maintained—would have been impossible but for the rejection of the Jews. 'By their fall, salvation had come to the Gentiles,' their *un*righteousness had *established* the Righteousness of God (3^{5}). This is the great paradox of the third section. Still, even with St. Paul, τὸ συγγενές τοι δεινόν, ἥ θ' ὁμιλία, blood is thicker than water, and he will not surrender the hope of the ultimate conversion of the apostate people, consecrated as they are by the root whence they had sprung (11^{11-32}).

The argument therefore falls into the following tabular scheme:—

- I. EPISTOLARY INTRODUCTION, 1^{1-15}.
  - A. *THE SALUTATION* ($^{1-7}$).—α. The writer, his gospel and apostleship ($^{1-6}$); β. the readers (^{7a}); γ. the greeting (^{7b}).
  - B. *THE ROMANS, AND THE APOSTLE'S DESIRE TO PREACH TO THEM* ($^{8-15}$).
- II. DOCTRINAL PART (1^{16}–11).
  - A. *THEOLOGY OF SALVATION* (1^{16}–8).
    - a. *Theology of Redemption* (1^{16}–5).
      - Preamble ($1^{16.17}$).
      - (1) The Wrath of God (1^{18}–3^{20}).
        - All, Gentiles (1^{19-32}) and Jews (2^{1}–3^{8}), alike (3^{9-20}) under the wrath of God against sin, and in need of redemption; (2^{1-16} lay down a general principle, preparing for the direct attack ($^{17-29}$) upon Jewish self-esteem).
      - (2) The Righteousness of God (bringing redemption to all) (3^{21}–5^{21}).
        - α. The fact of Redemption (3^{21-26}) (vv.$^{25-26}$. *Significance of the Death of Christ*).
        - β. All men on an equality in view of this fact (3^{27-30}).
        - γ. The Righteousness of Faith older than that of Law (3^{31}–4^{25}).
        - δ. The Righteousness of Faith the basis of Certitude and Hope (5^{1-11}).
        - ε. Conclusion. The work of Christ in contrast with the failure of Adam (5^{12-21}).
    - b. *Theology of the Christian Life* (6^{1}–8^{39}).
      - (1) Synthetic treatment. The Christian and the pre-Christian life contrasted as—
        - α. Life and death (6^{1-14}).
        - β. Sin and righteousness (6^{15-23}).
        - γ. Law and grace (or letter and Spirit) (6^{14} 7^{1-6}).
      - (2) Analytic treatment (7^{5-25}): the factors (or psychology) of the Christian life.
        - α. Under Law: flesh, will, intellect ($7^{5.7-25}$).
        - β. Under Grace: spirit, and the Spirit of God (7^{6} 8).
        - THE SPIRIT of Sonship in CHRIST creates in us { Obedience to God's Will (8^{1-17}). Certitude and Hope (8^{18-39}).
  - B. *THEOLOGY OF HISTORY* (9–11; cf. 3^{1-8}).
    - (The character of God as shown in the history of the People of God).
    - The problem of the rejection of Israel (9^{1-5}) considered in relation to—
      - a. *The Past* (the promise of God) (9^{6-29}).
        - (1) The promise to Israel was never, from the first, tied to fleshly descent ($^{7-13}$), but freedom was expressly reserved to God ($^{14-18}$).
        - (2) This freedom vindicated—α. *a priori* ($^{19-21}$), and β. *a posteriori* ($^{22-24}$); what has happened is the fulfilment of God's word in prophecy ($^{25-29}$).
      - b. *The Present* (9^{29}–10^{21}), the responsibility of the rejected.
        - (1) The actual error of Israel (9^{30}–10^{3}).
        - (2) Their error analyzed and defined (10^{3-13}).
        - (3) Its inexcusable nature shown (10^{13-21}).
      - c. *The Future* (11^{1-36}). The Rejection of Israel.
        - (1) Only partial (11^{1-10}).
        - (2) Only temporary (11^{11-32}).
      - *Doxology*, closing part II. B. and the doctrinal portion of the Epistle (11^{33-36}).
- III. PRACTICAL PART.
  - A. *GENERAL SOCIAL AND MORAL DUTIES* (12. 13).
    - a. *Practical Christian Conduct* (12^{1-21}).
    - b. *The Christian and the Civil Power* (13^{1-7}).
    - c. *The Law of Love* (13^{8-10}).
    - d. *The Approach of the Day* (13^{11-14}).
  - B. *MUTUAL DUTIES OF SECTIONS IN THE CHURCH* (14^{1}–15^{13}).
    - a. *The Strong and the Weak* (14^{1-23}).
    - b. *Gentiles and Jews* (15^{1-13}).
- IV. EPISTOLARY CONCLUSION (15^{14}–16^{27}).
  - a. *The Apostle and his readers* (15^{14-24}).
  - b. *The λογία, and the Apostle's approaching visit to Jerusalem* (15^{25-33}).
  - c. *Introduction of Phœbe* ($16^{1.2}$), *and salutations to individuals* ($^{3-16}$).
  - d. *Final warnings* ($^{17-20}$) *and benediction.*
  - e. *Salutations from individuals* [*and benediction in many MSS*] ($^{21-24}$).
  - f. *Final Doxology* ($^{25-27}$).

v. IMPORTANCE OF THE EPISTLE.—It is evident that we have here, not exactly a systematic treatise on Christian doctrine, but a letter, held together in all its parts by a central idea, the working out of which in its presuppositions and applications is the essential purpose of the whole. This central idea is to be sought for in connexion with what the apostle calls (2^{16} 16^{25}) 'my gospel' (cf. 1^{1-6}). This expression, understood in the light of Gal 2^{7}, points to more than a mere subdivision of labour between the apostles. Not merely the well-being, but the very existence of non-Jewish Christianity depended upon the gospel specially entrusted to St. Paul (compare Ph 2^{16} with Gal 2^{20}). The gospel of the uncircumcision, St. Paul's gospel (Ro 16^{25}, Eph $3^{3.6.7}$), meant the levelling of Jewish privilege and self-righteousness (Ro 10^{3} 3^{30}), and this rested upon the principle of *faith* as the sole ground of righteousness in the sight of God ($3^{27.28}$ read γάρ, 4^{16} etc.).

If this view is correct,—and it seems to follow directly from St. Paul's own language,—it at once places Romans in a fundamental position among our materials for a Pauline theology, and marks the earlier chapters as fundamental in comparison with the rest of the Epistle. To take the latter point first: it was a too external view of the Epistle which led Baur to see its primary purpose in the subject of chs. 9–11. Near to the apostle's heart ($9^{1ff.}$) as that subject was, it belongs to the historical application of the fundamental idea of the Epistle rather than to the fibre and substance of that idea itself. The ideal relation between God and man holds good prior to any particular course which in God's providence the religious history of the world may have followed. Had the Jews never enjoyed the position of a chosen people, the fundamental facts of human nature in relation to God would have been the same. The Law came in as a secondary factor (3^{20}), and the historical relations of Jew and Gentile, the apostasy of the Jews, belong to the sphere not of eternal realities, but of the contingent. Therefore the first eight chapters accomplish St. Paul's primary purpose; the next three round off his fundamental thought by vindicating it in the light of religious history. And of the first eight chapters, clearly those (6–8) which deal with the principles of the Christian life presuppose and are governed by those which treat of man's fundamental relation to God (1–5). These chapters, then, which are directed to convincing all Christians, especially those of Jewish habits of thought, that man cannot become righteous by means of law, but only by faith, are the central portion of the Epistle, and it is there that its main purpose is to be found. St. Paul's main purpose was, then, to commend 'his gospel,' the principle of the righteousness of faith, to the Christians of Rome. But if so, it is a letter, not a treatise in the full sense of the word. So far from being meant as a compendium of Christian doctrine, it is not written with special reference to what was common to St. Paul and the older apostles (1 Co 15^{11}). This the Romans already know, and it is taken for granted (16^{17} 6^{17}). The apostle writes not to controvert, nor even to reconstruct *de novo*, but to complete (1^{11}). St. Paul's gospel was but the explicit formulation of what was implied in the gospel as preached by all, and from the first. If Christ, as all taught and all believed, had died not in vain, then righteousness did not come through Law (cf. Gal 2^{21}). It need not, then, surprise us that the enunciation *ex professo* of the specifically Pauline doctrines is almost confined to the Epistles of this group. In the earlier Epistles to the Thessalonians, St. Paul is at a simpler stage of his teaching. To the recent converts of Macedonia, temperance, righteousness, and the judgment that was to come (Ac 24^{25}) supply the natural heads of instruction. In Philippians we catch the last echoes of the great controversy; in Ephesians, Colossians, Philemon, and still more in Timothy and Titus, new circumstances call forth different categories of doctrine. But throughout, the principles of Romans and Galatians are presupposed and are fundamental. Lastly, as compared with Galatians itself, our Epistle is primary. Galatians (see above, § iii. 6) is addressed at a special psychological moment. Its argument from the priority in time of the covenant of faith reappears, identical in substance, but in more extended elaboration, in Ro 4. But the eternal principle which underlies this historical argument is worked out in Romans with a wider outlook and a deeper foundation in human nature. The Gentile world is included in the arraignment of human helplessness before God. The history is carried back from Abraham to Adam; the justification of man is put into relation with the righteousness of God, the inability (8^{3}) of the Law to save is grounded upon a searching psychological analysis of its exact effect (Ro $7^{5ff.}$, cf. Gal 3^{19}), and the contrasted moral renovation effected by the Spirit (Gal $5^{16ff.}$) is described at length and put into relation with a comprehensive and sublime view of the meaning and destiny of creation. No doubt, the root-ideas of Romans are those of Galatians; but in the latter Epistle St. Paul is dealing with the controversy of the hour, in Romans he is dealing with human nature itself, and with the fundamental and universal relations of man as man to God as God, as conditioned by the central fact of history—the Person and work of Christ. Our Epistle, then, is the ripe fruit of St. Paul's distinctive mission as a master-builder (1 Co 3^{10}) in the formation of the Church. In chs. 1–5, where he speaks as a Jew to Jews, we see Judaism *led out of itself* by the gospel, but by its own methods and from its own premises. This is a re-statement, but on a broader basis, of the position of Galatians. Then in chs. 6–8, speaking as a Christian to Christians, he brings out the contrast between law (and flesh) and grace (and spirit) as the respective spheres of the old and the new life. Here the Jewish point of view, its legalism and nationalism, are left far behind, and the ethical categories of the OT (even in their truest significance) have given place to those of the New (compare the deepened sense of the terms 'spirit' and 'flesh,' below, § vi.), the obedience of slaves to that of sons, the natural man to the spiritual; propitiation for sin issues in the destruction of its power ($8^{1ff.}$), the satisfaction of Law by Christ in its supersession as a factor in the spiritual life.

vi. THEOLOGY AND CHARACTERISTIC IDEAS.—An article like the present neither requires nor permits a full discussion of these; but it would be incomplete without a brief enumeration of the principal characteristic conceptions of the Epistle.

1. For his *conception of God*, St. Paul is dependent on the Old Testament. In other words, he does not so much analyze the idea of God as the absolute or perfect Being, as insist upon the character of God as it has entered into human experience in the course of God's dealings with men. This has been the case in two main ways. On the one hand, God has revealed Himself to man through nature ($1^{20ff.}$) and conscience ($2^{14f.}$). 'His eternal power and divineness' and the doom due to sin are made known to man apart from direct revelation, and moral apostasy is therefore without excuse. On the other hand, the will (2^{18}) and character of God have been specially revealed, and Divine promises have been given, to a particular nation entrusted with His 'oracles' ($9^{1ff.}$ 3^{1}). Both Jew and Gentile, in their several ways, have the terrible knowledge, antecedent to Christ, of the *wrath of God* (1^{18}). This conception is with St. Paul primarily *eschatological* (see Sanday-Headlam, *in loc.*, and on 5^{9}), but the certainty of its unveiling in the 'day of wrath' (2^{5}) is a *present* certainty. The wrath of God in our Epistle is the category which includes the sternly retributive attitude of God towards sin, His δικαιοκρισία (2^{5}). It stands in the closest relation to the OT conception of the Divine HOLINESS (see *Expositor*, March 1899, p. 193). If the Divine wrath is an experience common to Jew and Gentile alike, the Divine RIGHTEOUSNESS (see the two artt. on this subject) is one specifically related to *revealed* religion. This is, of course, true on the view very commonly taken of the phrase δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ in 1^{17} and other passages of the Epistle, viz. that it denotes, not an attribute of God Himself, but a righteousness which *man* derives from God as its source. This view, which has influenced the RV of 1^{17}, supplies an idea so obviously necessary to St. Paul's contrast between the false righteousness and the true (10^{3} etc.), and is in such close correspondence with his language in 2 Co 5^{21}, Ph 3^{9} etc., that it must, in some way or other, be *included* in any satisfactory explanation of the phrase in 1^{17} and cognate passages. But there is a marked tendency in many quarters to go back to the sense suggested by the parallelism

of *δύναμις θεοῦ* and *δικ. θεοῦ* in $1^{16.17}$ as the primary one, and to recognize the antithesis between the wrath of God as the 'revelation' antecedent to the gospel, and the 'righteousness of God' as the specific revelation of the gospel itself. The main objection to this is the presupposition that by God's 'righteousness' must be meant His stern retributive *justice*, *i.e.* His anger against sin. The result of an examination of the use of the conception of God's righteousness in the Old Testament is, however, adverse to this presupposition. The subject is *sub judice*, and it is beyond the province of this article to attempt to decide it (see above, § iv.; Sanday-Headlam, p. 24 ff.; *Expos.*, March 1893, p. 187 ff.; Häring, *δικ. θ. bei Paulus*, Tübingen, 1896; Beck in *Neue Jahrb. f. deutsche Theol.* 1895, p. 249 ff.; Kölbing in *SK*, 1895, p. 7 ff. Häring, p. 14 ff., tabulates the principal alternative views). There is, at any rate in this Epistle, the closest correlation between the righteousness of God and the justification of the believer in Christ (3^{26}).

A similar correlation exists between the final salvation of man and the *Glory of God*. By this expression St. Paul sometimes means the honour due to God from His creatures (1 Co 10^{31}, Ro 16^{27}); but there is a sense, specially characteristic of our Epistle, in which it denotes the supreme destiny of man, realized in the ultimate salvation of the redeemed (3^{23} 9^{23}, cf. $8^{19.21.30}$). The idea of the word *δόξα* here seems to be the positive counterpart of the more negative *ἀποκάλυψις*. The latter suggests the removal of something which hides, the former the shining forth of the thing previously hidden in all its sublime reality. Relatively, this is seen in any signal display of Divine power, *e.g.* in the resurrection of Christ (6^4). Absolutely, it is reserved for the consummation of all things, when the kingdom of God shall appear in its perfection, and the righteous shall shine forth in it as the sun. In this connexion the Divine PREDESTINATION must be taken into account. In 9^{23}, though the general context relates more especially to the Divine predestination of men to *function*, *i.e.* to the several parts they play in the providentially ordered course of history, there is in the immediate context unquestioned reference to those whom God has prepared for *glory* (see above), in contrast to those who are 'made ready' (it is not said 'by God Himself') for destruction. There is neither here nor elsewhere in the Epistle anything said of the 'double predestination.' But the predestination *of the saints* is clearly laid down in $8^{29.30}$. Only, in the latter passage *foreknowledge precedes predestination*. On the whole, while frankly recognizing the predestinarian language used, we must also recognize its limitations. The apostle does not appear to be giving expression to a systematized scheme of thought on the subject.

The will of God *for man's conduct* enters into man's experience in the form of *Law*. In the generic sense, the term is applicable to any authoritative principle of action normally issuing in human obedience (8^{2a}, cf. 3^{27b}, 1 Co 9^{21}). Such obedience may, however, be the response either to an enabling principle working from within (see passages just quoted, and $8^{14f.}$), or to a summons confronting man from without. In this, the characteristic sense of *νόμος* in our Epistle, law is a factor in the moral life fitted to acquaint the intellect with the Divine standard of conduct (7^{25} and previous context), but incapable (*ἀδύνατον*, 8^3) of bringing the life of man into harmony with its precepts. This result, due to the conditions of human nature (below, 2) is the more apparent the more fixed and definite the form in which law is promulgated. This appears to be the meaning of 'the letter' (*γράμμα*), in which the full moral effect of law is seen (7^6, cf. 2 Co 3^6, 1 Co 15^{56}, Ro 3^{19} 4^{15} 5^{20} 7^7, Gal 3^{19}). This was above all true of the one law which had conveyed to man in inexorable fixity and definiteness the Divine standard of action, the Jewish law, *ὁ νόμος*. The denotative force of the definite art. depends upon its context. In most cases, 'the law' in question is the Jewish law; on the other hand, the anarthrous *νόμος* may well be used of the Jewish law, either as *a* law or as representing the *principle* of law, or as a quasi-proper name (probably 7^1, possibly 3^{31} etc.). See, further, art. LAW (IN NT). The Christian is ideally free from 'law' as an external principle (6^{14}), but to be *ὑπὸ χάριν* is to be *ἔννομος Χριστοῦ* (1 Co 9^{21}, cf. Ro 8^2, see below, 2; on the whole subject, cf. Gifford, p. 41 ff.).

In connexion with the doctrine of God, we must, lastly, note the bearing of the Epistle on the theology of *the Person and Work of Christ*. Neither are treated of *ex professo*. But in $1^{4.5}$ and 9^5 we have the contrast between what Christ was, *κατὰ σάρκα*, and His higher nature as Son of God (1^5) and as actually God (9^5). The difficulty of the former passage is in the exact interpretation of *κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης* (see Gifford and Sanday-Headlam, *in loc.*). In the latter there is a still more difficult question of punctuation (see the Commentaries, also Ezra Abbot, *Critical Essays*, and Hort's critical note, *in loc.*). On the whole, the punctuation assumed just above appears distinctly the more probable. The principle, moreover, of *τέλος νόμου Χριστός* (10^4), and Christ as an object of Faith (1^1 *δοῦλος Ἰησ. Χρ.*, contrast 1 Co 7^{23}), and 10^{13} which identifies Christ (by the context) with יהוה, make decisively in the same doctrinal direction. (On 8^3 see below, 2).

On the Atonement, $3^{25.26}$ is a classical passage, but it leaves open most of the difficult questions which attend the theology of that mysterious subject. The reader must consult the admirable excursus of Sanday-Headlam on the subject, Lightfoot's notes, and the discussion of the passage in R. W. Dale, *The Atonement*. The key to the meaning is to be found in the words *ἱλαστήριον . . . ἐν τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ*, rather than in the *ἔνδειξις τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ*, which, taken by itself, would hardly compel us to go beyond the thought of punishment as a vindication of God's moral government, which by no means exhausts the significance of the Atonement. The doctrine is emphasized, but not explained, in 5^{6-10}.

2. St. Paul's *doctrine of man* is formulated in OT categories, but enlarged and deepened by his outlook upon life and history, and by his personal experience as a Jew and as a 'slave of Christ' (Ro 1^1). His comprehensive formula for human nature is 'flesh'—'all flesh' (cf. 1 Co 3^4 *ἄνθρωποι* = *σάρκινοι*). From the time of Theodore of Mopsuestia to our own day the moral colour of St. Paul's conception of *σάρξ* has been matter of keen debate. The close relation between flesh and sin in his theology is obvious. But to make the connexion essential, is to mistake the entire meaning of the apostle. In Ro 8^3 we have the crucial passage. What the law could not do—namely, liberate man from the law of sin—God did by sending His own Son, and in Him condemning sin 'in the flesh.' That is, sin was, by the mere fact (*πέμψας*) of the coming of Christ, shown to be a usurper in human nature. This was effected by the Son of God coming 'in the likeness of sinful flesh'—*ἐν ὁμοιώματι σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας*. 'Sinful flesh' is the universal condition in which our common humanity draws its first breath (5^{14}). Christ did not enter into this condition, but into its 'likeness.' The *un*-likeness certainly did not consist in 'the flesh' (1^3 9^5) which Christ took in reality, not in mere likeness. St. Paul could not have written *ἐν ὁμοιώματι σαρκός*. But neither did he write *ἐν σαρκὶ*

ἁμαρτίας, which he should have done had sin been to him part of the very meaning of 'flesh' (see Gifford's admirable discussion, Introd. p. 52, and *in loc.*). His language expresses with consummate accuracy the thought that Christ 'by taking our flesh made it sinless' (Tertull.), and so broke the empire over human nature usurped by sin. Flesh, in fact, has with St. Paul a physical (σάρκινος) and a moral (σαρκικός) sense. In the former sense, as long as this life lasts we are ἐν σαρκί (Gal 2^{20}), in the 'mortal body' (Ro 6^{12} 8^{11}). But ideally the Christian has left the flesh as the sphere of his *moral* life behind (Ro 7^{5} 8^{9}). But in the pre-Christian, and even in the imperfectly Christian life, the σάρκινος is inevitably σαρκικός (Ro 7^{14}, 1 Co $3^{1ff.}$). This is carried back by him to a historic beginning in the one sin of one man ($5^{12. 16-18}$), which left human nature under the reign of death and sin. Unquestionably, actual disobedience is to St. Paul far graver than passive or congenital sin. Before sin becomes a fact of experience, the individual is, comparatively speaking, 'alive' (7^{9}). But guilt in some sense is there already (5^{14}), and rebellion is there, though latent and 'dead' (7^{8b}), and it needs but the first shock of prohibition to 'revive' (v.^{9}). Under the most favourable conditions of enlightenment, with the law of God to guide it, and with complete mental assent to and enthusiasm for (7^{22}, cf. 2^{17}) that law, human nature experiences helpless failure and disaster. But, where the higher guidance is absent or lost, man becomes more and more lost to self-respect and moral conviction ($1^{18. 32}$). In a sense the heathen is, like the Jew, under law: apart from the ideal sense in which 'the Jewish law was a law for all men' (Hort, *Romans and Ephesians*, p. 25), his reason and conscience (2^{14}), if normal and healthy, tell him what is right. The 'natural virtue' of Aristotle is fully recognized by St. Paul, and it is, in fact, this *inward* moral law that is restored in Christ. But, in fact, the law of conscience condemned the Gentile as completely as the written law condemned the Jew (3^{9}), and not less so when its voice had ceased to be heard ($1^{28. 32}$).

3. *Sinful man does not*, according to St. Paul, *lack a higher nature.* The inward self (7^{22}) is *capable* of renewal (12^{2}), though in sore need of it. For the higher self St. Paul has the term πνεῦμα (1 Co 5^{5}, 2 Co 7^{1}), though in this sense he employs it sparingly, and not in our Epistle. More characteristic of Romans is the term νοῦς, which plays so prominent a part in the analysis (7^{7-25}). Νοῦς is an inalienable endowment of human nature, *i.e.* it belongs to the flesh (cf. Col 2^{18}), and may be involved in its bondage to sin (1^{28}, cf. Tit 1^{15}); but it is the highest endowment of the flesh, and is capable of conveying to the will the commandment of God (7^{23}); but there its power ceases—St. Paul would have accepted, so far as it goes, Aristotle's *dictum* that 'understanding alone moves nothing.' The understanding, the higher self, can indeed 'wish' what is right ($7^{15ff.}$), but its wish has no power in the face of the flesh wielded by sin—'to wish and to effect' (Ph 2^{12}) requires a vital energy (Ro 6^{4}) which human nature cannot originate.

This vital energy is the Spirit (see καινότης in 6^{4} 7^{6}, cf. 2 Co 5^{17}) which inhabits the body of Christ, and dwells in those who are in vital union with Him. The word πνεῦμα in this Epistle is used, now for the Spirit of God, now for the inward man (see above) *as renewed and energized* by union with Christ (see *Expositor*, May 1899, p. 350 ff.; Sanday-Headlam, pp. 162 ff., 199 f.). It is this living union with the crucified, risen, and glorified Christ that distinguishes the new self from the old self (παλαιὸς ἄνθρωπος, 6^{6}), the pre-Christian life ἐν σαρκί, ἐν παλαιότητι γράμματος, from the regenerate life ἐν πνεύματι, ἐν Χριστῷ, ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς, the obedience of sons from the obedience of slaves—slaves in mind possibly to a law of God, but practically to a law of sin (7^{25} $6^{16ff.}$). To make quite clear the perfection of the obedience implied in the new state, St. Paul employs, in $6^{16ff.}$, with an apology for doing so (v.^{19}), the term 'slavery' to describe it (cf. 1^{1}); but he proceeds to throw it aside (8^{15}) in completing his theology of the Christian life. The son and the slave differ above all in this, that the son's *interest* is centred on his father's will, that of the slave is elsewhere. This is expressed in the famous antithesis of the two φρονήματα (8^{6}, cf. Ph 2^{5} 3^{19}, Col 3^{2}), by which St. Paul sums up his fundamental distinction of human character. It must be noted here that the language of ch. 8 postulates the distinct Personality of the Spirit (v.$^{26ff.}$) not less clearly than that of 1 Co $2^{10ff.}$ implies His divinity. The Spirit dwells in the children of God in this life as an instalment (ἀπαρχή, 8^{23}, cf. ἀρραβών elsewhere) of the life which is theirs already (v.^{10}), but to be unveiled in its glory only with the consummation of God's kingdom over all His creatures ($8^{18ff.}$).

4. St. Paul's conviction of the *profound degradation of human nature* is thus at once deepened and relieved by his belief in its *lofty capacities and destiny.* The latter, though to be fully realized only in the life to come, are to be entered upon in this life. We have now to notice St. Paul's doctrine of the transition from the helpless, hopeless old life to the 'life and peace' of the new. Obviously, man cannot by himself cross so vast a chasm. But the 'good-news of Christ' comes to him as 'the power of God to his salvation' (1^{16}), if he believes it. Faith, then, presupposes that the Divine power to save has already been directed towards the believer; and it has as its immediate accompaniment the opening of a life in fellowship with God from which the sinner as such is excluded. In other words, by believing, the sinner is in God's sight as though his sin had not been, —he is 'justified by faith.' By justification, then, St. Paul primarily means the non-imputation—the forgiveness—of sin (he equates the two ideas, $4^{8. 9}$ etc.). Justification renders possible, for the first time, active righteousness (6^{18} $8^{1ff.}$) in God's sight, but it is not possible to confuse the two in one idea without destruction of St. Paul's most characteristic thought. If once it is grasped that justification means to St. Paul the removal of the impassable barrier set up between God and the soul by sin, and not the progressive assimilation of character to the filial type which springs from reconciliation as its root, and that faith is to the apostle not merely assent to doctrine as divinely revealed, but personal trust in God through Christ, it becomes easy to see how central a place the doctrine of justification by faith holds in St. Paul's system, how unreal is its supposed conflict with the severest standard of Christian obligation, or the most thankful use of divinely provided means of grace, and how profoundly it appeals to the most legitimate and elementary need of human nature, the longing for a gracious God (see Jn 6^{37}). The doctrine, taken by itself, does not offer an account of all that grace does for a man, but of how a man is *admitted* to grace. The two things are clearly distinguishable in St. Paul, though, of course, in practice they can never be separated (compare carefully Ro 8^{1} with context before and after). Faith, then, is to St. Paul the attitude of soul which never regards itself as righteous before God, but refers all to God's free gift. Its trust in God is absolute; but it has as its objective foundation certain definite facts ($5^{2. 6ff.}$) which become material for faith under the influence of the Spirit, who interprets to the soul the Death of Christ as the

outcome of God's love (5^5). Hence it is 'through faith' (3^{25}) that the Death of Christ reaches its effect in the justification of the sinner. It is this fact—even more than the inclusion of all alike under sin—that reduces all men to one level in God's sight (3^{27}). (On this subject see the articles on FAITH and JUSTIFICATION in the present work, and a most careful discussion in Sanday-Headlam, pp. 28–39; also *Expositor*, March 1899, p. 200 ff.; Ritschl, *Lehre d. Rechtfertigung*, vol. ii. ch. 4, § 36, and all important commentaries on Romans). Justifying faith, then, is not purely 'dogmatic,' because it is trust *in a Person.* Neither is it purely 'undogmatic,' because it rests upon, and includes the knowledge of, something *which that Person has done* (1 Co 15^3, the germ of an 'Apostles' Creed'). Lastly, justification, to St. Paul, is doubtless one act, the entrance once for all into the state of grace ($5^{1\text{f.}}$). But it remains as a root of character; its connexion with vital holiness is not that of mere succession in time, but as its organic beginning. Faith is the abiding sphere of all Christian life (Gal 2^{20}, 2 Co 13^5), not a passing emotion, evoked by a single great crisis and subsiding with it.

5. *Grace and the moral life.*—The act of faith is not meritorious in its character, for this would be open, equally with righteousness by works, to the objection of $4^{2\text{ff.}}$. It must come, that is, from God as its source; it not only *receives* God's free gift, but it *is* God's free gift. In other words, by excluding merit, we seem to deprive man of his responsibility. It may be questioned whether St. Paul had ever formulated in his own mind the problem of 'responsibility without merit,' which is the age-long *crux* of the doctrine of grace. Both from the consideration of justifying faith, and again from that of Divine predestination to glory (above, 1), the moral responsibility of man seems threatened, if St. Paul's principles are logically developed. But he neither develops them in this way himself, nor does he seem conscious of the need for a reconciliation of the opposed truths. That all human history is in God's hands, and that the sin of man, *e.g.* the apostasy of Israel in rejecting Christ, is used by God as a step to the fulfilment of His will for man, is insisted upon. But the fact is wholly disallowed as an extenuation of the sinner's responsibility; St. Paul repudiates with intense indignation (3^{8b}) the charge that his teaching encouraged any such view. 'Ch. 9 implies arguments which take away free will, ch. 10 is meaningless without the presupposition of free will' (Sanday-Headlam, p. 348). It is to be noted that St. Paul's entire case for the need of redemption (1–3^{20}) is an indictment of human sin, which loses all force if human responsibility is lost sight of. Although by 'works of law' no flesh shall be justified, yet God 'will render to each man according to his works' (2^6, cf. 14^{12}). The stress laid by St. Paul upon personal faith and individual renewal as the heart and mainspring of the moral life, gives to his theology of conduct a strongly individualistic character. But no one could be further from individualism in the sense in which that term is often used. The personal life of the Christian is one of *fellowship* with the saints through Christ. All the manifestations of the Christian life are conditioned by membership of a body ($12^{3\text{ff.}}$). And in critical questions of moral alternative (ch. 14) the sense of brotherhood is a safe guide. We are to ask not merely 'what does my liberty permit?' but 'how will my conduct help or hinder my brother?' We are to respect the liberty of others (14^{4-6}), but to be ready to subordinate our own (for the whole chapter, cf. 1 Co 8–10. 13).

An interesting application of St. Paul's general theory of conduct is the attitude inculcated by him towards the civil power (13^{1-7}). In a word, his spirit is that of good citizenship, idealizing the magistrate as 'the minister of God.' This position, natural to a born 'Roman' (Ac 22^{28}), is very much in advance of the general spirit of the apostle's compatriots, and decidedly in contrast with that of the Apocalypse. This is partly to be explained by the circumstances. When St. Paul wrote, Imperial Rome was not yet 'drunk with the blood of the saints'; on the contrary, the imperial officials had more than once protected him against Jewish fanaticism.

6. *The Church and its institutions.*—The Roman community does not seem as yet to possess a permanent organization of 'bishops' and deacons (see Sanday-Headlam, Introd. § 3 (3)). The list of ministries ($12^{7\text{ff.}}$) must be compared with others of the same kind (see the table in art. 1 CORINTHIANS, vol. i. p. 490). The *προϊστάμενος* can hardly be a permanent officer; he comes too low on the list, and is apparently on a line with the *κυβερνήσεις* of 1 Cor. There is evidence (16^5) that the houses of different members of the community formed scattered centres for the worshippers of the household or neighbourhood (see Sanday-Headlam, *in loc.*). Of the *sacraments*, the Eucharist is not mentioned; but upon Baptism great stress is laid (6^{1-5}). To St. Paul's readers, to believe and to be baptized were, probably in all cases, coincident in time. Faith issued in baptism as its concrete expression and correlative. Baptism was the external means of union with Christ, the closing of the door upon the old and lower self, the opening of the new life of grace. It does not occur to St. Paul to put faith and baptism in any sort of rivalry. Faith in Christ would involve the desire to join His body by His appointed means. In all probability, the reference to faith and its confession in $10^{9\text{f.}}$ is associated with the thought of baptism.

vii. MATERIALS FOR PERSONAL HISTORY OF ST. PAUL.—The Epistle is far less rich than those to the Corinthians and Galatians in details as to St. Paul's personal history. His long-standing desire to see Rome is mentioned in ch. 1 and in 15^{22}; the puzzling reference to his having preached *μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ* in 15^{19} (see art. 2 CORINTHIANS, vol. i. p. 495), if the words do not compel us to suppose that he had actually entered Illyricum, would be satisfied by his visit to Berœa, the last important place in Macedonia (Ac 17^{10}). His further intention to visit Spain (15^{24}) is a fact of great interest, as also is his apprehension as to his coming visit to Jerusalem with the *λογία* (vv.$^{25-33}$). The names in ch. 16 contain those of many friends of the apostle otherwise unknown to us, including his kinsmen Andronicus and Junias, Jason and Sosipater. In Tertius we have the only certain name of an amanuensis employed by the apostle. His reference to miracles worked by himself (15^{19}) should not be overlooked (cf. 2 Co 12^{12}).

Of deeper interest, though open to more doubt, is the personal bearing of the passage 7^{7-25}. It is impossible to regard the passage as a mere *μετασχηματισμός*, describing the phenomena in the first person merely for the sake of vividness. The *ἐγώ* is too emphatic, too repeated, the feeling too deep, for a purely impersonal statement. On the other hand, the passage is universal in its reference, and supplies the argument with an indispensable piece of analysis. We may regard it as St. Paul's account, based upon reflexion as well as on experience, of the utmost that law can do for human nature. And if so, we may use it in order to understand how St. Paul may well have come to realize, even before his conversion, that *if* the preaching of the apostles (cf. 1 Co $15^{11.3}$) was true, *if* Christ had died 'not in vain' (Gal 2^{21}), then righteousness *did not* come by the law. It enables us to realize something of the 'kicking against the goads,' which, as we know, had preceded the scene on the road to Damascus.

viii. TRANSMISSION OF THE TEXT. INTEGRITY.—The text of our Epistle comes to us through much the same lines of transmission as that of 1 Cor. (which see). It is contained in the Peshiṭta, Old Lat., Copt., and other oldest versions of the NT, as well as in the principal Gr. MSS. Of the latter it is complete in ℵABLS (the last uncollated). C lacks 2^{5}–3^{21}, 9^{6}–10^{15}, 11^{31}–13^{10}. D^{paul} lacks 1^{1-7}, 1^{27-30} are supplied by a somewhat later hand (also 1^{24-27} in the Lat.); E^{paul} (copy of D) has these passages, but lacks 8^{21-33}, 11^{15-25}. F^{paul}, a copy of G, is lacking in 1^{1}–3^{19}. G^{paul} lacks 1^{1} ἀφωρισμ.–πίστεως 1^{5}, also 2^{16-25}. K contains the Epistle only to 10^{17}. P lacks 2^{15}–3^{5}, 8^{33}–9^{11}, 11^{22}–12^{1}. ב contains only 13^{4}–15^{9}. (On the cursives, and on the authorities for the Old Lat., what was said on 1 Cor. may be repeated, with a further reference to Sanday-Headlam, p. lxv).

Of textual phenomena we must notice the omission in G g, supported by a note in the Bodleian cursive 47, of the words ἐν Ῥώμη, $1^{7.15}$. The omission tempts a comparison with the omission, by important authorities, of the analogous words in the address of EPHESIANS. But in this case there can be no question that the words ἐν Ῥώμη are original. The omission may, however, be due, as may also be the case with Ephesians, to the early circulation of our Epistle among other Churches with the omission of the definite references to Rome. This might be connected with the omission, in some early authorities, of chs. 15. 16 (see below). But this connexion would be much more certain if the authorities for the omission of ἐν Ῥώμη and of chs. 15. 16 were identical. This is not the case.

A more difficult question is that of the place of the doxology (16^{25-27}). L and many cursives, with some other ancient authorities, place it at the end of ch. 14; AP and a few authorities repeat it at the end of 16; FG g Marcion omit it wholly, but G leaves a blank space at the end of ch. 14. (On D see Sanday-Headlam, p. lxxxix). But ℵBCDE, some cursives, and most Western authorities, place it after 16 *only*. This is probably the earliest position; its omission by Marcion may be the source of all the variations, although, if there were good grounds for thinking that St. Paul himself issued two recensions of the Epistle, the resemblance of the language of the doxology to that of the captivity group of Epp. (on which, however, see Hort in Lightf. *Bibl. Essays*, p. 327) might warrant us in ascribing the doxology to his second recension. But here, again, the hypothesis in question is inadequately founded. It should be noted that G g, which omit ἐν Ῥώμη, should, on this supposition, *insert* the doxology, which they, on the contrary, omit.

A far more complex question is raised by the omission, in some indirect but ancient witnesses to the text, of chs. 15. 16. These witnesses consist of (1) Marcion, as quoted by $Orig.^{lat}$ supported by the language of Tertull. *adv. Marc.* v. 14. (2) The absence of quotations in Tert., Iren., Cyprian. (3) The capitulation in certain MSS of the Vulgate. (4) The fact that ALP, etc. (see above), place the doxology at the end of 14. Of these, number (2) is inconclusive as a mere argument from silence. The others require explanation. A further argument from the repeated benediction $16^{20.24}$ (TR) is shown by Sanday-Headlam to rest on no solid foundation. How, then, are we to explain the facts? The supposition that chs. 15. 16 are spurious (Baur) cannot stand in face of the close connexion between chs. 14 and 15^{1-13}, a governing fact in the whole question. The chapters are omitted by no known MS, nor does the theory of their *partial* spuriousness (Lucht), *i.e.* of interpolations, find any support in the textual material. The supposition that our chapters are a combination of the endings of recensions of the Epistle addressed to several different Churches, 1–14 (or 1–11) being the part common to all recensions (Renan), offends against the governing fact mentioned above, and depends, moreover, upon an erroneous view (see above) of $16^{20.24}$. A plausible, but in reality equally untenable, modification of this view is that 16^{1-21}, or 16^{3-21}, or $^{3-16}$, originally formed part of a letter addressed to Ephesus, and became afterwards incorporated in our Epistle (first suggested in 1767 by Keggermann, substantially adopted by Ewald, Mangold, Reuss, Lucht, Holsten, Lipsius, Weiss, Weizsäcker, Farrar, etc.). Aquila and Priscilla, it is true, were last heard of in Ephesus (1 Co 16^{19}), and are there later (2 Ti 4^{19}); Epænetus is the 'first-fruits of Asia' (RV); and St. Paul must have had many friends in Ephesus, while he had never seen Rome. But the hypothesis does not account for the facts; on the contrary, it leaves ch. 15 wholly untouched. Again, considering the constant going and coming between Rome and the provinces, it would be very surprising that St. Paul should not have many acquaintances in Rome. Moreover, there is good inscriptional and other evidence connecting many of the names with Rome, and indeed with Roman Christians. (See Sanday-Headlam, notes on ch. 16). This is specially true of the households of ARISTOBULUS and NARCISSUS, of AMPLIATUS and of NEREUS (see the articles on these names). On the whole, with all deference to the distinguished scholars who have represented it, our conclusion must be that the case for transferring this section, without any textual ground, from its actual connexion to a lost Epistle to Ephesus, is not made out.

To return, then, to the general question of chs. 15. 16, and to the heads of evidence (1), (3), and (4), the questions to be considered are, *firstly*, What were Marcion's grounds for omitting the chapters? and, *secondly*, Does the fact that he did so sufficiently explain (3) and (4)? If Marcion omitted the chapters on grounds *of tradition*, the second question need not be asked, for a tradition older than Marcion would doubtless leave other traces; but if his omission was purely arbitrary, the question of his probable influence becomes important. That Marcion's text had considerable circulation and some influence in the West may be allowed. But this is hardly adequate as a hypothesis by itself to account for the facts; it does not march without a stick. The extra support required is furnished by the *assumption* that the text was adapted for Church use in certain localities by omitting the personal and less edifying conclusion. The existence of a known text—Marcion's—which lacked chs. 15. 16, *suggested* the adoption of 14^{23} as the close of the shortened Epistle, and accordingly the doxology, which it was desired to retain, was added at that point. The answer to our second question, then, may be put thus: *Given* a demand for an edition of our Epistle with the closing section, excepting the doxology, omitted, the influence of Marcion's text was likely to suggest the exact point where the omission should begin. In other words, the heads of evidence (3) and (4)—we may perhaps add (2)—*may* be explained by (1). The *first* question, then, becomes one of probability. Was Marcion *likely* to omit the chapters on doctrinal grounds, or was he, on the other hand, *unlikely* to excise any matter without documentary authority? On this question the reader is as entitled to decide as the present writer.

The connexion between the question of chs. 15. 16 and the omission of ἐν Ῥώμη in $1^{7.15}$ is very obscure. Sanday-Headlam conjecture that Marcion is responsible for the latter omission also; but there is no evidence that he omitted these words. But given the demand (see above) for an 'impersonal' edition, the words may have been struck out in some copies of such an edition either with or without the support of Marcion's text. That Marcion was interested in the addresses of St. Paul's Epp. we know from the case of EPHESIANS (which see, and cf. Smith's *DB*^{2} p. 947).

LITERATURE.—On the ancient commentaries, Origen, Chrysostom, Theodoret, John Damasc., Œcumenius, Theophylact, Euthemius, Ambrosiaster, Pelagius, Hugh of St. Victor, Abelard, and Aquinas, see the excellent characterizations in Sanday-Headlam. Augustine thought profoundly over the Epistle to the Romans; his anti-Pelagian writings are in effect a commentary upon its most characteristic ideas. He began a formal commentary, but only reached the salutation (*Retract.* i. 25). Of more interest is the *Expositio quarundam quæst. in Ep. ad Rom.* (Migne, *Pat. Lat.* xxxv. 2087), which is the result of his study of the Epistle as a presbyter (about A.D. 396) with some friends. We have here the transition from his earlier views of grace and free will, etc., to his more developed and characteristic conviction, formed under the influence of his studies of St. Paul (see Reuter, *August. Studien*, p. 7ff.). The Biblical Commentary of Cornelius a Lapide (S. J., †1637) gathers up usefully much exegetical material from ancient and mediæval Latin writers, including Augustine. On the commentaries of Colet (ed. Lupton, 1873), Luther (Preface to Melanchthon's comm. 1523), Calvin (1539, 'by far the best of the commentators of the Reformation'), Beza (1594), Estius (1614–6), Hammond (1653), Locke (1705–7), Bengel (1742), Wetstein (1751–2), see Sanday-Headlam, who also give a useful list of modern commentaries. Among the more important of these are those of Fritzsche (1836-43), Meyer (indispensable; the later German ed. by Weiss), de Wette (1836 and foll.), Olshausen, Philippi (^{2}1856 and ^{4}1896), Jowett (^{2}1869, ^{3}1894, suggestive and inexact), Vaughan (^{5}1880, scholarly and admirable in illustration, less satisfactory on connexion of thought), Bisping, Maier (Roman Catholic, as also) Klofutar (Laibach, 1880, terse and sensible), Godet (1879, ^{2}1883, admirable in general exposition and in biblical theology; among the best general commentaries), Oltramare (Geneva, 1881-2), J. A. Beet (^{5}1885, able, and always worth consulting), Otto (Glauchau, 1886), Lipsius (in *Handkommentar*, 1881, able and useful), Barmby (1890, in *Pulpit Commentary*), Moule (in *Expositor's Bible*, excellent popular exegesis, and a distinct advance on that in his *Camb. Bible for Schools*), Liddon (1893, *Explanatory Analysis*). Lightfoot's posthumous *Notes on Epistles of St. Paul* contain a precious fragment on Ro 1–7. The two volumes of Gore (1898–9) are popular, but based upon thoroughly scientific criticism and exegesis. At the head of all English commentaries, and pre-eminent among those in any language, are those of Gifford (1886, reprinted from the *Speaker's Commentary*, unrivalled for accuracy, both in scholarship and theology) and Sanday-Headlam (1895). The last named is one of the most complete and satisfactory commentaries extant on any of the books of the Bible. The present article owes more to it than to any one work on this Epistle. After it, the writer would wish to acknowledge special indebtedness to Gifford, Godet, Meyer-Weiss, and Lipsius.

The standard works on Biblical Theology should be consulted on the leading ideas of the Epistle. With specific reference to St. Paul, Baur's *Paulus* (part 2, ch. iii., which incorporates the substance of his earlier essays on the subject) should still be read, also Usteri's *P. Lehrbegriff* (^{2}1854), and Pfleiderer's highly suggestive *Paulinism*. Essays and studies on the theology of the Epistle are numerous. Among the more recent may be mentioned Headlam in *Expos. Times*, 1894, 1895; Beet in *Expos.* 1898; and some studies hy the present writer, begun in *Expos.* 1899, but not as yet completed. On chs. 9–11, Beyschlag, *die Paul. Theodicee*; Morison (1849, on ch. 9. In 1866 he published an exposition of ch. 3). The integrity of the Epistle is discussed (in addition to works cited, above, § viii.) in the earlier part of Mangold's *Römerbrief, u.s.w.*, and by Lightfoot and Hort in articles reprinted in Lightfoot's *Biblical Essays*. Hort's *Lectures on Romans and Ephesians* also deal with this and other introductory matters. The Eng. tr. of Meyer's commentary, that of Godet's *Introd. to St. Paul's Epistles* (Edinb. 1894) and the end of the Introduction on his commentary, may be referred to for additions to the above brief list. Works referred to in the body of the above article are not in all cases enumerated here.

A. ROBERTSON.

ROME.—The aim of this article is (1) to give an outline of the relations between Rome and the Jews during the period covered by the Scripture history; (2) to describe the general aspects and life of the city at the time when it was first brought into contact with Christianity; (3) to touch upon its associations with the names or writings of St. Paul, St. Peter, and St. John; and (4) with some of the minor characters mentioned in the NT.

1. The first specific mention of Rome in Jewish literature occurs incidentally in 1 Mac 1^{10}, where reference is made to 'a sinful root, Antiochus Epiphanes, son of Antiochus the king, who had been an hostage at Rome.' Political relations of a somewhat indefinite character were established by Judas Maccabæus in B.C. 161. By that date Rome had gained a position of unquestioned supremacy. The power of Carthage, which carried with it the control of the West, was broken at Zama in B.C. 202; the defeat of Antiochus at Magnesia in B.C. 190 made Rome arbiter in the East. A graphic picture of the reputation which Rome had created for itself in the East is found in 1 Mac 8$^{1-16}$. It ascribes to the Romans some virtues in regard to which closer experience might have modified the judgment of Judas, and contains some inaccuracies in details, but is vivid and accurate in its spirit. The valour of the Romans, the terror with which they inspired their foes, the support which they gave to their allies, their victories over Spain, over Philip and Antiochus, the constitution of the Senate, the absence of all the outward insignia of royalty, their freedom from envy and emulation, are all set forth in words of laudation. On the strength of this conviction as to Roman power and policy, Judas sent Eupolemus the son of John, and Jason the son of Eleazar, to Rome with the view of establishing friendship and a treaty of alliance (1 Mac 8^{17}). The object of Judas was to get rid of the Syrian yoke, and in accordance with its traditional policy Rome readily recognized the Jewish autonomy in order to cripple Syria; but though they mutually pledged themselves to furnish a contingent if required, and not to assist any common enemy with 'victuals, weapons, money, or ships,' the treaty seems to have led to no definite action by either party. About eighteen years later, in B.C. 143, Jonathan, the brother and successor of Judas, sent representatives to Rome to renew and confirm the former alliance (1 Mac 12$^{1.3.4}$). In B.C. 139, Simon, the brother of Jonathan, despatched an embassy, of which Numenius was the head, to Rome, with a great shield of gold, a thousand pounds in weight (1 Mac 14^{24}). The Romans graciously received the costly gift and entered into a formal treaty with Simon. They intimated the fact of that alliance to all the powers with which they themselves were friendly, and called on them to hand over to the Jews any 'pestilent fellows,' *i.e.* any political refugees who had found an asylum with them. Details of the embassy of Numenius are given by Jos. (*Ant.* XIV. viii. 5), though by a blunder he assigns it to a later date. (For the literature on this embassy see Schürer, *HJP* I. i. 268). To this date is probably to be referred the obscure statement in Valerius Maximus (i. 3. 3), the authenticity of which is now generally acknowledged, that 'Cornelius Hispalus compelled the Jews, who had been trying to corrupt the Roman morals by the worship of Jupiter Sabazius (J″ *Ẓĕbâôth?*), to go back to their own homes.' If the reference be correct, it would appear that by some of the suite of Numenius attempts at propagandism had been successfully made (see Reinach, *Textes relatifs au Judaisme*, p. 259, note 3). Though we can point to no definite statement, it is probable that after this date many Jews found their way to Rome in pursuit of business (Grätz, *History of the Jews*, ii. 67; Berliner, *Gesch. d. Jud. in Rom*, p. 5).

After his capture of Jerusalem in B.C. 63, Pompey carried many Jewish prisoners to Rome as slaves. (See LIBERTINES). The great majority of them would seem to have been voluntarily manumitted by their masters or ransomed by their fellow-countrymen, for we find but a few years later that a strong Jewish community was in existence dwelling on the other side of the Tiber in the quarter corresponding to the Trastevere of to-day. From its proximity to the wharves it was a suitable place for the trades which were carried on by the Jews, and the Jewish community rapidly increased in numbers and influence. In his defence of Valerius Flaccus—who was accused of appropriating the gold which had been sent by the Jews in Asia Minor towards the maintenance of the temple worship at Jerus.—in the year B.C. 59, Cicero makes many allusions which show that the Jews in Rome were a party worth conciliating. He speaks of their numbers, their unity, their influence in public gatherings. He pretends that he must speak in a whisper so that only the judges may hear, on the ground that there was no lack of persons ready to stir up the Jews against him and all the best men in the State (*pro Flacco*, c. 28). The very exaggeration of the scorn which he pours on their claim to be specially favoured of heaven (*ib.* c. 69) is a testimony to their growing strength, as well as an index of the alarm which the success of their proselytizing efforts had created. Julius Cæsar, perhaps from the idea that the Jews were specially fitted to be intermediaries between the East and the West (Rosenthal in Berliner, p. 17), treated the Jews throughout the empire with great generosity; and we read without astonishment that conspicuous among the foreign races in Rome in their sorrow over the death of Cæsar were the Jews, who, for nights in succession, visited his tomb (Suet. *Divus Julius*, c. 84). By the time of Augustus the Jewish population in Rome must have numbered many thousands. According to Jos. (*Ant.* XVII. ii. 1; *BJ* II. vi. 1) more than 8000 Jews supported the embassy that came to Augustus with complaints against Archelaus. For a time no repressive measures were adopted; on the contrary, the Jews in Rome received special privileges in the form of a limited jurisdiction over their own adherents. The rulers of Palestine were often brought into close relations by friendship and alliance with members of the imperial household. Herod Agrippa I., *e.g.*, was brought up at Rome along with Drusus the son of Tiberius (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. vi. 1). From allusions in the Roman Satirists (Juv. iii. 10–15), as well as from the evidence of the cemeteries (see Schürer), it is plain that the limitation to the Trastevere was not rigidly enforced, and soon disappeared. From a story in Jos. (*Ant.* XVIII. iii. 5) it may be gathered that the success of their proselytism, especially among women in the higher classes, was the main ground for the coercive measures that were subsequently adopted. In A.D. 19, perhaps at the instigation of Sejanus, who according to Philo (*Leg. ad Gaium*, c. 24) was bitterly hostile to the Jews, 4000 Jews were banished to Sardinia under the pretext of being sent to put down brigandage there, but not without a hope that they might be cut off by the notoriously unhealthy climate (Tac. *Ann.* ii. 85; Suet. *Tib.* 66). In the account of the embassy to Caligula in A.D. 40, we have a curious light thrown on the character of the emperor as well as on the attitude of the court to Jewish customs and beliefs (Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium*, 44–46). In A.D. 49 (or 52 according to some authorities), probably on account of the tumults created by the preaching of the gospel in the Jewish quarter (Suet. *Claud.* 25), Claudius issued an edict for the banishment of all the Jews from Rome.[*] Among those banished were Aquila and Priscilla, who went to Corinth, where they came into contact with St. Paul (Ac 18^{2}). But the decree of banishment was futile, for the Jews had now obtained a social and political influence that made repression difficult or impossible. 'The customs of that most accursed race,' says Seneca,—perhaps with an indirect reference to the influence of Poppæa on Nero (Jos. *Vita*, 3, *Ant.* XX. viii. 11),—'have spread to such an extent that they are kept in every land; the conquered have given laws to the conqueror' (Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, vi. 11). And yet 'we may be sure that the proud patricians, who, in their walks on the Aventine cast a glance on the other side of the river, never suspected that the future was being made ready in that mass of hovels which lay at the foot of the Janiculum' (Renan, *Hibbert Lecture*, p. 53).[*] The destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 is commemorated in the well-known Arch of Titus on the Via Sacra. The seven-branched candlestick, the golden table, and the silver trumpets, delineated on the Arch, were themselves placed in the Temple of Peace in A.D. 75, but fell a prey to Genseric, and were landed safely at Carthage in 455. In 535 Belisarius recaptured them, took them to Constantinople, and since then they have completely disappeared. But it is fairly certain that they cannot be, as is popularly imagined, in the bed of the Tiber.

2. When Christianity was first proclaimed in the Jewish quarter, Rome with its environs had far outgrown the old walls of Servius Tullius, and contained a population probably of 1½ millions (Friedländer, i. 23; Champagny, *Les Cæsars*, iv. 347–353; Renan, p. 53. Merivale, *Hist. of the Romans*, v. 58, estimates it at 700,000). Lauded by poets and orators as 'the queen of cities,' 'the home of the gods,' 'golden Rome,' 'the epitome of the world,' Rome even at the beginning of the Christian era was impressive mainly by reason of its great extent, and not in virtue of any distinctive beauty or grandeur. The movement begun by Augustus to make Rome worthy of the majesty of the empire, led to great changes, and to the building of many palatial mansions, of ornate temples (*e.g.* the Pantheon and the Temple of Apollo), and large basilicas for the transacting of banking and law, notably the Basilica Julia in the Forum commenced by Julius and completed by Augustus. Great aqueducts are associated with the names of Agrippa and the emperor Claudius, bringing the water then as now chiefly from the hills of Alba Longa, and making possible the life that centred around the *thermæ*, corresponding very closely to the club life of our own day. To what an extent this afterwards developed may be seen from the imposing remains of the Baths of Caracalla and of Diocletian. The patrician's day was divided between the forum and the *thermæ*. The Forum was now embellished on all sides; the Triumphal Arch of Tiberius spanned the lower part of the ascent to the Capitol; the palace of the Cæsars on the Palatine, 'with gilded battlements, conspicuous far,' looked worthy of an imperial city (see Merivale, v. 18–48; Conybeare and Howson, *St. Paul*, ii. 449–454). But notwithstanding all the changes that had been effected, down even to the great fire in A.D. 64, in the reign of Nero, Rome was built on no regular plan; its streets were narrow and dirty, the houses, several storeys high, were flimsily built and often tumbling down. 'The vici,' says Merivale, 'were no better than lanes or alleys, and there were only two viæ, or paved ways, fit for the transport of heavy carriages, the Sacra and the Nova, in the central parts of the city.' (For a vivid picture of the shops and streets, see Martial, vii. 61). It was desolated by frequent fires; it was subject to earthquakes and inundations; fever, as was plainly indicated by the many altars dedicated to it, was never absent; the unhealthiness of the site manifested itself in the unhealthy pallor of the inhabitants. Yet from the vastness of its extent, the density of its crowds representative of every nationality, religion, and race, from its being the natural treasure-house of all that was valuable and curious in the empire, from its being the centre of political and intellectual life, from the elaborate amusements provided gratuitously for the inhabitants, it fascinated and drew to itself patriots as well as adventurers of all types. 'The rich man went to Rome to enjoy himself, the poor to beg; the new citizen to give his vote, the citizen who had been dispossessed to reclaim his rights.' The rhetorician from Asia, the Greek philosopher, the Chaldæan astrologer, the magician from Egypt, the begging priest of Isis, all jostled each other in the struggle for existence in the metropolis (Champagny, i. 41; Strabo, V. iii. 8). The picture of Milton (*PR* iv. 36–68) furnishes a vivid if idealized representation of Rome as it would appear to St. Paul and his fellow-travellers as they came along the Via Appia from Puteoli (Pozzuoli), and passing through the Market of Appius and the Three Taverns (both as yet unidentified) entered the city through the Porta Capena, the Dripping Gate (*Madida*) of Martial and Juvenal (long since closed, but whose position was determined by the discovery in 1584 of the first milestone of the Via Appia, and since then confirmed by the discovery of the walls of the gate). These may now be seen in the cellar of the *Osteria della Porta Capena.* All Rome is historic ground and of special interest to the student of NT times, for the places associated with the names of the apostles and their friends and converts are in many instances still to be seen, in some few cases unchanged since apostolic times. They will be treated of under the respective names.

---

[*] The identification of the Christians with the Jews was not the result of a mistake. They *were* Jews, and the Christians were regarded simply as a sect, certainly by outsiders, and in all probability they so regarded themselves. The time of cleavage was not yet.

[*] Two of the catacombs are exclusively Jewish. One was discovered by Bosio on Monte Verde, and contained many slabs with the seven-branched candlestick inscribed, and one on which the word CYNAΓωΓ was plainly legible. The other was discovered in 1859 in the Villa Randanini on the Appian Way, about 2 miles out of Rome (see *Cimitero degli antichi Ebrei*, illustrato da Raffaele Garucci, Roma, 1862). In it the candlestick, the dove, the olive branch and the dove are the favourite emblems. Many of the inscriptions have been removed to the Lateran Museum. There is no authority for the statement, sometimes made, that the Colosseum was erected by forced Jewish labour.

3. When and by whom the gospel was first proclaimed in Rome is uncertain. As sojourners from Rome were in Jerus. on the day of Pentecost, some of them may have been among the 3000 converts (Ac $2^{10.41}$). St. Paul refers to Romans who were in Christ before him (Ro 16^{7}). Many of the Jews who had been banished by the edict of Claudius were brought under the influence of St. Paul, and on returning to Rome swelled the ranks of the missionaries and converts there (Ac $18^{2.3.18}$, Ro $16^{3-7.9.12}$). Prisca and Aquila should be specially noted in this connexion. In A.D. 59 (or 58), when the Ep. to the Romans was written, there was in existence a strong Church, partly composed of Jews, partly of Gentiles. St. Paul had for many years cherished a strong desire and resolution to see Rome (Ac 19^{21} 25^{11}, Ro 1^{13-16}). From the time of the Second Missionary Journey it had been quite clear to him that his mission was to the Roman Empire *qua* Empire, and all his subsequent movements are governed by this dominant idea. Hence he goes to Ephesus, the door of the East toward the West, afterwards to Rome, and we find him purposing to visit Spain, the great province of the West. There is much plausibility in the view that his purpose in appealing to Cæsar was to gain recognition for Christianity as a *religio licita* (cf. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 308); and he apparently succeeded for the time being, for after his first trial the emperor left Jews and Christians in peace.

About A.D. 61 he was brought to Rome as a prisoner. Nero had already begun to disappoint the promise of the early years of his reign, and had given way to his ungovernable savagery. For two years before his trial, St. Paul lived either in the prætorian barracks attached to the palace, or in the prætorian camp (but see p. 33^{a}) in the N.E. of the city,—in a place in any case where, in spite of his bonds, he was brought into contact with the freedmen and slaves who formed part of the household of Nero (Ph 1^{13} 4^{22}); or in the house of the centurion, still to be seen beneath the church of S. Maria in Via Lata, at the junction of the Via Lata and the Corso (the Via Flaminia) (see Lewin, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, ii. 238, 239, and Appendix (I.) for a sketch and plan of the house).

There is no evidence beyond the name for the Scuola di S. Paolo underneath the church of S. Paolo alla Regola (*i.e. arenula*, from the sand deposited by the Tiber) near the modern Ghetto, but the underground chamber is unquestionably old. Neither do we know with certainty the spot where the trial of St. Paul took place. The *Prætorium* of Ph 1^{13} 'is the whole body of persons connected with the sitting in judgment, the supreme Imperial Court, doubtless in this case the Prefect or both Prefects of the Prætorian Guard, representing the emperor in his capacity as the fountain of justice, together with the assessors and high officers of the court' (see *St. Paul the Trav.* p. 35, and cf. art. PRÆTORIUM). The Mamertin dungeon or *Tullianum*, under the church of S. Giuseppe de' Falegnami, remains as it was in apostolic days, though the stairs leading to the lower dungeon are modern. The only entrance originally was through the hole in the roof. Here St. Peter and St. Paul are said to have been immured during St. Paul's second imprisonment. The outbreak of Nero's fury, which resulted in a renewal of hostilities against the Christians, led to the numerous martyrdoms in the garden of Nero (now partly covered by St. Peter's), where, amid sufferings of fiendish ingenuity, so many disciples sealed their testimony with their blood (Tac. *Ann.* xv. 44; Suet. *Nero*, 35; Renan, *Hibbert Lecture*, 70–98; Lightfoot, *St. Clement*, ii. 26, 27). This was in A.D. 64–65. About this time, or, a little later, St. Paul suffered martyrdom by execution. He was led out of the city past the Pyramid of Caius Cestius, along the Via Ostiensis, thence along the Via Laurentina, to a spot near some springs, then known as Aquæ Salviæ, now called Tre Fontane, and there, being a Roman citizen, was beheaded. This fact gives point to his words in Ph 2^{8} 'obedient even unto death, yea, the death of the cross,' *i.e.* to a more degrading form of death than the apostle himself would have been allowed to suffer. The site is fixed partly by an unbroken tradition and partly by local evidence. It is a wild, desolate spot, almost uninhabitable through the prevalent malaria (the Trappist monks havo of recent years redeemed it by planting eucalyptus), so that there would be everything against the invention of such a site for so important an event. This factor has very frequently to be borne in mind in judging of the likelihood or the reverse of a traditional site. Over the spot a memorial oratory was erected in the 5th cent., whose 'foundations were discovered in 1867 beneath the present church of S. Paolo alle Tre Fontane, erected in the 17th cent., together with historical inscriptions in Latin and Armenian' (Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 156). Lanciani also quotes an interesting fact confirmatory of the tradition that the apostle was beheaded under a stone pine. The Trappists were excavating in 1895 for the foundation of a water-tank behind the chapel, and found a mass of coins of Nero, together with several pine cones fossilized by age and earth pressure.

There is a continuous tradition, found first in Tertullian (*Scorp.* 15; *de Præscript.* 36) and in Caius of Rome (quoted by Eus. *HE* II. xxv. 6, 7), and repeated in varying forms by later writers, to the effect that St. Paul was buried on the Via Ostia. Says Caius: 'But I can show you the trophies of the apostles. For if you will go to the Vatican, or to the Ostian road, you will find the trophies of those who have laid the foundation of this church.' So that about the beginning of the 3rd cent. the prevalent belief in Rome was that St. Paul was buried on the Via Ostia. The translation of his body, together with that of St. Peter, to the catacomb of St. Sebastian, to the spot called Platonia, occurred later, in A.D. 258, probably owing to the Valerian persecution. This seems to dispose of the ingenious theory of Mr. A. S. Barnes (*St. Peter and his Tomb in Rome*), that the apostles were buried first of all in the catacomb, and only removed to the Vatican and the Ostian Way after the persecution of Valerian had ceased, and therefore enables us to accept the earlier and more likely theory of de Rossi. The tradition is that a certain Roman matron named Lucina, a disciple of the apostle, begged the body and buried it in her own garden on the Ostian road, at the spot now marked by the basilica of S. Paolo fuori le mura. De Rossi has conjecturally identified (and the identification is accepted by Lanciani and others) Lucina with Pomponia Græcina, the wife of Aulus Plautus, the conqueror of Britain, of whom Tacitus (*Annal.* xiii. 32) records that she was accused of 'foreign superstition,' was tried by her husband, and acquitted. Recent investigations have made it very probable that she was a Christian. An inscription was discovered in the cemetery of St. Callixtus, ΠΟΜΠΟΝΙΟϹ ΓΡΗΚЄΙΝΟϹ. The subsequent and varied history of the famous basilica need not be detailed here. Suffice it to say that within the walls of that most glorious fane, into which the kings of the earth poured their treasure after the fire of 1825, rests all that is mortal of the great apostle. The remains were enclosed by Constantine in a bronze sarcophagus, and Lanciani (*op. cit.* p. 157) relates that in 1891 he examined the grave so far as he then could. 'I found myself on a flat surface paved with slabs of marble, on one of which (placed negligently in a slanting direction) are engraved the words, PAVLO APOSTOLO MART. . . . This inscription belongs to the 4th cent.,' and is, it will be observed, dedicatory and not declaratory. It is possible that ere long more will be known of this tomb and of the garden in which it stood. The Italian Government is constructing a sewer from Rome to Ostia, and the excavations will include the garden of Lucina. E. Stevenson (since dead) has recorded in an article full of interest, 'Osservazioni sulla topografia della via Ostiense e sul cimitero ove fu sepolto l'apostolo S. Paolo' (*Nuovo Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana*, Anno iii. n. 3, c. 4, 1897), all that is known about the tomb up to the time of writing, and the *Bullettino* will contain an account of any discoveries that are made during the progress of the engineering works. On the possibility of the bodies of St. Peter and St. Paul having been carried off by the Saracens in A.D. 846, see Lanciani, *Destruction of Ancient Rome*, p. 129 ff.

During his imprisonment St. Paul wrote the Ep. to Philemon, and the Epp. to the Churches in Philippi, Colossæ, and Ephesus. From Rome also was written the second Ep. to Timothy shortly before his martyrdom, in A.D. 67 (?). (For a discussion of questions connected with St. Paul's imprisonment, see PAUL, and cf. Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, and *St. Paul the Trav.*; for the constitution of the early Church at Rome, see ROMANS; cf. Lightfoot, *Philippians* ², 1-27, 97-102; Hort, *Christian Ecclesia*).

The relation of *St. Peter* to Rome has been a matter of keen controversy. The general questions of St. Peter's presence and martyrdom in Rome have been fully discussed in the article PETER, and there is now an almost unanimous agreement among scholars that the apostle suffered martyrdom in the eternal city, the only point of difference being as to the date, some adhering to the earlier date, simultaneously with or shortly after the death of St. Paul, some (notably W. M. Ramsay and Swete, see *Church in Roman Empire*, p. 279; *St. Mark*, p. xviii) inclining to a later date, in the persecution of Domitian, but not later than that. What has been already said about the burial-place of St. Paul applies to that of St. Peter. His tomb in the Vatican Cemetery was well known in the days of Caius of Rome, and therefore anterior to the translation of the body to the catacomb of S. Sebastiano. This has been recently questioned in an able book (cited above) by Mr. A. S. Barnes—a work full of interest, in its later parts dealing with the site of the tomb in old and new St. Peter's, but vitiated in the earlier chapters by an insufficient review of evidence and many inaccuracies (see review by Ramsay in *Bookman*, September 1900). The site of the martyrdom is sometimes stated to have been where the obelisk now stands in the centre of the piazza; but this is inaccurate. The obelisk was moved when new St. Peter's was built, and the true site is marked by a slab with an inscription (worn, neglected, and needing renewal) to be found in the pavement of the courtyard behind the sacristy on the north side of the present basilica. The sites of the supposed parting of St. Peter and St. Paul, and of the *Domine quo vadis?* story may or may not be genuine. The chapels in both instances are modern. The archæological evidence supporting the residence of St. Peter in Rome is strong. It should be borne in mind, however, that his residence there, if proved, does not carry with it the episcopate, nor, if it did, does that involve the further claims of supremacy and infallibility. If Ramsay is right and St. Peter did not die till the last quarter of the 1st cent., there is then room (though not at the period traditionally assigned to them) for the alleged twenty-five years' residence and work in Rome. Two spots are locally connected with this tradition—the house of Prisca and the house of Pudens, on which see below.

The question as to the significance of Babylon in 1 P 5^{13} and in the Apoc. has already been discussed in a separate article. (See BABYLON IN NT, and add to the literature there given, Butcher, *The Church in Egypt*). At what date the name of Babylon came to be so used cannot be definitely determined; but it was a familiar designation in the 1st cent. of the Christian era. In 2 Es. (3^{1} 15^{43}), which is now usually assigned to the age of Domitian, it is so used. In the *Sibylline Oracles*, v. 158—written about A.D. 80, or earlier, in the judgment of Ewald and Hilgenfeld—we find the words—

> *καὶ φλέξει πόντον τε βαθὺν καὐτὴν Βαβυλῶνα*
> *'Ιταλίας γαῖαν θ'.*

In the Jer. Talm. (*Aboda zara*, c. 1) there is a curious passage to the effect that, on the day when Jeroboam set up the golden calves, Remus and Romulus built two huts at Rome. The story is repeated with variations in the Midrash Rabba (on Ca 1^{6}), and it is said that the huts repeatedly fell down, until water brought from the Euphrates was mixed with the clay, and the huts thus made stable received the name רומי בבלון. (Cf. Otho, *Lex. Rabb.*).

The general opinion even among interpreters of opposite schools is that Babylon in the Apocalypse (14^{8} 16^{19} 17^{5} $18^{2.10.21}$) must be understood as Rome. The reference to it as the seat of universal empire (17^{18}), as the centre of a bloody persecution (17^{6}), above all to the seven mountains (17^{9}), shows that, whether we are to give a mystical sense or not to that which is signified, Babylon stands for Rome. As the city of the seven hills, Rome is lauded by Virgil, Horace, Ovid, and Claudian; it is so represented on coins; it is so designated in the *Sibyll.* (ii. 18, etc.); in the month of December it celebrated the feast of the *Septimontium*, and, if a statement of Tertullian is to be trusted, *Septimontius* was one of its many divinities (*ad Nationes*, ii. 15).

The question of the visit of *St. John* the apostle to Rome is one that is so far wrapped in obscurity. The first mention of it is in Tertullian (*de Præs. Hær.* 36), who says: 'Ubi Apostolus Joannes posteaquam, in oleum igneum demersus, nihil passus est, in insulam relegatur.' The only other early notice of this event is found in the *Fragmenta Polycarpiana* (see Lightfoot, *Ignatius*), which is, however, both of uncertain authorship and date. The catena of which it forms a part was compiled by some writer later than Victor of Capua, 480-554 (Lightfoot, *op. cit.* iii. 420 ff.). This fragment runs thus: 'Idem ad hæc verba Christi: Calicem meum bibetis, etc. [Mt 20^{23}]. Per huiusmodi potum significat passionem, et Jacobum quidem novissimum martyrio consummandum, fratrem vero eius Joannem transiturum absque martyrio, quamvis et afflictiones plurimas et exsilia tolerarit, sed præparatam martyrio mentem Christus martyrem iudicavit. Nam apostolus Paulus, Quotidie, inquit, morior: cum impossibile sit quotidie mori hominem ea morte qua semel vita hæc finitur. Sed quoniam pro evangelio ad mortem iugiter erat præparatus, se mori quotidie sub ea significatione testatus est. Legitur et in dolio ferventis olei pro nomine Christi beatus Joannes fuisse demersus.' The traditional site on which this confession of St. John took place is outside the Porta Latina (now closed). Hence the celebration in the Calendar of S. John ante Port. Latina. The church of S. Giovanni a Porta Latina was founded by Pope Adrian I. in 772, and the adjoining circular chapel of S. Giovanni in Oleo was erected so recently as 1509. But although there are no documentary records earlier than those cited, and no evidence for the existence of a shrine on this spot earlier than the 8th cent., yet it is hardly a place likely to have been chosen unless there were some reasons (lost to us now) for the selection. It is out of the way, near nowhere, and very inaccessible even to-day. So that there is no *a priori* ground for setting aside the traditional spot. Not without interest in the same connexion is the dedication of the cathedral of Rome (*omnium Urbis et Orbis Ecclesiarum mater et caput*) from about the 6th cent., 'to Christ the Saviour, and in honour of St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist.' The earlier dedication was 'to Christ the Saviour' alone. It is difficult to resist the belief that probably at the time of the Neronian persecution, and for some cause and length of time as yet unknown to us, St. John did visit the city of the seven hills, and thence, perhaps, derived his conception of Nero as the Beast from (as Renan suggests, *L'Antichrist*, p. 175) seeing the emperor 'disguised as a wild beast, and in that disguise let loose from a cage, and personating the furies of a tiger or a panther.' Cf. Suet. *Nero*, 29.

4. Connected with the Apostolic Church in Rome there were many whose names are mentioned in the NT, and with whom associations remain in the city of to-day. Chief among these are PRISCA and AQUILA (which see). Plumptre claimed for them (*Biblical Studies*, p. 415 ff.) the honour of being the real founders of the Church of Rome. But certain it is that their house (Ro 16^3) was one, if not the only one or the earliest, of the meeting-places of the primitive Church; and here St. Peter is said to have stayed, for some time at least, during his residence in Rome. The church of S. Prisca on the Aventine Hill marks the spot. The dedication to Prisca is older than the saint of the same name (Virgin and Martyr, commemorated in the Calendar on January 18th), whose body was placed there by Eutychus towards the end of the 3rd century. The original designation of the church is the *Titulus Priscæ*, and even in the 12th cent. it is known as the '*titulus beatorum Aquilæ et Priscæ.*' De Rossi has published accounts of two very remarkable discoveries made in the 18th cent. The original oratory was discovered in 1776 in a garden near the church. It was decorated with frescoes in which the symbol of the fish and the figures of the apostles were clearly discernible. No attention was paid to the discovery, and the only record of it is in 'a scrap of paper in Codex 9697 of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, in which a man named Carrara speaks of having found a subterranean chapel near S. Prisca, decorated with paintings of the 4th cent. A copy of the frescoes seems to have been made at the time, but no trace of it has been found' (Lanciani's *Pagan and Christian Rome*). A few years later the ruins of an old Roman house were discovered close to the church, but oratory and house have alike now disappeared. Lanciani gives an account of part of this latter excavation, which is important. 'A bronze tablet was found, which had been offered to Gaius Marcus Pudens Cornelianus by the people of Clunia as a token of gratitude. . . . The tablet, dated A.D. 222, proves that the house of Aquila and Prisca in apostolic times had subsequently passed into the hands of a Cornelius Pudens; in other words, that the relations formed between the two families during the sojourn of the apostles had been faithfully maintained by their descendants. Their intimate connexion is also proved by the fact that Pudens, Pudentiana, Praxedes, and Prisca were all buried in the cemetery of Priscilla on the Via Salaria.' So that, in all probability, beside that lonely church on the Aventine must we look for the cradle of the infant Church of Rome.

The recently excavated house of Pudens on the Viminal Hill is thus connected with that just described. Pudens, mentioned in 2 Ti 4^{21}, in company with Linus and Claudia (see PUDENS), has been the subject of many conjectures (see Lightfoot, *Clement*, i. 76 ff., ii. 464; Farrar, *St. Paul*, p. 681), upon which Roman archæology has thrown no light. The church, now called S. Pudentiana (a later ignorant change from the earlier name 'the church of Pudens'—*Ecclesia Pudentiana*), has existed in some form on the present site from very early times. Pius I. in the middle of the 2nd cent. granted to Pudentiana, Praxedes, and Timotheus, daughters and son of Pudens, the institution of a regular *titulus*, or parish, with a font for baptism. Here, too, were preserved some pieces of household furniture used by St. Peter during his stay. Part of this, the old wooden table on which the apostle is said to have celebrated the Lord's Supper, was given by Cardinal Wiseman (who was titular of the church) to St. John Lateran. If it had been a stone altar or an elaborate piece of work, doubt would easily gather round it. But there is nothing *per se* against the genuineness of the relic. The excavation of the house is still proceeding.

Together with the house of Prisca and the house of Pudens, both genuine memorials of the apostolic age and closely connected with St. Peter and St. Paul, should be mentioned the house of Clement beneath the lower church of S. Clemente near the Colosseum (see Lightfoot, *Clement*, i. 91 ff.). This has been for many years flooded with water; but one of the present writers was privileged, by the kind permission of the authorities, to inspect it so far as possible this year (1900), and it is to be hoped that ere long it may be drained and once more opened to the archæologist and the pilgrim. For its interest is that of the apostolic times, whatever view we may take of the personality of St. Clement and of his connexion with the Clement mentioned by St. Paul.

There remain to be noticed only the catacombs and other funereal memorials of Rome bearing on NT times. The inscriptions, frescoes, and monuments have been mostly removed to the Lateran and Capitoline museums, and can be there studied with the help of such works as de Rossi, Northcote (though now somewhat out of date), Withrow, *The Catacombs of Rome*, and Malleson and Tuker's *Handbook to Christian and Ecclesiastical Rome*, 3 vols. (the catacombs are dealt with in the first volume). The exploration of the columbarium of the empress Livia has led to the possible identification of some of the names in Ro 16 (see Lightfoot, *Philippians*, Excursus). See also NEREUS.

Monumental evidence also confirms the traditional friendship between Seneca and St. Paul. See Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*; Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 353 ff.

Much still has to be done before our knowledge of Rome in the 1st cent. is anything like complete, and almost every day brings its news. The enthusiastic band of Italian scholars, headed by Lanciani and Marucchi and Baccelli, is working hard, and great things are expected from the newly founded British School in Rome. The *Bullettino* and the *Nuovo Bullettino* contain full records of all recent discoveries. Among the researches needing to be made are those concerning the burial of other apostles in Rome, in addition to those already named, *e.g.* St. Timothy (in St. Paul's outside the walls), St. Bartholomew, etc., and a scientific sifting of the evidence concerning many of the Eastern relics (such as the Santa Scala) and remains. In the case of the latter class the history is fairly clear from the time of Helena onwards, but before that, which is the crucial period, it is all vague and unsatisfactory.

Professor James Orr, in his *Neglected Factors in the Study of the Early Progress of Christianity* (1899), has suggested two fields of inquiry—first, into the actual numbers of Christians in the city in the 1st cent. (on this the evidence of the catacombs has yet to be examined fully, but the numbers appear to have been very much larger than is commonly supposed); and, secondly, into the social status of those who were drawn into the infant Church. He has shown very clearly that the poor were by no means the only members, and the evidence of houses like those of Pudens, Prisca, and Clement, of churches like that discovered this year (1900) on the very Palatine Hill itself (of as yet unknown date, but very early), all goes to show that then as now the gospel was universal in its power as well as in its claim, and that St. Paul's great *Apologia* in Romans for the 'wisdom' of God was addressed to the wise and learned as well as to the freedmen and slaves.

LITERATURE. — See, besides the works already mentioned, Schürer, *Die Gemeindeverfassung der Juden in Rom*, 1879, *HJP* I. i. 231, II. ii. 232 *et passim*; Berliner, *Gesch. d. Jud. in Rom*, 1893; Holtzmann, *Ansiedelung des Christenthums in Rom*, 1874; Schmidt, *Anfänge des Christenthums in der Stadt Rom*, 1879; Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte Roms*, i. 1–183, iii. 506, etc. (1869); Renan, *Hibbert Lecture*, 1885; Hild., 'Les Juifs à Rom,' in *Rev. d. Ét. Juives*, 1884, etc.; Huidekoper, *Judaism at Rome*, 1876; the articles in Riehm's *HWB*, Schenkel's *Bibel.-Lex.*, Hamburger's *RE.*; Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*; Sanday-Headlam, *Romans* (Internat. Crit. Com.); de Bussierre, *Les Sept Basiliques de Rome*; Mrs. Jameson, *Sacred and Legendary Art*, vol. i.; Stanley's *Sermons and Essays on the Apostolic Age*; Murray's *Handbook for Rome*, ed. Pullen, Murray, Layard, and Lanciani; Macduff, *Footsteps of St. Paul*; Plumptre, Excursus on the later years of St. Paul's life, in *Commentary on Acts* (NT Com. for English Readers); Gloag, *Catholic Epistles*, pp. 140–160; Mullooly, *S. Clemente*; Ramsay, 'Paul the Statesman,' in *Contemp. Rev.*, March 1901.

JOHN PATRICK and F. RELTON.

ROOF (גָּג, perhaps from a root meaning 'to cover,' קוֹרָה [once, Gn 19^8, tr^d 'roof,' lit. 'beam'], חֵךְ ['roof of the mouth']; στέγη).—The most convenient form of roof for domestic purposes in a dwelling-house is undoubtedly a flat one; but the form of roof from the earliest times has probably been governed by a variety of factors, of which the most important are the materials procurable near the spot and the climatic conditions.

In northern climates, where wood is plentiful and the snowfall is heavy, a high-pitched roof of thatch or shingle can be readily made, and is a necessity. All around the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, where there is no snow and slight rainfall, and where timber can be procured, the most convenient form of roof can be economically constructed, and that is a flat one of some substance impervious to water. In more tropical climates, where the rains are exceedingly heavy and sudden, and the houses are for the most part of wood, the roofs again are usually high-pitched, and of thatch or leaves. In countries, such as Chaldæa, where there is little or no wood, the storehouses and places where dryness is necessary are built with thick walls and vaults with flat roofs or masonry domes, and for the same reason the houses of modern Jerusalem are built with thick walls and domes. The houses otherwise in Assyria-Chaldæa are flat-roofed.

In Egypt, where timber is scarce, but where stone is plentiful, the roofs are usually flat, the roofs of the peasants' houses being usually lightly constructed, and resting on palm beams, while the temples and palaces were roofed with stone.

Probably from the earliest times the same forms of roof have obtained in the same parts of the world, except that local circumstances have here and there interfered. For the buildings of Nineveh and Babylon, as well as for Jerusalem, the cedars of Lebanon were made use of. In Jerusalem, in early days, the roofs were flat, and the scarcity of timber, necessitating domed roofs, appears to have been first felt after the siege of the Holy City by Titus. In early days in Greece the roofs were flat, and it was customary to walk upon them. But pointed roofs were also used. In Rome the *solaria*, properly places for basking in the sun, were terraces on the tops of houses. In the time of Seneca the Romans formed artificial gardens on the tops of their houses, which contained even fruit trees and fish ponds (Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Ant.*, s. 'Domus'). Herodotus (ii. 95) says that the Egyptians slept on the roof in the marshy part of Lower Egypt.

'Even the houses of the poor seem generally to have had their courtyards, at the back of which a structure was raised consisting of a single storey surmounted by a flat roof, to which access was given by a single staircase' leading from the courtyard.

'The flat roof seems to have been universal in Egypt; it added to the accommodation of the house; it afforded a pleasant rendezvous for the family in the evening, where they enjoyed the view and the fresh breezes which spring up at sunset. At certain seasons they must have slept there. On the other hand, the granaries, barns, and storehouses are almost always dome-shaped.

'The flat roof of the house had a parapet round it, and sometimes a light outer roof supported by slender columns of brilliantly painted wood' (Perrot and Chipiez, i. 36).

Fergusson (*History of Architecture*, 119) gives an illustration of a three-storeyed dwelling in the Egyptians' own quaint style, 'the upper storey apparently being like those of the Assyrians, an open gallery supported by dwarf columns. In the centre is a staircase leading to the upper storey, and on the left hand an awning supported on wooden pillars, which seems to have been an indispensable part of all the better class of houses.' 'In the Yezidi House we see an exact reproduction in every essential respect of the style of building in the days of Sennacherib. Here we have the wooden pillars with bracket capitals, supporting a mass of timber intended to be covered with a thickness of earth sufficient to prevent the rain or heat penetrating to the dwelling. There is no reason to doubt that the houses of the humble classes were in former times similar to that here represented' (*ib.* 160). In speaking of the palace of Esarhaddon, Fergusson says (*ib.* 164), 'Had these buildings been constructed like those of the Egyptians, their remains would probably have been applied to other purposes long ago; but having been overwhelmed so early and forgotten, they have been preserved to our day: nor is it difficult to see how this has occurred. The pillars that supported the roof being of wood, probably of cedar, and the beams on the under side of the roof being of the same material, nothing was easier than to set them on fire. The fall of the roofs, which were probably composed, as at the present day, of 5 or 6 ft. of earth, that being requisite to keep out heat as well as wet, would probably suffice to bury the building up to the height of the sculpture. The gradual crumbling of the thick walls, consequent on their unprotected exposure to the atmosphere, would add 3 or 4 ft. to this; so that it is hardly too much to suppose that green grass might have been growing on the buried palaces of Nineveh before two or three years had elapsed from the time of their destruction and desolation. Whenever this had taken place, the mounds afforded far too tempting positions not to be speedily occupied by the villages of the natives.' We may here remark that the modest dwellings of the Egyptian fellah are often covered by vaults of frisé, that is to say, of compressed or kneaded clay. None of the ancient monuments of Egypt possess such vaults, which are of much less durability than those of stone or brick. We are, however, disposed to believe that they were used in ancient times (Perrot and Chipiez, i. 110).

The palaces of Babylon appear to have consisted of courtyards and long narrow chambers; and as stone was not readily obtained, the question of how they were roofed has occasioned much discussion. Diodorus (ii. 10) states that the hanging gardens of Babylon were supported by stone beams, 16 ft. long and 4 ft. wide; but Strabo (xvii. 1. 5) says they were supported by vaulted arcades. Sir H. Layard believed that there were only flat roofs at Nineveh similar to that of modern houses in Mosul and the neighbouring villages, and states that he never came upon the slightest trace of a vault, while in almost every room that he excavated he found wood ashes and carbonized timber. He suggests that the long and narrow rooms were roofed with beams of palm or poplar, resting on the summit of the walls (Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 256).

That flat roofs must have been extensively used is evident from the number of limestone roof rollers found by M. Place (*Ninivé*, i. 293) in his excavations in the ruins of buildings where they had fallen with the roofs; but Place as well as Perrot and Chipiez (i. 163) are of opinion that though the roofs were flat they were in many cases supported by brick vaults, side by side with other flat roofs of timber. Arches still standing in the city gates, and fragments of vaults found within the chambers of Sargon's palace at Khorsabad, give colour to this opinion. A vaulted storehouse for grain with a flat roof is shown in Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians* (vol. ii. p. 135).

Strabo (xv. 3. 18), quoting from some old authority on Susiana, states, 'In order to prevent the houses from becoming too hot, their roofs are covered with 2 cubits of earth, the weight of which compels them to make those dwellings long and narrow; because although they had only short beams, they had to have large rooms, so as to avoid being suffocated.'

What strikes one in considering the subject of roofs is the similarity of design in the countries north and south of Palestine (Assyria, Chaldæa, Egypt), the difference being due only to the material available. Wilkinson (ii. 115) says that the roofs of rooms of houses in Egypt were supported by rafters of the date tree, arranged close together, or more generally at intervals, with transverse layers of palm branches or planks. Many roofs were vaulted, and built, like the rest of the house, of crude brick. On the top of the house was a terrace, which served as well for a place of repose as for exercise during the heat; it was covered by a roof supported on columns; here they slept, using a mosquito net (Herod. ii. 95). The floors of the rooms were flat on the upper side, whether the rooms beneath were vaulted or supported on rafters. Strabo (xvii. 1. 37), in speaking of the labyrinth at Lake Mœris, tells us that the roofs of the dwellings here consisted of a single stone each, and that the covered ways throughout the whole range were roofed in the same manner with single slabs of stone of extraordinary size, without the admixture of timber or of any other material. 'On ascending the roof, which is not a great height, for it consists only of a single storey, there may be seen a field thus composed of stones. Descending again and looking into the aulæ, these may be seen in a line supported by twenty-seven pillars, each consisting of a single stone.' Perrot and Chipiez (i. 109) give examples of a complete system of construction, belonging exclusively to Egypt, for stone buildings with stone roofs. The interior of the building is divided up by rows of vertical supports or monoliths, on which rest architraves or stone beams, and across from architrave to architrave are placed long flat stones forming the roof. This, however, seems to have applied only to temples, the palaces as well as the houses of the people having been of very light construction, of wood or crude brick.

At Luxor, Karnak, and the Ramesseum, the temples are provided with staircases by which these flat roofs may be reached. These roofs seem to have been freely opened to the people, just as with us one is allowed to ascend domes and belfries for the sake of the view over the surrounding building and country.

The flat roofs of houses in the East have been used from the earliest times for a variety of domestic and even public purposes.—*For devotion and prayer.* St. Peter went up upon the housetop to pray about the sixth hour (Ac 10^9^). They were used also for idolatrous purposes. There were altars on the top of the roof-chamber (עֲלִיֶּה) of Ahaz in Jerusalem (2 K 23[12]). They burned incense to Baal on the roofs of houses in Jerusalem (Jer 19[13] 32[29]); and there they also worshipped the host of heaven (Zeph 1[5]).—*For recreation and for sleep at night.* It is customary at the present day for the people (especially the old) to take exercise morning and evening on the roof of the house; and during the summer-time members of the family usually sleep on the roof, carrying their bedding up at night and down again in the morning. 'At night all sleep on the tops of their houses, their beds being spread upon their terraces, without any other covering over their heads than the vault of heaven. The poor seldom have a screen to keep them from the gaze of passengers' (Morin, *Persia*, 229). 'We supped on the top of the house for coolness, according to their custom, and lodged there likewise, in a sort of closet about 8 ft. square, of wicker-work, plastered round towards the bottom, but without any doors' (Pocock's *Travels*, ii. 6). Saul appears to have slept on the roof of Samuel's house in the unnamed city. 'And it came to pass, about the spring of the day, that Samuel called to Saul on the housetop, saying, Up, that I may send thee away' (1 S 9[26]); 'David walked upon the roof of the king's house at Jerusalem, and from the roof saw a woman washing herself' (2 S 11[2]); 'Absalom spread a tent upon the top of the house' (2 S 16[22]); 'Nebuchadnezzar walked upon the royal palace at Babylon' (Dn 4[29]); 'Samuel communed with Saul upon the top of the house' (1 S 9[25]); 'the people made themselves booths, every one upon the roof of his house' (Neh 8[16]).

They used the housetops *to make their public lamentations*, and in the villages *to proclaim any news* that required to be promulgated. As the houses had few windows opening to the streets, the people rushed to the roofs to look down upon any processions, and to view what was going on far and near. 'At the present time local governors in country districts cause their commands thus to be published. These proclamations are generally made in the evening, after the people have returned from their labours in the field; the public crier ascends the highest roof at hand, and lifts up his voice in a long-drawn call upon all faithful subjects to give ear and obey. He then proceeds to announce, in a set form, the will of their master, and to demand obedience thereto.' 'On their housetops, and in their broad places, every one howleth' (Is 15[3] 22[1]). 'On all the housetops of Moab, and in the streets thereof, there is lamentation' (Jer 48[38]). 'Proclaim upon the housetops' (Mt 10[27], Lk 12[3]). Eusebius (*HE* ii. 23) tells us that 'the Pharisees, who had a design upon the life of St. James, bishop of Jerusalem, persuaded him to preach to the people, when assembled at the Passover, from the battlements of the temple, alluding to this custom of proclaiming from the housetop whatever was to be made known far and wide.'

The roof of the house in the East is used as is the backyard of European houses; linen and flax are dried there, also figs, apricots, raisins, and corn. 'The ordinary houses have no other place where the inmates can either see the sun, "smell the air," dry their clothes, set out their flower-pots, or do numberless other things essential to their health and comfort' (*Land and Book*, i. 49). Rahab the harlot brought the spies up to the roof of the house and hid them with the stalks of flax, which she had laid in order about the roof (Jos 2[6]).

The staircase from the roof leads down into the inner court (Mt 10[27] 24[17], Lk 12[3]). Battlements or a parapet were enjoined by the law, a very necessary precaution, to prevent loss of life from falling over (Dt 22^{8}).

The manner in which Samson brought down the roof of the temple of Dagon (Jg 16), upon which about 3000 persons were assembled, by pulling down the two principal pillars, has not yet been satisfactorily ascertained. Shaw describes having seen several hundreds of people assembled, on the dey's palace in Algiers, to view an exhibition of wrestlers, and describes how the pulling down of the front or centre pillars would have been attended by a catastrophe similar to that which happened to the Philistines (Shaw, *Travels*, p. 283). Cf. further, Moore, *Judges, ad loc.*

The flat roofs in Syria at the present day are made as follows: Stout beams are first laid across the walls about 2 ft. apart; crosswise is laid tough brushwood, or, if that cannot be obtained, split wood with matting, and over it a mass of thorny bush in bundles; upon this is laid a plaster of mud or clay mortar, which is well pressed in, and over this a layer of earth 6 to 12 in. thick. This is plastered over with mud and straw as a protection against the rain. Each roof requires a little stone roller to be always ready—the handles of wood being movable, and used for all the rollers of the different roofs; periodically, and whenever the rain falls, the roller must be used to fill in the cracks and keep the roof compact. Constant care is required to avoid leakage (Pr 27^{15}). During the *PEF* excavations at Jerusalem one of these roof rollers was found in the ancient aqueduct to the west of the temple, where it must have lain for quite 1800 years, showing that flat roofs at that time were in use at Jerusalem, though at the present day they are mostly domed roofs of stone, on account of the scarcity of timber. The uncovering of a roof (Mk 2^{4}) of this nature would not be a difficult matter. See HOUSE in vol. ii. p. 432^{a}.

For other points connected with the subject of this art. see BRICK, GATE, HOUSE, PAVEMENT, WALLS.

LITERATURE.—Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.*; Fergusson, *Architecture*; Layard, *Nineveh*; Place, *Ninivé*; Perrot and Chipiez, *Egypt*, also *Chaldæa and Assyria*; *PEFSt*; Thomson, *The Land and the Book*. See also Marshall in *Expos.* March 1891, p. 218 f.; Ramsay, *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?*; E. A. Abbott, *Clue* (1900), p. 118 ff.; and the Comm. on Mk 2^{4}, Lk 5^{19}.

C. WARREN.

ROOM.—**1.** *Space to stay in*: Gn 24^{23} 'Is there room in thy father's house for us to lodge in?'; so $24^{25.31}$ (all מָקוֹם, from קוּם to rise up, stand; RV adds Is 5^{8} for same Heb., AV 'place'); Ps 31^{8} 'Thou hast set my feet in a large room' (מֶרְחָב, from רָחַב to be spacious; RV 'place'); Lk 2^{7} 'There was no room for them in the inn,' and 14^{22} 'Yet there is room' (both τόπος); cf. Mal 3^{10} 'there shall not be room enough to receive it' (no Heb.), Mk 2^{2} 'So that there was no room to receive them' (ὥστε μηκέτι χωρεῖν, RV 'so that there was no longer room for them'); Lk 12^{17} 'I have no room where to bestow my fruits' (οὐκ ἔχω ποῦ, RV 'I have not where'). In this sense is the phrase 'make room,' Gn 26^{22}, Pr 18^{16} (both רחב); to which RVm adds 2 Co 7^{2} 'make room for us' (Gr. χωρήσατε ἡμᾶς, AV 'Receive us,' RV 'Open your hearts to us'). Similarly Ps 80^{9} 'Thou preparedst room before it' (no Heb.). Cf. Dt 33^{20} Tind. 'Blessed is the rowmmaker Gad' (AV 'Blessed be he that enlargeth Gad'); and Milton, *PL* vii. 486—

> 'First crept
> The parsimonious emmet, provident
> Of future, in small room large heart enclosed.'

2. A *definite position* to be occupied: To 2^{4}, Wis 13^{15} (both οἴκημα); 1 Co 14^{16} 'he that occupieth the room of the unlearned' (ὁ ἀναπληρῶν τὸν τόπον τοῦ ἰδιώτου, Vulg. *qui supplet locum idiotæ*). Cf. Melvill, *Diary*, 6, 'I durst na wayes waver or mint away, bot stand stedfast in that roum and station wher He haid placed me'; Calderwood, *Hist.* 128, 'Displacing of the Minister of Glasgow out of his roome, which without reproach he hath occupied these many years.' This is the meaning of 'room' when in AV πρωτοκλισία is tr^{d} 'uppermost room' (Mt 23^{6} Mk 12^{39}, RV both 'chief place'), or 'chief room' (Lk 14^{7}, RV 'chief seat,' 20^{46}, RV 'chief place'), or 'highest room' (Lk 14^{8}, RV 'chief seat'). The Gr. word means the place of highest honour at table. See FOOD, vol. ii. p. 43^{a}. Cf. Knox, *Hist.* 380, 'But, said hee (turning his face towards the Room where such men as had so affirmed sate), if I bee not able to prove the Masse to bee the most abominable Idolatry that ever was used from the beginning of the world, I offer my selfe to suffer the punishment appointed by God to a false Preacher'; Lever, *Sermons*, 107, 'Then who can desyre a better master then the Lorde God or a higher roume then a stewardshyppe in the house of Christ'; and Ps 63^{9} in metre—

> 'Who seek my soul to spill shall sink
> Down to earth's lowest room.'

So in the frequent phrase 'in the room of' or 'in his room,' the Heb. being תַּחַת (2 S 19^{13}, 1 K $2^{35\ bis}$ $5^{1.5}$ 8^{20}, 2 K 15^{25} 23^{34}, 2 Ch 26^{1}; RV adds 2 K 14^{21} for AV 'instead of'); and the Gr. ἀντί (Mt 2^{22}). So Ac 24^{27} 'Porcius Festus came into Felix' room' (ἔλαβε διάδοχον ὁ Φῆλιξ Πόρκιον Φῆστον, RV 'Felix was succeeded by Porcius Festus'). Cf. Melvill, *Diary*, 129, 'The Generall Assemblie commandit the Presbyterie of Edinbruche to keipe his roum frie, and place nan thairin'; Calderwood, *Hist.* 110, 'It pertaines to the Office of a Christian Magistrate . . . to see that the Kirk be not invaded, nor hurt by false Teachers and Hirelings, nor the roomes thereof occupied by dumb doggs or idle bellies.' The plu. 'in their rooms' is found in 1 K 20^{24} (RV 'room') and 1 Ch 4^{41} (RV 'stead'), Heb. in both places תַּחְתֵּיהֶם. Cf. Dt 2^{23} Tind. 'The Caphthoryms which came out of Caphthor destroyed them and dwelt in their rowmes.' This is the meaning in the phrase 'give room,' which has been changed into 'give place' in AV whereever it occurs in earlier VSS; thus Gal 2^{5} Tind. 'To whom we gave no roume, no not for the space of an houre,' so Gen. NT 1557, but 1560 'gave not place.' Cf. Tindale, *Works*, i. 227, 'Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but give room unto the wrath of God'; and *Pent.* (Prologe) 'Isaac when his welles which he had digged were taken from him, geveth rowme and resisteth not.'

3. The 'upper room' of Mk 14^{15}, Lk 22^{12} (Gr. ἀνάγαιον, TR ἀνώγεον), and of Ac 1^{13} (Gr. ὑπερῷον, RV 'upper chamber') is a room in the upper storey of the house, 'a roof-chamber' (see Moore on Jg 3^{20}; Driver, *Daniel*, p. 74; Thomson, *Land and Book*^{2}, ii. 634, 636 [with illustration]; and cf. HOUSE in vol. ii. p. 433^{a}). RV adds 1 Ch 28^{11} (Heb. עֲלִיָּה, AV 'upper chamber').

4. In Gn 6^{14} it is said that Noah's ark had 'rooms' made in it. The Heb. (קִנִּים) is lit. 'nests,' and is usually understood to mean small divisions or *cells*.

J. HASTINGS.

ROSE (חֲבַצֶּלֶת *ḥăbhaẓẓeleth*, Ca 2^{1}, Is 35^{1} RVm in both 'autumn crocus.'—Some have derived this word from בָּצָל *bāẓāl*, the same as the Arab. *baṣal* = 'onion,' and secondarily 'bulb.' This theory rests on the supposition that the initial ח is a mistake for ה. Apart, however, from the fact that there is no critical support for this theory, it gains no probability from the ancient versions. The Syriac, for example, *ḥamẓallāitā*, gives the ח also instead of ה. The Targum on Ca 2^{1} explains *ḥăbhaẓẓeleth* by נרקים = *narcissus* (Celsius, *Hierob.* i. 489). An Assyrian word of similar form, *habaṣillatu,* signifies a 'marsh plant or reed.' Notwithstanding the authority of Gesenius, Michaelis, and Rosenmüller, we are inclined to accept *narcissus* as the correct translation. Two species of this genus grow in Palestine and Syria, *N. Tazetta,* L., flowering from November to March, and *N. serotinus,* L., flowering in autumn. The former has larger and more sweetly scented flowers than the latter. They are of the familiar pattern, with a white perigonium, and yellow, cup-shaped crown. The scape bears from three to ten flowers. The mention of the 'narcissus of Sharon' in parallelism with the 'lily (*shōshannāh*) of the valleys' increases the probability that they are allied plants. *Shōshannāh* is doubtless generic, and may include various species of Iris, Colchicum, Crocus, Pancratium, Ixiolirion, Tulipa, Fritillaria, Hyacinthus, Asphodeline, etc. (see LILY), any or all of which would go well in a parallelism with *narcissus.* For the tr^{n} 'rose' we have only the authority of Ben Melech (Cels. *Hierob.* i. 488). The LXX ἄνθος and κρίνον give it no support.

The rose is mentioned in several places in the Apocrypha. Sirach speaks of φυτὰ ῥόδου ἐν Ἱεριχῷ, 'a rose plant in Jericho' (24^{14}, cf. 39^{13}). Seven species of rose exist in Pal. and Syria—*Rosa lutea,* L., the Yellow Rose, which grows only in N. Syria; *R. glutinosa,* S. et S., and *R. Thureti,* Barnat et Gremli, both Alpine species; *R. canina,* L., the Dog Rose, a mountain species; *R. dumetorum,* Thuill., a species growing from Lebanon and Anti-lebanon northward; *R. Arabica,* Crep., a Sinaitic species; and *R. Phœnicea,* Boiss. The latter is almost universal. The present writer has not met with any of these species at Jericho, but the last might easily grow there in hedges. There is nothing in the context to prevent the 'rose plant in Jericho' being a cultivated one. It has nothing to do with the traditional 'rose of Jericho.' This is a low, annual Crucifer, *Anastatica hierochuntina,* L. The so-called rose in this case is the entire plant, which, after maturing, dries up, and its branches curl inward, forming a brown hemisphere, 3 to 4 in. broad. On placing the root in water, it absorbs moisture, and the dry branches expand, and spread open. It has no resemblance to a rose, except in its round contour. Roses are everywhere cultivated in Pal. and Syria, and passionately admired by the people. The name *Wardeh*=Rose, is a favourite girl's name in Arabic (cf. NT RHODA). One of the industries for which Damascus is noted is the distilling of rose-water and an essential oil (attar of roses), as well as the making of syrup of roses. Large plantations of rosebushes are to be seen there and in other parts of the country. G. E. POST.

ROSH (רֹאשׁ).—1. A son, or, according to the LXX (Ῥώς), a grandson, of Benjamin, Gn 46^{21}. The reading of MT אחי וראש מפים 'Ehi and Rosh, Muppim,' should, however, probably be corrected after Nu 26^{38} to אחירם ושפם 'Ahiram and Shupham' (cf. also 1 Ch $8^{4f.}$). 2. In the title of Gog נְשִׂיא רֹאשׁ מֶשֶׁךְ וְתֻבָל in Ezk $38^{2f.}$ 39^{1} (RV 'prince of Rosh, Meshech, and Tubal'; AV and RVm 'chief prince of Meshech and Tubal'; AVm 'prince of the chief of Meshech and Tubal'). It is most probable that *Rosh* is here the name of a people or country, like MESHECH and TUBAL (so LXX [Ῥώς] and Symm. and Theod.). Its position, however, cannot be identified. Gesenius actually thought of the Russians, but this is impossible. Even the land of *Rāsh,* on the western border of Elam, which is mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions (see Delitzsch, *Paradies,* 322), appears (see A. B. Davidson, *Ezekiel, ad loc.*) to lie too far east for the requirements of the prophecy. For further conjectures see the Commentaries of Bertholet and Kraetzschmar, *ad loc.* Duhm, followed by Cheyne, finds this same רֹאשׁ concealed under the קֶשֶׁת ('bow') of Is 66^{19}. J. A. SELBIE.

RUBY.—Three Heb. words, אֹדֶם, כַּדְכֹּר, and פְּנִינִים, are tr. 'ruby' in EV (text or margin), but it is doubtful whether this is the stone meant.

1. אֹדֶם is tr. 'ruby' in AVm and RVm at Ex 28^{17} 39^{10}, Ezk 28^{13}. The text, in each case, has **sardius,** after the Vulg. *sardius* and the LXX σάρδιον. אֹדֶם (from אדם or אָדֵם 'to be red') would obviously be a suitable name for any red stone. There is nothing in it to help us in fixing on the special kind of gem. A similar ambiguity attaches to the cognate Assyr. word *adamatu,* when used as a plant-name; all that Fried. Delitzsch (Assyr. *Handwörterbuch, sub voce*) feels justified in saying of it is that it is 'a plant, probably so called on account of its colour.' Pliny, too, presents the same kind of difficulty as we meet here; his method of naming stones according to their colours often leaves us uncertain which of them he has in view. Modern authorities are divided between the claims of the carnelian [Petrie makes it the red jasper; see art. STONES (PRECIOUS)] and the ruby to represent the Heb. אֹדֶם, the majority favouring the former. Two considerations are in favour of this view: by far the largest number of gems which have come down to us from antiquity are carnelians; and the אֹדֶם of Exodus was an engraved stone, whereas the ruby, on account of its hardness, was seldom engraved in ancient times.

2. כַּדְכֹּר is tr. 'ruby' by RV at Is 54^{12}, Ezk 27^{16}; AV has 'agate,' m. 'Heb. chrysoprase'; LXX has ἴασπις (Is.) and χορχόρ (Ezek.) (from the common confusion of ד and ר); Vulg. *iaspis* and *chodchod.* It is impossible to determine what the כַּדְכֹּר was. The root from which the noun is derived probably means 'to sparkle.' But this would suit a carbuncle almost, if not quite, as well as a ruby.

3. At Job 28^{18}, Pr 3^{15} [*Kethibh,* by a transcriber's mistake, פְּנִיִּים] 8^{11} 20^{15} 31^{10}, La 4^{7}, AV and RV tr. פְּנִינִים 'rubies'; RVm has 'red coral *or* pearls,' except at La 4^{7}, which has 'corals.' The LXX is very vague and fluctuating, using λίθοι, λίθοι πολυτελεῖς, τὰ ἐσώτατα (Job 28^{18}); and the Vulg. is still more unhelpful, 'cunctis *prctiosissimis,*' 'cunctis *opibus,*' 'multitudo *gemmarum,*' 'de ultimis *finibus,*' 'de *occultis,*' and at La 4^{7} '*ebore antiquo.*' (Toy, *Prov.* p. 72, appears to think that this last is due to a mistaken reading, הָבְנִים; but it is to be noted that at Ezk 27^{16} the Vulg. renders שֵׁן הָבְנִים by *dentes hebeninos*). Although פְּנִינִים never occurs in a list of gems, the Heb. writers must have had a distinct class of stones in view. This is clear from La 4^{7}: the colour of the human body could not be compared to that of precious stones in general. The same passage seems also to preclude the 'pearls' of our RVm. For if Carey (quoted by Delitzsch, *Job,* p. 370) had seen 'pearls of a slightly reddish tinge,' these are, at all events, not so common as to justify a comparison which would imply that pearls are usually red. The choice would appear to lie between 'ruby' and 'red coral.' And the decision depends on two considerations—the value and the colour of these two classes of objects. The passages in Job and Proverbs show that פְּנִינִים were costly. 'The price of wisdom is above פְּנִינִים.' Either rubies or coral would answer to this requirement. Rubies have always commanded a high price. Theophrastus speaks of quite a small ἄνθραξ as being worth forty gold staters. Benvenuto Cellini, in the 16th cent., states that a ruby of one carat was worth eight times as much as a diamond of the same weight. A fine ruby will still fetch more than a diamond of the same size. But red coral (*corallium rubrum*) has also always been held in high esteem. In ancient times it was

eagerly purchased in India. It finds a place in the *Lapidarium* of Marbodus. Good specimens continue to command a high price in China. The coral fisheries are a carefully regulated and highly important source of wealth on the Mediterranean coasts. On the second point—that of colour—the present writer is of opinion that the balance inclines in favour of the coral. Rubies are of too deep and fiery a hue to be compared at La 4[7] to the red of even an Oriental's body, notwithstanding the fact that there are exceptional gems, such as the one King describes (*Antique Gems*, p. 250), 'of the most delicious cerise colour.' But coral is found of every shade—deep red, rose pink, flesh colour, and even milky white. There is no difficulty about the supposition that the Jews were familiar with it, for it was to be obtained from the coast of India and the Red Sea, as well as from the Mediterranean. J. TAYLOR.

RUDDER.—See SHIPS AND BOATS.

RUDIMENT.—See ELEMENT.

RUE (*πήγανον, ruta*).—*Ruta graveolens*, L., the officinal rue, is a heavy-smelling, shrubby plant, of the order *Rutaceæ*, 2 to 4 ft. high, with glandular-dotted, bi-pinnately parted leaves, and corymbose, yellow flowers. It is cultivated for its medicinal properties, which are antispasmodic and emmenagogue. It has been inferred from Lk 11[42] that it was one of the plants subject to tithe (but see Plummer, *ad loc.*). The indigenous rue of Pal. is *Ruta Chalepensis*, L., the Aleppo rue, which differs but slightly from the officinal species. G. E. POST.

RUFUS ('Ροῦφος).—In Mk 15[21] we are told that Simon of Cyrene, who bore our Lord's cross, was the father of Alexander and Rufus. In Ro 16[13] St. Paul sends his salutation to Rufus, 'the chosen in the Lord, and his mother and mine.' The name, meaning 'red,' 'reddish,' was among the commonest of slave names. The mention of Simon as the father of Alexander and Rufus seems to imply that the two latter were known in the circles to which the Gospel was addressed. There is some evidence for thinking that St. Mark's Gospel was written in Rome; if this be so, then the same person may be referred to in both passages; but as the name was so common, this can be only a conjecture. 'Chosen in the Lord' implies some particular eminence as a Christian, and not merely one of the elect, which would not be any special distinction. By 'his mother and mine,' St. Paul means that the mother of Rufus had on some occasion shown to him the care of a mother, and that therefore he felt for her the affection of a son.

The name of Rufus was made use of largely in legendary history. He is introduced into the *Acts of Andrew* and of *Peter*. According to one account he was bishop of Thebes; according to another, bishop of Capua; according to another, bishop of Avignon. The last legend states that he travelled to Spain, founded the church at Tortosa, went over the Alps to Narbonne, and preached in Avignon. He appears to have been commemorated on the 12th, 14th, and 21st November. A. C. HEADLAM.

RUG.—Jg 4[18] RV and AVm. See MANTLE, No. 4.

RUHAMAH.—The second child (a daughter) of Gomer, Hosea's unfaithful wife, was called LO-RUHAMAH, 'unpitied,' Hos 1[6. 8], as a type of Israel, when, unpitied by Jahweh, she was to be given over to calamity. The opposite condition of things is expressed in Hos 2[3] [Eng. 2[1]] 'Say ye unto your brethren, Ammi (*i.e.* 'my people,' in opposition to the name of the third child, LO-AMMI, 'not my people'), and to your sisters, Ruhamah' (רֻחָמָה 'pitied,' LXX 'Ελεημένη). Similarly, when Jahweh's anger is turned away, He declares in v.[25 (23)] 'and I will have mercy upon her that had not obtained mercy' (*wĕriḥamtî eth-lō rûḥāmāh*, LXX B καὶ ἀγαπήσω τὴν Οὐκ ἠγαπημένην [AQ have ἐλεήσω for ἀγαπήσω, and ἠλεημένην for ἠγαπημένην, cf. Hort on 1 P 2[10]]). J. A. SELBIE.

RULERS OF THE CITY is, at Ac 17[6. 8], the EV rendering of the Gr. πολιτάρχαι (on the various spelling πολειτ. see Tisch. *NT*[8], Prol. p. 86, n. 2), as the special local title belonging to the magistrates in Thessalonica, before whose bar the Jews of that city, along with a mob of market-idlers, dragged Jason and other Christian converts, under a charge of hospitably receiving Paul and Silas, and of entertaining treasonable designs against the emperor. The word denotes 'rulers of the citizens,' who, as Thessalonica was a free city, had then the privilege of choosing their own rulers. The use of the term πολιτάρχης has been pointed to as an excellent illustration of the accuracy of St. Luke (*e.g.* by Alford and Knowling, *ad loc.*); for, while it is not employed in that form by classical authors, who use πολίαρχος and πολίταρχος, the actual existence of the Lukan form at Thessalonica is vouched for by inscriptions discovered there, one of which (assigned to the time of Vespasian) mentions among the politarchs for the time being Sosipater, Secundus, and Gaius—names occurring also as those of companions of St. Paul (Boeckh, *CIG* 1967, quoted by Conybeare and Howson, and by Alford).

Much fresh light is thrown on this subject in a paper by Prof. Burton of Chicago, in the *American Journal of Theology* for July 1898, entitled 'The Politarchs,' in which he has carefully collected, and commented on, the inscriptions which attest the use of the noun πολιτάρχης or of the verb πολιταρχέω. The following is a summary of his results: —There are seventeen inscriptions which attest the existence of the office of politarch in ancient cities, to which other two may be added, if we accept recent probable restorations. Eleven contain the verb, always in the present participle, and mostly in the genitive plural; seven contain the noun, giving in all eleven instances of it. There is itacistic variation between ει and ι in the second syllable of both noun and verb. While isolated examples occur from Thrace, Bithynia, the Bosporan kingdom, and Egypt, no fewer than thirteen belong to Macedonia, and five of these without much doubt to Thessalonica itself. None have apparently been discovered from Greece proper, and there is no reason to believe that the office existed south of Macedonia. Its presence in the latter province so largely was probably due to Roman influence in its municipal organization. The five Thessalonian inscriptions extend from the beginning of the 1st to the middle of the 2nd cent. A.D. As regards number, Thessalonica had five politarchs in the reign of Augustus and six under Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. Burton gives a full bibliography, mentioning as the most recent book that of Dimitzas: 'Η Μακεδονία ἐν λίθοις φθεγγομένοις καὶ μνημείοις σωζομένοις, 2 vols., Athens, 1896. WILLIAM P. DICKSON.

RULER(S) OF THE SYNAGOGUE.—See SYNAGOGUE.

RUMAH (רוּמָה; B Κρουμά, A 'Ρυμά).—The home of Pedaiah, the maternal grandfather of king Jehoiakim, 2 K 23[36]. Josephus, in the parallel passage, *Ant.* X. v. 2, has 'Αβουμά, no doubt a copyist's error for 'Αρουμά, which may be the ARUMAH of Jg 9[41], which lay in the neighbourhood of Shechem. Another Rumah (in Galilee) is named in Jos. *BJ* III. vii. 21, which *may* have been the birthplace of Pedaiah (see Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* 203; Guérin, *Galilée*, i. 367 f.;

Buhl, *GAP* 220 f.), if we may suppose that *connubium* still subsisted between the Northern and Southern kingdoms.

The reading רומה for דומה in Jos 15^{52}, although supported by the LXX (B Ῥεμνά, A Ῥουμά), is probably a copyist's error. See DUMAH, No. 2. According to Jerome, there was a various reading, *Rumah* (*i.e.* Rome) for *Dumah* in Is 21^{11}, which is said also to have been found in a manuscript belonging to R. Meir. J. A. SELBIE.

RUNNERS.—See FOOTMAN, and GUARD, No. 2.

RUSH.—See REED.

RUTH (רוּת, LXX Ῥούθ).—The heroine of the Bk. of Ruth. She was a Moabitess, the wife of Mahlon (Ru 4^{10}) the son of Elimelech and Naomi who were residing in the land of Moab because of a famine in Judah (Ru $1^{1ff.}$). By the time that the famine ceased, Elimelech and his two sons were dead. Naomi decided to return to her own land, and after she and her daughters-in-law had started she recommended them to stay in their native land and marry again. Ruth refused, and declared her intention that nothing short of death should part her from Naomi. They went on their way, and arrived at Bethlehem, much to the surprise of the inhabitants. It was the beginning of barley harvest. Elimelech's kinsman, Boaz, was one of the leading inhabitants of Bethlehem, and Ruth went to glean, and by chance entered a part of his field. Here Boaz noticed her and bade her remain in the same field, and praised her for the care she had taken of her mother-in-law. He invited her to share the meal of the reapers, and instructed his men to show her proper respect (ch. 2). Instigated by her mother, she introduced herself into his presence at night and claimed his protection. He was quite willing to give it to her, but there was a nearer kinsman who had prior rights to his, and he had to be reckoned with first. Boaz therefore sent Ruth home with a present for her mother, whilst he himself took the necessary steps to call upon the nearer kinsman to exercise or refuse to exercise his rights (ch. 3). He summoned him to his side at the gate of the city, with ten elders of the city as witnesses. He then called upon the nearest kinsman to buy or redeem Elimelech's portion of land. He refused to do this, because it involved his taking to wife Ruth the Moabitess, and passed on his rights to Boaz by drawing off his shoe and giving it to Boaz; for 'this was the manner of attestation in Israel.' The people in the gate were called upon as well as the elders to bear witness to the transaction, and invoked the blessing of God upon Boaz and Ruth (4^{1-12}). In this way they were married, and their firstborn son was called Obed, from whom were descended David and Christ (Ru $4^{13ff.}$, cf. Mt 1^{5}).

The name Ruth is of uncertain origin. It is to be noticed that her alleged descendant David entered into friendly relations with Moab (cf. 1 S $22^{3.4}$). The transaction recorded in this book is on the same lines as that legalized in Dt 25^{5-10}, though not coming under that law (see Driver, *Deut.* 285). The actual selling of the land by Naomi comes nearer to the law of Lv 25^{25}. Attempts have been made to assign the history to the days of Eglon (Jg 3^{12-30}), or the time of scarcity preceding Gideon's call (Jg $6^{3.4}$). See, further, next article. H. A. REDPATH.

RUTH, BOOK OF.—This book, in which the history of Ruth (see preceding article) is narrated, is full of interest. It is an anonymous work, idyllic in its character, describing pastoral life among the Hebrews in a time of peace and order, when old customs were kept up and carefully observed.

i. THE DATE OF THE BOOK.—This *must* be considerably later than the history, though how much later is a matter of controversy. The book looks back to 'the days when the judges ruled' (1^{1}), to a custom existing 'in former time in Israel' (4^{7}), and carries the descent from Boaz down to David (4^{22}), unless, as some have with little probability thought, the last verses do not really belong to the book. But it claims no particular date for itself, though the style would lead us to assign it to a comparatively early one. The linguistic difficulties in the way of its being early have been discussed by Driver (*LOT* pp. 426, 427 [^{6}454, 455]). The main argument for a post-exilic date, besides the linguistic one, is the way in which the customs of ch. 4 are treated as quite obsolete.

ii. THE OBJECT OF THE BOOK.—This may be described as twofold. (1) To introduce us to the family from which David was descended; and (2) to illustrate the marriage laws of the Israelites. The marriage of Ruth the Moabitess with Mahlon seems at first to run counter to the law as laid down in Dt $23^{3.4}$, and certainly in post-exilic times such a union was held to be unlawful (see Ezr $9^{1.2}$, Neh 10^{28}), but the law quoted says nothing about marriage, and differs in its terms from that of Dt 7^{3}. Some of those who look upon this book as post-exilic have been tempted to regard it almost as a political pamphlet, and a protest against the action taken both by Ezra and Nehemiah.

iii. PLACE IN THE CANON.—In the Jewish Canon the Talmud (Bab. *Baba bathra* 14) places it first amongst the Hagiographa or third class of sacred writings immediately before the Psalms. In Hebrew Bibles it is one of the five Megillôth or rolls which were read in the Synagogue on five special days in the Jewish ecclesiastical year—Ruth being read at the Feast of Weeks. As this was the second of the five days, the Book of Ruth generally appears second in order; but in Spanish MSS and in one Bible of A.D. 1009 Ruth comes first (Buhl, *Canon of the OT*, i. § 10). The arrangement adopted in modern versions by which Ruth follows Judges goes back to the Vulgate and LXX, and also to Josephus.* Its position in them is due to its having been linked on to the Book of Judges by its first verse, and having been treated as an appendix to that book.

LITERATURE.—Commentaries of Metzger (1857), Keil and Delitzsch, Wright (1864), Bertheau (combined with *Judges*, 1883), Hummelauer (1888), Oettli (*Die gesch. Hagiog.*, Nordlingen, 1889), Wildeboer (*Kurzer Hdcom.* 1898), Nowack (*Hdkom.* 1900); cf. also Driver, *LOT* 425 ff. [^{6} 454 ff.]; Cornill, *Einleit.*^{2} 242 ff.; Wildeboer, *Lit. d. AT*, 341 ff.; Wellhausen-Bleek; Robertson in *Book by Book*, 75; W. R. Smith, art. 'Ruth' in *Encycl. Brit.*^{9}; see also the relevant sections in the works of Ryle, Wildeboer, and Buhl on the *Canon of OT*.

H. A. REDPATH.

RYE (כֻּסֶּמֶת *kusșemeth*; ζέα, ὄλυρα, *far*, *vicia*).—*Kusșemeth* occurs three times in the Bible. Twice it is tr^d by AV 'rye' (Ex 9^{32}, Is 28^{25} m 'spelt'; RV in both passages 'spelt'). It is also tr^d in AV 'fitches' (Ezk 4^{9}, AVm and RV 'spelt'). The LXX gives in the first and third of the above references ὄλυρα, and in the second ζέα. ὄλυρα may, and ζέα does, mean 'spelt,' which is the seed of *Triticum spelta*, L., a wild wheat. Notwithstanding the authority of the LXX, we think that *kusșemeth* is the same as the Arab. *kirsanah*, commonly pronounced *kirsenneh*. This is a leguminous plant, *Vicia Ervilia*, L., near the lentil in its general aspect. It is an annual, with pinnate leaves of 8 to 12 pairs of oblong, retuse leaflets, and a tortulose pod, 1 in. long and ½ in. broad, containing 3 to 4 seeds, larger than those of the lentil. It is exceedingly common, being extensively cultivated for fodder, and for the seeds, which resemble those of the lentil. The substitution of *r* for the first *s* and *n* for *m* produces the classical Arab. form *kirsanah.* Evidently Jerome adopted this view, translating the word by *vicia.* Rye is unknown in Bible lands. Spelt is not cultivated, and is unknown here in the wild state. Perhaps the best rendering would be 'vetch,' with a marginal note, 'the seed known by the Arabs as *kirsenneh,* properly *kirsanah*' (but see art. BREAD in vol. i. p. 316^{b}). G. E. POST.

---

* The only way in which Josephus' reckoning of the books of the Bible as twenty-two can be accounted for is by supposing that he reckoned Judges and Ruth as one book.

S

SABACHTHANI.—See ELI, ELI, LAMA SABACHTHANI.

SABÆANS, SEBA, SHEBA.—The purpose of this article is to explain and differentiate the employment of these terms, leaving ethnological and other information to be given under the articles SEBA and SHEBA.

Sabæans occurs only twice in RV: once Is 45^{14} (סְבָאִים; B Σαβαεὶμ, A Σεβωεὶμ) as the gentilic name from *Seba*, and once Job 1^{15} (שְׁבָא, LXX om.) as that from *Sheba*. Other two instances occur in AV: Jl 3 [Heb. $4]^{8}$, where RV substitutes 'men of Sheba' as tr. of שְׁבָאִים (LXX om.); and Ezk 23^{42}, where RV and AVm, following the *Kethibh* סובאים, substitute 'drunkards' [AV 'Sabæans' follows the *Ḳerê* סָבָאִים; B om., A οἰνωμένοι]. The text here is almost certainly corrupt, and it can hardly be said that Cornill, Bertholet, or Kraetzschmar have been very successful in their attempts at restoring it.

Seba (סְבָא, Σαβά) is mentioned in Gn 10^{7} (=1 Ch 1^{9}, B Σαβάτ) as a son of Cush; in Is 43^{3} (B Σοήνη) the name is coupled with Cush, and in Ps 72^{10} with Sheba.

Sheba (שְׁבָא, usually Σαβά) is variously described as (1) a grandson of Cush Gn 10^{7} (=1 Ch 1^{9}, B Σαβάν); (2) a son of Joḳtan Gn 10^{28} (A Σαβεῦ, E Σαβαῦ)=1 Ch 1^{22} (A Σαβάν); (3) a son of Joḳshan Gn 25^{3} (A Σαβάν, E Σαβά)=1 Ch 1^{32} (B Σαβαί, A Σαβά). The queen of Sheba (1 K $10^{1.4.10.13}$=2 Ch $9^{1.3.9.12}$) visited Solomon, bringing with her great stores of gold, precious stones and spices; the trading companies of Sheba are referred to in Job 6^{19} (B Σαβοί, ℵ$^{c.a}$ Ἐσεβοι, A^{vid} Ἀσεβοι), Is 60^{6}, Ezk $27^{22.23}$ (associated with Ra'amah, Haran, Canneh, Eden, Asshur, and Chilmad) 38^{13} (with Dedan and Tarshish); its gold is mentioned in Ps 72^{15} (Bℵ Ἀραβία), and its frankincense in Jer 6^{20}; in Ps 72^{10} the name is coupled with Seba ('the kings of Sheba [Bℵ βασιλεῖς Ἀράβων] and Seba shall offer gifts'). J. A. SELBIE.

SABANNEUS (B Σαβανναιοῦς, A Βανναιοῦς, AV Bannaia), 1 Es 9^{33}. The corresponding name in Ezr 10^{33} is Zabad.

SABANNUS (Σάβαννος, AV Sabban), 1 Es 8^{63} (LXX ^{62}).—Moeth the son of Sabannus corresponds to Noadiah the son of Binnui, Ezr 8^{33}.

SABAOTH.—See LORD OF HOSTS.

SABATEUS (B Ἀβταῖος, A Σαββαταίας, AV Sabateas), 1 Es 9^{48}=Shabbethai, Neh 8^{7}, where the LXX omits the name.

SABATHUS (Σάβαθος, AV Sabatus), 1 Es 9^{28}= Zabad, Ezr 10^{27}.

SABBATEUS (Σαββαταῖος, AV Sabbatheus), 1 Es 9^{14}.—'Levis and Sabbateus' correspond to 'Shabbethai the Levite' of Ezr 10^{15}.

SABBATH (שַׁבָּת; σάββατον; also, both in LXX and NT, of a *single* day, τὰ σάββατα).—The Hebrew name for the seventh day of the week, which became among the Israelites a centre of many important religious observances and associations.

The word is in form, probably (as may be inferred from שַׁבַּתּוֹ שַׁבָּתוֹת), contracted from שַׁבַּתְתּ (so Olshausen, p. 349; König, ii. 180 f.: otherwise, but less probably, Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 24; Jastrow [see *ad fin.*], p. 349). The root שָׁבַת means (see Is 14^{4} 24^{8}) *to desist, cease* (cf. Arab. *sabata, to cut off, intercept, interrupt*); hence the idea connected with the 'sabbath' will be that of *desisting, cessation*—the doubled *b* having an intensive force, and implying either *complete cessation*, or, perhaps, a *making to cease*. It should be borne in mind that the idea expressed by שָׁבַת and שַׁבָּת is not the positive 'rest' of relaxation or refreshment (which is נוּחַ), but the negative 'rest' of *cessation* from work or activity. Whether, however, this etymology expresses the *original* meaning of 'sabbath,' must remain for the present an open question: if it be true that it and the Assyr. *šabattum* had a common origin, it may have denoted originally something different (see below, § ii., first par. in small type).

i. HISTORY OF THE INSTITUTION IN THE OT.—The sabbath is mentioned in all the great Pentateuchal codes, and there are also allusions to it in the historical and prophetical books. It will be most instructive to consider the notices, as far as possible, chronologically.

In the legislation of JE the sabbath appears as a day of cessation from (in particular) *field-labour*, designed with a humanitarian end: Ex 23^{12} 'Six days shalt thou do thy work (מַעֲשֶׂיךָ), and on the seventh day thou shalt *desist* (תִּשְׁבֹּת), in order that thy ox and thy ass may rest (יָנוּחַ), and that the son of thy maidservant, and thy 'stranger,' may be refreshed (יִנָּפֵשׁ, properly 'get breath,' cf. 2 S 16^{14}),'—comp. the similar motive for the sabbatical year, v.^{11}. And in the parallel group of laws in ch. 34 (v.^{21}): 'Six days thou shalt work, but on the seventh day thou shalt *desist*: in plowing time and in harvest thou shalt *desist*.' In the Decalogue (Ex 20^{8}) the Israelite is commanded to 'keep' the sabbath 'holy'; and the injunction is expanded in the following clauses, vv.$^{9.10}$ (which are probably an explanatory comment, not forming part of the original Ten Words): the seventh day, it is there said, is a sabbath 'unto' (*i.e.* to be observed in honour of) Jehovah: no work—מְלָאכָה, more exactly *business*, the word generally used in connexion with the sabbath—is to be done in it by any member of the Israelite's household (including his servants), or by his cattle, or by the 'stranger' settled in his country; and in Deut. (5^{14}) a clause similar to Ex 23^{12b} is added, 'in order that thy manservant and thy maidservant may rest (יָנוּחַ) as well as thou' (cf. for the philanthropic motive, $12^{12.18}$ 14^{26b} 16^{11}). In the early historical books and prophets the sabbath is associated with the new moon, in a manner which implies that both were occasions of intermission from labour, and holidays: in 2 K $4^{22.23}$ a visit to a distance would, it is implied, be undertaken naturally only on a sabbath or new moon. Hos 2^{11} (‘And I will cause all her mirth to cease, her pilgrimages, her new moons, and her sabbaths, and all her stated [religious] seasons’) implies that the sabbath, though it had a religious object (cf. Is 1^{13}), was also an occasion of social relaxation: Am 8^{5} (‘When will the new moon be gone, that we may sell corn? and the sabbath, that we may open out wheat?’) shows that trade as well as field-labour was intermitted on it.

The passages quoted make it evident that in the 8th cent. B.C. the sabbath was regarded as sacred to J″, and that it was marked by abstention from at least ordinary occupations. The first of these facts implies naturally in addition that some special sacrifices were offered on it—an inference which might also be drawn from the connexion in which it is mentioned in Is 1^{13}. In later times, both the religious observances and also the abstention from labour were more fully defined and specialized. Jeremiah (17^{19-27}) has a prophecy relating to the sabbath: the people are solemnly charged by him, ‘Bear no burden on the sabbath day, neither bring in by the gates of Jerusalem, nor carry forth a burden out of your houses, nor do any business; but hallow ye the sabbath day, as I commanded your fathers’; the command, it is added, had been imperfectly observed, but Jer. attaches to its observance now a promise of the permanence of the Davidic dynasty, and the safety of Jerusalem. Jer.’s authorship of this prophecy has been questioned by recent critics; but it is exactly in Jer.’s style: the high importance attached to the sabbath, even before Jer.’s time, is shown by the place which it holds in the Decalogue (to which Jer. plainly refers); and no doubt the prophet emphasized the sabbath, not simply for its own sake, but as a typical religious observance; it was an institution the observance or non-observance of which might be taken as a criterion of the general faithfulness or disloyalty of the nation.

In the ‘Law of Holiness’ (chiefly Lv 17–26), the individual laws in which, though their setting is later, may in many cases be as old as the 8th cent. or older (cf. vol. iii. pp. 69 f., 108^{a}), the observance of the sabbath is inculcated more than once (‘Ye shall keep my sabbaths,’ Lv $19^{3. 30}$ 26^{2}), even under pain of death (Ex 31^{13} [a fragment of H] ‘verily ye shall keep my sabbaths, for it is a sign between me and you [*i.e.* a mark, or token, like circumcision (Gn 17^{11}), of your being my people] . . . to know that I am J″ which sanctifieth you. And ye shall keep the sabbath, for it is holy unto you; every one that profaneth it shall surely be put to death’); and Ezekiel (who elsewhere also shows himself to be strongly influenced by this body of laws: *LOT* 138–144 [^{6} 145–152]) lays great stress upon it likewise: with evident reference to the language of H, he declares it to be an ancient ordinance of J″ (20^{12} ‘moreover I gave them my sabbaths to be a sign between me and them, to know that I am J″ which sanctifieth them,’ v.^{20} (I said) ‘. . . and hallow my sabbaths’; cf., of the priests, 44^{24}), and reproaches the people with having defiantly ‘profaned’ it ($20^{13. 16. 21. 24}$ 22^{8} 23^{38}), or ‘hidden their eyes’ from it (22^{26}). It is probable that at this time an increased significance began to be attached to the sabbath on account of its being one of the few distinctive institutions of Israel which could be observed in a foreign land. The same prophet in 45^{17} $46^{4f.}$ (cf. vv.$^{1. 3}$) also gives directions—based, it may be presumed, upon existing usage—respecting the sacrifices to be offered every sabbath by the ‘prince’ on behalf of the nation in the restored temple, viz. six lambs and one ram as a burnt-offering, with accompanying meal-offerings (the *daily* offering, according to Ezk $46^{13f.}$, was to be one lamb, with an accompanying meal-offering).

The later exilic references to the sabbath are in a similar strain to the reference of Jeremiah. Its observance is the typical religious duty, and the test of general allegiance to J″ (Is $56^{2. 4. 6}$); and a promise of restoration to Palestine is given to those Israelites who faithfully observe it, regarding it as a ‘delight,’ and refraining on J″’s ‘holy day’ from ‘doing’ their (ordinary) ‘ways,’ or ‘finding’ their own ‘pleasure,’ or ‘speaking’ [vain] ‘words’ (Is $58^{13f.}$): in Is 66^{23}, also, it is pictured as being (in the restored Jerusalem) a weekly occasion of worship before J″ for ‘all flesh,’ as the new moon would be analogously a monthly occasion.

In the legislation of P the regulations respecting the sabbath are further developed and systematized. Its institution is thrown back to the end of the week of Creation; God, it is said (Gn 2^{3}), then ‘blessed the seventh day and hallowed it,’—*i.e.* set it apart for holy uses, and attached blessings to its observance,—‘because in it he *desisted* (שָׁבַת) from all his work (מְלָאכָה ‘business’)’ of creation: similarly in the motive, based upon the representation of P, attached in Ex. (20^{5}) to the fourth commandment; and in Ex 31^{17} ‘for in six days Jehovah made heaven and earth, and on the seventh day he *desisted* (שָׁבַת), and was refreshed (וַיִּנָּפַשׁ,—as above, in 23^{12}).’ In Ex 31^{12-17} the old law, derived from H, is supplemented by an addition (vv.$^{14b-17}$) emphasizing further the sanctity and permanence of the institution, and the penalty (death) for its non-observance: Ex 35^{1-3} (an injunction prefixed to the account of the construction of the tabernacle) the directions contained in 31^{15} are repeated almost *verbatim* (v.^{2}), and in v.^{3} the kindling of fire on the sabbath is prohibited; Lv 23^{3} it is to be observed (like certain other sacred seasons) by a ‘holy convocation,’ or religious gathering; Lv 24^{8} the shewbread is to be renewed every sabbath: Nu 15^{32-36} relates how a man found gathering sticks on the sabbath was by Divine direction stoned to death; Nu $28^{9f.}$ the special sacrifices for the sabbath are appointed, viz. double those offered on ordinary days (vv.$^{3-8}$), *i.e.* two male lambs for a burnt-offering in the morning, and two in the evening, with twice the usual meal- and drink-offerings. Lastly, in Ex $16^{5. 22-30}$ the manna is stated to have been withheld on the sabbath, and given in double quantity on the previous day, in order to preserve the sanctity of the day; and the people are forbidden to leave their homes, and (indirectly) to bake or cook anything, on the sabbath.

In P the term *shabbāthōn* (RV ‘solemn rest [properly, *cessation*]’) is also used in connexion with the sabbath, viz. Ex 16^{23} ‘to-morrow is a *solemn rest*, a holy sabbath unto J″’; 31^{15} (cf. 35^{2}, Lv 23^{3}) ‘on the seventh day is a sabbath of *solemn rest* שַׁבַּת שַׁבָּתוֹן, holy unto J″’ (elsewhere *shabbāthōn* is used of New Year’s day, Lv 23^{24}, of the first and eighth days of the Feast of Booths, Lv 23^{39}, and of the sabbatical year, Lv 25^{5}; and ‘sabbath of solemn rest’ of the Day of Atonement, Lv 16^{31} 23^{32a} (cf. in v.^{3b} ‘sabbath’ alone), and of the sabbatical year, Lv 25^{4} †).—The term ‘sabbath’ is used also (Lv 25^{2} *al.*) of the SABBATICAL YEAR. On Lv $23^{11. 15}$ see WEEKS (FEAST OF).

In the history of the post-exilic period we read in Neh 10^{31} how the people, headed by Nehemiah, bound themselves, if foreigners offered wares or food for sale on the sabbath, not to buy of them; and in Neh 13^{15-22} how Neh., finding this obligation disregarded, and also other kinds of work done on the sabbath (treading wine-presses, lading animals with corn, bringing fruit and other wares into Jerus., and selling and buying them), remonstrated with the people, and had the gates of Jerus. closed on that day, in order that merchants and packmen might not bring their 'burdens' (cf. Jer 17^{21}) into the city. Allusions to the sacrifices offered on the sabbath occur in Neh 10^{33}, 2 Ch 2^4 8^{13} 31^3.

It will be evident, from the preceding survey, that in the priestly Law the original character and objects of the sabbath have receded into the background, it has become more distinctly a purely ceremonial institution, and the regulations for its observance have been made more strict. It will appear in the sequel (iii.) how in a still later age these characteristics are all intensified.

ii. SPECULATIONS ON THE ORIGIN OF THE SABBATH.—It is not improbable that the sabbath is ultimately of Babylonian origin. In a lexicographical tablet (II Rawl. 32, l. 16) there occurs the equation—

ûm nûḫ libbi=*ša-bat-tum*,

or 'day of rest of the heart' (*i.e.* not, as was formerly supposed, a day of rest for man, but, as parallel occurrences of the same phrase show,[*] a day when the gods rested from their anger, a day for the pacification of a deity's anger) = sabbath. Further, in a religious calendar for two months (the second, or intercalary Elul, and Marcheshvan), which we possess,[†] prescribing duties for the king, the 7th, 14th, 19th,[‡] 21st, and 28th days are entered as 'favourable day, evil day,' while the others are simply 'favourable' days. On the five specified days, the king is not, for instance, to eat food prepared by fire, not to put on royal dress or offer sacrifice, not to ride in his chariot, or hold court, not to seek an oracle, or even to invoke curses on his enemies: on the other hand, as soon as the day is over, he may offer a sacrifice which will be accepted. The days, it is evident, are viewed superstitiously: certain things are not to be done on them, in order to avoid arousing the jealousy or anger of the gods. The meaning of the expression 'favourable day, evil day' is that the day had an indeterminate character; it could become either the one or the other, according as the precautions laid down for its observance were attended to or not.[§]

Except in the passage quoted, *šabattum* is known at present to occur only (in the form *šabattim*) 2 or 3 times in syllabaries (Jensen, *ZA* iv. 274-8, *Z. f. Deutsche Wortforschung*, Sept. 1900, p. 153 [in an art. on the Week of seven days in Babylonia]): in the first of these syllabaries it corresponds to a Sumerian ideogram meaning *to pacify*; in the second (where Jensen contends that it occurs with the meaning *to come to rest, be calmed, pacified*) its occurrence is questioned by Jastrow, *AJTh* ii. 315 *n.*; in the third (*Z. f. D. Wortf.* 153) it corresponds strangely to the ideogram which means simply *day, sun, light*. The etymology of *šabattum* is uncertain. The verb *šabâtu* is, in a lexicographical tablet, equated with *gamâru*, which means commonly (Delitzsch, *HWB* p. 199) *to bring to an end, complete*, but which seems, to judge from two syllabaries (*Z. f. D. Wortf.* 153), to have signified also *to pacify, appease*; and Jensen, assuming that in the tablet *šabâtu* is quoted with this exceptional meaning of *gamâru*, explains *šabattum*, *šabattim*, from it. It remains however, for the present, a difficulty that while in Heb. *shabbāth* is connected (apparently) with *shābath*, to *desist*, the Assyr. verb *šabâtu* means something different.

These facts make it at least a plausible conjecture that the Heb. sabbath (which was likewise primarily a day of restrictions) was derived ultimately from Babylonia,[‖] or, as Jensen would prefer to say,[*] that the Heb. and Babylonian institutions had a common origin: though naturally, like other Heb. institutions which were not originally confined to Israel, it assumed among the Hebrews a new character, being stripped of its superstitious and heathen associations, and being made subservient to ethical and religious ends. It is not difficult to imagine how, under the influence of Israel's religion, a change of this kind might gradually be wrought, though (supposing the hypothesis to be a sound one) we have no information of the stages by which it was actually effected; Jastrow's endeavour (*AJTh*, vol. ii. pp. 321 ff., 332 ff., 345 ff.) to show that the Heb. sabbath had once (like the *ûm nûḫ libbi*) a propitiatory character, and even that the verb *shābath*, as applied to J", and *shabbāthōn*, expressed originally the ideas of *ceasing from anger, being pacified*, cannot be deemed convincing.

The sabbath, as a day of restriction, is an institution parallel to what is found among many early peoples, and indeed, as a survival from an earlier stage, among civilized peoples as well. The wide diffusion of periods of restriction makes it probable that they had their origin in simple ideas and social conditions. In all the cases known to us the restrictions are of the same general character—they refer to occupations, food, dress. Thus, besides the Babylonian institution, which has been already referred to, the Egyptians had a list of days, on which certain acts were prohibited (*AJTh*, ii. p. 350[†]). In Rome business was suspended during the *feriæ*; and on all *dies nefasti* courts of law and the comitia were closed. In the Hawaiian Islands, it was unlawful, on certain days, to light fires or to bathe; the king also at certain times withdrew into privacy, giving up his ordinary pursuits. In Borneo, work was forbidden on certain days in connexion with the harvest. The origin of such times of restriction is lost in antiquity: they come before us commonly as established customs, resting on precedent, and not supposed to need explanation. They may have arisen from various causes: thus in some cases observation would show that particular times were favourable or unfavourable to certain occupations; but very often they would be determined by superstitious or religious motives. The days thus fixed would gradually be tabulated and systematized; and when calendars had been constructed, particular days would come to be marked upon them as lucky or unlucky, and in some cases these would agree with definite phases of the moon. 'Such a calendar the Hebrews may have inherited, or may have received from Babylonia or from some other source': if they received it from Babylonia, they detached it from its connexion with the moon (fixing it for every seventh day, irrespectively of the days of the month), they generalized the abstinence associated with it, and, more than all, they transformed it into an agency, which, though, like other institutions, capable of abuse, has nevertheless, partly as observed by the Jews themselves, partly (see below) as forming the model of the Christian Sunday, operated on the whole with wonderful efficiency in maintaining the life of a pure and spiritual religion.[‡]

The question, which was formerly much debated, whether the sabbath was instituted at the close of the Creation, or whether it was a purely Mosaic ordinance, was already answered by Dr. Hessey (p. 135 ff.) in the latter sense; and in the light in which the early chapters of Gen. are at present regarded by scholars (cf. COSMOGONY, and Ryle's *Early Narratives of Genesis*), the question itself has become irrelevant. It is plain that in Gn $2^{1\text{-}3}$ the sanctity of the seventh day of the week is explained unhistorically, and antedated: instead of the sabbath, closing the week, being sacred, because on it God 'desisted' from His six days' work of creation, the work of creation was distributed among six days, followed by a day of rest, *because* the week, ended by the sabbath, existed already as an institution, and the writer (P) wished to adjust artificially the work of creation to it. In the Decalogue, 'Remember' may be interpreted quite naturally as signifying 'keep in mind' in the future (cf. Ex 13^3, Dt 16^3).

---

[*] *E.g. šigu nûḫ libbi*=psalm of propitiation (Jastrow, *AJTh*, vol. ii. p. 316).

[†] Jastrow, *Relig. of Bab. and Assyr.* p. 376 ff.

[‡] Perhaps the 7×7=49th day from the 1st of the preceding month—the month having 30 days.

[§] The ancient Assyrians regarded the simplest and most ordinary occurrences as ominous of either good or evil (Jastrow, *Rel. of Bab. and Assyr.* p. 355, etc.); and, in fact, there is a calendar in which every day in the year is marked as either fortunate or unfortunate for something or other (p. 379 ff.).

[‖] So Schrader, *KAT*^{2} on Gn 2^3; Lotz, *Quæstiones de hist. Sabb.* (1883) 67; Sayce, *HCM* 76 f., *EHH* 193 (where, however, the facts about the Bab. 'Sabbath' are overstated; for though, no doubt [Lotz, 58], *šabattum* might very naturally be the name of the 7th, 14th, etc., days of the two months referred to above, it is not, in any text at present known, applied to them actually); Gunkel, *Schöpf. u. Chaos* (1895), 155. Nor is there at present any evidence that a continuous succession of 'weeks,' each ending with a day marked by special observances, was a Bab. institution (Jensen, 154).

[*] *Z. f. D. Wortforschung*, 154.

[†] See also Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, 210-212; Wiedemann, *Relig. of Anc. Egypt.* 263 f.

[‡] With the last paragraph cf. C. H. Toy, 'The earliest form of the Sabbath,' in *JBL*, 1899, pp. 191-193.

iii. THE SABBATH IN THE LATER JUDAISM AND THE NT.—There are not many allusions to the sabbath in the apocryphal books. It was naturally included amongst the distinctively Jewish institutions, which Antiochus Epiphanes sought (B.C. 168) to abolish (1 Mac $1^{39.43.45}$, 2 Mac 6^6). At the beginning of the Macc. uprising, the loyal Jews allowed themselves to be massacred in cold blood rather than profane the sabbath, even in self-defence (1 Mac 2^{31-38}): but in view of the consequences which persistence in such a course would obviously entail, Mattathias and his friends decided (vv.$^{39-41}$) to recognize *defensive* warfare as permissible on the sabbath (cf. 1 Mac $9^{34.43}$, 2 Mac 8^{25-28}; also Jos. *BJ* II. xix. 2). The destruction of siege-works was not, however, considered allowable; and so Pompey was able to complete his mound against Jerus. on the sabbath (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. iv. 2). The unwillingness of the Jews to fight on the sabbath naturally became known to their enemies; and several instances are on record of attacks being planned for that day, and carried out successfully (Jos. *c. Ap.* i. 22 *end*; 2 Mac $5^{25f.}$ 15^1; *Ant.* XIII. xii. 4, XVIII. ix. 2). The Romans so far recognized the scruples entertained by the Jews with regard to bearing arms or travelling on the sabbath, as to release them from the obligation of military service (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. x. 11–19).

Allusions to the sabbath, generally more or less satirical, occur in the classical writers: by some of them it was supposed to be a day of mere idleness, by others that it was a fast. See Tac. *Hist.* v. 4; Sueton. *Octav.* 76; Juv. xiv. 96, 105 f.; Martial, iv. 4. 7; Persius, v. 179-184; Seneca, *Epist.* 95, 47 (lights not to be kindled on it).

By the Jewish legalists the OT regulations respecting the sabbath were developed and systematized to an extent which has made their rules on the subject a byword for extravagance and absurdity. Two entire treatises of the Mishna, *Shabbāth* and *'Ērūbin*, as well as parts of others, are devoted to provisions for the observance of the sabbath; and there are also long discussions on the subject, with quotations of the divergent opinions of different Rabbis, in the Gemara. We may mention some of the more simple and reasonable provisions first. As the Jewish day began at sunset in the evening, the sabbath lasted from sunset on what we should call Friday to sunset on Saturday; according to Jos. *BJ* IV. ix. 12, the beginning and end of the day were announced by trumpets from the temple. The afternoon of Friday was called the 'eve of the Sabbath' (עֶרֶב הַשַּׁבָּת), or the PREPARATION-DAY (*παρασκευή*), and no business was allowed to be begun on it which might extend into the sabbath. The sabbath was no fast-day (cf. Jth 8^6): the second Isaiah had said that it should be regarded as a 'delight' (עֹנֶג); and the Jews have always been careful not to divest it of this character. Three meals (cf. *Pēāh* viii. 7; *Shabb.* xvi. 2), of the choicest available food (Edersh. ii. 52),[*] were accordingly prescribed for it, being laid ready before sunset on the Friday, and the lamp for the Sabbath being lighted at the same time. The Mishna adds minute regulations, as to how the meals, if necessary, were to be kept warm, without infringing the sanctity of the sabbath, as of course no fire might be kindled (Ex 35^3), or even attended to, on the day. The sabbath was regarded as set apart for religious exercises—both for private meditation and prayer, and also for public worship in the SYNAGOGUE (Mk $1^{21.23}$ (Lk $4^{31.33}$), 6^2 (Lk 4^{16}), Lk 6^6 13^{10}, Ac $13^{14f.27.42.44}$ 15^{21} $17^{1f.}$ 18^4), or other place of prayer (Ac 16^{13}).[*]

With regard to the more technical observance of the sabbath, the Mishna (*Shabb.* vii. 2) enumerates 39 principal classes[†] of prohibited actions, viz. sowing, ploughing, reaping, gathering into sheaves, threshing, winnowing, cleansing, grinding, sifting, kneading, baking; shearing wool, washing it, beating it, dyeing it, spinning it, making a warp of it, making two thrum-threads, weaving two threads, splitting two threads, tying, untying, sewing two stitches, tearing thread to sew two stitches; catching deer (game), killing, skinning, salting it, preparing its hide, scraping off its hair, cutting it up; writing two letters, erasing for the purpose of writing two letters; building, pulling down, extinguishing fire, kindling fire, beating with a hammer, and carrying from one property to another (add also *Bēẓa* v. 1, 2[‡]). The real 'micrology' of the Rabbis appears, however, not so much in this enumeration as such, as in the consideration of the cases in detail, the discussion what actions do or do not fall under the several classes named, and sometimes also in the casuistical evasion of a prohibition. A few specimens of the extraordinary refinements thus introduced must suffice. The prohibition to tie or untie a knot was too general, so it became necessary to define the species of knots referred to. It was accordingly laid down that a camel-driver's knot and a boatman's knot rendered the man who tied or untied them guilty; but R. Meir said, 'a knot which a man can untie with one hand only, he does not become guilty by untying.' A woman might, however, tie on various articles of dress, and also tie up skins of wine or oil, and pots of meat. A pail might be tied to a well by a band ('fascia'), but not by a rope (חֶבֶל). R. Jehudah laid down the rule that any knot might be lawfully tied which was not intended to be permanent (*Shabb.* xv. 1, 2). This rule is, in fact, the principle by which the commentators explain the distinctions that have been just quoted. The rest of the tractate is almost wholly occupied with the discussion of similar distinctions in other subjects.

The aim of the tractate *'Ērūbin* ('mixtures,' or 'connexions') is to alleviate the extreme rigour of some of the Rabb. enactments respecting the sabbath. The 39th of the list of prohibited actions quoted above was that of carrying from one property to another: but in this tractate it is explained how places might, by a legal fiction, be combined together, so that things might lawfully be carried from one into another: there was thus an *'ērūb*, or 'commixture,' of courts, of streets, and of limits: a number of houses opening into a common court were, for example, treated as one, by all the families before the sabbath depositing some food in the common court; or a number of narrow streets or blind alleys were converted into a 'private property,' by extending along them a wire or rope, or by laying a beam over the entrance. The limit of a 'sabbath-day's journey' (Ac 1^{12}) was, according to the Rabbis, 2000 cubits;* but if, before the sabbath, a man deposited food for two meals at the boundary, he was considered to declare that place to be his domicile, and he was at liberty, when the sabbath came, to proceed 2000 cubits beyond it. However, it seems that such concessions were only granted for some serious and worthy purpose (Schechter, *ap.* Montefiore, *Hibb. Lect.* 562).

---

[*] The meal of which our Lord partook on a sabbath in the house of one of the 'rulers of the Pharisees' (Lk 14^1) would, we may be sure, be one of these sabbatical *epulæ lautiores*.

[*] On the sabbath as a day of spiritual edification, cf. also Jos. *Ant.* XVI. ii. 4 *middle*, *c. Ap.* ii. 17 *end*; Philo, ii. 168 *end*, 169, 197, 282, 630 (from Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* VIII. vii. 9 f.).

[†] אָבוֹת: derivative actions, or species of the principal classes named, were called תּוֹלָדוֹת. Margoliouth (*Expos.* Nov. 1900, p. 336 ff.) cites from an unedited Persian MS, containing an account of the feasts and other observances of different nations by an author of the 11th cent., an enumeration of 38 forbidden acts, differing in many particulars from those mentioned in the Mishna, and including more directly some of those alluded to in the Gospels.

[‡] See Wünsche, *Erläuterung* [see full title *ad fin.*], p. 148.

Naturally, there were cases in which higher considerations superseded these rules for the strict observance of the sabbath,—דּוֹחִין אֶת־הַשַּׁבָּת '*push aside* the sabbath' is the expression used. The priests in the discharge of their duties in the temple—*e.g.* in preparing and offering the sacrifices appointed for the day—profaned the sabbath, and were 'guiltless' (Mt 12^{5}).† And so the Mishna permits on the sabbath acts necessary for the sacrifice of the passover, though it carefully excludes those which are deemed unnecessary (*Pesāḥim* vi. 1, 2). A Levite performing upon a stringed instrument on the sabbath in the temple (but not elsewhere), might, if his string broke, tie it up again, but he is forbidden to put in a new string (*'Ērūbin* x. 13). A priest who hurts his finger may bind it up with reeds in the temple (though not elsewhere), but he is not permitted to press out the blood (*ib.* 14). Similarly circumcision was permitted, though not anything connected with it which could be prepared before (Jn 7$^{22f.}$; *Shabb.* xix.). In other cases humanitarian grounds superseded the sabbath. The general principle was that any 'doubt about life,' *i.e.* any doubt as to whether life was in danger, superseded the sabbath (כָּל־סְפֵק נְפָשׁוֹת דּוֹחֶה אֶת־הַשַּׁבָּת *Yômā* viii. 6):‡ but, of course, the further question then arose, What did endanger life? Ailments supposed to be dangerous to life are mentioned, and treatments permitted or forbidden are enumerated; but, to our minds, the distinctions drawn are arbitrary and absurd, and the reasons alleged in support of them most trivial and insufficient. 'He who has the toothache must not rinse his teeth with vinegar [and spit it out again; for this would be to apply a medicine]; but he may wash them as usual [and swallow the vinegar, for this would be merely like taking food]. He who has pains in the loins may not anoint himself with wine and vinegar [which would be a medicinal application], but he may anoint himself with oil [acc. to the usual custom], though not with oil of roses [which, being costly, would certainly not be used, except as a medicine].' (*Shabb.* xiv. 4; the explanations, from the commentators, *ap.* Surenh.). A strain might not have cold water poured upon it, but it might be washed in the usual way (xxii. 6). With such feelings current on the subject, the hostility aroused by the cures wrought by our Lord on the sabbath (Mt 12$^{9-13}$=Mk 3$^{1-5}$=Lk 6$^{6-10}$, Lk 13$^{10-17}$ 14$^{1-6}$, Jn 5$^{5-16}$ 7^{23} 9$^{14-16}$) is at once intelligible. It is also apparent why on a sabbath the sick were brought to Him to be healed after sunset (Mk 1^{32}, see v.^{21}).

The disciples, in 'plucking' (Mt 12^{1}=Mk 2^{23}=Lk 6^{1}) and 'rubbing' (Lk 6^{1b}) the ears of corn on the sabbath, violated the day, according to Rabb. ideas, in two respects; for 'plucking' was a species of 'reaping,' and 'rubbing' of threshing (cf. Maimonides, *Hilchoth Shabbāth* viii. 3, 'He who reaps even as little as a dry fig on the sabbath is guilty; and the plucker is a species (תּוֹלֶדֶת) of reaper'; and Jerus. Talm. *Shabb.* 10*a* 'A woman rubbing the heads of wheat [is guilty], as being a thresher,' *ap.* Edersh. ii. 56; also Lightfoot, *Horæ Heb.* on Mt 12^{2}). To lead an animal to water on the sabbath (Lk 13^{15}) was allowable, provided it carried nothing that could be regarded as a 'burden'; water might even be drawn for it, and poured into a trough, so that it came and drank of its own accord; it might not, however, be brought and set before the beast (Lightf. *ad loc.*; *'Ērūbin*, fol. 20*b*). But it is not permitted, at least in the Talmud, if an animal has fallen into a pit, or pool of water, to 'lay hold of it, and lift it out' (Mt 12^{11}; cf. Lk 14^{5}): it is allowed, however, to supply it with food, or, if that be impossible, to bring mattresses and cushions for the purpose of helping it to come out of itself (*Shabb.* fol. 128*b*; Maim. *Shabb.* xxv. 26); it is possible, however, that in the time of Christ this prohibition had not yet been formulated. To make clay and apply it to the eye (Jn 9$^{6.14}$) involved a breach, if not a double breach, of the sabbath-law: the Mishna (*Shabb.* xxiv. 3) lays it down that 'water may be poured on bran, but it must not be kneaded,' and the same rule might be naturally held to apply to clay: but the application of the clay to the eye was certainly not allowable: it was indeed permitted to apply wine to the outside of the eyelid (though not to put it inside the eye), but the application of saliva (which is mentioned, as it was deemed to possess curative properties) was altogether forbidden (*Shabb.* 108*b*; Maim. *Shabb.* xxi. 25; Lightfoot, *ad loc.*). Of course, to take up a bed (Jn 5^{10}) was prohibited, being an act of 'carrying.'*

It is, however, only right to observe that, in spite of the rules and restrictions created by the Rabbis, the sabbath does not seem to have been felt practically to be a day of burden and gloom, to those living under them. 'The sabbath is celebrated by the very people who did observe it, in hundreds of hymns, which would fill volumes, as a day of rest and joy, of pleasure and delight, a day in which man enjoys some presentiment of the pure bliss and happiness which are stored up for the righteous in the world to come. To it such tender names were applied as the "Queen Sabbath," the "Bride Sabbath," and the "holy, dear, beloved Sabbath"' (Schechter, *JQR* iii. 763, or *ap.* Montefiore, *Hibb. Lect.* 507; cf. the hymns quoted by Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, 1896, pp. 133-137).

iv. SUMMARY.—It appears, from what has been said, that, so far as we can trace the sabbath back among the Hebrews, it was a day sacred to J″, and also a day, presupposing the agricultural period, marked by cessation from labour in the house and in the field: it had thus essentially a *philanthropic* character, the duty enjoined on it, as Wellh. has said, being less that the Israelite should rest himself, than that he should give others rest. Whatever the sabbath may have been in its primitive form, we may feel sure that this philanthropic application of it is of Israelite origin. As sacred to J″, religious observances, at first simple and rudimentary, afterwards such as would spring naturally out of a more educated and maturer religious feeling, were attached to it,—special sacrifices, gatherings for worship in the temple, private prayer and meditation, and ultimately services in the synagogues. On its practical side, it was essentially an institution 'made for man.' Its intention was to give a rest from laborious and engrossing occupations, and from the cares and anxieties of daily life, and at the same time to secure leisure for thoughts of God. The restrictions attached to it were meant to be interpreted in the spirit, not in the letter. It had not essentially an austere or rigorous character; it was never intended that actions demanded by duty, necessity, or benevolence should be proscribed on it. Its aim was rather to counteract the deadening influence, upon both body and soul, of never-interrupted daily toil, and of continuous absorption in secular pursuits. But as time went on, an anxious and ultimately a superstitious dread of profaning the sabbath asserted itself; the spiritual was subordinated to the formal, restrictions were multiplied, till at length those which were really important and reasonable were buried beneath a crowd of regulations of the pettiest description. The general attitude taken towards the sabbath by our Lord was, while accommodating Himself to such observances as were consistent with its real purpose (*e.g.* worshipping or teaching in the synagogue), or otherwise innocent (p. 320^a n.), to free it from those adventitious accretions with which the 'tradition of the elders' had encrusted it. The sabbath, He emphatically declares (Mk 2^{27}), 'was made for man, not man for the sabbath.'* In particular, deeds of mercy were no infringement of its sanctity: it was 'lawful to do good on the sabbath day' (Mt 12^{12}). Nor was the sabbath, as the Rabbis seemed to make it, an end in itself, for the sake of which men should be subjected to a number of needless and vexatious rules; it was a means to an end, the good of God's people, and this end was best promoted by a reasonable liberty in the interpretation of the statutes relating to it; the multiplication of rules tended really not to preserve its essential character, but to destroy it.

---

* The distance is obtained by an essentially Rabbinical combination of Ex 16^{29} 21^{13} and Jos. 3^{4}. See Lightfoot on Lk 24^{50}, who remarks drily on the process, 'sed artem disce fabricandi quidlibet ex quolibet'; and comp. further the next article.

† Cf. *Pesāḥim* 65*a* (and elsewhere): אֵין שְׁבוּת בַּמִּקְדָּשׁ 'there is no sabbath-keeping in the sanctuary.'

‡ See in Wünsche (p. 151 f.), from the Gemārā (*Yôma* 85*ab*; cf. *Mechilta* on Ex 31^{13}, fol. 103*b*, ed. Friedmann), the biblical authority which 'Aḳiba and other Rabbis of the 2nd cent. sought to discover for this principle. The text which was deemed most conclusive was Lv 18^{5}, where it is said of the statutes of the law that if a man does them, he will 'live by them,' and not that he will die by them. See, further, on the teaching and exegesis of early Rabbis on the subject of the sabbath, Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, i. 72, 84 f., 117, 191, 238, 260, 296 ff., 363, 404, ii. 94 f., 351, 362, 470, 510.

* Cf. Schürer, ii. 393-400, 412-414. The tractates *Shabbāth* and *'Ērūbin* are translated, in Sola and Raphael's *Eighteen Treatises of the Mishna* (1843), pp. 34-96; and, with copious notes, in Surenhusius' *Mischna* (1699), ii. 1-77, 78-134. There is also a pretty full abstract of *Shabbāth* in Edersheim, *Life and Times*, ii. 774 ff.; and a separate ed. in Heb., with useful introd. and glossary, by H. L. Strack, Lpz. 1890. See, further, the many Talm. passages tr. by Wetstein (*Nov. Test.*) on Mt 12$^{2.5.10}$, Lk 14^{1} etc.; and comp. also W. H. Bennett, *The Mishnah as illustrating the Gospels*, 1884, p. 53 ff.

The injunction Mt 24^{20} ('Pray ye that your flight be not in the winter, neither on a sabbath'; the clause is not in the ‖ Mk 13^{18}) rests probably upon the supposition either that the Christians addressed, being still resident in Judæa, would not, at the time contemplated, have yet cast off their Jewish scruples, or (Hessey, p. 174 f.) that impediments would be thrown in the way of their flight by the Jews around them. Jn 5^{17} 'My Father worketh even until now (viz. without interruption), and I work,' bears upon the relation which—not an ordinary man, but—Christ Himself holds towards the sabbath: He does not by works of mercy break the sabbath any more than God the Father does by His sustaining providence, which operates continuously on the sabbath not less than on other days (cf. *B'rêshîth R.* § 11; tr. Wünsche, 48; Bacher, i. 84 f., 298 f.).

The addition in the Cod. Bezæ after Lk 6^4 deserves also to be mentioned here: *τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ θεασάμενός τινα ἐργαζόμενον τῷ σαββάτῳ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Ἄνθρωπε, εἰ μὲν οἶδας τί ποιεῖς, μακάριος εἶ· εἰ δὲ μὴ οἶδας, ἐπικατάρατος καὶ παραβάτης εἶ τοῦ νόμου.*

As regards the apostles, the sabbath is mentioned by St. Paul, directly in Col 2$^{16f.}$ 'Let no man therefore judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of a feast day or a new moon, or a sabbath day, which are a shadow of the things to come (*i.e.* of the Christian dispensation); but the body is Christ's'; and inferentially in Gal 4$^{9-11}$, where the observance of 'days and months and times and years' is described as a return to the 'weak and beggarly elements,' and Ro 14$^{5f.}$, where it is implied that it is a matter of indifference whether one day is esteemed above another, or whether every day is esteemed alike: 'let every man be persuaded in his own mind.' The meaning of these passages clearly is that the Jewish sabbath, like other Jewish ceremonial observances, as the distinction of clean and unclean foods, or Jewish sacred seasons, as new moons, feast-days, and sabbatical or jubile 'years,' was a matter of indifference to the Christian, and was abrogated under the Christian dispensation. The general teaching of the NT is thus, in Dr. Hessey's words, that 'the sabbath properly so called, the sabbath of the Jews, with everything connected with it as a positive ordinance, was swept away by Christianity' (Lect. v., *ad init.*).

The Fathers frequently compare the (Jewish) sabbath with Circumcision, treating it, like that, as a temporary ordinance, and pointing out that Abraham, for instance, was justified without observing it: *e.g.* Justin, *Tryph.* §§ 19, p. 236 E, 27, p. 245 B; Iren. IV. xvi. 2; Tertull. *adv. Jud.* c. 2 (Hessey, pp. 56 ff., 371 ff. [ed. 5, pp. 42 ff., 281 ff.]).

In He 4^9 'There remaineth therefore a sabbath rest (*σαββατισμός*) unto the people of God,' *sabbath rest* is used figuratively of the rest in God after death. The apostle has been arguing that it was God's purpose that some should enter into His 'rest' (*κατάπαυσις*,—מְנוּחָה, properly *place of rest*),—the 'rest' signified by the expression being in the original context (Ps 95^{11}; cf. Dt 12$^{9.10}$) the rest of Canaan, and this being identified by the apostle—no doubt on account of the presence and fellowship of God implied in it—with the rest of God,—*i.e.* the 'rest' into which God entered after finishing His work of creation, and which He designs to be shared ultimately by all His faithful people; as Israel, through disobedience, failed to enter into that 'rest,' the promise still remains open for Christians. See more fully A. B. Davidson's *Comm.* (T. & T. Clark), pp. 90–101. The Rabbis also sometimes regarded the sabbath as foreshadowing the rest of the world to come: thus in the Mishna (redacted *c.* 200 A.D.), *Tamid* vii. 4 (=*Sopherim* xviii. 2), in the enumeration of the psalms which were sung by the Levites in the Temple, when the morning burnt-offering was offered (Delitzsch, *Psalm.*^{4} 26 f.), it is said: 'On the sabbath, they recited the psalm (92) of which the title is "A Psalm, a song for the sabbath-day," *i.e.* a Psalm for the future (לֶעָתִיד לָבוֹא), for the day (*var. lec.* for the age), which is all sabbath, and rest for life eternal (לְיוֹם (נ' א' לְעוֹלָם) שֶׁכֻּלּוֹ שַׁבָּת וּמְנוּחָה לְחַיֵּי עוֹלָמִים).' The same saying is quoted also often elsewhere, *e.g.* *Mechilta* on Ex 31^{13}, *Rosh ha-shana* 31*a* (where, with the entire passage, it is attributed to R. 'Akiba [d. 135 A.D.]; cf. Bacher, i. 336); see also *Aboth de R. Nathan*, fol. 3*a bottom*, ed. Schechter (with the note).* But the passages cited by Schöttgen on He 4^9 from Zohar, Yalkut Rubeni, and R. Samuel ben David, are very late,—the book Zohar being of the 13th cent., and the other two of the 17th cent.

The question of the relation of the **'Lord's Day'** (Rev 1^{10}), or Christian Sunday, to the Jewish sabbath, does not properly belong to the present article, and need therefore be only referred to briefly. The true view appears to be that the Sunday is not *substituted for* the Jewish sabbath; the sabbath is abolished; and the observance of the First Day of the week is an *analogous* institution, based on the consecration of that day by our Lord's Resurrection, sanctioned by apostolic usage (Ac 20^7, 1 Co 16^2), and accepted by the early Church,—the day being set apart for similar objects—rest from labour, and the service of God,—in a manner consonant with the higher and more spiritual teaching of Christ, and to be observed in the spirit of loyal Christian freedom, rather than by obedience to a system of precise statutes. Dr. Hessey has made it abundantly clear that during the first three Christian centuries the Lord's Day was never confounded with the sabbath, but carefully distinguished from it; and that it was only after the 3rd cent., and even then only gradually, that the Christian and the Jewish institutions were confused, and that tendencies towards 'Sabbatarianism' began. See, further, LORD'S DAY.

By early Christian writers, it may be worth noticing, the terms *σάββατον* and *σαββατίζειν* are not infrequently used in a fig. or spiritual sense of *abstinence from evil*; *e.g.* Justin, *Tryph.* § 12, 'The new law (of Christ) wills that you should keep sabbath perpetually'; let a thief, etc., turn from sin, *καὶ σεσαββάτικε τὰ τρυφερὰ* (cf. Is 58^{13}) *καὶ ἀληθινὰ σάββατα* τοῦ θεοῦ. Similarly Clem. Al. *Strom.* iii. 15, § 99, p. 556 Potter, where 'that keepeth the sabbath' of Is 56^{4} is explained to signify κατὰ ἀποχὴν ἁμαρτημάτων, and iv. 3, § 8, p. 566 (ἢ μοι δοκεῖ τὸ σάββατον δι᾽ ἀποχῆς κακῶν ἐγκράτειαν αἰνίττεσθαι), Tertullian, *adv. Jud.* c. 4, and others: see Hessey, pp. 57 ff., 93, 96 (ed. 5, pp. 43 ff., 70, 72); Suicer, *Thes. Eccles.* 916, 918 f.; and cf. also Ep. Barnab. xv. 1, 6, 7. And this, no doubt, is the meaning of the expression in the second of the 'Sayings of Jesus,' discovered in 1897 at Oxyrhyncus, λέγει Ἰησοῦς, Ἐὰν μὴ νηστεύσητε τὸν κόσμον [read τοῦ κοσμοῦ], οὐ μὴ εὕρητε τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ· καὶ ἐὰν μὴ σαββατίσητε τὸ σάββατον οὐκ ὄψεσθε τὸν πατέρα: the Christian's whole life is to be hallowed, as a sabbath, in the service of God. But it is difficult to think that Christ Himself can have used the expression in this metaphorical sense. See, further, *Expos. Times*, ix. 69; Harnack, *Über die jüngst entdeckten Sprüche Jesu*, 1897, pp. 9–12 [tr. in *Expos.* Nov. 1897, pp. 323–7]; Lock and Sanday, *Two Lectures on the 'Sayings of Jesus,'* Oxf. 1897, pp. 7, 9, 19 f., 35 f.

---

* In the discussion in *Yômā* 85*b* a somewhat similar principle ('the sabbath is delivered into your hands, not you into the hands of the sabbath') is deduced, by an essentially Rabbinical method, from the words of Ex 31^{14} ('it is holy *for you*'). The argument is attributed in *Mechilta* on Ex 31^{13} to R. Shimeon b. Menassya (*c.* 190 A.D.); cf. Bacher, *op. cit.* ii. 493.

* On the opinion that this 'day' would be 1000 years, see Charles, *Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, on 33$^{1.2}$; *Sanh.* 97*a*.

LITERATURE.—Besides the references already given, Wellh. *Hist.* 112, 116; Montefiore, *Hibb. Lect.* (Index); Smend, *Alttest. Rel.-gesch.* 139 f., 279, 330–332; Nowack, *Arch.* ii. 140–144; *Speaker's Comm.* on Ex. p. 339 ff.; Buxtorf, *Synag. Jud.* c. 10–11; Kalisch, *Comm. on Ex.* 355–363 (with information on Jewish usages); Wünsche, *Erläuterung der Evang. aus Talm. u. Midr.* (on Mt $12^{2, 10}$ etc.); Schürer (Index); Edersheim, *Life and Times*, ii. 52–62, 182, 774 ff.; Maimonides (d. 1204), *Hilchoth Shabbāth* ('rules for the sabbath'), in his *Yād ḥazāḳāh* (ed. 1550, i. fol. 77 ff., ed. 1702, i. fol. 139*b* ff.); §§ 242–416 of part iii. (called *'Oraḥ ḥayyim*) of R. Joseph Karo's (d. 1575) *Shulḥān 'Ārūkh* (a manual of Jewish usages; often reprinted, *e.g.* Danzig, 1845; in Löwe's abridged tr. iii. [Hamburg, 1839] p. 49 ff.); Abrahams, *Jewish Life in Mid. Ages* (Index); J. A. Hessey, *Sunday, its origin, history, and present obligation* (Bampton Lect. for 1860; latest ed. 1889).

S. R. DRIVER.

SABBATH DAY'S JOURNEY (Talmudic תְּחוּם* הַשַּׁבָּת).—An expression found but once in the Bible, Ac 1^{12} (*σαββάτου . . . ὁδόν*), where the Mount of Olives is said to be a Sabbath day's journey from Jerusalem. The expression immediately suggests some well-known regulation fixing the distance which might be travelled on the Sabbath, and, by implication, defines this distance as between five and six furlongs; for, according to Josephus in his *Ant.* (XX. viii. 6), the Mount of Olives is five furlongs from Jerusalem, while in his *BJ* (V. ii. 3) it is stated to be six, the variation being perhaps due either to the fact that the distance lay between the two, or to the fact that the older Hebrew ell was rather shorter than the later one. What the text suggests is quite in harmony with extant Rabbinical regulations, which, therefore, in this case exhibit not merely (as they so often and so misleadingly do) what ought to be, but what actually was. Thus, in the Jerusalem Targum, the command in Ex 16^{29} appears in the form, 'And let no man go walking from his place beyond 2000 ells on the seventh day'; and in the Targum on Ru 1^{15} Naomi says to Ruth, 'We are commanded to keep Sabbaths and festivals, and not to walk beyond 2000 ells'; and this regulation is supplemented with many ritualistic details in the Mishna tractate *'Ērūbin*. Occasional variations† from this generally accepted measurement‡—as, for example, the greater Sabbath day's journey of 2800 ells, the medium one of 2000, and the smaller one of 1800—are merely the freaks of individual Rabbis.

The evolution of the regulation can be traced with some approximation to certainty. The Rabbis seem first to have generalized the prohibition directed in Ex 16^{29} against a man's 'going out of his place' on the Sabbath to gather the manna, and then to have deduced the 2000 ells from the distance ordained (Jos 3^{4}) to be between the people on the march and the ark in front of them; or, as some suppose, from the distance between the tabernacle in the wilderness and the outermost part of the camp; but, probably, the case of the tabernacle was only an imaginary Rabbinical inference from that of the ark. By the 'analogy' in the use of *māḳôm*, 'place,' in Ex 16^{29} and in Ex 21^{13}—where the 'place' is a Levitical city of refuge with borders extending (it was affirmed) 2000 ells from the walls (Nu 35^{5})—the man's 'place' of Ex 16^{29} became, in due course, the city in which he dwelt, together with its borders measuring 2000 ells straight out from the sides of the rectangle hypothetically constituting the city. (This measurement seems, from Nu 35^{4}, with its 1000 ells, to have been an exegetical mistake: the 2000 ells apparently refer to each side of the larger rectangle circumscribing the borders). According to Ginsburg (Kitto's *Cyclop.*, art. 'Sabbath Day's Journey'), it was argued that 'if one who committed murder accidentally was allowed to undertake this journey of 2000 yards (ells?) on a Sabbath without violating the sanctity of the day, innocent people might do the same.' Compare also J. Lightfoot on Lk 24^{50}, and his quaint remark on the 'pleasant art [the Rabbis] have of working anything out of anything.'

This Rabbinical regulation, being obviously and often inconvenient, was not allowed seriously to hamper the movements of the Jews. They secured, legally, a wider freedom by a simple device, which was called the 'connexion of boundaries' or the 'amalgamation of distances.' If a man desired to travel more than 2000 ells on a particular Sabbath day he could adapt the law to his project by carrying, before that Sabbath began, to some point within the Sabbatical limit, food enough for two meals; he could then and there eat the one moiety and bury the other, and could thus establish a domicile (to use a modern expression, a 'place within the meaning of the Act'), from which he could date his journey on the coming Sabbath. Even this precaution was not *de rigueur*. He could, if he preferred, eye a tree or a wall at a distance of 2000 ells from the place of his actual abode and declare it his legal abode for the Sabbath—that is, his legal starting-point for his projected Sabbath journey, provided he used words sufficiently definite as to the tree or wall, and, as Schürer phrases it, 'did the thing thoroughly' (*HJP* II. ii. 122, quoting *'Ērūbin*, iv. 7).*

J. MASSIE.

SABBATICAL YEAR (including Jubile Year and Land Laws).—In this article several distinct topics are treated together, which are too closely related to one another to be dealt with separately without a good deal of overlapping. A clear summary statement of the position of the Sabbatical and Jubile years in the cycle of Hebrew sacred seasons will be found under the art. FEASTS AND FASTS.

The 7 years' period recurs at every stage of the legislation, but not always with identical provisions, or even with application to the same subject. The 50 years' term is first found in the Priestly Code, but it is applied to cases previously connected with the 7 years' period. Consequently it will be clearest to gather the whole material from the successive sources in such a form as to make comparison easy. Accordingly, the same letter is used to mark corresponding matter in the following paragraphs.

---

* See Levy, *NHWB*, *s.v.* תחום (vol. iv. p. 637^{b}).

† Nowack (*Lehrb. d. Heb. Archäol.* i. 202) gives as his opinion that the Sabbath journey probably corresponded to the Egyptian measure of 1000 double steps, and quotes from Zuckermann the tradition in the Talmud that it was 2000 *steps*, explaining the 2000 *ells* elsewhere by Zuckermann's statement that in the Talmud *ell* and *step* are quite commonly made the same; and the Sabbath journey (Nowack adds) is sometimes called *mil* (מִיל)—that is, μίλιον. Jerome has another measurement. In his *Epist. ad Algasiam quæst.* x. we find: 'They are accustomed to answer and say, "Barachibas and Simeon and Hillel, our masters, have handed down to us that we should walk 2000 feet (*pedes*) on the Sabbath."'

‡ Origen (*de Principiis*, iv. 17) says that the Jews held 2000 ells (δισχιλίους πήχεις) to be each man's 'place' (τόπον) (on the Sabbath).

* There is no necessary discrepancy between Lk 24^{50} and Ac 1^{12}. In the former passage it is said that our Lord took out the disciples ἕως πρὸς Βηθανίαν, 'until they came within view of Bethany' (Blass, *NT Grammar*, 139 n. 4), which (Jn 11^{18}) was 15 furlongs from Jerusalem. In the latter passage it is said that the disciples 'returned from the Mount called Olivet, which is nigh unto Jerusalem, a Sabbath day's journey off'—that is, from 5 to 6 furlongs. The Mount of Olives was a ridge about a mile long, and it is this and not Bethany whose distance is thus measured after Luke's manner (cf. 24^{13}), for the purpose of informing readers unacquainted with the locality. Bethany was on the south-east slope of the ridge, about a mile beyond the summit. It is unlikely that Luke intended to represent the Ascension as taking place either within or close to the village.

I. COMPARATIVE SUMMARY OF LAWS.—(i.) *The earliest Legislation*—E.—**a.** The 7 years' period is found in the Covenant Book Ex $23^{10f.}$, and among the Judgments Ex 21^{2-6} (cf. vol. i. p. 810).

b. In the former it is laid down as an obligation that every Hebrew owner of land should 'let it rest and lie fallow' in the 7th year. Hupfeld and Wellhausen apply this to the increase only, as though it was lawful to sow, but not to reap; but it is better, with Dillmann, Nowack, etc., to take it, as in our versions, as prescribing an entire cessation of all field work; for the two verbs in v.^{11} 'let drop (or 'release') and leave alone' (תִּשְׁמְטֶנָּה וּנְטַשְׁתָּהּ), seem obviously in contrast to both verbs in v.^{10} 'sow' and 'gather.' The oliveyards and vineyards are to come under the same rule as the corn land, *i.e.* no work is to be done in them in the 7th year. The aim expressed is 'that the poor of thy people may eat.' And so stringent is the rule that, if all is not consumed by the poor, the remainder must not be garnered, but must be left for 'the beast of the field' to eat. It is not explicitly stated that the owner and his family were not to *eat* of the spontaneous growth of the fallow year, but the passage, taken by itself, rather suggests that they might not.

c. In Ex 21^{2-6} a 6 years' term is fixed as the normal period during which a Hebrew could be compelled to serve as a slave. In the 7th year he could demand his freedom (see, further, art. SERVANT, and the *Oxf. Hex.* i. 55).

d. Neither in connexion with the fallow for the land nor with the emancipation of the slave is there any clear indication that the 7 years' period was fixed, beginning and ending simultaneously all over the country. In the second case, of the slave, this hypothesis is practically ruled out as impracticable, and in the case of the fallow the natural interpretation of the language is that each owner would reckon the term independently of others, and indeed that different portions of his holding would lie fallow in different years, so that, *e.g.*, if his corn land did not require his labour, he would still have his vines and olives to attend to, and *vice versâ.* The analogy of the weekly sabbath is too precarious to be allowed much weight.

e. The earliest legislation has no laws as to the inheritance, sale, or redemption of land.

(ii.) *The Deuteronomic Code*—D.—**a.** The 7 years' period occurs twice in Dt 15, in vv.$^{1-3}$ and vv.$^{12-18}$, and a third time in 31^{10-13}.

b. No mention is made of any custom of a periodical fallow, but an ordinance appears 15^{1-3} for the first time (reflecting the life of times when the purely agricultural stage has been passed), which provides for the remission, or, as some hold, the suspension of debts due to a creditor from 'his neighbour and his brother,' though debts may be exacted 'of a foreigner.' The motive of the law is compassion for the poor and unfortunate among the Israelites. And the provision in 31^{10-13} that 'at the end of 7 years, in the set time of the year of release' (שְׁמִטָּה, from שָׁמַט 'let drop' [RVm 'release'], Ex 23^{11}), in the 'Feast of Booths,' a public reading of the Deut. Law-book should take place, indicates that the sanction for the ordinance is to be found in the great principles of love to God and man reiterated in it.

c. A Hebrew slave (15^{12-18}) may go free after serving for 6 years.

d. The period, in the last case, obviously begins with the entrance of the slave upon servitude; but in the former, it is clear, from the allusion to the 'proclaiming' of 'J″'s release,' that the close of each period is to be simultaneous over all the country, and to be publicly announced.

e. Except for the warnings against disturbing a neighbour's 'landmark' (19^{14} 27^{17}), no Deuteronomic law bears on the ownership of land.

(iii.) *The Priestly Code*—P.—**a.** Not only is the 7 years' period found in this, the latest stratum of Hebrew legislation, but a 50 years' term is added to crown the calendar (Lv 25).

b. Every 7th year, and in addition every 50th year, is to be kept with strictness as a fallow year, the crops being neither sown at the beginning nor reaped at the close, the vines not pruned and the grapes not gathered. The idea must be that no storing, or systematic harvesting operations, was to go on, but not that the crops that might grow of themselves were to be left untouched, for it is added, 'the sabbath of the land shall be for food for you; for thee, and for thy servant and for thy maid, and for thy hired servant and for thy stranger that sojourn with thee; and for thy cattle, and for the beasts that are in thy land, shall all the increase thereof be for food.' So it was lawful to go into the fields and oliveyards and vineyards, and gather food as it might be wanted from the spontaneous yield of the land.

This view is maintained by Dillmann, Nowack, and the Jewish interpreters. Still it is strange that in vv.$^{20-22}$, where the problem of food supply is dealt with, no allusion is made to the right conferred in v.$^{6f.}$ (cf. v.^{12}). It might be conjectured that v.^{6} was added to v.^{5} to modify a stringency regarded as impracticable.

All mention of the poor has dropped out, and the ordinance is expressly based on the religious principle that the land, as well as the people, should keep Sabbath unto J″. Neither is the arrangement of Deuteronomy recalled for the remission of debts, though the prohibition of usury is repeated from Dt 23^{19}.

c. A provision for emancipation of slaves occurs vv.$^{39-54}$, but in connexion with the **jubile**, in which year every Hebrew slave is to go free with his family. This can scarcely be in addition to, but rather in substitution for, the earlier provisions; for (1) if the law of emancipation at the 7th year was in force, it would be unnecessary to order it in the 50th; and (2) the later law in another point abrogates the earlier, as it prohibits lifelong bondage, and leaves no room for such a riveting of the ties of slavery as was involved in the archaic ceremony of the boring of the ear. Moreover, we find again the express mention of a religious principle as the motive for the law, viz. that all Israelites are J″'s servants, and therefore cannot be permanently owned by another. V.$^{48ff.}$ a new provision is also added, that a Hebrew enslaved to a 'stranger' (גֵּר) may be redeemed by a relative, the price varying with the distance of the jubile. Curiously, no such provision exists in the case of a Hebrew enslaved to a Hebrew.

d. The 7th year in Leviticus becomes for the first time a true sabbatical year, a season to be simultaneously observed as a fallow year in which no field work was to be done under a directly religious sanction. Moreover, the difficulties of such observance being apparent, doubters are encouraged (vv.$^{20-22}$) by an assurance of Providential aid in the shape of an unusually abundant yield in the 6th year. The produce is to be enough for 3 years, 'until the 9th year, until her fruits come in.' The reason is that, after the fallow of the 7th year, the ground is so hard that a second or third ploughing is necessary in the 8th year before sowing can take place, and consequently only the summer-sown crops of the 8th year come to anything, and they are not available for use till the beginning of the 9th year, the reckoning of the years being, of course, in this context from autumn to autumn.

It is not therefore necessary to reject 'until the 9th year,' as Dillm. proposes, on the ground that the '3 years' would naturally be the 6th, 7th, and 8th years, and that the allusion to the 9th year has been introduced because an editor referred the passage to the exceptional case of the 49th and 50th years when two fallow years followed one another, the 7th sabbatical year and the jubile year. Yet it is natural to conclude from the language of Lv 25, as Kalisch does, that the intention of the ordinance was that, after 7 sabbatical periods had passed, the 50th or jubile year should be intercalated as an additional fallow year, immediately after the 7th sabbatical year, and that a new sabbatical period should begin with the 51st year. This was also the view of the Jewish interpreters. But see, further, below II. (iv.).

e. The purchase and redemption of land is not alluded to in the earlier codes (but cf. Ezk 46^{17b} for allusion to some such custom), but is here treated with some fulness (vv.$^{8-10.\ 12-16.\ 23-34}$). The provisions may be enumerated as follows:—(1) The freehold of agricultural land could not be sold outright, for at the 50th or jubile year every piece sold returned to the owner or his representatives. The utmost that an owner desirous of selling could do was to grant a lease of the property, the term of the lease to expire at the next jubile, however near that might be. The purchaser only obtained the usufruct for the time being, and the price was to be regulated by the number of the crops due before the jubile. (2) In every case of a man being forced to sell part of his patrimony, it was the duty of his kinsman (v.^{25}) either, according to the ordinary interpretation, to redeem the land, *i.e.* from the purchaser (who is not named), or, according to the attractive theory put forth by Buhl (*AJTh* i. 738), to exercise a right of pre-emption. (3) If there was no kinsman to effect the *gĕullah*, still, if the original owner at any time became rich enough, he could buy it back at the selling price, less the proportion belonging to the years since the sale (v.$^{26ff.}$). (4) House property in a walled city might be sold outright without returning to the vendor at the jubile (v.$^{29f.}$); but he was given the right of redemption during the one year after the sale (Maimonides and others mention a tradition that the term 'walled cities' is restricted to those that were such in Joshua's time). (5) House property in a village was subject to the provisions, see (1)-(3) above, attaching to agricultural land. (6) The Levitical possessions were subject to special provisions; (*a*) house property in their cities was to be saleable, as far as the leasehold value went, redeemable at any time, and restored at the jubile; and (*b*) the farm land round their cities was to be altogether unsaleable and inalienable. (7) The case of a field devoted to J″ is treated in Lv 27^{16-24}. The field was to be valued at once, and might be redeemed at that price, with a fifth added, up to the jubile, after which it passed to the priest. If the field had been already sold, then no redemption was possible, and the gift became effective and final at the jubile. If the field was not part of the donor's own patrimony, but a purchased (=leased) portion of another man's possession, then the gift could only involve the usufruct till the jubile, when the property returned to the original owner.

Summary.—Three stages may thus be distinguished. (1) In Exodus a 7th year fallow for the land and a 7 years' term for Hebrew slaves is required, without any simultaneous reckoning of either period throughout the country. (2) In Deuteronomy a simultaneous remission of debts replaces the fallow year, the term of service for slaves remaining the same. (3) In Leviticus a simultaneous 7th year fallow is ordered; remission of debts is dropped in favour of a general prohibition of usury; emancipation at the 50th year is all that remains of the 7 years' term of service; and a whole series of provisions is added on land and house property.

The Analysis of Lv 25.—That this chapter contains earlier and later elements is generally admitted. Dillmann, Kuenen, and Nowack consider that there are no sure grounds on which to discriminate these. Driver and White ('Leviticus' in *SBOT*) treat the jubile for the land as original in the Holiness legislation (P^h), but ascribe to a later hand the extension to persons. Wellhausen thinks that the first draft placed the freeing of slaves and redemption of land in the 7th year, and, if Dillmann criticizes this reconstruction as involving an unworkable arrangement, Holzinger points out, on the other hand, that the priestly scribes were not always very practical. Another solution is offered in the *Oxford Hexateuch*, ii. 177, on Lv 25. It is there suggested that the regulations on the sabbath year, vv.$^{2b-7.\ 18-22}$, belong to the first draft of P^h; that the block of material on the jubile, vv.$^{8-17}$, which now interrupts the former, is itself composite, as is shown (1) by the number of doublets, and (2) by the recurrence of phrases which recall P^h; that a second draft of P^h underlies this passage and also the remainder of the chapter; that in this second draft the emancipation of slaves and redemption of land, and possibly a 50 years' term, were included; and that the rest, embracing all the clauses in which the term 'jubile' occurs, is by a later priestly editor. Addis and Baentsch take a similar view. The blowing of the trumpets on the 10th day of the 7th month is thought by many to be a provision earlier than the appointment of the same day as the solemn day of atonement, so that v.^{9b} will be later than v.^{9a}.

II. Historical Character.—(i.) *The Seventh Year Fallow.*—The custom of a periodical fallow is so common a feature in agricultural practice that we should almost require evidence to prove that there was nothing of the kind amongst the Hebrews from the beginning of their settled life; and the 7 years' period, which is still observed in Palestine and Syria, has every argument from analogy in favour of it. Moreover, the fact that the Covenant Book in Ex 23 is throughout directed to defining and regulating existing customs, and bears no mark of introducing any novelty (cf. the prob. allusion in Jer 17^4 [Heb.]; see Driver, *Deut.* 174), weighs in the same scale. The silence of the earlier historical books must be regarded as entirely natural if the fallow was not simultaneously observed. It would not be a feature that would call for mention. It is otherwise with so serious an interruption of the common life as would be occasioned by the observance of the same year as a universal fallow year, so that all workers on the land would be keeping holiday for 12 months. Moreover, the tradition at the Exile explicitly denies the observance of the sabbath years in the pre-exilic times (2 Ch 36^{21}, cf. Lv $26^{34f.\ 43}$). In fact, the first historical reference to the sabbatical year as an institution within the range of practical politics is in Neh 10^{31}, where it occurs among the items included in the covenant that was entered into at the prompting of Nehemiah. Even there the allusion is not quite certain. The language 'leave (שָׁמַט; ='let lie fallow,' Ex 23^{11}) the seventh year, and the exaction of every debt,' recalls the law of the fallow in Exodus; but the clause is elliptical and far from explicit, and the following words, which recall Dt 15^2, make it doubtful whether the remission of debts in the 7th year is not the institution in view. It is not, in fact, till we reach the Greek period that we come upon undisputed references to the observance of the sabbatical year (Jos. *Ant.* XI. viii. 26): for Maccabæan times, see 1 Mac $6^{49.\ 53}$; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. viii. 1, XIV. x. 6, XV. i. 2; *BJ* I. ii. 4; and for the Herodian era, Jos. *Ant.* XIV. xvi. 2, XV. i. 2; Philo in Eus. *Præp. ad Ev.* viii. 7; and Tac. *Hist.* v. 4.

(ii.) *The Emancipation of Slaves at the Seventh Year.*—This is once referred to in Jer $34^{8ff.}$,[*] where the custom is shown to be more honoured in the breach than in the observance, and to be most difficult to enforce. The postponement of liberation to the 50th year may be another witness to the same fact.

(iii.) *The Remission or Suspension of Debts.*—

---

[*] Note here the techn. phrase קרא דרור ('proclaim liberty'), vv.$^{8.\ 15.\ 17}$; also Is 61^1 of captives (cf. Ezk 46^{17a} the 'year of דרור,' either of the jubile, or of the year of emancipation of slaves), and Lv 25^{10} of the jubile. [S. R. D.].

Unless Neh 10^{31} refer to this, history is silent as to the observance of any such custom.

(iv.) *The Redemption of Real Property.*—That there was some provision in law or custom against alienating land is clear from the instance of Naboth, and the institution of the *ge'ullah*, Jer $32^{6ff.}$, Ru 4. An obscure allusion in Ezk $7^{12f.}$ may be taken in the same sense; and it is, of course, possible that the 'year of liberty' in Ezk 46^{17} refers to the 50th year as an institution already known. Neither is there anything impracticable in the provisions themselves. See for parallels among other nations, Maine, *Village Communities*, 81–88; *Early Hist. of Institutions*, 81 f., 100 ff.; von Maurer, *Dorfverfassung*, i. 304 ff. This kind of tenure is known as the 'shifting severalty.' Strabo speaks of the Dalmatians redistributing land every 8 years, a practice which would support Wellhausen's theory that the term was originally 7 years and not 50. The denunciations of land-grabbing in Isaiah and Micah show that no such law was operative even if in existence. Moreover, no single undisputed historical allusion to the jubile exists, and the dating of the 3 sabbatical years that can be securely traced in B.C. 164–163, 38–37, and A.D. 68–69 leaves no room for the intercalation of the jubile year. For this reason, and because of the difficulty of the two fallow years in succession, the text has been strained to permit the identification of the 7th sabbatical year with the jubile year. The evidence from the literature is therefore rather against the jubile year having ever been historically observed. Neither is the anthropological evidence such as to rebut this presumption.

The term *jubile.*—Nowack gives a summary of interpretations, and refers to two essays by Kranold and Wolde (Gött. 1837) for a fuller account; but the *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* mentions only that which he selects as the best, and which is supported by the Targum on Ex 19^{13} and Jos 6^{5}, and by Phœnician inscriptions, viz. יוֹבֵל='ram.' It is used both in combination, as Jos $6^{4ff.}$, and alone, as Ex 19^{13}, for a 'ram's horn,' and lastly stands as a designation of the 50th year, ushered in by trumpet blasts.

LITERATURE.—Treatises on Heb. Archæology by Keil (Eng. tr. ii. 10–20), Nowack, and Benzinger; Ewald, *Antiquities*, 369–380; Schürer, *HJP* I. i. 40 ff.; Dillm., Driver-White, Kalisch, Addis, Baentsch, and *Oxf. Hex.* on Lv 25; Mishna, *Rosh ha-shana* i. 1, *Shebiith* vi. 1, 2, 5, 6.

G. HARFORD-BATTERSBY.

SABBEUS (Σαββαίας), 1 Es 9^{32}=Shemaiah, Ezr 10^{31}.

SABI (B Τωβεὶς, A Σαβεὶ, AV Sami), 1 Es 5^{28}= Shobai, Ezr 2^{42}, Neh 7^{45}.

SABIAS (Σαβίας).—A chief of the Levites in the time of Josiah, 1 Es 1^{9}, called in 2 Ch 35^{9} HASHABIAH.

SABIE (B Σαβειή, A Σαβιή, AV Sabi).—'The children of Pochereth-hazzebaim' (AV of Zebaim), Ezr 2^{57}, Neh 7^{59}, appear as 'the sons of Phacereth the sons of Sabie' in 1 Es 5^{34}.

SABTA (סַבְתָּא) or **SABTAH** (סַבְתָּה).—Son of Cush, Gn 10^{7} (A Σαβαθά), 1 Ch 1^{9} (B Σαβατά, A Σαβαθά, Luc. Σεβαθά). Glaser (*Skizze*, ii. 252) professes himself satisfied with the identification of this place with Dhu 'l-Sabtā, mentioned by the geographer Al-Bekri (i. 65), who quotes a line of an early poet, in which this is mentioned by the side of Al-Abatir, in the dwellings of the Banu Asad, probably in Yemamah. This identification is, however, of very small value; for the word *Sabtāu* means either 'a rock' or 'a desert,' and Dhu 'l-Sabtā therefore 'the place with the rock,' or 'the place with the desert,' whence it is not even certain that the poet quoted really meant it for a proper name. Moreover, there is no sign of such a place ever having been of importance. Hence the conjecture that it was to be identified with Sabat or Sabbata in the Gulf of Adulis (Ptol. IV. vii. 8) is much more probable. Other conjectures made by ancient and modern scholars are given in Ges. *Thes.*, the *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*, and the Commentaries.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

SABTECA (סַבְתְּכָא, Sam. סבתכה).—Son of Cush, Gn 10^{7} (A Σαβακαθά, Luc. Σαβεκαθά), 1 Ch 1^{9} (B Luc. Σεβεκαθά, A Σεβεθαχά).—The identification of this place with Samydake in Carmania (Steph. Byz., ed. Westermann, p. 246), originally suggested by Bochart, has been renewed by Glaser (*Skizze*, ii. 252). There is, however, nothing in favour of this supposition, except the possibility that the genealogist may have been misled by the similarity of the name to Sabtah. Early critics guessed various places in Africa, while some have even supposed a person rather than a place to be meant. The termination *-ka* has an appearance of being Indo-Germanic, as also has the penultimate syllable. In that case the name probably meant 'sevenfold' (*saptaka*), Heptapolis. Some other conjectures are quoted by Gesenius, *Thes.*, and Dillm. *Gen. ad loc.*

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

SACAR (שָׂכָר 'hire,' 'reward' [cf. the name יששכר ISSACHAR]).—**1.** The father of Ahiam, one of David's heroes, 1 Ch 11^{35} (B 'Αχάρ, A Σαχάρ)= **Sharar** of 2 S 23^{33}, where 'Sharar the (H)ararite' appears in B as 'Αραὶ Σαραουρείτης and in A as 'Αρὰδ 'Αραρείτης. The reading of B here may have arisen, by transposition of letters, from a Heb. original שָׂכָר הַהֲרָרִי, and the name *Sharar* should probably be read in both passages. **2.** The eponym of a family of gatekeepers, 1 Ch 26^{4} (B Σαχάρ, A Σαχιάρ).

J. A. SELBIE.

SACKBUT (סַבְּכָא Dn 3^{5}, שַׂבְּכָא $3^{7.10.15}$; LXX and Theod. σαμβύκη, Vulg. *sambuca*, Wyc. 'sambuke,' Cov., Bish. 'shawmes,' Dou. 'doulcimer,' Gen., AV, RV 'sackbut').—The Gr. σαμβύκη (which Ges., Buhl, Driver, etc., believe to be derived from the Aram.) was a stringed instrument (see vol. iii. p. 461^{a}). The Vulg. *sambuca* is no doubt a translit. of the Gr.; but since *sambuca* may mean 'made of the elder-tree' (from *sambucus*, the elder-tree), the name came to be used for any stringed instrument made of that wood. In Eng. the 'sambuke' had the same general application. Thus Ascham, *Toxophilus*, 26, 'And whatsoever ye judge, this I am sure, that lutes, harps, all manner of pipes, barbitons, sambukes, with other instruments every one, which standeth by fine and quick fingering, be condemned of Aristotle, as not to be brought in and used among them which study for learning and virtue.'

The Geneva translators used the more precise 'sackbut' (possibly, however, from an impression that it was a form of the same word). But the 'sackbut' is unsuitable, for two reasons: it is a wind instrument ('a brass trumpet,' says Chappell, 'with a slide like a modern trombone'); and, whereas the σαμβύκη was particularly shrill, the sackbut had a deep note. Cf. Drayton, *Polyolbion*, iv. 365—

> 'The Hoboy, Sagbut deepe, Recorder, and the Flute';

and Bunyan, *PP* 235, 'He and his Fellows sound the Sackbut whose Notes are more doleful than the Notes of other Music are.' The origin of 'sackbut' is doubtful. Skeat traces it to the Spanish *sacar* to draw out, and *buche* a box, used familiarly of the belly, and thinks that Webster is right in suggesting that the name was given to the instrument because it exhausts one's wind in blowing! Middleton shows how it lent itself to punning, *Spanish Gypsy*, ii. 1—

> '*Alv.*—You must not look to have your dinner served in with
> trumpets.
> *Car.*—No, no, sack-buts will serve us.'

J. HASTINGS.

SACKCLOTH (שַׂק *saḳ*, *σάκκος*, *saccus*) was a coarse material woven from goats' and camels' hair, and hence of a dark colour, as we see from Rev 6^{12} 'the sun became black as sackcloth of hair' (*σάκκος τρίχινος*); cf., for the colour, Is 50^{3}, Sir 25^{17} 'her countenance darkeneth like sackcloth,' reading *σάκκος* with B; also קֹדֵר 'a mourner,' lit. one who wears dark soiled garments (*RS*^{1} 414, n. 2). A similar material was called by the Romans *cilicium* from being prepared from the hair of the black goats of Cilicia, hence Jerome's rendering *saccus cilicinus* (Rev 6^{12}). From the fact that sacks were made of this coarse haircloth, J in Genesis ($42^{25.\ 27.\ 35}$) uses שַׂק as a synonym of אַמְתַּחַת; hence through the medium of Greek and Latin our 'sack' and 'sackcloth,' though haircloth is the more appropriate rendering. It was also used for saddle-cloths (Jos 9^{4}).

From the analogy of the evolution of dress among the Egyptians—for which see Erman (*Egypt*, 200 ff., with numerous illustrations)—we may infer that the dress of the Hebrews was originally, as in Egypt, a scant loin-cloth of *saḳ*, tied in a knot in front. This continued to be the distinctive dress of slaves, captives, and such as wished to appeal to the pity of superiors (see the instructive episode 1 K $20^{31\text{ff.}}$). To put on sackcloth is nearly always חָגַר שַׂק 'to gird sackcloth' about the loins (*loc. c.*, Gn 37^{34}, 2 S 3^{31}, and oft.; חָגַר alone, Is 32^{11}, Jl 1^{13}); to take it off was originally פִּתַּח 'to undo [a knot]' (Ps 30^{11}, Is 20^{2}). The linguistic evidence is thus entirely against the current idea that the sackcloth of the OT was worn in the form of a sack 'with an opening for the head, and side apertures for the arms.'

Religious usages are proverbially conservative, and Hebrew customs were no exception (see, *e.g.*, Jos $5^{2\text{b.}}$); hence it is not an unlikely supposition (Schwally, *Das Leben nach d. Tode*, 12 ff.) that the haircloth cincture continued to be regarded as the garment most suitable for religious ceremonies long after it had disappeared from ordinary use. This is at least more satisfactory than the usual explanation that the wish to mortify the flesh led to the use of sackcloth in the frequent instances where it is associated with fasting as an outward and visible expression of penitence, or in cases where confession and supplication are combined, as indeed is most frequently the case (1 K 21^{27}, Neh 9^{1}, Jon $3^{5\text{f.}}$, Jth $4^{10\text{ff.}}$ etc.). In most cases, even when not expressly mentioned, there was the accompaniment of ashes (Dn 9^{3}, Mt 11^{21}, Lk 10^{13}) or earth (Neh 9^{1}) upon the head. Hence the author of Baruch speaks of putting on 'sackcloth of prayer' (4^{20}; see Comm. for alternative rendering). The extravagances of Jon 3^{8}, Jth 4^{10}, where even the cattle are clothed in sackcloth, are scarcely historical. In the latter passage the altar, also, is similarly covered (Jth 4^{11}). That the sackcloth in such cases was usually worn next the skin (עַל־הַבָּשָׂר)—originally, as we saw, it was the only garment—even by women (Is 32^{11}, Jth 9^{1}, 2 Mac 3^{19}), seems beyond doubt (see 2 K 6^{30}, Job 16^{15}, which are often wrongly, as we think, taken to be exceptional cases).

Fondness for 'the old paths,' and the desire to furnish an object-lesson in simplicity of dress, as of life, in the midst of increasing luxury, are doubtless the reason that haircloth was the characteristic material of a prophet's dress (Zec 13^{4} RV; cf. Rev 11^{3} *προφητεύσουσιν . . . περιβεβλημένοι σάκκους*). Elijah was distinguished by a mantle of hair (2 K 1^{8} RVm). John the Baptist's only garment, like that of his prototype, was of camels' hair (Mt 3^{4}, Mk 1^{6}). Isaiah, on a particular occasion, wore even the primitive loin-cloth of *saḳ* (20^{2}).

The universal use of this black haircloth (שַׂק) as the appropriate dress of those mourning for their dead probably has its root in the circle of primitive thought above referred to—the intention being to do honour to the disembodied spirit (cf. Schwally, *op. cit.*). It was worn not only in cases of private mourning (Gn 37^{34}, 2 S 3^{31} and oft.), but in lamentations over public calamities (Am 8^{10}, Jer 48^{37}, La 2^{10}, 1 Mac 2^{14}). Further, just as prayer in this garb might avert threatened private bereavement (Ps 35^{13}), so might it avert—when combined with humility and penitence—a great national misfortune (Jer 6^{26}, Jl 1^{13}, Jth 4^{12}). Both ideas are frequently combined—mourning for past calamities and prayer for their speedy removal (1 Mac 3^{47}, 2 Mac 2^{25}, also Am 8^{10}, and other passages cited).

A. R. S. Kennedy.

SACRAMENTS.—The word *sacramentum* (*sacrare* = 'to dedicate') originally meant 'something set apart as sacred, consecrated, dedicated.' As a technical legal term it was used of the sum which the two parties to a suit deposited *in sacro*, and of which the winner of the suit recovered his part, while the loser forfeited his to the *ærarium.* Hence it came to mean the suit itself, *causa controversia* (Smith, *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Ant.* ii. p. 958). *Sacramentum* was also used actively of the 'thing which sets apart and devotes.' As a technical military term it designated either the 'preliminary engagement' entered into by recruits, or (much more often) the 'military oath of obedience' to the commander. Under the Empire the *sacramentum* which soldiers were obliged to take to their *imperator* was often taken by subjects, whether citizens or provincials, to the emperor (Tac. *Ann.* i. 7, 8), in recognition of his *proconsulare imperium* throughout the Empire. From Horace (*Od.* II. xvii. 10) onwards it is sometimes used of any 'oath or solemn engagement.'

The first appearance of the word *sacramentum* in connexion with Christianity may be called accidental. It occurs in a familiar passage in the frequently quoted letter (*Ep.* 96) of the younger Pliny to the Emperor Trajan. It was stated of the Bithynian Christians *quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire carmenque Christo quasi deo dicere secum invicem, seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere.* There is not much doubt that the witnesses whom Pliny quotes referred to the obligation under which every Christian lies to renounce the devil and all his works, and of which the public service of the Church reminds him. Possibly the service to which allusion is made contained an express renewal of the baptismal pledge. That Pliny uses the word *sacramentum* to express this obligation or pledge is no more than an interesting coincidence. It was a natural word to use; and neither *jusjurandum* nor *promissum* would have expressed the meaning better. Yet Lightfoot is inclined to think that it means 'sacrament' in the Christian sense, and that Pliny has here 'confused the two sacraments,' the wording pointing to the baptismal pledge, while the context about the early hour and the stated day points to the eucharist (*Epp. of S. Ignatius*, vol. i. p. 52). It may be doubted whether the word *sacramentum* had as yet acquired among Christians any specially Christian meaning; and it is improbable that the Bithynian Christians used the word in a technical sense, or that Pliny uses the word because they had done so. The word is his, not theirs; and he employs it in the ordinary classical sense.

As a Christian term, *sacramentum* makes its first appearance in the Old Latin and in Tertullian. Both in Lat-Vet. and Vulg. it is sometimes used to translate *μυστήριον.* Cod. Bob. (k) has it Mt 13^{11}; Cod. Palat. (e) Lk 8^{10}; Cod. Clar. (h) Eph 1^{9} $3^{3.\ 9}$ 5^{32}, 1 Ti $3^{9.\ 16}$, Ro 16^{25}; Vulg. has it Eph 1^{9} 3^{3} (not ^{4}) ^{9} 5^{32}, Col 1^{27} (not ^{26}), 1 Ti 3^{16} (not ^{9}), Rev 1^{20} 17^{7} (not ^{5}).

But the more common rendering of μυστήριον is *mysterium*; and sometimes in consecutive verses first one word is used and then the other. In OT *sacramentum* occurs Dn $2^{18. 30. 47}$ 4^{6}, To 12^{7}, Wis 2^{22} 6^{24}, in all which places LXX has μυστήριον. But *mysterium* is also found, sometimes side by side with *sacramentum* (Dn $2^{18. 19. 28. 30}$), even in the same verse (^{47}). Tertullian uses *sacramentum* as the rendering of μυστήριον in passages where Vulg. has *mysterium* (1 Co 13^{2}, *Res.* 23; 1 Co 14^{2}, *adv. Marc.* v. 15; Eph 6^{19}, *adv. Marc.* v. 18). It is his usual word.

Three elements seem to have been at work in determining the Christian use of the word: (1) the original passive sense, 'a thing set apart as sacred'; (2) the active sense, 'that which sets apart,' especially an oath or pledge of fidelity; (3) the Greek term μυστήριον, to which it was regarded as equivalent. It is obvious that all these ideas coalesce very well respecting those rites which have been called sacraments, especially baptism and the eucharist.

But in the first instance the use of the term was very much wider. It was used to designate not only religious rites, but doctrines and facts. Almost any external form, whether of word or action, which conveyed or symbolized a religious meaning might be called a *sacramentum*. It will be worth while to examine some of the passages in which the word occurs in Tertullian and Cyprian.

Tertullian, after pointing out that even the heathen recognize avoidance of the public shows as the mark of a Christian, remarks that the man who puts aside the mark of the faith plainly denies the faith. *Nemo in castra hostium transit . . . nisi destitutis signis et sacramentis principis sui* (*de Spect.* xxiv.). Again, with regard to God's prohibition of idolatry, he says: *Huic sacramento militans ab hostibus provocor. Par sum illis, si illis manus dedero. Hoc defendendo depugno in acie, vulneror, concidor, occidor. Quis hunc militi suo exitum voluit, nisi qui tali sacramento eum consignavit* (*Scorp.* iv.)? In both these passages we have little more than the Roman military oath used metaphorically of the Christian's allegiance to God. In *Apol.* vii. we get a stage further, when he calls the horrible rite, of which Christians were often accused, in which a child was killed and eaten, *sacramentum infanticidii*. It is in this treatise that the use of the word is specially frequent. In contending that Judaism, and therefore Christianity, is far more ancient than heathenism, he says: *ipsa templa et oracula et sacra unius interim prophetæ scrinium sæculis vincit, in quo videtur thesaurus collocatus totius Judaici sacramenti et inde jam nostri* (xix.); where *sacramentum* seems to mean 'revelation,' or 'religion,' or 'dispensation.' It has a similarly indefinite meaning in the challenge respecting Christian abstention from heathen temples and nocturnal rites: *omnem hinc sacramenti nostri ordinem haurite, repercussis ante tamen opinionibus falsis* (xv.). In the plural the word is used of the doctrines of the Christian faith. Whence, he asks, did pagan philosophy get its doctrine of future rewards and punishments? *Nonnisi de nostris sacramentis* (xlvii.). OT types he calls *figurarum sacramenta* (*adv. Marc.* v. 1). In the treatise *de Baptismo* we reach the more definite use of the term. It opens with the words, *Felix sacramentum aquæ nostræ, quia ablutis delictis pristinæ cæcitatis in vitam æternam liberamur.* And so also of the eucharist: *Proinde panis et calicis sacramento jam in evangelio probavimus corporis et sanguinis dominici veritatem adversus phantasma Marcionis* (*adv. Marc.* v. 8). And again of both sacraments: *ad sacramentum baptismatis et eucharistiæ admittens* (*ib.* iv. 34).

Cyprian seems to have learned from his 'master' to use the word sometimes in its classical sense, sometimes with a vagueness which was possibly deliberate, sometimes quite definitely of baptism and the eucharist. Of Christian martyrdoms he says: *O quale illud fuit spectaculum Domini, quam sublime, quam magnum, quam Dei oculis sacramento ac devotione militis ejus acceptum* (*Ep.* x. 2). So of a supposed betrayal of the Christian faith, he says: *divinæ militiæ sacramenta solvantur, castrorum cælestium signa dedantur* (*Ep.* lxxiv. 8). He calls the Passover a *sacramentum* (*de Cath. Eccles. unit.*). But it is not easy to define its meaning when he speaks of *ecclesiæ veritas et evangelii ac sacramenti unitas* (*Ep.* liv. 1), or, again, of *veritatis jura et sacramenta* (*Ep.* lxxiii. 20). Comp. *sacramenta cælestia* (*Ep.* lxxiv. 4), a phrase which he uses several times. He says that *totum fidei sacramentum in confessione Christi nominis esse digestum* (*Ep.* xxx. 3); and that the Lord's Prayer contains many and great *sacramenta* (*de Dom. Orat.* 9); where 'doctrine' seems to be the meaning. In baptism, water and the Spirit are each of them called a *sacramentum*; and, as distinct from heretical baptism, those who receive the Church's baptism *utroque sacramento nascuntur* (*Ep.* lxxiii. 21). Immediately afterwards he uses *baptismi sacramentum* of the whole rite. So also of the eucharist he says: *Item in sacerdote Melchisedech sacrificii dominici sacramentum præfiguratum videmus* (*Ep.* lxiii. 3). He calls the consecrated wine *sacramentum calicis* * (*de Lapsis*, xxv.); and he appears to call the whole rite *sacramentum crucis*, when he says, *de sacramento crucis et cibum sumis et potum* (*de Zelo et Livore*, xvii.). On Cyprian's use of *sacramentum*, see an important note by E. W. Watson in *Studia Biblica*, iv. p. 253.

Augustine says that the bread and wine *ideo dicuntur sacramenta, quia in eis aliud videtur, aliud intelligitur* (*Serm.* 272). And again that *Signa cum ad res divinas pertinent, sacramenta appellantur* (*Ep.* cxxxviii.). But there must be resemblance between the two: *si enim sacramenta quamdam similitudinem earum rerum quarum sacramenta sunt non haberent, omnino sacramenta non essent* (*Ep.* xcviii.). Sacraments are *verba visibilia, sacrosancta quidem, veruntamen mutabilia et temporalia* (*con. Faustum*, xix. 16). *Accedit verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum, etiam ipsum tanquam visibile verbum* (*in Joh. Tract.* 80). In one place he enumerates baptism, unction, the eucharist, and imposition of hands as sacraments † (*de Bapt. con. Don.* v. 28); in another he asks, *Quis novit Dei omnia sacramenta? Quid ait Apostolus? Si sciero omnia sacramenta, si habeam omnem prophetiam* (*Serm. ad Cæsar. eccles. plebem*, 3). This last passage is specially interesting, because in Vulg. the word is not used [though Aug. testifies that Old Lat. read *sacramenta*]; it has, *si habuero prophetiam et noverim mysteria omnia* (1 Co 13^{2}).

The general outcome is on the whole this, that the word *sacramentum* had two main uses, one very vague, and the other fairly definite. On the one hand, it might be used of anything, whether word, statement, or fact, which expressed or implied religious truth. On the other, it was applied to certain Christian rites, not fixed in number, but understood to be few, of which the chief were baptism and the eucharist. No rite had a better claim to be called a sacrament than these two, which fully realized the ideas connoted by the term, and were instituted by the Lord Himself. But there were other rites, mentioned in Scripture and sanctioned by the Church, to which the term might rightly be given; and the rite which was commonly placed side by side with these two as being of almost equal rank was unction or chrism, which is generally applicable to all Christians and has at least the authority of apostolic tradition.

---

* In harmony with this idea Rabanus Maurus (*de Cler. institutione*, i. 24, 31; Migne, *Pat. Lat.* cvii. 316) makes baptism, unction, the body, and the blood of the Lord to be four sacraments, expressly counting the body and the blood as two. Paschasius Radbertus is said to do the same; but he speaks of *sacramentum* (not *-ta*) *corporis et sanguinis* (*de Corp. et Sang. Dom.* iii. 2, 4; Migne, cxx. 1275).

† Similarly in a passage which was quoted almost *verbatim* at the beginning of Art. 26 (=25) in the Articles of 1553: *Sacramentis numero paucissimis, observatione facillimis, significatione præstantissimis, societatem novi populi colligavit* [Christus], *sicuti est baptismus Trinitatis nomine consecratus, communicatio corporis et sanguinis ipsius, et si quid aliud in scripturis canonicis commendatur* (*Ep.* 54; cf. *de Doct. Chr.* iii. 9).

The number three was no doubt attractive; but still more so the number seven; and it is remarkable that a list of seven sacraments does not seem to have been made earlier than the 12th cent., when first Gregory of Bergamo (*de Euchar.* 14), and then Peter Lombard (*Sent.* IV. ii. 1) fix on this limit. It was adopted by Thomas Aquinas and stereotyped by the Council of Trent. But it is neither scriptural nor logical. Our choice lies between two and an indefinite number.[*] Scripture plainly marks out two. They were instituted by Christ, and He Himself ordained the outward visible signs for them. In whatever sense Christ may be supposed to have instituted any of the other five,—confirmation, penance, unction, orders, and matrimony,—He ordered no special sign for them; and it is rash to say more than that they are among the more important of the many rites to which the name of sacrament may be given.[†] For a discussion of any one of the seven see the separate articles in the dictionaries. But with regard to matrimony it may be here pointed out that the Vulgate rendering of Eph 5^{32} *sacramentum hoc magnum est*, had considerable influence in causing marriage to be regarded as a sacrament.

There is a difference between the two great sacraments of the Gospel, in that baptism may be received once only, and the eucharist daily. The one confers an indelible character; the other does not. The same difference divides the other five. Confirmation and orders resemble baptism. Once baptized, always baptized; once confirmed, always confirmed; once a priest, always a priest. No one may have these rites repeated for himself; nor is there any need of repetition. But penance and unction admit of repetition. Matrimony belongs partly to the one class and partly to the other. No repetition of the rite is admissible between the same two parties; but when death has removed one, the other is free to have the rite repeated. Augustine writes thus of baptism and orders: *utrumque enim sacramentum est; et quadam consecratione utrumque homini datur: illud, cum baptizatur, istud, cum ordinatur: ideoque in Catholica utrumque non licet iterari* (*Con. ep. Parmen.* ii. 28). With regard to matrimony he says that its benefits are threefold, *fides, proles, sacramentum*; and he explains the last, *ut conjugium non separetur, et dimissus aut dimissa nec causa prolis alteri conjungatur* (*de Gen.* ix. 12: cf. *con. Faust.* xix. 26; *de Nupt. et Concup.* i. 11). See, further, Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma* [Eng. tr.], vi. 201 ff.

The question, whether there were sacraments under the OT, is, like the question of the number of sacraments under the NT, to a large extent a question of definition. What is meant by a sacrament? Definitions which exclude all but baptism and the eucharist of course exclude all OT rites. But those who, with Augustine, regard sacraments as essential to the life of a religious community must allow sacraments to the Jewish Church. Yet if, as he holds, the sacramental character of marriage consists in its indissolubility, then marriage, which is a sacrament under the Christian dispensation, was not a sacrament under the Jewish, which allowed divorce. The sacrifices and other rites were sacraments to the Jews, necessary then, but superfluous now. The difference is this: *sacramenta Novi Testamenti dant salutem; sacramenta Veteris Testamenti promiserunt Salvatorem. . . . Mutata sunt sacramenta; facta sunt faciliora, pauciora, salubriora, feliciora* (*in Ps.* lxxiii. 2). Both, however, tell of the passion and resurrection of Christ, the one by promising, the other by commemorating (*con. Faust.* xix. 16).

LITERATURE.—Juenin (French Oratorian), *Commentarius Historicus et Dogmaticus de Sacramentis*, Lyons, 1717; Chardon, *Histoire des Sacrements*, Paris, 1745; Hahn (Protestant), *Doctrinæ Romanæ de Numero Sacramentorum septenario rationes historicæ*, Breslau, 1859, and *Die Lehre von den Sacramenten*, 1864. Most comm. on the XXXIX Articles discuss the question and quote literature; also most Theological Dictionaries.

A. PLUMMER.

SACRIFICE.—

A. SACRIFICE IN OT TIMES.
  i. Definition and Name.
  ii. The Origin of Sacrifice.
  iii. Semitic Sacrifice in the pre-Mosaic period.
  iv. Sacrifice in ancient Israel.
  v. The Prophets as reformers of Sacrificial worship.
  vi. The Sacrificial system of the Priestly Code: 1. Forms of Sacrifice; 2. Efficacy of the Bloody Sacrifices.
  vii. Sacrifice in Judaistic practice and theory.
B. SACRIFICIAL DOCTRINE OF NT.
  i. Appreciation of OT Sacrifices.
  ii. The perfect Sacrifice of the New Covenant.
  iii. The Sacrifices of the Christian life.
Literature.

A. *SACRIFICE IN OT TIMES.*

i. DEFINITION AND NAME.—The rites which are comprehended under the name of Sacrifice, while exhibiting many forms and embodying an equal complexity of ideas, yet display certain constant features which invest them with a character of unity. Four notes will serve to elucidate their place and function in distinction from other manifestations of the religious life.

(*a*) Sacrifice belongs to the class of specifically religious acts, known as cultus or worship, by which man seeks to draw near to God. When religion is permeated by intense moral earnestness, greater importance is ascribed to character and conduct than to worship, yet even in the perfectly ethical religion of Christianity the cultus has survived as at once a cherished privilege and a sacred obligation. In those religions in which the ethical interest is weak or absent, the paramount interest attaches to the appropriateness and impressiveness of the ceremonial approach to the Deity. And among the elements of the cultus, by the consent of antiquity, the rite of sacrifice excelled and overshadowed all other ordinances in the efficacy of its appeal to the object of worship.—(*b*) Sacrifice is distinguished from other ordinances of worship in that it takes the form of the rendering to God of a material oblation. The elements of worship are at bottom two—forms which express the condescension of God to man, and forms which express the appeal of man to God. Of these the first has its familiar example in the proclamation of the word of God, the second in prayer. And with prayer sacrifice manifestly has a close affinity. To the universal religious instinct of antiquity, however, it seemed that the spiritual offering of aspiration and petition was lacking in weight and efficacy. There was therefore associated with it, and so prominently as to eclipse it, the sacred rite in which the worshippers made over to God or shared with Him material things of a kind which ministered to human wants.—(*c*) Sacrifice is distinguished from other acts in which material things are consecrated to the service of God by the circumstance that the sacrifice is consumed in the service. The spirit of religious devotion finds many ways of expressing itself—*e.g.* in the consecration of buildings for worship, in gifts of lands, in personal service, and to such acts the term sacrifice may be popularly extended; but in strict usage it is desirable to confine it to the class of oblations which not only spring from self-abnegation but also perish in the using.—(*d*) The effect of sacrifice, in the intention of the worshippers, is by pleasing the Deity to enjoy communion with Him, and through union with Him to gain deliverance from threatened evil and possession of coveted good. This formula roughly expresses the end of religion, and, in view of the ancient and commonly accorded position of sacrifice as the staple religious observance, it follows that communion with a Divine being, with the security involved in such communion, must also be the end generally contemplated in sacrificial practice.

---

[*] Hugo de St. Victore, following the Augustinian definition of a sacrament as *rei sacræ signum*, enumerates some twenty or thirty lesser sacraments, as the ritual use of holy water, of ashes, of palm-branches, of the paschal candle, of bells, and of curtains; also certain acts, as making the sign of the cross, bowing the head or the knee; and certain utterances, as *Dominus vobiscum*, *Alleluia*, the recitation of the *De profundis*, the *Jubilate*, the Creed, etc. (*de Sacramentis*, II. ix. 1–9; Migne, *Pat. Lat.* clxxvi. 471).

[†] The anointing of a king, the washing of the saints' feet, and the salt given in certain Latin rites to catechumens, have all been called 'sacraments,' *e.g.* in the Gelasian Sacramentary is a prayer *ut hæc creatura salis in nomine Trinitatis efficiatur salutare sacramentum.*

In the definition of sacrifice, an attempt has usually been made to formulate the contemplated end more narrowly. 'A sacrifice properly so called,' to quote one of the older examples, 'is the solemn infliction of death on a living creature, generally by effusion of its blood, in a way of religious worship, and the presenting of this act to the Deity, as a supplication for the pardon of sin, and a supposed means of compensation for the insult and injury thereby offered to His majesty and government' (Pye Smith, *Sacrifice and Priesthood*^{3}, p. 3). The fault of this definition is that it is framed with reference to the single class of piacular sacrifices, and further, that it makes the questionable assumption that the piacular sacrifices consistently embodied the idea that the slaughter of the victim furnished a satisfaction to outraged Divine justice. Among writers of the anthropological school, on the other hand, the specific effect of sacrifice is often defined as being to remove from the worshipper restrictions or taboos, and to invest him with a character of sanctity. Its efficacy, in short, is conceived as being of a magical kind,—the persons or things hallowed being, as it were, charged with an energy of physical holiness, and thereby fitted to move and act in the religious sphere. In this sense the following definition has been given in a recent monograph:—'Sacrifice is a religious act which, by the consecration of a victim, modifies the condition of the moral agent who performs it, or of certain objects with which it is concerned' (Hubert et Mauss, *Essai sur le Sacr.* p. 41). Natural, however, and widely vouched for as is the idea that the victim imparts a character or an infection of sanctity, the interpretation of the *modus operandi* of the rite has fluctuated too widely to justify us in treating the above conception as vital to the idea of sacrifice. The only constant element has been the belief that, however operating, it pleased the object of worship and secured Divine favour.

Summing up, then, we define sacrifice as an act, belonging to the sphere of worship, in which a material oblation is presented to the Deity and consumed in His service, and which has as its object to secure through communion with a Divine being the boon of His favour.

The *names* used to describe the rite do not suggest a definition, but serve to emphasize certain of the elements which have been noted. *Sacrificium* indicates that it is an act within the sphere of holy things, or in the region of the cultus, while the appropriation of such a general term to the particular ordinance illustrates what has been said of its central position in pre-Christian worship. The group of words derived from *offerre* (oblation, offering, Germ. *Opfer*), connect themselves with the ritualistic act of the presentation of the victim, and also adumbrate the interpretation of sacrifice as a gift (cf. προσφορά). θυσία indicates that the typical form involved the slaughter of a victim.

Sacrifice is commonly referred to in OT by specifying the two leading varieties—viz. the Burnt-offering (עֹלָה), and the Sacrificial Feast (שְׁלָם). There are, however, two terms, which have a generic as well as a specific meaning. The מִנְחָה (a gift) was used in the older period as inclusive both of bloody and unbloody offerings (Gn $4^{4.5}$), but in P and later prophetic literature it has been appropriated to the particular and subordinate class of cereal offerings (Lv 2). The generic term of the later period is קָרְבָּן (הִקְרִיב to bring near, present, Ezk 20^{28} 40^{43}, Lv $1^{2ff.}$). Another term which comes near to a generic significance is אִשֶּׁה, an offering made by fire. It is used not only of animal offerings, but of the cereal offering (Lv 2^{11}), and even of the shewbread which was not consumed by fire, but became the portion of the priests ($24^{7.9}$). In NT θυσία is often used generically (Mt 9^{13}, Mk 9^{49} etc.). Elsewhere θυσία is bracketed with another term to give a comprehensive description of sacrifice—δῶρά τε καὶ θυσίαι (unbloody and bloody offerings, He 5^1 8^3), θυσίαι καὶ προσφοραί (the same in inverted order, He 10^5). The idea is also expressed by enumerating four varieties (10^4).

In AV the term 'sacrifice' is of frequent occurrence, being inserted into the title of many of the varieties of offering which have a special Heb. designation (see art. OFFERING). In RV the usual practice is to employ it only where the Heb. text has זֶבַח or a derivative, thus giving it the connotation of the sacrificial feast, while 'oblation' is appropriated to offerings of a different type. Exceptionally RV retains it as translation of חַג (Ps 118^{27}), and of מִנְחָה (141^2). In NT it renders θυσία and θύειν, and is sometimes distinguished from the 'offering' as the bloody from the unbloody.

ii. THE ORIGIN OF SACRIFICE.—The controversies in which this subject has been so fruitful have passed through two phases. In the earlier period the keenly debated issue was whether the institution was of Divine appointment, or merely devised by man as an instrument for satisfying the wants of his spiritual nature. In recent times the human origin has usually been assumed, but only as a fresh starting-point for the discussion of rival theories as to the significance originally attached to the rite, its primitive form, and the stages in the evolution of sacrificial ritual.

A. *The theory that Sacrifice was instituted by Divine authority*, while strongly contended for by many Reformed theologians, cannot be sustained even on the basis of the biblical narrative. The argument on which chief reliance was placed was that supplied in the account of Abel's sacrifice (Gn 4^{3-5}), and the apostolic reference to the reason of its acceptance by God (He 11^4). There is, it is admitted, no record of a Divine enactment, but Divine sanction was known to support it from the period of Abel's sacrifice; and the hint that by faith Abel offered a more acceptable sacrifice than Cain, it is held, justifies us in concluding upon a Divine origin. For faith necessarily implies that there must have been a previous revelation touching the ordinance: a positive enactment is presupposed as its object, since without such it must have been, not faith but superstition. But it is at least as natural a view of the matter that Abel's faith was a venture of trust called forth by a general assurance of the Divine holiness and mercy. The real spring, perhaps, of the zeal on this side of the controversy is disclosed in the argument that a human origin is precluded by the apostolic condemnation of will-worship (ἐθελοθρησκία, Col 2^{23}), *i.e.* of the usurpation by the creature of the Divine prerogative in the sphere of holy things. Concede that sacrifice, the distinctive feature of OT worship, was of human devising and yet acceptable to God, and it became impossible to make good against Roman, Lutheran, and Anglican practice that no festivals or rites were lawful unless expressly ordained in Scripture. As the force of this dogmatic prepossession has considerably abated, it is easy to admit that the 'will-worship' condemned by St. Paul did not include usages shaped by piety and discovered in experience to be for spiritual profit.

For a complete statement of the arguments for a Divine origin, with accompanying refutations, reference may be made to Spencer, *de Ratione et Origine Sacrificiorum*, iv. 2. The subject is also very fully discussed by Fairbairn (*Typology of Scripture*, i. 286 ff.), who advances the additional argument that in making for our first parents 'coats of skins' (Gn 3^{21}) God prompted and authorized the rite which serves as a covering of the soul. His position is, however, a mediating one, as he holds that, assuming even that it was merely suggested by the self-revelation of God, and afterwards approved, its essentially Divine origin may, apart from a positive enactment, be maintained.

In later times the case for the human origin has been strengthened. Not only does J manifestly treat it as the natural, self-evident mode of worship, but P ignores its existence altogether in pre-Mosaic times. In view of this conflicting tradition, and still more because of modified conceptions as to the range of the authoritative in Scripture, there has been a growing indisposition to use the scriptural material as a basis for a dogmatic pronouncement. The theory of a Divine institution, it should be further said, stands or falls with the theory of a primitive revelation, and this theory has even in theological schools been very generally abandoned. The only sense in which the Divine origin can be held is that, by creating man for religion, God is the author of the institution in which the religious sentiment found ancient and universal expression.

B. *The theories which ascribe to sacrifice a human origin* may here be briefly outlined, inasmuch as, while operating mainly with general anthropological material, they seek confirmation to some extent in the biblical sacrificial system. These theories may be best grasped in accordance with the views which they presuppose as to the primitive form of religion, and by which, it may be added, they must mainly be judged.

(1) In the first place, we meet with two theories which rest on the assumption that the religion of primitive man was a monotheism. Either by way of intuition, or as the result of reflexion on the world and man, it is supposed that the human mind had acquired a knowledge at least of the unity and of the cardinal attributes of God. Under the impression of this knowledge man may be supposed to have gone on to shape sacrificial rites, and that from either of two motives. (*a*) *The Expiatory theory* is to the effect that man, conscious of sin and of the punishment which it merits, substituted an animal victim which should endure the penalty due to himself, and so make his peace with God. This interpretation of the rite, it is true, has usually been identified with the advocacy of a Divine institution, but it at least holds its place in the popular mind—apart from any question of origin—as furnishing the explanation of the age-long searching after God through the ritual of the slaughtered victim and the smoking altar.—(*b*) *The Homage theory of Sacrifice* has been more favoured by those writers who regard the institution as a natural outgrowth from a primitive monotheism. On this view man was impelled to seek closer communion with God, not out of a sense of guilt, but rather out of a desire to acknowledge his dependence and profess his obedience. To give expression to these devout sentiments he fell back on the language which is more powerful than speech—the language of action (Warburton, *Div. Leg.* iv. 4). 'To such men (Cain and Abel) there came thoughts of one who is ruling them as they rule the sheep, who in some strange way makes the seeds grow which they put into the ground. . . . How shall they confess Him, and manifest their subjection? Speech, thanksgiving are not the most childlike way of testifying homage. Acts go before words' (Maurice, *Sacrifice*, p. 6).

The fundamental objection to the above two theories is that they attribute to primitive man a theology which it is hard to associate with the childhood of the race. The Expiatory theory not only presupposes a primitive knowledge of God transcending the thoughts of childhood, but it credits man with a sense of sin, and with a valuation of death as the wages of sin, which belong to a later period of spiritual development. Moreover, the theory conflicts with the preponderantly joyous character of early sacrifice. The Homage theory is attractive to spiritual and philosophical minds when seeking a justification for sacrifice, but can hardly be supposed to have originated it.

(2) A second group of theories is connected with the assumption that the deities of primitive man were beings of a low anthropomorphic order—whether nature-spirits, or ancestral ghosts, or fetishes. From this point of view it naturally seems that the worshipper has somewhat to offer which his Deity needs and will gratefully accept. How man ministers to this need, and how his ministering proves effectual, may be conceived in various ways suggested by examination of the possible motives.

(*a*) *The Gift theory* has it that the offerings were viewed as presents, and that the offerer reckoned on their being received with pleasure and gratitude. A chief or a king is approached with gifts, and the gods expect the same. The currency of this interpretation in classical antiquity is vouched for by Cicero. 'Let not the impious dare to appease the gods with gifts. Let them hearken to Plato, who warns them that there can be no doubt of what God's disposition toward them will be, since even a good man will refuse to accept presents from the wicked' (*de Leg.* ii. 16). In the older literature it is maintained by Spencer, who thinks it self-evident that this was the idea cherished by man in his primitive simplicity (ii. 762). Tylor and Herbert Spencer, though differing as to the primitive object of worship, find the origin of sacrifice in the idea of a gift. According to the latter, 'the origin of the practice is to be found in the custom of leaving food and drink at the graves of the dead, and as the ancestral spirit rose to divine rank the refreshments placed for the dead developed into sacrifices' (*Principles of Sociology*, § 139 ff.). Among the older writers it was commonly held that such an account of the origin of sacrifice could not be accepted in view of the place which it fills in the system of revelation (Bähr, *Symbolik*, i. p. 276); but within the last generation it has come to be regarded as by no means axiomatic that value implies dignity of origin. A more forcible objection is that the blood, which figures so prominently in sacrificial ritual, can scarcely have been selected as a desirable gift. And this criticism is effective in so far as it compels the admission that the whole system of sacrifice has not been shaped by the idea of the gift. There is, besides, reason for holding that the fundamental conception, while akin to that already stated, is more definite and suggestive.

(*b*) *The Table-bond theory* exchanges the general conception of a gift for that of a meal of which the Deity partakes in company with the worshippers. The germ of the theory is to be found in Sykes, who traced the efficacy of sacrifice, which is commonly a joint-meal, to the fact that 'eating and drinking together were the known ordinary symbols of friendship, and were the usual rites of engaging in covenants and leagues' (*Nature of Sacrifices*, p. 75). On this view sacrifice has more virtue than a mere gift; it knits the god and the worshippers together by the bonds created by the interchange of hospitality. In the hands of W. R. Smith (*RS* p. 269 ff.) the theory was developed by the addition that the Deity was united to the worshippers, not merely because of His gratification, but because a common meal physically unites those who partake of it. Whether this latter conception of the *modus operandi* of the meal be primitive is open to doubt, but in view of the materials and form of early sacrifice the conclusion seems irresistible that the original idea of the worshippers was to gratify their God, and strengthen their position in His favour, by joining with Him in the repast.

(*c*) *The theory of a materialistic sacramental communion* is a special development of the last. The hypothesis starts from the observation that at certain stages of civilization religion takes the form of animal-worship, or of the reverence for animals which are believed to share along with man in the Divine nature. At this stage, also, it happens that the sacred animal, which is commonly proscribed as food, is on solemn occasions made to furnish the material of a sacrificial meal. In other words, there is occasionally permitted what has been bluntly described as 'eating the god' (Frazer, *Golden Bough*). The motive for this is suggested by a widespread idea of physical virtue. In eating an animal or a human being the savage is supposed to incorporate 'not only the physical, but even the moral and intellectual qualities which were characteristic of that animal or man.' Similarly it was easy to believe that, if the Divine life resided in a group of sacred animals, a particle of the precious deposit would be distributed among all the recipients, and incorporated with their individual life (*RS*^{2} p. 313). As to whether we may regard as primitive the totemistic conception of the Divine-human affinity of animals, and of the assimilation of the Divine life through eating the totem, there is grave reason for doubt. The totemistic theory of the origin of worship has been widely propagated through the brilliant and learned monograph of W. R. Smith (*Journ. Philol.* ix. 75 ff.), and its fascinating exposition by Jevons (*Introduction to the History of Religion*, 1896); but the main body of English anthropologists refuse to regard it as primitive, while in France the hypothesis has been subjected to close and learned criticism (Marillier, 'La place du Totemisme dans l'évolution religieuse,' in *Rev. de l'Hist. des Religions*, 1897-98). Totemism seems most intelligible when viewed as formed under the play of savage thought or misconception, and as intruding upon and overrunning earlier forms of worship which found a god in nature or the spirits of men.

The theories above mentioned assume that sacrifice was directly called into existence by the religious idea. Another possibility is that the slaughtering of animals or men came to awaken awe and misgivings in the breast of the savage, and that he sought to reassure himself by a procedure which invested such acts with a religious character and sanction.

Amid this mass of speculation the most certain conclusion seems to be that sacrifice originated in childlike ideas of God, and that the fundamental motive was to gratify Him by giving or sharing with Him a meal.

iii. SEMITIC SACRIFICE IN THE PRE-MOSAIC PERIOD.—For the period between the dim region of origins and the consolidation of Israel as a nation a certain amount of material is professedly contributed in the patriarchal narratives of J. The representation given is that sacrifice originated in the first family when the bloody offering of Abel was accepted (Gn 4^{4}); that Noah offered burnt-offerings after his deliverance (8^{20}); and that by Abraham and his line it was practised under a variety of forms and with some diversity of ritual. The chief occasions were times of meeting with God, and other solemn moments of life: the kinds of offering in vogue were the Peace-offering (Gn 31^{54}), the Burnt-offering (22^{13}), the Covenant Sacrifice ($15^{7f.}$), and the Libation (28^{18}); the sacrificial material consisted of clean beasts and fowls (8^{20}), especially cattle, goats, sheep, and pigeons (15^{9}). Human sacrifice, it is made known to Abraham, is not required by God ($22^{1ff.}$). It is also recognized that sacrifice is practised outside the pale of the chosen line (Ex 18^{12}, cf. Nu $23^{1ff.}$).

That the kinds of sacrifice thus distinguished, the material of sacrifice, and other features, correspond to the usage of an early period in the history of Israel is quite certain; but the references do not carry us back to the earliest phases in the evolution of Semitic sacrifice. Between the primitive form of sacrifice and the comparatively complex and elevated cultus mirrored in these narratives there lies a course of development on which attention has been recently focussed owing to the researches of Wellhausen (*Reste arabischen Heidenthums*) and of W. R. Smith (*RS*). For the re-discovery of the stages and factors of this development, reliance is placed on the survivals from heathen Arabia, on the vestiges of Phœnician and other Semitic cults, and especially on the gift of divination which wrests from the phenomena of the matured institution a confession as to the course of its earlier life-history. The special features of Smith's treatment are his insistence on the connexion of primitive sacrifice with totemism, and his scheme showing the derivation of the varieties of sacrifice from the alleged primitive form, while he also supplements Wellhausen's elucidation of the growth of sacrificial ritual and the progressive modification of sacrificial ideas. This reconstructed chapter of history may be outlined as follows :—

(*a*) *Evolution of the varieties of Semitic Sacrifice.*—The original point of departure, as we have already seen, is, according to Smith, the sacramental meal, at which an animal was devoured which was akin both to the god and his worshippers, and which in virtue of its sacred properties served as a cement to bind together in closer union the Divine and the human sharers of the repast (*RS^2* 313). On this followed a process of differentiation, giving rise on the one hand to the Sacrificial Feast, on the other to the holocaust. The distinctions between the original sacramental meal and the Sacrificial Feast are two : the former occurs at rare intervals and the flesh is deemed most holy, the latter occurs frequently and the flesh is in use as an ordinary article of diet. The transition is explained on the one hand by the cessation of the belief in the affinity of animals to man, on the other by times of scarcity and a growing taste for animal food. Less obvious is it why the primitive sacrifice, which was essentially a joint-meal, should have developed along a second line into a holocaust. The nexus is supplied by the following train of speculation. So long as the victim was a sacred animal there was but one type of sacrifice—the sacramental meal. When totemistic modes of thought disappeared, and domestic animals supplied the sacrificial material, the victim, since it was no longer deemed to be kin, no longer fulfilled the condition necessary to unite the god and his worshippers. The only victim that fulfilled the condition of being akin to worshippers and worshipped was a human victim, and so on solemn occasions recourse was had to human sacrifices. The eating of human flesh was, however, repugnant to natural feeling, and the human victim was therefore offered as a holocaust. And, naturally enough, when an animal came to be substituted for a human victim the holocaust persisted as the appropriate form (Lect. x.). By this account the evolution is carried forward to the point represented in the beginnings of Hebrew history—where the Sacrificial Feast and the Burnt-offering exist side by side.

(*b*) *Development of Sacrificial Ritual.*—The oldest Semitic form of ritual, it is supposed, is preserved in a description by Nilus of a Saracen sacrifice. 'The camel chosen as the victim is bound upon a rude altar of stones piled together, and the leader of the band, after inflicting the first wound, in all haste drinks of the blood that gushes forth. Forthwith the whole company fall on the victim with their swords, hacking off pieces of the quivering flesh and devouring them raw, with such wild haste that in a short interval the entire camel, body and bones, skin, blood, and entrails, is wholly devoured' (*RS^2* p. 338). In this savage rite we see the first stage of usages which were to undergo many modifications before reaching familiar shape.—(1) *The manipulation of the blood*, so important in sacrificial ritual, here begins in the form that the worshippers lap it as it flows, and the god's portion runs out upon the stones. Later the repulsive draught is eschewed, and they are content to be smeared with it—a portion being sprinkled for the god upon the altar or running into a gutter, while some is sprinkled upon the worshippers. This double sprinkling survived to historic times in the Covenant-sacrifice. Ordinarily, however, the whole of the blood was treated as the god's portion, and was conveyed to him on the altar in peace-offerings and burnt-offerings, and also in the later piacular sacrifices.—(2) *Conveyance of other portions to the god.* Assuming that the above-mentioned rite is primitive, the god originally received nothing save a share of the effused blood. Gradually, however, other portions, as fat and entrails, were assigned to him, and the question emerged as to how they were to be conveyed to him. In the case of libations of blood or wine, they could be supposed to reach him by absorption in the ground, while fat was seen to melt, but the solid ingredients presented a difficulty. An early idea was to expose them, and allow them to reach their destination through being devoured by wild beasts. Next, the use of fire came in—originally, as Smith thinks, simply to get rid of the remanent portions, but afterwards as the means of carrying into the sphere of the gods the sublimated essence or the sweet savour of the meal. The usage in which, while the blood is poured out on the altar, the essence of the offering ascends in fire from the altar, is that which has been firmly established at the dawn of Hebrew history (Wellhausen, *op. cit.* 110 ff., 'Opfer u. Gaben'; *RS^2*, Lect. ix.).—(3) *Modifications of the human meal.* Like the drinking of the warm blood, the eating of the raw flesh had to yield in the course of time to more refined methods. With the appearance of the Burnt-offering it went partially out of use, while in the Sacrificial Feast it appears to have been at first boiled, at a later period roasted.—(4) *Growth of opinion as to the significance of Sacrifice.* The primitive interpretation of the rite as cementing the religious relationship through the eating of the sacred animal disappeared when the people reached the pastoral stage, although the idea lingered that food of any kind had a uniting virtue, and the illicit mystic forms of cultus which continued to be practised to some extent embodied the original idea. A new interpretation gained ground with the rise of the institution of property. The worshipper now had somewhat whereof he was absolute disposer, not joint-trustee along with the Deity, and it had thus become possible for him to confer on the latter a favour by the bestowal of what the worshipper was personally entitled to enjoy. In this way the Gift theory, which is imbedded in so many terms of the sacrificial vocabulary, came into existence. The institution of property, in fact, from the first exercised an influence that on the whole has worked for religious deterioration. At a later stage the gift was understood to be in some sense a substitute for the worshipper.

The Wellhausen-Smith contribution to the evolutionary account of Semitic sacrifice is a brilliant piece of work which has profoundly influenced research in cognate fields. But the attractiveness of the ingenious combinations, supported as they are by vast and *recherché* erudition, necessitates a reminder of the extremely speculative and precarious character of many of the positions. The theory credited to Semitic heathenism in its primitive stage, as already pointed out, is highly problematical. The construction in question postulates the idea of a communion between the god and the worshippers due to their assimilating the same food, but it cannot be held to be proved that this natural enough idea sprang ultimately from a theory that the sacrifice was efficacious because the victim was akin to both. Further, if the god and his votaries were already kin, it is not clear that their union could be more closely cemented by eating an animal which imported into the union no more than was already found in it. As regards the genealogical scheme, while Smith makes the holocaust a late derivative, and by a complicated process, from the sacramental meal, the truth is that the two types are always found existing side by side—among the Phœnicians as well as among the Hebrews; and, so far as historical evidence goes, there is no strong reason for according priority to either (Hubert et Mauss, p. 32 ff.). A weakness of Smith's position is that his exposition of primitive Semitic ideas is largely based on late Arab practice; and the next stage must be to test his speculations by the results of the researches now being actively prosecuted in the older field of Babylonian and Assyrian worship (Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kennt. der bab. Relig.*).

iv. SACRIFICE IN ANCIENT ISRAEL.—From the speculative field of prehistoric evolution we advance to the period which extends from the Exodus to the rise of the 8th cent. prophets. The question which encounters us on the threshold is whether, and to what extent, Moses organized a system of sacrificial worship. The Pentateuch, in its main body, represents the work of Moses in this department as epoch-making and final. The Priestly Narrative, in the first place, makes no mention of a use of sacrifice anterior to Moses, and thus suggests, not indeed that it was not previously practised, but that it had then no place in the religion of the chosen line, and that it had no Divine sanction. In the next place it ascribes to Moses, as the instrument of God, an elaborate code which precisely, and with an aspect of finality, determines 'the when, the where, the by whom, and in a very special manner the how' of sacrifice (Wellh. *Hist. Isr.* p. 52). But the representation is in both particulars unhistorical. The use of sacrifice in primitive Israel, antecedently more than probable, is vouched for by independent tradition. The promulgation by Moses of an elaborate sacrificial code, which treats ritualistic correctness of detail as of paramount importance, is in itself improbable, and is inconsistent with the highly flexible practice under the Judges and the early monarchy, as well as with the prophetic conceptions of the nature of the Mosaic legislation (see below). It is indeed difficult to believe that Moses left no impress upon the forms of the religious life of the people which remembered him not only as emancipator, but as prophet (Dt 34^{10}), and it may well be supposed that he stands for an early stage in the evolution of the institution which culminated in the system of the Priestly Code; but it would be a hopeless task to try to disengage the Mosaic element in the archaic usages which P certainly embodies. In these circumstances it is desirable to base the account of ancient Heb. sacrifice on another group of sources. Foremost among these is JE, whose patriarchal narratives illustrate a comparatively early cycle of ideas, and the Book of the Covenant (Ex 20^{24}–23^{19}), which chronicles or corrects certain features of ritual practised down to the 9th century. In addition, great value attaches to the incidental references in Judges, in the books of Samuel, and in the early Prophets.

(1) *The Sacrificial material* consisted of the agricultural produce of Canaan, animal (Ex 22^{30}), cereal, and liquid (v.^{29}). The victims included—of large cattle, the old and young of the ox-kind; of small cattle, sheep and lambs, goats and kids. Of birds, the pigeon might be used in the Burnt-offering. Wild animals and fish, which figure in the Babylonian ritual, were not offered. The blood and the fat were specially appropriated to Jehovah, and of animal products presented to Him we hear of wool (Hos 2^5), but not of the libation of milk. Meal, which was baked into cakes (Jg 6^{19}, Am 5^{22}), was the common form of the cereal offering. The valuable products of oil (Gn 28^{18}, Mic 6^7) and wine (1 S 1^{24}, Am 2^8) were ingredients of the sacrificial meal, and were doubtless also offered in the form of a libation. The sacrificial material of the Carthaginians agrees with this, except that their code allowed many species of birds and also milk (*CIS* i. 237).

(2) *The varieties of sacrifice* were of two types—that in which the offering was wholly devoted to God, and that in which He received a portion and the worshippers feasted on the remainder. Of the former use the typical example is the Burnt-offering, of the latter the Sacrificial Feast (Ex 10^{25} 18^{12} 20^{24}); but there are other kinds of offering that have to be described which bear distinct names either because of the peculiarity of the ritual, or of the special end which they were designed to serve.

(*a*) *The Sacrificial Feast* was probably the oldest form, was in early times by far the most common, and gave satisfaction to normal states of religious feeling.

The names by which this type of offering is distinguished in RV are *Sacrifice* and *Peace-offering*. 'Sacrifice' (זֶבַח) is sometimes contrasted with the old generic name (מִנְחָה 1 S 2^{29}), but oftener with the Burnt-offering (Ex 10^{25}, 1 S 6^{15}), and in both cases it is 'the general name for all sacrifices eaten at feasts' (*Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.* זֶבַח). The sacrifice in the narrower sense is synonymous with the Peace-offering (שֶׁלֶם), which is similarly used to designate the division of offerings which were divided between God and man (Ex 20^{24}, Am 5^{22}). The original meaning of the שֶׁלֶם is obscure. The interpretation of our versions rendered by Peace-offering (LXX *θυσία εἰρηνική*) conceives it as the sacrifice offered when friendly relations existed towards God (שָׁלֵם, 'to be whole *or* at one')—in contradistinction to the piacular sacrifices which presupposed estrangement. *Heilsopfer* is somewhat similar in idea. An alternative rendering derives it from שִׁלֵּם 'to make whole,' 'make restitution,' in which case it would be originally an offering of reparation (*Erstattungsopfer*), and by an intelligible transition a payment of vows or thank-offering (Luther).

The occasion of the Peace-offering was some such event as prompts human beings to come together in a festive spirit. Even in the modern world the joyful event provokes demonstrations and rejoicings which are felt to have their fittest culmination in the banquet, and the Peace-offering was simply the form taken by the festal banquet in an age thoroughly permeated by the religious spirit. The opportunity for such celebrations is given, not only in the life of the nation and of the community, but in that of the kindred stock and of the family. In the national life such occasions for rejoicing occurred in the successful conclusion of a campaign (1 S 11^{15}, cf. Jg 16^{23}), in the cessation of a visitation of famine or pestilence (2 S 24^{25}), and in the accession of a king to his throne (1 K 1^{19}). In the last case, and also at the dedication of the temple, the provision naturally was on the most magnificent scale (1 K 8^{63}). The smaller unit of the local community had its special occasion for rejoicing in the events of the agricultural year: firstlings and first-fruits supplied the material of a sacrificial meal (Ex 22^{29-31}). The visit of a notable prophet to a town also suggested the recognition of the privilege by a sacrificial feast (1 S 16^5). The sept or larger family professed and strengthened its kinship by an annual reunion which took the form of the sacred banquet (20^6). Similarly, family religion found occasional expression in the pilgrimage of man and wife to a local sanctuary, where they ate and drank before the Lord (1 S 1^3). Other events in this sphere which were similarly hallowed were the departure on a momentous journey (Gn 31^{54}), the arrival of a guest of consequence (18^{1-8}), the embarkation on a new career (1 K 19^{21}). In general it served to keep alive the sense of dependence on God for protection and the natural blessings of life, while it had the social value of promoting the solidarity of the nation and of its component parts.

(1) *A course of preparation* was required before taking part in the sacred observance (1 S 16^5). A period of continence was ordained (21^5, cf. Ex $19^{10.14}$); and lustrations and a change of garments constituted the physical holiness which was deemed seemly and necessary in approaching the Deity (Gn 35^2, Ex $19^{10ff.}$). Naturally, also, it was made the occasion for the display of finery and ornaments (Hos 2^{13}). There was recognized, however, the necessity of a more spiritual preparation in which the heart was touched, or even renewed by God (1 S 10^9). (2) *The ritual* necessarily varied with the material. In the case of the animal sacrifice, the blood and the fat were appropriated to God (1 S 2^{16}), and were consumed on the altar. To lessen the temptation to sacrilege, it was provided that the fat should be given to God immediately after the slaughtering (Ex 23^{18}). The accompanying offering consisted of unleavened bread (*ib.*). The remaining portions were divided between the priests and the offerers. The sin of the sons of Eli was that, instead of taking the share allowed by ancient custom, they dipped with a rapacious flesh-hook into the cauldron, and also that they encroached on the Divine portion by claiming their share before the fat had been conveyed to God (1 S $2^{12ff.}$). At this stage the sacrificial flesh was boiled, and it is represented as an objectionable innovation that the priests demanded their portion raw with a view to its being roasted. The custom of boiling the flesh is also commemorated in the prohibition of seething a kid in its mother's milk (Ex 23^{19})—which probably had its origin, not so much in a feeling that the practice was of the nature of an outrage, as in heathen associations connected with the sacrificial use of milk. (3) *The religious efficacy* of the Sacrificial Feast was doubtless differently interpreted according to the degree of spiritual enlightenment. The popular idea probably was that God was entertained at a feast, in which He received His portion in the form of fire-food, and that the honour and gratification thus afforded Him rendered Him well disposed to the

worshippers. The offering would thus be considered efficacious as bringing the response which is naturally elicited by a gift or service. The command, 'none shall appear before me empty-handed' (Ex 23[15] 34[20]), suggests that the practice of approaching a monarch with gifts was regarded as typical of the approach to Jehovah with offerings. The use of מִנְחָה (gift) in a comprehensive sense points to the same interpretation. With this, doubtless, was also associated the conviction that by eating and drinking along with Jehovah friendly relations were both expressed and strengthened. That the sacred life-blood of the animal was conceived as cementing the union by constituting a physical tie is more problematical (Schultz, *AJTh*, 1900, p. 269). But these interpretations were beginning to be challenged. The higher theology excluded the idea of God as a fellow-guest. A striking saying, ascribed to Samuel, declares offerings worthless without obedience (1 S 15[22]).

(*b*) The **Burnt-offering,** עֹלָה (LXX ὁλοκαύτωμα, ὁλοκαύτωσις, ὁλοκάρπωμα, ὁλοκάρπωσις), 'that which ascends,' is so called either as that which is elevated to the altar (Knobel, Oehler, Nowack), or which ascends in flame (Bähr, Keil, Delitzsch). It is usually synonymous with 'the whole Burnt-offering,' though originally the distinction may have obtained that the portion of any bloody sacrifice consumed on the altar was designated the עֹלָה, while only the Burnt-offering consisting of an entire victim was a כָּלִיל (Nowack, *Arch*. ii. 215).

If the bright side of human experience, which gives birth to joy and hope, had its characteristic rite in the Peace-offering, the Burnt-offering answered to the mood in which the predominant feeling is grief, apprehension, or awe. In certain situations, of course, there is a combination of joyousness and solemnity, of hope and fear—as at the coronation of a monarch, or the conclusion of a national covenant with God, and in such cases the double aspect has its expression in the combination of the two types of offering (1 S 10[8], Ex 24[5]). But on occasions of extraordinary solemnity or gravity the Burnt-offering stood alone. The deliverance from the Flood, accompanied as it may be supposed to have been by overwhelming awe at the sweep of God's devastating judgment, was marked by the sacrifice of the Burnt-offering (Gn 8[20]). Similarly on the occasion of a theophany, when the sense of privilege is overborne by the sense of danger in the presence of Jehovah, the Burnt-offering is the appropriate rite (Gn 22[13], Jg 13[16]). At the beginning of a war, when the danger and the dubious issue are keenly realized, it alone bespeaks the Divine aid; nor does the leader of the host embark without this appointed service on his hazardous enterprise (Jg 6[26]). It would even seem that in perplexity it was used with the divinatory purpose, which in Babylonia had been one of the principal uses (Jg 6[17ff.]). When one was driven to extremity by the hatred of a powerful opponent, it might be offered in the hope of God interposing to change his heart (1 S 26[19]). In time of peril it might be promised by way of vow on condition of success (Jg 11). It has indeed been alleged that in periods of national calamity it was not offered—the idea being that this was useless so long as the wrath of Jehovah was fierce against king or people; but this view rests upon an incident in the life of David (2 S 24[13]) when acting under prophetic guidance, and cannot well be supposed to represent the prevalent belief. (1) *The sacrificial material* had consisted, from very early times, in one or other of the following: the ox-kind, the goat, the sheep, the turtle-dove, and the young pigeon (Gn 15[9]). (2) *The ritual* of the Burnt-offering exhibits survivals of ancient usage. Though the usual custom now was to slay the victim beside the altar, there are traces of an older practice of slaying it upon the altar (Gn 22[9], cf. 1 S 14[33]). The ritual of Gideon is peculiar: the flesh of the kid is boiled, it is then put in a basket along with unleavened cakes and placed on the altar, while the broth is poured either over it or on the ground (Jg 6[19. 20]). The token of acceptance is its consumption by fire. In the later period the broth played no part, the flesh being consumed raw upon the altar.

(3) *The significance* of the Burnt-offering is suggested by what has been said of its occasions. Its object was to secure protection against threatened danger, success in the hazardous conflict, deliverance from the sore calamity; and if in some instances it has the appearance of a thank-offering after deliverance, the dominant thought may still have been that security was sought against a recurrence of the judgment. Further, it is clear that the idea was to ensure safety by performing an act which was acceptable to God, and thus dispose Him to maintain the worshippers' cause. The intention was not invariably to propitiate God in the sense of altering His attitude from hostility to clemency; the sacrifices of Abraham and of David are rendered when God is already at peace with them, but they were always at least propitiatory in the secondary sense that they were designed to prevent God from changing His attitude of clemency into an attitude of hostility. As to how they were supposed to influence God we cannot very confidently speak. The old Hebrew idea was that the food actually reached God in the form of the fragrant fire-distilled essence, and thus gratified Him as an agreeable gift (Gn 8[21]). In this point of view it was more efficacious than the Peace-offering, inasmuch as it paid to God greater honour, and made Him a more costly gift. The story of the sacrifice of Isaac suggests the theory that the animal was substituted for a human victim, but it does not say that Isaac was to die for Abraham, and it therefore does not involve the idea that the animal victim was understood to bear the penalty due to the sin of the offerer. On this view, the animal victim represented only the substitution of the less valuable for the more valuable gift. As in the case of the Peace-offering, it is certain that the reflexion which was rooted in the higher faith gradually worked its way to a nobler conception than that of gratifying God by the delights of a repast. Old forms of expression, such as 'sweet savour' and 'bread of God,' continued to be used even when it had come to be realized that the quality which pleased God was the piety which prepared the fire-food.

Human Sacrifices, of which OT contains some record, come under the category of the Burnt-offering. That they occurred in the heathen stage through which the progenitors of the Hebrews passed in prehistoric times, can hardly be questioned. The practice prevailed throughout Semitic heathendom; it is abundantly vouched for among the Arabs and the Carthaginians, and it was in use among the Moabites (2 K 3[27]). The story of the sacrifice of Isaac (Gn 22[11]) clearly implies that the custom had been deeply rooted in the past; the history of Jephthah furnishes an indubitable instance from the period of the Judges (Jg 11[34ff.]); and its persistence down to a late period may be collected from various prophetic references (Mic 6[7], Jer 7[31], Ezk 20[26] 23[37]). The main point in dispute is whether 'human sacrifices were an essential element of the Mosaic cultus' (Ghillany), or whether they 'were excluded from the legitimate worship of Jehovah' (Oehler). The argument for the legitimacy of the practice would be considerably stronger if we could regard as human sacrifices the slaying of Zebah and Zalmunna by Gideon (Jg 8[18ff.]), and of Agag by Samuel (1 S 15[33], cf. 2 S 21[9]); but these acts may be assigned to the different category of executions. In the case of Jephthah it is hard to suppose that he expected other than a human being to come forth to meet him, and the most that can be said is that the narrative seems to recognize in the issue a merited punishment. The manifest moral of the sacrifice of Isaac is that the practice was 'an alien element repudiated by conscious Jahwism' (Holzinger on Gn 22[14-20]). As to the commandment of Ex 22[29],—'the firstborn of thy sons shalt thou give unto me,'—it is an exegetical possibility that the words point to human sacrifice; but as a normal demand of OT religion, and indeed of any sane religion, it is inconceivable (see art. PRIESTS AND LEVITES, p. 70[b]).

(c) *The Covenant-sacrifice* is closely related to the Peace-offering, although it may be considered to be intermediate between the עֹלָה and the זֶבַח. The peculiarity lies partly in the specific object,—which is to seal a compact, partly in the ritual. According to antique practice the formation of a covenant or an alliance was sealed by a variety of rites. One form is the sprinkling of each party with the other's blood, or the commingling of the blood of both by smearing it upon stones. In a second form animal blood is employed. Another is the partition of a carcase, with the passage of the covenanting parties between the divided parts. Of the latter custom there is an evident trace in 1 S 11^{7}. After being chosen as king, Saul 'took a yoke of oxen and cut them in pieces, and sent them throughout all the borders of Israel.' In the text it is interpreted as a threat of a like fate being visited upon rebels; but the form, which is reminiscent of the passage through a sundered victim, rather conveys an invitation to the tribes to join with him in a covenant. The form is also recognizable in the ritual employed in God's covenant with Abraham (Gn 15). A heifer, a ram, and a she-goat are sundered in twain; and after nightfall a flaming torch, which clearly represents God in its action, passes between the divided pieces. Another noteworthy feature of the narrative is that at first birds of prey descend upon the carcase and are driven away—not improbably a deliberate repudiation of the ancient practice of exposing the god's portion to be consumed by wild creatures (v.^{11}). The second important instance of the Covenant-sacrifice connects itself with the usage of cementing an alliance by an interchange of blood. At the making of the covenant between Jehovah and His emancipated people, Burnt-offerings and Peace-offerings are sacrificed; and in connexion with the burnt-offering, as it would seem, Moses pours half of the blood upon the altar for God, while the other half is sprinkled on the people (Ex 24$^{6.8}$). In this type of sacrifice a different idea from that of propitiating God by a gift is clearly preserved—that, viz., of the establishment of communion of life through assimilation of the same blood.

(d) *Vegetable offerings* were later in origin, and in less repute, but must have formed an important division of the offerings at the sanctuaries. Meal, baked into cakes, was doubtless a common form of offering (Jg 6^{19}, 1 S 1^{24}). The most interesting example of this class is the SHEWBREAD (לֶחֶם הַפָּנִים, *ἄρτοι ἐνώπιοι, προκείμενοι* (*τῆς*) *προθέσεως, τοῦ προσώπου, τῆς προσφορᾶς*) (Ex 25^{30}, cf. Lv 24$^{5ff.}$). This offering, even as regards the number of the loaves, is anticipated in the far older Babylonian ritual (Zimmern, *Beiträge*). The ritual in the first stage followed the method of exposure—the bread being laid out on a table in the sanctuary; but the Divine portion is conveyed to the Deity in the end by being allotted to the priests. The vegetable offerings, it should be added, were often associated with animal offerings. The Book of the Covenant prohibits the use of leavened bread in connexion with the Sacrificial Feast (Ex 23^{18}).

(e) *The Libation* was originally a libation of blood, possibly at a later stage of milk and of water (1 S 7^{6}, 2 S 23^{16} preserve a recollection of the latter), but in the historical period the chief material is oil, which also naturally went along with the cereal offerings. The rarity of the mention of the libation of wine, which was certainly in use, is not improbably connected with the incongruity to more elevated thought of the idea of offering to God a festal banquet, and also with official opposition to the excesses to which the prominence of this element led (1 S 1^{14}). There could not be wanting an instinct that the libation of wine was most in harmony with the unethical genius of heathendom.

v. THE PROPHETS AS REFORMERS OF SACRIFICIAL WORSHIP.—The sacrificial system of ancient Israel was the result of a long and complex formative process. A remote heathen past supplied the rudimentary forms, and these had undergone modification under the influence of a progressive civilization, and of the early stages of a gradual revelation. The system of ordinances thus historically given was now to be subjected to a testing ordeal. The knowledge of God and of His will, which had been conveyed through His dealings with Israel, and which had been understood in essence by Moses, attained to great clearness and consistency in the consciousness of the 8th century prophets; and, possessed as they were by this knowledge, they were compelled to examine in its light the past and the future of the people, and to sit in judgment on all the present doings of the house of Israel. In particular, they could not but ask whether the sacrificial cult, which to popular thinking was all but coextensive with religion, was needed and justified in view of the better knowledge of God. As a fact this was a subject which bulked largely in their teaching; it supplied the occasion of much of their strongest invective; and so unqualified was their denunciation that it is a debatable question whether they proposed the abolition of all sacrificial worship, or only its reform.

That the religious ideal of the prophets involved the abolition of sacrifice, as affirmed by various modern writers, is a thesis which rests on a partial view of the evidence. 'Their opposition to sacrifice,' says Kayser, 'was founded on principle, and the real significance of their language is: "No offering, but love and right knowledge of God"' (*Alttest. Theol.*^{2} p. 156). This, it is held, is the natural sense of a group of passages which represent God as declining offerings, as sated with them, and even loathing them. 'To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices to me? I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he-goats. Bring no more vain oblations' (Is 1$^{11ff.}$, cf. Am 5$^{21-25}$, Hos 6$^{4-6}$, Mic 6$^{6ff.}$). But such expressions may as naturally be understood of a conditional as of an absolute rejection of sacrifice. The people addressed was a sinful nation, persisting in its sins, and the repudiation of offerings at its hand by no means implied that sacrifice would be equally unacceptable at the hand of a penitent and regenerate people (cf. Smend, *Alttest. Theol.* p. 168). And the view that the repudiation is merely conditional is borne out by hints that accompany the more extensive prophetic prospects. Thus, Hosea looks forward to the cessation of sacrifice as a national punishment or calamity (3^{4} 9$^{1ff.}$); Isaiah predicts that the Egyptians will bring sacrifice and oblation to Jehovah (19^{21}), while Jeremiah very emphatically includes sacrifices in the purified worship of the future (33^{18} 17^{26}). In short, those who regard the prophets as abolitionists make a mistake which is common in studying polemics—viz. of misconceiving an attack on abuses as an attack on the institution which they have infected.

A second argument adduced is that the prophets lay great stress on the fact that in the Mosaic period sacrifice was neither rendered nor ordained (Am 5^{25}, Jer 7$^{21.22}$), whereby they are supposed to claim for a policy of abolition the sanction of a sacred period of antiquity. These remarkable passages are of great weight in the controversy as to the Mosaic contribution to sacrificial legislation, but in the present connexion they are not convincing. That Israel did not sacrifice during its wanderings (Am 5^{25}) was not necessarily an argument for cessation, but might equally have in view to win the people to a doctrine which certainly was included in the prophetic programme—viz. that the place of sacrifice in worship was not the all-important, or even pre-eminent, one that was commonly supposed.

The prophetic programme of reform in this field embraced both sacrificial practice and sacrificial theory. (1) Among the practical reforms the foremost place belonged to (*a*) *the prohibition of heathen sacrifices*—*i.e.* those offered to other gods, to idols (Hos 11^{2}, Jer 11^{12}), to the dead (Ps 106^{28}), and to sacred animals (Ezk 8^{10}). In connexion with these the practice of kissing the idol is noticed (Hos 13^{2}). To the class of heathen sacrifices we may also refer those mystic rites in which the victim was an unclean or repulsive creature (the swine Is 65^{4}, the mouse 66^{17}), and which may have been an underground survival from a very early cult (*RS*^{2} p. 357 ff.). (*b*) *The prohibition of certain kinds of sacrifice* is also enforced—notably human sacrifices (Ezk 20^{31}). It is, moreover, difficult to resist the impression, in view of the disparaging references to the number and costliness of the offerings (Is 1^{11}, Mic 6^{7}, Am 4^{4}, Ezk 20^{28}), that the school preferred fewer kinds and greater simplicity. In particular, antagonism to the Sacrificial Feast is strongly suggested by (*c*) *condemnation of the excesses which connected themselves with the sacrificial cult.* The sacrifices of this type naturally gave occasion for revelry, and even for drunken and licentious orgies (Hos 4^{13}, Am 2^{7}), and thus an institution conceived to honour God became a main instrument in promoting a national corruption, which called down the vengeance of Heaven. While, therefore, we cannot regard the prophets as against sacrifice in principle, it is at least a probable view, in consideration of the organic connexion of the sacrificial meal with the indulgence of fleshly lusts, that they meant to discountenance the Peace-offering as the main source of evil, and laboured to enhance the credit of those other varieties which precluded its characteristic temptations.

(2) It was, however, on the theoretical side that the prophetical protest went deepest, and most loudly challenged the existing order. (*a*) It demanded a revision of the popular estimate of the place of the cultus in religion, and in a minor degree of the place of sacrifice in the cultus. The current

conception was that religious ordinances were the grand means of pleasing God, and to this the prophets sharply opposed the doctrine that in God's view ceremonies are unimportant in comparison with morality. Latent in Mosaism, this view found striking expression in a saying already quoted—'to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams,' 1 S 15^{22}. It is the main burden of the prophecy of Amos, and finds its classic expression in the 'what doth the Lord require of thee?' of Micah ($6^{6\text{ff.}}$, cf. Hos 6^{6}, Pr 17^{1} 21^{3}). The secondary importance of the cultus, in fact, was the obvious consequence of the soteriology of the prophets. According to their teaching it was only on condition of righteousness, after backsliding on condition of repentance and amendment, that the Divine favour could be ensured; failing the fulfilment of this condition, ceremonial religion only provoked the Divine anger; and it was therefore out of the question to treat the two as of co-ordinate rank. And, further, even within the sphere of the cultus it is not granted that it is the all-important form of 'service.' Hosea attaches high importance to the teaching function of the priests (4^{6}), while in more than one passage preference is manifestly exhibited for the exercises of prayer ('calves of the lips,' Hos 14^{2}) and for sacred song (Ps 27^{6}).

(*b*) *The significance of sacrifice* for the prophets remains to be considered. With the cultus thus depreciated, and the pre-eminence of sacrifice in the cultus challenged, in what sense was it possible to maintain its efficacy? After what has been already said, it is inconceivable that they supposed it to be acceptable to God in the capacity of a gift. The God who claimed the whole life for duty was not likely to be influenced by a present or a meal. And from the point of view of their high theology the Gift-theory fell to the ground as untenable, even ridiculous. In the first place, God did not experience the wants which the offerings supplied; in the second place, even if He did, the offerings were already God's property, not man's to present (condensed in Ps 50^{10}). If sacrifice had any efficacy at all, it needed another explanation for those who had realized the true God. This it possessed as a vehicle for the expression of the sentiments, and for the revelation of the spirit of the life, of those who sincerely served or sought God. Its efficacy, in short, was neither more nor less than that of prayer, which, on its part, is of value not as an act considered in itself, but in virtue of the aspirations and the sincerity which find voice in it. That in the prophetic valuation the function of sacrifice was identical with that of prayer, cannot indeed be conclusively proved, but it is the view which best harmonizes with their religious theory; and it derives confirmation from several considerations. In the patriarchal narratives, which embody a measure of the prophetic spirit, it is usually associated closely with the prayer of adoration and petition, suggesting that the spoken word serves the purpose of making the action articulate. In the case of the sacrifice of Abel, again, the ground of acceptance manifestly was the disposition of the worshipper, which disposition prayer equally with sacrifice would have served to bring to expression. Especially significant is the fact that in certain passages the offering of words is demanded (Hos 14^{2})—the implication being that they served the same purpose as sacrifice in making the appeal of prayer to God, and that they were preferable in that they were less likely to foster evil practices and to encourage superstition.

The Deuteronomic Reformation made the influence of the prophetic school to tell along another line on the development of the sacrificial system. The suppression of the local sanctuaries, and the consolidation of worship in Jerusalem, which had its spring in prophetic inspiration, had far-reaching consequences. One immediate consequence was to detach sacrifice from the everyday life of the people, and to reduce it in the main to an element in the worship in which national religion found expression. Naturally also the Sacrificial Feast ceased to be as practicable as when it had been observed in their several districts by the smaller units of the family and the clan, and it tended to give place to the type of the holocaust in which the people looked on at the consumption of the offerings in the service of God, whether directly or by His priests. With the decay of the Sacrificial Feast, moreover, the spirit of worship was altered—the joy of the table being swallowed up in a deepening sense of the solemnity of the collective worship, and of the more imposing rites to which it gave prominence (Wellh. *Proleg.* Eng. tr. p. 76 ff.; Nowack, *Arch.* ii.).

Sacrifice in Deuteronomy.—While in general Deut. reflects the prophetic doctrine of the superiority of morality to ceremony, it is far from representing the abolitionist standpoint ascribed to Amos. Its list of offerings includes burnt-offerings, peace-offerings, heave-offerings, votive-offerings, free-will offerings, first-fruits, while it prohibits human sacrifices (18^{10}), the drinking of blood (12^{23}), hair-offerings and mutilations (14^{1}). Among its leading interests are to conserve somewhat of the joyous character of sacrifice in spite of the centralization of worship (12^{7}), and to ensure a sufficient portion to the priests from the sacrifices,—in the case of animal offerings the shoulder, two cheeks, and the maw (18^{3}). The animal victim, it is also emphasized, must be without blemish (17^{1}). The sacrifice in expiation of an uncertain murder (21^{9}) is interesting for its peculiar ritual, manifestly antique, while it is obviously excepted from the centralization of the worship.

vi. THE SACRIFICIAL SYSTEM OF THE PRIESTLY CODE.—With the downfall of the kingdom of Judah, involving the destruction of the Temple and the deportation of the people, Hosea's prediction of the cessation of sacrificial worship was fulfilled. Whatever relief individuals might thereafter find in recurrence to simple forms of offering, or by conforming to heathenism, the nation as such, broken as it was and dispersed, was deprived of the stated means of communion with God. Yet the visitation which had thus overwhelmed Judah, and reduced its institutions to ruins, was not interpreted by its religious leaders as a Divine condemnation of its system of worship. The writings of Ezekiel bear testimony to the hopes of a great prophet touching the restoration of the Temple and its solemn ordinances. The priests who escaped into exile carried with them a minute knowledge of the Temple services, possibly also written summaries of the rules that had governed the elaborate system of offerings and ritual; and it may well be believed that, ere the Temple with its solemn rites faded from living memory, it was realized to be a pious duty to compile a faithful record of the ancient sanctities and glories. Cherished as a monument of the past, this record naturally became, in the prospect of a new national existence, the basis of a practical religious programme. The dream of restoring the old worship on the old sacred ground, in a second Temple of Jerusalem, was one which must have irresistibly appealed to the pious exile. But restoration did not preclude adaptation and amendment. Novel circumstances, foreign impressions, deeper reflexion, required that the legacy from the past should be handled with freedom as well as with piety. The result of the two factors—obscure as was the process—was the Priestly Code, which was adopted as authoritative at the Reformation under Ezra, *c.* 444, and which thenceforward regulated Jewish worship and gave its characteristic note to Jewish religion. The sacrificial system described in this code (Leviticus, Ex 25–31. 35–40, Nu 1–10. 15–19. 25–36) we have now to analyze.

1. *Forms of Sacrifice.*—The arrangement of the complicated enactments of the code has been attempted in different ways, but the more satisfactory method is to adopt as the leading clue the distinction of kinds and varieties. The classification of the Levitical sacrifices may, however, be carried out from different points of view.

The main principle of division has been sought in the distinction of the *subjects* on behalf of whom sacrifices were offered.

It is on this principle that Maimonides bases his interesting and instructive summary of the sacrificial laws (*Præfatio in quintam Misnæ partem*, iii. 1 ff.). The varieties, he premises, may all be reduced to four groups—the Sin-offering, the Guilt-offering, the Burnt-offering, and the Peace-offering; and the victims were of five species—sheep, cattle, goats, young pigeons, and turtle-doves. In reference to the subjects, his classification (slightly transposed) is as follows:—

1. Sacrifices offered on behalf of the whole congregation:—(*a*) in the exercise of its ordinary religious duty, under a stated ritual, and tied to stated occasions (Sabbath, New Moon, Feasts); (*b*) on the occasion of some collective or public transgression.

2. Sacrifices offered on behalf of the individual:—(*a*) in virtue of his connexion with the theocratic community as an official or ordinary member, *e.g.* the Passover; (*b*) on a special occasion—*e.g.* a sin of word or deed, a bodily accident, a misfortune in business, the end of a fixed period, the obligation of a vow.

The Levitical sacrifices have also been classified with reference to the different *ends* which they served in the approach to the Deity.

The usual division from this point of view is into ***honorific***, designed to render due homage to God, and ***piacular*** or ***expiatory***, designed to make atonement for sin—to which, since W. R. Smith's work, it has been usual to add sacrifices of ***communion***. The distinction which Oehler lays at the basis of his discussion is expressed by him (*Theology of OT*, Eng. tr. p. 423) as follows:—'We refer the four kinds of offering to two higher classes—those which assume that the covenant relation is on the whole undisturbed (Peace-offerings), and those that are meant to do away with a disturbance which has entered into this relation, and again to restore the right relation (of the people or of separate individuals) to God' (Burnt-, Sin-, and Guilt-offerings).

The division founded on the distinctions of the sacrificial *material* — animal, vegetable, or liquid—is the most obvious, and may be followed here as of adequate importance, while not prejudging the difficult question of the purpose of sacrifice.

(i.) *Animal sacrifices* are by far the most important, and in P it appears that a re-valuation has taken place of the two ancient types. The Peace-offering of which the worshippers claimed a large share is overshadowed by the Burnt-offering, with which are now associated two kindred sacrifices—the Sin-offering and the Guilt-offering, falling to God and His ministers.

(*a*) The Burnt-offering (עֹלָה Lv 1, Ex 29^{38-42}, Nu $28^{3ff.}$, Lv $6^{8ff.}$), which stands at the head of the group, owes its position to the fact that its purpose was the most general, that the victims were of pre-eminent value, and that at this stage it was regarded as most perfectly embodying the sacrificial idea (Knobel-Dillmann on Lv 1^{3}). (1) *The victims* were the ox-kind, sheep, goats, turtle-doves, or young pigeons,—in the case of the animals it was prescribed that the victim should be a male, as the more valuable, and without blemish (1^{3}, for a list of blemishes cf. $23^{22ff.}$). (2) *The ritual* to be observed includes the following points in the case of the animal victims:—(*a*) *Action of the offerer*—imposition of hands (Lv 1^{4}), slaughter of the victim at the door of the tabernacle, to the north of the altar (vv.$^{3.11}$), flaying and cutting up the carcase (v.^{6}), washing of the entrails and legs (v.^{9}). (*b*) *Action of the priest*—manipulation of the blood which is sprinkled about the altar (v.^{5}), disposition of the pieces upon the wood of the altar (v.^{8}), burning the offering (v.^{9}). The dove was killed by the priest, and its crop and feathers were flung aside as unsuitable (v.$^{14ff.}$). In the above ritual the occasion presupposed is a private sacrifice, which might be rendered as the result of a vow or spontaneously (22^{18}). (3) *The occasions* of this sacrifice were in the main connected with the collective worship, of which it formed the chief element. The daily services of the temple consisted of the continual Burnt-offering (עֹלַת תָּמִיד), wherein a he-lamb was offered every morning and evening, accompanied by cereal oblations and by libations (Ex $30^{38ff.}$, Nu 28^{1-8}). On holy days it was celebrated on a magnified scale: on the Sabbath two pairs of lambs were offered (Nu $28^{9.10}$); at the New Moon, at the Passover, and at the Feast of Weeks it consisted of two bullocks, a ram, and seven he-lambs, with corresponding increase of the concomitant offerings (v.$^{11ff.}$).—*The purpose of the Burnt-offering* may be so far understood from its use as the constant element in the organized worship of the community. It was not connected with any particular form of transgression, but was appropriate as the means of approach to God of a people, or of individual persons, sensible of God's majesty and holiness, and of their standing in His sight. The effects are described from three points of view—that it is a 'savour of rest-giving' (*i.e.* acceptable) to God (רֵיחַ־נִיחֹחַ Lv 1^{9}), that it surrounds the worshipper with a 'covering' (לְכַפֵּר עָלָיו 1^{4}), and that it cleanses from ceremonial impurity (14^{20}). On this point see PROPITIATION, § 4.

The later period of the monarchy was a period of national calamities, culminating in ruin and exile, which were interpreted by the prophets as a judgment upon national sin. Under these conditions there was naturally a strong disposition to strengthen the nation's interest with Jehovah by the multiplication of solemn sacrifices, and during the Exile future safety might well seem to lie in the development of the system of bloody sacrifices. It is thus that the fact has been plausibly accounted for that two kinds of sacrifice, which occur only in name in the earlier history, figure in Ezekiel somewhat prominently, while in P they almost rival in importance the Burnt-offering. These are the Sin-offering and the Guilt-offering (AV Trespass-offering).

(*b*) The Sin-offering (חַטָּאת, LXX [τὸ] περὶ or ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτίας) is mentioned 2 K 12^{17}, but there signifies presents or fines paid to the priests. In Ezekiel the special occasions on which it is prescribed are the dedication of the altar ($43^{19ff.}$), the annual cleansing of the sanctuary (45^{17-19}), the consecration of prince and people on festal occasions, including Passover week ($45^{22.23}$), and the return of a priest to duty after purification (44^{2}). In the ritual the outstanding features are the sprinkling of the blood of the victim on the doorposts of the temple (45^{19}) and on the four horns of the altar (43^{20}), and the burning of the carcase without the sanctuary (v.^{21}). The regulations of P may be thus summarized:—(1) *Beneficiaries and appropriate victims.* For a ruler the suitable offering was a he-goat (Lv 4^{25}), for an ordinary person a she-goat (4^{29}), a ewe-lamb (4^{32}), a turtle dove or young pigeon ($5^{7ff.}$), or a cereal offering (5^{11}); for priests (4^{3}), Levites at their installation (Nu 8^{8}), and for the whole congregation (Lv 4^{14}), a bullock, for the latter also a he-goat (Nu 15^{24}). On the Day of Atonement a bullock was offered for the high priest, and two he-goats for the congregation (Lv $16^{3ff.}$). (2) *The ritual* included the following acts: (*a*) imposition of hands, and slaughter of the victim by the offerer (4^{4}) or the representatives of the congregation (v.^{15}); (*b*) manipulation of the blood, which was sprinkled before the veil, smeared on the horns of the altar, and poured out at the base (v.^{7}); (*c*) disposal of the carcase, whereof the choice and fat portions were burnt on the altar, while the skin, entrails, and (in some cases) the ordinary flesh were burned without the camp (v.$^{8ff.}$). The remaining flesh was not burnt, but fell to the priests, when the offering did not concern themselves (5^{13} $10^{16ff.}$). (3) *The object* of the sacrifice is otherwise conceived than in Ezekiel. With the latter it mainly appears as a service of consecration for holy places, in P it is designed for the 'covering' of minor offences (Lv 5^{1-6}), the removal of ceremonial uncleanness ($12^{6.8ff.}$), and atonement for sins of ignorance (בִּשְׁגָגָה $4^{2.22.27}$). By the last it might be understood, either that the wrong-doer was ignorant of the law, or that he acted in forgetfulness of the law. (4) As to the *effect* of the sacrifice, it is declared that a 'covering' takes place and the sin is forgiven ($4^{26.35}$).

(*c*) The Guilt-offering, AV Trespass-offering (אָשָׁם [LXX τὸ ὑπὲρ ἀγνοίας, τὸ τῆς πλημμελείας, ἡ πλημμέλεια], 'offence,' then reparation made for the same), occurs in this general sense in the older history (1 S $6^{3ff.}$, 2 K 12^{17}). The allusions to it in Ezekiel are incidental, and show that in his time it had already gained a footing, and that its special character was generally understood (40^{39} 42^{13} 44^{29} 46^{20}).—*The occasion* of the Guilt-offering, according to P, is unwitting trespass against the ordinances of God, in respect either of holy things (Lv 5^{15}) or of the rights of property ($6^{1ff.}$). The special feature of the regulations is that reparation is demanded for the trespass, with the addition of a fine, one-fifth of the value of the thing to be restored, which goes to the priest (5^{16}). Where the injury is a private wrong, restitution is made to the injured party, failing whom or his heirs it goes to the priest (Nu $5^{5ff.}$).—*The victim* is usually a ram (5^{8}), and *the ritual* is similar to that of the Sin-offering (Lv 7^{7}). The 'covering' of the trespass and the forgiveness of the offender follow upon the acceptance of the offering (6^{7}).

The distinction of the Sin-offering and the Guilt-offering has been felt to be a matter of some difficulty, aggravated by the fact that the latter was wrongly supposed to be in view in Lv 5^{1-13}. The principal views which have been held are—(1) that the Sin-offering was for sins of omission, the Guilt-offering for sins of commission; (2) that the former operated objectively by averting punishment, the latter subjectively by appeasing the conscience; (3) that the former was offered because of open, the latter because of secret sins. Unmistakably, however, the specific feature of the Guilt-offering is the preliminary act of restitution; and its occasion would thus seem to be those cases where the sin which had been committed allowed of an act of reparation. The Sin-offering was required in cases where the harm done could not be undone or measured. The designation of the suffering Servant as a Guilt-offering (Is 53^{10}, not 'offering for sin') indicates that the highest degree of efficacy was ascribed to this form of offering.

In the ritual of the Day of Atonement the bloody sacrifices were combined in an impressive way, and invested with peculiar features.

(*d*) **The Peace-offering** (שֶׁלֶם, זֶבַח שְׁלָמִים, LXX *εἰρηνικὴ* [*θυσία*], *σωτήριον*) is brought under fixed regulations. In Lv $7^{11ff.}$ three varieties are distinguished —(1) *thank-offerings* (זֶבַח הַתּוֹדָה), (2) *votive offerings* (זֶבַח נֶדֶר), and (3) *free-will offerings* (זֶבַח נְדָבָה). The view of Hengstenberg, that the thank-offering is an alternative generic name, equivalent to peace-offering, and that the votive offering and the free-will offering are the species, is inconsistent with the fact that a different treatment of the sacrificial flesh is prescribed for (1) as compared with (2) aud (3). As to the distinction of the three varieties, the most satisfactory explanation is that which interprets the thank-offering as a response to experienced acts of Divine goodness, while the votive offering and the free-will offering are connected with expectation of benefit and supplicatory prayer. The first, in short, was contemplated only after blessings received, while the last two were decided on when some special blessing was still awaited at the hand of God. The supplicatory pair, again, were distinguished in this way, that the free-will offering was presented in support of the prayer, while the votive offering was promised as conditional on the granting of the boon. 'The latter did not need to be presented if the prayer was not granted, the former had already been presented, even if the request continued unfulfilled' (Kurtz, *Sac. Worship*, Eng. tr. p. 262).—(*a*) *The victims* are the same as in the holocaust—oxen, sheep, and goats, but not pigeons. It was accompanied by a cereal offering mingled with oil (Lv 7^{12}). In view of the less solemn character of this offering, the regulations as to quality are relaxed: the female animal is allowed as well as the more valuable male (Lv 3^{6}), and for the free-will offering the principle of the unblemished character is not rigidly insisted on (22^{23}). (*b*) *The ritual* corresponded in its first stages with that of the Burnt-offering and the Guilt-offering. The imposition of hands, the killing of the victim, and the sprinkling of blood upon the altar are common to it with the holocausts. (*c*) *The distribution of the sacrifice* includes God's portion—consisting of fat pieces ($3^{3ff.}$), the priest's portion—consisting of the breast (חָזֶה) and the right fore-leg (שׁוֹק הַיָּמִין $7^{30.32}$), while the worshipper received the residue. The parts assigned to the priest were handled in a peculiar way, on account of which they are described as the breast of the wave-offering, and the thigh of the heave-offering (Ex 29^{27}). The ceremony of the **wave-offering** (תְּנוּפָה, הֵנִיף) consisted in moving the portion backwards and forwards in the line of the altar, with a motion somewhat similar to that of a saw (Is 10^{15}). 'The swinging in a forward direction,' says Oehler, 'was a declaration in action that it properly belonged to Him; whilst the movement back again denoted that God on His part returned the gift, and assigned it as His own present to the priest' (*l.c.* ii. 6). The handling of the **heave-offering** (תְּרוּמָה) is interpreted in a similar way by Kurtz, following the Jewish tradition, as a symbolical act, whereby the offering was presented to God by being lifted upward (*l.c.* p. 269 ff.); but according to most moderns heaving was not an act of worship, but only the preliminary act of detaching a portion from the rest of the carcase for consecration (see OFFER, § 5). In any case it is certain that the mode of viewing the waving must soon have extended to the heaving, and made it equally a religious ceremony and a vehicle of ideas of consecration. The breast which was waved fell to Aaron and his sons (Lv 7^{31}), the heave-shoulder to the officiating priest (7^{33}). (*d*) *The portion of the worshippers* was enjoyed at a sacrificial meal. In the case of the thank-offering the whole had to be consumed on the day of the sacrifice (Lv 7^{15}), while the feast furnished by the two other varieties might be extended over the second day (v.^{16}). At the end of the fixed time the remnants were burned with fire without the camp. (*e*) *The effect* of the Peace-offering is only referred to in a general way: it is a 'savour of rest-giving' unto the Lord, *i.e.* acceptable to God (Lv 3^{5}).

On a review of the regulations which have thus been sketched, it appears that the following distinctions may be drawn:—(1) In respect of destination, the Peace-offering stands by itself as a sacrificial meal, while the remaining three are conveyed entire to God or to God and His ministers. (2) In respect of ritual, certain acts are common to all—the imposition of hands, the sprinkling of blood on the altar, the burning of the fat portions, but the other portions are either burned on the altar (Burnt-offering) or outside the sanctuary (Sin-offering and Guilt-offering). (3) In respect of occasion, two were elements of normal public worship (Burnt-offering and Peace-offering), two presupposed exceptional relations between God on the one hand and the community or the individual on the other (Sin-offering and Guilt-offering). It is indeed too much to say that in connexion with the former the sacrificer always stood upon the ground of salvation, in connexion with the latter he had fallen from a state of grace. The use of the Sin-offering in the matter of the consecration of temple buildings and furniture does not suggest the rupture of covenant relations, nor does it appear that the sacrificer of a Guilt-offering had fallen from a state of grace more surely than any ordinary member of the community. He was probably a man of unusual sanctity and tenderness of conscience, and the point was, not that his sin was particularly heinous, but only that it was particularly definite. Moreover, it was only on the assumption that he was still 'in a state of grace' that he was allowed to sacrifice at all: for the sins which led God to cast men off no sacrifice was accepted. The view, in short, that there were two classes of sacrifices contemplating respectively the pardoned and the unpardoned is much less tenable than the view that all four were at one in contemplating the community as being in a state of guilt, and requiring to be constantly reconciled to God. They have, in fact, become—not excepting the Peace-offering in its later interpretation—piacular sacrifices which dispose God to mercy, procure the forgiveness of sin, and avert punishment. Behind this lies the question as to the ground of its efficacy, or the *modus operandi*, which in view of its importance will be treated in a separate section.

(ii.) *Vegetable offerings* consisted of the produce of the tilled field and of the vineyard, but not of garden-herbs or the fruits of the orchard. They were sometimes an accompaniment of the bloody sacrifice, sometimes independent.

The Meal- (AV Meat-) offering (vol. iii. p. 309) (מִנְחָה of P, LXX *θυσία*) was a preparation of flour and other ingredients. In the older practice the quantities probably varied, and features of the later practice which have been noted are the fixing of the measure (Ezk $46^{5.7.11.14}$), the prohibition of leavened bread and honey (Lv 2^{11}), and the substitution for ordinary meal of a fine sort of flour (Wellh. *l.c.* p. 441). (1) Among *the independent Meal-offerings* we place the list in Lv 2, although it has been strongly contended, chiefly on dogmatic grounds, that a bleeding sacrifice is presupposed as a basis (see review of opinions in Kurtz, p. 304 ff.). (*a*) *Varieties* are distinguished according to the different processes used in preparing the flour, viz. kneading it with oil, baking it in an oven, a baking-pan, or a frying-pan, and bruising ears of corn. (*b*) Other *ingredients* added were, in all cases salt (2^{13}), in most cases oil, in one case incense (v.^{15}). Under stress of poverty a cereal oblation might also be presented as a Sin-offering, but without oil or incense ($5^{11ff.}$). (*c*) *The ritual* resembled that of the Sin-offering so far as consistent with the difference of material—a portion being consumed by fire on the altar, while the remainder fell to the priests (Lv $6^{14ff.}$). (*d*) *The effects* of covering sin, and delivering from its consequences, are ascribed to it in common with the Sin-offering (5^{13}, but see PROPITIATION, § 11 *g*). Special effects which are attributed to it are such as the insurance of the reliability of the trial by ordeal (Nu $5^{11ff.}$), where oil and incense are excluded.

(2) As a *concomitant of the animal sacrifices* the Meal-offering had a prominent place in the sacrificial system. It was indeed laid down that no Burnt-offering or Peace-offering was legitimate without the cereal oblation (Nu 15. 28. 29). In the public worship of common days and festivals it bore a stated propor-

tion to the number and material of the burnt-offerings (Nu $15^{1ff.}$). Occasions where the material and the ritual undergo modification are the consecration of the priests (Lv 8^{26}), the presentation of a thank-offering (7^{12}), and the sacrifices of the Nazirite (Nu 6^{17}).

The Shewbread is regulated by a minute ritual (Lv $24^{5ff.}$), specifying the material, the number and size of the cakes, the manner of their arrangement on the table, and the use of incense (v.^{7}). The sacrosanct character of the offering, of which part fell to the priests, is emphasized, and it seems to have the special significance of recalling to God the terms of His covenant (v.^{7}). See, further, art. SHEWBREAD.

(iii.) *Drink-offerings and Incense-offerings.*—The libation (נֶסֶךְ, LXX *σπονδή*) appears at this stage only as an accompaniment or element of another kind of offering.

We have already met with oil as an ingredient of sacrificial cakes. Ezek. ($46^{5ff.}$ 46^{14}) and P (Numb.) fix the quantity, though with variations, required in consideration of the number and quality of the victims. Neither in this case nor in that of wine (Nu 18) is anything said of the manipulation of the Drink-offering. The oil was probably used in part for kneading, in part treated as a libation. The wine was probably poured into a gutter, whence it drained into the ground.

On *the Incense-offering* (קְטֹרֶת, LXX *θυμίαμα*, קְטֹרֶת סַמִּים) see art. INCENSE; and on other forms which would fall to be noticed here, see FIRST-FRUITS, TITHE, and art. PRIESTS AND LEVITES, *passim*.

2. *The Efficacy of the Bloody Sacrifices* is of such importance, and has figured so largely in the history of theology, as to call for separate treatment. The questions that have to be discussed are two—(1) the nature of the benefits which were conceived to flow from the sacrificial worship; (2) the manner in which the offerings were conceived to operate so as to procure the desiderated boons.

(1) *The Benefits procured by sacrifice.*—These fall into two classes, which, to our thinking, are very clearly distinguished. In one group of cases the purpose is the cancelling of guilt, in the other the removal of ceremonial uncleanness. In other words, sacrifice has both a moral and a physical occasion.

(*a*) *The Expiation of guilt* is the leading purpose of the Levitical sacrifices. Their office is to cover or make atonement for sin. The word employed to describe this specific effect is כִּפֶּר. This efficacy is connected with all four kinds of principal offerings: the objects of the covering are persons and sins, the covering takes place before God, and it stands in a specially close relation to the sprinkling of the blood and the burning of the sacrificial flesh (Lv 1^{4} etc.). The view that the main purpose of the Levitical sacrifices was the obliteration of guilt has, however, been traversed by Ritschl, who finds the necessity for the covering, not in the moral but in the natural attributes of God, not in the sinfulness but in the creaturely condition of man (*Lehre von der Rechtfertigung u. Versöhnung*, Bd. ii.).

כִּפֶּר, originally to cover, then to expiate—either as pleasing God by covering His table, or by hiding from His sight (cf. old Babylonian sacrificial term *kippuru*, 'to wash away, atone,' Zimmern, *op. cit.*, Vorwort). But from what, according to Ritschl, does sacrifice hide? Throughout the OT there is evidence for the belief that to see or meet with God involved destruction (Gn 32^{30} Jacob, Jg 6^{23} Gideon, 13^{22} Manoah), and this being so it was necessary to take measures for self-protection. This was found in sacrifice. 'From the majesty of God *per se* the destruction follows of those who come before His face as perishable creatures—provided that their life is not preserved of divine grace' (p. 203 ff.). To the common view, which makes the sacrifice an atonement for sin, Ritschl objects that it is incredible that God would have prescribed for His covenant people a system which presupposed that they were to be permanently under His wrath. But we have no analysis of the consciousness of those witnessing a theophany which makes it clear that it was the mere presence of God, not of God as holy, that led the Israelite to expect death. In the later period at all events, when the holiness of God and the prevalence and heinousness of sin had been so profoundly realized, it is impossible to doubt that what invested the approach to God with its character of peril was above all the consciousness of the contrast between Divine holiness and human guilt. The strength of this penitential feeling no doubt varied in the case of different offerings, as well as with different worshippers, but it could never be wholly absent from the educated theocratic conscience. See, further, art. PROPITIATION, esp. § 17.

(*b*) *Purification from physical uncleanness*, as a condition of re-entering the religious life of the community, is also an important function of sacrifice. The circumstances constituting this ceremonial uncleanness are mainly three—participation in the processes of sexual life, contact with a corpse, and recovery from leprosy.

(*α*) As regards the first category, there were degrees of uncleanness, and the major degree, which entailed a sacrificial purification, attached only to morbid sexual conditions and to the position of a woman after child-bearing (Lv 15. $12^{2ff.}$). The sacrifices prescribed for the purification of a mother were a lamb for a Burnt-offering and a dove for a Sin-offering.

(*β*) The defilement diffused by *a dead body* was intense, long-sustained, and removed in a peculiar way (Nu $19^{16.18}$ 31^{19}).

The Sacrifice of the Red Heifer (Nu $19^{1ff.}$), which was appropriated to purify from this form of defilement, presents certain curious features of ritual. The victim is a red heifer without spot (v.^{2}). The use of the blood is confined to sprinkling seven times towards the sanctuary. With the Sin-offering it has a certain affinity, but in this case the whole of the carcase—skin, flesh, blood, and dung, mixed with fragrant ingredients—is burned without the camp. The extraordinary feature of the offering, however, is that the main purpose is the procuring and reservation of the ashes (v.^{9}). These gave its virtue to the holy water which was sprinkled on the third day on those contaminated by the neighbourhood of the dead, and this procured them purification on the seventh day (v.^{12}). For a discussion of the symbolism see Kurtz, p. 422 ff.; for the evolutionary aspect, *RS*^{2} pp. 351, 354, 376. See, further, art. RED HEIFER.

(*γ*) The recovery of a *leper* was marked by two series of rites (Lv 14^{1-32}). In the first stage one bird was killed over a vessel of running water, and another, after being dipped in the coloured water, was allowed to escape (vv.$^{6.7}$). In the second stage the man offered a Guilt-offering, a Sin-offering, and a Burnt-offering (vv.$^{13.31}$)—with the peculiar provision that blood from the Guilt-offering was smeared on the right ear, the right thumb, and the right great toe of the offerer (v.^{14}). The same rite was observed for the purification of houses infected in some such way as is typified to us by 'dry-rot' ($14^{33ff.}$; see art. LEPROSY).

In the matter of these purificatory rites, two outstanding facts have to be explained—the temporary isolation of persons and families under certain physical or pathological conditions, and the association of sacrifices of an expiatory kind with their readmission to the life of the community. The temporary isolation has its manifest explanation in a regard to the health of the community, which recognized permanent sources of danger in the sexual life as well as in leprosy and the death-bed. Less apparent is it why the same kinds of sacrifice which expiated guilt should have been required in connexion with events with no moral complexion—such as the natural calamity of disease, and the joyous event of birth. But the matter becomes partially intelligible when we recall the doctrine, widely operative in OT, as to the strictly retributive character of natural evils. When sickness was interpreted as a judgment because of open or secret sin, when death, especially premature or sudden death, was similarly construed, the obvious procedure was to approach God with a remembrance of the procuring cause, and to make atonement for the guilt. Nor is it difficult to bring child-bearing within the same sphere of ideas. The pangs of child-birth were naturally regarded from this standpoint as penal: in J they were interpreted as a punishment expressly inflicted because of woman's share in the primal sin (Gn 3^{16}); and it is quite intelligible that on restoration to the fellowship of her people the mother's sacrifice should be directed to cancel the guilt in which her sufferings were believed to have their spring. See, further, art. UNCLEAN, UNCLEANNESS.

(*c*) *The Consecration of persons and things for sacred uses* appears as a further prominent function of the Levitical Sacrifices. The ceremonies at the consecration of the priests have been discussed elsewhere (see PRIESTS AND LEVITES, pp. 70 f., 83).

The consecration of the temple-furniture by means of sacrifice, esp. the Sin-offering, is a prominent feature in the ordinances of Ezekiel ($43^{25ff.}$). In Exodus minute instructions are given as to the consecration of the tabernacle in all its parts by means of holy oil ($30^{22ff.}$ 40^{1-15}, cf. Lv $8^{10.11}$). The idea of giving to a building and to its furniture the character of physical holiness was certainly antique, and even yet maintains its ground in opposition to the view that the only character which consecration can confer on material objects is reservation for religious uses. It had its roots in the conception that God is merely a visitor on earth, and that He can only appear in those places which have been detached from the earthly sphere, and which have acquired certain of the characters of His heavenly home (Jn $4^{20.21}$).

(2) *The Sacrificial Theory of the Levitical legislation.*—The theory has been the subject of keen and prolonged controversy. That the sacrificial worship was ordained as a means of grace, and indeed as a condition of pardon and communion, is evident; but we have further to ask what was the precise function ascribed to sacrifice in the legal economy. And at this stage, it may be confidently premised, the sacrificial theory has shed the anthropopathic ideas which operated in the earlier ages. If the ritual embodied forms and phrases descending from the period of religious childhood, the crude ideas which first shaped them had been outgrown and forgotten. The theology of the prophets had too deeply saturated the religious thought of Israel to make it possible for any but an elevated doctrine to gain official recognition. The gift-theory of Spencer, as Bähr observed, is involved in insurmountable difficulties if the attempt is made to prove its vitality and persistence in an age whose consciousness was dominated by the unity and spirituality of God (*Symbolik*, ii. 275). Equally does the same objection press against the view that the sacrifice may still have been construed as a gratifying meal; while it is generally admitted that the theory of a communion physically mediated by the sacrificial feast, whatever part it may have previously played, was now quite outside the horizon of Israel's religious teachers. Another theory, which has also had some vogue, may be summarily set aside as belonging to a plane of thought incompatible with the deeply religious spirit of the Pentateuch. This is the view which reduces the system to the level of police regulations by interpreting the sacrifices as essentially fines, and as primarily designed to punish and check wrongdoing. The explanations of the Levitical sacrificial theory which have so far survived in the controversial struggle operate with higher forms of thought. These explanations vary not a little in detail, but substantially they may be reduced to three types according as they seek to elucidate the subject with the help of the three Christian categories of substitutionary satisfaction, prayer, and sacrament. In addition, there is a widely diffused opinion that either no sacrificial theory is propounded, or that it is not consistently carried through in the later legislation.

(i.) *The theory of a Penal Substitution* is entitled to precedence, not only on historical grounds, but also because of the *primâ facie* support which it has in the biblical evidence. The salient points of the theory may be summarized as follows—(1) as a sinner the offerer was under the wrath of God, and his life was forfeited; (2) by a gracious provision he was permitted to substitute an immaculate victim, to which his guilt was transferred, and which was put to death in his stead; (3) the vicarious death of the victim was accepted by God, who, on the ground of the satisfaction offered Him, received the worshipper to peace and fellowship. As to a fourth point—wherein the ground of the satisfaction lay—opinion has differed within the school. The usual Protestant view has been that the ultimate ground of the sinner's acceptance was the sacrifice of Christ which the victims typified, and even that reflective minds might have risen at the OT stage to a realization of this real ground of forgiveness with which their typical ritual brought them into touch. Others held that the sacrifices had *per se* a true expiatory efficacy in relation to the sins of the offerers (see Outram, p. 248 ff.; Fairbairn, ii. p. 304).

The essential feature of this theory, then, is that the death of the animal victim was of the nature of a vicarious punishment—*i.e.* 'some evil inflicted on one party in order to expiate the guilt of another, in the sense of delivering the guilty from punishment, and procuring the forgiveness of sin' (Outram, *ib.*). The evidence on which chief reliance is placed is contained in the ritual of the Day of Atonement (see AZAZEL). In this ceremony it is distinctly stated that the high priest confesses the iniquities of the children of Israel over the scapegoat, that the goat carries their iniquities away into the desert, and that he who lets the goat go incurs defilement (Lv $16^{20\text{ff.}}$). In the case of the Sin-offering there is a similar contamination conveyed by the victim (v.^{28}), and, although the transference of guilt is not expressly mentioned, it is argued that this offering is clearly governed by the same ideas. Further, it is contended that the acts common to the ritual of all of the bloody sacrifices are expressions of the substitutionary idea. (*a*) The immaculate quality of the victim fitted it to take the place of the guilty; (*b*) the imposition of hands had the significance of setting it apart as a substitute, or imputing to it the sinner's guilt, or both; (*c*) the slaughter of the victim was the carrying out of the penal substitution; (*d*) the sprinkling of the blood on the altar attested to God that an animal had been slain as an atoning sacrifice; (*e*) the consumption by fire had the significance, on the older view, of the consignment of the substitute to eternal fire,—on the newer, of bringing the transaction before the mind of God (Kurtz, pp. 123-149; Fairbairn, ii. p. 302 ff.; Cave, p. 123 ff.). In the judgment of most modern scholars, the theory in question is untenable, and for the following reasons: (α) the death of the victim cannot have been vicarious, since sacrifice was not allowed for sins which merited death (Nu 15^{30}), only for venial transgressions; (β) a cereal offering might also atone (Lv $5^{11\text{-}13}$), and in this case there could be no idea of a penal substitution; (γ) the victim was slain by the offerer, but on the theory in question should have been put to death by the priest as God's representative; (δ) the assumption that the imposition of hands involved a transmission of guilt is inconsistent, not only with other references to this practice, but with the fact that the sacrificial flesh was treated as most holy, and might be eaten by the priest; (ε) the central act of the sacrifice was, not the act of slaughtering, but the manipulation of the blood, which was viewed as the seat of the animal soul, or as a life which was presented to God (Dillmann, *Alttest. Theol.* p. 468. On the Imposition of Hands, see Driver's note in *Priesthood and Sacrifice*, p. 39).

Of the above arguments, at least (*a*), (γ), and (δ) are of undeniable weight; but how much do they prove? Simply this, that the idea of penal substitution is not one which has been consistently transfused throughout the entire sacrificial system. The various kinds of animal sacrifice, with their common element of ritual, are certainly not the creation of one man, or of one school, by whom they were shaped with a single eye to making them the vehicle of a particular sacrificial theory. The sacrificial system of P clearly embodies a large inheritance of forms and usages which had been created by earlier modes of thought, and the legislators did not feel called upon to recast every rite in a spirit of doctrinaire consistency. But when this has been said the possibility still remains that the sacrificial forms of most recent growth, and the most likely therefore to reveal the ideas of the compilers, embody the idea of propitiation through penal substitution. In the case of the sacrifice on the Day of Atonement, as we have seen, there is a transference of guilt, and the conclusion is drawn that the flesh becomes unclean; in the case of the Sin-offering as much is suggested; and it is a reasonable view that the interpretation thus given was meant to supply a key to the less articulate language of the other bloody sacrifices. The *locus classicus*, Lv 17^{11}, is not sufficiently definite to serve as a ground for rejecting the view. Moreover, the presuppositions of such a sacrificial theory were already recognized in OT religion. That sin is universally prevalent, that it provokes the Divine anger, and that its due recompense is suffering and death, had long been axiomatic in the higher teaching, and had been impressed upon the popular mind by numerous examples of public and private judgments. Further, the prophets had been wont to describe the judgments of God upon the nations as sacrifices, and it was a familiar enough idea that the consummated sacrifice was one in which the vengeance of God was fully wreaked upon a people in the carnage of a battlefield, or in the atrocities of the sacked city.

On the prophetic view, indeed, as has been maintained, there were only two possible modes of Divine reaction against sin—viz. the execution of the destroying purpose, or forgiveness on the ground of repentance and reformation. But there was a third possible development of thought. The sacrificial system was maintained, and even grew in honour, and it was an obvious reflexion that, in place of the consummated sacrifice of destruction spoken of by the prophets, God accepted as a surrogate the sacrifice of animal victims. That the idea of substitution was already familiar appears from Gn 22^{13} (offering of a ram in place of Isaac), and at a late stage the vicarious idea is used to explain the sufferings of the righteous Servant of Jehovah (Is 53). And given the doctrine that sin entailed death, and that one being might suffer in room of another, it was a highly natural, if not an inevitable step, to go on to suppose that the rite of sacrifice combined the two ideas, and that the slain victim bore the penalty due to the sinner.

(ii.) *The Prayer-theory* may serve to designate the group of interpretations which rest on the fundamental idea that the efficacy attached to sacrifice was due to the fact that it symbolized the religious sentiments which are the condition of acceptance with God. While on the former view the victim is held to take the place of the offerer in bearing the doom which he has merited, on this view it is held to be the mere vehicle for the expression of his devout sentiments and longings. The purpose of the sacrifice, as with prayer, is to serve as an index of what is in the worshipper's heart, and its virtue is exhausted in bringing this before God. Further, as prayer is of various kinds, so different writers have given to sacrifice varying interpretations corresponding to these kinds: by Philo, *e.g.*, it is construed as chiefly expressive of spiritual aspiration, corresponding to the prayer of supplication; for Bähr it has the function of expressing hatred of sin and self-surrender to God, corresponding to the prayer of confession and supplication; while Maurice also emphasizes the note which corresponds to the prayer of adoration.

The views of Bähr, though he adopts a different rubric, belong to this type. He finds the key of the system in Lv 17^{11}—'the soul placing itself at the disposal of God in order to receive the gift of true life in sanctification' (p. 211). From this point of view the ritual undergoes a new interpretation. A valuable and unblemished victim is selected as symbolical of the excellence and purity to which the offerer aspires; the death is necessary only in order to procure a life which may be offered to God; the sprinkling of the altar is the presentation of the life, still resident in the blood, to God. A simpler version of the theory is given by Oehler, who emphasizes the vital point in saying that 'the self-surrender of the person sacrificing was accomplished vicariously in the offering' (p. 632); and the discussions of Maurice centre round the same idea (p. 67 ff., 'The Legal Sacrifices'). Schultz holds that the Priestly Code was strongly dominated by the teaching of the prophets, and that the significance of all kinds of offerings was simply that which belongs to genuine worship. The Burnt-offerings and the Peace-offerings were a mode of adoration, while 'the ground of purification in the Sin-offering (and the Guilt-offering) is that God accepts the sacrifice, and that man in this offering, enjoined by God as the embodied prayer of a penitent, expresses his confession, his regret, his petition for forgiveness' (*Amer. Journ. Theol.* 1900, p. 310).

The exegetical arguments by which this view has been supported are of no great cogency. Lv 17^{11}, on which Bähr places such reliance, is at the most a contribution, though this doubtfully, to the view that the atoning element was the pure life which was offered, not the death through which it passed. In any case it does not give expression to the characteristic idea of the symbolical theory. 'It is never said in any manner of circumlocution that the blood of the animal slain atones for the offerer by symbolically representing the soul of the offerer' (Cave, p. 250). The inarticulate evidence of the ritual is no more favourable. It is true that it can be so interpreted as to fall in with the theory, but no part of the rites or appended commentary speaks so strongly for the theory as do the sacrifices of atonement for the idea of vicarious punishment. A further objection which has been pressed by Kurtz and others is, that it is alien to the spirit of revealed religion as the religion of grace, inasmuch as it grounds the acceptance of the sinner upon his own worthiness, or at least on the worth of his sentiments and resolutions. This, however, is indecisive: to say that prayer alone is efficacious is not to say that it is meritorious. Weightier is the objection, that on the Prayer-theory correct ritual could not claim the paramount importance which it possesses in the Priestly Code. Further, the view could never be popular that sacrifice had no efficacy other than that of a vehicle for the expression of the spirit of worship; and the Priestly Code, which has all the character of a popular religion, may well be supposed to have taken account of the common need, and to have supplemented the spiritualized thought of the prophets on the subject of sacrifice with a theory which made the offering an objective, an independent, and as such a deeply efficacious ground of obtaining or preserving the favour of God.

(iii.) *The Sacramental* idea has also been widely used to elucidate the sacrificial theory of the Pentateuch. But to describe the sacrifices as of the nature of sacraments does not supply a definite theory as to the real questions at issue. The category called in to explain the problem is itself ambiguous, and when it has been accepted it has still to be explained whether the efficacy of a sacrament is understood in the Roman or the Zwinglian sense, or in accordance with an intermediate type of doctrine.

Thus a Protestant theologian claims for the sacrifices that they possess the sacramental notes; they were signs of spiritual realities: they not only represented but sealed and applied spiritual blessings, and their efficacy was proportioned to faith (Scott, *Sacrifice*, p. 288). Similarly, a Roman Catholic divine teaches that there were certain Mosaic ceremonies to which something of a sacramental character attached, notably the Passover, which corresponded to the Eucharist, the purificatory rites, which corresponded to the sacrament of penance, and the consecratory sacrifices, which corresponded to the sacrament of ordination (Hunter, *Dogmat. Theol.* iii. 172). But this means only that they have agreed to use the same name, not that they are at one as to the theory of the *modus operandi*—which is the point in dispute—of the OT sacrifices. That the use of the sacramental rubric, so far from introducing us to a definite theory, rather serves to obscure the issues, appears from the fact that it is adopted by writers who differ *toto cœlo* as to the rationale of sacrifice. 'The acceptance of the sacrifice by Jehovah,' says Bähr, 'and His gift of sanctification to the worshipper, gives to the sacrifice the character of a sacramental act' (ii. p. 211). At the same time Cave, who devotes considerable space to the refutation of Bähr's distinctive positions, discusses the nature, the method, the extent, and the efficacy of the Mosaic atonement under a title which affirms that the Mosaic sacrifices had 'a sacramental significance' (p. 138 ff.). Yet again the sacramental title has been claimed by Robertson Smith for the idea, which is not alleged to be consciously present in the Priestly Code, that the union of the worshippers with their God was cemented by the physical bond of a common meal.

Reasons might, indeed, be given for resting satisfied with the Sacramental interpretation—as that it does justice to the element of mystery, or that it contributes a formula in which those may rest who think the controversy fruitless. But an independent theory it is not, and when closely examined is found to branch off either into the Prayer-theory, or into some modification of the doctrine of an objective atonement, which has its chief illustration in the theory of penal substitution.

(iv.) There remains *the view that no sacrificial theory underlay the Levitical code.* The earlier ideas, which attached themselves to the efficacy of a gift or of a uniting meal, had been discredited in the course of religious progress, and the legislation, it is supposed, had nothing definite to put in their place.

'A precise answer to the question how the sacrificial worship influenced God, men were unable to give.' What was certain was that it was of Divine appointment; for the rest it was a mystery. 'When, in the blood of the Sin-offering, the tie between God and His people was renewed, what was felt was the weird influence of the incomprehensible' (Smend, p. 324).

The impression made by the code, however, rather is that the matter was so well understood as not to require explanation, than that it was so mysterious as to be incapable of explanation (cf. Lv 17^{11}). It seems, besides, improbable, in view of the share that the mind invariably claims in religion, and of the fact that every preceding phase had its accompaniment of illuminating idea, that at the culminating stage thought abnegated its function, and took refuge in the category of mystery. More likely is it that the step deemed by Holtzmann inevitable at a later stage was already taken, and that the chaos of confused ideas resulting from the discredit of old views was averted by the assertion of the substitutionary idea—'the most external, indeed, but also the simplest, the most generally intelligible, and the readiest answer, to the question as to the nature of expiation' (*Neutest. Theol.* i. p. 68).

vii. SACRIFICE IN JUDAISTIC PRACTICE AND DOCTRINE.—The authority of the Pentateuch ensured for its sacrificial legislation a prominent place in the religious life of the Jewish people subsequent to the Exile. By the destruction of the Second Temple, a revolutionary blow was subsequently struck at the sacrificial system, inasmuch as offerings could no longer be presented at the place and in the manner appointed by God. In the necessarily brief sketch of this part of the subject, we confine our attention to the two points of outstanding interest—the theory of sacrifice prevalent in the Jewish schools before the rise of Christianity, and the way in which Judaistic thought, after the destruction of Jerusalem, accommodated itself to the suspension of its sacrificial cult.

1. *The old Jewish theory of sacrifice*, could we be confident of recovering it, would possess priceless interest as helping to elucidate the sacrificial ideas of those who, like St. Paul, passed through the school of the synagogue. Unfortunately, the date of the material collected by Weber (*Jüd. Theol.*² 38 ff.), and utilized by Pfleiderer and Holtzmann, is somewhat uncertain; and it is always open to doubt whether a dictum is not a product of later Talmudic reflexion. The ideas and tendencies most satisfactorily vouched for may be thus summarized:—

(*a*) Sacrificial worship was not regarded as of pre-eminent importance, but was co-ordinated, as a condition of pleasing God, with knowledge of the Law, and with the performance of good deeds. That a higher valuation of sacrifice did not obtain was due partly to prophetic influence, partly to the later developments of the religious life. The temple had now its complement and competitor in the synagogue, which was the sphere of the larger part of religious activity, as being the ordinary place of worship; and, as the exposition of Scripture and tradition was the most prominent element in the worship of the synagogue, the Rabbi and the scribe tended to overshadow the priest in popular estimation. Thus a dictum ascribed to the period of the Second Temple has it that an ignorant high priest is inferior to the wise man, even though the latter be a 'bastard' (Weber, p. 38).

(*b*) Recognition is accorded to a class of acts serving a function similar to animal sacrifices, but belonging to a higher order. To this category belong the merits of the forefathers. The merits of Abraham, in particular, served to cover the sins of his posterity. Suffering especially had expiatory quality. By penal and disciplinary sufferings, and above all by death, atonement was made for sin. A much higher degree of efficacy attached to the sufferings and death of the righteous, as foreshadowed in Is 53. The death of the righteous is expressly compared, in point of efficacy, to the Day of Atonement (*Pesikta*, 174*b*). The trial of Abraham, the lamentations of Jeremiah, all the dolour of the prophets, and all the anguish of the martyrs, constituted a ground for the forgiveness of sin in Israel. Even the penal sufferings inflicted by God upon the Egyptians and other hereditary foes of Israel have the character of a ransom for the chosen people (Weber, p. 326 ff.; cf. Holtzmann, *Neutest. Theol.* i. p. 64 ff.).

(*c*) Interpretation of sacrifice in the sense of substitution. The rise of ideas of substitution with imputation of guilt and merit has been indicated in the previous section. If, as is probable, these were already associated with the sacrificial system, it can be readily understood how they were extended to explain the merits and the sufferings of the fathers. If, on the other hand, they originated independently, it cannot be doubted that at this period they profoundly influenced the sacrificial theory. From the belief in the vicariousness of the death of the righteous, it was an easy, an inevitable transition, to belief in the substitution of the animal victim. The idea of penal substitution supplied an intelligible popular answer to the question, which could not fail to be raised, as to why and how sacrifice procured the favour of God; and although express statements of the idea are few (2 Mac 7^{37}, 4 Mac 6^{29}), the evidence points to this mode of thought having become current. 'Everything pressed towards the assumption that the offering of a life, substituted for sinners according to God's appointment, cancelled the death penalty which they had incurred, and that consequently the offered blood of the sacrificial victims expiated sin as a surrogate for the life of the guilty' (Holtzmann, p. 68). The Philonic interpretation of sacrifice as symbolic of self-sacrifice was too philosophical and gave too little religious assurance for general acceptance.

During the period in question, the sacrificial regulations were observed with the utmost scrupulosity, and with all due pomp and solemnity. But at the same time a process was going on which was loosening the hold of sacrifice upon the Jewish mind, and in which the conviction was already finding half-articulate expression, that it was not a complete provision, and even that it was not vital to the communion of the people with God. Had no such loosening taken place, it is difficult to conceive how faith in God could have survived the blow which at one and the same time robbed the Jews of their fatherland and their organized national worship. A living belief in the necessity would naturally have issued, when sacrifice became impossible, in apostasy to heathenism.

Of sacrificial practice at the close of the period some glimpses are given in NT. Allusion is made to the sacrifice of the minor Burnt-offering at the presentation of Jesus (Lk 2^{24}), the sacrifice of the Passover (Mk 14^{12}), the union in sacrifice of a Galilæan group (Lk 13^{1}), the offering after recovery from leprosy (Mt 8^{4}), the votive offering (Ac 21^{26}), and money offerings (Lk 21^{4}). Josephus gives a somewhat minute account of the sacrificial system for the information of the Gentile world (*Ant. passim*), leaving the impression that it was thoroughly normative for contemporary practice. The intermission of the sacrifice offered for Cæsar's prosperity marked the beginning of the Jewish war (*BJ* II. xvii. 2). The seizure by John of the store of wine and oil, used in the Burnt-offerings, and their distribution among the multitude, made the Roman conquest, he thinks, only a merited counterpart of the doom of Sodom (V. xiii. 6).

2. *Readjustment of Judaistic thought with the cessation of sacrifice.*—To the new conditions created by the destruction of the Temple, theology accommodated itself by the theory that other observances were accepted as a substitute for sacrificial worship. The study of the Law took the place of the rites of the altar, and even took over the characteristic designation of the latter (עֲבֹדָה). The knowledge of the Law, it was taught, was more valuable in the sight of God than the continual Burnt-offering, and even than the building of the sanctuary (*Megilla* 3*b*, 16*b*). In particular, it was held that the duty of offering the legal sacrifices had been superseded by the duty of studying the laws relating to the subject (*Pesikta* 60*b*). The other observance which is treated as an equivalent for the abolished service is Prayer, in accordance with which a parallelism was worked out between the order of the daily sacrifices and the order of daily prayers, and also between the varieties of sacrifice and the different kinds of prayer (Weber, p. 38 ff.).

It was also natural that the idea of the merits of the righteous, especially of pious sufferers, should continue to gain in significance and emphasis. The destruction of Jerusalem comprehended an unparalleled tale of horrors, and involved in suffering and death many innocent and righteous persons; and it might well be believed that this was a consummated sacrifice whereby full atonement had been made for national sin (Weber, p. 323 f.).

B. *THE SACRIFICIAL DOCTRINE OF NT.*

It is open to question whether in an undisturbed course of development sacrifice would have maintained its place in the religion either of the Jewish or of the Græco-Roman world. On the one hand, it possessed many features which justified its position as the central religious rite—it lent itself to imposing ceremonial, it was peculiarly fitted to thrill the physical nature of the worshippers, it satisfied the instinct which prompts men to give to God what costs them something, it supplied an external ground of confidence, and it was hallowed by its immemorial antiquity. But, on the other hand, it was menaced by more than one factor in the higher civilization of the ancient world. On the æsthetic side there must have been some considerable feeling to the effect that the public slaughter of cattle, especially with such accompaniments as were observed at Roman festivals, could not be retained in a period of advancing refinement as the appropriate form of worship. Still more, the conceptions of God prevalent in the Stoic and Platonic schools raised the question as to whether animal offerings were really acceptable to God, while the scepticism of others turned upon the system the shafts of ridicule. The Jewish Church, in its turn, contained within it, in the prophetical teaching, a set of principles which at least involved the conclusion that sacrifice was unnecessary, from which it was no long step to the position that it should be discontinued. But, whatever the issue might have been in the natural progress of refinement and theological reflexion, the question was settled both for the Jewish and the Gentile world by two extraordinary events. The destruction of Jerusalem, as we have seen, brought about the abolition of sacrifice in one way, and in another Christianity destroyed the system in the name of a higher fulfilment.

i. NT APPRECIATION OF THE OT SACRIFICES.—The teaching of Jesus on this subject, as recorded in the Synoptic report, has two outstanding features: (1) the recognition of the Divine authority of the sacrificial law, and of its binding character upon the Jews; (2) the accentuation of the prophetic doctrine of the pre-eminence of the moral over the ceremonial. He assumes that His hearers offer sacrifice (Mt 5^{24}), and He enjoins a recovered leper to make the offering required in the Law (8^{4}). Did He Himself join in the sacrificial worship? He whose presentation as an infant was accompanied by a Burnt-offering, whose death was preceded by the celebration of the Passover, and who made it a maxim to conform to the laws of the Jewish Church even when knowing Himself unbound by them, certainly did not hold aloof from the temple-worship of which sacrifice was the central act. With equal certainty we may assume that it was only as an element of collective worship that sacrifice was used by Him. But, while at this stage sanctioning sacrifice, He adopts the saying of Hosea that 'God will have mercy and not sacrifice' (Mt 9^{13} 12^{7}), and accounts the scribe who gives a similar valuation as not far from the kingdom of God (Mk 12^{33}). The second prophetic axiom, that sacrifice is worthless with unrepented sin in the background, finds utterance in Mt $5^{23.24}$. Had this heen all the evidence, it could have been held, and with greater confidence than in the case of the prophets, that Jesus contemplated the continuance of sacrifice as a subordinate element in the religious life. The abolition is involved in the announcement of the establishment of a new covenant (Mt 26^{28}, Mk 14^{24}, Lk 22^{20}), with the implication of the disappearance of the old economy and all its sacrifices.

The direct references of St. Paul to the subject are not numerous. The observance of the sacrificial law was still maintained to some extent among the Jewish Christians, and the apostle on one occasion associated himself with four men who went through a purification ending in offering (Ac 21^{26}). In 1 Co 10^{18} he speaks as if the purpose and significance of one kind of sacrifice were well understood: it was designed to establish communion or fellowship with God, it might be with demons, and of the worshippers one with another, through the medium of the sacrificial meal. The principal aspect in which the OT sacrifices presented themselves to him was the typical. In themselves they belonged to the beggarly elements, but they pointed forward to a satisfying and enduring ground of reconciliation with God.

The Epistle to the Hebrews contains an express and full discussion of OT sacrifice. As kinds it distinguishes gifts and sacrifices—*i.e.* unbloody and bloody offerings, and regards the sacrifices of the Day of Atonement as the crown of the system. The purpose was deliverance from sin (5^{1}), the beneficiaries were priests and people, but the contemplated end was not fully attained. That they were ineffectual for the purpose in hand was proved from the restricted scope of their claim ('sins of ignorance,' 9^{7}), from the imperfections and burdened consciences of the worshippers ($10^{2.3}$), from the necessity of the repetition of the offerings (v.^{2}), and from explicit declarations of God (v.^{5}). The conclusion is that they accomplished only a bodily or ceremonial purification (9^{13}), and that, as merely typical of a real salvation, they were a transitory provision (10^{1}). In so far as blessing flowed from them in the old dispensation it was attached to the faith accompanying them (11^{4}).

In general we should distinguish two stages in the thought of the apostles on this subject. In the pre-Christian stage they had believed in the full efficacy of the Levitical sacrifices, and in the Christian they regarded them as chiefly valuable because of their witness to their own inadequacy, and to the complementary work of Christ.

ii. THE PERFECT SACRIFICE OF THE NEW COVENANT.—It was, then, axiomatic for the NT writers that the system of OT sacrifices had been abolished by Christ. This conclusion was not, however, founded on the belief that sacrifice was a superfluous rite, but on the conviction that the OT sacrifices, which had possessed some value relative to their time, had been superseded by a sacrifice of a nobler nature and of absolutely certain efficacy. This was the sacrifice offered up by Christ. In the NT doctrine of Christ's sacrifice, now, we may distinguish five points, on three of which the testimony is unmistakable, while the other two are left in some obscurity. The points on which the teaching is clear are (1) the sacrificial character of Christ's death, (2) the blessings which proceed and flow from it, (3) the conditions on which these are appropriated. The debatable ground is reached when it is attempted to fix the NT conception of (4) the nature or material of Christ's offering, and (5) the manner in which it operated towards God as the procuring cause of the blessings of redemption.

(1) *The interpretation of Christ's death as a sacrifice* is imbedded in every important type of the NT teaching (Ritschl, ii. p. 161; Cave, p. 284). The silence of St. James and St. Jude raises no presumption against the idea being part of the common stock of Apostolic doctrine. It has been denied that St. Paul adopts the category (Schmidt, *Die paul. Christologie*, p. 84), but the denial rests on dogmatic rather than on exegetical grounds (Ritschl, ii. p. 161). The interpretation was given by Jesus in connecting His death with the Sinaitic sacrifice of the Covenant (Mt 26^{28}, Mk 14^{24}, 1 Co 11^{25}), and it is expanded and presented by the apostles under various points of view.

The evidence for the Apostolic construction is as follows:—(*a*) It is expressly stated that Christ was offered as a sacrifice—προσφορά (Eph 5^{2}, He 9^{14}), θυσία (Eph 5^{2}, He 9^{26}). (*b*) A saving efficacy is ascribed to the blood or the cross of Christ, and in these cases the thought clearly points to the forms of the altar (Ro 3^{25} 5^{9}, 1 Co 10^{16}, Eph 1^{7} 2^{13}, Col 1^{20}, He $9^{12.14}$, 1 P $1^{2.19}$, 1 Jn 1^{7} $5^{6.8}$, Rev 1^{5}). (*c*) The correspondence is worked out between Christ's death and the different OT sacrifices—esp. the Sin-offering (Ro 8^{3}, He 13^{11}, 1 P 3^{18}), the Covenant-sacrifice (He 9^{15-22}), the sacrifices of the Day of Atonement (He 2^{17} $9^{12ff.}$), and the Passover (1 Co 5^{7}). (*d*) The distinctive acts of the OT sacrificial ritual are shown to have been repeated in the experience of Christ—the slaying of the immaculate victim (Rev 5^{6} 13^{8}), the sprinkling of the blood, both in the sanctuary as in the sin-offering (He $9^{13ff.}$) and upon the people as in the Covenant-sacrifice (1 P 1^{2}), and the destruction of the victim, as in the case of the Sin-offering, without the gate (He 13^{13}) (Ritschl, ii. p. 157 ff.; Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*, p. 91). (*e*) The specific effect of sacrifice—expiation or pardon of sin—being ascribed to Christ's death, points in the same direction (*ib.*).

Nor for the apostolic age was the description of Christ's death as a sacrifice of the nature of a mere illustration. The apostles held it to be a sacrifice in the most literal sense of the word, and it is not difficult to appreciate various reasons why they clung to, and even gloried in, this interpretation of the death. It was not merely that they received it with the impress of Christ's own authority. It provided them with their best defence against a popular calumny: without altar and offering Christianity lent colour to the suspicion that it was at bottom irreligious if not atheistic, and the one effective means of removing the natural prejudice was to show that it embodied the doctrine of a literal and necessary sacrifice. Further, it solved to their own minds the speculative difficulty arising out of the death of Christ. Judged by acknowledged canons, His crucifixion had the aspect of a retributive judgment,—at the least, of a repudiation of His mission by God; but this explanation, in view of their faith in Christ and the event of the resurrection, was an impossibility. On the other hand, it was not intellectually satisfying to treat it as a mere mystery, and to point to the fact that it had been foretold by the prophets. The needed intellectual relief was found in bringing it under the category of the victim-death which God had of old appointed, not as the punishment of the victim's sin, but as a means of blessing to others. Above all, the sacrificial interpretation met a religious want — the need, all but universally felt, of a ground of confidence external to self on which to rest in approaching the majesty and holiness of God.

(2) *The benefits procured by Christ's sacrifice* are coextensive with the blessings of the gospel, and may be distinguished as primary and derivative. The primary effects are that it sets man in a new relation, on the one hand to God, on the other to sin. By St. Paul special prominence is given to the new relationship which it establishes between God and the sinner; on this ground the sinner is justified or accepted as righteous (*δικαίωσις*, Ro 3^{24-26}), adopted (*υἱοθεσία*, 8^{15}), and placed on a footing of reconciliation (*καταλλαγή*, 5^{11}). Elsewhere the emphasis is laid rather on its efficacy in procuring the forgiveness of sin, *i.e.* in saving from the penal consequences which otherwise the curse of the broken law inevitably entails. It is upon this aspect that Christ fastens our attention in speaking of His Covenant-sacrifice (*ἄφεσις τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν*, Mt 26^{28}); the idea of cancelling guilt, of which a vital moment is liability to punishment, is associated with Christ's sacrifice in He 2^{17}, 1 Jn 2^{2} (*ἱλάσκεσθαι* with *ἁμαρτίας* as object, and so 'to expiate'); and the redemption series of terms (*λύτρον*, *ἀπολύτρωσις*, *ἐξαγοράζειν*), while comprehensive of all the aspects of spiritual deliverance in Christ, has special reference to emancipation from the curse of sin or its merited penalties (Eph 1^{7}, Col 1^{14}). Upon these fundamental boons of peace with God and forgiveness follow, in the order of grace, the gifts of the Spirit as the energy of sanctification (Gal $5^{22ff.}$), and as the spring of boundless consolations — viz. peace, joy, hope, assurance, with their fruits (Ro $5^{1ff.}$), while the consummation is reached in the heavenly inheritance that is the meet portion of the sons of God (Ro 8^{17}). In brief, the sacrifice of Christ is represented as the ground of all filial communion with God, as the condition of pardon, as the source of all noble endeavour and true comfort in the life which now is, and as our one warrant for confidence as to the world to come.

(3) *The conditions on which the blessings are procured*, on which the hypothetical becomes actual, are REPENTANCE (*μετάνοια*) and FAITH (*πίστις*). As to the necessity of these conditions the NT writers speak with one voice. Even St. James must have considered faith of vital importance, since otherwise he need not have become a Christian at all. The one question in regard to which the teaching is somewhat fluid is as to the precise object of the faith which unlocks the treasury of redemption. In Hebrews the conception is very general—the object is God and His promises. In the Pauline theology it is brought into the most intimate connexion with Christ, and includes belief in Him as Messiah, crucified Saviour, and risen Lord (Ro 4^{24} 10^{9}, 1 Th 4^{14}), issuing in union with the crucified and exalted Christ in trust and self-surrender (Gal 2^{20}).

(4) *The nature of Christ's offering*, and (5) *The mode of its operation*, are two questions which are so closely inter-connected that they may best be discussed in conjunction. So far we have been dealing with the facts of the Atonement as to which the biblical teaching is full and express. These data are, to adopt an old formula—the disease, sin; the remedy, Christ's sacrifice; the application of the remedy, salvation here and hereafter on the ground of repentance and faith. But the medical analogy suggests that the remedy may cure the disease, while yet it may be obscure to the patient wherein precisely the virtue of the curative agent lay, and how it affected his system so as to overcome the disease. Similarly, theology has its questionings, which the NT teaching does not unmistakably answer, as to the precise 'what' of Christ's offering, and as to 'the principle on which the forgiveness of sins is connected with its sacrificial quality' (Ritschl, ii. p. 185).

(*a*) The references of *Christ* to His own death, while representing it as conditioning the highest blessings, do not elucidate the connexion between the work and its effects.

The passage in which Christ speaks of Himself as come 'to give his life a ransom for many' (Mk 10^{42-45}, Mt 20^{28}), has been supposed to contain *in nuce* the solution of the problems of the Atonement. A ransom implies captives (sinners), a hostile power which holds them in thrall (God as the representative and vindicator of the outraged moral law), operation of the ransom (the death of Christ accepted as a substitute for that of sinners), specific effect (deliverance of sinners from the penalties of sin). This elaboration has, however, been challenged at almost every point. It is maintained by Ritschl that the key-word of the passage is erroneously rendered 'ransom,' that as the equivalent of כֹּפֶר it has the significance of a protective covering, and that the way in which it operates to protect us is by stimulating us to self-denying imitation of Christ (*Rechtf. u. Vers.* ii. 85). Wendt adheres to the ransom idea, but maintains that the specific effect is to deliver from bondage to suffering and death, and that it accomplishes this by teaching us to adopt Christ's sanguine valuation of these evils (*Lehre Jesu*, ii. 237). According to Beyschlag, the evil from which it was to emancipate was worldly ambition and similar forms of sin, which could not survive the ruin of earthly hopes in the tragedy of the Cross (*Neutest. Theol.* i. 153). The error of this group of interpretations lies in disconnecting Christ's death from the immediate specific effect of expiation or the forgiveness of sin, while the older interpretation unduly exploited the metaphor. All that the passage teaches is that the death of Christ was the means of effecting a redemption from sin (*ἀπολύτρωσις*) which accrues to the benefit of many. The institution of the Lord's Supper supplies an important reference to our Lord's death:—'This is my blood of the new Covenant, which is shed for many' (Mk 14^{24}); 'this cup is the new Covenant in my blood' (1 Co 11^{25}), to which St. Matthew adds the definition of the specific effect—'for the remission of sins' (26^{28}). These words are important as comparing the death of Christ to the Covenant-sacrifice which accompanied the giving of the Law at Sinai (Ex 24^{3-8}), and as suggesting that it resembles the latter in its operation and effect. As to the effect of both sacrifices there is not much room for doubt. The Covenant-sacrifice of Sinai ratified the legal covenant between God and His people, the Covenant-sacrifice of Calvary established the Covenant of grace foretold in Jer 31^{31}, in which the cardinal boon, as specified in St. Matthew's addition, is the remission of sins. As to the manner of its efficacy we are hampered by the uncertainty as to how the sprinkling of the people with blood in the Sinaitic sacrifice operated, or was understood to have operated, in establishing the Old Covenant. According to the traditional view, the blood of the animal victims, slain in room of the guilty people, and sprinkled on them, was accepted as atoning for their guilt, and hallowed them for entrance on their new relation with God. Again, it has been supposed that the fundamental idea was that the victim represented the two parties in the Covenant, and the killing of it meant that so far as the Covenant was concerned they had no longer will or life, *i.e.* the Covenant was immutable

(Westcott, *Hebrews*, p. 301). Yet again it has been interpreted as of the nature of a honorific gift which as such was acceptable to God (Wendt, *op. cit.* ii. 237). And once more, recurring to the evolutionary account, we might utilize the idea that by sharing the blood God and His people were knit into a close physical union and communion. Corresponding to these accounts the sacrifice of Christ would be necessarily interpreted as efficacious as a penal substitution, as an act declaratory of the immutability of God's gracious purpose, as an acceptable gift of perfect obedience, and as a sacramental act uniting God and man. It thus appears that the conception of the death as a Covenant-sacrifice does not itself yield a theory, but only supplies a form which can be utilized to illustrate a theory otherwise grounded. Probably Christ's meaning was simpler than any that has been specified, viz. that it was God's plan to seal a covenant by a sacrifice, and that, like the Old, the New Covenant, which provided for the remission of sins, had a sign of its origin and validity in the shedding and sprinkling of blood.

(*b*) The *Pauline Epistles* bring us closer to the familiar theological issues. In view of his speculative interests, it is antecedently probable that St. Paul had reflected on the problems which have proved so fascinating to later Christian thought, while his rabbinical training must have left a deposit of answers to similar questions touching OT sacrifice. As a fact, he makes a large contribution to a theory of the Atonement.

(*α*) The element of Christ's sacrifice to which decisive importance attaches is the death upon the cross. So vital is this that the gospel may be summarily described as the message of the cross (1 Co 1^{18}). It is in the death of the Son (Ro 5^{10}), in His cross, in the blood of His cross (Col 1^{20}), that the procuring cause is found of the blessings of redemption. It is obviously true that St. Paul recognizes other elements without which the death would have had no significance. Especially does it derive its value from the dignity of the person of Him who was Messiah, declared to be the Son of God in the resurrection, and who is now exalted (Ro 1^4, Col $1^{14ff.}$). But it was not simply as obedient (Ro 5^{19}, Ph 2^8), it was as the obedient One who was slain, and whose blood was spilt, that He had power and prevailed (Ro 3^{25}). 'It is upon the moment of death that the grounding of salvation is exclusively concentrated' (Holtzmann, *Neutest. Theol.* ii. p. 111).

(*β*) The sacrifice of Christ had the significance of the death of an innocent victim in the room of the guilty. It is vain to deny that St. Paul freely employs the category of substitution, involving the conception of the imputation or transference of moral qualities. He does not, indeed, expressly say that Christ died in our stead (ἀντί): the phrase is 'on our behalf' (ὑπέρ, Ro 5^8 8^{32}, 1 Th 5^{10} etc.), or 'on account of our sins' (διά, Ro 4^{25}; περί, 1 Co 15^3). But the idea of an exchange of parts as betwixt Christ and man is unmistakable. Christ suffers death, which is the penalty of our sins, not of His own; man is the recipient of a righteousness which he has not built up, but which is won for him by Christ (2 Co 5^{21}). From his reference to Christ as a means of propitiation (ἱλαστήριον, Ro 3^{25}) it is probable that the apostle conceived of Christ as expiating guilt through the vicarious endurance of its characteristic penalty. It does not, indeed, follow that he conceived of Christ as becoming the object of the Father's wrath, and construed the cross as having the quality of a punishment inflicted upon Christ and recognized as such, or the content of an equivalent of the misery of the lost (Pfleiderer, *Paulinismus*, p. 92 ff.).

(*γ*) The necessity of Christ's sacrifice had its ground in the Divine justice. The economy of grace, which includes the Atonement, is indeed derived, as its ultimate spring, from the love of God (Ro 5^{6-10} $8^{32.39}$); but the justice of God had a voice in the shaping and developing of the economy. The atoning sacrifice was necessary in order 'that God might be just' as well as 'the justifier of them that believe' (Ro 3^{26}). But this answer only opens up new vistas of questionings. Why was Christ's vicarious death demanded by God in virtue of His justice? We may safely say that neither the Grotian theory—to prevent the spread of sinful disorder by an example of punishment, nor even the orthodox view—because Divine justice by its very nature insists on punishment or satisfaction, lay within the apostle's horizon. The ground of the necessity was something more positive, viz. that God, whose word could not be broken, had enacted and provided in Scripture that sin would be punished with death. According to Pfleiderer, this is one of the instances of the contradictions of Paulinism. The Law, which the apostle pronounced to be temporary and now abrogated, is here utilized to lay the foundation of the doctrine of the Atonement (*op. cit.* p. 103). But the proclamation of death as the wages of sin is not confined to the Law; it goes back to the patriarchal and earlier times (Gn 3^3), in which St. Paul always recognized an anticipation of the religious conditions of the age of the gospel.

(*δ*) The sacrificial death of Christ was an event which broke the power of sin as the dominant principle of humanity. It does not exhaust St. Paul's teaching as to the mode of its efficacy to say that, on the ground of the sacrifice, God accepts and sanctifies the sinner. He also teaches that in the death of Christ there took place a death of mankind to sin, 'If one died for all, then all died' (2 Co 5^{14}, cf. Ro 8^3). Humanity was then in a manner comprehended in Him, and, although the realization was to be partial and gradual, contemporaneously with His death it died in principle to the old order in which the flesh held the nobler elements in thrall. Christ routed sin in the sphere of human nature, and a new humanity was thus potentially created. While insufficiently recognizing the forensic aspect of Christ's work, Weizsäcker justly observes: 'it consists not only with his doctrine of the Person of Christ, but also with the several modes of thought of the great apostle, that Christ's work in death appears to him under this highest view-point of the destruction of a world and its power through a higher power and order, and that this distinction should take place in its own province, so that flesh is vanquished in the flesh, law through law, death through death' (*Apost. Zeitalt.* p. 140).

(*c*) The *Epistle to the Hebrews*, though dealing very fully with the sacrifice of Christ, chiefly dwells on its parallelism to the Levitical sacrifices in respect of the ritualistic acts of the manipulation of the blood, and its superiority as regards its range and efficacy. There are, however, two points at which it propounds or develops a reflexion which is of far-reaching importance in the field of speculation. The first relates to the question as to the precise nature of Christ's offering, or the element which gave it its atoning value. In common with the apostles, the writer fixes our attention closely on the event of the bodily death as that which constitutes Christ the sin-bearer (9^{28}) and the instrument of our sanctification (10^{10}). But behind this lay the question wherein the sacrificial value of the death consisted. Was the material of the sacrifice the sum of the physical anguish, and of the accompanying distress of spirit, which immediately preceded death, and especially of the agony, the humiliation, and the dissolution of the final event? Or was it the spirit of self-sacrificing love which prompted Jesus to lay down His life? In other words, was the sacrifice of Christ efficacious in virtue of its quality of a suffering unto death, or in virtue of its quality of an obedience unto death? Already St. Paul, in whose scheme of thought it was of vital consequence that Christ suffered the physical consequences due to human sin, had given expression to the thought that an element of fundamental value was the obedience of Christ. That we are justified by His blood, and that we are justified by His obedience, are parallel conceptions (Ro $5^{9.19}$). This conception, which with St. Paul comes in somewhat incidentally, is very directly stated in He $10^{5.9}$ 'Sacrifices and offerings and whole burnt-offerings and sacrifices for sin thou wouldest not; then hath he said, Lo, I am come to do thy will' (vv.$^{8.9}$). Here the contrast between the Levitical sacrifices and the sacrifice of Christ is developed in a peculiarly suggestive way. It does not consist in this, that in the former case animal victims are slain, in the latter a victim of pre-eminent dignity, but in the circumstance that in the one case the offering is a material, in the other a spiritual oblation.

The second important passage is that in which the writer develops the parallel to the action of the high priest in the sanctuary on the Day of Atonement. Even as the high priest entered the Holy of Holies, bearing with him sacrificial blood, which he offered for himself and the people (9^7), so Christ entered heavenly places 'through his own blood,' or to present His sacrifice before God ($9^{11ff.}$ v.^{23}). From this representation it would appear that the vital moment of the sacrificial act was the presentation of His blood. And as it may be maintained that the object in presenting the blood was, not to bring into God's presence evidence of the consummation of the death, but to offer that which the OT described as the seat of life, it would follow that the quality of satisfying God attached to Christ's offering of a stainless soul or a perfected obedience. The issue may be more sharply defined thus: Was the satisfaction rendered by Christ the death to which He voluntarily submitted, or was it the lifelong obedience which found in the death its last and most signal expression? To many minds the thought embodied in the second alternative has brought welcome intellectual relief. For the hard saying that God could be satisfied only by the death of His Son it substitutes the reasonable and even natural idea that the filial obedience manifested in the whole life of Jesus —in His inner life, and His ministry of teaching and beneficence, as well as in His faithfulness unto death—constituted the offering with which God was well pleased, and which brought humanity into a new relation to God.

While suggesting the higher conception of the nature of Christ's offering, the Epistle does not free itself from the idea that the physical event of death came into account as something additional to the obedience. It accepts the principle that 'apart from shedding of blood there is no remission' (9^{22}), and indeed knows nothing of a sacrifice which does not involve suffering and death as an essential element of it (9^{26}). The following utterance seems to come near to the eventual teaching of the Epistle. 'It has been said that Christ's perfect sacrifice is wholly inward, of the heart. But is it not essential to sacrifice that it should be the outward act by which the inward intention is realized, is pledged, is sealed? The inward self-dedication only becomes sacrificial when it has discovered the appropriate offering by which it can verify itself. Only through attaining this expression, in outward realization, does the language of sacrifice apply to it' (Scott Holland in *Priesthood and Sacrifice*, p. 85).

(*d*) In the *Johannine writings* the centre of gravity shifts from the Atonement to the Incarnation. In the Pauline theology the capital theme is the sinner's acceptance and pardon on the ground of Christ's atoning sacrifice; in the Johannine it is the possession of eternal life in intimate and vitalizing union with the Word made flesh. The keynote of the one is reconciliation,—of the other, communion. It is indeed a difference of emphasis, not of inclusion and exclusion. As St. Paul also experienced and chronicled the inspiration and spiritual energy enjoyed in mystic communion with the exalted Christ, so the Johannine writings also embody numerous references to the importance of Christ's sacrificial death. They preserve the Baptist's testimony to Christ as the lamb-victim, whether the Paschal lamb or the suffering Servant of Jehovah (Is 53^{11}), that takes away the sin of the world (Jn 1^{29}); His work is paralleled, as in Hebrews, to that of the high priest on the Day of Atonement (17^{19}); and His death, which is conceived as a Sin-offering, has manifestly expiatory value (ἱλασμὸς περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν, 1 Jn 2^{2}, cf. 4^{10}). But the group of ideas connected with the Atonement is felt to be accepted and reproduced as part of the common stock of Christian beliefs, rather than to have been assimilated and developed under the progressive guidance of the Spirit of truth.

It has sometimes been affirmed that St. John unfolds a new theory of redemption. Not by dying, but by shedding abroad a revelation of God and true life from His Divine-human person, did Christ come to drive away darkness and sin (cf. Holtzmann, ii. 474). In other words, his soteriological theory was Greek—that sin is ignorance, and its remedy light. But his being possessed with the marvel of the Incarnation was not incompatible with the loyal acceptance which he intimates of the general belief as to the significance of Christ's death. In Roman Catholic and Anglican theology there is a similar insistence on the pre-eminence of the Incarnation dogma, coupled with a certain reserve, but assuredly no want of faith, in regard to the Atonement.

Such being the perspective of the Johannine theology, there is not much ground for expecting answers to questions raised in the theory of the Atonement. It accentuates by preference moral aspects of the Atonement, but without entitling us to infer that Christ's sacrifice only influences God indirectly through the change which it previously produces in believers. As examples of its moral influence may be noted that in the Capernaum discourse Christ views His death as the preliminary to giving His flesh for the life of the world (6^{51}), and that at a later period it is spoken of as destined to exercise an irresistible magnetism (12^{32}). But that its influence was not in the first instance merely subjective, appears from the fact that it is represented as a transaction in which Satan joined issue in decisive conflict, was beaten back, and in consequence was shorn of his power (16^{11} 12^{31}). And with this direct transcendental effect clearly predicated, it becomes the more probable that in the Johannine teaching the sacrifice of Christ, when likened to an expiatory or propitiatory sacrifice, was understood to have an effect upon God unconditioned by its after-fruits in human experience.

To sum up, we find that the NT writers are unanimous and distinct as to the saving significance of Christ's sacrifice, as to the blessings which flow from it, and as to the conditions on which these are appropriated. As regards the precise nature of the offering, and its mode of working, our Lord says nothing definite. St. Paul certainly holds the satisfaction of Divine justice through a vicarious death; the Ep. to the Hebrews emphasizes the germinal thought that the offering was the obedience or spiritual perfection of Christ; St. John's record chiefly confines itself to its moral bearings. Upon the points in question, indeed, they have more to teach if we could handle the key. To their thinking, and to that of their readers, these points were elucidated by describing Christ's death as a sacrifice, especially a Sin-offering; but, as we cannot say with confidence what was the accepted theory of the significance of sacrifice, the elucidation has in its turn become a problem. From this condition of mingled certainty and uncertainty several inferences may fairly be drawn. In the first place, it may be surmised that the sacrificial category, while emphasizing certain vital aspects, was inadequate to the expression of the full significance of the work of Christ, and that the old sacrificial doctrine was providentially left in obscurity at those points where it was least adequate. In close connexion with this it may also be suggested that there was a design not to bind up the work of Christ so intimately with the interpretation of an obsolescent institution as to prevent its receiving fresh illumination from other fields of human life. From this would follow, further, a commission to theology not to regard itself as bound by the fragmentary NT data for a theory of the Atonement, but to reinterpret by its own thought the nature, the grounds of the necessity, and the mode of efficacy of the sacrifice of Christ. In the exercise of this commission modern theology has very generally become penetrated by the conviction that the sacrifice of Christ is too narrowly interpreted of His death, and that the atoning efficacy attaches to the whole life, in which active and passive obedience are interwoven as warp and woof. Meanwhile the uncertainty which attaches to certain stages of the process only throws into bolder relief the apostolic certitude as to the fact that God was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself.

iii. THE SACRIFICES OF THE CHRISTIAN LIFE. —The NT doctrine is that Christ offered a sacrifice which established peace with God, and which procures the forgiveness of sins. But with this the conception of offering was not wholly detached from the sphere of human service; on the contrary, a place is reserved for human offerings of a complementary or secondary kind.

(*a*) The graces and the activities of the Christian life have a sacrificial character. In the Prophets it was a frequent thought that the forms and expressions of the devout life—the broken spirit, the voice of adoration and aspiration—were sacrifices of peculiar value; and such spiritual exercises continued to be described as oblations. The NT doctrine of the priesthood of believers also involved the idea that they had somewhat to offer. The material of such offerings is the Christian personality (Ro 15^{16}, cf. Jude ^{24}), or the body regarded as the instrument of Christian service (Ro 12^{1}), or the exercises and activities of the Christian life (1 P 2^{5}), including prayer (He 13^{15}), beneficent deeds (v.^{16}), money gifts (Ph 4^{18}), or the graces in which service has its spring (faith, Ph 2^{17}) (Cave, p. 406 ff., who treats this subject very fully and suggestively). The immediate effect attributed to these offerings is that they are pleasing to God (Ro 12^{1}), are to Him as the odour of a sweet smell (Ph 4^{18}).

But the further question arises whether God, as pleased with these sacrifices, and on the ground of the offerings, bestows upon the Christian any special corresponding blessing. It may safely be said that they are not regarded as expiatory: only faith comes into account as connected with the forgiveness of sin, and then as the mere condition of obtaining the boon of which the real ground is the sacrifice of Christ. But certain of the offerings specified have at least a purificatory virtue—faith which overcomes the world, and hope which purifies. As regards forms of Christian service, it is antecedently probable that they were regarded as procuring certain benefits. To call an act a sacrifice, was clearly to imply that a benefit followed; and to say that God was well pleased, was equally to imply that He would practically manifest His approbation. From the NT standpoint, indeed, the motive for rendering spiritual sacrifices is gratitude to God for His inexpressible magnanimity; but it does not thence follow that they do not receive a rich Divine recognition. In the parable of the Unjust Steward it is taught that wealth might be so used as to procure an abundant entrance into the everlasting habitations (Lk 16$^{1ff.}$), and it is no unfamiliar thought of the apostle of grace that God will specially reward the work and labour of love.

But what is the precise nature of the Divine response to the offerings of service? The current reply is that in the present it takes the form of inward enrichment and growth in grace, and that in the world to come it will be manifested in a distinction of degrees of glory. But it may be doubted if this exhausts the NT conception of the efficacy of the secondary sacrifices. The life that utters itself in the forms of sacrifice would appear to evoke a response additional to strengthening grace, which is of the nature of a special providential discipline or blessing, and which, resting on the individual or even the house, makes generally for their protection and well-being (Mt 6^{33}). So St. Paul, after specifying the acceptable sacrifices of the Philippians, concludes that God will supply all their need (Phil 4^{19}).

An expiatory character might appear to be ascribed to one class of spiritual sacrifices, viz. the sufferings of the saints. 'I rejoice in my sufferings on your behalf,' says the apostle, 'and fill up what is lacking of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh on behalf of his body, which is the Church' (Col 1^{24}). By some Rom. Cath. exegetes it has been argued that the afflictions of the saints are regarded as combined with the passion of Christ to constitute the satisfaction on the ground of which God pardons sin. But while the apostle affirms that his sufferings are for the good of the Church, he does not say that it is as propitiatory, and the mode of conveying benefit may well have been that, by the apostolic example of patient obedience, the body was edified. But how do they fill up what was lacking of Christ's sufferings? The idea may either be that the apostle desired to approximate to the standard of Christ's sufferings (Weiss), or that he desired to endure his share of the sufferings which Christ, through His Church-body, has yet to suffer (Alford, *in loc.*). See also Lightfoot and Abbott.

(*b*) The worship of the Church embodies a sacrificial element; but this is not to be identified with the Eucharist, nor can the latter be scripturally interpreted as having the character of a propitiatory sacrifice. To say that worship is sacrificial is to repeat what has already been said of the NT spiritual sacrifices. The faith and hope and love which find expression in praise and prayer, the money gifts which are devoted to the work of Christ, are declared by the apostles to have this character. Specially is the celebration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, evoking, as it does, faith and hope and the sentiment of gratitude, the occasion of the presentation of spiritual offerings. The special question is whether the Eucharist is a sacrifice in a peculiar specific sense, and if so, what is its precise character and efficacy. The question as to whether it may be called a sacrifice is not of vital importance. It may easily be brought within the compass of our working definition. 'In a certain loose sense the Lord's Supper may be called a sacrifice, inasmuch as it was deliberately associated by its founder with the sacrificial rites of the OT' (Cave, p. 439). The really important issues are raised by the Roman doctrine, which interprets it as continuous with the atoning sacrifice of Christ, and as therefore possessing a propitiatory character.

'By the consecration of the bread and of the wine a conversion is made of the whole substance of the bread into the substance of the body of Christ our Lord, and of the whole substance of the wine into the substance of His blood' (Dec. Conc. Trident., Sess. xiii. cap. 4). 'Forasmuch as, in this Divine sacrifice, which is celebrated in the Mass, that same Christ is contained and immolated in an unbloody manner who once offered Himself in a bloody manner on the altar of the Cross, the holy Synod teaches that this sacrifice is truly propitiatory, and that by means thereof this is effected—that we obtain mercy and find grace if we draw nigh contrite and penitent,' etc. (Twenty-second sess. cap. 2). 'Wherefore, not only for the sins, etc., of the faithful who are living, but also for those who are departed in Christ, and not yet fully purified, it is rightly offered' (*ib.*). At the same time, it is held that propitiation is not the only, or even the principal, fruit (canon 5 of thirteenth sess.).

It would be out of place to develop the general objections to this view, which involves the grave religious defect of suggesting that salvation rests on an incomplete and therefore insecure foundation. The relevant objections are that the tenet of transubstantiation, which is the presupposition of the theory, has no scriptural warrant, while the interpretation of the Eucharist as a perpetual propitiatory offering is inconsistent with the NT teaching that the sacrifice of Christ was expiatory, and was offered once for all (Ro 6^{10}, He 7^{27} 9$^{12.\ 26-28}$ 10$^{10.\ 12.\ 14}$, 1 P 3^{18}).

According to a modified view, the Eucharist is a perpetuation of Christ's sacrifice, but not of the propitiatory sacrifice which He offered on Calvary. Attention is here transferred to the sacrifice which Christ presented, and continues to present, in the heavenly sanctuary (He 8$^{1-3}$), and it is maintained that in the Eucharist the Church presents an offering which is organically connected with the ceaseless offering of her Head.

'The offering of our Heavenly High Priest,' to quote an important statement of this view, 'includes in it a present and eternal offering of His life in heaven.' But the duty of the Church is to repeat and represent the life of her Head in another and higher world; and in the Eucharist she 'appropriates and reproduces the priestly offering of Him in whom she lives. As our Lord's offering of Himself never ends or can end, so in that offering His people, organically united to Him, one with Him, must be offered, and must offer themselves; and this they do in the expressive and touching symbols of the Eucharist' (Milligan, *Heavenly Priesthood*, p. 266).

On this view, then, the Eucharist is a sacrifice which not only represents, but also, as a consequence of Christ's union with the Church, forms a part of the offering made by Christ to God. It is commended on the ground that it satisfies the legitimate demand for a perpetual oblation which is unscripturally ministered to in the sacrifice of the Mass. But the scriptural evidence is in conflict with its cardinal positions. The offering of Christ, which is the ground of our salvation, was, according to passages already quoted, one which does not need to be repeated, and we are therefore forced to seek it within the compass of Christ's earthly life — either in His death or in His obedience unto death. It is said, indeed, that that which is unchangeable and everlasting is not repeated, but it is hardly disputable that what was present to the mind of the writer to the Hebrews was the contrast of the ever-renewed to the completed, not to the never-ending offering. Nor was it declared in the words of institution that the special purpose of the Eucharist was to furnish the Church with an ordinance which should be a counterpart, and even a part, of the activities of Christ's heavenly priesthood. Rather is it brought into close relation with the obedience unto death which preceded His entrance into glory.

On the whole, it may be concluded that, while the Eucharist, more than other means of grace, has the form of a sacrifice, it is at bottom, like them, only the occasion of sacrifice, *i.e.* of the presentation to God of spiritual offerings. Whether the outward act be prayer, or praise, or the Eucharist, the offerings therein rendered to God are the faith, the penitence, and the self-surrender to which it gives expression, and which are sustained by the rite.

The Typology of Sacrifice, which has been incidentally touched on, requires more direct consideration at the close of this study, in which we have seen the sacrificial worship of the earlier dispensation disappear in the sacrifices of the New Covenant. From the typological point of view, the Levitical sacrifices come under the category of prediction. They differed from the predictions proper in form,—being enshrined not in word but in institution and rite,—but they served the same end of testifying beforehand to the person, the life, and the work of Christ, and to the contents and conditions of His salvation. In the older works the study of sacrifice as prediction and fulfilment was assiduously prosecuted as at once affording the deepest gratification to the believer, and furnishing a weapon of distinct apologetic value. In labouring at this task, Christian piety gave free play to fancy, and every feature of the OT ritual became eloquent of the unspeakable riches of Christ. Dogmatic prepossessions also supervened to dominate the discussion; and, while the Romanist discovered in the Levitical system a foreshadowing and corroboration of the distinctive sacerdotal and sacramentarian tenets of his communion, the Protestant found in it an equally good witness for every fundamental article of the evangelical system of doctrine (Fairbairn, *Typology of Scripture*).

The luminous and thorough monograph of Principal Cave is distinguished, in its treatment of the typical aspect of sacrifice, by great sobriety of judgment. A type is defined as an enacted prophecy, and three essential notes are distinguished: it adumbrates something; it adumbrates some future thing, and it is specially designed by God to adumbrate that future thing (p. 158). The sacrificial practice he divides into two branches —that which was concerned with atonement, and that which was concerned with the presentation of the offering. And to these types respectively correspond, as their antitypes, the death of Christ and our spiritual sacrifices. 'The atonement by blood has its antitype in the atonement made by Jesus. In the activities and passivities of the Christian life are to be found the antitype of the Mosaic injunctions other than those concerning the methods of atonement, the high priesthood, and the tabernacle' (p. 419, cf. 406 ff.).

The precedent for treating the OT sacrifices typologically, *i.e.* as predictive in character and design, is set in the NT. As certainly as reliance is placed on fulfilments of OT verbal predictions is use made of antitypal fulfilments to attest the Messiahship and the redemptive mission of Jesus. But while the OT sacrifices are thus accorded the dignity of OT predictions, they must also share in the consequences of the altered view as to the precise nature and scope of prophecy viewed as prediction. What has become increasingly clear is that OT prophecy does not consist of chapters of detailed history written before the event. Prophetism was in essence faith in God as the righteous Governor of the world and the gracious Guardian of His people, and on the basis of this faith it cherished a confident expectation of the realization on earth of a kingdom of righteousness by the instrumentality of a divinely commissioned King, who should through suffering establish His dominion (Bruce, *Apolog.*^{2} p. 257 ff.). Similarly, the typical element in the Levitical code cannot be regarded as coextensive with its multifarious forms and ritualistic acts. The Pentateuchal code of sacrifice is not a mystical version of the Christian religion, whose every form and rite was shaped by a design to show forth the story of our Lord's passion, or to elucidate the 'activities and the passivities' of the Christian life. The witness which it bears to Christ is less voluminous, but not necessarily less weighty. The OT sacrifices expressed a need which Christ satisfies, and embodied a faith which Christ justifies. The need to which they gave utterance was that felt by the human heart for some ground of religious confidence external to itself; and this, which the animal victim only seemed to supply, is fully met in the Christian conviction that sin is forgiven, in some real deep sense, for Christ's sake. The faith which they declared was that God had provided a means by which man could enter into communion with God, and the great expectation which they expressed has its realization in the filial relations with God into which the Christian is brought by Christ. Yet once more, the institution embodied the conviction, which was also a prediction, that the sovereign boon of union with God is not won without labour and cost. The victim was slain, the offerer denied himself for God. And this principle only attained to a fuller and deeper realization when, on the one hand, Christ died that He might bring men to God and reign in human hearts; and when, on the other, it was seen that self-sacrifice is the ritual of the lives that He moulds.

LITERATURE.—Mishna סדר קדש (*Rerum sanctarum ordo*), esp. זבחים (*de Sacrificiis*), ed. Surenhusius, vol. iii., Amsterdam, 1702; Philo, *de Victimis* (Yonge's tr. 1855, vol. iii.); Outram, *de Sacrificiis*, London, 1677; Spencer, *de legibus Hebrœorum ritualibus* (lib. iii. 'de ratione et origine Sacrificiorum'), Cantab. 1727; Sykes, *Essay on the Nature, etc., of Sacrifices*, London, 1748; Davison, *Origin and Extent of Primitive Sacrifice*, London, 1825; Bähr, *Symbolik des Mosaischen Cultus*, Heidelberg, 1837; Kurtz, *Der AT Opfercultus* (Eng. tr.), Edin. 1865; Oehler, *Theol. des AT* (Eng. tr.), Edin. 1882; Fairbairn, *The Typology of Scripture*, Edin. 1847; Cave, *Script. Doct. of Sacrifice*, Edin. 1877; Wellhausen, *Proleg. zur Gesch. Isr.* 1883 (Eng. tr. with additions, Edin. 1885); Nowack, *Lehrb. der hebräischen Archäologie*, bd. ii., Freiburg, 1894; Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.*, Freiburg, 1895; Riehm, *Alttest. Theol.*, Halle, 1889, p. 114 f.; Smend, *Lehrb. der Alttest. Religionsgeschichte*^{2}, Freiburg, 1899, §§ 9, 17.

For discussion of special points the following reffs. may be given: Stade, *ZATW*, 1894 (sacrifices of Cain and Abel); Kamphausen, *Das Verhältniss des Menschenopfers zur israel. Religion*, Bonn, 1896; Trumbull, *The Blood Covenant*, New York, 1885; Wilcken, *Ueber das Haaropfer*, Amsterdam, 1886; Riehm, 'Ueber das Schuldopfer,' in *SK*, 1854, i. p. 93 ff.; Rinck, *ib.* 1855, ii. p. 369 ff.; H. Schultz, 'Significance of Sacrifice in OT,' in *AJT*, April 1900. The theological aspects are prominent in the following: Warburton, *Divine Legation of Moses*, London, 1738; Magee, *Script. Doct. of Atonement and Sacrifice*, London, 1812; Payne Smith, *Powers and Duties of the Priesthood*, London, 1868; Maurice, *The Doctrine of Sacrifice*, London, 1879; Jowett in *Epp. to Thessal.* etc.^{3} ii. 550, London, 1894; Delitzsch, *Com. on Heb.* (Eng. tr.), Edin. 1868; A. B. Davidson, *Com. on Heb.*, Edin. 1882; Milligan, *The Ascension and Heavenly Priesthood of our Lord*, London, 1892; *Priesthood and Sacrifice* (Report of Discussion at Oxford), ed. Sanday, London, 1900; Scott, *Sacrifice: its Prophecy and Fulfilment*, Edin. 1894; Baxter, *Sanctuary and Sacrifice*, London, 1895; Moberly, *Atonement and Personality*, London, 1901.

The discussion of the origin and evolution of Semitic sacrifice is dominated by Wellhausen, *Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten, Reste arab. Heidenthums*², Berlin, 1897, and esp. W. R. Smith, *RS*², London, 1894, examined by Marillier in *Rev. de l'hist. des Rel.* (1897–98); Hubert et Mauss, 'Essai sur le nature et la fonction du sacrifice,' in *L'Année Sociologique* for 1897–98, Paris. For the place of sacrifice in the heathen religions see de la Saussaye, *Lehrb. der Religionsgeschichte*, Freiburg, 1887; Tiele, *Geschichte der Rel. im Alterthum*, Gotha, 1895; Jevons, *An Introduction to the History of Religion*, London, 1896; Tylor, *Primitive Culture*³, London, 1891; H. Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, London, 1876; Lubbock, *Origin of Civilization*⁶, London, 1889; Frazer, *The Golden Bough*², London, 1900; Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der babylon. Religion*, Leipzig, 1896; Nägelsbach, *Homerische Theologie*³, Nürnberg, 1884; Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, Oxford, 1896; Fowler, *The Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, London, 1899.

W. P. PATERSON.

SADDUCEES.—

i. Origin and History of the Sadducees.
ii. Derivation of the name 'Sadducee.'
iii. Their opposition to the Pharisees.
  (*a*) Controversies as to the Law: (1) Criminal Law, (2) questions of Ritual, (3) the Feasts.
  (*b*) Doctrinal differences: (1) as to the resurrection of the body, and future retribution; (2) as to the existence of angels and spirits; (3) as to 'fate' and free will, and Divine providence.
iv. The Sadducees and Jesus.

i. ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE SADDUCEES (cf. art. PHARISEES, § i.).—The Sadducees were the spiritual descendants of the priestly party in Jerusalem, which, towards the close of the Greek period of Israel's history, was anxious to Hellenize the Palestinian Jews. The Maccabæan rising (see art. MACCABEES), which was caused by the attempt of Antiochus Epiphanes to accomplish this by violence, taught these Hellenizers the folly of tampering with the national religion; while the success of Judas Maccabæus and his brothers in asserting the nation's political independence deprived them of office and power. Their descendants, however, speedily accommodated themselves to the new order of things, which was in many respects after their mind. The Maccabæan rising had ended otherwise than was hoped when it began. In the course of the struggle for national independence the Maccabee brothers were compelled to enter into alliances with foreign princes, to receive honours and dignities from them, and in general to maintain their cause by the use of purely secular means. The Jewish State which they set up was not essentially different from the secular States around them. This led to a new development of parties among the Jews. The HASIDÆANS, who had withdrawn from the struggle with the Syrians, when religious freedom was granted, grew both in numbers and in strictness, and came to be known as the *Pharisees.* Their great concern was, not that the nation should be politically independent, but that it should be secured against the intrusion of all foreign elements by the most scrupulous observance of the Law. And they now found themselves face to face, not with foreign rulers, but with native princes, who, while thoroughly orthodox in the faith, were indifferent to what they conceived to be the interests of religion, and from whom they accordingly became increasingly estranged.

The successors of the Hellenizers, on the other hand, were in full sympathy with the secular policy of the Hasmonæan princes, and, unlike the Pharisees, took no exception to the illegitimacy of their high priesthood. They entered the service of the new princes as soldiers and diplomatists, and, drawing around them the leading adherents of the new dynasty, formed the party, to which was given their family name of Zadokites or *Sadducees.* Taught by experience, this party made no violent attempts to introduce Greek customs; but they were a purely political party: their main interest was in the Jewish State as an independent State, and not, like that of the Pharisees, in the legal purity of the Jews as a religious community. The tension between the Hasmonæans and the Pharisees at last became so keen that John Hyrcanus broke decisively with the latter, and openly proclaimed himself on the side of the Sadducees.

From their first appearance in history as a distinct party (during the reign of John Hyrcanus, B.C. 135–105), the Sadducees were the devoted adherents of the Hasmonæan princes. Under Aristobulus I. and Alexander Jannæus, the immediate successors of John Hyrcanus, their party was supreme. Under Alexandra Salome the Pharisees were for a short time in possession of power; but when Aristobulus II. became king the Sadducees once more came to the front. They supported him in his conflict with Hyrcanus II., Antipater, and the Romans, and they also stood by him and his two sons, Alexander and Antigonus, in their attempts to restore the Hasmonæan dynasty. But the day of their political power was now past. Their numbers were also considerably reduced. When Pompey captured Jerusalem (B.C. 63) he executed many of their leaders, as did also Herod (B.C. 37). Herod further diminished their influence by appointing and removing high priests according to his own pleasure, and by filling the Sanhedrin with his own creatures. When Judæa, after the deposition of Archelaus, came under the direct rule of the Romans, the Sadducees, who now included the families raised to the dignity of the high priesthood by Herod, again attained a measure of power through their preponderance in the Sanhedrin, to which the Romans committed the internal government of the country, reserving to themselves, however, not only the control of all military matters and the levying of customs, but also the confirmation and execution of all capital sentences. Matters remained thus down to the troubled days that preceded the destruction of Jerusalem, except during the short reign of Agrippa I. (A.D. 41–44), who favoured the Pharisees. But the latter were the real possessors of power; for, in order to render themselves tolerable to the people, the Sadducees were compelled to act in most matters in accordance with Pharisaic principles. And when Jerusalem was destroyed and Israel ceased to exist as a nation, they speedily disappeared entirely from history.

According to Josephus (*Ant.* XIII. x. 6, XVIII. i. 4), the Sadducees were a small minority of the Jews, which included only the rich and those of the highest dignity. This is almost equivalent to identifying them with the priestly aristocracy and their adherents. During the second half of the Persian and the whole of the Greek domination of Israel, the high priests were the civil as well as the religious heads of the Jewish community in Judæa, and, theirs being the only hereditary office among the Jews since the downfall of the Davidic monarchy, they and their families formed a kind of sacerdotal nobility (cf. Jos. *Vita*, 1). We are expressly told in Josephus (*Ant.* XX. ix. 1) and in Ac 5^{17} (cf. 4^{1} $23^{1ff.}$), that in NT times some at least of the high priests were Sadducees. It was these chief priests with their families and adherents that formed the Sadducean party. This party, however, was not a priestly party in the sense that the priests generally necessarily belonged to it: some of these (*e.g.* Josephus, *Vita*, 1 f.; see also *Vita*, 39; Taylor's *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*², ii. 10, iii. 2) were Pharisees (cf. Jn $1^{19.24}$). Nor did it, as a rule, stand up for the special interests of the priests. The opposition between the Pharisees and the Sadducees was not an opposition between the strict legalists and the priests, but between the former and the chief priests and their adherents (cf. Schürer, *GJV*³ ii. 406 f.).

ii. DERIVATION OF THE NAME 'SADDUCEES.'—The name 'Sadducees' (צַדּוּקִים, sing. צדוקי, *Σαδδουκαῖοι*) is now almost universally derived from the proper name *Zadok.* The derivation, favoured by many of the Fathers and by a few moderns (*e.g.* Derenbourg, Stanley, and Edersheim), from the adj. צַדִּיק, according to which the Sadducees were the *righteous*, so called either because, in opposition to the Pharisees, they adhered to the written law, or because of their severity as judges, must be abandoned, owing to the impossibility of accounting for the change of *i* into *u* (see especially Montet, *Essai sur les origines des partis saducéen et pharisien*, 53 ff.). From which Zadok, however, did they derive their name? According to *Aboth de- Rabbi Nathan*, from a disciple of Antigonus of Socho.

> 'Antigonus of Socho received from Shime'on ha-Çaddiq. He used to say, Be not as slaves that serve the Rab on the terms of receiving recompense; but be as slaves that serve the Rab not on the terms of receiving recompense; and let the fear of Heaven be upon you; that your reward may be doubled for the time to come. Antigonus of Socho had two disciples, who repeated his words; and they repeated them to (their) disciples, and their disciples to their disciples. They arose and refined after them, and said, What did our fathers imagine, in saying that a labourer might do work all the day and not receive his reward at evening? Nay, but if our fathers knew that there was the world to come, and that there was a revival of the dead, they would not have spoken thus. They arose and separated from the Thorah; and two sects were formed from them, *Çadukin* and *Baithusin*; Çadukin after the name of Çadok, Baithusin after the name of Baithos' (Taylor, *l.c.* 112 f.).

This legend, though adopted by Ewald (GVI^3 iv. 357), is of no historical value. It is first found in a document of late origin; it is plainly wrong in what it says of the Boethusians, who derived their name from Boethus, the father of Simon, whose daughter, Mariamne, Herod married, and whom he raised to the high priesthood (*Ant.* XV. ix. 3; cf. XVII. iv. 2, XVIII. v. 1, XIX. vi. 2); it is also mistaken in asserting that the Sadducees rejected the Law, and in making the denial of a resurrection of the dead their primary and fundamental characteristic. We must therefore either derive the name 'Sadducee' from an unknown Zadok, an influential member or head of the party at an epoch which it is impossible to determine (Montet, *l.c.* 59), or from Zadok, who was priest in Jerusalem in the days of David and Solomon (1 K $1^{8.\,26.\,32ff.}$ 2^{35}; cf. 4^4, 1 Ch 29^{22}), and whose descendants held the same office down to the Exile. The latter derivation is generally regarded, not indeed as thoroughly established, but as the most probable. In his ideal picture of the future theocracy, Ezekiel (40^{46} 43^{19} 44^{15} 48^{11}; in all these passages the LXX has the form Σαδδούκ) admits only the 'sons of Zadok' to the right of officiating as priests in the new temple at Jerusalem. Though after the return from the Exile this rule was not strictly carried out, the 'sons of Zadok' formed the main body of the post-exilic priesthood; and more especially it was from among them that the chief priests down to the close of the Greek period were drawn (see art. PRIESTS AND LEVITES, p. 96^a). In the absence, therefore, of more specific information, it is assumed that the family name 'Zadokites' or 'Sadducees' was given, probably by their enemies, to the sacerdotal aristocratic party, which included not only the chief families of the legitimate line, but also the adherents of the Hasmonæan princes, and, in NT times, the families raised to the high priestly dignity by Herod and his successors.*

This derivation of the name 'Sadducees' is not inconsistent with what we know of the behaviour of many of these 'sons of Zadok.' As early as the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, not only did many of the common priests intermarry with the Gentiles among whom they lived (Ezr 9^2), but Eliashib, the high priest, and members of his family, entered freely into alliances with the neighbouring aristocracy and with the Persian officials (Neh $13^{4ff.\,28}$). They were evidently more concerned for their own privileges than for the reformation so dear to the heart of Ezra and Nehemiah. The position of the high priests as civil heads, under the Persian or Greek governors, of the community in Judæa, almost inevitably led to their gradual secularization. They were necessarily brought into close contact with their Gentile rulers; and their political interests tended to thrust their religious interests into the background. There were doubtless some of these high priests who remembered what was due to their position as the servants of Jehovah, but the temptation to forget must have been very great. Towards the close of the Greek period many of the chief priestly families were entirely secularized; they felt no interest in what was distinctively characteristic of the Jewish religion; for the sake of their own personal enjoyment and advancement they were willing, and indeed eager, to adopt the manners and customs of their Gentile masters. 'The high priests regarded their sacred office only as a pedestal of worldly power' (Wellhausen, IJG^3 248). There is nothing, therefore, improbable in the supposition that the aristocratic priestly party, whose interests were mainly political, and of which they formed from the beginning a considerable part, came to be known by their family name.

iii. THEIR OPPOSITION TO THE PHARISEES.—Though the Sadducees were the priestly nobility and the Pharisees were drawn mainly from the ranks of the common people, the opposition between them was not a mere opposition between two different classes of society. Nor was it merely a question as to the laxer or stricter interpretation and observance of the Law. It was an opposition of principles, of dispositions, and of theories of life (Wellhausen, *l.c.* 295). The Pharisees were, in their own peculiar way, intensely religious; their great desire was to mould their fellow-countrymen into a 'holy' nation by means of the Law; they looked forward to a future, in which their hopes were sure to be realized, and could therefore meanwhile endure the foreign dominion, provided it allowed them perfect religious freedom. The Sadducees, on the other hand, were largely indifferent to religion, except in so far as it was a matter of custom; their great care was for the State as a purely secular State; they were satisfied with the present, so far as it permitted them to live in comfort and splendour. The acute opposition between the two parties first manifested itself in the political sphere, in the struggle for power during the reign of John Hyrcanus and his successors. When the Hasmonæan dynasty fell, the animosity still continued; but to a large extent it necessarily ceased to be political, and concentrated itself upon questions as to the Law, matters of ritual, and doctrine.

(*a*) *Controversies as to the Law.*—The Sadducees refused to acknowledge the binding force of the oral law, the 'tradition of the elders' (Mt 15^2, Mk 7^3), to which the Pharisees attached supreme importance. They held that only the written law of Moses was binding (*Ant.* XIII. x. 6, XVIII. i. 4); and although, as judges, and in order to maintain their position against the Pharisees, they must have had their own exegetical tradition, they did not regard themselves as absolutely bound even by it; they held it praiseworthy to dispute with their teachers (*Ant.* XVIII. i. 4). It is incorrect, however, to represent them as acknowledging only the Pentateuch and as rejecting the rest of the OT. They also doubtless agreed with the Pharisees on many points settled by the oral law; only, unlike the Pharisees, they did not regard it as binding (cf. Taylor, *Sayings of Jewish Fathers*^{2}, p. 115).

---

* It is not claimed for this derivation of the name 'Sadducee,' which was first suggested by Geiger, that it is more than probable. Montet (*l.c.* 51 f.) argues against it that there is not a single trace in post-exilic literature of this close connexion between the Sadducees and the Zadokites, and that this unanimous silence is fatal to the hypothesis. Kuenen, whom he cites (p. 59 f.) as holding substantially his own view, afterwards changed his opinion. 'The name "Sadducees," which the priestly nobility of Jerusalem received later, I now also identify with Zadokites. In the not unjustifiable reaction against Geiger's exaggeration I went too far' (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Biblischen Wissenschaft*, 496).

In addition to, and partly in consequence of, this fundamental difference between the two parties, there were differences as to individual legal questions. (1) *Criminal Law.* As judges, the Sadducees were more severe than the Pharisees (*Ant.* xx. ix. 1; cf. XIII. x. 6). They interpreted literally the *lex talionis* (Ex 21^{24}, Dt 19^{21}), whereas the Pharisees mitigated its severity by accepting as punishment a money payment. They also interpreted literally Dt 25^{9} ('spit in his face'); the Pharisees said it was enough to spit before the offending person. As regards Ex $21^{28ff.\ 35f.}$ they went beyond the requirement of the Law in exacting compensation not only for the damage done by one's ox or ass, but also for that done by one's servants. They were less severe, however, than the Pharisees in punishing false witnesses. According to Dt $19^{16ff.}$ a false witness was to suffer the punishment which he hoped to see inflicted on the person falsely accused by him. The Sadducees held that this punishment should be inflicted on him only if the falsely accused person had been punished; the Pharisees demanded his punishment, provided sentence had been pronounced on the accused, whether the sentence was executed or not.

(2) *Questions of Ritual.* The Pharisees laid the greatest stress on the cleanness of the vessels used, and on the various actions being performed in due succession and with strict legal correctness. According to them, all the vessels of the temple had to be purified at the close of each feast; the scriptures were so precious that they could be written only on the skins of clean animals, and any one who touched the sacred rolls was thereby rendered unclean; in accordance with Lv 16^{13} they insisted, in opposition to the Sadducees, that on the Day of Atonement the high priest should not kindle the incense till after he had entered the Holy of Holies; at a Feast of Tabernacles, Alexander Jannæus was attacked by the people, the majority of whom by that time favoured the Pharisees, because, as high priest, he poured the water of libation upon the ground beside the altar, instead of upon the altar. The Sadducees scoffed at the Pharisaic laws relating to purity: according to Pharisaic principles, the sacred writings were less pure than the books of Homer, contact with which did not defile; the Pharisees, it was said, would even sprinkle the sun in the heavens with lustral water. So far as they laid stress on Levitical purity, it was apparently in the interest of the priesthood. They insisted that the red heifer, from whose ashes the lustral water was prepared (Nu 19^{1-10}), should be burned only by priests who had been thoroughly cleansed from all possible defilement, whereas the Pharisees laid more stress on the act performed by the priest than on the priest himself, whom they even tried to defile by contact with themselves. The Pharisees demanded that the cost of the daily sacrifice, which was offered on behalf of the whole people, should be defrayed out of the temple treasury; while the Sadducees maintained that, the treasure in the temple being in a manner their property, the sacrificial victims should be provided from the free-will offerings of the individuals who took part in the sacrifice.

(3) *As to the Feasts*, the two parties differed in the manner of fixing the date of Pentecost. According to Lv $23^{11.\ 15}$ seven full weeks had to be counted from 'the morrow after the sabbath' upon which the priest waved the sheaf of first-fruits before the Lord. The Pharisees followed the traditional interpretation (*e.g.* in the LXX, *ad loc.*; cf. *Ant.* III. x. 5), that the 'sabbath' meant the first day of the feast, and that consequently Pentecost might fall on any day of the week. The Sadducees (or rather, according to Schürer, *l.c.* 413, the Boethusians, a variety of the Sadducees) held that the 'sabbath' meant the weekly sabbath, and that therefore Pentecost always fell on the first day of the week. They naturally also refused to acknowledge as binding the tradition of the fathers as to the way of observing the sabbath.[*]

(*b*) *Doctrinal differences.*—(1) According to the NT (Mt 22^{23}, Mk 12^{18}, Lk 20^{27}, Ac $4^{1.\ 2}$ 23^{8}) and Josephus, the Sadducees denied *the resurrection of the body*, to which Josephus adds that they denied also *future rewards and punishments*, and even maintained that the soul perishes with the body (*Ant.* XVIII. i. 3 f.; *BJ* II. viii. 14). The doctrines of a bodily resurrection and of future retribution in the later Jewish sense are not found, till late, in the OT; but it teaches a shadowy existence of souls in Sheol. In opposition to the Pharisees, therefore, the Sadducees held substantially the old Hebrew view, save (if Josephus is to be trusted) as regards continued existence after death. (2) According to Ac 23^{8} they also denied *the existence of angels and spirits, i.e.* of a world of supermundane spirits. Seeing that they accepted the OT, it is difficult to understand their position on this subject. It was probably due to their general indifference to religion and to the rationalistic temper which led to the extreme limit in opposition to the angelology of their adversaries. (3) According to Josephus (*BJ* II. viii. 14; *Ant.* XIII. v. 9) the Sadducees denied 'fate' altogether; it was impossible for God to commit or to foresee anything evil; the doing of good or evil was left entirely to man's *free choice*; man was the master of his own destiny and the sole author of his own happiness or misery. The Pharisees, on the other hand, made everything dependent on 'fate' and God; still they did not teach an absolute fatalism; it had pleased God that there should be 'a mixture' of the Divine and human elements; there was a co-operation of God in all human actions, good and evil, but the doing of good or evil was to a large extent in man's power (*BJ* II. viii. 14; *Ant.* XVIII. i. 3, XIII. v. 9). 'Properly understood, the real difference between the Pharisees and Sadducees seems to have amounted to this: that the former accentuated God's preordination, the latter man's free-will; and that, while the Pharisees admitted only a partial influence of the human element on what happened, or the co-operation of the human with the Divine, the Sadducees denied all absolute preordination, and made man's choice of evil or good, with its consequences of misery or happiness, to depend entirely on the exercise of free-will and self-determination' (Edersheim, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, i. 316 f.). Though Josephus is our only authority for the denial of Divine providence on the part of the Sadducees, there is no good reason to question his substantial accuracy. They felt no need of a Divine providence, but relied entirely on their own resources. 'They claimed nothing from God, nor He from them' (Wellhausen, *l.c.* 295).

iv. THE SADDUCEES AND JESUS.—In the NT the Sadducees are mentioned by name only in Mt 3^{7} $16^{1.\ 6.\ 11f.}$ (in the parallel passage, Mk $8^{11ff.}$, they are not mentioned), $22^{23.\ 34}$, Mk 12^{18}, Lk 20^{27}, Ac 4^{1} 5^{17} $23^{6.\ 7.\ 8}$. They are not mentioned by name in St. John's Gospel, where, however, we find the expression 'chief priests and Pharisees' ($7^{32.\ 45}$ $11^{47.\ 57}$ 18^{3}) instead of the 'Pharisees and Sadducees' of Mt and Mk. It was only towards the close of His life that our Saviour came into open conflict with them. They had little influence with the people, especially in religious matters; His criticism was therefore mainly directed against the Pharisees and scribes, the supreme religious authorities, although, according to Mt $16^{6.\ 11}$, He also warned His disciples against the leaven of the Sadducees, meaning, probably, their utterly secular spirit. They, on their part, seem to have ignored Him, until, by driving the money-changers out of the temple (Mt $21^{12f.}$, Mk $11^{15ff.}$, Lk $19^{45f.}$), He interfered with the prerogatives of the Sanhedrin. His acceptance of the Messianic title 'son of David' also filled them with indignation against Him (Mt $21^{15f.}$). They accordingly joined the scribes and Pharisees in opposition to Him, and sought to destroy Him (Mk 11^{18}, Lk 19^{47}), first, however, attempting to discredit Him in the eyes of the people, and to bring down upon Him the vengeance of the Romans, by their questions as to His authority, as to the resurrection, and as to the lawfulness of paying tribute to Cæsar (Mt $21^{23ff.}$ $22^{23ff.}$, Mk $11^{27ff.}$ $12^{18ff.}$, Lk $20^{1ff.\ 19ff.\ 27ff.}$; cf. Jn $11^{47ff.\ 57}$). In the Sanhedrin that tried Him they probably formed the majority, and the 'chief priests,' who presided, belonged to their party. The ostensible ground on which they condemned Him was His claim to be the Messiah; this was blasphemy against God, for which they decreed Him worthy of death (Mt $26^{63ff.}$, Mk $14^{61ff.}$, Lk $22^{66ff.}$). But the Sadducees, at least, were doubtless even more influenced by the fear that a Messianic movement led by Jesus might have disastrous political consequences (cf. Jn $11^{47ff.}$).

After our Lord's Ascension they persisted in their opposition to Him in the person of His disciples (Ac $4^{1ff.}$ $5^{17ff.}$ $23^{1ff.}$). We are not informed that any of them joined the infant Church; for, as we have seen, the priests, a great company of whom were obedient to the faith (Ac 6^{7}), were not necessarily of their party. According to Josephus (*Ant.* XX. ix. 1) they were also responsible for the death of James, the 'brother' of our Lord.

---

[*] For a full account of these controversies see Montet, *l.c.* 236 ff., where the authorities are given; also Schürer, *l.c.* 412 ff.

LITERATURE.—See literature at end of art. PHARISEES.

D. EATON.

SADDUK (B Σαδδούλουκος, A Σάδδουκος, AV Sadduc), 1 Es 8^{2}.—Zadok the high priest, ancestor of Ezra (cf. Ezr 7^{2}).

SADOC.—1. (*Sadoch*) An ancestor of Esdras, 2 Es 1^{1}=ZADOK of Ezr 7^{2}. 2. (Σαδώκ) A descendant of Zerubbabel and ancestor of Jesus, Mt 1^{14}.

SAFFRON (כַּרְכֹּם *karkôm*, κρόκος, *crocus*).—*Kŭrkŭm*, the Arab. form of *karkôm*, is defined in the Arab. dictionaries by *za'farân*, from which the Eng. word *saffron* is derived. Three sorts of plants are known in Arab. by the name *za'farân*:—(1) The genus *Colchicum*, of the order *Liliaceæ*. The three styles of the species of this genus are long, and often orange-coloured, but are not used in medicine or cookery. The corm and seeds are medicinal. (2) *Carthamus tinctorius*, L., the Safflower or Bastard Saffron. This is an annual plant of the order *Compositæ*, 3–5 ft. high, having a head of orange-coloured flowerets as large as a walnut. These flowerets are employed for the same purposes as the true saffron, and, being much cheaper, they are used to adulterate the more costly commodity. They are also used in dyeing. The safflower is cultivated in large quantities near Damascus. (3) The genus *Crocus*, of the order *Iridaceæ*, of which there are eight species in Palestine and Syria, besides the cultivated *C. sativus*, L. The orange-coloured styles and dissected stigmas of all the species of this genus are collected and dried, and used as a colouring material and aromatic in the preparation of food, esp. to impart a yellow tinge to boiled rice. They were formerly employed in medicine as an anti-spasmodic and emmenagogue. The most abundant of the wild species of crocus is *C. cancellatus*, Herb. Bot. The corms of this are edible, and are collected in considerable quantities, and sold in the streets of Damascus and other Oriental cities. They have a flavour somewhat like that of the chestnut. *Za'farân* is familiarly used for all the above-named plants. On the other hand, *kŭrkŭm* is not commonly used for any. It is the classical name for the *crocus* alone, but not confined to any one species. In the only passage in which *karkôm* occurs (Ca 4^{14}), *i.e.* among a list of cultivated garden aromatics, it prob. refers to *C. sativus*, L.

G. E. POST.

SAHIDIC VERSION.—See EGYPTIAN VERSIONS, vol. i. p. 669^{b}.

SAINT.—This stands in AV for two Heb. words. 1. קָדוֹשׁ (Aram. קַדִּישׁ in Daniel): (*a*) of *men*, Dt 33^{3}, Ps 16^{3} 34^{9} 106^{16}, Hos 11^{12} † [elsewhere and usually tr. 'holy'; see HOLINESS]; (*b*) of *angels* (a usage now obsolete), Dt 33^{2}, Job 5^{1} 15^{15}, Ps $89^{5.7}$, Zec 14^{5}, Dn 8^{13}; cf. Jude ^{14} and prob. 1 Th 3^{13} † [RV in all except last 'holy one(s),' see Driver on Dn 8^{13}]. 2. חָסִיד 1 S 2^{9}, 2 Ch 6^{41}, Pr 2^{8}+16 t. in Psalms [also tr. 'godly,' 'holy,' 'merciful'; see, more fully, Driver, *Par. Psalter*, 443 f.]. Both these words, with few exceptions (חָסִיד in Ps 4^{3} 12^{1} 16^{10} (?) 32^{6} 86^{2}, Mic 7^{2}, 1 S 2^{9} (?), Pr 2^{8}, Dt 33^{8}; קָדוֹשׁ in Ps 106^{16}, but this is hardly an exception), are used in the plural or with a collective noun, *i.e.* of a class. Neither in the OT nor NT is it usual for a righteous man to be called individually 'a saint' or 'the saint.' The reason of this is that a man's standing in relation to God was not regarded as one of isolated consecration or holiness, but as something attaching to him as member of a larger whole, to which the covenant relation in the first instance belonged. In the OT this larger unit was Israel, the holy nation; in the NT the Church, the holy nucleus of redeemed humanity. 'The saints'—'the saints of the Most High,' 'the people of the saints,' or most fully 'the people of the saints of the Most High' (Dn $7^{18.22.25.27}$ 8^{24})—were the members of a holy community, consecrated to a holy life as defined by the covenant on which the relation depends. Such, then, is the general notion expressed by the words קְדוֹשִׁים and חֲסִידִים, and their LXX and NT equivalents, ἅγιοι and ὅσιοι. But there are further distinctions which have to be noted.

Ἅγιοι and ὅσιοι. While קְדוֹשִׁים is rendered in the LXX by ἅγιοι, חֲסִידִים appears as ὅσιοι. The specific idea of the former is 'the consecrated,' or those in religious covenant with God; of the latter, 'the godly' or 'pious,' those dutiful to the religious relation. While ἅγιος is a very rare word in classical Greek, and was perhaps for that very reason chosen by the LXX, to the exclusion of the usual term ἱερός—so compromised by its use in pagan religion—ὅσιος, on the other hand, largely retains its classical meaning. Thus Plato (*Gorg.* p. 507*b*) says, περὶ μὲν ἀνθρώπους τὰ προσήκοντα πράττων δίκαι' ἂν πράττοι, περὶ δὲ θεοὺς ὅσια; and elsewhere he makes δίκαιος the generic and ὅσιος the specific term (cf. also Xen. *Anab.* II. vi. 25). Accordingly, in the OT, it is objective sanctity that is expressed by οἱ ἅγιοι (=οἱ ἡγιασμένοι=ὁ λαὸς αὐτοῦ in Dt 33^{3}; cf. Ezr 8^{28} ὑμεῖς ἅγιοι τῷ κυρίῳ); whereas subjective sanctity—response in feeling and conduct to God's חֶסֶד, or graciousness—is usually emphasized in the use of οἱ ὅσιοι (=οἱ ἀγαπῶντες τὸν Κύριον in Ps 96^{10}, where we have also φυλάσσει Κύριος τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ὁσίων αὐτοῦ, cf. 97^{10}: so μετὰ ὁσίου ὁσιωθήσῃ, καὶ μετὰ ἀνδρὸς τελείου τελειωθήσῃ, καὶ μετὰ ἐκλεκτοῦ ἐκλεκτὸς ἔσῃ, 2 S $22^{26f.}$=Ps 18^{26}, and cf. Dt 33^{8}). Of course the gracious conduct of 'the godly' is but a realization of the idea of their relation as God's 'consecrated ones'; but it is this their conduct, in dutiful loyalty to the Covenant shown in habitual act, that marks them ὅσιοι (as in Ps 50^{5} συναγάγετε αὐτῷ τοὺς ὁσίους αὐτοῦ, τοὺς διατιθεμένους τὴν διαθήκην αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ θυσίαις). This agrees with the fact that ὅσιος sometimes renders words like זַךְ, טָהוֹר, תָּם, תָּמִים; and that its normal equivalent חָסִיד is also rendered by ἐλεήμων (Jer 3^{12}, of God), εὐσεβής (Mic 7^{2}), εὐλαβούμενος (Pr 2^{8}); while חֲסִידֶיךָ is paraphrased by οἱ υἱοί σου in 2 Ch 6^{41}. Further, *ḥāsîd* is used only of persons; and here one remembers the title *Ḥăsîdîm*, by which the godly called themselves in Maccabæan days; see art. HASIDÆANS. The opposite holds of οἱ ἅγιοι, in which the stress falls on the covenant relation, though at times not without suggestions, in the context, of the practical loyalty thereto of those thus described. These distinctions and contrasts also persist fairly constantly through the later parts of the LXX, including the Psalms of Solomon.

When we reach the NT, the striking thing is the total disappearance of οἱ ὅσιοι as a title of God's own people. In a substantival sense ὅσιος is used only of Jesus as Messiah, and that after Ps 16^{10} (Ac 2^{27} 13^{35}). On the other hand, the prerogative phrase for members of the sacred Society of Israel, οἱ ἅγιοι, is transferred to the members of Christ's Ecclesia, as consecrated to the Messianic Kingdom in keeping with the holy calling of God. It was, in all probability, the overshadowing sense of the privilege of such a status, and of the Divine action as bringing it about, that caused the objective side to obtain such exclusive emphasis as to prevent the term expressive of human devoutness (οἱ ὅσιοι) from emerging as before. Christians stood as men called out or sanctified by electing grace (ἐκλεκτοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, Col 3^{12}; cf. Eph 1^{4} κλητοὶ ἅγιοι, 1 Co 1^{2}, Ro 1^{7}), their sainthood determined by their relation to Christ as believers (ἁγίοις κ. πιστοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ, Eph 1^{1}, Col 1^{2}; cf. ἐν τοῖς ἡγιασμένοις πίστει τῇ εἰς ἐμέ, Ac 26^{18}), on the basis of His sacrificial death (He $10^{10.14}$), which inaugurated the New Covenant (v.^{29}).

'Saints by effectual calling' is thus the primary sense of 'the saints.' But in all a new spirit or a renewed heart is assumed to exist, the subjective response quickened by the message of so great redemption. All the justified are 'saints,' and as such are marked by true 'repentance from dead works and faith towards God.' But faith towards God in Christ involves devotion to an obedient walk after Christ's example, 'as befitteth saints' (Eph 5^{3}); and to this practical aspect of saintship attention is growingly directed as time goes on. St. Paul is constantly calling on his converts to commit themselves, once for all, to conduct 'worthy of the Lord unto all pleasing' (Col 1^{10}). St. Peter keeps before his readers the obligation of saintliness, after the pattern of the Holy Father, and in remembrance of the superlative cost of their initial redemption from their former vain manner of life (1 P 1^{15-21}); and he refers women to the example of 'the holy women' in the OT (3^{5}). In the Apocalypse we read of 'the patience of the saints, those who keep God's precepts and the faith of Jesus' (14^{12}); and are told that 'the fine linen is the righteous deeds (δικαιώματα) of the saints' (19^{8}). And indeed this expectation that fundamental consecration will appear in conduct and character, is a necessary corollary of the belief that the believer as such was 'sealed' a member of the Messianic community by the *Holy* Spirit. Here lay the significance of Christian baptism (1 Co 6^{11}); and St. Paul at least built his whole theory of sanctification upon the abiding presence of the Holy Spirit in the 'saint' as the immanent principle of his new life (Ro $8^{4.\,14\text{f.}}$, 1 Th $4^{7.\,8}$). It is by His energy that the regenerate will wars its warfare against the flesh and attains fuller life (8^{13}); it is in virtue of His indwelling that the saint shall enjoy the final redemption of his whole man, including release from the bondage of bodily corruption ($8^{11.\,23}$); and the animating impulse of the very life of prayer, whereby saints overcome, and realize full manhood in Christ (Eph $4^{12\text{ff.}}$), is still the self-same Holy Spirit (Ro $8^{26\text{ff.}}$, Eph $3^{16\text{ff.}}$ 4^{30} 6^{18}). See SANCTIFICATION.

LITERATURE.—The material is collected in Trench, *Synonyms of the NT*, and in Cremer, *Bib.-Theol. Lex.*, *s.* ἅγιος and ὅσιος.

J. V. BARTLET.

SALAMIEL.—An ancestor of Judith, Jth 8^{1} (BA Σαλαμιήλ, ℵ Σαμαμιήλ). See SHELUMIEL.

SALAMIS (Σαλαμίς; *Salamis*), the first place visited by Paul and Barnabas on the first missionary journey (Ac 13^{5}), was, as early as the 6th cent. B.C., one of the most important Greek towns of Cyprus. Under the Persians, it was the seat of one of the many Greek princes of the island; and in Roman times it was a flourishing mercantile town, from which the eastern half of Cyprus was governed. Having been overthrown by an earthquake in the reign of Constantine, it was rebuilt by Constantius, and under the name of Constantia became the capital of Cyprus. From A.D. 367–403 the bishop of Constantia was Epiphanius.

Under the Roman empire the Jews were very numerous in Cyprus; and there must have been a large colony of them at Salamis, with several synagogues. They were no doubt attracted by the facilities for trade afforded by the fine harbour of Salamis, and the farming of the copper mines of Cyprus to Herod the Great (Jos. *Ant.* XVI. iv. 5). The word was preached in Cyprus soon after the martyrdom of Stephen (Ac $11^{19.\,20}$), and amongst the early converts was Mnason (Ac 21^{16}). Barnabas was a Cypriote (Ac 4^{36}), and so possibly was John Mark, who accompanied Paul and Barnabas to Cyprus. During the suppression of the insurrection of the Jews in the reign of Hadrian, Salamis suffered greatly, and was almost deserted.

Salamis stood on the seashore at the eastern end of the great fertile plain—Salaminia—which stretches westward for many miles between two ranges of mountains. Its harbour was good, and from it the rich products of Cyprus were shipped to Seleucia and the Syrian coast. The harbour is now filled with sand and overgrown with thorns and thistles; and a few broken columns and fragments of mural masonry alone remain to mark the greatness of the ancient city. The site is about 3 miles from the modern *Famagusta*, and not far from it is the Greek monastery of St. Barnabas.

C. W. WILSON.

SALASADAI.—An ancestor of Judith, Jth 8^{1} (B Σαρασαδαί, A Σαλασαδαί, ℵ Σαρισαδαί).

SALATHIEL.—**1.** The father of Zerubbabel, 1 Es $5^{5.\,48.\,56}$ 6^{2} (Σαλαθιήλ, and so in the genealogies of Mt 1^{12} and Lk 3^{27}). See SHEALTIEL and ZERUBBABEL. **2.** Another name of Esdras, 2 Es 3^{1} (*Salathiel*).

SALECAH (סַלְכָה; Ἀσελχά, Σελχά, Σεκχαί, Ελχά, Ἀχά; *Salecha*, *Salacha*; AV Salcah, in Dt 3^{10} Salchah).—Salecah, one of the cities of Og (Jos 12^{5}), was on the eastern boundary of Bashan, to which the kingdom of Og extended (Dt 3^{10}, Jos 13^{11}). Though not specially mentioned, it must have been included in 'all the kingdom of Og, king of Bashan,' which was given to the half tribe of Manasseh (Jos 13^{30}). But in 1 Ch 5^{11} the children of Gad are said to have dwelt 'in the land of Bashan unto Salecah.'

Salecah was held by the Nabatæans under king Aretas (B.C. 9–A.D. 40), whose coins have been found in the ruins. It was an important place in Roman times, and was specially sacred to Allat, the mother of the gods. It is identical with the present *Ṣalkhad*—the *Ṣarkhad* of Abulfeda, who mentions its numerous vineyards, and the *Selcath* of William of Tyre, in whose day it was a strong fortress. The town occupies a commanding position a little south of the last spurs of *Jebel Haurân*, at the point where the great eastern road, that led from Gadara to the Persian Gulf, entered the desert. In the town, now occupied by Druses, there are many of the ancient houses—some almost perfect. The water-supply was, and still is, derived from rain water collected in reservoirs and cisterns. A conical volcanic hill rises to a height of over 300 ft. above the town, and in its crater stands the castle. It was built, or rebuilt, by the Romans, and must afterwards have been restored by the Arabs or the Seljûk Turks, for at the time of the Crusades it was an important fortress. From it the old Roman road can be seen running straight as an arrow over the plain towards Bosra and Gadara, and eastward as it enters the desert on its way to the Persian Gulf (Porter, *Giant Cities of Bashan*, p. 75; Heber-Percy, *A Visit to Bashan and Argob*).

C. W. WILSON.

SALEM (Σάλημος, AV Salum), 1 Es 8^{1} = Shallum, an ancestor of Ezra (cf. Ezr 7^{2}); called also SALEMAS (?), 2 Es 1^{1}.

SALEM (שָׁלֵם, *i.e.* Shalem; Σαλήμ; *Salem*).—**1.** A place of which Melchizedek was king (Gn 14^{18}, He $7^{1.\,2}$). It was, apparently, near a broad open valley (*'ēmeḳ*), called 'the vale of Shaveh,' or 'the king's vale' (Gn 14^{17}). Various positions have been assigned to Salem. Josephus and the Jewish commentators identified the town with Jerusalem, and believed Salem to be the ancient name of that city (Jos. *Ant.* I. x. 2, *BJ* VI. x.; Onkelos and all the Targg.). This was also the opinion of the early Christians, for Jerome (*Qu. in Gen.*) writes of Melchizedek as 'king of Salem, which was the old name of Jerusalem,' and he alludes to the same belief in *Ep.* lxxiii. *ad Ev.* § 2. (See also Eus. *Onom.* Ἱερουσαλήμ). Jerome himself, however, identified Salem with a place called *Salumias*, in the Jordan Valley, 8 miles south of Scythopolis, where the ruins of the palace of Melchizedek were shown (*Ep.* lxxiii. *ad Ev.* § 7; *Onom. s.* 'Salem,' 'Aenon'). At this spot there is now an artificial mound (*tell*), and on it the tomb of *Sheikh Salim*. In a fragment preserved by Eusebius (*Præp. Ev.* ix. 22) the meeting of Abram and Melchizedek is said to have taken place in 'Ar-Garizin, that is, Mt. Gerizim. This is probably a tradition derived from the belief, current in the times of Eusebius and Jerome, that Shechem was the Shalem (AV, RVm) of Gn 33^{18} (*Onom. s.* 'Salem,' 'Sichem'). This view was advocated by Dean Stanley (*S. and P.* 250). The Samaritan tradition places Salem at *Sâlim*, east of *Nâblus*. Bochart (*Phaleg* ii.) and Ewald (*Gesch.* i. 410) supposed Salem to have been east of Jordan, between Damascus and Sodom.

The most probable view is that Salem was Jerusalem. The arguments in its favour are:—that Jerus. is so called in Ps 76^2 (see below); that Salem as the residence of a priest-king must have been an important and well-known city, and that, if it be not Jerusalem, it is only once mentioned in the OT; the similarity of the names of the two kings Melchizedek and Adonizedek (Jos 10^1, if this and not Adonibezek is the correct reading, see ADONIZEDEK); and the parallel drawn between Melchizedek and the king of the line of David ruling at Jerusalem (Ps 110^4). In the Tel el-Amarna tablets, which are earlier than the conquest of Palestine by Joshua, Jerusalem appears as *Uru-'salim*, that is, according to Sayce [but this interpretation is extremely doubtful], the city of the god Salim, or god of peace. It may be added that Abram's route on his return from Damascus to Hebron might well have passed through Jerus., and that the vale of Shaveh may have been the broad open head of the valley of Hinnom before it contracts and becomes a ravine (*gai*). See, further, Dillm. on Gn 14^{17}; Sayce, *HCM* 295 ff., *EHH* 28; Hommel, *AHT* 201.

2. (*ἐν εἰρήνῃ*; *in pace*) There is a general agreement that in Ps 76^2 'Salem' is Jerusalem. Each of the two names Salem and Zion indicates Jerusalem as the special seat of Divine worship, as Judah and Israel each stand for the whole nation in Ps 76^1 114^2.

3. The valley of Salem (*τὸν αὐλῶνα Σαλήμ*) is mentioned (Jth 4^4) as one of the places to which the people of Judæa sent messengers on the approach of Holofernes. Reland suggests (*Pal.* p. 977) that the original Heb. reading was למישור לשלם (=*εἰς αὐλῶνα εἰς Σαλήμ*, 'into the plain to Salem,' that is, into the Jordan Valley (*Αὐλών*) to Salem), and that the Greek translators rendered without the repeated *εἰς*. The place was very possibly that called *Salumias* by Jerome (see above), which was situated not far from the point at which the ancient road from Bethshean to Shechem left the plain of the Jordan and entered the hills.

4. In Jer 41 [48] ^{5} the LXX (B) reads Salem for Shiloh. This Salem, if the reading be correct, must have been near Shechem, and possibly at *Sâlim* to the east of *Nâblus*.

C. W. WILSON.

SALEMAS (*Salame, Salemas*, AV Sadamias), 2 Es 1^1=Shallum, an ancestor of Ezra (cf. Ezr 7^2); called also Salem, 1 Es 8^1. There is some doubt as to the nominative of this name in 2 Esdras. It occurs in the genitive, for which Dr. James reads in the text Saleme, with note 'Salemæ A.'

SALIM (*Σαλείμ*; *Salim*).—A town or village named (Jn 3^{23}) to indicate the position of Ænon,—the 'springs' in which John was baptizing,—and, presumably, a well-known place. It was on the west side of Jordan (cf. Jn 3^{26} with 1^{28} and 10^{40}), but its site has not yet been determined. Various identifications have been suggested.

(1) Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom. s.* 'Ænon') state that in their day Ænon was shown 8 miles south of Scythopolis, near Salim (*Salumias*), and the Jordan. This Salim is now, apparently, *Tell Ridhghah* (see SALEM), not far from which is a group of fine springs that answer well to the 'many waters' of Ænon. It has been objected to this site that, as it was in Samaria, the Jews would not have gone to it to be baptized. But it is probable, from its position, that Salumias was in the district of Scythopolis—a town of Decapolis, with a large population of Jews noted for their strict performance of all religious observances. See, further, Westcott on Jn 3^{23}.

(2) Robinson (*BRP* iii. 333) and Conder (*Tent-Work*, i. 91) have proposed *Sâlim*, east of *Nâblus*; but this place is 4 miles from the springs identified with Ænon, and separated from them by a range of hills. It is, too, in the heart of Samaria, and not far from Shechem.

(3) Barclay (*City of the Great King*, 558–570) identifies Ænon with the copious springs in *Wâdy Fârah*, to the N.E. of Jerusalem, and is of opinion that Salim was in the *Wâdy Suleim* near *'Anâta* (Anathoth).

(4) Büsching identifies Salim with *'Ain Karim*, the traditional birthplace of St. John.

(5) Alford (*Gr. Test.* Jn 3^{23}) and Riehm (*HWB*, *s.* 'Salim') suppose Salim and Ænon to be Shilhim (LXX *Σελεείμ*) and Ain in the Negeb (Jos 15^{32}). But these two places in the southernmost parts of Judah, as yet unidentified, seem to be too far removed from what is known of the scene of the Baptist's labours.

C. W. WILSON.

SALIMOTH (B *Σαλειμώθ*, A *'Ασσαλιμώθ*, due to a wrong division of syllables in the names *Βανί* | *ασΣαλιμώθ*, AV Assalimoth), 1 Es 8^{36}. Called Shelomith, Ezr 8^{10}.

SALLAI (סַלָּי).—**1.** The eponym of a Benjamite family which settled at Jerusalem after the Return, Neh 11^8 (*Σηλεί*). **2.** The name of a priestly family, Neh 12^{20} (Bℵ*A om., $ℵ^{c.a}$ *Σαλλαί*), called in v.^{7} Sallu.

SALLU.—**1.** The eponym of a Benjamite family which settled at Jerusalem after the Return, 1 Ch 9^7 (סַלּוּא; B *Σαλώμ*, A *Σαλώ*), Neh 11^7 (סַלָּא; B *Σηλώ*, $ℵ^{c.a}$ *Σηλώμ*). **2.** The name of a priestly family, Neh 12^7 (סַלּוּ; Bℵ*A om., $ℵ^{c.a}$ *Σαλουαί*), called in v.^{20} Sallai.

SALLUMUS (*Σάλλουμος*), 1 Es 9^{25}=Shallum, Ezr 10^{24}; called Salum, 1 Es 5^{28}.

SALMA.—See SALMON.

SALMAI (שַׂלְמַי).—The eponym of a family of Nethinim, Neh 7^{48} (B *Σαλαμεί*, A *Σελμεί*, ℵ *Σαμαεί*), called in Ezr 2^{46} **Shamlai** (*Ḳerê* שַׂמְלַי; *Kethîbh* שַׁלְמַי followed by AV text **Shalmai**; B *Σαμαάν*, A *Σελαμί*), and in 1 Es 5^{30} SUBAI.

SALMANASAR (*Salmanasar*).—2 Es 13^{40}=SHALMANESER (which see).

SALMON, or **SALMA** (שַׂלְמוֹן Ru 4^{21}, שַׂלְמָה Ru 4^{20}, שַׂלְמָא 1 Ch $2^{11\,bis.\,51.\,54}$, LXX *Σαλμάν* Ru B, 1 Ch 2^{11}A; *Σαλμών* Ru A, 1 Ch 2^{11} B; *Σαλωμών* 1 Ch $2^{51.\,54}$; NT *Σαλμών* with variant *Σαλά* (ℵ* B Aeth.) in Lk 3^{32}).—The father of Boaz and son of Nahshon of the tribe of Judah (Ru $4^{20.\,21}$), and therefore in the direct line of the ancestry of our Lord (Mt $1^{4.\,5}$, Lk 3^{32}). If the Salma of 1 Ch $2^{51.\,54}$ is the same person, he was the 'father' or 'founder' of Bethlehem, but it is to be noticed that that Salma is reckoned as one of the sons of Caleb the son of Hur.* From Mt 1^5 we learn that Salmon married Rahab. The Salma of 1 Ch 2^{54} had many descendants,—Bethlehem and the Netophathites, Atroth-beth-Joab, and half of the Manahathites, the Zorites,—but the text of the verse seems to have been corrupted. Some have wished to distinguish between Salma and Salmon, in order to lengthen the genealogy, but it is scarcely to be conceived that a different person is intended in the two consecutive verses of Ruth ($4^{20.21}$). As to the genealogy of Christ, Eusebius (*HE* ii. 7) asserts quite distinctly that genealogical tables of various families, such as that of David, were in existence up to the time of the Herods. That this is possible may be gathered from the care exercised at the time of the return from the Babylonish captivity about noting those who 'could not show their fathers' houses, and their seed, whether they were of Israel' (Ezr 2^{60}, cf. Neh 7^{61}).

---

* This cannot mean in any case that Salma was literally a son of Caleb.

H. A. Redpath.

SALMONE (Σαλμώνη; *Salmone*).—The name of a promontory at the N.E. end of Crete, now *Cape Sidero*, on which stood a temple of Athene. The Alexandrian ship in which St. Paul sailed from Myra for Italy, after reaching Cnidus with difficulty, met the full force of the N.W. wind, and could not continue her voyage on the direct track, which passed close to the southern points of Morea. The captain, consequently, determined to alter her course and, when off (κατά) Salmone (Ac 27^7), to work his way westward under the lee of Crete. The arguments in favour of a N.W. wind, and its influence on the course of the ship, are well stated by Smith of Jordanhill (*Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, p. 35). C. W. Wilson.

SALOAS (B Σάλθας, A Σαλδας, AV Talsas, from the Ald.), 1 Es 9^{22} = Elasah, Ezr 10^{22}.

SALOM.—A Greek form (Σαλώμ) of the name Shallum (שַׁלּוּם). Its only application in EV is to Salom, the father of Hilkiah, Bar 1^7.

SALOME (Σαλώμη).—**1.** The daughter of Herodias, Mt 14^{3-6}, Mk 6^{17-22}; see Herod, vol. ii. pp. 355, 360. **2.** A woman present at the crucifixion, Mk 15^{40}, and afterwards a visitor at the sepulchre, Mk 16^1. The comparison of the former passage with Mt 27^{56} leaves little doubt that she was also the wife of Zebedee, and, if so, she figures in the incident of Mt 20^{20-23}. Nothing else is known of her, though there are many conjectures, of which the principal is that she was a sister of Mary, the mother of Jesus. In support of that view may be cited a reading of the Peshitta version of Jn 19^{25} (cf. also the Jerus. Syr. lectionary), and a presumptive unlikelihood, on account of the similarity of the names, that Mary the wife of Clopas was a sister of the mother of Jesus. James and John would thus be the cousins of Jesus, and the silence of the NT as to so close a relationship becomes significant. 'Many other women' were present at the crucifixion, Mk 15^{41}; and amongst these unnamed disciples must probably be sought the sister of Mary, the identification with Salome being precarious in the extreme, and sustained by no real evidence. See, further, art. Mary, vol. iii. p. 278 f. R. W. Moss.

SALT (מֶלַח, ἅλας, ἅλς).—This mineral (sodium chloride) is in such general use as a condiment to food amongst all civilized nations that it has become a necessity; and undoubtedly it is beneficial in the animal economy as an antiseptic, and a preventive to the development of intestinal worms. Even wild animals feel its necessity as well as domestic cattle; and it is well known that in former times when the bison roamed in immense herds over the plains of North America they made long journeys to the 'salt-licks,' or salinas, for the purpose of licking the ground coated with this mineral. Salt of commerce is one of the most abundant of substances, and is found to a greater or less extent in nearly all countries, especially in England, Germany, Switzerland, and the Austrian Alps; in India, both in the salt range of the Punjab and in the great salt lake of Sambur in Rajputana; in China, and in N. America. In Europe and the British Isles its chief source is the Triassic formation. It is also the most abundant saline ingredient in the waters of the ocean * and of most salt lakes. On the coasts of Spain, Italy, and some other countries, salt of commerce is largely extracted from the oceanic waters by evaporation. Salt is found also in the waters of nearly all rivers.

The chief source of salt in Palestine is, and always has been, the terraced hill, called *Khashm Usdum*, on the south-western shore of the Dead Sea (which see); and this trade is still carried on by the Arabs. Here a cliff of solid rock-salt from 30 to 60 ft. high,† capped by white marl, extends for a distance of nearly 7 miles along the shore of the lake, and affords an inexhaustible supply; while salt is also obtained from pits dug into the sand or slime of the shore, into which the waters of the Dead Sea are admitted and then allowed to evaporate. The abundance of salt was of the greatest use to the Israelites, not only for domestic purposes, but for use in the sacrifices of the temple (Lv 2^{13}, Ezr 6^9, Mk 9^{49}); and so Antiochus the Great, as a reward for the alliance of the Jews in his wars with Ptolemy Philopator, bestowed upon them gifts for their sacrifices, of wine, oil, and other articles, amongst which were 375 medimni of salt.‡ Cf. Ezk 47^{11} (RVm), where, in the prophetic description of the ideal future, after the Dead Sea as a whole has been sweetened, the marshes are still reserved for the production of salt.

Salt trade was extensively carried on in ancient times along the caravan routes in Syria, Palestine, and Northern Africa. One of the chief of these was the route from the ports of Phœnicia to the Persian Gulf through Palmyra. The Phœnicians manufactured salt by evaporation from sea-water, and used it for salting fish.

Emblematic Uses of the Term.—Owing to its purifying, sustaining, and antiseptic qualities, salt became an emblem of fidelity and friendship amongst Eastern nations. To have 'eaten of his salt,' and thus partaken of his hospitality, was (and still is) regarded by the Arabs as a token or pledge of eternal amity. So in the Bible it is used as an emblem of the Covenant ('a covenant of salt') between J" and His people (Nu 18^{19}, 2 Ch 13^5). In memorable language our Lord applies the expression to His disciples: 'Ye are the salt of the earth' (Mt 5^{13}). Again He says: 'Salt is good; but if the salt have lost its saltness, wherewith will ye season it?' and He concludes with the injunction: 'Have salt in yourselves, and have peace one with another' (Mk 9^{50}).

Excess of saltness in the ground produces sterility; hence a salt-land becomes emblematic of barrenness and desolation (Dt 29^{23}, Jer 17^6, Zeph 2^{11}); and a city when destroyed was sown with salt, in token that it was never again to be restored. Thus it happened in the case of Shechem when captured by Abimelech (Jg 9^{45}).

E. Hull.

SALT, CITY OF (עִיר הַמֶּלַח).—This was one of the cities which fell to the lot of the tribe of Judah, and was situated in the wilderness of

---

* In the proportion of 28 to 29 grammes per litre.

† Hull, *Mount Seir*, ch. xiv. p. 129; Lartet, *Voyage d'Exploration de la Mer Morte*; Tristram, *Land of Israel*, 326.

‡ Jos. *Ant.* xii. iii. 3. Revenue was raised by a tax on salt, the remission of which was offered the Jews by Demetrius king of Syria; *ib.* xiii. ii. 3.

Beth-arabah (Jos 15$^{61.62}$). It was also not far from En-gedi, the site of which we know; hence it may be inferred to have occupied some position on the western shore of the Dead Sea, between En-gedi and *Khashm Usdum* (the salt mountain. See art. SALT). E. HULL.

SALT SEA.—See DEAD SEA.

SALT, VALLEY OF (גֵּיא־מֶלַח).—The scene of memorable victories of David, or of Abishai his lieutenant, over the Edomites (2 S 8^{13}, 1 Ch 18^{12}),* and at a later period of Amaziah over the same hereditary enemies of Judah (2 K 14^{7}, 2 Ch 25^{11}). The position of this valley can scarcely be a matter for doubt, both on account of its historical associations as related in the above passages, and from the position of the salt mountain, *Khashm Usdum*, which rises from the western shore of the Dead Sea. The accounts of the battles would lead to the inference that the position was some valley lying between Jerusalem and Edom of which Petra (Sela) was the capital; and the name indicates the proximity of either the salt mountain or the salt sea. Both the inferences are satisfied by identifying the Valley of Salt with the plain extending from the southern end of the Dead Sea to the foot of the cliffs (the ascent of 'Aḳrabbim),† which cross the valley from side to side and form the southern margin of the Ghor. This plain is of sufficient extent to be the battleground for large armies. See arts. ARABAH and DEAD SEA. E. HULL.

SALTWORT (Job 30^{4} RV).—See MALLOWS.

SALU (סָלוּא).—The father of Zimri the Simeonite chief who was slain, along with the Midianitish woman, by Phinehas, Nu 25^{14} (B Σαλμών, A Σαλώ, Luc. Σαλώμ), 1 Mac 2^{26} (Σαλώμ, hence AV Salom).

SALUM (A Σαλούμ, B om.), 1 Es 5^{28} = Shallum, the head of a family of porters (cf. Ezr 2^{42}). Called Sallumus, 1 Es 9^{25}.

SALUTATION (NT *ἀσπασμός*; 'salute' in OT is expressed by ברך [lit. 'bless'] or שׁאל לְשָׁלוֹם [lit. 'ask for the peace of'], in NT by *ἀσπάζομαι* [also tr. in AV 'greet']).—In the modern East some word or act of salutation accompanies all social intercourse, the phrases and gestures being modified according to the occasion and the relationship of the parties. It is against all the courtesies of Oriental life to deliver any message, ask information, or pass to any matter of business, without some form of salutation by which inquiry is made after each other's welfare, and goodwill is expressed. Thus a traveller seeking direction from a peasant by the roadside must first hail him by expressing a wish that his toil may bring an ample reward. Similarly, a purchaser on entering a shop, before mentioning what he wants or engaging in the usual sword-play about the price, must salute the merchant with the wish that the day may prove one of blessing and profit. Remoteness from cities and centres of civilization does not mean ignorance of such etiquette, as the Bedawin of the desert excel in this politeness. No inferiority of position is allowed to excuse the omission of such courtesy: the beggar at the door expects a salutation along with the copper or piece of bread, and, if refused charity, claims that he shall at least be dismissed with a recommendation to the Divine care. Something of formal dignity mingles also with the daily salutations in the family. Some of the chief occasions of salutation are: the birth of a son, a marriage, the meeting of relatives away from home, the return of a friend from a journey, the appeals of the street beggar. Salutations are also offered to the host after partaking of refreshments, upon meeting a fellow-traveller on the road, and on visits of respect to ecclesiastical or government officials.

Oriental salutation, ancient and modern, owes much of its originating motive and distinctiveness of character to the following facts of Oriental life:—

(1) *The strong sense of personal dignity among Orientals.*—In Job 29 there is an enumeration of the elements of Oriental greatness, and a description of the happiness of the man who is met on every side by the reverence, obedience, and loving gratitude of those to whom he has been a benefactor. The same sense of dignity implies a quick recognition of affront, and a strong feeling of indignation when the claim to respect is repudiated. Hence the complaint over the cessation of the wonted reverence in Job 30. The narrative in the Bk. of Esther turns upon the salutation that Mordecai refused to Haman. Christ's Oriental hearers would be deeply stirred by the appeal of the affronted guest (Lk 7$^{44-46}$), and by the list of indignities heaped upon the neglected king (Mt 25$^{42.43}$). The ancient sculptures and paintings of Assyria and Egypt show the forms of prostration in which gods and kings were saluted and supplicated. Similar formalities are mentioned in the Bible as being employed in ordinary social life (Gn 32$^{17-20}$ 33^{3}, 1 S 25$^{23-31}$). The usual salute of reverence is that of standing erect. Thus children rise to salute their parents (Pr 31^{28}); and in the village, when the men are gathered in a room on the occasion of a marriage or funeral, it is customary for all to rise and stand whenever a member of the village or a visitor from the neighbourhood enters the room. There is a weird allusion to this custom in Is 14^{9}. The most impressive form of salutation is to kneel, and clasp and kiss the feet. This is done when some favour is sought or influence solicited on behalf of oneself or a friend (2 K 4^{27}). When words fail, and there are no more tears to shed, this oratory of silent helplessness seems to say, 'Cast me not away from thy presence' (Ps 51^{11}). It is the power of weakness over strength through the confession of weakness.

(2) *The comfort derived from physical health, peace of mind, and family affection.*—With Orientals the summit is always more pleasant than the ascent; work is undertaken in order to the attainment of rest rather than rest enjoyed in order to the renewal of labour. When anything urgent or important has to be done, the early morning is chosen, so that, if possible, rest of mind may be recovered before the evening (Gn 22^{3}, Jer 7^{25}). An Arabic proverb says, 'It is better to have bad news in the morning than news of any kind in the evening.' Hence a fulness of meaning, a sense of needed comfort, in the salutation of peace (שָׁלוֹם *shālôm*, *εἰρήνη*), implying both the safety of Divine protection and the restfulness of human friendship (Gn 26$^{29.31}$ 44^{17}, Ex 4^{18}, Nu 6^{26}, Jg 18^{6}, 1 S 1^{17} 20^{42} 25$^{6.35}$ 29^{7}, 1 Ch 12^{18}, Mk 5^{34}). The question of giving and receiving this salutation of peace was one of grave importance to travellers meeting strangers on the road. If the strangers were enemies, they would also be aliens in religion, and unable to call down the blessing of their god upon those who were under the protection of another. Even at the present day, Moslems, Jews,

---

* Both these passages, judging by the context, evidently refer to the same event, but in the former it is 'the Syrians' who are vanquished, in the latter it is 'the Edomites.' As it is extremely improbable that the Syrians should have been encountered at the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, we must suppose that the latter is the correct account, and that the former is an error due to transcription. (See Driver, *Sam.* 217 f.).

† '*Aḳrabbim*='scorpions,' which are found under the stones at this place.

and Christians shrink from bestowing upon each other the salutation of peace. To the Moslem especially it seems heterodox to wish peace to the infidel, and an impertinence to be thus saluted by him. These limitations are left behind in Mt 5^{47}. Hence the directness of the question, '*Art thou for us, or for our adversaries?*' (Jos 5^{13}), and the anxious inquiry, 'Is it peace?' (2 K 9^{17-22}). Hence also the abhorrence of deceitful salutation (Ps 28^{3}, Jer 6^{14} 8^{11}, Ezk 13^{10}). The ordinary hail of travellers on the road is the old formula mentioned in Ps 118^{26}, Mt 21^{9} 23^{39}, 'Blessed is he that cometh.' Among relatives and familiar friends the form of salutation after an interval of separation is to kiss on both cheeks, or on each side of the neck. It is the kiss of brotherly love, and is frequently referred to in Scripture (Gn 27^{27} $29^{11.13}$ 31^{55} 33^{4}, Ex 4^{27}, Ps 85^{10}; cf. Ro 16^{16}, 1 Co 16^{20}, 2 Co 13^{12} 'Salute one another with a holy kiss,' similarly 1 Th 5^{26} 'Salute all the brethren with a holy kiss,' and 1 P 5^{14} 'Salute one another with a kiss of love'). In the case of children saluting their parents, scholars their teachers, and servants their masters, the custom is to stand, and, bowing down, to kiss the hand. In Oriental letters the opening sentence frequently begins with the expression, 'After kissing your hands,' as a token of respect. This reverential salutation of kissing the hands is always given to priests, rabbis, and sheikhs of religion. It was the salutation claimed by the Pharisees (Mk 12^{38}). Absalom changed the salutation of respect to that of equal friendship (2 S $15^{5.6}$). There prevails at the present time a compromise of courtesy by which one seizes the hand of a friend in order to give the kiss of veneration, but the other defeats the design by quickly withdrawing his hand as soon as his fingers have been touched. See art. KISS.

In Bible instances of salutation, where one person falls upon the neck of another, the Heb. word for 'neck' (צַוָּאר *ẓavvār*) is used in the *dual* [probably not *plural*] as indicating the two sides that are kissed (Gn 27^{16} 33^{4} 45^{14} 46^{29}, Ca 4^{9}).

In Oriental salutation great attention is paid to asking after each other's health and general welfare, in the course of a call of courtesy or on an occasion of meeting. It is exceedingly trying to a Western, who craves some exchange of thought, to have to answer these repeated inquiries after his health, more especially as every such inquiry begins another circulating decimal of devout commonplaces. It is owing to the prominence given to this matter that the visit of salutation in the Bible is often described as a health-inquiry (1 S 10^{4} 17^{22} 30^{21} RV gives the more general 'salute' instead of 'ask of welfare' in 1 Ch 18^{10}). The union of reverence and affection in salutation is exemplified in Ex 18^{7}, 1 S 20^{41}, 2 S 14^{33}. The salutation of bowing and kissing was employed in the worship of Baal (Job 31^{27}, 1 K 19^{18}).

The injunction, 'Salute no man by the way' (2 K 4^{29}, Lk 10^{4}), referred to the inevitable delay imposed by common courtesy in asking and answering formal inquiries as to health, family, etc. The special responsibility of one sent by another is recognized by the Orientals, and the messenger is saved from the charge of rudeness by a proverb which says, 'The messenger has only to deliver his message.'

(3) *The deep-seated conviction that both blessing and cursing in salutation tend to work out their fulfilment.*—It was of importance to give or to withhold the salutation of peace. The salutation at parting took the form of a benediction (Ru $1^{9.14}$, 1 S 20^{42}, 2 S 19^{39}), and consequently the same word might mean 'rejoice' or 'farewell' (Ph 4^{4}). This form of salutation is exemplified in rich fulness at the close of the Pauline Epistles. When Christ said that the 'peace' He gave was not after the custom of the world, He referred to the emptiness that had come to mark salutations that once expressed a precise meaning and a sincere desire (Lk 24^{36}, Jn 14^{27} 20^{19}). The disciples were told that when they went forth in His name, and invoked the Divine blessing on a house, and were refused admittance and hospitality, then the blessing returned to those who had uttered it. It was their introduction to what has since become a familiar law in the Christian service, that whatever is forfeited for the Lord is found in Him.

G. M. MACKIE.

SALVATION, SAVIOUR.—The purpose of this art. is to give a general survey of the doctrine of salvation as developed within the period covered by the Biblical writings. Of necessity the subject stands in close relations with others treated in the Dictionary, and the reader is therefore recommended to consult, in addition to special articles on such subjects as FAITH, MEDIATOR, REDEEMER, RANSOM, PAROUSIA, etc., the general articles on GOD, HOLY SPIRIT, JESUS CHRIST, MESSIAH, KINGDOM OF GOD, and ESCHATOLOGY. It will be the aim of this article, as far as possible, to avoid unnecessary repetition, and, passing over points of detail, to confine itself to a bird's-eye view of the doctrine as a whole.

i. The Words.
ii. The Idea (in general).
iii. History of the Idea.
    1. In the Old Testament.
    2. Between the Testaments.
    3. In the Teaching of Jesus.
    4. In the New Testament: (*a*) in general; (*b*) St. Paul; (*c*) St. John.
iv. Systematic Statement.
    1. Nature of Salvation: (*a*) temporal and spiritual; (*b*) individual and social; (*c*) present and future.
    2. Conditions of Salvation: (*a*) on the Divine side; (*b*) on the human side.
    3. Extent of Salvation: (*a*) in this life; (*b*) in the life to come; (*c*) in the universe.

i. THE WORDS.—'Salvation' is in OT tr. of a number of words, the principal of which are: יְשׁוּעָה, יֵשַׁע or יֶשַׁע, מוֹשָׁעוֹת [only Ps 68^{20} RV 'deliverances'], תְּשׁוּעָה, from the stem ישׁע (lit. 'to be broad, spacious'; only found in Niphal and Hiphil, the latter with the meaning 'deliver'); in the NT it is tr. of σωτηρία, from σώζω 'to save' (less frequently of τὸ σωτήριον, neut. of the adj. σωτήριος; *e.g.* Lk 2^{30} 3^{6}, Ac 28^{28}, Eph 6^{17}; cf. Tit 2^{11} ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ σωτήριος, 'the grace of God bringing salvation'). Other words translated 'save' in our VSS are in OT חִיָּה and הֶחֱיָה (Piel and Hiphil of חָיָה 'to live,' with the meaning 'to keep living,' 'to save alive'; so Gn 12^{12} 19^{19} 45^{7} [RV] 50^{20}, Ex $1^{17.18}$, Nu 22^{33} 31^{15}, Dt 20^{16}, Jos 2^{13} 6^{25}, Jg 8^{19} 21^{14}, 1 S 27^{11}, 1 K 18^{5} 20^{31}, 2 K 7^{4}, Ezk $13^{18.19}$, and esp. Ezk 3^{18} 18^{27}, where the reference is to escape from penalty through repentance); הִצִּיל (lit. 'to snatch away,' with meaning 'deliver,' by which it is usually rendered both in AV and RV; *e.g.* 1 S 12^{21} and often. The tr. 'save' occurs in AV only 2 S 19^{9}). מִלֵּט (Piel of unused מָלַט 'to slip away,' 'to escape,' with meaning 'to let *or* cause to escape,' hence 'to deliver'; 1 S 19^{11}, 2 S 19^{5}, 1 K 1^{12}, Job 20^{20}, Jer 48^{6}, and 2 S 19^{9} RV, Jer $51^{6.45}$); שָׁמַר (lit. 'to keep,' 'to preserve'; Job 2^{6}, RV 'spare'). In NT the word 'save' is usually the translation of σώζω, but the compound διασώζω is rendered 'save' in three instances (Lk 7^{3} RV, where AV renders 'heal,' Ac 27^{43}, 1 P 3^{20}, cf. Ac 23^{24} 'to bring safe'; elsewhere 'escape' Ac 27^{44} 28^{1}, or 'make whole' Mt 14^{36}), and the same is true in one case (2 P 2^{5} AV) of φυλάσσω (lit. 'to guard,' 'to preserve,' so RV). The phrase περιποίησις ψυχῆς in He 10^{39} is rendered 'saving of the soul' in both versions.

'Saviour' is the tr. in OT of the Hiph. ptcp. (מוֹשִׁיעַ) of ישׁע (so Jg $3^{9.15}$, Is 19^{20} 43^{11}, and often); in NT and LXX of σωτήρ, from σώζω.

ii. THE IDEA. — The root idea in salvation is *deliverance*. In every case some danger or evil is presupposed, in rescue from which salvation consists. Since in primitive times one of the greatest dangers to be feared is defeat in battle, salvation is often used in OT in the sense of 'victory' (*e.g.* Ex 15^2, 1 S 11^{13} RV 'deliverance,' 19^5 RV 'victory,' Ps 20^5 RVm 'victory'), and successful warriors are called 'saviours' (*e.g.* Jg $3^{9.\,15}$, Neh 9^{27}). But this is only one modification of a much broader usage. Men are said to be saved from trouble (Ps 34^6, Is 33^2, Jer 14^8 30^7; cf. 1 S 10^{19}, Ps $107^{13.\,19}$), enemies (2 S 3^{18}), violence (2 S 22^3, Ps 59^2 'bloodthirsty men'), reproach (Ps 57^3), exile (Ps 106^{47}, Jer 30^{10} 46^{27}, Zec 8^7), death (Ps 6^4, cf. v.^{5}), sin (Ezk 36^{29}, cf. Ps 130^8, Mt 1^{21}). Since all deliverance comes from God, He is frequently spoken of as 'Saviour' (so esp. in Deutero-Isaiah $43^{3.\,11}$ $45^{15.\,21}$ 49^{26} 60^{16} 63^8; but also Jer 14^8, Hos 13^4, 2 S 22^3, Ps 106^{21}). The name 'Saviour' is often applied to God in the Apocrypha (*e.g.* Ad. Est 15^2, Bar 4^{22}, Jth 9^{11}, Wis 16^7, Sir 51^1, 1 Mac 4^{30}; cf. 3 Mac $6^{29.\,32}$ 7^{16}, Ps-Sol 3^7 8^{39} 16^4 17^3). It is less frequent in NT, being found only in Lk 1^{47}, 1 Ti 1^1 2^3 4^{10}, Tit 1^3 2^{10}, Jude ^{25}. Elsewhere in NT the title is applied only to Jesus Christ (so Lk 2^{11} and often). With the growth of the Messianic idea we find the tendency to use the words 'save' and 'salvation' in a technical theological sense of the deliverance to be brought in with the Messianic age (*e.g.* Jer 23^6) or at the last day (Is 25^9). This usage, which is common in the Apocalyptic literature (*e.g.* Enoch 62^{13} 99^{10}, Apoc. Bar 68^3, 2 Es 8^3; cf. Ps-Sol 10^9 12^7), reappears in NT in such passages as Mt 10^{22} $24^{13.\,22}$ and parall., Ro 11^{26} 13^{11}, 1 Co 3^{15}, 2 Ti 4^{15} RV, He 9^{28}, 1 P $1^{5.\,9.\,10}$. The word is still used, however, in NT as in OT, in the wider sense of deliverance from trouble (so Ja 5^{15} of the healing of the sick, and often in the Gospels). With the deepening sense of moral evil, 'salvation' acquires a more profound ethical and spiritual meaning. It includes deliverance from sin itself as well as from the various evils which are the consequence of sin, and so comes to stand, in the spiritual realm as well as in the temporal, for a present experience as well as for a future expectation. The growth of this deeper meaning will become apparent as we pass to a brief review of the history.

iii. HISTORY OF THE IDEA.—

The Sources.—In the present state of Biblical criticism, any attempt to trace the development of a theological conception must be provisional. As a part of general history, the history of doctrine is dependent for its sources upon the results reached in the wider discipline, and the uncertainty which still obtains as to the date and authorship of many OT passages (*e.g.* Psalms) hinders the theologian in his attempt at constructive statement. On the other hand, the student of doctrine has an advantage over the general historian. For there is an inner logic of ideas which is quite independent of time and place. And it is often possible by the aid of this logic to trace the origin and development of conceptions, even where external evidence as to their history is lacking or uncertain. In the present article the general results of Biblical criticism are presupposed. It is assumed that the idea of salvation has had a history, the broad outlines of which we can trace, and that the record of this history is preserved for us in the Biblical writings, which, together with the contemporaneous Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical literature, constitute our sources. In what follows we shall give the different steps in the development of the idea in their natural order, even if the particular passages which illustrate a special usage be themselves of later or of uncertain date.

1. *In the Old Testament.*—The most signal instance of the Divine salvation in the early history of Israel, and the one which made the deepest impression on the national memory, was the deliverance from Egypt. The prophetic historian in the Pentateuch (J) relates with triumph how 'J″ saved Israel that day out of the hand of the Egyptians; and Israel saw the Egyptians dead upon the seashore' (Ex 14^{30}). The same glorious deliverance is celebrated in Ps 106 (cf. esp. vv.$^{7.\,8.\,10}$). In these passages we have the simplest meaning of 'salvation.' It is deliverance from present danger or trouble, more especially from defeat in battle. J″ is the Saviour of Israel, because He is the one from whom such deliverance comes. 'J″ is my strength and my song,' sings the author of the Song of Moses (Ex 15^2), 'and he is become my salvation.' And the context makes clear the sense in which this salvation is to be understood. 'J″ is a man of war, J″ is his name' (v.^{3}, cf. the title *J″ Sabaoth*, 'J″ of Hosts,' *i.e.* according to what is probably the best interpretation, J″ the God of the armies of Israel). The use of 'salvation' in this sense of victory in battle is frequent in the OT, esp. in the historical books. In the time of the judges J″ raised up 'saviours' in the persons of Othniel (Jg 3^9) and of Ehud (3^{15}). He sent Gideon to save Israel ($6^{14.\,15}$, cf. vv.$^{36.\,37}$), and required him to reduce his force to 300 men, lest Israel should say, 'mine own hand hath saved me' (7^2). In the time of their distress at Aphek the people send in haste to fetch the ark from Shiloh, 'that it may come among us and save us out of the hand of our enemies' (1 S 4^3). With the growth of the national life the importance of such deliverance increases. J″ made Saul to be king that he might save the people from the Philistines (1 S 9^{16}), and the same is true of David after him (2 S 3^{18} 'By the hand of . . . David I will save . . . Israel out of the hand of the Philistines and out of the hand of all their enemies'; cf. also 2 K 14^{27}). This view of J″ as the Saviour of Israel in battle finds classic expression in the Deuteronomic code (Dt $20^{2\text{-}4}$): 'And it shall be, when ye come nigh unto the battle, that the priest shall approach and speak unto the people, and shall say unto them, Hear, O Israel, ye draw nigh this day unto battle against your enemies: let not your heart faint; fear not, nor tremble, neither be ye affrighted at them; for J″ your God is he that goeth with you, to fight for you against your enemies, to save you.'

Side by side with this view of 'salvation' as victory in battle, goes the wider conception of it as deliverance from trouble. J″ not only delivers His people from their enemies (2 S 3^{18}), but from all their calamities and distresses (1 S 10^{19}, cf. Ps 107^{13}). He saves the poor man who cries to Him out of all his troubles (Ps 34^6, cf. 37^{39}). His salvation brings with it not merely deliverance, but security and prosperity. This close connexion with prosperity is clearly brought out in such a passage as Ps 118^{25} 'Save now, we beseech thee, O J″. O J″ . . . send now prosperity' (cf. Ps $106^{4.\,5}$ 'O visit me with thy salvation: that I may see the prosperity of thy chosen'). In more than one instance the Hebrew words usually translated 'salvation' are rightly rendered in EV 'welfare' (*e.g.* Job 30^{15} יְשׁוּעָה) or 'safety' (*i.e.* security, cf. Job $5^{4.\,11}$, Pr 11^{14} יֵשַׁע). Especially common is this connotation in connexion with the eschatological use of the word. Cf. Is 61^{10} 'I will greatly rejoice in J″, my soul shall be joyful in my God; for he hath clothed me with garments of salvation, he hath covered me with the robe of righteousness.' The salvation in which the redeemed Israel is here represented as rejoicing is the good time of safety and prosperity to be ushered in with the Messianic age. But this is already to anticipate the next meaning.

Thus far we have considered salvation as deliverance from present evil. The conception is both temporal and material. But with the rise of Messianic prophecy * we note a new development. The conception of salvation is still more or less external. It involves victory in battle, the defeat of enemies, and worldly prosperity. But this victory is not looked for in the present. There is a preceding judgment to take place, in which unfaithful Israel shall receive from J″ the just recompense of her sins. Only after this impending judgment, and then only for the faithful remnant, will J″ show Himself as Saviour. We have thus the beginnings of the use of the word in an eschatological sense, as one of the features of the Messianic age. The prominence of the conception varies greatly in the different prophets. In some it is almost overshadowed by the message of doom. In others it is a hope which burns bright and clear. Often judgment and salvation go hand in hand, as in such a passage as Is 35^{4} 'Your God will come with vengeance . . . he will come and save you.' The Messianic salvation is the theme of many of the Psalms (*e.g.* 53^{6} 'Oh that the salvation of Israel were come out of Zion! When God bringeth back the captivity of his people, then let Jacob rejoice and let Israel be glad.' Cf. 14^{7} $69^{29.\,35}$ 106^{47} 133^{16}). Especially common is the use of the word in the eschatological sense in the later portions of Isaiah (*e.g.* 25^{9} $45^{8.\,17}$ 46^{13} $49^{6.\,25}$ 51^{6} 56^{1} 61^{10} 62^{11}). From the prophets it passes over into the Apocalyptic books (*e.g.* Ps-Sol 10^{9} and often), and reappears in the NT with deepened ethical and spiritual meaning.

---

* The word 'Messianic' is here used in its broadest sense, to include the doctrine of a future Divine deliverance in all its forms, whether or not it involves the belief in a Messianic king of David's line.

Looking more closely at the content of this future salvation, we find that it has many features in common with the salvation already experienced in the past. It is still a time of victory over enemies, of worldly prosperity and joy. But there is a new element which enters into the conception through the experiences of the Exile. Whatever else the future salvation may bring with it, it involves restoration from captivity. Thus Jeremiah, looking forward to the day when God 'will raise up unto David a righteous branch,' who 'shall reign as King and deal wisely and shall execute judgment and justice in the land,' goes on to say that 'in his days Judah shall be saved and Israel shall dwell safely. . . . They shall no more say, As J″ liveth, which brought up the children of Israel out of Egypt; but as J″ liveth, which brought up and which led the seed of the house of Israel out of the north country, and from all the countries whither I have driven them; and they shall dwell in their own land' (Jer $23^{5\text{-}8}$; cf. $30^{7\text{-}9.\,18}$ 'Behold, I will turn again the captivity of Jacob's tents,' 31^{11}, and esp. 46^{27} 'Fear not thou, O Jacob my servant, neither be dismayed, O Israel. For, lo, I will save thee from afar, and thy seed from the land of their captivity; and Jacob shall return, and shall be quiet and at ease, and none shall make him afraid'). So Ezekiel looks for a day when God shall save His distressed flock, and gather them under one shepherd, even His servant David ($34^{22.\,23}$). And Zechariah confidently expects the time when God shall save His people 'from the East country and from the West country,' and shall 'bring them, and they shall dwell in the midst of Jerusalem' ($8^{7.\,8}$, cf. Is 66^{20}). The return from captivity is the theme of the Psalmist's prayer (106^{47}, cf. 53^{6}); and in the little hymn which forms the appendix of Is 11 the returned exiles are represented as praising God for His deliverance, and drawing water with joy out of the wells of salvation (12^{3}).

But the Jerusalem to which the exiles return is not to be in all respects the same as the old. We have emphasized the external features in the Messianic ideal. But we shall greatly misconceive the nature of Israel's hope if we regard it as purely external. The revelation of God's holiness had been too clearly apprehended by the prophets to make them content with any ideal which was not ethical. As the condition of enjoying the future salvation is repentance on Israel's part (Is $1^{19.\,20}$), so it includes as one of its chief elements the righteousness of the nation (Jer $31^{31\text{-}34}$). The Messianic age is to be a time of justice and judgment and of the pure worship of God. When the Messiah comes, he will be not merely a faithful shepherd (Ezk 34^{23}) but a just judge (Is $11^{3\text{-}5}$), binding up the broken-hearted, setting at liberty the captives, righting the wronged (Is 61^{1}), but at the same time punishing the guilty (Is 11^{4} 61^{2}); in short, realizing the ethical ideal, the failure to attain which had been the cause of all Israel's misfortunes. In the great eschatological passages in prophet and psalmist alike, salvation and righteousness go hand in hand (Is $45^{8.\,17}$ 46^{13} 51^{5} 61^{10}, cf. Ps 24^{5} 71^{15} $132^{9.\,16}$).

Such being in general the nature of the Messianic salvation, how widely shall we conceive its extent? In many passages indeed the prophetic vision seems bounded by Israel. The old oppressors are to be destroyed in the great judgment of the Day of J″ (Is 13. 34. $63^{1\text{-}6}$, Ezk 38. 39, esp. 39^{21}, Zeph $2^{4\text{-}15}$), or, if they survive at all, it is as captives, holding the same menial position which they had once imposed upon Israel (Jl 3^{8}, cf. Is $61^{5.\,6}$). Elsewhere, however, the prophetic horizon broadens, and we have the prediction of a day when the knowledge and service of J″ shall be shared by those who hitherto have known Him not. Jerusalem is to be the scene not only of a universal dominion, but of a universal worship (Mic $4^{1\text{-}4}$, cf. Is $2^{2\text{-}4}$, Is 60. $66^{19\text{-}21}$, Ps $68^{31.\,32}$, Zec $8^{22.\,23}$ $14^{16.\,17}$). Nay, the time is coming when the Divine worship shall not be confined to Jerusalem. The author of Is 19 associates Egypt and Assyria with Israel as worshippers of the one true God. 'In that day shall there be an altar to J″ in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof to J″. And it shall be for a sign and for a witness unto J″ of hosts in the land of Egypt; for they shall cry unto J″ because of the oppressors, and he shall send them a saviour and a defender, and he shall deliver them. And J″ shall be known to Egypt, and the Egyptians shall know J″ in that day' (vv.$^{19\text{-}21}$, cf. Zeph $3^{9.\,10}$, Ps 87). This conception of a salvation wider than Israel culminates in the great passage Is $49^{5.\,8}$. Here we have the sublime conception of Israel not merely as the recipient but as the minister of the Divine salvation. 'And now saith J″ that formed me from the womb to be his servant to bring Jacob again to him and that Israel be gathered unto him . . . yea, he saith, It is too light a thing that thou shouldst be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob and to restore the preserved of Israel; I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth' (cf. Is $45^{21\text{-}24}$ $55^{1\text{-}5}$).

Two features of the prophetic teaching still need special mention, as bearing on the development of the doctrine of salvation. The first is the growing transcendence of the conception; the second, the increasing stress laid upon the individual.

In the earlier prophets the Messianic ideal is essentially earthly. Jeremiah, for example, looks for the re-establishment of the Davidic monarchy, and the restoration of conditions more glorious indeed, but essentially the same as those which preceded the Exile (Jer 23^{5} 30^{9} $33^{17\text{-}22}$). But with the lapse of time we note the tendency to magnify the contrast between the Messianic age and that which it succeeds. The hope of Isaiah (ch. 11) of a renewed nature is taken up by his successors and developed with a great wealth of detail. In the Messianic age the wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad, and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose (Is 35^{1}). 'The wolf and the lamb shall feed together, and the lion shall eat straw like the ox' (65^{1}). The voice of weeping shall no more be heard in Jerusalem (65^{19}). There shall be no more darkness or gloom, for the uncertain luminaries of earth shall be superseded by a Divine light ($60^{19.\,20}$); the years of life shall be greatly extended (25^{8}); and those Israelites who have passed away in the gloom and despair of the Exile shall rise from their graves to share with their brethren in the Messianic glory (26^{19}, Dn 12^{3}).

It is not always easy to tell how far the passages which speak of a renewed nature are to be taken literally, and how far they are merely symbolical of the great fertility and prosperity of the Messianic age. But, whatever may be true of individual cases, there can be no doubt that the passages cited prepared the way for that transcendent view of the future which is characteristic of many of the Apocalyptic books. The prophetic hope seemed too great to be realized under existing conditions, and hence could be ushered in only by a complete transformation of the present order of things. The clearest anticipation of this new point of view is given by the unknown author of the last chapters of Isaiah in his doctrine of new heavens and a new earth (65^{17}, cf. 66^{22}). Where such a view-point obtains, the Day of J″ no longer has its significance, as in the older prophets, as ushering in a new stage of this world's history. It marks the division between two worlds or ages, separating the present period of probation and distress from the final age of fruition and judgment which is to be the scene of Israel's 'everlasting salvation' (Is 45^{17}. Cf. Dn 7^{14}; Targum on Gn 49^{18} (quoted by Cremer, *s.v.* σώζω): 'My soul waiteth not for the salvation of Gideon the son of Joas, for that is temporal, nor for the salvation of Samson, for it is passing, but for the salvation of the Messiah, the son of David, which through thy word thou hast promised to bring to thy people, the sons of Israel, for this redemption my soul waiteth; for thy redemption, O Jehovah, is an everlasting redemption').

The second feature which demands notice is the increasing stress laid upon the individual. In the earlier history of Israel the conception of salvation had been primarily national, but with the destruction of the nation the attention of the prophets was directed more and more from the people as a whole to the units which composed it. Jeremiah, and still more Ezekiel, are the prophets of this growing individualism, which appears clearly in such passages as Jer $31^{29.30}$, Ezk 18. No small part of Messiah's work consists in righting the wrongs of the oppressed, and re-establishing the widow and the fatherless in the rights of which they have been defrauded (Ps $72^{4.13}$, Is $11^{3.4}$ 61^{1-3}). Under Him, as under a faithful shepherd, all those who have been faithful to J″ during the period of Israel's misfortunes shall be gathered together to form a new commonwealth in which righteousness shall be the controlling feature (Ezk 34, cf. Is 60^{21}). This conception of God as the Saviour of the individual finds expression in the Wisdom literature (*e.g.* Job 5^{15} 22^{29} 26^{2}, Pr 20^{22}), and in many of the Psalms. J″ is the deliverer of the weak and the needy (109^{31}, cf. 18^{27} $72^{4.13}$), the Saviour of the meek (76^{9} 149^{4}, cf. Job 22^{29}), and of all that put their trust in Him (86^{2}, cf. 88^{1}). The poor man cried, and J″ heard him, and saved him out of all his troubles (34^{6}). He saves the upright ($37^{39.40}$), and such as be of a contrite spirit (34^{18}). He hears the cry of them that fear Him, and fulfils their desire (145^{19}). Whatever may be the true interpretation of many of the later Psalms, there can be no doubt that their tone was much influenced by this growing individualism. There is a sense of intimacy in relation to God, a confidence, a joy in trust in Him which can only be thus explained. Out of their own experiences in personal communion with God the writers have gained an insight into His tenderness and love which they transfer in thought to the nation. It is no accident that later ages have given an individualistic interpretation to psalms whose reference is clearly national. And if we do right, with many recent interpreters, to understand the suffering servant of Deutero-Isaiah, of Israel the nation, it was surely through some personal experience of affliction gladly borne for another's good that the prophet was raised to his sublime interpretation of the meaning of his people's deeper sufferings.

The crown of this individualism is reached in the doctrine of the resurrection, which unites in an unexpected way the conceptions of individual and of national salvation. In most of the OT, salvation is a conception which has meaning only for this life. There is indeed an existence after death, but it is gloomy and uneventful, without experience of God's mercy and grace. 'In death there is no remembrance of thee (God): in Sheol who shall give thee thanks?' (Ps 6^{5}). This earth is the scene of God's salvation, whether present or future; and even the glories of the Messianic age unroll themselves upon this platform, and will be enjoyed by those only who may be alive when the promised deliverance comes.

But with the growing sense of God's greatness and power came the conception that even the realm of the dead was under His control, and that the righteous who had died in distress might still hope after death to see the salvation of God. This hope, which appears in sporadic utterances in the Psalms (*e.g.* 49^{15} $73^{24.25}$), and finds classic expression in Job 19^{25-27} ('I know that my vindicator liveth,' etc.), culminates in the doctrine of individual resurrection, which meets us for the first time in Is 26^{19}, and is repeated in Dn 12^{1-3}.

But this growing individualism had a still more important consequence than in extending the range of the Divine salvation. It materially modified the idea of its nature. The conception of salvation with which we have thus far been dealing is, for all its ethical features, more or less external. It is deliverance from *the consequences of sin* rather than from *sin itself*. The prophets call upon men to repent and forsake their sins, that they may become worthy to receive the promised salvation. But with the deepening moral sense there comes the insight that even for repentance itself Divine help is needed, and the cry arises to God for a deliverance which shall include not merely the consequences of sin, but the very sin which has caused them. This new insight finds expression in such a prayer as that of the 51st Psalm: 'Create in me a clean heart, O God; and renew a firm spirit within me. Cast me not away from thy presence; and take not thy Holy Spirit from me. Restore unto me the joy of thy salvation; and uphold me with a willing spirit' (vv.$^{10-12}$). Here the salvation for which the Psalmist prays includes deliverance from sin as one of its elements (cf. Ps $130^{7.8}$ 'O Israel, hope in J″: for with J″ there is loving-kindness, and with him is plenteous redemption. And he shall redeem Israel from all his iniquities'; cf. Ps 39^{8} 79^{9}). It is the prophets of individualism, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, who give clearest expression to this idea of salvation as deliverance from sin. 'Behold, the days come, saith J″, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel. . . . But this is the covenant which I will make. . . . I will put my law in their inward parts, and in their heart will I write it; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people. And they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know J″: for all men shall know me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them, saith J″; for I will forgive their iniquity, and their sin will I remember no more' (Jer 31^{31-34}, cf. 33^{8}). 'And I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean: from all your filthiness, and from all your idols, will I cleanse you. A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you: and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you an heart of flesh. And I will put my spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes, and ye shall keep my judgments, and do them . . . and I will save you from all your uncleannesses' (Ezk 36^{25-29}, cf. 37^{23}). Here we have a conception of salvation which goes deeper than any external deliverance. The great prophet of the Exile carries on the same line of thought. To him the chief blessing of the Messianic age is the forgiveness of sins. It is not Israel whose righteousness deserves the salvation of J″, but J″ who goes out after His erring children, to forgive and redeem them for His name's sake (Is 43^{22-25}; cf. 44^{22} $33^{22.24}$ 64^{6-9} $65^{1.2}$, Zec 3^{9} 13^{1}). In such passages we have a direct preparation for the profound conception of the NT.

2. *Between the Testaments.*—In the Apocalyptic and Pseudepigraphical literature of the Jews we find a further development of the tendencies already noted in the OT. Extending over a period of some three centuries, its earlier portion contemporaneous with the later parts of the OT, its later (*e.g.* Apoc. Baruch, 2 Esdras) with the NT, it bridges the gap between the two in thought as well as in time. This is especially true in connexion with our doctrine. In not a few places indeed 'salvation' is still used in the sense of present deliverance (*e.g.* Jth 8^{17}, Ep. of Jer 36). In general, however, the use of the word is eschatological. The expected salvation is that of the Messianic age, which, with the lapse of time, is conceived of in more and more transcendent manner. Where the earlier conception of an earthly kingdom still survives, it is usually in the form of a millennium or preliminary period of blessedness, preceding the final triumph which takes place in the other world. Side by side with this growing transcendence we note a further development of individualism. Not only has the

doctrine of the resurrection become a familiar article of faith, but the doctrine of rewards and punishments is extended to the period immediately after death. In some cases the hope of individual reward is associated with large expectations of the triumph of Israel, or extends even beyond this to take in the conversion of the Gentiles. In other cases (as in 2 Esdras) the writer despairs even of the conversion of Israel, and is fain to console himself with the thought that the righteous at least, even if few in number, shall at the last receive a glorious reward. Amid such a wealth and variety of material, we must confine our quotations to a few typical passages, referring the reader for fuller information on points of detail to the books which deal specially with the subject (see Literature at end of article).

In the Apocalyptic picture of the Messianic kingdom, the old and the new, the material and the spiritual, are blended in startling and unexpected combinations. Sometimes we seem to be breathing the atmosphere of the old prophets; at others we are repelled by the artificiality and unreality of the conception. Thus in the earliest portion of the Book of Enoch (1–36, dated by Charles B.C. 170) the picture of the future is crassly material. At the resurrection, the righteous eat of the tree of life (25^{4-6}), and as a result enjoy patriarchal lives (5^{9} 25^{6}). The scene of the Messianic kingdom is a purified earth (10^{7} 16^{22}), with Jerusalem for its centre (25^{5}). The blessings of the kingdom, in which the converted Gentiles share (10^{21}), are of a sensuous nature. The powers of nature are increased indefinitely. Thus the righteous will beget 1000 children (10^{17}); of all the seed that is sown each measure will bear 10,000 grains, and each measure of olives will yield ten presses of oil (10^{19}, cf. Apoc. Bar 29^{5}, and note of Charles, p. 54). The author of the Psalms of Solomon (B.C. 70–40), on the other hand, emphasizes the ethical features of the kingdom. He looks for a Messianic king of the lineage of David who shall break in pieces them that rule unjustly (17^{24}). He will be a righteous king, and taught of God (17^{35}), pure from sin, so that he may rule a mighty people (17^{41}). 'He shall purge Jerusalem, and make it holy even as it was in the days of old' (17^{33}). 'He shall not suffer iniquity to lodge in their midst; and none that knoweth wickedness shall dwell with them' (17^{29}). In both of these books the earth is the scene of the Messianic Kingdom and Jerusalem its centre. Elsewhere, however (*e.g.* Enoch 82–90. 91–104. 37–70, Assumption of Moses, Apoc. Baruch), we have a more transcendent view of the future. Thus the author of Enoch 82–90 sees a new Jerusalem taking the place of the old ($90^{28.\,29}$) and becoming the centre of a new community in which all the members shall be transformed into the image of the righteous Messiah (90^{38}). The author of Enoch 91–104 takes up the prophetic thought of a new heaven and a new earth, but develops it on the former side only (91^{16}). It is not earth but heaven which is to be the abode of the redeemed (104^{2}). 'Be hopeful,' he cries to his despondent readers, 'for aforetime ye were put to shame through ills and affliction; but soon ye will shine as the stars of heaven, ye will shine and ye will be seen, and the portals of heaven will be opened to you. . . . Be hopeful and cast not away your hope; for ye will have great joy as the angels of heaven. . . . And now fear not, ye righteous, when ye see the sinners growing strong and prospering in their ways, and be not like unto them, and have no companionship with them, but keep afar from their violence; for ye will become companions of the hosts of heaven' ($104^{2.\,4.\,6}$). Here we have the sharpest possible contrast between this world and that which is to come. The salvation of which the writer speaks has become purely otherworldly. A similar view-point meets us in the Assumption of Moses (cf. esp. $10^{8.\,9}$) and in the Slavonic Enoch (Paradise as the abode of the righteous; cf. 8. 9. $42^{3.\,5}$ 61^{3} 65^{10}), as well as in portions of the Apocalypse of Baruch (21^{19} 44^{9-15} 51^{5} 85).

The most striking example of this transcendent conception of salvation is found in the Similitudes of the Book of Enoch (37–70; Charles, B.C. 94–64). In this remarkable writing, which in many respects anticipates most clearly the NT conception of the glorified Christ, the Messiah is conceived of as a strictly supernatural being. Clothed with wisdom and righteousness, he sits on the throne of his glory (45^{3}) to judge all living beings, whether men or angels (49^{4} 51^{2} 55^{4} 62^{3}). By the word of his mouth he slays the wicked (62^{2}). Heaven and earth are transformed ($45^{4.\,5}$) and made fit for the dwelling of the redeemed community, whose members, clothed with life (62^{16}), resplendent with light (39^{7}), with faces shining with joy (51^{5}), become angels in heaven (51^{4}), and dwell in closest communion with their redeemer (62^{14}), in the glory of his eternal kingdom (49^{2}).

This passage is specially interesting because it puts the Messianic Kingdom in the world to come. The author knows only one salvation, even the eternal salvation of the new world. In other books, however, we have a different conception. The Messiah's Kingdom, which is of temporary duration, belongs to this world, not to the next. Thus the author of Enoch 91–104 looks for a millennial kingdom of three world-weeks preceding the transformation of nature which ushers in the new world (93^{3-10}). The same idea reappears in the Slavonic Enoch, Baruch, and 2 Esdras. For details see MILLENNIUM, where references and quotations are given. Doubtless this idea was the result of a compromise between the earlier and simpler view of salvation which placed it upon this earth, and that later and more transcendent conception whose growth we have been tracing. Whatever its origin, it was an idea which had wide currency, meeting us not only in Jewish but in early Christian literature as well, and being represented, within the NT itself, by the Millennium of the Apocalypse.

Side by side with this growing transcendence we note a further development of the individualistic tendency. This appears most clearly in connexion with the life after death. The doctrine of the resurrection, which in Isaiah and Daniel is applied to some men only, is further extended. While the older sceptical tendency still survives in Sadduceeism, the belief in a universal resurrection wins more and more adherents. With this change the character of the conception alters. Instead of exhausting its significance in connexion with the Messianic Kingdom as the means of entrance for the righteous upon joys which they could not otherwise enjoy, it becomes the channel of universal retribution. As the righteous rise to be blessed, so the wicked are raised that they may receive the recompense of their sins (beginnings in Dn 12^{2}; cf. also Enoch 22^{11} $51^{1.\,2}$, Apoc. Bar 30^{2-5} 50. 51, 2 Es 7^{32-37}; yet note that in many places resurrection is still only of the righteous, *e.g.* Enoch 90^{33} 91^{10} 92^{3} 100^{5}, Ps-Sol 3^{16} $14^{2\text{ff.}}$ $15^{13\text{ff.}}$: cf. on this whole subject Wendt, *Lehre Jesu*, ii. 45–49).

But the moralization of the life after death does not stop here. It extends also to the intermediate state. Little by little, Sheol loses its aspect of colourless monotony. It becomes the scene of preliminary rewards and punishments. It has its compartments where the wicked are kept separate from the righteous—the former in great pain, waiting the eternal judgment; the latter in a bright spot, where there is a spring of water (Enoch $22^{9.\,11}$; yet note that punishment is only for those who have died and been buried 'without incurring judgment in their lifetime,' ^{10}). In the Similitudes the elect are represented as dwelling in the garden of life (61^{12}, cf. 70^{4} 60^{8} 'the garden where the elect and righteous dwell, where my grandfather was taken up, the seventh from Adam'; 60^{23} 'the garden of the righteous'; 77^{3} 'the garden of righteousness'). This place of preliminary blessedness, at first tenanted only by Enoch and Elijah, afterwards by all the righteous (cf. 60^{8}), develops into the Paradise of NT times; see PARADISE. Thus side by side with the preliminary blessedness of the millennial kingdom we have the righteous enjoying foretastes of salvation in the life immediately after death.

The effect of this new view of the life after death was inevitably to diminish the relative importance of the final salvation. In those writings which, under Greek influence, developed the idea of immortality (*i.e.* Philo, Wisdom, 4 Maccabees), the doctrine of an intermediate state falls away altogether, and souls are represented as entering upon their final award at death (cf. Wis 3$^{1-4}$ 4$^{7-11}$, cf. v.^{14}, 4 Mac 13^{16} 5^{36} 18^{23}). Even where this is not the case, as in Slavonic Enoch, we find the tendency more and more to spiritualize the earlier conceptions. Resurrection is no longer a return to earthly conditions, but, as in 1 Corinthians, the putting on of a new organism fitted to the life of the heavenly kingdom (Enoch 22$^{8-10}$). Paradise is no longer the abode of the righteous in the intermediate state, from which they are raised to enter a higher state of blessedness, but the place of their eternal habitation (Apoc. Bar 51^{11}, 2 Es 8^{52}). Sheol is more and more identified with Gehenna as the place of final punishment of the wicked (Enoch 56^{8} 63^{10} 99^{11} 103^{7}, 2 Es 8^{53}), and loses its character as an intermediate abode of righteous and wicked alike. Thus more and more we note the tendency, which can be paralleled in Christian history, to break down the middle wall between the intermediate and final states, and to make death the real dividing line in human destiny.

A further evidence of the growing individualism is to be found in the definite abandonment, in certain quarters, of the hope of national restoration which had formed so prominent a feature of the prophetic anticipation. This appears most clearly in such late books as Apoc. Baruch and 2 Esdras.* In the earlier literature the national ideal still survives, and in many passages (*e.g.* Ps-Sol 17) finds beautiful expression. Even the hope of Gentile participation in the promised salvation is not without its representation (*e.g.* Enoch 10^{21} 90^{30}, Ps-Sol 17$^{32-35}$). It could not be otherwise with a people whose daily study had been the prophetic literature. But as time goes on and the kingdom does not come, we find men more and more losing sight of the larger aspects of the Divine salvation, and concentrating their thoughts upon the fate of individuals. The present world is abandoned to hopeless corruption (cf. Apoc. Bar 15^{8} 21^{13}), and the world to come belongs to the righteous, and to them alone (cf. Apoc. Bar 15^{8} 24$^{1.2}$, and esp. 2 Es 7$^{47-61}$). When the seer laments the sorrows of the wicked, and the small number of those who shall finally be saved, he is bidden to look away from them, and to consider the righteous, for whom alone God cares. 'For I will rejoice over the few that shall be saved, inasmuch as these are they that have made my glory now to prevail, and of whom my name is named. And I will not grieve over the multitude of them that perish; for these are they which are now like unto vapour and are become as flame and smoke; they are set on fire and burn hotly and are quenched' (2 Es 7$^{60.61}$ Charles' tr. in *Eschatology*, p. 292). Here we have the individualistic theodicy in its most extreme form.

No doubt this growing individualism had its good side. Within the OT itself we have already seen how it deepened the moral insight, and heightened the sense of personal responsibility. We find in the period in question the same stress on individual righteousness. But, on the other hand, we note also the tendency to conceive the whole matter of salvation in a more or less external and legal way. Salvation is the reward which God has promised to those who faithfully keep His law. The more difficult the achievement the greater God's delight in the result. This is specially apparent in the later books (cf. Apoc. Bar 51^{7} 'But those who have been saved by their works and to whom the law has been now a hope, and understanding an expectation, and wisdom a confidence, to them wonders will appear in their time'; 14^{7}, with Charles' note; 2 Es 9$^{7.8}$ 'And every one that shall be saved, and that shall be able to escape by his works and by faith whereby ye have believed, shall be preserved from the said perils, and shall see my salvation in my land and within my borders: for I have sanctified them for me from the beginning'; cf. 7^{77} 8^{33}). Here we find ourselves in that very atmosphere of work-righteousness which culminates in the Talmud, and against which the Gospel came as a protest.

Summing up the conceptions of salvation which we have met thus far, we find that they are four: (1) salvation in this life, in the sense of deliverance from present danger or trouble, especially from defeat in battle; (2) the salvation of the Messianic Kingdom, to be enjoyed by all the righteous who may be alive at the time, as well as by the risen saints; (3) salvation after death, in the sense of a preliminary foretaste, by the righteous, of the enjoyment of the age to come; (4) the final salvation of the heavenly world, when the present earth has been destroyed, and the period of corruption has come to an end. These different conceptions live on side by side, modifying one another in various ways, shading off into one another by almost imperceptible degrees, the old not displaced by the new, but transformed by it, and that in such subtle and gradual ways that it is often impossible to trace the separate steps of the process. Into such a world of thought, confused, changeful, yet rich with germs of fruitful and inspiring life, Jesus came with His Gospel of salvation.

3. *In the teaching of Jesus.*—The word 'salvation' (σωτηρία) is only twice used by Jesus—once in the conversation with Zacchæus (Lk 19^{9} 'To-day is salvation come to this house'), and again in the interview with the woman of Samaria (Jn 4^{22} 'Salvation is from the Jews'). But the verb σώζειν occurs frequently in His teaching. Often it is used to denote physical healing (*e.g.* Mt 9^{22}, Mk 3^{4} 5^{34} 10^{52}, Lk 6^{9} 8$^{48.50}$ 17^{19} 18^{42}). Elsewhere it has a broader meaning. Not to mention the well-known passages in John (5^{34} 10^{9} 12^{47}), He spoke of Himself as come 'to seek and to save that which was lost' (Lk 19^{10}, cf. Mt 18^{11}, Lk 9^{56}, both omitted by RV). Of the sinful woman who washed His feet in Simon's house He declared that her faith had saved her (Lk 7^{50}), and in more than one passage concerning the future of His Kingdom He uses the word σώζω in the same eschatological sense with which we are already familiar (Mt 10^{22} 24$^{13.22}$, cf. Mk 13$^{13.20}$). Salvation is indeed only the reverse side of that Gospel of the Kingdom which was the burden of His preaching. The two ideas may be used interchangeably, as appears from such passages as Mt 19$^{24.25}$, Mk 10$^{25.26}$, Lk 8$^{10.12}$ 13$^{23.28}$. If, then, we would understand Jesus' view of salvation, we must take our departure from His idea of the Kingdom.

But here we find ourselves involved in difficulties growing out of the criticism of the sources. These centre mainly about two points—(1) the relation of Jesus' teaching to that of His contemporaries; (2) the relation of His teaching to that of His successors.

(1) We have already noted the purely transcendent and eschatological form which the idea of the Kingdom had assumed

---

[*] It seems probable that both of these books in their present form are of composite authorship, the earlier portions, written before the destruction of Jerusalem, retaining the national Messianic hope, the later having definitely abandoned it. For the evidence in detail see Charles' edition of *Baruch*, and his *Eschatology*, p. 283 ff.

in contemporary Judaism. The question arises how far Jesus felt Himself in sympathy with this view. There are passages in the Synoptics, especially in the so-called Apocalypse of Jesus (Mk 13 and parall.), which have marked points of resemblance to the contemporary Apocalypses. The Kingdom is spoken of as purely future—a miraculous state to be ushered in by the Parousia of Jesus, and involving a sudden and complete transformation of the present order of things (cf. Mk 8^{38} 9^{1}, Mt 19^{28}, Lk $20^{35.36}$). What shall we think of these passages? Do they represent the genuine teaching of Jesus? and if so, are we to think of Him, with many recent scholars, as holding a point of view essentially the same as that of His contemporaries? or, following Weiffenbach, Wendt, and others, are we to regard these apocalyptic elements as later additions, derived from Jewish or Jewish-Christian sources, and therefore to be disregarded? or, finally, is it possible, without recourse to the theory of interpolation, so to interpret Jesus' eschatological teaching as to show its harmony with the deeper and more spiritual views elsewhere expressed? This is one class of questions now being actively discussed, a full answer to which seems necessary before it is possible adequately to set forth Jesus' doctrine of salvation.

(2) The other class of questions leads us into the criticism of the Fourth Gospel. Here it is the absence of the idea of the Kingdom which is most striking. In place of the Kingdom, the great gift which Jesus brings is eternal life, which is represented, not, as in the Synoptics, as a blessing to be enjoyed in the future (Mk 10^{30}), but as a present possession (5^{24} $6^{40.47.53}$). When we hear the Christ of the Fourth Gospel saying, 'He that believeth hath eternal life' (6^{47}), we seem to be in a different world from that of the eschatological discourses of the Synoptics. It is the world of a St. Paul, who says, 'If any man is in Christ, he is a new creature' (2 Co 5^{17}); of a St. John, who writes, 'Whosoever shall confess that Jesus is the Son of God, God abideth in him and he in God' (1 Jn 4^{15}). Are we to believe that the same Christ spoke Mt 23 and Jn 14–16; and if so, how is their teaching to be reconciled?

Fortunately, we are not shut up for our view of Jesus' doctrine of salvation to the settlement of either of these disputed questions. There are enough perfectly plain and undisputed passages—apart from these—to give us a clear view of His central teaching. Possibly we may find, if we take our stand upon this more certain ground, that before we have finished we shall have gained light which will help us in the solution of the more difficult problems.

If we would understand our Lord's doctrine of salvation in its epoch-making significance, we must consider its relation to the views of His contemporaries. While it is true that Jesus fed His spirit upon the writings of the OT prophets, and drew thence many truths which His contemporaries had forgotten, it is no less true that He was also a man of His own time, and that His teaching was influenced, not merely negatively but positively, by the development whose main lines we have traced. We may illustrate this by a reference to the two points most prominent in the contemporary view of the kingdom—(*a*) its transcendence, and (*b*) its individualism.

(*a*) We are often tempted, because of the familiar human features in Jesus' teaching, to overlook its transcendent elements. Yet there can be no doubt that our Lord's conception of the Kingdom is distinctly supermundane. Whatever may be the origin of the phrase, 'Kingdom of heaven,' found only in the first evangelist, it cannot be denied that the idea was characteristic of Jesus. The Kingdom of which He is the Messiah belongs to a different and higher order from that which at present obtains. Its blessings are not earthly but heavenly. The evidence for this may be found in all parts of His teaching (cf. His promise, to the persecuted disciples, of reward in heaven, Mt 5^{12}, cf. Lk 10^{20} 'rejoice that your names are written in heaven'; the command to lay up treasures in heaven, Mt 6^{20}, cf. Mt 19^{21}, Mk 10^{21}, Lk 12^{21} 16^{11}; the parable of the Unjust Steward, Lk 16^{1-13}; the indifference which He showed Himself, and which He recommended to His disciples, with reference to this world's goods, Mt 6^{19}; the answer to the Sadducees about the resurrection, Lk 20^{34-36}; the answer to Pilate, Jn 18^{36} 'My Kingdom is not of this world'; as well as such distinctly eschatological passages as Mt 24^{30} 26^{64}). In view of such utterances, sharply contrasting the Kingdom, as belonging to the heavenly world, with all that is earthly, there can be no doubt that Jesus' conception stood in many respects closer to the transcendent views of His contemporaries than to the more earthly ideals of the earlier prophets.

And yet it is at this very point that the originality of Jesus' teaching is most clearly apparent. To the Jews of His day the transcendence of the Kingdom meant its removal from all contact with present life. Just because their ideal was essentially worldly, involving the hope of earthly triumph and prosperity, did they despair of its realization under existing conditions, and refer it wholly to the future. To Jesus, on the other hand, the Kingdom was in a true sense present already (Mt 12^{28}, Lk 11^{19}, cf. Lk 10^{18}, and comments of Holtzmann, *Neutest. Theol.* i. pp. 217, 218; Lk $17^{20.21}$ 'The Kingdom of God is within you,' or, 'in your midst'; also the references to those who are already in the Kingdom, Mt 11^{11}, cf. Lk 7^{28}, Mk 10^{15}, cf. Lk $18^{16.17}$, Mt 23^{13}, and esp. the parables of the Kingdom which represent it as a growth from small beginnings—so the sower, tares, mustard seed, leaven [Mt 13 and parall.], and esp. the seed growing secretly, Mk 4^{26-29}). Its transcendence is the transcendence of a higher spiritual order (Holtzmann, *l.c.* p. 190), which, so far from being inconsistent with earthly conditions, is destined to be realized in and through them. Thus Jesus instructs His disciples to pray for the doing of God's will on earth as it is in heaven (Mt 6^{10}), and declares that wherever men show the qualities and practise the traits which are characteristic of the heavenly world, there the Kingdom is present in germ (compare Mk 10^{14} with Mt 18^{4}).

The explanation of this change is to be found in Jesus' view of God. At no point had contemporary Judaism departed further from the doctrine of the OT. The idea of J" as a living God, actively interested in human affairs, had given place to a conception purely transcendent. God was thought of as a being remote, inaccessible, mysterious, living in a distant and heavenly world, to be approached only through the mediation of the ceremonial law. In place of this purely transcendent being, Jesus proclaimed a loving Father, profoundly concerned in all that affects His children, watching their affairs with a tender interest, infinitely wise and great indeed, yet infinitely condescending, more ready to give good gifts than earthly fathers to their children (Mt 7^{11}), having a care for His universe so minute and detailed that not a sparrow falls to the ground without His notice (Mt 10^{29}). To Jesus, as to His contemporaries, God was supremely holy; but, unlike them, He did not hesitate to proclaim this holy God as the model for men's imitation (Mt 5^{48}). To Him this world was God's world, and hence, in spite of all its sin and misery, adapted to be the scene of the realization of His heavenly kingdom. It is in view of such conceptions of the relation of God and man that we must understand Jesus' teaching concerning salvation.

To be saved, according to our Lord, means simply to enter upon a life fitted to the children of such a Father—a life whose marks are righteousness, brotherly love, and, above all, trustful dependence upon God; a life only fully to be realized in the future, when the redeemed shall be released from earthly limitations, and enter the new conditions of the resurrection life (Lk 20^{34-36}), yet in a true sense possible even now for all those who, like Him, have learned to know God as their Father, and, through the life of self-denying service, have entered upon a blessedness which no earthly trial or misfortune can disturb.

So we find Jesus speaking of salvation as a present experience. To the sinful woman in the house of Simon He declares that her faith hath saved her, and bids her go in peace (Lk 7^{50}). To Zacchæus He says that this day is salvation come to his house (Lk 19^{9}). Even in the midst of this present life, with its sorrows and persecutions, the children of the Kingdom are constantly receiving good gifts from their heavenly Father (Mt 7^{11}). However much they may have given up they receive an hundredfold more (Mk 10^{30}). Through prayer they enter into daily communion with God, and receive the strength and help they need. They have the assurance that no evil can befall them when they put their trust in Him (Mt 6$^{31-34}$). For the earthly fellowship which they have sacrificed they receive a spiritual fellowship which is far more satisfying (Mk 10^{30} 3^{35}). From the bondage of the ceremonial law, with its intolerable yoke, they have entered upon the service of a Master whose burden is light (Mt 11^{30}). In the healing of the sick, and especially in the casting out of demons, which is a mark of their Master's ministry, they see the breaking down of Satan's kingdom, and the beginnings, even on earth, of the era of blessedness which is characteristic of the Kingdom of God (Lk 11^{20} 10^{18}).

It is in view of such a conception that we must understand Jesus' teaching in the eschatological discourses. Whatever may be our solution of the critical difficulties involved (for a full discussion see PAROUSIA), we may without hesitation reject the view of those who see in Jesus' teaching simply the echo of the ideas of contemporary Judaism. Our Lord's view of the Kingdom is so far eschatological that the complete fulfilment of the ideal which He preaches belongs to the future. But the ideal itself, as essentially moral and spiritual, has a present as well as a future application. To Jesus the hope of the Parousia meant the introduction of no new kind of salvation, but only the complete victory of the principles which He had illustrated in His own life, and whose embodiment, imperfect and yet real, in the little band of men whom He had gathered about Him, constituted the beginning of His Kingdom. It is indeed in its combination of present and future elements that the originality of Jesus' doctrine of salvation consists. Wendt has well expressed this in his *Teaching of Jesus* when he says that 'the epoch-making advance made by Jesus in His idea of salvation beyond that of the Psalmists and Prophets, as well as of the Jews of His time, consisted in the fact that He not only conceived the supreme ideal of salvation as purely supermundane and supersensuous,—a heavenly, not an earthly ideal,—but also that because of this determination of the ideal He gained a new view of the present world and of the earthly life—a view according to which it is possible for the devout to have even here and now, not merely a certain *hope* of salvation in the future, but also genuine *experiences* of salvation in the present' (ii. p. 187, Eng. tr., which, however, gives an inadequate rendering of the original, i. p. 241; cf. the whole passage).

In view of such considerations, the Johannine conception of eternal life as a present possession seems no longer foreign to Jesus' teaching. Whatever may be the ultimate decision of criticism as to the origin of the discourses in which the phrase occurs, there can be no doubt that the idea is one which accords well with what we learn from other sources of our Lord's doctrine of salvation. Wendt argues strongly for its genuineness on the ground that it is needed to account for the presence of similar ideas in the apostolic age (*Lehre Jesu*, ii. p. 198). But, even apart from this, some such conception seems required from what we know of Jesus Himself. Holtzmann is certainly not a critic who can be charged with any leaning to conservative views. Yet, speaking of the Synoptic teaching concerning eternal life 'as gift and good of the future age,' he writes (*Neutest. Theol.* i. 222): 'Yet it (*i.e.* eternal life) is not thought of as a merely formal definition which can be filled up with any content which the imagination may choose to give it. On the contrary, it is a possession of the present, already well known, which has been projected into the future. The highest and most intense feeling of existence—a feeling of incomparable power and richness of content (*unvergleichlich kraft-und gehaltvolles Daseinsgefühl*) without the slightest trace of twilight or mortality, of dull, hollow finiteness,—this is Jesus' conception of life and blessedness. Such a thought could be entertained only by one who Himself possessed the thing. In this sense He must have already borne the Kingdom of God as an inner good within Himself, must have known it as already present on the ground of His own experience. And not only so; but wherever His Gospel is preached in the world, wherever the Spirit of God is manifest either in miraculous power or in the hearts of men, wherever, in the sense of the parables, seeds spring up and fruits ripen, there also—with the righteousness which makes out the content of the Kingdom—the Kingdom itself is already present.'

(*b*) But we shall not fully understand the originality of Jesus' doctrine of salvation until we have considered it at the other point where it is most natural to compare it with that of His contemporaries, *i.e.* its individualism. We have already studied the growth of the individualistic tendency in the later Judaism, and seen its effects in subordinating the conception of national to that of individual righteousness, and in extending the doctrine of retribution from this life to that after death. Here, too, we find points of contact in Jesus' teaching. He also insists strongly upon the necessity of individual righteousness. Most of His time is spent in dealing with individual men, and the conditions which He lays down for entrance to His Kingdom are such that each man must fulfil them for himself. So in His view of the life after death Jesus accepts the results of the intermediate development. Sheol has altogether lost its character of colourless monotony. Death involves no interruption in the communion of the individual with God. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are even now enjoying a resurrection life with God (Lk 20$^{37.38}$); Lazarus passes at once from this world into Abraham's bosom (Lk 16^{22}); and to the dying thief on the cross the promise is made that this day he shall be with his Master in Paradise (Lk 23^{43}).

And yet it is just in His dealing with individual men that the contrast of Jesus' view of salvation to that of His contemporaries is most apparent. To the Pharisees of His day salvation was the reward of righteousness. And the righteous man was he who perfectly conformed his life to the requirements of the ceremonial law. It is difficult for us to appreciate the nature of these demands not only upon a man's good-will, but upon his time and upon his means. As Holtzmann has well shown (*l.c.* i. 132 ff.), it was impossible for a man of moderate means to be righteous in the full legal sense, without sacrificing all hope of worldly prosperity. A rich man might indeed keep the law. A few less blessed with this world's goods—the so-called 'poor' of the later Jewish literature—had the courage to make the needed sacrifice. For the most part men felt the burden too heavy, and were content to live as they could, without part in the hopes and ideals of their religious teachers, despised by them as sinners and outcasts, without share in the Divine favour or interest in the Divine salvation. (Cf. Jn 7^{49} 'This multitude which knoweth not the law are accursed,' and especially 2 Es 7$^{51.52.59-61}$).

It was exactly to this company of outcasts, the poor and despised in Israel, that Jesus directed His preaching (Lk 4$^{18.19}$, Mt 11^{5}, Lk 7^{22}; cf. the beatitudes of the Sermon on the Mount, Mt 5$^{3-11}$ and parall. Lk 6$^{20-23}$). He said of Himself that He was come to seek and to save the lost (Lk 19^{10}). He called sinners to repentance (Mk 2^{17}, Mt 9^{13}, Lk 5^{32}). He declared that there is more joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth than over ninety and nine just persons that need no repentance (Lk 15$^{7.10}$). He ate and drank with publicans and sinners (Mk 2^{16}), and declared to the self-righteous Pharisees that the publicans and harlots were entering into the Kingdom of heaven before them (Mt 21^{31}). He swept away the burdensome requirements of the ceremonial law, and invited men to the service of a Master whose yoke was easy and whose burden was light (Mt 11$^{29.30}$). He made the conditions of entrance to His kingdom humility, trustfulness, the childlike spirit (Mt 5^{3} 18$^{3.4}$). In place of a God who cared only for a spiritual aristocracy, whose pleasure it was to make hard conditions that He might increase the value of the few who were saved (2 Es 7$^{59.60}$), He proclaimed a compassionate and loving Father, willing to receive back the returning prodigal upon the first evidence of repentance (Lk 15^{20}). He revived the forgotten prophetic doctrine of the Divine forgiveness, and made the chief blessing of His Kingdom to consist in the remission of sins (Mt 26^{28}, cf. Mk 2^{10}).

This is the explanation of the universalism of Jesus. A Gospel for the sinful knows no race limitations. A Messiah who felt Himself specially sent to the lost sheep of the house of Israel (Mt 15^{24}), Jew though He might be, could not turn away from humble penitence, wherever found. The Samaritan (Jn 4^{7}, Lk 17^{16}; cf. 10^{33}), the Syrophœnician (Mk 7^{26}), even the Roman (Mt 8^{10}), shared His blessing and His praise. The teaching of the Fourth Gospel concerning the other sheep not of the Jewish fold (10^{16}), and the hour when men shall no longer worship the Father either in Jerusalem or on Mt. Gerizim (4^{21}), is the legitimate outcome of the principles on which Jesus regularly acted. The Messiah of the Jews showed Himself to be in very truth the Saviour of the world.

There is still another point in which the teaching of Jesus differs radically from that of His contemporaries: this is in the emphasis He lays on the principle of service. Here the individualism of which we have spoken receives its needed complement. Men are saved one by one, each for himself; but they are saved that they may serve. As members of the Kingdom, it is their duty and their privilege to minister to one another's needs. Freely forgiven by the heavenly Father, they also are to forgive one another (Mt 18^{21-35}). He that would be greatest in the Kingdom of Christ must show himself servant of all (Lk 22^{26}, cf. Jn 13^{14}). He that would save his life must be willing to lose it (Mt 16^{25}, Mk 8^{35}, Lk 9^{24}; cf. 17^{33}). We unduly limit this sentence if we understand it simply of the conditions of entrance to the Kingdom. It expresses the law of the Kingdom all the way through, the law, namely, of self-realization through self-sacrifice.

In this connexion we find our Lord reviving another forgotten OT truth. When the great prophet of the Exile first proclaimed the doctrine of salvation through the vicarious sacrifice of the good, he found few hearers (cf. Is 53^{1} 'Who hath believed our report?'). The connexion of salvation with prosperity had been too long and too close to make the new teaching intelligible. In the succeeding centuries it fell altogether into the background. Our Lord reasserts it, and applies it to Himself. He compares Himself to the good shepherd who lays down his life for the sheep (Jn 10^{11}). He declares that He is come to give His life a ransom for many (Mk 10^{45}). He compares His death to a covenant sacrifice, sealing the new relationship between His disciples and God (Mt 26^{28}). The crucifixion and rejection which seemed to His disciples to mark the failure of His mission had no such meaning to Him. They were but a necessary step in His redeeming work. The reproachful word of His enemies had a deeper meaning than they knew. He saved others; Himself He could not save (Mt 27^{42}, Lk 23^{35}, Mk 15^{30}). And the principles which He applies to Himself He extends also to His disciples. Looking forward to their approaching persecutions, He bids them not be dismayed, since if they would enter into His glory they must drink His cup (Mt 20^{23}, cf. 5^{10-12}). Thus suffering and death, which in earlier times had seemed the direct opposite of salvation, are shown by our Lord to have a necessary part to play in bringing it about.

Summing up our Lord's teaching concerning salvation, we may say that it is deliverance from sin through entrance upon a new Divine life. The marks of this life are humility, brotherly service, and filial dependence upon God. In the practice of these traits consists the righteousness of the Kingdom, and in their experience its blessedness. This new Divine life, which is mediated not merely by the teaching and example of Christ but by His sufferings and death, begins here, continues unbroken in the life after death, and will be finally consummated at the Parousia, when the principles of Christ shall be everywhere accepted, and the will of God be done on earth even as it is done in heaven.

4. *In the New Testament.*—The salvation brought by Jesus is the theme of the entire apostolic age. Wherever we turn in the NT, whether it be Acts, Hebrews, St. Paul or St. John, we are conscious of a note of confidence and triumph, as of men possessing a supreme good, in which they not only themselves rejoice, but which they are anxious to share with others. More significant than any change in doctrine is this consciousness of salvation as a glorious fact, dominating and transforming life. None the less is it true that on this common basis we note differences of conception. Not all the disciples grasped the teaching of Jesus with equal clearness. In not a few parts of the NT we find survivals of earlier Jewish ideas and sympathies (*e.g.* Ac 1^{6}, Rev 7^{4-8} etc.). So the degree of theological development varies greatly (cf. the speeches in Acts with Romans). Under the circumstances there is need of discrimination. We shall begin our treatment with a brief survey of the common features of the apostolic teaching, and then pass on to describe the more distinctly theological views of St. Paul and St. John.

(*a*) *In general.*—The central theme of the apostolic preaching is the proclamation of Jesus as Saviour. Cf. Ac $5^{30.31}$ 'The God of our fathers raised up Jesus, whom ye slew, hanging him on a tree. Him did God exalt to be a Prince and a Saviour, to give repentance to Israel, and remission of sins' (cf. Mt 1^{21}, Jn 3^{17}, Ac 2^{21} 4^{12} 13^{23} 15^{11}, Eph 5^{23}, Ph 3^{20}, 2 Ti 1^{10}, Tit 1^{4} 2^{13} 3^{6}, 2 P $1^{1.11}$ 2^{20} $3^{2.18}$, 1 Jn 4^{14}, He 2^{10} Jesus as author of salvation). 'Salvation' has become a technical term which sums up all the blessings brought by the Gospel (cf. Eph 1^{13} 'the Gospel of your salvation'; 1 Co $15^{1.2}$ 'the Gospel . . . by which ye are saved'; Ac 13^{26} 'the word of this salvation'; cf. v.^{47} 16^{17} 'the way of salvation'; 28^{28}, Ro 1^{16} 'the power of God unto salvation'; 10^{10} 'confession unto salvation'; 11^{11}, 2 Co 7^{10} 'repentance unto salvation'; 2 Ti 3^{15} 'able to make wise unto salvation'; He 6^{9} 'things that accompany salvation'; Jude ^{3} 'our common salvation'; Tit 2^{11} 'the grace of God, bringing salvation'; cf. 1 Ti $2^{3.4}$ 'God . . . who would have all men to be saved, and come to a knowledge of the truth'). In contrast to all previous deliverances of God (He $1^{1.2}$), the fulfilment of that for which the OT prophets looked (1 P 1^{10-12}), the earnest of the age which is even now at the door (Ac $2^{16.17}$ the pouring out of the Spirit as fulfilment of the prophecy of Joel), is the great deliverance which God has wrought through His Son. Jesus is not only Saviour; He is the only Saviour. The stone which the builders set at nought has been made head of the corner (Ac 4^{11}). 'And in none other is there salvation; for neither is there any other name under heaven that is given among men, wherein we must be saved' (Ac 4^{12}).

In strict conformity with the teaching of Jesus, salvation is represented primarily as deliverance from sin. Our Lord is called *Jesus* because He 'shall save his people from their sins' (Mt 1^{21}). He 'came into the world to save sinners' (1 Ti 1^{15}). The blessings of His kingdom are repentance (Ac 5^{11} 11^{18}, cf. 20^{21}) and remission of sins (Ac 2^{38}, cf. 3^{19} 5^{31} 10^{43} 13^{38} 26^{18}, and esp. 3^{26} 'Unto you first God, having raised up his Servant, sent him to bless you, in turning away every one of you from your iniquities'). So the Apocalypse begins with a song of praise 'unto him that loveth us, and loosed us from our sins by his blood' (1^{5}). As death is the consequence and penalty of sin, salvation is at the same time deliverance from death

(He 5^{7}, cf. 2^{14}, Ja 5^{20}, cf. 4^{12} 'he who is able to save and to destroy'; 2 Ti 1^{10} 'our Saviour Jesus Christ, who abolished death, and brought life and incorruption to light through the Gospel'), and from the wrath of God, of which death is the judicial consequence (cf. Ro 5^{9} with 1^{32}). More particularly with reference to the individual, in contrast to the cosmic salvation taught by St. Paul (Ro 8^{21}), it is called salvation of the soul (1 P $1^{9.\,10}$, Ja 1^{21}, He 10^{39}). In its wider relations it is a salvation of the world (Jn 3^{17}, 1 Jn 4^{14}).

Common also to the entire NT is the stress laid upon the sufferings and death of Christ as mediating salvation. The cross which had been such a staggering blow to the disciples' faith at the first (Lk $24^{20.\,21}$), and which still remained a stumbling-block to Jews and foolishness to Greeks (1 Co 1^{23}), is now seen to have a necessary part to play in Christ's saving work (He $2^{9\text{ff.}}$ $5^{8.\,9}$ 12^{2}, 1 Co 1^{18}, 1 P $1^{18.\,19}$, Rev 1^{5}, Ac 2^{23} 20^{28}, Lk 24^{26}), and is interpreted in the light of Is 53 (Ac 8^{32}, 1 P $2^{21\text{-}24}$. Cf. also the title 'lamb' in Rev $5^{6.\,9}$ $7^{9.\,10}$) as the fulfilment of prophecy (Lk 24^{27}, Ac 3^{18}, 1 Co 15^{3}). As a result of this new view of Christ's death, we find the NT writers without exception rising to a new conception of the meaning of suffering (Ac 5^{41} 9^{16}, 2 Co 1^{6}, Ph $1^{19.\,28}$, He 5^{9} 13^{13}, 1 P 1^{7}, Ja 1^{2}, Rev 7^{14}), and applying to their own experiences of sorrow and temptation a standard which they have learned from Jesus Christ (1 P 2^{21}, He 13^{13}, 2 Co 1^{6} $4^{8\text{-}11}$; cf. 1 Co $4^{10\text{-}13}$, Col 1^{24}).

If we compare the NT teaching as a whole with that of Jesus, we note a greater stress upon the eschatological element. This is true not only of the Apocalypse and of the early discourses in the Acts, where the Parousia is the centre of interest (cf. Ac $3^{20.\,21}$), but also of such writings as James (cf. 5^{8} with 1^{12}), Hebrews, and 1 Peter, as well as the Epistles of St. Paul (cf. esp. Thess. and 1 Co 15). In Hebrews the word 'salvation' is used in a purely eschatological sense (*e.g.* He 9^{28} 'Christ, having been once offered up to bear the sins of many, shall appear a second time, apart from sin, to them that wait for him, unto salvation'; cf. 1^{14} 2^{3} 2^{10} 5^{9} 6^{9}). The same is frequently the case in 1 Peter (*e.g.* $1^{5.\,9.\,10}$ 'a salvation ready to be revealed at the last time,' 'the end of your faith, even the salvation of your souls,' but cf. 3^{21}), and in the letters of St. Paul (*e.g.* Ro 13^{11} 'Now is salvation nearer to us than when we believed'; cf. 5^{10}, 1 Co 3^{15} 5^{5}, 2 Ti 4^{18}). The early Christians, almost without exception, felt themselves living at the end of the ages (1 Co 10^{11}), and looked at any moment for the return of their Master to set up His heavenly Kingdom (see PAROUSIA). Doubtless the resurrection experiences had much to do with this. The revelation of Jesus in glory, the assurance that He was even now sitting at the right hand of the Father, tended to emphasize the transcendent elements in His teaching, and to magnify the contrast between this present evil age and that which was to come. Thus St. Peter in Acts urges his hearers to save themselves from this crooked generation (Ac 2^{40}), and St. Paul declares that if in this world only Christians have hope in Christ, they are of all men most pitiable (1 Co 15^{19}). The contrast in both these passages, unlike that involved in the Johannine doctrine of the world, of which we shall speak presently, is a temporal one. The time of present distress is set over against that of future glory. At the great day of the Parousia, which is impending, there is to be a transformation of the universe (Ro 8^{21}, 1 Co 7^{31}), new heavens and a new earth (Rev 21^{1}), and believers, with their risen brethren who have gone before (1 Th 4^{15}), shall be clothed with heavenly bodies (1 Co $15^{47\text{-}49}$), and enter upon an existence adapted—as the present cannot be—to the enjoyment and practice of the spiritual life (Ro 8^{23}, cf. v.^{11}).

It is at this point that we note the closest contact with the ideas of contemporary Judaism. Coming to Christianity from an atmosphere charged with the hope of earthly, even if of superhuman prosperity, it was impossible but that the disciples should show some traces of their early training. The letters of St. Paul show us what a struggle it took before Christianity freed itself from the yoke of Jewish legalism. Not dissimilar was the relation to the eschatological ideas of Judaism. The thoughts of the early Christians clothed themselves naturally in imagery taken from the Jewish apocalyptic books. They looked for a heavenly Jerusalem (Rev $21^{2\text{ff.}}$, cf. also He 12^{22}, Gal 4^{26}), with its streets of gold and its gates of pearl, and did not resign without a struggle the hope of a millennial Kingdom on earth anticipating and preparing the way for the joys of the heavenly Kingdom (see MILLENNIUM). The Apocalypse introduces us most deeply into this world of Jewish-Christian thought, which, however, has left its traces in other books of the NT (*e.g.* 2 P, Jude), and is not wholly absent even from him who did the most to overcome it—the Apostle Paul (*e.g.* Gal 4^{26}, 2 Co 2^{3}).

And yet it is easy to exaggerate the extent of this influence. In spite of all the points of contact with Judaism, the early Christians lived in a new world. To them as to their Master salvation was a new life (Ac 2^{28}, cf. 3^{15} 11^{18}), entered upon by repentance and faith. It was a life of forgiven sin, of filial trust, of brotherly service, of present communion with Christ. If the full enjoyment of the promised salvation still lay in the future, they were yet not without experience of Christ's present blessing and help. In the miracles of healing and deliverance which characterized the opening days of the Church (Ac 3^{16}); above all, in the presence and power of the Holy Ghost (Ac 2^{16} 4^{31} 10^{44}), they saw the pledge of their Saviour's power and rule. The sanctification without which no man shall see the Lord (He 12^{14}) was not only the ideal, but to a large extent a characteristic of their daily living. The social joys of the Kingdom were anticipated in daily communion with the brethren (Ac $2^{46.\,47}$). Thus the life experiences of the early Christians, even as revealed in such books as Acts, are truer to the teaching of their Master than a superficial study of the use of such theological terms as 'salvation' and 'kingdom' would seem to indicate. Much more shall we find this the case when we pass to the more developed conceptions of St. Paul and St. John.

(*b*) *St. Paul.*—We have already touched upon the points which the teaching of St. Paul shares with the rest of the NT—the conception of salvation as deliverance from sin, the emphasis upon the mediation of Jesus, and especially upon the significance of His death, the importance given to the eschatological element, the Jewish dress in which many of his ideas are clothed. Some interpreters have indeed carried the relation to Judaism so far as to contend that St. Paul was a chiliast, distinguishing, on the ground of 1 Co $15^{23.\,24}$, an earlier resurrection of believers from the later and general resurrection (see PAROUSIA). But this view cannot be successfully maintained. So far as the resurrection is concerned, St. Paul's ideas are as far as possible removed from the crass materialism which characterized the thought of many of his contemporaries (cf. 1 Co 15^{37} 'That which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be,' etc.), and the salvation of the Parousia, which, unlike the coming in Rev 19, introduces the final blessedness of the saints, is only the working out to their full completion of principles and forces already active in this present life. Indeed the conception of salvation as a present experience is characteristic of all St. Paul's teaching, and gives it its chief significance.

To appreciate St. Paul's doctrine of salvation, we must set it against the background of his view of the *flesh*. Whatever be the exact interpretation given to the term; whether, with Holsten, it be understood metaphysically, as implying, on St. Paul's part, a dualistic view of the universe, or, with most interpreters, be regarded simply as the synonym for corrupt human nature, there can be no doubt that, to St. Paul, mankind as a whole is the prey of a power of evil which it cannot resist, and from which it is unable to escape. From Adam downwards all men have sinned, and come short of the glory of God (Ro 3^{23}). Being sinful, they are exposed to the curse of the law, and to the death which is the inevitable consequence and penalty of broken law. The glory of Christ's salvation consists in the fact that it delivers man from this sinful flesh, and so at the same time from the law which is its judge, and the death which is its penal consequence.

Thus salvation, while a single process, involves different elements, and may be looked at from different points of view. In the first place (or, to be more accurate, in the last place), it involves deliverance from death. To St. Paul, as to the other apostles, salvation is so far an eschatological conception, that its full effects will be apparent only at the Parousia. In that great day, when the terrors of the Divine wrath shall be revealed from heaven 'upon every soul of man that worketh evil' (Ro 2^{9}, cf. 1^{18}), Christians shall be safe. The Parousia, which to others is a day of death (2 Th 1^{9} 'who shall suffer punishment, even eternal destruction from the face of the Lord and from the glory of his might'), is to usher them into the presence of their long-expected Saviour. With the risen saints, who have died before them, they shall be caught up to meet the Lord in the air (1 Th 4^{17}), and, freed from the last trace of the flesh which has hitherto hampered them (1 Co 15^{50-52}), shall enter into the joys of His heavenly kingdom. It is this glorious experience—still in the future—to which St. Paul refers when he uses salvation as an eschatological term (*e.g.* Ro 13^{11}).

But salvation is not merely deliverance from future punishment. It includes also freedom from sin as a present power. Indeed it is this present deliverance which alone makes the future possible. Through union with Christ, the believer has become a new creature (2 Co 5^{17}). He has died to sin (Ro 6^{2}), crucified the flesh, with the passions and the lusts thereof (Gal 5^{24}), and entered upon a new spiritual life of righteousness, peace, and joy (Ro 14^{17}). Already he is a saved man (Ro 8^{24}, 1 Co 1^{18}, 2 Co 2^{15}), reconciled with God (Ro 5^{1}), claiming and receiving the privileges of a son (Ro $8^{14.15}$), rejoicing in daily experiences of a Father's grace, knowing how to glory even in tribulations (Ro 5^{3}), since he has learned that all things work together for good to them that love God (Ro 8^{28}). No doubt he still has his conflict with evil. But the conflict is no longer a discouraging one. Whereas he once felt himself the slave of the flesh, sold under sin (Ro 7^{14}), now he knows himself to be its master. The law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus has made him free from the law of sin and of death (Ro 8^{2}). And the day is coming when, through the transformation of his body, he shall be freed from whatever defiling contact still remains (Ro 8^{23}).

Being freed from sin, the Christian is also free from law. Law has authority only over the sinner; but the man who through union with Christ has entered upon a new life in the spirit is free from law (Ro 6^{14} 7^{6} 10^{4}). He is not only delivered from the fear of its punishment, but—what is more important—he has exchanged the bondage of its requirements for the freedom of the new man in Christ Jesus (Col 2^{14}, Gal $5^{1.13.18}$). In place of the spirit of fear he has received the spirit of adoption, whereby he cries, 'Abba, Father' (Ro 8^{15}). Knowing himself to be heir of all things, he refuses to be entangled again with the beggarly rudiments of ritual prescription under which he was once held in bondage (Gal $4^{3.9}$, Col 2^{20}). As a Christian he lives on a higher plane, and breathes a different atmosphere from that of work-righteousness, however earnest (Ro $3^{20.21}$, Gal 3^{2-7}). Thus the break with legalism, practically begun by Jesus' teaching concerning the childlike spirit, is theoretically completed by the Pauline doctrine of a justification or righteousness by faith instead of by works.

With the mention of faith we touch the heart of St. Paul's doctrine of salvation. We are saved by faith. And faith, to St. Paul, means more than belief. It is more even than trust. It is an act of the will by which the believer so lays hold upon Christ that he actually becomes partaker of His risen and triumphant life (Eph 3^{17}, Gal $3^{26.27}$, Ro 11^{20}, Col $2^{11.12}$ 3^{1-4}; cf. McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, pp. 141, 142). For the Christ whom St. Paul knows as mediator of salvation is more than man, even the best of men; more even than the Jewish Messiah, great as are his prerogatives. He is a pre-existent Divine Being, coming into the world from a higher realm, and imparting to those who are subject to the law of sin and death the new spiritual vitality without which deliverance is hopeless.

This doctrine of Christ as the incarnation of a pre-existent Divine Being, which is common to St. Paul, the writer to the Hebrews, and St. John, gave Christianity its chief point of contact with contemporary Greek thought, and formed the bridge by which men naturally passed from the latter to the former. But with all recognition of the points of similarity between the Logos doctrine of the Alexandrian philosophers and the NT teaching concerning the pre-existent Christ there is one point of difference, whose importance cannot be overestimated. The interest of the one is cosmological; it grows out of a desire to understand the world. The interest of the other is soteriological; it springs from the need of deliverance from sin. To St. Paul, helpless under the burden of the flesh, finding that, when he would do good, evil is present with him, seeking in vain for a deliverer from his intolerable bondage,—to St. Paul, we repeat, the significance of the heavenly Man, revealed to him in the experience of the Damascus road, consists in the fact that He is a life-giving spirit (1 Co 15^{45}).

We are ready now to understand the significance of the death of Christ. It is the means by which He gains the victory over the flesh and enters upon the new resurrection life. No merely forensic conception can do justice to St. Paul's thought at this point. It is not a matter primarily of guilt or of penalty. In sin he sees a power of evil, working out its own deadly and inevitable fruits. Christ took to Himself this sinful flesh, and let it work out upon Himself its natural consequences. He submitted to death, which is the rightful wages of sin, in its most aggravated and shocking form. In the striking words of Gal 3^{13} He became 'a curse for us: for it is written, Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree.' But the death, which to an ordinary man would have ended everything, was to Him simply the door through which He passed into the higher life of the heavenly Kingdom. Being sinless, it was impossible for Him to be holden of death. Rising from the grave in newness of life, He opens the way for like escape to all who through faith in Him become partakers of His Divine and heavenly life.

No one can understand the Pauline doctrine of salvation who does not conceive it primarily as present union with the Divine and glorified Christ. What our Lord has once done on the great theatre of the universe, that each individual Christian is to repeat on the lesser stage of his earthly life. He, too, must die to sin (Ro 6^{2}) and rise to righteousness (Ro $6^{5.6}$). He, too, must share the sufferings of Christ (Col 1^{24}), and sit with Him in heavenly places (Eph 2^{6}). The life which he lives is to be no longer his, but that of the Christ who liveth in him (Gal 2^{20}). Old things have passed away, and all things are become new (2 Co 5^{17}). Thus already here and now the Christian anticipates the blessings, whose full realization remains for the Parousia. Nothing can separate him from the love of Christ—neither death nor life, nor angels nor principalities, nor things present nor things to come (Ro $8^{38.39}$). If he die before the Parousia, it matters not. Though to live be Christ, to die is gain, for dying means departing to be with Christ, which is very far better (Ph 1^{23}, cf. 2 Co 5^{8} 'absent from the body, at home with the Lord').

It is clear that from such a point of view the significance of the Parousia is very different from that which it has in Jewish-Christian thought. To St. Paul it is not necessary to wait until the Second Coming before one can enjoy the salvation of Christ. His greatest blessing has been given already. The Spirit who shall one day quicken our mortal bodies already dwells within us as a transforming power (Ro 8^{11}), and the redemption of the body for which we still groan (Ro 8^{23}) will only give free play to spiritual forces, with the working of which we are already familiar. Thus we see that here also, as well as in his doctrine of righteousness by faith, the teaching of the apostle is true to the new insight of the Master.

Two points still need brief mention before we leave the Pauline teaching. These are: (α) The emphasis which he lays on the social side of salvation; (β) his doctrine of a cosmic salvation.

(α) Nothing is more striking, in view of the intense personal independence of St. Paul, than the stress which he lays upon the social side of salvation. This comes out most clearly in his doctrine of the Church—a conception which takes the place in his teaching of the present Kingdom of the parables. Through union with Christ a man is not only joined to his Master as an individual, but becomes a member of His body, the Church (Eph 1^{23}). The new Divine life which he enjoys is shared by his brothers and sisters of the Christian family. The gifts which he receives are for the purpose of ministering to their necessities

(Eph $4^{11.12}$). If he suffers, they suffer with him (1 Co 12^{26}); if he is honoured, they are partakers of his joy (1 Co 12^{26}). The end of all is the building up of the Christian community in the knowledge and love of Christ (Eph $4^{13.16}$), and the reward for which the apostle looks at the Parousia is the presence of his converts among the company of the redeemed, spiritually fitted, because of his ministry, to enter upon the enjoyment of the heavenly kingdom (1 Th 2^{19}, cf. 1 Co 1^{14}).

It is not strange that, holding such views, we see the apostle looking upon all history as a training school for the Divine salvation (Ro 9–11), and hoping for the day when even his fellow-Israelites, who have thus far turned a deaf ear to the message of the Gospel, shall repent and become partakers of its blessings (Ro 11^{26}).

(*β*) But the apostle's view reaches out beyond this earth, and takes in the universe as a whole. He sees the whole creation groaning and travailing together in pain until now, waiting till it be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the liberty of the glory of the children of God (Ro 8^{21}). He looks upon Christ as the mediator of a salvation truly cosmic, and declares that it is God's purpose 'through him to reconcile all things unto himself, whether things upon the earth or things in the heavens' (Col 1^{20}, cf. Eph 1^{10}). Thus, according to St. Paul, the salvation in which we here share is only part of a great world process whose end shall be a universe redeemed (cf. 1 Co 15^{28}).

The teaching of St. Paul had a profound influence upon his contemporaries. We see its effect most clearly in 1 Peter, which, in spite of the emphasis it lays upon the future (1 P 1^5), has the conception of salvation as a present experience (3^{21}, cf. also 1^{23} 2^{16} 4^1). And yet it is easy to overestimate it. Other influences were at work in the early Church. The legal conception of religion which characterized the Jew was reinforced by similar conceptions which had their origin on Gentile soil. The view of salvation as freedom from law through the possession of a present spiritual life was not fully adopted even by many who in other respects were profoundly influenced by St. Paul. The letter to the Hebrews is a case in point. Here, as we have seen, the point of view is almost wholly eschatological. Salvation is conceived as a reward promised to those who remain faithful under their present trials, and faith, instead of being vital union with a present Christ, is simply the assurance that God will keep His word (He 11^1). In this respect the letter to the Hebrews is typical of the future. When we study the Christianity of the Fathers we find the Gospel often presented as a new law, and salvation, which is wholly future, is the reward promised by God to those who keep it. The doctrine of a mystic union with Christ through faith tends more and more to fall into the background, only to be revived in a sacramentarian form, foreign to the Pauline teaching. This fact must be borne in mind if we would appreciate the full significance of the Johannine conception of salvation.

(*c*) *St. John.*—We have already referred to the problem raised by the passages in the Fourth Gospel which speak of eternal life as a present possession, and given reasons for believing that they truly represent the teaching of Jesus. But however much we may be convinced of the historic foundation of the discourses, there can be no doubt that, in their present form at least, they show traces of the reflexion of the evangelist. The connexion between the Gospel and the Epistle is too close to be overlooked. This connexion is evident in thought as well as in language. In both we have a single conception, clear-cut, uniform, consistent. We have to do with a form of teaching which may be contrasted with other parts of the NT as belonging to a distinct type. In presenting the Johannine teaching, therefore, we follow most recent scholars in using both Gospel and Epistles as sources.

In St. John the conception of salvation as a present spiritual experience reaches its culmination. There are indeed traces of the more common eschatological conception, esp. in the First Epistle (*e.g.* $2^{18.28}$ 3^2 4^{17}; cf. Jn 5^{28} $6^{44.54}$ 21^{22}), but they hold a comparatively subordinate place. Salvation is represented, as in the Synoptics, as eternal life. But for this life a man need not wait till the Parousia. It is already the possession of all who believe on Christ. He that hears Christ's word, and believeth Him that sent Him, 'hath eternal life, and cometh not into judgment, but hath passed out of death into life' (5^{24}; cf. vv.$^{39.40}$ 3^{36}, 1 Jn 4^{15} 5^{12}). Christ is represented as the bread of life (6^{48}), of which, if a man eat, he shall live for ever (v.^{51}). He is the resurrection and the life (11^{25}), and whosoever liveth and believeth on Him shall never die (11^{26}). Cf. also the passages which speak of regeneration (Jn 3^3, 1 Jn 3^9 5^1).

When we look more closely into the nature of this new life, we find that it has two main characteristics: it is a life of spiritual insight and of holy affection. These are indicated by the two words 'light' and 'love.'

Like St. Paul, St. John makes the sharpest possible contrast between the sinful world without Christ and the new spiritual society brought into existence by His redemption. To St. John, as to St. Paul, the whole world lieth in the evil one (1 Jn 5^{19}), and the greatest need of man is to be delivered from the bondage of sin (Jn 8^{34-36}). But to St. John the characteristic mark of this sinful state is ignorance, and the remedy which is needed is knowledge. It is the truth which must make men free (Jn 8^{32}, cf. 5^{34}). The world lies in darkness (1^5). It does not know God and His Christ. It does not apprehend, and therefore will not receive, His message. Into such a world the Logos comes, as light. His influence is as wide as humanity (1^9). In the fulness of time He becomes flesh and dwells among men (1^{14}), and they behold His glory, as of the Only-begotten from the Father, full of grace and truth (1^{14}). He declares the God whom no man hath seen at any time (1^{18}). Nay, more, in His own person He clearly manifests Him; for He that hath seen Him hath seen the Father (14^9). He is the light of the world (8^{12} 9^5 12^{46}), and the condemnation of men consists in the fact that when light was come into the world, they loved darkness better than light, because their works were evil (3^{19}; cf. 12^{38} 'sons of light' as a synonym for the saved). For this is eternal life, to know God, who is Himself light (1 Jn 1^5), and Jesus Christ whom He has sent (17^3, cf. 1 Jn 5^{20}).

But the redeemed life is not merely a life of knowledge. It is also a life of love. God is love (1 Jn 4^8) as well as light, and every one that loveth is begotten of God and knoweth God (1 Jn 4^7). The clearest proof of the passage of the disciples from death to life is the presence of a loving spirit (1 Jn 3^{14}, cf. Jn 13^{34}). 'He that saith he is in the light, and hateth his brother, is in the darkness even until now. He that loveth his brother abideth in the light, and there is none occasion of stumbling in him' (1 Jn $2^{9.10}$). The intimacy of the relationships into which men enter through the Christian life is often emphasized. They are children of God (1 Jn $3^{1.2}$). They are Christ's dear friends, to whom, unlike those who are merely servants, He makes known all that He has heard of His Father (Jn 15^{15}). The one commandment which He lays upon them is that they should love one another, even as He has loved them (13^{34}, cf. 15^{17}).

The secret of this new life of light and love is union with Christ. He is the vine, of which the disciples are branches (Jn $15^{1ff.}$). He is the heavenly bread upon which they feed ($6^{33ff.48}$). From Him comes that water of life which, when once received, never faileth, but becomes in each man a well of water, springing up unto eternal life (4^{14}, cf. 6^{35}). He is the good shepherd who lays down His life for the sheep (10^{11}); the grain of wheat, which, falling into the ground in apparent death, springs up to bear much fruit (12^{24}). Nor is this mediatorial work confined to His earthly life. If He leaves the disciples at death, it is to return by the Holy Spirit (14^{18-18}), the Paraclete, who shall institute a yet more intimate relation than that which has gone before ($16^{7.12.13}$), bringing to remembrance the things of Christ (14^{26}, cf. 16^{14}), leading the disciples, as they are able to bear it, into all the truth (16^{13}, cf. 1 Jn 5^7), becoming the bond through which Christ and the Father are united to them in a communion that shall know no end (cf. 14^{23} with ^{16} $17^{21.23}$, 1 Jn 3^{24}).

If we compare St. John's view of the mediatorial work of Christ with that of St. Paul, we note many points of similarity. To both Christ comes into the world from a pre-existent heavenly life. To both He is the power through whom sin is overcome, and the redeemed introduced into the spiritual Kingdom of righteousness, of peace, and of joy. In both, His mediatorial work is universal in its extent (cf. Jn 1^{3} 'all things were made through him'; 1^{9} 'the light which lighteth every man'; 10^{16} 'other sheep . . . not of this fold'; 12^{32} 'I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto myself'; 4^{42} 'Saviour of the world'). And yet there is a difference of emphasis. St. Paul lays chief stress upon the death of Christ. The earthly life is passed over lightly. Attention is focussed upon the great tragedy of the cross, from which the conquering Saviour issues victorious in the resurrection. To St. John, the death is only an incident in the saving work. It is the incarnation as such which is redemptive. Christ enters into the world as light, and His mere appearance carries with it redeeming or condemning power. To as many as received Him, to them gave He the right to become children of God (1^{12}). Those, on the other hand, who believe not, are condemned already by the mere fact of their unbelief (3^{18}). St. Paul, for all his stress upon present salvation, is a man of historic sense, quick to apprehend, and apt to state, the contrast between the present period of affliction and the glories still to be revealed at the Parousia. To the mystic intuition of St. John, time relations fade away, and we face two contrasted eternities—the world of light and of darkness, of righteousness and of sin, of love and of hate. Against this background of absolute realities there is no longer any place for the apprehension of relative values. Whosoever is begotten of God sinneth not (1 Jn 5^{18}, cf. 3^{6}). They that reject Christ are children of the devil, who from the beginning was a liar and murderer even as they ($8^{42\text{-}44}$). Here the Pauline dualism is carried to the extremest point. The progress, the variety, the shading by which the latter is relieved, are here blotted out in the clear white light of eternity.

Yet the very sharpness of the presentation is the means of reviving forgotten truths. In the rarefied atmosphere of the Johannine Gospel, all traces of Jewish nationalism and materialism vanish. Salvation is indeed conceived as a transcendent good, but, as in the case of Jesus Himself, the transcendence is that of a higher spiritual order. One does not need to wait for the future to enjoy it. Here and now men may become partakers of light and life, of righteousness and love, of peace and joy. The Parousia is conceived less as a single event than as a continuous process (cf. PAROUSIA). Resurrection and judgment are present experiences. Even while in the world, the disciples may enter upon a life which is not of the world. The prayer of the Master is not that they may be taken out of the world, but that they may be kept from the evil (17^{15}).

We have thus completed our historical survey of the Biblical doctrine of salvation. We have seen how through the centuries the conception has been deepened and enriched, as the more external and material elements have more and more given place to those which are moral and spiritual. We have noted the transformation wrought by the life and teaching of Jesus, and seen the central place assigned to His person and work in the thought and experience of His disciples. Amid all varieties of statement—in spite of many survivals of earlier and less spiritual ideas—we have marked the persistence of certain permanent features which warrant us in speaking of a Biblical idea of salvation. It remains to gather these together, and to exhibit them in their relations both to one another and to those which are more transient. This will be the aim of our concluding section.

iv. SYSTEMATIC STATEMENT.—In presenting the Biblical conception of salvation as a whole we have to consider (1) its nature, (2) its conditions, (3) its extent.

1. *Nature of salvation.*—We have seen that in every case the fundamental idea in salvation is deliverance. Our opening statement is as true of the profound utterances of a St. Paul or a St. John as of the simplest passages in the OT, that 'in every case some danger or evil is presupposed, in rescue from which salvation consists.' If, then, we would understand the Biblical conception as a whole, we must recognize clearly what is the great evil from which, according to its teaching, man needs to be delivered. That evil is death. No other term is comprehensive enough to unite the various elements in the Biblical teaching. From the first lines of the OT to the last chapter of the NT, salvation stands for that Divine activity by which God preserves or enriches the life of His children, by delivering them from the multiform dangers and evils which threaten its destruction. The content of the conception varies indeed with the deepening apprehension of what true life means. The dangers become less external, more spiritual; less transient, more permanent; less local, more universal, but the underlying thought abides. We may illustrate at once the permanent elements in the idea and those that are transient by considering the contrast between (*a*) the temporal and the spiritual; (*b*) the individual and the social; (*c*) the present and the future.

(*a*) *Salvation as temporal and spiritual.*—In the earlier portions of the OT 'life' is used in the familiar sense of animal existence. 'Death' means physical destruction, with the loss of all that that entails. When a man dies, he loses everything worth having—home and friends, health and strength, national relationships and responsibilities, the privileges of Divine worship and of Divine communion. We misrepresent the OT conception of Sheol when we speak of the shadowy existence in the under-world as life after death. In the gloomy monotony of the grave the vigour and vitality which gave joy to life are lost. Man exists, indeed, but it is with 'a negative existence, a weakened edition of his former self; his faculties dormant, without strength, memory, consciousness, knowledge, or the energy of any affection. . . . The colour is gone from everything; a washed-out copy is all that is left' (Salmond, *Immortality*^{4} (1901), p. 163). It is not strange that, where this view obtains, the great evil to be feared is physical death (Ps $6^{4.\,5}$), and the supreme blessing to be coveted a long life (Ps 91^{16}). The Divine salvation is found in deliverance from all that threatens or impairs life, all that weakens its vigour or vitality—violence, oppression, captivity, calamity, troubles, and distresses of every kind. The great blessing which God gives is prosperity—a long life and a full one, with one's wife a fruitful vine, and one's children as olive plants about the table (Ps 128). Greatest of all evils to be feared is defeat in battle, since in the stern days with which we have to do it carries with it the loss of all that men count dear, both for the individual and for the nation.

But with the deepening of the moral insight we note the rise of a deeper conception. Life is seen to involve more than outward prosperity. It has an inner spiritual meaning. A man lives, in the full meaning of the word, only when he enters into communion with God in righteousness and love. From this point of view the great evil to be feared is not physical but moral. It is sin which destroys the communion between a man and his Maker. From sin therefore, first of all, a man needs to be delivered. We have seen how this truth comes to expression in the latter portions of the OT. Jesus puts it in the forefront of His teaching, and it has been the distinct note of the Christian Gospel ever since. Salvation is primarily deliverance from sin. It is the restoration of the interrupted communion between the Father and His children through the creation in the latter of a new spiritual life. Once dead in trespasses and sins, they are made alive again through union with the living Christ. Thus it is still death from which men need to be delivered, but it is a death which is spiritual, not physical.

One mark of the contrast between the two views is found in the changed estimate of suffering. To most of the OT, suffering is purely evil. It is a mark of that destruction and decay from which man needs to be delivered. To the NT, it has become a means through which man may enter into a more abundant life. The Christian glories in his weakness. He 'takes pleasure . . . in injuries . . . in persecutions, in distresses, for Christ's sake,' knowing that when he is weak, then is he strong (2 Co $12^{9.\,10}$).

And yet we must not exaggerate the contrast. We misrepresent the NT teaching if we limit the blessings of the Gospel to the spiritual realm. The outer world as well as the inner is the scene of God's rule. The common physical blessings are not to be despised. Christ healed the sick as well as preached to the poor. The Father whom He proclaimed knows that His children need earthly bread as well as the bread from heaven. St. Paul, for all his contrast between flesh and spirit, recognizes the lawfulness of the physical appetites. The abstinence which he practises and recommends is out of regard for others' consciences, not because of any inherent evil in flesh and wine (Ro 14, cf. 1 Ti 4^{4}). The physical universe is the scene and instrument of spiritual training. The body is a temple of the Holy Ghost (1 Co 6^{19}). And, however great the change in the future, it is to no disembodied existence that he looks forward, but to a life in which the physical organism, now tainted by sin, shall be exchanged for a new body better adapted for the spiritual life (1 Co $15^{35ff.}$). Nothing is more characteristic of the Biblical view of the future, NT as well as OT, than the extent to which it pictures the heavenly life in imagery suggested by the earthly. The heavenly city, the marriage feast, the many mansions, the tree of life, the crystal river,—these form the setting for spiritual joys. The last scene is not the destruction of the universe, but its transformation and redemption (Ro 8^{21}).

(*b*) *Salvation as individual and social.*—In the earlier portions of the OT, the subject of the Divine salvation is Israel the nation. It is characteristic of primitive society that it has small regard for the individual as such. It is the tribe, the clan, the nation which is the centre of the religious as of the social life. So markedly is this the case that the action of Ruth in leaving her own people to follow her mother-in-law Naomi to Canaan is the cause of wonder, and is made the theme of an entire book. It is only natural, therefore, that we should find the interest of the Biblical writers centring in the fortunes of the people as a whole rather than in the units which compose it. Even where the outlook broadens, and the prophetic vision takes in other peoples, the point of view is still national. It is Egypt and Assyria whom the prophet sees standing with Israel as recipients of the Divine salvation, to whom, as to Israel, J″ applies the endearing title, 'my people' (Is $19^{24.25}$). Where this point of view obtains, it is impossible to rise to any true universalism. For a universal religion must be founded in the nature of man as such, and for this there is needed a profound sense of the worth of the individual.

We have seen how this sense awakens in Jeremiah and Ezekiel; how it is deepened by the experiences of the Exile and the Restoration. We have noted the tender and beautiful utterances in which it finds expression in the Psalms, and seen how its later development tended to follow the lines of legal conformity rather than of the filial spirit. The individualism of the Apocalyptic books is the individualism of the law-court or the market-place rather than of the family. Its language is that of bargain and sale, of reward and punishment. There is indeed no theoretical objection to the reception of the Gentiles, if they will adopt the ceremonial law and become Jews. But there is the immense practical difficulty of a condition laid upon strangers which even the children have not been able to bear. If the salvation of God is really to become a universal good, some deeper foundation must be found than that of ceremonial law. It must be grounded in conditions that are vital, not legal.

Such a foundation Jesus laid in His teaching concerning the childlike spirit. Reviving the old prophetic teaching concerning the forgiveness of sins through the mercy and love of God, He laid a basis for His Gospel as broad as humanity. Men are not servants, with whom God deals on terms of law, but sons, whom He is willing to receive, whenever they turn to Him in penitence and faith. Thus the Gospel of Jesus is founded in an intense sense of the worth of the individual. In the family each child has his peculiar place. To Jesus, salvation means the bringing back of the child who has been wandering in the far country into the plenty and peace of the Father's home.

And yet the Gospel of Jesus is a social Gospel. It is a Kingdom which He preaches, not a collection of individuals. His teaching differs from that of His predecessors only in that He makes the conditions of entrance broader, simpler, more catholic —in a word, more human. Whether or not He used the word Church in Mt 16^{18}, there can be no doubt that He intended to found a society which should body forth to the world the principles for which He stood. In this respect the Pauline doctrine of the Church is the legitimate outgrowth of the teaching of Jesus concerning the Kingdom. In the Christian life none liveth to himself and no one dieth to himself (Ro 14^{7}). The sacramental sign which marks the separation of the believer from the world marks also his entrance into the Christian brotherhood, and the feast by which he shows forth the death of Christ until He come is eaten with his fellow-disciples as a communion meal. The social character of the Christian life is indicated in a thousand unexpected ways, but perhaps nowhere more beautifully than in the Pauline word about the Parousia in 1 Th $4^{15.18}$ 'We that are alive, that are left unto the coming of the Lord, shall in no wise precede them that are fallen asleep . . . wherefore comfort one another with these words.'

(*c*) *Salvation as present and future.*—We have seen that the earliest conception of salvation is *present* deliverance. This must be the case if death ends all. If God do not save while life lasts, He cannot save at all. The conception of national salvation does indeed open the way for a wider perspective. The life of the nation is longer than that of the individual, and God may delay His deliverance more than a single generation and still be in time. Yet the point of view is fundamentally the same. If God's succour is not to be in vain, it must come before the nation utterly perishes. There must be at least a remnant to carry on the national life, a shoot left in the old stock, which may spring up to newness of life (cf. Is 6^{13}).

Yet the experiences of later Jewish history made this contact between present and future increasingly difficult to maintain. The old national prestige seemed gone, never to return. More and more, men despaired of present deliverance and concentrated their thoughts upon the future. The very barrenness of their present experience, the very absence of all evidence of God's present interest and help, served but to enlarge their expectations for the distant day when J″ should at last make bare His arm to help. What if individuals died? what if Israel as a nation should perish? God was able even to raise the dead. Some day He would stir the dry bones, and the nation would rise to newness of life (Ezk 37). Nay, He would call back from their graves the very individuals who had passed away, that they might share the joys of the final triumph (Is 26^{19}, Dn 12^{2}). Thus more and more the conception of salvation becomes eschatological and transcendent. The gap between present and future widens. Between the present time of distress, without experience of God's redeeming grace, and the future age which brings His great deliverance, there is a great gulf fixed.

This gulf Jesus bridged with His Gospel of a present Kingdom. He restored the older conception of a living God, able and willing to help His children in their daily need. But He saw that the great need was spiritual, not temporal. Conceiving of salvation as deliverance from sin, He taught that such deliverance was possible here and now. Prophet and psalmist before Him had had their intimations of a communion with God possible even in the midst of present trouble and distress. He made this communion a familiar experience. Devout spirits even within the OT, finding outward prosperity too little, had prayed for a clean heart and a contrite spirit; He showed how this prayer could be answered. The influence of the Master is apparent in the new view-point of the disciples. To the Christian believer, whatever his thought of the future, salvation is a present experience, introducing a man into a fellowship with God which no earthly sorrow or misfortune—not even death itself—can interrupt.

And yet here, again, we must beware of exaggeration. However great the emphasis on present deliverance, to Christianity, as to Judaism before it, salvation has its future meaning. We have noted the eschatological element in Jesus' own teaching. We have seen it repeated in that of His disciples. It is present in St. Paul; it is not absent even from St. John. He, too, rejoicing in communion with a present Christ, looks forward to a day when He shall be yet more fully manifested, and believers, seeing Him as He is, shall be transformed into His image (1 Jn 3^{2}). The very preciousness of the present experience, the very exaltation of the spiritual standard, serve but to deepen the longing for the day when all that now impedes the progress of Christ's Kingdom shall be done away, and God be all in all.

2. *Conditions of salvation.*—These may be considered on the Divine side and on the human.

(*a*) *On the Divine side.*—The ultimate cause of salvation is the Divine mercy. This is the uniform teaching of OT and NT. Whether in the simpler meaning of victory in battle or the more profound conception of spiritual regeneration, salvation is undeserved. God does not treat the Israelites according to their merits, but according to the riches of His grace. They were not more in number than other peoples when He chose them for His own, and delivered them from their captivity in Egypt (Dt 7^{7}). For His name's sake He saved them, that He might make His mighty power known (Ps 106^{8}, cf. Jer 14^{7}). When they forsook Him and wandered from Him, He did not give them up. His love endured in spite of their unfaithfulness (Hosea). He was inquired of by them that asked not for Him, found of them that sought Him not. He spread out His hands all the day unto a rebellious people (Is 65$^{1.2}$). Even His judgments are a mark of His love (Am 3^{2}). Not only the deliverance from enemies, but the repentance which makes it possible is His gift (Ps 51^{10}).

The same conception reappears in the NT. God is not the stern creditor exacting the uttermost farthing, but the loving Father, forgiving His erring children; more ready to give good gifts than earthly parents to their children. The disciples did not choose Christ, but He chose them and appointed them that they should go and bear fruit, and that their fruit should abide (Jn 15^{16}). The more profound and spiritual the conception of salvation, the deeper the conviction that it is undeserved. 'By grace have ye been saved through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God' (Eph 2^{8}).

In many passages indeed, esp. in OT, the Divine mercy is represented as an arbitrary thing. Not only is the deliverance of God contrasted as purely miraculous with all human instrumentalities (cf. 1 S 14^{6} 'no restraint to J″ to save by many or by few'; Is 59^{1} 'J″'s hand is not shortened that it cannot save'; 1 S 17^{47} 'J″ saveth not with sword and spear'; Hos 1^{7} salvation by J″ contrasted with salvation by bow or by sword, or by battle, etc.; cf. Ex 14^{13} the deliverance from Egypt; Jg 7^{2} the defeat of the Midianites by Gideon; Ps 33^{16} 44^{6} 57^{3}), but it often seems dependent upon moods of the Divine feeling which man cannot fathom. There are times when J″ may be approached; there are others when no man may draw nigh to Him (Ps 32^{6}, cf. Is 55^{6}). When the great waters overflow, prayer cannot reach Him (Ps 32^{6}?). At such a time the part of wisdom is to wait patiently until His anger be past. But on the whole we find an increasing emphasis upon the permanent character of God's saving purpose. It belongs to God's nature to show mercy. However Israel may change, His purpose towards Israel changes not. So we find increasing recognition of God's use of means. When He would deliver His people from the Philistines or the Midianites, He raises up some man to be their saviour. Even the experiences which seem outside of His control are not really so. The Assyrian boasts of his defeat of Syria and Samaria, saying, 'By the strength of my hand I have done it, and by my wisdom' (Is 10^{13}), and knows not that he is but the rod of J″'s anger, in whose hand as a staff is His indignation (10^{5}). This broadening view of the Divine Providence becomes strictly universal in the NT. Nothing can separate from the love of Christ (Ro 8^{39}). All things without exception work together for good to them who are called according to God's purpose (Ro 8^{28}). History is a mighty drama, in which each event fills its appointed place, preparing the way for that dispensation of the fulness of the times in which it is God's purpose to sum up all things in Christ (Eph 1^{10}). Even the groanings of the creation in its present distress are but the travail throes of the new universe, that shall be, when the sons of God shall be revealed (Ro 8^{22}).

Among the instruments appointed by God to mediate His salvation, the Jewish law, with its sacrificial system, holds an important place. Through its precepts men were trained in purity and holiness, and in its sacrifices they saw a pledge of God's forgiveness and mercy. To the contemporaries of our Lord it seemed a finality, and the salvation of the Messianic age would but serve to introduce on a larger scale the worship and sacrifices of the heavenly Jerusalem. Christians, following their Master, recognized the law as a Divine institution, but to them its authority was temporary. It was a tutor to bring men to Christ; but after Christ was come it was no longer needed. Its significance might be variously conceived. To the writer to the Hebrews, it had a positive value, as typifying the higher righteousness and the more perfect Atonement of the Gospel. To St. Paul, its significance is chiefly negative. It reveals the futility of any merely legal righteousness, and points men to the better salvation revealed by Christ.

With Christ we reach the centre of the Biblical doctrine of salvation. He is the Saviour *par excellence*, the true Mediator between God and man, the fulfilment of all the promises, the realization of all the hopes of the earlier dispensation. Two distinct lines of preparation meet in Him. There is the hope of the Messiah, a human deliverer through whom God has promised to deliver His people, and to set up on earth His long deferred kingdom. There is also the expectation of a special intervention of J″ Himself; the coming of a day when He shall leave His heavenly dwelling-place and take up His abode in the midst of His people, superseding the lesser radiance of sun and moon and stars by the light and glory of His presence. Jesus is at once Jewish Messiah and God incarnate; Son of Mary, and the Word made flesh.

This is not the place to trace the development of the NT doctrine of Christ (see art. JESUS CHRIST). It is sufficient to say that it runs parallel with the deepening conception of salvation. In Jewish-Christian circles, where the thought of salvation is still framed on the older lines of an external deliverance, it is the Messianic thought which is most prominent. Jesus is a man, approved of God unto men, by mighty works and wonders and signs which God did by Him (Ac 2^{22}), crucified according to the Scriptures (Ac 3^{18}), raised from the dead (Ac 2^{24}), and now waiting in heaven till the time of the restoration of all things (Ac 3^{21}). To St. Paul and St. John, with their deeper conception of salvation as a new spiritual life of righteousness and love, Jesus is a pre-existent Divine being, coming into the world from a higher realm as a quickening and life-giving principle to all who have been made one with Him by faith.

The contrast between these two views may be illustrated in connexion with the view of Christ's death. To the Jewish-Christians, with their more external conception of salvation, it is an arbitrary appointment of God, the necessity of which they recognize, but which they cannot understand. Christ died that the Scripture might be fulfilled. To St. Paul and St. John, the death is a necessary step in that great process through which evil is overcome and the Christian believer made partaker of Christ's risen and glorified life. That we may become like Him and share His nature, it was necessary that He should become like us and share our nature. He must suffer death with us, that we may be raised to life with Him.

The conception of salvation as a new Divine life finds clearest expression in the doctrine of the HOLY SPIRIT (which see). Here, too, we trace a development from the conception of the Spirit as the energy of God coming upon men to fit them for special work in connexion with the Divine kingdom (*e.g.* Jg 11^{29} 13^{25} 14^{6}), to that which sees in Him the immanent God, entering into the life of men through regeneration (Jn 3^{6}), creating in them a higher life of holiness and love (Gal 5^{22}), dwelling within them as an inner spiritual principle (Ro 8^{9}), uniting them with God and with Christ (Ro $8^{9.\,10}$), leading them into truth (Jn 16^{13}), sanctifying them (Ro 15^{16}), making intercession for them (Ro 8^{26}), more and more transforming them into the image of their Master (Ro 8^{29}), and at last raising them from the grave through the transformation of their mortal bodies into the new glory of the resurrection life (Ro 8^{11}). Where such a view is held, it is easy to see how futile is any thought of human merit. The aspirations which rise toward God, the graces which fit us for His fellowship, are the work of the Spirit. The very life which we live is not our own. It is the gift of God, who worketh within us both to will and to do of His good pleasure (Eph $2^{8.\,9}$, Ph 2^{13}).

(*b*) *On the human side.*—Yet it would be a mistake to conclude that the Bible knows no human conditions of salvation. The same St. Paul who lays such stress on the Divine activity in salvation urges his readers to work out their own salvation with fear and trembling (Ph 2^{12}). As on the Divine side salvation is a new life created in man, so on the human side it is a life which manifests itself in certain distinctive activities. These may be summed up under the three heads of—(α) repentance, (β) faith, (γ) obedience.

(α) The first and indispensable condition of salvation is *repentance* (which see), by which is meant not merely sorrow for sin, but actual forsaking of sin and turning to righteousness. This is as necessary for deliverance from Assyrian oppression as for entrance upon the new life of Christ's Kingdom. God may indeed save men from their sins, but He cannot save them in their sins. We have already noted the deepening estimate of this grace, and seen how from a mere condition of salvation, which a man can achieve for himself without God's help, it comes to be an element in salvation itself—the first step in the process whose end is perfect holiness.

(β) *Faith.*—The obverse of repentance is *faith* (which see). Man turns from sin to God, and the means by which he lays hold of the Divine deliverance is faith. Saving faith in the Biblical sense is always more than belief (Ja 2^{19}). It involves an act of the will, and issues in obedience. Yet on this common ground we note a difference of conception. In much of the Bible faith means trust in God's word, together with the activities which follow it. Its object is God's promise rather than His person. Abraham had faith in God—that is, he trusted His promise—and 'he went out, not knowing whither he went' (He 11^{8}). Because of this trust, he shall one day receive his reward; but this reward lies still in the future (He $11^{13.\,39}$). This is the sense in which faith is used in Hebrews. To St. Paul, on the other hand, faith has a deeper meaning. It is the means of obtaining a present blessing, not a future one. Its object is a person, not a promise. By faith a man lays hold upon Christ as his Saviour, becomes one with Him, partakes of His heavenly life, shares His righteousness, and rises with Him into His eternal Kingdom. It is thus a comprehensive term, which covers the entire human side of that experience whose Divine side is the working of the Holy Spirit.

(γ) But repentance and faith are alike vain, save as they issue in *obedience* (which see). This is the all-embracing Biblical virtue. Man's relation to God is such that his righteousness must take this form. The particular content may vary with the growth of the Divine revelation. In OT, for instance, it includes the faithful observance of the ceremonial law with its prescriptions of ritual and sacrifice. Yet even in OT these are subordinate to the eternal principles of justice and mercy (cf. Mic 6^{6-8}). In the NT the law has been done away. The only sacrifice required is the spiritual sacrifice of prayer and praise (He 13^{15}), the offering up of the person in life-service to God (Ro 12^{1}). The burdensome prescriptions of the Levitical ritual have given place to Christ's new commandment of love. Yet this love is no vague or indefinite virtue. It shows itself in the willing acceptance of God's fullest revelation; in discipleship of Christ and membership in His Kingdom. Beginning with faith, it manifests itself in all the social virtues. It rejoices to minister to the needy and oppressed. It does not disdain the gatherings of the saints for prayer and praise, and it finds its public marks in the sacramental signs of baptism and the Eucharist, by which the believer's membership in the body of Christ is openly showed forth.

3. *Extent of salvation.*—It remains to consider the extent of salvation. Here our study has shown a constant enlargement in man's conception of the sweep of God's purpose. We may illustrate this in connexion (*a*) with the present life; (*b*) with the life after death; (*c*) with the universe as a whole.

(*a*) *Salvation in this life.*—We have already noted the growing universalism of the Biblical teaching. At first it is Israel alone for whom God cares. He is J″'s dearly beloved son. Other nations are but God's servants, instruments in His hand through which He accomplishes His saving purpose for Israel. Then the Gentiles also share the blessings of the Messianic deliverance, but it is only by becoming subject to Israel, and adopting the Jewish law and worship. Yet even in OT there are gleams of a conception more truly catholic. To Isaiah, Egypt and Assyria as well as Israel are chosen of God. The foundation for a true universalism is laid in the prophetic doctrine of the worth of the individual. Jesus makes the conditions of entrance to His Kingdom purely moral and spiritual—repentance, trust, humility, obedience, the childlike spirit. Where these are present, there is a son of God, whether he observe the ceremonial law or not. The practical universalism of Jesus is theoretically completed in the Pauline doctrine of the abrogation of the Jewish law. This was the natural consequence of the new view of redemption. When salvation is regarded as a new Divine life, it is impossible not to recognize the Christianity of those who have received the Holy Spirit, even if they have not been circumcised (Ac 10^{44-48}). To the freedom of the Divine Spirit, like that of the wind, blowing where it listeth, no man may venture to set bounds. The salvation of Israel is still the centre of hope and prayer (Ro 9^1), but it is only as part of a process which is as wide as humanity.

With the widening horizon, we note a corresponding change in the depth of the conception. Salvation becomes not only a broader, but a more intensive term; less external, more spiritual; less local, more permanent. It not only affects more men, but it affects them more profoundly. Its subject is the whole man. It reaches soul as well as body. It delivers from sin as well as from suffering. It not only removes causes of evil; it creates forces of good. As nothing is too large, so nothing is too small to fall within the range of its activity. Life and death, things present and things to come, are alike subject to the control of that Christ who is able to save to the uttermost.

This double growth may be well illustrated in connexion with the doctrine of election. At first the Divine choice centres in Israel the nation, or in those heroes or prophets whom God has set apart for special service in connexion with the national deliverance. Then other nations are included in the Divine plan. God chooses Egypt as well as Israel. Cyrus the Persian is His servant, set apart to do a special work in the execution of His redemptive purpose. To the broader view-point of the NT, with its juster estimate of the worth of the individual, election is no longer confined to a few. All Christians are elect, called to be saints (Ro 1^6) according to the Divine purpose. And as the range of the Divine choice widens, so its content deepens. Christians are elect unto salvation (2 Th 2^{13}), with all the richness of meaning which the Christian revelation has put into the word. The object of the Divine choice is not merely deliverance from future punishment. Men are called to the Christian life as a whole, with its good works (Eph 2^{10}), its joys and graces, its brotherly service, its missionary zeal, its willingness to spend and be spent, yes, if need be, even to be cast away (Ro 9^3), if thereby others may be saved. Thus the individualism of the NT doctrine of election, so far from being a narrowing of the conception, is rather a mark of its true universalism.

(*b*) *In the life after death.*—With the expansion of the conception of salvation in this life, we find the Biblical outlook reaching across the grave, and taking in the life after death. Nothing is a more striking witness to the strength and richness of the Hebrew conception of God than the way in which it succeeded in transforming the pagan conception of Sheol which at the first the Israelites had shared with their contemporaries. We have already traced the steps in this moralization of the life after death, and need not repeat them here. From a gloomy, passionless, joyless existence, Sheol becomes the scene of God's presence and power. It has its garden of life, where the righteous await contentedly the greater joys of the resurrection. Christianity further emphasizes and enriches this conception. Whatever new elements Christ has brought into the thought of God and His salvation are carried over into the life immediately after death. Christ's activity is not merely confined to the living. In the spirit He preaches even in the realm of the dead (1 P 3^{19}). The shifting and uncertain imagery through which the human imagination had endeavoured to picture the nature of 'that undiscovered country' is now reinforced or superseded by a definite conception. To die means to depart and to be with Christ (Ph 1^{23}); to enter into the Father's home, where the elder brother has gone before to prepare a place and a welcome for each returning traveller (Jn 14^2). Whatever the joys still remaining at the Parousia, they are not different in kind from those upon the experience of which one enters immediately after death. The highest blessedness of heaven will consist in communion with Christ. 'It is not yet made manifest what we shall be. We know that if he shall be manifested, we shall be like him, for we shall see him even as he is' (1 Jn 3^2).

(*c*) The Biblical doctrine of salvation reaches its climax in the conception of a *redemption of the universe.* Foreshadowed in the OT doctrine of new heavens and a new earth, developed in the period between the Testaments in extravagant and non-spiritual forms, it remains an element in the Biblical conception to the last. It is not God's purpose merely to save men out of the world, but to save the world. Whatever is hopelessly evil—whether in nature, man, or spirit—shall at last be utterly destroyed. No foe will longer remain to dispute the authority of Christ or mar the glories of His eternal Kingdom. The last enemy to be destroyed is death (1 Co 15^{26}). Not till then will Christ's saving work be finished, and He restore to the Father the power given to Him, that in the redeemed universe God may be all in all (1 Co 15^{28}). This doctrine of a cosmic salvation, wrought out most fully by St. Paul, but implied also in other parts of the NT, has three main elements: (1) the redemption of physical nature with its destruction of suffering and death; (2) the redemption of mankind with its destruction of sin; (3) the redemption of the angelic world with its destruction of the spiritual forces which now oppose the Kingdom of God. Thus in terms naturally suggested by the thought of his day, but with a vigour and breadth of conception worthy of the largest generalizations of our modern science, the apostle presents the work of Christ in its unity as one great process, running through the ages, reaching out to take in the uttermost bounds of space, penetrating to the profoundest depths of spiritual experience in order to bind together all things in earth and heaven in one universal purpose of salvation (Eph 1, Col 1).

LITERATURE.—The Literature, which is voluminous, is widely scattered, all the more important Commentaries, as well as works on Biblical Theology, contributing directly or indirectly to the subject. For monographs on special phases of the doctrine the reader is referred to the literature given in the special articles on ESCHATOLOGY, FAITH, JUSTIFICATION, PAROUSIA, RANSOM, REDEMPTION, etc. Here only a general survey can be given.

On Salvation in general, cf. Cremer, *Bib.-Theol. Lex.* s. σώζω, σωτήρ, σωτηρία; M'Clintock-Strong, artt. 'Saviour' and 'Salvation'; Herzog, *RE* ^{3}, artt. 'Heil' and 'Erlösung'; Ritschl, *Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, vol. ii.; Kähler, 'Zur Lehre von der Versöhnung,' in *Dogmatische Zeitfragen*, ii. 1898; Gess, *Christi Person und Werk* (1870); Thomasius, *Christi Person und Werk* (1886); Briggs, 'The Biblical Doctrine of Salvation,' in *Church Union*, N.Y., Jan. 1897.

On the doctrine of Salvation in OT, cf. the Biblical Theologies, esp. Schultz, 5th ed. (p. 562 ff.), Dillmann (p. 411 ff.), Riehm, Smend, Kayser-Marti, Piepenbring (Eng. tr. p. 207 ff.); Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*; Duhm, *Theologie der Propheten* (1875); Adeney, *The Hebrew Utopia* (1879).

On the period between the Testaments, cf. Gfrörer, *Jahrhundert des Heils*, ii., esp. chs. 8-10; Drummond, *Jewish Messiah* (1877); Stanton, *Jewish and Christian Messiah*; Schürer, *HJP*; Weber, *Jüdische Theologie* ^{2}, 1897. Much information may also be obtained from the notes in Charles' editions of Enoch, Secrets of Enoch, Apocalypse of Baruch, and Assumption of Moses, as well as from his *Eschatology, Hebrew, Jewish, and Christian*, 1899.

On the NT doctrine, besides the Biblical Theologies of Weiss, Beyschlag, Reuss, Bovon, Stevens, Gould, and esp. Holtzmann, cf. Klaiber, *Neutest. Lehre von der Sünde und Erlösung* (1836); Wendt, *Lehre Jesu*; Horton, *Teaching of Jesus*; Gilbert, *Revelation of Jesus* (1899); Pfleiderer, *Paulinismus*^{2}; McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*; Briggs, *Messiah of the Gospels*, *Messiah of the Apostles*; Stevens, *Pauline Theology*, *Johannine Theology*; Everett, *Gospel of Paul* (1893); du Bose, *Soteriology of the NT* (1892); Ménégoz, *La Théologie de L'Épître aux Hébreux* (1894), *Le Péché et la Rédemption d'après St. Paul* (1882); Nösgen, *Geschichte der NT Offenbarung* (ii. p. 300 ff.); Cone, *The Gospel and its earliest interpretations* (1893); Baldensperger, *Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*^{2} (1892); Titius, *Die Neutest. Lehre von der Seligkeit* (1895); Ménégoz, 'Le Salut d'après l'enseignement de Jésus-Christ,' in *Rev. Chrét.* 1899, ix. pp. 401–421; W. Bousset, *Jesu Predigt in ihrem Gegensatz zum Judentum* (1892); Harnack, *Das Wesen des Christentums* (1900; Eng. tr. 1901).

On special points in connexion with the doctrine, cf. the various monographs on the Kingdom of God by Schnedermann, Schmoller, Issel, J. Weiss, Bruce, Boardman, Toy (*Judaism and Christianity*, pp. 303–371); Schmidt, *Die paulin. Christol. in ihrem Zusammenhang mit der Heilslehre des Apostels dargestellt* (1870); Cremer, *Die paulin. Rechtfertigungslehre im Zusammenhang ihrer gesch. Voraussetzungen* (1900); Wernle, *Der Christ und die Sünde bei Paulus* (1897); Kabisch, *Eschatologie des Paulus* (1893); Teichmann, *Die paulin. Vorstellungen von Auferstehung und Gericht, und ihre Beziehung zur jüd. Apocalyptik* (1896); Schlatter, *Der Glaube im NT*^{2} (1895), 'Der biblische Begriff der Gnade' (*Schrift und Geschichte*, pp. 177–217); Riehm, *Der Begriff der Sühne im AT* (1877); Kühl, *Die Heilsbedeutung des Todes Christi* (1890); Seeberg, *Der Tod Christi in seiner Bedeutung für die Erlösung* (1895); E. Cremer, *Die stellvertretende Bedeutung des Todes Christi* (1892); Cave, *Scriptural Doctrine of Sacrifice*^{2} (1890); Gunkel, *Die Wirkungen des Heiligen Geistes* (1888); Weinel, *Die Wirkungen des Geistes und der Geister* (1899); M'C. Edgar, *The Gospel of a Risen Saviour* (1892); Milligan, *The Resurrection of our Lord* (1881); Salmond, *The Christian Doctrine of Immortality*, 4th ed. 1901; Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode* (1892); Charles, *Eschatology, Hebrew, Jewish, and Christian* (1899).

W. ADAMS BROWN.

SAMAIAS (*Σαμαίας*).—**1.** Shemaiah, one of the chiefs of the Levites in Josiah's reign, 1 Es 1^{9} (cf. 2 Ch 35^{9}). **2.** 1 Es 8^{39} = Shemaiah, of the sons of Adonikam, Ezr 8^{13}.

SAMARIA.—**1.** (שֹׁמְרוֹן, that is, *Shōmĕrôn*, 'watch-mountain'; *Σαμάρεια*, *Σεμερών*, *Σομερών*, *Σομηρών*, *Σωμωρών*; Jos. (*Ant.* VIII. xii. 5), *Σωμαρεὶν*; Euseb. (*Onom.*), *Σεμηρών*; *Samaria*) The capital of the kingdom of Israel. The Assyrian, *Samirina* (Ins. of Tiglath-pileser III., Sargon, etc.), and the Greek and Latin forms of the name, come from the Aramaic שָׁמְרַיִן. A characteristic derivation of the name is given, in 1 K 16^{24} (RV, cf. Jos. *Ant.* VIII. xii. 5), where we are told that Samaria was built by Omri who bought the 'hill of Samaria' from Shemer, and, having fortified it, called the name of the city that he built Shomerôn (*Samaria*) after Shemer. (See discussion of etymology by Stade in *ZATW* v. 165 ff.)

Commanding the roads from Shechem northwards to Esdraelon, and westwards to the coast, and situated within easy reach of the Mediterranean, no better site could have been selected for the fortified capital of the Northern kingdom. The hill ('mountain of Samaria' Am 4^{1} 6^{1}, Sir 50^{26}) rises from 300 to 400 feet above the bed of a broad fertile valley (perhaps the 'field of Samaria' Ob ^{19} RV), and is isolated on all sides but the east, where it is connected with the hills ('mountains of Samaria' Am 3^{9}, Jer 31^{5}) by a low narrow saddle. On three sides it is surrounded and overlooked by hills clothed with olive and vine, but they are beyond the range of catapult and bow, and so were not a source of danger. On the fourth side the hills are low, and the view over them to the west, with the blue waters of the Mediterranean in the distance, is one of exceptional beauty. This charm of position, in a rich 'fat' valley, bordered by vine-clad hills, formed part of that 'glorious beauty' which made Samaria the 'crown of pride of the drunkards of Ephraim' (Is 28$^{1-4}$).

From the 7th year of Omri, Samaria was the capital ('the head of Ephraim' Is 7^{9}, 'Samaria and her daughters' Ezk 16^{53}), and residence of the kings of Israel (1 K 16^{29} 20^{43} 21$^{1-18}$ 22^{51}, 2 K 1^{3} 3$^{1.6}$ 10^{36} 13$^{1.10}$ 14$^{14.23}$ 15$^{8.13.14.17.23.27}$ 17^{1}, Is 7^{9} 10^{9}, Hos 10^{7}); and it was also their burial-place (1 K 16^{28} 22^{37}, 2 K 10^{35} 13$^{9.12}$ 14^{16}). Samaria is on this account mentioned with or compared with the capital of the Southern kingdom (2 K 21^{13}, Is 10$^{10.11}$, Ezk 16^{51} 23^{4}, Am 6^{1}, Mic 1$^{1.5}$), which was to share its fate. Ezekiel calls it 'the sister' (16^{55} 23^{33}), and the 'elder sister' of Jerus. (16^{46}). The city was surrounded with strong walls (*Ant.* VIII. xiv. 1), and beautified by the kings of Israel. There was a fortified palace, 'the castle of the king's house' (2 K 15^{25} RV), with a 'roof-chamber' (2 K 1^{2}). This probably stood on the top of the hill, and near or connected with it may have been the ivory palace built by Ahab (1 K 22^{39}). There was a Syrian quarter in Samaria (1 K 20^{34}); and a city gate (1 K 22^{10}, 2 K 7$^{1.18.20}$, 2 Ch 18^{9}) and pool (1 K 22^{38}) are mentioned.

At Samaria, Ahab received a visit from Jehoshaphat, and, at the entrance of the gate, the two kings sat to hear the prophecy of Micaiah (1 K 22^{10}, 2 Ch 18$^{2.9}$). There the 70 sons of Ahab were slain (2 K 10$^{1.7}$); there Jehu destroyed all that remained unto Ahab (2 K 10$^{12.17}$); and there, according to one account (2 Ch 22^{9}, cf. 2 K 9^{27}), Ahaziah was killed. It was to Samaria that Joash, after the capture of Jerus., brought the vessels for the service of the temple, and the treasures of the king's house (2 K 14^{14}, 2 Ch 25^{24}); and that Pekah, at least according to 2 Ch 28$^{8.9.15}$, returned at the head of his army, laden with the spoil of Judah, and accompanied by a long train of captive Jews, who were afterwards released.

Samaria became the religious as well as the political centre of the Northern kingdom. The marriage of Ahab with Jezebel, and the consequent close alliance between the usurping dynasties of Israel and Phœnicia, led to the establishment of the Phœnician worship on a large scale in the capital. Ahab caused a temple and altar to be erected to Baal (1 K 16^{32}; *Ant.* IX. vi. 6), and made the Asherah (1 K 16^{33}, 2 K 13^{6} RV). The temple, which was probably of great size, contained 'pillars of Baal,' apparently of wood, which were torn down and burned, and a 'pillar of Baal,' possibly a stone pillar with an effigy of the god on one of its faces, which was broken down when Jehu destroyed the temple after slaughtering the prophets of Baal (2 K 3^{2} 10$^{21.25-27}$ [in v.^{25} read prob. with Klost. דְּבִיר *adytum* for עִיר 'city']). The Phœnician rites were celebrated with great splendour, and Jezebel, who had slain the prophets of the LORD (1 K 18^{13}), fed 450 prophets of Baal and 400 prophets of the Asherah at her table (1 K 18^{19} RV). The idolatrous worship was strongly opposed by the prophets of J″, some of whom worked and preached in the city. Elisha had a fixed residence in it (2 K 2^{25} 5^{3} 6^{32}, cf. v.^{24}), and Hosea probably prophesied there. Isaiah (10$^{9.11}$ 36^{19}) alludes to the idols, graven images, and gods of Samaria; Hosea (7^{1} 8$^{5.6}$ 10^{5}), to its wickedness, and to the calf-worship which existed side by side with the worship of Baal; Amos (8^{14}), to its sin; and Isaiah (8^{4} 9^{9}), Hosea (13^{16}), Amos (3^{12}), Micah (1^{6}) foretell the penalties that it would have to suffer for the sins of its people. Jeremiah (23^{13}) mentions the prophets of Baal, and Ezekiel (23^{4}) can find no fitter symbol for the city than Oholah the harlot.

Soon after Samaria was built, it was probably besieged by Benhadad I., who forced Omri to make 'streets' in the city for the Syrians (1 K 20^{34}). During Ahab's reign it successfully resisted a siege by Benhadad II. (1 K 20$^{1-21}$; *Ant.* VIII. xiv. 1, 2). In the reign of Jehoram, after a minor expedition had been thwarted by Elisha (2 K 6$^{19.20}$; *Ant.* IX. iv. 3), the city was again besieged by Benhadad. On this occasion the garrison and townsmen were reduced to the last extremity (2 K 6$^{24.25}$), when a panic seized the Syrian army and the siege was raised (2 K 7$^{1-20}$; *Ant.* IX. iv. 4, 5). In the 7th year of Hoshea, Samaria was besieged by Shalmaneser, but it was actually taken, B.C. 722, by his successor Sargon after the siege had lasted three years (2 K $17^{5.6}$ $18^{9.10.34}$, cf. 21^{13}; *Ant.* IX. xiv. 1; *Inscriptions of Sargon*). The Northern kingdom fell with its capital, and the people were transplanted by the conqueror; but the city was not completely destroyed (Jer 41^5). Two years later it rose, in alliance with Hamath, Arpad, and Damascus, against the Assyrians; but the rising collapsed on the overthrow of the king of Hamath (see *Inscriptions*). The transplanted Jews were replaced by foreign colonists (2 K 17^{24}, Ezr 4^{10}) under Assyrian governors, of one of whom the name, Nabu-achi-šu, has been preserved (III. Rawlinson, 34, col. ii. 94 f.). In B.C. 331 Samaria submitted to Alexander, who killed many of its inhabitants, and replaced them by Macedonian colonists. Later it was dismantled by Ptolemy Lagi, afterwards rebuilt, and again destroyed by Demetrius Poliorcetes. The walls must soon have been restored, for it was a 'very strong city' when taken by John Hyrcanus, B.C. 120, after a year's siege (*Ant.* XIII. x. 2, 3; *BJ* I. ii. 7). Hyrcanus is said to have completely destroyed the city by 'bringing streams to drown it'; but this can refer only to that portion of it which lay at the foot of the hill. Samaria was rebuilt by Pompey, who made it a free city, and attached it to the government of Syria (*Ant.* XIV. iv. 4; *BJ* I. vii. 7); and it was further restored and strengthened by Gabinius (*Ant.* XIV. v. 3; *BJ* I. viii. 4). Herod, in pursuance of his commercial policy, which was based on intercourse with the West, and of his plan of covering the country with strongholds garrisoned by Gentile soldiers devoted to his interests, made Samaria a strong fortress. He embellished it, built a temple of great size and magnificence, and settled it with veterans from his army and people from the neighbourhood (*Ant.* XV. viii. 5; *BJ* I. xxi. 2). The city, which is said at this time to have had a circumference of 2½ miles, was re-named Sebaste (Augusta) in honour of Augustus, who had given it to Herod (*Ant.* XV. vii. 3); and this name has survived in the modern *Sebustieh.* At Samaria Herod entertained Agrippa; there he killed his wife Mariamne, and there also he strangled his sons (*Ant.* XV. vii. 5–7, XVI. ii. 1, xi. 7). During the Jewish revolt, Samaria and Herod's soldiers, called *Sebastenes*, went over to the Romans (*Ant.* XVII. x. 3, 9; *BJ* II. iii. 4, iv. 3, xii. 5). Many authorities suppose that the gospel was preached in Samaria (Ac $8^{5.9.14}$); but it is possible that some town in the district of Samaria, of which the name is not specified, is intended (note the absence in v.^{5} of the def. art. in some MSS). Septimius Severus made Samaria a *Colonia*, but it rapidly declined as Shechem (Neapolis) rose to importance, and in the 4th cent. it was already a small town (Euseb. *Onom.*). It was an Episcopal see, and its bishops attended the Councils of Nicæa, Constantinople, and Chalcedon, and the Synod of Jerusalem (A.D. 536). According to Jerome it was the burial-place of Elisha, Obadiah, and St. John the Baptist (*Ep. ad Marcellam*, *Com. ad Obad.*), and their tombs were shown to pilgrims in the Middle Ages. The Crusaders established a Latin bishopric in Samaria.

The modern village of *Sebustieh* lies at the E. end of the terraced hill of Samaria, which is now partially cultivated and in places covered with olive groves. The old city wall can be traced for most of its course, following irregularly the contour of the hill, and there are remains of the west gate. From this gate a street 50 ft. wide, and lined with columns, of which many still stand, ran along the S. side of the hill to a gate on the E., which has disappeared. To the W. of the village are the columns of a large buried temple; towards the S.W. the columns of a smaller temple; and in a hollow at the foot of the N.E. side of the hill are several shafts of columns that formed part of a quadrangle, perhaps a hippodrome, 622 ft. long and 190 ft. wide. Close to the site of the E. gate are the ruins of the fine cathedral church of St. John, built between A.D. 1150 and 1180, over the traditional tomb of St. John the Baptist. In the neighbourhood of the village are two fine springs, *'Ain Hârîm* and *'Ain Kefr Rûma*, from which small streams flow for a short distance. These streams are, apparently, those utilized by Hyrcanus to undermine the lower portion of the city. (Stanley, *S. and P.* 243–246; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* pp. 346–349; *PEF Mem.* ii. 160, 211–215; Guérin, *Samarie*, ii. 188, etc.).

2. SAMARIA (ἡ Σαμάρεια; *Samaria*) mentioned in 1 Mac 5^{66} cannot be the well-known Samaria, and is apparently an error. The place intended seems to be *Marisa* (Marishah, now *Kh. Mer'ash* near *Beit Jibrin*), a reading found in an ancient Latin version. See Josephus, *Ant.* XII. viii. 6, and 2 Mac 12^{35}. C. W. WILSON.

SAMARIA, TERRITORY OF (ἡ Σαμαρεῖτις χώρα, Σαμάρεια, Σαμαρία; Jos. χώρα Σαμαρέων; *Samaria*).—At an early period the name of the city was applied to the kingdom of the ten tribes, and as the limits of that kingdom varied (2 K $10^{32.33}$ 15^{29}, 1 Ch 5^{26}), so did those of the territory called Samaria. Thus the 'king of Samaria' (2 K 1^3, Hos 10^7) is the king, and the 'cities of Samaria' (1 K 13^{32}, 2 K $17^{24.26}$ 23^{19}) the cities, of the Northern kingdom; and the 'mountains of Samaria' (Jer 31^5, Am 3^9) is simply another term for the hill-country of Ephraim (AV Mt. Ephraim). The name Samaria is used in its extended sense in 1 K 18^2, 2 K 17^{28} 23^{18}, 2 Ch 25^{13}, Ezr 4^{17}, Neh 4^2, Am 3^{12}.

In the Apocrypha (1 Es $2^{16.25}$, Jth 1^9 4^4, 1 Mac 3^{10} 5^{66} $10^{30.38}$ $11^{28.34}$, 2 Mac 15^1) and in NT (Lk 17^{11}, Jn $4^{4.5.7.9}$, Ac 1^8 8^1 9^{31}) the name Samaria denotes the central of the three districts—Judæa, Samaria, and Galilee—into which the country west of Jordan was divided. According to Josephus (*BJ* III. iii. 1, 4, 5), Samaria was bounded on the north by Galilee and the territory of the free city of Scythopolis, its most northerly village being Ginæa (*Jenîn*), in the great plain of Esdraelon. It extended S. to the toparchy of Acrabatta, *'Aḳrâbeh*, and the villages of Anuath, *Kh. 'Aina*, and Borceos, *Berḳît*, which were about 15 Roman miles S. of Shechem, and belonged to Judæa. In the Jordan Valley the boundary ran N. of Sartaba, *Ḳurn Surtaba* (Mishna, *Rosh hash-shana*, ii. 3); and on the west to the N. of Antipatris (Talm. Bab. *Gittin*, 76*a*). It was separated from the sea on the W. by the coast district of Judæa, which stretched N. to Ptolemais (*BJ* III. iii. 5).

Samaria is a land of hills and valleys, with here and there upland plains of great fertility. Carmel and other hills are partially clothed with dense thickets, and, in places, remnants of former forests can still be seen. In the plains and open valleys the rich soil yields abundant harvests of wheat, oats, and maize, whilst on the terraced hillsides the fig, the olive, and the vine bring forth their fruit in due season. Josephus says truly (*BJ* III. iii. 4) that the country was fruitful and well wooded; it abounded in wild fruit and in that produced by cultivation; its water was good, and in consequence of the excellence of its grass the cattle yielded more milk than elsewhere.

Samaria is an open country, and was always at the mercy of hostile invaders. It seems to have offered little resistance to Joshua, and, after the conquest, Canaanites, Midianites, Syrians, Assyrians, Greeks, and Romans overran it with comparative ease. No great battle was fought within its limits, and the stirring episodes of mountain warfare, so frequent in Judæa, are unknown to its annals. On the other hand, it is remarkable for the number of fortified towns or 'strong places' that guarded its approaches. The open character of Samaria facilitated communication. Great highways of commerce passed through it, and chariots were used at a very early period. Amongst the trade routes were that from the coast, through the remarkable pass between Ebal and Gerizim, to the districts east of Jordan; and those from the Maritime Plain across the hills to Megiddo (*Lejjûn*), and En-gannim (*Jenîn*), and thence to Bashan and Damascus. To these well-travelled roads was due in great measure the close connexion that has always existed between Samaria and the trans-Jordanic regions, and the readiness with which the Jews of the district succumbed to the influence of the surrounding paganism.

After the Assyrians had conquered the kingdom of the ten tribes, they carried away the people to Assyria, and brought men from 'Babylon, and from Cuthah, and from Avva, and from Hamath and Sepharvaim,' and placed them in the 'cities of Samaria' (2 K $17^{6.\,24.\,26}$; *Ant.* IX. xiv. 1). At a later date, during the reigns of Esar-haddon and Assur-bani-pal (Osnappar, RV), the number of Assyrian colonists in Samaria was largely increased (Ezr $4^{1.\,9.\,10}$). In 2 K 17^{29} these colonists are termed 'Samaritans.' Josephus says (*Ant.* IX. xiv. 3, X. ix. 7, XI. iv. 4) that they were called Cuthæans in Hebrew, from Cuthah, the city of their origin, and Samaritans in Greek, from the country to which they were removed; and he regarded the Samaritans of his day as their descendants. The Cuthæans and others brought their national gods with them, an act which was believed to have brought on them the vengeance of the God of the land. One of the captive Jewish priests was consequently sent to teach them 'how they should fear the LORD.' The result appears to have been that they adopted the Jewish ritual, but combined the worship of J" with that of their graven images (2 K 17^{25-41}; *Ant.* IX. xiv. 3). Possibly, many of their high places and altars were destroyed during the reforms of Josiah (2 K 23^{19}, 2 Ch 34^{6}).

The Captivity freed the Jews from their old sin of idolatry, and intensified the exclusiveness of the Jewish character. When, therefore, the Jews returned from Babylon, and the Samaritans offered to assist them in rebuilding the walls and temple at Jerusalem, the proffered aid was refused, and the Jews excluded the Samaritans from all participation in their worship. Quarrels naturally arose, and led to a mutual enmity between the two peoples, which was marked by frequent outbursts of active hostility. The Samaritans were generally the aggressors. They attempted to prevent the rebuilding of Jerusalem (Ezr 4^{7-24}, Neh 4^{7-13}; *Ant.* XI. iv. 4); seized Jewish lands, and carried Jews off as slaves (*Ant.* XII. iv. 1). On one occasion they brought the bodies of dead men into the cloisters of the temple (*Ant.* XVIII. ii. 2), and on another they killed Galilæans who were passing through Samaria on the way to Jerusalem. This last outburst gave rise to disputes, which were referred to Rome for settlement (*Ant.* XX. vi. 1–3; *BJ* II. xii. 3–7). The Samaritans were always ready to claim kinship with the Jews when the latter were prosperous (*Ant.* IX. xiv. 3, XI. viii. 6); but at other times they repudiated the relationship, and acknowledged their Assyrian origin (Ezr 4^{2}; *Ant.* XI. iv. 3, 9, XII. v. 5). The feeling of the Jews towards their enemies is indicated by the term of reproach, 'Thou art a Samaritan, and hast a devil' (Jn 8^{48}); by the words of Jesus son of Sirach (Sir $50^{25.\,26}$); and the mutual hostility explains Christ's command to His disciples not to enter into any city of the Samaritans (Mt 10^{5}).

Samaria, after its conquest by Assyria, was ruled by Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian governors until Syria and Palestine fell to Alexander after the battle of Issus. The Samaritans hastened to proffer aid to the conqueror, and in return were granted, according to Josephus, permission to build a temple on Mt. Gerizim (*Ant.* XI. viii. 4, 6, XIII. iii. 4, ix. 1). In this temple, which, more probably, however, was built by Sanballat during the time of Nehemiah, the Samaritans offered sacrifices after the manner of the Jews. But when Antiochus IV. Epiphanes took Jerus. and desecrated the temple, they were quite ready to address him as god, and ask his permission to call their place of worship the temple of Zeus Hellenius (*Ant.* XII. v. 5). After having more than once changed hands during the struggle between Alexander's successors, Samaria was given by Antiochus III. the Great, as part of the dower of his daughter Cleopatra, to Ptolemy V. Epiphanes (*Ant.* XII. iv. 1). During the reign of the latter's successor, Ptolemy VI. Philometor, the Samaritan colony in Egypt, which owed its origin to the settlement of Samaritans serving in Alexander's army (*Ant.* XI. viii. 6), and to the removal of Samaritans from Palestine to Egypt by Ptolemy I. Soter (*Ant.* XII. i. 1), maintained, in controversy with the Alexandrian Jews, that according to the laws of Moses the temple was to be built on Gerizim and not at Jerus. (*Ant.* XIII iii. 4). Samaria was conquered by John Hyrcanus, who destroyed the temple on Gerizim (*BJ* I. ii. 6, 7); and, after passing to the Romans when Pompey intervened in the quarrel between Hyrcanus II. and his brother, it was given to Herod by Augustus (*Ant.* XV. vii. 3). On Herod's death it was granted to his son Archelaus (*Ant.* XVII. xi. 4; *BJ* II. vi. 3); but, on his banishment, it was added to the province of Syria (*Ant.* XVII. xiii. 5; *BJ* II. viii. 1). In the time of Pilate a large number of Samaritans were killed when on their way to Gerizim, and to Pilate's action on this occasion Josephus ascribes his recall (*Ant.* XVIII. iv. 1, 2).

In the days of our Lord the Samaritans formed an important element in the population; and though they probably had a strong admixture of Jewish blood in their veins (2 K $23^{19.\,20}$, 2 Ch 34^{6}, Ezr 6^{21}, Jn 4^{12}; *Ant.* X. iv. 5), they had not lost their distinctive character as aliens by descent (Lk 17^{18}, cf. 10^{29-37}), and apparently in religion (Jn 4^{22}). The gospel appears to have been first preached to the Samaritans by Philip, and with some measure of success (Ac 8^{5-25}). But it cannot have been very generally accepted, for the Samaritans more than once came into collision with the Roman emperors and the Christians. Vespasian quelled a threatened rising by slaying 11,600 of them on Mt. Gerizim (*BJ* III. vii. 32); and they were so severely punished by Zeno and Justinian for murdering Christians and destroying churches, that they never afterwards recovered. Benjamin of Tudela, A.D. 1163, found 'Cutheans, who observe the Mosaic law only, and are called Samaritans,' at *Nâblus*, Cæsarea, Ascalon, and Damascus (*Early Travels*, p. 81). They are now represented by a few families at *Nâblus*.

LITERATURE.—Conder, *Tent-Work*, i. 80–109; Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, 229–248; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 321–343; Guérin, *Samarie*; Schürer, *HJP* I. i. 190 f., 280, II. i. 5–8; Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.*^{3} 226 ff.; Buhl, *GAP*, 207. C. W. WILSON.

SAMATUS (Σάματος), 1 Es 9^{34}.—One of the sons of Ezora, corresponding to Shemariah or Shallum in Ezr $10^{41.\,42}$.

SAMECH (ס). — The fifteenth letter of the Hebrew alphabet, and as such employed in the 119th Psalm to designate the 15th part, each verse of which begins with this letter. In this Dictionary it is transliterated by ṣ.

SAMELLIUS (B Σαμέλλιος, A Σεμ- Σεβ-; AV Semellius), 1 Es $2^{16. 17. 25. 30}$=Shimshai the scribe, cf. Ezr 4^{8} etc.

SAMEUS (B Θαμαῖος, A Σαμαῖος; AV Sameius).—Of the sons of Emmer (1 Es 9^{21}), answering to Shemaiah, of the sons of Harim, Ezr 10^{21}.

SAMGAR-NEBO (סַמְגַּר־נְבוֹ).—An officer of Nebuchadnezzar, who, according to the MT of Jer 39 [Gr. 46]^{3}, took his seat, along with other princes, in the middle gate of Jerusalem after the Chaldæan army had forced its way into the city. If the name (LXX Bℵ Σαμαγώθ, A Εἰσσαμαγάθ) is to be accepted, it may be=*Šumgir-Nabu*, 'be gracious, O Nebo' (Schrader, *COT* ii. 109).* The text has in any case suffered corruption, as is evident, apart from other considerations, from the multitude of variant readings exhibited (cf. Swete, *OT in Greek, ad loc.*) by the LXX. If we retain the name Samgar-nebo, we ought perhaps to drop the first 'Nergal-sharezer,' and read: 'Samgar-nebo the Sar-sechim [a title as yet unexplained], Nebushazban the Rab-saris [cf. v.^{13}] and Nergal-sharezer the Rab-mag' (so Sayce in art. NERGAL-SHAREZER above). Another course is to reject (with Giesebrecht) the name Samgar-nebo entirely, taking סמגר as a dittography of רב מג, and joining נבו to the following, נבושרסכים thus = נְבוּשַׁזְבָּן of v.^{13}. It must be confessed that the means are not yet at our disposal for pronouncing with confidence on the true text. See, for another expedient, art. SARSECHIM. J. A. SELBIE.

SAMLAH (שַׂמְלָה).—An Edomite king, described as 'of Masrekah' (which see), Gn $36^{36f.}$ (B *deest*, A Σαλαμά, *D* Σαμαλά)=1 Ch $1^{47f.}$ (B om., A Σαμαά).

SAMMUS (Σαμμοῦς, B Σαμμού), 1 Es 9^{43}=Shema, Neh 8^{4}.

SAMOS (Σάμος), one of the most important islands in the Ægæan, is separated from the coast of Ionia by the narrow straits in which the Greeks met the Persian fleet and won the decisive victory of Mycale, B.C. 479. It was the centre of Ionian luxury, art, and science; and, from the moment when it became a member of the Ionic confederacy to the time when it was deprived of its freedom by Vespasian, its history is full of interest. In B.C. 84 it was united to the province of Asia, and in B.C. 17 it was made a free city by Augustus. This was the political status when St. Paul, after passing Chios, touched at Samos (Ac 20^{15} RV) on his return from his third missionary journey. There were many Jewish residents on the island (1 Mac 15^{23}), who obtained numerous privileges when Marcus Agrippa and Herod visited Samos. The latter also made presents to the Samians (*Ant.* XVI. ii. 2, 4; *BJ* I. xxi. 11). Descriptions of the island and its history will be found in Tournefort, *Voyage de Levante*, ii. 103 etc.; Ross, *Reise auf die griech. Inseln*, ii. 139 etc.; Murray, *Handbook to Asia Minor*, etc. pp. 359-361. C. W. WILSON.

SAMOTHRACE (Σαμοθράκη, *i.e.* the Thracian Samos).—An island of considerable size in the Ægæan Sea, to the south of the coast of Thrace, and north-west from the city of Troas. St. Paul and his companions, sailing from Troas, made a straight run, without tacking (see RHEGIUM), across the sea to Samothrace (Ac 16^{11}); and the next day they sailed north to NEAPOLIS, on the Thracian coast, which, according to Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* iv. 23), was about 38 miles from the island, though the actual distance is hardly more than about 20 miles. At the northern end of the island was the town, called by the same name; and here, doubtless, it was that the ship which carried St. Paul cast anchor for the night. Ac 20^{6}, also, probably implies that the ship anchored for a night at Samothrace; but no details are recorded. There was no good harbour at any point round the island, which therefore was difficult of approach (*importuosissima omnium*, as Pliny says); but the ancient Greek sailors always liked to anchor for the night, if convenient or possible (Ac $20^{14. 15}$).

Samothrace is a mountainous island; and in the view from the Trojan coast it forms a huge mass behind and towering over the intermediate island of Imbros. Its summit rises to 5240 ft.; and there Homer describes the sea-god Poseidon taking his seat to survey the battle before Troy. In a similar way the island of Samos on the coast of Ionia forms a huge mass rising boldly out of the sea; and the common name Samos is probably due, not to colonization from one to the other, nor to common stock in the inhabitants, but to the character of the islands, each in the distance looking like a single huge mountain.*

Samothrace, being unsuited for a trading centre by its harbourless nature, played little part in Greek history. Its only importance is due to the cult of the mysterious gods called *Cabiri*, who were said to have been worshipped by the original Pelasgian inhabitants of the island (Herod. ii. 51). The Mysteries of the Cabiri rivalled those of Eleusis in reputation and attractiveness during the later centuries of Greek history; and Philip of Macedon was initiated at Samothrace.

W. M. RAMSAY.

SAMPSAMES (ℵV Σαμψάμης, which is followed by AV and RV; A Σαμψάκης; Lat. VSS *Lampsacus*).—One of the places to which the Romans are said to have written in favour of the Jews, 1 Mac 15^{23}. It is usually identified with *Samsun*, a seaport town on the Black Sea, between Sinope and Trebizond (cf. Ramsay, *Hist. Geog. of Asia Minor*, 273)

SAMSON.—

i. The name.
ii. The narrative.
iii. The sources.
iv. The historical background.
v. Historical importance.
vi. Significance for the history of religion.
vii. Significance for the history of civilization.
viii. Mythological traces.
Literature.

i. THE NAME.—The pronunciation *Samson* is derived from the Vulgate, which follows the LXX Σαμψών, using a vowel older than the ĭ of the Heb. שִׁמְשׁוֹן *Shimshôn*. The name is not to be derived from שָׁמֵן, or שָׁמֵם, or שָׁמֵשׁ 'serve' (cf. Moore on Jg 13^{24}), but is formed from שֶׁמֶשׁ 'sun' by means of the denominating ending וֹן; a diminutive sense ='little sun' (cf. the Arab. name *Shumais* in Nöldeke, *ZDMG* xl. p. 166) is less probable than a derivation with the sense 'sunny,' 'sun's man' (cf. Ges.-Kautzsch, *Gram.*^{26} § 86 f. g.). It is natural to think of the Danite city BETH-SHEMESH, which was not far from Samson's birthplace. The name Samson is confined in the OT to the judge (but cf. שִׁמְשַׁי *Shimshai*, Ezr $4^{8f. 17. 23}$), and is found nowhere but in Jg 13-16, which have him for their subject (the Syr. and LXX Luc. wrongly introduce him in 1 S 12^{11}). The same thing is true of the name of his father MANOAḤ (מָנוֹחַ 'rest,' 'resting-place'), Jg $13^{2ff.}$ 16^{31}; but after the Captivity the inhabitants of Ẓor'ah, Samson's native town, are called (1 Ch 2^{52-54}) MANAḤETHITES (מְנֻחֹתִי), a circumstance which might imply that Manoaḥ was the *heros eponymos* of a Danite clan, and was only afterwards assigned as father to the judge Samson (cf. the case of JEPHTHAH in Jg 11^{1}).

---

* On the similarity of the names *Shamgar* and *Ṣamgar* see Moore, *Judges*, 106.

* Constantine Porphyr. (iii. p. 41, Bonn ed.), Eustathius, and Strabo (pp. 346, 457) say that Σάμος meant 'hill'; and the name was common in the Greek world.

ii. THE NARRATIVE.—

Ch. 13. The barren wife of the Danite Manoaḥ of Ẓor'ah has a vision of the angel of Jahweh in the form of a man, who promises to her a son who from his mother's womb is to be a 'consecrated one' to God (נְזִיר אֱלֹהִים, see NAZIRITE), and who is to make a commencement of freeing the people from the Philistine yoke. Therefore his mother is to abstain from all intoxicating liquors and guard against everything that defiles; no razor is to come upon the head of the child. At Manoaḥ's prayer the angel appears a second time, and repeats his instructions. Only after he ascends in the flame of the offering presented to Jahweh and disappears, do Manoaḥ and his wife recognize who had been their guest. The boy, when born, is named Samson, and grows up under the blessing of Jahweh.

Ch. 14. Arrived at manhood, Samson, not without opposition from his parents, makes choice of a Philistine girl at Timnah to be his wife. On his way there he kills a lion, and on his return journey eats of the honey which he finds in the carcase. At the wedding feast he makes this the subject of a riddle for the young men, and, when his young wife coaxes him into telling her the solution and betrays it to them, he leaves her in ill humour.

Ch. 15. Having recovered himself, Samson will visit his wife in her parents' house, but finds that she has been given by her father to another. In revenge he destroys the ripe harvest fields of the Philistines by foxes with burning brands. The Philistines retaliate by burning his wife and all her house, an act which Samson again avenges by slaughtering many of them (vv.$^{1-8}$). Having made his escape to the territory of Judah, which, however, owned the Philistine suzerainty, he allows himself, on their menaces, to be handed over by the inhabitants bound, but bursts his bonds and slays a thousand Philistines with the jawbone of an ass. The wearied Samson is revived by Jahweh by means of a spring flowing from the jawbone (vv.$^{9-19}$).

Ch. 16. While Samson is visiting a harlot at Gaza he is betrayed, and his enemies think to seize him in the morning. But he catches up the folding-doors of the city gate, posts and all, and carries them to the top of a mountain by Hebron (vv.$^{1-3}$). His paramour, DELILAH, in the Vale of Sorek is bribed by the Philistines to deliver him over to them: three times he deceives her as to the source of his strength, and bursts the bonds wherewith she has bound him. At last he confesses that his strength lies in his God-consecrated hair, and after he has been shaved while asleep he falls defenceless into the hands of the Philistines. The latter put out his eyes and set him to slaves' work in the prison at Gaza (vv.$^{4-22}$). At the festival in honour of their god DAGON, the conquered foe is to be exhibited as a spectacle to the assembled people. But with the new growth of his hair the blind man feels his strength return, and after praying to Jahweh he pulls down the pillars of the house in which the Philistines are assembled, so that they all perish along with himself in the ruins. His body is buried by his relatives in the family sepulchre. His judgeship had lasted twenty years (vv.$^{23-31}$).

iii. THE SOURCES.—Of all the narratives in the Book of Judges, that about Samson is the only one that is not composed from the two ancient sources which supplied the material of the book—in all probability the Judæan source (J) and the Ephraimitic (E). The attempt to distinguish two sources throughout has only once been made, and that superficially, by von Ortenberg, but cannot be regarded as successful. On the other hand, it has been rightly recognized by van Doorninck (1879) and Stade (1884) that ch. 14 has undergone extensive revision, and Böhme (1885) has proved the same for ch. 13. In both chapters the aim of this revision is religious; the whole personality of Samson is meant to be brought under the religious point of view more than is the case in the particular narratives. Böhme has shown at the same time that ch. 13 bears marks of the source J, and thus the whole Samson history will have to be assigned to this source. That E has no share in it is explained by the circumstance that for the Ephraimitic source the judge who 'began to deliver Israel out of the hands of the Philistines' (13^{5}) was not Samson but Samuel (1 S $7^{2ff.}$). Whether the Samson history, whose scene was the neighbourhood of Judah, had only a local importance such as to prevent its being made use of by E, or whether that history was too repugnant to its theocratic character (cf. Eb. Schrader, who calls E 'the theocratic narrator'), in any case Samuel takes the place of Samson completely in E (1 S 1–7; cf. esp. the birth story in 1 S 1 with Jg 13), whereas in J Samuel plays no part at all as judge and military commander.

But if the Samson story is derived from only one source, yet, apart from the above-mentioned revision, it is not on that account a literary unity in all its parts. On the contrary, the various anecdotes about Samson were originally related separately and only afterwards collected and arranged. Later than any of them, we may assume, is the story of his birth (ch. 13), just as is the case with almost all ancient heroes, even those of them who otherwise appear in the clearest light of history.

Samson is included by the Deuteronomistic redaction, to which the Book of Judges owes its shape, amongst the 'great judges'; but this, it appears, was not done without a considerable amount of weeding out. The concluding formula of the Deuteronomic redaction as to the duration of Samson's judgeship appears already at the end of ch. 15 (v.^{20}), and is then repeated in 16^{31}. This should in all likelihood be explained on the ground that R^{D} closed his history of Samson with ch. 15, and did not admit ch. 16 into his Book of Judges. The reason is easily discovered. Down to the close of ch. 15 Samson is the husband of *one* wife, and love to her along with love to his native land is the motive of all his actions. But in ch. 16 he appears as the slave of sensual passion, caught in the toils of a succession of paramours, to the last of whom he even betrays the secret of the Divine strength that animated him. If this itself must have appeared to the mind of R^{D} quite unworthy of a God-called judge (cf. $2^{16. 18f.}$), his fate also was an unfitting one, namely that he should end his life as prisoner and slave of the unbelievers. Hence R^{D} excluded ch. 16 in the same way as ch. 9 (the story of Abimelech). He was indifferent to the circumstance that thus the account of Samson's death disappeared; neither is there any mention of the death of Barak or of Deborah, and only a supplementary allusion to that of Ehud (4^{1}). It was not till the last redaction of Judges that ch. 16 was once more united with the preceding chapters, but the first concluding formula (15^{20}) was still piously allowed to remain. How much of the minor alterations of the old text is to be attributed to this last redaction, cannot be determined.

iv. THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.—The tribe of Dan, to which Samson belongs, possessed not only *one* tribal territory, but two,—the one west of Jerusalem, situated between Benjamin and Judah; the other in the extreme north, at the lower sources of the Jordan, bordering upon the territory of Naphtali. Samson comes from the southern territory; his native town Ẓor'ah (צָרְעָה), one of the principal places belonging to the tribe (Jos 19^{41}, Jg $18^{2. 8. 11}$, cf. also Neh 11^{29}), still bears the same name at the present day. It lies on the northern slope of the fertile *Wâdy es-Ṣurar*, through which the railway from Jaffa to Jerusalem now runs, opposite the ancient Beth-shemesh (cf. G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 218 f.). But the question is, whether Samson lived (or is supposed to have lived) *before* or *after* the emigration of the 600 Danites who founded the northern settlement of the tribe. The history of this expedition is given summarily in Jg 1^{34} (to be supplemented by Jos 19^{47} [LXX]), and in full detail in

Jg 17. 18. Since the account of it in the last-mentioned two chapters is preceded by the story of Samson, one might be disposed at first to decide for the former of the above alternatives. But it must not be forgotten that chs. 17–21 are appendices to the Book of Judges, and that their present position tells us nothing about their order in time. When the 600 Danites struck off to the north, their tribe was still contending for its independence, although with little prospect of being able to assert it. The braver and more resolute members of the tribe having taken their departure, the remnant will have abandoned all further struggle and rested content that their foreign lords should leave them in possession of the soil, probably upon condition of paying tribute. But this is the condition of things which we meet with in the story of Samson. The Philistines have penetrated far into the Shephēlah, Timnah (the modern *Tibne* only 4 or 5 miles S.W. of *Ṣor'a*) belongs to them. Between them and the Danites there is no state of war, but unrestricted intercourse, *connubium* and *commercium*—nay, the whole life of the Danites appears to gravitate towards the Philistine cities. The power is entirely in the hands of the Philistines: when Samson gets into trouble with them, his native town cannot shelter him. But even the territory of Judah, to which he flees, offers no security, for it, too, is subject to the Philistines, as its inhabitants (Jg 15^{11}) expressly affirm as a fact generally recognized. Samson's own demeanour is not at all that of an enthusiast for political independence and deliverer of his people from the Philistine yoke. He belongs, on the contrary, to that class amongst his countrymen who are disposed to modern and liberal ideas, and who have no scruple about entering into relations with the Philistines and even connecting themselves with them by marriage. This strange conduct is already excused and explained in Jg 14^4 as being in obedience to a Divine commission, in order that Samson might find an opportunity of damaging the Philistines. But this verse does not belong to the oldest form of the narrative, and is actually contradicted by other passages. Samson himself offers to the Judahites (15^{11}) the excuse that he had not attacked the Philistines, but simply requited the wrong done to him by them. And in precisely the same fashion he always asserts his innocence to himself and to his enemies (cf. $15^{3.\,7}$): if they would only leave him in peace, they should be safe from him, so he thinks at least. In the case of all his exploits, then, we have to do not with conscious attempts to deliver Israel, but only with the involuntary uprising of a subject people against the alien and unloved oppressor, with little 'pin-pricks,' each of which is regarded as a heroic deed and greeted with malicious joy. But ten hot-blooded and foolhardy Samsons would not have been able to loosen the chains of Israel's bondage. This was only accomplished when the Philistines, who had ventured to attack the kernel of the Isr. territory, were, after some initial successes (1 S 4), completely beaten by the uprising of Mt. Ephraim (1 S 13) and afterwards of all Israel under the leadership of Saul and David, and driven back within their own narrow territory. By means of these wars Samson's home became once more free, and a permanent possession of Israel. The Samson stories are probably intended, then, to be understood as belonging to the period which immediately preceded the Philistine war of 1 S 4, and are thus, apart from the appendices Jg 17–21, in the right place. That implies at the same time that the tradition, at first oral, embodying them must also go back to the same period. In a later age there was no possibility of their arising.

v. HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE.—According to the scheme of the Book of Judges as its programme is set down by the Deuteronomic redactor in Jg $2^{11\text{ff.}}$, Samson was 'raised up' by Jahweh to be 'judge' over all the children of Israel, in order to deliver them from the rule of the Philistines, to which Jahweh had given them over on account of their unfaithfulness (cf. 13^1). We saw that in the case of Samson there can be no mention of such deliverance, and just as little of an activity on behalf of, or any judgeship over, the whole of Israel. What we are told of him, at all events, claims nothing more than quite a local importance. We need not wonder, then, that R^D left out ch. 16 (see above), but only that he allowed Samson to pass as a 'judge' at all. But this may be explained as due to the example set in the pre-Deuteronomic Book of Judges, the work of R^{JE} (cf. Budde, *Kurzer Hdcom.* x ff., xv f.). The rank of a divinely-sent judge could not be henceforward taken from Samson. His credentials rest especially on ch. 13, the Divine promise and wonderful accomplishment of his birth. We shall have to regard the whole of this chapter as a later addition to the particular Samson narratives which were gathered from the mouth of the people and lie before us in chs. 14–16. As a literary composition, however, that chapter need not be more recent than these others. It is worthy of note that even it still confines the historical importance of Samson within very narrow limits. All that is said of him in v.^{5} is that 'he shall *begin* to deliver Israel out of the hand of the Philistines.'

vi. SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE HISTORY OF RELIGION.—The glaring contradiction between the Divine call of Samson and his far from exemplary manner of life caused much racking of the brains and much offence to the older theologians. A correct judgment of his personality is possible only when, on the one hand, we leave out of view the Christian standard of morality, and when, on the other, we take into account that Samson was originally not a religious but a popular hero. Still there remains even in the oldest strata of the narratives one religious trait, and it is this which has made it possible to represent him as under theocratic enlightenment. Any endowment beyond the ordinary human standard, or any conduct quite opposed to what is otherwise recognized as the character of a person, is explained in antiquity, and so also in the OT, as due to a superhuman being, a spirit, having taken up its abode in the person. On this account all who are mentally deranged are supposed to be the dwelling-place of a spirit, by whom they are possessed. In this way also the superhuman strength of Samson is explained; and as the Philistines, the enemies of Israel, suffer through his deeds, the spirit which works through him is the spirit of Jahweh, the God of Israel. The last verse of ch. 13 notes the first occasion upon which the spirit of Jahweh moves him, without telling us how this working showed itself. In $14^{6.\,19}$ 15^{14} 'the spirit of Jahweh came upon him' to enable him to perform the greatest feats of strength. It is noteworthy, however, that this expression is wanting in 14^8. This appears to point to a different way of viewing the matter, and, as this same way entirely dominates ch. 16, it may be regarded as the more original. According to Samson's own statement in 16^{17}, which is confirmed by vv.$^{20.\,28}$, his strength is not a new thing every time, imparted at the moment of need through his being filled with the Divine spirit, but is a constant possession, connected with the hair of his head, on which no razor comes, because from his mother's womb he has been a consecrated one of God, a Nazirite (נָזִיר).

The Nazirate is a religious institution of undoubtedly the highest antiquity; it is named as early as Am $2^{11f.}$, along with prophecy, as one of the special blessings which Jahweh has bestowed upon His people. At the same time it persisted in Israel down to the days when Israel's religion had undergone a great spiritualizing, for not only do we find it in Nu 6 in the legislation of the post-exilic period as a firmly established sacred usage, but we meet with its practice in Jerusalem at the temple even in the time of the Apostle Paul (Ac $21^{23f.}$). But in the OT Samson is the only Nazirite we encounter; for the consecration of Samuel is of quite a different character, and the words 'and there shall no razor come upon his head' in 1 S 1^{11} certainly do not belong to the original text. From the story of Samson, now, we can gather that the essence of the Nazirite vow consisted simply in allowing the hair to grow. At the expiry of the period fixed for the vow the hair was shorn by the priest and cast into the sacrificial flame (Nu 6^{18}, Ac 21^{24}).* Even Samson's lifelong Nazirate (Jg $13^{5.7}$) can scarcely be understood as implying that he is to carry his hair with him down to the grave, but rather that he has it shorn from time to time, and each time consecrates the shorn hair to Jahweh. But, as the Nazirite bears the God-consecrated offering upon his head, he naturally requires to keep his body, which ministers nourishment also to the hair, pure from everything that is repugnant to the Deity. The regulations on this subject will undergo change and enlargement with the times; the prohibition of wine (including, no doubt, all intoxicating liquors) belongs certainly to the oldest state of things, and is witnessed to already in Am 2^{12}. An intoxicated man is possessed by another spirit which disputes God's authority. Samson, indeed, does not impress us as one who practised self-restraint in any direction; his taking food from the carcase of the lion (Jg $14^{8f.}$) is directly opposed to the enactments of Nu $6^{6ff.}$, for the term 'dead body' there certainly includes *a potiori* the carcases of animals. But from these contradictions between the Samson story and the Nazirate law we can only conclude that the story does not proceed throughout on the presupposition of his being under a Nazirite vow. The contradictions must have been early observed, and this explains why what was wanting in the case of Samson himself, namely abstinence from wine and from unclean food, is compensated for in $13^{4.14}$ by attributing this abstinence to his mother for the period of her pregnancy.

According to ch. 16, Samson's strength resides in the unshorn hair of his head, a belief which in the case of the Nazirate is explained by the consecration in virtue of which Jahweh Himself dwells in the hair consecrated to Him. Amos, too, appears to attribute special powers to the Nazirites ($2^{11f.}$), but what is the nature of these we are not told. But the notion that some mysterious power resides in the hair, apart even from such special consecration, is extraordinarily widespread. A large collection of facts directly connected with supposed active and passive bodily powers may be found in J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough* 2, iii. 390 f. The Sunda Isles of the present day contribute much material to this collection, but so also does Europe of the Middle Ages, especially in the matter of processes against witches. The reader may note also what is said in the same work (i. 370 ff., cf. also p. 31) about letting the hair grow, and about the dangers connected with the cutting of it. The fear of these rises to such a pitch that, for instance, the chief of the Namosi upon the Fiji Islands, every time he had his hair cut, had to devour a man, in order to ward off the dangers which threatened him. We have therefore to do here with convictions diffused over the whole world, and which certainly go back to very early times. Even in Israel they must have been much older than the religion of Jahweh, but they were brought within its scope in the form of the Nazirate. From the story of Samson and from Am $2^{11f.}$ we may infer with some probability that Israel was conscious that the blessing of the Nazirate gave them an advantage over the Philistines and the Canaanites; and if that is so, we must hold that the Nazirate was established in Israel prior to the conquest of Canaan.

vii. SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION.—The story of Samson is specially important from this point of view. Above all, we see from it that the ideal of the country hero was exactly the same in Israel then as it is at the present day. The lion of a village must be first in success with the female sex, first in bodily strength, courage, and fondness for brawling, and first in mother wit. Samson displays the last-named quality in his riddle (ch. 14), in his ever-varied devices against the Philistines, and in the witty fashion in which he ever anew deceives Delilah. Veracity by no means belongs to the list of virtues of the country hero, and as little does faithfulness in love. Excess, or at least enormous capacity in eating and in drinking strong liquors, is amongst the things that may almost be taken for granted. It is strange enough that this trait is not strikingly displayed in Samson. Who knows whether from the store of legends that circulated regarding him there may not have been dropped this or that portion dealing with the subject in question? As to the matter of his enormous bodily strength, every village, or at least every shire, has still its Samson, whose displays of strength, as recorded in popular stories, speedily go, without the calling in of any superhuman causes, beyond what is possible for man. Many of our readers, especially those who have been brought up in the country, will be able to substantiate what we have said. Such conditions of life, which we can still detect everywhere, are the earliest soil of the Samson stories; everything else is only secondary.

We have, further, in ch. 14 a graphic description of the wedding festivities in ancient Israel, the only one which has come down to us. We see from it that on such occasions the proceedings were essentially the same as in the modern East, and, in some important points, even the same as at our own Jewish weddings. There is a seven days' feast (v.^{17}), above all with plenty of eating and drinking of wine (מִשְׁתֶּה), in which the whole community takes part. The thirty companions (v.^{11}), with their head, who is probably meant in 14^{20} and 15^{2}, are the conductors of the bride (cf. the 'sixty valiant men' of Solomon in Ca 3^{7}, and the 'friend of the bridegroom' in Jn 3^{29}). They would have to defray the expenses of the wedding, as is still the custom in Syrian villages. Samson and the young wife would, as is also the custom there, be called 'king' and 'queen' during the seven days (cf. Budde, *Kurzer Hdcom.* xvii. p. xvii f.). Samson's riddle is only a small part of the amusements of all kinds—songs, dances, games, stories—with which the seven days were filled up.

Although, however, the practices at Samson's wedding are the same as are usual elsewhere, the same cannot be said of the character of the marriage itself. From $15^{1f.}$ it is plain that the young wife did not go after the marriage to Ẓor'ah to Samson's house, but remained in the house of her parents at Timnah. And even if this might appear to be explained on the ground that Samson, according to 14^{19b}, parted from her in anger instead of personally accompanying her in stately procession to Ẓor'ah (cf. 1^{14}), there is not the slightest hint in $15^{1f.}$ that he purposed subsequently to take her home to Ẓor'ah, but only that he meant to visit her *in her parents' house*. Nor does the kid which he takes with him appear to be an extraordinary present for a special purpose, such as to make up for his anger of 14^{19}, but seems rather to belong to the visit as such. If all this be so, then we have to do with that peculiar ancient form of marriage to which W. R. Smith (*Kinship and Marriage in early Arabia*, pp. 70–76) gave the name *ṣadīḳa* marriage. It answers to the ancient social institution of the matriarchate, under which the wife remains with her relations, the husband visits her there, the children belong to the tribe and the family of the mother. One-sided dissolution of such a marriage and the contracting of another (cf. Jg 15^{2}) by the woman is also witnessed to amongst the Arabs (*l.c.* p. 65). If Samson's marriage is to be understood in this way, this does not of course imply that at the time when these stories took their rise all marriages in Israel were of the *ṣadīḳa* type. But we learn again from the ancient Arabic materials collected by W. R. Smith, that, even when the later form of marriage had come to prevail, such *ṣadīḳa* marriages were still contracted when the ordinary marriage was not possible, as, for instance, between members of hostile tribes (*l.c.* p. 71 f.). This may be the explanation in the case before us, where a man belonging to the territory of Israel, which was subject to the Philistines, seeks in marriage a girl of the ruling people. We should perhaps adopt a similar interpretation when it is said that Gideon had a concubine in Shechem (Jg 8^{31}), which still belonged to the Canaanites; and when Abimelech, her son, speaks of himself as a Shechemite and not as an Israelite (9^{2}). If any one thinks it worth while, he may, upon the ground of this ancient social custom, view more mildly even Samson's relation to Delilah in $16^{4ff.}$ It is surprising indeed that at such a marriage the festivities described in ch. 13 should be the same as at the marriages which constitute the man the possessor (בַּעַל) of the woman; but it may well be that different points of view have here become confused.

viii. MYTHOLOGICAL TRACES.—Samson's extraordinary strength, which he displays in a number of feats, led even in olden times to a comparison of him with Hercules, and recently such comparisons have gone the length of vain attempts to count up exactly twelve exploits of Samson. After it came to be recognized or believed that the Hercules legend is a solar myth, many in our own century proceeded to take the story of Samson also as a sun-myth, and to interpret it so in detail. The derivation of the name שִׁמְשׁוֹן from שֶׁמֶשׁ tells indeed rather against than in favour of this view, for it is not the way with a nature-myth to borrow or even to derive the name of its hero from the cosmical object which it describes. The derivation from *Beth-shemesh* is a much more natural one. But such mythical explanations are not capable of being refuted in detail, because the elements with which they operate are so simple that any one so disposed may find them in any history, and for the most part in opposite ways. At all events, the strength of Samson requires no such explanation; on the contrary, it is explicable, as we saw, by considerations drawn, on the one hand, from the history of civilization, and on the other from religion. And it is equally certain that none of the narrators of the story is conscious that he is handing on a myth; the features of the contemporary history and civilization are very clearly marked. This does not prevent the supposition that mythical traits may have found their way into these popular narratives. Undoubtedly a *topological* [Gunkel, *Genesis*, p. xv, incorrectly gives this the name 'geological'] motive for a legend appears at work in 15^{17}, where the name 'Height of the Jawbone' is to be explained. It is quite remarkable, too, that the fire-brand foxes ($15^{4\text{ff.}}$) recur in Ovid (*Fasti*, iv. 679 ff.) in the Roman cultus, and are explained (*ib.* 701 ff.) by the act of a mischievous boy which exactly resembles the act of Samson. But, *in this instance* at all events, we have not to do with a solar myth; the reader may be reminded how in Poitou 'the spirit of the corn appears to be conceived in the shape of a fox' (Frazer, *l.c.* ii. 283; cf. the whole chapter entitled 'The corn-spirit'). The attempt to give a continuous mythological interpretation of the story of Samson is therefore to be abandoned, although there are various points in it besides the above which may profitably be examined from this point of view.

---

* How large a part was played by the hair-offering in the life of ancient peoples, especially of the Semites, may be learned from W. R. Smith, *RS* 2 325–334, cf. also p. 482 ff.

LITERATURE.—The Comm. on *Judges*, esp. those of Moore, in *Internat. Crit. Com.* 1895; Budde in *Kurzer Hdcom.* 1897; Nowack in *Hdkomm.* 1900; and the authorities cited in these. The older literature will be found in Winer's excellent art. 'Simson' in his *RWB*^{3}, 1848.

K. BUDDE.

SAMUEL (שְׁמוּאֵל, Σαμουήλ).—The meaning 'name of God,' which is now generally accepted, is the only one that can be upheld on philological grounds. The author of the early history of Samuel obviously connects the name with the circumstances of Samuel's birth as if שמואל = שאול מאל (1^{20} 'and she called his name Samuel, *saying*, Because I have asked him of the Lord'); but it is impossible to regard this explanation as giving the actual derivation of the name. As is not infrequently the case in the OT, 'the writer merely expresses an assonance, not an etymology, *i.e.* the name שמואל *recalled* to his mind the word שאול *asked*, though in no sense derived from it' (Driver, *Text of Sam.* p. 13 f.). The derivation 'heard of God' (שְׁמוּעַ אֵל) is also etymologically improbable.*

The history of Samuel as set forth in the first Book that bears his name contains so many discrepancies not only as regards the history of the period, but also as regards Samuel's character and position, that it is impossible to assign it to a single author. These inconsistencies can be explained only on the theory that we have two accounts of the history of Samuel, which have been combined by a later editor (see following article). In order, therefore, to obtain a clear conception of the life and work of Samuel, it is necessary to treat the two sources separately.

In the earlier of the two documents from which the Books of Samuel are mainly compiled, Samuel first appears in connexion with the election of Saul as king at Gilgal ($9^{1\text{ff.}}$). He is there described as 'a man of God' (9^6), or, more accurately, as a *seer* (רֹאֶה as opposed to נָבִיא a *prophet*, 9^9), living in the land of Zuph (probably in the hill-country of Ephraim). The narrative opens somewhat abruptly with the story of Saul's search for the asses of his father. After three days' search Saul is on the point of returning homewards, when he is urged by his servant to consult the man of God living in that district (it is not until v.^{15} that we learn his name). Saul's objection, that the seer will certainly expect a present, is met by the servant producing the fourth part of a shekel. They accordingly enter the city and inquire for the seer, whom they meet on his way to the high place. The meeting, however, was no accidental one, for Samuel had been divinely prepared on the previous day for the coming of the Benjamite stranger, and had been instructed to anoint him to be prince over Israel; for, said Jehovah, 'he shall save my people out of the hands of the Philistines.' Samuel accordingly invites Saul to the sacrificial meal, at which a place had been reserved for him, and on the following morning privately anoints him, and informs him at the same time of his Divine mission to deliver Israel from its oppressors. He adds, further, three signs by which Saul may prove the truth of his words, and bids him do as occasion serves him when these have been fulfilled. The signs are fulfilled, and shortly after Saul's return to his father's house the occasion foretold by Samuel presents itself in connexion with the siege of Jabesh-gilead by Nahash the Ammonite. Saul's prompt and successful action in relieving the besieged city arouses the enthusiasm of his countrymen, who crown him king at Gilgal.

The comparatively subordinate position occupied by Samuel, according to this older narrative, and the limited extent of his influence on the affairs of the nation, stand in striking contrast to the traditional view of his life and work. He is here represented as the seer of a small town, who is consulted in matters of difficulty and perplexity by the inhabitants of the district in which he lives, and who is in charge of the local shrine: beyond this district he is unknown to the rest of Israel. Further, his chief claim to fame lies in the fact that on one occasion only he is chosen by Jehovah as His instrument in carrying out His plans for the deliverance of Israel. Lastly, it is noticeable that he has no voice in the establishment of the monarchy; his interest in the matter apparently ceases with the performance of his part in anointing Saul; nor does he appear to have been consulted in the actual election of the king. It cannot, however, be doubted that this older document has been preserved to us only in a very fragmentary form; and we may infer with considerable probability that it originally contained a longer and fuller account of the life and work of Samuel, which was passed over by the editor in favour of the (from his point of view) more satisfactory account preserved in the later document. The explanation of this selection is furnished by the later document, which is obviously coloured by the views and conceptions of a later age, and as such approximates more closely to the standpoint of the editor who combined the two narratives. It remains, therefore, to examine the narrative of the later document, and to estimate how far we can utilize it for the purpose of supplementing the earlier account.

The later narrative commences with the birth of Samuel, and relates how Hannah, the barren wife of Elkanah, on the occasion of the yearly feast made a solemn vow to the LORD that if He would look upon her affliction and give her a man child, she would dedicate him to the service of the sanctuary. Samuel is born in answer to her prayer, and in due time handed over to the care of Eli, the aged priest at Shiloh. His childhood is thus spent within the precincts of the ancient Israelite shrine, where 'he ministered to the LORD before Eli the priest' (2^{11}), and 'grew in favour both with the LORD and also with men' (2^{26}). But the sons of Eli, who in the natural course of events would have succeeded their father, proved unworthy of their sacred office, and provoked the wrath of Jehovah by their abuse of their priestly privileges. In consequence of their sin the destruction of the house of Eli is decreed by Jehovah, who announces His purpose to the youthful Samuel in a vision of the night. The favour of Jehovah, however, which is openly displayed towards the latter, makes it apparent that he has been chosen to succeed to the priestly office, and all Israel recognized 'that he was established to be a prophet of the LORD': for through his agency the word of the LORD was revealed to all Israel (3^{20}–4^{1a}). In the history of the defeat of Israel at Aphek, and of the capture and restoration of the ark by the Philistines (4^{2}–7^{1}), there is no mention of Samuel, who is suddenly re-introduced some time after the return of the ark, in the character of a 'judge,' rather than in that of a 'prophet' or 'priest' ($7^{2f.}$). Like a second Moses, he is represented as exhorting the people to turn from their idolatrous practices and to serve Jehovah alone. The people hearken to his words, and in order to confirm their resolution he summons a national assembly at Mizpah, where they make public confession of their sins. The purpose of this gathering, however, is misunderstood by the Philistines, who at once collect their forces to meet what appears to them as a national uprising. Dismayed by the approach of their hereditary enemies, the Israelites beseech Samuel to intercede with Jehovah on their behalf. In answer to Samuel's prayer, Jehovah sends a violent thunderstorm, which scatters the Philistines, and renders them an easy prey to the pursuing Israelites. To commemorate their deliverance, Samuel sets up a great stone and calls the name of it Eben-ezer, or 'stone of help.' According to the writer, this victory marks the downfall of the Philistine domination; for from that time onwards the Philistines 'came no more within the border of Israel,' while the cities 'which they had taken from Israel were restored from Ekron even unto Gath' (7^{14}). In the peaceful times that followed, Samuel is represented as administrating justice throughout Israel by means of a yearly circuit of the chief sanctuaries on the west of Jordan—Beth-el, Gilgal, and Mizpah. As his years increase, he naturally associates his sons with himself in the office of judge; but, like the sons of Eli, they 'walked not in the ways' of their father. For this reason, and also because they desire 'to be like all the nations,' the people demand that a king should be set over them. Their request is viewed with disfavour by Samuel, who plainly regards it as an act of rebellion against Jehovah. But, in compliance with the Divine command, he first sets clearly before them the treatment they may expect at the hands of a king, and then, as they still persist in their demand, takes steps to grant it. For this purpose he once more summons the people to Mizpah, and, after pointing out their ingratitude, directs that lots should be cast for the king: the choice falls on Saul the son of Kish, of the tribe of Benjamin (8^{21}). Samuel now realizes that his life's work is at an end, and in a solemn farewell speech he first bids the people attest the justice of his rule, and then, by means of a brief survey of the national history, warns them against disobeying the word of Jehovah. His exhortation is rendered the more impressive by a miraculous thunderstorm, which frightens the people into a confession of their sin in asking for a king. Their fears are allayed by Samuel, who assures them of Jehovah's favour if they will serve Him truly.

---

* In a recent article on 'The Name of Samuel and the Stem שאל' (*JBL*, vol. xix. pt. i.), M. Jastrow, jr., maintains that the first element (שמו) of the compound name *Shĕmû'ēl* should be rendered 'offspring' rather than 'name,' on the analogy of the Assyr. *shumu*, which occurs frequently in the former sense in proper names (*Nebu-shum-ukin, Bel-shum-uṣur*, etc.): he explains *Samuel* therefore as = 'son of God,' and compares the correlative *Abiel*. There is, however, no evidence to show that the Heb. שֵׁם ever bore this meaning: the passages cited by Jastrow in favour of it readily admit of the usual signification.

The election of Saul as king, and the consequent establishment of the monarchy, seem to form a fitting conclusion to the work of the last Israelite 'judge'; but the last days of Samuel were destined to be embittered by the foolish action of the king whom he had been chiefly instrumental in appointing. In accordance with the command of Jehovah as announced by Samuel, Saul wages a war of extermination against the Amalekites, but, in deference to the wishes of his people, spares Agag the king and the best of the spoil. Samuel is divinely informed of the king's action, and openly taxes him with disobeying the commands of Jehovah. Saul seeks to palliate his offence, but Samuel ignores his excuses and announces his rejection. He thereupon confesses his sin, and begs for forgiveness; but Samuel merely reiterates his sentence, interpreting the rending of his cloak by Saul as a sign that the latter's kingdom has been 'rent' from him. In response, however, to Saul's appeal, he consents to honour him once more before the people by joining with him in the worship of Jehovah. He then slays Agag with his own hands, and departs to his house at Ramah. This incident marks the close of Samuel's public life; for 'he came no more to see Saul until the day of his death,' but remained in seclusion at Ramah (see art. RAMAH), where he died and was buried.

The above sketch of the contents of the later document shows clearly that the writer regarded Samuel as exercising a far wider sphere of influence than the unknown seer of the earlier narrative. The position, indeed, which he assigns to Samuel is that of a second Moses, who rules over the people as the representative of Jehovah, and whose mission it is to win the people from their apostasy to the service of the only true God. Further, he depicts him as exercising the office of a 'judge' (in the sense in which that term is employed in the pre-Deuteronomic Book of Judges (2^{6}–16^{31})), and delivering Israel from the hands of their Philistine oppressors: thus Israel's desire for a king can only be explained as an act of rebellion against Jehovah.

The contrast between the two representations of Samuel is very marked, and at first sight it would appear as if the one must necessarily exclude the other. But though there can be no doubt as to the greater historical value of the earlier narrative, which bears all the marks of a high antiquity, it by no means follows that the later narrative must be rejected as unhistorical. For it must be remembered (1) that the later is not founded on, but is clearly *independent* of, the earlier narrative; and (2) that the view which is taken of the standpoint of the later author does not of necessity affect the general truth of his narrative. Hence, though the earlier narrative contains no account of Samuel's childhood, of his connexion with Eli at Shiloh, and of his intercession on behalf of the people, we have no grounds for regarding these *facts* as other than historical. It cannot be doubted, however, that the *form* in which they have been preserved to us has been largely coloured by the later 'prophetic' point of view. Interpreted by this later standpoint, the establishment of the monarchy, or rather the election of David's predecessor as king, has little to recommend it, and is not unnaturally described as one of many acts of apostasy on the part of ancient Israel. For the purpose of this narrative, it must be remembered, is *religious*; and it does not lie within the writer's scope to estimate the importance of this event in the *political* history of the nation. His interest rather centres in the person of Samuel the prophet, and there is on this account a marked tendency to magnify his office and to overestimate his influence. The extent to which this tendency has affected the narrative is illustrated in a very striking manner by the story of Samuel's intercession on behalf of the people at Mizpah ($7^{2ff.}$). That Samuel did intercede for the people may be inferred from Jer 15^{1}; but that his intercession was followed by the subjugation of the Philistines (7^{13}) cannot be reconciled with the subsequent history (see the account of Saul's campaign against the Philistines 13^{1}–14^{46}, and especially 14^{52} 'and there was sore war against the Philistines all the days of Saul'). In like manner, we may conclude that the representation of Samuel as a 'prophet,' and his aversion to the monarchy, reflect the point of view of a later age, and have but little foundation in fact. Looking back over the past history of Israel, the writer clearly regards Samuel as the last of the old order of judges, and also as the forerunner of the new order of prophets. That his estimate in the main is a correct one cannot be denied: it is clear, however, that it has largely influenced his portrayal of Samuel's life and work.

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that the account of the anointing of David by Samuel (16^{1-13}), and the second explanation of the proverb, 'Is Saul also among the prophets?' (19^{18-24}), can only be regarded as late and unhistorical (see below, p. 386 f.). They illustrate that tendency to increase the importance of the heroes of the nation, and to connect them with the beginnings of later institutions, which in later times became especially characteristic of Jewish writings.

J. F. STENNING.

SAMUEL, I. AND II.—

i. Title.
ii. Contents.
iii. Sources and Date
iv. Analysis.
Literature.

i. TITLE.—The two Books of Samuel, like the two Books of Kings, formed originally in the

Hebrew Canon a single book called שמואל (Samuel).* The LXX translators, however, regarded the Book of Samuel and the Book of Kings as a complete history of the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah, and divided them into four books, which they entitled 'Books of the kingdoms' (*βίβλοι βασιλειῶν*). The same division was followed by Jerome in the Vulgate, but the title was changed to 'Books of the Kings' (*Libri Regum*). The compromise which now obtains in printed Hebrew Bibles, viz. the division of the books into four in accordance with the LXX and Vulgate, and the retention of the Hebrew titles for each pair, was first adopted in Daniel Bomberg's printed edition of 1516.

The selection of the title is due to the fact that the opening chapters deal mainly with the history of Samuel, who still plays an important rôle in those that follow: the prominent part taken by him in the establishment of the monarchy may also have contributed to the choice of his name for the history of the period which is chiefly concerned with the reigns of Saul and David.

ii. CONTENTS.—In their present form the two Books of Samuel fall most naturally into four main sections: (*a*) I 1–15 Samuel and the establishment of the monarchy; (*b*) I 16–II 8 Saul and David; (*c*) II 9–20 David; (*d*) II 21–24 an Appendix. That this arrangement corresponds to the intention of a later editor is made evident by the three concluding summaries by which the various stages of the narratives are marked off, viz. I 14^{47-51}, II 8 (of which 3^{2-5} 5^{13-16} originally formed part), and II 20^{23-26}. Since, however, I 15 (the rejection of Saul and of his kingdom) was clearly intended to conclude the history of Saul's reign, it seems better to attach that chapter to the first, rather than to treat it as introductory to the second section.

The four main sections admit of the following subdivisions, which bring out more clearly the course of the history which they contain:—

(*a*) I 1–15 From the birth of Samuel till the rejection of Saul.
  (1) 1^{1}–7^{1} Samuel's birth and childhood and the misdeeds of the house of Eli; Samuel succeeds to the office of Eli (1^{1}–4^{1a}): the downfall of the latter's house, and the capture of the ark by the Philistines (4^{1b}–7^{1}).
  (2) 7^{2}–15^{35} Samuel as judge over Israel delivers them from their Philistine oppressors: in answer to the request of the people (ch. 8), and, through the agency of Samuel (ch. 9 f.), Saul after defeating the Ammonites (ch. 11) is made king. Samuel lays down his office (ch. 12), and Saul carries on a successful war with the Philistines (chs. 13. 14). After defeating Amalek, Saul is informed by Samuel that Jehovah has rejected him because of his disobedience, and will give his kingdom to another (ch. 15).
(*b*) I 16–II 8 From the first appearance of David till he is firmly established on the throne of Israel and Judah.
  (1) I 16–31 History of David during the reign of Saul. He is secretly anointed by Samuel, and enters the service of Saul (ch. 16). By his success as a warrior he endears himself both to the royal family and to the people, but excites the jealousy of the king, whose attempts on his life compel him to flee from the court (17–22). Saul tries in vain to capture David at the head of his band of outlaws (23–26). The latter finally becomes a vassal of the Philistine king (chs. 27. 29. 30), while Saul is once more engaged in war with the Philistines, and, after a vain attempt to obtain a Divine oracle (ch. 28), perishes with his sons at the battle of Mt. Gilboa (ch. 31).
  (2) II 1–8 David's lament over Saul and Jonathan (ch. 1). In the civil war which ensues between David and the house of Saul, the former proves victorious, and finally becomes king over Israel and Judah (2–5^{3}). He captures Jerusalem, and succeeds in throwing off the Philistine yoke (ch. 5). The ark is brought to the capital (ch. 6), and the permanency of the Davidic dynasty assured (ch. 7). Concluding summary of David's reign (ch. 8).
(*c*) II 9–20 Further history of David's reign.
  (1) 9–12 David's kindness to Meribbaal, the son of Jonathan (ch. 9): the war with Ammon, and David's great sin (10–12).
  (2) 13–20 Absalom's rebellion (13–19), and the revolt of Sheba (ch. 20).
(*d*) II 21–24 The Appendix, consisting of—
  (1) historical incidents: the Gibeonites and the house of Saul (21^{1-14}); exploits and lists of David's heroes (21^{15-22} 23^{8-39}); the census (ch. 24).
  (2) poetical fragments: a psalm of David (ch. 22), and David's 'Last Words' (23^{1-7}).

The history set forth in these books extends roughly over a period of a hundred years, during which Israel gradually emerged from the condition of national disintegration and anarchy, described in the Book of Judges, and acquired a definite national existence. The establishment of the monarchy was at once the external sign of the union which was effected between the hitherto scattered tribes, and the means by which it was brought about. Hence the main interest of the history naturally centres round the persons of Samuel, Saul, and David, who were the principal agents in the work of consolidating the kingdom.

iii. SOURCES AND DATE.—The Books of Samuel in their present form afford a striking illustration of the methods of Hebrew composition. An examination of their contents at once reveals the fact that their author, after the manner of Hebrew historians, has made use of previously existing documents, which, though covering the same ground, yet present the materials at their disposal in very different forms. The principle which he has followed in the compilation of his work is very similar to that with which we are already acquainted in those parts of the HEXATEUCH where J and E have been united by a later editor (R^{JE}) into a composite whole. In the present case we have also two narratives which together form the main bulk of the history. These narratives, however, are so obviously *independent* of one another, and so clearly distinguished by their different *point of view*, that there is now considerable unanimity among critics with regard to their respective contents. Moreover, throughout the main section of the Books of Samuel, the editor or redactor has made but little effort to harmonize the varying accounts of the incidents which he relates, and has contented himself, for the most part, with reproducing in a twofold form the leading events in the history of Saul and David. Hence arises that *duplication of incidents* which is especially characteristic of the composition of the greater part of the history from I 7–II 8. Thus we find *two independent* accounts of the choice of Saul as king and of his rejection. In like manner the compiler has preserved to us a double account of David's introduction to Saul, and of his flight from court; of the sparing of Saul's life by David, and of the latter's flight to the Philistines; and, lastly, of the death of Saul.

In nearly all these cases (to which others might be added) both accounts have been preserved almost entire, and the redactor has not attempted to connect them by other than the slightest of links: in a few instances, however, he would seem to have shortened or condensed the one narrative while transcribing the other in full; in no case has he welded the two together in such a manner as to render analysis impossible.

It remains, therefore, to investigate these two sources, and to consider their probable origin and source. In this connexion our chief if not our only guide is the *difference in point of view*; but this, as we have said, is so clearly marked that we have no difficulty in determining the relative ages of the two narratives. On the one hand, in what we may provisionally call the *older* narrative, we have a simple, straightforward history, which, from its graphic style, and its vivid description, as well as from its *religious* conceptions, manifestly belongs to a period of great antiquity. In other words, we have a natural representation of the state of society and of religion which existed in the early days of the monarchy, closely akin to that which we find in the earlier portions of the Book of Judges. The *later* narrative throughout is obviously coloured by the religious teaching of a later age, and the standard by which the various incidents are judged is that of a period subsequent to the prophetic teaching of the 8th century.

---

* This is shown by the presence of the concluding notes of the Massora at the end of 2 Samuel. Further, Origen, who is cited by Eusebius (*HE* vi. 25), attests the same fact: βασιλειῶν πρώτη, δευτέρα, παρ' αὐτοῖς ἕν, Σαμουήλ, ὁ θεόκλητος; and, similarly, Jerome (*Prol. Gal.*) mentions *Samuel, quem nos regnorum primum et secundum dicimus*, as the third of the prophetic books.

Kuenen (*Hist.-Krit. Einleitung*, I. ii. p. 46 f.) and Wellhausen (*Composition*, p. 238 f.), who are followed, at least as regards 1 S 7. 8. $10^{17\text{ff.}}$ 12, by Löhr, held that this later narrative was derived from a Deuteronomic source; but Cornill and Budde have shown conclusively that it is marked, at any rate in part, by a close affinity to E. The great similarity of this narrative, both in language and style, to the E of the Hexateuch, has led these critics to regard it as a continuation of that source. Budde, indeed, goes further, and assigns the earlier narrative to the older source J, supposing that the two sources were welded together by R^{JE}, and afterwards edited by a Deuteronomic redactor. Antecedently, no doubt, this theory, which presupposes that the Hexateuchal sources J and E did not cease with the conquest of Canaan, but continued the history down to a later date, if not to their own day, has much to commend it (see Moore, *Judges*, p. xxv f.), but a closer examination of the resemblances between these two narratives and the Hexateuchal sources does not establish their *identity*.

The question at issue may be briefly described as follows:—Excluding for the time being 2 S 9–24 (see *Analysis*), we find that the main bulk of the history contained in 1 S 1^1–2 S 8 has been preserved in a double series of narratives, which practically cover the same ground. These two narratives are obviously independent of one another, and are clearly distinguished by their *point of view*, and in part also by their *literary style*. The latter feature, however, is more especially prominent in the first incident (the election of Saul, 7–12), which is preserved in common by both narratives. Here, as Cornill and Budde have shown (see, however, Löhr, p. xxii f.), the later narrative (7. 8. $10^{17\text{ff.}}$ 12) presents noticeable affinities with E, and has accordingly been assigned by them to that source. But it is to be noted (1) that this resemblance to E is by no means so strongly marked in the latter portions of the history, which present the same point of view, and clearly belong to the same source as ch. 7 f.; and (2) that the affinity does not exclude non-Elohistic features, notably the aversion of Samuel to the monarchy. Budde, to a certain extent, evades the latter difficulty by assigning the larger portion of the later narrative to a later recension of E (E_2), which, as he rightly recognizes, has been largely influenced by the prophetic teaching of the 8th cent., more especially by Hosea. It is clear that both Cornill and Budde go too far in *identifying* the later narrative with E. That it is nearly related to E in language and thought cannot be denied, but at the most we can only conjecture that its author (or authors, for in the later narrative we can distinguish certainly two hands) belonged to the school of E, and that in writing the histories of Saul and David he was animated by a similar spirit and similar ideas. Budde's identification of the older narrative with J is closely connected with his view of the source of the later narrative. The points of contact are not so strongly marked; but if we are right in regarding the later narrative as the work of a follower of E, we may assume with considerable probability that the older narrative was composed by a writer belonging to the school of J.

The older narrative may be assigned approximately to the 9th cent., while the earlier stratum of E (Budde's E_1), which, though old, yet treats the history from a more subjective standpoint, dates probably from the following century. The later stratum (or strata) of E (E_2) has, as we have seen, been influenced by the teaching of the prophets of the 8th cent., and will belong to the end of the 8th or to the beginning of the 7th cent. As in the Hexateuch and in Judges, these sources were combined and welded together by a later editor (R^{JE}), who has, however, carried out his work in a less thorough manner. His work is in any case prior to the reforms of Josiah (B.C. 621) and to the influence of Deuteronomy, and must be placed in the 7th cent. The present form of the Books of Samuel is largely due to an author of the Deuteronomic school, whose hand may be clearly traced in the concluding summaries (I 14^{47-51}, II 8), and in various chronological notices (I 7^2 13^1, II $2^{10\text{a}.\,11}$ $5^{4.\,5}$). To him also we probably owe I 2^{27-36} and II 7, while he has expanded other passages (mainly belonging to E_2) which lent themselves to this treatment, *e.g.* I 3. 12, II 8. $12^{10\text{f.}}$. Lastly, he appears to have omitted II 9–20 as incompatible with his view of the history (compare the very similar action in the Book of Judges *), though these chapters undoubtedly belong to the older narrative of J. The older work of JE, however, was not entirely superseded by the later recension; hence a later editor of the 5th or 4th cent. was able to utilize the earlier form of the two books, and, as might be expected, restored those parts of JE which D had excluded. He not improbably also transposed II 3^{2-5} 5^{13-16} from their original position after II 8^{14}. The obviously late insertions I 16^{1-13} $17^{12.\,13}$ 19^{18-24} 21^{11-16} may have been added at this time, or possibly even later. Finally, the Appendix (II 21–24), a collection of miscellaneous fragments belonging to different periods, and the Song of Hannah (I 2^{1-10}), were added after the separation of the Books of Samuel from the Books of Kings.

Though we do not accept Budde's identification of the older and later narratives with J and E of the Hexateuch, we have retained these symbols as representing approximately the age and characteristics of the two sources from which the history of these books is derived. Apart from minor interpolations and additions, the parts belonging to the respective sources are as follows:—

J I 9^1–$10^{7.\,9-16}$ $11^{1-11.\,15}$ $13^{1-7\text{a}.\,15\text{b}-18}$ $14^{1-46.\,52}$ 16^{14-23} $18^{5.\,6\,\text{(partly)}-11.\,20-30}$ $20^{1-10.\,18-39.\,42\text{b}}$ $22^{1-4.\,6-18.\,20-23}$ $23^{1-14\text{a}}$ 26. 27. 29–31, II $1^{1-4.\,11.\,12.\,17-27}$ $2^{1-9.\,10\text{b}.\,12-32}$ 3. 4. $5^{1-3.\,6-10.\,17-25}$ 6. 9–11. $12^{1-9.\,13-31}$ 13^1–20^{22}.

J_2 I 10^8 $13^{7\text{b}-15\text{a}.\,19-22}$.

E I 1^{1-28} $2^{11-22\text{a}.\,23-26}$ 3^1–$4^{1\text{a}}$ (all E_2) $4^{1\text{b}}$–7^1 7^2–8^{22} (E_2) 10^{17-24} (E_2) 12. (E_2) 15^{2-34} $17^{1-11.\,14-58}$ $18^{1-4.\,13-19}$ $19^{1.\,4-6.\,8-17}$ 21^{1-9} 22^{19} 23^{19}–24^{19} 25. 28, II $1^{6-10.\,13-16}$ 7.

R^{JE} I 10^{25-27} 11^{12-14} 15^1 $18^{21\text{b}}$ $19^{2.\,3.\,7}$ $20^{11-17.\,40-42\text{a}}$ 22^{10} (last cl.) $23^{14\text{b}-18}$ 24^{16} (in part) $^{20-22\text{a}}$, II 1^5.

R^{D} I 4^{18} (last cl.) 7^2 (in part) 13^1 14^{47-51} 28^3, II $2^{10\text{a}.\,11}$ $5^{4.\,5}$ 8 (based in part on older materials) 12^{10-12}.

Additions of the latest editor, I $4^{15.\,22}$ $6^{11\text{b}.\,15.\,17.\,18.\,19}$ (the larger number) $11^{8\text{b}}$ 15^4 (last ed.) 24^{14} 30^5, II 3^{30} $5^{6.}$ (last cl.) $^{7\text{b}.\,8\text{b}}$ 15^{24} (in part) 20^{23-26}.

---

* The Deuteronomic redactor of the Book of Judges omitted 1^1–2^5 9. 17–21, perhaps also ch. 16 (see SAMSON, p. 378^{b}).

Latest additions, I 2$^{1-10.\ 22b}$ 16$^{1-13}$ 17$^{12.\ 13}$ 19$^{18-24}$ 21$^{10-15}$ 22^{5}, II 14^{26}, and the Appendix 21–24.

iv. ANALYSIS.—(*a*) I 1–15.—From the birth of Samuel to the rejection of Saul.

(1) 1^{1}–4^{1a} (E_2). Early history of Samuel, including the history of Eli and his house, and the announcement of its downfall.

These chapters serve as an introduction to 4^{1}–7^{1}, and appear to be somewhat later than that section. From their representation (1) of Samuel and his office, and (2) of Israel's subjection to the Philistines, it is clear that they both belong to E, though probably to different strata. The Song of Hannah (2$^{1-10}$) is undoubtedly a very late addition: (*a*) the Song is probably a triumphal ode composed on the occasion of some national success (vv.$^{4.\ 10}$); (*b*) there is no special reference to the circumstances of Hannah—the fact of its being attributed to her is due probably to a misconception of the metaphor employed in v.^{5b}; (*c*) a comparison with the LXX text of 2^{11a} (=Heb. 1^{28b}) shows that the Song was inserted at a different place in that version (see Driver on 1 S 1^{28}). Another insertion is 2^{22b} (from *and how that*); it is out of place after vv.$^{12-17}$, and is omitted by the LXX (note the use of היכל instead of אהל). The announcement of the anonymous prophet (2$^{27-36}$) cannot also in its present form belong to the original narrative: (*a*) the text, especially of vv.$^{31-33}$ (LXX omits v.^{31b} and ^{32a}), is in great disorder and unintelligible; (*b*) the establishment of the monarchy is presupposed v.^{35}; (*c*) v.^{36} clearly dates from the period after Josiah's reformation, and presupposes the central sanctuary at Jerusalem (Oort, *ThT* xviii. p. 309 f.); (*d*) the 'faithful priest' of v.^{35} is not Samuel, as we might expect from ch. 3, but Zadok, who superseded Abiathar, the grandson of Eli, under Solomon (1 K 2^{26}). The passage, which has obviously been expanded by the Deuteronomic editor, probably foretold the destruction of Eli's house, and the succession of Samuel.

(2) 4^{1b}–7^{1} (E). The defeat of Israel by the Philistines at Aphek and its results, viz. the death of Eli and the capture of the ark; further history of the ark and its restoration.

In these chapters, which form a closely connected whole, it is noticeable (1) that the main interest centres in the history of the ark; (2) that Samuel is never even mentioned; (3) that the destruction of the house of Eli, which forms the real sequel to 1^{1}–4^{1a}, is treated merely as a side issue of the defeat. On these grounds it has been argued with some force that this section is independent of the chapters that precede; the latter were probably added with a view to supplementing the undoubtedly old account of the fall of the house of Eli, and of the capture of the ark. The original beginning of the section (4^{1b}) is to be restored from the LXX (*καὶ ἐγενήθη ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις καὶ συναθροίζονται ἀλλόφυλοι εἰς πόλεμον ἐπὶ Ἰσραήλ*); 4$^{15.\ 18}$ (last clause) and ^{22} are rejected by most critics as redactional glosses. For the additions of the LXX in 5^{6} 6^{1}, and its various readings in 6$^{4.\ 5}$, see Driver, *Heb. Text of Sam.* p. 47 f.: unless we accept the readings of the LXX, 6^{5a} (to *the land*) must be rejected as a gloss; while $^{11b.}$ (from *with the mice*) $^{15.\ 17.\ 18a.}$ (to *villages*) ^{19} (*fifty thousand men*) will likewise be later insertions.

(3) 7$^{2-17}$ (E_2). Samuel as judge; the rout of the Philistines at Mizpah; summary of Samuel's judicial activity.

The position here occupied by Samuel is that of a judge (שֹׁפֵט), in the sense in which that term is used in the pre-Deuteronomic Book of Judges (2^{6}–16^{31}; see Moore, *Judges*, p. xxii f.). At his command the people put away their 'strange gods,' and assemble for repentance and fasting at Mizpah; in answer to his prayers on their behalf, the Philistines are miraculously defeated; and so complete is their defeat, that 'they came no more within the borders of Israel.' The section thus gives a similar representation of the position of Samuel and of Israel's political condition to that of the *later* (E_2) of the two accounts of the choice of Saul as king (8. 10$^{17-24}$ 12), to which it serves as an introduction. To R^{D} is probably to be assigned the chronological note (*for it was 20 years*) in v.^{2}, the name Ebenezer in v.^{12}, and the statement as to Samuel's judicial work in v.^{15}. Ebenezer, as we know from 4^{1} 5^{1}, was the scene not of Israel's victory, but of its defeat. For the linguistic resemblances to the redaction of Judges, see Driver, *LOT*^{6} p. 177 f. It seems probable that the present section has been inserted here in place of an earlier account; for, as Driver points out (*ib.* p. 174), 'the existing narrative does not explain (1) how the Philistines reached Gibeah (10^{5} etc.) and secured the ascendency implied (13$^{19f.}$), or (2) how Shiloh suddenly disappears from history, and the priesthood located there reappears shortly afterwards at Nob (ch. 22). That some signal disaster befell Shiloh may be inferred with certainty from the allusion in Jer 7^{14} 26^{6} (cf. Ps 78^{60}).' See art. SHILOH.

(4) 8–12. The twofold account of the circumstances that led to the election of Saul as king.

The older narrative of J (9^{1}–10$^{16.\ 27b\ (LXX)}$–11$^{11.\ 15}$) describes how Saul, the son of Kish, of the tribe of Benjamin, in his search for his father's asses, is persuaded by his servant to consult a seer living in the district to which they had wandered. The seer is none other than Samuel, who had previously been warned by Jehovah to expect the Benjamite stranger; and had been instructed to anoint him as king, that he might deliver Israel from the Philistines: 'For,' says Jehovah, 'I have seen the oppression of my people (LXX), because their cry has come unto me' (9^{16}). On the following day Samuel anoints Saul, and assures him of his Divine call by means of three signs: he further bids him do as occasion serves him after the fulfilment of the signs; for God is with him (10^{7}). About a month later (10$^{27b\ LXX}$), the town of Jabesh-gilead is besieged by Nahash the Ammonite, and messengers are despatched 'unto all the borders of Israel' to obtain assistance. In the course of their journey they reach Gibeah in Benjamin, and there, as elsewhere, make known their errand. On learning the sad plight of his countrymen, Saul is at once seized with the spirit of God, and promptly takes measures to relieve the besieged city. By means of a forced march he surprises the Ammonites, and delivers Jabesh-gilead and is thereupon installed as king at Gilgal (11^{15}).

The narrative of E (E_2) (8. 10$^{17-24}$ 12) offers a very different explanation of the manner in which Saul became king. After the signal defeat of the Philistines, described in ch. 7, Samuel continues to *judge* Israel in peace and quietness until compelled by old age to delegate his authority to his sons. But the latter prove unworthy of their high office, and the people therefore demand that a king should be set over them after the manner of the neighbouring nations. The request is viewed with disfavour by Samuel, who characterizes it as rebellion against Jehovah. At the bidding of Jehovah, however, he first sets before the people 'the manner of the king that shall reign over them' (ch. 8), and then proceeds to carry out the election of a king by lot at Mizpah (10$^{17-24}$). The account concludes with the farewell speech of Samuel, in which he solemnly lays down his office, and hands over the reins of government to Saul (ch. 12).

The two narratives which are here combined are thus not only *complete* in themselves * and *independent* of one another, but also *mutually contradictory*. In the earlier narrative (1) Samuel is a *seer* living in a certain district, who is unknown to the rest of Israel; (2) he is employed as the instrument of Jehovah's purpose on *one* occasion only; after his interview with Saul everything is left to the working of the Divine spirit in the latter; (3) Israel is oppressed by the Philistines, and cries to Jehovah for a deliverer (9^{16}); (4) the establishment of the monarchy is the means chosen by Jehovah for the deliverance of His people: Samuel's attitude towards it is merely that of an onlooker. In contrast to this representation we find in the later narrative (1) that Samuel is the *judge* of *all* Israel, who rules over the people as the representative of Jehovah; (2) that in accordance with this position he hands over the reins of government to the newly-elected king; (3) that the *external* condition of Israel is entirely favourable: the Philistines had been finally subdued by Samuel (ch. 7); (4) that the request for a king is regarded as an act of apostasy: it is due to the desire to be like other nations, and is displeasing both to Jehovah and to Samuel.

The redactor has made but little effort to reconcile these conflicting accounts, but his hand may be traced in 10^{25-27a} and 11$^{12-14}$, according to which the ceremony at Gilgal is represented as a *renewal* of Saul's former election at Mizpah: 10$^{25.\ 26a}$ refer back to ch. 8, and place Saul once more at Gibeah, while vv.$^{26b.}$

---

* In the narrative of J it is noticeable that the name of the town in which Samuel the seer lived is never mentioned. It is probable (so Budde, but see above, p. 198^{a}) that the name was omitted just because it was *not* Ramah, the house of Samuel the judge (7^{17} etc.). Since also the identity of Samuel with the seer is not made clear till 9^{14}, it seems probable that the redactor has omitted a notice which both introduced Samuel and made known the name of his native town. In E there is no account of the anointing of Saul (cf. 12^{3} 'his anointing'): this was probably omitted because of the already existing account in J (10^{1}). The narrative probably also contained some notice of the confirmation of the choice of Saul as king after 10^{24}, which was omitted by the redactor in view of 13$^{14.\ 15}$.

27^{a} with their sequel in 11$^{12-14}$ are intended to explain why Saul is not recognized as king in ch. 11, and why it was necessary to *renew* the kingdom. But the warriors 'whose hearts God had touched,' and who accompanied Saul to his home, presumably as a bodyguard, do not appear in ch. 11. Again, the 'sons of worthlessness' who refuse to acknowledge Saul, and by their action, according to the view of the redactor, prevent him from assuming the kingly office, are apparently so few in number that they can be threatened with death in 11$^{12.13}$; yet it is presumably on their account that the election of Saul requires confirmation. Further, these verses conflict also with the later narrative of E; for 'the manner of the kingdom' (10^{25}) is obviously the same as 'the manner of the king' (8$^{9.11}$), and not, as the redactor evidently implies, a codified system of laws to be observed by people and king alike. Lastly, the present position of Samuel's resignation (ch. 12), which would naturally follow after 10^{24}, may also be ascribed to the redactor. Minor additions due to the same hand are 8^{22b}, 9^{2b} 'from his shoulders and upward he was higher than any of the people' (introduced from 10^{23b}), and the explanatory note 9^{9}: on 10^{8} see ch. 13. The linguistic resemblances of the later of these two narratives, partly with E (esp. Jos 24), partly with the redaction of Judges, are very marked (see Driver, *LOT*^{6} p. 177 f.). With this agrees the strong disapproval of the monarchy, which, as Budde has shown, is expressed in language that has many affinities with Hosea (see Budde, *Richter u. Sam.* p. 184 f.). That the narrative is, however, pre-Deuteronomic, is shown (1) by the manner in which the author of Dt 17$^{14-20}$ (the law of the king) is influenced by this narrative (see Driver, *Deut.* p. 213), and (2) by the reference in Jer 15^{1} to Samuel's *intercession* on behalf of the people—a fact which is recorded only in chs. 7 and 12. Traces of Deuteronomic expansion are to be found in 12^{9} (וַיִּמְכֹּר אֹתָם בְּיַד), v.^{11} (אֹיְבֵיכֶם מִסָּבִיב), v.$^{14f.}$ (מָרָה אֶת־פִּי י״י): to the Deuteronomic redactor must also be assigned the mention of Samuel by himself (12^{11}), and the mention of the invasion of Nahash (12^{12}) as the motive for the demand for a king; this disagrees with 8$^{4f.}$, and further presupposes a knowledge of the earlier narrative (ch. 11). The similarity both in *language* and in *point of view* between the later of these two narratives (E) and the redaction of the Book of Judges has been already referred to, and shown to agree with the probable origin of that narrative. Both works are pre-Deuteronomic, and interpret history from the point of view of Hosea and the prophets rather than from that of Jeremiah and the Deuteronomist: the formula which is especially characteristic of Judges (cf. Jg 12^{7} 10$^{2.3}$ etc.) is applied to Eli (4^{18}), and in a modified form to Samuel (7^{15}), while the use of the word 'judge' is entirely analogous to its sense in Judges. Further, as Moore (*Judges*, p. xxiii f.) has pointed out, 'Samuel's speech (ch. 12), which contains a retrospect of the period of the judges (vv.$^{7-11}$), and solemn words of warning for the future under the newly-established kingdom, is precisely the conclusion which we desire for the book of the Histories of the Judges, corresponding admirably to the parting discourse of Joshua (Jos 24) at the close of the period of the conquest' (so Graf, *Gesch. Büch.* p. 97 f., Budde, Driver). We may thus assume with considerable probability that these chapters originally formed part of E's history of the Judges, and that they were afterwards excerpted by R^{JE} as forming a suitable introduction to the history of the monarchy.

(5) 13. 14 (J with the exception of 13$^{7b-15a.19-22}$ (J_2) 14$^{47-51}$ (R^{D})). Saul's struggle with the Philistines. These chapters describe the revolt of the Israelites under Saul against their Philistine oppressors. The signal for revolt is given by Jonathan, who destroys the pillar (?) of the Philistines at Gibeah (see GIBEAH); the Philistines, who had doubtless heard of Saul's election as king, at once assemble their forces at Michmash on the N. side of the Wâdy Suweinît over against Geba (see GEBA and GIBEAH). Alarmed by the size of the Philistine army, the followers of Saul, who had retreated to Gibeah, gradually melt away until only six hundred are left (13^{15b}); the Philistines in the meantime overrun the country in three directions. Jonathan once more takes the initiative, and by a bold stroke succeeds in overcoming the Philistine garrison at Michmash (14$^{1-14}$). This success is at once followed by a general attack in which Saul completes the rout of the Philistines. Jonathan unwittingly disobeys the command of his father by eating food, and is with difficulty rescued by the people from death. Apparently Saul was not in a position to follow up his victory, but suffered the Philistines to retreat to their own land (v.^{46}). The section concludes with the remark that 'there was sore war against the Philistines all the days of Saul.'

These chapters form the continuation of the earlier narrative (J) contained in 9^{1}–10$^{16.27b}$–11$^{11.15}$, showing how Saul carried out the object for which he was appointed (9^{16}). That they do not form the *immediate* sequel of those chapters is evident. From the description of Saul in ch. 9$^{1f.}$ we should not expect to find him described as the father of a full-grown warrior such as Jonathan is here represented to be, and, further, the introduction of Jonathan (13^{2}) is very sudden. Presumably, therefore, the redactor has omitted the intervening narrative (possibly in favour of ch. 12), unless we suppose, with Kuenen (*Ond.*^{2} p. 51), that he has here incorporated a still earlier account of Saul's campaign. To the Deuteronomic redactor must be assigned the chronological notice in 13^{1} (LXX omits) and the concluding summary of Saul's reign 14$^{47-51}$. In *form* the latter passage displays a marked resemblance to the framework of Judges, and, as its *contents* show, is clearly a late insertion. The victories (LXX) here ascribed to Saul (v.^{47}) are borrowed from the similar summary of David's reign in 2 S 8: apart from the campaign against Nahash (ch. 11) and against the Amalekites (ch. 15), Saul's reign was spent in constant warfare with the Philistines. In the view of R^{D} the account of Saul's reign finishes here, and is followed by that of the history of David. The most probable view of the account of Saul's rejection preserved in 10^{8} 13^{7b-15a} is that of Budde and H. P. Smith (*Samuel*, p. xxi), who regard it as a later addition inserted in the narrative of J before the union of J and E. On the one hand, the verses cannot belong to the original narrative: for (1) 10^{8} interrupts 10^{7} and ^{9}, and the proper sequel of 13^{7a} is 13^{15b}; (2) they do not agree with the facts narrated. The command to wait seven days (10^{8}) is clearly inconsistent with the exhortation of 10^{7}; nor does the narrative of 13$^{7bf.}$ in any way establish Saul's disobedience, seeing that he waited the prescribed number of days. Again, after 13^{1-7a} we expect to find some account of Saul's retreat from Michmash to Gibeah, rather than an interview with Samuel at Gilgal, necessitating a journey to and from that place, for which there would be but little opportunity ('to Gilgal' in v.^{4} is no doubt an addition, cf. $^{7b.15a}$ (LXX)). On the other hand, according to the view of the interpolator, the meeting of Samuel and Saul, described in 13$^{8f.}$, is the *first* after 10^{8} hence we may conclude, with Wellhausen (*Hist.* 257 f.), that these verses are earlier than 11$^{12-14}$, *i.e.* than the union of J and E.

13$^{9-22}$ may be assigned to the same hand as vv.$^{7b-15a}$: they interrupt the connexion, and appear to be somewhat exaggerated; the text is very corrupt.

(6) Ch. 15 (E). The rejection of Saul. The new king is bidden by Samuel to exterminate the Amalekites; but he and the people spare Agag the king and the best of the spoil, and Samuel is therefore commanded to announce to him the Divine sentence of rejection. The king endeavours to minimize his fault, but in vain. The sentence is pronounced, and Samuel himself slays the Amalekite king.

The chapter clearly forms the sequel of 7. 8. 10$^{17ff.}$ 12, describing the test to which Saul was subjected, and his failure to endure it. Samuel once more appears as the representative of Jehovah, to whose word the king has to submit, while the style and language display a close affinity with the later narrative. It cannot, however, be denied that this chapter, as opposed to 7 ff., is characterized by a somewhat different *tone*: the author, in presenting his account of Saul's rejection, has made it subservient to the prophetic lesson (Jer 7$^{21-26}$) which he wishes to inculcate, viz. that obedience is better than sacrifice. This desire to explain how Saul, who had been Divinely chosen, could be rejected by Jehovah, has, it would seem, led him to reconstruct and expand the narrative in a form which is scarcely consonant with the actual facts (note 'the theoretical *motive* assigned for the expedition vv.$^{2.6}$, and the supreme importance attached to the *principle* actuating Saul in his conduct of it v.$^{10ff.}$,' Driver, *LOT*^{6} p. 178). But, though we cannot accept his treatment of the subject, there is no reason to doubt the genuineness of his facts, viz. the campaign against Amalek, the sacrifice of Agag, and the breach between Samuel and Saul. The view expressed by Wellhausen and others, that this chapter holds 'an intermediate position between the two streams of narrative already considered,' is true only to the extent that it is to be assigned to the early stratum of E (Budde's E_1). The reference to the anointing of Saul by Samuel is probably due to the redactor, and cannot be adduced as proving that the writer of ch. 15 was acquainted with 9^{1} etc.

(*b*) I 16–II 8. Saul and David.

(1) 16^{1}–18^{5}. David's introduction to Saul.

The anointing of David by Samuel at the house of his father 16$^{1-13}$ (a late addition); J's narrative of David's introduction to Saul (16$^{14-23}$); E's account of the same (17^{1}–18^{5}),

At first sight the section 16$^{1-13}$, of which 17$^{12.13}$ is probably a fragment, would seem, like 17$^{1f.}$, to belong to the series E, but a comparison of these two sections shows that the former is not presupposed by the latter: according to 17^{14} Jesse has only *four* sons, in 16^{10} he has *eight*; again, 17^{24} makes it evident that David's brothers had no knowledge of his having been anointed (compare also the later history of David's persecution by Saul, in which Saul alone is regarded as the anointed of Jehovah). On the other hand, the influence of 17$^{1f.}$ is apparent in 16$^{11.12}$ (cf. 17^{42}) as well as in the general point of view. Further, the incident is hardly consistent in itself; Samuel's fear of Saul does not agree with the character of the latter as portrayed in ch. 15, and he so far forgets it in v.$^{6f.}$ as to speak openly of his mission; similarly, the sacrifice, which he alleges as the cause of his coming, is never performed. The suggestion of Budde, that the section is an unskilful imitation of $10^{1f.}$, inserted for the purpose of showing that David also was Divinely consecrated, is probably correct (cf. Wellh. *Hist.* p. 269 f.); to the same hand is probably due the gloss 16^{19} (אֲשֶׁר בַּצֹּאן *which is with the sheep*).

In the earlier narrative of David's introduction to Saul he is described as a skilful musician, as 'a mighty man of valour, and a man of war, and prudent in speech, and a comely person, and the Lord is with him' (16^{18}); he is invited by Saul to his court that he may drive away the 'evil spirit from the Lord' by his playing, and is given the office of king's armour-bearer.

According to the later narrative, during one of the many engagements with the Philistines, the army of Israel is defied for forty days by the giant Goliath of Gath. Despite Saul's promises, no one will venture to engage the Philistine in single combat, until David, the youngest son of Jesse, a Bethlehemite, who had been sent from the sheepfold on an errand to his brethren in the army, expresses his willingness to accept his challenge. Saul at first seeks to dissuade him on the score of his youth, but afterwards gives his consent, and offers the loan of his armour. After a vain attempt to wear the armour, David goes forth to the encounter armed only with his shepherd's sling. It is not until the combat has been brought to a successful conclusion that Saul, on inquiry, ascertains the parentage of the youthful hero; Jonathan, the king's son, is seized with a great affection for the shepherd lad, while the king insists on his remaining at court (17^{1}–18^{5}).

It is impossible to reconcile these two accounts, which differ in every essential feature. In the earlier account David is of mature age, an experienced warrior, and a player of some renown; he is brought to court on account of his musical skill, and is attached to Saul's person as his armour-bearer; lastly, Saul is well acquainted with his parentage. In the later account David is but a shepherd lad, unused to warlike weapons; he attracts Saul's attention by his bravery in meeting Goliath; Saul does not learn his name and parentage until after the duel. The phenomenon is the same as that which confronts us in chs. 7–12. Here R^{JE} has attempted to harmonize the two narratives by 17^{15a} ('now David went to and fro from Saul'), which does not agree with $16^{14f.}$ (according to which David receives a permanent office at court), nor with $17^{17f.}$ (which describes him as living at Bethlehem with his father).

It is, however, noticeable that in the LXX (B) $17^{12\text{-}31.\,38b.\,41.\,48b.\,50.\,55}$–$18^{6a}$ are omitted. Wellhausen formerly held that this shorter text was the more original, and this view is still maintained by Cornill, Stade, W. R. Smith, and H. P. Smith; but most critics agree 'that the translators—or more probably, perhaps, the scribe of the Heb. MS used by them—omitted the verses in question from harmonistic motives, without, however, entirely[*] securing the end desired' (Driver, *Heb. Text of Samuel*, p. 116; similarly Wellhausen and Cheyne). Thus, according to 17^{33}, David is still but a youth (not the full-grown warrior of 16^{18}), while vv.$^{34ff.}$ describe him as a shepherd lad, unacquainted with the use of armour (as opposed to 16^{21b}). Further, it is inconceivable that discrepancies such as those described above should have been introduced into the text after the union of J and E, nor do the style and language of the sections omitted by the LXX support a late date.

The shorter, simpler account of David's introduction to Saul given in J ($16^{14\text{-}23}$) is obviously more in accordance with the actual facts; it forms a fitting sequel to 14^{52}, and aptly illustrates the statement 'that whenever Saul saw any mighty man, or any valiant man, he took him unto him.' The account preserved in E seems to be derived rather from popular tradition than from actual history; for we learn from 2 S 21^{19} that *not* David but Elhanan slew 'Goliath the Gittite, the staff of whose spear was like a weaver's beam.' Later tradition, therefore, has transferred the exploit of the warrior to his royal master; the reading of 1 Ch 20^{5} is clearly due to a harmonizer (see Driver, *Samuel*, p. 272).

(2) $18^{5\text{-}30}$ (J and E combined). David's life at Saul's court, and Saul's growing jealousy of him.

It is clear that in this section also we have two accounts combined, though it is not easy to distinguish the various parts. The narrative as a whole seems drawn from the older source, and forms the continuation of $16^{14f.}$ David is here represented as a well-known warrior and leader, and not as the youthful hero of $17^{1f.}$. The song (v.^{7}) was probably treated by both sources as the immediate cause of Saul's jealousy, but, whereas the second introduction in v.^{6a} (*when David returned from the slaughter of the Philistine*) connects it with the Goliath incident, we require some further exploit as the occasion of the song in the older narrative; probably the first introduction in v.^{6} (*as they came*) is a fragment of this notice. Vv.$^{9\text{-}11}$, the evil spirit from God, connects these verses with $16^{14f.}$; but vv.$^{13\text{-}16}$ and vv.$^{17\text{-}19}$ must be assigned to the later narrative. In vv.$^{13\text{-}16}$ we have a parallel account to that of v.^{5} (belonging to the older narrative), while vv.$^{17\text{-}19}$ clearly refer back to 17^{25}, according to which Saul was bound to receive David into his family: this is ignored by the older narrative, vv.$^{20\text{-}30}$, which knows nothing of David's betrothal to Merab (cf. v.^{23}, where David seems to regard an alliance with the royal family as beyond the bounds of possibility). Further, since the later narrative must have contained an account of David's marriage with Michal, it is probable that the redactor has treated his sources more freely than usual, and omitted part of E's narrative; v.^{21b} is obviously an attempt on his part to harmonize the two accounts of David's betrothal.

The LXX (B) makes considerable omissions in this chapter also, viz. vv.$^{5.\,6a.\,8b.\,10.\,11.\,12b.\,17\text{-}19.\,21b.\,26b.\,29b}$, and the majority of critics accept this shorter version as representing the original text (Wellh., Kuenen, Driver). As Driver (*Notes on Sam.* p. 120 f.) points out, 'the sequence of events is clearer; and the gradual growth of Saul's enmity towards David is distinctly marked' (cf. vv.$^{12a.\,15.\,29}$); further, the section then forms a connected whole, and nearly all the additional passages in the MT admit of satisfactory explanation. The fact, however, that throughout this portion of the Books of Samuel we are confronted with two accounts of the same incidents, makes it more probable that the LXX omissions here, as in ch. 17, are due to a harmonizer; further, we may argue (with Budde) that it is inconsistent to reject the (unsuccessful) recension of the LXX in ch. 17, and to adopt its more successful attempt in ch. 18. (For a fuller statement see DAVID).

(3) 19 (E). 20 (J). Outbreak of Saul's hostility towards David; David's flight.

Later account of Jonathan's intervention on behalf of his friend ($19^{1\text{-}7}$); the spear-throwing (vv.$^{8\text{-}10}$); with the assistance of his wife Michal, David escapes from his house (vv.$^{11\text{-}17}$); David's flight to Ramah (vv.$^{18\text{-}24}$); earlier account of Jonathan's intervention ($20^{1\text{-}42}$).

These two chapters consist of several short sections, in which are set forth various incidents illustrating Saul's enmity towards David on the one hand, and on the other the affection displayed towards him by Jonathan and Michal. The redactor has apparently expanded the account of E in $19^{2.\,3.\,7}$, which are inconsistent in themselves, and are clearly influenced by the fuller account of J in ch. 20. Vv.$^{8\text{-}10}$ give E's account of the spear-throwing, which differs but little from that of J in $18^{10f.}$; vv.$^{11\text{-}17}$ have been rejected by Wellhausen, Stade, and Cornill on the ground of internal improbability, but the passage both in language and tone bears all the marks of E, and forms a suitable continuation of what precedes (for another view see H. P. Smith, *Samuel*, p. 178 f.). Vv.$^{18\text{-}24}$, which offer a second explanation of the proverb, Is Saul also among the prophets? are rejected by nearly all critics as a late interpolation, similar to that in $16^{1\text{-}13}$. The grounds for this view are, briefly, (1) that an entirely different and, as it would seem, more genuine account has been already given in $10^{10f.}$; (2) that David would most naturally flee southwards to Nob (cf. 21^{1}), and not to Ramah in the north; (3) according to 15^{35} a further meeting between Saul and Samuel is excluded. (1) is decisive against these verses belonging to the earlier narrative, while (2) and (3) equally exclude E as their source, though the position occupied by Samuel, as well as the place (Ramah), seem to argue for that narrative; the words 'from Naioth in Ramah' (20^{1a}) naturally form part of the preceding account. Ch. 20 describes at length the attempt made by Jonathan to reconcile his father to David, and the means by which he informed the latter of the failure of his efforts. The section, which is obviously old and historical, is probably a duplicate of $19^{1\text{-}7}$, by which it has been displaced; for (1) the situation is the same as that of $19^{1f.}$, and (2) David would not require further proof of Saul's hostility after the unmistakable evidence of $19^{11f.}$. These difficulties, it is true, admit to a certain extent of explanation (cf. Driver, *LOT*^{6} p. 180), but the recurrence of duplicate accounts throughout 1 Samuel renders it probable that we have here a further example of the same phenomenon.

The text is evidently in great disorder, and the passage has probably been considerably expanded by the redactor. Wellhausen is no doubt right in regarding the sign of the arrow as part of the original narrative. This sign, however, would exclude any meeting or conversation between David and Jonathan. Hence we must regard vv.$^{40\text{-}42}$ (to *for ever*) as redactional. Further, vv.$^{11\text{-}17}$ interrupt the main course of the narrative, and reverse the relative positions of Jonathan and David, the latter being regarded as the undoubted successor of Saul; they are probably therefore to be assigned to the redactor (Budde and Kittel ascribe all vv.$^{5\text{-}17}$ to the same hand).

(4) 21 (E). 22 (J). David flees to Nob, where he is received by Ahimelech, who gives him the shew-

---

[*] By its omissions B removes the difficulties caused by (1) David's residence in Bethlehem, and (2) Saul's ignorance of David's name and parentage.

bread, and the sword of Goliath (21$^{1-9}$). [David flees to Achish, king of Gath, vv.$^{10-15}$]. David takes refuge in the stronghold (read מְצוּדָה at v.^{4}) of Adullam, whence he sends his parents to Moab (22$^{1-4}$); massacre of the priests at Nob; escape of Abiathar (22$^{6-23}$).

With the exception of 21$^{10-15}$, the two chapters seem to connect quite naturally. But a closer examination makes it plain that the sequel (ch. 22) of the incident narrated in 21$^{1-10}$ belongs to a different source. (1) Doeg the Edomite is differently described in 22^{9}; (2) in ch. 22 emphasis is laid on the fact that Ahimelech had 'inquired of God' on behalf of David (v.$^{14f.}$); 21$^{1f.}$ ignores this fact, and lays more stress on the *sacred* character of the bread given to David and his followers. Of the two accounts the earlier is that contained in 22$^{6-23}$. The later account, of which only part is given in 21$^{1-9}$, doubtless contained some record of the massacre of the priests at Nob; probably Budde is right in regarding 22^{19}, which interrupts the connexion, as part of this later account. To the redactor may be assigned 22^{10b} (Goliath's sword) and 'and a sword' in v.^{13}. The section 21$^{10-15}$ interrupts the main narrative, and presupposes 16$^{1-13}$ and 19$^{18-24}$ (Wellh., Budde); like those passages, it must be regarded as a late insertion. Probably it was designed to take the place of ch. 27 f., and was afterwards retained alongside of it (Kuenen, Budde); to the same hand we must also assign 22^{5} (the prophet Gad, cf. 2 S 24^{11}).

(5) 23-27 (J 23^{1-14a} 26. 27; E 23^{19}-24^{19} 25). David as an outlaw.

David delivers Keilah from the Philistines; then, warned by the oracle, leaves the city before it is besieged by Saul (23$^{1-13}$); he then takes refuge in the wilderness of Ziph, where he is visited by Jonathan (vv.$^{14-18}$); the Ziphites inform Saul of his whereabouts, and the latter seeks to capture him (vv.$^{19-24}$); tidings of a Philistine invasion give David a temporary respite from Saul (vv.$^{25-29}$), who on his return continues the pursuit, and on this occasion falls into David's hands. David, however, spares the king's life, and, in the dialogue that follows, the latter admits that David is more righteous than he is (ch. 24). The incident of Nabal, the wealthy sheepowner of Carmel (ch. 25), separates the two accounts of the sparing of Saul's life by David; for it is generally admitted that ch. 26 merely gives another version of the same occurrence which is narrated in 23$^{19-24}$. As a last resource, David enters the service of Achish, king of Gath, by whom he is assigned Ziklag as a residence: thence he makes a series of raids against the tribes dwelling in the Negeb of Judah, etc. (ch. 27).

The agreement between the two stories narrated in 23$^{1.\ 19-24}$ 24 and ch. 26 in regard to (1) Saul's pursuit of David in the wilderness; (2) the sparing of Saul's life; and (3) the dialogue that ensues, is so great that we can only regard them as different versions of the same incident. The variations only affect the details, and are such as might easily have arisen in two independent narratives. Moreover, as Driver (*LOT*^{6} p. 181) points out, 'if the occasion of ch. 26 was a different one from that of 23$^{19f.}$, it is singular that it contains no allusion, on either David's part or Saul's, to David's having spared Saul's life before.'

Of the two accounts the earlier and more original is undoubtedly that contained in ch. 26 (Kuenen, Wellh., Driver, Stade, H. P. Smith, Löhr). The arguments in favour of this view are clearly stated by Löhr (*Sam.* p. xlv) as follows:—(1) the detailed information supplied as to (*a*) David's companions (26^{6}, contrast 'David and his men,' 24$^{3f.}$), and (*b*) Saul and his camp (26$^{5.\ 7}$); (2) the manner in which Saul falls into David's hands; and more especially the old religious conception underlying 26^{19}. To these we may add (3) the shorter and more genuine reply of Saul (26$^{21.\ 25}$), which appears in a more expanded form in 24$^{17-21}$. Budde, however, who is followed by Cornill, Cheyne, and Kittel, solely on the ground of *linguistic* evidence, contends for the *later* origin of ch. 26; but the expressions cited by him are not sufficiently characteristic to outweigh the arguments given above; further, he ignores the characteristic תַּרְדֵּמָה (26^{12}, cf. Gn 2^{21} 15^{12}; see Löhr, *Sam.* p. xlv; H. P. Smith, *Sam.* p. 230).

The first section of ch. 23 (vv.$^{1-13}$) carries on 22^{2} and belongs to the earlier narrative. V.^{6} is obviously out of place *after* v.^{2}, and is probably a gloss designed to introduce v.^{9b}, while the first question in v.^{11} is repeated by error from v.^{12}.

V.^{14a} properly forms the commencement of ch. 25 (or, according to the view of Budde, etc., of 23$^{19f.}$). Vv.$^{14b-18}$ (the interview between Jonathan and David) are clearly a redactional insertion, similar to 20$^{11-17.\ 40-42a}$. To the redactor must also be assigned 23^{19b} ('in the wood, in the hill of Hachilah, which is on the south of the desert'), which is inconsistent with v.^{22}, and the phrase 24^{16} (*and Saul said, Is this my son David?*) added from 26^{17} for harmonistic purposes.

23$^{25-28}$, which have no parallel in the earlier narrative (ch. 26), contain a local tradition explaining the origin of the name *Sela-hammaḥleḳoth* (prob. = 'The rock of divisions').

The order of 24$^{4-7}$ is apparently at fault; and Gaupp, followed by Cornill and Budde, would rearrange the verses as follows: $^{4a.\ 6.\ 7a.\ 4b.\ 5.\ 7b}$. Possibly the disorder has arisen by interpolation (H. P. Smith, p. 217 f.), and we should omit vv.$^{4b.\ 6}$ (the incident of the skirt). 24^{13} is omitted by Wellh. and Budde as a gloss: the latter also regards vv.$^{20-22a}$ as due to the redactor.

The notice of the death and burial of Samuel (25^{1a}) is clearly a redactional insertion borrowed from 28^{3a}; it is out of place here. The rest of the chapter connects naturally with 23^{28}, and fills up the interval of time required by that verse: it is probable, therefore, that the earlier narrative also contained some account of the incident narrated in 23$^{25-28}$. The present position of ch. 25 is doubtless due to the desire to separate the two accounts (23$^{19-23}$ 24. 26). 25$^{28-31}$ have probably been expanded by the writer from the point of view of his later knowledge.

27^{1} David's decision to take refuge with the Philistines follows quite naturally after ch. 26, and the whole chapter clearly belongs to the earlier narrative with 23^{1-14a} 25. 26: with this agrees its silence as regards any previous visit of David to Gath (21$^{10-15}$), and the oracle of 22^{5}.

(6) 28 (E). 29. 30 (J). The Philistines prepare for battle with Israel (28$^{1.\ 2}$); Saul being unable to obtain a Divine oracle, seeks out a woman with a familiar spirit at Endor, who conjures up Samuel (28$^{3-25}$); in spite of the confidence expressed by Achish, the other Philistine leaders mistrust David's loyalty, and insist on his dismissal (29$^{1-11}$). On his return to Ziklag, David finds that his city has been sacked by the Amalekites; he hastens in pursuit, and recovers all that the Amalekites had taken: the rest of the booty is equally divided among his men, part being sent as a present to 'the elders of Judah' (ch. 30).

28$^{1.\ 2}$ carry on the narrative of ch. 27, which is continued in chs. 29 and 30. 28$^{3-25}$ are usually regarded as out of place. According to 28^{4} the Philistines are already at Shunem (in the plain of Jezreel); but in 29^{1} they are assembled at Aphek in the Sharon valley, and only advance to Jezreel in v.^{11}; similarly the Israelites in 29^{1} are encamped by the spring which is in Jezreel, and presumably only fall back on Gilboa before the advance of the Philistines; whereas in 28^{4} they are encamped at Gilboa.

Budde (who is followed as regards the *order* by Driver) solves the difficulty by placing 28$^{3-25}$ after chs. 29. 30. He further assigns the incident to the same source (J) as the rest of the section, arguing (1) that Samuel is here represented as a seer (9$^{1f.}$), and not as a judge or prophet; (2) that the general contents of the passage agree with the earlier representation, and (3) that it has many points of contact with ch. 14: the undoubted reference in vv.$^{17-19a}$ (to *Philistines*) to ch. 15 he regards as a redactional insertion. Budde's theory, however, fails to give any reason for the present order of these chapters, which admits of a perfectly simple explanation, if we assign 28$^{3-25}$ to the later narrative. In that case the historical introduction in 28^{4} will be parallel to and independent of the similar notices in 28$^{1.\ 2}$ 29$^{1.\ 11}$, and the section as a whole will form the sequel to ch. 15 (Wellh., H. P. Smith). On this view we might retain vv.$^{17-19a}$ (with H. P. Smith), but they are more probably to be regarded as a redactional expansion, suggested by v.^{16}, which points back to 16$^{23b.\ 28}$ (see Löhr, p. xlix). As in the case of ch. 15 (Saul's war of extermination against the Amalekites), a genuine historical incident has been utilized for the purpose of inculcating a *moral* lesson from the prophetic standpoint.

(7) I 31-II 1 (J, except II 1$^{6-10.\ 13-16}$). Death of Saul.

The defeat of Israel on Mt. Gilboa and the death of Saul and his three sons (31$^{1-7}$). The Philistines carry off the bodies of Saul and his sons to Beth-shan, whence they are removed by the inhabitants of Jabesh-gilead (vv.$^{8-13}$). The news of the death of Saul and Jonathan is conveyed to David at Ziklag by a fugitive Amalekite, who describes how he slew Saul (2 S 1$^{1-10}$). David fasts till evening, and then orders the execution of the Amalekite because he had slain 'the Lord's anointed' (vv.$^{11-16}$). The lament of David over Saul and Jonathan (vv.$^{17-27}$).

These chapters contain a double account of the death of Saul. The earlier narrative (J) describes how Saul in despair commits suicide after his armour-bearer has refused to slay him (I 31-II 1^{4}): in the later narrative (E) a wandering Amalekite slays him at his request while he is suffering from cramp (or giddiness), though unwounded (II 1$^{6-16}$). It has been conjectured by those who regard the two chapters as belonging to the same source, that the account of the Amalekite is untrue;

but this conflicts with the whole narrative of 1^{6-16}, which conveys no hint of such being the case. It is probable, as Budde infers from 4^{10}, that David himself slew the fugitive who brought him the tidings of Saul's death. This latter passage (4^{10}) knows nothing of the reason assigned for the execution of the messenger in 1^{6-16}, viz. the fact that he had laid hands on 'the Lord's anointed.'

Ch. 31 has been excerpted, with slight variations, by the compiler of Chronicles (1 Ch 10), who has in part preserved a purer text (see Driver, *Notes on Sam.* p. 176 f.). Budde regards II 1^6 as a redactional insertion, introducing the later narrative; vv.$^{11.12}$ belong probably to the earlier narrative; they are out of place in their present context.

II 1^{17-27} the lament of David is avowedly taken from the Book of Jashar (so Jos 10^{12-14}, 1 K $8^{12f.}$ (LXX)), but there is no reason to doubt David's authorship (on the text see Driver, *Notes*, p. 180 f.).

(8) 2-4 (J). The struggle between the house of Saul and the house of David.

David is anointed king of Judah at Hebron (2^{1-4}): he thanks the men of Jabesh-gilead for their kindly action in recovering the bodies of Saul and his sons, and at the same time informs them of his coronation (vv.$^{5-7}$). Meantime Ishbaal, the sole remaining son of Saul, is set on the throne of Israel at Mahanaim by Abner, the captain of the host (vv.$^{8-11}$): then follows the encounter between the troops of Joab and Abner at Gibeon, which results in the defeat of the men of Israel; in his flight Abner is pursued by Asahel, Joab's brother, whom he slays; Asahel's death puts an end to the pursuit (vv.$^{12-26}$). The downfall of the house of Saul is caused by the rupture between Ishbaal and Abner: the latter makes a league with David, to whom he restores his wife Michal; and he further promises to bring all Israel unto him. Abner, however, is treacherously slain by Joab in revenge for the death of Asahel, and is mourned by David and all the people (ch. 3). The assassination of Ishbaal, and the execution of his murderers (ch. 4).

These chapters continue the earlier narrative of I 31 and II 1^{1-4}, the conclusion of which is probably lost. 2^{10a} (to *two years*)^{11} (=5^5) are obviously insertions; they interrupt the narrative, and are doubtless part of the chronological scheme of the Deuteronomic editor. 3^{2-6} (a notice of David's family at Hebron) are out of place, and belong properly after 8^{14}: v.^{1} is continued by v.^{6b}, v.^{6a} concealing the insertion. V.^{30} is omitted by all critics as a later interpolation. 4^4 is certainly interpolated: probably v.^{4b} should be placed after 9^3 (Wellh., Budde).

(9) 5^1–8^{13} (J, except ch. 7 (E)). David as king of all Israel.

After the death of Ishbaal, David is acknowledged as king by all the tribes of Israel (5^{1-3}). He captures the Jebusite city Jerusalem; takes up his residence there, and fortifies it ($^{6-10}$). Hiram, king of Tyre, aids him in building his palace ($^{11.12}$). [Notice of David's family ($^{13-16}$)]. The Philistines hear that David has been anointed king over Israel, and immediately attack him, but are twice defeated ($^{17-25}$). The removal of the ark from Baale-judah (=Kiriath-jearim) to Jerusalem is checked by the untoward death of Uzzah: the ark is therefore left at the house of Obed-edom (6^{1-10}). After an interval of three months it is brought up to the city of David in solemn procession, in which David takes part: his action is derided by Michal, who is therefore cursed with barrenness ($^{11-23}$). David proposes to build a house for Jehovah, but is informed by Nathan that this honour is reserved for his son (7^{1-17}). David's prayer (vv.$^{18-29}$). A summary of the wars waged by David (8^{1-14}); his judicial activity (v.^{15}); and a list of his officers (vv.$^{16-18}$).

It is obvious that the war with the Philistines (5^{17-25}) follows immediately after vv.$^{1-3}$, which contain a twofold introduction, viz. vv.$^{1.2}$ and v.^{3}. The intervening sections (vv.$^{4-16}$) are clearly misplaced: vv.$^{4.5}$ (cf. 1 K 2^{11}) are omitted by the Chronicler, and are premature: vv.$^{6-9}$ the account of the capture of Jerusalem is undoubtedly old and genuine, but the text is unfortunately very corrupt; Budde would place it after 6^1: vv.$^{11.12}$ probably belong to the latter part of David's reign, if they are not an addition from 1 K 5 (see S. A. Cook, *AJSL* xvi. 3, p. 151): vv.$^{13-16}$ should be placed like 3^{2-5} after 8^{14}. It is probable that the account given in vv.$^{17-25}$ should be supplemented by the details supplied in 21^{15-22} 23^{8-39} (see below). That vv.$^{17-25}$ do not connect with vv.$^{4-16}$ is shown by the different use of the term 'the hold' (הַמְּצוּדָה) in vv.^{9} and ^{17}: the use of this term here and in 23^{14} supports S. A. Cook's theory (*AJSL* p. 154 f.), that David's encounter with the Philistines *preceded* the incidents in chs. 2-4, and belong to the period 'when he had no army (חיל) or host (צבא), as chs. 8 and 10, but was accompanied only by his "men" or "servants"' (5^{21} $21^{15.17.22}$). 6^1, according to Budde, must have introduced some warlike incident, and he therefore prefixes it to 5^{6-12}: the rest of the chapter is old and genuine, though possibly it has been expanded in parts. Ch. 7 is admittedly later than chs. 5 and 6, with which it is clearly connected: the section, it is true, displays certain resemblances both in thought and expression to Deuteronomy, but these are not strongly pronounced; and from the nature of its contents the chapter would easily lend itself to theocratic expansions. Kuenen assigns the chapter to a post-Deuteronomic source on the ground of vv.$^{1b.13.22.23.24}$; but ^{1b} is omitted by the Chronicler (1 Ch 17^1): v.^{13} is certainly due to the Deuteronomic editor, and vv.$^{22-24}$, from their general character, may well be an expansion. Probably, therefore, Budde is right in assigning the chapter to E.

Ch. 8 forms the concluding survey to the history of David (cf. 1 S 14^{46-51} at the end of the history of Saul): in its present form the chapter represents the work of the Deuteronomic editor, who seems, however, to have made use of the older sources. The wars are first noticed: with the Philistines (v.^{1}), with the Moabites (v.^{2}), with the Aramæans and their allies (vv.$^{3-8}$); then follows an account of the homage paid by the king of Hamath (vv.$^{9.10}$); [the spoil dedicated by David to Jehovah (vv.$^{11.12}$)]; the subjugation of Edom (RV *Syria*) (vv.$^{13.14}$). The notices of David's family at Hebron (3^{2-5}) and at Jerusalem (5^{13-16}) should be inserted here (Wellh., Budde): Budde would also insert $5^{4.5}$ (R^D). The chapter concludes with an account of David's administration (v.^{15}), and a list of his officers (vv.$^{16-18}$).

A fuller account of the two campaigns against the Aramæans is preserved in ch. 10, which has been condensed and slightly altered by R^D in vv.$^{3-8}$: he has also inserted vv.$^{9.10}$ here, transferring them from the end of ch. 10 (see below), to which vv.^{13} and ^{14} properly belong (cf. the similar conclusion ^{6b} and ^{14b}). Vv.$^{11.12}$ are probably a late insertion. It is remarkable that in ch. 10 the victories over the Aramæans form but two episodes in the war with Ammon; yet this war is ignored in ch. 8, and in its stead (v.^{2}) the subjugation of Moab is described. This fact is not mentioned elsewhere, and seems inconsistent with I $22^{3f.}$: it is far from improbable, therefore, that Moab has been substituted for Ammon in 8^2 (Budde).

(*c*) II 9-20 (J) [and 1 K 1. 2]. Life at David's court, *or* the history of the succession to David's throne.

The events narrated in these chapters are closely connected with, and mutually dependent on, one another: they are further distinguished by unity of plan and conception. The story of Meribbaal (ch. 9) explains the action of Ziba (16^{1-4}) and the speech of the former (19^{24-30}): 10^1–11^1 with 12^{26-31} explain how David became acquainted with Bathsheba, and how he compassed the death of Uriah, while the whole section chs. 10-12 forms the necessary introduction to the final choice of David's successor in 1 K 1. 2. The narrative throughout, by its lifelike touches and its minuteness of detail, as well as by its bright and flowing style, betrays its early origin, and must have been composed soon after the events which it describes.

(1) 9^{1-13}. David on inquiry learns of the existence of Meribbaal (MEPHIBOSHETH), the lame son of Jonathan: for Jonathan's sake he deals kindly with his son, and retains him at court; Saul's estates are restored to his grandson, and Ziba, Saul's servant, appointed to look after them.

Budde would place ch. 24 and 21^{1-19} before this chapter, on the ground that the incident narrated in $21^{1f.}$ is presupposed in ch. 9 and $16^{7f.}$ 19^{28}, and that the census (ch. 24) would naturally take place soon after David's accession. It is difficult, however, on this theory, to explain the present position of 21^{1-14} and 24, and, as Wellhausen has pointed out, the popular and legendary character of these chapters is very different from that of chs. 9-20 (for a fuller discussion of this point see on chs. 21-24). More probable is Budde's view, that 4^{4b} should be placed after v.^{3}.

(2) 10-12. Owing to the insult offered to his ambassadors, war breaks out between David and Ammon: the latter call in the Aramæans to their aid, and prepare to defend their capital. Joab, with the pick of the troops, attacks and defeats the Aramæans, while the rest of the army under

Abishai successfully engage the Ammonites (10^{1-14}). Once more the Aramæans, under Hadadezer, assemble against Israel, but are again defeated, this time by David himself: Joab is then sent to besiege the Ammonite capital (10^{15}–11^{1}; see RABBAH). David remains at Jerusalem, where he commits adultery with Bathsheba, the wife of Uriah the Hittite, one of his warriors. After a vain attempt to conceal the sin, he sends a letter to Joab instructing him to bring about the death of Uriah: his orders are carried out, and David then marries Bathsheba, who bears him a son (ch. 11). The prophet Nathan awakens David to a sense of his guilt by means of a parable, and announces the Divine punishment: the child of Bathsheba dies despite David's penitence; but another son (Solomon) is born (12^{1-25}). Meantime the siege of Rabbah has been drawing to a close, and David in person commands the final assault: the chapter ends with an account of the spoil, and of the punishment inflicted on the inhabitants (12^{26-31}).

Except in the speeches of Nathan, which have probably been expanded, the narrative appears to have been preserved in its original form: after 11^{22} we must restore the longer text of the LXX (see Driver, *Text of Sam.* p. 224) in accordance with vv.$^{19-21}$: 12^{10-12} are probably due to the Deuteronomic editor, who regarded all the misfortunes of David's house as resulting from his great sin, while the phrase, 'the house of the Lord,' in v.^{20}, seems an anachronism. With regard to the relation of 10^{1}–11^{1} and 12^{26-31} to ch. 8, it is noticeable that (1) according to $10^{6\text{f.}}$ the Ammonites hire the services of the Aramæans of Beth-rehob and Zobah, the king of Maacah, and the men of Tob: in $8^{3.\,4}$ the Ammonites are not mentioned, and there is only an obscure notice of a victory over the Aramæans; (2) in 8^{3} Hadadezer of Beth-rehob (for *son of Rehob*) is mentioned by name as leader of the Aramæans: in $10^{1\text{f.}}$ his name is given so abruptly (v.^{16}) that he must, as Budde conjectures, have been mentioned earlier in the original narrative; (3) both accounts describe a second campaign: in 8^{5} the Aramæans of Damascus, in 10^{16} those 'that were beyond the River' came to the assistance of their countrymen. Budde conjectures very plausibly that when the detailed account $10^{1\text{f.}}$ was appended, the editor attempted to make the two narratives dissimilar: to this end he omitted the name of Hadadezer in 10^{6}, and substituted Damascus for 'beyond the River' in 8^{5}. By these means he was able to transfer the notices of Tou's homage ($8^{9.\,10}$) and of the Edomite war ($8^{13.\,14}$) from the end of ch. 10 to their present position.

(3) 13–20. The rebellion of Absalom, its cause and effects. Amnon, David's firstborn, and presumably his successor, is murdered by command of Absalom for the violation of his half-sister Tamar: Absalom takes refuge with his maternal grandfather the king of Geshur (ch. 13). Joab, by the help of the wise woman of Tekoa, induces the king to consent to Absalom's return: the latter in his turn coerces Joab into bringing about a meeting between himself and the king, which results in the reconciliation of father and son (ch. 14). Absalom now schemes to win the people to his side, and thus secure the throne, and finally sets up the standard of revolt at Hebron. David at once flees eastward from Jerusalem, accompanied by his bodyguard and Ittai the Gittite: he sends back Zadok and Abiathar with the ark to the capital, and arranges that tidings should be brought to him by their two sons: he further persuades Hushai to return, that he may defeat the counsel of Ahithophel (ch. 15). In his flight David learns from Ziba of the disaffection of Meribbaal, and submits to the insults of Shimei the Benjamite (16^{1-14}). Meantime Absalom, following the advice of Ahithophel, takes possession of his father's harem (16^{15-23}). The same adviser further counsels the immediate pursuit of David, but Absalom declares in favour of the waiting policy advised by Hushai (17^{1-14}). The news of his decision is conveyed to David by the two sons of the priests, at the risk of their lives: he at once withdraws across Jordan, and is met at Mahanaim by rich Gileadites with ample supplies for his army (vv.$^{15-29}$). Absalom, who has already crossed the Jordan, is confronted at Mahanaim by David's army under Joab, Abishai, and Ittai. In the battle that ensues David's forces are completely victorious: Absalom in his flight is slain by order of Joab, in direct disobedience to David's command (18^{1-18}): then follows a graphic description of the manner in which the news was conveyed to David (vv.$^{19-33}$). The death of Absalom plunges David into profound grief, from which he is only with great difficulty aroused by Joab: public opinion and the politic message of David to the men of Judah are the chief factors in bringing about the king's return (19^{1-15}). At the passage of the Jordan Shimei asks for pardon and is forgiven; Meribbaal explains how he had been slandered by Ziba; and, lastly, the aged Barzillai refuses the king's invitation to himself, but asks his favour for his son Chimham (vv.$^{16-39}$). The men of Israel are envious of the favour shown to the men of Judah, and a quarrel breaks out (vv.$^{40-43}$). In consequence of this dispute Sheba the Bichrite stirs up Israel to revolt against David. Amasa, the newly-appointed commander, fails to muster the men of Judah quickly enough, and Abishai (or, perhaps, Joab, see art. JOAB in vol. ii. p. 659 note) is sent with all the available troops to stamp out the rebellion. Amasa meets the royal forces by the way, and is treacherously slain by Joab: the two brothers then pursue Sheba northwards to Abel of Beth-maacah, where he is slain, and his head handed over to Joab: the chapter concludes with a repetition of the list of officers given in $8^{16\text{f.}}$ (ch. 20).

In this section there are but few passages whose origin has been called in question by the critics: $13^{18\text{a}}$ (to *apparelled*) is probably a misplaced gloss (Wellh.) to v.^{19}: it interrupts the connexion between vv.^{17} and $^{18\text{b}}$; at the end of the chapter the right order of the verses is clearly $^{37\text{b}.\,37\text{a}.\,38\text{b}.\,39}$, $^{38\text{a}}$ being due to the scribe. 14^{26} is rejected by most as a later addition; Budde omits all vv.$^{25-27}$. 15^{24} appears to have been worked over by a Deuteronomic redactor: 'and all the Levites with him' is certainly due to him, while the phrase 'and Abiathar went up' is out of place; Abiathar must originally have been mentioned alongside of Zadok (cf. v.^{29}): the textual difficulty in v.^{27} may also be due to the same cause (Budde reads, 'See, do thou and Abiathar return'; Wellh. 'unto [Zadok] the high priest, do thou return,' etc.). $18^{18\text{b}}$ (*for he said* to *remembrance*) conflicts with 14^{27}, and must be rejected as an interpolation, unless with Budde we omit 14^{27}. Lastly, 20^{23-26} are repeated with some variations from $8^{16\text{f.}}$, or more probably (see H. P. Smith, *Sam.* p. 327 f.) are original here, and were borrowed by the compiler of ch. 8 for his concluding panegyric. It seems very probable (as Budde suggests) that the author of ch. 8 omitted the following chapters (9–20), because, from his point of view, the family history which they contained did not redound to David's credit, and that they were afterwards restored by a later editor.

The unity of chs. 9–20 (see above) has been admitted by nearly all commentators and critics (Kuenen, Wellhausen, Driver, Budde, Cornill, Kittel, Löhr, etc.), with the exception of Thenius (*Comm.*^{2} p. xiii), who rejected ch. 9 (the incident of Meribbaal) and 10^{1}–11^{1} 12^{26-31} (the Ammonite war) as later redactional additions to the history of David; but, as we have shown above, these sections are necessary to and presupposed by the following narrative. This theory, however, has been revived, in a different form, by S. A. Cook in his analysis of 2 Samuel (*AJSL* (*Hebraica*), p. 155 f.). According to the latter's view, ch. 9 is related to 1 S $20^{15\text{f.}}$, and is therefore to be ascribed to an Ephraimite source: while 'the story of David's sin with Bathsheba and the birth of Solomon (11^{2}–12^{25}) has been inserted in the account of a war against Rabbath-ammon of which it was originally independent.' He further argues that this war with Ammon should *follow*, and not precede, the events recorded in chs. 13–20, chiefly on the ground that David's flight to and hospitable reception at Mahanaim * are impossible *after* the sanguinary war recorded ($10^{1\text{f.}}$); and places it at the end of David's reign. Absalom's rebellion, he contends, was probably confined to Judah (see Sayce, *Early Hist. of the Hebrews*, p. 429 f.),—the leading men (Amasa and Ahithophel) were both Judæans, and the centre of revolt was at Hebron, the old Judæan capital,—and followed shortly after David had settled in Jerusalem: in like manner the extent of Sheba's revolt, which was really limited to the Bichrites (20^{14} LXX), has been exaggerated so as to include all Israel, and then appended to Absalom's rebellion. As the result of his investigation Cook concludes: '(1) that the union of Judah and Israel under one king did not occur at any early date in David's reign, and (2) that the narratives in 2 Samuel which presuppose any close relationship between Judah and Israel (or Benjamin) previous to this union are due to a redactor (R^{JE}?), and, in several cases at least, seem to be derived from an Ephraimite source '

---

* Cook ingeniously emends 17^{27} 'and Shobi the son of Nahash' (וְשֹׁבִי בֶן־נָחָשׁ) to 'and Nahash, etc., brought' (וַיָּבִאוּ נָחָשׁ), thus supplying (according to his view of the chronology) a motive for David's embassy in $10^{1\text{f.}}$.

The evidence, however, on which these conclusions are based is obtained in many cases by a very subjective treatment of the text, and cannot be said to outweigh the general impression conveyed by chs. 9-20 as a whole. It is probable that Cook is right in certain cases (especially in the story of Ahithophel 16^{20}-17^{23}) in tracing the difficulties of the narrative to the combination of two sources; but he certainly goes too far when he condemns all the interviews recorded, viz. those with Ziba, Meribbaal, Shimei, and Barzillai, as the work of the redactor.

(*d*) 21-24. The Appendix.

These four chapters contain a number of heterogeneous fragments, viz.: (*a*) the famine in Israel expiated by the death of the sons of Saul at the hands of the Gibconites (21^{1-14}); (*b*) a series of exploits against the Philistines (21^{15-22}); (*c*) David's Hymn of Triumph after the defeat of his enemies (ch. 22 = Ps 18); (*d*) David's 'Last Words' (23^{1-7}); (*e*) further exploits against the Philistines, and list of David's heroes (23^{8-39}); (*f*) David's census of the people, and its result (ch. 24).

These chapters interrupt the main narrative of chs. 9–20, which is continued in 1 K 1-2, and must therefore have been inserted in their present position after the division of the Books of Samuel and Kings. It is noticeable that (*f*) is closely related in style and manner to (*a*); 24^{1} clearly continues 21^{14}, while both narratives have a similar conclusion (21^{14b} 24^{25b}). The two narratives were apparently first separated by (*b*) and (*c*), the contents of which are very similar, and between these again were inserted the two Psalms chs. 22 and 23^{1-7}.

The incident narrated in $21^{1f.}$ evidently belongs to the beginning of David's reign, and seems to be alluded to by Shimei ($16^{7.8}$) and Meribbaal (19^{28}), but is entirely ignored by ch. 9. Ch. 24 is very similar to 21^{1-14}, of which it is clearly the sequel: in each case the Divine wrath is kindled against the people owing to the action of the king, and they are punished with a plague, vv.^{10} and ^{17} (David's repentance and his prayer) are out of place, and may have been inserted later: Budde arranges the verses as follows: $^{10.\ 11b.\ 12.\ 13b.\ 11a.\ 13a.\ 13c.\ 14.\ 15.\ 16a.\ 17.\ 16b}$. He (see above) assigns both sections to J, and places them before ch. 9: on his view ch. 24 should precede 21^{1-14}, and he therefore omits 24^{1a} as a Deuteronomic gloss; 21^{2b} he assigns to the redactor, and rejects 21^{7} as a late insertion caused by the displacement of the passage. He suggests that the gloomy nature of their contents caused the sections to be removed by the compiler, and that they were afterwards added by the editor. The character of these and of the other sections is, however, very different from that of chs. 9–20, with which they exhibit no affinity: hence, though 21^{1-14} and ch. 24 undoubtedly contain old traditions, we can only conjecture that they were added by a later hand after the completion of the main narrative. 21^{15-22} and 23^{8-39} likewise contain old material, and belong to the early period of David's reign (see 5^{17-25}): possibly they may be derived from the register of the 'recorder,' as Driver suggests (*LOT*^{6} pp. 183, 187). Budde, who regards them as part of the original narrative, places them after 5^{25}: his transposition of 23^{13-17a} to the end of the chapter is probably correct. The two Psalms chs. 22 (= Ps 18) and 23^{1-7} (David's 'Last Words') are admittedly later additions to the book. The Davidic authorship of ch. 22 has been maintained by Ewald, Hitzig, etc., but the internal evidence points to a later author. The 'Last Words' of David are obviously out of place; the majority of critics agree that they are the work of a later hand: the text is in parts very corrupt.

LITERATURE.—For the text see Thenius, *Die Bücher Samuels* (in *Kgf. Exeg. Handb.*), ^{1}1849, ^{2}1873, ^{3}(Löhr) 1898; Wellhausen, *Text d. Bücher Sam.* 1871; Driver, *Heb. Text of Sam.* 1890; Klostermann, *Die Bücher Sam. u. der Könige* (in *Kgf. Komm.*), 1887; Keil, *Die Bücher Sam.*^{2} 1875; H. P. Smith, *Samuel* (in *Internat. Crit. Comm.*), 1899; Peters, *Beiträge z. Text- u. Literarkritik der Bücher Sam.* 1899. For the critical analysis see especially Wellhausen, *Comp.* 1889, pp. 238–266; Kuenen, *Hist.-Krit. Einleitung* (1890), I. ii. pp. 37-62; Budde, *Richter u. Sam.* 1890, pp. 167–276, and *SBOT* VIII.; Driver, *LOT*^{6} (1897), pp. 172–185; Cornill, *Ztschr. f. k. Wissensch. u. k. Leben*, 1885, p. 113 ff., *Königsb. Stud.* 1887, p. 25 ff., *ZATW*, 1890, p. 96 ff., *Einleitung in AT*^{4}, 1896; Kittel, *SK*, 1892, p. 44 ff., *Gesch. der Hebräer* (1892), ii. p. 22 ff. (Eng. tr.) vol. ii. p. 22 ff.; Cheyne, *Devout Study of Criticism*, pp. 1-126; Stade, *GVI*^{4}, 1889, i. 197 ff.; Löhr, *Vorbemerkungen* in 3rd ed. of Thenius' *Comm.* (see above); S. A. Cook, *AJSL* (= *Hebraica*), 1900, p. 145 f.; H. A. White, art. DAVID in present work.

J. F. STENNING.

SANAAS (B Σαμά, A Σανάας; AV Annaas, 1 Es 5^{23}).—The sons of Sanaas returned from captivity under Zerubbabel to the number of 3330 (B 3301). In Ezr 2^{35}, Neh 7^{38} they are called the children of Senaah. In Neh 3^{3} the name has the article Hassenaah. The numbers given are 3630 (Ezr.), 3930 (Neh.).

SANABASSAR, SANABASSARUS.—See SHESHBAZZAR.

SANASIB (B Σαναβεἱs, A Ἀνασεἱβ), 1 Es 5^{24}.—The sons of Jeddu the son of Jesus are mentioned as priests who returned 'among the sons of Sanasib' with Zerubbabel. The name is omitted in the parallel Ezr 2^{36}; the Vulg. probably preserves the correct form *Eliasib*.

SANBALLAT (סַנְבַלַּט, Σαναβαλλάτ, *Sanaballat*).—The name is Assyr. *Sin-ballidh*, 'the Moon-god has vivified.' Sanballat is called a Horonite (Neh $2^{10.19}$ 13^{28}), but the locality meant is uncertain: for conjectures as to it see art. HORONITE. He seems to have held some office in Samaria (Neh 4^{2}) when Nehemiah arrived in Jerus., and, along with Tobiah the Ammonite and Geshem the Arabian, was bitterly opposed to Nehemiah, and did his best to thwart his endeavours to rebuild the walls of the Jewish capital. There was a party inside Jerus. itself which was equally opposed to the Tirshatha, and conspired with Sanballat to hinder Nehemiah by spurious prophecies and other means (Neh 6). One of the party was the high priest Eliashib, whose grandson had married Sanballat's daughter (Neh 13^{28}).

Josephus (*Ant.* XI. vii. 2) transports Sanballat from the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus to that of Darius Codomannus, the last king of Persia, whose officer he is said to have been in Samaria. His daughter Nikasô was married to Manasseh, the brother of the high priest Jaddua. Manasseh, being threatened with expulsion from the priesthood unless he divorced his wife, fled to Sanballat, who suggested that he should become the high priest of a rival temple on Mt. Gerizim, and promised to secure for him the protection of Darius. Just at this time, however, the invasion of Persia by Alexander the Great took place; Sanballat went over to the conqueror with 7000 men, and induced him to allow the temple on Mount Gerizim to be built. Manasseh became its first high priest, and soon afterwards Sanballat died. The whole story seems to be derived from some apocryphal Jewish account of the origin of the Samaritan temple.

A. H. SAYCE.

SANCTIFICATION.—Of the three words for 'holiness' based on the adjective ἅγιος, one only is here really in question, viz. ἁγιασμός. The other two, ἁγιωσύνη, the abstract *quality* (*sanctitudo*), and ἁγιότης, the same concretely and subjectively conceived as a personal quality (*sanctitas*), fall naturally under HOLINESS. But ἁγιασμός, like 'sanctification,' connotes *state*, and that not as native to its subject, but as the outcome of action or process.

There is no need to deal separately and at length with the cognate verbs ἁγιάζειν, ἁγνίζειν. The essential ideas involved have already been discussed under HOLINESS; while what they have to contribute to the idea of sanctification as a process will appear incidentally in the body of this article. In general, however, it may be said (1) that ἁγιάζειν is late Greek and biblical (ἁγνίζειν being classical), and has meanings determined by the several senses of ἅγιος, but all springing from 'to consecrate,' 'to render sacrosanct or appropriated to Divine use' (in contrast to 'profane' or 'open to common use'); whereas the more classical ἁγνίζειν means 'to render pure' (no longer 'unclean,' or hateful in God's sight). (2) Each verb passes through a ritual stage of meaning to reach an ethical or spiritual one. In the case of ἁγνίζειν the two are clearly distinguishable, as in Jn 11^{55}, Ac $21^{24.26}$ 24^{18} on the one hand, and Ja 4^{8}, 1 P 1^{22}, 1 Jn 3^{3} on the other. But there is little even in the latter series of passages on which to base a doctrine of sanctification. In the case of ἀγιάζειν (for Heb. see Holiness in OT, *ad init.* note) the senses are more varied and complex. It means (*a*) to render sacrosanct by ritual methods appointed by God (Ex 28^{3} 30$^{29f.}$, Mt 23$^{17.\ 19}$, He 9^{13}; cf. 1 Co 7^{14}), or simply by act of the Divine will (Jer 1^{5}, Jn 10^{36}); (*b*) to hallow ethically, the human spirit or will being directly concerned; (*c*) to realize the state of ethical devotion to the Divine in concrete conduct (Jn 17^{19}, Rev 22^{11}; cf. Mt 6^{9}). The second sense, ethical hallowing, has two subdivisions, viz. (i.) vicarious or sacrificial, *e.g.* He 10$^{10.\ 29}$ 13^{12}, cf. 2^{11} 10^{14}, Eph 5^{26}, and (ii.) intrinsic, as in Jn 17$^{17.\ 19}$, cf. 1 P 1$^{2.\ 22}$, Ac 20^{32} (26^{18}), 1 Co 6^{11}, Ro 15^{16}. Intrinsic hallowing itself is either initial, as in 1 Co 6^{11}, Ac 26^{18}, or mature, as in 1 Th 5^{23}. In all forms the determinative part is played by the Divine (Jn 10^{36} 17$^{17.\ 19}$, He 10^{10}), yet the human factor is fully recognized (Jn 17^{19} ἀγιάζω ἐμαυτόν, cf. ἀγνίζειν of man in Ja 4^{8}, 1 P 1^{22}, 1 Jn 3^{3}). The working out of these two, and the element of process involved, will appear in the detailed exposition of ἁγιασμός which follows.

A. Αγιασμός :—
  (i.) Its use outside the NT.
  (ii.) Its NT usage.
B. Sanctification as taught in the NT.
  By (*a*) Christ.
    (*b*) St. Paul.
    (*c*) The Epistle to the Hebrews.
    (*d*) St. Peter.
    (*e*) St. John.
C. Connected Summary.
  Literature.

A. ʼΑΓΙΑΣΜΟʹΣ.—(i.) *Its use outside the NT.*—The form of the word, indeed, suggests that emphasis should lie on the process involved. But its actual usage, which is perhaps exclusively Biblical and patristic, does not bear this out. It is true that the LXX shows traces of the active sense; as in Jg 17^{3}, where A has ἁγιασμῷ ἡγίασα for ἁγιάζουσα ἡγίακα of B; Sir 7^{31} θυσίαν ἁγιασμοῦ κ. ἀπαρχήν (‘the sacrifice of hallowing’ being parallel to ‘first-fruits’); Ezk 45^{4} ἔσται αὐτοῖς (τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν) τόπος εἰς οἴκους ἀφωρισμένους τῷ ἁγιασμῷ αὐτῶν; 2 Mac 2^{17} τὸ βασίλειον κ. τὸ ἱεράτευμα κ. τὸν ἁγιασμόν, the covenanted prerogatives of Israel, and 14^{36}; ἅγιε παντὸς ἁγιασμοῦ Κύριε, διατήρησον εἰς αἰῶνα ἀμίαντον τόνδε τὸν προσφάτως κεκαθερισμένον οἶκον. But in Am 2^{11} ἔλαβον ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν ὑμῶν εἰς προφήτας, κ. ἐκ τῶν νεανίσκων ὑμῶν εἰς ἁγιασμόν (?=‘a hallowed thing,’ where the Heb. has ‘for Nazirites’), the passive sense seems to prevail (cf. 3 Mac 2^{18} τὸν οἶκον τοῦ ἁγιασμοῦ, ‘the House of Sanctification,’ contrasted with idol-houses; perhaps also Sir 17$^{9\,(10)}$ ὄνομα ἁγιασμοῦ αἰνέσουσιν, on the analogy of Mt 6^{9} ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου. So of Messiah it is said, in Ps-Sol 17^{33}, that ‘he shall cleanse Jerusalem with (a state of) sanctification (ἐν ἁγιασμῷ), as it was even at the first.’ Similarly in the earliest patristic usage; as in 1st Ep. of Clem. xxxv. 2, where, as gifts of God, are named ζωὴ ἐν ἀθανασίᾳ, λαμπρότης ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ . . . ἐγκράτεια ἐν ἁγιασμῷ, and xxx. 1, ἁγία (*var. lec.* ἁγίου) οὖν μερὶς ὑπάρχοντες ποιήσωμεν τὰ τοῦ ἁγιασμοῦ πάντα, φεύγοντες καταλαλιάς, κ.τ.λ. Hence the idea of sanctification as a quality or state sometimes attaches to ἁγιασμός, even outside the NT;* while in the NT it will be found to be the prevailing thought in one form or another.

(ii.) *Its NT usage.*—In St. Paul the word occurs eight times, in five distinct passages. In the earliest of these, 1 Th 4$^{3.\ 4.\ 7}$, it means a state of practical or realized consecration to God's will, conduct conformed to the ideal attitude or standing of the Christian, as ‘in Christ.’ Such a state is the essence of God's will for man; and it is defined, in one connexion, as the ‘state of abstinence (ἀπέχεσθαι) from fornication,’ the ability of a man to possess (see art. Possess) his own vessel in a condition of hallowedness and honour, in contrast to one of lustful passion. For ‘God called us not on a basis of unchastity, but in (the status of) hallowedness’ (οὐ . . . ἐπὶ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ ἀλλʼ ἐν ἁγιασμῷ). Similarly in 2 Th 2^{13} he says that Christians were chosen of God ‘in (the status of) hallowedness due to the Spirit, and faith based on the Truth’ (ἐν ἁγ. πνεύματος κ. πίστει ἀληθείας)—where none would doubt that ‘faith’ means a state of soul. This divinely-determined state is set forth in other but kindred terms, as one wherein the soul is ‘sealed’ by the Holy Spirit (2 Co 1^{22}, Eph 1^{13}) as something devoted to God. This idea is adopted in 1 P 1^{2}, along with explicit mention of the objective or sacrificial basis of man's consecration, ‘the blood of Christ’—the aspect emphasized in Hebrews (9$^{10.\ 14.\ 28}$; cf. 2^{11}). In another passage St. Paul himself refers to this more objective side of the state of hallowedness, when, in 1 Co 1^{30}, he calls Christ as crucified (v.^{23}) God's ‘wisdom’ or secret as regards ‘righteousness (justification) and sanctification and redemption.’ Here the thought is not of sanctification as a process, but as a status into which a man is brought by God's act on condition of faith; as is seen from 1 Co 6^{11} ‘Ye were washed clean, ye were sanctified, ye were justified in (virtue of) the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in (virtue of) the Spirit of our God.’ Every Christian as such has been put into a virtual or implicit state of cleansedness from his sinful past and consecration to God's holy ends, in the same experience of faith which ushers him into the state of justification. These are, indeed, but different aspects of one and the same spiritual fact, and are produced by the same Divine means, both objective and subjective.

The like thought, under the different metaphors of death to sin and life unto God, corresponding to Christ's cross and resurrection, reappears in Ro 6. ‘He that hath died hath been justified from sin’ (v.^{7}); ‘be reckoning yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin (purification), but living unto God (consecration) in Christ Jesus’ (v.^{11}). So saying, St. Paul passes to the practical consequences of the new attitude to sin and to God implied in spiritual union with Christ on the part of the justified. Status or attitude of soul must express itself in moral habit. As formerly it had been lawlessness that had expressed itself through the man's actions, so now he is to let righteousness sway him, with a state of hallowed action as issue (εἰς ἁγιασμόν, vv.$^{19.\ 22}$). Accordingly, the same apostle teaches, in 1 Ti 2^{15}, that an abiding state of faith, love, and hallowedness of living must characterize the Christian. And the like is taught in He 12^{14}, which alludes to the pursuit of peace with all men and of the holy habit of living (ἁγιασμόν) befitting fellowship with God. In all these cases no stress falls upon process as entering into the state in question; though in some there is a suggestion of it, in the notion of habit or state to be realized in conduct. The idea is that of constant reaffirmation of the underlying attitude of consecration to God's will and ends. But, so far, there is no suggestion of progress; rather of maintenance (see 1 Ti 2^{15}) of a sound attitude or condition. Progressive sanctification, a growth from less to more, whether in purity or range, is not contemplated in the word ἁγιασμός itself. Yet it is embraced in the scope of apostolic teaching, as we see when we proceed to examine other references to the subject of the Christian life.

B. Sanctification as taught in the NT.—(*a*) *By Christ.*—Christ's own teaching on this subject is too ideal or timeless to yield definite results as to the conditions imposed by human frailty upon the realization of Divine sonship. 'Ye shall be perfect as your heavenly Father is perfect' (Mt 5^{48}), is the standard at once of obligation and possibility. But it stands, like the Mosaic precept of which it seems to be the equivalent, 'Ye shall be holy, for I am holy' (Dt 18^{13}), unconditioned by any *how* or *when*.

---

* Thus Œcumenius on 1 Th 3^{13} says, τοῦτο ἀληθῶς ἁγιασμός, τὸ παντὸς ῥύπου καθαρὸν εἶναι.

(*b*) *St. Paul.*—Accordingly it is to St. Paul, the great exponent of the gospel from the experimental or appropriative side, that we have to look for the fullest account of the matter. There is a state possible to Christians, corresponding to the ideal of their calling, in which they can be described as 'unblameable in holiness' (ἀμέμπτους ἐν ἁγιωσύνῃ), and into which they may be brought by the grace of God in this life. Therein they stand hallowed through and through (ὁλοτελεῖς), every part of their being (ὁλόκληρον τὸ πνεῦμα κ. ἡ ψυχὴ κ. τὸ σῶμα) abiding by grace in a condition fit to bear the scrutiny of their Lord's presence without rebuke (ἀμέμπτως ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χρ. τηρηθείη). Such is the teaching of 1 Th 3^{13} 5^{23}. The fidelity of God to His purpose in calling men to be Christians is pledged to this achievement (5^{24}), though there is no definite time, as measured from the initial hallowing of the spirit in conversion, at which it must needs be accomplished. God, who begins the good work in the soul, also continues to work at its perfecting (ἐπιτελεῖν), right up to the day of Jesus Christ (Ph 1^{6}); and yet, ere that day dawns, Christians may become already 'pure in purpose (εἰλικρινεῖς = Christ's καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ) and void of offence,' and so remain 'until the day of Christ' (1^{10}). It is this state of realized sanctification of conduct or 'walk,' so as to 'please God,' that St. Paul has constantly in view in exhorting his converts to holy living (*e.g.* 1 Th 4^{1}). This is what he means, at times, by his use of ἁγιασμός. But the conception needs to be carefully guarded and explained by other aspects of his thought. Thus (1) it represents a growth *in* holiness rather than *into* holiness out of something else; (2) it is conceived as realizable by a definitive act of faith—claiming and appropriating its rightful experience by an act of will informed by the living energy of the Holy Spirit—rather than as the cumulative result of a slow, instinctive process after conversion; (3) it is not the same as absolute moral perfection or consummation (τελειοῦσθαι), but is rather the prerequisite to its more rapid and steady realization.

(1) St. Paul (like the NT as a whole) bases the Christian life on an initial and most radical hallowing of the spirit or inmost seat of personality, implicit in justifying faith; and it is in consequence of this that the Christian is styled 'regenerate.' Thus the prime spring of life is renewed; the root impulse or attitude of the *ego* is changed and hallowed; and so the whole man can be regarded as virtually consecrated to God. The outward hallowing of the 'walk' or conduct proceeds on the basis and in the power of this hallowed 'inner man' of the heart. From the first this 'inner man' enjoys the salvation of which consecration to God's will and ends is one aspect. But this salvation needs to work outwards, through the spheres of man's life more closely bound up with his sensuous nature and its false egoism (σάρξ)—the man as ψυχικός, possessed of a number of faculties not yet adjusted to God's ends, but often biassed rather towards selfhood. The whole man, spirit, soul, and body, has to be leavened. This is what St. Paul means when bidding the Philippians 'work out' into realization (κατεργάζεσθε) 'their own salvation,' a salvation already possessed in principle, relying upon the in-working of God for ability so to do (Ph $2^{12f.}$). The end of such actualizing of the partly latent salvation is the image of Christ, just set forth in majestic and moving terms. Conformity to the image of God's Son is the hope of the Christian's calling (Ro 8^{29}), that whereunto tends the intercession of the Holy Spirit immanent in the human spirit (v.$^{26f.}$). Not until this has been realized in fulness can sanctification become perfection: and St. Paul himself repudiates all claim to having attained to this (Ph 3^{12}). Yet in the very same context he ranges himself with the class of 'mature' believers (τέλειοι, 3^{15}), whose settled purpose it is to reach that goal, and for whom the one great rule is, 'walk according to the full extent of your present ideal, and nothing less.' In such persons, as in himself (1 Co 4^{4}), he assumes an habitual enjoyment of a good conscience, the absence of a sense of yielding to sin. Such is the sanctification of Christian maturity, the type of life belonging to those already 'spiritual' as distinguished from 'babes in Christ' (1 Co 3^{1}). The latter are still largely determined by nature, in contrast to grace (σάρκινοι), by 'the flesh,' in its conflict with 'the Spirit' (σαρκικοί, cf. Gal 5^{17}). They have not yet come to realize their own position, its dangers, and the resources at hand in the Spirit, in obedience to whose impulse they are bidden consciously to walk (Gal 5^{16} πνεύματι περιπατεῖτε καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν σαρκὸς οὐ μὴ τελέσητε). To such St. Paul says in remonstrance: 'If it be to the Spirit that you are fain to trace any true life you possess, why do ye not habitually walk in conscious reliance upon His promptings, but rather follow promiscuously the first instinct—whatever that may be, whether of flesh or Spirit? The principle of either sort of action is still within; yet if you yield yourselves definitively to the Spirit, and wait on His illumination, as He reveals the things of Christ, the flesh will be practically neutralized and not affect your walk, which shall then be ever "in the Spirit," relative to your degree of enlightenment' (Gal $5^{26.\,15-25}$).

(2) This conscious self-consecration to the indwelling Spirit, to carry out God's will alone under His prompting, and so to bear only 'the fruit of the Spirit' (Gal $5^{22f.}$), is set forth under various figures, but is uniformly represented as a single act—whether of breaking definitely with sinful habits, or of self-devotion to the Divine sway. 'Let us (once for all) cleanse ourselves (καθαρίσωμεν ἑαυτούς) from all pollution of flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness (ἐπιτελοῦντες ἁγιωσύνην) in the fear of God' (2 Co 7^{1}). 'I beseech you . . . to present (παραστῆσαι) your bodies a living sacrifice, hallowed, acceptable to God, as your spiritual service; and undergo, not a process of conformity to this age, but of transformation in mental renewal, that ye may prove what the will of God is—that good and acceptable and perfect will' (Ro $12^{1f.}$). Here the process of gradual conformity to God's will is represented as following upon a definite self-surrender, in which the virtual or ideal relation to God, implied in trustful acceptance of Christ as 'righteousness and sanctification' to the sinful soul, is consciously realized and reaffirmed. As united to Christ by faith, Christians had 'died to sin,' and their 'old man' (old moral personality) was crucified with Him (Gal 5^{24}) and virtually 'put off'; coincidently they had been 'raised together with Christ,' in the power of a new moral personality, and had virtually 'put on the new man which is in process of renewal unto full insight after the image of Him that created him' (Ro 6^{2-10}, Col 3^{9-11}, Eph 4^{22-24}). But to this, their virtual state, many needed to be awakened, in order to put themselves consciously into the line of the Divine will and working, and no longer ignore the Holy Spirit's inward striving to work out, in realized acts, the consecrated attitude of their inmost being. And such awakening and real consecration—such arming for the fray—was rather a thing of definite decision (expressed by aorists, Ro 13^{14}, Col $1^{9f.}$, Eph $6^{11.\,13-16}$) than of vaguely protracted process (expressed by presents).

(3) But such definitive self-surrender is no prelude to a life of effortless passivity. The true attitude once definitively assumed, it is to be reaffirmed in a lifelong process of conscious acts of obedience, the grounds, bearing, and issues of which are now appreciated (Eph $6^{10.\,18}$). No longer will it be marked by frequent 'grieving of the Spirit,' who has 'sealed' the soul for final redemption, but by a 'filling with the Spirit' (Eph 4^{30} 5^{18}). In such a process the Christian is 'consummating holiness' (ἐπιτελῶν ἁγιωσύνην), being hallowed in fresh ranges of his powers, even as Christ could say, 'For their sakes I hallow myself, that they themselves also may be hallowed by (the) truth' (Jn $17^{19.\,17}$). Such hallowing has no necessary connexion with purification from sin, but only with realization of the possibilities of devotion to God's will in love. It was here that St. Paul felt himself not yet to have attained or to have been brought to perfection.

(*c*) *The Epistle to the Hebrews.*—It was probably of this positive holiness, resulting from deepened consecration, that the writer to the Hebrews was thinking when he spoke of the Divine discipline of suffering as meant to issue in participation in the Father's holiness (12^{10}). But, on the whole, the objective aspect of sanctification, that of a true covenant-relation established by the offering of the Son's holy will in His life-blood, prevails in this Epistle. In it cleansing, consecration, and perfection * ($9^{13f.}$ $10^{10.\,14}$), all refer to the initial status of the believer (so Ac 26^{18}, cf. 20^{32}), as one of perfect access to the Father through the perfect sacrifice of the Mediator. The present participle, οἱ ἁγιαζόμενοι, does not refer to progressive sanctification, but expresses a constantly growing class, and so is equivalent to οἱ ἅγιοι (2^{11} 10^{14}).

(*d*) *St. Peter.*—We have seen already how his use of ἐν ἁγιασμῷ πνεύματος refers to the initial consecration wrought and sealed by the Spirit. Similarly in 1 P 1^{22} τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν ἡγνικότες ἐν τῇ

---

* He 6^{1} ἐπὶ τὴν τελειότητα φερώμεθα is only a seeming exception; for it refers to knowledge, not to personal character.

ὑπακοῇ τῆς ἀληθείας εἰς φιλαδελφίαν ἀνυπόκριτον, ἐκ καρδίας ἀλλήλους ἀγαπήσατε ἐκτενῶς, ἀναγεγεννημένοι, κ.τ.λ., the perfect *ἡγνικότες* (like *ἀναγεγεννημένοι*) 'refers back to the initial act of consecration, of which their acceptance of baptism was the outward sign. The working out of this . . . remained' (Hort); and it is represented as something to be taken in hand once for all (aorist). With this accords the other pertinent passage, 1 P $1^{16f.}$, though it has but little theoretic significance. Hort takes its imperative, 'become ye holy' (*ἅγιοι . . . γενήθητε*), to refer to manifestation, not to essence. The thought is, 'show yourselves holy, as you are,' 'show forth in your converse with others the holiness that attaches to your standing as consecrated by the Spirit's touch.' So, too, in 2 P $1^{4ff.}$ believers are conceived to be, through the fulfilment of the precious promises of the gospel, 'sharers in (the) Divine nature,' and separate or hallowed from the corruption of worldly desire. But progress is still requisite in order to ensure the final fruition of their calling and election. They are called diligently to add to their faith virtue, insight, self-control, patience, piety, brotherly affection, and, to crown all, love. These are regarded as fruit, tokens of true knowledge of Christ. Their absence argues dull vision of things divine, and a forgetfulness of a man's initial cleansing from his old sins. Here the fact of progress in the experimental realization of the Divine life within is implied, but little or no theory of its rationale is given. Akin to this, in its practical point of view, seem the words in Rev 22^{11} *ὁ ἅγιος ἁγιασθήτω ἔτι*: for parallelism with *ὁ δίκαιος δικαιοσύνην ποιησάτω ἔτι* tends to fix its meaning as 'let the saint still (once more) act as a saint.'

(*e*) *St. John.*—In St. John we meet the idea that the regenerate, in virtue of the Divine seed abiding in them, cannot sin habitually (1 Jn 3^9 $5^{4.18}$, cf. 3^6). But a progressive purification of life, on the model of Christ's purity and as the conscience is enlightened, is taught (*πᾶς ὁ ἔχων τὴν ἐλπίδα ταύτην ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἁγνίζει ἑαυτὸν καθὼς ἐκεῖνος ἁγνός ἐστιν*, 3^3). It does not, however, seem to imply actual sin as a condition of purification: for St. John writes, that his readers may not fall into any single act of sin (*ἵνα μὴ ἁμάρτητε*, 2^1). If, then, a man walk in the light of a good conscience illumined by the gospel, it is possible to have unembarrassed fellowship with God, on the abiding basis of the cleansing effected by the atoning blood of Jesus (1^7)—and that in spite of the presence of sin as a latent force within the soul (1^8 *ἁμαρτίαν ἔχειν*). The initial consecration which brings free access (the *παρρησία* of He 10^{19}) suffices to neutralize sin, in the sense of a nature prone to sin; while the power of the Divine seed may avail, on condition of the will's abiding in Christ, to ward off actual sin, and that indefinitely. Meantime sanctification, in the sense of the effacing of old evil habits and self-consecration to new forms of love, will go forward uninterruptedly on the model of Christ's purity (1 Jn 3^3).

C. Connected Summary.—In Biblical religion, as elsewhere, the religious conception of holiness precedes the ethical; the idea of special relation to God and His service antedates the idea of intrinsic human goodness. The former is at first conceived as a matter of ritual duly performed, which places the worshipper in a state of objective sanctity. At a certain stage, however, the Divine will became defined in terms largely concerned with morality: henceforth the religious relation or state of holiness could be measured and tested by obedience to such divinely sanctioned forms of human conduct. And as moral action was felt to derive its value from internal volition, religious holiness lost something of its strictly objective character, and became bound up with the subjective state of man's heart or volition. This is the stage, roughly speaking, to which the prophets brought the idea of sanctification in Israel. As, moreover, any striking result in the direction of the Divine will was traced to the action of the Divine Spirit, the loyalty of heart found in Israel was traced to the Spirit of Holiness proceeding from Jehovah. It does not seem, however, that even in the prophets the piety and morality of the ordinary individual were directly traced back to the Spirit. The first suggestion of this profound idea may be found in Ps 51, where the taking away of God's Holy Spirit seems to be regarded as precluding the possibility of the 'clean heart' or 'stedfast spirit,' for which the psalmist supplicates. Yet in one special instance, that of Messiah Himself, the spiritual qualities which mark His consecrated life are traced to the action of the Spirit of Jehovah, Is 11^2. When we add that an ethical sense by this time attached to holiness in God, and was thence transferred to the holiness incumbent upon His worshippers ('Be ye holy, for I am holy'), we have already all the rudiments of a doctrine of sanctification such as emerges in the NT under the creative influence of Jesus the Christ.

The decisive advance, whereby each individual is sealed as a hallowed member of God's new Israel, appears as early as St. Peter's address on the Day of Pentecost; and not long after, the same apostle sees in the gift of the Spirit to Gentile believers the token of their hallowing also unto God's kingdom. But there is little or no sign that any one before St. Paul saw in the Spirit the very principle of the consecrated life in Christians, alike in its inception and in its development. His thought here was bound up with another most distinctive conception, viz. the mystical indwelling of Christ as the essence of the believer's life. How closely these twin ideas were related may be seen in the great passage, Eph 3^{16-19}, in which he treats the strengthening of the inner man by the Holy Spirit as the condition of Christ's indwelling, in such wise that the believer is filled with His love, and so with the very fulness of God (cf. Jn 14–17). Here we notice, in passing, that the tenses employed point to the possibility of such an experience being attained at a definite stage subsequent to conversion. It answers to that more conscious and deliberate self-surrender to God's sanctifying grace which we have already recognized, on its human side, in such passages as Ro 12^1. But we observe in particular the fact that love seems to be to St. Paul (cf. 1 Co 13, Eph 1^4, Col 3^{14}), as to St. John, the all-inclusive ethical equivalent of personal holiness, as a state well-pleasing unto God, and indeed participation in His own essential life ('unto all the fulness of God,' cf. 2 P $1^{4.7}$).

Thus sanctification begins subjectively as faith (cf. Ac 26^{18}), or trustful self-abandonment to God's revealed will; and ends as love. Attitude passes into character, the soul becoming assimilated to its object, the God to whom it is consecrated. This means that Justification, which involves regeneration, is implicit Sanctification; and actual Sanctification means the subjective attitude of the justified become explicit in moral life. Of the relation between the Divine and human factors active in sanctification as a process the NT gives no formal theory—any more than in the case of Faith itself, on which Sanctification, no less than Justification, is made to turn. It, too, begins and ends in faith: St. Paul might well have written *ὁ ἅγιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται.* But the reality of each factor is strongly affirmed. Man is urged to 'work out' the grace within; yet with an awful sense that God Himself is already at work, prompting and animating, and so in utter reliance on His mighty initiative. A moral conflict there is, a struggle that taxes the nerves of the soul and exercises all its vigilance; but it is a conflict *of faith* (1 Ti 6^{12}), conducted in reliance upon Divine resources (Christ, and the Holy Spirit ever taking of His things and inspiring the soul), not in self-sufficiency (see Gal 2^{20} in contrast to Ro 10$^{2f.}$ 7^{7}–8^{9} 3^{27}). The normal, and not only the intermittent, issue of such a conflict may be victory, and that without prescribed limit. Failure is due to imperfection of receptivity, intermittent 'abiding.' Yet, where this is understood, failure but strengthens for fuller victory, by deepening the sense of dependence; 'for when I am weak, then am I strong' (2 Co 12^{10}).

LITERATURE.—The general literature is much the same as for REGENERATION, the sections in Martensen's *Dogmatics* being specially good and suggestive. Much bearing on our topic will also be found in books on the Holy Spirit, *e.g.* Kuyper, *The Work of the Holy Spirit* (Eng. trans. 1900), and works there cited. Among older treatises, Marshall's *Gospel Mystery of Sanctification* (1690) is a classic. The Methodist doctrine of Holiness as 'Christian Perfection' or 'Perfect Love' has created quite a literature of its own. And in recent times a large literature has arisen, devoted to the experimental side of the subject as placed in relief by the so-called 'Holiness Movement,' of which 'Perfectionism' is one special phase. But such literature is not, as a rule, marked by much exegetical precision, and is apt to confuse the Biblical and dogmatic standpoints. The most scholarly books of this type are those of Prof. H. C. G. Moule of Cambridge, *e.g.* *Thoughts on Christian Sanctity* and *Outlines of Christian Doctrine*. There is a pamphlet by J. A. Beet, entitled 'Holiness, as understood by the Writers of the Bible' (1880), which examines the passages bearing on Sanctification in a careful and scholarly way. But in few books, save formal Biblical Theologies, is sufficient account taken of the standpoint and emphasis of the several Biblical writers, and in general of the psychological conditions involved in reducing their experimental language to theory.

J. V. BARTLET.

SANCTUARY.—The ideas underlying 'sanctuary,' a sacred or 'holy place' (מִקְדָּשׁ, קֹדֶשׁ—the former, however, is rarely, the latter never, used in OT of the *local* sanctuaries, for which the Canaanite term בָּמָה is regularly employed [*]), form part of the larger group of ideas associated with 'holy,' 'holiness,' etc., which have been analyzed and discussed in their manifold applications in the article HOLINESS IN OT (vol. ii., see esp. p. 396^{a}). In dealing with early Semitic religion, the term 'sanctuary' is used in a wider and a narrower application. On the one hand, the whole territory in which a particular deity is worshipped was in a sense his sanctuary; in this sense Canaan, 'J''s land' (Hos 9^{3}), is also His house (8^{1} 9^{15}) and a 'holy land' (Zeph 3^{11}). On the other hand, in every such territory there were particular spots which were regarded as the favourite haunts of the god, at which he had manifested his power in the past, and was supposed to be still peculiarly accessible to his worshippers. Such primitive sanctuaries consisted of imposing natural objects—in particular, mountains, springs of water with the fertile spots around them, a wide-spreading tree with the ground beneath its shade, or more arbitrarily selected spots associated with visible manifestations of the deity (theophanies). When the Hebrews entered Palestine they found the land thickly studded with such local sanctuaries, each of them a centre of Canaanite worship. As the country gradually came under their control, its sacred places became *ipso facto* sanctuaries of the national God, Jahweh. Only a few typical examples can be mentioned here,[†] reference being made once for all to the special articles on the places named.

(*a*) Comparatively limited in number are the instances where *springs* and *wells* are attested as the sites of sanctuaries in our extant literature. The best known are the ancient sanctuary of BEERSHEBA, associated by tradition with Abraham (Gn 21^{31}) and Isaac (26^{33}), and retaining its sanctity to a late date (see below); KADESH (קָדֵשׁ 'holy place'), also named En-mishpat or Judgment-spring (14^{7}), and BEER-LAHAI-ROI (16$^{7.14}$). GIHON, the modern Virgin's fountain, on the west side of the Kidron ravine, was the site of Solomon's consecration, and therefore a sanctuary of repute (1 K 1$^{33.39}$); his rival Adonijah assembled his friends by another sacred spot, 'the Serpent stone' (ZOHELETH), which was by En-rogel, the fuller's spring (1 K 1^{9}).

(*b*) More numerous were the *sacred trees*, which played an important part in the religion of the heathen Semites, and are still objects of veneration among the fellahin of Syria, as the pieces of cloth hung on their branches and the fragments of broken pottery underneath amply testify. Abraham's first altar on the soil of Canaan was raised beneath the shade of the terebinth of MOREH (Gn 12$^{6.7}$ RVm) at 'the place of Shechem,' an eloquent witness to the extreme antiquity of this oracular sanctuary. Here were buried the objectionable images of Jacob's household (35^{4}); and the same tree, no doubt, is associated with Joshua (Jos 24$^{26f.}$) and Abimelech (Jg 9^{6}). Of equal antiquity was another sanctuary, the terebinths of MAMRE at Hebron (Gn 13^{18}). These tree-sanctuaries, indeed, figure with peculiar frequency in the legends of the patriarchs—a fact which is to be interpreted as implying their existence long before the Hebrew conquest. Besides those already noted at Shechem and Hebron, others are found at Beersheba (Gn 21^{33}), at a spot near Bethel (35^{8}), and, from a later period, at Ophrah (Jg 6$^{11f.24}$). The fact that justice was uniformly dispensed under religious sanction and protection implies the presence of a sanctuary at the palm of Deborah (Jg 4^{5})—by several recent scholars identified with the 'oak of weeping' (see ALLON-BACUTH) of Gn 35^{8}—and at Gibeah, where, according to the better Greek text, Saul sat under the tamarisk 'at the high place' (see p. 197^{b} note), apparently to administer justice. Under the monarchy, indeed, these tree-sanctuaries were multiplied indefinitely, as we learn from the vigorous polemics of the later prophets against the 'altars upon every high hill, in all the tops of the mountains, and under every green tree and under every thick oak, the place where they did offer sweet savour to all their idols' (Ezk 6^{13}; cf. Dt 12^{2}, Jer 2^{20} and often, Is 57^{5}).[*] For the sacred pole or *'ashērah*, which some authorities regard as a substitute for the living tree, see ASHERAH, vol. i. p. 165.

(*c*) The special sanctity of *mountains* and *high hills* was a widespread belief, not confined to the Semites, in the ancient world. The earliest sanctuary of which we have any historical, as distinguished from legendary, record in OT is the mountain sanctuary of HOREB-SINAI, 'the mountain of God' (Ex 3^{1}, cf. 1 K 19^{8}). HERMON, as its name implies, was invested with similar sanctity. Within the limits of Canaan the names of CARMEL (1 K 18$^{19ff.}$), the opposing peaks of EBAL and GERIZIM, TABOR (Hos 5^{1}), and the MT. OF OLIVES (2 S 15^{32}) at once suggest themselves. These, after all, are insignificant in number compared with the innumerable 'high places' or *bāmôth* with which the land was studded (see HIGH PLACE, vol. ii. p. 381, for ample reff.). Down to the 7th cent. B.C. the religious customs of the Hebrews required that every town and village should have its local sanctuary, just as in Christian lands every parish has its church. From the interesting narrative 1 S 9$^{12ff.}$ 10^{5} we learn that these sanctuaries were situated on the nearest commanding eminence. Where no such eminence was available, the sanctuary, it has been supposed, was erected upon an artificial mound (cf. Jer 7^{31}, 2 K 17^{9}). The usual type, however, of the artificial sanctuary, that is, a sanctuary created by human hands to mark the site of a special Divine manifestation, was the sacred pillar or *maẓẓēbah* or the sacred stone-circle (גִּלְגָּל) or cromlech (see, for details, PILLAR, vol. iii., and cf. ALTAR, vol. i. p. 75).

Several of the above-mentioned sanctuaries had a more than local reputation. Those of greatest repute in the Northern Kingdom were Bethel, the chief 'royal sanctuary' (מִקְדַּשׁ מֶלֶךְ, AV 'the king's chapel,' Am 7^{13}), with its companion sanctuary Dan; Gilgal (Am 4^{4}, Hos 4^{15} etc.); and the far distant Beersheba (Am 5^{5} 8^{14}). A favourite sanctuary was at Gibeon, 'the great high place' (1 K 3$^{4ff.}$), where Solomon's inaugural sacrifices were offered. In the period from the conquest to the building of the temple, the presence of the ark gave a special sanctity to the place of its location. Thus there can be no doubt that SHILOH was the principal sanctuary in the time of the judges; a special temple (הֵיכָל) was built for the greater safety of the ark, with the house of Eli as its ministrant priests. Hence the annual religious festival at Shiloh was one of exceptional importance (Jg 21^{19}, 1 S 1$^{3.21}$). Whether the important sanctuary at NOB was contemporary with that at Shiloh is uncertain;

---

[*] That 'sanctuary' (*mikdāsh*) and 'high place' (*bāmāh*) are synonymous in the older literature is evident from Am 7^{9} and Is 16^{12}. Cf. Ezk 20$^{28f.}$ where 'high hill' also appears as a synonym of 'high place.'

[†] A German scholar, Freiherr von Gall, has recently investigated over *one hundred*, E. and W. of the Jordan, in his monograph on ancient Israelite sanctuaries (*Altisrael. Kultstätten*, 1898).

[*] We do not include here the graves of the Hebrew patriarchs and heroes, since it is still a moot point to what extent, if at all, these were places of worship for their descendants.

the first mention of it occurs after the destruction of the latter (1 S $21^{1ff.}$), but this may be accidental. All the sacred places of the South, however, were soon eclipsed by the royal sanctuary at Jerusalem, raised on the spot consecrated by the theophany at the threshing-floor of Araunah (2 S $24^{18.25}$, 2 Ch 3^1).

Round these ancient shrines centred the religious life of the Hebrews in early times. Hither they flocked as the annual festivals came round, at the recurring new moons and sabbaths, to offer their tithes, their first-fruits, and their sacrifices. Unfortunately, we can only partially reconstruct either the equipment of these sanctuaries or the ceremonies which characterized the worship of antiquity, with its sacrificial meal and the joyous intercourse of the sacral community. Without unnecessarily repeating the facts already given in the article HIGH PLACE (§ iv. vol. ii. p. 382), we may note the indispensable altar with its almost universal adjuncts, the sacred pillar (*mazzēbah*) and the sacred pole (*'ashērah*), the hall (לִשְׁכָּה 1 S 9^{22}) or halls in which the sacrificial feast was held, a temple or shrine (בֵּית בָּמוֹת 1 K 12^{31} and elsewhere) for the protection of the sacred images which formed part of the equipment of some sanctuaries at least, such as the mysterious EPHOD and the almost equally mysterious TERAPHIM (see commentaries on Hos 3^4).

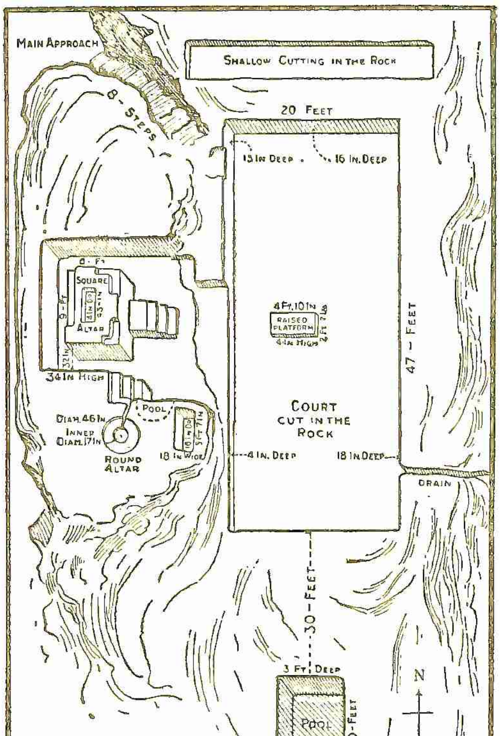

PLAN OF HIGH PLACE, PETRA.

The recent discovery of what must have been the royal sanctuary of Edom, close to the ruins of Petra, affords very material aid in the reconstruction above desiderated. Near the summit of a mountain overlooking Petra * were found two rock-cut 'obelisk-like columns,' about 18 ft. in height, and some 100 ft. apart, clearly the *mazzēbahs* of OT. On the actual summit was a large court, 47 ft. by 20, hewn in the rock to the depth in parts of 18 in., and approached from below by a stair cut in the rock. Near the centre of the court sufficient rock has been left to form a raised platform 5 ft. by 2½, and 4 in. in height. It has been suggested that here the worshipper stood whose victim was being offered, the rest of the worshippers standing in the surrounding court. On the west of the latter, facing the raised platform, stands the altar, 9 ft. by 6, in height 3 ft., cut free on all sides from the surrounding rock, and furnished on the side towards the court with a short flight of four steps. On the topmost step, which is considerably the largest, stood the officiating priest. In the centre of the upper surface of the altar a rectangular depression has been hewn out to serve as the altar-hearth. Immediately to the south of the altar, and approached from it by steps, the rock presents a flat surface with two large 'circular and concentric' cups hewn out with vertical sides, the larger 3 ft. 10 in., the smaller 1 ft. 5 in. in diameter. Here the sacrifices may have been prepared, as a conduit leading from the lower cup seems to have served to carry away the blood of the victims. For further details reference must be made to the articles cited, both of which are illustrated by photographs and drawings.

From the time when the Hebrews served themselves heirs to the sanctuaries of Canaan, the worship of J″ was there celebrated for several centuries with the full approval of Israel's religious guides (see 1 S 7^{17}, 1 K 3^4 18^{30} and oft.). Such local worship is alone contemplated in the oldest Hebrew legislation ('in every place where I record my name I will come unto thee and I will bless thee,' Ex 20^{24}). But by this multiplicity of sanctuaries the religion of J″ was exposed to two great dangers, against which the prophets of the 8th century repeatedly utter the most solemn warnings. In the first place, there was an ever-increasing admixture of heathen Canaanite elements with the purer and more spiritual elements of the true Hebrew cultus, until Hosea could truthfully declare that the worship of J″ had practically degenerated into idolatry (13^2) and its ministrants into idol-priests (see CHEMARIM). In the second place, the native religion, with its multiplicity of local Baalim, exerted a baneful influence on the Mosaic doctrine of the unity of J″. The Northern Kingdom came to an end before a reformation could be effected. In the South, thanks to the unique position of its royal sanctuary and the comparative purity of the cultus as there practised, this twofold danger was not felt to quite the same extent. Yet the destruction of Samaria, the strongest possible proof of the Divine commission of her prophets, could not fail to make a profound impression on the best religious spirits of the South, while, at the same time, the greatly enhanced importance of the temple at Jerusalem would gradually tend to diminish the popularity and prestige of the local sanctuaries. Whether Hezekiah really made the attempt at centralization with which he is credited (2 K 18^4) must be left an open question. The reform, at the best, was shortlived. Not till the far-reaching reformation of Josiah, under the immediate inspiration of Deuteronomy (B.C. 622–621), were effective measures taken for the destruction of the local sanctuaries and the deportation of their priests to Jerusalem (2 K 23). The losses as well as the gains of so drastic a measure of reform have been set forth under the article HIGH PLACE (with which compare DEUTERONOMY, JOSIAH). In the Priestly document (P) the battle has long been won, and scarcely an echo remains. The law and practice of one central sanctuary are transferred to the period of the desert wanderings (see TABERNACLE), an unhistorical presentation of the religious history of the Hebrews which dominates the whole subsequent literature, and has prevailed to our own day.

In what has been said up to this point, the purely religious aspect of the ancient sanctuaries has been properly kept in the foreground. But, in early times at least, these sanctuaries were also the seats of justice (θέμις), of which their priests were the administrators. In general, where the consuetudinary law of the clan or tribe proved inadequate, a fresh *torah* or Divine and authoritative decision was sought from J″'s representatives at the nearest sanctuary of repute. The extant law-codes, further, make provision for the interposition in specified cases of the priests of the local sanctuaries in their judicial capacity—whence their peculiar title Elohim (see אֱלֹהִים in *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*), though some of the passages in question (Ex 21^6 $22^{8f.}$ [Heb. $^{7f.}$]; cf. $18^{15ff.}$, 1 S 2^{25}) are of doubtful interpretation. More explicit are the recommendations of Deut. regulating the procedure of the supreme court at the central sanctuary (Dt $17^{8f.}$). Passing from the law-codes to the history, we find, as has been pointed out above, repeated evidence of the leaders of the people dispensing justice at the various sanctuaries, *e.g.* Moses at En-mishpat or Kadesh (see LAW IN OT, vol. iii. p. 67^a), Deborah, Samuel,—whose circuit included Bethel, Gilgal, and Mizpah, all notable sanctuaries (1 S 7^{16}),—and Saul (reff. above).

---

* The following is based on an article by Professor Robinson of Chicago (who, though not the first to visit the site, was the first to realize its importance, April 1900), entitled 'The High Place at Petra in Edom,' in the *Biblical World*, Jan. 1901; and on an earlier article by Professor Ives Curtiss (who visited the site in July 1900) in *PEFSt*, Oct. 1900.

Every primitive sanctuary, further, in virtue of its inviolability as the abode of deity, was an asylum or place of refuge. This right of asylum is expressly recognized in the oldest legislation, only cases of premeditated murder being excluded (Ex $21^{13.14}$; see GOEL, vol. ii. p. 223 f.; ALTAR, vol. i. p. 77^a). The later institution of cities of refuge (see REFUGE) was the necessary corollary of the destruction of the local sanctuaries.

For the so-called 'shekel of the sanctuary,' see MONEY (vol. iii. p. 422). A. R. S. KENNEDY.

SAND (חוֹל, ἄμμος) consists of an aggregate of incoherent grains of silex, generally mixed with others of different mineral substances, such as mica, felspar, and gems. It was a familiar object with writers of the Bible, and is therefore used emblematically, the expression 'as the sand which is by the seashore' being found in several passages (Gn 22^{17}, Jos 11^4, 1 S 13^5, 1 K 4^{20} etc.). The reference is to the line of sandhills along the coast of the Mediterranean (see SEA (GREAT)) and Lower Egypt (Ex 2^{12}).

In the following passages the word is used to represent—(1) *Numberlessness, vastness:* the descendants of Abraham (Gn 22^{17}, Jer 33^{22}, Ro 9^{27}, He 11^{12}); the store of corn gathered by Joseph in Egypt (Gn 41^{49}); the nations of Canaan (Jos 11^4); the Philistines (1 S 13^5); the Israelites (2 S 17^{11}, 1 K 4^{20}, Is 10^{22} 48^{19}); the captives of the Chaldæans (Hab 1^9); Solomon's largeness of heart, *i.e.* wisdom (1 K 4^{29} [Heb. 5^9]); (2) *heaviness* (Job 6^3, Pr 27^3); (3) *an insecure foundation* (Mt 7^{26}).

E. HULL.

SANDAL.—See DRESS, vol. i. p. 627.

SAND FLIES (RVm of Ex 8^{16} and Wis 19^{10}).—See LICE.

SAND LIZARD.—See SNAIL.

SANHEDRIN.—

i. The name and its history.
ii. Origin and history of the institution.
iii. Place of meeting.
iv. Composition, and qualifications for membership.
v. The president.
vi. Functions and procedure.
vii. Latest history.
Literature.

i. THE NAME AND ITS HISTORY.—*Sanhedrin* (*i.e.* συνέδριον) was the name applied to the highest court of justice and supreme council at Jerusalem, and in a wider sense also to lower courts of justice. In the Jewish tradition-literature this designation, borrowed from the Greek, alternates with the post-biblical Heb. בית דין, Aram. בי דינא. The Hebrew-Aramaic form סַנְהֶדְרִין (we find also the punctuation סַנְהֶדְרִין) sprang from the Greek word, the aspiration of the second vowel (from ἕδρα) becoming audible and being transcribed with ה. The ending -ιον was pronounced as a monosyllable, with elision of the ο, as in other words with the same ending (cf. פלטין=παλάτιον, i.e. *palatium*). The word, however, is found written also without ה (see Levy, *Wörterb. z. den Targumim*, ii. 175; *NHWB* iii. 553*b*). From סנהדרין, which sounded like a Semitic plural, there was even formed a sing. form סַנְהֶדְרֵי, which is met with not infrequently. Both forms were treated as feminines. From סַנְהֶדְרֵי was formed the plur. סנהדראות.

Owing to the character of the ancient traditions embodied in the Talmudic literature, it cannot be gathered from these when the employment of the Greek word began. In the halachic tradition it makes its appearance as completely naturalized and belonging to the ancient vocabulary of this tradition. The first historical statement in which Josephus employs the word συνέδριον has regard to the procedure of the Roman governor of Syria, Gabinius, who abrogated the constitution of the country of the Jews, and divided the latter into five districts, each with a *synedrion* at its head (*Ant.* XIV. v. 4). One of these *synedria* had its seat at Jerusalem, and was of exactly the same rank as the others. But it is not likely that the name first took root on this occasion (B.C. 57), and in consequence of the action of Gabinius. For if the term was first employed in his decree degrading the supreme council of Jerusalem, it would surely not have been retained when, a few years afterwards, the Sanhedrin at Jerusalem regained its dignity; nor, if it had had so hateful an origin, would it have gained the popularity which is conspicuous in its employment in the national tradition, and especially in that connected with religious legislation. But a direct proof of the earlier origin of our loan-word may be drawn from the Alexandrian translation of the OT. In the LXX version of the Book of Proverbs συνέδριον is used pretty frequently: so in 15^{17} to reproduce סוֹד in the sense of 'deliberative assembly' (cf. also 11^{13} and 3^{22}, likewise Jer 15^{17}). In 26^{26} בקהל is rendered by ἐν συνεδρίοις. But specially striking are the renderings of 22^{10} and 31^{23}. In the former of these passages the translator read וישב בית דין for וישבת דין, and rendered accordingly ὅταν γὰρ καθίσῃ ἐν συνεδρίῳ, where, however, συνέδριον is, as in the language of the Palestinian schools, equivalent to בֵּית דִּין. In the other passage the second half of the verse is rendered ἡνίκα ἂν καθίσῃ ἐν συνεδρίῳ μετὰ τῶν γερόντων κατοίκων τῆς γῆς. The addition ἐν συνεδρίῳ is plainly occasioned by the mention of the 'elders' of the land, for the members of the Sanhedrin are called זְקֵנִים (πρεσβύτεροι), and the Sanhedrin itself (see below) also bears the title γερουσία.—Now we do not know when the Book of Proverbs was translated into Greek, but in all probability it is included among the 'other books,' besides the Pentateuch and the Prophets, whose translation into Greek is mentioned in the Prologue to Sirach. In that case the Greek translation of Proverbs would have been in existence as early as B.C. 130, and συνέδριον had been then for a long time the common property of the Jewish school speech, into which it must have found its way at the era of the Græco-Syrian supremacy.

ii. ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE INSTITUTION.—1. It might be assumed beforehand that the institution which received the Greek title συνέδριον in the 2nd cent. B.C. had also an existence of some kind during the earlier centuries of the second temple. It has been suggested that the GREAT SYNAGOGUE (כנסת הגדולה), which in the school tradition (see *Aboth* i. 1) forms the connecting link between the last of the Prophets and the first teachers of the Law who are named in the Greek period, was nothing else than the supreme council of Jerusalem, afterwards called the Sanhedrin. But it is to be noted as a fact that the school tradition itself understands by כנסת הגדולה not an institution persisting for centuries, but that extremely important assembly held under Ezra and Nehemiah (Neh 8–10), which was called the 'great,' just as 1 Mac 14^{28} gives the name *συναγωγὴ μεγάλη* to the assembly which nominated Simon hereditary prince and high priest. Of course it is possible that the supreme council of Jerusalem was thought of as the continuation of that great assembly, or, rather, that the great assembly was thought of as the supreme council, the Sanhedrin of the period between the last of the Prophets and the beginning of the Greek domination. Such a conception would make its way all the more readily, seeing that later tradition contracted this period to a few decades. It would also explain the circumstance that in the Roll of Fasts (*Megillat Taanith*) the Sanhedrin is called כנישתא (=כנסת) in the passage cited below. An actual trace of the highest court of justice as it existed in Jerusalem at the close of the Persian period should perhaps be discovered in the description of the college of judges which, according to 2 Ch 19^8, king Jehoshaphat instituted at Jerusalem, and whose functions are specified, having regard to Dt 17^8. In this description the Chronicler had before his mind's eye the institution as it existed in Jerusalem in his own day.

2. In the records relating to the Greek period we find the supreme council of Jerusalem bearing the designation *γερουσία*. It is so named by Antiochus the Great (*c.* 200 B.C.) at the head of the leading classes of the Jews who are freed from all imposts and taxes (Jos. *Ant.* XII. iii. 3). Antiochus V., in a letter to the Jewish people (B.C. 164), offers greetings *τῇ γερουσίᾳ τῶν Ἰουδαίων* (2 Mac 11^{27}). Elsewhere, too, in the narratives of the Maccabæan era there is mention of the *γερουσία*, or we find the first place assigned to the 'elders' (*οἱ πρεσβύτεροι*) of Israel (cf. Schürer, *GJV*^{3} ii. 192 [*HJP* II. i. 167]). In the Talmudic tradition the Sanhedrin of the Hasmonæan period is called בית דין של חשמונאי 'house of justice of the Hasmonæans' (*Aboda zara* 36*b*; *Sanhed.* 82*a*). Its history coincides partially with the history of the conflicts between the PHARISEES and SADDUCEES. When John Hyrcanus, towards the end of his reign, shook himself loose from the Pharisees and declared their enactments to be without force (Jos. *Ant.* XVI. xi. 1), he is not likely to have accomplished this without having expelled the Pharisaic members from the Sanhedrin. There came thus into being a 'Sadducean Sanhedrin' (סנהדרין של צדוקים; cf. בית דין של צדוקים of Bab. *Sanhed.* 52*b*), as it is called in a valuable tradition preserved in § 10 of the Roll of Fasts (*Megillat Taanith*) which is of importance for the history of the Sanhedrin. Here it is said that on the 28th of the month Tebet: יתיבא כנישתא על דינא, *i.e.* 'the assembly constituted itself according to the law,' or 'the assembly sat for judgment.' According to the accompanying gloss, which rests beyond doubt on historical tradition, this event, whose memory was thus perpetuated by an anniversary, took place in the reign of Jannæus, and consisted in the expulsion of the Sadducean members from the Sanhedrin, and in the constitution of a new Sanhedrin, whose deliberations were conducted on Pharisaic principles, under the leadership of Simon ben Shetach. But this victory of the Pharisees was soon followed by the bitterest conflicts between them and Alexander Jannæus, and by the consequent supremacy of the Sadducees in the Sanhedrin, which, however, had to yield in turn to that of the Pharisees under Jannæus successor Salome Alexandra.

In the brothers' quarrel amongst the sons of Alexandra, the Sanhedrin must again have played its rôle. This strife led to the intervention of Rome, and not long afterwards to the above-mentioned degradation of the Sanhedrin by Gabinius. This degradation, however, was only transient, and soon we find the Sanhedrin sitting in judgment upon Herod the young son of Antipater (*Ant.* XIV. ix. 4). This memorable judicial sitting was destined to be fateful for the Sanhedrin, those who took part in it falling victims to the bloody revenge of Herod when he came to power (*ib.*). The institution itself Herod allowed to continue. He even utilized the Sanhedrin to get sentence of death passed upon the aged Hyrcanus (*Ant.* XV. vi. 3).

3. During the period of the Roman procurators, which was interrupted for a few years (A.D. 41–44) by the reign of Agrippa I., the Sanhedrin continued to be the supreme authority of the Jewish people. It appears as such in the NT narratives of the trial of Jesus (Mt 26^{57}, Mk 14^{55} 15^1, Lk 22^{66}, Jn 11^{47}), as well as on other occasions in the early days of Christianity (Ac 4^{15} $5^{22ff.}$ $6^{12ff.}$ 22^{30} $23^{1ff.}$ 24^{20}). Jesus Himself once (Mt 5^{22}) names the Sanhedrin as the tribunal called on to give judgment in the case of capital offences. In Josephus' record of the events that occurred in the times of the last procurators and during the war against Rome, the Sanhedrin is mentioned sometimes as *συνέδριον* and sometimes as *βουλή*. Or he speaks, as is almost his uniform practice in his autobiography, of the *κοινὸν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν* (*Vita* 12. 13. 38. 49. 70), or, shortly, *τὸ κοινόν* (*ib.* 52. 60), meaning by this especially the Sanhedrin. It was the latter that during the first years of the war with Rome guided affairs and organized the struggle. But when the Zealots seized the reins of power in the besieged Jerusalem, they no doubt put the Sanhedrin aside. In order to procure a sentence of death upon a man who had incurred their displeasure, the Zealots assembled *ad hoc* a tribunal of 70, in which Josephus (*BJ* IV. v. 4) sees a caricature of the regular court. Amongst the traditions relating to the melancholy events connected with the fall of the Jewish State, we read not only of the destruction of the Temple but of the 'cessation of the Sanhedrin' (*Sota* ix. end; *Echa rabbathi* on La 5^{15}). 'With it,' we are told, 'ceased the joyous song of the feasts.'

4. As the Jewish people itself, immediately after the destruction of Jerusalem, began a new life in Palestine under new conditions, so also the Sanhedrin of Jerusalem experienced a kind of resurrection. At Jabneh (Jamnia) an assembly of teachers of the Law constituted itself and regarded itself as the continuation of the Great Sanhedrin. In the first instance a university or academy, but then an assembly which deliberated, which interpreted the laws of the Jewish religion, and thus became really a legislative and judicial body,—this new Sanhedrin, as constituted at Jamnia, had many points of close contact with the old council of Jerusalem. And when Jamnia ceased to be the central point of Jewish scribism, the Sanhedrin migrated—so the tradition expressed it (*Rosh hashana* 31*a b*, upon the authority of R. Jochanan, † 279)—to other places, till it settled down at Tiberias. This notion of the persistence of the Sanhedrin even after the destruction of Jerusalem, and of its continuance in the high schools of Palestine, has largely influenced the traditions about the Sanhedrin. What was true of the new institution was transferred to the ancient one, and the historical picture of the latter was thus essentially changed. Yet it may be assumed, on

the other hand, that faithful adherence to tradition about the ancient Sanhedrin secured the retention in the new body of many peculiarities of the institution as it had existed in its last decades. In this way even the statements about the Sanhedrin preserved in Tannaite tradition and in halachic theory may be treated as historical evidence. It is hard, to be sure, to bring this evidence into harmony with the statements of Josephus and the NT, but all the same it is to these first-named witnesses that we owe our acquaintance with most of the features in the picture we are to draw of the character and activity of the Sanhedrin.

5. In distinction from the lesser courts of justice which were found in all the cities of the Jews' country, the Sanhedrin at Jerusalem was called the Great Sanhedrin (סנהדרין גדולה or סנהדרי גדולה, the same as בית דין גדול). The Mishna (*Sanhed.* i. 6) says on this point: 'There was a great Sanhedrin of 71 members and a little Sanhedrin of 23.' According to the Tannaite Jose b. Chalaftha, well known as a chronologist and a source of historical information, there were in Jerusalem itself, besides the Great Sanhedrin, other two little *synedria.* This statement, which is coupled with information about the activity of the Sanhedrin (Tosefta, *Chagiga* ii. 9, and *Sanhed.* vii. 1; Jerus. *Sanhed.* 19*c*; Bab. *Sanhed.* 88*b*), agrees with the anonymous statement of the Mishna (*Sanhed.* xi. 2) and the Sifrê (on Dt 17^{8}, § 152).

iii. PLACE OF MEETING.—The seats of the two lesser courts of justice of Jerusalem are specified in the above passages as, respectively, 'the entrance of the Temple mount' [in one version 'the Temple mount'], and 'the entrance of the Temple court' [in one version 'of the Chêl,' *Middoth* ii. 3]. The legend of the destruction of Jerusalem (*Echa rab.* Prooem. n. 23, *ib.* on La 2^{2} and 4^{16}; *Ḳohel. rab.* on Ec 3^{16}; Bab. *Gittin* 57*b*) also speaks of the great and the little Sanhedrin.—As the seat of the Great Sanhedrin, the Tannaite tradition (besides the above-cited passages, see Mishna, *Peah* ii. 6, *Eduyoth* vii. 4) names 'the Hall of Hewn Stone' (לשכת הגזית), which, according to *Middoth* v. 4, was on the south side of the great court. This hall served the priests also for the disposing by lot of their functions (Mishna, *Tamid* ii. end; Tosefta, *Yoma* ii. 10; Bab. *Yoma* 25*a*), and as the place for the recitation of the *Shema'* (*Tamid* iv. end).

According to a *baraitha* of the Bab. Talmud (*Yoma* 25*a*) the 'Hall of Hewn Stone' was in the form of a 'great basilica.' But this statement may have arisen from the description of the basilica at Alexandria in which the Sanhedrin there held its sittings (Tos. *Sukka* iv. 6; Bab. *Sukka* 53*b*). Abayi, a Bab. Amora of the 4th cent., inferred from the statements about the use of the Hall of Hewn Stone, that the latter lay half on sacred ground and half outside it. In any case the Hall must be thought of as within the Temple area, and the view of Schürer (*GJV*^{3} ii. 311) that הגזית means the ξυστός and לשכת הגזית the hall by the *Xystus*, and that the latter is identical with the βουλή mentioned by Josephus (*BJ* v. iv. 2), cannot hold ground. Josephus gives in this passage the situation of the place where the 'council' (Sanhedrin) held its sittings during the last years of the Jewish State. But, according to a tradition which is to be regarded as in its kernel true, during the last years of Jerusalem the sittings of the Sanhedrin were no longer held in the Hall of Hewn Stone, but were removed from it to a place called the 'trade hall' (חָנוּת, *var. lec.* plur. חנויות 'trade halls'), and from there again to 'Jerusalem' (*Shabbath* 15*a*; *Rosh hashana* 31*a*; *Sanhed.* 41*a*; *Aboda zara* 8*b*). According to this authority the last sittings of the Sanhedrin were held outside the Temple area, in the city itself, and it is to this situation that Josephus' words about the βουλή in the neighbourhood of the ξυστός refer.

iv. COMPOSITION OF THE COURT.—1. The Great Sanhedrin consisted, according to the above-cited testimony of the Mishna, of 71 members. It is called on that account סנהדרין של שבעים ואחד (*Shebuoth* ii. 2), or בית דין של שבעים ואחד (Jose b. Chalaftha, *l.c.*; cf. also Mishna, *Sanhed.* i. 5; Tos. *Sanhed.* iii. 4). The derivation of this number from that of the 70 elders of Nu 11^{16}, which with Moses amounted to 71, appears to be old (Mishna, *Sanhed.* i. 6; Sifrê on *Numbers*, § 92). It is questionable whether it was this derivation that determined the number of members, or whether the number already established found its sanction by thus going back to the Bible narrative. According to the above-cited statement about the basilica of Alexandria, there was in that city also a Sanhedrin of 71 members. The same number was retained at Jamnia, for, as Simon b. Azzai (before A.D. 150) relates, there were 72 elders present, when Eleazar b. Azarja was associated with Gamaliel II. as president (Mishna, *Zebachim* i. 3; *Yadaim* iii. 5, iv. 2), *i.e.* one more than the usual number. An isolated tradition, from Jehudah b. Ilai, fixes the total membership at 70 (Mishna, *Sanhed.* i. 6; Tos. *Sanhed.* iii. 9), and the Great Sanhedrin is called accordingly ס׳ של שבעים (Sifrê on *Numbers*, § 92). Josephus likewise chose 70 of the elders of the land to constitute the supreme authority in the province of Galilee, which had been assigned to him (*BJ* II. xx. v); and in the same way the court set up by the Zealots (see above, ii. 3) numbered 70 members. The vacillation of our authorities between the numbers 70 and 71 is no doubt due to the circumstance that the president might be regarded as belonging to the total number or not.

2. We have no positive information as to who composed the Sanhedrin. The halachic tradition on this point must be regarded as theory, derived only in part from the actual condition of things. The members of the Sanhedrin were called זְקֵנִים 'elders' (=πρεσβύτεροι), a name which gained its special sense from the fact that the Sanhedrin was regarded as an institution set up by Moses when he nominated the 70 elders (Nu 11). It is members of the Sanhedrin that are meant when it is said that the preparing of the high priest for his functions on the Day of Atonement is to be attended to by זקנים מזקני בית דין (*Yoma* i. 3, 5). Again, זָקֵן is doubtless to be taken in its special sense of member of the Sanhedrin, when the epithet הַזָּקֵן is applied to Shammai, Hillel, and Hillel's grandson Gamaliel I. In the NT the members of the Sanhedrin (πρεσβύτεροι, or πρεσ. τοῦ λαοῦ) are often named along with the chief priests (ἀρχιερεῖς) and the scribes (γραμματεῖς), for the membership of the Sanhedrin was recruited from these two leading classes (Schürer, *l.c.* p. 200). Josephus, in whose writings the Sanhedrin is frequently called βουλή, also calls its members βουλευταί (*BJ* II. xvii. 1). This designation probably accounts for one of the halls of the Temple being called לשכת בולווטי 'hall of the βουλευταί.'

The same hall afterwards bore the name לשכת פרהדרין 'hall of the πρόεδροι' (Mishna, *Yoma* i. 1). This last title, which has been handed down by the Tannaite Jehudah b. Ilai (Bab. *Yoma* 8*b*), is quite worthy of credit, and it supports the suggestion of Schürer that by the πρόεδροι should be understood the highest in rank of the members of the Sanhedrin, the 'first ten' of whom we hear under the procurator Festus (*Ant.* XX. viii. 11, τοὺς πρώτους δέκα; cf. Schürer, *l.c.* p. 201 f.). Upon the above-cited authority of Jehudah b. Ilai we are told that the πρόεδροι were changed every twelve months, so that the rank of 'first ten' was enjoyed by different members of the Sanhedrin every year. If we, further, take into account that the institution of the πρόεδροι was of late origin, we can readily understand how the above change of name for the hall also came into use. The circumstance that the 'hall of the πρόεδροι' was the private residence of the high priest is not difficult to explain, considering the relation of the high priest to the Sanhedrin. The βουλευταί, afterwards the πρόεδροι, may have assembled in the house of the high priest (cf. Mt 26^{57}, Mk 14^{53}) before taking their places in the public sitting of the Sanhedrin.

3. Of distinctions of rank within the Sanhedrin we hear nothing, apart from the above-mentioned conjecture. Neither are we aware on what principle the members were nominated or how the Sanhedrin filled up vacancies in its number. Only

two, divergent, statements have come down to us regarding the latter point, and of these one can refer only to the period preceding the destruction of Jerusalem, whereas the other has in view rather the school of Jamnia and its successors. The first statement is found in the above-named narrative of Jose b. Chalaftha, and in an anonymous precept of the Tosefta (*Shekalim*, end), according to which a seat in the Sanhedrin is the last step in the career of judge. Any one who distinguished himself as a judge in his place of residence was advanced to be a member first of the one, then of the other, of the two lesser *synedria* at Jerusalem, and was chosen finally to be a member of the Great Sanhedrin. According to the other statement (Mishna, *Sanhed.* iv. 4; Tos. *Sanhed.* viii. 2), in front of the members of the Sanhedrin sat in three rows the non-ordained scribes, and from among these any vacancies in the membership were filled up, the requisite number being chosen and ordained according to a fixed order. It is plain that these two accounts of the filling up of vacancies relate to different periods of time. In the first, which has in view the period before the destruction of Jerusalem, there is no mention at all of the ordination of the new members, but we find the expression הושיב, which means 'cause to sit,' implying simply that the new member had a seat assigned him in the Sanhedrin. This is quite intelligible, for, according to the view we are considering, those who became members of the Sanhedrin had previously officiated in the lower courts, and were thus ordained already.

4. As to the *qualifications* for membership in the Sanhedrin, the oft-cited narrative of Jose b. Chalaftha gives a list of the personal qualities which the candidate for this high rank must possess. He had to be learned (חכם), humble (עניו; Bab. *Sanhed.* 88*a* שפל ברך), popular with his fellow-men (רוח הבריות נוחה הימנו). In the different versions of the passage there are yet further moral qualities specified. In the ancient exposition of Nu 11^{16} (Sifrê, § 92) it is inferred from the word איש ('man') that the members must be perfect men: learned, courageous, strong, and modest. Jochanan, the Palestinian Amora of the 3rd cent., states the qualifications of a member of the Sanhedrin thus: tall stature, learning, dignified bearing, advanced age. Further, in order to be able to meet the demands of his office, he must be acquainted with foreign languages and initiated into the mysteries of the art of magic (Bab. *Sanhed.* 17*b*).

As the high court of justice described in 2 Ch 19^8 consisted of 'Levites, priests, and heads of Israelitish families,' so in the ancient exposition of Dt 17^9 (Sifrê, *ad loc.*, § 15 *ad init.*) it is stated that the court dealing with law cases must have priests and Levites amongst its members, but that even without these it might be legitimately composed. A rule of the Mishna (*Kiddushin* iv. 5) is to the effect that an inquiry as to purity of family descent is not to be carried beyond the Sanhedrin, since no one can be a member of it whose origin is not unquestionable. It is actually prescribed in another rule (*Sanhed.* iv. 2) that judges in criminal cases, including therefore members of the Sanhedrin, are to be only priests, Levites, or Israelites whose daughters may be married by priests.

v. The President of the Sanhedrin.—1. On this point the tradition-literature contains statements which it is difficult or impossible to reconcile with the reports of Josephus and the NT. The last are meagre, indeed, and do not give a distinct picture of the method of procedure in the Sanhedrin and of the action of its president. But from Josephus we learn that in B.C. 47 the Hasmonæan high priest and prince Hyrcanus II. called the Sanhedrin together and directed the procedure in the case of Herod (*Ant.* XIV. ix. 4 f.), and that in A.D. 62 the Sadducean high priest Ananus II. summoned the Sanhedrin, in order to have some sentences of death passed (*ib.* XX. ix. 1). At the trial of Jesus, the high priest Caiaphas appears at the head of the Sanhedrin (Mt 26^{57}), as does the high priest Ananias at the trial of St. Paul (Ac 24^1). Of such a function belonging to the high priest (cf. also 2 Ch 19^{11}) there is not the slightest trace in the tradition-literature. On the contrary, it is assumed as an axiom that the Sanhedrin had its own president, making up the number of members to 71 (see above). The simplest designation of the president is ראש בית דין 'head of the house of justice' (*Rosh hashana* ii. 7, iv. 4), which in the later haggadic literature is represented by ראש של סנהדרין (*Pesikta rabbathi*, c. xi. p. 43*b*), ראשי סנהדרין (*Tanchuma*, ed. Buber, i. 175), ראשי סנהדראות (*Esther rab.* on 1^{13}). But the title that must be regarded as peculiar to the president is אב בית דין 'father of the house of justice.' As head of the supreme court, the *'Ab Bêth Dîn* is once named after the king (*Yoma* vii. 5), once after the 'prince' (*Taanith* ii. 1), by which last title is meant the head of the State, who, after the usage of the Pentateuch and especially of Ezekiel, is frequently called in the halachic literature נָשִׂיא 'prince'; once it is expressly said, with allusion to Lv 4^{22}, ואיזהו הנשיא זה המלך (*Horayoth* iii. 3). Now, remarkably enough, the same word נשיא became the title of the president of the Sanhedrin. The sitting arrangements of the Sanhedrin are thus described (Tos. *Sanhed.* viii. 1; Jerus. *Sanhed.* 19*c*): 'The Sanhedrin sat in a semicircle [lit. 'like the half of a circular threshing-floor']; in the middle sat the *Nasi*, and the elders [*i.e.* the members of the Sanhedrin] sat upon his right hand and upon his left.' This statement appears to relate to the Sanhedrin of Jamnia, for it is followed immediately by the reminiscences of a teacher of the Law regarding that Sanhedrin. Eleazar b. Zadok reports: 'When R. Gamaliel [Gamaliel II.] held the presidency at Jamnia, my father and another sat to the right, the others to the left.'

2. It is not till the post-Hadrianic era that the *'Ab Bêth Dîn* appears side by side with the *Nasi* as joint-president. Jochanan († 279) records—doubtless on the basis of trustworthy tradition—that R. Simon b. Gamaliel (the son of Gamaliel II.) was Nasi, while R. Nathan was 'Ab Bêth Dîn (Bab. *Horayoth* 13*b*). This double presidency, to designate which the two titles of the president of the Sanhedrin are utilized, is carried back, in a quite isolated notice of the Mishna (*Chagiga* ii. 2), to the time when the Temple still existed. We are told there of a controversy about a religious law which went on for five generations, always between two teachers of the Law. The five pairs of teachers named (the last pair being Hillel and Shammai) are the same who, according to the Mishna (*Aboth* i. 1), were the bearers of the tradition, and who are once (*Peah* ii. 5) summarily designated, as such, זוגות 'the Pairs.' That these pairs were the most noted teachers of their time, the Pharisaic heads of the schools of the 2nd and 1st cent. B.C., is known to us also from other traditions about most of them. But the above notice, according to which the first of the pairs was always Nasi and the second 'Ab Bêth Dîn, must be regarded as a transferring of later relations to early times. If 'pair' had the meaning attributed to it by the author of the notice, it would be incomprehensible, apart from anything else, why the series of pairs came to an end with Hillel and Shammai. Nevertheless, the 'Pairs' belonged to the leading members of the Sanhedrin, as is witnessed in the case, for instance, of Simon b. Shetach, from other quarters. One of the pairs, Shemayah and Abtalion, is mentioned also by Josephus as belonging to the Sanhedrin (*Ant.* XV. i. 1, where they appear as Pollion and Sameas).

3. Yet another transference of later relations to

early times took place with respect to the title *Nasi*. This title, which from the second half of the 2nd cent. A.D. onwards had become hereditary, was also attributed to the forefathers of its hereditary bearers. It was said (Bab. *Shabbath* 15*a*) that Hillel, his son Simon, Simon's son Gamaliel, and Gamaliel's son Simon, held the position of Nasi during the last century of the second Temple (B.C. 30–A.D. 70); and the appointment of Hillel to be Nasi, *i.e.* president of the Sanhedrin, is described in a narrative emanating from the Tannaite period (Tos. *Pesachim* iv. end; Jerus. *Pesach.* 33*a*; Bab. *Pesach.* 66*a*). Both this narrative and the above chronological notice, apart from the title *Nasi*, have a historical foundation. For, although we hear nothing elsewhere of Hillel's son, we know that Hillel himself, as well as his grandson Gamaliel I. and his great-grandson Simon b. Gamaliel I., were amongst the leading men in Jerusalem. The last named was one of the directors of the war against the Romans, as we learn from Josephus (*BJ* IV. iii. 9; *Vita*, 38), who, moreover, mentions that he was descended from an illustrious family. Hillel and Gamaliel I. are known not only as notable scribes, but also as the founders of institutions and enactments, which prove that they must have played a leading rôle in the supreme court, the Sanhedrin. That Gamaliel I., at whose feet Saul of Tarsus, the future Apostle Paul, sat as a pupil (Ac 22^3), took the lead in the Sanhedrin, may be seen from the well-known narrative of Ac 5^{34-39}. Of course, all this does not prove that Hillel and his successors were presidents of the Sanhedrin. The statements of Josephus and the NT about the presidency of the high priest are too definite to be got over. But, on the other hand, we may not summarily reject the supposition that in a body, composed for the most part of scribes and called on to decide questions which demanded an expert acquaintance with the Law, the heads of the scribal body took the first place side by side with the high priests, who were only exceptionally scribes as well, and that perhaps the Pharisaic heads of schools were even formally invested with a certain rank in the Sanhedrin, approaching closely to that of president.

In this way, as a matter of fact, the title 'father of the house of justice' (*'Ab Bêth Dîn*) may, as has been held by many investigators, have been in use even at a time when the president proper of the Sanhedrin was still the high priest. On closer consideration one cannot escape the impression that neither at the time of the Hasmonæan high priests nor at that of the high priests appointed by Herod and by the Roman procurators, could the Sanhedrin have been without a guidance not identical with the presidency of the high priest. The school traditions regarding the position held by the Pharisaic school heads in the Sanhedrin possess thus a kernel of historical truth, even if they are adapted to later conditions and artificially constructed.

4. Another question is how the term *Nasi*, which is used for the head of the State, could come to be the title of the president of the Sanhedrin. Two hypotheses are possible. (*a*) The title may go back to the time when the high priest who as such presided over the Sanhedrin was also actually prince (נָשִׂיא) or head of the State, *i.e.* to the time of the Hasmonæan rulers. Or (*b*) the title 'prince' may have been given, after the destruction of Jerusalem, to the president of the Sanhedrin at Jamnia, Gamaliel II., in order, as it were, that at least in the naming of the head of the highest authority which had arisen from the ruins of the national independence, there might be preserved a symbol of that independence. The second hypothesis is the more likely, because the first would imply that the title *Nasi* continued unused during more than a whole century until it was revived in the way indicated in the second explanation, after the fall of Jerusalem.

5. The assumption of the title *Nasi* by Gamaliel II. and then by his son Simon was probably connected with the belief that the family of Hillel was descended from the Davidic royal house. There was thus coupled with the title in an esoteric kind of way a recollection of the former princes of the house of David. It was not till the time of Gamaliel II.'s grandson Jehudah I., who was called *Nasi* κατ' ἐξοχήν, that the title became the official designation of the head, recognized even by the Roman government, of the Jews in Palestine, *i.e.* of their patriarch. Its meaning as president of the Sanhedrin then fell into the second place.

VI. FUNCTIONS AND PROCEDURE.—1. The Great Sanhedrin at Jerusalem was primarily the supreme court of justice, which had either the sole right of judgment in certain specially important matters, or was appealed to on questions upon which the lower courts were unable to come to a decision. As to this last point, we learn from the oft-cited report of Jose b. Chalaftha (Tos. *Sanhed.* vii. 1 and parall.) the following: 'When the first competent tribunal failed to come to a finding, the litigant, accompanied by the most distinguished member of this court, betook himself to Jerusalem to submit his case in the first place to the two lesser *synedria* (see above). If neither of these could come to a decision, the question came for final judgment before the Great Sanhedrin.' There can be no doubt that a kernel of historical truth underlies this description of the train of judicial procedure (see also Mishna, *Sanhed.* xi. 2).—In regard to cases reserved for the sole competence of the Great Sanhedrin, the Mishna (*Sanhed.* i. 5) enumerates the following points upon which only the 'tribunal of the seventy-one' was entitled to judge and pronounce a verdict: (1) A process affecting a tribe; (2) the process against a false prophet; (3) a process affecting the high priest; (4) the sending out of the army to a non-compulsory war; (5) the extension of the city of Jerusalem; (6) the extension of the Temple courts; (7) the appointment of *synedria* over the tribes; (8) the judging of a city which had lapsed into idolatry (see Dt $13^{13\text{ff.}}$). With reference to the fourth point, it is enacted also amongst the decrees affecting the king, that the latter is to lead the army out to war only upon the authority of a decision of the Great Sanhedrin (Mishna, *Sanhed.* ii. 4). The eight points bear, indeed, a theoretical stamp, and even presuppose the continued existence of the tribes (the first of them has for background the narrative of Jg 20 f.); but, on the other hand, they witness that, even in halachic theory, the Great Sanhedrin figures not merely as a court of justice, but also as the body that was called on to give decisions in State matters and which exercised administrative authority, in the fashion exhibited to us by the statements and narratives, meagre as they are, contained in other sources. A Tannaite rule (Tos. *Sanhed.* iii. 4) prescribes that the installation of a king and of a high priest is to belong only to the tribunal of the seventy-one.

2. Cases affecting life and death came, according to the Mishna (*Sanhed.* i. 4), before the little Sanhedrin (of 23 members). As a matter of fact, in important instances the Great Sanhedrin was called together to pronounce judgment. According to a Tannaite tradition (Jerus. *Sanhed.* 18*a*, 24*b*), the right of judging in matters of life and death was taken from Israel (*i.e.* from the Jewish courts) forty years before the destruction of the Temple. 'Forty' here is a round number and unhistorical, but the circumstance related by this tradition and confirmed by the Gospel accounts of the trial of Jesus is historical, and is connected with the restrictions imposed on the competence of the Jewish courts, and of the Great Sanhedrin in particular, in the time of the Roman procurators.

3. The decisions of the Great Sanhedrin 'from which went forth direction for all Israel,' were of inviolable force, and binding upon all teachers of the Law and all judges. Any one of these who gave a judgment in opposition to its decrees was called a 'rebellious elder' (זקן ממרה), and was condemned by the Great Sanhedrin (*Sanhed.* xi. 2–4). The rules for dealing with occasional errors of the Sanhedrin in giving decisions or in interpreting the Law are casuistically exhibited in the first chapter of the Mishnic tract *Horayoth.*

4. The Great Sanhedrin of Jerusalem sat in the Hall of Hewn Stone (see above, iii.). According to the report of Jose b. Chalaftha, it held its sittings from the time of the offering of the daily morning sacrifice till that of the evening sacrifice (Tos. *Sanhed.* vii. 1, and parall.). On the Sabbath and on feast days no sittings were held, but the members of the Sanhedrin assembled in the school situated on the temple mount (*ib.*; in Bab. *Sanhed.* 88*b*, instead of the 'school' [בית המדרש שבהר בית] it is the place called *Chêl*, where at other times [see above, iii.] one of the two lesser *synedria* held its sittings). The members of the Sanhedrin sat in a semicircle, that they might see one another while deliberating (Mishna, *Sanhed.* iv. 2; Tos. *Sanhed.* viii. 1). 'Two clerks of court (סופרי הדיינין) stood before them, the one to the right and the other to the left, and took down the words of those who gave their voice for acquittal and of those who were for condemnation' (Mishna, *Sanhed.* iv. 2). According to Jehudah b. Ilai (*ib.*) there were three clerks: one took down the votes for acquittal, one those for condemnation, while the third took down both (in order to check the lists of the other two). In the report of Jose b. Chalaftha it is said that, when a question came before the great Sanhedrin, and the reply could not be given on the ground of a tradition, it was decided by the votes of the majority. As to the mode of deliberating and voting and the distinctions which were observed according to the nature of the subject under consideration, tradition contains a multitude of rules which, it may safely be inferred, are based upon the actual praxis of the Great Sanhedrin of Jerusalem. Some of these rules may be cited:—In questions of civil right and in those affecting the Ceremonial Law, the taking of the vote began with the principal member of the Sanhedrin; in judgments affecting life and death it began 'at the side,' *i.e.* with the younger members, in order that their vote might not be influenced by that of the leaders (Mishna, *Sanhed.* iv. 2; Tos. *Sanhed.* vii. 2). For a judgment affecting life and death an attendance of at least 23 members was required. If the result of the vote showed a majority of only one for 'guilty,' the court had to be increased by two successively till the number of 71 was reached. Only when the full number was present, was a majority of one (36 votes against 35) sufficient to procure a condemnation (Mishna, *Sanhed.* iv. 5).

vii. LATEST HISTORY OF THE SANHEDRIN.—The Great Sanhedrin of Jerusalem, as we have already said, revived, after the fall of Jerusalem, in the schools of Palestine. The activity of the college of scribes, in which the tradition of the Pharisaic schools was perpetuated and underwent vigorous development, attached itself to the work of the defunct supreme court of Jerusalem, and it strengthened its authority by adopting the name and the constitution of the Great Sanhedrin. Down to the 5th cent., *i.e.* down to the cessation of the office of patriarch or Nasi, which was hereditary in the house of Hillel, there existed in the Holy Land an institution which could be regarded as a continuation of the Great Sanhedrin. After Babylon became the one centre of Jewish learning in the time of the Gaons, the name 'Sanhedrin' was given to the most eminent members of the so-called *Kalla* assemblies, the 70 scholars who sat in the first seven rows and who at all events were chosen upon a fixed principle.

Even recent times have witnessed a revival of the name of the ancient Sanhedrin. In the year 1807, at the summons of Napoleon I. there met in Paris an assembly of representatives of Judaism, which at the invitation of the Emperor himself took the name 'Sanhedrin,' and constituted itself upon the traditional model of the Great Sanhedrin of Jerusalem. Apart from a few declarations as to the relation of the Jewish religion to State law and of Jews to non-Jews, this assembly has left no permanent traces.

LITERATURE.—In all accounts of Jewish history at the time of the second temple, as well as in the Histories of NT times, the Sanhedrin is treated of in more or less detail. The sources are the writings of Josephus and the NT on the one hand, and the Jewish tradition-literature on the other. Amongst the latter the name *Sanhedrin* is attached to the tracts of the Mishna and Tosefta dealing with justice and its administration, as well as to the corresponding tracts of the Jerus. and Bab. Talmuds. Of the Literature cited by Schürer (*GJV*^{3} ii. 188 f.) the following works and treatises, dealing specially with the Sanhedrin, may he selected for mention: Selden, *de Synedriis et Præfecturis juridicis veterum Ebræorum*, Lond. 1650–55; Sachs, 'Ueher die Zeit der Entstehung des Synhedrins' (in Frankel's *Zeitschrift*, 1845, pp. 301–312); Levy, 'Die Præsidentur im Synedrium' (in Frankel's *Monatsschrift*, 1855); Langen, 'Das jüdische Synedrium und die römische Procuratur in Judäa' (in *Tübinger Theologische Quartalschrift*, 1862, pp. 411–463); Kuenen, 'Ueber die Zusammensetzung des Sanhedrin' (*Gesam. Abhandl. z. bibl. Wissensch.*, Budde's tr. pp. 49–81); D. Hoffmann, 'Der oberste Gerichtshof in der Stadt des Heiligthums' (*Programm des Rabbiner-Seminares zu Berlin* for 1877–78); Jelski, *Die innere Einrichtung des grossen Synedrions zu Jerusalem und ihre Fortsetzung im späteren palästinensischen Lehrhause bis zur Zeit des R. Jehuda ha-Nasi*, Breslau, 1894. Not mentioned hy Schürer is a work in Hebrew hy the well-known Jakob Reifmann, entitled סנהדרין (61 pages), puhlished at Berditschew in 1888.

W. BACHER.

SANSANNAH (סַנְסַנָּה; B Σεθεννάκ, A Σανσάννα; *Sensenna*).—A town in the Negeb (RV 'the South') allotted to Judah (Jos 15^{31}). It is not mentioned amongst the towns in the Negeb that belonged to Simeon. But, comparing the list in Jos 15^{31} with the parallel lists in Jos 19^5 and 1 Ch 4^{31}, it will be seen that its place is taken in the one case by Hazar-susah, and in the other by Hazar-susim. There is no indication of its position, a question upon which authorities differ. Tristram identifies it with *Beit Susîn* on the road from Gaza to Egypt; Schwarz (*Heil. Land*, p. 72), with *Simsim* on a height N.E. of Gaza; and Guérin, with *Sûsieh*, E.N.E. of *es-Semû'a* (Eshtemoa).

C. W. WILSON.

SAPH (סַף; B Σάφ, A Σεφέ), called in Chronicles Sippai (סִפַּי; B Σαφούτ, A Σεφφί).—One of four Philistine champions of whom it is related that they were born to the giant in Gath, and that they were slain by David's heroes (2 S 21^{18}, 1 Ch 20^4). There is no difficulty in supposing that he was a son of the Goliath whom David slew, but it is perhaps more natural to understand the term 'the giant' as a collective, making him merely of the same giant stock with Goliath. See GIANT.

W. J. BEECHER.

SAPHAT.—**1.** (B Σαφάγ, A Σαφάτ, AV Sabat) 1 Es 5^{34}. His sons are named among the sons of Solomon's servants who returned with Zerubbabel. There is no corresponding name in the lists of Ezr and Neh. **2.** (B* om., A Σαφάτ, B$^{ab\ mg}$ Ἀσάφ) 1 Es 5^9=Shephatiah, Ezr 2^4.

SAPHATIAS (B Σοφοτίας, A om.), 1 Es 8^{34}=Shephatiah (cf. Ezr 8^8); called Saphat in 5^9.

SAPHUTHI (B Σαφυεί, A Σαφυθί, AV Sapheth), 1 Es 5^{33}=Shephatiah, one of the sons of Solomon's servants, Ezr 2^{57}.

SAPPHIRA (Σαπφείρη).—The wife of Ananias. She fell dead, like her husband, at the rebuke of St. Peter, Ac $5^{1ff.}$. See ANANIAS, No. 7.

SAPPHIRE (Heb. סַפִּיר, LXX σάπφειρος, Vulg. *sapphirus*) is mentioned eleven times in the OT, once in the Apocr. (To 13^{16}), and once in the NT (Rev 21^{19}). It is one of the stones in the high priest's breastplate (Ex 28^{18} 39^{11}), and one of the foundations of the New Jerusalem (Rev 21^{19}), the latter thought arising, no doubt, from Is 54^{11}. It was of considerable value (Job 28^{16}, Ezk 28^{13}). From it was fashioned the throne of Ezekiel's visions (Ezk 1^{26} 10^{1}; cf. also Ex 24^{10}, where the pavement under the feet of the God of Israel is of 'sapphire'). The consistency with which the VSS adhere to a uniform transliteration of the name is remarkable; Ezk 28^{13} is no exception, for although סַפִּיר is here seventh in order, and σάπφειρος fifth, this is due to the Greek following the arrangement of Ex 28^{18}.

The etymology of the Heb. word throws no light on the nature of the stone. Probably סַפִּיר is Semitic, but neither of the roots ספר or שׁפר tells us anything as to colour or structure. It is, however, difficult to believe that a sapphire was one of the gems in the high priest's breastplate, for this stone is not easy to engrave, the diamond being the only stone that will scratch it. A similar objection might be brought against the *lapis lazuli* [Petrie's identification in STONES (PRECIOUS)], which was not deemed very suitable for engraving because of the hard points in it. But the objection has not quite so much force in this case; the lapis lazuli was sometimes engraved. And there are good reasons for thinking that this is the stone referred to in the Bible. Theophrastus (*Lap.* 23) evidently has in view the deep-blue mineral which is 'usually mottled with white, and contains gold-like specks of iron pyrites,' when he describes the σάπφειρος, ὥσπερ χρυσόπαστος. Pliny (*HN* 37, 119), writing of the *cyanos*, states: *inest ei aliquando et aureus pulvis qualis sappiris*; by the *sappirus* he clearly means the lapis lazuli. And if we identify it with the Heb. סַפִּיר, the requirements of all the biblical passages will be fairly met.

Two varieties of lapis lazuli, a natural and an artificial, were known to the ancients. The former came from Cyprus and Scythia, and was 'a silicate and sulphate of calcium, sodium, and aluminium.' The latter was made in Egypt: it was an alkaline silicate, coloured deep-blue with carbonate of copper; scarabs and signets were made of it, and it was used as a pigment.

If the sapphire of our Bibles does not correspond with the gem now known by this name, it yet remains probable that this gem is once mentioned. RVm suggests *sapphire* in place of *jacinth* (ὑάκινθος) in Rev 21^{20}. Middleton (*Engraved Gems*, p. 132) and King (*Antique Gems*, p. 46) are in favour of the identification. Pliny (*HN* 37, 125) seems at first sight to be against it, for he writes of the *fulgor violaceus* of the *hyacinthos*; but his view is not really adverse, for the less valuable sapphires are amethyst by artificial light. King (pp. 51, 399) quotes the lines of Marbodus as recognizing with astonishing clearness, considering his date, the fact that sapphires, rubies, and Oriental topazes are all of them varieties of the same mineral, namely, the hyacinth—

> 'Three various kinds the skilled as *Hyacinths* name,
> Varying in colour and unlike in fame:
> One, like pomegranate flowers, a fiery blaze:
> And one the yellow citron's hue displays.
> One charms with paley blue the gazer's eye
> Like the mild tint that decks the northern sky.'

The best sapphires are now obtained from Ceylon. The Greeks wore these stones as jewels. A few engraved ones have survived, mainly from the age of imperial Rome, but the gem was too hard to be much used for this purpose. Cf. art. JACINTH in vol. ii.

J. TAYLOR.

SARABIAS (Σαραβίας), 1 Es 9^{48} = Sherebiah, Neh 8^{7}.

SARAH, also (to Gn 17^{15}) **SARAI** ('Sarah' means 'princess,' 1 K 11^{3} *al.*; the meaning of 'Sarai' is doubtful: perhaps [Olsh. *Lehrb.* § 110; Nöldeke, *ZDMG*, 1886, p. 183, 1888, p. 484; König, *Lehrg.* ii. 1, 427] it is an older form of 'Sarah,' formed with the unusual fem. term. *-ay*).*—**1.** The wife of Abraham, first mentioned in Gn 11^{29} (J). Sarai's parentage is not given: according to 20^{12} (E), she was Abraham's half-sister, the daughter of his father, but not the daughter of his mother.† The incidents of her life have already been narrated at some length in connexion with ABRAHAM, HAGAR, ISAAC, and ISHMAEL; so that a *résumé* will be sufficient here. Sarai accompanied Abraham into Canaan (12^{5}), and went down with him into Egypt (12^{10-20}: J): it was on this occasion that, fearing lest her beauty might indirectly cost him his life, Abraham passed her off as his sister, and, being admired before the Pharaoh by his courtiers, she was sent for and taken into his palace. This was in accordance with the custom, described as still prevalent among Oriental princes, of arbitrarily selecting beautiful women to be added to their harems.‡ Abraham's timidity and want of candour might have involved him in serious consequences; but the Pharaoh contented himself with rebuking him for his untruthfulness, and appointing an escort to conduct both him and Sarai out of the country (v.^{20}; cf. 18^{16} 31^{27}).

From 12^{4}, compared with 17^{17}, it appears that Sarai was at this time at least 65 years of age; and it has often been wondered why Abraham should have been in alarm on the ground stated, and why the Pharaoh should have been attracted by her beauty. The difficulty disappears when it is remembered that the statements about Sarai's age belong to a different document (P) from the one (J) which narrates the visit to Egypt: the author of the latter evidently pictured Sarai as still a young woman. (Cf. for similar cases elsewhere in Genesis, vol. ii. pp. 484 (No. 3), 503^{b}, 532^{b}).

Sarai is next mentioned in ch. 16 (J, except vv.$^{1a. 3. 15f.}$). Being barren (cf. 11^{30}), she induces Abraham to take her handmaid Hagar as a concubine; but when she finds that Hagar 'despises' her, she passionately and unjustly casts the blame upon her husband: 'The wrong done to me be upon thee; J″ judge between me and thee.' Abraham, however, declines to interfere; and bids Sarai herself deal with Hagar as she pleases. Her harsh treatment of her handmaid compels Hagar to take flight; and only the voice of J″'s angel induces her to return, and 'submit' herself to her mistress (see, more fully, HAGAR and ISHMAEL).

In the existing text of Genesis, the promise of a son for Sarai is first distinctly given in ch. 17 (P), vv.$^{15-21}$. Her name is changed to *Sarah* (v.^{15}); she is to be blessed, and a son is to be born to her;

---

* Found in certain words in the cognate languages. See Olsh. and König, *ll.cc.*; Nöld. *Syr. Gr.* § 83; Wright, *Arab. Gram.* i. § 295, *Comp. Gram.* 138; Dillm. *Aeth. Gram.* 127*c* (cf. § 120*b* β); Barth, *Nominalbildung*, 385. Sayce's doubts (*HCM* 179) are unfounded. The explanation (Jerome and older scholars) 'my princess' is philologically impossible. The LXX gives for *Sarai* Σαρα, and for *Sarah* Σαρρα.

† Cf. MARRIAGE, vol. iii. p. 267^{b}; W. R. Smith, *Kinship*, 162 f. The tradition (Jos. *Ant.* I. vi. 5, *al.*) that she was the same person as ISCAH has no probability: it can only be reconciled artificially with 20^{12}; and had the writer of 11^{29} identified Sarai with Iscah, he would certainly have worded the verse differently.

‡ There is an incident quoted by Ebers in the 'Tale of the Two Brothers' which partly illustrates this; see Petrie's *Egyptian Tales*, 2nd ser., 1895, pp. 53–55.

'she shall become nations' (cf. v.^{4} 35^{11}); 'kings of peoples shall be from her' (cf. v.^{6} 35^{11}; and see 36^{31}). Abraham 'laughs' in incredulity at the idea of a son being born to him and Sarah in their old age; he fixes his hopes upon Ishmael, but is told that, though Ishmael will become a 'great nation,' the covenant will be established with Isaac (vv.$^{18-21}$). In ch. 18 (J) the promise of a son is again given to Abraham; and when Sarah, overhearing it, 'laughs' inwardly in incredulity, it is repeated to herself (vv.$^{9-15}$). This narrative is in reality not the sequel to the one in ch. 17, but *parallel* to it: 18^{9-15} is clearly written without reference to 17^{15-21}, and the writer is evidently not conscious that a promise of the same kind had already been given.

Ch. 20 (E) describes Sarah's adventure at the court of Abimelech, in Gerar, *i.e.* (Trumbull, Guthe, Dillm., Buhl, p. 89) the Wādy Jerûr, 70 miles S. of Gaza, and 55 miles S.W. of Beersheba. As before (12^{10-20}) in Egypt, Abraham, in fear on account of his own life (v.^{11}), passes Sarah off as his sister: Abimelech takes her, but is warned by God in a dream that she is a married woman; like the Pharaoh ($12^{18f.}$), though in stronger terms, he rebukes Abraham for his deceit (v.^{9}); Abraham excuses (v.^{11}) and defends (v.^{12}) himself; and Abimelech then makes reparation, both to Abraham (v.$^{14f.}$) and to Sarah (v.^{16}), for the injury he has unwittingly done them. The narrative is in substance remarkably similar to those in 12^{10-20} (Abraham and the Pharaoh) and 26^{6-11} (Isaac and Abimelech): it can hardly be doubted that all three are variations of the same fundamental theme,—a popular story told of the patriarchs, and attached sometimes to one and sometimes, at different localities, to another (cf. ABIMELECH, vol. i. p. 9^{a}; ISAAC, vol. ii. p. 484^{b}).

Isaac's birth is narrated in 21^{1-7} (vv.$^{1a.\ 2a}$ J; vv.$^{6.\ 7}$ E; vv.$^{1b.\ 2b-5}$ P). The exclamation in v.^{6} ('God hath prepared laughter for me; every one that heareth will laugh over me') is meant as a third explanation of the name 'Isaac' (cf. 17^{17} in P, 18^{12} in J; and see ISAAC, vol. ii. p. 485, No. 8); v.^{7} the aged mother gives expression to her joyous surprise at the birth of a son. Two or three years afterwards (21^{8}), upon occasion of the family-feast held to celebrate Isaac's weaning, Sarah's jealousy of her handmaid is again aroused; she peremptorily demands the expulsion of both Hagar and Ishmael; and Abraham reluctantly complies (21^{9-14}). Ch. 23 (P) relates the death of Sarah (cf. the allusion of J in 24^{67b}), at the age of 127 years, in Ḳiriath-arbaʽ (Ḥebron), and the purchase by Abraham of a cave in the field of MACHPELAH, 'in front of' MAMRE, in which to bury her (cf. 25^{10} P, 49^{31} P). The only other reference in the OT to Sarah is Is 51^{2}, where she is alluded to as the mother of the chosen race.[*]

Sarah is a typical but not an ideal character. She is a devoted wife and mother; but, at the same time, like many another woman, imperious, hasty in her judgments, and jealous: wrapt up in her husband and her son, she resents the smallest disparagement, or assumption of superiority, on the part of either Hagar or Ishmael, and does not rest satisfied till she finds herself in her home without a rival.

In NT Sarah is mentioned Ro 4^{19} 9^{9} (Gn 18^{14}), He 11^{11} (her faith), 1 P 3^{6} (her conjugal 'obedience' to Abraham, calling him 'lord,' Gn 18^{12}); and the narrative of Sarah and Hagar, and of their respective children, is treated allegorically, as foreshadowing the freedom of Christians, the 'children of promise,' in Gal 4^{21}–5^{1} (cf. HAGAR, vol. ii. p. 278).

2. The daughter of Raguel and wife of Tobias, To $3^{7.\ 17}$ and oft. (LXX Σάρρα). See TOBIT (BOOK OF).

S. R. DRIVER.

SARAIAS.—1. (Σαραίας) 1 Es 5^{5}, Seraiah, the high priest of Zedekiah's time, father of Jehozadak, and grandfather of Jeshua (cf. 1 Ch 6^{14}). 2. (*Sareus*) 2 Es 1^{1}, the father of Ezra. It is uncertain whether he is the same person as the AZARAIAS of 1 Es 8^{1}, where the following ZECHRIAS takes the place of Azaraias of 2 Es 1^{1}.

SARAMEL, RV **Asaramel** (A Σαραμέλ, ℵV Ἀσαραμέλ; *Asaramel*).—Saramel appears to be a word in the original Heb. or Syr. text of 1 Mac. which the translator did not understand when preparing the existing Gr. version. Nearly all commentators adopt the reading Asaramel. By some, including Luther, it is held to be a place-name, and to have been the spot at which the assembled Jews made Simon Maccabæus 'their leader and high priest' (1 Mac $14^{28.\ 35}$). By others various restorations of the Hebrew text have been proposed.—1. (*Wĕ*)*sar-ʽam-'ēl*, 'and prince of the people of God,' understanding this as a title of Simon. The original *wĕ*, 'and,' is supposed to have been corrupted into *bĕ*, 'in.' This view, first proposed by Wernsdorf (1747), is adopted by Scholz, Grimm, Schürer, Zöckler, Kautzsch, Kraetzschmar, and others. 2. (*Bĕ*)*shaʽar-ʽam-'ēl*, 'at the gate of the people of God,' or—3. (*Ba*)*ḥăẓar-ʽam-'ēl*, 'in the court of the people of God' (Ewald, *et al.*). 4. A. R. S. Kennedy (*Expos. Times*, Aug. 1900, p. 523 ff.) proposes either (*a*) *baʽăzār* [*ath Yisra*] *'ēl*, 'in the court of Israel,' which was incorrectly deciphered *baʽăzar-ham-'ēl*, the letters ה and י and ם and ש being very like each other in the older Phœn. characters; or (*b*) *baʽăẓart-ʽam-'ēl*, 'in an assembly of the people of God.' He prefers the former.

C. W. WILSON.

SARAPH (שָׂרָף; B Σαιά, A Σαράφ).—A descendant of Shelah, 1 Ch 4^{22}.

SARCHEDONUS.—The form in which the name ESAR-HADDON (which see) appears in To $1^{21f.}$. The misspelling 'Sarchedonus' of the AV has been retained, surely inadvertently, by the RV. The correct form is 'Sacherdonus' (Bℵ Σαχερδονός, A Σαχερδάν, in v.^{22} Σαχερδονοσός).

SARDINE.—At Rev 4^{3} AV renders ὅμοιος λίθῳ σαρδίνῳ by 'like a sardine stone.' The reading is that of the TR. It is rightly rejected by modern editors, on the overwhelming authority of ℵAQ, etc., which read σαρδίῳ; RV has 'like a sardius': see, therefore, SARDIUS, below.

SARDIS (Σάρδεις).—The capital of Lydia, when a Lydian kingdom existed before B.C. 549, was one of the greatest and most ancient and famous cities of Asia Minor. It was situated on the northern skirts of Mount Tmolos, at the point where the small river Pactolos issues from a glen in the mountains to join the Hermus, which flows westwards about two or three miles north of Sardis. The acropolis of Sardis was situated on a spur of Tmolos, separated by a depression from the mountains on the south, and rising sharply from the level plain on the north, with the Pactolos washing its western base, and formed an almost impregnable fortress in ancient times. The city, which is naturally the capital of the middle Hermus valley, was still, in the first century after Christ, the metropolis of a group of cities (in the south of the middle Hermus valley and throughout the upper valley), which formed one of the *conventus* into which the province of Asia was divided.

Political circumstances had been as favourable to it as geographical. It was the residence of a satrap, after the Persians conquered Asia Minor, and the burning of the lower town in 501 by the revolted Ionians excited vehement anger in Darius, as an insult to his government and himself. It surrendered willingly to Alexander the Great in 334, and was made by him an autonomous, self-governing city of the Greek type, electing its own magistrates and striking, presumably, its own coins: the Sardian coins of earlier date were not municipal, but regal, and perhaps satrapal coins,[*] struck by despotic governors resident at Sardis. After the death of Alexander, in 322, it fell under the authority of Antigonus till 301, when after the battle of Ipsus it passed under the domination of Seleucus, and became the residence of the governor of the western part of the Seleucid empire (called, doubtless, satrap). In 190 the battle of Magnesia set Sardis free; and the Romans incorporated it in the Pergamenian realm (in which there was much greater municipal freedom than under Seleucid rule). The known coinage of the city begins under the Pergamenian kings, and continues under Roman rule in increasing quantities.

---

[*] In Gn 24^{67a} the very strange syntax of the existing Heb. text makes it probable that 'of his mother Sarah' is a gloss.

The special religion of Sardis was the worship of Cybele, the ruins of whose temple with two columns standing, partly are seen, partly lie buried in the glen of the Pactolos near the river-bank. Her nature and the character of her worship were very similar to those of DIANA at Ephesus.

The necropolis of Sardis, where its chiefs and kings in early times were buried, was a great group of tumuli, some small, some of very large size, about three miles north of the Hermus, on the south side of the Gygæan Lake (Mermere Giol). There, near the shrine of Gygæan Artemis, beside the Lake, the people of the goddess returned at death to their divine mother.

In A.D. 17 Sardis was destroyed by a great earthquake, and Tiberius remitted all its taxes for five years, and contributed ten million sesterces towards rebuilding the city. Eleven other cities, which had been its partners in ruin, and had shared in the emperor's benefaction, and also two later sufferers, joined with it in erecting at Rome a monument in his honour; and a miniature copy of that monument, constructed in A.D. 30 at Puteoli (the harbour for the Eastern and Asian trade at that time), is still preserved.[†]

While the three cities, Pergamus, Smyrna, and Ephesus, vied for the title of First City of Asia, Sardis, though still a place of importance, was, beyond any other of the prominent cities of Asia, a town of the past, retaining the name of greatness, but decayed from its former estate. The words addressed to it in Rev 3^{1} are singularly appropriate to its history: 'I know thy works, that thou hast a name that thou livest, and thou art dead.' The words are, of course, addressed to the Church of Sardis, and must be understood as describing its condition about A.D. 90–100, already decaying from its original high promise; but it seems clear that the writer must have been conscious of the historical parallel, and chose his words so as to express it. When he goes on to say, 'Be thou watchful . . . for I have found no works of thine fulfilled: . . . if therefore thou shalt not watch I will come as a thief, and thou shalt not know what hour I will come upon thee,' one's thoughts are carried back to the two occasions when, through careless watching, the impregnable citadel failed to keep up its reputation and name and to fulfil its works, when the Median soldier in 549 and the Cretan Lagoras in 218[*] climbed the steep hill and stole unobserved into the acropolis. The very hill itself is in ceaseless decay, washed away to an extraordinary extent by the rains and frosts disintegrating the soil and rock.

These historical parallels were not drawn by the writer of the Apocalypse from literature: the story of the Median and the Cretan was doubtless a household word in Sardis, and the character of the city as failing to keep up its ancient greatness and promise would assuredly be very plain. We may fairly infer that the writer was personally familiar with the place; and speaks from what he had learned by eye and ear in Sardis.

When about A.D. 295 the great province Asia was broken up into several smaller provinces, Sardis once more became the capital of Lydia; and in all the Byzantine lists the bishop of Sardis is mentioned as metropolitan and archbishop of Lydia, and as sixth in order of dignity of all the bishops, European and Asiatic, subject to the patriarch of Constantinople. The acropolis on its lofty hill was of a type suited for the frontier warfare of Arab and Turkish raids, and the fortifications remaining on it are all of a late period. It is uncertain when it passed into the hands of the Turks. Lydia was exposed to frequent raids at the end of the 11th cent., and again after the defeat of Manuel Comnenus in 1176. In 1257 the Emperor Theodore II. encamped at Sardis, but after 1267 the raids of the Turks became bolder and more continuous in the Hermus valley (Pach. ii. p. 313 f.), and they swept the country down to Menemen near the sea. Magnesia and Philadelphia were then the two chief cities of the valley (as they still are), and Sardis was quite a secondary town. In 1306 the Turks were admitted to the Sardian acropolis, but shortly after were expelled (Pach. ii. 403 f.); but this success was only temporary, and there can hardly be any doubt that Sardis had fallen into their hands before 1316, when they took Nymphaion.

In 1402 Sardis was captured and destroyed by Tamerlane, and it has never recovered from that crushing blow. It is now only a ruin, with a tiny village called Sart, while the town is Salikli, about five miles east. Sart is a station on the railway from Smyrna to Philadelphia and Kara Hissar. Three miles south are great hot springs.

The bishopric of Sardis is mentioned in even the latest *Notitiæ*, but probably it ceased to have any real existence soon after 1300. The fourth *Notitia Episcopatuum* in Parthey's collection, p. 132, puts the situation plainly. It mentions Sardis in its ancient place as sixth in dignity, but adds that the bishop of Philadelphia has now been substituted in the place of the Sardian exarchos.[†] The substitution was later than 1284, when Andronicus Chalaza, bishop of Sardis, evidently an influential dignitary, was expelled from the Council of Adramyttium (Pach. ii. p. 65 f.), and may be dated about 1316. With that change Sardis ceased. History had decided against it, and it was dead.

W. M. RAMSAY.

SARDITES.—See SERED.

SARDIUS.—AV uses this word thrice in the OT (Ex 28^{17} 39^{10}, Ezk 28^{13}) and once in the NT (Rev 21^{10}). In the OT passages RVm has 'or *ruby.*' The Heb. in each case is אֹדֶם: see, therefore, RUBY, above.

At Rev 21^{20} the *σάρδιος* of TR or *σάρδιον* of the better MSS is the sixth foundation of the New Jerusalem. Epiphanius (quoted by Alford, *Gr. Test.* iv. 595) derives its name from its resemblance in colour to a salted fish called *sardion.* Theophrastus, with whom King (*Antique Gems*, p. 7) agrees, traces it to the fact that the gem was first imported into Greece from Sardis. Middleton (*Engraved Gems*, p. 143) thinks it comes from a Pers. word meaning 'yellow.' He does not give the word in question, but the *Encyc. Brit.*[9] (art. 'Sardonyx') connects *sard* with the Pers. *sered*, 'yellowish-red.' There does not appear to be any such word: the nearest approach to it is زرد *zerd*= 'yellow.'

---

[*] No coins, however, are known struck at Sardis either by the satraps under Persian rule or by the city as set free by Alexander. Probably Antigonus deprived it of freedom and the right of coinage, and under Seleucid rule it continued in that oppressed condition.

[†] See *CIL* x. 1624; Rushforth, *Latin Historical Inscr.*, No. 95.

[*] In 218 Antiochus the Great, after a year's siege, captured Sardis, where his usurping rival Achæus maintained himself.

[†] This should have been quoted in vol. iii. p. 831 to complete the account of the bishopric of Philadelphia; the relation of *Notitiæ* iv. and xi. is uncertain, but iv. is later.

The sard is one of the crypto-crystalline gems of the silicon family, identical in chemical composition with the carnelian, but more crystalline, more transparent, and less ruddy. Its colour varies from pale golden-yellow to reddish-orange. Pliny (*HN* 37, 106) justly remarks: *Nec fuit alia gemma apud antiquos usu frequentior.* This was owing to the beauty of the stone, which in the best specimens is brilliantly transparent and very fine in colour, to its toughness, its facility of working, and the high polish of which it is susceptible. It also retains its polish longer than other gems. The finest engravings of ancient times were on sards. Pliny states that the best examples came from Babylon, but that source of supply had failed in his day. Others were obtained from Paros, Assos, India, and Egypt. Theophrastus (*Lap.* 56) speaks of two principal kinds—the *male*, brownish in colour, and the *female*, transparent red: τὸ μὲν διαφανὲς, ἐρυθρότερον δὲ, καλεῖται θῆλυ· τὸ δὲ διαφανὲς μέν, μελάντερον δὲ, καλεῖται ἄρσεν. Considering how largely this gem was used, not only amongst Greeks and Romans but also for Assyrian cylinders and Phœn. scarabs, it is curious that there should be only one verse in the Bible where it is unquestionably mentioned, and that not as an engraved stone.
J. TAYLOR.

SARDONYX.—The name indicates the structure of the gem, a layer of sard and one of onyx. Pliny (*HN* 37, 86) says: *Sardonyches olim . . . intelligebantur candore in sarda, hoc est veluti carne ungui hominis imposita et utroque tralucido.* The finest then came from Arabia and India. In the latter country it was found in torrent-beds, some pieces being large enough for sword handles. It is better adapted for cameos than for signets, but was much used by the Romans for both purposes, and it possesses one quality valuable for a seal: wax does not adhere to it. Juvenal twice refers to sardonyx seals—

> 'Arguit ipsorum quos littera gemmaque princeps
> Sardonychum, loculis quæ custoditur eburnis' (*Sat.* xiii. 138),

and

> 'Ideo conducta Paullus agebat
> Sardonyche . . .' (*ib.* vii. 144).

This gem has always been easy to produce artificially, either by joining together layers of different stones or by placing a sard on a red-hot iron, when the surface exposed to the heat becomes of an opaque white colour.

The sardonyx (σαρδόνυξ) is the fifth foundation-stone of the New Jerusalem (Rev 21[20]). RVm gives *sardonyx* as an alternative for *diamond* in translating יַהֲלֹם at Ex 28[18] 39[11], but at Ezk 28[13] RV contents itself with the *diamond* of the text. There is no sufficient reason for supposing that יַהֲלֹם means sardonyx. The *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* is inclined to derive יַהֲלֹם from הלם, and to explain the name as pointing to the hardness of the stone. This would not favour the identification with the sardonyx.
J. TAYLOR.

SAREA.—One of the swift scribes who wrote to the dictation of Ezra (2 Es 14[24]).

SAREPTA.—See ZAREPHATH.

SARGON (סַרְגוֹן, 'Αρνά).—Once mentioned in the Bible (Is 20[1]), when it is said that he sent his TARTAN (*turtannu*) or commander-in-chief against Ashdod (B.C. 711). The name had been borne by a famous king of early Babylonia, who founded an empire which extended to the Mediterranean (B.C. 3800); and as Sargon's two predecessors, Tiglath-pileser III. and Shalmaneser IV., had assumed new names after seizing the Assyr. throne, it seems probable that Sargon also was an assumed name. It is written in cuneiform Sar-gina, as if a compound of the Semitic *sar*, 'king,' and the Sumerian *gina*, 'established,' and is accordingly rendered by the Semitic *Sarru-kinu*, 'the established' or 'legitimate monarch'; but the inscriptions of the elder Sargon show that the name is really a corruption of *Sarganu*, 'the strong one' (cf. the biblical Serug).

When Shalmaneser IV. died or was murdered, during the siege of Samaria (B.C. 722), the crown was usurped (on the 12th of the month Tebet) by the Assyr. general Sargon, who claimed descent from a semi-mythical king of Assyria called Bel-bani. Samaria was captured soon afterwards, and Sargon transported 27,200 of its population into captivity, the city being placed under an Assyr. satrap. Meanwhile Babylon had been seized by the Kaldâ chief, Merodach-baladan, who maintained himself in Chaldæa for 12 years, notwithstanding the defeat of his Elamite allies. In B.C. 720 a certain Ilu-bihdi, also called Yahubihdi, arose at Hamath, and led Arpad, Damascus, and Palestine into revolt. This was easily suppressed, however; Hamath was colonized by 4300 Assyrians, and the Philistines and Egyptians were defeated at Raphia on the borders of Egypt. In B.C. 719 the Minni, east of Ararat, were attacked and defeated, and two years later Sargon gained a great victory over the combined forces of the Hittites of Carchemish and of Mita of the Moschi (Meshech). Carchemish became an Assyrian city, its trade passed into Assyrian hands, and Sargon carried from it to the treasury of Calah 11 talents and 30 manehs of gold and 2100 talents of silver.

In B.C. 716 Sargon was called on to meet a confederacy of the northern nations—Rusas of Ararat or Van, Mita of the Moschi, and many other tribes, the Minni, Tubal, Milid (Malatiyeh), etc. In the course of the campaign he marched into the land of the Medes towards the Caspian Sea, and received tribute from eight of their chiefs. The following year the country of the Minni was overrun, the Minnæan chief Daiukku (Dêiokes) being transported to Hamath, and the Bedâwin of N. Arabia were chastised. In 714 the Minni submitted, and the army of Rusas of Ararat was annihilated. Rusas himself committed suicide. In 713 forty-five Median chiefs, including Arbaku (Arbaces), were made tributary, as well as the kingdom of Ellipi in which the city of Ecbatana was afterwards built. Tubal and Cilicia also submitted, and in 712 Milid was captured and destroyed. In 711 a vassal prince was established at Marqasi (Mer'ash), the capital of Gurgum in N. Syria, and the *turtannu* was sent against Palestine, where a rebellion had broken out. A league had been formed between Merodach-baladan and the princes of the West, including Hezekiah of Judah, but, before the confederates could move, Ashdod, the centre of the revolt, was taken by storm, and Judah, Moab, and Edom paid homage to the conqueror. The turn of Merodach-baladan came in 710–709, when he was driven first from Babylonia and then from his ancestral city, Bit-Yakin in the marshes, and Sargon was crowned at Babylon. After this he sent a statue of himself to the vassal princes of Cyprus, which was set up at Idalion, and is now in the Berlin Museum. Kummukh, or Comagênê, was annexed to Assyria in 708, and a war was commenced with the Elamites in 707. Sargon had already built his palace of Dur-Sargina (now Khorsabad, but called Sarghûn by the Arabic geographers), about 10 miles N. of Nineveh. He was murdered B.C. 705. A. H. SAYCE.

SARID (שָׂרִיד; B Ἐσεδεκγωλά, Σεδδούκ; A Σαρθίδ, Σαρίδ; *Sarid*).—A border town of Zebulun, situated to the west of Chisloth-tabor (*Iksâl*, Jos $19^{10.12}$). Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom. s.* Σαρίθ, *Sarith*) do not identify it. Conder, following the reading Σεδδούκ, and that of the ancient Syriac version, 'Asdod,' reads 'Sadid,' and identifies it with *Tell Shadûd*, an artificial mound with fine springs, on the north side of the great plain of Esdraelon, and about 5 miles to the westward of *Iksâl* (*PEF Mem.* ii. 43, 70). C. W. WILSON.

SAROTHIE (B Σαρωθεί, A Σαρωθιέ), 1 Es 5^{34}.—His sons are named among the sons of Solomon's servants who returned with Zerubbabel. There is no corresponding name in the lists of Ezra and Nehemiah.

SARSECHIM (שַׂרְסְכִים; BAℵ Ναβουσαχάρ, Q Ναβουσαράχ, Q^{mg} Σαρσαχείμ; Vulg. *Sarsachim*).—One of the princes of the king of Babylon who was present at the taking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar in the 11th year of Zedekiah, Jer 39 [Gr. 46]^{3}. He seems to have borne the title of RAB-SARIS, 'chief of the heads *or* princes.' There is much doubt as to the original form of the name, and its meaning is, therefore, likewise obscure. Schrader (*COT* ii. p. 110) merely remarks that the first part of the name is quite clear (שַׂר='king'), and queries the reading. In all probability, testimony to its incorrectness is to be found in the fact that the vocalization is practically the same as that of the Hebrew form of Sennacherib (Sanhērîb, Sarsechîm; cf. Nimrod, Nisroch, etc.). If the first element, *sar*, be regarded as certain, the original form may have been *Sar-iskun*, 'he (the god) has made a king,' that is, provided a successor to the throne. In this case the original form of the name would have been שַׂרְסְכֻן,* which would go back to a time when no vowels whatever were written.† In the present state of our knowledge, however, all identifications of this name must be regarded as tentative and unsatisfactory, presenting, as they do, several difficulties, and being unsupported by the monuments. The Greek forms beginning with Ναβου are probably due to the name *Samgar-nebo*, which precedes. If, however, they have any authority—and sometimes the Greek forms are the more correct (cf. NISROCH)—that of Q Ναβουσαράχ would be the best for comparison, as it resembles very closely the *Nabû-šar-âḫê-šu*, 'Nebo is his brothers' king,' of the inscriptions (Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Nabuchodonosor*, 172, 23;‡ 216, 12,§ and elsewhere). See also artt. NERGAL-SHAREZER and SAMGAR-NEBO. T. G. PINCHES.

SATAN (Heb. שָׂטָן, Arab. شَيطَان, Syr. ܣܳܛܳܢܳܐ Greek σατανᾶς [but in 2 Co 12^{7} Σατάν, ℵ*** A** D** EKLP etc.—yet the evidence is doubtful, and the reading Σαταν͂ᾶ (genit.) is preferred by Lachm. Tisch.^{8} and WH on the authority of ℵ* A* BD* FG Copt. It. Vulg. Orig. Iren. Tert. On the other hand, the reading Σατάν was preferred by Meyer, though there is no analogy to it in the NT, and in the LXX only in 1 K 11^{14} 23^{25}, and Aq. on Job 1^{6}]. More frequently (especially in the Gospels) the Heb. proper name is simply rendered by ὁ διάβολος, 'the accuser' or 'calumniator.' In Rev 12^{10} ὁ κατήγωρ is the equivalent used).—The name and conception of Satan belong to the post-exilian age of Hebrew development. Probably Zec 3^{1} is the earliest instance of its appearance in our Canonical literature. On the other hand, the roots of the conception can without difficulty be traced in the writing of pre-exilian and exilian times.

i. PRE-EXILIAN PERIOD.—(1) The serpent, who tempts eve and lures man to his doom, is a demon in animal shape, analogous to the Arabic *jinn* which frequently resided in serpents. See art. DEMON and also MAGIC (vol. iii. p. 208, footnote ‡).

(2) The Babylonian *Tiâmat*, the dragon-monster of the great abyss, with whom Marduk, god of light, contended (see art. COSMOGONY), corresponds to the Hebrew Leviathan or Rahab in exilian and post-exilian literature (cf. also Am 9^{3}), with whom Jehovah entered into conflict and whom He destroyed. See artt. RAHAB and SEA MONSTER.

(3) The individual subject might be possessed by an 'evil spirit' (1 S 16^{14}, cf. Jg 9^{23}), which drives him to commit acts of violence in opposition to the Divine will. In 1 S 16^{14} this 'evil spirit' is placed in opposition to the Spirit of the LORD which departed from Saul upon its advent. This evil spirit, which 'distressed' (בִּעֲתַת) the king, is also spoken of as 'from Jehovah.' Wellhausen draws attention to the curious distinction that, whereas רוּחַ י״ is the good spirit, רוּחַ מֵאֵת י״ (or רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים *) is a bad spirit. The former expression connotes a closer community of mind and purpose between the Deity and His emissary. For the present, however, it is sufficient to take note that evil, whether it be misfortune or sin, is referred to a Divine causality in accordance with the intense feeling of dependence on God which characterized the ancient Hebrew, 1 S 1^{5} 18^{10} 19^{9} 26^{19}, 2 S 24^{1}, 1 K 22^{21}, Jg 9^{23}, Is 6^{10} 63^{17}, Ps 51^{6} (Max Löhr). In the interesting parallel Jg 9^{23} the evil spirit shows itself as a spirit of discord between Abimelech and the Shechemites, just as it exhibited itself in Saul's outbreaks of violent jealousy against David. It is thus somewhat analogous in character to the Homeric Ἄτη, daughter of Zeus. Cf. art. MAGIC in vol. iii. p. 208^{a}.

(4) In Micaiah's vision the emissary who goes forth to execute Jehovah's behest is a lying spirit (רוּחַ שֶׁקֶר) in the mouth of the prophets who lures Ahab to his doom (1 K $22^{22ff.}$). It would lead us beyond the limits of our subject if we were to discuss the OT conceptions of Jehovah's character involved in this naïve portrayal of the relation subsisting between God and the lying spirit. On this passage Kittel's remarks may be studied with advantage in his commentary, This narrative in 1 K 22^{1-37} forms an almost continuous section following on ch. 20, and there are no sufficient grounds for separating vv.$^{19-23}$ or other portions from the narrative as later additions (as Schwally proposes in *ZATW*, 1892, p. 159 ff.; cf. Marti in *SK*, 1892, p. 230).

(5) Of subsidiary significance is the difficult

---

* שַׂרְסְכוּן would also be likely.

† As the Greek form *Saracos* shows, the name of *Sin-šarra-iškun* ('Sin has made a king'), the last king of Assyria, could be pronounced without the name of the deity, and would then be the same as the Sar-iskun here suggested, at the same time furnishing an objection, for any one bearing such a name would probably have been regarded as claiming the throne.

‡ *Nabû-šar-âḫê-šu*, son of *Dikia*, and father of *Nabû-mušêtiḳ-urri*, fifth witness to a contract dated in the 27th year of Nebuchadnezzar.

§ *Nabû-šar-âḫê-šu*, son of *Kinunnâa*, son of *Iddina-Pap-sukal*, third witness to a contract dated in the 30th year of Nebuchadnezzar.

* אֱלֹהִים is not so distinctive a name for the God of the Hebrews, since it *may* even designate heathen deities.

section Gn 6^{1-4}, in which supernatural causes are assigned to growing human corruption in the fleshly union of angels and women and the rise of a race of *nephîlîm.* Holzinger (*Commentary on Gen.* p. 67) suggests that it contains a fragment of an old cosmogony with a conflict of higher and lower deities, parallel to the Babylonian. Note the influence of the tradition on the Book of Enoch.

We have sufficiently indicated the roots of the conception of Satan which are to be found in pre-exilian and to a certain extent in exilian literature. The word שָׂטָן occurs in pre-exilian literature in the sense of 'opponent' or 'adversary.' It is thus applied to David by the Philistines (1 S 29^{4}), and to Hadad the Edomite whom God raised up as Solomon's adversary (1 K 11^{14}, cf. a like use in Mt 16^{23}). Thus an angel may fulfil this function with good intent (Nu $22^{22\text{ff.}}$).

ii. POST-EXILIAN (OLD TESTAMENT) PERIOD.—When we come to post-exilian literature we find the existence of a Satan who is a supernatural adversary of man in an essential sense, whose set purpose it is to work vital injury either to the individual or to the race. The growth of this conception was probably due to the unconscious operation of two tendencies. (1) As the conception of God became freed from the limitations of primitive nationalism and also more ethically exalted, and His sovereignty over the world regarded as universal and transcendent, there gradually arose an inevitable tendency to interpolate mediating angelic agencies between this transcendent Divine sovereign and the world of which He was Lord. (2) By an unconscious logical process an attempt was made to solve the ethical problem of the presence of evil in the world on the one hand and of Divine righteousness and absolute sovereignty on the other. To post-exilian Judaism, as the Books of Psalms and Job clearly testify, it was of supreme moment to vindicate the ways of God to Israel in the presence of dire calamity and persecution. Though the problem of the ultimate origin of evil is not even discussed, evil is ascribed to Satan the opponent of man and, to a certain extent, of God's beneficent purpose. He is a spirit who takes delight in man's misfortune, and is even permitted by God to work his fell designs though they be contrary to the Divine intention. Thus in Zec 3^{2} Jehovah is angered against Satan because the latter is not yet satisfied with all the misfortunes that have befallen Jerusalem, but demands further punishment. In the *Book of Job* the righteous sufferer is made the victim of Satan's malicious purpose. We even find ourselves involved in an apparent contradiction: Satan takes his place in the heavenly court among the other sons of God, and gives an account of his acts, and receives his commands from his Divine Lord. But a contrary spirit is manifest in the Divine Sovereign and in His malignant angel. The former desires to see Job's righteous character vindicated; the latter denies its genuineness, and desires to see it subjected to a strain that will wreck it. Here the characteristic traits of Satan's character are clearly visible, implied in his name and illustrated continually in subsequent literature: (*a*) He is the accuser (διάβολος) and also (*b*) the tempter (ὁ πειράζων) that seeks to entrap piety and work its ruin. It is in this latter rôle that he meets us in 1 Ch 21^{1}, where he tempts David, whereas in the pre-exilian form of the story (2 S 24^{1}) it is God Himself who submits David to the test. We have here an interesting indication that in the time when the Books of Chronicles were written (4th cent. B.C.) the personality of Satan had become distinctly realized. Whereas in the earlier post-exilian writings, Zechariah and Job, the def. article is attached, the form 'Satan' in 1 Ch 21^{1} is anarthrous (Smend).

iii. LATER JUDAISM.—The evolution of the Jewish conception of Satan is marked by an ever-growing tendency to a dualism, which, however, always stops short of being absolute through the all-controlling limitations imposed by Hebrew monotheism. The tendency undoubtedly existed, and was probably fostered by Persian influence; for in Persian religion the dualism of good and evil is more accentuated than in any other ancient system. The extent to which Persian ideas moulded the *Book of Tobit* has been recently made the subject of an interesting study by J. H. Moulton (*Expos. Times,* March 1900). This writer confirms the doubts expressed by the author of the present article (see APOLLYON) that the Asmodæus of Tobit (or the Ashmedai of the Talmud) is identical with the Aêshma Daeva of the Bundahesh. This identity is confidently asserted by Holtzmann (*Neutest. Theol.* i. p. 53), but it cannot be accepted without stronger evidence.* His main contention, however, that Persian influence largely affected Jewish satanology, we hold to be well founded. Twelve years ago Cheyne contended for a like influence in the realm of Jewish eschatology (*Expos. Times,* ii. 202, 224, 248; *Bampton Lect.* p. 394 ff.). Cf. Kohut, *Jüd. Angel.* p. 62 f.

The demonology of the *Book of Enoch* is developed with remarkable fulness, and presents striking analogies to that of the NT. Charles, in his art. APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE in the present work (cf. his edition of the Book of Enoch), would place the dates of the different sections between 180 and 64 B.C.† The demons proceeded, according to 16^{1}, from the giants, who were the offspring of the fallen angels who lusted after the daughters of men. These demons accomplish man's moral ruin until the day of final judgment arrives. Satan, as in the NT, is represented as the ruler of a rival kingdom of evil, which is nevertheless subject to the 'Lord of spirits' (65^{6}). We read, moreover, not only of Satan, but also of Satan*s*; and it should be noted that in the *Similitudes* the Satans and the fallen angels are carefully distinguished. The latter fall in the days of Jared according to chs. 1–36 and 91–104, while in ch. 69, where a catalogue of names is given (cf. 6^{7}), the functions of the two classes are confused (Charles). Jekûn is the first chief 'who led astray all the children of the angels and brought them down to earth.' The names of other tempters follow. The name of the Satan who led Eve astray is Gâdreel (69^{6}). He is third in the hierarchy described in § 3 ff. The Satans are first mentioned in Enoch 40^{7}, where we read that Fanuel, one of the four chief angels, wards off the Satans and forbids them to appear (as Satan in the Book of Job) in the presence of the Lord of spirits to accuse the dwellers on earth. These Satans belong to a counter-kingdom of evil ruled by a chief called Satan (53^{3}). They existed as evil powers before the 'Watchers'‡ fell by corrupting themselves with the daughters of men. The four chief angels, 'Michael, Gabriel, Rafael, and Fanuel will take hold of them on that great day [*i.e.* Judgment Day] and cast them into a burning furnace, that the Lord of spirits may take vengeance on them for their unrighteousness in becoming subject to Satan and leading astray those who dwell on the earth' (54^{6}). These Satans, according to 40^{7}, have the means of access to heaven, which the 'watchers' or other fallen angels did not possess (13^{5} 14^{5}). They have a threefold function: they tempt to evil ($69^{4.\,6}$), they accuse the inhabitants of earth (40^{7}), and they punish the condemned. In this last character they are called 'angels of punishment' (53^{3} 56^{1} 62^{11} 63^{1}) (Charles).

---

* This is also the view of Baudissin in *PRE*^{3} *sub voce* 'Asmodi.'

† Baldensperger (*Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*^{2}, pp. 12–19) would place the dates considerably later. So also Schürer; cf. his *GVI*^{3} iii. pp. 195, 199–201.

‡ Cf. the ἐγρήγοροι of Dn 4^{10}; cf. also *Book of Jubilees* and *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs.*

This multiform activity in the kingdom of evil, expressed in multiplied personalities, is a marked feature of the Book of Enoch; and, viewed from this aspect, there is a close resemblance between the demonology of the Book of Enoch and that of the later Judaism expressed in the treatises of the Talmud, to which attention will presently be called.

In the *Apocrypha,* apart from the Book of Tobit, the references to Satan, though significant, are not numerous. As in the Book of Enoch, we are in the presence of a kingdom of demons. Satan, according to the *Book of Sirach,* so takes possession of the ungodly man's soul that when he curses Satan he may be said to curse himself (Sir 21^{27}). In the *Book of Wisdom* (2^{24}) we see that Satan and the Serpent of Gn 3 are more or less identified. Death entered into the world through the envy of the devil. This identification of the Serpent and Satan is the ever-recurring feature of Judaism and Christianity alike. In the *Book of Baruch* ($4^{7.35}$) the deities of the heathen are called demons (cf. Dt 32^{17}, Ps 106^{37}), and Israel suffers punishment for sacrificing to them (cf. Rv 9^{20}); but of Satan there is no express mention. In the *Book of Tobit,* Asmodi (Asmodæus) may be regarded as the equivalent of Satan in being the chief personification of evil. This demon is conjured by the magical prescription described in ch. 6, viz. burning the heart and liver of a fish with the ashes of incense. In its demonology this book stands apart from the other books of the Apocrypha, but in its ascription of lustful qualities to Asmodæus we find a close parallel to later Jewish conceptions. In the *Psalms of Solomon* we have only a slight reference to the supernatural agency of evil. Ryle and James have noted the simplicity of the religious ideas of this book. There is only one clear allusion to angelology (17^{49}). In 4^{9} the prosperous man is compared to 'a serpent speaking with the words of transgressors words of deceit to pervert wisdom.' Here Gn 3 is evidently in the mind of the Psalmist. In *Philo Judæus* demons and Satan fall into the background and disappear. His attitude is exhibited in his Treatise on Giants, c. 4, where his rationalizing tendency is manifest. Note his treatment of Ps 77^{49} LXX. The sources of evil are found in the flesh and its passions, in self-love and ignorance, rather than in supernatural personalities (see Drummond, vol. ii. pp. 297–305).

Some reference may here be made to the interesting *Book of the Secrets of Enoch* recently brought to light in its Slavonic form by Mr. Morfill. It has been supposed that it was originally composed about the beginning of the Christian era. Here again we note the identification of Satan with the Serpent in Gn 3. We read in $31^{3ff.}$ 'The devil took thought as if wishing to make another world because things were subservient to Adam on earth . . . He became Satan after he left the heavens. His name was formerly Satanail. He conceived designs against Adam in such a manner that he entered and deceived Eve. But he did not touch Adam.' $29^{4ff.}$ graphically portrays how Satanail was hurled from the heights with his angels on the third day of creation: 'One of those in the ranks of the archangels having turned away with the rank below him, entertained an impossible idea that he should make his throne higher than the clouds over the earth, and should be equal in rank to My power. And I hurled him from the heights with his angels. And he was flying in the air continually above the abyss.' Here we have one of the ultimate sources of Milton's conception of Satan's revolt.

The *Jewish ideas* reflected in the *Targums* and *Midrash* present a close resemblance to those just described. The identification of the Serpent with Satan was expressed in Jewish theological writers by the name bestowed on the latter, נָחָשׁ הַקַּדְמוֹן. Thus in *Sifrê* 138*b* the heathen are called the disciples of נָחָשׁ הַקַּדְמֹנִי who seduced Adam and Eve. In *Bereshith* 29 we find the tradition that *Sammael,* the highest angel that stands before God's throne, caused the Serpent to seduce the woman. Thus Satan and Sammael coalesce into one personality. Sammael, according to *Deut. Rabba* 11, is the angel, the wicked one, chief of all Satans. Here again we observe the same divided personalities as in the Book of Enoch, and Satan appears to be a personified generalization. There is an arch-Satan called Sammael, and there are Satans who are subordinate to him, just as the angels who are subject to God as His attendant ministers. According to *Targ. Jerus.* I. on Gn 3^{6} Eve saw, at the moment when the Serpent addressed her, Sammael, 'angel of death,' and became afraid. Envy is made the motive to man's temptation. According to *Sanhedrin* 59, the Serpent was jealous of the services rendered to man by the angels. In *Sota* 9*a* and *Beresh. Rabba* 18, the temptation is ascribed to the motive of lustful jealousy. *Ib.* 24 relates the curious legend that demons held intercourse with Adam and Eve during the first 130 years after the Fall, and other demons (שֵׁדִים, רוּחִין, לִילִין, and רוּחוֹת) were the product of the union. *Bereshith* 42 ascribes the birth of Cain to the union of Satan with Eve (Weber).

Freedom of will is ascribed in the Talmud to man even after the Fall. He can therefore choose either good or evil. The evil impulse in man is designated by the term יֵצֶר הָרַע, which works within him like a leaven (*Berakh.* 17*a*). Satan accomplishes his fell purpose by the instrumentality of the יֵצֶר הָרַע (*Bammidbar rabba* 20, *Baba bathra* 15*a*). Moreover, Satan is not only tempter, but also *accuser*, of whom the individual is continually in dread, since he never knows what is his standing before God, whether he is justified in His sight, or liable to condemnation through Satan's accusations. A similar conception underlies 1 Ti $3^{6.7}$ and Rev 12^{10}.—Targums frequently foist Satan into the OT narrative, *e.g.* Targ. Jon. on Ex 32^{19} (Lv 9^{2}). Eisenmenger, *Ent. Jud.* i. p. 845, quotes rabbinic passages in which the angel who wrestled with Jacob is identified with Sammael. Similarly Belial (Beliar), according to *Ascensio Jesaiæ*, enters into Manasseh and accomplishes the martyrdom of the prophet.

iv. NEW TESTAMENT IDEAS RESPECTING SATAN.—These follow the broad outlines of contemporary Judaism, but are without its grosser and more extravagant elements, and are generally characterized by simplicity. The epithets bestowed on Satan are various. He is apparently identified with **Beelzebub**[*] (Beelzebul) in Mt $12^{26.27}$, cf. 10^{25};

---

[*] Instead of Βεελζεβούλ the better attested form in Mt 10^{25} $12^{24.27}$, Mk 3^{22}, Lk $11^{15.18}$ is Βεεζεβούλ (sustained by B and partly by א; see WH). The latter is obviously a corruption of the former, and the former (Βεελζεβούλ) arose out of the OT form adopted by Jerome and Aramaized, *Beelzebub.* How did Βεελζεβούλ arise? About this we have three theories—(1) *οἰκοδεσπότης* in Mt 10^{25} is held to be a rendering based on the Aramaic בְּעֵלזְבוּל. This may be true in reference to בְּעֵל, but that זְבֻל means 'house,' 'dwelling,' is doubtful. In 1 K 8^{13} the reading is uncertain; cf. LXX and Wellh. in Bleek's *Einleitung*^{4}, p. 236. See also Nowack on Hab 3^{11}. (2) בעזובל is regarded as a purposed variation with a contemptuous meaning, 'lord of filth.' זִיבּוּל (= זֶבֶל Syr. *zeblô*) means *stercus.* Cheyne in *Encycl. Bibl.* argues that superstitious Jews would hardly use such an opprobrious epithet against the prince of the demons. Moreover, such a mode of pronouncing the name is not found anywhere but in the NT. (3) More probable is the view of Baudissin (art. 'Beelzebub' in *PRE*^{3}) that we have a change of final consonant in popular pronunciation parallel to

but this is doubted by Weiss (*Bib. Theol. of NT*, i. p. 103, footnote). He is usually called *διάβολος* (a literal rendering of the Hebrew name); sometimes *ὁ πονηρός*, Mt $13^{19.38}$, 2 Th 3^3, and perhaps in the Lord's Prayer; *ὄφις ἀρχαῖος*, Rev 12^9 20^2; *ὁ ἐχθρός*, Mt 13^{39}; *ὁ τοῦ κόσμου ἄρχων*, Jn 14^{30} etc.; [ὁ] *ἄρχων τῶν δαιμονίων*, Mt 12^{24}; *ὁ ἄρχων τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος*, Eph 2^2.

(*a*) *The Synoptic tradition.*—Jesus felt Himself in the presence of demons belonging to a kingdom of evil ruled over by a supreme personality, Satan or Beelzebub. These personal agencies work every form of physical and moral calamity. They recognize, however, the might of Jesus the Messiah gifted with the power of God to destroy the works of Satan and all his personal subordinates (Mk $1^{24.34}$ $3^{11.12.15.23\text{-}27}$ 6^7, Lk $10^{17\text{-}20}$ $11^{14\text{-}22}$ 13^{32}). Jesus on His side fully recognizes the existence and power of the kingdom of Satan, which resists the establishment of the kingdom of God (Mt 12^{26}, Mk 3^{24}). In the narrative of the Temptation the world is regarded as ruled by Satan (cf. Jn 14^{30}); but in the Luke tradition ($4^{6\text{ (last clause)}}$), Satan, on the other hand, confesses that his authority is not original and fundamental, but is derived (*ἐμοὶ παραδέδοται*); and this power he is willing to transfer to Jesus upon condition of His allegiance. The narrative illustrates the character of cunning that belongs to Satan as the tempter of mankind (Gn 3^1), for he quotes Ps $91^{11.12}$ for his own purposes (Mt 4^6), and applies the words to the Messiah. Against this subtle deceit Jesus warns His disciples. Satan is eager to sift Simon as wheat (Lk 22^{31}), and enters, like a demon, into Judas (v.^{3}).

The prevailing belief that physical maladies were due to the direct agency of evil spirits (see DEMON) was recognized by Christ. This demonic power that works physical havoc is under the supreme control of Satan, and is ascribed to him in the case of the afflicted woman (Lk 13^{16}). In the expulsion of demons by His disciples Christ sees the overthrow of Satan's power (Lk 10^{18}, in which utterance our Lord recurs to the well-known passage in Is $14^{12\text{f.}}$). Accordingly the dualistic tendency, to which we have before adverted, is definitely limited by the absolute nature of God's righteous rule, whereby a definite term is set to Satan's sway. Meanwhile the anarchy which prevails works its baleful effects in the rival kingdom which Satan sets up as a *quasi*-god of this world (cf. 2 Co 4^{14}). This evil is intellectual and moral as well as physical. The devil takes the seed of the Divine word out of the heart of man (Mk 4^{15}, Mt $13^{19.39}$) and plants the spurious wheat (darnel, *ζιζάνια*). In other words, to borrow Pauline phraseology, he shows his craft by beclouding the understanding, 'blinding the thoughts of the unbelieving, so that they are unable to behold the gospel light of Christ's glory' (2 Co 4^4).

(*b*) *Pauline teaching.*—This stands in perfect continuity with that of Jesus reflected in the Synoptic tradition. We are still in the presence of many of the ideas that prevailed in contemporary Judaism, viz. of the *Book of Enoch* in the more remote past; of the *Book of Wisdom*, the *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs*, and of the *Book of Jubilees* in the age that immediately preceded the time when St. Paul wrote; of the *Assumption of Moses* coeval with the time of his literary activity and of the *Apocalypse of Baruch*, which immediately followed it. The apostle's conceptions respecting angelology and demonology have been carefully examined by Everling in a special treatise, and abundantly illustrated from the literature just mentioned.

In the writings of St. Paul we are confronted by an array of supernatural agencies which are not all definitely evil or good, but some of which stand in relative opposition to God (Ritschl, *Rechtfert. u. Vers.*^{1} ii. p. 251, quoted by Everling). In Ro 8^{38}, 1 Co 15^{24} we find them designated by the names *ἀρχαί*, *ἐξουσίαι*, and *δυνάμεις*. Here the *ἀρχαί* are perhaps to be identified with the *ἄρχοντες τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου* of 1 Co 2^6.[*] The gods of the heathen are not absolutely non-existent (see DEMON), but have a subordinate potency in heathen *sacra* as *θεοὶ καὶ κύριοι* (1 Co $8^{4\text{-}6}$, cf. 12^2). These supernatural 'rulers of this world' have a certain wisdom of their own (1 Co $2^{6.8}$), to which the eternal wisdom revealed by God's Spirit to simple-minded faith appears to be folly. Such wisdom will be brought to nought (cf. 2 Co 10^5). To the *κύριοι καὶ θεοί* correspond the *στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου*, which may be considered to be an abstraction[†] standing in place of the personal concrete names (cf. *ἀρχαί*, *ἐξουσίαι*, *θρόνοι*, and *κυριότητες*), or, as Spitta[‡] would interpret the phrase, the *στοιχεῖα* represent the sphere of their personal activity. These are the *κοσμοκράτορες* of the dark spiritual world against which the Christian is to arm himself (Eph 6^{12}); over which Jesus triumphed in the Cross (Col 2^{15}, see Lightfoot).

Over all this world of evil energy Satan reigns, and all its collective power for evil is gathered up in his personality. He is the tempter (*ὁ πειράζων*, 1 Th 3^5, 1 Co 7^5; cf. Mt $4^{1\text{-}3}$ and parallels). Bodily diseases are ascribed to him just as in Lk 13^{16}. Indeed, in one remarkable passage, 1 Co $5^{4.5}$, we even see Satan utilized for the advantage of the individual and the Church. The offender in a solemn Church assembly is to be delivered over to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, in order that the spirit of the sinner may be saved in the day of the Lord's appearing. Satan, as the inflicter of physical malady, is apparently identified with the destroyer, Ex 12^{23} (LXX *ὁ ὀλεθρεύων*, see APOLLYON), Nu $16^{21\text{ff.}}$, to which 1 Co 10^{10} evidently alludes. Compare also the destroying angel of 2 S 24^{16}, 2 K 19^{35}, and also Wis 18^{25}. According to Wis 2^{24} death entered into the world through the devil, an idea which is closely related to the conception which prevails all through biblical literature, that long life is the reward of the righteous (Ex 20^{12} etc.), while the wicked are cut off and their lamp (of life) put out. Thus, according to St. Paul's own belief, surrender to Satan brought death as its ultimate consequence (1 Co 5^5, 2 Co 2^{11}); while in Jn 8^{44} Satan is *ἀνθρωποκτόνος ἀπ' ἀρχῆς* (cf. Gn 3^{19}). This power Jesus destroyed by death (He 2^{14}).

St. Paul ascribed his own physical maladies to Satan's agency. 'The stake (*σκόλοψ*) in the flesh' he calls 'Satan's messenger' (2 Co 12^7). The phrase *ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ* in v.^{9} followed by *ἐν ἀσθενείαις* clearly points to some bodily affliction, probably chronic fever (see Ramsay, *Expositor*, July 1899, pp. 20–23). Here again Satan is made subordinate to God's purposes of grace, and becomes a servant of moral discipline which St. Paul was strengthened to bear, though he prayed frequently to be delivered from it. With this passage and 1 Co $5^{4.5}$ cf. 1 Ti 1^{20}.

The apostle, like his contemporaries, did not think of the demons as inhabiting subterranean regions (as the Arabs and ancient Babylonians

---

others, *e.g.* Bâb el Mandel (for Mandeb).—The theory supported by Riehm is certainly worthy of consideration, that Beelzebub in the time of Christ was understood as בְּעֵל דְּבָבָא 'lord of enmity'=*διάβολος*; see Brockelmann's *Lex. Syr.* *sub voce*, and cf. Assyr. *bêl dabâbi*. Cf. art. BAALZEBUB.

[*] Heinrici doubts this, and would prefer to identify the *ἄρχοντες* here with those of Ac 13^{27}.

[†] Identified with *οἱ κοσμοκράτορες* in *Test. Salam.*; see Everling, p. 70.

[‡] *Der Zweite Brief des Petrus*, etc. p. 270.

did). The angels of God had their residence in the higher regions of the heavens; and even Satan and his retinue dwelt, not beneath the earth (their final destination after the last judgment), but in the lower atmospheric realm. Thus in Eph 2^2 Satan is called ὁ ἄρχων τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος. Cf. Eph 6^{12} 'the wicked host of spirits ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις.' An interesting parallel may be found in the *Testaments of the XII Patr.*, Levi 3, where it is stated that 'he who fears God and loves his neighbours cannot be smitten by the spirit of the air (τοῦ ἀερίου πνεύματος), Beliar.' Other interesting illustrations may be found in Everling's treatise, p. 107 ff. The most significant is from *Ascension of Isaiah* 10^{29} (ed. Charles, pp. 74, 132), in which we read that Jesus descends through all the seven heavens, assuming at each stage the form of the angels which inhabit that special region. At length He comes to the firmament where dwells the 'prince of this world' (cf. 7^9 11^{23}).

Beliar,* the variant of the name Belial (see BELIAL), is apparently identified by St. Paul in 2 Co 6^{15} with Satan; but about this question of identification we have the greatest divergence in the Jewish and early Christian tradition. The subject is discussed in Bousset's learned monograph, *Der Antichrist*, part II. ch. iv., Anhang i. (p. 99 ff.). Belial seems identical with the 'Man of Sin' in 2 Th 2^3 (see MAN OF SIN).

St. Paul follows the Jewish tradition in identifying Satan with the serpent which tempted Eve. This clearly underlies Ro 16^{20} 'The God of peace shall bruise Satan under your feet,' obviously based on Gn 3^{15} (cf. 1 Ti 2^{14}, Rev 12^9 20^2). This view is again apparent in 2 Co $11^{2.\,3}$, where the apostle speaks of himself as though he were Christ's own παρανύμφιος (שׁוֹשְׁבִינָא), to guard the chastity of the Church from the devil's wiles of seduction (on the image, cf. Jn 3^{39}), whereby Satan even transforms himself into an angel of light (v.^{14}).

(*c*) *The Book of Revelation* obviously stands apart from the rest of the New Testament by reason of its strongly-marked Apocalyptic character. Into the recent controversies respecting its original form, suggested by the ingenious theory of Vischer (supported by Harnack's authority), this is not the place to enter. In the Book of Revelation we enter a transcendental region where the world-drama is enacted before us in a series of scenes of conflict between superhuman personalities. It is a πόλεμος ἐν οὐρανῷ between God with His angels of light, and Satan or the dragon, the 'old serpent,' the deceiver of the whole world (12^9), with his hosts of darkness. Chapter 12 has been the subject of much discussion since Gunkel wrote his stimulating treatise, *Schöpfung u. Chaos* (pp. 171–398). At the foundation of the story he sees Babylonian legend thinly veiled. The dragon is Tiâmat, the woman is Damkina, the mother of Marduk (here expressed by Christ). This primitive Babylonian myth was worked up into Jewish apocalyptic, Chaos or the Dragon (Tiâmat) being interpreted as Rome, and the entire legend transferred to the end of the world. But such a theory raises certain difficulties, though some appear to be solved. Bousset (*Antichrist*, Anhang, p. 169) is by no means disposed to agree to the dictum that no essential trait in the narrative is of Christian origin. After the last great overthrow of the Beast and the kings of the earth (Rev 19), Satan is imprisoned in the bottomless pit a thousand years (20^2). After this he is loosed and deceives the nations, but at length is finally cast into the lake of fire and brimstone where the beast and false prophet are (20^{10}, cf. Enoch $54^{5.\,6}$, 2 P 2^4).

(*d*) In *St. John's Gospel and Epistles* such legendary features disappear. We move in a serener, clearer atmosphere of sharply-marked antitheses. Satan and Christ are mutually opposed. Satan cannot touch him who is born of God and sinneth not (1 Jn 5^{18}). The devil is the ruler of this world, and has nothing in Christ (Jn 14^{30} 16^{11}, cf. 12^{31}). Sin enslaves through the power of the devil (8^{34}); and this bondage is established, as St. John and St. Paul alike taught, through the flesh, which is the organic point of human attachment to the κόσμος. Satan sinned from the beginning (1 Jn 3^8), and was the cause of death (Jn 8^{44}). Falsehood is his special realm (8^{44}). Jesus stands outside the world that is ruled by him (8^{23} $17^{14.\,16}$), and gradually wins individuals from him into the kingdom of God. First, Christ's own disciples are rescued from Satan's worldly dominion (15^{19} $17^{12.\,14}$). One only has abandoned himself to the devil to his own ruin (6^{70}). The world is at present in hostility to Jesus and His disciples ($14^{17.\,19.\,22}$ $15^{18.\,19}$ 16^8 17^9, 1 Jn $2^{15\text{-}17}$ etc.), but we are assured of Christ's final conquest of the world (Jn 16^{33}, cf. $17^{21.\,23}$). For the Son of God was manifested for the express purpose of destroying the works of the devil (1 Jn 3^8). This is in harmony with Christ's own teaching respecting Satan's overthrow reported in Lk 10^{18}. In Jn 16^{11} the judgment and condemnation of the devil are regarded, according to the tense usage which frequently occurs in the NT, as already finally accomplished (κέκριται, cf. 12^{31}). See the eloquent remarks on this passage in the *Pulpit Commentary* by the late Dr. H. R. Reynolds.

V. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS.—From the preceding exposition of the biblical conceptions respecting Satan we clearly see that early Christianity shared in the prevailing Jewish belief in demons and Satan. The attempt has been made by Beyschlag to deny the inference to which the Synoptic narratives lead us, that Jesus accepted the belief in a personal Satan. And with the elimination of a personal Satan he would also erase a belief in demons and angels from the inner consciousness of Christ. 'It is certain that Jesus did not recognize as personal devils the demons in whom the popular Jewish belief saw personal angels of Satan.' 'The form of the representation is undoubtedly personifying, but all the passages are poetic in style.' If language is to be manipulated in this fashion, it is difficult to see why Christ's belief in a personal God may not be eliminated also, or why such a process of evaporation might not be successfully applied to all contemporary literature. Jesus used parabolic language, and His discourses are steeped in similitudes; but when He used a symbol, it was understood to be such, or, if not at once so understood, its actual meaning was nearly always disclosed (Jn $3^{4\text{-}8}$ $4^{10\text{-}26.\,32\text{-}34}$ $6^{51\text{ff}.\,63}$ $11^{11\text{f}.}$, but in 2^{19} the enigma was solved by the close of His earthly career). But to suppose that Jesus persistently and consistently used the ordinary language of angelology and demonology, and even acted in accordance with it, and yet all the time held in secret opinions totally at variance with those of all His fellow-countrymen, and never revealed them by a single hint,—surely this is to invalidate Christ's claims to candour. Yet there is not a particle of evidence adduced by Beyschlag to support his monstrous contention that Jesus did not mean by the words Satan, demon, and angel, what His contemporaries meant and understood Him to mean. See Beyschlag, *NT Theol.* vol. i. pp. 93–95.

Our argument by no means implies that Jesus shared in all the current conceptions respecting demons. The problem, as we have already indicated, is a complex one. We have to give due place to two considerations: (1) that Christ's sayings and deeds are necessarily coloured by the representative human media through which they are conveyed to us; (2) that the demonology of Christ's belief is scarcely visible in the Fourth Gospel, though His belief in a personal Satan is clearly apparent. There can, however, be no scientific Christology which does not recognize that Christ's humanity was so genuine and complete that He shared in the cosmic presuppositions of His time. His Deity spoke to us through a true humanity. It was veiled and limited during His earthly ministry by those very conditions which He, in His *κένωσις*, voluntarily assumed when 'He took the form of a slave, and being found in the likeness of man, emptied Himself' (Ph 2^7). Now, demonology was a necessary part of the intellectual apparatus of that period. It was the latest phase of that animistic interpretation of the universe which was destined still to survive for centuries until the gradual growth of our inductive methods has substituted for demonology (as formerly understood) a rationally coordinated nexus of physical causality and law. But the ultimate and fundamental truth of angelology and demonology has not been and never can be destroyed by the march of modern science. Behind and beyond the physical nexus of interrelations there must lie *personality* and, moreover, *personalities.* However complex the material conditions, at both ends—nay, even along the entire path—of the intricate windings of the phenomenal chain there must ever live *personal power.* Our whole life rests upon the presupposition of our own individual initiatives of volition operating upon one another in the phenomenal world and modifying its successions and coexistences. That a supreme transcendent and personal (and, to the Christian consciousness, righteous) reason and will is ever present and potent in the entire realm, is a necessary postulate of any intelligible universe. The assumption that other superhuman as well as subordinate agencies are at work, and that some among these are embodiments of evil influence, adds no fundamental difficulty to those which already exist. No moral world is conceivable except as involving interrelations between personalities. Now, it is matter of historic notoriety that some personalities have lived in this world that might be called incarnations of evil influence. The supposition that other and superhuman personalities may also be *foci* of evil moral energy, and operate like ganglionic centres in a nervous system, presents no fundamental difficulty in addition to the difficulties already involved in the problem of evil. That Satan exists as a personal centre of evil influence, physical as well as moral (for the two are closely associated), is the undoubted teaching of the Bible. He is not represented to us as the absolute origin of evil or the only source of it, but as its most potent superhuman representative. See Dorner, *Christliche Glaubenslehre*, § 86, 3, vol. ii. p. 213 ff.

---

* In *Asc. Is.* 4^2 he appears as *Beliar*, and in 7^9 as Sammael. Ges. *Thes.* i. 210 notes the rendering of Belial (Beliar) by *dominus aëris* in Syriac lexicographers. Sense as well as sound (ἀήρ corresponds to the ending) contributed to this translation, which accords with tradition respecting Beliar's realm.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the reff. in the article, see art. 'Teufel' in *PRE*^{2} and 'Satan' in Smith's *DB*; also Dorner, *Christliche Glaubenslehre*, Bd. ii. pp. 188–217, and the list of literature on p. 189; Martensen, *Christian Dogmatics*, pp. 186–203; Kaftan, *Dogmatik*, pp. 348 ff. (much to be commended), 478. On *Ecclesiastical* teaching (which does not come within the scope of a Bible Dict.) see esp. Harnack, *Dogmengesch.* (Index, *s.* 'Teufel' and 'Dämonen'); Iren. *adv. Hær.* v. 1. 1; Origen, *c. Celsum*, vii. 17; Nitzsch, *Lehrb. der Evang. Dogm.* p. 333 ff.; Dorner, *ib.* ii. p. 197 ff. Respecting the *Mohammedan* doctrine (based on Jewish), see Hughes, *Dict. of Islam*, *s.v.* 'Devil' (where *Mishkat* i. 3 is cited). Cf. also art. 'Genii,' and on this subject (*Jinn*) E. W. Lane's elaborate note 21 to his Introduction to his translation of the 'Thousand and One (Arabian) Nights.' The Devil was called *Iblîs* (*διάβολος*) and identified with Satan (as in NT). There were also Shaiṭâns (plur.), just as in Jewish belief.—In *Ḳorân* see $2^{163f. 331}$ (on Satan 'driven forth by stoning,' cf. Palmer's note) $4^{42. 78}$ $5^{92ff.}$ 7^{26} 12^{42} $14^{26ff.}$ 19^{45}. Satan is constantly called man's 'open foe.'

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

SATHRABUZANES (Σαθραβουζάνης), 1 Es $6^{3. 7. 27}$ (LXX ^{26}) 7^1=Shethar-Bozenai (cf. Ezr $5^{3. 6}$ $6^{6. 13}$).

SATRAP.—See LIEUTENANT.

SATYR.—The Heb. original שָׂעִיר *sâ'îr*, plur. שְׂעִירִים *sĕ'îrîm*, is usually tr^d 'he goat,' its primitive meaning. In two passages (Is 13^{21} 34^{14}) it is tr^d in AV and RV 'satyr,' RVm 'he goat,' LXX in both *δαιμόνια*='demons.' In other two passages (Lv 17^7, 2 Ch 11^{15}) AV renders it 'devils,' RV 'he goats,' RVm 'satyrs,' LXX *μάταια*='foolish things.' Probably in all these passages the intention is to refer to some demon of popular superstition believed to have a goat-like form (cf. art. DEMON). The Greek mythology describes the satyr as a creature the upper part of whose body is that of a gross, sensuous man, the lower that of a goat. He is the ravisher of the wood-nymphs, the drunken companion of Bacchus in his revels (Hesiod, fr. 91). The Roman *faun* is similar, and is represented with horns and pointed ears (cf. Verg. *Ecl.* v. 73; Hor. *Ep.* II. ii. 125, *Ars Poet.* 233). Disgustingly realistic statues and paintings of these creatures are to be seen in the Museum at Naples (cf. W. R. Smith, *RS*^{1} 113 f.; Bochart, *Hieroz.* ii. 844, iii. 825).

G. E. POST.

SAUL (שָׁאוּל, Σαούλ).—**1.** The first king of Israel. The son of Kish, he belonged to the small but warlike tribe of Benjamin, within which tribe his family had its seat at Gibeah.* During his early years the Philistines had overrun the Southern tribes of Israel, had captured the ark, had destroyed Shiloh, and were so thoroughly masters of Judæa that they maintained an outpost in Benjamin (1 S 13^3). Yet, though the tribes were humbled and separated, they had not entirely lost the sense of belonging to one race or of having a common destiny; and the oppression of the Philistines served to make clear to them that, in order to assert these things, a single leader was an indispensable necessity. To have discovered the unknown Saul, to have recognized his fitness for this task, and to have nerved him for attempting it, is the large service of Samuel, whom every account agrees in connecting with the rise of the new king.

According to one account, the future chief was sent by his father to seek for some strayed asses. Baffled in the search, he turned aside to ask Samuel, an inconspicuous seer in the land of Zuph, for information about their fate. Samuel satisfied this anxiety, but roused in the questioner the conviction of a greater destiny. Commanding him in J"'s name to deliver Israel, he confirmed the message by certain signs, the occurrence of which would serve to remove any hesitation in attempting so grave a task, and bade Saul then wait at home until his opportunity arrived (1 S 9. $10^{1-9. 14f.}$). The opportunity was not long delayed. Nahash, a chief of Ammon, besieged Jabesh-gilead, and, when the inhabitants offered to surrender, would grant no milder terms than that their right eyes should be put out. So convinced was he of the helpless condition in which Israel lay, that he even allowed them to send messengers asking help from the tribes west of Jordan, for thus would his glory be increased by the disgrace inflicted on all Israel. The news reached Saul as he was driving his cattle home from the plough. He saw in his own wrath at the insult the indignation of Israel, and in the incident the very means needed to stir the pride of his people to a strong effort. Slaying the oxen, he sent a species of fiery cross through the South, and, with the hastily-levied force which obeyed the summons, defeated Nahash. The grateful people at Samuel's bidding brought their newly-found leader to the sacred place at Gilgal, and solemnly crowned him as their king before J″ (1 S 11, omit vv.$^{12.\ 13.\ 14c}$).

---

* Unless Gibeon is confused with Gibeah in 1 Ch $8^{29f.}$ the clan had once dwelt in Gibeon. Zela is also mentioned (2 S 21^{14}) as the burial-place of Kish, and as the final burial-place of his son.

The other account represents Samuel as the acknowledged head over Israel, who ruled in Ramah as judge. When the Israelites, dissatisfied with their condition and with the conduct of the judge's sons, desired a king, he at first refused their request, as rejecting God's immediate government in the nation, but at J″'s command consented (1 S 8). A popular assembly was held at Mizpah, where Saul was elected prince by the sacred lot (10^{17-24}). A few opposed the election, and Saul withdrew with his supporters to Gibeah. The Nahash incident offered the new king the occasion which justified his election, and silenced all opposing voices. After it the people, convened at Gilgal, renewed the consecration, while Samuel solemnly resigned his office ($11^{12ff.}$ 12). This account regarded the kingship not only as a novelty, but as a backward step from the older theocracy, an accommodation to the weakness of the people.

It was impossible for the Philistines to view with indifference Saul's election (however it had been brought about), and not to dread the quickened national life which the victory over Nahash was sure to produce among their subject people. Realizing this, and preparing for the inevitable shock, Saul retained about him a small army. He chose 3000 men, placed one-third of them under his son Jonathan at the home of the clan, but kept the other two-thirds under his own orders near Bethel. Probably he intended to rouse the strong tribe of Ephraim to his support. The impatient courage of Jonathan precipitated the struggle. He struck down the garrison or representative (נְצִיב) which the Philistines had in Benjamin.* The Philistines replied by gathering an army, which they marched up the valley of Aijalon in the direction of Michmash. They thus drove themselves like a wedge between the Northern and Southern tribes. Lest they should cut him off from Benjamin, Saul was forced to fall back, especially since the majority of his troops fled, some into hiding, others across Jordan. The king with the 600 men who still clung to him retired on Gilgal,† in which position he secured a safe base on the transjordanic tribes. He left at the head of the wady and opposite the Philistine position a small outpost under Jonathan, who should watch the movements of the enemy and warn the main body (13^{1-7}).

For a time there was hesitation. Probably the Phil. wished to draw the Isr. army from its strong position and from its supports. But the invaders were too proudly confident of their strength. Forming a camp above Michmash, they divided almost their whole force into detachments and sent these northward to forage and to check any rising which Ephraim might attempt ($13^{16-18.\ 23}$). Jonathan saw his opportunity and seized it. Without delaying to request support from his father, he struck full at the weakened centre, overwhelmed the outpost at Michmash which had been set to watch him, and penetrated to the camp. Thence it would be an easy task to crush the divided detachments in detail. So sudden was the defeat that Saul on hearing the news had no time even to consult the oracle. He followed instantly his son's assault. The Isr. auxiliaries among the enemy deserted. The scattered Philistines were only preserved from utter ruin by the exhaustion of their victors; they streamed back by the same pass by which they had entered, and the South country was for a period free (14^{1-46}).

Here it would appear that the independent record of Saul's reign ceased. Here accordingly ($14^{49ff.}$) have been inserted a brief list of his household, and a statement that the struggle between the young kingdom and the Philistines continued during his entire lifetime. Most of the remaining information about the reign is derived from accounts which relate it as introductory to the appearance of David on the stage of Isr. history; and it is only just to the first king's memory to remember that the rest of his life is narrated from the point of view of an introduction to the life of his greater rival. But the king showed his prowess, and turned the new vigour of his realm against other foes than the Philistines. Men long remembered his victory over the Amalekites, partly because the motive of the war had been such a racial and religious antipathy, as the quickened self-consciousness of the young nation was keener to feel (1 S 15). And something of the same feeling must have prompted the king to crush the Gibeonites, that foreign tribe which had been received into the Isr. nation (cf. 2 S $21^{1f.}$).

About this period, however, Saul lost the support of Samuel, who had done so much to set him on the throne. The accounts differ as to the reason which produced the quarrel. One referred it to the victorious campaign against the Amalekites. These borderers had long troubled the South country of Judah, ravaging it with sudden forays, since the desert offered refuge in defeat or secure retreat with booty. Samuel commanded the king to proclaim a religious war and root them out; and Saul obeying delivered a blow from which the people never again recovered. He spared, however, the best of the spoil, and especially Agag, the captured king. For this disregard of the exact terms of his command Samuel denounced the fall of Saul's house in the very hour of his triumph (1 S 15). The other account dated the strife from the time when Saul had retreated on Gilgal, and was anxiously expecting, with a handful of wavering men, the assault of the Philistines. Samuel had bade him wait there during seven days, with the promise to come down then and offer sacrifice on his behalf. As the prophet's arrival was delayed beyond the set period, and the people were threatening to desert him, the king ventured to sacrifice independently. For this he brought upon himself the prophecy of the fall of his dynasty * (13^{8-15a}).

Certainly, Saul through this quarrel was deprived of a restraining and a strengthening influence. The victory, too, at Michmash could not be final, it was only introductory. The Philistines, with their organized force and their strong cities, could better bear such a defeat than the Israelites such a victory. What was required from the young realm was no longer a vigorous rising followed by a momentary effort, but the patient organization of a steady defence. And this, because it was so novel in Isr. history, must have severely tried the temper of tribes not yet fully weaned from their desert instincts. Intertribal jealousies, further, which played so large a part in that early period (cf. Jg $9^{26\text{ff.}}$ $8^{1\text{-}3}$ $12^{1\text{-}6}$ etc.), and which troubled the kingdom even after David's reign had consolidated it (*e.g.* 1 K 12^{16}), could not fail to spring up, especially since the chief belonged to one of the smaller tribes. All these things are enough to account in a sensitive man for the deep melancholy which clouded the king's powers at the very time when those were most needed (1 S 16^{14}).

---

* The exact sense of נְצִיב (1 S 13^3) cannot be considered certain, but in this connexion it is enough to know that it represented in some way the Phil. suzerainty.

† See, however, Wellh. *Comp.* 247 f.; Budde, *Richt. u. Sam.* 191 ff., and W. R. Smith, *OTJC*² 134 n., acc. to whom *Gilgal* is an unhistorical interpolation.

* It must always be remembered that there was a theological question debated in these matters. Saul, the heaven-appointed king, failed in his mission and fell on Gilboa. There must therefore have been something in his life which brought upon him the displeasure of J″, who would otherwise have given him victory. Thus the Chronicler (1 Ch 10^{13}) gives as an additional cause for the king's rejection the fact that he had consulted an evil spirit at Endor; and Josephus (*Ant.* VI. xiv. 9) adds also as a cause that he had destroyed 'Ahimelech the high priest and the city of the high priests.'

David's fame as a skilful harp player led to his being brought to the little court, where his music soothed the king's vexed mood. The charm, which made all men whom he met love the future king, laid hold on Saul, and he attached the young man permanently to his person as his armour-bearer ($16^{14\text{-}23}$). By this time the war against Philistia had changed its character. On their side the Philistines, taught by the disaster at Michmash not to despise their foes, and probably considering the subjugation of the barren hill-country scarcely worth the trouble it cost, were content to keep open their trade-route along the coast. On his side Saul recognized the folly of attempting to besiege the five strongly fortified cities in the valley. In the new border warfare which sprang up David soon proved himself an adept, and rose to a trusted position in the army. Recognizing his prowess, Saul gave the young captain his daughter Michal in marriage, and asked as bride gift the present of 100 Phil. foreskins—a gift significant at once of the low culture of the period and the character of the war ($18^{22\text{ff.}}$). But the new son-in-law proved dangerously strong. His deeds in the field and the personal magnetism which never forsook him, won him the love of Jonathan and the more perilous applause of the multitude. To the darkened mind of the king it seemed by no means impossible that ambition might prove too strong for gratitude and kinship. By guile and by open force he sought to get David into his hands. Each effort failed: even his daughter deserted him and tricked his messengers, while her husband escaped (ch. 19). After that open rupture David continued to linger in the neighbourhood of the court, while efforts were made, especially by the leal-hearted Jonathan, to heal the breach between Saul and the stoutest of his servants. But this only served to draw upon the prince the suspicion that he had entered into a conspiracy with the son of Jesse to dethrone the king,*—a suspicion which Jonathan was too proud in his integrity even to deny. The proud silence, however, would not appeal to so darkened a mind as Saul's had become. Such a position could not endure. At last David fled to Nob, northward from Jerus., and thence made his way through the country of the Philistines into the familiar South, where his own clan were sure to shelter him (ch. 21).

Saul, 'sitting under the tamarisk-tree at Gibeah,' reproached his own men as traitors because they had not betrayed the plotter, and as fools because they failed to recognize how the first result of setting up this Judahite would be the loss of power and prestige to Benjamin. He forthwith took a fearful vengeance on the priests who had harboured the fugitive, by massacring almost the entire household of Ahimelech at Nob, and then pursued the refugee in his retreat ($22^{6\text{ff.}}$).

How far this quarrel was the result of baseless suspicion in the diseased mind of the king, and how far it may have been justified by facts, must always remain uncertain. The fulness of the details which we possess, both over this period and over that in which David was hunted through the Negeb, proves that the hairbreadth escapes of the great king before he came to the throne were a favourite subject with the early historians. But all the accounts were written from a standpoint which regarded David as the divinely appointed king over all Israel. And it is not an impossibility that the active, patriotic mind of the young soldier may have seen the need, if his country were to be delivered, of some stronger hand upon the reins of government at that period. It is also possible that he may have been betrayed into words or acts which wrought with extra power on the morbid mind of Saul.

The first intention of the fugitive seems to have been to settle in a tract still occupied by the Canaanites which lay between Judah and Philistia. It enjoyed the double advantage of lying near the settlements of his own kindred, and of offering the desert for a last retreat. There he might hope to set up an independent principality without going over to the hereditary enemy; and the intermittent war along the western frontier might draw the king's attention away from his escaped captain. Once, therefore, he attempted to settle in a town at Keilah ($23^{1\text{ff.}}$). But the district was devoted to the king, and Saul drove him headlong from this refuge. He then betook himself to the pasture country S.E. of Judah and adjoining the Dead Sea. But here also, though he allied himself with the strong clan of the Calebites by his marriage with Abigail, he was unable to maintain himself. Saul's government was powerful enough to expel him even from this corner of the realm (chs. 24–26), and he was finally driven to find refuge under the protection of Achish in Gath (27^{2}). The Philistine princes, recognizing his worth, and especially his aptitude for the border warfare in which he had annoyed themselves, settled the fugitive in Ziklag (v.^{6}), where he might cover their unguarded flank, and keep the 'way of the sea,' the trade-route for Egypt, against the unruly tribes of the desert.

It is a strong proof of the extent to which the kingdom had been consolidated even during these years of war, that Saul was able to drive out of this remote part of his government one who combined with his popularity as captain family ties in that very region. The young realm must also have included much on the eastern side of the Jordan, for the last stand of Saul's house under Ishbosheth was made at Mahanaim (2 S $2^{8\text{f.}}$). It now began to creep along the backbone of the hill-country and to aim at overpassing the valley of Jezreel into the Northern tribes. Had this succeeded, it would not only have gained a great accession of strength in linking the Northern tribes more closely with the Southern, it would also have cut the line of communication by which the trade of the Euphrates found its way over Damascus and Philistia to Egypt. This would have meant draining one chief artery of the life-blood in that trading community. (Only on this view of the problem can we understand why the final grapple between the two powers was not fought in the South near the headquarters of them both, but in the comparatively far-off North.)

Threatened in their most vulnerable point, the Philistines roused themselves to action, and marched by Sharon and Megiddo into Esdraelon to clear the threatened route. Saul followed them along the hills, and crossing by En-gannim posted his army on Mt. Gilboa at the opposite side of the valley from Shunem where his adversaries lay.*

---

* This is undoubtedly the meaning and the sting of 1 S $20^{30\text{f.}}$.

* No reference has been made to the other positions occupied by Saul and the Philistines, because, so long as the position of Aphek depends on nothing better than conjecture, all the rest must remain uncertain also. For a careful discussion of

In this position he commanded both Jordan and Esdraelon. This was no longer a guerilla contest, but a grapple of sheer bodily strength between the two kingdoms. Saul realized it, suspected also that the Philistines were too strong for him. His visit to the witch at Endor (ch. 28) both betrayed and increased the agitation with which he faced the battle. Men said he went into the fight knowing what was before him; that the evening before, Samuel, who had first anointed him to lead the armies of Israel, summoned him to a tryst at the grave. So it fell out. The ground on which the fight befell was not such as could protect the Isr. infantry from the dreaded chariots of the enemy. The Philistines crossed the valley and mounted the hill slopes. Saul saw his army routed, his sons slain, and retained only strength enough to command his own death. The Philistines next day found their great enemy dead, consecrated his armour in the temple of the Ashtaroth, and hung his decapitated body in the public square of Bethshan. But gratitude was as strong as hate, for men of Jabesh-gilead crossed the Jordan in the night, took down the body of the prince to whom they owed so much, and buried it on the site of his first victory (ch. 31).

Saul had been called to the task of freeing Israel from the Philistines, for without that freedom no advance was possible for the nation. And what had prompted him to seat himself on the throne had been no personal ambition, but a recognition of this fact, a very call of J". Because they could not fail to recognize this and the excellence of the deed, his people could not fail to reverence his memory, and even he who had fared worst at the king's hands sang his imperishable lament over him (2 S $1^{19ff.}$). Yet Saul had failed in his attempt, and died on Mount Gilboa. How that could be possible was the problem which long puzzled men in Israel. May it not be that they did not look widely enough? For Saul had done his work, despite his failure. No one ever questioned but that the kingdom must continue; he had proved its value too well for that. The only question which still remained was as to the man who should succeed and complete the imperfect task. That some one must, was a foregone conclusion. The first king, though outward circumstances had proved too strong for him, and though he had been unable to resolve the many difficulties which the new condition of affairs raised within Israel itself, had done enough to make the way clear for his successor: Saul died on Gilboa, but he made David possible.

Saul was married to Ahinoam, the daughter of Ahimaaz (1 S 14^{50}). Most of his sons died at his side (31^{2}); but one at least, Ishbaal or Ishbosheth (which see), escaped from Gilboa to meet a sadder fate (2 S 4^{6}). A son of Jonathan, Mephibosheth (which see), appears in the history of David (2 S $9^{1ff.}$ $19^{24ff.}$), and from him the Chronicler (1 Ch $9^{40ff.}$) derives a long line of descendants. It was one of Dean Stanley's suggestions which requires nothing except proof, that as Zimri appears in that list, the rebellion of 1 K 16^{9} may have been the last effort of the fallen house to recover its position. Saul also left issue by a subordinate wife (2 S 21^{8}), for whose fate see RIZPAH.

It is difficult to accept the computation of Ac 13^{21}, which makes the length of this first reign in Israel 40 years. For, within two years of his father's accession, Jonathan was able to lead troops into battle (1 S 13^{1-3}), a fact which argues for Saul an age of 40 years at his 'coronation,' and it is almost impossible to believe that it was a man of 80 years of age who fought at Mount Gilboa. Josephus (*Ant.* x. viii. 4, VI. xiv. 9) gives the length of the reign as 20 years. While this may be merely a guess, it does not present the above difficulties, and agrees with the fact that Ishbaal was 40 years old at his father's death.

See, further, BENJAMIN, DAVID, and the Literature at end of the latter article.

2. Saul of Tarsus. See PAUL.

A. C. WELCH.

SAVARAN.—1 Mac 6^{43} AV. See AVARAN.

SAVE, SAVING.—Both 'save' and 'saving' (from Fr. *sauf*, its force being seen in *sauf mon droit*, 'my right being reserved,' see Skeat, *Etymol. Dict. s.v.*), in the sense of *except*, frequently occur in AV. Thus Ps 18^{31} 'For who is God save the Lord?'; Lk 18^{19} 'None is good, save one, that is God'; Dt 15^{4} 'Save when there shall be no poor among you'; Ac 20^{23} 'Save that the Holy Ghost witnesseth in every city'; Neh 4^{23} 'None of us put off our clothes, saving that every one put them off for washing'; Ec 5^{11} 'What good is there to the owners thereof, saving (כִּי אִם) the [beholding] of them with their eyes?'

The phrase 'to save one alive' (Gn 12^{12} 50^{20}, Ex $1^{17.18.22}$ etc.) is used synonymously with 'to keep one alive' (Gn $6^{19.20}$ 7^{3}, Jos 14^{10} etc.), or 'to preserve one alive' (Dt 6^{24}), the Heb. being a causative form of חָיָה 'to be alive.' Cf. Mt 28^{14} Tind. 'If this come to the rulers eares, we wyll pease him, and save you harmeles.'

J. HASTINGS.

SAVIAS (B om., A Σαουίας), 1 Es 8^{2}=Uzzi, an ancestor of Ezra; cf. Ezr 7^{4}.

SAVIOUR.—See SALVATION.

SAVOUR, SAVOURY.—Savour comes from Lat. *sapor* taste (from *sapere* to taste) through the Old Fr. *savour* (mod. *saveur*). It was used first of all, in accordance with its derivation, for the taste or relish of a thing; then it passed to the expression of the kindred sense of smell; and from this it was easily used in the fig. sense of name or reputation. All these uses are found in AV.

(1) *Taste:* Mt 5^{13} ‖ Lk 14^{34} 'If the salt have lost his savour (*μωρανθῇ*), wherewith shall it be salted?' (*ἁλισθήσεται*; in Lk *ἀρτυθήσεται*, EV 'be seasoned'). The tr. in both places is from the Geneva version of 1557. The meaning is probably more than mere taste, rather 'virtue,' its power to make food 'savoury' (see the quotation from Udall's *Erasmus* at the end of this art.).

(2) *Smell:* Jl 2^{20} 'His stink shall come up, and his ill savour shall come up' (צַחֲנָתוֹ, Cov. 'his fylthy corrupcion,' Gen. 'his corruption'); elsewhere in OT always 'sweet savour' (Heb. רֵיחַ, except Ezr 6^{10} 'sacrifices of sweet savours,' Aram. נִיחוֹחִין). In the Apocrypha *εὐωδία* is rendered a 'good savour' in 1 Es 1^{12}, a 'sweet savour' in Sir 35^{6} 38^{11}; other examples of the word are 2 Es 2^{12} 'for an ointment of sweet savour' (*in odorem unguenti*), Sir 39^{14} 'give ye a sweet savour' (*εὐωδιάσατε ὀσμήν*), 50^{15} 'a sweet-smelling savour' (*ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας*). In NT *εὐωδία* is tr. 'sweet savour' in 2 Co 2^{15}, and *ὀσμὴ εὐωδίας* is tr. 'a sweet-smelling savour' in Eph 5^{2} (but in Ph 4^{18} 'an odour of a sweet smell'); elsewhere we find *ὀσμή* alone, 2 Co 2^{14} 'the savour of his knowledge,' *i.e.* the sweet smell of the knowledge of God (*ὀσμὴν τῆς γνώσεως αὐτοῦ*); and 2^{16} 'To one we are the savour of death unto death; and to the other the savour of life unto life' (*οἷς μὲν, ὀσμὴ θανάτου εἰς θάνατον· οἷς δὲ, ὀσμὴ ζωῆς εἰς ζωήν*; edd. insert *ἐκ* before *θανάτου* and before *ζωῆς*, whence RV 'from death . . . from life'). Cf. Mandeville, *Travels* (in 'Macmillan's Lib. of. Eng. Classics,' p. 113), 'And at the foot of that mount is a fair well and a great, that hath odour and savour of all spices'; Jn 12^{3} Wyc. 'the hous was fulfillid of the savour of the oynemente'; Jer 48^{11} Cov. 'hir taist remayneth, and hir savoure is not yet

---

the question and a good statement of its difficulty, see Smith, *HGHL* 400 ff., 675, and cf. APHEK, No. 3. It is just possible that Bethshan was the objective of both forces, and that the Philistines sought to relieve, the Israelites to cover, the siege of the town.

changed'; and the Note to Lv 1^{9} in *Matthew's Bible*, 'This *swete odoure* is: the sacryfyce of fayth and of pure affeccyon, in whych God is as delited, as a man is delited in the good savoure of meates, as it is said of Noe, Gen. viii. d.'

(3) Figuratively, *reputation*, Ex 5^{21} 'Ye have made our savour to be abhorred (AVm 'to stink') in the eyes of Pharaoh.' Cf. also Gn. 34^{30}, 1 S 13^{4}, 2 S 10^{6}, and the Eng. 'to be in (*or* to bring into) bad odour.'

The verb 'to savour' is (1) to taste or smell of, as Pref. to AV, 'Thus to minse the matter, we thought to savour more of curiosity than wisdome.' (2) To seek out by taste or smell, as Cranmer, *Works*, i. 181, 'By this you may soon savour what judgment this man is of.' So in AV Mt 16^{23} ‖ Mk 8^{33} 'thou savourest not the things that be of God' (οὐ φρονεῖς), Vulg. *non sapis*, whence Wyc. 'thou saverist not,' and all following versions till RV, 'thou mindest not.' Cf. Bunyan, *Holy War*, p. 25, 'And that which made him yet the more ignoble . . . was, that he never could savour good, but evil.'

The adj. 'savoury' occurs in AV only in Gn 27$^{4. 7. 9. 14. 17. 31}$ of the 'savoury meat' which Isaac loved (Heb. מַטְעַמִּים always plu., from טָעַם to taste). The word is also found in Is 30^{24} marg., and accepted into RV text, AV 'clean,' RVm 'salted,' in reference to the provender of oxen and young asses (Heb. בְּלִיל חָמִיץ, *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* 'provender seasoned with salt or a salt herb, rendering it more tasty'). Cf. Udall, *Erasmus' Paraph.* i. 19 (on Mt 5^{13}), 'It muste nedes bee a lively and a piththie thynge that can be sufficient to sawce and make savourie the life of all mankynde, being so werishe and unsavourye thorowe the desyres and fond opinions of vayne thynges.' J. HASTINGS.

SAW.—מְגֵרָה 2 S 12^{31}, 1 K 7^{9}, 1 Ch 20^{3} [but in this last the correct text is מַגְזְרוֹת 'axes'], מַשּׂוֹר Is 10^{15}; LXX πρίων. From 1 K 7^{9} it is evident that saws were used for cutting stone. In Syria, at the present time, long smooth blades of iron are used to cut out columns. These have no handles: a heavy piece of wood is fitted to the back of the saw; this is grasped by two men, who draw it backwards and forwards, sand and water being plentifully used. It seems probable, from the marks on the rocks, that the ancient Egyptians used bronze saws with emery for cutting granite (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* ii. p. 254 n.). The ancient Egyptian carpenters in cutting wood drew the saw towards them instead of pushing it from them. In India the same custom prevails. English saws are bought eagerly by the Hindu carpenters, but the English handles are removed, and other handles fixed at the narrow end of the blades. In the NT the verb used is πρίζω, He 11^{37}. W. CARSLAW.

SCALL.—See MEDICINE, vol. iii. p. 329^{b}. Scall is the AV and RV translation of נֶתֶק (Lv 13. 14^{54}): Wyc. has 'wem,' Tind. 'burning,' Cov. 'skyrfe,' Gen. 'blacke spot,' Dou. 'spotte,' Bish. 'fret.' The Eng. word is of Scand. origin, and signified primarily baldness (Icel. *skalli*, a bald head), but in Middle Eng. (also spelt *scalde*) it is a scab or eruption, generally of the head. Cf. Chaucer, *Scrivener*, 3—

> 'Under thy longe lockes thou maist have the scalle';

Spenser, *FQ* I. viii. 47—

> 'Her craftie head was altogether bald,
> And, as in hate of honourable eld,
> Was over growne with scurfe and filthy scald';

and Tindale, Lv 21^{20} 'Broken handed, or croke backed, or perleyed, or gogeleyed, or maunge, or skaulde'; Dt 28^{27} 'And the Lorde will smyte the with the botches of Egipte and the emorodes, scalle, and maungynesse.' J. HASTINGS.

SCANDAL.—In Wis 14$^{11\text{ marg.}}$ the Gr. σκάνδαλα is translated 'scandals' (text 'stumbling-blocks'). See OFFENCE, vol. iii. p. 586$^{a. b}$. The Rhem. version uses 'scandal' as the tr. of σκάνδαλον (after Vulg. *scandalum*), in Mt 13^{41} 'The Sonne of man shal send his Angels, and they shal gather out of his kingdom al scandals, and them that worke iniquitie'—16^{23} 18^{7}, Ro 14^{14}; and the verb 'scandalize' occurs freq. as the tr. of σκανδαλίζω, as Mt 5^{39} 11^{6} 15^{12} 18^{8}, Lk 7^{23}, Jn 16^{1}. J. HASTINGS.

SCAPE-GOAT.—See AZAZEL.

SCARLET.—This word is the equivalent in AV of—1. שָׁנִי *shānî*, or הַשָּׁנִי *hashshānî* (the latter in Gn 37^{30}, Ex 28^{5} 35$^{25. 35}$ 38^{23} 39$^{1. 3}$, Jos 2$^{18. 21}$, Ca 4^{3}). 2. שָׁנִים *shānîm* (Is 1^{18} [with art.], Pr 31^{21}). 3. שְׁנִי־תוֹלַעַת *shĕnî-tôla'ath*, and שְׁנִי־הַתּוֹלַעַת *shĕnî-hattôla'ath* (Lv 14$^{4. 6. 49. 51. 52}$ 19^{6}). 4. תּוֹלַעַת־שָׁנִי *tôla'ath-shānî*, and תּוֹלַעַת־הַשָּׁנִי *tôla'ath-hashshānî* (Ex 25–39 *passim*, Nu 4^{8}). 5. תּוֹלָע *tôla'* (La 4^{5}). Once (Jer 4^{30}) only is *shānîm* tr^{d} AV 'crimson,' RV 'scarlet' (see CRIMSON). In one passage (Is 1^{18}) AV and RV tr. *shānîm* 'scarlet' (LXX φοινικοῦς), and *tôla'* 'crimson' (LXX κόκκινος). 6. κόκκινος (Mt 27^{28}, He 9^{19}, Rev 17$^{3. 4}$ 18$^{12. 16}$). As our Eng. versions do not rigidly preserve the distinction between crimson and scarlet, we cannot wonder that the ancients did not always do so. *Tôla'* originally signifies the worm or insect, and *shānî* the colour. In point of fact, both colours are produced from the same insect. Sometimes one of the two words is omitted, and sometimes the other, and sometimes both are given. The article is inserted or omitted, without an obvious reason. The creature alluded to, which produces the colour, is the cochineal, a hemipterous insect, *Coccus ilicis*, of which the male in the imago state is winged, and the female wingless. This insect attaches itself to the leaves and twigs of *Quercus coccifera*. An allied species, *Coccus cacti*, is raised on the leaf-like branches of *Cactus Ficus Indica*, Haw., and *C. cochillinifera*, Mill., particularly in the neighbourhood of Nâblûs. The female is oval in form, convex at the upper, flat at the lower surface. She is about the size of half a cherry kernel, but dries up to that of a grain of wheat. The Arab. name of this bug is *ḳirmiz*, from which the word *crimson* is derived. Other colours besides scarlet and crimson, as purple and violet, are manufactured from the cochineal. See, further, art. COLOURS, *s.* 'Scarlet.' G. E. POST.

SCEPTRE is AV and RV tr. of 1. שֵׁבֶט *shēbeṭ*: Gn 49^{10} ('The sceptre [LXX ἄρχων] shall not depart from Judah,' etc.; on this passage see art. LAWGIVER in vol. iii. p. 83, and SHILOH, below, p. 500 f.), Nu 24^{17} ('there shall come forth a star out of Jacob, and a sceptre [LXX ἄνθρωπος] shall rise out of Israel,' where sceptre and star [cf., for the latter figure, Is 14^{12}, Rev 22^{16}] are symbolical for a mighty prince *), Ps 45$^{6\,(7)}$ ('a sceptre [LXX and NT ῥάβδος] of equity is the sceptre of thy kingdom,' quoted in He 1^{8}), Is 14^{5} (‖ מַטֶּה; 'the LORD hath broken the staff of the wicked, the sceptre [LXX ζυγός, which is used also for 'staff' immediately before] of the rulers'), Ezk 19^{11} ('she [the vine symbolizing Israel] had strong rods for the sceptres of them that bare rule'; cf. v.^{14}, where, after her destruction, 'there is in her no longer a strong rod to be a sceptre to rule'), Am 1$^{5. 8}$ ('I will cut off him that holdeth the sceptre' [LXX here and in the two verses in

---

* This appears decidedly preferable to the suggestion of Ball (in *SBOT*, on Gn 49^{10}) that כּוֹכָב ('star') may here mean, like the Sumerian MULMUL, 'a *lance*, or else a *club*, *mace*, or *maul*, with a spiked head.'

Ezekiel has *φυλή*, taking *shēbeṭ* in the sense of 'tribe']), Zec 10[11] ('the sceptre [LXX *σκῆπτρον*] of Egypt shall depart away'). **2.** שַׁרְבִּיט *sharbîṭ*, used of the golden sceptre [LXX *ἡ χρυσῆ ῥάβδος*] of Ahasuerus, Est 4[11] 5[2 *bis*] 8[4] [all]. *Sharbîṭ* is simply an Aramaism for *shēbeṭ* (cf. the insertion of *r* in Da*r*meseḳ for Dammeseḳ in 1 Ch 18[5], and see Siegfried, *Lehrb. d. neuheb. Sprache*, § 18 *c*).

In addition to the above instances, RV in Nu 21[18] corrects AV 'by direction of the lawgiver' (LXX *ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτῶν*) to 'with the sceptre.' The Heb. is בִּמְחֹקֵק || בְּמִשְׁעֲנֹתָם 'with their staves.' Similarly RV reads in Ps 60[7 (9)] = 108[8 (9)] 'Judah is my sceptre' (same Heb. word) for AV 'Judah is my lawgiver' [LXX *βασιλεύς*]. See LAWGIVER, *l.c.* It also substitutes 'sceptre' for 'rod' as tr. of *shēbeṭ* in Ps 125[3] ('the sceptre [LXX *ῥάβδος*] of wickedness shall not rest upon the lot of the righteous').

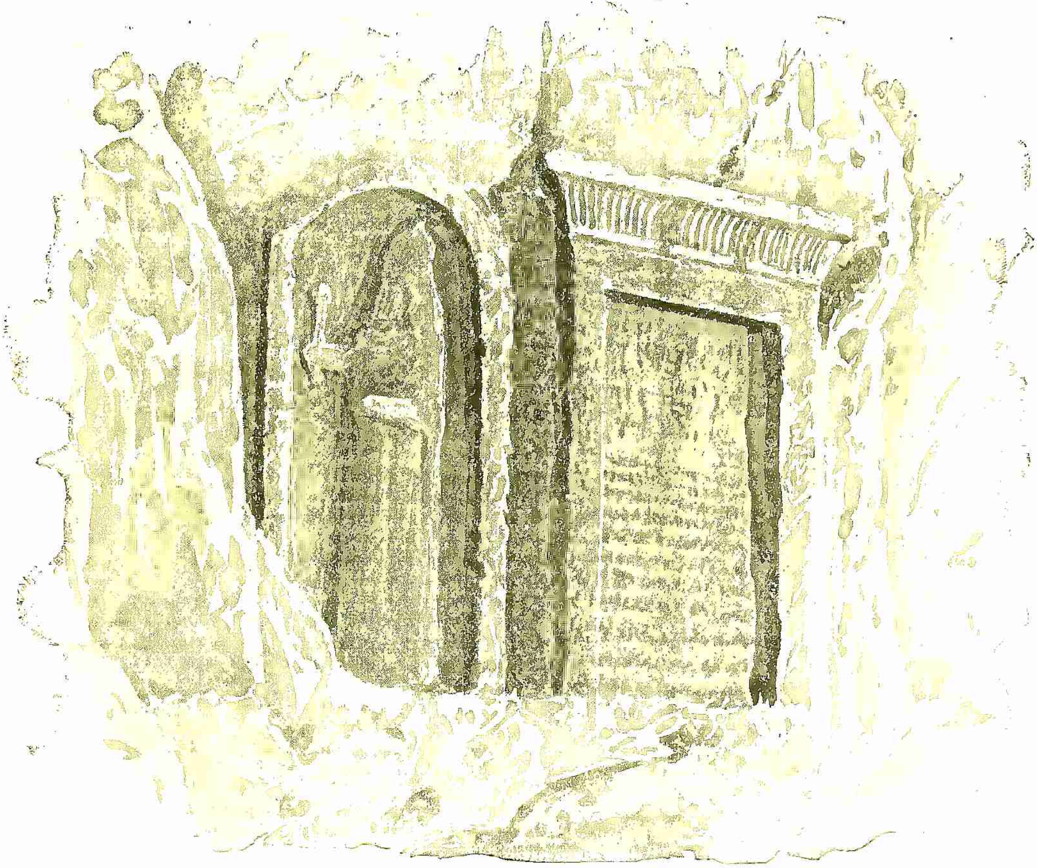

ASSYRIAN KING WITH SCEPTRE (DOG-RIVER INSCRIPTIONS).

'Sceptre' is the appropriate rendering of *shēbeṭ*, when this is associated with a *king* or used absolutely,* in which latter instance it probably always designates a *royal* possession (see Driver, *Expos.* July 1885, p. 13). *Shēbeṭ*, in this sense, may stand either for a short ornamental sceptre such as appears in some representations of the Assyrian king (see illustration above, and the figures in Ball, *Light from the East*, pp. 160, 199[b], 217), or for a long staff reaching to the ground, which characterizes some portrayals of the Persian monarchs (see Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.* iii. 203 ff., who describes the Persian sceptre as a rod about five feet long, ornamented with a ball or apple at its upper end, and tapering at its other extremity almost to a point). Probably both forms of 'sceptre' are in view in Gn 49[10] (where שֵׁבֶט should prob. be taken as a *royal* emblem), the longer one being represented by the מְחֹקֵק (prop. 'commander's staff') of the second clause, and the shorter one by the שֵׁבֶט of the first clause.* The long sceptre is simply an ornamented **staff**, the short one is a development of the *club* or *mace* (cf. art. ROD, and see figures in Ball, *l.c.* pp. 50, 199[a], 217). It is this last-named weapon that is called *shēbeṭ* in 2 S 23[21] = 1 Ch 11[23] (AV and RV wrongly 'staff') and Ps 2[9] 23[4] (AV and RV less clearly 'rod').

The 'golden' (*χρύσεον*) or 'gold-studded' (*χρυσείοις ἥλοισι*) sceptre (*σκῆπτρον*) appears frequently in the pages of Homer in the hands of kings and chiefs (*e.g.* *Il.* i. 15, 246; *Od.* xi. 91, 569). With such a 'sceptre' Ulysses beats Thersites (*Il.* ii. 265 ff.); a sceptre is put by a herald into the hands of Menelaus when he rises to address the Greeks (*ib.* xxiii. 568, cf. *Od.* ii. 37).

On the difficulty of approaching the presence of the Persian kings referred to in Est 4[11], cf. also Herod. iii. 118, 140.

J. A. SELBIE.

---

* In instances like Jg 5[14] (שֵׁבֶט סֹפֵר) 'baton' would be a very suitable rendering.

* Dillm., Ball, Gunkel, *et al.*, make מְחֹקֵק and שֵׁבֶט synonymous here, and understand *both* to refer to a long 'sceptre' or staff; but this is not required by the parallelism. In Ps 110[2] מַטֶּה is likewise an emblem of rule, and virtually = 'sceptre.

SCEVA (Σκευᾶς, *Sceva*), Ac 19^{14}.—The name (Blass, *ad loc.*) was probably of Latin origin *Scaeva*, but had been assimilated to a Greek form as if derived from σκεῦος; it occurs in an inscription at Miletus (*CIG* ii. 2889. 5). In Ac $19^{11\text{-}20}$, in the account of St. Paul's preaching at Ephesus, we are told that God wrought special miracles by the hands of Paul, even handkerchiefs carried from his body were sufficient to heal. But some of the wandering Jewish exorcists tried to exorcize in the name of Jesus, saying, 'I adjure you by Jesus, whom Paul preaches.' Then is recorded the special instance of the seven sons of Sceva, described as a Jewish high priest, who attempted this and failed, the evil spirit answering, 'Jesus I know, and Paul I know, but who are ye?' and the man driving two of them[*] naked and wounded out of the house. This caused great fear. Many who had used curious arts came confessing what they had done. Many also burnt magical books amounting in value to 50,000 drachmas (about £2000). 'So mightily grew the word of God and prevailed.'

The whole paragraph must be taken together. It represents St. Paul's miracles and spiritual power in contrast to the magical customs which so widely prevailed. Many Jews especially devoted themselves to sorcery, and Ephesus was noted for, amongst other forms of sorcery, the *Ephesia grammata* (see EPHESUS and MAGIC). St. Paul's power and success led to imitation of him. The name of Jesus evidently seemed to have some special efficacy, and so was adopted by the sorcerers, as every other name in turn was adopted (on the power of names see Frazer, *Golden Bough*, i. 403). The discoveries of papyri made in the last few years have enabled us to realize the very large extent to which magical practices prevailed, and the number of magical books which existed. The name of Jehovah in some form is common, and in the following extract from a magical papyrus at Paris the name of Jesus is used. The papyrus is of the 4th cent., and the original cannot be earlier than Hadrian, who is mentioned by name; it is published by C. Wessely, 'Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London,' in the *Denkschriften der phil.-hist. Classe der kais. Akad. der Wissenschaften in Wien*, vol. xxxvi. (1888) l. 3007 ff.).[†]

πρὸς δαιμονιζομένους· Πιβηχέως δόκιμον. λαβὼν ἔλαιον ὀμφακίζοντα μετὰ βοτάνης μαστιγίας καὶ λωτομήτρας ἕψει μετὰ γαμψούχου ἀχρωτίστου . . . στήσας ἄντικρυς ὅρκιζε. ἔστιν δὲ ὁ ὁρκισμὸς οὗτος· ὁρκιζω σε κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν Ἑβραίων Ἰησοῦ· ιαβα· ιαη· αβρααθ· αια: θωθ· ελε· ελω· αηω· εου· ιιιβαεχ· αβαρμας· ιαβαραου· αβελβελ· λωνα· αβρα· μαροια· βρακιων· πυριφανη· ὁ ἐν μέσῃ ἀρούρης καὶ χιόνος καὶ ὁμίχλης· ταννητις· καταβάτω σου ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ ἀπαραίτητος καὶ εἰσκρινέτω τὸν περιπτάμενον δαίμονα τοῦ πλάσματος τούτου ὃ ἔπλασεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ ἑαυτοῦ παραδείσῳ [MS παροδευσω] . . . ὁρκίζω σε τὸν σημανθέντα τῷ Ἰσραὴλ ἐν στύλῳ φωτεινῷ καὶ νεφέλῃ ἡμερινῇ κ.τ.λ.

Both the evidence of papyri and the incident recorded in the Acts imply a conviction, even amongst those who did not believe, that there was power, perhaps special power, in the name of Jesus. It would imply a general impression that miracles were wrought in His name, and bears witness to the force and power of Christianity. It is instructive also to notice how from the beginning Christianity is the resolute foe of all magic.

There are a number of critical questions connected with this narrative. First of all there is a question of text. The RV (Codex B) reads: 'And there were seven sons of one Sceva, a Jew, a chief priest, which did this. And the evil spirit answered and said unto them, Jesus I know, and Paul I know; but who are ye? And the man in whom the evil spirit was leaped upon them, and mastered both of them, and prevailed against them, so that they fled out of that house naked and wounded.' D (supported by the margin of the Philoxenian) reads: 'And among those also the sons of one Sceva, a priest, *wished to do the same thing, who had a custom of exorcizing such; and having gone in unto the man possessed with devils, they began to call upon the name, saying: We command thee in Jesus, whom Paul preaches, to come forth.*' According to Ramsay (*Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 153): 'Codex Bezæ here gives a text which is intelligent, consistent, and possible: the accepted text is badly expressed and even self-contradictory.' This opinion seems to be largely followed. To the present writer the text of D is clearly a bad paraphrase, and its growth can be shown. The statement that Sceva was a Jewish high priest seemed (as it is) very curious, and therefore was altered in various ways. D alters ἀρχιερέως into ἱερέως, and omits Ἰουδαίου, so *Gig.* reads 'sacerdotis,' and Cassiodorius explains by 'principis synagogæ.'

Then again in the text of B, while in v.^{14} we have seven sons, in v.^{16} it is stated that the man 'mastered both of them,' implying only two. *Gig.* therefore substitutes 'duo' for '*septem*,' D leaves out the number altogether, while the majority of later authorities prefer to omit or alter ἀμφοτέρων in v.^{16}, the Sahidic even putting *eorum septem*. The remaining alterations of D are, as is generally the case, mere inept expansions. The narrative of St. Luke is very much abbreviated, and the paraphrast or translator thought that he could make it more clear, but he does not add a single point which could not be guessed. Even in the few words he does add he manages to introduce the form εἶχαν and the word δαιμονιζόμενον which are not Lukan, and the expression ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα which does not occur unqualified in the NT, and betrays a later age. It may be noted that the word ἀμφοτέρων is undoubtedly Lukan (8 or 9 times in Luke and Acts, 6 times elsewhere in NT). The inconsistency may be difficult, but it is quite inconceivable that any one who had the D text before him should have taken the trouble to insert *septem*. On every principle of textual criticism the text of B must be the original.

The statement that Sceva was a Jewish high priest is undoubtedly difficult, but we have no right therefore to correct it away. Yet in the sense of a member of a high priestly family there must have been many who could claim it, and as Zeller (*Acts of the Apostles*, Eng. tr. ii. p. 59) says: 'It is quite possible that a band of exorcists, giving themselves out for sons or disciples of a Jewish high priest, may have made an experience of the futility of their arts in the person of a lunatic who had heard something of Paul and of Christ.' The difficulty about the discrepancy of numbers is more interesting. St. Luke's narrative is obviously very much shortened; only the necessary statements are made, and only what is essential is given. He never tells us that only two out of the seven were engaged in this incident, and it comes out accidentally in ἀμφοτέρων.[*] Does not this small point imply that the writer had here a source, almost necessarily a written one, from which he abbreviated his narrative?

It has been suggested that vv.$^{11\text{-}20}$ have been added to the original work. Hilgenfeld ascribes the passage to R. Ramsay, who has taken a dislike to it, says: 'If there were many such contrasts in the book as between vv.$^{11\text{-}20}$ and $^{23\text{-}41}$, I should be a believer in the composite character of the Acts' (*St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 273). It will be interesting, therefore, to examine the language. It will appear that throughout the passage we find characteristic Lukan expressions.

οὐ τὰς τυχούσας, cf. Ac 28^{2}.
τυγχάνειν, 7 times in Acts and Luke, 6 times elsewhere.
ἐπίσταμαι, 10 t. in Acts, 5 elsewhere.
διὰ χειρός, τῶν χειρῶν, 8 times in Acts.
γνωστόν, 10 t. in Acts, twice in Luke, 3 t. elsewhere.
τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν with acc. 13 t. in Acts, once in Luke.
ἐπιπίπτειν, 10 t. in Acts and Luke, 4 elsewhere.
φόβος ἐπέπεσεν, cf. Lk 1^{12}.
μεγαλύνειν, 5 t. in Acts and Luke, 3 elsewhere.
οἱ πεπιστευκότες, common in Acts.
ἱκανοί, 29 times in Acts and Luke, 12 elsewhere.
τιμή, or τιμαί of price, 5 times in Acts. With v.^{20} cf. 6^{7} 12^{24}.

The whole structure of the paragraph is exactly in the manner of the writer of the Acts, with the final clause summing up the whole, while there are indications that here as elsewhere he has reproduced partly in his own words a written narrative, just in the same way as he reproduces the Synoptic narratives in the Gospels with signs of his own phraseology.

Besides the special point touched on above, the historical character of the narrative has been attacked more generally. Ramsay (*St. Paul the Traveller, loc. cit.*) finds in it a vulgarity of tone compared with the great scene at Paphos. This seems to the present writer purely fanciful. Zeller (*op. cit.* ii. 58) says: 'Even from the standpoint of the miraculous faith presented in our book, such an utterly crass and magical representation of the healing power of the apostle has too much that is offensive.' What he particularly objects to is the story of the healing power in the handkerchiefs of St. Paul, and this is supposed to be a mere parallel to the narrative in Ac $5^{14.\ 15}$. The parallel is too distant to have any weight, and here, as elsewhere, we need only remark about the miracles, that even if the handkerchiefs of St. Paul had no healing power it would certainly be believed that they possessed it, and that if the faith of the recipient was a condition of healing it might surely act equally with those who received a handkerchief in the virtue of which they believed. The whole narrative must be criticised and judged from the point of view of the time and place. The remarks of Conybeare and Howson, ch. xiv., who bring out how exactly the story harmonizes with the atmosphere of Ephesus, are much more valuable. 'The character of miracles was not always the same. They were accommodated to the peculiar forms of sin, superstition, and ignorance they were required to oppose. . . . So on this occasion garments were made the means of communicating a healing power to those who were at a distance . . . such effects thus publicly manifested were a signal refutation of the charms and amulets and mystic letters of Ephesus.' A. C. HEADLAM.

---

[*] But see footnote on next column.

[†] For this and other information the present writer is indebted to Dr. F. G. Kenyon of the British Museum.

[*] [In *Expos. Times*, Dec. 1900, p. 144, it is argued by Nestle that ἀμφότεροι, like 'both' in English [see editorial note, *ib.*], may include *more than two*, and is at times equivalent to πάντες. It was also discussed by J. B. Bury in the *Classical Rev.* xi. 393 (1897). There are at least two instances in Papyri: *Brit. Mus. Pap.* 336; *Geneva Pap.* 67].

SCHISM.—Only 1 Co 12^{25} 'That there should be no schism in the body': Gr. *σχίσμα*, which means either lit. a *rent* in a garment (Mt 9^{16}=Mk 2^{21}) or fig. a division in a community (Jn 7^{43} 9^{16} 10^{19}, 1 Co 1^{10} 11^{18} 12^{25}). RV retains 'schism' in 1 Co 12^{25}, and in the marg. of 11^{18} points out that the Gr. is 'schisms' (text 'divisions'). See HERESY, vol. ii. p. 351^{a}.

SCHOOL.—See EDUCATION.

SCHOOLMASTER.—Only Gal $3^{24.\ 25}$ AV (Gr. *παιδαγωγός*, which occurs also in 1 Co 4^{15} AV 'instructer'; RV in all places 'tutor'). The *παιδαγωγός* (Lat. *pædagogus*) was a person (generally a slave) who had charge of the Greek or Roman boy till he reached manhood. Tindale's translation 'scholemaster' (Wyc. 'maister') is misleading, as the *παιδαγωγός* was not a schoolmaster or teacher (*διδάσκαλος*). Nor is the apostle thinking of one who conducted to school, though no doubt the *παιδαγωγός* might lead the boy to school if he went there. The contrast in Gal. is between the restraint of boyhood and the liberty of manhood. To be under the Law is to be always under the control of a *παιδαγωγός*, to be in Christ is to be free from that irksome restraint.
J. HASTINGS.

SCHOOLS OF THE PROPHETS.—See EDUCATION, vol. i. p. 647^{a}, and PROPHECY, p. 109^{a}.

SCIENCE.—This word, as used in AV, means simply *knowledge*. Wyclif (*Works*, iii. 122) renders 1 Co 8^{1} 'Science blowes men' (AV 'knowledge puffeth up'). Cf. Barlowe, *Dialoge*, 109, 'There is no truthe, no mercye, nor scyence of god in the yerth'; Golding, *Calvin's Job*, 571, 'Thou shalt not run after witchcrafts, and other vaine sciences'; and Ro 2^{20} Rhem. 'Having the forme of science' (AV 'which hast the form of knowledge,' Gr. *τῆς γνώσεως*). The word occurs in AV only Dn 1^{4} 'Children . . . understanding science' (יֹדְעֵי דַעַת, LXX *γραμματικούς*, Theod. *γιγνώσκοντας γνῶσιν*); and 1 Ti 6^{20} 'Avoiding . . . oppositions of science falsely so called' (*ἀντιθέσεις τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως*, Rhem. 'oppositions of falsely called knowledge'). See KNOWLEDGE and GNOSTICISM.

Science in the modern sense, that is, the discovery and classification of secondary laws, is unknown to the Bible. To the Hebrew mind phenomena were immediately due to the word of Jehovah. See P. Thomson in *Expos.* 2nd ser. vol. i. pp. 161 ff., 241 ff. J. HASTINGS.

SCORPION (עַקְרָב *'aḳrābh*, *σκορπίος*, *scorpio*, Arab. *'aḳrab*).—There has never been any reason to doubt the identity of this animal. It is of the order *Arachnidæ*, resembling in shape a lobster, except that it has a long tail, at the end of which is its venomous sting. Its claws are used for seizing its prey, which it kills with its sting. When the animal runs it holds its tail upward in readiness to strike. It is carnivorous, living on insects and worms. Scorpions swarm under stones and in chinks of walls, and often conceal themselves under beds and mats in houses. Their sting is very painful, frequently causing a night of agony, which nothing but a large dose of morphine will assuage. The wound is dangerous to human life only when in a situation where the swelling obstructs the respiration. Not less than a dozen species are found in Palestine and Syria. The largest is 6 in. long, and black. Others are yellow, brown, white, and red, and variously striped.

The scorpion is frequently mentioned in Scripture. Allusion is made to its residence in the desert (Dt 8^{15}). Rehoboam threatens to chastise his contumacious subjects with scorpions (1 K $12^{11.\ 14}$, 2 Ch $10^{11.\ 14}$). This is prob. figurative (see next art.). Again, scorpions are alluded to figuratively with briers and thorns to designate a rebellious people (Ezk 2^{6}). The offer of a scorpion instead of an egg (Lk 11^{12}) is mentioned in a way that shows the horror which this creature inspired. The figure employed by our Lord in this passage is suggested by the egg-like form of the scorpion when at rest (see Plummer, *ad loc.*). The pain of its sting (Rev 9^{5}), the organ that inflicts it (v.^{10}), and its venomous quality (v.^{3}), are noted. The scorpion is also mentioned in Apocr. (Sir 26^{7} 39^{30}, 4 Mac 11^{10}).
G. E. POST.

SCOURGE (שׁוֹט, usually translated 'scourge,' six times [1 K $12^{11.\ 14}$, 2 Ch $10^{11.\ 14}$, Pr 26^{3}, Nah 3^{2}] 'whip'; Gr. nouns and verbs *μάστιξ*, *μαστιγόω*, *μαστίζω*; *φραγέλλιον*, *φραγελλόω*; *flagellum*, *flagellare*).—Among the Hebrews the usual mode of corporal punishment, legal and domestic, was that of beating with the rod, just as the bastinado is still the common method in Eastern countries. The only reference to the scourge as an instrument of punishment is found in 1 K $12^{11.\ 14}$, 2 Ch $10^{11.\ 14}$. Rehoboam signalized his accession to the throne by threatening that, whereas his father had chastised the people with whips (or scourges), he would chastise them with scorpions. The scorpion (עַקְרָב) may have been a more terrible kind of weapon in actual use—either a knotted cudgel or a scourge armed with barbed points, just as the Roman *scorpio* was described by Isidore as *virga nodosa et aculeata*. It is possible, however, that the king was only using a lively figure of speech.

Under the Roman system of scourging, the culprit was stripped and tied in a bending posture to a pillar, or stretched on a frame (*divaricatio*), and the punishment was inflicted with a scourge made of leathern thongs weighted with sharp pieces of bone or lead. This is what Horace calls the *horribile flagellum* (*Sat.* I. iii. 119). Jesus was scourged with it by order of Pilate before being led away to be crucified (Mt 27^{26}, Mk 15^{15}, Jn 19^{1}). He had foreseen and foretold this indignity (Mt 20^{19}, Mk 10^{34}, Lk 18^{33}). The punishment of scourging usually preceded crucifixion (see references in Swete, *St. Mark*, *ad loc.*). The Porcian law forbade the scourging of Roman citizens; and on one occasion St. Paul, after being actually bound in order to be scourged, escaped the infliction by demanding if it was lawful to scourge a man who was a Roman and uncondemned (Ac $22^{24.\ 25}$).

Jesus forewarned His disciples that they would be scourged in the synagogues (Mt 10^{17} 23^{34}). The Jewish method is fully described in the Mishna.

The scourge consisted of three thongs of leather, and the offender received thirteen stripes on the bare breast and thirteen on each shoulder (*Makkoth* iii. 12). St. Paul records that he five times suffered this punishment at the hands of the Jews (2 Co 11^{24}); and 'others had trial of . . . scourgings' (He 11^{36}).

Legal usages apart, Jesus made a scourge (*φραγέλλιον*) of small cords before cleansing the temple (Jn 2^{15}). Opinion differs as to the use He made of it. Meyer thinks He drove out the animals with it, not the persons; Godet, that 'it was not an instrument but an emblem, a sign of authority and judgment.'

'Scourge' is frequently used in a metaphorical sense. The Canaanites were a scourge (שֹׁטֵט) in the side of the Israelites (Jos 23^{13}); Eliphaz spoke of hiding from the scourge of the tongue (Job 5^{21}); the plague was the scourge by pre-eminence (Job 9^{23}, Is 10^{26}); and by a fusion of metaphors an invasion was called an overflowing scourge (Is 28^{15}).

For literature see art. CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.

J. STRACHAN.

SCRABBLE.—1 S 21^{13} only, 'And scrabbled on the doors of the gate' (וַיְתָו,* AVm and RVm 'made marks': the subst. תָּו a mark or signature, esp. in the form of a cross, became the name of the Heb. letter ת; see MARK, § 6). The Eng. word comes from the Geneva version, where the marg. is 'by making markes and toyes.'

Though the same in meaning as 'scribble' (from Lat. *scribere* to write), it has no connexion with that word etymologically. Skeat considers it to be a dialectic form of 'scrapple' (a frequentative of 'scrape'), of which 'scramble' is a nasalized form. Bunyan uses 'scrabble' in the sense of 'scramble' (*PP* p. 116, see Venables' note on p. 467), 'Now, after a while, Little-faith came to himself, and getting up, made shift to scrabble on his way.' The modern word 'scrawl,' says Skeat, 'appears to be nothing but a careless form of "scrabble."'

J. HASTINGS.

SCREECH OWL.—See OWL.

SCRIBES.—i. ORIGIN AND CHARACTERISTICS.—In the time of our Saviour Jewish piety was largely legalistic and formal. The whole life of a pious Jew was strictly regulated by the Law. The Law was God's greatest gift to Israel; it was the complete revelation of His will and the basis of the covenant into which He had entered with them at Sinai; in it God had made known the perfect way of life, binding Himself by its terms to reward both in time and eternity the pious Jew in proportion to his observance of its precepts. The Law was therefore the binding norm both of the religious and the moral life. Religion was not a communion of man with God, but a legally correct walk before God. Love of the Law was the essence of piety; conformity to the Law was the standard and source of all righteousness. The aim and motive of this piety was the hope of reward in the present age and in the age to come (cf. Weber, *Jüd. Theol.* 1 ff.).

This legalistic tendency, which dates at least as far back as Ezra and Nehemiah, called into existence a class of men who specially devoted themselves to the study and exposition of the Law. These were the *ṣōphĕrîm* or scribes. The earlier scribes, however, must not be identified in all respects with those of NT times. The latter were mainly jurists; the former were men of (sacred) letters: copyists, editors, students, and interpreters of Scripture, and more especially of the Law. Ezra, 'the scribe' *par excellence* according to Jewish tradition, is the great typical form of these earlier scribes or exegetes of the Law (Ezr $7^{6.11.12}$, Neh $8^{1.4.9.13}$ $12^{26.36}$).* He is described as 'a ready scribe in the law of Moses' (Ezr 7^{6}), *i.e.* as a man of letters skilful in the Law, and as having 'set his heart to seek the law of the Lord, and to do it, and to teach in Israel statutes and judgments' (v.^{10}). This description of their activity doubtless applies in the main to Ezra's immediate successors. They occupied themselves in gathering together and elaborating Israel's sacred literature, in interpreting it to the common people, who were largely ignorant of Hebrew, and in making the Law the rule of faith and life.† But down to the Maccabæan period their obedience to the Law was not synonymous with the narrowness of later Judaism (see Wildeboer, *Die Sprüche*, xvi). They were the 'wise,' the 'men of understanding,' the 'just men' of Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus (cf. Sir $6^{33\text{ff.}}$ $9^{14\text{ff.}}$ $14^{20\text{ff.}}$ 38^{24}–39^{15}, Dn $11^{33.35}$ 12^{3}). It would seem from 1 Ch 2^{55} that they tended to form themselves into guilds and families.

Like Ezra himself (Ezr 7^{12} etc.), the scribes were originally found among the priests and Levites (cf. Neh $8^{7.13}$, 2 Ch 34^{13}). But pious 'laymen' also naturally devoted themselves to the professional study of the Law, so that there was gradually formed, alongside of the priests, who were the official interpreters of the Law, a relatively independent class of scribes. During the Greek period this independence developed into opposition, not indeed to the priesthood generally, but to the priestly aristocracy, several of whom fell away to Hellenism and neglected the laws and customs of the fathers. The attempt of Antiochus Epiphanes to suppress the Jewish religion brought matters to a crisis. It increased the scribes' devotion to the Law, and made them more narrow and exclusive. It also greatly increased their reputation among the people as being the leaders of those who were zealous for the Law (cf. 1 Mac $7^{12\text{f.}}$ for their connexion with the Hasidæans), and as men who were ready to suffer martyrdom for their faith, 'welcoming death with renown rather than life with pollution' (2 Mac 6^{18-31}). The issue of the Maccabee rising in the Hasmonæan State intensified their narrowness and exclusiveness; they became Pharisees. Under John Hyrcanus (Kuenen), or more probably under Alexandra Salome (Wellhausen), their leaders received a seat in the Sanhedrin, as a separate class, alongside of the chief priests and elders. They thus gained a kind of official position, and assumed a new character. From being men of sacred letters, they became mainly jurists. Amid all the changes that followed the downfall of the Hasmonæan dynasty down to the destruction of Jerusalem, although they were never in possession of political power, they were the real leaders of the people, such as we find them in the time of our Saviour.

In the NT they are usually called *γραμματεῖς* ('scribes,' 'men of letters'), occasionally also *νομικοί* ('lawyers') and *νομοδιδάσκαλοι* ('doctors,' 'teachers of the law'). These three terms are used almost synonymously (see art. LAWYER).* They practically formed the same party as the Pharisees, though such expressions as 'the scribes of the Pharisees' (Mk 2^{16}) and 'the Pharisees and their scribes' (Lk 5^{30}, cf. Ac 23^{9}) show that some of the scribes were Sadducees (see art. PHARISEES, § ii. (1)). The main seat of their activity was Judæa; but we find them also in Galilee (*e.g.* Lk 5^{17}); and they were probably to be found even in the Diaspora. They were indispensable wherever there was living zeal for the Law. Though any one qualified might be called on by the ruler of the synagogue to read and expound the Scriptures in the synagogues, the scribes, when present, were naturally most frequently invited to do so (cf. Mk 1^{22}).

---

* We should probably emend to וַיְתֹף, 'and he drummed on (the doors).' So Driver, Budde, Löhr, *et al.*, following the LXX ἐτυμπάνιζεν and Vulg. *impingebat.*

* Scribes are mentioned in Jer 8^{8}, where the prophet accuses them of falsifying the Law (cf. Giesebrecht, *ad loc.*). The term *ṣōphēr* occurs frequently in the OT in other significations, *e.g.* Jg 5^{14}, 2 K 25^{19}, 2 Ch 26^{11}, Jer $37^{15.20}$ 52^{25} 'muster-master, an officer who had charge of the enumeration and enrolment of the troops; a kind of adjutant-general' (Moore on Jg 5^{14}); Is 33^{18} the official that rated the tribute or war-tax that had to be paid to the oppressor; Ezr $4^{8\text{f.}}$ [סָפְרָא], Ps 45^{1} [Heb. ^{2}], Jer $36^{26.32}$, Ezk $9^{2.3}$ writer; 2 S 8^{17} 20^{25}, 1 K 4^{3}, 2 K 12^{10} [Heb. ^{11}] $18^{18.37}$ 19^{2} $22^{3.8\text{ff.}}$, 1 Ch 18^{16} 24^{6} 27^{32}, 2 Ch $34^{15.18.20}$, Est 3^{12} 8^{9}, Is $36^{3.22}$ 37^{2}, Jer $36^{10.12.20.21}$ secretary of the king, secretary of State. In 1 Mac 5^{42} the 'scribes of the people' are also military officers, the 'captains of thousands, and captains of hundreds, and captains of fifties, and captains of tens' of 3^{55}. In Sir 10^{5} 'scribe' probably means prefect of the people. Cf. Deissmann [Eng. tr.], 110 ff.

† The tradition regarding the Great Synagogue, which is said to have fixed the Canon of Scripture, has no historical foundation; see Kuenen, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 125 ff.; Montet, *Essai sur les origines des partis saducéen et pharisien*, 91 ff.; and art. SYNAGOGUE (THE GREAT).

The scribes were very ambitious of honour (Mt 23^{5-11}, Mk $12^{38f.}$, Lk $11^{43.45}$ 20^{46}), which they demanded more especially from their pupils. 'Let the honour of thy disciple be dear unto thee as the honour of thine associate; and the honour of thine associate as the fear of thy master; and the fear of thy master as the fear of Heaven' (*Aboth* iv. 17 in Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*^{2}). The claims of one's teacher were to be preferred to those of one's father, unless the latter were also one of the learned. If one's father and one's teacher had lost anything, or were bearing burdens, or were in captivity, the teacher was to be assisted first (*Baba meẓia* ii. 11 in Schürer, *GJV*^{3} ii. 317, and Taylor, *op. cit.* 71). The honour which they demanded was freely accorded to them. They enjoyed a great reputation not only among their pupils, but also among the people generally. They were usually addressed as *Rabbi* (רַבִּי, literally 'my lord'; it also meant 'master' in the sense of 'teacher,' Jn 1^{38}),† occasionally also as *Rabban* or *Rabbon* (cf. *Rabboni*, addressed to Christ in Mk 10^{51}, Jn 20^{16}), *father* (=*abba*) and *master* (=teacher, Mt $23^{9.10}$).

ii. FUNCTIONS.—It was mainly, though not exclusively, with the Law that the scribes occupied themselves. In respect of it their functions were threefold: (1) they had theoretically to develop the Law itself; (2) they had to teach the Law to their pupils; and (3) they had to act as judges in the Sanhedrin and in the various local courts.‡

(1) *The theoretical development of the Law.*—Theoretically, the written Law, contained in the Pentateuch, was the absolute norm of life, the religious, civil, and penal code of Israel. The pious Jew was required to observe it in its minutest details. But it was impossible for an average man to do so without special guidance. For this guidance they looked to the scribes. One of their chief functions was to study the exact letter of the Law, to harmonize and develop its various precepts into the minutest details, so as to secure its complete fulfilment, and to show how its precepts were to be observed in daily life. This they did also with the great mass of unwritten legal traditions, which in course of time had grown up alongside of the written Law. Cases, however, were of frequent occurrence, in regard to which both the written Law and tradition were silent, while the changes that were taking place in the national life rendered some of the old enactments highly inconvenient, if not obsolete. How, under these changed conditions, was it possible to live in accordance with the general principles of the Law? How were these new cases to be met? The solution of these difficulties was one of the leading occupations of the scribes. By means of an exegesis which was frequently very artificial, they not only based existing legal tradition more or less directly on the written Law, but also deduced from it rules that would meet the new case; or they met it by giving to some saying or recent custom of the 'wise' the value of fixed legal tradition. They were not satisfied, however, with expounding the Law and tradition so as to meet actually occurring cases. They busied themselves in providing for all conceivable cases that might occur, and especially in making a hedge or fence round the Law, *i.e.* in so expanding the compass of legal precept beyond what was laid down in the Pentateuch and in the oldest form of tradition, that it might be impossible for a man, if he observed all their traditional rules, to be even tempted to transgress the Law.* From being 'exegetes of the Law' the scribes thus became legislators; they not only made the Law more precise, but also introduced into it many innovations, supplementing and, in some cases, abolishing it, by their inferences and traditions. Still they had no intention of innovating; they were great sticklers for antiquity; they only meant to say what was old (cf. Wellhausen, *IJG*^{3} 284).

This ever-accumulating mass of legal traditions and of legal determinations was called **Hălāchā.**† It was equally binding with the written Law, the two together constituting the absolute rule of life. It was given by God to Moses at Sinai; Moses delivered it to Joshua, and Joshua to the elders, and the elders to the prophets, and the prophets to the men of the Great Synagogue (*Aboth* i. 1, where Torah=the oral law; cf. Weber, *op. cit.* 88 ff.). It was the authentic interpretation and supplement of the Torah; Jehovah not only taught Moses the Torah, but also its authentic interpretation, or the *lex oralis* (*Pesikta* 38*a*, in Weber, 89). In theory the written Law was the highest norm; but in practice the scribes assigned greater importance to the oral law (cf. Mt $15^{2ff.}$, Mk $7^{5ff.}$). They interpreted the Law by tradition, which was 'the fence to Torah' (*Aboth* iii. 20). 'The Bible was understood by the help of the Halacha, quite as much as the Halacha was based upon the Bible' (W. R. Smith, *op. cit.* 64). It was more necessary to learn and teach tradition than Scripture. The transgression of Rabbinic precepts was sin. Whoever transgressed the words of the wise was worthy of death. 'An offence against the sayings of the scribes is worse than one against those of Scripture' (*Sanh.* xi. 3, quoted in Edersheim, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, i. 98; cf. also Weber, *op. cit.* 102 ff.). They nevertheless maintained that tradition was essentially nothing more than the interpretation and more specific determination of the Torah, from which, they alleged, all legal decisions were derived (cf.

---

* '"Scribe" (Latt. *scriba*) unfortunately lays stress on the etymological sense of the word (γραμματεῖς = סֹפְרִים); "lawyer" (νομικός) is scarcely better; Lc.'s νομοδιδάσκαλος is perhaps the most exact title' (Swete on Mk 1^{22}). Josephus occasionally calls them σοφισταί (*BJ* I. xxxiii. 2, II. xvii. 8, 9). 'The word σοφός, which in earlier times had been applied to one who was skilled in any of the arts of life . . . had come to be applied, if not exclusively, yet at least chiefly, to one who was shrewd with practical wisdom, or who knew the thoughts and sayings of the ancients' (Hatch's *Hibbert Lectures*, 26). Hatch also reminds us (p. 28) that 'by Grammar was meant the study of literature.'

† According to Schürer it was not till after the time of Christ that 'Rabbi' became a *title*; in the Gospels it is not a title, but a respectful form of address.

‡ Cf. *Aboth* i. 1: The men of the Great Synagogue 'said three things: Be deliberate in judgment; and raise up many disciples; and make a fence to the Torah.'

* Cf. W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{1} 61 [^{2} 47]; Taylor, *op. cit.* 11: 'to make a fence to the Torah means to impose additional restrictions so as to keep at a safe distance from forbidden ground.' Streane, *The Age of the Maccabees*, 22: 'The term means the prohibition of things innocent in themselves, but bordering too closely for safety on things forbidden.' Weber, *op. cit.* 133, gives the following example: It was forbidden to drink the wine of the Gentiles, because they were never certain that they did not thereby come into contact with idolatry.

† *Hălāchā* means literally 'going,' 'way,' hence fig. 'custom,' 'usage,' 'rule,' esp. one *fixed traditionally, jus a majoribus traditum* (Weber^{1}, 93); 'Halacha was legal teaching, systematized legal precept . . . the system of rules applying the Pentateuchal law to every case of practice and every detail of life' (W. R. Smith, *op. cit.* 58).

Weber, 96 ff.). Whether an inference or a custom should become a binding *hălāchā* was determined by the majority of those distinguished for learning. It was thus also that they decided the differences between the rival schools of Hillel and Shammai. Theoretically, the *hălāchôth* were unchangeable; but for various reasons it was impossible to maintain this principle in practice. But a *hălāchā* could be changed or abolished only with the consent of a majority of the Wise. 'One Sanhedrin cannot abrogate the decision of another Sanhedrin, unless it be superior in wisdom and in number' (*Eduyoth* i. 5, quoted in Montet, *op. cit.* 231).

As expositors and guardians of the Law the scribes occupied themselves mainly with precepts regarding sacrifices, the festival celebrations, the observance of the Sabbath, the payments to be made to the priests and the temple, and more especially with those relating to levitical purity in the matter of foods, purifications, etc. They laid the greatest stress on these ascetic elements because they thereby kept Israel separate from the Gentiles. 'Their ideal was not righteousness, but holiness' (Wellhausen, *op. cit.* 150). The marks of a religious Jew were fasting (cf. Lk 18^{12}), almsgiving (Mt $6^{1\text{ff.}}$), and prayer, as the fulfilment of statutory duties (cf. Mt $6^{5\text{ff.}}$; *Aboth* ii. 17: 'be careful in reading the *Shĕma*',' *i.e.* Dt 6^{4-9}). Really ethical duties were assigned a subordinate place (Mt $15^{4\text{ff.}}$, Mk $7^{8\text{ff.}}$, Mt $23^{23\text{ff.}}$). A distinction was drawn between greater and lesser commandments; but they were enjoined 'to be attentive to a light precept as to a grave' (*Aboth* ii. 1). Great stress was laid on the idea of reward (*Aboth* iv. 13 ff.: 'whosoever fulfils the Torah in poverty will at length fulfil it in wealth'; 'if thou labourest in the Torah, He hath much reward to give unto thee'; 'he who performs one precept has gotten to himself one advocate; and he who commits one transgression has gotten to himself one accuser.' Cf. v. 11 ff., where seven kinds of punishment are shown to come on account of seven main transgressions, such as dearth from failure to tithe).

Piety was thus reduced to an external and mechanical formalism. Nothing was of value, if not strictly regulated by an external law; no room was left for moral originality or spontaneity; uniformity and formal exactness were all-important. Life under the Law was felt to be a heavy burden; the scribes themselves had to devise methods whereby to evade some of their own precepts (Lk 11^{46}, Mt $23^{16\text{ff.}}$). Instead of proving a help to men in their moral and religious life, the Law had become a means whereby access to God was cut off (Lk 11^{52}).*

(2) *The teaching of the Law.*—With a view to 'raising up many disciples' (*Aboth* i. 1), the more famous rabbins gathered round them studious young men, to whom they expounded the Law (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* XVII. vi. 2, *BJ* I. xxxiii. 2). Seeing that the oral law was the main theme of their instruction, their teaching consisted in a constant repetition of its numerous precepts, so that their pupils might have them imprinted on their memory. They also put concrete cases, real or imaginary, before their pupils, in order to train them in the application of legal principles. Their pupils were also allowed to put questions to them, and to attend the disputations which they held among themselves over difficult questions. The pupils had only two duties: (*a*) to retain everything faithfully in their memory, and (*b*) never to teach otherwise, even in expression, than they had been taught by their master (cf. *Aboth* v. 18, of the four characters in scholars, 'quick to hear, and slow to forget, is wise'; iii. 12, 'when a scholar of the wise sits and studies, and has forgotten a word of his Mishna, they account it unto him as if he were guilty of death'; ii. 10, 'Eliezer ben Hyrcanus is a plastered cistern, which loseth not a drop'). Both teachers and pupils adhered rigidly to tradition. On any subject whatever, the fact that the rabbis had said so and so was decisive (cf. Mk 9^{11}).

Both for the disputations of the scribes among themselves and for the instruction of their pupils there were special academies (*beth hammidrash*), distinct from the synagogues. In Jerusalem their lectures were delivered also in the temple (cf. Lk 2^{46}, Mt 21^{23} 26^{55}, Mk 14^{49}, Lk 20^{1} 21^{37}, Jn 18^{20}), *i.e.* in the outer court. The scholars sat on the ground, the teachers on a raised bench (cf. Lk 2^{46}, Ac 22^{3}, Mt 26^{55}, *Aboth* i. 4, v. 21).

(3) *As judges.*—Although in NT times a professional knowledge of the Law was not requisite on the part of a judge, the scribes would naturally be called upon to fill that office. In the Sanhedrin at Jerusalem the 'chief priests' had the first place; but scribes also had a seat in it (cf. Mk $14^{43.\,53}$ 15^{1}, Lk 22^{66} 23^{10}, Ac 4^{5}), and exercised the greatest influence (*Ant.* XVIII. i. 4). See art. SANHEDRIN.

Their whole professional activity both as teachers and judges was understood to be gratis. 'R. Zadok said, Make them [*i.e.* words of Torah] not a crown, to glory in them; nor an axe, to live by them. And thus was Hillel wont to say, And he who serves himself with the tiara [the crown of the Law] perishes. Lo, whosoever makes profit from words of Torah removes his life from this world' (*Aboth* iv. 9; cf. Taylor, *op. cit.* 68). They had therefore to earn the means of living in other ways. Those of them who were not possessed of private means carried on a trade in addition to the study of the Law (cf. Ac 18^{3}). But they had to make the study of the Law supreme (Sir 38^{24}–39^{11}; *Aboth* ii. 6, Hillel said, 'He that has much traffic will not become wise'; iv. 14, 'R. Meir said, Have little business, and be busied in Torah').

It is probable, however, that they received payment for their *teaching* (cf. our Lord's saying, Mt 10^{10}, Lk 10^{7}, and St. Paul's assertion of his right, seldom exercised, of being supported by those to whom he preached the gospel, 1 Co 9^{3-18}, 2 Co $11^{8\text{f.}}$, Ph 4^{10-18}), and that they knew how to enrich themselves at the expense of the people (cf. Mk 12^{40}, Lk 20^{47} 16^{14}).

Though it was mainly with the Law that the scribes occupied themselves, they also turned their attention to the historical and didactic contents of their sacred writings. These they treated with far greater freedom than the legal contents, amplifying and embellishing them in the most arbitrary manner. The teaching that was thus derived from Scripture was called Haggādā. 'Haggada was doctrinal and practical admonition, mingled with parable and legend.' 'It was recognized as a rule of faith and life, and embraced doctrinal topics, practical exhortation, embellishments and fabulous developments of Bible narratives' (W. R. Smith, *op. cit.* 58, 168; cf. Driver, *LOT*^{7} 487).

Of historical *haggādā* we have an example in the Books of Chronicles, an idealization and amplification of the history in Samuel and Kings (see art. CHRONICLES, vol. i. 395 ff.). Later haggadists treated mainly of the history of creation and of the lives of the great men of the past.* They also elaborated the ethical and religious contents of Scripture in an altogether unhistorical and fantastic manner, devoting attention especially to angelology, theosophy, and eschatology. Unlike legal tradition (*hălāchā*), historical and doctrinal tradition (*haggādā*) was not binding, save on a few points such as the creation and government of the world by God, the Divine origin of the Law, and the resurrection of the dead.

---

* For the legal traditions regarding the observance of the Sabbath, etc., see Schürer, *op. cit.* ii. 464 ff.; Edersheim, *op. cit.* ii. 774 ff., and cf. art. SABBATH.

* For Creation cf. *Aboth* v. 1, 9; for Abraham, cf. Josephus, *Ant.* I. vii. 2, *Aboth* v. 4 with Taylor's note, *op. cit.* 80; as to Moses cf. *Ant.* II.–IV. and what is said in the NT of his culture (Ac 7^{22}); of JANNES and JAMBRES (2 Ti 3^{8}); of the rock (see ROCK) that followed the Israelites through the wilderness (1 Co 10^{4}); of the Law being given him, not directly by God, but through the mediation of angels (Ac 7^{53}, Gal 3^{19}, He 2^{2}); of Michael

On the scribes and Jesus, see art PHARISEES, § iii.

LITERATURE.—Schürer, *GJV*^{3} ii. 305 ff. (*HJP* II. i. 312 ff.), to which the above article is greatly indebted; Wellhausen, *IJG*^{3} 193 ff. and *passim*; Weber, *Jüd. Theologie auf Grund des Talmud*, etc., 1 ff.; Schultz, *Alttest. Theologie*^{5}, 290 ff.; Hausrath, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*^{3}, 87 ff.; O. Holtzmann, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, 151 ff.; H. J. Holtzmann, *Neutest. Theologie*, 36 ff.; Montet, *Les origines des partis saducéen et pharisien*, 61 ff., 218 ff., and *passim*; Marti, *Theologie des Alt. Testaments*^{2}, 269 ff.; the article 'Schriftgelehrte' in Winer's *RWB*^{3} ii. 425–428, in Herzog's *RE*^{2} (by Strack), in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexikon* (by Klöpper), in Riehm's *HWB*^{2} (by Schürer); Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, i. 93 ff., ii. 774 ff.; Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*^{2}; W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{1} 55 ff. [^{2}42 ff.]; Bacher, *Die älteste Terminol. der jüd. Schriftauslegung* (p. 33 ff. on Haggâdâ, illustrating further what is quoted on the derivation in *LOT*, *l.c.*, and which Schürer^3, ii. 339, accepts).

D. EATON.

SCRIP.—Scrip occurs once as the tr. of יַלְקוּט *yalķût* (from לקט to glean), a shepherd's bag, in its single occurrence, 1 S 17^{40}; and six times as the tr. of *πήρα*, a traveller's leathern bag for holding provisions (cf. LXX, 2 K 4^{42}, Jth 10^{5} 13$^{10.15}$), Mt 10^{10}, Mk 6^{8}, Lk 9^{3} 10^{4} 22$^{35.36}$, all the examples of that word. RV retains 'scrip' in OT, but changes into 'wallet' in NT. The Eng. word has nothing to do with 'scrip' (formerly spelt 'script,' from *scriptum*), a schedule: it is of Scand. origin (Icel. *skreppa*), and is allied to, if not derived from, 'scrap' (Icel. *skrap*), as made from a scrap of skin, or as used for holding scraps of food. See BAG. J. HASTINGS.

SCRIPTURE.—The words so translated in EV are—

1. כְּתָב, only Dn 10^{21} 'I will show thee that which is noted in the scripture of truth' (RV 'writing'), where the reference is to 'the book in which God has inscribed beforehand, as truly as they will be fulfilled, the destinies of mankind'—Driver. Elsewhere this word is tr^{d} 'writing,' except Ezr 2^{62}, Neh 7^{64} (EV 'register').

This idea of a *Book of God*, in which are recorded men's names or deeds, runs through OT, the Apocalyptic lit., and NT. It appears that burgess-rolls of cities were kept, in which were enrolled the names of the citizens, with their families (Jer 22^{30} 'Write ye this man childless') and their vocations (the priests' roll or 'register' in Ezr 2^{62}, Neh 7^{64}). Such rolls suggested the figure of a roll or book kept by God, containing the names of the covenant people of Israel. In Is 4^{3} ('he that remaineth in Jerusalem shall be called holy, even every one that is written among the living [RVm 'unto life'] in Jerusalem') and Ezk 13^{9} ('neither shall they be written in the writing [RVm 'register'] of the house of Israel') we see the transition from the civil to the religious use, or at least from the actual to the ideal. From the roll or book the name of the citizen was removed at death; so in Ex 32^{32} Moses says, 'Blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book which thou hast written,' and v.^{33} Jehovah answers, 'Whosoever has sinned against me, him will I blot out of my book.' See Charles, *Book of Enoch*, p. 131 ff.

2. *γράμμα*: this word is used in NT in the foll. senses—(1) A letter of the alphabet, a written character, Gal 6^{11} (where AV follows Tind. in rendering 'how large a letter,' but RV, according to the usage of *γράμματα γράφειν*, 'how large letters,' Wyc. and Rhem. already had 'what manner of letters'). In AV, after TR, this sense is found also in Lk 23^{38}, but omitted from RV, after the best MSS. (2) Any written document, Lk 16$^{6.7}$ AV 'bill,' RV 'bond' (TR *τὸ γράμμα*, edd. *τὰ γράμματα*). (3) An epistle, Ac 28^{21} (*γράμματα*, EV 'letters'). (4) The law of Moses, Jn 5^{47} (*τὰ ἐκείνου γράμματα*, EV 'his writings'); in St. Paul as written and judicial in opposition to the liberty of the law of life in Christ, Ro 2$^{27.29}$ 7^{6}, 2 Co 3$^{6.6.7}$. (5) The sacred Scriptures of the OT, 2 Ti 3^{15} (TR *τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα*, edd. omit *τά*, AV 'the holy Scriptures,' RV 'the sacred writings'). (6) Learning, Jn 7^{15}, Ac 26^{24}.

3. *γραφή*. Once this word refers to NT writings, viz. the Epp. of St. Paul, 2 P 3^{16}; elsewhere the reference is to a passage of the OT,* or to the OT Scriptures in general. In Gal 3^{8} 'the Scripture' is personified.

The question whether *γραφή* in the sing. is ever used of the OT as a whole is much disputed. In a note to Gal 3^{22} Lightfoot lays down the rule that 'the sing. *γραφή* in the NT always means *a particular passage* of Scripture.' But in a subsequent note to Ro 4^{3} he somewhat modifies this statement: 'Dr. Vaughan,' he says, 'takes a different view, and instances examples from St. John. The usage of St. John may admit of a doubt, though, personally, I think not; St. Paul's practice, however, is absolute and uniform.' Hort (on 1 P 2^{6}) says that in St. John and St. Paul *ἡ γραφή* 'is capable of being understood as approximating to the collective sense.' See Westcott, *Hebrews*, p. 474 ff.; Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, 108 ff., Eng. tr. 112 ff.; and esp. Warfield in *Pres. and Ref. Review*, x. (July 1899) p. 472 ff. J. HASTINGS.

SCYTHIANS (*Σκύθαι*, Jg 1^{27}, Jth 3^{10}, 2 Mac 4^{47} 12^{29}, 3 Mac 7^{5}; Gn 14$^{1.9}$ *Σκ.* in Symm. = עֵילָם).—A nomadic tribe of Indo-European origin who lived between the Danube and the Don, and spread over the region between the Caucasus and the Caspian. In the time of the elder Pliny the name Scythia was applied vaguely to the remote regions of Central Asia and S.E. Europe. The cruelty of the Scythians was proverbial (Herod. iv. 64), and their injustice (2 Mac 4^{47}, cf. 3 Mac 7^{5}). Herodotus mentions (i. 103–105) that a horde of Scythians invaded Media, became masters of Asia, and intended to attack Egypt. Psammetichus, the king of Egypt, met them in Palestine, where he was besieging Azotus, and prevailed on them by bribes to retreat. It is not improbable that the description of the foe from the north in Jer 4^{3}–6^{30} was suggested by the ravages of these Scythian hordes, and that the imagery of Ezk 38$^{4\text{ff.}}$ had a similar origin. Zephaniah's description of the 'Day of the Lord' may also reflect the impression produced upon the prophet's mind by the news of the advance of these formidable hosts (see Driver, *LOT*^{6} 252, 291 f., 342, and cf. art. JEREMIAH in vol. ii. p. 570^{b}). Thuc. (ii. 96) connects the Scythians with the Getæ, their neighbours, with whom they afterwards coalesced. Horace (*Od.* III. xxiv. 9 ff.) praises their simplicity and describes their nomadic habits. In Col 3^{11} (cf. Gal 3^{28}), where it is said that Christianity does away with all ethnical distinctions, Scythians are mentioned in connexion with, and probably as a synonym for, barbarians. C. H. PRICHARD.

SCYTHOPOLIS.—See BETHSHEAN. Its inhabitants are called **Scythopolitans** (*Σκυθοπολ(ε)ῖται*) in 2 Mac 12^{30}.

SEA (Heb. יָם; Gr. *ἡ θάλασσα*; only twice *τὸ πέλαγος*, Mt 18^{6}, Ac 27^{5}).—Besides the literal use, either generally or specially, with often a descriptive epithet, of the Mediterranean (Ex 23^{31}, Nu 34^{6}, Dt 11^{24}), the Dead Sea (Nu 34^{3}, Jos 3^{16}, Zec 14^{8}), the Red Sea (Ex 10^{19}, Ac 7^{36}, 1 Co 10^{1}, He 11^{29}), the Sea of Galilee (Nu 34^{11}, Jos 12^{3}, Mt 4^{18} 15^{29}, Mk 1^{16} 7^{31}, Jn 21^{1} 6^{1}), and even the Nile (Is 18^{2} 19^{5}, Ezk 32^{2}, Nah 3^{8}) and Euphrates (Is 21^{1}, Jer 51^{36}), and the figurative use in OT for *west*, because the Mediterranean was the western limit of Palestine (Gn 28^{14}, Ex 10^{19} 27^{12}, Jos 8^{9} 11^{2}), there are poetical,

---

contending with the devil for his body (Jude^{9}); Salma or Salmon, the father of Boaz (1 Ch 2^{11}, Ru 4$^{20\text{f.}}$), was the husband of Rahab (Mt 1^{5}); the drought and famine of 1 K 17^{1} 18$^{1\text{ff.}}$ were known to have lasted three and a half years (Lk 4^{25}, Ja 5^{17}; see also Gal 4^{29}, cf. under ISHMAEL).

* Hort, however, holds that in 1 P 2^{6} *ἐν γραφῇ* cannot mean 'in Scripture,' nor even 'in a passage of Scripture,' but must mean simply 'in writing,' as Sir 39^{32} 42^{7} 44^{5} etc.

mythological, and apocalyptic references to the sea, which in several passages give to the word a theological significance. In this use the word 'sea' is closely allied with the word 'deep' (תְּהוֹם LXX and NT ἡ ἄβυσσος), which means (1) the primeval sea, from which all arose (Gn 1^2, Ps 24^2); (2) the ocean stream and subterranean waters (Gn 7^{11} 8^2 49^{25}, Dt 33^{13} 8^7); (3) any mass of waters (Ex 15^1, Ps 42^7 107^{26}); (4) the depths, the deep places of the underworld (Ps 71^{20}; see Cheyne on Ps 88^6 and 148^7), as the abode of the dead generally (Ro 10^7), and specially of demons (Lk 8^{31}, Rev 9$^{1.11}$ 11^7 17^8 20^1). While generally used only in the third sense, the word 'sea' seems in some passages to borrow the fourth sense also (Rev 13^1, Dn 7^3). Either by poetical personification or as a mythological survival, the sea is spoken of as a monster over which God sets a watch, and with which He wages war (Job 7^{12}, see Davidson, *Job*, p. 54; Is 27^1, see Cheyne, *Isaiah*, i. p. 158; Is 51^{10}). The image of the sea is used regarding man and his ways: the wicked are as the sea casting up mire and dirt (Is 57^{20}), man's grief is as the unquiet sea (Jer 49^{23}), the doubtful man is as a wave tossed by the wind (Ja 1^6), wicked men are raging waves of the sea foaming out their own shame (Jude ^{13}), invading hosts are compared to overflowing streams (Is 8^7, Jer 47^2) and the noisy sea (Is 17^{12}). In Rev 13^1 the beast rises out of the sea (as in Dn 7^3 the four beasts rise), because (1) the sea as a wild, terrible power (Ps 107$^{23-30}$; see G. A. Smith, *HGHL* bk. ii. ch. vii.) represents heathenism (Reuss on Dn 7^3); or (2) the Roman power actually came from the sea, or the west (Holtzmann, *Handcom.* on Rev 13^1); or (3) the sea is but a synonym for the abyss (cf. Rev 11^7 17^8); or (4) the sea represents humanity, as in the passages noted above (so in Rev 17^{15} the many waters of v.^{1} are explained as 'peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues'; see Carpenter on Rev 13^1 and 17^{15} in Ellicott's *NT Commentary*, xii. pp. 167, 207). The words in Rev 21^1 'the sea is no more' (RV) will mean accordingly that powers hostile to God, whether men or demons, shall be brought to nought.

See also art. SEA OF GLASS, and for 'brazen sea' and 'molten sea' next article.

A. E. GARVIE.

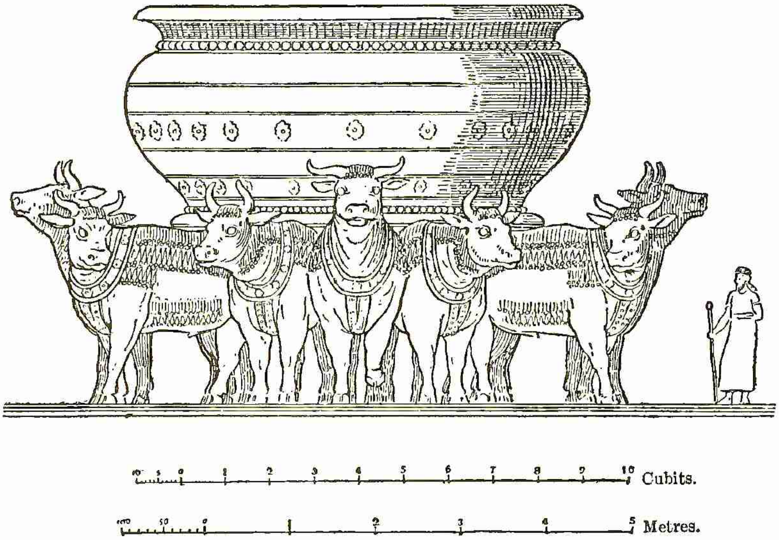

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Cubits.
0 1 2 3 4 5 Metres.

THE BRAZEN SEA (AFTER STADE).

SEA, BRAZEN (יָם הַנְּחֹשֶׁת 2 K 25^{13}, 1 Ch 18^8, Jer 52^{17}; called in 1 K 7^{23}=2 Ch 4^2 **Molten Sea** [יָם מוּצָק]; also called in 1 K 7^{24} *et al.* absolutely 'The Sea' [הַיָּם]).—The large basin* of copper or bronze (see BRASS) which stood S.E.S. of the house, and, as in the case of the corresponding laver (כִּיּוֹר) of the tabernacle, was situated between the altar and the porch.† The metal of which it was made is said to have been taken by David from the cities Tibhath and Cun.‡ The basin was itself 5 cubits high, with a diameter of 10 cubits and a circumference of 30.§ It was a handbreadth in thickness. Its rim was bent outward as in that of many cups, being of the shape of a lily. That is all we are told of its shape, but from these *data* Josephus concluded that it was a hemisphere: others have thought of it as cylinder-shaped. Winer,‖ Riehm,¶ and Thenius** hold it to have been a kind of cylinder, in which the lower part bulged out. Thenius, Keil, and others object to Josephus' view that, if the basin were a hemisphere, it could not hold 2000, much less 3000 baths of water. The same might be said of the cylinder form which some give it. Benzinger†† points out that 2000 baths are equivalent to 72,800 litres, and that a hemisphere of the dimensions of the brazen sea could contain but 32,707 litres, while a cylinder of these dimensions would contain, at the utmost, 49,062 litres. It is possible that the diameter and circumference are taken at the narrowest part, say immediately beneath the rim; but it is more probable that the measurements apply to the rim, and that lower down the vessel bulged out very much.

According to 2 Ch 4^5 and Josephus, *Ant.* VIII. iii. 5, the sea held not 2000, but 3000 baths. Keil and Thenius trace the error to a transcriber, and accordingly alter 3000 to 2000. There is, however, no external support for the change, and it is exceedingly likely that we owe the larger number to the fondness of the Chronicler for exaggeration—a fondness equalled at least by the Jewish historian.

Below the rim, somewhere near the middle of the vessel, probably two rows of colocynths * were figured, these being cast with the basin, and not subsequently carved. Stade † has shown on grammatical and other grounds that the numeral 'ten' must go with 'cubits' and not with 'colocynths,' and that, in short, the words constitute a clumsy gloss, and had far better be left out.

---

* The Romans called large vessels lakes (*lacus*).

† Ex 30^{18}.

‡ 1 Ch 18^8, cf. 2 S 8^8. The names of places differ in these parallel verses.

§ LXX 33.

‖ *RWB*^{3} ii. 69.

¶ *HWB*^{2} ii. 985.

** *Com.*

†† *Com.* on 1 K 7^{26}.

The Brazen Sea rested upon 12 brazen oxen, with their heads turned towards the four cardinal points, 3 looking in each direction. All of them probably stood upon one basement of metal.

It is likely that the space between the several groups was greater than that between the several members of the group; but we have no information on this, or concerning the height of the oxen or their other dimensions.

Josephus ‡ says that in making them Solomon broke the law of Moses which forbade the making of any graven image,§ as he did also in making the lions that were about his throne. He might surely have added the cherubim, which come under the same category. Riehm says the figures of oxen were chosen to form a rest for the basin, because oxen formed so large a part of the offerings. This may also supply a reason for the horns at the four corners, as Franz Delitzsch suggests.‖ Stade, Benzinger, Nowack, and others hold that the oxen have a connexion with the worship of Jehovah in the form of a bull, which prevailed in the North; the horns of the altar are traced to the same source. Kosters ¶ tries to prove that the 'Sea' stands for the תְּהוֹם—'the deep,' one source of water supply, and that the lavers ** represent the clouds, the source of the rain supply. Benzinger gives his approval to this theory,†† and so did Smend ‡‡ before him. On these matters the Bible is silent.

We are not told how the basin was supplied with water, nor how the water was got out.

As to the first, Keil thinks it was filled by means of a crane which raised the water from the fountain close to the altar and transferred it by means of some vessel to the 'Sea' whenever it was wanted. With regard to the second, there must have been some apertures low enough to be reached; possibly the water came out of the mouths of the oxen through pipes supplied with taps. For the opinions of leading rabbinical writers, see Lundius, *Jüd. Heilig.*, Hamburg, 1738, p. 356.

Not a word is said in the older and soberer account of Kings of the *purpose* served by the Brazen Sea. But in 2 Ch 4^{6} it is said to be for the priests to wash in: that is, if we take the account of the כִּיּוֹר or laver §§ of the tabernacle to guide us, the priests washed their hands and feet with its water before they proceeded to offer sacrifices.

The next point at which we meet the Brazen Sea is in 2 K 16^{17}, where it is narrated that Ahaz, for the sake of their value, took away the brazen oxen, and laid the 'Sea' on the stone pavement. The Chaldæans at a later time, led by Nebuchadnezzar, broke the 'Sea' into pieces and carried away these pieces to Babylon.‖‖

After this we read no more about it. Yet Sir 50^{3} ¶¶ seems to show that in the mind of the writer the second temple had its Brazen Sea too, though apart from the vague hint contained in this verse of the Apocrypha we read nothing about a Brazen or Molten Sea in any temple except Solomon's.

LITERATURE.—Reland, *Antiq. Sacr.* i. 6 ff.; Keil, *Tempel Salomos*, 118 ff.; the Bible Dictionaries of Winer^{3}, Riehm^{2}, and the works on Biblical Archæology by Lundius, Benzinger, and Nowack; Stade's *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, i. 335 f.; the Commentaries of Thenius, Kittel, Benzinger on 'Kings'—the first very full and able, the last two short, compact, and up to date.

T. W. DAVIES.

SEA OF CHINNERETH, SEA OF GALILEE.—See GALILEE, SEA OF.

SEA OF GLASS (AV), **GLASSY SEA** (RV), *θάλασσα ὑαλίνη*, occurring Rev 4^{6} $15^{2\ bis}$, has no exact parallel in previous or contemporary literature. But, as the scene in Rev 4 attaches itself to Ezk 1, it is natural to find in the 'glassy sea before the throne' a reproduction of the picture in Ezk 1^{22} 'the likeness of a firmament (Heb. רָקִיעַ = 'expanse'; LXX *στερέωμα* = 'solid structure,' whence Vulg. *firmamentum*) like the colour of the terrible crystal' (LXX *ὡς ὅρασις κρυστάλλου*, 'having the look of crystal'), extending over the head of the living creatures and under 'the likeness of a throne, as the appearance of a sapphire stone' (Ezk 1^{26}). We are reminded also of Ex $24^{9.\ 10}$, where it is said that, when Moses and Aaron and the elders of Israel ascended the mount and 'saw the God of Israel,' 'there was under his feet as it were a paved work of sapphire stone, and as it were the very heaven (LXX *εἶδος στερεώματος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*, 'the appearance of the heaven's firmament') for clearness.' And just as there was 'fire on the top of the mount' (Ex 24^{17}), so also in Ezk 1^{27} we are told that 'there was an appearance of fire . . . round about,' and again in Rev 15^{2} the glassy sea is 'mingled with fire.' Another imperfect parallel is found in Enoch 14^{9}. The walls of the heavenly house from which Enoch saw in vision a second house and a throne in it and the great glory thereon, were 'like a mosaic crystal floor, and its groundwork was of crystal . . . and its floor was fire.' Perhaps the most nearly exact parallel occurs in the *Book of the Secrets of Enoch* (the Slavonic fragment of the Enoch literature, probably composed in its present form in the first half of the 1st cent. A.D.).* In 3^{3} Enoch tells how the angels had taken him up into the first heaven, next above the æther: 'and they showed me (he adds) a very great sea, greater than the earthly (*i.e.* the Mediterranean), and they brought before my face the elders.' Afterwards, in a higher heaven (the seventh in Enoch) he saw the throne and the glory. In *Test. xii. Patr.*, Levi 2, this sea is said to lie between the first and second heavens, and is called the 'water hanging' between the two. It is to be noted, further, that just as we have, in connexion with the crystal appearance, 'living creatures' in Ezekiel, and 'holy ones' in Enoch, and, in connexion with the great sea, 'elders' in the *Secrets of Enoch*, so also in Rev. we have, in connexion with the glassy sea, 'living creatures' (ch. 4) and victorious saints (ch. 15).

It is not necessary to harmonize all these apocalyptic images. But it is clear that the writer of Revelation is in contact at various points with previous apocalyptic literature when he conceives of a wide expanse of water in heaven, stretching away in front of the throne, smooth, clear, bright with a golden sheen † (21^{18}), like a fire, upon it, that flashes from the seven burning lamps; while hard by (or upon) this sea stand types of created life (ch. 4), and a triumphant host of those whose life has been created anew (ch. 15), glorifying the

---

* The addition 'ten colocynths to every cubit' has no support in the MT, nor in the LXX, though Thenius and Keil defend this rendering.

† *ZATW* iii. 157 f.

‡ *Ant.* VIII. vii. 5.

§ Ex 20^{4}.

‖ Riehm, *HWB*^{2} i. 75^{a}. He compares the Greek and Roman altars with rams' heads at the corners. Cf. TEMPLE, *Altar of burnt-offering*.

¶ *ThT*, 1879, 445 ff.

** See 1 K 7^{27-39}, and cf. LAVER.

†† *Heb. Arch.* 389; cf. also Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* ii. 44 f., and Kittel, *Könige*, p. 64.

‡‡ *Lehrbuch der alttest. Religionsgeschichte*, p. 130 [not in 2nd ed., Smend having now, as he informs the present writer, abandoned Kosters' view as being based on dogmatic rather than critical considerations].

§§ See Ex $30^{18ff.}$: this laver is to be sharply distinguished from the 10 lavers of the temple. See LAVER, and cf. a very elaborate article by Stade, entitled 'Die Kesselwagen des salom. Tempels, 1 K 7^{27-39},' in *ZATW*, 1901, p. 145 ff.

‖‖ 2 K $25^{13.\ 16}$, Jer $52^{17.\ 20}$. In the last passage it is stated that the Chaldæans took away the oxen as well. This is not said in the Book of Kings.

¶¶ 'In his days' (those of Simon the high priest) 'the cistern to receive water, being in compass as the sea, was covered with plates of brass' [but see the Heb., and cf. Kautzsch, *Apokr.*]

* See Charles and Morfill's edition.

† See article GLASS.

Lord God Almighty. It is possible that the idea of the glassy sea may have come from the temple pavement of ornamental polished stones (2 Ch 7[3]; Jos. *BJ* VI. i. 8 and iii. 2) on which the people bowed themselves in thanksgiving to the Lord, and the gleam of which the Rabbis compared to the gleam of crystal.* The suggested relation to the 'molten sea' (*θάλασσα χαλκῆ*), the large copper reservoir of Solomon's temple used for the ablutions of the priests (2 S 8[8] [LXX], 1 K 7[23]), seems to be more remote, if not quite imaginary.

J. MASSIE.

SEA OF JAZER.—See vol. ii. p. 553[a] note †.

SEA OF THE ARABAH (AV 'the Plain').—See DEAD SEA.

SEA OF TIBERIAS.—See GALILEE, SEA OF.

SEAH.—See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

SEAL, SEALING (subst. חֹתָם; *σφραγίς*, *ἀποσφράγισμα* [LXX twice]; specifically *signet-ring*, חֹתֶמֶת, טַבַּעַת, in Aramaic עִזְקָא, *δακτύλιος*. Verb, חָתַם; *σφραγίζω* [all voices], *κατασφραγίζομαι* [act. and pass.], *ἐπισφραγίζω* [act. and mid.]).—These words are used (1) in a literal, (2) in a figurative sense.

i. LITERAL SENSE.—(*a*) *Use of Seals.*—There is evidence of the general use of seals in the early ages 'extending from the mists of Babylonian antiquity to the decline of Roman civilization' (*Encyc. Brit.* art. 'Gems'). We know from the OT that seals were used at an early date by the Hebrews (Gn 38[18. 25] Judah's signet), by the Egyptians (Gn 41[42] Pharaoh), and by the Persians (Est 3[10] 8[2] Ahasuerus). Herodotus tells us (i. 195) that the accoutrement of a Babylonian was incomplete without a staff and a ring, but this ring was probably a talisman more frequently than a signet. And the literary evidence is supported by that of gems and inscriptions dating as far back as B.C. 2000 and 3000, and showing that the practice extended to other nations (see Riehm, *HWB*, quoting Levy's *Tables*, and de Vogüé's *Mélanges d'Archéologie orientale*). Arabs and Persians of to-day wear similar seals. In the NT we have the *σφραγίς* upon the stone closing the mouth of the Lord's tomb (Mt 27[66]), and the *δακτύλιος* (probably a signet-ring containing the father's name) put upon the finger of the prodigal (Lk 15[22]); probably also the gold ring of the rich worshipper in Ja 2[2] was not only an ornament but a signet-ring, indicating in itself that he was a person of consequence.

(*b*) *Structure of seals.*—If we may judge from the seals and signet-rings that have come down to us, seals were of two kinds: (1) the small seal of precious stone or precious metal in a signet-ring; (2) the more ample cone-shaped or round seals, some of metal (occasionally set in stone), some of porcelain or terra-cotta† (some even of wood are in vogue to-day in the East), large enough to contain inscriptions and animal figures, such as figures of oxen or antelopes, and intended to be hung by a cord from the neck or from the arm (Gn 38[18. 25], Ca 8[6]) or attached to the thing sealed (a door or a document, for example) when the impression was not made in the material of the thing itself.‡

(*c*) *The material used as the medium.*—Beckmann (*Hist. of Inventions*, i. 140, Bohn's tr., quoted in Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, art. 'Seals') gives it as his opinion that 'in Europe wax has been everywhere used for sealing since the earliest ages.' But in the East it was not wax but clay (Job 38[14]), sealed when soft and then made hard by burning. When a door or a stone was to be sealed, a clay seal was put at each end of the cord stretched across it (cf. *Evang. Pet.* 8, *ἐπέχρισαν ἑπτὰ σφραγῖδας*, with Jn 9[6. 11]). Some stones so sealed still retain the cord marks. But, like the Arabs and the Persians, the Hebrews also seem to have dipped seals or stamps in a black pigment, a paint or an ink. The picture which Ezekiel draws (9[4]) of the man 'with the writer's inkhorn by his side,' marking the foreheads of the men that sighed and cried for the abominations in Jerusalem, is doubtless the source of the sealing picture in Rev 7.

(*d*) *Purposes of sealing.*—Sealing was sometimes a *substitute for signature* (and conveniently so in days when writing was not a general accomplishment), if a letter had to be authenticated or a document to be ratified. So Jezebel forged Ahab's signature (1 K 21[8]); and in Neh 9[38] 10[1] the sealing signified adherence to the contents of the covenant there and then made with God. At other times it denoted an *inalienable possession*, the signet itself being also the type of all that was most precious and inviolable (Ca 8[6], Jer 22[24]). This comes out in the figurative application 2 Ti 2[19] 'Having this seal, the Lord knoweth them that are his.' (In the same sense, perhaps, are the *στίγματα*, the 'brands' of the Lord Jesus, Gal 6[17]). Akin to this idea was that of *security and permanency*, as when the stone of the lions' den was sealed by the king with his own signet and those of his lords, 'that nothing might be changed concerning Daniel' (Dn 6[17], cf. also Bel [14], Mt 27[66]). These ideas of *ownership and security* are often combined with that of *destination*, as in Ezk 9[4] and Rev 7[3], where the persons sealed were, as God's people, secured from imminent destruction and designated for future reward. Finally, connected with the ideas of security and destination was the idea of *secrecy* or *postponement of disclosure*, as when the words of a roll, more particularly if prophetic, were sealed up for the uninitiated, or till the time came to publish them (Is 29[11], Dn 12[9], Rev 10[4]). Quite in harmony with all these ideas was the idea of *authority* in the seal or signet, so that when a king bestowed his signet he thereby invested the recipient with royal authority, lending him, in fact, the royal name (Gn 41[42], Pharaoh and Joseph).

ii. FIGURATIVE SENSE.—In illustrating the scope of the literal, it has been unavoidable to trench upon the figurative, literal sealing being emblematic of one idea or another. But we have still to deal with the religious, the spiritual sense of *seal* and *sealing*, where there is nothing literal at all, even in vision. This comes out principally in the NT.

The idea of *authentication* is prominent when converts are called the seal of apostleship (1 Co 9[2]), and when circumcision is named a seal, *i.e.* an authentication, of that righteousness by faith which existed before the rite was performed (Ro 4[11]). The solemn *authentication* of human experience lies in the expression that he who has received the witness of the Son 'hath set seal to this that God is true' in what He promised through the Son (Jn 3[33]); while the saying 'Him hath God the Father sealed' signifies *authentication* and *destination* to convey eternal life (Jn 6[27]). The figurative sense of *seal* in the passage (2 Ti 2[19]), 'The firm foundation of God (God's foundation of firm believers) standeth, having this seal, The Lord knoweth them that are his,' includes *ownership, authentication, security, and destination.* All these ideas, but especially *destination,* are present when it is said that believers are sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise (Eph 1^{13}); sealed unto the day of redemption (4^{30}); sealed and having, in the Spirit within us, the earnest of what we shall be (2 Co 1^{22}).

---

* See Bousset, *Offenbarung, in loco.*

† It is very doubtful, however, whether the 'great mass of existing (Babylonian) cylinders' could have been used as seals.

‡ Mr. Bernard Grenfell tells the present writer that sealings are not at all uncommon on Egyptian papyri, sometimes large, more frequently small. He believes that the practice of sealing *documents* went back in Egypt to the earliest times, though the date of the earliest papyrus seal is as yet uncertain. Jar-stoppers, however, were stamped in the time of the First Dynasty (earlier than B.C. 4000, according to Brugsch), and papyri of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties, extant in fragments, probably, in their original state, contained sealings.

Working back from the early assimilation of baptism to circumcision as a seal (Hermas, *Sim.* viii. 6; 2 Clem. vii.), some have interpreted the sealings just mentioned as directly referring to the baptismal rite. But Lightfoot seems to be justified in questioning (2 Clem. vii.) whether 'St. Paul or St. John (*e.g.* Rev 9^4) used the image with any direct reference to baptism.' Hatch (*Hibbert Lectures*, p. 295) and Harnack (*Dogmengesch.* I. i. 151) trace the baptism sense of σφραγίς to the Greek mysteries; but Anrich (*Mysterienwesen*, p. 120 ff.) gives in his adherence to the belief that the origin of the use is the Jewish view of circumcision as a seal (see Anrich for illustr., and Sanday-Headlam on Ro 4^{11}).

One peculiar figurative use remains to be noticed. St. Paul, in speaking (Ro 15^{28}) of handing over the collection to the saints at Jerusalem, describes his act as 'sealing to them this fruit' (of his efforts, or of the spiritual blessings that had gone forth from the Jews). The simplest explanation seems to be that of Theodore of Mopsuestia: that the apostle is referring to the solemn and exact formalities of the transaction—a view which Deissmann supports from the papyri of Fayyûm, where such sealing of wheat-sacks and the like stands for a guarantee that they contain the amount they profess to contain. St. Paul desires to act like a conscientious merchant, and to guarantee formally that he hands over the amount due from him. The suspicions which some of his enemies had set afloat, that he helped himself from the collection, must be definitely and completely foreclosed. J. MASSIE.

SEAL, SEAL SKINS.—See BADGER.

SEAMEW (RV Lv 11^{16}, Dt 14^{15}).—See CUCKOW.

SEA-MONSTER.—This Eng. term occurs only twice in RV (text): Gn 1^{21} 'God created the great sea-monsters' (AV 'great whales,' LXX τὰ κήτη), and Job 7^{12} 'Am I a sea or a sea-monster (AV 'whale,' LXX δράκων), that thou settest a watch over me?' The Heb. in both these passages is תַּנִּין (plur. תַּנִּנִם and תַּנִּינִם), which has been supposed to come from an (unused) root תנן = 'stretch,' 'extend,' and so to signify properly an *elongated* animal (see Ges. *Thes.* 1511). The word תַּנִּין, in addition to these two occurrences, is used of serpents or serpent-like creatures in Ex $7^{9ff.}$ [P; JE and R use נָחָשׁ, LXX ὄφις, in the similar passages 4^3 and 7^{15}], Dt 32^{33}, Ps 91^{13}; perhaps the crocodile is in view in Is 27^1 51^9, Ezk 29^3 32^2 (see small type below), Ps 74^{13}; large water animals * of some kind are designated by it in Jer 51 [Gr. 28]^{34}, Ps 148^7. In all these passages the LXX tr. תַּנִּין by δράκων, RV has 'dragon,' except in Ex $7^{9ff.}$ 'serpent' (RVm, 'Heb. *tannin*, any large reptile'); and Ps 91^{13} 'serpent'; in Ps 74^{13} RVm has 'sea-monsters,' in 148^7 '*or* sea-monsters *or* waterspouts.'

In Neh 2^{13} we hear also of the *'ên hattannîn* ('well of the dragon,' LXX πηγὴ τῶν συκῶν, 'fountain of the figs,' evidently confusing תַּנִּין with תְּאֵנִים 'figs').

Quite a different term, although it has sometimes been confused † with it both by copyists [תַּנִּין, LXX δράκοντες, of La 4^3 is a textual error for תַּנִּים, while, conversely, תַּנִּים of Ezk 29^3 32^2 (LXX in all δράκων) should be תַּנִּין] and by interpreters, is תַּנִּים (once Mal 1^3, if the text is correct, תַּנּוֹת, LXX δόματα = Heb. נאוֹת; cf. Jer 9^9 (10), Ps 65^{13}), the plur. of (unused) תַּן, which means some beast that haunts solitary places, probably the *jackal.* Its occurrences are Is 13^{22} 34^{13} 35^7 43^{20}, Jer 9^{10} (11) 10^{22} 14^6 49^{33} 51^{37}, Mic 1^8, Ps 44^{20} (19) (if the text is correct, but see Cheyne or Wellh.), Job 30^{22} [in all these passages AV has 'dragons,' * RV 'jackals'], La 4^3 (AV [wrongly] 'sea-monsters,' † m. 'sea-calves,' RV 'jackals').

Another monster, belonging to the same category as *tannîn*, is LEVIATHAN (לִוְיָתָן *liwyāthān*, prob. = 'wreathed,' 'coiled'), which appears as a denizen of the waters in Ps 104^{26} '*liwyāthān* whom thou hast formed (יָצַרְתָּ) to play therein' (or 'with him,' לְשַׂחֶק־בּוֹ, LXX ἐμπαίζειν αὐτῷ), and Job $41^{1ff.}$ [Heb. $40^{25ff.}$]. In the first of these passages the whale is often supposed to be referred to, in the second the crocodile, which last may be the reference also in Ps 74^{14}, where *liwyāthān* is apparently symbolical of Egypt. In Job 3^8 [where it is not necessary to read, with Gunkel, יָם 'sea' for יוֹם 'day'] magicians are supposed to be able to 'rouse up' (עֹרֵר; B χειρώσασθαι) this monster. On Is 27^1 see below. [LXX in all these passages tr. לִוְיָתָן by δράκων, except in Job 3^8, where it has τὸ μέγα κῆτος; Aq., Symm., and Theod., where they are extant, always transliterate λευιαθάν, except in this same passage in Job, where Theod. has δράκων]. Leviathan is referred to also in Enoch 60^{7-9}, 2 Es 6^{49-52}; cf. Apoc. Bar 29^4.

It has been contended that, in most of the OT passages where *tannîn* and *liwyāthān* occur, a mythological or semi-mythological allusion is present. Such an allusion is discovered, for instance, in Is 27^1 'In that day the LORD with his sore and great and strong sword shall punish *liwyāthān* the fleeing serpent (נָחָשׁ בָּרִחַ, LXX ὄφις φεύγων, Aq. ὄφις μοχλός, Symm. ὄφις συγκλείων) and *liwyāthān* the coiled serpent (נָחָשׁ עֲקַלָּתוֹן, LXX ὄφις σκολιός, Aq. and Symm. ὄφις ἐνεσκισωμένος), and he shall slay the *tannîn* that is in the sea.' The language here certainly recalls the Babylonian mythology with its account of the primeval conflict between Marduk and Tiāmat (see art. COSMOGONY). The 'fleeing serpent' (cf. Job $26^{12f.}$) is portrayed on a Bab. seal, with Marduk in pursuit; the 'coiled serpent' might be the earth-encircling ocean. These two *liwyāthāns* are held to be simply differentiations of Tiāmat, whose consort, Kingu, may be 'the dragon in the sea' (so Gunkel, followed by Cheyne, *et al.*). At the same time Gunkel (p. 40) admits that they are employed by 'Isaiah' to symbolize kingdoms. In Is 51^9 (on which see art. RAHAB) the 'dragon' (symbolical, as the context shows, of Egypt at the time of the Exodus) appears, as in the Bab. cosmogony, as having been destroyed by God long ago (so also in Ps $74^{13f.}$ 'Thou brakest the heads of the *tannînîm* in the waters, thou didst crush the heads of *liwyāthān* in pieces,' 89^{10} *al.*), whereas in 27^1 the monster is thought of apparently as imprisoned in the sea, and destined to be destroyed at last by Jahweh's sword (cf. Job 3^8, where, as was noted above, magicians have the power to 'rouse up' *liwyāthān*; 7^{12}, where watchers are set over the *tannîn*; and Am 9^3, where the serpent [נָחָשׁ, δράκων] is in any case no venomous marine snake, for such are not found in the Mediterranean, but 'an imaginary monster, supposed by the Hebrews to have its home at the bottom of the ocean, and to be at the disposal of the Almighty' [Driver, *ad loc.*; similarly Nowack, who has no doubt that there is a reference to the sea-monster of mythology]). Again, in Ezk 29^{3-6} and 32^{2-8} the *tannîn* to which Pharaoh is compared, although it has points in common with the crocodile, is held to find its only true equivalent in the monster Tiāmat. The treatment to be meted out by God to Pharaoh recalls, we are told, the way in which Tiāmat and her allies were vanquished and afterwards treated by Marduk; compare, for instance, Ezk 32^3 'I will spread out my net for thee,' etc., with Creation tablet iv. ll. 95, 112, 'Bel (Marduk) threw wide his net, made it encompass her'; 'In the net they lay, in the meshes they sat.' But the net is a common OT figure, and may be used here independently. Upon the whole, while it is practically certain that the Tiāmat myth had reached Palestine and that there are allusions to it in the OT, it will hardly be questioned that Gunkel exaggerates its influence.

---

* The creature which is said to have swallowed Jonah (see vol. ii. p. 750) is called simply a great fish (דָּג גָּדוֹל), Jon 1^{17} [Heb. and Gr. 2^1]. The familiar 'whale' comes from LXX κῆτος (μέγα), reproduced in the κῆτος of Mt 12^{40}.

† Pocock in his *Commentary* on Mic 1^8 (1677) first showed that these two words had been confused, and pointed out that תַּנִּים must denote some kind of jackal.

* The word 'dragon' in AV should probably be viewed merely as an old and poetical word for a large serpent (not necessarily a fabulous monster). See examples of its use in this sense in old writers as quoted by Murray in *Oxf. Eng. Dictionary*, *s.v.*

† This is the only occurrence of 'sea-monster' in AV.

The 'dragon' of Neh 2^{13} is probably a serpent regarded as the tutelary deity of the spring, and believed to give living power, perhaps healing virtues, to its waters (cf. W. R. Smith, *RS*^{1} 156, 161 [^{2}172, 176]).

It does not fall within the scope of the present article to discuss the 'dragon' of the Greek Book of Daniel (see art. BEL AND THE DRAGON), the 'dragons' of Ad. Est 10^7 11^6 or of Ps-Sol $2^{28\text{ff.}}$, or the 'dragon' of Rev $12^{3\text{ff.}}$ $13^{2.4.12}$ 16^{13} 20^2, for which last see REVELATION (BOOK OF), p. 256, and Bousset's *Comm. ad loc.* See also art. RAHAB.

LITERATURE.—Gunkel, *Schöpfung u. Chaos*, esp. pp. 29-90; Cheyne's artt. 'Behemoth and Leviathan' and 'Dragon' in *Encyc. Bibl.*; Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*^{2} 160, 202, 402, 404 (on Jewish fancies about Leviathan); the Comm., esp. those of A. B. Davidson, Dillm., Budde, and Duhm on *Job*; of Cheyne, Dillm.-Kittel, and Marti on *Isaiah*; and of Bertholet and Kraetzschmar (both disinclined to admit in Ezk 29^3 32^2 the mythological allusions contended for by Gunkel) on *Ezekiel*.

J. A. SELBIE.

SEBA (סְבָא).—Son of Cush, Gn 10^7=1 Ch 1^9. Since Seba is mentioned in connexion with Cush in Is 43^3 and 45^{14}, it is probable that this genealogy is a gloss on the passages of Isaiah, or, at any rate, based upon them. Of Seba this author knows that its inhabitants were *tall*; and since he prophesies that they should be brought in chains to Jerusalem, it seems reasonable to identify them with a race mentioned in the oracle of Is $18^{2.7}$, who were to be brought as an offering to the temple, who also were connected with a nation living beyond the rivers of Cush, and who are described as 'drawn out, clean-shaven, and of power from ancient times.' The rest of the description is at present unintelligible. There is a further reference to them in Ps 72^{10}, where, however, they are merely typical of a distant race, and coupled with the familiar Sheba on the ground of the resemblance of their names. On this resemblance Glaser (*Skizze*, ii. 387 ff.) bases his theory that they represent the Sabæans of Jebel Shammir in Nejd—a theory which is to be rejected on the ground that the only author who knows anything definite about them keeps them carefully apart from the Sabæans, and mentions them in connexion with Cush and Egypt. Since from the 8th cent. B.C. Cush had played an important part in politics, it is probable that an educated man would have some idea of the locality of Cush, and therefore any attempt to seek for Seba anywhere but in the heart of Africa should be rejected. The researches of Mr. Theodore Bent (*Ruined Cities of Mashonaland*, 1892) have certified the existence in the heart of Africa of the vestiges of ancient States, the names of which are lost to history. The description given by him of the ancient State of Mashonaland bears some resemblance to that given in Is 18, possibly on the ground of Egyptian despatches or the statements of Ethiopians then dominant in Egypt. 'There is,' says a Portuguese traveller quoted p. 207, 'a tower or edifice of worked masonry, which appears evidently not to be the work of black natives of the country, but of some powerful and political nations'; p. 231, 'there is little doubt that the ancient builders of the ruins in Mashonaland, the forts and towns between the Zambesi and the Limpopo, utilized the Sabi river as their road to and from the coast.' This, like other African rivers, was in ancient times suitable for large craft, but, through silting, is no longer fit for it (p. 231). It does not appear that epigraphic research has as yet thrown any light on this name.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

SEBAM (שְׂבָם; Σεβαμά; *Saban*).—A town in the pastoral district, 'a land for cattle,' in which Heshbon, Elealeh, and Nebo were also situated (Nu 32^3). It is apparently the same place as **Sibmah**, which was in the territory of Reuben, and was rebuilt by the children of Reuben (Jos 13^{19}, Nu 32^{38}). Sebam probably soon fell into the hands of the Moabites, in whose possession it was in the days of Isaiah and Jeremiah. It was then celebrated for its vines, which were destroyed by 'the lords of the nations' (Is $16^{8.9}$, Jer 48^{32}). Jerome (*Onom. s.* 'Sabama') calls it a town of Moab in the land of Gilead, and says that it was barely 500 paces from Heshbon (*Com. in Is.* v.), and one of the strong places of the district. It is perhaps *Sûmia*, on the south side of *Wâdy Hesbân*, and 2 English miles from Heshbon. There are here some ruins, rock-hewn sarcophagi, and rock-cut wine-presses (*PEF Mem. East Pal.* p. 221).

C. W. WILSON.

SEBAT (Σαβάτ) 1 Mac 16^{14}, or **SHEBAT** (שְׁבָט) Zec 1^7.—The eleventh month; see TIME.

SECACAH (סְכָכָה; B Αἰχιοζά, A Σοχοχά; *Sachacha*).—One of six cities situated in the 'wilderness' (*midbār*) of Judah (Jos 15^{61}), that is, in the waste land west of the Dead Sea. It was unknown to Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom. s.* Σακχά, Scacha), and there is no clue to its position. Conder (*Hbk. to Bible*) identifies it, doubtfully, with *Khurbet ed-Dikkeh*, also called *Khurbet es-Sikkeh*, 'ruin of the path,' 2 miles S. of Bethany. This is too near Jerusalem. Secacah was probably between the Kidron ravine (*Wâdy en-Nâr*) and En-gedi.

C. W. WILSON.

SECHENIAS (A Σεχενίας).—**1.** (B om.) 1 Es 8^{29}= Shecaniah, Ezr 8^3, where the text needs rearranging to agree with 1 Esdras. **2.** (B Εἰεχονίας), 1 Es 8^{32}=Shecaniah, Ezr 8^5.

SECOND COMING.—See PAROUSIA, vol. iii. p. 674.

SECT.—See HERESY, vol. ii. p. 351.

SECU (הַשֶּׂכוּ, with the article; B ἐν τῷ Σεφεί, A ἐν Σοκχώ).—A place mentioned only in 1 S 19^{22}. It was not far from Ramah (Samuel's residence), and apparently on the road from Gibeah to that place. In or near it there was a large cistern (RV 'the great well' [בּוֹר הַגָּדוֹל], RVm 'the well of the threshing floor' [ב׳ הַגֹּרֶן, LXX φρέατος τοῦ ἅλω]) which Saul passed on his journey. The place is unknown, and its site depends upon the position assigned respectively to Gibeah and Ramah. Several identifications have been proposed: for instance, *Bîr Nebala*, near Gibeon (Smith's *DB*), *Khurbet Shuweikeh*, a little S. of *Bîreh* (Conder, *PEF Mem.* iii. 52, 126), and the ancient reservoir at Solomon's Pools (*PEFSt*, 1898, p. 17), but this last is dependent upon an improbable site for RAMAH (see above, p. 198^a). The LXX (B) ἐν τῷ Σεφεί implies the Heb. בַּשְּׁפִי='bare height' (often in Jeremiah). This is preferred to MT by Thenius, Driver (*Text of Sam. ad. loc.*), Löhr, H. P. Smith, and recent writers in general.

C. W. WILSON.

SECUNDUS (Σεκοῦνδος [TR], Σέκουνδος [WH

Blass]).—A man of Thessalonica, who accompanied St. Paul from Philippi to Europe (Ac 20^{4}), probably one of the apostles of the Churches taking the Macedonian contributions to Jerusalem, Ac 24^{17}, 2 Co 8^{23}. The name (with SOSIPATER) occurs in the well-known inscription of Thessalonica, *CIG* ii. 1967, which gives a list of Politarchs.

A. C. HEADLAM.

SECURE.—As used in AV 'secure' means 'confident,' 'trustful,' 'not anticipating danger.' It is always in OT the tr. of בָּטַח to trust, confide, or some of its derivatives. In NT it occurs only as a verb, and only in Mt 28^{14} 'And if this come to the governor's ears, we will persuade him, and secure you,' where the Gr. is ὑμᾶς ἀμερίμνους ποιήσομεν, *i.e.* 'make you free from care,' which corresponds exactly with the derivation of the Eng. word (Lat. *securus*, i.e. *se* 'free from,' and *cura* 'care'). Cf. Jg 18^{7} 'they dwelt careless, after the manner of the Zidonians, quiet and secure.' How greatly the word has changed its meaning may be seen from Jg 8^{11} 'Gideon . . . smote the host: for the host was secure.' Davies (*Bible Eng.* p. 103) quotes from Sandys (p. 210), 'There is no where any place wherein it is safe to be secure.'

Securely (Pr 3^{29}, Mic 2^{8}, Sir 4^{15}) has the same meaning. And so also **security** in 2 Es 7^{53}, Sir 5^{7}; but in Ac 17^{9} 'when they had taken security of Jason, and of the other, they let them go,' this word is used in its modern sense (Gr. τὸ ἱκανόν).

J. HASTINGS.

SEDEKIAS (Ζεδεκίας, AV Zedechias), 1 Es 1^{46} (LXX ^{44}), Zedekiah king of Judah.

SEDUCTION.—See art. CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS, vol. i. p. 522^{b}.

SEED, SEEDTIME.—There is a threefold usage of the words rendered by EV 'seed.' **1.** *Botanical and agricultural.*—The common Heb. term is זֶרַע (Aram. זְרַע Dn 2^{43}), usually 'seed,' but in Gn 8^{22} 'seed time,' and in Lv 26^{5} 'sowing time.' In Ezk 17^{5} שְׂדֵה־זָרַע is tr. 'fruitful field' (RV 'fruitful soil'). 'Sowing seed' (Lv 11^{37}) and 'things that are sown' (Is 61^{11}) are equivalents of זֵרוּעַ. In Jl 1^{17} פְּרֻדוֹת is tr. 'seed' (RV 'seeds'). 'Mingled seed' (Lv 19^{19}) and 'divers seeds' (Dt 22^{9}) are renderings of כִּלְאַיִם. In Is 19^{7} כֹּל מִזְרַע appears in AV as 'every thing sown,' RV 'all that is sown.' The usual Gr. word in Apocr. and NT is σπέρμα, but σπόρος also occurs Mk 4^{26} [cf. Swete's note], Lk 8$^{5.\,11}$, 2 Co 9^{10}. The most interesting Scripture references to 'seed' in this sense are the poetic figure in Ps 126^{6} and our Lord's parables of the Sower and the Tares. See AGRICULTURE, vol. i. 49^{a}. **2.** *Physiological.*—The phrase שִׁכְבַת־זֶרַע is variously tr. in Lv 15$^{16.\,17.\,18.\,32}$ 18^{21} 19^{19} 22^{4}, Nu 5^{13}. 'To conceive seed' stands in Lv 12^{2} for the Hiph. of זָרַע, in Nu 5^{28} for the Niph. with the noun זֶרַע, and in He 11^{11} for εἰς καταβολὴν σπέρματος. σπέρμα has this meaning in Wis 7^{2}, and σπόρα bears the same sense in the metaphor of 1 P 1^{23}, where Christians are said to have been 'begotten again, not of corruptible seed (ἐκ σπορᾶς φθαρτῆς), but of incorruptible (ἀφθάρτου), through the word of God.' **3.** *Metaphorical for offspring*, whether of animals (Jer 31^{27}) or of man. Here the words are זֶרַע and σπέρμα. The former is twice tr. 'child' (Lv 22^{13}, 1 S 1^{11}). 'Seed' has the meaning of genealogy or pedigree, Ezr 2^{59}, Neh 7^{61}. 'The holy seed' is a special designation of the people of Israel, Is 6^{13}, Ezr 9^{2}, 1 Es 8^{70}. 'Seed,' like 'generation,' is sometimes used to describe a class of people with reference to character rather than to descent. Thus we have 'seed of evil-doers' (Is 1^{4}), 'of falsehood' (Is 57^{4}), 'blameless seed' (Wis 10^{15}), 'accursed seed' (Wis 12^{11}), a seed 'honoured' or 'dishonoured' (Sir 10^{19}).

Two NT passages call for separate remark. (*a*) The words σπέρμα αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ μένει (1 Jn 3^{9}) have been interpreted to mean either (1) that Christians, as the 'seed' or children of God, abide in Him and are thus kept from sinning; or (2) that a Divine principle of life remains in the Christian, which secures the same result. The latter is the view now almost universally accepted. It makes αὐτοῦ = θεοῦ, and the σπέρμα θεοῦ is much the same as the σπορὰ ἄφθαρτος of 1 P 1^{23}. (*b*) In Gal 3^{16} St. Paul bases an argument on the promises of Gn 13^{15} 17^{8}, and lays much emphasis on the use of the singular σπέρματι rather than the plural σπέρμασιν as pointing to the fulfilment of the promises in an individual, viz. Christ. Now it has to be admitted, *first*, that neither in Heb. nor in Gr. would it have been natural to use the plural form of 'seeds,' even if the promises had been meant to point only to a plurality of descendants of Abraham; and, *second*, that St. Paul's language elsewhere (Ro 4^{18} 9^{7}) shows that he did not regard the singular σπέρματι as necessarily excluding the plural meaning. St. Paul's argument in Gal 3^{16} is therefore somewhat artificial and Rabbinical in its form. It does not *logically prove* that the promise to Abraham *must* be fulfilled in a single individual. But we can take from it the thought that the collective noun, with its singular form, *suggests* an individual in whom the destiny of Abraham's posterity is summed up, and by whom their mission to the world is carried out. The terms of the promise, though not incompatible with a multiple or national fulfilment, are peculiarly compatible with one which centres in a single person, as Christ's fulfilment does (see Lightfoot, Beet, Eadie, Findlay, Lipsius, Meyer, *ad loc.*).

JAMES PATRICK.

SEER.—See PROPHECY, p. 108.

SEETHE.—To seethe is to boil, as Berners, *Froissart*, xvii, 'These Scottish men . . . take with them no purveyance of bread nor wine, for their usage and soberness is such in time of war, that they will pass in the journey a great long time with flesh half sodden, without bread, and drink of the river water without wine, and they neither care for pots nor pans, for they seethe beasts in their own skins.' The old past tense is **sod**, Gn 25^{29} 'Jacob sod pottage'; 1 Es 1^{12} 'As for the sacrifices, they sod them in brass pots and pans with a good savour'; and past ptcp. **sodden**, Ex 12^{9} 'Eat not of it raw, nor sodden at all with water.'

J. HASTINGS.

SEGUB.—**1.** (שְׂגוּב *Ḳerê*, שְׂגִיב *Kethîbh*; B Ζεγούβ, A Σεγούβ) the youngest son of HIEL who rebuilt Jericho, 1 K 16^{34}. The death of Segub, which synchronized with the setting up of the gates, may have been due to an accident in the building operations, or he may have been offered in sacrifice by his father—a circumstance purposely obscured in the present form of the story. See FOUNDATION and HIEL. In any case, popular opinion finally connected the death of Hiel's two sons with a curse believed to have been pronounced by Joshua on the man that should rebuild Jericho. The form in which this curse is expressed in Jos 6^{26} is moulded by a knowledge of the events recorded in 1 K 16^{34}. See, further, Bertholet, and esp. Kittel on this last-named passage. **2.** (שְׂגוּב; B Σερούχ, A Σεγούβ) son of Hezron and father of JAIR, 1 Ch 2$^{21\text{f.}}$.

J. A. SELBIE.

SEIR (שֵׂעִיר 'rough,' 'shaggy').—**1.** The name of a mountainous district east of the 'Arabah, peopled by the Edomites. It was originally occupied by *Horites* or 'cave-dwellers' (Gn 14^{6} [where read, after LXX and Sam., הַרְרֵי שֵׂעִיר for 'הַרְרָם שׂ of MT] 36^{20} [in the latter passage Seir is personified as the eponymous ancestor of the indigenous inhabitants]). As **Mt. Seir** (הַר שֵׂעִיר, *τὸ ὄρος (τὸ) Ση(ε)ίρ*, Gn 36$^{8f.}$, Dt 2$^{1.5}$ *al.*) is practically synonymous with Edom (cf. Gn 32^{3} 'the land of Seir, the field of Edom,' אֶרֶץ שֵׂעִיר שְׂדֵה אֱדוֹם, *γῆ Σηεὶρ χώρα Ἐδώμ*), it will suffice to refer for further details to art. EDOM. 2. Quite different is the Mt. Seir (B *Ἀσσάρ*, A *Σηείρ*) mentioned in Jos 15^{10} amongst the points defining the boundaries of Judah. The name may still be preserved in that of the ruins at *Sâris*, S.W. of Kiriath-jearim (cf. the name *Σωρής* in LXX A [but B *Ἐωβής*] of Jos 15^{60}). See Robinson, *BRP*^{2} iii. 154 ff.; Buhl, *GAP* 91, 167; Dillm. *Jos. ad loc.* J. A. SELBIE.

SEIRAH (הַשְּׂעִירָה, with the article; B *Σετειρῶθα*, A *Σεειρῶθα*; *Seirath*).—The place to which Ehud escaped after killing Eglon, king of Moab (Jg 3^{26}). It was in the hill-country of Ephraim, and apparently not very far from Gilgal. Its site was unknown to Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.* *Σειρωθά*, Sirotha), and it has not yet been identified.

C. W. WILSON.

SELA (סֶלַע 'the cliff'; *πέτρα*, Is 16^{1} 42^{11}; הַסֶּלַע, *ἡ πέτρα*, Jg 1^{36}, 2 K 14^{7}).—The capital of Edom or Mt. Seir, situated in a valley amidst the Edomite mountains, five days' journey (of 12 miles each) by the Arabah from 'Aḳabah (Elath), and 6 from the Dead Sea by the same route.[*] Its identification as the capital of Edom may also be inferred from its proximity to Mount Hor (if we are right in identifying this with *Jebel Haroun*), which rises in a grand escarpment immediately to the N.W. of the ancient city, and which, as observed by Dean Stanley, is one of the few spots connected with the wanderings of the Israelites which admit of no reasonable doubt (*Sinai and Palestine*, 86). According to Strabo, **Petra** was the metropolis of the Nabatæans, and it is described as a city situated in a valley, decorated with gardens and fountains, but bounded on all sides by rocks.[†]

Description.—Petra is undoubtedly one of the most remarkable of the ancient cities of the East, not only for its position, shut in by mountains and formidable rocky precipices from the outer world, but for the peculiar character of its architecture and the degree of preservation in which the structures themselves have come down to us through many centuries. It lies along the course of the Wâdy Mûsa,[‡] a stream which descends by a narrow gorge called the *Sîk* from the tableland of Edom at the margin of the great Arabian desert, and which ultimately finds its way into the Wâdy el-Jeib, and thus to the Dead Sea, in a north-westerly direction. On issuing from the Sîk, the valley suddenly opens out into a plain, about 1000 yards across,[§] bounded by stupendous cliffs of red and variegated sandstone, into which several other valleys enter from the north, west, and south, also lined by lofty cliffs, through one of which the river escapes by a channel almost as narrow as that by which it entered. This central plain, of a rudely quadrangular form, contains several ruined temples and foundations of habitations. On all sides the nearly vertical walls of rock are covered by works of art—not built up of hewn stone, but cut out of the living rock itself; while a few ruined structures occupy sites rising directly from the valley. This style of architecture, not unknown in other Eastern countries, such as the Valley of the Nile, Peninsular India, and Asia Minor, here attains a variety and magnificence elsewhere unreached; and as the tombs appear to predominate in number above other kinds of structures,—not excepting the temples,—Petra has been likened by travellers to a vast necropolis, where the inhabitants could never issue forth from their dwellings without being confronted with monuments of death.

It would be out of place here to attempt to describe even some of the finest examples of ancient architecture to be found in Petra, which call to mind the varied styles of Egypt, Greece, and Rome. We will only observe that in hewing out the porticoes, columns, and architraves or crowning parts of the buildings, the architects commenced at the top and worked downwards; so that, as the face of the rock was not absolutely vertical, the hewn portions became more and more deeply set into the mass of the rock itself. To this protection, caused by the projection of the original face on either side, as well as sometimes overhead, may be attributed the degree of preservation of the structures themselves. The following are the more important of the monuments as known by their present names:—(1) *el-Khazné*, a portico of a tomb with Corinthian columns at the entrance to the Sîk; (2) the Theatre; (3) the Tomb, or Temple of the Urn; (4) Corinthian Tomb; (5) Great Tomb, with three rows of columns; (6) Tomb with Latin inscription[*]; (7) Ruin of Triumphal Arch; (8) Ruined Basilica (*Zob Phiroun*); (9) Temple (*Serail Phiroun*); (10) Large Tomb (*ed-Deir*); (11) Isolated Column. All the lateral valleys entering the great central plain have their walls perforated with tombs, and a few habitations, the entrances to which are adorned with sculptured façades, while niches for statues are to be observed at intervals. Amongst the most interesting objects is the Roman Theatre, cut out of the solid rock on the western side of the city, and estimated to have afforded seats for 3000 spectators; and lastly, the Circular Arch, which spans the Sîk high above the floor, which was doubtless constructed as part of an aqueduct to carry the waters of the brook to the higher parts of the city.[†] For figure of the recently discovered high place of Petra, see SANCTUARY, p. 396^{a}.

Outline of the history of Petra.—The history of Petra has yet to be written. The following are some of the leading historical events:—

(1) Its history commences in the time of Abraham, when Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, with his allies, swept over the region of Mount Seir, then inhabited by the Ḥorites (or cave-dwellers), Gn 14^{6}.

(2) Esau settled in Mount Seir on separating from his brother Jacob, and the country was henceforth ruled by his descendants, the Edomites (Gn 36^{9}).

(3) At the time of the Exodus the Edomites appear to have been a powerful nation under a king; and on the Israelites requesting permission to pass through Mount Seir, by the king's highway, on their journey towards the plains of Moab, they were refused, and the Edomites made a demonstration of force to resist the passage (Nu 20$^{14-21}$).

---

[*] There is no doubt in the mind of the present writer that **Petra** of the present day is the Sela of the OT, the Greek name being the equivalent of the Semitic; and the importance of the place in ancient times, together with its situation, point to it as the capital of that part of Arabia. But see Moore, *Judges*, 55 f., and cf. art. ROCK, No. 4.

[†] Urbem in regione plana, et hortis fontibusque instructam, cinctam tamen rupibus undique (lib. xvi.).

[‡] How this stream obtained its name, unless from the fancy of the Arabs, it is impossible to say; but it cannot be admitted that it ever had any connexion with Moses, the Israelitish leader. It is one of the grounds on which Dean Stanley (*Sinai*, p. 92) endeavours to make out that Petra is Kadesh-barnea; but to this point we shall return further on.

[§] Measured by scale from Laborde's plan near the centre of the quadrangle.

[*] Giving the name of the Roman governor, Quintus Prætextus Florentinus, who died in the city probably in the reign of Hadrian, A.D. 117-180.

[†] A rude plan of the city is given by Burckhardt; but a much more full and perfect one by Laborde, together with numerous views and illustrations of the works of art. The beautiful drawings of David Roberts need only be referred to. The wonderful colouration of the sandstone rock ('the Nubian sandstone' of the Cretaceous age), in which the prevalent red is varied by wavy bands of pink and yellow in one direction and of purple to blue in the other, has called forth the admiration of all travellers.

(4) In later times they were sufficiently powerful to maintain wars with the kings of Israel and Judah. At an early stage they were brought into subjection by David, who put garrisons in the Edomite strongholds (2 S 8^{14}); but, in the days of Joram, Edom revolted from the rule of Judah (2 K 8^{20}), and, although defeated, maintained their independence and set a king over themselves. After their defeat by Amaziah in a great battle in the Valley of Salt on the shore of the Dead Sea, Sela, the capital, was captured, and re-named by the conqueror *Joktheel* (? 'protection of God'), 2 K 14^{7}. At the end of the 4th cent. B.C. Edom came into possession of the Nabatæans, one of the two chief tribes descended from Ishmael. These established a powerful dynasty, successfully resisting the attacks of Antigonus (Diod. Sic. xix. 731, ed. 1604), and encouraging commerce and works of art. One of their kings, Aretas, was father-in-law of Herod Antipas, and during their sway many of the monuments of Petra which have come down to the present day were constructed.

(5) The sway of the Nabatæans was terminated by the capture of the city, and the reduction of Arabia Petræa to a Roman province by Trajan's general, Hadrian, from whom the capital received the name of Hadriana, as appears from the legend on the coins of this period (Dion Cass. lib. 68). Under the fostering care of the empire it probably attained to the summit of its commercial prosperity and grandeur.

(6) Christianity appears to have been introduced into Petra at an early date, though it is impossible to verify the tradition that the city was visited by St. Paul on his retirement to Arabia after his conversion. Petra, however, became the seat of a bishopric, and Athanasius mentions Asterius as bishop of Petra early in the 4th cent. (*tom. ad Antioch.* 10: Ἀστέριος Πετρῶν τῆς Ἀραβίας, *et al.*); again we find Petra mentioned as the metropolis of the episcopal province of Palestina Tertia, which included a large number of towns or villages, all of which seem to have since disappeared. (*Excerpta* from MS in the Vatican, quoted by Reland, i. 160).

(7) With 'the decline and fall' of the Roman empire a period of decadence for Petra set in, which was hastened by the invasion of Chosroës, king of Persia, in the middle of the 6th cent.; and its ruin was consummated by the desolating wave of Mohammedan conquest which swept over Arabia Petræa from A.D. 629 to 632. The Christian inhabitants were either massacred or compelled to embrace the faith of the conqueror, and their temples and monasteries were reduced to ruins. Of the large number of ecclesiastical buildings which existed at the beginning of the 7th cent. in Arabia, only the monastery of Mount Sinai remains to the present day. Henceforth Petra became a city of ruins, absolutely lost to the view and knowledge of the outer world for several centuries during the Middle Ages till rediscovered by Sultan Beybars of Egypt towards the close of the 13th cent. It is now only the home of the Bedawîn; and the terrible predictions of the prophet, 'Thus will I make Mount Seir an astonishment and a desolation' (Ezk 35^{7}), have been literally fulfilled. Dean Burgon has well expressed this desolation in the following lines:

> 'How changed—how fallen ! All her glory fled,
> The Widow'd City mourns her many dead.*
> Like some fond heart which gaunt disease hath left
> Of all it lived for—all it loved—bereft;
> Mute in its anguish: struck with pangs too deep
> For words to utter, or for tears to weep.'
>
> *Petra*, 1845.

Petra and Kadesh-barnea.—The suggestion that these two places were identical comes from Dean Stanley, and would not have been considered worthy of notice had it emanated from a less distinguished writer. Both topographical and historical reasons are sufficiently clear to render the view untenable. (1) Kadesh was a place situated in immediate proximity to the Canaanitish inhabitants (Nu 13^{29}). This does not apply to Mount Seir, which was separated from them by the wide valley of the Arabah (wilderness of Zin). (2) Kadesh was in the wilderness of Paran (Nu 13^{26}), a region lying to the west of the Arabah, and generally corresponding to the Badiet et-Tîh of the present day (cf. Gn 21^{21}, Nu 10^{12} 12^{16} 13^{26}). This is in harmony with (1) above. (3) As the king of Edom refused the Israelites a passage through his territory when about to leave his neighbourhood, is it conceivable that he would have permitted them to occupy the capital of his kingdom for a period of thirty-eight (or forty) years? Dean Stanley's main reason for his suggestion is the name Wâdy Mûsa (or Moses' Valley) attached to the stream along the banks of which Petra is situated. But however difficult it may be to account for the name, the reasons against the suggestion far outweigh whatever evidence may be derived from this source. See article SANCTUARY.

LITERATURE.—Burckhardt ('Sheikh Ibrahim'), *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land* (1822); de Laborde, *Journey through Arabia Petræa*, etc., Eng. tr. 2nd ed. (1838); Hull, *Mount Seir, Sinai, and Western Palestine* (*PEF*, 1889); Reland, *Palestina ex monumentis veteribus illustrata* (Nuremberg, 1616); Stanley, *SP* (1860); *JBL*, 1899, p. 132 ff.

E. HULL.

SELAH (סֶלָה).—This word occurs 71 times in the Psalter, 17 of these occurrences being in Book I., 30 in II., 20 in III., 4 in V. The majority of the psalms wherein it appears are Elohistic, and all of them ascribed, in the titles, to David, Korah, Asaph or Ethan, except Pss. 66 and 67, the latter of which has ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυεὶδ in the LXX. In 16 psalms it is found once, in 15 twice, in 7 thrice, in 1 four times. It stands also three times in the psalm which is known as Hab 3. In the so-called Psalms of Solomon διάψαλμα is used twice (17^{31} 18^{10}), but m, one of the eight MSS of which Swete has availed himself (*The OT in Greek*², vol. iii.), omits it in both cases. Its usual position is at the end of a poem or of a strophe, the only instances of its occurrence in the middle of a verse being Ps 55^{19} 57^{3}, Hab $3^{3.9}$. These exceptions, however, are apparent rather than real: the first passage is full of impassioned feeling, and the *Ṣelah* immediately follows a Divine title; in the second the LXX has διάψαλμα at the *close* of the verse; the other two are connected with loose quotations from Dt 33^{2}, Ps 77^{16-21}.

It is universally agreed that *Ṣelah* is a musical or liturgical sign of some kind. Nowhere has the word any grammatical connexion with the context. Ps 9^{16} is not an exception, for *Higgaion, Ṣelah*, are both used interjectionally, 'Resounding music! Up!' It is not found in the prophetical writings, and its reference to the temple music is evinced by the fact that 31 of the 39 psalms containing it are ascribed in their titles לַמְנַצֵּחַ, as is Hab 3 at the close.

The derivation and precise significance of the note have been much disputed. (1) One suggestion is that we have in it simply the Heb. form of ψάλλε. But the musical signs of the Psalter date from an earlier period than that of the Greek influence. Besides, if the word had come from the Greek, it is strange that no tradition to that effect should have reached any of the Greek translators. (2) It has been taken as an abbreviation. For example, סב לְמַעְלָה הַשַּׁר=*da capo*. But these abbreviations, however agreeable to the taste of later writers, are not biblical. (3) It has been derived from a verb סלה, supposed to be equivalent to שלה: the imperative would be סְלֵה, with ה paragogic סַלָּה, in pause סֶלָה. The interchange of ס and שׂ is, however, rare in the Heb. of the OT, and the sense thus obtained, 'Pause!' does not suit many of the passages: as, for instance, those where it stands in the middle of a verse or would break the flow of thought (Ps 55^{19} $67^{1.\,4}$, Hab $3^{3.\,9}$), or at the end of a psalm (Ps 3. 24), where no direction to pause is needed. (4) Several of the VSS translated it by words which mean 'for ever.' The Targ. has לְעָלְמָא, לְעָלְמִין, לְחַיֵּי, עָלְמָא, עָלְמִין לְעָלְמֵי, etc.; Aq. *ἀεί*; Theod. *ἀεί*; Sexta *διαπαντός*, once *εἰς τέλος*; Quinta *εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας*; Jerome, *semper, in sempiternum.* (5) In all probability it is connected with the verb סָלַל = to lift up, to cast up. In this case the meaning may be (*a*) 'Lift up! Loud!' a direction to the orchestra, which had hitherto been playing a soft accompaniment and is now to strike in with loud music, trumpets and cymbals, whilst the singer's voice was hushed. Additional force would thus be given to those parts of the psalm where it seemed appropriate. It will be noticed that *Ṣelah* is not found at the beginning of a psalm, for instrumental preludes were in all probability unknown, the instruments being always secondary to the voices. Or (*b*) it may mean 'Lift up your benediction,' the reference being to a doxology 'sung after every psalm and section of a psalm which for any liturgical reason was separated from a section which followed' (Briggs, *JBL*, 1899, p. 142).

---

* On the coins of Petra the city is represented as a veiled and turreted female sitting on a rock. For other predictions of the desolation of Edom, see Is 34^{5-17}, Jer 49^{15-22}, Ob $^{1-10}$.

The *διάψαλμα* of LXX, Theod., and Symm. has received almost as many varying interpretations as the original word itself. 'Quidam *diapsalma* commutationem metri dixerunt esse: alii pausationem spiritus: nonnulli alterius sensus exordium. Sunt qui rhythmi distinctionem, et quia psalmi tunc temporis juncta voce ad organum canebantur, cujusdam musicæ varietatis existimant silentium' (Jer. *ad Marcellam*). It seems not unlikely that the true meaning is 'an interlude': Hesychius explains the similarly formed word *διαύλιον* of the flute-playing in the interval between two choruses.

B. Jacob's 'Beiträge zu einer Einleitung in die Psalmen' (*ZATW*, 1896, pp. 129-182) is a very full discussion of the word. Denying the possibility of an etymological explanation, he reaches two main conclusions: (1) 'סֶלָה signifies a pause, whether *in* the temple song or *for* the temple song'; (2) 'the meaning of ס׳ was purposely concealed to prevent the synagogues and perhaps also the churches from obtaining one of the privileges of the temple.' Briggs' article, quoted above, is marked by great freshness in its discussion of the problem: see also under the word סֶלָה in the *Oxf. Heb. Lexicon.*

J. TAYLOR.

SELA-HAMMAHLEKOTH (סֶלַע הַמַּחְלְקוֹת; *πέτρα ἡ μερισθεῖσα*; *Petra dividens*; 'the rock of divisions *or* escape,' RVm).—A rock or cliff in the wilderness of Maon, at which Saul 'returned from pursuing after David' (1 S 23^{28}). The 'rock of divisions' is the interpretation of the Jewish commentators (*Midrash*, Rashi), and is pronounced probable by Driver (*Text of Sam. ad. loc.*); the 'rock of escapes' that of Gesenius (*Thes.* 485). The great gorge of *Wâdy Malâki*, which runs eastward between Carmel and Maon, would be a suitable position, and the name may be a corruption of the Hebrew by the loss of a guttural (Conder, *PEF Mem.* iii. 314).

C. W. WILSON.

SELED (סֶלֶד).—A Jerahmeelite, 1 Ch 2^{30}. The name occurs twice in this verse: B has, the first time, Ἀλσάλαδ; the second time, Σάλαδ, which last is the reading of A both times.

SELEMIA.—One of the swift scribes who wrote to the dictation of Ezra (2 Es 14^{24}).

SELEMIAS (Σελεμίας), 1 Es 9^{34} = Shelemiah, Ezr 10^{39}.

SELEUCIA (Σελεύκεια, WH Σελευκία), the great maritime fortress of Syria, was built by Seleucus Nikator. It was the seaport of his new capital Antioch, and in it he was buried. The town was situated on the southern slopes of Mt. Pieria, and on the level ground at its foot. On three sides it was protected by nature as well as by art; and on the side of the sea, where the ground is level, it was strongly fortified. Seleucia was taken by Ptolemy Euergetes (1 Mac 11^8), and afterwards (*c*. B.C. 220) recovered by Antiochus the Great. It was one of the most important military stations of the Seleucidæ, and was greatly improved by the Romans. In St. Paul's time it was a 'free city'—a privilege granted to it after its capture by Pompey. It was afterwards greatly favoured by the emperors, who enlarged the harbour, constructed moles, etc. The geographical position of Seleucia, at the mouth of the Orontes valley, gave it great commercial importance. Thence ships sailed southward along the Syrian and Phœnician coasts to Egypt, and westward to Cyprus, the coast of Asia Minor, and the Roman world. And it was in one of these trading ships that Paul and Barnabas, after coming down from Antioch, sailed for Cyprus on their first missionary journey (Ac 13^4).

There are many remains of the old walls, temples, theatres, and other buildings of Seleucia. The walls of the inner harbour, now a morass, can be followed throughout; the canal through which ships passed from the outer to the inner harbour can be traced; and the piers of the outer harbour can still be seen beneath the sea. The most remarkable relic of Seleucia, however, is the great rock-hewn channel, partly a tunnel, which was apparently made to convey to the sea the waters of a stream that might, in times of flood, have endangered the city, and at the same time to store water for the use of the people (Chesney, *Euphrates Expedition*; Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Epp. of St. Paul*; Baedeker, *Guide to Syria and Palestine*).

C. W. WILSON.

SELEUCIDÆ, the members of a Syrian dynasty founded by Seleucus, one of the generals of Alexander. They ruled over Syria from B.C. 312 to B.C. 65, their empire extending, when they were at the height of their prosperity, from Mesopotamia in the east to the borders of Greece in the west. The Seleucid era begins with Olym. 117, 1, A.U. 442, B.C. 312, and was very largely used, especially in the districts round the Euphrates and Tigris. The Seleucid year was usually regarded as beginning in autumn, but Schürer (I. i. 36–44) argues in favour of spring. None of the Seleucidæ are expressly named in any of the books of canonical Scripture, but in Daniel allusions are made to several of them, including the four kings bearing the name Seleucus. In the Books of Maccabees Seleucus IV. is mentioned by name. From certain references in Josephus' *Antiquities*, it has been commonly supposed that the Jewish historian had written a special History of the Seleucidæ. Destinon, who in his *Quellen des Fl. Josephus*, pp. 21–29, has investigated the subject carefully, decides against the existence of such a work.

LITERATURE.—Ewald, *Hist. of Israel*, v., London, 1880, pp. 286–354; Schürer, *HJP* I. i. 169–185,—for genealogy, I. ii. 393; Ryssel in art. 'Syrien' in *PRE* ^{2} xv. 176 f., Driver, *Daniel, passim.*

J. MACPHERSON.

SELEUCUS I. (Nikator), the founder of the Seleucid dynasty, on the death of Alexander, in B.C. 323, after a successful conflict secured recognition for himself under this title as ruler over all the countries between the Hellespont and the Mediterranean on the one side, and the Indus and Jaxartes (Sir-Daria) on the other. In the partition of territories which took place in B.C. 321 he obtained the governorship of Babylon, and, though driven out by Antigonus in B.C. 316, he succeeded in B.C. 312 in establishing himself in the Babylonian provinces in the east as well as in the Syrian provinces in the west. He then founded the Seleucid dynasty, which held its place for about two hundred and fifty years. He died by the hand of an assassin in B.C. 282. He is the *captain* (שַׂר) of the king of the South, Ptolemy Soter of Egypt, referred to in Dn 11^{5} as having become stronger than the king. He founded several cities which became famous, among them Antioch and Apamea on the Orontes, Laodicea and Seleucia, Edessa and Berœa. He settled many Jews, who had served their time under him, in Antioch and others of the cities founded by him, and conferred upon them all the rights of citizenship.

LITERATURE.—Josephus, *Ant.* XII. iii. 1; Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 114, ii. 271; Ewald, *HI* v. 237; Driver, *Daniel*, xxxv. 165 f.

J. MACPHERSON.

SELEUCUS II. (Callinicus), king of Syria, B.C. 246–226, son of the grandson of Nikator, Antiochus II. Theos. His mother, Laodice, having murdered the Egyptian princess Berenice, Ptolemy Euergetes, the brother of the murdered lady, in order to avenge his sister's death, invaded the territories of the Syrian monarch, and plundered Syria and Babylonia. Reference to this episode is made in Dn 11^{7-9}. Ptolemy took possession of Seleucia, which for a considerable time was retained by the Egyptians. Seleucus afterwards sought to retaliate, and for this purpose led an expedition against Egypt, but was immediately put to flight. We have no particulars about the close of his reign.

LITERATURE.—Bevan, *Short Com. on Daniel*, 1892, pp. 174–177; Ewald, *HI* v. 271, 283; Driver, *Daniel*, 167 f.

J. MACPHERSON.

SELEUCUS III. (Ceraunus), king of Syria, B.C. 226–223, son of Callinicus and brother of Antiochus the Great. These brothers are referred to in Dn 11^{10} in the word 'his sons.' Seleucus did not make war directly with Egypt, but his campaign in Asia Minor may be regarded as preliminary to the expedition carried out against Egypt by his brother. Seleucus was killed in that campaign, after a reign of two years, before the accession of Ptolemy Philopator, against whom Antiochus fought unsuccessfully (cf. Driver, *Daniel*, 168 ff.).

J. MACPHERSON.

SELEUCUS IV. (Philopator), king of Syria, B.C. 187–175, son of Antiochus the Great and brother of Antiochus Epiphanes. Dn 11^{20} refers to this Seleucus, whether we understand the writer to speak of him as sending an exactor, or (transposing two words) as himself the exactor who rises up in the place of his father. In the former case, we shall understand by the exactor Heliodorus, whom Seleucus is said (2 Mac 3^{7} 5^{18}) to have sent to obtain the money treasured up in the temple of Jerusalem. Bevan prefers the above transposition, rendering the passage thus: 'And there shall arise in his place an exactor, who shall cause the royal dignity to pass away.' Such a designation would be very suitable for Seleucus, who was notorious for his avarice. He is spoken of in 2 Mac 3^{3} as 'the king of Asia.' In 1 Mac 7^{1}, 2 Mac 14^{1} he is alluded to as father of Demetrius, and in 2 Mac 4^{7} mention is made of his death, and of the fact that he was succeeded by Antiochus. After having reigned twelve years, Seleucus was murdered, some say by Heliodorus, his minister, who sought to win the kingdom to himself; but others say at the instigation of his brother Antiochus, who was on his way from Rome, where he had been detained for some years as a hostage. This latter view seems to be most agreeable to the language of Daniel.

LITERATURE.—Bevan, *Short Com. on Daniel*, p. 185 f.; Schürer, *HJP* I. i. 172, also his art. 'Seleucus' in Riehm, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 1457; Ewald, *HI* v. 291 f., 304; Driver, *Daniel*, pp. xxxviii, 101 f., 176 f.; Fairweather and Black, *1 Mac.* pp. 146, 159, 189; Jos. *Ant.* XII. iv. 10.

J. MACPHERSON.

SELF-SURRENDER.—By this title we may understand to be indicated the fundamental principle of Christianity on its subjective side. The roots of it may be traced back in the OT and further to the primitive instincts of religion. Schleiermacher's definition of religion as 'the sense of dependence' is defective and one-sided in leaving out of account this most essential element. It is seen in an extreme form in the extravagance of pagan fanaticism. The Indian fakîr, the yogi who abandons himself entirely to religious devotion, aims at making the most absolute surrender of his life and person; and yet it is seen that pride, self-will, vanity, and various self-regarding affections are not excluded by the extremity of fanaticism, and therefore some deeper if not more demonstrative experience must be looked for in real self-surrender. The OT prepares for this, and the NT shows the way of completely realizing it.

i. SELF-SURRENDER IN THE OT.—(*a*) This is an important element of the Hebrew faith in its various phases. In the patriarchal history it appears in the submission and obedience of Abraham and his family in leaving Ur of the Chaldees and migrating to an unknown land where they must live a nomadic life in response to the call of God (Gn 12^{1-5}), and in the subsequent conduct of Isaac (26^{1-6}) and Jacob (28^{16-22}). In the prophets it is apparent as the very foundation of their work and mission. The prophet is not an involuntary instrument in the hands of God through whom the Divine will is declared. Before he receives his message he surrenders himself to the call of God; he must be a 'man of God' if he is to be a 'seer.' Moses surrenders his prospects at the court of Pharaoh in the passion of patriotism; and later, receiving his call at the burning bush, gives himself up to the service of God as His ambassador to Pharaoh. A spirit of complete self-surrender is seen later in his willingness to be blotted out of God's book that the offending people might be forgiven (Ex 32^{32}). Ruth's devotion to her mother-in-law, though issuing in a great act of self-surrender (Ru $1^{16.17}$), has only a secondary bearing on the giving up of self to God. Samuel is dedicated to God from his birth by his mother (1 S 1^{11}), and his subsequent career shows that he confirmed this dedication by his own conduct. Elijah throughout his adventurous career manifests a life completely given up to the service of God in face of the greatest dangers. Elisha, responding to the call of the older prophet, takes solemn farewell of his parents and the circle of his friends at a final feast (1 K 19^{21}), which may have furnished Levi the publican with the precedent for his similar action (Lk 5^{29}). Amos leaves his herds and his orchards to go as God's messenger to the dissolute court of Jeroboam II. at Bethel. But the typical act of prophetic self-surrender is seen in the case of Isaiah, who gives us a full account of God's call and his response in a vision at the temple (Is 6). Jeremiah, shrinking from the difficult task laid on him, but going to it with the supreme courage of a naturally timorous man who is braced to face danger by a strong sense of duty and a full faith in God, lives his martyr life in the spirit of entire self-sacrifice.

(*b*) When we turn from the history to the teaching of the OT, we find that this supreme act of religion is repeatedly insisted on. The prophets call upon the people to give themselves up to God. Hosea invites the unfaithful to return (Hos $14^{1.2}$). Isaiah, denouncing the sin of Jerusalem as unfaithfulness and rebellion (1^{21-23}), calls the people back to their loyalty, and promises a redemption that implies a return to God in the spirit of submission (v.[27]). Early in the Captivity, Ezekiel sketches the ideal of a restored nation fully devoted to God, and in Deutero-Isaiah the restored Israel appears as a people given up to the service of God. The completed Pentateuch gives a large place to the idea of self-surrender on the part of the Jewish people. The whole nation is holy, *i.e.* set apart for God (*e.g.* Ex 19[5] 22[31]). The Levites and the priests are dedicated to God in an especial way for the performance of specific functions, but not to the exclusion of the self-dedication of the laity. Thus the people generally are expected to 'sanctify' themselves and to be 'holy' (*e.g.* Lv 20[7]). Among the sacrifices the burnt-offering (*'ôlāh*, *i.e.* 'that which goes up') was especially significant of the self-surrender of the man who offered it. This was entirely consumed on the altar (therefore thought of as a 'whole offering'), while other sacrifices were eaten in whole or in part by the priests and the worshippers. As the smoke ascended to heaven the essence of the victim was supposed to pass up to Jehovah, and represented the offerer, who was thus supposed to give himself up to God under the symbol of his sacrifice (see Bennett, *Theol. of OT*, pp. 148, 149, and art. SACRIFICE).

ii. SELF-SURRENDER IN THE NT.—(*a*) This is first presented to us in the life of Jesus Christ, whose whole course consists in the abandonment of self and self-interest in order to do the will of God; which is summarized in sayings reported in the Fourth Gospel, 'My meat is to do the will of him that sent me, and to accomplish his work' (Jn 4[34]); 'I came down from heaven not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me' (6[38]), and described in Hebrews by the application to Christ of Ps 40[8] 'Lo, I am come to do thy will' (He 10[9]). The agony in the garden reveals the spirit of perfect self-surrender under the severest trial when our Lord cries, 'Howbeit, not what I will, but what thou wilt' (Mk 14[36]), and the endurance of the passion consummated in the crucifixion completes the sacrifice.

(*b*) Jesus Christ invites His disciples to a similar life of self-surrender. That is seen outwardly in the call of the Twelve, which leads each to give up his work and his home in order to follow Christ. At Cæsarea Philippi the underlying principle is made a rule of universal application when our Lord says, 'If any man would come after me, let him deny himself (*ἀπαρνησάσθω ἑαυτόν*), and take up his cross, and follow me' (Mk 8[34], Mt 16[24], Lk 9[23]—Luke has 'take up his cross *daily*'). Plainly, this means much more than what we commonly understand by self-denial, *i.e.* the giving up of certain of the conveniences of life. The essential difference is that it involves the abandonment of self altogether as the end of life (see Swete, *St. Mark, in loc.*). The word rendered 'deny' (*ἀπαρνέομαι*, stronger than *ἀρνέομαι*, and meaning a more thorough abandonment, suggested by the prefix *ἀπό*) is used for St. Peter's denial of Christ (Mk 14[30]) and for the denial in the presence of the angels of those who deny Christ on earth (Lk 12[9]). But while the absoluteness of the surrender is thus demanded, certain mistaken forms of self-denial are excluded. The notion does not involve asceticism or any form of self-torture. Primarily it is negative; it is requisite as a preliminary condition to following Christ, which is the real object to be aimed at, not commended as a meritorious act on its own account. Self must be renounced in order that Christ may be followed. Further, there is no idea of the abandonment of the *ego* in the destruction of the personality, or the fusing of the individual in the universal being of God. Christ's teaching does not tend in this pantheistic direction. The very appeal to the act of self-renunciation brings in the idea of the will that is to perform it (*εἴ τις θέλει*), and that will is equally requisite for the following of Christ, which is to be the subsequent aim of His servant. The disciple is to follow Christ as an individual personality, walking after his Master, though in the Master's footprints; not to merge his own consciousness and activity in the being and life of Christ. But while the individuality of the *ego* is to be thus preserved, the surrender of the will in submission and obedience is to be unconditional and complete. Probably we should regard our Lord's hard sayings on the subject of riches in the light of this primary condition. That He did not lay down a rule of poverty as a universal condition of discipleship is proved by the fact that some of His disciples who possessed property were not required to sacrifice it, *e.g.* Zacchæus, the Bethany household, the mother of St. Mark—in whose house the Church met after the resurrection. Therefore the difficulty of a rich man in entering the kingdom of God, concerning which Jesus spoke with great emphasis, must be found in the entanglement of worldly goods hindering the complete surrender of will, and not in the hard necessity of giving up all the possessions. The case of the young ruler, who, when asked what he should do to obtain eternal life, was told to sell all he possessed and give it to the poor, stands by itself: we have no other instance of such a demand, and therefore it is just to conclude that it had a specific application to this man, his wealth being his fatal hindrance, and a career of discipleship being open to him if he would abandon all his worldly goods to follow Christ with the peasants and fishermen. Thus riches may be classed with the hand, or foot, or eye that is to be cut off or plucked out if the member offend. Poverty *per se* is no more required as a condition of membership in the kingdom of God than mutilation. But if any hindrance is found in what seems most valuable and our own by right—even a limb of the body—so that the precious thing must be abandoned rather than that the life should be ruined, much more must this process be followed in the case of what is so extraneous as material wealth. For a full discussion of this position see Wendt, *Lehre Jesu*, pp. 376–389 [Eng. tr. ii. 58 ff.].

While absolute surrender to the will of God is thus required by Christ at any cost, pure altruism is not demanded. The 'golden rule,' which may be regarded as the primary law of Christian ethics, enjoins that we should do to others as we would wish them to do to us, on the principle that we should love our neighbours as ourselves, where some self-regarding thought is allowed, since this is expressly named as the measure of our feelings and actions towards others. Still it is to be observed that the more advanced teaching of the Fourth Gospel carries us beyond this line of measurement with the '*new* commandment,'—perhaps *new* in contrast with the *old* commandment about love to our neighbour,—inculcating love like Christ's ('*even as I* have loved you,' etc., Jn 13[34]), because His love involved complete self-sacrifice for the saving of others. In the same way Jesus spoke of the necessity of bearing the cross, not meaning the endurance of some hardship, but the readiness to face death, like the condemned man who carries his cross to the place of execution; and He laid down the great principle contained in the words, 'Whosoever would (or rather *wishes* to, *θέλῃ*) save his life shall lose it; and whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the gospel's, shall save it' (Mk 8[35] etc.). Confusion has come into the interpretation of this passage through the two senses of the word *ψυχή*, as *life* and *soul*, being introduced; but the previous sentence about the cross, an instrument of capital punishment, should make it clear that it is not the soul, especially as we now understand the word 'soul,' but the life, that is here referred to. The Gr. word is used in the same sense in Mk 10^{45}, where Jesus speaks of giving His ψυχή, *i.e.* His life, in the sense of giving Himself up to die. The passage, then, means that whoever is willing to face martyrdom for his Christian faith shall save his life—*i.e.* live on in spite of being killed, by entering into the eternal life; while he who makes it his aim to escape martyrdom will really die, because he will miss the eternal life. Here the self-surrender, even to the extent of suffering a martyr's death, *i.e.* the surrender which will face that extremity if necessary, is what Christ requires, not in every case the actual endurance of the martyrdom,—for the sentence is hypothetical. But this self-surrender is not the end, it is the means through which we are to enter into life. In a larger application of the essential principle it may be said that we must renounce ourselves in order to realize ourselves. The end then, as we saw above in another connexion, is not self-abnegation, much less is it extinction of being, or loss of personality and conscious existence, Buddhist *Nirvana*, or Hindu absorption in Brahm, but the very opposite—the full, enduring, conscious activity known as eternal life.

(*c*) In St. Paul's Epistles this principle comes out with regard to the mystical union of the Christian with Christ. He dies with Christ (Col 2^{20}); he is crucified with Christ (Gal 2^{20}); through the cross of Christ the world has been crucified to him, and he to the world (6^{14}); the old man is crucified with Christ (Ro 6^{6}). The last of these phrases throws light on the others. St. Paul is thinking of the pre-Christian condition, the life of sin and the world. This is so completely put away in Christ that it is said to be killed, crucified. The apostle means more than repentance; he is thinking of an actual end of the old thoughts, affections, desires, habits. But the peculiarity of his teaching is that this result is brought about by union with Christ, and especially by an inward, spiritual assimilation to His death. Thus, on our part, the cause is self-surrender to Jesus Christ, for Him to be the supreme commanding influence over the soul. Then this same surrender to Christ, resulting in union with Him and assimilation to His experience, carries the soul on to a resurrection. Accordingly, St. Paul writes of Christians as being 'raised together with Christ' (Col 3^{1}). Writing of his own experience, the apostle declares that it is no longer he that lives, but Christ who lives in him (Gal 2^{20}). This, which may be called the mystical element in St. Paul's thought, links itself to his rabbinical and legal view of redemption as an act of justification by God which we receive through faith. The bond of union between the two parts of the apostle's teaching may be found in his ideas on faith. It is faith that secures the grace of forgiveness, and so places the guilty person in a state of justification. Now, faith with St. Paul is not merely intellectual assent to dogma; it is personal trust in and adhesion to Christ. But such a condition of soul is the very surrender which secures the mystical union with Christ. Thus the two experiences—the subjective dying and rising, and the objective forgiveness and justification—spring out of the same act on our part, the faith that implies self-surrender. Further, out of this and its results arise moral obligations to continual self-renunciation for the service of Christ and the benefit of mankind. The Christian is not his own, because he has been bought with a price (1 Co 6$^{19.\,20}$). Therefore a special obligation is on him to spend his life in unselfish service. For the same reason he must avoid unchastity, since his body is a temple of the Holy Ghost. Christians are exhorted to present their bodies to God as a living sacrifice, an act which the apostle calls 'reasonable service' (λογικὴν λατρείαν), perhaps meaning 'spiritual service' in contrast to the external service of Judaism (Ro 12^{1}).

(*d*) The Epistle to the Hebrews, treating chiefly of Christ and His work, does not devote much attention to the subjective side of religion. Still it exalts faith as the secret of spiritual power and heroism, and this faith involves the renunciation of self in accepting the help of God to do His will. Thus one instance is that of Moses, who gave up the treasures of Egypt, enduring 'as seeing him who is invisible' (He 11^{27}).

(*e*) St. Peter describes Christians as persons who were going astray but are now returned to the Shepherd and Bishop of their souls (1 P 2^{25}); and this return involves surrender to obedience, since the sheep of the flock follow their shepherd.

(*f*) In the Johannine writings the act of self-renunciation does not come forward so prominently on its own account as elsewhere in the NT; but it is even more completely involved in the requirements that correspond to the Divine side of religion than in the other apostolic writings. The new birth of which Jesus speaks to Nicodemus (Jn 3$^{1\text{-}8}$) requires the surrender of self in the abandonment of pride and self-sufficiency, in order that it may be experienced. To drink of the water of life, to eat the bread of life, to follow the Light of the World, are actions that require the abandonment of all claims to self-sufficiency. Then St. John demands faith as the great condition on our part for the reception of eternal life (1 Jn 5^{13}). At the same time, in the prominence which he gives to this gift of eternal life as a present possession, it is plain that he does not teach any doctrine of the abandonment of the human personality for absorption in the Divine. W. F. ADENEY.

SEMACHIAH (סְמַכְיָהוּ 'J" has sustained').—The name of a Korahite family of gatekeepers, 1 Ch 26^{7} (B Σαβχειά, A Σαμαχίας). It is not improbable that the same name should be substituted for Ismachiah (יִסְמַכְיָהוּ 'J" sustaineth'; B Σαμαχειά, A Σαμαχιά) in 2 Ch 31^{13}. See Gray, *HPN* 291, 295.

SEMEI (B Σεμεεί, A Σεμεί), 1 Es 9^{33}=Shimei of the sons of Hashum, Ezr 10^{33}.

SEMEIAS (B Σεμεείας, ℵA Σεμείας; AV Semei), Ad. Est 11^{2} (LXX, A^{1}) = Shimei, the ancestor of Mordecai; cf. Est 2^{5}.

SEMEIN (B Σεμεείν, A Σεμεεί; AV Semei), Lk 3^{26}.—The father of Mattathias in the genealogy of Jesus Christ.

SEMEIS (B Σενσείς, A Σεμείς; AV Semis), 1 Es 9^{23} =Shimei the Levite, Ezr 10^{23}.

SENAAH (סְנָאָה; B Σαανά, Σανανάτ, A Σανανά, Σενναά, 'Ασάν; *Senaa*).—Amongst the 'people of Israel' who returned from the Captivity with Zerubbabel were the 'children of Senaah.' Their numbers were 3630 according to Ezr 2^{35}, and 3930 according to Neh 7^{38}. The name occurs again, with the article, *haṣ-Ṣenaah* (Neh 3^{3}), in connexion with the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem. The people of Senaah built the Fish-gate, and are mentioned next in order after the people of Jericho (cf. Ezr 2^{34}). From this it may perhaps be inferred that Senaah was in the vicinity of Jericho. In this case it may possibly be the village *Magdalsenna*, Μεγδαλσεννά, which Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.*) place 7 M.P. north of Jericho.

In the lists in 1 Es. (5^{23}) the name is given as

Sanaas (AV Annaas; B Σαμά, A Σανάας; *Anaas*), and the number of the children as 3330.

C. W. WILSON.

SENATE is the rendering of γερουσία in Ac 5^{21}, where 'all the senate of the children of Israel' appears to be epexegetical of the preceding 'council' (συνέδριον). See also EPHESUS, vol. i. p. 722^a, and SANHEDRIN. It is the Jewish 'senate' that is meant likewise by γερουσία in 2 Mac 1^{10} 4^{44}. The allusions to the Roman senate in 1 Mac $8^{17ff.}$ will be found handled in art. ROME, p. 306^b.

SENEH (סֶנֶּה; Σεννά; *Sene*).—One of two jagged points, or 'teeth of the cliff,'—the other being Bozez, between which the 'passage of Michmash' ran. It is mentioned in connexion with the exploit of Jonathan and his armour-bearer, and was to the south of and nearer to Geba than Bozez (1 S 14^4). Seneh was possibly so called from the thorns (cf. סְנֶה of Ex 3^{2-4}, Dt 33^{16}) which grew upon it (cf. 'the plain of thorns,' ἀκανθῶν αὐλών, near the village of Gabathsaul, Jos. *BJ* v. ii. 1). The name is retained in the *Wâdy Suweinît*, on the right bank of which, not far from *Jeba*, the rock Seneh must have been. A good description of the locality is given by Conder (*Tent-Work*, ii. 112–114). See also Robinson (*BRP*^{2} i. 441).

C. W. WILSON.

SENIR (שְׂנִיר; Σανείρ; *Sanir*).—The Amorite name of Mt. Hermon (Dt 3^9), and one of the few Amorite words preserved in the Bible. In 1 Ch 5^{23}, Ca 4^8, Senir is apparently distinguished from Mt. Hermon, and probably designated a particular part of the Hermon range (so Driver, Buhl). In Ezekiel's lamentation for Tyre (27^5) the builders are said to have made planks of the 'fir trees of Senir,' and in 1 Chronicles Senir is given as one of the limits to which the children of Manasseh overflowed from Bashan. In an inscription of Shalmaneser, Hazael of Damascus is said to have made Mt. Sanir, the top of the mountain opposite Lebanon, into a fortress (Schrader, *KAT*^{2} 210). The Arab geographers, as late as the 14th cent., also called Anti-Lebanon *Jebel Sanîr*, and attached the name more particularly to that portion of the range near Damascus and between *Baalbek* and *Homs*. There was also a district of *Sanîr* in which *Baalbek* was situated (Guy le Strange, *Pal. under the Moslems*, 32, 78, 79, 295–298).

C. W. WILSON.

SENNACHERIB (סַנְחֵרִיב, Σενναχηρείμ, Assyr. *Sin-akhi-erba*, 'the Moon-god has increased the brethren,' from which we may infer that he was not the eldest son of his father, Sargon).—Sennacherib succeeded Sargon on the 12th of Ab, B.C. 705. His first campaign was against Babylonia, where Merodach-baladan (or another prince of the same name) had reappeared. (See, however, MERODACH-BALADAN). After a reign of six months the latter was forced to fly for his life. Sennacherib made a certain Bel-ibni king of Babylon, and then turned against the Kassi or Kossæans in the western mountains of Elam. After this he swept Ellipi, north of Elam, with fire and sword. In B.C. 701 came the campaign against Palestine, which had rebelled after Sargon's death. Lulia (Elulæus), king of Tyre, fled to Cyprus, and Sidon and other Phœnician cities were sacked by the Assyrians, Ethbaal being appointed king of the country. Ashdod, Ammon, Moab, and Edom now sent tribute, Judah with the dependent Philistine cities of Ashkelon and Ekron alone holding out. Ashkelon and Ekron were captured, and Hezekiah was compelled to restore to the throne of the latter city the anti-Jewish prince Padi, who had been imprisoned in Jerusalem. The Egyptians, now ruled by the Ethiopian Tirhakah, came to the help of Hezekiah, but they were defeated at Eltekeh and driven back. Sen. thereupon swept the country of Judah, capturing 46 fortresses and carrying into exile 200,150 persons. While he was besieging Lachish, Hezekiah sent rich presents to him, in the vain hope of buying off his attack. The presents consisted of 30 talents of gold, 800 talents of silver, precious stones, couches and seats inlaid with ivory, girls and eunuchs, male and female musicians (?). But all was of no avail: Lachish was taken and plundered, and the Rab-shakeh or Vizier sent a letter to Hezekiah demanding the surrender of his city (2 K 19^8 ff.). Then came the catastrophe, which obliged Sen. to leave Judah without punishing his rebellious vassal, and over which he draws a veil of silence in his annals. The events and the date of this campaign are fully discussed by Prášek in a series of articles in the *Expos. Times*, xii., xiii. (1901-2). Prášek contends that there were *two* campaigns of Sennacherib to the West and against Judah.

The following year he again entered Babylonia, of which he made his son Assur-nadin-sum king, and drove Merodach-baladan out of the marshes. A few years later he had a fleet of ships built on the Euphrates, at Til-Barsip near Birejik, which he manned with Ionians and Phœnicians. They then sailed across the Persian Gulf to the mouth of the Eulæus, where the followers of Merodach-baladan had taken refuge, and burnt and plundered the Chaldæan colony. In return for this Assur-nadin-sum was carried off to Elam, and the Elamites made Nergal-yusezib king in his place (B.C. 694). The usurper was defeated and captured by the Assyrians, but with little result, since the Elamites remained all-powerful in Babylonia for a time. In B.C. 691, however, Sen. again marched into the country. At the battle of Khalulê the Bab. and Elamite forces were obliged to retreat after a hard-fought day, but two years more were required before Babylonia could be finally subdued. Sen. had already attempted to invade Elam, but the winter had set in before he began his march, and the snow obliged him to return. At last, in B.C. 689, Babylon was taken and razed to the ground, and the canal Arakhtu, which flowed by it, was choked with its ruins.

On the 20th of Tebet, B.C. 681, Sen. was murdered by his two sons (2 K 19^{37}). The deed seems to have been prompted by jealousy of their brother Esarhaddon, who was at the time conducting a campaign against Ararat. For 42 days the conspirators held Nineveh; then they were compelled to fly to the king of Ararat and seek his aid against their brother. (The subject of the assassination of Sennacherib, and esp. the question whether this was the work of *one* or of *two* of his sons, is treated in art. SHAREZER, No. 1).

Sen. was vain and boastful, with none of the military skill and endurance which distinguished his father. He built the palace of Kouyunjik at Nineveh, 1500 ft. long by 700 ft. broad, and restored a second palace on the mound of Nebi-yunus. He constructed brick embankments along the sides of the Tigris, and repaired the ancient aqueducts which had gone to decay. To him also was due the great wall of Nineveh, 8 miles in circumference.

A. H. SAYCE.

SEORIM (שְׂעֹרִים; B Σεωρείμ, A Σεωρίν).—The name of the fourth of the 24 classes of priests, 1 Ch 24^8.

SEPARATION.—For 'separation' in the sense of נִדָּה, see artt. RED HEIFER, p. 208^b, UNCLEANNESS, and in sense of נֵזֶר art. NAZIRITE.

SEPHAR (סְפָרָה [with ה *locale*]; LXX A Σωφήρα), Gn 10^{30}.—Given as a limit of the territory occupied by the Joktanides, and apparently identified with the Eastern mountain. This place is ordinarily identified (since the time of Fresnel, *ap.* Ges. *Thes.*) with Ẓafār, the name of two places of importance in S. Arabia—one of them the capital of the Himyarites, near San'a in Yemen, the other a coast town in the district of Shiḥr, to the extreme east of Ḥadramaut, and, indeed, a place, from its situation with regard to Ḥadramaut and the great Dahna, likely to serve as a landmark. So in the *Taj al-'arus* (iii. 370) this place is said to be 'at the extreme end of Yemen.' Wellsted (*Travels*, ii. 153) says of it: 'Dofar is situated *beneath a lofty mountain*; the country around is well cultivated,' but it only deserves to be called 'a miserable village.' Apparently, then, with the depopulation of S. Arabia that has gone on for some centuries, the place has declined from the importance which the Arabic geographers sometimes assign to it. Against this identification Glaser (*Skizze*, ii. 437) urges that we cannot prove Ẓafār to have existed at so early a period; but we also have no record of its foundation. The representation of the Arabic Ẓ by ס is surprising, but scarcely constitutes a serious objection, when the situation of the place corresponds so well with what the Biblical writer intends.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

SEPHARAD (סְפָרַד; BA Ἐφραθά, Q^a Σαφαράδ, Q* Σφραθά; Vulg. *in Bosporo*).—Ob^{20} speaks of Jews who were in captivity in the land of Sepharad. Sepharad or [see Driver, *LOT*^{6} 320] *Sĕphārēd* is the Šapardâ of the Assyr. inscriptions, who, in concert with the Kimmerians, Medes, and Minni, attacked Assyria in the reign of Esarhaddon. Their allies would seem to indicate that they came from the north-east of Assyria; but in the inscriptions of Darius Hystaspis at Behistun and Naksh-i-Rustem the province of Sparda is named between Egypt and Ionia in one instance, and between Cappadocia and Ionia in another. A Bab. inscription (Rw. 710. 31, 36) states that in 'the 37th year of Antiochus and Seleucus, the 9th day of Adar, the governor of Chaldæa and an officer of the king, who had gone to the country of Sapardu in the previous year to meet the king, returned to the city of Seleucia.' We may gather from this that the district was in the northern part of Asia Minor, though, in the annals of Sargon, Šapardâ is placed to the east of Assyria. The Targum of Jonathan identified Sepharad with Spain, probably in consequence of the similarity of the name to that of Hesperis; hence the Spanish Jews are known as Sephardim, as distinguished from the Ashkenazim or German Jews. See, further, art. 'The Land of Sepharad' by the present writer in *Expos. Times*, March 1902; cf. Maspero, *Passing*, 354 n., with references.

A. H. SAYCE.

SEPHARVAIM (סְפַרְוַיִם; LXX A has in all the passages in Kings Σεφφαρουάιμ, B has in 2 K 17^{24} Σεπφαρουάιμ, in v.^{31} [where MT is dub.] Σεπφαρούν, in 18^{34} Σεπφαρουμάιν, in 19^{13} Σεφφαρουάιν; in the Isaiah passages B has Ἐπφαρουάιμ, A Σεπφαρείμ).—The 'two Sippars,' a city of Babylonia, called in the cuneiform inscriptions 'Sippar of the Sun-god' and 'Sippar of Anunit.' Sippar of the Sun-god was discovered by Hormuzd Rassam in 1881 at Abu-Habba on the Euphrates, 16 miles S.E. of Baghdad. A large quantity of valuable monuments and tablets have been found in the ruins of the temple of the Sun-god, which was termed Bit-Uri by the Semites, E-Babara by the Sumerians. The Sumerian name of Sippar was Zimbir. Among the colonists transplanted to Samaria were men of Sepharvaim (2 K 17$^{24.31}$), and the capture of Sepharvaim by the Assyrians is referred to in 2 K 18^{34} 19^{13}, Is 36^{19} 37^{13}. According to Berosus, Xisuthros, the Chaldæan Noah, buried the records of the antediluvian world at Sippara, as it was called by the Greeks. Abydenus (*Fr.* 9) states that Nebuchadnezzar excavated a great reservoir there; and Pliny (*HN* vi. 30) affirms that Sippar (which he calls 'oppidum Hipparenorum') was the seat of a university. In the reign of Nabonidos the camp of the Bab. army was just outside its walls, under the command of 'the king's son,' and the fall of Sippar followed immediately upon the decisive battle at Opis, which laid Babylonia at the feet of Cyrus.[*]

A. H. SAYCE.

SEPTUAGINT.—

i. Importance.
ii. Name.
iii. Origin and History of the legend.
iv. Printed Editions.
v. History of the Septuagint.
vi. Manuscripts, Versions, Quotations.
vii. Use of the Septuagint.
viii. Literature.

[Abbreviations in this article:—𝔊=Gr. Text of OT; 𝔐=Heb. Text of OT; Lag.=Lagarde; *SSt.*=Lag. *SeptuagintaStudien*; *Sst.* = Nestle, *Septuagintastudien*; Sw. = H. B. Swete, *An Introd. to the OT in Greek* (Cambridge, 1900); *Urt.*=*Urtext und Übersetzungen der Bibel* (Leipzig, 1897, being a reprint of the art. 'Bibeltext und Bibelübersetzungen' in Herzog's *RE*^{3})].

i. IMPORTANCE.—The Greek version of the OT, called Septuagint, is in most respects by far the most important version of the Bible treated in this Dictionary. To the Fathers of the Greek Church it appeared of such weight that they praised the Septuagint with one accord as a token of the special providence of God, as a link in the Divine dispensation for the salvation of mankind, seeing in it the work of direct inspiration, and placing it in a line with the writings of the prophets and the preaching of the apostles (cf., for instance, Irenæus [III. xxi. 4], 'unus enim et idem spiritus Dei, qui in *Prophetis* quidem præconavit, quis et qualis esset adventus Domini, in *Senioribus* autem [*i.e.* the Seventy Elders, to whom this version was ascribed] interpretatus est bene, quæ prophetata fuerant, ipse et in *Apostolis* prædicavit.'

The various claims which call for careful attention to the LXX are, perhaps, best summed up in the second edition of it published in England (Cambridge, 1665, 12°), by John Pearson, afterwards bishop of Chester:[†] 'The LXX is useful and even necessary (*utilis atque necessaria*): (1) ad Hebraicam veritatem probe perspiciendam; (2) ad auctoritatem testimoniorum Apostolicorum confirmandam; (3) ad nativum Novi Fœderis stylum recte intelligendum; (4) ad Græcos Latinosque patres rite tractandos; (5) ad scientiam denique linguæ Græcæ ipsamque criticen adornandam: quis eam doctis omnibus, præsertim theologis non videt esse commendatissimam?'[‡]

---

[*] [The identification of Sepharvaim with Sippar, which has the weighty support of Schrader (*KAT*^{2} 279 [*COT* i. 271 f.]), has been challenged by Halévy (*ZA* ii. 401 ff.), who would identify it with *Shabarain*, a place subdued by Shalmaneser IV. (B.C. 727–722). Halévy suggests that the same place is meant by the SHIBRAIM of Ezk 47^{16}. See, further, the Comm. of Bertholet or Kittel on *Kings*, and of Dillm.-Kittel on *Isaiah, ad locc.*—Ed.].

[†] The preface of his edition has been frequently repeated—1683, 1694, 1707, 1730, 1831, 1843; at last separately, Cambr. 1855, cum notulis Ed. Churton (by Prof. W. Selwyn).

[‡] Comp. in Sw. chs. 2–5 of part iii. on the Literary use and Value of the LXX, p. 433: 'No question can arise as to the greatness of the place occupied by the Alexandrian version in the religious life of the first six centuries of its history. The LXX was the Bible of the Hellenistic Jew, not only in Egypt and Palestine, but throughout Western Asia and Europe. It created a language of religion which lent itself readily to the service of Christianity, and became one of the most important allies of the gospel. It provided the Greek-speaking Church with an authorized translation of the OT, and, when Christian missions advanced beyond the limits of Hellenism, it served as a basis for fresh translations into the vernacular.

'The LXX has long ceased to fulfil these or any similar functions. . . . On the other hand, this most ancient of Biblical versions possesses a new and increasing importance in the field of Biblical study. It is seen to be valuable alike to the textual

ii. NAME.—The name 'Septuagint' is shortened from *secundum* or *iuxta Septuaginta* (*interpretes* or *seniores*), and is based on the legend that the translation of the OT from Hebrew into Greek was made by seventy, or more exactly seventy-two, elders or scholars, whom king Ptolemy Philadelphus, by the advice of his librarian Demetrius Phalereus, sent for for this purpose, from the high priest Eleazar of Jerusalem.

κατα τους εβδομηκοντα stands in the subscription to Genesis in Codex B; παρα εβδομηκοντα stands at the end of Proverbs in C; ἡ τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα ἔκδοσις in the note of Q before Isaiah; ἡ τῶν ο′ (or οβ′) ἑρμηνεία (or ἔκδοσις), and shorter οἱ ο′ (or οβ′), became a common expression, especially subsequent to the labours of Origen in textual criticism (*ad Africanum*, § 5, τὴν ἑρμηνείαν τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα; *in Mt.* xv. 14, παρὰ τοῖς ο′); see *Hexapla*, ed. Field, i. p. xlviii ff.; and the 'testimonia' at the end of Wendland's edition of Aristeas.

Augustine (*de Civit. Dei*, xviii. 42=Eugippius, p. 1018, Knoell) writes: 'post ille (Philadelphus) etiam interpretes postulavit: et dati sunt septuaginta duo, de singulis duodecim tribubus seni homines, linguæ utriusque doctissimi, Hebrææ scilicet atque Græcæ, *quorum interpretatio ut Septuaginta vocetur, iam obtinuit consuetudo.*' Where and when the word 'Septuagint' first makes its appearance in English we cannot tell.[*] On title-pages of editions it occurs subsequent to the *editio Sixtina* of 1587: η παλαια διαθηκη κατα τους εβδομηκοντα, *Vetus Testamentum iuxta Septuaginta* (in the reprint of Paris, 1628: *secundum LXX*). The London reprint of 1653 adds *Interpretum*, writing *ex versione Septuaginta Interpretum*; and this has been retained in all following reprints.

An edition of Bagster (1821) is entitled, *secundum Septuaginta Seniorum interpretationem* (=Irenæus, III. xxi. 2, ἑβδομήκοντα πρεσβύτεροι, in Latin *septuaginta seniores*).[†] The English form 'Septuagint' occurs in the title of an edition of Bagster, as well as in that of the Cambridge edition of Swete (*The OT in Greek according to the Septuagint*), and the great Oxford Concordance of Hatch-Redpath (*A Concordance to the Septuagint and the other Greek Versions*). The *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*$^{2.7}$ gives only the plural, *Les Septante, la version des Septante, la traduction des Septante.*[‡]

In English as in German it became common to use the word as singular, supplying 'version,' 'Übersetzung,'[*] though of course the plural is also used, especially when *Septuaginta* is translated into the vernacular, 'the Seventy,' 'die Siebenzig.' Many scholars now prefer 'the Alexandrian' or 'the Greek version of the OT,' or 'the OT in Greek.' We retain here the familiar name 'Septuagint,' for which 'LXX' has been hitherto the usual abbreviation, but for which the modern sign 𝔊[†] is still more convenient.

A frequent designation among the old Greek writers was also ἡ κοινὴ ἔκδοσις, or merely ἡ κοινή, 'the common, the Vulgate edition,' in contradistinction to the Hebrew text and the later Greek versions; cf., for instance, Basil, i. 447 D, on Is 2^{22} ἐν τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις τῆς κοινῆς ἐκδόσεως οὐ κεῖται ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ Ἑβραικῷ κείμενον ἐκ τῶν Λοιπῶν μετεκομίσθη. In the writings of Jerome ἡ κοινή has a more definite signification assigned to it, on which see p. 445^{b}. Other designations are: ἡ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἔκδοσις (Gregory of Nyssa, *in Psalm.* 8); τὰ ἀντίγραφα τῆς ἐκκλησίας (Origen); τὰ ἡμέτερα ἀντίγραφα (Eusebius, *in Psalm.* ed. Mai, 591).

iii. ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE LEGEND.—The story that there were seventy (or rather seventy-two) translators was first told by Aristeas, who claims to have been one of the ambassadors sent by Philadelphus to the high priest Eleazar of Jerusalem, to ask from him the copy of the Law and the men to translate it.

This interesting piece of literature was published first in Latin in the famous Roman Bible of Suueynheym and Pannartz (1471, fol.), reprinted at Nurnberg, 1475; separately at Erfurt, 1483. The *editio princeps* of the Greek text was prepared by Simon Schard, printed at Basle 1561; subsequent editions, 1610, 1691, 1692, 1705 (Hody), 1849 (Oikonomos), 1869 (Moritz Schmidt in Merx, *Archiv*, i.); all superseded by that of Mendelssohn-Wendland (*Aristeæ ad Philocratem epistvla* . . . Lipsiæ, Teubner, 1900), and that of H. St. J. Thackeray in the Appendix to Swete's *Introduction to the OT in Greek* (Cambridge, 1900). L. Mendelssohn had begun to add a commentary, only a part of which appeared after his death, edited by M. Kraschennikow, Jurievi (ol. Dorpati), 1897. A German translation (by P. Wendland) opens the second volume of *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments übersetzt. . . . u. herausgegeben von E. Kautzsch* (Tübingen, 1900, ii. 1–31).

Fresh investigations are necessary; for though it is now generally acknowledged that the letter is a literary fiction,—Constantine Oikonomos (περι των ο′ ερμηνευτων της παλαιας διαθηκης, βιβλια δ′, Athens, 1844–1849, 4 vols.; cf. also E. W. Grinfield, *An Apology for the Septuagint, in which its claims to Biblical and Canonical Authority are briefly stated and vindicated*, London, 1850) is the last defender of its genuineness,—scholars disagree entirely about its date and value. E. Schürer places it not later than *c.* 200 B.C.; Herriot (on Philo), *c.* 170–150; Wendland, between 96 and 93, nearer to 96; L. Cohn (*Neue Jahrbücher für das klass. Altert.* i. (1898) 521 ff.) doubts whether it was used by Philo; H. Willrich (*Judaica*, Göttingen, 1900, pp. 111–130) brings its composition down to 'later than A.D. 33.'

Strange, above all, are the varieties of form

---

critic and to the expositor, and its services are welcomed by students both of the Old Test. and of the New.'

From this point of view, Prof. Ferd. Hitzig of Heidelberg, one of the acutest commentators on the OT, used to open his academical courses on OT exegesis with the question to his students: 'Gentlemen, have you a Septuagint? If not, sell whatever you have, and buy a Septuagint.'

Even the student of early English cannot succeed without a knowledge of it. When he reads in king Aelfred the word to the serpent (Gn 3^{14}), 'on dinre wambe *ond on dinum breostum* du scealt snican,' he ought to know that the words in italics go back through the medium of the Old Latin Bible to the LXX, and that it is therefore out of place to print beside them the Latin Vulgate of Jerome, which rests on the Hebrew, as has been done by A. S. Cook, *Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers* (Lond. 1898; cf. the notice of Max Foerster in *Englische Studien*, xxviii. p. 421). The English Church retained substantially the LXX in the Prayer-Book version of the Psalms and in her Liturgy.—No words of praise are spared by E. W. Grinfield (*Apology*): he calls the LXX the viaduct between the OT and NT, the vestibule of the Christian Church, the first interpreter of the OT and the sole canonical of the NT, the bond of union between Jews and Gentiles, the morning star before the sun of righteousness, the key of the sacred treasury, the light of the Alexandrian Pharos, the sacred amalgam; he who studies the LXX is declared to be in no danger of falling into neology (p. 173). Grinfield also rightly refers to the introduction of its study by Maltby at Durham, Arnold at Rugby; to its recommendation by great philologists like Valckenaer, Heinsius (*Vos exemplaria græca*, etc.).

[*] On book titles cf. W. Wall, *The Use of the Septuagint Translation*, 1730; Charles Hayes, *A Vindication of the History of the Septuagint*, 1736; *Letters to a Friend concerning the Septuagint*, 1759; H. Owen, *An Enquiry into the Present State of the Septuagint Version of the OT*, 1769. Grinfield (*Apology*, p. 157) uses the adjective 'Septuagintal MSS,' and calls Bp. Pearson (p. 177) 'the best Septuagintalist.'

[†] The adjective 'septuagintaviralis' we have found in titles of dissertations since 1631, 1706, etc.

[‡] In Italian, 'La Versione de' Settanta,' 'i Settanta.'

[*] At one time it was common in German to speak of the '70 Dollmetscher'; cf. J. D. Michaelis, *Programma worinne er von seinen Collegiis über die 70 Dollmetscher Nachricht giebt* (Gött. 1767); the translation of Owen's *Enquiry* (*Untersuchung der gegenwärtigen Beschaffenheit der 70 Dollmetscher*, 1772). Lessing seems to have formed the noun 'Siebziger' (see Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, x. 834); in Old German we read in Isidore, 7. 4, *in dhero siibunzo tradungum*='in translatione LXX.'

[†] It is strange that Lic. Kabisch (*Religionsbuch*, i., Göttingen, 1900, p. 2) finds the sense of the name obscure, and thinks of connecting it with the legend of the 70 hidden (or apocryphal) books in 4 Ezra (2 Esdras).

which the story assumes in the writings of Epiphanius, though he refers to Aristeas as his authority. He makes the number of books in the Alexandrian Library '54,800 *πλείω ἢ ἐλάσσω*,' Aristeas 'more than 20 myriads'; he has two letters of Philadelphus, and in one of them the saying from Sir 20^{30} 41^{14} *θησαυροῦ κεκρυμμένου καὶ πηγῆς ἐσφραγισμένης τίς ὠφέλεια ἐν ἀμφοτέροις*. He alone, and that only in the Syriac text as first published by Lagarde (*Symmicta*, ii. 148 ff.), states that it was 'the seventh year of Philadelphus, more or less,' when the translation took place. He makes the translators work by pairs in 36 different cells, and originated the statement, repeated as late as 1587 in the preface to the Sixtina, that this happened 'trecentis uno plus annis ante Christi adventum' (cf. Sw. p. 176; Wendland, 153, 159; Nestle, *Sst.* i. 12). Draeseke believed that Epiphanius drew from the lost chronicle of Justus of Tiberias, and that Augustine was dependent on Epiphanius; but this has been refuted by Wendland (*Rheinisches Museum* 56, 1. 112 ff.). On the use made of this story by Philo, Josephus, and the ecclesiastical writers see Sw. 12–17, and especially the 'testimonia' in Wendland's edition, pp. 85–166.[*] That the *number* 70 and the legend of their wonderful *harmony* may be due to Ex 24^{11}, where 𝔊 reads *καὶ τῶν* ἐπιλέκτων *τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ οὐδὲ* διεφώνησεν *οὐδὲ εἷς*, was first pointed out by Daniel Heinsius in the *Aristarchus sacer*, ch. 10.

As the *year* in which the translation originated, other ecclesiastical writers give the 2nd, 17th, 19th, or 20th year of Philadelphus; in the *Chronicle* of Eusebius the MSS vary between the years 1734, 1735, 1736, or 1737 of Abraham (see Walton's *Prolegomena*). As the *day*, the Jews name the 8th of Tebet; according to the letter of Aristeas the arrival of the interpreters coincided with the day of a great naval victory of Philadelphus in the war against Antigonus, and was ordered to be celebrated for ever. Rabbinical Jews called that day the fast of darkness, for they regarded this translation as a national disaster, 'like the day on which the golden calf was made' (see D. S. Margoliouth, 'The Calendar of the Synagogue,' in the *Expositor*, Nov. 1900, p. 348 f.). Philo relates that in his time the Jews of Alexandria kept an annual festival, *τὸ χωρίον σεμνυνοῦντες, ἐν ᾧ* πρῶτον *τὰ τῆς ἑρμηνείας ἐξέλαμψε καὶ παλαιᾶς ἕνεκεν εὐεργεσίας ἀεὶ νεαζούσης εὐχαριστήσαντες τῷ θεῷ*. He knows that the interpreters, before they began, asked God's blessing on this undertaking, ὁ *δ' ἐπινεύει ταῖς εὐχαῖς* ἵνα τὸ πλεῖον ἢ καὶ τὸ σύμπαν γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὠφεληθῇ χρησόμενον *εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν βίου φιλοσόφοις καὶ παγκάλοις διατάγμασι*.

This aspiration was fulfilled when the work became one of the chief aids to the spread of Christianity. As this was at the same time the first attempt made on a larger scale, in the domain of Græco-Roman or Mediterranean culture, to translate a literary work from one language into another, it is the more interesting to ask whether this attempt, as the above story relates, was due to the literary interest felt by a bibliophile king—*φιλόκαλος καὶ φιλόλογος*, as he is styled by Epiphanius[*]—or to the wants of a religious community. The latter view now generally prevails (cf. Wendland in Kautzsch, *Pseudepigraphen*, ii. 1; *ZNTW* i. 268). A third view is, that the undertaking was intended as an aid to Jewish propagandism. This explanation may find some support in the words of Philo (who expresses the hope that these laws will obscure those of the other nations, as the rising sun obscures the stars), and in the very first document which speaks of 𝔊, namely the prologue of the Bk. of Sirach (compare the whole, especially *ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς* ἐκτὸς *δύνασθαι τοὺς φιλομαθοῦντας χρησίμους εἶναι καὶ λέγοντας καὶ γράφοντας*).

This last passage is also the first to speak of all three parts of the Hebrew Bible (*νόμος, προφῆται, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάτρια βιβλία*) as already extant in Greek; Aristeas, Philo, and Josephus restrict their language to the Law, a fact to which Jerome emphatically called attention. If the LXX version was due to the wants of the synagogue, it is all but certain that the Torah was the first part translated. How soon and in what order the other parts of the OT were overtaken is not made out; nor has even the question how many different hands may be distinguished in the present collection yet been sufficiently investigated. Two books only contain a notice bearing on this point.

(1) *Esther* (see Jacob, *ZATW*, 1890, 241 ff.; Willrich, *Judaica*, Gött. 1900, 2 ff.; art. ESTHER, vol. i. 744). Willrich thinks that the fourth year of Ptolemy and Cleopatra, in which a priest and Levite, Dositheus and his son Ptolemy, are said to have brought *τὴν προκειμένην ἐπιστολὴν ἣν ἔφασαν εἶναι καὶ ἑρμηνευκέναι Λυσίμαχον Πτολεμαίου τῶν ἐν Ἰερουσαλήμ* (Est 11^{1}), was not that of Philometor (B.C. 166–165) nor of Soter II. (B.C. 114), but that of Ptolemy XIV. (B.C. 48–47); but this seems very doubtful.

(2) The second note, which is equally obscure, stands at the end of *Job* (in Cod. A even twice, with strange variations): *οὗτος ἑρμηνεύεται ἐκ τῆς Συριακῆς βίβλου* (cf. art. JOB, vol. ii. 660, where it is translated, 'this man is described in the Syriac book as living,' etc.).

In accordance with the usage of the ancient Church, we include in this article not only those books, the original of which was or is in the Hebrew Bible, but also those which were originally written in Greek, as the Wisdom of Solomon, or not received into all MSS or editions, as the Prayer of Manasses. In an appendix we shall refer briefly to similar literary productions, as the Psalms of Solomon, the Bk. of Enoch, and other 'Pseudepigrapha' (see p. 450^{b}).

As 𝔊 was the Bible of the Early Church, it has a most intricate and complicated history; it seems practical to begin with the history of the printed text, and to work our way backward as far as possible.

iv. PRINTED EDITIONS.—Long before the first edition of the New Testament in Greek appeared in print, a Greek and Latin Psalter was printed in Milan as first part of 𝔊 (20th Sept. 1481), containing among the Canticles at its end the Magnificat and Benedictus from Lk $1^{46.68}$. On the following editions of the Greek Psalms (Venice, 1486; Aldus [without date, *c.* 1497]; the Polyglot Psalters of Justiniani, Genua, 1516, and Potken, Cologne, 1518), see *Sst.* iii. 7. 30–32. The first complete edition was the *Complutensian Polyglot* of Cardinal Ximenes (1514–17; the OT finished 10th July 1517), in which the Latin Vulgate is placed between the Hebrew on the left and 𝔊 on the right, '*tanquam duos hinc et inde latrones, medium autem Jesum.*'

---

[*] That the preservation of Aristeas goes back to the library of Cæsarea has been suggested by Wendland. It may have had a place in one of the Bible MSS issued by Eusebius and Pamphilus.—Add to the 'testimonia' collected by Mendelssohn-Wendland the strange statement from pseudo-Eusebius on the Star (publ. by W. Wright in *Journ. of Sacred Literature*, 1866, vol. ix. 117, x. 150), that the version was made under a king [ל]ארטמרסוס (=Artaxerxes?); and the notice, translated from Greek into Syriac at the end of the Fourth Book of Kings in the Syro-Hexapla, that the men came from *Tiberias* (*Origenis fragmenta*, ed. Lagarde, 355; *Bibliotheca Syriaca*, 254). Cf. further the notice of F. Nau on 'Fragments d'une chronique Syriaque Maronite' (*Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, iv. [1899] 318), in which the names are given of the 72 translators who produced 36 identical versions. Nau has not printed the names. See on the names: *The Book of the Bee*, by Salomo of Basra, ed. by A. Wallis Budge (*Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Semitic Series, vol. i. part ii., Oxf. 1886, 4° p. 120 f.). The last but one of the interpreters has the strange name Ἀβιήτης in the Greek text, אביטוס in one of the Syriac lists, *Abbāyā* in another. If this stands for the Latin name *Avitus*, the list would be late. But this identification is rather uncertain. An Arabic chronicle combines the two figures 72 and 70 by the supposition that two of the interpreters died on the way. On the *Jewish* notices about the origin of the version and its (13) deviations from the Hebrew text, see the literature quoted in *Urt.* p. 63, and by Oikonomos, ii. 558, iii. 43. Zosimus Panopolitanus (*de Zythorum confectione*, ed. Gruner, 1814, p. 5) relates that *Simon* the high priest of Jerusalem sent to Ptolemy Lagi, Ἑρμῆν, ὃς ἡρμήνευσε πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑβραΐδα ἑλληνιστὶ καὶ αἰγυπτιστί (Oikonomos, ii. 328).

[*] On the notice of Aristobulus (Clement Alex. *Strom.* i. 22; Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* 13. 12), see Schürer^{3}, iii. 384–392.

See on it Sw. p. 171; Nestle, *Introd. to Textual Criticism of NT*, p. 1. On the 'Spanish Greek' of this Bible, *i.e.* the places in which the editors translated passages missing in their Greek MSS for themselves into Latin, see *Urt.* 64, and Field's edition of 1859, Append.; Ceriani on Cod. Marchalianus, Ezk 33^{27}.

Its text—best signature *c*—rests chiefly on the MSS lent by the Vatican, Ho 108, 248,* and a copy of the Venice MS Ho 68.

The Complutensian was reprinted (1) by Arias Montanus in the Antwerp Polyglot of Plantin, 1569–72; (2) in Wolder's Polyglot, Hamburg, 1596; and (3) in the greatest of all, that of Michel le Jay, Paris, 1645. On (1) and (3) see Nestle, *Introd.* 10 f.

The second great Greek Bible was that of Aldus Manutius and his father-in-law Andreas Asolanus (1518, mense Februario),—signature *a*,—based, as the editor states, 'multis vetustissimis exemplaribus collatis'; as far as is ascertained as yet, on the Venice MSS 29, 68, 121. An interesting commentary on this edition is Steuchi Augustini Eugubini, *VT ad Heb. veritatem collata editione Septuaginta interprete*, Ven. 1529, 4°.

This was reprinted (1) 1529 by Joh. Lonicerus, Strassburg, in the Lutheran order, with the addition of 4 Mac. [Ed. Pr.] and various readings from Ho 44; (2) 1545, at Basle, with Preface of Melanchthon, various readings and restoration of the common order in Proverbs and Sirach; (3) 1550, at Basle; (4) in the Heidelberg Polyglot 'in officina Santandreana,' edited by B. C. Bertram, 158[6]7 (new title-pages, 1599, 1616); (5) 1597, by Franciscus Junius (du Jon; others say Fr. Sylburg), with alterations from *c*, and useful notes, the basis of the Concordance of Trommius; (6) 1687, by Nic. Glykas, Venice.

The third and best edition was that printed at Rome, 1586 (most copies by pen, 1587; signature *b*), 'auctoritate Sixti V. Pont. Max.,' based chiefly on the Codex Vaticanus *κατ' ἐξοχήν* (1209 = Ho II., now B), but making use of the preceding editions, *a c* 1526, 1545, 1572, and of the MSS Ho 16, 23, 51.

The prefatory matter is reprinted (partially) by Breitinger, Tischendorf, and others, and recently by Swete, *Introd.* Useful are the 'Scholia' at the end of most chapters from the other Greek versions, and the Church Fathers; and an important complement is the Latin translation, published 1588, patched up by Flaminius Nobilius (and others) from the fragments of the Old Latin (vol. iii. 53^{a}), with additional Notes to the Greek Text.

Reprints: (1) Paris, 1628, by Joh. Morinus, together with the Latin of Nobilius, as even then copies were rare; (2) 1653, London, R. Daniel, 4° and 8° (and Cambridge); (3) 1657, in the London Polyglot of Brian Walton, with useful additions (collations from A D G, Ho 60, 75), and valuable Prolegomena, the latter reprinted by Wrangham, Camb. 1828, in 2 vols.; (4) 1665, Cambridge, with the fine Preface of J. Pearson (see above); (5) 1683, Amsterd.†*;‡ (6) 1697, Lipsiæ (prepared by Johannes Frick); (7) 1709, Franekeræ, by Bos, source of many reprints; (8) 1725, Amsterd., by Mill * (facsimile of cod. G and variants collected by Vossius, Ho 133); (9) 1730, Lips., Reineccius*; (10) 1759–62, Halæ*; (11) 1798–1827, Holmes-Parsons (see below); (12) 1805, Oxford*, 3 vols.; (13) 1817, Oxford*, 6 vols., with Pref. of J. G. [not B., as on the title] Carpzov, and variations from A; (14) Londini (without date), in ædibus Valpianis* (905 pp.); (15) 1821, Lond., Bagster†* (very small print, 585 pp.); (16) Lond., Bagster†* (without date, with an English translation, 1130 pp.); (17) 1822, Venice, Michel Glykys, 3 vols. (not seen); (18) 1824, Lipsiæ, van Ess,* and often; 1887, with Prolegomena and Epilegomena; (19) 1831 (Glasguæ)†*; 1843, Londini, Tegg; two very small vols., 667, 703 pp. †*; (20) 1839, Paris, Didot-Jager*, also Greek and Latin; often; (21) 1848, Oxford*, 3 vols.; 1875, improved in 4 Mac.; the latter reprint is the basis of the Concordance of Hatch-Redpath; (22) 1850, Lipsiæ, Tischendorf*, ^{6}80, ^{7}87, the last two reprints corrected and enlarged by collations of E. Nestle; (23) 1874–76, Londini, *Biblia Hexaglotta* †*, ed. E. R. de Levante;§ (24) the latest Polyglot advertised from Paris, to be edited by F. Vigouroux, printed by Didot, published by Roger & Chernovitz, has not been seen by the present writer. From notices in the periodicals (Vigouroux, *l'Univers*, 4th Nov. 1898; F. Nau, *Journ. Asiat.*, May–June 1899, 545 ff.; Fonck, *Zeitschrift für Kath. Theol.* xxiii. (1899) 174–180; P. Th. Calmes, *RB*, 1900, 301, 302) it is apparent that it is only a mechanical reprint of the Greek column in the *Polyglottenbibel* of Stier and Theile (1847–55), the text of which is based on unsound principles.

A merit of its own belongs to the fourth great edition which was begun by Ernest Grabe (†1712), and appeared in 4 vols. fol. or 8 in 8° at the Oxford University Press, only the first (Octateuch), 1707, and the fourth (Poetical books), 1709, during his lifetime, the second (Historical books), 1719, being finished by Fr. Lee, M.D., the third (Prophets), 1720, by W. Wigan, D.D., 'ex antiquissimo codice Alexandrino accurate descriptum et ope aliorum exemplarium ac priscorum scriptorum præsertim vero Hexaplaris editionis Origenianæ emendatum atque suppletum additis sæpe asteriscorum et obelorum signis,' with useful Prolegomena.

As the title indicates, Grabe followed a twofold plan: (1) to represent the text of the Codex Alexandrinus, and (2) to make his text at the same time correspond with the Hebrew text. This he accomplished by the use of smaller type for the changed and supplemented passages, placing the readings of the Codex in the margins, and inserting the critical signs of Origen.

Grabe's text was repeated (1) by Breitinger, Turici, 4 vols. 4°, 1730–32, compared with the Vatican; (2) by Reineccius in the *Biblia quadrilinguia*, 1750, 1751; (3) in a Bible issued by the Holy Synod of Russia (Moscow, 1821), but without any attention to the meaning of the additions in small type, to the marginal readings and the critical signs, thus completely spoiling the work; and this is circulated *δι' εὐλογίας τῆς ἁγιωτάτης διοικούσης συνόδου πασῶν τῶν 'Ρωσσιῶν* as *παλαιὰ [διαθήκη] κατὰ τοὺς ἑβδομήκοντα ἐκ τοῦ ὡς οἷόν τε ἀκριβῶς ἐκδοθέντος ἀρχαίου 'Αλεξανδρινοῦ χειρογράφου*, and was repeated, as the title states, (4) *ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Μόσχᾳ . . . ἐκτυπωθέντος ἀρχαίου 'Αλεξανδρινοῦ Κώδηκος*, in an edition of 4 vols. printed at Athens, *δαπάνῃ τῆς ἐν 'Αγγλίᾳ ἑταιρίας τῆς πρὸς διάδοσιν τῆς Χριστιανικῆς παιδείας* (1843, 46, 49, 50). The 5th edition, based on Grabe, is that which Fr. Field prepared for the same Society at Oxford, 1859, avoiding as much as possible the faults inherent in the conditions of the task enjoined on him: see his preface, and Lag. *SSt.* i. 5–8.

The result, so far, is, that we have up to the present day not a single edition of 𝔊 based upon sound critical principles; for even the two editions which remain to be mentioned have not yet attained this end. These two editions we owe to the two great universities of England—the *Vetus Testamentum Græcum cum variis Lectionibus*, ed. Robertus Holmes (. . . editionem a R. H. inchoatam continuavit Jacobus Parsons), Oxonii, 1798–1827, 5 vols. fol.; and *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint*, edited for the Syndics of the University Press by H. B. Swete (Cambridge, 1887–94, ^{2}1895–99, 3 vols. 8°).

As early as 1779, Joseph White published a letter to the Bishop of London, suggesting a plan for a new edition of the LXX. In 1788 R. Holmes appealed to the liberality of public bodies and private persons, and obtained such a response as enabled him to procure collations from all parts of Europe. On the history of this edition, see an appreciative article in the *Church Quarterly Review*, April 1899, 102 ff., and Sw. 184 ff. It was the greatest attempt ever made to bring together a critical apparatus; the list of MSS at the end of vol. v. numbers 311. Of Versions used were those in Arabic (several), Armenian, Bohemian, Coptic, Ethiopic, Georgian, Latin, Slavonic, Syriac; further, the quotations of the ancient writers from Philo and Josephus downwards. In spite of some points in the plan and in the execution of the work, which are open to criticism, it is a unique monument of the love to learning of the editor and his nation, and remains a storehouse of materials, indispensable to all who have to do with the OT in Greek.* The work as sold at present is divided into 5 vols. fol.: I. (Pent.) 1798, II. (Jos.-2 Chron.) 1810, III. (Ezra-Cant.) 1823, IV. (Proph.) 1827, V. (Apocr.) 1827; but it does not seem to have been published in this order (see Jac. Amersfoordt, *De variis lectionibus Holmesianis locorum quorundam Pentateuchi Mosaici*, Lugd. Bat. 1815, p. 45).

---

* On this designation see below.

‡ Editions omitting the scholia are marked*, omitting the Apocrypha†; no edition without the scholia is to be recommended, because they supply to those who cannot afford to procure Field's *Hexapla* a minor edition of the latter.

§ The edition London, 1837 (ex editione Holmesii et Lamberti Bos, in 2 vols.), quoted by Sw. 182, from *Urt.* 67, seems identical with No. 19; whether the date 1819 given by *Urt.* 67, Sw. 182, for the edition of Valpy is correct, seems doubtful; it is taken from Græsse's *Trésor*, where editions are mentioned, Glasgow 1822, 18° (= No. 19), and London, 1827 (= No. 15?).

The text in the work is a reprint of *b*; but, as it seems, after a copy of Bos, corrected, but not everywhere according to an original copy. Its value lies, therefore, exclusively in the apparatus.

The advance that has been made in the course of the 19th cent. upon the work of Holmes-Parsons is due, on the one hand, to the discovery of new materials—for instance, the Codex Sinaiticus—which led to an enriching of the apparatus; on the other hand, to greater exactness in using them, which was promoted especially by the progress made in the reproduction of MSS by the various methods of photography.

Of both advantages use was made in the *Cambridge Septuagint* (Sw. 188-190). The text is no longer that of *b*, but of B itself, given in the first ed. after the so-called (printed) facsimile-edition of Vercellone-Cozza, revised for the second by Dr. Nestle, after the photograph of the Codex. In the apparatus the variants are given of such uncial MSS as have been published in a similarly trustworthy way; above all of the Codices Alexandrinus, Sinaiticus, Ambrosianus, Marchalianus. This text will be repeated in the *larger Cambridge Septuagint*, the joint editorship of which is entrusted to A. E. Brooke and N. McLean. Its apparatus will embrace the evidence of *all uncial* MSS and of a considerable number of cursives selected after investigation, with the view of representing the different types of text; the Old Latin, Egyptian, Syro-Hexaplar, and Armenian versions; and the quotations from Philo, Josephus, and the more important Christian Fathers.

It is clear that the manual and even the larger edition are but a step towards the ideal of a truly critical edition. For the text is that of a single MS with all its faults, while in the manual edition the grossest blunders are corrected only occasionally (*e.g.* Gn $6^{1.10}$ Χαφ, 10^{31} Σηθ, 32^{5} βόες for παῖδες; but not, for instance, 36^{31} Ἰερουσαλήμ for Ἰσραήλ, 37^{18} ἐπορεύοντο for ἐπονηρεύοντο, etc.). The present writer cannot but repeat his wish (see *Proceedings* of the 9th International Oriental Congress held in London, ii. (1892) p. 57 ff.) that at all places where the text of the MS, and, in consequence, of the edition, is clearly false, the better readings might be placed on the outer margin.† Thus the advantages of Grabe's plan would be secured and its disadvantages avoided; we should get at the same time a diplomatic reproduction of the MS, and a hint as to the true reading. The Octateuch, forming the first volume of the larger edition, may be expected, as we are informed (Sw. 189), in the course of a few years.

Editions of Single Books:—*A*. Canonical Books:—

Genesis:—*Pentateuchus hebraice et græce*, ed. G. A. Schumann, Lips. 1829, 8°, only part i. (Genesis); *Genesis græce e fide editionis Sixtinæ addita scripturæ discrepantia e libris manu scriptis a se collatis et editionibus Complutensi et Aldina adcuratissime enotata*, ed. P. A. de Lagarde, Lips. 1868 (of permanent value for its Introduction and its accuracy; collations from ADEFGS, 29, 31, 44, 122, 130, 135, *abc*).

Joshua:—*Josuæ Imperatoris Historia illustrata atque explicata* ab Andrea Masio, Antv. 1574, fol., with new title-page 1609 (valuable for its Introduction and its use of the Syro-Hexaplaric Version).

Judges:—*De græca LXX interpretum versione Syntagma*, J. Usserii, Lond. 1655, 4°, in Ussher's Works, vol. vii.; *Liber Judicum sec. LXX interpretes*, ed. O. F. Fritzsche, Turici, 1867, 4°; P. de Lagarde, *SeptuagintaStudien*, i., 1891 (two texts of chs. 1-5); *The Book of Judges in Greek according to the text of Codex Alexandrinus*, edited . . . by A. E. Brooke and N. McLean, Camb. 1897. On a promised edition see G. F. Moore in the 'Internat. Crit. Comm.' on *Judges*, p. xlv.

Ruth:—By John Drusius, 'ad exemplar complutense,' Franek. 1586, 8°, 1632, 8°; by L. Bos, Jena, 1788, 'secundum exemplar vaticanum.'

Psalms:—The Psalter is that book of the OT which was and is most used in the Church, especially in the Greek Church. In addition to the 32 editions mentioned in Sw. p. 192, there have come to the knowledge of the present writer editions of 1521, Venice (mentioned by Grabe, *Prol. to Psalms*, ch. iii. § 3, as lent to him by the Bp. of Ely; but perhaps this may be a misprint for 1524; see British Museum *Catalogue of Bibles*, col. 396); 1525, Venice; 1545, 4 editions from Basle, Paris, Strassburg, Venice; 1548, Basle; 1584, Antwerp; 1605, Paris; 1652, London (different copies, with Ψαλτηριον and Ψαλτεριον on the title-page); 1673, Venice; 1700 [*s.l.* probably in Bucharest]; 1706, in Montfaucon's *Collectio nova*, i.; 1740, Blanchini's *Psalterium duplex*; 1743, Venice; 1754, with the Commentary of Euthymius Zigabenus, reprinted 1857 in Migne's *Patr. Gr.* vol. 128; 1786, Paris; 1798, Constantinople; 1812, Baber, from Codex A; 1820, Venice; 1831 and 1835, London, *Bible Society*, with modern Greek; 1835, Smyrna; 1843, London, *Biblia Ecclesiæ Polyglotta*; 1855, Jerusalem; 1873, Rome (2 editions).

Job:—From Codex A, by Patrick Young, in the *Catena* of Nicetas, 1637, Franeker, 1662 (63).

Proverbs:—1564, Draconites (Polyglot).

Esther:—Ussher, in his *Syntagma*, 1655, Works, vol. vii. (the two texts), repeated Leipzig, 1696; O. F. Fritzsche, Zürich, 1848, 1849 (two texts).

Hosea:—Pareus, Heidelberg, 1605; Philippeaux, Paris, 1636.

Joel:—Draconites, 1565.

Amos:—Vater, 1810, Halle.

Jonas:—Münster, 1524; Artopœus, 1543.

Micah:—Draconites, 1565.

Zechariah:—Draconites, 1565.

Malachi:—Draconites, 1564; Hutter, 1601.

Isaiah:—S. Münster, 1540, Polyglot; J. Curter, 1580, *Procopii Commentarii*.

Jeremiah:—S. Münster, 1540; G. L. Spohn, 1794, 1824.

Lamentations:—Kyper, 1552, *Libri tres de re gramm. Heb.* (Polyglot).

Ezekiel:—Ἰεζεκιηλ κατα τους ό, Rome, 1840 (important).

Daniel:—(*a*) The received text: Melanchthon, 1546; Wells, 1716. (*b*) The LXX text: Rome, 1772 (Simon de Magistris or A. Ricchinio), very important; repeated Gottingae, 1773, 1774; Utrecht, 1775; Hahn, Lipsiæ, 1845; new edition by Cozza, 1877; this text also in Holmes-Parsons, vol. iv. 1818; Oxf., 1848, 1875; Tischendorf, 1850; Swete.

B. Apocrypha:—The first separate edition of the so-called Apocrypha appears to be that of Plantin, Antwerp, 1566, 4°: Το των Βιβλιων μερος, ὃ ἑβραιστὶ εὑρεῖν οὐκ ἔστιν. This edition has the strange arrangement, that on the first three sheets the leaves are numbered and the lines counted on the margins, on the following sheets the pages and the verses. The same arrangement appears in the copies, which have the title: Το των Βιβλιων μερος, ὃ ἑβραϊστὶ γραφὲν οὐχ εὑρίσκεται; *Bibliorvm pars Græca, Quæ Hebraice non inuenitur*, Antverpiæ, 1584. A third edition, 'cum interpretatione Latina ex Bibliis Complutensibus deprompta' (344 pp.), followed in 1612. Οἱ [*sic !*] ἀπόκρυφοι βίβλοι; *Libri VT apocryphi omnes Græce ad exemplar Vaticanum emendatissime expressi. Accedit Oratio Manassis et Prologus incerti auctoris in Ecclesiasticum*, Frankfurt, 1694. Later editions are: Halle, 1749, 1766 (Kircher); Leipzig, 1757 (Reineccius); Leipzig, 1804 (Augusti); Oxonii, 1805; Leipzig, 1837 (Apel); London, 1871 (Greek and English); Leipzig, 1871 (Fritzsche; best edition hitherto).* A part of the Apocrypha is given in *Liber Tobiæ, Judith, Oratio Manassæ, Sapientia, Ecclesiasticus Græce et Latine, cum dictis Scripturæ parallelis . . . et ad calcem Ecclesiastici positum duplex alphabetum ethicum Ben Sira*, Frankf. et Lips. 1691.

Tobit:—J. Drusius, Franeker, 1591, 4°; F. H. Reusch, Freiburg, 1870, 4°.

Judith:—A. Scholz, *Commentar*, Würzburg, 1887.

Wisdom:—M. Roberti Holkoth . . . *in librum Sapientiæ . . . Salomonis prælectiones CCXIII. . . . cum inserto Græco textu* . . . [ed. by J. Ryterus], 1586, fol.; Joh. Faber, Coburg, 1601; in Greek, Latin, and Armenian, Venice, 1827; F. H. Reusch, Freiburg, 1858; W. J. Deane, Oxf., 1881.

Sirach:—See article Sirach.

Books of Maccabees:—*Liber Hasmonæorum qui vulgo prior Maccabæorum Græce ex editione Romana, et Latine ex interpretatione J. Drusii*, Franeker, 1600; *Maccabæorum liber I. Græce sec. ex. Vat.* . . . recudi curavit P. J. Bruns, Helmstadii, 1784.

For literature see *Urt.* 64 ff., Sw. 171-194.

v. Earlier History of the Septuagint.—Much more complicated is the earlier, especially the earliest, history of 𝔊. Of its pre-Christian times we know next to nothing; the history of 𝔊 is almost entirely its history in the Church. A Hellenist, *Demetrius*, who lived, as it seems, under the fourth Ptolemy, and wrote *περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ βασιλέων*,[*] is the first known to us who used 𝔊. The fragments preserved from other writers, such as *Eupolemus*, *Aristeas* (the historian, not the author of *ad Philocratem*), *Ezekiel*, *Aristobulus*, are too small to show more than that these writers were acquainted with 𝔊. More extensive is the use made of 𝔊 in such books as Wisdom (16^{22} 12^{8} 6^{7}), Sirach, 2 Maccabees (7^{6}), 4 Maccabees (18^{14}), which became afterwards parts of 𝔊, or in the Jewish portions of the *Sibyllines*. In the writings of *Philo*, which can be traced back only to the library of Origen, and have been transmitted to us probably exclusively by Christian copyists, the quotations from the Law are very numerous; those from the rest of the OT are few; quotations from Ruth, Esther, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel, are entirely absent. Yet it is difficult to get a clear impression of the Greek Bible he had before him. This is owing partly to the unsatisfactory state of his text in former editions,[†] partly to the loose way in which he sometimes quotes the text: it is apparent, however, that already his copy of 𝔊 cannot have been free from errors.[‡]

---

* Comp. on some faults in the new edition of the works of Philo, which would have been avoided by the use of Holmes-Parsons, *Philologus*, 1900, p. 259 ff.; or see Ulysse Robert in his Preface to the Latin Heptateuch of Lyon (1900, p. xxxi).

† To quote some of the examples pointed out in the paper mentioned—

Is 8^{21} text πάτρια, which is nonsense, for πάταχρα, 'idols'; 1 Es 4^{40} αὕτη for αὐτῇ; Ps 77 $(78)^{36}$ ἠγάπησαν for ἠπάτησαν; Sir 7^{18} 27^{1} 42^{5} ἀδιαφόρου for διαφόρου; Sir 16^{26} κρίσει for κτίσει, etc.

* Other editions in the complete (Polyglot) Bibles of Plantin of 1584; 1613, 10, 15; Aureliæ Allobrogorum, 1609; Christian Bened. Michaelis, Zullichaviæ, 1741, 40 (the latter the only complete Bible in the original languages hitherto existing).

Equally unsatisfactory is a comparison of *Josephus*; we must rest content with knowing, for instance, that for his description of the Restoration he used what is now called the First Book of Esdras (vol. i. of the present work, p. 760); but as to his relation to our chief MSS of the book we are uncertain.[§]

Even the *New Testament*, with its great number of quotations, does not permit of any very definite statements, except that it proves again that textual corruption had already found its way into the copies used by the writers of the NT (cf. He 3^{9} *ἐν δοκιμασίᾳ*, 12^{5} *ἐνοχλῇ*). Even then the situation must have been what is described as existing in his time by Origen—chiefly, it is true, with reference to the MSS of the NT, but including also those of 𝔊—

> νυνὶ δὲ δηλονότι πολλὴ γέγονεν ἡ τῶν ἀντιγράφων διαφορά, εἴτε ἀπὸ ῥαθυμίας τινῶν γραφέων εἴτε ἀπὸ τόλμης τινῶν μοχθηρᾶς τῆς διορθώσεως τῶν γραφομένων εἴτε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τὰ ἑαυτοῖς δοκοῦντα ἐν τῇ διορθώσει προστιθέντων ἢ ἀφαιρούντων.[‖]

This variety of texts, strange as it may appear, is not difficult to account for. (1) 𝔊 was liable to all the dangers connected with transmission to which literary works were exposed in the days before the invention of the printing-press. (2) These dangers were increased in the case of works which were frequently copied and used not only privately but also in public service. (3) 𝔊 is not an original text, but a translation, or rather a series of translations, and therefore much more exposed to alterations than an original text; for every reader possessed of some knowledge of Hebrew, or of a different exegetical tradition from that embodied in 𝔊, might change his text (cf. the changes introduced in many MSS of the OT from the quotations in the NT, *e.g.* in Ps 13^{3} from Ro 3^{10-18}). (4) If the situation was bad enough before, it became worse when other Greek versions of the OT, especially those of Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, appeared and began to influence 𝔊. At last a comparison of 𝔊 with 𝔐 and the versions just named was carried out systematically by Origen; but what appeared to him a safeguard against the calamity that threatened the text turned out—not by his fault, but by that of later ignorance and laziness—the worst aggravation of it.

Continuing the passage quoted above, Origen goes on to say—

> τὴν μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις τῆς Παλαιᾶς Διαθήκης διαφωνίαν, θεοῦ διδόντος, εὕρομεν ἰάσασθαι, κριτηρίῳ χρησάμενοι ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἐκδόσεσιν· τῶν γὰρ ἀμφιβαλλομένων παρὰ τοῖς ο΄ διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀντιγράφων διαφωνίαν τὴν κρίσιν ποιησάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐκδόσεων τὸ συνᾷδον ἐκείναις ἐφυλάξαμεν· καί τινα μὲν ὠβελίσαμεν ἐν τῷ Ἑβραϊκῷ μὴ κείμενα, οὐ τολμῶντες αὐτὰ πάντη περιελεῖν, τινὰ δὲ μετ᾽ ἀστερίσκων προσεθήκαμεν, ἵνα δῆλον ᾖ ὅτι μὴ κείμενα παρὰ τοῖς ο΄ ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐκδόσεων συμφώνως τῷ Ἑβραϊκῷ προσεθήκαμεν· καὶ ὁ μὲν βουλόμενος προῆται αὐτά, ᾧ δὲ προσκόπτει τὸ τοιοῦτον, ὃ βούλεται περὶ τῆς παραδοχῆς αὐτῶν ἢ μὴ ποιήσῃ.

We can sympathize with his joy (*θεοῦ διδόντος*) at having found this criterion, though he used it, according to our view, in the wrong direction. It is of lesser weight that he simply took the Hebrew MSS which were at his disposal, and the Greek versions that agreed with them, for the original text. Whence he got the former we are not informed,[*] though we hear something about his intercourse with a Jewish Patriarch called Jullus (Hillel?);[†] but he acted on a more dangerous principle when he took what agreed with 𝔐 or the other versions for the true text of 𝔊, instead of what differed from them.[‡] Animated by this principle, and instigated, it would appear, and helped by his *ἐργοδιώκτης*, Ambrosius,[§] he undertook the greatest biblical work which Christian antiquity ever saw—the first Polyglot Bible, the so-called **Hexapla**, and a smaller edition of it, the *Tetrapla*.

---

[*] In Gn 25^{3} he had the additional two sons of Dedan in his text, *Raguel* and *Nadbeel*, and traced the descent of the wife of Moses to Raguel; see Eus. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 29.

[†] Not only earlier investigations into the quotations of Philo (Hornemann, 1773; Siegfried, 1873), but also the latest and excellent work of H. E. Ryle (*Philo and Holy Scripture*, London, 1895), were vitiated at the outset, because even Mangey's edition of Philo proved untrustworthy. To give one example. What was the name of the second book of the Law in Philo's Bible? Ryle says (p. xxii): 'Philo in *one* passage states that Moses gave to this book the title Ἐξαγωγή. . . . Elsewhere, however, he refers to it by its familiar Greek name Ἔξοδος (*e.g.* i. 474, 509, 638).' But in *all* these passages we have now in the edition of Cohn-Wendland (iii. 4, 57, 230) the reading Ἐξαγωγή, as offered by the better class of MSS. The poem of Ezekiel was also entitled Ἐξαγωγή, not Ἔξοδος.

[‡] A well-known instance is the reading τραφείς in Gn 15^{15}, which is found in all our MSS of 𝔊 (for ταφείς, not θαφείς, as Melanchthon put in his edition of 1545), presupposed already by Philo (the same insertion of ρ is illustrated by Codex F, spelling εθραψαν for the third εθαψαν in Gn 49^{31}; see Sw.'s edition, p. 807); compare also his etymology of Βαράδ (Gn 16^{14}) = ἐν κακοῖς, which presupposes Βαρακ, a reading actually found in 7 MSS of 𝔊, including the Lucianic ones, and in the Coptic version.

[§] On other questions connected with the Bible of Josephus, see below, p. 446ᵃ note *.

[‖] See on this passage A. D. Loman (in *ThT* vii. [1873] 233; he wishes to read, εἴτε ἀπὸ μοχθηρίας τ. δ. τ. γρ. εἴτε ἀπὸ τόλμης τινῶν τῶν) and Oikonomos (iv. 460; he proposes τολμης τινων και μοχθηρας διορθ.).

[*] Eus. (*HE* vi. 16) writes: τοσαύτη δὲ εἰσήγετο τῷ Ὠριγένει τῶν θείων λόγων ἀπηκριβωμένη ἐξέτασις ὡς καὶ τὴν Ἑβραΐδα γλῶτταν ἐκμαθεῖν, τάς τε παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις φερομένας πρωτοτύπους αὐτοῖς Ἑβραίων στοιχείοις γραφὰς κτῆμα ἴδιον ποιήσασθαι, ἀνιχνεῦσαί τε τὰς τῶν ἑτέρων παρὰ τοὺς Ἑβδομήκοντα τὰς ἱερὰς γραφὰς ἡρμηνευκότων ἐκδόσεις, καί τινας ἑτέρας παρὰ τὰς καθημαξευμένας ἑρμηνείας ἐναλλαττούσας, τὴν Ἀκύλου καὶ Συμμάχου καὶ Θεοδοτίωνος, ἐφευρεῖν, ἃς οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὁπόθεν ἔκ τινων μυχῶν τὸν πάλαι λανθανούσας χρόνον εἰς φῶς ἀνιχνεύσας προήγαγεν.

[†] Jerome, *Apol. adv. Ruf.* l. ii. (from the 30 τόμος of Origen *in Is.*), and Montfaucon, *Hexapla prael.* pp. 21, 79. Origen refers elsewhere to instructions he received from the Jewish side: for instance, from a Jewish convert (in *Jer.* 20, *Hom.* 20, *Op.* iii. 178). Nor do we know where he got his Greek text. It differs sometimes very strangely from that of his predecessor Clement.

[‡] Comp. the significant οὐκέτι in the scholion belonging to Origen's edition of Proverbs as published in Tischendorf's *Notitia edit. codicis Sinaitici*, p. 76, and by Oikonomos (περι των ο΄ iv. 903): ὅσοις οἱ ὀβελοὶ πρόσκεινται ῥητοῖς, οὗτοι οὐκ ἔκειντο οὔτε παρὰ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἑρμηνευταῖς οὔτε ἐν τῷ Ἑβραϊκῷ, ἀλλὰ παρὰ μόνοις τοῖς ο΄· καὶ ὅσοις οἱ ἀστερισκοὶ πρόσκεινται ῥητοῖς, οὗτοι ἐν μὲν τῷ Ἑβραϊκῷ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἑρμηνευταῖς ἐφέροντο, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ο΄ οὐκέτι, with the third axiom of Lagarde (*Anmerkungen zur griechischen Übersetzung der Proverbien*, 1863, p. 3 = *Mittheilungen*, i. 21): 'Wenn sich zwei Lesarten nebeneinander finden, von denen die eine den Masoretischen Text ausdrückt, die andre nur aus einer von ihm abweichenden Urschrift erklärt werden kann, so ist die letztere für ursprünglich zu halten.'

[§] Eus. (*HE* vi. 18): Ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Ἀμβρόσιος, τὰ τῆς Οὐαλεντίνου φρονῶν αἱρέσεως πρὸς τῆς ὑπὸ Ὠριγένους πρεσβευομένης ἀληθείας ἐλεγχθείς, καὶ ὡσὰν ὑπὸ φωτὸς καταυγασθεὶς τὴν διάνοιαν τῷ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ὀρθοδοξίας προστίθεται λόγῳ. 23. Ἐξ ἐκείνου δὲ καὶ Ὠριγένει τῶν εἰς τὰς θείας γραφὰς ὑπομνημάτων ἐγίνετο ἀρχή, Ἀμβροσίου εἰς τὰ μάλιστα παρορμῶντος αὐτὸν μυρίαις ὅσαις οὖν προτροπαῖς, οὐ ταῖς διὰ λόγων καὶ παρακλήσεων αὐτὸ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀφθονωτάταις τῶν ἐπιτηδείων χορηγίαις. ταχυγράφοι γὰρ αὐτῷ πλείους ἢ ἑπτὰ

In the first column he placed the Hebrew text in Hebrew letters, in the second the same in Greek transliteration; then followed the version of Aquila the Jew,—no doubt because it was the most literal one; in the fourth column that of Symmachus. Then followed the column of 𝔊 with the critical marks; finally, the version of Theodotion, as being a recension of 𝔊. For some biblical books, especially the poetical, he added a *fifth*, *sixth*, and even a *seventh* version;* so that in those parts there were seven, eight, and even nine columns. The *Tetrapla* was an abridged edition,—whether later or earlier is not quite certain,—containing only Aquila, Symmachus, 𝔊, and Theodotion.

Till quite recently Origen's great work was known only from the description of Eusebius, Epiphanius, Jerome, and other writers, and some specimens preserved in scholia of biblical MSS; but in 1896 Giovanni Mercati discovered in a palimpsest MS of the 10th cent. at Milan the first continuous fragments of a copy of the Hexapla (Psalms). These helped us to understand what an enormous task it must have been to arrange the whole OT in such a way, and at the same time showed also how easily mistakes might arise in it, and whence the variants come which are found in the statements about the Hexaplaric text.

And now there has been published quite recently by C. Taylor another leaf from among the *Hebrew-Greek Cairo Genizah Palimpsests* from the Taylor-Schechter Collection (Camb. 1900, 4°), containing a fragment of Ps 22. From this double-leaf the outer columns and some lines of the top are cut away, but it is at least 200 years older than the MS discovered by Mercati, and confirms the view that the arrangement according to *cola* (*διελών τε πρὸς κῶλον*), of which Eusebius speaks (*HE* vi. 16), consisted in this, that Origen generally placed only *one Hebrew word*, or at the most two, in one line, and was careful to see that the Greek corresponded to it exactly. *Even so small a word as* אַל *in Hebrew, μή in Greek, had a separate line.* In the Cairo Palimpsest all the Hebrew lines, 105 in number, consisted—they are cut off, but we are quite certain about their extent—of *only one* word; in the Milan-text this was the case with 10 out of 17, the rest contain two, none more than two. As a full page of the Cairo Palimpsest contained 42 (or 43) lines, just as many as Codex B, which, when opened, represents with its six columns the appearance of the Hexapla, a manuscript of the Hexapla Psalter arranged like the preserved Cairo fragment must have filled about 450 leaves; for the Hebrew Psalter has about 19,000 words.† As the Psalter is, further, something like the 14th or 15th part of the Hebrew Bible, the whole Hexapla would have filled more than 6000 leaves or 12,000 pages. It is probable that these figures go beyond the real extent, for we may assume that other books were treated less luxuriously than the Psalms. At all events, the Hexapla was much larger than even the latest estimate supposed.* These specimens,† besides giving a glimpse of the whole, show at the same time that for the Church at large, and even for its most learned members, so costly a work was not necessary; it was sufficient to copy the 𝔊 column, and to place on its margins the most notable various renderings from the other versions. This was done partially already by Origen himself, and especially by his followers Pamphilus and Eusebius. Such manuscripts, more or less carefully copied by later copyists, translated into Latin, Syriac, and Arabic, and excerpted by the commentators, are the sources from which hitherto our knowledge of the Hexapla has been derived, thanks to Drusius (1581, 1622), Nobilius (1587, 1588), Montfaucon (1713, 1769), and especially Fred. Field (1875, 2 vols.): see on this highly deserving scholar *Expos. Times*, viii. 160, 274, 325.

The later fate of the original is unknown. Jerome saw and used it in the library of Cæsarea;‡ perhaps it was destroyed by the invasion of the Arabs. A similar fate may have brought the codex, from which the Cairo-leaf was saved, into the hand of the Jew who used it in the eleventh cent. for a Hebrew liturgical book. In these specimens there was no occasion to apply either obelus or asterisk. In Gn 1 the first occasions to use the obelus occurred v.[4] ÷ *καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως*↙, v.[8] ÷ *καὶ εἶδεν ὁ θεὸς ὅτι καλόν*↙, v.[9] ÷ *καὶ συνήχθη . . . ἡ ξηρά*↙. In vv.[8, 9] the only document known which has preserved the obelus in the text is the Arabic version made from the Syriac; on vv.[8] and [9] Origen himself, Basil, and some scholia testify that the obelized passages were not found in the Hebrew. The first occasion to insert a piece with the asterisk occurred at the end of v.[7], where ויהי כן had no equivalent in 𝔊 and Origen supplied ※ *καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως*↙, and so on.

These are simple cases; but what was to be done when there was variation of order or difference of sense? In the former case (different arrangement of 𝔐 and 𝔊, as in Exodus, Proverbs, Jeremiah) Origen adopted a twofold course. If the difference was not too great, he let the text of every column follow its exemplar, but marked these passages by both signs at once, asterisk and obelus (*ὡς παρὰ πᾶσι μὲν φερόμενα, οὐκ ἐν αὐτοῖς δὲ τόποις*). Elsewhere

---

τὸν ἀριθμὸν παρῆσαν ὑπαγορεύοντι, χρόνοις τεταγμένοις ἀλλήλους ἀμείβοντες· βιβλιογράφοι τε οὐχ ἧττους, ἅμα καὶ κόραις ἐπὶ τὸ καλλιγραφεῖν ἠσκημέναις· ὧν ἁπάντων τὴν δέουσαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἄφθονον περιουσίαν ὁ Ἀμβρόσιος παρεστήσατο . . . μάλιστα αὐτὸν προὔτρεπεν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ὑπομνημάτων σύνταξιν. It is true, Eusebius speaks here only of the commentaries of Origen; but Epiphanius refers the help of Ambrosius also to the Hexapla, and 'copyists' (*βιβλιογράφοι*) and 'type-girls' would be needed by Origen for this costly work even more than for his commentaries.

* Eusebius (*HE* vi. 16) goes on after the words quoted p. 442[b], note *: *ἐφ᾽ ὧν* (the other versions besides Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion) *διὰ τὴν ἀδηλότητα, τίνος ἄρ᾽ εἶεν οὐκ εἰδώς, αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον ἐπεσημήνατο, ὡς ἄρα τὴν μὲν εὕροι ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἀκτίοις Νικοπόλει, τὴν δὲ ἐν ἑτέρῳ τοιῷδε τόπῳ· ἔν γε μὴν τοῖς ἑξαπλοῖς τῶν ψαλμῶν μετὰ τὰς ἐπισήμους τέσσαρας ἐκδόσεις οὐ μόνον πέμπτην, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕκτην καὶ ἑβδόμην παραθεὶς ἑρμηνείαν, ἐπὶ μιᾶς αὖθις σεσημείωται, ὡς ἐν Ἱεριχοῖ εὑρημένης ἐν πίθῳ, κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβήρου. ταύτας δὲ ἁπάσας ἐπὶ ταὐτὸν συναγαγών, διελών τε πρὸς κῶλον, καὶ ἀντιπαραθεὶς ἀλλήλαις μετὰ καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς Ἑβραίων σημειώσεως, τὰ τῶν λεγομένων ἡμῖν ἑξαπλῶν ἀντίγραφα καταλέλοιπεν, ἰδίως τὴν Ἀκύλου καὶ Συμμάχου καὶ Θεοδοτίωνος ἔκδοσιν ἅμα τῇ τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα ἐν τοῖς τετραπλοῖς ἐπικατασκευάσας.*

† For the Heb. Psalter the Massoretic numbering does not seem to be preserved, but for the Syriac Psalter the number of words is given as 19,834, of letters as 90,852.

* See Sw. p. 74: 'It is difficult to conceive of a codex or series of codices so gigantic as the Hexapla . . . Its bulk would have been nearly *five* times as great as that of the Vatican or Sinaitic OT. It may be roughly estimated that the Hexapla, if written in the form of a codex, would have filled 3250 leaves or 6500 pages; and these figures are exclusive of the *Quinta* and *Sexta*, which may have swelled the total considerably. Even the Tetrapla would have exceeded 2000 leaves.'—According to the *edictum Diocletiani* copyists were paid at the rate of 25 or 20 denarii for 100 lines, according to the quality of the writing. From the stichometrical lists of the Bible we know that the Psalter had 5100 lines, a complete OT about 80,000, a complete Bible about 100,000. This would make 25,000 or 20,000 denarii for the copying of an ordinary Bible. In the time of Constantine, Epiphanius, when becoming monk, reserved from his fortune for buying the divine and life-giving Scriptures *μ᾽ νομίσματα* (forty gold coins).

† See p. 444; also the examples given by Field (i. p. xiv from 2 K 23[4] in 7 and Ps 109 (110)[3] in 9 columns.

‡ See *de Vir. Ill.* c. 54; *commentarioli in Psalmos* (ed. Dom Morin, *Anecdota Maredsolana*, 1895 (iii. 1, p. 5): 'nam ἑξαπλοῦς Origenis in Cæsariensi bibliotheca relegens'; and p. 12 on Ps 4[8] 'Id quod in plurimis codicibus invenitur, "et olei eorum," cum vetustum Origenis Hexaplum Psalterium relegerem, quod ipsius manu fuerat emendatum, nec in hebræo nec in ceteris editionibus *nec apud ipsos quoque Septuaginta interpretes repperi.*' (All MSS have it, and the Syriac Hexapla has it). It may have belonged to those books in his library which Acacius and Euzoius took care 'in membranis instaurare,' *ἐν σωματίοις ἀνανεώσασθαι*, to transcribe from papyrus on vellum (*Philonis opera*, ed. Cohn-Wendland, i. p. iii; Jerome, *de Vir. Ill.* c. 113; cf. 34, i.).

(for instance in Jer 25$^{15ff.}$) he followed the order of 𝔐, as did Lucian, Chrysostom, and all modern editors of Polyglot Bibles. No doubt Origen would make a note on this different arrangement, but this is missing in the documents as we now have them.

The obelus appears under various forms, mostly ⨪, but also with two dots $\underset{:}{-}$ or ÷; or without any dot ∼; so especially in the Codex Sarravianus. The form ÷ was called λημνίσκος, ⨪ ὑπολημνίσκος; their exact meaning is unknown, for what Epiphanius says about their difference is nonsense (see Field, *Proleg.* lix.). The metobelus ≺ (a mallet) or : signifies the end of the notation. As a specimen

Ps 22 (21) $^{20-22}$ from the Cairo Palimpsest.*

Hebrew (supplied from Hebrew Bible).	Hebrew in Greek transcription (lost).	Aquila.	Symmachus.	𝔊	Theodotion (lost).
20 [ואתה	·–	συ δε	συ δε	συ δε κ'	·–
יהוה	·–	ΠΙΠΙ	ΠΙΠΙ	ΠΙΠΙ	·–
אל	·–	μη	μη	μη	·–
תרחק	·–	μακρυνης	μακραν	μακρυνης	·–
אילותי	·–	ισχυροτης μου	γενη μου	την βοηθιαν μου	·–
לעזרתי	·–	εις βοηθιαν μου	προς την βοηθιαν μου	εις την αντιληψιν μου	·–
חושה :	·–	σπευσον	σπευσον	προσχες	·–
21 הצילה	·–	ρυσαι	εξελου	ρυσαι	·–
מחרב	·–	απο μαχαιρης	απο μαχαιρης	απο ρομφαιας	·–
נפשי	·–	ψυχην μου	την ψυχην μου	την ψυχην μου	·–
מיד	·–	απο χειρος	εκ χειρος	και εκ χειρος	·–
כלב	·–	κυνος	κυνος	κυνος	·–
יחירתי :	·–	μοναχην μου	την μονοτητα μου	την μονογενη μου	·–
22 הושיעני	·–	σωσον με	σωσον με	σωσον με	·–
מפי	·–	απο στοματος	εκ στοματὸς	εκ στοματος	·–
אריה	·–	λεοντος	λεοντος	λεοντος	·–
ומקרני	·–	και απο κερατων	και απο κερατων	και απο κερατων	·–
רמים	·–	ρημιμ	μονοκερωτων	μονοκερωτων	·–
עניתני :]	·–	εισακουσον μου	την κακωσιν μου	την ταπεινωσιν μου εισηκουσας	·–

* Whether or where the *Quinta, Sexta, and Septima*, which for this Psalm are expressly testified, had found a place in this copy, cannot be ascertained; see, on these versions for this Psalm, besides the testimonies collected by Field, Jerome (*Anecdota Maredsol.* iii. p. 33): '*quinta et sexta editio:* verba clamoris mei, v. 2.'—On the transcription of יהוה by ΠΙΠΙ, *pipi*, and its curious consequences, see a scholion of Jacob of Edessa in *ZDMG* xxxii. (1878) 465 ff.

Ps 46 (45) $^{1-3}$ from the Milan Palimpsest.

Hebrew.	The same in Greek Letters.	Aquila.	Symmachus.	𝔊	Theodotion.
1 [למנצח	λαμανασση	τω νικοποιω·	επινικιος·	εις το τελος	τω νικοποιω εις το τελος
לבני קרח	[λ]αβνη-κορ	των υιων Κορε	των υιων Κορε	τοις υιοις υπερ των υιων Κορε	τοις υιοις Κορε
על עלמות	αλ· αλμωθ	επι νεανιοτητων	υπερ των αιωνιων	υπερ των κρυφιων	υπερ των κρυφιων
שיר	σιρ	ασμα	ωδη	ψαλμος	ωδη ψαλμος
2 אלהים לנו	ελωειμ· λανου *	...*	ο θεος ημιν	ο θεος ημων §	ο θεος ημων
מחסה ועז	μασε· ουοζ	ελπις και κρατος	πεποιθησις και ισχυς	καταφυγη και δυναμις	καταφυγη και δυναμις
עזרה	εζρ	βοηθεια	βοηθεια	βοηθος	βοηθος
בצרות	βσαρω᾽θ	εν θλιψεσιν	εν θλιψεσιν	εν θλιψεσι	εν θλιψεσιν
נמצא מאד	νεμσα μωδ	ευρεθη † σφοδρα	ευρισκομενος σφοδρα	ευρεθησεται ημιν ταις ευρουσαις ημας σφοδρα	ταις ευρουσαις ημας ευρεθη σφοδρα
3 על כן	αλ· χεν·	επι τουτω	δια τουτο	δια τουτο	δια τουτο
לא נירא	λω· νιρα	ου φοβηθησομεθα	ου φοβηθησομεθα	ου φοβηθησομεθα	ου φοβηθησομεθα
בהמיר	βααμιρ	εν τω ανταλλασσεσθαι	εν τω ‡ συγχεισθαι	εν τω ταρασσεσθαι	εν τω ταρασσεσθαι
ארץ	ααρς	γην	γην	την γην	την γην
ובמוט	ουβαμωτ	και εν τω σφαλλεσθαι	και κλινεσθαι	και μετατιθεσθαι	μετατιθεσθαι και σαλευεσθαι
הרים	αριμ	ορη	ορη	ορη	ορη
בלב	βλεβ	εν καρδια	εν καρδια	εν καρδια	εν καρδια
ימים]	ιαμιμ	θαλασσων	θαλασσων	θαλασσων	θαλασσων

* In the MS λανου came in the third column, replacing there Aquila's rendering.
† MS, by a frequent mistake, doubling the σ, ευρεθησ.
‡ MS ταις (from τωι, see note †).
§ MS first-hand ημιν.

of the use of these signs we may take Gn $34^{24ff.}$ from the Codex Sarravianus *—

και πε
ριετεμοντο· ∼ την
∼ σαρκα της ακροβυ-
∼ στειας αυτων : παν
αρσην ※ παντες εξερ
※ χομενοι πυλην πο
※ λεως αυτου′ : εγενε

As it is of importance to have a view of the documents from which the 𝔊 column of the Hexapla can be recovered, the present writer had drawn up a list of all MSS which trace back their origin to the Hexapla and Tetrapla, and designed stemmata for them, but want of space forbids the printing of them here. One of the most important means is the Syriac version made by Paul of Tella in the year 617 (=𝔭), and, where this is defective, the Arabic version made by Hārith ben Sinān ben Shabāt so late as 1486 (see Præf. of Holmes, vol. i.). The Hexapla is expressly cited in still existing documents as the source for Ex., Josh., 1 Kings, Ezra, Esth., Prov., Cant., Lam., Is., Ezek.; the Tetrapla for Gen., Josh., Ruth, Is., Ezek., Job, 12 Proph., Dan.; the Heptapla for 2 Kings. The Ὀκτασέλιδον (Octapla) is occasionally quoted as having a different reading from the Τετρασέλιδον (Tetrapla) in a scholion on Ps 86^5 (μὴ τῇ Σιών for μήτηρ Σιών). Heptapla is used in 𝔭 at 2 K 16^2; Πεντασέλιδον (not Τετρασέλιδον) in Q at Is 3^{24}. See, for Genesis, Field on Gn 47^{56}; for Ex., Josh., Judges, Ruth, 1 and 2 Kings, Job, Prov., Eccles., Cant., 12 Proph., Is., Lam., the notes of 𝔭, for Ezra and Esther the notes in Cod. S, for Is. and Ezek. the notes in Q; for Ezek. and Dan. the Codex Chisianus. On the order of the biblical books in the Hexapla we are not perfectly informed; in Q it is Octateuch, Kings, Chron., Ezr.(-Neh.), Judith, Tobit, Psalms, Job, Prov., Eccles., Cant., Wisd., Sirach, 12 Proph., Jer., Bar., Ep. of Jer., Dan., Sus., Bel, Ezek., Isaiah.

For Exodus a copy is attested, in which the Hebrew was compared by Eusebius with the Hebrew of the Samaritans. Seventeen such passages are preserved in 𝔊, and 5 from Numbers.† Curious is the expression μετελήφθησαν ἀφ' ὧν εὕρομεν ἐξαπλῶν (Tischendorf, *Notitia*, 122); the note in S at the end of Esther speaks of τὰ ἑξαπλᾶ Ὠριγένους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διορθωμένα. At the end of Ex. τὰ κατὰ τὰς ἐκδόσεις ἑξαπλᾶ are distinguished from a ἕτερον ἑξαπλοῦν. In the note at the end of Proverbs (Sw. p. 75) for καὶ πάλιν αὐτὰ χειρί we must read καὶ πάλιν· αὐτοχειρί, 'and again: by Pamphilus' own hand.' Strange is the quotation of Origen on La 1^{17} (*Op.* iii. 252) κατὰ Σύμμαχον καὶ ἑτέραν ἔκδοσιν τῶν Ἑβδομήκοντα.

If the copies of the 𝔊 column of the Hexapla, which it was the task especially of Pamphilus and Eusebius to prepare, had been copied with all its marks, it would have been well; but later copyists neglected these completely, and produced thus what we may call *krypto-Hexaplaric* copies, completely spoiling by this carelessness the value of 𝔊 — such a copy is found, for instance, in the Codex Alexandrinus for 1 and 2 Kings. At the same time we have no right to complain, seeing that in the 19th cent. the same process was repeated in the case of Grabe's edition.‡

Now it is clear that if we were to succeed, by a comparison of those documents which go back directly or indirectly to the Hexapla, in restoring its 𝔊 column, we should have a Septuagintal text, but not the original one; for, as indicated above, the principles on which Origen chose his text are not the true ones; moreover, it would appear that he even further introduced little changes, so as to make his text correspond to the Hebrew, for instance in the matter of proper names, writing Γηρσων (Ex 6^{16}) for Γεδσων, etc.§ We must therefore look for other sources. These have been found in the recensions which *Jerome* mentions as being circulated in his times, besides the copies produced by Eusebius and Pamphilus. Jerome, who was almost the only one who opposed the popular views about 𝔊, had also the right insight into the consequences of Origen's labours in textual criticism, when he wrote to Augustine—

> 'Et miror quomodo LXX interpretum libros legas non puros ut ab eis editi sunt, sed ab Origene emendatos *sive corruptos* per obelos et asteriscos. . . . Vis amator esse verus Septuaginta interpretum, non legas ea, quæ sub asteriscis sunt, imo rade de voluminibus, ut veterum te fautorem probes. Quod si feceris, omnes ecclesiarum bibliothecas damnare cogeris. Vix enim unus aut alter invenietur liber qui ista non habeat.'

He mentions several times three sets of Bible texts as used in his time (*Præf. in Paralip., adv. Ruf.* ii. 27)—

> 'Alexandria et Ægyptus in Septuaginta suis *Hesychium* laudat auctorem, Constantinopolis usque Antiochiam *Luciani* (*var. lec.* Juliani) martyris exemplaria probat, mediæ inter has provinciæ Palæstinos (*var. lec.* -næ) codices legunt quos ab Origene elaboratos Eusebius et Pamphilus vulgaverunt; totusque orbis hac inter se trifaria varietate compugnat.'

The Gothic priests, Sunnja and Fretcla, who had addressed him about questions in textual criticism, he instructed in the year 403—

> 'Aliam esse editionem quam Origenes et Cæsariensis Eusebius omnesque Græciæ tractatores κοινήν, *i.e.* communem appellant atque vulgatam, et a plerisque nunc Λουκιανός * dicitur, aliam Septuaginta interpretum quæ in ἑξαπλοῖς codicibus reperitur et a nobis in latinum sermonem fideliter versa est et Jerosolymæ atque in orientis ecclesiis decantatur . . . κοινὴ autem ista, hoc est communis, editio ipsa est quæ et Septuaginta, sed hoc interest inter utramque quod κοινὴ pro locis et temporibus et pro voluntate scriptorum vetus corrupta editio est, ea autem quæ habetur in ἑξαπλοῖς et quam nos vertimus, ipsa est quæ in eruditorum libris incorrupta et immaculata Septuaginta interpretum translatio reservatur.'

About the person and the work of *Hesychius* we know very little. He may have been (not the lexicographer of the second half of the 4th cent., who was a pagan, but) the martyr-bishop mentioned by Eusebius, *HE* viii. 13, together with Phileas of Thmuis (Sw. 79: 'It is pleasant to think of the two episcopal confessors employing their enforced leisure in their Egyptian prison by revising the Scriptures for the use of their flocks, nearly at the same time that Pamphilus and Eusebius and Antoninus were working under similar conditions at Cæsarea'). The fruit of his work is now sought for the Octateuch in the MSS 44, 74, 76, 84, 106, 134, etc. (see N. McLean, *JThSt*, ii., Jan. 1901, p. 306); for the Prophets, at least for Isaiah and the XII, in Q and its supporters, 26, 106, 198, 306 (see A. Ceriani, *de codice Marchaliano*, Romæ, 1890, pp. 48 ff., 105 ff.).

More clearly defined is our information about *Lucian* and his work (see on him Sw. p. 80 ff.). Westcott-Hort came to the conclusion, that for the NT the growing diversity and confusion of Greek texts led to an authoritative revision at Antioch, which was at a later time subjected to a second authoritative revision, carrying out more completely the purposes of the first. Of known names, they wrote, Lucian's has a better claim than any other to be associated with the early Syrian revision. These revisers of the NT 'evidently wished their text to be as far as possible easy, smooth, and complete, and for this purpose borrowed freely from all quarters, and as freely used the file to remove surviving asperities' (ed. min. p. 557). This description agrees fully with our information about the Lucianic revision of the OT, and with the observations we can gather from the existing documents, in which it is found to survive, for the Octateuch in 19, 82, 108, 118; in the Historical books 93 is to be added; in the Prophets 22, 36, 48, 51, 62, 90, 93, 144, 147, 233, 308.

The Lucianic recension is of the highest value for the textual criticism of the Hebrew OT; for the Hebrew MSS, used by Lucian at Antioch, seem to have been different from those which were at Origen's disposal, further removed from the traditional Hebrew text; but it must not be confounded, as its editor P. de Lagarde was careful to warn us (see especially *Mittheilungen*, ii. 171), with the Septuagint. On the question, whether among the materials used for his revision the Syriac version was also included, and the other, how his revision is related to the Latin versions, see Nestle, *Introd.* p. 182.* The statement that his autograph copy in 3 columns was, after his martyrdom, found at Nicomedia, we see no reason to doubt (against Sw. p. 85).†

---

* Origen took this whole system of notation from the Alexandrian critics of Homer, especially Aristarchus; see the passages quoted by Swete, p. 71, and the enumeration of the passages of Proverbs which varied in order from the Patmos codex, in Tischendorf's *Notitia*, p. 76. How inconvenient this was before the invention of numbering the verses and chapters may be seen there.

† On other passages (Gn 4^8 5^{25} etc.) for which τὸ Σαμαρειτικόν is quoted, see Field, i. p. lxxxii ff., and S. Kohn, 'Samareitikon und Septuaginta' in *Monatsschrift für Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, N. F. i. [1894] 1–7, 49–67; *ZDMG*, 1893, 650. Kohn believes that there was originally a complete Greek translation of the Samaritan Targum.

‡ See above, p. 440^b, on the Moscow and Athens reprints of Grabe's edition of the Codex Alexandrinus; and cf., for its disastrous results, *e.g.* Oikonomos, ii. 251, on the reading θηραν and χηραν in Ps 131^{15}.

§ Cf. Ps 11^4, where εἰς τὸν πένητα has nothing answering to it in Hebrew; a scholion remarks that it εκειτο εν τη σελιδι των ο′ μονον αμφιβολως; Up, 184, sah., Theodoret have for it εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην.

* Oikonomos, iv. 99, wishes to read Λουκιανίς

No express statements emanating from later times are known to the present writer regarding attempts to revise 𝔊. That the emperor Constantine ordered 50 Bibles for his churches from Eusebius, and that Athanasius procured for Constans *πυκτία τῶν θείων γραφῶν*, may be mentioned in this connexion. Later emperors and empresses showed their religious zeal partly by writing copies with their own hands. The history of 𝔊 passed on to the nations, which received it in the form of translations.

vi. VERSIONS MADE FROM THE SEPTUAGINT.—If we are to trust the statement of Zosimus Panopolitanus (see Oikonomos, ii. 328), the Hebrew Bible was translated for Ptolemy at one and the same time into Greek and into Egyptian; but *Latin*, not Egyptian, was probably the first language into which 𝔊 was translated.

On the *Latin* versions of 𝔊 see the exhaustive article of H. A. A. Kennedy in vol. iii. p. 47 ff.‡ The most important addition to note is the publication of *Heptateuchi partis posterioris versio latina antiquissima e codice Lugdunensi* par Ulysse Robert (Lyon, 1900, 4°). This discovery, already noticed by Kennedy (p. 49), called by McLean the most important event of the past decade in connexion with Sept. studies (*JThSt*, ii. 305), shows the *mixed character* of the Latin Bible text, already acknowledged by Kennedy, in the most striking way; no Greek MS or group of MSS being known to which this Latin text adheres persistently. And the second, not less puzzling feature of these Latin texts becomes once more apparent, namely their variety. Cf., for instance, Dt 31 in the L[ugdunensis], M[onacensis], and W[irceburgensis].

V.[17] *κατάβρωμα* comestio L
devoratio M
interitus W.
καὶ θλίψις(-εις) et tribulatio L
et tribulationes W
omitted altogether M.

V.[20] *καὶ ἐμπλησθέντες κορήσουσι*
et repleti recedent (=*χωρήσουσι*) L
et satiati descendent ludentes M
(=*χορεύσουσι*, or *παίζοντες*)
et saturati alienabuntur W.

In the Bk. of Judges the new text sides regularly with A against B; in some cases (1^9 $5^{29.30}$) it alone offers what seems to be the original reading (see McLean, *l.c.*). On Wisd., Sirach, Esth., Job, Judith, 1 and 2 Mac., Passio Maccabæorum, Bar., 3 Es., Cant., see Ph. Thielmann, 'Bericht über das gesammelte handschriftliche Material zu einer kritischen Ausgabe der lateinischen Uebersetzungen biblischer Bücher des alten Testamentes' (*Sitzungsberichte der K. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1899, Bd. ii. Heft 2, pp. 205–243).

On the *Egyptian* versions see Forbes Robinson in vol. i. p. 668 ff. There is but one important addition to mention—*The earliest known Coptic Psalter*, edited by Wallis Budge (Lond. 1898). F. E. Brightman (*JThSt*, ii. 275) has shown that it represents the complete Greek text, of which U contains fragments, and that it has some remarkable readings, which do not occur in the common Greek text but only in Latin documents, *e.g.* *ἐβασίλευσεν ἀπὸ ξύλου* in Ps 95^{10}, which is quoted from Justin onwards. Cf. further, Lieblein, 'Thebansk-Koptick Oversaettelse af Davids 89. 90 Psalme' (*Academy of Christiania*, 1896); W. E. Crum, 'Coptic Studies' in *Eg. Expl. F. Rep.* for 1897, 1898).

On the *Ethiopic* versions see R. H. Charles in vol. i. p. 791. With the fact quoted there that the Ethiopic Bible at no time contained the books of Maccabees, compare the parallel fact that they are unknown also to the Canon in the 39th festal letter of Athanasius and in Codex B, which is connected by Rahlfs with Athanasius (*GGN*, 1899, i. p. 72).

Scarcely any addition has been made to the *Arabic* versions since they were treated by F. C. Burkitt in vol. i. p. 136 ff.

Of the *Gothic* version ascribed to Ulfilas, only a few fragments of the OT are extant, from Gn 5^{3-30}, Ps 52^{23}, Ezr 15. 16. 17 (not 2^{8-42}); but these are sufficient to show that Ulfilas, as might have been suspected, followed the recension used in Constantinople—that of Lucian. The best edition is that of Uppstrom (Upsala, 1854, 1857, 4°), the most convenient that of Stamm-Heyne (^{9}1896, in which, however, as in all, the order in Ezra must be reversed in the way indicated above), or E. Bernhardt, 1884.* For the literature see Sw. p. 116; *Urt.* 119–121.

The recension of Lucian is the basis also of the *Slavonic* version (first printed at Ostrago, 1581). From the quotations in Holmes (on Gen.) one might almost conclude that its present form is based on the Aldine edition of 1518, so frequently does it agree with it. For literature see *Urt.* p. 215 (Leskien); Sw. p. 120; Holmes, *Præf. in Pent.*

The *Georgian* version was used for Holmes (see *Praef. in Pent.*), but the first edition (Moscow, 1743) was made conformable to the Slavonic Bible by the Prince Vakhusht, son of Vakhtang, king of Georgia. See *Urt.* p. 161; Sw. p. 120.

The *Armenian* version (see the article of F. C. Conybeare in vol. i. p. 151) rivals, in importance for the textual criticism of 𝔊, the Syriac, and will be used for the larger Cambridge edition of 𝔊.

The version of the OT which came into common use in the *Syriac*-speaking churches was made from the Hebrew, though it occasionally underwent influences from 𝔊 (see art. SYRIAC VERSIONS). But besides this common version (Peshiṭta), the zeal of this Church produced a translation of 𝔊, probably the most literal that ever appeared in any language, and therefore of the greatest importance for the textual critic. It was the work of one Paul, bishop of Tella dhe Mauzelath (Constantine in Mesopotamia), and was executed by him in Alexandria in the years 616-617. There he had at his disposal several MSS, which went back—with few intervening links—to the very Hexapla or Tetrapla of Origen; hence the usual name of this version, the *Syro-Hexaplar*. Andrew du Maes (Masius, †1573; see on his merits *Sst.* i. 13-16) possessed a copy containing part of Deut., Josh., Judges, 1 and 2 Sam., 1 and 2 Kings, Chron., Ezr., Esth., Judith, and part of Tobit. Unfortunately, this codex has disappeared; but what, in all likelihood, is the second volume of it, is preserved at the Ambrosian Library at Milan, and was given to the world through the labours of Ceriani and a generous gift of Frederick Field (see above, p. 443^b) as the Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus in a photo-lithographic facsimile edition as tom. vii. of the *Monumenta sacra et profana* (Milano, 1874, fol.); while the other parts that survived of this version (from Gen., Ex., Numb., Josh., Judges, 1 and 2 Kings) have been most carefully edited in the last work of P. de Lagarde (*Bibliothecæ Syriacæ a Paulo de Lagarde collectæ quæ ad Philologiam Sacram pertinent*, Gottingae, 1892, 4°, finished by A. Rahlfs). Of the former publications —see the list in Nestle, *Litt. syr.* p. 29 f.—only that of Thomas Skat Rordam (*Libri Judicum et Ruth secundum versionem syriaco-hexaplarem*, Hauniæ, 1859-61, 4°) deserves mention, on account of the 'Dissertatio de regulis grammaticis, quas secutus est Paulus Tellensis in Veteri Testamento ex Græco Syriace vertendo' (pp. 1-57), together with Field's *Otium Norvicense, sive Tentamen de Reliquiis Aquilæ Symmachi et Theodotionis e lingua Syriaca in Græcam convertendis*, Oxon. 1864, 4°. On account of the MSS used by Paul, and the principles followed by him, this version forms our chief authority for the text of Origen's recension. On the Arabic translation based on it see above, p. 445^a. For the literature see W. Wright, art. 'Syriac Literature' in *Encyc. Brit.* vol. xxii. = *Short history*, p. 18; Field, *Hexapla*, i. p. lxvii ff.; Sw. 112 ff.; *Urt.* 117.

---

* E. Klostermann (*Origenes' Werke*, iii. p. xi) promises an investigation on the Jeremiah text used by Origen, which agrees frequently with the group of MSS which are considered as Lucianic. Adam Mez (*Die Bibel des Josephus untersucht für Buch v.–vii. der Archäologie*, Basel, 1895) notices that the Bible used by Josephus shows in Judges and Samuel many agreements with Lucianic readings, and presupposes, therefore, an 'Ur-Lucian.' The paper on 'Lucian's recension of the Septuagint' (*Church Quarterly Review*, Jan. 1901, pp. 379–398) came to the knowledge of the present writer too late to be used for this article.

† On a copy going back to Basil, see Syncellus (*Chronogr.* p. 382): *ἐν ἑνὶ δὲ ἀντιγράφῳ λίαν ἠκριβωμένῳ κατά τε στιγμὴν καὶ προσῳδίαν, ἐκ τῆς ἐν Καισαρείᾳ βιβλιοθήκης, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἐπεγέγραπτο, ὡς ὁ μέγας καὶ θεῖος Βασίλειος, τὰ ἐξ ὧν ἐκεῖνο ἀπεγράφη, ἀντιβαλὼν διωρθώσατο.* In this copy Syncellus found 28 (*κη´*) years for the reign of *Φακεε* in 2 K 15^{27}. This number is found to-day in the MSS 55, 56, 64, 119, 245, 246.

‡ The influence which 𝔊 exercised on the formation of the mediæval Roman and even Teutonic languages through the medium of the Latin Bible version can be only hinted at. Even words of common life like *canapé*, *cidre*, find their origin ultimately in 𝔊.

* An American edition was published by G. H. Balg, Milwaukee, 1891. That of Massman is from 1855–1857.

On other attempts to translate parts of 𝔊 into Syriac, by Polycarp in the 5th cent. (Psalms), Jacob of Edessa in the years 704-5, see Sw. p. 115 f.; Gwynn, *Dict. Chr. Biog.* iv. 433.

On the fragments of translations in the so-called Palestinian dialect, we may refer to Sw. p. 114 f., and especially to F. C. Burkitt ('Christian Palestinian Literature' in *JThSt*, ii. 174 ff.). The fragments enumerated by Sw. p. 115, from Gen., Ex., Numb., 1 Sam., 1 Kings, Psalms, Prov., Job, Wisd., Amos, Micah, Joel, Jonah, Zech., Is., Jeremiah, have been augmented since by the publication of Palestinian Syriac texts from palimpsest fragments in the Taylor-Schechter collection, edited by A. S. Lewis and M. D. Gibson (Lond. 1900, 4°), containing portions of Numb., Deut., Psalms, Is., Jer., and—as recognized by V. Ryssel—of Sirach (frag. xviii.). On the date and place of this whole literature see Burkitt, *l.c.*

Up to the present day several of the Churches in which these various versions of 𝔊 arose, have never emancipated themselves from them. But even in those parts where, as in the Latin West through Jerome, or in modern Europe through the influence of the Reformation, new Bible versions, based on the Hebrew original, came into use, there is still, in greater or less degree, an echo of 𝔊 to be heard through worship and theology. It may suffice to recall the Prayer-Book version of the Psalms, or even the latest revision of the English Bible, in which it is not the names alone of the books of the OT from Genesis to Ecclesiasticus that tell of this first and most remarkable of all biblical versions.

MATERIALS FOR THE RESTORATION OF 𝔊.—The materials for the restoration of 𝔊 are, as can be gathered from the preceding history, (1) manuscripts, (2) versions, (3) quotations.

(1) *Manuscripts.*—The MSS used for the work of Holmes-Parsons are counted at the end of vol. v. as 311; I.-XIII., being uncial MSS, are designated by Roman, the rest, being cursives, by Arabic figures. There are some mistakes in this list: 23, for instance, the Codex Venetus, is an uncial codex; others, counted under different numbers, have turned out to be parts of one and the same MS. Another system of designation, used by Lagarde and in the Cambridge Septuagint, is to denote the uncial MSS by the capital letters of the Latin (and Greek) alphabet; for a particular class of MSS Lagarde used small letters of the Roman, Cornill (in Ezekiel) of the Greek alphabet. It will be the task of the large Cambridge Septuagint to introduce a system of notation that will be generally accepted; meanwhile it is best to adhere for the uncials to the system of Lagarde-Swete, for the cursives to Holmes-Parsons, always keeping in mind that the sharp distinction between uncials and cursives is in no way justified.

As to the *contents*, the MSS may be divided into those which contain the whole Bible (OT) or parts of it, the Octateuch,[*] the Historical, Poetical, and Prophetical books. Most frequent are MSS of the Psalms. The arrangement of these groups, and of the books within each group, varies greatly (see Sw. pp. 195-230: 'Titles, Grouping, Number, and Order of the Books').

The books of Moses seem to stand at the head with no exception, and in all MSS the order seems to be the usual one, the inverted order, Nu. Lev. being attested only by Melito (Eus. *HE* iv. 26; Sw. p. 203), in the list published by Mommsen (Sw. p. 212), and by Leontius of Byzantium (Sw. p. 207). In Latin the third book is sometimes called Leviticu*m*, the fifth Deuteronomi*us*. Philo's designation of the latter, ἡ Ἐπινομίς, is taken from the book of Plato so inscribed; Judges he calls ἡ τῶν Κριμάτων βίβλος. The counting of four books of Kings or rather Kingdoms (Βασιλειῶν) has been retained by the Latin Bible, partially also the name Παραλειπόμενα for Chronicles. The form Παραλειπόμεναι occurs not only in Gregory of Nazianzus and Leontius (see Sw. pp. 205, 207), but also in Origen (new Berlin edition, iii. 74, l. 15; not decisive ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ [δευτέρᾳ] τῶν Π., i. 341, ii. 374). On the other books and their names see Sw. p. 216; but note that the last books are generally called τὰ Μακκαβαϊκά, books treating of (Judas) Maccabæus; the extension of the name to the whole family, now generally in use, the Maccabee*s* (plural), is not original. On the grouping of the books (Historical, including Pentateuch, Poetical, Prophetical) see Sw. p. 218; on their number, Sw. p. 219; art. CANON in vol. i. p. 348 ff.; on the internal order, Sw. p. 226. The statement of J. M. Fuller (*Speaker's Commentary on the Apocrypha*, i. 368), that the MSS ordered by Constantine from Eusebius were 'the first complete Greek Bible,' and that it contained apparently the books of the Hebrew Canon and the Alexandrian version of the Apocrypha *added as an Appendix*, does not seem to rest on sure foundation. When Eusebius writes that he sent off the books ἐν πολυτελῶς ἠσκημένοις τεύχεσι τρισσὰ καὶ τετρασσά, the most probable explanation of the much disputed closing words seems to be, that each Bible consisted of three or four volumes. In a note at the end of Esther in the Codex Sinaiticus it is stated that it was compared with a MS belonging to Pamphilus, which *ἀρχὴν μὲν εἶχεν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης τῶν Βασιλειῶν, εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἐσθὴρ ἔληγεν*. From this it is probable that it was arranged, not like B, which inserts the seven Poetical books (the five Canonical + Wisdom and Sirach) between Ezra and Esther, nor like A, in which the Prophets follow Chronicles, and after them Esther, but like S and N, in which Ezra and Esther follow immediately upon Chronicles. This would give a Bible of four volumes (Octateuch, Historical books, Prophetical books, Poetical books).

---

[*] Greek MSS mostly count Gen.-Ruth as books 1-8, as ὀκτάτευχος; the Latin MSS Gen.-Judges as *Heptateuchus*; the word Hexateuch, now so much in use that it has an article devoted to it in the present work, seems to be an innovation of the late 19th century.

As regards their *age*, the MSS range from the 3rd to the 16th cent. To the 3rd cent. is ascribed a scrap of papyrus in the British Museum, yielding the text of Gn 14^{17} (Pap. ccxii.; see Sw. p. 146) and the fragment of a Psalter (cont. Ps 12^{7}–15^{4}), 'the oldest Bible MS in any language in the British Museum and one of the oldest in existence anywhere' (see *Facsimiles of Biblical Manuscripts in the British Museum*, edited by Fred. G. Kenyon, 1900, pl. i. Pap. ccxxx.).

It is impossible to give here a list of the MSS of 𝔊, or even of the uncials; some of them have been treated under separate articles; see the letters AℵBCL; we must refer to Sw. p. 122 ff. and the literature quoted there; only some supplementary remarks may be offered—

In A (Alexandrinus) the Psalter appears not to have been copied from the same original as the rest of the MS, but taken from a separate Church-Psalter (just as in the Aldine Bible of 1518). Hence the additions before and after the Psalms (letter of Athanasius, canon of morning and evening psalms, etc.; Canticles). It would be well to control its use in the Cambridge Septuagint by comparison once more with the original or a former collation; see, *e.g.*, 1 Es 4^{14} A + *αὐτῶν*; 2 Es 7^{5} A has *πρώτου*, not *πατρῴου*).

On the connexion of B (Vaticanus) with Athanasius see Th. Zahn, *Athanasius und der Bibelkanon* (Erlangen, 1901: Sonderabdruck aus der Festschrift der Universität Erlangen zur Feier des . . . Prinzregenten Luitpold von Bayern), p. 33: 'It must be seriously considered whether the famous Codex Vaticanus is not that Bible which was produced by Athanasius at the order of Constans at Rome about 340 through Alexandrian copyists' (see Nestle, *Introduction*, p. 181, where in the note read 'Constantius' for 'Constans'). Ceriani's view, that B was written by a Western scribe, had been proposed already by Richard Simon (*Hist. Crit. du NT*, c. 32). That it contains the recension of Hesychius, was for the first time, as it seems, stated by Grabe; Masius believed it was that of Lucian, Montfaucon that of Origen. On the text of Judges in this MS see below.

S is a more convenient symbol than ℵ for the Codex Sinaiticus, and is adopted in Swete. That the copyist who wrote the note at the end of Esther on the collation with the Codex of Pamphilus is identical with the corrector $\aleph^{c}$ is an important hint for the restoration of the recension of Eusebius-Pamphilus.

D (Cottonianus). As this famous MS was reduced by fire in 1731 to a heap of charred and shrivelled leaves, it would be worth while to make investigations whether the collation made before that time by Wetstein (*NT* i. p. 134) is still in existence. On the relation of its pictures to the mosaics of San Marco in Venice, see J. T. Tikkanen, *Die Genesismosaiken von San Marco in Venedig und ihr Verhältnis zu den Miniaturen der Cottonbibel*, etc., Helsingfors, 1889, 4° (Acta Soc. Scient. Fenn. xvii.).

G (Sarravianus). Add to the publications mentioned by Sw. p. 137:—P. de Lagarde, *Semitica*, Zweites Heft, Gött. 1879 (vol. xxv. of the 'Abhandlungen,' etc.: 'Die pariser blätter des codex Sarravianus').

M (Coislinianus), collated by Wetstein (*NT* i. 134), for a great part by Lagarde (*Symm.* ii. 142; *Ankündigung*, iii. 27; *SSt.* i. 8).

Q (Marchalianus). The distinction established by Ceriani between the origin of the text and of the marginal matter in this MS, the latter only being Hexaplaric, is a great help for the classification of the MSS of 𝔊.

On the 23 uncial MSS, or parts of such, which have not yet been used for any edition, and remain for the present without a symbolical letter or number, see Sw. 146 ff., 170. No. 14 (formerly in the possession of W. H. Heckler) has lately been acquired by the University of Heidelberg, and will be edited by Prof. G. Deissmann. On No. 6, the oldest biblical MS in the British Museum, see preceding column.

The transition from the uncials to the cursives may be made by the MS E, which is now dispersed in Oxford, London, Cambridge (1 leaf), and St. Petersburg. It was brought by Tischendorf from the East in 1853 and 1859; the Oxford part written in uncials, the Cambridge leaf, which was kept back by Tischendorf, making the transition from uncial to cursive writing, the rest in cursives. The whole recent history of this MS has been described by A. Rahlfs in *GGN* (not *GGA* as in Kenyon, *Facsimiles*, plate v.), 1898, 98–112; see also Sw. 134 f.; Lagarde, *SSt.* i. 1–11; facsimile in Kenyon, pl. v.

Most cursives await careful investigation; some will repay it; others may be discarded by it, as later copies of MSS still existing, like 33, 97, 238, which belong to one MS, and are copied from 87, or even as copied from printed editions. This we suspect to be the case with Ho 31 (Genesis with catena), at Vienna (*Theol. Gr.* 4) [on the date of this MS Holmes wrote, 'videtur esse xiii. vel xiv. sæculi'; Sw. p. 149 '(xiv.)'; Lagarde, *Genesis græce*, 'sæculi xv. a me non collatus, sed inspectus tantum'; H. Achelis, 'Hippolytstudien' in *TU*, N. F. i. 4, p. 97, places it in the 16th cent.], and with 83, a Pentateuch at Lisbon (formerly Evora) 'of the 16th cent.' Both will turn out to be copied from the Aldine edition of 1518.

See on the cursives the list of Sw. pp. 148–168, and note that 25 is at Munich in the 'Staats- (not Stadt-) bibliothek'; 53 agrees in Numbers frequently with the Old Latin Codex Lugdunensis; 130 is by Lagarde called t, and ascribed to the 13th '*ut vid.*', Sw. '(? xi.)'; 93 in 3 columns, with 2 texts for Esther; facsimile in Kenyon, pl. viii.; 155 'Cod. Meermanni ii.' is now Bodl. misc. Gr. 204; 156 the only Greek MS containing in Ps 95 (96)^{10} the addition *a ligno*, in the form *ἀπὸ τῷ ξύλῳ*.

(—) A Psalter not mentioned by Sw. is in the Brit. Museum, Add. MS 19,352 A.D. 1066, valuable not only as a dated example of Greek writing of the 11th cent., but especially as an example of the best style of Byzantine decorative art, applied to the ornamentation of copies of the Scriptures [see Kenyon, *Facsimiles*, pl. vii., where Jesus Christ is enthroned between two cherubim (or rather seraphim) as illustration of Ps 79 (80)^{2}].

On the *Lectionaries*, which must be classed among the MSS, see Sw. p. 168 f. Their value would be increased if the Lectionary-system of the Greek Church is as old as has been contended for recently by C. R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes*, i. (1901), p. 327 ff.

In spite of the great mass of witnesses thus used for the great work of Holmes-Parsons and later editions, their classification is still a problem, even in a book like that of Judges, where the differences are most marked. Compare the judgment of G. Moore (*SBOT*, 'Judges,' p. 22): 'A complete *stemma* exhibiting the filiation of these MSS and recensions cannot be made from the collations in HP'; we may even doubt the correctness of the remark added by Moore: 'it would be comparatively easy if we possessed a few accurate collations of typical MSS properly arranged.'

Perhaps a good step towards this end would be to arrange complete lists of the singular and subsingular readings of our oldest witnesses, as ABS, especially for B, because this MS serves as standard for the collations of the larger Cambridge Septuagint.

Another fact worth mentioning in this connexion is, that every new witness, in spite of the great number of MSS already collated and the still greater number of variations extracted from them, adds a new reading, even for the Psalms, for which some 120 MSS have been used for HP. See, for instance, the spelling *πρόσσχες* instead of *πρόσχες* first making its appearance in Kenyon, *Facsimiles*, plate v. Ps 79 $(80)^2$.

(2) (3) The same is the case with the *Versions* and *Quotations*. On these see above, §§ iv. and vi. As but few of the Greek Fathers are accessible in trustworthy editions, a large field waits here for patient and careful workers. But, even before these *minutiæ* be settled, 𝕲 can and must be used for that purpose for which it is of the greatest importance, namely the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible.

vii. USE OF 𝕲.[*]—The remark of Swete has already been quoted—that 𝕲 possesses a new and *increasing* importance in the field of biblical study (p. 437^b n.†). Its value as a witness to the Hebrew text was recognized partially in the time of Origen and Jerome, and afresh in the days of the Renaissance and onwards from the 17th cent.; but it can be fully acknowledged only by those who adopt the views maintained chiefly by Olshausen, Lagarde, and their followers, that all existing MSS of the Hebrew OT go back to a single official copy or recension, made up somewhere in Palestine, perhaps at Jamnia, about the 2nd cent. after Christ. To quote only one statement. G. Moore (*SBOT*, 'Judges,' p. 23) writes—

> 'The other Ancient Versions [except 𝔊]—the Latin of St. Jerome in its Vulgate form (ℑ), the Syriac (𝔖), and the Jewish Targum (𝔗) are all based on the *Palestinian Hebrew Standard Text of the 2nd cent.* A.D., as are also the new Greek translations of 'ΑΣΘ, and the revisions of 𝔊 after these, and in the main the translation found [for Judges] in $𝔊^{BVBmN}$ [*i.e.* B and its allies]. *The pre-hexaplaric 𝔊 alone represents a Hebrew text older than the official revision made in the school of R. Aqiba.*'

In other words, 𝕲 represents for us (1) the exegetical tradition, or at least the exegetical opinions of a Jewish school, or—if that name asserts too much—of individual scholars more than 2000 years before our time; it is the oldest commentary on the Hebrew Bible in existence; (2) when re-translated into Hebrew—with the necessary precautions, of course—it represents for us the Hebrew MS (or MSS) lying before its authors, which is 1000 years older than the oldest MS at present at our disposal, and 300 years older than the one to which all of our Hebrew MSS go back.

In the first instance, it is sufficient to recall the great number of *hapax legomena* which occur in the limited range of Old Hebrew literature. In the second place, we learn first that the palæographical character of the pre-Massoretic MSS was very different from ours: few *matres lectionis*, no vowels, no *litteræ finales*, no separation of words, so that even in liturgical books there was uncertainty about those points (cf. Ps 105 $(106)^7$ *ἀναβαίνοντες*=עֹלִים for עָלִים); perhaps abbreviation strokes for ה, ם, ת; see Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, i. 21; Fel. Perles, *Analekten* (1895, pp. 4–35).

The second fact that comes to light from a comparison of 𝕲 and 𝕸 is, that there is a great difference between particular books or sets of books in the OT. This arises partly from the circumstance that all the books are not due to the same translators, but still more from the different character of the text lying before them. That Isaiah, for instance, found an interpreter not worthy of this book, was remarked long ago by Zwingli; the translator of Job, says Swete, p. 316, was perhaps more familiar with Greek pagan literature than with Semitic poetry; where the grandson of Jesus Sirach made his mistakes, we can judge better now than before. But more important is the fact that already the Hebrew texts used by the translators differed in varying degrees from the Massoretic text.

The differences between 𝕲 and 𝕸 can be tabulated as touching the sequence or the subject-matter. The differences of the subject-matter are, of course, of greater interest; they are of a threefold character—additions, omissions, variations.

On the differences of sequence see Sw. pp. 231–242. There are unimportant differences in Gn 31. 36. 47, Ex 20 (order of commandments); Nu 1. 6. 26, Jos 9. 19 (vol. ii. p. 782); great differences in Ex 35–40, 3 Regn. 4. 5. 6. 7. 10. 11, Pr 15. 20. 24, Jer 25–41. On Ex. see vol. i. p. 810 f.; on Kings, ii. 862 ff.; on Prov., Sw. p. 241; on Jer., vol. iii. p. 573 f.).[*] Very awkward is the different numbering of the Psalms.

On the difference in the subject-matter see Sw. 242 ff. If we were to have a complete edition of Origen's Hexapla with its critical signs, it would be convenient to see at a glance the omissions and additions.

The Law offers the smallest number of differences; but besides some famous additions, as Gn 4^8 *διέλθωμεν εἰς τὸ πεδίον*, the second *Καινάν* (who has been erased in Cod. A 10^{22}) $10^{22.\,24}$ $11^{12.\,13}$ (1 Ch $1^{17\text{-}23}$ A)—his addition, in connexion with other variations, made the whole chronology of the world different, see vol. i. p. 397 ff.; Oikonomos, iii. 703–835—there are smaller additions of interest, as 8 sons of Japheth for 7 in Gn 10; 11 nations for 10 in Gn $15^{19.\,20}$ (the addition of the *Εὐαῖοι*, either overlooked by Origen or wanting in his copy); 5 sons of Dedan for 3 in 25^3; 13 heinous offences for 12 in Dt 27 (on v.^8 see Grinfield, *Apology*, pp. xii, 191).

On Joshua, which does not seem to have been translated together with the Pentateuch, see vol. ii. p. 781 ff., and Bennett (*SBOT*). On the word *γαῖσος*—or *γαισός*; this is the accentuation of B^b—Oikonomos, ii. 495 ff., 551, has 40 pages.

For Judges, *e.g.* $16^{13.\,14}$, it is sufficient to refer to G. Moore.

The chapters 1 Regn. (Samuel) 17. 18 furnish a good example of how much difference of opinion still prevails. What Kuenen and Wellhausen call a harmonistic omission on the part of 𝕲, is considered by others as a later interpolation in 𝕸.

That 𝕲 preserved in 3 Regn. (1 K) $8^{12.\,53}$ a quotation from the Book of Jashar (see vol. ii. p. 551), and, with it, what Kittel (*Handkom.*) styles the *oldest* more explicit confession of Jahweh in Israel, should alone be sufficient to prove its importance.

For the Book of Psalms even cursive MSS of 𝕲 enrich our knowledge about the liturgical use of the Psalms (see Sw. 250); in the alphabetic psalm 145 the missing letter נ is restored, perhaps only by conjecture. The addition to Ps 13^3 quoted in Ro 3^{13-18} is omitted by A and 95 cursives out of 105. Already Jerome declared the codices of 𝔊 which contain it, to be interpolated from Ro 3. If this be so, the agreement of ℵB, on which for the NT Westcott-Hort laid so much stress, is of no great value at least for the Psalms; * on the other hand, it is to the credit of these MSS if they have preserved a text similar to that in the hands of St. Paul.—On Ps 151 see Oikonomos, iii. 634 f.; on the ecclesiastical Canticles and the Prayer of Manasses among them, Nestle, *Sst.* iii. 6 ff.; and note that this piece has not been utilized for the Greek Concordances of Trommius and Hatch-Redpath (cf. ἀνεξιχνίαστος, ἀνυπόστατος, ἄστεκτος).

---

[*] Cf. for the following, Sw. ch. v. 'The Septuagint as a Version,' pp. 314-341.

[*] B. Pick in *The* (Americ.) *Independent* (1897, p. 1273) writes on Cornill's edition of Jeremiah (in *SBOT*): 'If I have counted right, no less than 1821 words have thus been eliminated from the text; and it is surprising that none of these relegated passages concern any of the quotations from Jer. in the NT.'

On Proverbs Lagarde's early book of 1863 is still useful.

Whether the shorter form of Job, in which, according to Jerome's reckoning, 'septingenti ferme aut octingenti versus desunt,' preserved a primitive form, or is, on the contrary, the effect of abbreviation, see vol. ii. p. 164; and correct there the statement from Origen, that sometimes 16 or 19 verses were missing, into 14 or 15 (*Expository Times*, x. 523; Sw. 255).

On Esther see vol. ii. p. 774; the Greek of the book reminds one of 2 Mac. (cf. τρισαλιτήριος); on Jeremiah see ii. 572; and cf. i. 252 as to the identity of language in Jer. and Baruch, which book in all MSS of 𝔊 is immediately connected with Jer. and Lamentations. On the heading of the latter see vol. iii. p. 22. On Daniel see i. 557. Dn 11^{30} is the only passage where the name of the Ῥωμαῖοι occurs in a translation from the Hebrew (for כִּתִּים as in 𝔗 $^{\text{Onk}}$ Nu 24^{22}). The affinity of the Greek of this book with that of 1 Esdras has been justly pointed out in i. 761.

In Jeremiah, Esther, and Daniel 𝔊 offers considerable passages not to be found in 𝔐; but in addition to these 𝔊 has preserved whole books, some of them of the highest historical or theological interest, which are not to be found in the Hebrew Canon, partly because they were originally written in Greek, partly for unknown reasons. The number of these books varies greatly in the still existing documents; of others only the titles have survived; a certain number remained known through the medium of the mediæval Bible as 'Apocrypha' even in the Protestant Churches. On these see art. APOCRYPHA, vol. i. p. 111 ff., and the special articles, as BARUCH, i. 251; † BEL AND THE DRAGON, 276; ESDRAS, FIRST AND SECOND, 757, 763; ‡ JEREMY, EPISTLE OF, vol. ii. p. 578; JUDITH, 822; MACCABEES, BOOKS OF (i.–v.), vol. iii. p. 187; MANASSES, PRAYER OF, 232; further, SIRACH, THREE CHILDREN (SONG OF THE), SUSANNA, WISDOM OF SOLOMON.

That the collection of these books, though it is transmitted to us almost exclusively through the Church, began to form itself in pre-Christian times, is clear from the contents (see vol. i. 117, iii. 35). A trace that 𝔊 differed from 𝔐 in its order and extent may be found in Josephus; for he uses not only the Greek Esdras and the Additions to Esther, but follows also the order of 𝔊 (not 𝔐) when he counts 5 books of Moses, 13 Prophetical and 4 Poetical books, placing, apparently, Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah, Esther (from the Hagiographa) after Kings (see Strack, 'Kanon des AT,' in *PRE*^{3} ix. 752).

On some lists of other Apocryphal books see Sw. p. 281; the Catalogue of the Sixty Books begins after the canonical and so-called 'apocryphal' books (the two Wisdoms, etc.): Καὶ ὅσα ἀπόκρυφα· Ἀδάμ, Ἐνώχ, Λάμεχ, Πατριάρχαι, Προσευχὴ Ἰωσήφ, Ἐλδάδ, Διαθήκη Μωυσέως, Ἀνάληψις M. etc. It is an interesting question, whether a trace of this apocryphal tradition is not to be found already in Sirach (49^{14-16}). For, after he has gone through the whole literature of the OT down to Zorobabel and Nehemias, he suddenly returns to Enoch, Joseph, Shem, Seth, and Adam.

In an appendix to the Cambridge Septuagint at least two of these books have found a place—the *Psalms of Solomon* (the apparatus being much enlarged in the 2nd ed. (iii. 765 ff.)) and the Greek fragments of the Book of Enoch (for the first time added in the 2nd ed. (iii. 789 ff.)). On the Psalms of Solomon cf. the German translation of Kittel in Kautzsch, *Die Pseudepigraphen*, 127–148; on Enoch, the new Berlin edition, *Das Buch Henoch*, herausgegeben von Dr. Joh. Flemming und Dr. L. Radermacher, 1901. Much to be welcomed would be a collection of the OT apocrypha as sketched by Sw. p. 285, including amongst other remains the *Rest of the Words of Baruch*, the *Apocalypse of Baruch*, the *Testament of Abraham*, parts of the *Oracula Sibyllina*, the *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs*, the Latin *Ascension of Isaiah* (with the new Greek Fragments published by Grenfell-Hunt in *The Amherst Papyri*, part i. 1900; see on it F. C. Burkitt, *The Classical Review*, xiv. 457–459); perhaps also the Latin versions of *4 Esdras*, *Assumption of Moses*, *Book of Jubilees*.

All these additions and omissions cover but the smaller part of the differences between 𝔐 and 𝔊; far more numerous are the *variations* in the proper sense of the word, the passages where 𝔊 offers a reading different from 𝔐. On this point cf. Sw. part ii. ch. v. 'The Septuagint as a Version,' and part iii. ch. iv. 'The Greek Versions as aids to Biblical Study.' A thorough, accurate, and cautious comparison between 𝔐 and 𝔊 will exhibit these variations. The comparison must be cautious, else there is the risk of stating variations where there are none, and it must be accurate and thorough, else real variations might be overlooked. In the first place, care must be taken to eliminate as much as possible from 𝔊 all intra-Greek corruptions, *i.e.* clerical errors, that sprang up in the course of transmission of the Greek text, and it is a mistake of many Commentaries to rest content to take the text of the small Cambridge Septuagint as the standard, as former scholars used to acquiesce in that of the Sixtina. Take as example the latest German Commentary on *Genesis*, that of Gunkel (Göttingen, 1901), and the very first note touching the textual criticism of this book. It concerns the use of the Divine names in ch. 2, and runs: 'יהוה אלהים is found in Genesis in Hebrew only in chs. 2. 3 (LXX, differing from the Hebrew, has in $2^{5.\,7.\,9.\,10.\,21}$ ὁ θεός).' Now, this is true of the Codex Alexandrinus: if Gunkel had used the editio Sixtina, he would have had to add vv.$^{8.\,22}$; and if we are still more circumspect, as commentators ought to be, and resort to Philo, Field's *Hexapla*, the collations of

---

* Swete's statement, that Origen marked the passage with an obelus, lacks reliable testimony; the words of Jerome are curious: 'in hebraico non haberi *nec esse in septuaginta interpretibus*, sed in editione vulgata, quæ græce κοινη dicitur et in toto orbe diversa est.' The words in italics are omitted in Field's quotation from ed. Vall. iv. 668.

† The puzzling fact that on the margin of the Syro-Hexaplaric text of Baruch there are 3 notes stating that certain words in 1^{17} 2^3 are not found in the Hebrew, which has been quoted for a Hebrew origin of this part of the book (i. 252; Sw. 275, n. 3, from Bevan in *Encyc. Bibl.* i. 494), is in contradiction to the remark at the head of the book, that the whole was obelized by Origen, and finds a very simple solution. For these notes do not refer to the text of Baruch, but of the Hebrew OT quoted by Baruch 2^3 from Dt 28^{53}. Origen called attention to the fact that the generalizing 'every man' ἄνθρωπον in Bar 2^3 has no אִישׁ אִישׁ to correspond in Dt 28^{53}. Thus these notes are a token of the great care which Origen bestowed on his Hexapla.

‡ On the statement of Sw. p. 265, and Thackeray (*DB*, vol. i. p. 758), that Cod. A entitles both books ἱερεύς, cf. Nestle, *Marginalien* (1893), p. 28 f., where it is shown that this is merely due to the knife of the English bookbinder, who cut away in both cases the first line of the title Εζρας (or Εσζρας) α', β'.

Holmes, the versions as witnesses for 𝔊, we must add further v.^{4}; *i.e.* not 5 times, but 8 times, 𝔊 omits יהוה in this chapter, and has it only twice (vv.$^{15.\,16}$).* The second care must be to observe the practice of these translators; cf. Sw. p. 325: 'The Alexandrian translators, while loyal to their original, sometimes even to a fault, manifest nothing like the slavish adherence to the letter with which Aquila has been charged. They often amplify and occasionally omit; they render the same Hebrew words by more than one Greek equivalent, even in the same context; they introduce metaphors or grammatical constructions which have no place in the Hebrew text, and probably at no time had a place there, or they abandon figures of speech where they exist in the original.' There is no mention here of the fact especially urged by Frankel, that the translators followed some sort of exegetical tradition (L. Frankel, *Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta*, 1841; *Ueber den Einfluss der palästinischen Exegese auf die alexandrinische Hermeneutik*, 1851). We must further bear in mind that the translators were accustomed to the Aramaic speech rather than to the Hebrew. To the examples quoted by Sw. p. 319, add, for instance, Ps 59 (60)^{8} רחץ = ἐλπίς, 140 (141)^{5} רְעוֹתֵיהֶם = εὐδοκίαις αὐτῶν. Already Jerome remarked on this word in Ec 1^{14} רעות = προαίρεσις: 'non hebraicum sermonem expresserunt, sed *syrum*.' On meanings attached to Hebrew roots known to us only from Arabic see Sw. p. 498, Ps 83 (84)^{7} δώσει, Dn 7^{22} (LXX) ἐδόθη = √עטה.

A glance into modern commentaries or the 'Critical Notes' after the Hebrew text in *SBOT* will show the importance of 𝔊 in this direction. No conscientious commentator on the Hebrew OT can dispense with constant reference to 𝔊. We quote some examples from the first chapter of some books in *SBOT*—

In Gn 1 Ball replaces מָקוֹם by מִקְוֶה = συναγωγήν; but he, too, has overlooked the interesting variant in v.^{16} (like all commentaries [to our knowledge, Dillmann, Spurrell, Holzinger, Gunkel], except T. G. Meintel, *Critische Polyglotten-Conferenzen über das erste Buch Mose*, 1796; a work of praiseworthy industry), 𝔐 giving the sing. מֶמְשֶׁלֶת, 𝔊 the pl. ἀρχάς, *i.e.* מַמְשְׁלֹת, the latter being confirmed by Ps 135 (136)^{8}, where 𝔐 has the plural, 𝔊 ἐξουσίαν the singular. The same difference occurs 2^{2} (𝔊 'his works'); and that this is not unintentional, is shown by the Targum Jonathan, which understands the passage of those 10 wondrous works which God is said by rabbinical wit to have created.

In Lv 1 Driver receives readings of 𝔊 into the text in vv.$^{2.\,7.\,8.\,16}$; in Nu 1 Paterson in v.^{14} רעואל for דעואל, 𝔐. For Jos 1 it is sufficient to quote Bennett's remark on v.^{2}: 'In this and other cases glosses, etc., not found in 𝔊 are probably glosses later than the MS from which 𝔊 was translated, and therefore better treated as variations of the text.'

A remark on *Judges* by Moore has already been quoted; in 1^{16} he reads העמלקי for העם; one witness of 𝔊 and the Coptic offering the *doublet* μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ Ἀμαλήκ. The original reading, the simple Amalec, has been found since, for the first time, in the Latin Lugdunensis, published by U. Robert.

On Samuel, after what has been done by Thenius, Wellhausen, Driver, Klostermann, Budde, H. P. Smith, any word is superfluous; but the question may be asked, whether one would have found, *e.g.*, in 1 S 1^{24} the true reading בְּפַר מְשֻׁלָּשׁ for בְּפָרִים שְׁלֹשָׁה by mere conjecture without the help of the versions (ἐν μόσχῳ τριετίζοντι). And if we had hit on it in this way, we should not have had the same confidence in its truth as we have now, when it is attested by the oldest witness attainable.

As far as we have seen, *in every part of the SBOT* that has appeared as yet, one or more *readings from* 𝔊 *have been received into the text in the first chapter* by such different scholars as Cornill, Toy, Wellhausen, Siegfried, Kamphausen, Guthe, Kittel. But how much remains to be done may be illustrated by two examples from 1 Ch 1. On v.^{5} Kittel remarks: '𝔊 + Ελισα; it has crept in *by error from* v.^{7} after יון (cf. 𝔊^{L}),' overlooking the fact that 𝔊 has '*Elisa*' among the sons of Japheth already in Gn 10^{2}. Again, in v.^{32} Kittel omits to mention the additional names Raguel and Nabdeel, offered by many witnesses, just as in Genesis. *If carefully compared with* 𝔐, 𝔊 *turns out to be the most valuable aid for the explanation of the Hebrew Bible.*

But 𝔊 is not less indispensable to the *study of the NT*: see on this point Sw. pp. 450–457; Pearson's judgment (at the head of this article); Thayer's art. LANGUAGE OF THE NT, vol. iii. p. 40. To quote only one example: ἀγαπητός and μονογενής both correspond in 𝔊 to Heb. יָחִיד; the one occurs in the Synoptic Gospels, the other in John.

Nor can the student of *Ecclesiastical Literature* succeed without familiarity with 𝔊 (see Sw. pt. iii. ch. v. 'Influence of the LXX on Christian Literature,' p. 461 ff.). The doctrinal as well as the devotional writings are full of its influence. Take a book like Brightman's *Liturgies, Eastern and Western*, where the quotations are printed in black type, or an edition like that of the *Apostolic Constitutions* by Lagarde, which gives at the foot of the text the references to the biblical passages; the index of the latter shows more quotations from the OT than from the NT.

Even many works of *Christian art* cannot be understood without recourse to 𝔊. Cf. D. Kaufmann, 'Errors in the Septuagint and the Vulgate from which Illustrations and Sculptures derived their origin' (*JQR* xi. 163–166). If we speak of the firmament, we do so because 𝔊 used στερέωμα, considering the heavens as frozen water.

One side of the importance of 𝔊, which Pearson was not yet able to appreciate, lies in the value it has for *Semitic philology*, apart from the exegesis of the OT. The system of Hebrew vocalization is an invention of about the 7th cent. A.D.; how the words were pronounced in the time of Christ, or Isaiah, or king Mesha,—𝔊 calls him Μωσα, see vol. iii. p. 349,—or David, or Moses, we do not know. Our oldest witness is again the transliteration of proper names and other words in 𝔊. Whether nouns of the form מֶלֶךְ *melek* were still heard as monosyllables (*malk*), can be ascertained by the help of 𝔊. To have pointed out this importance of 𝔊 is one of the merits of Lagarde (*Uebersicht*, etc.); the Supplement to the Concordance of Hatch-Redpath (Fasc. i., containing a Concordance to the Proper Names occurring in the Septuagint, 1900) helps much to facilitate studies in this direction. These transliterations have, *vice versâ*, their bearing on the question of *Greek* pronunciation; see some remarks in this direction by Kittel (*SBOT*, 'Chronicles,' p. 52 f.) and Macke, *Erasmus oder Reuchlin* (Siegburg, Progr. 1900).

On the place which 𝔊 occupies in the *history of the Greek Language*, philologists now judge much more favourably than twenty years ago; cf. ch. iv. in Sw. 289–314, 'the Greek of the Septuagint,' and add to the literature quoted there, p. 314, a reference to Iv. Korsunskie, *Perevod LXX* (Moskoa, 1878, 704 pp.), in Russian: *The version of the Septuagint and its importance in the history of Greek Language and Literature*; further, Thayer's art. LANGUAGE OF THE NT, vol. iii. p. 36 ff.; and Paul Kretschmer, 'Die Entstehung der Koine' (*Sitzungsb. d. Wiener Ak., phil. hist. Kl.*, vol. 143, and separately, 1900); Albert Thumb, *Die griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus: Beiträge zur Geschichte und Beurtheilung der* Κοινή, Strassburg, 1901 (cf. Ed. Schwyzer in *Neue Jahrb.* 1901, p. 233 ff.); Oikonomos, ii. 914 ff.; Grinfield, 146; H. A. A. Kennedy, 'Recent Research in the Language of the NT' (*Expos. Times*, xii. 341, 455, 557); J. H. Moulton (*ib.* p. 362 in the notice of G. A. Deissmann, *Bible Studies; Authorized Tr. by Alexander Grieve*; Edinburgh, Clark, 1901 *).

---

* Even in v.^{15} it is omitted by a few witnesses (Cod. 37, Ambrosius), but Augustine testifies to it, saying expressly: 'Nullo modo vacare arbitror . . . quod ab ipso divini libri huius exordio . . . usque ad hunc locum, nusquam positum est Dominus Deus, sed tantummodo Deus: nunc vero ubi ad id ventum est . . . ita Scriptura locuta est: Et sumpsit Dominus Deus.'

* Interesting are the philological remarks of Origen (new ed.), ii. 367, τίς γάρ ποτε Ἑλλήνων ἐχρήσατο τῇ ἐνωτίζου προσηγορίᾳ . .

If the use and importance of 𝔊 are such even in the unsatisfactory condition in which it lies at present before us, how much more will these be acknowledged when we have a better edition of it. In such an edition, also, the accessory matter will demand due attention, the capitulation, lections, etc. (see Sw. pp. 342–366, 'Text-divisions: *Stichi*, Chapters, Lections, *Catenæ*').

(*a*) In careful MSS of the classics (as in those of Demosthenes, Herodotus) the lines have been counted by hundreds or by fifties, and their total stated at the end, because the copyists were paid according to their number, the normal line or *στίχος* being the Homeric hexameter of 16 syllables or 37 to 38 letters on an average.* This has been introduced into Bible MSS. One of the copyists of B, for instance, preserved on the margins the numbers from the MS which he copied; so did Paul of Tella from the copy which he translated (616) into Syriac. Afterwards the numbers were gathered into stichometrical lists; the most important of those lists are that in the Codex Claromontanus, the one first published by Mommsen, and that of Nicephorus; see Sanday, *Studia Biblica*, iii. 266; Sw. 346; Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, 1893, pp. 316–327, 363; C. H. Turner in *JThSt*, ii. (Jan. 1901) 236. For books like Sirach and Job (with asterisks, 2200; without, 1600 *stichi*) these lists are especially valuable.

(*b*) Jerome introduced into his Latin Bible the custom of writing the text according to *sense-lines*, *κῶλα* or *κόμματα*, 'quod in Demosthene et Tullio solet fieri'; the same was done for the Greek *Dodekapropheton* by Hesychius of Jerusalem, who at the same time divided the text into chapters.

(*c*) Such a *capitulation* is found already in some of our oldest MSS, as ABS; for several books B gives even a double capitulation, dividing, for instance, Proverbs into 61 and 16, Eccles. into 25 and 7, Canticles into 40 and 5 chapters. Likewise the Syriac *Hexapla* (apparently from the copy from which it was taken) has in Joshua 52 and 11, Judges 65 and 7, 3 Regn. 105 and 18 chapters. In the same version and several Greek MSS summaries, *τίτλοι* or *κεφάλαια*, are added, and lists of them prefixed to the books (Sw. p. 354). The 'Synopsis' ascribed to Chrysostom is, to a large extent, nothing but a collection of such *κεφάλαια*. The 88 chapters into which Hesychius divided Isaiah have heen published lately by M. Faulhaber (*Hesychii Hierosolymitani Interpretatio Isaiæ prophetæ*, Friburgi, 1900). These capitulations may become important hints for the classification of MSS. In Canticles the summaries assume the character of stage directions; see Er. Klostermann, 'Eine alte Rollenverteilung zum Hohenliede' (*ZATW* xix. (1899) 158–162, from Cod. V).

(*d*) The beginning and the end of the Lessons, which were read in Church already in the times of Origen and still earlier, were marked with *ἀρχή* and *τέλος*, the occasion sometimes being added on which the lesson was read (Sw. p. 356). An early specimen was the copy from which Paul of Tella made his version.

On the division of the Psalter into 20 *καθίσματα* see Sw. p. 359, or any printed Greek Church-Psalter.

Interesting is the different numbering of the Commandments of the Decalogue in AB (see Sw. p. 365), and the division of the Book of the Covenant (Ex 20–23) into 77 sections in the Codex Zittaviensis (H. A. Redpath in *Expos. Times*, viii. 383).

All these particulars must be attended to in a future edition, somewhat in the same way as in the edition of Jerome's Latin NT published by Wordsworth-White; but the chief difficulty is about the constitution of the text. For some books, as Judges, Esther, Tobit, it will be indispensable to give parallel texts. In the closing chapter of his *Introduction* Swete has sketched some of the lines on which a future edition must be prepared. But before this great work can be finished, and for the benefit of all who cannot afford to procure it, it seems desirable to put together, either on the outer margins of the minor edition or in an *Appendix*, those emendations of the errors of B which are certain or all but certain. Still better would be a *Commentary* on 𝔊, which is as urgently needed as a *Grammar* and a *Lexicon*.†

Appendix: The later Gr. Versions.—The question whether 𝔊 was used also in Palestine in the synagogues, has been answered affirmatively and negatively. At all events after 𝔊 had passed into the hands of the Church, and an official Heb. text, different from the old one, had received the approbation of the Rabbis, attempts were made among the Jews at new translations. From Justin we learn that the Jews declared 𝔊 to be wrong in some details (*μὴ εἶναι ἔν τισιν ἀληθῆ*), and that they tried new translations (*αὐτοὶ ἐξηγεῖσθαι πειρῶνται*). Irenæus mentions two who *dared* such a thing in his time (*ὡς ἔνιοί φασιν τῶν μεθερμηνεύειν τολμώντων τὰς γραφάς*)—Theodotion of Ephesus and Aquila of Pontus, both Jewish proselytes. Origen was so zealous as to procure both these translations and, in addition, that of Symmachus and parts of three more. With those materials he composed his Hexapla (see above). And all that we knew till quite recently of these translations—apart from a few Talmudic translations from Aquila—we owed to Origen. It was only in 1897 that the first fragments of a separate copy of Aquila were found among the palimpsests of the Taylor-Schechter collection; but even those may go back to the library of Origen. For brevity's sake we must refer to Sw. pp. 29–58.

(1) The version of Aquila, according to one tradition *πενθερίδης* or *πενθερός* of the emperor Hadrian, superintendent of the building of Ælia Capitolina, won for Christianity, but finally pupil of R. 'Aḳiba, is the most literal imaginable. By the emperor Justinian it was ordered that no other was to be used in the Jewish synagogues. It is therefore possible that the copy of which fragments were found among the Hebrew-Greek palimpsests from Cairo, and which is ascribed to the 6th cent., may have been a synagogue copy. But as it has been used for Jewish purposes apparently by the same time and hand which turned the fragments of Origen's Hexapla to the same use, both Greek MSS may have come from the same quarter; and of the Hexapla it is the more probable that it came from Christian hands, because fragments of Greek MSS of the NT were found along with them. See, besides the publication of Burkitt, Taylor's new book mentioned above. On plates iii–viii it contains portions of Ps 90–92. 96–98. 102. 103. Another small but interesting fragment of Aquila (mentioned by Sw. p. 170, postscript) has been published by Grenfell-Hunt in *The Amherst Papyri*, part i. (Lond. 1900, pp. 30, 31). On the top of a letter from Rome, written probably between 250 and 285 A.D., an uncial hand of the late 3rd or, more probably, early 4th cent. has written part of the first verse of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and a more cursive hand, apparently about the time of Constantine, the first 5 verses of Genesis in 𝔊, followed by the version of Aquila. These two biblical fragments may therefore claim 'to be amongst the earliest known, and the Genesis fragment is the oldest authority for the first 5 verses.' In the Aquila fragment the beginning of v.^{4} and the end of v.^{5} are here recorded for the first time.

The Hebrew text which was translated by Aquila agrees very closely with 𝔐; but it is interesting to observe that, of his few variations, some at least have the support of still existing Hebrew MSS. The tetragrammaton יהוה is written in the old Hebrew letters. The version seems to have covered the whole of the Hebrew canon.

ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰς τὰ ὦτα δέξαι; iii. 159, *ἐοίκασιν οἱ ἀπὸ Ἑβραϊσμοῦ ἑρμηνεύσαντες μὴ εὑρόντες τὴν λέξιν κειμένην παρ' Ἕλλησιν ἀναπεπλακέναι ὡς ἐπ' ἄλλων πολλῶν καὶ ταύτην καὶ πεποιηκέναι τὴν ἐτροποφόρησεν.* But this very word is found in Cicero, *ad Attic.* xiii. 29.

* By a happy fortune the lines in the Greek NT of the Würtemberg Bible Society at Stuttgart agree as closely as possible with the length of the ancient *στίχοι*; see Nestle, *Introduction*, p. 49.

† Take some examples at haphazard. In 3 Regn. 18^{10} all texts (MSS, etc.) give *καὶ ἐνέπρησεν τὴν βασιλείαν* ('and he *burnt* the kingdom'); 𝔐 has והשׁביע ('he took an oath of the kingdom'). This is correct; the translator mistook it for והשׂביע ('and he *satisfied*,' *ἐνέπλησε*). Again, we have in 19^{11} *ἐν πνεύματι κυρίου* for *οὐκ ἐν πν. κύριος*, the latter (*κύριος*) being read in A. A commentary would have further the task of calling attention to the interpunction; cf. Ps 44 (45)^7, where it is a question whether there must be a comma before and after *ὁ θεός*, or in v.^{8} after *ἔχρισέν σε*, or in Is 61^1 after *ἔχρισέν με* and *ἀπέσταλκέν με*. In Is 71^6 *ἀπειθεῖ* is in the Concordance of Hatch-Redpath referred to *ἀπειθής*, while it is a verb, etc.

Strange is the statement of Origen on *Lamentations* (new edition, iii. 256): Ἔκδοσις δὲ Ἀκύλα καὶ Θεοδοτίωνος ἐν τοῖς θρήνοις οὐ φέρεται, μόνου δὲ Συμμάχου καὶ τῶν Ἑβδομήκοντα, especially when we compare the same author's remark on 4^{20} (p. 276): ὁ δὲ Ἀκύλας ἔφη πνεῦμα μυκτήρων ἡμῶν, Σύμμαχος δὲ πνοὴ μ. ἡ. (see Field, ii, 743 ff.).

(2) **Theodotion's** work—on his date see Sw. p. 42 f., and Th. Zahn, *PRE*^{3} ix. 403 (on Irenæus)—was rather a revision of 𝔊 than an independent version, the revision being made on the whole upon the basis of 𝔐. For a specimen of it see Jer 40^{14-26} and the Bk. of Daniel, where it replaced the original 𝔊; see S. R. Driver, *The Book of Daniel*, in the Cambridge Bible for Schools, 1900, pp. xviii, xcviii–c. The statement that his version seems to have included Baruch (*Dict. Chr. Biog.* iv. 44; Sw. p. 44, etc.) is to be corrected after the explanation given above, p. 450, note †. Cf. on Theodotion (whose name has the same meaning as that of the Targumist Jonathan), Rahlfs in *GGN*, 1898, p. 109.

(3) The works of **Symmachus**, including a Commentary on St. Matthew,* Origen got from a Christian woman, Juliana,† who had received them from the author himself. If Aquila is the most important of the three because of his literalness, Symm. is in many respects the most interesting for his attempt to produce good Greek and for many of his interpretations; cf. Gn 1^{27} ἔκτισεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐν εἰκόνι διαφόρῳ· ὄρθιον [ὁ θεὸς] ἔκτισεν αὐτόν with 1 S 28^{14} (Nestle, *Marginalien*, p. 3).

(4) Besides these versions of the whole of the OT, Origen had at his disposal for single books two or three other versions, which from their place in the Hexapla got the designations *Quinta* (ε′ πέμπτη), *Sexta* (ϛ′ ἕκτη), *Septima* (ζ′ ἑβδόμη). As to whence and when he obtained them, tradition varies (see Sw. p. 53 ff.): one at Nicopolis near Actium, the other at Jericho; one under Caracalla, the other under Alexander Severus. One at least is reported to have been found ἐν πίθοις; from this and from the expression of Eusebius, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅθεν ἔκ τινων μυχῶν τὸν πάλαι λανθανούσας χρόνον εἰς φῶς ἀνιχνεύσας, it has been concluded that they were, perhaps, hidden during a time of persecution, and that the one found at Nicopolis may have been a relic of the early Christianity of Epirus (see Sw. p. 55, quoting from Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, p. 432). But πίθοι—see Sw. p. 53, n. 2—are mentioned elsewhere, as used for preserving books instead of *cistæ* or *capsæ*. Jerome attributes both to Jewish translators; but they seem rather to be due to Christians. The author of the *Quinta* is characterized by Field as *omnium elegantissimus*. Which of the books of the OT were preserved in them is not quite clear; in the *Quinta* at all events 4 Regn., Job, Psalms, Canticles, Minor Prophets; in the *Sexta* also Job, Psalms, Canticles, Hab 3.

A kind of version sometimes seems to be quoted as ὁ Σύρος (see SYRIAC VERSIONS) and ὁ Ἑβραῖος; but under the latter designation are to be understood Greek quotations from the Hebrew, due to such authors as were acquainted with that language.

The so-called *Græcus Venetus*, a version of part of the OT, preserved in a single MS of the 14th or 15th cent. at Venice, is interesting as the work of a mediæval Jew, perhaps a certain Elisseus at the court of Murad I. at Adrianople in the 2nd half of the 14th cent.: it attempts to give the Hebrew in Attic Greek and the Aramaic parts of Daniel in the Doric dialect, and renders יהוה by ὀντωτής, οὐσιωτής, ὀντουργός. See the edition of O. v. Gebhardt (Leipzig, 1875, with a Preface by Franz Delitzsch; Sw. p. 56).

The Greek column of the Hebrew-Chaldee-Spanish-Greek Polyglot of the Pentateuch, printed at Constantinople in Hebrew characters (1547), has been transliterated and printed separately (1897) by D. C. Hesseling, and described by Lazare Belléli (Paris, 1897, *La version néogrecque du Pentateuche Polyglotte*). It is of interest for the student of modern Greek, and so are the translations of the whole Bible or of parts of it into modern Greek; but they do not fall within the scope of the present article. Of the OT as a whole the Catalogue of the British Museum mentions but one edition in modern Greek (London, 1840, by H. D. Leeves, assisted by N. Bambas).

LITERATURE.—At the end of the article on the Greek Bible Versions (*PRE*^{3} iii. 20 = *Urt.* 80) the present writer has given a list of about 280–300 books and articles treating of these versions from 1601 up to 1897 in chronological order. Swete gives in his *Introduction*, at the end of most chapters, literary references, amounting to about 600 in number. The first list (p. 27) embraces a mere fraction of the vast literature selected for the purpose of representing the progress of knowledge since the middle of the 17th cent. It begins with the *Critica sacra of S. Cappellus*, 1651; Pearson's *Præfatio* and Ussher's *Syntagma*, 1655; the *Prolegomena* of Brian Walton, 1657. It is impossible to repeat these lists here. A few remarks must suffice. The most copious work on 𝔊 that appeared in the 19th cent. is that of Constantine Oikonomos περὶ τῶν ο′ ἑρμηνευτῶν, 4 vols., Athens, 1844, 1845, 1846, 1849, more than 3700 pages. Though it starts from wrong premises (canonical and inspired character of 𝔊), it contains much useful information; in vol. iii. 130 pages are devoted to the difference of chronology between 𝔐 and 𝔊, in the last vol. 170 pages to the quotations of the NT, 325 paragraphs to a list of the writers who used or praised 𝔊. The author may be compared to Grinfield, whose *Apology for the Septuagint* (Lond. 1850) is equally wrong in its principles, but still useful. Of Jewish books L. Frankel's *Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta* (Leipzig, 1841) and *Ueber den Einfluss der palästinischen Exegese auf die alexandrinische Hermeneutik* (1851), are not superseded. A standard work for all times remains, H. Hody, *de bibliorum textibus originalibus*, Oxf. 1705. On the views of the ancient Church, especially Jerome and Augustine, it is useful to compare P. Wendland, 'Zur ältesten Geschichte der Bibel in der Kirche' (*ZNTW* [1900] 267 ff.). On Augustine see also Joh. Haussleiter, *Der Aufbau der altchristlichen Litteratur, Eine kritische Untersuchung nebst Studien zu Cyprian, Victorinus und Augustin* (Berlin, 1898 = *GGA*, 1898, v. 337–379). Of all the scholars of the 19th cent. none has done more in this field than Paul de Lagarde (1827–1891). Of his publications which bear directly or indirectly on 𝔊, note: *Libri apocryphi syriace* 1861, *Constitutiones Apostolicæ* 1862, *Anmerkungen zur griechischen Uebersetzung der Proverbien* 1863, *Clementina* 1865 (Preface), *Pentateuch koptisch* 1867, *Materialien zum Pentateuch* 1867 (here the notice on the original copy of 𝔐), *Genesis græce* and *Hieronymi quæstiones in Gen.* 1868, *Onomastica sacra* 1870, ^{2}1887, *Psalterium Hieronymi* 1874, *Psalterium memphiticum* 1875, *Symmicta* i. and ii., *Semitica* ii. 1879, *Orientalia* ii., *Veteris testamenti ab Origene recensiti fragmenta* 1880, *Ankündigung einer neuen Ausgabe der griechischen Übersetzung* 1882, *Librorum veteris testamenti canonicorum pars prior græce* 1883 (cf. *GGA*, 1883, 1249–52), *Ægyptiaca* 1883, *Mittheilungen* i.–iv. 1884, 1887, 1889, 1891, *Probe einer neuen Ausgabe der lat. Uebersetzungen des AT* 1885, *Catenæ ægypt.* 1886, *Specimen novæ edit. psalterii græci* 1887, *SeptuagintaStudien* i.–iii., 1891, *Bibliothecæ syriacæ quæ ad philologiam sacram pertinent* 1892, *Psalterii græci quinquagena prima* 1892. Among the MSS he left there is a complete collection of the biblical quotations of Augustine (13,176 from OT and 29,540 from NT, now in the University Library of Göttingen), MS Lagarde 34, and others; see *Urt.* p. 77. No other scholar can be mentioned beside him.

Among articles in Encyclopedias add: Hoberg, 'Septuaginta' in Wetzer-Welte's *Encyklopaedie*^{2} xi. (1899) 147–159.

To Sw. p. 56 (Lit. on Hexapla) add the first attempt to collect their fragments made by J. Driesschus (= Drusius) *in psalmos Davidis veterum interpretum fragmenta*, Antw. 1581; the enlarged edition of the collection of Nobilius in the Latin translation of the *editio Sixtina* (Rome, 1588, reprinted by P. Morinus, 1624, see above, p. 440^a); Bahrdt's abridgment of Montfaucon's *Hexapla* (Lips. 1769, 2 vols.).

To Sw. p. 108 (Coptic version) add: J. Goettsberger, 'Die syro-koptischen Bibelcitate aus den Scholien des Barhebräus' (*ZATW* xxi. [1901] 128–140).

To Sw. p. 110 (Ethiopic) add: Osw. Kramer, *Die aethiopische Übersetzung des Zacharias: eine Vorstudie zur Geschichte und Kritik des Septuagintatextes*, erstes Heft, Leipzig, 1898.

---

[*] On the hope that this work was still in existence in the 16th cent. see *Urt.* p. 83. On the sect of the Symmachiani see Philastrius, *de hæres.* c. 145: 'hæretici alii qui Theodotionis et Symmachi ibidem interpretationem diverso modo sequuntur,' and the remark of the same writer, c. 115: 'est hæresis, quæ iterum post Aquilam *triginta* hominum interpretationem accipit, non illorum beatissimorum septuaginta duorum qui integre inviolateque de Trinitate sentientes ecclesiæ catholicæ fundamenta certissima tradiderunt interpretantes scripturas sacras.'

[†] The tombstone of a certain Juliana from Antioch, who died at Gerasa, has been found there by Merrill; see *RB*, 1895, 386; Schürer, *GJV*^{3} ii. 143 n., 332.

To Sw. p. 119 (Armenian) add: J. Goettsberger, 'Die syro-armenischen . . . Bibelcitate . . . des Barhebräus' (*ZATW* xxi. [1901] 101–127).

To Sw. p. 230 (Canon) add: H. L. Strack, art. 'Kanon des Alten Testamentes' (*PRE*³ ix. 741–767).

To Sw. p. 263 (Canonical Books), on Ecclesiastes, add: Dillmann. On Canticles: Wilh. Riedel, *Die Auslegung des Hohenliedes*, Leipzig, 1898, pp. 105–109, *Die Hdss. der griech. Übersetzung des HL.* On Daniel: Riessler, *Das Buch Daniel: Textkritische Untersuchung.*, Stuttgart, 1899, pp. 52–59, where the close relation between the LXX of Dan. and 1 Esdras is recognized.

To Sw. p. 285 (non-Canonical Books) add: W. J. Moulton, 'über die Überlieferung und den textkritischen Wert des dritten Ezra-Buches [*ZATW*, 1899, ii. 209 ff.; 1900, i. 1 ff.]. Judith: Willrich, 'Esther und Judith,' in *Judaica*, Göttingen, 1900, 1–39. On Tobit: M. Löhr, 'Alexandrinus und Sinaiticus zum Buche Tobit' (*ZATW* xx. [1900] 243–263). On Maccabees: B. Niese, *Kritik der beiden Makkabäerbücher*, Berlin, 1900 (reprint of two articles in *Hermes*, xxxv, 268–307, 453–527);[*] Willrich, 'Jason von Kyrene und das ii Makkabäerbuch,' in *Judaica*, pp. 131–176.

Sw. p. 380 on Philo. Note in addition to the paper mentioned (374 n. 3) from the *Philologus* the answer of Wendland-Cohn, pp. 521–536, and the rejoinder in vol. lx. pp. 274–279. On Josephus the earlier treatises of Spittler (1779) and J. G. Scharfenberg (1780) still deserve mention. Oikonomos has a chapter of 90 pages, ὅτι καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἐθνικοῖς σοφοῖς ὑπῆρχε γνωστὴ ἡ ἑρμηνεία τῶν ό, ii. 76 ff.

Sw. p. 404 (Quotations in the NT). The extent of these quotations has been estimated by Spearman in the anonymous Letter on the Septuagint (1759) as equal in length to Ps 119; by Grinfield (1850) as twice that length or the extent of Mark. The first collection seems to be in the Greek Testament of R. Stephen (1550), about 250 passages; the first treatment of these quotations in England by Bishop Wettenhall, *Scripture Authentic and Faith Certain* (1668); further, Randolph, *The Prophecies and other Texts cited in the NT*, 1782, 1827; Grinfield, p. 142. On Hühn see *Expos. Times*, May 1901, 355. Of Dittmar, *Vetus Testamentum in Novo*, a second part is in course of preparation.

Sw. p. 477 (Influence of 𝔊 on Christian Literature). See Oikonomos, vol. iv.

EB. NESTLE.

SEPULCHRE (קֶבֶר 'grave,' קְבוּרָה 'burying-place' [Mishn. כּוֹךְ, כּוֹכִים 'burial lairs *or* niches']; Gr. μνῆμα, μνημεῖον 'tomb,' 'monument,' τάφος 'sepulchre') is represented in Scripture, and particularly in OT, not only by these Hebrew and Greek equivalents, but also by words and phrases which are synonymous. It is *the pit* (בּוֹר Is 38¹⁸), *the stones of the pit* (אַבְנֵי בוֹר Is 14¹⁹), a man's *house* (בַּיִת Is 14¹⁸), his *everlasting house* (בֵּית עֹלָם Ec 12⁵), *the house of assemblage for all living* (בֵּית מוֹעֵד לְכָל חָי Job 30²³), and *field of burial* (שְׂדֵה הַקְּבוּרָה 2 Ch 26²³).

Of the terms used for the grave by the later Judaism none is more significant than *the house of the living* (בֵּית הַחַיִּים), and this is the euphemism by which the burying-place of the dead is now generally designated by modern Jews. 'We are the dead, they are the living,'[†] was the remark actually made to the present writer by an aged Rabbi in Smyrna, whose office it was to attend at the burial of his Jewish kinsmen, and see them laid to their last rest. The ancient Egyptians thought of the departed as *the living*, and called the coffin *the chest of the living*. The Egyptian conception of the grave as *the everlasting house* was not, however, inconsistent with a strongly cherished hope of resurrection. But there was no expectation among the Jews of a return to earthly life in the original body, such as prevailed among the Egyptians and led among them to the embalming and preservation of the dead. The later literature of Judaism speaks rather of a general resurrection, when the souls of the departed shall enter into new bodies and live on in them.

The terms employed to describe the grave are used often to describe the Underworld where the dead live on. The gathering-place of the departed in the world beyond is, as above, *the pit* (Is 38¹⁸), *the nether parts of the earth* (Is 44²³), *Sheol and Abaddon* (Job 26⁶, Pr 15¹¹), *the pit of destruction* (Ps 55²³), *the place of silence* (Ps 94¹⁷ 115¹⁷), *the land of darkness and of the shadow of death* (Job 10²¹). 'Hence,' says Dr. Salmond,[*]

> 'the distinction is occasionally sunk in the OT, and it became confused in the later usage of the Targums. But that *Sheol* denotes a definite realm of the dead, and is not identical with the grave, appears from the usage of the term, and is recognized by the ancient Versions. It is to Sheol that Jacob speaks of going to join the son whose death he mourns, but of whose burial he knows nothing. It is Sheol that swallows up Korah and his company alive. That a common habitation of the dead like the Suâlu of the Babylonians, the Hades of the Greeks, the Orcus of the Romans, is meant, is indicated also by the fact that the expressions to be *gathered to one's people* or to *one's fathers*, to go to *one's fathers*, to *sleep with one's fathers*, are used in cases like those of Abraham, Jacob, Aaron, Moses, David, and others, where the temporary or permanent resting-places were far removed from the ancestral graves.'

A touching illustration of the father looking forward to a meeting in another world with a departed child is David's 'I shall go to him, but he shall not return to me' (2 S 12²³). But while Sheol is thus 'the house of assemblage for all living,' it was in the sepulchre of his fathers, in the ancestral burying-place and with his departed kindred, that the ancient Israelite desired to be buried. And there can be no doubt that the wish to be reunited with parents and children in Sheol had to do with the desire to be buried in the family sepulchre. The object of burial, not merely in a grave but in the family grave, was to introduce the departed into the society of his kinsfolk and ancestors. In the earliest times this society was supposed to exist either in the family grave or in its immediate neighbourhood.[†] 'Bury me not, I pray thee, in Egypt,' said the dying Jacob to Joseph, 'but I will lie with my fathers, and thou shalt carry me out of Egypt and bury me in their burying-place' (Gn 49²⁹·³⁰, cf. Joseph's burial, Jos 24³²). And nothing could be more pathetic in this reference than the request of Barzillai, who declined king David's invitation to live with him at court, and said, 'Let thy servant, I pray thee, turn back again, that I may die in mine own city, by the grave of my father and my mother' (2 S 19³⁷ RV). It was a duty of piety to see the bones of the dead placed in the family sepulchre, as David did for the bones of Saul and his sons (2 S 21¹²⁻¹⁴); and it was the proper punishment of disobedience to the command of Jehovah that a man's carcass should not come into the sepulchre of his fathers (1 K 13²²). To be deprived of burial was the last indignity and the greatest of calamities; the spirits of the unburied dead were believed to wander restlessly abroad, or to lie in recesses of the pit, if they were admitted into Sheol at all (Ezk 32²³ᶠᶠ·, Is 14¹⁵). For this reason the possibility of death at sea was regarded with horror. So, too, no vengeance upon enemies could be more cruel than to throw their bodies to the dogs, or to allow them to rot upon the battlefield, or to be left as a prey to the fowls of heaven and the beasts of the field (Ezk 39⁴, 2 K 9³⁶). Of Jason, who 'slaughtered his own citizens without mercy,' it is said (2 Mac 5¹⁰), 'he that had cast out a multitude unburied had none to mourn for him, nor had he any funeral at all, or place in the sepulchre of his fathers.' But the humane prescription of the law of Moses was that the criminal hanged upon the gallows should be buried, and buried at all hazards, on the day of execution (Dt 21²³); and in the case of the enemies of Israel captured and hung we find the law precisely carried out (Jos 8²⁹ 10²⁶). The treatment of the body of Jesus (Jn 19^{31}), and the burial of John the Baptist (Mt 14^{12}), and of Stephen (Ac 8^{2}), by their friends are later illustrations. Even suicides received the ordinary rites of burial, as is seen in the case of Ahithophel (2 S 17^{23}). It was the duty of any one who found a corpse in the open field to give it burial (To 1^{18} 2^{8}, cf. 1 S 21^{10}); and it is creditable to Jewish feeling that the bodies of the Gentile dead were allowed to rest in the Jewish burying-place side by side with Jewish remains.*

---

[*] Niese begins with the remark, that the origin of the common text in Holmes-Parsons, Tischendorf, etc., was apparently accidental and arbitrary ('offenbar ziemlich zufällig und willkürlich entstanden'); Kautzsch, *Apokryphen*, p. 32, gives 'aus cod. V. und aus nicht näher bezeichneten Minuskelcodices'; Fritzsche, *Libri apocryphi*, p. xix, 'nescio unde desumptus.' Now take the edition of 1588, where Nobilius remarks on 1 Mac 4²⁰ 'Addendum est ex codice *quem potissimum in his libris sequuti sumus* et multis aliis οἱ περὶ 'Ιούδαν'; on 8⁴ 'delendum est *ex auctoritate codicum quos sequuti sumus* et vulgatæ illud ἕνος, quod in multis antecedit et in nostram editionem per typographi incuriam irrepsit.' These and similar passages confirm the present writer's suggestion (see Sw. p. 181, n. 2), that, besides the Aldine edition, Cod. Ho 19 has been used for the Sixtine edition. To these there must perhaps be added 64 (93).

[†] It is natural to connect such an expression with the argument which Jesus summed up in the memorable words, 'God is not the God of the dead, but of the living' (Mk 12²⁷.) Cf. also the striking words 4 Mac 16²⁵ 'Those who die on behalf of God live unto God, as do Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.'

[*] *Christian Doctrine of Immortality*, p. 199 [1901 ed. p. 161].

[†] R. H. Charles, *Eschatology: Hebrew, Jewish, and Christian*, p. 31 ff.

Into the family grave only members of the family were admitted. In the Nabatæan sepulchral inscriptions† a curse is pronounced upon the man who defiles or sells a grave, or who buries in it any who are not members of the family. And the famous inscription on the tomb of Eshmunazar, king of Sidon, pronounces doom upon any who may disturb his repose, or open or carry off his coffin for the sake of treasure,—may they have no rest among the departed, may they be buried in no grave, and may they have no prosperity in their city!‡ The family grave was holy ground and a permanent possession. The family might lose their estate, but never the ancestral tomb; for in selling land no Jew could dispose of the burying-place, to the use of which his descendants were entitled to all time.§

When the Jewish people came to be dispersed among the nations it was an object of solicitude and ambition to be buried in the sacred soil of Canaan. 'Whoever,' says the Talmud, 'is buried in Palestine is as if he were buried under the altar.' And again: 'Whoever is interred in Babylonia is as well off as if he lay in Palestine, and whoever is buried in Palestine lies the same as under the altar.'‖ About the 3rd cent. it became 'a pious custom to be buried in Judæa's holy earth, to which was attributed an expiatory power. The resurrection was confidently expected to take place in that country, which it was also believed would be the scene of the coming of the Messiah. Those who had died in unhallowed countries would roll about in the light loose earth until they reached the Holy Land, where they could be revivified. In place of living inhabitants who were continually decreasing, Judæa was becoming every day more thickly populated with corpses. The Holy Land, which had formerly been an immense temple, inspiring great deeds and noble thoughts, was now a holy grave which could render nothing holy but death.'¶

Burial was the universal mode of disposing of the dead at all periods of Jewish history [see BURIAL]. *Burning*, which was the Babylonian and Roman usage, was among the Jews a death punishment inflicted for aggravated transgressions rather than a mode of disposing of the dead (Gn 38^{24}, Lv 20^{14} 21^{9}, Jos 7^{25}, 1 K 13^{2}, 2 K 23^{20}). Even when criminals had suffered the last penalty of the law by stoning or burning, or where, as in the case of Saul and his sons, slain in battle, necessity required that their bodies should be burned (1 S $31^{12.13}$), their remains or ashes were provided with a resting-place in the bosom of the earth.** There was great variety in the choice of a burying-place among the Jews, at least in the earliest times. Abraham buried Sarah in the cave of the field of Machpelah (Gn 23^{19}); Deborah, Rebekah's nurse, was buried under an oak (Gn 35^{8}); Jacob buried Rachel (see, above, p. 193^{a}) by the wayside (Gn 35^{19}); they buried Joshua 'in the border of his inheritance in Timnath-serah, which is in Mt. Ephraim' (Jos 24^{30}); and the men of Jabesh-gilead buried the bones of Saul and his sons under a terebinth (1 Ch 10^{12}). Burial in the open street or at cross roads was expressly forbidden by the enactments of later times. There does not appear to be evidence in the Scripture history to warrant the statement that the family grave was originally in the house.* This belongs, so far as it appears to have been the case, to a later time, and is represented as an exceptional honour reserved for kings, prophets, and other outstanding personages (1 S 25^{1}, 1 K 2^{34}, 2 K 21^{18} 2 Ch 33^{20}). In Babylonia and Assyria, at all events, 'only members of the royal family were permitted to be buried within the precincts of the town. Their bodies might be burned and entombed in one of the many palaces of the country. We are told of one king, for instance, that he was burned or buried in the palace of Sargon; of another, that he was burned in his own palace. The practice throws light on what we read in the Books of Kings; there, too, we are told that Manasseh "was buried in the garden of his own house" (2 K 21^{18}), and Amon in the "garden of Uzza" (2 K 21^{26}). Private burial in the palaces they had inhabited when alive was a privilege reserved for the kings alone.'† The sepulchres set apart for the kings of Judah (קִבְרוֹת הַמְּלָכִים) are specially mentioned (2 Ch 21^{20} 24^{25} 28^{27}). Not all the kings were privileged to receive interment in the royal mausoleum. Neither Joash nor Jehoram was buried in the sepulchres of the kings (2 Ch 21^{20} 24^{25}), whilst Jehoiada was accorded the honour 'because he had done good in Israel and towards God and his house' (2 Ch 24^{16}). The remains of Uzziah were not admitted to the sepulchres of the kings, but were interred in 'the field of burial which belonged to the kings, because they said he was a leper' (2 Ch 26^{23}). It is not possible to locate 'the sepulchres of the kings' in Jerusalem. It seems to be implied in a statement of the prophet Ezekiel (43^{7-9}) that certain kings of Judah were buried close to the temple, if not actually within its precincts; and though there is no record of such a thing in the historical books, the statement is justified by the fact that the royal palaces, within which some of them were interred, and the first temple, stood virtually within the same enclosure. There were also common burying-places called 'the graves of the children of the people' (2 K 23^{6}, Jer 26^{23}), into which the dead were sometimes cast in dishonour and contempt.

To prepare for himself a tomb in his lifetime has been the custom of every right-thinking Jew from early times down to the present day. Shebna, whose Jewish origin, however, is doubtful (Is $22^{15ff.}$), Asa (2 Ch 16^{14}), Joseph of Arimathæa (Mt 27^{60}), are instances in point. The custom was not confined to the Jews, for we find it followed by the Pharaohs, who built pyramids to receive their remains, by Eshmunazar, by the Caliphs, and others.

Of the sepulchres and sepulchral monuments of the ancient Hebrews and the later Jews it is possible now to give an adequate description and a fairly complete history. We owe this to the labours —often skilled labours—of residents and travellers in Palestine, and especially to the organized and persevering efforts of the Palestine Exploration Fund and the kindred German *Palästina-Verein.* The sepulchral remains of Western Palestine, in particular, have been in many cases carefully examined and measured and described, with plans and sketches, in the Reports and Memoirs of these societies. We can now classify the sepulchral remains according to the type which they represent, and even, with some measure of certainty, assign them to the period to which they belong,—to the Phœnician or Hebrew, Jewish, Herodian, Roman, Byzantine, Saracenic, or Crusading periods. There are three principal types of ancient tombs found in Western Palestine:[*] (i.) Rock-hewn Tombs; (ii.) Masonry Tombs; (iii.) Sarcophagi.

---

* Hamburger, *RE*, vol. i. 476.

† *Studia Biblica*, i. 212 ff.

‡ Levy, 'Phönizische Studien,' p. 2.

§ Tristram, *Eastern Customs in Bible Lands*, p. 100

‖ Hamburger, *l.c.* p. 475.

¶ Graetz, *History of the Jews*, vol. ii. 548 (American edition).

** Cf. Hamburger, 'Feuerbestattung der Toten,' Supplement. Band, Abt. ii. 40.

* So R. H. Charles, *Eschatology*, p. 32.

† Sayce, *Social Life among the Assyrians and Babylonians*, p. 57.

i. ROCK-HEWN TOMBS.—These are by far the most numerous, and they are found in many varieties. They are also the earliest in date. The soft limestone ranges of Western Palestine and Syria were honeycombed with natural caves, admitting of easy enlargement and adaptation. They had been available for the shelter of the living before being used for the reception of the dead (1 S 22^1 24^3). The usual form of Hebrew tomb in the earliest period took advantage of these caverns in the soft strata of limestone. In this the Hebrews copied the Phœnicians, whose principle of architecture, Renan tells us,[†] was the carved rock, not the column, as with the Greeks; but in point of architectural taste and skill they were far behind their masters. In striking contrast to the Egyptian sepulchral monuments,—massive pyramids and vast underground chambers,—the Hebrew tomb, whether single or more complex, was marked by extreme simplicity. In fact, simplicity of construction and absence of architectural ornament are the surest notes of the antiquity of a Hebrew sepulchre. No less remarkable is the contrast between the inscriptions and wall-paintings on Egyptian tombs—as at Beni-Hassan and elsewhere—and the plain and unadorned simplicity of Hebrew tombs, which until a late period are entirely devoid of inscriptions. In some cases tombs are found singly on the hillsides, as though individuals chose to have their last resting-place in their own vineyard, like Joseph of Arimathæa, who had his own new tomb in his garden. More often they form a regular burying-ground or cemetery. Tombs of notable personages, like the so-called Tomb of Joshua, have generally other tombs around them, the desire being strong among all Orientals to be laid near to some holy man or national hero.

(1) The simplest form of rock-hewn tomb is that in which a grave has been sunk in the surface of the rock to receive the body, and fitted with a slab, let in round the mouth, to cover it, the cover being sometimes flush with the flat surface of the rock, and sometimes raised and ornamented like the lid of a sarcophagus.

(2) Another simple form of tomb is an excavation driven into the face of a rock—called כּוֹךְ, plural כּוֹכִים—just large enough to receive a corpse, the mouth being closed by a rough stone slab.

(3) The most common description of tomb is that in which a number of *kokim* are grouped together in one or more chambers of the same excavation. These, again, are in three varieties: (*a*) A sepulchre consisting of *a natural cavern* in one of the softer strata of limestone, having *kokim* cut in its sides with their beds on a level with the floor, the mouths of these being closed by rough stone slabs, either made to fit close, or only resting against the perforated face of rock. (*b*) A sepulchre where *a square or oblong chamber* has been cut in the rock, and *kokim* ranged along three of its sides, their mouths closed by neatly dressed stone slabs fitting closely, the entrance to the chamber itself being by a low square opening, fitted with a slab in the same manner, or with a stone door turning on a socket hinge, and secured by bolts on the inside. In this kind of tomb there is usually a bench running in front of the *kokim*, and raised from 1 ft. 6 in. to 3 ft. above the floor of the excavated chamber. (*c*) A sepulchre in which one entrance leads into a number of chambers, each containing *kokim*. Such tombs generally have a sort of porch or vestibule hewn in the rock, the front of the roof being often supported by pillars of natural rock surmounted by a frieze, and bearing other kinds of ornamentation. From this porch a low door leads into an antechamber, with or without tombs, from which access is obtained to the tomb chambers, all of which have raised benches running in front of the *kokim* openings. Some of the chambers have, instead of *kokim*, arched recesses (*arcosolia*) cut out in their sides, in which the body was laid, or perhaps a sarcophagus placed. The so-called Tomb of Joshua at Tibneh, on the Roman road from Antipatris to Jerusalem, is of this class. It is prominent among the nine tombs that make the rock cemetery of the place, and has a portico supported on rude pieces of rock with very simple capitals. There are niches for over two hundred lamps, arranged in vertical rows, giving the appearance of an ornamental pattern, and all smoke-blacked. 'Entering the low door,' says Conder, 'we find the interior chamber to be a square with five *loculi*, not very perfectly cut, on their sides. The whole is quite unornamented, except by four very rough brackets supporting the flat roof. On becoming accustomed to the darkness, one perceives that the central *loculus* at the back forms a little passage about 7 ft. long, 2 ft. 6 in. high, and 3 ft. 4 in. broad, through which one creeps into a second but smaller chamber, 9 ft. 3 in. by 8 ft. 1 in., and 5 ft. 5 in. high. In this, opposite the entrance, a single *loculus* runs at right angles to the wall, and a single niche is cut on the left for a lamp.'[*]

Conder (*PEFSt*, 1878, p. 31) classifies the rock-cut tombs as follows:—1. *Kokim* tombs. 2. *Loculus* tombs. 3. Sunk tombs. The first two classes he believes to be of Hebrew and Jewish origin, but the third more likely to be Christian of the Byzantine period. 'The word *kok* and its plural *kokim* designate the pigeon-holes or tunnels running in from the side of a sepulchral chamber, each having room for a corpse and nothing more. The designation *loculus* (*locus in sepulchro*) is applied to the *shelf*, or *trough*, or *bench* receptacle for the corpse, which is of later use than the *kokim*. In many tombs which have been examined there is a mixture of both *kokim* and *loculi*, indicating a transition period about the Christian era or earlier. 'The *kokim* tombs,' Conder explains, 'are those which have parallel tunnels running in, three or four side by side, from the walls of a rectangular chamber. The bodies lay with their feet towards the chamber, and stone pillars for raising the heads are often found at the farther end. The *kokim* vary in number from one or two up to fifteen or twenty, and are of various lengths, from 3 or 4 to 7 ft. There is no system of orientation, and the entrance door is in the face of the cliff, the chamber within being directed according to the lie of the rock. This kind of tomb is certainly the most ancient in the country, for the *kokim* are sometimes destroyed in enlarging the tomb on a different system.' These tombs were used by the Jews. This is proved by a rare Hebrew inscription, by a representation of the seven-branched golden candlestick, and by the fact that some of them are sacred to modern Jews as the tombs of their ancestors, and that their measurements agree with the prescriptions in the Talmud. The *kokim* are not sufficiently large, as a rule, to admit of the supposition that the bodies were embalmed or swathed in bandages like those which make the Egyptian mummy so bulky when preserved untouched. There is nothing in the sepulchral remains of Palestine any more than in the Bible itself to lead us to believe that the embalming of the dead was a Hebrew custom (Conder, *Syrian Stone Lore*, p. 133). For another classification of tombs see Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* p. 225, which follows Tobler's in *SWP*, Volume of Special Papers, p. 288 f.

We have seen that the simple tombs belong to the earlier period, and that the portico at the entrance, with its ornaments, is usually a note of more recent origin. It is to the Herodian Age that the ancient tombs on the east side of the Kidron Valley, Absalom's Pillar (possibly the tomb of Alexander Jannæus), the Tombs of St. James and Zechariah, and the monolith known as the Egyptian Tomb, are to be assigned. The so-called Tomb of St. James, now known as the Tomb of the Bene Hazir, with its Aramaic text, Doric pillars, and triglyphs, and inner chamber containing *kokim*, is perhaps the earliest of the group, and belongs to the 1st cent. B.C. The others are probably later. The fine monument to the north of Jerusalem, commonly called the Tombs of the Kings, but known to the natives as Kubûr es-Salatîn (Tombs of the Sultans), has been identified by Robinson as the tomb of Helena, queen of Adiabene. It contains that mixture of *kokim* and *loculi* which would seem to date it on the border of the Christian era. In one of the lower chambers of the tomb was found a sarcophagus with an Aramaic inscription containing the words *Sara Meleka.* It is not impossible that this was the native name of Helena herself, and that the remains found in the sarcophagus were her own.

---

[*] We follow Sir Charles Wilson's classification: see *The Survey of Western Palestine*, Volume of Special Papers, p. 280 ff.; and *PEFSt*, 1869, p. 66 ff., where there are useful plans.

[†] *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 822.

[*] *PEFSt*, 1873, p. 145.

ii. MASONRY TOMBS.—These are rarely found in Palestine, and they are later than the rock-hewn sepulchres. They are confined to the northern portion of the country. The most famous are described by Sir Charles Wilson (*SWP* 283). He mentions — (1) a building at Kedes (Kedesh-naphtali), 34 ft. 4 in. square, with a doorway on its southern side leading to a chamber containing *kokim,* which have been used for interments down to a late period; (2) two tombs at Tell Ḥum (one of the possible sites for Capernaum), the one of which has 26 *kokim,* and, being subterranean, is closed with a door of basalt, the other of which has *loculi,* and is built of coursed basaltic rubble; (3) a fine tomb at Malal, near Nazareth, with 4 *kokim* and attached semi-pillars of the Ionic order outside; (4) a square tomb at Teiâsîr with three *loculi,* a domed roof, and pilasters on each side; (5) the remains of a building at Ain el B'aineh, which had stone over rock-cut tombs. To these Conder has added four more, three of them at or near Jerusalem.

iii. SARCOPHAGI.—Between the 6th and the 4th cent. B.C. the Phœnicians buried in sarcophagi called anthropoid, having a human head and even an entire recumbent form on the lid, the body of the sarcophagus being shaped like a mummy case. Such is the famous tomb of Eshmunazar with the celebrated Phœnician inscription. In the great discovery of sepulchral remains made at Beyrout some years ago, sarcophagi, mummy shaped, some in white and some in black marble, were found. Among the sarcophagi discovered in the excavations was a splendid sarcophagus in black stone resembling that of Eshmunazar, and bearing an inscription purporting that it is the tomb of Tabnith, priest of Ashtoreth and king of the Sidonians, son of Eshmunazar. Some of those sarcophagi were made of pottery, recalling the slipper-shaped glazed earthen coffins found by Loftus * on the ancient Babylonian mounds at Warka. Although the Hebrews copied from the Phœnicians in their rock-hewn tombs, they did not follow them largely in the use of sarcophagi. We have already mentioned the sarcophagus of queen Sara found in the Tomb of the Kings. Of others found in Palestine, those discovered at Kedes are the most ornamented. The material out of which they are hewn is hard white limestone, almost like marble, and the workmanship is excellent. Some of them had been made for two bodies laid in opposite directions, and at the bottom of the *loculi* were small raised pillars to receive the heads. With the exception of those great anthropoid sarcophagi, there is nothing to show a very marked distinction between the Hebrew and Phœnician tombs from the earliest to the latest age. The history of the sepulchres found in Phœnicia agrees perfectly with the chronological series which has been established independently in Palestine.†

In the Greek age monuments erected over tombs became common, the tombs beneath being rock-cut. In such cases there is a combination of the masonry and sarcophagus type of tombs. Hiram's Tomb,* about three miles from modern Tyre, containing a tomb or sarcophagus formed out of a huge block and emplaced on a pedestal made of three courses of grey limestone, most probably belongs to this period; and tomb towers containing sarcophagi are to be found throughout Syria. At Palmyra those structures consist sometimes of four or five storeys. Tombstones and sculptured sepulchres have been found at Rabbath-ammon, in Eastern Palestine, belonging to the age of the Antonines, but are to be classed among pagan funerary monuments. Sometimes solid monuments were erected near tombs like the *Kamm'uat el-Hirmil,* east of the Jordan—a solid tower in two storeys, with pyramidal roof and bas-reliefs representing the hunting of the stag, the bear, and the wild boar, which date, it is supposed, from the 3rd or 4th cent. Of sepulchral monuments we have a notable example in the mausoleum erected at Modin by Simon the Maccabee for his father and his brother. 'Simon,' says the writer (1 Mac 13^{27-29}), 'built a monument upon the sepulchres of his father and his brethren, and raised it aloft to the sight, with polished stone behind and before. And he set up seven pyramids, one over against another, for his father and his mother and his four brethren. And for these he made cunning devices, setting about them great pillars, and upon the pillars he fashioned all manner of arms for a perpetual memory, and beside the arms ships carved, that they should be seen of all that sail on the sea.' Of this famous structure all trace has been lost since the 4th cent., and its site has not yet been identified. (See MODIN).

In this connexion we recall the stinging words of Jesus describing the Pharisees as whited sepulchres, outwardly beautiful, but inwardly full of the bones of the dead—as building the tombs of the prophets and garnishing the sepulchres of the righteous, but being of a totally different spirit from those they seemed to honour (Mt $23^{27.29.30}$). Whited sepulchres were evidently sepulchral erections whitewashed or plastered over to render them conspicuous, and to preserve passers-by from the ceremonial defilement they might contract by approaching them. That some such distinguishing mark was necessary we gather from a similar saying in St. Luke's Gospel, in which Jesus describes the scribes and Pharisees as 'graves which appear not' (Lk 11^{44}). The reference in this passage must be to the humbler class of graves simply dug in the earth, and with no monument of any kind to mark the spot. At the present day the whitewashed slabs covering Mohammedan graves around Jerusalem glitter in the sunshine and easily attract notice. (See for cairns or stones heaped on graves art. BURIAL).

There are two sepulchres in particular which must always have a special interest to the Bible student, and which are both alike enveloped in a certain degree of mystery—the cave of Machpelah, the burial-place of Sarah, Abraham, Isaac and Rebekah, Jacob and Leah; and the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, where the body of Jesus was laid and remained for 'three days and three nights in the heart of the earth.' As regards the grave of the patriarchs, now covered by the mosque at Hebron, see art. MACHPELAH [cf. also Stanley's *Sermons in the East* (pp. 141–169) and *PEFSt* for 1882 (pp. 193–214)]. Touching the Holy Sepulchre for which Saracens and Crusaders contended, and regarding whose site heated controversies still rage, it seems impossible to attain to certainty. The tradition of more than fifteen centuries located it within the Church of the Holy

---

* W. K. Loftus, *Chaldæa and Susiana*, p. 202.

† Conder, *Syrian Stone Lore*, p. 97.

* See it figured in *Syrian Stone Lore*, p. 96.

Sepulchre. This tradition has been called in question since the days of Robinson. Its truth would require the site to have been without the wall of the city, for it is said that 'Jesus bearing the cross went forth unto the place called the place of a skull' (Jn 19[17. 18]), and that 'He suffered without the gate' (He 13[12]). But the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is not only near the very heart of the city as it is now occupied, but it must always have been within the line of the second wall. The latter contention is opposed, however, among recent authorities by Conrad Schick, who, after having resisted the traditional site for nearly forty years, has been led to accept it as the true site. He professes * to have ascertained by excavations and measurements that Calvary and the tomb in the garden where Jesus was laid were without the line of the wall though very close to it, just as we read in Jn 19[20]. The site favoured by recent authorities is a knoll of rock of rounded form and covered with shallow soil and grass, just outside the north wall of the city, and a little distance from the Damascus Gate. Under it is the cave called 'Jeremiah's Grotto,' and there are two holes in the face of the steep and rocky bank terminating the knoll, which look like the sockets of eyes in a skull. Dr. Selah Merrill, long United States Consul in Jerusalem, the late General Gordon, the late Sir J. W. Dawson, and Colonel Conder,† have given their support to this site (see art. JERUSALEM, vol. ii. p. 596[a], and cf. *Survey of Western Palestine*, vol. on Jerusalem, pp. 429–438). Thomson,‡ after examining all the evidence on both sides, attained to no certainty as to the site: 'Far better,' he says, 'rest contented with the undoubted fact that somewhere without the walls of this limited platform of the Holy City the Son of Man was lifted up, "that whosoever believeth on Him should not perish, but have eternal life."'

LITERATURE.—Keil, *Bib. Arch.* ii. 199 ff.; Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* pp. 163 ff., 224–227; Stade, *GVI* i. pp. 14, 15 ff.; Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode*, pp. 54–66; Conder, *Syrian Stone Lore*; R. H. Charles, *Eschatology: Hebrew, Jewish, and Christian*; Thomson, *Land and Book*; Bliss, *Excavations at Jerus.*; *SWP*, vols. i. and iv.; *PEFSt*, *passim*; *ZDPV*, *passim*.

THOMAS NICOL.

SERAH (שֶׂרַח).—A daughter of Asher, Gn 46[17] (A *Σάαρ*, *D Σάρρα*), Nu 26[46 (30)] (B *Κάρα*, B[ab] AF *Σάρα*, AV **Sarah**), 1 Ch 7[30] (B *Σόρε*, A *Σάραι*).

SERAIAH (שְׂרָיָהוּ, שְׂרָיָה, LXX *Σαραίας* or *Σαραιά*).—**1.** Scribe or secretary in the reign of David, 2 S 8[17] (B *'Ασά*, A *Σαραίας*). In 2 S 20[25] he is called **Sheva** (*Ḳerê* שְׁוָא, *Keth.* שְׁיָא), B *'Ιησοῦς*, A *'Ισοῦς*. In 1 K 4[3] the name appears as Shisha שִׁישָׁא (B *Σαβά*, A *Σεισά*). This form or **Shasha** would be restored elsewhere by Thenius, Wellhausen, and Stade; while Klostermann prefers the form **Shavsha** שַׁוְשָׁא (B *'Ιησοῦς*, ℵ *Σούς*, A *Σουσά*), which is found in 1 Ch 18[16]. **2.** High priest in the reign of Zedekiah. He was put to death with other distinguished captives by order of Nebuchadnezzar at Riblah, 2 K 25[18. 21], Jer 52[24. 27]. He is mentioned in the list of high priests, 1 Ch 6[14]. Ezra claimed descent from him, Ezr 7[1] (1 Es 8[1] **Azaraias**, 2 Es 1[1] **Saraias**). His name also occurs in 1 Es 5[5] **Saraias**. **3.** One of 'the captains of the forces' who joined Gedaliah at Mizpah after his appointment as governor by Nebuchadnezzar, 2 K 25[23], Jer 40[8]. The text of Kings is evidently abridged from that of Jeremiah. The epithet 'the **Netophathite**' applied to his father in Kings really belongs to a different person. **4.** Second son of Kenaz, and brother of Othniel, 1 Ch 4[13. 14]. He was father of Joab, who was the 'father' of the Valley of Craftsmen, cf. Neh 11[35]. **5.** Grandfather of Jehu, a prince of Simeon, 1 Ch 4[35]. **6.** One of the twelve leaders who returned with Zerubbabel, Ezr 2[2]. In the corresponding list, Neh 7[7], he is called **Azariah** (1 Es 5[8] **Zaraias**). **7.** A priestly clan, probably named after the high priest of No. **2.** This course of priests was first in order in the times of Zerubbabel (Neh 12[2], 1 Es 5[8]), Joiakim (Neh 12[12]), and Nehemiah (Neh 10[2]). This family is noted as one of those that settled in Jerusalem (Neh 11[11]). In the corresponding list, 1 Ch 9[11], **Azariah** is substituted. 'Very probably they were father and son, and the two lists have selected different names to represent the priestly house, cf. 1 Ch 7[13]' (Ryle). **8.** One of the three princes whom Jehoiakim sent to apprehend Jeremiah and Baruch (Jer 36[26]). **9.** Son of Neriah and brother of Baruch, Jer 51[59-64]. He held the office of שַׂר מְנוּחָה (AV 'a quiet prince,' m. '*or* prince of Menucha *or* chief chamberlain'; RV 'chief chamberlain,' m. '*or* quartermaster'). The Vulg. tr. *princeps prophetiæ*; the Targ. (רַב תּוּקְרָבַתָּא) and LXX (*ἄρχων δώρων*), followed by Grätz and Cheyne, read 'in command over (the) gifts,' *i.e.* שַׂר־מִנְחוֹת. In this official capacity he attended Zedekiah when that prince went to Babylon to pay homage to Nebuchadnezzar. Like his brother Baruch, he was a friend of Jeremiah; and the prophet having written in a book the denunciations against Babylon that are now contained in Jer 50–51[58], entrusted the volume to Seraiah, and bade him on his arrival at Babylon to read the prophecies, publicly, as it would seem, and then with the symbolic action of a prophet to cast the book into the Euphrates and proclaim, 'Thus shall Babylon sink, and shall not rise again because of the evil that I will bring upon her.' This scene suggested to St. John the imagery of Rev 18[21].

N. J. D. WHITE.

SERAPHIM (שְׂרָפִים; *Σεραφείμ* and *Σεραφείν*; *seraphim*).—The seraphim are an order of celestial beings referred to only in Is 6[2-7]. In his vision of J″ the prophet sees them as attendants of the heavenly court, ministers of the ideal sanctuary. They are apparently human in form—they have faces, hands, and feet (vv.[2. 6]); each of them has three pairs of wings (v.[2]); they stand or hover above J″ as He sits upon His throne (v.[2]); and they proclaim His holiness in antiphonal chant (v.[3]).

Opinion varies as to the origin of the word and the conception. Gesenius was doubtful, but thought it best to connect the term with the Arab. شَرُفَ 'to be noble,' thus viewing the seraphim as the princes or nobles of the heavenly court. A considerable number of Jewish writers, such as Abulwalid and Kimchi, derived the word from שָׂרַף, regarding the seraphim as *bright* or *shining* angels. But שָׂרַף means 'to *burn*,' not 'to *shine*,' and accordingly others have supposed the word to denote the ardent love or burning zeal of the Divine attendants. The verbal root, however, is not intransitive, but active; it means not to *glow with heat*, but to *consume with fire*. Hence the seraphim would have rather to be regarded as agents of purification by fire. This is in accordance with Is 6[6], where one of the spirits is represented as carrying celestial fire from off the altar to purify the lips of the prophet and purge away his sin (but see Dillm.-Kittel, *ad loc.*).

It is now usual to bring the prophet's conception into relation with popular Hebrew mythology. The *sārāph* of Nu 21[6], Dt 8[15] is a 'fiery,' *i.e.* venomous, serpent, which bites the Israelites in the desert (see SERPENT). In Is 14[29] 30[6] allusion is made to a 'flying fiery serpent' (*sārāph*), which has its home in the desert between Palestine and

---

* *PEFSt*, 1893, p. 119 ff.

† *Handbook to the Bible*, p. 355.

‡ *The Land and the Book* (Southern Palestine and Jerusalem).

Egypt. The latter is certainly a creation of popular imagination. As the analogous cherub was primarily a personification of the thundercloud, so the seraph was of the serpent-like lightning. Now just as a psalmist represents J″ as making the flaming fire His ministers (Ps 104^4), so the prophet seizes the popular notion of the seraph and transfers it to the realm of pure spiritual ideas. Not a trace of the serpentine form is left in his conception. His seraphim are the guardians of J‴'s holiness, who keep the profane and unclean at a distance, and purge from defilement that which is to be taken into J‴'s service. By means of this splendid symbolism the prophet vividly expresses the truth that 'J″ is a consuming fire' (Dt 4^{24}, He 12^{29}).

Another view has been started by Dillm.-Kittel and Marti owing to the discovery in an Egyptian tomb of the 12th dynasty at Beni-Hassan, of two winged griffin figures placed as guardians at the entrance. The griffin is represented in Demotic by the word *seref*, and Marti suggests that the seraphim in Isaiah's vision are to be thought of as guarding the threshold of the temple.*

The 'living creatures' of Rev 4$^{6-8}$, which are partly like Ezekiel's cherubim, resemble Isaiah's seraphim in possessing six wings and in proclaiming the Trisagion. But Cheyne has remarked that 'the popular notion of the seraphim as angels is, of course, to be rejected. They are, indeed, more like Titans than placid Gabriels or Raphaels' (*Prophecies of Isaiah*, i. 32).

The similarity of the word seraph to the Egyptian Serapis led Hitzig and others to identify the two. This idea has found little acceptance (cf., against it, Dillm.-Kittel, *Jes. ad loc.*), and still less has Knobel's suggestion that *scraphim* is a false rcading for שֶׁרְתִים, an imaginary Heb. word meaning 'ministers.'

LITERATURE.—See art. CHERUBIM, and cf. the Comm. on Isaiah, esp. Cheyne, Dillm.-Kittel, and Marti. J. STRACHAN.

SERAR (Σερdρ, AV Aserer), 1 Es 5^{32}=Sisera, Ezr 2^{53}, Neh 7^{55}.

SERED (סֶרֶד).—A son of Zebulun, Gn 46^{14} (A Σέρεδ, *D* Ἔσρεδ), Nu 26$^{26 (22)}$ (BA Σάρεδ).

SERGIUS PAULUS.—See PAULUS (SERGIUS).

SERJEANTS is used in Ac 16$^{35.38}$ as an approximate English rendering of ῥαβδοῦχοι (='rod-bearers'), which represents in Greek the Latin *lictores*, officials whose duty it was to attend the Roman magistrates, to execute their orders, and especially to administer the punishments of scourging or beheading. For this purpose they carried, as their mark of office, the *fasces*, a bundle of rods with an axe inserted. At Philippi they were attached to the στρατηγοί, *i.e.* the *duumviri*, or *prætores*, who administered justice in that Roman colony (Marquart, i. 475 ff.); but who found on this occasion that by summarily inflicting stripes and imprisonment, without due trial, they had violated the rights of Roman citizens, and so had to undo, as best they might, the effects of the rash action for which they, rather than their instruments the lictors, were responsible.

WILLIAM P. DICKSON.

SERON (Σήρων).—'The commander of the host of Syria' (ὁ ἄρχων τῆς δυνάμεως Συρίας), who was defeated by Judas Maccabæus at Beth-horon, 1 Mac 3$^{13.23f.}$; Jos. *Ant.* XII. vii. 1.

SERPENT.—Eight Heb. words are used for serpent. One Gr. word only (ἔχιδνα, 'the viper'), which is not used in the LXX, occurs in the NT.

1. נָחָשׁ *nāḥāsh*, is supposed by some (identifying roots נחשׁ and לחשׁ) to mean 'the hisser.' It is generic for a serpent or snake. The Arab. equivalent *ḥanash* is clearly the same word, with a transposition of the first two radicals. Its meaning is, however, far more general than that of the Heb. term. The root signifies 'to hunt *or* capture.' *Ḥanash* is defined 'anything that is hunted or caught or captured, of birds or flying things, or venomous or noxious reptiles, such as scorpions and serpents, or vermin, such as hedgehogs and lizards, and the rat and mouse, and any animal the head of which resembles that of a serpent.' It even includes the common fly. But, in popular usage at the present day, it is applied to serpents only.

2. תַּנִּין *tannîn*, plur. תַּנִּינִים *tannînîm*. This, which is usually tr. 'dragon,' sometimes otherwise (see DRAGON, 4), is tr. 'serpent' in AV and RV of Ex 7$^{9.10.12}$ [v.^{10} RVm 'Heb. *tannîn*, any large reptile'], and in RV of Ps 91^{13} (AV 'dragon'). It is interesting to note that while P in the above passages of Exodus uses *tannîn* for the creature into which Moses' rod was changed, E in ch. 4^3 (cf. 7^{15} [? R]) uses *nāḥāsh*. The LXX tr. *tannîn* by δράκων and *nāḥāsh* by ὄφις. It would have been better if our versions had preserved a similar distinction in terms.

3. אֶפְעֶה *'eph'eh*. The Arab. *'af'a* is defined as 'a certain serpent of a malignant kind, spotted white and black, slender in the neck, broad in the head. It is said that it will not quit its place.' There is nothing in this description which fixes the species or even genus of the serpent referred to. AV and RV tr. *'eph'eh* in the three places in which it occurs (Job 20^{16}, Is 30^6 59^5) 'viper,' LXX ὄφις, ἀσπίς, βασιλίσκος. Tristram believes that this may be *Echis arenicola*, Boie.

4. עַכְשׁוּב *'akshûbh*, ἀσπίς, *aspis* (Ps 140^3), AV and RV 'adder.' St. Paul, quoting the passage in Ro 3^{13} according to the LXX, gives ἀσπίς='asp.'

5. פֶּתֶן *pethen*. This word occurs 6 times (Dt 32^{33}, Job 20$^{14.16}$, AV and RV 'asp'; Ps 58^4, AV and RV 'adder,' AVm 'asp'; 91^{13} AV and RV 'adder,' AVm 'asp'; Is 11^8 AV and RV 'asp'). In all of these the LXX has ἀσπίς, except Job 20^{16} where it gives δράκων, and Ps 91^{13} where it has βασιλίσκος. These discrepancies of translation, ancient and modern, show the uncertainty as to the serpent intended by *pethen*. Ἀσπίς seems to have been the equivalent in Gr. of more than one species. The repeated mention of the venomousness of the *pethen*, and the allusion to its being used in the tricks of serpent charmers (Ps 58^5), led Tristram to think that the animal intended is the Egyp. cobra, *Naja haje*, L., on the ground that snake charmers usually have one or more cobras. It is common to see a cobra, on each side of a winged globe, in the attitude of striking, chiselled over the doors of Egyp. temples. The Eng. 'asp' is derived from the Gr. and Lat. *aspis*. It is usually understood in those languages of the *Vipera aspis*, L.

6. צֶפַע *ẓepha'*, צִפְעֹנִי *ẓiph'ônî*. These words occur 5 times (Pr 23^{32} LXX κεράστης, AV and RV 'adder,' AVm 'cockatrice,' RVm 'basilisk'; Is 11^8 14^{29} ἔκγονα ἀσπίδων, AV 'cockatrice,' m. 'adder,' RV 'basilisk,' m. 'adder'; 59^5 ἀσπίς, AV 'cockatrice,' m. 'adder,' RV 'basilisk,' m. 'adder'; Jer 8^{17} θανατοῦντας='deadly,' AV 'cockatrices,' RV 'basilisks,' m. 'adders'). The meaning of the root of the Heb. word is unknown, and hence gives no clue to the species intended. Both cockatrice and basilisk are fabulous. Neither the LXX nor our translators have been able to fix on any species.

7. שְׁפִיפוֹן *shĕphîphôn* (Gn 49^{17} 'adder,' AVm 'arrow-snake' [given by RV in Is 34^{15} for *ḳippôz*, AV 'great owl'; see OWL], RVm 'horned snake,' LXX ἐγκα-

---

* On the Egyptian custom of keeping a live snake in the larger temples as the representative of the tutelary demon, see Cheyne's 'Isaiah' in *PB* p. 139, where the famous Black Granite Serpent of Athribitis is figured.

θήμενος = 'one in ambush'). By general consent this serpent has been identified with *Cerastes Hasselquistii*, Strauch, the *horned serpent*, a desert species of the most venomous kind, which hides in depressions in the way, as those made by a camel's foot. This would explain the allusion to biting 'the horse's heels.' It is a foot or 18 in. long, of a sandy colour, with brown or blackish spots. It has a pair of horn-like processes above the eyes. The Arabs of the desert call it *sheffûn*, which, though not classical, seems to be a survival of its ancient name.

8. שָׂרָף *sārāph*, 'fiery serpent,' from a Heb. root signifying 'to burn,' hence poisonous from inflammation. It is usually an adjective to other words signifying serpent, as *nāḥāsh* (Nu 21^{8} LXX *θανατοῦντας*), but also appears as a substantive (Nu 21^{8}, Is 14^{29} 30^{6} LXX *ὄφις*, *ἀσπίς*?). The 'fiery serpents' (Nu 21$^{6.\,8}$), which were sent to torment the Israelites in the desert, may have been any or all of the venomous species of et-Tîh, as the cobra, the cerastes or sand snake. The 'fiery flying serpent' (Is 14^{29} 30^{6}), שָׂרָף מְעוֹפֵף *sārāph mĕ'ôphēph*, is probably to be understood of some fabulous serpentine creature with wings, such as are sculptured on Egyptian monuments; but the expression *flying* may have been intended to indicate the rapid darting with which a venomous snake strikes its prey. One of the snakes of Syria, called by the Arabs *'aḳd-el-jauz*, is also called *eṭ-ṭayyârah*, because of its arrow-like, darting motion.

9. Ἔχιδνα is used only in the NT, and is tr^{d} 'viper' (Mt 3^{7} 12^{34} 23^{33}, Lk 3^{7}, Ac 28^{3}). It is probably generic for poisonous snakes. Tristram thinks that the one which fastened on St. Paul's hand may have been *Vipera aspis*, L., which, although now extinct in Malta, whence venomous serpents have entirely disappeared, may have been there in the apostle's day.

A review of the above critical analysis shows (1) that the translators have been at little pains to render the Heb. terms by the same Gr. and Eng. words in different places; (2) that to only one Heb. word, *shĕphîphon*, is it possible to give a scientific name with any degree of certainty. Of another, *pethen*, the most probable but not certain equivalent is the cobra. Of the others, three, *'akshûbh*, *ẓepha'* or *ẓiph'ônî*, and *'eph'eh*, are wholly uncertain or indefinite; one, *tannîn*, had perhaps better be tr^{d}, as elsewhere, 'dragon'; one, *nāḥāsh*, is generic; and one, *sārāph*, is primarily of adjective not substantive force.

The following is a list of the principal venomous serpents in Palestine and Syria and Sinai: *Daboia xanthina*, Gray, a nocturnal species, large enough to swallow a hare; *Cerastes Hasselquistii*, Strauch, the horned snake; *Naja haje*, L., the Egyp. cobra, a very deadly species; *Echis arenicola*, Boie, also extremely deadly; *Vipera Euphratica*, Martin, and *V. ammodytas*, L., both widely diffused and highly poisonous. Besides the above there are numerous species of non-venomous snakes, among which are *Zamenis viridiflavus*, Dum. et Bibr., a species of a greenish-yellow to tobacco-leaf colour, often 6 ft. long, the variety *carbonarius*, Bonap., being black; *Z. dahlii*, of a bluish colour mottled with black spots, and various species of *Ablabes*, *Coluber*, etc.; in all, 27 non-venomous kinds. It is probable that the Hebrews regarded all snakes with abhorrence, and that the common people supposed most or all of them to be venomous.

The reputation of the serpent has always been double. It was the emblem of Mercury and Æsculapius. A serpent, to this day, figures on devices and badges pertaining to the healing art. The Phœnicians worshipped the serpent, and the Chinese do so now. The Egyptians also worshipped Kneph under this form. They embalmed the bodies of serpents. The Scripture allusions to the wisdom of the serpent are two: Mt 10^{16}, which refers to its caution in avoiding danger, and Gn 3$^{1.\,4.\,13}$, in which guile and malice are plainly intended (cf. 2 Co 11^{3}, Rev 12^{9}). Heathen mythology also attributed to the serpent such qualities of diabolism. And just as Israel came to worship the brazen serpent, which, according to tradition, was made to remind them of the venom and destroying properties of its prototype (2 K 18^{4}), so the heathen have come to worship the creature they most fear. This is not to be wondered at, as all heathen worship is a compound of superstition and fear. Most of the Scripture allusions to the serpent are to its evil qualities. It is *treacherous* (Dan is a serpent in the way, Gn 49^{17}); *venomous* (Ps 58^{4}); *skulking* (בָּרִחַ *bārīaḥ*, Job 26^{13}, AV 'crooked,' RV 'swift,' m. 'fleeing' or 'gliding'; Is 27^{1}, AV 'piercing,' m. 'crossing like a bar,' RV 'swift,' m. 'gliding' or 'fleeing'; the expression seems to refer to its habit of skulking noiselessly away);* *crooked* (עֲקַלָּתוֹן Is 27^{1}, RVm 'winding,' referring to the wavy motion with which he glides out of danger); it *bites* (Pr 23^{32}, Ec 10$^{8.\,11}$, Am 5^{19}). Christ compares the scribes and Pharisees to serpents (Mt 23^{33} *ὄφεις*; cf. the remarkable phrase *γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν* in Mt 3^{7} 12^{34}). The power to take up and tread on serpents unharmed was promised to the disciples ('Mk' 16^{18}, Lk 10^{19}). On the whole subject of the serpent of Gn 3 and the NT reference to that narrative, see artt. FALL and SATAN. The mystery of the serpent's motion did not escape Agur (Pr 30^{19}), and only in modern times have we fully understood its solution. The fact that serpents are produced from eggs is also noted (Is 59^{5}). They were tamed (Ja 3^{7}). Sirach alludes to those bitten by serpents, presumably poisonous (12^{13}).

G. E. POST.

SERPENT CHARMING.—It is said in Jer 8^{17} 'I will send serpents, cockatrices, among you, which will not be charmed, and they shall bite you'; and in Ps 58^{4} 'they are like the deaf adder that stoppeth his ear, which will not hearken to the voice of charmers, charming never so wisely.' The reference here is clearly not to any species as distinguished from other serpents, but to individuals not amenable to a general law. It need not be taken literally, as it may be that any snake, properly charmed, would be subject to the mysterious fascination of the cunning masters of the art. The object being to show the extreme malignity of the wicked, a case beyond the range of experience is invoked to point the moral. Were it a normal thing for a *pethen* not to be capable of being charmed, the comparison would lose its force. An uncharmable serpent is a monstrosity. The stopping of the ears is clearly wilful. To attempt to explain this literally by the fable of the snake applying one ear to the ground, and stopping the other with its tail (Rabbi Solomon), is childish. The snake has no external ear to stop, and no tympanic cavity. The only tenable explanation is that the moral monsters, so graphically described by the psalmist, are comparable to such an exception 'as *a* (not *the*) deaf adder,' etc.

The art of charming serpents is a very ancient one, and has been brought to a high state of perfection in Egypt and India. The apparatus is very simple. It consists of a shrill pipe or gang of pipes, and a basket or bags in which the snakes already trained are kept. These are of various species, some highly venomous, others harmless. The former have their fangs extracted, or else the lower jaw sewn to the upper with silk thread or silver wire. When the piper has played a shrill air, the snakes crawl out of the basket or bag, and, coiling the tail end of their bodies, erect their heads, and sway backwards and forwards. The charmer winds some of them around his body or arms or legs. Mishaps sometimes occur to the charmer with serpents which have not yet had their fangs extracted. Lane (*Mod. Egyptians*, 461) tells of a charmer who had a venomous snake brought to him from the desert. He put it in a basket, and kept it several days to weaken it. He then put his hand into the basket to withdraw it in order to extract its fangs, when the snake bit him on the thumb. His arm swelled and turned black, and in a few hours he died. Some serpent charmers pretend to have the faculty of discovering serpents in a house or ruin, or in the rocks or fields, and luring them by their music, so that they can catch them. Doubtless in many cases the snake is introduced into the place by the charmer or his confederates; yet it is undeniable that, in broad daylight and surrounded by keen-eyed spectators, he does cause serpents to emerge from their holes or dens, and so fascinates them by the music that they become subject to his will. Sometimes he grasps a serpent by the nape of its neck, and bites pieces out of its head and neck. G. E. POST.

---

* On the supposed mythological allusions in Job 26^{13} and Is 27^{1} see the *Comm. ad loc.*, and Gunkel, *Schöpfung u. Chaos*, esp. p. 45 f.

SERUG (שְׂרוּג, Σερούχ).—Son of Reu and father of Naḥor, Gn $11^{20.22.23}$, Lk 3^{35}. Ethnologically the name is that of *Saruj*, a district and city north of Ḥaran (see Dillm. *Gen. ad loc.* and the authorities quoted there).

SERVANT, SLAVE, SLAVERY.—

i. The hired servant.
ii. The slave.
  1. Name and meaning.
  2. Origin of slavery.
  3. Slavery and ancient civilization.
  4. Slavery in ancient pre-exilian Israel.
  5. Legislation respecting slaves: (A) pre-exilian, (B) post-exilian, (C) compensation for injury to slaves, (D) runaway slaves.
  6. Status of female slaves.
  7. Price of slaves.
  8. History of slavery from Jeremiah onwards.
  9. Christian attitude to slavery.
  10. Religious use of the term 'slave' ('servant').
  Literature.

i. **Hired Servant.**—The word employed in Hebrew for a servant who worked for hire, a hired servant, is שָׂכִיר, a term also employed in Jer 46^{21} for a mercenary soldier. Such a *hired servant* was, however, free to render such service or not as he pleased. There was no constraint over his activity except for the stipulated time and mode of it, for which payment or wages (שָׂכָר) was received. It is very difficult to determine what place the hired servant or workman filled in the earlier period of Israel's pre-exilian history. There are no regulations about him in the primitive compend of laws called the Book of the Covenant (Ex 21–23). The wild followers whom Abimelech hired (Jg 9^{4}) scarcely come under this category, and the same remark applies to the priest hired by Micah (Jg 18^{4}). But it is otherwise when we come to the more developed code of the Book of Deuteronomy, which reflects a more advanced state of civilization. There we find distinct provision made that the *hired servant* is to be paid regularly every evening (Dt 24^{15}) before sunset, and this rule is made to apply to both Hebrew and foreign labourer alike. In the post-exilian legislation contained in the Book of Leviticus (19^{13}) this instruction is maintained in full force. In fact, in post-exilian times an effort becomes clearly apparent in legislation to make the lot of the slave approximate to that of the hired servant (Lv 25^{40}). In the post-exilian literature the references to the hired servant are not infrequent. See the Lexicons, *s.* שָׂכִיר. The Greek equivalent is μίσθιος, μισθωτός. The former is the term employed in Lk $15^{17.19}$. The difference between the relation of the שָׂכִיר or hired servant to the Hebrew household and that of the slave (עֶבֶד), or of the stranger or resident alien (גֵּר), was that the relation of the hired servant was looser; see FAMILY.

ii. **Slave.**—1. NAME AND MEANING.—The ordinary Heb. equivalent of 'servant' was the word which properly designates *slave*, עֶבֶד, *'ebed*, a word common to all Semitic languages, including Sabæan. It is, however, seldom found in Assyro-Babylonian, in which the equivalent more frequently used is *ardu*. The Gr. equivalent is δοῦλος (also θεράπων, παῖς, οἰκέτης). The word עֶבֶד is as common in Phœnician as in Hebrew, and enters into Phœn. proper names (compounded with the name of deity precisely as in Heb.). See Bloch, *Phönicisches Glossar*, pp. 47, 48, both pages being entirely filled with examples. The Tel el-Amarna tablets give us further evidence of Canaanite names of the 15th cent. (*circ.*), viz. 'Abd-Addi, 'Abd-Uraš, 'Abd-'Aširta, 'Abd-Milki, etc. For similar names compounded with 'Abd (fem. Amat) in Arabic, see Wellhausen, *Reste* ², pp. 2–4. The verbal root of the substantive עבר connotes fundamentally the idea of *working*. In primitive life this meant chiefly the tilling of the soil (Gn 2^{5} 3^{23} 4^{2}, 2 S 9^{10}). Then it came to be specially associated with the conception of working for (Heb. לְ) another. Accordingly, the subst. עֶבֶד is based on this special meaning, and therefore signifies *one who labours for another and remains permanently subject to this relationship*.

This is, in fact, the cardinal distinction between a free man whose activity is not restricted by any compulsion to serve the interests of another, and the slave whose activity is so restricted.

2. ORIGIN OF SLAVERY.—Slavery was probably a necessary element in all ancient industrial life. Slavery arises from two main causes, viz. *Want* and *War*. Privation and famine compel a man, a family, or a clan to accept terms of service and maintenance from others to which under normal conditions they would never submit. War, a yet more potent cause, brings in its train foreign captives who are forced to enter a lot of subjection to the will of their conquerors. War, moreover, carries in its track desolation of house and home and of all means of subsistence. Whole populations are rendered destitute, and flee for protection and maintenance to some friendly but alien race, and thus voluntarily enter into the position of bond-slaves as a refuge from famine and death. 'The greatest of all divisions,' says Tylor,* 'that between freeman and slave, appears as soon as the barbaric warrior spares the life of his enemy when he has him down, and brings him home to drudge for him and till the soil. How low in civilization this begins appears by a slave-caste forbidden to bear arms forming part of several of the lower American tribes.' We shall presently see how this condition of slavery belonged to the old-world life of ancient Heb. society, where the male and female slave rank next above the ox and the ass. The terms used for both were sometimes closely similar, and indicated that they were regarded as *property* that had been acquired. The oxen were called by the Hebrew his מִקְנֶה, his *acquired* property or possessions (Lat. *peculium*, Gr. κτῆνος). The slave, on the other hand, was his *purchased* possession or מִקְנַת כֶּסֶף (Gn $17^{12.13.23}$, Ex 12^{44} 21^{21b}). Tylor (*ib.*) thinks that the hired labourer arose out of the more ancient slave, the hired servant out of the ancient *servus*. 'The master at first let out his slaves to work for his profit, and then free men found it to their advantage to work for their own profit, so that there grew up the great wage-earning class.' The

---

* *Anthropology*, p. 434 ff.

reader will not fail to note that this theory is confirmed by the results of critical inquiry in the OT, for at the commencement of this article we showed good grounds for believing that the שָׂכִיר or hired servant hardly appears in the earlier stages of pre-exilian Hebrew history.

3. Slavery and ancient Civilization.—It can hardly admit of doubt that the advance of early human society in the arts of life was largely aided by the institution of slavery. Through slave labour, agriculture and industrial life progressed, wealth accumulated, and leisure was given to priests, scribes, philosophers, and *literati* to reflect and raise the level of human intelligence. What modern machinery accomplishes for man now, slave-labour accomplished then. In a word, early civilization rested upon slavery as a basis. Without servile toil such vast structures as the pyramids and the sphinx of Gizeh would never have been reared. This is confirmed by the tradition of Heb. bondmen employed by the Egyp. Pharaoh in the erection of his granaries (Ex $1^{11.14}$). And when we turn to the Assyr. monuments the same features of slave-labour powerfully impress us. The Assyrian empire, unlike the Babylonian, was essentially military, and the captives obtained by foreign conquest were employed in executing the laborious task of dragging colossal monuments into position. The vivid reliefs discovered at Kouyunjik, portrayed in Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon* (pp. 25, 27), clearly exemplify the character of those heavy tasks executed in an almost tropical climate. We see the Assyrian king superintending the removal of an enormous bull. Several hundreds of slaves, provided with a rope which passes over their shoulders, are struggling in a long succession that ascends in single file up a steep declivity, dragging into position an immense bull which has been landed from the river. By that river it has evidently been conveyed from the stone quarries where it has been hewn and probably shaped. Other slaves are portrayed carrying saws, picks, and shovels. A pair of them are dragging along by a rope, passing over the shoulder of each, a cart laden with planks or levers. At intervals a task-master can be seen wielding a stick.

But slaves were employed not only in the more laborious forms of manual exertion, but also in the arts requiring manual dexterity and artistic skill. According to Wilkinson (i. p. 457), the monuments testify that the Egyptian male and female musicians and dancers were slaves, just as we know to have been the case in ancient Greece and Rome. The maidens who formed the chorus of the *Helene* of Euripides were slaves brought to the Egyptian market by Phœnician traders. In Egyptian banquets the men were attended by slaves, while the women were waited upon by handmaids who were female slaves. 'An upper maidservant or a white slave had the office of handing the wine or whatever refreshment was offered to the ladies who were present at a banquet, and a black woman followed her in an inferior capacity to receive an empty cup.' Female slaves are easily recognized in Egyptian portrayals. For they were not permitted to wear the same dress as the ladies, and their hair was adjusted in a different fashion. We find it tied at the back of the head into a kind of loop or arranged in long plaits at the back, while eight or nine others hang down on either side of the neck and face. Also they wore a long tight gown tied at the neck, with short close sleeves reaching nearly to the elbow, or they wore a long loose robe thrown over it. On the other hand the lowest menials, *i.e.* the men-slaves who toiled in the country, wore 'rough skirts of matting which they were wont to seat with a piece of leather' (Lepsius, Wilkinson), while those who were compelled to adopt a more active mode of life wore nothing but a simple fringed girdle, like that which is still worn by many African tribes, 'a narrow strip of stuff with a few ribbons or the end of the strip itself hanging down in front.' Under the New Empire we even find that the young slaves who served wealthy nobles at feasts wore, as their only article of clothing, a strip of leather which passed between the legs, and was held up by an embroidered belt (Erman).

4. Slavery in ancient pre-exilian Israel. — In the primitive social conditions of ancient Israel the different ranks of the community moved easily and freely amongst each other and came into hourly contact. The courtesies and etiquette of life, especially in salutations and meals, were certainly not neglected; yet the gulfs created between class and class by our highly developed modern civilization were, fortunately for human happiness, then unknown. In the life presented to us in the Books of Judges and Samuel we find high and low equally engaged in pastoral or agricultural employment. We are reminded of the genial state of society in Ithaca as depicted in the *Odyssey*. When the deputies of Jabesh-gilead came in quest of Saul, they found the Benjamite chief and Israel's future king returning with a yoke of oxen from his field (1 S 11^5). We associate Saul with the figure of the Roman Cincinnatus summoned straight from the plough to assume the office of dictator.

Thus, in that early and simple Hebrew civilization, slavery was free from half the terrors with which the later Roman civilization and the conditions of our modern life have invested it. It cannot be said that in the earlier pre-exilian days the lot of a Hebrew bond-slave among his countrymen was oppressive or even irksome. The description given by Doughty of slavery in the remoter parts of Arabia corresponds in many particulars with the conditions of the early Hebrew bond-servant (*Arabia Deserta*, i. p. 554)—

> 'The condition of the slave is always tolerable and is often happy in Arabia; bred up as poor brothers of the sons of the household, they are a manner of God's wards of the pious Mohammedan householder who is *ammy* [properly "my uncle"] of their servitude and *abûy* ("my father"). . . . It is not many years "if their houselord fears Allah" before he will give them their liberty; and then he sends them not away empty; but in upland Arabia (where only substantial persons are slave-holders) the good man will marry out his free servants, male and female, endowing them with somewhat of his own substance, whether camels or palm-stems.'

We shall note the close parallel between the latter part of this extract and the details of Hebrew usage prescribed in the Book of Deuteronomy.

A slave could attain to a high position in his master's household. He might even become his heir in default of offspring (Gn $15^{2.3}$). The important place filled by the slave Eliezer, though a foreigner (Damascene), in the household of Abraham, is not without parallels in the narratives of antiquity. The Hebrew captive Joseph becomes the prime-minister of Pharaoh. In 1 Ch 2^{34} we read the interesting fact that Sheshan in default of male issue married one of his daughters to the Egyptian (?) slave Jarḥa'. In case of an emergency, the master of a household might seek counsel from his slave as from a trusted friend. Abigail has recourse to one of Nabal's slaves for advice in order to appease David's anger (1 S $25^{14\mathrm{ff.}}$). A homely episode of this character occurs in the life of Saul (1 S $9^{5\text{-}10}$, belonging to the older stratum of the narrative called by Budde G; cf. *Richter u. Samuel*, p. 169 ff.). Saul, in his baffled search for his father's lost asses, turns at length for counsel to his slave. The slave gives the right advice, and directs his master's steps to the seer Samuel. A fee is requisite for the consultation, and the slave lends his master a quarter of a shekel (about 8½d.). Saul, in response to his slave's advice, says, 'Your advice is good: come, let us go.' This vivid narrative reminds us of Gn 24 (J; according to Ball J^{2}, but Kuenen regards it as J^{1}), in which Abraham sends Eliezer on an important mission to secure a wife for his son, and exhibits in the clearest manner the confidential relations which subsisted between the head of a household or the sheikh of a clan and his slave. From the above narrative respecting Saul, in which he borrows a small sum from his slave, we gather the significant hint that slaves might even be the owners of property.

The position of a slave in a household would largely depend on his origin, viz. whether of Hebrew or of foreign nationality. In the latter case his situation would certainly not be so favourable, unless indeed, as in the case of Eliezer, he had been born and bred in the household, and thus came to be incorporated in the clan to which he was locally attached, sharing in its hospitality and protection, and taking his due part in its *sacra*. The position of a recently purchased slave taken captive in war would be far different. In a Roman or Greek household he would be set to do the most menial tasks of drudgery; and his place in a Hebrew family would be similar, though not so forlorn. The Canaanites, as we learn from Jg $1^{28.30.33.35}$, were employed in hard task-work (מַס). These lower employments are described in Dt 29^{11} as gathering firewood and drawing water. The laws respecting warfare in Dt $20^{10ff.}$ prescribe that the inhabitants of those cities which surrendered voluntarily to Israel should be taken as slaves, while in case of resistance the male inhabitants were to be slain with the sword, and the women and children with the cattle were to be taken as a prey (cf. Nu $31^{17f.26}$). In the time of David, through his numerous foreign wars, there came to be a large number of these foreign helots engaged in laborious task-work (מַס). From 2 S 20^{24} we gather that it became necessary to appoint an officer to superintend this special department of national life, viz. the מַס עֹבֵד (Gn 49^{15}) or forced service exacted from the slave-labourer. This was probably true of the reign of David's successor Solomon (1 K 9^{21}), who did not find it necessary to exact any bond-service from Hebrews (save for the special work mentioned in $5^{27(13)ff.}$), since the foreign slaves abundantly sufficed for all needs. Indeed, slaves of foreign origin were very numerous in the East, and this became especially true in the 9th and following centuries. Assyrian inscriptions and portrayals abundantly testify to the barbarous practices that prevailed in ancient Asiatic warfare when cities were stormed and sacked. We know from numerous inscriptions that a large number of the prisoners * were carried away captive. Many of these, of whom female captives constituted a considerable proportion, would inevitably find their way to foreign markets. The great mercantile Canaanite or Phœnician peoples, who had their celebrated emporia of commerce at Tyre and Sidon, shared with the Philistines the unenviable notoriety of being the chief slave-dealing race of antiquity. Thus in the middle of the 8th cent. *Amos* brings this accusation against the Philistines, who passed on their captive Israelites to the Edomites (Am 1^{6}). We may conjecture that the last-named sold them again to traders who shipped them from Elath for foreign shores and markets. It is nearly certain that these traders would be Phœnicians, for 'trader' and 'Phœnician' (Canaanite) were almost synonymous terms in those days (Hos 12^{7}, Is 23^{8}) and later (Zeph 1^{11}, Ezk 17^{4}, Pr 31^{24}). Hence the same prophet brings a similar charge against the Phœnicians because they forgot the covenant of 'brethren' which subsisted between Phœnicia and Israel from the days of Solomon (Am $1^{9.10}$).* In post-exilian times Joel (3 [Heb. 4] ^{6}) denounced both these nations for selling the captives of Jerusalem beyond seas to the sons of Javan, *i.e.* to the Greek populations which covered the western shores of Asia Minor.

In contrast with the forlorn, though far from hopeless, lot of a foreign slave in a Hebrew household, the condition of a home-born and Israelite slave would be far more tolerable. The Hebrew slave frequently came into his unfortunate position through the exigencies of the harsh laws of debt (see DEBT) which prevailed then and prevail still in Oriental countries. This is clearly shown in Lv $25^{25.39}$, which exhibits the case of a man voluntarily entering the state of servitude in order to discharge the debts which his poverty and embarrassments had contracted. During the regal period Canaanite civilization had spread and had become absorbed by the Hebrew inhabitants, the population of towns had increased, and the power of the rich landowning class was seriously felt. The creditor became sometimes so harsh and exacting, that, if the father died, the sons might be sold into slavery to pay his debt (2 K 4^{1}).† These social evils must have been aggravated in the 9th cent. B.C., when the Syrian wars desolated the borders of both Ephraim and Judah, and the small farmers lost their crops and cattle through the ravages of the invader (cf. Is 1^{7}, Jer 6^{12}), and were driven to borrow at the oppressive rate of even 20 per cent.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the miserable lot of the oppressed peasantry awakened both the pity and indignation of the prophets of the 8th cent., who rebuked the overbearing avarice of the wealthy landowner. Amos upbraids the harsh creditor who sells his helpless victim into slavery for a paltry debt equivalent in value to a pair of sandals (Am 2^{6} 8^{6}). A generation later Isaiah denounces the aggravated evils of his own time, the accumulation of the smaller properties consequent on the dispossession of the smaller owner (Is 5^{8}). Meanwhile wealth increased with rapid strides in spite of the Assyrian invasions. In the days of Amos the nobles lived in luxury in their summer and winter houses (Am 3^{15}, cf. ch. 6). In the Northern kingdom houses were erected of hewn stone instead of the common brick, and of cedar in place of the common sycamore (Is 9^{10}). 'The land was full of silver and gold, and there was no end to the treasures' (2^{7}). Young foreign slaves were sold into Israel in considerable numbers.‡

5. LEGISLATION RESPECTING SLAVES.—This is

---

* The Assyrian term was *šallatu* (שׁלל) and *kišittu* (*kišidtu*, root כשׁד). The former term, characteristically enough, is inclusive of spoil generally (Tiglath-pileser I. Prism Insc. col. ii. 80, iii. 66, 85 [B.C. 1100]). But the meaning is only too clear in Ašurnaṣirabal's Annals, i. 108 (*c.* 880 B.C.), where we read that he stormed the fortress of Ḥulai, and III M *šallasunu ina išati ašrup*, 'I consumed with fire 3000 of their captives and left not one soul alive,'—*kišittu*, on the other hand, means definitely war-captives. These were employed by Esarhaddon in building temples (Prism Inscc. A and C, col. iv. 44–46). Respecting slavery in Babylonia, see Tiele, *Bab.-Assyr. Gesch.* (1888) ii. p. 506 ff.

* For a different interpretation of the 'covenant of brothers,' see Driver, *Joel and Amos*, p. 137.

† 'A young family is sometimes an insupportable burden to poor parents. Hence it is not a very rare occurrence in Egypt for children to be publicly carried about for sale by their mothers or by women employed by the fathers; but this very seldom happens except in cases of great distress' (Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, p. 205).

‡ So we should probably understand the doubtful passage Is 26^{b}, which runs in the Hebrew וּ[בְ]יַלְדֵי נָכְרִים יַשְׂפִּיקוּ 'and they abound in young foreign (slaves).' It is probably rendered with fair correctness by the LXX καὶ τέκνα πολλὰ ἀλλόφυλα ἐγενήθη αὐτοῖς. That the Hiph'il of שׂפק probably meant 'abound' is confirmed by the Aram. ܣܦܩ *effusus est, satis fuit*, and Ḳal in 1 K 20^{10}. Moreover, this meaning harmonizes with וַתִּמָּלֵא and מָלְאָה in the context.

to be found in all three codes of the Torah, viz. (*a*) the Book of the Covenant in Ex 21$^{1-11}$; (*b*) its subsequent development in the Deuteronomic legislation in Dt 15$^{12-18}$; (*c*) lastly, in the post-exilian Book of Leviticus (P) in Lv 25$^{39-55}$. All these, except Lv 25$^{44-55}$, deal with the conditions of a Hebrew slave in the possession of a master of the same nationality, and not with the case of a foreign slave. This must be considered separately.

A. We shall deal, first, with the *pre-exilian* legislation contained in the two sections (*a*) and (*b*). The period of service is fixed as six years; in the seventh there is the year of release. The question has been asked whether the six years may not be regarded as a *maximum* period. It is certainly quite possible that when, as in the case of debt, the sum to be earned by service could be worked out in a shorter term, the six-years' period might be abridged, but we have insufficient data in the OT to guide us on this point. The legislation appears to contemplate six years as the least period for which service could be entered. So Rabbis in their interpretations have inferred. Jacob's seven years' bondage to Laban (Gn 29^{18}) seems to point to a somewhat divergent tradition. It is evident that the six-years' period corresponds to the six days of work followed by the day of Sabbath rest. So with agricultural land, which in the seventh year is to lie fallow. Jer 34$^{8-22}$ is interesting and significant, since it shows that these laws respecting slaves were constantly violated by the owners.

In the pre-exilian legislation the special cases are duly provided for. But this is more particularly true of the earlier compend of laws (Book of the Covenant). In Ex 21$^{3.4}$ the case of a man who enters bond-service unmarried is distinguished from that of a married man. Under the latter case there are two varieties. If the marriage took place prior to the term of service, husband and wife become free together. But if the slave marries one of the slave-girls in his master's household, the wife and the children born to him by her do not accompany the husband in his year of release. This last stipulation is not mentioned in the Deuteronomic legislation. Are we to understand that the express provisions of the earlier legislation are tacitly assumed in the later? This is scarcely probable, since (1) the Deuteronomic legislation consistently repeats the earlier provisions of the Book of the Covenant, when adopted into its own code. Their omission, when tacitly understood, would have greatly abbreviated the later legislation in its written form. (2) We note a striking contrast between the express provision in Dt 15^{17b} (viz. that the ceremony described in Ex 21^{6}, Dt 15^{17a} should apply to *women as well*) and the hard injunction of Ex 21^{7} that the daughter who is sold as a bondwoman shall not go free as the bondman does. It is true that the case here contemplated is that of concubinage; but, as Driver in his commentary pertinently observes, the terms in Dt 15$^{12.17}$ are quite general, and we are not therefore justified in introducing exceptions out of the earlier legislation. The code of Deuteronomy is evidently separated from the Book of the Covenant by several centuries during which the Hebrew race advanced both socially and politically. The humanitarian tendency which was already conspicuous in the more primitive legislation had advanced still further. It may even be true, as Driver suggests, that Deuteronomy belongs to an age so far advanced on that of the earlier code that the case no longer practically occurred of a woman being sold into slavery for concubinage, or at all events this was not contemplated or recognized. This could hardly have been true at a date earlier than B.C. 622.

It sometimes, perhaps not infrequently, happened that a slave loved his master, or was impelled by the strong motives which the sustenance and protection of his master's home afforded, not to avail himself of the opportunity of the seventh year of release. Under the terms of the earlier legislation, a wife, married when her husband was living in bondage in his master's household, and the family reared under these conditions could not pass into freedom with the man when the seventh year of release had come. This would furnish an even stronger inducement not to avail himself of the freedom which the seventh year permitted. The master would then take the slave and bring him to God (*i.e.* to the local priest in the nearest sanctuary*), and bore through his ear in token of the fact that the slave was now the property of his master in perpetuity (Ex 21^{6}). This should not be understood to mean merely until the year of jubilee, as Josephus (*Ant.* IV. viii. 28) and Rashi assume, since this would introduce an arbitrary qualification. The year of jubilee, as we shall have subsequent occasion to see, belongs to a later stage of national life.

The growing humanitarian tendency which is characteristic of the Deuteronomic legislation shows itself in the addition of an express stipulation (Dt 15$^{13.14}$) that the master on releasing his slave was to provide him liberally from his flocks, his corn, and his wine† (cf. the modern Arabian usage cited from Doughty, above, p. 462^{b}).

The special case must now be considered of a father selling his daughter into slavery to another. To this the Book of the Covenant refers (Ex 21$^{7-11}$). This was done under the stipulation that the maiden should become the master's concubine or that of his son. If she fail to please her master (or his son) who has destined her for himself (read לו with *Ḳĕrê* in place of לא), she shall be redeemed [by her father or some near relative]. Under no circumstances is she to be sold into the hands of a foreigner. If she be the concubine of the master's son, she is to be treated as a daughter of the master's household. But if another woman is married, she is in no way to be defrauded of her food, dress, or conjugal rights. If any of these three rights of food, dress, etc., be not preserved intact, she may claim her freedom and depart without any redemption money being paid as compensation. As already stated, the case of a concubine-slave does not arise in the Deuteronomic code.

Budde in *ZATW*, 1891, p. 100 f., discusses the difficulties of Ex 21$^{8-11}$. After remarking that Dt 15$^{12.17}$ indicates an advance in civilization, he compares Lv 19^{20}, which, however, contemplates a different set of conditions. Budde suggests an ingenious emendation of the doubtful אשר לא יעדה into אשר לא יְדָעָהּ 'provided that he has not known her (carnally).' The LXX ἣ αὐτῷ καθωμολογήσατο, 'has promised or pledged herself to him,' appears to sustain the reading of the *Ḳĕrê*. We might, on the other hand, also render the Heb. text (*Ḳĕrê*) 'to whom [one] has destined her.' W. R. Smith, however, in *ZATW*, 1892, p. 162, supports Budde's reading of יְדָעָהּ, and makes the further suggestion that לא did not originally stand in the text, which was simply אשר ידעה. This involved a primitive usage whereby the heir (or son) inherited marital rights (*Kinship and Marriage*, p. 89 f.). The story of Absalom shows that this might occur even in the lifetime of the father without shocking public feeling. But to the later Jewish ideas this was abhorrent. Hence the insertion of לא into the text. Subsequently another textual tradition arose through the יְעָדָהּ of v.^{9}, which caused ידעה to be corrected to יעדה, which found its way into our Massoretic text. לא of the *Kethîb* thus remained unintelligible, and it was extremely easy for the Jewish scholars to assume that here as in so many passages it stands in place of לו. The reading אשר ידעה is confirmed by (1) the phrase בבגדו בה, which obviously presupposes sexual intercourse, (2) best explains רעה בעיני.—If we accept W. R. Smith's emendation, it would seem to show that the Book of the Covenant arose considerably earlier than the 8th cent. For in Am 2^7 the prophet denounces the profanation of the 'holy name' by the intercourse of father and son with the same paramour (cf. Gn 35^{22b} (P), 49^4). Here the נַעֲרָה may probably refer to the קְדֵשָׁה of some local high place. The sentiment which underlies the verse is unmistakable.

---

* This is the view taken by most commentators; אֶל־הָאֱלֹהִים does not mean 'to the judges,' as Dillm. seems disposed to understand it. For Jg 5^{8}, 1 S 2^{25} (see Löhr, *ad loc.*), and Ex 22$^{7.8.28}$ are passages where אלהים should be rendered by 'God' not 'judges,' God being regarded as the fountain of true justice, who spoke through the priest and witnessed the transaction. Hence LXX πρὸς τὸ κριτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ. Nowack would understand by אלהים here the 'family ancestors' (cf. 1 S 28^{13}, Is 8^{19}). The slave was taken to the family sanctuary and adopted permanently into the possessions of the family. But this is a far-fetched theory, and the employment of אלהים in a code of legislation in a sense so exceptional is certainly improbable.

The boring of the ear (probably the right ear, Lv 8$^{23f.}$ 14$^{14.17}$) was also practised by other Oriental peoples, *e.g.* the Mesopotamians (Juven. i. 104), Arabs (Petronius, *Sat.* 102), Lydians (Xenoph. *Anab.* III. i. 31), and Carthaginians (Plautus, *Pœnul.* v. ii. 21). For other parallels consult Dillm. on Ex 21^{6}.

† This humane Deuteronomic law was fully maintained in the later Jewish usage. According to *Ḳiddushin* 17, the worth of these parting gifts to the released slave must amount to 30 *sclaim* or 78 shillings (Hamburger).

B. The *post-exilian* legislation of the Book of Leviticus (25^{39-55}) was distinct, and was designed to meet the special conditions of the post-exilian times. The institution of the *year of* JUBILEE now takes the place of the old pre-exilian law respecting the seventh year of release. An express distinction is made between Hebrew slaves and foreigners. The latter are to be slaves for life, and do not come under the operation of the law of jubilee, whereby the Hebrew slave *with his family* in the fiftieth year passed out of bondage and returned to his own kindred and to his own inherited property, where he was enabled to maintain himself and his family in freedom.

The older biblical scholars attempted to reconcile the Levitical legislation with the older codes. Thus Saalschütz held the view that the legislation of Exodus and Deut. referred to the tribes related to the Hebrews, while the law of jubilee applied to Israelites only. But this distinction is an artificial 'Nothbehelf,' and the same remark applies to Dillmann's attempt to harmonize Levit. with the earlier legislation by assuming that the former was designed to secure to those who had not made use of their right of release in the seventh year through utter impoverishment, that they should not be slaves for ever, but obtain their release in the fiftieth.—But both these theories are based on a failure to recognize that the Levitical regulations were a completely new constructive effort to settle the conditions of Hebrew bond-service.

It is not by any means clear how far the slave benefited by the new conditions. Indeed the old Deuteronomic law seems more favourable, if the year of jubilee was over six years distant. The object of the new law seems to have been to fix a universally valid date of release, and thus to unite the lot of the individual to the collective life of the nation. Moreover, an express injunction was made (v.$^{47ff.}$), that Hebrew slaves should be redeemed from bondage to a foreign owner by the nearest kin (first brothers, then uncle or cousin), so that a foreign master had not the unconditional right of possession towards the Hebrew slave until the year of jubilee. The slave was, if possible, to be redeemed before that time, the price of redemption being regulated by (1) the original sum of purchase; (2) the distance of the year of jubilee. We thus find that the fundamental principle was recognized that the Hebrew slave was rather to be regarded as a hired workman, and the price of his purchase or redemption was to be considered as a kind of hire paid for in advance. The Hebrew master was, moreover, exhorted to treat him rather as a brother, or a 'hired servant' and 'sojourner' (vv.$^{39.\ 40}$).

The condition of *foreign* (*i.e.* non-Hebrew) slaves has been already referred to, and will now be considered in further detail. The captive taken in war naturally bore a somewhat heavier lot than the Hebrew slave who had passed into that condition by impoverishment or debt. But there were mitigations even in the lot of a foreign slave. A foreign captive woman taken in war and made a concubine was to be treated with a certain deference by her captor (Dt $21^{10ff.}$). The fact that the slaves of the household were circumcised meant much. They were thereby received into a religious community, and, by taking part in its *sacra*, shared in its protection. Thus from Dt $12^{12.\ 18}$ $16^{11.\ 14}$ we learn that they partook of the passover and other sacrificial meals, and, as we can easily infer from Ex 20^{10}, they enjoyed their Sabbath rest from toil in common with their Hebrew masters. According to Rabbinic tradition a slave could not be compulsorily circumcised, and, if he was circumcised, he was not to be sold to a foreigner, *i.e.* he was treated as though he were a Hebrew and not a foreign slave. But if he refused circumcision, he was to be sold after the expiration of a year. On the other hand, if before entering service he made the express stipulation that he was not to be circumcised, he might remain in bondage for an indefinite period; see Mielziner, *Die Verhältnisse der Sklaven bei den alten Hebräern*, p. 58.

C. Compensation for injury to slaves.—The earliest code of legislation sought to protect the Hebrew slave from maltreatment, and the rules we find on this subject (Ex $21^{20.\ 21.\ 26.\ 27}$) are very explicit on the whole. Smiting a slave so as to entail loss of eye or tooth entitled the slave to complete enfranchisement, and, in case death immediately ensued, a sure vengeance for such an act would be taken. If, however, the slave survived for a day or two before his death, the punishment of his loss by death was considered penalty enough, for the money-value of the slave was the measure of the master's loss.

We note here some vagueness as to what the 'sure vengeance' (v.^{20}), to be wreaked on the slave-owner who murdered his slave, was to be. We cannot fail to remark that the expression falls considerably short of the explicit language of v.^{12}, where the murder of a free Hebrew citizen is to receive the death penalty as its award. When we turn to the post-exilian legislation we observe the contrast. In Lv $24^{17.\ 22}$ all distinctions and special provisos are swept aside. Even the national barriers were discarded in this case by the post-exilian Jew. Bond and free came under the same law as well as the foreigner and Jew. Every murdered man's death was avenged by death.

D. Law respecting runaway slaves.—The beneficent legislation in Deuteronomy on this subject is based on the sacred rights of hospitality which we find not only among primitive Semitic nations,* but also in ancient Greece. It runs: 'Thou shalt not deliver up a slave to his master, who escapes to thee from his master. With thee shall he abide in thy midst in the place that he chooses, in any one of thy cities that he likes.' It may therefore be readily inferred that the recovery of a runaway slave in ancient Israel was far from easy. This we know to have been the case (cf. 1 K 2^{39}). This was another circumstance that tended to mitigate the slaves' lot, by making it incumbent on the owner of slaves to make the conditions of their life tolerable.

6. STATUS OF FEMALE SLAVES.—This varied considerably. As in the case of male slaves, the lot of the foreigner was not so favourable as that of a Hebrew or home-born slave. Yet, on the whole, even the foreign captive might enjoy a position of comparative comfort. The humane legislation of Dt $21^{10ff.}$ ordained that a foreign captive woman taken in war and made a concubine

---

* Respecting this law of the GĒR see *RS*^{2} p. 76, 'From the earliest times of Semitic life the lawlessness of the desert, in which every stranger is an enemy, has been tempered with the principle that the guest is inviolable. A man is safe in the midst of enemies as soon as he enters a tent or even touches the tent-rope'; cf. also p. 270.

was to be treated with a certain chivalrous deference, the respite of a month being allowed her by her captor. Note the position of the captive Israelite maiden in the Syrian general's household, 2 K $5^{2ff.}$, the confidential relations that subsisted between her and her mistress, and the sympathy displayed by the former with her master's disease. The genial treatment of foreign slaves in pre-exilian times evidently prevailed among other Semitic races besides the Hebrews.

A Hebrew female slave is described by various terms, according to the position she held. If she became the concubine of her master or of his son, she was designated by the more dignified term אָמָה (Assyr. *amtu*, Syr. ܐܰܡܬ݂ܳܐ, Arab. أَمَةٌ, Phœn. אמת; in fact the word is common to all Semitic languages, rendered in LXX by δούλη or θεράπαινα). Under the adverse circumstances brought about by poverty, to which reference has already been made, it not infrequently happened that the daughter could not be disposed of as freeborn in ordinary marriage, because the utter poverty of the parents constituted a social barrier. But if the daughter was dowered with good looks, she could easily be sold as a slave, and the price she would obtain might not fall far short of the ordinary *mōhar* or purchase-money of a free woman, which in the 7th cent. amounted to 50 shekels, or nearly £7 (Dt 22^{29}). Under any circumstances the transaction in primitive Israel would not have differed essentially from that which took place when a marriage was contracted with a free woman for whom purchase-money called *mōhar* was paid as though she were a chattel.[*] She would thus take her place as a concubine, and, if she bore children, her position sensibly improved. But if, as in the case of Hagar, she was simply the property of her mistress, and was introduced into this relation, the rights of the mistress might impose somewhat galling restraints. Accordingly, she might be called אָמָה, as the concubine who bore children to her master, and entitled to the rights of a married woman (see above), or, by the inferior designation of a שִׁפְחָה or 'bond-slave,' called upon to do menial tasks (Gn 16^2, cf. on the other hand 21^{10}, where Sarah herself calls Hagar אָמָה[†]), since she still remained under the control of the freeborn and superior wife (16^6). אָמָה is the expression which a woman does not hesitate, in the ordinary etiquette of social intercourse, to employ respecting herself when she is addressing a superior. This corresponds to the expression עֶבֶד employed by a man under similar circumstances. This distinction in the rank and dignity of the two terms is made clear in the speech of Abigail to David in 1 S 25^{41}. With true womanly dignity and courtesy combined she calls herself אָמָה, and yet consents to become a שִׁפְחָה and do the menial task of washing the feet of David's slaves. It was to the שִׁפְחָה that the laborious duty was assigned of grinding at the mill. This is the word used to designate the slave-girl behind the millstones in Ex 11^5, where the term is employed to describe the lower end of the social scale. The LXX render—δούλη, θεράπαινα, and οἰκέτις.

There is another interesting word employed in Hebrew to express slave-concubine, viz. פִּלֶגֶשׁ (פִּילֶגֶשׁ). No satisfactory Semitic etymology can be found for the word, and its form strongly suggests a Greek origin παλλακίς (πάλλαξ, cf. Latin *pellex*). The Greek race was called יָוָן by the ancient Semites. It is found in the Race-table Gn $10^{2.4}$ (P) and in the Assyr. inscriptions of Sargon and in the Tel el-Amarna tablets. See art. JAVAN. The term therefore originally meant a foreign slave-concubine (cf. Is 2^{6b} and footnote above, p. 463). The references Gn 35^{22}, Jg 19^1, 2 S 15^{16} 20^3 seem to suggest that the *pillegesh* was of a lower class and lax in morals.

7. PRICE OF SLAVES.—According to the Book of the Covenant (Ex 21^{32}) this was 30 shekels, or about £4, 5s., which was evidently the average price in the pre-exilian period. The money-value would of course vary with the slave's age and physical condition. Joseph's brethren were content with 20 shekels when he was sold to the Midianite (Ishmaelite) traders (Gn 37^{28}). This was due to his youth. According to the post-exilian Jewish legislation (Lv 27^{2-8}), 20 silver shekels (nearly £3) was the sum fixed for the redemption of slaves between 5 and 20 years old. We find the same price (⅓ *maneh*) paid for a slave from Suri mentioned in a very early contract-tablet of Babylonia.[*] The ordinary price, however, for an adult slave prevailing in Western Asia during several centuries was that stated in Ex 21^{32}, viz. 30 shekels. This, according to the most probable computation of the money-value of a *ḥomer* and a *lethech*, was the price paid for his wife by the prophet Hosea (3^2). See Nowack, *ad loc.* This was nearly the amount paid by Ptolemy Philadelphus for every Jewish captive in Egypt that he redeemed, viz. 120 drachmæ (about £4).[†] In 2 Mac $8^{9.10}$ we read that Nicanor attempted to defray the Roman tribute of 2000 talents by the sale of Jews at the rate of 90 per talent. This shows that the same value prevailed in the 2nd cent. B.C. Nor can we forget that for 30 shekels our Lord was sold by His traitor-disciple to the Jewish authorities (cf. Zec 11^{12}).

When we turn to the clay documents of Babylonia we find like sums and even lower paid for a slave. The values also range in special cases much higher. Thus in the time of Nebuchadnezzar we hear of a woman, Sakinna, and her daughter, a little girl of 3 years of age, being sold for 35 shekels [or nearly £5]. In another case a husband and his wife fetch 55 shekels [or about £7, 10s.] (Sayce). Mr. Pinches has transcribed a contract-tablet, in which a slave is sold for 2⅔ manehs of silver, or more than £22;[‡] while, according to Tiele, a slave might even cost as much as £95.[§] In both these last instances the slave must have been particularly valuable, probably owing to his possession of skilled qualifications.

8. SUBSEQUENT HISTORY OF SLAVERY FROM THE DAYS OF JEREMIAH.—In Jer $34^{8f.}$ we read of the unsuccessful attempt which was made in the reign of Zedekiah to carry out the provisions of the Deuteronomic code respecting the seventh year of release, the philanthropic efforts of the king being thwarted by the avarice of the owners. On the other hand, Nehemiah's strenuous endeavours in the years that followed the return from exile were crowned with better success. Acting in the spirit of the new Levitical legislation (Lv $25^{47f.}$), the Jewish slaves of foreign masters were redeemed, and the rich were persuaded to forego at least a portion of their rights of usury through which the whole trouble of bondage to a foreigner was brought about. 'We have borrowed money to pay the royal tribute upon our fields and our

---

[*] See art. MARRIAGE, vol. iii. p. 270b, under 'Dowry,' and quotation from Tristram's *Eastern Customs*, *ib.*

[†] Similarly in Gn 30 Bilhah is called by Rachel in her conversation with Jacob 'my *'āmāh*,' while in the narrative she is described as her *shiphḥah*. This chapter is an intricate complex of J and E. It is impossible to say that either document shows a preference for one expression over the other, though in ch. 21 E prefers the title אָמָה for Hagar.

[*] Schrader, *KIB* iv. p. 44 (iii.).

[†] Jos. *Ant.* XII. ii. 3.

[‡] *Hebraica*, viii. p. 134ff.

[§] *Bab.-Assyr. Gesch.* p. 507.

vineyards . . . and, lo! we reduce our sons and our daughters to slavery, and it is not in our power to help it; for other men have our fields and our vineyards' (Neh 5^{1-13}). Nehemiah's request, that the fields, vineyards, oliveyards, and houses should be restored, was complied with. Doubtless in later times there was full scope for the operation of this injunction to redeem the Israelite slave from bondage to a foreign master, for we read that in the wars of the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ large numbers of Jewish captives were taken (1 Mac 3^{41}, 2 Mac 8^{11}).

It would be an interesting object of investigation to endeavour to determine how far the philanthropic tendencies of Nehemiah and of the post-exilian legislation were influenced by the humane civilization of Babylonia. That that civilization was humane is clearly attested in the OT. Jeremiah's advice to the Jewish captives in Babylonia, 'Build ye houses, and dwell in them; plant gardens, and eat the fruit of them; take ye wives, and beget sons and daughters' . . . (Jer $29^{5.6}$), would have been impracticable under any other than an enlightened and humane polity. And the fact that large numbers of Jewish residents preferred to remain in the land of exile instead of availing themselves of the edict of Cyrus to return to their own land, is a significant hint in the same direction. Babylonia, as Sayce has pointed out, was a land where agricultural pursuits were carried on, as in Egypt, by industrious, peace-loving freedmen (not by slaves, as in Assyria, where the pursuits preferred by the conquering race were trade and war). In many instances we learn from the clay documents of purchase or sale that mother and child were sold together. Indeed, rights were accorded to women in possessing property superior to those of their Hebrew sisters in pre-exilian Canaan. 'The ancient Accadian law ordered, that if children had been born to slaves whom the former owner had sold while still keeping a claim upon them, he should, in buying them back, take the children as well at the rate of 1½ shekels each' (Sayce, *Social Life among the Assyrians and Babylonians*, p. 79).

The number of slaves in Palestine at any time down to the 1st cent. A.D. was probably small in comparison with that which was to be found in ancient Greece or in Rome in the later days of the Republic. From the report of a census made in B.C. 309, the male citizens of Athens numbered 45,000, and the slaves 350,000. It must be confessed, however, that the accuracy of this computation might be questioned. That the number was very considerable cannot be denied. For even the poorest citizen had a slave for his household, and a great number were employed in the occupations of baking, cooking, tailoring, etc. The father of Demosthenes possessed 50 slaves. Others owned many more (cf. Xenoph. *Vect.* 4. §§ 14, 15). They were employed in workshops or mines.—In ancient Rome large portions of the *ager publicus* began to be held by patricians as the Roman State extended its confines. These land-possessions were cultivated to a large extent by slaves (cf. Liv. vi. 12). Thus slaves increased in number, displaced the poorer class of freemen and peasant proprietors, and in the Licinian Rogations (B.C. 367) a provision became necessary that a certain number of freemen should be employed on every estate. In the later days of the Republic, and under the first emperors, the number of household slaves increased greatly (cf. Juv. *Sat.* iii. 141). Horace seems to regard ten slaves as a moderate number for a person in comfortable circumstances to keep (*Sat.* I. iii. 12, vi. 7). These would be largely supplied from the vast number of captives taken in war. From Cæs. *BG* iii. 16 we gather that slave-dealers followed in the track of an army, and after a victory, when a sale of slaves took place (*sub corona vendidit*), purchased at a cheap rate.

The treatment of slaves became more inhuman both in Greece and Rome as their number increased. In some respects their position in Athens was worse than it was in Rome. For in Athens the manumission of slaves did not take place so frequently as in Rome. Moreover, their position as manumitted slaves (ἀπελεύθεροι) was inferior to that which they enjoyed in Rome; for instead of becoming citizens they passed into the condition of mere μέτοικοι, and were obliged to honour their former master as their patron (προστάτης), and, if they neglected certain duties which they owed towards him, might even forfeit their modified condition of freedom. Even Aristotle regards a slave as a mere possession or chattel (κτῆμα), or an ἔμψυχον ὄργανον, an instrument endowed with life (*Eth. Nic.* viii. 13, *Pol.* i. 4). The bad treatment of Greek slaves is evidenced by the fact that they often mutinied (Plato, *Legg.* vi. 777 C). The insurrections under the Republic in Italy and Sicily attained formidable proportions. The two servile revolts in Sicily in B.C. 135 and 102 taxed all the resources of Rome, and were with difficulty suppressed, while the rebellion under Spartacus carried devastation through the Italian peninsula (B.C. 73–71). Nor are we in any degree surprised when we take account of the harsh penalties inflicted on slaves by their Roman masters, *e.g.* working in chains and fetters (Plautus, *Most.* I. i. 18; Terence, *Phorm.* II. i. 10), suspension by the hands while heavy weights were tied to the feet (Plautus, *Asin.* II. ii. 31). We read also of hard labour in the *ergastulum*, and of such harsh penalties as the *furca, crux,* and *notatio* (or branding inflicted on runaway slaves). Even ladies treated their slave attendants harshly in the days of the Empire, as Martial and Juvenal testify (Juven. *Sat.* vi. 219 ff., 492; Mart. *Epig.* ii. 66; cf. Ovid, *Am.* i. 14, 15). Varro, in his *de Re Rustica* (i. 71), expressly classes slaves with beasts of burden; and even the gentle and refined Cicero feels constrained to apologize to his friend Atticus for feeling 'more than a becoming grief' for the death of his slave Sositheus * (*Ep. ad Attic.* i. 12).

But as we enter Jewish society we pass into a new and happier world. In the first place, the number of slaves was far smaller in relative proportion. At the return of the exiles there were 42,360 Hebrew freemen, and only 7337 slaves, or one slave to 5·72 freemen. The teachers of the Talmud looked with disfavour on the ownership of many slaves. The more slaves, so much the more thieving; the more female slaves, so much the more unchastity (cf. *Babâ meẓî'â 60b*). The Essenes and Therapeutæ did not tolerate slavery, as being contrary to man's dignity (Philo, ii. 458, 482). The later literature of the OT reveals the humane attitude of Judaism towards the slave, and the religious basis on which it rested. The latter is vividly expressed in Job 31^{13-15}. Humane and gentle treatment of a slave from his early youth will engender a filial feeling in him towards his master (Pr $29^{19.21}$). On the other hand, it was clearly realized that there were dangers from undue laxity.

> 'Set thy servant to work, and thou shalt find rest;
> Leave his hands idle, and he will seek liberty . . .
> Send him to labour, that he be not idle;
> For idleness teacheth much mischief' (Sir $33^{25.27}$).

And the same writer advises even severe disciplinary measures—

> 'Yoke and thong will bow the weak:
> And for an evil servant there are racks and tortures' (v.^{26}).

It is necessary to bear the last passage in mind if we are to gain a true and complete picture of this aspect of Jewish social life (cf. Mt 25^{30}, Lk 12^{46}, the latter passage showing that very severe corporal chastisement, falling short of loss of limb or life, might be meted out to an 'evil servant').† According to the Mishna (*Yadaim* iv. 7), it was a subject of discussion among Pharisees and Sadducees as to whether a slave who had committed an injury on another was himself responsible or his master. According to the contention of the Pharisees, the master was *not* responsible, though he *was* responsible if the injury were committed by his ox. Thus the Pharisees (in contrast with the Roman Varro above cited) emphasized the distinction between an unreasoning brute and a slave. They argued, moreover, that a slave might otherwise easily wreak his spite on his master by committing an injury on another which the master had to pay. According to *Babâ ḳammâ* (viii. 4), the slave, if he committed an injury on another, was liable to make compensation when he obtained his release.

Respecting the conditions of release of Gentile slaves owned by a Jewish master we have not many *data* to guide us; see above, under 5 *B*, *ad fin.* Every facility was afforded for the manumission of

---

* 'Me plus quam servi mors debere videbatur commoverat.'

† We are led to suspect that these sterner traits of Jewish treatment reflect Græco-Roman influence.

Gentile slaves. According to the prescriptions of the Talmud, the Gentile slave received release through (1) redemption purchase (Maimonides, *'Abadin*, v. 2), (2) letters of manumission (*ib.* 3), (3) testamentary disposition, (4) silent recognition of his freedom (*Peah*, iii. 8), (5) by becoming a Jew (*i.e.* a proselyte), (6) by marriage with a free woman, etc. (Hamburger).

In Schürer, *GJV*^{3} (iii. p. 53), interesting details are furnished respecting the influence of Greek legal procedure on Jewish practice in the release of slaves. The act of release took place ἐπὶ τῆς προσευχῆς, *i.e.* in the synagogue before the assembled congregation (probably with some reference to Ex 21^{6}; see above). Full freedom was granted to the slave, χωρὶς ἰς [=εἰς] τὴν προσευχὴν θωπείας τε καὶ προσκαρτερήσεως [cf. προσκαρτερεῖν in Ac $2^{42.46}$ 1^{14} 6^{4}, Ro 12^{12}, Col 4^{2}], *i.e.* with the exception of regular worship in the synagogue to which the slave was bound. Accordingly, this mode of release in a sacred place involved a definite pledge on the part of the released slave to honour its religious usages. We have a parallel in Hellenic custom, whereby the procedure took place in a temple, and consisted in a fictitious sale of the slave by the master to the deity, the slave himself bringing the purchase-money. This did not in reality make the emancipated slave into a temple servant. He became actually free, and only morally appropriated by the deity. These facts are certified by documents discovered at Panticapæum and Gorgippia (cf. Schürer, *ib.* p. 18). The same tradition passed into the Christian Church in the eastern provinces of the Roman empire, and was called *manumissio in ecclesia*; see Schürer, p. 53, footn. 53.

The treatment of slaves in the Jewish household was not only humane, but under a good and pious master it would be even brotherly. Of the most distinguished personages it is related that they readily feasted their slaves with the same food of which they themselves partook, addressed old slaves as 'father' or 'mother,' and regarded their death as that of a beloved relative (*Berakhôth* 16*b*; *Kethubôth* 61; Jerus. *Babâ ḳammâ* 6).* Acc. to *Berakhôth, passim,* slaves are placed with women and children in exemption from *shema'* and wearing phylacteries, though bound in other matters of ritual.

9. THE CHRISTIAN ATTITUDE TO SLAVERY.—This may best be described as the religious attitude of Judaism expanded to the dimensions of Christ's gospel of universal redemptive love to man. With its advent new powers had entered into the world—new conceptions of human duties and relationships. All these lie implicit in Christ's Gospel of the Kingdom. 'To the poor the gospel is preached' (Mt 11^{5}). St. Paul expressed the new consciousness in the words: 'All are sons by faith in Christ Jesus . . . As many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ. . . . There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free . . . for ye are all one in Christ Jesus' (Gal 3^{26-28}, cf. Col $3^{10.11}$). And so the doors were thrown open wide to a world that yearned for salvation.

'The kingdom of God with its sublime universalism offers its invitation to all men as children of a heavenly Father, and binds those who follow His call into a society. . . . In the Christian Church the poor man found the civic rights of the Divine kingdom accorded to him without reserve as God's own child. . . . To the slaves, that lowest and most unhappy class of Græco-Roman society, the rights of man were restored. In the Church they heard the magic tones of the words: "Ye are men for whom also Christ has died; redeemed, to whom the same position belongs in the kingdom of God as to your masters." Masters also heard in the Church the solemn admonition that they were the brethren of their slaves, since both had taken upon themselves by voluntary choice the yoke of obedience to Christ (1 Co $7^{21ff.}$, Eph $6^{5ff.}$). When Paul uttered thoughts like these in his letter to Philemon, in which he interceded for the runaway slave of the latter, he was writing the charter of emancipation for the many millions of slaves who were held down by a minority in a degrading bondage.' †

Nevertheless, the Church issued no authoritative mandate that masters were to liberate their slaves. On the contrary, obedience to masters was inculcated (Eph 6^{5}, cf. parallels), as well as forbearance to slaves (v.^{9}).* The leaven was to work slowly and surely, without external compulsion by ecclesiastical authority, through eighteen centuries, until in the 19th cent. slavery was abolished in all the territories of Christian European peoples. In the 20th the leaven will work its course in society to yet larger issues!

10. RELIGIOUS USE OF THE TERM 'SLAVE' ('SERVANT').—The word 'servant' or 'slave' is constantly employed in the etiquette of daily intercourse in ancient Semitic society and among Arab populations at the present day. 'Thy servant' (or if a woman, 'thy handmaid') is the language of ordinary courtesy employed by an individual, when he speaks of himself, in addressing a superior or even an equal. In relation to God, this term is universally used by the worshipper. The root עבד expresses the dependent relation of subordination and obedience on the part of the individual to his Divine patron and Lord. And it has been shown, under ii. 1, how constantly this expression enters into proper names compounded with the name of deity, whether Canaanite or Hebrew. That collective and idealized Israel was so designated is especially apparent in Deutero-Isaiah. The term had been already employed in Ezk 28^{25} 37^{25}, and also in Jer $30^{10ff.}$ $46^{27ff.}$.† The passages in which the expression occurs in its most characteristic form within the collection designated by the term Deutero-Isaiah (chs. 40–56) are specially called the *'servant' passages*, and are regarded by most critics as distinct in authorship,‡ viz. 42^{1-4} 49^{1-6} 50^{4-9} 52^{13}–53^{12}.

The portrayal of the servant in these four sections is distinct from that which prevails in the rest of Deutero-Isaiah. In the former the servant is idealized, personal and sinless. He is Jehovah's disciple, chosen to minister to the heathen as well as to his own people (49^{6}), going about his own mission with quietness ($42^{2.3}$ 53^{7}), suffering like Jeremiah and Job through the scorn of the unfaithful, and so offering a propitiation for the guilt of his race (53^{4-6}). On the other hand, in the rest of Deutero-Isaiah, the 'servant Jacob' is blind, deaf, a prisoner plundered, despised, full of sin, though chosen by God, protected and destined for a glorious future. Yet these two portrayals have their essential features in common. Accordingly, 'servant (or slave) of Jehovah,' as a religious term applied to Israel, is a name of honour. Israel is chosen as God's messenger as well as servant. In fact the difference between Jacob as God's מַלְאָךְ and as His own personal slave, called to a high and honourable mission, is very slight. The two expressions stand in parallelism in 42^{19}. The servant is the chosen one in whom God takes pleasure. We are reminded of the relationship of Abraham to God as the 'friend of God' (2 Ch 20^{7}, Ja 2^{23}, cf. Korân, sur. 4^{124}). See, further, art. ISAIAH, and Smend, *ATliche Religiongesch.*^{2} p. 352 ff. In fact the expression is constantly employed in the OT as a name for God's messengers, especially the prophets (Am 3^{7}, Jer 7^{25} 25^{4} 26^{5} etc.), cf. Rev 10^{7} 11^{18}. It is used of Moses (Dt 34^{5}, Jos 1^{1}), of Isaiah (Is 20^{3}). Furthermore, it is used of the Messiah in Zec 3^{8}, and of the angels in Job 4^{18} (on the other hand, in Ps 103^{21} 104^{4} the term employed is מְשָׁרְתִים, which properly expresses honourable, voluntary, and, moreover, priestly service to God).

---

* On the humane treatment of slaves by Moslems see Lane's *Arabian Nights*, vol. i. p. 64 ff. (ch. i. note 13). Nevertheless, we are told that 'a master may even kill his own slave with impunity for any offence, and he incurs but a slight punishment (as imprisonment for a period at the discretion of the judge) if he kills him wantonly' (p. 63).

† Mangold, *Humanität und Christenthum*, Rede beim Antritt des Rectorats der Rheinischen Friederich Wilhelms Universität, am 18 October 1876. Bonn, Adolph Marcus.

* It should not be forgotten that the distinction between bond and free is cancelled, according to St. Paul's conception, *only in Christ*, *i.e.* within the confines of the redeemed society—the Church. Outside the Church the distinction might still prevail, and even be regarded as valid. St. Paul hardly contemplates any reorganization of society that does not rest on redemption and sanctification of individual life as a basis. In that outside world St. Paul might conceivably still regard Roman law as a *quasi* παιδαγωγός, and hold that slavery, as a human institution, under certain guarantees, might be under temporary Divine sanction. Modern missionaries of the Cross in heathendom, with its more primitive social conditions, have been compelled to adopt this view.

† It can scarcely be held that either of these latter passages is genuine. In Cornill's text (*SBOT*) they are relegated to the foot of the page.

‡ But see Budde, *Die sogenannten Ebed-Jahwe-Lieder*, 1900. Marti also argues against separating the conceptions in the Servant-passages from the rest of Deutero-Isaiah; see his commentary, p. 289 f.; so also Cornill in *Theolog. Rundschau*, Nov. 1900.

The transition from this OT use to the *NT* application of the corresponding term *δοῦλος* is very slight. It is applied to himself by Symeon (Lk 2^{29}) in his prayer to God (*Nunc Dimittis*), Who is consistently addressed as *δεσπότης* (a master of slaves, cf. Ac 4^{24}, Rev 6^{10}), and similarly the Virgin Mary speaks of herself as God's *δούλη* (אָמָה), Lk 1^{38}.

This term St. Paul, in the introduction to his Epistles, not infrequently uses with reference to himself (Ro 1^{1}, Ph 1^{1}); and that it is employed as an honourable designation, like the עֶבֶד of Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah, is evident from the corresponding use of *ἀπόστολος* in 1 Cor., 2 Cor., Gal., Eph., and Col. (equivalent to מַלְאָךְ, see above).

The relation of service to God is one of freedom and sonship (*υἱοθεσία*), as we learn from Ro 8^{21}. We have been emancipated from the older relationship to the law, which was one of fear and constraint, summed up in Ro 8^{15}, in the phrase *πνεῦμα δουλείας . . . εἰς φόβον*. These two contrasted states of relationship, belonging respectively to the new covenant of freedom and to the old covenant of bondage to the law, are compared by way of allegory to Isaac, son of the freewoman Sarah, and Ishmael, son of the bond-slave (*παιδίσκη*) Hagar. The one is represented by the heavenly Jerusalem and the other by Mount Sinai (Gal 4^{21}–5^{1}). By His death Christ has freed us from subjection to bondage throughout our life through fear of death (He 2^{15}). Obviously, such a relationship of free, loving service to Christ is not adequately expressed by *δουλεία*. The slave has no proper cognizance of his master's thoughts, but Christ has confided all His Father's purposes of love to His disciples. 'Henceforth I do not call you servants (slaves), but I have called you friends' (Jn 15^{15}).

LITERATURE.—Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* and the corresponding work of Benzinger; Ewald, *Alterthümer*^{3}, pp. 280–288 (Eng. tr. p. 210 ff.); the articles on Slaves in *PRE*, in Riehm's *HWB*, and in Hamburger's *RE*; Mielziner, *Die Verhältnisse der Sklaven bei den alten Hebräern*; Mandl, *Das Sklavenrecht des AT*. All these have been duly utilized in the present article. Suggestive for the OT is ch. vi. on 'Society, Morals,' etc., in McCurdy, *HPM* ii. 168 ff. On Græco-Roman Society cf. Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Ant.*^{3}, and the *Concise Dict.* by Warre Cornish (from which materials have been drawn). Other works have been referred to in the course of the article. On Arab slavery see Lane's *Arabian Nights*, ch. i. note 13; on slavery in the light of Christian ethics see Jul. Köstlin, *Christliche Ethik*, pp. 318, 490 ff.; Lightfoot, *Philemon* (Introd.). OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

SESIS (B Σεσείς, A Σεσσεὶς), 1 Es 9^{34} = Shashai, Ezr 10^{40}.

SESTHEL (Σεσθήλ), 1 Es 9^{31} = Bezalel of the sons of Pahath-moab, Ezr 10^{30}.

SET.—The Eng. verb to 'set' is properly a causative form of 'sit,' but it has been confused with 'sit' (partly through spelling both 'set'), and, like other monosyl. verbs, has come to be used very freely. **1.** Observe the foll. passages: Gn 30^{36} 'And he set three days' journey betwixt himself and Jacob' (Wyc. 'And putte a space of thre daies weye betwixt,' 1388 'settide the space of weie of thre daies betwixt'); Ex 19^{12} 'And thou shalt set bounds unto the people round about' (Wyc. 'ordeyn termes,' 1388 'sette termes'; Tind. 'sett marks rounde aboute the people'); Ps 73^{18} 'Surely thou didst set them in slippery places'; Sir 10^{9} 'Such an one setteth his own soul to sale' (*τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν ἔκπρακτον ποιεῖ*); Lk 7^{8} 'I also am a man set under authority' (*τασσόμενος*); He 12^{1} 'the race that is set before us' (*τὸν προκείμενον ἡμῖν ἀγῶνα*); 12^{2} 'for the joy that was set before him' (*ἀντὶ τῆς προκειμένης αὐτῷ χαρᾶς*).

2. To 'be set' is sometimes used as an equivalent for to 'sit,' like Scot. 'be seated,' as Lk 7^{37} Rhem. 'As she knew that he was set downe in the Pharisees house.' So Dn 7^{10} 'The judgment was set' (דִּינָא יְתִב, LXX *κριτήριον ἐκάθισε*, Vulg. *judicium sedit*, Wyc. 'the dom sate'); Sir 38^{29} 'Who is alway carefully set at his work'; Mt 5^{1} 'When he was set, his disciples came unto him'; 27^{19}; Lk 2^{34} 'This child is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel' (*κεῖται*); Jn 13^{12} 'So after he had washed their feet . . . and was set down again'; Ph 1^{17} 'I am set for the defence of the gospel' (*κεῖμαι*); He 8^{1}; Rev 3^{21} 'To him that overcometh will I grant to sit (*καθίσαι*) with me in my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down (*ἐκάθισα*) with my father in his throne.'

3. To set means to arrange in proper order, in 2 Ch 20^{17} 'Set yourselves, stand ye still,' Ps 2^{2} 'The kings of the earth set themselves' (יִתְיַצְּבוּ, Driver [*Par. Psalt.*], 'take their stand'), Ca 5^{12} 'His eyes are . . . fitly set,' Is 3^{24} 'Instead of well set hair, baldness.' Cf. Ex 25^{7} Tindale, 'Onix stones and sett stones for the Ephod'; Chaucer, *Duchesse*, 828—

> 'So had she
> Surmounted hem alle of beaute,
> Of maner and of comlinesse,
> Of stature and wel set gladnesse.'

4. The sense of 'fix,' 'determine,' arises naturally from the original idea of 'cause to stand.' Thus Neh 2^{6} 'It pleased the king to send me; and I set him a time'; so Gn 17^{21} 'At this set time in the next year' (cf. 21^{2}, Ex 9^{5}); 'set office' (אֱמוּנָה), 1 Ch $9^{22.\,26.\,31}$, 2 Ch $31^{15.\,18}$; and esp. 'set feast' (as the tr. of מוֹעֵד, lit. 'appointed time' [of sacred seasons]) Lv $13^{2\text{ff.}}$ RV (7 such are enumerated in this ch.), Nu 10^{10} (RV) 29^{29} *al.* Cf. *Judgement of the Synode at Dort*, p. 4, 'Hee hath chosen in Christ unto salvation a set number of certaine men, neither better nor more worthy then others.'

5. The following phrases are mostly *biblical*: (1) *Set one's hand to*, Dt 23^{20} 'In all that thou settest thine hand to' (RV 'puttest thine hand unto'), 28^{8}. Cf. Ac 12^{1} Rhem. 'And at the same time Herod the king set his handes, to afflicte certaine of the Church.' (2) *Set one's heart to*, Ex 7^{23} 'Neither did he set his heart to this also' (RV 'lay even this to heart,' RVm '*Heb.* set his heart even to this'); Dt 32^{46} 'Set your hearts unto all the words which I testify among you this day'; 1 Ch 22^{19} 'Now set your heart and your soul to seek the Lord your God'; Job 7^{17} 'What is man . . . that thou shouldest set thine heart upon him?'; Ps 78^{8} 'A generation that set not their heart aright'; Jer 31^{21} 'Set thine heart toward the highway'; Dn 6^{14} 'Then the king . . . set his heart on Daniel to deliver him.' Cf. 1 Ch 29^{3} 'I have set my affection to the house of my God.' (3) *Set one's face.* This is one of the many Hebraisms in which the 'face' plays its part. It has two meanings: (*a*) *Turn towards with a purpose or resolution, determine*, Nu 24^{1} 'But he set his face toward the wilderness'; 2 K 12^{17} 'And Hazael set his face to go up to Jerusalem'; Ezk 21^{16} 'Go thee one way or other . . . whithersoever thy face is set'; Jer 42^{15} 'If ye wholly set your faces to enter into Egypt,' 42^{17}; Lk 9^{51} 'He stedfastly set his face to go to Jerusalem' (*τὸ πρόσωπον ἐστήρισεν*). (*b*) *To take up an antagonistic position*, Lv 17^{10} 'I will even set my face against that soul that eateth blood,' $20^{3.\,5.\,6}$; Jer 21^{10} 'For I have set my face against this city for evil'; Ezk 6^{2} 'Son of man, set thy face toward the mountains of Israel, and prophesy against them,' 13^{17} 15^{7} 20^{46} 21^{2} 25^{2} 28^{21} 29^{2} 35^{2} 38^{2}. (4) To *set eyes on*, Ac 13^{9}, is not as now 'to catch a glimpse of,' but to 'fix one's eyes upon': 'Then Saul (who is also called Paul), filled with the Holy Ghost, set his eyes on him' (*ἀτενίσας εἰς αὐτόν*, RV 'fastened his eyes on him').

6. The verb to 'set' is used with certain adverbs in a sense that is antiquated or Hebraistic: (1) *Set at*, that is, 'valued at,' 2 K 12^4 'The money that every man is set at' (RV 'the money of the persons for whom each man is rated,' RVm '*Heb.* each man the money of the souls of his estimation'). Cf. Lv 27^2 Tind. 'Yf any man will geve a synguler vowe unto the Lorde acordynge to the value of his soule, then shall the male from xx. yere unto lx. be set at fyftie sycles of sylver'; and Shaks. *Hamlet*, I. iv. 67—'I do not set my life at a pin's fee.' (2) *Set at nought*, *i.e.* despise, treat with contempt or mockery, Pr 1^{25} 'But ye have set at nought all my counsel,' Mk 9^{12}, Lk 23^{11}, Ac 4^{11} 19^{27}, Ro 14^{10}. (3) *Set by*, *i.e.* esteem, 2 Mac 4^{15} 'Not setting by the honours of their fathers, but liking the glory of the [Grecians] best of all' (ἐν οὐδενὶ τιθέμενοι, RV 'making of no account'). Cf. Ps 15^4 Pr. Bk. 'He that setteth not by hym selfe, but maketh moche of them that fear the Lorde'; Ridley, *Works*, 27, 'Lest I should seem to set by mine own conceit, more than is meet'; *Babees Book*, p. 72—

'He that good manners seemes to lack,
No wyse man doth set by:
Wythout condicions vertuous,
Thou art not worth a flye.'

So *set much by*, 1 S 18^{30} 'His name was much set by,' $26^{24\,bis}$: cf. 1 P 3^4 Tind. 'With a meke and a quyet sprete, which sprete is before God a thinge moche set by.' So also *set little by* or *set light by*, Dt 27^{16} 'Cursed be he that setteth light by his father or his mother'; Ezk 22^7, Jth 11^2. Cf. Jer 50^{12} Cov. 'She shall be the least set by amonge the nacions'; Tindale, *Expos.* p. 229, '*Called the least*, that is to say, shall be little set by and despised: *called great*, that is to say, shall be much set by and had in reverence.' Even *set at light* is found in the margin of 2 S 19^{43}. Cf. Fisher, *A Spiritual Consolation* (in Morley's *Eng. Religion*, p. 140), 'Such as we set but at light, full greatly shall be weighed in the presence of his most high Majesty'; Knox, *Hist.* 49, 'Perchance this hand of God will make them now to magnifie and reverence that word which before (for the fear of men) they set at light price.' (4) *Set forth.* This phrase has various meanings: (*a*) *Begin a journey*, Nu 2^9 'These shall first set forth'; Ac 21^2 'We went aboard, and set forth' (ἀνήχθημεν, RV 'set sail'). Cf. Bunyan, *Holy War*, 68, 'The time, therefore, of his setting forth being now expired, he addressed himself for his march'; Melvill, *Diary*, 172, 'Sa, parting from Berwik, hartlie recommendit to the blessing and grace of God, be manie godlie men and women, and be sum sett and convoyet a guid way on our jorney, we cam that night to Anweik.' (*b*) *Bring forward* or *cause to be seen*, Ps 141^2 'Let my prayer be set forth before thee as incense' (תִּכּוֹן, LXX κατευθυνθήτω, Vulg. *dirigatur*); Ezk 27^{10} 'They hanged the shield and helmet in thee; they set forth thy comeliness' (נָתְנוּ, LXX ἔδωκαν); Dn $11^{11.\,13}$ 'And he shall set forth a great multitude' (וְהֶעֱמִיד); Am 8^5 'When will the new moon be gone, that we may sell corn? and the sabbath, that we may set forth wheat?' (וְנִפְתְּחָה־בָּר, AVm and RVm 'open'); Lk 1^1 'To set forth in order a declaration of those things' (ἀνατάξασθαι); Ro 3^{25} 'Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation' (ὃν προέθετο ὁ θεός, AVm 'foreordained,' RVm 'purposed'); 1 Co 4^9 'For I think that God hath set forth us the apostles last' (ἀπέδειξεν); Gal 3^1 'Before whose eyes Jesus Christ hath been evidently set forth' (προεγράφη, RV 'was openly set forth'); Jude ^{7} 'Even as Sodom and Gomorrha . . . are set forth for an example' (πρόκεινται δεῖγμα). Cf. Pr. Bk. *Exhort. to Confession*, 'When we assemble and meet together . . . to set forth His most worthy praise, to hear His most holy word'; Shaks. *King John*, II. i. 295—

'Up higher to the plain, where we'll set forth
In best appointment all our regiments.'

The same phrase is used technically of placing food before one, Jn 2^{10} 'Every man at the beginning doth set forth good wine' (τίθησιν). (*c*) *Praise*, Sir 11^{heading} 'We may not vaunt or set forth ourselves.' Cf. Pr. Bk. 1549 (Canticle foll. *Te Deum*), 'Speak good of the Lord; praise him, and set him up for ever'; and Shaks. *Lucrece*, 34—

Beauty itself doth of itself persuade
The eyes of men without an orator:
What needeth then apologies be made
To set forth that which is so singular?'

(5) *Set forward.* See FORWARD in vol. ii. p. 60. (6) *Set on* means: (*a*) *Place on table*, Gn $43^{31.\,32}$ 'And he washed his face . . . and said, Set on bread'; Bel ^{11} 'Set on the meat, and make ready the wine.' (*b*) *Incite* or urge to some course of action, Jer 38^{22} 'Thy friends have set thee on, and have prevailed against thee' (הִסִּיתוּךָ); 43^3 'But Baruch the son of Neriah setteth thee on against us' (מַסִּית). (*c*) As a ptcp. *bent on*, Ex 32^{22} 'They are set on mischief.' (*d*) To *attack*, Ac 18^{10} 'No man shall set on thee to hurt thee' (ἐπιθήσεταί σοι). (7) *Set to*, meaning *affix*, of a seal, Jn 3^{33} 'He that hath received his testimony hath set to his seal that God is true' (ἐσφράγισεν). Cf. Ex 21^{30} Tind. 'Yf he be sette to a summe of money, then he shall geve for the delyveraunce off his lyfe, accordynge to all that is put unto him'; Adams, *Works*, i. 18, 'In testimony whereof I have set to my hand, and sent it you as a token of the gratitude of my heart.' (8) *Set up*, meaning *establish*, Mal 3^{15} 'They that work wickedness are set up.'

J. HASTINGS.

SETH (שֵׁת, *i.e.* Shēth; LXX and NT Σήθ [in 1 Ch 1^1 A has Σής]).—The third son of Adam, Gn 4^{25} (J) 5^3 (P), 1 Ch 1^1, Lk 3^{38}. In the first of these passages J assigns a characteristic etymology for the name, Eve being made to say 'God hath set (*shāth*) for me another seed instead of Abel,' for which reason she called him *Shēth* (*i.e.* 'setting' or 'slip,' Dillm.). In Sir 49^{16} Seth is coupled with Shem as 'glorified among men.' A heretical Jewish sect, whose tenets afterwards found acceptance in Christian Gnostic circles, derived its name from Seth. These *Sethians* or *Sethites* held (like other Gnostics, Jewish and Christian) that the material universe was the creation of angels and not of the supreme *Dynamis*, to whom Seth owed his birth. Theodoret (*Hær. Fab.* i. 14) appears to identify them with the Ophites: Σηθιανοὶ οὓς Ὀφιανοὺς ἢ Ὀφίτας τινες ὀνομάζουσι. Some of the Jewish Sethites believed Seth to have been the Messiah, and later Gnostics held that Jesus Christ was a re-incarnation of Seth. For further information as to this sect and its relations to the Ophites and Cainites (a subject beyond the scope of this art.), see Friedländer, *Der vorchristliche jüdische Gnosticismus*, 1898, p. 18 ff.; Preuschen, *Die apokr. gnost. Adamschriften*, 1900, *passim*; and cf. Epiphanius (*adv. Hær.* xxxix.), pseudo-Tertull. (viii.), and Philast. (iii.).

J. A. SELBIE.

SETHUR (סְתוּר, Σαθούρ).—The Asherite spy, Nu $13^{13\,(14)}$.

SETTLE (עֲזָרָה).—See TEMPLE, p. 710^{b} n.

SEVEN, SEVENTY.—See NUMBER, vol. iii. pp. 562 f., 565^{a}.

SEVENEH (סְוֵנֵה; Gr. Συήνη, *Syene*; Egyp. *Swn*, Dem. *Swne*, Copt. ⲤⲞⲨⲀⲚ [*Swan*]; Arab. اسوان [*Aswân*]).—A city on the east bank of the Nile immediately above the First Cataract, the southern frontier post of Egypt. For some distance north of Aswan the cultivable portion of the Nile Valley is extremely narrow. At Aswan the hills draw in rapidly on either side, and the town is built against a rocky barrier of sandstone supported by a dyke of granite that crosses the Nile and forms the cataract. Here there is no cultivation on either bank beyond that of a few palm trees and tiny patches of garden; but the little island of Elephantine in the middle of the stream opposite Aswan is almost clothed with vegetation, and formed the ancient capital of the first nome of Upper Egypt. West of the river are cliffs, shrouded with sand, but pierced by countless tombs of the former inhabitants of the island. Elephantine-Syene must have formed an almost ideal frontier fortress. Immediately above this point the narrow passage of the Nile was rendered dangerous and very tedious for boats by the rocks and islands and rushing currents of the cataract. On the west bank there is not even a path; the adventurous sightseer must clamber over the rocks; on the east bank there was only one clear road, and this led through a long narrow defile parallel to the river into the open ground opposite Philæ. Elephantine, the island, was the secure metropolis of the district, the residence of the governor, and the centre of the local cult of the cataract gods. Its name in Egyptian was *'bw*, 'elephant,' demotic *yb* (Ιηβ), a name which seems to have been applied not only to the island but also to the surrounding district, including the quarries of granite. Syene itself was probably considered as only a mainland suburb of Elephantine. 'Wine of *swn*' is mentioned in very early inscriptions, but it is doubtful whether the reference is to Syene. In the Egyptian inscriptions the name of the town is known only at a very late date; its temple is of Ptolemaic age. Gradually the importance of Elephantine waned, and that of Syene grew; with the fall of paganism even the name *Yêb* (Elephantine) was given up and that of *Swan* took its place. It is remarkable that Ezekiel employs the name *Sweneh* and not *Yêb* for the southern frontier; the references are Ezk 29^{10} 30^{6}; the reading of RVm 'from Migdol to Syene' is the best. (See MIGDOL). Herodotus often refers to Ἐλεφαντίνη. In ii. 30 he speaks of Elephantine, Daphnæ near Pelusium, and Marea as the garrison cities respectively against the Ethiopians, against the Syrians and Arabs, and against Libya. His only reference to Syene is in ii. 28, where he mentions 'hills between (*sic*) Syene and Elephantine' in a fantastic passage which is no guide to facts; his geography in Upper Egypt is always faulty.

F. LL. GRIFFITH.

SEVER.—The verbs to 'sever' and to 'separate' both come from Lat. *separare*, the former through Old Fr. *sevrer*, the latter directly. The form 'sever' now expresses a sharper stroke than 'separate,' but in older Eng. no distinction was observed between them. All the verbs tr^{d} 'sever' in AV are also tr^{d} 'separate.' Cf. Bacon, *Adv. of Learn.* ii. 367, 'We see the chaff may and ought to be severed from the corn in the ear'; and Rhem. NT (note on Ac 10^{26}), 'But when Heretikes began to rise from among the Christians, who professed Christ's name and sundry Articles of faith as true believers doe, the name *Christian* was to common to sever the Heretikes from true faithful men: and thereupon the Apostles by the holy Ghost imposed this name Catholike upon the Beleevers which in al points were obedient to the Churches doctrine.'

J. HASTINGS.

SEVERAL.—Just as 'sever' in AV means to *separate*, so 'several' means *separate, distinct*, as 2 K 15^{5} 'He was a leper unto the day of his death, and dwelt in a several house'; Mt 25^{15} 'to every man according to his several ability.' So **severally**, 1 Co 12^{11} 'dividing to every man severally as he will.' Cf. Dt 7^{6} Tind. 'The Lorde thy God hath chosen the to be a severall people unto him silf'; Tymme, *Calvin's Genesis*, 882 (Gn 49^{28}), 'Every one of them blessed he, with a severall blessing'; Ridley, *Works*, 390, 'Our own servants were taken from us before and . . . we each one appointed to be kept in several places'; Calderwood, *Hist.* 107, 'Their [elders] office is as well severally, as conjunctly, to watch diligently over the flock committed to their charge.'

J. HASTINGS.

SHAALABBIN (שַׁעֲלַבִּין; B Σαλαβείν, A Σαλαμείν; Vulg. *Selebin*).—A town of Dan mentioned between Irshemesh (Beth-shemesh) and Aijalon (Jos 19^{42}). It is apparently the same place as SHAALBIM.

C. W. WILSON.

SHAALBIM (שַׁעַלְבִים; in Joshua LXX BA have Θαλαβείν, in 1 Kings B has Βηθαλαμεί, A Σαλαβείμ; Vulg. *Salabim, Salebim*).—A town mentioned with Mt. Heres and Aijalon as being occupied by the Amorites who had driven the Danites into the hills (Jg 1^{35}). It was, with Makaz and Beth-shemesh, in the district of one of Solomon's commissariat officers (1 K 4^{9}); and if it be the same place as **Shaalabbin**, it is mentioned with Aijalon and Beth-shemesh in Jos 19^{42}. It is probably identical with **Shaalbon**, the home of one of David's heroes. Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom. s.* Σαλαβείν, *Salabim*) identify it with Salaba, a large village in the territory of Sebaste; but this is too far north of Aijalon. Elsewhere (*Com. ad Ezek.* 48) Jerome mentions 'the towers of Aijalon, and Selebi, and Emmaus' in connexion with Joppa and the territory of Dan. From this Conder (*PEF Mem.* iii. 52) identifies Shaalbim with *Selbît*, about 8 miles N. of Beth-shemesh, 3 miles N.W. of Aijalon, and 2 miles N. of Emmaus. Possibly (see Driver, *Text. of Sam.* 54) Shaalbim should be read for **Shaalim** in 1 S 9^{4}.

C. W. WILSON.

SHAALBONITE, THE (הַשַּׁעַלְבֹנִי; in 2 S ὁ Σαλαβωνείτης; in 1 Ch B ὁ Ὀμεί, A ο Σαλαβωνί; *de Salboni*).—Eliahba, the Shaalbonite, one of David's heroes (2 S 23^{32}, 1 Ch 11^{33}), was a native of Shaalbon,—a place not mentioned elsewhere. See SHAALBIM.

C. W. WILSON.

SHAALIM, THE LAND OF (אֶרֶץ־שַׁעֲלִים; B τῆς γῆς Ἐασακέμ, A τ. γ. Σααλείμ; *terra Salim*).—Saul, when searching for his father's asses, passed through the land of Shaalim (1 S 9^{4}) after he had traversed the hill-country of Ephraim, and the land of Shalishah, and before he reached the 'land of Jemini' (RV and AV 'land of the Benjamites')—probably part of the territory of Benjamin. If Saul started from Gibeah, and Shalishah was, as seems probable, in the western hills (see SHALISHAH), the land of Shaalim must have been a portion of the hill-country east of Lydda, and not far from the boundary of Benjamin. It is possible, however, that Shaalim is a textual error for **Shaalbim** of Jg 1^{35}, Jos 19^{42}. See Driver, *Text of Sam.* p. 54.

C. W. WILSON.

SHAAPH (שַׁעַף).—1. The son of Jahdai, a Calebite, 1 Ch 2^{47}. 2. A son of Caleb by his concubine Maacah, 1 Ch 2^{49}. In both passages B has Σάγαε, A Σάγαφ.

SHAARAIM (שַׁעֲרַיִם; Σακαρείμ; *Saraim, Saarim*).—1. A town of Judah, in the Shephēlah (lowland), mentioned (Jos 15^{36}) in the same group with Adullam, Socoh, and Azekah. It was unknown to Eusebius (*Onom. s.* Σαραείν). Conder (*PEF*

Mem. iii. 194) suggests *Khurbet S'aîreh*, west of *Beit 'Atâb*; others identify it with *Zakarîya* (Riehm, *HWB*). Shaaraim is perhaps mentioned again in the pursuit of the Philistines after the death of Goliath (1 S 17[52]), when 'the wounded Philistines fell down by the way to Shaaraim (RVm 'the two gates'), even unto Gath and Ekron.' The meaning of the word is 'two gates,' and the LXX takes it in this passage to mean the gates of Gath and Ekron. See, further, art. GAI, and Wellh. *Sam. ad loc.*

2. A town of Simeon (1 Ch 4[31]) which appears as **Sharuhen** in Jos 19[6], and as **Shilhim** in Jos 15[32]. It was situated in the Negeb, and was possibly the same place as the Canaanite 'fortress of the land of Sharuana,' mentioned in the annals of Thothmes III. (*RP* ii. 38). This indicates that the form *Sharuhen* is correct. C. W. WILSON.

SHAASHGAZ (שַׁעַשְׁגַּז).—A chamberlain of king Ahasuerus, Est 2[14]. The LXX reads Γαί, the same name as it gives to the official referred to in vv.[8. 15]. See HEGAI.

SHABBETHAI (שַׁבְּתַי).—A Levite who opposed the action of Ezra in the matter of the foreign marriages, Ezr 10[15] (B Σαβαθαί, A Καββαθαί)= SABBATEUS of 1 Es 9[14]. He is mentioned also, along with other Levites, in Neh 8[7] (LXX om.), as explaining the law to the people (in 1 Es 9[48] SABATEUS); and in 11[16] (BAℵ* om., ℵ[c. a] Σοββαθαῖος) as one of 'the chiefs of the Levites who had the oversight of the outward business of the house of God.'

SHACHIA (שָׂכְיָה, so Baer; the MSS show the variants שָׁכְיָה, שַׂכְיָה, שַׂכְיָא, שָׂבְיָה, the last being supported by the Syr. and the LXX [B Σαβιά, A Σεβιά, but Luc. Σεχιά], while the forms in כ instead of ב can claim the support of the Vulg. *Sechia*).—A son of Shaharaim, a Benjamite, 1 Ch 8[10].

SHADDAI.—See art. GOD, vol. ii. p. 199[a].

SHADRACH (שַׁדְרַךְ, Σεδράχ).—The name given to Hananiah, one of Daniel's companions, by the prince of the eunuchs, Dn 1[7]. It is related in Dn 3 how Shadrach, along with Meshach (Mishael) and Abed-nego (Azariah), all of whom had been advanced to high offices (2[49]), resisted the command to pay homage to Nebuchadnezzar's golden image, how all three were in consequence cast into a fiery furnace, and how they were miraculously delivered. See HANANIAH, No. 2, and THREE CHILDREN (SONG OF THE).

The etymology of the name *Shadrach* is uncertain. Frd. Delitzsch (*Lib. Dan.* xii.) suggests that it is a variation of the Bab. *Šudur-Aku*, 'command of the moon-god,' comparing the Assyr. *Têm-ilu*=טְעֵם־אֵל, and the Heb. אֲמַרְיָהוּ. This view is pronounced by Schrader (*KAT*[2] 429 [*COT* ii. 125]) to have 'considerable probability.'

J. A. SELBIE.

SHAGE (שָׁגֵא; B Σωλά, A Σαγή).—The father of Jonathan, one of David's heroes, 1 Ch 11[34]. See AGEE and SHAMMAH, No. 3.

SHAHARAIM (שַׁחֲרַיִם; B Σααρήλ, A Σααρήμ).—A Benjamite who is said to have begotten children in the 'field of Moab' after he had sent away two wives, Hushim and Baara, 1 Ch 8[8] (RVm). The passage is obscure.

SHAHAZUMAH (שַׁחֲצוּמָה *Kethibh*; AV Shahazimah, after *Ḳerê* שַׁחֲצִימָה; B Σαλεὶμ κατὰ θάλασσαν, A Σασειμάθ, *Sehesima*).—A town allotted to Issachar, which was apparently between Mt. Tabor and the Jordan (Jos 19[22]). Its site was unknown to Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom. s.* Σασιμά, *Sasima*), and it has not yet been identified.

C. W. WILSON.

SHALEM (שָׁלֵם; εἰς Σαλήμ; *in Salem*).—According to AV (cf. Luther's translation), which follows the LXX, the Pesh., and the Vulg., 'Shalem' (Gn 33[18]) is a proper name, and considered to be a town near Shechem. Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.*) believed Shalem and Shechem to be the same place. But if Shalem was a town, it must have been *Sâlim*, 4 miles east of *Nâblus* (Shechem). In Gn 28[21] בְּשָׁלֵם *bĕ-shālēm* is translated 'in peace,' and in Gn 33[18] we should probably translate 'in peace to the city of Shechem,' as in RV which follows the Targums of Onḳelos and pseudo-Jonathan, the Samaritan Codex, the Arabic Version, and the great Jewish and other commentators of modern times. See Dillm. *ad loc.* C. W. WILSON.

SHALISHAH, THE LAND OF (אֶרֶץ־שָׁלִשָׁה; B ἡ γῆ Σελχά, A ἡ γῆ Σαλισσά; *terra Salisa*).—Saul, when searching for his father's asses, passed through the 'land of Shalishah' (1 S 9[4]) after crossing the 'hill-country of Ephraim,' and before reaching the 'land of Shaalim.' Leaving Gibeah he must have crossed Mt. Ephraim in a northerly direction, and the 'land of Shalishah' must consequently have been in the western hills. **Baal-shalishah** (2 K 4[42]), which was very probably in the land of Shalishah, is said by Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom. s.* Βαιθσαρισάθ, *Bethsalisa*) to have been in the Thamnitic toparchy, 15 M.P. north of Lydda. This points to *Khurbet Sirîsia*, or, according to Conder (*PEF Mem.* ii. 285), to *Khurbet Kefr Thilth.* See SHAALIM. C. W. WILSON.

SHALLECHETH, THE GATE (שַׁעַר שַׁלֶּכֶת; ἡ πύλη παστοφορίου; *porta quæ ducit*).—One of the gates of the 'house of Jehovah' which Solomon was to build after the death of David (1 Ch 22). It is mentioned only in 1 Ch 26[16], in a list of the gatekeepers (AV 'porters') of the sacred enclosure as settled by David. The gate was on the west side of the outer court, behind the temple buildings, and apparently at, or near, the head of the ramp or causeway (מְסִלָּה) which led up to the sanctuary from the ravine which Josephus calls the Tyropœon Valley. It has been suggested (cf. Smith's *DB*, *s.v.*) that the causeway was at 'Wilson's Arch'; but, in the uncertainty which still exists with regard to the site of the temple, and the condition of the hill in the time of Solomon, this can only be regarded as speculation. Some authorities (*e.g.* Riehm [*HWB*], *Speaker's Com.*), from the meaning of the word *Shallecheth*, 'casting forth,' consider the gate to be that by which the ashes and the offal of the victims were thrown out. It is, however, probable that the refuse of the temple was carried out on the east or south side, and burned, or otherwise disposed of, in the Kidron Valley. The LXX rendering, 'Gate of the *Pastophorion*,' appears to point to a building with chambers, of which there were several round the outer enclosure of the temple. C. W. WILSON.

SHALLUM (שַׁלּוּם and שַׁלֻּם).—**1.** One of the kings of Israel, 2 K 15[10-16] (Σελλούμ). He headed a conspiracy against Zechariah, the last king of Jehu's dynasty, murdered him, and usurped his throne (*c.* 740 B.C.). After the short period of a month, he himself fell a victim to MENAHEM (see vol. iii. p. 340[a]). **2.** It is not improbable that in Jer 22[11] (Σελλήμ) שַׁלֻּם (AV and RV 'Shallum') is meant to be an epithet, 'the requited one,' applied to Jehoahaz, or it may be that Shallum was the original name of the latter (see JEHOAHAZ, No. 2). The Chronicler takes (perhaps from this passage) Shallum as a proper name, and makes him the fourth son of Josiah, 1 Ch 3^{15} (B Σαλούμ, A Σαλλούμ). **3.** The husband (or son, LXX in 2 Kings) of HULDAH the prophetess, 2 K 22^{14} (B Σελλήμ, A Σελλούμ), 2 Ch 34^{22} (BA Σελλήμ). **4.** A Judahite, 1 Ch $2^{40f.}$ (B Σαλούμ, A in v.^{40} Σαλλούμ). **5.** A descendant of Simeon, 1 Ch 4^{25} (Σαλέμ). **6.** A high priest, son of Zadok, 1 Ch $6^{12.\,13}$ (B Σαλώμ, A Σελλούμ), Ezr 7^{2} (B Σελούμ, A Σελλούμ)=SALEM of 1 Es 8^{1} and SALEMAS of 2 Es 1^{1}. **7.** A son of Naphtali, 1 Ch 7^{13} (B Σαλωμών, A Σελλούμ), called in Gn 46^{24} and Nu 26^{49} **Shillem** (שִׁלֵּם; in former passage A Συλλήμ, in latter B Σελλή, A Σελλήμ), with the gentilic name **Shillemites** (הַשִּׁלֵּמִי; B ὁ Σελλημεί, A ὁ Σελλημί), Nu 26^{49}. **8.** The eponym of a family of gatekeepers, 1 Ch $9^{17\,bis}$ (B Σαλώμ, A first time Σαλλώμ), Ezr 2^{42}=Neh 7^{45} (B Σαλούμ, A Σελλούμ), called in 1 Es 5^{28} SALUM, and (possibly) in Neh 12^{25} MESHULLAM. **9.** A Korahite gatekeeper, 1 Ch 9^{19} (B Σαλωμών, A Σαλώμ) ^{31} (BA Σαλώμ), called in $26^{1.\,2.\,9}$ MESHELEMIAH and in 26^{14} SHELEMIAH. It is not at all unlikely that this name should be identified with the preceding. **10.** Father of Jehizkiah, an Ephraimite chief, 2 Ch 28^{12} (Σελλήμ). **11.** One of the porters who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10^{24} (B Γελλήμ, ℵ Γαιλλείμ, A Σολλήμ). **12.** One of the sons of Bani who had committed the same offence, Ezr 10^{42} (B Σαλούμ, A Σελλούμ). **13.** The son of Hallohesh, ruler of a district of Jerusalem. He and his daughters are recorded to have assisted in the repairing of the wall, Neh 3^{12} (B Σαλούμ, A Σαλλούμ, ℵ Οάλούμ). **14.** The uncle of Jeremiah, Jer 32 [Gr. 39]^{7} (Σαλώμ). **15.** Father of Maaseiah, the keeper of the threshold, Jer 35 [Gr. 42]^{4} (Σελώμ). J. A. SELBIE.

SHALLUN (שַׁלּוּן).—The son of Col-hozeh, the ruler of the district of Mizpah, who took part in the repair of the wall and gates of Jerusalem, Neh 3^{15} (LXX om.).

SHALMAI.—See SALMAI.

SHALMAN (שַׁלְמַן).—Hos 10^{14} (only) 'as Shalman spoiled Beth-arbel in the day of battle.' The identity of Shalman and of BETH-ARBEL (which see) are both doubtful. The former name may be a contraction of *Shalmaneser*, although the prophet's language, implying some event fresh in the memory of his hearers, does not suit the reign of Shalmaneser II. (B.C. 860–825) or even Shalmaneser III. (783–773). If Shalmaneser IV. (727–722) be referred to, the words must be a later gloss (so Wellhausen, *Kl. Proph. ad loc.*). To the suggestion of Schrader (*KAT*^{2} 441 [*COT* ii. 140]) that the reference may be to an incursion (cf. 2 K 15^{20}) of the Moabite king *Salamanu*, mentioned in Tiglath-pileser's great triumphal inscription (II Rawl. 67, line 60), both Wellh. and Nowack object that such an occurrence would have been too insignificant to supply material for the prophet's comparison. The versions give us no help, the LXX B reproducing כְּשֹׁד שַׁלְמַן בֵּית אַרְבֵּאל by ὡς ἄρχων [*i.e.* שַׂר for שֹׁד] Σαλαμὰν ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου Ἰεροβοάμ (A Ἰεροβάαλ), while the Vulg. has *sicut vastatus est Salmana a domo ejus qui judicavit Baal*, thinking apparently of the slaughter of Zalmunna by Gideon (Jerubbaal), Jg 8. J. A. SELBIE.

SHALMANESER (שַׁלְמַנְאֶסֶר, Σαλαμανασσάρ, *Salmanasar*).—The name is abbreviated from Assyr. Sulman-asaridu, 'the god Sulman (of peace) is chief.' In 2 K 17^{3} it is said that 'Shalmaneser, king of Assyria,' came up against Hoshea of Samaria, who submitted at first, but afterwards, being detected in a conspiracy to revolt with the aid of the Egyptians, was deposed and imprisoned. Shalmaneser then besieged Samaria, B.C. 725. This was Shalmaneser IV. of the Assyr. monuments, whose original name was Ululâ, which he changed to Shalmaneser when he seized the throne (on the 25th day of Tebet, B.C. 727) after the death of Tiglath-pileser III. He seems to have been a successful general, and to have had no hereditary rights to the crown. Josephus (*Ant.* IX. xiv. 2), quoting from Menander, states that he attacked Elulæus of Tyre, and, though the Assyrian fleet of 60 vessels was destroyed by the Tyrian fleet of 12, the city was closely invested on the land side. Shalmaneser died at the beginning of the month Ṭebeth during the siege of Samaria, B.C. 722, after a reign of only 5 years. See, also, art. SHALMAN. A. H. SAYCE.

SHAMA (שָׁמָע; B Σαμαθά, A Σαμμά).—One of David's heroes, 1 Ch 11^{44}.

SHAMBLES.—1 Co 10^{25} 'Whatsoever is sold in the shambles, that eat' (Gr. μάκελλον, from Lat. *macellum*, a provision market). The word 'shambles' is now used of the slaughter-house, but formerly, according to its origin, denoted the place where the meat was sold. It is the Anglo-Sax. *scamel*, a stool, from Lat. *scamellum*, a little stool or bench. Cf. Congreve, *Juvenal's Satires*, xi.—

> 'Many there are of the same wretched Kind,
> Whom their despairing Creditors may find
> Lurking in Shambles; where with borrowed Coin
> They buy choice Meats.'

J. HASTINGS.

SHAME (Heb. בּוֹשׁ 'to be ashamed,' בֹּשֶׁת 'shame,' also other words; Gr. αἰσχύνη, ἀτιμία, etc.).—In the biblical use of the word 'shame' there is a blending of several meanings: besides the sense of shame proper, felt for oneself (Job 11^{3}, Lk 14^{9}, 2 Th 3^{14}) or for another (Ezr 9^{6}, Pr 10^{5} 17^{2}, 2 Co 9^{4}), there is included the feeling of disappointment (Job 6^{20}, Ps 35^{4}, Jer 14^{3} 22^{22}; cf. Ro 5^{5}) or deception (Ps 14^{6}, Jer 2^{36}), the experience of disaster (Job 8^{22}, Ps 40^{15}) or disgrace (including reproach, rebuke, or insult) (Jg 18^{7}, Ru 2^{15}, Job 16^{10} 19^{3}, Ps 22^{6} 35^{4} 69^{7}, Pr 25^{10}, Ph 3^{19}); and thus are combined the subjective sense, the inward feeling, and the objective, its outward cause. This feeling is ascribed figuratively to a fountain (Hos 13^{15}), Lebanon (Is 33^{9}), the sun (Is 24^{23}), and a vessel (Ro 9^{21}, 2 Ti 2^{20}). Shame is awakened by the exposure of some parts of the body uncovered literally (compare Gn 2^{25} with 3^{7} 9^{20-27}, Ex 32^{25}, 2 S 6^{20} 10^{5}, Is 20^{4}, Mic 1^{11}), or figuratively (Is 47^{3}, Jer 13^{26}, Nah 3^{5}, Rev 3^{18} 16^{15}), by outrage on a woman's person (2 S 13^{13}), by dishonouring treatment of the body (Is 50^{6}, Mk 12^{4}, Lk 20^{11}, 1 Th 2^{2}), as crucifixion (He 6^{6} 12^{2}), and even by the appearance of a corpse (1 Co 15^{43}). Poverty may make ashamed (Pr 13^{18}, 1 Co 11^{22}), so beggary (Lk 16^{3}), defeat in battle (2 Ch 32^{21}, Ps 44^{9} 89^{45}), or even disease (Nu 12^{14}). A wicked wife (Pr 12^{4}), or a bad child (Pr 10^{5} 29^{15}), may cause shame. Shame arises from any breach of acknowledged rules of propriety, as a woman's being shaven (1 Co 11^{5}), or speaking in church (1 Co 14^{35}), or a man's having long hair (1 Co 11^{14}). Sins so unseemly are found among men, that not only the practice of them awakens shame (Ro $1^{26.\,27}$ 6^{21}, Jude ^{13}), but even the very sight or mention of them (Ezk 16^{27}, Eph 5^{12}). Among the sins mentioned as bringing shame are folly (Pr 3^{35} 14^{35} 18^{13}), refusal of instruction (Pr 13^{18}), ignorance of truth of God (1 Co 15^{34}), quarrelsomeness (Pr 25^{8}, 1 Co 6^{5}), haste in speech (Pr 18^{13}), riot (Pr 28^{7}), idleness (Pr 10^{5}), wilfulness (Pr 29^{15}), lying (Pr 13^{5}), dishonesty (2 Co 4^{2}; cf. RV and AV), theft (Jer 2^{26}), disrespect to parents (Pr 19^{26}), ingratitude (1 Co 4^{14}), pride (Pr 11^{2}).

Shame in one or other of its senses is regarded as the Divine punishment of sin, which God threatens (Ps 132^{18}, Jer 23^{40} 46^{12}), and which the pious in OT are sure will, in answer to prayer, fall on His and their enemies (Ps 6^{10} 44^{7} 53^{5} 70^{2} 86^{17}). On the other hand, God promises (Ps 37^{19}), and the pious are assured, that this experience will either not be theirs at all (Ps 25^{3} 31^{17} 34^{5} 69^{6} 119^{31}), or if ever theirs, that they will be delivered from it (Is 29^{22} 54^{4} 61^{7}, Jl 2^{26}). Even God's chosen people may be exposed to disgrace and disaster, making them first of all ashamed of their state (2 Ch 30^{15}, Jer 12^{13} 14^{3}), and then truly ashamed of the sin that has brought it on them (Ezr 9^{6}, Jer 31^{19}, Ezk 16^{61}, Hos 10^{6}); but sometimes it is long before this feeling is aroused (Jer 3^{3} 6^{15} $8^{9.12}$). Fidelity to God's cause may, however, also bring shame (Ps 44^{15} 69^{7}). The sin that most surely is followed by shame is idolatry (Is 1^{29} 42^{17} 44^{9} 45^{16}, Jer 17^{13} 48^{13}, Hos 4^{7} 10^{6}), or alliance with idolators (Gn 34^{14}, Ezr 9^{6}). The idol itself is shameful (Jer 3^{24} 11^{13}, Hos 9^{10}; perhaps Hos 4^{7} reading with Targ. Pesh. 'they have exchanged their glory for infamy'; cf. Jer 2^{11} and Ps 106^{20}), and its worship shameful, perhaps because often licentious (see Cheyne on Hos 4^{7} and 9^{10}). Worthy of note in this connexion is the change of the names Eshbaal (1 Ch 8^{33}), Meribbaal (1 Ch 8^{34}), Jerubbaal (Jg 6^{32}), to Ish-bosheth (2 S 2^{8}), Mephibosheth (2 S 4^{4}), and Jerub-besheth (2 S 11^{21}). Although the alterations show the prophetic editor's aversion to idolatry, yet the names in their original form are not necessarily a proof of idolatry, as the name Baal may be used as a title of J″ (Hos 2^{16}). Akin to the sin of idolatry was trust in any foreign alliances for safety instead of in J″, and this too brings 'shame,' *i.e.* disappointment (Is 20^{5} $30^{3.5}$, Jer 2^{36}; cf. Ezr 8^{22}). See, further, Driver, *Par. Psalt.* (Glossary. *s.* 'abashed,' 'ashamed').

In NT the sense of shame is often mentioned by St. Paul. He is not ashamed of the gospel (Ro 1^{16}), of his converts (2 Co 7^{14}; cf. 9^{4}), of his hope (Ro 5^{5}), of his faith (Ro 9^{33} 10^{11}), of his trials (Ph 1^{20}, 2 Ti 1^{12}), of his boasting (2 Co 10^{8}). Onesiphorus was not ashamed of Paul's chain (2 Ti 1^{16}), and Timothy is called on not to be ashamed of the witness of the Lord, or of Paul His prisoner (2 Ti 1^{8}). The unruly are to be brought to shame by exclusion from the church (2 Th 3^{14}). While the enemies of Christ are put to shame (Lk 13^{17}), and the false accusers of His disciples (Tit 2^{8}, 1 P 3^{16}), they, although slandered and ill-treated (2 Co 6^{8}), need not be ashamed to suffer for His name (1 P 4^{16}); for, if they are ashamed of Him now, He will be ashamed of them in the day of judgment (Mk 8^{38}, Lk 9^{26}); but if they are faithful they need not fear shame in that day (1 Jn 2^{28}), for Christ is not ashamed to call the sanctified brethren (He 2^{11}), and God is not ashamed to be called the God of those who seek a better country (He 11^{16}); but the wicked and unbelieving shall awake to shame (Dn 12^{2}; cf. Jn 5^{29}).

A. E. GARVIE.

SHAMEFACEDNESS.—The adj. 'shamefaced' occurs in Sir $26^{15.25}$ 32^{10} $41^{16.24}$, and the subst. 'shamefacedness' in Sir 41^{16}, 1 Ti 2^{9}. But in the 1611 editions, and for some time after, the spelling is always 'shamefast' and 'shamefastness.' Davies says he has not found 'shamefaced,' 'shamefacedness' earlier than 1661.

Trench (*On AV of NT*, p. 66) says: '*Shamefastness* is formed upon *shamefast*, that is, *fast* or established in honourable *shame*. To change this into *shamefacedness* is to allow all the meaning and force of the word to run to the surface, to leave it ethically a far inferior word,—and marks an unfaithful guardianship of the text, both on their part who first introduced, and theirs who have so long allowed, the change.' And Davies (*Bible English*, p. 12), after describing 'shamefastness' as 'that modesty which is *fast* or rooted in the character,' adds, 'The change is the more to be regretted because *shamefacedness* is seldom employed now in a very good sense; it has come rather to describe an awkward diffidence, such as we sometimes call sheepishness.' But the confusion between 'shamefastness' and 'shamefacedness' is as old as 1611. Shaks. does not use the subst., but he has the adj. twice: in *III Henry VI.* IV. viii. 53, 'shamefaced' is the only spelling; in *Rich. III.* I. iv. 142, the folio has 'shamefaced,' the quartos 'shamefast.' In the Rhemish NT (note on Lk 24^{50}) we read, 'S. Augustine saith that Christ him self not without cause would have his sign to be fixed in our foreheads as in the seat of shamefastnes, that a Christian man should not be ashamed of the reproach of Christ,' which shows how the confusion could arise. And James Melvill (*Diary*, 79) uses the word 'shamefastness' practically in the modern sense of 'shamefacedness,' 'Yit my guid God, of his free grace, and love towards me, a vean, vyll, corrupt youthe; partlie by his fear wrought in my heart, partlie by necessar occupation in my calling, and partlie be a certean schamfastnes of a bashfull nature, quhilk he pat in me, sa keipit me that I was nocht overcome nor miscaried be na woman offensivlie to his kirk, nor grievuslie to my conscience, in blotting of my bodie.' For the proper sense of 'shamefastness,' cf. Chaucer, *Doctor's Tale*, 55—

> 'Shamefast she was in mayden's shamefastnesse';

Spenser, *FQ* II. ix. 43—

> 'She is the fountain of your modestee:
> You shamefast are, but Shamefastnes it selfe is shee';

Elyot, *Governour*, i. 51—'The moste necessary thinges to be observed by a master in his disciples or scholars . . . is shamfastnes and praise. By shamfastnes, as it were with a bridell, they rule as well theyr dedes as their appetites.'

J. HASTINGS.

SHAMGAR (שַׁמְגַּר, Σαμεγάρ).—Son of Anath, and judge in the south of Israel between Ehud and Deborah. He slew 600 Philistines with an ox-goad (Jg 3^{31} 5^{6}). The name is Assyr. like Samgar-nebo (Jer 39^{3}), and is a shortened form of some such name as Sumgir-Bel, 'be gracious, O Bel,' with the divine name omitted. Anath is also the Assyr.-Bab. Anatu, the wife of the god Anu (see, however, BABYLONIA, vol. i. p. 215^{b}), unless we are to read Ben-anath, 'the son of Anatu,' which is the name of a Canaanite in one of the Tel el-Amarna tablets. The names show that Bab. influence lingered in the south of Palestine for some time after the period of the Tel el-Amarna tablets, when Bab. names were not uncommon there (see Moore's *Judges*, p. 106).

A. H. SAYCE.

SHAMHUTH (שַׁמְהוּת; B Σαλαώθ, A Σαμαώθ).—The fifth captain for the fifth month, 1 Ch 27^{8}. He is called the IZRAHITE (B ὁ Ἐσρᾶε, A ὁ Ἰεζραέλ), and is the same as **Shammoth** the Harorite (a scribal error for *Harodite*) of 1 Ch 11^{27} and **Shammah** the HARODITE of 2 S 23^{25}.

SHAMIR (שָׁמִיר, Σαμήρ).—A Kohathite, son of Micah, 1 Ch 24^{24}.

SHAMIR (שָׁמִיר; Σαμείρ; *Samir*).—The name of two places in Palestine.

1. (A Σαφείρ) A town in the hill-country of Judah (Jos 15^{48}), which is mentioned in the same group with Jattir and Socoh. Eusebius and Jerome from the reading of A alter the name to **Shaphir** (see Nowack, *Kl. Proph.* on Mic 1^{11}). Conder (*PEF Mem.* iii. 262) identifies it with *Khurbet Sômerah*, which lies west of *Debîr*, and in this agrees with Guérin (*Judée*, iii. 364, 'Sumra').

2. (A Σαμάρεια) The home and burial-place of Tola, a man of Issachar, who judged Israel for twenty-three years (Jg $10^{1.2}$). Shamir was in Mt. Ephraim, and Schwarz (151) identifies it with *Sanûr*, a picturesquely situated village between Samaria and En-gannim (*Jenîn*).

C. W. WILSON.

SHAMLAI.—See SALMAI.

SHAMMA (שַׁמָּא; B Σεμά, A Σαμμά).—An Asherite, 1 Ch 7^{37}.

SHAMMAH (שַׁמָּה).—**1.** The son of Reuel the son of Esau, and a tribal chief (אַלּוּף) of Edom (Gn $36^{13.17}$ [Σομέ, in v.^{17} *D* Σομαί], 1 Ch 1^{37} [B Σομέ, A Σομμέ]). **2.** (B in 1 S 16^{9}, 2 S 13^{32} Σαμά, 2 S 13^{3}, 1 Ch 2^{13} 20^{7} Σαμαά, 2 S 21^{21} Σεμεεί; A in 1 S 16^{9} 17^{13} Σαμμά, 1 Ch 2^{13} Σαμαιά, 1 Ch 20^{7} Σαμαάς) The third son of Jesse and brother of David. Like his two elder brothers, he joined Saul's forces in the campaign against the Philistines, and was with the Israelite army in the valley of Elah when David overcame Goliath (1 S $17^{13f.}$). According to a later writer, he was present at the anointing of David by Samuel (1 S 16^{1-13}). He was the father of Jonadab, the friend and adviser of Amnon (2 S $13^{3f.}$), and also of that Jonathan whose exploit against a Philistine giant is recorded in 2 S $21^{20f.}$. His name is variously given as **Shammah** (שַׁמָּה 1 S 16^{9} 17^{13}), **Shimeah** (שִׁמְעָה 2 S $13^{3.32}$), **Shimei** (שִׁמְעִי, *Ḳĕrē* שִׁמְעָא 2 S 21^{21}), and **Shimea** (שִׁמְעָא 1 Ch 2^{13} 20^{7}).

3. (2 S 23^{11} B Σαμαιά, A Σαμμεάς; 23^{33} B Σαμνάν, A Σαμνάς; 1 Ch 11^{34} B Σωλά, A Σαγή) The son of AGEE, a Hararite (read הַהֲרָרִי in 2 S 23^{11}, see v.^{33}, 1 Ch 11^{34}), one of David's famous 'Three.' The special act of bravery to which he owed his position is briefly recorded in 2 S $23^{11.12}$. The Philistines, in the course of a foray, had driven the Israelites from a field of lentils (1 Ch 11^{13} *barley*) at Lehi (read לֶחֱיָה *to Leḥi* (Jg 15^{9-20}) for לַחַיָּה *to the troop* (?), so most moderns; see Driver, *ad loc.*). The Israelites fled before the enemy, but Shammah held his ground, and by his courageous stand brought about a victory for Israel. The succeeding incident which is narrated in 2 S $23^{13f.}$, viz. the well-known exploit of David's three mighty men, who broke through the hosts of the Philistines and brought him water from the well of Bethlehem, has been frequently ascribed to Shammah and the two other members of 'the Three'; but the three heroes who performed this feat are clearly stated in v.^{13} to belong to 'the Thirty.' Since no previous mention has been made of 'the Thirty,' it is probable that vv.$^{13-17a}$ are not in their original place, and that v.^{17b} really forms the continuation of vv.$^{8-12}$ (so Wellh., Driver). In the parallel narrative (1 Ch $11^{10f.}$) Shammah is not mentioned by name, and the exploit which made his name famous is wrongly ascribed to Eleazar the son of Dodo. Klostermann plausibly suggests that the incorrect reading in v.^{11} 'into a troop' (לַחַיָּה) represents an original 'to battle' (לַמִּלְחָמָה), and that the Chronicler accidentally passed from this phrase in v.^{9} to the same phrase in v.^{11}, omitting the intervening narrative.

According to the most probable reading of 2 S $23^{32.33}$ Shammah was the father of Jonathan, one of David's 'Thirty.' In this passage the word *son* has been accidentally omitted, and we must restore 'Jonathan the son of Shammah' (יְהוֹנָתָן בֶּן־שַׁמָּה, so Driver, Budde, Kittel, Klost., Löhr); the parallel passage (1 Ch 11^{34}) gives 'Jonathan the son of Shage' (יוֹנָתָן בֶּן־שָׁגֵי), but the reading 'Shammah' (for *Shage*) is confirmed by Lucian (Σαμαιά). Possibly *Shāgē* (שָׁגֵי) has arisen from a confusion with *'Āgē* (אָגֵא) in 2 S 23^{11}. Wellhausen (*Text d. B. Sam.* p. 216) prefers the reading of the Chronicler (שָׁגֵא or בֶּן־שָׁגֵי), and supposes that Jonathan the Hararite was the son of Shage (which he would restore in v.^{11} for *Agee*) and *brother* of Shammah. Klostermann, adopting the reading of Lucian in 2 S 23^{11} ('Ηλά = אֵלָה), identifies Shammah with Shimei the son of Elah, one of Solomon's twelve monthly officers (1 K 4^{18}).

4. (2 S 23^{25} B Σαιμά, A Σαμμαι; 1 Ch 11^{27} B Σαμαώθ, A Σαμώθ; 27^{8} B Σαλαώθ, A Σαμαώθ) A Harodite, *i.e.* probably a native of *'Ain-ḥarod* (see HAROD), one of 'the Thirty,' and captain of Solomon's fifth monthly course. In the parallel lists he is called '**Shammoth** the Harorite' (1 Ch 11^{27} שַׁמּוֹת הַהֲרוֹרִי; read הַחֲרֹדִי *the Harodite*) and '**Shamhuth** the Izrahite' (1 Ch 27^{8} שַׁמְהוּת הַיִּזְרָח).

Since the lists of heroes given in 2 S 23 and 1 Ch 11 are admittedly in confusion, it is possible that (3) and (4) are identical, and that the obscure 'Hararite' (2 S $23^{11.33}$) is a mistake for 'Harodite.'

J. F. STENNING.

SHAMMAI (שַׁמַּי).—**1.** A Jerahmeelite, 1 Ch 2^{28} (B Σαμαι, A Σαμμαι). In v.^{32} the LXX runs the Heb. אֲחִי שַׁמַּי ('brother of Shammai') together as 'Αχεισάμας (B) or 'Αχισαμμά (A). **2.** The 'son' of Rekem and 'father' of Maon, 1 Ch $2^{44f.}$ (B Σαμαι, A Σαμμαι). **3.** A Judahite, 1 Ch 4^{17} (B Σεμέν, A Σεμμαι). See GENEALOGY, IV. 54.

SHAMMOTH.—See SHAMHUTH, and SHAMMAH No. **4.**

SHAMMUA (שַׁמּוּעַ).—**1.** The Reubenite spy, Nu 13^{4} (B Σαμουήλ, A Σαμαλιήλ). **2.** One of David's sons, 2 S 5^{14} (B Σαμμοῦς, A Σαμμοῦε), 1 Ch 14^{4} (B Σαμάα, A Σαμμαοῦ, ℵ Σαμαιά); called in 1 Ch 3^{5} **Shimea** (שִׁמְעָא; B Σάμαν, A Σαμαά). **3.** A Levite, Neh 11^{17} (Σαμουει) = SHEMAIAH, No. **6.** **4.** The head of a priestly family, Neh 12^{18} (BAℵ* om., ℵ$^{c.a}$ Σναμοῦε).

SHAMSHERAI (שַׁמְשְׁרַי; B 'Ισμασαριά, A Σαμσαριά).—A Benjamite, 1 Ch 8^{26}.

SHAPE.—In AV, as in earlier English generally, 'shape' is less definite and less material than now. In Wis 18^{1} the mod. meaning is nearly approached, 'Not seeing their shape' (μορφή, Vulg. *figura*), but even there it is 'outward form' generally. In Lk 3^{22} 'The Holy Ghost descended in a bodily shape like a dove upon him,' the meaning is simply 'appearance' (Gr. σωματικῷ εἴδει, RV 'in a bodily form'); so Jn 5^{37} (εἶδος, RV 'form'). The only other occurrence is Rev 9^{7} 'The shapes of the locusts were like unto horses prepared unto battle' (τὰ ὁμοιώματα, RVm 'the likenesses'). Cf. Shaks. *Hamlet*, I. ii. 80—'All forms, moods, shapes of grief' (folios 'shews'); *Jul. Cæs.* II. i. 253—

> 'It will not let you eat, nor talk, nor sleep:
> And, could it work so much upon your shape
> As it hath much prevailed on your condition,
> I should not know you, Brutus.'

In Rhem. NT Mk 16^{12} is tr^{d} 'And after this he appeared in another shape to two of them walking,' and on this word there is a note, 'Christ though he have but one corporal shape, natural to his person, yet by his omnipotencie he may be in whatsoever forme, and appears in the likenesse of any other man or creature, as he list. Therefore let no man think it strange, that he may be under the forme of bread in the B. Sacrament.'

The old pass. ptcp. of the verb, 'shapen,' is found in Ps 51^{5}. So Tind. uses the old past tense 'shope' in Gn 2^{7} 'Then the Lorde God shope man, even of the moulde of the erth.'

J. HASTINGS.

SHAPHAM (שָׁפָם; B Σαβάτ, A Σαφάμ).—A Gadite, 1 Ch 5^{12}.

SHAPHAN (שָׁפָן 'coney *or* rock-badger'; LXX Σαφάν, Σαφφάν, Σεφφάν; Vulg. *Saphan*: on this name as evidence that 'superstition of the totem kind had still a hold on Israelites in the last years of the independence of the kingdom of Judah,' see W. R. Smith in the *Journal of Philology*, 1880, p. 75, and Gray, *HPN* p. 103).—**1.** Scribe or finance minister (Ewald) in the reign of Josiah. He is brought prominently before us in the story of the discovery of 'the book of the law' in the temple, 2 K $22^{3ff.}$, 2 Ch 34^{8-28}. The system of raising money for the repairs of the temple which had been instituted by Jehoash (2 K 12), seems from this narrative to have been in regular operation since that time. The money chest which had been set up by Jehoiada was emptied periodically under the supervision of the high priest and of the king's scribe. It was on one of these occasions that HILKIAH communicated to Shaphan his great discovery of 'the book of the law.' The Chronicler

(2 Ch 34^{8}) represents Shaphan as having been accompanied by two other officials. In any case it was to Shaphan that Hilkiah entrusted the precious volume, and it was from Shaphan's lips that Josiah heard the words that so deeply moved him. Shaphan also formed one of the deputation that subsequently visited the prophetess HULDAH. Assuming that this was the Shaphan who was father of Ahikam (2 K 22^{12}, 2 Ch 34^{20}, Jer 26^{24}), he was grandfather of Gedaliah (2 K 25^{22}, Jer 39^{14} $40^{5.\,9.\,11}$ 41^{2} 43^{6}). The only objection to this supposition lies in the fact that Ahikam seems to take precedence of his father. It is, of course, possible that he may have filled a higher office. Whatever the truth may be concerning Shaphan's connexion with the discovery of 'the book of the law,' it is at least certain that he belonged to the party of reform whose inspiration was derived from that book, and who were friendly to Jeremiah. One of his sons, Ahikam, protected the prophet from the fury of the hostile priests and prophets (Jer 26^{24}). Another, Elasah, was one of the two whom Jeremiah employed to carry his letter to the captives in Babylon (Jer 29^{3}). From the windows of the chamber of yet another son, Gemariah, Baruch read 'the words of the LORD in the ears of the people' (Jer 36^{10}), words which were given still further publicity by the action of Gemariah's son, Micaiah (vv.$^{11.\,12}$). And when the last agony of Jerusalem was over, it was with Shaphan's grandson, Gedaliah, that the aged prophet found an honoured asylum (Jer 39^{14}).

2. Father of Jaazaniah, who was ringleader in idolatry of the seventy ancients of the house of Israel, as seen by Ezekiel (8^{11}).

N. J. D. WHITE.

SHAPHAT (שָׁפָט).—1. The Simeonite spy, Nu 13^{5} (BA Σαφάτ, F Σαφάν). 2. The father of the prophet Elisha, 1 K $19^{16.}$ (B Σαφάθ, A Σαφάτ) ^{19} (BA Σαφάτ), 2 K 3^{11} (B Ἰωσαφάθ, A Σαφάτ) 6^{31} (B om., A Σαφάτ). 3. A name in the royal genealogy of Judah, 1 Ch 3^{22} (B Σαφάθ, A Σαφάτ). 4. A Gadite, 1 Ch 5^{12} (LXX [? confusing with ספר] ὁ γραμματεύς). 5. One of David's herdmen, 1 Ch 27^{29} (B Σωφάν, A Σωφάτ).

SHAPHIR (שָׁפִיר; LXX καλῶς; Vulg. *pulchra*).—One of the towns or villages—none of them very far from Eleutheropolis—which the prophet Micah addressed (Mic 1^{11}). According to Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.* *Σαφείρ*, *Saphir*), it was a village of Judah in the hill-country between Eleutheropolis and Ascalon. Robinson (*BRP*^{2} ii. 34, note), van de Velde (*S. and P.* 159), and Conder, doubtfully (*PEF Mem.* ii. 413), identify Shaphir with one of three mud villages, called *es-Sûâfir*, which stand near each other about 3½ miles S.E. of *Esdûd*, Ashdod. This appears to be the place referred to in the *Onomasticon*, but the identification is uncertain. On the possible identity of Shaphir with **Shamir** of Jos 15^{48} see Nowack on Mic 1^{11}.

C. W. WILSON.

SHARAI (שָׁרַי; B Σαριού, A Ἀρού, ℵ Σαροῦε).—One of the sons of Bani, who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10^{40}.

SHARAR.—See SACAR.

SHAREZER (שַׂרְאֶצֶר [see Baer, *ad loc.*]; Σαράσαρ, BA in 2 K 19^{37} and Zec 7^{2}, B in Is 37^{38}; Σαράσα, Luc. in 2 Kings, ℵAQ in Isaiah. In its original Assyrian form the name is probably = *Šar-uṣur*, 'protect the prince'; in meaning, a prayer addressed to some god whose name is omitted. *Bel-sharuṣur*, *Marduk-sharuṣur*, and similar Assyrian names are then unabbreviated parallels. It has been suggested that the full name of the Sharezer of 2 K 19 [= Is 37] was *Nergal-sharuṣur*, a Babylonian name which occurs in Jer 39^{3} [NERGAL-SHAREZER]. The origin of the conjecture is an untenable identification of Sharezer with the *Nergilus* of the historian Abydenus [see below]. In Zec 7^{2} the complete name is very probably *Bel-sharezer*).

1. In conjunction with a brother, ADRAMMELECH, named as the assassin of the Assyrian king Sennacherib (2 K 19^{37} = Is 37^{38}). The murderers are described as Sen.'s sons, and the scene of the assassination is given as the temple of NISROCH. According to the Babylonian Chronicle, Sen. was killed during an insurrection, and the date was towards the close of the year 681 (20th Ṭebeth). The other records of the assassination are an inscription of Nabuna'id, an extract from Polyhistor (Berosus) in Eusebius, and another from Abydenus. These agree with the Chronicle in stating that Sen. was killed by one of his sons. They contain no reference to the complicity of *two* sons. Even Abydenus is explicit in saying that one son was the murderer.* Of the two names given by the Hebrew narrative, that of Sharezer is most affected by this preponderance of negative testimony. Adrammelech has the support of the names Adramelus and Ardumuzanus (Ardumusanus), which are given by Abydenus and Polyhistor respectively. One of Sen.'s sons, also, has a name (*Aššur-šum-ušabši*) which is said to be capable of readings approximately the same as these variants (Scheil in *ZA* xi. 425–27). There is nothing of a definite character to be said on the other side in favour of Sharezer.† Yet the negative argument is so much *e silentio* that an explanation of the appearance of the name in the Hebrew text is pressingly required before an error can be granted. W. M. Müller imagines too improbable a history. He supposes that Adrammelech was 'Assyrianized' into Sharezer by some archæologist. Adrammelech was regarded as a translation, Sharezer was a retranslation put alongside of it in the text (*ZATW* xvii. 332). It can only be said, meantime, that Sharezer's name, his part in the assassination of Sen., and his relationship to the king, all rest on the authority of the Hebrew narrative.

The revolt, in which Sen.'s murder was an incident, was obviously designed to secure the throne for the rebel(s), and to prevent the accession of the designated heir Esarhaddon. In this it failed. Esarhaddon triumphed within six weeks, by the second of Adar, although for an unknown reason he did not formally assume the crown until three and a half months later (18th Sivan). The murderers fled to Armenia, according to the OT narrative. There was likely to be a welcome for such exiles there. The fragment of Abydenus says that Esarhaddon put Adramelus to death.

---

* '*Qui a filio Adramelo est interemptus.*' By a transposition of this sentence and the preceding, an attempt has been made to bring a certain *Nergilus* there mentioned into some connexion with the assassination of Sennacherib. But even then he is neither Sen.'s son nor his assassin. It is inadmissible to read the statement regarding him in the light of the weaker rather than of the stronger testimony. The supposition that Nergilus is Sharezer is a conjecture from an emended text (supporters of the hypothesis are named in Schrader, *COT* ii. 16). Equally possible, and even more probable, is the suggestion that the sentence '*deinceps autem post eum Nergilus regnavit*' is a reference to the Babylonian king Nergal-ushezib. This identification is made by Winckler (*ZA* ii. 392 ff.). But it is easier to suppose that the context is imperfect than to adopt his combination with another context.

† *Šar-eṭir-Aššur* is a son of Sen. whose name might be identified with Sharezer (Winckler, *Altor. Forsch.*, 2nd Series [1898], i. 59). It can also be urged that Polyhistor and Abydenus may have got their names of the assassin from the Heb. Adrammelech. Moses of Chorene gives more positive testimony, but is not sufficiently reliable. He names two assassins. In the Whistons' Latin version (London, 1736) the forms are Adramelus or Argamozanus and Sanasarus (i. 22). Their settlement in Armenia is the occasion of their being mentioned. Boscawen's recent identification (*Bab. and Or. Record*, viii. 259 ff.) seems to depend too much on a resemblance to the conjectural form Nergal-sharezer.

2. One who consulted the spiritual heads of the Jewish community on the question whether the fast observed on the anniversary of the burning of the pre-exilic temple was appropriate after its restoration (Zec $7^{2ff.}$).

The grammatical construction of v.^{2}, and consequently the purport of the verse, is very uncertain. RV makes 'Bethel' subject and Sharezer and the others messengers from Bethel. Such a personification seems without parallel in prose. AV follows Vulg. in making 'Bethel' accusative of direction and tr. 'to the house of God.' But the temple is never called *bêth-'êl*. The difficulty is removed by finding in these letters the Divine name which, according to analogy, is required to complete the compound *šar-uṣur*. The text may originally have read Bel-Sharezer (Siegfried-Stade, *HWB*). The ת may be accounted for as a dittography of א in the early Hebrew character.* After this correction has been made, v.^{3} suggests that the author of the inquiry is one individual, namely (Bel-) Sharezer. Regem-melech and the others are then messengers whom he sent.

Sharezer's question is explained by the new situation which the restoration of the temple created. Since Zechariah addresses his reply to the 'people of the land,' it may be argued that Sharezer was spokesman on their behalf. But v.^{3} more naturally expresses individual perplexity. V.^{2} implies that the inquiry came from outside the community in Jerusalem. The question itself comes naturally from one who is not in touch with movements in the capital; it is artificial and unlikely when regarded as an attempt to bring local discussions to an issue (Nowack's view). Zechariah addresses the priests and the whole Jewish community ('people of the land,' as Hag 2^{4}). The priests are doubtless named because 'instruction' (*tôrāh*) had been asked of them, and formally they have yet to reply (in v.^{3} the words 'and to the prophets' may be an insertion, anticipating the fact that actually Zechariah comes forward to reply). The people also are addressed, to secure for the prophet's words a wider currency.

Babylon is more likely to have been Sharezer's home than any part of Judah. His Babylonian name, *Bel-sharuṣur*, is one argument; the formality of his deputation another. The hypothesis accounts most simply for the purpose and motive of the inquiry. It does justice also to all the points of the narrative. The primary object of Sharezer's deputation (v.^{2}) was to offer sacrifices at the restored sanctuary ('to entreat the favour of the Lord'). The question to the priests was incidental to this main purpose, although prompted by the same good news. Thus early the spiritual authority of Jerusalem was acknowledged by the *diaspora*. The incident is dated in the year 518 (v.^{1}). The temple was completed in 516 (Ezr 6^{15}); its restoration had commenced in 520 (Hag 1^{15}). Either the news which reached Babylon anticipated the complete restoration midway (assuming the dates to be correct); or the rebuilding was so far advanced as to justify Sharezer in taking action.

It is noteworthy that Zechariah's prophecy (vv.$^{5-7}$) has no special application to the circumstances of the time. It depreciates or disavows the practice of fasting as such. Zec $8^{18.19}$ seems more appropriate as a reply to Sharezer's envoys.

LITERATURE.—On 2 K 19^{37}: Schrader, *COT* ii. 13–17; Winckler, *ZA* ii. (1887) 392–96; Johns, *Expos. Times*, vii. (April 1896). For Polyhistor and Abydenus see Eusebius, ed. Schoene, i. 27 and i. 35; the Bab. Chron. tr. by Winckler in *Textbuch z. AT*, 1892; and Nabuna'id, by Messerschmidt, *Stele Nabuna'id's*, Berlin, 1896.

W. B. STEVENSON.

SHARON.—1. (הַשָּׁרוֹן [with art.], prob. for הַיְשָׁרוֹן 'the level,' 'the plain,' from ישר *to be level*; LXX in 1 Ch 27^{29}, Ca 2^{1} τὸ πεδίον, but in Is 33^{9} 35^{2} 65^{10} ὁ δρυμός [see below]) the name applied in Scripture to that part of the Maritime Plain which stretches from Joppa to Mt. Carmel (55 miles). It is of an undulating character, none of its hills exceeding 250–300 feet in height. The following streams cross it in their course to the Mediterranean: *Nahr es-Zerḳâ* (the Crocodile River), *Nahr Mefjîr* (the Dead River of the Crusaders), *Nahr Iskanderûneh* (their Salt River), *Nahr el-Fâlik* (their Rochetaille). The plain proper, between the Crocodile River and Joppa, varies in breadth from 8 to 12 miles.

The LXX, as above noted, reproduces הַשָּׁרוֹן in three passages by ὁ δρυμός, a term which is applied to Sharon also by Josephus (*BJ* I. xiii. 2; in *Ant.* XIV. xiii. 3, plur. οἱ δρυμοί) and Strabo (xvi.: δρυμὸς μέγας τις). This designation is very appropriate to a district which has still a large oak wood at its northern extremity, and which, even so late as Crusading times, would have appeared from the top of Mt. Ebal as a vast forest of oaks from coast to mountain (*HGHL*^{1} 122).* The Crusaders called it the Forest of Assur (Vinsauf, *Itin. Ricardi*, iv. 16); it is the enchanted forest of Tasso (*Gerus. Liberata*, ii and xiii); it was called by Napoleon the Forest of Miksi (from the modern village of *Miksieh*). The southern half of the plain is, and must always have been, far more cultivated than its northern portion. Throughout its whole extent it is gay with myriads of brightly coloured flowers.

The beauty and the fertility of Sharon give point to Is 35^{2}, where the 'glory of Lebanon' is coupled with the 'excellency (הדר 'splendour' [see Driver, *Daniel*, p. 33]) of Carmel and Sharon,' the special allusion perhaps being to the magnificence of its oak forests. We have the opposite picture in Is 33^{9}, where 'Lebanon is ashamed and withereth away, Sharon is like the (waste) Arabah, and Bashan and Carmel shake off their leaves.' Again, in Is 65^{10} the description of the restoration of Israel contains this feature: 'Sharon shall be a pasturage for flocks.' In 1 Ch 27^{29} we read of Shitrai the **Sharonite** (הַשָּׁרֹנִי, ὁ Σαρων(ε)ίτης), who was over king David's flocks that fed in Sharon. The excellence of the pasturage, the superiority of the cattle and the wine of Sharon, are celebrated by Jerome (*Comm.* on Is 33 and 65) and the Talmud (Bab. *Menahoth* 87*a*, *Shabbath* 70*a*). Its pottery and the bricks used for building are repeatedly referred to in the Mishna as of very inferior quality, the instability of the houses in Sharon being proverbial (see references in Neubauer, *Geog. du Talm.* 48 f.).

Neubauer appears to be right (against Graetz, *Gesch. d. Juden*^{2}, iii. 182) in contending that it is the inhabitants of the maritime Sharon and not of the Galilæan *Saronas* [see below], on whose behalf a special petition is said to have been introduced into the high priest's prayer for the people on the Day of Atonement. This petition ran: 'May God watch over the inhabitants of Sharon, that they be not buried in the ruins of their houses.'

The Shulammite compares herself to the 'rose [an unfortunate rendering; חֲבַצֶּלֶת is the *white narcissus*, see Cheyne on Is 35^{1} and cf. art. ROSE above] of Sharon' and the 'lily [prob. some flower of a *red* colour] of the (Jordan) valleys' (עמקים), Ca 2^{1}.

There is some doubt as to the identity of the Sharon of Jos 12^{18} [where read מֶלֶךְ אֲפֵק לְשָׁרוֹן 'king of Aphek in Sharon'; see LASSHARON]. It has been proposed (*e.g.* by Dillm. *ad loc.*) to find here the *Saronas* which Eusebius (*Onomast.* 296. 6) says was the name given to the region between Mt. Tabor and Tiberias—a statement confirmed by the name *Sarôna* still attaching to a ruin on this plateau (*PEF Mem.* vol. i. sheet vi.). This proposal appears, however, to be unnecessary, especially in view of the evidence (see G. A. Smith, *HGHL*^{4} 350, 401 f., and *s.v.* 'Aphek' in *Encyc. Bibl.*) in favour of the existence of an Aphek in the maritime Sharon (cf. W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} 273, 435, and *s.v.* 'Aphek' in *Encyc. Bibl.*; H. P. Smith, *Samuel*, 31. Buhl, *GAP* 212 f., 218, leaves it undecided whether it is the maritime or the Galilæan Sharon that is meant in Jos 12^{18}).

---

* Marti simply detaches *'êl* from *bêth* and joins it to Sharezer: 'the family of El-Sharezer' (*SK*, 1892, p. 732). G. A. Smith adopts El-Sharezer, but supposes 'J″' to be wanting after *bêth*: 'to the temple of J″' (*Twelve Prophets*).

* It is not at all likely that the title ὁ δρυμός is due to any connexion, real or supposed, between the Heb. *shārôn* and the Gr. σαρωνίς, a very rare term for an oak (Pliny, *HN* iv. 5, quoted by Reland, *Pal.* 190).

The only NT reference to Sharon is Ac 9^{35} (ὁ Σαρών, whence AV **Saron**), in connexion with St. Peter's stay at Lydda. For further details regarding Sharon see Buhl, *GAP* 103 ff.; and G. A. Smith, *HGHL*^{1} 147 ff., where a full account is given of its strategic importance and the part it played in post-biblical history.

2. (שָׁרוֹן [without art.]; B Γεριάμ, A Σαρών) 1 Ch 5^{16}. This Sharon (‖ Gilead and Bashan) is probably the same as the *Mishôr* (also from root ישר), or elevated plateau between the Arnon and the Jabbok (Dt 3^{10} 4^{43}, Jos 13$^{9.16.17.21}$ 20^{8}, Jer 48$^{8.21}$, 2 Ch 26^{10}). See vol. iii. p. 309^{b}, footnote, and p. 893^{b}, *s.* 5. J. A. SELBIE.

SHARONITE.—See preceding article.

SHARUHEN (שָׁרוּחֶן; 'οἱ ἀγροὶ αὐτῶν; *Sareon*).—A town in Judah which was allotted to Simeon (Jos 19^{6}). It appears as **Shilhim** in 15^{36} and as **Shaaraim** in 1 Ch 4^{31}; see SHAARAIM (2).

SHASHAI (שָׁשַׁי; BA Σεσεί, Luc. Σενσείρ).—One of the sons of Bani who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10^{40}=SESIS of 1 Es 9^{34}.

SHASHAK (שָׁשַׁק).—The eponym of a Benjamite family, 1 Ch 8$^{14.}$ (B Σωκήλ) ^{25} (B Σωιήκ; in both passages A has Σωσήκ, Luc. Σισάχ).

SHAUL (שָׁאוּל, Σαούλ).—**1.** A king of Edom, Gn 36$^{37f.}$ [JE]=1 Ch 1$^{48f.}$ He belonged to 'Rehoboth by the River.' See REHOBOTH. **2.** A son of Simeon, Gn 46^{10} [R] (A Σαμουήλ, *D*^{sil} Σαούλ, B *deest*), Ex 6^{15}, Nu 26^{13} [both P], 1 Ch 4^{24}. The clan of which he is the eponym was of mixed Isr. and Can. descent, hence Shaul is called in Gn 46^{10} and Ex 6^{15} 'the son of the Canaanitess.' See GENEALOGY, II. 2. In Nu 26^{13} the patronymic **Shaulites** (הַשָּׁאוּלִי, δῆμος ὁ Σαουλεί) occurs. **3.** An ancestor of Samuel, 1 Ch 6$^{24\,(9)}$ (called in v.$^{36\,(21)}$ **Joel**. See JOEL, No. 3).

SHAVEH, THE VALE OF (עֵמֶק שָׁוֵה; A τὴν κοιλάδα τὴν Σαύην, *D* τ. κ. τ. Σαυή; *vallis Save*).—A broad valley (*'ēmeḳ*), known also as 'the king's vale' (Gn 14^{17}), which was near Salem. It is apparently the same place as 'the king's dale' (עֵמֶק הַמֶּלֶךְ 2 S 18^{18}), in which Absalom set up a pillar or monument. According to Josephus (*Ant.* VII. x. 3), this monument was two stadia from Jerusalem. If the view that Salem was Jerusalem be correct, the valley of Shaveh was possibly the broad open head of the valley of Hinnom which, lower down, contracts to a ravine. See SALEM. C. W. WILSON.

SHAVEH-KIRIATHAIM (שָׁוֵה קִרְיָתַיִם; ἐν Σαυὴ τῇ πόλει; *Save Cariathaim*).—A place in which Chedorlaomer smote the Emim (Gn 14^{5}). If the reading in AVm and RVm 'the plain of Kiriathaim' be correct, the spot must have been near Kiriathaim (Jer 48$^{1.23}$, Ezk 25^{9}) in Moab, which has been identified with *el-Kureiyât* between Dibon and Medeba. C. W. WILSON.

SHAVING.—Two Heb. words are used with this meaning, גָּזַז 'cut off,' 'shear' (wool, 1 S 25^{4}), 'shave' (one's head, Job 1^{20}, Mic 1^{16}); גִּלַּח to make smooth or bald, to shave or shear (Nu 6$^{9.18}$, Dt 21^{12} etc.). The ancient Egyptians, according to Wilkinson (*Anc. Egyp.*), considered shaving the hair, not of the head only but of the whole body, necessary to cleanliness. Joseph, when summoned to the presence of Pharaoh, 'shaved himself and changed his raiment,' Gn 41^{14}. The same custom is observed by many Hindu sects at the present time. In cases of mourning the hair was allowed to grow. Among the Israelites the custom was different. The hair seems to have been allowed to grow to a moderate length, and to have been cut at intervals. Absalom, we are told (2 S 14^{26}), polled his head every year. The beard was held sacred among the Israelites, as it is to this day among the Arabs; and the insult that Hanun, king of the Ammonites, offered to the ambassadors of David, by shaving half of their beards (2 S 10^{4}), could be atoned for only by the conquest and slavery of the Ammonites. The Nazirites were commanded to let no razor pass upon their heads, but to allow the hair to grow. When the time fixed by their vow had expired, or if they were accidentally defiled, then they were commanded to shave the whole head (Nu 6$^{5.9.18f.}$). In Syria the priests and monks of the Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholic Churches never allow the hair of the head or beard to be cut even in sickness. Many Christian parents dedicate a child to a particular saint for a certain period of time, and during that period the hair of the child is never cut. These children are distinguished from others by their black clothes as well as their long hair. Among the Israelites and Arabs shaving the head was a sign of mourning (Job 1^{20}, Dt 21^{12}, Ezk 44^{20}), and with the neighbouring nations it was the custom to shave the 'corners' of the beard, which the Israelites were expressly forbidden to do (Lv 21^{5}). (See CUTTINGS IN THE FLESH, vol. i. p. 537^{a}; and for shaving of the head as a sacrificial act, W. R. Smith, *RS* 306).

W. CARSLAW.

SHAVSHA (שַׁוְשָׁא. In 2 S 20^{25} *Kěthib* שיא, *Kěrê* שְׁוָא, EV **Sheva**, are proved to be in error by LXX. Similar to the *Ḳěrê*, however, are B Σαβά of 1 K 4^{3} and BA Σουβά of 1 K 2^{46h}. Of LXX forms given below, Ἰησοῦς=Ἰσοῦς is a familiar name read for one unfamiliar, perhaps under the influence of a dittography from the preceding καί).—Royal or State secretary in king David's reign (1 Ch 18^{16} B Ἰησοῦς, A and Luc. Σουσά, ℵ Σοῦς; 2 S 20^{25} B Ἰησοῦς, A Ἰσοῦς, Luc. Σουσά).

2 S 8$^{15\text{-}18}$ is a third passage containing a list of David's officers of State. In MT **Seraiah** now stands in place of Shavsha. But the list of 1 Chron. is dependent on that of 2 Sam., is identical with it except in this one particular, and most probably has preserved the original reading. B Ἀσά seems to be a trace of the older text. 1 K 4^{3} and 2^{46h} may be counted against Seraiah (see below). This name seems to have obtained currency in the 7th century. It may be supposed that the familiar שריה is a misreading of the possibly foreign name שושא.

The office held by Shavsha is one of a group created by the monarchy in Israel. It dates, however, from the time of David, like others of a similar character, for Saul's 'kingdom' was not an organized State. It was David who made it so. When he ranged himself among the princes of southern Syria his position forced on him the creation of certain offices of State. The occasions, for instance, of communication and correspondence with neighbouring States multiplied. The example of contemporary princes suggested the appointment of a State secretary. Other prospects of usefulness must have commended the precedent. In these circumstances Shavsha was appointed first holder of the office, as it seems. It is noteworthy that of all those who are named in the best list of David's officers of State (1 Ch 18$^{14\text{-}17}$=2 S 8$^{15\text{-}18}$) he is the only one whose father is unmentioned. Possibly he did not belong to a family of standing in the country, like the others. Possibly he was a foreigner. If foreign correspondence were in a foreign language it may not have been easy to find a Hebrew with the necessary qualifications. David was not indisposed to have foreigners round his person (see art. FOREIGNER, vol. ii. p. 50^{b}). Shavsha's name may be Aramæan. Foreign extraction would account for the name of one of his sons being Elihoreph (1 K 4^3). It seems to indicate his worship of a god other than J″.

In Solomon's reign there were two secretaries of State, Elihoreph and Ahijah. They are called sons* of **Shisha** (1 K 4^3). Although the evidence for the correct form of this name is very divergent (B Σαβά, A Σεισά, Luc. Σαφάτ), it may be identified with Shavsha. Others of Solomon's chief officers of State were sons of those who held similar office under David. If Shavsha was chosen secretary because Aramaic was his native tongue, it is specially likely that his children would inherit this qualification and be chosen for a similar reason. There is a second list of Solomon's officers in the LXX (B) text of 1 K 2^{46h}. In it Shavsha (BA Σουβά, Luc. Σουσά) is given as Solomon's secretary. Benzinger (on 1 K 4) has made the attractive suggestion that this list names those in office during the earlier part of Solomon's reign. It would then be evidence that Shavsha continued for a time Solomon's secretary, died during Solomon's reign, and was then succeeded by his sons. But there does not seem to be evidence to establish this view of the two lists. It is probable that they are duplicates, and that in 1 K 2^{46h} the names of the sons have dropped out before the word Shavsha. W. B. STEVENSON.

SHEAL (שְׁאָל, B Σαλουιά, A Σαάλ), Ezr 10^{29}.—One of the sons of Bani, who had married a 'strange' wife; called Jasaelus in 1 Es 9^{30}.

SHEALTIEL (שְׁאַלְתִּיאֵל; in Hag $1^{12.14}$ 2^2 שַׁלְתִּיאֵל; LXX and NT always Σαλαθιήλ, hence **Salathiel** of 1 Es $5^{5.48.56}$ 6^2, AV of Mt 1^{12} and Lk 3^{27}).—The father of ZERUBBABEL, Ezr $3^{2.8}$ 5^2, Neh 12^1, Hag $1^{1.12.14}$ $2^{2.23}$. According to 1 Ch 3^{17} Shealtiel was the eldest son of king Jeconiah. In v.^{19} the MT makes Pedaiah (a brother of Shealtiel) the father of Zerubbabel; but BA of LXX read here also Σαλαθιήλ, although Lucian has Φαδαιά.

SHEARIAH (שְׁעַרְיָה).—A descendant of Saul, 1 Ch 8^{38} (BA Σαραιά, Luc. Σεριά) 9^{44} (BA Σαριά, Luc. Σααριά).

SHEARING-HOUSE, THE (בֵּית עֵקֶד הָרֹעִים; B Βαιθάκαθ τῶν ποιμένων, A Βαιθάκαδ τ. π.; Vulg. *camera pastorum*; RV tr. 'shearing-house [lit. *binding*-house,' cf. Gn 22^9] of the shepherds,' RVm 'house of gathering [so Targ. but improbable] of the shepherds').—A place at which Jehu, on his way from Jezreel to Samaria, met and slew the brethren of Ahaziah, king of Judah (2 K $10^{12.14}$). Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom. s.* Βαιθακάθ) place the shearing-house in the Great Plain (Esdraelon), 15 M.P. from Legio; and in this position, 3 m. east of *Jenîn*, is the village of *Beit Ḳâd* (Robinson, *BRP*^{2} ii. 316). This is possibly the site of the shearing-house (Conder, *PEF Mem.* ii. 83). C. W. WILSON.

SHEAR-JASHUB (שְׁאָר יָשׁוּב 'a remnant shall return,' LXX ὁ καταλειφθεὶς Ἰασούβ, Is 7^3).—A symbolical name given to a son of Isaiah to signify the return of the remnant to God after the punishment at the hands of the Assyrians. See 8^{18} $10^{20.21}$, and cf. 7^{14} 8^{1-4}.

SHEBA (שֶׁבַע).—**1.** A Benjamite who headed a new revolt against David immediately after the suppression of Absalom's rebellion. He was besieged by Joab in Abel-beth-maacah, whose inhabitants were persuaded to procure their own safety by casting the head of the rebel from the battlements of the city (2 S $20^{1f.\,6f.\,10.\,13.\,21f.}$; B uniformly Σάβεε, A occasionally Ἅβεε). See, further, art. DAVID, vol. i. p. 570^b. **2.** A Gadite, 1 Ch 5^{13} (B Σέβεε, A Σόβαθε, Luc. Σάβεε).

SHEBA (שְׁבָא), more correctly *Saba* (LXX Σαβά, Jos. Σάβας), the name of a race (the **Sabæans**) several times mentioned in the OT. In the genealogical tables it is given three pedigrees (Gn 10^7 son of Ra'mah, cf. Ezk 27^{22}, where these two names are juxtaposed; Gn 10^{28} son of Yokṭan, and juxtaposed with Ḥazarmaveth [Ḥaḍramaut]; Gn 25^3 son of Yokshan). Ezekiel (27^{23}) mentions Eden (Aden), Ḥaran (Ḥirran), and Canneh (Kanneh) as connected with it; and of these places the first two are known to be in S. Arabia. At the time of Israel's highest prosperity, Solomon was visited by the queen of Saba (1 K 10^{1-13}), an event which gave rise to a number of legends, none of them perhaps of high antiquity in the form wherein we possess them. The Sabæans were known to the Israelites as exporters of gold (Is 60^6, Ps 72^{15}), precious stones (Ezk *l.c.*), perfumes (Jer 6^{20}, Isaiah and Ezekiel), and perhaps slaves (Jl $4(3)^8$). In the Bk. of Job (6^{19}) there is an allusion to their trading caravans, with at least a suggestion that their capital was Tema (Tayma); and also to their raiding other Arab tribes (1^{15}).

Till the attention of Orientalists was called by Wellsted and Cruttenden to certain inscriptions discovered by them in S. Arabia, our knowledge of Saba was confined to the meagre and often unintelligible matter collected by the Greek geographers and Pliny. But since the middle of the century large finds of inscriptions have been made in various parts of Arabia, in the old Arabic character (of which a copy was given by the Arabic bibliographer Al-Nadim, in his *Fihrist*, A.D. 978), and dealing with Saba and various institutions connected with it. The attempt made in England to decipher these inscriptions was utterly incompetent; but German scholars were more successful, and the honour of having founded the study of Sabæan is shared by Rödiger and Osiander, whose papers in the *ZDMG*, vols. xx. and xxi., laid the basis for the right understanding of these texts. A full and accurate account of the literature of the subject down to 1891 was given by Fr. Hommel in his *Süd-Arabische Chrestomathie*, Munich, 1893. Next in importance to the collection published by Osiander was that brought back by Halévy, and edited by him in the *Journal Asiatique*, Série 6, vol. ix.; since then great finds have been made by Glaser in his various journeys in S. Arabia, not many of which have as yet been given to the public. In the fourth part of the *CIS*, edited by J. and H. Derenbourg, of which three fasciculi (containing 308 inscriptions) have as yet appeared (1889–1900), the material for the study will be eventually recorded in the most trustworthy form; at present the works of the eight or nine scholars who pursue it (esp. Derenbourg, Glaser, Halévy, Hommel, Mordtmann, D. H. Müller, Prætorius, Winckler) are all indispensable.

Besides inscriptions, considerable finds of coins have also been made. The first Sabæan coin ever interpreted was described in the *Revue Numismatique*, 1868, pp. 169–176; but for this part of the subject the most important stage was marked by the work of Schlumberger (*Le trésor de San'a*, Paris, 1880), who gave an account of some 200 coins that had been discovered at Sana'a, and purchased by him of a dealer in Constantinople. Many of these coins contained the monograms of kings whose names also figure in inscriptions; whence, though these signs were puzzling at first, they have all since been interpreted: a list of the monograms, with their interpretations, is given by D. H. Müller in his *Burgen u. Schlösser*, ii. p. 995.

---

* LXX 'son,' applying to Ahijah only.

The date of the coins described by Schlumberger was fixed by him, on numismatic grounds (*i.e.* the evolution of the style from Attic, Seleucid, and Roman models), at from about B.C. 150 to A.D. 150, and, while he derived the style of the art from the sources named, he regarded the weight as fixed by Persian models. The purity of the silver and the accuracy of the weight were greatly admired by this numismatist; other coins that have been discovered are described by Mordtmann, *Wiener Numismatische Zeitschrift*, 1880, pp. 289–320. The researches of Glaser and others were also rewarded by the discovery of a variety of other objects, illustrative of Sabæan civilization, of which descriptions have been given by Mordtmann (*Himyarische Inschriften in den königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, 1893) and others (*e.g.* Derenbourg, *Les Monuments Sabéens du Musée d'Archéologie de Marseille*, 1899; D. H. Müller, *Südarabische Alterthümer im Kunsthistorischen Hofmuseum*, Wien, 1899; Hommel, 'Die südarab. Altertümer des Wiener Hofmuseums,' in *Aufsätze u. Abhandlungen*, ii., 1900).

Finally, the works of the S. Arabian geographer and archæologer Hamdani (Abu Muhammad Al-Hasan) have been brought to Europe, his *Description of the Arabic Peninsula* in a number of copies, and his *Iklil* in portions; both these works have been edited by D. H. Müller, the former at Leiden, 1891, the latter in the *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie*, Ph.-Hist. Kl. xciv., xcvii., and in Müller's *Südarab. Alterthümer*, p. 8 ff. The lexicon of Neshwan the Himyarite, which is of some value for the interpretation of the texts, is as yet unpublished. In the following paragraphs a few of the chief results of the study will be collected.

[The following abbreviations recur below: *AA* = Glaser's *Abessinier in Arabien* (Munich, 1895); *HI* = *Himyarische Inschriften*; *MM* = Mordtmann and Müller's *Sabäische Denkmäler*; *MVAS* = *Mittheil. d. vorderas. Gesellschaft*; *SA* = Müller's *Südarabische Alterthümer*].

i. HISTORY. — On this subject an authentic chronicle of a few pages could give us more information than all the inscriptions together; it is, however, clear that they cover an enormous length of time—it can scarcely be made less than 1300 years. The dated inscriptions of the mound at Marib (published by Glaser, *MVAS*, No. 6) are of the 5th and 6th cents. A.D., one of them being Christian and another perhaps Jewish; and the final destruction of the Sabæan State is known to have taken place in the 6th cent. A.D. On the other hand, the name of Ithamara the Sabæan, occurring in the inscriptions of Sargon of B.C. 715 (ed. Winckler, p. 97), was identified with justice by Lenormant with the *Yetha'amara* of the Sabæan inscriptions. That name belongs to no fewer than six Sabæan potentates (Glaser, *AA* p. 29); and there seems no probability that Sargon's contemporary is the first of these. The inscriptions, however, are not divided equally over this vast expanse of time; so far as they are at present accessible, it is only for the period just before and just after the commencement of our era that they render the writing of a continuous chronicle possible; an attempt of this sort has been made by H. Winckler, 'Die Inschriften des Alhan Nahfan' (*MVAS*, No. 5), perhaps without conspicuous success. The greater number of the texts published are devoid of political interest, and indeed emanate from members of two families or clans, the Bakilites of 'Amran, and their leaders the Banu Marthad, and the Hashidites of Na'it, and their leaders the Banu Hamdan. These great families are said to exist still in S. Arabia in the neighbourhood of their ancestral seats (Mordtmann in *MM* p. 9).

Saba is the name of a nation or political unit, not of a city, though the classical writers speak repeatedly of a city Saba. The Arabic etymologists derive its name from *sabā*, 'to take captive'; but they might with greater probability have derived it from the Sabæan verb *saba'a*, 'he raided'; and indeed in *CIS* 84. 3, the Sabæans are mentioned as normal raiders, somewhat as in Job 1^{15}. The Sabæan name for 'nation' is *khums*, 'a fifth,' and it is applied by them to other nations as well as to their own, *e.g.* 'the two Khums, Saba and Himyar' (*MM* 5). These nations or 'fifths' were divided into 'tribes'* (*shi'b*), which again were sometimes divided into 'thirds' (*CIS* 187, where Derenbourg gives us the names of two 'thirds' of the tribe Sama'i), and sometimes perhaps 'tenths' (*CIS* 128). There might be some ground for suspecting that the word *fifth* implies the original existence of five nations who shared S. Arabia between them; at the latest period of the inscriptions, Saba has swallowed the others up. In these the kings style themselves kings of Saba, Dhu Raidan, Ḥaḍramaut, and Yamanet. The earliest king who assumed this title was, according to Glaser (*AA* p. 31), Shammir Yuhar'ish, about A.D. 281 (others would place him some 200 years before). Before this he and his predecessors called themselves kings of Saba and Dhu Raidan, a title which implies the conquest of Raidan, which the combinations of Glaser and H. Winckler place about B.C. 70. Prior to this last date the kings style themselves sometimes *malik* ('king'), sometimes *mukarrib*, a word of uncertain meaning, but of a root which forms an element in many proper names, and is the source of Makorabah, the old name for Mecca. It is customary to place the Mukarrib period before the Maliḳ period, and it is certainly noticeable that Sargon does not bestow the title 'king' on his Sabæan contemporary, though the Assyrians are ordinarily rather lavish with the title. Naturally, such a point could not be settled without better documents than are at our disposal. The residence of the king was at Maryab or Marib (in Beled Al-Jihaf), and sometimes at Ghaiman. But Marib had also a king of its own, probably dependent on the kings of Saba, since in *CIS* 37. 7 the two are mentioned simultaneously; and kings of Kamna (*SA* 12) and other places are mentioned.

In the time of Eratosthenes (B.C. 240) Saba was one of *four* nations which shared S. Arabia between them—Minæans with capital Karna, Sabæans with capital Maryab, Kattabanians with capital Tamna, and Ḥaḍramaut with capital Katabanon. The Greek writer adds that these were all monarchies, but that they were not hereditary, the succession falling to the first male born to one of the leading families after a king's accession. How such a system would work it is impossible to conjecture; but a study of the texts makes it certain that Eratosthenes' account contains some truth, though he may have omitted important details. So about the time of the Aelius Gallus expedition (B.C. 24) we find kings of the Hamdanide family preceded and followed by kings of another family. Alhan Nahfan seems to disclaim the title 'king of Saba' himself, while giving it to his two sons (*AA* 42. 1), though he allows it to be given him by others (*ib.* 24), and in another inscription (*HI* 2698) appears as a subject of the then king of Saba, and in yet another (*CIS* 2, 10) is called simply Hamdanite and Bata'ite by the men who put up a votive tablet for help received in his service. Quite similarly Il-Sharh (Elisaros), who in some inscriptions figures as king of Saba and son of a king of Saba, in others is called Kabir of Aḳyan, a title of which the import is not known, but which seems to have been combined with something like royal functions (*AA* 82 and 105). What we should infer from these facts is that the kingship was held by the leading families in some sort of rotation. This inference is further supported by the nature of the kings' names, which do not appear to differ in form from those of other eminent men; they are ordinarily, though not always, double, consisting apparently of a name and an epithet (rarely of a name and two epithets), and are ordinarily retained unaltered by those persons who figure in different inscriptions as kings and in some other capacity. Finally, the fact that the inscriptions often speak of 'the kings of Saba,' and that as many as three appear as kings simultaneously, implies that the sense which attached to the word 'king' in this community was different from that which attached to it elsewhere. And this not only explains the great number of the kings who figure in the inscriptions, — Müller (*Burgen*, ii. pp. 982-986) counted 33, and some have since been added to the number,—but harmonizes with the fact that Sargon does not give the Sabæan the title 'king.'

---

* This name (tribe) is also sometimes applied to Saba (*SA* p. 17). The term 'fifth' is also found in other divisions (*ib.* p. 39).

Besides the kings, there were eponymous magistrates, after whom the years were named, till the adoption of an era, which Glaser fixes at B.C. 115 (*AA* p. 29; *Gesch.* i. 3), whereas others regard it as the Seleucid era (see *CIS* p. 18); the text *CIS* 46 seems to date 'in the year 386 from the year of Mubiḥ son of Abu-Ḥubb,' an era of which nothing is at present known. The tribes of which the Sabæan community consisted had sometimes their kings (as the Samʿai, *CIS* 37), but more often chieftains called *ḳaul* (in Arabic *ḳail*); another title is *kabir* ('great'), which in one case appears to be given to the eponymous magistrate (*CIS* 80), but is also held by the king Il-Sharḥ, probably before his accession (*CIS* 46). Since, however, this personage has a 'minister' (*muktawi*, *AA* p. 105), while he is still *kabir*, we clearly cannot yet settle the precise meaning of these terms. A distinction which pervades the inscriptions is that between 'lords' and 'men,' analogous to that between 'royalties' and 'men' which is found in the Phœnician inscriptions: probably the former were what Eratosthenes calls 'distinguished,' *i.e.* qualified to participate in the sovereignty. In most of the votive tablets the author prays the god for the favour of his lords, who sometimes are the whole of a family, sometimes one or more members of it. A difficult constitutional term is that rendered 'heirs' or 'co-heirs' (*CIS* 95. 5) in the same context in which 'lords' usually figures; and indeed the number of terms which imply some unknown status or caste is very considerable.

The state of society seems in general to have borne some resemblance to that of feudal Europe. The great families possessed towers and castles, the building of which is commemorated in many inscriptions; and the word *bait*, which in ordinary Semitic means 'house,' would seem with this community to have meant 'tower.' The *Iklil* of the archæologer Hamdani contains a description of these feudal dwellings, portions of which are still to be seen. The right to build a castle was sometimes given by the head of a family (*CIS* 145, 153), sometimes by a king (*CIS* 172); in some of the texts ample details (not as a rule intelligible) are given of the manner in which the building was carried out (*CIS* 17, 29, 40), and these seem to have involved measurements of land and technical distributions of it. In each case the building is put under the protection of a deity. Many of the texts also commemorate renewals, repairs, the digging of wells and other domestic operations, in all of which the deity had some share.

Owing to a far larger portion of S. Arabia being under cultivation in ancient times than now, the extent of territory covered by these feudal estates was very great, and, as we have seen, ere the final extinction of the Sabæan State by the Abyssinians in the 6th cent. it had swallowed up the other States in its neighbourhood. Hence the inscriptions which tell of its former glories are found all over South Arabia, except perhaps in Ḥadramaut, and some even in the far north of the peninsula. Many indeed have been transplanted from the buildings which they originally adorned to distant towns, but of the vast extent of the country which at certain times was subject to the Sabæans there can be no doubt. Certain episodes of the reign of Alhan Nahfan, as mentioned above, have been enucleated from his inscriptions by Glaser (*AA*) and Winckler (*l.c.*); but even in these results there is much that is problematic, and little that is sharply defined; while for the rest of Sabæan history the inscriptions which have as yet been published contain far less material. Arabic writers have only vague recollections of certain events of great importance, such as the bursting of the dam at Marib, which they strangely fancy led to the ruin of the State, and of a few names and words of the old language; even the well-informed Hamdani has only fables and fictions. Hence for a history of Saba the materials are still wanting.

ii. CIVILIZATION.—The list of goods said to come from Saba in Is 60^6 bears a striking likeness to that given by Sargon (*l.c.*): 'Gold, precious stones, ivory, perfumes of all sorts, horses, camels,' and the gold and perfumes were associated with Saba by classical writers also. It is remarkable that gold and perfume were called by the same name in Saba; for the suggestion of D. H. Müller, that *dhahab* meant perfume as well as gold, has been confirmed by a document brought to light by Count Landberg (*SA* p. 30). The inscriptions reveal a lavish use of gold, if indeed the precious metal be meant thereby. Alhan Nahfan offers thirty statues of gold at once (*AA* p. 42), and numerous inscriptions commemorate the employment of this metal for images of gods and of animals (*e.g.* camels and gazelles, *MM* 1). Other gifts were of silver, called, in this language, *ṣirf*; and a variety of objects used for devotional purposes is enumerated by Alhan Nahfan (*l.c.*), not many of which can at present be identified with certainty. Perfumes are also mentioned with considerable frequency, and various sorts are enumerated. D. H. Müller has devoted many pages to the description of them (*Burgen*, ii. 975; *MM* 26; *SA* 48). The greater number of the texts deal not with the commercial side of the Sabæans' life (though there may be allusions to that), but with the agricultural and military sides. Prayers for crops and vegetables are mixed with supplications for male children. The sorts of fruits which they desire to thrive are sometimes enumerated. In some we learn a little of the artificial system of irrigation whereby the fertility of the fields was maintained. But more commemorate successful raids, or successful repulses of raids by other tribes; and once it would seem a disaster consequent on delay in the fulfilment of a vow is commemorated (*CIS* 81). The position of women would appear to have been little inferior to that of men, if we may judge by the number of texts in which they figure as authors or joint-authors of inscriptions. One woman (*CIS* 179) appears to be called mistress of a castle; and, though a queen of Saba has not apparently been discovered in the inscriptions, queens of other Arabian tribes occur, both in Arabian and Assyrian texts (D. H. Müller, *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien*, p. 3). The honourable title 'consort,' by which they are often called, confirms this. There are, however, texts which imply the practice of concubinage, though not, apparently, of polygamy. It is observable that the women make offerings to the same gods as the men, describe themselves by similar family names, and profess to have received similar benefits.

The Sabæan art, which in some respects is highly praised by experts, appears to have been greatly affected at different times by contemporaneous civilizations, *i.e.* those of Assyria, Persia, Greece, Rome, and Parthia; and the formulæ of the inscriptions appear here and there to exhibit Assyrian influence. The caligraphy of the inscriptions, especially those first brought to Europe, has won much admiration; the alphabet in which they are written varies somewhat in different places (see especially D. H. Müller, *Epigraphische Denkmäler, ad fin.*), but the present writer sees no reason to doubt that it represents the earliest form of the Semitic *alphabet*, whence the others are derived, partly by the suppression of a number of unnecessary signs. The excessive vigour with which the consonants are pronounced in S. Arabia, on which several writers have commented, would make that the likeliest country for the invention of a system of writing in which the consonant was the element.

iii. RELIGION.—The greater number of the tablets at present accessible are dedicated to two deities, Il-Maḳḳih and Ta'lab. The latter appears to have been a specially Hamdanite deity, and is ordinarily described as Ta'lab of Riyam. He is called not 'god,' but *shayyām*, 'patron' or 'protector,' a title which is also given to Wadd (*HI* 7), who is sometimes ascribed to Kibab (*ib.* also in *CIS* 30) and Khaṭban (*CIS* 293), and Ḥajar ('stone'; *CIS* 49-69). The former of these 'patrons' also figures in pre-Islamic antiquity. If we may judge by the honours lavished on Ta'lab, the position of 'patron' can have been little inferior to that of god. The god of the Bakil was Il-Maḳḳih, probably 'the hearing god,' whose name seems connected with a verb *WKH*, which figures often in the votive tablets. Different forms of Il-Maḳḳih were worshipped in different sanctuaries. The places with which he is most frequently associated are Awam in Alwa (on which see especially *AA* p. 16 ff.), Ḥirran, and 'Irran. Next in importance to him was probably Athtar, the male form of Ashtoreth, often called Sharḳan, which is thought to mean 'Oriental.' He had a divided personality: in *CIS* 293 no fewer than four forms of him are mentioned simultaneously—Athtar lord of Thanain, Athtar lord of Ta'alluḳ (?), Athtar lord of Jumdan, and Athtar Sharḳan. Two other deities whose names are of interest are Sami' (*CIS* 282) and Ḳawim (*CIS* 194), which seem to be perpetuated in the epithets 'the Hearing' and 'the Sustaining,' which the Koran gives to Allah. Considerable popularity was also enjoyed by Ramman (who figures in the Bible as Rimmon), sometimes called lord of 'Alam of Ashkur (*CIS* 140, by a Ḥimyarite). The sun was also much worshipped, and is ascribed to a number of places (*e.g.* Barrat, *CIS* 293. 2; other places 40, 132, 294), and also to particular tribes and persons, *e.g.* 'Il-Maḳḳih and their sun' (*CIS* 143. 5), and indeed the plural 'their suns' is of occasional occurrence, implying that the sun was regarded as of divided personality, like Athtar. The Sabæan worship of the sun was sufficiently famous to be known to the author of the Koran (xxvii. 24). A similar deity is Dhu Samai, 'lord of Heaven,' ascribed to Bakir (*MM* 1); and there are some goddesses whose names are similarly formed—Dhat Ḥima, Dhat Ba'dan (*CIS* 41 etc.). Other gods are called Bashir ('bringer of good tidings,' *CIS* 41. 3), Haubas (172, etc.), Raḥman ('merciful,' perhaps of monotheistic times, *CIS* 6), Ḳainan (8) and others whose name is thought to signify water-nymphs (153, etc.).

This pantheon appears to resemble that of the Italians before Greek influence: the gods were to some extent hypostases of operations or objects, and there was supposed to be some special merit in enumerating them. Of this last process the terminations of many inscriptions offer illustrations. The more important of their temples had names, after which the god was often called. The offerings to them consisted, as we have seen, of lavish gifts to the temples; but sacrifices of the ordinary sort (*CIS* 290) and offerings of incense (194) also form the subject of allusions. Sometimes it took the form of self-presentation on the part of the worshipper, whatever may have been the import of that act. The earliest instance is said to be in a bustrophedon inscription (*ZDMG* xxii. 425), and the most elaborate, that contained in the inscription of Hadakan (*CIS* 37), in which the author declares that he puts the god in possession of himself, his family, his and their property, and all the property belonging to his clan. If the inscription *HI* 2678 (p. 26) be rightly interpreted by Mordtmann, this act could be performed repeatedly; and the inscr. *CIS* 126 would probably explain it more clearly, if we knew the meaning of the words. The plan of erecting stones in honour of the gods also finds illustration (*CIS* 100); and most of the texts we have are *musnads*, or tablets dedicated to the gods, sometimes with other offerings. The office of priest (ארשו) seems sometimes to have been united with that of tribal head (*CIS* 41. 1), but at other times was probably delegated to humbler individuals. That pilgrimages were made in honour of the gods appears from the month Dhu Ḥijjat or Maḥajjat; the former of which is the only month-name which the Sabæans share with the Moslems (the Sabæan twelve are enumerated by Müller in *MM* 51). Prayers are ordinarily designated by the common Semitic word for petition, but the other word (*amlā*), which occurs often, perhaps implies stereotyped formulæ. From the inscr. *CIS* 126 it would appear that the gods were also appeased by certain forms of personal abstinence, and from one of those edited by Winckler (*l.c.*) it might appear that they had some share in the administration of justice. The Sabæans also had certain ideas of ceremonial purity, violation of which had to be atoned for by public acknowledgment on tablets placed in temples: some curious specimens of these are given in *SA* pp. 20-25.

iv. LANGUAGE.—Of the S. Arabian inscriptions, a few are couched in a dialect scarcely distinguishable from classical Arabic. This is the case with the texts dealing with ceremonial purity, to which reference has been made. The Sabæan texts seem to resemble most closely the dialect known as Ethiopic; and indeed Ethiopic may be regarded as the form of Sabæan first given literary shape by Christian missionaries, although, unless the dates on the Marib inscriptions (Glaser, *MVAS* 6) are absolutely misleading, Sabæan must have continued in use for a century or two after the commencement of Ethiopic literature. Owing to the absence of vowels, we know little of the pronunciation or the grammatical finesse of Sabæan; but it clearly differed from the classical Arabic idiom in many particulars; in some of which it preserved what classical Arabic lost, while more often it seems to represent a later stage of development than the latter. Its alphabet retains a sibilant lost to Arabic; and in certain cases the weak letters have still consonantal value in Sabæan (as in Ethiopic) where they have lost it in Arabic. Instead of the prefixed article which governs

Arabic syntax, Sabæan has an affix, similar to that in use in Aramaic; both of which bear a curious likeness to the Armenian system. For the *nunation* which in Arabic supplies, to some extent, the place of an indefinite article, Sabæan has *mimation*. Probably in this matter Arabic retains the older termination, whereas the two languages may have developed or borrowed their definite articles independently. The employment of the dual would appear to have been as regular in Sabæan as in Arabic, though the mode of expressing it differed somewhat. The Sabæan syntax has also some remarkable peculiarities, to which nothing in Arabic corresponds, though they might be illustrated from Hebrew. We have already seen (in art. LANGUAGE OF THE OT) that, like Ethiopic, Sabæan occasionally agrees in its vocabulary with Canaanitish against Arabic; and there are also cases in which it agrees remarkably with the Aramaic vocabulary, although in the most striking of these (see *CIS* 79) the common words are perhaps borrowed from Aramaic, since the inscription shows signs of having been written by a foreigner. Though there is still much about both grammar and vocabulary that is obscure, the progress made in the study since Osiander's time compares favourably with that achieved in other regions of epigraphy.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

SHEBA (שֶׁבַע; B Σάμαα, A Σάβεε; *Sabee*).—A town, according to AV, which was allotted to Simeon (Jos 19^{2}), and is mentioned between Beersheba and Moladah. This was apparently the view of Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom. s.* Σαβέ). RV, however, and the edition of 1611, read 'Beersheba *or* Sheba'; and this is in agreement with the number of towns (13) said to have been allotted to Simeon (Jos 19^{2-6}), and with the omission of Sheba from the list in 1 Ch 4^{28}. It is not unlikely that וְשֶׁבַע is due to dittography from באר שבע, or it may be a corruption of ושמע (cf. LXX B) of Jos 15^{26}. So Dillm. *ad loc.*

C. W. WILSON.

SHEBANIAH (שְׁבַנְיָה; in 1 Ch 15^{24} שְׁבַנְיָהוּ).—**1.** The name of a Levite or a Levitical family that took part in the religious services which followed the reading of the Law, Neh $9^{4.}$ (B Σαραβιά, A Σαχανιά, ℵ Σαραδιά) ^{5} (LXX om.). The name appears in Neh 10^{10} amongst those who sealed the covenant (B Σαβανιά, ℵA Σεβανιά, Luc. [in both verses] Σεχενίας). **2.** A priest or Levite who sealed the covenant, Neh 10^{4} (B Ἐβανεί, A Σεβανί, Luc. Βαναίας) 12^{14} (Bℵ*A om., $ℵ^{c.a}$ Σεχελιού, Luc. Σεχενίας). See SHECANIAH, No. 8. **3.** Another Levite who sealed the covenant, Neh 10^{12} (BA Σεβανιά, Luc. Σαβανίας). **4.** A priest in David's time, 1 Ch 15^{24} (B Σομνιά, ℵ Σοβνειά, A Σωβενιά, Luc. Σαβανιά).

SHEBARIM (הַשְּׁבָרִים, with art.; καὶ [Luc. ἕως] συνέτριψαν αὐτούς; *Sabarim*).—A place mentioned (Jos 7^{5}) in the description of the pursuit of the Israelites by the men of Ai. RVm (so also Keil, *Josua*) tr. *hash-shĕbārîm* by 'the quarries,' a rendering which Steuernagel (in Nowack's *Hdkomm.*) is also inclined to accept. The place was on the descent from Ai to the Jordan Valley, but the name has not been recovered. The LXX (cf. Pesh. and Targ. עַד־הַשְּׁבָרִם) does not recognize a proper name, but takes the meaning to be '[they pursued them] till they were broken,' *i.e.* completely routed and mostly destroyed. See, further, Dillm. *ad loc.*

C. W. WILSON.

SHEBAT.—Zec 1^{7}. See SEBAT and TIME.

SHEBER (שֶׁבֶר; B Σάβερ, A Σέβερ, Luc. Σάβαρ).—A son of Caleb by his concubine Maacah, 1 Ch 2^{48}.

SHEBNA (שֶׁבְנָא, in 2 K $18^{18.26}$ שֶׁבְנָה **SHEBNAH**; LXX Σόμνας [in Is 36^{3} B Σόβνας, and so Q^{mg} in 36^{11}]).—A *major-domo* or palace-governor of king Hezekiah, against whom is directed one of the recorded utterances of Isaiah (Is 22^{15-25}). The prophet's language implies that Shebna possessed wealth and high position. His chariots and their splendour drew remark (v.^{18}). He had begun the construction of a tomb such as princes made for themselves (v.^{16}). The office he held was domestic in origin, but had become one of the highest in the State. Control of the royal household and management of the affairs of the palace brought the holder of the office into intimate relations with the king, and placed in his hands the dispensing of much favour and patronage. The palace guards were probably under his control, so that the important element of a certain military power was added to his position. Isaiah refers to the supremacy of his authority in the palace (v.^{22}). He also implies that the office (אָב as in Gn 45^{8}) had duties beyond the palace precincts, in Jerusalem and even in Judah (v.^{21}). When Jerusalem was threatened by the Assyrian king, the holder of this office was one of three chosen by Hezekiah to negotiate for him (2 K 18 f.). The palace-governor, in short, was one of the principal ministers of State.

The full significance of Isaiah's prediction regarding Shebna is apparent only if it be remembered, firstly, that he was a foreigner, and, secondly, that he was just then constructing for himself a tomb which should be his monument and resting-place. It was probably on a day when he was viewing complacently the progress of this work that the prophet came to him with his disturbing, disconcerting message. He will not rest in the sepulchre he is making. He has not even found, as he had thought, an adopted country. He will be cast out from the land of Judah, and die and be buried far away from the tomb he is preparing.

The simplest way of regarding Isaiah's message is to take it as a special case of the warning, 'He putteth down the mighty from their seat, he exalteth them of low degree.' Shebna's pride, his arrogant splendour, and his confidence in the future are marked features in his character as it is presented to us. His fate is not represented as retribution for what he has done. Rather, it is the contrast between his present haughty independence and his future humiliation which exposes him to rebuke and brings upon him the prophet's warning. It might be argued that the application of the words 'my servant' to his successor (v.^{20}), and the evidence of v.^{18}, imply that he had transgressed J″'s law. It is certainly probable that a man of Shebna's spirit would in his position be guilty of conduct which Isaiah elsewhere resents. But the prophecy does not denounce judgment on him for this reason. It has been suggested that Shebna's policy was not in accordance with Isaiah's, that he was one of those who instigated the king to a breach with Assyria. This also is possible, but is merely conjecture. Even the interpretation of the 'large country' of v.^{18} as Assyria is no support.

The date of the prophecy may be inferred from 2 K 18 f. (=Is 36 f.), where Eliakim appears as holder of the office of *major-domo*. That was in the year B.C. 701. Some time before this, accordingly, Shebna had been removed from his office. The prophecy was delivered still earlier. The argument implies, in accordance with Is 22^{20-23}, that Eliakim's tenure of office followed Shebna's (see ELIAKIM). But this same narrative mentions also a certain 'Shebna the scribe' (2 K $18^{18.26.37}$ 19^{2}=Is $36^{3.11.22}$ 37^{2}). It is unlikely that there was more than one Shebna among Hezekiah's officers of State. The subject of Isaiah's prophecy appears, accordingly, to have held, later on, the office of royal secretary. One of two conclusions may be drawn: either the prophecy was unfulfilled in 701, or there is a mistake in describing it as directed against Shebna.

A third view has been maintained, to the effect that change of office from *major-domo* to secretary is degradation equivalent to fulfilment of the prediction. There is not, however, sufficient proof that the office of State secretary was lower than that of governor of the palace. But, besides, Isaiah foretells as Shebna's fate much more than loss of office. That, indeed, is merely part of the implication of a sentence of exile and banishment. Loss of office, or rather transference to another office, is by no means the same as exile. Isaiah mentions it as a part of Shebna's misfortune. It is less easy to decide between the alternatives which remain. If the spirit and essence of Isaiah's prophecy be considered, Shebna's change of office was not in the slightest degree its fulfilment. This conclusion may be declared impossible on theological grounds. But Shebna's history did not end with the year 701. His exile may have come after that date. Delay in the fulfilment of the prediction or premature anticipation of its fulfilment is all that need be assumed. The alternative conclusion is that the governor of the palace in Is 22 is wrongly named Shebna. In support of this it may be argued (Duhm, *ad loc.*, and others) that the last clause of v.^{15} is in its wrong place, was originally an editorial heading to the section, and may be in error. The words 'against (עַל) Shebna the palace-governor' certainly read like a heading and leave an improved text when removed from their present position. But the suggestion that an editor took the name from 2 K 18 is improbable, since, (1) Shebna is secretary there, and (2) the identification creates evidence against the fulfilment of the prediction. The difficulty, therefore, that Shebna was royal secretary in 701 remains the only reason for eliminating the name from Is 22^{15}.

The designation סֹכֵן in Is 22^{15} has not been referred to. The title occurs only here in the OT.[*] In 1 K 1$^{2.4}$ the feminine is used (AVm 'cherisher'). In a Phœnician inscription about 30 years older than Isaiah's prophecy (?) (*CIS* i. p. 25) it is used possibly in the sense of city-governor.[†] This may be its meaning here. It harmonizes sufficiently with the designation of Shebna as palace-governor. The domestic office may have included the other (cf. v.^{21}). The cognate in Assyr. denotes 'governor' (Del. *HWB* s. שׂכן). W. B. STEVENSON.

SHEBUEL (שְׁבוּאֵל).—1. A son of Gershom and grandson of Moses, 1 Ch 23^{16} (BA Σουβαήλ, Luc. Σουβιήλ). He was 'ruler over the treasuries,' 26^{24} (B Ἰωήλ, A Σουβαήλ, Luc. Σωβιήλ). He is called in 24^{20} **Shubael** (שׁוּבָאֵל; B Ἰωβαήλ, A Σουβαήλ, Luc. Σουβιήλ), which is prob. the original form of the name (see Gray, *HPN* 310). 2. A son of Heman, 1 Ch 25^{4} (BA Σουβαήλ, Luc. Σουβιήλ), called in v.^{20} **Shubael** (LXX as in v.^{4}).

SHECANIAH (שְׁכַנְיָה; in 1 Ch 24^{11}, 2 Ch 31^{15} שְׁכַנְיָהוּ).—1. A descendant of Zerubbabel, 1 Ch 3$^{21.22}$ (B Σεχενιά, A and Luc. Σεχενίας, which is the reading of Luc. also in all the following passages). It is probably the same Shecaniah who is named in Ezr 8^{3} (B Σαναχιά, A Σαχανιὰ); see Ryle, *ad loc.* 2. According to the MT of Ezr 8^{5}, 'the sons of Shecaniah' were amongst those who returned with Ezra; but a name appears to have dropped out of the text, and we should read 'of the sons of Zattu, Shecaniah the son of Jahaziel' (cf. 1 Es 8^{32} 'of the sons of Zathoes, **Sechenias** the son of Jezelus'). Ezr 8^{5} is wanting in B; A has ἀπὸ υἱῶν Ζαθοῆς Σεχονίας. 3. Chief of the tenth course of priests, 1 Ch 24^{11} (B Ἰσχανιά, A Σεκενιά). 4. A priest in the reign of Hezekiah, 2 Ch 31^{15} (BA Σεχονίας). 5. A contemporary of Ezra, who supported him in his action in connexion with the foreign marriages, Ezr 10^{2} (Σεχενίας). 6. The father of Shemaiah, 'the keeper of the east gate,' Neh 3^{29} (B Ἐχενιά, ℵA Σεχενιά). It is possible that he and No. 1 are identical. 7. The father-in-law of Tobiah the Ammonite, Neh 6^{18} (Σεχενιά). 8. The eponym of a family which returned with Zerubbabel, Neh 12^{3} (Σεχενιά). It is the same name which, by interchange of ב and כ, appears as Shebaniah (see SHEBANIAH, No. 2) in Neh 10^{4} 12^{14}.

SHECHEM.—1. (שְׁכֶם) Gn 33^{19} 34$^{2.4}$ etc. See HAMOR. 2. (שֶׁכֶם, Σύχεμ) the name of a Manassite clan, Nu 26$^{31 (35)}$ (the **Shechemites** הַשִּׁכְמִי, δημὸς ὁ Συχεμ(εε)ί), Jos 17^{2}, 1 Ch 7^{19}. The various conflicting schemes by which these three passages (P, J, and the Chronicler) connect Shechem with Manasseh are discussed in art. MANASSEH, vol. iii. p. 231 f.

SHECHEM (שְׁכֶם 'shoulder'; Συχέμ, ἡ Σίκιμα (1 K 12^{25}), τὰ Σίκιμα (Jos 24^{32}), Σήκιμα, Σήλω (Jos 24$^{1.25}$), Σίκιμον, Σίκιμα (Joseph.); *Sichem*, *Sicima* (Jerome, *Onom.*)).—There are two views with regard to the name. One, held by Eusebius (*Onom. s.* Συχέμ), is that Shechem, the son of Hamor, 'the Hivite, the prince of the land' (Gn 33$^{18.19}$), gave his name to the town. In this case the name is used in Gn 12^{6} by anticipation. The other view is that Shechem received his name from the town, which was so called from the *shĕchĕm*, 'saddle,' or 'shoulder' (cf. Gn 48^{22}), between Ebal and Gerizim, which separates the waters of the Mediterranean from those of the Dead Sea. The latter supposition is the more probable. The name occurs in the 'Travels of a Mohar,' if Max Müller's reading, 'Mountain of Sakama,'—the mountain of Sichem, *i.e.* Ebal or Gerizim,—be correct (*Asien u. Europ.* p. 394). Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.*) held the view that Shechem was formerly called *Salem*; but this opinion is apparently based on a wrong interpretation of Gn 33^{18} (see SHALEM).

The position of Shechem is clearly indicated in the Bible. It was west of Jordan; in the territory allotted to Joseph (see Gn 48^{22}, where 'portion' is the translation of *shĕchĕm*); in the hill-country of Ephraim (AV Mount Ephraim), within the limits of the tribe of Ephraim (Jos 20^{7} 21^{21}, 1 K 12^{25}, 1 Ch 6^{67} 7^{28}, cf. Jos 17^{7}), and immediately below Gerizim (Jg 9^{7}). It was beyond Shiloh on the high road from Jerus. to the north (Jg 21^{19}), to the west of Michmethath (Jos 17^{7}), and not very far from Dothan (Gn 37$^{12-17}$). The evidence outside the Bible is decisive: Josephus distinctly says (*Ant.* IV. viii. 44) that Shechem was between Ebal and Gerizim. Eusebius (*Onom. s.* Συχέμ, Λουζά, Τερέβινθος) places it in the suburbs of, or close to, Neapolis; whilst Jerome (*Ep. Pau.* xvi.), Epiphanius (*adv. Hær.* iii. 1055), and later writers identify it with Neapolis, the present *Nâblus*. Shechem is supposed to have been destroyed during the Jewish War, and to have been rebuilt by Vespasian, who named it *Flavia Neapolis*. It is so called on coins (Eckhel, *Doc. Num.* iii. 433), and by Justin Martyr, who was a native. Josephus says (*BJ* IV. viii. 1) that Neapolis was anciently called Mabortha, or Mabartha—a name which Pliny gives (*HN* v. 13) in the form Mamortha. This word has been variously explained. Reland conjectures (*Dis. Mis.* i. 138–140) that the readings should be corrected from coins which have Morthia—the classical form, according to his view, of Moreh. Tomkins (*Abraham and his Age*, p. 90) connects Mabortha, Morthia, with Martu, the Sumerian form of the name Amorite, and takes it as evidence of a pre-Semitic occupation of the site. He quotes the view of Sayce, who sees Martu in 'the terebinth of Moreh.' Ritter (*Pal.* 646) considers that the name refers to the 'pass' or valley in which the town is situated. Olshausen, Ritter (as above), Guérin (*Samarie*, i. 420), and Riehm (*HWB*) take it to mean a 'thoroughfare,' or place of 'passage' or 'crossing' (מַעֲבַרְתָּא *ma'ăbartā*)—a name very applicable to a town situated in the natural passage or valley from the Mediterranean to the Jordan, or on the caravan road from Judæa to Galilee. Neubauer (*Géog. du Talm.* 169) sees in the word a corruption of the Aramæan מברכתא (*mabărakhta*), 'blessed town,' and supports his view by the statement in the Talmud that the Samaritans called their mountains 'the mountains of blessing.'

When Abram entered the land of Canaan, he camped by the oak (AV 'plain,' RVm 'terebinth') of Moreh, at or near 'the place of Shechem' (AV Sichem), and there built 'an altar unto the LORD' (Gn 12$^{6.7}$). Some authorities maintain, from the expression 'place of Shechem,' that the city did not then exist; but the word ‘place’ (Gesen. *Lex.*) is applied to inhabited towns in Gn 18[24] 19[12] and 29[22]. It is also most unlikely that the Canaanites, who were ‘then in the land,’ would have overlooked or neglected to occupy a well-watered site which possessed so many natural advantages. The oak of Moreh, or a successor, is apparently mentioned as ‘the oak which was by Shechem’ (Gn 35[4]), ‘the oak that was in the sanctuary of the Lord’ (Jos 24[26]), ‘the oak of the pillar that was in Shechem’ (Jg 9[6]). ‘The oak of Meonenim’ (Jg 9[37] ‘the diviners’ tree’) is possibly also the tree of Gn 12[6], but, Moore thinks, not of Jg 9[6].

---

[*] Cheyne (*Expositor*, ix. [1899] p. 454) would read this word also in 2 S 8^{18} 20^{26}, 1 K 4^{5} (1 Ch 18^{17}), but see art. PRIESTS AND LEVITES, p. 73^{b}.

[†] Quoted and so translated by Winckler, *Geschichte Israels*, i. 120.

When Jacob ‘came from Paddan-aram,’ Shechem was a Hivite city under the rule of Hamor the father of Shechem. The patriarch pitched his tent to the east of the city on ground which he afterwards purchased from Hamor, and bequeathed to the children of Joseph. Here Jacob erected an altar, and sunk a well for his family and cattle; and here Joseph was buried (Gn 33[18-20] 34[2] 48[22], Jos 24[32], Jn 4[5. 6. 12], Ac 7[16]). The size of the ‘parcel’ is unknown, but it possibly included the oak beneath which Jacob concealed the gods and trinkets of his household before moving to Bethel (Gn 35[4]). From the account of the capture and pillage of Shechem, perhaps alluded to in Gn 48[22], and of the events which followed the defilement of Dinah, it would appear that the Shechemites were a peaceful, uncircumcised people, who possessed sheep, oxen, and other wealth (Gn 34[10. 21. 23. 26-29]; Jos. *Ant.* I. xxi. 1). The massacre of the Shechemites (if indeed it belongs to the patriarchal period, but see arts. HAMOR, SIMEON) does not seem to have aroused the ill-will of the surrounding tribes, for, whilst Jacob lived at Hebron, his sons pastured his flocks at Shechem in peace (Gn 37[12-14]).

Shechem acquired additional importance and sanctity from the promulgation of the Law in its immediate neighbourhood (Dt 27[12-14], Jos 8[33-35]); and from the renewal of the covenant with God when Joshua, towards the close of his life, gathered all the tribes of Israel to Shechem and set up a great stone, as a witness, under ‘the oak that was in (AV by) the sanctuary of the LORD’ (Jos 24[1. 25-27]). Joshua made Shechem a city of refuge, and gave it to the Levites (Jos 20[7] 21[21], 1 Ch 6[67]; cf. Hos 6[9] (RV); Jos. *Ant.* V. i. 24). Yet under the Judges we find a temple of Baal-berith in or near the town (Jg 9[4. 46]), and the population is plainly Canaanite.

After Gideon's death, the men of Shechem made Abimelech, his son by a Shechemite concubine, king by the oak (RV ‘plain’) of ‘the pillar that was in Shechem’; and it was during, or immediately after, the ceremony that Jotham delivered his parable of the trees from Mount Gerizim (Jg 8[31] 9[1-3. 6-20]). When Abimelech had reigned three years the Shechemites rose against him, but he soon retook the city, and, after destroying it, sowed the site with salt. He also set fire to and burned the temple of Baal-berith, in which a portion of the garrison had taken refuge (Jg 9[23-57]; Jos. *Ant.* V. vii. 4). In consequence of its central position and sacred associations, all Israel assembled at Shechem to make Rehoboam king (1 K 12[1], 2 Ch 10[1]); but the great disruption followed, and the ten tribes revolted, and made Jeroboam their king. Jeroboam rebuilt or fortified the town, and built himself a palace there (1 K 12[25]; Jos. *Ant.* VIII. viii. 4). The position, however, was not a strong one, and the capital of the new kingdom was first moved to Tirzah and then to Samaria—sites more capable of defence against the attack of an enemy. When Samaria became the political and religious centre of the Northern Kingdom, Shechem lost its importance, and it is not once mentioned during the monarchy. The town was, however, inhabited after the fall of Jerusalem (Jer 41[5]), and became the chief town of the Samaritans (Sir 50[26]; Jos. *Ant.* XI. viii. 6). About B.C. 132 it was taken by John Hyrcanus, and the temple on Mt. Gerizim destroyed (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. ix. 1; *BJ* I. ii. 6).

Shechem was probably destroyed during the Jewish War, and its place taken by Flavia Neapolis, built by Vespasian a short distance to the west of the ancient site. Coins struck at Neapolis during the reign of Antoninus Pius represent Gerizim with a large temple on its summit, approached by many steps cut or built in the side of the mountain. This temple, according to the Samaritan Chronicle, Dion Cassius (xv. 12), and Damascius (*Phot. Bibl.* p. 1055), was built by Hadrian, and dedicated to Jupiter. In the reign of Zeno the Samaritans attacked (A.D. 474) the Christians at Pentecost, and wounded the bishop, Terebinthus, whose name was perhaps taken from the terebinth or oak of Moreh. In consequence of this, the emperor deprived the Samaritans of Gerizim and gave the mountain to the Christians, who built a church on it which they dedicated to the Virgin. Justinian afterwards surrounded the church with a strong wall, and rebuilt five churches in Neapolis which the Samaritans had destroyed (Procop. *De Ædif.* v. 7). The only known bishops of Neapolis are Germanus, who attended the Councils of Ancyra and Nicæa, Terebinthus, Procopius, Ammonas, and Joannes, who was present at the Council of Jerusalem (A.D. 536). In 1184 *Nâblus* was pillaged by Saladin, and in 1834 by the soldiers of Ibrahim Pasha. In 1202 and again in 1837 the town suffered greatly from severe earthquakes.

Near the centre of Palestine the range of hills which traverses the country from north to south is pierced by a remarkable pass—the only one conspicuous from the sea. The pass, which lies between Ebal and Gerizim, is the Vale of Shechem. The valley rises gradually eastward to a grand natural amphitheatre, with its southern end recessed in Gerizim and its northern in Ebal. Here the gently swelling ground of the arena separates the waters of the Mediterranean from those of the Dead Sea; and here, in all probability, was held ‘the great inaugural service of all Israel on taking possession of the country.’ Eastward of the water-parting, the ground falls gradually between Ebal and Gerizim to the rich level plain of *el-Mukhna*; and near the spot where the valley merges into the plain are the traditional sites of Jacob's Well and Joseph's Tomb. The beauty of the Vale of Shechem and its exuberant fertility have often been described. The soft colouring of the landscape, the fresh green of the gardens that slope down on either side, the grey olive trees, the joyous notes of the numerous birds of song, and the ‘mighty burst of waters from the flank of Gerizim,’ make the vale the most beautiful spot in Central and Southern Palestine. Amidst this wealth of verdure, clinging as it were to the lower slopes of Gerizim, lies Nâblus (*Neapolis*), the ‘little Damascus’ of the old Arab writers, and a little to the east, between the modern town and the water-parting, probably lay Shechem. The natural attractiveness of the locality, its central position on the highland road from north to south, and the facilities for communication on the one hand with Sharon and the Mediterranean, and on the other with the Jordan Valley and the trans-Jordanic regions, marked it out as a place of importance from the remotest period. A trade route, to which allusion is made in Hos 6[9], and which the Psalmist may have had in his mind when he connected Shechem with the valley of Succoth (Ps 60[6] 108[7]), ran at a very early date from the coast districts, past Shechem to Gilead. The connexion with the districts east of Jordan remained almost to the present day, for, until recently, Gilead was governed from *Nâblus*, which is still the connecting link between the telegraph system east and west of Jordan. The modern town contains three churches built by the Crusaders which are now mosques, the synagogue of the Samaritans, and a few fragments of the Roman city. Immediately outside the town, on the S.W., there is a small mosque on the traditional site of Jacob's mourning when Joseph's coat was brought to him. In the minaret close by there is a stone with a Samaritan inscription containing the Ten Commandments.

Environs.—There are three spots in the neighbourhood of Shechem which require some notice: the Well of Jacob, the Tomb of Joseph, and the site of the 'oak' of Moreh. A tradition that goes back to the early part of the 4th cent., and in which Jews, Samaritans, Christians, and Moslems agree, identifies **Jacob's Well** with *Bîr Yaʿkûb*. This well, sometimes called *Bîr es-Samarîeh*, 'well of the Samaritan' (woman), is situated in the level plain of *el-Mukhna*, about 1½ m. from *Nâblus* on the road to Jerus., and a little beyond the village of *Balâta*. The well is sunk to a great depth, partly through alluvial soil and partly through limestone, so as to secure, even in exceptionally dry seasons, a supply of water. By its construction in his own 'parcel' of ground, the patriarch, with great prudence and forethought, made himself independent of the springs which probably belonged to the Shechemite villagers, and avoided those quarrels about water which are so common in a country where the population is partly sedentary and partly nomadic. Eusebius (*Onom.*) and the Bordeaux Pilgrim (A.D. 333) mention the well in connexion with Sychar, a place which they distinguish from Sichem and Neapolis. Jerome (*Onom.*) adds that there was a church at the well which was visited by St. Paula (*Ep. Paul.* xvi.). Antoninus Martyr (A.D. 570), Arculfus (A.D. 670), and Willibald (A.D. 754), mention the well and church, and Arculfus adds that the church was cruciform, the well being in the centre. The church was apparently destroyed before the arrival of the Crusaders and rebuilt in the 12th cent. It was again destroyed after the battle of Hattin, and remained a heap of rubbish until a few years ago, when it became the property of the Greek Church, and its foundations were uncovered by excavation. The stone on which our Lord sat is said to have been taken to Constantinople in the reign of Justinian (see SYCHAR).

Jewish, Samaritan, and Christian tradition identifies the **Tomb of Joseph** with a modern building, called *Kabr Yûsuf*, situated in the plain about ¼ m. north of Jacob's Well. Moslem traditions vary—one accepting the *Kabr Yûsuf*, another placing the tomb in the cemetery *Rijal el-ʿAmûd* at the foot of Gerizim. The latter place was apparently shown to Maundrell (A.D. 1697). Eusebius, the Bordeaux Pilgrim, and Jerome (*Onom.*) place the tomb to the east of Neapolis and close to Sichem. Jerome elsewhere (*Ep. Paul.* xvi.) says that St. Paula, after leaving Jacob's Well, visited the 'tombs of the twelve patriarchs.' The tradition that the twelve sons of Jacob were buried at Shechem rests on the words of St. Stephen (Ac 7$^{15. 16}$). Josephus (*Ant.* II. viii. 2) says they were buried at Hebron. Nearly all later writers refer to the tomb without distinctly indicating its position; but all Jewish travellers place it in the immediate neighbourhood of the village of *Balâta*.

Two sites have been suggested for the '**oak' of Moreh.** At the foot of Gerizim, in the recess which forms part of the natural amphitheatre already described, there is a small, well-kept cemetery, with a mosque, a courtyard, a well, and several tombs of which one is the tomb of *Sheikh Yûsuf*. The place is called *Rijal el-ʿAmûd*, 'the men of the column,' or simply *el-ʿAmûd*, 'the column.' Here, according to one tradition, Joseph and his brethren were buried, or, according to another, several Jewish prophets. A third tradition finds in it the spot where Jacob buried the idols of his household, whilst the Samaritans believe it to be the place where Joshua set up a great stone under the 'oak' that was in the sanctuary of the LORD (Jos 24^{26}). The other site is *Balâta*, a small hamlet with a beautiful spring, not far from Jacob's Well. The village is mentioned in the Samaritan Book of Joshua under its present name, which contains the radicals of the Aramaic word for 'oak.' The place is also, apparently, that mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.*) as *Balanus* (translated by them 'oak') near Joseph's Tomb, and identified by them with the oak of Shechem.

LITERATURE.—Descriptions of *Nâblus* and its environs, and of the importance of Shechem in the history of the Jews, will be found in *PEF Mem.* ii. 172–178, 203, etc.; Stanley, *SP* p. 233, etc.; Smith, *HGHL* 332, etc.; Guérin, *Samarie*, i. p. 372, etc.; Robinson, *BRP*^{2} iii. p. 96, etc.; Wilson, *PEF St.* 1873, p. 66, etc.

C. W. WILSON.

SHEDEUR (שְׁדֵיאוּר; the first part of the word is probably שַׁדַּי *Shaddai*, cf. Gray, *HPN* 169, 197).—The father of Elizur, the chief of Reuben, Nu 1^5 2^{10} (B and Luc. in both Σεδιούρ, A Ἐδιούρ) 7^{30} (B Ἐδισουρ, B^{ab}AF Σεδισούρ) 10^{18} (Σεδιούρ).

SHEEP.—The generic name for 'sheep' is צֹאן *ẓôn* (properly 'small cattle'). The unit is expressed by שֶׂה *seh*, which also applies to goats. אַיִל *'ayîl* signifies 'a ram'; רָחֵל *rāḥēl*, 'a ewe'; כֶּבֶשׂ *kebhes* (fem. *kibhsah* and *kabhsah*), or by transposition כֶּשֶׂב *kesebh* (Lv 3^7, fem. *kisbah*), 'a (yearling) lamb'; טָלֶה *ṭāleh* (1 S 7^9), and כַּר *kar* (Ps 37^{20}), 'a young lamb.' See, further, LAMB.

The sheep, as supplying most of the wants of a pastoral people, was their chief possession, and a measure of their wealth and prosperity. Job had 7000 head of sheep at first, then 14,000 (Job 1^3 42^{12}). Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Esau had vast flocks of them. Sheep furnished their owners with clothing, milk, butter, cheese, meat, and a medium of exchange. The king of Moab (see art. MESHA) paid an annual tribute of 100,000 lambs and the same number of rams to the king of Israel (2 K 3^4). Reuben took from the sons of Ishmael 250,000 sheep (1 Ch 5^{21}). Solomon sacrificed 120,000 sheep at the dedication of the temple (1 K 8^{63}). His household consumed 100 sheep a day (1 K 4^{23}). The Israelites entered Egypt as shepherds (Gn 47$^{1-6}$), and left it with much cattle (Ex 12^{38}). The same regions which furnished the vast flocks in ancient times are still noted for their sheep. All the plateaus east of the Jordan, and the mountains of Palestine and Syria, are pasture-grounds for innumerable flocks and herds. In the spring, when the ewes bring forth their young, the succulent grasses furnish suitable nourishment. Later on, when the rain has ceased, the sheep still nibble the dried herbage and stubble, and flourish where to a Western eye all is barren desert. They require water but once a day, and, where they cannot get it from perennial streams as the Leontes, the Orontes, the Jordan, the Yermuk, the Zerḳa (Jabboḳ), the Zerḳa-Maʿîn, the Muʿjib (Arnon), etc., they find it in the innumerable wells, fountains, and cisterns known to the Arabs. The descendants of the same shepherds who tended flocks in Bible days, still occupy the great sheep-walks of Palestine.

The male of sheep, as of other animals, was usually chosen for sacrifice, as being the representative sex, and because the female was reserved for breeding. The leper, however, offered two he-lambs and one *ewe* (Lv 14^{10}). Similarly, while the sin-offering of a ruler was a male kid, that of one of the common people was a female kid or lamb

(Lv $4^{23. 28. 32}$). The idea of sacrifice has not disappeared wholly, even from Islâm. On important occasions, as the opening of a new road, or the erection of an important building, sheep are sacrificed, and their flesh given to the poor. There is a 'Feast of the Sacrifice' at Mecca every year, in connexion with the *ḥaj*, when many thousands of sheep and other animals are killed, and their flesh distributed among the poor. The milk of sheep is especially mentioned (Dt 32^{14}, 1 Co 9^7). **Wool** was and is a staple of commerce (2 K 3^4, Ezk 27^{18}). It is very frequently mentioned. The priests had the first of the clip (Dt 18^4). Good housewives spun it and wove it (Pr 31^{13}). Sheep-shearing was a festival (Gn 31^{19} 38^{12}, 1 S 25, 2 S 13^{23-27}). The ram has long recurved horns, which were used for trumpets (Jos 6^4) and oil-flasks (1 S 16^1). They are now used as powder-horns. Rams' skins, dyed red, were used in the construction of the tabernacle (Ex 26^{14}). Sheep skins were and are fashioned into a baggy kind of coat (He 11^{37}). Such a garment is the protection of every Syrian shepherd against the wind and rain.

The broad-tailed breed of sheep, now universal in Palestine and Syria, was prob. there from ancient times. The immense tail is a great desideratum. It is the 'rump' of Ex 29^{22}, Lv 3^9 (RV 'fat tail'). It furnishes as much as 10 pounds of pure fat. This is tried out, usually mixed with fine morsels of lean, about as large as a white bean, and packed away in earthen jars for winter use. This mixture is the main reliance of the peasants of Lebanon in the way of animal food for several months of each year. It is called *ḳauramah.* To increase the amount of adipose matter in the tail, the sheep is fattened by forced feeding with mulberry leaves. A bolus of these leaves is made up by the woman or girl in charge, and crammed between the teeth of the animal, which is then compelled to masticate and swallow it. Towards the middle of October the sheep become so fat that they are often unable to stand.

The care of sheep is a subject of frequent allusion in Scripture. They are exposed to the vicissitudes of weather, winter and summer, frost and drought, in the immense treeless plains where they are most raised (Gn 31^{40}); to the attacks of beasts and robbers (v.^{39}, 1 S 17^{34}, Jn $10^{1. 10. 11}$). The shepherd *leads* (not *drives*) them to pasture and water (Ps 23. 77^{20} 78^{52} 80^1); protects them at the risk of his life (Jn 10^{15}). To keep them from the cold and rain and beasts, he collects them in caves (1 S 24^3) or enclosures built of rough stones (Nu 32^{16}, Jg 5^{16}, Zeph 2^6, Jn 10^1). The sheep know the shepherd, and heed his voice (Jn 10^4). It is one of the most interesting spectacles to see a number of flocks of thirsty sheep brought by their several shepherds to be watered at a fountain. Each flock, in obedience to the call of its own shepherd, lies down, awaiting its turn. The shepherd of one flock calls his sheep in squads, draws water for them, pours it into the troughs, and, when the squad has done, orders it away by sounds which the sheep perfectly understand, and calls up another squad. When the whole of one flock is watered, its shepherd signals to it, and the sheep rise, and move leisurely away, while another flock comes in a similar manner to the troughs, and so on, until all the flocks are watered. The sheep never make any mistake as to who whistles to them or calls them. 'They know not the voice of strangers' (Jn 10^5). Sometimes they are called by names (v.^{3}). It was such a scene that greeted Jacob's eyes when he fell in love with Rachel at first sight (Gn $29^{10. 11}$). Moses met his wife and her sisters at the watering troughs (Ex 2^{16-21}). The shepherd often carries the smaller lambs in his bosom, or under his arm, or in the folds of his cloak (Is 40^{11}). Dogs are indispensable to shepherds (Job 30^1). They protect the flock from wild animals and robbers. They are the unkempt, savage, shaggy originals of the city dogs of the East. They help to keep the sheep together like the Scotch collies. Syrian sheep are usually white (Ps 147^{16}, Is 1^{18}, Dn 7^9), but some are brown (Gn 30^{32-42}, RV 'black').

No animal mentioned in Scripture compares in symbolical interest and importance with the sheep. It is alluded to about 500 times. The people of God are His sheep (Ps 95^7 100^3, Jn 21^{15-17}), and His ministers *pastors,** *i.e. shepherds* (Jer 23^1, Eph 4^{11}; cf. our Lord's charge to St. Peter Jn $21^{15ff.}$; see art. PETER, vol. iii. p. 761). Christ is the Good Shepherd (Jn 10^{11}), and 'the Lamb (ὁ ἀμνός) of God, which taketh away the sins of the world' (Jn 1^{29}). The song of the redeemed is 'the song of Moses and the Lamb' (Rev 15^3), of the law and the gospel. Satan and his hosts 'made war with the Lamb,' and the Lamb overcame (17^{14}). The last act of the drama of redemption is 'the marriage of the Lamb' (Rev 19^9 $21^{9. 14}$), and thereafter 'God Almighty and the Lamb are the temple' (v.^{22}), and 'the Lamb is the light thereof' (v.^{23}). Those who are written in 'the Lamb's book of life' (v.^{27}) enter into His rest. The last vision of Revelation is 'the throne of God and the Lamb' (τὸ ἀρνίον, 22^1).

G. E. POST.

SHEEP FOLD.—See FOLD and SHEEP.

SHEEP GATE, Neh $3^{1. 32}$ 12^{39}.—See JERUSALEM, vol. ii. p. 593. For the Sheep Gate (AV Sheep Market; Gr. ἡ προβατική [*sc.* πύλη as in LXX of OT passages]) of Jn 5^2, see *ib.* and art. BETHESDA.

SHEERAH (שֶׁאֱרָה).—A 'daughter' of Ephraim, who, according to the MT of 1 Ch 7^{24}, built the two Beth-horons and a place of doubtful identity † called **Uzzen-sheerah** (אֻזֵּן־שֶׁאֱרָה = 'portion [? lit. something weighed] of Sheerah'). In v.^{24a}, while A and Luc. recognize a proper name in שֶׁאֱרָה, B, reading apparently וּבַשְּׁאֵרָה instead of וּבִתּוֹ שֶׁאֱרָה (A καὶ ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ Σααρά, Luc. Σαραά), renders καὶ ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς καταλοίποις, and makes Ephraim himself the builder of the upper and the lower Beth-horon. In v.^{24b} the LXX gives quite a different turn to the passage. Instead of the place-name *Uzzen-sheerah,* it reads καὶ υἱοὶ Ὀζάν· Σεηρά (= וּבְנֵי אֻזֵּן שֶׁאֱרָה).

J. A. SELBIE.

SHEHARIAH (שְׁחַרְיָה; B and Luc. Σαραιά, A Σααριά).—A Benjamite, 1 Ch 8^{26}.

SHEKEL.—See artt. MONEY and WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

SHEKINAH (Heb. שְׁכִינָה 'that which dwells *or* resides').—The word, as well as the conception, originated after the close of the Hebrew Canon, and is characteristic of Judaistic theology, though the conception occurs also, with deeper connotation, in NT writings. The word is never used except of God; and implies what we should designate 'the Divine Presence,' or 'the Divine Manifestation.' The two most remarkable features of Judaistic theology were its development of the doctrine of Divine 'aloofness,' and the way in which it then sought to bridge the chasm which it had created between God and man. It was felt to be an indignity to God that He should be supposed to have direct contact with inert matter, and immediate intercourse with sinful man; and He was gradually pushed further away from His world. The transcendence of God, and His exemption from all limitations, was insisted on with increasing vigour, until it reached the *ne plus ultra* in Philo, who maintains that to assign any quality to God would be to limit Him; and that He is the absolutely unlimited, since He is eternal, unchangeable, simple substance. 'Of God, we can only say *that* He is, not *what* He is' (Drummond, *Philo Jud.* ii. 23–30). Having thus undeified God, in their endeavour to dehumanize Him, the object of philosophic Jews was to posit some one or more intermediary Hypostases, who might occupy the place which had previously been assigned to God, in the world of matter and of mind. Of these the most prominent were the Metatron, the Word, the Spirit, Wisdom, and the Shekinah. It is the last of these which now calls for investigation.

---

* The same misleading tr. occurs also in Jer 2^8 3^{15} 10^{21} 17^{16} 22^{22} $23^{2. 4}$, in all of which RV alters to 'shepherd.'

† It is identified in Bartholomew-Smith's map of Palestine (1901) with *Beit Sira,* a little to the S.W. of the lower Beth-horon.

In the Hebrew religion, even in its least developed form, Jehovah is always the God of heaven as well as of earth. In times of storm, God was very near and very real to the Hebrews. They conceived of Jehovah as sitting on the storm-cloud, which they designated כְּרוּב: 'He rode upon a *cherub* and did fly. He flew swiftly on the wings of the wind' (Ps 18^{10}): and the brilliance gleaming forth behind and through the black cloud was conceived to be due to the very presence of God: the light being the body or garment of God. When 'the Lord of (the heavenly) hosts' was described as dwelling in the midst of the *earthly* 'hosts' of His favoured people, we are told that *cherubim* overlaid with gold were prepared for His throne; and that a brilliance shining behind and through clouds was His mundane manifestation, as He is also seen in the clouds of heaven (Ex 40^{34-38}). On the summit of Sinai a cloud rested six days, amid which the glory of the Lord was like devouring fire, and Moses entered into the midst of the cloud (Ex 24^{16-18}). And when the tabernacle was finished, 'the cloud covered the tent of meeting, and the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle' (Ex 40^{34}). 'By day the cloud was upon the tabernacle, and there was fire therein by night' (Ex 40^{38}).

It was these celestial and terrestrial phenomena which suggested to the Jew the conception of the Shekinah. The desideratum was to find something which is Divine but is not God. God was very far away; literally 'beyond all knowledge and all thought': yet He rules the world mediately, if not immediately; and being a monotheist the Jew could not let go his belief—that only that which is Divine can rule the world. This, then, was the problem: to discover a mediator, or mediators, Divine, but not God. How can this be made thinkable? Well, the wind (*rûaḥ*) is the breath of God, whether in the zephyr or the storm; and if so, it is Divine. So thought the Jew; and in course of time the *rûaḥ*, which first meant 'breath' or 'wind,' was supposed to be endowed with the attributes of God—power, wisdom, holiness—and then 'spirit' becomes its more appropriate rendering. God's *rûaḥ* is thus Divine—an effluence from Deity—and is thus fitted to be intermediary between God and the world of nature and man. Further, there was the Divine *Word*. The sacred Hebrew books assigned great importance to Divine utterances or words. 'God said, "Let light be"; and light was' (Gn 1^3). It was a peculiarity of the ancient world to ascribe causal efficiency to an uttered word, as is seen in the potency ascribed to magical formulæ. When later Judaism expounded such passages as the one we have just quoted, it assigned to the uttered word a causal efficacy in the physical realm. The very words 'Let there be light' were to them a *vera causa* in the natural sphere, and were instrumental in causing the light to come into being; as Zec 5^4 speaks of an uttered 'curse' entering a house and 'consuming its timbers and its stones.' An utterance of God is something Divine: as potent as God Himself, and therefore 'Word' lends itself to Jewish philosophy as a suitable expression for a Divine intermediary between God and the world. This helps us to understand how Judaism came to its conception of the Shekinah. The glory in the storm-cloud, in and over the tabernacle, is a manifestation of God. The brilliance is not God; for it was a matter of fixed Jewish belief that God is invisible, and yet the brilliance is an effluence from Deity. When the Jew had banished God from his universe, the recorded manifestation of the Divine Presence in the ark and elsewhere seemed to him a *tertium quid* between God and Nature: Divine, but separable in thought from God.

The word Shekinah is used very often in the Jewish Targums. It does not indicate the radiance or brilliance, but *the central cause of the radiance.* This centre was conceived to be Divine. The Heb. Scriptures often speak of 'the glory' of the Lord, but, with one exception (Zec 2^9), the Targumists never use the word Shekinah to translate the Heb. word for 'glory.' They understood כָּבוֹד to be the effulgence of the substantial glory, *i.e.* of the Shekinah. The Shekinah is used in the Targums as the *equivalent for the Divine Being, not for His glory.* A good illustration of this occurs in Is 60^2, where the Heb. reads, 'The LORD shall arise upon thee, and his glory shall be seen upon thee,' and the Targ. renders, 'In thee the Shekinah of the LORD shall dwell, and his glory shall be revealed upon thee.' Whenever the Heb. text would seem to impose any limitations of space upon God, the Targ. substitutes for 'God,' 'his Shekinah.' In every instance where God is said to *dwell* in a place, the Targ. renders that God 'causes his Shekinah to dwell' there (Gn 9^{27}, Ex 25^8 29^{45}, 1 K 6^{13} 8^{12}, Zec 8^3). Every expression which would in any sense localize God, is scrupulously altered by all the Targumists, who believed that the Shekinah can be localized, but not the omnipresent God. When Jacob says (Gn 28^{16}), 'God is in this place,' Targ. renders, 'The glory of the Shekinah of J" is in this place.' So Hab 2^{20} 'The Lord is in his holy temple,' becomes 'J" was pleased to cause his Shekinah to dwell,' etc. When J" is said to 'sit upon the cherubim' (1 S 4^4, 2 S 6^2) the Targ. must needs read, 'the Shekinah of J"' for 'J"': and Jerusalem is the place where J" causes His Shekinah to dwell (1 K $8^{12. 13}$ 14^{21}, Ps 74^2). Similarly, when the Heb. text says that any one *saw* God, or that God appeared to any one, the Targ. can only permit the glory of the Shekinah of J" to be visible to mortal man (Is 6^5 'My eyes have seen the glory of the Shekinah of the King of the world'; cf. Ex 3^6, Ezk 1^1, Lv 9^4).

The Targumist even shrinks from saying that J" *is* or *dwells* in heaven. The Heaven of Heavens cannot contain God; and therefore it is not God, but His Shekinah, which can be localized, even in heaven. Is 33^5 'He dwelleth on high,' becomes in Targ. 'He has placed his Shekinah in the lofty heaven' (cf. Is 32^{15} 38^{14}). In Dt 4^{39} 'J" is God in heaven above and on earth beneath,' Onḳ. renders 'God, whose Shekinah is (Targ. Jerus. 'dwells') in heaven above, and who rules on earth beneath'; so Dt 3^{24}.

If a rigorous conception of God's ubiquity forbade His *dwelling* in a place, so also must it preclude His *removal* from a place. When Hos 5^6 says, 'J" has withdrawn himself from them,' Targ. reads 'J" has removed his Shekinah from them.' This phrase is also used of God's 'hiding his face' (Is 8^{17} 57^{17} 59^2, Jer 33^5), and 'hiding his eyes' (Is 1^{15}). The words 'Thou art a God that hidest thyself' (Is 45^{15}) are rendered, 'Thou hast placed thy Shekinah in the lofty fastness.' Cf. Hab 3^4.

It was the belief of the Jews that the glory of the LORD did not dwell in the Most Holy Place in the second Temple. The Talmud (*Yoma* 9*b*) explains this on the ground that God only dwells in the tents of Shem; not of Japheth, of whom Cyrus was a descendant. This was deplored, and the promises of more intimate fellowship to be enjoyed by the Church in the Messianic age are in the Targ. all made to predict the presence of the Shekinah (Jl 3 $(4)^{17}$ 'I will place my Shekinah in Zion'; so Ezk $43^{7.9}$, Hag 1^8 2^9, Zec 2^{10}).

It would be difficult among all these passages from the Targum to point to one in which activity or personality is assigned to the Shekinah. Under the conception that 'God is Light,' the Skekinah is God's mere 'manifestation-form.' When we pass, however, from the Targ. to the Midrash and Talmud, the Shekinah ceases to be inactive, and has functions assigned to it which belong rather to the Logos or the Spirit. Lv 26^{12} 'I will walk among you, and be your God,' becomes in Targ. 'I will place the glory of my Shekinah among you, and my *Memra* (word) shall be with you.' Dt 12^5 Targ. Jerus. 'The place which the *Memra* of J″ shall choose to place his Shekinah there'; but in Midr. and Talm. the *Memra* almost disappears, and His functions are assigned to the Shekinah. We find in *Pesachim* 73 that it was the Shekinah which spoke to Amos and the prophets; and the expression מזמור לדוד ('a Psalm of David') means that the Shekinah came down upon David, and he then spake forth the Psalm (*Pes.* 114). The Shekinah is, in the Talmud, regularly the *source of inspiration*. The reason why Eli mistook Hannah's grief for inebriety was that the Shekinah had departed from him. The Mishna was given through Moses under the auspices of the Shekinah. *Pirḳe Aboth* iii. 3 uses Shekinah in the Christian sense of the word Spirit: 'Whenever two men sit together and are occupied with words of the Torah, the Shekinah is with them.' In the Talmud (*Berakhoth* 6*a*) the number is raised to 'ten.' The Shekinah is always present in synagogues, in schools, and in the homes of the pious (*Sota* 17*a*). 'He that eats with the Wise enjoys the Shekinah' (Weber, 182 [^{2} 188]).

We have seen that it was usually taught that the Shekinah was not visible in the second Temple. *Yoma* 1 mentions the Shekinah in a list of things absent from it. But others teach that the Shekinah is inseparable from Israel. When Israel was in Babylon the Shekinah was there. The Shekinah was under the yoke, when Israel so suffered. Wherever Israel is scattered, the Shekinah dwells. When Titus destroyed the Temple, the Shekinah could not desert it, and it is still there behind the remaining western wall (Weber, 60 [^{2} 62]).

The activity of the Shekinah was conceived to extend not only to earth, but to Sheol. There were some of the Rabbis who held the doctrine now known as 'final restoration.' R. Joshua ben Levi was one of these. He believed that the bound in Gehinnom will one day see the Messiah, and all who bear the mark of the covenant will loose their chains and ascend from the darkness. But in *Bereshith Rabba* to Gn 44^8 the Shekinah is the deliverer. It affirms that the wicked Jews now 'bound in Gehinnom will ascend out of hell, *with the Shekinah at their head*' (Weber, 351 [^{2} 368]).

We turn now to the NT where the word שְׁכִינָה occurs both transliterated and translated. There can be no reasonable doubt that the Greek word *σκηνή* (= 'tabernacle') was from its resemblance in sound and meaning used by bilingual Jews for the Heb. *Shekinah*; *e.g.* in Rev 21^3 'Behold the *σκηνή* of God is with men, and he will *tabernacle* (*σκηνώσει*) with them.' The allusion is equally clear in Jn 1^{14} 'The Logos . . . tabernacled (*ἐσκήνωσεν*) among us, and we beheld his glory.'—The *conception* of the Shekinah appears in Greek dress under the word *δόξα*. In several instances *δόξα* is used of Deity or a manifestation-form of Deity, and thus shows itself to be the equivalent of Shekinah. We will first cite one or two passages from the Apocrypha. In Enoch 14^{20} we read, 'And the Great Glory sat thereon, and his raiment shone more brightly than the sun'; Enoch 102^3 'The angels will seek to hide themselves from the presence of the Great Glory'; To 3^{16} 'The prayer of both was heard before the glory of the Great One,' *ἐνώπιον τῆς δόξης τοῦ μεγάλου* [Query: Since Tobit was translated from a Semitic source, is it not likely, with Enoch before us, that the Greek ought to be *ἐνώπιον τῆς δόξης τῆς μεγάλης*: 'before the Great Glory'?]; Sir 17^{13} 'Their eyes saw the majesty of the glory.' In the NT there are several instances in which *δόξα* is used as more or less the equivalent of Shekinah. In Ro 9^4, where St. Paul is enumerating, with patriotic fervour, the privileges of the Jew, and amongst others mentions 'the giving of the law' and '*the glory*,' he evidently means 'the Shekinah-glory': as in He 9^5 'the cherubim of glory' means 'the cherubim on which the Shekinah was enthroned.' So in He 1^3 when the Son of God is said to be 'the effulgence of *the glory*' (not 'of *his* glory') it seems probable that the Shekinah was intended, in the sense of 'the manifested Deity.' The personality of the Shekinah is implied in 2 P 1^{17}, where we read (translating literally), 'when such a voice was borne in to him *by* (*ὑπό*) the majestic glory.' The word *ὑπό* denotes the agent. 'The glory' is the speaker: as in Targ. Jerus. of Gn 28^{13} the *glory* of J″ says, 'I am the God of Abraham'; and as is possibly implied in Mt 17^5 'A bright cloud overshadowed them, and there came a voice out of the cloud.' 2 Mac 2^8, in anticipating the fulfilment of OT prophecy, says, 'The glory of the LORD shall be sun and the cloud.'

There are *three* other NT passages where an allusion to the Shekinah is probable, though exegetes are divided on the matter. Ro 6^4 'Christ was raised from the dead by means of (*διά*) *the glory* of the Father.' 'Glory' *may* of course here mean 'glorious power,' as commentators say; but, with the passage from the Midrash before us, in which the Shekinah is said to release captives from Sheol, it seems to the present writer probable that St. Paul was thinking of the Shekinah piercing with its radiance the gloom of Sheol, and co-operating with God to release the Divine captive from the power of Satan and 'the gates of Sheol.' The second disputed passage is 1 P 4^{14} *τὸ τῆς δόξης καὶ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πνεῦμα*, which RV renders, 'The (Spirit) *of glory* and the Spirit of God,' where Bengel is probably correct in regarding *δόξης* as an appellation of Christ. If this be so, it helps to elucidate our third passage, viz. Ja 2^1 *τὴν πίστιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῆς δόξης*, which Mayor correctly renders, 'the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, *the Shekinah*.' The context refers to an assembly of Christians, where the Shekinah was believed to be present. Thus interpreted, the passage blends together Mt 18^{20} and the words cited above from *Pirḳe Aboth*, identifying Jesus with the Shekinah.

LITERATURE.—Weber, *Lehren des Talmud* [2nd ed. under title *Jüd. Theol. auf Grund des Talmud*, etc.]; Gfrörer, *Urchristenthum*, i. 301 ff.; Langen, *Judenthum zur Zeit Christi*, 201 ff.; Levy's and Buxtorf's *Lexicons*; C. Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*^{2}, p. 43.

J. T. MARSHALL.

SHELAH (שֵׁלָה).—**1.** The youngest son of Judah by Shua, Gn 38$^{5. 11. 14. 26}$ 46^{12} (A Σηλώμ, Luc. Σιλώμ), Nu 26$^{20\ (16)}$ (BA and Luc. Σηλών, F Σηλώμ), 1 Ch 2^{3} (Σηλών) 4^{21} (BA Σηλώμ, Luc. Σηλών). He gave his name to the family of the **Shelanites** (הַשֵּׁלָנִי, δῆμος ὁ Σηλων(ε)ί), Nu 26$^{20\ (16)}$. Probably 'the Shelanite' should be read also for 'the **Shilonite**' (הַשִּׁלֹנִי or הַשִּׁילֹנִי) of Neh 11^{5} (Luc. Σηλωνεί, B Δηλωνέ, ℵ Δηλωνεί, A 'Ηλωνί) and 1 Ch 9^{5} (Σηλων(ε)ί). **2.** (שֶׁלַח) the son or (LXX) grandson of Arpachshad and father of Eber, Gn 10$^{24\ bis}$ 11$^{13\ (12).\ 14.\ 15}$, 1 Ch 1$^{18.\ 24}$ (Σαλά, Luc. in Gn 10^{24} in second occurrence Σαλᾶς), Lk 3^{35} (Σαλά).

SHELAH, The Pool of (בְּרֵכַת הַשֶּׁלַח; B κολυμβήθρα τῶν κωδίων, ℵ + τοῦ Σιλωάμ, Luc. ἡ κρήνη τοῦ Σιλωάμ; *Piscina Siloe*).—This name occurs only in Neh 3^{15}, where it is given in AV as 'Siloah.' 'Shelaḥ' is probably a corrupt form of Siloam, the modern *Silwân*. See Siloam, Pool of. Perhaps in Neh 3^{15} we should punctuate הַשִּׁלֹחַ as in Is 8^{6}.

C. W. Wilson.

SHELANITES.—See Shelah.

SHELEMIAH (שֶׁלֶמְיָה).—**1.** (B Σελεμιά, A Σελεμίας) One of the sons of Bani, who married a 'strange' wife in the time of Ezra, Ezr 10^{39}; called **Selemias** in 1 Es 9^{34}. **2.** (B Τελεμιά, ℵ Τελεμίας) Father of Hananiah, who restored part of the wall of Jerusalem, Neh 3^{30}. His son is perhaps 'Hananiah, one of the apothecaries' (Neh 3^{8}, AV 'son of one of the apoth.'), *i.e.* makers of perfumes, who restored another portion of the wall. **3.** A priest who was appointed by Nehemiah to be one of the treasurers over the treasuries, to distribute the Levitical tithes, Neh 13^{13}. **4.** The father of Jehucal or Jucal in the time of Zedekiah, Jer 37^{3}, 38^{1}; in the latter passage his name appears in the longer form שֶׁלֶמְיָהוּ. **5.** The father of Irijah, the captain of the ward who arrested Jeremiah as a deserter to the Chaldæans, Jer 37^{13}. **6.** (שֶׁלֶמְיָהוּ, B Σαλαμειά, A Σελεμιά) 1 Ch 26^{14} = **Meshelemiah**, **Meshullam**, or **Shallum**, the head of a family of porters. **7.** Another of the sons of Bani who married a 'strange' wife in the time of Ezra, Ezr 10^{41}. **8.** Ancestor of the Jehudi who lived in the time of Jehoiakim, Jer 36^{14}. **9.** (LXX om.) Son of Abdeel, and one of those sent by Jehoiakim to take Baruch and Jeremiah, Jer 36^{26}.

H. St. J. Thackeray.

SHELEPH (שָׁלֶף [pause]; LXX A Σαλέφ).—Son of Joktan, Gn 10^{26}, 1 Ch 1^{20}. The word is evidently identical with the Arabic *salaf*, *salif*, etc., which figure as the names of several places in Arabia; Yakut mentions a place called 'the two Salafs,' quoting for it a verse of a pre-Mohammedan poet; places called *Salf*, *Salif*, and *Salafah* are noticed in the S. Arabian geography of Hamdani; and a province called *Salif* is mentioned by Muḳaddasi among those of Yemen (p. 90). The Arabic genealogists further discovered a subdivision of the Himyarites which had the name Sulaf, and which they identified with the son of Joktan (*Taj al-ʿarus*, vi. 143). The Arabic *salaf* means simply 'ancestor,' while *salif* or *silf* means 'a sister's husband'; there would therefore be no improbability in the name in the text being not geographical but personal. Some further guesses are recorded by Dillmann (Genesis, *ad loc.*).

D. S. Margoliouth.

SHELESH (שֵׁלֶשׁ; B Σεμή, A Σελλής, Luc. Σέλεμ).—An Asherite, 1 Ch 7^{35}.

SHELOMI (שְׁלֹמִי; B Σελεμεί [λεμ sup ras B^{a}], AF Σελεμί).—Father of an Asherite prince, Nu 34^{27}.

SHELOMITH (שְׁלֹמִית; in Ezr 8^{10} שְׁלוֹמִית).—**1.** The mother of the man who was stoned to death for having blasphemed 'the Name,' Lv 24^{11} (B*AF Σαλωμείθ, Luc. Σαλμίθ). **2.** Daughter of Zerubbabel, 1 Ch 3^{19} (B Σαλωμεθεί, A Σαλωμεθί, Luc. Σαλωμίθ). **3.** One of the 'sons of Izhar,' 1 Ch 23^{18} (B Σαλωμώθ, A Σαλουμώθ, Luc. Σαλωμίθ), called in 24^{22} **Shelomoth.** **4.** The name of a family whose representatives returned with Ezra, Ezr 8^{10} (B Σαλειμούθ, Luc. Σαλιμώθ). It is probable that a name has dropped out of the MT, and that we should read 'of the sons of Bani, Shelomith the son of Josiphiah' (cf. A^{vid} ἀπὸ υἱῶν Βααν‹ι› Σελειμμούθ, and 1 Es 8^{36} 'of the sons of Banias, **Salimoth** son of Josaphias').

SHELOMOTH (שְׁלֹמוֹת).—**1.** An Izharite, 1 Ch 24^{22} (BA Σαλωμώθ, Luc. Σαλωμίθ) = **Shelomith** of 23^{18}. **2.** A descendant of Moses, 1 Ch 26^{25} [*Kerê* שְׁלֹמִית]$^{26.\ 28}$ (in the last Heb. שְׁלֹמִית, BA in all Σαλωμώθ, Luc. in first two Σαλαμίθ, in last Σαλωμίθ). **3.** A Gershonite, 1 Ch 23^{9} (*Kerê* שְׁלֹמִית; B 'Αλωμείθ, A Σαλωμείθ, Luc. Σαλωμίθ).

SHELUMIEL (שְׁלֻמִיאֵל, a name exhibiting a late and artificial formation [Gray, *HPN* 200]; LXX Σαλαμιήλ).—Prince of the tribe of Simeon, Nu 1^{6} 2^{12} 7$^{36.\ 41}$ 10^{19} (cf. Jth 8^{1}). See also Shemuel.

SHEM.—See Ham and Japheth.

SHEMA (שֶׁמַע).—**1.** A Reubenite, 1 Ch 5^{8} (BA Σάμα, Luc. Σεμεεί). See Shimei, No. 8. **2.** One of the heads of 'fathers' houses' in Aijalon who put to flight the inhabitants of Gath, 1 Ch 8^{13} (BA Σάμα, Luc. Σαμαά). He is called in v.^{21} **Shimei.** **3.** One of those who stood at Ezra's right hand, at the reading of the law, Neh 8^{4} (Σαμαίας). He is called in 1 Es 9^{43} Sammus.

SHEMA (שְׁמַע; A Σαμαά, Luc. Σομά).—A town of Judah, situated in the Negeb or South, and mentioned between Amam and Moladah (Jos 15^{26}). Some authorities suppose it to be the same place as Sheba (Jos 19^{2}), being a corruption of that name. On the other hand, if Sheba and Beersheba be identical (see Sheba), this cannot be the case, for Shema and Beersheba are both found in the list of towns in Jos 15. The site is unknown. It is probably this Shema which appears in 1 Ch 2^{43} as a 'son' of Hebron.

SHEMAAH (הַשְּׁמָעָה; B 'Αμά, A Σαμαά, Luc. 'Ασμά).—A Benjamite, father, according to MT, of Ahiezer and Joash, but, according to the LXX (υἱὸς = בֶּן־ instead of בְּנֵי), of Joash alone, 1 Ch 12^{3}.

SHEMAIAH (שְׁמַעְיָה; in 2 Ch 11^{2} 17^{8} 31^{15} 35^{9}, Jer 26^{20} 29^{24} 36^{12} שְׁמַעְיָהוּ; 'J″ has heard').—Of the twenty-four persons who bore this name, only four can be certainly said to have belonged to other than prophetical or priestly families.

1. B Σαμμαίας, A Σαμαίας (2 Ch 12$^{5.\ 7}$). A prophet who with Ahijah guided the revolution which deprived Rehoboam of the ten tribes. According to the MT, he does not come on the scene until Rehoboam was on the point of leading a vast army against the revolters. He then appears (1 K 12$^{22-24}$, 2 Ch 11$^{2-4}$) to give the Divine sanction to the rebellion. 'Thus saith the Lord . . . this thing is from me.' But the second Greek account, which omits all mention of Ahijah in this connexion, introduces Shemaiah at the assembly at Shechem, before the people entered into negotiations with Rehoboam. 'The word of the Lord came to Shemaiah the Enlamite (cf. Jer 29^{24} LXX), saying, Take to thee a new cloke which hath not gone into water, and rend it into twelve pieces; and thou shalt give it to Jeroboam, and shalt say unto him, Thus saith the Lord, take to thee twelve pieces to cover thee. And Jeroboam took them, and Shemaiah said, Thus saith the LORD concerning the ten tribes of Israel' (1 K $12^{24\circ}$). This is evidently another version of the story told of Ahijah, 1 K $11^{29\text{ff.}}$. There is another mention of Shemaiah in 2 Ch 12^{5-8}, in which he points the moral of the invasion of Shishak, and at the same time announces the mitigation of it in view of the repentance of Rehoboam. The Chronicler also cites 'the history of Shemaiah the prophet' as an authority for the reign of Rehoboam, 2 Ch 12^{15}.

2. Son of Shecaniah (1 Ch 3^{22} *Σαμαιά*); apparently a descendant of Zerubbabel. It is tempting to identify him with 'the keeper of the east gate,' who helped to repair the wall under Nehemiah (Neh 3^{29} BA *Σαμαιά*, ℵ *Σεμειά*). On the other hand, Ryle conjectures that the latter was a Levite, and that 'the east gate was the eastern approach to the temple precincts.' Lord A. Hervey (*Geneal.* p. 107) would remove the opening words of 1 Ch 3^{22}, and read Shimei for the second Shemaiah, see v.^{19}.

3. A Simeonite (1 Ch 4^{37} B *Συμεών*, A *Σαμαίας*), perhaps identical with the **Shimei** of 1 Ch $4^{26.\,27}$. **4.** A Reubenite (1 Ch 5^4 B *Σεμεεί*, A *Σεμείν*), called **Shema** in v.^{8}. **5.** A Merarite Levite (1 Ch 9^{14}, Neh 11^{15} *Σαμαιά*), one of those who dwelt in Jerusalem. **6.** A Levite of the family of Jeduthun, father of Obadiah or Abda (1 Ch 9^{16} B *Σαμειά*, A *Σαμίας*, called **Shammua** in Neh 11^{17}). **7.** Head of the Levitical Kohathite clan of Elizaphan in the time of David (1 Ch 15^8 B *Σαμαίας*, A *Σεμαιά*, ℵ *Σαμέας*; v.^{11} B *Σαμαίας*, A *Σεμείας*, ℵ *Σαμαί*). He is possibly identical with—**8.** The scribe (1 Ch 24^6 B *Σαμαίας*, A *Σαμμαίας*), the son of Nethanel, who registered the names of the priestly courses. **9.** A Korahite Levite, eldest son of Obed-edom (1 Ch $26^{4.\,6}$ B *Σαμαίας*, A *Σαμείας*; v.^{7} B *Σαμαί*, A *Σεμειά*). **10.** A Levite (2 Ch 17^8 B *Σαμούας*, A *Σαμουίας*), one of the commission employed by Jehoshaphat to teach the book of the law in Judah. **11.** A Levite of the family of Jeduthun in the reign of Hezekiah (2 Ch 29^{14} B *Σαμαιάς*, A *Σαμείας*), one of those who took a leading part in the purifying of the temple. He is possibly identical with **12,** one of those who were 'over the freewill offerings of God' (2 Ch 31^{15} *Σεμεεί*). **13.** One of 'the chiefs of the Levites' (2 Ch 35^9 *Σαμαίας*; 'captains over thousands,' 1 Es 1^9 where he is called **Samaias**). **14.** One of the 'chief men' sent by Ezra to fetch Levites and Nethinim (Ezr 8^{16} *Σαμαιά*, A *Σεμειά*; **Maasmas, Samaias,** 1 Es $8^{43.\,44}$); possibly the same as—**15.** A member of the family of Adonikam, (Ezr 8^{13} B *Σαμαιά*, A *Σαμαειά*; **Samaias,** 1 Es 8^{39}). **16. 17.** Two of those who had married foreign wives, a priest and a layman respectively (Ezr 10^{21} *Σαμαιά*, v.^{31} B *Σαμαιά*, ℵ *Σεμεά*, A *Σαμαίας*; **Sameus, Sabbeus,** 1 Es $9^{21.\,32}$). **18.** A prophet (Neh 6^{10-14} B *Σεμεεί*, A *Σεμεί*) who had been hired by Sanballat and Tobiah 'to put Nehemiah in fear.' His father's name, Delaiah (see 1 Ch 24^{18}), would suggest that he belonged to a priestly house. The circumstance is evidently mentioned by Nehemiah as a typical one. The governor's answer to Shemaiah's suggestion indicates that his design was at once to bring Nehemiah into contempt as a coward, and also to expose him to the charge of sacrilege, which would be certainly raised if he, a layman, were to intrude where priests alone might tread. **19.** One of the 24 courses of priests, 16th under Zerubbabel (Neh 12^6 ℵA *Σεμείας*), 15th under Joiakim (Neh 12^{18} ℵA *Σεμειά*), and 21st under Nehemiah (Neh 10^8 *Σαμαιά*). It is probably this clan, and not an individual, that is mentioned as taking part in the ceremonies at the dedication of the wall (Neh 12^{34} Bℵ *Σαραιά*, A *Σαμαίας*). **20.** Probably a Levite, descendant of Asaph (Neh 12^{35} *Σαμαιά*). **21.** Probably a Levitical clan of singers that took part in the dedication ceremonies (Neh 12^{36} *Σαμαιά*; v.^{42} ℵ$^{\text{c.a. mg}}$ *Σεμείας*). We may suppose that half of it went in one procession and half in the other. **22.** Father of the prophet Urijah (Jer 26 [Gr. 33]^{20} BA *Σαμαίας*, ℵ *Μασέας*). **23.** A prophet at Babylon, one of those who had been brought into captivity with Jehoiachin (Jer 29 [Gr. 36]$^{24-32}$ *Σαμαιάς*, ℵ *Σαμεάς*). He is called 'the NEHELAMITE' (which see). He belonged to the party opposed to Jeremiah, and it is evident that, like HANANIAH (Jer 28), he had predicted a speedy termination to the Captivity. Enraged at the letter of Jeremiah, in which the exiles had been counselled to acquiesce cheerfully in a prolonged stay in Babylon, Shemaiah sent letters to Jerusalem taxing Zephaniah the second priest and the other ecclesiastical authorities with supineness, in that they did not visit Jeremiah with the punishment due to a false prophet. It would seem from this that it was the special duty of the 'second priest' to enforce order in the temple (see art. PRIESTS AND LEVITES, p. 74^{a}). 'Jehoiada the priest' may possibly be the name of Zephaniah's predecessor in the office of 'second priest,' or more probably he may be the great high priest of that name whose zeal in God's service Shemaiah bids Zephaniah emulate. The punishment denounced against Shemaiah for this action was even more severe, according to Hebrew ideas, than that awarded to Hananiah. The latter was visited in his own person with premature death, but Shemaiah was punished not only with exclusion by death from such blessings as might fall to the lot of the exiles in Babylon, but with the complete excision of his family. **24.** Father of Delaiah, who was one of the princes in the reign of Zedekiah (Jer 36 [Gr. 43]^{12} BA *Σελεμίας*, ℵ *Σεδεκίας*).

N. J. D. WHITE.

SHEMARIAH (שְׁמַרְיָה and שְׁמַרְיָהוּ).—**1.** A Benjamite warrior who joined David at Ziklag, 1 Ch 12^5 (B *Σαμαραιά*, ℵA *Σαμαριά*, Luc. *Σαμαρίας*). **2.** A son of Rehoboam, 2 Ch 11^{19} (*Σαμαρίας*). **3.** One of the sons of Harim who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10^{32} (B *Σαμαρειά*, ℵA *Σαμαριά*, Luc. *Σαμαρίας*). **4.** One of the sons of Bani who had committed the same offence, Ezr 10^{41} (B *Σαμαρειά*, A *Σαμαρείας*, Luc. *Σαμαρίας*).

SHEMEBER (שֶׁמְאֵבֶר).—King of ZEBOIIM, one of the five kings defeated by Chedorlaomer, Gn 14^2 (A *Συμόβορ*, Luc. *Συμόρ*, Syr. ܫܡܐܒܪ, Josephus *Συμμόβορος*). The Samaritan has שמאבד, which may have arisen from a confusion between ד and ר, or may be due to an attempt to play upon the name. It has even been suggested (cf. Ball in *SBOT*) that the name in the text may have originated from a marginal gloss שם אבד ('name lost').

SHEMED.—See SHEMER, No. 4.

SHEMER (שֶׁמֶר).—**1.** The owner of the hill purchased by Omri, upon which SAMARIA was afterwards built, 1 K 16^{24} (*Σέμηρ*, Luc. *Σέμμηρ*). Difficulties both etymological and historical attach to the statement in the same passage that the name *Samaria* (שֹׁמְרוֹן) was derived from an *individual* instead of a *clan* name (but see Kittel, *Könige, ad loc.*), and that it was first given to the place by Omri (see Stade in *ZATW* v. (1885) 160 ff.). **2.** A Merarite, 1 Ch $6^{31\,(46)}$ (*Σέμμηρ*). **3.** An Asherite, 1 Ch 7^{34} (B *Σέμμηρ*, A and Luc. *Σώμηρ*), called in v.^{32} **Shomer** (cf. the names '*Ebed* and '*Obed*). **4.** A Benjamite, 1 Ch 8^{12} (B *Σήμηρ*, A *Σέμμηρ*, Luc. *Σαμαιήλ*). The Heb. MSS show here some confusion between ר and ד as the final letter of the name. The AV (Shamed) and RV

(**Shemed**) retain the reading of the Geneva version, which is based on the Vulg. *Samad*.

SHEMIDA (שְׁמִידָע).—A 'son' of Gilead, according to Nu 26^{32} [P] (*Συμαέρ*); called in Jos 17^{2} [JE] a 'son' of Manasseh (B *Συμαρείμ*, A *Σεμιραέ*, Luc. *Σαμιδαέ*); his descendants are enumerated in 1 Ch 7^{19} (*Σεμ(ε)ιρά*, Luc. *Σαμειδά*). The gentilic name **Shemidaites** (הַשְּׁמִידָעִי, *ὁ Συμαερ(ε)ί*) occurs in Nu 26^{32}. See, further, art. MANASSEH, vol. iii. p. 231 f.

SHEMINITH.—See art. PSALMS, p. 154$^{\text{b}}$.

SHEMIRAMOTH (שְׁמִירָמוֹת; in 2 Ch 17^{8} *Kĕthîbh* שמרימות; *Σεμ(ε)ιραμώθ*).—The name of a Levitical family. In 1 Ch 15$^{18. 20}$ 16^{5} Shemiramoth appears in the list of the members of David's choirs, while in 2 Ch 17^{8} the same name occurs amongst the Levites sent by Jehoshaphat to teach in the cities of Judah. In both cases a guild or family rather than an individual is probably to be thought of.

SHEMUEL (שְׁמוּאֵל, the name which, following the LXX and Vulg., is, in the case of the prophet, transliterated in EV *Samuel* [AV has *Shemuel* in 1 Ch 6^{33}; on the derivation and meaning of the name see art. SAMUEL, and Gray, *HPN* 200, n. 3]).—**1.** The Simeonite appointed to assist in the dividing of the land, Nu 34^{20}. It is not improbable that the MT should be corrected to שְׁלֻמִיאֵל (**Shelumiel**), the form in 1^{6} 2^{12} 7$^{36. 41}$ 10^{19}. The LXX in all the six passages has *Σαλαμιήλ*. **2.** Grandson of Issachar, 1 Ch 7^{2} (B *'Ισαμουήλ*, A and Luc. *Σαμουήλ*).

SHEN (הַשֵּׁן *hash-shēn*, the 'tooth' or 'crag'; *τῆς παλαιᾶς*; *Sen*).—A well-known place, 'the *Shen*,' named with Mizpah to indicate the position of the stone, called Ebenezer, which was set up by Samuel to commemorate the defeat of the Philistines (1 S 7^{12}). The site is unknown. It is not improbable, however, that the LXX *τῆς παλαιᾶς* puts us on the track of the original reading, הַיְשָׁנָה or יְשָׁנָה (Jeshanah, 2 Ch 13^{19}). So Wellh., Driver, Budde, *et al.*; cf. art. EBENEZER.

C. W. WILSON.

SHENAZZAR (שֶׁנְאַצַּר; BA *Σανεσάρ*, Luc. *Σανασάρ*).—A son of Jeconiah, 1 Ch 3^{18}. See, further, SHESHBAZZAR.

SHEOL.—See ESCHATOLOGY, HADES, and HELL.

SHEPHAM (שְׁפָם; *Σεπφάμαρ*; *Sephama*).—A place on the eastern boundary of the Promised Land (Nu 34$^{10. 11}$), and apparently to the north of Riblah, now *Ribleh*, between *Ba'albek* and *Homs*. The site has not yet been identified. In the Targum of pseudo-Jonathan the name is rendered by *Apameia*, but this place is much too far to the north. Perhaps Zabdi, the **Shiphmite**,—one of David's household who was 'over the increase of the vineyards for the wine-cellars' (1 Ch 27^{27}),—was a native of Shepham. So Siegfried-Stade, who would vocalize שְׁפָמִי instead of שִׁפְמִי. But see SIPHMOTH.

C. W. WILSON.

SHEPHATIAH (שְׁפַטְיָה and שְׁפַטְיָהוּ 'Jah has judged').—**1.** One of David's sons, 2 S 3^{4} (B *Σαβατειά*, A *Σαφαθιά*, Luc. *Σαφατίας*) = 1 Ch 3^{3} (B and Luc. as before, A *Σαφατίας*). **2.** A family of which 372 representatives returned with Zerubbabel, Ezr 2^{4} (B *'Ασάφ*, A and Luc. *Σαφατιά*) = Neh 7^{9} (*Σαφατιά*), and 84 besides their head with Ezra, Ezr 8^{8} (*Σαφατ(ε)ιά*). The name appears in 1 Es 5^{9} as SAPHAT and in 8^{34} as SAPHATIAS. **3.** A family of the 'sons of Solomon's servants,' Ezr 2^{57} = Neh 7^{59} (*Σαφατ(ε)ιά*). **4.** The eponym of a Judahite family, Neh 11^{4} (BA *Σαφατιά*, Luc. *Σαφατίας*). **5.** The eponym of a Benjamite family, 1 Ch 9^{8} (*Σαφατιά*). Either this or the preceding should perhaps be identified with No. 2 above. **6.** A contemporary of Jeremiah, Jer 38 [Gr. 45]^{1} (BAℵ *Σαφανίας*, Q* *Σαφάτ*, Q$^{\text{mg}}$ *Σαφατίας*). **7.** A Benjamite warrior who joined David at Ziklag, 1 Ch 12^{5} (*Σαφατιά*, Luc. *Σαφατίας*). **8.** A Simeonite prince, 1 Ch 27^{16} (*Σαφατίας*). **9.** A son of king Jehoshaphat, 2 Ch 21^{2} (*Σαφατ(ε)ίας*).

J. A. SELBIE.

SHEPHELAH.—See PLAIN, vol. iii. p. 893 f.

SHEPHER.—Mount Shepher (הַר שֶׁפֶר) is a station in the journeyings of the children of Israel, mentioned only Nu 33$^{23. 24}$. Nothing is known about its position.

In both verses שפר being in pause is pointed *Shapher*, the form that appears in AV. The LXX in B Luc. has *Σάφαρ*, taking no account of 'mount,' which is represented in A by *'Αρσάφαρ* and *Σαρσάφαρ*, and in F by *'Αρσάφαθ*; Vulg. has *Sepher*. The word (which means 'beauty') occurs (as a noun) only in Gn 49^{21} 'giving *goodly* words' (words of beauty or elegance); but see Dillmann or Spurrell, *ad loc.*, for an alternative rendering of this verse.

A. T. CHAPMAN.

SHEPHERD.—See SHEEP.

SHEPHI (שְׁפִי; B *Σώβ*, A *Σωφάρ*, Luc. *Σαπφεί*), 1 Ch 1^{40}; or **SHEPHO** (שְׁפוֹ; A *Σώφ*, *D* *Σωφάν*, E *Σώρ*, Luc. *Σωφάν*), Gn 36^{23}.—A Horite chief.

SHEPHUPHAM (שְׁפוּפָם; BA *Σωφάν*, Luc. *Σοφάν*), Nu 26$^{39 (43)}$; or **SHEPHUPHAN** (שְׁפוּפָן; B *Σωφαρφάκ*, A *Σωφάν*, Luc. *Σεπφάμ*), 1 Ch 8^{5}.—The eponym of a Benjamite family. The name appears in Gn 46^{21} as MUPPIM and in 1 Ch 7$^{12. 15}$ 26^{16} as **Shuppim**. The proper form of the name must remain doubtful. The gentilic **Shuphamites** (הַשּׁוּפָמִי, BA *ὁ Σωφαν(ε)ί*, Luc. *ὁ Σοφανί*) appears in Nu 26$^{39 (43)}$.

SHERD.—See POTSHERD.

SHEREBIAH (שֵׁרֵבְיָה).—One of the Levites who joined Ezra at the river Ahava, Ezr 8^{18} (LXX om.). Along with eleven others, he was put in charge of the silver and gold and the vessels for the temple, v.^{24} (BA *Σαραιά*, Luc. *Σαραβίας*). He assisted Ezra in the exposition of the law, Neh 8^{7}; took part in the public confession and thanksgiving, 9^{4}; and sealed the covenant, 10$^{12 (13)}$ (B *Ζαραβιά*). He is named also in 12$^{8. 24}$. In all these last passages except 10$^{12 (13)}$ BA have *Σαραβία*, Luc. *Σαραβίας*. The name appears in 1 Es 8^{47} as ASEBEBIAS, v.^{54} ESEREBIAS, and 9^{48} SARABIAS.

SHERESH (שֶׁרֶשׁ; B *Σοῦρος*, A *Σόρος*, Luc. *Φάρες*, *Φόρος*).—The name of a Manassite clan, 1 Ch 7^{16}. See MANASSEH, vol. iii. p. 232$^{\text{b}}$.

SHERIFF.—In Dn 3$^{2. 3}$ 'sheriffs' is the EV tr. of Aram. תִּפְתָּיֵא, a word of quite uncertain meaning. Bevan and Driver regard it as improbable that it has any connexion with the Arab. *'afta* 'to notify a decision of the law' (ptcp. *muftī*, 'a jurisconsult'). This supposed connexion probably underlies the RVm 'lawyers.' Bevan thinks it possible that the word may be a mutilated form of some Persian title ending in *pat* 'chief.' For an account of other conjectures see Driver or Prince, *ad loc.* Perhaps Theod. and LXX render by *οἱ ἐπ' ἐξουσιῶν*, but it is impossible to be certain, as their text contains only *seven* names of officials as against *eight* in the Aramaic text.

J. A. SELBIE.

SHESHACH (שֵׁשַׁךְ).—This name, which occurs only in Jer 25 (32)^{26} 51 (28)^{41} (LXX om. in both passages), is generally taken to be a designation of Babylon (cf. the parallelism in the latter passage: 'How is Sheshach taken, and the praise of all the earth surprised! How is Babylon become a desolation among the nations!'). It is probable, in fact, that *Sheshach* is simply a cryptical way of writing *Babel*. By the device known as *Atbash*

(אתבש) whereby א=ת, ב=ש, and so on, the last letter of the Heb. alphabet being substituted for the first, the second last for the second, etc., ששך would be written for בבל. An example of the same thing should probably be discovered in לב קמי of Jer 51 (28)^{1}, which apparently has been substituted for an original כשדים (LXX Χαλδαίους). See, further, A. Berliner, *Beiträge zur Heb. Gramm. aus Talmud und Midrasch*, pp. 12–14. It is right to add that Frd. Delitzsch (*Paradies*, 214 ff.) rejects this explanation of Sheshach, holding that it represents *Šiš-kû-KI* of an ancient Bab. regal register, which may have stood for a quarter or division (perhaps Borsippa) of the city of Babylon (cf. Lauth in *PSBA*, 1881, p. 47 f.). Schrader (*KAT*^{2} 415 [*COT* ii. 108 f.]) objects that the name quoted by Delitzsch is not found in the *later* Bab. literature (dating from the time of Nebuchadnezzar), and that even the reading of the name is by no means settled.

J. A. SELBIE.

SHESHAI (שֵׁשַׁי).—A clan, possibly of Aramaic origin, resident in Hebron at the time of the Hebrew conquest and driven thence by Caleb (Nu 13^{22} B Σεσσει, A Σεμει; Jos 15^{14} B Σουσει, A Σουσαι; Jg 1^{10} B Σεσσει, A Γεθθι). See, further, AHIMAN, No. 1.

SHESHAN (שֵׁשָׁן).—A Jerahmeelite, who, having no sons, gave his daughter in marriage to his Egyptian slave Jarha, 1 Ch $2^{31.34.35}$ (A has Σωσάν, Luc. Σισάν, throughout; B has Σωσάμ in v.^{34} *bis*, elsewhere Σωσάν).

SHESHBAZZAR (שֵׁשְׁבַּצַּר).—There is some uncertainty as to the correct form of this name, and still more as to the identity of the man who bears it in the MT.

Ezr 1^{8}	B Σαβανασάρ, A Σασαβάσσαρος, Luc. Σασαβασσάρης, which is read by Luc. throughout Ezra.
,, 1^{11}	B om., A Σασαβασσάρ.
,, 5^{14}	B Βαγασάρ, A Σασαβάσσαρος.
,, 5^{16}	B Σαρβαγάρ, A Σασαβασσάρ.
1 Es 2^{12} (11)	B Σαναμάσσαρος, A Σαναβάσσαρος, which is read by A throughout 1 Esdras, Luc. Σασαβαλασσάρης.
,, 2^{15} (14)	B Σαναμάσσαρος, Luc. Σασαβαλάσσαρος.
,, 6^{18} (17)	B Σαβανάσσαρος, Luc. Σασαβαλασσάρης.
,, 6^{20} (19)	B Σαναβάσσαρος, Luc. Σασαβαλασσάρης.

Josephus exhibits a similar variety: Ἀβέσσαρος, Σαβάσηρος, Σαναβάσσαρος, Σαβανάσσαρος.

The above variations (apart from Βαγασάρ and Σαρβαγάρ) may be reduced to two types: (1) Sheshbazzar or Sasab(al)azzar, (2) Sanabazzar. If we adopt the first of these, the name may stand for Bab. *Samaš-bil* [or *-bal*] *-uṣur*, 'O sun-god protect the lord [*or* the son]'; so van Hoonacker (*Zorobabel*, 43; *Nouvelles études*, 30; cf. *Academy*, 30th Jan. 1892), followed by Wellhausen (*IJG*^{3} 158 n.), Cheyne (*Academy*, 6th Feb. 1892), Ryle (*Ezra and Nehemiah* in Camb. Bible, 32), Sayce (*HCM* 539), *et al.* The Sanabazzar type, again, may represent an original *Sin-bal-uṣur*, 'O moon-god protect the son'; so esp. Ed. Meyer (*Entstehung des Judenthums*, 77), cf. also Sayce (*l.c.*).

Sheshbazzar is mentioned in Ezr $1^{8.11}$ (the work of the Chronicler, who has just quoted what purports to be an edict of Cyrus authorizing the return of the Jews and the rebuilding of the temple) as entrusted by Cyrus with the vessels of the house of the LORD which had been carried away by Nebuchadnezzar, and which were now to be restored. These vessels are said to have been brought up by Sheshbazzar 'when they of the captivity were brought up from Babylon unto Jerusalem' (cf. 1 Es $2^{12.15}$). The same particulars regarding him are repeated in $5^{14.16}$ (where the Chronicler uses an Aramaic source, which professes to contain a transcript of the letter of Tattenai and others to Darius), in which he bears the familiar Bab.-Assyr. title *peḥah* ('governor'), and is said, further, to have laid the foundations of the temple (cf. 1 Es $6^{18.20}$). It is probably* Sheshbazzar also that is called in Ezr 2^{63} (=Neh 7^{65}), Neh 7^{70} by the Persian title *tirshāthā*.

It is a very difficult question *whether Sheshbazzar is to be identified with Zerubbabel.* Their identity was commonly accepted till lately, and has still the support of weighty names,† but the tendency of modern scholars ‡ is to deny it.

In favour of the identification (which appears to be made by Jos. *Ant.* XI. i. 3) the two strongest arguments are (*a*) the occurrence elsewhere (*e.g.* 2 K 23^{34} 24^{17}, Dn 1^{7}) of double names, and (*b*) the fact that the laying of the foundation of the temple which in Ezr 3^{8} is ascribed to Zerubbabel is in 5^{16} ascribed to Sheshbazzar.

But in answer to (*a*) it may be urged that the case of Daniel and his companions is not strictly parallel, for there we have *native* names (Daniel, Hananiah, etc.) and *foreign* names (Belteshazzar, Shadrach, etc.), whereas Zerubbabel (which see) and Sheshbazzar are in all probability both foreign (*sc.* Babylonian) names. The names in 2 K 23^{34} 24^{17} really furnish an argument against identifying Sheshb. with Zerubbabel. It is true that in Eliakim-Jehoiakim and Mattaniah-Zedekiah we have two couples of *Hebrew* names, but the author of these passages at least takes care to let us know that Eliakim is identical with Jehoiakim, and Mattaniah with Zedekiah, just as in Jg 7^{1} we read 'Jerubbaal *which is* Gideon,' and in Dn 2^{26} 4^{19} 'Daniel *whose name was* Belteshazzar.' In view of the usage elsewhere, it is surely strange (and van Hoonacker's argument, with all its skill and ingenuity, does not, to our mind, remove the strangeness) that in Ezr 3^{2} there is not a hint by the Chronicler that Zerubbabel, who then comes upon the scene for the first time, is identical with Sheshbazzar, who had been mentioned in 1^{8}. Moreover, it is hard to believe (and here again van Hoonacker's argument appears to us unconvincing) that Zerubbabel could be spoken of in 5^{2} and Sheshbazzar in $5^{14.16}$ in the way they are, if the two names stood for one and the same person.§

As to (*b*), reason will be shown in art. ZERUBBABEL for suspecting that Ezr 3^{8} and 5^{16} both antedate the laying of the foundation of the temple, transferring it from the second year of Darius Hystaspis (B.C. 520) to the second year of Cyrus (537). But whatever view be held as to that, the identity of Sheshb. with Zerub. does not appear to us to follow from a comparison of 3^{8} with 5^{16}. All that we need to assume is that the two returned from Babylon at the same time, and that Sheshb. was the official head (*peḥah*) of the community, while Zerub. was the moving spirit in the rebuilding of the temple, whatever may have been the date when this work was undertaken. If Ezr 3^{8} (the Chronicler's own account) and 5^{16} (a professedly *official* account) be historical, they contain the names, respectively, of the *actual* (Zerubbabel) and the *official* (Sheshbazzar) founders of the temple.

Assuming, now, that the two names designate two different men, *was Sheshbazzar a foreigner or*

---

* Unless one holds with Kosters that the list of names in this passage really belongs to Nehemiah's time, and that the *tirshāthā* is Nehemiah himself.

† Notably van Hoonacker (*Zorobabel et le second temple*, 29 ff.; cf. his *Nouvelles études sur la restauration Juive*, 30, also 'Notes sur l'hist. de la restauration Juive' in *RB*, Jan. 1901, p. 7 ff.) and Ryle (*Ezra and Nehemiah*, xxxi. 12 f.). Kuenen (*Onderzoek*^{2} [1887], 437, 468, 503) was also at one time disposed to favour the identification, although latterly he abandoned it. See next note.

‡ Stade (*GVI* ii. 98 ff.), Kuenen (*Gesam. Abhandl.* 218 ff.), Renan (*Hist. du peuple d'Israël*, iii. 519 f.), Smend (*Listen*, etc., 19), Kosters (*Het herstel van Israël*, 32 ff.), Wellh. (*IJG*^{3} 158), Sayce (*HCM* 539), and many others.

§ We refrain from citing, as an argument against the identification, *the occurrence of the two names together* in 1 Es 6^{18} (17) (Ζοροβάβελ καὶ Σαναβασσάρῳ), because it is probable that the first of these names is interpolated (note the following sing pronoun αὐτῷ).

a Jew? It has been contended (by de Saulcy, Stade, *et al.*) that he was a Persian. But his Babylonian name does not increase the probability of this view, and the appointment of a Jew to head the return and to act as *peḥah* of Judah would be quite in harmony with the policy of Cyrus towards the conquered races of the empire he had overthrown. Hence the view has lately been gaining ground that he was a Jew (Ed. Meyer, Wellh., Cheyne, *et al.*). It is a tempting suggestion, although of course it has not been made out, that Sheshbaẓẓar is the SHENAẒẒAR of 1 Ch 3^{18}, one of Jehoiachin's sons and uncle of Zerubbabel (Imbert, Renan, Kosters, Ed. Meyer, *et al.*).* If this were so, it would justify the epithet 'prince of Judah' (הַנָּשִׂיא לִיהוּדָה) applied to him in Ezr 1^{8}, a title which those who take him to be a foreigner have to explain as due to a mistake (Kuenen) or an intentional transformation on the part of the Chronicler. The nephew rather than the uncle appears from the first to have played the leading rôle, and his services, especially in connexion with the rebuilding of the temple, gave him such a place in the memories of his countrymen that in Ezr 2^{2} (=Neh 7^{7}) Zerubbabel stands at the head of the list, while Sheshbaẓẓar [may the heathenish character of his name have also given offence to the puritan zealots who compiled the list?] is not mentioned at all.

How long Sheshbaẓẓar held office is uncertain, but at all events in the second year of Darius Hystaspis (B.C. 520) he had given place to Zerubbabel, who is known from contemporary evidence (Hag $1^{1.14}$ 2^{2}) to have been then *peḥah* of Judah. See, further, ZERUBBABEL, and the Literature cited at end of that article. J. A. SELBIE.

SHETH.—In Nu 24^{17} (only) AV and RVm tr. בְּנֵי שֵׁת 'children (sons) of Sheth' (LXX Σήθ, Vulg. *Seth*), but there can be little doubt that the correct tr. is that of RV, 'sons of tumult.' In that case שֵׁת would stand for שְׁאֵת (from root שׁאה), and would be=שָׁאוֹן of the parallel passage Jer 48^{45} (AV and RV 'tumultuous ones'). G. Hoffmann (*ZATW* iii. 97) takes שֵׁת to be a textual error for שָׁאוֹן, which he supposes in both these passages as well as in Am 2^{2} (וּמֵת בְּשָׁאוֹן מוֹאָב) to be a Moabite place-name, perhaps that of the acropolis of Ar. See, further, Dillm. on Nu 24^{17}.

SHETHAR (שֵׁתָר, Bא Luc. *Σαρσαθαῖος*, A *Σαρέσθεος*).—One of the seven princes who 'sat first in the kingdom' and had the right of access to the royal presence (Est 1^{14}, cf. ADMATHA). The derivation and meaning of the name, which is presumably Persian, cannot be determined.

SHETHAR-BOZENAI (שְׁתַר בּוֹזְנַי [meaning doubtful]).—Named along with TATTENAI and others in connexion with the correspondence with Darius about the rebuilding of the temple, Ezr $5^{3.6}$ $6^{6.13}$ (B *Σαθαρβουζανά* except in 6^{13} *Σαθαρβουζάν*; A *Σαθαρβουζαναί* in 5^{3} 6^{13}, *Σαθαρβουζάνης* in 5^{6}, *Σαθαρβουζανέ* in 6^{6}; Luc. throughout *Θαρβουζαναῖος*), called in 1 Es $6^{3.7.27}$ 7^{1} SATHRABUZANES.

SHEVA.—1. (שְׁוָא; B Σαού, A Σαοὺλ, Luc. Σουέ) A son of Caleb by his concubine, Maacah, 1 Ch 2^{49}. See Wellh. *de Gentibus*, 18, note 1. 2. See SHAVSHA.

SHEW.—Both verb and subst. (always spelt 'shew,' the modern spelling 'show' had not yet come in; both are found in early copies of Hooker, though 'shew' is even then most frequent) are used in AV with greater freedom than now.

For the verb we find: 1. *Make to see* (or of things *make to be seen*), literally, as now. Thus Ex 33^{18} 'I beseech thee, shew me thy glory'; Jn 14^{8} 'Lord, shew us the Father.' So Bacon, *Essays*, 'Of Death' (Gold. Treas. ed. p. 6), 'Groanes and Convulsions, and a discoloured Face, and Friends weeping, and Blackes, and Obsequies, and the like, shew Death terrible.' 2. *Make to be seen* figuratively, *declare, reveal* (cf. Driver, *Daniel*, pp. 18 f., 47; *Par. Psalt.* 481). Thus 1 S 22^{17} 'They knew when he fled, and did not shew it to me' (וְלֹא גָלוּ אֶת־אָזְנִי, LXX *οὐκ ἀπεκάλυψαν τὸ ὠτίον μου*; Vulg. non indicaverunt mihi; RV 'did not disclose it to me'); Job 32^{10} 'Hearken to me; I also will shew mine opinion'; Ps 19^{2} 'Night unto night sheweth knowledge'; Sir 37^{20} 'There is one that sheweth wisdom in words, and is hated'; 1 Co 11^{26} 'Ye do shew (*καταγγέλλετε*, RV 'ye proclaim') the Lord's death till he come'; 15^{51} 'I shew you a mystery' (*λέγω*, RV 'I tell'). Cf. Shaks. *All's Well*, IV. i. 93—

> 'O, let me live!
> And all the secrets of our camp I'll show.'

3. *To give or do something to one*—a natural extension of the general sense *cause to appear*. Thus Ac 4^{22} 'The man was above forty years old, on whom this miracle of healing was shewed' (Gr. *ἐγεγόνει*, edd. *γεγόνει*, RV 'was wrought'); 24^{27} 'Felix, willing to shew the Jews a pleasure, left Paul bound' (*θέλων τε χάριτας* [edd. *χάριτα*] *καταθέσθαι*, RV 'desiring to gain favour with'). Cf. *Babees Book*, 2—

> 'And eke, o lady myn, Facecia!
> My penne thow guyde, and helpe unto me shewe.'

The subst. means: 1. *Outward appearance*, Is 3^{9} 'The shew of their countenance doth witness against them' (הַכָּרַת פְּנֵיהֶם, RVm 'their respecting of persons'); Sir 43^{1} 'The beauty of heaven, with his glorious shew' (*ἐν ὁράματι δόξης*, RV 'in the spectacle of its glory'); Gal 6^{12} 'As many as desire to make a fair shew in the flesh' (*εὐπροσωπῆσαι*). Cf. *Pref. to AV*, 'Some peradventure would have no varietie of sences to be set in the margine, lest the authoritie of the Scriptures for deciding of controversies by that shew of uncertaintie, should somewhat be shaken'; and Drayton, *Sol. Song*, ch. 5—

> 'His eies be like to doves'
> On rivers' banks below,
> Ywasht with milk, whose collours are
> Most gallant to the shew.'

2. *Spectacle*, Col 2^{15} 'He made a shew of them openly' (*ἐδειγμάτισεν ἐν παρρησίᾳ*). Cf. Ezk 12^{6} Cov., 'Hyde thy face that thou see not the earth, for I have made the a shewtoken unto the house of Israel.'

3. *Semblance*, Ps 39^{6} 'Surely every man walketh in a vain shew' (בְּצֶלֶם, RVm [implying false etym. connexion] 'as a shadow'); Col 2^{23} 'which things have indeed a shew of wisdom' (*λόγον σοφίας*). Cf. Fuller, *Holy State*, 158, 'Travell not too early before thy judgement be risen, lest thou observest rather shews than substance, marking alone pageants, pictures, beautifull buildings,' etc.

4. *Pretence*, Lk 20^{47} 'Which devour widows' houses, and for a shew make long prayers' (*προφάσει*, RV 'for a pretence'). Cf. Purchas, *Pilgrimage*, 386, 'In shew to keepe the straits, in deed to expect the event'; and *Paraph.* 25^{10}—

> 'Who can his generation tell?
> From prison see him led!
> With impious shew of law condemn'd
> And number'd with the dead.'

Shewing is used as a subst. in Lk 1^{80} 'Till the day of his shewing unto Israel' (*ἕως ἡμέρας ἀναδείξεως αὐτοῦ*). The Eng. word is quite unusual, and is simply a literal tr. (after Vulg. *ostensio* and Wyclif's 'schewynge') of the Gr. *ἀνάδειξις*, which does not occur elsewhere in NT. On comparing Lk 10^{1} 'The Lord appointed (*ἀνέδειξεν*) other seventy also,' and Ac 1^{24} 'Shew (*ἀνάδειξον*) whether of these two thou hast chosen,' we see that the reference is to the entrance of John on his public ministry. J. HASTINGS.

---

* It is scarcely worth mentioning that a Jewish tradition (Jalkut on Ezr 1) identifies Sheshbaẓẓar with Daniel.

SHEWBREAD.—'Shewbread,' formed apparently on the pattern of Luther's *Schaubrot*, is the tr., first adopted by Tindale, of the Heb. לֶחֶם (הַ)פָּנִים 'bread of the presence [of J″],' of which, accordingly, the more correct tr. is that proposed by RVm, viz. 'presence-bread.'

It has been usual hitherto to assign the introduction of the term 'shewbread' to Coverdale (see, *e.g.*, Plummer's *Luke*, 167). But it is found as early as 1526 in Tindale's *New Testament*, He 9^{2} 'and the shewe breed which is called wholy' (Offor's reprint). Curiously enough, Tindale not only uses other renderings in the Gospels ('the halowed loves,' Mt 12^{4}, Mk 2^{26}; 'loves of halowed breed,' Lk 6^{4}), but retains the same inconsistency in his revised edition of 1534, after he had adopted 'shewbred' in his Pentateuch of 1530. In the latter on its first occurrence (Ex 25^{30}) he adds the marginal note: 'Shewbred, because it was alway in the presence and sight of the Lorde' (see Mombert's reprint, *in loc.*). Wyclif had naturally followed the Vulgate (see below) with 'breed of proposicioun.' The Protestant translators and revisers who succeeded Tindale give 'shewbread' in OT, 'shewe loves,' 'shewbreads,' and 'shewbread' in NT, the last by the end of the 16th cent. being firmly established in both Testaments (the Rheims version, however, retaining 'loaves of proposition').

i. Nomenclature.—On the occasion of the earliest historical mention of the presence-bread (לֶחֶם הַפָּנִים 1 S $21^{6\ [\text{Heb. }7]}$) it is also termed 'holy bread' (לֶחֶם קֹדֶשׁ *ib.* $^{5.\ 6.\ [6.\ 7]}$ RV; AV 'hallowed bread'). The former term is that used throughout the Priests' Code (P) of the Pentateuch, with the addition of the name 'continual bread' (ל״ תָּמִיד Nu 4^{7b}; cf. 'bread' only Ex 40^{23}). In the post-exilic period we meet with another designation, viz. 'the pile-bread' (לֶחֶם הַמַּעֲרֶכֶת 1 Ch 9^{32} 23^{29}, Neh 10^{33}, but with the terms reversed 2 Ch 13^{11}, cf. He 9^{2}; also מערכת alone 2 Ch 2^{4}). This name is due to the fact that the loaves were arranged upon the table in two piles (מַעֲרָכוֹת Lv 24^{6}; this, the rendering of RVm, suits the facts better than the 'rows' of the text of EV). The tr. varies considerably in the Gr. versions, the most literal rendering of the older designation is *ἄρτοι τοῦ προσώπου* 1 S 21^{6}, 2 Es 20^{33} (but cf. Aquila's *ἄρ. προσώπων*), *ἄρ. ἐνώπιοι* Ex 25^{30}, *οἱ ἄρ. οἱ προκείμενοι* Ex 39^{18}; elsewhere most frequently *ἄρ. τῆς προθέσεως*, 'loaves of the setting forth.' This, the term used in the Gospels (Mt 12^{4}, Mk 2^{26}, Lk 6^{4}), reflects the later Hebrew designation above mentioned (cf. *προτιθέναι* in LXX to render עָרַךְ 'to set in order,' 'set forth' [a meal upon a table]).* The variant *ἡ πρόθεσις τ. ἄρτων* (He 9^{2}) follows 2 Ch 13^{11}, 2 Mac 10^{3}. Still another rendering, *οἱ ἄρ. τῆς προσφορᾶς*, is confined to some MSS of the Greek of 1 K 7^{48} (Lucian has *προθέσεως*). The Vulgate also reflects both the Hebrew designations with *panis facierum* (cf. Aquila, above) and *panis propositionis.*

The **table of shewbread** has likewise in Hebrew a twofold nomenclature: in P שֻׁלְחַן הַפָּנִים 'the presence-table' (Nu 4^{7}), but in Chronicles ש״ הַמַּעֲרֶכֶת (2 Ch 29^{18}); in both we also find ש״ הַטָּהוֹר 'the pure table' (Lv 24^{6}, 2 Ch 13^{11}), probably because overlaid with pure gold. For other designations now disguised in MT see next section.

ii. The Shewbread in the Pre-exilic Period.—The earliest historical mention of the shewbread occurs in the account of David's flight from Saul, in which he secures for his young men, under conditions that are somewhat obscure, the use of the shewbread from the sanctuary at Nob (1 S $21^{2\text{ff.}}$). It is here described, as we have seen, both as 'presence-bread' (v.$^{6\ [7]}$) and as 'holy' or 'sacred bread' (vv.$^{4.\ 6\ [5.\ 7]}$), in opposition to ordinary or unconsecrated bread (חוֹל). The incident appears to have happened on the day on which the loaves were removed to be replaced by fresh or 'hot bread' (לֶחֶם חֹם v.$^{6\ [7]}$).

It must not be inferred from this narrative that the regulation of the Priests' Code, by which the stale shewbread was the exclusive perquisite of the priests, was already in force, although this, naturally, is the standpoint of NT times (see Mt 12^{4} and paralls.). Ahimelech, in requiring and receiving the assurance that David's young men were ceremonially 'clean' (see art. Uncleanness), seems to have taken all the precautions then deemed necessary. The narrative is further of value as giving us a clear indication of the meaning originally attaching to the expression 'presence-bread,' for the loaves are here expressly said to have been '*removed from the presence of J″*' (הַמּוּסָרִים מִלִּפְנֵי י״ MT, v.^{7}; cf. the similar expression Ex 25^{30}).

We next meet with the rite in connexion with Solomon's temple, among the furniture of which is mentioned in our present text 'the table whereupon the shewbread was' (1 K 7^{48} RV). This table is here further said to have been 'of gold,' by which we are to understand from the context 'of solid gold' (cf. Ex 25^{24} in LXX, and Josephus' [*Ant.* VIII. iii. 7] description of the temple). But it is well known that in this section of the Book of Kings the original narrative has been overlaid with accretions of all sorts, mostly, if not entirely, post-exilic; these are due to the idea of this later time, that the interior decoration of Solomon's temple, and the materials of its furniture, could in no respect have been inferior to those of the tabernacle of P. See Stade's classical essay, 'Der Text des Berichtes ueber Salomo's Bauten,' in *ZATW*, 1883, 129–177, reproduced in his *Akad. Reden u. Abhandlungen* (1899), 143 ff. Stade's results have been accepted in the main by all recent scholars. Thus he shows that the original of 1 K $6^{20b.\ 21}$ probably read somewhat as is still given in the middle clause of the better Gr. text of A (*ἐποίησεν θυσιαστήριον κέδρου . . . κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ δαβίρ*), viz. וַיַּעַשׂ מִזְבַּח אֶרֶז לִפְנֵי הַדְּבִיר 'and he [Solomon] made an altar of cedar-wood (to stand) in front of the sanctuary (the 'Holy of Holies' of P).' Whether we should retain or discard the words 'and overlaid it with gold,' is of minor importance.*

The altar, therefore, of v.^{20b} is not to be understood of the altar of incense, which first appears in the latest stratum of P (see Tabernacle), but, as in the passage of Ezekiel presently to be considered, of the table of shewbread. The express mention of the latter by name in 1 K 7^{48b} is also part of an admittedly late addition to the original text (see authorities cited in footnote). The same desire to enhance the glory of the Solomonic temple is usually assigned as the ground for the tradition followed by the Chronicler, who states that Solomon provided the necessary gold for *ten tables of shewbread* (1 Ch 28^{16}; cf. 2 Ch $4^{8.\ 19}$). This writer, however, is not consistent, for elsewhere we read of 'the ordering of the shewbread *upon the pure table* (2 Ch 13^{11}).' In his account, further, of the cleansing of the temple under Hezekiah, only '*the table* of shewbread, with all the vessels thereof' is mentioned (*ib.* 29^{18}),—a view of the case which is undoubtedly to be regarded as alone in accordance with the facts of history.

This table fell a prey to the flames which consumed the temple in the 19th year of Nebuchadrezzar (2 K 25^{8}, Jer 52^{13}). The tale related by the Byzantine chronicler (Syncellus, 409), that it was among the furniture concealed by Jeremiah on Mount Pisgah, is but a later addition to the earlier form of the same fable, which we already find in 2 Mac $2^{1\text{ff.}}$. Notwithstanding these uncertainties, the continuance of the rite under the monarchy is sufficiently assured.

iii. The Post-exilic Period.—Ezekiel in his sketch of the ideal sanctuary likewise contemplates the perpetuation of the rite, for in a passage of his book, which on all hands is regarded as corrupt, but capable with the help of the LXX of easy emendation, we read thus (as emended): 'In front of the sanctuary [this also = P's 'Holy of Holies'] was something like an altar of wood, three cubits in height, and the length thereof two cubits, and the breadth two cubits; and it had corners, and its base and its sides were of wood. And he said unto me: This is the table that is before J″' (Ezk 41[21. 22]; so substantially Cornill and all recent commentators). Here, then, we have not the altar of incense, but once more the table of shewbread. The twofold circumstance that it is here expressly termed an altar, and is of plain wood without a gold covering, is a strong argument in favour of Stade's restoration of the text of 1 K, discussed above. Ezekiel's table of shewbread resembled in its general outline the similar altar-tables so often seen on the Assyrian monuments (see last section); its height was half as much again as its length, and in section it formed a square of at least 3 ft. in the side. The projections or 'horns' were, no doubt, similar to those of the Assyrian altars (see, *e.g.*, Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Art in Chaldea and Assyria*, i. pp. 143, 255, etc.).

---

* Codex Bezæ (D) has *προσθέσεως*, with which comp. *προστιθέναι* for *προτιθ.* in some MSS of the LXX (*passim*). See for D's reading, Nestle, *Introd. to Text. Criticism of Gr. NT* (1901), 237.

* See besides Stade, *op. cit.*, the Commentaries of Kittel and Benzinger, esp. the latter's Introduction, p. xvi ff., where an interesting study will be found of the gradual growth of the accretions with which 1 K $6^{16\text{-}21}$ is now overgrown; also Burney's art. Kings in the present work, vol. ii. 863^{b}, and his *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Kings, in loc.*

In the temple of Zerubbabel, consecrated in the 6th year of Darius (B.C. 516), the table of shewbread, we may safely infer, had its place in the outer sanctuary, although we have no information as to whether or not it was modelled on Ezekiel's altar-table. After the introduction of the Priests' Code it may have been remodelled according to the instructions there given (Ex 25[23ff.]); we may at least, with some measure of certainty, suppose that it was then overlaid with gold, since Antiochus Epiphanes, when he carried off the spoils of the temple (1 Mac 1[22]), would scarcely have taken the trouble to remove a plain wooden altar. The well-informed author of 1 Maccabees, in the passage cited, includes among the spoils not only the table itself, but 'the flagons and chalices and censers of gold' used in the ritual of the table (see for these art. TABERNACLE, section on Table of Shewbread). The provision of the shewbread, it should be added, was one of the objects to which were devoted the proceeds of the tax of one-third of a shekel instituted by Nehemiah (10[32], cf. Jos. *Ant.* III. x. 7, § 255).

Here attention may be called to two non-canonical Jewish writers who allude to the subject of this article. The earlier of the two is pseudo-Hecatæus, whose date is usually assumed to be the 3rd cent. B.C. (Schürer, *GJV*[3] iii. 465; but Willrich, *Juden u. Griechen*, etc., 20 f., argues for a date in the Maccabæan period). This writer, in a passage preserved for us by Josephus (*c. Apion.* i. 22), describes the second temple as 'a large edifice wherein is an altar (*βωμός*), and a candelabrum (*λυχνίον*), both of gold, two talents in weight.' The former term, in the light of what has been said above with regard to the altar-tables of Solomon and Ezekiel, we must identify with the table of shewbread. The other writer referred to is pseudo-Aristeas, whose date falls within the century 200-100 B.C. In his famous letter, purporting to give an account of the origin of the Alexandrian version of the OT, he gives the rein to a lively imagination in his description of a shewbread table of unexampled magnificence—all of gold and precious gems, and of unsurpassed artistic workmanship—which Ptolemy Philadelphus is said to have presented to the temple at Jerusalem (see Wendland's or Thackeray's edition of Aristeas' letter—tr. by the former in Kautzsch's *Apokryphen u. Pseudepigraphen*, ii. 6 ff.). This table is admitted to have had no existence outside the pages of Aristeas.

To resume the thread of our narrative, we find that on the re-dedication of the temple (B.C. 165) Judas Maccabæus had new furniture made, including the shewbread table (1 Mac 4[49]),—now, we may be sure, constructed in entire conformity to the requirements of Ex 25[23ff.],—upon which the loaves were duly set forth (v.[51]). This table continued in use till the destruction of the temple by Titus in A.D. 70. Rescued from the blazing pile, it figured along with the golden candlestick and a roll of the law in the triumph awarded to the victorious general (Jos. *BJ* VII. v. 3-7, esp. 5, § 148). Thereafter, these were all deposited by Vespasian in his newly built temple of Peace (*ib.* v. 7), while a representation of the triumph formed a conspicuous part of the decoration on the Arch of Titus, erected subsequently. Few remains of classical antiquity have been so frequently reproduced as the panel of the arch on which are depicted the table and the candlestick, borne aloft on the shoulders of the Roman veterans (see illustration under MUSIC, vol. iii. p. 462). Both seem to have remained in Rome till the sack of the city by Genseric, king of the Vandals, in 455, by whom they were transferred to Carthage, the site of the new Vandal capital in Africa. From Carthage they were transferred to Constantinople by Belisarius, in whose triumph they again figured. On this occasion a Jew, it is said, working on the superstitious awe felt by Justinian for these sacred relics, induced the emperor to send them back to Jerusalem. They probably perished finally in the sack of Jerusalem by Chosroes, the Persian, in 614 (see Reinach, 'L'Arc de Titus,' in *REJ* 20, p. lxxxv f., in book form, 1890; Knight, *The Arch of Titus*, 112 ff.).

iv. PREPARATION OF THE SHEWBREAD.—According to the express testimony of Josephus (*Ant.* III. vi. 6), the Mishna, and later Jewish writers, the shewbread was unleavened. Nor does there seem to be any valid ground for the assertion, frequently made by recent writers, that it was otherwise in more primitive times. The absence of leaven best suits the undoubted antiquity of the rite, and, moreover, is confirmed by the Babylonian practice of offering 'sweet' (*i.e.* unleavened) bread on the tables of the gods (see below). The material in all periods was of the finest of the flour (Lv 24[5]), which was obtained, according to *Menahoth* (vi. 7), by sifting the flour eleven times. The kneading and firing of the loaves in the time of the Chronicler was the duty of the 'sons of the Kohathites,' a Levitical guild (1 Ch 9[32]); in the closing days of the second temple their preparation fell to the house or family of Garmu (*Yōma* iii. 11, *Sheḳal.* viii. 1). The quantity of flour prescribed by the Priests' Code for each loaf (חַלָּה *ḥallā*) was 'two tenth-parts of an ephah' (Lv 24[5] RV), which—reckoning the ephah roughly at a bushel—represents about $\frac{4}{5}$ths of a peck (*c.* $7\frac{1}{4}$ litres), a quantity sufficient to produce a loaf of considerable dimensions, recalling the loaves which gave their name to the Delian festival of the Μεγαλάρτια.

In the earlier period, at least, the loaves were laid upon the table while still hot (1 S 21[6]). The later regulations required that they should be arranged in two piles (מַעֲרָכוֹת, see sect. i. above). On the top of each pile, apparently,—on the table *between* the piles, according to another tradition,—stood a censer containing 'pure frankincense for a memorial (אַזְכָּרָה, for which see comm. on Lv 24[7]), even an offering by fire unto the LORD.' Alexandrian writers give salt in addition (Lv *l.c.* in LXX; hence, doubtless, Philo, *Vit. Mos.* ii. 151). The stale loaves, by the same regulations, were removed and fresh loaves substituted every Sabbath. According to *Sukka* (v. 7 f.), one half went to the outgoing division of priests, the other to the incoming division, by whom they were consumed within the sacred precincts.* In order to avoid repetition, further examination of the details given by post-biblical Jewish writers—many of them clearly wide of the mark—regarding the shape and size of the loaves and their arrangement on the table, as well as regarding the nature and purpose of the vessels mentioned, Ex 25[29], Nu 4[7], is reserved for the section on P's table of shewbread and its vessels in the general article Tabernacle.

---

* It is a mere conjecture that the shewbread was originally *burned* (Stade, *Akadem. Reden*, etc., 180, note 15).

v. Significance of the Rite.—The rite of 'the presence-bread' is one of the fairly numerous survivals from the pre-Mosaic stage of the religion of the Hebrews, and goes back ultimately to the naïve conception that the god, like his worshippers, required and actually partook of material nourishment. No doubt, as W. R. Smith has pointed out, this idea 'is too crude to subsist without modification beyond the savage state of society' (*RS*[1] 212). In the case of the shewbread, it may be suggested that the odour of the 'hot bread' (לֶחֶם חֹם 1 S 21[6 [7]]) was regarded in ancient times as a 'sweet savour,' like the smell of the sacrifice to J″ (Gn 8[21], Lv 23[13]). In any case the custom of presenting solid food on a table as an oblation to a god is too widespread among the peoples of antiquity to permit of doubt as to the origin of the rite among the Hebrews.

The *lectisternia*, which the Romans borrowed from the Greeks, afford the most familiar illustration of this practice (see Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiqs.*[3] *s.v.*). In the OT itself we hear of Jeremiah's contemporaries kneading cakes for the queen of heaven (Jer 7[18]), and, at a later date, of the table which even Jews spread to Fortune (Gad, Is 65[11] RV). In the religious literature of the ancient Babylonians, again, particularly in the ritual tablets to which the attention of scholars has lately been turned, we find numerous references to the various items of food and drink to be presented to the deities of the Babylonian pantheon. The tables or altars, also, on which the food was set out are frequently represented on the monuments (see, *e.g.*, Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 387; Riehm's *HWB*[2] i. 143, etc.). And not only so, but, as Zimmern has recently shown, the loaves of sweet or unleavened bread thus presented are, frequently at least, of the number of 12, 24, or even as many as 36 (see the reff. in Zimmern's *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Babylon. Religion*, 1901, p. 94 f.). These numbers, we can hardly doubt, have an astronomical significance, 12 being the number of the signs of the Zodiac, 24 the stations of the moon, and 36 those of the planets (see 2 K 23[5] RVm, Job 38[32], and art. Babylonia in vol. i. p. 218[a]). The knowledge of this ancient practice of offering food on the tables of the gods survived to a late period; see Epist. of Jeremy, v.[26ff.], and the fragment of Bel and the Dragon (esp. v.[11]; note also that the food of Bel comprised '*twelve* great measures of fine flour'). Hence, if the loaves of the presence-bread were 12 in number from the earliest times,—though of this we have no early testimony,—we should have another of the rapidly increasing instances of early Babylonian influence in the West (cf. Josephus' association of the 12 loaves with the 12 months, *Ant.* III. vii. 7).

While, however, it must be admitted that the rite of the presence-bread had its origin in the circle of ideas just set forth, it is not less evident that, as taken up and preserved by the religious guides of Israel, the rite acquired a new and higher significance. The bread was no longer thought of as J″'s food (לֶחֶם י״) in the sense attached to it in an earlier age, but as a concrete expression of the fact that J″ was the source of every material blessing. As the 'continual bread' (לֶחֶם תָּמִיד Nu 4[7]), it became the standing expression of the nation's gratitude to the Giver of all for the bounties of His providence. The number twelve was later brought into connexion with the number of the tribes of Israel (cf. Lv 24[8]), and thus, Sabbath by Sabbath, the priestly representatives of the nation renewed this outward and visible acknowledgment of man's continual dependence upon God. The presence of the shewbread in the developed ritual, therefore, was not without a real and worthy significance. It may here be added, in a word, that the explanation of the shewbread hitherto in vogue among the disciples of Bähr, according to which the 'bread of the face' was so named because it is through partaking thereof that man attains to the sight of God, accords neither with the true signification of the term, nor with the history of the rite.

A. R. S. Kennedy.

SHIBAH (שִׁבְעָה; LXX ὅρκος [O.L. *iuramentum*]; Aq. Symm. πλησμονῆς [Vulg. *abundantia*]).—The well dug by Isaac, from which Beer-sheba took its name, Gn 26[33] (J, who apparently makes שִׁבְעָה = שְׁבֻעָה 'oath'). The well, according to this view, derived its name from the 'swearing' (v.[31]) of the oath by which Isaac, on the one part, and Abimelech, with his friend Ahuzzath, and his chief captain Phicol, on the other, ratified the covenant they had made (vv.[26-33]). According to another account, Gn 21[22-31] (E), the well was dug by Abraham, and Beer-sheba was so called because it was there that he and Abimelech 'sware both of them.' In the latter passage there is also manifestly a play upon the word שֶׁבַע 'seven,' seven lambs having been used (v.[28ff.]) in the ceremony. For a description of the existing wells see Beer-sheba, and add to Literature: Gautier, *Expos. Times*, 1899, pp. 328 f., 478 f.; and esp. G. L. Robinson, *Bibl. World*, Apr. 1901, pp. 247–255 (with plan and photos.): an abstract at the end of Driver's *Joel and Amos*[3].

C. W. Wilson.

SHIBBOLETH (שִׁבֹּלֶת), Jg 12[6].—The Ephraimite fugitives at the Jordan-fords betrayed themselves by pronouncing this word *ṣibbōleth* (סִבֹּלֶת)—an interesting proof of the difference in dialect which distinguished the western tribes from those on the east of Jordan. By confusion of sounds *shibbōleth* (שׁבלת) would become *sibbōleth* (שׂבלת), and so *ṣibbōleth* (סבלת); see Wright, *Comp. Gram.* p. 58. Etymologically ס (*ṣ*) is quite distinct from שׂ (*s*),* but the two are not infrequently confounded in Heb., *e.g.* כַּעַשׂ and כַּעַס, נָסוֹג Ps 44[14] and נָשׂוֹג 2 S 1[22], שִׂכְלוּת for סִכְלוּת Ec 1[17] etc.; by using ס (*ṣ*) rather than שׂ (*s*), the author of Jg 12[6] simply wished to make the sound as distinct from שׁ (*sh*) as possible. In illustration of this peculiarity of the Ephraimite speech, it may be noted that the Heb. שׁ (*sh*) as a rule = the Arab. س (*s*), *e.g.* שֶׁבַע, سَبْعٌ; and *vice versa*, the Heb. שׂ (*s*) = Arab. ش (*sh*), *e.g.* שָׂנֵא, شَنِى. Ḳimḥi, in his commentary, *in loc.*, mentions another local peculiarity in the pronunciation of the sibilant: the people of Sarepta sounded שׁ (*sh*) as ת (*th*); so frequently Heb. שׁ (*sh*) = Arab. ث (*th*) = Aram. ܬ (*th*).

The Gr. versions of the passage are interesting: B εἶπον δὴ Στάχυς. καὶ οὐ κατεύθυνεν τοῦ λαλῆσαι οὕτως; A εἴπατε δὴ σύνθημα. καὶ κατηύθυναν κ.τ.λ. In both, the Ephraimites' reply is omitted. 'Lucian' (ed. Lagarde): εἴπατε δὴ σύνθημα. καὶ εἶπον Στάχυς κ.τ.λ. Codd. 54, 59, 75, 82 (Moore, M): εἴπατε δὴ σύνθημα καὶ λέγοντες σύνθημα οὐ κατηύθυναν κ.τ.λ. By σύνθημα is meant 'watchword,' 'countersign'; see 2 Mac 8[23] 13[15]. The Gr. versions, of course, could not imitate the change of the Heb. sibilants, as the Targ. and Syr. do. Vulg. *Dic ergo: Scibboleth, quod interpretatur spica. Qui respondebat: Sibboleth, eadem littera spicam exprimere non valens.*

The meaning of the word is unimportant; it may be either 'ear of wheat' (Assyr. *šubultu*), Gn 41[5ff.], Is 17[5] etc., or 'flood,' 'stream,' Is 27[12], Ps 69[2. 15]. In the latter sense, which is suitable to the context, the word appears only in late passages; in this ancient story it would probably be understood 'ear.'

Marquart (*ZATW*, 1888, 151 ff.) attempts to prove that the Ephraimites did not pronounce שׁ (*sh*) as שׂ (*s*) (cf. the name of their chief town שֹׁמְרוֹן *Shōmerôn*, Samaria), and that שׂ (*s*) could not pass into ס (*ṣ*) in old Hebrew. He thinks that the Gileadites said שׁבלת (*shibbōleth*) and meant 'flood,' but the Ephraimites said תבלת (*thibbōleth*) and meant 'ear' (cf. תּוּבְלָא Jerus. Targ. Gn 41[5ff.]). This ת (*th*) was represented by ס (cf. זִי and Bibl. Aram. דִּי) for want of a closer equivalent. But Marquart's arguments are not convincing, and have not generally been accepted. We have no means of knowing what the Ephraimite dialect was.

For parallels from European history see art. Jephthah, vol. ii. p. 568 n.

G. A. Cooke.

SHIELD (or **BUCKLER**) is EV tr. in OT of the following Heb. words. 1. (Most commonly) מָגֵן *māgēn*, a small round shield, a buckler; the Gr.

---

[*] The exact relation between the two sounds is still undetermined; see Ges.-Kautzsch, *Heb. Gr.* p. 30, n. 2 (Eng. ed.).

ἀσπίς and Lat. *clipeus*. 2. צִנָּה *ẓinnāh*, a large oval or rectangular shield. 3. סֹחֵרָה *ṣoḥērāh*, 'buckler,' only in Ps 91 $[90]^{4}$; the word, however, is probably a participle (LXX κυκλώσει); tr. with a slight emendation, 'His truth is an encompassing shield.' 4. כִּידוֹן *kīdōn*, 'shield,' 1 S 17^{45} AV, 'target' $v.^{6}$ AV, similarly LXX; RV correctly 'javelin.' 5. שְׁלָטִים *shĕlāṭīm*, 'shields,' 2 S 8^{7} = 1 Ch 18^{7}, 2 K 11^{10} = 2 Ch 23^{9}, Ca 4^{4}, Jer 51^{11}, Ezk 27^{11} (only in these places, and only in the plur.), more correctly 'suits of armour,' Jer 51^{11} RVm (see *Expository Times*, x. (1898) 43 ff.). עֲגָלָה *'ăgālāh*, usually tr. 'wagon,' means in Ps 46^{9} [Heb.^{10}] perhaps 'shield' (so LXX, Vulg., Targ.); EV, Jerome (*Psalter. iuxta Heb.*), Peshiṭta, 'chariots.' In the NT 'shield' occurs once, Eph 6^{16}, as tr. of θυρεός, the large Rom. shield.

1. *Material and Construction.*—The material of which the shields known to the Hebrews were commonly made can only be inferred. Solomon prepared 200 'targets' (צִנָּה, *i.e.* large shields) and 300 'shields' (מָגֵן, *i.e.* bucklers), which were either made of gold or else heavily overlaid with gold (1 K $10^{16.17}$). When these were carried off by Shishak, Rehoboam made 'brazen' (bronze) shields to take their place (*ib.* $14^{26.27}$). The 'shields' found among the treasures of Hezekiah were also probably made of one of the precious metals, or at least adorned with it (2 Ch 32^{27}).* Both the golden shields and the bronze were probably used only for state ceremonial: the war shield was doubtless either like the Roman *scutum* of leather stretched over a wooden frame, or like the Persian γέρρον of wickerwork. That shields were largely composed of some inflammable substance may be inferred from such passages as Ezk 39^{9}, Ps 46^{9} $[45^{10}]$ LXX (cf. Is 9^{5} RV). A shield was overlaid with plates, perhaps of bronze (cf. Job 41^{15} RVm, where the scales of the crocodile are compared with the plates of a shield); it was also furnished with a boss (cf. Job 15^{26}), such as is shown on the Assyr. reliefs, *passim*. The Assyr. shields were highly convex and sometimes round, sometimes irregular in shape, *i.e.* rectangular at the foot (for planting firmly against the ground) but pointed at the top.

2. *Use.*—The shield was kept in a case when not in use (Is 22^{6}; cf. Aristophanes, *Ach.* 574, and Euripides, *Andr.* 617). It was anointed before battle to make its surface slippery (Is 21^{5}; cf. Driver on 2 S 1^{21}, who quotes Vergil, *Æn.* vii. 626). In battle it sometimes had a 'red' appearance (Nah $2^{3\,[4]}$), either because it was dyed red (A. B. Davidson, *ad loc.*), or because it was overlaid with burnished copper (Nowack, *Heb. Archäologie*, i. 364), or again because the leather itself might be described as 'red,' אָדוֹם *'ādôm* being applied to the colour of the human skin (La 4^{7}). The large shield was much used in sieges as a stationary screen, from behind which the garrison on the walls might be assailed with arrows (2 K 19^{32} = Is 37^{33}, Sir 37^{5} Heb.). A large shield was sometimes carried in battle by an attendant in front of his master (1 S 17^{41} Heb., LXX [A and Luc.], Peshiṭta, a verse om. in LXX B, but probably genuine). In times of peace shields were hung in armouries, to the admiration of beholders (Ca 4^{4}, Ezk 27^{10}).

3. *Metaphorical use of the term 'shield.'*—In the OT God's favour (Ps $5^{12\,[13]}$) and His faithfulness (Ps 91^{4} $[90^{4}]$) are compared to a shield, cf. 'the shield of thy salvation' (Ps 18^{35} $[17^{36}]$). By a still bolder metaphor in several other places God Himself is called the 'shield' (מָגֵן) of His people or of His saints: Gn 15^{1}, Dt 33^{29}, Ps $3^{3\,[4]}$ $18^{2.30}$ $[17^{3.31}]$ 33 $[32]^{20}$ 59^{11} $[58^{12}]$ $84^{9.11}$ $[83^{10.12}]$ $115^{9\text{-}11}$ $[113^{17\text{-}19}]$, Pr 2^{7} 30^{5} $[24^{28}]$. In all these passages the LXX tr. מָגֵן either by ὑπερασπιστής (once Ps 3^{4} by ἀντιλήμπτωρ) or by some form of the verb ὑπερασπίζω. The Peshiṭta follows a similar course. It is true that מָגֵן taken as Hiphil partic. of גנן is a possible *nomen agentis*, but it is probable that the Heb. metaphor was too bold for the Gr. and Syr. translators. Thus in Ps 84^{11} $[83^{12}]$ the Heb. and Aq. give 'The LORD is a sun and shield,' while the LXX (followed by the Vulg.) timidly paraphrases ἔλεον καὶ ἀλήθειαν ἀγαπᾷ Κύριος. Symm. (if rightly given in Field) is also timid, ἥλιον γὰρ καὶ ὑπερασπισμὸν Κύριος (a transitive verb, probably δώσει from the next clause, being understood). Jerome (*Psalter. iuxta Heb.*) gives 'Sol et scutum Dominus' here, and 'clipeus' in some other places quoted above, but in Ps $59^{11\,(12)}$ $115^{9\text{-}11\,(17\text{-}19)}$ he has 'protector' (=ὑπερασπιστής). Ben Sira ($51^{12c\,(10)}$ Heb.) writes, 'Give thanks to the Shield of Abraham' (in allusion to Gn 15^{1}).

In the one passage of the NT in which 'shield' occurs, the word is metaphorically applied to Christian faith (Eph 6^{16} ἀναλαβόντες τὸν θυρεὸν τῆς πίστεως, *sumentes scutum fidei*). In 1 Th 5^{8} the apostle had urged his converts to put on θώρακα πίστεως καὶ ἀγάπης, '*a coat of mail* of faith and love' (see BREASTPLATE); but during his Roman imprisonment his imagination was struck with the great Roman shield, and he changed his metaphor, without, however, abandoning the thought that *faith* is the Christian's vital defence. In the OT (Ps 91 $[90]^{4}$) God's *faithfulness* is man's shield; in the NT the identification of *faith* with the shield gives us the necessary complementary thought that on man's side faith is needed in order that God's proffered protection may be embraced.

W. EMERY BARNES.

SHIGGAION, SHIGIONOTH.—See art. PSALMS, p. 154^{b} f.

SHIHOR (שִׁיחוֹר, שִׁחוֹר, שִׁחֹר).—A word meaning 'black' or 'turbid,' from שָׁחַר to be black (Ca 1^{5}).

1. In 1 Ch 13^{5} Shihor of Egypt (ὅρια Αἰγύπτου; *Sihor Ægypti*) and the entering in of Hamath are mentioned as the southern and northern limits of the kingdom of Israel in the time of David. The same (or similar) limits recur in 1 K 8^{65}, where 'the wâdy (*naḥal*) of Egypt' takes the place of 'Shihor of Egypt.' In Jos 13^{3} (ἡ ἀοίκητος ἡ κατὰ πρόσωπον Αἰγύπτου, *fluvius turbidus*) the southern limit of the land that had not been conquered when Joshua was grown old is said to have been 'the Shihor which is before Egypt,' and the northern one was the entering in of Hamath ($v.^{5}$). Elsewhere the S.W. limit of the Promised Land is 'the wâdy of Egypt': Nu $34^{5.8}$; cf. Ezk $47^{19.20}$ $48^{1.2.8}$, and see EGYPT (RIVER OF). The southern boundary of Judah, also, which corresponded with that of the Promised Land, 'went out at the wâdy (*naḥal*) of Egypt, and the goings out of the border were at the sea' (Jos 15^{4}). In the same chapter ($v.^{47}$) the territory of Judah is said to have extended 'unto the wâdy of Egypt and the great sea.' In each of the above passages the *naḥal* referred to as forming the southern boundary of the Promised Land is the same, and it must have been a well-known and well-defined feature. Such a feature is found in the *Wâdy el-'Arîsh*, which, with its many branches, drains nearly the whole of the desert *et-Tih*. The '*naḥal* of Egypt' (2 K 24^{7}, Is 27^{12}) and the 'ποταμός of Egypt' (Jth 1^{9}) are also of course the *Wâdy el-'Arîsh*. In Isaiah the LXX reads Ῥινοκορούρων, now *el-'Arîsh*. Whether, however, this is the same as the Shihor is disputed. It is so taken by some (*e.g.* Knobel, Keil, König [*Fünf neue arab. Landschaftsnamen im AT*, 1902, p. 37]), but Del. (*Parad.* 311) and Dillm. regard it as the easternmost or Pelusiac arm of the Nile; while, according to Brugsch [*Steininschrift u. Bibelwort*, 153], it is *Shi-Hor*, or the 'Horus canal,' mentioned in lists of the Ptolemaic period as flowing by the border-city of Thiru or Ṯar (see under SHUR).

---

* But see note *ad loc.* in the Camb. Bible.

2. Shihor is certainly the NILE in 'the seed of Shihor' (Is 23^3 σπέρμα μεταβόλων [שחר confused with סחר; see vv.$^{2.\ 3b}$], *Nilus*); and in 'the waters of Shihor' (Jer 2^{18} ὕδωρ Γηών (*aqua turbida*)).

C. W. WILSON.

SHIHOR-LIBNATH (שִׁיחוֹר לִבְנָת; B τῷ Σειὼν καὶ Λαβανάθ, A Σειὼρ κ. Λ.; *Sichor et Labanath*).—A natural feature near, and apparently to the south of, Carmel, to which the territory of Asher extended (Jos 19^{26}). Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.*) take Shihor and Libnath to be two distinct places; but modern commentators consider Shihor-libnath to be a river. The meaning of Libnath is 'white,' and some authorities have taken the words to mean 'the glass river,' which they identify with the Belus (Plin. v. 19),—now the *Nahr Na'mân*,—a little south of Acre. The Belus, however, is to the north of Carmel, whilst the boundary of Asher included Dor (Jos 17^{11}), which lay to the south. The Shihor-libnath was most probably the *Nahr ez-Zerka*, which has been identified with the river Crocodeilon (of Ptolemy, v. xv. 5, xvi. 2; Pliny, v. 19)—the southern boundary, according to Pliny, of Phœnicia (so Keil, Dillmann, *et al.*). *Shihor*, one of the names of the Nile (Is 23^3, Jer 2^{18}), may have been given to this river because there were crocodiles in it;—they are still found in the *Nahr ez-Zerka*.

C. W. WILSON.

SHIKKERON (שִׁכְּרוֹן; B Σοκχώθ, A Ἀκκαρωνά; *Sechrona*).—A place on the northern boundary of Judah, mentioned between Ekron and Mount Baalah, the next place westward being Jabneel (Jos 15^{11}). The Targum has the form *Shicaron*, Eusebius (*Onom.*) Σαχωράν, Jerome (*Onom.*) *Sachorona*. The site is unknown (so Dillm.). Tobler (*Drit. Wand.* p. 25) identified it with *Khurbet Sukereir*; but this place lies between Jabneel (*Yebnah*) and Ashdod (*Esdûd*), and is about 4 miles south-west of Jabneel. C. W. WILSON.

SHILHI (שִׁלְחִי; BA in 2 Chron. Σαλεί, B in 1 Kings Σεμεεί, A in 1 Kings Σαλαλά, Luc. in both Σελεεί).—Father of king Asa's wife Azubah, who was queen-mother in the reign of Jehoshaphat (1 K 22^{42}, 2 Ch 20^{31}). It is unusual for the queen-mother's father to be named in the summaries of the earliest reigns. Besides Shilhi, Absalom (1 K 15, Abishalom) and (2 K $8^{18.\ 26}$) Ahab (or Omri) are the only certain cases.

SHILHIM (שִׁלְחִים; LXX B Σαλή, A Σελεείμ; Vulg. *Silim*).—A town of Judah, in the Negeb, or South, which is mentioned between Lebaoth and Ain (Jos 15^{32}). The site was unknown to Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom. s.* Σαλεεί, *Selci*), and has not yet been recovered. In the list of towns allotted to Simeon (Jos 19^6) its place is taken by **Sharuhen**, and in 1 Ch 4^{31} by Shaaraim (see SHAARAIM, No. 2).

From the reading of the LXX, it has been erroneously supposed that Shilhim and Ain are the Salim and Aenon of Jn 3^{23}. See SALIM.

C. W. WILSON.

SHILLEM, SHILLEMITES.—See SHALLUM, No. 7.

SHILOAH.—See SHELAH and SILOAM.

SHILOH (usually שִׁלֹה, 8 times שִׁלוֹ, thrice שִׁילוֹ, Gn 49^{10} [see the next art.] שִׁילֹה; originally, as the gentilic שִׁילֹנִי 'Shilonite' shows, שִׁלוֹן; LXX Σηλω, Σηλωμ, Jg $21^{12.\ 19.\ 21}$ B Σηλων).—The situation of Shiloh is, in Jg 21^{19}, described with unusual minuteness: it is said to lie 'on the north of Beth-el, on the east side of the highway that goeth up from Beth-el to Shechem, and on the south of Lebōnāh.' The position of the modern *Seilûn* corresponds exactly with this description: as the traveller now journeys along the great north road which leads to Nâblus (the ancient Shechem), he passes Beitîn (Beth-el) at 10 miles from Jerus.; at about 8 miles N. of Beitîn (near Sinjil), if he turns to the right for about a mile, and then, at Turmus'Âya, turns northwards and crosses a small plain, he will see rising before him, at $9\frac{1}{2}$ miles N.N.E of Beitîn, the large rounded Tell, on the summit of which is the ruined site of Seilûn; N. of the Tell runs the Wādy Seilûn, and going down this to the W. he will rejoin the high road at a point 10 miles N. of Beitîn, and a little E. of *el-Lubbān*, evidently the Lebōnāh of Jg 21^{19}, 3 miles N.N.W. of Seilûn. The most noticeable feature in the natural situation of Seilûn is its seclusion. 'On the E. and N. it is shut in by bare and lofty hills of grey limestone, dotted over with a few fig-trees;' only on the S. is it open towards the plain just mentioned. The Tell on which Seilûn stands is some 1800 ft. in length from N. to S., and 900 ft. from E. to W.; the Wādy on the N. is a deep valley, in the sides of which are many rock-cut sepulchres; at the head of the valley on the E., about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile from the Tell, there is a fine spring of water. The site consists of nothing more than 'the ruined houses of a modern village, with here and there fragments of masonry which may date back to Crusading times, especially one sloping scarp.' The vineyards (Jg $21^{20.\ 21}$) of Shiloh have disappeared; but the traces of terraces, still visible on the sides of the Tell, show that once it was actively cultivated. Below the top of the hill, on the N. of the ruins, a kind of irregular quadrangle, some 400 ft. from E. to W., and 80 ft. from N. to S., has been hewn roughly out of the rock; it has been conjectured that this was the site of the ancient sanctuary (see below). Leaving the Tell on the S.E., traces of an ancient road, about 10 ft. wide, are visible. At the S.E. foot of the Tell there is a small disused mosque, shaded by a fine oak tree; and, some 500 yds. S.E. of this, a building which seems to have been once a synagogue, 37 ft. square, built of good masonry (see further particulars in Guérin, *Samarie*, ii. (1875) 21-23; *PEF Mem.* ii. 367-370, with a plan of the Tell; Conder, *Tent Work*^{3}, 44-46).

Shiloh is mentioned frequently in the earlier history of Israel. It lay in the territory of Ephraim, 12 miles S. of Shechem. It was the spot at which, after leaving Gilgal, the ark and tent of meeting were stationed, and where also, according to tradition, Joshua divided the land by lot between the tribes (Jos $18^{8.\ 9.\ 10}$ JE; 18^1 19^{51} 21^2 $22^{9.\ 12}$ P). It continued to be the principal Isr. sanctuary throughout the period of the Judges (cf. Jg 18^{31} 'all the time that the house of God was in Shiloh') till the age of Samuel (1 S 1–4). The narrative of Jg 21^{19-22}—which, whatever may be the case with some other parts of Jg 19–21, is certainly ancient—introduces us to a primitive stage of religious feeling and practice in Israel: we hear of 'Jahweh's pilgrimage,' held annually in Shiloh, and of the maidens of Shiloh coming out to dance in the choruses (cf. Ex 15^{20} 32^{19}); the feast, to judge from the terms in which it is spoken of, seems (like that of Shechem, Jg 9^{27}) to have been at this time hardly more than a local village festival, though it may have already been attended by pilgrims from the neighbourhood, and in 1 S 1–2 appears to have developed into an early form of what is called in JE the 'pilgrimage of Ingathering' (Ex 23^{16} 34^{22}), or (D, P, and later) the 'pilgrimage of Booths' (cf. Wellh. *Hist.* 94): on the particular occasion referred to, the Benjamites, laying wait for the women in the vineyards, captured them, and carried them home as wives. In 1 S 1–4 (cf. 14^3, 1 K 2^{27}) Eli and his two sons are priests at Shiloh; the ark is still there, till it is carried off ($4^{3\text{ff.}}$) to be a protection to the Israelites in their battles with the Philistines; a pilgrimage is made to it 'from year to year' (מִיָּמִים יָמִ֫ימָה 1^{3} 2^{19} [cf. 1^{21}]: so Ex 13^{10}, Jg 11^{40} 21^{19}), for purposes of sacrifice, at the 'coming round of the days' (1^{20}, cf. Ex 34^{22}), *i.e.* at the arrival of the new year, when the pilgrimage of Ingathering (חַג הָאָסִיף Ex. *l.c.*) was held; Elkanah and his household go up to it regularly (1^{21} 2^{19b}) from their home—probably (see RAMAH, 6) either at Râm-allah, 12 miles to the S.W., or at Beit Rima, 12 miles to the W.; and the youthful Samuel is presented there to Jahweh, to minister before Him ($1^{22\text{-}28}$ 2^{11} etc.). The sanctuary in which the ark is, is however no longer, as in the Pent., a 'tabernacle' or 'tent' (אֹהֶל); it is a fixed structure, a 'temple' (הֵיכָל 1^{9} 3^{3}) or 'house' ($1^{7.\,24}$), with a 'door-post' (מְזוּזָה 1^{9}) and 'doors' (דַּלְתוֹת 3^{15}): see, further, TABERNACLE. The representation in 1 S 1–4, taken as a whole, points to the existence of a more considerable religious centre, and a more fully organized system of religious observances, than appear to be implied by the terms of Jg $21^{19\text{-}21}$. The sanctuary of Shiloh is not, however, after 1 S 1–4, again referred to in the history; and it seems in fact that, shortly after the events narrated in these chapters, it was destroyed, probably by the Philistines; in ch. 22 (v.^{11} cf. with 14^{3}), it may be observed, the priesthood settled formerly at Shiloh appears at Nob. The recollection of this disaster was so vividly impressed upon the people's memory that long afterwards Jeremiah could refer to it as a token of what J" might do then to His temple in Jerusalem (Jer 7^{12} 'But go ye now to my place [*i.e.* my sacred place], which was in Shiloh, where I caused my name to dwell at the first, and see what I did to it for the wickedness of my people Israel,' v.^{14}; 26^{6} 'I will make this house like Shiloh,' v.^{9}); and it is alluded to also by a late psalmist (Ps 78^{60} 'He forsook the dwelling-place of Shiloh, the tent he had caused to dwell among men'). It is indeed very possible that the narrative of this disaster formed the original sequel of 1 S 4^{1b}–7^{1}, and that when the Book of Samuel assumed its present form it was omitted to make room for 7^{2}–8. Shiloh itself, however, continued to be inhabited; for the prophet Ahijah, who promised Jeroboam the kingdom of the ten tribes, was a native of it (1 K 11^{29} 12^{15} [=2 Ch 10^{15}] 15^{29}; cf. 2 Ch 9^{29}); and Jeroboam's wife went there to consult him when her husband was ill (1 K $14^{2.\,4}$): see also Jer 41^{5}.

Though a few mediæval writers were acquainted with the site of Shiloh (Moore, *Judges*, p. 451 *n.*), it was practically unknown from the time of Jerome till it was rediscovered by Robinson, *BRP* ii. 268–270. Cf. Stanley, *SP* 231–3. Jerome speaks of the remains of an altar as just visible there: *Epitaph. Paulæ* (iv. 2, p. 676, ed. Bened.), 'Quid narrem Silo, in qua altare dirutum hodieque monstratur?'; *Comm.* on Zeph 1^{14} (iii. 1655), 'vix altaris fundamenta monstrantur.'

S. R. DRIVER.

SHILOH (שִׁילֹה, Sam. שֵׁלָה), Gn 49^{10}.—i. In examining the various interpretations that have been given of this passage, it will be convenient to take first those adopted by AV and RV, or admitted into RVm. There are four of them.

(1) 'Until Shiloh come.'—This rendering did not appear in any translation of the Bible before the 16th cent., though some authority for it might have been found in a fanciful Talm. passage. The Wyclif VSS followed the Vulg. (*qui mittendus est*, reading apparently שֶׁלֻּחַ): 'till he come that shall be (or is to be) sent.' Coverdale's Bible of 1535 has 'till the worthye come.' Seb. Münster's version (1534) was the first to treat the word as a name: *quousque veniat Silo.* John Rogers (1537) has 'until Sylo come.' Matthew, Taverner, the Great Bible, and the Bishops' Bible all adopt it: 'till Shiloh come.'

The difficulty in the way of this rendering is to find a meaning for *Shiloh* as a designation of the Messiah. The only indication of a desire to make it a *proper* name appears in the Talm. passage alluded to above, *Sanh.* 98*b*: 'Rab said, The world was created only for the sake of David; Samuel said, It was for the sake of Moses; R. Yochanan said, It was only for the sake of the Messiah. What is his name? Those of the school of R. Shila say, Shiloh is his name, as it is said "Until Shiloh come." Those of the school of R. Yannai say, Yinnon is his name, as it is said (Ps 72^{1}), Before the sun let his name be propagated (*yinnōn*). Those of the school of R. Chaninah say, Chaninah is his name, as it is said (Jer 16^{13}), For I will give you no favour (*ḥanīna*).' This attempt to connect the Messiah's name with that of some favourite teacher, of course renders the passage worthless as an authority.

Even as a title Shiloh cannot be legitimately supported. It has been taken as an abstract noun put for a concrete, 'till *rest* (or a *rest-* or *peace-giver*) come.' This interpretation has been adopted by Vater, Justi, Rosenmüller, Winer, Baumgarten-Crusius, Hengstenberg, Reinke, Gesenius (*Lex.*), Murphy, and others, though many of these writers understand by the *peace-giver* Solomon or some other earthly ruler, not the Messiah. But the philological difficulties in its way are very great. The form שִׁלֹה presupposes a verb שׁוּל or שִׁיל which does not exist. It cannot be legitimately derived from שָׁלָה. Besides, this verb is so often associated with the idea of careless, worldly ease, that a title of the Messiah is not very likely to have been derived from it.

A different justification of Shiloh = Messiah is attempted in the Targum pseudo-Jonathan, and the MT שִׁילֹה may rest on it. It makes it mean 'his son.' But there is no Heb. word שִׁיל.

Even could these difficulties be surmounted, a greater one remains in the way of the AV and RV rendering. The announcement of the Messiah by name or title is out of place in a patriarchal blessing. Even a late editor would not so glaringly have violated the proprieties of time. The absence of NT reference is also strongly against such an interpretation.

(2) 'Until he come to Shiloh.' This has much in its favour. Shiloh, wherever else it occurs, denotes the Ephraimite town. It is natural to take it so here. The construction of the sentence and the parallelism both suggest this rendering. In 1 S 4^{12} the very phrase occurs, וַיָּבֹא שִׁלֹה.

Taken so, the clause is understood to refer to the assembling of Israel as a nation at Shiloh (Jos 18^{1}), when Judah may be supposed to have lost the pre-eminence or tribe-leadership held by it in the wanderings (Nu 10^{14}, Jg $1^{2.\,10}$, Jos 15). This interpretation does not necessarily affect the Messianic character of the whole passage, though it no longer attaches the thought to the word Shiloh. The view is undoubtedly an attractive one. We see Judah, the honoured of his brethren, marching in triumphal progress to the national sanctuary, and there laying down the emblems of authority in order to enjoy the fruits of peace, while the nations around bow submissive to his sway. And if, as seems not unlikely, an effort was made to constitute Shiloh a political as well as a religious centre, thus anticipating Jerus., this interpretation becomes still more attractive.

The objections to it are twofold. First, שֵׁבֶט and מְחֹקֵק seem to suggest sovereignty rather than mere tribal pre-eminence (see art. LAWGIVER, vol. iii. p. 83^{a}). The historical difficulty is still greater. No particular place is assigned to Judah in the histories in connexion with Shiloh. Indeed its rôle took it, not to Shiloh, but to Hebron and its neighbourhood. To obviate this difficulty some commentators supply a general subject to the verb, 'till *one* or *the people* come.' But, even so, an objection remains. It is out of keeping with the spirit of the patriarchal blessings to affix a limit to the prosperity of a tribe. In the case of Judah especially, we should expect a further outlook, and it seems too violent to explain 'Judah will lead till Canaan is subdued and after.' [Cf., however, the use of עַד in Ps 110^{1} 112^{8}; see *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* s עַד, II. 1*b*].

Many good names, however, support the rendering just discussed. Among them are Eichhorn, Herder, Ewald, Bleek, Delitzsch, Dillmann [provisionally; but thinking (so also Holz.) that a really satisfactory explanation is not to be found], S. Davidson, Strack (and Rödiger, *Thes.*, giving prominence to the idea of *peace* or *rest* in Shiloh). Influenced by the objections stated above, Hitzig, Tuch, and G. Baur would translate עַד־כִּי *as long as*, on the analogy of Hor. *Od.* iii. 30. (7-9); cf. Verg. *Æn.* ix. 446-449. But Shiloh had been destroyed long before Judah obtained real supremacy. It is as a fallen rival to Jerusalem that prophets allude to the place.

(3) 'Until that which is his shall come.' This follows the reading שֶׁלֹּה, a poetical equivalent of אֲשֶׁר לוֹ. It was presumably the reading of the LXX (and Theod.), who render ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ, 'till the things reserved for him come.' This is adopted, with some hesitation, by Driver. But, as Dillm. says, שׁ for the relative in an apparently Judæan text would be very strange. The indeterminate expression of the Messianic hope is in its favour.

(4) 'Until he come whose it is.' This follows a variant reading of LXX ᾧ ἀπόκειται, a reading lending itself so readily to Christian exegesis that we do not wonder at its adoption by the Fathers, *e.g.* Justin, *Ap.* i. 32 (supplying shortly after τὸ βασίλειον), Ignat. *Phil.* (longer form), Iren. IV. x. 2, Origen (frequently). It was adopted also by Onḳelos ('the Messiah, whose is the kingdom'), the Peshiṭta, and Sa'adya (10th cent.). The rendering is, however, a doubtful one, though it is adopted by Gunkel; for the subject 'it' (הוא) is missing: Onḳelos' version is a paraphrase which may or may not be legitimate. Ezk 21^{32} (Heb.) presents a somewhat similar phrase עַד בֹּא אֲשֶׁר לוֹ הַמִּשְׁפָּט; but the subject in the relative clause is here expressed. Still, whether original or not, this reading seems to express a right sense; cf. (6) below.

ii. Other suggestions are—(1) 'Till tranquillity come.' This assumes the existence of a very possible שֶׁלֶה or שֵׁלָה = peace. But it leaves the sentence without an explanation of וְלוֹ, and the parallelism suffers. It has the support of Reuss, Knobel, Friedländer.

(2) 'Till he comes to peacefulness or a place of rest' (also שֵׁלָה). So Kurtz, Oehler, and Perowne.

(3) 'Till he comes to that which is his own.' So Orelli (*Alttest. Weiss. von d. Vollendung des Gottesreiches*, 1882, p. 137 ff. [= *OT Proph.* 117 ff.]), comparing Dt 33^{7}; and apparently Ball.

(4) Lagarde (*Onom. Sacra*, 1870, ii. 96), comparing Mal 3^{1}, conjectures, as Matthew Hiller had done before him, שְׁאִילֹה = *his desired one.* This is accepted by Bickell (*Carm. VT Metrice*, 1882, p. 188). Driver objects that the word savours of Syr. rather than Heb., and that the sense *asked* is not suitable here.

(5) Wellhausen, in his *Geschichte*, p. 375 (1878), threw out the suggestion that וְלוֹ was a gloss explanatory of שֶׁלֹּה. 'Till he come to whom is the obedience,' etc. But this destroys the parallelism and the symmetry of the verse.

(6) Wellh. (*Comp.* 321), abandoning (5), thinks that the verse denotes in some way an ideal limit of time, the coming of the Messiah, and presupposes (as in fact the terms of vv.$^{8.9}$ do likewise) the Davidic monarchy [he does not say clearly how he understands שילה]. This view of the passage certainly seems correct. In spite of the difficulties connected with שילה, the words do seem to refer to the transition of the power of Judah into the hands of an ideal ruler.

(7) Cheyne (*Isaiah*, ii. [1884] Essay iv.) thinks the text was once fuller, and would read יוּשַׁת לֹה or יוּשַׂם.

(8) Neubauer, *Athenæum*, May 30th, 1885, proposes to read שָׁלֵם, *i.e.* Jerusalem, 'until he come to Salem' (cf. Ball), with allusion to the establishment of the Davidic kingdom. This, of course, implies that שבט has the meaning 'leader's staff,' not 'sceptre' (cf. p. 500^{b} bottom).

It may be noticed that the Messianic tone of the passage is independent of the reading of this clause, being conveyed by the clause succeeding it.

LITERATURE.—Besides above citations and references see Driver in *Camb. Journal of Phil.* vol. xiv. No. 27, 1885 (synopsis and explanation of Rabbin. and other interpretations), and *Expositor*, 3rd series, vol. ii. [1885] p. 10 ff.; S. Davidson, *Introd. to OT*, vol. i.; Kurtz, *Hist. Old Covenant*, vol. ii.; the Comm. on Gn 49^{10}; and the hist. and exeg. discussion in G. Baur, *Alttest. Weissagung* (1861), 227-290.

A. S. AGLEN.

SHILONITE (שִׁילֹנִי; in 2 Ch 9^{29} שִׁילוֹנִי; 10^{15}, Neh 11^{5} שִׁלוֹנִי).—Gentilic name from SHILOH (which see *ad init.* p. 449^{a}). It is applied in the OT to **1.** AHIJAH (see vol. i. p. 56^{a}). **2.** A Judahite family, settled at Jerusalem after the Exile, Neh 11^{5} (AV wrongly Shiloni), 1 Ch 9^{5}. In these last two passages we should prob. read שֵׁלָנִי *Shelanite* (cf. Nu 26^{20}), *i.e.* descendant of SHELAH, one of the sons of Judah. The LXX readings are: B Σηλωνείτης (1 K 11^{29} 12^{15} 15^{29}, 2 Ch 9^{29} 10^{15}), Σηλωνεί (1 Ch 9^{5}), Δηλωνέ (Neh 11^{5}); A (in the same three groups of passages, respectively) Σηλωνίτης, Σηλωνί, Ἡλωνί; Luc. (in Neh 11^{5}) Σηλωνεί.

SHILSHAH (שִׁלְשָׁה; BA Σαλεισά, Luc. Σελεμσάν).—An Asherite, 1 Ch 7^{37}.

SHIMEA (שִׁמְעָא).—**1.** See SHAMMUA, No. **2.** **2.** A Merarite, 1 Ch 6$^{30\,(15)}$ (B Σομεά, A Σαμά, Luc. Σαμαά). **3.** A Gershonite, 1 Ch 6$^{39\,(24)}$ (Σεμαά). **4.** See SHAMMAH, No. **2.**

SHIMEAH (שִׁמְאָה; B Σεμαά, A Σαμεά, Luc. Σαμαά).—A descendant of Jehiel the 'father' of Gibeon, 1 Ch 8^{32}, called in 9^{38} **Shimeam** (שִׁמְאָם; Bא Luc. Σαμαά, A Σαμά).

SHIMEAM.—See SHIMEAH.

SHIMEATH (שִׁמְעָת or שִׁמְעַת; LXX in 2 Kings Ἰεμουάθ, B in 2 Chron. Σαμά, A Σαμάθ, Luc. Σαμαάθ).—One of the murderers of king Joash of Judah is called son of Shimeath (2 K 12^{21} (Heb. ^{22}), 2 Ch 24^{26}). His own name in 1 Kings is given as *Jozacar.* But the evidence of 2 Chron., and in a less degree the witness of Heb. MSS, suggest that the name was originally *Jehozabad* (see JOZACAR). This is the name of the second assassin also. It is therefore significant that in the text of 2 Chron. the one is בן־שמעת and the other בן־שמרית. It becomes highly probable that the historian named one assassin only, and that a second has been created by dittography and textual corruption. If so, *Shimeath* is probably the original of the variants **Shomer, Shimrith,** and *Shimeath.* In the present text of 2 Chron. Shimeath is plainly a woman, an Ammonitess. But in the light of the hypothesis here maintained there is equal reason to adopt the alternative 'Moabite' from the following clause, and the one throws doubt on the other. Probably Shimeath's Ammonite nationality belongs to a later amplification of the narrative. It is then most natural to suppose that the father of Jozacar (Jehozabad) was named Shimeath, and not his mother. שמע 'to hear' is the root of a number of proper names both in Hebrew and the cognate languages (Shimea, Shimei, etc.).

W. B. STEVENSON.

SHIMEATHITES (שִׁמְעָתִים; BA *Σαμαθιείμ*, Luc. *Σαμαθείν*).—A minor subdivision of the Calebites (1 Ch 2^{55}). They are represented as belonging to that section or generation which inhabited districts near Jerusalem. They appear to be a dependency of Bethlehem as the text stands (cf. v.^{54}). Possibly they are named as one of the 'families of the scribes which dwelt at Jabez.' In that case it is unlikely that the name is derived from the name of a place. The Vulgate does not transcribe, it translates *resonantes.* Wellh. (*de Gentibus,* 1870) implicitly suggests the meaning 'traditionists' (p. 30). This would no doubt stamp the record as a description of the post-exilic distribution of the population of Judah (vv.$^{50b-55}$ according to Wellh.'s conjecture). Similarly, but in appearance less logically, the statement: *canentes* (Vulg. tr. of 'Tirathites') *et resonantes ideo scribuntur eo quod assidue in Lege Dei et in Prophetis versabantur* (Jerome, *Opera*, ed. Vallar.^{2} iii. 855). But the Shimeathites may be distinct from the 'families of the scribes,' and the name may denote the inhabitants of a locality other than Jabez. The state of the text even suggests that they were a dependency of some other town than Bethlehem, now unnamed. It is not clear who are designated 'Kenites' by the last clause of v.^{55}. The Kenites were closely allied to the Calebites. See, further, Wellh. *de Gentibus*; also art. GENEALOGY, § IV. 39.

W. B. STEVENSON.

SHIMEI (שִׁמְעִי; B *Σεμεεί* always, A *Σεμεί* always except in Samuel and Kings).—**1.** Second son of Gershon, Ex 6^{17}, Nu $3^{18.21}$, 1 Ch 6^{17} $23^{7.10}$. In Zec 12^{13} 'the family of the **Shimeites**' (*φυλὴ τοῦ Συμεών*) is specified merely as a typical instance of a division of the tribe of Levi, which would mourn apart from the other divisions. In 1 Ch 23^{9} Shimei must be a mistake for one of the sons of Libni or Ladan mentioned in the previous verse. **2.** 'A man of the family of the house of Saul,' 2 S 16^{5-14} 19^{16-23}, 1 K $2^{8.9.36ff.}$. He is called son of Gera, by which it is probably meant that he was descended from Gera, son or grandson of Benjamin (Gn 46^{21}, 1 Ch $8^{3.5}$). The incident so graphically described in 2 S $16^{5ff.}$ must not be regarded as an isolated outrage committed by an individual acting on a momentary impulse. Its true significance will be seen when it is taken in connexion with the rebellion of SHEBA a Benjamite (2 S 20), which occurred very shortly afterwards. The Benjamites never quite forgave David for his having prevailed over the house of Saul; and later on, when the great schism took place, the most important of the Benjamite towns, such as Bethel and Jericho, sided against the Davidic dynasty. David certainly was not directly responsible for the death either of Abner or of Ishbosheth (2 S 3^{37} 4^{11}), but his complicity in their murders may very possibly have been suspected by Saul's adherents. It would be remembered, too, that David's men had originally formed a division of the Philistine army (1 S 28^{1} 29^{2}) that killed Saul and his three sons, and more recently seven of Saul's sons had been sacrificed by the Gibeonites with David's sanction (2 S 21^{6}).

When the king was returning in triumph, Shimei was among the first to greet him, 'the first of all the house of Joseph.' Josephus (*Ant.* VII. xi. 2) says that he assisted Ziba and the men of Judah in laying a bridge of boats over the river Jordan. In any case he poured forth an abject apology for his past misconduct, and obtained a promise that his life would not be forfeited for it. As David's strong sense of submission to God's will had previously made him restrain Abishai from taking summary vengeance on the insulter, so now, realizing that by the mercy of God he was beginning his reign afresh, he felt that it was fitting that the occasion should be marked by the customary exhibition of royal clemency (cf. 1 S 11^{13}, 2 K 25^{27}). Perhaps David never forgot that 'grievous curse,' every letter of which was significant, as was afterwards said (Jerome, *Qu. Heb.*), or forgave the utterer of it; and a late (?) writer in 1 K 2 records that years afterwards he recalled it in his dying charge to Solomon, and bade him devise some means whereby Shimei's hoar head might be brought down to the grave with blood.

This narrative, if taken as historical (which Wellh., Stade, and others deny it to be), has given rise to much discussion. It has often been urged that, in acting as he did, David 'kept the word of promise to the ear, and broke it to the hope.' Let it at once be acknowledged that the spirit of David, if he gave the charge ascribed to him, was not that of Christ. Is there not an anachronism involved in the supposition that it should be? But, even apart from that, it does not seem likely that David's promise, as recorded by the historian, 'Thou shalt not die,' or, as recollected by himself, 'I will not put thee to death with the sword' ('non te interficiam gladio sed lingua,' Jerome, *Qu. Heb.*), could have been understood by Shimei as an unconditional one; and in fact, however strongly we may condemn David's unforgiving spirit, it cannot be denied that Shimei's execution was solely due to his own folly. 'His blood was upon his own head.' It should be noted that, in the agreement that Solomon made with him, 'the brook Kidron' (1 K 2^{37}) is to be understood as meaning the city boundaries in any direction. Shimei would not cross the Kidron when going to Gath.

3. An eminent man who remained loyal to David when Adonijah rebelled (1 K 1^{8}). It is very uncertain who he was. Jos. (*Ant.* VII. xiv. 4) vaguely calls him 'David's friend.' Jerome (*Qu. Heb. in loc.*) identifies him with No. **2.** Other conjectures are that he was the same as No. **4** or No. **5.**

4. A brother of David (2 S 21^{21}), otherwise known as SHAMMAH (1 S 16^{9} 17^{13}), **Shimeah** (2 S 13^{3}), and **Shimea** (1 Ch 2^{13} 20^{7}). **5.** The son of Ela, one of Solomon's commissariat officers. His district was Benjamin (1 K 4^{18}). **6.** Brother of Zerubbabel (1 Ch 3^{19}, B om.). **7.** Apparently grandson of Simeon (1 Ch $4^{26.27}$). He had sixteen sons and six daughters, and is specially noted as having been the most prolific of all his tribe. **8.** A Reubenite, son of Joel (1 Ch 5^{4}. A has *Σεμεείν* in the first occurrence of the name); possibly the same as **Shema** in v.^{8} **9.** B *Σομεί*, a Levite, son of Merari (1 Ch 6^{29}). **10.** A Levite, in the pedigree of Asaph, David's precentor (1 Ch 6^{42}). He is omitted in v.^{20}. **11.** A Benjamite chief, 1 Ch 8^{21}. See SHEMA, No. 2. **12.** B *'Εμεεί*, son of Jeduthun, who gave his name to the tenth course of Levites (1 Ch 25^{17}). His name is omitted in MT of v.^{3}, but the LXX has it there after 'Jeshaiah.' **13.** The Ramathite (1 Ch 27^{27}), one of David's officers. He was 'over the vineyards.' **14.** A Levite 'of the sons of Heman,' in the reign of Hezekiah (2 Ch 29^{14}); one of those who took a leading part in the purification of the temple. Perhaps the same person is meant in 2 Ch $31^{12.13}$, where he is the second Levitical superintendent over the 'oblations and tithes' which were stored in the house of the Lord. **15.** A Levite (Ezr 10^{23} BA *Σαμού*, ℵ *Σαμούδ*; 1 Es 9^{23} **Semeis**). **16.** A layman 'of the sons of Hashum' (Ezr 10^{33}, 1 Es 9^{33} **Semei**). **17.** A layman 'of the sons of Bani' (Ezr 10^{38}, 1 Es 9^{34} **Someis**). These last three are in the list of those who married foreign wives. **18.** A Benjamite in the pedigree of Mordecai (Est 2^{5}), called in Ad. Est 11^{2} **Semeias.**

N. J. D. WHITE.

SHIMEON (שִׁמְעוֹן, the name that appears elsewhere as *Simeon*).—One of the sons of Harim, who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10^{31}; BA *Σεμεών*, Luc. *Συμεών*.

SHIMON (שִׁימוֹן; B *Σεμιών*, A *Σεμειών*, Luc. *Σαμίν*).—The eponym of a Judahite family, 1 Ch 4^{20}.

SHIMRATH (שִׁמְרָת; BA Σαμαράθ, Luc. Σαμαρεί).—A Benjamite, 1 Ch 8^{21}.

SHIMRI (שִׁמְרִי).—**1.** A Simeonite, 1 Ch 4^{37} (B *Σαμάρ*, A *Σαμαρίας*, Luc. *Σαμαρεί*). **2.** The father of one of David's heroes, 1 Ch 11^{45} (B *Σαμερί*, A and Luc. *Σαμαρί*). **3.** The eponym of a family of gatekeepers, 1 Ch 26^{10} (BA *φυλάσσοντες* [translating, as if שֹׁמְרֵי], Luc. *Σαμαρί*). **4.** A Levite, 2 Ch 29^{13} (B *Σαμβρεί*, A and Luc. *Σαμβρί*).

SHIMRITH.—See SHIMEATH.

SHIMRON (שִׁמְרוֹן).—The fourth son of Issachar, Gn 46^{13} (A *Σαμβράμ*, *D* *Σαμβράν*, Luc. *Σαμβρὰ καὶ Σαμβρίν*), Nu 26$^{24\,(20)}$ (B* *Σαμαράμ*, B^{a}F *Σαμράμ*, A *'Αμβράν*, Luc. *'Αμβράμ*), 1 Ch 7^{1} (B *Σεμερών*, A *Σαμράμ*, Luc. *Σομβράν*). The gentilic name **Shimronites** (הַשִּׁמְרֹנִי; B* *Σαμαρανεί*, B^{ab} *Σαμραμεί*, A *'Αμβραμεί*, Luc. *'Αμβραμί*) occurs in Nu 26$^{24\,(20)}$.

SHIMRON (שִׁמְרוֹן 'watch-height'; B *Συμοών*, A *Σεμρών* (Jos 19^{15}), A *Σομερών* (11^{1}), A *Σαμρών* (12^{20}); *Semeron*, *Semron*).—One of the towns whose kings Jabin, king of Hazor, called to his assistance when he heard of Joshua's conquest of Southern Palestine (Jos 11^{1}). It was afterwards allotted to the tribe of Zebulun (Jos 19^{15}). Its site is unknown; Dillm. enumerates various conjectures. Neubauer (*Géog. du Talmud*, p. 189) identifies it, very improbably, with the *Simonia* (סימוניא) of the Talmud, the *Simonias* of Josephus (*Vit.* § 24), now *Semûnieh*, a small village, 5 miles west of Nazareth, and not far from Bethlehem (*Beit Laḥm*), which is mentioned with it in Jos 19^{15} (*PEF Mem.* i. 339). Riehm (*HWB*) considers a site so far south in Lower Galilee unlikely, and would identify it with *es-Semeirîyeh*, a village about 3 miles north of Acre, and not far from *Kefr Yasîf*. C. W. WILSON.

SHIMRON-MERON (שִׁמְרוֹן מְראוֹן; B *Συμοών* . . . *Μαμρώθ*, A *Σαμρών* . . . *Φασγά* . . . *Μαρών*; *Simeron Maron*).—A Canaanite town, west of Jordan, whose king was amongst those whom Joshua smote (Jos 12^{20}). Comparing its position in the list with that of Shimron in the list given in Jos 11^{1}, it seems probable that the two places are identical. The LXX treat Shimron and Meron as two places, and in this they are followed by Eusebius (*Onom.*). Possibly Shimron-meron was the full name of Shimron. Schrader (*KAT*^{2} p. 163; cf. Del. *Paradies*, 286 f.) identifies it with Samsimuruna, a Canaanite royal city mentioned in inscriptions of Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and Assurbanipal, and places it at *es-Semeirîyeh*, following Socin (in Baedeker's *Pal.*). See also SHIMRON. C. W. WILSON.

SHIMSHAI (שִׁמְשַׁי).—The scribe or secretary of Rehum, Ezr 4$^{8.\,9.\,17.\,23}$ (B *Σαμασά*, *Σαμαέ*, *Σαμεαίς*, *Σαμεσά*; A has *Σαμσαί* and Luc. *Σαμαίας* throughout). He is called in 1 Es 2^{16} SAMELLIUS.

SHIN (שׁ) and **SIN** (שׂ).—The twenty-first letter of the Hebrew alphabet, and as such employed in the 119th Psalm to designate the 21st part, each verse of which in Heb. begins with this letter in one or other of its two forms. These are transliterated in this Dictionary by *sh* and *s* respectively. On the question when the two forms of the letter began to be distinguished by the so-called diacritical point, and for a strong plea in favour of the order *shin-sin*, instead of the customary *sin-shin*, in Heb. Grammars and Dictionaries, see Nestle in *Transactions* of the IXth and XIth International Congress of Orientalists (Semitic section).

SHINAB (שִׁנְאָב, *Σενναάρ*, *Sennaab*).—The king of Admah who was attacked by Chedorlaomer and his allies (Gn 14^{2}). The name has been supposed (cf. Frd. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 294) to be the same as that of Sanibu who is mentioned by Tiglath-pileser III. as king of Ammon. The reading, however, is quite uncertain, the LXX form having the support also of the Sam. שנאר.

SHINAR (שִׁנְעָר; LXX *Σενναάρ*, E *Σεναάρ* Gn 14^{1}; *γῆ Σεναάρ* [Theod. *Σενναάρ*] Dn 1^{2}; *Sennaar*).—The name given, in the OT, to the country known as Babylonia, elsewhere called Babel or land of Babel (*'éreẓ Bābel*), from the name of its chief city. In Gn 10^{10} it is described as the district in which were situated the four great cities of Babylonia, namely, Babel, Erech, Accad, and Calneh, which were the beginning of Nimrod's kingdom, and in Gn 11^{2} it is spoken of as a place where there was a plain, wherein early migrants in the east settled, founded the city Babel or Babylon, and built a tower, afterwards known as 'the Tower of Babel.' In Is 11^{11} the Heb. *Shin'ar* is rendered by the LXX as 'Babylonia,' and in Zec 5^{11} by 'the land of Babylon,' thus showing that the two terms were practically synonymous. To all appearance Ellasar or Larsa, and the district of which it was capital, does not seem to have been included in this term (Gn 14$^{1.\,9}$). In Syriac *Sen'ar* was used of the country around Baghdad (Ges. *s.v.*).

The most common explanation of the word Shinar is, that it is derived from an earlier form of the Babylonian *Šumer*, a dialectic form of an as yet unfound non-Semitic *Šenger*, just as *dimmer* is the dialectic form of the non-Semitic *dingir*, 'god.' It cannot be said, however, that this explanation, plausible as it seems to be, is entirely satisfactory. Jensen objects (*ZKSF* ii. 419) that Šumer stands for south Babylonia, whilst Shinar, on the contrary, indicates the north, and he puts forward for consideration, whether Tindir, the name of the city of Babylon as the 'Seat of Life,' may not go back to an original form *Šingar* (*Šingir*), comparing, for the interchange between *d* and *g*, *agar* and its dialectic form *adar*. Like most of Jensen's proposals, this is suggestive, but at the same time hardly convincing. Hommel, in the art. BABYLONIA (vol. i. p. 224^{b}), derives Shinar from *Ki-Imgir* through the intermediate forms *Shingar*, *Shumir* (=Šumer), and *Shimir*, Ki-Imgir being an older form of Ki-Ingi, 'the region of Ingi,' which was rendered Šumer by the Semitic Babylonians. It will thus be seen that he does not recognize the force of Jensen's objection with regard to the geographical position.

One thing, however, is certain, and that is, that the Heb. *Šhin'ar* to all appearance represents the whole of Babylonia, excepting the district of which Larsa was the capital (see above). This being the case, it corresponds with the Kingi-Ura of the non-Semitic texts, which is translated in the bilingual inscriptions by the expression 'Šumer and Akkad'—that is to say, not only N. Babylonia, but S. Babylonia also. The question, therefore, naturally arises, whether a modification of Hommel's theory would not furnish the best explanation. That *k* changed, in the non-Semitic idiom, into *ś*, is proved by the post-position for 'to,' which was pronounced either *ku* or *śu*. This would produce the form *Śingi-Ura*, from which the Heb. Shin'ar (*Śin'ār*) might easily have been derived.* It is noteworthy that, from the geographical point of view, such an explanation of the word would leave nothing to be desired.

The latest or one of the latest identifications of Shinar is with *Šanḫar* of the Tel el-Amarna tablets (Winckler 25 = London

---

* At least one compound group indicates the possible value of *ši* for the character KI, whilst two others suggest that of *ešše*.

No. 5). This, however, requires much further light before it can be admitted into the bounds of likely theories. The only statement with regard to Šanḫar made by the letter in question is a reference to gifts which the king of Ḫatti (Heth, the Hittites) and the king of Šanḫar had made to the writer, the king of Alašia. W. Max Müller (*Asien und Europa*, p. 279) identifies Šanḫar with Σίγγαρα, the modern Sinjar.

Šumer, generally regarded as the Babylonian original of Shinar, is usually found coupled with the name of the sister-province Akkad, of which the Accad of Gn 10^{10} was the capital. As stated above, the two provinces together are called Kingi-Ura in the non-Semitic inscriptions, rendered, in the bilingual texts, by the words *mât Šu-me-ri u Ak-ka-di-i*, 'the land of Šumer and Akkad.' The first component of the non-Semitic equivalent, *Kingi* (also written *Kengi*), is explained as *mâtu*, 'country,' and *Ura* as *Akkadū* or Akkad. *Kingi* therefore meant 'country' *par excellence*—in fact, in the bilingual inscription of Šamaš-šum-ukîn (5 R. 62, 40a b), *kingi-Ura* is translated by the words *mât Akkadī*, 'the land of Akkad.'

The original language of the country of Shinar was to all appearance non-Semitic, and it is very likely that, as already indicated, the Heb. word in question may be derived from that idiom. It is true that several Assyriologists (notably Halévy, the leader of the school) regard this language as being more or less artificial (see art. ACCAD); but that it should be so is hardly likely, the idiom in question (often called Akkadian in England, and generally called Sumerian on the Continent) differing considerably from Semitic Babylonian, not only in words, but also in grammatical forms. Among the chief differences may be cited the use of suffixes instead of prefixes to express the prepositions (*êa-ni-šu* or *êa-ni-ku*, 'to his house,' lit. 'house-his-to'), the use of long strings of verbal prefixes, suffixes, or infixes (*innan-lal* for *inna-in-lal*, 'it he weighed,' *gab-indaria*, 'he opposed,' lit. 'breast-him-with-(he)-set'), the use of compound words (*ki-dur*, 'seat,' lit. 'place-(of)-sitting,' (*lu*)-*gubba-igi*, 'attendant,' lit. '(man)-standing-before,' *ša-bat*, 'sabbath,' lit. 'heart-rest,' *ša-ḫula*, 'heart-joy,' and many others), and the numerical system, which goes up to 5, and then begins a new series, combining the numbers of the first (*âš* for *ia-aš*, 'five-one' = 'six,' *îmina* for *ia-mina*, 'five-two' = 'seven,' etc.). The objection that this ancient idiom cannot be a real language, but only a system of writing, because the same or similar words occur in it and in Semitic Babylonian, is easily explained away by the fact that, when two nationalities live together, in close intercourse, words and phrases are extensively borrowed on both sides: and this was certainly the case here.

In support of the contention that there was another race and another language in the land of Shinar than the Semitic, may be cited the fact that the oldest sculptures give, to all appearance, examples of a race not possessing the Semitic type of the later Babylonians, but one differing considerably from it. The Semitic inhabitants of Shinar were thick-set and muscular, as the cylinder-seals of Semitic work and the later monuments, such as the boundary-stone with the bas-relief of king Marduk-nadin-aḫi, show. The type of at least one section of the non-Semitic inhabitants, on the other hand, was slim and spare, and is illustrated by the bronze statuettes of the time of king Gudea (*c.* 2700 B.C.), representing a kneeling figure holding what is generally regarded as a fire-stick; the human figures found in bas-reliefs from Lagaš; and those on a large number of cylinder-seals. It would, moreover, seem that the ancient inhabitants of Shinar were accustomed to do a thing which the Semites do only under foreign influence, namely, shave the hair from the face and head. This is shown not only by the heads of statues and statuettes from Tel-loh (the ancient Lagaš), but also from numerous cylinder-seals and impressions of cylinder-seals of the later Akkadian (or Sumerian) period, in which an official is represented being introduced to the god whom he worshipped. The god himself, however, generally wears a beard. Whether they regarded the heads of their divinities as being shaved or not is uncertain, as they are commonly represented wearing hats.

In connexion with this may be mentioned, that the great majority of the names of the deities of the Babylonian pantheon are non-Semitic, and this shows what a preponderating influence that part of the population must have had. Indeed the religious system of the Assyro-Babylonians was probably to a great extent alien, and the comparatively few Semitic divine names which are found are to all appearance often applied to deities which were at first non-Semitic.

As to the order of precedence of the two races—the non-Semites and the Semites—in occupying the country, we have no certain information. It is worthy of note, however, that Nimrod, the founder of the great cities of the land of Shinar, is represented as a son of Cush (Gn 10^8), and that in Gn 11^2 the name Shinar is spoken of as if it existed before the foundation of Babylon and its tower,—in other words, both passages suggest that the non-Semitic occupation of Shinar preceded that of the Semites. This seems also to be confirmed by the indications of the ancient monuments of the country. The figures of non-Semitic type, for the most part, precede those of the Semitic period in chronological order; the earliest inscriptions are in the language which the majority of Assyriologists regard as the non-Semitic (Šumerian or Akkadian) idiom; the contract-tablets of the dynasty of Ur, called by Radau the fourth, are written in it, as are also, wholly or partly, numbers of tablets of the dynasty of Babylon (that to which Ḫammurabi belonged), though Semitic Babylonian at this period begins to take its place. The Semitic renderings of the early non-Semitic texts are sometimes as much of the nature of glosses as of real translations, for they are written, where possible, in the blank spaces left for that purpose between the beginning and the end of the lines of the original text.* When not arranged thus, the non-Semitic text of these bilingual tablets occupies the first, third, and remaining alternate lines of the inscription, or the left-hand (or first) column.

The early languages of Shinar (Sumerian or Akkadian) are mentioned more than once in the inscriptions of Babylonia and Assyria. Thus the tablet S. 1190 is described as containing 'two Sumerian incantations used (seemingly) for the stilling of a weeping child'; another fragment says 'the tongue of Šumer (?assumed) the likeness (of the tongue) of Ak(kad)'; whilst a third informs us that 'Akkad is above, Šu(mer below),' but what this refers to is doubtful,—perhaps the position of the tablets of each dialect on the library shelves, or in the rooms. The tablet K. 11,856, a fragment which refers to 'the great tablet-house,' states that 'the tongue of Akkad is in the third . . .' (?room, space, division). What these disconnected statements refer to in reality will probably for some time be a matter for discussion, but the existence of other languages than Semitic Babylonian in Shinar or ancient Babylonia can no longer be doubted. To the above indications that this was the case may be added the fact that Šumer was called also *kura Eme-laḫa*, 'the land of the noble (or pure) tongue,' as well as Kingi.

The bilingual lists of Babylonia and Assyria distinguish the two dialects, but do not mention by what name the standard idiom (probably the older of the two) was known. The other, generally called by modern scholars 'the dialect,' is distinguished in the bilingual lists by the term *eme-sala*, generally translated 'tongue (of) the woman,' or 'women's tongue,' perhaps so called because it was softer, being more affected by phonetic decay. The possibility that this refers to women of a conquered race taken as wives by the conquerors has been suggested, but seems unlikely.

To all appearance the non-Semitic idiom and its dialect gave way to Semitic Babylonian about the time of the dynasty to which Ḫammurabi belonged, but when it finally ceased to be spoken is not known. Compositions were probably made in it from time to time until a very late date. This is shown by the existence of a bilingual hymn containing the name of Aššur-bani-âpli or Assurbanipal, though the text bears the appearance of an ancient composition into which that king's name has been introduced. His brother Šamaš-šum-ukîn (Saosduchinos), king of Babylonia, however, seems to have had original compositions in this old language made for him, as in the case of the text referred to above (5 R. pl. 62). It is noteworthy that all these late inscriptions, made when the non-Semitic idiom was a dead language, are in the 'dialect.' There is not much doubt that Semitic Babylonian was the language of the country from about B.C. 2000 onwards, and continued in use until about the Christian era.

---

* The tablet inscribed with the bilingual story of the Creation is written almost wholly in this way, and has therefore the appearance of a text in three columns.

Besides the archaic historical inscriptions, of which the best examples come from the French excavations at Tel-loh; the brick-inscriptions, of which most really ancient Babylonian sites furnish many examples; and numerous short inscriptions on cylinder-seals, the bulk of the non-Semitic literature of Shinar consists of incantations, hymns, and penitential psalms. Several interesting but fragmentary historical inscriptions exist (accompanied by translations into the Semitic idiom), together with the remains of a chronological text supposed to be that made use of by Berosus in his history. It is also worthy of note that several fragments of a glossary of the Semitic story of the Creation (art. BABYLONIA, vol. i. p. 220^b, and NIMROD, vol. iii. p. 523^a), or the story of Bel and the Dragon, imply that that composition existed in the old language of Shinar, and that it was a 'dialectic' text. Classified lists of words, without Semitic translation, are also found. In all probability, however, many other inscriptions known only in their Semitic dress are really of non-Semitic origin. For an account of these, as also for a description of the country, its history, etc., see the article BABYLONIA.

LITERATURE.—Radau, *Early Babylonian History*; Lenormant, *Études Accadiennes*, ii. 3, p. 70; Schrader, *KAT*^{2} 118 ff., *Keilinschr. u. Geschichtsforschung*, 296, 533; Weissbach, *Zur Lösung der Sumerischen Frage*, Leipzig, 1897; Pinches, 'Languages of the Early Inhabitants of Mesopotamia' in *JRAS*, 1884, p. 301 ff., 'Sumerian or Cryptography,' *ib.* 1900, p. 75 ff., 343, 344, 551, 552; and the works mentioned at the end of the articles ACCAD and BABYLONIA.

T. G. PINCHES.

SHION (שִׁיאֹן; B Σιωνά, A Σειάν; *Seon*).—A town of Issachar (Jos 19^{19}) mentioned between Hapharaim and Anaharath. Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.*) place it near Mount Tabor. Its identification by Eli Smith with *'Ayûn esh-Sh'aîn*, about 3 miles east of Nazareth, has been very generally accepted.

C. W. WILSON.

SHIPHI (שִׁפְעִי; B Σαφάλ, A Σεφείν, Luc. Σωφεί).—A Simeonite prince, 1 Ch $4^{37\,(36)}$.

SHIPHMITE.—See SHEPHAM and SIPHMOTH.

SHIPHRAH (שִׁפְרָה; LXX Σεπφωρά, the rendering also of צִפֹּרָה *Ẓippōrāh*, in Ex 2^{21}).—One of the two Hebrew midwives, Ex 1^{15} (E). The name is probably connected with the root שׁפר 'to be beautiful' (Baentsch in Nowack's *Hdkom.*). It is unlikely that it is a Hebraized form of an Egyptian name. See, further, Dillm.-Ryssel, *ad loc.*

SHIPHTAN (שִׁפְטָן; B Σαβαθά, A Σαβαθάν, F Σαφατάν, Luc. [Σ]αφαθά).—An Ephraimite prince, Nu 34^{24}.

SHIPS and **BOATS** (אֳנִיָּה, סְפִינָה [only Jon 1^5], צִי; *ναῦς* [only Ac 27^{41}], *πλοῖον*, *πλοιάριον*, *σκάφη* [only Ac $27^{16.\,30.\,32}$]).—These are often referred to in the Bible, but to a very small extent in connexion with Israelitish history. In OT the most important instances connected with this people are the building of the fleet of Solomon at the port of Ezion-geber, at the head of the Ælanitic arm of the Red Sea (1 K 9^{26}); and another undertaking of a similar kind in the reign of Jehoshaphat, which had a disastrous result (1 K 22^{48}). In NT we have the voyages of St. Paul, especially the last into Italy (Ac 27).* The voyage of Jonah belongs to another category.

The *Phœnicians* were by far the most successful navigators of ancient times; and the history of the art of shipbuilding amongst Eastern nations can be very clearly followed in connexion with the history of this remarkable people (see GREAT SEA). Originally settled on the shores of the Erythræan Sea (Persian Gulf),† they had become familiar with navigation in a rude form before their migration to the shores of the Mediterranean about B.C. 1500, and carried with them the art of shipbuilding to their new home.‡ Perhaps in both countries this art did not extend beyond the construction of rafts, or canoes hollowed out of trunks of trees (*Monoxylæ*); but as time went on these would give place to boats, built with a keel, and ribs covered with canvas and daubed with pitch. The models of boats found amongst Phœnician remains are of a very rude and simple form.§ From a Cyprian model, represented by Count L. di Cesnola, and believed to be of early Phœnician date, the ships appear to have consisted of a hull of wood with a high curved stern and an upright bow; from the centre rose a mast not very high, supporting a yard-arm for carrying a sail; from the stern projected two steering oars with broad shovel-shaped blades passing through the timbers of the ship.‖ The use of sails was probably preceded for a long period by that of oars. A boat of large size is represented on certain coins, regarded by some as Phœnician, by others as belonging to Cilicia, in which the bow is low, the stern elevated and accompanied by steering oars. It was impelled by one bank of oars, such as was called by the Greeks a 'triaconter' or 'penteconter,' and it was destitute of a mast.¶

About B.C. 700 a great advance seems to have been made in navigation by the Phœnicians, owing to the introduction of two sets of oarsmen seated on benches at different levels, and using double banks of oars; these were called by the Greeks 'biremes'; and, at a later period, a further advance was made by the introduction of a mast and sail, somewhat of the shape of a 'square-sail' of our own times. These ships must have resembled the Chinese junks of the present day.

The Phœnician ships described by Herodotus were of two kinds: those used in war, and those employed in mercantile traffic. The former were broad of beam, and impelled both by oars and sails. The sails were, from their shape, of use only when sailing before the wind. The war vessels were those which the Greeks called triaconters and penteconters, each impelled by fifteen to twenty-five oars on either side. They were long open boats in which the oarsmen sat all on the same level; each galley was armed at its head with a sharp metal spike or beak, intended for ramming.[*] Afterwards these were superseded by biremes, which were decked, had masts and sails, and double banks of oarsmen. Later still, triremes, impelled by three banks of oarsmen, came into use; and about the end of the 6th cent. B.C. boats with additional banks of oars were invented.[†]

---

* On the Sea of Galilee, in the time of our Lord, small trading vessels and fishing boats appear to have been very numerous, and some of the most interesting events in His life are connected with this lake and the sailors on its waters (Mt 8^{23}, Mk 4^{36}, Lk $5^{1\text{-}11}$, Jn 6^{22} $21^{4\text{-}14}$).

† Herod. i. 2, vii. 89.

‡ Pliny, *HN* vii. 56.

§ Perrot et Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, iii. 517.

‖ Cesnola, *Cyprus*, pl. xlv.

¶ Rawlinson, *Phœnicia*, 273

For some centuries the Phœnicians confined their navigation to the shores of the Mediterranean, Propontis, and Euxine; but before the time of Solomon (*c.* B.C. 930) they had launched out into the deep, had passed the pillars of Hercules, and opened a trade with Tartessus (Tarshish) on the Atlantic coast of Spain. Coasting along Africa, they had visited the Senegal and Gambia; and, in the opposite direction, had crossed the Bay of Biscay and the English Channel, and opened a trade for tin with the Cassiterides. It is no less certain that they reached the Canaries (Fortunate Islands), lying 170 miles off the coast of Africa. In Ezk 27 we have an eloquent description of the glories of Tyre and Sidon, and the construction of their ships.

The Greeks.—Ships with four ranks of oarsmen were first constructed by the *Greeks* about the year B.C. 400, when Dionysius I. of Syracuse built the first quadriremes (τετρήρεις), with which he had probably become acquainted through the Carthaginians.[‡] After the time of Alexander the Great, ships with four, five, and even more ranks of rowers became general; and, according to Polybius, the first Punic war was chiefly carried on with quinqueremes.[§]

Assyrian.—While the Phœnicians were making progress in naval architecture, their old neighbours and probably rivals, the Babylonians and Assyrians, were also at work in the same direction, but not to any important extent. As Rawlinson observes, it is only as fresh-water sailors that the Assyrians come within the category of navigators at all.[‖] They left the navigation of the Persian Gulf and Mediterranean to the Babylonians and Phœnicians, contenting themselves with the profits without sharing the dangers of sea voyages; their attention being concentrated on the navigation of their two great rivers—the Tigris and Euphrates. This was effected at first by rafts of timber supported on inflated skins; and these are still in use on the rivers of Mesopotamia.[¶] Bas-reliefs from the most ancient palace of Nimroud show two kinds of boats: the larger contains the king in his chariot with his attendants, and is navigated by two men.[**] It is considered by Rawlinson to have resembled in structure the Welsh coracle, round in form and made of wicker-work covered with skins and smeared over with bitumen. To have carried such heavy loads they must have been of large size. The smaller was used for the conveyance of merchandise.

In the sculptures of Sargon, who reigned from B.C. 722–705, we have a representation of a ship of a more advanced type. Here four rowers standing to their oars impel a vessel, having a figurehead of a horse, and for the stern the tail of a fish; but it is possible that this vessel may have belonged to an invading force, not that of the Assyrian inhabitants.[*]

The sculptures of Kouyunjik represent ships in great perfection. One of these represents a *naval* battle, as may be gathered from the introduction of marine forms, such as star-fish and jelly-fish, not found in rivers. Layard recognizes in these vessels a resemblance to those used to a comparatively late period by the inhabitants of the cities of Tyre and Sidon on the Syrian coast.[†] That the Chaldæans were skilful shipbuilders, and were proud of their attainments in this art, may be gathered from the statement in Isaiah (43^{14}), where they are referred to as rejoicing in their ships.[‡]

Christian era.—The ships in NT times, chiefly belonging to the Romans, were galleys impelled by oarsmen and using square sails. They were sometimes of large size; that which carried St. Paul containing in all 276 souls, besides cargo.[§] Their timbers were so badly put together, that when subjected to the strain arising from a storm, they required to be **undergirded** (or braced) by means of strong ropes; and they seldom ventured far out of sight of land, or some port into which they could be run in stress of weather.

E. HULL.

SHISHA.—See SHAVSHA.

SHISHAK (שִׁישַׁק [in 1 K 14^{25}, *Kĕth.* שׁוּשַׁק, *Ḳĕrê* שִׁישַׁק], Σουσακ(ε)ίμ).—Shishak is Sheshonḳ I., the first king of the 22nd or Bubastite Dynasty. He belonged to an important family of chiefs of Libyan mercenaries, who by degrees attained to very high position. His grandfather married a princess named Mehtenusecht, doubtless of the 21st or Tanite Dynasty. The successors of Sheshonḳ were much attached to Bubastis, and his dynasty is named Bubastite by Manetho; but it is doubtful whether he himself had much connexion with that city. In his 21st year he began building a new court in the great temple of Karnak, and close to it caused to be sculptured a representation of himself sacrificing figures symbolic of the conquered cities in Palestine. In all, 156 place-names were thus recorded, and most of them are still legible. There are few important cities amongst them. They include Rabbath and Hapharaim in Issachar, and Mahanaim on the east of the Jordan, besides towns in Judæa. From the biblical account (1 K 14^{25}), it had been concluded that Shishak attacked only the kingdom of Rehoboam and spared that of Jeroboam, who had lived many years in exile in Egypt; but this interpretation is not necessary. Since Ramses III. no Pharaoh had ventured to transport an army across the eastern desert and to attack Palestine. Later, even Taharḳa and Psammetichus did not go so far; only Necho went farther. But Sheshonḳ's expedition was insignificant compared to the expeditions of the 18th dynasty. For the absence of the title 'Pharaoh' in the biblical record see above, vol. iii. p. 819.

LITERATURE.—For Shishak's campaign against Judah see W. Max Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, 166 ff.; Blau in *ZDMG* xv. 233 ff.; Meyer, *Gesch.* i. 385 f.; Stade, *Gesch.* i. 353 f.; Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 772 ff.; Driver in Hogarth's *Authority and Archæology*, 87 f.

F. LL. GRIFFITH.

SHITRAI (שִׁטְרַי *Kĕthîbh*, שִׁרְטַי *Ḳĕrê*; B Ἀσαρταί, A Luc. Σατραί).—A Sharonite who was over king David's herds that fed in SHARON, 1 Ch 27^{29}.

---

[*] These were probably the kind of boats in use amongst the Greeks in Homer's time, in which he represents the descent of the Grecian warriors on the coast of Ilium (*Iliad*, i. 360, ii. 585, 630; Smith's *Dict. Greek and Roman Antiquities*, art. 'Naves,' 783 (1849), in which the subject is very fully treated).

[†] The Phœnicians had a practice of placing at the bow of their boats the figure of some monstrous form gaudily painted, in order to strike terror into the natives whose country they were invading. We seem to have something of the kind in the case of the Greek ships invading Asia Minor, 'Twelve ships with scarlet bows' (*Iliad*, ii. 739).

[‡] Pliny, *HN* vii. 5. 7; Diodor. xiv. 41, 42.

[§] Polybius, i. 63; Haltaus, *Geschichte Roms im Zeitalter der Punischer Kriege*, Leipzig, 607 (1846).

[‖] *Ancient Monarchies*, i. 544.

[¶] Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 96; Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.* i. 545. A representation of such a raft carrying blocks of stone for building, taken from Kouyunjik, is given *ib.* p. 338. The raft is impelled by two oarsmen.

[**] *Ib.* p. 546. Boats similar to these are also described by Herodotus, i. c. 194.

[*] Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 383.

[†] Layard, vol. ii. 384, 385.

[‡] RV 'In the ships of their rejoicing.'

[§] Ac 27^{37}.

SHITTAH TREE (שִׁטָּה *shiṭṭāh*, πύξος, *spina*, Is 41^{19} RV ‘acacia tree’); **SHITTIM WOOD** (עֲצֵי־שִׁטִּים *‘ăẓê-shiṭṭîm*, ξύλα ἄσεπτα, *ligna setim*, Ex $25^{5.\ 10.\ 13}$ $26^{15.\ 26}$ $27^{1.\ 6}$, Dt 10^{3} RV ‘acacia wood’).—*Shiṭṭāh* is modified from *shinṭāh*, as *ḥiṭṭāh*, ‘wheat,’ from *ḥinṭāh*. The cognate Arab. equivalent for *shinṭāh* is *sonṭ*, a name identical with the old Egyp. name of this tree, and is, like it, generic for Acacia, but particularly applied to *A. Nilotica*, Del. The desert acacia, of which the Ark of the Covenant, and the boards, tables, etc. of the Tabernacle were made, is no doubt *A. Seyal*, Del., and *A. tortilis*, Hayne, if the two be not, as we suspect, varieties of the same species. Both are called *seyyâl*. *Sayl* means ‘torrent,’ and prob. the ellipsis ‘tree’ should be supplied. It is the *torrent tree*, *i.e.* the characteristic tree of the desert wādis of Sinai, et-Tîh, and the Dead Sea. The comus of these trees resembles that of the apple. It is about 15–25 ft. high, and a little broader than its height. It has stiff, thorny branches, bipinnate leaves with leaflets 1-2 lines long, and ½ line broad, and more or less spirally twisted, necklace-shape pods, 3–4 in. long. Its wood is heavier than water, exceedingly hard, of fine grain, the sap-wood yellow, the heartwood brown. It is not attacked by insects. It was therefore eminently suited for furniture such as that for which it was employed, in a climate where insects commit such ravages as in the desert and in Palestine. These trees must have been very numerous in ancient times, perhaps filling most of the desert valleys, and growing in clefts of the rocks on the now bare mountain sides. Even now, after they have been so extensively cut by the charcoal burners, there are large numbers of them. They form quite a characteristic feature of the desert landscape. The trunks are now not infrequently 2 ft. thick, and old trees may have been much thicker, quite sufficiently so to supply planks 10 cubits long and 1½ wide (Ex 36^{21}). If any difficulty existed on this point, it would be easily met by supposing that the planks were joined. Arab. carpenters do this now very cleverly in Egypt and Syria. Besides the wood, so valuable on account of its durability and the excellent charcoal which can be made from it, the tree yields the famous ‘gum arabic’ in considerable quantities. Its astringent bark is used for tanning yellow leather.

A number of places were named from this tree, as SHITTIM (Jos 2^{1} *al.*), perhaps the modern *Ghor es-Saisabân*, where there are still plenty of acacia trees, and ABEL-SHITTIM (Nu 33^{49}), *i.e.* the Plain of the Acacias, which is the same as the above. The Valley (נַחַל ‘wādy’) of Shittim (Jl 3 (4) ^{18}) may have been the lower part of the *Wādy en-Nâr*, the continuation of Kidron, into which flows the water from the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. This, as all the valleys debouching on to the Dead Sea, would naturally have acacia trees growing in it.

G. E. POST.

SHITTIM (הַשִּׁטִּים always with def. art. ‘the acacias,’ see preceding article).—One of the limits of the camping-ground of the children of Israel in the plains of Moab, Nu 33^{49} (here only it is called ABEL-SHITTIM). According to Nu 25^{1} the anger of the Lord was there kindled against Israel for joining himself unto Baal-peor. The spies were sent out from Shiṭṭim (Jos 2^{1}), and from thence the children of Israel moved to Jordan before crossing the river (Jos 3^{1}). These are the only places where the word occurs in the Hexateuch. The LXX in the last three passages has Σαττείν in B (ν is omitted in A of Jos 2^{1}). In Nu 33^{49} Βελσά in B and Βελσαττίμ in A are renderings of *Abel-shiṭṭim*.

The word occurs twice in the Prophets: (1) Mic 6^{5} ‘from Shiṭṭim unto Gilgal.’ By some this is regarded as a gloss; others suggest that a part of the text has been lost here—‘[remember that which I did] from Shiṭṭim unto Gilgal’—with reference to the wonders manifested at the passage of the Jordan. (2) Jl 3^{18} ‘the valley of Shiṭṭim.’ The Heb. word here used for ‘valley’ (נַחַל ‘wādy’; see BROOK) is never applied to the broad open space immediately N. of the Dead Sea in which Shiṭṭim was situated. The idea in the passage is similar to that in Ezk 47^{1-12}, Zec 14^{8}, and Rev 22^{1}—waters (of life) issuing from the house of God would reach the Eastern (the Dead) and the Western (the Mediterranean) seas. The ordinary course of waters from Jerusalem to the Dead Sea would be along the *Wādy Sitti Mariam* and *Wādy en-Nâr*, the ancient Kidron called נַחַל 2 S 15^{23} (cf. Driver, *ad loc.*, in Camb. Bible for Schools and Colleges).

The LXX rendering in both these passages is τῶν σχοίνων. It has been proposed (the suggestion is as old as Jerome) to read σχίνων, and then the translators would have considered the shiṭṭah-tree as equivalent to the mastick-tree (σχῖνος, *Pistachia-lentiscus*), a tree common in Mediterranean countries. The agreement between these two passages, and their variation from the renderings in the Hex., are noteworthy (cf. Ryssel on Mic 6^{5}).

A. T. CHAPMAN.

SHIZA (שִׁיזָא; B Σαιζά, A Σεχά, ℵ Σεζά, Luc. Σιζαί).—The father of a Reubenite chief, 1 Ch 11^{42}.

SHOA (שׁוֹעַ; B Σουέ, A Σούδ; *tyranni*).—Apparently a race-name. It is mentioned in connexion with the Babylonians, Chaldæans, PEKOD, KOA, and all the Assyrians (Ezk 23^{23}), whose relations with Jerusalem had been intimate, and who were to come up and sit in judgment upon her. According to Schrader (*KAT*² p. 425), Shoa is the Assyrian *Sutû*, the name of a people who are constantly associated in the inscriptions with the *Kutû*. The land of *Sutû* is identified by Delitzsch (*Par.* p. 233, etc.) with the district that extends eastward from the Tigris to the southern declivities of the Medo-Elamite mountains.

C. W. WILSON.

SHOBAB (שׁוֹבָב).—**1.** One of David's sons, 2 S 5^{14} (B Σωβάβ, A Σωβαδάν, Luc. Ἰεσσεβάν), 1 Ch 3^{5} (B Σωβάν, A Luc. Σωβάβ), 14^{4} (B Ἰσοβοάμ [*i.e.* וְשׁוֹבָם ‘and Shobam’?], A Σωβάβ, Luc. Σωβήβ). **2.** A Calebite, 1 Ch 2^{18} (B Ἰασούβ, A Σωβάβ, Luc. Σουβάβ).

SHOBACH (שׁוֹבַךְ; B Σωβάκ, A Σαβάκ; *Sobach*).—A general in the army of Hadadezer, king of Syria, at the time of the war with Ammon (2 S 10^{16}). He is not mentioned as taking part in the battle near Rabbah, where Joab and Abishai routed the combined forces of Ammon and Syria, and we may infer that he did not become ‘captain of the host of Hadadezer’ until after that event. The victory of Joab does not seem to have been followed up (see RABBAH), and before long the Syrians again prepared to attack the newly-founded kingdom of Israel. For this purpose Hadadezer gathered all the forces at his command, even the distant tribes from ‘beyond the river’: the latter were led by Shobach, who was apparently placed in command of the whole Syrian army. In the engagement that ensued at Helam on the east of Jordan, David commanded the Israelite army in person, and utterly defeated the Syrians. Shobach was mortally wounded in the battle, and his fall doubtless contributed to the rout of the Syrians (2 S 10^{15-18}). In the parallel narrative (1 Ch $19^{16.\ 18}$) his name is given as **Shophach** (שׁוֹפַךְ; B Σωφάρ and Σαφάθ, A Σωφάχ and Σωβάχ, ℵ* Ἐσωφάρ, ℵ$^{ca?}$ Ἐσωφάχ).

J. F. STENNING.

SHOBAI (שֹׁבָי).—A family of gatekeepers, Ezr 2^{42} (B Ἀβαού, A Luc. Σωβαί) = Neh 7^{45} (B Σαβεί, A Σαβαί, Luc. Σωβαί).

SHOBAL (שׁוֹבָל).—1. A ‘son’ of Seir the Horite, and one of the ‘dukes’ of the Horites, Gn $36^{20.23.29}$ (Σωβάλ)=1 Ch $1^{38.40}$ (BA Σωβάλ, Luc. Σουβάλ). 2. A Calebite family in the tribe of Judah. This Shobal is called in 1 Ch $4^{1.2}$ (BA Σουβάλ, Luc. Σωβάλ) a ‘son’ of Judah, and in 2^{50} (B Σωβάρ, A Σωβάλ, Luc. Σωβά)^{52} (BA Σωβάλ, Luc. Σωβά) ‘son’ of Caleb and ‘father’ of Kiriath-jearim. The name is probably to be connected, if not identified, with No. 1; see Wellh. *de Gentibus*, etc. 39.

SHOBEK (שׁוֹבֵק; BA Σωβήκ, Luc. Σωβείρ).—One of the chiefs of the people who sealed the covenant, Neh $10^{24\,(25)}$.

SHOBI (שֹׁבִי; Οὐεσβεὶ; *Sobi*).—From 2 S $17^{27f.}$ we learn that Shobi the son of Nahash of Rabbah of the children of Ammon, together with two other influential and wealthy landowners of the trans-Jordanic country, came to meet David, when he fled from Absalom, at Mahanaim, bringing with them large quantities of stores and provisions for the Israelite army. It seems, however, very doubtful whether such a person as Shobi ever existed. His name is not mentioned elsewhere, and it is difficult to reconcile this action on the part of a son of Nahash with the insults offered by Hanun the son of Nahash, king of Ammon, to David's ambassadors (2 S $10^{1f.}$), and with the subsequent war between Israel and Ammon, which resulted in the siege and capture of Rabbah. S. A. Cook (*AJSL* xviii. 3, p. 155 f.) suggests very plausibly that we should read ‘Nahash, etc., brought’ (וַיָּבִיאוּ נָחָשׁ), in place of ‘Shobi the son of Nahash,’ etc. (וְשֹׁבִי בֶן־נָחָשׁ). This emendation restores a natural construction to the verse at the expense of the words ‘Shobi son of’: in its present form the construction is involved and unusual (see Driver, *ad loc.*). If, however, Cook's emendation is accepted, it is difficult to resist his further contention that the section dealing with the Ammonite war (2 S 10^{1}–11^{1} 12^{26-31}) has been misplaced, and that it should *follow* and not precede chs. 13–20. J. F. STENNING.

SHOE (נַעַל *na'al*, σανδάλιον, ὑπόδημα).—The *na'al* of the modern Arabic shoe means the sole, thus indicating the sandal character of the ancient Heb. *na'al*, usually tr. ‘shoe.’ Similarly, the Gr. term ὑπόδημα means something tied on or under the foot, that is, a sandal. Sandals must have varied in material and appearance according to the station and occupation of the wearer, those of shepherds being strongly made as a protection against thorns and rocks, while those worn by women of rank would be of a lighter and more ornamental pattern (Ca 7^{1}). Cf. art. DRESS, vol. i. p. 627. The shoes of the present day in Syria exhibit various transition forms, from the single strap of leather or embroidered cloth over the toes, and the leather sheath for the front of the foot, to the complete upper in different colours of leather, and covering the whole foot. Sandals of the original form are still worn by Bedawin and monks. Peasants when on a journey prefer to press down the leather at the heel-end of the shoe, and thus make them more loose and open, like the sandals of primitive times. In this way also the dust of the road can from time to time be shaken out without the trouble of removing the shoe. The act of repudiation mentioned in Mt 10^{14}, Mk 6^{11}, Lk 9^{5} 10^{11}, Ac 13^{51}, meant, along with the implied release from all moral responsibility, that the connexion thus dissolved was one of defilement and worthlessness.

1. *Putting on and removal of shoes.*—From the Oriental habit of sitting and moving about in the house with the feet uncovered, the possession of shoes became one of the essential requirements for a journey, and the wearing of them one of the symbols of travel (Ex 12^{11}). The Gibeonites drew attention to their feet bandaged with rags in order to keep their out-worn sandals together and protect their feet (Jos $9^{5.13}$). A similar appearance is presented by Turkish troops at the present day when returning from a punitive expedition against the Arabs of the desert. In the parable of the Prodigal Son the absence of shoes is noted (Lk 15^{22}). In the apostolic injunction to have the feet ‘shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace’ (Eph 6^{15}), the symbol of travel is introduced among the leading truths of the Christian life, making progress one of the permanent features of the Christian Church.

As Oriental peasant life has always been in villages and not in solitary houses, the shoes were constantly covered with dust and defiled with mud and refuse, and consequently were left at the door of the house. This custom, beginning with ordinary comfort and cleanliness, received a new emphasis when the entrance was into a house of prayer and into the presence of One who required cleanliness of heart. Hence the removal of the shoes on holy ground (Ex 3^{5}, Jos 5^{15}, Is 20^{2}, Ac 7^{33}). The custom is still observed in Oriental churches and mosques. It was the inevitable result of such connexions that any reference to the shoe and the thong or latchet that passed through the sandal loops was one of implied inferiority and contempt (Mk 1^{7}, Jn 1^{27}, Ac 13^{25}). ‘You are my shoe!’ ‘You are under my shoe!’ are exclamations of abuse often heard in the streets of Oriental villages and towns.

2. *The shoe of witness* (Dt $25^{9.10}$, Ru $4^{7.8}$).—From the latter passage we learn that it was an ancient custom in Israel, when property was sold or any right given up, to take off the sandal and hand it to the purchaser or the person to whom the right was transferred. In the former passage the husband's brother allows his sandal to be taken off by the widow, who at the same time reproaches him both by act and word for renouncing an honourable privilege and duty. The removal of the shoe became a sort of documentary evidence. The possession of one shoe by the widow was to her like a bill of divorce to a betrothed or married woman, setting her free to marry another; and the possession of the corresponding shoe by the man remained his protective proof that all claims had been formally settled.

3. ‘*Upon Edom will I cast my shoe*’ (Ps 60^{8}=108^{9}).—From the context the leading idea in this expression appears to be that of *taking possession of* or *claiming as one's own*. Possibly the casting of the shoe upon a piece of land may have been a legal symbol, similar to that considered above, of a claim to ownership. Or the meaning may be, ‘*Unto* Edom do I cast my shoe,’ Edom being then represented as the slave to whom his master tosses his sandals (see Driver, *Par. Psalt.* p. 169). Duhm also suggests that the allusions to Edom and Moab are designedly contemptuous, the latter being represented as a washing-basin for the feet, while Edom is thought of as a kind of corner into which dirty shoes may be cast.

The ‘shoes’ (AV and RVm) of Dt 33^{25} should be ‘bolts’ or ‘bars’ (RV). The Heb. is מִנְעָל (cf. מַנְעוּל of Ca 5^{5}, Neh $3^{3.6.13.14.15}$). G. M. MACKIE.

SHOHAM (שֹׁהַם [on this word see art. ONYX]; B Ἰσοάμ, A Ἰσσοάμ, Luc. Ἰεσσάμ).—A Merarite, 1 Ch 24^{27}.

SHOMER.—1. 1 Ch 7^{32}. See SHEMER, No. 3. 2. 2 K 12^{21}. See SHIMEATH.

SHOPHACH.—See SHOBACH.

SHOSHANNIM, SHOSHANNIM EDUTH.—See PSALMS, p. 155^a.

SHOVEL.—**1.** [יָע], only in plur. יָעִים (from root יעה = 'sweep together,' with collat. idea of *carrying away*, Is 28^{17} [only]), occurs 9 times (Ex 27^3 38^3, Nu 4^{14} [all P], 1 K $7^{40. 45}$, 2 K 25^{14}, 2 Ch $4^{11. 16}$, Jer 52^{18}), always in a list of utensils belonging to the tabernacle or the temple. There is no reason to doubt that shovels for removing the ashes from the altar are meant (cf. AVm note at Jer 52^{18}).

The LXX has in 1 K $7^{40. 45 (26. 31)}$ θερμάστρεις ('tongs *or* pincers' for taking hold of hot metal or coals), in 2 K 25^{14} it transliterates ἰαμείν (so B; A strangely ἱμάτια). In the other passages of the LXX either the Heb. word is not represented at all, or it is difficult to say what stands for it in the Gr. text, which differs from the MT both in the order and in the number of utensils mentioned.

2. רַחַת Is 30^{24} [only]. This stands for the broad, shallow winnowing shovel (the πτύον of Mt 3^{12}, Lk 3^{17}; cf. the use of the Gr. word [not found in LXX] in Hom. *Il.* xiii. 588; Aeschyl. *Fr.* 194; Sophocl. *Fr.* 931; Theocr. vii. 156) with which corn after threshing was thrown up against the wind to clear it of the chaff. It is to be distinguished from the מִזְרֶה (Arab. *miḍrā*) mentioned along with it in Is 30^{24} (elsewhere only Jer 15^7 fig. of winnowing, *i.e.* chastising, the people),* which was a fork with 5 or 6 prongs, used in the process of winnowing, along with the רַחַת, in the way described in art. AGRICULTURE, vol. i. p. 51^a, where both instruments are figured (cf. Wetzstein *ap.* Del. *Jes.*^{2} 707 ff.). The EV of Is 30^{24} would therefore be improved by reading 'winnowed with the shovel and with the fork' for 'winnowed with the shovel and with the fan.' The word 'fan,' which is misleading at best, ought, if retained in our version at all, to be used for רַחַת, not for מִזְרֶה.
J. A. SELBIE.

SHREWD.—Sir 8^{19} only, 'Open not thine heart to every man, lest he requite thee with a shrewd turn' (καὶ μὴ ἀναφερέτω σοι χάριν: the sense, says Bissell, is given correctly by AV, χάριν meaning here 'an ill turn'; but RV renders literally, 'And let him not return thee a favour.' [Is 'shrewd' a tr. of ψευδῆ, which is read before χάριν in some good MSS and by the Lat. *falsam gratiam* ?]).

The Eng. word 'shrewd' is a participial adj. meaning 'malicious,' originally the ptcp. of *shrewen*, to curse. The verb *shrewen* was formed from the subst. 'shrew,' an Anglo-Sax. word, meaning a scolding or cursing person, usually a woman. In Shaks. 'shrewd' has the general sense of 'bad'; it is applied to the contents of a paper, to news, to days and nights. The modern sense of 'clever' perhaps occurs in *Troil. and Cress.* I. ii. 206—'He has a shrewd wit, I can tell you.' But the usual meaning is 'sharp-tongued,' 'shrewish,' as in *Much Ado*, II. i. 20, 'Thou wilt never get thee a husband, if thou be so shrewd of thy tongue.' The expression in Sirach (a 'shrewd turn') occurs in *All's Well*, III. v. 71 and *Henry VIII.* v. iii. 178. So Latimer, *Seven Sermons*, 96, 'The greatest man in a realme can not so hurte a judge as the poore wyddow, suche a shrewede turne she can do him.'
J. HASTINGS.

SHRINE.—See under DIANA, vol. i. p. 606^a.

SHROUD.—Coming from the Anglo-Sax. *scrud*, a garment (connected with *shred*, as a portion *torn off* for some purpose), 'shroud' meant originally any piece of clothing. Thus *Piers Plowman*, Prol. 2—

> 'I shope me in shroudes as I a shepe [=shepherd] were,
> In habite as an heremite unholy of workes';

and Chapman, *Odysseys*, vi. 274—

> 'Give my nakedness
> Some shroud to shelter it, if to these seas
> Linen or woollen you have brought to cleanse.'

But the meaning was soon restricted to clothing for the dead, a winding-sheet. So usually in Shaks., as *Love's Labour's Lost*, V. ii. 479—

> 'Die when you will, a smock shall be your shroud.'

There was, however, a side application of the word, to express covering or shelter of any kind. Thus Milton, *Comus*, 147—

> 'Run to your shrouds, within these brakes and trees';

and *PL* x. 1067—

> 'The winds
> Blow moist and keen, shattering the graceful locks
> Of these fair spreading trees: which bids us seek
> Some better shroud, some better warmth to cherish
> Our limbs benumb'd.'

This is the meaning of the word in Ezk 31^3, its only occurrence in AV, 'Behold, the Assyrian was a cedar in Lebanon with fair branches, and with a shadowing shroud' (Heb. חֹרֶשׁ, a thicket or forest; LXX omits; Vulg. *frondibus nemorosus*).
J. HASTINGS.

SHUA (שׁוּעַ).—The father of Judah's Canaanite wife, Gn $38^{2. 12}$ (A Σαύα, Luc. Σούε), who appears in 1 Ch 2^3 (RV) as **Bath-shua** (B θυγάτηρ Αὕας, A . . . Σαύας, Luc. . . . Σούε).

SHUAH (שׁוּחַ).—A son of Abraham and Ḳeṭurah, Gn 25^2, 1 Ch 1^{32} (A Σωύε, Luc. Σοῦε, B in latter passage Σῶε). The tribe represented by this name may perhaps be the *Suchu* of the cuneiform inscriptions, on the right bank of the Euphrates south of Carchemish (so Dillm., Holzinger, *et al.*). BILDAD the **Shuhite** (הַשּׁוּחִי) of Job 2^{11} (ὁ Σαυχαίων τύραννος) 8^1 18^1 25^1 42^9 (ὁ Σαυχ(ε)ίτης) is prob. intended to be thought of as belonging to this tribe.

SHUAL (שׁוּעָל; B Σουλά, A Σουάλ, Luc. Σουάν).—An Asherite, 1 Ch 7^{36}.

SHUAL, THE LAND OF (אֶרֶץ שׁוּעָל 'the land of the jackal'; B ἡ Σωγάλ, Luc. ἡ γῆ Σωγάλ).—When the Philistines encamped at Michmash, they sent out three foraging parties. One of these 'turned unto the way that leadeth to Ophrah, unto the land of Shual' (1 S 13^{17}). Another party went westward towards Beth-horon, and the third apparently eastward toward the wilderness. The road to Ophrah must have run northward between the last two routes, and the 'land of Shual' must consequently have been to the north of Michmash (*Mukhmâs*), and not far from Ophrah, which is very generally identified with the village *et-Taiyibeh*, to the east of Bethel (*PEF Mem.* ii. 293).
C. W. WILSON.

SHUBAEL.—See SHEBUEL.

SHUHAH (שׁוּחָה).—A brother of Chelub (*i.e.* CALEB), 1 Ch 4^{11}. Instead of 'Chelub the brother of Shuhah,' LXX BA read Χαλὲβ πατὴρ Ἀσχά, 'Caleb, father of Ascha' (*i.e.* ACHSAH, Jos $15^{15ff.}$, Jg $1^{11ff.}$, 1 Ch 2^{49}); Luc. has Χαλὲβ ὁ ἀδελφὸς Σουά.

SHUHAM (שׁוּחָם).—A son of Dan, Nu 26^{42} (B Σαμεί, A Σαμειδή, F Σαμί, Luc. Σαμέ), called in Gn 46^{23} HUSHIM. The gentilic name **Shuhamites** (הַשּׁוּחָמִי; B ὁ Σαμεί, A ὁ Σαμειδηί, F ὁ Σαμί, Luc. ὁ Σαμεί) also occurs in Nu 26^{42}.

SHUHITE.—See SHUAH.

SHULAMMITE.—See SONG OF SONGS.

SHUMATHITES (הַשֻּׁמָתִי; B Ἠσαμαθείμ, A Ἠσαμα-

---

* The verb זרה in the sense of 'fan,' 'winnow,' 'sift,' occurs (in Qal and Piel) as follows: Ru 3^2, Is 30^{24} 41^{16} (mountains as object), Jer 4^{11} (fig. of purification, ‖ לְהָבַר) 15^7 (fig., see above), Ps 139^3 (fig., 'thou siftest [*or* winnowest, *i.e.* scrutinizest narrowly] my path and my couch,'—Driver, *Par. Psalt. ad loc.*). Elsewhere the root has the sense of 'scatter,' 'disperse' (Qal, Piel) or 'be scattered' (Niph., Pual).

θείν, Luc. *ὁ Σαμαθί*). — One of the families of Kiriath-jearim, 1 Ch 2^{53}. Nothing is known of this family, or the origin of its name.

SHUNAMMITE.—See next article.

SHUNEM (שׁוּנֵם ; in Joshua B *Σουνάν*, A *Σουνάμ*, Luc. *Συνήμ* ; in 1 Sam. B and Luc. *Σωμάν*, A *Γωναμάν* ; in 2 Kings B *Σουμάν*, $B^{a\ mg}$ Luc. *Σωμάν*, $A^{*\ vid}$ *Σιωνάμ*, $A^{?}$ *Σιωμάμ*). — A place-name mentioned three times in the OT (Jos 19^{18}, 1 S 28^{4}, 2 K 4^{8}). In Joshua it is named in the enumeration of the towns and villages belonging to Issachar. Eusebius-Jerome identify it with a village 5 Roman miles south of Tabor, in their time called Σουλήμ (Lag. *Onom.*^{2} pp. 183, 284). There is still a hamlet in this same locality named *Sûlem* or *Sôlam*. It lies on the slopes of Jebel Dahi, the hill which faces Jezreel from the north. It looks across to Gilboa, which bounds the southern side of the valley that lies at the foot of Jebel Dahi. It has therefore been identified with the camping-ground of the Philistines before their victory over Saul (1 S 28^{4}). Saul's army is supposed to have occupied the ground at the foot of Gilboa. If so, the valley lay between the hostile armies. It runs eastward from Jezreel (*Zer'în*) to the Jordan. Shunem is almost at its N.W. extremity. The district is described in Robinson, *BRP* iii. 168 ff.

There is precedent for distinguishing the Shunem of 2 K 4^{8} from that already identified. Eusebius-Jerome say it was a place in the territory of Sebaste (Samaria), *ἐν ὁρίοις* Σ., within the district of Akrabatta (Lag. *Onom.*^{2} pp. 184, 285). They give Sanim as the later name. If Akrabatta is the 'toparchy' earlier known as part of Judæa, lying considerably south-east of Samaria, it is too far from Carmel to be very probable. But even Sôlam is not within the easy reach of Carmel implied by v.$^{22ff.}$. The statement that Elisha frequently passed Shunem (v.^{9}) gives more help than any other in determining its situation. It seems to imply that Shunem was a place near his home or on the direct road to a locality which he frequented. Now Samaria was Elisha's home (6^{32} $5^{3.9}$, cf. 2^{25}), and Carmel appears to have been a favourite resort and the destination of his journeys when he passed through Shunem (4^{25}, cf. 2^{25}). But Sôlam is 8 or 9 hours from Samaria, and decidedly off the road from there to Carmel. The claim of Sanim should therefore perhaps be left open. Whether it was near Samaria or not, if it lay on the way to Carmel the situation would be more appropriate than that of Sôlam. Near Taanach a place Sâlim is marked on the maps. It is not far from the eastern extremity of Carmel, and might be made a stopping-place on the way from Samaria.

An inhabitant of Shunem is a **Shunammite** (שֻׁנַמִּית ; שׁוּנַמִּית ; B *Σωμανεῖτις*, A (in Kings generally) *Σουμανίτης*, Luc. *Σωμανῖτις*), perhaps also called a *Shulammite* (see SONG OF SONGS, p. 592^{b}). The vowel of the second syllable is in both cases *a*, as it is in the oldest spellings of the place-name also (LXX and the Egyptian transcription Shanama [Shanmâ] given by W. M. Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, p. 170). The interchange of the *l* and the *n* is further exemplified in the modern name Sôlam compared with Shunem. The former may be a variant which existed even in biblical times.

Two women are designated Shunammites in the Old Testament. One is ABISHAG (1 K $1^{3.15}$ $2^{17.21.22}$). The other is simply named 'the Shunammite' (2 K $4^{12.25.36}$). She is one of those who play a part in the history of ELISHA (2 K 4^{8-37} 8^{1-6}). Her own history is interesting as a picture of domestic and social life, and particularly as an example of the position a Hebrew woman might occupy at the head of a household. Her power of initiative and freedom to act are prominent features in the narrative. It would almost appear as if she were proprietor of the land which belonged to the family, or perhaps rather an heiress who had brought wealth to her husband (4^{8} 'a great woman,' cf. 1 S 25^{2}, 2 K 4^{13} 8^{3}). It has been supposed that by the date of the events recorded in ch. 8 she was a widow. Even in these circumstances her independence is notable. W. B. STEVENSON.

SHUNI (שׁוּנִי).—A son of Gad, Gn 46^{16} (A *Σαυνίς*, *D* and Luc. *Σαυνείς*), Nu $26^{15\ (24)}$ (B *Σουνεί*, AF *Σουνί*, Luc. *Σωυνί*). The gentilic name **Shunites** (הַשּׁוּנִי) also occurs in the latter passage.

SHUPHAM, SHUPHAMITES, SHUPPIM.—See MUPPIM and SHEPHUPHAM.

SHUR (שׁוּר ; LXX usually *Σουρ*, but Gn 25^{18} *Σουηλ*, 1 S 15^{7} *Ασσουρ*, 27^{8} a confused doublet *-ψουρ τετειχισμένων*).—The name of a place, or district, on the N.E. border of Egypt. It is mentioned Gn 16^{7} (where the angel finds Hagar 'by the fountain on the way to Shur'), 20^{1} (Abraham dwelt 'between Kadesh and Shur, and sojourned in Gerar'), 25^{18} (the Ishmaelites dwelt 'from Ḥavîlah—prob. N.E. Arabia—unto Shur that is in front of—*i.e.* east of—Egypt'; cf. 1 S 15^{7} 27^{8}), and Ex 15^{22} (where the Israelites, after the passage of the Red Sea, go out into 'the wilderness of Shur,' *i.e.* the wilderness bordering upon it). The 'way to Shur' was no doubt the principal caravan route leading from Ḥebron and Beersheba into Egypt, and having close to it (Gn 16^{14}) the well Beer-laḥai-roi. Though the general position of Shur is thus clear, the precise meaning of the expression is, however, uncertain. A line of fortresses, if not, as others think, an actual wall (*anbu*), had been built at a very early date, as a defence against invaders from the East;* and as the Heb. שׁוּר means *a wall*, it has been often thought that this is what the term denotes.† Others, starting from the same meaning of 'Shur,' have supposed it to denote a long range of white cliffs, running parallel with the coast, some 12–14 miles E. of the Gulf of Suez, now called Jebel er-Râhah, which at a distance presents the appearance of a wall (so F. W. Holland in *Recovery of Jerus.* 527; Porter in Kitto, iii. 1079 f.; Palmer, *Desert of Exodus*, i. 38 f., and others): it is said, indeed, that this range is still called by the Arabs Jebel es-Sûr (Rowlands in Williams' *Holy City*, i. 465). It is, however, some objection to both these views that שׁוּר is an Aramaic (Ezr $4^{12.13.16}$) rather than a Heb. word (it occurs in Heb. only in poetry, and there but rarely, Gn 49^{22}, Ps 18^{29}=2 S 22^{30}), and also that it has not the art. (as is usual with topographical terms possessing an appellative force, *e.g.* הָעֲרָבָה, הַשָּׁרוֹן). The most important of the border fortresses referred to above was *Ṯa-ru* (*Ṯor*), the Selle of the classical writers, often mentioned as the starting-point of military expeditions (Ebers, *l.c.* 80 f.; Maspero, *l.c.* 75 [map], 201 *n.* 4, and esp. *Struggle of the Nations*, 122 f., 370, 371 f.;‡ Erman, 537), now Tell Abû-Sêfeh, 20 miles S. of Port Said; and W. M. Müller (*PSBA* x. [1888], 476, *As. u. Eur.* 102) would identify this fortress with Shur, supposing 'Shur' (wall) to be its original name, represented in Egyp. by *Ṯa-ru* (*Ṯor*).§ S. R. DRIVER.

SHUSHAN (שׁוּשַׁן, *Σοῦσα*, *Σουσάν*).—The **Susa** (Ad. Est 11^{3}) of the Greeks, now *Sus* or Shush in S.W. Persia, between the Shapur and the river of Dizful (the ancient Koprates). It was for many centuries the capital of Elam, and afterwards one of the three capitals of the Persian empire, and is sometimes described as standing on the Choaspes (Hdt. v. 49; Strab. xv. 3. 4), sometimes on the Eulæus (Arr. *Exp. Alex.* vii. 7; Ptol. vi. 3; Plin. *HN* vi. 27). This was due to the fact that the Choaspes (now the Kerkhah) originally bifurcated at Pai Pul, 20 miles above Susa, its right branch following its present course, while the left branch flowed east of Susa, absorbing the Shapur 12 miles to the south and afterwards joining the Pasitigris (now the Karun). The ruins of Susa were excavated by Williams and Loftus in 1851–1852, and more recently by Dieulafoy and de Morgan. They covered a space about 6000 ft. long from E. to W., by 4500 ft. broad from N. to S. The greater part of them, however, cover the buildings of the Persian, not of the Elamite, city. On the west is the high mound which marks the site of the Elamite citadel. East of it are the remains of the palace of Darius Hystaspis, and immediately to the north the ruins of the Apadana or audience-chamber, also the work of Darius, which was restored by Artaxerxes Longimanus after a fire, and again by Artax. Mnemon. The walls of the Apadana and palace were adorned with exquisite friezes of enamelled brick, much of which is now in the Louvre.

---

* Maspero, *Dawn of Civil.* 351 f. It is mentioned in the Flight of Sinuhit, under Usertesen I. (B.C. 2758–2714, Petrie); *ibid.* 469 *n.*, 471; Petrie, *Egyp. Tales*, i. 100 f.; W. M. Müller, *As. u. Eur.* 43 f.; Sayce, *HCM* 203; Hogarth, *Auth. and Arch.* 57 f. See also Ebers, *Aeg. u. die Bb. Mose's*, 78–82; Trumbull, *Kadesh-Barnea*, 44 ff. The names and destinations of persons passing these fortresses were taken down by officers: see Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 537 f.; Hogarth, *l.c.* 60.

† Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*, ed. 1891, p. 97; Sayoe, *EHH* 187; Trumbull, 46, 57. Dillm. also thinks it probable.

‡ With representations (from Karnak) of Seti I. returning to it in triumph after his Syrian expedition, in the course of which he is said to have annihilated the Shasu (Bedawin) 'from the fortress of Ṯa-ru, as far as Pa-Kan'ana' [prob. a little S. of Hebron] (Brugsch, *l.c.* 244; Hogarth, 58).

§ Hommel conjectures that Shur is abbreviated from *A'shûr* (cf. Gn 25^{3}), the name of a tribe mentioned by the side of Egypt (and Gaza) in two Minæan inscriptions (*AHT* 238–45, 249, 252, 253). But see König, *Fūnf neue arab. Landschaftsnamen*, 17 f.

Susa is probably referred to in Bab. documents of the age of the second dynasty of Ur (*c.* B.C. 2400) under the name of Sas and Sisa, which is stated to be a city of Elam, but the native name was Susun. This seems to be connected with the words *suse-ti* and *sassa*, which in the older and later Susian dialects signified 'former,' and so would mean 'the old' city. In the early days of Bab. history, however, the chief city of Elam was not Susa, but Anzan. Already in B.C. 2285, Kudur-Nankhundi, king of Elam, carried away the image of the goddess Nana from Erech to Susa. Susa, however, has been shown by the recent excavations of de Morgan to have still been at this time a province of Babylonia, inhabited by a Semitic population. It was not until after the rise of the Kassite Dynasty in Babylonia that the kings of Anzan made themselves masters of it. From this time forward Susa was the capital of the non-Semitic Elamite sovereigns, many of whose names have been recorded in the inscriptions of Babylonia as well as in those of Elam itself. These latter, though written in the Bab. cuneiform characters, are in the agglutinative language of Elam, which was closely allied to the Amardian or Neo-Susian dialect of the second column of the Achæmenian inscriptions, and is still but partially deciphered.

About B.C. 647, after a long and desperate struggle, the Elamite forces were annihilated by the Assyr. army of Assurbanipal, and Susa was captured and razed to the ground. The images of its gods and kings were taken to Assyria, and the monuments of its former princes were destroyed, the bones of their occupants being scattered to the winds. When Susa rose again from its ashes we do not know; Xenophon (*Cyr.* viii. 6. 22) and Strabo (xv. 3. 2) state that Cyrus made it his capital (see also Hdt. iii. 30. 65, 70); but its palace, according to inscriptions found on the site, was built by Darius Hystaspis. In Dn 8^2 the prophet is said to have had a vision 'at Shushan the palace' in 'the third year of Belshazzar,' but Belshazzar never actually reigned over Babylonia. An account of the palace in the time of Xerxes is given in Est 1^{2-7}. When Susa was entered by Alexander the Great, he found in it twelve millions sterling and the Persian regalia (Arr. *Exp. Alex.* iii. 16). After the rise of the kingdom of the Seleucids, Susa gradually fell into decay, being superseded by Babylon and Seleucia. When the kingdom of the Sassanids was conquered by the Arabs, the site of Susa was finally deserted. (Loftus, *Chaldæa and Susiana*, 1857; Dieulafoy, *La Perse, la Chaldée et la Susiane*, 1887, *L'Acropole de Suse*, 1890; Billerbeck, *Susa*, 1893; de Morgan, *Délégation en Perse*, vol. ii., containing the Semitic inscriptions found at Susa, edited by Scheil, 1900).

A. H. SAYCE.

SHUSHANCHITES (שׁוּשַׁנְכָיֵא; B Σουσυναχαῖοι, A Σουσαναχαῖοι).—The Shushanchites or inhabitants of SHUSHAN (Susa) are mentioned in Ezr 4^9 amongst the colonists settled by OSNAPPAR (Assurbanipal) in Samaria (cf. *KAT*² 375 f., 610 f.).

SHUSHAN EDUTH.—See PSALMS, p. 155ª.

SHUTHELAH (שׁוּתֶלַח; B Σουτάλα in Numbers, Σωθάλαθ in 1 Chronicles; A Θωσουσάλα and Θουσάλα in Numbers, Σωθάλα and Σωθέλε in 1 Chronicles; Vulg. *Suthala*; gentilic name **Shuthelahites** הַשֻּׁתַלְחִי; B ὁ Σουταλαεί, A ὁ Θουσαλαί).—In Nu 26^{35-37} (P^s) Shuthelah, Becher, and Tahan are given as the clans of Ephraim, and Eran as a 'son' or subdivision of Shuthelah. In the LXX Becher is omitted, Tahan becomes Tanach, and Eran (ערן) becomes Eden (עדן). The parallel passage 1 Ch 7^{20-29} has been variously altered and expanded; instead of a list of three co-ordinate clans and one subdivision, MT has a genealogy beginning with Ephraim and extending to Joshua, into which is inserted an episode concerning certain descendants of Ephraim (for which see BERIAH). Instead of Shuthelah, Becher, and Tahan as clans of Ephraim we have Shuthelah as the son, Bered the grandson, Tahath the great-grandson of Ephraim. As the genealogy proceeds the names repeat themselves. There is a second Shuthelah, and the 'and Telah' (ותלח) of v.^{25} is probably a torso of a third. Tahath occurs again in v.^{20}, and Tahan of v.^{25} is a variant of Tahath. Eleadah and Elead (v.$^{20f.}$) are variants of the same name; Zabad is a variant of 'and Bered.' Ladan (לעדן) may be a variant of Elead (אלעד), and also represent the 'to Eran' (לערן) of Numbers. Thus in v.^{20} 'Shuthelah . . . Eleadah,' (v.$^{20f.}$) '[Tahath] . . . Elead,' (v.^{25}) '[Shu]T[h]elah . . . Ladan,' we seem to have three versions of the same genealogy variously supplemented, all three, perhaps, ultimately based on Nu 26^{35-37}, combined with some other source, in which Ezer and Elead were subdivisions of the clan Shuthelah. Cf. GENEALOGY, VII. 4.

LXX B has for v.$^{20f.}$ 'And the sons of Ephraim: Sothalath. The sons of Laada, Noome his son, Zabed his son, the men of Gath,' etc. The omissions may be due to the carelessness of scribes, but it is also possible that the names omitted by LXX were a very late addition to MT.

W. H. BENNETT.

SHUTTLE.—Only Job 7^6 'My days are swifter than a weaver's shuttle' (אֶרֶג, prop. 'loom'; cf. Jg 16^{14} [the only other occurrence of the Heb. word] and Moore's note there). See art. WEAVING.

SIA (סִיעָא), Neh 7^{47}, or **SIAHA** (סִיעֲהָא), Ezr 2^{44}.—The name of a family of Nethinim (called in 1 Es 5^{29} SUA) who returned with Zerubbabel.

LXX in Neh 7^{47}: B 'Ασουιά, A Σιαιά, ℵ 'Ιασουιά, Luc. 'Ιωσίας; in Ezr 2^{44}: B Σωήλ, A^{vid} 'Ασαά, Luc. 'Ιωσίας.

SIBBECAI.—See MEBUNNAI.

SIBBOLETH.—See SHIBBOLETH.

SIBMAH (שִׂבְמָה; Σεβαμά, in Jer. ωσερημα; *Sabama, Sibama*).—See SEBAM.

SIBRAIM (סִבְרַיִם; B Σεβράμ, A Σεφράμ, Q Σεφραΐμ;

Sabarim).—One of the points on the ideal northern boundary of the Holy Land, described by Ezekiel, was to be 'Sibraim which is between the border of Damascus and the border of Hamath' (Ezk 47^{16}). Its site is uncertain. Von Kasteren (Buhl, 67) would identify it plausibly with *Khurbet Sombariye*, between Merj 'Ayyun and Hermon.

C. W. WILSON.

SICCUTH.—See CHIUN and REPHAN.

SICKLE stands in EV of OT for two Heb. words, the distinction between which is not apparent.—1. חֶרְמֵשׁ Dt 16^{9} 23^{25}; 2. מַגָּל (cf. Aram. *magaltā*, Arab. *manjal*) Jer 50 $(27)^{16}$, Jl 4 $(3)^{13}$ (fig. of judgment). The LXX in all these passages has *δρέπανον*, which is also the NT word for 'sickle' (Mk 4^{29}, Rev $14^{14.\,15.\,16.\,17.\,18\,\textit{bis}.\,19}$). See, further, art. AGRICULTURE, and fig. in vol. i. p. 50^{a}.

SICYON (*Σικυών*, *Συκυών*, or *Συκιών*).—This name occurs in a list of places in 1 Mac 15^{23}, to which Lucius, the consul, on behalf of the Romans, wrote (B.C. 139) to beg them to be friendly to the Jews, and to deliver up to Simon the high priest any fugitives from the Jews that had taken refuge with them. All the places mentioned in this passage were constantly visited by the trading vessels from Syria on their way to Italy. The matter of the letter is most probably authentic, though the form cannot be correct.

Sicyon is a town on the Gulf of Corinth, a few miles to the N.W. of Corinth. The name seems to mean 'cucumber-town.' The town stood originally on the shore with an acropolis above it, and this latter formed the town in the time of the Maccabees. In their time it was always to be found on the side of the Romans, and the direction of the Isthmian games was assigned by them to the inhabitants of Sicyon, though afterwards they were deprived of it. It appears to have been the centre of Roman power for that part of the world.

H. A. REDPATH.

SIDDIM, VALE OF (עֵמֶק הַשִּׂדִּים; LXX *ἡ φάραγξ* (or *κοιλὰς*) *ἡ ἁλυκή*; Onk. Sam. *vale of fields* [*i.e.* הַשָּׂדִים]; on Aq. Theod. see Field. The meaning of שִׂדִּים is obscure; a connexion with Arab. *sidd*, 'dam,' 'mound' (Conder, *Tent Work*, 208), is very doubtful).—The place in which the kings of the five cities of the *Kikkar* joined battle with Chedorla'omer and his allies (Gn $14^{3.\,8}$); said in v.^{10} to be full of wells of BITUMEN (which see). In v.^{3} it is identified with the Salt Sea; but this (if the entire sea is meant) is geologically impossible; for the DEAD SEA existed ages before the time of Abraham: either therefore the clause v.^{3b} is a late and incorrect gloss, or the reference (if the narrative is historical) is to the shallow S. part of the Dead Sea (from the peninsula *el-Lisān* S.-wards), where, in the time of Abraham, there may have been dry land. This view, already allowed by Nöldeke in 1869, has also been adopted by the two geologists who have written most recently upon the subject. Blanckenhorn, in an elaborate geological study 'On the Origin and History of the Dead Sea' (*ZDPV*, 1896, 1–59), says (pp. 51–53) that to the 'critical geologist' the matter is 'extremely simple': at the beginning of the post-glacial period what is now the shallow S. part of the Dead Sea was fertile soil (like the present *Ghôr eṣ-Ṣâfiyeh*, at its S.E. corner [see ZOAR]); but an earthquake took place, which caused a subsidence of the ground, and overthrew all the cities except Zoar; the 'Vale of Siddim' was engulphed by the S. part of the Dead Sea, and the site of the four cities became the present saline morass (6 m. broad by 10 long), *es-Sebkha*,[*] S. of the Dead Sea;[†] a tradition of this prehistoric event is preserved in Gn 19, where it is connected with the history of Lot. Blanckenhorn considers that this earthquake was 'tektonic,' *i.e.* connected with a dislocation of the earth's crust, taking place at a 'fault' (such as pass along both the E. and the W. sides of the Dead Sea).[*] Diener, in a criticism of his article,[†] while agreeing that it was an earthquake which destroyed the four cities, regards it not as 'tektonic,' but rather as a local subsidence, accompanied by an effusion of underground water, which may well have taken place in the age of Abraham (pp. 13–16, 22); as a parallel he quotes the earthquake near Lake Baikal (in Central Asia) in 1862, which broke up a large area of the adjacent alluvial soil, so that it sank, and the lake covered it. Blanckenhorn in his reply (*ZDPV*, 1898, H. 2, pp. 65–83) maintains (pp. 70–76) that this view is improbable, and inconsistent with the fact that all the conditions for a 'tektonie' earthquake are present in the Jordan Valley; and he supports his opinion by quotations from two high geological authorities, Süss and Hörnes. Which of these two views is the more probable, a writer who is no geologist is naturally not in a position to say; perhaps some one sufficiently conversant with the geology of the district could explain whether it might not be possible to combine them, or, in other words, to suppose that the 'tektonic' dislocation, producing the broader features of the S. end of the Dead Sea, took place at the beginning of the post-glacial period, while the local subsidence, producing the submergence of the 'Vale of Siddim' under the present lagoon, and overthrowing the four cities, may have followed long afterwards, in the days of Abraham.[‡]

S. R. DRIVER.

SIDE (*Σίδη*; *Side*).—One of the towns to which the Roman Senate sent letters in favour of Simon Maccabæus and the Jews (1 Mac 15^{23}). It was colonized by Cyme, surrendered to Alexander, became the chief port of the pirates,—who used it as a market to dispose of their plunder,—and was an important town under the Roman emperors. It was closely connected with Aradus in Phœnicia, and the men of Side and Aradus fought side by side in the fleet of Antiochus the Great when it was defeated by the Rhodians off the harbour of Side. The town occupied a low triangular promontory on the coast of Pamphylia. It had two harbours, and was strongly fortified. The ruins, now known as *Eski Adalia*, are about 10 miles east of the *Keupri Su*, the river Eurymedon, and are extensive and interesting. They include the remains of a very large theatre, the city walls and their gates, temples, a nymphæum, streets with covered porticoes, etc. (Murray, *Hbk. to Asia Minor*, p. 173).

C. W. WILSON.

SIDON, SIDONIANS.—See ZIDON, ZIDONIANS.

SIGN (אוֹת, *σημεῖον*, *signum*) is used throughout the Bible of any symbol or token, but more especially of such as mark the relation of man to God and the providential care which God lavishes upon men. The rainbow was the first *sign* of this (Gn 9^{12}) as the token of a Divine covenant. The Jews, from the beginning of their chequered history, counted themselves God's chosen people; and circumcision was the sign of the covenant relation in which a Jew stood to the God of Abraham (Gn 17^{11}, Ro 4^{11}). Living under the direct rule of J", they looked for *signs* of His power and pledges of His care at every crisis of their fortunes. Such were the plagues of Egypt (Ex 10^{2}); such was the visitation vouchsafed to Gideon (Jg 6^{17}); such were the events by which Saul was assured of his future dignity as king (1 S 10^{7}). The prophets frequently allege their forecasts of the future as *signs* that their message is from J" (Is 7^{14} 38^{7}, Jer 44^{29}, Ezk 14^{8}). St. Paul's observation that 'Jews ask for signs' (1 Co 1^{22}) is abundantly illustrated by the Gospels (Mt 12^{38} 16^{1}, Lk $11^{16.\,29}$, Jn 4^{48}); they demanded of Christ credentials of His authority to speak in the name of God. It will be observed that a *sign* need not necessarily be miraculous (see 1 S 2^{34}, and esp. Is 8^{18} 20^{3} where the expression *sign and wonder* is applied to events which were only extraordinary because unexpected); the distinction between *natural* and *supernatural* phenomena was not clearly conceived by the simple piety of the Jews.* But (although John did no sign, Jn 10^{41}) a sign is closely associated with the idea of prophetical prediction and warning. That was the motive of the sign of Jonah (Mt 12^{39}). A sign was given to the shepherds (Lk 2^{12}); Simeon declared that Jesus Himself was *εἰς σημεῖον ἀντιλεγόμενον* (Lk 2^{34}). Christ's miraculous works are spoken of all through St. John's Gospel as His *signs* (Jn 3^{2} 4^{54} etc.); they are the signs of one who declares 'His almighty power most chiefly in showing mercy and pity.' So *signs* were wrought in His name by the apostles (Mk 16^{20}, Ac 4^{16}), by Stephen (Ac 6^{8}), and by Philip (Ac $8^{6.\,13}$); and the *signs* of an apostle are claimed by St. Paul (2 Co 12^{12}, cf. Ac 15^{12}). And, though we may not recognize them when they come, the end of the present dispensation shall be ushered in by signs (Mt 24^{30}, Lk 21^{25}, 2 Th 2^{9}, Rev 12^{1} 13^{13} 15^{1} 16^{14} 19^{20}). To seek a sign is not necessarily a mark of faithlessness (see Jn 6^{26}); on the contrary, faith will naturally look for such tokens of the Divine protection. It is the demand for prodigies, *τέρατα*, which is the mark of an ill-instructed and undisciplined mind (Jn 4^{48}). See MIRACLE, NATURE.

---

[*] The word 'Sebkha' means *salt and watery ground*.

[†] Against the view that these cities were at the *North* end of the Dead Sea, see vol. iii. p. $151^{a.\,b}$, and art. ZOAR; it is at the S.W. corner of the Dead Sea, also, that, according to Blanckenhorn (pp. 50, 53, and Profil iv. in Tafel iv.), bitumen deposits (cf. Gn 14^{10}) are particularly abundant.

[*] See Blanckenhorn's Geol. map.

[†] *Mitth. der kais. kön. Geogr. Ges. in Wien*, 1897, pp. 1–22.

[‡] Prof. Hull does not seem either in his *PEF Memoir on the Geol. of Arabia Petræa and Palestine* or in *Mount Seir* (pp. 109 ff., 133) to have discussed the special question of the formation of the Sebkha. Blanckenhorn (1898, p. 75) denies that it is a purely alluvial formation.

J. H. BERNARD.

SIGNET.—In the early days of civilization the art of writing was practically limited to a class of professional scribes. Every one outside that class, from the king downwards, needed a signet to authenticate the documents with which he was concerned. Herodotus, i. 195, says of the Babylonians, *σφρηγῖδα δὲ ἕκαστος ἔχει*. An immense number of these seals have come down to us, Egypt and Assyria being the two great sources from which, directly or by imitation, the leading types have been derived. One of the earliest and most persistent forms is that of the scarab, originating in Egypt, but imitated by the Phœnicians and others. These scarabs were often made of clay or steatite, and bore the owner's name on the flat side. Another very early variety is the Assyrian and Babylonian cylinder of jasper, chalcedony, or other stone, $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch to $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and from $\frac{1}{2}$ inch to 1 in. diam., pierced longitudinally, and worn on a linen or woollen cord round the neck. Ball (*Light from the East*, p. 24) figures some of these, which are said to range from B.C. 4500 downwards. The name of the owner and of the deity whom he specially worshipped were engraved on them; sacred emblems and scenes are also common, such as a god slaying a lion, a tree guarded by genii. Conical signets, with the device on the broad end and the attachment at the top, have also come down to us from very early ages. Amongst what are classified as 'Hittite' gems there are several other shapes; some almost hemispherical, with hole near the top; some nearly annular; a few stone rings; tablets with a device on the lower side; lenticular gems; square or polygonal tablets, with a design on each side; seals with handles. Some very ancient Greek signets are gold rings with large bezels, on which are designs that originated in Assyria or Egypt. In the Ægean Islands and elsewhere engraved bean-shaped pebbles of various materials have been found, to which the names 'island' or 'lenticular' gems were given. The signets found in Palestine are mainly oval in form. Such of them as bear a device, in addition to a name, are either of Phœn. workmanship or imitations thereof. And the Phœnicians themselves were under the influence of Babylonian or Egyptian craftsmen. Amongst the designs may be mentioned the Phœnician palm-leaf, a border of pomegranates, a bull, a worshipper whose attire reminds us of the Egyptian priests, a winged circle. The matter on which the signet was pressed was wax or prepared clay. There is an allusion to the latter at Job 38^{14}, and excellent illustrations are to be found in the photographs of jar-sealings given by Flinders Petrie in *Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty*.

Judah's signet (חֹתָם, חֹתֶמֶת Gn $38^{18.\,25}$) is worn by a cord (פָּתִיל) round his neck, as the inhabitants of the Arabian towns wear their seal-rings still. He gives it as a pledge, because it was the one thing which could be proved to belong to him, and would serve to identify him. Pharaoh (Gn 41^{42}) took off his signet-ring (טַבַּעַת) from his hand and put it on Joseph's; it was the Egyptian custom to wear the signet on the finger (cf. Jer 22^{24}). Joseph was now enabled to sign decrees on behalf of the king. Jer 22^{24}, Hag 2^{23}, Sir 17^{22} 49^{11} indicate the value of the rings in question. Sir 38^{27} shows that in the 2nd cent. before Christ the seal engravers must have occupied a prominent place amongst the artisans of the day. 2 Ti 2^{19} refers either to the two inscriptions which were sometimes engraved on two sides of a seal, or to the authentication of a document by each party affixing his signature. Such passages as 2 Es 2^{38}, To 9^{5} imply that the signet was used as a mark of proprietorship. When Darius (Dn 6^{17}) seals the den with his own signet (עִזְקָא) and that of his lords, and when the Jewish authorities (Mt 27^{66}) 'made the sepulchre sure, sealing the stone,' the idea was that if the impression was broken the fact could not be hidden, for the culprits would not be able to reproduce the stamp. In this connexion it should be remembered that one of Solon's laws forbade gem engravers to keep an impression of any gem they had sold, lest another should be made exactly like it (Diog. Laert. i. 57, in Middleton, *Engraved Gems*, p. 22). Greek and Roman letter-writers were also so much afraid of their letters being tampered with, that at the close of the epistle they often described the seal. See also RING and SEAL.

J. TAYLOR.

SIHON (סִיחֹן and סִיחוֹן, cf. for the ending עֶגְלוֹן; BA Σηών, Luc. Σιών; Vulg. *Sehon*).—A king of the Amorites defeated by the Israelites at Jahaz after crossing the Arnon. This battle marks the commencement of the struggle for the possession of the land, and the end of the journeyings past friendly tribes with which Israel was forbidden to contend. The account of Sihon's defeat is given in Nu $21^{21\text{-}26}$, and is followed by a poetical extract from an older source commemorating a defeat of Moab. The account is repeated in Dt $2^{24\text{-}37}$ [with the additional statement that the country was treated as חֵרֶם (see CURSE)], and in Jg $11^{18\text{-}22}$. References are made to Sihon's defeat and the assignment of the land in Nu 32^{33}, Dt 1^4 $3^{2.6}$ $4^{46.47}$ 29^7 31^4, Jos 2^{10} 9^{10} 12^2 $13^{10.21.27}$, 1 K 4^{19}, Neh 9^{22}, Ps 135^{11} 136^{19}. 'Sihon' in Jer 48^{45} is in parallelism with 'Heshbon,' and equivalent to the city of Sihon.

---

* At Ex 7^{9} the LXX translates מוֹפֵת *a wonder*, by σημεῖον, showing that there was no very sharp distinction between σημεῖον and τέρας; cf. also Lk 23^{8}. See Trench, *Miracles*, pp. 1–6, for the subject of this article.

In these passages the name of Sihon occurs almost invariably in close connexion with that of Og, king of Bashan. The territories of these two kings became the inheritance of Israel on the E. of the Jordan, and were assigned to Reuben, Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh. According to Nu 21^{26} the Amorite king Sihon had, before the coming of Israel, taken from the Moabites the portion of their kingdom lying to the N. of the Arnon. For the criticism of this passage and of the song in Nu 21^{27-30}, and discussion of the wars of Sihon against Moab and Israel, see art. MOAB in vol. iii. p. 409 f. A. T. CHAPMAN.

SILAS (Σίλας, in Acts), **SILVANUS** (Σιλουανός, in Epp.).[*]—A prophet and leading member (ἡγούμενος) of the primitive church of Jerusalem (Ac $15^{22.32}$), who seems to have possessed the Roman citizenship[†] (16^{37}). He was sent as a delegate of that church to Antioch, along with Judas Barsabbas as colleague, and in company with Paul and Barnabas, in order to convey to the converted Gentiles of Syria and Cilicia a brotherly greeting, and the epistle which embodied the decrees of the Council of Jerusalem; and also to 'tell them the same things by mouth,' with any necessary explanations (Ac 15^{22-29}). Silas, as well as Judas, remained at Antioch 'for some time,' and, in the exercise of the gift of 'prophecy,' 'exhorted the brethren with many words, and confirmed them' (15^{32}). Thereafter he returned to Jerusalem;[‡] but, prior to St. Paul's Second Missionary Journey, Silas came again to Antioch, perhaps along with St. Peter, on the occasion of the latter's visit recorded in Gal 2^{11}, or at St. Paul's invitation after the rupture with Barnabas (Ac 15^{39}). St. Paul's choice of Silas as missionary colleague (15^{40}) was particularly appropriate in view of the projected tour 'through Syria and Cilicia' (15^{41}), to the Gentile Christians, for which Silas had been accredited by the church of Jerusalem (15^{23}). If Silas possessed the Roman citizenship, this may also have led, in part, to his being selected, in view of missionary 'perils from the Gentiles,' as well as from the Jews. The acceptance of St. Paul's invitation by a leading member of the church of Jerusalem, even after the apostle's ecclesiastical as well as personal difference (Gal $2^{13f.}$) with Barnabas, the trusted ambassador of that church (Ac 11^{22}), testifies to the fulness of confidence reposed at that time in St. Paul by the more liberal Jewish Christians.

In company with St. Paul, Silas journeyed not only through Syria and Cilicia, but in Lycaonia, Phrygia, Galatia, and the Troad (Ac 16^{1-8}). He crossed over with the apostle to Macedonia, shared his varied experiences at Philippi ($16^{12ff.}$),[§] accompanied him to Thessalonica, and thence to Berœa, where he remained with Timotheus after St. Paul's departure for Athens (17^{14}). He rejoined St. Paul, apparently, not at Athens, as originally had been intended (17^{15}), but (owing probably to the apostle's early departure from that city) at Corinth (18^5).[*] His evangelistic service there is referred to in 2 Co 1^{19}. In the two letters, sent by St. Paul from Corinth to the Thessalonians, Silvanus is associated with him in the opening salutations. His name then disappears from the history.

That he did not leave Corinth in company with St. Paul appears to be indicated by Ac 18^{18}, and by the absence of all reference to him in the record of the remaining stages of St. Paul's Second Missionary Journey ($18^{19ff.}$). That he did not settle at Corinth, in permanent charge of the church there (as suggested by pseudo-Doroth., who calls him bishop of Corinth),[†] may be inferred from the omission of any greeting to him in 1 and 2 Cor., and also from the fact that both Timotheus and Titus act as deputies of St. Paul in Corinth a few years later (1 Co 4^{17}, 2 Co 8^6 12^{18}). Probably Silas left Corinth during St. Paul's protracted sojourn of 18 months (Ac 18^{11}). He may not have been prepared for longer absence from Jerusalem. Moreover, at Corinth, where the Jewish element in the church was weak (Ac 18^6), St. Paul does not seem to have felt bound to impose the decrees of the Jerusalem Council (1 Co 8). These decrees were intended, immediately at least, for the churches of Syria and Cilicia; they were 'delivered for to keep' in Lycaonia (Ac 16^4); but at Corinth the circumstances were different. We can readily understand, however, that the bearer of the Council's communication might deem it improper for *him* to take part in any deliberate disregard of the Council's compromise between liberty and restriction, and would feel constrained, without any personal quarrel, to separate from one who went beyond what Silas's own fellow-churchmen of Jerusalem would approve. The addition of Timotheus, also, to the missionary party, and the strong personal attachment of St. Paul to him, may have caused Silas to feel that he was no longer indispensable to the apostle, and may thus have loosened the tie between the two men. Beyond question, the attitude of the Jewish Christians towards St. Paul changed considerably prior to the Third Missionary Journey. It was about this time that the Judaistic counter-mission to Galatia and elsewhere originated; and the same broadened ecclesiastical policy of St. Paul, which aroused the hostility of the narrower party in Jerusalem, probably also cooled, to some extent, the cordiality previously subsisting between the apostle and the more liberal section to which Silas belonged.[‡]

It is highly probable, although not certain, that the Silas or Silvanus who was St. Paul's associate is the Silvanus referred to in 1 P 5^{12} as the bearer[§] of St. Peter's Epistle from Rome[‖] to the Christians of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia. The separation of Silas from St. Paul would naturally lead to the resumption of the former's intimate relations with St. Peter, between whom and Silas, as both Jewish Christians of liberal views on the whole, there would be full sympathy; and the description of St. Peter's Silvanus as 'a faithful brother' to the Christians in the above-named provinces, fits in with the experience of St. Paul's colleague, who, long before, had visited a portion, at least, of the churches now addressed by St. Peter, and would be probably known by repute to all. More than ten years had passed since Silvanus had parted from St. Paul. The apostle's last visit to Jerusalem, his charitable errand, his conciliatory attitude on that occasion, and his subsequent sufferings for the truth, had doubtless improved the relations between him and Jewish believers (Ac 21. 24[17]). The majority of St. Paul's extant letters, moreover, had probably by this time come into circulation, and produced a favourable impression on Hebrew Christians. In 1 Peter extensive use is made of Pauline ideas and phraseology, especially those of the Epistles to the Romans and Ephesians (see vol. iii. 788). Accordingly, since at the time when 1 Peter was written St. Paul either was a prisoner at Rome, or had recently suffered martyrdom, the mission of Silvanus, as representative of both apostles, may have been part of an Apostolical *eirenicon*, expressly designed to undo, in Galatia and in Asia Minor as a whole, the effect of earlier rivalry and friction between the Pauline and the Jewish parties in primitive Christendom. (See vol. iii. p. 791).

---

[*] *Silas* may be a contraction of *Silvanus* (cf. Apollos from Apollonius), or the original name (perh. = שלש 1 Ch 7^{35}, but see Zahn, *Einl.* i. 22 f.), of which Silvanus is a Latinized form. Several persons called Silas are mentioned by Josephus (*Ant.* XIV. iii. 2, XVIII. vi. 7; *Vita*, 17). The identity of Silas and the Silvanus of 1 Th 1^1, 2 Th 1^1, and 2 Co 1^{19}, is generally accepted (cf. Ac 17^1 18^5); although pseudo-Doroth. (6th cent.) in his Σύγγραμμα represents them as separate individuals; and Weizsäcker, with some hesitation (*Apost. Age*, i. 292 f.), suggests, without reasonable grounds, that the author of Acts has substituted Silas of Jerusalem for the Pauline Silvanus, 'in order to signalize the apostle's connexion with the primitive Church.'

[†] So Ew. *HI* vii. 361; Mey. *Comm.*; Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 176; McGiffert, *Ap. Age*, 242, etc. On the other side, see Wendt (*Comm.*), who regards the inclusion of Silas with St. Paul in Ac $16^{37f.}$ as due to 'inaccuracy for the sake of brevity.'

[‡] Ac 15^{34} is prob. an interpolation; it is not found in ℵAB.

[§] For vindication of the credibility of Ac 16^{25-34} (assailed on internal grounds by Weizs., Wendt, and B. Weiss) see Giesekke in *SK*, 1898, p. 348 ff., and *Exp. Times*, March 1898, p. 274 f.

[*] It is possible, however, that Silas (as well as Timotheus) may have come to Athens, and returned to Macedonia for some special purpose. 1 Th $3^{1f.}$ is not decisive on the point. Silas and Timotheus are probably the brethren referred to in 2 Co 11^9 as having brought from Macedonia what supplied St. Paul's needs.

[†] The same designation is given to Silas in the ὑπόμνημα, or *Memorial of Peter and Paul* (a compilation, ascribed to the 9th cent., but embodying more ancient material; see Lipsius, *Apok. Apost.* ii. 9, 10). The testimony, however, of both documents is discredited by their representation of Silvanus as bishop of Thessalonica, apparently owing to 1 Th 1^1, 2 Th 1^1.

[‡] This coolness is perhaps suggested by the summary manner in which St. Paul's visit to Jerusalem is referred to in Ac 18^{22} (see Farrar's *Life of St. Paul*, ii. p. 5); and it manifests itself, on that apostle's side, in the somewhat disparaging tone of Gal 2^6, written from Ephesus during St. Paul's Third Journey.

[§] Possibly, but not necessarily, the amanuensis also of St. Peter (see vol. iii. p. 790, and Ewald, *HI* vii. 464).

[‖] The Babylon of 1 P 5^{13} is usually interpreted as meaning Rome (see vol. i. 213 f., iii. 769).

The names of both Silas and Silvanus are included, as different individuals, in the list of the 'Seventy' compiled by pseudo-Dorotheos. The position of Silas as a ἡγούμενος of the church at Jerusalem renders it fairly probable that in this instance the catalogue is correct. For the conjecture that Silas is the author of *Hebrews* (Böhme, Mynster) there appears to be no foundation. The adoption of the name Silvanus by Constantine, the founder of the pseudo-Pauline Paulician heresy in the 7th cent., indicates a conviction that Silas remained faithful essentially to Pauline views.

LITERATURE.—*Acta Sanct.* 13th July (xxx. 452); Cellarius, *de Sila*; Lipsius, *Apok. Apgesch.* i. p. 203, ii. 9 ff., iii. 277 ff.; Ewald, *HI* vii. 361 ff., 464; Weizsäcker, *Apost. Age* (Index); McGiffert, *Apost. Age*, pp. 230-242, 426. H. COWAN.

SILK.—See DRESS in vol. i. p. 624[a].

SILLA (סִלָּא; B Γααλλά, A Γααλλάδ; *Sela*).—Joash was murdered 'at (AV 'in') the house of Millo, *on the way* that goeth down to Silla' (2 K 12[20]). Millo was possibly either the acropolis of Mount Zion or one of its towers, and Silla was, apparently, in the valley below. There is no clue to its position. It has been suggested, from the reading of the LXX, that the Hebrew name may, originally, have commenced with *gai* 'ravine,' as in the case of Ge-hinnom. For other conjectures see Benzinger in *Kurzer Hdcom. ad loc.*

C. W. WILSON.

SILOAM.—A place mentioned, apparently, four times in Scripture: (1) Is 8[6] 'the waters of **Shiloah**' (הַשִּׁלֹחַ 'shooting forth' or 'sent forth'; B Σειλωάμ, A Σιλωάμ; Luc., Aq., Symm., Theod. Σιλωά; Vulg. *Siloe*). (2) Neh 3[15] 'the pool of Siloah' (RV **Shelah**, הַשֶּׁלַח; BA κολυμβήθρα τῶν κωδίων:* *piscina Siloe*). (3) Jn 9[7] 'the pool of Siloam' (κ. τοῦ Σιλωάμ; *natatoria Siloe*). (4) Lk 13[4] 'the tower in Siloam' (ὁ πύργος ἐν τῷ Σιλωάμ; *turris in Siloe*). The Rabbis and early Jewish travellers use the word with the article (השילח *hash-Shîlôaḥ*) as in the Bible. Josephus gives the name as Σιλωά, Σιλωᾶς, and Σιλωάμ; the Greek Fathers have Σιλωάμ; and the Latin Fathers, following the Vulgate, have *Siloe* and *Syloe*; Arabic *'Ain Silwán.*

Excepting the statement in Neh 3[15] that the wall of the 'pool of the Shelaḥ' was close to the king's gardens, which were on the south side of Jerusalem, and the fair inference that the wall of the pool formed part of the fortifications of the city, the Bible gives no indication of position. Josephus, on the other hand, distinctly states (*BJ* v. iv. 1) that the spring (πηγή) of Siloam was at the end or mouth of the Tyropœon ravine, which separated the hill of the upper city and the lower hill. This position is indicated in other passages (*BJ* II. xvi. 2; v. iv. 2, vi. 1, xii. 2; VI. viii. 5), and agrees with the statements of Jerome, who writes of the *fons Siloe* as flowing 'in radicibus Montis Moria' (*in Matt.* 10), and 'ad radices Montis Zion' (*in Is.* 8[6]); and also as watering the gardens of Hinnom and Tophet (*in Jer.* 8. 19[6] 32[35]). The Bordeaux Pilgrim (A.D. 333) and all later pilgrims place Siloam near the mouth of the valley that runs through the midst of Jerusalem, and there is every reason to believe that its general position is represented by the present *'Ain Silwán* and *Birket Silwán.*

The *Birket Silwán*, situated in the narrowest part of the Tyropœon ravine, is an artificial pool, which receives its supply of water, by transmission through a rock-hewn tunnel, from the *'Ain Sitti Mariam*, or Fountain of the Virgin—an intermittent spring in the Valley of the Ḳidron. A little below the *B. Silwán*, at the very mouth of the ravine, which is here closed by a dam of masonry, there is a second and larger pool, known as the *Birket el-Hamra.* This pool, long filled with soil, and now an open cess-pit, received the surplus waters of Siloam before they were utilized in the irrigation of the gardens which once filled the open space below the junction of the Tyropœon with the Valley of the Ḳidron.

The Fountain of the Virgin, the only true spring at Jerusalem, is very generally identified with GIHON, and the changes made in the distribution of its waters are intimately connected with the history of Siloam.* After the capture of Jerusalem by the Hebrews, possibly during the reign of Solomon, the water of the spring was impounded in a reservoir in the Ḳidron Valley, and used for irrigating the king's gardens, which filled the valley to the south. This reservoir, the site of which is lost, is called by Josephus (*BJ* v. iv. 2) 'Solomon's Pool.' After a time the water was carried by a rock-hewn conduit (discovered by Dr. Schick, *PEFSt*, 1886, p. 197 ff.; 1891, p. 13 ff.) down the west side of the Ḳidron Valley, and through the extremity of Mt. Moriah, to a pool in the Tyropœon, so that it might be more accessible to dwellers in the lower parts of the city. To this conduit, with its slight fall and gently flowing stream, Isaiah possibly referred when he compared (Is 8[6]) 'the waters of Shiloah that go softly'—typical of the unseen working of God and of the prosperity that would follow the confidence in Jehovah which he was urging upon the people—with the turbulent waters of the mighty Euphrates overflowing their banks,—an emblem of the overwhelming violence of the great world-power, Assyria, with which the people were seeking alliance.

At a later period the winding rock-hewn tunnel which connects the Fountain of the Virgin with the *Birket Silwán* was made, and the water of the spring was collected in the two reservoirs in the Tyropœon Valley. The execution of this remarkable work may be ascribed with much probability to Hezekiah, who, prior to the Assyrian invasion, stopped 'the upper spring of the waters of Gihon, and brought it straight down to (or on) the west side of the city of David' (2 Ch 32[30], cf. 2 Ch 32[4], Sir 48[17]). In June 1880 a Hebrew inscription (see Literature at end) in old Semitic characters was discovered on the east side of the tunnel, about 25 ft. from its exit at Siloam. The inscription records that the tunnel was excavated from both ends, that the workmen met in the middle, and that the length was 1200 cubits.* There is no name of any king, and this, with the absence of a date, seems to indicate that the inscription was cut by one of the workmen employed, and had no official character. The form of the letters is not opposed to the view that the tunnel was made during the reign of Hezekiah. The serpentine course of the tunnel is attributed by M. Clermont-Ganneau (*Les Tombeaux de David et des rois de Juda et le Tunnel-Aqueduc de Siloe*, 1897) to the prior existence of the rock-hewn tombs of the kings, which he places immediately north of the great southern bend. The view that this curve is due to design, and not to accident or bad workmanship, is supported by the existence of shafts from the surface which determined its direction at two important points (*PEFSt*, 1882, plan, p. 123).

---

* *Shelaḥ* is possibly a corrupt form of the earlier *Shilôaḥ*, due to a change in the pronunciation, or in the spelling of the word during the period that intervened between Isaiah and Nehemiah. The meaning of *shelaḥ* in Hebrew is 'dart,' but in Talmudic Hebrew 'skin'; and the LXX adopted the latter interpretation. They and the earlier Rabbis appear to have regarded the pool of the Shelaḥ, or of the 'sheep-skins,' as being distinct from the pool of Siloam.

* The Targ. Jon., Pesh., and Arab. VSS read 'Shiloaḥ' for 'Gihon' in 1 K 1[33].

Excavation has shown that the present *Birket Silwán* has been constructed within the limits of the ancient pool of Siloam. The original pool measured 71 ft. from N. to S. and 75 ft. from E. to W., and was for the most part excavated in the rock. A flight of rock-hewn steps led down to it from the city, and it could be emptied by a sluice-gate at its southern end. After the return from the Captivity, possibly during the reign of Herod, a covered arcade, 12 ft. wide, 22½ ft. high, and roofed with large flat slabs of stone, was erected in the pool, and ran round its four sides. This was probably the condition of the pool when Christ told the blind man (Jn 9^{7}) to go and wash 'in the pool of Siloam (which is by interpretation, Sent).' †

In the 5th cent. a three-aisled church was built, with its high altar directly above the point at which the stream issued from the tunnel, and its south aisle over the northern arcade of the pool. The church was entered from the north, on which side there were an atrium, and a narthex with a flight of steps leading down to the level of the north aisle. It appears to have been the work of the empress Eudocia, who is said to have included the pool of Siloam within the city wall. In the reign of Justinian the basilica was converted into a domed church,‡ which is noticed by Antoninus Martyr (*c.* 570), the only pilgrim who mentions a church at Siloam.§ The church must afterwards have been destroyed, probably during the Persian invasion (614), for it is not again mentioned (Bliss, *Excavations at Jerusalem*, pp. 132–210; Guthe, 'Ausgrabungen bei Jerusalem,' in *ZDPV* v. p. 52 ff.).

The larger pool, *Birket el-Hamra*,‖ has not been completely examined, but excavation has shown that it is partially cut in the rock, and that the dam of masonry at its lower end, which has a thickness of 20 to 8 ft., and is strengthened by buttresses, is at one point 44 ft. high. The construction of the dam, and the manner in which its masonry is bonded into the rock at either end, shows that, like the dam of the *Birket Israil*, it formed part of the defences of the city (Bliss, *l.c.*). The pool is probably the work of Hezekiah, and referred to (Is 22^{11}) as the *mikveh*, or 'ditch (RV reservoir) between the two walls for the waters of the old pool.' The dam is apparently the wall of the 'pool (*bĕrēkhah*) of the Shelah' repaired by Shallun (Neh 3^{15}). This pool is mentioned by the Bordeaux Pilgrim, by Antoninus Martyr, and other pilgrims, and, in the Middle Ages, it was frequently called *Natatoria Siloe*, to distinguish it from the *upper* pool of Siloam. The tunnel and the pools are possibly referred to in 2 Ch 32^{4}, Is 22^{9}, and Sir 48^{17}.

The water of Siloam is described by Josephus as being sweet and abundant (*BJ* v. iv. 1); and by the Rabbis, who attributed digestive properties to it, as being clear and sweet. On the last day of the Feast of Tabernacles, water from the spring was poured upon the altar (Neubauer, *Géog. du Talmud*, p. 145 f.). In 985 Mukaddasi, a native of Jerusalem, calls the water 'fairly good'; but the author of the Marasid (*c.* 1300) says that it was then no longer sweet. Writers of the 15th and 16th cents. call it brackish but wholesome. As the spring depends upon the annual rainfall for its supply, the water, which percolates through vast accumulations of refuse, must to a certain extent be impure, but it is still used for drinking purposes by the villagers of Silwán and by the poor of Jerusalem. In consequence of the miracle wrought on the blind man, the water and pool are held in much honour by Jews, Christians, and Moslems. Healing properties, especially in the case of eye diseases, have been attributed to the water from the early days of Christianity, and numerous legends have gathered round it. Christians believed that it came from Shiloh or from Mt. Zion; Moslems, that on the night of 'Arafat it came underground from the holy well, Zemzem, at Mecca. A small perennial stream flows from the Fountain of the Virgin to the Pool of Siloam, and its volume is increased, at uncertain times, by a sudden rush of water from the spring. The Bordeaux Pilgrim, Jerome (*in Is.* 8^{6}), and most of the pilgrims, write of the increased flow as periodic; but in reality it varies greatly, and is dependent upon the rainfall and the season. During a wet winter the stream swells two or three times a day, whilst in summer the rise takes place only once in two or three days. All knowledge of the tunnel through which the stream runs was lost for several centuries, and it was first rediscovered in the 13th cent. It may perhaps even be inferred from the silence of Josephus that the Fountain of the Virgin was unknown to him, and that it was first opened, after its closure by Hezekiah, some centuries later.

After the capture of Jerusalem by the Arabs a village sprang up in the valley below the pool. In 1047 Nasir-i-Khusrau found an endowed hospital, with salaried physicians, and many buildings, erected for charitable purposes, near the spring. Early in the 12th cent. there was a small monastery at Siloam, but about 1300 the buildings were in ruins, and the irrigated gardens, which had been bequeathed by one of the Khalifs to the poor of Jerusalem, had disappeared. By the middle of the 17th cent. the pools were filled with rubbish, and the tradition, which had lingered into the 16th cent., that a church dedicated to the *Salvator illuminator* had once stood above the mouth of the tunnel, was lost. The village of Siloam, *Kefr Silwán*, on the left bank of the Kidron Valley, at the foot of the Mount of Olives, is of comparatively recent growth. Christian anchorites, and afterwards Moslems, are alluded to as living in the caves; but Quaresmius, in the 17th cent., is the first to distinctly mention the village by its present name (Guy le Strange, *Pal. under the Moslems*; Tobler, *Die Siloahquelle und der Oelberg*; P.P. Text Society translations).

The 'tower in Siloam' (Lk 13^{4}), of which nothing further is known, may have been one of the towers in the city wall near the pool.

LITERATURE.—The principal authorities for the site and the description of the pool have been cited in the article. For the inscription and its bearing on the history of the Heb. alphabet, see esp. Driver, *Text of Samuel*, p. 14 ff. (with facsimile, transcription, and translation); Weir, *Short Hist. of the Heb. Text of OT*, 9 ff.; Euting in Ges.-Kautzsch's *Heb. Gram.*; Socin (plate 8 in *ZDPV* iv., and, in an amended form, *Die Siloahinschrift*, Freiburg, 1899); Lidzbarski, *Handb. d. nordsem. Epigraphik*, 1898; cf. Cheyne in *PB*, 'Isaiah,' 143.

C. W. WILSON.

SILVANUS.—See SILAS.

SILVER (כֶּסֶף [Aram. כְּסַף], ἄργυρος, ἀργύριον) comes next to gold in the list of precious metals. Its value arises partly from its comparative rarity, and partly from its properties of resistance to corrosion, brilliant white lustre, malleability, ductility, and the like, which make it a specially suitable material for artistic workmanship. The knowledge and use of silver in classical and Bible lands go back to prehistoric times. This metal appears in Homer as put to a great variety of purposes. Vessels and ornaments made of it were found by Schliemann at Mycenæ. Silver is equally in evidence among the remains of the ancient Egyptians, Assyrians, and Hittites. It is repeatedly mentioned in the Tel el-Amarna tablets.

---

* Conder, in his very complete description of the tunnel (*PEFSt*, 1882, p. 122 ff.), gives its length as 1706·8 ft., or, approximately, 1200 cubits of 17 in., and states that the point of junction was 944 ft. from the Siloam end. See also *PEF Mem.* 'Jerusalem,' p. 345.

† On the play upon the meaning of the word, and on the parallelism between 'the sent one' and 'the sent water,' see Basil on Is 8.

‡ The position of the church with regard to the pool is not unlike that of St. Mary *in probatica*, in the Pool of Bethesda near the Church of St. Anne.

§ The church is also mentioned in the life of St. Peter the Iberian (409–488).

‖ This name is derived from the hard red cement full of pounded pottery which is used for lining cisterns, and is locally called *hamra*.

Silver is rarely found in the native state, and has almost always to be extracted from some form of ore. The principal Asiatic source of it in ancient times was in the mountains of Armenia and Kurdistan. Homer (*Il.* ii. 857) refers to the special excellence of the silver brought from Alybê in Pontus. The mines of these regions have been wrought by the Turkish Government in modern times. In Europe the silver mines of Laurium in Attica were of considerable importance, and proved a rich source of wealth to Athens. There were also mines in Thrace and Epirus. But the most abundant supplies of silver were obtained from Spain. The workings there were at first in the hands of the Carthaginians, and it was when the Romans obtained possession of them that silver first became plentiful in Italy, though it had previously been used in art by the Etruscans, who may have derived their supply of the metal from Gaul or from the Phœnicians.

Silver was obtained from its compounds by smelting along with other metallic ores, of which that of lead was essential to the process. At a high temperature the lead combined with the impurities in the silver to form a heavy 'slag,' which separated by its weight from the molten silver, leaving the latter pure.

The relative values of gold and silver varied in ancient times. As long as the supply was restricted to Asiatic sources, silver was scarcer than it afterwards became. There are indications of a struggle for supremacy between the two metals at first, and even of a preference for silver to gold in some places. In Egypt silver is always mentioned before gold in the inscriptions, and silver objects are rarer than golden ones in the tombs. From a fragment of Agatharcides it appears that in ancient Arabia silver was reckoned 10 times more valuable than gold. The laws of Menes in Egypt fixed the value of gold as $2\frac{1}{2}$ times that of silver. Herodotus (iii. 95) makes gold equal in value to 13 times its weight of silver. The Egyptian *ăsem* (Gr. ἤλεκτρον [or -ος], Lat. *electrum*) was a highly prized alloy of gold and silver.

Silver was an early form of currency, and at first was reckoned by weight (see MONEY, vol. iii. p. 418 ff.), coinage being unknown among the Hebrews before the Exile. Hence in OT כֶּסֶף is frequently tr. ἀργύριον by LXX, and 'money' in EV. It is also occasionally rendered 'price,' and once (Is 7^{23}) 'silverlings.' Similarly in Apocr. and NT ἀργύριον is often tr. 'money.' 'Piece of silver' stands in one passage (Lk 15^{8}) for δραχμή.

The mention of silver in Scripture as a medium of exchange goes back to the time of Abraham (Gn $23^{15.16}$). Silver is an item constantly enumerated in accounts of wealth, spoil, and tribute. The wealth of Solomon is indicated by his making silver as plentiful as stone in Jerusalem (1 K 10^{27}, Sir 47^{18}), and that of the restored Jerusalem is described in the promise, 'for iron I will bring silver' (Is 60^{17}). So Tyre (Zec 9^{3}) and the wicked man (Job 27^{16}) are said to 'heap up silver as dust.' Idols were made of silver or plated with it. It was the material of various parts of the Tabernacle (sockets, fillets, hooks, etc.), of the trumpets of the priests, and of many of the sacred vessels of the temple. Vessels of silver were a form of votive offering (Nu 7 *passim*), and were part of the furniture of wealthy private houses (2 Ti 2^{20}). Joseph's divining cup was of silver (Gn $44^{2ff.}$). This metal was used for chains (Is 40^{19}) and ornaments ('jewels,' Gn 24^{53}; 'pictures,' Pr 25^{11}). Silver 'shrines,' or models of the temple of Diana, were largely made and sold at Ephesus (Ac 19^{24}). Silver mines are referred to in Job 28^{1}, and the process of refining is alluded to in Pr 17^{3} 27^{21} 25^{4}, Zec 13^{9}, Mal 3^{3} etc. It is described with special fulness in Jer 6^{28-30} (where it is represented as fruitless) and in Ezk 22^{17-22}. In both of these passages special emphasis is laid on the presence of lead among the other metallic ores. These other metals and the impurities combined with them are the 'dross' of silver. 2 Ch 9^{14} tells how Solomon obtained silver from Arabia. Tarshish is named as the source of the metal in 2 Ch 9^{21}, Jer 10^{9}, Ezk 27^{12}, the second of these passages referring specially to the silver being 'spread into plates.' In 1 Mac 8^{3} the acquisition of the Spanish mines by the Romans is mentioned. Silversmiths are mentioned in Wis 15^{9} (ἀργυροχόος) and Ac 19^{24} (ἀργυροκόπος). There was a guild of this craft at Ephesus, of which in St. Paul's day Demetrius was a leading member. In LXX ἀργυροκόπος is the tr. of צוֹרֵף ('founder,' Jg 17^{4}) and of צוֹרֵף (AV 'founder,' RV [as inf. abs.] 'refine,' Jer 6^{29}, where also צָרַף = ἀργυροκοπεῖν). 'Silver plate' is the equivalent of ἀργύρωμα in Jth 12^{1} 15^{11}, 1 Mac 15^{32}. The plumage of doves in sunlight is described in Ps 68^{13} as 'wings covered with silver.' Wisdom and instruction are frequently compared for preciousness to pure silver, as are also the words of God (Ps 12^{6}). The refining of silver is a figure for the discipline of the righteous (Ps 66^{10}, cf. also Is 48^{10}). Silver turned to dross is a metaphor for moral deterioration (Is 1^{22}, Jer 6^{30}).

For questions connected with currency and coinage see MONEY.

LITERATURE.—Polybius, xxxiv. 9; Pliny, *HN* xxxiii. 23, 31; Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 461; Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 264; Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. of Art in Sardinia, Judæa*, etc. ii. 268; Hamilton, *Researches*, i. 234 ff.; Del Mar, *Hist. of Precious Metals*, 221 ff.; Schrader and Jevons, *Prehistoric Antiquities*, 180 ff.

JAMES PATRICK.

SILVERLING.—See MONEY in vol. iii. p. 432^{a}.

SIMEON (שִׁמְעוֹן; LXX and NT Συμεών, whence RV form usually employed in NT, Symeon).—A common name amongst the Jews, esp. in its later (Greek) form *Simon* (see art. PETER (SIMON), *ad init.*). The Heb. name is used of—1. The second son of Jacob and Leah, Gn 29^{33}. The etymology, or at all events the original signification of the name, is unknown. J, in Gn 29^{31-35}, characteristically derives it from שָׁמַע (='hear'), and reports that 'Leah said, Because the LORD hath heard (*shāma'*) that I am hated, he hath therefore given me this son also, and she called his name Simeon (*Shim'ôn*).' Only two incidents in the history of Simeon are related in the Book of Genesis. In conjunction with his brother Levi he is said to have massacred the Shechemites in revenge for the dishonour of his sister Dinah (Gn 34). The details of the story are obscure, and are drawn from several sources, whose standpoint is not always the same. The real significance of this narrative we shall seek to appreciate in art. SIMEON (TRIBE). The other occasion upon which Simeon is mentioned is when Joseph determined to detain one of his brothers in Egypt as security that they would return with Benjamin (Gn 42^{24}). From the circumstance that *Simeon* is selected for this purpose, it has been supposed that the narrator means to insinuate that he had been the chief actor in the tragedy that led to Joseph's servitude in Egypt. The truculent character of Simeon, as vouched for by the massacre at Shechem, might also be supposed to furnish the justification for his severe treatment; but it is questionable whether the narrator (E) of his detention in Egypt had any such reference in his mind, seeing that among the sources of Gn 34 E has no place, and consequently he may have been ignorant of that story. It is more probable that in Gn 42^{24} Simeon the *second* son of Jacob is detained as a hostage rather than Reuben the *firstborn*, because the latter, according to E (Gn 37^{22}), had acted a more friendly part than the rest of Joseph's brethren, and had sought to deliver him out of their hands.

The rape of Dinah and the massacre of the Shechemites were commemorated in verse by the Jewish or Samaritan poet Theodotus (*c.* 200 B.C.). It is instructive to compare the judgment passed upon the act of the two brothers in Gn 49 (cf. 34^{30}) with what we find in some of the literary productions of post-exilian Judaism. Words of disapproval and severe censure give place in the latter to hearty approval and warm eulogy. The contrast is strikingly displayed in the Book of Judith, whose heroine belongs to the tribe of Simeon, and whose estimate of the character and conduct of her progenitor is as different from that ascribed to Jacob in Genesis as her language is offensive to good taste (Jth $9^{2f.}$; cf. *Book of Jubilees*, ch. 30).

2. The great-grandfather of Judas Maccabæus, 1 Mac 2^{1}. 3. An ancestor of Jesus, Lk 3^{30}. 4. The 'righteous and devout' (δίκαιος καὶ εὐλαβής) man who took the infant Jesus in his arms and blessed Him, on the occasion of the presentation in the temple (Lk $2^{25ff.}$). The notion that this Simeon is to be identified with a Rabbi who was the son of Hillel and the father of Gamaliel I. is as precarious as the apocryphal legends about his two sons Charinus and Leucius; see NICODEMUS (GOSPEL OF). The very existence of a Rabbi Simon ben Hillel is doubtful (see Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 363), and in any case he was not, as late legends assert, president of the Sanhedrin, an office which in the time of Christ was always held by the high priest (see SANHEDRIN, p. 401). If the Simeon of St. Luke had been Hillel's son, is it conceivable that he would have been introduced simply as 'a man in Jerusalem whose name was Simeon'? 5. A prophet and teacher at Antioch, whose surname was NIGER (Ac 13^{1}). 6. Ac 15^{14}, 2 P 1^{1} (RVm). See PETER (SIMON), vol. iii. p. 756.

J. A. SELBIE.

SIMEON (TRIBE).—The history of this tribe, which theoretically traced its descent to the second son of Jacob and Leah, is involved in considerable obscurity. From the fact that Shaul, the eponymous head of one of its families, is called 'the son of the Canaanitish woman' (Gn 46^{10}, Ex 6^{15}), we may infer that it contained a considerable admixture of non-Israelitish elements. From Jg $1^{3.17}$ we learn that, at the beginning of the conquest of Canaan, Simeon joined his forces with those of Judah. It was probably not long thereafter that Simeon and Levi together sought to gain a settlement in Mount Ephraim, which was then occupied by the Canaanites. Such at least is a plausible interpretation of the tradition which underlies the narrative of Gn 34. Upon any theory it is difficult to disentangle the details of that story, for the chapter in question is, in its present form, not homogeneous, and the different narratives date from different periods, and are inspired by different motives (cf. artt. HAMOR, and JACOB in vol. ii. p. 530 f.). None of these narratives is at all suitable to pre-Mosaic times, and there is much plausibility in the theory of Wellhausen, that we have here a reminiscence of an attempt on the part of Dinah bat-Leah (a branch of Simeon) and the other Simeonites, in conjunction with Levi, to possess themselves of the town of Shechem by treacherously taking advantage of the friendly relations that had hitherto subsisted between them and the Canaanites.

Whatever degree of success may have attended the enterprise at first, its ultimate consequences were most disastrous, for the Canaanites of the surrounding districts appear to have attacked and practically annihilated the invaders (cf. Moore, *Judges*, 240). This explains the insignificance or the entire absence of Simeon in the subsequent history of Israel. The shattered remnants of this tribe, which had begun its warlike activity in alliance with Judah, now fell back upon the latter for protection and a share of the land (Jos 19^{9}).

In the Song of Deborah (Jg 5), in which the tribes of Israel are praised or blamed according to the part they had played in the struggle, both Judah and Simeon are passed over—Judah probably because at this period it pursued its own aims in complete separation from the northern tribes (cf. Gn 38), Simeon because it was practically part of Judah.

The absence of Simeon in the Blessing of Moses (Dt 33) has been felt to be more surprising, and various explanations have been offered, or attempts made to supply the omission. A and some other MSS of the LXX, indeed, insert *Simeon* in v.^{6b} 'Let Reuben live and not die, *and let Simeon be many in number*' (Συμεὼν ἔστω πολὺς ἐν ἀριθμῷ). This, however, may be simply a deliberate correction of the text, devoid of any support from Heb. MSS. Other solutions of the difficulty have been proposed by Kohler (*Der Segen Jacob's*, 5) and Graetz (*Gesch. d. Juden*, II. i. 486 f.) which have been accepted with modifications by Heilprin (*Hist. Poetry of the Hebrews*, i. 113 ff.) and Bacon (*Triple Tradition of the Exodus*, 270 f.). Founding upon the unnatural shortness of the blessing of Judah, and the character of Levi's blessing, which seems too warlike for a non-secular tribe, Kohler conjectures that v.^{7} has fallen out of its place and should follow v.^{10}, so that vv.$^{7.11}$ would form the blessing of Judah. Graetz boldly substitutes 'Simeon' for 'Judah' in v.^{7}, a method of procedure which is approved by Heilprin and Bacon as far as v.^{7a} is concerned, while at the same time they change the order of the verses as Kohler proposed. We thus obtain (v.^{7a}) as the blessing of Simeon, 'Hear, O Jehovah, the voice of Simeon, and bring him to his people' (the latter prayer perhaps referring to the Simeonites who, according to 1 Ch $4^{42f.}$, found a settlement in Mt. Seir). The blessing of Judah would then be contained in v.^{7b} 'Judah with his hands contends,' etc., and v.^{11} 'Bless, Lord, his substance,' etc.—But, however plausible these explanations may be, there will probably be little hesitation in assenting to the judgment of Dillmann (approved by Driver), that the corrections of the text which they involve are 'too violent' to be probable. The death-blow which Simeon received so early in his career is quite sufficient to account for the non-mention of him in Dt 33, even if we ascribe a considerable antiquity to that chapter.

The early decadence of this tribe is implied also in the priestly narrative of the Hexateuch, for while at the first census (Nu 1^{23}) Simeon counted 59,300, at the second (26^{14}) it had fallen to 22,200. Knowing the methods and the motives of the Chronicler, we can of course attach no importance to his introducing the tribe of Simeon as numerous in the time of David (1 Ch 12^{25}), especially when we observe that elsewhere even he is compelled to acknowledge its feebleness (1 Ch 4^{27}).

The question has been needlessly raised, To which of the two divisions did the tribe of Simeon attach itself at the disruption of the kingdom? The truth is that long before that event this tribe had ceased to have any *independent* existence, having been practically absorbed by Judah. The Chronicler, indeed, perhaps in order to make up the number ten, appears to reckon Simeon as belonging to the N. kingdom (2 Ch 15^{9} 34^{6}; cf. Ezk $48^{24.25.33}$, Rev 7^{7}). There is probably more foundation for the tradition which he has preserved of conquests made by Simeonites in the time of Hezekiah (1 Ch 4^{28-43}).

The list of the sons of Simeon is given in Gn 46^{10} and Ex 6^{15}. A different list appears in 1 Ch $4^{24f.}$, which is practically identical with another in Nu 26^{12-14}. Simeon's towns are named in Jos 19^{2-6} and (with the exception of some deviations due probably to copyists' errors) in 1 Ch $4^{28f.}$. All these towns are in Jos $15^{26-32.42}$ reckoned to *Judah*, and to the same tribe are elsewhere reckoned such of them as Ziklag (1 S 27^{6}), Hormah (1 S 30^{30}), and Beersheba (1 K 19^{3}). This is in perfect harmony with the conclusion already reached, that Simeon was absorbed by Judah; and this same conclusion is strengthened by the circumstance that after the return from the Exile there is no mention of Simeonites, but only of Judahites as dwelling in any of the above cities (Neh $11^{26f.}$).

In addition to what is contained in the OT, the Pal.-Jewish literature supplies a multitude of details regarding the tribe of Simeon and its eponymous head (cf. especially *Test. of Twelve Patr.* and *Bk. of Jubilees*). These stories are too manifestly apocryphal to merit serious consideration; and the basis is not more substantial upon which Dozy (*de Israëlieten te Mekka*) builds his theory that the sanctuary at Mecca was founded by Simeonites in the time of David. In his important monograph, *der Stamm Simeon* (Meissen, 1866), Graf not only rejects this opinion as wholly devoid of historical support, but subjects to a searching examination the attempt of Movers and Hitzig to discover other OT allusions besides those of the Chronicler to Simeonite conquests and settlements outside Palestine. The words of Mic 1^{15} 'The glory of Israel shall come even unto Adullam' have been, strangely enough, connected with the history in 1 Ch 4^{34-43}. The exegesis by which this result is reached is exceedingly strained, and the interpretation also involves, what was not the case, that Simeon belonged to the N. kingdom. Equally unsuccessful is the attempt to prove that it is the Simeonites of Mt. Seir who put the question in Is 21^{11} ('Watchman, what of the night?'). The title of the oracle, 'Burden of *Dumah*,' has been sought to be connected with the DUMAH of Gn 25^{14}, mentioned as a family of the Ishmaelites side by side with Mibsam and Mishma, which last are in 1 Ch 4^{25} the names of *Simeonite* families. The latter circumstance may legitimately be urged in favour of the probability of large admixtures of Ishmaelite as well as Can. elements in the tribe of Simeon. But none of the localities known to us by the name Dumah will suit the topographical necessities of Is $21^{11f.}$, and it is far more probable that דומה is a textual error for אדום (Cheyne in *SBOT*; Marti, *Jes. ad loc.*), or that *Dumah* ('silence') is in this instance a symbolical designation of *Edom* (Del., Dillm., and many others).

Side by side with Dumah we find in Gn 25^{14} Massa, to which Hitzig finds a reference in Pr 30^{1} 31^{1}. By an emendation of the text he makes the former read, 'Words of Agur, the son of the queen of Massa,' while the latter is rendered 'Words of (to) Lemuel, king of Massa, which his mother taught him.' Hitzig endeavours to connect Massa with the Simeonite settlement in Mt. Seir; but the very most that the evidence entitles us to infer is that there may have been an *Ishmaelite* kingdom of Massa, and that its queen, like the queen of Sheba, may have had a traditional reputation for wisdom. That this kingdom, however, had any connexion with the Simeonites of 1 Ch 4^{42} is not proved, and is on many grounds unlikely.

LITERATURE.—Especially Graf's monograph, *der Stamm Simeon*; cf. also his *Gesch. BB. d. AT*, 221; Kuenen, *Gesam. Abhandl.* 255 ff.; Wellh. *Compos. d. Hex.*² 312 ff., 353 f., *IJG*³ 35 f.; Stade, *GVI* i. 154; Ewald, *Hist.* ii. 287 f.; Graetz, *Gesch. d. Juden*, II. i. 486 f.; Kittel, *Hist. of Hebrews*, ii. 69; the Commentaries of Del., Dillm., Gunkel, and Holzinger on *Genesis*, and of Dillm., Driver, Steuernagel, and Bertholet on *Deut.*; see also Moore, *Judges*, 12, 36, 240 f.

J. A. SELBIE.

SIMILITUDE, as used in AV, usually means 'image' or 'likeness.' Cf. Gn 1^{26} Tind. 'Let us make man in our symilitude and after oure lycknesse,' and Ezk 8^{3} Cov. (where the Heb. is תַּבְנִית), 'The symilitude stretched out an honde, and toke me by the hayrie lockes off my heade.' The words so tr^{d} are (1) תַּבְנִית (Ps 106^{20} 144^{12}), for which see under PATTERN; (2) תְּמוּנָה (Nu 12^{8}, Dt $4^{12.15.16}$), for which see under IMAGE; and (3) דְּמוּת (2 Ch 4^{3}, Dn 10^{16}), which is usually tr^{d} 'likeness.' The last is the only word tr^{d} 'similitude' in RV. The words tr^{d} 'similitude' in NT are: ὁμοίωμα (Ro 5^{14}), ὁμοίωσις (Ja 3^{9}),* and ὁμοιότης (He 7^{15}); in each case RV substitutes 'likeness.' See under PATTERN.

But 'similitude' occurs once in the sense of illustration, parable, proverb: Hos 12^{10} 'I have multiplied visions, and used similitudes' (אֲדַמֶּה, from דָּמָה [the root of דְּמוּת] 'to be like,' Piel 'to liken'). Cf. Mt 13^{3} Tind. 'And he spake many thynges to them *in* similitudes'; He 9^{9} Tind. 'Which was a similitude for the tyme then present'; and Lk 4^{23} Rhem. 'Certes, you wil say to me this similitude, Physicion, cure theyself.'

J. HASTINGS.

SIMON (Σίμων), one of the commonest names amongst the Jews, is a later (Greek) form of SIMEON (cf. Ac 15^{14}, where St. James, in referring to St. Peter, uses the archaic form of his name). This form is naturally confined to the Apocr. and NT.

i. IN THE APOCRYPHA.—The name belongs to—**1.** Simon I., the high priest who succeeded Onias I. during the Ptolemaic domination (*c.* 300 B.C.). According to Josephus (*Ant.* XII. ii. 5) he obtained the surname of 'the Just' (ὁ δίκαιος), a designation intended, probably, to emphasize his strict legalism in opposition to the Hellenizing tendency of the majority of the high priests of the Greek period. In *Pirḳe Aboth* (i. 2) he is said to have been one of the last of the Great Synagogue, and the saying is attributed to him: 'On three things the world is stayed, on the Torah, on the Worship [cf. ἡ λατρεία in Ro 9^{4}], and on the bestowal of Kindnesses' (Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*², p. 12). It is very doubtful, however, whether Josephus is right in identifying Simon I. with Simon the Just. Herzfeld (ii. 189 ff., 377 f.) and others claim the title for—**2.** Simon II. (Jos. *Ant.* XII. iv. 10), the successor of Onias II. (*c.* 220 B.C.). The same doubt exists as to the subject of the panegyric contained in Sir $50^{1ff.}$. He is designated simply 'Simon the son of Onias the high priest,' a title applicable either to Simon I. or to Simon II. The graphic description, however, contained in this passage leaves the impression on one's mind that Ben Sira (*c.* 180 B.C.) is speaking of an elder contemporary (Simon II.) of his own rather than of a high priest who had died a century before (Cheyne, *Job and Solomon*, 180; see, further, Kuenen, *Gesam. Abhandl.* 153 f.; Schürer, *GJV*³ ii. 355 f. [*HJP* II. i. 355 f.]; Graetz, 'Simon der Gerechte und seine Zeit,' in *Monatsschrift*, 1857, pp. 45–56). **3.** A temple official who, out of ill-will to the high priest ONIAS III., suggested to SELEUCUS IV. the plundering of the temple treasury, 2 Mac 3^{4}. See HELIODORUS. **4.** Simon the Maccabee.—See MACCABEES, vol. iii. p. 185. **5.** 1 Es 9^{32}. See CHOSAMEUS.

ii. IN THE NT.—**1.** The Apostle Peter.—See PETER (SIMON). **2.** See SIMON MAGUS. **3.** Another of the apostles, Simon the CANANÆAN (which see). **4.** A brother of Jesus (Mt 13^{55}, Mk 6^{3}). It is very doubtful whether he should be identified with the Symeon who is said to have succeeded James 'the Lord's brother' as bishop of Jerusalem (Euseb. *HE* iii. 11, iv. 22), and to have suffered martyrdom under Trajan (*ib.* iii. 32). Hegesippus, whom Euseb. professes to quote, describes this Symeon as *son of Clopas*, and calls him ἀνεψιός of the Lord, while James and Jude are spoken of as the Lord's ἀδελφοί. See art. BRETHREN OF THE LORD, vol. i. pp. 320^{a}, 321^{b}. **5.** Simon 'the leper,' in whose house a woman anointed Jesus, Mt 26^{6}, Mk 14^{3}. The question of the identity of our Lord's host and the cognate questions connected with the incident of the anointing are exhaustively discussed in art. MARY, vol. iii. p. 279 ff. **6.** A Pharisee who invited Jesus to eat with him, Lk $7^{36ff.}$. On this occasion we read that a woman that was 'a sinner' (ἁμαρτωλός) anointed Jesus' feet. For the relation of this incident to the narratives of Mt 26, Mk 14, and Jn 12, see, again, art. MARY as just cited, and cf. Bruce, *Parabolic Teaching of Christ*, 250 ff. **7.** The father (?) of JUDAS ISCARIOT. In all the passages (Jn 6^{71} $13^{2.26}$) where this Simon is named, the Greek text (Ἰούδας Σίμωνος, 'Judas of Simon') leaves it uncertain what was his relationship to the traitor, but the EV 'Judas *the son* of Simon' is probably correct. It is very precarious to identify Simon Iscariot (Jn 6^{71} 13^{26}) with Simon the Cananæan. **8.** A Cyrenian, who was compelled by the Roman soldiers to bear the cross of Jesus (Mt 27^{32}, Mk 15^{21}, Lk 23^{26}). He is described by St. Mark as the father of ALEXANDER and RUFUS, names evidently well known in the early Christian Church. The story in the Gospels was perverted by some of the Docetic sects, the Basilidians going the length of maintaining that Simon not only bore the cross, but was actually crucified in mistake for Jesus. **9.** The tanner, with whom St. Peter lodged at Joppa (Ac 9^{43} $10^{6.17.32}$).

---

* For the distinction between ὁμοίωσις and εἰκών see Mayor on Ja 3^{9}.

J. A. Selbie.

SIMON MAGUS.—The name usually given for the sake of distinction to that Simon who is mentioned in only one place in the NT, but to whom, both in Patristic literature and in modern criticism, the part assigned is very considerable. There are some features in the story of the NT which excite our curiosity; the early Fathers have detailed accounts of his false teaching, and give him the doubtful honour of being the first of the heresiarchs, the source and spring of all later heresy; early Christian romance writers embellished his history with many wonderful details, and made him the antagonist of Simon Peter, both in verbal disputations and in the exhibition of magical arts; while a school of modern critics has found in his career and the stories concerning him the chief support for a far-reaching reconstruction of our conceptions of early Christianity. In order to obtain a sound basis for our investigations, it will be useful after examining the account in the NT to go carefully through the Patristic evidence in chronological order, and after that consider the fuller narratives of uncertain date contained in the Clementine literature and Apocryphal *Acts*. We shall thus be in a better position to estimate the force and value of modern criticism, and be able to offer a probable explanation of the various difficulties that the problem presents.

i. Simon in the New Testament.
ii. Simon in Patristic literature to A.D. 400.
iii. The Clementine literature and Apocryphal *Acts*.
iv. Modern critical views.
v. The growth of the legend.
vi. The affinities of Simon's system.
vii. Simon Magus and simony.
viii. Simon Magus and the Faust legend.
Literature.

i. Simon in the NT.—In Ac 8^{5-24}, where the preaching of Philip in Samaria is described, we are told that 'there was a certain man called Simon, which beforetime in the city used sorcery, and bewitched the people of Samaria, giving out that himself was some great one' (*λέγων εἶναί τινα ἑαυτὸν μέγαν*). All the people followed him, and described him as 'that power of God which is called great' (*οὗτός ἐστιν ἡ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ καλουμένη μεγάλη*). When the rest of the city was converted, Simon also believed and was baptized, and continued with Philip, amazed at his miracles. When Peter and John came down, they laid hands on the converts, who received the Holy Ghost. Simon then offered Peter money, saying, 'Give me also this power, that on whomsoever I lay hands, he may receive the Holy Ghost.' Peter sternly rebuked him. 'Thy money perish with thee . . . thou hast neither part nor lot in this matter . . . thou art in the gall of bitterness, and the bond of iniquity.' Simon entreated him to pray the Lord that none of those things might come upon him.

It will be more convenient to postpone comments on this passage until we have collected further information on the subject.

ii. Patristic Evidence.—The earliest information outside the NT comes from *Justin Martyr*, *c.* 150 (*Apol.* i. 26, 56 [cf. Eus. *HE* ii. 13. 14]; *Dial.* 120). He tells us that Simon was a Samaritan, of the village of Gitta; he came to Rome in the time of Claudius Cæsar; by the power of the demons he worked miracles, and was honoured in Rome as a god, so that a statue was erected in his honour by order of the Senate and people, between the two bridges, bearing the inscription SIMONI DEO SANCTO. Almost all the Samaritans and a few of other nations honour him as the first god (*πρῶτος θεός*). He took about with him a woman called Helena, who had formerly been a prostitute, and whom he is said to have called the first conception (*πρώτη ἔννοια*) which came forth from him. He is described as God above 'all rule and authority and power.' We also gather that Justin looked upon him as the originator of heresy and the source whence all later heresies were derived.

As regards one part of this story an interesting discovery has been made. In the year 1574 there was dug up in the place indicated by Justin, namely, in the island of the Tiber, a marble fragment, apparently the base of a statue, with the inscription SEMONI SANCO DEO FIDIO. It is now generally agreed that Justin mistook a statue dedicated to a Sabine deity for one dedicated to Simon (Gruter, *Insc. Ant.* i. p. 95, n. 5), although whether the mistake was his own or was earlier than himself we cannot say. But nothing in this mistake need invalidate his testimony about Simon in Samaria. Justin himself was a Samaritan; he draws attention at least once (*Dial.* 120; cf. *Apol.* ii. 15) to the fact that he had spoken the truth to his own disadvantage. On the subject of the sect which called itself after the name of Simon he must be taken as first-hand evidence. And there are strong grounds for thinking that we have a fuller account which emanates from him. Accounts of Simon Magus are contained in the following heresiological works: Irenæus (I. xvi.), pseudo-Tertullian (i.), Hippolytus (*Refutatio*, vi.), Philaster (29), Epiphanius (*Panarion*, 21). Of these, that in Hippolytus' *Refutatio* consists of two parts; that from § 7 to § 18, containing extracts from a work called *ἡ μεγάλη ἀπόφασις*, 'the Great Revelation,' presents a different system from that found elsewhere, and will be noticed further on; that in § 19 and § 20 is derived from the same source from which the greater part of the matter in all the other heresiologists comes. It is now generally agreed, and probably on good grounds, that this common source was a treatise (*σύνταγμα*) on heresies written by Justin and referred to by himself (*Apol.* i. 26). The following is the account put together from these different sources:—

Simon was said to have taught that he was the highest God, the most elevated virtue (*τὴν ὑπὲρ πάντα δύναμιν*). He carried about with him Helena, who he said was the first conception of his mind, the mother of all, by whom he conceived in his mind to create the angels and archangels. She was also called Wisdom (*σοφία*), according to pseudo-Tertullian, and Holy Spirit and Prunicus (*προύνικος*), according to Epiphanius. She, knowing her father's wish, leapt forth from him and created the angels and powers by whom this world and man were created. She was unable to return to her father because of the envy and desire of those whom she had created, and suffered contumely, and was compelled to assume human form. She passed through the centuries, as it were, from one vessel to another, transmigrating from one female form to another. She was the Helen about whom the Trojan war was fought; the wooden horse representing the ignorance of the nations. After that she passed from form to form, and lastly became a prostitute in a brothel at Tyre: she was the lost sheep. But since the rulers of the world ruled it ill, and in order to redeem her, the Supreme Power descended to the lower world. He passed through the regions ruled by the principalities and powers, in each region making himself like to those in it, and so among men he appeared as a man. He appeared among the Jews as the Son, in Samaria as the Father, in other nations as the Holy Spirit. In Judæa he had seemed to suffer, but had not. He allowed himself to be called by whatsoever names men liked. He thus succeeded in saving Helena, as she expected. He brought man to a knowledge of himself, and liberated the world and those who were his from the rule of those who had made the world. The Jewish prophecies, he said, were inspired by the angels who made the world. Therefore those who had hope in him and Helena need no longer care for them, but might freely do as they would, for men were saved according to his grace and not according to good works. There was no real difference between good and bad, they were merely accidental distinctions made by the creators of the world. The morality of the sect was, we are told, in accordance with these principles. Their priests (*mystici sacerdotes*) lived lascivious lives, used magic and incantations, made philtres, had familiar spirits, and had images of Simon and Helena made in the form of Zeus and Athena.

Hegesippus (*c.* 180), in a corrupt passage quoted by Eus. iv. 22, speaks of Simon, from whom came the Simonians; Cleobius, whence the Cleobians; and Dositheus, whence the Dositheans; and Gorthæus, whence the Gortheni; and Masbotheus, whence the Masbotheans—from these, he says, came the followers of Menander; and he then enumerates the later heretics. It would be interesting to know if this heretical genealogy is independent of Justin.

Tertullian (*c.* 200) does not seem to have any original information. He knows the story about the statue (*Apol.* 13). He gives a long account of Simon's system, derived apparently from Irenæus (*de Anima*, 34). He says that even in his own day the presumption of the sect of Simon is so great that they even presume to raise the souls of the prophets from the lower regions (*Ecce hodie eiusdem Simonis hæreticos tanta presumptio artis extollit, ut etiam prophetarum animas ab inferis movere se spondeant*).

Clement of Alexandria (*c.* 200) gives us little information about Simon. There is a chronological remark in *Strom.* vii. 17 which is quite inexplicable, and in *Strom.* ii. 11 he tells us that the followers of Simon wish to be made like the '*Standing One*' whom they worship.

In *Hippolytus* (*Refutatio*, vi. 7–18) (*c.* 230 A.D.) extracts are given from a work which evidently described a somewhat different system, and was called 'the Great Revelation.'

The first principle, according to this, is called ἀπέραντος δύναμις, it is fire or silence; the fire is of two sorts, φανερόν and κρυπτόν, that which is hidden being the secret principle which causes that which is open. The world is derived from the unborn fire (γεννητὸς ἐξ ἀγεννήτου); first came six roots in pairs, male and female, viz. νοῦς and ἐπίνοια, φωνή and ὄνομα, λογισμός and ἐνθύμησις. Corresponding to these are six visible or realized counterparts οὐρανός and γῆ, ἥλιος and σελήνη, ἀήρ and ὕδωρ. A large part of the work is devoted to proving the system by an allegorical use of the OT, but it is interesting to notice that there are elements derived from Aristotle, especially the distinction which runs through the whole of δύναμις and ἐνέργεια. Simon calls himself ὁ ἑστώς, ὁ στάς, ὁ στησόμενος, implying his pre-existence and his immortality. A short extract will be sufficient to show the character of the book: 'To you then I say what I say, and I write what I write. The writing is this. There are two offshoots of the complete Æons, having neither beginning nor end, from one root, which is the invisible, incomprehensible power silence, of which the one is manifested from above, which is the great power, the intellect of the universe, that administers all things, the male principle; but the other is from below, vast thought, the female principle, generative of all things. Whence corresponding to one another they form a pair (συζυγία), and they reveal the middle space as an atmosphere which cannot be comprehended, having neither beginning nor end. But in this is the father who hears and nourishes all things that have beginning and end. This is he who stood, who standeth, who will stand, being a bisexual power, the reflex of the pre-existent, unlimited power which hath neither beginning nor end, being in solitude; for from this the thought which pre-existed in solitude came forth and became twain.'

Besides the extracts from this book, Hippolytus also tells us (vi. 20) that Simon went as far as Rome, where he seduced many by his magical arts, but was opposed by Peter. This is the earliest reference to a contest with St. Peter at Rome, unless the notice in Philaster (see below) was derived from the earlier treatise of Hippolytus, in which case it would belong to the close of the 2nd cent. Hippolytus goes on to give an account of his death, different from any that we have in other sources. At the end of his life Simon stated that if he were buried alive he would rise on the third day. He ordered his disciples to dig a grave and to bury him. They did as they were ordered, 'but he remained away even to the present day. For he was not the Christ.'

Origen (*c.* 249 A.D.), in the *contra Celsum*, v. 62, tells us that Celsus, enumerating all the Christian heretics, speaks of Simonians who, worshipping Helena, or a teacher Helenus, are called Heleniani. Origen points out that Celsus has omitted to notice that the Simonians never confess Jesus as the Son of God, but say that Simon is the power of God. In vi. 11 Origen points out that Simon has no followers, and Dositheus not more than thirty. He adds that this is all the more marvellous, as Simon had taken away for his disciples the danger of death, saying that to sacrifice to idols was a matter of indifference. In the same work (i. 57) we are told that Simon has not thirty followers, or that that is an exaggerated number.

Commodian (*c.* 250), in *Carm. apol.* p. 613, speaking of beasts which have had the power of speech by the power of God, tells us of the dog which St. Peter made to speak to Simon. This story is found in the Apocryphal *Acts*.

The author of the treatise *de Rebaptismate*, ch. 16 (*c.* 260 A.D.), tells us of followers of Simon who make fire appear in the water when they baptize.

In the *Syriac Didascalia* (end of 3rd cent.), vi. 8 and 9 (Lagarde, Syriac text, and in Bunsen, *Analecta Antenicœna*, ii. p. 325), we have a reference to Simon and Cleobius and others of his followers, and an account of the final destruction of Simon in the contest with Peter at Rome. As this work is almost inaccessible, and its evidence is important, the following extracts are given in full: *—

Syriac, p. 100, l. 13 '(Concerning Simon the sorcerer). For the beginning of heresies was on this wise. Satan clothed himself with Simon, a man who was a sorcerer, and of old time was his servant. And when we, by the gift of the Lord our God, and by the power of the Holy Spirit, were doing powers of healing in Jerusalem, and by means of the laying on of hands, the communication of the Holy Spirit was given to those who presented themselves, then he brought to us much silver, and desired that, as he had deprived Adam of the knowledge of life by the eating of the tree, so also he might deprive us of the gift of God by the gift of silver, and might seize our understandings by the gift of riches, in order that we might give to him in exchange for silver the power of the Holy Spirit. And we were all troubled about this. Then Peter looked at Satan, who was dwelling in Simon, and said to him, "Thy silver shall go with thee to destruction, and thou shalt not have part in this matter."'

P. 101 '(Concerning false apostles). But when we divided to the twelve parts for all the world, and went forth among the Gentiles in all the world, to preach the word, then Satan wrought and disturbed the people to send after us false apostles for the refutation of the word. And he sent out from the people one whose name was Cleobius, and joined him to Simon, and also others after them. They of the house of Simon followed me, Peter, and came to corrupt the word. And when he was in Rome he disturbed the Church [much], and turned away many. And showed himself as though flying. And he laid hold of the Gentiles, terrifying them by the power of the working of his sorceries. And in one of the days I went and saw him flying in the air. Then I rose up and said, "By the power of the name of Jesus I cut away thy powers." And he fell, and the ankle of his foot was broken. And then many turned away from him. But others who were worthy of him clave to him. And thus first was established and became that heresy of his. And also by means of other false apostles,' etc.

(Brackets as in Syriac text).

Arnobius (*c.* 310, *contra Gentes*, ii. 12) knows of the story of the contest of Simon and Peter at Rome. 'For they had seen,' he says, 'the chariot of Simon Magus and the four flaming horses scattered by the mouth of Peter, and disappearing at the name of Christ.' He had been hurled down, and his legs broken; then, taken to Brunda, worn out with tortures and with shame, he had again thrown himself down from a lofty summit.

Eusebius (*c.* 324 A.D., *HE* ii. 13. 14) gives an account of Simon drawn from Justin Martyr and Irenæus, and embellished with somewhat strong vituperative language. He then goes on to refer to a contest with Peter, first in Judæa, then in Rome.

'Forthwith,' he says, 'the above-mentioned impostor was smitten in the eyes of his mind by a Divine and wonderful light, and when first he had been convicted in Judæa by the Apostle Peter of the evil deeds he had committed, he departed in flight on a great journey over the sea from the East to the West, thinking in this way only he would be able to live as he wished.' He tells us that he came to Rome, was assisted there by the devil, obtained great influence, and was honoured by a statue. But during the reign of Claudius, Peter himself came there. 'And when the Divine word thus made its dwelling there, the power of Simon and the man himself were immediately quenched.'

---

* The writer is indebted for these extracts to the Rev. W. C. Allen of Exeter College, Oxford, who is engaged on a translation of the Syriac. The passage is also contained in the Latin Fragment, xxxii.

Eusebius and the author of the *Syriac Didascalia* quoted above are the first writers who speak of both a contest in Judæa and also one in Rome; but there does not seem to be any reason for thinking that either of them had any other source for the former than the Acts of the Apostles. We do not know Eusebius' source for the overthrow of Simon by Peter, and his language is curiously ambiguous. Probably he is giving the common story, drawn from mere apocryphal writing, the worthlessness of which he knows quite well. This makes him avoid both a quotation and direct details.

Cyril of Jerusalem (*c.* 347, *Cat.* vi. 14, 15) gives an account based upon the Acts and Justin. He also gives an account of the destruction of Simon when he attempted to fly. It is interesting, as we shall see, to notice that he ascribes the final catastrophe to the joint agency of Peter and Paul, showing that he possessed a story which contained the names of them both.

The work *de excidio Hierosolym.* iii. 2 (A.D. 368), ascribed to Hegesippus, but probably by Ambrose, gives an account of a contest at Rome of Peter and Paul with Simon. It narrates a considerable number of incidents contained in the Latin *Acts.*

Philaster (*c.* 380 A.D.), in his account of heresies (*Hær.* xxix.), knows of the contest at Rome with Peter before Nero. He tells us that Simon fled from Jerusalem to escape Peter, and came to Rome, and then narrates the contest. If this came from his source, the early treatise of Hippolytus, it would throw the evidence for it into the 2nd cent.; but as it is absent in the parallel passage of Epiphanius, and as Hippolytus in his later treatise knows the story in another form, it is not probable that it did.

Jerome (*in Matt.* 24^5) (387 A.D.) tells us that Simon said, 'Ego sum sermo Dei, ego sum speciosus, ego paracletus, ego omnipotens, ego omnia Dei.'

The *Apostolic Constitutions*, which date from Antioch about the year 400, give the legend of Simon Magus in what we may call its complete form (vi. 7–9)—

The source of all heresy is Simon of Gitta. First of all, the story in the Acts is given. Then comes an account of all the false teachers who went forth into the world. Then of the contest between Simon and Peter at Cæsarea, where the companions of Peter were Zacchæus the publican, and Barnabas, and Nicetas and Aquila, brothers of Clement, 'bishop and citizen of Rome, who had been the disciple of Paul and co-apostle and helper in the gospel.' They discoursed for three days concerning prophecy and the unity of the Godhead. Then Simon, being defeated, fled into Italy. Then comes an account of the contest at Rome of the same character as we shall come across shortly in the Apocryphal *Acts.*

This account is very much fuller than the narrative contained in the *Syriac Didascalia*, written probably rather more than a century earlier, and seems to imply a considerable growth of the legend. As will shortly be seen, it implies a knowledge of the Clementine literature in some form, and of the Apocryphal *Acts.*

In reviewing this catena of passages certain points become clear. During the 2nd cent. all the information, as far as we know, that existed about Simon, is derived from the Acts of the Apostles and the writings of Justin. There seems to be no knowledge of the contest with Peter at Rome, although Justin believed that Simon had visited Rome. In the 3rd cent. we begin to get an account of the contest with Peter, which we find in Hippolytus, Commodian, the authors of the *Syriac Didascalia*, and Aurelius. Eusebius and the *Didascalia* contain this legend, with an account of a contest in Palestine, but do not imply anything beyond the narrative of the Acts of the Apostles; Cyril's account seems of much the same character. It is not until we reach the close of the 4th cent. that we find in the *Apostolic Constitutions* what we may call the completed legend, combining the stories which, as we shall see, are derived from the Clementine literature with those derived from the Apocryphal *Acts* and the narrative in the Acts of the Apostles. The contrast between the earlier *Didascalia* and the later *Constitutions* is from this point of view most instructive. We are now in a position to study the fuller legends.

iii. THE CLEMENTINE LITERATURE AND APOCRYPHAL ACTS.—(*a*) *THE CLEMENTINE HOMILIES AND RECOGNITIONS.*—These are two forms of what appear to be an early Christian romance, containing the story of the wanderings of Clement in search of truth, the preaching and missionary journeys of Peter, his contest with Simon Magus, and the reunion of Clement with the lost members of his family—his father, mother, and two brothers. The *Recognitions* we possess only in a translation made by Rufinus about the year 400; the *Homilies* contain a somewhat different form of the same story in Greek. There are also a Syriac version and later epitomes which need not trouble us. Neither the *Recognitions* nor the *Homilies* contain the story in its original form, both presenting later features; and there is no accepted opinion concerning the date or the sources of the book. But the completed work must belong to a time when the controversy with Marcion's teaching and the preservation of the Divine μοναρχία were of interest in the Church, *i.e.* to the early part of the 3rd cent.; and some of the sources may be earlier. The earliest quotations come from Origen (*c.* 230). The work is clearly not orthodox in doctrine, but presents Ebionite features tinged with the Gnosticism it combats. We will give the account contained in the *Homilies*, stating at the conclusion the main differences in the narrative of the *Recognitions.*

The *Homilies* begin with an account of Clement, of his early religious impulses, of the desire that he had to hear of the new prophet, and of his meeting with Peter at Cæsarea in Palestine. He finds that Peter is, on the next day, to dispute with a certain Simon of Gitta (Bk. i.). The history of Simon is then related by Aquila and Nicetas, who had formerly been his pupils. His father's name was Antonius, his mother's, Rachel. He was a Samaritan of the village of Gitta or Gitthæ, six miles from Samaria. He was educated at Alexandria, and skilled in the wisdom of the Greeks and in magic. He wishes to be considered the highest virtue (ἀνωτάτη τις δύναμις), higher than the Creator of the world. He calls himself the Standing One (ὁ Ἑστώς), as signifying that he will always be firmly established (ὡς δὴ στησόμενος ἀεί), and having no cause of corruption in him. The Creator of the world is not the highest God, nor will the dead be raised. He denies Jerusalem and substitutes Mt. Gerizim. He puts himself in the place of Christ. He perverts the Law by his own interpretation of it. He was the chief of the disciples of John the Hemerobaptist. As our Lord had 12 apostles symbolizing the 12 months of the year, so John had 30, of whom one was a woman named Helena, thus symbolizing the 29½ days in a month. The death of John occurred during the absence of Simon in Alexandria, and Dositheus succeeded to his place. Simon, on his return, desiring the headship, pretended to be a disciple, and then accused Dositheus of not delivering the teaching correctly. Dositheus then attempted to beat him with a rod, whereupon Simon became a cloud of smoke. Dositheus, knowing that he was not himself the '*Standing One*,' said, 'If you are the Standing One, I will worship you.' Simon claims that he is, becomes head of the sect, and Dositheus shortly afterwards dies. Simon, taking Helena with him, goes about disturbing the people. Helena, he says, had come down from the highest heavens; was mistress (κυρίαν), the All-mother, and Wisdom (παμμήτορα οὐσίαν καὶ σοφίαν); for her sake the Greeks and barbarians fought, having formed an image of the truth, for she was really then with the highest God. To aid him in his magical arts, he had killed a boy, and separated the soul from his body, and made an image which he kept concealed in an inner room by which he divined. A description is given of his miracles. He made statues walk. He appears wrapped in fire without being burnt. He is able to fly, to make bread out of stones. He becomes a serpent or a goat. He shows two faces. He can open and shut doors. He makes vessels in his house which wait upon him, without its appearing how they are moved (Bk. ii.).

After some delay, during which Peter has explained the mystical meaning of Scripture, the disputes between him and Simon take place; Simon undertaking to prove from the Scriptures that there is more than one God, and that he whom Peter called God is not the highest God, for he is without foresight, imperfect, incomplete, and exposed to every form of human passion (iii. 38). The disputations last three days. On the fourth day it was found that Simon had fled by night to Tyre, and was there deceiving the people by his magic (iii. 58). Clement, Nicetas, and Aquila are sent on to Tyre, and Simon flees to Sidon, leaving some of his disciples (iv. 6), who, at Tyre, discuss with Clement the Greek fables concerning the gods (Bks. iv.-vi.). Peter comes to Tyre and Sidon, when Simon goes on to Berytus. Peter follows him, and after a slight altercation Simon goes to Tripolis. Peter again follows (Bk. vii.) him, and Simon flees into Syria.

At Tripolis Peter remains a long time. There Clement is baptized, and then they go on towards Antioch in Syria by Orthosia and Antaradus (viii.-xi.). Then comes the story of Clement's family (xii.-xv.), and they go on by Batanitæ, Paltus and Gabala to Laodicea. To Laodicea comes Simon from Antioch, and a long dispute takes place between him and Peter concerning the unity of the Godhead and the existence of evil (xvi.-xix.). Then Faustus, the newly-discovered father of Clement, goes to see Simon. Simon by his magical arts succeeds in making the face of Faustus like his own, and then departs to Antioch, where he accuses Peter of being a magician. Cornelius the centurion has been ordered by the emperor to arrest all magicians. It is for this reason that Simon has changed the face of Faustus, and he escapes to Judæa. Faustus then goes to Antioch, and uses the appearance which Simon has given him to destroy the latter's influence. The people think that he is Simon. In Simon's name he recants, confesses his deceit and impostures, and Peter is sent for to come to Antioch.

The main differences which concern us in the *Recognitions* are as follow: Nothing is said about Simon being a pupil of John. Helena is called Luna (σελήνη). Simon says that Rachel was not really his mother, but that he had previously been conceived by a virgin. The main difference in the book is one of order: instead of two disputes between Peter and Simon—one at Cæsarea, the other at Laodicea—we have one dispute at Cæsarea, and there most of the matters discussed in the *Homilies* at Laodicea are placed by this editor (ii. 19–72, iii. 12–48). Reference is made (iii. 63) to Simon having said that he would go to Rome, and that there he would be looked on as a god and honoured with statues, and in iii. 64 it is said that he had been there. The voyage along the Syrian coast-line is treated very shortly, in iv.-vi. we have discourses of Peter, in vii.-ix. the story of Clement. Then at the end of x. Simon comes on the stage again, we have the same story as at the close of the *Homilies*, only that the father of Clement is called, not Faustus but Faustinianus.

It will be noticed that this work seems to fall very easily into separate elements. Bks. i. and vii.-x. 51 are concerned with the story of Clement. Bks. ii. and iii. with the story of the contest of Simon and Peter. Bks. iv.-vi. with sermons of Peter. Bk. x. 52 ff. contains the concluding story concerning Simon, which hardly fits in witb this version of the history. The journey along the Phœnician coast is very much attenuated, and there are suggestions that originally Simon went straight to Rome after the contest at Cæsarea.

(*b*) *THE LEGENDARY ACTS OF ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL.*—The story of Simon in these *Acts* differs from that in the Clementine literature. Both alike are concerned with contests between Simon Magus and Simon Peter; but while the latter place the scene of the contest in Syria, the *Acts* place it in Rome. The legends appear in two forms: the one is that contained in the *Actus Petri cum Simone*, a document of Gnostic origin, believed to have belonged to the collection known as Leucian; the other is the *Acts of Peter and Paul* (πράξεις τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου).

(1) According to the *Actus Petri cum Simone*, after St. Paul had left Rome, a stir arose in that city, about a man called Simon, who was at Aricia, who had worked many miracles, and said he was the great power (*magnam virtutem*) of God, and without God did nothing. He receives a summons: 'Thou art in Italy God, thou art the saviour of the Romans; hasten quickly to Rome.' He promises to come the next day at the seventh hour, flying through the air at the city gate. At the appointed time smoke is seen approaching, and suddenly Simon appears in tbe midst. The brethren are in a state of great consternation because Paul is away, and they are left without any to comfort them, and the greater number fall away. Meanwhile the twelve years of Peter's sojourn in Jerusalem are fulfilled, and Christ bids him go to Rome, for Simon, whom he had driven out of Judæa, had anticipated him there. We may pass over the account of Peter's voyage and arrival in Rome. He finds Simon living in the house of Marcellus, a Roman senator of great philanthropy, whom he had perverted by his magic. When Peter hears of the manner in which Marcellus has been deceived, he begins an attack on Simon, describing him as a 'ravening wolf, stealing the sheep which are not his.' It was he who inspired Judas to betray Christ, and hardened the heart of Herod and Caiaphas. He then goes to the house of Simon. Being refused admittance, he looses a dog and bids him carry a message. The dog goes in, raises his forefeet, and in a loud voice bids Simon come forth. Marcellus at once recognizes his sin, and, going out, falls at Peter's feet and asks pardon. He explains how he had been persuaded to erect a statue SIMONI IVVENI DEO: 'To Simon, the youthful god.' Further conversations of Simon and of Peter with the dog follow; then it, having fulfilled its mission, dies. Peter then turns a dead sardine into a live fish, and Marcellus, overpowered by these miracles, with tbe help of his servant turns Simon out of his house. Simon then goes to Peter's home. Peter sends him a message by means of an infant seven months old, who speaks and bids him leave Rome, and keep silence until the following Sabbath.

Peter then narrates the story of bow he had rescued a woman named Eubola from Simon in Palestine. Further miracles and discourses of Peter are narrated, and the night before the contest is spent in prayer and fasting. On the day of the contest all Rome comes together, the senators, the prefect, and the officers. First comes a verbal disputation, and in the speech of Peter we notice apparently a Gnostic tendency. The contest begins by Simon making a young man die by his word. An interruption occurs. A woman rushes in saying that her son is dead, and some young men are sent to fetch him. Peter then raises the young man whom Simon had put to death, a favourite of the emperor, and the son of the widow who had been brought to him. Again, the mother of a certain senator, Nicostrates, asks Peter to heal her son. The dead body is brought. Peter challenges Simon to raise it. Simon makes it seem to move, but Peter really raises it. All the people then follow Peter.

Simon still tries to deceive the people by pretended miracles, but Peter exposes him. As no one believes him, he explains that he is going to God: 'Men of Rome, do you think that Peter has shown himself stronger than me, and has overcome me? And do you follow him? You are deceived. To-morrow, leaving you impious and godless men, I will fly to God, whose power I am, having been weakened. If, then, you have fallen, I am he that standeth (ὁ Ἑστώς), and I go to the Father, and will say to him, "Me, the Standing One, thy son, they wished to overthrow; but having refused to agree with them, I have come to thyself."' The people come together to see him fly. He appears flying over Rome. Peter prays, and he falls down, having his leg broken in three places. The people stone him, and all follow Peter. Simon is taken to Aricia, and then to Terracina, where he dies.

(2) The *Acta Petri et Pauli* occur in two forms, the Μαρτύριον τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου and the πράξεις τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου, but the variations between them do not affect the story of Simon. The main point of difference between this story and that which we have just narrated is that St. Paul is here made the companion of St. Peter instead of being represented as having left Rome.

Owing to the success of the preaching of Peter and Paul, the Jews and priests stir up Simon against Peter. Simon is summoned before Nero, and by his miracles convinces Nero of the truth of his claims to be Son of God, and Nero orders Peter and Paul to be brought before him. The contest is first one of words, in which St. Peter quotes a letter of Pontius Pilate about our Lord, then it passes into miracles. Each challenges the other to say what is in their thoughts. Peter blesses and breaks a loaf of bread, and has it prepared to give to the dogs which Simon sends against him to devour him, thus disclosing that he knew what was in Simon's thoughts. Simon then demands that a lofty tower should be erected. Nero remembers how once Simon had appeared to raise himself from the dead after he had been killed three days, and still expects his victory. This Simon had done by making the executioner who had been sent to execute him cut off the head of a ram instead of his own. At this point there is inserted a conversation between Nero and Paul, and then a dispute on the subject of circumcision. Then comes the final test. While Paul prays, it is the part of Peter to oppose Simon. Simon starts flying. Peter then says, 'I adjure you, angels of Satan, who bear him to the air to deceive the hearts of the unbelievers, by God the creator of all, and Jesus Christ, whom on this day He raised from the dead, from this hour no longer bear him, but let him go.' He then falls and dies. Nero puts Peter and Paul in prison, but keeps the body of Simon to see if it will rise on the third day.

It will be noticed in this narrative that the part played by St. Paul is clearly subordinate. His name and his action might really be omitted without serious injury to the narrative. This suggests that very probably the story in its original form came from a source similar to the *Actus Petri cum Simone*, in which St. Paul is entirely absent.

iv. MODERN CRITICAL VIEWS.—We have now gone sufficiently minutely through all the various vicissitudes which the legends about Simon Magus experienced during the early centuries, and can pass to some equally curious developments of modern criticism.

There is no doubt that the Clementine literature is to some extent Ebionite in character, and might naturally contain anti-Pauline teaching. Starting from this point of view, Baur discovered certain passages in which Simon represented, or seemed to represent, St. Paul. He then propounded the view that Simon the Samaritan was not a historical character, but a term of reproach invented for the Apostle Paul. The contest between Simon Peter and Simon Magus really represented the original conflict of Peter and Paul. Wherever Simon Magus occurs we should read Paul. At first it was clearly understood who this person designated as Simon the Samaritan really was, but as the two parties more and more came together the original meaning was forgotten, and hence we find, even in a book like the Acts of the Apostles, written in a conciliatory interest, fragments of the old contest still embedded. But we have to recognize that the whole of our accepted history of early Christianity is really a conventional ecclesiastical legend, and the real history of the period must be disentangled from the Clementine literature. It is marvellous with what ingenuity the parallel was worked out when once the idea was started. Simon called himself the great power of God. Paul claims that he lived by the power of God (2 Co 12^9 13^4). When Simon offers money to buy the power of conferring the gift of the Holy Ghost, this is an allusion to Paul, who by his contributions for the poor saints at Jerusalem was attempting to obtain the apostleship. Peter telling Simon that he has neither part nor lot in this matter, is really Peter telling Paul that he has not the κλῆρος τῆς ἀποστολῆς.

Lipsius, who had worked out this theory in the most ingenious manner, did so mainly in connexion with his researches into the early history of the story of St. Peter's martyrdom at Rome. The original idea of Peter having visited Rome was Ebionite. 'The tradition of Peter's presence in Rome, which, unhistorical as it is, can only be explained by an anti-Pauline interest, is most universally connected in the most ancient records with his relation to Simon' (Zeller, *Acts of the Apostles*, i. p. 267, Eng. tr.). Rome must be claimed for true Christianity and the Jewish prince of the apostles, so a story was invented describing the manner in which Peter had visited Rome and there won a great victory over the false apostle, the Samaritan, *i.e.* Paul. Ultimately, the Roman Church realized how important for their prestige was the visit of Peter to Rome and his martyrdom there, and they adopted this legend in a Catholic sense, Peter and Paul being represented as the first founders of the Roman Church. The difficulty about this theory is that in the documents which we possess the Catholic theory is really the oldest, and therefore it is necessary to invent an early Ebionite *Acts of Peter* which contain the Ebionite form of the legend. This, according to Lipsius, was the common source of the Simon legend and the Apocryphal *Acts*, and he devoted great ingenuity to reconstructing it in accordance with his theory. But in his later works Lipsius has given up much of his former theory, although he still holds to the existence of early Ebionite *Acts of Peter*.

This theory of the identity of Simon Magus and the Apostle Paul is gradually ceasing to be held, and many scholars summarily dismiss it; it is, however, we notice, still accepted by Schmiedel (*Encyc. Bibl.* i. p. 913), and will, no doubt, be fully worked out by him. At first sight, from the point of view of common-sense, it seems absurd, and as a matter of fact it has very little evidence in its favour. The evidence that there seemed to be arose from a certain method of looking at facts owing to preconceived ideas. Without going into the question more thoroughly than space permits, we may touch upon the following points:—

(i.) It is very doubtful whether the Simon of the Clementines conceals the Apostle Paul.

(ii.) There is little or no evidence for early Ebionite *Acts of Peter*.

(iii.) The evidence for the Catholic history of the visit of Peter to Rome is earlier and better than that for his visit to Rome to combat Simon Magus. That is a later story (not appearing until the 3rd cent.), arising from the combination of two or three stories.

(iv.) The catena of Patristic evidence given above suggests a quite different account of the growth of the legend.

(i.) *How far does the Simon of the Clementines conceal the Apostle Paul?*—It is quite natural that the writer of the Clementines, who was probably an Ebionite by extraction, should be anti-Pauline, and any teaching that he would consider erroneous he would put into the mouth of Simon. But how far does the masque of Simon really conceal Paul?

(*a*) In *Hom.* xvii. 12–19 Simon defends the thesis that the belief obtained by visions is more certain than that from personal intercourse. Peter maintains that the personal knowledge that he possesses is more trustworthy. This may very naturally be referred to the claim of St. Paul, that he was an apostle because he had seen the Lord in a vision; nor are there wanting verbal parallels. Peter says (ch. 19): εἰ κατεγνωσμένον με λέγεις, cf. Gal 2^{11}; so again, εἰ δὲ ὑπ' ἐκείνου μιᾶς ὥρας ὀφθεὶς, καὶ μαθητευθεὶς ἀπόστολος ἐγένου, and we know that St. Paul claimed to have visions (2 Co 12^1). This explanation is quite possible; but has not the whole passage probably very much more meaning when applied to the claims made by heretics to have a special revelation superior to the Church revelation?

(*b*) In *Hom.* ii. 17 Simon is said to be ὁ πρὸ ἐμοῦ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη πρῶτος ἐλθών. He preaches the false doctrine, the coming of which must precede the true which Peter taught. Is not this Paul going among the heathen and teaching them falsely, to be followed by Peter, who teaches them what is true? So again *Hom.* iii. 59 Peter says that when he wished to teach the heathen the belief in one God, Simon went further, and taught them to believe in many. In vii. 4–8 Peter tells the people of Tyre that they have been deceived by his forerunner Simon. The second instance clearly takes away from the force of the first, because the false teacher is made to teach the belief in more than one God, and is clearly the first disseminator of Marcionism.

(*c*) In *Hom.* xviii. 6–10 we have a condemnation of indiscriminate teaching. This is Peter condemning Paul; but really it will have equal meaning if we suppose it introduced to explain why this special doctrine of the Clementines has only been known to a few.

(*d*) In *Recog.* iii. 49 Simon is called a *vas electionis . . . maligno*, a chosen vessel for evil, cf. Ac 9^{15}; and in *Recog.* ii. 18 he is said to be *malignus transformans se in splendorem lucis*, cf. 2 Co 11^{14}. But nothing can be drawn from the last sentence, and the first does not mean much. Why, if Paul is called a *chosen vessel* in a good sense, should not Simon be called *a chosen vessel for evil*?

(*e*) Something more may be said for the expression in the letter of Peter prefixed to the book in which he speaks of ἐχθροῦ ἀνθρώπου ἄνομόν τινα καὶ φλυαρώδη . . . . προσηκάμενοι διδασκαλίαν.—Here Paul may well be referred to as 'the enemy' whose doctrine was lawless; but why should not the enemy be simply Simon, who was by tradition the source of all false teaching? Lawlessness does not mean breaking the law, but teaching immorality.

(*f*) The most significant passage is *Recog.* i. 70 (a curious episode peculiar to the *Recognitions*). James by his preaching has very nearly persuaded the high priest and all the people to be baptized when 'homo inimicus' appears and bids them not to be deceived by a magician, and attacks them. He was clearly intended to be Saul (in his unconverted days), *but he is specially distinguished from Simon*, who is introduced as someone different in the next chapter but one. Paul is quite clearly not Simon here.

It seems very doubtful, indeed, whether Simon is ever intended to represent Paul, nor is there any Pauline teaching put into Simon's mouth. The above passages, which are all the more important quoted, are hardly sufficient to establish the theory that Simon is Paul. The author or compiler of the Clementines really starts from the belief that the Simon of the Acts, whom Peter combated, was the source of all heresy, and so he makes his favourite apostle travel from place to place combating in the person of Simon the false Marcionite teaching of which he was believed to be the originator. This will explain the whole situation, and is much less far-fetched than the explanation which finds St. Paul everywhere.

(ii.) But without forcing this too far, and admitting that the writer may possibly have been intending somewhat delicately to attack Pauline teaching, there is a further question: *Is there any evidence for early Ebionite Acts which contained a narrative of Peter and Simon (concealing Paul)*?

The theory of Lipsius formerly was that there was an original Ebionite *Acts* which was the common source of both the Roman legend and the Clementines. He found an external support for this statement in the passage given above from the *Apostolic Constitutions,* which he boldly said belonged to the earlier portion of that work. This is an admirable illustration of the danger of such statements, and how very untrustworthy are the attempts of any critic, however able, to guess at the original portions of a work. Some years before Lipsius wrote thus, Lagarde had already published his Greek version of the *Didascalia,* the earlier form of the *Constitutions,* and disproved the whole theory. There is no external evidence for the existence of early Ebionite *Acts* as the source of the whole story, and Lipsius has given up the theory in this form, but he still believes in early Ebionite *Acts.* As a matter of fact, there seems very little evidence for their existence. He finds Ebionite tendencies in some passages of the *Acts of Peter and Paul,* but the controversy there is not with Jewish Christianity, but with Judaism—and Simon Magus is the champion of Judaism. That is the position that he occupied in the Leucian *Acts,* and the passages suggest much more a Leucian than an Ebionite origin. It is even more difficult to speak of the sources of the Clementines, but it is very doubtful if it is necessary to assume an Ebionite *Acts* which contained an account of Simon. The contest between Simon and Peter along the Syrian coast is almost absent from the *Recognitions,* perhaps the earlier form. With the exception of the concluding incident, which was clearly not part of the original work, the portion concerning Simon resolves itself into the account of his career, which is obviously based largely on Justin, and the disputes with Peter at Cæsarea, in which Simon is made the protagonist of Marcionism. The latter would probably be the direct work of the author, and does not demand a source. On no subject connected with the Clementines is it possible to speak with certainty; but this much seems clear, that there is no evidence of Ebionite *Acts,* and no need to suppose that they existed. They are merely a hypothesis, invented to support preconceived views.

(iii.) If we examine the chronological order of the development of the legend, the *Catholic account of the first work of Peter and Paul at Rome is older than the story of Simon and Peter.* Both Dionysius of Corinth and Irenæus know the story of their visit, and both ascribe to them the foundation of the Roman Church. There is no certain trace of the story concerning the contest of Simon and Peter at Rome before the 3rd cent., although as a matter of fact it probably existed in the Leucian *Acts* not later than the close of the 2nd century. Chronologically, the Catholic story caused the legend, not *vice versâ.*

(iv.) The same is true of the whole growth of the story. We first of all trace the various elements of it as existing in different sources and varying forms. The more complicated and fuller stories are the result of later growth, and not the original source. The simple narrative of the Acts is the earliest, not the latest account. This will come out more clearly in what follows.

v. THE GROWTH OF THE LEGEND.—We are now in a position to sketch tentatively the growth of the whole legend. Our primary authorities must be the Acts and Justin Martyr, because they are chronologically the earlier, and because the acceptance of them explains the rest. Justin Martyr, who lived in Samaria less than 100 years after the time of Simon, was writing about something that he would know. Whether the fully developed system as described by Justin comes directly from the founder of the heresy or was the product of a later member of the school, may of course still be doubted, but the system harmonizes with what we read in the Acts; nor are there any *a priori* reasons for doubting the story about Simon and the woman he chose to call Helena. The later account of the system which we find in Hippolytus was probably the production of some member of the sect; but it is on the same lines as the older work, and we must remember that the essence of Gnosticism was not orthodoxy but speculation. Different members of the school of Basilides produced very different systems, and in the same way some members of the school of Simon produced the later development described above. The main source of the Clementine literature was directly or indirectly Justin, possibly also Hegesippus, and some of the personal details of his life and connexion with Dositheus may be authentic.

We now pass to the Roman visit. Are there any grounds for thinking that this really took place? Probably not. Of what happened in Samaria, Justin is a first-hand authority; on matters in Rome he would be ignorant and misinformed. He saw the statue, and jumped to the conclusion that Simon, of whom he had known so much, was here represented. It may be noticed that Justin gives no authority for the Roman visit except the statue. In another direction Justin is responsible for the Simon legend, namely, by making him the source and originator of heresy. How far there is an actual historical basis for the idea that Gnosticism was directly or indirectly derived from him may be doubtful. His system exhibits all the elements which go to make up Gnosticism; especially we may notice that there we first find the idea that the highest God was not the creator of the world; but then such tendencies and ideas were in the air. The same influences of dualism and syncretism which worked in his case would work in others. But, anyhow, Simon was the one clear instance of a heretic mentioned in the New Testament. It was natural, therefore, to represent him as the typical arch-heretic, the originator of heresy, and the place which Justin assigned to him at the head of his heretical genealogy was one in which his position was uncontested.

Next comes the Roman contest with Peter. The materials out of which this was constructed were (1) the contest of Peter and Simon in the Acts; (2) the Roman tradition that the Church was founded by Peter; (3) the story of the Simon statue; (4) a story contained in Suetonius (*Nero,* 12). At games initiated by Nero, some one, personating Icarus, attempted to fly, and the emperor was sprinkled with blood when he fell. The story of Simon's flight towards heaven was probably invented at Rome before the close of the 2nd cent., not later at any rate than the beginning of the 3rd. Whether the author of the Leucian *Acts of Peter*—a Gnostic—was the first originator or not we cannot say; very probably he was, as he seems to have helped to give Simon Magus a prominent place. According to Photius (*Cod.* cxiv.) that work taught that the God of the Jews was evil, whose minister Simon was. This would make it very natural that the author we call Leucius should have invented the episode; and the date which we assign later than Justin, but not later than the end of the 2nd cent., harmonizes with other indications. This story, like many other Leucian inventions, was attractive to the orthodox, and therefore we find it here worked up in a comparatively speaking orthodox dress. Paul was introduced as a companion of Peter, not because there had been anything anti-Pauline in the original story, but because the combined activity of Peter and Paul became a favourite subject of legend. For an Ebionite form of this legend there appears to be no evidence. There remains a certain chronological confusion to discuss. According to Justin, it was in the reign of Claudius that Simon came to Rome. The origin of this date was probably the date on the statue which he saw. The earlier form of the story, then, would bring Peter to Rome in the days of Claudius; and in the *Actus Petri cum Simone* nothing is said about Nero. But the martyrdom of Peter was by tradition under Nero, so that at a later date the legend was changed to Nero's time. Eusebius, however, had before him the earlier account. He brings Simon to Rome under Claudius, and Peter immediately after him. Is not this probably the origin of the 25 years' episcopate of Peter at Rome?

The origin, then, of the Roman legend was probably the Leucian *Acts*. These are represented for us mainly by the *Actus Petri cum Simone*, the Leucian affinities of which have been shown by James (*Apocrypha Anecdota*, ii. p. xxiv); the πράξεις Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου are an orthodox recasting of the story, with the exaggerated miraculous tendency omitted.

A separate line on which the legend developed is represented by the Clementine literature. A combination of arguments would incline us to put its date at the beginning of the 3rd cent. and its origin in Syria. The sources out of which it was composed must be very doubtful, as we have little to go on, but the story is obviously made up of different elements. There is a story of Clement and his relations; there is a story of a dispute with Apion, which sometimes seems to have been put into the mouth of Peter, but in our texts is put into the mouth of Clement. There are certain κηρύγματα or *Preachings of Peter*, and there is an account of the travels of Peter. But how much of this was derived from earlier sources and how much was the work of the compiler of the legend we have no means of determining. The story of the travels of Peter contained, obviously, an account of his journey from Cæsarea to Antioch, of the Churches that he founded during that journey, and the bishops and presbyters that he instituted. This is preserved in both our texts; but was the dispute with Simon Magus part of the original document? It is usually supposed that it must have been; but in the *Recognitions*, which is generally considered the older form of the story, the part of Simon is confined to Cæsarea, and is an episode by itself. Again, does the author know of the Roman contest? The references to Rome occur mainly in the *Recognitions*, and may have been introduced to adapt the story to a Roman audience. It is quite possible that the introduction of Simon Magus is due to the compiler of the work, and that his only historical source of knowledge about Simon was Justin Martyr and, possibly, Hegesippus.

But if his sources are doubtful, his purpose is more clear. He is an Ebionite Christian by extraction, who has been influenced by the speculative ideas which we associate with Gnosticism, and he writes to reconcile the conflicting claims of Judaism and Christianity. His main tenet is the Divine unity, and therefore he combats the polytheism of the heathen, the dualism of Marcion, and Trinitarianism (if we may use the term). This last feature gives us his date, the period of the Monarchian controversy early in the 3rd cent.; and for this date there is also external evidence. Within the limits of a common Monotheism he hopes to find room for both Jews and Christians, and his references to the establishment of bishops and presbyters by Peter show that he wishes to adopt the existing ecclesiastical organization. There is a certain amount of art in his choice of characters. The defender of polytheism is Apion, perhaps the traditional opponent of Judaism; the attack is put into the mouth of Clement, as obviously more fitted for such work than Peter. The one heretic of the apostolic age, Simon, who was the traditional source of all heresy, is made the exponent of all false Christian teaching, and his natural combatant is Peter. Paul is never mentioned by name, but anything like an overt attack on him would have been quite beside his purpose. There are no doctrines which were ascribed to Paul attacked in the person of Simon. Simon is not Paul, nor intended by the author to be Paul. He was obviously a writer with considerable powers of invention; he had a certain amount of history or legend or tradition, but he may very likely be himself responsible for most of the personal episodes he describes, and for the use he has made of Simon. There is no evidence, at any rate, for any Ebionite *Acts* which he is supposed to have used, nor any need to imagine them. One more feature must be referred to. Simon is with him the magician as well as the false teacher, and a great deal is said about the magical element, which requires all Peter's miraculous powers to dispel. The whole of this side of the legend appears absurdly puerile to a modern reader. But we are apt to forget that all the tricks Simon claimed to perform were believed in at the time, and that those who claimed to perform magical rites were among the most determined opponents of Christianity. Magic was a real danger, and a very subtle form of false teaching. It was the true spiritual force of Christianity which overcame it; but numerous writers always ascribed this triumph to the exhibition of vulgar miraculous power.

It is maintained that this reconstruction of the history of the Simon legend represents a much more probable and consistent account of the origin of the story than the distorted and complicated theories which have appeared since the time of Baur, and have rested chiefly on unproved hypotheses of sources and fanciful reconstructions of the early historical period.*

vi. THE AFFINITIES OF SIMON'S SYSTEM.—The historical nucleus of the legend is, as we have seen, the narrative in the Acts, part of the story in Justin, the system as described by him belonging either to Simon himself or an earlier follower, and perhaps some incidents recorded by the Clementines. When we accept this as original, the affinities of the system suggested by Baur and his followers become a legitimate explanation. Samaria was a country in which a sort of bastard Judaism came in contact with the old Syrian and Phœnician religions and the newer Hellenic paganism. All these different elements are present in Simon's system. That the relation of himself and Helena is a reminiscence of the Syrian male and female deity is equally natural, whether Helena be a real person (as is probable) or only the personification of an idea. The fact that in one account—that of the *Recognitions*—she is called *Luna* (a translation of σελήνη), makes the parallel to the Sun and Moon worship, the Baal and Astarte, more close. Simon represents an almost pre-Christian Gnosticism, and it is significant that only here do we find this very repulsive dualistic element. Simon represents the impostor of the period, whose claims are even more improbable than those of Apollonius of Tyana or Alexander of Abonoteichus. His mind is a medley of Hellenism, Judaism, and Orientalism; out of this he forms a system, in which he himself occupies the first position. The influence of Christianity and then the opposition to it give a certain vitality and force to the ideas he suggests, and in other hands they become fertile and prolific. Later Gnostics were more definitely Christian. The founders of the sects never claimed Divine honours for themselves. They discarded more extravagant features. But they shared with Simon the fundamental doctrine that the Creator of the world was an inferior and, perhaps, a malevolent deity.[*]

---

* It may be objected that nothing has been said about the Simon of Cyprus mentioned in Jos. *Ant.* xx. vii. 4. In the opinion of the present writer the two Simons have nothing to do with one another, and the resemblance of names counts for nothing. There are said to be twenty-four Simons in the Index to Josephus.

vii. SIMON MAGUS AND SIMONY.—In another direction the name of Simon has become used universally for the sin of attempting to purchase spiritual gifts or spiritual preferment for money. Both sorts were included under the sin of Simon. The earliest example seems to be from the *Apostolical Canons*, where it is said: 'If any bishop, presbyter, or deacon obtain this dignity for money, both he that is ordained and the ordainer shall be deposed, and also cut off from all communion, as Simon Magus was by Peter.' And the instance is often quoted in later canons. The use of the term appears to have arisen through the Canon Law.

viii. SIMON MAGUS AND THE FAUST LEGEND.—There are some curious coincidences, if they are nothing more, between the legend of Simon and the story of Faust. The hero of that legend is supposed to have been a certain Dr. Faust, of Knittlingen, who died in 1540. The legend appears first in a written form in 1587, and was obviously the result of a fertile imagination. It is quite possible that in building up the story reminiscences direct or indirect of the legend of Simon Magus may have come in. The following are points of resemblance: (1) firstly and most clearly the introduction of Helena in both; (2) the name Faustus; (3) the *homunculus*; (4) in Simon Magus himself we may have a suggestion of Mephistopheles. This connexion may be due to direct literary influence, or we may have here two different versions of a theme which has been common at various times, the contest between Religion and Magic—a contest which we have to believe is far older and more universal than was once thought.

LITERATURE.—(1) On Simon Magus generally. The two most complete expositions of the two opposing points of view are by Möller in Herzog, *RE*^{2} xiv. *s.v.*, and by Lipsius in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexicon*, v. 301–321. For older works see Mosheim, *Inst. hist. eccl.* i. 389. There are accounts in all the works on heresies in the Early Church, of which the most useful is that of Hilgenfeld, *die Ketzergeschichte des Urchristenthums*, pp. 163 and 453. The most complete account in English is that by Salmon in *Dict. Chr. Biog.* iv. 681. Other treatises referred to are Simson, 'Leben und Lehre Simon des Magiers,' in *Z. f. hist. Theol.* 1841, iii. 39; Baur, *Das Manichäische Religionssystem*, Tübingen, 1831, 467, *Die Christliche Gnosis*, Tübingen, 1835, p. 300 ff.

(2) On Simon and Paul see Baur, 'Die Christuspartie in Korinth,' in *Tübinger Zeitschrift*, 1831–34, p. 116 ff., *Paulus* (1845), p. 85 ff., 218 ff. [^{2}pp. 97 ff., 246 ff.], *Das Christenthum der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*^{2}, p. 85 ff.; Hilgenfeld, *Die Clementinischen Recognitionen und Homilien* (1848), p. 317 ff., 'Der Magier Simon,' in *ZFWTh*, 1868, p. 357 ff.; Zeller, *Apostelgeschichte*, 158 ff. (i. p. 250, Eng. tr.); Volkmar, 'über den Simon Magus der Apostelgeschichte,' in *Theol. Jahrbücher*, 1856, p. 279 ff.

(3) The Apocryphal *Acts* may be read in Lipsius, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, which supersedes all previous editions. Lipsius' criticism will be found in *Die Quellen der römischen Petrus-Sage kritisch untersucht*, Kiel, 1872, and in *Die Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, ii. 1, Braunschweig, 1887. In the latter volume he very much modifies his earlier conclusions.

(4) On the Clementines may be mentioned Schliemann, *Die Clementinen*, Hamburg, 1844; Uhlhorn, *Die Homilien und Recognitionen des Clemens Romanus*, Göttingen, 1854; Hilgenfeld, *Die Clementinischen Recognitionen und Homilien*, Jena, 1848, and in *Theol. Jahrbücher*, 1854, 1868; Lehmann, *Die Clementinischen Schriften*; Lipsius in *Protestantische Kirchenzeitung*, 1869, pp. 477–482; and, in English, Salmon's art. in the *Dict. Chr. Biog.*

(5) On Simon and the Faust legend see Zahn, *Cyprian von Antiochien und die deutsche Faustsage*, Erlangen, 1882; and Kuno Fischer, *Die Faustsage*.

A. C. HEADLAM.

SIMPLE, SIMPLICITY.—The words tr^{d} 'simple' in AV are (1) פֶּתִי (from פָּתָה to be open), 'openness,' inexperience, descending to 'heedlessness.' In Pr 1^{22} the abstract use occurs and the word is tr^{d} 'simplicity,' elsewhere the meaning is personal, and the translation 'simple' or 'simple one.' In Pr 9^{6} the translation is 'foolish' (RV 'simple ones'). It occurs chiefly in Proverbs (see Oehler, *Theol. of OT*, ii. 446; Cheyne, *Devout Study of Criticism*, 388; Schultz, *Old Test. Theol.* ii. 283 f.). (2) פְּתַיּוּת, only Pr 9^{13}, of Folly personified. (3) ἄκακος, 'guileless,' Wis 4^{12}, Ro 16^{18}. (4) ἀκέραιος, 'sincere,' lit. 'unmixed,' Ro 16^{19} (see Trench, *Syn.* § lvi.).

Simplicity is the tr. of (1) פֶּתִי in Pr. 1^{22}. (2) תֹּם (of which the plu. is תֻּמִּים, the *Thummim* of Heb. oracles) completeness, uprightness (from תָּמַם to finish), only 2 S 15^{11}. (3) ἁπλότης, 'onefoldedness,' 'singleness,' 'sincerity,' Wis 1^{1}, 1 Mac 2^{37m}, Ro 12^{8}, 2 Co 1^{12} 11^{3}. (See Sanday-Headlam on Ro 12^{8}; G. Montefiore in *JQR* vi. 469).

The Eng. adj. 'simple' (used also as a subst.) signifies 'onefold,' 'single' (from Lat. *simplex*, through Old Fr. *simple*). This original meaning is seen, *e.g.*, in its application to medicines: thus Gosson, *School of Abuse* (Arber, p. 37), 'Chiron was . . . a reader of Phisicke, by opening the natures of many simples.' And we still speak of a matter being 'simple' when it is not complicated. When applied to persons the meaning is now 'weakminded,' 'foolish.' But in AV and older Eng. generally the meaning is never quite so strong as that, and, when it approaches it, always implies moral blame.

1. *Inexperienced* or *unsophisticated*, as Gn 25^{27} Tind. 'Jacob was a simple man and dwelled in the tentes.' This is perhaps all that is expressed by the word in Pr 1^{4} 'To give subtilty (RVm 'prudence') to the simple'; 14^{15} 'The simple believeth every word'; and especially Ro 16^{19} 'I would have you wise unto that which is good, and simple (AVm 'harmless') concerning evil.'

2. This inexperience may be ignorance to be instructed, or weakness to be defended. Thus Ps 19^{7} 'The testimony of the Lord is sure, making wise the simple'; 116^{6} 'The Lord preserveth the simple.' Cf. Hamilton, *Catechism*, fol. xv, 'Ye that are simple and unleirnit men and wemen suld expresly beleif al the artikils of your Crede'; Is 53^{3} Cov. 'He shalbe the most symple and despised of all'; 60^{22} Cov. 'The yongest and leest shal growe in to a thousande, and the symplest in to a stronge people.'

3. But in Proverbs the tendency is to regard inexperience as *heedlessness* and almost *folly*, thus 14^{18} 'The simple inherit folly'; and as blameworthy, thus 1^{22} 'How long, ye simple ones, will ye love simplicity?' Cf. Bunyan, *Holy War*, 129, 'I heard him say it in *Folly Yard*, at the house of one Mr. *Simple*, next door to the sign of the *Self-deceiver*.'

Simplicity has not quite the same range of meaning as 'simple.' 1. *Ignorance* or *weakness*, descending to folly, as Pr 1^{22}, cf. Adams, *Works*, i. 29—'God, in regard to thy simplicity, brings to naught all their machinations.' 2. *Guilelessness*, rising to *innocence* and *sincerity*, as 2 S 15^{11} 'They went in their simplicity'; Wis 1^{1} 'Think of the Lord with a good heart, and in simplicity of heart seek him'; 1 Mac 2^{37m}; Ro 12^{8} 'He that giveth, let him do it with simplicity' (ἐν ἁπλότητι, AVm 'liberally,' RV 'with liberality,' RVm 'with singleness'); 2 Co 1^{12} 'in simplicity and godly sincerity' (RV [reading with edd. ἁγιότητι for ἁπλότητι of TR] 'in holiness'); 11^{3} 'the simplicity that is in Christ.' Cf. Elyot, *Governour*, i. 220, 'Trewely in every covenaunt, bargayne, or promise, ought to be a simplicitie, that is to saye, one playne understandinge or meaning betwene the parties'; and Ac 2^{46} Rhem. 'They tooke their meate with joy and simplicitie of hart.' It is to be observed that 'simplicity' in its modern sense does not occur in AV or RV: to take 2 Co 11^{3} in the mod. sense is wholly to misunderstand the passage.

J. HASTINGS.

SIMPLICITY (ἁπλότης, 'singleness,' LXX tr. of תֹּם as also of יֹשֶׁר) is the characteristic attribute of the man who is whole-hearted and single-hearted. The word ἁπλοῦς is applied by Plato to God, who is

---

[*] The criticisms of Renan (ii. 154) are interesting and worth quoting. 'Simon de Getton fut le chef d'un mouvement religieux, parallèle à celui du Christianisme, qu'on peut regarder comme une sorte de contrefaçon Samaritaine de l'œuvre de Jésus . . . (*ib.* 269). Hélène, significant par là qu'elle était l'objet de l'universelle pursuite, la cause éternelle de dispute entre les hommes, celle qui se venge de ses ennemis en les rendant aveugles: thème bizarre qui mal compris ou travesti à dessein, donna lieu chez les pères de l'église aux contes les plus banals.'

'perfectly simple and true both in word and deed' (*Rep.* ii. 382 E). It is used to describe the man who plays only one part and does one thing, in contrast to him whose energies are not concentrated but divided over a variety of pursuits (*Rep.* iii. 397 E). Simplicity is a mark of the just man who wishes to be and not to seem good (*Rep.* ii. 361 B), while the man of an opposite type who lacks the true virtue of a 'unanimous and harmonious soul' is *διπλοῦς*, for he is at war with himself, and is virtually two men, not one (*Rep.* viii. 554 D). Its close relationship to *ἀκακία* (guilelessness) is indicated by the fact that in many passages where the LXX has *ἁπλότης*, Aq. has *ἀκακία* as tr. of the same word (Ps 7^{9} $26^{1.\ 11}$ 41^{13} 78^{72}); its relationship to *εὐθύτης* (rectitude), by the fact that in LXX יֹשֶׁר is tr. by both words (1 K 9^{4}, 1 Ch 29^{17}). Simplicity describes the moral and mental attitude of the man who is absolutely at one with himself in motive, aim, and end, whether in relation to God or his fellow-men. This unity and concentration of the inner nature gives fulness of spiritual perception, as our Lord shows by a comparison taken from another sphere of vision. 'If, therefore, thine eye be single (*ἁπλοῦς*), thy whole body shall be full of light' (Mt 6^{22}, Lk 11^{34}). Such a man is incapable of insincerity, or artifice, or malice, or finesse. Hence he is opposed to the two-souled man, who is driven now Godwards, now earthwards (*δίψυχος*, Ja 1^{8}), to the double-hearted (Ps 12^{2}) and the double-tongued (*διλόγος*, 1 Ti 3^{8}; *δίγλωσσος*, Pr 11^{13}, Sir 5^{9}). In his walk he does not try to go upon two ways (Sir 2^{12}), but goes straight to the goal, with his face set thitherward, neither halting, nor lingering, nor diverging. In his obedience to Christ there is no reservation, no element of calculation, only unconditional loyalty (2 Co 11^{3}). In his devotion to God there is no bargaining as to the minimum of disobedience which He may permit (2 K 5^{18}), in his work for men is no taint of eye-service (Col 3^{22}, Eph 6^{5}). In his giving there is no admixture of any base element (Ro 12^{8}). For he gives as God gives, without any afterthought (Ja 1^{5}), for no end save the good of the receiver. The simple one is guileless, and as such, though not free from prejudice, he is open to conviction (Jn 1^{47}). Himself incapable of being swayed by ignoble motives, he attributes a similar incapability to others, and thus may be easily deceived; in this way simplicity may so degenerate that it becomes not merely opposed to craftiness, but to prudence (2 S 15^{11}).

In the NT conception prudence is consistent with simplicity, and should be inseparably associated with it (Mt 10^{16}, Ro 16^{19} *ἀκέραιος*). In the *Test. of the Twelve Patriarchs* there is a graphic picture of the man of simplicity. He is not a busybody in his doings, nor malicious and slanderous against his neighbours. He never speaks against any one, nor censures the life of any one, but walks in the simplicity of his eyes. He is free from lustful desires; he is unselfish in his beneficence. 'The simple coveteth not gold, defraudeth not his neighbour, longeth not after manifold dainties, delighteth not in varied apparel, doth not picture to himself to live a long life, but only waiteth for the will of God, and the spirits of evil have no power against him' (Testament of Issachar, c. 3–4, Sinker's tr.).

LITERATURE.—Suicer, *Thesaurus*; Cremer, *Bib.-Theol. Lex.*; Trench, *NT Synonyms*, pp. 204–209; Kling in Herzog^{2}, vol. iv. 135, 136; Lemme in Herzog^{3}, vol. v. 251–253.

JOHN PATRICK.

SIN.—I. *IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.*—*Prefatory.*—The doctrine of sin in the OT must be considered as there given; that is to say, the historical method forbids our taking into account NT interpretations of it—such, for instance, as St. Paul's comments in Romans on the sin of Adam and its consequences. The same method requires that the chronological order of the OT should be followed, but the attempt to do this precisely would so complicate the treatment that it seems best to examine the main divisions of the Heb. Bible as they stand—(1) the Law, (2) the Prophets, (3) the Hagiographa, leaving open such questions as what amount of the Priestly legislation may be considered to be pre-exilic, and what dates are to be assigned to Deuteronomy and the Books of Kings.

Sin is a negative conception, and involves a preceding idea to which it is contrary, namely Righteousness, first attributed to Noah, Gn 6^{9}. The righteousness of God is His conformity to the moral law which is His nature, and to His covenants with man. The righteousness of man is conformity to the same moral law and the same covenants. 'Walking with God' (Gn 5^{24}) is but another phrase for righteousness. Sin as the contrary of righteousness is disobedience to God, departing from God, self-assertion against God. Thus the fundamental OT conception of sin is not sin against other men, or against a man's self, but sin against God. The OT anticipates what modern Christian thought has asserted, that the nearest relation of the human soul is its relation to God (Müller, *Chr. Doct. of Sin*, tr. vol. i. p. 81).

i. THE LAW.—Starting with this hypothesis, let us first see how far it is borne out in the traditions of pre-Mosaic religion.

(1) There is no occasion to enter into the question whether the story of the Fall is to be regarded as both historical and symbolic (Aug. *de Civitate Dei*, xiii. 21) or merely symbolic (Origen, *de Prin.* iv. 16). One point comes out clearly: sin is set before us at its very beginning as disobedience to Divine law, an exercise of human free will in conscious opposition to that law, a departure from an original state. There is, however, nothing to imply that that state was a perfect one, as scholastic theology described it. The free communications with God, on which much stress has been laid as evidence of a lofty state, continue after the Fall. (On the supposed contradiction between the results of anthropological science and the idea of a Fall, see Illingworth's *Bampton Lectures*, Lect. vi.). It must also be observed that the OT does not anywhere teach a corruption of human nature derived from Adam, still less an imputation of his guilt. All that it teaches is the universality of sin in Adam's offspring. But if the descent of all mankind from Adam is taken as a fact, then the universality of sin may be presumed to have some relation to descent from Adam (see Mozley's *Lectures and Theological Papers*, Lect. on 'Original Sin'). And the prevalent feeling that the nation rather than the individual was the subject of sin (see Clemen, *Lehre von der Sünde*, p. 42 ff.) would prepare the way for the thought of all mankind being involved in the guilt and penalty of Adam and Eve, when religious thought came to reflect on the relation to God of mankind generally, and not merely of Israel. This reflexion, however, belongs to a later date (2 Esdras and Romans), and the absence of reference to the Fall in OT is remarkable. The three passages usually quoted, Job 31^{33} (see RVm), Hos 6^{7} (see RVm), Is 43^{27} (see Dillmann, *ad loc.*), are not to the point. Cf., further, Thackeray, *St. Paul and Jewish Thought*, 31 ff.

(2) The interest of the Cain narrative is, (*a*) that man is not left to himself either before or after sin. There are voices of God warning, promising, condemning. And (*b*) sin is already personified; it has gained a positive existence instead of being a mere negation: 'If thou doest not well, sin coucheth at the door,' Gn 4^{7}; cf. Sir 27^{10}.

(3) The next point is the development and increase of sin (Gn $6^{5.\ 11\text{-}13}$). Sin is a parasitic growth

which multiplies in its appropriate soil. It is not merely a number of isolated rebellions, but results in a state of sin both in the individual and in the race. This state of sin takes possession of the thoughts of the heart, and its outward effect is violence (חָמָס) between man and man.

(4) At the Flood the method of God is, so to speak, changed. He recognizes (Gn 6⁵) the predominance of 'the evil imagination' (יֵצֶר הָרָע), a term which afterwards plays an important part in Jewish theology (see Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*² p. 213 ff., and Dillmann, *ad loc.*). Sin must be dealt with in other ways, by an election and a covenant. The one righteous man is taken, special relations are established with him, and a covenant given. This covenant is followed by those with Abraham, and with Israel at Sinai. But these covenants, while designed for salvation, open out, each of them, new possibilities of sin. It is no longer a matter of transgression against undefined moral law, but there are definite ordinances. Sin is not merely the breach of the universal relation between creature and Creator, but the breach of covenant, a revolt (פֶּשַׁע). Moreover, with patriarchal religion, the contrast of faith and unbelief comes in in a definite way (Gn 15⁶). Esau's sin also is plainly unbelief. This is gradually shown to be the root of sin, and every particular sin is regarded as a manifestation of it. When, with Abraham, we reach the distinction between those within and those without the covenant, the question arises, Is there a recognition of the moral law and a consciousness of sin in the Gentile world? The question is answered in the affirmative by the case of Abimelech (Gn 20), and the existence of such a law outside the covenant is implied throughout the OT, *e.g.* Am 1. Thus there is nothing in the OT claim of unique revelation to Israel, which is inconsistent with that consciousness of sin which is to be found in Babylonian, Persian, Vedic, and Greek sources, though there it is sin against Istart, Ahuramazda, or Varuna, not against Jehovah. As to what conduct is sin, the range is narrow, and the moral standard within the covenant does not materially differ from that outside it. Deceit, sensuality, and cruelty are not yet distinctly felt as sinful.

(5) *The Mosaic covenant.* The terminology of sin now increases and becomes definite, and it will therefore be necessary to examine it in detail. The three most important terms occur together in one verse, Ex 34⁷ (cf. Ps 32¹·²), iniquity (עָוֹן), transgression (פֶּשַׁע), sin (חֲטָאָה, חַטָּאת, חֵטְא).

(*a*) *Sin.*—Three cognate forms in Heb., with no distinction of meaning, express sin as *missing one's aim*, and correspond to ἁμαρτία and its cognates in NT. The etymology does not suggest a person against whom the sin is committed, and does not necessarily imply intentional wrong-doing. But the use of the word is not limited by its etymology, and the sin may be against man (Gn 40¹, 1 S 20¹) or against God (Ex 32³³). Clemen's concession (*Lehre von der Sünde*, pp. 22, 23), that sin and iniquity meant failure to comply with national custom (*Volkssitte*), must be qualified by the consideration that national custom was practically religion, and was always associated with supernatural sanction, so that sin against it was considered sin against God, even where God is not mentioned. It is no doubt true that this implicit thought that sin is against God, comes much more distinctly to the surface in Deuteronomy. Two subsidiary uses of חַטָּאת must be noticed. Like עָוֹן, it is used for the punishment of sin, as well as for sin itself (Zec 14¹⁹, La 3³⁹). The passage from one sense to the other is seen in Nu 32²³. These instances open the question of the meaning of חַטָּאת (and עָוֹן) in a class of passages in the Psalms, where modern expositors take them to signify not *sin* or *guilt*, but *punishment*. See Cheyne on Ps 31¹¹. This double sense of both words is a witness to the Heb. view of the close connexion of sin and suffering, which will demand special attention in Job. Secondly, חַטָּאת is used for *sin-offering* (Lv 4³). This use of the same word for the offence and the offering meets us again under אָשָׁם (trespass).

(*b*) *Iniquity* (עָוֹן), literally 'perversion,' 'distortion' [but see Driver, *Sam.* 135 n., who follows Lagarde in distinguishing two roots עוה, one='bend, twist,' the other (the root of עָוֹן)='err (from the way)'].—It is to be distinguished from (*a*) as being a quality of actions rather than an act, and it thus acquires the sense of 'guilt,' which might well have been adopted by RV as the rendering of עָוֹן. *Guilt* as distinguished from *sin* may be described as the sinner's position in regard to God which results from his sin. Guilt involves punishment, and thus the connotation of עָוֹן is enlarged still further. As Schultz says (*OT Theol.* ii. p. 306), 'in the consciousness of the pious Israelite, sin, guilt, and punishment are ideas so directly connected that the words for them are interchangeable.' See esp. Gn 4¹³, Lv 26⁴¹. An illustration of this connexion is the phrase 'bear iniquity' (less frequently 'bear sin'), first occurring Gn 4¹³, and frequent in Ezekiel, H and P. The idea is that of being involved in guilt with the inevitable consequence of punishment (Nu 14³⁴), and the phrase is nearly equivalent to the verb אָשֵׁם; cf. Lv 5¹⁻⁶. It must, however, be noticed that the verb translated 'bear' (נָשָׂא) sometimes has for its subject the person offended against, and is used in the sense of 'taking away' sin. For reff. see *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* p. 671. In Lv 16²² the goat for AZAZEL 'bears iniquities' into a land not inhabited. Here both the senses above mentioned are implied; and the same may be said of the more important passage in Is 53¹², where the Servant of the LORD both bears and takes away the sin of many. Thus this phrase lies at the root of the doctrine of the Atonement.

(*c*) *Transgression* (פֶּשַׁע).—The original sense of the noun is clear from the use of the verb (cf. 1 K 12¹⁹ 'Israel rebelled against the house of David'). It is a breaking away from law or covenant, and thus it implies a law and lawgiver. It implies what חַטָּאת does not necessarily imply, namely, the voluntariness of sin. This distinction comes out clearly in Job 34³⁷ 'he addeth rebellion unto his sin.'

(*d*) *Wickedness* (רֶשַׁע).—This is sin become a habit or state. Its adjective רָשָׁע in plur. describes sinners as a class, 'the wicked'; and is invariably the correlative of צַדִּיק ('righteous'); cf. Gn 18²³.

Besides the foregoing, three other words require brief notice, אָשָׁם with מַעַל and רַע. AV does not sufficiently distinguish them, rendering מַעַל 'trespass,' 'transgression,' and אָשָׁם or אַשְׁמָה 'trespass,' 'trespass-offering'; whereas מַעַל is strictly an act of unfaithfulness or treachery towards God or man, producing a state of guiltiness designated by אָשָׁם, requiring an offering to atone for it, which offering is also expressed by the same word אָשָׁם (RV 'guilt-offering'). See Oehler, *OT Theol.* § 137. מַעַל is a word of limited range belonging to the priestly terminology (see Driver, *LOT* 127 [⁶134]), while אָשָׁם and its cognates run through OT. There is in the latter word the sense of a need of compensation, and the guilt-offering is to be regarded as a compensatory offering for an injury done (see *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* p. 79).

We now proceed to the Mosaic covenant, not merely as contained in Ex 20–23, but as developed in the whole of Ex.-Lv.-Numbers, keeping in mind the widely different dates to which different portions may belong. The object of this law as a whole, if we regard it as providentially developed, appears to be not so much directly to advance morality or to deepen a sense of moral imperfection, as to create a nation within which communion with the One God might be realized and preserved,—or, in other words, to form a hard external shell, within which a higher religious life might be gradually and securely evolved. Hence the political and ceremonial elements were the prominent ones. And hence sin under the Law meant much more neglect, conscious or unconscious, of ceremonial regulations than moral transgression, and no distinction was drawn between the two. This was a necessary first stage. Again, God was the King of the new nation. Thus there was no room for non-religious law. His purview embraced all acts. Therefore there was no distinction between sin and crime. In the present day there are sins which are not regarded by English law as crimes or torts. It was not so in Israel. If an act was outside the Law, it was not sin. He who kept the Law was blameless. Conversely, there are offences against the law of England which the most conscientious would hardly regard as sin; but in Israel all enactments were part of the Divine law, and the breach of any of them was sin. This religious character of law was, of course, not peculiar to Israel. It is characteristic of early Brahmanic law (see Maine, *Early Law and Custom*, c. ii. esp. p. 42 ff.) and of other systems.

If, as seems probable, Deut. is earlier in date than much of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, it cannot correctly be called an advance on the views hitherto treated, but at any rate it takes much higher ground. Not only does the love of God and of one's neighbour in Deut. supply the Israelite with new motives for fulfilling express commands, but this love opened new views of duties beyond those commands, and thus enlarged and deepened the sense of sin where these were not fulfilled. There are humane directions which tend to positive virtue. Deut. is not open to Wellhausen's charge against the rest of the Law, 'What holiness required was not to do good, but to avoid sin' (*Hist. Isr.*, Eng. tr. p. 500).

It will now be necessary to examine one class of offences against the Law which has had an important part in providing terminology and forming conceptions of sin. It is acknowledged that the Law of Israel was in great part a reformation and republication of existing Semitic custom, and indeed of customs not exclusively Semitic. This was the case with the class of enactments which related to what was clean (טָהוֹר) and unclean (טָמֵא). These concerned not only food, but persons and things. Offences in respect of these were sin, and punishable with death. There are three explanations of these enactments which must be set aside. Taking them as a whole, it is impossible to regard them as having a *moral* character. Nor are they designedly *allegorical*. So far as they disclose this character they possess it not by virtue of direct Divine appointment, but from their origin long before the birth of Israel. They grew out of man's sense of the unseen, his reverence for it, his consciousness of physical and spiritual dangers besetting him. The proof of this lies in the existence of very similar bodies of law as to cleanness and uncleanness, outside Israel, as for instance in the Vendidad (*Sacred Books of the East*, tr. Darmesteter, vol. iv.). Thirdly, the conception of clean and unclean was not a *sanitary* one, and had nothing in common (except incidentally) with modern notions of cleanliness. It was rather, that certain things, especially everything connected with birth and death, carried with them an infection of danger and an unfitness for worship. The opposite of uncleanness was holiness, and this too in the Law has an infectious character (Lv 6^{27}). The sin-offering is so holy that everything it has touched must be washed, broken, or done away with (see, further, art. UNCLEAN, UNCLEANNESS).

The importance of the foregoing in considering the OT doctrine of sin is as follows: (1) All these enactments enlarged the area of sin (Ro 5^{20}), though no doubt they mainly affected the priests (Montefiore, *Hibbert Lect.* ix.). At the same time it must be added that to those who observed them they also increased the area of righteousness and the opportunities of conscious joyful obedience. (2) The notion of the holiness of God, to which the system of clean and unclean had a close relation, was so elevated by the prophets, especially by Isaiah, that the terms connected with the system or their equivalents came to supply much of the vocabulary for sin in the NT and in the Christian Church: *e.g.* the use of such words as καθαρός, καθαρίζω cannot be understood without recalling their source in the Law.

The next matters for consideration are the punishment and the forgiveness of sin under the Law. —(1) *Punishment.* Sin is to be stamped out; the punishment for almost all sin is death. In theory, at any rate, the severity of the Law is amazing. What is taken into account is not so much the ill-desert of the individual, as his guilt involving the nation in guilt, so he must be extirpated (cf. Jos 22^{20}). It is only as regards the nation that punishment is restorative.—(2) *Forgiveness.* The only sin admitting of individual atonement was sin not committed 'with a high hand' (*i.e* not wilful), for which sin-offering and guilt-offering were provided (Lv 4–6^{7}); see Westcott, *Ep. to Heb.* p. 288. The DAY OF ATONEMENT must also be taken into consideration, though its main object appears to have been the purification of holy things and places. That forgiveness was so difficult of attainment, implied and fostered conceptions of God and His wrath which were strongly anthropopathic. One effect was that God was thought of as injured by man's sin; and the guilt-offering had in it, as we have seen, the notion of compensation for injury done. In Job (7^{20} 35^{6}) we find the first explicit contradiction of this thought. But Deuteronomy, if anterior to the priestly legislation, had already provided an antidote. There God's love for Israel is set forth, and the purpose of all His commands is repeatedly stated to be man's good (Dt 6^{24} 10^{18}). His commands give life. Hence God hates sin against Himself because it hurts, not Him, but the sinner.

ii. THE PROPHETS.—(*a*) *The Former Prophets.*—If the essence of sin is departure from God, then, in whatever form, idolatry must be the worst sin because the most complete. That is its position throughout the historical books. In Judges it is the cause of all Israel's sufferings. In 1 and 2 Samuel it is comparatively absent, and consequently there is a great burst of national vigour and prosperity. In 1 and 2 Kings the standard by which all reigns are measured is the permission or repression of idolatry. The history of the Northern Kingdom is the history of the continuance and effects of the sin of Jeroboam, and the word 'sin' is almost restricted to that special meaning. The sin of idolatry took different forms, such as degrading the conception of Jahweh, identifying Him with Baal, worshipping Him in heathen fashion and with visible representations, combining His worship with that of other gods, or, far less commonly, forsaking Him altogether for other gods. But in one form or another it is regarded in the historical books as the first and worst of all sins, and rightly so, at that stage of national life.

(*b*) Yet this view was too concentrated to be complete. It is not to the retrospective record in 1 and 2 Kings that we look for light on the progress of the national conscience, but to contemporary authorities, the so-called *Later Prophets, i.e.* the prophetical books of the 8th cent., Amos, Hosea, Micah, Isaiah. It is they that develop the moral character and moral requirements of J″; and as a necessary consequence the range, depth, and danger of sin.

The history of David supplies us with two examples of sin—one flagrant, and the other difficult to regard as sinful. The points which come out in his sin with Bathsheba are (1) possibility of immediate forgiveness on repentance; (2) punishment after forgiveness, severe and protracted; (3) the punishment of the sinner involves suffering for others. This, however, appears more clearly in the next instance, that of the census (2 S 24^{1}). The point to notice in this is, that the sin is ascribed to the causation of J″ Himself, just in the same way as the evil spirit which came upon Saul is described as 'from God.' Several other passages, *e.g.* Jg 9^{23}, are of the same character. On them Clemen (*Lehre von der Sünde*, p. 123 ff.) builds the conclusion that God was regarded as the author (*Veranstalter*) of sin. It is more correct to say that we have in them reflexions of that perplexity about the interaction of Divine control and human freedom which has at all times been felt, and not alone in Israel. For later protests against false inferences from such expressions, see Sir 15^{11-20} and Ja 1^{13-16}. What was in Hebrew religion only a hesitation and perplexity, which never produced dangerous results, became in Islam a principle fatal to morality. 'The unbelief of the unbeliever, the impiety of the impious, and bad actions, come to pass with the foreknowledge, will, predestination, and decree of God, but not with His satisfaction and approval' (Sell, *Faith of Islam* ^{1}, pp. 118, 173).

Amos leads the way in bringing moral offences to the front. He carries on one side of Elijah's work, and the transgressions denounced in Am 1. 2 are offences against justice and humanity between man and man. *Micah* and *Isaiah* (*e.g.* Is 1^{10-17}) follow Amos. To *Hosea* the sin of Israel is heinous because it is sin against God's love. In Hosea we have the OT counterpart to 1 John. What Hosea (and indeed all the prophets) did, was to enlarge and deepen the conception of sin indirectly by making men realize far more fully the moral character of God. This work of the prophets, though by far the most important phase in the history of the OT doctrine of sin, is so obvious on the surface of their writings, and has been so often and so fully dealt with (*e.g.* Robertson Smith, *Prophets of Israel*, Lect. ii.; Kirkpatrick, *Doctrine of the Prophets, passim*), that it must here be taken for granted in order to leave room to deal with less obvious contributions and developments. See also Clemen, *Lehre von der Sünde*, p. 70 f.

Another point in the teaching of the prophets as to sin is their preaching of repentance, both national and individual, outside the covenant (cf. *Jonah*) as well as within it. The development of individualism by *Jeremiah* and *Ezekiel* is a moment of great importance in the doctrine of sin. Hitherto the prominent thought has been that of sin affecting the nation through the individual, and entailing guilt on succeeding generations, though it must be noticed that the heredity of guilt is not allowed as a ground for private revenge (Dt 24^{16}, 2 K 14^{6}, but cf. 2 S 21^{6}). Ezekiel attaches his teaching to that of Jeremiah, and works it out. His result is well summed up by A. B. Davidson in his note on Ezk 18, 'the individual man is not involved in the sins and fate of his people or his forefathers.' But even Ezekiel did not dissolve entirely the great predominant OT thought of the solidarity of Israel in respect of sin. There was work for that conception to do in the NT. It made possible the thought of the vicarious atonement of Christ, as representative of the nation and the race (Jn 11$^{51.52}$). For a strong instance of the sense of sin as national, see Is 64. The feeling has been well expressed by Montefiore: 'At his worst the individual felt he belonged to the people of God, and shared their righteousness; and at his best he still felt the depressing burden of Israel's national sins' (*Hibbert Lect.* p. 512). The whole question was deeply affected by the obscurity and comparative unimportance of the Heb. expectation of a future life. When that dawned clearly, the importance of the individual dawned with it.

iii. THE HAGIOGRAPHA.—The *Psalms* belong largely, though not entirely, to the prophetic school of thought, and either anticipate or develop its teaching, according to the view we may take of their respective dates. It is in the Psalms that we first have a deep view of sin from the sinner's side. In the Prophets we have the historian or preacher denouncing, but in the Psalms the sinner confessing sin, either personal or national. This deep sense of sin arises invariably out of the pressure of suffering in some form; and in some cases, at any rate, is due to the national suffering of the Captivity and Exile. The Psalmist does not repent for fear of future punishment, but from the pressure of present affliction. It is true that we find the consciousness of uprightness and sincere purpose as well as the consciousness of sin (*e.g.* Ps 26), but this does not contradict the general impression. A special aspect of sin in the Psalms is that of falsehood. The service of J″ is thought of as truth, practical truth, much in the same way as in the Gospel and Epp. of St. John; hence sin, its opposite, is untruth, vanity, lies. In the Psalms, as in the Prophets, sin is no longer a matter of strict legalism, of failure to obey. Emotions and affections come in largely (as in some degree in Hosea and Deut.). The Psalmists love God, and look on sin as breaking this happy relation, hiding His face and shutting up His mercies. All this reaches its highest point in Ps 51, with its profound consciousness of sin in the individual and in the race (v.^{5}, cf. Job 14^{4}), hatred of it for its own sake, not merely for its consequences, and hopeful assurance of forgiveness and renewal.

M. Holzman (Lazarus and Steinthal's *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie*, Bd. xv. 1884) contrasts the doctrine of sin in the Rig Veda with that of the Psalms in the following respects: (1) Varuna (the god addressed) is regarded as himself the cause of man's being deceived into sinning; (2) ceremonial offences are regarded as on the same level with moral, which is certainly not the case in the Psalms; (3) guilt is dreaded not for itself, but solely for its punishment.

In *Proverbs* the aspect of sin is, of course, wholly different. It is practical religion which is treated here, and this from an external and an intellectual point of view. Righteousness is wisdom, and sin is folly. The sinner is (1) *simple* (פְּתִי), (2) a *fool* (נָבָל, see article FOOL), or (3) a *scorner* (לֵץ).

Two characteristics may be specially noticed. (1) Men are sharply divided into good and bad; and though in chs. 1–9 the possibility of change is assumed, there is no reference to sorrow for sin, or conversion from bad to good (see Toy, *Proverbs*, Introd. p. xiii). This is the attitude towards sinners which is developed and hardened in Sirach, as noticed below. (2) In Proverbs, and still more distinctly in Job, it is the moral state of the individual which occupies attention; for even if Job be typical of Israel, the type is worked out with thorough dramatic truth. The result is that we obtain in these books far more detailed ethical reflexions than are found elsewhere in the OT. Although the religious consciousness of sin cannot be said to be prominent, yet it does find expression in a verse which is the strongest statement in OT of the universality of human sinfulness, namely Pr 20^{9}; and throughout Pr 10–24 the approval or disapproval of the Lord often recurs as the standard of action.

The Book of *Job* presents features of far greater interest, and represents the furthest advance in the doctrine of sin prior to the NT. Its results may be classed under three heads. (1) The Law being designedly excluded from the drama, the sins which come in question are purely ethical and nowhere ritual. The spread of sin is definitely acknowledged as universal; it is inherent in human nature (Job 4^{17} RVm, 14^{4} 15$^{14-16}$), and it includes sins of thought and desire. This latter point comes out most fully in Job 31, where we get the author's conception of sin, a very wide and penetrating one, not less remarkable for inwardness than the Sermon on the Mount. (2) The close relation between sin and suffering, believed in by Israel in early times, and implied by the double sense of חַטָּאת and עָוֹן (see above), is in this book shown to be at any rate not a necessary one. Sin does not always bring suffering, and suffering does not always imply sin. But this result is something very different from denying altogether such a relation between the two, a denial which would at a blow cut away the ground from under the religious life of Prophets and Psalmists. (3) The character of sin as affecting God comes in for treatment incidentally. Expression is given to two false guesses: (*a*) that God watches man's transgressions with something approaching satisfaction, Job 14$^{16.17}$; (*b*) that human sin cannot affect Him, Job 7^{20} RV; cf. Elihu in 35^{6}. Of these (*a*) is merely one of the rash words which fall from the sufferer, but (*b*), as confirmed by Elihu, shows Jewish thought strongly, perhaps dangerously, in reaction against its earlier anthropopathic conceptions.

Ecclesiastes contributes little except the final decisive conviction of the universality of sinfulness, 'Surely there is not a righteous man upon earth that doeth good and sinneth not' (Ec 7^{20}).

II. *IN THE APOCRYPHA*.—*Sirach*.—As in Proverbs, so in Sirach the righteous and the wicked under various names form two great classes over against one another (33$^{12-15}$), and it is to the former class only that the writer addresses himself. Fools are incapable of amendment. Turning from sin (8^{5}) is only the repentance of the righteous; and, with the exception of 17$^{25\text{f.}}$, the attitude of Sirach prefigures that attitude towards sinners which it was the great work of Jesus to challenge and set aside by His example (Lk 15^{2}). Yet Sirach denies to sinners the excuse that they cannot help themselves. It is not God who causes man to sin (see above, I. ii.). The author's assertion of human freedom and responsibility is striking and powerful, if somewhat too broad (Sir 15$^{11-20}$). It is not in any degree limited by the statement of 25^{24} that Eve's sin brought death upon the race, for the inheritance of death by every man does not necessarily imply a doctrine of original sin.* The philosophy of

---

* See important art. by F. R. Tennant (*Journal Theol. Studies*, ii. 6, p. 207), published since this art. was written. He sums up thus: 'The Fall (according to Sirach) was the *cause* of death, but only the *beginning* of sin.' Cf. Thackeray, *l.c.*

Sirach accounts for physical evil in creation as a necessary complement to moral evil in man, and designed for its punishment; see Sir 39^{28-31} 40^{8-11}.

Wisdom of Solomon.—In this book, notwithstanding the totally different atmosphere produced by (1) a hope full of immortality (3^{4}), and (2) the practical identification of Wisdom with the Spirit of God (9^{17}), the ground thought is the same as that of Sirach, namely, that sin is ignorance, and that it is the intellectual side of man that must by 'discipline' be fortified against it. The character of the book is therefore, at first sight, in the strongest contrast with the words of Christ, 'I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou didst hide these things from the wise and understanding, and didst reveal them unto babes' (Mt 11^{25}). Yet if the above-mentioned identification of Wisdom with the Holy Spirit be pressed a little further, the contradiction disappears (cf. 1 Co 2^{13}). It should be noted that Wis $12^{10\text{ff.}}$, which appears to make for a doctrine of inborn sin, applies only to the Canaanites, and not to mankind at large. The idea of the derivation of a universal taint from Adam's transgression is altogether wanting.

Prayer of Manasses.—We here encounter the first unqualified presentation of the later Judaic belief in the complete sinlessness of the patriarchs ('Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, which have not sinned against thee,' 4). This attribute was extended afterwards to many other OT personages (see Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*^{2} pp. 32 and 54 ff.). Lk 15^{7} does not necessarily admit the existence of absolute human sinlessness, and must be interpreted, *ad hominem*, as addressed to Pharisees and scribes (see 15^{2}) in a spirit not far removed from irony. St. Paul expressly dissociates himself from the above tendency (Ro 3^{23}), but Rev 14^{1-5} seems to show traces of it.

2 Esdras (chs. 3-14).—This book ought in strictness to be dealt with separately, as being post-Christian (prob. A.D. 81–96). Its close relation (along with Apoc. Baruch, see BARUCH [APOCALYPSE OF]) to the line of thought in the Ep. to Romans has been fully brought out in Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*; see esp. p. 137. We learn from 2 Esdras that at the time at which it was written there was in Judaism a doctrine of inborn inherited sin. It is hard to see how such a doctrine could be expressed more definitely than is the case in 2 Es 4^{30} 'a grain of evil seed was sown in the heart of Adam from the beginning, and how much wickedness hath it brought forth unto this time.' In the light of this passage the less clear utterances of 2 Es $3^{21\text{f.}}$ and 7^{48} become unambiguous. On the side of human free-will Sanday-Headlam (*l.c.*) quote 2 Es 8^{59} 9^{11} and esp. Apoc. Bar $54^{15.\,19}$. They truly remark that both works 'lay stress at once on the inherited tendency to sin, and on the freedom of choice in those who give way to it' (p. 134). If the biblical doctrine of sin finds its most important expression in Romans, then 2 Esdras, as illustrating Romans, has a special value for the study of the subject. Cf. Thackeray, *l.c.*

III. *IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.*—*Terminology.*—

1. The ἁμαρτάνειν group. Ἁμαρτία may mean sin as a habit, a state, a power (so freq. in Romans), and also a single act of sin; while ἁμάρτημα is restricted to the latter; see Westcott, *Epp. John*, Add. Note on 1 Jn 1^{9}.

2. παράβασις, *transgression*; παράπτωμα, *trespass* (more precisely, *fall* or *declination*). 'These two words are closely allied, referring respectively to the consequences on the agent and to the line transgressed. Both presuppose the existence of a law' (Lightfoot, *Notes on Epp. St. Paul*, Ro 5^{20}), and herein they differ from ἁμαρτία. While law multiplies transgression, it reveals sin.

3. ἀνομία, AV *iniquity*. The word had been so coloured by its LXX use, as a frequent rendering of עָוֹן and other words meaning sin, that its proper sense, violation of law, can be certainly recognized only in one passage, 1 Jn 3^{4}. In its strict sense it truly represents the conception of sin given in the Epp. of James and John.

4. ἀσέβεια. As ἀνομία is disregard and defiance of God's law, so ἀσέβεια is the same attitude towards God's Person. It expresses the insult and blasphemy involved in sin.

5. ἀδικία. This word brings forward that side of sin which is against our neighbour and does him a wrong, and as such is common to human and to Divine law (see Westcott, *Epp. John* 5^{17}, note for relation of ἀδικία to ἁμαρτία).

6. ὀφείλημα. Though occurring but once, it has a special importance from being the term for sin chosen by the Lord Himself to be used by us in our daily prayer for forgiveness, the Lukan form ἁμαρτίας (Lk 11^{4}) being probably a paraphrase (see Chase, *The Lord's Prayer*, p. 54 ff.).—Other words for sin are rather aspects of it, such as falsehood, darkness, ignorance, and do not come under terminology.

i. SYNOPTIC GOSPELS.—Looking back on the OT as a whole, we are struck with the range and completeness of the doctrine of sin which it presents. This accounts for a feature in Christ's teaching as given in the Synoptic Gospels which would otherwise be surprising, namely, the paucity of teaching about sin. Sin is mentioned almost exclusively in connexion with its forgiveness. Jesus appears as one who forgives sin, and not as insisting and enlarging on it, or as convicting of it. It is obvious how different would have been the effect of His ministry on the world, if it had been primarily a ministry of conviction of sin. In the Fourth Gospel He explicitly disclaims such an aim (Jn 12^{47}), thus confirming the impression derived from the Synoptists. At the same time it is forgiveness, not indifference. There is no trace of the Ritschlian view, that till He came all sin was practically ignorance, and that sinners only needed to lay aside their sense of guilt. That ignorance, even where it exists, is but a partial and not a sufficient excuse, appears in Lk 12^{47}, and the explanation of that passage is that moral ignorance is never total, and only comes near totality by man's own fault. The sharp distinction between sins of ignorance which are forgivable, and sins without ignorance which are not, is untrue to life. The man who sins from ignorance has still some spark of knowledge which is enough to condemn him, and the man who sins against light has still some ignorance, for how can a man in his present limitations realize the gravity of the issues which are presented to him here? For the first point see Lk 23^{34}; the soldiers in their ignorance, nevertheless, need forgiveness; and for the second see the lament over Jerusalem, Lk 19^{42}.

The Lord's teaching as to sin, so far as He touched it, was not so much to correct OT doctrine regarding it, as much rather to get rid of a spurious development of it, represented by the legalism and casuistry of the Jewish scribes. The character of prophetic invective appears in one class of discourses only—those addressed to the Pharisees. We are next led to consider what exceptions must be made to the general statement above as to the absence in the Gospels of denunciations of sin. They are as follows:—

(1) Hypocrisy, (2) offences (σκάνδαλα), (3) sin against the Holy Ghost. It will be seen that two of these are closely cognate, and all three attach more or less to the same class of persons.

(1) *Hypocrisy*, defined Mt 23^{5} 'all their works they do for to be seen of men.' It is in a great degree a new revelation of sin, for the words in OT tr. 'hypocrite' have not that meaning (see art. HYPOCRITE). Yet although no corresponding Heb. word occurs, the condition of soul is described in Is 29^{13}, and is quoted as such by Christ (Mk 7^{6}). Further, it had already been brought as a charge against the Sadducees by the Pharisees, ἀνθρωπάρεσκοι being used to denote hypocrites (Ps-Sol $4^{8.\,10}$). They were now to have the reproach cast back upon themselves by Christ.—(2) *Offences.* This sin is fairly prominent in OT; as, for instance, the sin of Hophni and Phinehas, who made the Lord's people to transgress (1 S 2^{24}), and still more the sin of Jeroboam. The offence (σκάνδαλον) may be within the man and limited in its operation to him, as in Mt 18^{8} and perhaps 1 Jn 2^{10}. Or it may involve two persons, the cause of the offence being in one person and the actual stumbling taking place in another, as in Mt 18^{6}. Subdividing this latter alternative, we find that the cause of stumbling may be in itself positively sinful, as in the OT instances quoted above, and again as in the attitude of the Pharisees towards Christ, which turned the multitude away

from Him. Another instance is that of Simon Peter, whose counsel was an 'offence' to Christ Himself (Mt 16^{23}). Or, secondly, the cause of offence may be in itself quite an innocent act, as in Ro 14^{5}, and only sinful because of its easily foreseen consequences (Ro 14^{21}). This principle explains the otherwise unnecessary payment of the half-shekel (Mt 17^{27}). Yet, further, the act causing offence may be not only innocent, but necessary in itself, in which case its incidental consequences cannot make it sinful. Christ Himself, His sayings, His cross, are all described in NT as 'offences.' The general teaching, if we anticipate and include St. Paul's development of the subject, is that we are bound to look forward to the probable consequences of our actions, even when those consequences are far from our intentions. Ro 14 grows naturally out of Mt 18^{6}. Nothing is gained by confounding, as Clemen does (*Lehre von der Sünde*, p. 216 ff.), the sin of causing offences with the general topic of the self-propagation of sin, and its power to bring men into bondage, on which see below, § ii. 2.—(3) *Sin against the Holy Ghost.* This was exemplified in, but is not to be limited to, the attribution to evil spirits of the work of the Holy Spirit in the actions and words of Christ. For a probable explanation of the different judgments pronounced by Christ on blasphemy against the Holy Spirit and that against the Son of man, see art. BLASPHEMY. The persistent denial of the inspiration of Jesus by those who in some measure felt the truth of His claims was an unpardonable sin. The three passages, Mt $12^{31.32}$, Mk $3^{28.29}$, Lk 12^{10}, are, like most of the Lord's teaching, not a new unrelated utterance, but rather a republication and adaptation to the Kingdom of God of the ancient law of blasphemy, Lv 24^{16}. It must be added that the unpardonable sin does not consist in the utterance of particular words, but in the condition of soul which is expressed by them, namely, that persistent resistance to the Holy Ghost which was afterwards emphasized by Stephen (Ac 7^{51})

Taking a general survey, it may be said that there are three points which appear specially in the Synoptists of which the last is by far the most important. (1) An extension of the area of sin by the spiritual interpretation of the Mosaic law, and by the new requirements of the Kingdom of God. (2) A limitation of its area by the great principle now clearly formulated, that sin cannot be contracted by physical contact with things ceremonially unclean, but must proceed from within (Mk 7^{15}, Mt 15^{11}). (3) The Lord's own attitude towards sin in man as a revelation of God's attitude to it, namely forgiveness. The message which He brought and which He entrusted to the apostles (Lk 24^{47}) was the forgiveness of sins, and it is this which we find them declaring in Acts and expanding in the Epistles.

ii. THE FOURTH GOSPEL. — The same note is struck by St. John at the outset: 'Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world' (Jn 1^{29}). Yet His coming and gracious work opened the possibility of a new sin, that sin of rejection of salvation which overshadows so largely the first twelve chapters of the Fourth Gospel, and reappears under other circumstances in the Ep. to the Hebrews (He 2^{3} 4^{1} $6^{4.5}$ 10^{26}).

1. In short, the principal teaching as to sin in the Fourth Gospel is the capital nature of the sin of unbelief in Jesus as the Christ the Son of God. There had been unbelief in Galilee, and that unbelief had called forth the severe denunciation in Lk 10^{12-16}. But the unbelief of Judæa was far more marked and general, and the gospel of the Judæan ministry is darkened everywhere by collision with it. This is the sin of which the Holy Spirit will specially convict men, 'of sin because they believe not on me.' Could this sin be regarded as a sin of ignorance? It could not, for Christ had come and manifested Himself. 'If I had not come and spoken unto them, they had not had sin: but now they have no excuse for their sin' (Jn 15^{22}). We are here close to the sin against the Holy Ghost, which has been already treated. That is a special and aggravated form of the more general sin of unbelief.

It may be added that the sin of unbelief in Jesus as the Christ the Son of God holds in the NT much the same position which idolatry holds in the OT. In each case the sin is the worst sin that can be committed, because it cuts off the soul from God, and so from the source of its life and peace. It is an evil heart of unbelief falling away from the living God (He 3^{12}).

2. The second important point in the Fourth Gospel is its emphasis on sin as *bondage*. The direct teaching is brief, contained in six verses in Jn $8^{31ff.}$, but the development afterwards given it by St. Paul in Ro 6 places it in the front of NT teaching on sin. It is perhaps anticipated in Mt 6^{24} 'ye cannot serve God and mammon.'

3. There are also lesser points worthy of notice. The old question of the connexion of sin and suffering is raised in Jn 9, and its universality is there denied; while, on the other hand, it is clear that it holds good in some cases, as appears in 5^{14} 'sin no more, lest a worse thing befall thee.' The passage in Lk 13 as to the slaughter of the Galilæans is not precisely to the point, as what is there taught is the general guilt of the nation of which only these few had as yet paid the penalty. Another class of passages bearing on the subject is that distinctive one in which this Gospel gives us, far more fully than the others—the Lord's dealings with individual souls. What is remarkable is His gentleness towards their sins, as, for instance, Jn $4^{17.18}$ and 8^{11}.

Lastly, we must observe that the principal teaching as to sin in the Gospels, taken as a whole, is that which results from the revelation of a perfect standard of life as shown in Christ. As Ritschl says (vol. iii. Eng. tr. p. 329), 'The only way in which the idea of sin can be formed at all is by comparison with the good.' It is true that Ritschl presses this too far, and seems to imply that no competent standard of morality had existed before the preaching of the Kingdom of God. 'But to affirm the absolute standard is not to deny the relative standard. God was in the preparation for the Kingdom of God as in the realization of that Kingdom in Christ' (Garvie, *Ritschlian Theology*, p. 303). We must, nevertheless, allow that the coming of Christ and the preaching of the gospel did give a new character to sin. Sin was thus placed in a new relation, that of opposition to the Kingdom of God, and yet, further, it was shown, as in the parable of the Prodigal, to be not only sin against power and wisdom, but also against goodness and love.

iii. EPISTLES.—1. *St. James.*—Three passages deserve special consideration. (*a*) The genesis of sin in the individual (Ja $1^{14.15}$). It comes from the will consenting to a desire for something not lawful. The desire in itself may be innocent (see art. LUST), but, in the case supposed, it can only be gratified at the expense of transgression of moral law. The will surrenders, and the desire is fulfilled in an act of sin (cf. $4^{1.2}$). Desire (ἐπιθυμία) here corresponds nearly to 'the flesh' of St. Paul's theology. To understand the bearing of the passage, see Sir $15^{11ff.}$, which perhaps suggested it. There the source of evil lies in the freedom of the will. The fact that this freedom is God's gift does not make Him the author of evil, for it is freedom. (*b*) Sin in relation to law. The Law, rather than Christ, is the central thought of the Epistle, but it is the Law as revealed and interpreted by Christ in the Sermon on the Mount and in His life. It is a perfect law (1^{25}); a law of freedom, *i.e.* not enforced from without, but freely accepted as the aim and desire of the subject of it (1^{25} 2^{12}); a royal law (2^{8}). There is also the thought of the solidarity of the Law, with its consequences on the doctrine of sin. Conscious, wilful transgression of any one point is tantamount to transgression of the whole, for, all being God's will, any transgression is defiance of God's will (2^{10}). This, so far from being a pedantic conception, is founded on a true spiritual view of the relation of man to God. It is applied to an apparently small matter—respect of persons within the

Church, and preference given to the rich over the poor. It must be added that the passage does not justify us in inferring the equality of all sins. It is rather a warning against regarding lesser sins as of no consequence. (*c*) Forgiveness of sin (5^{15-20}). Two points deserve notice. (1) The mediation of the Christian community, not of the elders only, in the forgiveness of sins (*εὔχεσθε ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων*, v.[16]). This mediation is effected by mutual confession and prayer. It may extend even to the case of a Christian who has actually forsaken the truth (v.[19]), and every member of the Church is bidden to consider the blessing which may attend his efforts. The sins covered are certainly those of the sinner who is converted (see Toy on Pr 10^{12}). (2) The close connexion in the writer's mind between forgiveness of sin and healing. The passage begins simply with the idea of a case of sickness (v.[14]), and goes on to assume that it may perhaps be occasioned by sin (cf. the forgiveness of the paralytic, Mt 9^2). The removal of the chastisement and the forgiveness of the sin which occasioned it go together; cf. Ps 103^3, which was interpreted in this sense.

2. *Hebrews.*—The persons addressed had to the full the sense of sin which the OT had prepared and developed, and they had had to part with the ritual which had hitherto cleansed them and brought them nigh. A main purpose of the Epistle is to show them that better provision than the Law could offer is made for these needs in Christ and His priestly sacrifice. Hence the prominent aspect of sin in this Epistle is that of sin as guilt, as the cause of the separation between man and God, barring access to Him. The work of Christ is the restoration of communion, and the earlier portion of the Epistle reaches its goal in He 10^{19}. Besides the general teaching as to the removal of guilt, the Epistle deals with a particular form of sin, that of falling away from grace. It is written to men in danger of lapsing into their former Judaism, not merely as individuals, but as a body (see $6^{4ff.}$ $10^{26ff.}$). The sin as to which the Hebrews are warned is not ordinary sin after baptism to which every Christian is liable, but nothing less than apostasy. It should also be observed that He 2^{10} sets a final seal on the gradually developed conviction that much of human suffering is not a consequence of sin, but a means to perfection.

3. *St. Paul.*—Lechler (*Apostolic Times*, Eng. tr. vol. i. p. 340) asks what is the kernel, the life-centre of St. Paul's Christian feeling and doctrine, and replies, 'God's grace in Christ towards the guilt-laden sinner.' It is not merely that St. Paul as a theologian felt that the most important aspect of the gospel was that of a remedy for sin, but that the gospel was that remedy for himself. He had felt as few men have felt, his own sinfulness. In this respect we recognize a contrast between him and other NT writers. If it is in the Epistle to the Romans that we find the full development of St. Paul's hamartiology, it is because the question there propounded is, How is man to be righteous before God? For that purpose man's present sinfulness must first be set forth, and that is done systematically in Ro 1–3^{20}, and incidentally throughout the Epistle. The teaching of St. Paul, esp. in Romans, on the subject will be considered under the following heads: (*a*) universality of sin; (*b*) heredity of sin; (*c*) the seat of sin; (*d*) sin as a power; (*e*) sin and law; (*f*) sin and death; (*g*) death to sin.

(*a*) *Universality of sin.*—The Jewish and the Gentile worlds had to be dealt with separately. In the Jewish world there had been preparation, but sin against ceremonial law had been so exaggerated as to put out of sight sin against moral law. Here St. Paul follows Christ Himself, and his exposure in Ro $2^{17ff.}$ reminds us of Mt 23 and many scattered sayings in the Gospels. Another point regarding Jewish sinfulness has already been noticed under II. (*Prayer of Manasses*). St. Paul rejects the supposed sinlessness of the patriarchs. We next take his condemnation of the Gentile world, which in Romans comes first. This had become necessary now that the gospel of forgiveness was offered to the Gentiles. It was true that they had had their preparation. The notion of sin is clear enough in Babylonian, Egyptian, and Persian religion, but it is mainly ceremonial sin. In Greek religion there was a truer conception of sin, which reaches its highest representation in Æschylus, the poet of Divine retribution on the sinner. 'The "Prometheus," the "Seven against Thebes," and the "Orestes" contain a natural testimony of the soul to the reality of sin, and the inevitable penalty which it carries in itself' (Westcott, *Religious Thought in the West*, p. 94).

But to accompany a gospel of forgiveness some clear arraignment was needed. So, in an epistle addressed to the centre of the Gentile world, this clear arraignment stands in the front. And here the doctrine of the universality of Gentile sin is set on a true foundation, not on the popular Jewish conception that every Gentile was a sinner simply as not knowing the Mosaic law (cf. Gal 2^{15}, and Lightfoot, *in loc.*). But, as the sin of the Gentiles did not consist in not having the Mosaic law, so neither did their want of it excuse them. They had the law of conscience or reason (Ro 2^{14-16}), and sin against this was sin against God.

(*b*) *Heredity of sin.*—Here we must distinguish two separate ideas, both of which find expression in Romans, namely, (1) participation in guilt; (2) inheritance of sinful disposition.

(1) In the OT (to use Dorner's words, *System Chr. Doct.*, Eng. tr. vol. ii. p. 325) are already found 'the materials for a conception of moral evil as a generic characteristic, and not merely a matter of the individual person.' A family, a tribe, a nation are conscious of a solidarity in respect of guilt and innocence difficult to realize in an age of strongly developed individual responsibility. It is enough to refer to the guilt in the sense of liability to punishment brought about by the sin of Achan, and by David's census; and to the effect of sin on the land itself (Dt 24^4). So St. Paul, contemplating not merely a family, tribe, or nation, but all mankind, sees them all affected by the sin of Adam—all reconciled by the obedience of Christ (Ro 5^{12-21} and cf. Sir 25^{24}). The correspondence between Adam and Christ has taken hold of his mind, it helps him to set forth the work of salvation which the Lord has accomplished. It is not that Adam's sin is actually reckoned against us, but that we are because of it involved in punishment.*

This effect on mankind of the sin of Adam may be inferred (according to Ro 5^{13}) from the death of Adam's descendants who lived before the law was given. In the absence of law they were not liable to punishment. To account for their mortality, 'generic' guilt must be assumed. It is evident that such an argument cannot be pressed absolutely, but must be correlated with the statement as to Gentile responsibility without the Law (Ro 2^{12-16}); see Sanday-Headlam on Ro 5^{13}.

(2) But besides generic participation in Adam's guilt we have also to consider the doctrine of the inheritance from Adam of a sinful nature. In OT the transmission of a sinful nature from parent to child is clearly admitted (Ps 51^5, Job 14^4), but it is not traced back to Adam. It is a question whether St. Paul so traces it, for neither Ro 5^{12} nor 5^{19} is decisive on the point. Taking the section (Ro 5^{12-21})

---

* See Tulloch, *Christian Doctrine of Sin*, p. 193.

as a whole, it is difficult to disentangle with certainty the ideas of a transmitted sinful disposition, or of an actual sinfulness of all men, from the idea of the generic guilt of mankind (described above) with which they are closely interwoven. The latter is certainly the leading though not the only thought (cf. v.^{12} *ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἥμαρτον*) of the passage, which is occupied much more with the reign of death than with the reign of sin. The view taken of the sin of Adam is not so much that thereby human nature was infected in itself, but rather that thereby sin, an alien power, got a footing in the world, and, involving all men in actual sin, brought death upon all. This is very far short of the Augustinian doctrine of Original Sin, which appears to be a development of 2 Es 3^{21} 4^{30} rather than of anything to be found in NT. The language of St. Paul ('sin came into the world,' Ro 5^{12}) leaves room for the communication of a sinful tendency, not only by heredity in the strict sense of the word, but also by all that interpenetration of the individuals by the race which makes it impossible to regard them as isolated atoms dependent only on birth for their characteristics.[*]

(*c*) *The seat of sin.*—Strictly speaking, this is in the will; but in a wider sense its seat is in that which moves the will, namely, in 'the flesh.' 'The flesh' in St. Paul denotes not merely sensual desires and appetites, but 'man's entire life so far as it is not determined by the Spirit of God.' It may thus denote also man's rational nature. The fleshly mind is 'the God-resisting disposition in virtue of which man in self-sufficiency and pride opposes himself to God, and withdraws himself from the spirit of Divine life and love.'[†] In short, 'the flesh' is man in his selfishness. But neither the flesh in the material sense, nor human nature on the whole, are in themselves evil; for the body may be brought into subjection (1 Co 9^{27}), may become a temple of the Holy Ghost (1 Co 6^{19}), and its members may be 'servants to righteousness unto sanctification.'

(*d*) *Sin as a power.*—St. Paul regards sin not as an isolated act, nor as an accumulation of acts, but as a power which has gained a lodgment in man (Ro 7^{17}), enslaving and paralyzing his will. 'The flesh' is only the material medium in which it works. Cf. above, *Prefatory* (2), and Jn 8^{34}, and see esp. Sanday-Headlam on Ro 5^{12-21}, p. 145.

(*e*) *Sin and law.*—Here we have something new, new as the result of conscious reflexion, yet the result of what has gone before. St. Paul looks back on the history of the nation, and of his own spiritual experience, and sees (Ro 8^{3}) *τὸ ἀδύνατον τοῦ νόμου* (the inability of the Law) for the restraint of sin. The result of law, by itself, must always be sin rather than righteousness. It provoked and revealed sin. 'The strength of sin is the law' (1 Co 15^{56}).

(*f*) *Sin and death.*—St. Paul, as stated above (*b*), regarded physical death as the consequence of the Fall, and argues from this premiss in Ro 5^{12-21}. But it is probable that he (like the author of Wisdom) did not separate strictly the conceptions of physical and moral death. He uses the words 'death' and 'life' with a breadth which makes it difficult to say in any particular case which kind of death he is attributing to sin as its effect, *e.g.* Ro $6^{21.23}$. To him physical death is but the symbol of its far more terrible moral counterpart, final separation from God, and the extinction of the life of the Spirit; cf. Ja 1^{15}. See Beyschlag, *NT Theol.*, Eng. tr. vol. ii. p. 55 ff.

(*g*) *Death to sin.*—The wide use of the idea of 'death,' illustrated above, enabled it to be applied to any absolute final separation of objects hitherto closely related. Hence the entry into union with Christ is death to sin (Ro 6^{1-14}). All that St. Paul has to say on the sinfulness of the flesh, on sin as an inmate of the soul, on sin as a ruling power, relates to the state before justification. The Christian is, as such, dead to sin. St. Paul contemplates the Church (as in Eph. *passim*) and the Christian in their ideal state. But he is no dreamer; he knows how incompletely the ideal is realized. His delineation of it is his mode of expressing the imperative. His hopefulness as to its realization is not mere opinion, but the experience of a man who himself had felt what he taught, of a teacher who had entered into the heart of the gospel. The doctrine of St. John (see below) converges to the same goal, starting from a different point, and expressed in different phrases. And it must be remembered that 'death to sin' is not equivalent to insensibility to temptation; it is rather deliverance from bondage.

4. *St. John* (Epistles).—(*a*) The great contribution which 1 John makes to the doctrine of sin is a paradox. Nowhere is the reality of sin more strongly insisted on as occurring in the Christian life, and nowhere is the sinlessness of the Christian more distinctly asserted. In 1 Jn 1 the sinfulness of Christians is presented in three different aspects (reality, responsibility, fact; see Westcott, *in loc.*). Again, it is involved in the very purpose of the Epistle (1 Jn 2^{1}, and cf. 5^{16}). But in 1 Jn $3^{6.9}$ and 5^{18} he who is begotten of God and abides in God does not, cannot, sin. St. John is not intentionally putting these opposing statements side by side, but they are called out by different forms of error (*πλάνη*). While some denied in various ways the reality of sin, others were under the delusion that, for the enlightened, conduct is a matter of indifference. The answer to the first was this: we have sin (1^{8}); and, to the second, whosoever abideth in Him sinneth not (3^{6}). So far as we sin we fall short of our position as children of God abiding in Him. There must be infirmities needing repeated advocacy and propitiation ($2^{1.2}$), but the choice of the man is against all sin, and towards complete conformity to the will of God. He still needs to purify himself (3^{3}); but sin is no longer at the centre of the inner life, it has been driven out to the circumference. Further, St. John goes on to teach a certain security against sin, regarded as coming from without. 'The evil one toucheth him not' (5^{18}). The Christian abides in Christ and is 'kept.' The agency of Satan in occasioning human sin is strongly marked in this Epistle (3^{8-12} $5^{18.19}$), as it had been also in the Lord's teaching recorded by St. John (Jn 8^{44}). On the whole section cf. above iii. 3 (*g*). (*b*) A second but less important point in 1 John is the *sin unto death* (5^{16}). It is inconceivable that this should be some particular kind of sin, the name of which is concealed. A classification of sins as mortal and venial, though not without its grounds and its uses, is alien from the spirit of the gospel, which teaches us that the guilt of sins is estimated by their conditions rather than by the actual thing done. The sin unto death is nearly related to, but not the same as, the sin against the Holy Ghost; again, it is also nearly related to the sin of wilful apostasy, already treated under *Ep. to Hebrews*. But the three must not be identified. Any sin wilfully persisted in would satisfy the conditions of 1 Jn 5^{16}, and the 'sin unto death' is perhaps to be regarded as a genus under which the two sins above mentioned are to be classed. St. John does not forbid intercession for such a case, he only says that such a case is not what he is speaking about, and that he cannot attach a distinct promise to such intercession. (*c*) Another

---

[*] Cf. Dorner, *System Chr. Doctr.*, Eng. tr. vol. iii. p. 56 ff.

[†] Dorner, *System Chr. Doctr.*, Eng. tr. vol. ii. p. 319. The whole passage on *σάρξ* should be referred to. See also art. FLESH.

characteristic of these Epistles is the representation of sin and righteousness in the aspect of falsehood and truth (cf. above, Sin in *Psalms*). Sin is falsehood. It came in with the primal lie, 'thou shalt not die' (cf. Jn 8^{44}). It rests for its power upon deceit. But the life of love is the life of truth; it corresponds with the movement of the Divine government, with its purposes of mercy, with the Being and attributes of God (2 Jn $^{1-4}$).

LITERATURE.—*OT.*—Oehler, *Theol. of OT*, Eng. tr. vol. i. pp. 229-245 (very valuable); Schultz, *OT Theol.*; Clemen, *Lehre von der Sünde*; Tulloch, *Christian Doctrine of Sin*; OT commentaries, esp. Dillmann on Hexateuch, Davidson on Job and Ezekiel, Cheyne on Psalms.

NT.—Dorner, *System of Chr. Doctrine*, Eng. tr. vols. ii., iii. (excellent); Beyschlag, *NT Theol.*, Eng. tr. vol. ii. bk. iv. c. 3; Lechler, *Apostolic Times*, Eng. tr. vol. i. pp. 342-366 (very useful); Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*^{2} §§ 46–54; Wernle, *Der Christ und die Sünde bei Paulus*; Ritschl, *Justification and Reconciliation*, Eng. tr. pp. 327-366; Thackeray, *St. Paul and Contemporary Jewish Thought*, ch. ii.; Commentaries, esp. Sanday-Headlam, *Romans* (see 'Sin' in index); Westcott, *Hebrews* (esp. pp. 31, 32), and *Epp. John* (esp. pp. 37–40); Mayor, *St. James*. On the subject as a whole, Müller, *Christian Doctrine of Sin*, is still the only comprehensive work known to the writer. It contains much valuable thought, but is unattractive in form and style, and is largely open to criticism, *e.g.* in its recourse to a theory of pre-existence of souls to account for the origin of inborn sinfulness, bk. iv. ch. 4. E. R. BERNARD.

SIN (סִין; *Σάϊς, Συήνη*, A in Ezk 30^{15} *Τάνις*; Vulg. *Pelusium*).—A city in Egypt mentioned in Ezk $30^{15f.}$ along with Pathros (Upper Egypt), Zoan (Tanis), Sin, No (Thebes), Noph (Memphis), Aven (Heliopolis), Pi-beseth (Bubastis), and Tehaphnehes (Daphnæ). Arranging these in geographical order, we find them to be the most important cities in the N.E. of the Delta and along its eastern edge leading to Memphis, the capital of Lower Egypt, followed by Pathros (Upper Egypt) and its capital No. Sin is characterized by Ezek. as 'the stronghold of Egypt' (RV), yet it is not mentioned by Jeremiah. LXX tr. it by Sais (the capital of the 26th Dynasty, in power at the time of the prophecy), or Syene, the southern frontier. The latter identification is, however, impossible. In all probability Sin is Pelusium. The name Sin seems, like Pelusium, to be connected with 'mud'; and a modern name that clings to the neighbourhood of Pelusium is et-Ṭîneh, which is from the same root as Sîn. Unfortunately, nothing is known of the history of Pelusium before the time of Herodotus, in whose days it was a place of importance owing to the development of commerce by sea; and soon it became the key of Egypt on the N.E., as in the Persian war and long afterwards (Her. ii. 17, 154, iii. 10). From the wording of Ezek. it would seem to have held this position at a date when Daphnæ was still a great garrison city, guarding the approach to Memphis. The ancient Egyptian name of Pelusium is still unknown. In Coptic it is *Peremûn*, in Arab. *el-Fermâ*. The ruins are about a mile distant from the sea in the extreme N.E. corner of the Delta. They consist of a long narrow mound parallel to the sea, containing ruins of a temple and a large red brick enclosure, evidently a Byzantine or Arab fortress. At the E. extremity, after a slight gap, is another high mound, nearly touching the desert, and crowned by a structure of red brick. These brick buildings are of the Arab. period. West and south all is barren salt marsh, without a living soul for miles; the marsh is now indeed intersected by the Suez canal, which brings human beings within 20 miles. Yet even down to the 11th cent. A.D. el-Fermâ was a large city, and the country round, though marshy, was to a great extent cultivated and populous. Near the shore were salt-pans, and places for salting fish. F. LL. GRIFFITH.

SIN, WILDERNESS OF (מִדְבַּר־סִין; LXX *ἡ ἔρημος Σ(ε)ίν*; Vulg. *desertum Sin*).—This 'wilderness' is described in Ex 16^1 as between Elim and Sinai; in 17^1 an encampment in Rephidim is mentioned between Sin and the wilderness of Sinai; and in the itinerary of Nu 33 an encampment by the Red Sea is inserted between Elim and the wilderness of Sin, and two other camping-places besides Rephidim between the wilderness of Sin and the wilderness of Sinai. On the supposition that the traditional site of Sinai is the correct one, the encampment by the sea is generally placed at the end of *Wādy Tayibeh*, near *Râs Abu Selimeh*, and the wilderness of Sin may be the open plain a little to the south of this headland. Others put it in *Wādy Schellal* or *Wādy Budrah*. This wilderness appears to be different from the wilderness of ZIN (Nu 13^{21} 20^1 27^{14} 33^{36} $34^{3.4}$, Dt 32^{51}, Jos $15^{1.3}$), in which the Israelites encamped after leaving Mt. Sinai, but the student cannot fail to notice the close similarity of the three names Sinai, Sin, Zin. A. T. CHAPMAN.

SINAI, MOUNT (סִינַי, *Σ(ε)ινά*).—The impressions derived from a study of the wanderings of the children of Israel as they are recorded in the Scriptures, are found to undergo important modifications as soon as the biblical tradition is supplemented by an actual topographical survey of the peninsula at the head of the Red Sea, which takes its name from Mt. Sinai, and is supposed to contain the famous mountain where the Law was said to have been given to Israel. For while the student of the Scriptures without their topographical supplement would conclude that the route of the Exodus lay entirely outside the pale of civilization, the student of the country is able to affirm with certainty that there was an actual civilization in the peninsula itself; that there were important mines, with at least one port of debarkation for ships coming from Egypt; and that the country was intersected by trade routes which connected the upper end of the Red Sea with regions lying farther north and east; the mines alluded to being contemporary with the earliest Egyptian dynasties, and the trade routes being also, in all probability, of extreme antiquity. And not only are there within the limits of the so-called Sinaitic peninsula the marks of an astonishingly early stage of civilization, but there is also the indication of the existence of early forms of religion, far removed from the semi-fetishism of wandering Arab tribes.

One of these forms of religion was the Egyptian, represented by the temples at Sarbut el-Kadeem on the northern route to Mt. Sinai; it was the natural concomitant of the imported Egyptian influence which came in with the officials who had charge of the mining operations in the west of the peninsula. But besides this form of religion there is reason to suspect that Babylonian religion was also represented, for there are traces in the Babylonian literature of mining and quarrying operations in the eastern part of the peninsula and in the adjacent country of Midian, and these traces are very suggestive of religious concomitants, especially when we find a reflexion of the Babylonian theology in the very name of the sacred mountain. Mount Sinai, in fact, is named after the moon-god Sin (cf. the formation of Mordecai from the name of Marduk); and if this be so, it was from the earliest times a place of sanctity, and the routes that converge upon it would easily acquire the character of *ḥaj* routes or pilgrim roads. There is therefore no *a priori* difficulty in the account of the wandering of the children of Israel to a sacred mount, nor any need to regard the sanctity of the place as acquired in the time of the Exodus, or projected back upon the story by later chroniclers.

The real problem lies in the identification of the mountain described in the Pent., especially in view of the fact that the whole of the peninsula is a mass of mountains, many of which are conspicuous objects in the landscape, and certain to have early attracted attention and invited nomenclature. We are assuming that Mt. Sinai is somewhere in the tongue of land at the head of the Red Sea, between the two arms of that sea which constitute respectively the Gulf of 'Aḳaba and the Gulf of Suez. It should, however, be remembered that Sayce thinks he has grounds for locating Mt. Sinai outside the peninsula and in the land of Midian itself. In this he is following in some points an earlier and more fantastic suggestion of Beke. The advantage of such a theory lies in the fact (1) that Mt. Sinai is closely connected with the land of Midian in the biblical account. Thither Moses escapes from the wrath of Pharaoh, and while engaged in pastoral occupations in that land he sees the theophany of the burning bush. Moreover, his wife and her relations are Midianite. The general opinion is that Midian is on the farther side of 'Aḳaba to the east and north, and that special evidence is needed if we would include in it the surroundings of the traditional Mt. Sinai. (2) The theory furnishes a new explanation of the encampment of the Israelites by the sea, which on this theory is the Gulf of 'Aḳaba; (3) it finds a site for the much-disputed Elim in the modern Aileh (ancient Eloth); (4) it explains why nothing is said about the exquisite valley of Feiran by a writer who is so careful to record the palm-trees and springs (certainly of a much inferior quality) at Elim; the identification of Rephidim with Feiran is, on this hypothesis, incorrectly made.

The theory is not lightly to be set aside; the main objection to it lies in the itinerary (which appears to have been one of daily marches along a conventional road). No satisfactory attempt has been made to trace this itinerary to the E. or N. of the Gulf of 'Aḳaba.

Setting aside, then, the theory of a (trans-'Aḳaba) Midianite Sinai as inconsistent with the most natural interpretation of the biblical traditions, we proceed to determine the most likely spot within the peninsula to which those traditions can be referred. And first of all we may clear away the apparent confusion between Horeb and Sinai which occurs in the Pent., and has often been perplexing to commentators who had to reconcile such expressions as 'to the mountain of God, even to Horeb' (Ex 3^{1}), with which cf. 1 K 19^{8}, where Elijah is said to have come 'to the mountain of God, even to Horeb.' Here and in other places 'the mountain of God' is identified with Horeb, *i.e.* Sinai and Horeb are practically interchangeable. An examination of the sources of the narrative will show that Horeb is the term used for the seat of the Deity in E and D, while Sinai is the term used in J and P. According to the sources, then, we can only say that the centre of the worship of J″ is in Horeb according to the northern tribes, and in Sinai according to the southern; and no further help is forthcoming for the location of Horeb (which may simply mean 'waste').

Returning to the question of the actual mountain involved in the tradition, we have a remarkable divergence of opinion amongst critics and travellers, not a few of whom (especially Lepsius and Ebers) have sought to identify the biblical Sinai with Mt. Serbal, which rises just above the oasis of Feiran to the south. It may be admitted that Serbal is a much more conspicuous object than Jebel Musa (the traditional mountain of the Law), although it is not so lofty. It is also true that the centre of early Christian life in the peninsula in the first centuries of the occupation of the holy places is in the Wady Feiran, which stands for the ancient Paran, the seat of an episcopate and the home of innumerable ascetics, whose caves and rude dwellings may still be traced. We need not be surprised, then, if it should be maintained that the special place of sanctity in the peninsula was not far from the Wady Feiran, in which case Serbal can hardly fail to be the holy mountain. In further support of this it is urged that immediately after the battle with Amalek the Israelites are said (Ex 19^{2}) to have come to Mt. Sinai, or at all events to the wilderness which bears the name of that mountain, and it would therefore seem that the mountain was at no great distance from Rephidim, which is almost universally identified with the Wady Feiran. So that, when we combine the biblical statement of the proximity of Rephidim to Mt. Sinai with the undoubted fact that Feiran is the primitive Christian metropolis, a strong case is made out for identifying the beautiful and imposing Mount Serbal with the biblical Sinai. Various attempts have further been made, by means of quotations from Cosmas Indicopleustes, Eusebius, Jerome, etc., to show that there has been a monastic translation of the accepted site of Sinai from Serbal to Jebel Musa (cf. Lepsius, *Tour from Thebes and the Peninsula of Sinai*, 1846, tr. by Cottrell; and Ebers, *Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, 2nd ed. Leipzig, 1881). And it has been affirmed in accordance with this hypothesis that there was no monastery or monastic settlement in the neighbourhood of Jebel Musa before the convent, called popularly after the name of St. Catherine, was built by Justinian.

Unfortunately for this ingenious hypothesis, it has been reduced almost to absurdity by the discovery of a document which is in itself one of the most interesting of pilgrim itineraries, and which for the settlement of the early Christian tradition has immense weight. We refer to the document known as the *Peregrinatio Silviæ*, edited in Rome in 1887 by Gamurrini from an imperfect MS, and since reprinted by J. H. Bernard as a volume of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society. The pilgrimage in question is dated in the years 385–388 by its editor, and its authorship is assigned with good reason to a lady from Aquitaine. The imperfect MS opens with topographical details which certainly identify the plain of er-Rahah in front of Jebel Musa ('vallem infinitam ingens * planissima et valde pulchram, et trans vallem apparebat mons sanctus Dei Syna'). And, in fact, the whole of the route which Silvia describes between Egypt and Sinai, and the holy places which she visits, coincide closely with the route and the sanctities recorded in modern books of travel. The theory of the displacement of the traditional Sinai from Serbal to Jebel Musa in the early Christian centuries may therefore be abandoned, and this practically amounts to the final abandonment of the Serbal-Sinai theory itself and the acceptance of the traditional site. Any residual difficulties which are connected with the account of the Exodus and the last stages of the journey to Sinai are probably due to unhistorical elements in the tradition. Mt. Sinai must therefore be sought in the cluster of eminences which includes Jebel Katerina, Jebel Musa, etc. Of these the highest is Jebel Katerina, but it does not appear that any attempt has been successful to find at the foot of Jebel Katerina a suitable place for an Israelite encampment. And in so far as this is the case, the traditional site must be allowed to retain the identification until further light can be thrown on the subject from unexpected quarters.

---

* *Ingens=valde* in this document frequently; but here in its natural sense, for she says a little later *valle illa quam dixi ingens.*

The traditional Sinai is bounded on the north side by the great plain er-Rahah, out of which it rises precipitously; on its east and west sides are wadis named respectively, the one on the east Wady ed-Deir and the one on the west Wady el-Leja. The former takes its name (Valley of the Convent) from the celebrated convent of St. Catherine, which stands upon the slope of the mountain; the derivation of the other name is more obscure. In this western wady are the remains of the convent of the Forty Martyrs (*Deir el-Arbaʿin*) and a number of other traces of early monastic life, and by this valley it is customary to make the ascent of Jebel Katerina, which lies to the S.W. of Jebel Musa. The northernmost peak of Jebel Musa is called Ras es-Sufsafeh ('Head of the Willow,' probably from a tree growing in one of its gullies), and is commonly taken as the place of promulgation of the Law, for which it is a very striking and suitable site. The height of Sufsafeh is 6937 ft., while the southern peak is somewhat lower. The latter is the true holy place according to the Greek and Arab tradition. There is an ascent to it by a flight of rude steps commencing not far from the convent, and extending, with slight intermission, almost to the summit.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.—*Objections to the traditional site of Mt. Sinai.*—In the foregoing we have found ourselves closely in accord with the traditional view of the route of the Exodus, and of the location of Mt. Sinai. If the Israelites really went into the Sinaitic peninsula, the route and the goal of their wanderings have probably been correctly identified. We have shown that the tradition in favour of *Jebel Musa* is earlier and more constant than has generally been recognized. But the real difficulty begins with the question whether the biblical Mt. Sinai was in the peninsula, after all. Objection after objection has been raised under this head, and some of them are not easy to refute. (1) The biblical references to Mt. Sinai do not seem to warrant an identification in the limits of the peninsula. Dt 1[2] gives a distance of 11 days from Horeb to the mountains of Seir, and this would agree well enough with the distance from Jebel Musa. But in other passages, such as Dt 33[2], Hab 3[8], the contiguity between Sinai and Edom seems to be more pronounced: even if we grant a certain freedom of expression to poetical passages, still such language as Dt 33[2]—

J″ came from Sinai,
And rose from Seir unto them,

might, in view of Heb. parallelism of the members, imply more than that Sinai was in the direction of Seir. It might be urged in reply that the passage continues—

He shined forth from Mt. Paran,
And came from Meribah Kadesh,

and Paran has been commonly identified with *Feiran* in the peninsula. But this identification has also been questioned on account of the parallelism with Kadesh and other references.

(2) Some of the places in the itinerary of Exodus have apparently been found outside the limits of the peninsula, as Elim in Elath-Eloth, and the encampment by the sea in the Gulf of ʿAkaba.

(3) Mt. Sinai is suspiciously connected with the land of Midian, and it has to be shown that the Sinaitic peninsula could be thus described. At the time of the Exodus it was an Egyptian province.

These and other objections have been raised against the traditional theory; their resolution depends upon the final discrimination of the documents underlying the Pent. and upon the results of further archæological investigations, not only in the peninsula of Sinai but to the N. and E. of it.

LITERATURE.—Robinson, *BRP*[2] i. 90 ff., 119 ff.; Stanley, *SP* 42 f.; Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, *passim*; Hull, *Mount Seir, Sinai*, etc., 51 ff. [all these support the identification of Sinai with Jebel Musa]; Lepsius, *Briefe*, 345 ff., 416; Ebers, *Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, 392 ff. [both advocate the claims of Mt. Serbal]; Sayce, *HCM* 263 ff. (his view is discussed above). There is a full account of the controversy as to the identity of Sinai in Dillm.-Ryssel on Ex 19[1]. For the sacred character of Mt. Sinai see W. R. Smith, *RS*[2] 117 f., and Smend, *Alttest. Religionsgesch.*[2], 32 ff.

J. RENDEL HARRIS.

SINCERE.—In 1 P 2[2] 'sincere' is used in the sense of 'unmixed,' 'pure': 'Desire the sincere milk of the word' (τὸ λογικὸν ἄδολον γάλα, Vulg. *sine dolo*, Wyc. 'with out gile,' Tind. 'which is without corrupcion,' Cran. 'which is with out disceate,' Gen. 'syncere,' Rhem. 'without guile'; RV goes back to Wyc. and Rhem. 'which is without guile'). For 'sincere' in this sense, cf. Rhem. NT, Preface, p. 16, 'We translate that text which is most sincere, and in our opinion, and as we have proved, incorrupt'; and Cranmer, *Works*, i. 134, 'If there be none other offence laid against them than this one, it will be much more for the conversion of all the fauters hereof, after mine opinion, that their consciences may be clearly averted from the same by communication of sincere doctrine . . . than by the justice of the law to suffer in such ignorance.' J. HASTINGS.

SINGERS, SINGING.—See artt. PRAISE IN OT, and PRIESTS AND LEVITES.

SINGULAR is properly that which concerns a single person or thing; so AV, after Tindale, in Lv 27[2] 'When a man shall make a singular vow' (יַפְלִא נֶדֶר, RV 'shall accomplish a vow,' RVm 'make a special vow').* So also Knox, *Works*, iii. 141, 'Without harnes or weaponis (except my sling, staf, and stonis) I durst interpryes singular battell aganis him'; Bp. Davenant, *Life*, 329, 'For my part, I am of opinion that there is no sane or possible Way for any singular person to attein to the comfortable persuasion that hee is Elected unto Salvation, but a Posteriori.' Cf. the phrase 'all and singular,' as in the Act of Uniformity in K. Edward VI. Second Prayer-Book (1552), 'And for their authority in this behalf, be it further likewise enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all and singular the same Archbishops, Bishops, and all other their officers exercising Ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as well in place exempt, as not exempt, within their dioceses, shall have full power and authority, by this act, to reform, correct, and punish, by censure of the Church, all and singular persons which shall offend within any their jurisdictions or Dioceses.'

Then the single person or thing may be regarded as *special* and *remarkable*, as Wis 14[18] 'the singular diligence of the artificer.' Cf. Ridley, *Brefe Declaration*, 144, 'Origen . . . was compted and judged thi singular teacher in his tyme of Christes religion'; Mt 5[47] Tind. 'And yf ye be frendly to youre brethren onlye, what singular thynge doo ye?' J. HASTINGS.

SINIM (סִינִים; Πέρσαι; *de terra australi*).—The 'land of Sinim' (Is 49[12]) must, from the context, have been in the extreme south or east of the known world. In the south, Sin (*Pelusium*, Ezk 30[15f.]) and Syene (Ezk 29[10] 30[6]) have been suggested (the former by Saadya, Bochart, and Ewald; the latter by Cheyne [*Introd. to Is.* 275, and in *SBOT*], who would read סְוֵנִים, with J. D. Michaelis, Klostermann, Marti), but these places are perhaps too near. The LXX favours the view that a country in the east was intended, and modern commentators have identified Sinim with China, the land of the Sinæ. The name *Tsin* was known as early as the 12th cent. B.C.; and it was not improbably familiar to the Phœnicians. There was a trade, at a very early date, between the extreme east and southern Arabia and the Persian Gulf. This interpretation of the name *Sinim* as referring to China, which was first suggested by Gesenius, is strongly opposed by Dillm. (*Jesaja, ad loc.*), Duhm, and Richthofen (*China*, i. 436 f., 504). Dillm. *e.g.* points out that no Israelites could have been in China at the time of this prophecy, that we should expect צינים not 'ס, and the name *Tsin* (derived from a dynasty of 255 B.C.) could not have been yet in use in Babylon.

C. W. WILSON.

SINITES (הַסִּינִי; A ὁ Ἀσενναῖος, Luc. ὁ Ἀσεννεί).—

---

* On the vocalization and meaning of the Heb. word see the Comm., especially Dillm.-Ryssel, *ad loc.*

A Canaanite people, Gn 10^{17}=1 Ch 1^{15}. Dillm. (*Genesis, ad loc.*) compares the name of the ruined city Sin, mentioned by Jerome (*Quæst.*), as not far from Arḳa at the foot of Lebanon. Strabo (XVI. ii. 18) also names a mountain stronghold *Ṣinna(n)* (Σιννᾶν, accus.) on Lebanon, and a Phœn. city *Siânu* is named along with Ṣemar and Arḳa in an Assyr. inscription (Del. *Paradies*, 282; cf. W. M. Müller, *As. u. Europ.* 289).

SIN-OFFERING.—See SACRIFICE, p. 337^b.

SION.—**1.** (שִׂיאֹן; LXX Σηών) A name of HERMON, Dt 4^{48}. *Sion* is taken by some to be a textual error for SIRION (שִׂרְיֹן), the Zidonian name of the same mountain, Dt 3^9. This view is supported by the reading of the Syr., which, however, is as likely to be a correction of the Hebrew text (Driver, *ad loc.*). Like SENIR, *Sion* may have originally been the designation of a particular part of Hermon. **2.** See ZION. J. A. SELBIE.

SIPHMOTH (שִׂפְמוֹת; B Σαφεί, A Σαφαμώς; *Sephamoth*).—One of the places, 'where David and his men were wont to haunt,' to which a portion of the spoil of the Amalekites was sent after David's return to Ziklag (1 S 30^{28}). It is mentioned with Aroer, now *'Ar'arah*, to the east of Beer-sheba, and Eshtemoa, now *es-Semû'a*, in the hill-country S. of Hebron. The site was unknown to Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom. s.* Σαφαμωθ, *Sofamoth*), and it has not yet been recovered. It was probably in the Negeb to the S. of Eshtemoa. Riehm (*HWB*) suggests that Zabdi, the **Shiphmite** (1 Ch 27^{27}), was a native of Siphmoth and not of Shepham—the change from *Sh* to *S* being easily made, and a few MSS reading *Shiph-* for *Siph-* in 1 Samuel. See SHEPHAM. C. W. WILSON.

SIPPAI.—See SAPH.

SIRACH (BOOK OF).—

- i. History.
- ii. Importance.
- iii. Name and Place in the Bible.
- iv. Name of the Author.
- v. Editions.
- vi. Greek Text.
- vii. Versions and Quotations.
- viii. The Syriac Text.
- ix. The Hebrew Texts.
- x. Contents and Theology.
- Literature.

[Abbreviations in this article :—Ed.=Edersheim, Commentary on Sirach in Wace, *Apocrypha*, ii.; C-N=Cowley-Neubauer, *The original Hebrew of a portion of Ecclesiasticus*; R=Ryssel, Translation of Sirach with Notes in *Die Apokryphen übersetzt*, . . . ed. by E. Kautzsch (1900, i.) and in *SK* 1900, 1901; S-T=*The Wisdom of Ben Sira, Portions of the Book Ecclesiasticus*, ed. by Schechter-Taylor (1899); 𝕲 the Greek, 𝕳 the Hebrew, 𝕷 the Latin, 𝕾 the Syriac Text, 𝔭 the Syriac translation of Paul of Tella].

i. HISTORY.—The history of the book, which in the English Bible retained the Latin name *Ecclesiasticus*, while it is called in German the book (of) Jesus Sirach or, abbreviated, *Sirach*, falls into two periods, the second beginning on 13th May 1896, when S. Schechter, Talmudic reader in the University of Cambridge, wrote in a letter to Mrs. A. S. Lewis there, that the fragment of a Hebrew MS of hers, which he had taken with him, represented '*a piece of the original Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus. It is the first time that such a thing was discovered*' (see A. S. Lewis, *In the Shadow of Sinai: A* Story of Travel and Research from 1895 to 1897; Cambridge, 1898, p. 174). Since that day, 39 out of the 51 chapters of which the book consists have been recovered totally or in part in Hebrew from 4 different MSS, and a new period in the history of this book has thus been opened. What we knew about it before that time or believed we knew, is, perhaps, best summed up in the Introduction and Commentary of A. Edersheim, in the *Speaker's Commentary* ('Apocrypha,' ed. by Henry Wace (London, 1888), ii. 1-239).

ii. IMPORTANCE.—In many respects this book is the most important of the so-called Apocrypha. It is important for the student of history who wishes to trace the Jewish religion in its transition from the OT to the NT, and it is important on account of the influence it exercised and still exercises on the religious life of generations. Both the Jubilee Rhythm of St. Bernard of Clairvaux (partially translated in *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, 178, 177), and what may be called the German Te Deum, *Nun danket alle Gott* (*ib.* 379), are taken from this book. How much has been lost by those parts of the Church which excluded it from their Bibles may be gathered from the use made of it in other parts, not only in the Greek and Roman, which place it on the same footing as the whole Bible, but also in the Lutheran, which placed it among the Apocrypha but made a very large use of it.

On the Latin Church compare especially Augustine. When he collected from the Bible, towards the end of his life, his so-called *Speculum*, *i.e.* those passages which he considered useful for the guidance of the religious life, he found in this book more for his purpose (*plura huic operi necessaria*) than in any other book of the OT or NT (no fewer than 36 pages out of 285 in the edition of Weihrich [*CSEL*, vol. xii. 1887]; from Proverbs 21 pages, from Matthew 18). After the excerpts from those books 'quos et Judæi canonicos habent,' he goes on to say 'sed non sunt omittendi et hi quos quidem ante salvatoris adventum constat esse conscriptos, sed eos non receptos a Judæis recipit tamen eiusdem salvatoris ecclesia. in his sunt duo qui Salomonis appellantur a pluribus propter quandam sicut existimo eloquii similitudinem. nam Salomonis non esse nihil dubitant quique doctiores. nec tamen eius qui Sapientiæ dicitur quisnam sit autor apparet. illum vero alterum quem vocamus Ecclesiasticum, quod Jesus quidam scripserit, qui cognominatur Sirach, constat inter eos qui eundem librum totum legerunt.'

As to the Lutheran Church it may be noted that the protocols of the Meistersinger of Nürnberg alone mention about 100 songs all beginning 'Jesus Sirach' or 'Sirach (the wise man)'—see the Indexes published by K. Drescher in vol. 214 (1897) of the *Literarische Verein*. In 1676 a preacher published the themes and dispositions of 170 sermons on this book,* and the Bible Society of Halle (founded by Francke-Canstein) circulated from 1712–1823 no fewer than 77,105 copies.†

iii. NAME AND PLACE IN THE BIBLE.—(*a*) *Place.* (1) The book had at no time a place among the 24 (or 22) books of the Hebrew Bible, though it is quoted in one passage of the Bab. Talmud (*Berakhoth*, 48*a*) with the quotation-formula דִּכְתִיב 'as it is written,' which is used elsewhere only of the acknowledged books; but in the parallel passages the name of the book is added. In two other passages two rabbinical authorities actually quote from our book, while believing themselves to be quoting from Scripture (see Strack, 'Kanon des AT' in *PRE*^{3} ix. 753). The book is therefore not mentioned in those lists of the canonical books which profess to give the Jewish Canon, as Melito, Origen, Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory of Nazianzus, Amphilochius, pseudo-Athanasius' *Synopsis*, Canon of Laodicea, *capitulus* (Zahn, *Geschichte des Kanons*, vol. ii.). Epiphanius, *de Mens.* 4 (Lagarde, *Symmicta*, ii. 157), says on the two books, mentioned above by Augustine, Wisdom and Sirach: *αὗται χρήσιμοι μέν εἰσι καὶ ὠφέλιμοι, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀριθμὸν τῶν ῥητῶν οὐκ ἀναφέρονται·*‡ *δι' ὃ οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ ἀρῶν* (אֲרוֹן) *ἐνετέθησαν, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ τῆς διαθήκης κιβωτῷ.*

(2) But Sirach had a sure and prominent place among the books of the Bible in the Greek and

---

* *Sacrarum Homiliarum Thematicarum e Sapientia Πανάρετω, sive Ecclesiastico Jesu filii Sirach centum et septuaginta dispositiones, annotationibus textualibus illustratæ, quibus præfixus, liber Siracidis græcus cum variis lectionibus* . . . autore . . . W. M. Stissero, Lipsiæ, 2 pts. (1676), 4to.

† On the use made of the book in the English Church see below, p. 550^b.

‡ Compare with this assertion Luther's definition of the Apocrypha, as 'Bücher, so der Heiligen Schrift nicht gleich gehalten, und doch nützlich und gut zu lesen sind.'

still more in the Latin Churches. In the MSS of the Greek Bibles it was most commonly grouped with the other Poetical books (see the lists in Swete's *Introduction*, pp. 198–214); the order being in cod. S: Psalms, Proverbs, Eccl., Cant., Wisd., Sirach, Job; in B: Ps., Prov., Eccl., Cant., Job, Wisd., Sirach, Esth.; in AN: Ps., Job, Prov., Eccl., Cant., Wisd., Sirach.

On the question whether Clement of Alexandria had Wisdom and Sirach as an Appendix to the NT, see, on the one side, Credner-Volkmar, *Geschichte des neutest. Canons*, p. 387 (on the strength of Photius, cod. 109, ὁ δὲ ὅλος σκοπὸς [of his Ἐκλογαί] ὡσανεὶ ἑρμηνεῖαι τυγχάνουσι τῆς Γενέσεως, τῆς Ἐξόδου, τῶν ψαλμῶν, τοῦ θείου Παύλου τῶν ἐπιστολῶν καὶ τῶν Καθολικῶν καὶ τοῦ Ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ), and H. Eickhoff, *Das NT des Clemens* (Progr. Schleswig, 1900, p. 22); on the other side Zahn, *Geschichte des Kanons*, ii. 223.

The 85th of the Apostolic Canons orders: ἔξωθεν δὲ ὑμῖν προσιστορείσθω μανθάνειν ὑμῶν τοὺς νέους τὴν Σοφίαν τοῦ πολυμαθοῦς Σειράχ.

The Coptic Church counts 6 books of Wisdom (ἑξάσοφος); see I. Guidi, 'Il canone biblico della chiesa copta' (*Revue biblique*, x. 2, 166, 169) = Job + Salomone 5 libri (Prov., Wisd., Eccl., La Sapienza di Bāgor ben Bagy (= אגור בן יקה), Cant.); after the Prophets follows La Sapienza di Gesù figlio di Sirach *scriba di Salomone.*

(3) In the *Western* Church, too, it became at a very early date common to group these 5 books (Prov., Eccl., Cant., Wisd., and Sirach) together and presently to count them all as Solomonic. One passage from Augustine has been already quoted [§ 1]: in *de Doct. Christ.* ii. 13 he says of Wisdom and Sirach: 'de quadam similitudine Salomonis esse dicuntur . . . qui tamen quoniam in auctoritatem recipi meruerunt juxta propheticos enumerandi sunt.' Innocent I. (*Ep. ad Exsuperium*) counts expressly, after Prophetarum libri xvi., 'Salomonis libri v.,' then Psalterium; so also Cassiodorius (*de Inst. Div. litt.* 14; but see Zahn, *Gesch. d. Kan.* ii. 270, 271 n. 5, 272), the Council of Carthage, A.D. 397 (can. 47 = 39), the stichometrical list from Freisingen published by C. H. Turner (*JThSt* ii. 240), while, in the list of the MS of F. Arevalo (*l.c.* p. 241), in pseudo-Gelasius and in Isidore, 'Salomonis libri iii.' is followed by Wisdom and Sirach (in pseudo-Gelasius in the order Sirach, Wisdom).[*] The same arrangement is found in mediæval Bibles and translations—for instance in the famous Wenzel Bible at Vienna (on which see Kurrelmeyer, *Amer. Journ. of Phil.* xxi. 62, 69); and this custom of placing Sirach and Wisd. in company with Prov., Eccl., and Cant., and of reckoning all five as books of Solomon, became so prevalent that as late as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries several separate editions of this group were published, not only in Latin but also in English, either with the express heading 'libri Salomonis' or without it.

See in the Catalogue of the British Museum 'Bible' (OT) the remark before Hagiographa (col. 323, comp. with 718, 720, where Sirach by mistake is called 'the Book of Wisdom'). Latin editions containing these 5 books are in the Brit. Mus. from Antw. 1537; Paris, 1537; Lyons, 1543; Paris, 1564; Antw. 1591; with Psalms, 1629; Psalterium Davidis et Libri sapientiales (without Cant.), Leiden, 1659. Of English editions the two oldest are: *The Bokes of Salomon, namely, Proverbia, Ecclesiastes, Sapientia, and Ecclesiasticus or Jesus the sonne of Syrach* (*The story of Bell, whjch is the xiiij chapter of Daniel after the Latin*), E. Whytchurch, London [1540?], 8vo (in the copy of the Br. Mus. a few MS notes by King Henry VIII.; the text follows that of the Bible of 1535; a reprint 1545, 16mo); *The bokes of Salomon, namely, Proverbia, Ecclesiastes, Cantica Canticorum, Ecclesiasticus or Iesus the sonne of Syrach*, W. Bonham, London [1542?], 8vo (text follows Great Bible of 1539; another ed. Wyllyam Copland, London, Jan. 1550 [1551], 8vo).

The order in the present English editions of the Apocrypha (1 Es., 2 Es., Tobit, Judith, the Rest of Esther, The Wisdom of Solomon, Sirach, etc.) seems to go back in the last instance to the German (Zürich) translation of Leo Jud (Zürich, 1529, fol. and 8vo; Strassburg, 1529–30), which separated '*die Bücher die by den alten onder Biblische geschrifft nit gezelt sind, auch by den Ebreern nit gefunden*' from the rest of the Bible, and arranged them 1–2 Es., Tob., Jud., Bar., Wisd., 'das Buch Ecclesiasticus das man nennen mag die weisen Sprüch Jesu des Suns Sirach,' 1–3 Mac., Sus., Bel and Dragon.

The first Greek edition of the Bible, which separated Ἀπόκρυφοι αἳ παρ' Εβαίοις [*sic*] ἐκ τοῦ τῶν ἀξιοπίστων ἀριθμοῦ συγκαθίσταυται, is that of Lonicerus (Argentorati, Cephaleus, 1524, 26). Its order is: Tob., Jud.; Bar., Ep. Jer.; Song of the Three Children, Esdras, Σοφία Σολομῶντος, Σοφία Ἰησοῦ υἱοῦ Σειράχ. The ground of Luther's (1534) arrangement (Judith, Wisd.; Tob., Sirach) becomes clear only from his Prefaces, which are now omitted in almost all German Bibles: the story was made to be followed by the *fabula docet.*

In Syriac Lexicographical Notes on the Bible the order is: Kings, Ruth, Wisd., Eccl., Cant., Sirach, Prophets (see *Opuscula Nestoriana*, ed. G. Hoffmann).

(*b*) *Name.*—Luther says in his Preface: 'This book has been called hitherto in Latin *Ecclesiasticus*, which has been rendered the spiritual discipline (*die geistliche Zucht*). Elsewhere its true name is *Jesus Sirach*, after its master, as it is styled in its own Preface and the Greek,[*] in the same way as Moses, Joshua, Isaiah, and all the books of the Prophets are styled after their masters.' In our documents it is styled (1) Σοφια Σειραχ in codex B (inscr.); (2) Σοφια Ιησου υιου Σειραχ (or Σι-) in codd. ACS, and in the subscription of B. Ch. 50 has the inscription Προσευχη Ιησου υιου Σειραχ, and occurs separately under this heading, *e.g.* in cod. Bodl. misc. gr. 205 (xiv cent.); (3) Σοφια η πανaρετος Ιησου υιου Σειραχ stands in the edition of Camerarius, 1551, before the so-called Prologus incerti auctoris. The expression πανάρετος is applied to Proverbs (Eus. *HE* iv. 22), to Wisd. (Athan., *Synops.*, Epiph., subscr. in codex Syro-hexaplaris Ambrosianus), to Sirach (Eus. *DE* viii. 2, Jerome).

Clement of Alexandria quotes: φησὶν ἡ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Σοφία, ἡ γραφή (*Str.* ii. 180), ἡ Σοφία, παρὰ τῷ Σολομῶντι (ii. 160), παρὰ Σολομῶντος, Παιδαγωγός. Origen (ii. 77): τοῦ τὸ σύγγραμμα τὴν Σοφίαν ἡμῖν καταλιπόντος Ἰησοῦ υἱοῦ Σιράχ; (iii. 48) φησὶν γὰρ ἡ Σοφία, (139) λεγούσης τῆς γραφῆς.

In the official editions of the Latin Bible the book has the heading *Ecclesiasticus*; then follows, 'In Ecclesiasticum Jesu filii Sirach Prologus.' Ch 50 has the heading 'Oratio Jesu filii Sirach.' In the codex Amiatinus the inscription and subscription is *Liber Ecclesiasticum Salomonis*; the subscription standing after 3 Regn. 8^{22-31}, which follows in this MS immediately after ch. 51. The same arrangement is found in mediæval Bibles, as the Wenzel Bible, the first German Bible (Eggestein, Strassburg, *c.* 1461).

Very strange is the heading Ἐκκλησιαστικός (because hitherto found only in Latin and the passage of Photius quoted above)[†] in cod. 248 before the text of the book and the Prologus incerti auctoris, the latter being inscribed Σοφία Ἰησοῦ υἱοῦ Σειράχ.

---

[*] On Mommsen's list, the *Catalogus Claromontanus*, the *Liber sacramentorum* of Bobbio, see Swete, *Introd.* p. 212 ff. See also the Damasine list published by C. H. Turner, *JThSt*, i. 557.

[*] Of printed Greek texts Luther knew probably only the edition of Lonicerus just mentioned, 1526; the other texts printed at that time were in the Polyglot Bible of Ximenes, 1514, and in the Greek Bible of Aldus, 1518; Melanchthon's edition of the Greek Bible appeared a few months before Luther's death, 1545. Frz. Delitzsch (*Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Polyglottenbibel des Cardinals Ximenes*, Leipzig, 1871, p. 5) states that Luther nowhere mentions the Bible of Ximenes, but that Melanchthon refers to it while Luther was living, and that the library of Wittenberg possessed the copy dedicated to the Elector; two years after the death of Luther it passed into the library of Jena.

[†] Besides the statement of Zahn, *Gesch. d. Kan.* ii. 233, cf. Oikonomos, περι των ό ερμηνευτων, ii. 579. On the adjective ἐκκλησιαστικός see Clement, *Str.* vi. 125 (ed. Dind. iii. 217), κανὼν ἐκκλησιαστικός, Origen, ii. 97. 1, iii. 44. 1; Rufinus (*Expos.*

The common Latin designation since Cyprian is *Ecclesiasticus*, and means, most probably, the Church-book κατ' ἐξοχήν, from its frequent use in the Church, especially for the instruction of catechumens.

Ecclesiasticus is used in Cyprian once of Ecclesiastes (*Test.* 3, 86. 61), once of Wisd. (3, 112 cod. A), of our book (3, 1. 95. 110. 111); it is ascribed to Solomon in 3, 6. 12. 20. 53. 113, *Op.* 5, *Sent.* 27, *Ep.* 3, 2; it is both ascribed to Solomon and called Ecclesiasticus in 2, 1. 3. 35. 51. 96. 97. 109 (see Rönsch, 'die Alttest. Citate bei Cyprian' in *Zeitschrift für histor. Theol.* 1875, 95). Ambrose writes: 'In Ecclesiastico Syrach, in libro Sapientiæ Syrach'; Lactantius (*Ep.* 25), 'In Ecclesiastico per Salomonem'; it is referred to Solomon also by Vigilius of Thapsus, Anicetus of Buruch; Hilary ('qui nobiscum Salomonis inscribitur, apud Græcos *atque Hebræos* [!] Sapientia Sirach habetur'). Jerome says, 'In Sapientia quæ Sirach inscribitur.'

The (wrongly) abbreviated inscription of codex B and the editio Sixtina have become prevalent in modern books, even in those of Roman Catholic authors.

(*c*) *Name of the original work.*—Jerome (in the Preface to the books of Solomon) writes: 'Fertur et πανάρετος Jesu filii Sirach liber, et alius ψευδεπίγραφος qui Sapientia Salomonis inscribitur; *quorum priorem Hebraicum reperi*, nec Ecclesiasticum, ut apud Latinos sed *Parabolas* prænotatum; cui juncti erant Ecclesiastes et Canticum Canticorum, ut similitudinem Salomonis non solum librorum numero, sed etiam materiarum genere adæquaret,[*] secundus apud Hebræos nusquam est.' This raises the question, What was the original title of the work? The Syriac version, which is based (see § viii.) on the Hebrew, is in Lagarde's edition (from cod. 12,142 of the Brit. Mus., vi cent.) inscribed חכמתא דבר סירא '*Wisdom* of Bar Sira'; in Walton's Polyglot, כתבא דשמעון אסירא דמתקרא הו כתבא חכמתה דבר אסירא 'Book of Simeon Asira, which book is called the *Wisdom* of Bar Asira.' At the end we read (*a*) *Hitherto the words of Jesu bar Simeon, who is called Bar Asira*[†] and (*b*) 'Endeth to write the *Wisdom* of Bar Sira.' Walton has (see Lagarde, p. ix) 'Endeth the *Wisdom* of Bar Asira. In 20 chapters and to God glory in eternity.' The MSS of Pococke and Ussher add after (*a*) instead of (*b*) 'Endeth the book of the *Wisdom* of Jesus the son of Simeon who is called Bar Asira (cod. Ussher 2, *Sirak*), in which are 2500 words.'

In the *Hebrew* text we read at the end, 'Hitherto the words of Simeon ben Jeshua who is called ben Sirā. The Wisdom (חכמת) of Simeon ben Jeshua ben Eleazar ben Sirā. The name of Jahweh be blessed from now and till eternity.'

From these Greek, Syriac, and Hebrew statements it would appear that the title of the book was 'Wisdom,' Σοφία, in Heb. חָכְמָה (or מוּסָר); but how is this to be reconciled with the statement of Jerome that the title was in Hebrew *Parabolæ* (*i.e.* מְשָׁלֵי)? Is this a confusion with Proverbs, a solution recommended by the fact that in the Hebrew seen by Jerome Eccl. and Cant. followed; or was the copy seen by Jerome not a copy of the original, but a retranslation from the Greek, as already Scaliger suggested? And then, Jewish quotations from Sirach, where they mention not only the name of the author as אמר בן סירא, or in Aramaic בר סירא, or ספר בן סירא, have twice הַמֹּשֵׁל אָמַר 'the *Parabolist* said,' or מתלא אמר בן סירא 'a *proverb* said ben Sira' (see C-N, p. xxiv n. v. liv and p. xx n. x.). The same word מַתְלֵא 'proverbs' occurs in the Syriac VS at 50^{27}; the Heb. text has there מוסר שכל, and the book is quoted as ספר מוסר by Saadia (C-N, p. ix n. 4). The question of the original title is, after all, a puzzle, and new puzzles as to the author's name arise from the newly discovered texts.

iv. THE NAME OF THE AUTHOR.—(*a*) Hitherto it has been generally held that the author's name was *Jesus* the son of Sira (Jesus filius Sirach, Jesus Siracida). Especially subsequent to the Reformation this name became current instead of the Latin book-name *Ecclesiasticus*. Compare the title of the first separate edition of the book in Greek by Joachim Camerarius (Basileæ, 1551), 'Sententiæ Jesu Siracidæ Græce.'[*] But now new difficulties arise. In the Greek text the author himself (50^{27}) gives his name as Ἰησους υἱος Σειραχ Ἐλεαζαρ ὁ Ἰεροσολυμειτης;[†] instead of the last word the first hand of codex S had ἱερεὺς ὁ Σολυμείτης; the name Ἐλεαζαρ is omitted by cod. 248 and the Complutensian and Sixtine editions; Ἐλεαζαρου is written in cod. 68 and the Aldine Bible, Ἐλεάζαρος in V 253. The Syriac Hexapla has 'Jesus son of Sirach of Eliezer' (דאליעזר); the Pesh. omits the passage altogether; in the Latin Vulgate it runs, 'Jesus filius Sirach Jerosolymita'; and now in the Hebrew in the twice-repeated colophon, לשמעון בן ישוע בן אלעזר בן סירא 'by Shimeon son of Jesus son of Eleazar son of Sirā.' And so the author is called also by Saadia (see S-T, p. 65). Many recent writers think the Hebrew pedigree *Simeon—Jesus—Eleazar—Sira* a mere clerical error for the sequence *Jesus—Simeon—Eleazar—Sira*. But it must be pointed out that the name Simeon is firmly attached to the author of this book in the Syriac Church. There he was identified with the Συμεὼν ὁ θεοδόχος of the NT, the author of *Nunc dimittis*. On this identification see especially Georg, bishop of the Arabs (*Briefe und Gedichte*, ed. Ryssel, p. 59 f., 80 f., 159 f.), who opposes the identification for chronological reasons, the author of the book having lived, according to Georg, 244 years before Christ, in the 65th year of the Greek era, under Euergetes. Cf. further, Gregory Barhebræus (*Scholien*, ed. Kaatz), who identifies him at the same time with Simeon (II.) son of Onias; *Opuscula Nestoriana* (ed. G. Hoffmann, p. 107,[‡] 139[§]); *History of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, ed. Budge (p. 36), where cod. B for 'Simeon the old' has 'Simeon Asira'—he becomes priest after

---

in Symb.), after the canonical books of the OT, among which he mentioned 'Salomonis vero tres': 'Sciendum tamen est, quod et alii libri sunt, qui non canonici sed *ecclesiastici* a maioribus appellati sunt, ut est Sapientia Salomonis et alia Sapientia quæ dicitur filii Syrach, qui liber apud latinos hoc ipso generali vocabulo *Ecclesiasticus* appellatur, quo vocabulo non auctor libri, sed Scripturæ qualitas cognominata est.'

[*] How are these words to be understood? Just as there are three books of Solomon (Prov., Eccl., Cant.), so there were extra-canonical books equal in number and contents (Sirach + Eccl. + Cant. ?).

[†] Thus also *Opuscula Nestoriana*, p. 107, and after a remark, 'endeth Bar Sira.'

[*] There is a good story told by Melanchthon, which, whether it refers to this edition or not, ought not to be suppressed: 'Quidam sacrificulus cum in bibliopolio vidisset Syracidem editum dixit: quam mali homines sunt Lutherani; etiam Christo nomen aliud affingunt: antea vocabatur Christus Jesus, nunc illi vocant eum Jesus Syrach' (see *GGN*, 1894, 180).

[†] AV 'Jesus the son of Sirach of Jerusalem'; RV 'Jesus the son of Sirach Eleazar of Jerusalem.' Note the Grecized form of the name (instead of Ἰερουσαλήμ).

[‡] 'That he was called bar Sirā; they relate that he called his father אסירא, because he is the Simeon whose tongue was bound (אֲסִירָא) by the Holy Ghost, till he should see the Christ, and when he had seen Him, he spoke, Let me now part in peace to my fathers.'

[§] The Septuagint is said here to have been made 'six years after the return of the children of Israel from Babel, which was the 17th year of the death of Alexander the Greek, and 1400 years after the Law was given to Moses. Simeon the old (סבא), the father of Jesus bar Sira, the Wise, was one of the seventy-two old men just mentioned; and he was the Simeon bar Nethaniah bar Chonja (=Sir 50^1), and Simeon was brother of the priest Eleazar; and it was he who carried our Lord in his arms, and his life was stretched over 216 years, and he called himself with a contemptible name (בשמא בסירא), like Abraham, who called himself dust and ashes, and David, who said, I am a worm and no man, סירא, *i.e.* dust from the white-washing, which is beaten off the walls. Instead of Sira the Greek says *Asira* (אֲסִירָא).'

Zechariah the father of John the Baptist, *Protev. Jacobi*, ch. 24; *The Book of the Bee* (p. 71): 'Simeon the son of Sira died in peace in his own town.' In one Greek recension of the *Lives of the Prophets*, Συμεὼν ὁ ἱερεὺς found a place towards the end between Zechariah the son of Barachiah and Nathan (see Nestle, *Marg. und Mat.* p. 33). That Simeon θεοδόχος was one of the Seventy, is stated, among Greek writers, by Euthymius Zigabenus, Kedrenus, Nicephorus Kallisti.

The pedigrees we thus obtain are—

ℌ	𝔊	𝔖	or
Simeon.	Jesus.	Jesus.	Jesus Bar-Sira.
Jesus.	Sirach.	Simeon.	Simeon.
Eleazar.	[Eleazar].	Sira.	
Sira.			

It has been suggested by Blau that 'the two traditions, that of the Greek and that of the Syriac, are mutually complementary.' Thus we should have in ℌ a combination of both, what textual critics call a conflation. The decision depends on the general question of the value of ℌ, see § ix. As to whether Simeon or Eleazar can be identified with one of the known bearers of these names, see below.

(*b*) *The name Sirach.*—The latest contribution to Hebrew lexicography, M. Jastrow's *Dictionary of the Targumim*, etc., contains the following words which come into consideration for the explanation of this name: (1) סיר 'pot'; (2) סירא =Heb. שִׁרְיָה 'coat of mail'; (3) סירא 'thorn'; (4) סירא=the present proper name; (5) סִירָה, סִירָא f. (*a*) '[degenerate growth],' 'thorn,' 'thornbush,' (*b*) 'refuse,' 'foul matter'; (6) סִירָה, סִירָא f. 'surrounded place,' 'court,' 'prison.' From *Thes. Syr.* we may add (7) סיר=σύρ, 'Sir'; (8) סירא=σειρά; and (9) the explanation of the name given by the Syriac lexicographers=שִׁיְרָא 'thin dust from the walls.' If there was not the constant tradition that the initial letter was ס, the Greek Σ might correspond also to other letters, as ז, or צ, or שׂ, and the name might be connected with זְעֵירָא, צְעֵירָא, 'small,' 'little,' 'lesser,' זְעֵיר or זְעֵירָא being, in fact, the name of several Jewish Amoraim.

The χ at the end of the Greek form may correspond to נ (cf. Σερουχ, Φαλεχ), ח (Καλαχ, Μασβαχ), to ךְ (many names in -μελεχ), to ע (Βαλαχ), to ק (Ἀμαληχ, Βαραχ), to still other letters, as ו (Κενεχ, Μαωχ) or ח (Βαιθαναχ, Δειναχ); but it is most probably a mere representation of the *mater lectionis* א; cf. Ἀκελδεμαχ, Ἰωσηχ Lk 3^{29} = יוֹסֵי, the spelling Ἄλλαχ = Allah [Schlatter takes it for υ=υἱός]. A. Meyer (*Muttersprache Jesu*, p. 39) takes the word to mean coat of mail or *iris oculi*; Ryssel (p. 234), 'more probably thorn or thorn-hedge than mail-coat,' referring to Levy, *NHWB* iii. 519, 520. Ryssel takes bar-Sira as name of the family; we should thus have only three generations: Jesus, Simeon, Eliezer—not four as in ℌ.* In view of the Prologue, 'ὁ πάππος μου Ἰησοῦς,' it seems certain that the author was Jesus (the son of Simeon), and not Simeon the son of Jesus. Whether the translator, too, bore the name of his grandfather, as is stated by the Prologus incerti auctoris, is not certain. This second Prologue, which was first printed from cod. 248 in the Complutensian Polyglot, and was first shown by Hoeschel (1604) to be part of the so-called pseudo-Athanasian *Synopsis*, begins—

> Ἰησοῦς οὗτος Σιρὰχ μὲν ἦν υἱός, ἔγγονος δὲ Ἰησοῦ ὁμωνύμου αὐτῷ . . . ὁ οὖν πάππος αὐτοῦ . . . φιλόπονός τε γέγονεν ἀνὴρ ἐν Ἑβραίοις . . . ἐπεὶ οὖν τὴν βίβλον ταύτην ὁ πρῶτος Ἰησοῦς σχεδόν τι συνειλεγμένην καταλιπὼν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ᾤχετο, Σιρὰχ οὗτος μετ' αὐτὸν πάλιν τῷ οἰκείῳ παιδὶ κατέλιπεν Ἰησοῦ· ὃς δὴ αὐτῆς λαβόμενος εἰς ἓν ἅπασαν ἐναρμόνιον σύνταγμα συνήγαγε Σοφίαν ἐπί τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τῷ πάππου* ὀνόματι (κ)εκληκώς.

Thus we have the pedigree: Jesus [II, the translator]—Sirach [II]—Jesus [I, the author]—Sirach [I, Eleazar].

Another enlargement has taken place in the translator's Preface, as it seems, in Latin MSS, though it is known to the present writer only from the pre-Lutheran German Bible. There it is stated that the 'anherre' (*avus*, πάππος) was a son of Josedek (see ch. 49^{12}), and one of the Seventy, and that the grandson Jesus the son of Sirach pursued higher studies. Finally, Euergetes is stated in the same connexion to have reigned after Philadelphus, *his brother*, under whom the Bible had been translated from Hebrew into Greek (see Nestle, 'Zum Prolog des Ecclesiasticus' in *ZATW*, 1897, p. 123 f.). Already Isidore of Seville identifies Jesus the son of Sirach with Jeshua the son of Jozedek. This is of course impossible. For the translator states: ἐν γὰρ τῷ ὀγδόῳ καὶ τριακοστῷ ἔτει ἐπὶ τοῦ Εὐεργέτου βασιλέως παραγενηθεὶς εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ συγχρονίσας εὗρον οὐ μικρᾶς παιδείας ἀφόμοιον. This date is not to be understood of the 38th year of the life of the translator (Camerarius) nor of any unknown era, but of the reign of Euergetes (see especially Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, i. 255 [Eng. tr. 339 ff.]; R 235; Ed. 4 ff. As only Euergetes II. reigned more than 38 years (from B.C. 170 with his brother, from 145 alone, reckoning his years from 170),† it is the year B.C. 132; and as he states that he stayed some time in Egypt (συγχρονίσας) before he undertook his task, we may place the translation about 130, and the original some forty or fifty years earlier (B.C. 190–170). Then we must understand the high priest Simon, who is so highly praised in Sir $50^{1ff.}$, from personal knowledge as it seems, to be Simon II. Others, taking πάππος in the sense of 'ancestor,' prefer to place the author more than a hundred years earlier, under Simon I. In the former case it would be possible to identify our author Ἰησοῦς with the high priest Ἰάσων (175–172); but beyond the identity of the time and name nothing leads to this identification. That the author of our book was high priest is stated by Syncellus (*Chron.*, ed. Dindorf, i. 525); the reading ἱερεὺς ὁ Σολυμείτης by the first hand of S cannot be more than a clerical error.‡

v. EDITIONS.—(*a*) The first editions of the Greek text are in the Complutensian Polyglot (*c*) 1514, from cod. 248 § (see below, p. 544^a), in the Aldine Bible (*a*) 1518, which has been taken for this book

---

[*] This is possible; cf. Josephus, *Vita*, 1: ὁ πρόπαππος ἡμῶν Σίμων ὁ Ψελλὸς ἐπικαλούμενος . . . γίνονται δὲ τῷ Ψελλῷ Σίμωνι παῖδες ἐννέα· τούτων ἐστὶν Ματθίας ὁ Ἡφαίου (*v.l.* Ἡφλίου) λεγόμενος.

[*] The word πάππος used here and in the Preface may have the more general meaning 'ancestor,' but in this connexion it will be 'grandfather.' In the Concordance of Hatch-Redpath it is quoted from Symmachus on Zec 1^1, where it seems to belong to Ἀδδώ.

[†] On the reign of Euergetes we are well informed through the inscriptions of the temple of Edfu (see Dümichen, *Die erste bis jetzt aufgefundene sichere Angabe über die Regierungszeit eines Ägyptischen Königs aus dem alten Reiche*, Leipzig, 1874, p. 20 ff.; and *Ztschr. f. äg. Sprache*, 1870). There the years 28, 30, 46, 48, 54 (as the last of this king) are mentioned; the first Toth of his 28th year fell on the 28th Sept. B.C. 143, the first Payni (rise of Sirius) on the 20th–19th July 142.

[‡] Here it may be mentioned that in a late compilation (see C-N, pp. xiv f., xxix) Ben-Sira is made the son or grandson of Jeremiah, and has a son Uziel and a grandson Joseph. See *Proverbia Ben-Siræ Autoris antiquissimi, qui creditur fuisse nepos Ieremiæ prophetæ*, Opera J. Drusii, Franeker, 1597. In the Preface Drusius thinks it a probable inference, 'interpretem Græcum Ecclesiastici Josephum fuisse Vzielis filium.' Cf. on this literature the edition of Steinschneider, *Alphabetum Siracidis utrumque*, Berolini, 1858; and Schürer, *GJV*³ ii. 161.

In other legends he has been brought into connexion with Solomon as his *wezîr* or secretary; see above, p. 540^a; a legend about Aphkia (the wife of Sirach) and Solomon has been published in Arabic by Mrs. M. D. Gibson in number viii. of the *Studia Sinaitica*, London, 1901.

[§] Sirach was committed with the rest of the 'libri Sapientiales' to the care of Johan de Vergara, who, at the end of his life, had no greater wish than to illustrate Sirach by notes (Alvarus Gomez, *de rebus gestis a Franc. Ximenio*, lib. 2).

without any doubt from cod. 68; and cod. 68 itself is, to all appearance, for this book a copy of cod. B, so that *a* represented the text of cod. B in many passages more faithfully than the Sixtine of 1587.* A reprint of *a* is the edition of Lonicerus † (Argent. 1526); but the editor introduced many changes: for instance, in 3^1, where *a* has ἐμοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς, Lonicerus put (from the Latin) κρίμα τοῦ πατρός. That Lonicerus changed his text has been overlooked by subsequent editors and commentators, hence in later books a number of misstatements as to the text of *a*; ‡ Lonicerus in turn was followed by Melanchthon (Basle, 1545), Melanchthon by the edition of Wechel (1597, see art. SEPTUAGINT, p. 440^a).§ The editors of the Sixtine (*b*) made use not only of B, but of *c a* Lonicerus, Melanchthon, and the codd. V 106, 155, 253 || (see on *b*, above, p. 440^a); on Grabe's edition, see p. 440^b.

(*b*) *Separate editions of the Apocrypha* are mentioned, p. 441^b. The edition of Fritzsche (1871) is the best, but for our particular book quite unsatisfactory (see Nestle, *Marg.* 1892, pp. 48–58).

(*c*) Of separate editions of Sirach alone the oldest is: *Sententiæ Jesu Siracidæ, Græcè summa diligentia et studio singulari editæ, cum necessariis Annotationibus*, Joachimo Camerario, Pabepergen., autore, Basileæ, 1551, 8vo.¶

It has both Prologues, is the first which numbers the verses, and has useful notes, especially parallels from the classics, but also various readings. In the Prologue, Camerarius writes ἐφόδιον for the doubtful ἀφόμοιον (*v.l.* ἐφόμοιον and ἀφορμήν), which reading has been mentioned in the notes of *b* and other editions and received into the text by Grabe.

Then comes Σοφια Σειραχ, *sive Ecclesiasticus Græce ad exemplar Romanum, et Latine* ex interpretatione J. Drusii, cum castigationibus sive notis eiusdem, Ad Reverendissimum in Christo patrem D. Johannem Whitgiftum archiepiscopum Cantuariensem, etc., Franekeræ, 1596, 4to; with a double appendix, 'Proverbia-Bensiræ' and 'Adagiorum Ebraicorum Decuriæ aliquot nunquam antehac editæ.'

Besides the previous printed editions—among them '*Biblia R. Stephani quæ vulgo Vatablo attribuuntur*,' apparently the edition [Geneva, 1st March] 1557–58—Drusius made use from ch. 20 onward of a collation sent to him through Jan Gruter from Heidelberg. 'Huius enim hortatu Jacobus Kimedontius iunior . . . codicem Palatinæ bibliothecæ vetustissimum membranaceum cum editione Camerarii anno 1578 [*sic*; in his notæ he writes 1570] Lipsiæ cusa diligentissime contulerat.' This is apparently the codex 296 of HP.

A most conscientious edition is that of Hoeschel: *Sapientia Sirachi sive Ecclesiasticus, Collatis lectionibus variantibus membranarum Augustanarum vetustissimarum et xiv præterea exemplarium. Addita versione Latina vulgata, ex editione Romana, cum notis Davidis Hoeschelii Augustani. In quibus multa SS. Patrum loca illustrantur*, Augustæ, 1604.

His codex Augustanus ('H' in the edition of Fritzsche, p. xxii) is apparently codex 70 of HP, now at Munich 551, and deserves the more a fresh collation, as HP gave it only for the first chapter, and as the codex is closely related to 253 and the Syriac Hexapla.

The source and present place of another MS used by Hoeschel ('Fragmentum MS variæ lectionis aliquot capitum e scidis Fr. Sylburgii') are unknown to the present writer.

From Hoeschel till Fritzsche not much was done for the textual criticism of a book which needed it greatly. We have—*Sententiæ Jesu Siracidæ, Græcum textum ad fidem codicum et versionum*, emendavit et illustravit, Linde (Gedani, 1795); and *Liber Jesu Siracidæ Græce, Ad fidem codicum et versionum emendatus et perpetua annotatione illustratus*, a C. G. Bretschneider (Ratisbonæ, 1804), xvi. 758 pp.

Br. is not accurate enough, but he has the merit of having called attention to a witness in textual criticism, the *Florilegium* of Antonius and Maximus, neglected by most workers in this field.

Hart's edition must find its place among the MSS (see below).

vi. THE GREEK TEXT.—The problem of textual criticism in this book is of exceptional interest. Luther declares in the Preface to his translation (what pains it had taken him to translate this book may be judged from a comparison with all other copies, Greek, Latin, or German, old or new): 'There have come so many "*Klüglinge*" over this book, that it would be no wonder if it were totally disfigured, not to be understood, without any use. Like a torn, trampled, and scattered letter, we have gathered it, wiped off the dust, and brought it as far as can be seen.' Some idea of this may be gathered by the English reader from a glance at the margins of RV. There are about eighty marginal notes; fifty times it is stated that a verse or part of a verse or even a series of verses is omitted by many or by the best or the oldest authorities (cf. $1^{4. 18. 21}$); once only (17^{10}) 'this line is added by the best authorities'; at other places we read, 'The Greek text here is probably corrupt,' 'the Greek text is here very confused.' The numbering of verses and even of the chapters does not agree. The latter is caused by the misplacement of some leaves (Ryssel says 'two'; and it may have been two, which must have been the inner leaves of a layer, and somewhat more closely written than A and still more than BS*) in the copy from which all the Greek MSS hitherto known have been derived. This fact, first pointed out by O. F. Fritzsche (*Ausleg.* 169, 170), who was led to his discovery by a similar observation of H. Sauppe on a Heidelberg MS of Lysias †, would not have been recognized with such certainty but for the Latin and Syriac texts, which have the different order. ‡ Already Nobilius declared the Latin order to be the better, calling attention especially to the reading κατακληρονόμησον 'in non nullis (libris),' 'quod optime convenit, si conjungatur cum illis quæ in vulg. c. 36' (a reading received into the text by Grabe, but not to be found elsewhere in HP, quoted by Hoeschel from his codex Augustanus; Camerarius put κατακληρονόμησαι). Where did the Roman editors get it from? and which is the 'unus vetustus codex,' which according to their repeated statement has, like the Complutensian, the Latin order? It is *not* the cod. 248,

---

* More than thirty readings quoted by Holmes-Parsons as singular from *a* turn out to be in reality readings of B. How did 68 really read in these passages? it seems very badly collated, for Holmes-Parsons.

† See above, pp. 440^a, 540^b.

‡ Comp. Bretschneider on 3^1 '*Aldina*, Melanth. et Bas. minor: κρίμα τοῦ πατρὸς *quod et codd. quidam Hoeschelii*.' The first and last statements are quite incorrect.

§ D. Hoeschel quotes amongst the editions used by him frequently 'Biblia Parisiis impressa a R. Stephano, A 1555.' From his quotations it would appear that it is in Greek and Latin with notes. Is there such an edition?

|| This follows from a comparison of the scholia and the Notes of Nobilius in the edition of 1588; comp. on 3^1 'in aliquibus libris est κρίσιν τοῦ πατρὸς' [=cod. 253], 'in aliquibus aliis κρίμα' [=Lonicerus]. Nobilius quotes at least a dozen readings from *a* and MSS which are not found in HP.

¶ Kolde (art. 'Camerarius' in *PRE*^{3} iii. 689) mentions only the second edition (Lipsiæ, 1568); the same year is given by Hoeschel (1604); but Drusius (1596) and the Catalogue of the British Museum give 1570, 2 vols.

* Toy (*Encyc. Bibl.* vol. ii. col. 1173) speaks of the displacement of *rolls* of the 𝔊 MS, or possibly of the Hebrew MS from which the Gr. translation was made.

† This accident occurs very often in ancient MSS. In the British Mus. there is a German Bible which has Mt 1^1–5^4 after Deuteronomy; at Gotha there is another with the same misplacement. On a misplacement in cod. S see Swete, *Introd.* p. 131; in a MS of ecclesiastical canons see Turner, *JThSt* ii. 269; in the Church History of Zacharias of Mitylene see the edition of Brook-Hamilton; in the Homilies of Origen on Jer. see E. Klostermann (*Or.* III. p. xiii). For other examples (Plautus, *Mostellaria*, etc.) see Ed. p. 154.

‡ The strange confusion Melanchthon produced in his edition, by placing the verse καὶ κατεκληρονόμησα in the middle of ch. 33 and λαμπρᾷ καρδίᾳ in the middle of ch. 36, has been partially amended in the edition of 1597.

in spite of the definite statement of Edersheim and others* (see Nestle, *Marginalien*, 1892, p. 58; J. K. Zenner, 'Ecclesiasticus nach Cod. Vat. 346' in *Z. f. Kath. Theol.* 1895; Ryssel, p. xxviii; and now the edition of Hart).†

Parsons used for this book fourteen MSS; the two uncials iii. and 23, *i.e.* AV, but cod. 70 (Hoeschel's Augustanus) only for the Prologue and ch. 1. In the Addenda is to be found for the Prologue the collation of a fifteenth MS (234). Fritzsche excerpted the apparatus of Parsons, but in an insufficient way, and added the collation of C, S, and Hoeschel's Augustanus from his edition of 1604.‡

In Swete's *OT in Greek* we have a faithful representation of the readings of BACS (=ℵ); but it is now generally acknowledged that the text of these uncials is a very bad one in Sirach.§ It is therefore a great boon that the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press are to publish shortly an edition of the codex Vaticanus 346 (=HP 248, the basis of *c*) by J. H. A. Hart, who, with the assent of the Syndics, had the kindness to communicate to the present writer, for the benefit of this article, the proofs before publication.‖

Of MSS not yet laid under contribution there are known to the present writer:—(1) A palimpsest of the 6th or 7th cent. at St. Petersburg, written in three columns (see *Urtext*, p. 74; Swete, *Introd.* p. 147 n. 12). (2) Two palimpsest leaves belonging to cod. 2 in the Patriarchal Library at Jerusalem, ascribed to the 6th cent., containing Prol. and $1^{1\text{-}14}$ 1^{29}–3^{11}, published by J. R. Harris, *Biblical Fragments from Mount Sinai*, No. 5.

(3) The *προσευχή* (ch. 51) is to be found in Cod. Bodl. Misc. 205 (xiv sæc.); see Coxe, *Catalogus*, i. 762. This chapter is missing in the MSS 296 and 308* of HP and (at present) in the codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus; but there only through the deplorable loss of a leaf.

Of minuscles, two Vienna MSS, Cod. Theol. Gr. xi. and cxlvii., both of which were brought by Busbecq from Constantinople, have been partially collated by Edw. Hatch and quoted as Vienna 1 and 2 in his Essay on the text of Ecclesiasticus (*Essays in Biblical Greek*, p. 247 ff.). On the confusion about the 308 (or 308*) in HP see Hatch, *l.c.* 248; and Swete, *Introd.* p. 159, No. 149.

Now comes the strange fact that our Greek MSS—which, as stated, go back, without any exception, to one and the same copy, in which the dislocation had taken place—show the greatest divergences. For instance, after 1^{4} two lines are inserted by six MSS of HP (23, 55, 70, 106, 248, 253); after v.^{5} again two lines by five MSS (the above without 248); after v.^{10} and v.^{12} two lines, but only by two MSS (70, 253); after v.^{17} one line by two MSS (here, however, not 70 and 253, but 70 and 248); after v.^{20} two lines by four MSS (70, 106, 248, 253); in v.^{10} two words, ἀπ' αὐτῆς, by *one* MS (70). How is this possible if all go back to the same original? And the variation is increased by the second and third class of our witnesses, the ancient Versions and Patristic Quotations.

vii. VERSIONS AND QUOTATIONS.—(*a*) In the first place has to be mentioned the Syriac version by Paul of Tella (*c.* 616 A.D.), the so-called Syro-Hexaplar, preserved to us through the codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus. If we retain the designation Syro-Hexaplar, we must bear in mind that Sirach had no place in Origen's Hexapla; but in one particular respect this Syriac version reminds us of the Hexapla: one of the critical marks of Origen, the asteriscus, appears also in Sirach, at least in its first part up to ch. 13. There are altogether 45 asterisks, and they mark just some of the additions mentioned above. No Greek MS of Sirach seems to have been found as yet with asterisks; but there is scarcely a doubt that the asterisks were not added by Paul of Tella, but were taken over by him from the Greek MS which he translated. This MS contained, before the text of the book, the capitulation, which is found in the so-called *Synopsis* of Chrysostom (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* lvi. 575), and some good corrections of the printed text may be gathered from it. Now the question arises the more: Where did these additions come from in this Greek copy? Take the very first one, which has an asterisk in 𝔭, 1^{7} ἀπ' αὐτῆς, given in the text in Syriac as מנה⁜, and on the margin, to remove any ambiguity, in Greek letters as ΑΠΑΥΤΗΣ. There is a slight difference between 𝔭 and the solitary Greek witness, from which this addition is known hitherto, Hoeschel's Augustanus (70), inasmuch as the latter gives it after μετὰ πάσης σαρκὸς ('alii non agnoscunt has voculas neque Athanasius Orat. 3. contra Arian.'), while 𝔭 has it after κατὰ τὴν δόσιν αὐτοῦ. This makes no difference of sense; in both cases ἀπ' αὐτῆς is a limitation of the preceding αὐτὴν (retained by 70 𝔭): God does not shed out His whole wisdom (αὐτήν) on all flesh, but only ἀπ' αὐτῆς; it is a mere dogmatical correction; but while appearing hitherto only in a single and late Greek MS—70 is of the 15th cent.—it gains suddenly in strength when shown by 𝔭 to be perhaps 1000 years older; nevertheless it is a mere gloss, which might be added by any copyist from his own brain, without any source. But what about the lines immediately following, put in 𝔭 under asterisks in quite the same way?—

⁜ and he gives it to them that love him,
⁜ the gift of the Lord is Wisdom,
⁜ glorious,
⁜ to them to whom he appears he deals
⁜ it in his appearance;

or with the two lines after v.^{12},

⁜ the fear of the Lord is a gift from the Lord,
for on love he raises paths.*

Both additions are found not in 70 alone, but in 70 and 253. Where do these additions come from?† We must look for more witnesses—versions and quotations.

The versions to be mentioned are the Armenian, Georgian, Ethiopic, Coptic, Arabic.

On the *Armenian* version and its complicated history see *PRE*^{3} ii. 68, 69 (=*Urtext*, p. 128 f.); Ryssel, p. 129; Margoliouth-Edersheim, § ix.; Conybeare (vol. i. p. 153^{a}); Herkenne, pp. 28–33. The older text rests on the authority of a single MS, which breaks off at 42^{27}, and has a lacuna from 35^{19}–38^{14}, and several omissions besides—*e.g.* the whole of ch. 8.

---

* *e.g.* C. H. Toy (art. 'Ecclesiasticus' in *Encyc. Bibl.* vol. ii. col. 1173).

† At present the Latin order is found in the edition of Camerarius; can this be meant?

‡ Bretschneider, p. 694: 'Cum Compl. textu maxima ex parte consentit codex Augustanus, cuius lectiones Hoeschelius *in criticis sacris* t. v. nobis dedit, quod modo accuratius ac clarius fecisset voluerim. . . . quum . . . haud raro lectiones, neque eas spernendas haberet, quorum nullum in reliquis deprehenditur vestigium.' That Hoeschel's codex E is identical with 'Drusii MS Heidelbergense' Bretschneider failed to recognize.

§ Edw. Hatch closes his examination of the text of Sirach with the remark, that as one of the points established by his investigation will be acknowledged 'the inferior value of some of the more famous uncial MSS as compared with some cursives' (*Essays*, p. 281).

‖ One of the characteristics of this MS is the insertion of about 130 glosses, to guard the text against misunderstanding, especially in chs. 1–30; see 1^{31} ἐν ἀληθείᾳ, 2^{4} ἀσμένως, 3^{21} ἀναισθήτως and ἀφροσύνη, ^{22} ὁσίως and βλέπειν ὀφθαλμοῖς, ^{24} ἡ ματαία, 4^{8} ἀλύπως, ^{25} κατὰ μηδὲ ἕν, 5^{11} ὀρθήν, 6^{37} τελείως, 8^{8} εὐμαρῶς, 13^{10} ἀκρίτως, 16^{4} ἐν τάχει, ^{11} διὰ τάχους, ^{20} ἀξίως, 17^{9} συνετῶς, ^{29} ὁσίως. Interesting is 19^{15} πολλάκις γὰρ γίνεται διαβολὴ ματαία, because the motive is quite the same as led to the addition of εἰκῇ in Mt 5^{22}. Some of them are found in the Syro-Hexaplaric MS under asterisks, one of these (5^{11}) also in one of the Hebrew texts, others in the Latin texts.

* That the critical marks are not absolutely to be trusted is shown by these examples: in the first a line is placed under asterisk ('and he gives it,' etc.), which ought to be free from it; in the second, the second line ('for on love,' etc.) ought to have the asterisk.

† Starting from the same observation, that some of the characteristic additions of the cursives 106, 248, 253 are to be found in the Syr.-Hex. with asterisks prefixed, the editor of cod. 248 raises (in a private communication to the present writer, 8th June 1901) the question: Is it possible that Sirach also was found in Origen's Hexapla, and that *he knew a Hebrew original and compared the Greek text therewith?*

On the *Georgian* version no more is known to the present writer than what is stated by Holmes at the end of the *Præf. in Pent.*: 'In Bibliis Georgianis Moscuæ curatis, liber Ecclesiastici et duo libri Macchabæorum, critico usui forte haud inservient.'

The *Palæo-Slavonic* version, says Margoliouth, 'follows a text similar to that of the Complutensian version, but with only a portion of the additions.' As in other books it is revised from *a*, the question must be put, whether this be not the case in Sirach also.

The *Ethiopic* version was published in 1894 as the last work of A. Dillmann (*Veteris Testamenti Æthiopici tomus quintus, quo continentur libri Apocryphi, Baruch . . . Judith, Ecclesiasticus, Sapientia* . . . Berolini, 1897, 4to. On its confused state see Nestle, *Marginalien*, p. 58 ; Dillmann's *Epilogus*, p. 113 ff. ; Herkenne, pp. 33–38 : Margoliouth believed he could find in a few places signs of contamination from the Syriac (8^5 22^{15} 38^{30} etc.) ; but they are of rather doubtful character.

Of *Coptic* versions the one in the *Sahidic* dialect is almost complete, existing in a unique MS of the 6th cent. at Turin, and published by P. de Lagarde in his *Ægyptiaca* (Göttingen, 1883 ; Anastatic reprint, 1897 ; see his *Mittheilungen*, i. p. 176 n.). From a MS in the Museo Borgiano, A. Ciasca published short fragments from chs. 1 and 2 (*Sacrorum Bibliorum fragmenta Copto-Sahidica*, vol. ii. (1889) p. 218) ; and the same by E. Amélineau (*Fragments de la Version Thébaine de l'Écriture Ancien Testament*, Parisiis, 1889), together with two leaves from a MS at Berlin, containing 6^{17}–7^{18}, $21^{8\text{-}23a}$, supplying and emending some defects in Lagarde's codex (see Herkenne, pp. 23–27, and Norb. Peters, *Die sahidisch-koptische Übersetzung des Buches Ecclesiasticus auf ihren wahren Wert für die Textkritik untersucht* Freiburg, 1898).—A fragment in the *Bohairic* dialect (ch. $2^{1\text{-}9}$) has been published by Lagarde, *Orientalia*, i. (1879) p. 69 ; the same piece with some more fragments (chs. 1. 4^{20}–5^2 12^{13}–13^1 $22^{7\text{-}18}$ $23^{7\text{-}14}$ $24^{1\text{-}11}$) by U. Bouriant, *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, vol. vii. (Paris, 1886), p. 81 ff.—One piece, finally, has been published by U. Bouriant in the dialect of *Akhmîm* in the *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique française au Caire sous la direction de M. Maspero*, I. 2. (Paris, 1885), 255 ff., containing 22^{16}–23^6.

In *Arabic* there seem to exist several versions. One MS, said to be corrected from the Greek, is preserved in the Medicean Library at Florence : in the Prologue the grandson is made to say that he translated the work into Syriac. A compendium of the Arabic version in an imperfect state (5 pages) is preserved, according to Margoliouth, in the Bodleian Library (Hunt. 260).

The version contained in *Karshuni* in cod. Syr. 179, i., at Paris, is said to be due to Basilius, bishop of Tiberias, but goes back to the Syriac, not the Greek text of Sirach.

All these versions, except the last, rest on the common Greek text ; and so do most of the quotations in Greek Fathers. An exceptional position among them is held by Clemens Alexandrinus, whose quotations in important details agree with cod. 248, 253, and the monks *Antonius* and *Maximus*.

Of greater importance than the other versions, and of greater value than for other parts of the Greek OT, is—

(*b*) *The Latin Version.* It is true that the suggestion first broached by the Roman Catholic commentator Cornelius a Lapide (†1637, *Comm.* on Sirach, 2 vols., 1634), next mooted by Sabatier, then discussed in a special paper by Ernst Gottlob Bengel (1769–1826),* that the Latin version was based immediately on the lost Hebrew original, has turned out to be wrong ; but even the latest investigation (H. Herkenne, *de Veteris Latinæ Ecclesiastici capitibus* i–xliii, Leipzig, 1899) has arrived at the result : 'Nititur Vetus Latina textu vulgari græco *ad textum hebraicum alius recensionis Græce castigato.*' It is all the more to be regretted that its text has not yet been published in a satisfactory way.

It is generally believed that the text in our ordinary editions of the Vulgate is the Old Latin untouched by Jerome.† But his expression 'calamo temperavi' does not exclude, in our opinion, those stylistic emendations which we perceive when comparing the current Latin text with older documents, either MSS or quotations.‡

The most convenient edition of the Latin Vulgate is that of van Ess (pub. 1824), which gives on the margin the variations of the Sixtina and Clementina after the Vatican editions of 1590, 1592, 1593, and 1598.

Sabatier (see vol. ii. 53) reprinted the official text with the collation of four MSS 'optimæ notæ' (*ib.* 389, 'Corbeienses duos, unum Sangermanensem, & alium S. Theoderico ad Rhemum'). The Corbeiensis I. is now Paris 11,532 (9th cent.; Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, 104, 107) ; Sangermanensis 15, now Paris 11,553 (9th cent.; Berger, 65, 408).

In 1740 J. Blanchinus published, in his *Vindiciæ canon. script. Vulgatæ Latinæ editionis*, a collation of the codex Toletanus, with Henten's edition (1569) ; repeated in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* xxix. 985.

After the collations of the Amiatinus by Heyse-Tischendorf (Lips. 1873) the whole text of this MS was published for Wisd. and Sirach by Lagarde, *Mitth.* i. 283–377 ; see also p. 191.

Ph. Thielmann devoted to the Latin Sirach two articles in Wölfflin's *Archiv*, and showed that chs. 44–50 were due to another hand than the rest of the book ; the former of European, the chief part of African origin (*Archiv für lat. Lexikogr.* viii. 501–561, ix. 2, 247 ff.) ; see vol. ii. p. 10.

The text published by C. Douais (*une ancienne version latine de l'Ecclésiastique*, Paris, 1895, 4to) is, according to Thielmann and Kennedy, an apparently Spanish text, a revision of the primitive African version (ch. 21^{17}–22^{22}). In the judgment of the present writer it may be just as well a new translation, independent of the former.

Ph. Thielmann ('Bericht über das gesammelte handschriftliche Material zu einer kritischen Ausgabe der lateinischen Übersetzungen biblischer Bücher des alten Testamentes' in *Münchener Sitz.-Ber.*, 1899, ii. 2, 205 ff.) gives for Sirach the collation of twenty-three MSS (1–4 Spanish, 5, 6 Anglo-Saxon, 7–12 French before Charlemagne, 13–16 St. Gall and Italy, 17–19 Theodulf, 20–23 Alcuin), and specimens from fourteen MSS more ; some fragments cod. Veron. i. and cod. Ambr. D. 50 f. (olim Bobb.) are of the 6th cent. But still older are the—

QUOTATIONS OF THE LATIN FATHERS.—Augustine's *Speculum* is mentioned above ; it contains whole chapters from Sirach, and its text agrees closely with that of the codex Amiatinus ; but other quotations in the writings of Augustine

---

* 'Ueber die muthmassliche Quelle der alten lateinischen Uebersetzung des Buches Sirach' in Eichhorn's *Allgemeine Bibliothek der bibl. Litt.*, 1796, vii. pp. 832–864.

† Edersheim : 'Jerome tells us expressly that he had left the text of the Vetus Latina untouched (*calamo temperavi*) in the (apocryphal) Wisdom of Solomon, and in Sirach' (*Præf. in edit. libr. Salom. iuxta Sept. interpr.*, ed. Vallarsi, 10,436).

‡ Comp. the same expression on his version of the Latin Gospels in the *Epistula ad Damasum*: 'quæ ne multum a lectionis Latinæ consuetudine discreparent, ita *calamo temperavimus*, ut his tantum quæ sensum videbantur mutare correctis, reliqua manere pateremus ut fuerant.'

(collected by Sabatier and Lagarde) show strange variations.

See, for instance, 15^{21} '*laxamentum* peccandi' for 'spatium p.' ('spatium' also in the *Speculum*).* Not a single one of his MSS, as Thielmann informs the present writer, has this word 'laxamentum'; yet it is found for this passage also in that other *Speculum* falsely ascribed to Augustine, now called *liber de divinis scripturis* (edited together with the former by Weihrich), and must for internal reasons be considered as the original reading of the Latin version.

For 'opprobrium,' 20^{26}, this *Speculum* has 'supervacuitas' (in no MS of Thielmann); further, 22^{23} 'conservationem' instead of 'custodiam' (no Biblical MS); Augustine 'signaculum *astutum*' instead of 'certum'; 25^{32} instead of 'beatificat virum suum' the *Liber* has 'consentit in angustio viro suo'; in this case Complutensis 1 agreeing with it (only 'angustiis'); 28^{5} instead of 'dum caro sit servat iram' (σὰρξ ὢν) the *Liber* has 'cœpit retinere iram' (=ἄρχων); 29^{11} we find in the *Liber* the imperative 'animæquitarda' (= μακροθύμησον), a word to be added to the new *Thesaurus Latinæ linguæ* for 'animo fortior esto' of the Vulgate, or 'animæquior esto' of Compl. 1, Metz 7 (first hand, second hand=Vulgate). Here we have three stages of subsequent revisions.

The greatest surprise is 31^{5}. By a comparison with the Syriac it seemed clear that instead of διαφθοράν we must read διάφορα, and πλανηθήσεται instead of πλησθήσεται (see Ball, *Variorum Apocrypha*; Nestle, *Marginalien*, p. 56. The RV does not materially alter the AV: 'he that followeth destruction shall have the fill of it'); 'qui insequitur destructionem replebitur ea': for this the *Liber* has 'qui ins. *multa*, in illis *implanabitur*,' *i.e.*, just as proposed, διάφορα and πλανηθήσεται. Of all MSS collated by Thielmann, only the first hand of Metz 7 has preserved a remembrance of this rendering, reading '*multa in illis inplicabitur*' (sic).†

Now the questions arise—(1) How have this quotation and the codex of Metz preserved this true reading? (2) How did the wrong text find its way into all the other MSS? Is the latter circumstance due to an intentional revision, and may this revision have been made through Jerome? The former may be due either to a *Greek* MS which preserved the original text, or to recourse to the Syriac version, or to derivation from the original Hebrew.‡

In all cases the importance of 𝔏 in its original form and of the early quotations is evident—the worse therefore the neglect of these studies; but still more evident is the value of the Syriac and the Hebrew texts.

viii. THE SYRIAC TEXT.—In his edition of the *Libri Veteris Testamenti Apocryphi* (or *deuterocanonici*, as he wished to read afterwards) *syriace* (1861), Lagarde gave to Sirach the first place, to show that he believed with Bendtsen (*Specimen exercitationum criticarum in V. T. libros apocryphos e scriptis patrum et antiquis versionibus*, Göttingen, 1789), that this version was not made from the Greek, but from the 'Hebrew' (see Lagarde, *Symm.* i. 88, 17; *Mitth.* i. 191). As this view is now almost universally accepted—it was still debated by Bretschneider and Fritzsche—it need no longer be proved. The question is only whether the translation was not influenced, like other books in the Peshiṭta, here and there by the Greek version, and whether its text has come down to us in good preservation.

It was first published in the great Polyglot Bibles of Paris and London,—in the latter on the basis of three MSS of Ussher and Pococke; then by Lagarde from the cod. 12,142 in the British Museum, which belongs to the 6th cent. (with a collation of Walton's text), and lies before us further in Ceriani's photo-lithographic reproduction of the codex Ambrosianus of about the same age (Milano, 1876–83, folio). It suffered, of course, some textual corruptions, but on the whole there are no such difficulties as arise in connexion with 𝔊 and 𝔏. The other question whether it was influenced by 𝔊 must, it seems, be answered in the affirmative. This may have been the case already when the version was made, or at a later though very early and only partial revision. The former view seems the more probable (see Ryssel, p. 253). It is a drawback for our purposes that 𝔖 is rather a paraphrase than a version; nevertheless, the great progress made in the explanation of Sirach by Margoliouth-Edersheim depends on the use made especially of 𝔖 for the corroboration or correction of 𝔊 and the restoration of the original Hebrew. These two texts were, so to speak, our Röntgen apparatus, enabling us to see the Hebrew text underlying them.

ix. THE HEBREW TEXTS.—Especially among those who knew the precarious state of the present Greek, Latin, and Syriac texts of Sirach, the surprise and joy were great when the news spread that a fragment of the original Hebrew text had been discovered, and when, after its publication, more and more parts of a Hebrew Sirach came to light, of which in the Church at least, since the days of Jerome, nobody had heard or seen anything, while even among the Jews few scattered quotations had survived, partially in Hebrew and partially in Aramaic (see their collection in C–N). It is impossible to notice all that has been published on these finds. Suffice it to say that after the first private communication (see above, p. 539^{a}) the first public announcement appeared in the *Academy* of 16th May 1896. (1) The first publication of the text was in the *Expositor*, July 1896, 1–15 (see on it D. S. Margoliouth in the same periodical, Aug., 140–157); (2) then came nine leaves, which had found their way into the Bodleian Library, published by Cowley and Neubauer, 1897, and republished by R. Smend (*Abhandlungen der K. Ges. der Wiss. zu Göttingen*, N.F. ii. 2); after this (3) the chief publication of Taylor-Schechter (Camb. 1899), containing, besides fourteen pages from the first MS (now called B), eight pages from a new MS, now called A; (4) in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* for Oct. 1899, G. Margoliouth gave four pages from MS B, acquired by the British Museum; (5) I. Lévi published in the *Revue des Études Juives* for Janvier-Mars, 1900, two pages from a third MS (C) and two from a fourth MS (D), both in the library of the Consistoire Israélite at Paris. The *JQR* for April 1900, finally, gave four pages of MS A published by E. N. Adler and four of MS C by S. Schechter (6, 7), and (8) in the number for July 1900 (p. 688 ff.) two pages of C belonging to M. Gaster. All the publications were at last brought together most conveniently—if it may be called convenient to study torn and faded leaves of Hebrew MSS—in a splendid publication, *Facsimiles of the Fragments hitherto recovered of the Book of Ecclesiasticus in Hebrew* (Oxford and Cambridge, MDCCCCI, 60 plates in case).* C, it should be added, consists only of excerpts (see p. 548^{b}).

But in the meantime—between the second and third publications—there had suddenly fallen a bitter drop into the general joy. D. S. Margoliouth, who had published in 1890 as his Inaugural Lecture an *Essay on the place of Ecclesiasticus in Semitic Literature*, and before that time had contributed largely to the commentary of Edersheim, declared in a paper on *The Origin of the 'Original*

---

* The variations are partially mere lexical: 4^{33} 'veritas' instead of 'iustitia'; 6^{36} 'limen' instead of 'gradus'; 14^{12} 'sæculum' instead of 'mundus'; others touch the sense or even the underlying Greek text, as 38^{16} 'flectet *fortitudinem*' (=ἰσχύν) against 'flectet *cervicem*' (αὐχένα ?).

† Another trace of this reading is found in the 25th epistle of Paulinus (p. 167*c*): 'qui terrenas possessiones concupiscit, in illis implanabitur.' Sabatier, who quotes this passage, remarked: 'at hæc postrema ex alio loco desumpta videntur.'

‡ For mere conjectural emendation the rendering seems too clever, or rather not clever enough, for the proper meaning of διάφορα='property' has not been recognized. It is quite the same with the preservation of the original order in chs. 31–36 in 𝔏. This may be due either to the fact that 𝔏 was made from a Greek MS which was independent of the one from which our present 𝔊 texts are derived, or it may have been restored after the Syriac or after the Hebrew. 𝔏 shares some of the strangest misspellings with 𝔊; see 43^{25} 'dominus Jhesus' Ἰησοῦς instead of νήσους '*insulas*' (in the official Vulg.).

* With 'New York, Frowde, 5 dollars,' mentioned by W. Muss-Arnolt in the *Theol. and Sem. Lit. for* 1900, p. 32.

Hebrew' of Ecclesiasticus (Parker, 1899, 20 pp.), that the newly-discovered Hebrew was not the original, but a retranslation; a certain reading, 43^{13}, appeared to him to be *a translation of a corruption of a Persian translation of a corrupt reading in the Greek*, the work of a Jew, whose native language was Arabic, about the 10th cent. He closed his paper with the remark that 'Mrs. Lewis by her precious discovery has hit biblical criticism harder than it was ever hit before, or is ever likely to be hit again. For, the next time we proceed to parcel out Isaiah, will not our very street boys call out to us, "You who misdate by 1300 years a document before you, what do *you* know of the dates of the Prophecies and Psalms"?'

Startling even as this was, a similar verdict was pronounced by such a scholar as Bickell, who in earlier years had discovered under the Greek disguise that the closing chapter must have been an alphabetical poem ('Ein alphabetisches Lied Jesus Sirach's. Nachgewiesen von G. B.' in *Z. f. kath. Theologie*, vi. 319–333), and had tried to restore the very metres of the Hebrew ('Die Strophik des Ecclesiasticus' in *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 1892, 87–96). Bickell published his view in a short paper on this alphabetical poem ('Der hebräische Sirachtext eine Rückübersetzung,' *ib.* 1899, 251–256). Other scholars took up the challenge of Prof. Margoliouth—among them Th. Nöldeke ('Bemerkungen zum hebräischen Ben Sīrā' in *ZATW* xx. [1900] 81–94); Smend (*ThLZ*, 1899, col. 506); M. D. Gibson (*The Record*, June 23, 1899, p. 641); Ed. König in a series of papers in the *Expos. Times*, 1900, and separately (see Literature, 6, at end of present art.) and in other periodicals; see Muss-Arnolt, p. 33.

Fortunately, the new documents which came to light afterwards enable us to place our judgment on a broader basis. The four MSS seem to be all of about the same age, the 11th cent. D is apparently the oldest of them, but even on C Adler remarked: 'From a comparison of paper and character with my earliest fragment from the Genizah, dated 832, there is nothing to induce one to assume that its date is later.' Some passages of Sirach occur in these four MSS twice, a few even three times. Now if ℌ—to use this symbol for the Hebrew texts—*were the original, the MSS of* ℌ *must agree*,—apart, of course, from such transcriptional variations as are common to the transmission of works before the invention of Gutenberg,—according to the rule laid down by Jerome on the Latin texts of the Gospels as compared with the Greek, *verum non esse quod variat*. But what do we find? One of the first verses now lying before us in two MSS of ℌ is 4^{30}—

𝔊 *μὴ ἴσθι ὡς λέων ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ (v.l. τῇ οἰκίᾳ) σου*
καὶ φαντασιοκοπῶν *ἐν τοῖς* οἰκέταις *σου.*

𝔏 Noli esse sicut *leo* in domo tua;
evertens domesticos tuos et opprimens
subiectos tibi.

𝔖 לא תהוא כלב בביתך
ועיף ודחיל בעבידתך

'be not a *dog* in thy house,
and *rebuking* and *fearful* in thy *works*.'

Nobody doubted that '*ὡς λέων*' and 'a dog' went back to an original כְּלָבִי, read כֶּלֶב by 𝔖, and that 'as a lion' was right. Again, in the second member it appeared necessary to seek a common Hebrew equivalent for *φαντασιοκοπῶν* on the one hand, and 'rebuking and fearful' on the other; further, for 'slaves' and 'works.' The latter was, so it seemed, found easily: עֲבָדִים from עֶבֶד, would = 'slaves,' from עֲבָד (Ec 9^1) = 'works'; the other was more difficult to guess, because *φαντασιοκοπῶν* is a *hapax legomenon* in the Greek Bible, and a rare word, with doubtful meaning; some good examples of it from Ecclesiastical authors may be found in the edition of Hoeschel.*

And now for the texts of ℌ—

A אל תהי ככלב בביתך
ומוזר ומתירא במלאכתך

C אל תהי כאריה בביתך
ומתפחז על עבודתך

i.e. A 'be not *like a dog* in thy house,
and [—?] and *fearful* in thy *labour*.'
C 'be not *like a strong lion* † in thy house,
and *raging* over thy *works*.' ‡

Can there be any doubt that A agrees with 𝔖 and C with 𝔊? Compare especially the second clause, where 𝔖 has two words, A has also two, § C for one word of 𝔊 has one word. What is more natural than the conclusion that A and C are not the original, but dependent upon 𝔖 and 𝔊, *retranslations*, as Margoliouth affirmed of B? But we must not be too rash: we ask, How would a late Jewish translator hit upon מתפחז to render so obscure a word as *φαντασιοκοπῶν*? פחז is rare in biblical Hebrew (Gn 49^4, Jer 23^{32}); it suits the context very well; it might be easily confounded with פחד 'fear,' and thus explain the rendering of 𝔖, and it is a favourite word with Sirach (see ℌ 8^2 19^2 $41^{17\text{ mg.}}$ $42^{10\text{ mg.}}$, 𝔖 19^2 $23^{4.\,6.\,16.\,17}$); *it may therefore have preserved the original.* ‖ This supposition gains probability from a comparison of Zeph $3^{3.\,4}$ 'her princes are *lions in her midst* . . . her prophets are פֹּחֲזִים,' where the two words stand together just as here in clause *a* and *b*. Schechter has shown that the whole text of ℌ is full of allusions to the OT (cf. p. 548^b: 11^{30} a reminiscence of Gn 42^9). These are used, of course, also by pious Jews of later times; but when the grandson testifies in his prologue that his grandfather 'having given himself to the reading of the Law and the Prophets and the other books of our fathers, and having gained great familiarity therein, was drawn on also himself to write somewhat pertaining to instruction and wisdom,' why should we hesitate to consider those characteristics as belonging to the original?

Take the next verse which lies before us in two MSS of ℌ—

4^{31} 𝔊 *μὴ ἔστω ἡ χείρ σου ἐκτεταμένη εἰς τὸ λαβεῖν*
καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀποδιδόναι συνεσταλμένη.

𝔖 לא תהוא פשיטא אידך למסב
ותהוא קפיסא למחל

---

* In the *Thesaurus* of Stephanus-Hase 'Eccl 4' and 'Sir 4^{33}' are quoted as different passages! The wrong form *φαντασιοσκοπῶν* is translated *suspicax* by Grotius. Nobilius gives *arrepticius*; even Ryssel translates as if it came from *σκοπεῖν*, 'Gespensterseher,' *i.e.* argwöhnisch, misstrauisch ohne thatsächlichen Grund. AV 'frantick' (see vol. ii. 65), RV 'fanciful'; Frankel translated אַכְזָר 'cruel' (for 'lion' לַיִשׁ); p מִזְדַּעֵף נְפִיחָאִית 'boisterously rebukeful' (whether influenced by 𝔖? or reading *φυσιο-*?); on the Coptic see Herkenne, who thought for 𝔊 of some word from √שׂעף (Job 4^{13}), for 𝔏 of √סעף (Is 10^{33}), and adduced from the *Apophthegmata Antonii et Maximi*, p. 602 ('morosus') *ἐν τοῖς οἰκ. σου καὶ ταπεινῶν τοὺς ὑποχειρίους σου* (= 𝔏).

† The Hebrew word is different from לביא.

‡ Or *slaves*, if we derive עבודה from עֲבֻדָּה (Job 1^3), as suggested to the present writer by Dr. Driver, and independently to the editor by Dr. A. B. Davidson.

§ The first of them מוזר is not clear; see C-N and R (*SK*, 1900, 378); the latter compares Ps 69^9. We suspect a corruption of זוף = ועף, see *Expos. Times*, xi. 336 note; for מתירא R proposes מָחוֹן or מַתִּין 'zuwartend, langsam'!

‖ The passage is discussed with a different result by Taylor (*JThSt*, i. 576). He considers אריה *aryeh* and מתירא *mithyaré* to be the original; 𝔊 may have turned the latter into מתראה; 'the synonymous מתפחד with a clerical error accounts for מתפחז C.' The first two suppositions are natural, but when, where, and why should מתירא have been turned into מתפחד, so as to arrive at מתפחז?

𝔭 agrees in the first clause completely with 𝔖, in the second it has

ולפניו קפיכא

Now take A and C—

A אל תהי ידך פתוחה לקחת
וקפוצה בתוך מתן
C אל תהי ידך מושטת לשאת
ובעת השב קפודה

that is to say: *instead of a common original we have two versions differing more from one another than the two Syriac*, every word for which there is more than one Hebrew equivalent available being rendered differently—

stretch out √	פתח and ישט
receive	לקח and נשא
in	בתוך and בעת
give (back)	נתן and השיב
shut	קפץ and קפד

A third passage is—

5^{9b} 𝔊 καὶ μὴ πορεύου ἐν πάσῃ ἀτραπῷ
𝔖 ומתפנא לכל שביל
A ופנה דרך שבולת
C ואל תלך לכל שביל

A is translated by Taylor, 'and turning the way of the stream,' C agrees with 𝔊.

Further, v.^{11}—

A ובארך רוח השב פתגם
C ובארך ענה תענה נכונה

C = 𝔊 with the addition ὀρθήν, *which is found only in* 248, 253 *and* 𝔭 *sub* ⁎

V.^{13a} 𝔊 εὐλαλιᾷ
𝔖 ביד מן דממלל 'through him that is speaking.'
A ביוד בוטא
C ביד בוטה
V.^{13b} 𝔊 ἡ πτῶσις αὐτῶν
𝔖 דמא להון 'throws them down'
A מפלתו
C מפליטו

(C being, of course, a corruption of A).

7^{25} 𝔊 δώρησαι αὐτήν
𝔖 הביה give her
A חברה join her
C זבדה grant her.*

What follows from these passages? That the question is a very complicated one. Not even of C is it possible to say that it is a *simple retranslation* of 𝔊, for even in C there are passages which are at variance with 𝔊. On the other hand, it is equally impossible to maintain that ℌ has preserved everywhere the original, independent of 𝔊 and 𝔖. There are passages in ℌ which cannot be explained in any other way than by the supposition that they rest on a corrupt and glossed text, sometimes of 𝔊, sometimes of 𝔖.

A passage which, for the present writer at least, is perfectly convincing is—

25^{17}. 'The wickedness of a woman . . . darkeneth her countenance like *sackcloth*,' AV (mg. 'Or, like a bear'), RV *as a bear doeth* (without even mentioning the other reading).

𝔊 B, etc. ὡς σάκκον; 𝔊 AS, etc. ὡς ἄρκος.

𝔏 combining both readings: *tanquam ursus et quasi saccum.*

𝔖 . . . 'makes pale the face of *her husband* and makes it black like the colour of a *sack*)';* now C has ויקדיר פנ** לדוב 'makes black (*his* or *her*; the letters are torn away) face . . . to a *bear*.'

All rules of textual criticism (the general one: scriptioni proclivi præstat ardua, and the special one for Sirach, the agreement between 𝔊 and 𝔖) must be nought, or C is here *the retranslation of a corrupt Greek text.*

The close connexion of C with 𝔊 is corroborated by other passages. The very first words preserved in C—it begins 4^{23} תקפוץ (את חכמתך), for which A has the synonymous תצפין—do not occur, it is true, in the received Greek text, but in the MSS 106, 248, 253 (*c*); C even preserved such glosses (mentioned above, p. 544^{a}) as 5^{11} γίνου ταχύς (C נָבוֹן = ?) ἐν ἀκροάσει σου + ἀγαθῇ (C טובה = 106, 248, 253 𝔭), καὶ ἐν μακροθυμίᾳ φθέγγου ἀπόκρισιν + ὀρθήν (C נכונה = 248, 253 𝔭 ⁎).

Again, all rules of textual criticism are nought if such additions be not *glosses*, and glosses added to the Greek, not to the original Hebrew text; and yet they occur in C. ℌ^{C}, therefore, is dependent —partially at least—on a glossed text of 𝔊, as it is represented by 248, 253.

It is to be hoped that scholars will agree in this, and they may do so the more because this concession does not decide the question for the other MSS ABD, nor even for the whole content of C; C being an exception also in this respect, that it does not give a continuous text, but mere excerpts from chs. 4^{23}–7^{25} 18^{31}–20^{7}; then come suddenly $37^{19.\ 22.\ 24.\ 26}$,† followed by 20^{13}, and, finally, 25^{8}–26^{2}.

If ℌ^{C} is chiefly dependent on 𝔊, there abound in the other MSS ℌ^{ABD} traces of the influence of 𝔖, especially in so-called *doublets*, passages appearing twice. Cf. 11^{30}—

In 𝔊 we have two lines—

> Πέρδιξ θηρευτὴς ἐν καρτάλλῳ, οὕτως καρδία ὑπερηφάνου·
> καὶ ὡς κατάσκοπος ἐπιβλέπει πτῶσιν.

In 𝔏 three—

> sicut perdix inducitur in caveam (*v.l.* foveam)
> *et ut caprea in laqueo,* sic et *cor* superborum
> et sicut prospector videns casum *proximi sui.*

In 𝔖 five—

> like a partridge caught in a cage is the heart of the proud,
> and like a spy who looks on the fall;
> How many are the iniquities of the ungodly!
> [cf. 𝔊 v.^{29}]
> like a dog which enters into every house and robs,
> so enters the ungodly into every house and disturbs.

In ℌ six or more—

> As a bird caught in a cage so is the heart of a proud man;
> As a wolf that lieth in wait to tear.
> How many are the iniquities of the covetous man!
> As a dog is he among those that eat in the house.

---

* 7^{25} AC הוצא בת ויצא עסק, 𝔊 καὶ ἔσῃ τετελεκὼς ἔργον μέγα, 𝔖 ונפוק עשוקיא, AC ויצא עסק; 'and the trouble (or strife, see S-T p. 47) has gone'; cf. the witty though rude saying of Schopenhauer at the death of an old woman whom he had to care for: *obit anus, abit onus.* It is clear that here C cannot rest on 𝔊.

* It is difficult to understand how Bickell, Zöckler, Ryssel, RV could prefer the *bear*, which crept in from the mentioning of lion and dragon in the context; 𝔖 being independent of 𝔊 decides for the sack; and then compare parallels like Rev 6^{12}, but especially 1 Clem. *ad Cor.* 8, αἱ ἁμαρτίαι ὑμῶν . . . μελανώτεραι σάκκου; see on these variants Nestle, *Marginalien*, p. 51.

† It is owing to this insertion that we have these fragments three times in B, C, D, with slight variations.

He doeth violence to all . . .
The covetous man cometh and maketh strife
in all their goods ;
The tale-bearer lieth in wait as a bear for
the house of the scorners ;
And as a spy he seeth nakedness.

On the two lines of 𝔊 Bochart has written a whole chapter in his *Hierozoicum.* More than one article would be necessary on the correspondence between *κατάσκοπος* (and its equivalents ܓܫܘܫ = דוב=זאב) and the other equivalents. It seems clear that the dog כלב owes its existence to the *κάρταλλος* = כְּלוּב.

On the arguments adduced by Margoliouth from the Persian we must refer to Nöldeke (*ZATW* 1900, p. 94) ; on the question raised by Margoliouth, whether the *Sepher ha-galūy*, which betrays knowledge of the Cairene texts, is by Saadia or not ; and on the age of the Talmudic quotations from Ben-Sira, cf. the papers of Margoliouth on the one hand, and König, Schechter, Abrahams, Bacher, Harkavy, etc., on the other (see Literature).

But that even in C *fragments of the original are preserved*, see above on 7^{25}. What Jew of later times, who had nothing before him except 𝔊, *ἔκδου θυγατέρα καὶ ἔσῃ τετελεκὼς μέγα ἔργον*, could have hit on הוצא בת ויצא עסק ? Even with the help of 𝔖 it would have been difficult to arrive at this text. But there are passages where ℌ offers readings different alike from 𝔊 and 𝔖.

A good example occurs in the very first leaf discovered of ℌ, 40^{18}—

𝔊 *ζωὴ αὐτάρκοῦς ἐργάτου γλυκανθήσεται*
καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀμφότερα ὁ εὑρίσκων θησαυρόν.

The very context shows that 𝔊 is wrong ; instead of the one member *αὐτάρκους ἐργάτου* there must have been two. Grotius, Grabe, Fritzsche, AV, RV, inserted *καί* and spoiled the sense ; for the life of the *αὐτάρκης* is sweet (*ipse suis pollens opibus*, Lucretius), but not that of the *working man.* 𝔖 gave no help ; for the first member is wanting. What a pleasure, then, to read in ℌ—

חיי יין ושכר ימתקו

a life of wine and strong drink is sweet ; cf. the same pair in v.[10] in ℌ, where 𝔊 had *οἶνος καὶ μουσικά* = שִׁיר, and 𝔖 חמרא עתיקא 'old wine.' And what a surprise to find on the margin an additional (though wrong) reading : יותר שכל (C-N = 'that excels in prudence' ; but יותר perhaps = *αὐτάρκης*). The grandson mistook שֵׁכָר 'strong drink' for שְׂכִ(י)ר 'hired worker.'* What a surprise, again, to find the whole margin of this leaf covered with various readings, spellings, notes—one in Persian referring to a different MS.

V.[20], where we had read in 𝔊 that 'better than wine and music is the love of *wisdom,*' in 𝔖 'better than old wine the love of a *friend,*' we now find that the grandfather had written, 'Wine and strong drink make the heart exult, but the love of *lovers* (דוֹדִים) is above them all.'

Surely it is not going too far to say that with the finding of these texts a new period begins in the history of our book. Where we hitherto were bid (7^{23}) to bow down *the neck* of our children from their youth (*κάμψαι τὸν τράχηλον αὐτῶν*—but *τὸν τράχηλον αὐτῶν* is correctly omitted by 𝔏 and Clemens Alexandrinus (i. 186, 2, ed. Dind.†),—we are now advised to *marry them* early (𝔖 $ℌ^{AC}$ = confusion between שה and שא).

It is neither possible nor necessary to go on multiplying examples of this kind. A great field waits for patient workers. The task for future editors of Sirach will be to compare most carefully—(1) the witnesses for 𝔊 (MSS,* Versions, Quotations †) ; (2) the witnesses for 𝔖 — on the whole, an easy task ; (3) the witnesses for $ℌ^{ABCD}$; and the quotations to be compared with each other, where there is more than one, then with 𝔊𝔖. The text, in translation, would have to be given in parallel columns : in the middle what is common to all, at the right and the left the variations, at the bottom would be shown how the variations originated.

On the *language* of ℌ see in C-N p. xxxi ff. the 'Glossary of Words not found in the Hebrew of the OT, or found in it only in the passages quoted or referred to' ; and cf. Nöldeke (*ZATW*, 1900, p. 94), who was at first in favour of the *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* beginning to take notice of Ben Sira, but afterwards thought it a safer course that his words should be gathered into an Appendix. The Concordance to the Septuagint by Hatch-Redpath promises for the second part of the Supplement 'A Short Concordance showing the Hebrew equivalents to the Greek in the lately discovered fragments of Ecclesiasticus.' This will be very welcome. To learn what interesting questions are raised, see, for instance, 10^{10} שֶׁמֶץ מחלה = *μικρὸν ἀρρώστημα* ; ‡ 18^{32} (C) שֶׁמֶץ תענוג = *μικρὰ τρυφή* ; שְׁכמים = *μέρη* 37^{18} (cf. Gn 48^{22}) ; עליל (see I. Löw, 'Marginalien zu Kohut's Aruch' in *Semitic Studies in Memory of A. Kohut*, p. 374) ; אפנים 50^{27} with אבני 50^{9} and Pr 25^{2}. The similarity to the language of the 'Paitanim,' the late Jewish hymn-writers, seems to militate against the originality of ℌ ; but even Schechter cannot deny it : 'If he thought like a Rabbi, he wrote like a Paitan' (cf. Toy in *Encyc. Bibl.* p. 1167 f. ; D. Strauss, *Sprachl. Stud. zu den heb. Sirachfragmenten*, Zürich, 1900 ; W. Bacher, *Die älteste Terminol. der jüd. Schriftauslegung*, Leipzig, 1899, p. 207).

x. CONTENTS AND THEOLOGY.—1. It is clear that in many details our views about the contents of the book must be revised since the recent finds ; but on the whole the standpoint of the book has been correctly estimated. It has been considered as the *chief monument of primitive Sadduceism*, and this found corroboration in an unexpected way.

C. Taylor wrote (1877) in the first edition of the *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers* : 'It has been suggested, with a certain plausibility, that the Book Ecclus. approximates to the standpoint of the primitive Çaduqim as regards its theology, its sacerdotalism, and its want of sympathy with the modern Soferim. The name of *Ezra* is significantly omitted from its Catalogue of Worthies.' At the same time he called attention to the fact that the Book of the Sadducees and the Book of Ben Sira are placed side by side on the 'Index Expurgatorius' (*Sanh.* 100*b*). It must have been gratifying to be able to publish twenty years later, at the end of the Hebrew Ben Sira, a hymn, not to be found in the earlier texts, which ends with praise of the Sons of Ṣadok. See S-T p. 41, the hymn (after ch. 50^{12})—

'O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good ;
For his mercy endureth for ever.'

. . . .

O give thanks unto him that maketh to bud a horn for the
house of David ;
For his mercy endureth for ever.
O give thanks unto him that chose the sons of Sadok to be
priests ;
For his mercy endureth for ever.'

לבוחר כבני צדוק לכהן.

---

* Bacher, Ryssel, Smend are not satisfied with 'wine and strong drink.' Bacher, comparing Ex 5^{11}, wishes to read יָשֵׁן וְשָׂכִיר 'who can sleep and has work' ; Ryssel with Smend, יוֹתֵר וְשָׂכָר 'who has plenty, and has paying work.'

† The agreement between 𝔏 and Clement is of great importance.

* Special attention is due, amongst these, to those of the longer recension, called 'Alexandrian' by Ryssel ; cf. A. Schlatter, *Das neugefundene hebräische Stück des Sirach. Der Glossator des griechischen Sirach und seine Stellung in der Geschichte der jüdischen Theologie*, Gütersloh, 1897 (= 'Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie,' i. 5, 6). On the passage $26^{18ff.}$, especially 'the tower of death' (= 2 Mac 13^{5} ; Valerius Maximus, ix. 2), see Nestle, *Marginalien*, p. 52.

† On the quotations of Clement see esp. O. Stählin, *Clemens Alexandrinus und die Septuaginta* (Nürnberg, 1901, Progr.), pp. 46–58 ; note in 18^{22} *μικρᾶ*.

‡ *μακρὸν ἀρρ.* all Greek MSS ; most *σκώπτει*, four *κόπτει* or *ἐκκόπτει*, one *σκότει* ; instead of *ἰατρός* Hitzig and the corrector of S *ἰατρόν* ; AV 'The physician cutteth off a long disease' ; RV '*It is* a long disease, the physician mocketh' ; 𝔏, combining both readings, 'Languor prolixior gravat medicum ; brevem languorem præcidit medicus' ; 𝔖 'and his bowels the physician tears' (נצרא) ; but, with Herkenne, we may perhaps read נצרא (= *σκώπτειν*). Adler's translation of ℌ ('of course quite tentative') is, 'A trace of disease that maketh the physician serene' (יצהיב). It seems best to combine the translation of Hitzig with the reading *μικρόν* : 'A little disease baffles the physician.'

2. Among former descriptions of its contents see especially T. K. Cheyne, *Job and Solomon, or The Wisdom of the OT*, 1887, pp. 179–198, 247 (ch. i.: The wise man turned Scribe—Sirach's moral teaching; ch. ii.: his place in the movement of thought); then the Introduction of Edersheim, and now the article of C. H. Toy (*Encyc. Bibl.* 1164–1179).

3. In its form and substance the book is a fine example of Hebrew *Ḥokmah*-literature, with its lights and shadows. It is no longer the *prophet* that speaks in it, neither the prophetic speaker of earlier times, nor even the prophetic writer like Ezekiel or Malachi; nor is it a *poet* like the author of Job; on the other hand, the *Rabbi* of the Talmud has not yet taken their place; there is scarcely a trace of Haggadah and Halachah in the book. The author is full of respect for the religious literature of the past; he knows himself to be an epigone, but nevertheless he dares to give something of his own. He does not preach as yet from given texts (33^{16} 'I awaked up last of all, as one that gathereth after the grape-gatherers; by the blessing of the Lord I profited (got ahead) and filled my winepress like a gatherer of grapes'; cf. also the Prologue). What he has to give is *Ḥokmah*, Wisdom, an outcome of that Divine Wisdom which is from the Lord, and is with Him for ever, but given by Him to them that fear Him, especially among His chosen people Israel ($17^{17\text{ff.}}$ $24^{7\text{ff.}}$). But the author does not dwell long in those lofty regions, but turns himself to the wisdom of daily life, giving counsels for all kinds of emergencies, and communicating his observations on men and women, rich and poor, high and low.

4. The book has not received, apparently, its final shape; its contents at least are so varied and loosely arranged that it is difficult to give a *table* of contents.

See the headings, which are partially preserved in the book itself, in the Greek text from 18^{30} onwards (ἐγκράτεια ψυχῆς; 20^{27} λόγοι παραβολῶν; 23^{7} παιδεία στόματος; 24^{1} αἴνεσις σοφίας; 30^{1} περὶ τέκνων; ^{16}περὶ βρωμάτων; 44^{1} Πατέρων ὕμνος; 51^{1} Προσευχὴ Ἰησοῦ υἱοῦ Σειράχ); the capitulations placed before the book in ancient Greek and Latin texts; the *Synopsis* of pseudo-Chrysostom; the headings of the AV, which are dropped instead of revised in the RV; careful superscriptions in the German translation of Ryssel; the attempts in the Comm. to find out a plan of the book.

But it would be a pleasant task to give more than a sketch of its moral and religious teachings.

(*a*) The author's idea of God shows an interesting combination of Jewish piety and Greek philosophy, the former decidedly predominating. What Edersheim considered, on account of its pantheistic ring, as a bold later addition of the younger Siracide, namely 43^{27} 'We may speak much and yet come short: wherefore in sum *he is all*' (τὸ πᾶν ἐστιν αὐτός), is found in ℌ, and means nothing more than that God is to be found in all His work; it does not deny His unity or personality, which is emphasized by the new reading in ℌ 42^{21} 'he is *one* from everlasting' (εἷς instead of ἕως or ὡς or ὅς). God is the absolute Lord, the righteous judge, the wise ruler, rich in forbearance, though the full conception of Divine fatherhood finds no expression ($18^{10\text{ff.}}$).

(*b*) Of *angels* and *demons* there is scarcely any mention, quite in agreement with the Sadducean standpoint; the central idea is the personified Wisdom, which is seen in nature and history, especially in the history of Israel, first of all in the *Law*. The prominence given to the Law, both its moral and ritual parts, is one of the features which distinguish Ben Sira from Proverbs, leading over to the later Rabbinism. But from the latter our author is far removed, especially in his attitude towards the *heathen* world. He does not despise it, like the Pharisees, nor does he expect any special manifestation of Jahweh for the benefit of His people or the conversion of the nations. As regards the individual, he speaks neither of the resurrection of the body nor of the immortality of the soul—*ἀθανασία* occurs only in the glossed text 19^{19} γνῶσις ἐντολῶν κυρίου παιδεία ζωῆς, οἱ δὲ ποιοῦντες τὰ ἀρεστὰ αὐτῷ ἀθανασίας δένδρον καρποῦνται; see on this point especially Schlatter, pp. 110, 176;—of death and *Sheol* he thinks like the psalmists.

5. A much larger space is taken up in the book by the ethical and social teachings. Through their pointed form many of Ben Sira's sayings have remained popular. Much, of course, is to be taken *cum grano salis*; to guard against misunderstanding, the glosses have been added in MSS like 248, 253. The author is 'generally acute, sometimes a little cynical, never pessimistic' (Toy, *l.c.* 1178). Most unfavourable is his judgment on the female sex ($25^{13\text{ff.}}$); friendly is that on physicians (ch. 38); he does not despise wine and music. A great rôle is played by money matters and trade; but almsgiving is the chief part of righteousness, and readiness to forgive is a primary condition of obtaining Divine forgiveness. In some of his precepts he comes near to those of the gospel; the Golden Rule, however, does not occur. No wonder that this book was used in the Church, especially for instruction of the young, almost like a catechism of morals and religion (85th Can. Apost.), and that Augustine embodied so many of its sayings in his *Speculum*. In modern times one of the few attempts made in England to employ its teaching for religious instruction is the small selection published by E. J. Edwards, *School Lessons from Ecclesiasticus* (1853). It is to be hoped that, when the critical questions about the book are settled, it may gain in popularity.

NOTE.—*USE OF THE BOOK IN THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.*—Cf. Daubney, *The Use of the Apocr. in the Christian Church* (London, 1900). For the use of Sirach in NT, he compares about 20 passages, *e.g.* Mt 6^{14} with 28^{2}, 6^{19} with 29^{12}, 16^{27} with 32^{24}. On Lk 1^{17} Bengel quoted 48^{10} and remarked: 'Minime proletarium esse Siracidæ librum, convenientia eius cum angeli sermone docet.' For the Epistle of James, J. B. Mayor (1897) collected thirty-two resemblances to Sirach. The question whether St. Paul did not quote from the Hebrew Sirach in 1 Co 15^{40} has been raised by Müller ('zum Sirachproblem,' in the *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, June 1900).

Early Christian writers made such extensive use of Wisdom, Sirach, and Baruch that they appear more familiar with them than with several books of the NT. Allusions to Sirach may be discovered in Polycarp, i. ($6^{29.\,30}$); *Didache*, iv. 5 (4^{31}); undoubted quotations from Sirach occur in Barnabas, Tertullian, etc.; Eusebius introduces a quotation from 32^{9} by the formula: διδασκάλῳ χρώμενος παραγγέλματι θείῳ διδάσκοντι (*Dem. Ev.* I. i.). On the use made of Sirach in the Roman Church (Breviary and Missal) see W. Schenz, *Einleitung in die kanonischen Bücher des alten Testamentes* (Regensburg, 1887, 409). In Britain, Alfred († 1005) seems to have been the first writer to make any investigations touching the Canon, especially the two books Wisd. and Sirach, 'placed with Solomon's works as if he made them; which for likeness of style and profitable use have gone for his; but Jesus the Son of Sirach composed them . . . very large books and read in the church, of long custom, for much good instruction.' In the Prayer-Book of 1549 there were 108 daily lessons from the Apocrypha; that of 1552 had 110, that of 1558 had 125. On the use of Sirach in the 'Homilies' see Daubney, p. 67; on that made by English divines, p. 71 ff. To Archbishop Whitgift († 1604), who declared the Apocrypha 'Parte of the Bible,' and gave command for them to be bound up with the Bible, Drusius dedicated his edition of Sirach (1596).

LITERATURE.—Only a selection can be given. 1. Commentaries: Camerarius, Drusius, Bretschneider (see p. 543), Grotius (best edition: *Hug. Grotii Annotationes in VT*, curavit Geo. Jo. Lu. Vogel, Halæ, t. iii. 1786, pp. 63–236, 4to), Cornelius a Lapide (Antw. 1634 f.; often, at last Paris, 1859 f.), Fritzsche (*Kgf. exeg. Hdb. zu den Apokryphen*, vol. iii. 1859), E. C. Bissel (*The Apocrypha*, New York, 1880); the place of a Commentary is filled by the Notes in the *Variorum Apocrypha*, ed. by C. J. Ball (Eyre & Spottiswoode, no date); Edersheim (in Wace, 'Apocrypha,' see p. 539b), Zöckler (in Strack-Zöckler's *Kgf. Kommentar*, 1891, weak in textual criticism), Ed. Reuss, *Das Alte Testament übersetzt* (vol. vi. 1894, p. 289 ff.), Ryssel (in 'Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des AT . . . übersetzt und herausgegeben von E. Kautzsch,' i. 1900, pp. 230–475).

2. Monographs: Tetens, *Disquisitiones generales in Sapientiam Jes. Sir.*, Hauniæ, 1779; B. G. Winer, *De utriusque Siracidæ ætate*, Erlangen, 1832; H. Ewald, 'Über das grie-

chische Spruchbuch Jesus' des Sohnes Sirachs,' in *Biblische Jahrbücher*, iii. (1851; cf. *Geschichte Israels*, iv. 340 ff.); Vaihinger in *SK*, 1857, 93 ff.; A. Geiger, 'Warum gehört Sirach zu den Apokryphen' (*ZDMG* xii. [1858] 536 ff.); Horowitz, 'Das Buch Jesus Sirach,' in *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, xiv. and separate (Breslau, 1865); H. Grätz, 'Die Söhne des Tobias, die Hellenisten und der Spruchdichter Sirach' (*ib.* 1872); A. Astier, *Introd. au livre de l'Ecclésiastique* (Strassb. 1861); Merguet, *Die Glaubens- und Sittenlehre des Buches Jesus Sirach* (Königsberg, i., 1874; ii., 1901); Seligmann, *Das Buch der Weisheit des Jesus Sohn des Sirach* (*Josua ben Sira*) *in seinem Verhältniss zu den salomonischen Sprüchen und seiner historischen Bedeutung* (Breslau, 1883); F. E. Daubanton, 'Het apokryphe boek Σοφία Ἰησοῦ υἱοῦ Σιράχ en de leertype daarin vervat' (in *Theol. Studiën*, 1886–1887).

3. On the *milieu* of the Book: Dähne, *Darstellung der jüdisch-alexandrinischen Religionsphilosophie* (1837); J. F. Bruch, *Weisheitslehre der Hebräer* (1851); Faure, *La sagesse divine dans la littérature didactique des Hébreux et des Juifs* (Montauban, Inaug. Diss. 1900, 73 pp.).

4. On questions of textual criticism: B. Bendtsen (see p. 546^{a}); E. G. Bengel (see p. 545^{b}); J. Fr. Gaab, *De locis quibusdam sententiarum Jesu Siracidæ* (Tubingæ, 1799), and *Versio carminum quorundam Arabicorum . . . cum animadversionibus ad sententias Jesu Siracidæ* (Tüb. 1810); Dyserinck, *De Spreuken van Jesus den Zoon van Sirach* (1870); Edw. Hatch, 'On the text of Ecclesiasticus,' in *Essays in Biblical Greek*, 1889, pp. 246–282; Eb. Nestle, *Marginalien* (Tüb. 1893, p. 48 ff.); Ph. Thielmann, 'Die lateinische Uebersetzung des Buches Sirach,' in *Archiv für lat. Lexikographie*, viii. 501–561 (1893), and 'Die europäischen Bestandtheile des lateinischen Sirach' (*ib.* ix. 1896); H. Herkenne, *De Veteris Latinæ Ecclesiastici capitibus* i.–xliii. *Una cum notis ex eiusdem libri translationibus æthiopica, armeniaca, copticis, latina altera, syro-hexaplari depromptis* (Leipzig, 1899), and 'Die Textüberlieferung des Buches Sirach,' in *Biblische Studien*, ed. Bardenhewer, vi. 1, 2 (1901), 129–140; Norb. Peters, 'Die sahidisch-koptische Uebersetzung des Buches Ecclesiasticus auf ihren wahren Werth für die Textkritik untersucht' (*ib.* iii. 3 [1895]).

5. On the Alphabet of Ben Sira cf. I. Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen* (Leipzig, 1881, pp. 2 ff., 417).[*]

6. Literature since the discovery of the Hebrew texts: On the *publication* of the texts by Schechter, Cowley-Neubauer (Smend, Lévi), Schechter-Taylor, G. Margoliouth, I. Lévi, E. N. Adler, Schechter, Gaster, see above, p. 546^{b}. The *Expository Times*, vol. vii., has two, vol. viii. again two references to Sirach (p. 262, a review of Hogg on C-N), vol. ix. one, vol. x. seven, vol. xi. twenty-four such references (by the editor, König, D. S. Margoliouth, S. Schechter, J. A. Selbie, I. Abrahams, Eb. Nestle, C. Taylor, W. Bacher). The record of 'Theological and Semitic Literature for the year 1900,' published by Muss-Arnolt (Chicago, 1900), enumerates thirty papers, published (1900) in twenty-two different periodicals. See also *JQR:* Adler, Harkavy, D. S. Margoliouth, Lévi, Schechter, Tyler; *REJ:* Bacher, Chajes, Lambert, Lévi; *ZATW:* Bacher, Nöldeke; *RB:* Condamin, Grimme, Touzard. Ed. König, in addition to his papers in the *Expository Times*, which were published separately in German (*Die Originalität des neulich entdeckten Sirachtextes*), wrote in four other periodicals. Cf., further, in Muss-Arnolt, pp. 32–34, the names: Bubl, Flournoix, Halévy, Houtsma, Méchineaux, Noordtzij, Peters, Ryssel (in *SK*, 1900, 3, 4, 1901, 1, 2, 4, a very careful comparison of 𝔐 with 𝔊 and 𝔖, to be continued), Schlögl, Strauss, Wilson, Zenner. B. Baentsch, in *Theol. Jahresb.* for 1900, notes 51 books or papers on Sirach.

Even on the Strophic structure of Sirach several papers have been published by H. Grimme (at first in *RB*, 1900–1901; then separately, Leipzig, Harrassowitz); by Norbert Peters (*Theol. Quartalschrift*, 1900, pp. 180–193);[†] by Nivard Schlögl in *ZDMG* liii. (1899), pp. 669–682, and *Ecclesiasticus* (39^{12}–49^{16}) *ope artis crit. et metr. in formam originalem redactus*, Wien, 1901, xxxv. 72, 4to.

It will be a long time before all the questions connected with Sirach are settled and a critical edition becomes possible.

EB. NESTLE.

SIRAH, THE WELL OF (בּוֹר הַסִּרָה; BA τὸ φρέαρ τοῦ Σεειράμ, Luc. Σεειρά).—The place at which Joab's messengers overtook Abner, and brought him back to Hebron, where he was assassinated by Joab (2 S 3^{26}; Jos. *Ant.* VII. i. 5, Βησιρά). It lay on the road from Hebron to Jerusalem, and is now probably *'Ain Sârah*, near Hebron, the 'spring' (*'ain*) having taken the place of the 'well' (*bîr*). The spring flows from a spout into a small tank, and stands back from the road in a little alley with walls of dry stone on either side (*PEF Mem.* iii. 314).

C. W. WILSON.

SIRION (שִׂרְיֹן in Dt 3^{9}; שִׂרְיוֹן MT and Baer, but Mich. שִׁרְיוֹן, in Ps 29^{6}).—The name said to be given by the Zidonians to MT. HERMON, Dt 3^{9} (Σανιώρ). Like SENIR, it may have originally been the designation of a particular part of the mountain. In Ps 29^{6}, where Sirion is coupled with Lebanon, the LXX (confusing with ישרון *Jeshurun*; cf. its rendering in Dt 32^{15} 33$^{5.\ 26}$, Is 44^{2}) reads ὁ ἠγαπημένος.

SISERA (סִיסְרָא; Σεισαρά, meaning doubtful; cf. Assyr., *sasur* 'progeny,'—Sayce, *Hibbert Lects.* 373. Ball, *Light from the East*, *s.v.*, gives the Assyr. form *sisseru, seseru*, 'child.' Moore, *Judges*, 112, thinks that the name is not Semitic, and compares Hittite names ending in *-sira*, Ḥtasira, Manrasira, etc.,—W. Max Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, 332).—**1.** Jg 4 and 5, 1 S 12^{9}, Ps 83^{9}. The history of Sisera is told in a poetic (Jg 5) and a prose form (Jg 4). In the main particulars both agree, but they differ considerably on some important points. The Song of Deborah, as being nearer in date to the events recorded, must be treated as the more authentic source. (1) In 4$^{4-22}$ Jabin, king of Hazor, is introduced into the history of Sisera. He is not mentioned in ch. 5, he takes no part in the battle, and his city Hazor, if=*Merj Ḥadîre* (or near it), a little S. of Kedesh and W. of the lake of Ḥuleh, is far away from the scene of the conflict, and brings impossible situations into the narrative. Sisera is throughout the actual and independent leader; his forces are his own (cf. 4^{13} with 4^{3}); to slay him is to carry off the honours of the fight (4^{9}). This Jabin-tradition is of the same character as the fragments preserved in Jg 1, and forms the basis of the history in Jos 11$^{1-9}$ [JE]. How it came to be combined with the Sisera-tradition is not clear; perhaps because both were concerned with fighting in Upper Palestine, and because the northern tribes and Canaanites were the combatants in both cases.[*] The combination must be earlier than the work of the redactor (4$^{1-3.\ 4b.\ 9a\beta.\ 14a.\ 23.\ 24}$), who provided the narrative with an introduction and conclusion (vv.$^{1-3.\ 23\,f.}$), and gave Jabin, who is called merely king of Hazor in v.^{17}, the unhistorical title of 'king of Canaan' (4$^{2.\ 23f.}$). It is noticeable that 1 S 12^{9} and Ps 83^{9} imply the combination of the Jabin- and Sisera-traditions. (2) In order to harmonize these, Sisera had to be made the general of Jabin's army (4$^{2.\ 7}$); and this must have been done before the redactor dealt with the narrative. (3) The campaign is on a larger scale in ch. 5 than in ch. 4. In the former Sisera appears at the head of a federation of Canaanite kings (5^{19}), and attacks the six tribes bordering on the Central Plain. In ch. 4 only Naphtali and Zebulun are engaged (v.^{6}); the mention of these two tribes only and of Kedesh their headquarters (v.^{10}) was probably an element in the Jabin-story. (4) The scene of the battle in 5^{19} is the left bank of the Kishon; this implies that Barak advanced against Sisera from the S.W. and fell upon him from the Carmel range. In 4$^{12.\ 14}$ Barak attacks the Canaanites from Mt. Tabor, and the battle apparently takes place at its foot. (5) The accounts of Sisera's murder present a striking divergence. In ch. 5 Jael, by an ingenious stratagem, kills him with a tent-mallet while he is standing and drinking out of a deep bowl; in ch. 4 she hammers a tent-peg through his temples while he lies asleep in her tent. Some explain this divergence as a prosaic misunderstanding of the parallelism of 5^{26} (so Wellhausen, *Composition* 222; Robertson Smith, *OTJC*^{2} 132), but it is more likely to be due to a different tradition. One important detail is preserved in ch. 4 alone—that Sisera's stronghold was Ḥarosheth hag-goyim (4$^{2.\ 13ff.}$). This place has been plausibly identified with *el-Ḥārithīyeh*, on the right bank of the Kishon, commanding the road from the Central Plain to the sea. Perhaps $4^{13.16}$ imply that Ḥarosheth was at some distance from the battlefield; so the identification cannot be called certain, and the resemblance of the names, though philologically correct, may be accidental (see Buhl, *GAP* 214). See arts. DEBORAH and JABIN.

---

[*] Nebuchadnezzar wishes to know whether Ben Sira is a prophet, and asks of him the number of trees in the royal gardens. Ben Sira answers that there are thirty kinds: of ten the whole fruit may be eaten; of ten the kernel; of ten the outer parts. Löw gives the list, which is found also in the *Bundehesh*, on the basis of five texts.

[†] A great work on Sirach by Norbert Peters is advertised for 1902 by Herder of Freiburg.

[*] Budde (*Richter u. Samuel*, 69) thinks that the person of Barak was the link which connected the two, and that tradition ascribed both victories to him (cf. Jos. *Ant.* v. v. 4).

2. A family of the Nethinim, Ezr 2^{53} (B om., A *Σκεραά*, Luc. *Σισαρά*), Neh 7^{55} (B *Σεσειράθ*, A *Σεσιαράθ*, Luc. om.). G. A. COOKE.

SISINNES (*Σισίννης*).—The governor (*ἔπαρχος*) of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia under Darius, and a contemporary of Zerub., 1 Es $6^{3.7.27}$ 7^{1}. In Ezr 5^{3}, etc., he is called TATTENAI, 'the governor (פֶּחָה) beyond the river,' *i.e.* satrap of the whole of Syria west of the Euphrates.

SISMAI (סִסְמָי; BA *Σοσομαί*, Luc. *Σασαμεί*).—A Jerahmeelite, 1 Ch 2^{40}.

SISTER.—See FAMILY.

SITH.—The Anglo-Sax. prep. *sith* (originally an adverb = 'after') with the pron. *dam* = them, formed *siththan* 'after that' (= Ger. *seitdem*). Then *siththan* was contracted to *sithen*, which again became sometimes *sith* and sometimes *sin*. The adv. suffix *s* being added to *sithen* gave middle Eng. *sithens*, afterwards spelt *sithence* to keep the *s* sharp in pronunciation, like *pence* for *pens*, *dice* for *dies*; and this was contracted to *since*, the contraction being helped by the form *sin*. 'Sith' was used as a prep., an adv., or a conjunction. Thus as adv., Wyc. *Works*, iii. 114, 'Ffyrst they trow in the Ffadyr, for he ys fyrst persone; aftyr they trow in Jesus Crist, be dyvers artyclys; and sytthe they trow in the Holy Gost'; as prep., Knox, *Works*, iii. 278, 'Transubstantiation, the byrde that the Devel hatched by Pope Nicolas, and sythe that time fostered and nurryshed by al his children'; and as conj., Berner, *Froissart*, Pref., 'Among all other I read diligently the four volumes or books of sir John Froissart of the country of Hainault, written in the French tongue, which I judged commodious, necessary and profitable to be had in English, sith they treat of the famous acts done in our parts.'

'Sith' occurs in AV 1611 in Jer 15^{7} 23^{38}, Ezk 35^{6}, Zec $4^{10\text{marg.}}$, 2 Es 7^{53}, and Ro 5^{heading}, and 'sithence' in 2 Es 10^{14}. As early as 1616 'sithence' was changed into 'since,' and 'sith' was in time changed (by Paris or Blayney) into the same mod. form in all places except Ezk 35^{6}, Ro 5^{head}. For 'sithence' cf. Lk 20^{33} Rhem. 'In the resurrection therefore, whose wife shal she be of them? sithens the seven had her to wife.' 'Sith' often occurs in the *Psalms in metre*, viz. 16^{8} 22^{8} 31^{4} 33^{21} 50^{17} (both versions) 73^{10} 86^{3} 109^{21} 119^{45}, always as a conjunction. J. HASTINGS.

SITHRI (סִתְרִי; B *Σεγρεί*, A *Σεθρεί*, Luc. *Σετρί*).—A grandson of Kohath, Ex 6^{22} (P).

SITNAH (שִׂטְנָה 'enmity'; *Ἐχθρία*; *Inimicitiæ*).—The second well dug by the servants of Isaac, and for which they strove with the herdmen of Gerar (Gn 26^{21}). The name of the well is derived by J from the disputes over its construction. The site is unknown, but it is supposed to have been in the valley of Gerar, though this is not distinctly stated in the narrative. Palmer (*PEFSt*, 1871, p. 35) finds a reminiscence of the name in *Shutnet er-Ruheibeh*, a small valley near *Ruheibeh* (Rehoboth). Riehm (*HWB*) apparently means the same place, which he calls *Wâdy esh-Shetein*. C. W. WILSON.

SIVAN (סִיוָן).—The third month, according to the later (Babylonian) mode of reckoning. See TIME.

SKILL.—Skill comes from a Scand. root meaning to separate, discern, and means discernment, understanding. The verb to skill, *i.e.* to discern or understand, has now gone out of use, but occurs in AV in 1 K 5^{6} 'There is not among us any that can skill (so RV, Amer. RV 'knoweth how') to hew timber,' 2 Ch $2^{7.8}$ (all יָדַע to know), and 2 Ch 34^{12} 'all that could skill of (Amer. RV 'were skilful with') instruments of musick' (הֵבִין to be skilled in, Hiphil of בִּין to separate, understand). Cf. Milton, *Areopag.* (Hales' ed. p. 39), 'A wealthy man addicted to his pleasure and to his profits finds Religion to be a traffick so entangl'd and of so many piddling accounts, that of all mysteries he cannot skill to keep a stock going upon that trade'; Elyot, *Governour*, ii. 181, 'Whether he be a gentyll man or yoman, a ryche man or a poore, if he sitte nat suerly and can skill of ridynge, the horse casteth him quickely'; and Lk 12^{56} Tind. 'Ypocrites, ye can skyll of the fassion of the erth and of the skye.' J. HASTINGS.

SKULL, PLACE OF A.—See GOLGOTHA.

SLANDER or **EVIL-SPEAKING** (noun דִּבָּה, from [דָּבַב] 'glide'; verbs [לָשַׁן], lit. 'use the tongue'; רָגַל, lit. 'slink about,' and other roots. Greek *βλασφημέω*, 'speak injuriously'; adj. and subst. *βλάσφημος*; subst. *βλασφημία*; *διαβάλλω*, 'throw over,' 'slander'; *διάβολος*, adj., and subst. *ὁ διάβολος* = שָׂטָן).—This sin, of which the tongue is the organ (Pr 18^{21}, Ja $3^{8.9}$), springs from the heart, as the seat of inner life (Mt $12^{34.35}$ 15^{19}, Mk 7^{21}, Lk 6^{45}). As a rule, its mental feature is falsehood (Pr 10^{18} 12^{17} $14^{5.25}$) and its emotional hate (1 P 2^{1}); but even truth may be circulated from motives of malice, and falsehood may be told simply from a perverse pleasure in lying. Hence all tale-bearing, whether false and ill-tempered or not, is blameworthy and injurious (Lv 19^{16}, Pr 11^{13} 26^{20} 18^{8}, Ezk 22^{9}). Against slander and evil-speaking, from which arises much strife (Pr 16^{27-30} 30^{10}), warnings abound in the OT (Ps 34^{13}, Pr 15^{28} 30^{32} 24^{28}) as in the NT (Eph 4^{31}, Col 3^{8}, Ja 4^{11}, 1 P 3^{10}), and threats of punishment are not wanting, alike from God (Ps 50^{19-22} 109^{20} 140^{11}, Pr 8^{13} 21^{28}) and from man (Ps 101^{5}, Pr 19^{5}; cf. Ro 3^{8}). Slander is a sign of moral corruption (Jer 6^{28} 9^{4}, 2 Ti 3^{3}). As angels abstain from all reviling (2 P 2^{11}, Jude ^{8}), so proneness to slander is regarded as disqualifying for citizenship in the Hebrew commonwealth (Ps 15^{3} 24^{4}) and for membership or office in the Christian Church (Tit 2^{3}, 1 Ti 3^{11}). Instances of slander are recorded (2 S 19^{27}, Dn 3^{8}, Neh 6^{13}, Ezr 4^{6}) against persons, and even against a land (Nu 13^{32} 14^{36}). Among other forms of persecution to which the pious in Israel were exposed was slander (Ps 31^{13} 41^{5} 27^{12} 35^{11}, Jer 20^{10}), from which also the members of the Christian Church (1 P 2^{12} 4^{4}), and especially the apostles, suffered (Ac 19^{9} 24^{5} 28^{22}, 2 Co 6^{8}), even as Christ Himself did (Lk 2^{34}, Mk 9^{39}, Mt 11^{19}), and as He foretold that they would (Mt 5^{11}, Lk 6^{22}). Christians are warned to give no occasion for it (Tit 2^{8} 3^{2}, 1 P 3^{16}), as thereby they may bring discredit on the gospel and the Church (Ro 14^{16}; cf. Ro 2^{24}, 2 P 2^{2}, Tit 2^{5}, 1 Ti 6^{1}). Among charges later brought against them falsely were cannibalism, incest, atheism, hatred of human race, licentious orgies. When suffering from such slander innocently, they are urged to bear with patience (1 P 3^{9}; cf. 1 Co 4^{12}) even as Christ did (1 P 2^{23}; cf. Mt 27^{39}, Mk 15^{32}, Jn 9^{28}), and even to rejoice therein (1 P 4^{14}).

False witness is but slander carried into a court of justice, and against this sin the ninth commandment is directed (Ex 20^{16}; cf. 23^{1}, Dt 5^{20}). Its prevalence in the East (Ezr 4^{6}, Lk 3^{14} 19^{8}) necessitated great severity in punishing it, and in the Pentateuch the law of retaliation is literally enforced regarding it (Dt 19^{16-19}). To avoid miscarriage of justice, the testimony of one person was not accepted as sufficient by the Jewish law (Nu 35^{30}, Dt 17^{6} 19^{15}), and this rule was adopted in the Christian Church (2 Co 13^{1}, 1 Ti 5^{19}; cf. Mt 18^{16}). When the charge involved a death sentence, the witnesses had to be first in carrying it out (Dt 17^{7}; cf. Ac 7^{58}). Yet false witnesses could be found (Dn 6^{24}, 1 K 21^{10}), as against Jesus (Mt $26^{59.60}$, Mk 14^{55-57}), Stephen (Ac 6^{13}), and Paul (Ac 24^{13}).

The heinousness of slander is shown by the use of the same Gr. word in NT for sins of speech against God and man (Mt 27^{39}, Lk 23^{39} 22^{65}, Ac 13^{45} 18^{6} 26^{11}, 1 Ti 1^{20}, Tit 3^{2}, Ja 2^{7}); by our Lord's warning about the unpardonable sin (Mt 12^{31}, Mk 3^{28}, Lk 12^{10}); and by the name ὁ διάβολος, given to the spirit of evil, who is represented as playing the part of slanderer against Job (Job 1^{9-11}), Joshua the high priest (Zec 3^{1}), and Christians (Rev 12^{10}).

A. E. GARVIE.

SLAVE, SLAVERY.—See SERVANT.

SLAVONIC VERSIONS.—See VERSIONS.

SLEIGHT.—Eph 4^{14} 'By the sleight of men' (ἐν τῇ κυβείᾳ [Tisch. WH κυβίᾳ] τῶν ἀνθρώπων, lit. 'by the dice-playing of men,' from κύβος, a cube, die). Tindale translates 'by the wylynes of men,' which is the meaning of AV 'sleight.' It is of the same root as 'sly,' as if for *slyth*='slyness.' Cf. Ridley, *Works*, 31, 'The sleights and shifts which craft and wit can invent'; Tymme's *Calvin's Genesis*, 569, 'Nowe, seeing a lye is damnable of it selfe, therein she sinned the more, that she durst use such deceiveable slightes in so holy a matter.' But the word properly means a device, and may be used in a good sense, as Udall's *Erasmus' Paraph.* i. 106, 'If this invencion and sleight be brought unto your presidente, we will perswade hym, and deliver you from all daunger of this matter'; Elyot, *Governour*, i. 173, 'It hath ben sene that the waiker persone by the sleight of wrastlyng, hath overthrowen the strenger.' We still have the phrase 'sleight of hand.'

The adverb **sleightly** is used in the Preface to AV, 'Now, when the father of their Church, who gladly would heale the soare of the daughter of his people softly and sleightly, and make the best of it, findeth so great fault with them for their oddes and jarring, we hope the children have no great cause to vaunt of their uniformitie.'

There is no connexion either in origin or meaning with 'slight,' 'slightly,' which means originally 'flat,' 'smooth.'

J. HASTINGS.

SLIME.—See BITUMEN and MORTAR.

SLING (קֶלַע *ḳela'*, σφενδόνη).—A weapon used by the Hebrews, Egyptians, Assyrians, and other Eastern nations, from whom it passed over to the later Greeks. During the best days of Rome, slingers appeared only among the foreign auxiliaries — Greek, Syrian, and African. We know nothing definite concerning the form of the Hebrew sling, but on the Assyr. reliefs slings are shown, made of two thongs, one of which was doubtless released in the act of discharging the stone. The hollow in which the stone was placed was called the *hand* (כַּף *kaph*, 'the bent hand'). Smooth stones (1 S 17^{40}, Job $41^{28\,(20)}$)* were used by the Hebrews, stones or leaden bullets (μολυβδίδες) by the Roman auxiliaries, as missiles. Slings were employed in attacking fortresses (2 K 3^{25}, 1 Mac 6^{51}). Among the Israelites the Benjamite left-handed slingers were famous (Jg 20^{16}, 1 Ch 12^{2}); David the Judæan appears as a slinger only in his contest with Goliath (1 S 17^{40}, Sir 47^{4}). From the prominence given to David's 'staff' in 1 S $17^{40.43}$ it is not improbable that his 'sling' was mounted on a staff; the weapon may in fact have been that described by Vegetius, iii. 14, '*Fustibalus* fustis est longus pedibus quattuor, cui per medium ligatur funda de corio, et utraque manu impulsus prope ad instar onagri (a powerful military engine) dirigit saxa.' The 'sling' of v.^{40} is a gloss on 'staff,' just as 'scrip' is a gloss on 'shepherd's bag.' The slingstones might be carried either in a bag (so David, 1 S 17^{40}) or in the bosom of the outer garment (so the Roman slingers). Abigail (1 S 25^{29}) predicts that God will take the lives of David's enemies out of the bag or purse (צְרוֹר *ẓĕrōr*) in which He holds the lives of men, and will 'sling them out,' *i.e.* cast them away. In Zec 9^{15} hailstones are spoken of as God's slingstones (tr. 'and [His] slingstones shall devour and subdue'; cf. v.^{14} 'His arrow shall go forth as the lightning'). On the difficult verse Pr 26^{8} 'As he that bindeth a stone in a sling' (מַרְגֵּמָה *margēmah*), see Toy in *Internat. Crit. Comm.* and RV ('a heap of stones').

W. EMERY BARNES.

SMITH.—חָרָשׁ an artificer, a workman, 1 S 13^{19}, Is 54^{16}; חָרַשׁ בַּרְזֶל a smith (lit. a worker in iron), Is 44^{12}; מַסְגֵּר (lit. locksmith?) 2 K $24^{14.16}$, Jer 24^{1} 29^{2}. The name smith is common to several metal workers: the goldsmith, the silversmith, the coppersmith, and the ironsmith. The most important of these in ancient times was the coppersmith. Though iron seems to have been known at a very early period, it did not come into common use. Copper, being more easily worked, was the universal metal for tools, arms, and all kinds of utensils. Alloyed with tin it became hard, and was capable of taking a sharp edge: thus it was suitable for knives, swords, spears, axes, etc. The coppersmith is still a very important workman in Syria, for almost all domestic utensils are made of that metal. Pans, pots, trays, caldrons for boiling the grape juice, are made of copper. The goldsmith and silversmith are next in importance, and their methods of working are almost the same as the pictures on the tombs in Egypt show to have been followed by the ancient Egyptians. The silversmith is usually also the tinsmith of a Lebanon village.

Iron ore of the very best quality is abundant in the Lebanon range, and has been worked for ages by the smiths. The forests around supplied the fuel, and the iron obtained was similar to what is known as Swedish iron. It was probably from this iron that the smiths of Damascus made their famous steel. Nearly every village in Syria has its smith, whose business it is to make and repair ploughs, pickaxes, hoes, and the tools for the masons and carpenters. He makes shoes also for horses, mules, donkeys, and for the oxen used for ploughing. The fuel of the smith is charcoal, and two very large circular bellows keep up a steady blast. Smiths in ancient as well as in modern times were noted for the strength of their arms, Is 44^{12}.

The discovery of the smith's art is ascribed in Gn 4^{22} (J) to Tubal-cain (which see) the son of Lamech (see Dillmann, *ad loc.*, and Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 214). A smith at work is graphically portrayed in Sir 38^{28}.

W. CARSLAW.

SMYRNA (Σμύρνα) was an ancient city in the west of Asia Minor, situated at the head of a gulf which runs up about 30 miles into the country. It was at first a colony of Aeolic Greeks, but was taken by an attack from the Ionian colony of Colophon and transformed into an Ionian city.

---

* Cf. 'Teretes lapides de funda vel fustibalo destinati' (Vegetius, i. 16).

The original Aeolic and Ionian Smyrna was captured by the Lydians, who broke up its constitution as a Greek city about the end of the 7th cent. B.C.; and it existed as a mere Oriental town or series of villages for more than three centuries, till Lysimachus (301–281) refounded it as a Greek city, in a new situation about 3 miles south-west from the ancient site. It has continued ever since an unbroken history as one of the greatest cities of Asia.

Smyrna was a faithful ally of Rome, from the time when the great Italian republic began to interfere in the affairs of the East, choosing that side before Rome had become all-powerful, and remained true to it even during the Mithridatic wars, when a Smyrnæan assembly, hearing of the distressed condition of Sulla's army, stripped off their own clothes and sent them to clothe the soldiers; and it was accordingly favoured in the Roman policy, though it suffered during the Civil War after the death of Cæsar. That early appreciation of the value of the Roman alliance was undoubtedly due to the position of Smyrna as a great trading city: the exact circumstances are unknown to us, but Smyrna must have been as early as B.C. 200 brought into such relations with the general Mediterranean trade that its interest lay in supporting Rome against Carthage and the allied Seleucid kings of Syria, and against Rhodes (just as the old friendship of Massilia and Rome was due to their common dread of the competition of Carthaginian merchants).

Smyrna was the port at the end of one of the great roads leading from the inner country, Phrygia, Galatia, etc., across Lydia towards the west. It was also the harbour for the whole trade of the fertile Hermus Valley, and was probably hardly second even to Ephesus as an exporting city. Its great wealth is attested by its abundant coinage. It was the chief city of a *conventus*, and was one of those cities that were dignified with the title of *metropolis*. It vied with Pergamus and Ephesus for the title of 'First (city) of Asia' (πρώτη Ἀσίας); and the contests between the three great cities were carried to a great height, as each invented new titles for itself or appropriated the titles of the other. In one case, at least, their jealous rivalry led to an appeal to the imperial decision.

In A.D. 23 the cities of Asia obtained permission to found a temple in honour of Tiberius and his mother Julia Augusta, and in 26 several contended for the privilege of having the temple within their walls. The pleadings of the different cities which claimed that honour throw considerable light on the state of the great Asian cities under the early Roman emperors, though only a very brief report has been preserved by Tacitus (*Annals*, iv. 55, 56). The claim of Pergamum was rejected because it already had the temple dedicated by the province to Augustus: that of Ephesus because it was sufficiently weighted by the worship and the temple of Artemis: that of Laodicea, Tralles, etc., because they were not sufficiently great. Halicarnassus was carefully considered, but at last the choice lay between Sardis and Smyrna. Sardis relied especially on its past history, and quoted, amidst other evidence on its side, a decree passed in its honour by the twelve ancient Etruscan cities. But the Smyrnæans could appeal to their faithful friendship and alliance with Rome; and they mentioned that they had dedicated a temple to the goddess Rome in B.C. 195, before the eastern cities had learned by experience that Rome was the one supreme power in the world. The claim of Smyrna was preferred to that of Sardis, thus marking the superior dignity of the former in the province. The temple was erected by the provincial council (see ASIARCH) in Smyrna, which henceforward could claim the Imperial Neokorate, *i.e.* the title of temple-warden (νεωκόρος) of the emperors. The title was not so much prized in the 1st cent.; and the earliest proof that Smyrna had assumed it is in A.D. 98–102. A second and a third Neokorate were afterwards granted to Smyrna (as to Pergamum and Ephesus)—the second by Hadrian (though not mentioned on coins till the reign of his successor Pius), the third by Severus towards the end of his reign (along with the same compliment to Ephesus)

In the Roman time Smyrna was perhaps the most brilliant and splendid of the cities of Asia. No other city of the province could vie with it for the handsomeness of its streets, the excellence of the paving, and the skill with which it was laid out in rectangular blocks; but it was badly drained, and the streets were liable to be flooded in rain. It stretched along the southern shore of the gulf, not far from its eastern extremity. On the west a hill which overhangs the sea was enclosed within its walls; and on the south a still loftier elevation called Pagos, 'the hill,' * 460 ft. high, served as its acropolis, and afforded a strong line of defence for the walls of Lysimachus. The modern city stretches beyond the ancient walls on the east side, but leaves out part of the ancient city on the west. On the lower ground west from Pagos, about the south-western extremity of the city, was the 'Ephesian Gate,' whence issued the ancient road to Metropolis, Ephesus, and the south generally.

Another gate near the modern station of the Hermus Valley Railway is still called the Black Gate (Kara Kapu). The most splendid street in ancient Smyrna was called the Golden Street; it led perhaps from the temple of Zeus on the hill over the sea to the temple of Cybele on the hillock east from Smyrna called Tepejik (if, as is probable, the temple stood there), issuing from the city probably through Kara Kapu.

There was, in addition to the mooring-ground in the open gulf, an inner harbour nearly land-locked which was sufficiently commodious for ancient vessels. It was in the heart of the modern city; and the Bazaars now occupy part of its area. In A.D. 1402 the entrance to it was blocked by Tamerlane with a mole, to facilitate his assault on the stronghold of the Rhodian Knights beside the sea. Even before that, it had probably been a good deal neglected in the troubles and the weak government that prevailed for centuries; and afterwards under Turkish rule the harbour became more and more choked up, till in the 18th century it finally disappeared.

Smyrna has suffered much from earthquakes. A severe one occurred in A.D. 180, and great shocks seem often to be felt in the latter part of a century. The last was in 1880.

There was no specially famous cultus at Smyrna. The 'Mother of Sipylos' was worshipped in a great temple, which probably stood on the already mentioned mound outside the city on the east side; the priestess of the goddess in front of the city (ἱέρεια Προπόλεως) is mentioned in an inscription; and the *Meter Sipylene* is a common type and legend on the coins of Smyrna. But her cultus was common to other cities round Mt. Sipylos, and the Smyrnæan worship did not become famous and important like those of Ephesus, Magnesia, etc. The temple of the Nemeseis, or Fates, and a Hieron of the *Kledones*, in which divination was practised from chance words or phrases or acts, are mentioned; but it seems very probable that those two foundations may have been only a single holy place. According to the legend, the two Nemeseis had appeared to Alexander the Great in a dream, and ordered him to rebuild Smyrna. In Smyrna alone was the ordinary singular conception of Nemesis doubled as a pair of divine figures.

Smyrna was one of the cities claiming to be the birthplace of Homer. The poet is often represented on its coins; and there was a building in or near the city, called the *Homereion*. Tradition connected him with the sacred river, called Meles. The descriptions of the river by Aelius Aristides, and its sacred character, show that it was not any of the varying streams, dry in summer and torrents in the rainy season, which have been identified by different authorities as the Meles (especially the stream on the eastern skirts of the modern city, crossed by Caravan Bridge on the great road leading to the east). The Meles was the unvarying stream rising in the splendid sacred springs called Diana's Bath, more than a mile east from Caravan Bridge, and flowing in a steady uniform stream through a partly artificial channel (as Aristides says) into the gulf. The whole character of the localities, both springs and channel, has been changed by modern engineering operations.

The Church of Smyrna has had an honourable history. The message sent to it among the letters to the seven Churches, Rev 2 and 3, is more uniformly laudatory than those sent to the other Churches; even Philadelphia is hardly praised so highly as Smyrna, and the others are all blamed in varying degrees. But the Smyrnæan Church was apparently kept pure by continual suffering: the Church was poor and oppressed: it was not exposed to the dangers of riches, but was rich spiritually. The Jews of Smyrna are described as bitterly hostile. Few or none of them seem to have adopted Christianity, and they are described as not being really Jews, but merely a synagogue of Satan. This probably means both (1) that the Gentile Church of Smyrna represents the true stock of Abraham, while the Jews say they are Jews, claiming the name, but losing the reality of Jewish inheritance; and (2) that the Jews in the city had given way to the temptations of luxury and civilization, and degenerated from Jewish purity and religion. It is an interesting point that, in an inscription of the 2nd century (*CIJ* 3148), we find mentioned as one of the classes of the population 'the erstwhile Jews' (*οἱ ποτὲ* 'Ιουδαῖοι), an enigmatic phrase which probably means 'those who formerly were the nation of the Jews, but who have lost the legal standing of a separate people and are now merged in the numerous class of resident strangers, sprung from various parts of the empire.'*

---

* Pagos is, indubitably, an ancient name; but the hill appears also to have had the special name Mastusia, alluding to its shape as seen from the sea (though the likeness to a breast is seen to be illusory when one goes round it, or ascends).

In the popular outburst which led to the martyrdom of Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna in A.D. 155,† the Jews are described as playing a prominent part. The ASIARCH Philippus, who was presiding at the games (which therefore must have been those called Κοινὰ Ἀσίας, celebrated by the provincial council called the *Koinon*, and held at the various metropoleis in turn), was very unwilling to authorize the deed, and without his permission it could not have been carried out in the stadium on the occasion of the games; but the popular clamour constrained him. The Jews were active also in fetching and arranging the wood to burn the aged bishop. The view that the Jews of Smyrna are described in the Apocalypse as degenerate from the pure religion of their race seems to be confirmed, when we observe that Polycarp's martyrdom occurred on a Saturday afternoon, and the Jews, who were so active against him, must have appeared in the stadium at games which should have been an abomination to them on the Sabbath day.

It is a noteworthy coincidence, which may be intentional, that the Divine Sender of the message to Smyrna, the city which had been destroyed and after 340 years refounded, calls himself 'the first and the last, which was dead and lived *again*.' The various titles which the Sender of the messages to the Seven Asian cities assumes in each case have sometimes at least an obvious relation to the circumstances of the city to which the message is addressed: that is evidently the case at THYATIRA, and may be in other cases, though we cannot trace the relation. Here, however, it seems very clear. That, of course, is not inconsistent with the equally obvious relation of the title to the immediate circumstances of the Smyrnæan Christians as described in Rev $2^{10.11}$ 'Fear not the thing which thou art about to suffer; behold, assuredly, the devil is about to cast some of you into prison that ye may be tried; and ye shall have tribulation *for a term of* ten days [*i.e.* a time not unlimited, but with an end fixed]. Be thou faithful unto death; and I will give thee the garland of life [*i.e.* the prize which consists in life]. As your city was destroyed, and lived again more glorious than before, so I who died and lived again will give to thee [each individual Christian is singled out and addressed], if thou be true to death, the reward of the true life (τῆς ζωῆς).'

On the other hand, it seems highly improbable that there is here intended any 'allusion to the ritual of the pagan mysteries which prevailed in that city' (as is suggested by Rev. J. W. Blakesley in Smith's *DB* iii. p. 1335): 'the story of the violent death and reviviscence of Dionysos' was not specially characteristic of Smyrna, or likely to be specially familiar to the Smyrnæan Christians. It seems quite unnatural that the Divine Sender of the message should be represented in a character designed to recall that of Dionysos.

It is probable that the writer had in his mind the prize of victory (as in the Greek games), when he spoke of the 'garland of life.' It is indeed quite out of keeping with his usual custom to take a metaphor from such a source: he was not, like St. Paul, brought up in Greek surroundings and accustomed to draw his illustrations from the social life of the Greek cities. But that special metaphor had entered so completely into current language that the writer was hardly conscious of its source: he was probably thinking more of St. Paul's garland of righteousness (2 Ti 4^{8}), St. Peter's garland of glory (1 P 5^{4}), and above all St. James's garland of life* (1^{12}), than of the athlete's garland. At the same time it is possible, and even probable, that another pagan usage was also in his mind. The worshipper, while engaged in the service of a deity, wore a garland of the kind sacred to that deity,—myrtle in the service of Aphrodite, ivy in that of Dionysos, wild olive in that of Zeus Olympius (out of which, indeed, developed the victor's garland in the Olympian games), and so on. The meaning then would be: 'Be thou faithful to death, and I will give thee the garland of my service, which is of life.' Yet the idea of *prize* or *reward* seems inseparable from the passage; and it is only through the victor's garland that the *stephanos* acquired that connotation. Probably both ideas are united in this passage. The magistrates of hieratic origin, called *Stephanephoroi*, who were found in Smyrna and the other Asiatic cities generally, are not alluded to in this passage (as has been suggested): such an allusion lends no point to the words.

Again, we notice that, whereas Sardis, the city whose impregnable fortress had twice been captured while its people slept and neglected to watch, is advised to 'be watchful,' Smyrna, the city which boasted of its faithfulness to the Roman alliance, is counselled to 'be faithful [not now to an earthly power, but to God].'

Throughout the messages to the Seven Cities it is evident that the writer knew the circumstances of each city, and alluded to many facts of its present or past life. The references to past history are not gathered from reading and literature. The facts alluded to are of that marked type which would be universally known in each city, and would be appealed to by orators addressing popular assemblies.

The Church in Smyrna is addressed rather as separate from (and persecuted by) the city, than as forming part of the city and characterized by its qualities and sharing in its works (like Sardis and Laodicea). Only the faithfulness and the resurrection of the city are alluded to as proper to the Church. In its separation from and superiority to the society by which it was surrounded lay the glory of the Smyrnæan Church; and life is to be its reward for its faithfulness and its patient endurance. Life is the dominant tone in the letter to Smyrna, death in that to Sardis, weakness and indecision in that to the Phrygian LAODICEA. It is remarkable how later history has confirmed the prophecy and the character ascribed to the Church.

Smyrna had a chequered history during the Turkish wars; and it was the last independent Christian city in the whole of Asia Minor. It was thrice captured by the Seljuk Turks in the end of the 11th and beginning of the 12th cent., but was recovered by the Byzantine government; and the emperor John III. Ducas Vatatzes, who resided frequently at Smyrna or at Nymphaion, rebuilt the castle on Mount Pagos (1221–1254). Early in the 14th cent. it passed into Mohammedan possession, and formed a part of the dominions of Aidin, the lord of Guzel-Hissar, 'the Beautiful Castle' of Tralles; but the Knights of Rhodes seized the lower city, and strengthened the fortifications of the harbour, though the castle on Pagos overhanging the city remained in Turkish hands. Two Osmanli Sultans, Amurath I. and Bayezid, besieged the city and castle of the Knights, but without success. At last in 1402 the hosts of Tamerlane captured the castle; and after he retired the city passed quietly under the power of the Seljuk chiefs of Ayasaluk (Ephesus) and Guzel-Hissar, until they were reduced by Amurath II. under the Osmanli sway.

The last stronghold of Christianity in Asia Minor, Smyrna still is more occidental in character and more solidly flourishing than any other city of Turkey. It is called by the Turks, accordingly, Giaour Ismir, Infidel Smyrna. The

---

* See Mommsen in *Historische Zeitschr.* xxviii. p. 417. The meaning 'who were once Jews, but have abandoned their religion,' seems quite impossible: renegade Jews would not be called so in an inscription which mentions them in a complimentary way.

† The date, as fixed by Waddington, is nearly, but not absolutely, certain. Harnack considers Waddington's reasoning to be entirely erroneous, but accepts the date on different grounds (*Chronol. der altchristl. Litt.* i. pp. 355, 721).

* Zeller's idea, that St. James imitated this passage of the Apocalypse, seems not acceptable.

Mohammedans number less than a quarter of the population, which totals over 250,000: more than a half is Greek: there are large Jewish and Armenian quarters: colonies from all the chief countries in Europe, from the United States, and from Persia, also are settled there. The views from the sea, and from the summit of Mount Pagos, are among the most exquisite in the whole Mediterranean lands; and the prosperity within the city is, in comparison with all other Turkish towns, plain to the eye. As in the message to the Church, so at the present day, life is the prominent note.

In the early ecclesiastical system Smyrna was a bishopric under the authority, probably, of Ephesus; but, soon after, it was raised to be independent and *autokephalos*. In the later *Notitiæ* it appears as a metropolis, having six bishoprics subject to it—Phocæa, Clazomenæ, Magnesia *ad Sipylum*, Archangelos, Sosandra, and Petra.

Literature.—Though Smyrna has been so frequently visited by European travellers of every kind, very little has been written on its history, and no proper study has ever been made of the literary and monumental evidence on the subject. The account given in Sir Charles Wilson's Handbook to Turkey (Murray) is the best, though necessarily very brief. In the *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, Ramsay, there are only some inadequate notes, pp. 107–109, 115, 116. An old book in French, by Slaars, on Smyrna, published there, is practically unprocurable. An article by Arist. M. Fontrier, in *Bulletin de Corresp. Hellénique*, xvi. pp. 379–410, on *le Monastère de Lembos* (five miles east of Smyrna and one south of Bunar-Bashi) is by far the best study that has been written on the subject. Numerous picturesque descriptions of the beauty of the scenery may be found in the books of travellers and tourists.

W. M. Ramsay.

SNAIL.—Two Heb. words are tr^{d} 'snail' in AV. 1. חֹמֶט *ḥōmeṭ*, σαῦρα, *lacerta* (Lv 11^{30}). There seems to be no foundation for the AV 'snail.' Other ancient VSS besides the LXX and Vulg. understand the word as referring generically to the lizard. It is in a list of those animals, and prob. one of them. RV tr. it by 'sand-lizard,' which is *Lacerta agilis*, L., a species of wide distribution. This rendering, however, is a mere surmise.

2. שַׁבְּלוּל *shabbĕlūl*, κηρός, *cera* (Ps 58^{8}). The Heb. is Shaph. form from the root בָּלַל *bālal*, similar to the Arab. *balla*, 'to moisten.' The rendering 'wax,' of the LXX and Vulg., is amplified by the expressions ἔπεσε πῦρ, *supercecidit ignis* (from a confusion of נֵפֶל אֵשֶׁת with נָפַל אֵשׁ). Nevertheless, the modern VSS are unanimous in the rendering 'snail.' The allusion to 'melting away' is explained in two ways: (*a*) that a snail, in moving from one place to another, leaves a slimy track, which was popularly referred to the dissolution of its body. The Arab. popular name for the snail, *bizzâḳ*, 'the spitter,' is derived from this characteristic; (*b*) Tristram explains it by the fact that, in the dry season, snails attach themselves to rocks, trees, shrubs, or the soil, if possible in a moist situation, or at least one sheltered from the direct rays of the sun. If, however, a snail be long exposed to the sun, it will be dried up in its shell. Tristram thinks that this explains the metaphor of the text.

A large number of species of land and fresh-water snails are found in Palestine and Syria. They emerge from their hiding-places after the early rains, and are collected by the natives, and boiled and eaten with great relish.

G. E. Post.

SNOW (שֶׁלֶג; Aram. תְּלַג [Dn 7^{9}]; Gr. χιών) * is mentioned in Scripture with a degree of infrequency corresponding to the rarity of its appearance in Palestine proper. Of an actual fall of snow we read only twice in the biblical narrative—in 2 S 23^{20} = 1 Ch 11^{22}, where Benaiah, one of David's mighty men, is described as going down and slaying a lion in a cistern on a snowy day; and in 1 Mac 13^{22}, where the horsemen of Tryphon, the usurper king of Syria, were prevented from attacking Simon at Adora (or Adoraim) by reason of 'a very great snow' which fell in the night.

Snow is unknown on the seaboard of Philistia, Sharon, and Phœnicia, and seldom whitens the ground inland below an elevation of 2000 feet. In the Ghôr and the plain of Jericho it never falls. South of Hebron it is rare. Along the summits of the central ridge of Palestine and on the high tableland east of the Jordan snow falls nearly every winter.

The snowfall at Jerusalem, which is 2500 ft. above sea level, may be taken as typical of the whole central ridge. A table is given by Dr. Chaplin in the *PEFSt* (vol. for 1883, p. 32), covering the winters from 1860–1861 to 1881–1882. Out of the twenty-two seasons to which his report refers there were eight when no snow fell, four of these being consecutive (1863, 1864, 1865, 1866). It is not wonderful that in 1864–1865 (see Jerusalem, vol. ii. pp. 585, 586) the water supply from the chief springs entirely failed. From Dr. Chaplin's table we learn that the last few days of December, the months of January and February, and the first fortnight of March make the period within which the snow falls in and around Jerusalem. In 1870 there was a fall of nearly two inches on April 7th and 8th, but this was a very remarkable and extraordinary occurrence. 'For the most part,' says Dr. Chaplin, 'the snow is in small quantity and soon melts, but heavy snowstorms sometimes occur, and the snow may then remain unmelted in the hollows on the hillsides for two or three weeks. The deepest snowfall was in Dec. 28 and 29, 1879, when it measured 17 inches where there was no drift. In Feb. 1874 it was 8¼ inches deep, and on March 14, 5 inches.' Sir J. W. Dawson (*Egypt and Syria*, p. 113) reports that at the Jaffa Gate in Jan. 1884 there were snowdrifts 5 ft. deep. Wallace (*Jerusalem the Holy*, p. 252) mentions that three heavy falls of snow occurred during Jan. and Feb. 1898, when the weather was exceptionally cold, and much suffering was endured by the people.

Galilee, with a general elevation of 2000 to 2500 ft., is less liable to snowfalls. But sometimes these are heavy. In March 1884 a party riding through N. Galilee was overtaken by a snowstorm which covered the ground to the depth of several inches. It lay during the night, and when the members of the party set out next day after a comfortless encampment the snow still lay white over the landscape, and its glare was almost blinding as the sun poured down his rays in a blaze that threatened sunstroke.

The snow of Lebanon was proverbial (Jer 18^{14}, Ca 4^{15}). It is 'the *white* mountain,' probably because the snow never fails altogether from its summits (for another explanation of the name see Lebanon, *ad init.*). On the highest cultivated lands the snow covers up the wheat sown by the peasantry and protects it from the cold in winter. The lofty dome of Hermon is white all the winter, and through the summer broad patches and long streaks of snow are to be seen upon its widely-extended mass.

Snow is an emblem of refreshment in Scripture. It may be the glowing aspect of the distant mountain tops that is in the mind of the psalmist when, speaking of the scattering of Jehovah's enemies and the consequent elation of the people, he says, 'Then fell snow on Zalmon' (Ps 68^{14}; see Delitzsch, *in loc.*). Lebanon and Hermon with their snowy sides have a delightfully refreshing aspect as the inhabitants of the sultry lowlands look up to them from afar. 'The cold of snow in the time of harvest' (Pr 25^{13}) may refer to the sight of snow upon the mountain, but more likely to the snow which is preserved and stored to make cooling drinks in the heat of summer. Just as snow from Lebanon and Hermon was carried as a luxury in Jewish times to Tyre and Sidon and Tiberias, so it is today used in Beyrout and Damascus for mixing with beverages. 'Water like snow' is still the beverage most grateful to the fellahîn or to the thirsty traveller. Snow-water is mentioned for its cleansing properties (Job 9^{30}; but the text is doubtful, see Dav. *ad loc.*); and the rapidity with which the snow disappears in the heat of the sun is noticed by the sacred writers (Job 6^{16} 24^{19}). Snow by reason of its rarity and beauty is one of the wonders of God's power (Job 37^{6}, Ps 147^{16}); the hail and the snow are conceived to be stored in the heavens for use by God in the productiveness of nature (Is 55^{10}), and in the accomplishment of moral ends (Job $38^{22.23}$; cf. Jos 10^{11} and 1 Mac 13^{22}). To be prepared against its coming, seeing that it keeps its season so precisely, is one of the virtues of the ideal woman (Pr 31^{21} 26^{1}). Snow is taken to express whiteness in the realm of nature—the whiteness of wool, hoary hairs, leprosy, milk (Rev 1^{14}, cf. Dn 7^{9}, Ex 4^{6}, Nu 12^{10}, 2 K 5^{27}, La 4^{7}). Snow is the chosen Scripture emblem of stainless moral purity. We are perhaps not at liberty to say it is used of the transfigured Christ (Mk 9^{3}), because the best MSS omit ὡς χιών. But it is taken to describe the purity of the Nazirites of Zion (La 4^{7}), of the Ancient of Days (Dn 7^{9}), of the Angel of the Resurrection (Mt 28^{3}), of the Risen Lord (Rev 1^{14}). As against the defilement and condemnation and persistence of sin, it describes the righteousness, forgiveness, and complete acceptance of the penitent believer (Ps 51^{7}, Is 1^{18}).

---

* The verb שָׁלַג occurs in Ps 68^{14} and is tr. in LXX by χιονοῦσθαι. שֶׁלֶג is tr. by δρόσος in Pr 26^{1}, and in Pr 31^{21} χρονίζῃ appears to be a corruption of χιονίζῃ.

LITERATURE.—Mackie, *Bible Manners and Customs*, v. p. 8; Conder, *Handbook to the Bible*, p. 221; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* p. 64 f., *PEFSt*, 1883, p. 32.

T. NICOL.

SNUFFERS, SNUFFDISH.—In three passages of the Priests' Code mention is made of two utensils connected with the golden candlestick, named respectively מֶלְקָחַיִם *melḳāḥáyim*, and מַחְתּוֹת *maḥtôth*, and rendered by AV in Ex 37^{23} 'snuffers' and 'snuffdishes,' in 25^{38} Nu 4^{9} 'tongs' and 'snuffdishes' (so RV also in Ex *l.c.*).* The *maḥtôth* bear the same name, and were probably of the same shape, as the censers or fire-pans (so Tindale, 1530, 'snuffers and fyrepanns'). In them were deposited and removed from the sanctuary the burnt portions of the wicks (see CENSER and TABERNACLE, section on the Candlestick). The *melḳāḥáyim*, as the etymology and the dual form show, was clearly a snuffers (Vulg. *emunctoria*, *forcipes*, LXX, Ex 38^{17}, Nu 4^{9} λαβίδες),† resembling in shape a pair of tongs, like the Roman *forceps* (illustrs. in Smith, *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Ant.*^{3} i. 872), since the same word is used of the tongs with which, in Isaiah's vision, the live coal was lifted from the altar-hearth (Is 6^{6}). It was used to trim and adjust the wicks of the lamps, like the *acus* (the pin for pushing up the wick) which figures in representations of Roman lamps. In later times we hear of a wool or flax comb, reduced to a single tooth, being used for this purpose (Mishna, *Kelim* xiii. 8 end). The same instrument (*melḳāḥáyim*) is mentioned (1 K 7^{49}) in connexion with the lamps of Solomon's temple, in a late addition to 1 K 7 (for 7^{48-50} see KINGS, vol. ii. p. 864^{a}, the commentaries of Kittel and Benzinger, and esp. Stade's essay cited there), and its parallel 2 Ch 4^{21}, in both passages trd 'tongs' in AV and RV.

It will thus be seen that in RV 'tongs' is now the uniform rendering of *melḳāḥáyim* in all the passages where it occurs, 'snuffers' being reserved for another word מְזַמְּרוֹת *mĕzammĕrôth* (from זָמַר to prune, trim), also mentioned among the temple furniture (1 K 7^{50}=2 Ch 4^{22}, 2 K $12^{13\ [\text{MT } 14]}$, 25^{14}= Jer 52^{18}). This, as the etymology again shows, also denotes some species of scissors or snuffers for trimming the lamp-wicks. From a survey of the passages cited in this art. it would appear that *mĕzammĕrôth* is the older term of the two, *melḳāḥáyim* being found first in P, and in the later additions influenced by it, in which indeed both terms occur side by side. In all these, further, the material is given as gold, and even 'perfect gold' (2 Ch 4^{21}), while in the older and historical sources the material is bronze (cf. 1 K 7^{45}).

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

SO (king of Egypt [*Miẓraim*]; סוֹא מֶלֶךְ מִצְרַיִם, LXX Σηγώρ, Vulg. *Sua*).—According to 2 K 17^{4} (AV and RV), Shalmaneser, 'king of Assyria, found conspiracy in Hoshea (king of Israel); for he had sent messengers to So, king of Egypt, and offered no present to the king of Assyria.' This was the cause of the invasion that ended in the captivity of Israel. Kings of the Ethiopian dynasty (25th) were reigning at this time in Egypt, and it has been supposed that one of these, either Shabaka or Shabataka, was intended by 'So.'

From cuneiform sources, however, we learn that there was at this time a certain Pir'u, king of Muṣri, and that in B.C. 720, shortly after the fall of Samaria in 722, Sib'i, *tartan* (commander-in-chief) of Muṣri, was sent by him to the help of Hanno, king of Gaza, against Sargon. It was formerly thought that 'Pir'u, king of Muṣri,' must be 'Pharaoh, king of Egypt,' Muṣri corresponding in general to the Hebrew Miẓraim; but Winckler has recently shown that this Muṣri must be distinct from Egypt, and belong rather to North Arabia, in the country of the Nabatæans. He finds the same Muṣri also in the Bible under the name Miẓraim, and identifies the biblical 'So, king of Egypt' (Miẓraim) with Sib'i, the *tartan* of the North Arabian Muṣri, proposing to read סבא *sb'* for סוא *sw'* (So) (see his art. 'Pir'u, king of Muṣri,' in *Mittheil. d. vorderas. Gesellsch.* 1898, 5).

The identification of So with Shabaka or Shabataka seems impossible. Shishaḳ of the 22nd dynasty, who invaded Judah and Israel in the reign of Jeroboam, is indeed entitled in the Bible מֶלֶךְ מִצְרַיִם 'king of Miẓraim,' as were the later 'Pharaohs,' Necho and Hophra. But the position of the somewhat obscure 25th dynasty with regard to the throne of Egypt was peculiar. Tirhaka, who was the last important king of Shabaka's dynasty, is entitled מֶלֶךְ כּוּשׁ 'king of Cush (Ethiopia)' in 2 K 19^{9}, and in the cuneiform 'king of Cusi'; we might expect, therefore, to find the other kings of that dynasty bearing the same title 'king of Cush,' rather than 'king of Egypt,' if referred to in any Hebrew or Assyrian record. This is a slight additional argument in favour of Winckler's theory. To the Egyptians themselves every king of Egypt in these later times, whether the Persian Darius, the Macedonian Alexander, the Roman Augustus, or the Ethiopian Tirhaka, was known as the 'Pharaoh,' and this is the title which they all bore in Egyptian legal documents. To the rest of the world Shabaka, the Ethiopian conqueror of Egypt and the founder of the 25th dynasty, presumably would be known as 'king of Ethiopia.'

F. LL. GRIFFITH.

SOAP, SOPE (בֹּר, בֹּרִית; πόα) is a general name for the class of substances obtained by decomposing fats or oils by an alkali such as soda or potash. Fats and oils are compounds of certain 'fatty acids' with glycerine, and in the process of 'saponification' the alkali combines with the acid to form a soap, while the glycerine is set free. Soaps dissolve readily in water, imparting to it a peculiar slippery or greasy feeling, forming a lather easily, and adding greatly to its cleansing powers.

According to Pliny (*HN* xxviii. 51), soap was an invention of the Gauls, who prepared it from tallow and ashes. They had two kinds of it, the hard and the liquid. Soap-making is the chief industry of modern Palestine. It is carried on in Jaffa, Nâblus, Jerusalem, and elsewhere, and the

---

[*] The American Revisers, however, prefer 'snuffers' in all three passages.

[†] But Ex 25^{38} and elsewhere ἐπαρυστήρ and ἐπαρυστρίς, a funnel or other appliance for feeding the lamps with oil.

product is exported along the coast, and even to Egypt and Asia Minor. Olive oil is used, and the poorer qualities of it especially are turned to account in this way. The alkali employed is potash, and is locally known as *kŭly*. It is obtained by burning certain saliferous desert plants, the chief of which is *Salsola kali*. This alkali resembles cakes of coarse salt, and contains many impurities, and these accumulate to form great rubbish heaps in the places where soap is made. The potash obtained from the ashes is in the form of a carbonate. This is dissolved in water, and made caustic by treatment with lime. The solution or 'lye' is then boiled, the refuse from the oil-press being used as fuel. Olive oil is added, and after repeated boilings and additions of oil the solution is allowed to cool, when the soap sets in a solid mass.

'Soap' (AV 'sope') appears twice in EV (Jer 2^{22}, Mal 3^2). In each case it is the translation of בֹּרִית, a word connected with the root בָּרַר 'to cleanse.' The previous clause in Jer 2^{22} refers to נֶתֶר or mineral alkali (see NITRE). LXX translates בֹּרִית in both places by *ποία* ('grass'). These facts suggest that vegetable alkali is to be understood rather than soap in the strict sense. The carbonate of potash contained in the ashes of plants has detergent properties similar to those of washing-soda.

Another word, בֹּר, from the same root, usually rendered 'cleanness,' is tr. 'lye' in RVm in Job 9^{30}, Is 1^{25}, on the supposition that it means the same thing as בֹּרִית, vegetable alkali or a solution of it.

LITERATURE.—Thomson, *Land and Book*, i. 130; Warren, *Underground Jerusalem*, 500 ff.; *SWP*, Flora, 398.

JAMES PATRICK.

SOBER, SOBRIETY.—Both 'sober' and 'temperate' are used in AV in the narrower meaning of 'not drunk' or 'not drunken,' and in the wider meaning of 'moderate,' 'reasonable.' The earliest sense of 'sober' is 'not drunken' (from Fr. *sobre*, Lat. *sobrius*, i.e. *se-ebrius*), and that is now its only meaning; but it early adopted the wider signification, as Piers Plowman, B. xiv. 53—

> 'Be sobre of syghte and of tonge,
> In etynge and in handlynge and in alle thi fyne wittis.'

For an example of sober = not drunk, take Tindale's tr. of Nu 6^{18} 'And the absteyner shall shave his heed in the door of the tabernacle of witnesse, and shall take the heer of his sober heed and put it in the fyre which is under the pease offerynge.' Soberly (Wis 9^{11}, Ro 12^3, Tit 2^{12}), soberness (Ac 26^{25}), and sobriety (1 Ti $2^{9.15}$) are all used in both senses. Cf. Tindale, *Pent.* (Prologe), 'Behold how soberly and how circumspectly both Abraham and also Isaac behave them selves amonge the infideles'; Tindale, *Expos.* 127, 'With their fast they destroy the fast which God commandeth, that is, a perpetual soberness to tame the flesh'; Ac 26^{26} Rhem. 'I speake wordes of veritie and sobrietie'; Ro 12^3 Rhem. 'For I say by the grace that is given me, to al that are among you not to be more wise than behoveth to be wise, but to be wise unto sobrietie.'

The words rendered 'sober,' etc., or 'temperate,' etc., in AV and RV, are the following:—

1. (*a*) *νήφω*, 1 Th $5^{6.8}$, 2 Ti 4^5, 1 P 1^{13} 4^7 5^8 (all 'be sober' in AV except 2 Ti 4^5 'watch'; in RV all 'be sober'). In every case the Greek word has the wider meaning of 'moderate.'
   (*b*) *νηφάλιος*, 1 Ti 3^2 (AV 'vigilant'), 3^{11} (AV 'sober'), Tit 2^2 (AV 'sober'; all 'temperate' in RV). In all these cases the meaning of the Greek is 'not drunken.'
2. (*a*) *σώφρων*, 1 Ti 3^2 (AV 'sober'), Tit 1^8 (AV 'sober'), 2^2 (AV 'temperate'), 2^5 (AV 'discreet'; all 'sober-minded' in RV).
   (*b*) *σωφρόνως*, Tit 2^{12} (AV and RV 'soberly').
   (*c*) *σωφρονέω*, Mk 5^{15} = Lk 8^{35} (AV and RV 'in his right mind'), Ro 12^3 (*φρονεῖν εἰς τὸ σωφρονεῖν*, AV and RV 'to think soberly'), 2 Co 5^{13} (AV 'be sober'), Tit 2^6 (AV 'be sober-minded'), 1 P 4^7 (AV 'be sober'; RV in last three 'be of sober mind').
   (*d*) *σωφροσύνη*, Ac 26^{25} (AV and RV 'soberness'), 1 Ti $2^{9.15}$ (AV and RV 'sobriety').
3. (*a*) *ἐγκράτεια*, Ac 24^{25}, Gal 5^{23}, 2 P 1^6 *bis* (AV and RV always 'temperance,' RVm always 'self-control').
   (*b*) *ἐγκρατής*, Tit 1^8 (AV and RV 'temperate').
   (*c*) *ἐγκρατεύομαι*, 1 Co 7^9 (AV 'contain,' RV 'have continency'), 9^{25} (AV and RV 'be temperate').

It thus appears that in RV 'sober,' 'sober-minded,' etc., represent *σώφρων* and its derivatives, as well as *νήφω*; 'temperate' is the tr. of *νηφάλιος* and of the derivatives of *ἐγκράτεια*; while for *ἐγ.* itself 'temperance' is retained from AV, with the marg. 'self-control.'

For the difference between *ἐγκρατής* and *σώφρων* see Page on Ac 24^{25}.

J. HASTINGS.

SOCO, SOCOH (שׂוֹכוֹ, שׂוֹכֹה 'branches'; *Soccho*, *Socho*).—The form of the name varies in the LXX (see below), and quite needlessly in AV. RV has *Socoh* everywhere except in 1 Ch 4^{18} and 2 Ch 28^{18}, where it has *Soco*.

1. A town in the lowland of Judah, mentioned with Adullam and Azekah (Jos 15^{35} B *Σαωχώ*, A *Σωχώ*). The Philistines, before the battle in which Goliath was slain, assembled at Socoh, and camped between Socoh and Azekah, at Ephes-dammim (1 S 17^1; Jos. *Ant.* VI. ix. 1). It was in the district of Ben-hesed, one of Solomon's commissariat officers (1 K 4^{10}); and was fortified by Rehoboam (2 Ch 11^7; *Ant.* VIII. x. 1). In the reign of Ahaz it was taken by the Philistines (2 Ch 28^{18}).

Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.*) mention two villages—one in the mountain, the other in the plain, or an upper and lower Socoh—which were 9 Roman miles from Eleutheropolis, on the road to Jerusalem, and were called Socchoth (*Σοκχώθ*). Socoh was passed by St. Paula on her way from Jerusalem to Eleutheropolis (Horræi, *Ep. Paul.* xviii.). This place is now *Khurbet Shuweikeh* (a diminutive of *Shaukeh*, the Arabic form of Shoco), on the left bank of *Wâdy es-Sunṭ*, 'the Valley of Elah.' The position, strong by nature, was of strategical importance, for it commanded one of the great highways from the coast to the hill-country of Judah. Beneath *Shuweikeh*, the *Wâdy es-Sunṭ* makes a great bend, and runs westward instead of from south to north. And here, at the foot of the highland district, the roads from Jerusalem and Hebron unite, before running onwards down the valley to the plains of Philistia. The important part played by Socoh in the wars between the Jews and the Philistines is clearly indicated in the Bible narrative (Rob. *BRP*² ii. 21; *PEF Mem.* iii. 125; Guérin, *Judée*, i. 201, 332).

2. A town in the hill-country of Judah, named with Jattir, Dannah, and Debir (Jos 15^{48} B *Σωχά*, A *Σωχώ*). The Soco of 1 Ch 4^{18} is apparently the same place. It is now *Khurbet Shuweikeh*, to the S.W. of Hebron, and near Eshtemoa. There are some insignificant remains (Rob. *BRP*² i. 494; *PEF Mem.* iii. 410).

At Socoh, according to the Talmud, was born Antigonus,—the first Jew known to have taken a Greek name,—who was noted as the disciple of Simon the Just, and the master of Sadok, the reputed founder of the Sadducees. It is not, however, known of which of the two Socohs he was a native (Neubauer. *Géog. du Talmud*, p. 121).

C. W. WILSON.

SOD, SODDEN.—See SEETHE.

SODI (סוֹדִי, perh. = סוֹדְיָה 'intimacy of Jah').—The father of the Zebulunite spy, Nu 13^{10} (B *Σουδεί*, A *Σουδί*).

SODOM (סְדֹם, *Σόδομα*).—One of the five 'cities of the Plain' in the time of Abraham and Lot, destroyed by fire from heaven (Gn 19^{24}) for the wickedness of the inhabitants.* Its position, in the opinion of the present writer, was on the Arabah north of the Dead Sea not far from GOMORRAH (which see). Weighty authorities, however, can be cited in favour of a site at the S. end of the Sea (Dillm. *Genesis*, 111 f.; Robinson, *BRP*^{2} ii. 187 ff.; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 505 ff.; Blanckenhorn, *ZDPV* xix. (1896) 53 ff.; Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.* 3, 146; Buhl, *GAP* 117, 271, 274; see also art. ZOAR). The wickedness of the Sodomites appears to have been so heinous and debasing as to have become proverbial (Gn 13^{13} 18^{20}, La 4^6, Is 3^9, cf. 2 P 2^6, Jude ^{7}). The term 'Sodomite' (קָדֵשׁ) is used in Scripture to describe offences against the laws of nature which were frequently connected with idolatrous practices (cf. Dt 23^{17}, 1 K 14^{24} 15^{12}, 2 K 23^7; see art. SODOMITE). The fate of Sodom and Gomorrah is referred to by our Lord as a warning to those who reject the offer of the gospel (Mt 10^{15}; cf. Jude ^{7}, 2 P 2^6). A spiritual or typical meaning is applied to the word in Revelation (11^8).

---

* The five cities were Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboim, and Zoar (Gn 14^2, Dt 29^{23}). That the language of St. Jude is not

E. HULL.

SODOM, VINE OF.—See VINE.

SODOMITE (קָדֵשׁ, lit. 'sacred'; fem. קְדֵשָׁה, inadequately tr. by EV 'harlot,' see note in RVm at Gn 38^{21}).—The Eng. word is derived from SODOM [in 2 Es 7^{36} 'Sodomites' of AV is used in lit. sense for 'people of Sodom' (so RV)], where unnatural offences prevailed. But the Heb. *ḳādēsh* and *ḳĕdēshāh* have in view not ordinary immorality but *religious prostitution*, *i.e.* 'immorality practised in the worship of a deity and in the immediate precincts of a temple' (Driver, *Deut.* 264, where see references to authorities for the widespread existence of this practice). Such ἱερόδουλοι of either sex were not tolerated in Israel by the Deuteronomic law (Dt $23^{18.\ 19\ (17.\ 18)}$). The *ḳĕdēshîm* are said to have been banished from Judah by Asa (1 K 15^{12}). References to them are found also in 1 K 14^{24} $22^{47\ (46)}$, 2 K 23^7, Job 36^{14}, while we meet with *ḳĕdēshôth* in Gn $38^{21f.}$ and Hos 4^{14}.

J. A. SELBIE.

SODOMITISH SEA, THE (*mare Sodomiticum*), 2 Es 5^7.—A name for the Dead Sea. One of the signs of the times to come there given is that 'the Sodom sea shall cast out fish (cf. Ezk 47^9 for the belief that fish could not live in its waters), and make a noise in the night which many have not known.' This is the only passage in the Bible or the Apocr. which directly connects the lake with the Cities of the Plain; and even here the name may be derived from the closeness of Sodom to the lake, and not from the incorrect theory of that city having been submerged by the Dead Sea.

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

SOJOURNER.—See GER.

SOLEMN, SOLEMNITY.—Derived through Old Fr. *solempne* from Lat. *sollemnis* (from *sollus*, entire, and *annus*, a year), 'solemn' means properly that which occurs annually, and is thence applied to any stated or regular occurrence. Thus Mt 27^{15} Wyc. 'But for a solempne day (Rhem. 'upon the solemne day') the justise was wonte to delyvere to the puple oon bounden'; Lk 2^{41} Wyc. 'And his fadir and modir wenten eche yeer into Ierusalem, in the solempne daie of pask' (Rhem. 'at the solemne day of Pasche'). And then, as that which was stated, especially when public, was frequently grand or ceremonious, 'solemn' assumes this meaning; thus Shaks. *Tit. Andron.* II. i. 112, 'A solemn hunting is in hand'; *Macbeth*, III. i. 14, 'To-night we hold a solemn supper, sir.' Such an occasion might be merry or sad, according to its nature; whence Chaucer, *Prologue*, 209—

> 'A Frere ther was, a wantoun and a merye,
> A limitour, a ful solempne man.'

Chaucer uses the word simply in the sense of 'public' in *Persones Tale*, 105, 'The spyces of Penitence been three. That oon of hem is solempne, another is commune, and the thridde is privee.'

These examples illustrate the use of the word in AV. In all its numerous occurrences it signifies 'stated' or 'public,' having no Heb. word corresponding to itself, but being used along with *assembly* or *meeting* for עֲצָרָה or עֲצֶרֶת (see Driver on Am 5^{21}); with *feast* or *day* sometimes (as Nu 10^{10}, La 1^4, Hos 2^{11}) for מוֹעֵד* (prop. *stated time*, then used esp. of *stated sacred seasons* [see Lv 23^2 RVm 'appointed seasons']) 'solemn feast'; also thrice in AV (Nah 1^{15}, Mal 2^3, Ps 81^3) for חַג, and (with *keep*) for חָגַג Dt 6^{15} [RV omits 'solemn,' harmonizing with Lv 23^{39}].† It is easy to understand how the modern sense of 'serious,' 'grave,' or 'gloomy' arose, but in AV that sense is never present.

The expression 'with a solemn sound' occurs in Ps 92^3 ('Upon the harp with a solemn sound'), on which de Witt remarks, 'Heb. *higgāyōn*, from the verb *hāgāh*, which is imitative of any low, suppressed sound, and especially applicable to the soft trill of the harp. The English Bible has the rendering "solemn sound," which does not at all represent the meaning of the word.' Not now, for the next verse says, 'For thou, LORD, hast made me glad'; but 'solemn' once expressed gladness as readily as gravity. Elyot (*Governour*, i. 41) speaks of the theatre as 'an open place where al the people of Rome behelde solemne actis and playes.'

In accordance with the meaning of 'solemn,' **solemnity** always means a sacred or ceremonious occasion. It is the tr. of *ḥāg*, a feast, in Is 30^{29} ('in the night when a holy solemnity [RV 'a holy feast'] is kept'); and of *mô'ēd*, a (sacred) season, in Dt 31^{10} (RV 'set time'), Is 33^{20} (RV 'solemnity,' RVm 'set feast'), Ezk 45^{17} (RV 'appointed feast'), 46^{11} (RV 'solemnity,' RVm 'appointed feast'). The word also occurs in Sir 50^{19} 'the s. of the Lord' (κόσμος Κυρίου, RV 'worship of the Lord,' RVm '*Gr.* adornment'); and 2 Mac 15^{36} 'in no case to let that day pass without s.' (ἀπαρασήμαντον, RV 'undistinguished'). Cf. Shaks. *Mids. Night's Dream*, V. i. 376—

> 'A fortnight hold we this solemnity,
> In nightly revels and new jollity.'

And so also **solemnly** means sacredly or ceremoniously, Gn 43^3 'The man did solemnly protest unto us' (AVm '*Heb.* protesting he did protest'); 1 S 8^9 'Howbeit yet protest solemnly unto them'; 2 Mac 14^4 'of the boughs which were used solemnly in the temple' (τῶν νομιζομένων θαλλῶν τοῦ ἱεροῦ). Cf. Fuller, *Holy War*, 338, 'His [the prince's] clothes are such as may beseem his Greatnesse, especially when he solemnly appears, or presents himself to forrein Embassadours.'

J. HASTINGS.

SOLOMON (שְׁלֹמֹה; BA Σαλωμών, Luc. Σολομών and Σαλομών, NT and Josephus Σολομών).—The third king of Israel, a son of David and Bathsheba.

1. *The Name.*—Another name **Jedidiah** (יְדִידְיָה 'beloved of Jah'; B Ἰδεδεί, A Ἐιεδεδιά, Luc. Ἰεδδιδιά) was given him by the prophet Nathan as a pledge that the Lord would be specially gracious to him, and that his father was restored to the Divine favour. As that name, however, occurs only once (2 S 12^{25}), we may infer that it never came into common use. Not improbably it may have been deemed too sacred for such use. The name *Jedidiah* has the same root as *David*, viz. דוד 'a primitive caressing word.'‡ Wellhausen and others conform the Heb. text of 2 S 12^{25} to the Vulg. and represent David as the originator of the name. The hypothesis is unlikely considering the difference of the relations of David and Nathan to J" at

---

overstrained in describing the habits of the Gentile inhabitants of Eastern countries will be clear from the account given by Prof. Rawlinson of the character of even the highly civilized Phœnicians of Tyre and Sidon: *History of Phœnicia*.

* מוֹעֵד once also of *solemn assembly*.

† On the distinction of חַג and מוֹעֵד see vol. i. p. 860^a.

‡ See *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*

the time when the name was given, and that the name was a sacred one and the vehicle of a Divine message. Cheyne (art. 'Jedidiah' in *Enc. Bibl.*) not only alters the text but makes for it a new context, and so arrives at the original and remarkable result that Jedidiah was David's first son by Bathsheba, and that he called his second son by her not *Shĕlōmōh*, but '*Shillūmō* (שִׁלְּמוֹ, *i.e.* 'his compensation') because of Jedidiah.' According to that finding, Solomon was never called Jedidiah. Nor was he entitled to the name of Solomon. His real name was Shillumo, although no Hebrew king is known to have borne that name. It is difficult to see where, on the hypothesis of Cheyne, the consolation of David could come in. Nor is it probable that any Hebrew king would call his son by the name Shillumo. *Shillūmah* is only used in the OT once (Ps 91^{8}), and it is in the sense not of *compensation* but of *retribution*, the reward of the wicked (so *shillūm* in Hos 9^{7}, Is 34^{8}). *Shillūm* and *shalmônîm* are also each used once (Mic 7^{3}, Is 1^{23}) of 'rewards' in the sense of *bribes*.

According to one reading of 2 S 12^{24}, it was Bathsheba that gave her son the name of Solomon. She may have done so. In the OT more instances are mentioned of the names of children being given by their mother than by their father. In a number of cases the names are said to have been given by both parents, and that may have been so as regards Solomon, although the evidence for David's participation in the act is positive, and that for Bathsheba's only problematical. According to one account of David's naming of Solomon, he is represented as having acted under the belief that God had expressly directed him to give the child the name he did. The Chronicler (1 Ch 22^{9}) describes him as telling his successor that he had himself proposed to build a temple to J″, but that the word of J″ had forbidden him because of the blood he had shed, while promising him that the work would be accomplished by a son who would bear the name of Solomon, and have a reign of peace and quietness. Whether that statement be historically accurate or not cannot be decided by the merely historical evidence in our possession. There is, however, no internal impossibility in the account of the state of mind ascribed to David. On the contrary, that is psychologically quite natural. The name *Shĕlōmōh* (Solomon) means 'peaceful,' 'pacific,' like the Gr. *Irenæus* and Ger. *Friedrich*. And when Solomon was born, David was a man whose strength had been exhausted in warfare, and who was keenly sensible of the blessings of peace both for a king and a kingdom. Hence it was altogether natural that at that period of time he should have given the name Solomon to a son on whom he placed high expectations and for whom he desired a happier life than his own, and very conceivable even that he may have felt that God directed him to name his child as he did. The name was certainly one which indicated well a prominent and distinctive feature of both the character and reign of Solomon. Although he ruled as an absolute monarch, allowed no rivals, and did not hesitate to crush dangerous adversaries, he was not naturally cruel, and had no taste for war. He was a man of peace—the most peace-loving, perhaps, of the Hebrew kings; and under his sway there was for about forty years in Palestine, not absolute peace indeed, either as regards contentment within or cessation of hostility from without, but such peace as the Hebrew nation had never known before or was ever to know again.

2. *The Sources.*—The chief sources of information regarding the life and reign of Solomon are contained in the books of Kings and Chronicles. The narrative in Kings (1 K 1–11^{43}) is closely connected with a section of the books of Samuel (2 S 11–20). The latter is also a continuous narrative. It leads steadily up to the story in Kings, and shows in a graphic and picturesque way what obstacles blocked the way of Solomon's accession to the throne, and how unlikely it was that he would have reached it had J″ not specially loved and favoured him. Along with the narrative in Kings it forms a whole in which there is both unity of plan and similarity of style. Both of our oldest sources are far from being contemporary documents. The record in Kings is historically much the more valuable; but the compilation even of Kings cannot have been completed until about 400 years after the death of Solomon. The compilation of Chronicles was not completed until at least three centuries later.

The author of the account in Chron. made use of the account in Kings, and added to it only little information of a strictly historical character. The author of the account in Kings refers (1 K 11^{41}) to an older account 'the book of the annals of Solomon.' The author of the account in Chron. refers (2 Ch 9^{29}) to (*a*) 'the words of Nathan the prophet,' (*b*) 'the prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite,' and (*c*) 'the vision of Iddo the seer.' See artt. KINGS and CHRONICLES. Through the hands of what authors and editors Kings and Chron. passed before they reached their present form no one knows, and even the process by which they became what they are has been only vaguely ascertained. The loss of older records than those which we possess is all the more to be regretted, as both Kings and Chron. were written largely under the influence of religious motives and with a view to religious edification. Merely to record events and trace their connexions, causes, and course of movement had no interest for the authors of them. What they were chiefly concerned with was how they might make known the hand and voice of God in His dealings with Israel, and with her friends and foes. The authors of the accounts in Samuel, Kings, and Chron. were manifestly men of limited views, men of their time, and much influenced in what they wrote by the feelings and beliefs prevalent in their social medium. They are entitled, however, to be credited with honesty and piety in intention. Their account has its faults. Although they assign a comparatively large space to Solomon, they give us no very precise or vivid description either of his private life or public career, and no distinct view of the order of succession of events in his reign. They may not be wholly to blame for that, nor may it be much to be regretted that they did not succeed better. Seemingly, the character of Solomon was one exceptionally difficult to portray. Saul and David were far more interesting personages, and it is natural that they should have been presented in a far more lifelike manner. Solomon is left by his biographers an imposing but very indistinct figure. Was that, however, not just as it should be? Was not want of reality his great want? If so, could he have been more truly and wisely represented than he was? The accounts given of him in both Kings and Chron. are priestly in tone and tendency, but that in Chron. is much more so than that in Kings. The general view given of the character and reign of Solomon in the latter is far more discriminating than that in the former. While in Kings the glory of Solomon is dwelt on with patriotic pride, the mischievousness of his conduct is also clearly set forth, whereas in Chron. what tends to glorify him is alone dwelt on, and what was unworthy of his reputation, judged of from a Levitical point of view, is either passed over unnoticed or very slightly indicated. There are no traces, however, of conscious dishonesty in the Chronicler, no grounds for holding him to have stated what he did not believe, while it is of great advantage to have two accounts which so far agree and so far differ. The Chronicler assumed certain preconceptions current in his age as to the history of his people to be unquestionably true, and wrote his history in conformity with those preconceptions. That, however, is what all historians do, even the most advanced and critical. History cannot be written without preconceptions, and preconceptions cannot but lead to conclusions which must appear to those who do not accept them falsifications of the historical data. The Chronicler's pride in the glory of Solomon and in the position attained by Israel under him, the exaggerated importance which he assigned to priests and priestly things, his prodigality as regards number, and other peculiarities, are themselves most instructive, because characteristic of him not as an individual merely, but also as a representative of the time and society to which he belonged. His estimate of the conduct of Solomon does not substantially differ from that given in Kings. It amounts to a severe condemnation—one all the more severe coming as it does from a writer so biassed in his favour—of the evil which he had done notwithstanding his vast means and opportunities of doing good.

The fragments of ancient historians quoted by Josephus (*Ant.* VIII. ii. 6), by Eusebius of Cæsarea (*Præp. Ev.* ix. 34), and by Clemens Alex. (*Strom.* i. 386) add little, if anything, to our knowledge of Solomon beyond what is stated in Kings and Chronicles. The narrative of Josephus himself in *Ant.* VIII. i.–viii. depends almost entirely on the Biblical records. Where he deviates from them, he is rarely to be trusted. It is noteworthy that he describes Solomon as a powerful sorcerer. That had already become in his time a generally accepted belief among the Jews, and probably was not confined to them. It is especially as a sorcerer and lord over the elements, animals, *aphreets* and *jinn*, that he is renowned in the East. The Oriental imagination has run riot in the invention of legends regarding him.*

The writings long attributed to Solomon, to be found in the OT or the Apocrypha, cannot in the present state of opinion among Biblical critics as to their authorship be assumed to supply materials for his biography. He may have been the author of a few of the Psalms and a number of the Proverbs, but to prove him so and to establish which are his is difficult. The SONG OF SONGS cannot be his, but it has a historical value dependent neither upon its date nor its authorship, but on its testimony to the impression which Solomon's character had left on certain Jewish minds. The WISDOM OF SOLOMON, which professes to have Solomon for author, shows what impression he had left on a very different class of minds at a still later date. As to the relation of ECCLESIASTES to Solomon, see art. in the present work and in *Enc. Biblica*; cf. also Sir 42^{13-23}. Considerable sidelight has been cast on the Solomonic age in Israel by archæological and historical investigations, but it has not so much increased our knowledge of Solomon himself as of his buildings, the topography of his capital, the geography of his kingdom, the ethnology and ancient history of it, and the state of the countries with which the Israel of his time was brought into contact,—subjects which cannot be dealt with in this article. Modern criticism of the Biblical sources has dispelled many erroneous views regarding Solomon's life and reign; but it has, of course, not increased, and cannot be expected to increase, that knowledge of positive facts regarding them, which is the great desideratum.

---

* Jewish legends of the kind referred to are to be found in the Targum on Eccles. and II. Targ. on Esther. For those in the Koran see suras 21. 27. 28. 37. For the opinions of Jewish Rabbis see Eisenmenger, *Entdeck. Jud.* 351 ff., 440 ff. For Mohammedan stories, Weil, *Bibl. Legenden der Musselmänner*, 225 ff.; Baring Gould, *Legends of OT Characters*, vol. ii. ch. xxxvii. f.; and Lane's *Thousand and One Nights* (Index, *s.* 'Suleiman ibn David'). Hottinger's *Hist. Or.*, Herbelot's *Bibl. Or.* 333, and the historians Abulfeda, Tabari, and Ludolph (*Hist. Eth.*) may also be referred to. M. D. Conway in his *Solomon and Solomonic Literature* (Open Court Pub. Co., Chicago, 1900) deals with the Solomon mythology as a whole in an ingenious but often very arbitrary way. He considers 'the external and historical data insufficient to prove certainly that an individual Solomon ever existed' (p. 1).

3. *Birth, parentage, and training.*—The account of the birth of Solomon in 2 S $12^{24.25}$ conveys the impression that he was the second child of David and Bathsheba. The lists of their children in 2 S 5^{14}, 1 Ch 3^5, and 1 Ch 14^4, on the other hand, seem to imply that he was their fourth child, their youngest son, and that Shammua (or Shimea), Shobab, and Nathan had been previously born to them, as in all those lists his name is mentioned last. No quite satisfactory explanation of the apparent discrepancy has yet been given. The likeliest, perhaps, is that Solomon was mentioned last as being the most important member of the family group, the heir to his father's throne.

Nathan, by his rebuke of David, lost none of his influence with either him or Bathsheba, and continued to be the friend of both. He prophesied good for their child, and strongly supported his cause at the moment when it was most in danger. Owing to that and the vagueness of a phrase in 2 S 12^{25}, he has very generally been held to have had the charge of Solomon's education. There is, however, no real foundation for the opinion. Scarcely any information is given us regarding Solomon previous to his elevation to the throne. It may safely be inferred from what he was in manhood that his education had not been neglected in youth, and that he must have been very receptive of learning and eager to excel in accomplishments; but there is nothing to indicate that he was trained under any prophet, or that he was in sympathy with anything distinctive of prophetic teaching or prophetic ideals of life. There is no trace of Nathan, or any other prophet, having had any influence over him when king. The prophetic ministry almost disappeared during his reign. What prophets there were in Israel in his day were opposed to his policy. Far more probably he was educated in his father's palace. In various respects the court of David must have been the best school possible for the education of David's successor, while in others one most apt to develop the defects so conspicuous in Solomon's after-life. The atmosphere of a court presided over by David, and agitated by the internal dissensions and conflicting passions to which despotic power and polygamy combined necessarily gave rise, cannot have been favourable to his healthy moral growth. There is no definite information given us as to how far or in what ways he was influenced by his mother; but there can be no reasonable doubt that her influence was considerable. To have retained the hold which she had upon David and the rank which she held among his wives, she must have been more than merely 'a very beautiful woman' (2 S 11^2). She must have been also a talented and sagacious one. That she was in close alliance with Nathan, that Adonijah sought her aid on his behalf in the belief that her son would refuse nothing that she asked, and that Solomon received her with the utmost reverence when she presented herself before him, are indications of fact which all point in one direction. We may accordingly infer that she had considerably contributed to the formation of Solomon's character.

4. *Adonijah's rebellion.*—There is very little further information given regarding Solomon previous to his accession to the throne. The account in 1 Ch 22^{2-19} describes David's preparation for the building of the temple, and records his charges to Solomon and the princes. If it be in its proper place in the book—a point on which there is room for difference of opinion—it clearly shows that Adonijah's rebellion was inexcusable. There is, however, nothing elsewhere to correspond to it, nor are there any means afforded us of verifying what needs verification in it. The rebellion of ADONIJAH was what necessitated the elevation of Solomon to the throne before his father's death. Adonijah was then, perhaps, his father's eldest son, and may naturally have considered himself to have had on that ground a preferential claim to the throne. There was at that time, however, no authoritative law or settled precedent to regulate the succession.

Adonijah himself does not seem to have rested his claim on right or precedent, but on the goodwill of the people. 'Thou knowest,' he said to Bathsheba when obviously trying to make the most of his own cause,—'thou knowest that the kingdom was mine, and that all Israel set their faces on me, that I should reign: howbeit the kingdom is turned about, and is become my brother's: for it was his from the Lord' (1 K 2^{15}). That is a very intelligible view, and all the more so that we know the people of Israel in the time of David and Solomon unquestionably felt that they had some right to consideration in the appointment of their kings. The Northern tribes unmistakably showed that when they rejected Solomon's only son. It is none the less very misleading to speak of Adonijah as 'the rightful heir' to the throne, as Stade and some other critics do. The 'rightful heir to the throne' in an absolute monarchy such as Israel had become under David, was the son nominated by the reigning monarch. It has been so in all such monarchies; and wherever polygamy has prevailed in these monarchies, younger sons have been often appointed to the exclusion of the eldest. The present Shah of Persia is an instance of 'a rightful monarch,' although he has an older and, it is said, exceptionally able brother. The appointment of the youngest son to the throne was very common in the despotisms of India.

Adonijah, it would seem, was 'a very goodly man,' captivating in his manners, fond of display and magnificence, ambitious, and scheming. He made it quite apparent that he wished to be king, assumed royal honours, and gained over to his side powerful allies, in Joab the general of the army, Abiathar the priest, and the princes of the royal house. In a word, he began to play the rôle of the ill-fated Absalom. The conspirators may possibly have deemed that his seniority of birth or superiority of qualifications gave him a right to reign. They may also have possibly deemed that it was expedient for him to ascend the throne at once owing to David's bodily weakness. But they were certainly engaged in a real and formidable conspiracy kept secret from the king, and meant to set him aside and to thwart his wishes. Their attempt does not seem to have been either skilfully planned or strongly supported in popular feeling. The account given of it and of its failure in 1 K 1^{5-50} distinctly conveys that impression.

As soon as divulged, the whole plot came to naught.[*]

5. *Commencement of reign and first acts.*—David soon afterwards died, and Solomon succeeded him without opposition. The year in which he began to reign has not been determined, nor are there yet known data for doing so exactly. He is said both in Kings and Chron. to have reigned forty years; but that may be a round, not an exact, number. If exact, however, we may assign about B.C. 970 as the time at which he began to reign, since there are good reasons for considering B.C. 930 as about the first year of Jeroboam's reign—the year in which Solomon died.

The Jewish and Arabic tradition that Solomon was only twelve years old when he began to reign, obviously originated in misconception of the meaning of the words in 1 K 3^7 'I am but a little child; I know not how to go out or come in,' etc.; words not to be taken literally, but as a humble confession of inadequacy, owing to youth and inexperience, for the great task of royalty. The generally received view that he was about twenty years old when he began to reign cannot be far amiss. According to Josephus, Solomon began to reign when he was *fourteen* years of age; but, in the same sentence he tells us he reigned *eighty* years, and died at the age of *ninety-four* (*Ant.* VIII. vii. 8). He does not mention the source of his information.[†]

The first concern of Solomon as king naturally was to make his seat secure. The Chronicler characteristically says nothing regarding the way in which he established himself in his kingdom. The whole account, however, in 1 K 2^{13}–3^8 seems worthy of credence. It represents Solomon as acting with great decision and vigour, and yet as not inflicting punishment beyond what was deemed necessary. He struck only at the heads of the conspiracy which had been formed against him. Considering that he was an Oriental ruler, not his cruelty but his clemency was exceptional. David is not recorded to have advised the taking of any strong measures against Adonijah, and Solomon had granted him a pardon accompanied with a stern warning. Very naturally, however, and probably quite correctly, he interpreted his request to have Abishag for a wife as a proof that he had not abandoned his pretensions to the throne. Bathsheba, it has been argued, would not have communicated the request to her son if she had deemed it treasonable in intention. Perhaps not, but perhaps also she did not act in earnest for the good of the son of Haggith. Abiathar was leniently dealt with in consideration of his past loyalty. David, according to 1 K 2^6, had advised the putting to death of Joab; but, even if he did not do so (see art. JOAB), Solomon could not have been expected to spare his life. Joab was the most dangerous enemy he could possibly have in all Israel. He was so resolute, so able, so much a favourite with the army, that even David had not been able to keep him in check. Not inferior, and seemingly even superior, to David as a commander, there was no one left in Israel to compare with him in military ability. His successor Benaiah was a valiant warrior, and an efficient tool for an absolute ruler to have at hand, but there is no evidence that he was a great general. Joab could neither have respect for the character of a man like Solomon, nor sympathy with his policy; indeed a reign like that of Solomon could hardly have been possible so long as Joab was at the head of the Hebrew army. The view of Guthe and others, that David and Solomon hoped that the putting of Joab to death would avert the vengeance which his crimes might otherwise bring upon the house of David may be correct, but it is not necessary to account for his death. Resentment and policy are sufficient to account for it. They also account best for the way in which Shimei was dealt with. It does not appear that he was implicated in the conspiracy, but he had been a bitter enemy of David, was suspected of being still disloyal and hostile to the house of David, and, on account of his influence with the Benjamites, was deemed dangerous to the peace and comfort of the new monarch.

6. *Convocation at Gibeon, dream and request.*—The way in which Solomon dealt with the enemies whom he had recently feared could not fail greatly to 'strengthen him in his kingdom.' He not only thereby got rid of them, but showed to his subjects that young as he was he was neither weak nor foolish, but a shrewd and capable man who could effectively discharge the functions of a king, and might be hoped to act neither capriciously nor cruelly. To have gained so great a triumph at the very commencement of his reign was enough to secure his popularity, for with the populace of all times and places 'nothing succeeds like success.' When he felt himself secure on his throne he resolved to make manifest his gratitude to J″, and proceeded to do so on a scale indicative of his taste for magnificence and display in worship, as in other things. He called a convocation of his captains, judges, governors, and heads of houses, at the ancient city of Gibeon, where was a famed *bāmāh*, 'a great high place,' and there, surrounded by his dignitaries, he offered in thanks to God a thousand burnt-offerings—'a thousandfold holocaust'—on the brazen altar which stood before the sanctuary and could be seen from afar. On the following night the king dreamed that J″ appeared to him and asked what He should give him, and that he replied by asking 'an understanding heart to judge aright' the great people entrusted to his charge while so young and inexperienced. He dreamed also that, because such had been his request, God promised him not only what he asked for—wisdom and knowledge—but also wealth and honour, and, conditionally, however, on conformity to the Divine law, length of days. The dream was naturally accepted by the king as a Divine communication. To Solomon there seems to have never been vouchsafed any clearer or higher form of Divine revelation than the dream.

7. *Solomon's judgment.*—According to his biographer in Kings, he was soon afforded an opportunity of displaying the wisdom which he had asked for and received. From Gibeon he returned to Jerusalem, where the ark of the covenant was now located in the tabernacle erected by David on Mount Zion, and there also presented offerings to J″, and likewise made a feast to all his servants. At Jerusalem he was forthwith called to pronounce a decision between two harlots who both claimed the same live child while each affirmed that a dead one was her neighbour's. The way at which he at once arrived at the truth immediately made him famous, and has greatly helped to maintain his reputation for wisdom ever since. It showed an instinctive insight into the workings of the human heart very remarkable in so young a man, and a keenness of practical discernment of a kind invalu-

---

[*] Wellhausen, Stade, and other eminent critics represent Nathan and Bathsheba, Zadok and Benaiah, as conspirators, and the choice of Solomon by David as the result of a palace intrigue. It is possible to think so, but the supposition appears to the present writer to be merely conjectural. As to what is related of David's advice to Solomon in 1 K $2^{1\text{-}12}$ and 1 Ch $21^{6\text{-}19}$ and 28–$29^{1\text{-}22}$, see the art. DAVID in the present work, and *Enc. Bib.*, and the commentators mentioned under heading of *Literature*.

[†] Perhaps 1 K 3^{14} sufficed to suggest to him the eighty years' reign and ninety-four years of life. It is not unlikely, however, that earlier Jewish authors may have written to the same effect. The promise of length of days was a merely conditional one, and Solomon did not fulfil the condition. Stade rightly holds it as certain that Solomon must have reigned over thirty years, but inconclusively infers from 1 K 15^1 and 2 Ch 12^{13} that he could not have reigned forty years (see his *GVI* i. 307).

able in one whose chief duty was to act as the supreme judge in all disputed cases throughout Israel. That 'all Israel heard of it, and feared the king, for they saw that the wisdom of God was in him, to do judgment,' may well be believed. That there was nothing miraculous in it may as reasonably be admitted. Innumerable examples of the same kind of wisdom as remarkable and as well authenticated might easily be given. Far more wonderful stories of a similar kind are told of Solomon himself, but they are entirely fictitious. The story, as told in 1 K 3^{16-28}, can alone be regarded as historical narrative. Josephus (*Ant.* VIII. ii. 2) seems to have had no other source of information, yet he gives a very distorted version of it. He represents the king as proposing to divide both the dead and the live child, and the people as privately laughing at the proposal as that of a mere youth.*

8. *Solomon's policy dependent on David's.*—The task which fell to Solomon was that of building up a kingdom on a foundation already laid and on lines already drawn. A reign like his was only made possible by what Samuel, Saul, and David had accomplished. Samuel, the last of the Judges, was also the first of them whose influence extended over all Israel, and was powerful enough to reconstruct the theocracy on a monarchical basis. Saul, by his struggles with the Philistines, Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, and Amalekites, rendered comparatively easy the consolidation of all the tribes of Israel into a nation under David. It was David, however, who made the policy of Solomon feasible, who indicated both by his counsels and example how it could be carried into effect, and who enabled him to start with a sufficiency of the means necessary to enter on his schemes of ambition and to revolutionize the manners and the ideals of Israel. Solomon seems to have done little which his father had not initiated: both imitated the doings and methods of Oriental despots.

9. *His military policy.*—Solomon had not the genius requisite to extend his kingdom. He seems to have had no military taste or talent; and certainly the glory of the conqueror he but little sought and little won. He was content to maintain and develop what he had inherited, and to abstain from dangerous adventures. The weak condition of the surrounding States would have presented to an ambitious warrior-king a strong temptation to attempt to create a powerful Semitic empire, which, if unified and vivified by faith in J″, might have anticipated Islam by a millennium and a half and given the history of Israel a very different direction. Yet Solomon, far from being a feeble or incapable monarch, was an able, shrewd, and enterprising one, who knew well how to magnify his office, further his interests, and attain his ends. He must have had very exceptional administrative talent, and he applied it to military as well as civil organization. Not otherwise could he have preserved for forty years the security and unity of a nation so recently and loosely constituted; kept down its strong disruptive tendencies; and prosecuted a policy which must have been obnoxious to the majority of his subjects. Although he did not increase his territory, he kept a firm hold of it, and made his sphere of influence much wider than his father's had been. His troubles with HADAD, REZON, and JEROBOAM prove nothing to the contrary. The account of them given in 1 K 11^{9-40} is placed—obviously with a view to religious edification—in the closing period of his reign, instead of at or near its commencement; and the information which it conveys, although it may be received as trustworthy so far as it goes, is scanty, and cannot be supplemented either from other Biblical or non-Biblical sources. It does not appear that Solomon's adversaries gained much advantage over him. Hadad was doubtless, and very excusably, as troublesome a neighbour to him and his people as he could be, and did them all the 'mischief' in his power; but there is no evidence that he became king of Edom, or that Edom under him secured independence. The fact that the port of Elath remained in Solomon's hands showed that the king of Israel was the overlord of Edom. As regards Rezon ben-Hadiada, he may have made himself master of Damascus even in the lifetime of David. There is no evidence of David's having had an acknowledged and effective suzerainty over Syria. And, besides, although we are told that Rezon 'was a foe to Israel all the days of Solomon,' it does not appear that he succeeded in seizing any portion of Israelitish territory. Jeroboam's attempt to stir up sedition against him can still less relevantly be referred to as evidence of his weakness, seeing that it was a failure, and Jeroboam did not venture to return from Egypt until he heard that Solomon was dead.

Solomon left out of his military calculations the possibilities neither of invasion from without nor of insurrection from within. He strengthened his capital by the construction of fortifications which David had only begun or merely contemplated. See art. MILLO. He established fortified cities, well-garrisoned and well-provisioned, at well-chosen strategic points (see HAZOR, MEGIDDO, GEZER, BETH-HORON, BAALATH, TAMAR). He thus guarded the kingdom against attack at all its more vulnerable points, as well as increased the safety of the sacred city. By adding to his army a force of 12,000 horsemen and 1400 war chariots, he must have greatly increased its efficiency. The innovation was unpopular among the ultra-conservative and superstitious portion of the community, but it was a real improvement. In the plains of N. Palestine, on the borders of Philistia, and in most directions beyond the national boundaries, cavalry could not fail to be of great advantage. The Canaanites had employed it with success against the Israelites in the time of the Judges. Before its adoption by Solomon it had come into use in all the neighbouring States. Once introduced, it was adhered to so long as Israel and Judah retained their independence.

10. A prominent feature of Solomon's policy was his full recognition of the importance of *interna-*

---

* There is no mention of the incident in Chronicles. The story told by Diodorus Siculus of Ariophanes, king of Thrace, in general character resembles very closely that of Kings. On the death of the king of the Cimmerians, three young men appeared before Ariophanes claiming to be the only son of the deceased king, without producing adequate evidence for the truth of their claims. Ariophanes ordered them to hurl a javelin at the corpse of their alleged father. Two consented, but one refused, and he was declared to be the true son and heir of the deceased monarch. Another parallel is the account which Suetonius gives of a judgment of Claudius (*Lives of the Twelve Cæsars*). A woman refused to acknowledge that a young man who claimed to be her son was so. In the absence of other means of deciding on which side was the truth, the emperor ordered the woman to marry the youth, and so obliged her to acknowledge that the latter was her son. Most of the Oriental parallels have a manifestly mythical and fabulous setting. In some of them, however, the resemblance is so close as to amount almost to verbal repetition. See Benfey's *Pantschatantra*, i. 894–896, ii. 544, also *Kleine Schriften*, 3rd Abt. 171 ff.; Eng. tr. of the 'Kah-Gyur' (Trübner's *Or. Ser.*)—the tale of Visākhā; Weber's *Indische Streifen*, iii. 60 (also T. Steele's *An Eastern Love Story*, Trübner, 1871, pp. 218 f., 248 f.); Reinh. Köhler, *GGA*, 1872, pp. 1219-1221; Fausböll, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, tr. by Rhys Davids, vol. i. xiv–xvi; and *Rev. de l'Histoire de Rel.* xxxviii. (1898), art. by Leclère, 'Une version cambodgienne du Jugement de Salomon,' 176–187. In the last-mentioned version, a mother, her child, a female ogress in woman's form, and a Buddhist Solomon, 'the noble Mohosoth,' are the parties. To the questions whether the stories of the judgments of Solomon, Ariophanes, and Claudius are legendary or historical, and whether the judgment of Solomon originated in the Indian stories or had its origin in India, definite answers do not seem to have been as yet arrived at.

tional alliances. He immensely increased his power and influence by the treaties which he formed with the rulers of neighbouring States. The most advantageous of them was that formed with Hiram, king of Tyre—the continuation of an alliance formed in the time of David, but utilized by Solomon to an immensely greater extent than by David. Without it Solomon could not have given effect either to a commercial policy or to his desire to build the temple and beautify Jerusalem. It was for the manifest benefit of both the contracting parties. To Hiram it ensured, in case of attack from the landward side of his kingdom, the aid of a powerful army in its defence; an abundant supply at all times of such commodities as corn, oil, and wine; an enlarged traffic with the Hebrews by way of Joppa; and the opening up of the *Yâm Sûph* (so-called Red Sea), and of the ocean beyond it, to the enterprise of his mariners and merchants. To Solomon it was equally advantageous. It enabled him to enter into mercantile copartnership with Hiram, and in conjunction with him to have ships trading both in the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. Whatever may have been the exact position of TARSHISH and OPHIR, Solomon must have had vessels on both seas. If Elath and Ezion-geber were open to him, Joppa or Dor was still more so. He was not the man to make a foolish bargain, or to prefer doing business on a small to a large scale. That he derived annually from his foreign trade as much revenue as his historians (1 K 10^{14}, 2 Ch 9^{13}) state is very difficult to believe. The trade, however, may well have been a very lucrative one. And, obviously, without the aid of Hiram and his subjects Solomon could have found neither the ships nor the men necessary to him for engaging in it. Nor was he less dependent on the skill and tastes of Phœnician artists and artisans for the construction and ornamentation of the buildings on which his desires were set, and to which he was to owe so much of his fame in future ages. His own subjects were incapable of supplying workmen of the kind needed, whereas the Phœnicians were famous for their proficiency in architecture and the plastic arts. It was chiefly from Phœnicia that Hebrew art was derived. In that sphere the influence of Egypt on Israel was not direct, but through Phœnicia.[*]

Next in importance to the Tyrian was the *Egyptian* alliance (1 K 3^{1}). The Pharaoh with whom Solomon entered into alliance is not named in the Bible, but must have been one of the last of the Tanite Pharaohs (perhaps the last—Pasebchanu II., called by Manetho Ψουσενής). Solomon obtained a daughter of the Pharaoh for his wife, and received with her as a dowry the town of Gezer, which her father had captured. Gezer was a valuable gift, and the marriage itself seems to have flattered the pride both of Solomon and of his subjects. In the age of the Chronicler and of the Jews of later times the marriage came to be regarded by the pious as disastrous, but there is no trace of such a feeling in the older historical sources. The first great edifice which Solomon caused to be built was not the temple of J″, but a palace for the Egyptian princess. The daughter of Pharaoh was always the chief personage in his harem. In all probability she had received a much more comprehensive and refined education and training than his Moabite, Ammonite, Edomite, Sidonian, and Hittite wives and concubines. His own tastes, indeed, were of a kind which would have disposed him to imitate the style of life of a Pharaoh, but they must have been strengthened by his marriage with a Pharaoh's daughter. However explained, his ideal of kingship was the ideal which had for ages been conspicuously exemplified in Egypt. Like the Tyrian alliance, the Egyptian alliance was uninterrupted throughout his reign, and of the latter as of the former he would seem to have taken full advantage.[*] That he bought droves of horses and large numbers of chariots in Egypt and sold them at high prices to Hittite and Syrian kings may be fairly inferred from 1 K $10^{28.29}$ and 2 Ch $1^{16.17}$, if by *Miẓraim* in those verses Egypt be meant.[†] He also promoted and protected the carrying and caravan trade, which extended almost from the Nile to the Euphrates. He saw that the geographical position of Palestine—between the Mediterranean, Red Sea, and the Desert—gave him command of the chief highways of Asiatic commerce, and power to secure to himself a share of the profits of the greatest markets of the then known world (those of Egypt and Chaldæa), fully recognized the importance of trade and commerce, and acted accordingly. Therein lay, perhaps, his greatest originality as a Hebrew ruler. His predecessors—the Judges, Saul, and David—could not do so, continually engaged as they were in fierce struggles with their enemies in and around Palestine. The general result of their struggles made his wider and more humane views and schemes of policy possible and so far realizable; but to himself belongs the credit of their inception and prosecution.[‡] Looked at in itself, his foreign policy must be pronounced on the whole a reasonable one. And it had good results. It was a policy of peace; it saved his subjects from the miseries of war; it enriched certain classes and benefited in some degrees other classes; it made the Hebrews better acquainted with the greatness, the wealth, and the state of civilization of the world around them, widened their views, corrected sundry prejudices, suggested improvements, and stimulated activity. It was, perhaps, the chief factor in making the Solomonic age the period of greatest material progress in the history of Israel. Yet it is quite possible to estimate too highly the external policy of Solomon, while quite impossible to estimate it aright without viewing it in relation to his internal policy. There is no evidence that it was disapproved of by his subjects, and he did not enter into, what would have been abhorrent to them, any alliance with the Canaanites; but it was the expression merely of the king's will, not of the national desire, and when the king died no one thought of continuing his policy. On the contrary, so long as the nation retained its national existence, it tended increasingly to self-isolation.

11. As regards the *domestic policy* of Solomon, the list of his chief officials in 1 K 4 is of special in-

---

[*] In the Histories of Phœnicia by Kenrick, Rawlinson, Movers, Pietschmann, in Renan's *Mission en Phénicie*, in *CIS* ii. tome 1 and 2, and in Perrot and Chipiez' *Hist. de l'Art*, much information is to be obtained as to the relations between the Phœnicians and the Hebrews. The reigns of Hiram and Solomon appear to have been contemporary almost all through, as the former is said (Menander, fr. 1) to have begun to reign when nineteen years old and to have been fifty-three years old when he died. The enumeration given in 1 K $7^{13ff.}$ of the qualifications of the Hiram who was Solomon's chief architect and artist, indicates what the Phœnicians could teach the Hebrews during the reign of Solomon.

[*] Neither the general Histories of Antiquity nor the special Histories of Ancient Egypt make any appreciable addition to what the Biblical historians tell us of the connexion between Israel and Egypt during the reign of Solomon. The lack of information is strange.

[†] Winckler holds that by *Miẓraim* a N. Syrian Muṣri is meant (*Alttest. Untersuch.* 168 ff., and *Altor. Forsch.* i. 24–41, 337, 338). Kittel, Benzinger, and others have accepted his view. Valuable, however, as his new facts are in themselves, they do not prove his *Muṣri* to be the *Miẓraim* of Kings and Chronicles.

[‡] According to Eupolemus, as quoted by Eusebius (*Præp. Ev.* ix.), David began the maritime trade. The statement appears to be merely a conjecture suggested by the fact recorded in 2 S 8^{14}, 1 K $11^{15.16}$, and 1 Ch 18^{13}, that David conquered the kingdom of Edom. Possibly David foresaw and suggested the use to which his conquest might be put. It is very unlikely, however, that at so late a stage of life he should have begun such an enterprise, and still more unlikely that, if he had begun it, he should not have got the credit of it.

terest, particularly when compared with the lists of those of David in 2 S 8^{16-18} and 20^{23-26}, although of too general a nature to be definitely referable to any particular period. The comparison will show that David in the later years of his life had gone far in the direction followed by his son, and that between them they had effected a great revolution—economic, social, and political—in the national life of Israel. The old tribal system had been undermined and shattered, and a monarchical despotism of the only kind known in the East—one none the less a despotism in reality for being a theocracy—had been built up. The will of Solomon was practically the supreme law of his people, and neither priests nor prophets ventured to oppose it or to attempt to limit it. Throughout his reign all power in Israel was centred in himself and carried into effect by his officials. The list of his *sārîm* (princes or chief ministers) in 1 K 4^{2-6} does not contain the name of a single individual who can be supposed to have been an independent adviser. The name of Abiathar should not be in it, as he was a degraded and banished man during Solomon's reign. The sons of Nathan mentioned were much more probably the king's own nephews, the sons of his brother Nathan, than the sons of the prophet Nathan [but see vol. iii. p. 488^{b}]. There was no prophet among Solomon's princes, nor any man not directly and entirely dependent upon him. We are not told that he made any direct attack on the old tribal systems. It seems erroneous to represent as such his division of the territory of Israel (that of Judah was exempted) into twelve districts, over which were appointed twelve 'officers' (*niẓẓābîm*), each bound to provide in regular monthly succession victuals for the king and his household, and provender for his horses and dromedaries. Those districts were not coextensive with the tribal territories. The officers to whom they were assigned did not displace the tribal chiefs, and had only a definite specific duty to perform. They were merely 'purveyors' or 'providers' for the king, his *annonæ curatores*. But, although the old tribal system and its chiefs may not have been assailed, the claims of the monarchy were asserted and its powers exercised independently of them. The tribal system and the monarchy coexisted under Solomon, but the latter was so dominant that the king could introduce what changes he pleased. Tribal and personal privileges, rights, and liberties were at his mercy. Doubtless the nation realized only slowly that such was the case, and how dangerous a state of things it was. The monarchy had been a great success, and was regarded as a sacred institution. The king was 'the Lord's anointed.' The new king was young, beautiful in person, a rarely brilliant, attractive, and imposing personality; to outward seeming a perfect king. He was well aware that a great trust had been assigned to him, and he set a high value on equity in judgment and orderliness in administration. Many of his innovations must have been improvements. Some of his enterprises were largely successful. For a season the sun of prosperity shone so brightly on his reign that there may well have been great contentment and rejoicing in Israel. 1 K $4^{20.25.34}$ may be regarded as echoes of that time. But disillusionment was bound to come, and gradually came as what was radically evil in the government of Solomon gradually displayed itself. Entrusted with unlimited power, he yielded to the temptation to abuse it, and to enjoy it mainly for what he deemed his own honour and advantage. His policy, although not uninfluenced by worthy and pious aspirations, must be pronounced essentially selfish. The chief motives of it were the love of pleasure and power, of wealth and splendour and fame; its main object was to promote his own interest, to enrich and glorify himself, and to strengthen and magnify the Davidic dynasty. To obtain his ends he required to have recourse not only to measures obnoxious to chiefs of tribes, elders of cities, and holders of landed property, but to such as were most oppressive to the poorer classes. He reduced the Canaanites to slavery, and employed 160,000 of them in quarrying stones and bearing burdens. From the Israelites he exacted less labour; but they, too, were constrained to give personal services and to submit to heavy exactions. Thirty thousand of them were required to work by relays of ten thousand, every third month, in the forest of Lebanon. The statement to the contrary in 1 K 9^{22} and 2 Ch 8^{9} is an instructive, patriotic gloss, inconsistent with the general narratives either in Kings or Chronicles. The Hebrews under Solomon were no longer a free people. While not slaves in the strict sense of the word, they were subject to forced labour, 'the levy,' the *maṣ*—a term as hateful to them as were its equivalents, *corvée* or *Frohn*, in mediæval Europe. David had introduced the form of servitude denoted by it (2 S 20^{24}), but Solomon greatly increased it. The favouritism which he showed towards Judah in connexion with it must have made it all the more offensive to Israel, while it was doubtless one reason why Judah did not join Israel in the revolt against Rehoboam. The evils of the 'levy' could not fail to make themselves increasingly felt in the course of the building operations which were so conspicuous a part of the king's domestic policy. One of his chief aims was to have a strong and magnificent capital. It was a very reasonable aim within proper limits, but these he failed to recognize. To render Jerusalem as far as possible impregnable, and to make it a capital worthy of Israel and of being the centre of its political and especially of its religious life, was manifestly desirable. The fortifications and the temple of Jerusalem were for the benefit of all Israel. Like so many kings of his type, however, Solomon failed to see that there should be limits set to expensive building. He did not adequately realize that the territory of Israel was a very small one, and that, although he and those around him were rich, the general population—one in a transitional stage from pastoral to agricultural—was not. The cost of the superb buildings erected for himself and his dependants, added to the provisioning of a household containing many thousands of persons, the supply of what was required besides food to gratify the desires of his wives and concubines, and the expenditure on his splendid pageants, must have been an enormous burden on his subjects. No truly wise king would have persisted in such a policy. The natural result of it was just what actually happened. Whatever Judah thought, all Israel felt his yoke to have been intolerable; and when his son refused to lighten it, cried out, 'What portion have we in David? neither have we inheritance in the son of Jesse: to your tents, O Israel: now see to thine own house, David' (1 K 12^{16}). Solomon was responsible for the disruption of the united kingdom of Israel and Judah, and for the consequences of it. That disruption, which led to the loss of the independence of both, was the natural result of the policy on which he acted throughout a forty years' reign.

12. The foregoing observations raise the question, *What really was the wisdom which the Biblical historians attributed to Solomon?* Certainly it was not wisdom in the higher significations in which the term is used either in the OT or the NT. There is teaching in Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and a few of the Psalms as to a

'wisdom' which is nowhere in Scripture attributed to Solomon. The wisdom of Solomon as described either in Kings or Chron. has very little in common with the wisdom inculcated by St. Paul, St. Peter, and St. James. Further, in what the Biblical writers say of the wisdom of Solomon there is nothing which implies that it included any of the supernatural attainments attributed to him in Jewish, Arabian, and Persian traditions, or even of any scientific or philosophic knowledge properly so called.[*] And it must be added, that although they ascribe his 'wisdom' to God, a gift in answer to prayer, they do not represent piety—the fear and love of God—as a prominent feature in his 'wisdom.' While declaring him to be the wisest of all men, they do not represent him as an especially devout or righteous man. In that respect David, notwithstanding his many defects and crimes, was regarded by them as far superior to him. So much, then, as to what the wisdom of Solomon was not. As to what it was, it comprehended at least the following elements:—(*a*) Possession of the qualities of mind—the quickness and accuracy of discernment and the practical sagacity—which are most indispensable to one who constantly requires to decide readily and correctly on which side truth and justice lie in disputed cases. Those qualities were of the utmost importance to a Hebrew king. Judicial functions had been the chief function of the 'judges,' and continued to be so of the kings. The king was the chief justice of the realm. David in his later years had been blamed for neglecting his judicial duties. The prayer of his son, on his accession to the throne, was for the knowledge and wisdom which would qualify him for the fulfilment of those duties. The judgment which he pronounced on the dispute between the two harlots was regarded by the people as evidence that his prayer had been granted. Seeking justice was by the Hebrews held to be sacred, inasmuch as it involved 'inquiry of God.' Almost all the Oriental legends regarding Solomon's wisdom which are not utterly extravagant are those which give the same kind of instances. An excellent and able judge, however, may not be an eminently good and wise man. He may be sadly lacking in true wisdom. (*b*) Possession of comparatively extensive knowledge and varied culture for a man of the time in which he lived. That Solomon was widely observant and inquisitive, interested in all that came under his notice and was likely to add to his knowledge, and that he could talk instructively on a great variety of subjects,—on trees and plants, beasts and fowls, creeping things and fishes, etc.,—must be admitted. 'The largeness of heart (*rōḥabh lēbh*), even as the sand that is on the seashore,' ascribed to him in 1 K 4^{29} [Heb. 5^{9}], means merely, if properly understood, a comprehensiveness of mind, a many-sidedness of intelligence, of great and indefinite extent. There is nothing exaggerated or incredible in the phrase, which may perhaps have suggested what has been so finely said of Plato: 'His pliant genius sits close to universal reality, like the sea which fits into all the sinuosities of the land. Not a shore of thought was left untouched by his murmuring lip' (Ferrier, *Inst. Met.* p. 165). The wisdom of Solomon was wisdom at a very different stage from the wisdom of Socrates or Plato; but they may have been alike in implying 'largeness of heart,' universality of intellectual interests and activity. (*c*) There have also to be included in the wisdom of Solomon skill in propounding and solving riddles, in putting and answering hard and abstruse questions, and the faculty of expressing himself in *mĕshālîm*, similitudes and parables, and proverbial or gnomic sentences which sum up in a pithy and memorable form the findings of prudential sagacity and moral reflexion. 1 K 4^{32} states that he 'spake three thousand proverbs.' One reason given for the visit of the queen of Sheba to his court was her desire to test the report which she had heard of him by 'proving him with hard questions.' The Phœnician historians quoted by Josephus (*Ant.* VIII. v. 3) relate that the Hebrew and the Tyrian king entered into a contest to determine which of them could solve riddles best, and that the former was at first successful, and won largely from his opponent, until the latter got the assistance of a very acute youth called Abdemon, when Solomon was always defeated, and had to pay much money back to Hiram (see art. RIDDLE). In the time of Solomon, Israel passed from its heroic and imaginative age into a positive and practical one, resembling the stage in Hellenic history in which originated the practical maxims of the Greek 'sages' and the verses of the Greek 'gnomic' poets. The result in Israel was the rise of a new way of thinking and the beginnings of a new kind of literature, the whole development of which must have been greatly influenced by the character and reign of Solomon. How much, if anything, he personally contributed by speech or writing to the 'Wisdom literature' we do not know, and yet perhaps the whole of it, Biblical and Apocryphal, may be not inappropriately termed Solomonic. At the same time no one has probably been so overpraised for 'wisdom' as he, and that alike by Mohammedans, Jews, and Christians.[*] See, further, art. WISDOM.

13. Solomon is represented as excelling all contemporary kings *in wealth as well as in wisdom.* His father is said to have left him for building the temple 'one hundred thousand talents of gold and a thousand thousand talents of silver' (1 Ch 22^{14}), a sum calculated to be equivalent to £1,025,000,000 sterling.[†] His annual revenue in money is stated (1 K 10^{14}, 2 Ch 9^{13}) to have amounted to 666 talents of gold, equal to £4,095,900 (see art. MONEY, vol. iii. p. 420^{b}); and besides payments in money he received large payments in kind, both from his own subjects and from foreigners. Hence he was able to spend vast sums in luxury and display. His great ivory throne, which came to figure so largely in Oriental tradition, was overlaid with pure gold; the shields of his bodyguard and the utensils of his palace

---

[*] The knowledge of the language of birds attributed to Solomon in Jewish, Arabic, and Persian traditions was in Greek mythology ascribed to Tiresias. The Rabbis represented Solomon as the originator of the science and philosophy of the Greeks, Romans, and their successors. Aristotle was supposed to have gained his knowledge of natural history by appropriating Solomon's MSS when Alexander entered Alexandria. The Spanish theologian J. de Pineda, in lib. iii. pp. 111-208 of his *De Rebus Salomonis*, attributes to him mathematical, physical, astronomical, botanical, economic, ethical, and political writings, as well as many scientific discoveries. Theophilus Gale, *Phil. Gener.* § 8, maintains that Pythagoras and Plato got their symbolical and the Stoics their ethical philosophy, Hippocrates his knowledge of medicine, Aristotle of animals, and Theophrastus of plants—*ex Salomonis schola.* How greatly exaggerated, down even to recent times, has been his knowledge of theology may he learned from many of the commentaries published on the 'Song of Solomon,' and even from the 'headings' of our AV of that book.

[*] For an admirable comparative study of Hebrew and Greek proverbial literature see H. Bois, *La Poésie Gnomique chez les Hebreux et les Grecs: Salomon et Theognis*, Toulouse, 1866. A careful comparative study of Hebrew and Egyptian proverbial wisdom is a great desideratum. Wisdom books akin to the Proverbs of the OT, and partly to Ecclesiastes, were produced in Egypt from about B.C. 3500 until about A.D. 200. It cannot reasonably be supposed that in the age of Solomon they were wholly unknown to the Hebrews. The sayings in the oldest of them — the *Instructions* or *Maxims* of Ptahhotep — often strikingly resemble those in *Proverbs.* Before and during the reign of Solomon Egypt was open both to Greeks and Jews. It does not follow that any of the Hebrew Wisdom books were composed in the time of Solomon.

[†] Prideaux's estimate, long generally accepted, was considerably less, viz. £833,000,000. Yet he added, 'the sum is so prodigious, as to give reason to think that the talents whereby the sum is reckoned were another sort of talents of a far less value than the Mosaic talents, of which an account is given in the preface' (*Old and New Testament Connected*, p. 5).

were all of gold. Silver, we are told, was nothing accounted of in his days; he made silver to be in Jerusalem as stones. Such is the account given us of his wealth. What are we to think of it? The statement as to the sum amassed by David for the building of the temple is, of course, incredibly large. The amount of annual revenue assigned to Solomon is not so, although very large. Probably it may have been his income merely for an exceptional year or years. That he was the wealthiest king known to his Hebrew contemporaries may well be believed. But even what is said of his wealth in Kings and Chron. suggests that he was only rich after the fashion of Oriental kings. His golden targes, golden utensils, and throne overlaid with gold, seem to imply that he could find little productive use for his gold. Gold came into circulation as money among the Hebrews only in the time of David, and probably it was little used by them as such in the time of Solomon. Various peoples have passed through a stage in which a pound of gold was willingly exchanged for a pound of silver or even of copper. The Shahs of Persia and Emirs of Scinde were not wealthier than are European monarchs, although they had, as a rule, vastly more treasure in the form of jewels and the precious metals. The value of the material of money depends largely on its purchasing power and rapidity of circulation. Had Solomon's silver, and still more had his gold, much of either? It is not likely that they had. Although he may have made silver as stones 'in Jerusalem,' there is nothing to indicate that it was plentiful outside of Jerusalem. There was gold in abundance at the court and among the king's officers and favourites, but there is no evidence of its having reached the farmers and peasants of Palestine. Probably in the form of money most of it got into the hands of the Phœnicians and other foreign traders. By the great extension of the royal domains during his reign, Solomon must have increased his real wealth more than by the importation of gold; but such enrichment of himself implied the impoverishment of his subjects, and that in a country of very small extent, and of which the real prosperity mainly depended on agriculture. The money spent on magnificent buildings must have been to a large extent wasted. We may believe, therefore, almost all that we are told about the wealth of Solomon, and yet believe also that even his economic policy was foolish, and tended to national bankruptcy and the ruin of his dynasty.

14. Closely connected with the wisdom and wealth of Solomon was his '*fame*' and '*glory*.' The 'fame' of Solomon denoted by the Hebrew words *shēm* (1 K 4^{31}), *shĕmûʿah* (1 K 10^{7}, 2 Ch 9^{6}), and *shēmaʿ* (1 K 10^{1}, 2 Ch 9^{1}),—name, hearing, report,—was, like all fame, an external thing, 'a fancied life in others' breath.' The 'glory' of Solomon, although denoted in the NT by the same term (*doxa*) as 'the glory of the Son of Man,' was a very different kind of glory. It was not glory of the highest order, the glory of essential excellence, but a superficial glory attainable by striving after effect, by the lavish display and expenditure of wealth, by showy talents, by courting popularity, and the like. The glory which Solomon sought for he obtained in an extraordinary measure in his lifetime, and it grew in the course of ages to the most extravagant proportion. Orientals are fond of display and pomp, and doubtless, at least for a lengthened period, Solomon, with his good disposition and brilliant gifts and conspicuous success, must have seemed to his subjects an almost ideal king. He gave Israel a place among the nations which it had never previously held, secured to it peace and prosperity, perfected its organization and administration, and so transformed, adorned, and enriched Jerusalem as to make it appear the central city, the joy and pride of the whole earth. Not only to the Hebrews but to all the peoples of the Semitic world he must have seemed the foremost monarch of the age. His intellectual gifts and acquisitions were so displayed as to cause him to be regarded as a paragon of wisdom, one whose knowledge and judgment had never been equalled, a sage and ruler superior to all others on the earth. Hence we are told many princes and renowned men came from afar to visit him, to see the grandeur of his court, to hear the wisdom of his words, and to pay him homage and present him with gifts. Of all his visitors, the queen of SHEBA naturally made the greatest impression. She was a much more exalted personage than the princes and sheikhs with whom the Israelites were familiar. She came from 'the uttermost parts of the earth' (Mt 12^{42}); came in high state 'with a very great train with camels that bare incense and very much gold and precious stones' (1 K 10^{2}); came, it would appear, attracted purely by the fame of the wisdom, and especially of the religious wisdom, of Solomon; and departed leaving magnificent gifts, confessing that what she had heard was not half of what she had found to be true, and thanking and blessing the God of Israel.

The above is, in substance, all that is related of the famous visit of the Sabæan queen to Solomon; and it is also the origin and basis of all that has been fabled about herself and her visit by the Rabbis, Arabs, Persians, and Abyssinians. Many modern critics pronounce even the Biblical account of it (1 K 10^{1-13}, repeated in 2 Ch 9^{1-12}) to be manifestly legendary. And it may be a legend. There is no historical evidence to the contrary except the clear and positive statement made by Kings. But it is certainly not *manifestly* legendary. Wellhausen, Stade, Klostermann, Benzinger, and other eminent critics all content themselves with mere assertion to that effect.

The fame of the glory of Solomon was largely posthumous. Great as it was among his contemporaries, the whole course of subsequent Hebrew history tended to increase it. After his reign the Hebrew people passed through stages of humiliation and affliction while clinging tenaciously to the belief that they were God's elect and had a glorious future before them. To endure the present, they were always providentially constrained to magnify the past. The more they sank, the more they comforted themselves by thinking of what they had been and imagining what they could be. And the age of Solomon was the golden age of their history, and Solomon himself their most brilliant and renowned king. Hence there was in the OT an idealization of kingship founded on the character of the personality, life, and reign of Solomon, and impelled and guided by a truly Divine inspiration which has been of immense significance to the world. It forms a large and precious portion of Messianic prophecy. The initial impulse to the close connexion of Solomon with it may, perhaps, have been Nathan's promise to David (2 S 7^{11-16} and 1 Ch 17^{10-14}) that J″ would raise up to him a seed that should build up the house of the Lord, and whose kingdom and throne would be established for ever. As soon, however, as we go further we find ourselves in an altogether unreal world. Jewish Rabbis indulged in the most extravagant exaggerations as to the gifts and glory of Solomon. Christian writers followed suit, and showed themselves almost as credulous and inventive.

15. *Religion of Solomon.*—The Biblical historiographers who have treated of the reign of Solomon regarded him as having fallen far short of his father in *piety*. While pronouncing David a man according to God's own heart (1 S 12^{14}, 1 K $11^{33.38}$), they have so spoken of Solomon's death (1 K 11^{43}, 2 Ch 9^{31}) as to have given rise to a long controversy among the Church Fathers as to his salvation.[*]

---

[*] St. Augustine and the Latin Fathers generally pronounced against, and St. Chrysostom and the Greek Fathers in favour of, belief in his salvation. Calmet, in his *Dict.*, *s.v.* 'Salomon, Nouvelle Dissert. de la salut du Salomon,' has collected the opinions. Dante unites him in Paradise with the four great schoolmen, and makes Aquinas thus describe him:—

'The fifth light,
Goodliest of all, is by such love inspired,
That all your world craves tidings of his doom:
Within there is the lofty light, endowed
With sapience so profound, if truth be truth,
That with a ken of such wide amplitude
No second has arisen.'
—*Par*. x. 108-114 (Cary's tr.)

The third line is the rendering of Dante's:

'Che tutto il mondo
Laggiù ne gola di saper novella.'

Now, that Solomon's piety was not so warm and intense as David's is what no one will question, yet that it was in some respects superior may well be maintained, and can even scarcely be denied by any one who attempts to judge of David and Solomon from a Christian standpoint. With good gifts and great qualities, David had terrible defects. While intensely real, his faith in J″ was comparatively crude and unenlightened. Hence his piety was compatible with such horrid deeds as his conduct towards Uriah, his allowing the innocent sons of Saul to be 'hung up unto the Lord in Gibeon' (2 S $21^{5.9}$), and his ruthless treatment of the Moabites (2 S 8^{2}) and Ammonites (2 S 12^{31}).

The memory of Solomon is unstained by such acts. His faith in J″, however otherwise inferior to David's, was so much more rational and ethical as to save him from much which David did. He too had faith in J″, but a considerably different faith, and one implying a higher and worthier conception of J″. The general tendency of his reign was towards spiritual enlightenment. The Solomonic age was not one of spiritual decadence on the whole, but a distinct spiritual advance in important respects on the age of the 'judges' and of the first two kings; and doubtless Solomon contributed more to its being so than any other person. The interest of revelation required a Solomon as well as a Samuel, Saul, or David. David's significance as a king in relation to the Messiah was as a victorious warrior; Solomon's as the prince of peace—no inferior honour. There is no warrant for reckoning Solomon among the sceptics. The son of David could not fail to have been taught to revere and honour J″. The commencement of his reign was marked by a display of ardent piety towards J″, and the expression of humble dependence on His guidance. Throughout his reign he acted as temporal head of the Hebrew theocracy, as chief of the ministers of J″ in Israel. He delighted in the offices of Divine worship. Some have denied, but without apparent proof, that he took part in what have been called distinctly priestly acts—slaying the victims and offering incense. All the other acts of worship—all those which the Hebrew prophets deemed most sacred and spiritual — he is clearly recorded to have performed. In connexion with the building of the temple, he showed his anxiety to render to J″ a worthy expression of gratitude for His kindness towards David and himself. His prayer at the dedication of the temple, the substantial authenticity of which there seems to be no reason to doubt, is one of the grandest devotional utterances to be found in pre-Christian devotional literature.

Solomon evidently desired to render the service in the temple beautiful and impressive, the temple itself the chief and central sanctuary in the land, and Jerusalem not only the royal residence and national capital, but the holy city. He thereby, however, displeased those who disliked changes in religion and preferred the old simplicity and rudeness of worship to innovations. They included probably most of the uncultured tribesmen of the north. The seer AHIJAH was at their head. They may have had a considerable amount of truth and reason as well as piety on their side, but not more than the innovators—Solomon, the priests, and all others who were in favour of progress. The changes introduced by Solomon tended to further the spiritual education of the Jewish people, to suggest to receptive minds among them larger and worthier thoughts of God, and to contribute to the permanence and progressiveness of religion in Israel.

16. *Alleged Apostasy of Solomon.*—The age of Solomon was in the main one of intellectual liberation and religious enlightenment, although to many of his subjects it may have appeared one of scepticism and impiety. That the king abandoned his faith in J″ and became an idolater is difficult to believe, while it is easy to conceive how the *fama* to that effect may have arisen. Solomon built altars for his foreign wives, and allowed them to worship their national gods on earth brought from their native lands and in the language and forms of devotion which were familiar and sacred to them. He did not allow them to proselytize or to attempt to act the part which was afterwards played by Jezebel; and it is even very unlikely, seeing that they were all members of his own household, that he permitted either the cruel or the licentious acts sometimes practised in the worship of certain of their deities. But to Ahijah and his partisans toleration of any worship in Israel except that of J″ appeared tantamount to apostasy from J″, and the worship of a strange god. They necessarily saw therefore in Solomon's conduct proof that his heart was turned away from J″ and given to the foreign gods whom he allowed his wives to worship. They judged of it by a crude and immoral conception of J″, while Solomon himself must have seen in it no treason against J″, and believed it to be reasonable and right. The religious toleration granted by him to his wives was an almost inevitable consequence of his policy of alliances with foreign rulers through marriages. There was, however, apparently no opposition given or offence taken by his subjects either to his polygamy or his marriage with foreign women. They seem to have regarded his multitude of wives complacently as a sign of his wealth and grandeur. In his polygamy he only followed the example, and probably the advice, of his father. Nor was his offence marriage with foreign wives, although he is not recorded to have married any of his own subjects. Perhaps few of them would have been considered suitable wives for so great a king, and marriages with them could have had no political advantages. It was his religious toleration *per se* which was condemned, and held to imply disloyalty to J″ and the worship of other gods.

That he should have been guilty of the apostasy and sin alleged seems incredible and inexplicable on any supposition except one, viz. that his mode of life had left him prematurely worn out both in body and mind, so as to be, even in the fifth decade of his age, in a senile condition, and hardly responsible for his actions. That is little if anything more than a supposition. Yet it seems to be hinted at by the author of 1 K 11^{1-8}, who writes as if willing to excuse and yet unwilling to express himself plainly, when telling us of Solomon's 'cleaving in love to many strange women,' and that 'his heart was turned away after strange gods *when he was old*' (say over fifty years of age). The erotic element in the Song of Songs, so far as it refers to Solomon, is also, perhaps, in this connexion not to be overlooked. The apocryphal book Sirach, while otherwise glorifying Solomon in the most generous manner, distinctly singles out for condemnation his sensuality as 'what stained his honour and polluted his seed, brought wrath on his children, divided Israel, and made Ephraim a rebel kingdom' (42^{19-23}). The censure was fully deserved. However numerous and attractive may have been the gifts and good qualities of Solomon, he had two great faults—self-love and self-indulgence. He was blind to the claims of self-sacrifice and self-restraint, and hence was no wise man in the highest sense, but merely the wisest fool of his day. His harem may suffice for proof. If his wives and concubines together really amounted to a thousand women, it would seem to have been the largest of which there is any record in history. It was doubtless monstrously large, and 'eunuchs' were among the attendants in it. Yet Solomon had only one son, and that son was Rehoboam—'ample,' as Ben Sira says, 'in foolishness and lacking in understanding, who by his counsel let loose the people' (Sir 47[23]). God's violated law of married love clearly avenged itself on Solomon and condemned his polygamy.

17. *Close of Solomon's Career.*—Before his death Solomon had largely lost the popularity which he had enjoyed in the earlier years of his reign. He had overtaxed and overburdened his subjects, and made a lavish and wasteful use of the national resources, and the selfishness which led him to do so had defeated its own ends. He had given offence, in a considerable measure, perhaps unnecessary offence, to the prophets and their adherents and to the Ephraimites generally. But the fame he had acquired could not be forgotten, and he had done too much for Israel to be despised or assailed. His reputation was a part, and a large part, of that of the nation. Hence none of his 'adversaries rose against him.' The recollection of what he had been protected him even against his bitterest enemies among the Ephraimites; and Ahijah himself preached the very strange doctrine that God desired Solomon's sins to be overlooked for David's sake, and Rehoboam punished for the transgressions of Solomon (1 K 11[27-36]). But, even although left unmolested, he must surely, when he began to realize that death was not far away, have looked back on his lengthened reign with great dissatisfaction. He had abundant cause for contrition and regret. He had not been a good shepherd of his people. He had sought his own glory far more than their good. He had preferred low aims to high, and could not fail to be conscious thereof. He had impoverished and oppressed large numbers of his subjects. He had not made Israel a thoroughly consolidated nation, as he might and should have done. He had talked wisdom and practised folly. He had through selfishness failed to take advantage of the precious gifts and grand opportunities for usefulness which J" had granted him. He had professed piety and preached righteousness, yet dishonoured God, degraded himself, and set an evil example to others by his luxury and licentiousness. Looking seriously over his past, he could not but realize that, with all its appearance of splendour, it had been essentially, so far as he was concerned, a deplorable failure, a vanity of vanities, whatever might be made of it by an overruling Providence. He may have been spared the misery of foreseeing that immediately on his death his son would be so foolish as to provoke a disruption of the kingdom, and therefore bring innumerable woes both on Judah and on Israel, but he can hardly have failed to forecast that troublous times for the monarchy were approaching. Throughout almost the whole of his reign the relations between Israel and Egypt had been friendly; by the time of his death the Pharaoh Shishak was meditating war, and five years later he captured Jerusalem, plundered Solomon's temple and palace, and left Rehoboam to substitute shields of brass for his father's shields of gold. The disruption of Israel and Judah was fatal to both, and Solomon even more than Rehoboam was responsible for it. It is not surprising, therefore, that both in Kings and Chronicles, when his death is recorded, he should, notwithstanding all the glory he had gained, receive no word of commendation. All that is said is that 'he slept with his fathers, and was buried in the city of David his father; and Rehoboam his son reigned in his stead' (1 K 11[43], 2 Ch 9[31]).

LITERATURE.—Milman, *Hist. of the Jews* (1866), i. 307 ff.; Stanley, *Hist. of Jewish Church*, ii. 139 ff.; Fr. Newman, *Hist. of Heb. Monarchy*, ch. iv.; the Histories of Ewald (iii. 204 ff.), Stade (1884, p. 374 ff.), A. Köhler (1884, ii. 374 ff.), A. Klostermann (1896, p. 168 ff.), Wellhausen (1897, p. 65 ff.), Guthe (1899, p. 110 ff.), Cornill (1898, p. 86 ff.), Kent (1896, p. 169 ff.), Kittel (ii. 177 ff.), Renan (ii. 96 ff.), Piepenbring (1898, p. 167 ff.); cf. also Winckler, *Altest. Untersuchungen*, (1892) 60 f., (1894) 1 ff.; McCurdy, *HPM* § 205 ff.; B. W. Bacon, 'Solomon in Tradition and in Fact,' in *New World*, June 1898, p. 212 ff.; and articles in Herzog, Riehm, and Schenkel. As regards commentaries, etc., on the sources, see the bibliographical lists appended to articles on KINGS and CHRONICLES.

R. FLINT.

SOLOMON'S PORCH.—See PORCH, and TEMPLE, p. 713[b].

SOLOMON'S SERVANTS (עַבְדֵי שְׁלֹמֹה; LXX usually δοῦλοι Σαλωμών [but see *ad fin.*]).—In the two lists of exiles who returned to Jerusalem from Babylon with Zerubbabel, *the sons of Solomon's servants* are first mentioned immediately after *the Nethinim* (Ezr 2[55-57], Neh 7[57-59]), and then included with them, as though they were subdivisions of the same class: 'All the Nethinim, and the children of Solomon's servants, were three hundred and ninety-two' (Ezr 2[58], Neh 7[60]). At Neh 10[28] the sons of Solomon's servants appear to be included amongst the Nethinim. At Neh 11[3] they are again mentioned along with them; but the parallel list of 1 Ch 9[2] contents itself with using the more familiar of the two titles, as though the person who inserted this list did not distinguish between Nethinim and sons of Solomon's servants. As to their position and functions it will therefore be sufficient to refer to art. NETHINIM.

It is clear from Ezk 44[8f.] that non-Israelites were employed for many menial duties connected with the temple service. The caste of foreigners thus referred to may have originated from the body of forced labourers whom Solomon is said to have used in building the temple and other structures (1 K 9[20, 21]). These would not unnaturally be called Solomon's slaves or servants. After the temple was finished, some of them might be retained for the inferior offices of the house of God, and the title originally bestowed on them would cling to them. In succeeding generations the composition of the class would vary from a number of causes: some families would die out, others would be added from prisoners of war and other sources. Nor is there any difficulty in conceiving of them as holding together in the Exile. We can readily imagine members of the minor orders in the Roman Catholic Church doing so in like circumstances. Torrey (*Comp. and Hist. Value of Ezra-Nehemiah*, p. 40) thinks that the mention of them is simply an instance of the Chronicler's determination to connect every institution belonging to his own day with David and Solomon. But it may fairly be argued that the very lowliness of the title 'Solomon's slaves' is in favour of its genuineness. No body of men would have been willing to bear it if it had been arbitrarily imposed from without in the days of the second temple. But if it were inherited, the disagreeable connotation would be worn off in the process of time.

The remark made respecting the family names of the Nethinim must be repeated here. They indicate a foreign origin. There can have been only a small number of persons in each of the families, as will be seen by dividing the total number by that of the families. The spelling of the names varies slightly in the two lists, but there is no ground for the distinction *Pochereth of Zebaim* (Ezr 2[57]) and *Pochereth Zebaim* (Neh 7[59]) in AV; in both places RV rightly reproduces *Pochereth-hazzebaim.* The Pesh. differs from MT in two points. At Ezr 2[57]—but not at Neh 7[59]—it gets rid of Solomon's servants entirely, reading ܒܢ̈ܝ ܥܒ̈ܕܐ; ܒܢ̈ܝ ܦܘܠܚܢܐ; LXX B has υἱοὶ

'Αβδησέλ, v.^{55}, and *υἱοὶ 'Αβδησελμά*, v.^{58}. At Neh 11^{3} it makes them dwell at Jerusalem, not in the cities of Judah. J. TAYLOR.

SOMEIS (*Σομεεῖς*, AV Samis), 1 Es 9^{34}=Shimei, Ezr 10^{38}.

SOMETIME, SOMETIMES.—These forms are used indiscriminately in AV, and (except Sir 37^{14}) always in the sense of 'once upon a time,' 'formerly.' The Gr. is always *ποτέ*. RV changes in every case: in Wis 5^{3}, Col 3^{7}, Tit 3^{3}, 1 P 3^{20} into 'aforetime'; in Eph 2^{13} 5^{8} into 'once'; in Col 1^{21} into 'in time past.' For the indiscriminate spelling, cf. Melvill, *Diary*, lx., 'He tuik him to rest, and passed ouer that haill day, sum tyme in rest, as it seimed, and sum tymes in paine.' For 'sometime,' meaning 'formerly,' cf. La 1^{1} Cov. 'Alas, how sitteth the cite so desolate, yt some tyme was full of people?'; and for 'sometimes,' Shaks. *Rich. II.* I. ii. 54, 'Thy sometimes brother's wife.' Abbott (*Shaks. Gram.* p. 51) thinks this is the meaning also in *Merch. of Venice*, I. i. 163—

> 'Sometimes from her eyes
> I did receive fair speechless messages.'

In the mod. sense of 'occasionally' the only example in AV is Sir 37^{14} (Gr. *ἐνίοτε*). But that meaning was quite common at the time. Thus Elyot, *Governour*, ii. 225, 'Some tyme it [*fides*] may be called faythe, some tyme credence, other whyles truste'; Tindale, *Expos.* 30, '*Centurion* is a captain of a hundred men; whom I call sometime a centurion, but for the most part a hunder-captain.' J. HASTINGS.

SON.—See FAMILY.

SON OF GOD.—

Use of the title 'Son of God' in—

- I. OT AND JEWISH WRITINGS.
  - 1. OT.—Title applied to:
    - (*a*) angels;
    - (*b*) judges or rulers;
    - (*c*) the theocratic king;
    - (*d*) the theocratic people;
    - (*e*) the Messiah—Ps 89 and Ps 2.
  - 2. Jewish Writings:—
    - (i.) Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.
    - (ii.) The Talmud.
- II. NT.
  - 1. The Gospels.
    - (*a*) Use of the term 'Son of God.'
      - (i.) Incidental uses.
      - (ii.) St. Peter's confession.
      - (iii.) The voice from heaven at the Baptism and at the Transfiguration:
        - (*α*) The textual question.
        - (*β*) Nature of the manifestations.
    - (*b*) The correlative terms 'Father' and 'Son.'
  - 2. Rest of NT.
    - (*a*) The title 'Son of God.'
    - (*b*) The titles 'Father' and 'Son.'
  - Note on the use of *παῖς θεοῦ*.
  - 3. The significance of these titles—
    - (*a*) For contemporaries, Jewish and non-Jewish—
      - (i.) The populace.
      - (ii.) The centurion.
      - (iii.) The ruling classes.
      - (iv.) The disciples.
    - (*b*) For Jesus Himself—
      - (i.) The filial consciousness of Jesus.
      - (ii.) The testimony of the Father.
      - (iii.) Messiahship and Divinity.
      - (iv.) Pre-existence.
    - (*c*) For the Apostles—
      - He 1^{1-3}.
      - Col $1^{(13).15}$.
      - Ro 8^{3}.
  - Note on the origin of the Christian use of the title 'Son of God.'
- III. THE EARLY CHURCH.
  - 1. The sub-Apostolic Fathers.
  - Note on the meaning of 'Son' in the Apostles' Creed.
  - 2. Marcellus of Ancyra.
    - Conclusion.
    - Literature.

I. THE OLD TESTAMENT AND JEWISH WRITINGS.—The history of the term 'Son of God' in the pre-Christian period is the history of a gradual heightening and concentration of meaning in connexion with the culminating point of biblical revelation. The use of the term is at first rather poetic or rhetorical than in the strict sense theological. It is applied to a number of objects in such a way as to invest them with a special dignity and value, or to hint at a special relation of nearness and appreciation on the part of God; but it did not denote any essential partaking in the Divine nature. Only in Christian times does this latter sense come to attach to it.

1. *OLD TESTAMENT.*—In OT the phrase, or something like it, is used of angels, of human judges, of the theocratic king, of the theocratic people, and of the Messiah. It is this last use which is taken up and further developed in Christianity.

(*a*) In the first passage that meets us, Gn $6^{2.4}$ (ascribed to the 9th cent. document J), the term is applied to the race of demigods or *angelic beings* which is conceived as existing before the Flood.

This passage proved rather a stumbling-block to the later Jewish exegesis, and was variously explained. The main body of Septuagint MSS (א B are not extant) tr. literally *οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ* (so also Theodotion). A group, including A, paraphrases this (in v.^{2} but not in v.^{4}) as *οἱ ἄγγελοι*. Aquila tr. still more literally *οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν θεῶν*, leaving an opening, as it would seem, for some such sense as that given in the next paragraph. Symm. interprets less equivocally *οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν δυναστευόντων*, as though the reference was to the profligate sons of the upper or ruling classes. So most Jewish commentators; some, however, with Field (*Hexapla*, i. 22), make the 'sons of God'=the descendants of Seth, and the 'daughters of men'=the descendants of Cain. But there can be little doubt that the sense is as in Job 1^{6} 2^{1} 38^{7}; cf. Ps 29^{1} 89^{6}, and Dn 3^{25}.

(*b*) In one remarkable verse the title seems to be applied to *judges* or *rulers* (Ps 82^{6}), 'I said, Ye are gods; and all of you sons of the Most High' (cf. v.^{1}; also Jn 10^{34}). And in a number of places 'judges' are in some way or other equated with 'gods' (Ex 21^{6} RVm and AV, $22^{8.9}$ RVm and AV, 1 S 2^{25} RVm and AV; in all these places 'God' in RV is lit. 'gods,' '*ĕlōhîm*, according to the familiar idiom).

The origin of this latter usage is not quite clear. It appears to be connected with the fact that judicial or quasi-judicial decisions were given in early times in the form of *oracles* at some sacred place and in the name of the deity.

It is a further question whether or how far Ps 82^{6} was suggested by this usage. That it was so suggested was the older view; and Duhm (*e.g.*) still explains of the Hasmonæan princes; Baethgen, of heathen rulers. But some recent writers, not without precursors in the earlier days of criticism, take more literally: *e.g.* Cheyne, of the 'patron angels' of oppressive heathen nations; Wellhausen (*ad loc.*) and Smend (*AT Theol.* p. 394 ff.), of the gods of these nations. Most commentators compare Ps 58, reading 'O ye gods' in v.^{1}.

(*c*) Of more importance, and indeed on the direct line of Messianic promises, is the designation as applied to the *theocratic king*. For this the leading passage is the assurance given by Nathan to David, 'I will be to him a father, and he shall be to me a son' (2 S 7^{14}). Many other places point back to this, esp. Ps $89^{26.27}$. But these will meet us again under (*e*).

(*d*) Closely associated with the application to the theocratic king is that to the *theocratic people*. For this we go back primarily to Ex 4^{22} 'Thou shalt say unto Pharaoh, Thus saith the LORD, Israel is my son, my firstborn,'—an announcement that seems to have been present to the mind of the prophet Hosea when he wrote, 'When Israel was a child, then I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt' (Hos 11^{1}).

(*e*) If the title 'son' is given both to the theocratic king and to the theocratic people where these are clearly distinguished from each other, still more inevitable was it that the same title would belong to them when the two ideas coalesce into one, as they do in the passages that may be called *more directly Messianic*. Conspicuous among these are Pss 89 and 2.

Ps 89.—This psalm is based upon the promises of 2 S 7, but also in v.^{27} clearly takes up Ex 4^{22}. Hence, while it is agreed that both king and people are in view, opinions differ somewhat as to the degree of prominence to be assigned to each. Cheyne (Comm. on v.^{39}) has 'no doubt that the Davidic king (or rather 'the Davidic royalty') is meant.' But 'the Davidic house has long been overthrown, and the fate of the nation has a more practical interest for the writer, whose description partly fits the king, partly the people, now become the heir of the old Davidic promises.' In *OP* p. 118 he pronounces more decidedly for the 'post-exile Jewish Church' in the Persian period (Artaxerxes II. and III.). Strack points out a close resemblance to the state of things under Josiah; Duhm, to that under Alexander Jannæus (*c.* 88 B.C.). Wellhausen, like Cheyne, explains of the community, which 'in the history of the theocracy succeeded to the place formerly occupied by the kings.'

Ps 2.—Even more central in its bearing upon the history of Christian thought is Ps 2, esp. v.^{7b} 'Thou art my son; this day have I begotten thee'; *i.e.* from the day of thine enthronement I have adopted thee for my own son. Opinion is leaning rather more than it did to the view expressed by Cheyne, that this psalm has not 'a contemporary historical reference' (Cheyne himself thinks that the writer 'throws himself back' into the age of David or Solomon, to which, according to Strack, he belongs). What might be called the most modern view is concisely stated by Wellhausen (*PB*, 'Psalms,' *ad loc.*): 'The Messiah is the speaker, and the whole psalm is composed in His name. It is not merely the hopes concerning the future to which he gives expression; it is the claims to world-wide dominion already cherished by the Jewish Theocracy. All the heathen are destined to obey the Jews; if they fail to do so, they are rebels. The Messiah is the incarnation of Israel's universal rule. He and Israel are almost identical, and it matters little whether we say that Israel *has* or *is* the Messiah. . . . On the day when JHVH founded the Theocracy, He gave it the right to unlimited earthly dominion. This right is involved in the very idea of the Theocracy. Zion, as being the seat of the Divine rule, is, *ipso facto*, the seat of universal rule.'

It will be seen how the most advanced science of our time is by degrees giving back a full equivalent for the old naïve conception that would make the passages above quoted direct unmediated predictions of the personal Messiah. As applied to the Messiah these prophecies are not unmediated. The steps are one thing, the shrine to which they lead is another. The Scriptures of which we have been speaking mark so many separate contributions to the total result; but the result, when it is attained, has the completeness of an organic whole. A Figure was created—projected as it were upon the clouds—which was invested with all the attributes of a person. And the minds of men were turned towards it in an attitude of expectation. It makes no matter that the lines of this Figure are drawn from different originals. They meet at last in a single portraiture. And we should never have known how perfectly they meet if we had not had the NT picture to compare with that of OT. The most literal fulfilment of prediction would not be more conclusive proof that all the course of the world and all the threads of history are in one guiding Hand.

2. *JEWISH WRITINGS.*—Ps 2, as it has been rightly observed, stands at the head of a long line of subsequent development. The conception of the Messiah as also 'Son' became a fixed part of the tradition, not perhaps quite so widely extended as might have been expected,—it does not figure at all largely in the Talmud,—and yet sufficiently attested in those forms of Judaism which present the nearest affinities to Christianity.

(i.) *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.*—The title 'Son' as applied to the Messiah occurs only once in the Book of Enoch (105^2) in a passage the origin and date of which are uncertain. It does not occur at all in Apoc. of Baruch. But in 4 Ezra (2 Esdras) it seems to be fairly well established. This book is lost in the original (Gr. or Heb. ?), but is preserved in no fewer than five versions, Lat., Syr., Æth., Arab. (two forms), Arm., which are commonly supposed to rank in this order, though the subject has not yet been thoroughly investigated.

The text printed in our Bibles is from the Latin. In 7$^{28.29}$ this version has evidently passed through Christian hands; Syr. has twice and Arab. once 'my Son Messiah,' Æth. once 'my Servant Messiah' (perhaps = παῖς), and Arm. once 'the Messiah of God.' From this rough statement, which can hardly be pursued into close detail, it will be seen that there is some doubt. In 13^{32} and ^{37} Lat. Syr. Arab., and in 13^{52} Lat. Syr. identically, and Æth. Arab. approximately, all have 'Son,' which, however, does not appear in the Armenian. A like relation is found in 14^9, where Lat. Syr. Æth. codd. Arab. have 'Son'; Æth. codd. 'sons,' while Arm. drops and paraphrases. The edd., including Hilgenfeld and Gunkel in Kautzsch, *Apokr. u. Pseudepig. d. AT*, read 'Son' in all these places; but the reading cannot be regarded as quite secure (cf. Drummond, *Jewish Messiah*, pp. 285–288).

The strongly Messianic passage in Ps-Sol 17$^{23-51}$ has not the title 'Son,' but clearly borrows from Ps 2 in v.^{26}.

(ii). *The Talmud.*—Apart from the above instances there is not much evidence for the Messianic interpretation of Ps 2 in the Rabbinic literature. Dalman (*Worte Jesu*, p. 222) gives three examples of this, one dating *c.* 240 and another *c.* 350 A.D.

Two other comments quoted by him are of some interest. The Midrash on Ps 2^{12} concludes thus: 'To whom is this like? To a king who is wroth with his subjects, and the subjects go and make their peace with the king's son, that he may make peace for them. Then when the subjects go to give thanks to the king, he saith to them: Would ye give thanks to me? Go and give them to my son; since, but for him, I should long ago have blotted out the people. So saith God to the nations of the world when they would give thanks to him. Go thank the children of Israel, for without them ye would not have continued for a single hour.'

A late comment in Midr. *Tehill.* ii. 7 is expressly directed against the Christian interpretation: 'From this passage (Ps 2^7) an answer may be given to the Minim (Christians) who say the Holy One—blessed be He—has a Son, and thou canst reply to them: it does not mean "A Son art Thou to Me," but "Thou art My Son"; like a servant whom his master encourages by saying to him, "I love thee as my son!"' Although this is set down as 'very late,' it is just the interpretation that would be natural to a Jew.

II. THE NEW TESTAMENT.—In passing over to NT it is important to observe that we should not form an adequate conception of the significance of the title 'Son of God' if we were to confine ourselves to the use of that title alone. It is true that it occurs in some central passages, and true that in these passages the phrase is invested with great depth of meaning. But we should not adequately appreciate this depth, and still less should we understand the mass and volume of NT teaching on this head, if we did not directly connect with the explicit references to the 'Son of God' that other long series of references to God as pre-eminently 'the Father,' and to Christ as pre-eminently 'the Son.' These two lines of usage are really convergent. And we must first consider them separately before we bring them together. It has seemed best first to collect and sift the evidence before seeking to penetrate further into its meaning.

1. *THE GOSPELS.*—(*a*) *Use of the term 'Son of God.'*—The use of this term is perhaps more sparing than we might suppose. And the number of instances on which we can really lay stress will be found to shrink somewhat on examination.

(i.) *Incidental uses.*—Only in the Fourth Gospel (5^{25} 9^{35} [*var. lect.*] 10^{36} 11^4) is the title 'Son of God' used by our Lord expressly of Himself. And although three at least of the places in which it is described as used of Him are of salient importance, this is not the case with others. Instances like Mk 1^{1} (where the reading is also not quite certain), Jn 3^{18} 20^{31} belong to the evangelists, and are therefore evidence for a later stage of belief than that of the narrative. And we must allow for the possibility that to this later stage are really to be assigned words such as those ascribed to the Baptist in Jn 1^{34} and to Nathanael in Jn 1^{49}. Nor can we be too confident as to the exact wording of the discourses or sayings in Jn 3^{18} 5^{25} 9^{35} [*v.l.*] 10^{36} 11^{4}. St. John, even more than the other evangelists, was so intensely absorbed in his own belief in the Godhead of Christ that it was natural to him to antedate expressions which really would be exceptional at the time to which they are referred. Even in the First Gospel (Mt 14^{33} 26^{63}) the absence of the phrase from the Synoptic parallels must cast some doubt upon its originality.

On the other hand, in the cases of the demoniacs (Mk 3^{11} ‖ 5^{7} ‖) and of the centurion at the Cross (Mk 15^{39} ‖) the attestation indeed is excellent, but we cannot deduce anything very tangible (see below, 3 (*a*)).

(ii.) *St. Peter's Confession.*—We cannot be surprised if by an application of similar critical methods some scholars (*e.g.* Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, p. 224) should also cancel the phrase in the more important connexion of Mt 16^{16}. Here, in the version of Matthew, Peter's confession runs: 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God'; where Mark has only, 'Thou art the Christ,' and Luke 'The Christ of God.' And no doubt it follows from this that the Marcan document had no more than our present Gospel. Still this passage is not really on all fours with the others that have come before us. For the context clearly proves that Matthew had before him some further tradition, possibly that of the *Logia*, but in any case a tradition that has the look of being original. Whether this originality extends to the whole phrase may be more than we could assert positively, but to the present writer it appears to be probable that it does. We should more easily understand the apostolic use of the title 'Son of God' if there had been precedents for it on important occasions like this, when it is represented as receiving the sanction of Christ Himself. The whole phrase as it stands, including the epithet 'living God,' calls up such a host of OT associations, and at one step sets the confession so conspicuously in its place amid the whole series of biblical revelations, that we may be loth to let it go.

(iii.) *The voice from heaven at the Baptism and Transfiguration.*—The next two places that we have to deal with are encircled, like the last, with critical considerations. It may be well first to state the textual facts, so that the reader may have the evidence fully before him.

a. *The textual question.*—

THE BAPTISM :—

Mt 3^{17} *καὶ ἰδοὺ φωνὴ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν λέγουσα· Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητὸς ἐν ᾧ εὐδόκησα.*

Mk 1^{11} *καὶ φωνὴ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν· Σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν σοὶ εὐδόκησα.*

Lk 3^{22} . . . *καὶ φωνὴν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ γενέσθαι· Σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν σοὶ εὐδόκησα.*

Σὺ εἶ, κ.τ.λ. *codd. Græc. et verss.* (*inc.* Syr. Sin.) *fere omn.*

Υἱός μου εἶ σύ (+ ἀγαπητός, Clem. Alex.). ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε, D a b c ff^{2} * l r.

Hanc lectionem quasi evangelicam agnoscunt (*nisi psalmum alicubi respiciant*), Just. Mart., Clem. Alex., Method., Juvenc., Tycon., Aug. *Habet etiam*, Ev. Ebionit. *ap.* Epiph. 1/2.

THE TRANSFIGURATION :—

Mt 17^{5} *καὶ ἰδοὺ φωνὴ ἐκ τῆς νεφέλης λέγουσα· Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητὸς ἐν ᾧ εὐδόκησα· ἀκούετε αὐτοῦ.*

Mk 9^{7} *καὶ ἐγένετο φωνὴ ἐκ τῆς νεφέλης· Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητος, ἀκούετε αὐτοῦ.*

Lk 9^{35} *καὶ φωνὴ ἐγένετο ἐκ τῆς νεφέλης λέγουσα· Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἐκλελεγμένος, αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε.*

We may also compare Ac 13^{33} . . . *ἀναστήσας Ἰησοῦν, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ ψαλμῷ γέγραπται τῷ δευτέρῳ* (*v.l.* *ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ψαλμῷ γέγρ.*)· *Υἱός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε.* Cf. He 1^{5} 5^{5}.

The main question here is as to the reading of Lk 3^{22}: *ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε* is clearly Western, with strong Latin support, though even here the whole family is not included, e f going the other way; the absence of Syriac evidence is also important. The natural inference would be that the reading, although, no doubt, very ancient, was not really primitive. And when we think how strong the temptation would be to assimilate the text of the Gospel to that of the psalm, and how readily this latter text would fall in with ideas that are known to have been current in the 2nd cent., the presumption against its originality is increased. In any case Luke is the only Gospel affected. The agreement of Matthew and Mark is sufficient guarantee that the reading found in them was found also in the common Synop. document. Luke can at most represent only a separate tradition, which hardly in this instance carries with it so much weight as the others.

If the common reading is to be preferred, then the first half of the words presents a coincidence with Ps 2^{7}, the second half with Is 42^{1}. The words heard at the Transfiguration also present a general resemblance to Ps 2. That psalm is directly quoted in Acts and Hebrews.

β. *The nature of the Manifestations.*—It is characteristic of the OT prophets that the revelations made to them sometimes took the form of remarkable sights and sometimes of remarkable sounds. At least these are the terms in which they are described to us; what exactly were the psychological phenomena corresponding it is beyond our power to say. They belong to the peculiar experience of the Hebrew prophets. The Jewish notions about the *Bath Ḳôl* are an extension of the same idea (Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*^{3} p. 194 f.).

It is natural to suppose that the manifestations at the Baptism and at the Transfiguration were similar in kind. It is possible that they were known only to Jesus Himself, perhaps in the one case also to the Baptist, and in the other to one or more of the apostles who possessed the prophetic endowment. Through such a channel as this the Divine approval of the Son was in all probability communicated to men. The significance of this Divine testimony will come before us later.

(*b*) *The correlative terms 'Father' and 'Son.'*—We are told (Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, p. 156) that it is contrary to Jewish usage to speak of God as 'Father' absolutely without some such addition as 'who is in heaven.' The only exceptions occur in prayers. It also appears that great care and reserve were used in the application of this title generally. The Targums, where they have occasion to refer to it, adopt a paraphrase.

In this respect the Gospels show a marked contrast. Our Lord does, indeed, make use of the Jewish form (which is found most frequently in Matthew, but cf. also Mk 11^{26}, Lk 11^{13}); and it is probable enough that the real instances of this use may have been more numerous than would appear from our Gospels.

At the same time the Christian use goes far beyond the Jewish limitations. And besides the general use as applied to the disciples, there is a special use in which our Lord reserves it in a peculiar manner to Himself. He nowhere speaks of '*our* Father,' numbering Himself with His followers. The Lord's Prayer is not an exception, because it is a form prescribed to the disciples, and constructed entirely for them. The prayers of the Son to the Father are different.

On the other hand, our Lord constantly speaks of 'my Father,' whether with (Mt 7^{21} 10^{32} 15^{13} 16^{17} $18^{10.\ 19.\ 35}$) or without addition. And this use apparently goes back even to His childhood (Lk 2^{49}).

The use in question is illustrated in a number of ways. So in the parable of the Wicked Husbandmen, where the 'beloved son' (Mk 12^{6}), who is also 'heir,' is distinguished from all other messengers. So again in the parable of the Marriage Feast, which the king makes for his son (Mt 22^{2});

where, though the parallel in Lk 14^{16} may point to this description as added later, the instance just given would at least show that it lay near at hand; and some further support is given to it by the part played by the 'bridegroom' in the parable of the Ten Virgins.

In any case the whole argument of Mt 17^{25} turns on the distinction between 'son' and 'stranger.' And the point of the discussion about Ps 110^{1} (Mk 12^{35-37}) is just to prove that the Messiah is not 'son of David' in the same sense in which other members of his lineage are spoken of as sons. We shall have occasion to come back to some of these passages presently.

We observe in our Lord's use of the titles 'Father' and 'Son' in connexion with Himself an ascending scale. First, there are the places where He speaks of God as His heavenly Father, or Father in heaven, after ordinary Jewish usage (Mt 7^{21} etc., see above). Then there are the places where He speaks of God as 'my Father' without addition, which are too numerous to need specification. Then we come to a smaller number of passages in which 'the Son' and 'the Father' are at once opposed and associated. And lastly, there are the cases in which mention is made of 'the Father' and 'the Son,' where the correlation is not expressed but implied. The last two classes of passages alone will require some discussion.

The classical passage in the Synoptic Gospels for the correlative use of 'the Father' and 'the Son' is, of course, Mt 11^{27} ‖. By the side of this we have Mk 13^{32} ‖ [*v.l.*] and the important and much debated verse Mt 28^{19}.

Dalman (see pp. 231–235) allows the first of these passages to stand, explaining it as a figurative application of the relation of 'father and son.' The relation of Jesus to Him whom we call 'the Father' is such a relation, and therefore implies mutual knowledge. But the other places, he thinks, bear too close a resemblance to the theological language of the Early Church; and he would set them down, in their present form, to the reflex influence of that language. He questions the use by our Lord Himself of either phrase as a theological term. And this kind of view is, no doubt, widely spread in critical circles.

Now, in the first place, we note that the passages just referred to are not the only evidence for bringing the use in question within the cycle of Synoptic language. We may fairly add to these for this purpose Ac $1^{4.7}$ 2^{33}; for not only is the author of Acts the author also of one of our Synoptic Gospels, but it is probable that these early chapters are based upon a document that is very much upon the same level with the sources used in the Synoptics.

Next, we observe that if the use of 'the Father' and 'the Son' as theological terms belongs to the Early Church, it at least goes back to the very first moment at which we possess contemporary evidence for the vocabulary of that Church, and indeed to a date which is not more than 23 years from the Ascension (see 1 Th 1^{1}). And at the time when we thus first meet with it the use is no novelty, but already firmly and deeply rooted, a thing generally understood in all the Pauline Churches, and, so far as we can see, without any hint of question or dispute beyond their borders. As we shall have to illustrate this more at length in the next section, we need not pursue the point further.

These facts demand an explanation. How are we to account for the rapid growth within some 23 to 26 years of a usage already so fixed and stereotyped? Where is the workshop in which it was fashioned, if it did not descend from Christ Himself? When we think of the way in which the best authenticated records of His teaching lead us up to the very verge of the challenged expressions, it seems altogether an easier step to regard them as the natural continuation of that teaching than to seek their origin wholly outside it. Of the two alternatives the former seems not only in other ways the more satisfactory, but really the easier and the more critical.

2. *THE REST OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.*—The same two convergent lines of doctrine may be traced in the rest of the NT as in the Gospels. Here again we have two groups of passages, the one introducing the title 'Son of God,' and the other speaking rather of 'the Father' and 'the Son.' And here again we find the two groups approach and mutually support each other.

The main difference between the Gospels and the rest of the literature is that, whereas we have seen that in the Gospels there is an ascending scale of expression, corresponding to the gradual unfolding of the new conception in the course of the history, in the Epistolary and other books (which though, as writings, for the most part earlier than the Gospels in point of composition, are later than them in the stage of development to which they have reference),—in these books the process reflected in the Gospels is seen as complete. Both titles, or sets of titles, 'Son of God' and 'Father and Son,' have come to represent definite *theologumena*. Their content is fixed, and carries with it a distinct doctrinal meaning. The climax to which we have been advancing has been reached, and now simply perpetuates itself. The point gained is not lost again.

(*a*) *The title 'Son of God.'*—We open the Epistle which stands at the head of the collection in our Bibles, and the state of belief implied in it is revealed to us in the very first verses (Ro 1^{1-4}). We read there that the main subject of the Gospel, or new announcement to mankind, is just this, 'the Son of God.' And the nature of the announcement respecting Him is, that while on one side of His Being He satisfies the conditions expected in the Jewish Messiah by His descent from David, on another side of His Being He is defined or marked out as attaining to a higher designation still. He is nothing less than 'Son of God.' And the incontrovertible proof of His higher nature is to be seen in His victory over death by the Resurrection.

The term 'Son of God' is evidently by this time chosen and established as the standing formula to express what we mean by the *Divinity of Christ*. If in the OT the term did not necessarily imply Divine origin in the strict sense at all, that state of things has once for all been left behind; and this particular formula has been fixed upon by the Christian consciousness as the shortest and most decisive expression for the proposition in which its whole faith centres.

The inference which we thus draw from the opening verses of Ep. to Romans is confirmed on all hands, and shown to hold good for every branch of the Church. We need not stay to illustrate it further from such passages as Gal 2^{20}, Eph 4^{13} for the Epp. of St. Paul. But Ac 9^{20} shows that to preach 'that Jesus is the Son of God' was a current way of describing the gospel. A like result follows from 1 Jn 3^{8} (where 'the Son of God was manifested' is a name for what was afterwards called 'the Incarnation'), and 1 Jn 4^{15} $5^{5.10.13}$ prove clearly that the confession of Jesus as the Son of God was the cardinal point in the Christian faith. Somewhat more indirectly the same conclusion follows from He 4^{14} 10^{29} and Rev 2^{18} (taking up the description of 1^{13-16}). The Gospel of St. John ($1^{14.18}$) identifies the Only-begotten with the Logos of God.

(*b*) *The titles 'Father' and 'Son.'*—In the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel we are in the region of high theology. But the fundamental assumptions of the Epistles (Pauline, Petrine, Johannean, Hebrews) are on the same plane. From the first we have in the greetings of such as begin with greetings frequent reference to the standing correlatives 'the Father' and 'the Son.' There never was a time within the range of this literature when the two correlative terms were not understood and accepted as part of the essential vocabulary of Christianity.

When, therefore, we read in Mt 28^{19} the command to baptize in the name of the Father and the Son, this combination is one proved to have been in common use less than 25 years after the command is said to have been given; and the complete triad is proved to have been recognized very little later.

We repeat that the matured form in which these conceptions are found in the earliest Epistles seems to us abundantly to justify not only the few places in which they enter into the Synoptic Gospels, but, *in principle* at least, the more numerous places in which they occur in the Gospel that bears the name of St. John (see below, 3 *b* i).

Note on the use of παῖς θεοῦ.—We must reckon with the possibility that παῖς (θεοῦ) in Ac $3^{13.\ 26}$ $4^{27.\ 30}$ was intended to be taken in the sense of 'Son.' It certainly has this sense in a number of places in the Apostolic Fathers (see below, III. 1). It is, however, more probable that (as in Mt 12^{18}) the earlier writers distinctly have in view the 'Servant of Jehovah' of Is 42^{1} etc. Only when the preaching of the gospel left Jewish ground and began to spread among peoples ignorant of Heb. were the two senses wholly confused. This process, indeed, was rapid; and the effect was so far good that it blended with the conception of Christ as 'Son' a quantity of valuable teaching relating to the 'Servant' which was most truly applicable to Him (though under another name), and which, but for this, might have met with less attention. On the passages in Acts see esp. an excellent note by Knowling on Ac 3^{13}; cf. also what is said by the same writer on 'St. Peter's Discourses,' p. 119 ff.

3. *THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THESE TITLES.*—We have now collected most of the data bearing upon our subject. The next step must be to consider their significance under the different conditions in which we have found the titles used. In other words, we shall have to ask what they really meant, in the fulness of their meaning, (*a*) for the contemporaries of Jesus, both Jewish and non-Jewish; (*b*) for Jesus Himself; (*c*) for the apostles, looking back upon and interpreting them.

(*a*) *For contemporaries, Jewish and non-Jewish.*—(i.) *The populace.*—Not much can be extracted from the witness of the demoniacs (Mk 3^{11} ‖ 5^{7} ‖). If we read into it a higher meaning than the words conveyed to the mind of the speaker, it could only be by assuming a providential action outside the working of ordinary laws. The prophecy of Caiaphas (Jn 11^{49-52}) is perhaps sufficiently parallel to justify us in introducing this; and it is a common belief that, where the human will is most dormant, Divine influences are felt most readily. But, looked at psychologically, the confessions of the demoniacs could not mean more than that they believed themselves to be in the presence of the expected Messiah.

(ii.) *The centurion.*—In spite of the divergent report of the words of the centurion at the cross in Lk 23^{47}, there can be little doubt that the common source of the Synoptic narrative is rightly reproduced by Mark and Matthew, 'Truly this was the Son of God.' As, however, there is no obvious reason why Luke should have altered this, and as there are other details in the history of the Passion for which he appears to have independent authority, it is possible that another version of the words may have reached him; and that version may have as good a chance of being true as that which competes with it. If the words 'Son of God' were really used, the sense attaching to them would depend to some extent on the nationality of the centurion, in regard to which we are in the dark. Probably what was in his mind would be an undefined feeling of awe, and a consciousness that events were happening that transcended his experience and apprehension.

(iii.) *The ruling classes.*—The question was directly put to our Lord by the high priest, 'Art thou the Christ, the Son of the Blessed?' (Mk 14^{61}). And the assenting answer was treated as blasphemy. Still, it would not follow that this was taken as an assertion of full Divinity. It probably was taken as a claim to be the Messiah. But if the Jews in general thought of the Messiah as superhuman indeed, but not strictly Divine, the high priest (unless it were by such an overruling as we have considered above) is not likely to have meant more than this. The claim might well seem so audacious as to amount to blasphemy even without this aggravation (cf. Holtzmann, *Neutest. Theol.* i. 266), more especially as it includes the prophecy of a second coming as Judge.

(iv.) *The disciples.*—The highest point of recognition of our Lord's true nature was no doubt reached in St. Peter's confession. We have seen that there is some presumption (the extent of which we would not exaggerate, though it seems to us real) that St. Peter did actually use the words attributed to him by Matthew. If so, 'the Son of the living God' would be stronger still than the more common phrase without the epithet. Not only (as we have suggested) does this at once bring before the mind a whole mass of most central OT teaching, but by the very fact of varying from and adding to the current phrase it prepares us for a variation from and addition to the meaning. 'The Son' is emphatically taken out of the common category of all others who may be described as 'sons.' And, 'the Son of the living God' is as much as to say 'the Son of Jehovah Himself,' the God of Revelation and Redemption, and the expression of His Personal Being. We are on the way towards the ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης καὶ χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως of He 1^{3}.

(*b*) *For Jesus Himself.*—But the question that concerns us most is, of course, What sense did the title and its equivalents bear for Jesus Himself? And here again we shall have to regard the question from several distinct points of view. We shall do well to look at it, (i.) in the light of our Lord's own filial consciousness; (ii.) in the light of the external testimony borne to Him by the Father; (iii.) with reference to the two distinct things, Messiahship and Divinity; (iv.) and lastly, with reference to the extent to which the Divine Sonship is to be carried back behind the Incarnation.

(i.) *The filial consciousness of Jesus.*—We have expressed our reluctance to speak too freely of the human consciousness of our Lord (art. JESUS CHRIST, ii. 603). But there can be no question that the central constituent in that consciousness was the complete and unclouded sense of the filial relation, evidenced at once by perfect mutuality of knowledge between the Son and the Father, and perfect submission and response on the part of the Son to the Father's will. On this head it may be said that critics of all shades are agreed (see, *e.g.*, Holtzmann, *Neutest. Theol.* i. 281 f., with numerous authorities quoted on p. 282; also Harnack, *What is Christianity?* p. 127 ff.).

But, that being so, it is rather strange that the references to this filial relation in the Synoptic Gospels should be so comparatively few. It is indeed implied in the many places in which (as we have seen) Jesus speaks of '*My* Father' in a sense peculiar to Himself. But, apart from these, there are but two conspicuous passages in which the relation in question is described. On the side of action we have the supreme 'obedience unto death' of Mk 14^{36} || 'Abba, Father, all things are possible unto thee; remove this cup from me: howbeit not what I will, but what thou wilt': with which we may compare the intimacy of inward converse throughout the Passion (Lk 23^{34}. [*v.l.*] ^{46}). And on the side of knowledge we have the one great passage, Mt 11^{27} 'No one knoweth the Son, save the Father; neither doth any know the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal him.' It is in consequence of this relation that 'all things have been delivered' unto the Son by the Father (*ib.*), and that whosoever receives the Son receives really the Father who sent Him (Mk 9^{37} ||).

In the Synoptic Gospels, with these few exceptions, the filial relation is rather felt as an underlying presupposition of the narrative than directly expressed in it. But when we turn to the Fourth Gospel, what has been hitherto of the nature of incidental comment or implication becomes nothing less than a standing theme, worked out in great variety of detail.

The Son is come forth from God, from the Father (Jn 13^3 $16^{27.28}$); He is not come of Himself, but is sent by God (8^{42} 17^8); and as He comes forth from God, so also He returns to God (13^3 16^{28}). He is come in the Father's name (5^{43}); not to seek His own will, but the will of Him that sent Him (5^{30} 6^{38} 14^{31} 17^{16}); to do that will is the support and stay, the ruling function, of His whole being (4^{34}). It follows that the Son does not seek His own glory but the Father's (7^{18} 8^{50} 17^4); and, as the converse of this, He does not glorify Himself, but is glorified by the Father (12^{28} 13^{32} 17^5), though the Father is glorified in the Son. The acts of the Son are really the acts of the Father, the natural expression of that perfect intimacy in which they stand to each other ($5^{19.20}$ 8^{29} $10^{25.37.38}$). The reciprocity between them is complete, it is seen in the perfection of their mutual knowledge (7^{29} 8^{19} 10^{15} 17^{25}); so that the teaching of the Son is really the teaching of the Father (7^{16} $8^{26.28.38}$ $12^{49.50}$ $14^{10.24}$ 15^{15}). [It is important to note that the after-teaching of the Spirit comes under the same description; He too will 'not speak from himself; but what things soever he shall hear, these shall he speak' (16^{13}; cf. 15^{15})]. Hence the life and character and words of the Son, taken as a whole, constitute a revelation of the Father such as had never been given before (6^{46} 14^{7-10}; cf. $1^{14.18}$). The great fundamental fact is that the Son is *in* the Father and the Father *in* Him (10^{38} 14^{11} 17^{21}); or, in other words, the Son and the Father are one (10^{30}); a claim which the Jews appear to have understood, for they accused our Lord of 'making himself equal with God' (5^{18}).

It was but another aspect of His filial relation that the Son was the object of the Father's unwavering and unfailing love (Jn 3^{35} 5^{20} 10^{17} $15^{9.10}$ $17^{23.24.26}$; cf. 11^{41} 14^{23}); that the Father bears witness to Him (5^{37} 8^{18} 12^{30}) [and we observe here again that the witness which is borne to the Son by the Father is also borne by the Spirit (15^{26})]; or, to use a summary Jewish expression, 'him the Father, even God, hath sealed' (6^{27}). Nor is it surprising that the prerogatives of the Father are committed to the Son (3^{35} 13^3 16^{15} 17^7), more particularly the prerogative of judgment ($5^{22.27}$ 9^{39}), and the power of both possessing and imparting life (5^{26} 11^{25} $14^{6.19}$ 17^2; cf. 1^4); or that the Son is to be honoured as the Father is honoured (5^{23}; cf. $15^{23.24}$); or that mankind are invited to 'come' to the Son as the source of all highest nourishment (4^{14} 6^{35} 7^{37}), and as the way to the Father ($6^{37.44.45}$ 14^6).

It is open to us, if we will, to think that in this collection of sayings there is an element—possibly a somewhat considerable element—that represents not so much what was actually spoken as enlargement or comment embodying the experience and reflexion of the growing Church. It is open to us, if we will, to think that the part played by such sayings in the Gospel is proportionately greater than they would have seemed to bear to any average disciple who had heard the Lord. That it should be so would be perfectly consistent with the Gospel being the work of an apostle. It would be the natural and deliberate result of his setting himself to write a πνευματικὸν εὐαγγέλιον, the object of which was not so much to furnish a photographic reproduction of the events as to fill up gaps and deficiencies in the records of preceding evangelists. But, when every deduction is made, the fact remains that sayings of this character there most certainly were; and not only so, but on the showing of the most critical of critics they supplied the real keynote to the whole history. A scientific examination of the Gospels, whatever else it brings out, brings out this, that the root-element in the consciousness of Jesus was a sense of Sonship to the Divine Father, deeper, clearer, more intimate, more all-embracing and all-absorbing, than ever was vouchsafed to a child of man.

(ii.) *The testimony of the Father.*—We have spoken so far of what might be called the subjective consciousness of Jesus. As much at least as this not only follows from the logic of the history, but is distinctly revealed to us—in the Synoptic Gospels sufficiently, in the Fourth Gospel abundantly. But to this subjective conviction on His part the narratives tell us that there was also added an objective confirmation. The confirmation was given in the two voices at the Baptism and at the Transfiguration (Mk 1^{11} || 9^7 ||), and also—if we take in St. John—by the voice heard at the visit of the Greeks (Jn 12^{28}). How are we to explain these utterances?

If the narratives are well founded, we are not limited in our explanation by any inquiry as to the current contemporary interpretation of such texts as Ps 2^7, Is 42^1, Dt 18^{15}, however much the words said to have been spoken contain reminiscences of or allusions to those texts. For the hearing of the voices was what might be called a prophetic hearing. The probability is, as we have hinted above (p. 572^b), that just as on the third occasion, while the crowd said, 'It thundered,' or 'An angel spake to him,' either in the first instance the Baptist, or in the second instance the three apostles, or perhaps in all three, Jesus Christ Himself alone was aware of something that conveyed a more articulate sense than this. But in any case the sense thus conveyed was conveyed to the spiritual ear by a method analogous to that of prophetic inspiration.

And if, on the occasions in question, the Spirit of God did intimate prophetically to chosen witnesses, more or fewer, a revelation couched partly in the language of the ancient Scriptures, it would by no means follow that the meaning of the revelation was limited to the meaning of those older Scriptures. On the contrary, it would be likely enough that the old words would be charged with new meaning—that, indeed, the revelation contained in them, though linking on to some message of the past, would yet be in substance a new revelation.

We have seen that the ancient Scriptures of which we are speaking contributed, each in its way, to create that Ideal Figure which, in dimensions varying with the apprehending eye and mind, hovered before the imaginations of the contemporaries of Jesus. To Jesus Himself it reached the fullest dimensions of which it was capable. And we may assume that to His mind the announcement 'Thou art my Son' meant not only all that it had ever meant to the most enlightened of seers in the past, but, yet more, all that the response of His own heart told Him that it meant in the present.

It might well content us to put into the words this, and no more. But it is possible, and we should be justified in supposing—not by way of dogmatic assertion, but by way of pious belief—in view of the later history and the progress of subsequent revelation, that the words were intended to suggest a new truth not hitherto made known, viz. that the Son was Son not only in the sense of the Messianic King, or of an Ideal People, but that the idea of Sonship was fulfilled in Him in a way yet more mysterious and yet more essential; in other words, that He was Son, not merely in prophetic contemplation but in actual transcendent fact, before the foundation of the world.

(iii.) *Messiahship and divinity.*—This last possibility brings us to the question, which in any case we shall have to face: What exactly is the meaning of the title 'Son of God'? There is no doubt that it means the expected Messiah,—that at least. But how much more does it mean than that? In particular, does it mean *the Son as incarnate*, or does it go behind and beyond the Incarnation?

We reserve the last part of this question for a moment. In the meantime we must attempt to define rather more exactly the relation of the title 'Son of God' to the conception of the Messiah. In the popular mind, at the period with which we are concerned, the two things would be simply identical. But, as we so constantly see, our Lord was not content merely to take a popular idea with the conventional stamp upon it. In His hands the popular idea is nearly always remoulded, renewed, brought into harmony with some fresh and powerful reality, and reissued with the signature of that reality.

He had done this with the title SON OF MAN. For the author of the Similitudes in the Book of Enoch and for those who inherited his tradition, the Son of Man was just the Messiah as Judge. But our Lord went back to the original sources of the title, Dn 7[13] and Ps 8[4]; and He thus brought it into living contact with the conception of Man as Man. In His lips it was the Messiah as Man, the perfect Man, in the sense of being *more man*—more completely embodying in Himself the essence of all that went to make man, more utterly in touch with everything in man—than any who had ever borne the name of man before.

So, too, with the title 'Son of God.' Its meaning was very far from being exhausted by the holding of a certain office or function, such as that of the Messiah. For Jesus the phrase means the absolute fulness of all that it ought to mean—the perfection of Sonship in relation to God; in a word, just all that sum of relations and habitudes of feeling and thought and action that we have seen so amply set before us in the Gospel of St. John. It is the picture of a mind lying open without flaw or impediment to the stream of Divine love pouring in upon it, and responding to that love at once with exquisite sensitiveness and with entire completeness. It is indeed the very perfection of what we mean by religion and the religious attitude of the soul to God.

It thus appears that in the mind of Christ the Jewish conception of the Messiah parted in two directions—one covering all the relationships of man to man, and the other in like manner covering all the relationships of the perfect Man to God. It parted in these directions, and it was resolvable into the two complementary ideals to which they led. And as a matter of fact the life of Christ on earth was the consummate realization of those ideals. [Compare with the above an admirable paragraph in Holtzmann, *Neutest. Theol.* i. 281 f.].

The Jewish title 'Messiah' had upon it the stamp of something local and temporary; and as such it has lost much of its interest for the modern world. But the two other titles of which we have been speaking imply what is neither local nor temporary, but as permanent as Humanity itself. It is therefore specially under these titles that our Lord most freely revealed Himself.

There is, however, something in the title 'Messiah' which although present was not quite so prominent in the other two. They convey to us as fully as it could be conveyed what Jesus was in Himself. But they do not bring out in the same relief the historical mission that He had in the first instance for His contemporaries and through them for all after-ages. The wonderful birth, the wonderful works, the crucifixion, the resurrection, and the ascension may be viewed as aspects of the work of the Son of Man and of the Son of God,—they are aspects of the work of salvation and of the coming forth from and return to the Father,—but as enacted in space and time they might be more appropriately described as belonging to the manifestation of the Messiah.

What deeper implications are there in the title 'Son of God'? Were the 4th cent. Fathers right in claiming that He who bore this title was not only in the full sense 'Son' but in the full sense 'God,'—that to be the Son of God implied identity of nature or of essence?

We may say with confidence that a Sonship such as is described in the Fourth Gospel would carry with it this conclusion. How could any inferior being either enter so perfectly into the mind of the Father or reflect it so perfectly to man? Of what created being could it be said, 'He that hath seen me hath seen the Father'? We need not stay to pick out other expressions that admit of no lower interpretation, because the evangelist has made it clear by his Prologue what construction he himself put upon his own narrative.

But, although this conclusion can really be made good independently of the next and last point that we have to consider, it is to some extent mixed up with it, and it may be well to pass on to this point.

(iv.) *Pre-existence.*—When we use the title 'Son of God,' how much does it cover? Is it strictly and properly applied to the *incarnate* Christ, or does it extend backwards before the Incarnation? In other words, does it, or does it not, imply pre-existence? We cannot discuss this question adequately without taking in the rest of the NT. We may, however, provisionally ask what inference would be drawn from the Gospels.

And in regard to these there is no doubt that in the great majority of cases the words would be satisfied by a reference to Christ *as incarnate.* All the instances in the Synoptic Gospels would come under this head. On the other hand, it is equally little open to question that in the Fourth Gospel Christ is conceived as pre-existent. Nothing could be more explicit than the opening verse. Christ as the Logos was in the beginning with God, and was God. But does this hold good of Him also *as the Son*? That is more debatable. We have to look about somewhat for expressions that are free from ambiguity. Perhaps there are not any.

The clearest would be the verse Jn 1[18] (which belongs to the evangelist), if we could be sure that the common reading is correct: 'the only-begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father,' seems to speak of this pre-existent condition (=*πρὸς τὸν θεόν* of v.[1]) as though it belonged to Him as Son. But then we are confronted by the well-known question of reading. It must be enough to refer to the elaborate note in WH, and to Dr. Hort's dissertation (1876), with which the present writer, so far as his judgment goes, would express his agreement. But the reading would then be not 'the only-begotten Son,' but 'God only-begotten.' Places like 3[13.] [*v.l.*][31], which are unambiguous as to pre-existence, do not clearly connect it with 'the Son.' Indeed the first of these introduces somewhat unexpectedly not the 'Son of God,' but the 'Son of Man,' who must be the Son incarnate. At the same time the terms 'Father' and 'Son' are so correlative that the frequent occurrence of such phrases as 'My Father which sent me,' 'Not any man hath seen the Father save he which is from God,' 'I speak the things which I have seen with my Father,' would seem to suggest that the relation of Father and Son existed before the Son became incarnate. At any rate the great emphasis on the two terms would seem to show that the relation to which they point is not a passing phase, but something that goes deep down into the essence of being.

Or perhaps the case might be stated thus. The burden of proof really seems to lie with those who would refuse to associate the idea of pre-existence with that of Sonship. The many examples in which the term 'Son' is used without any such implication go but a very slight way to exclude it where it is really suggested. In the case of St. John there is a clear presumption that it is so suggested; while in the Synoptic Gospels it is probable that the writers had not reflected upon the subject at all, and did but reproduce a portion of our Lord's teaching upon it. The decision as to how far the Johannean presentation is to be accepted will depend upon the general estimate of the Fourth Gospel as a historical authority. To the present writer it seems in this instance, as in so many others, just to supply what the other Gospels lead us to the verge of without directly supplying.

(*c*) *For the apostles.*—We have seen that the apostolic writers freely make use of the title 'Son of God' as a formula to express their Christian faith, or, as we may say in other words, in order to bring out their belief in the Divine side of the nature of Christ. What they meant would be very similar to the well-known exordium of the Second (so-called) Epistle of Clement: 'Brethren, we ought so to think of Jesus Christ as of God (ὡς περὶ Θεοῦ), as of the Judge of quick and dead.' The phrase, in each case, is vague; to define it more exactly will be the work of centuries; but the frame or mould has been provided by which the work of those centuries is to be circumscribed.

The principal question that meets us is the same as that with which we have just been dealing in regard to the Gospels. Does the term 'Son of God,' as used by the apostles, contain any implication of pre-existence, or is it limited to Christ as incarnate?

Here again by far the greater number of passages are ambiguous; if they do not suggest pre-existence and pre-existent relations, they also do not exclude them. There are, however, two passages that bear upon the question more directly.

One is the opening of the Ep. to the Hebrews: 'God, having of old time spoken unto the fathers in the prophets . . . hath at the end of these days spoken unto us in his Son, whom he hath appointed heir of all things, through whom also he made the worlds; who being the effulgence of his glory, and the very image of his substance, and upholding all things by the word of his power, when he had made purification of sins, sat down on the right hand of the majesty on high.'

Two ways of taking this passage are possible. On the one hand, if we argue strictly, it may be urged that there is but one principal clause in the sentence, to which all the other subordinate and relative clauses are referred. This principal clause speaks of the Son [of God]. It would therefore follow that all the relative clauses point back to Him as Son. That is to say, that *as Son* He 'made the worlds'; as Son He is the effulgence of the Divine glory, the image of the Divine substance; as Son He upheld and upholds all things. That would carry back the Sonship to the time before creation, and would make it an attribute pertaining to the essence of Christ's Godhead.

But, on the other hand, it may be questioned whether we ought in this case to argue strictly. Because the relative clauses refer to the Son, it does not quite necessarily follow that they refer to Him as Son. It may be urged that the main contrast in the passage is between the previous revelations through the prophets and the final revelation through the Son, *i.e.* the incarnate Son, and that this contrast dominates the whole passage, many parts of which do indeed point to the Son as incarnate ('whom he appointed heir of all things,' 'when he made purification of sins,' 'sat down at the right hand'). The other clauses, which imply pre-existence, would then be referred to the Son not strictly as such, but by a slight and quite natural laxity of language to Him who [afterwards, in view of His incarnation] came to be specially called 'Son.' This second way of taking the passage is not really stretched beyond what is common enough in language, though the first would be more accurate.

The other passage is Col $1^{(13).\,15}$ 'the Son of his love . . . who is the image (εἰκών) of the invisible God, the firstborn of all creation' (πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως). Now, it is true that in biblical usage the leading idea in πρωτότοκος is that of the legal rights of the firstborn, his precedence over all who are born after him (cf. Ro 8^{29}). But in a context like this, in view of the defining genitive πάσης κτίσεως, it seems wrong to exclude the idea of priority as well (πρὸ πάσης κτίσεως γεννηθεὶς, Theodrt.; otherwise Haupt, *Gefangenschaftsbriefe*, p. 27). There is not a direct allusion to Ps $89^{27\,(28)}$, though it is very possible that the Messianic application of that verse led by several steps to the use of the term here. It brings in another cycle of expressions which help to carry back the conception of sonship from the historic to the prehistoric stage. See, further, Lightfoot, *Col. ad loc.*

Ro 8^3, where the Son does not become the Son by being sent, but is already 'God's own Son' (emphatic) before He is sent, tends the same way.

In the Epp. of St. John there is nothing quite conclusive. We are really at the same level as in the Gospel. But, as there, the absolute use of 'the Father' and 'the Son' and of 'God the Father' (1 Jn 2^{22-24} 4^{14} 5^{12}, 2 Jn $^{3.\,4.\,9}$, cf. 1 P 1^2, Jude ^{1}) suggests a conception of Sonship which dates back behind the historic manifestation. On Jn 1^{18} see above.

Note on the origin of the Christian use of the title 'Son of God.'—In his able and interesting but far too confident and sweeping book, *Die Anfänge unserer Religion* (Tübingen u. Leipzig, 1901), p. 295, Prof. Wernle of Basel commits himself to the proposition that 'from the OT and from Rabbinism there is no road that leads to the doctrine of the Divinity of Christ.' He allows that the title 'Son of God' is strictly Jewish, but he appears to think that the further step 'Son of God = God' was taken upon Gentile ground, through the lax ideas brought in by the converts from paganism, and their readiness to admit new divinities to the Pantheon. Against this, indeed, ought rightly to be set the fact that the first lesson that they learnt on coming over to Christianity was the great lesson that God is One. But it was not really left to the Gentile Christians to crown an edifice that was incomplete without them. Wernle himself evidently feels that St. Paul had already gone far by identifying Christ with the 'Lord' of OT. He is obliged further to say that in his Christology St. Paul is not really a Jew, and to set down this side of his teaching to a supposed 'mythological tendency' which he himself is unable to account for.

It is one of the ground fallacies of Wernle's book to attribute far too much to the initiative of St. Paul. If the deification of Christ had been really due to him, and if in carrying it out he had been acting in opposition to the sense of the Christian community, we should most certainly have heard of it. But it is quite beyond question that Christ Himself was accused before the Sanhedrin of an extreme form of blasphemy, and that it was upon that charge that He was condemned (Mk 14^{61-64} ‖). In the Fourth Gospel we are expressly told that the Jews regarded the claim of Christ as 'making himself equal with God' (Jn 5^{18}). It is, however, another of Wernle's ground fallacies to treat especially the Jewish element in this Gospel with great one-sidedness (see *Synopt. Frage*, p. 255, a real blot upon an otherwise excellent book).

The only at all contemporary attempt known to the present writer to distinguish radically between υἱὸς θεοῦ and θεός is in *Clem. Hom.* xvi. 15, 16 (cf. x. 10). It is characteristic of the teaching of that curiously isolated production. At a later date the distinction became the main fulcrum of Arianism.

III. The Early Church.—We might sum up at the point we have reached; but it seems better to pass on a few steps beyond the close of NT. which is not a real break.

1. *The sub-Apostolic Fathers.*—In the sub-Apostolic writings we find a state of things very similar to that which we have just left behind. There is no doubt a certain amount of usage in which the term 'Son' may be appropriately explained of the Incarnate.

Such would be, *e.g.*, Ignatius, *Smyrn.* i. 1, 'persuaded as touching our Lord that he is truly of the race of David according to the flesh, but Son of God by the Divine will and power, truly born of a virgin.' This is clearly modelled on Ro 1^4 (similarly Barn. v. 9, 11).

But even in this writer there are instances where a less restricted sense would seem to be intended, as in the Trinitarian passage, *Magn.* xiii. 1, 'that ye may prosper in all things . . . in the Son and Father and in the Spirit' (*ἐν υἱῷ καὶ πατρὶ καὶ ἐν πνεύματι*); and in Rom. inscr., '[the Church] which I also salute in the name of Jesus Christ, the Son of the Father' (*υἱοῦ πατρός*). We seem to have here the absolute use of 'Father' and 'Son' as correlative to each other, without reference to the Incarnation. Cf. *Magn.* vi. 1, 'Jesus Christ, who was with the Father before the worlds and appeared at the end of time'; if the Fatherhood is pre-mundane, the Sonship must also be pre-mundane.

All ambiguity is removed in Barn. vi. 12, where we have the first express reference of the plural in Gn 1^{26} to 'the Son,' 'For the scripture saith concerning us, how he saith to the Son: Let us make,' etc. (cf. v. 5). The strange reading 'Son of God,' foisted into the free quotation of Ex 17^{14} in Barn. xii. 9, can hardly be adduced, because Joshua is regarded as a type by anticipation of the Incarnate.

Another quite clear passage is Herm. *Sim.* ix. 12. 2, where the Son of God, *eo nomine*, is described as 'anterior to all creation, so that he became the Father's adviser in his creation' (*ὁ μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως αὐτοῦ προγενέστερός ἐστιν, κ.τ.λ.*). This evidently takes up the *πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως* of Col 1^{15}, assuming the doctrine if not actually referring to the words.

Of the group of passages in Patr. Apost. where *παῖς* is certainly used in the sense of 'Son,' one at least, Ep. Diogn. viii. 9–11, refers unequivocally to the pre-Incarnate, 'having conceived a great and unalterable scheme, he communicated it to his Son alone' (*ἀνεκοινώσατο μόνῳ τῷ παιδί*). The state of the case appears to be, that while in Patr. Apost. the title is still predominantly referred to the incarnate state, the writers have no sense of being confined to this, and are quite prepared to go beyond it.

When we come to Justin all distinction is obliterated, and the Son is frankly identified with the Logos; *Apol.* ii. 6, 'But to the Father of all, who is unbegotten, there is no name given. . . . And his Son, who alone is properly called Son, the Word, who also was with him and was begotten before the works, when at first he created and arranged all things by him,' etc. (*ὁ δὲ υἱὸς ἐκείνου, ὁ μόνος λεγόμενος κυρίως υἱός, ὁ λόγος πρὸ τῶν ποιημάτων καὶ συνὼν καὶ γεννώμενος, κ.τ.λ.*). Here we not only have 'Son' and 'Word' used as convertible, but a special stress is laid on the idea of 'generation' as involved in 'Sonship,' which a little later in Origen took shape in the doctrine of the Eternal Generation (*de Princ.* I. ii. 4, 9). Before this, in Ignat. *Eph.* vii. 2, both words *γεννητός* and *ἀγέννητος* (*v.l.* *γενητός* and *ἀγένητος*) had been applied to Christ, but with quite untechnical freedom (cf. Lightfoot, *ad loc.*, and ii. 90–94; also Robertson, *Athanasius*, pp. 149, 475 n.).

The passage of Justin is very important as a landmark. From that time forwards what might be called the metaphysical treatment of the title 'Son' becomes more and more common until it reaches its climax in the writers of the 4th century.

Note on the meaning of 'Son' in the Apostles' Creed.—There arose in Germany in the years 1892–1894 a rather sharp discussion about the Apostles' Creed, begun by Harnack and taken up by Zahn, Kattenbusch, Cremer, and others. This also produced in England an admirable little volume of lectures by Dr. Swete (*The Apostles' Creed*, Cambridge, 1894), which gives a concise account of most of the points at issue. Among these was the question as to the interpretation of the term 'Son' in the Creed, which Harnack wished to limit to the historic, as contrasted with the prehistoric, Sonship. Dr. Swete perhaps (p. 26 ff.) a little overstates both Harnack's contention and the strength of the arguments against it. And yet that contention is really too sweeping, though the point made by Kattenbusch in his recently completed larger work (*Das Apost. Symbol*, ii. 566 f.), that the clause *τὸν γεννηθέντα ἐκ πνεύμ. ἁγ. κ. Μαρίας τῆς παρθ.* shows that the *historic* *γέννησις* was in the author's mind, appears to be valid. It is true that the first interest in this paragraph of the Creed is in historical facts. But at the same time, as Kattenbusch also very rightly observes, there is no antithesis to the Christology of Pre-existence. The question is not really raised; and yet, as we might perhaps put it, the conception of Sonship *is left open on that side.* We are reminded that the Creed is in its origin Western and not Oriental. And for Western thought more especially, the denial of a purely natural birth may be taken to imply pre-existence.

It should be added that recent research places the origin of the Creed with confidence in the first half of the 2nd cent., and many would say in the first quarter; so that it would be strictly parallel to the Apostolic Fathers.

2. *Marcellus of Ancyra.*—One episode in the controversies of the 4th cent. has a not inconsiderable reflex bearing on the interpretation of NT.

Marcellus of Ancyra was one of the keenest supporters of Nicene doctrine. He seems, however, to have asserted it on different grounds from those commonly brought forward. The position he took up was in the first instance biblical. We have seen that the Arians exploited in their own interest the title 'Son.' They inferred from it the posteriority and inferiority of Him by whom it was borne. Marcellus appears to have met them by saying that the use which they made of the title was unwarranted and indeed altogether wide of the mark. According to him, the title 'Son' had no reference to origin or to the pre-existent relation of Christ to the Father. The proper term to denote this relation was in his view not 'Son,' but 'Logos.' It appears to be a mistake to say that he denied the 'Trinity' or the distinct hypostatic existence of the Logos, though some of his speculations were not quite easily reconcilable with this. But his main contention was that 'Logos' was the proper name of the pre-Incarnate and 'Son' of the Incarnate, and that the biblical writers observed this distinction, the only apparent exception being cases in which the title 'Son' was used 'prophetically.' Eusebius of Cæsarea, who replied to him, marshals an imposing array of no fewer than thirty separate designations which he maintains to have been also used of the Son before the Incarnation; but they are nearly all wide of the mark, and it must be confessed that on this ground the victory rests rather with his opponent (see Euseb. *de Eccl. Theol.* i. 17–20, Migne, *Pat. Gr.* xxiv. 856–896; and on the whole controversy, esp. the monograph by Zahn, *Marcellus von Ancyra*, Gotha, 1867; and Moberly, *Atonement and Personality* (London, 1901, pp. 208–215).

Conclusion.—From what has been said, it will be seen that the assertion of Marcellus in regard to the biblical usage was really very much in the right direction, though—as is so often the case with the ancients, when they have got hold of a right principle in criticism or exegesis—it is rather too sweeping and unqualified.

As compared with Marcellus and the modern revivers of his opinion, our own conclusion from the evidence passed in review would be, that while it is undoubtedly true that the biblical writers and the other early Christian writers before Justin, start from the Incarnation and are thinking primarily of this, their thought does not necessarily end with it. It seems to point backwards into the dim past behind it. Certainly there is no sharp line of demarcation restricting the meaning of the title to the incarnate state and no other. The writers are so far from guarding themselves against any reference beyond the Incarnation that they seem rather naturally to suggest it. The Son is so called primarily as incarnate. But that which is the essence of the Incarnation must needs be also larger than the Incarnation. It must needs have its roots in the eternity of Godhead. [See esp. a very instructive and carefully balanced discussion in Moberly, *Atonement and Personality*, pp. 185 ff., 211-215].

LITERATURE.—The most important literature will have been sufficiently indicated in the course of the article. The works to which the writer himself owes most are Dalman's *Worte Jesu* (Leipzig, 1898), and H. J. Holtzmann's *Neutest. Theologie* (Freiburg i. B. u. Leipzig, 1897). To these should now be added Harnack's *Das Wesen des Christentums* (admirably translated under the title *What is Christianity?* London, 1901), which has a very suggestive treatment of the subject, though too impatient of formulated doctrine; and the portion of Moberly, *Atonement and Personality*, just referred to. Younger students should not fail to have recourse to Dr. Swete's *Apostles' Creed* (Cambridge, 1894).

W. SANDAY.

SON OF MAN.—1. An expression occurring in both OT and NT, and used in the following applications. (1) A poet. synonym of 'man,' found in parallelism with 'man' (the word for 'man' in the two clauses being in the original a different one). See the occurrences in § 6; and add Ps 144^{3b} (for בֶּן־אֱנוֹשׁ ; ‖ אָדָם). (2) In Ezek. the title under which the prophet is regularly addressed by J″, $2^{1.3}$ $3^{1.8}$ and upwards of 90 times besides. Ezek. has a profound sense of the majesty of J″; and the expression is no doubt intended to mark the distance which separated the prophet, as one of mankind, from Him. The title is borrowed from Ezek. in Dn 8^{17}. (3) In the vision in Dn 7 the glorious being whom Dan. sees brought 'with the clouds of heaven' to the Almighty, after the fourth beast (representing the empire of the Seleucidæ) is slain, to receive an everlasting and universal dominion (v.^{14}), is described as 'one like unto a son of man' (Aram. כְּבַר אֱנָשׁ). The expression means simply a figure in human form. What the figure was intended to denote has been the subject of much controversy. At an early date (see § 11) it was undoubtedly interpreted of the Messiah, and the same view has been largely held down to the present time (*e.g.* by Ewald, Riehm, and Behrmann); but in the author's own interpretation of the vision (vv.$^{18.22.27}$) the 'saints of the Most High' take the place of the 'one like unto a son of man'; and this constitutes a strong ground for concluding that he himself understood by it the glorified and ideal people of Israel (see, further, the present writer's *Comm. on Dan.* p. 103 ff.). The same expression in Greek (*ὅμοιος υἱῷ ἀνθρώπου*: see RV) is applied also in Rev 1^{13} 14^{14} to the risen and glorified Christ.

2. '*The* Son of man' (*ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*) is a designation of Christ, though one confined to the Gospels and Ac 7^{56}, and, except Ac 7^{56} (where it occurs in Stephen's dying exclamation*), found only in the mouth of Christ Himself (the quotation in Jn 12^{34} forming no real exception).

3. The following is a synopsis of the occurrences in the Synoptic Gospels, in the order given, or suggested, by St. Mark:—

Mt	Mk	Lk	
9^{6}	2^{10}	5^{24}	(hath authority on earth to forgive sins)
12^{8}	2^{28}	6^{5}	(is lord of the sabbath)
12^{32a}	[$3^{28\text{f.}}$*]	12^{10a}	(whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of man, etc.)
[5^{11}†]		6^{22}	(when men reproach you, etc., for the Son of man's sake)
10^{23}‡			(shall not have finished the cities of Israel, till the Son of man be come)
[10^{32}†]‡		12^{8}	(him shall the Son of man also confess before the angels of God)
11^{19}		7^{34}	(came eating and drinking)
8^{20}		9^{58}	(hath not where to lay his head)
[16^{4}*] 12^{40}	[8^{12}*]	11^{30}§	(as Jonah was three days, etc. [Mt]; as Jonah became a sign unto the Ninevites, etc. [Lk])
13^{37}			(he that soweth the good seed is the Son of man) ‖
13^{41}			(will send forth his angels, etc.) ‖
16^{13}	[8^{27}†]	[9^{18}†]	(who do men say that the Son of man is?)
[16^{21}†]	8^{31}	9^{22}	(must suffer many things, be killed, and rise again)
16^{27}	8^{38}	9^{26}	(of him shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory, etc. [Mk, Lk]; for the Son of man shall come in, etc. [Mt])
16^{28}	[9^{1}†]	[9^{27}†]	(shall not taste of death, till they see the Son of man coming, etc.)
17^{9}	9^{9}	[9^{3}*]	(to tell the vision to no man till the Son of man be risen from the dead)
17^{12}	9^{12}		(to suffer like Elijah [John the Baptist])
17^{22}	9^{31}	9^{44}	(shall be delivered into the hands of men, etc., and [Mt, Mk] rise again)
19^{28}	[10^{29}*]	[18^{29}*]	(in the regeneration, when the Son of man shall sit on the throne, etc.)
20^{18}	10^{33}	18^{31}	(to be delivered to the chief priests, etc., and rise again)
20^{28}	10^{45}	[cf. 22^{27}]	(to give his life a ransom for many)
		17^{22}	(when ye shall desire to see one of the days of the Son of man)
24^{27}		17^{24}	(as the lightning . . . so shall be the coming of the Son of man)
24^{30a}	[13^{26}*]	[21^{27}*]	(then shall appear the sign of the Son of man)
24^{30b}	13^{26}	21^{27}	(shall see the Son of man coming in (on) the clouds of heaven)
		21^{36}	(watch . . . that ye may be able . . . to stand before the Son of man)
24^{37}		17^{26}	(as were the days of Noah, so shall be the coming of the Son of man)
24^{39}		[17^{27}*]	([as they were in those days . . .,] so shall be the coming, etc.)
		17^{30}	([as the days of Lot . . .,] so shall it be in the day that the Son of man is revealed)
		18^{8}	(when the Son of man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?)
		19^{10}	(came to seek and to save that which was lost)
24^{44}	[cf. 13^{33}†]	12^{40}	(in an hour that ye think not, etc.)
25^{31}			(when the Son of man shall come in his glory)
26^{2}	[14^{1}*]	[22^{1}*]	(after two days the passover cometh, and the Son of man is delivered, etc.)
26^{24a}	14^{21a}	22^{22a}	(goeth even as it is written of him)
26^{24b}	14^{21b}	[22^{22b}†]	(woe unto that man through whom the Son of man is betrayed)
26^{45}	14^{41}		(is betrayed into the hands of sinners)
[26^{49}*]	[14^{45}*]	22^{48}	(betrayest thou the Son of man with a kiss?)
26^{64}	14^{62}	22^{69}	(from now ye shall see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of power)
[28^{6}*]	[16^{6}*]	24^{7}	(saying that the Son of man must be delivered, etc., and rise again)
30	14	25	=69 times

Mt 18^{11} (‖ Lk 19^{10}, though in a very different connexion), in Mt 25^{13} the words 'in which the Son of man cometh,' and in Lk 9^{56} the clause 'For the Son of man came not to destroy men's lives but to save them,' are not in the best MSS; cf. RVm on Mt 18^{11}, Lk 9^{56}.

The occurrences in the Fourth Gospel are Jn 1^{51} $3^{13.14}$ $6^{27.53.62}$ 8^{28} 9^{35} (אBD: cf. RVm), $12^{23.34}$ (see 3^{14} 8^{28}), v.^{34} 13^{31} (11 [or 12] times). None of these occurrences are parallel to any of those in the Synoptists. See, further, § 23.

4. If the occurrences in the Synoptic Gospels are analyzed, it will be seen that the expression is attributed to Christ upon (probably) 40 distinct

---

* Cf. the words spoken by James, the brother of the Lord, just before his martyrdom, as reported by Hegesippus, *ap.* Euseb. ii. 23 (see vol. ii. p. 542^{b}).

* The corresponding clause, or verse, entirely omitted (in Mk 3^{28} either omitted or modified; see p. 588).

† 'Son of man' represented by a pron., or (Mk 9^{1}, Lk 9^{27}) by a paraphrase ('the kingdom of God').

‡ In instructions to the disciples, attached to $10^{1.5.7.9\text{-}14}$ = Mk $6^{7\text{-}11}$ = Lk $9^{1\text{-}5}$.

§ Observe that Lk 11^{29b} = both Mt 16^{4} and Mt 12^{39}, and that Lk $11^{31.32}$ = Mt $12^{42.41}$.

‖ In the explanation of the parable of the Tares (no ‖ in Mk, Lk).

occasions,[*] of which 8 are reported by the three Gospels, 13 by two, and 19 by one. No instance is, however, reported in Mark which is not in one (or both) of the other two Gospels. The occasions fall naturally into two great groups: (1) those in which the reference is to some aspect or other of the *earthly work* of Christ, in the time of His humility (including, in particular, His sufferings and death); (2) those in which the reference is to His *future coming in glory*. It is important to bear in mind the fact of these two applications of the expression; for it has some bearing upon recent discussions of the subject. On the crucial passage, Mt 16^{13}, see § 19.

5. Before, however, we can proceed to examine the meaning of the title, a prior question must be considered, which has assumed, within recent years, great prominence. Jesus, it is not doubted, spoke, at least as a rule, not Greek but *Aramaic*; a proper method, therefore, it is urged, requires that we should begin by inquiring how the title would be expressed in Aramaic, and what meaning it would there possess. And when we proceed to translate back ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου into Aramaic an unexpected and startling result discloses itself, which has involved students of the NT in great perplexity.

6. Let us first, for clearness, explain briefly the usage of the expression in Biblical Hebrew.

In Biblical Hebrew, בְּנֵי אָדָם or בְּנֵי הָאָדָם 'sons of man' (or 'of men,'—אָדָם being a collective term) occurs frequently,—though not so frequently as (הָ)אָדָם alone, and chiefly in poet. and later Heb.,—to denote mankind in general (Gn 10^5, 1 S 26^{19}, 2 S 7^{14}, Ps $11^{4\,(5)}$ $12^{1.\,8\,(2.\,9)}$ 14^2 etc.).[†] The sing. בֶּן־אָדָם 'son of man' (*i.e.* not son of an individual man, but son (*i.e.* member) of the *genus* man) also occurs, viz. (*a*) in the address to Ezekiel $2^{1.\,3}$ $3^{1.\,3}$, and more than 90 times besides (so also Dn 8^{17}; cf. Enoch 60^{10} 71^{14}); (*b*) occasionally in poet. parallelism with אִישׁ or אֱנוֹשׁ Nu 23^{19}, Is 51^2 56^2, Jer 49^{18} (=v.^{33}=50^{40}=(nearly) 51^{43}), Ps $8^{4\,(5)}$ $80^{17\,(18)}$ 146^3 (‖ נדיבים 'nobles'), Job 16^{21} (‖ גֶּבֶר 'man')[‡] 25^6 35^8.

7. In Aramaic אדם is not found.[§] The term which, speaking generally, corresponds is אֱנָשׁ, אִינָשׁ (in some dialects contracted, without difference of meaning, to נָשׁ), in the *status emphaticus* (corresponding to the def. art. in Heb.) אֱנָשָׁא, אִינָשָׁא (contr. נָשָׁא). *'Ĕnāshā* (*nāshā*) mostly denotes 'man' in a general or collective sense, though it occurs occasionally (p. 582^b) in an individual sense: *'ĕnāsh* (*nāsh*), on the other hand, not infrequently possesses an individual sense, and also often sinks to express nothing more than τις, or 'one' (as in 'every *one*,' 'no *one*').

In some Aramaic dialects, however, though not in all, 'son (*or* sons) of man (men)' is common—in prose, and not merely, as in Heb., chiefly in poetry—in the ordinary sense of *man* (or *men*), the distinctive force of *bar*, 'son,' being no longer felt. The following are the main details of this usage:—

(*a*) *Judæan* Aramaic.—In Biblical Aramaic, the plur. בְּנֵי אֲנָשָׁא 'sons of men' occurs Dn 2^{38} 5^{21} ('driven from the sons of men,'—interchanging with 'driven from men' (אנשא), $4^{25.\,32.\,33\,(22.\,29.\,30)}$): elsewhere *'ĕnāshā* is used, 2^{43} ('the seed of *men*'); $4^{16\,(13)}$ ('changed from (the heart of) *men*'); $4^{17.\,25.\,32\,(14.\,22.\,29)}$ 5^{21}; $4^{25.\,32.\,33\,(22.\,29.\,30)}$ (just quoted); 7^8 ('eyes like the eyes of *men*'); Ezr 4^{11} (אֱנָשׁ determined by the foll. gen.). *'Ĕnāsh* occurs in the indeterm. sense of 'a man,' 5^5 $6^{7.\,12\,(8.\,13)}$ ('of any god or *man*'), $7^{4.\,14}$; and in 'every *man*,' 'no *man*,' 2^{10} 3^{10} 5^7 $6^{12\,(13)}$, Ezr 6^{11}.[*] *Bar 'ĕnāsh*, 'a son of man,' occurs only in the passage, of which more will be said below, Dn 7^{13} 'one like unto *a son of man*.'

In the Targ. of Onḳelos the plur. בני אינשא occurs Gn 6^1 11^5, Nu 23^{19}, Dt $32^{6.\,26}$: the sing. *bar 'ĕnāsh* does not occur at all, 'man'—where it is not expressed by גְּבַר, גַּבְרָא (*vir*)—being represented always by *'ĕnāsh*, *'ĕnāshā*.

In the Targ. of Jonathan (on the prophets) the plur. בְּנֵי אֱנָשָׁא occurs at least 20 times (as 1 S 15^{29} $16^{7.\,7}$ 24^{10} 26^{19}); *'ĕnāsh* frequently (as Jos 1^5 2^{11} 8^{17} 10^8); *bar 'ĕnāsh* only Is 51^{12} [cod. Reuchl., in ed. Lag., בר אדם] 56^2, Jer $49^{18.\,33}$ 50^{40} 51^{43}, Mic 5^6—in each case being suggested directly by the Hebrew.

(*b*) In *Nabatæan* Aramaic (some 30 inscriptions, chiefly sepulchral, mostly of 8–14 lines each, dating from B.C. 9 to A.D. 75),[†] *bar 'ĕnāsh* does not occur at all. *Ĕnōsh*, *ĕnāsh* occur pretty frequently, very much as in Daniel, in 'every *one*,' 'no *one*,' etc. (see *CIS* II. i. 197^7 $206^{3.\,6}$ $209^{5.\,6}$ $210^{3.\,5}$ 212^7 etc.).

(*c*) *Galilæan* Aramaic.—In the Palest. Talm. (3-4 cent. A.D.) *bar nāsh* (determ. *bar nāshā*) occurs with great frequency, and means simply *a* (single, individual) *man*, as חד בר נש 'a certain *man* (did so and so),' הוא בר נשא 'that man,' הדין בר נשא 'this man,' and in a weakened sense, with a neg. or בל 'all,' as 'he went out ולא אשכח בר נש and found no *one*,' בל בר נש ובר נש (=late Heb. כל איש ואיש) 'every one.'[‡] Obviously, in all these cases it would be absurd to render *bar-nāsh*(*ā*) by '*son of* man.'

In the Palest. Lectionary (the 'Evangeliarium Hierosolymitanum,' ed. Erizzo, 1861, ed. Lagarde, in his *Bibl. Syr.* 1892), of the 5th cent. A.D., the usage is similar: *barnāsh* standing regularly for 'a man' (as חד ברנש = ἄνθρωπος or ἄνθρωπός τις, Lk 2^{25} 4^{33} 6^6 10^{30} 15^{11} etc.); and *barnāshā* (determ.) for ὁ ἄνθρωπος, as Mt 4^4 $12^{35.\,35}$ $26^{24.\,24}$, Lk $8^{29.\,33.\,35}$ etc.

The same usage prevails in the Palest. Targums on the Pent.[§], and on the Hagiographa (*c.* 7th cent. A.D.): see, for instance, *bar nāsh* in Lv 2^1 4^2 $5^{1.\,2.\,4.\,21}$ etc. ('if a man do so and so': Onḳ. in all such passages אינש), Ps 80^{18b} (for בן אדם) 115^4 $118^{6.\,8}$ $144^{3a.\,4}$ etc.;[‖] and *bar nāshā* in 'that man,' Lv $7^{20b.\,21b.\,27b}$ $17^{4.\,9}$ 19^8 etc. (Onḳ. always אינשא), Ps $8^{5.\,5}$ 56^{12} 60^{13} 119^{134}.

(*d*) In *Syriac*, *barnāsh*, *barnāshā*, in the meaning 'man,' are very common. Examples: for אָדָם Ex 13^{13}, Is 44^{13}, Jer 2^6 10^{14}, Ezk $1^{8.\,10.\,26}$ $10^{8.\,14}$, Dn 7^8; for ἄνθρωπος, Curet. and Pesh., Mt 4^4 $12^{12.\,43}$ $15^{11.\,11.\,18}$ 19^6, Pesh. Mk $8^{36.\,37}$, Jn 2^{25} $7^{22.\,23.\,23}$, and (in 'every man') Ro 2^9 3^4 12^{18} 16^{19} (εἰς πάντας), and elsewhere.[¶]

8. It thus appears that *bar nāsh*(*ā*) is a common Aramaic expression, in which the force of the 'son' has been so weakened by time as virtually to have disappeared, so that it practically means nothing more nor less than *man* (*homo*, *Mensch*,—not *vir*). The natural Aramaic original of ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρ. would, however, seem to be *barnāshā*. If, now, our Lord spoke Aramaic, and denoted Himself by this expression, what meaning can He have intended to convey by it? To this question, which is by no means a simple one, different answers have been given.

(1) C. B. E. Uloth, who, it seems, was the first to set himself to answer it, came to the conclusion that Jesus called Himself 'the man,' meaning by the expression to point to His creaturely frailty and humility.[**]

(2) Eerdmans argued that the expression was not in the days of Christ a Mess. title, and was not used by Him as such. In opposition to the prevalent Mess. expectations, Jesus called Himself 'the man,' meaning it to be understood that He

---

[*] Holsten and Oort reckon 42 occasions, distinguishing Lk 11^{30} from Mt 12^{40}, and Mk 8^{38} Lk 9^{26} from Mt 16^{27}.

[†] So בְּנֵי אִישׁ Ps $4^{2\,(3)}$ $49^{2\,(3)b}$ $62^{9\,(10)}$, La 3^{33}.

[‡] But read here prob. וּבֵן אדם ('and *between* a man, and,' etc.).

[§] The Targ., where it has בַּר אָדָם (as in Ezek., for בן־אדם, and occasionally besides), means 'son of Adam.'

[*] Cf. Dalman, *Aram. Dialektproben*, 1896, p. 3 (from the *Megillath Ta'anith*, of 1-2 cent. A.D.; see *ib.* p. 32, *Gramm. des Jüd.-Pal. Aram.* p. 7).

[†] See Euting, *Nab. Inschriften* (1885), ed. and tr., with notes by Nöldeke; or *CIS* II. i. 196–224; several also reprinted in Lidzbarski, *Nordsem. Epigr.* pp. 450–455.

[‡] See numerous examples in Lietzmann, 34–7; and cf. Dalman, *Aram. Dialektproben*, pp. 28–30. The usage of the Palest. Midrashim is similar (*ib.* p. 15 ff.).

[§] In which *bar nāsh*(*ā*) occurs much more frequently than would be supposed from the terms used by Dalman (*Die Worte Jesu*, 194).

[‖] And so, in the 'Fragmentary' (Palest.) Targ. to the Pent., in the recension from a Paris MS edited by Ginsburger (1899), even in Gn 1^{26} (נברי בר נש ברמותן): cf. Ex 19^{13} (for איש; Onḳ. אינשא), Nu 12^7 לית כבר נש עבדי משה (in the Leipz. MS [p. 85] כבר אנש).

[¶] On the *Samaritan* see Fiebig [§ 24 *end*], p. 14 ff.

[**] *Godgeleerde Bijdragen*, 1862, p. 467 ff.

was a man, and not more. Translated literally into Greek, it was not understood, and under the influence of apocalyptic phraseology (Dn 7^{13} etc.) made into a title of Christ.*

(3) Wellhausen, in 1894 and 1897, also considered that Jesus intended by the term to speak of Himself as 'the man,' meaning, however, by the expression the one who completely fulfilled the idea of man, and who as such was in specially close relation to the Father; and the early Christians, not understanding how He could have so described Himself, in translating rendered *barnāshā* falsely by ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου instead of by ὁ ἄνθρωπος: the expression was thus brought into connexion with Dn 7^{13}, and so became a standing Messianic designation of Christ.†

(4) Arnold Meyer‡ called attention to the fact that in Aramaic, in particular in the Aramaic spoken in Galilee, it was not unusual for a person to speak of him- (or her-) self as 'this man,' 'this woman' (ההוא גברא, ההיא איתתא),§ and also that there are, even in the OT, passages in which, though the general term 'man' is used, the reference is clearly to the speaker (Job 3^{23} 16^{21}); and he applied this principle to the explanation of at least some of the passages in the Gospels: sometimes, in using the expression, Jesus spoke of men in general (as Mk 2^{28} 'Therefore *man* is lord of the sabbath,' 12^{32}), sometimes He pointed by it to Himself (as Mk 2^{10} 'that ye may know that *a man* hath authority on earth to forgive sins,' Mt 8^{20}, 11^{19} '*a man* came eating and drinking,' etc.): the early Greek-speaking Christians, translating it by ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, combined with it associations derived from Dn 7^{13}. This explanation does not carry us very far. It is true, it might in the abstract (see § 22) be adopted for some of the passages cited; but otherwise the expression used in the Gospels is not, as in the Galilæan phrase quoted, 'this man'; nor does Meyer make any attempt to show how in the numerous other passages concerned, the predictions of sufferings and the eschatological utterances, the expression 'a man' could have been naturally employed by Christ (cf. Fiebig, p. 74 f.).

(5) Lietzmann, as the result of a careful examination of the existing evidence, literary and philological, rejecting the solutions of his predecessors, reached the startling conclusion‖ that 'Jesus never applied to Himself the title "son of man" at all, because it does not exist in Aramaic, and upon linguistic grounds cannot exist,'—on account, viz., of the fact mentioned above, that *barnāshā*, though it is lit. 'the son of man,' in actual usage means simply 'the man,' so that the distinction made in the Greek between ὁ ἄνθρωπος and ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου could not have existed in Aramaic (both expressions being translations of the same word, *barnāshā*). The evangelical tradition which attributes to Christ the use of this title is consequently false. The title arose in Greek: υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου, as a translation of *barnāsh* in such passages as Mk $2^{10.28}$, sounded strange; it was consequently, under the influence of Dn 7^{13}, turned, under the form ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀ., into a *title* of Christ, first in the apocalyptic discourses declaring His future παρουσία, and afterwards more generally in other discourses (pp. 91–95). And Lietzmann supports this conclusion by various subsidiary arguments, of which the principal are: (1) the fact that 'the son of man' was no accepted Messianic title in the age of Christ; (2) the absence of the expression from the writings of St. Paul, which, he claims, is scarcely conceivable had it really been used habitually by Christ; (3) its absence likewise from the literature of the sub-apostolic ages, the *Didache*, Clement, Polycarp, the Shepherd of Hermas, etc., after a review of which Lietzmann finds it to be first alluded to by the Gnostic sect of Ophites (pp. 62–69), Marcion (*c.* 120–150 A.D.), and Ignatius (*Ephes.* xx. 2, τῷ υἱῷ ἀνθρώπου καὶ υἱῷ θεοῦ). And Wellhausen, though for long he could not bring himself to such a *tour de force* ('Gewaltstreich'), was forced ultimately to agree with Lietzmann. The sense in which he formerly (see above) supposed Christ to have used the expression he now considered to be too abstract, and could consequently find no alternative left but, bold as the step might appear, to deny that Christ used the expression at all. The title originated in Dn 7^{13}, being attributed first to Jesus in the eschatological passages (cf. Mk 13^{26}, where, as Wellh. observes, 'the son of man' is not expressly identified with the speaker); and its adoption afterwards as a general self-designation of Jesus was perhaps facilitated by a misapprehension of passages such as Mk 2^{28}, in which *barnāshā*, though meant generally, was interpreted as referring specially to Christ.*

The general conclusion that Christ had not Himself used the title had been reached before, though without the use of the argument based upon the Aramaic, by Volkmar in 1870, and especially by Oort (in *De Uitdrukking ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀ. in het NT*, 1893), who, though he allowed that Jesus might have used the expression as a symbol of the future kingdom, argued that He did not use it as a self-designation; it was introduced first as a personal title by the early Christians from apocalyptic literature, and was ascribed afterwards to Jesus Himself by the evangelists.

9. Such a conclusion, conflicting, as it does, with *all* the direct evidence that we possess on the subject, could not be accepted, except upon the clearest and strongest grounds; and it is not surprising to find the leading NT scholars on the Continent, including even those who approach the Gospel records from a thoroughly critical standpoint, opposed to it. The principal objections may be thus summarized. (1) The variations between this title and the personal pron. presented by many of the parallel narratives (see the Table), show, indeed, that there are occasions on which we cannot be sure whether the term was actually used by our Lord or not, and it might be admitted (see § 22) that there were even other passages in which it had been attributed to Him incorrectly; but that an expression which in the Gospels is attributed solely to Him, and is never used by the evangelists themselves, should in reality have been never used by Him, but have been introduced into the Gospels entirely by the evangelists, implies an inversion of the facts which is hardly credible. (2) The attribution of the expression to Christ does not depend upon isolated texts in individual Gospels; it has in many cases, as the Table shows, the support of the double, and even of the triple, Synoptic tradition. (3) Exactly the same usage is found, moreover, in the independent tradition represented by the Fourth Gospel; and, as Dr. Drummond [§ 24] remarks, 'there seems to be no particular reason for its appearance in this Gospel, except the fact that it was at least believed to be a common expression in the mouth of Jesus.' Direct personal reminiscences unquestionably underlie both these traditions; and, as the same authority further remarks, 'the apostles must have known whether their Master spoke of Himself in the way recorded in the Gospels or not; and the Gospels are sufficiently near apostolical sources to make us pause before admitting that the Church is responsible for the appearance of so striking a characteristic' as this title in the mouth of Christ. (4) Even assuming that the title was introduced into the eschatological passages in the manner

---

* *Theol. Tijdschr.* 1894, pp. 153–176; 1895, pp. 49–71.

† *Isr. u. Jüd. Gesch.* (1894) p. 312; ed. 3 (1897), p. 381; cf. *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi. (1899) p. 200 f.

‡ *Jesu Muttersprache* (1896), pp. 91–101, 140–149.

§ Dalman, *Grammatik*, 77 f.; *Die Worte Jesu*, 204 f.

‖ *Der Menschensohn*, 1896, p. 85

* *Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten*, vi. (1899) pp. 188, 200 f., 206, 214.

supposed, it is difficult to conjecture a motive for extending the usage to a number of other passages of an entirely different character (Baldensperger [§ 24], p. 254). (5) As regards the supposition that the ascription of the expression to Christ was due to the early Church, Dr. Drummond observes: 'The Church was more likely to omit than to insert the phrase. Reliance is placed on the silence of Christian writers to show that the phrase was not known. The Gospels conclusively prove that it *was* known; and to imagine that it was a favourite expression just during the period when the Gospels were composed, and that before that time it was not known, and after that time it was not in common use, is to construct history to suit the hypothesis. The Church would have preferred some title apparently higher and more dignified.' (6) St. Paul, it is urged, never uses the title. But neither do the evangelists in speaking *of* Christ, and yet their own narratives show that they were *acquainted* with it, and believed it to have been used *by* Christ. Unless Ac 7^{56} is to be eliminated as unhistorical, along with the numerous occurrences of the title in the mouth of Christ found in the Gospels, it must have been known at the time of Stephen's martyrdom as a designation of Jesus; for otherwise there would be no sufficient cause in Stephen's exclamation to account for the fury of the Jews (Drummond). Schmiedel, moreover,[*] argues at length that the use made of Ps 8 in 1 Co 15^{27} and He 2^{6-9} presupposes the acquaintance of the apostles with the expression as a designation of Christ; the fact that they do not use it more frequently is not difficult to explain. They wrote largely for converts from heathenism, who would be liable to misunderstand it; and they naturally chose by preference terms which would give prominence to the Divinity of Christ. The case would be similar with the sub-apostolic writers. Barnab. 12^{8-10}, however, which, it had been alleged, was proof that the writer was unacquainted with the title, had been wrongly explained (as Lietzmann afterwards admitted[†]).

10. All these considerations would, however, undoubtedly have to yield, if it were philologically certain that 'the son of man' *could* not have been an expression used by our Lord. The reasons adduced in support of this conclusion are, beyond question, weighty; we must consider carefully whether they are conclusive.

In the first place, it must be clearly understood that we have no actual *knowledge* of the Aram. original used (presumably) by Christ. We have no records of the Galilæan dialect as early as the first cent. A.D.; and hence the Aram. original of 'the son of man' is a matter not of actual knowledge, but of *inference*. Three possibilities must be kept in view. (1) Wellh. says that *barnāsh*(*ā*) in the sense of 'man' is common to Aramaic dialects in general; but this statement is in excess of the evidence; its occurrence in the exceptional passage Dn 7^{13} (in which a semi-poetical expression would be but natural) is not proof that it was in general use in that sense in Bibl. Aramaic; and it is not found in other passages of Dn. (as $7^{4.8}$), in which, if it were as commonly in use as it is in the Jerus. Talm., it might be naturally expected. It does not occur in the Aram. of Onḳ., and occurs but rarely in that of Jon. (§ 7 *a*); and though Wellh. (pp. vi, 195) explains its absence from these Targums by the fact that their authors adhered closely to the Heb. (in which, as pointed out in § 6, the sing. 'son of man' is of rare occurrence), yet it is not certain that this explanation is the correct one. The Pal. Targ. on the Psalms and Job, and the Pesh., are also in general literal translations, and yet *bar nāsh*(*ā*) occurs in both frequently (cf. above, § 7 (*c*), (*d*)).

Onḳ. uses regularly אינש for 'soul' (=person), Lv 2^{1} $4^{2.27}$ $5^{1.2.4}$ etc.; and אינשא ההוא for 'that soul,' Gn 17^{14}, Ex 31^{14}, Lv $7^{20.21.27}$ 19^{8} 20^{6} and elsewhere. *In all these passages pseudo-Jon. uses as regularly* 'harnāsh,' 'barnāshā.' So in Dt $8^{3.3}$ (for האדם) pseudo-Jon. has בר נשא, while Onḳ. has אינשא; and in the expression 'the work of man's (*or* men's) hands' אדם is rendered by *barnāsh*(*ā*) in the Palest. Targums (Ps 115^{4} 135^{15}, 2 Ch 32^{19}), but by *'ĕnāshā* in Onḳ. (Dt 4^{28}) and Jon. (2 K 19^{18}, Is 37^{19}). Similarly אנוש is rendered in the Pal. Targums by *barnāsh*(*ā*), Ps 8^{5} $9^{20.21}$ 103^{15} 104^{15} etc., but by *'ĕnāshā* in Jon. (Is 13^{7} 24^{6} 51^{12} 56^{2}). Cf. also Ps 118^{8b} (Pal Targ.: בר נש) with Jer 17^{5} (Jon.: אינשא). So Fiehig, p. 11.

It is true (*'ĕ*)*nāshā* is used mostly as a collective term; but Wellh.'s argument (p. v) to show that it is used so always, and that consequently, unless *bar* (*'ĕ*)*nāsh*(*ā*) were in use, there would have been no means of expressing the idea of (a single, particular) man (*homo*) in Aram., is surely not conclusive; for in Onḳ. אינשא ההוא, as has been just shown, occurs repeatedly in the sense of *that man* (comp. in Heb. the analogous individual and collective applications of איש). So Fiehig, p. 11.

The Aram. dialects do differ from one another in details of linguistic usage;[*] and though *barnāsh*(*ā*) is common in the Galilæan dialects of the 3rd or 4th cent. A.D., it may not, as Dalman points out, have been equally common in the 1st cent.; and if usage had not at that time obliterated the distinctive force of the first part of the compound, *bar nāshā* might have been used by Christ in the sense of 'the Son of man.' It must, however, be allowed that Fiebig [§ 24] has made it probable (pp. 33–36, 59 f.) from quotations in the Jerus. Talm. that *bar nāsh*(*ā*)='man' was current in Galilee in the 2nd cent. A.D.

(2) In the Sin. (Curet.) and Pesh. versions of NT, 'the Son of man' is, for distinction from the *barnāshā* which stands for ὁ ἄνθρωπος, always represented by *b'rēh d'nāshā*[†] (lit. *his son, that of man*,—the pleonasm being an idiom very common in Aram.[‡]),—grammatically (Nöld.) 'a more strongly determined form of *barnāshā*.' If in the Aram. spoken in the time of Christ *barnāsh*(*ā*) was really in common use in the sense of 'man,' there does not seem to be any sufficient reason why, if our Lord desired to express the idea of 'the Son of man,' He should not have made use of this expression. There would be nothing unsuitable in its being an unusual and emphatic one; and that there was *some* Semitic expression bearing this meaning appears, as Hilgenfeld has pointed out,[§] from the fact that in the Gospel acc. to the Hebrews, which Jerome himself translated from Aramaic (or, as he elsewhere says, from Hebrew), there was a saying of Christ, addressed to James, which (in Jerome's tr.) reads, 'Frater mi, comede panem tuum, quia resurrexit *filius hominis* a dormientibus.'[‖]

From a communication printed by Dr. Drummond,[¶] it appears that Prof. Nöldeke also is disposed to agree with Wellhausen. To differ from Prof. Nöldeke on a point of Aramaic or Arabic usage would be to court certain error; but from the terms in which he expresses himself, it does not seem that he means to pronounce an absolute philological veto against the position that Jesus may have spoken of Himself in Aramaic as 'the Son of man.'

---

[*] *Prot. Monatshefte*, Juli 1898, p. 260 ff.

[†] *Theol. Arb. aus dem Rhein. Pred.-Verein*, 1898, H. 2, p. 8.

[*] See, for some illustrations, Dalm. *Gramm.* 34–40.

[†] *B'rēh d'barnāshā* 'Son of the son of man' is certainly a 'theological barbarism'; it does not, however, occur (as Wellh., by an oversight, says, p. 194 *n.*) in the Pesh., but in the Palest. Lectionary.

[‡] See, *e.g.*, Dalm., *Dialektproben*, p. 15, l. 2, בריה דמאן=whose son? בריה דחזקיה=the son of Hezekiah. So Dn 2^{20} $3^{8.25}$ etc., and constantly in Syriac (as Mt 1^{1} [thrice]). According to Wellh. *b'rēh d'nāshā* (on account of the sing. suff. and the following virtual plural) is 'unmöglich' (p. vi). But אינשא is regularly in the Tgg. construed with a sing.; and Job 7^{20} 14^{19} 33^{16}, Pesh., are precise *formal* parallels (see, further, Fiebig, p. 48 ff.): moreover, if the expression were 'impossible' in Syriac, would the authors of the Syriac versions of the Gospels have employed it?

[§] *Z. f. Wiss. Theol.* 1897, 475 (cf. *Berl. philol. Wochenschr.* 1897, Heft 49); 1899, 150.

[‖] Jerome, *de Viris Ill.* c. 2 *end* (ed. Bened. IV. ii. 102; ed. Vall. ii. 817; Migne, ii. 613); see Hilgenf. *Evangg. sec. Hebr. etc. quæ supersunt* (1866), pp. 17 ff., 29. Lietzmann's reply (*Theol. Arb.* p. 10) is to the effect that even here the title *must* be of Greek origin, because it is only in Greek that the conditions for its having arisen can be shown to have existed.

[¶] *Journ. of Theol. Studies*, Apr. 1901, p. 357 f.

(3) No doubt our Lord, as a rule, spoke in Aramaic; but, as Prof. Sanday has remarked to the present writer, it is quite possible that He may, upon occasion, have spoken also in *Greek*. In this case, which is more than a mere abstract possibility, the expression ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου may actually have been sometimes heard upon His lips.

11. *Origin and meaning of the term as used in NT.*—Here we must first consider the question whether the term is used in previous or contemporary Jewish literature, and, if so, in what sense. In Dn 7^{13}, as has been already remarked, the 'one like unto a son of man' denoted originally, in all probability, the glorified people of Israel; but the expression was undoubtedly interpreted at an early date of the Messiah. The most remarkable evidence of this is afforded by that part of the (composite) Book of Enoch (ch. 37-70), which is commonly known as the 'Similitudes,' and which is attributed generally to the 1st cent. B.C. (see vol. i. pp. 707^{b}–708^{a}). Enoch is here represented as carried in his vision into heaven, where he sees the 'Head of Days' (a title of the Almighty suggested by Dn 7^{13}) surrounded by an innumerable company of angels (40^{1}), and beside Him the Messiah, sitting on 'the throne of his glory' ($62^{2.3.5}$ $69^{27.29}$), and executing judgment upon wicked men and angels. The Messiah is often spoken of as the 'Elect One' (Is 42^{1}); but in ch. 46 he is introduced in terms which more particularly concern us here—

46^{1} 'And there I saw One who had a head of days (*i.e.* an aged head), and his head was white like wool (Dn 7^{9}), and with him was another one whose face was as the appearance of a man, and his face was full of graciousness, like one of the holy angels. [2] And I asked the angel who went with me, and showed me all the hidden things, concerning *that son of man*, who he was, and whence he was, and why he went with the Head of Days. And he answered and said unto me, [3] This is *the son of man* who hath righteousness, with whom dwelleth righteousness, and who reveals all the treasures of that which is hidden, because the Lord of Spirits hath chosen him, and his lot before the Lord of Spirits hath surpassed everything in uprightness for ever. [4] And *this son of man* whom thou hast seen will arouse the kings and the mighty ones from their couches, and the strong ones from their thrones, and execute judgment upon them.'

The judgment is described most fully in ch. 62—

62^{2} 'And the Lord of Spirits seated him (the Elect One) on the throne of his glory, and the spirit of righteousness was poured out upon him, and the word of his mouth slew all the sinners [Is 11^{4}], and all the unrighteous were destroyed before his face. . . . [5] And their countenance will fall, and pain will seize them, when they see *that son of man* sitting on the throne of his glory. . . . [9] And all the kings and the mighty and the exalted and those who rule the earth will fall down on their faces before him, and worship, and set their hope upon *that son of man*, and will petition him and supplicate for mercy at his hands.' But it will be too late: the 'angels of punishment' will take them in charge, and carry them away to their appointed doom. But the righteous will be saved on that day; [14] 'and the Lord of Spirits will abide over them, and with *that son of man* will they eat and lie down and rise up for ever and ever.' Cf. 69^{27} 'And he sat on the throne of his glory, and the sum of judgment was committed unto him, *the son of man*, and he caused the sinners and those who have led the world astray to pass away and be destroyed from off the face of the earth.'

The 'son of man' of the 'Similitudes' is thus an august, superhuman being, who is seated on his throne beside the Almighty, and exercises in particular the functions of *judge*. This representation, it is to be observed, though based, no doubt, upon that of Dn 7, is not identical with it: in Daniel it is *God* who is the judge; the 'one like unto a son of man' appears upon the scene only after the judgment is completed, and he comes, not to exercise judgment, but to receive a kingdom.

It has been much disputed whether 'the son of man' is a *title* in the Similitudes or not.

The expressions used are, 'that (*zeku* or *we'etu*) son of man' (46^{2} 48^{2} 62^{5} [see Charles, or Beer, in Kautzsch's *Apokryphen*, *ad loc.*], vv.$^{9.14}$ 63^{11} $69^{26.29.29}$ 70^{1} 71^{17}), 'this son of man' (46^{4}), and 'the son of man' (46^{3} [see Dillm. *Æth. Gram.* § 194] 62^{7} 69^{27}). On the one side, it is argued, Enoch sees in his vision a human form (46^{1}), which is afterwards (46^{2} etc.) referred to as 'that (or this) son of man,'—'son of man,' rather than simply 'man,' being (presumably) employed, partly on account of Dn 7^{13} (which the context shows to be in the writer's mind), partly as being a rather more distinct and individual term. 'The son of man' of 46^{3} 62^{7} 69^{27} might similarly be nothing more than an expression referring back to 46^{1}; and the same, it is urged, might be said even of ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, if, as is possible (see esp. Charles, *Eschatology*, p. 214 f.), this were the Greek which lay before the Ethiopic translator.* On the other hand, the somewhat marked prominence of the term is an indication that some significance attaches to it; else why does the writer not say 'the Elect one' (as $49^{2.4}$ $51^{3.5}$ $52^{6.9}$ *al.*), or 'the Anointed one' (as 48^{10} 52^{4})?

On the whole, it may probably be fairly said, as is claimed by Baldensperger ([§ 24], p. 246), and admitted by Dr. Drummond (p. 544), that the expression, even if not a title in Enoch, is next door to becoming one, and that the step of making it a title is one which at any time afterwards might be readily taken. If, however, the view of 'the son of man' adopted in this art. (§§ 17, 21) be the correct one, it will be seen to be a matter of indifference whether the expression was a 'title' in Enoch or not.

The reader ought, however, to be aware that it can hardly be said to be *certain* that the 'Similitudes' are of pre-Christian origin; though this is the view taken by the great majority of critics, who urge in particular that, had they been written (or interpolated) under Christian influence, the allusions to the historical Christ would have been more definite. See Schürer^{2}, ii. 626 (^{3}iii. 201 f.).

12. Another passage, which, though of post-Christian date (probably A.D. 81–96), seems to show no traces of Christian influence (see vol. ii. p. 766^{a}), and deserves to be quoted in the same connexion, is 2 (4) Es $13^{3ff.}$. Here Ezra is represented as seeing in a dream the sea disturbed by a wind, and a 'man,' who is declared afterwards (v.^{26}) to be God's appointed judge and deliverer (*i.e.*, though the word itself is not used, the Messiah), ascending out of it—

'And I beheld, and, lo, this wind caused to come up from the midst of the sea as it were the likeness of a man, and I beheld, and, lo, that man flew with the clouds of heaven [cf. Dn 7^{13}]: and when he turned his countenance to look, all things trembled that were seen under him.' In the sequel, the same 'man that came up out of the sea,' as he is termed (v.^{5}, cf. vv.$^{25.51}$), destroys by a 'flaming breath,' proceeding out of his mouth, the multitudes which assemble against him, and calls back to the land of Israel the ten tribes (vv.$^{10f.12.39-49}$).

Here then at least the Messiah is described, with evident reference to Dn 7^{13}, as a 'man.'

Dr. Charles has called attention also to 4 Es 6^{1} in the Syr., Eth., and Arab.† versions (the world to be judged finally—first by [Arab. on account of] a 'man' [Syr. ביד ברנשא],—or, to judge from the Eth. vers., by a 'son of man,'—and afterwards by God: see Hilgenf. *Mess. Jud.* pp. 223, 275, 334); but the statement is inconsistent with 6^{6}, and is open to the suspicion of being a Christian interpolation (cf. Hilgenf. p. 54 *n.*).

13. In spite, however, of the usage of the 'Similitudes,' and of 2 Es $13^{3ff.}$, it seems clear that 'the Son of man' was no generally accepted title of the Messiah in the days of Christ. Dalm. (*Die Worte Jesu*, 197–204) shows that nothing exists in Jewish authorities in favour of such a supposition. The same conclusion is supported by the testimony of the Gospels. 'It is inconceivable that the Lord should have adopted a title which was popularly held to be synonymous with that of Messiah, while He carefully avoided the title of Messiah itself' (Westcott). The reply that He used it enigmatically is not to the point; for though He

---

* The Eth. *zeku* and *we'etu* not infrequently, in translations from the Greek, represent the Greek art. (Charles, *l.c.*; Dillm. *Æth. Lex.* col. 1057, 919). They are not, however, used in the Eth. NT in the tr. of ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. (Dr. Charles, in his tr. of $69^{26.29.29}$ 70^{1}, has not represented the Eth. 'that').

† The Arab version published by Ewald (*Das vierte Ezrabuch*, 1863): that published by Gildemeister (1877) is different.

might have signified by it something different from the popular conception of the Messiah, it would still (*ex hyp.*) have been the Messiah, which those who heard Him would have understood Him to mean. Upon the same supposition, moreover, His use of it could not but have excited the hostility of the Jews, of which, however (in this connexion), the Gospels afford no trace: the 'blasphemy' of Mt 26^{65}=Mk 16^{64} consisted evidently not in His use of this title, but in the Divine prerogatives predicated of Himself as the bearer of it. The most that might be supposed is, that though not generally current as a title of the Messiah, it was familiar in that sense in the particular circle to which the 'Similitudes' belonged (above, vol. ii. 622^b, cf. 616^a).

14. In considering the *meaning* of the title, it ought to be clearly understood that it is not anywhere *explained* in the NT, so that whatever view of it be adopted must be a matter of conjecture and inference. To the same cause is due what is generally allowed to be the great difficulty of the question, and also the wide divergence of the conclusions which have been reached regarding it. The question is further complicated by the fact that there are two possible starting-points for the investigation: is the name a *mere* title, taken, as it were mechanically, from Dn 7^{13}, and so a *mere* periphrasis for 'Messiah'? or does the significance of the title lie in the four words of which it consists, and is the meaning which our Lord intended to convey by it to be ascertained by an analysis of these words? Or may the interpretations suggested by these two opposite points of view be in any way combined? Or, on the other hand, whichever of these interpretations be adopted, does it logically render the other unnecessary and superfluous [cf. § 20. 12]? Still further difficulties arise when the details of its usage in the Gospels are considered, as, for instance, the very different predicates associated with it; and further divergent conclusions are arrived at, corresponding to the view taken by the individual critic of the chronology of our Lord's discourses, and other questions of Gospel criticism.

15. Two main views may be said to have been advocated. According to one view, the title has no meaning of its own,[*] it is intended simply to point to the 'one like unto a son of man' in Dn 7^{13},[†] and so to express, directly and distinctly, the Messiahship of Jesus. According to the other view, the title, though it may have been chosen with an eye to Dn 7^{13}, expressed primarily the thought that Jesus was, in some special sense, a man above other men, the supreme representative of humanity, and only indirectly, especially towards the close of His ministry, suggested in addition the thought of His Messiahship. High authorities can be quoted for both these views. Thus Holtzmann writes (*NT Theol.* 1897, p. 247), 'The title certainly originates in Dn 7^{13}. Jesus adopts Daniel's view of the future kingdom: close beside this is in Daniel the figure of the "one like unto a son of man" who receives the kingdom from God, and in whom therefore it was natural for Jesus to see Himself prefigured: even though in Daniel the figure symbolized only the kingdom (and not its head), still here was the person who would establish it: Jesus, by His adoption of the title, implied that it would not be established apart from Himself.' He did not, however, this being the sense of the title, use it before Peter's confession (pp. 250 *top*, 260, 263 [cf. below, § 19]). 'Jesus,' Holtzmann continues, 'throws into the title whatever is characteristic of His mission and ministry. He makes it the exclusive designation of the person who is to represent and realize the ideas expressed by it. Just because He is conscious that this mission brings with it earthly privation and suffering, and even death, the "Son of man" becomes the subject of predications relating not only to future glory, but also to earthly humiliation and death. Thus Jesus is, and is called, the "Son of man," on the one hand wherever by forgiving and healing, by teaching and suffering, He proclaims, represents, or extends the kingdom; on the other hand, and especially, when, coming in glory, He completes it. As the kingdom is a present as well as a future reality, so the title "Son of man" bears reference to His work in the present not less than in the future' (pp. 250–3, abridged).

Upon this view the first art. (ὁ) points to Dn 7^{13} (Holtzm. p. 264 *n.*; Schmiedel, p. 264), the second (τοῦ) results simply by a kind of attraction, from the presence of the first (Schmiedel, *l.c.*; Winer, *Gramm.* § 19, 2*b*–4).

16. In what is here said of the *use* of the title, there is much that is, of course, perfectly just; but to the view taken of its *origin* there seem to be objections. In the vision of Daniel the 'one like unto a son of man' is represented as a glorified, heavenly being, and the kingdom is a *triumphant* kingdom. No account is taken of the long period during which, as a matter of history, the kingdom was gradually and slowly to extend itself among men; it has been finally and universally established in the earth (7^{14}). Now, if the passages in which our Lord first used the expression had been those in which He describes His future advent in glory, there would have been a direct point of contact with the vision in Daniel, sufficient to account for the title being adopted from it; but, as it is, it is impossible, without most arbitrary treatment of the Gospel narratives, to suppose that to have been the case; and thus, with the passages in which He is actually represented as first using it, and which all deal with various aspects of His life in humility upon earth, there is no point of contact in Daniel at all. As Westcott (*Speaker's Comm.* on St. John, p. 34) says, 'It is out of the question to suppose that the definite article simply expressed "the prophetic son of man." The manner in which the title is first used excludes such an interpretation.' There is nothing, viz., in the manner in which the title is first used—or indeed chiefly used—in the Synoptic Gospels, to suggest a reference to Daniel, or to lead to the supposition that our Lord intended by His use of it to bring before His hearers the transcendent, heavenly being represented in Daniel. A being, conscious, indeed, of his authority and of the high mission entrusted to him, but presenting all the outward marks of earthly humility, and only *in the future* destined to assume heavenly majesty, is surely what the title denotes in the Gospels. Holtzmann's identification of the kingdom pictured in Daniel, not with the kingdom of Christ in its final glory, but with the kingdom at the time of His founding it during His earthly ministry, is not natural. There is equally little, not to say less, to suggest that the title is borrowed from the 'Similitudes' of Enoch. It is also difficult not to think (in spite of Holtzm. p. 253 f.) that it is intended to express primarily, and also more fully and distinctively than even Holsten (§ 20. 11) allows, some meaning directly involved in the words of which it consists (analogous, for instance, to that of its correlative, the 'Son of God').

17. The other main view may be stated substantially, as is done by B. Weiss (*NT Theol.* 1884,

---

[*] Schmiedel, p. 264: 'The name is given [viz. by Dn 7^{13}]; what it signifies is matter not for an analytical judgment, but for a synthetical one,' *i.e.* it is to be ascertained from 'predicates defining the work or office of the Messiah.' Cf. Holtzm. p. 253 bottom, 264 *n.*; Wellh. p. 214.

[†] Cf. H. A. W. Meyer on Mt 8^{20} (altered in the 8th ed. by B. Weiss).

§ 16). (1) Our Lord adopted this title just because it was not a current title of the Messiah. In view of the expectations of a personal Messiah which prevailed at the time, Dn 7^{13} could certainly in His day be interpreted only of the Messiah; but, even so, He could not assume that this particular passage would be so generally known that the expression, 'the Son of man,' would be at once understood as referring to it. The case would be different if we could presuppose the use made of Daniel in Enoch; but, even if the pre-Christian origin of the 'Similitudes' be granted, it is far from clear that they were familiarly known in the circles in which our Lord's ministry principally lay. Only when Jesus in the eschatological passages directed attention to Dn 7^{13} could the title be understood generally as a Messianic designation. This view of His use of the title agrees with the manner in which, during all the earlier part of His ministry, He avoided any direct announcement of His Messiahship, in order not to lend encouragement to the unspiritual ideas attaching to the popular conception of the Messiah. (2) For His hearers the idea expressed by the title would be that He was not a 'son of man' like all others, but that He was '*the* son of man,' one who, in virtue of His character and personality, held a unique position among men. It did not designate *merely* His humanity (for this must have been evident to all who saw Him), but it marked Him out as in some sense a *special* or *representative* man. (3) Christ's statements respecting the 'Son of man,' the functions, office, and divinely appointed destinies assigned to him, point to one who has a mission higher than that of an ordinary prophet, *i.e.* *in*directly to one who is also the Messiah. They speak of Him, for instance, as in various ways proclaiming or establishing the kingdom of God. He has authority to forgive sins; and He gives His life a ransom for many. He is contrasted with John the Baptist, who is merely a forerunner. The sufferings of the Son of man are divinely appointed (δεῖ,—Mk 8^{31} ‖ ‖, *al.*), because it is implied in the OT that God's plan of salvation would not be finally realized upon earth without the suffering and death of the servant of God by whom it would be accomplished. (4) Lastly, in the prophecies of the Second Advent, our Lord alluded so clearly to Dn 7^{13} that though He does not expressly *identify* Himself with the 'one like unto a son of man' there spoken of, those who heard Him, and who identified the figure in Daniel with the Messiah, could not but conclude that He meant by the term that particular 'son of man' who was to be the Messiah.*

Upon this view the second art. (τοῦ) is generic or collective (Winer, § 27. 1; Gn $6^{6.7}$ 8^{21} 9^{6}, 2 S 7^{19}, Mk 2^{27}, Jn 2^{25}), the first art. (ὁ) specifies the individual of the *genus* meant (Weiss, § 16*b*).

18. This opinion, that the title, viz., even though it may have been *suggested* by Dn 7^{13}, was nevertheless intended, and even intended primarily, to express in some manner the relation of Jesus to humanity, has been largely held (see § 20; and the references in Holtzm. pp. 254, 255). It has, however, been objected to it that if the title denoted the 'ideal' or 'representative' man, the predicates affirmed of it could be only those which were involved in the idea itself,—*i.e.*, to speak technically, were the predicates of analytical, not of synthetical judgments, which obviously is not the case with the predicates affirmed of the 'Son of man' in the Gospels. This would, no doubt, be true if the title were understood to be a designation of the 'ideal' man, but not if (abandoning this abstract expression) it be understood to designate a *particular, individual man,* embodying in their highest perfection the attributes of humanity. And this is the sense in which Weiss and Westcott (§ 20), for instance, understand the title. There will then be no difficulty in understanding the predicates affirmed of the 'Son of man' as synthetical judgments: they will result, in other words, not from an analysis of the idea of 'man,' but from the experience, present or future, of the particular individual actually denoted by the term. As Holtzmann, though himself preferring the other view, writes (p. 254), 'The possibility is by no means excluded that the conception of the Messiah was rooted in the idea of man, and that Jesus, in choosing this designation, instead of others that were open to Him, intended thereby to express His relationship to humanity.'

The fact just mentioned has been made the ground of a further objection to the same opinion. As has just been shown, if we start from the idea of 'man,' none of the predicates applied in the Gospels to the 'Son of man' can be obtained from an analysis of that idea. But if we start from the equation (given by Dn 7^{13}) 'Son of man' = 'Messiah,' then all these predicates become analytical judgments; they are, it is said, derivable, at least largely, from the idea of 'Messiah' itself; they are expressions, not of Jesus' conception of 'man,' but of His conception of His Messiahship.* And hence it is concluded that the term was used by Him as properly and primarily signifying 'Messiah.' It may be doubted if this conclusion necessarily follows from the premises. If the term denoted Jesus primarily as a Man above other men, a Man with a unique position and mission, this position and mission would, from another point of view, be also those of the 'Messiah'; and the predicates describing different aspects of His work and ministry would accordingly be those belonging to Him as 'Messiah.' The offices and functions ascribed to the 'Son of man' in the Gospels are deduced by Weiss, starting from the idea of 'man,' not less naturally than by Holtzmann, starting from the idea of 'Messiah.'

19. Two questions, intimately connected, remain to be considered, which also, as will appear, have a bearing upon the question of the origin of the title. At what period in His ministry did our Lord first use the title? And in what sense was it understood by those who heard it? Or, to put the possible alternatives unambiguously, did it *veil* or *reveal* His Messiahship? It is clear that our Lord only declared His Messiahship gradually. The question put by Him to the disciples at Cæsarea Philippi, and Peter's reply (Mt 16^{13-16} = Mk 8^{27-29} = Lk 19^{18-20}), particularly when taken in connexion with our Lord's comment in Mt 16^{17}, make it evident that up to that time He had not openly declared Himself as the Messiah; and the prohibitions in Mt 16^{20} = Mk 8^{30} = Lk 9^{21}, and Mt 17^{9} = Mk 9^{9}, cf. Lk 9^{36}, show that He still did not wish the fact to be known to the people generally. In the Synoptic Gospels there are, however (see the Table, § 3), 9 passages in Matthew, 2 in Mark, and 4 in Luke, in which the title 'Son of man' is ascribed to our Lord before the occasion at Cæsarea Philippi. If, then, the title was a current Mess. title, or even if His hearers, when He used it, were likely at once to perceive a reference to Dn 7^{13}, it is clear that He must, by His use of it, have *revealed* His Messiahship, from virtually the beginning of His ministry, both to His disciples and to the people at large. This, however, as we have just seen, was inconsistent with His avowed purpose. Hence those who believe that it was a current Mess. title are obliged to get rid of those passages in the Gospels which represent our Lord

---

* The views of Bruce, *Kingdom of God* ² (1890), 172–78, and of Stevens, *NT Theol.* (1899), 51–53, while somewhat differently put, do not differ materially from that of Weiss.

* Holsten [§ 10. 11], pp. 36–39; cf. Lietzmann, 14, 15, 24.

as using it before Peter's confession at Cæsarea Philippi. Matthew (in whom most of the passages occur) is the evangelist who, generally, displays the least regard for historical sequence, and sometimes groups incidents and sayings together merely on account of material resemblances; he even represents the disciples as owning Jesus to be the 'Son of God' (14^{33}: no ‖ in Mk $6^{51f.}$ Jn 6^{21}) before the confession at Cæsarea Philippi. Hence there is no difficulty in supposing that Mt 10^{23} 13^{41} (in which, whatever view be taken of the meaning of the title, the predicates applied to it, describing the Second Advent, show that the Messiah is referred to) are placed too early in our Lord's ministry;[*] and the same supposition might be reasonably made (upon the assumption that 'the Son of man' was a Mess. title) in the case of some other passages, as Mt 8^{20} 12^{40};[†] but it is difficult to think that Mk 2^{10}=Mt 9^{6}=Lk 5^{24}, Mk 2^{28}=Mt 12^{8}=Lk 6^{5}, [Mk $3^{28f.}$=] Mt 12^{32}=Lk 12^{10}, can be so misplaced. Nevertheless, those who believe 'the Son of man' to be an explicit Mess. title are obliged to assume this (cf. § 20. 12), or else to hold either that Jesus never used the title at all, or (so Holtzm. p. 263, cf. 256 f.) that, on at least the three last-named occasions, He spoke of 'man' in general (see, further on these passages, § 22).[‡]

The second of these alternatives we have already found ourselves unable to accept; but does either the first or the third suffice to remove the difficulty? Is it really credible that our Lord *first* used the expression of Himself, after Peter's confession at Cæsarea Philippi? Is not the familiar manner in which He used the title, if not *in* the question put to Peter (Mt 16^{13}, but not Mk 8^{27}, Lk 9^{18}), yet directly after it (Mk 8^{31}, Lk 9^{22}), without exciting any comment or surprise, sufficient evidence that it must have been *often* used by Him previously, and that it was an expression which, whatever special ideas it may have been intended to convey, was well understood to denote Himself? These considerations, as it seems to the present writer, constitute a strong argument against the supposition that it was a current Mess. title, or even (without supposing as much as this) that it was adopted by our Lord as a Mess. title, for the purpose of proclaiming His Messiahship.

The title, we thus seem forced to conclude, was used by our Lord in His Galilæan ministry; but it did not suggest to those who heard it Mess. associations, until it came to be connected with predictions of the Second Advent; it thus did not reveal, but veil, His Messiahship. Christ's use of the term was *pædagogic.* It veiled His Messiahship during the earlier part of His ministry, till the time was ripe for Him to avow it openly.[§] By His adoption of it, He found a means, on the one hand, of not denying even in public His consciousness of His unique mission, and, on the other hand, of lending no countenance to the crude and illusory hopes which attached to popular ideas of the Messiah (Weiss, *Leben Jesu*, i. 429).

20. The following summary (which makes no pretension to be exhaustive) may be useful to the reader, partly as illustrating, especially when taken in connexion with the views that have been already stated, the great diversity of opinion which has prevailed—and in part prevails still—with regard to the meaning of the title, partly as exemplifying the lines along which attempts have been principally made to solve the problems which it presents.

1. Neander (*Leben Jesu*, 1837, 129 ff.; Eng. tr.^{4} p. 99). The title denotes Jesus on His human side, as One belonging to humanity, who in His humanity has done so much for it, through whom it is glorified, and who has realized most completely the ideal ('Urbild') of humanity.

2. Baur (*Z. Wiss. Theol.* 1860, 274–292; *NT Theol.* 1864, 77–83). Not at the time a current title of the Messiah, but chosen by Jesus in opposition to prevalent Jewish conceptions of a victorious, earthly Messiah. It emphasized His humanity, His subjection to the needs and experiences of ordinary men; and denoted Him also as one who made all the deepest human interests His own, and had the wide human sympathies expressed, for instance, in the Beatitudes. It was suggested by Dn 7^{13}; and Jesus adopted it as a title, which, while possessing no popular Mess. associations, was adapted to express the Mess. idea in its higher significance.

3. Hilgenfeld (*Z. Wiss. Th.* 1863, 327–334; cf. 1894, 16 f.). Not a current Mess. title. Suggested by Dn 7^{13}, but used by Jesus with the object of giving prominence to His humanity, and of emphasizing the humility and external lowliness which in His person were combined with the exalted dignity of the Messiah. It thus in a veiled manner pointed to His Messiahship. Jesus, by uniting spiritual loftiness with earthly lowliness, 'transfigured' the popular Jewish idea of the Messiah.

4. Weizsäcker (*Evang. Gesch.* 1864, 426–431). Not a current Mess. title (for, if it had been, Jesus would have been attacked for appropriating it); and adopted by Jesus, not from Dn 7^{13}, but from Ezekiel, to designate Himself specially as a *prophet.* The Mess. sense, derived from Dn 7^{13}, was attached to it only at a later period of our Lord's life.

5. Holtzmann (in 1865; *Z. Wiss. Th.* 212–237). Not a current title of the Messiah (for else Jesus would have been attacked for using it), but borrowed by Him as a Mess. title from Dn 7^{13}, 'the expression used by Dn. reflecting itself in His consciousness in a universal and human sense.' It thus denoted Him not *merely* as the Messiah, but as 'the bearer of all human dignity and rights,' as 'one who held a peculiar and central position among the υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.' Not being a current Mess. title, it was a riddle to those who heard it, and served to veil, not to reveal, His Messiahship.

6. Keim (*Der Gesch. Christus*, 1865, p. 105 f.; *Jesus of Naz.* tr. iii. 79–92). The title had a double aspect: on the basis first of Ps $8^{4f.}$, though afterwards also of Dn 7^{13}, it expressed Jesus' sense on the one hand of His human lowliness, on the other hand of His Messianic dignity: in particular, He intended by His use of it to show that even in His capacity as Messiah He was part and parcel of humanity, and to teach His disciples that it was pre-eminently His vocation to serve and suffer for humanity.

7. Wittichen (1868). In Dn 7^{13} the 'son of man' represents the *ethical character* of the future Isr. dominion, as opposed to the worldly heathen dominions; this idea is, however, first embodied in an *individual* in Enoch, from which book Jesus adopted the title. He designated Himself by it as the perfect representative of the idea of man, especially on its ethical side, and at the same time as the Messiah, the chosen organ for the fuller realization of this idea in the world. The idea as presented in Enoch is spiritualized and morally deepened by Jesus, and also combined by Him with associations derived from the OT 'servant of Jehovah.'

8. Westcott (*l.c.* 1880). The title is a new one, not derived from Dn 7^{13}; and it expresses Christ's relation not to a family, or to a nation, but to all humanity. There is nothing in the Gospels to show that it was understood as a title of the Messiah. The idea of the true humanity of Christ lies at the foundation of it. He was the representative of the whole race, in whom the complete conception of manhood was absolutely attained, and who exhibited all the truest and noblest attributes of the race. Cf. Stanton, *The Jewish and the Christian Messiah*, 1886, p. 246: 'It is clear that Christ by His phrase represented Himself as the head, the type, the ideal of the race.'

9. Wendt, 1890 (*The Teaching of Jesus*, ii. 139–151). Not a current Mess. title. Dn 7^{13} suggested the combination of creaturely frailty and lowliness with high dignity; and so Jesus, when He used the title, taught that He was a frail human creature, and yet showed that He remembered the proph. word that the Mess. dignity was to belong to 'one like unto a son of man.' It was no announcement of His Mess. claims, but rather propounded a problem for His hearers to reflect upon.

10. J. E. Carpenter (*The First Three Gospels, their Origin and Relations*, 1890, pp. 118–120, 244–257, 372–388). Jesus never used the expression to designate Himself: He employed it only in the eschatological passages, and in these it was used by Him symbolically to denote the establishment of God's kingdom of righteousness upon earth. The primitive Church understood the expression in a personal sense, and then ascribed it, as a Mess. title, to Jesus Himself.

11. Holsten (*Z. f. Wiss. Theol.* 1891, pp. 1–79). The title, though not a current Mess. one, was understood by Jesus in that sense, as appears from the fact that He always uses it to express some aspect of the work or activity of the Messiah (cf. Holtzmann: § 15). It was adopted from Dn 7^{13}, though this passage gave only the outer form, the contents being supplied by the experience and knowledge of the historical Jesus (as teacher, sufferer, redeemer, etc.): only thus did He convert 'the visionary form of a Messiah, which He found in Daniel, into His own living Mess. personality' (p. 68, cf. 60). He would

---

[*] Some other passages in Matthew, involving the avowal of Jesus' Messiahship, though not with the use of this title, are also probably ante-dated; cf. Holtzmann, p. 259.

[†] In Lk 6^{22} [contrast Mt 5^{11}], 7^{34}=Mt 11^{19}, Holtzmann (p. 251) doubts whether the title (which he regards as Mess.) is original.

[‡] Fiebig, however [§ 24], thinks that in these cases it was simply misunderstood (as='man,' 'a man') by those who heard it.

[§] Keim. Similarly Baur, Hase, Lange, Ritschl, Harnack, and others, as cited by Holtzmann, p. 261 n. 1, 262 n. 5.

not, however, have appropriated the title, had He not desired to designate Himself as a member of the *genus* 'man,' and also recognized Himself as the member of the *genus* referred to in Dn 7^{13} (p. 47). The difficulty (cf. § 16) of understanding how Jesus could have denoted Himself, under the conditions of His earthly life, by a term suggesting only the transcendent Being of Daniel, is met by the supposition (which, however, lacks support in the text of Dn. itself) that the 'one like unto a son of man' in Dn 7^{13} is really to be conceived as having been brought before God, and invested by Him with power and greatness, out of a previous state of earthly humility and weakness (pp. 61, 67 f.). The title was used by Jesus in His Galilæan ministry (Mk 2^{10} etc.); for though He Himself understood it in a Mess. sense, this was not *necessarily* placed upon it even by scripture-students, esp. if His own appearance and manner of life did not suggest it: it would be taken naturally by those who heard it, including, up to the time of Peter's confession, even the disciples, to signify simply 'the man.' And this would agree with His own purpose of keeping for a while His Messiahship a secret (pp. 20, 22, 31 f., 70 f.).

12. Baldensperger (*Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu im Lichte der Mess. Hoffnungen seiner Zeit*^{2}, 1892) emphasizes strongly the prevalence of apocalyptic conceptions in the time of Christ. He rejects emphatically the opinion that the title *concealed* Jesus' Messiahship, and also the view that it was intended to express any aspect of His humanity. It was (through the influence of Daniel and Enoch) a known Mess. title in the time of Christ; and Jesus adopted it with the express object of proclaiming His Messiahship. It was a triumphant designation of the Messiah; and Jesus connected it with declarations respecting His humiliation and sufferings for the express purpose of showing (in opposition to current Jewish ideas) that these were integral elements in His conception of the Messiah. As, however, it was an open proclamation of His Messiahship, He cannot have used it before Peter's confession at Cæsarea Philippi: the passages in the Gospels which imply that He did this must be chronologically misplaced. Baldensperger closes with a severe criticism of Holsten for admitting in again 'by a back-door' (see above, No. 11) any reference in the title to the humanity of Jesus, which he had himself shown to be out of the question, as well as unnecessary, in view of the direct derivation of the title from Dn 7^{13} (pp. 182-189); and of Wendt for discovering in the expression anything of the nature of creaturely weakness or humility (pp. 189-192).

13. J. V. Bartlet (*Expos.*, Dec. 1892, 427-443). The title may have been suggested by Dn 7^{13}; but as used by Jesus it denotes Him as the ideal representative, partly of humanity in general, partly of the Kingdom of God in particular, especially under those aspects of character which belong to the suffering servant in Deutero-Isaiah.

14. Dalman (*Die Worte Jesu*, 1898, 191-219; cf. *Exp. Times*, x. 438-443). Not a current Mess. title, but adopted by Jesus from Dn 7^{13}, and very probably also with the thought of Ps $8^{4f.}$ at the same time, because He was the destined Messiah. It veiled His Messiahship behind a name which emphasized the humanity of its bearer. It implied that He was in some sense a man 'above other men,' but not that He was the 'ideal' man —a conception foreign to Jewish thought, and not at all suggested by the teaching of Jesus. He avoided the term 'Messiah' on account of the false ideas associated with it by the Jews: the 'son of man' in Daniel, on the other hand, was one who was not to win the kingdom by his own strength, but to *receive* it at the hands of God, and might have to do this through suffering and death: Jesus thus assumed the title as 'a frail child of man, whom God would make Lord of the world.' Probably not used before Peter's confession; the passages in the Gospels which imply that it was, being chronologically misplaced.

15. Gunkel (*Z. Wiss. Theol.* 1899, 582-590) agrees that in Aram. the term meant only 'the man,' but thinks that there may have been an esoteric eschat. tradition underlying both Daniel, Enoch, and other apocalypses, in which (like other apoc. expressions, as 'the end,' 'the woes,' the 'elect,' ὁ κατέχων, etc.) 'the man' (perhaps orig. 'the man of God,' or 'of heaven') may have come to be used conventionally as a mystic synonym of 'the Messiah': Jesus might thus have adopted it as a self-designation; to outsiders it would mean simply 'the man,' and might be understood, for example, of an ancient prophet, returned to life (Mt 16^{14}); by the initiated, it would be understood to be a covert title of the Messiah.

16. J. Drummond, 1901 [see § 24]. The term is used elastically: starting from Dn 7^{13} Jesus may have regarded it as a typical expression for the ideal people of God, with which associations derived from the 'servant of God' in Is 52^{13}–53^{12} would readily connect themselves: conscious Himself of His Messianic calling, He would naturally regard Himself as the Head of this ideal class. The central idea of the expression would thus be that of *the true servant of God*,—pre-eminently Himself, but not necessarily and uniformly exclusive of others (so, *e.g.*, in Mt 8^{20} 12^{31}, Mk $2^{10.28}$,—in Mt 11^{18} the expl. 'a man' [§ 8. 4] may be adopted). The eschat. passages may be visions of the spiritual conquest of the world by a Divinely commissioned humanity, personified as 'the son of man.'

21. Most of these opinions contain elements of truth; but the divergence as regards the fundamental idea denoted by the expression is remarkable. Still those views which see in the title *some* relation to humanity decidedly predominate. The present writer must own that he is most attracted by the views of Westcott and Weiss (to which those of Neander, Baur, and Holtzmann in 1865 lead up). The expression, understood in the natural sense of the words, denotes one who, though a Man, holds nevertheless a unique position among men; and this, it seems to him, is the proper starting-point for investigating its meaning, and discovering the further ideas (if any) attaching to it. He cannot think that the title was first used by Christ in the eschat. passages, or even after Peter's confession: whatever its special significance may have been, it must have been an expression heard frequently upon our Lord's lips, and the disciples must have first become familiar with it in comparatively neutral or colourless passages, not in those foretelling either His future sufferings or His future glory. The title may have been borrowed by our Lord from Dn 7^{13}; but He did not, at least when first using it, intend to bring before His hearers the figure there portrayed: He adopted it as a mere shell or form, suggestive of His humanity, into which He threw a new import and content of His own: more special associations derived from Dn 7^{13}—perhaps, also, in Mt 16^{27} 19^{28} 25^{31} from Enoch *—came first to be attached to it in the eschat. passages. Ps 8, with its strikingly-drawn contrast between the actual lowliness and the ideal dignity of man, may also well have contributed to the adoption of the title by our Lord. The title, as it seems to the present writer (though he would avoid such expressions as the 'ideal' or 'representative' man), designates Jesus as *the* Man in whom human nature was most fully and deeply realized, and who was the most complete exponent of its capacities, warm and broad in His sympathies, ready to minister and suffer for others, sharing to the full the needs and deprivations which are the common lot of humanity, but conscious at the same time of the dignity and greatness of human nature, and destined ultimately to exalt it to unexampled majesty and glory. He would in general endorse cordially what is written on this subject in vol. ii. p. 623^{a-b} (cf. also p. 850^{b}).

22. We append a few remarks on some particular passages in which the title is used.

a. Mt 8^{20}=Lk 9^{58} ('the foxes have holes,' etc.). As Schmiedel remarks (p. 293), Meyer's 'a man' (*i.e.* Jesus) † is exegetically impossible; Lietzmann's 'man' (generally) ‡ is out of the question. The contrast is evidently between the external lowliness and the inherent dignity of Him who in a special sense was *the* 'Son of man.'

b. Mt 9^{6}=Mk 2^{10}=Lk 5^{24}. There is no necessity, for the purpose of understanding this passage, to suppose that the title was a Mess. one. Jesus, in order to meet the objection, 'Who can forgive sins, but God only?' heals the paralytic, thereby showing that He holds an extraordinary commission from God upon earth sufficient to satisfy the Jews that He is justified in claiming also to possess authority to forgive sins. The passage, it is true, is one in which an Aram. original 'that a man hath authority on earth to forgive sins' § would be quite possible, and yield a suitable sense,—the word, though in form general, being meant to be limited to Jesus Himself; but, if 'the Son of man' be admitted as a title of Jesus elsewhere, there is, of course, no necessity for having recourse to the supposition here.

c. Mt 12^{8}=Mk 2^{28}=Lk 6^{5}. Here in Mk we read: '(v.^{27}) And he said unto them, The sabbath is made for man, and not man for the sabbath: (v.^{28}) *so that* the son of man is lord even of the sabbath,'—the statement that the son of man is lord of the sabbath being based upon the premises contained in v.^{27}. But in the premise, 'the sabbath is made for man,' 'man' is evidently meant generally, so that the only logical conclusion from it is, not that a particular man, but that man generally,—or, at least (since, from the nature of the case, the worldly, unspiritual man would not be thought of), the religious man, who weighed reasons, and could judge how to use rightly what was instituted for the benefit of man,—is 'lord of the sabbath'; Jesus, by His argument, though He would *in*clude Himself, would not *ex*clude others. And such a conclusion would be in agreement not only with the general teaching of Christ, but with the context, which shows that Jesus is defending not His own action, but that of His *disciples*. Hence, as Schmiedel also allows, the supposition that 'the son of man' has arisen out of a misinterpretation, or false limitation, of the Aram. *barnāshā*,* is here certainly plausible. At the same time, it is possible that the argument is, 'The sabbath was made for man; and therefore the Son of man, as holding a unique position among men, and knowing what their welfare requires, may, for a sufficient reason, dispense with the obligation to observe the sabbath' (cf. Stanton, 247 f.). It must, however, then be supposed that the action of the disciples in plucking the ears of corn had been implicitly authorized by Jesus.

---

* For (§ 11) it is only here (and not in Daniel) that the 'son of man' appears as *judge*.

† P. 96 f. (cf. above, § 8. 4).

‡ P. 90 (but allowing that, in its present connexion, only Jesus can be meant: so Well. p. 206).

§ Meyer, p. 94 (cf. § 8. 4); Lietzm. p. 89; Wellh. p. 203.

d.†

Mk 3^{28-30}.	Mt 12^{31}.	Mt 12^{32}.	Lk 12^{10}.
28 All sins and blasphemies shall to *the sons of men* be forgiven, wherewithsoever they blaspheme:	Every sin and blasphemy shall unto *men* be forgiven;	And whoso speaketh a word against *the son of man*, it shall be forgiven him;	And every one who shall speak a word against *the son of man*, it shall be forgiven him;
29 But whoso blasphemeth against *the Holy Spirit* hath not forgiveness for ever (εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα), but is guilty of an eternal sin.	but the blasphemy of *the Spirit* shall not be forgiven.	but whoso speaketh against *the Holy Spirit*, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this age (αἰών) nor in that which is to come.	but unto him that blasphemeth against *the Holy Spirit* it shall not be forgiven.
30 Because they said, He hath an unclean spirit.			

Here Mt $12^{31.\,32}$ certainly wear the appearance of being duplicate versions of one and the same saying, v.^{31} agreeing with Mk $3^{28f.}$, and v.^{32} with Lk 12^{10}; and the contrast expressed in Mk $3^{28f.}$ Mt 12^{31} between 'men' in general and the Holy Spirit becoming in Mt 12^{32} Lk 12^{10} one between the 'Son of man' and the Holy Spirit. It is not difficult to understand how these duplicates might have arisen out of different recensions of the original saying, of which one read בני נשא ('men'), and the other בר נש ('a man,'—intended in a general sense).‡ According to Wellh. the version in Mk 3^{28} Mt 12^{31} is the original, the contrast (as Mk 3^{30} shows) being between blasphemy against men and blasphemy against the Holy Spirit [cf. 1 S 2^{25} RV]; Jesus, therefore, if this view be correct, never declared blasphemy against Himself to be pardonable. Schmiedel, in his acute discussion of these passages, replies that although no doubt Mark, as a rule, has the greater originality than Matthew, that is not the case universally [cf. vol. ii. p. 241^{a}]; and in the present instance the words of Jesus in Matthew 12^{32}=Lk 12^{10} (in which He *distinguishes* between Himself and the Holy Spirit), has, upon intrinsic grounds, a far higher claim to originality than the remark of the narrator in Mk 3^{30} (which makes blasphemy against Jesus tantamount to blasphemy against the Holy Spirit); while the declaration that blasphemy against Himself was pardonable is one which no evangelist would have ventured to place in Jesus' mouth, had He not really uttered it. Mt 12^{32} is not necessarily a parallel recension of 12^{31}, or superfluous beside it; it would be perfectly in place if it stated with explicit reference to the 'Son of man' what is indeed implicit in v.^{31}, but is not there expressed explicitly. Mark 'may have had before him, not indeed our Matthew, but Mt $12^{31f.}$ in a similar form, and have re-cast v.^{32}, on account of its seeming inconsistency with reverence for Jesus, in a form influenced by the phraseology of v.^{31}.' But the correctness of the comment in Mk 3^{30} must, upon this view, be given up; and indeed (Schmiedel) it is not certain that Mk $3^{28f.}$ (=Mt $12^{31f.}$) is *historically* connected with the preceding narrative; the parallel in Lk (12^{10}) stands in a very different connexion. The impossibility of questioning the originality of Mt 12^{32} = Lk 12^{10} thus constitutes to Schmiedel a conclusive argument against explaining the variations between the Synoptists here by means of the Aramaic.

23. In the *Fourth Gospel* the title is still found only in our Lord's mouth; but it is lifted into a higher plane, and, in agreement with St. John's predominant point of view, is used commonly in more distinct connexion with His Divine nature. It is thus applied to Him not only with reference to events in His life on earth as a man, but also with reference to His pre-existence with God.* The uniqueness of the 'Son of man' consists in His having 'come down from heaven' (3^{13}), whither also He will return again (6^{62}), and in virtue of which those who 'work' that they may appropriate Him, and who further eat His flesh and drink His blood, have eternal life ($6^{27.\,53}$, cf. vv.$^{50.\,51.\,58}$). While on earth, He remains in constant spiritual intercourse with His Father in Heaven, as those whose eyes are opened may see by His life and works (1^{51}). He will be 'lifted up' on the cross in order that those who believe in Him may have eternal life ($3^{13f.}$), and that men may perceive who He is (8^{28}); and His approaching death is the hour of His glorification (12^{23} 13^{31}). The multitude understood Him to claim to be the Messiah; and ask (12^{34}) to have it explained to them how, if the Son of man is thus to be 'lifted up,' He can be the Messiah who is to 'abide for ever' (as head, viz., of an earthly kingdom). In 9^{35}, according to the reading of ℵBD, the unique position occupied by the 'Son of man' is attested by the importance attached to

---

* Meyer, p. 93; Lietzm. p. 89 f.; Wellh. p. 202: cf. Holtzm. p. 256.

† The tabular arrangement is Schmiedel's (p. 303).

‡ Lietzm. p. 87-89; Wellh. p. 203 f.

* In connexion with our Lord's future Advent, it is not used at all in St. John.

belief in Him.* Cf., further, Holtzm. ii. 426–30; Weiss, § 144*c*.

24. Literature.—Holtzmann, *NT Theol.* (1897), i. 246–64, is indispensable for all further study of the subject: it is, unfortunately, not very clearly written, the writer's literary method leaving it sometimes uncertain how far he identifies himself with the alternative views stated:—Reuss, *Théol. Chrét.* 1860, tr. i. 197–200 (as realizing the moral ideal of humanity), ii. 410, 412; Weiss, 1884 (above, § 17); Baldensperger, ^{1}1888, ^{2}1892 (above, § 20. 12); Holsten, 1891 (§ 20. 11); Sanday, *Expos.* Jan. 1891, 18–32 (crit. of Carpenter, § 20. 10); Bartlet, 1892 (§ 20. 13); Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 1893, 312–17; Oort, 1893 (§ 8 *end*); Wellh. *Isr. u. Jüd. Gesch.* ^{1}1894, 312, ^{2}1895, 346, ^{3}1897, 381; Eerdmans, 1894–5 (§ 8. 2); N. Schmidt, *JBL* 1896, 36–53, 'Was בר נשא a Mess. Title?' [Answer, No, on grounds of Aram. usage]; A. Meyer, 1896 (§ 8. 4); Lietzmann, 1896 (§ 8. 5) [pp. 1–29, survey and criticism of previous views]; Hilgenfeld, 1897 (§ 10 n.); Nestle, *Expos. Times*, Feb. 1900, p. 238 (on Ps $80^{16.18}$ LXX [where, however, τὸν υἱ. τοῦ ἀ. does *not* occur]); Schmiedel, *Prot. Monatshefte*, 1898, H. 7, 252–67, H. 8, 291–308 (crit. of Meyer, Lietzm., and Wellh. *Gesch.*); Lietzmann, *Theol. Arbeiten aus dem Rhein. Wiss. Pred.-Verein*, 1898, II. 2, 1–14 (reply to Hilgenfeld and Schmiedel); Dalman, 1898 (§ 20. 14); Wellh. *Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten*, 1899, 187–215, and v, vi; Klöpper, *Z. Wiss. Th.* 1899, 161–86; Gunkel, 1899 [§ 20. 16]; Hommel, *Expos. Times*, May 1900, 341–5 (develops Gunkel's view, and traces title back to the Bab. Adapa); Baldensperger, *Theol. Rundschau*, June 1900, 201–10, July 1900, 243–55 (survey of recent discussion); J. Drummond, *Journ. of Theol. Studies*, Apr. and July 1901, for the loan of which in MS the writer of the preceding article is greatly indebted to the author; Fiebig, *Der Menschensohn*, 1901 [appeared since this art. was in type. Impartial and independent: very clear and thorough, esp. on the Aramaic side; thinks the title was a current Mess. one, meaning 'the man,' based on Dn 7^{13}, but enlarged and enriched by Jesus and adopted by Him because (cf. § 19) it did not *necessarily* point to Himself, and also was not specifically national].

S. R. Driver.

SONG OF SONGS (שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים; B ᾆσμα, ℵ C ᾆσμα ᾀσμάτων, A ᾄσματα ᾀσμάτων; Vulg. *Canticum Canticorum*, whence the common name **Canticles**; AV **Song of Solomon**).—

i. Name and place in the Canon.
ii. Methods of Interpretation. An allegorical sense maintained both in Jewish and Christian Church: Targum, St. Bernard, Luther; Seb. Castellio (opposed traditional view); Grotius, R. Simon, Clericus, Whiston, J. D. Michaelis (all opposed at least to the exclusively allegorical sense); Herder (regarded the book as a collection of separate love-songs); allegorical interpretations of Keil, Rosenmüller, Hengstenberg, Hahn, Goltz, Hug, G. P. C. Kaiser; views of Jacobi, Delitzsch, von Orelli, Ewald; two distinct types of the dramatical theory, represented by Delitzsch and Ewald respectively; a new era in interpretation of the Song inaugurated by J. G. Wetzstein, whose views have been most fully carried out by Budde; Budde's view stated and criticised; the present writer's own view.
iii. Authorship, Place of composition, and Date.
Literature.

i. Name of the Book and its place in the Canon.—'Song of Songs,' which is the exact rendering of the Hebrew title of this little book, does not mean 'a song of the songs (*sc.* of Solomon),' as Ibn Ezra and Kimchi supposed, but, by a not uncommon periphrasis for the superlative, is equivalent to 'the finest song,' that which is superior to all other songs, that which unites in itself the excellences of everything that is called song. The title, which, as we shall find, did not originally stand at the head of the book but was introduced afterwards, thus contains a significant expression of opinion regarding the composition. It is explicable only on the ground of the view which a later age thought it necessary to hold as to the real sense of a work which had now gained a place in the Canon of the OT. Nay, it is only the prevalence of the same view that will explain how the Song ever found entrance at all into the circle of Sacred Writings.

This pregnant title corresponds with the high estimate of the book expressed by R. Akiba (cf. *Jadaim*, iii. 5), about the end of the 1st cent. A.D.: 'God forbid! No one in Israel has ever doubted that the Song of Songs defiles the hands [*i.e.* that it is a holy canonical book†], for the whole world is not worth the day on which the Song was given to Israel. For all the Writings [*i.e.* the Hagiographa] are holy, but the Song of Songs is a holy of the holies.' Henceforward this idea of the incomparable value of the book continued to be the only prevailing one amongst the Jews, and thus passed over also into the Christian Church.

ii. Methods of Interpretation.—The above Talmudic citation shows, however, that this high estimate of the Song of Songs did not succeed in establishing itself without opposition. The question whether they 'defile the hands' received a vacillating answer especially in regard to the Song and Ecclesiastes. And it is easy to account for this. The plain language of the book, soberly interpreted, does not suggest that we have to do with a work of high religious value or with a sacred poem. It was necessary to wrest the language and to assume that a deeper sense underlay the literal meaning, before one could justify the presence of such a book and gain an abiding place for it amongst the Sacred Writings.* What we hear of is earthly love, that of betrothed or married persons, and nowhere does the natural eye detect a single indication that would call it away from this and compel it to see in the figures presented to it images of a higher love. But at the time the step was taken of admitting the Song into the Canon, there can be no doubt that amongst those scribes whose influence was greatest in the collecting of the Sacred Writings, it had long been the custom to find in this exquisite work an allegory, and in the bond of love there presented to see the bond of love between J" and Israel. Sufficient inducement to such an interpretation was supplied by Scripture itself, for at least since the time of the prophet Hosea the representation of the covenant between J" and His people under the figure of the relation between husband and wife had become frequent and popular. When in consequence of the allegorical interpretation the book had been received into the Canon, objections to its being allowed to remain there could, of course, arise only from the strong impression which its language makes upon the reader, and the removal of such objections was facilitated in proportion as the allegorical interpretation obtained acceptance. The latter interpretation was bound to triumph in the end, for the more the true conception of the origin and character of Scripture was lost and a false notion of its inspiration came in, the more did the need make itself felt that all writings received into the Canon, the Song included, should be viewed and interpreted in such a way as to entitle them to rank as holy writings inspired by God's Spirit.

One result of the triumph of the allegorical interpretation, and of the extravagant estimate of the book (so well illustrated by the above words of R. Akiba), was the introduction of the liturgical use of the Song into the Jewish Church. Canticles, along with Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther, made up the five *Megillôth* ('rolls') which were read to the congregation at certain festivals. The liturgical use of Canticles deserves all the more careful consideration, because it helps us to decide what view of its contents was entertained by the Jewish congregation in the earliest times. For undoubtedly the contents of each book were intended to be brought into close connexion with the festival at which it was read. Now, Canticles was appointed to be read on the 8th day of the Feast of the Passover.† But this feast commemorated the time when J″ delivered His people from the oppression of a strange lord in order to unite them to Himself at Sinai by an everlasting covenant. J″ then is the beloved, and the people of God or the congregation of Israel are His loved one.

---

* In Jn 5^{27} the expression is different, 'because he is *a* son of man' (υἱὸς ἀνθρ.), *i.e.* (see Westcott, or Meyer, *ad loc.*; and Holtzmann, ii. 427 f.) because of His true humanity, adapting Him specially to be a judge of men. Cf. the human sympathy of the Judge in Mt 25^{34-40}.

† On 'defile the hands' see Delitzsch in *Zeitsch. f. luth. Th. u. K.* xv. (1854) 280 ff., and W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} 186, note 1.

* See *Aboth of R. Nathan*, c. i.: 'At first they said that Proverbs, *Canticles*, and Ecclesiastes were apocryphal. They said they were parabolic writings and not of the Hagiographa . . . till the men of the Great Synagogue came and *explained* them' (cf. W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} 181, note 1).

† Ruth is read on the 2nd day of the Feast of Weeks or Pentecost, Lamentations on the 9th Ab (*i.e.* the anniversary of the burning of the temple by the Chaldæans), Ecclesiastes on the 3rd day of the Feast of Tabernacles, and Esther on the 13th Adar (the opening day of the Feast of Purim).

According to the paraphrase of the Targum, the poem portrays the history of Israel from the Exodus to its redemption and glorification in Messianic times, when the full and final union of J″ with His people shall be realized. This is certainly a profound interpretation, and one, too, which could find its roots in the Prophetic literature (cf. Hos 1–3, Jer $2^{1ff.}$ $3^{1ff.}$, Ezk 16, Is 50^{1} $54^{5ff.}$ etc.). But this explanation puts difficulties in the way of the plain natural understanding as soon as it is sought to apply it to individual features of the poetical representation. These everywhere indicate too strongly that what we have to do with is really earthly love and a product of erotic poetry.* The consciousness of this had certainly not been lost even by the Jews. It was felt that one required ripeness of religious and moral insight and strength in order to understand the Song not in a false and morally pernicious fashion, but according to its hidden deeper meaning. Thus we must explain the Jewish regulation, reported to us by Origen and Jerome, that no one was to read the book till he was 30 years of age (the age, according to Nu 4^{3}, at which the Levite is ready to enter upon his sacred duties).

The allegorical interpretation, which had been adopted by the Jews, gained acceptance also in the Christian Church, chiefly through Origen's exposition of the Song, and all through the Middle Ages this continued to be the prevailing interpretation. Nay, until quite recently it has maintained its supremacy in the Roman Catholic Church, and has found defenders even in the Churches of the Reformation. The allegorical interpretation, indeed, speedily assumed here a mystical character. It was supposed that one could discover in the poem a (prophetical) description beforehand of the loving relation between Christ and His people or between Him and the individual believing soul, and of the yearning desire of the latter for loving union with the Lord. The most notable witness to this allegorico-mystical view is to be found in the 86 sermons of St. Bernard, which, however, do not extend beyond Ca 3^{1}. Of course there are particular features in the poem which give abundant scope for mystical fancies. It was only with the Reformation that an era dawned which created the conditions necessary for a more correct understanding of the Song. It should not, indeed, be forgotten that Theodore of Mopsuestia, who belonged to the exegetic school of Antioch, had long before sought to do justice to the literal sense of the Song, by teaching that it treats simply of earthly love. But he stood alone with his interpretation over against the prevailing allegorical view, and was anathematized for holding it at the fifth Œcumenical Council at Constantinople (A.D. 553). Even in the Churches of the Reformation a more natural understanding of the Song made its way at first very slowly. In general the allegorical interpretation, borrowed from the Jews, and subjected to Christian modifications, continued to reign: especially within the Reformed Church was there a tendency to adhere closely to the explanation of the synagogue, and to see in the Song a prophetical pre-description of the development of the history of the Church.†

A unique view, which deservedly gained no adherents, was put forward by Luther: 'Solomon intends by these discourses of the lover and his beloved to show that, where obedience and good government are, God dwells and kisses and embraces His bride by His word; in short, he means to sing the praises of obedience as a gift of God.'‡—It was still a dangerous thing, even in the century of the Reformation, to depart from the traditional allegorical interpretation. Seb. Castellio of Geneva learned this to his cost when, on account of having seen in the Song a 'geistlich Buhllied,' and having pronounced it unworthy to stand in the Canon, he was accused (not, it is true, simply for holding this opinion) by Calvin and banished from Geneva (1544).—A more decided movement in favour of an interpretation corresponding to the original sense of the poem, was inaugurated by Hugo Grotius († 1645). Even he, to be sure, does not yet break absolutely with the traditional view, for he does not simply reject an allegorical exegesis, but, primarily and according to the literal sense, the Song is for him concerned only with earthly love, in fact the love of Solomon for the Egyptian princess, his wife.*—The number of those who understood the subject to be earthly love and rejected the allegorical interpretation continued to grow; in particular the pioneers of the critical study of the OT, men like R. Simon, Clericus, Whiston (Cambridge), belonged to this category. The first to oppose the allegorical interpretation by weighty arguments was J. D. Michaelis (in his edition of R. Lowth's *De sacra poesi Hebræorum prælectiones*, Göttingen, 1758–61, Notes, p. 603 ff., he even excluded the Song from his translation of the Bible). But to J. G. Herder belongs the credit of having helped to its triumphant recognition the only true view of the fundamental character of Canticles as a product of genuine and pure erotic poetry. In his work, entitled *Lieder der Liebe, die ältesten und schönsten aus dem Morgenlande; nebst 44 alten Minneliedern* (1778), he contends that the book is a collection of separate love-songs of an impassioned and morally pure character, and this view of his has continued to gain adherents (Reuss, Budde, *et al.*; see, further, below) down to the most recent times.

But the allegorical interpretation also found champions not only among Roman Catholic, but also among Protestant theologians. In itself this is not at all surprising, for any one who took his stand upon the ground of the old orthodox doctrine of inspiration would feel compelled to do justice to the simple fact that the Song is included in the Canon. He would have to bring it into relation with the system of revealed truth, and discover revelation, that is, prophecy, in *its* contents as well; for in no other way could he explain its reception into the Canon. Accordingly, we find, on the one hand, a movement in the direction of the old Jewish interpretation. So, in particular, Keil (*Einleitung*, 1853, p. 373) holds that in Canticles 'in dramatico-lyric responsive songs, and under the allegory of the betrothed love of Solomon and the Shulammite,' we have portrayed 'the loving intercourse between the Lord and His people in their ideal character resulting from Israel's choice to this privilege, according to which all disturbing of this intercourse by unfaithfulness on the part of Israel only leads to an establishing more firmly of the covenant of love, through return to the true covenant God and His unchangeable love.' But, as he himself expressly notes, Keil does not mean by this that we can discover in the Song a literal reflexion of the actual 'history of the covenant relation' or 'an allegorical veiling of the principal features of the theocratic history.' On the contrary, it is the loving intercourse of the Lord 'according to its Divine idea' that is portrayed. In this way Keil obtains for the Song a Messianic character in so far as it describes a relation 'which was first realized through Christ.' Accordingly, he insists also upon the inspired character of the book, which is 'no product of the soil of the natural development of the theocratic God-consciousness, but, like the prophetical Psalms, one due to the supernatural working of the Holy Spirit in the mind of Solomon, and so constructed that the mutual love of king Solomon and the ideal Shulammite undergoes transfiguration and becomes an allegory of the marriage of the Heavenly Bridegroom with His elect bride on earth.' Of course Keil considers that this allegorico-prophetical view is amply supported by the above-mentioned Biblical description of the covenant relation between Jahweh and Israel under the figure of a marriage union.—The same principle of interpretation lay at the root of Rosenmüller's original view (cf. Keil and Tschirner's *Analekten*, i. [1813] p. 138 ff.; for his later view see preceding col., note*), as well as at that of Hengstenberg (*Das Hohe Lied*, 1853) and others.†—Another set of interpreters refer the contents of the Song (in a Messianic sense) to the mission of the kingdom of Israel to heathendom (H. A. Hahn, 1852), or of Christ to the presently divided Church, which is to be brought back to the perfection which belonged to it in the apostolic age (G. F. Goltz, 1850).

The attempts to convert the Song into a *political* allegory may be pronounced completely mistaken. For instance, it has been supposed by J. L. Hug (1813) to be a fancy poem in which the longing of the ten tribes for a reunion with king Hezekiah is set forth under the figure of the love relations of the Shulammite with Solomon. According to G. P. C. Kaiser (1825) the Song of Songs is 'a collective song, addressed to Zerubbabel, Ezra, and Nehemiah, as the restorers of a Jewish constitution in the province of Judah.'

---

* According to another interpretation, Canticles portrays Solomon's love to Wisdom. (The last representative of this view is Rosenmüller, in his *Scholia in Vet. Test.*; the Peshiṭta substitutes חָכְמָה for שִׁיר in the title of the book). Are we to infer from Wis 8^{2} that the author of the *Wisdom of Solomon* already held the same view?

† As a notable representative of this view we may specify Cocceius (†1669), whose federal theology this view of the Song suited admirably.

‡ Cf. Köstlin, *M. Luther, sein Leben u. seine Schriften*^{2}, i. p. 610 f.

---

* The form in which Grotius states the traditional view is worthy of note: '*Creditur* autem Salomon, quo magis perennaret hoc scriptum, ea arte id composuisse, ut sine multa distortione allegoriæ in eo inveniri possent, quæ Dei amorem adversus populum Israelit. exprimerent. Ille amor *typus* cum fuerit amoris Christi erga ecclesiam, Christiani ingenia sua ad applicanda ad eam rem huius carminis verba exercuerunt, laudabili studio.'

† E. Rupprecht (*Einleit. in d. AT*, 1898, p. 353 ff.) still walks quite in the footsteps of Hengstenberg.

The allegorical interpretation has all along started with presupposing the internal unity of the poem, and has uniformly seen in Solomon its author and its hero. On this view of the Song, moreover, the dramatical element in its construction, which makes itself felt not indistinctly, is preserved, even if it is not always recognized. Over against not only the allegorical explanation but also that view of the Song which breaks it up into separate songs or fragments of songs in the fashion so brilliantly inaugurated by Herder, another manner of interpretation began to gain always wider currency and acceptance. This agreed with the second of the views just named, in holding that it is earthly love that is the subject of the Song, and with the first in maintaining the literary unity of the poem. It ceased to search in Canticles for deep secrets of revelation, prophetico-symbolical glances into the development of the kingdom of God, and preferred to take its contents realistically, as the reflexion of a historical occurrence. What the poem lost in this way of the value which the allegorical interpretation had sought to impose upon it, was richly compensated by the ethical significance which it gained upon the new theory. The man who led the way in this mode of interpretation was J. C. Jacobi (in his anonymous work, *Das durch eine leichte Erklärung von seinen Vorwürfen gerettete Hohelied*, 1771). He saw in the Song a panegyric on conjugal fidelity, for he considers that its subject is the steadfastness with which a wife who had been carried off from her husband maintained her fidelity to the latter, in face of the seductive attempts of Solomon. Afterwards the adherents of this system of interpretation deviated from Jacobi in *one* point. They saw in the heroine of the poem, not a married woman, but a virgin, who, in spite of all the insidious arts of Solomon, remained true to her lover or betrothed, and who finally received the reward of her faithfulness in her union with her beloved.

Those who, in spite of differences in detail, which it is impossible to describe more fully here, held the same general view (just described) of the Song, were not all agreed also in regarding it as a dramatic poem. Some took it to be an epic poem; others, in view of its strongly pronounced lyric character, would have it that it is a collection of ballads, or even an operetta, with choruses, duets, and solos. But the majority of the adherents of the above theory, especially amongst the most distinguished exegetes, took the view that the Song is a drama, or it might be a melodrama. We may specify such names as Ewald (1826, 1867), Umbreit (1828, 1839), Hitzig (1855), Renan (1860), even Delitzsch (see, further, below), Stickel (1888), Oettli (1889), Driver (1891, etc.), Bruston (1891). Amongst many others the present writer has given in his adhesion to this opinion (1893). But as to the internal structure of the poem there is by no means complete agreement, although the differences that exist are no evidence, as has been supposed, that there is nothing in the dramatic theory. The absence of scenic indications in the text, and the necessity of inferring simply from the contents, or the form of expression, who is the speaker in particular sentences or sections, are quite sufficient to account for the surprising differences in the dramatic arrangement of the Song proposed by different exegetes. These differences are, of course, due also in large measure to the very great difficulties that beset the exposition of the Song of Songs.

The main difference amongst the adherents of the dramatical theory is the following. Starting with the primary assumption that Canticles is a dramatic poem, exegetes, in answering the question as to the principal *dramatis personæ*, part company in two quite different directions. Delitzsch (1851, 1875), and, in essential agreement with him, Zöckler (in Lange's *Bibelwerk*, 1868), and von Orelli (in *PRE*^{2} vi. p. 245 ff., art. 'Hohes Lied Salomos,' 1880), hold, in harmony with the traditional view, that, apart from certain subordinate figures, there are only two principal persons to be recognized, namely, Solomon and the Shulammite, and that, where a shepherd is spoken of, Solomon is here also to be understood.

The poem is supposed to describe the bond of love between the two, from the first moment of mutual burning passion (1^{2}–2^{7}), and mutual seeking and finding (2^{8}–3^{5}), down to the realization of the desire for love in the marriage union (3^{6}–5^{1}); and then, after a passing estrangement, the mutual return (5^{2}–6^{9}), the praise of the charms and beauty of the bride now raised to be queen (6^{10}–8^{4}), and the confirming of the love covenant in the home of the Shulammite ($8^{5\text{-}14}$). Delitzsch, however, finds in the whole poem a deeper idea expressed. He says (*Comm.*^{2} p. 5): 'the Shulammite is a historical person . . . a country maiden of lowly rank, who by her physical beauty and purity of soul awakened in Solomon a love which elevated him above the wantonness of polygamy, and gave him a personal experience of the Paradise idea of marriage as this is expressed in Gn $2^{23\text{f.}}$ with reference to the first created woman. It is this personal experience that he celebrates, at the same time idealizing it in the manner of poets by stripping off the husk of all that is accidental, and presenting the kernel and essence. . . . The Song is a protest against polygamy, although only to the extent that one could expect from the Mosaic standpoint.' He finds in the Song a reflexion of the μέγα μυστήριον of Eph 5^{32}. But he claims for it, not only a historical and ethical but also a typico-mystical significance. Solomon is to him a type of Christ, and accordingly he sees in the love relations between Solomon and the Shulammite 'the mysteries of the love of Christ and His people shadowed forth' (p. 5), remarking at the same time that the *typical* exegesis must bear in mind that type and antitype do not exactly coincide, and the *mystical* that 'the heavenly stamps itself, indeed, upon the earthly, and yet is poles asunder from it.'—Von Orelli differs from Delitzsch only in so far as he holds the subject of the Song to be 'not marriage as a permanent bond and condition, but betrothed love which finds simply its climax and goal in the marriage union' (*l.c.* p. 252). Accordingly in 3^{6}–5^{1}, upon his view, there cannot be already an allusion to the marriage union, as Delitzsch holds. In his typical view of the Song, Orelli is otherwise essentially at one with Delitzsch (*l.c.* p. 249).

Apart from the fact that such exegesis as the above is dominated by considerations supposed to be involved in the history of revelation, there are serious objections to the view that there are only two principal persons in the Song, and to the identifying of the shepherd with the king. Above all, it is hard to comprehend how the Shulammite, even after her marriage has taken place, should continue to treat and to address the king as shepherd, and should even inquire (1^{7}) where he pastures his flocks. To discover 'an essential feature of the spiritual beauty' of the Song in the circumstance 'that the ideal virgin loves him, not as king, but loves in him the shepherd, and longs to share with him the innocent simplicity of her former manner of life, a desire to which he joyfully yields,' is possible, indeed, but in the highest degree unnatural, and may be regarded rather as an outcome of a mystical deepening of the sense of the Song than as the result of a sober interpretation of the actual words of the text.

Far more support has been accorded, and rightly so, we consider, to the view represented above all by Ewald. According to it, besides Solomon, the king who is courting the love of the Shulammite, we must distinguish a shepherd who was the real object of her passion, and the beloved of her heart.

The fascinatingly beautiful Shulammite is supposed to have been met by the king on the occasion of a tour of his in the north of his kingdom ($6^{11\text{ff.}}$), and placed in his harem. The king seeks by enticing flattering speeches to win her love, but from the very first meeting (ch. 1) she gives him to understand to whom her heart belongs. While the king then presses her with ever renewed words of love and admiration, the emotion of love thus stirred within her pours itself forth in words addressed to her lover far away. Nay, in the intensity of her feelings, she imagines she sees him come from afar to her prison, she hears his words meant for her ($2^{8\text{ff.}}$ $4^{7\text{ff.}}$ $5^{2\text{ff.}}$), and in a dream seeks for him by night in the streets ($3^{1\text{ff.}}$ $5^{2\text{ff.}}$). Even the prospect of becoming the favourite wife of the splendid monarch cannot shake her fidelity to her absent lover, and even when the king imagines he has gained his point she remains firm, and refuses to entertain the idea of allowing any one to enjoy her love but the object of her heart's affections (3^{6}–5^{8}). A last attempt of Solomon to win her heart fails (chs. 6. 7). Finally, the king magnanimously gives her back her liberty, and in her home in union with her beloved shepherd she finds the consummation of her happiness. On this view, the Song reaches its ideal goal in the impassioned eulogium on true, pure love in $8^{6f.}$.[*]

It is quite true that, even upon this interpretation, which at all events does fuller justice to the text than the traditional view adopted anew by Delitzsch, there are still difficulties enough in points of detail. But it is questionable whether these difficulties are sufficiently great to make this explanation inadequate alike from the formal and the material point of view, and thus to demand its rejection. The present writer does not think so.

The principal difficulty is in the so-called Third Act (3^{6}-5^{1}). The question is whether the conclusion (5^{1}) is intended to mark the longed-for marriage union as actually consummated. Hitzig held that this question must be answered in the affirmative, and supposed the marriage in view to have been one that Solomon contracted with a woman of Jerusalem, but not with the Shulammite. Bruston is also of opinion that in this Third Act we have to do with the marriage of the king to another—in fact, as he thinks may be gathered from 4^{8}, with a Tyrian princess. This actually accomplished marriage with another woman would thus place on a still higher level the invincible fidelity of the Shulammite. But there is really no necessity to take the Shulammite's words in 4^{16b} as formally different from her words in ch. 1. She is thinking in both passages, not of the king, but of her true lover, and it occasions no difficulty, but only marks the climax of the conflict that the king believes, of course, that the object of his desires is now about to yield to him, whereas, as the very next scene shows, such an idea has never entered her mind. Ewald himself held that from 4^{8} onwards we have again words of her lover, which the Shulammite imagined she heard, as in $2^{8ff.}$; he even supposed that two lines have dropped out before v.^{8}, their contents being, 'Behold, my beloved, behold, there comes he! Hark how he speaks to me his words . . . ,' or the like. But it is unnecessary and hardly justifiable to suppose that a different subject speaks in $4^{8ff.}$ from the speaker in v.$^{1ff.}$[†]—Stickel, too, denies that $4^{8ff.}$ are words of Solomon, but he thinks to escape all difficulties by the strange assumption that in $1^{7.8}$ 1^{15}-2^{4} 4^{7}-5^{1} there are three scenes that are to be separated from the rest of the poem. In these he supposes a second pair of lovers, a shepherd and a shepherdess, to be introduced, who actually arrive at a marriage union, this interlude having the effect of setting Solomon's wooing of the Shulammite in a peculiar light.[‡] Otherwise, the relation of Solomon to the Shulammite and her relation to him remain the same as on Ewald's theory. But this view of Stickel's, which destroys the unity of the poem, presupposes far too great skill in producing stage effects ('*Bühnengeschicklichkeit*') on the part of the author to be well founded.

A very important turn of opinion as to the literary character of the Song of Songs has been brought about in the most recent times. J. G. Wetzstein, who was for long Prussian consul at Damascus, and who has rendered much service in the way of increasing our knowledge of Oriental life and contributing to the understanding of the OT, availed himself of his opportunities of making acquaintance with the marriage customs in modern Syria. In this way he met with some things which are certainly calculated to throw light on certain portions of the Song of Songs. He published in Bastian's *Zeitschrift f. Ethnologie* (1873, p. 270 ff.), an article, entitled 'Die syrische Dreschtafel,' in which he describes the manifold uses made of the threshing-board, and amongst others its symbolical employment in the so-called 'king's week,' *i.e.* during the seven days' marriage festival (p. 287 ff.). It was partly from this article that the 'Bemerkungen zum Hohenliede' in Delitzsch's *Commentary* were taken, but the author contributed further important materials to the elucidation of the subject. To the same category belongs an earlier article by Wetzstein, entitled 'Sprachliches aus den Zeltlagern der syrischen Wüste,' in *ZDMG* xxii. (1868), p. 69 ff., containing valuable notes on a story written down from oral communication. The remarkable similarity between certain songs sung at modern marriage celebrations and certain portions of the Song of Songs, naturally enough forced upon him the conclusion that the latter is not 'a dramatic unity,' but rather a collection of 'beautiful nuptial songs' which were received into the Canon 'to furnish good models to the occasional poets whose productions may in Hebrew antiquity, as at the present day, have transgressed the bounds of decency and good taste.' The allegorical or mystical interpretation is held to have come in afterwards (cf. Delitzsch, *Comm.* p. 172, note). After Stade (*Gesch. Isr.* ii. [1888] 197) had referred approvingly to Wetzstein's 'most helpful contribution to the understanding of this quite unique book,' Budde, in an article on 'The Song of Solomon' in the *New World* (Boston, U.S.A. 1894, p. 56 ff.; cf. *Preuss. Jahrbücher*, 1894, p. 92 ff.), went in the fullest detail into Wetzstein's communications, and sought with their help to win its natural sense for the Song of Songs.[*] His arguments gained complete assent from Kautzsch ('Abriss der Gesch. d. alttest. Schrifttums' in the 'Beilagen' to his *AT* p. 210 f. [in the 'Sonderabdruck' of 1897, p. 134 f.]), and in specially emphatic, confident fashion from Cornill (*Einleitung*^{3}, p. 256: 'In this way the enigma of our book is definitively solved').[†] Whether this confidence is really justified is open to doubt. With reference to Budde's claim (*l.c.* p. 9) that he has cut away the roots of the dramatical interpretation of the Song by his explanation of 'Solomon' and 'the Shulammite,' which stand simply for bridegroom and bride, husband and wife, Bruston (cf. *Le X*^{e} *congrès des Orientalistes et l'ancien Testament*, Paris, 1895, p. 13 ff.) declares, 'I fear that this is a huge and extraordinary illusion,' a judgment with which the present writer agrees.

Budde attempts first of all to prove that by Solomon, or the king, the Song means not the real king Solomon, but that we have here only a type, a poetical designation of any and every bridegroom. In order to give a worthy title to the latter on his wedding day and in his wedding dress, the figure of Solomon is supposed to have been employed as that of the monarch whose riches and splendour had become as proverbial as his wisdom. The case is similar with the Shulammite. 'She is, indeed, no other than Abishag the Shunammite, but only as the representative of her qualities' (p. 8). The maiden from Shunem (the modern *Sholam*, a pronunciation to which the Heb. *Shulammith* also goes back), who was brought to the aged king David, and on whose account Adonijah had to die (1 K $2^{13ff.}$), was admittedly, according to the correct sense of 1 K $1^{3f.}$, the fairest virgin to be found in the whole land, and continued to enjoy this reputation in the memories of the people. Hence, argues Budde (p. 9): '. . . as the bridegroom is compared with king Solomon in his glory, or even named with his name, and would not exchange his fortune with Solomon, so for the beauty of the bride no less a woman could be named than the fairest of whom the ancients spoke, and one who was also a queen [Solomon may have, at least according to the legend, introduced her into his harem], which certainly was not an unwelcome fact. That she should be called the fairest of all is the right of every bride on her wedding day, however she may be outshone by hundreds at other times.'

The present writer has no difficulty in admitting that the situation *may* be understood in the above way, that is to say, that it is not necessary to presuppose absolutely that the Song of Songs is based upon an actual historical occurrence; but he fails to see how, on this view, the dramatical theory of the poem in its present form is wounded unto death. If Budde is right in holding that in later times the two outstanding figures in the popular recollection were employed as above described in the poetry of marriage celebrations, this very circumstance might also lead a poet to give a dramatic fashioning to the material supplied by 1 K 1. 2, and, in so doing, to utilize the further development the story had undergone in the popular memory. Now, Budde himself (p. 8) remarks that the circumstance that Solomon had his brother put to death on Abishag's account, may have given rise to the legend that he himself loved her and made her his wife, and that the execution of his brother was thus an act of jealousy. But if we admit the possibility of this, there is another possibility we should not leave out of account. In 1 K 2 we hear *nothing* of Abishag having really become the wife of Solomon. *Why may not this circumstance have given rise in poetical legend to the conception that the lovely virgin refused to become Solomon's wife, nay even to the conception that her refusal was based upon her unconquerable love for a youth in her native district?* Moreover, when the notion was once seized that she had not chosen to be the wife of Solomon, it was no great stretch of poetic fancy to assume that her first introduction into the apartments of David by his servants was not a willing one on her part, *and the presupposition that from the first she succeeded in defending her honour finds its firm basis in the express statement of 1 K* 1^4 (*'and the king knew her not'*).

---

[*] The reader will find an exact account of the scheme of the Song proposed by Ewald, in Driver's *LOT*^{6} p. 440 ff.

[†] It may be noted that, in the opinion of the present writer, 4^{6} is not now in its original place. It is not till v.^{7} that the description of the charms of the Shulammite (vv.$^{1-5}$) closes. Perhaps v.^{6} should follow v.^{7}, and formed originally the connecting link with v.$^{8ff.}$.

[‡] Cf. Stickel, *Das Hohelied*, p. 45: 'Antithesis, that indispensable art of the drama, by presenting so vividly the undisturbed happy shepherd's love in contrast with the sorely tried heroine of the Song, awakens warm sympathy with the latter, and a feeling of suspense and compassion,' etc. Further, this interlude is supposed to mark and fill up various spaces of time in the course of the main transaction.

[*] Cf. his Comm. in *Kurzer Hdcom.* 1898, and art. POETRY.

[†] Cf. also Siegfried's Comm. in Nowack's *Hdkom.* 1898.

We see then that the narrative of 1 K 1. 2 supplies, especially if we take into account the influence of inventive popular reminiscence, quite sufficient material for developing the story which the dramatical theory of the Song of Songs considers to be unfolded in it. It required at all events no very great gift of poetic construction to give a dramatical form to this material borrowed from recollections, in which all the points necessary for a simple dramatical development were contained and spontaneously offered themselves to the poet's notice. But, we repeat emphatically, this does not absolutely exclude the possibility that in later times it was customary in a poetical and symbolical form of address to call a bridegroom and a bride 'Solomon' or 'king,' and 'Shulammite.'[*] At the same time we think it only right and proper to emphasize the other possibility, that an unknown man, of a poetical turn and moved perhaps also by special circumstances, found in this very custom the motive for working up the material that lay to his hand. The one supposition does not exclude the other. The question whether we have really to do with a dramatical poem must be settled from the book itself, and in any case the matter is not so easily settled as Budde and those who agree with him suppose.

Budde finds 'the solution of the problem of our book' (p. 10) in the customs reported by Wetzstein in connexion with weddings amongst the Syrian Bedawîn, namely, in the festive proceedings of the so-called 'king's week.' The book contains, according to him, 'songs' sung at the wedding festivities, during which bridegroom and bride (or husband and wife) are honoured for seven days as king and queen, whose throne is the threshing-board, set on the threshing-floor of the place and decked out with carpets and pillows. A principal element in these songs are the *waṣfs* or lyrical descriptions of the physical charms and wedding attire of the young pair. Especially impressive, according to Wetzstein's account (cf. Delitzsch, *Comm.* p. 171), is the so-called sword dance of the bride on the evening before the bridal night. In this dance, which is accompanied by the song of a double chorus of men and women in praise of her physical beauty, she seeks in the light of the high-leaping flames of a fire to display to the bridegroom the charms of her person, brandishing all the time a sharp sword in her right hand, and holding a handkerchief in her left. The whole performance is an imitation of the dance that celebrates a victory. Now, as a matter of fact, the *waṣf* sung during the sword dance corresponds in Canticles to $7^{1ff.}$ (as far at least as v.7). The *waṣf* referring to the young wife (*i.e.* the queen) after the consummation of the marriage on the bridal night, on the first day of the 'king's week,' is found, according to Budde, in 4^{1-6}. It is put in the mouth of the young husband, and is partially repeated in 6^{4-7}. There is also a panegyric on the physical charms of the husband or king, the *waṣf* referring to which is put in the mouth of the wife in $5^{9ff.}$, v.$^{2ff.}$ being supposed to be intended simply to serve as an introduction to this *waṣf* with a pleasing dramatical movement. Next, according to this mode of interpretation, 3^{6-11} contains a description of the festive train of the gorgeously dressed bridegroom-king, and their joyous greeting to him on the morning after the bridal night, when the threshing-board has been placed and decked out as the throne; here the name 'Solomon' is, of course, not meant to be taken literally.[*] The 'sixty mighty men' are the 'companions of the bridegroom,' who, as Wetzstein with the approval of Budde suggests, were perhaps originally charged with the duty of protecting the festival against attacks, especially during the night (3^8, cf. Delitzsch, *Comm.* p. 170).[†] The 'daughters of Jerusalem' are of course, in the same way, not ladies of the royal harem, but virgins from the same neighbourhood as the bridal pair, who take part in a variety of ways in the wedding celebration.[‡] The circumstance that it is with Jerusalem in particular that they are brought into relation, proves, according to Budde, that the home of the wedding songs which are brought together in Canticles is to be sought in this city or its environs.

But now, as Budde further supposes, the passages just named have not, in their present order, the chronological succession demanded by the course of the marriage celebrations. At all events, the song that accompanied the sword dance ($7^{1ff.}$) must stand *before* $3^{6ff.}$, the greeting addressed to the approaching bridegroom-king. Budde suggests, however, that perhaps its proper place is *after* 3^{6-11} and *before* 4–6, if, as is possible, the subject of 3^{6-11} is not the procession to the throne on the day *after* the marriage, but the ceremonial arrival of the bridegroom at the marriage itself on the evening of the wedding day. (If 5^1 alludes to the *coming* actual consummation of the marriage covenant, the latter supposition appears to the present writer to be the only suitable one). From all this it follows, according to Budde, 'that the songs are brought together irregularly, and the last trace of an orderly arrangement thus appears.' It is a question, however, whether the premisses upon which this conclusion rests are in all respects correct. The present writer does not think so.

In the remaining portions of Canticles also there is of course, in Budde's opinion, no connexion to be discovered, but still less any progressive history. These passages, on the contrary, may be readily broken up into a number of songs, which, as Wetzstein's information showed, may have been used during the 'king's week' in praise of love in general, and of the love of the present pair in particular (Budde, p. 15 f.).

But, after the Song of Songs has been thus resolved into a number of separate songs, the question arises, *What judgment is to be passed on the book in its present form? Was it originally nothing more than a collection of wedding songs, or was a species of editing carried out in the arrangement of them with the intention of establishing an internal connexion?* Budde decides in the main in favour of the first of these alternatives, holding that we have to do, *at least originally*, only with a collection. Some one who felt an interest in this species of lyric poetry is supposed (like Wetzstein in our own day) to have written down these songs, and then the collection would be passed on to posterity in this form, perhaps without indication of their origin and without any exact distinction of the limits of the different songs. In this way the book would be exposed to the greatest danger of falling into disorder. Of course this is in itself a possible view. But that the question as to the origin of the book in its present form is not settled in this simple fashion, Budde is well aware. He finds here and there short pieces which possess, in his opinion, small poetic value, which he holds it to be impossible to bring into any connexion with the surrounding and originally independent songs and songlets. One trace of the later origin of these he finds, above all, in the circumstance that the composer of them misunderstood the real meaning, and in particular the symbolically intended expressions, in older passages and took these in a literal sense.

---

[*] By the way, Budde's view is not at all favoured by the circumstance that in the Song of Songs the Shulammite or the bride is never called 'queen.' The 'daughter of a noble' (7^1) does not take the place of this.

[*] This approach of the hridegroom is recalled, as Budde expressly notes, by the figure in Ps 19^6.

[†] Samson had thirty such 'companions' about him (Jg 14^{11}), who were headed by *one* who had the special title of the 'friend' of the bridegroom (cf. Jg 14^{20} and also Jn 3^{29}).

[‡] Their greeting addressed to the approaching bridegroom (3^{11}) finds a parallel in the parable of Mt $25^{1ff.}$

The most striking instance of this is discovered by Budde in 4^8, where the purely typical Lebanon of vv.$^{11.15}$ is alleged to be converted into the real Lebanon and associated with other mountain heights. The author of 4^8 is thus supposed to have been guilty of a crude misunderstanding, and it is declared that, when closely examined, the list of mountains is so little in place and yields so little sense, while the whole verse is so weak from the poetical point of view, that it is most natural to infer 'misunderstanding and insertion.' But this is a purely subjective verdict. It may reasonably be asked how any one was likely to introduce such an addition at this particular place. And what compels us to understand the names of the mountains here, 'the lions' dens' and 'the leopards' mountains,' literally and not symbolically? This symbolical sense is as suitable to them as it is to 'the clefts of the rock' and 'the covert of the steep place' in 2^{14}. Other sentences which are supposed to have originated in a similar way are found by Budde in 8^{14}, cf. 2^{16}. He also holds, strangely enough, that $2^{8a\beta-9a}$ is an addition introduced on account of v.^{16}, for plainly (?), he argues, the words 'Hark, my beloved!' (v.$^{8a\alpha}$) should be connected immediately with the words of v.^{9b} ('there he stands behind our wall'). But here again the question may be asked, Why should it have occurred to any one to insert the words in v.^{8}, which at least are so evidently poetical and out and out original?

A similar judgment is passed by Budde upon $8^{3.4}$, cf. $2^{6f.}$; 8^5 is due to a misunderstanding of 3^6. He makes a special allusion to 6^{1-3}, arguing that what was intended in $5^{8.9}$ to serve simply as a transition to the *waṣf* of the bridegroom is here transferred to the sphere of actuality, and that the figures borrowed from the plant-world (5^{13}) are likewise misunderstood and taken in their literal sense, the beloved becoming the gardener who has gone into his garden, etc. But, says Budde, if the Shulammite really knew this, why does she search so long for her lover and call for help to find him? Here, again, 'genuine phrases' like $1^{7f.}$ 2^{16} $6^{11f.}$ are supposed to have been worked up in a way opposed to their proper meaning. It is quite natural that Budde, with his view of the Song of Songs, can make nothing of these verses (6^{1-3}), which beyond a doubt are as genuine as $2^{7.8}$. We must ask here once more, How can it have occurred to a later editor to introduce such sentences? What motive could have led him to do so?* Even Budde feels the above difficulty, but, for all that, he is unable to give a satisfactory answer to the question. 'What reasons led him [the redactor to whom we are supposed to owe these strange interpolations] . . what suppositions and intentions, of course we do not know.' Of course, if an author is to be held capable of such misunderstandings, it is difficult to give any satisfactory account of the motives that actuated him. And yet Budde repeats that one can recognize 'the plain effort' of the redactor 'to introduce *movement* and *action* where none were.'

The author of these later additions is held, then, to have meant to bring *movement and action* into the whole work. May he then have been guided by *dramatizing* aims? May it be that elsewhere too he is not without responsibility for the present form of the Song of Songs, but actually brought movement and action into the material of the work, *i.e.* that he perhaps worked up the latter from the dramatical point of view? These questions are very readily suggested by Budde's own words. True, he does not actually raise them, although he afterwards concedes that the additions just described (with which also may have been coupled trifling alterations and corruptions of the text) have given to the dramatical view of Canticles 'a certain justification from antiquity downwards, because separated matters were thereby connected *and a certain movement and development brought in.*' Of course he no longer gives the dramatical view the benefit of this excuse, now that he has shown what the Song of Songs really is.

It is interesting to note the manner in which Budde supposes it possible that the book assumed its present disordered form. It was originally, as we have been told, a collection of wedding songs. This collection came, of course in manuscript form, into the hands of a later writer, torn into single leaves and damaged. He supposed that he had before him not a collection of songs, but a literary unity, of whose contents and aim he had, however, 'only an obscure idea.' He attempted a restoration of the unintelligible work by putting together as he best could the separate leaves, and trying to amend the text by additions and supplements of the kind described above. But this is a very strange account of the matter, a real hypothesis of despair. There is one point, above all, to which exception must be taken. By way of supporting his general view of Canticles, Budde insists with much emphasis that the marriage customs, and of course also the peculiar character of the marriage songs, have continued essentially unaltered in Syria and Palestine from early times down to the present day. Now, how is it conceivable that an author living in Palestine (for it is there that we are supposed to look for the 'redactor') as early as the pre-Christian era should either have failed to recognize the contents and aim of songs which had been handed down for the most part without any corruption, or should have had 'only an obscure idea' of their true character? Might we not assume that this Judæan redactor would have recognized the so-called *waṣfs* as readily as Wetzstein has done? Here, then, Budde brings us face to face with a serious problem. The extremely mechanical explanation of the origin of the present Song of Songs, which he considers to be 'a satisfaction of all just demands,' appears to the present writer to condemn itself. *And, as a matter of fact, Budde himself by the characteristics he assigns to the redactor points the way again past his own hypothesis to the dramatical view of the Song.* His merit thus comes to be, not that of having cut the thread of life of the dramatical explanation, but—and it is a service not to be undervalued—of having laid the foundation, by the aid of Wetzstein's information, for a more correct opinion of the character, and perhaps even of the origin, of the Song of Songs.

The present writer recognizes, then, the possibility that older wedding songs (as, for instance, the *waṣfs*) are worked up in the Song of Songs. But this does not exclude the supposition that the Song in its present form is of a dramatical nature, and that its author (not a redactor or 'reviser') introduced 'movement and action' or 'development' into the material of which it is composed. At all events, this view is not set aside by simply pointing to passages in certain parts of the book which are marked by the characteristics of customary wedding songs, and which were perhaps taken over by the author ready made. If an examination of the separate parts of the book and a study of the connexion of the whole tend to show that everywhere, and not merely in the passages attacked by Budde, there is dramatical movement and expression, however great or small this may be, then the question is decided in favour of the correctness of the dramatical view, whatever may be urged to the contrary. Of course a dramatic poet who utilizes older material in his work cannot have the full credit of originality allowed him, but a dramatic poem is the result of his work all the same. Moreover, it is by no means certain that the Song of Songs contains foreign matter which did not proceed from the pen of one and the same writer; on the contrary, there are not wanting indications, both in thought and expression, which point to an identity of authorship for the whole work.*

As to the general view of Canticles that ought to be taken, there can be no doubt, in the judgment of the present writer, that it is a poem whose subject is love, or more specifically that it is a *carmen nuptiale* or wedding song. *The crucial question, however, is whether the poem, viewed as a whole, sets out from a marriage as an accomplished fact,—in other words, whether its subject is married love,—or whether a marriage is the goal at which it aims, in which case it is intended to glorify betrothed love and fidelity.* The present writer is convinced that the second alternative is the correct one, and hopes in what follows to substantiate this.

We have already pointed out (p. 592 f.) how the story which Ewald's interpretation discovers in the Song of Songs might be readily developed in the popular memory and by a poetically inventive disposition from the history of Abishag of Shunem. Budde, citing a word of Goethe's, reminds us that if we are to understand the poem which we call the Song of Songs, we must visit the poet's own land. This is what we propose now to do. If Budde himself had continued his journey further and looked more carefully around him, he might have discovered the story of two lovers, Habbâs and Ḥamda, which bears a very close resemblance to what we find in Canticles. The story is given by Wetzstein in the Arabic text with German translation (see *ZDMG* xxii. [1868] p. 74 ff.), and was taken down by him directly from oral communication. In any case, this beautiful love romance proves that under special circumstances even at the present day amongst the Bedawîn the possibility of love entanglements is contemplated, such as are presupposed in ancient times in the Song of Songs, if we adopt the dramatical view of Ewald and others. Ḥamda is said to have loved Habbâs, who lived far away and belonged to another tribe. Her heart remains true to this love, although, after long separation in time as well as place from him whom her soul truly loves, she is destined to become the wife of her cousin Ali, and the wedding day (or rather evening) with all its festal celebrations has arrived. Nay, she has not omitted even to tell her cousin, Ali's sister, how it is with her heart, and has given her such a description of her lover's stature, his physical excellencies, and his beauty that even she must have been able to pick him out of a crowd (cf. *l.c.* p. 103). And, in point of fact, the lover drawn from afar by his love comes, accompanied by a true friend (Ḥusein), while there is yet time to prevent the closing of the marriage bond between Ḥamda and Ali, and to win his true love for himself. And he does win her and takes her home.

---

* We shall see afterwards that, on a correct view of the Book of Canticles, these verses [6^{1-3}] show themselves to be unquestionably original.

* A careful reading of the book itself will readily supply the necessary evidence of this.

No one who reads this story, which is given in its most general outlines, will be able to avoid the impression that here there is partially the same problem before us as is presented in the Song of Songs. Budde (p. 4) insists again with much emphasis that in neither the modern nor the ancient East has a real betrothal and an intimate intercourse between the betrothed parties been permitted or possible prior to marriage, and that there is no place for such a natural growth of affection as the dramatical view postulates. Well, of course we must be on our guard against applying rules borrowed from the West and from the condition of things amongst ourselves. But the story communicated by Wetzstein shows that such affections, even if these are surrounded a little with the halo of romance, are still possible at the present day, and evidence may be brought from the OT itself to show that even in ancient times it was not an impossible thing for two young people (especially leading a country life) to make each other's acquaintance and fall in love, and then to gratify their inclinations by personal meetings, even if these had to be stealthily contrived.[*] The present writer must confess, then, that in his opinion no real objection to the dramatical view of the Song of Songs can be taken on the ground of the contents which this view discovers in the Song. Moreover, the structure which is formed out of these contents presents so close a parallel to the story communicated by Wetzstein, that one can only feel thus confirmed in one's opinion that Canticles is a dramatic poem, taking for granted, of course, that in the contents of the latter there is really a dramatical progress or structure discoverable. That this last assumption is well founded is our firm conviction; and even Budde himself, as we have seen, is not so very far removed from this opinion, since he cannot deny that at least his assumed redactor (or 'reviser') sought to introduce movement and action into the older material whose peculiar character is supposed to have passed unrecognized by him. This, however, is tantamount to saying that he gave it a dramatic form, even if he did so in an imperfect fashion. Of course the objection that the Semites had no dramatic poetry at all (cf. art. POETRY, p. 9^{a}) has no force, for it starts by assuming as an axiom the very point whose universal application is disputed on the ground of the Song of Songs. The proof that the dramatical view of Canticles is the correct one cannot be offered, of course, through general considerations; but it is offered, and that with tolerable certainty, if we succeed in formulating a theory of the contents and structure of the Song, which is natural on all sides and capable of explaining, at least in the main, all the particular phenomena exhibited by the book.

The ideal goal of the whole poem appears to the present writer to have been found, from Ewald downwards, in $8^{6.7}$. The real aim of the Song of Songs is to glorify *true love*, and, more specifically, true *betrothed* love, which remains steadfast even in the most dangerous and most seductive situations. The author, as we may perhaps assume with certainty, found the material for his work in the story of Abishag of Shunem (1 K 1. 2), and that in the form which we described above (p. 592 f.). She remained true to the beloved of her heart, she steadily repelled all the advances of Solomon, into whose harem she had been brought, and finally she triumphed (8^{12} and 8^{10b}), was conducted home and restored to her lover perfectly pure. The poem makes two presuppositions—one being that the Shulammite's heart belonged to a youth in her own home, and the other that meanwhile against her will she has been brought into the royal apartments (1^{4}). The dramatical exposition commences at the time when the first meeting of the king with the maiden is close at hand and actually takes place (1^{9}). The dialogue between the Shulammite and the 'daughters of Jerusalem' (the wives and maidens belonging to the royal harem, cf. $6^{8f.}$) in 1^{2-8} [*] serves to pave the way, in true dramatic fashion, for that meeting, and at the same time to explain the real inward disposition of the Shulammite towards the approaching royal suitor, which the poet henceforward makes her retain without wavering. If, now, we would understand aright the further structure of the poem, it must be observed that *the scheme chosen by the author for the poetical disposition of his material is based upon the different stages in the courtship and the marriage festivities, down to that moment when alone the real victory of loyal love, the preservation of bridely honour in face of all temptations and assaults, was evidenced, and could be evidenced, namely, the morning after the bridal night passed with the real lover.*[†]

The Song of Songs is in fact a *love-* or *marriage-drama*, but, by reason of the lyrical tone which rules in its various parts, we may more appropriately call it a *melodrama*.

If now, keeping in view the legend derived from the story of Abishag, and the progressive stages of the marriage proceedings, we look at the whole poem, it falls, alike in point of matter and form, into two nearly equal parts. The dividing point is reached in 5^{1}, where also the dramatic entanglement reaches its climax. Up till then the king is the suitor for the maiden's love, and in 5^{1} the course of development leads to the point where everything appears to point to the certain consummation of the marriage bond in the coming night.* From the very first encounter (1^{9}–2^{7}) the king, as intended by the poet, goes away with the impression that the fair maiden longs with intense passion for union with him; he does not notice that the outbursts of passionate longing called forth by his words are meant not for him, but for another whom she loves. The reader or the spectator of the play can have no doubt on this point, for already in $1^{2\text{-}8}$ (cf. especially v.^{8}) it comes out clearly enough how the heart of the maiden is engaged, and the Second Act (2^{8}–3^{5}) confirms this in the strongest way by the two dream visions. The Third Act (3^{6}–5^{1}) corresponds to the first of the festal proceedings on the day (evening) before the bridal night. The king proceeds, in his wedding attire, surrounded by his trusty men, and amidst greetings from the women, to the house where the lovely maiden is detained. This answers to the joyous procession in state by the bridegroom and his friends to the place where the feast was celebrated, on the occasion of weddings amongst the common people. The equally pompous conducting of the bride in the evening to the same place and to the performance of the sword dance, which characterized popular weddings, is wanting here; nor is this surprising, since the bride is already in a place where she belongs to the king. We may probably assume also that a king's marriage was not celebrated in exactly the same way as that of one of the common people. The sword dance and other popular customs may have been wholly absent.† Of course this does not prevent the poet from introducing into his description certain features borrowed from these customs, simply because these were calculated to introduce movement into the material. Thus he makes the king draw near in all his splendour, with his sixty heroes and friends, and (5^{1}) even go in to the festive meal exactly after the fashion of popular wedding festivities.‡ On the other hand, the enticing sensually flattering words of the king in $4^{1\text{ff.}}$ convey the impression, since, as we have said, we can hardly think of the sword dance, that they are the transition link to the bridal night with its mysteries. The same inference is supported by the context, as far as the contents of 4^{16}–5^{1} are concerned; from the Shulammite's reply in 4^{16b} to his longing desire to enjoy the fruits of the garden that is supposed to belong to him, the king has concluded that she waits for him in order to accord him the enjoyment of her love (whereas she is thinking of her true beloved), and in this, of course, mistaken assurance he calls his friends to give themselves up to the joys of the marriage festival. At this point the king disappears. This is not specially noted, indeed, but it was unnecessary that it should be, on a correct understanding of the story of the poem, and with an actual dramatical presentation of it. As in the story of Habbâs and Ḥamda related by Wetzstein, the fortune of the maiden turns at the last moment, just when the final consummation of the marriage union with the unloved one was imminent. The king has learned in the night shrouded with mystery that she does not belong and cannot belong to him, and he is magnanimous enough not to claim what only violence could procure. He has set her free, as Ali did with Ḥamda, and the next section (5^{2}–6^{3}) of the Fourth Act conducts us slowly away from the king's domain. The poet retains the scheme of the wedding celebration, but now we have to do with the celebration of the marriage of the Shulammite with the object of her heart's affections. Between 5^{1} and 5^{2}, properly speaking, there intervenes a space of time, which, to be sure, required in the dramatical construction of the poem no further indication than the passing from one scene to another. In what will be conceded to be an extremely skilful manner the poet moves on to the goal of his task, by placing us in $5^{2\text{ff.}}$ at the same stage in the celebration of the marriage of the Shulammite with her lover as we had reached in 3^{6}–5^{1} in connexion with the abortive attempt of Solomon. The passage 5^{2}–6^{3}, rightly understood, forms the introduction to the principal part of this Act, which reaches its climax in $8^{6.\,7}$. We hear in it the outpouring of the burning longing of the Shulammite for union with him whom she loves. The women, 'the daughters of Jerusalem,' by whom she is surrounded, are called on by her to assist her search for the beloved of her soul, who is portrayed in glowing colours. In this way a perfect movement is given to the action, which is conceived of after the model of a marriage celebration.

---

[*] In favour of such a possibility may be cited in the first place Jg $14^{1f.7f.}$, and then legal enactments like Ex $22^{15f.}$, Dt $22^{23ff.}$; cf. also Gn $34^{1.2}$. It may be held as certain that even in ancient Israel, in spite of the strictness of morality, nay, perhaps even because of it, there was no lack of a genuine romantic side to love.

[*] The way in which the particular sentences are to be assigned to the respective speakers will be found exhibited in the present writer's work *Das Hohe Lied*, to which he begs to refer the reader.

[†] As bearing on this, the reader may be reminded of the legislative enactment of Dt $22^{13ff.}$. The cloth with its irrefragable proof of the virginity of a newly married woman points to a very serious transaction in the early morning after the bridal night. The practice forms even at the present day part of the proceedings in connexion with a wedding, and is described by Wetzstein ('Die syrische Dreschtafel' in Bastian's *Ztschr. f. Ethnol.* 1873, p. 290).

For the correct understanding of the further context it is necessary, above all, to take $6^{1\text{-}3}$ rightly. In 6^{2} there is an allusion, expressed in a beautiful figure, to part of the festal procedure of the marriage evening having already taken place. The beloved has already gone down to enjoy the fruits of his garden (a plain allusion to 4^{16}), *i.e.* he has already gone to the place of the festival, and is present there with his escort. The ceremonial procession of the bridegroom, which was expressly mentioned in the case of the king in $3^{6\text{ff.}}$, is thus presupposed in the present instance. The search for the beloved, in which the women (6^{1}) are prepared to help the Shulammite, corresponds to the ceremonial conducting of the bride in the evening to the festal spot. $6^{4\text{-}10}$ [vv.$^{5b\text{-}7}$ are to be struck out as having been introduced by mistake from ch. 4] contain the songs which greet the approaching bride and describe in striking figures her unique overpowering beauty. $6^{11.\,12}$ are words of the Shulammite. She is apparently surprised at coming upon the festive company, she still acts as if she did not notice that the object of her search is in their midst. She had gone down, she says, to the nut garden to refresh herself by the enjoyment of it, *i.e.* she too has gone out to find her beloved and to enjoy his love, and has all at once come upon the crowd. We are to suppose now that she makes as if she would turn back, whereupon the chorus breaks out (7^{1} [Eng. 6^{13}]), 'Turn round, turn round, O Shulammite,' etc. Then the short invitation and dialogue of this verse lead directly to the sword dance, in which the bride dances in a sense to her beloved and presents herself to him symbolically with all her charms, while the double chorus ranging itself behind her proclaims her physical attractions in a highly realistic *wasf*. Now she is ready, as $7^{11\text{ff.}}$ show, to yield to the wishes of her beloved ($7^{8\text{-}10}$), and herself invites him to go with her where she will grant him her love. The last section of this Act, $8^{5\text{-}7}$,* shows the loving pair on their way to the house where the bridal night is to be passed; they are received by the festal chorus with the words of 8^{5a}, which find their echo in the alternating song of the lovers with its glorious panegyric on true love (vv.$^{6.\,7}$).

And now the moment had come when it must be shown whether the Shulammite had really maintained her love true and unimpaired, whether the lofty ode to love in which she had joined ($8^{6.\,7}$) was really suitable to her love. $8^{8\text{ff.}}$ † transport us to the morning *after* the bridal night. In the space of time between v.^{7} and v.^{8} we are therefore to place not only the bridal night with its mysteries, but also the transition to the serious transaction early in the following morning (see above, p. 595, note †). The latter is brought directly before us in vv.$^{8\text{-}10}$, which proclaim the triumph of steadfast loyal love over all the difficulties and fears that have beset it. We hear in vv.$^{8.\,9}$ the brothers of the Shulammite declaring what they mean to do to their sister according as she has shown herself, in face of the seductive whispers of love, firm and inaccessible as a wall, or open and easily approachable like a door (*i.e.* easily led into inchastity). These, of course, are words which the brothers have spoken before the commencement of the severe period of probation and danger exhibited to us in the Song of Songs. We are thus vividly reminded of 1^{6}, and in point of fact—as is shown also by 8^{12a}, which in like manner looks back to 1^{6}—the author in his beautiful closing section, $8^{8\text{ff.}}$, attaches his words once more to the opening of the poem, thus indicating not only that this resolute maiden has succeeded in maintaining her childhood's purity, but also that the Song of Songs is really a well-rounded whole. The brothers have a direct interest in the issue of the test of their sister's virginity, and, besides, have the duty of maintaining the honour of the family. But while they are uttering the language of anxious expectation, which is finely put into their mouth, regarding the result of the test, the actual piece of evidence is brought forward (this we must suppose to be done between v.^{9} and v.^{10}), and in face of this irrefragable proof the Shulammite breaks forth in the confident triumphant words of v.^{10}. She has been found inviolate, she has kept herself as an impregnable fortress, there being perhaps in the last words of the verse a delicate allusion to Solomon, and the fact that even he had finally to recognize that this virgin was unimpressed by himself, his splendour, his allurements, and that he must thus let her go in peace. The words in v.^{12} connect themselves closely with v.^{10}; she has kept her own vineyard, *i.e.* herself, her honour, her love, for herself and her beloved; Solomon may rest content with the abundant resources he possesses for gratifying his love.

So ends the dramatical development of the material used in the Song of Songs. The present writer considers that in the scheme of interpretation just proposed everything proceeds in good order and exhibits a perfectly natural connexion. He thinks it well to say *natural*, because, as a matter of fact, the different parts of the Song correspond exactly in their progress to the various stages in a marriage celebration. Even the transition from the first to the second half of the poem is dramatically beautiful and essentially unconstrained, and, as deserves to be once more emphasized, has a remarkable resemblance to the turning-point in the narrative of the loves of Ḥamda and Ḥabbâs. So also in the progress from one Act to another or one Scene to another, everything has an unconstrained flow, there is nothing abrupt or unnatural. We may then be permitted to express our conviction that if the Song of Songs be taken in the sense above indicated, not only will it be found to be perfectly intelligible in every part of its *contents*, but it will also prove itself beyond question to be a dramatical unity and constructed with dramatical skill.—Whether this melodramatic marriage-play was ever actually performed, say at wedding celebrations, or whether it was simply the product of a poet's leisure (composed with a didactic aim), cannot of course be determined, but at all events it was capable of being so presented.

---

* It is impossible to understand the perfects in 5^{1} as real preterites. They are perfects of certain expectation (*perfecta confidentiæ*, cf. Ges.-Kautzsch, *Gram.*^{26} § 106 n.). The misunderstanding of these perfects has been the occasion of much confusion.

† How kings married daughters of the people may be gathered from 2 S 11^{27}, while Ps 45 may give light in regard to the procedure when a foreign princess was concerned.

‡ The following of these popular customs also shows irrefutably that the call to eat and drink and intoxicate themselves refers not to the enjoyment of love, but to an actual banquet at which the friends, too, are to do their part.

* It may be noted that $8^{3.\,4}$ have been wrongly placed in their present position, where they do not at all suit the context. Their insertion after vv.$^{1.\,2}$ is readily intelligible on the ground of a certain similarity of thought in $2^{4\text{ff.}}$; but see the next note.

† In this last section the present writer regards v.^{11} as an archæological and in any case very prosaic gloss, occasioned by the 'thousand' of v.^{12}. In like manner v.^{14} is a later insertion by one who misunderstood the Song of Songs in so far as he believed that the Shulammite in the end became the wife of Solomon. In no other way can the strange invitation to the beloved be understood. The same hand which added v.^{14} may also through a similar misunderstanding have inserted vv.$^{3.\,4}$. In 8^{12}, which is unquestionably genuine, the Shulammite manifestly contrasts herself with the thousand wives of Solomon; v.^{13}, which we also hold to be genuine (cf. 2^{14}), closes the Song of Songs, but serves at the same time as an introduction to the merry songs, dances, and games which followed at a marriage feast, and which lasted for seven days.

iii. AUTHORSHIP, PLACE OF COMPOSITION, AND DATE OF THE SONG OF SONGS.—The title at the head of the work means, of course, to point to Solomon himself as the *author* of the poem, and down to the most recent times this view has been closely bound up with the allegorical interpretation and has been widely held. But it is out of the question, alike on the theory of Herder and on that inaugurated especially by Ewald. As a matter of course, the Solomonic authorship is excluded also if Budde's view be accepted. The present writer is equally compelled, in view of all that has been said above, to regard the traditional opinion as erroneous. Solomon is indeed partly the subject of the poem, but it is quite impossible that he himself should have composed it. And it is of course beyond our power so much as to hazard a conjecture as to who the actual author was.

Nor can much be said as to *the place of composition.* Budde has sought to infer from the mention of the 'daughters of Jerusalem' that the poetical material contained in the Song of Songs had its birthplace in Jerusalem or the neighbourhood of it. But every hint that can be utilized for locating the poem appears to point to the north of Palestine. There and nowhere else is the stage upon which the movement takes place in most parts of the poem that contain geographical allusions. This does not, however, imply that the actual composition of the poem must have taken place in North Palestine. It was extremely natural that, even if the author lived in Judæa, the locality of the dramatic poem should be fixed in the north, if its material was supplied by the story of Abishag of Shunem in the developed form explained above. In the first part, accordingly, we should find ourselves, of course, in the royal palace at Jerusalem, and this agrees admirably with $2^{8b.\ 17b}$, where it is presupposed that the place of residence of the Shulammite is separated from that of her beloved by a number of mountain heights. While there is nothing in the contents of the Song of Songs to justify any certain inference as to the place of composition, the present writer considers it probable that it was Judæa, perhaps even Jerusalem. This conclusion is perhaps supported also by the decision, so far as any such is possible, regarding—

The date. It has been supposed that the Song of Songs originated, if not in the Solomonic era, at least at a time not far removed from it. The lifelike conception of the conditions of that time, on the one hand, and the occurrence of Tirzah, the ancient capital of the Northern Kingdom, alongside of Jerusalem (6^4), on the other hand, are supposed to necessitate the fixing of the date of composition of the Song of Songs in the early decades after the reign of Solomon. Neither of these arguments, however, proves anything, for there is nothing in them but what is readily explicable even on the view of a late date, especially if we may regard it as settled that the author derived his material from the story of Abishag. Besides, it is very questionable whether the conceptions of local, personal, and other relations are so lifelike, and in general so accurate, as to permit or justify the inference that the poet lived near to the time with which he deals. Tirzah and other places that enter on occasion into his descriptions were, of course, not outside the sphere of knowledge even of a poet belonging to a later age.—The strongest objection, however, to placing the Song of Songs so early is presented by certain *linguistic* phenomena that characterize it. The form of the relative pronoun (שׁ) and other peculiarities of expression may, indeed, be explained on the view that the Song of Songs was composed in North Palestine, the language of which was doubtless dialectically different from that of Judæa, and more akin to the neighbouring Aramaic dialects. But the Persian loan-word פרדס (4^{13}) and the word אפריון (3^9), which in all probability is borrowed from the Greek *φορεῖον*, cannot possibly be explained at so early a period, but rather compel us to come down to the Macedonian era (cf. on this point especially Driver, *LOT*^{6} p. 449 f.). The poet was then in all probability a member of the Jewish community in Jerusalem, and lived at a time when, through contact with the Greek world, the adoption of Greek terms had become possible not only in the language of daily life, but also in literary usage. It is of course difficult, or rather impossible, to fix the *terminus ad quem* for the composition, and we do not intend to propose even a tentative date. One point, however, may be noted. The general tone of the whole poem appears to imply that the time when the Song originated was a time of peaceful, we might say happy, repose for the community, when love could unhindered follow after love and finally rejoice in the full possession of its object.—And now, perhaps, at last we may hazard a conjecture. It is true that purely dramatic poetry is in general alien to the Semitic mind, and, although we felt compelled to maintain the dramatical character of the Song of Songs against all objections, yet we found it necessary also to make our recognition of the presence in it of the lyrical element, which is the fundamental characteristic of all Semitic poetry, by calling Canticles a *melodrama.* The question naturally arises, Whence came the author's stimulus to compose this melodramatic poem? Was it from a wide contact with the Greek world? This appears to the present writer not impossible.

LITERATURE.—All the principal authorities are mentioned in the body of the article. We may add Cheyne's art. 'Canticles' in *Encyc. Biblica* (practically in agreement with Budde), which appeared since the above was written; and W. Riedel, *Die älteste Auslegung d. Hohenl.* 1898. Further references to literature may be found in Driver's *LOT*^{6} p. 436; C. D. Ginsburg, *The Song of Songs, with a Comm. historical and critical,* 1857; and E. Reuss, *Gesch. d. heil. Schriften alt. Test.* § 189 ff.

J. W. ROTHSTEIN.

SONG OF THE THREE CHILDREN.—See THREE CHILDREN (SONG OF THE).

SONS OF GOD.—This expression is used in Scripture in two distinct senses. For one of these see articles ADOPTION, and GOD (CHILDREN OF). The other is found in six passages: Gn 6^2, Job 1^6 2^1 38^7 (all בְּנֵי (הָ)אֱלֹהִים; LXX in first three *οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ*, in last *ἄγγελοί μου*), Ps 29^1 $89^{7\,(6)}$ (both בְּנֵי אֵלִים; LXX *υἱοὶ θεοῦ*); cf. in the sing. Dn 3^{25} בַּר־אֱלָהִין, RV ‘a son of the gods.’ The meaning is ‘sons of the *’ĕlōhîm* or *’ēlîm*’ in the sense of members of that class or race (cf. ‘sons of the prophets’ = members of the prophetic guild) of which God Himself is the pre-eminent *’Ĕlōhîm* (see A. B. Davidson’s note on Job 1^6). Hence the expression is practically synonymous with ‘angels’ (cf. LXX above). The only passage where any difficulty has been felt (and that only for dogmatic reasons) about interpreting the phrase in this way is Gn 6^2. Onkelos, *Beresh. rab.*, Saadya, Ibn Ezra, *et al.*, take it to mean there ‘sons of princes,’ ‘mighty men’; Theod., Chrys., Jerome, Aug., Luther, Calvin, Hengstenberg, *et al.*, understand by ‘the sons of God’ the *pious* (Sethite) portion of the human race, which is opposed to the (Cainite) ‘daughters of men.’ Neither of these interpretations suits either the context or the usage of the Heb. phrase. The interpretation ‘angels’ is correctly taken in Jude [8] and 2 P 2^4, in the Books of Enoch and Jubilees, as well as by Philo, Jos. (*Ant.* I. iii. 1), and most of the older Church Fathers. J. A. SELBIE.

SOOTHSAYER, SOOTHSAYING.—

The Heb. for ‘soothsaying’ is קֶסֶם, מִקְסָם, Gr. *μαντεία, μαντεῖον, οἰώνισμα* (the last term being also used to tr. נַחַשׁ ‘augury,’ Nu 23^{23} ‖ קֶסֶם). ‘Soothsayer’ is קֹסֵם, which in Is 3^2 is rendered by *στοχαστής*. The Arab. *ḳasama* means properly ‘divide *or* portion out.’ Hence *ḳismet* is a man’s apportioned lot or destiny. The word מְעוֹנֵן is another alternative expression not easy to distinguish from קֹסֵם (see below). The term יִדְּעֹנִי is always closely connected in the OT passages with אוֹב, and will be dealt with under ‘Necromancy’ in art. SORCERY. The other terms חַרְטֹם (see below) and the Aram. גָּזְרִין (Dn 2^{27} 4^7 5^7) do not possess a clear connotation.

Soothsaying, though separate from magic, is nevertheless very closely associated with it (see MAGIC). It may be defined as involving an abnormal mode of obtaining knowledge. Just as magic is the abnormal method of obtaining control over persons or events by means of some supernatural Divine or demonic agency, so soothsaying involves the corresponding abnormal method of obtaining information. The soothsayer is to be found in every primitive religion, and ancient Semitic culture formed no exception to the rule. The comparison of early Arabic religion with that of primitive Israel conducts us irresistibly to the conclusion that the Hebrew priest in early times was also a soothsayer. For the Heb. כֹּהֵן is the Arab. *kâhin*, ‘soothsayer,’ who owned the local shrine and kept watch and ward over it, and gave replies to the inquiring pilgrim. We thus observe how the priest and the prophet in primitive Semitic antiquity started from a common base and blended their functions. The priest offered sacrifices, and likewise gave answers to satisfy the worshipper who came to seek information and guidance. Both functions, that of sacrifice and that of divination, were united in one person. Indeed, as we know in the case of the soothsayer and prophet Balaam, sacrifices accompanied the declarations which he made * (Nu 22^{40} $23^{1.4.15.17.20}$). Accordingly, the combination of the functions of divination and sacrifice may be assumed to be characteristic of primitive Israel as it was of ancient Arabia. To the priest belonged the function of giving replies by (*a*) URIM AND THUMMIM, (*b*) by TERAPHIM, and, lastly, (*c*) by EPHOD.

Much obscurity invests the actual nature of all these objects. The most probable view is that the *teraphim* were ancestral images and of human shape (to which 1 S 19^{13-16} irresistibly points, cf. Gn $31^{19.30}$), and that the *ephod* was a plated image used as a symbol of Jehovah. This seems clear from Jg $8^{26f.}$, in which we are told that Gideon made it of the gold rings captured from the Ishmaelites and Midianites. Both ephod and teraphim are mentioned together in Hos 3^4; and Ezk 21^{21} and Zec 10^2 clearly prove that the teraphim were employed in the act of divination. Reference to the employment of the ephod is to be found in a series of ancient OT passages which describe the consultation of Jehovah in special emergencies. A series of interrogations was put to the deity, one following in logical sequence on the other, each capable of being answered in the alternative form of ‘yes’ or ‘no.’ Of this, perhaps the most instructive example is to be found in 1 S $23^{9f.}$, in which David inquires through the priest Abiathar by means of the ephod, and a series of categorical affirmative (or in other cases negative) replies are given (cf. 1 S $30^{7.8}$, and Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* pp. 382, 408). Obviously, information could be eked out by this process only very slowly, and in one case we read that Saul was compelled by the exigencies of war (1 S 14^{19}) to interrupt the tardy procedure of the priest as the tumult of the advancing Philistine army increased. Sometimes the omens were unfavourable for obtaining Divine answers (*ib.* 14^{37}). The close connexion which certainly subsisted between the ephod which was carried by the priest (1 S 23^6) and the divination which he practised, seems to point to the conclusion that the ephod was in some way a part at least of the apparatus of inquiry.* But it is not necessary to suppose that it was more than the symbol or idol which represented the deity whose presence gave validity to the whole procedure. The actual apparatus of soothsaying probably consisted in blunted arrows or, in primitive times, small twigs; and it is to this rude mechanism of inquiry that Hosea (4^{12}) refers under עֵץ (cf. Arab. عضون in Wellh. *Reste*², p. 132) and מַקֵּל, while Ezk 21^{21} mentions the arrows.

Early *Arabic cultus*, as Wellhausen has pointed out (*l.c.* p. 141), bears an unmistakable family likeness to the Hebrew, and it is to ancient Arabic usage that we turn for the most instructive illustrations of our subject. Among primitive Arab warrior tribes, as in ancient Israel, campaigns were never conducted without constant resort to the *kâhin*, or priest-soothsayer, who usually belonged to a family which owned the sanctuary and kept guard over its treasures.

Ordinarily the answer to the inquiry consists only in ‘yes’ or ‘no,’ indicated by one arrow for affirmative and another for negative. There might also be complicated alternatives. The arrows might be marked to meet every possible range of inquiry, and the arrow drawn forth or shaken out was the answer to the question. Soothsaying was constantly resorted to before a military expedition. It is said of nearly all the clan chiefs of the Kuraish that they consulted the lots before their departure to Badr, although Abu Sufian, for whose deliverance the expedition was made, had sent them word that they were not to begin by consulting the lots. Strictly speaking, this consultation takes place *in the sanctuary before the idol* (Wellhausen)

Among the Arabs, money was paid for divination, and sacrifices (as of a camel) preceded or accompanied the divining ceremony. In these respects we find close parallels in the Balaam narrative, to which allusion has already been made. Accordingly, in this episode we do not fail to note that the deputations were provided with money payment for the soothsaying (called קְסָמִים Nu 22^7), a feature in the story which reminds us of 2 K 5^5.

As the ancient Hebrews in early times called the soothsayer רֹאֶה or ‘seer,’ so the primitive Arabs called him a ‘gazer.’ When ‘gazing’ he would veil his face. Hence the epithet, *dhûl chimar*, or ‘the (man) with the veil,’ applied to several seers.† We naturally revert to the veil of the prophet Moses (Ex $34^{33ff.}$). Under the influence of the supernatural spirit or demon a series of short sentences would be uttered, of which four to six would be united together in a strophe by rhyme. This is called in Arabic *Saj‘un*, comp. the Heb. מְשֻׁגָּע applied to a prophet (2 K 9^{11}). This wild ecstatic condition often characterized the primitive Hebrew prophet in pre-exilic times (1 S $10^{10f.}$), and this became contagious, and affected those who witnessed it (1 S $19^{20.23.24}$, cf. 18^{10}). What the OT ascribed to possession by the spirit of God (Jehovah) the Arab in primitive times ascribed to the spirit or demon that dwelt in him. Among the Moslems a demon was called a *shaitân* (see under SATAN).

---

* ‘In petitioning the deity a sacrifice was naturally offered. Through the sacrifice, which was rendered acceptable to the deity by the mediation of the priest, the desired answer to a question was obtained’ (Morris Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 331).

* So Moore, art. ‘Ephod’ in *Encyc. Biblica*.

† The root of the word for ‘seer’ in Arabic corresponds to the Heb. חָזָה.

The connexion between the *jinn* in early Arabia (and in later times the *shaitân*) and serpents throws light upon the serpent of Gn 3 as well as the שָׂרָף of Is 6^2. The *jinn* were considered to reside in serpents, and the name *shaitân* is applied to a serpent.* The *jinn* were not necessarily evil. Some might be well disposed to truth (Ḳoran, 46^{28}), like the great male serpent which met Moḥammed on the way to Tabuk (cf. Baudissin, *Studien zur semit. Religionsgesch.* i. p. 279 ff.).

These illustrations from ancient Arabic belief enable us to understand the use of the Heb. נִחֵשׁ for 'divine' (from נָחָשׁ 'serpent') and נַחַשׁ for 'divination' (2 K 17^{17} 21^6, Dt 18^{10}, Lv 19^{26}, Gn 30^{27} 44^{15}). This association of the art of divination with the serpent arose from a variety of causes. This reptile springs mysteriously from holes in the earth with the hissing or whispering sound characteristic of incantations (see MAGIC, vol. iii. p. 210^b and footnote), and with a fascinating power of the eye which made it inevitable that a serpent should be regarded as the embodiment of a demon. Hence cunning and wisdom were ascribed to serpents (Gn 3^1, Mt 10^{16}). Thus it was natural that the denom. Piel נִחֵשׁ came to be employed of the soothsayer, who was considered to be demon-possessed (like the sorcerer or necromancer, יִדְּעֹנִי and בַּעַל אוֹב).

Both in Arabia and in ancient Assyria the desire to know the course of future events in their bearing upon the interests of the inquirer, more especially with respect to the success or non-success of some enterprise, impelled him to find clues of information in the movements of nature, more especially of animals, since these were held to be possessed by demons. The Arabs believed that the animal is *ma'mûr, i.e.* is subject to some higher behest, and has open eyes to see (like Balaam's ass) when human eyes are without vision. The wolf, the dog, the hare, and the fox were omen-giving animals. Coming from the right hand, one of these animals would be hailed as portending good; from the left, bad (Wellh. p. 201 f.). Birds were especially considered to convey omens, viz. the raven, goose, starling, and hoopoe. The raven was the bird which heralded misfortune, especially the separation of friends from loved ones.

The cuneiform records exhibit the wide prevalence of a great mass of similar beliefs and practices in *Babylonia*, but with this difference, that the omen-tablets mark the distinctions in special cases with a wearisome excess of detail which we do not find in the simpler civilization of the Western Semitic lands, Palestine and Arabia. The omens may be divided into different classes: (1) those concerned with days and heavenly bodies; (2) those concerned with the features of human childbirth and also with those of birth-giving by animals; (3) omens concerned with movements of animals.—These will be found fully treated in Morris Jastrow's instructive work, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, chs. xix. and xx. The following is a good example of (1)—

'Sun and moon are seen apart (*i.e.* at different times);
The king of the country will manifest wisdom.
On the fourteenth day sun and moon are seen together;
There will be loyalty in the land,
The gods of Babylonia are favourably inclined,
The soldiery will be in accord with the king's desire,
The cattle of Babylonia will pasture in safety.

On the fifteenth day the sun and moon are seen together;
A powerful enemy raises his weapons against the land,
The enemy will shatter the great gate of the city.'

Omens were likewise derived from the particular day of the month on which an eclipse takes place; from the appearances or disappearances of the planet Venus (Ishtar). In Rawl. iv. pl. 32, 33 we have a calendar of the intercalated month Elul. The deity is mentioned to which each day is sacred, and certain sacrifices are prescribed and precautions indicated. The 7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th days are called evil (*limnu*); see art. SABBATH, p. 319^a; and cf. Schrader, *COT* i. p. 19 f., and Jensen in *ZA* iv. (1889) p. 274 ff.

(2) Varied forms of abnormal birth are specified, and the events which they portend—

'If a woman gives birth to a child with the right ear missing, the days of the ruler will be long. If a woman gives birth to a child with the left ear missing, distress will enter the land and weaken it.'

The abnormal features in the birth of young lambs were carefully noted and interpreted—

'If the young one has no right ear, the rule of the king will come to an end, his palace will be uprooted, and the population of the country will be swept away. The king will lose judgment, the produce of the country will be slight, the enemy will cut off the supply of water. If the left ear of the young one is missing, the deity will hear the prayer of the king, the king will capture his enemy's land, the palace of the enemy will be destroyed.'

(3) The number and variety of cases here as in (1) and (2) are endless.

'If a dog enters the palace and crouches on the throne, that palace will suffer a distressful fate. If a dog enters a palace and crouches on the couch, no one will enjoy that palace in peace.'

The colour of a dog that enters a palace or of the locusts that enter a house, will affect the precise form of good which is portended by the occurrence.

The gods were constantly approached with questions involving the future interests of the State or affecting the fate of a military campaign. Knudtzon in his *Assyr. Gebete an den Sonnengott für Staat und königliches Haus*, has devoted a careful examination to these questions addressed to Šamaš the Sun-god, which are shown to follow a fixed pattern. First we have a series of questions which the god is petitioned to answer. The god is then implored not to be angry, and to protect the suppliant against errors unwittingly committed in the sacrificial rites—

'O Shamash, great lord, as I ask thee, do thou in true mercy answer me.

'From this day the 3rd day of this month of Iyyar to the 11th day of the month Ab of this year, a period of one hundred days and one hundred nights, is the prescribed term for the priestly activity.*

'Will within this period Kashtariti, together with his soldiery, will the army of the Gimirri, the army of the Medes, will the army of the Manneans, or will any enemy whatsoever succeed in carrying out their plan, whether by stratagem (?) or main force, whether by the force of weapons of war and battle or by the axe, whether by a breach made with war-machinery or battering-rams or by hunger, whether by the powers residing in the name of a god or goddess . . . will these aforementioned, as many as are required to take a city, actually capture the city Kishsassu, penetrate into the interior of that same city Kishsassu. . . . Thy great divine power knows it. . . . Will it actually come to pass?'

We observe that all possible contingencies are specified as in a lawyer's deed, and no loophole is left by which the deity may escape the obligation of a definite answer. (See Jastrow, p. 334 ff.)

How far Israel, and more particularly Judah, at the close of the 8th cent. became influenced by Bab. or Assyr. practices, it would be very difficult to say. That the older and more highly developed civilization of the Euphrates and Tigris should have affected the Palestinian tribes at this time is surely more than possible. In the 15th and earlier centuries B.C. that influence was powerfully felt throughout the Western border (*mât amurri*), as the Tel el-Amarna tablets clearly testify, and it spread into Egypt itself. Moreover, we may infer from certain indications that some influences from Bab. and

---

* *Iblîs* (=διάβολος) is not so frequently employed in the sing. as the plur. form of *shaitân*, which takes the place of *jinn* (plur.) (Wellh. *l.c.* p. 157 footnote).

* This expression is interpreted to mean that the priest is only asked to give a reply concerning the events of the hundred days specified in the text.

Assyr. divination not improbably found their way into the Southern kingdom. (1) We know that Ahaz was particularly susceptible to foreign religious influence, and did not hesitate to borrow from foreign courts (2 K $16^{10\text{-}18}$ 20^{11}). (2) The embassy of Merodach-baladan shows that the relations between Judah and Babylonia were intimate (2 K $20^{12\text{f.}}$). (3) The proneness of Ahaz to alliance with Assyria at an earlier period may have opened the way for the entrance of Assyro-Babylonian traditions. (4) If we combine these facts with Is 2^6, where reference is made to the superstitious tendencies which prevailed in Israel, and where these are ascribed to the 'East,' we may find the true clue to the meaning of this term 'East.' The true reading here has been conjecturally restored by critics with some probability in the form כי מלאו קֹסְמֵי (קֹסְמִים) מִקֶּדֶם 'for they are full of soothsayers from the East,' which harmonizes with the parallel clause that follows. Teman (Edom) also had its soothsayers (Jer 49^7, Ob ^{8}). Was the source Arabia?

Egypt presented parallel phenomena. Divination and the practice of occult sciences prevailed in the plains of the Nile as much as in those of the Euphrates. In Egypt the division of time among the higher divine powers was carried to such an extent that even every hour of day and night was allotted to some goddess (though not to the *superior* deities). The character of the divinity determined the destiny of the period over which that divinity presided. By turning up the calendar of the days of the month it was thought possible to gain a glimpse into futurity, and decide whether a particular day was favourable or unfavourable; what should be done and what omitted; and what prospects awaited the child who was born upon it. We have an example of such a calendar in the papyrus Sallier iv. belonging to the 19th dyn., in which there are instructions covering several months of the year. We select the following in reference to one month—

> '4th Paophi: unfavourable, favourable, favourable (*i.e.* of variable significance). By no means leave your house on this day. He who is born on this day, dies upon it through a contagious disease.
>
> '5th —: unfavourable, unfavourable, unfavourable. By no means leave your house on this day. Do not approach any woman. On this day we should offer gifts to the god. The majesty of the god Month was satisfied on this day. He who is born on this day will die of love.
>
> '9th —: favourable, favourable, favourable. The gods are in gladness, men in exultation. The foe of Râ has fallen. He who is born on this day dies of the weakness of old age.
>
> '22nd —: unfavourable, unfavourable, unfavourable. Do not bathe in any water on this day. He who embarks on a vessel on the river on this day will be rent in pieces by the tongue of the crocodile.' *

To what particular mode of divination allusion is made in Gn 44^5, where the silver bowl with which Joseph practised the art is referred to, cannot be determined from ancient Egyptian sources. It has been supposed that some form of κυλικομαντεία or ὑδρομαντεία was in the writer's mind. The goblet was filled with water and the sun's rays were admitted, and, as the goblet was moved, the circles of light that were formed were closely observed (Iamblichus, *de mysteriis*, iii. 14), or the cup was marked with letters and a divining-ring touched them here or there, and conclusions were deduced therefrom (Amm. Marcellinus, 29); cf. Dillm. *ad loc.* These are, however, conjectures only.

The word employed in the passages dealing with the story of Israel in Egypt for 'soothsayer' or 'magician' (for the word expressed both) was חַרְטֹם, plur. חַרְטֻמִּים, Gn $41^{8.\,24}$ (E), Ex 7^{11} $8^{7.\,18}$ etc. 9^{11} (P), Dn 1^{20} 2^2, variously rendered in LXX ἐπαοιδοί, φαρμακοί ἐξηγηταί [in Dn 1^{20} σοφισταί, Theodotion ἐπαοιδοί]. The Heb. word is probably derived from חֶרֶט, *stylus* for graving words, since the arts of the magician or soothsayer were based, in the more elaborate systems of Babylonia and Egypt, upon carefully written rituals.

Dreams.—In ancient *Arabic* belief sleep was considered in a mysterious sense to be sacred, and subject to the control of demons.* 'All Arabs reverence a man sleeping; he is, as it were, in trance with God: in their households they piously withdraw, nor will they lightly molest him.'† It is not surprising, therefore, that the significance attached to dreams is a universal feature of antiquity. The ancient *Egyptians* believed in the significance of the dream as the state of mind through which deities entered into personal relationship with men and gave them guidance. Thus Râ Harmachis appeared to king Thothmes IV., when he rested in the chase near the Great Sphinx, and commanded him to have the statue dug out of the sand. A sure means of obtaining a prophetic dream was to betake oneself to one of the temples that were sacred to divinities who vouchsafed oracles, and there sleep. The temple of Serapis was one of the most celebrated of these shrines, like the temple of Æsculapius at Epidaurus, where dreams were bestowed in which remedies were communicated against disease. Sometimes as a last resort magic was appealed to in order to extort the dream from the reluctant deity. Wiedemann (*Religion der alten Aegypter*, p. 144) cites one of the magical texts from a Gnostic papyrus of comparatively late date preserved in the Leyden Museum, entitled '*Agathocles' Recipe for sending a Dream*,' which runs thus—

> 'Take a slaughtered cat, quite black, prepare a tablet, and write the following with a solution of myrrh and the dream which you wish to send, and put it into the cat's mouth: Keimi, Keimi, I am the great one who rests in the mouth Mommom Thoth, Nanumbre, Karicha, Kenyro, Paarmiathon, the holy Iau ieê ieu aêoi who is above the heaven [other names follow] put thyself in connexion with N.N. about this [*i.e.* the said dream]. If necessary, secure for me N.N. through thy power. Lord of the whole world, fiery god, put thyself in connexion with N.N. Tharthar, thamara thatha mommom thanabotha [other names follow]. Hear me, for I will pronounce the great name Thoth, whom every god reverences and every demon fears. My name corresponds to the seven (vowels) a e ê i o y ô iauôêeaô oueê ôia. I named thy glorious name, the name for all needs. Put thyself in connexion with N.N. . . .'

Here we find soothsaying passing over into magic, to which it stands, as we have already explained, so closely related. The apparently meaningless combination of syllables which the magician employs contains the names of deities. Compare the name *Sabaôth*, borrowed from the Jewish Holy Scriptures, to which a mysterious potency was ascribed. These must be reproduced in their exact original form. No translation was tolerated: not only did it render the charm inoperative, but brought down evils upon the magician (cf. art. MAGIC, *ad fin.*).

The *Assyrians*, like the Egyptians, attached great importance to dreams. Of this we have two interesting examples in the Rassam-cylinder of Ašurbanipal. In col. ii. 95 we are told that to Gyges, king of Lydia, Ašur revealed Ašurbanipal's name in a dream, saying: 'Embrace the feet of Ašurbanipal, king of Assyria, and thou shalt conquer thy enemies by his name.' On the same day on which he had seen this dream, Gyges despatched his horsemen to greet Ašurbanipal and narrate it to him. The inscription goes on to state that from that day forth he conquered the Kimmerians, who had attacked the people of his land (lines 95–105).—The other passage occurs in col. v. 95 ff. Ašurbanipal's troops feared to cross the Iddiê, but Ištar of Arbela appeared to them in a dream, and said: 'I go before Ašurbanipal, the king whom my hands have made.' Confiding in this dream, his troops crossed the Iddiê safely.

---

* Wiedemann, *Die Religion der alten Aegypter*, p. 141.

* Wellhausen, *l.c.* p. 163 ff.

† Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, vol. i. p. 249 ff.

It should be noted that one special branch of the art of the priest-soothsayer in Babylonia consisted in the interpretation of the manifold appearances in dreams. A considerable portion of the omen-documents in cuneiform consists of the rules laid down as to what the different features in a dream may portend.

If a lion appears to a man, it means that a man will carry out his purpose. If a jackal, that he will secure favour in the eyes of the gods. A dog portends sorrow; a mountain goat, that the man's son will die of some disease; a stag, that his daughter will die, etc. (Bezold's *Catalogue*, pp. 1437, 1438, cited by Jastrow).

To this special function of the Babylonian temple officials we have reference in Dn 2^2, where they are summoned by Nebuchadnezzar to discharge the perplexing task of not only interpreting but also of first recalling a dream which the monarch had forgotten (cf. Gn $41^{8ff.}$). פּוֹתֵר is the proper word in Heb. for interpreter of dreams.

Divine revelation through dreams constantly meets us in the OT (Gn $20^{3.6}$ $31^{10.11}$ 37^5 $40^{5ff.}$ $41^{1ff.}$ 42^9, 1 K $3^{5.15}$, Dn 2^{19} 7^1, Nu 12^6, Job 33^{15}, Jg 7^{13}, and in NT Mt 1^{20} 2^{13}, Ac 23^{11} 27^{23}). Dreams were a legitimate mode of Divine manifestation, though we find warnings against the dreams of false prophets, as against magic and soothsaying (Jer $23^{28.32}$ 29^8, Zec 10^2, Sir $34^{1.2.5.7}$). It is worthy of note that among the Hebrews, as among the Egyptians, importance was attached to the dreams which came to a man who slept in a sanctuary or sacred spot. The dream of Jacob might be included among such visions (Gn 28^{12-19}), since the scene was at Bethel, the renowned sanctuary. The dream recorded in 1 K 3^{5-15} was vouchsafed to Solomon at the high place of Gibeon, where he had offered sacrifices.

Just as among the Arabs the art of soothsaying began to decline after the advent of Moḥammed and the monotheism which he taught,* so among the ancient Hebrews the prophetic teaching from the 8th cent. onwards constantly declaimed against the arts of the soothsayer, and the burden of this prophetic Tôrah became embodied in legislation (Dt $18^{10ff.}$, cf. Lv $20^{6.27}$). In Is 2^6 we find mention of [מְ]עֹנְנִים among the other modes of foreign Eastern superstition with which Judah by the time of Isaiah had become familiar. But in this special case the original source probably lay at Israel's doors, and the tradition was borrowed from the Canaanites. Of this we have clear evidence in Dt 18^{14}, and in the 'terebinth (oak) of diviners' (מעוננים MEONENIM) mentioned as a well-known sacred spot with a sacred tree (Jg 9^{37}). There is a similar 'soothsayer's tree'† (see MOREH) mentioned in Gn 12^6 (אֵלוֹן מוֹרֶה). To this we may find a parallel in the oaks of Dodona, sacred to Zeus, whose rustling branches were supposed to utter oracles (*Odyss.* xiv. 328); cf. 2 S 5^{24}. In Dt 18^{10} the מְעוֹנֵן stands in close conjunction with the 'diviner of divinations' (קֹסֵם קְסָמִים) and the מְנַחֵשׁ. The Greek equivalent of מְעֹ׳ is *κληδονιζόμενος*, meaning one who judges from omens (*κληδών*); cf. Is 2^6. The etymology of the Hebrew Poel form עוֹנֵן is not easy to determine. To connect it with עָנָן 'cloud' has no foundation in the known practices of the ancient Israelites. More probable is the etymology which connects it with the root which is in Arabic غَنَّ 'to snuffle' (cf. the use of the Heb. מְצַפְצְפִים Is 8^{19} 29^4); scarcely probable is the suggestion of Wellhausen to regard this Poel form as a denominative from the subst. עַיִן 'eye.' Cf. Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* ii. 274 footnote. The form of soothsaying which the word מְעוֹנֵן represents may have been akin to that which was practised by the Roman *augurs* or *haruspices*. In fact it is difficult to say how far the מְעוֹנֵן differed from the רֹאֶה or primitive Hebrew 'seer,' or from the קֹסֵם. As to the first, we do not know what was his mode of procedure, whether it consisted in the examination of the entrails or general appearance of the victim in the sacrifices, as was done by the Assyrian priests (Jastrow, *l.c.* p. 337) and the Roman *haruspices* or *extispices*. Or it may have taken the form of observing closely the movements of animals, as was done by the Philistine diviners (קֹסְמִים) in the case of the two cows yoked to the cart on which the ark of God was placed (1 S $6^{8ff.}$); or it may have consisted in observing the sounds produced by wind (as the sound among the tops of the balsam trees in 2 S 5^{24}) or the special action of rain or dew upon objects (cf. Jg $6^{36ff.}$).

The 8th cent., as well as the 7th, witnessed the wide prevalence of these arts as well as that of necromancy (Is $8^{19ff.}$). Probably the Assyrian invasions and the disasters which they entailed drove the panic-stricken people to resort to abnormal practices of magic and soothsaying.* From Is 3^2 we learn that the soothsayer held an important place in national life, and was regarded as one of the props of the social fabric. He takes his place by the side of the judge, prophet, and elder. The attitude of prophecy towards soothsaying was uniformly uncompromising and hostile (Mic 5^{12}, cf. Jer 27^9 and Is 57^3, this last passage being descriptive of the degenerate practices that still went on in Palestine after the return from the Exile). In Ezk $21^{21ff.}$ we have a vivid description of the king of Babylon standing at the crossways, shaking the arrows (*βελομαντεία*). We may assume that there were two arrows in the quiver, one bearing the name Jerusalem and the other Rabbah, and the result was determined by the particular arrow that was drawn out by the right hand or shaken out. He also inquires of the teraphim and looks into the liver. The reference to the teraphim is a Palestinian trait (the LXX *γλυπτοῖς* suggests עֲצַבִּים rather than תְּרָפִים). When we compare this with Is 47^{8-15} with its closing references to the soothsaying, we can clearly see that the latter writer had become yet more familiar with the practices in divination carried on in Babylonia, and portrays them with remarkable vividness:—'Thou art wearied with thy counsels; yes, let them stand by and save you, they who divide the heavens, who gaze at the stars, announcing month by month whence they (*i.e.* the events) are to come upon you.' The account given in the earlier portion of this article of the omen-tablets of Babylonia and the calendars of the days of the month, with its lucky and unlucky days, clearly illustrates the accurate delineation given us in Deutero-Isaiah. The phrase 'dividers of the heavens' (הֹבְרֵי שָׁמַיִם *Kĕrê*) contains a reference to the custom of the Babylonian astrologers of dividing the heavens into districts to take a horoscope (cf. Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia*, p. 369 ff.). See also art. DIVINATION.

LITERATURE.—This has been indicated in the course of the article. The reader should consult art. 'Wahrsagerei' in Riehm's *HWB*²; Nowack's and Benzinger's *Heb. Arch.*; art. 'Divination' in *Encyc. Biblica*; Smend, *AT Religionsgesch.* pp. 76 ff., 113, 178, 195, 276, 290; W. R. Smith, *ap.* Driver on Dt $18^{10f.}$, and in *Journal of Philology*, xiii. 273 ff., xiv. 113 ff. On Dreams cf. Brecher, *Das Transcendentale . . . im Talmud*, §§ 37-47.

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

---

* For demonology and soothsaying were closely interwoven (as in the case of magic). Now, according to Moḥammedan ideas, the devils after Moḥammed's advent were prevented from mingling with the sons of God and learning the secrets of heaven (cf. SATAN and ref. to Book of Enoch). When so detected, the angels pelt them with meteorites and drive them away: see *Sur.* 3^{31} *ad fin.*, $37^{7ff.}$; and cf. Wellhausen, *Reste*², p. 138.

† It is by no means certain that the Heb. אֵלָה, אֵלוֹן may not be used generally for 'tree,' like Syr. ܐܝܠܢܐ, ܐܝܠܘܢܐ.

* Cf. W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage*, p. 308, in reference to the mystic piacular rites of the 7th cent. B.C.

SOP.—A sop (Anglo-Sax. [*soppa*], from *supan*, to sup) is a morsel of food soaked in liquid. Cf. Chaucer, *Marchantes Tale*, 599—

> 'And then he taketh a sop in fyn clarree.'

The word was used by Tindale to translate ψωμίον (from ψωμ-ίζω, to feed) in Jn $13^{26\,bis.\,27.\,30}$, the only occurrences of the Gr. word. (Wyclif had already used it in $13^{26.\,27}$, giving 'bread' and 'morsel' in the other places. The Vulg. has *buccella* in $13^{27.\,30}$, but simply *panis* in $^{26\,bis}$, and the Rheims follows with 'bread' in $^{26\,bis}$, and 'morsel' in $^{27.\,30}$). The mod. meaning, 'something given to keep quiet,' is also found in early writers, as Howard, *Committee*, iv. 1, 'Why, you unconscionable Rascal, are you angry that I am unlucky, or do you want some fees? I'll perish in a Dungeon before I'll consume with throwing Sops to such Curs.'

J. HASTINGS.

SOPATER (Σώπατρος, *Sopater*).—A man of Berœa who in St. Paul's third missionary journey accompanied him from Philippi (Ac 20^4). He is called in the older MSS son of Pyrrhus. He was commemorated June 25 and July 12. See also SOSIPATER.

SOPE.—See the modern spelling SOAP.

SOPHERETH (סֹפֶרֶת; BA Σαφάραθ, ℵ Σαφαραθί, Luc. Ἀσοφέρεθ).—A family of Nethinim that returned with Zerubbabel, Neh 7^{57}. In the parallel passage, Ezr 2^{55}, the name appears as **Hassophereth** (הַסֹּפֶרֶת; B Ἀσεφῆραθ, A Ἀσεφόραθ, Luc. Ἀσωφέρεθ), and in 1 Es 5^{33} as ASSAPHION.

SOPHONIAS.—The form in which the name of the prophet ZEPHANIAH occurs in 2 Es 1^{40}.

SORCERY.—The subject of sorcery has already been treated in most of its aspects under MAGIC. There remain, however, certain features in this extensive department which are reserved for treatment in the present article.

The wide prevalence of sorcery in pre-exilian Israelite life is only partially revealed in the OT. That the underlying motive of the Brazen Serpent in Nu 21^{4-9} was the same as that of the winged colossal and human-headed bulls or genii (*lamassu* or *lamaššu*, cf. the cherubim in Gn 3^{24}, and Schrader, *COT*, *ad loc.*) which were set up at the doors of the Assyrian palaces to prevent the access of demons, of disease, or other calamity, seems to be fairly probable. In this connexion we must bear in mind the undoubted fact that the serpent was associated not only with demons to whom a destructive power belonged (cf. Gn 3 and Is 14^{29} 27^1 and Am 9^3),* but also with those endowed with beneficent powers. Mohammed held that serpents might be inhabited by good as well as by evil *jinn*, and among the ancient Greeks the serpent was held to be sacred to the healing god Æsculapius. Also, as Robertson Smith reminds us, the South Arabs regard medicinal waters as inhabited by *jinn*, usually of serpent form (*RS*^{2} p. 168, cf. 172). On this subject interesting facts have been collected by Baudissin, in his Essay on the Symbolism of the Serpent, in *Studien zur sem. Religionsgesch.* i. p. 257 ff. The brazen image of the serpent (נְחֻשְׁתָּן), worshipped in the reign of Hezekiah, and the occurrence of the name Naḥash among Canaanite peoples, point to the prevalence of the serpent-cult. See NEHUSHTAN.

Again, the law, to which the modern Jew pays so much deference, contained in Dt $6^{8.\,9}$, involves an ancient belief in the magic potency of written words and names, of which Lane (*Modern Egyptians*, 1871, i. pp. 7 ff., 319 ff.) gives valuable illustrations. The *Shema'*, as well as the following precept, 'And thou shalt love Jehovah thy God with all thy soul . . .,' were to be bound as a sign upon the hand, and for frontlets between the eyes. They were also to be written upon the doorposts of the house and on the gates. The Jews in the present day use the name *mĕzûzah*, which in the original Deuteronomic sense meant 'doorpost,' for the small metal case which contained a piece of folded parchment, upon which the words aforesaid were written, viz. Dt 6^{4-9} as well as Dt 11^{13-21}, in twenty-two lines. This would be placed at the right of the entrance, on the upper part of the doorpost. Like an amulet inscribed with words or names of mysterious potency, this piece of parchment was held to possess a magic and protective efficacy. See Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, i. p. 76. The *tĕphillîn* or phylacteries, on the left arm and forehead, are of like character (see art. PHYLACTERIES).

Again we have an instructive example of the all-prevailing faith in magic in the case of the afflicted woman who came to Jesus in the midst of the crowd, believing that His garments were possessed of mysterious healing virtue (Lk 8^{44}, see Plummer, *ad loc.*). The same idea underlies the narrative of Ac 19^{12}, where we read that handkerchiefs and aprons were conveyed from St. Paul's person to the diseased, who were thereby cured, and the demons expelled. A man's clothing was supposed to convey with it some charm or efficacy from the owner. Mohammed was besought to give his shirt that a dead man might be buried in it. The character of the wearer and his clothing were identified in some mysterious way. Probably in this way we are to interpret the reference to the mantle of Elijah (2 K 2^{13-15}, cf. ^{8}), and such expressions as 'robe of righteousness,' 'garments of salvation' (Is 61^{10}), 'of vengeance' (59^{17}), etc. See Wellhausen, *Reste*^{2}, p. 196.

In *Arabia* sorcery was even employed in digging for treasure. Doughty relates a story that a Moor, who was regarded as specially proficient in magical arts, 'sacrificed to the *jân* in the night a black cock, and read his spells, and a great black fowl alighted beside him. . . . The earth rumbled, and rose as it were in billows, gaping and shutting, and in that earthy womb appeared an infinite treasure' (*Arabia Deserta*, ii. p. 103). But we hear even more frequently of counter-spells, whereby the demons were coerced or terrified into impotence. And this specially applies to the various diseases which the *jân* were supposed to inflict. The remedies are in almost every case magical in character, and were carried out by the physician called *ṭabîb* or wise man, who was, in fact, a magician. The methods of the magic-healing art were the same as those of the sorcerer who worked the evil. There was stroking and rubbing of the part affected; most frequently we have the tying of knots, spitting, and breathing.

> 'A young mother, yet a slender girl, brought her wretched babe, and bade me spit upon the child's sore eyes. This ancient Semitic opinion and custom I have afterwards found wherever I came to Arabia [cf. Jn 9^6]. Meteyr nomads in El Kasim have brought me bread and salt that I should spit in it for their sick friends.—Also the Arabians will spit upon a lock which cannot easily be opened' (Doughty, *Arab. Des.* i. p. 527). 'Another time I saw Salih busy to cure a mangy *thelûl* (riding-camel). He sat with a bowl of water before him, and, mumbling thereover, he spat in it and mumbled solemnly, and spat many times, and, after a half hour of this work, the water was taken to the sick beast to drink' (*ib.* ii. p. 164).

This strange custom may be combined with the prevalent notion that the more repulsive and disgusting the remedies, the more efficacious they were.

---

* Here Gunkel (*Schöpfung u. Chaos*) has shown that we have remnants of the old Babylonian chaos-myth (*Tiâmtu*, 'dragon of the deep').

'They will take of the unclean and even abominable, and say, *dawâ*, "it is medicine." These Bedouin give the sick to eat of the *rakham* or small white carrion eagle. Upon a day I found a poor woman of our menzil seething asses' dung in the pot. She would give the water to drink with milk to her sick brother' (Doughty, i. p. 255).

Magic devises strange remedies. The person of the king has a supernatural character (Frazer, *Golden Bough*², i. p. 8 ff.), and it is owing to this belief that we constantly find the royal personality or his family invested with a priestly function. Thus in Arabia it was believed that hydrophobia was to be cured by royal blood, *i.e.* not merely the blood of the reigning monarch, but also that of the royal family. Even sorrow for the dead had its magic remedy. Dust from the grave of the deceased beloved one was to be drunk, mingled with water; and the same remedy was employed as an antidote to love-sickness, for a man who was in love was held to be possessed or bewitched. By the spells of a sorcerer, too, lovers may be parted.

It may here be remarked that the introduction of Islam did even less to destroy belief in magic than the growth of Jewish monotheism. We can only say in both cases (that of the Arab and of the Jew) that the belief in spirits entered, as Wellhausen says of the Arab (*ib.* p. 157), 'upon another stage.' 'The old gods are deposed and degraded into the position of demons. The latter thereby change their character and become hellish creatures, bitterly hostile to Allah and his heavenly surrounding.' They became Satans (*Shaitâns*), with Iblîs at their head, opposed to prayer and the cry of the *muezzin*, loving uncleanliness and dirt, and therefore debarred by washings and the burning of incense.

Consequently sorcery was just as prevalent after Islam as before it. Moḥammed placed the interior bark of the Samara tree on the arm of Dhul Bigâdain to render him invulnerable. Gum resin from this tree was constantly carried as an amulet. The ankle-bones of a hare are effective to ward off the *jinn* of the camp, the ghoul of the desert, and Satan himself. They are also effective in quelling fever. Similar efficacy belonged to the teeth of a cat or a fox. The magic of the knot-tying was encountered by the protective spell of the amulet. One species of amulet was called *tangis* (defiling), and contained dirt, bones of the dead, and other repulsive objects. Many amulets, however, consisted of ornaments, often precious stones, deemed on this account sacred. Their object seems to be to divert the attention of the demons from the wearer. Thus a mark on the face of a woman, or even tattooing, served this purpose; also the fragrant berries carried by children, the silver and gold plates worn by horses, and the bells carried by camels (cf. Zec 14²⁰), which diverted or scared away the demons by their sound. Cf. Wellhausen, *Reste*², p. 164 ff.

Ancient *Jewish* magic, to which Blau has devoted a special treatise, presents many features which are analogous to those of early Arabia just described. Indeed it is by no means an easy problem to determine how much of the latter came from Jewish, Babylonian, and Aramaic sources, and how far the Jewish in turn became affected in very early times by Arabia.* There can be little doubt that the main source of Jewish tradition in magic and demonology, in and after the Exile, was Babylonia, and that Babylonia also influenced Arabia.

The magical effect of spitting, to which Doughty has referred (in the passages cited), was also an element in Jewish superstition. But what is most significant in Jewish sorcery is the belief in the magic power of words and names which was held almost universally, in the time of Christ, by the Jews in common with other contemporary nations. Passages from Scripture were considered to be especially effectual. These were constantly employed in bringing about cures. Thus the words in Lv 13¹ נֶגַע צָרַעַת and also Lv 1¹ were considered efficacious, though forbidden by Rab and Rabbi Chanina (*Sanhedrin* 101*a*). Ex 15²⁶ was employed in healing wounds; but when, in addition to this, spitting was resorted to, this was regarded as a forbidden form of magic, and whosoever attempts it has no part or lot in the future life (Mishna *Sanhed.* xi. 1; *Tosefta* xii. 10). Of course special force belonged to the words, 'For I, Jehovah, am thy healer.' Unclean water has a magical influence, which can be increased or arrested by some incantation. Magic influence of a deterrent character was also attributed to iron. Iron has the power to ward off evil spirits and to break spells. Spirits stand in fear of iron (cf. Blau, p. 159; and *Berakhôth* 6*a*, cf. *Tosefta* vi. 13). The iron is cast between the graves, and the word *hada* is pronounced; for the graveyard has always been the place where sorcery is practised, since the spirits of the departed dwell there. Thither Canidia and Sagana, the sorceresses of Horace's muse, repair in the moonlight (*Sat.* I. viii.); and Wellhausen (*Reste*², p. 157) considers that close relations subsisted between *jinn* and spirits of dead men, the spirits of the departed becoming *jinn*.

The Talmud gives special recipes for turning a bad dream into one of good omen. One of these consists in repeating 9 verses (3 × 3) of the Bible. If a man sees a river in a dream, let him recite Is 66¹² (in which peace is compared to a flowing stream) before he thinks of Is 59¹⁹ 'When the enemy comes like a river.' It is dangerous to drink water on Wednesday or Friday night. If, however, one is compelled to drink it, it is recommended that Ps 29³⁻¹⁰ should be recited, where the voice of Jehovah is mentioned seven times and also the waters, and it is said that Jehovah is enthroned above the flood.

Incantations were constantly employed in the art of healing. Most of these spells are derived from the teachers of the Talmud, who also practised the medical art. As the remedy was applied, the incantation was whispered in the ear of the patient. The head of the operating physician was anointed with oil, and, if any unbidden or uninitiated person heard the spell, its magical power was lost. Two examples of these magical remedies may be found in art. MAGIC, vol. iii. p. 211, and further illustrations will be found in Blau's monograph, pp. 72–77, 156 ff., and Brecher's *Das Transcendentale, Magie u. magische Heilarten im Talmud*, p. 198 ff.

Sorcery, in the narrower sense of magic employed with malignant or evil intent, would seek to accomplish such ends as causing one's neighbour's house to catch fire, bringing a hailstorm on his field, depriving his cows of milk, making his child die of illness, causing domestic brawls, or visiting himself with sudden death. In fact the ancients were accustomed to attribute all such disasters to a malignant demon, sorcerer, or witch; and the possession of any unusual physical or mental quality, especially an uncanny look about the eyes, would expose the male or female possessor of these characteristics to the unenviable reputation of being a sorcerer or sorceress. Especially old women of unusual ugliness were credited with dealings with the dark supernatural world. Even men distinguished by brilliant acquirements or clever play would be liable to the suspicion of sorcery.

---

* According to the Talmud (*Sanhedrin* 67*b*, 91*a*) the Arabs were regarded as endowed with magical powers. In the first passage it is related that an Arab sorcerer cut his camel in pieces and then restored it to life. In the latter passage it is stated that Abraham communicated to the sons of his concubines the unclean name, *i.e.* the names of deities potent in magic; cf. Blau, p. 48, and footnote 2.

The chief motives to sorcery were love and hatred, and the result was frequently death or unfaithfulness to the marriage vow. Magic was employed to win forbidden love. The chief means to compass this end was *mandragora*, which was universally regarded as an erotic plant (hence the Heb. name דּוּדָאִים Gn $30^{14f.}$). It was customary to recite verses from the Bible over this—a practice which the Talmud forbids (*Shabbath* 8*b*, 19). Tying of knots was sometimes resorted to in order to prevent childbirth. Cf. Ḳoran 113 (blowing on knots).

Simon ben Jochai had the reputation of being a magician, and tradition relates that when he withdrew from his cave, after residing there for thirteen years, he transformed every one upon whom he gazed into a heap of bones; and it is reported that he destroyed a heretic in this way (*Pesiḳta* 90*b*, 137*a*).

Amulets were employed as prophylactics, *i.e.* as a means of counterworking the evil influences of witchcraft and demons. The לְחָשִׁים, to which Is 3^{20} alludes as one among the articles of feminine attire, may be considered to be this simply and solely. These were not forbidden, though they partook of a magical character. It is only in cases where the amulets were heathen in origin that they were strictly forbidden. Thus in 2 Mac 12^{40} the amulets discovered on the slain came from the idol temple at Jamnia, and were on this account objectionable. The name by which the amulet was called in later Jewish literature is *ḳĕmêaʿ* (קָמֵיעַ). The *ḳĕmêaʿ* is mentioned with the *tĕphillîn* or phylacteries. Both were covered with leather. Similarly, the amulets of the Greeks and Romans were contained in *capsules* (*bulbæ*). The Jewish amulet consisted either of some inscribed object or of certain roots of plants, or, in some cases, of grains of corn bound up in leather.* It may here be remarked, in passing, that every vegetable was supposed to have a subtle connexion with a planet in heaven (see Blau, p. 160 f.). Anything offered with incense to the gods, or shavings from the Asherah tree, were considered to have a special healing virtue. Metal plates consisting of an upper and lower plate were constantly employed as amulets. A pearl wrapped up in leather was regarded as a healing remedy for cattle.

In all spells, charms, incantations, amulets, and other prophylactics, stress is always laid on the mysterious potency and significance of the name. *Nomen* involves *omen*. Name to the ancient Semite involves reality and personal power. And the superstitious dread of the ancient Greek who cried *εὐφημεῖτε* at solemn crises or functions, and of the Roman who under like circumstances said *favete linguis*, was founded on this same belief in the underlying dread potency of words or names to summon forth catastrophes. To this tendency the etymologizing efforts and plays on words in the OT are probably due, viz. to the endeavour to discover in the name a clue to the underlying power that shapes individual destiny. 'As his name, so is he,' says Abigail of her wrong-headed husband Nabal. 'Fool is his name, and folly is with him' (1 S 25^{25}). The combination of the name of deity with a newborn child was therefore quite explicable. Even the names of angels in later Judaism, like those of individuals, contained the name of deity (אֵל), *e.g.* Michael, Raphael, etc. Heaven and earth are perishable, but 'Thy great name liveth and abideth for ever' (*Berakhôth* 32*a*). Hence those names (especially of angels) which contain the name of deity possess a special potency.

Particular power was assigned to the mysterious *tetragrammaton*, which could be pronounced only on the Great Day of Atonement in the temple by the high priest. Hence it is called in the Talmud שֵׁם הַמְּפוֹרָשׁ (in Aramaic שְׁמָא מְפָרְשָׁא), the name pronounced (cf. Pael פָּרֵישׁ) then, and then only. This name later Judaism believed to have been inscribed on the wonder-working staff of Moses. The *tĕhôm* no longer overflows when a potsherd engraved with the *tetragrammaton* is thrown into it. Ashmodai (cf. APOLLYON), the prince of demons, was bound by a chain and a seal ring, on which was inscribed the Divine name (*Giṭṭîn* 68, bottom). By marking this name on the mouth of the idol calf of Jeroboam it was made to speak.

This mysterious and potent name was designated in Hebrew as הַשֵּׁם, by the Greeks *τὸ ὄνομα*, also called *ἄρρητον*—on magic papyri (see Wessely) *ὄνομα κρυπτὸν καὶ ἄρρητον*, or, as in the inscription of Hadrumetum (see art. MAGIC, and Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, 146 ff., 196 ff.), *τὸ ἅγιον ὄνομα ὃ οὐ λέγεται* (line 20), also *τὸ κρυπτὸν ὄνομα καὶ ἄρρητον ἐν ἀνθρώποις* (Dietrich, *Abraxas*, 195, line 7), or it is called *τὸ τετράγραμμον ὄνομα τὸ μυστικόν*. The Hebrew יַהְוֶה, יָהוּ, יָהּ is reproduced in a variety of forms in Greek (see Deissmann, *ib.* p. 4). The manifold employment of the letters of the *tetragrammaton*, as well as of the seven vowels *α ε η ι ο υ ω*, played a considerable part in magic papyri; and it is impossible within the space at our disposal to enter into the maze of details on this subject, which may be found in Blau's treatise, pp. 141–146.

The belief in the power of words, especially those of Scripture, is exhibited by the custom of repeating a phrase, as, for example, the *Shemaʿ*, or sometimes in inverting the order of letters, as in the Gnostic gem referred to by Schwab (*Vocabulaire de l'Angelologie*, p. 303), in which is inserted Ουκλιαλιξ, which is the expression כי לאל קנא inverted. The belief underlying these inversions is that the reversal of the order effects the retreat or overthrow of the demons and of the sorcery they employ. According to Rabbi ʿAḳiba, special potency belongs to the letters of the alphabet to which special meanings by acrostics were assigned. Thus אלף = אמת למד פיך.

Belief in the power of the evil eye was just as prevalent in Semitic lands as in those of classical antiquity. Especially were women with an ugly squint or strange look or contracted heavy eyebrows considered to possess powers of the evil eye (see art. MAGIC, vol. iii. p. 208^{a}).

Tradition ascribed the belief in the power of the evil eye to Babylonia. Rab lived in Babylonia, where the evil eye is often found (Jerus. *Shabbath* 14*c*^{48}; cf. *Baba meẓia* 107*b*, above). It is said of Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, that after they were delivered from the fiery furnace they fell victims to the many eyes which were fixed on them. According to *Baba bathra* i. 18, Joshua commanded the sons of Joseph to conceal themselves in the wood in order that they might not be overpowered by the evil eye (Jos 17^{15}). Men of distinction were specially exposed to this evil. But the tradition prevailed that descendants of Joseph were exempt. Thus when the distinguished and handsome Rabbi Jochanan was asked whether he did not fear the evil eye, he replied, 'I am of the seed of Joseph, who are not injured by the evil eye' (*Berakhôth* 20*a*, below). It was recommended as a precaution, if one is about to enter a town and is afraid of the evil eye, to place the right thumb in the left hand and the left thumb in the right hand and say, 'I am N. son of N., and am descended from the seed of Joseph.' Another preservative was to look on the left side of the nose.

---

* On this subject of amulets consult Winer, *RWB*^{3} i. p. 56; Com. on Gn 35^{4} and Is $3^{18ff.}$; Hamburger, *RE*, Supplem.-Band, ii. pp. 8-11.

Horses were preserved from the power of the evil eye by hanging a fox's tail or a scarlet thread between the eyes. Children were more frequently provided with amulets than adults, and those they held in their hand (*Shabbath* 16*b*, 61*b*). Children have naturally a weaker power of resistance to evil influence or fascination than adults. Hence an inscribed card or leaf (πιττάκιον) or other kind of amulet was hung around the neck. A Jewish amulet would contain the letters of the name of Deity and various extracts from the Torah. It would also contain the name of the person to be protected.

Even articles of furniture or vessels were protected in this manner. Handles and pedestals were inscribed with the Divine name. Especially the bedstead was guarded in this way against enchantment. The blessing in Nu $6^{24\text{-}26}$ was intended to protect Israel against the evil eye. Indeed the Torah itself was designed by God as a defence against evil (*Wayyiḳra rabba*, c. 25, *ad init.*).

The magic of the evil eye is a topic avoided in the Mishna, and the attitude of orthodox Judaism towards the entire subject of sorcery was hostile, and in this respect coincided with the spirit and teaching of St. Paul, who regarded sorcery as belonging to the sphere of the *ἐνέργεια τοῦ Σατανᾶ* and *φαρμακία* as one of the products (*ἔργα*) of the flesh (Gal 5^{20}). This attitude of Judaism rested on the ancient precepts of the Torah, even the most primitive code (Ex 22^{18}, cf. Dt 18^{10}) containing prohibitions and death penalties directed against sorcerer and sorceress.

The causes of this ancient antagonism between religion and magic, which certainly existed, though far from universal, evidently lie in some fundamental distinction between the two, which we have already endeavoured to elucidate in the opening pages of the art. MAGIC. The subject has been ably discussed in Frazer's *Golden Bough* (i. p. 61 ff.), but not with complete success, since the writer refuses to admit what the researches of Tylor and others have made clear, viz. that ancient culture in all its manifold forms rests upon a primitive basis of *animism*, an interpretation of life whereby man surrounded himself with a cosmic society of personal agencies. Frazer considers that the few cases cited, 'in which the operation of spirits is assumed, and an attempt made to win their favour by prayer and sacrifice,' are exceptional. 'Wherever sympathetic magic occurs in its pure unadulterated form, it assumes that in nature one event follows another necessarily and invariably *without the intervention of any spiritual or personal agency.*' The final negative clause of this sentence, which we have italicized, lacks historic proof. The most ancient inscribed documents of human life, discovered in Babylonia and Egypt, point to the opposite conclusion, that in man's primitive condition magic was closely interwoven with a belief in gods and demons. That in some more recent examples of sympathetic magic the primitive elements of spiritual belief have disappeared, and nothing apparently * remains but the assumption that 'in nature one event follows another necessarily and invariably,' we may with certain limitations admit to be true. In some exponents of 'modern science' we observe a similar process of the attrition of a belief in or recognition of an ultimate Personal Cause which sustains 'nature's unchanging harmony.' But without the assumption of a primitive belief in personal agencies, how can we explain the constant employment of incantations and of formulæ, spoken or written, as well as the close relations which in ancient culture undoubtedly subsisted between magic and religion, the priest combining in his own person the normal functions of worship with those of soothsaying and magic? But our criticism does not in reality obscure the illuminating value of Frazer's statements, which we now cite.

> 'Its fundamental conception is identical with that of modern science. Underlying the whole system is a faith, implicit but real and firm, in the order and uniformity of nature. The magician does not doubt that the same causes will always produce the same effects, that the performance of the proper ceremony accompanied by the appropriate spell will inevitably be attended by the desired results, unless, indeed, his incantations should chance to be thwarted and spoiled by the more potent charms of another sorcerer. . . . The fatal flaw of magic lies not in its general assumption of a succession of events * . . . but in its total misconceptions of the nature of . . . that succession . . . In ancient Egypt the magicians claimed the power of compelling even the highest gods to do their bidding.'
>
> Hence arose a radical conflict between magic and religion.
>
> 'The haughty self-sufficiency of the magician . . . and his unabashed claim to exercise sway could not but revolt the priest. Sometimes, we may suspect, lower motives concurred to whet the edge of the priest's hostility. He professed to be the proper medium, the true intercessor between God and man, and no doubt his interests as well as his feelings were often injured by a rival practitioner.' †

We may here briefly advert to the prevalcnee of magic and sorcery in ancient *Greece* and in ancient Greek settlements. Aristotle (*Probl.* xx. 34) refers to the superstition of the evil eye (*βασκαίνω* and *βάσκανος*, *βασκανία* through the *ὀφθαλμὸς κακός*). This particularly affected children and cattle (Verg. *Ecl.* iii. 103). Theocritus (*Idyll.* ii. throughout, and vi. 39) clearly proves how prevalent sorcery was in the beginning of the 3rd cent. B.C. A century earlier Plato (*Rep.* ii. 364 B) describes the wandering beggars and soothsayers who go about to rich men's doors persuading them that they have power from the gods to avenge any man on his enemies, and can induce the gods to do their bidding by certain enchantments and magic knots (*ἐπαγωγαῖς καὶ καταδέσμοις*). Herodotus (in the 5th cent.), ii. 181, tells the story of Amasis, king of Egypt, who believed he had been spell-bound by his wife Ladica. The Greeks believed in and practised the magic *κατάδεσμοι* (*καταδέσεις*) or knots as much as the Hebrews their חֶבֶר (cf. Euripid. *Medea*, 1136–1230).

These *κατάδεσμοι* (Lat. *diræ*) were inscribed on their leaden tablets or on strips of papyrus or talc (Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 69). The first actually known were discovered at Athens in 1811 by M. Fauvel, and two years later, in the public cemetery of the Piræus, by Mr. Dodwell. Recently they were found among the tombs in Cyprus (of the 1st cent. A.D.). The character of the inscription or incantation which is scratched, is mainly as follows: 'I bind with this spell (*καταδῶ*) So-and-so, his shop and all his property.' In the formula employed on one of the two Athenian leaden tablets the writer binds over his enemies by name to Hermes Cthonius, Γῇ *κάτοχος*, and Persephone. In the other we read: 'I bind over such-and-such persons to thee, Onesime.' Onesime may perhaps have been the occupant of the tomb where the tablet was discovered.

In addition to this method of writing the name of the enemy on a tablet and marking it with magical signs or characters, we have another, which at once reminds us of Babylonia (cf. MAGIC). A waxen image of the obnoxious person was made and caused to melt away in order that that person might melt away likewise (sympathetic magic). Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* viii. 80; Horace, *Sat.* I. viii. 32; Theoc. *Idyll.* ii.

---

* We say 'apparently,' because missionaries from Central Africa, where magic abounds (we refer particularly to the Rev. Harry Johnson), have informed the present writer that natives are very reticent with regard to their beliefs as to what underlies their practice. Moreover, belief in spirits they certainly possess.

* We prefer to omit here all reference to 'law.' The belief of ancient magic in the uniformity of nature can only have been of a very partial and rudimentary kind, viz. in the limited sphere of magical practice.

† Another contributing cause to the hostility of religion and of the priesthood towards magic was morally justifiable. Magic and the popular faith in it armed the sorcerer with awful powers over his fellow-men, which he often used for unscrupulous ends. Thus in early Rome we find a law in the Twelve Tables which forbids charming away a neighbour's crops by incantations (*excantare*).

There is good reason to suppose that these magic practices were introduced from Babylonia into Greece through Persia. Æschylus and Sophocles show no trace of them, but Euripides alludes to the *γόης* and *ἐπῳδός*. In Antiphon (end of 5th cent.) we read of a love-potion or *φίλτρον*, while Plato speaks of magicians (*Symp.* 203 D) and of the Thessalian women who are said to draw down the moon (*Gorg.* 513 A).

Necromancy, or the special mode of obtaining aid or knowledge by the conjuration of the dead, was a form of divination and magic which may be appropriately treated under the head of sorcery, since the sorcerer or sorceress would likewise become the medium of communication with the departed spirit. Necromancy is a practice which is linked to the belief in the continued existence of spirits in the dark underworld or Sheôl. Hence among the ancient Greeks *νεκυία*, or the summoning of the dead for interrogation about the future, became locally associated with caves and volcanic regions, where communication, it was supposed, would be easily established with the lower regions. Such a spot, called *νεκυομαντεῖον* or *ψυχοπομπεῖον*, was the lake Aornos in Thesprotian Epirus (Herod. v. 92), Lake Avernus in Campania, and Tænarus in Laconia. There is, however, no clear proof that conjuration of the dead in Canaan was associated with any special spot. It seems rather to have been associated with the personality of the conjurer than with special places. Nevertheless we might expect that caves or dark spots, and more especially sepulchres, would be selected by the Canaanite necromancers for the practice of their rites.

The Heb. name for the spirit to whom the summons was given was אוֹב, a word which is probably no other than that which is used in Job 32^{19} for a skin-bag for holding water. The term would be applied to the spirit on account of the mysterious hollow sound which he was supposed to make, as though speaking from some hollow cavity.* This אוֹב or spirit was considered to reside in the necromancer, who was for the time identified with it. The term properly used to describe the necromancer was בַּעַל אוֹב, or for the female sorceress בַּעֲלַת אוֹב. We might compare the בַּעֲלַת כְּשָׁפִים of Nah 3^4. בַּעֲלַת אוֹב is the term applied to the witch of Endor (1 S 28^7), who summons Samuel from his grave at the request of Saul (vv.$^{12-14}$) and plays the part of clairvoyante as well.

Another obscure term frequently combined with אוֹב is יִדְּעֹנִי, and it is exceedingly difficult to say whether any actual distinction of meaning properly belonged to the use of either. The etymology of the latter word, corresponding to our English word **wizard**, suggests the divining function of the spirit inhabiting the necromancer, whereas אוֹב was rather a term which indicated the ventriloquizing and hollow tones of his utterance. The LXX usually render אוֹב or בַּעַל א׳ by *ἐγγαστρίμυθος*, once (Is 19^3) by *ἐκ γῆς φωνῶν*; whereas יִדְּעֹנִי, which they hardly understood, is variously rendered by *τερατοσκόπος*, *ἐπαοιδός*, and *γνωστής* (*γνωριστής*), and apparently in one instance (Is 19^3) by *ἐγγαστρίμυθος*. In Dt 18^{11} there is a curiously amplified phraseology which ought not to be pressed, viz. 'interrogator (שֹׁאֵל) of the אוֹב,' יִדְּעֹנִי, and the 'inquirer of the dead' (דֹּרֵשׁ אֶל־הַמֵּתִים). In this as in the preceding verse (v.^{10}) we have a fairly exhaustive phraseology, but each term employed does not cover an altogether distinct conception, but is more or less a synonym.

During the closing decades of the 8th cent., amid the dangers, apprehensions, and calamities occasioned by the Assyrian invasions, the people resorted in large numbers to these occult modes of inquiry. To this Isaiah refers in scathing terms of rebuke ($8^{19ff.}$). Instead of turning their faces heavenwards to Jehovah and to the words of the Torah committed to faithful prophets, many were saying in these degenerate days, 'Consult the conjurers of the dead and the necromancers, who chirp and whisper, Shall not a people inquire of their *manes*,* on behalf of the living, of the dead?'† To this pitiful and degrading appeal to popular superstition the prophet replies in tones of thunder: 'To the instruction and testimony!' The wide prevalence of necromantic practice is illustrated by a vivid simile employed by the same prophet. In a beautiful and graphic oracle (ch. 29) Jerusalem is threatened with all the horrors soon to impend over the city in the siege of Sennacherib: 'And thou shalt lie prostrate, speaking from the earth, and from the dust shall thy speech sound low, and thy voice shall be like a ghost (אוֹב) from the earth, and from the dust shall thy speech twitter' (v.^{4}).

Thus the higher prophetic teaching was as hostile in its attitude towards necromancy as it was towards magic and soothsaying; and this tone of reprobation is echoed in the stern penalties of death denounced against it in the legislation, Dt 18^{11} (cf. 1 S 28^9), Lv 19^{31} $20^{6.7}$. The attitude of the teachers in the Talmud is not so uncompromising. Though they regarded it as the work of the devil, they believed in the validity of the art of necromancy (*Berakhôth* 59a^{12}, *Shabb.* 152*b*). The dead can only be conjured in the first year after burial. It is said of Rab that he even himself inquired of the dead (*Baba meẓia* 107*b*).

LITERATURE.—This has been indicated throughout this article. On Jewish magic Blau's work is the main authority. On Greek magic consult Warre-Cornish's *Concise Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiq.*, 'Superstitio'; and Miss Macdonald in *PSBA*, vol. xiii. (Feb. 3, 1891), art. 'Inscriptions relating to Sorcery in Cyprus.' In this instructive art. there are useful citations from Wessely's *Griechische Zauberpapyri*. A good illustration is given of a recipe for a *κατάδεσμος* taken from his edition of Papyrus Anastasi in the British Museum. On the subject of magic in general Frazer's *Golden Bough*^{2} should be consulted, and A. Lang in *Fortnightly Rev.* Feb. and April 1901. The literature has been indicated already in art. MAGIC, by reference to the exhaustive list in Schürer, *GJV*^{3} iii. pp. 300–304.

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

SORE.—This word is used freely in AV as adj., subst., or adverb.

The Anglo-Saxon adj. *sâr*, meaning 'painful,' develops a subst. *sâr*, meaning 'a sore,' as that which caused the pain; from this subst. another adj. was formed, *sârig*, in the sense of 'sad.' *Sâr* became in later Eng. 'sore,' as *bân* became 'bone,' *hâm* 'home,' etc. *Sârig* became 'sorry,' the double *r* being a mistake, due to a fancied connexion with the subst. 'sorrow.' Between 'sorry' and 'sorrow' (Anglo-Sax. *sorg*) there is no etymological connexion.

Thus the adj. comes first, and its primary meaning is *painful*, which is the only sense it now retains. Job 5^{18} 'For he maketh sore, and bindeth up' (יַכְאִיב, LXX *ἀλγεῖν ποιεῖ*). But this literal meaning is rare, the word having early adopted the fig. sense of *severe, grievous.* The transition may be illustrated from Shaks. *Tempest,* v. i. 288—

---

* This derivation is, however, disputed by Nowack and others. Hitzig, in his Commentary (on Is 8^{19}), connects it with the Arabic آبَ (*i.e.* أَأَبَ, *reversus fuit*), and thus regards it as meaning 'returning one.' Cf. Baudissin, *Stud. zur semit. Religionsgesch.* i. p. 143 footnote. On the whole, we agree with Dillm. on Lv 19^{31} that the connexion with אוֹב, 'bag,' is the most probable. The interpretation of the word as connected with אֹיֵב, and as signifying 'enemy (of God),' is the least probable.

* Comp. the similar use of אֱלֹהִים in 1 S 28^{13}.

† These verses (*i.e.* $^{19.20}$) are without adequate reason declared by Duhm and Cheyne to be non-Isaianic.

> ‘ *Steph.*—O touch me not; I am not Stephano, but a cramp.
> *Pros.*—You'd be king o' the isle, sirrah?
> *Steph.*—I should have been a sore one, then'—

where there is a play on the word.

Is 27^{1} ‘In that day the Lord with his sore and great and strong sword shall punish leviathan’ (בְּחַרְבּוֹ הַקָּשָׁה, LXX τὴν μάχαιραν τὴν ἁγίαν); Ezk 14^{21} ‘when I send my four sore judgments upon Jerusalem’ (הָרָעִים, LXX τὰς πονηράς); Wis 10^{12} ‘In a sore conflict she gave him the victory’ (ἀγῶνα ἰσχυρόν); He 10^{29} ‘Of how much sorer punishment, suppose ye, shall he be thought worthy?’ (πόσῳ χείρονος). Even when the reference is to suffering or disease, ‘sore’ almost always means *severe* rather than literally *painful,* as Dt 28^{35} ‘With a sore botch’ (בִּשְׁחִין רָע). Cf. Udall, *Erasmus,* i. 20, ‘Making the law more heavy and sore’; Taverner's *Bible,* 3 Mac 3 $^{\text{heading}}$ ‘The kyng maketh a sore decree’; Lk 15^{14} Rhem. ‘And after he had spent al, there fel a sore famine in that countrie’ (λιμὸς ἰσχυρός). In the passage just quoted Tindale and others have merely ‘great’ (AV and RV ‘mighty’), and it is probable that the word ‘sore’ itself often means no more than that. Cf. Is 24^{19} Cov. ‘The earth shal geve a greate crack, it shal have a sore ruyne, and take an horrible fall.’ But this is most frequently seen in the adverb.

The adv. ‘sore’ (‘sorely’ occurs twice) never means in AV lit. ‘painfully,’ often, however, *severely, grievously,** as 1 S 1^{6} ‘And her adversary also provoked her sore’ (וְכִעֲסַתָּה צָרָתָהּ גַּם־כַּעַס); Mt 17^{15} ‘He is lunatick, and sore vexed’ (κακῶς πάσχει, RV ‘suffereth grievously’). But the usual meaning is *greatly, exceedingly* (Germ. *sehr*), as Is 38^{3}= 2 K 20^{3} ‘Hezekiah wept sore’ (וַיֵּבְךְּ חִזְקִיָּהוּ בְּכִי גָדוֹל, LXX ἔκλαυσεν Ἐζεκίας κλαυθμῷ μεγάλῳ). The adv. מְאֹד in Heb. is often tr^{d} ‘sore,’ and σφόδρα occasionally (1 Mac 2^{14} 6^{8} 9^{68} 16^{22}, Mt 17^{6}) in Greek. Cf. Chaucer, *Prologue,* 148—

> ‘Of smale houndes had she, that she fedde
> With roested flesh, or milk and wastel-breed.
> But sore weep she if oon of hem were deed,
> Or if men smoot it with a yerde smerte.’

The phrase ‘lie sore on’ occurs in Jg 14^{17}. See LIE in vol. ii. p. 113.

The subst. occurs rarely: Lv 13$^{42.43}$, Ps 38^{11} (נֶגַע a plague-spot); Ps 77^{2} ‘My sore ran in the night’ (יָדִי נִגְּרָה, RV ‘my hand was stretched out’); Is 1^{6} ‘wounds and bruises and putrifying sores’ (מַכָּה טְרִיָּה RV ‘festering sores,’ RVm ‘fresh stripes’); Lk 16^{20} ‘full of sores’ (εἱλκωμένος); 16^{21}, Rev 16$^{2.11}$ (ἕλκος).

J. HASTINGS.

SOREK, THE VALLEY OF (נַחַל שֹׂרֵק; B Ἀλσωρήχ,† A Χειμάρρους Σωρήχ; *vallis Sorec*).—The valley or *wâdy* (Heb. *naḥal*) in which Delilah lived (Jg 16^{4}). Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.*) connect the valley with *Capharsorec,* a village to the north of Eleutheropolis and near Saraa (Σαάρ), that is, Zorah (*Sur'ah*), the home of Samson's father. Capharsorec is now *Khurbet Surîk,* to the north of *Wâdy Surâr,* which is identified with ‘the valley of Sorek,’ and not far from *Sur'ah.*

The *Wâdy Surâr* is one of the great features of Southern Palestine. It rises to the N. of Jerus., near *Bîreh* (Beeroth), and, running between *Neby Samwîl* and Jerus., passes *Kulônieh* and *'Ain Kârim.* It now becomes deep and narrow, and below *'Akûr* is joined by *Wâdy es-Sikkeh,* which rises in the valley of Rephaim, close to Jerusalem, and passes *Bittîr.* North of *Khurbet 'Erma* (one of the sites proposed for Kiriath-jearim) it becomes a narrow gorge with precipices on its northern side, and, a little lower, it emerges from the hill-country of Judah and enters the Shephēlah, or lowland. Here, in a fertile well-watered basin, it is joined by *Wâdy Ghurab,* which, after passing *Kuryet el-'Enab* (another proposed site for Kiriath-jearim), runs in from the N.W., and by *Wâdy en-Najîl,* which comes from the south. On the northern slopes of the basin are Zorah and Eshtaol, and between them ‘the camp of Dan’ (Mahaneh-dan), the early home and burial-place of Samson (Jg 13^{25} 16^{31}). On the southern slope is Beth-shemesh (*'Ain Shems*), prettily situated above the rich cornfields, and commanding a fine view down the broad fertile valley which runs past the vineyards of Timnath, Makkedah, and Jabneel to the sea.

The ‘valley of Sorek’ offers an easy and natural line of approach to Jerus. and the highlands of Judah. The Philistines followed it in the days of the Judges and of David; up it the kine, lowing as they went, dragged the cart with the ark to Beth-shemesh; and, at the present day, it is followed by the railway from Jaffa to Jerusalem. In or near the basin, according to several authorities, were fought the battles in which the ark was taken by the Philistines, and in which the Philistines were defeated by Samuel (1 S 7).

In Hebrew the word *sōreḳ* means a particular kind of vine, which produced a purple grape, and ‘the valley of Sorek’ may have derived its name from the growth of this vine in the vineyards that covered its slopes (*PEF Mem.* iii. 53; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 218 ff.; Conder, *Tent-Work,* i. 172).

C. W. WILSON.

SOSIPATER (Σωσίπατρος, *Sosipater*).—In Ro 16^{21} called a kinsman of St. Paul, *i.e.* a Jew, and joined with him in greetings at the close of the Epistle. The name is the same as SOPATER (Ac 20^{4}), and the two may be identical, as Jason, another of those mentioned in Ro 16^{21}, may be identical with the JASON of Thessalonica (Ac 17^{5}); two Macedonian Christians might naturally be with St. Paul at Corinth. The name Sosipater occurs in the well-known inscription of Thessalonica (*CIG* ii. 1967) giving a list of Politarchs, as also does that of SECUNDUS (Ac 20^{4}). For later traditions see *Acta Sanctorum,* June vol. v., June 25, p. 4.

A. C. HEADLAM.

SOSTHENES (Σωσθένης).—A name occurring twice in the NT, but under circumstances which leave it doubtful whether it denotes one or two persons. **1.** In Ac 18^{17}, when the Jews at Corinth rose against St. Paul and brought him to the tribunal of Gallio, the proconsul of Achaia, and the latter, refusing to be a judge in questions of their law, dismissed them from his bar, we learn that ‘they all,’ *i.e.* the bystanders or assembled crowd, ‘laid hold on Sosthenes, the ruler of the synagogue, and beat him before the judgment-seat,’ without interference on the part of Gallio, who, in his indifference to Jewish disputes, gave himself no concern. In the best critical texts the word ‘all’ (πάντες) stands without any defining noun, which has accordingly been supplied by the insertion, in some MSS, of an explanatory gloss, either οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, as though the assailants were the Jews, visiting the failure of their complaint on the head of their own leader, or oftener and more feasibly οἱ Ἕλληνες, the (predominantly) Greek onlookers. Sosthenes, described as ‘ruler of the synagogue’ (which see), was doubtless the chief representative and mouthpiece of the complainants. He was probably the successor in office of Crispus, who had become a convert to Christianity (Ac 18^{8}). The theory of Chrysostom, which identifies him with Crispus, and ascribes his maltreatment to his being a Christian, is wholly arbitrary; and hardly less so are the conjectures that he had been a colleague in 'rule' with Crispus (see 'rulers' in the plural, Ac 13^{15}), or had presided over another synagogue.

---

* In the Scotch Liturgy ‘sore’ is changed into ‘grievously’ in the ‘Communion’—‘whereas you offend God so sore in refusing this holy banquet.’

† The Ἀλ- probably represents the last part of Νάχαλ.

2. In 1 Co 1^{1} Sosthenes stands alongside of St. Paul in the inscription of the Epistle. He is simply designated as 'the brother,' which would seem to imply that his person and Christian standing were well known to the readers of the letter. He has been often identified with the synagogal ruler of Ac 18, who is assumed to have become a convert in the interval; but such an assumption is arbitrary, when the name was, confessedly, a common one; and St. Paul's associate was now at Ephesus, not at Corinth. Many have assumed him to be the apostle's amanuensis in the Epistle, to which he appends an autograph salutation (16^{21}); but he must have been something more than a *mere* amanuensis to be thus honourably co-ordinated in the superscription. Later tradition represented him as having been one of the seventy disciples, and as having become subsequently bishop of Colophon. WILLIAM P. DICKSON.

SOSTRATUS (A *Σώστρατος*, V *Σόστρατος*).—The governor of the citadel (*ὁ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἔπαρχος*) at Jerusalem, who in vain demanded, on behalf of Antiochus Epiphanes, the money which Menelaus had promised to pay on being raised to the high priesthood in place of Jason, 2 Mac $4^{27\,(28).\,29}$.

SOTAI (סוֹטַי and סֹטַי).—The eponym of a family of 'Solomon's servants,' who returned with Zerubbabel, Ezr 2^{55} (B *Σατει*, A and Luc. *Σωται*) = Neh 7^{57} (BA *Σουτει*, Luc. *Σωται*).

SOUL is throughout a great part of the Bible simply the equivalent of 'life' embodied in living creatures. In the earlier usage of the OT it has no reference to the later philosophical meaning—the animating principle, still less to the idea of an 'immaterial nature' which will survive the body. 'A living soul' in Genesis and other records is simply an 'animated being,' and the word is applied equally to the lower animals and to man. When the life is emphasized as human, it signifies life in the individual. This meaning it takes especially when נֶפֶשׁ, *ψυχή*, is put in contrast with רוּחַ, *πνεῦμα*, 'spirit,' which then comes to signify *the principle of life*. In this way 'soul' acquires more precisely the idea of the individual life in man, the Self, the Ego, although it may denote other aspects of man than the intellectual, and, in fact, is sometimes equivalent to 'heart' as well as to 'mind' (see analysis below). In the NT the emphasis on the personality becomes most marked in such sayings of our Lord as Mt $16^{25.\,26}$, Mk 8^{35}.

The following is an analysis (abridged from *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*) of the usage of the Heb. terms for 'soul':—

1. נֶפֶשׁ *nephesh*, lit. 'that which breathes,' 'the breathing substance or being' = *ψυχή*, *anima* (opp. *bāsār*, 'flesh' [Dt 12^{23}, Is 10^{18}], or *beṭen*, 'body' [Ps 31^{10}]); its source of life is the *nishmath ḥayyîm* breathed into the nostrils of its *bāsār* by God (Gn 2^{7}), in virtue of which man (*ib.*) becomes a *nephesh ḥayyah* [this expression elsewhere always of animals, Gn $1^{20.\,24.\,30}$ $9^{12.\,15.\,16}$ (all P), Ezk 47^{9}; cf. *nephesh haḥayyah* in Gn 1^{21} 9^{10} (both P), Lv $11^{10.\,46}$ (H)]. The life of the *nephesh* resides in the blood (Gn $9^{4.\,5}$, Dt $12^{23.\,24}$, Lv $17^{10.\,11.\,12.\,14}$). *Nephesh* is used for *life itself*, 171 t., either (*a*) of animals Pr 12^{10}, or (*b*) of man Gn 44^{30}, Ex 21^{23}, Lv 24^{17} *et al.*: hence הִכָּה נֶפֶשׁ = 'smite mortally' Gn 37^{21}, Dt $19^{6.\,11}$, Jer $40^{14.\,15}$ †; לָקַח נ׳ 'take away life' 1 K 19^{4}, Jon 4^{3}, Ps 31^{14}, Pr 1^{9} †; הִצִּיל נֶפֶשׁ מִמָּוֶת 'deliver life from death' Jos 2^{13}, Ps 33^{19} 56^{14} †; מִלֵּט נ׳ 1 S 19^{11}, 2 S 19^{6} *quater*, 1 K 1^{12} *bis*, Jer 48^{6} $51^{6.\,45}$, Ezk 33^{5}, Am $2^{14.\,15}$, Ps 89^{49} 116^{4} †; פָּדָה נ׳ 'redeem life' 2 S 4^{9}, 1 K 1^{29}, Ps 34^{23} 49^{16} 55^{19} 71^{23} †; שָׁמַר נ׳ 'keep life' Ps 25^{20} 97^{10}, Job 2^{6}, Pr 13^{3} 16^{17} 19^{16} 22^{5} †. *Nephesh*, as the essential of man, stands for *the man himself*, and may thus paraphrase the personal pronouns, esp. in poetry and ornate discourse: *e.g.* נַפְשִׁי = 'me' (Gn 49^{6}, Nu 23^{10}, Jg 16^{30}, La 3^{24}), נַפְשְׁךָ = 'thee' (Is 43^{4} 51^{23}), etc.; or it may represent the reflexive 'self': *e.g.* 'myself' (Job 9^{21}), 'thyself' (Dt 4^{9}), 'himself' (1 S $18^{1.\,3}$ 20^{17}); or it stands for 'person,' 'individual' (cf. Eng. 'souls,' esp. in enumerations or collective expressions), Lv 24^{17}, Nu 31^{35}, Dt 10^{21} 24^{7}; and is used even of *deceased* persons, with (Nu 6^{6}, Lv 21^{11}), or (more usually) without (Nu 5^{2} 6^{11} $9^{6.\,7}$ $19^{11.\,13}$, Lv 19^{28} 21^{1} 22^{4}, Hag 2^{13}), מֵת. *Nephesh* is largely used for the *seat of the appetites*: *e.g.* נ׳ רְעֵבָה '*hungry* soul' Ps 107^{9}, Pr 27^{7}; in Is 5^{14} it is said that 'Sheol enlarged *her appetite*' (הִרְחִיב נַפְשָׁהּ); similarly it is the *seat of emotions and passions*: *e.g.* אִוְּתָה נ׳ 'soul desires' (Dt 12^{20} 14^{26}, 1 S 2^{16}, 2 S 3^{21}, 1 K 11^{37}, Job 23^{13}, Pr 13^{4} 21^{10}, Mic 7^{1}); גָּעֲלָה נ׳ 'soul abhorreth' (Lv $26^{11.\,15.\,30.\,43}$, Jer 14^{19}); מָרֵי נ׳ 'bitter of soul' (Jg 18^{25}, 2 S 17^{8}, Job 3^{20}, Pr 31^{6}). When used with *lēbhābh*, 'heart' (in D), *nephesh* is assimilated in meaning to it, so as to include intellect and will as well as feeling (*e.g.* Dt 4^{29} 26^{16}, 1 K 8^{48}, 2 K 23^{25}). See HEART.

2. נְדִיבָה, tr. in AV of Job 30^{15} 'soul,' means 'nobility' (RVm), *i.e.* 'honour' (RV). 3. נְשָׁמָה, lit. 'breath,' is once in EV (Is 57^{16}) tr. 'soul.' It is used in the same absolute way in Jos 10^{40} and Ps 150^{6} (both כָּל־הַנְּשָׁמָה 'every breathing being').

The LXX and NT *ψυχή* follows very closely the above usages of *nephesh* (see Cremer or Grimm, *s.v.*).

The development of a double expression for man's inner life (*ψυχή*, *πνεῦμα*) gives throughout the whole Bible a usage which is often not much more than a vague parallelism, as, *e.g.*, in Is 26^{9}, Lk $1^{46.\,47}$, Ph 1^{27} (RV). It undoubtedly, however, contains a hint everywhere of the antithesis between the life-principle and the individual life. Where the two are set side by side, as in He 4^{12}, the actual relation subsisting between the 'soul' and its life-principle ('spirit') is brought into view. While in the older language of the Gospels *σῶμα* and *ψυχή* appear as the two constituent parts of human nature (Mt 10^{28}), there is in the Pauline usage a threefoldness: *τὸ πνεῦμα* the Divine life-principle, *ἡ ψυχή* the individual life in which the *πνεῦμα* is manifested, *τὸ σῶμα* the material organism vivified by the *ψυχή* (1 Th 5^{23}).

Where the most distinct antithesis occurs is in the use of the adjective *psychic* or *soulish* (*ψυχικός*). In the only places in which *ψυχικός* occurs in OT Greek (2 Mac 4^{37} 14^{24}) it means 'hearty.' [In 4 Mac 1^{32} something more purely psychological is meant, but this is hardly biblical Greek]. In the NT another interest comes in. In the six instances where *ψυχικός* occurs (not wholly Pauline), an altogether new antithesis is introduced. What is natural or human in the *ψυχή* is contrasted with what is Divine and divinely given in the *πνεῦμα θεοῦ*. So that *ψυχικός* has acquired a meaning almost equivalent to 'carnal' or 'sensual,' by which latter word it is twice rendered in AV. But since the *πνεῦμα* and *πνευματικός*, with which it is contrasted, is the Divine spirit in regeneration, it seems fair to render *ψυχικός* 'natural' as AV does in four of these places, and RVm in the other two (see 1 Co 2^{14} $15^{44\,bis.\,46}$, Ja 3^{15}, Jude ^{19}). Thus Christianity has enriched this word *ψυχικός*, adding to its psychological sense an ethical or even a theological significance.

Additional NT instances of the use of *ψυχή* in composition are *ἄψυχα* 'soulless,' or 'lifeless,' 1 Co 14^{7}; *σύμψυχοι* 'of one accord,' Ph 2^{2}; *ἰσόψυχον* 'like-minded,' Ph 2^{20}; *δίψυχος* 'double-minded,' Ja 1^{8} 4^{8}. See also art. PSYCHOLOGY.

J. LAIDLAW.

SOUTH.—See NEGEB.

SOW.—See SWINE.

SOWER, SOWING.—See AGRICULTURE.

SPAIN (*Σπανία*).—The S.W. peninsula of Europe was known to the Greeks as *Ἑσπερία* or *Ἰβηρία*, the latter name being derived from the river *Ἴβηρ* (the modern Ebro). The Roman name was *Hispania*. The information of the Greeks about the country was somewhat vague. Gibraltar was one of the Pillars of Hercules, and Herodotus (iv. 8) speaks of Gades (Γάδειρα) as lying beyond these. Spain had been colonized in very early times by the Phœnicians. Strabo (I. iii. 2) refers to settlements beyond the Pillars of Hercules soon after the Trojan war. The country first comes into the clear light of history in connexion with its conquest by the Carthaginians, a Phœnician people, between B.C. 237 and 218. In the second Punic war (B.C. 218–205) the Romans conquered that portion of Spain which had been subdued by Carthage, and divided it into *Hispania citerior* and *Hispania ulterior*, the Ebro being the boundary between the two. The northern and western parts of the peninsula remained unsubdued, and the conquest of them proceeded only gradually. It was greatly advanced by the operations of Pompey and Cæsar, and was finally completed under Augustus, who divided the country into three provinces, *Bœtica* in the south, *Tarraconensis* in the north, and *Lusitania* (the modern Portugal) in the west. The first-named province was senatorial, and the other two were imperial.

The mineral wealth of Spain is greater and more varied than that of any other country in Europe. Copper, lead, and quicksilver are abundant, and silver and gold are also found. It was the mines of Spain which gave the country its chief value for its ancient colonists and conquerors.

The river *Bœtis* (Guadalquivir), and also the surrounding country, had the name Ταρτησσός, which was derived from that of the inhabitants (*Turti*) (Herod. iv. 152; Strabo, III. ii. 11 ff.). With this locality the תַּרְשִׁישׁ of the Hebrews is generally identified (but see Tarshish).

The other Scripture references to Spain are few, and in all of them Σπανία, a form of the Roman name, takes the place of the older Greek ones. 1 Mac 8^{3} refers to the Roman conquest, and to the acquisition of the gold and silver mines. On his third Missionary Journey the Apostle Paul formed the purpose of extending his evangelistic labours into the lands west of Greece. In writing to the Corinthians from Macedonia he indicated his intention of preaching the gospel in 'the parts beyond' them (2 Co 10^{16}); and in writing a little later from Corinth to Rome he explained his purpose as specially including Italy and Spain (Ro 15$^{24.28}$). Whether he ever carried out this intention as regards Spain is a matter of much dispute, and the question is important only from its connexion with that of the authenticity of the Pastoral Epistles. St. Paul certainly did not visit Spain before his first Roman imprisonment. On the hypothesis of his liberation and second imprisonment he may have done so at a later time. The Pastoral Epistles themselves only refer to his journeyings in the eastern part of the Mediterranean; but if the fact of his liberation be admitted, credence may be given to the statement of Clement of Rome (1st Ep. i. 4), that the apostle, before his martyrdom, preached the gospel 'to the extremity of the west' (ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως). Clement's expression naturally suggests Spain, and the Muratorian Canon shows that the apostle's visit to Spain was an accepted tradition of the Church before the end of the 2nd cent. It says that Luke in the narrative of the Acts omits 'profectionem Pauli ab urbe ad Spaniam proficiscentis' (see Paul, vol. iii. p. 714^{a}). See, further, Lightfoot, *Clement, l.c.*, and *Biblical Essays*, 423 ff., where the whole of the evidence is collected.

James Patrick.

SPAN.—See Weights and Measures.

SPARROW (צִפּוֹר *ẓippôr*).—There is only one passage where the context makes it reasonably certain that the house sparrow is intended by *ẓippôr* (Ps 84^{4} [LXX στρουθίον], where AV and RV both tr. 'sparrow).' The '*ẓippôr* alone upon a housetop' (Ps 102^{7} [LXX νυκτικόραξ]) may also be this bird. It is true that this is one of the most gregarious of birds, and that it is usually seen in large flocks, flitting from branch to branch, and from the ground to the roofs of houses and stables. But it happens sometimes that a single bird perches alone on a branch or on the roof. The fact of its generally sociable habits would make this the more phenomenal and illustrative of the loneliness of the psalmist. The attempt to identify it with the blue thrush *Petrocossyphus cyaneus*, Boie, is strained. If it does not refer to a solitary house sparrow, it is probably intended to indicate any small solitary bird. In addition to the above two passages, RV tr. *ẓippôr* 'sparrow,' in Pr 26^{2} [LXX ὄρνεα], unhappily, for the sparrow never wanders. Elsewhere in the 40 or more passages where it occurs, both Eng. VSS render it by 'bird' or 'fowl.' In some of these passages it is doubtless generic for small birds, corresponding to the Arab. *'uṣfûr* (Job 41^{5} [LXX ὄρνεον], Ps 11^{1} [LXX στρουθίον], etc.). It is also used for such birds as are caught by fowlers (Pr 6^{5} 7^{23}, Am 3^{5} [LXX in all three ὄρνεον]), which would exclude the house sparrow, as it is notoriously far too cunning to be so taken. The Arabs have a proverb, 'the *dûri* (house sparrow) cannot be taken with bird-lime,' applying it to persons who are too shrewd to be entrapped by guile. *Ẓippôr* is also used generically for *birds*, and even for *birds of prey* (Ezk 39^{17}, see Fowl). The meaning of the Heb. root to *twitter* or *chirp*, which caused its original application to the passerines, has been overlooked in this broader application. The considerable number of LXX renderings shows this. The NT στρουθίον (Mt 10^{29}, Lk 12$^{6.7}$) refers to the sparrow *Passer domesticus*, L., or two closely allied species, *P. Italica*, Vieill., the Italian sparrow, and *P. hispaniolensis*, Temm., the Spanish sparrow. The latter is found in great abundance in the Jordan Valley, where it breeds in *Zizyphus* bushes. The house sparrow is so familiar that any allusion to its habits would be superfluous.

G. E. Post.

SPARTA.—See Lacedæmonians.

SPEAR.—The spear of antiquity was a near relation of the sword. The primitive knife might be fitted with a short handle and become a sword proper, or be mounted on a pole and become a spear; hence possibly the doubt whether the ῥομφαία (see Sword) was a sword or a spear.

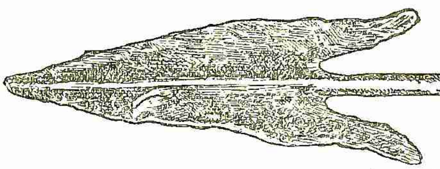

BRONZE SPEAR-HEAD FROM TELL EL-HESY (LACHISH).
(By kind permission of the *PEF*).

The spear-head was of flint or bronze (see the illustrations in Bliss, *Mound of many Cities*, pp. 36, 37) or of iron (1 S 17^{7}; Bliss, pp. 106, 107). Egyptian spears (perhaps only for hunting and fishing) have been found made of wood throughout.

Different kinds of spears were:—**1. The javelin** (כִּידוֹן *kîdôn*): RV of Jos 8$^{18.26}$ (AV 'spear'); 1 S 17^{6} (AV 'target'); v.^{45} (AV 'shield'); Jer 6^{23} (EV 'spear'); 50^{42} (AV 'lance'); Job 39^{23} (AV 'shield'); 41$^{29\,[21]}$ (RV 'the rushing of the javelin'; AV 'the shaking of a spear'). This weapon was for *casting*. In the Heb. Sirach (46^{2}) *kîdôn* preserves the reference to Jos 8^{18}, which is lost in the Gr. ῥομφαία (EV 'sword').

2. The lance (רֹמַח *rōmaḥ*, cf. Arab. *rumḥ*), perhaps a lighter weapon than the spear proper. In 1 K 18^{28} *rōmaḥ* is tr^{d} in AV 'lancets' ('lancers' in the earlier editions). See, further, Driver's note on Jl 3^{10}.

3. The spear (proper)—once a tr. of קַיִן *ḳayin* (2 S 21^{16}, where H. P. Smith accepts the emendation קוֹבַע *ḳōbhaʿ* 'helmet'); generally, however, the rendering of חֲנִית *ḥănîth*. This (heavy) spear was used probably in close array, when an army was drawn up shield touching shield, and with spears at the charge to repel a threatened attack. From this array champions advanced to issue their challenges (1 S 17$^{21.\,23}$), and back to it upon occasion they retreated. In Ps 35$^{2.\,3}$ the Psalmist seems to think of himself as such a champion defeated and retiring. The *ḥănîth* was used by Saul (1 S 22^{6}) as a 'sceptre' (שֵׁבֶט *shēbheṭ*, the shepherd's staff).* The cutting up of the spear (Ps 46^{9}) is a sign of the end of war. The two parts of the spear were the 'staff' or butt (עֵץ *ʿēẓ* 'wood,' 1 S 17^{7} *Ḳĕrê*; 2 S 21^{19}; or חֵץ *ḥēẓ* 'arrow' or 'shaft,' 1 S 17^{7} *Kĕthîbh*) and the 'head' (לֶהָבֶת *lahebheth* or לַהַב *lahabh* 'flame,' Job 39^{23}).

In NT 'spear' represents λόγχη (Jn 19^{34} [the only occurrence], Vulg. *lancea*). In Jn 19^{29} F. Field (*Notes on the Translation of the NT*, pp. 106–108) points out that ὑσσώπῳ περιθέντες corresponds with the περιθεὶς καλάμῳ of Mt 27^{48}; accordingly, reviving an old conjecture, he suggests ὑσσῷ περιθέντες, 'putting [a sponge] upon a spear' (ὑσσός=*pilum*); certainly 'a sponge upon hyssop' is a difficult phrase to explain.

W. EMERY BARNES.

SPEARMEN.—1. Incorrectly for קָנֶה *ḳāneh*, 'reeds,' in the phrase חַיַּת קָנֶה *ḥayyath ḳāneh*, 'the company of spearmen,' Ps 68^{30} [67^{31}] AV (similarly Pr. Bk.); RV 'the wild beast of the reeds' [LXX τοῖς θηρίοις τοῦ καλάμου], *i.e.* probably the crocodile or the hippopotamus (cf. Job 40^{21}) as the symbol of Egypt. **2.** For δεξιολάβους (Ac 23^{23} EV; Vulg. *lancearii*), Lachmann, following cod. A and the Peshiṭta (ܩܫ̈ܬ ܒܝܡܝܢܐ), reads here δεξιοβόλους, 'right-handed slingers.' E. Egli (*ZWTh* xxvii. pp. 20, 21) proposes to take the word in a passive sense (δεξιόλαβος, *sic* proparoxytone, 'rectâ captus'), 'left-handed slingers' (cf. Jg 20^{16}). See Blass, *in loc.*

W. EMERY BARNES.

SPECKLED BIRD.—Jer 12^{9} (only). If the MT of this passage (הַעַיִט צָבוּעַ נַחֲלָתִי לִי הַעַיִט סָבִיב עָלֶיהָ) is correct, the tr. can hardly be other than 'Is mine heritage unto me (*i.e.* to my sorrow, a *dativus ethicus* [Cheyne, *ad loc.*]) (as) a speckled bird of prey? Are (the) birds of prey against her round about?' (so, substantially, RV). The people of Israel is compared to a bird *of prey*, just as, on account of its hostility to Jehovah, it is compared in v.^{8} to a lion. But as a speckled (צָבוּעַ, cf. Jg 5^{30}) bird attracts the hostile attention of other birds (Tac. *Ann.* vi. 28; Suet. *Cæsar*, 81; Pliny, *HN* x. 19), Israel becomes a prey to the heathen (so Cheyne, Reuss, *et al.*). Cornill (in *SBOT*) alters the text slightly, changing לִי into כִּי (originally proposed by Graf) and pointing the ה of the second העיט as the art. instead of the interrogative particle. This does not seriously affect the tr., which would now be 'Is my heritage a speckled bird of prey, that the birds of prey are against her round about?' It need scarcely be said that the rendering 'mine heritage is unto me *the ravenous hyæna*' (see art. HYÆNA) cannot be obtained from the present text. It is a fair question, however, whether the MT is correct. The LXX has, B σπήλαιον ὑαίνης ('hyæna's den,'? = מְעָרַת צָבֹעַ), A σπήλαιον λῃστῶν ('robber's den'). Siegfried-Stade suggest מְרֵפַת צָבֹעַ 'torn (prey) of the hyæna.'

J. A. SELBIE.

---

* Cf. Pausanias, ix. 40. 11, where it is said that Agamemnon's ancestral σκῆπτρον was also called δόρυ.

SPELT.—See RYE.

SPICE, SPICES.—Three Heb. words are so translated in OT. **1.** סַמִּים *ṣammîm*. This is a generic word (perh. loan-word from Arabic) for odoriferous substances. It is used alone in Ex 30^{34} (LXX ἡδύσματα), and with קְטֹרֶת *ḳĕṭôreth*='incense' in Ex 30^{7} (σύνθετος) 40^{27}, Lv 4^{7} 16^{12}, Nu 4^{16} etc. (σύνθεσις='*composition*'). In the first passage cited is a list of three of the substances included under this heading. Of these, two are known, *galbanum*, a gum resin, and *onycha*, the operculum of a *Strombus*: for the third see STACTE.

2. בָּשָׂם *bāsām* (Ca 5^{1} RVm 'balsam,' LXX ἀρώματα), בֹּשֶׂם *bōsem*, בֶּשֶׂם *besem*, pl. בְּשָׂמִים *bĕsāmîm*. A list of some of the aromatics included under this generic name is given in Ex 30^{23} (LXX ἡδύσματα): myrrh, cinnamon, calamus, and cassia, and with two of them, cinnamon and calamus, *besem* and *bōsem* are construed as adjectives, to denote sweetness. Such are spoken of as a sign of wealth (2 K 20^{13}, 2 Ch 32^{27}), and were given as tokens of royal favour (1 K 10^{2} etc.). They were objects of commerce (Ezk 27^{22}). Asa was laid in a bed of spices (2 Ch 16^{14} AV; RV 'sweet odours'). Some have supposed that the expression 'and they made a very great burning for him' indicates that Asa was cremated. As the previous part of the verse says, however, that they buried him in the sepulchre, and laid him in a bed of spices, the better explanation of the burning is that it was a bonfire in his honour. Such fires are favourite expressions of popular enthusiasm on feast days in Bible lands. Spices were stored in the temple (1 Ch 9^{29}), and used for the purifying of women (Est 2^{12}, Ca 4^{10} etc.). 'Mountains of spices' (Ca 8^{14}) may refer to the hillsides around Jerusalem, where were Solomon's Botanical Gardens, containing beds of spices (5^{13} 6^{2}). *Besem* and *bōsem* may have signified originally the same as their Arab. cognate *bashâm*=the Balsam of Mecca tree, *Balsamodendron Opobalsamum*, Kth., which is defined in the Arab. lexicons as 'a certain kind of odoriferous tree, of sweet taste, the leaves of which, pounded and mixed with henna, blacken the hair.' This confines it to a single tree or group of trees (see BALM). But the analysis of the use of *bōsem* and *besem* given above, with the fact that a special word *ẓŏri* is used for Mecca Balsam, makes it evident that these two words are not to be taken in any such restricted sense, but to be understood generally of aromatics, which would be a better translation than that of our Eng. VSS 'spices.'

3. נְכֹאת *nĕkôʾth*. This was a substance or substances carried by the Ishmaelite traders from Gilead to Egypt (Gn 37^{25}), and of which Jacob sent some as a present to Joseph (43^{11}). It is associated in both passages with balm and ladanum (see artt. on these words), and, in the latter, with honey, pistachio nuts, and almonds, which were products of Gilead proper. Some have supposed *nĕkôʾth* to be the same as the Arab. *nakaʾath* or *nakaʿath*. This is defined as a plant similar to the *turthûth*. The latter is defined by Avicenna as—'Pieces of rotten wood, with an astringent taste . . . it is said that they are brought from the desert. Its medicinal properties are astringent' (ii. 183). The plant is defined in the dictionaries as 'a slender, oblong plant, inclining to redness, serving as a stomachic, included among medicines . . . a plant of the sands, similar to a fungus . . . having no leaves.' This corresponds, with considerable accuracy, to the characteristics of *Cynomorium coccineum*, L., a parasitic, leathery plant, of the order *Balanophoraceæ*, with a crimson, club-shaped spadix, 3–4 in. long, and ½ in. to 1 in. thick, borne on a cylindrical stalk. It grows in sand on the coast, and in the salt marshes of the interior. We have been unable to find in the Arab. dictionaries sufficient authority for the tr. 'gum tragacanth' (RVm Gn 37^{25}) for *naka'ath* and *nakaath.* Moreover, the tragacanth bears no resemblance to the above description of the *turthîth.* It has also a special name *kethîrâ,* which is defined as 'a liquid exuding from a tree in the mountains of Beirût and Lebanon.' This is undoubtedly the *gum tragacanth,* which exudes from a number of the mountain species of *Astragalus* in Syria and other parts of the Orient as *A. gummifer*, Lab., *A. echinus*, DC, etc. The genus *Astragalus* is represented by over 120 species in Palestine and Syria. We are inclined to reject the idea of any connexion between *naka'ath, naka'ath*, and *nĕkô'th.* If by the former two were meant the *Cynomorium coccineum,* it would not have been an article of commerce important in the Egyptian trade. Could it be proved, which we believe impossible, that they meant *tragacanth,* the same remark would apply. The quantity exuded from all the Astragali of Lebanon and Hermon would not load a dozen camels. We have no reason to believe that it was ever more abundant. We incline, on the authority of the LXX in both the above passages (*θυμίαμα*), to render the word *nĕkô'th* 'perfumes' or 'aromatics,' which better expresses the Gr. than 'spices,' and corresponds to the grouping of articles enumerated. See, further, *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*, and Literature there cited.

As to נְכֹת *nĕkôth* (2 K 20^{13}=Is 39^{2}), the meaning is uncertain, although the context demands something like 'treasure.' Possibly the word is of Assyr. origin (see *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*): read then נְכוֹתָיו.

Spices (ἀρώματα) are mentioned in NT in connexion with the burial of our Lord ('Mk' 16^{1}, Lk 23^{56} 24^{1}, Jn 19^{40}). In Rev 18^{13} RV tr. *ἄμωμον* by 'spice,' m. 'Gr. *amomum.*'

G. E. POST.

SPIDER.—Two words are tr^{d} 'spider' in AV. **1.** עַכָּבִישׁ *'akkābîsh* (Arab. *'ankabût*), *ἀράχνη, aranea.* In both the passages in which this word occurs (Job 8^{14}, Is $59^{5.\,6}$) the allusion is to the gossamer web of the spider, as an emblem of frailty and speedy destruction, Bildad declaring that the hope of the wicked is as the spider's web (m. 'house'; cf. *beit 'ankabût* in Arab.), and Isaiah saying that the tenuous web cannot be wrought into a garment. The number of species of spiders in Palestine and Syria is very large.

2. שְׂמָמִית *sĕmāmîth* (Pr 30^{28}). This word, from an obsolete root שָׁמַם *sāmam*, 'to poison,' refers to some noxious, reputedly poisonous creature, which is probably some species of lizard (so RV; see, further, Toy, *Proverbs, ad loc.*). The LXX *καλαβώτης* signifies a newt, gecko, or spotted lizard. The latter may be the *abu bureiṣ* of the Arabs. *Stellio* in the Vulg. signifies the newt or gecko. Several species of lizards frequent houses, as the gecko, wall lizard, green lizard, etc. See CHAMELEON, GECKO, LIZARD. G. E. POST.

SPIKENARD (נֵרְדְּ *nērd, νάρδος, nardus*).—A fragrant, essential oil, from *Nardostachys Jatamansi*, DC, a plant of the order *Valerianaceæ*, growing in India. The shaggy stems, branching from their base, resemble the tail of an ermine. The perfume is procured from this part of the plant. It is called by the Arabs *Sunbul Hindi*, the Indian Spike. It is mentioned 3 times in the OT (Ca 1^{12} $4^{13.}$ [pl. *nĕrādîm*] ^{14}), and once in the NT (Mk 14^{3} ‖ Jn 12^{3}), where it is called *νάρδος πιστική.* The root meaning of *pistic* is fluid. AVm gives 'pure' or 'liquid nard,' and RVm 'genuine' or 'liquid nard,' or considers that pistic may be a 'local name.' As the perfume is an oil, the etymological signification is eminently appropriate, and should be retained. The Romans used it in this state for anointing the head. It was exceedingly valuable (Jn *l.c.*), that used to anoint Jesus' feet being worth about £12. Pliny gives 100 denarii as the value of a pound of it. That used for our Saviour must have been of a very superior grade. The tests of genuineness given by Pliny are lightness, red colour, sweet smell, taste which leaves a dry sensation but pleasant flavour in the mouth (*HN* xii. 26). G. E. POST.

SPINNING.—The notices of spinning in the Bible are very meagre, being found only in Ex $35^{25.\,26}$ P (טָוָה 'spin,' and מַטְוֶה 'yarn') and Mt 6^{28}, Lk 12^{27} (*νήθειν*); but the art is implied in many other passages, such as where the curtains and hangings of the tabernacle are mentioned; and the various garments, the materials for which must have been spun. The description of the virtuous woman in Pr 31^{10-31} includes it as one of her chief accomplishments (vv.$^{13.\,19}$); and the Heb. women were certainly skilled in working the spindle, as is evident from the articles which, acc. to P, they prepared for the tabernacle (Ex $35^{25f.}$). They used a hand-spindle, such as was in use in Egypt, and such as the women of Syria and Palestine still employ. This consisted of a *whorl* or hemispherical disc of wood, amber, or other material, for steadying the motion of the pin which passed through the centre (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyp.* i. 317, ed. 1878). The Egyp. spindle was over a foot long (*ib.* ii. 171, 172), and, though generally of wood, was also made of rushes and palm-leaves. The distaff was no doubt employed, but the word so tr^{d} in Pr 31^{19} means more properly the *whorl*, or the spindle itself. (See DISTAFF).

In Egypt men as well as women engaged in spinning, but among the Hebrews women only are mentioned in this connexion. The materials they used were wool and flax (Pr 31^{13}), goats' hair (Ex 35^{26}), and possibly cotton, which was known in Egypt (Wilkinson, ii. 159). Even silk may have been used (cf. Ezk $16^{10.\,13}$ and Pr 31^{22}), as Kenrick (*Phœn.* p. 246) says that raw silk was brought to Berytus and Tyre by the Persian merchants, but it was too rare to have been much employed. Raw silk is spun quite extensively at present by the Syrian women, and they use the spindle to fill up leisure hours much as Western women do the knitting-needle. H. PORTER.

SPIRIT.—Besides its use for the Supreme Spirit,—the Spirit of God, the Spirit of the Lord, the Spirit of Jesus Christ, the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of truth, etc.,—this word is occasionally used for the extreme opposite, as *πνεῦμα δαιμονίου ἀκαθάρτου* (Lk 4^{33}). Then there is its secondary use for an influence, or power, as 'spirit of error' (1 Jn 4^{6}), 'spirit of the world' (Eph 2^{2}), 'of bondage' and 'of sonship' (Ro 8^{15}), etc., yet often with a reference to the spiritual personality controlling these influences. But the main use of it is psychological, where it is immensely indebted to the Bible and to Christianity. Indeed it may be said to be an expression created by Christianity.

Two Heb. terms are tr. in EV 'spirit.' **1.** רוּחַ, lit. 'wind' (so often in OT); used of the breath of life (*rûaḥ ḥayyîm*) which animates God's creatures, Gn 6^{17} 7^{15} (both P; cf. *nishmath ḥayyîm* in 2^{7} [J]); the medium of consciousness, 1 S 30^{12}, Jg 15^{19}, Job 9^{18}; the seat of emotions, 1 K 21^{5}, Is 66^{2}, Pr 15^{13}, Ezk 3^{14}, Jos 2^{11} (courage; and so 5^{1}, Pr 18^{14}, Is 57^{15}); and of intelligence and will, Ezk 20^{32}, Pr 16^{32} 21^{2} 24^{12}, Dt 2^{30}, Job 20^{3}; of an inexplicable or uncontrollable impulse, Nu $5^{14.\,30}$, Is 19^{14} 28^{6} 29^{10} 37^{7}, Hos 4^{12} 5^{4}. When used with reference to God, *rûaḥ* is used of the brooding (מְרַחֶפֶת) and creative activity of His spirit (Gn 1^{2}, Ps 104^{30}), which imparts itself to men with the result of capacitating them for the performance of extraordinary deeds, Jg 6^{34} (Gideon) $14^{6.\,19}$ (Samson), and is specially noted as fitting the prophets for their work, Is 48^{16} 59^{21}, Hos 9^{7} (the prophet is 'the man of the spirit'), Ezk 37^{1} (and often). See, more fully, vol. ii. p. 402 ff.; and add Schultz, ii. 242 ff. (249 on distinction of רוח and נפש); Wendt, *Notiones carnis et spiritus quomodo in VT adhibeantur*; Briggs, 'The uses of רוח in OT' in *JBL*, 1901, p. 133 ff. (synopsis of passages arranged and translated).

2. נְשָׁמָה is twice in EV (Job 26^{4}, Pr 20^{27}) tr. 'spirit.' Its lit. meaning is 'breath.' See, also, under Soul.

The LXX and NT πνεῦμα follows the usage of *rûaḥ*. In the two passages (Mt 14^{26}, Mk 6^{49}) where φάντασμα occurs, the AV tr. 'spirit' is replaced in RV by 'apparition.'

So far as it depends on physiological suggestion, in all the languages 'spirit' is the same,—the inhaling of the 'breath,' and so 'wind,' and more remotely 'life,' and so is closely allied to 'soul' (ψυχή), which depends upon a similar physiological derivation. In one respect the two words soul and spirit differ widely. πνεῦμα is far less than ψυχή connected with the life of man in the Greek classics. πνεῦμα is never used in classical psychology for one of the elements of man's inner life, whereas ψυχή is invariably so used. Indeed it is one of the chief distinctions of biblical from all other psychology to give πνεῦμα the supreme place as an element in the life of man. Only in the LXX and in the NT has πνεῦμα the sense of a spiritual being, or refers to man in his higher inward aspects. Thus it is a good example of the language-building and enriching power of the Bible religion. The suggestion depends mainly upon two biblical ideas, viz. the attribution of spirit in man to Divine gift or creation (Ec 12^{7}), and the parallel or analogy between 'spirit' in man, and the Divine Spirit (1 Co 2^{11}, Ro 8^{16}).

Sufficient attention has already been called to the frequent and intimate association of the two terms 'Soul' and 'Spirit' (see art. Soul) occurring so often in the Bible as nearly parallel psychological expressions; yet each implying all through the characteristic distinction: 'soul,' the individual and personal life; 'spirit,' the principle of life.

There is another antithesis, more peculiarly Pauline, of the 'spirit' over against the 'flesh.' The more obvious antithesis of 'body' and 'spirit' (Ja 2^{26}) is upon purely natural ground. But the Pauline is a moral distinction, and belongs to specially Christian doctrine. It occurs chiefly in those passages where St. Paul is describing the conflict of the old nature, or the 'old man' as he calls it, with the new nature or the new man. Human nature, as it comes to any one through the σάρξ, manifests itself in the σάρξ, is determined by it, and called after it, comes to stand in contrast with 'spirit' (πνεῦμα), the Divine nature, or the divinely originated and sustained new nature. Thus σάρξ came at length, in distinct and presupposed antithesis to πνεῦμα, to signify the sinful condition of human nature, and in such a manner that this same σάρξ mediates or effectuates that sinful condition—the σάρξ ἁμαρτίας, 'the flesh determined by sin' (Ro 8^{3}). In this antithesis there is progress or intensification in the meaning of πνεῦμα as well as of σάρξ. The πνεῦμα in man, which is the element originally created by God, and which ought to rule or govern his whole nature, is used by St. Paul for the new nature divinely originated in the Christian, so that a direct antithesis is brought out between 'flesh' and 'spirit,' and everything πνευματικόν, spiritual, is a Divine product or creation, according to that new nature.

This use of πνευματικόν for everything determined or influenced by the Divine πνεῦμα extends beyond St. Paul's writings, and is quite general in the Epistles of the NT. There is the 'spiritual house' (οἶκος πνευματικός, 1 P 2^{5}) because 'built up of living stones'; 'spiritual sacrifices,' *i.e.* offerings fixed or determined by the Spirit (*ib.*); 'spiritual understanding' (Col 1^{9}); 'spiritual songs' (ᾠδαὶ πνευματικαί, Col 3^{16}); 'spiritual food, drink, rock' (βρῶμα, πόμα, πέτρα, 1 Co $10^{3.4}$). In two sets of passages St. Paul contrasts it with ψυχικόν (1 Co 2^{14} $15^{44.46}$). There is one curious exception from this Pauline use of it for divine, viz. Eph 6^{12} τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας = 'wicked spirits,' or something equivalent.

There is another antithesis in which St. Paul places it as contrasted with νοῦς or σύνεσις, where the intention plainly is to contrast the action of the 'understanding' in man with that of spiritual or ecstatic impulse even in a Christian (1 Co $14^{14.15}$). It is also once or twice opposed to γράμμα, where inwardness or reality is the thing to be brought out (Ro 2^{29} 7^{6}, 2 Co 3^{6}).

There are two things mainly noticeable and distinctive in this biblical use of 'spirit.' The first is the habit of biblical writers to explain the 'spirit' in the natural man as the product or creation directly of God, and as accounted for only by the direct contact of man with the Almighty in his origin. This is peculiarly prevalent in the OT (Gn 2^{7}, Is 42^{5}). Then there is the assertion of a parallelism and communication between the self-conscious, inner life of man—his spirit—with the Spirit of God (1 Co $2^{11.12}$, Ro 8^{1-17}, Philem ^{25}). There is a foundation laid in this way for the whole spiritual life of man, and especially for the renewed and redeemed life of which, according to Christianity, he is made a partaker.

See also art. Holy Spirit: for 'unclean (*or* evil) spirit' cf. art. Demon, vol. i. p. 593; for 'familiar spirit' art. Sorcery, p. 606; for 'spirits in prison' see vol. iii. p. 795.

J. Laidlaw.

SPITE.—Like Despite (which see), 'spite' means in AV 'injury' (rather out of contempt than malice). It occurs only Ps 10^{14} 'Thou beholdest mischief and spite' (כַּעַס, properly 'vexation'). Cf. Child's *Ballads*, v. 299—

> 'Day and night he'll work my spight,
> And hanged I shall be.'

The adv. 'spitefully' is used in the same sense; the phrase is 'entreat spitefully,' Mt 22^{6}, Lk 18^{32} (ὑβρίζω, RV 'entreat shamefully').

J. Hastings.

SPONGE (AV spunge, σπόγγος, *spongia*).—The medium by which vinegar or sour wine was carried to the mouth of Jesus on the cross (Mt 27^{48}, Mk 15^{36}, Jn 19^{29}). This well-known substance is a porous, fibrous framework, composed of a material called *keratode*, invested by a fleshy covering and lining of amœboid bodies. Sponges grow only in sea water, near the coast, and mostly in the warmer seas of the globe, although some kinds are found even in the polar regions. Sponge fishing is a considerable industry along the coasts of Syria, Asia Minor, and the Ægean Sea. The divers go out in row-boats or sail-boats, a short distance from the shore; they then strip, and holding in their hands, high above their heads, a heavy stone attached to a rope, fill their chests with air, and then plunge, stone downmost, and so rapidly reach the bottom. They often dive to a depth of 60 ft. or more. They then walk or creep quickly along the bottom, holding the stone to steady themselves, and tear the sponges off the stones to which they are attached, and put them into a netted bag hung around their neck. When they are exhausted they jerk the rope, and their companions quickly haul them to the surface. Few can stay under water more than 60 seconds, none as long as 100. Their occupation usually develops emphysema, and other diseases of the lungs, from which they are apt to die early.

G. E. Post.

SPRING.—See Fountain, vol. ii. p. 62.

SPY.—See Espy, vol. i. p. 767.

STACHYS (*Στάχυς*).—The name of a Christian greeted by St. Paul in Ro 16^{9}, and described as 'my beloved.' The name is rare, but found among members of the Imperial household (*CIL* vi. 8607). He is commemorated Oct. 31, and later legends will be found in *Acta Sanct.*, Oct., vol. xiii. p. 687.

A. C. HEADLAM.

STACTE (נָטָף *nāṭāph*).—The Heb. word occurs twice: Ex 30^{34} (cf. Sir 24^{15}), LXX *στακτή*, Vulg. *stacte*, RVm *opobalsamum*; Job 36^{27} (LXX *σταγόνες*, Vulg. *stillæ*, both of which signify 'drops,' and refer to water). The Heb. נָטַף *nāṭaph* (=Arab. *naṭaf*) signifies to *drop* or *distil*. As the exudation of all gums is in drops, the etymology does not help us. But it is evident from the context in Exodus that a fragrant gum is intended. Many identify the *στακτή* here mentioned with the gum from the *libneh* (=*storax*, see POPLAR). But *στακτή* means primarily *myrrh*. Myrrh, however, is mentioned by its proper name מֹר *môr* (v.^{23}), coupled with דְּרוֹר *dĕrôr*, which AV tr. 'pure,' and RV 'flowing.' The LXX tr. this expression by *ἄνθος σμύρνης ἐκλεκτῆς*; Vulg. *primæ myrrhæ et electæ*. Dioscorides describes two kinds of stacte, one of which is pure myrrh, and the other made from storax and fat. It is unlikely that any such inferior compound as the latter would be used in making the sacred incense. It is most likely then that *nāṭāph*, and its LXX and Vulg. equivalent *stacte*, refer to *myrrh* in drops or tears, which is the purest form.

G. E. POST.

STAFF.—See ROD and SCEPTRE.

STAGGER.—In Ro 4^{20} 'stagger' has the meaning of 'stumble,' and so literally 'waver' (as RV), 'He staggered not at the promise of God through unbelief' (*οὐ διεκρίθη*). Tindale uses the stronger form of the same word, 'He stackered not'; Rhem. is the first to use 'stagger.' The word is of Icel. origin, *strakra*, freq. of *staka*, to push. Cf. Mt 21^{21} Rhem. 'Amen, I say to you, if you shal haue faith, and stagger not, not only that of the figtree shal you doe.'

J. HASTINGS.

STALLION (*ἵππος εἰς ὀχείαν*, only in Sir 33^{6}).—Most of the horses used for riding and driving, and many of those employed as pack animals, in the East, are entire. Geldings are made only of the inferior breeds.

STANDARD.—See BANNER and POLE.

STAR.—The Bible treats the stars as the noblest work of the Creator (Ps 8^{3} 19^{1}, Job 25^{5}, Wis 7^{29}), insisting on their brightness (Dn 12^{3}), their height above the earth (Is 14^{13}, Ob ^{4}, Job 22^{12}), and especially their number (Gn 15^{5} 22^{17} 26^{4}, Ex 32^{13}, Dt 1^{10} 10^{22} 28^{62}, Jer 33^{22}, Neh 9^{23}, He 11^{12} etc.). They are sometimes poetically represented as living beings ('sang together,' Job 38^{7}; 'fought against Sisera,' Jg 5^{20}), and the darkening of the stars is treated as a sign of coming distress (Jl 2^{10} 3^{15}, Am 8^{9}, Is 13^{10} 34^{4}, Ezk $32^{7.8}$, Mt 24^{29}, Mk 13^{25}, Lk 21^{25}, Rev *pass.*). But they were created by God (Gn 1^{14}, Am 5^{8}, Ps 74^{16} 136^{7}, Job 9^{7}, Sir 43^{9}) to give light (Gn 1^{16}, Jer 31^{35}); He gave them their paths according to fixed laws (Jer 33^{25}, Job 38^{33}), and they are subject to Him (Job 9^{7}, Is 45^{12}, Ps 147^{4}, Bar 3^{34}, Ep. Jer ^{59}), who calls them by their names (Is 40^{26}). It follows that star-worship is rigorously forbidden (Dt 4^{19} $17^{2.3}$); though introduced by Manasseh (2 K 21^{3}, cf. $23^{4.5.11}$; Am 5^{26} does not necessarily imply its existence at an earlier date, cf. Driver in Smith, *DB*, art. 'Amos'), and several times mentioned at a later date (Zeph 1^{5}, Jer 7^{18} 19^{13} 44^{17}, Wis 13^{2}), it is always spoken of with reprobation (cf. also 2 K 17^{16}, Jer 44^{25-27}). On the sources of this star-worship among the Jews see W. Lotz in Herzog, *RE*^{2} xiv. 694. For the stars known to the Israelites and for astrological views see ASTRONOMY AND ASTROLOGY; for the star of the Magi see MAGI.

P. V. M. BENECKE.

STATER.—See MONEY, vol. iii. p. 428^{b}.

STEALING.—See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS, vol. i. p. 522^{b}, *s.* 'Theft,' and MAN-STEALING.

STEEL is a form of iron intermediate in composition between cast iron and wrought iron, and combining the most useful properties of both (see IRON). The word occurs thrice in AV for נְחוּשָׁה (2 S 22^{35}, Job 20^{24}, Ps 18^{34}), and once for נְחֹשֶׁת (Jer 15^{12}). In these cases the reference is not to steel but to brass (so RV) or bronze (see BRASS).

'Steel' appears in RV only in Nah 2^{3}, where it is the translation of פְּלָדֹת (AV 'torches'). The word פְּלָדָה occurs nowhere else, but its Arabic and Syriac cognates have the meaning of steel, or iron of fine quality. The 'fire' or 'flashing' of steel in this passage may be understood either of the appearance of the metal-plated chariots themselves or of the glitter of the 'scythes' attached to their wheels. Against this latter supposition is the fact that such scythes are never represented on Assyrian chariots, but appear to have been introduced for the first time by the Persians (see CHARIOT).

JAMES PATRICK.

STEPHANAS (*Στεφανᾶς*, *Stephanas*; the name occurs *CIG* ii. 3378).—A Christian of Corinth, 1 Co 1^{16} $16^{15.17}$. St. Paul mentions the household of Stephanas as one of the few exceptions to the practice which he had followed of not personally baptizing his converts. At the end of the Epistle the same household are spoken of as the first-fruits of Achaia. They are said to have given themselves to the ministry of the saints, and the Corinthians are exhorted to obey such persons and all who work and labour with them. From the next verse we gather that Stephanas himself was with St. Paul at Ephesus at the time when the Epistle was written. In Clement of Rome's Epistle, ch. xlii., we are told that the apostles, preaching from city to city and country to country, *appointed their first-fruits*, having tested them by the spirit, to be bishops and deacons of those that should believe (*καθίστανον τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν . . . εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν*, Clem. Rom. i. 42). It would be beside our purpose to discuss the exact meaning of this passage, but it may reasonably be held that Stephanas, and perhaps some members of his household, had been appointed to a position in the nascent church at Corinth, which implied on the one side ministry (*διακονία*), on the other side some recognition of their authority. If this was not a local ministry, in the later sense of the term, there were here the germs out of which it grew.

A. C. HEADLAM.

STEPHEN (*Στέφανος*), Ac 6–8^{2}.—Some dissatisfaction having been expressed by the Grecian Jews or Hellenists in the infant Church at Jerusalem regarding the distribution of alms among their widows, seven brethren were chosen, and solemnly set apart by the apostles, to undertake the administration of the poor-table. Of the seven (see DEACON), Stephen is the first named (Ac 6^{5}), and the most distinguished, though in a sphere, strictly speaking, beyond his office, viz., as a preacher and a worker of miracles—characteristically apostolic functions. Nothing is known of his conversion to Christianity, though Epiphanius (*Hær.* xx. 4) records that he was one of the Seventy. It is not certain that he was a Hellenist, though his Greek name, the fact that a committee largely Hellenistic would probably be chosen to deal with the grievances of the party, and to some extent his opinions, make the supposition very probable. His character and abilities as given in Ac 6 are of the highest: 'a man full of faith and of the Holy Spirit' (v.^{5}, cf. 7^{55}), 'full of grace (AV faith) and power' (v.^{8}), 'the wisdom and the Spirit by which he spake' (v.^{10}); cf. also the qualifications necessary for the office (v.^{3}), and St. Paul's words, 'Stephen thy witness' (22^{20}). Stephen seems to have aroused the hostile notice of the Hellenistic synagogues (see below) by the wonders and signs which he wrought among the people (6^{8}), but probably also by the substance and manner of his preaching; in any case they challenged him to disputation. But his skill in maintaining his opinions was so irresistible, that his adversaries, discomfited in argument, raised the charge of blasphemy, procured witnesses to testify to it, and thus succeeded in having him arrested and brought before the Sanhedrin. Here he was formally accused of speaking blasphemous words against the Temple and the Law, having said, as the false witnesses maintained, that Jesus of Nazareth would destroy 'this place,' and change the customs delivered by Moses. Stephen was unperturbed by these accusations; his face appeared to those present 'as the face of an angel' (6$^{9-15}$). Being asked by the high priest to answer to the charges, Stephen made a long speech, traversing the greater part of the history of the chosen people, from the call of Abraham, through Joseph and Moses, to David, and the building of the Temple by Solomon. Towards the close he fearlessly turned to his judges, rebuked them as 'stiffnecked and uncircumcised in heart and ears,' and as those who, carrying on the unholy work of the persecutors of the prophets, had become the betrayers and murderers of Him whom the prophets had foretold (7$^{1-53}$). These words were the occasion of a furious outburst of wrath on the part of the assembly; and when Stephen, undismayed, looked upwards, and declared that he saw the heavens opened and the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God, the exasperated hearers violently rushed upon him, dragged him forth by one of the gates of the city, and stoned him to death. The witnesses (who according to Dt 17^{7} had to take the lead in casting the stones) placed their garments in the keeping of a young man named Saul (cf. 22^{20})—the first historical mention of a great name. Among the last words of Stephen were, 'Lord Jesus, receive my spirit,' and 'Lord, lay not this sin to their charge,' which are very similar to two of our Lord's sayings on the cross, Lk 23$^{46.34}$. In fact, the bearing of Stephen throughout—his courage, his calm, his patience, his gentleness—accords remarkably with the demeanour of his Master in like circumstances. The mutilated body was reverently interred by 'devout men' (7^{54}–8^{2}).

The vividness of the narrative hardly leaves room for the supposition that the stoning of Stephen was a legal execution, *i.e.* one carried out with the sanction of the Roman authorities, or, indeed, that it was other than a murder. But the Sanhedrin may have been able to represent the whole incident as a mere tumultuous outbreak, for which they could not officially be called to account.

A few other minor points require notice: (1) As to the number of synagogues implied in 6^{9}, whether five, or three, or two, or only one (each number has had its advocate among expositors), the Greek seems to support the view of Wendt, viz. that *two* synagogues are meant: (*a*) of the Libertines (Cyrenians and Alexandrians), and (*b*) of those from Asia and Cilicia. See LIBERTINES; Sanday, *Expositor*, viii. p. 327 (third series); also Winer-Moulton, *Grammar*, p. 160 note. (2) The date of the martyrdom of Stephen can be determined only approximately: Bengel gives A.D. 30, Ewald A.D. 38, and every intervening year has had its supporter. Acts seems to place the event shortly before St. Paul's conversion; certainly nearer to that event than to the *terminus a quo*, the Crucifixion (say 29–30). Recent chronologists have somewhat narrowed the *termini* of St. Paul's conversion: von Soden 31–35, Harnack 30, Ramsay 33; see CHRONOLOGY OF NT, vol. i. p. 424 (C) and Table. (3) Who are the persons covered by the term 'devout men,' ἄνδρες εὐλαβεῖς (8^{2})? Hardly proselytes (Renan, *Apostles*, viii.) of either class, as St. Luke regularly uses προσήλυτος and φοβούμενος (or σεβόμενος) τὸν θεόν for proselytes of the higher and the lower rank respectively, and elsewhere applies εὐλαβεῖς to Jews (Lk 2^{25}, Ac 2^{5} 22^{12} RV). It is also unlikely that they were Christians, else we should have expected the designation to be μαθηταί or ἀδελφοί. Most probably they were Jews who took a sympathetic interest in the fortunes of the Church, and who may have known and respected Stephen. Cf. Joseph of Arimathæa and Nicodemus (Jn 19$^{38.39}$), and see Knowling in *Expositor's Greek Testament*, ii., *ad loc.* (4) Traditions about Stephen. According to an early tradition, the scene of the martyrdom was the open ground outside the Damascus Gate on the north; but about the 15th cent. this gave place to the popular belief that it was on the east, where, accordingly, St. Stephen's Gate is now located (see Conybeare and Howson, *St. Paul*, small ed. p. 61). Another legend relates that, through the friendliness of Gamaliel, the body of Stephen was buried at Kafr Gamala, a day's journey from Jerusalem, all the apostles being present. This story probably originated after the so-called 'Invention and Translation of the Relics of St. Stephen,' the chief details of which are that in the year 415 Gamaliel appeared in vision to Lucian, parish priest of Kafr Gamala, and indicated the resting-place of the remains of Stephen, which were then disinterred, carried to Jerusalem, and buried in the church of Mount Zion; it was also said that the exhumation disclosed a tablet bearing the Aramaic name of Stephen, *Kelîl* (Syr. *kelīla*, 'crown' = στέφανος).

The Speech of Stephen.—The historical narrative given by Stephen shows a considerable number of divergences from the OT account; *e.g.* according to Ac 7$^{2-4}$ Abraham receives his call before his migration to Haran, in Gn 12^{1} while in Haran; the giving of the Law is connected with angels in Ac 7^{53}, while Ex 19 has no mention of angels. 'Remphan' in 7^{43} shows that Stephen was quoting from the LXX; the Hebrew has 'Chiun' (Am 5^{26}); see CHIUN. A full list of these variations is given by Farrar, *St. Paul*, small ed. p. 92 note.

The authenticity of the speech has been much canvassed; *e.g.* Weizsäcker (and he is representative of many more) regards the speech as a 'doctrinal exposition,' *i.e.* a later composition; but see ACTS, vol. i. p. 33 f. There has been an almost equal diversity of opinion regarding the *purpose* of the address. Now, this very diversity seems a remarkably convincing proof of its substantial historicity; a mere fabricator would surely have taken care to leave his readers in little doubt as to his 'tendency.' Was the speech completed? Was it intended as an answer to the charges made by the false witnesses? Or was it meant as a vindication, in whole or in part, of the opinions by which Stephen had originally provoked opposition? As to the first of these questions, it may be said that the speech has all the appearance of being complete; the fact that Stephen did not proceed to recount the nation's story beyond the building of Solomon's temple is sufficiently explained if we remember that the legal and institutional *status quo* was traditionally held to have been but little altered subsequent to that event. As to the second, it is certainly difficult to maintain that the address is a counter-plea to the very definite charges of 6$^{13.14}$. It remains, then, to seek an answer to the question whether the speech was, so to speak, a plea of *veritas*, *i.e.* a re-declaration of what Stephen had said against the Temple and the Law. If we answer affirmatively, the climax will be found in vv.$^{48-50}$, where it seems to be suggested that the building of the Temple was an act contrary to God's will, a continuation of the contumacy that had fashioned the golden calf, and taken up the tabernacle of Molech (vv.$^{41.43}$); while, if we answer negatively, the essential point will lie in vv.$^{51-53}$, where Stephen declares that (not he and his brethren, but) his hearers and judges were the real violators of God's commands. The former view is usually adopted by those who regard Stephen as the first to discern that the gospel could not be confined within the bonds of Judaism, as, in fact, the forerunner of St. Paul. But it should be observed that if Stephen had spoken (as the *false* witnesses said) against the

Temple, and had affirmed that Jesus would change the customs of Moses, his adversaries would have been his own Christian brethren, whereas he was held in the highest repute by them. Further, such words as 'the Most High dwelleth not in temples made with hands' can hardly be taken as implying any disparagement of the Temple, since similar language was used by Solomon himself (1 K 8^{27}, 2 Ch 6^{18}). Finally, Stephen speaks of the Law in terms of the highest respect ($7^{38.53}$); and his references to the call of Abraham in Mesopotamia (v.^{2}), to the Divine favour vouchsafed to Joseph and Moses in Egypt, and to the subsequent revelation accorded to the latter in Midian (v.$^{29\text{ff.}}$), while they might be interpreted as signifying that the Divine purpose and blessing were not limited to the Holy Land, are rather to be understood in the light of the fact that Stephen represents Canaan as the destination of the Chosen People from the first; the patriarchs are buried there (v.^{16}) as in a country really their own; and the sojourn in Egypt (still more the deportation to Babylon) is plainly regarded as a misfortune. On the other hand, if Stephen was at one with his opponents (as with his brethren) in their high appreciation of the Holy Land, the Law, and the Temple, how could the charge of blasphemy arise? The witnesses might be false, but there must have been some colourable reason for an accusation so definite. But it seems a quite satisfactory answer to this to say that Stephen had attacked the traditional Law (as did Jesus Himself, Mt $15^{1\text{-}20}$= Mk $7^{1\text{-}23}$), which was freely held to have authority equal with the Mosaic, and that he may have urged, in the manner of Isaiah, that 'temple-treading' and external observances did not ensure acceptance with God. It is quite conceivable that such teaching would be misunderstood, and even misrepresented as blasphemy against 'the law and this holy place,' or even against God (6^{11}). On this view, then, the speech was not so much the advancing of a new theological position against an older; its purpose was rather ethical and personal. God had vouchsafed great privileges to the nation,—the land, an ordained leader (Moses), the Law, the Tabernacle, and the Temple,—but they had been rendered of none effect by the people's contumacy and disobedience. Doubtless, as Spitta makes out, there is an unmistakable intention to draw or suggest a parallel between Moses and Jesus, 'the prophet whom the Lord will raise up unto you . . . like unto me' (7^{37}), and the treatment accorded to each; but this is meant to give point to the general theme of the speech, viz. that the members of the council, and all in league with them, had proved themselves to be only too truly the children of ungrateful and unworthy forefathers. It is thus questionable how far we are entitled to speak of Stephen as the forerunner of St. Paul. Even if we accept Spitta's view that the erection of the Temple is represented by Stephen as an unauthorized and presumptuous act, this is something very different from St. Paul's conception of the national institutions as having had validity *for their own time.* Certainly Stephen never asserts the secondary and provisional character of the Law, nor does he suggest the call of the Gentiles—two of St. Paul's most characteristic tenets. In short, Stephen seems to regard Christianity (as did the apostles generally) as the continuation and development of the Divine purpose in the history of Israel; St. Paul sees in it the beginning of a new order of things—another dispensation.

LITERATURE.—Farrar, *St. Paul*, ch. viii.; Conybeare and Howson, *St. Paul*, ch. ii.; Weizsäcker, *Apostolic Age*, i. 62 ff.; McGiffert, *Christianity in the Apostolic Age*, 81–93; Spitta, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 105 ff.; *Expositor's Greek Testament*, ii., R. J. Knowling, *Acts*; and commentaries cited at ACTS, vol. i. p. 35, on relevant chapters.

A. GRIEVE.

STEWARD occurs six times in AV of OT. It is used in Gn 15^{2} of Eliezer, where for 'steward of my house' RV rightly substitutes 'he that shall be possessor of my house' (Heb. בֶּן־מֶשֶׁק בֵּיתִי. For the correct text and meaning of this verse see Kautzsch-Socin's *Genesis*, Comm. of Del. and Dillm. *ad loc.*, and above all Ball's note in Haupt's *OT*). In Gn 43^{19} $44^{1.4}$ 'steward' is tr^{n} (both AV and RV) of אֲשֶׁר עַל בֵּיתוֹ 'he who was over his (Joseph's) house.' The same tr^{n} is given by RV in 43^{16}, where the Heb. is the same, but AV arbitrarily and inconsistently gives 'ruler.' See art. JOSEPH, vol. ii. p. 772^{a}. In 1 K 16^{9} for AV 'steward of *his* (Elah's) house' RV substitutes 'who was over *the* household' (הַבַּיִת). See art. KING, vol. ii. p. 843^{b}. The only remaining instance in AV is 1 Ch 28^{1}. The Heb. is שָׂרִים, which RV tr. 'rulers.' In Dn 1^{11}, where AV gives MELZAR as a prop. name, RV is perh. correct in translating 'the steward' (הַמֶּלְצַר with the article shows at least that we have here some title, although its meaning is not certain).

In NT 'steward' is tr^{n} of *ἐπίτροπος* in Mt 20^{8} (the steward of the lord of the vineyard), Lk 8^{3} (Herod's steward). This word occurs also in Gal 4^{2} (AV 'tutors,' RV 'guardians') and twice in Apocr., 2 Mac 11^{1} 13^{2} (AV 'protector,' RV 'guardian'). Elsewhere in NT it is the tr^{n} of *οἰκονόμος*, which is used both literally and metaphorically, Lk 12^{42} $16^{1.3.8}$ (the cogn. vb. *οἰκονομέω* occurs v.^{2}, cf. 2 Mac 3^{4}), 1 Co $4^{1.2}$, Tit 1^{7}, 1 P 4^{10}. In Gal 4^{2} *οἰκονόμοι* is coupled with *ἐπίτροποι* (see above), and is tr^{d} in AV 'governors,' RV 'stewards.' The former of these Gr. terms occurs also in Ro 16^{23}, where RV has 'treasurer' (cf. 1 Es 4^{49}), AV 'chamberlain.'

Stewardship (*οἰκονομία*) in lit. sense occurs in Lk $16^{2.3.4}$ (AV and RV), and in metaphorical sense is substituted by RV for AV 'dispensation' in 1 Co 9^{17}. So RVm gives 'stewardship' in Eph 3^{2}, Col 1^{25}, 1 Ti 1^{4} where 'dispensation' stands in the text.

J. A. SELBIE.

STILL.—**1.** As adj.: the general meaning is *silent*, as Ps 46^{10} 'Be still' (הַרְפּוּ, RVm 'Let be,' LXX *σχολάσατε*); Ps 83^{1} 'Be not still, O God'; Is 42^{14} 'I have been still, and refrained myself; now will I cry'; Mk 4^{39} 'Peace, be still' (*πεφίμωσο*, lit. 'be muzzled'). Cf. Ac 18^{9} Wyc. 'Speke and be not stille' (*μὴ σιωπήσῃς*). Or it means a low sound, as 1 K 19^{12} 'A still small voice' (קוֹל דְּמָמָה דַקָּה, lit. as RVm 'a sound of gentle stillness,' LXX *φωνὴ αὔρας λεπτῆς*); Ps 23^{2} 'He leadeth me beside the still waters' (עַל־מֵי מְנֻחוֹת, RVm 'waters of rest,' LXX *ἐπὶ ὕδατος ἀναπαύσεως*: the idea is 'waters that refresh,' or 'waters that are resting-places' [Del., Cheyne], not 'softly flowing waters' as in Is 8^{6}).

From meaning 'silent' the word passes naturally to mean *inactive*, as Jg 18^{9} 'Are ye still? be not slothful to go'; 1 K 22^{3} 'Know ye not that Ramoth in Gilead is ours, and we be still, and take it not out of the hand of the king of Syria?'

2. As adv.: the idea of *persistence* is more prominent than in modern usage. Cf. Hall, *Works*, ii. 14, 'God uses still to goe a way by himselfe'; Adams, *2 Peter*, p. 46, 'If the hand be still striking and stabbing, there is a bloody heart'; Shaks. *Hamlet*, II. ii. 42—

> 'Thou still hast been the author of good tidings.'

So 1 S 26^{25} 'Thou shalt both do great things, and also shalt still prevail'; 2 S 16^{5} 'He came forth, and cursed still as he came'; Ps 84^{4} 'They will be still praising thee'; and Jer 23^{17} 'They say still unto them that despise me' (RV 'They say continually').

J. HASTINGS.

STOCKS.—See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS, vol. i. p. 527^{a}.

STOICS (Στωϊκοί).—When St. Paul at Athens encountered the Stoics (Ac 17^{18}), they regarded his teaching as an interesting novelty: and so in some respects it was. Jesus and the Resurrection were indeed 'strange gods,' but, for all that, there was more in common between St. Paul and his hearers than either party was perhaps aware of. To begin with, the Jews had a natural affinity with Stoicism. What nation indeed could stand more in need of the philosophy of endurance than that whose whole history was one long record of persecution? The 'courage never to submit or yield,' which animated Stoicism, was the moral also of the story of the 'seven brethren with their mother' (2 Mac 7). The Jews claimed kindred with the Spartans, who were the ideal of Stoicism, and admired the Romans, of whom Stoicism was the ideal (1 Mac 12). But, in the next place, Stoicism, as has been shown by Sir Alexander Grant, was not a genuine product of Hellenic thought, but an importation from the East. 'Its essence,' he says, 'consists in the introduction of the Semitic temperament and a Semitic spirit into Gr. philosophy' (*Ethics of Arist.* vi.). Not one of the famous Stoic teachers was a native of Greece proper. Zeno, the founder of the school, who flourished about B.C. 278, was a native of Citium in Cyprus, a Greek town in which there was a large infusion of Phœnician settlers (Diog. Laert. vii. § 1). Hence Zeno is sometimes called 'the Phœnician' (*ib.* ii. § 114), and his master Crates, the Cynic, used jocularly to address him as *Φοινικίδιον*. His successor, Cleanthes (about B.C. 263), was a native of Assos. The third head of the school, Chrysippus (B.C. 280–207; *ib.* vii. § 184), whose intellectual ability caused him to be regarded as its second founder, came from Cilicia, either from Soli or from St. Paul's native city, Tarsus. Tarsus, indeed, was a very stronghold of Stoicism. To it belonged Zeno, a disciple of Chrysippus, who seems himself at one time to have been head of the school (*ib.* vii. §§ 35, 41, 84). Though Strabo in his account of Tarsus (xiv. p. 674) says nothing of this person, he mentions among the Stoic teachers who had adorned that city, 'Antipater, Archedemus, and Nestor, and further, the two Athenodori.' Of these Antipater was a disciple of Diogenes of Babylon (Cic. *de Off.* iii. § 51), one of the three philosophers who were sent on the famous embassy to Rome in B.C. 155 (Aul. Gell. *Noct. Att.* VI. xiv. 9). He was himself the instructor of Panætius of Rhodes (Cic. *de Div.* i. § 6), who was the friend of the younger Africanus, and the teacher of Posidonius (of Apamea in Syria), who in his turn numbered Cicero among his hearers. Archedemus is mentioned by Diogenes Laertius (vii. §§ 40, 68, 84) in a way that would lead us to think that he followed Chrysippus. Of Nestor the Stoic nothing more is known. Of the two Athenodori, the earlier, known as Cordylion, died in the house of Cato Uticensis; the later, who was also known as 'the Kananite,' from a village (*Kanna*) in Cilicia, was the friend and adviser of Augustus. In his old age he was given power to restore civil order in his native city.

St. Paul then, coming from Tarsus, the home of so many of the Stoics, was not likely to have been a stranger to their way of thinking. In his speech on the Areopagus he seems to have addressed himself more directly to the Stoic part of his audience. He deftly quoted part of a line with which they were familiar, 'His offspring, too, are we,' probably thinking of the Hymn of Cleanthes, though the precise form in which he quotes it comes from the contemporary poet Aratus.[*] Another point in which the apostle's language is coloured by the presence of Stoic auditors, is in the appeal he makes to their sentiment of cosmopolitanism—'and he made of one every nation of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth,' while the words which follow, 'having determined their appointed seasons, and the bounds of their habitation,' express a conception of fate and providence, which was common ground to the apostle and his hearers.

The constructive era of Greek thought had already passed away before the Stoics appeared upon the scene. Neither they nor the Epicureans extended the bounds of thought, but only emphasized certain aspects in the philosophy of their predecessors. Both schools were intensely practical, and endeavoured to make philosophy a 'life,' as Christianity afterwards announced itself to be. Both also were systems of materialism, and agreed in discarding the abstractions of earlier thought. The Stoics adopted the physical theory of Heraclitus, the Epicureans that of Democritus. With both, however, physics were a mere scaffolding for ethics; but the Stoics paid great attention to logic, while the Epicureans neglected this department of philosophy. What was special to the Stoics was the exalted tone of their morality, their grim earnestness, and their devout submission to the Divine will. Of the Stoic physics we seem to have a trace in the doctrine of the destruction of the world by fire (2 P $3^{5-7.\ 10-13}$). The idea of the soul going up to heaven at death is not alien to their philosophy. For death with them was the resolution of man's compound nature into its elements, and the soul, whose nature was fire (cf. Verg. *Æn.* vi. 730, 'igneus est ollis vigor et cælestis origo'), struggled upward to its native home in the empyrean. Without dogmatizing on disputed ground, it is at least interesting to compare Ec 12^7 'And the dust return to the earth as it was, and the spirit return unto God who gave it,' with what Velleius Paterculus (ii. 123), echoing the Stoic doctrine, says of the death of Augustus: 'in sua resolutus initia . . . animam cælestem cælo reddidit.'

The doctrine of the Logos may not have come exclusively from Greek sources; but at all events Lactantius (*Div. Inst.* iv. 9) admits that Zeno had anticipated the Christian teaching: 'Hunc sermonem divinum ne philosophi quidem ignoraverunt: siquidem Zenon rerum naturæ dispositorem atque opificem universitatis *λόγον* prædicat, quem et fatum et necessitatem rerum et deum et animum Jovis nuncupat.' The words *δι' ὃν τὰ πάντα*, applied to God in He 2^{10}, are suggestive of the Stoic explanation of the name of the Supreme Being: '*Δία μὲν γάρ φασι, δι' ὃν τὰ πάντα*,' while the words in St. Paul's sermon, 'in him we live,' recall the explanation offered of the other form of the name: '*Ζῆνα δὲ καλοῦσι, παρ' ὅσον τοῦ ζῆν αἴτιός ἐστιν.*'

The problem of fate and freewill, which was hardly raised by the Socratic philosophers, was much discussed by the Stoics. In this also they display an affinity with Semitic speculation. For this was the philosophical problem which divided the Jewish schools, as it has since divided the Christian Churches. The Pharisees leaned strongly to predestination, as we can see from the sentiments of Gamaliel (Ac 5^{39}) and from those of St. Paul himself. Josephus, himself a Pharisee, says that that sect was very like the sect of the Stoics among the Greeks (*Vita*, ch. ii.).

Another point of resemblance, which justifies this remark of Josephus, is the Stoic belief in a future life. It is true they did not regard the souls even of good men as being absolutely immortal. But they held that these were destined to last until the next re-absorption of all things into the Divine nature. God was defined by the Stoics as 'an individual made up of all being, incorruptible and ungenerated, the fashioner of the ordered frame of the universe, who at certain periods of time absorbs all being into himself, and again generates it from himself' (Diog. Laert. vii. § 137).

---

[*] It may be remarked that the language of He 4^{12} is strongly suggestive of the Hymn of Cleanthes (lines 9–13), which might be used as an argument, so far as it goes, in favour of the Pauline authorship of that Epistle.

Instead of drawing out further, as might be done, the parallelism between Stoicism and Christianity, we will here close with a caution. It does not follow that, because we find a Stoic notion in the Bible, it has got into it from the Stoics. It may originally have come to the Stoics from the Jews, or both may have borrowed from the same source.

LITERATURE.—The chief ancient authorities for a knowledge of the Stoics are Cicero's philosophical works, especially *de Finibus*, Book iii.; Diogenes Laertius, Book vii.; Stobæus, *Ecl. Eth.* pp. 166–184; Plutarch, *de Repugnantiis Stoicis*, and *de Placitis Philosophorum*; Sextus Empiricus, *adversus Mathematicos*. Among modern works may be mentioned Zeller, *Stoics and Epicureans*; Sir Alexander Grant, *The Ethics of Aristotle*, Essay vi.; Lightfoot, *Philippians*, Excursus on 'St. Paul and Seneca.'

ST. GEORGE STOCK.

STOMACH.—In modern Eng. 'stomach' is confined to its literal meaning of the receptacle for food in the body. In this sense it occurs in 1 Ti 5^{23} 'Use a little wine for thy stomach's sake' (*διὰ τὸν στόμαχον*). But in older Eng. the word was used figuratively, as we use 'heart' or 'spirit,' and expressed either *courage* or *pride.*

The transition from the literal to the fig. sense was the easier that 'stomach' was freely used for appetite. Thus Fuller, *Holy State*, 185, 'A rich man told a poore man that he walked to get a stomach for his meat: And I, said the poore man, walk to get meat for my stomach.' The sense of *courage* ('heart') is seen in Ridley, *Works*, 359, 'Blessed be God, which was and is the giver of that and all godly strength and stomach in the time of adversity'; and in Coverdale's tr. of Jos 2^{11} 'And sence we herde therof, oure hert hath failed us, nether is there a good stomacke more in eny man, by the reason of youre commynge.' Cov. even applies the word to Jehovah in Is 42^{13} 'The LORDE shal come forth as a gyaunte, and take a stomacke to him like a fresh man of warre.' The sense of *pride* is seen in Knox, *Works*, iii. 187, 'And ye haif a Quene, a woman of a stout stomak, more styffe in opinioun nor flexibill to the veritie'; Golding, *Calvin's Job*, 574, 'Therefore when wee come to heare a sermon, let us not carie such a loftie stomacke with us, as to checke agaynst God when we be reproved for our sinnes'; and Fuller, *Holy Warre*, 99, 'A man whose stomach was as high as his birth.' This is the meaning of the word in Ps 101^{7}, Pr. Bk. 'a proud look and high stomach,' where Earle quotes in illustration Katharine's character of Wolsey from *Henry VIII.* IV. ii. 33—

'He was a man
Of an unbounded stomach, ever ranking
Himself with princes.'

The word occurs figuratively in the sense of *courage* in 2 Mac 7^{21} 'Stirring up her womanish thoughts with a manly stomach' (*ἄρσενι θυμῷ*, RV 'with manly passion'). J. HASTINGS.

STOMACHER is the EV tr. of פְּתִיגִיל, Is 3^{24} (only). The derivation of the Hebrew term is very uncertain. There is no probability in the supposition that it represents two words, פְּתִי 'width' and גִּיל 'mantle,' although the sense thus obtained would yield an effective contrast with the following מַחֲגֹרֶת שָׂק: 'instead of a flowing mantle, a girding of sackcloth' (Cheyne, *PB*, cf. Dillm.-Kittel, *Jes. ad loc.*). Others think that the antithesis suggests that פְּתִיגִיל is a kind of ornamental girdle (see art. DRESS, vol. i. p. 628^{a}). The LXX tr. by *χιτὼν μεσοπόρφυρος*, Aq. *ζώνη ἀγαλλιάσεως*, Symm. *στηθοδεσμίς*, Vulg. *facia pectoralis.*

The Eng. word 'stomacher' was applied to that part of a woman's dress which covered the breast and the pit of the stomach. It was usually much ornamented, and looked upon as an evidence of wealth. Coverdale translates Is 47^{2} (of the degraded daughter of Babylon), 'Thou shalt bringe forth the querne, and grynede meel, put downe thy stomacher, make bare thy knees, and shalt wade thorow the water ryvers.' J. A. SELBIE.

STONE.—1. A fragment of rock of any size from a pebble up to the most massive block. In AV 'stone' usually stands for אֶבֶן or *λίθος*; but it also occurs as the tr. of סֶלַע (Ps 137^{9} 141^{6}, RV 'rock'), of צֹר (Ex 4^{25}, AV 'sharp stone,' RV 'flint,' Job 22^{24}), of חֶרֶשׂ (Job 41^{30}, RV 'potsherd'), of צְרוֹר (2 S 17^{13}, Am 9^{9}, AVm), of *πέτρος* (2 Mac 1^{16} 4^{41}, Jn 1^{42}), and of *ψῆφος* (Rev 2^{17}). 'Gravel stones' is for חָצָץ (La 3^{16}); 'corner stones' for זָוִיּוֹת (Ps 144^{12}); 'chief corner stone' for *ἀκρογωνιαῖος* (Eph 2^{20}, 1 P 2^{6}); 'a heap of stones' for מַרְגֵּמָה (Pr 26^{8} RV); and 'hewn stone' for גָּזִית (Ex 20^{25}, 1 K 5^{17} 6^{36} $7^{9.11.12}$, Is 9^{10}, La 3^{9}, Ezk 40^{42}, Am 5^{11}). Conversely אֶבֶן appears in EV as 'weight' (Lv 19^{36}, Dt $25^{13.15}$, 2 S 14^{26}, Pr 11^{1} 16^{11} $20^{10.23}$, Mic 6^{11}, Zec 5^{8}) and as 'plummet' (Is 34^{11} RV).

The stones referred to in Scripture may be classified according to their size and the uses to which they were put. Among the smaller stones mentioned are 'gravel stones' (La 3^{16}) and 'stones of the brook' (1 S 17^{40}, Job 22^{24}). The smoothness of the latter is noted in 1 S 17^{40}, and the effect of water in wearing them is alluded to in Job 14^{19}. Stones in the soil interfered with its fertility, and it was part of the husbandman's work to gather them out. On the other hand, to scatter stones over the fields was one way of devastating an enemy's country (2 K $3^{19.25}$). These are probably the opposite circumstances referred to in Ec 3^{5}. The 'stony ground' (*τὰ πετρώδη, τὸ πετρῶδες*) of Mt $13^{5.20}$ ‖ is not soil full of stones, but shallow soil with rock near the surface (RV 'rocky'). Stones were convenient missiles for the hand (Ex 21^{18}, 2 S $16^{6.13}$, Sir 22^{20} 27^{25}, 2 Mac 1^{16} 4^{41}, Mk 12^{4}), for the sling (Jg 20^{16}, 1 S $17^{40.49.50}$, 1 Ch 12^{2}, 2 Ch 26^{14}, Pr 26^{8}, Jth 6^{12}, Sir 47^{4}), or for larger military engines (2 Ch 26^{15}, 1 Mac 6^{51}). Josephus (*BJ* III. vii. 23, V. vi. 3) gives an account of these engines as used in the sieges of Jotapata and Jerusalem. Stone projectiles roughly spherical, and 13 or 14 in. in diameter, have been found at Baniâs (Merrill, *E. of Jordan*, p. 524). A stonecast was a rough measure of distance (Lk 22^{41}). Stone-throwing might prove fatal (Nu $35^{17.23}$), and was a common method by which death-sentences were executed, and in which popular violence found vent. The verbs סָקַל, רָגַם, *λιθάζω*, *καταλιθάζω*, *λιθοβολέω*, are used to denote this practice. A heap of stones was sometimes raised over the bodies of those who were thus put to death (Jos $7^{25.26}$), or who were otherwise executed (Jos 8^{29}) or slain (2 S 18^{17}). This is perhaps the fate referred to in Is 14^{19}, La 3^{53}. Such heaps were also placed over ordinary tombs for protection or to mark the spot (see BURIAL, vol. i. p. 333^{a}). The density of stones (Pr 27^{3}) made them convenient for use as weights (see list of passages above) and plummets (Is 34^{11}), and also for attaching to anything to be sunk in water, like Jeremiah's book of prophecy (Jer 51^{63}), or the body of a criminal to be executed by drowning (Mt 18^{6} ‖). Sharp stones were used as knives (Ex 4^{25}, Mk 5^{5}). In the former case the reference is probably to artificially fashioned knives of flint such as have been recently found among the prehistoric remains of Egypt (see FLINT, vol. ii. p. 15; KNIFE, vol. iii. p. 8; and Petrie and Quibell, *Naquada and Ballas*, pp. 55–59). Vessels of stone are mentioned in Ex 7^{19}, Jn 2^{6}. In connexion with the former passage, see Wilkinson, *Ancient Egypt*, ii. 8; Petrie and Quibell, *Naquada and Ballas*, p. 10. Small stones or pebbles were originally used in voting, and the counters of metal, etc., afterwards employed were still called *ψῆφοι* (4 Mac 15^{26}, Ac 26^{10}).

Among larger stones, besides mill-stones (for which see MILL, vol. iii. p. 369), may be noticed those which covered wells (Gn $29^{2.3.8.10}$) and deposits of treasure (Sir 29^{10}), and those which closed the mouths of caves (Jos $10^{18.27}$), pits used as dens (Dn 6^{17}), and rock-hewn tombs (Mt 27^{60}). The entrances of tombs were closed sometimes by stone doors hung on stone pivots, and sometimes by circular slabs like millstones set on edge, which rolled in grooves athwart the openings, the grooves being sloped so as to make the stone easy to roll to the door and difficult to roll away again. The entrance to the Tombs of the Kings at Jerusalem has both kinds of stone doors (see Tristram, *Land of Israel*, pp. 406–7, and *SWP* Special Papers, p. 280 ff.). Og's 'bedstead of iron' (Dt 3^{11}) was probably a sarcophagus of basalt, such as have been found in abundance E. of the Jordan (see Driver, *Deut. in loc.*).

Certain large stones served as landmarks, such as the great stone in Gibeon (2 S 20^{8}), the stone of Bohan the son of Reuben (Jos 15^{6} 18^{17}), the stone of Zoheleth (1 K 1^{9}), the stone Ezel (1 S 20^{19} MT). Other large stones had a more or less sacred character. Rude stone monuments of religious origin are still plentiful E. of the Jordan, though they are not found W. of it except in Galilee. They have been divided into four classes, *menhirs* or pillars, *dolmens* or stone tables, *cairns* or stone heaps, and *cromlechs* or stone circles. Examples of the first class are the 'pillar' which Jacob set up at Bethel and anointed (Gn 28^{18} 35^{14}), and that which he erected at Mizpah (Gn 31^{45}). In early Semitic religion these pillars were associated with the presence of a deity, and were smeared with blood or oil as an act of worship (see PILLAR, vol. iii. pp. 879–81). In some cases a rude stone pillar seems to have served simply as a memorial (Jos $24^{26.27}$, 1 S 7^{12}) or as a monument to the dead (cf. 1 Mac 13^{27}, 2 K 23^{17} RV, Ezk 39^{15}). While at first the sacred stone representing the deity served also as an altar, the latter came to be distinct at a very early period. It might be a natural rock (Jg $6^{20.21}$ 13^{19}, 1 S 6^{14} 14^{33}) or artificially built of stone. In the latter case the stones were unhewn (Ex 20^{25}, Dt $27^{5.6}$, Jos 8^{31}). Elijah's altar on Carmel was, no doubt, of this kind (1 K $18^{31\text{ff.}}$). Under the Maccabees the stones of the altar of burnt-offering in the temple were laid aside as defiled and a new altar was built (1 Mac $4^{46.47}$). Ezekiel's ideal temple was to be provided with hewn stone tables for slaying the sacrifices (Ezk 40^{42}) (see ALTAR, vol. i. pp. 75, 76, and Robertson Smith, *RS* 184 ff., 214). The narrative in Gn 31 mentions a cairn (גַּל) as well as a pillar at Mizpah. The stones set up by Joshua at Gilgal (Jos 4) were an example of a circle with a memorial significance (Conder, *Syrian Stone-lore*, 220; Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 56 ff., 379, 380). Inscriptions might be placed upon monumental stones (Dt $27^{4.8}$), on altars (Jos 8^{32}), or on stone tablets such as those on which the Law was engraved. Stone, like wood, was among the commonest materials out of which idolatrous images were made (Jer 2^{27}, Hab 2^{19} etc.). Such images, as well as sacred pillars, were forbidden in Lv 26^{1}.

The most important use of stone was, of course, for building. For this purpose it was regarded as superior to brick (Is 9^{10}), which was substituted for it in Babylonia (Gn 11^{3}). The chief references to stone as a building material are in connexion with the temple. Stone was among the preparatory stores collected by David (1 Ch $22^{14.15}$ 29^{2}). The foundation of the temple consisted of great costly hewn stones (1 K $5^{17.18}$ 7^{10}), and the superstructure was also of stone, though covered with wood (1 K 6^{18} $7^{9.11.12}$). The stones were brought to the site in a prepared state (1 K 6^{7}). Hewn stone is mentioned in connexion with the repairs executed by Joash (2 K 12^{12}) and Josiah (2 K 22^{6}, 2 Ch 34^{11}), and stone was among the materials of the second temple (Hag 2^{15}, Ezr 5^{8} 6^{4}, 1 Es $6^{9.25}$). The size and splendour of the stones of Herod's temple are referred to in Mt $24^{1.2}$ ‖. Contrasted with the process of building is that of demolishing (Mic 1^{6}, La 4^{1}). The stones in the ruins of Jerusalem were dear to the exiles (Ps 102^{14}). The opponents of Nehemiah laughed at the idea of rebuilding the city walls with stones from among the rubbish (Neh $4^{2.3}$).

Some of the great stones in the foundation wall of the temple are visible in the Jews' Wailing Place. Other parts of the wall have been reached by recent excavation, notably at the S.E. corner. The lowest stone at this point is 14 ft. long and 3 ft. 8 in. high, 'squared and polished, with a finely dressed face.' If the present foundation, which rests on the solid rock, be really that of Solomon's temple, then this stone is the 'foundation' or 'chief corner stone' so often referred to in Scripture (Is 28^{16}, Ps 118^{22}, Mt 21^{42} ‖ Ac 4^{11}, 1 P 2^{6}). While the 'head of the corner' is a foundation stone, the 'head stone' (אֶבֶן רֹאשָׁה Zec 4^{7}) is the highest and the last to be placed. Large as the temple stones are, they are small compared with some found in the ruins of Baalbek. Three of these, forming one course, are the largest hewn stones in the world. They are all 13 ft. high and as many thick, and their respective lengths are 64, 63½, and 63 ft. A still larger stone, 70 ft. long, 14 ft. thick, and 14 ft. high, lies in the adjacent quarry. For methods of transporting such stones, see Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* ii. 302–10. The remains of quarries are visible in many places in Palestine, and their extent affords a measure of the antiquity of the building sites near them. The greatest quarries at Jerusalem are the caverns under Bezetha, from which a great part of the stone work of the city has been excavated. Traces of the process of working the quarry still remain. The blocks were separated from the rock by cuttings from 3 to 6 in. wide made all round them with some instrument like a pick. The margins of the stones were dressed with toothed chisels (Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 238). In the basaltic rocks of Bashan there are many circular holes 4 or 5 ft. deep, and as great in diameter, from which millstones have been quarried (Merrill, *E. of Jordan*, p. 25).

A few references to stone are of a symbolic character. Jeremiah was directed to hide some great stones in the clay of a brick-kiln at the entrance to Pharaoh's house at Tahpanhes, to be a foundation for the throne of Nebuchadnezzar, which would be set up in that place (Jer $43^{9.10}$). In Zec 3^{9} a stone with seven eyes (or facets) is set before Joshua the high priest, and an inscription is to be placed upon it. This stone has been variously understood as referring to the foundation stone of the temple, the 'head stone' of Zec 4^{7}, a jewel in the high priest's breastplate, or in Zerubbabel's crown, or the finished temple as a whole (see G. A. Smith, *Twelve Prophets*, ii. 296). The white stone with a new name written on it (Rev 2^{17}) is likewise an obscure symbol. From the reference in the same verse to the 'hidden manna' the 'white stone' has been connected with the Roman *tessera hospitalis*—the token divided between two friends who had entered into *hospitium*, and handed down to their descendants, so as to secure perpetual mutual hospitality; or with the *tessera frumentaria*—the token in exchange for which a free grant of corn was given to the poorer citizens of Rome. Putting aside the reference to the manna, a possible explanation may be found in the *tessera gladiatoria*, an oblong token of ivory given to a gladiator when he had passed successfully through a certain number of contests. It had inscribed on it the name of the combatant and that of his trainer, the date of his first victory and the letters SP (*spectatus*). In Rev 18^{21} the destruction of 'Babylon' is symbolized by an angel casting a great stone into the sea.

The various properties of stone give rise to numerous comparisons. The Egyptians sank in the sea like a stone (Ex 15^{5}, Neh 9^{11}). Fear made the enemies of Israel still as a stone (Ex 15^{16}). Nabal became as a stone before his death (1 S 25^{37}). The heart of leviathan is firm as a stone (Job 41^{24}). The strength of stone is also alluded to in Job 6^{12}. Ice is compared to stone (Job 38^{30}). Other figurative usages are frequent. The deadness and sterility of stone gives point to the Baptist's saying in Mt 3^{9} ‖; so with its dumbness (Hab 2^{11}, Lk 19^{40}), and inedibility (Mt 4^{3} 7^{9} ‖). Its weight suggests what Jerusalem will be to the nations (Zec 12^{3}), and what wisdom is to the unlearned (Sir 6^{21}). Its hardness supplies a metaphor for hardness of heart (Ezk 11^{19} 36^{26}). As a contrast to this, Ezekiel's figure is combined with an allusion to the inscribed tables of the Law in 2 Co 3^{3}. The new name Πέτρος given to Simon (Jn 1^{42}) denoted the firmness of his character in the future. A slothful man is compared to a 'defiled stone' (Sir 22^{1}). God is called 'the stone of Israel' (Gn 49^{24}). The Messiah's kingdom is represented in Dn 2^{34} as a stone cut out of the mountain without hands, which breaks in pieces the composite image symbolizing the kingdoms of this world. Christ uses a similar figure regarding Himself (Mt 21^{44} TR, Lk 20^{18}). Isaiah describes the Deliverer of Judah as a 'foundation' and a 'corner stone.' Christ applies Ps 118^{22} to Himself (Mt 21^{42} ‖), and similar applications are found in Ac 4^{11}, 1 P 2^{4-7}. In the latter passage Christ is called a 'living stone,' and Christians are also called 'living stones.' The same ideas of Christ as the corner stone and Christians as forming a building along with Him, appear in Eph 2^{20-22}.

2. Anatomical—a testicle, Lv 21^{20} (אֶשֶׁךְ), Dt 23^{1} (in a free tr. of פְּצוּעַ־דַּכָּה), Job 40^{17} (פַּחַד, RV 'thigh').

JAMES PATRICK.

STONES, PRECIOUS. — This subject is both obscure and complex, and one on which no help is to be gained by relying on modern traditional results. The only satisfactory way to treat it is as a series of quite independent stages of research :—i. The actual stones known to (*a*) the ancient Egyptians, (*b*) the early Greeks, (*c*) the Roman writers. ii. The equivalence of Hebrew and Greek names. iii. The substances designated by the Greek names. iv. The side-lights on the subject from (*a*) the Arabic or other versions, (*b*) the colour arrangement, (*c*) beliefs about stones, etc.

i. It is obviously useless to attempt to identify gems which were unknown before the Roman age with any of the earlier names, and hence the diamond and the sapphire are outside of the question. It is also quite useless to expect the same distinctions between stones that we now make by chemical and crystallographic classification. Different materials, if of the same appearance, were doubtless classed under the same name, such as beryl and green felspar, or carnelian and fleshy felspar. On the other hand, the same material, under different appearances, would have different names, such as the many different aspects of quartz, in rock-crystal, amethyst, chalcedony, carnelian, red jasper, green jasper, and yellow jasper.

The stones commonly known to the Egyptians for jewellery and engraving are as follows, those not known as engraved being in brackets. These are arranged according to the colours, which would be natural classification, and which shows what is liable to be confounded under a single name. The transparent stones are in italics, according to the varieties actually found. BLACK: [hæmatite], obsidian. BLUE: *amethyst*, lazuli. GREEN: *serpentine*, felspar, [beryl], jasper, turquoise. YELLOW: *agate*, jasper. BROWN: *sard*, [corundum]. RED: *red sard*, [*garnet*], *felspar*, *carnelian*, jasper. WHITE: *quartz*, milky quartz, chalcedony. Two stones that might reasonably be expected in early use, but have never yet been found in Egypt before Greek times, are the onyx or nicolo (known to the Romans as Ægyptilla), and the olivine = peridot (modern chrysolite), from the Red Sea. And the beryl is rare before Græco-Roman times.

The early Greeks, down to Theophrastus, appear to have had much the same series as the Egyptians; but in Roman times, with extended commerce, more of the stones became known which we now class as gems. With these, however, we are not here concerned in OT usage.

ii. The second consideration is the equivalence of the Hebrew and Greek names. For, as we have only a few vague indications of the meanings of the Hebrew names, or connexions of those with other languages, it is really the tradition of the times of the LXX that has to be almost entirely trusted. Of lists of stones there are five to be considered, — The list of the breastplate (Ex 28^{17-20}), that of the king of Tyre (Ezk 28^{13}), the translation of these two lists in the LXX, and the foundations in Rev 21^{19-20}. All these lists are certainly connected, as we shall see by the statement of them.

THE BREASTPLATE.

3 Bāreketh	2 Piṭdah	1 'Ōdem
6 Yahălōm	5 Ṣappîr	4 Nōphekh
9 'Aḥlāmah	8 Shĕbō	7 Leshem
12 Yāshĕpheh	11 Shōham	10 Tarshîsh

THE KING OF TYRE.

3 Yahălōm	2 Piṭdah	1 'Ōdem
6 Yāshĕpheh	5 Shōham	4 Tarshîsh
G 9 Bārĕḳath	8 Nōphekh	7 Ṣappîr

BREASTPLATE AND KING OF TYRE. LXX.

3 Smaragdos	2 Topazion	1 Sardion
G S 6 Iaspis	5 Sappheiros	4 Anthrax
9 Amethystos	8 Achatēs	7 Ligurion
12 Onychion	11 Beryllion	10 Chrysolithos

THE FOUNDATIONS.

1 Iaspis	2 Sappheiros	3 Chalkedōn
4 Smaragdos	5 Sardonyx	6 Sardion
7 Chrysolithos	8 Beryllos	9 Topazion
10 Chrysoprasos	11 Hyakinthos	12 Amethystos

Several problems meet us here. The LXX must either have found the lists of Ex. and Ezek. alike, or else have altered one into conformity with the other. There is one sign of confusion in the LXX, where *silver and gold* are interpolated in the midst of the series (marked S and G here); whereas the Heb. in Ezek. has *gold* at the end (marked G here); so far the Hebrew is the more consistent. On the other hand, it is evident that the list in Ezek. has been written with the list in Ex. in view: the first two names being the same, the 2nd line being the 4th line in Ex., and the 3rd line being 5, 4, 3 of Ex. in inverted order, all show that Ezek. is apparently a corrupted copy of Ex., perhaps changed by the prophet quoting from memory.

But here another difficulty arises: the *yāshĕpheh* 12 in Ex. cannot but be intended by *iaspis* 6, while the *yāshĕpheh* is 6 in Ezekiel. Here LXX agrees with Ezek.; while, in *ṣappîr* 5 in Ex. and 7 in Ezek., the LXX agrees with Ex. in 5 *sappheiros*. In another point probably Ex. agrees with LXX; *bārĕḳeth*, the 'flashing' or 'lightning' stone, is probably quartz crystal; and *smaragdos*, which it parallels in Ex., is also probably quartz, as we shall see further on. On the whole, it seems safest to take Ex. and LXX as equivalent lists;

---

* The Greek forms are kept here to avoid confusion with English names derived from them, which now denote different stones.

granting a transposition of 12 and 6, probably in the Hebrew.

iii. Next we come to the third section—the meaning of the Greek names; and for this we must remember that the series should correspond to the stones actually in use in early times, and not to those which may have had those names in Græco-Roman writings. (1) *Sardios = 'ōdem*, is the 'blood'-coloured stone (Heb.); and as none of the early ones except **red jasper** can be so described, it seems that this must be intended.

(2) *Topazion = piṭdah*, is reputed to be the peridot, because of its being described as imported from the Red Sea, as of a greenish-yellow colour, and as the softest of precious stones. The difficulty in this is that no instance is known of peridot in Egyptian work; and this would lead us to look for some similar stone as the earlier representative of *piṭdah*. The transparent precious **serpentine** was in use in Egypt, and is of closely the same colour; in fact, of the same composition, but hydrated. This, then, has the best claim to be the original stone, for which the harder olivine, peridot, was later substituted. The Arabic has *'asfar*, 'yellow,' which corresponds with peridot.

(3) *Smaragdos = bāreḳeth.* This is commonly supposed to be emerald; but, as there is beryl also in the list, it is unlikely that a slight variety of purer and less pure colour should give occasion to repeat the same stone. There are two indications that in *smaragdos* is included **rock-crystal.** Pliny mentions the shortsighted Nero using an eye-glass of *smaragdus*; the difficulty of getting emerald free from flaws and large enough for an eye-glass, the depth of colour (for this was not the lighter beryl), and the greater hardness of emerald, all make that stone very unlikely. The colourless rock-crystal is far more probably the material used. And in Rev 4^3 there is described—a rainbow like a *smaragdus*: now a colourless stone is the only one that can show a rainbow of prismatic colours; and the hexagonal prism of rock-crystal, if one face is not developed (as is often the case), gives a prism of 60°, suitable to show a spectrum. The confusion with emerald seems to have arisen from both stones crystallizing in hexagonal prisms; and, as the emerald varies through the aquamarine to a colourless state, there is no obvious separation between it and quartz crystal. The meaning of *bāreḳeth*, the 'flashing' or 'lightning' stone, agrees with the brilliancy of rock-crystal. The Arabic has *samurod=smaragdus.*

(4) *Anthrax = nōphekh.* The former name is generally agreed to be the carbuncle, which is the dark clear **red garnet.** Garnet was a favourite stone in Egypt for beads, but is not found engraved, at least not till late times.

(5) *Sappheiros=ṣappîr.* There can be no doubt of the equivalence of these names; yet they do not mean our sapphire or corundum, as that was quite unknown in early times, and probably too hard to be engraved. Pliny's description of it as opaque and speckled with gold, shows it to have been our **lapis-lazuli**, which was used and greatly valued in early times.

(6) As we cannot sever the *iaspis* from the *yāshĕpheh*, we must assume a corruption in either the Heb. or Greek. The Greek is more probably correct, as the *iaspis* was certainly opaque, and would well consort with the opaque lazuli. We must restore, then, (6) *iaspis=yāshĕpheh.* The earliest jaspers mentioned by Greek writers appear to have been green; and a dark **green jasper** was a favourite stone among early Greek engravers, and used also by Egyptians. This is probably, then, the *iaspis*.

(7) *Ligurion = leshem.* The *ligurion* is a corruption of *lyncurion*, described as brilliant yellow, and in Greek times apparently identified with the jacinth=zircon. As this is unknown in Egyptian work, probably **yellow quartz** or **agate** (R.) was intended by *leshem.*

(8) *Achatēs= shĕbō.* This is agreed to be connected with some varieties of modern agates. The black and white banded is said to be probably the variety earliest known as *achatēs* to the Greeks; but this is little, if at all, known in Egypt until Greek times. From the contrasts of colour in the series a red agate would be the more likely here; but a grey and white is the only closely-banded agate that occurs in Egyptian work. If possible we should expect the **carnelian** here, as it is a usual stone, and yet does not appear elsewhere in the list.

(9) *Amethystos='aḥlāmah.* There is no question as to this being the modern **amethyst**, which was frequently used in Egypt at an early date, and well engraved.

(10) *Chrysolithos=tarshîsh.* This stone among later Greeks is probably the topaz; but, as that was quite unknown in earlier times, some other golden-coloured stone must be intended. As clear yellow quartz is already fixed to the *ligurion*, that is not in question; nor would a transparent yellow stone be so appropriately termed 'golden' as an opaque one. The bright **yellow jasper** was finely engraved by the Egyptians of the 18th dynasty and onward, and that may well be the 'golden stone' or *chrysolithos.*

(11) *Beryllion=shōham.*—It is generally agreed that this is the modern beryl, the opaque green variety of the emerald; and with this was doubtless confused the **green felspar**, which is only distinguished in appearance by its brighter cleavage and lustre. As the felspar was far more usual for jewellery than the beryl in early times, it is pretty certain that it was the *shōham*, afterwards confused with the beryl.

(12) As we have already noticed, the *yāshĕpheh* has probably changed places in the Hebrew with *yahălōm*, and therefore (12) *onychion = yahălōm* seems to be the probable equivalence. This is usually accepted as being the modern **onyx**; but such a stone in layers was apparently not known to early engravers, the first dated example being of the 26th dynasty. There is, however, no other stone which seems more probable for this name.

It may be as well now to state what stones that were used for early engraving stand outside of the identifications we have arrived at, and appear not to have been used in the breastplate. The following were all wrought in Egypt: obsidian, black jasper, hæmatite, fawn-coloured chert, milky quartz, chalcedony, and turquoise. Thus no striking or important stone is omitted from the list of Ex. except turquoise, which was mainly used before 4000 B.C., and in late times. But we have in several cases put down two stones to one name, where they were such as were likely to have been confounded in one class together.

iv. We now turn to the question of colour. The breastplate would apparently have stood thus—

3 White quartz	2 Yellow serpentine	1 Red jasper
6 Green jasper	5 Blue lazuli	4 Red garnet
9 Purple amethyst	8 Red carnelian	7 Yellow agate
12 White and black onyx	11 Green felspar	10 Yellow jasper

Here there is good contrast maintained except in the right column, where there are two reds together and two yellows; but none of these are in serious doubt, and if any change is suggested it would be by transposing two of these. The first entry seems well fixed in the lists; and the fourth cannot change with the seventh without bringing red garnet and carnelian together. If, however, the fourth and tenth interchanged, then the opaque yellow jasper would be next to the opaque lazuli and in line with opaque green jasper, which would be harmonious. Should this be accepted, then the red garnet, *anthrax*, would be *tarshîsh* (R.); and the yellow jasper, *chrysolithos*, would be *nōphekh*.

There now remains the question of the relation of the stones in Rev. to those in the OT. They have evidently some connexion; but sometimes in the object order, sometimes in the verbal order, the Heb. reckoning running contrary to Greek. Thus there is—

Ex. LXX	6 Iaspis	5 Sappheiros	
Rev.	1 Iaspis	2 Sappheiros	
Ex.	3 Smaragdos	2 Topazion	1 Sardion
Rev.	4 Smaragdos	5 Sardonyx	6 Sardion
Ex.	10 Chrysolithos	11 Beryllion	12 Onychion
Rev.	7 Chrysolithos	8 Beryllos	9 Topazion
Ex.	7 Ligurion	8 Achatēs	9 Amethystos
Rev.	10 Chrysoprasos	11 Hyakinthos	12 Amethystos

Here *topazion* and *sardonyx* appear to have changed places; as, if so, the *topazion* would agree in both, and the *onychion* compare with the *sardonyx*. The *chrysoprasos* may well be a later name of the *ligurion*. There is, in any case, a strong influence of the LXX lists on the Rev. list; but yet it seems much like the apparent relation by memory of the Ezek. list with the Ex. list in the Hebrew.

A few stones occur in Rev. that are not in LXX. (3) *Chalkedōn* was a green stone according to Pliny, from the copper mines near Chalcedon. As it was only found in very small pieces, the suggestion that it was *dioptase* (**silicate of copper**) seems not unlikely, as that is in small crystals. (5) *Sardonyx* is doubtless the **red and white onyx.** (7) *Chrysolithos* in the Roman age was the present **topaz**; while (9) *topazion* was the present **chrysolite**=*peridot*. (10) *Chrysoprasos* was probably the **green chalcedony,** or the plasma. (11) *Hyakinthos* was the present **sapphire,** according to the account of it by Solinus. Of these stones in Rev. there is far less doubt than of those in OT, as the writers on gems are nearly contemporary with Rev., and describe the gems in detail.

The *shāmîr* of Ezk 3[9] 'harder than flint' is evidently connected with the Egyptian *asmer* and the Greek *smiris*, both of which mean **corundum** or **emery.** The hardness of that stone agreeing with the description in Ezek., leaves no doubt that it is the *shāmîr*.

Finally, we may here summarize the results—

Heb.	*Greek (LXX).*	*Early.*	*Late.*
Ōdem	Sardion	Red jasper	Sard
'Aḥlāmeh	Amethystos	Amethyst	
Bāreḳeth	Smaragdos	Quartz crystal	Emerald
Leshem	Ligurion	Yellow agate	
Nōphekh	Anthrax	Garnet=Carbuncle	
	(or Chrysolithos?	Yellow jasper	Topaz)
Piṭdah	Topazion	Yellow-green serpentine	Peridot
Sappîr	Sappheiros	Lazuli	
Shāmîr	Smiris	Corundum	
Shĕbō	Achatēs	Agate? Red carnelian? and felspar?	Black and white agate
Shōham	Beryllion	Green felspar	Beryl
Tarshîsh	Chrysolithos	Yellow jasper	Topaz
	(or Anthrax	Garnet=Carbuncle)	
Yāshĕpheh	Iaspis	Dark green jasper	
Yahălōm	Onychion	Onyx?	Onyx
	Also in Rev.		
	Hyakinthos		Sapphire
	Chalkedōn		Dioptase?
	Chrysoprasos		Green chalcedony or plasma
	Sardonyx		Red and white onyx

The lists of stones anciently used in pre-Greek times are from the writer's own observation. For the greater part of the information on Greek names and gems, King's *Antique Gems* has been the source here used. But for corroborations and modifications of the general views, the results of Prof. Ridgeway's private studies have been most generously communicated, especially in points marked (R.); and it must be remembered that the details of the reasons for some of the identifications cannot be fully stated or discussed in a brief outline like the present.

See, further, the separate artt. on the EV names of the precious stones mentioned in the Bible.

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

STONING.—See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS, vol. i. p. 527[a].

STONY.—**1.** In the Preface to AV the word 'stony' is used with the meaning 'made of stone': 'Although they build, yet if a fox go up, he shall even break down their stony wall.'* Cf. Shaks. *Jul. Cæsar*, I. iii. 93, 'Nor stony tower, nor walls of beaten brass.' **2.** In Mt 13[5. 20], Mk 4[5. 16] 'stony' means 'rocky' (*τὰ πετρώδη*, AV 'stony places,' RV 'rocky places'). This is the meaning also in Ps 141[6] 'When their judges are overthrown in stony places' (בִּידֵי סֶלַע, RV 'by the sides of the rock'). Cf. Raleigh, *Guiana*, 69, 'The maine banks being for the most part stonie and high.' So 'stone' is used for 'rock' in *Peres the Ploughmans Crede*, 806—

> 'And sythen his blissed body was in a ston byried,
> And descended a-doune to the dark helle';

and by Coverdale in Is 51[1] 'Take hede unto the stone, wherout ye are hewen, and to the grave wherout ye are digged.' **3.** In Ezk 11[19] 36[26] and Sir 17[16] 'stony' means 'hard as stone,' as in Shaks. *Merch. of Venice*, IV. i. 4—

> 'Thou art come to answer
> A stony adversary.'

J. HASTINGS.

STOOL.—**1.** A chair of honour for a guest, 2 K 4[10] 'Let us set for him there a bed, and a table, and a stool.' (So RV, though the Heb. is כִּסֵּא, which elsewhere means a royal throne or other seat of state: the LXX gives *δίφρος*, which is tr[d] 'stool' in AV of 2 Mac 14[21], but in RV 'chair of state').

In older English 'stool' was used freely for any kind of seat, as in Chaucer, *Wife of Bath's Prol.* 287, 'Spones and stoles, and al swich housbondrye'; Mk 11[15] Tind. 'the stoles of them that sold doves' (*καθέδρας*, AV 'seats'); 1 S 1[9] Cov. 'Eli the prest sat upon a stole by the poste of the temple of the Lorde' (AV 'upon a seat'); Job 26[9] Cov. 'He holdeth back his stole, that it cannot be seen' (פְּנֵי־כִסֵּה, AV and RV 'the face of his throne'); Jer 17[25] Cov. 'Then shal there go thorow the gates of this cite, kinges and prynces, that shall syt upon the stole of David' (כִּסֵּא, AV and RV 'throne'); 29[16] Cov.; 33[17] Cov. 'David shal never want one, to syt upon the stole of the house of Israel' (עַל־כִּסֵּא, AV and RV 'upon the throne,' which is Coverdale's own tr. of the same Heb. in v.[21]).

2. Mother's bearing stool (but see Holzinger *in loc.*, and *Expos. Times*, xii. 165), Ex 1[16] 'upon the stools,' RV 'upon the birthstool' (Heb. עַל־הָאָבְנָיִם, found only in dual, its only other occurrence being Jer 18[3], where it describes the potter's wheel, 'two discs revolving one above the other'; cf. vol. iii. p. 367[a]).

J. HASTINGS.

STORAX.—See MYRRH, POPLAR, STACTE.

STORK (חֲסִידָה *ḥăsîdāh*).—Although one of the commonest and the largest birds of Bible lands, the LXX translators do not seem to have known its name, as they render *ḥăsîdāh* in the six passages where it occurs by four different words (Lv 11[19], Ps 104[17] *ἐρωδιός*, Dt 14[18] *πελεκάν*, Jer 8[7], Job 39[13] *ἀσιδά* [transliterated], Zec 5[9] *ἔποψ*). There is, however, no doubt as to its identity. Two species are found in the Holy Land—the black stork, *Ciconia nigra*, L., and the white stork, *C. alba*, L. The former is a little smaller than the latter, and less common in the southern and western districts. It is more common towards the north-east. Its colour is black, and it is a shy bird, frequenting the desert, where it lives in flocks. The white stork is 44 in. long and has black wings, but the coverts and rest of its plumage are white. The beak, legs, and skin about the eyes are red; the iris is dark brown.

---

* In the text of Neh 4[3] it is 'their stone wall,' the form 'their stony wall' being from Coverdale and the Geneva Bible.

Few as are the passages in which the stork is mentioned, we can gather from them some of its chief traits: (1) It was an unclean bird (Lv. and Dt. *l.c.*); this corresponds to its food, which consists of reptiles, amphibians, and garbage. (2) In the obscure passage (Job 39^{13}) there may be a reference to the contrast between the supposed indifference of the ostrich to its young and the proverbial affection of the stork. This, however, is uncertain; see the *Comm. ad loc.* (3) The stork nests in fir trees (Ps 104^{17}). Most storks in Palestine now nest in the tops of ruins. In many places in other countries they build on chimney tops. But there is abundant evidence that they even now sometimes nest in trees in the Holy Land, as well as in other countries. It has been well observed by Tristram that, in ancient times, when there were fewer ruins and more trees, storks must perforce have resorted to the trees and rocks. He says that the black storks still always prefer trees. (4) The migrations of the stork at definite times (Jer 8^{7}) did not escape notice. At such times it flies high 'in the heaven.' There are abundant illustrations of the regularity with which these birds return to their old haunts year after year, and repair the very nests which they had before occupied both as offspring and parents. (5) Their power of wing and the sound as of wind made by their flight are alluded to (Zec 5^{9}). The spread of their wings is nearly 7 feet.

G. E. POST.

STORY.—In older Eng. 'story' and 'history' (of which 'story' is an aphetic form) were used interchangeably. We accordingly find 'history' applied to romance, and 'story' to continued historical narrative. In Pref. to AV the translators even use the word 'story' of history in general, 'This will easily be granted by as many as know storie, or have any experience.' The word 'story' occurs in AV (outside the Apocr.) only in 2 Ch 13^{22} 24^{27}, for which see art. COMMENTARY in vol. i. p. 459^{b}. In the Apocr. it is used as the tr. of *ἱστορία* in 2 Mac $2^{24.30.32}$, of *διήγησις* in 2^{32}, and of *σύνταξις* in $15^{38.39}$, and in 1 Es 1^{33} *ἡ βίβλος τῶν ἱστορουμένων περὶ τῶν βασιλέων τῆς Ἰουδαίας* is tr^{d} 'the book of the stories of the kings of Judah.' Cf. Rhemish NT, note on Jn 5^{2} 'The force of divers waters in the world is justly attributed by our forefathers and good stories to the prayers and presence of Saincts, which profane incredulous men referre onely to nature.' Tindale says (*Expos.* 201) 'We believe not only with story faith, as men believe old chronicles.'

Storywriter, for 'historian' (*i.e.* chronicler), occurs in 1 Es 2^{17} (*ὁ γραμματεύς*; RVm 'recorder'), and 2^{25} (*ὁ γράφων τὰ προσπίπτοντα*); in the latter verse *γραμματεύς* is tr^{d} 'scribe.' J. HASTINGS.

STOUT, STOUTNESS.—The modern meaning of the Eng. word 'stout,' viz. *solid, substantial* (and then *corpulent*), suggests a connexion with Lat. *stolidus* and the root *sto*, to stand; but the word is of Low Germ. origin (coming to us through the French), and in its earliest use signified 'brave,' 'bold,' 'impetuous.'

In AV the meaning is *bold* in Job 4^{11}, Dn 7^{20}, and *presumptuous* in Is 10^{12}, Mal 3^{13}. **Stouthearted** occurs in Ps 76^{5}, Is 46^{12} with the former meaning (Heb. אַבִּירֵי לֵב). The subst. **stoutness** is found in Is 9^{9}, also with the meaning of *boldness*, as in Golding, *Calvin's Job*, 570, 'For what is the cause that oftentymes wee dare not undertake a good quarell, but for that we have not the stoutnesse and skill too resist so stedfastly as were requisite?'

J. HASTINGS.

STRAIT.—The Eng. words 'strait' and 'strict' are doublets, the latter coming directly from Lat. *strictus*,* ptcp. of *stringere*, to draw tight; the former through the Old Fr. *estreit* or *estrait* (mod. *étroit*).† 'Strait' is an adj., an adv., a subst., and a verb.

As an adj. 'strait' means in AV either lit. *narrow, confined*, or fig. *strict, rigorous*.

1. *Narrow, confined*: *e.g.* 2 K 6^{1} 'The place where we dwell with thee is too strait for us' (צַר מִמֶּנּוּ, LXX *στενὸς ἀφ' ἡμῶν*); Mt $7^{13.14}$ 'Enter ye in at the strait gate . . . because strait is the gate' (*στενός*).

2. *Strict, rigorous.*—The transition from the lit. to the fig. sense is seen in 2 Es $7^{14.18\,bis}$, thus 7^{18} 'The righteous shall suffer strait things, and hope for wide (*ferent angusta sperantes spatiosa*); for they that have done wickedly have suffered the strait things, and yet shall not see the wide.' Then the fig. sense appears in 7^{21} 'God hath given strait commandment' (*mandans mandavit*; RV 'straitly commanded').

As an adv. 'strait' means *closely, narrowly*. It occurs in 1 Es 5^{72} 'The heathen . . . holding them strait' (*πολιορκοῦντες*, RVm 'besieging them'); and 1 Mac 13^{49}.

As a subst.: *e.g.* La 1^{3} 'All her persecutors overtook her between the straits' (בֵּין הַמְּצָרִים, RV 'within the straits').

As a verb 'strait' occurs only in Sus ^{22} 'I am straited on every side,' where mod. editions give 'straitened' (*στενά μοι πάντοθεν*).

The verb **straiten** is used both literally and figuratively.

1. Literally it means (1) to *shorten* or *narrow*, *e.g.* Job 37^{10} 'The breadth of the waters is straitened' (בְּמוּצָק, lit. 'in narrowness,' *i.e.* 'in a narrow channel,' RVm 'congealed').

2. Figuratively, 'straiten' means *narrow* (opp. 'enlarge') or *confine*, and so *hamper*: Job 12^{23} 'He enlargeth the nations and straiteneth them again' (Heb. as RV 'bringeth them in,' RVm 'leadeth them away'), 18^{7}, Pr 4^{12} (both of the straitening of steps—'Widening of the steps is a usual Oriental figure for the bold and free movements of one in prosperity, as straitening of them is for the constrained and timid action of one in adversity' —Davidson on Job 18^{7}).

The adv. **straitly** means either (1) *closely*, Jos 6^{1} 'Jericho was straitly shut up' (סֹגֶרֶת וּמְסֻגֶּרֶת, RV 'shut *the gates*, and was shut in'); Wis 17^{16} 'was straitly kept' (*ἐφρουρεῖτο*, RV 'was kept in ward'); Sir 26^{10} 'keep her in straitly' (*στερέωσον φυλακήν*, RV 'keep strict watch'): or (2) *strictly*, as Ac 4^{17} 'Let us straitly threaten them' (TR *ἀπειλῇ ἀπειλησώμεθα*; edd. omit *ἀπειλῇ*, whence RV 'let us threaten them').

Straitness.—Dt 28^{53} 'In the siege and in the straitness, wherewith thine enemies shall distress thee' (RV 'shall straiten thee'), so vv.$^{55.57}$, Jer 19^{9}. The word also occurs in Job 36^{16} opposed to 'a broad place,' and 2 Mac 12^{21} (*στενότης*). Cf. Is 58^{3} Cov. 'Wherfore fast we (saye they) and thou seist it not? we put our lives to straitnesse, and thou regardest it not?' J. HASTINGS.

STRANGE, STRANGER.—Both these words have shades of meaning in AV which are now almost obsolete, and they are also used to represent various Heb. terms, whose significations are materially distinct. On the other hand, the word 'strange' has a connotation in modern English which it never possesses in the OT, and very rarely in the NT. Hence in many passages considerable confusion, which might have been obviated by a change of rendering in the RV, is produced in the mind of the English reader.

---

* Chaucer uses the ptcp. in its lit. sense, 'drawn,' applying it to a sword: *Nonne Preestes Tale*, 537—

> 'Pirrus with his streite swerd
> When he hadde hent king Priam by the berd,
> And slayn him.'

† 'Straight' is a distinct word, from Anglo-Sax. *streht*, ptcp. of *streccan*, to stretch.

‘Strange’ (Old Fr. *estrange*, Lat. *extraneus*) and ‘stranger’ mean in a great many instances simply ‘foreign’ * [a word unknown to AV except in 1 Mac 15^{3}, 2 Mac 10^{24}; but introduced by RV in Zeph 1^{8}, Ac 26^{11} in place of AV ‘strange’] and ‘foreigner’ (AV only Ex 12^{45} [wrongly for ‘sojourner,’ תּוֹשָׁב], Dt 15^{3}, Ob^{11}, Eph 2^{19} [wrongly for ‘sojourner,’ πάροικος]; but introduced by RV in Lv 22^{25}, Dt 17^{15} 23^{20} 29^{22}, by Amer. RV in Ru 2^{10} and 2 S 15^{19} for AV ‘stranger,’ and by RV in Dt 14^{21} for AV ‘alien’). It would conduce to clearness if, in the great majority of instances where (as in all the above OT passages except Ex 12^{45} as noted) derivatives of the root נכר are employed, the renderings ‘foreign’ and ‘foreigner’ were adopted. Thus we should have ‘foreigner(s)’ for בֶּן־(הַ)נֵּכָר (lit. ‘son of foreignness’) or בְּנֵי (ה)נ׳ in Gn 17^{12} (defined by the ‖ ‘not of thy seed’)^{27}, Ex 12^{43} [all P], Lv 22^{25} [H], 2 S $22^{45.\,46}$=Ps $18^{45.\,46}$, Ezk $44^{7.\,9\,bis}$, Neh 9^{2}, Is $56^{3.\,6}$ 60^{10} 61^{5} 62^{8}, Ps $144^{7.\,11}$; and ‘foreign (not ‘strange’) god(s)’ (אֵל נֵכָר Dt 32^{12}, Mal 2^{11}, Ps 81^{10}; אֱלוֹהַּ נ׳ Dn 11^{39}; אֱלֹהֵי (ה)נ׳ Gn $35^{2.\,4}$, Jos $24^{20.\,23}$ [all E], Jg 10^{16}, 1 S 7^{3}, Jer 5^{19}, 2 Ch 33^{5}; אֱלֹהֵי נֵכַר־הָאָרֶץ Dt 31^{16}); ‘foreign vanities,’ *i.e.* idolatries (הַבְלֵי נ׳ Jer 8^{19}); ‘foreign altars’ (מִזְבְּחוֹת נ׳ 2 Ch 14^{2}); ‘foreign soil’ (אַדְמַת נ׳ Ps 137^{4}); ‘everything foreign’ (כָּל־נ׳ Neh 13^{30}).

The same rendering would reproduce נָכְרִי in Gn 31^{15} [but here, perhaps, in narrower sense of ‘not of one’s father’s family’], Dt 14^{21} [‖ גֵּר] 15^{3} (cf. אִישׁ נ׳ 17^{15}) 23^{11} [opp. ‘thy brother’] 29^{21} [+ ‘who cometh from a far distant land’], Jg 17^{12} (defined by ‘who is not of the children of Israel’), Ru 2^{10}, 2 S 15^{19} [‖ גֹּלָה ‘exile’], 1 K 8^{41} [+ ‘who is not of thy people’] =2 Ch 6^{32}, v.^{43}=2 Ch 6^{33}, Is 2^{6}, La 5^{2}, Ob^{11} [both ‖ זָרִים]. So we should have a ‘foreign (not ‘strange’) people’ (עַם נָכְרִי Ex 21^{8} [E]), ‘foreign apparel’ (מַלְבּוּשׁ נ׳ Zeph 1^{8}), ‘foreign land’ (אֶרֶץ נָכְרִיָּה Ex 2^{22} [J] 18^{3} [E]); note esp. נָשִׁים נָכְרִיּוֹת of ‘strange (*i.e.* foreign [non-Isr.]) wives’ (1 K $11^{1.\,8}$, Ezr $10^{2.\,10.\,11.\,14.\,17.\,18.\,44}$, Neh $13^{21.\,27}$). A ‘strange woman’ (נָכְרִיָּה) is a techn. term in Proverbs for a *harlot* (perhaps because in Israel harlots were originally chiefly foreigners): Pr 2^{16} 7^{5} 5^{20} [all ‖ זָרָה (אִשָּׁה)] 6^{24} [‖ אֵשֶׁת רָע] 23^{27} [‖ זוֹנָה].

The word זָר, which is also frequently rendered ‘stranger’ in AV, can in some of its usages hardly be distinguished in sense from נָכְרִי (see art. FOREIGNER), but, if a distinctive Eng. term be desired, we would suggest ‘alien’ (used in AV in Ex 18^{3} [wrongly for ‘sojourner,’ *gēr*], Dt 14^{21}, Job 19^{15}, Ps $69^{8\,(9)}$, La 5^{2} [all נָכְרִי], Is 61^{5} [בְּנֵי נֵכָר], He 11^{34} [ἀλλότριος], Eph 2^{12} [ἀπηλλωτριωμένοι ‖ ξένοι]; and introduced by RV in Pr 5^{10} [זָר], Ezk 44^{7} [בֶּן־נֵכָר], and by Amer. RV in Ps $144^{7.\,11}$ [בְּנֵי נֵכָר]).

Zār may denote ‘alien’ or ‘strange’ in a narrower or a wider sense; (*a*) strange to a *person*: Job 19^{27} ‘and mine eyes shall behold, and not another’ (m. ‘as a stranger’), a passage of doubtful meaning; Pr 14^{10} ‘The heart knoweth its own bitterness, and a stranger doth not intermeddle with its joy’; 27^{2} ‘Let another man praise thee . . . a stranger . . .’; cf. the ‘alien woman’ (אִשָּׁה זָרָה) of Pr 2^{16} $5^{3.\,20}$ 7^{5} 22^{14} 23^{33} [several times ‖ נָכְרִיָּה, see above]. (*b*) Strange to a *family*, *i.e.* belonging to another household: Dt 25^{5}, 1 K 3^{18}, Job 19^{15}, Ps 109^{11}, Pr $5^{10.\,17}$ 6^{1} 11^{15} 20^{15} 27^{13}; fig. of another household than God’s, Hos 5^{7}; esp. of another family than the priests (Ex 29^{33} 30^{33}, Nu $3^{10.\,38}$ 17^{5} [Eng. 16^{40}] 18^{7} [all P], Lv $22^{10.\,12.\,13}$ [all H]), or of another tribe than Levi (Nu 1^{51} 18^{4} [both P]). (*c*) Strange to a *land*, *i.e. foreign*; so freq. plur. זָרִים ‘foreigners,’ ‘aliens’ (often with the implication of hostility): Hos 7^{9} 8^{7}, Is $1^{7\,bis}$ $25^{2.\,5}$ 29^{5} 61^{5}, Jer 5^{19} 30^{8} $51^{2.\,51}$, La 5^{2}, Ezk 7^{21} 11^{9} 16^{32} $28^{7.\,10}$ 30^{12} 31^{12}, Jl 4 (3)^{17}, Ob^{11}, Job 15^{19}, Ps $54^{5\,(3)}$; note esp. the phrases a ‘strange god’ (אֵל זָר Ps $44^{21\,(20)}$ $81^{10\,(9)}$, Is 43^{12} [זָר alone, cf. זָרִים ‘strange ones’ in Dt 32^{16} and in Jer 2^{25} 3^{13}]), ‘strange (*i.e.* foreign) waters’ (2 K 19^{24}, Jer 18^{14}), ‘strange slips’ (זְמֹרַת זָר, lit. ‘vine-slip of an alien,’ Is 17^{10}); God’s *tôrah* is counted as alien (כְּמוֹ־זָר נֶחְשָׁבוּ Hos 8^{12}); ‘his work is alien’ (Is 28^{21}, see below). (*d*) Strange to the *Law*: ‘strange incense’ (קְטֹרֶת זָרָה Ex 30^{9} [P]); ‘strange fire’ (אֵשׁ זָרָה Lv 10^{1}, Nu 3^{4} 26^{61} [all P]). See NADAB.

The LXX and NT equivalents of ‘strange’ and ‘stranger’ in the senses discussed above will be found under art. FOREIGNER.

The idea of *foreign* naturally leads to that of *unfamiliar* or *unknown*: Job 19^{15} ‘I am become a foreigner (נָכְרִי) in their eyes’; Ps $69^{8\,(9)}$ ‘I am become estranged (מוּזָר) unto my brethren, and a foreigner (נָכְרִי) to my mother’s children’; Ec 6^{2} ‘a stranger (נָכְרִי) eateth it’; Is 28^{21} ‘foreign (נָכְרִיָּה) is his task, alien (זָר) his act’ [cf. the common expression ‘this is *foreign* to one’s nature’; or is the meaning here that he acts as if dealing with (foreign) enemies?]; Jer 2^{21} ‘a foreign vine’ (גֶּפֶן נָכְרִיָּה fig. of degenerate Israel); Pr 20^{16} 27^{13}, where זָר and נָכְרִי are both used of persons *unknown* to one.*

This last usage approaches, but does not reach, the modern sense of ‘strange,’ namely *peculiar* or *wonderful*, a sense which is pretty near to that represented by ξενίζοντά τινα (‘certain strange things’) of Ac 17^{20} (cf. ξενίζουσαι συμφοραί, ‘strange sufferings’ of 2 Mac 9^{6}), ξενίζονται (‘they think it strange’) of 1 P 4^{4}, and μὴ ξενίζεσθε (‘think it not strange’) of v.^{12}. Once only is this sense unmistakably conveyed by ‘strange’ in canonical Scripture, namely in Lk 5^{26} ‘We have seen strange things to-day.’ The Gr. is παράδοξος, which occurs in the same sense in the Apocrypha in Jth 13^{13}, Wis 5^{2} 19^{5} (cf. v.^{8} θαυμαστός), Sir 43^{25}, 2 Mac 9^{24} [EV in last ‘contrary to expectation’].

It is most unfortunate and confusing that AV uses ‘stranger’ also to represent גֵּר or (thrice, Lv $25^{6.\,45.\,47}$) the allied term תּוֹשָׁב, words which would be much more happily rendered ‘sojourner.’ ‘Stranger’ might suitably be retained as tr^{n} of both נָכְרִי and זָר in the few instances where their specific renderings ‘foreign(er)’ and ‘alien’ hardly suit the idiom or the context. The standing and privileges of the *gēr* (the familiar ‘stranger within thy gates’) are described fully in art. GER.

J. A. SELBIE.

STRAW (תֶּבֶן *teben*, in Is 25^{10} מַתְבֵּן *mathbēn*; ἄχυρον, *palea*).—The Hebrew *teben* is the same as the Arabic *tibn*, which is the straw of wheat and barley cut by the threshing machine into pieces from ½ to 2 in. long, and more or less split and torn, and mixed with chaff. It is the universal accompaniment to the provender of the domestic herbivorous animals. It is usually mixed with barley, and takes the place of hay. It was mixed with clay in the manufacture of unbaked bricks (see Dillm.-Ryssel on Ex 5^{7}). In one passage (Jer 23^{28}) AV tr. it ‘chaff,’ RV ‘straw’ (see CHAFF). In one (Job 21^{18}) AV and RV tr. it ‘stubble.’ In all the rest (Gn $24^{25.\,32}$, Ex $5^{7.\,10.\,11.\,12.\,13.\,16.\,18}$, Jg 19^{19}, 1 K 4^{28}, Job 41^{27}, Is 11^{7} 65^{25}) both VSS tr. it ‘straw.’ As ‘straw’ in Western languages refers to whole stalks of the cereals, it might be better to adopt the Arab. *tibn*, a word now well understood, and which is better than 'cut straw,' as it includes the chaff. There is no reason for the rendering 'stubble' or 'chaff.' Whole straw is seldom used for any purpose in the East.

---

* Cf. Udall, *Erasm. Paraph.* i. fol. 65, ‘the straunge woman’ (of the Syro-Phœnician); *Homilies*, p. 512, ‘a certain strange philosopher’; Shaks. *Henry VIII.* II. iv. 15—

> ‘I am a most poor woman, and a stranger,
> Born out of your dominions.’

* The denom. verb נכר occurs in Hithp. in sense of ‘make oneself strange,’ ‘act as a stranger’ in Gn 42^{7} (of Joseph’s attitude to his brothers) and 1 K $14^{5.\,6}$ (of Jeroboam’s wife feigning herself to be a stranger). In Dt 32^{27} the words פֶּן־יְנַכְּרוּ צָרֵימוֹ (AV ‘lest their adversaries should behave themselves strangely’) appear to mean ‘lest . . . should misdeem’ (RV), *i.e.* fail to recognize the truth [lit. ‘treat as foreign,’ cf. Jer 19^{4}].

G. E. POST.

STREAM.—See BROOK and RIVER.

STREET.—In Oriental towns the streets seem to owe their form and direction more to accident than design. The houses are built with a view to seclusion and comfort within, and with little care as to what is without. Space is precious, so the streets are narrow; and as no order is enforced in building, they twist and turn among the houses with bewildering effect. They are usually unpaved, and go swiftly to mud in rainy weather. Often, in spite of the industry of innumerable dogs, the refuse cast out is at once offensive and dangerous to health. The upper storeys frequently project over the street, leaving only a narrow opening overhead. This utilizes space, and forms a shelter from heat. In unwalled towns and villages, in obedience to the instinct of defence, the houses are crushed closely together: the openings between them are rather alleys than streets. Schick gives the average width of the streets in Jerusalem as 2·75 m. (*ZDPV*, 1884, iv. 217); the *στενωποί* of Josephus (*BJ* V. viii. 1) would still accurately describe most of them. Where a town is built on a steep slope, as, *e.g.*, in Safed, the roofs of the lower houses sometimes form the street in front of the higher.

Tobit (13^{17}) sees the streets of the future Jerusalem 'paved with beryl, and carbuncle, and stones of Ophir' (cf. Rev 21^{21}). Herod the Great laid a main street in Antioch with 'polished stone' (Jos. *Ant.* XVI. v. 3). This is the first mention of actual pavement. Agrippa II. consented to the paving of Jerusalem with white stone (*ib.* XX. ix. 7). The two spacious thoroughfares characteristic of Syro-Greek and Syro-Roman cities, which cut through the city at right angles, were commonly paved with stone. Their remains can be traced in Bozrah, Damascus, etc.; but by far the finest example is found at Shuhba, on the north-western shoulder of Jebel Haurân. In some cases the central roadway was separated from the passage for foot passengers on either side by a stately colonnade. The imposing effect of this arrangement may still be seen among the ruins of Jerash.

Men of the same trade are usually found in one street. In Jer 37^{21} we read of the 'bakers' street.' Josephus (*BJ* V. viii. 1) says Titus entered through the second wall 'at the place where are the merchants of wool, the braziers and the market for cloth.' So in Cairo and Damascus, for instance, we have the bazaars of the braziers, the silversmiths, the saddlers, etc. The goods are exposed for sale in little shops whose fronts are entirely open. The bazaars are frequently roofed with glass. As strictly business streets, they are shut at sunset, and closely guarded.

חוּץ, 'what is without,' is the Heb. word which properly corresponds to *street*: רְחוֹב is unhappily often so rendered, esp. in AV (less often in RV), but it really means *broad* or *open place* (cf. Driver on Am 5^{16} or Dn 9^{25}). For חוּץ LXX gives *ὁδός* (Is 5^{25} etc.), *ἔξοδος* (2 S 1^{20} etc.), *δίοδος* (Is 7^{34}), *πλατεῖα* (Ps 18^{42} etc.); for עַל־פְּנֵי־חוּץ (Job 18^{17}), *ἐπὶ πρόσωπον ἐξωτέρω*, where the sense is obviously 'on the face of the earth' (Davidson, *Job, ad loc.*). In each case AV and RV render 'street.' This is right when the reference is to the outside of the house. The context determines the meaning. In Ps 144^{13} RV gives correctly 'in our fields.' רְחוֹב is represented in LXX by *ὁδός* (Is 59^{14}), *δίοδος* (Dt 13^{16}), *ἔπαυλις* (Ps 144^{14}); but the usual equivalent is *πλατεῖα*, in which the root idea is the same. It applies to the open space at the gate (see OPEN PLACE) where assemblies met, cases were tried, and business done; also to any square or open space in the city, as, *e.g.*, before the house of God (Ezk 10^{19}). שׁוּק occurs in Pr 7^{8}, Ec $12^{4.5}$, Ca 3^{2}. In the first LXX renders *δίοδος*, 'thoroughfare'; in the others *ἀγορά*. This corresponds with Arab. *sûḳ*='market,' or 'place of concourse': *zuḳaḳ* is used for the common passages between the houses.

In NT *πλατεῖα* and *ῥύμη* are practically synonymous. Although in Lk 14^{21} we read *πλατείας καὶ ῥύμας*, possibly here implying distinction in breadth, and rendered 'streets and lanes,' yet the street called Straight in Damascus is called *ῥύμη* (Ac 9^{11}), and it was one of the finest streets in Syria. For *ἀγορά* (Mk 6^{56}) RV gives correctly 'market place.'

W. EWING.

STRENGTH OF ISRAEL.—The EV tr. of the Divine title נֵצַח יִשְׂרָאֵל in 1 S 15^{29}. The word נֵצַח occurs parallel with הוֹד, תִּפְאֶרֶת, גְּבוּרָה, גְּדֻלָּה, in a list of Divine attributes in 1 Ch 29^{11}, where it is tr. in EV 'victory' (so LXX *νίκη*). Driver (*Heb. Text of Samuel*, p. 98) points out that the proper meaning of the root נצח is *splenduit*, and argues that the sense of victory is a special and derived one. He adopts for נצח ישראל the tr. 'the *Glory* of Israel' (similarly, Löhr). H. P. Smith (following the Vulg. *triumphator*) renders 'the *Victor*'; Wellh. 'the *Faithful one*.' The LXX in 1 S 15^{29} has *καὶ διαιρεθήσεται Ἰσραὴλ εἰς δύο*, which implies that the Gr. translator read or misread יחצה for נצח.

J. A. SELBIE.

STRIKE, STROKE.—The verb 'to strike' is of Anglo-Sax. origin, coming from *strīcan* 'to advance swiftly and smoothly' (Middle Eng. *striken*),* though it is allied to Lat. *stringere* 'to touch swiftly and lightly, graze.' It is thus properly an intrans. verb, its trans. form being 'stroke' (from Anglo-Sax. *stracian*, causal of *strīcan*). But 'strike' early adopted a transitive sense, and the two verbs were not kept distinct.

1. In AV 'strike' occurs transitively in the phrase 'strike through.'

For example: Jg 5^{26} 'When she had pierced and stricken through his temples' (וְחָלְפָה רַקָּתוֹ, RV 'she struck through his temples'; Moore 'she . . . demolishes his temple, *lit.* makes it vanish,' with a long note justifying the tr.; the *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* gives 'pierce'; the Heb. vb. is usually intrans. 'pass on or away,' but here and in Job 20^{24} it is trans. 'pass through'); Job 20^{24} 'The bow of steel shall strike him through,' Ps 110^{5}, Pr 7^{23}, La 4^{9}, Hab 3^{14} (RV 'pierce'). It is a strong phrase meaning to *crush*, and the verb 'strike' has its original meaning of swift motion. Cf. Milton, *Reform. in Eng.* i. 'The bright and blissful Reformation (by Divine Power) strook through the black and settled Night of Ignorance and Anti-Christian Tyranny.'

2. Through the confusion between 'strike' and 'stroke,' the former came to mean *rub smoothly*. There are some examples in AV.

Ex 12^{7} 'They shall take of the blood and strike it on the two side-posts' (וְנָתְנוּ, LXX *θήσουσιν*, RV 'put it'); so 12^{22}; also 2 K 5^{11} 'He will surely come out to me, and stand, and call on the name of the Lord his God, and strike his hand over the place, and recover the leper' (הֵנִיף יָדוֹ אֶל־הַמָּקוֹם, LXX *ἐπιθήσει τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον*, RV 'wave his hand over the place'—because it is the same Heb. verb that is used for 'waving' the 'wave-offering' [Ex $29^{24.26}$ etc.], for waving the hand as a signal [Is 13^{2}], and the like—see *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.* נוף); To 11^{11} 'He strake of the gall on his father's eyes' (*προσέπασε τὴν χολὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς*). Cf. Holland, *Pliny*, ii. 313, 'If the side-posts or doore-cheeks of any house be striked with the said bloud, wheresoever magicians are busie with their feats and juggling casts, they shall take no effect.'

---

* This early meaning is most nearly seen in the phrase *stricken in age* or *in years*: Gn 18^{11} 'Now Abraham and Sarah were old and well stricken in age' [בָּאִים בַּיָּמִים, which is always the Heb. whether the Eng. be 'age' (Gn 18^{11} 24^{1}, Jos $23^{1.2}$) or 'years' (Jos 13^{1} *bis*)]; Lk 1^{7} 'They both were now well stricken in years' (*προβεβηκότες ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτῶν*), 1^{18}. Cf. Robinson's *More's Utopia*, 29, 'I chaunced to espye this foresayde Peter talkynge with a certayne Straunger, a man well stricken in age.'

3. To 'strike sail' is simply to haul it down in order to ease the ship: Ac 27^{17} 'strake sail,' Gr. χαλάσαντες τὸ σκεῦος, RV 'they lowered the gear'—see Smith, *Voyage and Shipwreck*, p. 105 ff.; Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, 329 f.; and the notes by Page and by Knowling.

4. To 'strike hands' is to become security, as Pr 17^{18} 'A man void of understanding striketh hands, and becometh surety in the presence of his friend,' so 6^{1} $11^{15\text{m.}}$ 22^{26}, Job 17^{3}, Ad. Est 14^{8}. The expression is Heb. and arises from the action.

5. In the Pref. to AV occurs the rare but intelligible phrase 'strike the stroke'; 'The vintage of Abiezer, that strake the stroke; yet the gleaning of grapes of Ephraim was not to be despised.'

6. The verb 'to strike' is used for the action of God's hand in disease or death, and the result is a 'stroke.'

Strike: 2 S 12^{15} 'The Lord struck the child that Uriah's wife bare unto David, and it was very sick'; 2 Ch 13^{20} 'The Lord struck him, and he died'; Is 1^{5} 'Why should ye be stricken any more?'; 16^{7} 'Surely they are stricken' (אַךְ־נְכָאִים, RV 'utterly stricken'); 53^{4} 'We did esteem him stricken'; 53^{8} 'For the transgressions of my people was he stricken' (נֶגַע לָמוֹ, RVm 'to whom the stroke was due'—see Cheyne's and Skinner's notes). Cf. Knox, *Works*, iii. 231, 'I can not but feir lyke plagues to stryke the realme of England'; Bunyan, *Holy War*, 27, 'My brave Lord Innocent fell down dead (with grief, some say; with being poisoned with the striking breath of one Ill-Pause, as say others).'

Stroke: Job 23^{2} 'My stroke is heavier than my groaning' (so RV; Heb. lit. as AVm 'my hand': but it is scarcely possible, says Davidson, that 'my hand' should mean 'the hand of God upon me,' *i.e.* 'my stroke'; see his note); 36^{18} 'Beware lest he take thee away with his stroke' (פֶּן־יְסִיתְךָ בְשָׂפֶק, RV 'lest thou be led away by thy sufficiency,' RVm 'lest wrath lead thee away into mockery'); Ps 39^{10} 'Remove thy stroke away from me'; Is 14^{6} 'He who smote the people in wrath with a continual stroke'; Ezk 24^{16} 'I take from thee the desire of thine eyes with a stroke.' The 'stroke'* of OT, as of Is $53^{4.\,8}$, was probably leprosy; in modern language a 'stroke' is paralysis. See art. PLAGUE in vol. iii. p. 887^{b}. Cf. Shaks. *Rich. II.* III. i. 31—

> 'More welcome is the stroke of death to me
> Than Bolingbroke to England.'

Timon of Athens, IV. i. 23—

> 'Plagues, incident to men,
> Your potent and infectious fevers heap
> On Athens, ripe for stroke.'

J. HASTINGS.

STRIPES.—See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS, vol. i. p. 527.

STUBBLE.—In one place (Job 21^{18}) this is the unfortunate tr^{n} (AV and RV) of *teben* (see STRAW). In all other places it is the equivalent, in both Eng. VSS, of קַשׁ *ḳash*. The LXX tr. this word in two places (Job 13^{25} 41^{28}) χόρτος; in eight καλάμη (='stubble' or 'straw'), and in four φρύγανα ('dry sticks' and 'stems,' including stubble, such as are gathered for fuel). This is the current (not classical) meaning of the Arab. cognate *ḳash*. Once (Is 33^{11}) the expression 'ye shall bring forth stubble' is tr. by LXX αἰσθηθήσεσθε (B), 'ye shall perceive,' or αἰσχυνθήσεσθε ($\aleph^{\text{c. a}}$), 'ye shall be ashamed,' evidently a different reading. Grain in Bible lands is not cut by the sickle, but pulled up by the roots, or the straw broken off short near them. Consequently there is little stubble in the harvest field, in our sense of the term. When *teben* was withheld from them, the Israelites had to utilize *ḳash* for the manufacture of their bricks. *Ḳash* refers to such remnants of grain stalks, with sticks and stumps of small plants, as are expressed by φρύγανα. Such furnish the pasturage of countless herds of cattle and flocks of sheep. They are liable to catch fire and burn. Most of the allusions to stubble are with reference to such conflagrations (Ex 15^{7}, Is 5^{24}, Jl 2^{5} etc.). It is finally rooted up and carried away by the wind (Job 13^{25}, Is 40^{24}, Jer 13^{24} etc.). One of the most characteristic spectacles witnessed in passing over the breezy plains of Syria, after the harvest is over, is that of the uprooted plants of the large *Umbelliferæ*, *Compositæ*, and others, often with a spherical contour, dried to excessive lightness by the hot winds and whirled across the fields, leaping madly over stones and inequalities in the surface, and sometimes taking long flights in the air, then pausing a moment, only to bound off again, until they are caught in some thorn bush, or lost to view beyond the distant horizon. G. E. POST.

STUFF (Lat. *stupa*, *stuppa*, the coarse part of flax, tow, Old Fr. *estoffe*) is used in AV in the sense of goods, esp. household furniture. The Heb. is כְּלִי *kĕlî*, except in Ex 36^{7} (מְלָאכָה, lit. 'work,' of the furniture of the tabernacle). The Gr. is τὰ σκευάσματα, Jth 15^{11}; or τὰ σκεύη, Jth 16^{19}, Lk 17^{31}. Cf. Udall, *Erasmus' Par.* i. 7, 'All that ever they had about them of stuffe or furniture, shewed and testifyed povertie and simplicitie'; North, *Plutarch*, 871, 'This man after he had spent the most part of his father's goods, was so sore in debt, that he was driven to sell his household stuffe, by billes set up on every post.'

In 2 Ch 2^{heading} 'stuff' means 'materials' for building. Cf. Erasmus, *Crede*, 39, 'Certayne men . . . have taught that he doth create which doth brynge forthe and make somewhat of nothynge, which belongeth onely to God, and that he doth make which frameth or shapeth ony thing of some matere or stuffe'; Ex 39^{5} Tind. 'And the brodrynge of the girdel that was upon it was of the same stuffe and after the same worke of gold.'

J. HASTINGS.

STUMBLING BLOCK.—The word 'block' was formerly used of a lump of wood, stone, or the like, in one's way, and was then applied fig. to any obstruction. Thus Payne, *Royal Exch.* 38, 'At which common block many weakelings do stumble.' The expression exists now only in the compound 'stumbling-block,' and only the compound is found in AV.

The words so tr^{d} are in Heb.: (1) *mikshôl* (Lv 19^{14}, Is 57^{14}, Jer 6^{21}, Ezk 3^{20} 7^{19} $14^{3.\,4}$ *); and (2) *makshêlah* (Zeph 1^{3}). The Gr. words are: (1) πρόσκομμα (Sir 39^{24}, Ro 14^{13}, 1 Co 8^{9}); (2) ξύλον προσκόμματος (Sir 31^{7}); and (3) σκάνδαλον (Wis 14^{11}, Sir 7^{6}, Ro 11^{9}, 1 Co 1^{23}, Rev 2^{14}). See OFFENCE, vol. iii. p. 586^{a}.

In the same way **stumblingstone** is used in Ro $9^{32.\,33}$ (λίθος προσκόμματος), for which RV gives 'stone of stumbling,' the AV expression for the same Gr. in 1 P 2^{8}. 'Stone of stumbling' occurs also in Is 8^{14} for *'eben negeph*, the latter word meaning lit. 'plague,' 'stroke' (see STRIKE, STROKE).

J. HASTINGS.

SUA (B Σουά, A Σουσά, AV Sud), 1 Es 5^{29}=Siaha, Ezr 2^{44}; Sia, Neh 7^{47}.

SUAH (סוּחַ; B Χουχί, A and Luc. Σοῦε).—An Asherite, 1 Ch 7^{36}.

SUBAI (Συβαεί), 1 Es 5^{30}=Shamlai, Ezr 2^{46}; Salmai, Neh 7^{48}.

SUBAS (Σουβάς, AV Suba), 1 Es 5^{34}.—His sons were among the sons of Solomon's servants who returned with Zerubbabel. There is no corresponding name in the lists of Ezr 2, Neh 7.

SUCATHITES (שׂוּכָתִים; B Σωχαθιείμ, A Σωκαθιείμ, Luc. Σουχαθείμ).—A family of scribes that dwelt at Jabez, 1 Ch 2^{55}. See SHIMEATHITES, and cf. GENEALOGY, iv. 39, and Wellh. *de Gentibus*, 30 ff.

SUCCEED, SUCCESS.—To succeed (Lat. *succēdere*, from *sub*, next, and *cēdere*, to go; Fr. *suc-*

---

* In the same way the subst. 'blow' is used in Ps 39^{10} and Jer 14^{17}. In the former passage RV retains, the Heb. being found only there; in the latter it changes into 'wound'

* On Ezekiel's 'block-gods' see Davidson's note to 6^{4}.

céder) is simply to follow; and success (Lat. *successus*, Old Fr. *succes*) is that which follows. Thus, Shaks. *II Henry VI.* II. iv. 2—

> 'After summer evermore succeeds
> Barren winter';

Tymme, *Calvin's Genesis*, 785, 'This verily was rare honour, to be tolde of the event, and successe to come of fourteene yeares'—in reference to the interpretation of Pharaoh's dreams. In modern Eng. when the reference is to the result of an enterprise, 'succeed' and 'success' denote prosperity, but in older Eng. the nature of the result was not contained in the words themselves, but had to be indicated by an adv. or adjective.

Succeed: In Sir 48^8 the verb occurs in its simple sense, and the prep. is expressed, 'Who anointedst kings to take revenge, and prophets to succeed after him' (*διαδόχους μετ' αὐτόν*). We still say 'follow after,' but not 'succeed after.' The nature of the result is expressed by an adv. in To 4^6 'If thou deal truly, thy doings shall prosperously succeed to thee' (*εὐοδίαι ἔσονται ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις σου*). Cf. Shaks. *Lear*, I. ii. 157, 'The effects he writes of succeed unhappily.'

Success: It was possible in 1611 to use 'success' in a good sense;* it occurs so once in AV, 2 Mac 10^{28} 'For a pledge of their success and victory' (*ἔγγυον εὐημερίας καὶ νίκης*). So Fuller, *Holy State*, 258, 'God causeth sometimes the sunne of successe to shine as well on bad as good projects.' But elsewhere in AV an adj. is used, either 'good' (Jos 1^8, 1 S 18^{heading}, To 7^{12}, Wis 13^{19}, Sir 20^9 38^{13}, 1 Mac 4^{55} 8^{23}, 2 Mac 10^{23} 13^{16}) or 'prosperous' (Sir 43^{26}). Cf. Fuller, *Holy State*, 109, 'God mouldeth some for a scholemaster's life, undertaking it with desire and delight and discharging it with dexterity and happy successe.' On the other hand, *Holy State*, 79, 'Sorrow-struck with some sad signe of ill-successe'; and Milton, *PR* iv. 1—

> 'Perplexed and troubled at his bad success,
> The tempter stood.'

J. HASTINGS.

SUCCOTH.—**1.** (סֻכֹּת) A place so called according to Gn 33^{17} because of the booths (Heb. *ṣukkôth*) which Jacob made there for his cattle. In the Heb. text of this verse *ṣukkôth* occurs three times and is rendered 'Succoth'—'booths'—'Succoth' in AV and RV. The LXX by using *σκηναί* three times makes clear the identity of *Succoth* with *booths*, which has to be explained in the margin of AV and RV, but conveys the impression that the name of Succoth was then Σκηναί. Josephus (*Ant.* I. xxi. 1) states that the place was so called in his time; but this name would not have been given before the period of Greek supremacy. The Targ. and Syr. preserve the proper name Succoth, but in place of the second *ṣukkôth* (tr. 'booths' in EV) use מטלן, מטללא, words which in a modified form are employed as equivalents for 'tabernacles' and 'booths' in Lv $23^{34.\,42}$ and other places where reference is made to the Feast of Tabernacles. The Vulgate explains 'Socoth, id est tabernacula,' though 'tentoriis' corresponds to 'booths' in the earlier part of the verse.

The passages where the name occurs are: Gn 33^{17} *Σκηναί*; Jos 13^{27} B *Σοκχωθά*, A *Σιωχώ*, Luc. *Σιχώθ*; Jg $8^{5\text{-}16}$ B *Σοκχώθ*, in v.^{16} *τῆς πόλεως*, A *Σοκχώθ*; 1 K 7^{46} (v.^{33} in LXX) *Σοκχώθ*; 2 Ch 4^{17} B *Σεχχώθ* (?), A *Σοκχώθ*; Ps 60^8 B *τῶν σκηνῶν*, Aq. *συσκιασμῶν*; Ps 108^8 ℵ *τῶν σκηνωμάτων*, ART *σκηνῶν*.

The passages in Joshua, Judges, Kings, and Chron. refer to a place E. of Jordan. Jos 13^{27} mentions Succoth as in the territory of Sihon, king of Heshbon. In Gideon's pursuit of the Midianites as related in Jg 8, he comes to Succoth *after* crossing the Jordan. From the references in Ps 60^6 [$^{\text{Heb. }8}$] 108^7 [$^{\text{Heb. }8}$] to the 'valley of Succoth' nothing definite as to geographical position can be inferred, but a locality east of the Jordan is suitable (note that the LXX in these two passages does not treat Succoth as a proper name). Jerome on Gn 33^{17} (*Quæst. Heb. in lib. Gen.*) observes with reference to Succoth: 'Est autem usque hodie civitas trans Jordanem hoc vocabulo inter partes Scythopoleos.' Jerome testifies to the survival of the Heb. name, while Josephus (as already remarked) testifies to the existence of its Gr. equivalent. The Talm. Jerus. (*Shebiith*, ix. 2) gives דרעלה (in some edd. תרעלה) as yet another name for Succoth, and Merrill (*East of the Jordan*, p. 386), followed by Conder (*Heth and Moab*, p. 183) and G. A. Smith (*HGHL*, 585), proposes *Tell Deir 'Alla*, a mound about 1 mile N. of the Jabbok, as the site of the ancient Succoth, and the present equivalent of דרעלה. A place *Sâkût*, about 10 miles south of Beisan, on the west of the Jordan, has also been proposed as the site; but, though this may meet the requirements of the narrative in Gn 33, a place E. of the Jordan seems necessary for some of the other places where the name is mentioned. Tristram (*Bible Places*, p. 345) failed to find any trace of the name Succoth east of Jordan.

2. (Σοκχώθ, Ex 12^{37} 13^{20}, Nu $33^{5.\,6}$) The first encampment of the children of Israel on leaving Egypt. The word is a pure Heb. one, signifying 'booths' or 'tents' (see above), but Egyptologists regard it as the equivalent of an Egyptian word *Thuku* or *Thuket*, the name of a region of which the capital was Pithom. Brugsch and Naville are agreed on this point, but not as to the situation of Pithom. Ebers proposes a different Egyptian word as the equivalent of Succoth, but agrees with Naville as to the position of the region so designated. Referring to art. EXODUS, vol. i. p. 802, it will be seen that the neighbourhood of the station Ramses, on the railway from Zagazig to Ismailia, corresponds to the ancient Succoth. The children of Israel must have remained here a short time to arrange themselves in order for their future march; and whether the name was used by them in imitation of a similarly sounding Egyptian word, or because they then began to dwell in booths, may be left an open question.

A. T. CHAPMAN.

SUCCOTH-BENOTH (סֻכּוֹת בְּנוֹת; B Ῥοχχωθβαινειθεί, A Σοκχωθβενιθεί; *Sochoth-benoth*).—In 2 K 17^{30} it is said that the colonists from Babylon at Samaria 'made Succoth-benoth,' just as the colonists from Cuth 'made Nergal.' The parallelism between *Nergal* and *Succoth-benoth* shows that the latter must be the name of a deity. As Nergal was the patron-god of Cuth, it is reasonable to infer that in Succoth-benoth we have a corrupted form either of Bel-Merodach, the patron-god of Babylon, or of his wife Ẓarpanit. There is consequently a good deal of probability in the conjecture of Rawlinson (*Herodotus*^{3}, i. p. 654) that we have in it a corruption of the Babylonian *Ẓarpanit*, 'the silvery one,' which, in accordance with a popular etymology, is generally written *Zer-banit*, 'the seed-creatress,' in the cuneiform texts. The spelling of the name in the LXX lends support to this view; and it is just possible that Rawlinson may be right in suggesting that the biblical *Succoth* is due to a confusion between *zerit*, which seems to be a derivative form from *zeru* (see Haupt, *Nimrod-Epos*, 8, 35), and *zarât*, 'tents' or 'booths.' In Am 5^{26} the name of the Babylonian god Sakkut has been transformed into סִכּוּת, if we accept Schrader's explanation of the passage (*SK*, 1874, pp. 324–332). Perhaps the fact that the images of the Babylonian divinities were carried in procession in 'ships' or arks, assisted in the change of the name. It is even possible that by *Succoth* the Hebrew writer intended to denote these processional shrines, *Benoth* (from *Benith*) being corrupted from *Belith* or *Belit*, the classical *Beltis*, a common title and synonym of *Zer-banit*.

LITERATURE.—Schrader, *COT* i. 274 f.; Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 215; Jensen, *ZA* iv. 352; and the Comm. *ad loc.*

A. H. SAYCE.

---

* On the other hand, it is found in the Rhemish NT in a bad sense: 'As God hath shewed by the successe of all Heretical Colloquies, Synodes, and Assemblies in Germanie, France, Poole, and other places in our daies' (note on Ac 15^{28}).

SUD (Σούδ, *Sodi*).—The 'river' of Babylon, on which dwelt 'Jechonias, the son of Joakim, king of Judah,' and his fellow-exiles (Bar 1^{4}). The canal on which Babylon was situated before its destruction by Sennacherib was called the Arakhtu; but the whole of Babylonia was intersected by small canals, each of which had a name, and it is therefore quite possible that in the time of Nebuchadrezzar one of those in the neighbourhood of the capital bore a name which resembled Sud. As, however, the Greek sibilant can represent more than one Semitic letter, it is useless to speculate about the Babylonian form of the name until we know how it was written in Hebrew or Aramaic.

A. H. SAYCE.

SUDDENLY.—The adj. 'sudden' and the adv. 'suddenly' were often used formerly without the element of surprise which belongs to their root (Lat. *subitaneus*, from *subire*, 'to come stealthily'), and is always associated with their use in mod. English. Thus Shaks. uses 'sudden' in the sense of *soon* (*Meas. for Meas.* II. ii. 83, 'To-morrow! O, that's sudden'); and of *hasty* (*As You Like It*, V. ii. 8, 'My sudden wooing, nor her sudden consenting'); and of *impetuous* (*Rich. II.* II. i. 35, 'Small showers last long, but sudden storms are short'). So also he uses 'suddenly' in the sense of *quickly* (*Tam. Shrew*, ii. 327, 'Was ever match clapped up so suddenly?') or *presently* (*I Henry IV.* I. iii. 294, 'When time is ripe, which will be suddenly'). In AV 'suddenly' means *speedily* in Ps 6^{10} 'Let them return and be ashamed suddenly' (רֶגַע, LXX *διὰ τάχους*); and in Jer 49^{19} 50^{44}. In 1 Ti 5^{22} 'Lay hands suddenly on no man,' the meaning is *hastily* (Gr. *ταχέως*). J. HASTINGS.

SUDIAS (BA Σουδίας, Luc. Ὠδουιά).—A Levitical family that returned with Zerubbabel, 1 Es 5^{26}, called in Ezr 2^{40} HODAVIAH and in Neh 7^{43} HODEVAH.

SUICIDE.—See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS, vol. i. p. 522^{a}.

· **SUKKIIM** (סֻכִּיִּים; B Τρωγοδύται, A Τρωγλοδύται, Luc. Σουχιείμ).—The name of a tribe mentioned together with Libyans and Cushites as led by Shishak against Judæa (2 Ch 12^{3}). The passage is not found in the corresponding text of Kings. The LXX rendering 'Troglodytes' was probably suggested by the fact of a place called Suche (Pliny, *HN* vi. 172) being mentioned among Troglodyte possessions; the same is called by Strabo (iii. 8) 'the fortress of Suchus,' and Suchus, he tells us, is a name for a sacred crocodile (*ib.* xvii. 1). Several geographers identify this place with the modern Suakin, which, however, may well be an Arabic word (*sawākin*). The identification of the Sukkiim with the inhabitants of Suakin, though accepted by Forbiger and Dillmann (in Schenkel, i. 288), is therefore very uncertain; nor is the view of Gesenius, that the word should be treated as a Hebrew adjective, 'dwellers in tents,' much more probable.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

SULPHUR.—See BRIMSTONE.

SUN.—The usual word in the OT for the first of the great lights of heaven is שֶׁמֶשׁ, Phœn. שמש, Aram. שִׁמְשָׁא (Dn 6^{14}) and *shemsha*, Arab. *shamsun*, Assyr. *šamšu* (*samsu* in the name Samsu-iluna, *c.* 2200 B.C., evidently a West Semitic form). There is considerable uncertainty as to the etymology (for conjectures see Levy, *Wörterb. über die Targg.* ii. 578 f.). Other words for sun are חַמָּה, lit. 'heat,' or, adj. [?], 'hot' (Job 30^{28}, Ca 6^{10}, Is 24^{23} 30^{26}), and חֶרֶס (Jg 8^{13} 14^{18}, Job 9^{7}), of doubtful derivation. Both these terms are used poetically, and the latter occurs in the place-name Ir-ha-Heres, 'city of the sun' (Heliopolis), RV 'city of destruction' (see IR-HA-HERES). In Job 31^{26} the word used is אוֹר, marg. 'light.'

The earliest mention of the sun in the Bible is in Gn 1^{14-16} [P], in which, however, none of the above words are used, the luminary being referred to as the greater of the two 'great lights' (*mĕ'ôrôth*), created to rule the day, the lesser light being to rule the night, and to divide the light from the darkness (v.^{18}). Both of them were placed in the firmament for signs and for seasons, and for days and years (v.^{14}). As the lesser light, the moon was the measurer of time, by her constant and clearly-marked phases; the sun was, by the constancy and regularity of his apparent motion, the real indicator. With those of the lesser light, his eclipses were regarded as signs foretelling events. He indicated the beginning and the end of each day; seasons, both religious and agricultural; regulated the festivals; and determined the commencement and termination of every year, his movements forming, at the same time, the basis of all chronological data.

Naturally, the ideas of the ancient Hebrews concerning the movements of the sun, when tested by modern science, were erroneous. As we, in the language of everyday life, speak of the sun as 'rising' and 'setting,' so they spoke of him as 'going forth' (*yāẓā'*, Gn 19^{23} etc.; *zāraḥ*, Jg 9^{33}, 2 S 23^{4} etc.) and 'entering' (*bô'*, Gn $15^{12.17}$ etc.). From *zāraḥ* and *bô'* came the expressions, *mizraḥ* (*shemesh*), 'the rising (of the sun),' also 'east'; and *mĕbô'* (*shemesh*), 'the setting (of the sun),' also 'west.' The equivalent Assyrian expressions are similar, being *ẓît* (for *âẓît*, from *âẓû*= *yāẓā'*) *šamši* and *êrib šamši*, the 'coming forth' and the 'entering of the sun' (cf. for the latter, the Heb. עָרַב 'to become evening'). Poetically, this idea of going forth and entering was extended, and the sun, as well as the moon, was regarded as possessing a habitation (Hab 3^{11}) and a tent or tabernacle (Ps $19^{4.5}$), set for him by God, from which he came forth as a bridegroom from his chamber, rejoicing as a strong man to run his course. This idea seems to be illustrated by the designs on certain of the cylinder-seals of Babylonia, on which a deity, evidently the sun-god, is represented coming forth through the open doors, which the attendants hold back for him, at the same time turning their faces away, in order not to be blinded by his brightness. In connexion with this, it is also worthy of note that the Babylonians speak of the bolts of the high heavens greeting the sun at his setting, and his beloved wife going to meet him. There is hardly any doubt that these poetical similes are based upon the unfailing regularity of the sun's daily course, which, in more southern latitudes, varies less than with us, marking the two cardinal points, and also the division of day and night, with less variation. Such expressions as 'the time when the sun is hot' (1 S 11^{9}, Neh 7^{3}) were therefore more precise than they would be in our latitudes. Having risen, and run his fixed path in his might (Jg 5^{31}) until the time of his greatest heat, the sun went down at the hour which, like a living thing, he was supposed to know (Ps 104^{19}).

Like all God's creatures, the sun was altogether dependent on His will, and at His command would cease to shine (Job 9^{7}); and, this being the case, the sun could also undergo a change of his course. Of this there are two examples: Joshua's order to the sun to stand still (Jos 10^{12-14}, Sir 46^{5}), and the going back of the shadow on the dial of Ahaz (2 K 20^{8-11}, Is 38^{7}). The former has given rise to a considerable amount of discussion, the improbability of such a change as the stoppage of the earth's rotation implied thereby being generally recognized, notwithstanding that God's power to do so without harm to the world and its inhabitants cannot admit of doubt. The probability, however, is that this passage, being a poetical extract from another work, 'the Book of Jashar,' is not to be understood literally, the statement being made by poetic licence for some such expression as 'the sun did not set until the enemies of Israel were completely defeated,' *i.e.* the operations were carried out so rapidly, that as much was done as if the day had been twice as long (cf. v.[14]). On the other hand, the explanation that the lengthening of the day, and the continued appearance of the sun above the horizon, may have been due to a considerable increase of the refractive properties of the atmosphere, is also possible. The return of the shadow on the dial has also been referred to various causes, and may, according to some, have been due to an eclipse (see Bosanquet in G. Smith's *Assurbanipal*, p. 346, and *TSBA* iii. 31 ff., v. 261). In 2 K 20[8-11] it is the shadow only that is spoken of; but the parallel passage in Is 38[7] mentions also the sun, and on account of this it has been contended that the movement recorded must have been purely optical. The phenomenon referred to in Mk 15[33], Lk 23[44.45], where it is stated that the sun was darkened, cannot refer to an eclipse, as it was the time of the full moon. The sun is in these passages, to all appearance, represented as hiding himself in order to cast a veil of darkness over the death of the Son of God. Whatever be the explanation of these three apparent departures from the sun's daily routine, there is no doubt that they are intended to emphasize the power of God, and His active interest in the affairs of man. The same ideas were, to all appearance, generally current with regard to eclipses in general, these being looked upon in like manner as extraordinary manifestations of the power of God over nature, or as foreshadowing the terrible tokens of the day of judgment (Is 13[10], Jl 2[10] 3[15]=Ac 2[20], Mt 24[29], Mk 13[24], Lk 21[25], Rev 6[12] 8[12]).* The setting of the sun at bright noonday is figurative of loss of happiness, prosperity, or success (Is 60[20], Jer 15[9], Am 8[9], Mic 3[6]), whilst the reverse of this is indicated by the rising of the 'sun of Righteousness' of Mal 4[2] (see also vol. i. p. 193[b]).

Like the moon, the sun was also regarded as an emblem of constancy, on account of the unerring daily repetition of his course (Ps 72[5.17] 89[36]). The man who loves God (Jg 5[31]) and the just ruler (2 S 23[4]) are both compared with him as the thing of all God's creation shining with the greatest brilliance, whilst, for the same reason, he became the image of God Himself (Ps 84[11]). His pure, unfailing light became also an emblem of beauty (Ca 6[10]), and his force increasing daily, or at certain seasons, typified the progress of a good man towards perfection (Pr 4[18]). The great luminary (Sir 17[31]) and adornment of the heavens (Sir 26[16]), his light shone on all things; and is surpassed in brilliance only by the heavenly world to come, of which God Himself is to be the light and the glory (Is 60[19], Ac 26[13]).

It is to the penetrating heat of the sun that the poetical expression חַמָּה, *ḥammāh*, is applied (cf. Ps 19[6]); and by means of this, as well as by his light, he exercises his beneficent power, bringing forth the fruits of the earth (Dt 33[14]), grass with the help of the rain (2 S 23[4]), and giving man the desire of life (Ec 11[7]). But the sun has also the power of injuring, smiting, and scorching men and the fruits of the earth by his heat (Ps 121[6], Is 49[10], Jon 4[8], Rev 7[16] 16[8] etc.).

Observation of the movements of the sun, and his influence upon the earth and upon all nature, caused all the ancient world, with but few exceptions, to regard him as a living thing; and from this view, dwelling, as they did, in the midst of heathendom, the ancient Hebrews were not wholly free, especially during the time of the kings. Except, however, where a direct reference to idolatry is made, the sun is spoken of as a personal living being only in the domain of poetry, though, as will be seen further on, the writers of the Hebrew poetical books had been apparently influenced by the heathen teaching concerning the luminary of day. He ruled over the day, not as a god but as the source of light, heat, and the divisions of time, and came forth from his chamber to run his fixed course as one of the great creations of God, not as being himself a deity whom men should worship.

Nevertheless, the Hebrews were attracted by the worship of the sun, under the influence of the heathen nations by whom they were surrounded. A common act of worship is that mentioned in Job 31[26.27], in which the hand was kissed, and which is described as an iniquity to be punished by the judges. The law against idolatrous worship of the sun and heavenly bodies is given in Dt 4[19], and from 17[2-5] we learn that the penalty was death by stoning at the gate of the city. The open idolatry which took place in the time of the kings, however, shows clearly that the laws recorded in the passages quoted were not generally observed.

On the entrance of the Israelites into the Holy Land, they found there the worship of the sun under the name of Baal-hammon, the last component part of this appellation being the singular of the word *ḥammānîm*, meaning 'sun-images,' and connected with the word *ḥammāh*, 'heat *or* hot,' one of the words used in the OT for the sun (Job 30[28] etc.). As pointed out in the article BAAL, however, it is not certain that Baal was regarded as the sun, but the sun was a *baal*, or 'lord,' just as the Babylonian sun-god, Šamaš, bore the title of *bêlu*, 'lord,' in common with the other deities of the Assyro-Babylonian pantheon. In all probability, therefore, the worship of the sun, properly so called, came from Babylonia, in which country there were at least two shrines to this god—one at Sippar (Abu-habbah), and the other at Larsa, which is identified with the Ellasar of Gn 14[1]. He was also worshipped, however, at many other places in Babylonia and Assyria.

Noteworthy in connexion with the worship of the sun by the Jews, and its origin, is the reference to the chariots of the sun in 2 K 23[11]. To all appearance the chariot, as well as the horses, had been dedicated by various idolatrous kings of Judah, and they were stationed at the western entrance to the temple, 'by the chamber of Nathan-melech the chamberlain, which was in the precincts.' At the temple of the sun at Sippar in Babylonia there was also a chariot, and presumably horses, dedicated to that deity; and it is worthy of note that, as one of the sacred objects belonging to the temple of the god, it was the custom to make sacrifices to it.* In the 19th year of Nabopolassar this was transferred from the keeping of the men who had care of the horses (? of the sun at Sippara) to a man named Bêl-âḫê-iddina, and a list of the furniture (*ûdê*) of the chariot was drawn up, enumerating about 140 objects belonging to it, many of them of silver, though some were of gold and of bronze. It is doubtful whether the Babylonians ever thought of the sun-god coursing through the heavens in a chariot drawn by swift steeds of fiery breed typifying his brilliant daily journey through the heavens, as the inscriptions, so far as they are known, do not refer to this, and the representation of the sun-god on the stone found by Mr. Rassam at Abu-habbah shows the deity seated in his shrine, with the representation of his disc before him, and two small figures coming out of the top of the shrine, seemingly guiding the disc by means of the cords attached to it, which they hold in their hands. The sacrificial instruments which formed part of the furniture of the chariot suggest that it was used in connexion with the worship of the sun; and as, in its equipment, swords or daggers of gold (3 in number) and of some other material (2 in number) are referred to, the suggestion that it may have accompanied the army on certain occasions would not be without probability. The ceremonies in connexion with the chariot of the sun at Sippar, in all probability, had their reflexion at Jerusalem. It is hardly likely, however, that the chariot of the sun at Jerusalem, which Josiah burned with fire, was so splendid as that at Sippar in Babylonia.*

---

* Mahler, in *JRAS*, 1901, p. 42, explains the plague of darkness referred to in Ex 10[21ff.] as an eclipse of the sun, which took place in B.C. 1335 (*Sitzungsber. der k. Akad. der Wiss.*, Vienna, 1885).

* One of the tablets referring to this states that on the 13th of Iyyar, in the 14th year of Nabopolassar, a full-grown white sheep was offered before it.

The worship of the sun at Jerusalem is described by Ezekiel, who speaks of the five and twenty men (? priests) with their backs towards the temple of the Lord, and their faces towards the east, worshipping the sun (Ezk 8^{16}). During this ceremony it is said (v.^{17}) that 'they put the branch to their nose,' a doubtful phrase which has been the subject of much discussion. The general opinion, however, is, that this is a reflexion of a Persian custom in which, when repeating the liturgy, the priests held from time to time in the left hand a bunch of twigs called *bareçman*, and wore, at the offering of the daily sacrifice, a kind of veil. It may be noted in connexion with this, that, in the list of things belonging to the chariot of the sun at Sippar, 2 *nurmû* are mentioned. Now the word *nurmû*, as is suggested by Frd. Delitzsch (*Assyr. HWB*), possibly means 'fig,' 'fig-tree,' and two models of a tree of this kind, or of branches, probably belonged to the chariot as ornaments, and may have been carried 'before the face' when worshipping the sun, as his emblems. Whether this practice originated in Persia or in Babylonia is doubtful.

These idolatrous Jews of old are represented as worshipping the sun towards the east, *i.e.* at his rising. This was a custom with the Persians, and also, in all probability, with all the nations which adored that luminary. At the temple of Borsippa, which is generally regarded as the Tower of Babel, the worship of the sun was possibly an institution of long standing, and at the beginning of a new day, that is, at sunset, the following hymn was sung:—

'Sun-god in the midst of heaven, at thy setting,
May the bolt of heaven lofty speak thee peace—
May the door of heaven bless thee.
Mišaru, the messenger, thy beloved, let him direct thee.
At Ê-babarra, the seat of thy dominion, thy supremacy
shines forth.
May Aa, thy beloved wife, gladly come to meet thee;
May thy heart take rest;
May thy divine refreshment be prepared for thee.
Warrior, hero, sun-god, may they glorify thee.
Lord of Ê-babarra, may the course of thy road prosper.
Sun-god, direct thy path, make firm the road, go to thine
abode.
Sun-god, thou art judge of the land, (and) director of its
decisions.'

In this hymn the sun is not only represented in a manner similar to that of the psalmist, as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber (Ps 19^{5}), but his bride is conceived as going to meet him, and he takes rest and refreshment after his wearying course. The last line of the inscription shows him also in the character which he commonly had with the Babylonians, namely, that of judge, which he apparently possessed as witness of everything that passes on the earth ('under the sun,' as so often occurs in Ecclesiastes, *e.g.* 1$^{3.9}$ etc.). The tablet which followed the above was a hymn to the rising sun, beginning (the Akkadian version only is preserved), *Utu ana-azaga-ta êa*, 'Sun-god in the glorious heaven rising,' and may have resembled that with which the heathen Jews greeted the luminary, when performing the ceremony referred to by Ezekiel.*

The judgment pronounced against the sun and moon (Is 24^{23}), in which the former was to be ashamed, is regarded by some as resting upon the fact that the idolatrous worship which was paid to it was accounted as a sin, the consequences of which rested upon the object causing it, and would be visited upon it by God at the last day. This is probable; but the end of the verse ought to be taken into account, for when the Lord reigns in Zion gloriously the sun may well be put to shame on account of his inferior lustre.

LITERATURE.—Riehm, *HWB*; Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1887; Pinches in *TSBA*, 1884, pp. 164-169; *Transactions of the Victoria Institute*, 1894, pp. 10, 16, 17.

T. G. PINCHES.

SUPERSCRIPTION (ἐπιγραφή).—1. The legend on a coin (Mt 22^{20}, Mk 12^{16}, Lk 20^{24}). See MONEY. 2. The accusation on the Cross of Jesus (Mk 15^{26}, Lk 23^{38}). See TITLE ON THE CROSS.

SUPH.—One of the expressions used in Dt 1^{1} to define the locality of Moses' address to Israel [? ; on the difficulty of this interpretation see Driver] is 'in the Arabah, over against Suph' (מוֹל סוּף [*i.e.* by dissimil., for מוּל], AV 'over against the Red Sea'). If the MT be correct, Ṣuph is a place-name, possibly identical with SUPHAH of Nu 21^{14}, but, upon the whole, it appears more probable that מול סוף is a textual error for מִיַּם־סוּף (cf. LXX πλησίον τῆς ἐρυθρᾶς [θαλάσσης], Vulg. *contra mare rubrum*). *Yam ṣûph* † means probably 'sea of reeds,' and appears to have been originally a title given to the upper end of the Gulf of Suez, which would be shallow and marshy, and abounding in reeds (W. M. Müller, *As. u. Europ.* 42 f.). In the OT this designation is usually confined to the W. (Suez) arm of the Red Sea: Ex 10^{19} (J) 13^{18} 15$^{4.22}$ 23^{31} (all four E), Nu 33$^{10.11}$ (P), Dt 11^{4}, Jos 2^{10} (J) 4^{23} (D), Neh 9^{9}, Ps 106$^{7.9.22}$ 136$^{13.15}$. It stands, however, for the Gulf of 'Aḳabah not only in Dt 1^{1} (if the above suggestion is correct), but in Nu 21^{4} (E) and 1 K 9^{26}; prob. also in Nu 14^{25} (E), Dt 1^{40} 2^{1}; and perhaps Jg 11^{16}, Jer 49^{21}.

J. A. SELBIE.

SUPHAH (סוּפָה).—The name of an unknown locality E. of Jordan, found only in an obscure fragment of ancient poetry preserved in Nu 21^{14} ('Vaheb in Suphah'). The suggestion of Tristram (*Land of Moab*, 50 f.), that it may be the modern *Ṣafieh*, is exposed to the objection of which he himself is aware, that the initial ס of the Heb. word could hardly represent an Arabic ص. The same difficulty attaches to Knobel's identification with *Naḳb eṣ-Ṣafā*, some 25 miles W.S.W. of the Dead Sea. See, further, the Comm. *ad loc.*

J. A. SELBIE.

SUPPER.—See FOOD, vol. ii. p. 41^{b}; and for the 'Last Supper' see LORD'S SUPPER.

SUR (B Ἀσσούρ, A Σούρ).—One of the towns on the seacoast of Palestine upon whose people the fear and dread of Holofernes fell when they heard that he had reached Damascus (Jth 2^{28}). The towns are mentioned in order from north to south; and Sur comes between Tyre and Ocina—the next place to the south being Jemnaan (Jamnia). The site, if a different place from Tyre (Heb. *Ẓōr*, Arab. *Ṣûr*), is unknown. C. W. WILSON.

---

* Among the Babylonians, the important thing in connexion with the ceremonies seems to have been the chariot, and this was probably the case at Jerusalem. With the Persians, on the other hand, the horses seem to have been at least as important, and sometimes the one, sometimes the other, followed in the processions. The colour of these sacred horses was white, and they were on certain occasions sacrificed to the sun (Herod. i. 188, vii. 40, 55; Xen. *Cyr.* viii. 3).

* For other forms of the sun-god and sun-worship see the articles BAAL, CHEMOSH, MOLECH, and TAMMUZ.

† *Ṣûph* is attributed also to the Nile in Ex 2$^{3.5}$ (cf. Is 19^{6}).

SURE, SURELY, SURETY.—The adjectives 'secure,' 'sicker' (or 'siker'), and 'sure' all come from the Lat. *securus*; the first being taken directly, the second through the influence of the Teut. *siker, sicher*; the last through the Old. Fr. *seür* (mod. *sûr*). 'Secure' retained the meaning of the Lat. (*se* 'without,' *cura* 'care'; see SECURE); between 'sicker' and 'sure' the difference was mainly one of dialect, till 'sicker' dropped out of literary English. Thus Chaucer, *Tale of Melibeus*, 2642, 'Whan thow trowest to be most seur or siker of hir [fortune's] help, she wol faille thee and deceyve thee.' Both had a wider use than 'sure' has now.

'Sure' was often used where we should now use 'secure.' Thus Udall, *Erasmus' Par.* i. 13, 'Solitarines doeth quicken and make lustye the mind of a Christian souldier, and some time it is more sure for a man to count himself to the wild beastes, than to men. Baptisme taketh away al sinnes of the former life, but for al that, no man is sure from the assaultes of Satan which liveth sluggishly.' So Pr. Bk. *Pref.* (1552), 'There never was any thing by the wit of man so well devised, or so sure established, which (in continuance of time) hath not been corrupted.' And in AV 1 S 2^{35} 'I will build him a sure house'; Is 22^{23} 'I will fasten him as a nail in a sure place'; 32^{18} 'My people shall dwell . . . in sure dwellings.'

The adverb **surely**, in like manner, means sometimes *securely*: Pr 10^{9} 'He that walketh uprightly walketh surely.' Cf. Robinson, *More's Utopia*, 141, 'They fence and fortifie their campe sewerlye with a deape and a brode trenche.' Jer 35^{14} Cov. 'The wordes which Ionadab the sonne off Rechab commaunded his sonnes, that they shulde drynke no wyne, are fast and surely kepte'; Elyot, *Governour*, ii. 237, 'David . . . came to the pavilion of king Saul, where he found hym suerly slepynge, havinge by him his speare and a cuppe with water.'

But it is of more importance to observe that in its ordinary meaning 'surely' has now lost so much of its force that its use in AV sometimes suggests to the reader the opposite of that which is intended. Thus in Gn 2^{17}, the first instance of its use, 'In the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die,' the assertion is the strongest possible. The Hebrew is the idiomatic phrase, 'dying thou shalt die.' But the English suggests a slight doubt. So in Gn 3^{4} 'And the serpent said unto the woman, Ye shall not surely die,' *i.e.* Ye shall certainly not die.

This Heb. idiom, an account of which will be found in Davidson's *Hebrew Syntax*, § 86, or in Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 113, is variously rendered in AV. Sometimes the idiom is preserved, as Gn 22^{17} 'in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed.' More frequently an adverb or adverbial phrase is inserted, such as 'exceedingly' Gn 16^{10}, 'certainly' Gn 18^{10} 43^{7}, 'doubtless' 2 S 5^{19}, 'utterly' Dt 12^{2}, Jg 1^{28} 15^{2}, Zec 11^{17}; 'clean' Zec 11^{17}; 'solemnly' Gn 43^{3}; 'earnestly' 1 S 20^{6}; 'altogether' Nu 16^{13}, Jer 30^{11}; 'needs' Gn 24^{5}; 'indeed' Gn 37^{8}; 'ever' Jg 11^{25}; 'plainly' 1 S 2^{27} 10^{16}; 'at all' 2 K 18^{33}, Jer 26^{19}; 'straitly' Gn 43^{7}, 1 S 14^{28}; 'freely' Gn 2^{16}. But by far the most frequently used adverb is 'surely'; and in every instance it has the force of 'assuredly' or 'certainly.' Thus Gn 28^{22} 'I will surely give the tenth unto thee'; Jg 13^{22} 'We shall surely die, because we have seen God'; Hab 2^{3} 'It will surely come, it will not tarry.' Cf. Sir 48^{11} 'We shall surely live' (ζωῇ ζησόμεθα).

'Surely' is also the translation of certain Hebrew and Greek adverbs and other expressions, some of which are very forcible. Thus (1) *'ākēn*,* Gn 28^{16} 'surely the Lord is in this place'; Ex 2^{14} 'surely this thing is known'; 1 S 15^{32} 'surely the bitterness of death is past'; Is 40^{7} 'surely the people is grass'; Jer 4^{10} 'Ah, Lord God! surely thou hast greatly deceived this people.' The same word is tr. 'verily' in Is 45^{15}, 'truly' in Jer $3^{23\ bis}$, 'certainly' in Jer 8^{8}. (2) *'Im* (an emphatic negative), as Nu 14^{23} 'surely they shall not see the land which I sware unto their fathers'; or *'im-lo'* (an emphatic affirmative), as Ezk 36^{5} 'Surely in the fire of my jealousy have I spoken against the residue of the heathen.' (3) *'Omnām* (a strong asseverative from *'āman*, 'to confirm'), as Job 34^{12} 'Yea, surely God will not do wickedly' (RV 'of a surety'). (4) 2 S 12^{5} 'The man that hath done this thing shall surely die' (Heb. 'is a son of death'; cf. 1 S 20^{31} 26^{16}). (5) ἀληθῶς, as Mt 26^{73} 'surely thou also art one of them?' (RV 'of a truth'); Jn 17^{8} 'They have known surely that I came out from thee' (RV 'of a truth'). (6) πάντως, Lk 4^{23} 'Ye will surely say unto me this proverb' (RV 'doubtless ye will say'). (7) ἦ [εἰ] μήν, He 6^{14} 'Surely blessing I will bless thee, and multiplying I will multiply thee' (ἦ [edd. εἰ] μὴν εὐλογῶν εὐλογήσω σε, καὶ πληθύνων πληθυνῶ σε). (8) ναί, Rev 22^{20} 'Surely I come quickly' (RV 'yea').

Examples of 'surely' are Knox, *Hist.* 315, 'I thinke and am surely perswaded.' Rhemish NT, *Preface*, 'Vulpilas surely gave the Scriptures to the Gothes in their own tonge, and that before he was an Arrian.' *Generydes* (E.E.T.S.), 1317—

> 'They were fully accordid all in one
> That Auferius suerly shuld be ther kyng.'

Surety occurs in the phrase 'of a surety,' Gn 15^{13} 18^{13} 26^{9}, Ac 12^{11} (ἀληθῶς, RV 'of a truth'). Cf. 1 S 26^{4} Cov. 'David . . . sent out spyes, and knewe of a suertie, that he was come in deede.' Elsewhere the word means 'security' in the legal sense; cf. *Paraph. in Verse*, 58^{2}—

> 'He who for men their surety stood.'

Suretiship occurs only in Pr 11^{15} 'He that hateth suretiship is sure' (Heb. as AVm and RVm 'those that *strike* hands'; see STRIKE). See DEBT, PLEDGE. J. HASTINGS.

SURGERY.—See MEDICINE, vol. iii. p. 333.

SUSA.—See SHUSHAN.

SUSANNA (Σουσαννά).—i. TEXT AND VERSIONS.—The history of Susanna forms a part of the Bk. of Daniel in the Greek Bible and in those versions which are taken from the Greek. In Gr. MSS, and also in the Old Latin and Arabic, it stands before Dn 1; but in the Latin Vulgate it stands as Dn 13. Swete prints it as a separate work after Daniel. The LXX is the oldest extant text, but there may have been a Semitic original. If so, it is antecedently probable that it would be in Aramaic, not Hebrew. Hebrew was the language of legal discussions, hymns, and prayers. Aramaic was the language of such anecdotes and histories as circulated freely among the people. The LXX of the History of Susanna, as indeed of the whole of the Gr. Daniel, was lost for many centuries, because of the preference of the Church for the text of Theodotion. The LXX of Susanna is, even now, extant only in Cod. Chisianus, otherwise known as 87, a cursive of the 9th cent. Theod. for the most part transcribed the LXX literally, but in several instances he made additions and alterations meant to relieve improbabilities, or to supply details which seemed to make the narrative more smooth and intelligible. The Latin Vulg. is an accurate rendering of Theodotion. In Syriac Versions, our 'History' is exceptionally rich. We have (1) the Syro-Hexaplar, which is a close translation of the LXX; (2) the Peshiṭta, which is given in Walton's Polyglott, Ceriani's *Codex Ambrosianus*, and in Lagarde's *Libri VT Apocr. Syriace*, and designated W$_1$; (3) and (4) from v.^{42} onwards Lagarde gives *two* other Syriac recensions, both differing in many respects from each other and from W$_1$, and known as L$_1$ and L$_2$; (5) there is a remarkable VS given by Walton, the so-called Harklensian VS, known as W$_2$.

---

* A rather less emphatic particle is *'ak*, the force of which is well seen in Ps $39^{5.\,6.\,11}$, esp. in RV. In Ps 62 this word is tr. five times 'only' (both AV and RV), once 'surely'; cf. Ps 73^{1}.

ii. The Story.—We intend first to give the story in those features which are common to all our sources, and then to specify the important additions or alterations made in each. In the early days of the captivity in Babylon, there was a woman named Susanna, very beautiful, very pious, the daughter of a priest. Her husband Joakim was very wealthy and honourable. He had a park adjoining his mansion, and his fellow-exiles were always welcome to both (vv.$^{1-4}$). There were two elders in Babylon, who were also judges, and were held in high repute; but both so far forgot God and the judgments He has pronounced against adultery (v.^{9}) as to foster impure desires towards Susanna. Neither dared divulge his secret to the other; but one day they met in the park unexpectedly and agreed to coerce her; but she strenuously refused to listen to them, saying that she would rather die than sin against God (vv.$^{10-24}$). Shortly afterwards, the elders summoned Susanna before the assembly of the Jews, and laid against her the false charge that they both saw her lying with a young man in the park, who, however, fled when they came near. Susanna protested her innocence, but the people felt obliged to believe two such honourable witnesses, and condemned her to death (vv.$^{28-44}$). As they were leaving the judgment-hall, Daniel, then a very young man, met them, and undertook to prove Susanna's innocence. He insisted on cross-questioning the witnesses *apart*, and put the same question to each: Under what kind of tree did the adultery occur? Each gave the name of a different tree (vv.$^{45-59}$). The people being thus convinced of the falsity of the charge, praised God, applauded Daniel, and put to death the false accusers (v.$^{60ff.}$).

This is, in the main, the story as it appears in the LXX. Theod. adds many details. It is probable that vv.$^{1-4}$ originated in Theod. and were transferred from him *verbatim* to our solitary codex of the LXX; because LXX in v.^{7} introduces Susanna, as though she had not been mentioned before. LXX simply states that the elders saw her walking in the park one evening, and they both came thither early next morning; but Theod. adds that the house of Joakim was used every morning as a court of justice, and, after the people had been dismissed, Susanna walked daily in the park, and both the elders became enamoured of her. One day they both lingered when the court closed; and after they had separated, saying it was dinner hour, they both came back, and confessed their lust. Theod. and the VSS taken from it then insert a part altogether lacking in LXX, how the elders watched her go into the park and concealed themselves among the trees, surmising that she was going to bathe. When Susanna sent her maids for oil and cosmetics (W$_2$ 'soap') the elders rushed on her, tempted her to adultery, and threatened to testify that she had sent her maids away, so as to have intercourse with a young man. When the maids came back and heard this accusation from the elders, they were utterly ashamed. Further, while LXX states that the trial was held in the synagogue, Theod. says it was held in the house and presence of Joakim. He omits from LXX that 500 of Susanna's relatives and friends came to the trial: and he puts Susanna's protestations before the charge; LXX after. Theod. says the young man escaped because he was stronger than the elders. In LXX the elders did not recognize him because he was masked. LXX introduces an angel as inspiring Daniel with wisdom at the moment when Susanna was being led to death. This Theod. omits; but he adds to the LXX that Daniel said aloud, 'Turn back to the tribunal'; and that Daniel was invited to an elder's chair. Theod. omits most of v.^{51} in LXX where Daniel says, 'Do not suppose elders cannot lie.' LXX puts *two* questions to the wicked elders: 'Under what tree?' and 'In what part of the garden?' The punishment in LXX is: 'they threw them down the precipice'; in Theod. 'they slew them.' LXX only says: 'And the angel of the Lord cast fire through the midst of them,' and it alone adds a eulogy on young men meant to secure for them larger influence in public affairs.

The Vulgate translates Theod. very accurately; the chief deviation being the addition of one verse at the end: 'And king Astyages was gathered to his fathers, and Cyrus the Persian took the kingdom.' This contradicts Dn 1, where Daniel is 'a young man' in 597, whereas Cyrus began to reign in 538.

The Peshiṭta is given, as we have said, by Ceriani, Lagarde, and W$_1$. Pesh. agrees in the main with Theodotion. The chief exceptions are that in v.$^{22f.}$ Pesh. lengthens Susanna's soliloquy and consequent repudiation of their overtures; and between vv.^{26} and ^{27} Pesh. inserts a verse which may well have dropped out from Theod., giving the testimony of the elders to the household which gathered when Susanna cried aloud. It is almost *verbatim* with $^{37-39}$. After v.^{41}, W$_1$ presents a recension of Pesh., different from L$_1$. L$_1$ inserts, after the sentence on Susanna, these words: 'That all women may fear and not do again according to this shame.' This W$_1$ omits. L$_1$ adds after v.^{43} 'concerning this which I have not done I am willing that they should ask me anything.' L$_1$ calls the first tree 'a pistic tree'; W$_1$ 'a terebinth.' The second tree, in L$_1$, L$_2$ is 'a pomegranate'; in W$_1$ 'a chestnut.' At the end of v.^{64} L$_1$, L$_2$, and W$_2$ give a eulogy on Daniel, which W$_1$ omits.

Lagarde gives, as we have said, a second Syriac recension, from v.^{42} and onwards (L$_2$), which has several interesting readings. Two are unique. After v.^{43} Susanna's prayer continues: 'Appear for me and send a Redeemer from before thee, that thy truth may be believed by those that fear thee.' In v.^{53} Daniel says to the first elder: 'These things thou hast done and thou saidst: God is righteous, and the righteous He will not destroy; and thou hast not obeyed what thou hast taught to others.'

Much more important are the variations in Walton's second Syriac Version (W$_2$). It almost amounts to a distinct tradition. W$_2$ states that Daniel was 12 years old at the time: that the synagogue was held in the house of Joakim: that Susan was a widow, having lost her husband after a married life of a few days, and devoted herself to the Lord: that the names of the elders were Amid and Abid, and they were chiefs of the synagogue: that before the trial Susan was in chains in prison three days: that the two elders were not witnesses, but judges of Susan: that it was decided that at the 9th hour Susan should be cast down a precipice: that a throne was brought from the treasury for Daniel to sit upon, but that he refused to sit upon it.

iii. Its Origin.—There are several indications that the story before us cannot be regarded as historical. (1) The discrepancies in the several accounts, *e.g.* those just given from W$_2$. (2) The improbability that in the first days of the Captivity, when Daniel was 'a young youth' (v.^{45}), any Jew in Babylon could be so affluent as Joakim, or that so soon after the deportation of Jehoiachin the Jews should, in exile, possess the *jus necis*. (3) The reasons for Susanna's condemnation are very flimsy, and the behaviour of the very youthful Daniel is, at least, arbitrary. He loudly condemns both culprits before he adduces any proof of their guilt.

Assuming that we have here an ethical mythus, can we find its origin and *motif*? Ball (*Speaker's Apocr.* ii. 325 f.) has a probable theory, borrowed in the main from Rabbi Brüll (*Das apokr. Susanna-Buch*). He adduces evidence from several sources of a tradition of two elders, who, in the Captivity, led astray silly women, by the persuasion, that, through them, they would become the mother of a great prophet, or of the Messiah. These stories are an amplification or embellishment of Jer 29$^{21-23}$, where we read of two prophets, Ahab and Zedekiah, whom 'Nebuchadnezzar roasted in the fire because they committed folly in Israel, and committed adultery with their neighbours' wives.' Origen and Jerome both knew of the elaborated form of this incident, and it occurs with sundry variations in Midrash *Tanḥuma* on Leviticus; Bab. Talm. *Sanhedrin* 93 *a*; Boraitha of R. Eliezer, c. 33, and in Pesikta, No. 25. Here we have materials for the former half of the story: but not for the trial. The reasons for the rehabilitation of the tradition, with the trial attached, are ingeniously supposed to have arisen about B.C. 100, when Simon ben Shetach was president of the Sanhedrin. Simon was extremely anxious to introduce reforms into criminal procedure. It is said that his son was falsely accused of a capital offence. On the way to his execution the false witnesses confessed the crime, but the son said to his father, 'If the salvation of Israel can be wrought through you, consider me the threshold over which you may pass.' Simon, the Judæan Brutus, let the law take its course, that by the death of one he might save the innocent lives of many. He advocated a more careful examination of the witnesses—his favourite dictum being: 'Examine the witnesses abundantly' (*Pirḳe Aboth* i. 9). He sought also to suppress perjury by insisting that he who swore falsely should, if detected, be punished with the same penalty as he *sought* to inflict on another. (N.B.—The elders were put to death for *seeking* to cause Susanna's death). The Sadducees, against Simon, interpreted the law, 'an eye for an eye,' etc., to mean that the false witness should be punished, if his crime were detected after the penalty had been inflicted on the innocent one. We must confess that the appearance of our 'History' at such a juncture would be most opportune for Simon. There is, it seems to us, a further coincidence. The moral of the narrative is, in LXX, summed up thus: 'Because of this, young men are beloved in Jacob, by-virtue-of (*ἐν*) their ingenuousness (*ἁπλότητι*): and as for us, let us take heed that our youths be powerful; for young men will be pious, and there will be in them a spirit of knowledge and understanding for ever and ever.' Clearly, this is a eulogy on youth; and may well have been meant as a compliment to Alexander Jannæus, whose adviser Simon was, and who ascended the throne at the age of twenty-three.

This assumes that the 'History' is of Palestinian origin: and there is nothing against this. If it cannot be proved to have been originally written in Aramaic, it cannot be proved that it was not.

An argument, as old as the time of Origen, which has been adduced in favour of a Greek original, seems to the present writer untenable. In vv.$^{54f.}$ and $^{58f.}$ there occur two paranomasiæ. Daniel asks the first elder: 'Under what tree didst thou see them?' and the reply is: 'Under a *mastic* tree' (Gr. *σχῖνος*); and Daniel says: 'The angel of God shall *cleave* (*σχίσει*) thy soul to-day.' The second elder replies: 'Under a *holm*-tree' (*πρῖνος*); and Daniel says: 'The angel of God has a sword to *cut thee in two*' (*πρίσαι σε*). These verbal plays are so ingenious that they have been held by many to prove, beyond all controversy, a Greek original. There is no more cogency in this, it seems to us, than if, supposing all early VSS to be lost, we should read in English: 'Under a *clove* tree' . . . 'the Lord shall *cleave* thee,' 'Under a *yew* tree' . . . 'the Lord shall *hew* thee,' and should therefrom infer *English* authorship. Origen says that he asked many Jews to furnish him with Heb. words that would produce a similar assonance: but always in vain (Migne, xi. 61–65). If Heb. fails, Aramaic is equal to the demand. The 'mastick' is in Syriac VSS פסתקא (using Heb. letters); and the verb 'to cut in two' is פסק: the word which occurs in Pal Syr of Mk 6^{16} 'I *beheaded* John.' In the second case L_2 and W_2 have רומנא 'a pomegranate'; opposite which, we surmise that there originally stood the words: 'The angel of God shall *precipitate* thee' (רמא). This is the punishment stated in LXX to have been inflicted: 'They muzzled them and *threw them down* into the ravine.' The verb רמא is used in this same sense in the Aram. of Dn 3^{20} 6^{16}, and in the Targ. of Jon 1^{16}, Ezk 16^5.

iv. CANONICITY.—The History of Susanna was included in the Canon by the Greek, Syrian, and Latin Churches. The first to dispute its claim was Julius Africanus. In his *Letter to Origen* he powerfully questions its historicity (Bissell, 446), and calls it a *σύγγραμμα νεωτερικὸν καὶ πεπλασμένον*. Origen makes a rejoinder to each of his objections, but the replies are far from satisfactory. Irenæus cites vv.$^{52.53}$ and ^{56} as 'voices from Daniel the prophet' (*adv. Hær.* iv. 26. 3), and Tertullian refers to our history (*de Corona*, iv.). Hippolytus treats it exegetically at the commencement of his Comm. on Daniel; and fragments are extant of a Comm. by Origen in Book x. of his *Stromata*, from which Jerome makes extracts in his Comm. on Daniel, c. xiii. Schürer (*HJP* II. iii. 186) collects Origen's citations from Susanna.

LITERATURE.—Ball in *Speaker's Apocr.* ii. 323 ff.; Fritzsche, *Handbuch zu den Apokr.* i. 116 f., 132 f.; Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. 183 ff.; Zöckler, *Apokr. des AT* 213 ff.; Bissell in Lange's *Apocr.* 445 ff.; Eichhorn, *Einleitung in die Apokr. Schriften*, 447 ff.; Rothstein in Kautzsch's *Apokr. u. Pseudepigr. d. AT* i. 176 ff.

J. T. MARSHALL.

SUSI (סוּסִי; B *Σουσεί*, AF *Σουσί*).—A Manassite, Nu $13^{12\,(11)}$. The text, however, is doubtful (see Nestle, *Eigennamen*, 209; Gray, *HPN* 92; Dillm. *Nu. ad loc.*).

SWADDLE, SWADDLING-BANDS (חֲתֻלָּה *ḥăthullah*; 'to swaddle' [חָתַל] *ḥāthal*, *σπαργανόω*).—The wrapping in swaddling-clothes is at the present day, as it was in ancient times, one of the first services rendered to the newborn infant in the East. The child is laid across the diagonal of a square of cloth of which the corners are folded over the body and feet and under the head. The bandages, which are of plain cotton among the poor and of silk and embroidered work in the case of the rich, are then wrapped round the cloth which encases the child. The custom seems to point back to the early nomadic life, as the bandaging not only affords protection against cold and support to the spine, but also by the confinement of the limbs enables the mother more easily to carry the child on the day's journey. During the first week salt water (Ezk 16^4) is applied daily to the lips and flexures of the body wherever the tender skin might become inflamed. This hardening process as a protection against chafing is further assisted by dusting the joints with a powder of pounded myrtle leaves, and any tender or irritated parts of the skin are rubbed with olive oil. The absence of these attentions at the birth of Israel (Ezk 16^4) indicated the outcast insignificance of the nation at the beginning. Amid the privations of the manger at Bethlehem this maternal duty was carefully attended to (Lk $2^{7.12}$). The swaddling-bands are daily unfastened in attending to the child, but the practice is kept up for about a year until the child is strong enough to use his limbs. The Oriental cradle has not the high sides of the Western cradle or infant's crib, and the infant is firmly tied down by long straps resembling the swaddling-bands round the body. This idea of restraint appears in the majestic figure of the clouds as the swaddling-bands of the sea (Job 38^9). In La 2^{22} the AV 'swaddled' (טִפַּחְתִּי *ṭippaḥti*) is in RV tr. 'dandled.' The word is a denominative from טֶפַח 'span' or 'palm of the hand.'

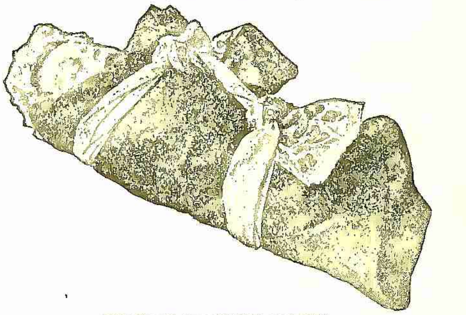
INFANT IN SWADDLING-CLOTHES.

The English words 'swaddle' and 'swathe' are merely different spellings of Anglo-Sax. *swethel* or *swethil*, a strip of cloth for wrapping a child, or for bandaging in any way. Cf. Purchas, *Pilgrimage*, 446, 'Their feet to this end so straitly swadled in their infancie that they grow but little.'

G. M. MACKIE.

SWALLOW.—Two words are tr^{d} 'swallow' in AV, and a third in RV. **1.** דְּרוֹר *dĕrôr* (Ps 84^3 LXX *τρυγών*; Pr 26^2 LXX *στρουθός* = 'sparrow' or other small bird). The allusion to the nesting of this bird in the sanctuary and its swift (unalighting) flight fit the swallow. 2. עָגוּר *'ăgûr* (Is 38^{14} LXX *περιστερά*=‘pigeon’; Jer 8^{7} LXX *στρουθίον*=‘sparrow’ or other small bird). *'Agûr* (see Crane) seems to be an adjective, and perhaps signifies ‘twitterer’ instead of ‘crane’ (RV), and is explanatory of *ṣûṣ* or *ṣîṣ*; see, further, Dillm.-Kittel on Is 38^{14}. 3. סוּס *ṣûṣ*, סִיס *ṣîṣ*, should be tr^{d} as in RV (Is 38^{14}, Jer 8^{7}), ‘swallow’ instead of ‘crane’ (AV; see Crane). If *ṣûṣ* or *ṣîṣ* be the swallow, or better, the *swift* or *martin*, the twittering could only refer to its note in its nest. The allusion to the migratory habits of the bird would suit the swallow. The following swallows and swifts or martins are common in the Holy Land:—*Hirundo Savygnii*, Steph., the Oriental swallow; *H. rustica*, L., the common swallow (Arab. *sûnûnû*, or *ṣûṣ* or *ṣîṣ*); *H. rufula*, Temm., the red-rumped swallow; *Chelidon urbica*, L., the martin; *Cotyle riparia*, L., the sand martin; *C. rupestris*, Scop., the crag martin; *C. obsoleta*, Cab., the pale crag martin; *Cypselus apus*, L., the black martin or swift; *C. melba*, L., and *C. Galileensis*, would be included under the popular conception of the *swallow* or *swift*. Any or all of them would sometimes be called *ṣûṣ* or *ṣîṣ*. G. E. Post.

SWAN.—The AV tr^{n} (twice) of תִּנְשֶׁמֶת *tinshemeth*, a word which occurs thrice in the list of unclean creatures, once at the end of a list of lizards (see Mole, 1 (*b*)), and twice among the birds (Lv 11^{18} LXX *πορφυρίων*=‘water-hen,’ Vulg. *porphyrio*, RV ‘horned owl,’ m. ‘swan’; Dt 14^{16} LXX *ἶβις*, Vulg. *ibis*, RV ‘horned owl’). The arguments against the swan are—(1) There is no reason why the swan should have been held unclean. (2) The swan is very rare in the Holy Land and Egypt, and therefore would have been little recognized. (3) The ancient VSS are against it. The gallinule or water-hen (*Porphyrio*) and the ibis are, however, birds which would have been held unclean, which are quite common, and each of which has the support of one passage in the VSS. *Porphyrio cæruleus*, Vandelli, the Purple Gallinule, and *Ibis religiosa*, L., or *I. falcinella*, L., the Glossy Ibis, would suit the requirements of the passages.
G. E. Post.

SWEARING.—See Oath.

SWEAT.—See Medicine, vol. iii. p. 330^{a}.

SWEET CANE.—See Reed.

SWINE (חֲזִיר *ḥăzîr*).—This word is cognate to the Arab. *khinzîr*. The LXX tr. *ḥăzîr* in Ps 80^{13} *σύς* (AV and RV ‘boar’), Lv 11^{7}, Dt 14^{8}, Pr 11^{22} *ὗς* (AV and RV ‘swine’) There is no question as to the identity of the animal intended. The NT word for it is *χοῖρος*. The eating of swine's flesh is forbidden in Israel (Lv 11^{7}, Dt 14^{8}), hence the infringement of this rule was one of the practices to which the Hellenizing party sought to compel the faithful (2 Mac 6^{18}). The flesh (Is 65^{4} 66^{17}) and blood (66^{3}) of swine are described as characteristically heathen and repulsive offerings (cf. 1 Mac 1^{47}). A jewel of gold in a swine's snout is used as a simile of a fair woman of doubtful character (Pr 11^{22}). A wild boar appears as fig. of the foes of Israel (Ps 80^{13}). The ancient Egyptians and Phœnicians, as well as the Jews, regarded swine as unclean. Mohammedans are, if possible, more intense than the Jews in their disgust for them. To call a man a *hog* is worse than to call him a *dog*. This feeling is shared by most of the Christians in Palestine. But a considerable number of them breed swine and eat their flesh. Swine's flesh is sold in a number of shops in Beirut. The writer has seen native Christians in Amanus hunting wild swine, which are very abundant in that range, as also in the Jordan Valley, and in the higher regions of Lebanon and Antilebanon. It would appear that, in the time of Christ, Jews had come to raising swine in large herds (Mt 8^{30} etc., Lk 15^{15}). G. E. Post.

SWORD in OT is the rendering of several Hebrew words:—1. מְכֵרָה *mĕkhērāh*, Gn 49^{5} RV ‘weapons of violence are their *swords*’ (better RVm ‘compacts’). The word is of very doubtful meaning, the VSS being at fault; cf. Dillmann, *Genesis, ad loc.* 2. שֶׁלַח *shelaḥ*, Jl 2^{8} AV (better RV ‘weapons’). 3. כִּידוֹן *kîdôn*, Sir 46^{2}, through the *ῥομφαία* of LXX (better ‘spear’ as Jos $8^{18.26}$ or ‘javelin’). 4. חֶרֶב *ḥerebh* (the usual word, occurring with great frequency in OT), which can nearly always be tr^{d} ‘sword’ or ‘dagger’ (Jg 3^{16}), but once had a more general meaning; cf. the Arab. *ḥarb* ‘war.’ Thus *ḥerebh* is ‘tool’ Ex 20^{25}, ‘axes’ Ezk 26^{9}, and ‘mattocks’ 2 Ch 34^{6} AV (RVm ‘axes’; RV, following a different reading, ‘in their ruins’; the text is quite dubious), and in Jos 5^{2} חַרְבוֹת צֻרִים *ḥarbhôth ẓûrîm* is ‘knives of flint.’ Probably therefore *ḥerebh* denoted originally the primitive flint implement, which, according to its varying shape and size, might serve the purpose of spear-head, arrow-head, axe, hammer, or knife. Such implements have been found during the excavation of Tell el-Hesy (Lachish). The ‘blade’ of a sword and the ‘head’ of a spear are alike called לַהַב *lahabh*.

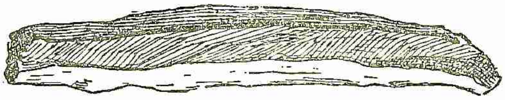

STONE KNIFE FROM TELL EL-HESY (LACHISH).
(By kind permission of the *PEF*).

In size the *ḥerebh* was probably quite short. Ehud's ‘sword’ (Jg 3^{16} RV) was a cubit (about 17 inches) long, and Goliath's (1 S 21^{9}) was a possible weapon for David. The material of all weapons of offence was sometimes iron and sometimes bronze (cf. Gn 4^{22}, Jos 8^{31}, 1 S 17^{7}, Jg 1^{19}, Is 10^{34}); at the excavations at Tell el-Hesy (Lachish) spear-heads and a battle-axe of bronze were found as well as arrow-heads and a curved dagger (*khanjar*) of iron (F. J. Bliss, *PEFSt*, 1892, pp. 101–113, with illustrations; for mines in Palestine cf. Driver on Dt 8^{9}). Roughly speaking, the difference of metal marks a difference of time, bronze weapons being earlier than those of iron or steel. In shape the *ḥerebh* was sometimes curved with a sharp inner edge like the Egyptian sword, sometimes straight like the weapon worn by the Assyrians; for illustrations see R. F. Burton, *Book of the Sword*, pp. 156, 205. The ‘double-edged’ *ḥerebh* (Jg 3^{16}, Ps 149^{6}, Pr 5^{4}, Sir 21^{3}) might be either curved or straight; cf. Burton, as above.

The use of the sword was twofold: in war to despatch the flying or fallen enemy after the bow and the spear had done their work, in peace to execute malefactors; cf. 1 K $2^{8.46}$. The sword was carried in a sheath (תַּעַר *ta'ar*, Jer 47^{6}, or נָדָן *nādān*, 1 Ch 21^{27}) ‘probably of leather’ (Nowack, *Heb. Archäologie*, i. 363), but ancient sheaths were made also of metal (Burton, p. 222, with note 11), of wood (Schliemann, *Mycenæ*, p. 281; cf. p. 303), of ivory (*Odyssey*, viii. 404), and perhaps even of linen (Schliemann, p. 283). When not worn a sword might be wrapped in a cloth (1 S 21^{9}), just as blades are bandaged with greased rags by the natives of India (Burton, p. 232). The sheathed sword was worn hanging from a girdle (חֲגוֹר *ḥăgôr*, 2 S 20^{8}; cf. Ps $45^{3\,(4)}$).

Among the many interesting sword-passages of the OT are:—Gn 3^{24} RV (the two guardians are the cherubim and the darting flame, *i.e.* probably the lightning; cf. Burton, p. 183, who suggests the disc-like sword of Merodach); Gn 4^{23} (the Song of the Discovery of the Sword, according to some); Dt 33^{29} (the LORD Israel's sword, so EV rightly); Jg 7$^{(18).\,20}$ (the war-cry 'a sword for the LORD and for Gideon'); Is 27^{1} (the LORD'S sword of chastisement); Is 2^{4}=Mic 4^{3} ('swords into plowshares' a symbol of peace); Jl 3^{10} [4^{10}] ('plowshares into swords' a symbol of war); 2 Mac 15^{15} (the prophet Jeremiah delivers a golden sword to Judas Maccabæus in a vision).

In LXX and NT 'sword' is represented by three words:—**1.** *ξίφος*, a long straight sword, only in LXX. **2.** *μάχαιρα*, a word used to describe a mere knife (Gn 22^{10}, Jg 19^{29} LXX (A) for מַאֲכֶלֶת *ma'ăkheleth*; cf. Lk 22^{38} in F. Field, *Notes on the Translation of NT*, pp. 76, 77), as well as the legionary's sword (Eph 6^{17}), and the executioner's weapon (Ac 12^{2}). *Μάχαιρα* is used in Mt 26^{52}, a verse sometimes supposed to refer to war, but really referring to ordinary violence; in Eph 6^{17} of the 'sword of the Spirit, the word of God (*ῥῆμα θεοῦ*)' received (not 'taken') by the Christian warrior; and in He 4^{12} of the two-edged sword with which 'the word (*ὁ λόγος*) of God' is compared.* **3.** *ῥομφαία*, a word of somewhat doubtful meaning, but used in several interesting passages. It is found in Latin in the forms *romfea* (Sir 46^{2}) and *rumpia* (Livy, xxxi. 39). It is certain that it was a Thracian weapon of large size (Livy, *loc. cit.*), but whether it was a *sword* or a *spear* is not quite certain. In Plutarch (*Æmil.* 18) the Thracians are spoken of as *ὀρθὰς ῥομφαίας βαρυσιδήρους ἀπὸ τῶν δεξιῶν ὤμων ἐπισείοντες* ('having straight *rumpiæ* of heavy iron swaying from their right shoulders'). Suidas (ed. Bernhardy, 1853) gives *τὸ μακρὸν ἀκόντιον ἢ μάχαιρα*, and Hesychius (Leyden, 1766) *μάχαιρα, ξίφος, ἢ ἀκόντιον μακρόν*. In the 'Vulgate' Psalter (taken from the LXX) *ῥομφαῖαι* is rendered *frameæ* (*i.e.* large spears such as were used by the Germans) in Ps 9^{7}, where Jerome's 'Hebrew' Psalter gives *solitudines* (=חרבות). The usual Syr. rendering is 'sword,' but in Lk 2^{35} both Pesh. and Syr$^{\text{sin}}$ give *rumḥa* 'lance,' and in Rev 1^{16} the Philoxenian (ed. Gwynn, 1897) gives *ruḥa* (apparently a mistake for *rumḥa*). General Pitt-Rivers, quoted by Burton (p. 183), speaks of a 'leaf-shaped sword-blade attached to the end of the spear like the Thracian *romphea*,' but Burton himself (p. 237) says that in modern Romaic it denotes the *flamberge*, the wavy blade carried by angels in art (*ib.* pp. 136, 138). That *ῥομφαία* may possibly mean 'spear' is disputed by W. Wayte (Smith's *Dict. Antiq.*^{3} 1890), but acknowledged by Plummer on Lk 2^{35}.

Instances of the use of *ῥομφαία* are—Gn 3^{24} (*τὴν φλογίνην ῥ.*, see above); 1 Ch 21$^{12.\,27}$ (the sword of pestilence); Sir 46^{2} (Heb. כִּידוֹן *kîdôn* 'javelin'); 2 Mac 15^{15} ('the sword seen in vision); Lk 2^{35} (the sword of anguish), Rev 1^{16} 19^{15} (the sword of judgment proceeding out of the mouth of the glorified Christ; cf. Is 11^{4} 49^{2}). This last image is not so strange as appears at first sight, for the short Roman sword was tongue-like in shape, as the annexed illustration (taken from Lindenschmit, *Tracht u. Bewaffnung*. Tab. xi. fig. 11) shows.

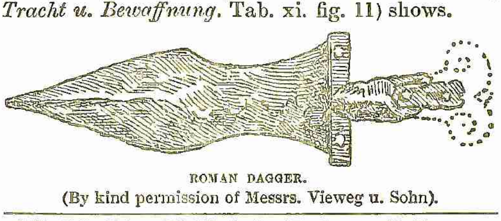

ROMAN DAGGER.

(By kind permission of Messrs. Vieweg u. Sohn).

LITERATURE.—Sir Richard Burton's *Book of the Sword* (London, 1884) is a work of great but unequal merit, with many helpful illustrations; pp. 183–186 are on The Jewish Sword. Schliemann's *Mycenæ* (London, 1878) contains a good deal of information about ancient Greek swords. For other works see ARMS.

W. EMERY BARNES.

SYCAMINE (*συκάμινος*, Lk 17^{6}).—As St. Luke alludes by name to the *sycomore* (*συκομορέα*), it is prob. [but see Plummer, *ad loc.*] that he discriminates between it and the *sycamine*. By consent of scholars, *συκάμινος* is the Black Mulberry, *Morus nigra*, L., the strict signification of the word. Yet *συκάμινος* undoubtedly signifies also the *sycomore*. In all the passages in the OT where שִׁקְמִים and שִׁקְמוֹת occur (1 K 10^{27}, 1 Ch 27^{28}, 2 Ch 1^{15} 9^{27}, Ps 78^{47}, Is 9^{10}, Am 7^{14}), the LXX tr. it by *συκάμινος* (or -*ον*). As it is undoubted that *shiḳmîm* and *shiḳmôth* refer to the *sycomore*, we conclude that the LXX so understood *συκάμινος*. The true sycamine is therefore mentioned but once in the canonical books of the Bible and once in Apocr. (1 Mac 6^{34} *μόρος*, AV and RV 'mulberry'). It is a fine tree of the order *Urticaceæ*, with a hemispherical comus, 20–30 ft. high. Its leaves are cordate-ovate, undivided or more or less lobed and toothed. They are too tough to be suitable food for the silkworm, like those of the White Mulberry, *Morus alba*, L. The fruit resembles in size and shape the larger varieties of blackberries. It really consists of an aggregation of flowers, in an oblong spike, the succulent part of the fruit being the fleshy sepals. It has a pleasant acid taste, and is sold in all Oriental fruit markets. It is so abundant in Damascus as to be known as *tût-shâmî*=Damascus Mulberry. Neither it nor the white mulberry is to be confounded with the 'mulberry trees' of 2 S 5$^{23.\,24}$, 1 Ch 14$^{14.\,15}$; see MULBERRY.

G. E. POST.

SYCAMORE, SYCOMORE.—As pointed out under SYCAMINE, the Heb. שִׁקְמִים and שִׁקְמוֹת refer to the sycomore, which must not be confused with the tree known by that name in England and America —*Acer pseudo-platanus*, L., the false plane tree. The reference is to a tree of the same order, *Urticaceæ*, as the sycamine. It is of the same genus as the fig, and known in botany as *Ficus Sycomorus*, L., Arab. *jummeiz*. It has a flattened spherical comus, from 15–50 ft. high, often one-sided, as in the illustration, and sometimes shading an area 60–80 ft. in diameter. As it is very frequently planted by roadsides, its long, nearly horizontal branches project over the road. It was therefore eminently a suitable tree for Zaccheus to climb (Lk 19^{4}) in order to see Jesus passing. Seated on its lowest branch, he would be within easy speaking distance of the Saviour. The

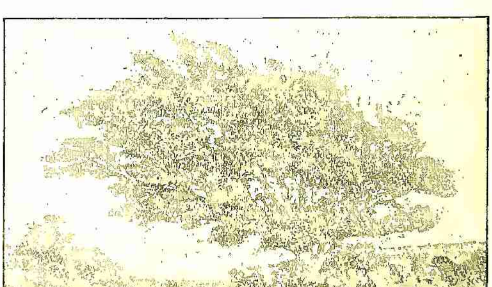

SYCOMORE TREE OVERHANGING A ROADWAY.

(The hedge to the right is Indian Fig).

---

* Cf. Bab. Talm. *Bĕrākhōth* 5*a*, 'R. Isaac said, Every one who recites the *Shĕma* (Dt 6^{4}) upon his bed (Ps 149^{5}) is as if he held a two-edged sword in his hand.'

foliage also is not usually dense, esp. in the old trees by waysides. The trunks often attain a very large size, sometimes 30-40 ft. in circumference. The leaves are ovate-subcordate. The fruit is a small, not very palatable fig, about 1 in. long, growing thick together on curious little leafless twigs on the trunk or large branches. Whatever may have been the custom in ancient times in regard to puncturing the figs of the sycomore to cause them to ripen, or to improve their flavour, this is no longer done in Palestine. The fruit is either shaken down or plucked as it ripens, and eaten without any preparation. It ripens in successive instalments almost throughout the year. The wood of the sycomore, although light and porous, is durable. It was used in Egypt for mummy cases. It is not now so common in the Holy Land as to furnish much available timber, but it was formerly very plentiful, esp. in the low lands (1 K 10^{27}, 1 Ch 27^{28}). It occurred, however, in the hill-country also. Amos, a Judæan shepherd, collected (?)* its fruit (7^{14}). The destroying of sycomore trees by frost (Ps 78^{47}) was phenomenal, as frost is exceedingly rare in Egypt. At the same time it was a great disaster, as the sycomore was much cultivated there for the industrial uses of its wood. Sycaminopolis (*Haifa*) derived its name from this tree. G. E. POST.

SYCHAR (ABℵ Συχάρ; Vulg. *Sichar*).—Jesus passing through Samaria, on His way from Judæa to Galilee, came 'to a city of Samaria called Sychar,' which was 'near to the parcel of ground that Jacob gave to his son Joseph' (Jn 4^{5}); and Jacob's well was there (v.^{6}). The identification of Sychar has been the subject of much discussion. All commentators now agree that 'Sychar' is the correct reading, and not a copyist's error for 'Shechem' as Jerome and Epiphanius held. But the question remains whether Sychar was Shechem or another place in the vicinity of Shechem.

It has been urged that, in consequence of the hatred which existed between the Jews and the Samaritans, the Jewish common people ironically called Shechem *Shikkor*, 'drunken,' or *Sheker*, 'falsehood.' But there is no evidence either in Josephus, the Targum, or the Talmud of their ever having done so; and the only support of the theory seems to be that Isaiah ($28^{1.3}$), referring, apparently, to the city of Samaria, denounces the 'drunkards' (*shikkōrim*) of Ephraim; and that the expression in Hab 2^{18}, a 'teacher of lies' (*mōreh sheker*), which refers to idolatry, contains an allusion to Moreh and Shechem. These interpretations are too forced, and the suggestion of Trench (*Studies in the Gospels*, p. 86), that St. John 'was himself the author of the nickname,' is too far-fetched. Another view is that *m* and *r* are often confounded in pronunciation (Olshausen and Lücke, *Com. z. Ev. Joh.* i. 512), and that Sycha*r* comes from Syche*m* as pronounced by the Greek residents (cf. Belia*r* for Belia*l*, 2 Co 6^{15}, Eph 2^{2}). The change from *e* to *a* is not, however, explained. Jerome (*Ep. Paul.* and *Quæst. Gen.*) says that Sychar and Sychem are the same place, but he gives no evidence, and attributes the altered form to a copyist's error. This view has been adopted by Epiphanius and the pilgrims Arculf (A.D. 670), Theoderich (A.D. 1172), Maundeville (A.D. 1312), etc.; and in modern times by Robinson, Stanley, Guérin, and Riehm (*HWB*).

It is more logical to take Sychar to be another place in the vicinity of Shechem. The writer of the Fourth Gospel was well acquainted with the OT, which sufficiently indicates the position of Shechem; and it is inconceivable that he should have described a well-known town with such a history and with so many sacred associations as 'a city of Samaria near the parcel of ground that Jacob gave to his son Joseph.' It is also highly improbable that St. John, in this particular narrative, would have referred to Shechem by a nickname. St. Stephen (Ac 7^{16}) uses the LXX form, Sychem (Συχέμ), and this would probably have been employed by the evangelist if he had not intended to indicate another place. Sychar and Sychem are, in fact, distinguished in ancient documents. Eusebius (*Onom.*) says that Sychar was 'before,' that is 'east' of Neapolis (*Nâblus*), which he distinguishes from Sychem—a place in its suburbs, near Joseph's tomb. Jerome (*Onom.*) translates this description without remark. The Bordeaux Pilgrim (A.D. 333) makes a distinction between Neapolis, Sichem, and Sichar, and places the last one Roman mile from Sichem. Sychar is also mentioned as a distinct place from Neapolis and Shechem by Abbot Daniel (A.D. 1106), Fetellus (A.D. 1130), and John of Würzburg (A.D. 1160). All these pilgrims apparently refer to *el-'Askar*,—a village on the lower slopes of Mt. Ebal, which has a fine spring,—*'Ain el-'Askar*, and gives its name, *Sahel 'Askar*, to the northern portion of the plain of *el-Mukhna*. This village answers much better than such a well-known place as Shechem to the casual notice of St. John. Robinson (*Later Researches*, p. 133) held that 'the fact that 'Askar begins with the letter 'Ain excludes all idea of affinity with the name Sychar.' But there are cases, such as Ascalon (*'Askulân*), in which the Aleph of the Hebrew has changed to an 'Ain. In the Samaritan Chronicle, which cannot be later than the 14th cent. A.D., mention is made of a town, apparently near Shechem, that is called Ischar,—merely a vulgar pronunciation of Sychar,—and the Samaritans, in translating their Chronicle into Arabic, call this place *'Askar*. Thus the transition is traceable from the Hebrew form, through the Samaritan Ischar, to the Arabic *'Askar* (Conder, *Tent-Work*, i. 75). The Mishna mentions a place called 'the plain of En-Sokher,' which is perhaps Sychar (Neubauer, *Géog. du Talmud*, p. 169). Schwarz (*HL* p. 127) correctly identifies En-Sokher with *'Ain el-'Askar*, and the plain with the *Sahel 'Askar*. There is thus a strong case for the identification of Sychar with *el-'Askar*. This view is supported by Thomson (*L. and B.* ch. 31), Williams (Smith's *D. of G.* ii. 412*b*), Raumer (*Pal.* p. 163), Ewald (*Gesch.* iv. 284, v. 348, 3rd ed.), Derenbourg (*Géog. du Talmud*, p. 169), Caspari, Neubauer, Conder, Smith (*HGHL* p. 367 ff.—a good summary of the question), Tristram, and others. C. W. WILSON.

SYCHEM (Συχέμ; *Sichem*).—The Greek (LXX Gn 12^{6} etc.) form of *Shechem*. It occurs only in the speech of St. Stephen (Ac 7^{16}), according to which the twelve sons of Jacob were buried in Sychem, in the tomb that Abraham bought of Hamor (Emmor) in Sychem. See SHECHEM.

Although in the above-named passage in Acts the strictly accurate reproduction of the original demands *Sychem* (so AV), RV, consistently with its practice of following the Hebrew in the case of OT names, gives *Shechem*. C. W. WILSON.

SYENE.—See SEVENEH.

SYMEON.—See SIMEON.

SYMMACHUS.—See VERSIONS (GREEK).

---

* AV tr. *bôlēs shiḳmîm*, 'a gatherer of sycomore fruit,' RV 'a dresser of sycomore trees.' It is possible that the Heb. expression (cf. LXX *κνίζων*, Vulg. *vellicans*) refers to the above-mentioned method of improving the fruit. See, further, Driver, *ad loc.*

SYNAGOGUE.—

- i. The name.
- ii. Origin and history.
- iii. Situation of the building, style of architecture, etc.
- iv. Synagogue worship, officials, etc.
- v. The synagogue as an elementary school.
- vi. Other uses of the synagogue.
- vii. Latest history of the synagogue.
- Literature.

i. THE NAME.—*Synagogue* is the name applied to the place of assembly used by Jewish communities primarily for the purpose of public worship. The Gr. *συναγωγή* stands for the assembly itself, and represents in the LXX in most instances the Heb. עֵדָה. So also in the Heb. Sirach (*e.g.* 4[7] 41[18]) עֵדָה answers to the *συναγωγή* of the Gr. text. The Aramaic versions of the Bible reproduce עֵדָה by כְּנִישְׁתָּא (Syr. כנושתא). The verb כנש, from which this Aram. substantive is derived, has its representative in Hebrew in the rare verb כנס, which is used in Est 4[16] of the assembling of the Jews of Susa for a religious fast. The common Heb. verb אסף is translated in Aramaic by כנש, in Greek by *συνάγω* (cf. *e.g.* Jl 2[16]). From כנס (of which the verbal noun is כְּנִיסָה in the special sense of assembling for worship, *Megilla*, i. 1, *Gen. rab.* ch. 49, on Gn 18[42]) was formed, as the equivalent of the Aram. כנישתא, the subst. כְּנֶסֶת, which may indeed stand for any gathering, but which appears at a very early date to have acquired the special sense of an assemblage for worship. It was perhaps originally this special sense that was attached to the word when the gathering of which we read in Neh 9[1]-10[40] was called כנסת הגדולה 'the great assembly' [נאספו of Neh 9[1] is translated in Pesh. by אתכנשו, in LXX by *συνήχθησαν*]; for this epoch-making assembly had the marks of a worshipping body (fasting, reading of the Torah, confession of sin, prayer). See art. SYNAGOGUE (THE GREAT). The house, in which the meeting for worship was held, was called בֵּית הַכְּנֶסֶת (Aram. בֵּי כְּנִישְׁתָּא), but the words כְּנֶסֶת and כְּנִישְׁתָּא standing alone may also be used for the place of meeting. It is noteworthy that in the Pal. Talmud the use of כנישתא predominates, in the Bab. Talmud בי כנישתא. The plural of כְּנֶסֶת is כְּנֵסִיּוֹת (from a supposed *כְּנֵסִית; cf. משניות, plur. of משנה), hence בָּתֵּי כְנֵסִיּוֹת = 'synagogues.' To this plural goes back the sing. form כְּנֵסִיָּה, of which there is only an isolated occurrence (*Aboth*, iv. 11; the reading כְּנֵסֶת, cited by Taylor, is not sufficiently authenticated), which is not the equivalent in meaning of כְּנֶסֶת, but stands for an association or society in general. In this more general sense of כְּנֵסִיָּה we should also understand the plural found in *Aboth*, iii. 10, and *Echa rabbathi*, Prooem., No. 10.—The shorter expression כְּנֶסֶת or כְּנִישְׁתָּא (without בֵּית or בֵּי) finds its representative in the Gr. *συναγωγή*, which in the NT and Josephus stands for the place of worship, the synagogue. Cf. Philo, *Quod omnis probus liber*, § 12 (of the Essenes): *εἰς ἱεροὺς ἀφικνούμενοι τόπους οἳ καλοῦνται συναγωγαί.*

Another Gr. name for the synagogue is **προσευχή**, which occurs especially in Philo (*in Flaccum*, § 6, 7, 14, *Leg. ad Gaium*, § 20, 23, 43, 46), but is found also elsewhere (3 Mac 7[20], Ac 16[13]; Jos. *Vita*, 54; inscriptions *ap.* Schürer, *GJV*[3] ii. 443). It appears in Latin (*proseucha*) in Juv. *Sat.* iii. 296. As *συναγωγή* is shortened from *οἶκος συναγωγῆς*, so is *προσευχή* from *οἶκος προσευχῆς*. The corresponding Heb. expression is found in Deutero-Isaiah, not only in 56[7] (בית תפלתי, בית תפלה), but also in 60[7], where בית תפארתי is rendered in the LXX by *ὁ οἶκος τῆς προσευχῆς μου*, so that the original reading must have been ב׳ תפלתי. The Jewish tradition-literature offers only once, in an anecdote of the Bab. Talmud (*Giṭṭin*, 39*b*), the half-Aramaic half-Heb. בי תפלה. Once (Midrash *Tehillim* on Ps 4) the synagogue is called מקום תפלתו, 'his (God's) place of prayer.' Philo has also *προσευκτήριον*, 'place of prayer' (*Vita Mosis*, iii. 27).

In an edict of the emperor Augustus the synagogue is called *σαββατεῖον*, 'house of Sabbath-keeping' (Jos. *Ant.* XVI. vi. 2), to which corresponds in later times the Syr. בית שבתא דיהודיי, plur. בית שבי (see Payne-Smith, col. 497).

One other term may be mentioned, כְּנֶסֶת יִשְׂרָאֵל used by the Agada as a personification of the whole body of Israel, the Jewish people. In the Tannaite literature the expression is still rare (see Bacher, *Die älteste Terminologie der jüdischen Schriftauslegung*, p. 85), but it is very frequent in the post-Tannaite Agada (from the 3rd cent. onwards; see the passages cited under 'Gemeinde Israels' in the Index to Bacher's *Agada der pal. Amoräer*, vols. i. ii. iii.). It is the same kind of personification as took place when the analogous term *ἐκκλησία* was adopted as a designation for the whole body of adherents of the Christian faith. For the use of the term by the Church Fathers see Schürer[3], ii. 432.

ii. ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE SYNAGOGUE.—1. The first beginnings of the synagogue as an institution of Judaism are involved in complete obscurity. The later Tradition represents it, like other more recent institutions, as in existence from the earliest times. According to the Pal. Targ. on Ex 18[20], this verse already contains an allusion to the prayers to be repeated in the synagogues; the Targ. on 1 Ch 16[39] states that the great place of offering at Gibeon was a synagogue. An anonymous Midrash (*Pesikta*, ed. Buber, 129*b*) makes three contemporary prophets proclaim the word of God in three different places: Jeremiah in the public squares, Zephaniah in the synagogues, Huldah among the women. The 'house of the people' (Jer 39[8]) was, according to a Midrash cited by D. Kimchi, the synagogue (see also Rashi's *Com. ad loc.*; L. Löw, *Gesam. Schriften*, iv. 8, wrongly cites here the Targum). Although a tradition of the 2nd cent. tells us that uneducated people were accustomed to call the synagogue בֵּית עַמָּא (Simon b. Eleazar, *Shabbath*, 32*a*), this explanation of the expression בית העם in Jeremiah cannot be taken seriously. Philo and Josephus (see Schürer[3], ii. 429) both believed that the institution of the synagogue goes back to Moses, and the same notion perhaps finds expression in the words of the Apostle James in Ac 15[21] 'For Moses from generations of old (*ἐκ γενεῶν ἀρχαίων*) hath in every city them that preach him, being read in the synagogues every Sabbath.'

In all probability, the germs of the future institution of the synagogue should be sought during the Babylonian exile. Thus the historical reality is not so very far removed from the view which the Targ. on Ezk 11[16] attaches to the words וָאֱהִי לָהֶם לְמִקְדָּשׁ מְעַט, namely, that when Israel was scattered among the nations God gave them the synagogue as a compensation for the loss of the sanctuary. Amongst the exiles torn from their homes, but brought nearer to God and His teaching, the need must have made itself felt of a medium for cultivating, in common, religious emotions and for receiving religious instruction. The absence of the sacrificial cultus during the Exile, the higher significance to which Sabbath observance attained, the regular fast-days (cf. Zec 7[5], Is 58) augmented this sense of need, which would find satisfaction in gatherings at fixed places and times. All these considerations, which were at work in Babylon, made their influence felt also in Palestine, when Israel after the Return struck new roots in the old home, and the religious life, in spite of the fact that the newly-built temple at Jerusalem was its central point, gained a basis independent of the sacrificial cultus. In particular, the activity of Ezra and his successors the scribes guided the development of the religious life in a direction which was bound to lead to the rise of synagogues all over the country. Hence we may confidently place the origin of the synagogue in Palestine at the period of the Persian domination. There is indeed no express and unmistakable mention of the synagogue either in the Persian or in the first two centuries of the Greek era. Even the narratives about the religious persecutions under Antiochus Epiphanes are silent as to synagogues. At most, the 74th Psalm, if it really belongs to the Maccabæan age, may be cited as the earliest source where the synagogue is named; for מועדי אל (v.^{8}) may very well be interpreted, with Aquila and the Midrash on Psalms, as a name for the places of assembly throughout the land consecrated to God, מוֹעֵד being thus a poetical equivalent of בית הכנסת (Löw cites, in illustration of the expression, בֵּית מוֹעֵד of Job 30^{22}; cf., also, בית ועד, *Aboth*, i. 4).—Express notices of the synagogue, so far as these are found in the literature, belong for the most part to the last century of the Second Temple. But in all cases where it is mentioned the synagogue appears as an institution that has long existed, and as the central point of the organized social life of the Jews.

2. In Jerusalem itself, immediately before the destruction of the city by Titus, there were 394 (Bab. *Kethub.* 105*a*), or, according to another version (Jerus. *Megilla*, 73*d* and oft.), 480 synagogues. Even if these figures are exaggerated, the number of synagogues in Jerusalem must be thought of as very large. Apart from the synagogues belonging to the inhabitants proper of the capital, there were others for the various communities of foreign Jews settled in Jerusalem. A Tannaite tradition mentions the synagogue of the Alexandrians at Jerusalem (Tos. *Megilla*, ii. 224^{26}, Jerus. *Megilla*, 73*d*^{40}; otherwise Bab. *Megilla*, 26*a*). The Acts of the Apostles (6^{9}) also names the synagogue of the Alexandrians, along with the synagogues of the Cyrenians, Cilicians, and Asians; the Hellenistic members of these synagogues dispute with Stephen (*ib.* cf. 9^{29}). In the temple itself there was a synagogue, which Joshua b. Chananja mentions from recollections of his own (Tos. *Sukka*, iv. 198^{18}), and of whose functionaries we hear also from other quarters (*Yoma*, vii. 1; *Sota*, vii. 7, 8). On the synagogues of Jerusalem cf. also Jerus. *Sukka*, 54*a*^{45}.

Of the synagogues of Palestine the Gospels name Nazareth (Mt 13^{54}, Mk 6^{2}, Lk 4^{16}) and Capernaum (Mk 1^{21}, Lk 7^{5}, Jn 6^{59}) as those in which Jesus taught. The synagogue of Dora was built by Agrippa I. (Jos. *Ant.* XIX. vi. 3); the synagogue of Cæsarea became a moving cause of the rising against Rome (*BJ* II. xiv. 4–5), and in memory of this continued to be called in the 4th cent. 'the revolution synagogue' (בנישתא דמרדתא, Jerus. *Bikkurim*, 65*d*^{17} *et al.*; see Graetz, *Gesch. d. Juden*^{2}, iv. 313). The great synagogue of Tiberias is mentioned by Josephus (*Vita*, 54). During the three centuries that followed the destruction of Jerusalem, the Talmudical literature names various Pal. synagogues: for instance, those that were the centres of scribal activity: Sepphoris (the 'great synagogue,' *Pesikta*, 136*b*; the 'synagogue of the Babylonians,' Jerus. *Berakhoth*, 9*a*^{32}, *Shabb.* 8*a*^{42}; the 'synagogue of the vine' [ב' דגופנא], Jerus. *Berakhoth*, 6*a*, *et al.*); Tiberias (*Erubin*, x. 10; 'the 13 synagogues of Tiberias,' *Berakhoth*, 8*a*, 30*b*; the 'synagogue of the senate-house' [βουλή, ב' דבולי], Jerus. *Taan.* 64*a*^{51}, see *Die Agada der pal. Amor.* iii. 100); Cæsarea (see above); Lydda (Jerus. *Shekalim*, v., end). There is mention, further, of the synagogues of Beth-shean [Scythopolis] (Jerus. *Meg.* 74*a*^{67}); Kiphra or Kuphra (Jerus. *Taan.* 68*b*^{34}, *Meg.* 70*a*^{49}; in *Pesikta rabb.*, ed. Friedmann, p. 196^{b} כפר של טבריא 'village of Tiberias'); Maon (*Shabb.* 139*a*, *Zebach.* 118*b*); Sichnin (Jerus. *Meg.* 75*b*^{41}); Tibein (Tos. *Meg.* 223^{13}).

In Babylonia the oldest synagogues were counted to be that of Shaph-Jethîb at Nahardea (*Megilla*, 29*b*, *Rosh hash.* 24*b*, *Aboda zara*, 43*b*, *Nidda*, 13*a*), and that of Huẓal (*Megilla*, 29*b*). The founding of the former was ascribed to king Jehoiachin. From the 3rd cent. there is witness for a 'synagogue of Daniel' (*Erubin*, 21*a*). In Machuza there was in the 4th cent. a 'synagogue of the Romans' (ב' דרומאי, *Meg.* 26*b*).

In Syria specially famous was the great synagogue of Antioch, to which the successors of Antiochus Epiphanes presented the brazen vessels which had been carried off from the temple at Jerusalem (Jos. *BJ* VII. iii. 3). On this synagogue, on whose site arose in the 4th cent. the Christian basilica dedicated to the Maccabæan martyrs, see Cardinal Rampolla in *Revue de l'Art Chrétien*, 1899, p. 390.—The Apostle Paul preached in various synagogues at Damascus (Ac 9^{20}, cf. v.^{2}). The narrative of the journeys of the same apostle makes mention of synagogues in Asia Minor, Macedonia, Greece: for instance, those of Pisidian Antioch (Ac 13^{14}), Iconium (14^{1}), Ephesus (18^{19}), Philippi (16^{13}), Thessalonica (17^{1}), Berœa (17^{10}), Athens (17^{17}), Corinth ($18^{4\cdot 7}$). There were several synagogues at Salamis in Cyprus (13^{1}).

The numerous Jewish population of Alexandria had, according to the testimony of Philo (*Leg. ad Gaium*, § 20), many synagogues in the different quarters of the city. The largest of these was the famous basilica, of which the Tannaite tradition of the 2nd cent. gives a hyperbolical but yet very graphic description (Tos. *Sukka*, iv. 198^{20}; Jerus. *Sukka*, 55*a*, bottom; Bab. *Sukka*, 51*a*). The founding of the synagogue of Ptolemais is related in 3 Mac 7^{20}.

We learn from Philo (*Leg. ad Gaium*, § 23) that as early as the time of Augustus there were a number of synagogues in Rome. The names of several of these have been preserved in the inscriptions (see Schürer^{3}, iii. 44 ff.). An ancient literary tradition names the 'synagogue of Severus' at Rome (see Epstein in *Monatsschrift für Gesch. u. Wiss. des Judenthums*, 1885, p. 338).

The memory of many synagogues of the Diaspora is preserved in early Greek inscriptions. Specially noteworthy are the ruins of ancient synagogues at several spots in northern Galilee, 'of which the oldest date from the second or even the first cent. A.D.' (Schürer^{2}, ii. 445).

3. At the time of the rise of Christianity every Jewish community, whether in Palestine or in the Diaspora, certainly had its synagogue. The words of St. James quoted above are in harmony with the testimony of Philo, who speaks of the places of prayer that existed in every city as so many places of instruction in virtue and piety (*Vita Mos.* iii. 27: *τὰ κατὰ πόλεις προσευκτήρια τί ἕτερόν ἐστιν ἢ διδασκαλεῖα κ.τ.λ.*). Hence there is a reflexion of the real condition of things when in a Tannaite saying of the 1st or 2nd cent. (R. 'Aḳiba already glosses it) the synagogue is named as one of the qualifications of a city in which a scribe may settle down (*Sanhedrin*, 17*b*, bottom). When in the Tannaite hălāchā the synagogue is looked upon as the property of the city (*Nedarim*, v. 5), the places in view are such as are inhabited wholly or for the most part by Jews, for in these the political and the religious body are one and the same. Where there is no synagogue, the citizens (בני העיר 'sons of the city') have the right to demand that one be built and 'to compel one another to do this' (Tos. *Baba meẓia*, xi. 396^{29}). The same rule applies to the procuring of

the necessary copy of the Pentateuch and the Prophets for the synagogue (*ib.*).—The members of the community belonging to the same synagogue are called בני הכנסת ('sons of the synagogue'), a designation which has a special significance when there are a number of synagogues in the same place. See the use of the expression in Tos. *Megilla*, ii. 223^{20}; Bar. *Moed kuṭon*, 22*b*, bottom; *Bekhoroth*, v. 5; *Zabim*, iii. 2. In Tos. *Megilla*, iii. *ad init.* (224^{10}) the members of the synagogal community are opposed to the rulers of the city (פרנסי העיר).—With reference to the right to alienate a synagogue to another use, the casuistry of the Pal. Amoras draws a distinction between private synagogues (בית הכנסת של יחיד) and public synagogues (ב' ה' של רבים); see Jerus. *Megilla*, $73d^{38}$ and $74a^{57}$. The corresponding passage of the Bab. Talmud (*Meg.* 26*a*) distinguishes village from city synagogues (ב' ה' של כפרים, כרכים).—The possibility of a private house being converted into a synagogue is considered in the Tannaite hălāchā (*Nedarim*, ix. 2, cf. Jerus. *Meg.* $73d^{49}$). As a rule, the synagogues were buildings specially erected for the purpose. In spite of the public character of the synagogal buildings they were subjected to certain ceremonial regulations applicable to dwelling-houses (Tos. *Negaim*, vi. 625^{17}, Bar. *Yoma*, 11*b*). A varying tradition (*Yoma*, *ib.*) distinguishes between synagogues which contain a dwelling for the synagogue attendant (דירה לחזן הכנסת) and those that do not.—The Tannaite hălāchā deals with the contingency of a non-Jew supplying the building material for a synagogue (Tos. *Meg.* iii. 224^{20}). This recalls the case of the Roman centurion at Capernaum, who had built a synagogue for the Jews (Lk 7^5).—The consecration attaching to the synagogal building in virtue of its sacred destination does not cease entirely even when the building is no longer used for its original purpose. A synagogue may be sold only on condition that it is not used for dishonourable purposes (*Meg.* ii. 2). It is even considered a profanation of its sacred character to enter a synagogue for shelter from the burning sun or from frost or rain (Tos. *Meg.* iii. 224^{27}; Bab. *Meg.* 28*a b*). Citing the circumstance that even the ruined holy places are called sanctuaries (Lv 26^{31}), Jehuda b. Ilai (2nd cent.) teaches that even the ruins of synagogues are not to be used for profane purposes (*Meg.* iii. 3). The Bab. Amora Chisda (3rd cent.) prohibits the pulling down of a synagogue until another has been built (*Meg.* 26*b*, *Baba bathra*, 3*b*).—In Babylonia there appear to have been two kinds of synagogue—winter and summer synagogues (*Baba bathra*, 3*b*; see Löw, *Gesam. Schriften*, iv. 97).

iii. SITUATION OF THE BUILDING, STYLE OF ARCHITECTURE, ETC.—1. A Tannaite tradition, appealing to Pr 1^{21}, lays down the rule that the synagogue should be built 'on the height of the city,' *i.e.* upon a commanding point (Tos. *Meg.* iii. 227^{16}). With reference to this, a later Midrash (*Tanchuma*, בחקותי 4, ed. Buber, iii. 10) declares: 'In early times the synagogue was built on the height of the city.' So also Rab in Babylon (3rd cent.) taught: 'A city whose roofs overtop the synagogue is given over to destruction' (*Shabb.* 11*a*). Of course these words can apply only to synagogues built within the city, and there can be no doubt that this was the case with the synagogues in Palestine. On the other hand, there is evidence that in Babylonia the synagogues were frequently outside the city. The Bab. Talmud speaks of synagogues which are 'in the neighbourhood of the city,' and presupposes others which are at a greater distance from it (*Kiddush.* 73*b*, cf. *Shabb.* 24*b*, and also the Comm. of Rashi, *s.* מכנה).

Allusion is made to such extra-mural synagogues in a Midrash on Ec 12^5, where the old man, to whom the walk to the synagogue is a hard task, is addressed in the words בוא ונצא אל בית הכנסת ('come let us go to the synagogue,' *Tanchuma*, ed. Buber, ח"י שרה, 7). On the other hand, we are not to follow L. Löw (*Gesam. Schriften*, iv. 15) in seeing in the interpretation of the 'well in the field' (Gn 29^2) as an allegory of the synagogue (*Gen. rabba*, ch. 70) an allusion to the situation of synagogues outside the city; for the expression 'in the field' is as indifferent for the purpose of the allegory as it is in the immediately preceding interpretation of the well as an allegory of the Sanhedrin. Nor does the passage *Pesikta*, 158*a* (ed. Buber), refer to synagogues in the country (Löw, *ib.* note 2), but the contrast there is between prayer in the open country and prayer in the synagogue inside the city (cf. Midrash *Tehillim* on Ps 3, ed. Buber, p. 46).

The fact that the synagogues in Babylonia were—partly at least—outside the cities was perhaps connected with the circumstance that at the beginning of the Sassanide rule the synagogues were destroyed by the Persians (*Yoma*, 10*a*), and the rebuilding of them within the cities was not allowed.

To another category belong the statements from which it has been inferred that it was customary to build the synagogues *by a running stream or by the sea.* None of these statements, moreover, refer to either Palestine or Babylonia. During St. Paul's stay at Philippi it is said (Ac 16^{13}): 'And on the sabbath day we went forth without the gate, by a river side, where we supposed there was a place of prayer.' The synagogue of Philippi was thus situated by a river outside the city. The assumption that it would be found there shows that this must have been the case elsewhere also. The municipality of Halicarnassus expressly granted permission to the Jews to perform their devotions, according to their ancestral habit, by the seashore (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. x. 23). But here there is no mention of a synagogue, but simply of prayer in the open air. We may recall in this connexion the religious fasts that were held in Palestine in the open market-place of the town (*Taanith*, ii. 1). It is the same allusion to the fasts of the Jews that underlies the similar statements of Tertullian (*de Jejunio*, 16; *ad Nationes*, i. 13; see Schürer^3, ii. 447). In like manner the Jews of Alexandria betook themselves, in their time of straits, to the seashore, to pray there 'in the purest place' (ἐν καθαρωτάτῳ; Philo, *in Flaccum*, § 14). This remark of Philo throws light upon the custom of the Jews living among the heathen of praying by the seashore, and perhaps also upon the building of the synagogue by a river, which is witnessed for Philippi. The motive would be to avoid the interior of the city polluted by idolatry, and to seek the 'purest' places for prayer, namely, the banks of rivers and the seashore. The same notion finds expression also in the ancient Midrash on Ex 12^1 (*Mechilta*, *ad init.*): Moses prays outside the city (Ex 9^{33}), because it was full of abominations and idolatry (see Kohler, *Monatsschrift*, xxxvii. 442; Blau, *Magyar-Zsidó Szemle*, x. 494). Once more, it may be noted that at Corinth the synagogue was inside the city; for the house of Titius Justus, where St. Paul lived, 'joined hard to the synagogue' (Ac 18^7).

2. The *style of building* adopted in the ancient synagogues of Palestine is illustrated by the above-mentioned ruins in N. Galilee. 'Almost all these synagogues lie north and south, so that the entrance is at the south. As a rule they appear to have had three doors in front—one principal entrance and two smaller side doors. In some instances it can still be seen that the building was divided by two rows of pillars into three aisles. Some had a portico in front. In general the style was influenced by the Græco-Roman, although it shows very characteristic differences from it. In particular it was marked by a wealth of overladen ornamentation' (Schürer^3, ii. 446). This orientation of the synagogue from north to south contra-

dicts a prescription of the Tannaite hălāchā (Tos. *Megilla*, iv. 227^{15}), according to which the synagogue entrance, like that of the sanctuary (Nu 3^{38}), is to be at the east. One is tempted to assume that this rule, found only in the Tosephta, has in view Babylonia and other lands to the east of Palestine; for in these the orientation from east to west corresponds with the direction prescribed to the congregation at prayer in the synagogue. In the Tosephta there are other traces of Babylonian redaction. As far as the synagogues of Galilee are concerned, their orientation, as the ruins show, was the opposite of the direction prescribed for prayer. In an early halachic tradition (Siphrê on *Deut.* § 29, 70*b*; Bab. *Berakh.* 30*a*) it is said, upon the ground of 1 K 8^{48}, that during prayer the worshipper must face towards Jerusalem and the sanctuary: those dwelling in the north stand with their face to the south, those in the south face the north, those in the west the east, those in the east the west. From this it follows that the worshippers in the synagogues of N. Galilee would turn in prayer towards the entrance. The direction towards the sanctuary, *i.e.* towards that part of the synagogue which is turned towards the sanctuary, is dealt with in the following rules, which are likewise found only in the Tosephta (*Megilla*, iv. 227^{11}):—

> 'The elders (זקנים) take their places facing the people, and with their back to the sanctuary (כלפי קודש). The book-press in the synagogue is so placed that its front is towards the people, its back to the sanctuary. When the priests lift up their hands to bless, they stand with their face to the people, their back to the sanctuary. The synagogue attendant (*ḥazzan*) stands with his face turned towards the sanctuary, which is also the direction in which all the people face.'

In the above quotation קודש may be a designation of the particular side of the synagogue itself. In any case, we may assume that this part of the building was not always opposite the entrance.

In the case of two considerable synagogues, we know that they had the form of a basilica with a double row of pillars. The expression *διπλῆ στοά* is used of both of them. One is the famous great synagogue of Alexandria mentioned above; the other is that of Tiberias, to which an author of the 4th cent. (see *Agada der pal. Amor.* iii. 672, from Midr. *Tehillim* on Ps 93, end) applies that designation.

According to Philo (*in Flaccum*, § 7) there were exhibited in the *περίβολοι* of the synagogue of Alexandria dedicated gifts and inscriptions set up in honour of the emperors (Schürer^{3}, ii. 446, iii. 52).

3. Of the *furnishings* of the synagogue the most important was the press (תֵּיבָה) in which the sacred writings were kept. The complete expression is תיבה של ספרים (Tos. *Yadayim*, ii. 683^{8}); rarely do we find the Aram. term ארונא (=Heb. אָרוֹן), Jerus. *Meg.* 73*d*$^{61. 65}$. The same 2nd cent. tradition which censures the use of בית עמא by uneducated persons as a term for the synagogue (see p. 636^{b}), condemns in the same way the employing of the term ארונא for the book-press (*Shabbath*, 32*a*). It appears that in popular speech ארון or ארונא meant either a coffin or a press for keeping victuals (see *Kelim*, xii. 3), and hence the word תיבה established itself for the press of the synagogue which served a sacred purpose. It appears in Aram. as תיבותא (Jerus. *Berakh.* 9*c*$^{38. 43}$; Bab. *Meg.* 26*b*), and is reproduced by the Gr. *κιβωτός* (Chrys. *Orat. adv. Jud.* vi. 4).

The press was furnished with a species of canopy called כילה (Jerus. *Meg.* 73*d*^{61}; see Levy, ii. 318*b*), which was spread over it before the commencement of the Sabbath (Jerus. *Shabb.* 17*c*^{42}). In Babylonia its name was פירסא (*Meg.* 26*b*). As long as the congregation remained in the synagogue the press was not to be denuded of this adornment (Bab. *Sota*, 39*b*, להפשיט התיבה).

The press appears to have been placed in a shut-off part of the synagogue, with a curtain in front of it which, like the curtain in the sanctuary, bore the name פרוכת (Aram. פרוכתא). Behind this curtain took place the rolling up of the Torah after the reading of the Scripture lesson (Jerus. *Sota*, 22*a*^{22}; Jerus. *Meg.* 75*b*^{60}; *Soph.* xi. 3).

The cloths in which the copies of the sacred writings kept in the press were wrapped were called מִטְפָּחוֹת, or, in full, מ׳ של ספר or מ׳ של ספרים, also מ׳ ספרים (see *Kelim*, ix. 3, xxiv. 14; *Negaim*, xi. 6; Tos. *Kilayim*, v. 80^{18}; Tos. *Yadayim*, ii. 683^{8}). Such cloths were used elsewhere also to wrap up the books of Scripture: thus in *Sanhed.* 100*a* we read of the cloths in which, in the house of the Bab. Amora Jehuda (3rd cent.), the books were wrapped (מ׳ ספרי דבי רב יהודה). By מ׳ תיבה (Tos. *Kilayim*, v. 80^{18}) appear to be meant the cloths used to wrap up the books that lay in the synagogue press. From a controversy between the schools of Hillel and Shammai (*Kelim*, xxviii. 4) we learn that these cloths used to be adorned with embroideries (מצוירות). Little bells were also attached to them (זגים למ׳ ספרים, Tos. *Kelim*, i. 1, 579^{21}; Bab. *Shabb.* 58*b*).

In the graduated scale of consecration attaching to the synagogue and its furnishings, the press is holier than the building, the cloths for the Scriptures are holier than the press (*Meg.* iii. 1). In the hălāchā in question there is no mention of the chest (*θήκη*); hence it is probable that the תיק הספר of *Shabb.* xvi. 1 and the תיק הספרים of Tos. *Yadayim*, ii. 683^{8}, do not refer to the chest in which the synagogue Scriptures were kept.

Amongst the fittings of the synagogue was the *tribune* (בימה, *i.e.* *βῆμα*). There was a tribune of wood (בימה של עץ, cf. מגדל עץ of Neh 8^{3}; see art. PULPIT) also in the temple at Jerusalem, upon which king Agrippa I. stood—instead of sitting—and read the Torah at the Feast of Booths (*Sota*, vii. 7; Tos. *Sota*, vii. 307^{20}). There was a similar structure in the centre of the great synagogue of Alexandria, from which the signal to utter the Amen was given to the congregation (Tos. *Sukka*, iv. 198^{23}). In small synagogues the tribune appears to have been in close proximity to the press; hence the pronouncement of the Bab. Amora Samuel (3rd cent.), preserved in the Pal. Talmud (*Meg.* 73*d*^{62}), that the tribune and the tablets (בימה ולווחין) possess the degree of sacredness of the building but not of the press. The Bab. Talmud (*Meg.* 32*a*) speaks in like manner of the tablets and the tribunes (הלוחות והבימות). In the Midrash (*Pesikta*, ed. Buber, 84*a*) there is a story of how some one had טבלאות בימאות וספסלין made of a cedar tree (where טבלאות is the same as לוחות). But there is nowhere sufficient evidence what is to be understood by these 'tablets' which belonged to the furnishings of a synagogue. They may have been tablets inscribed with Bible texts (cf. Is 30^{8}), such as were used in connexion with elementary Scripture lessons (see Jelamdenu, cited in Friedmann's introduction to his edition of the *Mechilta*, p. xxxiv).

The above-mentioned ספסלין (i.e. *subsellia*), seats for the congregation, are named in Jerus. *Meg.* 73*d*^{61} as among the furnishings of a synagogue; they have the same degree of sacredness as the building. Along with the seats are named also קלטירה; but this word should be emended to קטידרה, which stands for the usual קתידרא (or קתדרה), i.e. *cathedra* (cf. Jerus. *Shabb.* 6*a*^{2} הספסל והקתידרא). Chairs were, no doubt, provided for the elders and scribes, who sat in a prominent place (see above, ii. § 5, and cf. the *πρωτοκαθεδρία* of Mt 23^{6}, Mk 12^{39}, Lk 11^{43}). So also in the great synagogue of Alex andria there were 71 chairs of gold (שבעים ואחת קתדראות של זהב) for the members of the great council there (Tos. *Sukka, l.c.*). On the 'chair of Moses,' which the Chinese Jews had in their synagogue instead of the *bîmā* (Almemor), see *REJ* xxxv. 110, and on the *Μωσέως καθέδρα* spoken of by Jesus in Mt 23^{2} see *ib.* xxxiv. 300.

At the reading of the Scriptures a *reading desk* (אנלגין של ספר, or, shortly, אנלגין [*ἀναλογεῖον*]) was used (*Kelim*, xvi. 17), which, as a piece of the synagogue furniture, had the same degree of sacredness as the building itself (Jerus. *Meg.* 73*d*^{64}).

We hear also of *candelabra* and *lamps* (מנורה, נר) being provided for the synagogue (Tos. *Meg.* iii. 224^{15}). The Pal. Talmud tells of a candelabrum which Antonine, to the great joy of the patriarch Jehuda, presented to a synagogue (*Meg.* 74*a*^{29}); the Bab. Talmud (*Arakhin*, 16*b*) relates how an Arab, named עורק, presented a lamp to the synagogue of Jehuda, the head of the school of Pumbeditha (3rd cent.). The Mishna (*Terumoth*, xi. 10) speaks of the *oil* which was burned in the synagogue, and also of the custom of keeping lamps burning in the synagogues on the Day of Atonement (*Pesachim*, iv. 4).

iv. SYNAGOGUE WORSHIP, OFFICIALS, ETC.—For the holding of public worship in the synagogue the presence of at least ten adult male persons is required. These constitute the minimum of a congregation (כְּנֶסֶת=עֵדָה). (See *Sanhed.* ii. 3, *Meg.* iv. 3). It once happened that Eliezer b. Hyrcanus (1st cent.), accompanied by his slave, came into the synagogue, and, finding that the requisite ten were not present, he gave the slave his freedom in order to make up the proper number (*Pesach.* 47*b*; *Giṭṭin*, 38*b*). With this story may be compared the testimony of the inscription of Pantikapæum, according to which a manumitted slave was bound to attend the synagogue regularly (Schürer^{3}, iii. 53). That was considered a great city in which there were at least ten synagogue members unencumbered by business (בטלנים), and who thus made it possible to hold a daily service (*Meg.* i. 3; *Baba kamma*, 82*a*; *Sanhed.* 17*b*; Jerus. *Meg.* 70*b*^{63}), whereas the great mass of the congregation could attend only on the Sabbath and on the festival days. At a later period the 'ten men of leisure' became a kind of institution in the congregation.

Women were not counted as members of the synagogue congregation. Yet even a woman could take part in the reading of the Sabbath lesson as one of the seven persons required on such an occasion; but it was considered objectionable, on grounds of decency (מפני כבוד הצבור), for a woman to read in public from the Torah (Tos. *Meg.* iv. 226^{4}; Bab. *Meg.* 23*a*). Women were zealous attenders of the synagogue. A Tannaite hălāchā (*Aboda zara*, 38*a b*) names as the two places for which a woman is wont to leave her house, the baths and the synagogue (cf. also *Yoma*, 15*b*).

Characteristic is the anecdote of the woman who had become very old and longed to leave this world. When she went to Jose b. Chalaphta (2nd cent.) with her complaint, he asked her: 'What duty art thou accustomed daily to perform?' She replied: 'It is my custom to neglect even what is dearest to me, in order that I may visit the synagogue daily.' Then he advised her to leave off for three successive days attending the synagogue. She followed his counsel and died on the third day (*Jalkut Shimeoni*, i. 871, from Jelamdenu).

In the Diaspora, women played an important rôle in synagogue life. St. Paul found in the synagogue of Philippi (see above) a gathering of women (Ac 16^{13}). On the inscriptions of S. Italy *mater synagogæ* appears side by side with *pater synagogæ* as a title of honour (Schürer^{3}, iii. 50). From Babylonia we have the information (*Kiddushin*, 81*a*) that two school heads of the 4th cent., Abaji and Raba, arranged that men and women should sit apart from each other in the synagogue. The members of the synagogue congregation were called בני הכנסת (see above); at their head was the ראש הכ' ('head of the synagogue,' Gr. ἀρχισυνάγωγος or [Lk 8^{41}] ἄρχων τῆς συναγωγῆς). The synagogue of the Jerus. temple had in like manner its head. The **'ruler of the synagogue'** had the responsibility of maintaining order in the synagogue (see Lk 13^{14}); it was his part to decide who was to conduct the public worship (Ac 13^{15}). If he himself wished to take part in the reading of the Scriptures, he had to be invited by others to do so, because he could not of himself assume an honourable function (Tos. *Meg.* iv. 227^{10}). The 'ruler' was not a scribe, but he stood in rank immediately after the scribes (*Pesachim*, 49*b*, top; *Giṭṭin*, 60*a*, top). At mourning feasts it was customary, following a rule dating from the 2nd cent. (Jerus. *Berakh.* 6*a*^{33}; *Semachoth*, ch. 14, end), to drink a cup, with a blessing, to the health of the ruler of the synagogue. A more extended sense was assumed by the title 'ruler of the synagogue' in the Diaspora, as is evident from the Gr. and Lat. inscriptions, in which it frequently implies no function, but is simply an honorary title, bestowed even upon women and children (Schürer^{3}, ii. 438 f., iii. 49 f.).

The service of attendant in the synagogue as well as charge of the building and its furnishings was assigned to the synagogue official called חַזָּן הַכְּנֶסֶת (shortly חַזָּן).

The word חַזָּן was derived not only by Nathan b. Yechiel (*Aruch, s.v.*) but, before him, by Dûnash b. Labrât (10th cent.) from the verb חזה (*Kritik gegen Saadja*, ed. Schröter, No. 170). But this derivation is unsatisfactory from the point of view both of grammar and sense. It is better to assume that the root חזן has the same meaning as the identically sounding Arab. root خزن (see Perles, *Monatsschrift*, 1870, p. 521). This root is indeed unexampled elsewhere in Hebrew, but it is readily conceivable that alongside of חסן there existed also a root חזן with the same meaning (cf. עלז side by side by עלם). From the verb חזן='keep charge' was formed the subst. חַזָּן which was used to designate the man who had charge of the synagogue and its furnishings, and who had also to give attendance at the conducting of public worship.

Even the synagogue of the temple at Jerusalem had its *ḥazzān* (see *Yoma*, vii. 1; *Sota*, vii. 7, 8). The temple, however, had other attendants also called *ḥazzānîm*; see *Sukka*, iv. 4, where the subject is the keeping of the palm branches at the Feast of Booths, and *Tamid*, v. 3, where the keeping of the priests' garments is spoken of. The synagogue attendant is called in Greek *ὑπηρέτης* (Lk 4^{20}); Epiphanius (*c. Hær.* xxx. 11) knows also a Græcising of the Heb. word: Ἀζανιτῶν *τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς διακόνων ἑρμηνευομένων ἢ ὑπηρετῶν*.—From the period while the temple at Jerusalem yet stood it is related that, along with the pilgrims who brought the firstlings to the sanctuary, the synagogue attendants (חזני בית הכנסת, *var. lec.* חזנין וכל בית הכ') also went up (Tos. *Bikkurim*, ii. 101^{29}).—The advent of the Sabbath and of festival days was announced by the *ḥazzān* from the roof of the synagogue, with a thrice-repeated trumpet blast which was the signal for the suspension of work (Tos. *Sukka*, iv. 199^{8}; cf. *Chullin*, i. 7; Jerus. *Shabb.* 16*a*^{53}; Bab. *Shabb.* 35). In the legend of the schoolmaster Naḳḳai (a contemporary of the Hadrianic persecutions) the latter is called both שמשא (attendant) and ספרא. Every Friday he arranges the lamps of the synagogue at Migdal-Zabba'aya (Jerus. *Maaser sheni*, 56*a*^{11}, *Echa rabbathi* on Ec 3^{7}).

During public worship it is the *ḥazzān* that calls to the performance of any function (Jerus. *Berakh.* 9*c*^{61}). He hands the copy of the Scriptures to the reader, and receives it back from the hands of the man who has read the final lesson (*Soph.* xiv. 3). Cf. Lk 4^{20}, where Jesus, having read the passage from the Prophets, returns the book to the attendant. The *ḥazzān* rolls up the Torah roll after the reading (Jerus. *Meg.* $75b^{59}$), and, after holding it up to view (Jerus. *Sota, 21d*, top), deposits it in the press. He calls upon the priests at the proper moment to pronounce the benediction (Siphrê on Nu 6^{23}, § 34, end; cf. Jerus. *Gittin*, $47b^{61}$, Bab. *Sota*, *38a*). On the occasion of religious fasts he indicates when the priests have to blow the trumpets (Bab. *Taanith*, 16*b*). In the great synagogue of Alexandria he waved a handkerchief as a signal to the congregation for the Amen (Tos. *Sukka*, iv. 198^{23}). When the *ḥazzān* himself read the Scripture lesson, another had to wait upon him (ואחר מְחַזֵּן לו [this denom. verb does not occur elsewhere], Tos. *Meg.* iv. 227^{10}). The *ḥazzān* belonged to the scribal body, of which he constituted, as it were, the lowest grade. In an Aram. saying of Eliezer b. Hyrcanus (1st cent.) the scale is stated thus: חכימיא (scribes), ספריא (schoolmasters), חַזָּנַיָּא. At mourning feasts a cup was drunk in his honour (Jerus. *Berakh.* $6a^{33}$), as in the case of the ruler of the synagogue (see above). Even in early times it must have been customary, especially in smaller congregations, for the *ḥazzān* to read the Scripture lesson. An instance of this from the beginning of the 2nd cent. occurs in Bab. *Meg.* 25*b*. He acted also as leader in prayer. For an example from 3rd cent. see Jerus. *Berakh.* $12d^{46}$.—The patriarch Jehuda I. was requested by the inhabitants of an inconsiderable place to recommend to them one of his pupils to discharge the duties of preacher, judge, *ḥazzān*, and schoolmaster. His recommendation fell upon the afterwards so well-known Levi b. Sisi (Jerus. *Yebam.* $13a^{17}$; *Gen. rabba*, ch. 81, *ad init.*). In the 3rd cent. the Jewish inhabitants of Bostra (בוצרא) beg of Simeon b. Lakish to recommend to them some one capable of exercising all the functions necessary, as preacher, judge, schoolmaster, and *ḥazzān* (Jerus. *Shebiith*, $36d^{6}$). In the Midrash *Ḳoheleth rabba* (on Ec 7^{5} and 9^{15}) the *ḥazzān* already appears as leader of the prayer, in virtue of his office; *i.e.* the word *ḥazzān* has the character which it gained in the period of the Gaons, and which it has retained down to the present day (see also *Soph.* x. end, xi. *ad init.*; *Pirke R. Eliezer*, xiii. end).

Seeing that, as a rule, the instruction of children was also carried on in the synagogue, the *ḥazzān* acted, further, as assistant to the schoolmaster, or was himself schoolmaster, in addition to his other duties (*Shabb.* i. 3: החזן רואה היכן התינוקות קוראים). He discharged the functions also of an officer of the law court, carrying out, for instance, a sentence of scourging (see *Makkoth*, iii. 12; Tos. *Makkoth*, v. $444^{29.31}$; cf. also Tos. *Sanhed.* ix. 428^{25} [=Jerus. *Sanhed.* $23a^{2}$: חזני כנסיות]). It appears, however, that officers of the law court bore the title *ḥazzān*, even when they were not at the same time synagogue attendants (see Jerus. *Kiddushin*, $65c^{18}$, *Sanhed.* $19c^{44}$ and $23d^{16}$; Bab. *Shabb.* 56*a*, 139*a*, *Makkoth*, 23*a*).—It is only in the Bab. Talmud (*Kethuboth*, 8*b*) that we meet with the title חזני העיר [the parallel passage of the Jerus. Talmud (*Pesach.* 6*a*) has חזן הכנסת], Aram. חזני מתא (*Baba mezia*, 93*b*). Cf. *Arakhin*, 6*b*: חזני רפומבריתא.

The leader in prayer who as the representative of the congregation recited aloud the prayers in the synagogue, was called שְׁלִיחַ צִבּוּר, 'delegate of the whole' (צִבּוּר is the name of the collective body assembled in the synagogue, in opposition to the individual, יָחִיד). This leading in prayer was a voluntary function discharged by members of the congregation who were qualified for it and invited to undertake it. According to a Tannaite tradition, the formula addressed to the person selected was not 'Come and pray,' but 'Come and offer' (בוא וקרב, Jerus. *Berakh.* $8b^{24}$). The uttering of prayer was considered the equivalent of the offering of sacrifice; hence the leader was called קְרוֹבָא (see Jerus. *Berakh.* 3*c*, bottom; *Leviticus rabba*, chs. 19. 20).—The leader in prayer stepped in front of the synagogue press; hence the function was known also as עבר לפני התיבה (see *Berakh.* v. 3, 4; *Meg.* iv. 3), Aram. עבר קומי תיבותא (Jerus. *Berakh.* $9c^{43}$). The prayer is preceded by the reciting of the Shema' and the Blessings connected with it; this function was called פרס על שמע [פרס means properly to break off a piece of bread and ask a blessing over it; in the expression before us it is used in the sense of to pronounce the Blessings attached to the Shema'].

A principal part of the public worship of the synagogue is the reading from the Pentateuch and the Prophets. This office is discharged by members of the congregation, among a fixed number of whom the particular passage of the Pentateuch is portioned out. On the Sabbath the number of readers is seven, on festival days five, on the Day of Atonement six, at the New Moon and on the half-festival days of Passover and Feast of Booths four, on week days and on the afternoon of the Sabbath three (*Meg.* iv. 1, 2). After the reading of the Pentateuch lesson, a passage is read from the Prophets by one who may at the same time act as leader in prayer (*ib.* 5). When there is only one of the members of the synagogue who can read from the Scriptures, he reads the whole section (Tos. *Meg.* iv. 226^{5}).

The reading of the Scriptures was coupled with the translating of the Heb. text (in Palestine and Babylonia into Aramaic). The man who publicly gave the translation (Targum) in the synagogue was called תֻּרְגְּמָן, also תּוּרְגְּמָן or מְתוּרְגְּמָן (see, on the correct pronunciation, Bacher, *Die älteste Terminologie der jüd. Schriftauslcgung*, p. 206). The larger synagogues would have a Targumist or *Mĕthôrgĕmān* of their own. There was one of this class at Jamnia in the time of Gamaliel I. (1st cent.), namely Rabbi Chuẓpith, who was surnamed התורגמן (*Berakh.* 27*b*). In the 3rd cent. there was a Rabbi Hoshaya in Palestine with the (Aram.) surname תּוּרְגְּמָנָא (*Gen. rabba*, ch. 51, *ad fin.*). But as a rule it was the schoolmasters, those who from their calling were familiar with the Bible and had a traditional acquaintance with the Targum, that gave the translation. From the beginning of the 4th cent. comes a story of how Samuel b. Jiẓḥaḳ once came into a synagogue and saw that the schoolmaster read the translation from a written Targum (Jerus. *Meg.* $74d^{15}$ עאל לכנישתא חמא חד ספר מושט תרגומא מן גו סיפרא). But any one who was capable, even a minor, was entitled to give the Targum in the synagogue (*Meg.* iv. 6; Tos. *Meg.* iv. 227^{21}).

The reading of the Scriptures was followed, when a competent person was present, by an exposition of the lesson, or, in other words, by a sermon. It was customary to invite any stranger scribe who happened to be there, to deliver this address.

It is told of a Palestinian Amora of the 4th cent. how he once came to a strange place and followed up the lesson by a sermon (*Lev. rabba*, 3). Naḥum b. Simai, a Pal. teacher of the 3rd cent. preached in Tarsus (*Pesikta rabbathi*, ch. 15, 78*b*). In Midrash Tanchuma (*Teruma*, 1, ed. Buber, ii. p. 89) an anecdote is told of a scribe who, travelling by sea in company with some merchants, was derided by them when he boasted of the wares which he had by him, and which they sought in vain. When they landed, the merchants had their goods taken from them by the custom-house officials, while the scribe went into the synagogue, preached there, and was loaded with honours and gifts. In like manner Jesus travelled about in Galilee, teaching in the synagogues (*διδάσκων ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς*); see Mt 4^{23}, Lk 4^{15}; and cf. Mk 1^{21} 6^{2}, Lk 6^{6} 13^{10}, Jn 6^{59} 18^{20}.

The synagogue, as has been already said, was called also *σαββατεῖον*, because its principal purpose was to serve as the meeting-place of the congregation for public worship on Sabbaths (and festival days). From the period when the temple and its sacrificial cultus still existed at Jerusalem, the tradition is preserved that the body of men (מַעֲמָד) belonging to the division of priests in charge of the temple service for the week, assembled daily in the synagogue of their dwelling-place and read the Creation story of Gn 1 (*Taanith*, iv. 2; Tos. *Taanith*, iv. 219[18]; Bab. *Taanith*, 27*b*). The second and fifth days of the week also saw from early times the congregation assembled in the synagogue, because on these days there was reading from the Torah (Tos. *Taanith*, ii. 217[11]). But the practice of daily service could prevail only in larger towns where there were at least ten members unencumbered by business and thus able to give daily attendance at the synagogue (see p. 640[a]). Nevertheless, it was enjoined by the scribes that every one should, as far as was in his power, discharge his duty of prayer by taking part in the common prayer of the synagogue.

An early Tannaite, Eliezer b. Jaḳob (1st cent.), introduces his pronouncement on prayer with the exhortation to pray in the synagogue (*Pesikta*, ed. Buber, 158*a*). A Tannaite of unknown date, Abba Benjamin, derives from 1 K 8[28] the thesis that it is only prayer offered in the synagogue that is heard (*Berakhoth*, 5*b*). Joshua b. Levi (3rd cent.) gives this instruction to his sons: 'Going into the synagogue morning and evening prolongs life' (*Berakhoth*, 8*a*). Jiẓḥaḳ, a great Agadist of the 3rd cent., says in a paraphrase to Is 50[10. 11]: 'If there is a man who is wont to go into the synagogue and on some particular day comes not, God inquires after him, saying, Where is the God-fearing one who is wont to be among you? He ought to have trusted in the name of the Eternal and left himself in the hands of his God, and not have absented himself from the house of God for the sake of gain or any worldly end' (*Berakh.* 6*b*). Another great Agadist of the 3rd cent., Levi, applying Jer 12[14], says: 'The man in whose place of abode there is a synagogue and who does not frequent it is called an "evil neighbour" of God' (*Berakh.* 8*a*). Another Pal. teacher of the 3rd cent., adopting an artificial explanation of Job 36[5], says: 'God does not leave unheard the prayer that is offered in company with the assembled congregation' (*Berakh.* 8*a*). A Pal. Agadist of the 4th cent., Jehuda b. Simon, makes Israel sing (Midrash, *Tehillim* on Ps 5): 'Behold, O God, to how much persecution and oppression I am subjected by Edom (*i.e.* Rome), to keep me from owning thee as my God and king. But we go daily into our synagogues and own thee in our confession of faith (the Shema') as God and king.' The same Agadist applies to Pr 8[35] the oft-recurring idea that God's glory is present with the congregation assembled in the synagogue: 'Who ever came into the synagogue without finding my glory there' (*Deut. rabba*, 7)?

The above and similar sayings (cf. *e.g.* also *Dereeh Ereẓ zûta*, 9, *ad init.*) show not only the importance attached to the prayer of the congregation in the synagogue, but also the constant need there was of warning the members against negligence in their attendance. In the 3rd cent. it was told in Palestine to the credit of the Babylonian Jews that they visited the synagogue every morning and evening (*Berakh.* 8*a*).

v. The Synagogue as an Elementary School.—The synagogue was not only the place of public worship; it embraced also the school in which the first instruction in the Holy Scriptures as the principal or the sole subject of education was given. As the *bêth hammidrāsh* served for the studies of more advanced youths and adults, the synagogue was the place in which—perhaps in a special room—the children were taught.

In a homiletical exposition of La 1[9] Abba b. Kahana (3rd cent.) adds to the words of Jer 9[21] [Heb.[20]] 'to cut off the children from the street, the youths from the squares' the gloss 'but not from the synagogues and the schools' (*Echa rabbathi*, *ad loc.*). Joshua b. Levi himself conducted his grandson to the synagogue, *i.e.* to school (*Kiddush.* 30*a*). Chija b. Abba (3rd cent.), as he passed a synagogue of Sepphoris, heard children being taught to repeat Gn 20[1], and made this the subject of a remark (*Gen. rabba*, 52). In an anecdote of the 4th cent. we are told how a teacher in the synagogue punished a child excessively and was cursed for this by a woman who happened to be passing by (Jerus. *Moed katon*, 81*d*[44]). Rab, the Bab. Amora, said that women gain special merit by conducting their children to the synagogue, *i.e.* to school (*Berakh.* 17*a*). See also the saying of the Pal. Amora Simon (end of the 4th cent.) reported in Jerus. *Challa*, 57*b*[18]. That in Babylonia the synagogue was the place of elementary education is evident from *Meg.* 28*b*; *Yebamoth*, 21*b*, top; *Baba bathra*. 21*a*.—According to the above-mentioned tradition (ii. § 2, *ad init.*) regarding the synagogues of Jerusalem, each of these was provided with a school for children and one for more advanced students. In a hyperbolical statement about Bethar, the capital of Judæa in the time of Bar Cochba, it is said (*Giṭṭin*, 58*a*): 'There were 400 synagogues in Bethar, and in each of these there were 400 teachers (מלמדי תינוקית), each with 400 children under his instruction.'

vi. Other Uses of the Synagogue.—The synagogue was also the scene of *legal decisions*. Of Abahu, the head of the school of Cæsarea (beginning of 4th cent.), it is expressly recorded that he lectured (Jerus. *Berakh.* 6*a*, bottom) in the ancient synagogue there (see above, ii. § 2), and also decided questions of law in it (Jerus. *Sanhed.* 18*a*, bottom). In the same synagogue Jochanan, the famous teacher of Abahu, also acted at one time as judge (Bab. *Yebamoth*, 65*a*). From the NT we learn that the punishment of scourging was inflicted in the synagogues (Mt 10[17] 23[34], Mk 13[9], Ac 26[11]; cf. Lk 12[11] 21[12], Ac 22[19], 2 Co 11[24]). It has already been mentioned (above, § iv.) that the *ḥazzān* carried out this sentence and acted in other ways as an officer of the law court. There is mention in *Lev. rabba*, 6, *ad init.*, of an oath in a civil process being taken in the synagogue.

The *mourning* for a man who was lamented by the whole community was held in the synagogue (Tos. *Meg.* iii. 225[2]; Bab. *Meg.* 28*b*; cf. the story of the funeral of Jehuda I. in *Ḳoh. rabba* on Ec 9[10]). A Bab. Amora of the 5th cent. held the mourning for his daughter-in-law in the synagogue (*Meg.* 28*b*).

At the time of the war against Rome, gatherings of a *political* character were held in the great synagogue of Tiberias on the Sabbath and the following day (Jos. *Vita*, 54). R. Jochanan (3rd cent.) gave express permission to deliberate about public affairs in the synagogues and schools on the Sabbath (*Kethuboth*, 5*a*). After the destruction of Jerusalem it was customary—so a Tannaite tradition tells us—to give out in the synagogues and schools a list of articles lost (*Baba meẓia*, 28*b*). Thefts were also intimated in the synagogue with a view to the detection of the perpetrator (*Lev. rabba*, 6, *ad init.*). For other announcements made in the synagogue, see *Yebamoth*, 63*b*. An Agadist of the 4th cent. once followed up an address in the synagogue by calling upon the congregation to contribute alms for a stranger (*Lev. rab.* 32, *ad fin.*).

In a Tannaite rule, amongst the prescriptions concerning what is due to the dignity of the synagogue, there is one forbidding eating and drinking in it (*Meg.* 28*a*, bottom). Nevertheless, common meals were held even in the synagogue (see on this point K. Kohler, *Monatsschrift*, xxxvii. p. 494, who suggests a connexion between this custom and the meals of the Essenes). An anecdote from the 3rd cent. mentions a meal as held on the Sabbath evening in the synagogue of the Pal. Kephar-Chiṭṭaja (*Gen. rab.* 65); while a testimony from the 4th cent. refers to a great meal in the school (Jerus. *Berakh.* 11*c*, bottom).—Joshua b. Levi (3rd cent.) laid down the principle that the synagogues and schools belong to the scribes and their pupils (Jerus. *Meg.* 74*a*[64], cf. Bab. *Meg.* 28*b*). His younger contemporary, Ammi, ordained that the schoolmasters (who at the same time filled the post of synagogue keeper) should provide quarters in the synagogue building for travellers who had the slightest acquaintance with the Torah (Jerus. *Meg.* 74*a*[65]). Chija and Assi, the colleagues of Ammi, used to insist on quartering themselves in the synagogue (*ib.*). Measha and Samuel b. Jiẓḥaḳ, Pal. Amoras of the beginning of the 4th cent., speak of eating in the synagogue (Jerus. *Berakh.* ch. ii. end [5*d*[14]], *Shabboth*, 3*a*[55]). In Babylonia also travellers were accommodated in the synagogue and there took their Sabbath meal; upon which is founded the rule that the blessing over the wine, which elsewhere is the introduction to the meal, is to be spoken also in the synagogue (*Pesachim*, 101*a*).

In a great many passages of the Jewish tradition-literature (Talmud and Midrash) the synagogues are named along with the schools. They appear as the two institutions which are specially characteristic of Israel, and whose extreme importance for Judaism finds expression in manifold ways. In order to see what the synagogue was in the life and thought of Israel during the first centuries of the Christian era, one must make acquaintance also with those sayings of the Tannaites and Amoras, in which synagogue and school are glorified as inseparable institutions. In these it must be observed that the synagogue means not only the place of public worship, but that of instruction for the young. As a rule, in these sayings the synagogue precedes the school (בתי כנסיות ובתי מדרשות), a circumstance which indicates the higher repute in which the synagogue stood. But the opposite view had also its representatives: from the 3rd cent. there has come down the saying of a Pal. scribe (*Meg.* 27*a*), and from the 4th cent. that of a Bab. scribe (*ib.* 26*b*), according to which the school has a higher rank than the synagogue. The following are some of these sayings about synagogue and school:—

An Agadist of the 4th cent. attributes to the philosopher Œnomaus of Gadara, known through his intercourse with the famous R. Meir, the saying that, so long as the 'voice of Jacob' (Gn 27^{22}) sounds in synagogue and school, the 'hands of Esau' (*i.e.* Rome) are powerless against Israel (*Gen. rab.* 65; *Pesikta*, 121*a*).—Abahu said: 'Seek the Eternal where he is to be found (Is 55^{6}). Where is he to be found? In the synagogue and the school' (Jerus. *Berakh.* 8*d*, bottom).—Levi said: 'While the descendants of Abraham sit in the synagogue and the school, God's glory stands over them' [in allusion to Ps 82^{1}] (*Gen. rab.* 48; *Pesikta*, 48*b*).—By 'your sanctuaries' (Lv 26^{31}) are to be understood synagogue and school (*Siphrâ*, *ad loc.* 112*a*).—Jiẓḥaḳ declared that by 'our dwellings' (Jer 9^{19}) are meant synagogue and school (*Echa rabba*, Prooem., No. 8).—Samuel b. Jiẓḥaḳ interpreted the 'sanctuary מְעַט' (Ezk 11^{16}) of the synagogues and schools of Babylonia (*Meg.* 29*a*).—The 'holy place' (Ec 8^{10}) means synagogue and school (*Ḳoh. rab. ad loc.*; Tanchuma, ed. Buber, *Jithro*, *ad init.*).—'My heart is awake' (Ca 5^{2}) in the synagogue and the school (*Shir rab. ad loc.*).—In the allegorical interpretation of the Song of Songs many other passages are also applied to the synagogue and the school (*Shir rab. passim*; Bab. *Erub.* 21*b*; *Pesach.* 87*a*).—Jose b. Chanina (3rd cent.) discovers in the 'gardens' of Ca 6^{2} the synagogue and the school (*Shir rab. ad loc.*).—Attending synagogue and school is contrasted with attending theatre and circus (Jerus. *Berakh.* 7*d*^{37} [prayer of Nechunja b. Haḳkana in 1st cent.]; *Gen. rab.* 67 [Levi]; *Ḳoh. rab.* on Ec 1^{7}).—When David prays (Ps 61^{4}), 'May I dwell for ever in thy tent,' he means, 'May it be vouchsafed to me that my words may be repeated under my name in the school and the synagogue' (Jerus. *Berakh.* 4*b*).—The 'refuge from generation to generation' of Ps 90^{1} is interpreted by Raba (4th cent.) of synagogues and schools. As a matter of fact, even in later centuries, these were the refuge of Israel scattered through all lands.

vii. LATEST HISTORY OF THE SYNAGOGUE.—In the present article regard has been had only to the synagogue of antiquity, *i.e.* of the last years of the Second Temple and the first five centuries of the Christian era. But the synagogue survived also in the following periods, through the Middle Ages down to the present day, as the most notable institution of Judaism, the focus of the religious life of the Jewish community. A history of the synagogue in the Middle Ages and in modern times would be an integral part of the history of Judaism, from the point of view alike of its outward fortunes and its inner development. The manifold character which Jewish history displays in virtue of its having the whole of the inhabited globe for its stage of action and in virtue of the influences exercised upon it by different forms of civilization, is exhibited also in the character of this Jewish institution, which is ancient indeed, but is ever renewing its youth. It may suffice to point out that in the most recent times, during something like the last 80 years, the synagogue was the central point and also the principal object of Jewish attempts at reform, and that the importance of the institution has been marked even externally by the synagogue buildings which have been everywhere reared, on both sides of the Atlantic—a testimony to the spontaneous effort of the builders and sometimes their almost excessive love of splendour.

LITERATURE.—As far as concerns articles on the Synagogue in the various Encyclopædias, or the treatment of the subject in the works on the History of the Jews, on Biblical Archæology, and the History of NT Times, a general reference may suffice. Schürer devotes a long section (*GJV*^{3} ii. 427–464) to the Synagogue. Of the literature cited by him the following deserve special notice: Vitringa, *De synagoga vetere*, libri tres (1696); Leopold Löw, 'Der synagogale Ritus' (*Monatsschrift*, 1884, *Gesam. Schriften*, iv. 1–71. In the 5th vol. of the *Gesam. Schriften*, pp. 21–33, are 'Plan und Collectaneen' to a detailed account of 'synagogalen Alterthümer,' supplemented by the editor, Immanuel Löw). We may mention also: K. Kohler, 'Über die Ursprünge und Grundformen der synagogalen Liturgie' (*Monatsschrift*, xxxvii. [1893] 441–451, 489–497); S. H. Goldfahn, 'Die Synagogen der Talmudzeiṭ' (*Jüd. Litteraturblatt von Rahmer*, xiii.); J. Reifmann, 'Über Synagogen und Lehrhäuser zur talmudischer Zeit' (in N. Keller's Heb. periodical *Bikkurim*, II. Theil, 1866).—On the place of the synagogue in the Middle Ages, see I. Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, 1896, pp. 1–34.

W. BACHER.

SYNAGOGUE, THE GREAT.—An alleged college or senate, whose founder and first president is said to have been Ezra, and which, according to tradition, exercised control over the Jewish community, especially in religious matters, from about 450–200 B.C. Its membership is generally given as 120 (*e.g.* Jerus. *Berakhoth* ii. 4), but sometimes as 85 (*e.g.* Jerus. *Meg.* i. 7). The important part attributed by some to this institution in connexion with the forming of the CANON OF THE OT (see below) demands that we should examine, as briefly as possible, the evidence for its existence and activity.

There is no mention of the Great Syn. in Philo, Josephus, or the Apocrypha, not to speak of the OT itself. Nothing can be built on 1 Mac 14^{28}, where μεγάλη συναγωγή is not a technical term, but means simply 'a great gathering.' Only once in the Mishna (*Pirḳe Aboth*, i. 1) are the Men of the Great Synagogue (אַנְשֵׁי כְּנֶסֶת הַגְּדוֹלָה) mentioned: 'Moses delivered the Torah to Joshua, Joshua to the Elders, the Elders to the Prophets, and the Prophets to the Men of the Great Synagogue. These spake three words: Be cautious in pronouncing judgment, Make many disciples, Build up a hedge around the Torah.' Simon the Just is said (*ib.* 2) to have been 'of the remnants of the Great Synagogue (משירי כ׳ הג׳).' This last statement does not imply that the Great Syn. had existed for centuries, for, although the Simon who was surnamed 'the Just' was probably high priest *c.* 200 B.C., the author of the above notice is more likely to have identified him with Simon I. (*c.* 300). Now we know that the utmost confusion prevailed amongst the Jews as to the chronology of the period between the Return from Exile and the conquests of Alexander the Great. Hence it would be nothing extraordinary to find Simon, a contemporary of Alexander, represented as a member of the same body as Ezra; and, in the other direction, to find Joshua, Zerubbabel, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, and even Daniel, introduced as members. As far, then, as the testimony of *Pirḳe Aboth* goes, it would seem to favour the conclusion that the Great Syn., whatever it was, continued only for a single generation, instead of having a succession for centuries. It is noteworthy that the Talm. treatise *Peah* (ii. 6) omits the Great Syn. as a connecting link, and the succession passes direct from the Prophets to the *Zugôth* or 'Pairs.'

In *Baba bathra* (14*b*) we read that the Men of the Great Syn. wrote Ezekiel, the Minor Prophets, Daniel, and Esther; and in the *Aboth of R. Nathan* (a post-Talm. treatise) they are said to have secured the acceptance of Proverbs, Canticles, and Ecclesiastes, which had been formerly disputed. In *Pesachim* (50*b*) it is said that they fostered the work of copying the Torah and *tephillîm* and *mĕzuzôth* (see Dt $6^{8f.}$). In an important passage of Midrash *Tanchuma* (26*a*) certain corrections in the text of the OT, introduced in order to prevent misunderstanding, are also traced to the Men of the Great Syn., who are reported elsewhere (Jerus. *Berakh.* ii. 4) to have drawn up certain prayers, in particular the *Shemoneh 'Esreh*, or 18 Blessings (*bĕrākhôth*). To them are attributed also the directions for the reading of the Book of Esther, and the keeping of Purim not on the 14th and 15th, but on the 11th, 12th, and 13th of the month Adar (*Makkoth* 23; Jerus. *Meg.* i.). It is not, however, till the 16th cent. that we meet with the notion that the Men of the Great Synagogue collected the sacred books, and fixed the Canon of the OT. This notion makes its first appearance in the pages of the *Massoreth Hammassoreth* (1538) of Elias Levita, a Jewish contemporary of Luther.

The whole question of the Great Syn. was thoroughly investigated by Kuenen (see Literature at end), whose conclusions are accepted by the great majority of modern scholars. The institution, as it appears especially in mediæval Judaism, is held by Kuenen to be simply a characteristic transformation of the great assembly described in Neh 8–10. Just as the Talmud represents the SANHEDRIN as an assembly of scribes, because such were the schools at Jamnia and Tiberias, so the Great Synagogue, instead of being a popular assembly once called together for a definite purpose, is converted into a permanent institution discharging functions similar to those of the scribes at a later period.

That a dim reminiscence of the original identity of the Great Syn. and the convocation of Neh 8–10 still lingered on even in Rabbinical circles, may be gathered from some of the references. For instance, in Midrash *Ruth* we read, 'What did the Men of the Great Syn. do? They wrote a book and spread it out in the court of the temple. And at dawn of day they rose and found it sealed. *This is what is written in Neh* 9^{38}.' Again, there occurs in Dt 10^{17} this collocation, 'God the great, the strong, the terrible (הָאֵל הַגָּדוֹל הַגִּבּוֹר וְהַנּוֹרָא).' It is repeatedly stated in the Talmud (*e.g.* Jerus. *Berakh.* ii. 4) that this formula, which had fallen into disuse, was again brought into currency by the Men of the Great Synagogue. It seems impossible to doubt that Kuenen is right in finding an allusion here to Neh 9^{32}, where all these epithets are found. Similar Talm. statements appear to allude to Neh $9^{5.6.7.18}$. Once more, the variety of statement as to the number of members that constituted the Great Syn. (sometimes 120, sometimes 85) may be explained from Neh 8–10. There were 84 that sealed the covenant, according to Neh $10^{1\cdot 28}$, and the number 85 may be obtained either by adding the name of Ezra (who is not mentioned), or by supposing that a name has dropped out of the list (either in v.^{10} or in v.^{4}, where the Pesh. actually supplies an extra name, Shephatiah). If, on the other hand, we wish to obtain the number 120, this may be done, at least approximately, by combining the above list with the lists in Neh 8^{4-7} and $9^{5.6}$, or in Ezr 2 and 8 (for other arguments of a similar kind, see Kuenen's Essay).

The very name 'Synagogue' seems inexplicable except upon Kuenen's view. It calls up neither a college of scribes nor a legislative body, but an assembly for religious service. The word כְּנֶסֶת (see SYNAGOGUE) denoted either a congregation met for worship on the Sabbath day, or, by metonymy, the building where it met. The name might be fittingly enough applied to the convocation of Nehemiah, which, as Kuenen remarks, was not a law-*imposing*, but a law-*receiving* assembly; and in the account of whose proceedings we find all the exercises characteristic of Synagogue worship, such as prayer, the reading of the Law, etc. To this memorable convocation the epithet 'Great' would, for a variety of reasons, be eminently suitable.

W. R. Smith agrees with Kuenen that what came afterwards to be spoken of as the Great Synagogue was originally a meeting, and not a permanent institution. 'It met once for all, and everything that is told about it, except what we read in Nehemiah, is pure fable of the later Jews' (*OTJC*^{2} 169). Historical criticism thus leaves **no** place for the Great Synagogue of tradition.

LITERATURE.—Buxtorf's *Tiberias sive Comm. Massor.* (1620) strenuously upholds the traditional view, and is still of value for its copious citation of testimony, which, however, is used in a very uncritical fashion. On the other side is Rau's *Diatribe de Syn. magna* (1726), which, although marked by an excess of anti-Jewish prejudice, shows true critical instinct, and anticipates some of the weightiest of Kuenen's arguments. The question may be considered to have been finally settled, in the sense advocated above, by Kuenen in his famous monograph, *Over de mannen der groote synagoge*, Amsterdam, 1876 [tr. by Budde in *Gesam. Abhandlungen*, pp. 125–160], whose conclusions are accepted by Ryle, *Canon of OT*, 250 ff. [valuable as containing the Jewish testimonies relied on by Buxtorf]; Wildeboer, *Entsteh. des AT Kanons*, 120 ff.; Buhl, *Canon and Text of OT*, 33 ff.; W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} 169 f.; and many others. Cf. further, Hartmann, *Die enge Verbindung d. AT mit d. NT*, 120–166; Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*^{2}, 110 f.; Driver, *LOT*^{6} Introd. vii f.; Fürst, *Kanon d. AT* (1868), 12–32; Jost, *Gesch. d. Jud. u. sein. Sect.* i. 41–43, 91, 95 f.; Geiger, *Urschrift u. Uebersetz. d. Bibel*, 124 f.; Wellh. *Phar. u. Sad.* 11 f.; Derenbourg, *Essai sur l'histoire de la Palestine*, 29–40 (traditionalist); Montet, *Essai sur les origines des partis saducéen et pharisien* (1883), 91–97; Schürer, *GJV*^{3} ii. 354 f. [*HJP* II. i. 354 f.]; Heidenheim, 'Untersuch. über die Syn. magna' (*SK*, 1853, pp. 93–100); Herzfeld, *Gesch. d. Judenth.* ii. 22–24, 380 ff., iii. 244 f., 270 f.; Graetz, 'Die Grosse Versammlung' (*Monatsschrift*, 1857, pp. 31–37, 61–70); Bloch, *Studien z. Gesch. d. Samml. d. altheb. Lit.* (1876) 100–132; Hamburger, *RE* ii. 318–323; D. Hoffmann, 'Die Männer der grossen Versammlung' (*Magazin f. Wissensch. des Judenth.* x. (1883) 45–63; S. Krauss, 'The Great Synod' (*JQR* x. (1898) 347–377).

J. A. SELBIE.

SYNTYCHE (Συντύχη).—A member of the Philippian Church whom St. Paul exhorts to become reconciled to EUODIA, another member of the same Church. They appear to have held a position of importance in the Church as ladies of some wealth and position, or possibly as deaconesses, like Phœbe in the Roman Church (Ro 16^1). Their disagreement was therefore not only unseemly, it was a calamity for the entire Church. Both the names, Euodia and Syntyche, occur in the inscriptions (Lightfoot, *Ep. to the Philippians*^{4}, p. 158). There is no need, therefore, to introduce the far-fetched interpretation of the Tübingen school, that they are allegorical personages representing the Jewish and Gentile sections of the Church.

J. GIBB.

SYNZYGUS (TR Σύζυγος, but modern edd. Σύνζυγος).—If *Synzygus* is a proper name, he was a person to whom St. Paul addressed an entreaty to bring about a reconciliation between Euodia and Syntyche, two members of the Philippian Church who were at variance (Ph 4^3). He was at the time in Philippi, and may have been the chief presbyter or bishop of the Church. The sole objection to this interpretation—the only natural one—is that *Synzygus* is nowhere used in Greek literature as a proper name, nor is it found in the inscriptions (but see Vincent, *ad loc.*). It was suggested by Weizsäcker that it may have been adopted by the bearer after his conversion to Christianity. The other interpretation is that σύνζυγος here, as in classical Greek, signifies 'yoke-fellow,' and that the exhortation was addressed to a companion of the apostle who was with him when he wrote, who was possibly his amanuensis (see vol. iii. p. 841^b). Barnabas, Silas, Epaphroditus, and Timothy have been suggested. Ramsay (*St. Paul the Trav.* 358) thinks that Luke was either 'the true yoke-fellow' or the actual bearer of the Epistle to Philippi. The suggestion of Renan (*Saint Paul*, p. 148), that the 'true yoke-fellow' is Lydia, who had become the wife of the apostle, is hardly to be taken seriously.

J. GIBB.

SYRACUSE (Συράκουσαι, but Vulg. wrongly sing. *Syracusa*), situated on the west coast of Sicily, was the principal city of the island, and under the Romans was the capital of the eastern half. After the western half of Sicily was taken from Carthage by the Romans (B.C. 241) at the close of the first Punic War, the eastern half continued to belong to the kingdom of Syracuse in alliance with Rome. In the second Punic War, Syracuse took the side of the Carthaginians, but was captured by Marcellus in 212, and the whole island thenceforward continued to be a Roman Province, though in two distinct divisions, in each of which a quæstor was stationed, under the authority of the single governing prætor, who presided over the whole island.

Syracuse was one of the most famous and magnificent colonies of Greece. Its defeat of the great Athenian expedition in B.C. 415 was one of the most critical events in Greek history; and its kings were among the leading powers in the Greek world. Whether it preserved its old prosperity in the first century after Christ is uncertain, as Sicily suffered severely in the Civil Wars, especially from the exactions of Sextus Pompey and in the contest between him and Augustus. Strabo, 272 f., describes the whole island as in a state of decay in his time, some of the cities having disappeared, while others were declining: the interior was to a large extent given up to grazing and horse-breeding, peopled by herdsmen, and devoid of educative influences. Its ancient importance as an arable and corn-growing country had disappeared; and the reason for this lay partly in the economic conditions of the empire, and partly in the dreadful circumstances of the Servile Wars, B.C. 135–132 and 103–100. The land belonged for the most part to absentee landlords.

Syracuse was one of the 26 *censoriæ civitates* of Sicily, which had been conquered in war, and whose territory had been appropriated by the Roman State as *ager publicus*. Julius Cæsar, as was natural to his statesmanlike mind, had been revolving schemes for the restoration of prosperity to Sicily, but his plans were interrupted by his assassination. Antony produced a plan which he declared to have been found among Cæsar's papers, and proposed a law to extend the Roman franchise to Sicily. This was not carried out completely; and Augustus was content with a much more gradual process of elevating Sicily to the full Roman rights. He founded seven Roman colonies of military origin, one of which was Syracuse.[*] Pliny mentions also that there were in Sicily two Roman towns (*oppida civium Romanorum*) and three cities with Latin rights; but his enumeration is very imperfect, and it is certain that Roman and Latin rights were much more widely spread in Sicily before the middle of the first century after Christ than he allows. It was during this process of transition from the position of a conquered province to that of a constituent part of the Roman State that St. Paul approached the Sicilian coast.

Syracuse is mentioned in the NT only as having been a harbour where St. Paul lay at anchor for three days on his voyage from Malta to Rome. The shipwrecked crew and passengers, after spending three months in Malta, set sail on the *Dioscuri*, evidently one of the Alexandrian fleet of imperial transports carrying grain from Egypt to maintain the food supply in Rome.[†] They started, evidently, very early in the year, probably in February, before the settled weather and the customary season for navigation (*mare clausum* 11 Nov. to 5 March) had begun. That implies that a suitable and seemingly steady wind was blowing, which tempted them to embark, and carried them straight to Syracuse, a distance of about 100 miles. On the voyage from Malta to Rome as a whole, see RHEGIUM.

Nothing is said with regard to any preaching by St. Paul in Syracuse, nor could any be expected to occur. The ship was certainly waiting for a suitable wind to carry it north to the straits of Messina; and under such circumstances no prisoner was likely to be allowed leave of absence, as the ship must be ready to take instant advantage of the wind. A survey of the progress of early Christianity would show that it rarely spread through the activity of coasting travellers, even on shores where their voyages were very tedious and subject to frequent and long interruptions (as, for example, the coasts of LYCIA and PAMPHYLIA). It is more probable that the new religion spread from Italy to Sicily in the course of direct communication between the two countries. Many Christian memorials of a fairly but not very early date have been found at Syracuse: see the papers by Orsi in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1893 and 1894, and esp. in *Römische Quartalschrift f. christl. Alt.* 1896, pp. 1–59.

W. M. RAMSAY.

SYRIA, SYRIANS.—See ARAM, ARAMÆANS.

SYRIAC LANGUAGE.—See LANGUAGE OF OT, vol. iii. p. 25^{a}.

SYRIAC VERSIONS.—No branch of the Early Church has done more for the translation of the Bible into their vernacular than the Syriac-speaking. In our European libraries we have Syriac Bible MSS from the Lebanon, Egypt, Sinai, Mesopotamia, Armenia, India (Malabar), even from China. And many of the Bible versions in other Oriental languages are dependent on, or at least influenced by, the Syriac, as the Armenian, Arabic, Ethiopic. Some of the Syriac MSS appear to be the oldest Bible MSS, in any language, which have an exact date: a Syriac Pentateuch in the British Museum (Add. 14425) is dated from the year 464, written by a deacon John at Amid.[*] A Syriac-Chinese stone inscription, erected at Singan-fu in the year 781, discovered by Jesuit missionaries in 1625, speaks of the 27 books of the NT. It would be a pleasant task to follow up the history of the Syriac Bible versions through all times, regions, and departments of culture: want of space, however, obliges us to confine ourselves to the importance of the Syr. VSS for the modern student of the Bible. We begin with the NT.

I. NEW TESTAMENT.—Older scholars spoke of that Syr. VS of the NT which alone was known to them as 'the Queen' of all Bible versions. But now we have more than one, at least for the Gospels.

1. *Tradition.*—When, in the 16th cent., the Syr. VS of the NT became known in Europe, the belief prevailed that it was due to the evangelist Mark, who was said to have written his Gospel first in Latin and then to have translated it, with the other books of the NT, into Syriac.[†] Jacob of Edessa († 701) and others were of the opinion that Addai the apostle (THADDÆUS) and king Abgar sent interpreters to Palestine (see Moses bar Cepha [† 913] and Barhebræus, *Scholia in Ps* 10). What Theodore of Mopsuestia says of the Syr. translation of the OT holds equally good of the NT: *ἡρμήνευται δὲ ταῦτα εἰς μὲν τὴν τῶν Σύρων παρ' ὅτου δή ποτε· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔγνωσται μέχρι τῆς τήμερον ὅστις ποτὲ οὗτός ἐστιν* (*Comm. in Soph.* [1, 6]; Mai, *Nova Patr. Bibl.* vii. 1854).

2. *Place.*—We do not know where the translation was made. On the ground of some lin-

---

[*] Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* iii. 88–90) wrongly mentions only five (one being Syracuse).

[†] By a strange mistake, in contradiction of Ac 28^{11}, the *Dioscuri* is described in Smith's *DB* iii. 1403 as a ship in the African corn trade, which had sailed from the province Africa intending to round Pachynum to Syracuse, and was carried out of its course to Malta. On the name of the ship, and the grammatical construction of the clause describing it, see RHEGIUM.

[*] W. Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature* (London, 1894, p. 5 = *Enc. Brit.*^{9} xxii. 824).

[†] 'Syri constanter asserunt S. Marcum . . . latine primum scripsisse Evangelium suum. Deinde eundem ipsum Marcum lingua patria, hoc est, Galilæa Syra, non modo Evangelium suum transtulisse, sed etiam cæteros omnes NT libros. Id mihi litteris significavit Guilielmus Postellus affirmavitque se ita a Syris ipsis accepisse' (Boderianus [Guido Fevre de la Boderic] in the Preface of the Syr. NT 1571). Widmanstadt, the first editor of the NT in Syriac (1555), agrees that Mark wrote in Latin, but contents himself with affirming that the books of the NT (except Matthew and Hebrews) were translated into Syriac 'ab initio rerum Christianarum.'

guistic peculiarities, Syrian grammarians, as Elias I. and Barhebræus, reached the same conclusion as Jacob of Edessa, that the translation originated in *Palestine*; European scholars thought first of *Antioch*, because the translation became known to them through the Patriarch of Antioch: in recent times *Edessa* has found most favour; but nothing can be said with certainty.

3. *History.*—(*a*) The first mention of a Syriac NT seems to be the statement of Eusebius (*HE* iv. 26) on Hegesippus (about 160–180): *ἔκ τε τοῦ καθ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγελίου* **καὶ τοῦ Συριακοῦ** *καὶ ἰδίως ἐκ τῆς Ἑβραΐδος διαλέκτου τινὰ τίθησιν, ἐμφαίνων ἐξ Ἑβραίων ἑαυτὸν πεπιστευκέναι* (Rufinus: 'de Evangelio secundum Hebræos et Syros'; Syr. VS of Eusebius: 'from the Gospels of the Hebrews and Syrians'; see on the passage Th. Zahn, *Forschungen*, vi. 246).

(*b*) About the same time or a little earlier we hear that Tatian, who was born, according to his own statement, *ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων γῇ*, and had been in Rome the hearer of Justin Martyr, returned home—as it seems, in the year 172—and composed (probably there; not at Rome, about 153–170 [so Harnack formerly, *TU* i. 213]) his famous *Diatessaron*, *i.e.* a harmony of the four Gospels (*συνάφειάν τινα καὶ συναγωγὴν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως τῶν εὐαγγελίων συνθεὶς τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων τοῦτο προσωνόμασεν, ὃ καὶ παρά τισιν εἰσέτι νῦν φέρεται*, Eus. *HE* iv. 36; in the Syr. Eusebius: 'he gathered and mixed and composed a Gospel and called it Diatessaron, *i.e.* of the *Mixed* (דִּמְחַלְּטֵא), which is still with many'). It appears to be simply to a misunderstanding that we owe the remark of Epiphanius (*Hær.* 46. 1, ed. Dindorf, ii. 412): *λέγεται δὲ τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων εὐαγγέλιον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγενῆσθαι,* **ὅπερ κατὰ Ἑβραίους** *τινὲς* **καλοῦσι.** Of this work Theodoret (till 457 bishop of Kyrrhos) tells us that it was in his times used not only by the followers of Tatian, but also in orthodox congregations; that he himself found more than 200 copies in use in the churches of his diocese; that he collected and removed all (*πάσας συναγαγὼν ἀπεθέμην*),* substituting for them the Gospels of the Four (*τὰ τῶν τεσσάρων εὐαγγελιστῶν ἀντεισήγαγον εὐαγγέλια*). A little earlier, bishop Rabbula of Edessa (412–435) ordered that presbyters and deacons should take care that in all churches the 'Gospels of the Separate' (אונגליון דִּמְפַרְּשֵׁא; *S. Ephraemi Syri, Rabulæ . . . opera selecta*, ed. Overbeck, Oxf. 1865, p. 220) be kept and read. Of the same Rabbula his biographer tells that he occupied himself with '*translating the NT out of the Greek into Syriac, because of its variations, exactly as it was*' (*ib.* 172).

This Harmony of Tatian was apparently in Syriac, not in Greek [the latter is (or was) the view of Harnack].

See, on all questions connected with Tatian, Arthur Hjelt, *Die altsyrische Evangelienübersetzung und Tatians Diatessaron, besonders in ihrem gegenseitigen Verhältnis untersucht*, Leipzig, 1901, pp. 16–75: the Literature is quoted in part in vol. ii. 697 f., iii. 536, 538. Add: E. Lippelt, *Quæ fuerint Justin. Martyris ἀπομνημονεύματα quaque ratione cum forma evangeliorum syro-latina cohæserint* (Diss.), i., Halle, 1901.

The great question is now whether this Diatessaron of Tatian was the first form in which the Gospel came to the Syrians, or whether there was already, before Tatian, a Syr. VS of the Gospels, which he may have used. The question is difficult, because Tatian's work has not survived in its original form, but only in a late Arabic recension, due to Abulfaraj Abdullah ibn aṭ Ṭajjib (†1043); further, it seems to have been the basis of the Latin Harmony of Victor of Capua; it was commented on by Ephraem Syrus; but this commentary is again preserved only in translation (in Armenian); it was used by Aphraates, and few direct quotations have been preserved by Syriac lexicographers and commentators: these have been collected by Hall, Harris, Goussen. Some help towards answering the question was given when, in addition to the Syriac NT, known since older times, there came in 1858 the version of the Gospels discovered by Cureton, and in 1892 that found on Mt. Sinai by Mrs. A. S. Lewis, and edited in 1894 by Bensly, Burkitt, and Harris. But, on the other hand, the question became the more complicated.

(*c*) The history of these discoveries cannot be told here; suffice it to say, that of the fragments published by Cureton (*Remains of a very antient recension of the Four Gospels in Syriac, hitherto unknown in Europe*, London, 1858),* the Gospel of Matthew has the very title used above by Rabbula, 'Gospel of the *Separate*,' and that in the Sinai Gospels the same expression is used in the subscription.

[In what follows we designate Tatian by $\mathfrak{T}$, Cureton's Gospels by $\mathfrak{S}^{c}$, the Sinai Gospels by $\mathfrak{S}^{s}$, the common Syr. VS called *Pĕshiṭtâ* (פְּשִׁיטְתָּא) by $\mathfrak{S}^{p}$].

(1) פְּשִׁיטְתָּא, to which supply מַפַּקְתָּא, means 'the *simple*,' *i.e.* the simple version. It is first used, so far as known at present, in Massoretic MSS of the 9th and 10th cents. in contradistinction to the Harclensis; and in Moses bar Cephas (†913) in opposition to the Syro-Hexaplaris. The latter says: 'One must know that there are in Syriac two translations of the OT: the one, this פשיטתא in which we read, was made from Hebrew into Syriac; the other, that of the Seventy-two, from Greek' (see *Urt.* p. 229 f.). On the pronunciation, spelling, and meaning of the name (*Pĕshīṭtâ*, simplified to *Peshîto*), see the Lit. quoted *l.c.* p. 230.

(2) Its origin and the spread of its use are quite obscure. Till 1842 the Peshito was the only known older Syr. VS of the Bible; it is still held by G. H. Gwilliam to be the oldest (see *Studia Biblica*, i. 151 ff. ['A Syriac biblical MS'], iii. 47 ff. ['The materials for the criticism of the Peshito NT']; *Expos. Times*, Jan. 1895, 157 ff. ('The new Syriac Gospels'); *Crit. Rev* Jan. 1896, 14–22 ('Communication on the Lewis Palimpsest, the Curetonian Fragments, and the Peshitta'); *The Oxford debate on the textual criticism of the NT held at New College on May 6, 1897*, Lond. 1897). His view is shared by A. Bonus, who thinks $\mathfrak{S}^{p}$ 'scarcely later than the latter half of the second century.' With this contrast the statement of Burkitt (*JThSt*, i. 571): 'I confess that I am unconvinced that what we call the NT Peshitta was in existence in S. Ephraem's day, and I believe that we owe both its production and its victorious reception to the organizing energy of the great Rabbula, bishop of Edessa from 411–435 A.D.).' †

The following answers to the above question have been given:—

(1) Abbé P. Martin: $\mathfrak{S}^{c}$ 'is a revision of the Peshito made with the help of a MS closely resembling Codex Bezæ. The Curetonian recension dates from the end of the 7th or the beginning of the 8th cent., probably from this last period. It never had much vogue. Its author was probably Jacob of Edessa [†703]' (*Introduction à la critique textuelle du NT*, Paris, 1883). The latter hypothesis may be dismissed at once.

(2) Gwilliam (Bonus): $\mathfrak{S}^{c}$ and $\mathfrak{S}^{s}$ were not the origin of $\mathfrak{S}^{p}$; $\mathfrak{S}^{c}$ is more modern than $\mathfrak{S}^{p}$ (*Crit. Rev.* 1896, p. 19); Rabbula intended that copies of $\mathfrak{S}^{p}$ should be substituted for $\mathfrak{T}$ (p. 21); but it might be, probably was, difficult to procure copies of the Peshiṭta, in obedience to Rabbula's order. The term *Mepharreshê* used by Rabbula would easily become a title for copies subsequently made. 'Are $\mathfrak{S}^{s}$ and $\mathfrak{S}^{c}$ relics of copies made by order of Rabbula?'

The position of $\mathfrak{S}^{p}$ is of great importance, because it is, as Sanday styled it, 'the sheet-anchor' of the theory of Burgon-Miller on the textual criticism of the NT. See, further, p. 740^b.

---

* There is no ground for the statement which is sometimes made (for instance by Jülicher, *Einleitung*, § 37) that he 'burned' the copies.

* The edition is out of print; a new edition by F. C. Burkitt, 'The Curetonian Syriac Gospels, re-edited together with the readings of the Sinaitic Codex, and a translation into English,' advertised by the Camb. Univ. Press (*Academy*, Sept. 29, 1894, p. 233^{b}; *JThSt*, i. 569), is approaching completion.

† Comp. with this the statement of the present writer (*PRE*^{3} xv. [1885] 195), on the work of Rabbula, that one might be inclined to see its result in $\mathfrak{S}^{c}$ *resp.* $\mathfrak{S}$ [= $\mathfrak{S}^{p}$].

(3) $\mathfrak{S}^s$—$\mathfrak{S}^c$—$\mathfrak{S}^p$ are three recensions of one and the same version, and this is their historical order (adopted by many, for instance Allen at the Oxford Debate). $\mathfrak{S}^p$—$\mathfrak{S}^c$—$\mathfrak{S}^s$ is impossible, equally impossible is the genealogy $\mathfrak{S}^p<\begin{smallmatrix}\mathfrak{S}^c\\ \mathfrak{S}^s\end{smallmatrix}$.

(4) $\mathfrak{S}^s$—$\mathfrak{S}^c$—$\mathfrak{T}$. Conybeare: 'I believe scholars are beginning to recognize that Tatian . . . used the Curetonian version of the Gospels, which in turn rested on the new Syriac' [*Academy*, Jan. 12, 1895]. $\mathfrak{S}^s$ also older than $\mathfrak{T}$ (Burkitt, Holzhey, Bewer).

(5) $\mathfrak{S}^c$ older than $\mathfrak{S}^s$ (Resch, Duval; see Hjelt, p. 95).

(*a*) $\mathfrak{T}$—$\mathfrak{S}^c$ (Baethgen, Zahn), before the discovery of $\mathfrak{S}^s$.

(*b*) $\mathfrak{T}$—$\mathfrak{S}^s$—$\mathfrak{S}^c$ or

(*c*) $\mathfrak{T}<\begin{smallmatrix}\mathfrak{S}^s\\ \mathfrak{S}^c\end{smallmatrix}$. $\mathfrak{T}$ older than $\mathfrak{S}^s$ (Zahn, Nestle, Hilgenfeld, Bardenhewer, Gwilliam, Cundberg).

(6) $\mathfrak{S}^s$—$\mathfrak{T}$—$\mathfrak{S}^c$—$\mathfrak{S}^p$. So in the main Hjelt; $\mathfrak{S}^s$ on the whole a faithful witness of the Old Syr. VS of the 2nd cent., $\mathfrak{S}^c$ a later recension of it probably from the first half of the 2nd cent., formed under the influence of $\mathfrak{T}$; $\mathfrak{S}^p$ a revision of the old version, which eliminated the influences of $\mathfrak{T}$ and became the Vulgate; at last $\mathfrak{S}^p$ in its turn influenced $\mathfrak{T}$, which remained in use with the Nestorians longer than with the Jacobites.

The priority of $\mathfrak{S}^s$ would be certain, if the thesis of Hjelt were proved that $\mathfrak{S}^s$ is not a unity, but that the various Gospels were due to different hands and that nevertheless all were used by $\mathfrak{T}$. The first part of his thesis Hjelt seems to have proved. There is a decided difference in the vocabulary of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John (see p. 96 ff.); he may be even right in his supposition, that the translation of Matthew was the oldest, due to a Jewish Christian (cf. Mt 9^{18} head *of the synagogue*, 23^5 *tephillin* and *purple* תכלתא).* But the second part, that $\mathfrak{S}^s$ was used by $\mathfrak{T}$, does not seem to be proved. But in any case $\mathfrak{S}^s$ and $\mathfrak{T}$ belong to the most important witnesses for the text of the Gospels.

Acts and Epistles.—Amidst the absorbing interest caused by the discovery of $\mathfrak{S}^s$, little attention has been paid of late to the rest of the Syriac NT, Acts and Epistles. They are known as yet only as parts of $\mathfrak{S}^p$, but there are indications that for the Acts and the Pauline Epistles also an older version was in existence. And it is of great interest that these two parts, together with the Gospels, made up the whole of the NT of the Syriac Church; all the Catholic Epistles, and not only the minor ones, being unknown. This is proved not only by the *Doctrine of Addai* (ed. Phillips, Lond. 1876, p. 44), where Addai orders: 'But the Law and the Prophets, which you read every day before the people, and the *Epistles of Paul*, which Simon Peter sent us from the city of Rome, and the *Acts of the Twelve Apostles*, which John the son of Zebedee sent us from Ephesus; these books read ye in the Churches of Christ, *and with these read not any other*, as there is not any other, in which the truth that ye hold is written, except these books which retain you in the faith to which ye have been called.' This is corroborated by the quotations of Aphraates, which are restricted to Acts and Paul, to the exclusion of the Catholic Epistles.

The passages cited by Wright as references to 1 P 4^{18} and 1 Jn 3^{24} 4^{15} have been shown by Zahn not to refer to these passages (but the former to Pr 11^{31}; the latter to the *Gospel* of John).

At last there was published in the *Studia Sinaitica*, No. 1 (p. 11 ff.) from extracts made by J. R. Harris from cod. Syr. 10 on Mt. Sinai, a list of the canonical books of the Syriac Bible, giving for each book and group of books the number of ῥήματα (*stichi*).* After the four Gospels (Mat. 2522, Mark 1675, Luke 3083, John 1737 [write 1937], total 9218) follows Acts (2720), then '*Paul the Apostle*' with a total 5076 for 'the apostle,' immediately followed by the total for 'the holy books, which the holy Church receives.'

There are some errors and confusions in this list; but as to the primary importance of it there can be no doubt.

This exclusion of all the Catholic Epistles from the old Syriac Canon is further in full agreement with the statement of Leontius on Theodore of Mopsuestia: *αὐτήν τε . . . τοῦ μεγάλου Ἰακώβου τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ τὰς ἑξῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἀποκηρύττει καθολικάς*. He followed in this the older tradition of the Syriac Church. Neither do the *Apostolic Constitutions* recognize the Catholic Epistles.

See Th. Zahn, *Das NT Theodors von Mopsuestia und der syrische Kanon*; *Grundriss der Geschichte des neutest. Kanons* (Leipzig, 1901, § 6); Jülicher, *Einleitung in das NT*$^{3.4}$ (1901, § 41); J. A. Bewer, *The History of the NT Canon in the Syrian Church* (Chicago, 1900).

About the middle of the 4th cent., therefore, the Church of Edessa had no Catholic Epistles in its Canon.

But it was not only the contents but the text of its Bible that differed at that time from $\mathfrak{S}^p$.

See in Bewer, p. 51, 'A comparison of the Acts and Epistles in Aphraates with those of the Peshitta.' A most significant example is not quoted by Bewer. *Matthias* in Ac $1^{23.26}$ is called by Aphraates *Tulmai*; this is now corroborated by the Syriac version of the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius (see *TU* vii. 2, p. v; the same version called *Agabus* of Ac 11 *Addai*). In 1 Co 15^{51} Aphraates testifies for the reading of ℵ, $\mathfrak{S}^p$ for that of B.

The quotations from Ephraem have been investigated by F. H. Woods (*Studia Biblica*, iii. 132 ff.): the result is the same; the influence of another version than $\mathfrak{S}^p$ cannot be denied; but that influence is not half so strong as in Aphraates. But the Roman edition of Ephraem's work is excessively uncritical, and we can 'never trust a biblical quotation where it agrees with the Peshitta' (see Burkitt, *JThSt*, i. 570, and now *Texts and Studies*, vii. 2). But not only so, we cannot even trust the references to $\mathfrak{S}^p$ in the critical apparatus of Tischendorf's *ed. oct.*; they are neither complete nor correct; cf. 1 Co 15^{37}, where $\mathfrak{S}^p$ adds 'or of barley' between *σίτου* and *ἤ τινος τῶν λοιπῶν*; on 2 Co 1^{12} see Nestle, *Introduction*, 309. All references to $\mathfrak{S}^p$ in Tischendorf's apparatus ought to be verified in the way in which Gwynn did this work for the four minor Cath. Epp. (*Hermathena*, 1890).

But not only in details of text did the older Syriac NT differ from $\mathfrak{S}^p$ as now current; it differed also as to the *arrangement*. In the list of the canonical books mentioned above, *Galatians stands at the head of the letters of Paul*, before Cor. and Rom., which are followed by *Hebrews*. The same order, Gal., Cor., Rom., seems to have been that of Ephraem (see J. R. Harris, *Four Lectures on the Western Text*, p. 21), and it is expressly testified to in Marcion. From this, Zahn is inclined to conclude that Tatian may have brought with him to the East at the same time the Western Text of the Gospels and the Marcionitic order of the letters of Paul; the more so as Eusebius says of Tatian that he altered the text of the Epistles of Paul (see Nestle, *Introduction*, p. 220).

---

* A great aid in these studies would be a Concordance to the Syriac Bible, which was desired by Lagarde as early as 1857. A prospectus of a Concordance of the Peshiṭta was sent out by Benj. Labaree and Wm. A. Shedd from Urumia in Oct. 1897, with some 'Specimen pages'; but the arrangement was not such as to satisfy the wants of the student. A Syriac Concordance in the manner of Hatch-Redpath is one of our needs.

* See on these *ῥήματα* the latest communication, that of F. C. Burkitt (*JThSt*, ii. 429–432).

Further, the Church of Edessa had in the time of Ephraem in its Canon the *Apocryphal Correspondence of St. Paul and the Corinthians*, of which we now know for certain that it once belonged to the *Acta Pauli* (see vol. i. p. 498). On the other hand, the short letter to *Philemon* seems to have been wanting in the Bible of Ephraem (see Zahn, *Gesch. Kan.* ii. 664, 1003, *Grundriss*, p. 52; Jülicher, *Einleitung*, doubts this).

It is totally unknown when the three greater Catholic Epistles were received. There has not been as yet even an examination of the question whether the translation of all the letters of Paul is due to the same hand, and that of the three Catholic Epistles to another. What is certain is that the four *Antilegomena* of the Catholic Epistles and the Bk. of Revelation never formed part of 𝕾^{p}, and were wanting therefore even in the first printed editions of the Syriac NT till 1630. It is the more surprising that the Nestorian Stone-inscription at Singan-fu speaks of 27 books left by Christ to further the soul in what is good (see J. E. Heller, *Das Nestorianische Denkmal in Singan-fu*, Budapest, 1897, 4to, reprint from 'Wissenschaftliche Ergebnisse der Reise des Grafen B. Széchenyi in Ostasien' (1877–1880), pp. 31, 45).

LITERATURE.—1. On Tatian: C. A. Credner, *Beiträge zur Einleit. in die bibl. Schriften*, 1832, 437 ff., *Gesch. des neutest. Kanons* (herausgegeben von G. Volkmar), 1860, 17 ff.; H. A. Daniel, *Tatianus der Apologet*, 1837; C. A. Semisch, *Tatiani Diatessaron*, 1856; Th. Zahn, *Forschungen zur Gesch. des neutest. Kanons*, i. 1881 ('Tatians Diatessaron'),* ii. (1883) 286 ff., iv. (1891, 'Der Text des von A. Ciasca herausgegebenen arabischen Diatessaron von Dr. Ernst Sellin'), *Gesch. des Kanons*, i. 387–414, ii. 530–536, 'Zur Geschichte von Tatians Diatessaron im Abendland' (*Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 1894, pp. 85–120), art. 'Evangelienharmonie' in *PRE*^{3} v. (1898) 653 ff.; Westcott, *Canon*, pt. i. ch. iv. § 10; [the works of Ephraem Syrus in Armenian, Venice, 1836, vol. ii.]; *Evangelii Concordantis Expositio facta a doctore Sancto Ephraemo Syro* [in Latinum translata a J. B. Aucher, ed. G. Moesinger], Venice, 1876†; J. P. Martin, *Le Διὰ τεσσάρων de Tatian*, Extrait de la Revue des questions historiques (Avril 1883), Paris, 1883; S. B. Pitra, *Analecta sacra spicilegio Solesmensi parata*, tom. iv., Par. 1883, p. xxviii ff., 465–487 ('Ciasca, de Tatiani D. arabica versione'); *Tatiani evangeliorum harmoniæ arabice:* nunc primum ex duplici codice edidit translatione latina donavit P. Augustinus Ciasca, Romæ, 1888, gr. 8vo; Hemphill, *The Diatessaron of Tatian*, 1888 (cf. *Church Quarterly Review*, 1888, p. 127); W. Elliot, *Tatian's Diatess. and the Modern Critics*, Plymouth (cf. *Church Quart. Rev.* 1888, p. 128); J. R. Harris, *The Diatessaron of Tatian*, a preliminary study, Cambridge, 1890; Isaac H. Hall, 'A pair of citations from the Diatessaron' (*JBL* x. 2 (1891), 153–155); J. Hamlyn Hill, *The Earliest Life of Christ ever compiled from the Four Gospels: being the Diatessaron of Tatian (circa A.D. 160). Literally translated from the Arabic Version, and containing the Four Gospels woven into one story, with an historical and critical Introduction, Notes and Appendix*, Edinburgh, Clark, 1893, 376; Hope W. Hogg, *The Diatess. of Tatian* in Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Additional Volume. . . . Edited by A. Menzies, Edin., 1897, 33–138; W. R. Cassels, 'The Diatess. of Tat.' (*Nineteenth Century*, April 1895, 665–681, worthless; see J. Rendel Harris, 'The Diatess., a reply' (*Contemporary Review*, August 1895, 271–278)); C. Taylor, 'St. Mark in the Diatess.' (*Classical Review*, 1894); J. A. Robinson, 'Tatian's Diatess. and a Dutch Harmony' (*The Academy*, 1894, 24th March, 249^{c}–250^{a}); J. R. Harris, *Fragments of the Commentary of Ephrem Syrus upon the Diatessaron*, London, 1895; H. Goussen, *Studia Theologica*, Fasciculus I.: Apocalypsis S. Johannis Apostoli versio sahidica. Accedunt pauca fragmenta genuina Diatessaroniana, Lips. 1895 (pp. 61–67); J. Hamlyn Hill, *A Dissertation on the Gospel Commentary of S. Ephraem the Syrian*, Edinburgh, 1896.

2. On Cureton's text (title above), cf. *Fragments of the Curetonian Gospels*, edited by W. Wright [London, 1872], 4to, only 100 copies printed for private circulation, first published by E. Roediger in *Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 8. Juli 1872, pp. 557–559 and 6 pp. Syr.; J. R. Crowfoot, *Fragmenta Evangelica quæ ex antiqua recensione versionis Syriacæ Novi Testamenti (Peshito dictæ) a Gul. Curetono vulgata sunt*, Lond., Pars prima 1870, Pars altera 1871, *Observations on the Collation in Greek of Cureton's Syriac Fragments of the Gospels*, 1872 (to be used with caution); Fr. Baethgen, *Evangelienfragmente: der Griechische Text des Cureton'schen Syrers wiederhergestellt*, Leipzig, 1885; H. H. Harman, 'Cureton Fragments of Syriac Gospels' in *Journ. of the Soc. of Bibl. Lit. and Exegesis*, June–Dec. 1885, pp. 28–48. On Bowes and Holzhey see immediately. Other papers of Hermansen, le Hir, Wildeboer; especially on the meaning of the superscription דמפרשא (by Mai, Gildemeister, Land, Tregelles, Wright, Cowper, Ewald) see *PRE*^{3} iii. 172= *Urt.* 112. For a recent discussion on it see *Journ. Amer. Orient. Society*, xviii. (1897) 176–182 and 361 f., between Charles C. Torrey and R. Gottheil. That it forms the opposition to 'Gospel of the Mixed,' *i.e.* Tatian's *Diatessaron*, and means 'Gospel(s) of the Separate,' cannot be doubted any longer.

3. Literature on the Sinai-Palimpsest: (*a*) On the discovery and the copying of the Sinai-Palimpsest, see, on the one hand, M. D. Gibson, *How the Codex was found: a Narrative of two visits to Sinai from Mrs. Lewis' Journals, 1892–93*, Cambridge, 1893; on the other, Mrs. Bensly, *Our Journey to Sinai: a visit to the Convent of St. Catarina, with a chapter on the Sinai Palimpsest*, London, 1896. Editio princeps: *The Four Gospels in Syriac, transcribed from the Sinaitic palimpsest by the late Robert L. Bensly, M.A.** . . . *and by J. Rendel Harris, M.A. . . . and by F. Crawford Burkitt, M.A., with an Introduction by Agnes Smith Lewis*, edited for the Syndics of the University Press, Cambridge, 1894.† This has to be supplemented by A. S. Lewis, *Some Pages of the Four Gospels, retranscribed from the Sinaitic palimpsest, with a translation of the whole text*, London, 1896. An earlier translation had been published by Mrs. Lewis, London, Macmillan, 1894; a German one, with an Appendix, is due to Ad. Merx, *Die vier Kanonischen Evangelien nach ihrem ältesten bekannten Texte: Uebersetzung der syrischen im Sinaikloster gefundenen Palimpsesthandschrift*, Berlin, 1897. The second part (*Erläuterungen*) has not yet appeared. Cf., finally, 'Last Gleanings from the Sinai Palimpsest' (*Expositor*, Aug. 1897, pp. 111–119), and 'The Earlier Home of the Sinaitic Palimpsest' (*Expositor*, June 1900, 965), and *Studia Sinaitica*, No. IX. (1900) pp. viii ff., xxiii f., where it is shown that John the Stylite, who in the year 778 used the Codex as Palimpsest, was a monk of Mar Conon, a cloister of Ma'arrath Meṣrên in the district of Antioch (a small town about equidistant from Antioch and Aleppo). The *Expos. Times* (vols. xi. xii.) contains a series of papers by Mrs. Lewis entitled 'What have we gained in the Sinaitic Palimpsest?'

(*b*) Convenient collations are: A. Bonus, *Collatio Codicis Lewisiani rescripti Evangeliorum sacrorum Syriacorum cum Codice Curetoniano (Mus. Brit. Add. 14451): cui adjectæ sunt Lectiones e Peshitto desumptæ*, Oxonii, 1896, 4to; and Carl Holzhey, *Der neuentdeckte Codex Syrus Sinaiticus untersucht: mit einem vollständigen Verzeichnis der Varianten des Cod. Sinaiticus und Cod. Curetonianus*, München, 1896.

4. On 𝕾^{p} see the Literature quoted in Nestle, *Introduction*, p. 103; *Urt.* p. 227 ff.; Scrivener, ii. 6–40, with the help of Gwilliam and Deane. On the printed editions, *Church Quart. Rev.* 1888, July, 257–297; *The Syriac New Testament translated into English from the Peshitto Versions*, by James Murdock, with a historical introduction by Horace L. Hastings, and a bibliographical appendix by Isaac H. Hall, 6th ed., Boston, 1893. The first edition of Widmanstadt (1555) is still the best, or that of [Leusden and] Schaaf, Lugd. Bat. 1709, 4to, together with the *Lex. Syr. Concord.* of C. Schaaf (ed. sec. 1717); then the editions of the American Bible Society of New York (with Nestorian vocalization), except for the Gospels, which are now at hand in the ed. of Pusey-Gwilliam (Oxf. 1901).

Of Dissertations on the text of the NT besides those connected with the discovery of 𝕾^{s}, there are none to be mentioned of recent times.

THE LATER VERSIONS OF THE NT.—1. The Philoxeniana.—Syriac scholars did not rest satisfied with the Pesh. NT. In the year 508 Aksĕnāyā or *Philoxenus*, bishop of Mabbogh (485–519), with the help of his chorepiscopus, Polycarp, undertook a literal translation of the whole Bible. Besides the NT, the *Psalms* in this version are mentioned by Moses of Aggēl (between 550 and 570), and portions of *Isaiah* survived in the Add. MSS 17106 of the British Museum, and have been edited by

---

* Cf. the important notice of P. de Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, i. 111–120, 194–196; further, p. 31, ii. 30–38, 'Die arabische Uebersetzung des εὐαγγέλιον διὰ τεσσάρων.'

† The first to call attention to the importance of this Commentary of Ephraem was not Ezra Abbott (*The Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*, Boston, 1880), but P. de Lagarde in his edition of the *Apostolic Constitutions* (Pref. p. vii), 1862. Already in his earlier paper, *de Novo Testamento ad versionum orientalium fidem edendo* (Berolini, 1857), he made use of Ephraem's Armenian Commentaries.

* Bensly died a few days after the return to Cambridge, 23rd April 1893.

† Reviews and papers called forth by the publication are mentioned, *Urt.* 112 ff.; add to them Farrar in the *Expositor*, Jan. 1895. On the reading Mt 1^{16} 'Joseph, to whom the Virgin Mary was betrothed, begat Jesus,' see the correspondence in the *Academy*, 1894, Nov. 17, 24, Dec. 1, 8, 15, 22, 29; 1895, Jan. 5, 12, April 13, May 18, June 8, 29, by Allen, Badham, Charles, Conder, Conybeare, Farrar, Lewis, Nestle, Rahlfs (who first pointed out that it was also found in Greek, 29th Dec.), Sanday, Simcox, White; further, G. H. Skipwith, 'The first chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel in the light of recent research' (*Nottingham Tracts*, iii., London, 1895); and the Additional Notes in the second vol. of Westcott-Hort's *Greek Testament*, (reprint 1896).

Ceriani (*Monumenta sacra et profana*, v. i. 1–40, 1873). The text of the Gospels exists, according to Bernstein (*Das Evangelium des Johannes*, 1853, pp. 3, 29), in the codex A2 of the Bibliotheca Angelica at Rome. In 1884 Isaac H. Hall published *Syriac Manuscript Gospels of a pre-Harklensian version, Acts and Epistles of the Peshito version, written (probably) between 700 and 900* (Philadelphia).

The minor epistles of the Philoxeniana were first published by Ed. Pococke (Leiden, 1630), and still earlier (1612) at Mayence a Latin translation of them (by Nicolaus Servasius, *Comment. in Epist. Canonicas*) from a MS brought to Rome. Pococke's text was taken over into the Peshito editions of the NT and emended by Lee (1823); still more in the New York impression, 1888. Gwynn collated fifteen MSS and gave a survey of the chief points, pending the publication of the emended text with a complete Apparatus Criticus (*Hermathena*, No. 16, vol. vii. pp. 281–314 ff.: 'The older Syriac Version of the Four Minor Catholic Epistles'). Cf., further, Ad. Merx, 'Die in der Peschito fehlenden Briefe des Neuen Testaments in arabischer der Philoxeniana entstammender Uebersetzung. Nach der Abschrift eines Manuscripts des Sinaiklosters von Frau A. Persis Burkitt veröffentlicht und mit Anmerkungen versehen' (*ZA* xii. 240–252, 348–381, xiii. 1–28). Merx frequently disagrees with Gwynn as to the value of the variants.

2. **The Harklensis.**—A hundred years later the work of retranslation and revision was taken up at Alexandria for the OT by Paul of Tella (see p. 445^a), for the NT by Thomas of Ḥarkel (Heraklea in Mesopotamia). This version comprises (as printed at present), like the Philoxeniana, all the books of the NT except Revelation, and was published under the (inappropriate) title of *Versio Philoxeniana* by Jos. White at Oxford, between 1778 and 1803. A *lacuna* in the Epistle to the Hebrews (11^{27}–13^{25}) has been supplied by Bensly (Cambridge, 1889). Its importance rests on the fact that one of the Greek MSS of Acts used by Thomas bore the closest relation to codex D, and that for the Epistles of Paul his text goes back to the library of Pamphilus (codex H). On Acts see Aug. Pott, *Der Abendländische Text der Apostelgeschichte und die Wir-Quelle*, Leipzig, 1900; R. Corssen, 'Die Recension der Philoxeniana durch Thomas von Mabug' (*ZNTW*, 1901, 1–12);[*] A. Hilgenfeld, 'Thomas von Heraclea und die Apostelgeschichte' (*ZWTh*, 43, 1900, 3). W. Deane had prepared a new edition; it is an urgent want for the textual criticism, especially of Acts.

3. **Revelation.**—A Syriac text of the last book of the NT was first published by L. de Dieu (Leiden, 1627) from a MS of Scaliger, now at Leiden, written by a certain Caspar from the land of the Hindus ('Hanravitarum,' as de Dieu read). The text of the Paris (and London) Polyglot seems to be taken from an independent MS. It does not belong to the original work of Polycarp, but to that of Thomas—a fact verified at last by the documentary evidence of the Florence MS rediscovered by Gwynn (*Hermathena*, 1898: 'On the recovery of a missing Syriac Manuscript of the Apocalypse,' pp. 227–245).

The same scholar discovered, in 1892, in a codex belonging to Lord Crawford, another and older translation of Revelation, and published it as the first Syriac book issued from the Dublin University Press, in 1897 (*The Apocalypse of St. John in a Syriac Version hitherto unknown; edited . . . with Critical Notes on the Syriac Text and an annotated Reconstruction of the underlying Greek Text. To which is added an Introductory Dissertation on the Syriac Versions of the Apocalypse*, Dublin, 4to).

4. **The pericope de adultera and other passages.** (*a*) The passage Jn 8^{2-11} missing in the common Syriac Bible became known to the learned at an early date. Mara, bishop of Amid (about 519), wrote a Greek prologue to a copy of the Tetraevangelium, in which this *pericope* had a place in canon 89, *i.e.* at Jn 8^{20}, where also the pseudo-Athanasian *Synopsis* mentions it. With the Prologue this *pericope* has been translated into Syriac in the so-called Church history of Zacharias Rhetor (Land, *Anecdota Syriaca*, iii. 252, 255).

From a MS of Ussher (now in the Trinity Library of Dublin) the same passage had been printed by de Dieu, 1631 (*Animadversiones in quattuor Evangelia*). A third translation was due to the abbot Mar Paul, apparently Paul of Tella; a fourth has been printed by J. White (*ex codice Barsalibæi* at the end of the Gospels in his edition of the Philoxeniana, i. [1778] p. 559). See on these and other points J. Gwynn (*Transactions*, Dublin, 1881).

(*b*) While scarcely one Syriac MS is known in Europe containing all 27 books of the present NT (see on this Gwynn, *Transactions*, 1886 and 1893; and compare what Rahmani states about the Mosul πανδέκτης, from which he published the *Testamentum Domini nostri Jesu Christi* [Præfatio, pp. ix, x]), there are some MSS that contain books which are no longer included in the NT, *e.g.* cod. 1700 in the University Library at Cambridge, from which *The Epistles of St. Clement to the Corinthians in Syriac* were edited by the late R. L. Bensly (Cambridge, 1899). In the MS the Clementine Epp. stand between the Catholic and Pauline Epistles, and are divided like these into lectures for Church use. There are, again, the MSS from which that other pair of letters ascribed to Clement, *de Virginibus* or *de Virginitate*, were published by Wetstein (*NT Gr.* t. i. 1751, Prol. pp. 1–26) and J. Th. Beelen (Lovanii, 1856; see on them J. P. N. Land, 'Syrische Bijdragen tot de Patristik,' in *Godgeleerde Bijdragen van* 1856–7).

(*c*) On the Clementine Octateuch added as number 77–83 to the 76 books of the OT and NT in the Mosul *Pandektes* just mentioned, see Rahmani, *l.c.* p. x.

These and other instances show that the history of the NT Canon was in the Syriac Church different from its history in most other branches.

5. **The Palestinian Syriac.**—One other version remains to be noticed, namely, that used by the Malkite (Greek) Church in Palestine and Egypt, written in a dialect more akin to the language of the Jewish Targums; long known exclusively from a lectionary in the Vatican Library, called the *Evangeliarium Hierosolymitanum*; described by Assemani and Adler (1789); published in 1861–64 in two vols. by Count Fr. Miniscalchi Erizzo, and again—as his last work—by P. de Lagarde in his *Bibliotheca Syriaca* (Göttingen, 1892); republished by Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson on the strength of two other MSS found on Mt. Sinai (*The Palestinian Syriac Lectionary of the Gospels*, London, 1899, 4to). Quite recently new texts have been added from Acts and the Epistles of Paul, including Hebrews and James (*Studia Sinaitica*, No. vi.), and the date and birthplace of this whole branch of literature have been elucidated by F. C. Burkitt (*JThSt*, ii. 174–185). In spite of its secondary character, it is not devoid of interest for textual criticism. In the Apparatus its symbol has been hitherto syr^{h} or $^{\text{hr}}$ or $^{\text{hier}}$.[*]

---

[*] To be used with caution. The intention of Thomas was certainly not 'to restore with the help of his Greek MSS the original text of Philoxenus,' and 'the old Syrian' mentioned by him in Mt 27^{35} 28^{5} Mk 8^{17} is not Philoxenus, but the Peshito. Cf. also A Hilgenfeld, *ZWTh*, 44 (1901), 318–320.

[*] One of the urgent needs of textual criticism is fitting symbols for the Syriac versions of the NT. Tischendorf used

II. OLD TESTAMENT.—1. *Tradition.*—The Syrians themselves believed that a part of the OT was translated already in the time of *Solomon* at the request of king Hiram. Jesudad, bishop of Hadeth, *c.* 852 A.D., mentions the books then translated. Another tradition is that the version was due to the priest sent by the king of Assyria to *Samaria*; whose name is variously given as Asa, Asya, Ezra, Uria, אסא, אסיא 2 K 17^{24}, 1 Ch 15^{18}, ed. Lee and Ceriani; see the Literature quoted in *Urt.* p. 231, and add there Schatzhöhle, ed. Bezold, 192. 3 אורי, codd. PL תאוריה, in Arabic باوريه. The rest of the books are said to have been added in the days of Addai and Abgar (see p. 645^{a}).

2. *Origin.*—Whether part of the version is of pre-Christian, or at least of Jewish origin (thus Rich. Simon, Hug, Geiger, Perles, Lagarde), is not certain, but it is possible.* There were many Jews in Mesopotamia, especially in Edessa, in early times. It may suffice to recall queen Helena and Izates, and the Abgar legend. In the latter a daily reading of 'the OT and NT' (p. 34) or 'the Law and the Prophets' (p. 44) is presupposed besides that of the Gospel, Acts, and Epistles (see p. 647^{a}).

3. *Extent.*—The Syriac OT was, on the whole, the same as the Hebrew Bible. Jesudad, for instance, knows that it counts 22 books; but at a very early date the influence of the Greek Bible is felt. There are some notable peculiarities. *Chronicles* seems to have been wanting in the canon of the Nestorians, nor is it represented in the Massoretic labours of the Jacobites; but it is found already in MSS of the 6th cent. (cod. Ambrosianus, Brit. Mus., Wright 25), with a division at 2 Ch 6^{1} (in most MSS, not in Ambros. and Florent.). Neither is *Ezra-Nehemiah* found in the Massoretic MSS, nor *Esther* in those of the Nestorians. In the Bibles of the Jacobites Esther forms, together with Judith, Ruth, and Susanna, the 'book of the women,' with 4463 *stichi.*

The arrangement of the books varies according to the MSS. The list on next col. gives them according to the order in the canonical list mentioned above, p. 647^{b}; the figures for cols. 2-5 are taken from Abbé Martin's *Introduction à la critique textuelle du NT*, Partie théorique, Paris, 1883, p. 667; cf., further, Gregory-Tischendorf, 3. 112, 1303; J. R. Harris, *On the Origin of the Ferrar Group*, Lond. 1893, 10, 26.

Note.—The *Nomocanon* of Barhebræus, ch. 7, § 3 (p. 103, ed. Bedjan) on the number of the holy books and those besides (ἔξω), quotes canon 81 of the Apostles, that all clergy and laymen ought to have the Holy Scriptures of the OT, *i.e.* 5 books of Moses, Josh., Judges, Ruth, Judith; 4 books of Kings; 2 of Chron.; 2 of Ezra; Esth., Job; 3 of Mac.; Job, David; 5 of Solomon; 16 Prophets. Of 'books without,' there is to be Bar Asira for the teaching of the young. The NT is to include 4 Gospels, 14 letters of Paul, 2 of Peter, 3 of John; James, Jude; 2 of Clement, 8 books of the mysteries of the same Clement, and the Praxeis of the Apostles.

The elucidation says that the 4 of Kings are Samuel and Kings, and of Solomon we know only 4 (Prov., Eccl., Cant., Wisd.); and it is possible that the 5th is that which is inscribed 'the deep Proverbs of Solomon'; and the Book of Susanna is reckoned with Daniel.

Then he quotes the great Athanasius on the great Wisdom, Bar Asira, Esther, Judith, Tobia, what is called διατάξεις ἀποστόλων, and the *Shepherd*; Dionysius of Alexandria on Revelation as being by Cerinthus or another John; Origen on Hebrews, *Apocalypsis Pauli*, and other Revelations, *The Doctrine of the Apostles*, *Epistle of Barnabas*, Tobia, the *Shepherd*, Bar Asira; the Patriarch Cyriacus on the Book of Hierotheos as being not by him, but probably by the heretic Stephen bar Ṣudaile.

	1 Cod. Sin. 10.	2 Cod. Vat. 159.	3 Cod. Barb. vi. 62.	4 Cod. Paris 64.	5 Ed. Lee.
Gen. .	4516	4631	=2	4638	4509
Ex. . .	3378	3560	=2	3660	3626
Lev. .	2684	2445	=2	=2	2454
Num. .	3481	3560	=2	=2	3521
Deut. .	2982	2979	2783	=3	2796
Pent.* .	17041	...	...	...	...
Josh. .	1953	2167	2150	2160	=2
Judges .	2088	2249	=2	2089	4033
Sam. .	3436	5230	=2	=2	=1
Kings .	6113	5323	=2	=2	...
Ruth .	246	...	=1	=1	...
David .	4830	=1	=1	=1	...
Chron.†	3553	...	...	...	5630
Job . .	1548	...	2553	=3	=3
Prov.‡ .	1762	1866	=2	=2	1863
[Cant.] .	...	296	=2	290	...
[Eccles.]	...	616	=2	627	...
Twelve §	3643	...	3321	=3	...
Isaiah .	3656	...	4801	=3	...
Jer. . .	4252	...	4824	=3	...
Lam. .	433	...	...	...	...
Dan. .	1555	...	2273	=3	...
Ezek. .	4376	4154	=2	=2	...
Esth. .	650	...	...	...	...
Ezra ..	2308	...	...	...	2361
1 Mac. .	2766	...	...	...	...
2 Mac. .	5600	...	...	...	...
Judith .	1268	...	=1	=1	...
Wisd.‖ .	1550	...	1236	=3	...
Sir.¶ .	2550	...	2500	=3	...
Total .	71574				

A singular division found in some MSS is that the Law (אוריתא) is directly followed by כתבא רבית מותבא=*liber sessionum*, βίβλος καθισμάτων, *i.e.* Job, Josh., Judges, Sam., Kings, Prov., Sir., Eccl., Ruth, Canticles.

The Psalter also is divided into καθίσματα (20). This is the favourite book of the Syriac Church, which must be known by heart if one wishes to become a deacon, and was recited daily by certain monks. In accurate MSS there are Massoretical notes; cf. the edition of Bedjan (*Liber Psalmorum, horarum diurnarum, ordinis officii divini et homiliarum rogationum ad usum scholarum*, Parisiis, 1886, p. 117).

The number of Psalms is 150, of Hallelujahs 20, Sections (צתָּא) 29, Embolisms (מַרְמְיָתָא) 57, Stichi (פתגמא) 4833, and Books 5. The number of Words is 19,934, and the number of Letters 90,852. 'Lord' occurs 732 times, 'God' 400, 'because' (מטל) 285, 'Moses' 6, 'Aaron' 6, 'Jacob' 24, 'Samuel' 1, 'Benjamin' 2, 'Israel' 44, 'namely' (גיר) 5, 'but' (רין) 5. And 'know that there is not found in David the form תחית for the preposition "under," as there is not found תחות in the Apostle'; תחות occurs 13 times; and 'from now and to eternity' 4 times.

There is a strange statement at the head of many Psalter MSS (already in the cod. Ambr.) that the Psalms were translated from the Palestinian language into Hebrew, from Hebrew into Greek, from Greek into Syriac. In the cod. Hunt 109 (Oxford, Bodleian) this statement is transferred to the whole Syriac OT, and in cod. Rich 7154

---

syr^{cu}, syr^{hr} or ^{hier}, syr^{sch} (=Schaaf-Peshito), syr^{p} (=posterior =Philoxeniana), syr^{whit} (=White=Heraclensis). Westcott-Hort used syr^{vt}=syr^{cu}, and now syr *crt* and syr *sin* (see vol. ii. 1896, notes, p. 5), syr vg (=Peshito), syr hl (=Harklean), syr hr. Zahn proposed S^{1}=Peshito, S^{2}=Philoxeniana, S^{3}=Harklensis: for the Gospels Sc, Ss, Sh. To avoid figures, the Philoxeniana might be represented by 𝔖φ, the versions of Thomas by 𝔖θ.

* In support of the Jewish origin of the Syr. version of Chronicles, Nöldeke (*Alttest. Lit.* p. 169) quotes the translation of 1 Ch 5^{2} 'from Judah *will go out* (נפוק) the king Messiah'; the copyist of cod. F wrote נפק ('*has gone out*').

* אוריתא.
‡ תכמתא רמ̈ולתא (read רמ̈תלא).
‖ תכמתא רבתא.
† ספר רברימים.
§ תרעסר.
¶ בר אסירא.

(Brit. Mus.) it is stated that the (Syriac) Psalter was translated from the Palestinian into Hebrew, according to the translation of Symmachus the Samaritan. Other Psalters have the heading דמפרשׂא, which is intelligible of the Gospels of the Separate (see pp. 646, 648), but scarcely of the Psalms. (Does it mean a Church-Psalter, detached from the Bible?*) Many liturgical additions are found in the Church-Psalters (see, *e.g.*, the edition of Bedjan, which contains, of 'Canticles' at the end of the Psalter, Ex 15, Is 42, Dt 32).

Besides the books of the Greek and Hebrew Bibles, complete MSS called *καθολικοί* or *πανδέκτης* (קאתוליקיא או פנדקטא), like the cod. Ambrosianus, have preserved the Apocalypse of Baruch,† 4 Ezra, 4 and 5 Maccabees,‡ *i.e.* the history of Samuna, and Josephus *BJ* v. Apart from Bible MSS, many other pieces of apocryphal and pseudepigraphical literature have been preserved to us in Syriac.§ On the Syriac text of Sirach see above, p. 546; of Tobit only the version of Paul of Tella is preserved, and this only down to 7^{11}; the rest is still later. Of the first Book of Maccabees the cod. Ambrosianus preserved a second recension.

4. *Character of the Version.*—The value of the Version varies greatly, as it is not the work of a single hand. The Pentateuch keeps close to the Heb. text and Jewish exegesis, but has interesting details; it knows, for instance, or thinks it knows, that the rare word כברה denotes the 'parasang.' Genesis, Isaiah (30^{20} $46^{5.6}$), the Twelve, the Psalter, show marks of having been influenced by the Septuagint;‖ Ruth is paraphrastic, Job literal, Chronicles like a Targum; the version of Proverbs has been used by the Targumists. Many of the books of the OT have been made the subject of special studies, whose results we now possess, mostly in the shape of Inaugural Dissertations; but new investigations are necessary.

5. *Editions.*—The printed text of the Syriac OT is in a most deplorable state, all editions going back to the Paris Polyglot of Michel le Jay (Paris, 1645). This was reproduced without any noteworthy improvements in Walton's London Polyglot (1657); Lee reproduced the same text with a few emendations and several misprints for the British Bible Society (1821). The Urmia edition of the American Missionaries (1852) is a reproduction of Lee in Nestorian characters with Nestorian vowels and with improved spellings. At last the Dominicans at Mosul published an edition of the Syriac Bible (3 vols. 1887–92), which the present writer has not seen, but which, he is afraid, will not satisfy our wants. Ceriani's photolithographic reproduction of the cod. Ambrosianus (1876–81, Milano, 200 frs.) is not within the reach of the general student; and as the editions of Urmia and the Bible Society are scarce or out of print, there is a crying need for a new edition of one of the most important versions of the OT. Only for the *Libri Apocryphi* or (as he wished afterwards to entitle the book) *Libri Deuterocanonici* we have the edition of P. de Lagarde (Lips. 1861). The country of Ussher, who intended himself to bring out such an edition, the country of Walton and of Buchanan, has here a task to discharge that will amply reward itself.*

LITERATURE.—A. Ceriani, 'le edizioni e i manoscritti delle versione Siriache del vecchio testamento' (1869, *Atti of the Lombardian Institute*); Bernstein ('Syrische Studien' in *ZDMG* iii. 387–396; Emendations); Alfr. Rahlfs, 'Beiträge zur Textkritik der Peschita' (*ZATW*, 1889, 161–210); R. Gottheil, 'Zur Textkritik der Pᵉšiṭṭâ' (*Mitteilungen des akademischen orientalischen Vereins zu Berlin*, No. 2, 1889, 21–28); J. Prager, *de Veteris Testamenti versione Syriaca, quam Peschittho vocant, quæstiones criticæ*, pt. i., Gottingæ, 1875; J. A. Edgren, 'The Peshito' (*Hebrew Student*, I. i. 1882); P. J. Gloag, 'The early Syriac Versions' (*The Monthly Interpreter*, April 1885, p. 244 ff.); G. Hoffmann, *Opuscula Nestoriana*, Kiel, 1880, and 'zur Gesch. des syr. Bibeltextes' (*ZATW*, 1881, p. 159 ff.).

On the Pentateuch: L. Hirzel, *de Pentateuchi versionis syr.* (*peschito*) *indole commentatio critico-exegetica*, Lips. 1815; S. D. Luzzatto, *Philoxenus s. de Onkelosi chald. Pentateuchi versione, Acc. appendix de Syriasmis in chaldd. paraphrasibus Veteris Testamenti*, Vindob. 1830; J. M. Schönfelder, *Onkelos und Peschittho*, München, 1869; Jos. Perles, *Meletemata Peschitthoniana*, Vratisl. 1860; F. Tuch, *de Lipsiensi cod. Pentateuchi syr. MS*, pt. i., Lips. 1849, 4to. A reprint of the Pentateuch from Walton's Polyglot was intended by J. D. Ammon, 1747 (see *Urt.* 227), and executed by G. Kirzsch (Hofæ et Lips. 1787, 4to).—**Samuel:** Emanuel Schwartz, *Die syrische Uebersetzung des ersten Buches Samuelis* (Inaug. Diss., Giessen), Berlin, 1897, 104 pp.—**Kings:** J. Berlinger, *Die Peschitta zum I* (*III*) *Buch der Könige*, Frankfurt, 1897, 50 pp.—**Chronicles:** Cl. A. Reg. Töttermann, פלגותא קדמיתא דבריםין *cum hebræis collata*, Helsingforsiæ, 1870; S. Fränkel, 'Die syrische Übersetzung zu den Büchern der Chronik' (*Ztschr. f. prot. Theol.* 5 (1879), 508–536, 720–759; W. E. Barnes, *An apparatus criticus to Chronicles in the Peshitta Version, with a discussion of the value of the Codex Ambrosianus*, Cambridge, 1897†; see also A. Klostermann (art. 'Chronik' in *PRE*^{3} iv. 85 ff.).—**Esther:** Jul. Grunthal, *Die syrische Übersetzung zum Buche Esther* (Diss.), Breslau, 1900, 55 pp.—**Job:** Edu. Stenij, *De syriaca libri Jobi interpretatione quæ Peschita vocatur*, Pars prior, Helsingforsiæ, 1887; A. Mandl, *Die Peschittha zu Hiob* (Diss.), Leipz. 1892, 35 pp.; Eberh. Baumann, 'Die Verwendbarkeit der Pešita zum Buch Ijob für die Textkritik' (*ZATW* xviii. 257–266, xix. 15–95, xx. 177–201, 264–307).—**Psalms:** Fr. Dietrich, *Commentatio de psalterii usu publico et divisione in ecclesia Syriaca*, Marburg, 1862, 4to (Indices lectionum); Andr. Oliver, *A Translation of the Syriac Peshito Version of the Psalms of David, with notes critical and explanatory*, Boston, 1861; Prager, see above; Berg, see preced. col. n. ‖; Fr. Baethgen, *Untersuchungen über die Psalmen nach der Peschita*, i., Kiel, 1878, 4to, sequel in *Ztschr. f. prot. Theol.* viii. 405–459, 593–667; Berth. Oppenheimer, *Die Syr. Übersetzung des fünften Buches der Psalmen*, Leipzig, 1891; L. Techen, 'Syrisch-Hebräisches Glossar zu den Psalmen nach der Peschita' (*ZATW* xvii. (1897) 129–171, 280–331) [similar glossaries for other books would be useful and supply a Concordance]; G. Diettrich, 'Eine jakobitische Einleitung in den Psalter' . . . Giessen, 1901, xlvii. 167 (Beihefte zu *ZATW* 5).—**Proverbs:** J. A. Dathe, *De ratione consensus vers. Chaldaicæ et syriacæ Proverbiorum Salomonis*, Lips. 1764; S. Maybaum, 'Über die Sprache des Targum zu den Sprüchen und dessen Verhältniss zum Syrer' in Merx, *Archiv*, ii. 1 (1871), 66–93; Th. Nöldeke, 'Das Targum zu den Sprüchen von der Peschito abhängig' (*ib.* ii. 2 (1872), 246–249); Herm. Pinkuss, 'Die Syrische Übersetzung der Proverbien' (*ZATW* xiv. [1894] 1, 65–141, 161–222); H. P. Chajes, 'Etwas über die Pešita zu den Proverbien' (*JQR*, Oct. 1900, 86–91).—**Canticles:** S. Euringer, 'Die Bedeutung der Peschitto für die Textkritik des Hohenliedes' (*Biblische Studien*, vi. 115–128).—**Ecclesiastes:** *Animadversiones criticæ in versionem syriacam Peschitthonianam Librorum Koheleth et Ruth*, Auctore Georgius [!] Janichs, Vratislaviæ, 1871 (Diss.), Marb. 1869.—**Prophets:** A. Klostermann (*PRE*^{3} viii. 767, on Isaiah); Warzavoski, *Peshita zu Jes. 1–39*, Giessen, 1897; Heinr. Weiss, *Die Peschitta zu Deuterojesaja* (Diss.), Halle, 1893; Armin Abelesz, *Die syrische Übersetzung der Klagelieder* (Diss.), Giessen, 1896, 43 pp.; H. Cornill, *Das Buch des Propheten Ezechiel*, 1886, pp. 137–156 (cf. Rahlfs and Pinkuss); C. A. Credner, *De prophetarum minorum versione syriaca quam Peshito dicunt indole*, Diss. i. [unica], Gött. 1827; Mark Sebök (Schönberger), *Die syrische Uebersetzung der zwölf kleinen Propheten*, Breslau, 1887, 75 pp.; V. Ryssel,

---

* See Wright's *Catalogue of Syriac MSS in the Brit. Mus.* i. 116 n., and *Church Quart. Rev.*, Apr. 1895, p. 130.

† See *The Apocalypse of Baruch translated from the Syriac*, chs. i.–lxxvii. from the 6th cent. MS in the Ambrosian Library, and chs. lxxviii.–lxxxvii.; *The Epistle of Baruch from a new and critical text based on the MSS, and published herewith*, edited with Introduction, Notes, and Indices by R. H. Charles, London, 1896.

‡ *The Fourth Book of Maccabees and Kindred Documents in Syriac:* edited by the late R. L. Bensly; with Introduction and Translation by W. E. Barnes, Cambridge, 1896.

§ 'The Colloquy of Moses on Mount Sinai,' by Isaac H. Hall [Text and Translation] (*Hebraica*, vii. 3, Apr. 1891, 161–177); R. H. Charles, *The Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees*, Oxf. 1895, App. iii.; 'The Apocalypse of Adam' (ed. Renan, *Journ. As.* v. 2 (1853), 427 ff.); James, *Apocrypha Anecdota*.

‖ W. Emery Barnes, 'On the Influence of the Septuagint on the Peshitta' (*JThSt*, ii. 186, 187); J. Fred. Berg, *The Influence of the Septuagint upon the Pᵉšiṭṭâ Psalter* (Diss. Columbia Coll.), New York, 1895, p. v, 160.

* Cf. W. E. Barnes, 'The printed editions of the Peshitta of the OT' (*Expos. Times*, Sept. 1898, 560–562). An edition of the Psalms may be expected from this scholar in 1902. An ed. of the OT is advertised from Berlin (Reuther & Reichard) as in preparation by Beer and Brockelmann.

† Shows how deplorable the text of our printed Bibles is, resting as it does on the authority of MS syr. 6 at Paris, a wretched copy of the 17th cent. and its corrections, omitting several clauses and a passage of 54 verses (1 Ch 26^{13}–27^{34})! Cod. F adds to the title ספר דבריםין the note that it is written by the priest יוחנן (see Neh 12^{23}), and is also called כתבא דחסירתא 'book of the missing (things)' (=*παραλειπόμενα*).

Untersuchungen über . . . Micha, 1887; Wahl, 'Vergleichung der syr. kirchl. Uebersetzung des Propheten Amos, nach der Londoner Ausgabe, mit Ephraem des Syrers syr. Texte' (*Magazin f. alte, bes. morgendl. und bibl. Lit.*, zweite Lieferung, Cassel, 1789, p. 80 ff.).—**Apocrypha**: J. J. Kneucker, *Das Buch Baruch*, Leipzig, 1869, pp. 190-198; Th. Nöldeke, 'Die Texte des Buches Tobit' (*Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1897, 45-69); Trendelenburg, 'Primi libri Maccab. Græce cum versione syriaca collatio' (*Repert. für bibl. u. morgenl. Lit.* xv. 58-153); G. Schmidt, 'Die beiden syrischen Uebersetzungen des ersten Makkabäerbuchs' (*ZATW* xvii. (1897) 1-47); *Fabula Josephi et Asenethæ Apocrypha e libro syriaco latine versa*, Diss. . . . Gust. Oppenheim, Berolini, 1886, 50 pp.

On the other translations of the OT into Syriac we must be very brief.

(1) On the labours of Paul of Tella on the Syriac Hexapla, see art. SEPTUAGINT, p. 446 f., and *Urt.* p. 235; and add to the Literature: G. Kerber, 'Syrohexaplarische Fragmente zu Leviticus und Deuteronomium aus Bar-Hebræus gesammelt' (*ZATW* xvi. (1896) 249-264).

(2) On the revision which Jacob of Edessa undertook in the years 704 and 705, see *Urt.* 236; Wright, p. 17. Michael the Great (1167-1200) tells of him that he became a Jew, because he suspected that the Jews, out of jealousy, had not communicated to the Gentiles all their books (see *Die Canones Jacobs von Edessa übersetzt . . .* von C. Kayser, 1881, p. 52 f.).

(3) The statement that Mar Abba (†552) 'translated and explained' (פשק and תרגם) the OT and NT from the Greek is made by Barhebræus, Ebedjesu, and seems to hint at more than a commentary.

(4) On the version of the Psalms ascribed to Polycarp the author of the Philoxeniana, see Ceriani, *le edizioni*, p. 5, and Merx (*ZA* 349).

(5) From Greek ecclesiastical writers, Fred. Field (*Origenis Hexapla* i.) collected more than 90 quotations introduced by ὁ Σύρος. Most of them seem to refer to the Peshito;* see Swete, *Introd.* p. 56, and Harnack, *TU* vi. 3, 31, 44 f.

(6) The fragments of the Malkite Version of the OT comprise now portions of Gen., Ex., Nu., Deut., 1 and 3 Kings, Is., Joel, Zech., Job, Ps., Prov., Wisd.; see p. 447a and *Urt.* p. 237.

On the work of the Massoretes (formerly believed to be itself a version called versio Karkaphensis or Montana) see the Abbé Martin, 'Histoire de la ponctuation ou de la Massore chez les Syriens,' in *Journal Asiatique*, Mars-Avril, 1875).

From the Syriac MSS lying in the libraries of Europe the history of the transmission of the Bible might be very well illustrated; and much useful material might be gathered from the Commentaries of the Syrian divines, even from so late a scholar as Gregory Barhebræus (see J. Goettsberger, 'Barhebräus und seine Scholien zur heiligen Schrift,' in *Biblische Studien*, v. 4, 5, 1900).

EB. NESTLE.

SYROPHŒNICIAN (Συροφοίνισσα, Συροφοινίκισσα WH, Σύρα Φοινίκισσα WHmg) occurs only in Mk 7^{26} as the national name of a woman who is called in Mt 15^{22} 'a Canaanitish (Χαναναία) woman,' *i.e.* not a Jewess, but a descendant of the early inhabitants of the Phœnician coast-lands (see CANAAN). On ethnic and other grounds it is unlikely that the prefix Συρο- was meant to distinguish the district from the Carthaginian seaboard, called by Strabo (xvii. 19) ἡ τῶν Λιβυφοινίκων γῆ, the latter being a mongrel race (Livy, xxi. 22), and the alleged contrast being of no moment in the narrative. The term probably denotes a Syrian resident in Phœnicia proper, and may have been in current use before Hadrian adopted it as the official title of one of the three provinces into which he divided Syria. In Ac $21^{2.3}$ the two parts of the term are already used interchangeably. Tradition (*Clementine Homilies*, ii. 19, iii. 73) gives the name of Justa to the woman concerned in the incident, and that of Bernice to her daughter. Swete, following but correcting Euthymius Zigabenus, argues from the context, with some force, that the woman, though of Phœnician extraction, was Greek in speech as well as in religion.

R. W. MOSS.

SYRTIS.—See QUICKSANDS.

SYZYGUS.—See SYNZYGUS, p. 644.

---

* One of the tasks to be discharged by future workers is to collect from the Greek Fathers all references to the Syriac language and literature.

T

TAANACH (תַּעְנַךְ; once, Jos 12^{21} תַּעֲנָךְ; twice, 1 K 4^{12}, 1 Ch 7^{29} תַּעְנָךְ, which is the form adopted uniformly by Baer).—An ancient royal city of the Canaanites, whose king was amongst those whom Joshua smote (Jos 12^{21}). It lay within the territory allotted to Issachar, but belonged to Manasseh, and was given to the Kohathite Levites. The Canaanites were not driven out, but they were put to tribute, or obliged to do personal service, as the Israelites increased in strength (Jos 17^{11} 21^{25}, Jg 1^{27}, 1 Ch 7^{29}). Near Taanach, perhaps on lands belonging to the city, was fought the decisive battle between Barak and the kings of Canaan, which is celebrated in the triumphant song of Deborah (Jg 5^{19}). The city was in the rich district from which Baana, one of Solomon's twelve commissariat officers, drew supplies for the royal household (1 K 4^{12}); and is mentioned in close connexion with Megiddo—'Taanach by (or 'upon') the waters of Megiddo' (Jg 5^{19}). It was apparently one of the line of fortresses (Dor, Megiddo, Taanach, and Bethshean) which stretched across the country from west to east, and guarded the main avenues of approach to the great plain of Esdraelon from the south. As such it is mentioned with Megiddo in the list of Thothmes III. at Karnak, and again in the list of Sheshonk (Shishak) (Max Müller, *Asien u. Europ.* 158, 170). Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom. s.* Θααναχ, Θανάκ, *Thaanach*) describe it as 'a very large village,' 4 or 3 Roman miles from Legio, and it is now *Ta'annuk*, about 4½ miles from *Lejjûn*. In the 13th cent. the manor of Thanis (Taanach) is noted as forming part of the possessions of the Abbey of St. Mary in the valley of Jehoshaphat at Jerusalem. *Ta'annuk* is a small village on the S.E. slope of a large isolated mound, *Tell Ta'annuk* at the S. edge of the plain of Esdraelon. The mound is covered with fragments of pottery and shapeless ruins, and there are ancient cisterns, wells, and rock-hewn tombs. Below the village is a small mosque, which was perhaps a church.

The LXX readings are as follows:—

Jos 12^{21}	B om.,	A Θανάχ,	Luc. Θαανάχ.
„ 17^{11}	„ do.,	„ Τανάχ,	„ do.
„ 21^{25}	„ Τανάχ,	„ Θαανάχ,	„ do.
Jg 1^{27}	„ Θανάκ,	„ 'Εκθαναάδ,	„ 'Εκθαναάδ (? 'Εκ=את [Redpath]).
„ 5^{19}	„ Θαναάχ,	„ Θεννάχ,	„ Θεννάχ.
1 K 4^{12}	„ om.,	„ Θαανάχ,	„ Αἰθάμ.
1 Ch 7^{29}	„ Θαλμή,	„ Θαανάχ.	

LITERATURE.—Guérin, *Samarie*, ii. 226; *PEF Mem.* ii. 46, 68; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 386, 389; Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.*^{2} 241; Robinson, *BRP*^{2} ii. 316, iii. 117.

C. W. WILSON.

TAANATH-SHILOH (תַּאֲנַת שִׁלֹה; B Θηνασὰ καὶ Σελλησά, A Τηναθσηλώ; Luc. Θηναθασηλώ).—A town on the N.E boundary of Ephraim, mentioned between Michmethath and Janoah (Jos 16⁶). Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom. s.* Θηνάθ) state that Taanath-shiloh was 10 Roman miles E. of Neapolis on the road to the Jordan, and called in their day *Thena*. This is probably the Thena (Θῆνα) mentioned by Ptolemy (v. xvi. 5) as one of the towns of Samaria. It was identified by Van de Velde with *Tâna* about 7 miles from *Nâblus* (Neapolis), and 2 miles N. of *Yânûn* (Janoah), The ruins, foundations, caves, cisterns, and rock-hewn tombs are on one of the Roman roads leading from Neapolis to the Jordan Valley (*PEF Mem.* ii. 232, 245).

The Talmuds explain the word *Taanath* by 'threshold,' and hold Taanath-shiloh to have been a long, narrow strip of land belonging to Joseph which ran southwards into the territory of Benjamin, and included the site of Shiloh.

C. W. WILSON.

TABAOTH, 1 Es 5$^{29\ (30)}$ (B Ταβαώθ, A Ταβώθ), and **TABBAOTH** (טַבָּעוֹת), Ezr 2^{43} (B Ταβώθ, A Ταββαώθ, Luc. Ταβαώθ)=Neh 7^{46} (B Γαβώθ, A and Luc. as before).—The eponym of a family of Nethinim who are said to have returned with Zerubbabel.

TABBATH (טַבָּת; B Ταβάθ, A Γαβάθ; *Tebbath*).—The Midianites, after Gideon's night attack, fled to Beth-shittah, towards Zererah, as far as the border of Abel-meholah by Tabbath (Jg 7^{22}). No trace of the site of Tabbath has yet been found, but it must have been in the Jordan Valley, and probably not far from the spot, to the south of Bethshean, where the hills of Samaria approach the river. C. W. WILSON.

TABEEL (טָבְאֵל 'God is good' or [Winckl.] 'God is wise'; the pointing טָבְאַל in Is 7⁶ may be simply due to pause [Ols., König], or, more probably, may be designed to suggest the sense 'good for nothing' [אַל neg.; so Del., Dillm., Nöld., Duhm, Stade, Marti, and *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*]; LXX Ταβεήλ).—**1.** See REZIN, p. 267ᵃ. **2.** A Persian official in Samaria who was one of the parties to the letter to Artaxerxes, which was designed to hinder the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem, Ezr 4⁷.

J. A. SELBIE.

TABELLIUS (Ταβέλλιος), 1 Es 2^{16} (LXX ^{15})=Tabeel, Ezr 4⁷.

TABER.—Only in Nah 2⁷, in the description of the destruction of Nineveh, when HUZZAB 'is carried away, and her handmaids mourn as with the voice of doves, tabering (Amer. RV 'beating') upon their breasts' [lit. 'hearts'; מְתֹפְפוֹת עַל־לִבְבֵהֶן]. Beating the breast was a familiar Oriental custom in mourning (see the illustration in Ball's *Light from the East*, p. 119, and cf. Is 32^{12} [RV, but the text is doubtful]). The word here used means lit. 'drumming' (cf. Ps 68^{26}, its only other occurrence, and see illustration in vol. iii. p. 462ᵇ). The LXX φθεγγόμεναι implies a reading מְצַפְצְפוֹת, which is used in Is 29⁴ of the voice of a wailing woman. Stade is inclined to prefer this to the MT.

The English word 'taber' means a small drum, usually accompanying a pipe, both instruments being played by the same performer. Other forms are 'tabor,' 'tabour,' and 'tambour'; and dim. forms are 'tabret' and 'tambourine.' The words are originally Arabic, and entered the English language through Old French, a step between French and Arabic being the Spanish. For the subst. cf. Shaks. *Winter's Tale*, IV. iv. 183—'If you did but hear the pedlar at the door, you would never dance again after a tabor and pipe.' The verb is rarer, cf. Chaucer, *Good Women*, 354—

> 'In your court is many a losengeour, . . .
> That tabouren in your eres many a soun,
> Right after hir imaginacioun.'

J. A. SELBIE.

TABERAH (תַּבְעֵרָה; LXX Ἐνπυρισμός).—A station in Israel's journeyings in the wilderness of Paran (Nu 11³, Dt 9^{22}). Its name *Tab'ērah* (='burning *or* place of burning') is said to have been given to it 'because the fire of the LORD burnt among them' (Nu 11³ [prob. E]). The place, which is not named in the itinerary of Nu 33, has not been identified.

TABERNACLE.—

i. The Tabernacle of the oldest sources.
ii. The Tabernacle of the priestly writers. The literary sources.
iii. The nomenclature of the Tabernacle.
iv. The fundamental conception of the Sanctuary in P. Nature and gradation of the materials employed in its construction.
v. General arrangement and symmetry of the Sanctuary. The Court of the Dwelling.
vi. The furniture of the Court—(*a*) the Altar of Burnt-offering; (*b*) the Laver.
vii. The Tabernacle proper—(*a*) the Curtains and Coverings; (*b*) the wooden Framework; (*c*) the arrangement of the Curtains, the divisions of the Dwelling, the Veil and the Screen.
viii. The furniture of the Holy Place—(*a*) the Table of Shewbread or Presence-Table; (*b*) the golden Lampstand; (*c*) the Altar of Incense.
ix. The furniture of the Most Holy Place—the Ark and the Propitiatory or Mercy-seat.
x. Erection and Consecration of the Tabernacle.
xi. The Tabernacle on the march.
xii. The Historicity of P's Tabernacle.
xiii. The ruling Ideas and religious Significance of the Tabernacle.
Literature.

The term *tabernaculum*, whence 'tabernacle' of the Eng. VSS since Wyclif, denoted a tent with or without a wooden framework, and, like the σκηνή of the Gr. translators, was used in the Latin VSS to render indiscriminately the אֹהֶל or goats'-hair 'tent' and the סֻכָּה or 'booth' (which see) of the Hebrews. Its special application by the Romans to the tent or *templum minus* of the augurs made it also a not altogether inappropriate rendering of the מִשְׁכָּן or 'dwelling' of the priestly writers (see § iii.), by which, however, the etymological signification of the latter was disregarded, and the confusion further increased. The same confusion reigns in our AV. The Revisers, as they inform us in their preface, have aimed at greater uniformity by rendering *mishkān* by 'tabernacle' and *'ōhel* by 'tent' (as AV had already done in certain cases, see § iii.). It is to be regretted, however, that they did not render the Heb. *sukkāh* with equal uniformity by 'booth' (*e.g.* in Mt 17⁴ and parallels), and particularly in the case of the Feast of Booths (EV Tabernacles).

i. THE TENT OR TABERNACLE OF THE OLDEST SOURCES.—Within the limits of this art. it is manifestly impossible to enter in detail into the problems of history and religion to which the study of 'the tabernacle' and its appointments, as these are presented by the priestly authors of our Pentateuch, introduces the student of the OT. The idea of the tabernacle, with its Aaronic priesthood and ministering Levites, lies at the very foundation of the religious institutions of Israel as these are conceived and formulated in the priestly sources. To criticise this conception here—a conception which has dominated Jewish and Christian thought from the days of Ezra to our own—would lead us at once into the heart of the critical controversy which has raged for two centuries round the literature and religion of the OT. Such a task is as impossible to compass here as it is unnecessary. The almost universal acceptance by OT scholars of the post-exilic date of the books of the Pentateuch in their present form is evident on every page of this Dictionary. On this foundation, therefore, we are free to build in this article without the necessity of setting forth at every stage the processes by which the critical results are obtained.

Now, when the middle books of the Pentateuch are examined in the same spirit and by the same methods as prevail in the critical study of other ancient literatures, a remarkable divergence of testimony emerges with regard to the tent which, from the earliest times, was employed to shelter the sacred ark. In the article ARK (vol. i. p. 149^b) attention was called to the sudden introduction of *the* 'tent' in the present text of Ex 33^7 as of something with which the readers of this document—the Pentateuch source E, according to the unanimous verdict of modern scholars—are already familiar. This source, as it left its author's pen, must have contained some account of the construction of the ark, probably from the offerings of the people (33^6) as in the parallel narrative of P ($25^{2ff.}$), and of the tent required for its proper protection. Regarding this tent we are supplied with some interesting information, which may be thus summarized:—(*a*) Its *name* was in Heb. *'ōhel mô'ēd* (33^7, AV 'the tabernacle of the congregation,' RV 'the tent of meeting'). The true significance of this term will be fully discussed in a subsequent section (§ iii.) (*b*) Its *situation* was 'without the camp, afar off from the camp,' recalling the situation of the local sanctuaries of a later period, outside the villages of Canaan (see HIGH PLACE, SANCTUARY). In this position it was pitched, not temporarily or on special occasions only, but, as the tenses of the original demand, throughout the whole period of the desert wanderings (cf. RV v.[7] 'Moses used to take the tent and to pitch it,' etc., with AV). Above all, (*c*) its *purpose* is clearly stated. It was the spot where J", descending in the pillar of cloud which stood at the door of the tent (v.$^{9f.}$, cf. Nu 12^5, Dt 31^{15}), 'met his servant Moses and spake unto him face to face as a man speaketh unto his friend' (v.[11]). On these occasions Moses received those special revelations of the Divine will which were afterwards communicated to the people. To the tent of meeting, also, every one repaired who had occasion to seek J" (v.[7]), either for an oracle or for purposes of worship. Finally, (*d*) its *ædituus* was the young Ephraimite Joshua, the son of Nun, who 'departed not out of the tent' (v.[11], cf. Nu 11^{28}), but slept there as the guardian of the ark, as the boy Samuel slept in the sanctuary at Shiloh (1 S $3^{3ff.}$).

The same representation of the tent as pitched without the camp, and as associated with Moses and Joshua in particular, reappears in the narrative of the seventy elders (Nu $11^{16f.\ 24\text{-}30}$), and in the incident of Miriam's leprosy ($12^{1ff.}$, note esp. v.$^{4f.}$), both derived from E; also in the reference, based upon, if not originally part of, the same source, in Dt $31^{14f.}$.

The interpretation now given of this important section of the Elohistic source is that of almost all recent scholars, including so strenuous an opponent of the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis as August Dillmann (see his Com. *in loc.*). Little, therefore, need be said by way of refutation of the views of those who have endeavoured to harmonize this earlier representation with that which dominates the Priestly Code. The only one of these views that can be said to deserve serious consideration is that which sees in the tent of Ex $33^{7ff.}$ a provisional tent of meeting pending the construction of the tabernacle proper. This interpretation is generally combined with the theory that the tent in question was originally Moses' private tent—an opinion which dates from the time of the Gr. translators (*λαβὼν Μωυσῆς τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ, κτλ.*, so also Pesh.), and has found favour with commentators, from Rashi downwards, including most English expositors. This view is *a priori* plausible enough, but it falls to pieces before the fact disclosed above, that the same representation of the tent of meeting situated without the camp, with Joshua as its solitary guardian, is found in the Pentateuch, even *after the erection of the more splendid tabernacle of the priestly writers.* Moreover, there is no hint in the text of Ex $33^{7\text{-}11}$ of the temporary nature of the tent; on the contrary, as we have seen, the tenses employed are intended to describe the habitual custom of the Hebrews and their leader during the whole period of the wanderings. The closing verse of the section, finally, proves conclusively that Moses had his abode elsewhere, and only visited the tent when he wished to meet with J". At the same time, the preservation of this section of E by the final editor of the Pentateuch, when the preceding account of the construction of the ark (cf. Dt $10^{1\text{-}5}$ with Driver's note) was excised, can hardly be explained otherwise than by the supposition that he regarded the tent of meeting here described as having some such provisional character as this theory presupposes.

During the conquest and settlement, the tent of meeting presumably continued to shelter the ark (which see) until superseded by the more substantial 'temple' of J" at SHILOH. The picture of this temple (הֵיכָל) with its door and doorposts (1 S 1^9 3^{15}) disposes of the late gloss (2^{22b}), based on a similar gloss, Ex 38^8, which assumes the continued existence of the tent of meeting (see the Comm. *in loc.*). So, too, Ps 78^{60}, which speaks of the sanctuary at Shiloh as a tent and a tabernacle (*mishkān*), is of too uncertain a date to be placed against the testimony of the earlier historian. In the narrative of the older sources of the Book of Samuel (1 S 4 ff.) there is no mention of any special protection for the ark until we read of the tent pitched for it by David in his new capital on Mt. Zion (2 S 6^{17}, cf. 1 Ch 16^1, and the phrase 'within curtains,' 2 S 7^2, 1 Ch 17^1). The later author of 2 S 7^6, however, evidently thought of the ark as housed continuously from the beginning in a tent. 'I have not dwelt in an house,' J" is represented as saying, 'since the day that I brought up the children of Israel out of Egypt, even to this day, but have walked in a tent (*'ōhel*) and in a tabernacle (*mishkān*),' or, as the text should more probably run, 'from tent to tent, and from tabernacle to tabernacle' (so Klost., Budde, basing on 1 Ch 17^5). David's tent was known as 'the tent of J"' (1 K $2^{28ff.}$). Before it stood the essential accompaniment of every sanctuary, an altar, to which the right of asylum belonged (*ib.* 1^{50}). What the tent may have contained in addition to the sacred ark is unknown, with the exception, incidentally mentioned, of 'the horn of oil,' with the contents of which Zadok the priest anointed the youthful Solomon (*ib.* 1^{39}). A solitary reference to 'the tent of meeting' in a pre-exilic document yet remains, viz. the late gloss 1 K 8^4, the unhistorical character of which is now admitted (see Kittel, Benzinger, etc., *in loc.*, and cf. Wellh. *Proleg.* [Eng. tr.] 43 f.).

To sum up our investigation, it may be affirmed that the author of 2 S 7 not only accurately represents the facts of history when he describes the ark as having been moved 'from tent to tent and from tabernacle to tabernacle,' but reflects with equal accuracy the opinion of early times that a simple tent or tabernacle was the appropriate housing for the ancient palladium of the Hebrew tribes. This is confirmed both by the analogy of the practice of other branches of the Semitic race, and by incidental references from the period of religious decadence in Israel, which imply that tent-shrines were familiar objects in connexion with the worship at the high places (2 K 23^7 RVm, Ezk 16^{16}; cf. the names *Oholibah* and *Oholibamah*, and art. OHOLAH).

ii. THE TABERNACLE OF THE PRIESTLY WRITERS.—*The literary sources.*—These are almost exclusively from the hand of the authors of the great priestly document of the Pentateuch. This document, as has long been recognized, is not the product of a single pen, or even of a single period.

The results which recent criticism has achieved in disentangling and exhibiting the various strata of the composite literary work denoted by the convenient symbol P, and the grounds on which these results are based, must be sought elsewhere, as, *e.g.*,—to name only a few accessible in English,—Kuenen, *Hexateuch*, 72 ff., Driver, *LOT*^{6} 40 ff., the more elaborate tables of the *Oxford Hexateuch*, i. 255, 261, ii. 138, and the art. EXODUS in vol. i. p. 808 ff., with the table, p. 810^b. Reference may also be made here to the present writer's forthcoming commentary on *Exodus* in the Internat. Critical Series.

The sections of the Pentateuch dealing with the subject of this art. are the following:—

(1) Ex 25-29, a fairly homogeneous section (but cf. *Oxf. Hex.* ii. 120) of the main or ground-stock of P (hence the symbol P^{g}), containing minute directions for the construction of the furniture and fabric of the sanctuary (25-27), followed by instructions relative to the priestly garments (28) and the consecration of Aaron and his sons (29).

(2) Ex 30. 31, a set of instructions supplementary to the foregoing. For their secondary character (hence the symbol P^{s}) see the authorities cited above and § viii. (*c*) below.

(3) Ex 35-40, also a fairly homogeneous block of narrative, reproduced in the main verbatim from 25-31 'with the simple substitution of past tenses for future,' but in a systematic order which embodies the contents of 30. 31 in their proper places in the older narrative 25 ff. (see authorities as above). It is therefore younger than either of these sections, hence also P^{s}. The critical problem is here complicated by the striking divergence of the LXX in form and matter from the MT, to some points of which attention will be called in the sequel.

(4) Nu $3^{25ff.}$ $4^{4ff.}$ $7^{1ff.}$ contain various references to the tabernacle and its furniture, which also belong to the secondary strata of P (see NUMBERS, vol. iii. p. 568). To these sources have to be added the description of the temple of Solomon in 1 K 6 ff. and the sketch of Ezekiel's temple (Ezk 40 ff.), which disclose some remarkable analogies to the tabernacle. The references to the latter in the Bks. of Chronicles are of value, as showing how completely the later Heb. literature is dominated by the conceptions of the Priestly Code. Outside the Canon of the OT, the most important sources are the sections of Josephus' *Antiquities* which deal with the tabernacle (III. vi.), Philo's *De Vita Moysis* (ed. Mangey, vol. ii. p. 145 ff., Bohn's tr. iii. 88 ff.), and the 3rd cent. treatise, containing a systematic presentation of the views of the Jewish authorities, ברייתא דמלכת המשכן (ed. Flesch, *Die Baraijtha von der Herstellung der Stiftshütte*; Eng. tr. by Barclay, *The Talmud*, 334 ff.). The Epistle to the Hebrews, finally, supplies us with the first Christian interpretation of the tabernacle (§ xiii.).

iii. THE NOMENCLATURE OF THE TABERNACLE.[*]—(*a*) In our oldest sources the sacred tent receives, as we have seen, the special designation (1) אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד *'ōhel mô'ēd* (Ex 33^{7}, Nu 11^{16} 12^{4}, Dt 31^{14}, all most probably from E). This designation is also found about 130 times in the priestly sections of the Hexateuch.

The verb יעד (ועד) from which מוֹעֵד is derived signifies 'to appoint a time or place of meeting,' in the Niphal 'to meet by appointment' (often in P). Hence אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד—as the name is understood by P, at least—signifies **'the tent of meeting'** (so RV) or 'tent of tryst' (*OTJC*² 246), the spot which J″ has appointed to meet or hold tryst with Moses and with Israel. As this meeting is mainly for the purpose of speaking with them (Ex 29^{42} 33^{11}, Nu 7^{89} etc.), of declaring His will to them, the expression 'tent of meeting' is practically equivalent to 'tent of revelation' (Driver, *Deut.* 339, following Ewald's 'Offenbarungszelt'). It has lately been suggested that behind this lies a more primitive meaning. From the fact that one of the functions of the Babylonian priesthood was to determine the proper time (*âdânu*, from the same root as *mô'ēd*) for an undertaking, Zimmern has suggested that the expression אהל מועד may originally have denoted 'the tent where the proper time for an undertaking was determined,' in other words, 'tent of the oracle' (*Orakelzelt*). See Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis d. bab. Religion*, p. 88 n. 2 (cf. Haupt, *JBL*, 1900, p. 52). Still another view of P's use of the term מוֹעֵד has recently been suggested (Meinhold, *Die Lade Jahves*, 1900, p. 3 f.). P, according to Meinhold, intends to give to the older term (אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד) of E the same significance as his own אֹהֶל הָעֵדוּת 'tent of the testimony' (see No. 10 below), by giving to the Niphal of יָעַד ('make known,' 'reveal one's self,' as above) the sense of עוּד 'to testify of one's self.' The LXX, therefore, according to this scholar, was perfectly justified in rendering both the above designations by σκηνὴ τοῦ μαρτυρίου (see below). The rendering of AV **'tabernacle of the congregation'** is based on a mistaken interpretation of the word *mô'ēd*, as if synonymous with the cognate עֵדָה.

(2) The simple expression 'the tent' (הָאֹהֶל) is found in P 19 times (Ex $26^{9.11}$ etc.). We have already (§ i.) met with the title (3) 'the tent of J″' (1 K $2^{28ff.}$). To these may be added (4) 'the house of the tent' (1 Ch 9^{23}), and (5) 'the house of J″' (Ex 23^{19}).

(*b*) In addition to the older 'tent of meeting' a new and characteristic designation is used extensively in P, viz. (6) מִשְׁכָּן *mishkān* (about 100 times in the Hex.), 'the place where J″ dwells' (שָׁכַן), 'dwelling,' 'habitation' (so Tindale); by AV rendered equally with אֹהֶל 'tabernacle' (but 1 Ch 6^{32} 'dwelling-place'). A marked ambiguity, however, attaches to P's use of this term. On its first occurrence (Ex 25^{9}) it manifestly denotes the whole fabric of the tabernacle, and so frequently. It is thus equivalent to the fuller (7) 'dwelling (EV 'tabernacle') of J″' found in Lv 17^{4} (here ‖ (1), Nu 16^{9} etc., 1 Ch 16^{39} 21^{29}), and to 'the dwelling of the testimony' (No. 11 below). In other passages it denotes the tapestry curtains with their supporting frames which constitute 'the dwelling' *par excellence* ($26^{1.6f.}$ etc.), and so expressly in the designation (8) 'dwelling (EV 'tabernacle') of the tent of meeting' (Ex 39^{32} 40^{2} etc., 1 Ch 6^{32}). In the passages just cited and in some others where the *'ōhel* and the *mishkān* are clearly distinguished (*e.g.* Ex 35^{11} 39^{40} $40^{27ff.}$, Nu 3^{25} 9^{15}), the AV has rendered the former by 'tent' and the latter by 'tabernacle,' a distinction now consistently carried through by RV.[*] In 1 Ch 6^{48} [MT 33] we have (9) 'the dwelling of the house of God.'

(*c*) Also peculiar to P and the later writers influenced by him is the designation (10) אֹהֶל הָעֵדוּת (Nu 9^{15} etc., 2 Ch 24^{6}, RV throughout 'tent of the testimony'; so AV in Nu 9^{15}, but elsewhere 'the tabernacle of witness'). The tabernacle was so called as containing 'the ark of the testimony' (see § ix.). Hence too the parallel designation (11) מִשְׁכַּן הָעֵדוּת (Ex 38^{21}, Nu 1^{50} etc., EV 'tabernacle of [the] testimony').

(*d*) In addition to these we find the more general term (12) מִקְדָּשׁ 'holy place *or* sanctuary,' applied to the tabernacle (Ex 25^{8} and often; in the Law of Holiness (Lv 17 ff.) almost exclusively.

Passing to the versions that have influenced our own, we find as regards the LXX a uniformity greater even than in our AV. Owing to the confusion of מִשְׁכָּן and אֹהֶל (both = σκηνή) on the one hand, and of מוֹעֵד and עֵדֻת on the other (but cf. Meinhold, *op. cit.* 3 f.), we have the all but universal rendering ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ μαρτυρίου, 'the tent of the testimony,' to represent (1), (8), (10), and (11) above. This, along with the simple σκηνή, is the NT designation (Ac 7^{44} AV 'tabernacle of witness,' Rev 15^{5} AV 'tabernacle of the testimony'). In Wis 9^{8}, Sir 24^{10} we have a new title (13) 'the sacred tent' (σκηνὴ ἁγία, with which cf. the ἱερὰ σκηνή of the Carthaginian camp, Diod. Sic. xx. 65). The Old Lat. and Vulg. follow the LXX with the rendering *tabernaculum* and *tab. testimonii*, though frequently also ('habitually in Numbers,' Westcott, *Ep. to the Hebrews*, 234 f.) *tab. fœderis*, the latter based on the designation of the ark as the 'ark of the covenant' (see § ix.). As to the older Eng. VSS, finally, those of Hereford and Purvey follow the Vulg. closely with 'tab. of witness, witnessynge, testimonye,' and 'tab. of the boond of pees (*t. fœderis*).' Tindale on the other hand follows LXX with the rendering 'tab. of witnesse' for (1) and (10), but then again he restores the distinction between *'ōhel* and *mishkān* by rendering the latter 'habitacion,' except in the case of (7), 'the dwellinge-place of the Lorde.' Coverdale in the main follows Tindale. It is to be regretted that this distinction was obliterated in the later versions.

iv. THE UNDERLYING CONCEPTION OF THE TABERNACLE-SANCTUARY.—*Nature and gradation of the materials employed in its construction.*—In Ezekiel's great picture of the ideal Israel of the Restoration (Ezk 40 ff.) 'the ruling conception is that of J″ dwelling in visible glory in his sanctuary in the midst of his people.' The prophet's one aim is to help forward the realization of the earlier promise of J″: 'My dwelling (*mishkān*) shall be with them, and I will be their God, and they shall be my people' (37^{27}). The same grand conception, the same high ideal, took possession of the priestly writers on whom Ezekiel's mantle fell. The foundation on which rests the whole theocratic structure of the Priestly Code is the provision of a sanctuary, which in its fabric, in its *personnel*, and in all its appointments, shall be for future ages the ideal of a fit dwelling for J″, the holy covenant God of the community of Israel, once again restored to His favour. That this is the point of view from which to approach our study of the tabernacle of the priestly writers is placed beyond question, not only by the characteristic designation of the tabernacle proper as the *mishkān* or dwelling (see above, § iii.), but by the express statement at the opening of the legislative section: 'Let them make me a sanctuary, *that I may dwell among them*' (Ex 25^{8}, cf. 29^{45}).

---

[*] Cf. the suggestive note on the various designations of the tabernacle with the inferences therefrom in *Oxf. Hex.* ii. 120; also Klostermann in the *Neue kirchliche Zeitsch.* 1897, 238 ff.; Westcott, *Hebrews*, 234 ff.

[*] The authors of the *Oxford Hexateuch* call attention to 'the curious fact that in Ex 25-27^{19} the sanctuary is always called the "dwelling" [*mishkān*], while in 28. 29 this name is replaced by the older term "tent of meeting." . . . The title "dwelling" is, of course, freely used in the great repetition, Ex 35-40, but the main portions of the Priestly Law in Leviticus ignore it' (ii. 120, where see for suggested explanation).

Such a dwelling could only be one reared in accordance with the revealed will of J″ Himself. Moses, accordingly—according to the representation of P—is summoned to meet J″ in the cloud that rested on the top of Mt. Sinai, soon after the arrival there of the children of Israel (Ex $24^{16\text{ff.}}$). The command is given to summon the Israelites to make voluntary offerings of the materials necessary for the construction of the sanctuary. A pattern or model of this dwelling and of all its furniture is shown to Moses, who is at the same time instructed in every detail by J″ Himself (Ex $25^{1\text{-}9}$ [P^{g}] = $35^{4\text{-}29}$ [P^{s}], cf. $38^{21\text{-}31}$). In the later strata of P we find the call of Bezalel (so RV), the son of Uri, and his endowment by J″ as constructor-in-chief, assisted by Oholiab (AV Aholiab), the son of Ahisamach ($31^{1\text{-}11}$ = 35^{30}–36^{1} $38^{22\text{f.}}$).

A list of the materials employed is succinctly given at the head of each section ($25^{3\text{ff.}}$ = $35^{4\text{ff.}}$). Of these the three great metals of antiquity, bronze (see BRASS), silver, and gold, are used in a significant gradation as we proceed from the outer court to the innermost sanctuary. Of the last-named, two varieties are employed—the ordinary gold of commerce, and a superior quality in which the pure metal was more completely separated from its native alloys, hence known as refined or 'pure' gold (זָהָב טָהוֹר). As to the technical treatment of the metals, we find various methods employed. They might be used in plain blocks or slabs, as for the bases of pillars and for the mercy-seat; or they might be beaten into plates (Nu 17^{3} [Heb. 16^{38}]) and sheets (Ex 39^{3}) for the sheathing of large surfaces, like the great altar, the frames (but see § vii. (*b*)), and most of the furniture. The most artistic work is the hammered or *repoussé* work in gold, of which the cherubim and the candlestick are examples.*

The wood used throughout was that of the tree named שִׁטָּה *shiṭṭah* (AV 'shittim wood,' RV 'acacia wood'), now usually identified with the *Acacia seyal* or *A. nilotica* (see, further, SHITTAH). Its wood is noted for its durability (cf. LXX rendering *ξύλα ἄσηπτα*). We come next to a graduated series of products of the loom. At the bottom of the scale we have the simple *shēsh* (שֵׁשׁ). This material has been variously identified with linen, cotton, and a mixture of both. The history of the textile fabrics of antiquity favours linen (see LINEN, and Dillmann's elaborate note, *Exod.-Levit.*^{3} 305 ff.). A superior quality of it was termed 'fine twined linen' (שֵׁשׁ מָשְׁזָר), spun from yarn of which each thread was composed of many delicate strands. When dyed with the costly Phœnician dyes, both yarn and cloth received the names of the dyes, 'blue, purple, and scarlet' (25^{4} etc.). The first two represent different shades of purple (see COLOURS), and may be conveniently rendered by 'violet' and 'purple' respectively. The spinning of the yarn was the work of the women, the weaving of it the work of the men ($35^{25.\,35}$, cf. 39^{3}). Among the latter a clear distinction is drawn between the ordinary weaver and the more artistic *rōḳēm* and *ḥōshēb*, who represent respectively the two forms of textile artistry practised from time immemorial in the East—embroidery and tapestry. The *rōḳēm* or embroiderer (so RV) received the web, complete in warp and weft, from the loom, and worked his figures in colours upon it with the needle. The *ḥōshēb* (lit. 'inventor,' 'artist,' as 31^{4}; EV 'cunning workman'), on the other hand, worked at the loom, weaving with 'violet, purple, and scarlet' yarn (cf. LXX 28^{6} *ἔργον ὑφαντὸν ποικιλτοῦ*) his figures into the warp, and producing the tapestry for which the East has always been famed. A gradation from without inwards, similar to that in the application of the metals, will meet us in the employment of these varied products of the loom.

v. THE GENERAL ARRANGEMENT AND SYMMETRY OF THE SANCTUARY.—*The Court of the Dwelling* (Ex $27^{9\text{-}19}$ [P^{g}]=$38^{9\text{-}20}$ [P^{s}]; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* III. vi. 2).—Once again we must start from Ezekiel. For the realization of his great ideal, Ezekiel places his new temple in the centre of a square tract of country, 25,000 cubits in the side, 'a holy portion of the land' (Ezk $45^{1\text{ff.}}$ $48^{8\text{ff.}}$). Within this area is a still more sacred precinct, the property of the priests alone, who thus surround the temple on every side to guard it from possible profanation. The same idea of the unapproachable sanctity of the wilderness 'dwelling' is emphasized by P through his well-known symmetrical arrangement of the camp of the Israelites. Around four sides of a huge square the tents are pitched, three tribes on each side (Nu $2^{1\text{ff.}}$ $10^{13\text{ff.}}$). Within this square is another, the sides of which are occupied by the priests and the three divisions of the Levites, the sons of Gershon, Kohath, and Merari (Nu $3^{23\text{ff.}}$). In the centre of this second square, finally, we find the sacred enclosure (*τέμενος*) which constitutes the wilderness sanctuary. This enclosure is the **'court of the dwelling'** (חֲצַר הַמִּשְׁכָּן 27^{9}, *αὐλὴ τῆς σκηνῆς*, *atrium tabernaculi*), a rectangular space, lying east and west, 100 cubits* in length by 50 in breadth (proportion 2 : 1)—in other words, a space made up of two squares, each 50 cubits in the side. At this point it will help us to overcome subsequent difficulties if we look more closely at the proportions of the sanctuary as a whole, as revealed by the accompanying diagram. Beginning with the eastern square we note as its most prominent feature the altar of burnt-offering, lying 'four square' (5 cubits by 5) presumably at the intersection of the diagonals. In the western square stands 'the dwelling,' occupying three of the small plotted squares, of 10 cubits each way, its length being to its breadth in the proportion of 3 : 1. Like the temples of Solomon and Ezekiel, it consists of two parts, the outer and inner sanctuary, in the proportion of 2 : 1. The latter is the true sanctuary, the special abode of J″, a perfect cube, as we shall afterwards see, each dimension one-half of the inner shrine of the Solomonic temple. It stands exactly in the centre of its square, while its own centre in turn is occupied by the most sacred of all the objects in the sanctuary, the ark, the throne of J″, the dimensions of which, we shall find, are 5 × 3 × 3 half-cubits. These data are meanwhile sufficient to prove P's love for 'order, measure, number, and system,' which has long been recognized as one of his most prominent characteristics. From the first section of Genesis (1^1–2^3) onwards, with its arrangement by 10 and 7 and 3 (see art. NUMBER, vol. iii. p. 565^a), his genealogies, his chronology, **his theory** of the religious development of Israel,

---

* No account is taken here of the quantities of these metals provided for the tabernacle, for the passage Ex $38^{24\text{-}31}$ was long ago recognized (Popper, *Der bibl. Bericht über die Stiftshütte*, 1862) as a late insertion in a late context. This is evident from the one fact alone that the silver, which provided, *inter alia*, for the sockets or bases at a talent each, is thought to be the produce of the poll-tax of half a shekel, which was not instituted till some time after the tabernacle had been set up (cf. Nu 1^{1} with Ex 40^{1}).

* The length of P's cubit is uncertain. For convenience of reckoning it may be taken as 18 inches.

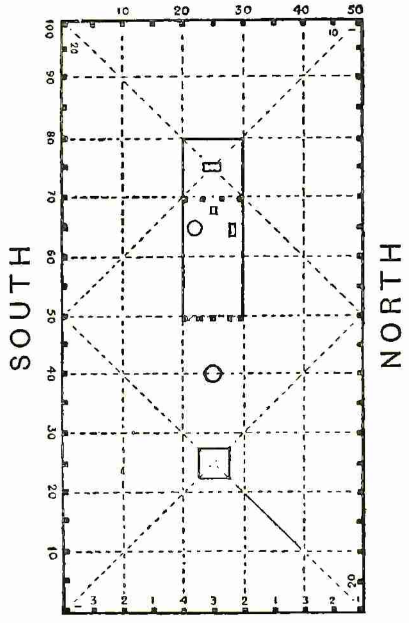

PLAN OF THE COURT OF THE TABERNACLE.
Scale $\frac{1}{32}$ inch = 1 cubit.

are all constructed on a definite system.* Nowhere is this fondness for symmetry and proportion so evident as in the measurements of the tabernacle. *Three, four, seven, ten, their parts and multiples, dominate the whole* (see further, § xiii.). The desire to preserve the proportion and ratio of certain parts and measurements has led to awkwardness and even inconsistency in other parts—a fact which lies at the root of not a few of the difficulties that beset the path of those that attempt to construct the tabernacle from the data of the priestly writers.

The court of the tabernacle is screened off from the rest of the encampment by five white **curtains** (קְלָעִים *kĕlā'îm*) of 'fine twined linen' of the uniform height of 5 cubits, but of varying length. Those on the N. and S. long sides measure each 100 cubits, that on the W. 50, while the two remaining curtains of 15 cubits each screen off the E. side, one on either hand of the entrance to the court. The latter is a space of 20 cubits, which is closed by a hanging or portière (מָסָךְ) of the second grade of workmanship explained above, *i.e.* embroidered in colours on a white ground. All six hangings are suspended from **pillars** of the same height, standing on **bases** (אֶדֶן, EV 'sockets') of bronze. The shape and size of these bases can only be conjectured. Elsewhere in OT (Ca 5^{15}, Job 38^6, and corrected text of Ezk 41^{22}) אֶדֶן is the base in the shape of a square plinth on which a pillar or an altar stands. So most probably in the case before us, the wooden pillar being sunk well into the plinth (so the *Baraitha*), which would thus be reckoned to the height of the pillar. The pillars were then kept in position by means of the usual '**cords**'† or stays (מֵיתָרִים) fastened to pegs **or 'pins'** (יְתֵדוֹת) of bronze stuck in the ground. This seems preferable to the view first suggested by Josephus that the bases ended in spikes (*σαυρωτῆρες*) like that by which the butt-end of a spear was stuck in the ground—a method scarcely in place in the sand of the desert. According to P^s (38^{17}), the pillars had capitals (EV 'chapiters') overlaid with silver. Further, 'the hooks or pegs (וָוִים) of the pillars and their fillets (חֲשׁוּקִים) shall be of silver' ($27^{10f.}$, but 38^{19} makes the latter only overlaid with silver). The word rendered 'fillet' probably signifies a band or necking of silver (Ew., Dill. *et al.*) at the base of the capital, rather than, as is more generally supposed, silver rods connecting the pillars. And this for three reasons: (1) only on this view is the phrase 'filleted with silver' (27^{17}) intelligible; (2) no mention is made of any such connecting-rods in the minute directions for the transport of the tabernacle furniture (Nu 4); and (3) the screen and veil of the tabernacle proper (§ vii. (*c*)) were evidently attached to their pillars by hooks.

At this point we encounter our first difficulty. How are the pillars placed, on what principle are they reckoned ($27^{10ff.}$)? Ezekiel begins the description of his outer court with the wall 'round about' (40^5). P does likewise, only his curtain-wall is like a mathematical line, having length without breadth. It is as though the writer were working from a ground-plan like our diagram. The periphery of the court measures 300 cubits. This and no more is the length of his six curtains. Not even in the case of the entrance portière is allowance made for folds*—the first hint that we are dealing with an ideal, not an actual, construction. The pillars must be thought of as standing inside the curtains, otherwise they would not belong to the sanctuary at all. The principle on which they are reckoned is clear. It is that *one pillar, and one only, is assigned to every five cubits of curtain.* Now, a curtain of 20 cubits' length, like the entrance screen, requires not four, which is the number assigned to it, but five pillars; and on the same principle each of the two smaller curtains on either side of it requires four pillars, not three, and so with the rest. But to have counted twenty-one pillars for the sides, eleven for the end curtain, and 5+4+4 for the front, would have spoiled the symmetry, and so the artificial method of the text is adopted. Counting four for the entrance, as on the diagram, and three for the curtain to the left (vv.$^{16.\ 14}$), we proceed round the court, reckoning always from the first corner pillar met with and counting no pillar twice. It is thus absurd to charge P with miscalculation, as his latest commentator still does (Baentsch, *in loc.*). But the charge is the price paid for the determination to reckon the pillars on the E. side as only ten in all, arranged symmetrically as 3+4+3 (when there are really eleven), and those of the N. and S. sides as multiples of ten.

vi. THE FURNITURE OF THE COURT.—(*a*) *The* **altar of burnt-offering**, Ex $27^{1-8}=38^{1-7}$ [LXX 38^{22-24}].—In the centre of the court, as the symmetry requires, stands '*the* altar' (27^1 RV; for the significance of the article see § viii. (*c*)) of the sanctuary, also termed more precisely 'the altar of burnt-offering' (30^{28} 31^9 and oft.), and, from its appearance, 'the altar of bronze,' AV 'brazen altar' (38^{30} 39^{39}), both sets of passages probably belonging to P^s. 'Foursquare' it stands, 5 cubits in length and breadth, and 3 cubits in height, a hollow chest† of acacia wood sheathed with bronze. From the four corners rise the indispensable **horns**, 'of one piece with it' (RV), the form and significance of which have been much debated. From the representations of similar 'horns' on Assyrian altars (see Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. of Art in Chaldea and Assyria*, i. 255 f.), they would appear to have been merely the prolongation upwards of the sides of the altar to a point, for a few inches at each corner. The horns of Ezekiel's altar, *e.g.*, form $\frac{1}{12}$th of the total height (see 43^{13-17} with Toy's diagram in *SBOT*). The horns play an important part in the ritual of the priests' consecration (Ex 29^{12}), the sin-offering (Lv 4^{18}), the Day of Atonement (16^{18}), and elsewhere.* According to a later tradition, the 'beaten plates' of bronze for the 'covering of the altar' were made from the bronze censers of the rebellious company of Korah (Nu $16^{36ff.}$). Round the altar, half-way between top and bottom, ran a projecting 'ledge' (so RV for the obscure כַּרְכֹּב, only 27^5 38^4; AV 'the compass,' etc.), attached to which and reaching to the ground was a grating (RV; AV 'grate,' which see) of bronze. The purpose of these two appendages can only be conjectured (see the Comm. and works cited in the Literature for the numerous conjectures that have been put forward). Considering the height of the altar, at least 4½ feet, one naturally supposes that the ledge was for the priests to stand upon during their ministrations at the altar, and in Lv 9^{22} we actually read of Aaron 'stepping down' from the altar. Together with the grating, it may also have been a device to prevent the ashes, etc., from falling upon and defiling the sacrificial blood, J"'s peculiar portion, which could still be dashed against the base of the altar through the wide meshes of the network. Four bronze rings were attached to the corners of the grating, presumably where it met the ledge, to receive the poles for carrying the altar. The necessary utensils were also of bronze; they comprised shovels or rakes (יָעִים) for collecting the ashes, pots (AV pans) for carrying them away, the large basins for catching the blood of the animals sacrificed, the flesh hooks or forks, and the fire-pans. The fire is to 'be kept burning upon the altar continually, it shall not go out' (Lv 6^{13}), which hardly accords with the prescriptions of Lv 1^7 and Nu $4^{13f.}$.

---

* Cf. Dillmann, *Num.-Josua*, 649 f., who also considers P to have distinguished four periods of the world's history characterized by the decreasing length of human life in the proportion 8:4:2:1.

† These are first mentioned in P^s (35^{18} 'the pins of the courts and their cords,' 39^{40} etc.).

* Josephus is quite wrong, therefore, in speaking of the curtains hanging in a 'loose and flowing manner' (*l.c.*).

† Nothing in the text suggests a mere four-sided frame to be filled with earth, as is usually supposed.

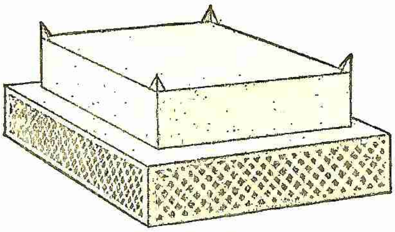

ALTAR OF BURNT-OFFERING.

The idea underlying this unique structure — a hollow wooden chest with a thin sheathing of bronze, little adapted, one would think, for the purpose it is to serve—is now generally recognized as having originated in the desire to construct a portable altar on the lines of the massive brazen altar of Solomon, which was itself a departure from the true Heb. tradition (Ex $20^{24ff.}$). The account of the making of this altar, which was one-fourth larger in cubic content than the whole tabernacle of P (2 Ch 4^1), has now disappeared from the MT of 1 K 7, but was still read there by the Chronicler (*l.c.*), and references to it still survive (1 K $8^{22.64}$ 9^{25}, 2 K $16^{14f.}$). Its disappearance is easily accounted for by the fact that its construction appeared to a later age as quite unnecessary, since the 'tent of meeting' and all its vessels, including the bronze altar of this section, were considered to have been transferred by Solomon, along with the ark, to his new temple (1 K 8^4; see Wellh. *Proleg.* [Eng. tr.] 44; Stade, *ZATW* iii. 157 = *Akad. Reden*, 164; and the Comm.).

(*b*) **The Laver** (Ex 30^{17-21}, cf. 38^8 [LXX 38^{26}]).—Between the altar above described and the tabernacle stood the laver of bronze (כִּיּוֹר, λουτήρ), to the description of which only a few words are devoted, and these few are found not in the main body of P, but in a section (30. 31) bearing internal evidence of a later origin (see § ii., and more fully § viii. (*c*)). Beyond the fact that it was a large basin of bronze, and stood upon a base of the same material, we know nothing of its workmanship or ornamentation. It served to hold the water required for the ablutions of the priests in the course of their ministrations, and is frequently mentioned in the secondary strata of the priestly legislation (30^{28} 31^9 etc.; it is omitted, however, from the directions for the march in Nu 4). A curious tradition grew up at some still later period, to the effect that the laver was made of the bronze 'mirrors of the serving-women which served at the door of the tent of meeting' (38^8, cf. 1 S 2^{22}). The latter, needless to say, was not yet in existence. The temple of Solomon had ten lavers of elaborate construction (see LAVER), the second temple apparently had only one (Sir 50^3).

vii. THE TABERNACLE PROPER—(*a*) *The* **Curtains** *of the Dwelling and the Tent, the outer* **coverings** (Ex 26^{1-14} = 36^{8-19} [LXX 37^1]; Jos. *Ant.* III. vi. 4 [ed. Niese, § 130 ff.]).—Probably no section of the OT of equal length is responsible for so large a number of divergent interpretations as the chapters now before us. It is clearly impossible within the limits of this article to refer to more than a very few of these interpretations, even of those associated with scholars of repute. What follows is the result of an independent study of the original in the light of the recognized principles underlying the scheme of the wilderness sanctuary as conceived by the priestly writers (see § iv.). Fuller justification of the writer's position with regard to the many matters of controversy that emerge will be found in his commentary on *Exodus* (Internat. Crit. series).

Now, on the very threshold of our study of Ex 26, we meet with a clear statement, the far-reaching significance of which has been overlooked by most of those who have written on this subject. It is contained in these few words: 'Thou shalt make the dwelling (מִשְׁכָּן, EV 'tabernacle') of ten curtains' (26^1). To this fact we must hold fast through all our discussion as to the measurements and arrangements of the tabernacle. *It is the curtains, not the so-called 'boards,'* that constitute the dwelling of J". The full bearing of this fact will appear as we proceed. The walls of the true dwelling, then, are to consist, on three sides at least, of ten curtains of beautiful Oriental tapestry, full of figures of the mystic cherubim, woven in colours of the richest dyes, violet, purple, and scarlet (see § iv.). The curtains form, as it were, the throne-room of J". It is therefore appropriate that the mysterious beings that minister around His heavenly throne should be represented in J″'s presence-chamber upon earth (see, further, § ix. for cherubim upon the mercy-seat). The curtains measure each 28 × 4 cubits (7 : 1), and are sewed together in two sets of five. Along one long side of either set are sewed fifty loops (לֻלָאֹת) made of violet thread. By means of an equal number of gold clasps (קְרָסִים, RV; AV '**taches**') the two hangings are coupled together to form one large covering, 40 (4 × 10) cubits in length by 28 c. in breadth, for 'the dwelling shall be one' (26^6).

---

* For the special sanctity attaching to the horns see ALTAR (vol. i. p. 77). It is open to grave doubt whether this widespread custom of providing altars with these projections has anything to do with the ox or calf symbolism (see CALF [GOLDEN], vol. i. p. 342), as Stade and others suppose. 'Horn' is rather a popular metaphor for the more correct מִקְצוֹעַ of Ezekiel (41^{22}; cf. Josephus' phrase γωνίαι κερατοειδεῖς), and their ultimate *raison d'être* is probably to be sought in the same primitive circle of thought as ascribed a special sanctity to the four corners of a robe (see FRINGES, vol. ii. p. 69^a). Another view is suggested by *RS*² 436, Baentsch (Com. *in loc.*).

For a tent (אֹהֶל) over the dwelling (v.^{7}), eleven curtains are to be woven of material usually employed for the Eastern tent (see CURTAINS), viz. goats' hair, and, to ensure that the dwelling shall be completely covered by them, they are each to be 30 cubits in length by 4 in breadth. These are to be sewed together to form two sets of five and six curtains respectively, coupled together as before by loops and clasps; the latter, in this case, of bronze, and forming one large surface (44 × 30 cubits), that the tent also 'may be one' (v.^{11}). Thus far there is no difficulty such as emerges in the verses (v.$^{12\text{ff.}}$) that follow, and will be considered later (§ vii. (*c*)).

As the dwelling is to be covered by the tent, so the tent in its turn is to receive two protecting coverings, the dimensions of which are not given. Immediately above it is to be a covering of 'rams' skins dyed red' (מְאָדָּמִים, *ἠρυθροδανωμένα*). The dye employed is not the costly Phœnician scarlet or crimson dye previously met with (obtained from the *coccus ilicis*, see COLOURS, vol. i. p. 457 f.), but, as the Gr. rendering suggests, madder (*ἐρυθρόδανον*, *rubia tinctoria*), a vegetable dye.* The outermost covering is formed of the skins of an obscure animal (תַּחַשׁ, AV 'badger,' RV 'seal,' RVm 'porpoise'), now most frequently identified with the dugong, a seal-like mammal found in the Red Sea (see note with illustration in Toy's 'Ezekiel' [*SBOT*], p. 124).

At this point in P's statement, one naturally expects him to proceed to give directions for the pitching of this fourfold tent and for the preparation of the necessary poles, ropes, and pegs. There is thus every *a priori* probability in favour of the theory of the tabernacle associated in this country with the name of Mr. Fergusson, that the four sets of coverings now described were in reality intended by the author to be suspended by means of a ridge-pole or otherwise over the wooden framework about to be described. But it is inconceivable that so radical a part of the construction as the provision of a ridge-pole and its accompaniments should have been passed over in silence in the text of P. (For this theory see Fergusson's art. 'Temple' in Smith's *DB*; the *Speaker's Commentary*, i. 374 ff.; more recently, and in greatest detail, by Schick, *Die Stiftshütte, der Tempel*, etc.). On the contrary, P's wilderness sanctuary is to combine with certain features of a nomad's tent others suggestive or reminiscent of the temples of a sessile population. In short, as Josephus puts it, the finished structure is to 'differ in no respect from a movable and ambulatory temple' (*Ant.* III. vi. 1 [Niese, § 103]).

(*b*) *The wooden framework of the Dwelling* (Ex $26^{15\text{-}30}$ = $36^{20\text{-}34}$ [LXX $38^{18\text{-}21}$]; Jos. *Ant.* *l.c.* 116 ff.).—The right understanding of this important part of the dwelling, by which it is to be transformed into a portable temple, depends on our interpretation of the opening verses of the section (vv.$^{15\text{-}17}$). Literally rendered they run thus: 'And thou shalt make the *ḳĕrāshîm* † for the dwelling of acacia wood, standing up—10 cubits the length of the single * *ḳeresh*, and a cubit and a half the breadth of the single *ḳeresh*—2 *yādôth* † for the single *ḳeresh*, *mĕshullābôth* ‡ to each other.' Here everything depends on the three more or less obscure technical terms of the Heb. arts and crafts given in transliteration. The true exegetical tradition, we are convinced, had been lost, as was the case with the still more complicated description of Solomon's brazen lavers (1 K $7^{27\text{ff.}}$), until the key was discovered by Stade and published in his classical essay (*ZATW* iii. (1883) 129 ff. = *Akad. Reden*, 145 ff., corrected in details *ZATW* xxi. (1901) 145 ff.). The Jewish tradition, as we find it first in Josephus (*l.c.*) and in the *Baraitha*, has held the field to the present day. According to these authorities the *ḳĕrāshîm* were great columns or beams of wood 15 ft. high, 2 ft. 3 in. wide, and—by a calculation to be tested in due time—1 ft. 6 in. thick, *i.e.* 10 × 1½ × 1 cubits. The *yādôth* were pins or tenons (Jos. *στρόφιγγες*, 'pivots') by which the beams were inserted into mortices in the silver sockets or bases. Forty-eight of these beams were placed side by side to form the three walls (S.W. and N.) of the tabernacle, the eastern end or entrance being formed by a screen (for details and reff. see below). This interpretation, with numerous modifications in detail, particularly as regards the thickness of the so-called 'boards,' § has been adopted by every previous writer without exception.

We now proceed to test the value of this tradition. The avowed intention of P, it is admitted on all hands, is to construct 'a movable and ambulatory temple' for the desert marches. Could anything be more absurd than to begin by constructing enormous logs of wood, each with a cubic content—on the most usual computation of 1 cubit of thickness—of about 50 cubic feet, each weighing, according to a recent calculation (Brown, *The Tabernacle*^{6}, 1899, 275), close upon 1 ton, and out of all proportion to the weight they would have to bear? And this quite apart from the open question of the possibility of obtaining beams of such dimensions from the acacia tree of Arabia.‖ Further, how is the fact that the tapestry curtains with their cherubim figures are always called 'the dwelling' to be reconciled with the traditional theory that they were completely hidden from view, except on the roof, by the intervention of the wooden walls? This difficulty has been felt by several writers, who have sought to avoid it by hanging these curtains *inside* the boards as a lining, thereby doing violence to the clear intention of the text (see below). These considerations by no means exhaust the difficulties presented by the current conception of the tabernacle, as may be seen on any page of the commentaries and special monographs cited in the Literature at the end of this article.

The way is now clear for a fresh examination of the technical terms of vv.$^{15\text{-}17}$. The first of the three (קֶרֶשׁ) is practically confined to P's account of the tabernacle, for its only other occurrence (Ezk 27^6) requires light from our passages rather than throws light upon them. The Gr. translators had no clear idea of what the word meant, and were content to render throughout by *στῦλοι*, 'pillars,' a rendering suggested to them by the last word of v.^{15}, which they apparently read עַמֻּדִים, the ordinary word for ‘pillars’ (cf. Dillm. *in loc.*). Passing, therefore, to the second technical term *yādôth* (v.^{17}), we find the current text of the LXX responsible for a grave misinterpretation of this verse, by prefixing ‘and thou shalt make’ to the original text (but AF omit *καὶ ποιήσεις*). In reality we have here the continuation of v.^{15}, from which it is separated merely by a parenthesis, as translated above. The *yādôth* are thus seen not to be something additional to the *ḳeresh*, but *to constitute its main component parts* (as indeed may underlie the Gr. rendering *μέρη* in vv.$^{19. 21}$ and elsewhere). What then is the signification of יָד as a technical term in the constructive arts? In 1 K 10^{19} =2 Ch 9^{18} *yādôth* denotes the ‘arms’ of Solomon’s throne, of which *ἀγκῶνες* is the technically correct equivalent (2 Chron. *l.c.*, see illustration of chair with arms bent at right angles in Rich, *Dict. of Antiq.* *s.* ‘Ancon’). In 1 K 7$^{32. 33}$—as Stade (*ll.cc.*) has conclusively proved from extant ancient models—*yādôth* is the technical name for the stays or supports (EV ‘axletrees’) underneath the body or framework of the laver (illustrs. *ZATW*, 1901, 152, 167), as also for the similar stays projecting from the top of the frame and supporting the stand of the basin (cf. LAVER, vol. iii. p. 64^{a}). Technically, therefore, like our own ‘arm,’ and the classical *ἀγκών* and *ancon*, יָד may denote any arm-like structural element, whether straight or bent, especially if occurring in pairs. This result is strengthened by the phrase that follows, מְשֻׁלָּבֹת אִשָּׁה אֶל־אֲחֹתָהּ (v.^{17}, cf. 36^{22} and the various renderings in AV and RV). Here again the description of the lavers comes to our aid (1 K 7$^{28ff.}$), for the cognate term there employed (שְׁלַבִּים, with which cf. שְׁלִיבָה, שְׁלַבִּין, the rounds or rungs of a ladder in later Heb.) is now universally understood to mean the cross-rails joining the uprights of the frame of the laver. It seems evident, therefore, that the *ḳeresh* of P must be a frame of wood, such as builders in all countries have employed in the construction of light walls (see Blümner, *Technologie*, etc. iii. 151, for the *paries craticius* with its *arrectarii* and *transversarii*; cf. our own brick-nogged partitions with their timber ‘quarters’). This sense suits Ezk 27^{6} admirably: ‘thy *panels* are of ivory inlaid in boxwood’ (see illustr. in Toy, *SBOT* 150). We may now tr. v.$^{15ff.}$ thus, taking the parenthesis last: ‘And thou shalt make the frames for the dwelling of acacia wood, standing up, two uprights for each frame, joined to each other by cross-rails—10 cubits the height and a cubit and a half the breadth of the single frame.’ We now see how it is that a writer so fond of measurements as P has omitted to give the third dimension: a frame has, strictly speaking, no thickness ! [*]

---

* The Heb. name of this dye is פּוּאָה, frequent in the Mishna. In OT it occurs only as a proper name, *e.g.* the minor judge, Tolah ben Puah (Scarlet, the son of Madder! Jg 10^1).

† EV 'boards'; LXX *στῦλοι*, Jos. and Philo *κίονες*, both = 'pillars.'

* So LXX, Pesh. etc.

† EV 'tenons'; LXX *ἀγκωνίσκους* = 'joints *or* arms,' but elsewhere *μέρη*, 'sides.'

‡ RV 'joined'; LXX *ἀντιπίπτοντας* as in v.^{5} for מַקְבִּילֹת,

§ The familiar rendering 'boards,' adopted by Tindale, goes back to Jerome, who thought of the *tabulæ*, of which the Roman *tabernacula* were frequently constructed, and from which, indeed, the name is derived.

‖ No use is here made of the argument from Nu 7^8 compared with 3^{36}, *four* waggons, each drawn by a pair of oxen, for the transport of the 'boards,' bases, pillars, etc., as these passages are probably from a different hand from Ex 26.

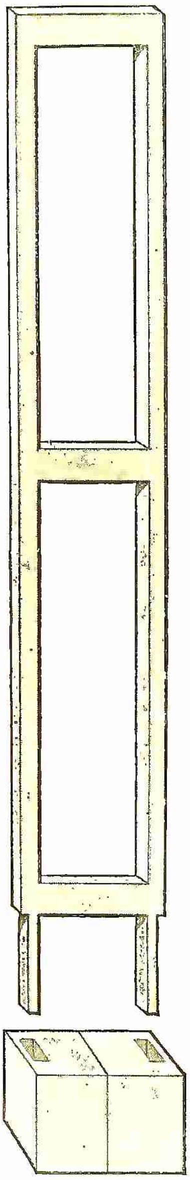

FRAME AND ITS BASES.

The frames, according to our present text, are to be overlaid with gold; but the position of this instruction (v.^{29}) after the other instructions for the frames have been completed (contrast 25$^{11. 24}$ 30^{3}), the variant tradition of the Gr. of 38$^{18ff.}$ (*περιηργύρωσεν*, ‘overlaid with silver’), the late origin of the kindred sections in 1 K 6 f. (see TEMPLE), and other considerations, all make it very probable that we have here an addition to the original text, both as regards the frame and bars, and the pillars. Like the pillars of the court, the uprights of the framework are to be sunk in bases of solid silver,—the reason for two bases to each frame being now for the first time apparent,—regarding the shape and size [†] of which we are equally dependent on conjecture. For reasons that will appear in the next section, we may think of them as square plinths, ¾ cubit in the side and a cubit in height, forming a continuous foundation wall round the dwelling, with the uprights sunk well down so that the height of the framework was not materially added to.

To provide the necessary rigidity for the frames, the simple device is adopted of running five wooden **bars** along the three sides, passing through rings attached to the woodwork of the frames. Much needless discussion has been raised over the expression ‘the middle bar in the midst of the boards’ (v.^{28}), which has been taken by various writers to mean that the middle bar of the five is intended to pass from end to end through a hole pierced in the heart of the massive ‘boards’ of the traditional theory (see diagrams of Riggenbach, Brown, etc.). But the phrase is merely an epithet, after P’s well-known manner, explanatory of the bar in question, the distinguishing feature of which is that it runs along the whole length of its side, north, west, south, as the case may be, in contradistinction to the remaining four, which we may presume run only half-way along—one pair at the top, the other pair at the bottom of the frames. This arrangement of the bars suggests that the frames were provided with three cross-rails—one at the top, rounded like the ends of the uprights to avoid injury to the curtains, another in the middle, and a third immediately above the bases. We thus obtain a double row of panels right round the dwelling (see the accompanying illustration with drawings to scale from a specially prepared model).

The difficulties of this section, however, are not yet exhausted. We have still to grapple with the problem of the arrangement of the frames, and in particular with the much debated vv.$^{23ff.}$, before we can proceed to discuss the manner in which the curtains were utilized. The discussion of the former problem may best start from the data of 26^{33}, from which we learn that the veil dividing the dwelling into two parts (see next section) is to be hung 20 cubits, the width of 5 curtains, from the front of the dwelling. Now, the admitted symmetry of the whole sanctuary requires us to infer that the area of the outer sanctuary is intended to measure 20 × 10 cubits, and that of the inner sanctuary 10 × 10 cubits, the measurements in both cases being exactly half those of the corresponding parts of the temples of Solomon and Ezekiel (see TEMPLE). With this agrees the direction of the text, that twenty frames, each 1½ cubits wide, are required for the two long sides, and six for the shorter west side (vv.[18. 20. 22]). Now, an easy calculation shows that since the total area of the dwelling *from curtain to curtain* is 30 × 10 cubits, and inside width of the short side is only 9 cubits (1½ × 6), we must allow half a cubit (9 in.) for the thickness of the woodwork of either of the long sides. This would allow 6 in. (two handbreadths) for the thickness of the uprights of the framework and 3 in. (one handbreadth) for that of the bars.

---

[*] We may thus claim to have solved what our latest commentator has termed P’s ‘secret’ with regard to v.^{17} (Baentsch, *in loc.*; cf. Holzinger, who gives up the verse in despair). Riehm had previously tried to solve the problem by taking the text to mean that each board consisted of two pieces mortised together by means of the *yādôth* (*HWB*^{2}, art. ‘Stiftshütte,’ 1579 f.). Jerome’s interpretation is evidently borrowed from the Rabbis, some of whom thought that the *yādôth* joined one board to another (Flesch, *Baraijtha*, 51 f.).

[†] The oldest, but erroneous, conjecture on this point (Ex 38^{27}) has been already dealt with (§ iv footnote, p 656).

The assumption of the majority of previous writers, from the *Baraitha* to Baentsch, that the measurement, 30 × 10 cubits, gives the clear *inside* area of the tabernacle as formed by the wooden 'boards,' implying on the cubit of thickness theory (see above) an outside measurement of 31 × 12 cubits, falls to the ground if the view here advocated of the true nature of the 'boards' is accepted. But, even with the traditional interpretation, the theory of inside measurements is absolutely inadmissible. (1) The true walls of P's dwelling are, as we have already emphasized, the tapestry curtains, precisely as the linen hangings are the walls of the court (§ v.). The framework here takes the place of the pillars round the court, and, like these, must be treated as *une quantité négligeable* where proportions are concerned. (2) All P's other measurements are *outside* measurements, as in the altar of burnt-offering, the ark, etc. (3) Only on the supposition that the entire fabric of the tabernacle covered a space 30 × 10 cubits is the true proportion (3 : 1) of the structure and the complete symmetry of the western square maintained. It is absolutely necessary from P's standpoint that the perfect cube of the Most Holy Place shall be entirely contained within the centre square of its own court (see diagram). With an inside area of 30 × 10, requiring on the traditional hypothesis an outside measurement of 31 × 12, the symmetry of the whole sanctuary is ruined.

We are now prepared to take up the problem of the two frames described with tantalizing obscurity in the difficult verses [22. 23-25].* These two frames are expressly stated to be 'for the מִקְצֹעֹת † of the dwelling in the hinder part.' What, now, is the meaning of this rare word? The key, we believe, will be found in Ezekiel's presumably technical use of it to denote the projecting corners, popularly known as 'horns,' of his altar of shewbread (41[22], see for these § vi. above; and cf., besides the Assyrian altars, the plan of a Phœnician sanctuary in Pietschmann's *Geschichte der Phœnizier*, 200 f.). It is used by later writers to indicate a part of the wall of Jerusalem akin to, yet distinct from, פִּנָּה 'a corner,' apparently therefore one of the projecting bastions (2 Ch 26[9], Neh 3[24]) which guarded the wall at important changes in its course. We conclude from these data that the word in the passage before us must denote something of the nature of a projecting buttress at the two western corners of the wooden framework. V.[24] has been the despair of many generations of students, and is almost certainly corrupt. If with most modern scholars we read תֹּמִים (twins) in both clauses, it seems to imply that these corner frames shall be made 'double,' *i.e.* consist of two ordinary frames braced together for the sake of strength; further, that each is intended to form a buttress sloping upwards and terminating short of the top of the framework, at 'the first' or topmost 'ring' (see RVm), that is, underneath the top bar of the west side (see illustration). In any case, three purposes are apparently served by these corner buttresses. They supply additional strength at the two weakest parts of the framework—the points of meeting of the two long walls with the west wall; they take up the folds of the curtains at these two corners, and—we do not hesitate to add—they raise the number of the frames to a multiple of four (48, so many were the pillars in Solomon's temple according to the Gr. of 1 K 7[45]), and the number of the bases required for the dwelling to a multiple of ten (100, see next section).

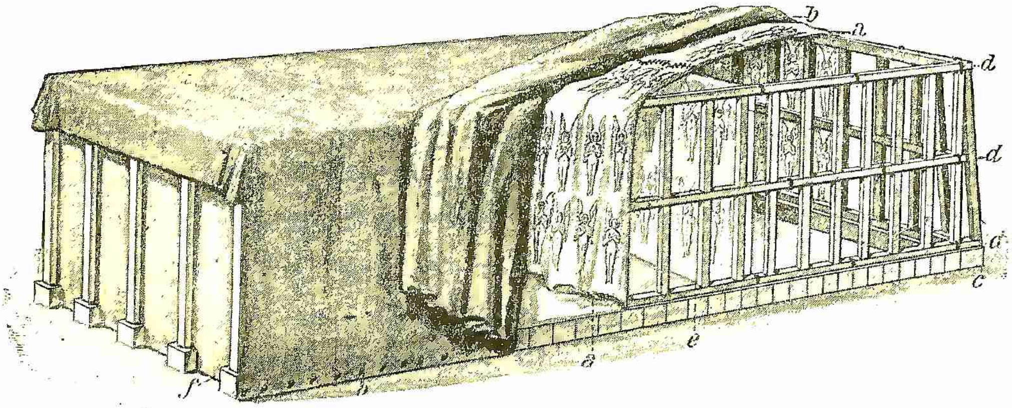

MODEL OF THE TABERNACLE in perspective with the two uppermost coverings removed, showing the framework covered by the tapestry curtains *aa* with the cherubim figures, the goats' hair curtains of 'the tent' *bb*, one of the corner frames *c*, the bars *ddd*, the veil *e*, and the screen *f*.

(*c*) *The arrangement of the Curtains of the Dwelling and the Tent. The divisions of the Dwelling. The Screen and the Veil* (Ex 26[9. 12ff. 31-33. 36f.] and parallels).—In the secondary stratum of P (40[17ff.]) we read how 'the tabernacle was reared up' by Moses. First he put down its bases, then he placed its frames, put in its bars, and 'reared up its pillars.' Thereafter 'he spread the tent over the dwelling, and placed the covering of the tent above upon it.' Here the tapestry and hair curtains are strangely enough together named 'the tent,' and the two outer coverings similarly taken as one.* Now it is worth noting (1) that Moses is said to have 'spread' the curtains over the dwelling, the same word (פָּרַשׂ) being used as is employed of wrapping up the sacred furniture for transport (Nu 4[6ff.] § xi.); and (2) that neither here nor elsewhere is the ordinary word for erecting or pitching a tent (נָטָה) applied to the tabernacle, as it is to the old 'tent of meeting' (33[7]) and to David's tent for the ark (2 S 6[17], see § i.). This fact of itself tells against the view, noted above, that the curtains were stretched tent-wise above the dwelling, and in favour of the usual conception, that they were spread over the framework 'as a pall is thrown over a coffin.' The tapestry curtains measuring 40 cubits from front to back and 28 cubits across (§ vii. (*a*)) thus constitute the dwelling, the centre portion (30 × 10 cubits) forming the roof and the remainder the three sides. On the long sides it hung down 9 cubits till it met, as we may conjecture, the silver bases of the framework, which made up the remaining cubit (so the authorities of the *Baraitha* (Flesch, 50); cf. Philo, *op. cit.* ii. 148, who no doubt gives the true reason of the vacant cubit, 'that the curtain might not be dragged,' and Jos. *Ant.* III. vi. 4 [Niese, § 130]). At the back, however, where 10 cubits (40–30) were left over, the last cubit would have to be folded along the projecting base, one of the results of requiring the total length to be another multiple of ten (40 cubits instead of 39). A striking confirmation of the signification here assigned to the *ḳĕrāshîm* is now brought to light. Instead of nearly two-thirds of the 'all-beautiful and most holy curtain' (*πάγκαλον καὶ ἱεροπρεπὲς ὕφασμα*, Philo, *l.c.*) being hidden from view by the so-called 'boards,' the whole extent of the curtain is now disclosed, with, we may fairly conjecture, a double row of the mystic inwoven cherubim filling the panels of the framework, just as they filled the wainscot panels with which the temples of Solomon and Ezekiel were lined (1 K 6$^{28ff.}$, Ezk 41$^{18ff.}$).* The view of Bähr, Neumann, Keil, Holzinger, and others (see Literature), that these curtains were suspended, by some method unknown to the text, *inside* the framework,—in their case the gold-sheathed walls,—has been already disposed of (vii. (*b*)).

---

* For the extraordinary number of guesses that have been hazarded as to the meaning of these verses, see, besides the Comm., the text and diagrams of Riggenbach, Schick, and Brown.

† To be pointed so, with most moderns, for מְקֻצְעֹת of MT.

* The author of this section (P^s), however, may not have had Ex 25 f. before him in quite the same form as we now have it (see § iii. above).

Over the tapestry curtain was spread in like manner the curtain of goats' hair, the 'tent' of P^{g}. Our present text (vv.$^{9.12}$), however, presents an insurmountable difficulty in the arrangement of these curtains. To cover the dwelling, and that completely, they required to be only 40 × 30 cubits. But even when the sixth curtain of the one set is doubled, as required by v.^{9}, a total length of 42 cubits remains. The explanation usually given, which indeed is required by v.^{12}, is that 'the half curtain that remaineth' must have been stretched out by ropes and pegs behind the dwelling; an assumption which is at variance with the arrangement at the other sides, and which leaves the sacred tapestry curtain exposed to view. The only remedy is to regard v.$^{12f.}$ as a gloss, as Holzinger does (*Kurzer Hdcom. in loc.*), from the pen of a reader who misunderstood v.^{9b}. Taken by itself, this half-verse plainly directs that the sixth curtain shall be doubled 'in the forefront of the dwelling'; that is, not, as Dillm. and other commentators maintain, laid double across the eastermost tapestry half-curtain, but—as already advocated in the *Baraitha*, p. 58—hanging doubled *over the edge of the latter*, covering the pillars at the door of the tabernacle and entirely excluding the light of day. This secures that the dwelling shall be in perfect darkness. This is not secured on the ordinary supposition that the edges of both curtains were flush with each other, for the screen could not possibly be so adjusted as to completely exclude the light. The objection, of which so much is made by Riggenbach, etc., that the joinings of the two sets of curtains would thus coincide and moisture be admitted, is utterly invalid when we recall the two heavy and impervious coverings that overlay the two inner sets of curtains. In this way, then, we find that the goats' hair curtains exactly fitted the dwelling on all three sides, covering the tapestry and the bases as well, and, in Josephus' words, 'extending loosely to the ground.' They were doubtless fixed thereto by means of the bronze pins of the dwelling (27^{19} P^{g}, which makes no mention of cords), precisely as the *Kiswa* or covering of the *Kaaba* at Mecca is secured by metal rings at the base of the latter (Hughes, *Dict. of Islam, s.v.*).*

Two items still remain to complete the fabric of the dwelling, viz. the **screen** and the veil. The former (מָסָךְ, RV 'screen,' AV 'hanging') was a portière of the same material as the portière of the court, closing the dwelling on the east side. It was hung by means of gold hooks or pegs from five pillars of acacia wood standing on bases of bronze (26$^{36f.}$ 36$^{37f.}$ [LXX 37$^{5f.}$]), a detail which marks them out as pertaining to the court rather than to the dwelling, the bases of which are of silver. Like the rest of the woodwork, they were probably left unadorned in the original text, for the text of P^{s} (36^{38}, cf. Gr. of 26^{37}) speaks only of the capitals being overlaid with gold, a later hand, as in 1 K 6 f., heightening the magnificence of the tabernacle by sheathing the whole pillars (26^{37}).

At a distance of 20 cubits † from the entrance screen was hung another of the same beautiful tapestry as the curtains (v.^{31}), depending from four pillars 'overlaid with gold,' and standing, like the framework, on bases of silver (v.^{32}). This second screen is termed the *pārôketh* (פָּרֹכֶת,‡ AV 'vail,' RV '**veil**'; LXX *καταπέτασμα*, cf. He 9^{3} 'the second veil' as distinguished from the veil or screen just mentioned). By means of 'the veil' the dwelling was divided into two parts, the larger twice the area of the smaller (2 : 1). The former is termed by the priestly writers 'the holy place' (הַקֹּדֶשׁ 26^{33} and oft.); the latter receives the name קֹדֶשׁ הַקֳּדָשִׁים, best rendered idiomatically 'the most holy place,' also literally 'the holy of holies,'§ in LXX *τὸ ἅγιον* and *τὸ ἅγιον* (or *τὰ ἅγια*) *τῶν ἁγίων*. These names first came into use in priestly circles in the Exile. The corresponding parts of Solomon's temple were known as the *hêkāl* or temple proper (1 K 6^{3} RVm), and the *dĕbîr* (EV 'oracle,' v.^{16}).‖ The former is retained by Ezekiel, while the latter is discarded and the 'most holy place' substituted (41^{4}, but also 'holy place,' v.^{23}). P by his nomenclature stamps his sanctuary still further with the attribute of holiness in an ascending scale as we approach the presence of J".

viii. THE FURNITURE OF THE HOLY PLACE.—(*a*) **The Table of Shewbread** (Ex 25$^{23-30}$=37$^{10-16}$ [LXX 38$^{9-12}$]; Jos. *Ant.* III. vi. 6).—This section is intended merely to supplement the art. SHEWBREAD by giving the barest details regarding the 'presence-table' (שֻׁלְחַן הַפָּנִים, see *l.c.* § i.) of the priestly writers.

Our understanding of this section is materially assisted by the representation of the table of Herod's temple, which may still be seen on the Arch of Titus at Rome. Careful measurements were taken and drawings made both of the table and of the candlestick (see next section) by friends of Adrian Reland in 1710-11, at a time when the sculptures were less dilapidated than at present. These were published by him in his work, *De spoliis Templi Hierosolymitani*, etc., 1716.

The material was acacia wood, overlaid like the ark with pure gold. The sheathing of these two sacred articles of the cultus and of the later altar of incense (§ viii. (*c*)) is quite in place, and stands on quite a different footing from the sheathing of such secondary parts of the fabric as the framework and the pillars at the entrance, the originality of which we saw reason to question. The height of the table was that of the ark, 1½ cubits, its length and breadth 2 cubits and 1 cubit respectively. The massive top—in the Roman sculpture 6 in. thick—was decorated with a *zēr* (זֵר, AV and RV 'crown,' RVm 'rim *or* moulding') of gold. The precise nature of this ornament, which is also prescribed for the ark (v.^{11}) and the altar of incense (30^{3}), is unknown. That it was some species of moulding may be regarded as fairly certain. The Gr. translators render variously by *στεφάνη*, whence the Vulg. *corona* and our 'crown'; by *κυμάτια στρεπτά*; or by a combination of both. The authors of the divergent Gr. text of 35–40 omit this ornament altogether (LXX $38^{1\text{ff.}}$). The phrase *κυμάτια στρεπτά* suggests a cable moulding, as explained by pseudo-Aristeas (*Epist. ad Philocratem*, ed. Wendland, § 58, 'worked in relief in the form of ropes'), which also suits Josephus' description (*τὸ ἔδαφος ἕλικος* [a spiral], *l.c.* § 140). On the other hand, the same phrase is used in architecture of an ogee moulding, and this is certainly the nature of the ornament on the table of the Arch of Titus (see Reland, *op. cit.* 73 ff., and plate of mouldings opp. p. 76). In any case, both the sides and ends of the massive top were separately decorated by a solid gold moulding, which gave them the appearance of four panels sunk into the table (Reland, *ut sup.*, and cf. Jos. § 140, *κοιλαίνεται δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον πλευρόν, κ.τ.λ.*). The legs, according to Josephus, were square in the upper and rounded in the lower half, terminating in claws, a statement confirmed by the sculpture and by the analogy of the domestic art of the ancients. They were connected by a binding rail (מִסְגֶּרֶת, EV 'border') 'of an handbreadth round about' (v.^{25}), also ornamented with a cable or an ogee moulding. It doubtless marked the transition from the square to the round portions of the legs. The broken ends of this rail are still visible on the arch with a pair of trumpets leaning against them (illustr. under MUSIC, vol. iii. p. 462). At its four corners four gold rings were attached, through which, and parallel to the sides, the two poles or staves were passed by means of which the table was moved from place to place.

---

* See illustration.

* The arrangement of the *Kiswa*, indeed, affords a striking analogy to that of the curtains of the tabernacle.

† This follows from the fact that the veil is to hang directly under the gold clasps joining the two sets of tapestry curtains, and therefore 5 times 4 cubits (the breadth of the individual curtain) from the front of the dwelling (v.^{33}). The importance of this datum for the dimensions of the tabernacle has already been pointed out.

‡ This word has an interesting affinity with the Assyrian word *parakku*, the innermost shrine or 'holy of holies' of the Babylonian temples in which stood the statue of the patron deity.

§ The usage of Lv 16 is peculiar to itself. The 'holy place' of P is here curiously 'the tent of meeting' (v.^{16} etc.); the 'most holy place' is named simply 'the holy place' (vv.$^{3.16}$ etc.), shortened from 'the holy place within the veil' (v.^{2}).

‖ The presence of the term 'most holy place' in 1 K 6^{16} etc. is now recognized as due to post-exilic glossators.

For the service of the table a number of gold vessels (cf. Reland, *op. cit.* 99–122), presumably of hammered or *repoussé* work, were provided. These comprised, in our RV rendering, 'dishes, spoons, flagons, and bowls to pour out withal' (v.^{29}, cf. AV). The 'dishes' were the flat salvers or chargers on which the loaves of the presence-bread were conveyed to, or in which they were placed upon, the table, or both together. The 'spoons' were rather the cups containing the frankincense (LXX *τὰς θυίσκας*) which entered into this part of the ritual (Lv 24^{7}), two of which were still visible in Reland's day. The 'flagons'* were the larger, the 'bowls' the smaller vessels (*σπονδεῖα καὶ κύαθοι*) for the wine, which we must suppose also entered into the ritual of the shewbread. The silence of the OT on this point led the Jewish doctors to give novel and absurd explanations of the vessels last mentioned—such as hollow pipes between the loaves, or parts of a frame on which they lay. Similarly, these authorities differ as to whether the loaves were laid in two piles lengthwise across the width of the table—as one would naturally suppose—or along its length. A favourite tradition gives the length of each loaf as ten handbreadths (2½ ft.) and the breadth as five. Since the width of the table was only 1 cubit or six handbreadths, the loaves were baked with two handbreadths [their 'horns'] turned up at either end, thus taking the shape of a huge square bracket! (For these and similar speculations, as curious as useless, see *Menaḥoth* xi. 4 ff.; the *Baraitha*, § vii., with Flesch's notes and diagrams; Edersheim, *The Temple*, 154 ff.; and Ugolinus' treatise in his *Thesaurus*, vol. x.). The position of the table was on 'the north side' of the holy place (26^{35}).

(*b*) **The golden Lampstand** (Ex $25^{31\text{-}40} = 37^{17\text{-}24}$ [Gr. $38^{13\text{-}17}$]; cf. Jos. *Ant.* III. vi. 7, *BJ* VII. v. 5).—Of the whole furniture of the tabernacle, the article to which, since Wyclif's time, our Eng. versions have given the misleading designation 'the candlestick,' afforded the greatest opportunity for the display of artistic skill. It was in reality a lampstand (מְנוֹרָה, *λυχνία*—the latter in Mt 5^{15} and parallels, where RV gives '[lamp]-stand,' Vulg. *candelabrum*) of pure gold (§ iii.), hence also termed the 'pure lampstand' (31^{8} 39^{37} etc. [cf. 'the pure table,' Lv 24^{6}]; for other designations see below). See also LAMP.

The lampstand on the Arch of Titus differs from that described in the text of P in several particulars, notably in the details of the ornamentation (see Reland's plate, *op. cit.* 6). In this respect it agrees better with the description of Josephus, who speaks of its 'knops and lilies with pomegranates and bowls,' seventy ornaments in all. The base, further, is hexagonal in form and ornamented with non-Jewish figures, while Jewish tradition speaks of the lampstand of the second temple as having a tripod base. The earliest known representation of the stand is found on certain copper coins doubtfully attributed to Antigonus, the last of the Hasmonæans (Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 102, with woodcut). At a later period the seven-branched 'candlestick,' more or less conventionally treated, was a favourite *motif* with Jewish and Christian artists on lamps,* gems, tombs, etc.

Like the cherubim above the propitiatory (§ ix.), the lampstand was of 'beaten (i.e. *repoussé*) work' (מִקְשָׁה). A talent of gold was employed in its construction, the general idea of which is clear (see illustration): from a central stem three opposite pairs of arms branched off 'like the arrangement of a trident' (Josephus), curving outwards and upwards till their extremities, on which the lamps were placed, were on a level with the top of the shaft. The upper portion of this central stem, from the lowest pair of arms upwards, is termed the shaft (קָנֶה, so RV; not as AV 'branch'), also the lampstand *par excellence* (v.^{34}); the lower portion is the base (so rightly RV for יָרֵךְ, lit. 'loins,' in the Mishna בָּסִּים *Kel.* xi. 7). The latter, we have seen, probably ended in a tripod with clawed feet, as in the table of shewbread. The leading motive of the ornamentation on stem and arms is derived

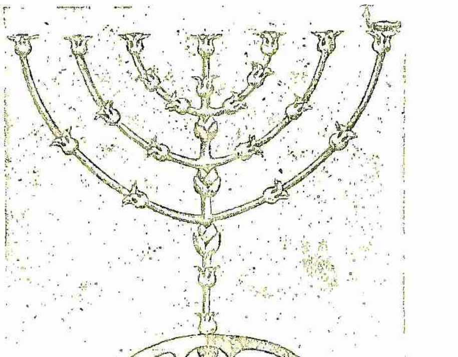

THE GOLDEN LAMPSTAND.

---

* A flagon is a favourite type on Jewish coins (MONEY, vol. iii. p. 431a).

* For one of the best of these, showing the base in the form of a tripod, see *PEFSt*, 1886, p. 8.

from the flower or blossom of the almond tree. The complete ornament, introduced four times on the stem and three times on each of the six branches, is termed גְּבִיעַ (*gĕbîa'*, lit. 'cup,' so RV; AV 'bowl'), and consists of *two* parts,[*] corresponding to the calyx and corolla of the almond flower, the *kaphtôr* (EV 'knop') and the *peraḥ* (EV 'flower') of the text. At what intervals these 'knops and flowers' are to be introduced is not stated (for the speculations of the Rabbis see Flesch, *op. cit.* with diagrams), nor do we know how the four sets of v.^{34} are to be distributed. It is usually assumed that these include the three knops which in v.^{35} ornament the points where the branches diverge from the stem. It seems to us more in harmony with the text to regard the three knops in question, with which no flowers are associated, as suggested rather by the scales of the stem of a tree, from whose axils spring the buds which develop into branches. We accordingly prefer to find seven knops on the central stem, viz. two 'knops and flowers' to ornament the base, three 'knops' alone, forming axils for the branches, and two 'knops and flowers' on the upper part of the shaft. Shaft and arms alike probably terminated in a 'cup' with its knop and flower, the five outspread petals of the corolla serving as a tray for one of the seven lamps.[†] The latter were doubtless of the unvarying Eastern pattern (see LAMP). The nozzles were turned towards the north, facing the table of shewbread, the lampstand having its place on the south side of the Holy Place. To see that the lamps were supplied with the finest produce of the olive ('pure olive oil beaten,' for which see OIL, vol. iii. p. 591^a, 592^a), trimmed and cleaned, was part of the daily duty of the priests. The necessary apparatus, the snuffers and snuff-dishes (which see) with the 'oil vessels' (Nu 4^9), were also of pure gold.

From the notices in the different strata of P (Ex $27^{20f.}$, cf. 30^7, Lv $24^{1ff.}$, Nu $8^{1ff.}$) it is not clear whether the lamps were to be kept burning day and night or by night only. The latter alternative was the custom in the sanctuary of Shiloh (1 S 3^3). From Lv $24^{1ff.}$ (note v.^{3})—of which Ex $27^{20f.}$ is perhaps a later reproduction—it would appear that the lamps burned only 'from evening to morning.' At the time of the morning sacrifice they were to be trimmed, cleaned, and replaced (Ex 30^7, cf. *Tamîd* iii. 9, vi. 1), ready to be relit in the evening (30^8, 2 Ch 13^{11}). Against this, the *prima facie* interpretation, must be put such considerations as these: (1) the ancient custom of the ever burning lamp alluded to under CANDLE (vol. i. p. 348^b); (2) the expression נֵר תָּמִיד, a 'continual lamp or light' (Lv 24^2 = Ex 27^{20}); and (3) since the dwelling was absolutely dark, there must, one would think, have been some provision for lighting it during the day. The practice of a later period, vouched for by Josephus (*Ant.* III. viii. 3 [§ 199], with which cf. his quotation from pseudo-Hecatæus, *c. Apion.* i. 22 [§ 199]), by which only three of the lamps burned by day and the remaining four were lighted at sunset, seems to be a compromise between the directions of the text and the practical necessities of the case (so Riehm, *HWB*^{2}, art. 'Leuchter'). The Rabbinical notices are still later, and differ from both the data of P and those of Josephus. (On the whole question see Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 281 f. with full reff., and 295 f.).

The fate of the golden lampstand of the second temple, made under the direction of Judas Maccabæus (1 Mac $4^{49f.}$) to replace the earlier stand (τὴν λυχνίαν τοῦ φῶτος, *ib.* 1^{21}, Ben Sira's λυχνία ἁγία, 26^{17}) carried off by Antiochus IV., has been narrated under SHEWBREAD (§ iii.). Onias in furnishing his temple at Leontopolis was content with a single golden lamp, suspended by a chain of gold (Jos. *BJ* VII. x. 3).

(*c*) **The Altar of Incense** (Ex 30^{1-5} = 37^{25-28} [the latter absent in Gr.]; Jos. *Ant.* III. vi. 8 [§ 147 ff.]).—No part of the furniture of the tabernacle has been the subject of so much controversy in recent years as the altar of incense, which in our present text of Exodus occupies the place of honour in front of the veil. The attitude of modern criticism to Ex 30. 31 has been already stated (§ iii.), and it must suffice here to indicate in a summary way the principal grounds on which recent critics, with one voice, have pronounced against the presence of this altar in the tabernacle as sketched by the original author of Ex 25–29 (cf. EXODUS, vol. i. p. 810^b; INCENSE, vol. ii. p. 467 f.; TEMPLE).

(1) The tabernacle and its furniture have been described in detail, as also the dress and consecration of its ministrant priests, and the whole section brought to a solemn close with $29^{45f.}$. Advocates of the traditional view must therefore explain the absence from its proper place in ch. 25 of an article *ex hypothesi* so essential to the daily ritual ($30^{7f.}$) as the altar of incense. They have also to account for the fact that the position of Ex 30^{1-10} varies in the MT, the Samaritan-Hebrew, and Gr. texts (being altogether absent from the latter in the recapitulation in ch. 37). (2) P^g in the most unmistakable manner refers to the altar of burnt-offering as '*the* altar' (so not less than 100 times, according to the *Oxf. Hex.* ii. 127), implying that he knew no other. Only in strata that bear other marks of a later origin does it receive a distinguishing epithet (§ vi. (*a*)). (3) The reference in 30^{10} is clearly based on, and is therefore younger than, the ritual of the Day of Atonement as described in Lv 16^{12-14}. But this chapter ignores the altar of incense, and, in harmony with Lv 10^1 and Nu 16^{17}, requires the incense to be offered on censers. (4) Careful examination of the MT of 1 K 7 and Ezk 41 (see SHEWBREAD, TEMPLE) has disclosed the fact that an incense altar found a place neither in the real temple of Solomon nor in the ideal temple of Ezekiel. The references in 1 Ch 28^{18}, 2 Ch 4^{19} etc., are too late in date to enter into the argument as to the contents of P. The first historical reference to the 'golden altar' is found in the account of the sack of the temple by Antiochus IV. (1 Mac 1^{21}). On the other hand, the extreme scepticism of Wellhausen (*Proleg.*, Eng. tr. 67) and others as to the existence of such an altar even in the second temple is unwarranted (see Delitzsch, 'Der Räucheraltar' in *Zeitschr. f. kirchl. Wissenschaft*, 1880, 114–121)

Assuming, then, that we have to do with a later addition (*novella*) to the original code, we note that this second altar is named מִזְבַּח מִקְטַר קְטֹרֶת (30^1) or simply מ״ הַקְּטֹרֶת (30^{27} etc.), also the 'golden altar' (39^{38} etc., 1 Mac 1^{21}); in the LXX τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ θυμιάματος, in Philo and Josephus τὸ θυμιατήριον—so Symm. and Theod. 30^1; for He 9^4 see end of section. Like the larger altar it is 'four square,' a cubit in length and breadth, and 2 cubits in height, and furnished with horns (for these see § vi.). The material is acacia wood, overlaid with pure gold, the ornamentation a moulding of solid gold (זֵר, see § viii. (*a*)), with the usual provision for rings and staves (v.$^{4f.}$).[*] Its position is to be in the Holy Place, in front of 'the veil that is by the ark of the testimony' (v.^{6}). Aaron and his sons shall offer 'a perpetual incense' upon it night and morning, when they enter to dress and light the lamps of the golden stand (v.$^{7ff.}$). Once a year, on the Day of Atonement, its horns shall be brought into contact with the atoning blood (v.^{10}). Owing to the ambiguity in the directions of v.^{6} (cf. 6^b with 6^a in MT, Sam., and LXX; also Holzinger, *in loc.*) if taken by themselves, and to the influence of the late gloss (1 K 6^{22b}), a tradition grew up, which finds expression in the famous passage He 9^4, that the incense altar stood in the Most Holy Place, 'which had a golden altar of incense[*] and the ark of the covenant.' The same verse contains a similar divergent tradition regarding the contents of the ark (see next section).

---

[*] This appears from 25^{33}, where the cups are defined as each consisting of 'a knop and a flower'; hence in v.^{31} 'its knops and its flowers' are to be taken as in apposition to 'its cups' (see Dillm. *in loc.*), not, as already in LXX, as two additional ornaments (οἱ κρατῆρες καὶ οἱ σφαιρωτῆρες καὶ τὰ κρίνα; cf. the similar misinterpretation regarding the frames of the dwelling on the part of the LXX, § vii. (*b*) above).

[†] In the Mishna *peraḥ* ('flower') has on this account become the usual term for the plinth or tray of an ordinary lampstand (*Ohaloth* xi. 8, *Kelim* xi. 7). Cf. the ἐνθέμια of the divergent description in the Gr. text ($37^{17ff.}$).

[*] Differently expressed from P^g.

ix. THE FURNITURE OF THE MOST HOLY PLACE. —**The Ark and the Propitiatory** (Ex $25^{10-22}=37^{1-9}$ [Gr. 38^{1-8}]; Jos. *Ant.* III. vi. 5).—Within the Most Holy Place stood in solitary majesty the sacred ark, on which rested the propitiatory or mercy-seat with its overarching cherubim. The history of the ancient palladium of the Hebrew tribes, 'the ark of J″' of the older writers, has been given under ARK. We have here a more elaborate shrine, to which P gives by preference the designation 'ark of the testimony' (אֲרוֹן הָעֵדוּת 25^{22} and often, ἡ κιβωτὸς τοῦ μαρτυρίου), a phrase parallel to and synonymous with that favoured by Deut. and the Deuteronomistic editors, 'ark of the covenant.' In both cases the ark was so named as containing the Decalogue (הָעֵדוּת 'the testimony,' $25^{16.\,21}$), written on 'the tables of testimony' (31^{18}). The ark itself sometimes receives the simple title 'the testimony' (16^{34} etc.); and the tabernacle, as we have seen (§ iii.), as in its turn containing the ark, is named 'the dwelling of the testimony' and 'the tent of the testimony.'[†] See TESTIMONY.

The ark of P is an oblong chest of acacia wood overlaid within and without with gold, 2½ cubits in length, and 1½ in breadth and height (*i.e.* 5 × 3 × 3 half-cubits). Each of its sides is finished with a strip of cable or ogee moulding (זֵר, EV 'crown,' see § viii. (*a*)) of solid gold in the same manner as the top of the table of shewbread; with this difference, however, that in the former the upper line of moulding must have projected beyond the plane of the top of the ark, probably to the extent of the thickness of the propitiatory, in order that the latter, with its cherubim, might remain in place during the march. Within the sacred chest was to be deposited 'the testimony' (v.^{16}) or Decalogue, as already explained. Before it—not within it, as a later tradition supposed (He 9^{4})—were afterwards placed a pot of manna (Ex $16^{33f.}$) and Aaron's rod that budded (Nu 17^{10}).

Distinct from but resting upon the ark, and of the same superficial dimensions (2½ × 1½ cubits), was a slab of solid gold, to which the name *kappōreth* is given (only in P and 1 Ch 28^{11} EV 'mercy-seat').

The familiar rendering 'mercy-seat,' first used by Tindale, following Luther's *Gnadenstuhl* (cf. SHEWBREAD, § i.), goes back to that of the oldest VSS (LXX ἱλαστήριον, Vulg. *propitiatorium*) —and is based on the secondary and technical sense of the root-verb כפר, viz. 'to make propitiation' for sin. Hence the Wyclif-Hereford rendering 'propitiatory,' derived from Jerome, is preferable to Tindale's 'mercy-seat.' In our opinion the rendering 'propitiatory' must be maintained. The alternative 'covering' (RVm) adopted in preference by so many modern, particularly German, scholars (cf. ἐπίθεμα in Gr. of Ex 25^{17}, and Philo, *op. cit.* [ed. Mangey, ii. 150] ἐπίθεμα ὡσανεὶ πῶμα [a lid]), is open to two serious objections. On the one hand it is based on the still unproved assumption that the primary signification of כפר was 'to cover,'[‡] and on the other hand the *kappōreth* was in no sense the lid or cover of the ark, which was a chest or coffer complete in itself. Dillmann and others have unsuccessfully attempted a *via media* by taking *kappōreth* in the sense of a protective covering (*Schutzdach*, *Deckplatte*, etc.). See, further, Deissmann, *Bible Studies* [Eng. tr.], p. 124 ff.

Near the ends of the propitiatory stood, facing each other, two small[§] emblematic figures, the **cherubim**, of the same material and workmanship as the golden lampstand, viz. 'beaten' or *repoussé* work (מִקְשָׁה, χρυσοτορευτά) of pure gold. Being securely soldered to the propitiatory they are reckoned as 'of one piece' with it (v.^{19}). Each cherub was furnished, like the larger and differently placed cherubim of Solomon's temple (1 K $6^{23\text{ff.}}$), with a pair of wings which met overhead, while their faces were bent downwards towards the propitiatory. Whatever may have been their significance in primitive Hebrew mythology, the cherubim as here introduced, like the kindred seraphim in Isaiah's vision, are the angelic ministers of J″, guarding in the attitude of adoration the throne of His earthly glory (cf. *Book of Enoch*, ed. Charles, 71^{7}). The propitiatory, with the overarching cherubim, was, in truth, the innermost shrine of the wilderness sanctuary, for it was at once J″'s earthly and the footstool of His heavenly throne[*] (cf. 1 Ch 28^{2}). Not at the tent door, as in the earlier representation (Ex $33^{7\text{ff.}}$), but 'from above the propitiatory, from between the cherubim' (25^{22}), will J″ henceforth commune with His servant Moses (30^{6}). 'There, in the darkness and the silence, he listened to the Voice' (Nu 7^{8}).

For the transport of the sacred chest, its propitiatory and cherubim, two poles of acacia wood overlaid with gold are provided. These are to rest permanently (Ex 25^{15}, otherwise Nu 4^{6}, where the staves are inserted when the march begins) in four rings, attached, according to our present text, to the four 'feet' (פַּעֲמֹתָיו v.^{12}, so RV, but AV 'corners') of the ark.

But this text and rendering are open to serious question. For (1) of the shape, length, and construction of these 'feet' nothing is said; (2) why should the author employ the Phœnician word (פַּעַם) for 'foot' here in place of the usual רֶגֶל (v.^{26})? (3) If the rings were attached so far down, a state of dangerously unstable equilibrium would result; (4) all the oldest versions apparently read, or at least, as our own AV, rendered as in v.^{26} פֵּאֹתָיו 'its four corners.'[†] We must suppose, then, that the rings were attached, perhaps below the moulding, at the corners of the *short* sides of the ark (so the *Baraitha*, Neumann, Keil), along which, and not along the long sides (as Riggenbach, Dillm., and most), the poles rested. The object of this arrangement is to secure that the Divine throne shall always face in the direction of the march. The weight of the whole must have been considerable, with poles, certainly not 'staves,' and bearers to correspond.[‡]

In the second temple there was no ark, and consequently no propitiatory, notwithstanding the statement in the Apocalypse of Baruch (6^{7}) that it was hidden by an angel before the destruction of the temple, A.D. 70. According to P the sole contents of the ark, as we have seen, were the two tables of testimony on which the Decalogue was inscribed. Once a year, on the Day of Atonement, the high priest alone entered the Holy of Holies to bring the blood of the sin-offerings into contact with the propitiatory (Lv $16^{14\text{f.}}$; see ATONEMENT, DAY OF, vol. i. p. 199).

x. ERECTION AND CONSECRATION OF THE TABERNACLE. — In the oldest stratum of the Priests' Code the directions for the preparation of the sanctuary and its furniture (Ex 25–27), which have engaged our attention up to this point, are followed by equally minute instructions as to the priestly garments (28), and by the solemn consecration of Aaron and his sons for the priestly office (29). The altar alone of the appointments of the sanctuary is singled out for consecration ($29^{36f.}$). In the first of the accretions to the older document (30. 31), however, we find instructions for the anointing of 'the tent of meeting' and all the furniture of the sanctuary with the 'holy anointing oil' ($30^{26ff.}$), with which also the priests are to be anointed. When we pass to the still later stratum (35–40; see above, § iii.), we find a record of the carrying out of the preceding instructions to the last detail, followed by the erecting of 'the dwelling of the tent of meeting' ($40^{1ff.}$) on the first day of the first month of the second year, that is, a year less fourteen days from the first anniversary of the Exodus ($40^{1.17}$, cf. $12^{2.6}$). A comparison with 19^{1} shows that according to P's chronology a period of at least nine months is allowed for the construction of the sanctuary and its furniture. Some of the questions raised by $40^{18.19}$ as to the manner in which the curtains 'were spread over the dwelling' have been discussed by anticipation in § vii. (*c*); it must suffice now to add that after the court and the tabernacle proper had been set up, and all the furniture in its place, the whole, we must assume, was duly anointed by Moses himself in accordance with the instructions of the preceding verses ($40^{9f.}$), although this fact is not mentioned until we reach a later portion of the narrative (Lv $8^{10f.}$, Nu 7^{1}). This consecration of the sanctuary naturally implies that it is now ready for the purpose for which it was erected. Accordingly 'the cloud covered the tent of meeting, and the glory of J″ filled the dwelling' ($40^{34f.}$). J″ had now taken possession of the holy abode which had been prepared for Him. With the new year, as was most fitting, the new order of things began.

---

[*] So RVm and American RV in text for χρυσοῦν θυμιατήριον with most recent interpreters; AV and RV 'a golden censer.'

[†] In the art. ARK (§ i.) attention was briefly called to the three sets of designations of the ark characteristic of the early, the Deuteronomic, and the priestly writers respectively, of which all the other OT titles, some twenty in all, are merely variations and expansions. See for later discussions H. P. Smith, *Samuel*, 33; 'Ark' in *Encyc. Bibl.* i. 300 f.; Meinhold, *Die Lade Jahves*, 2 ff.

[‡] The most recent research seems to point in favour of the alternative 'to wipe off'; see Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss d. babyl. Religion*, 92; Haupt in *JBL*, xix. (1900) 61, 80.

[§] It must be noted that, with bodies bent and wings outstretched, the cherubim were accommodated on a surface less than 4 ft. from end to end.

[*] For this idea and its possible bearing on the ultimate historical origin of the ark as the empty throne of an imageless deity, see Meinhold, *Die Lade Jahves* (1900), 44 and *passim*, based on the researches of Reichel in *Ueber Vorhellenische Göttercuite* (esp. 27 ff.); cf. also Budde in *Expos. Times*, June 1898, p. 396 ff. (reprinted [in German] in *ZATW*, 1901, p. 194 ff.).

[†] Cf. 1 K 7^{30}, where פעמתיו of MT (AV here also 'corners') is similarly regarded by recent commentators as a corruption of פאתיו or פנתיו.

[‡] The propitiatory, even if only a fingerbreadth thick, would alone weigh 760 lb. troy. The weight of the whole must be put at about 6 cwt. The Talmud mentions four bearers (Flesch, *op. cit.* 66). Two sufficed for the historical ark (ARK, vol. i. p. 150^{b}).

xi. The Tabernacle on the March (Nu 2^{17} 3^{25-38} $4^{1ff.}$ etc.).—The cloud which rested on the dwelling by day and appeared as a pillar of fire by night accompanied the Hebrews 'throughout all their journeys' in the wilderness. When 'the cloud was taken up from over the dwelling' (Ex 40^{37}, Nu 9^{17}) this was the signal for the tents to be struck and another stage of the march begun; while, 'as long as the cloud abode upon the dwelling, whether it were two days or a month or a year,' the children of Israel remained encamped and journeyed not (Nu $9^{18ff.}$). The charge of the tabernacle and of all that pertained thereto was committed to the official guardians, the priests and Levites (Nu $3^{5ff.}$). When the signal for the march was given by a blast from the silver trumpets ($10^{1ff.}$), the priests entered the dwelling, and, taking down the veil at the entrance to the Most Holy Place, wrapped it round the ark ($4^{5ff.}$). This, as the most sacred of all the contents of the tabernacle, received three coverings in all, the others but two. Full and precise instructions follow for the wrapping up of the rest of the furniture (4^{7-14}). This accomplished, the priests hand over their precious burden to the first of the Levitical guilds, the sons of Kohath, for transport by means of the bearing-poles with which each article is provided (v.$^{15f.}$). The second guild, the sons of Gershon, have in charge the tapestry curtains of the dwelling, the hair curtains of the tent, the two outer coverings, the veil, and the screen ($3^{25f.}$ $4^{24ff.}$). For the conveyance of these, two covered waggons and four oxen are provided by the heads of the tribes ($7^{3.7}$). The remaining division of the Levites, the sons of Merari, receives in charge the frames and bars of the dwelling, together with the pillars and bases of the dwelling and of the court, with four waggons and eight oxen for their transport (*ib.*).* Everything being now in readiness, the march began. The Levites, according to Nu 2^{17},—and as the symmetry of the camp requires,—marched in the middle of the line, with two divisions of three tribes each before them and two behind. This, however, does not accord with Nu $10^{17ff.}$, according to which the sons of Gershon and Merari marched after the first division of three tribes, and had the tabernacle set up before the arrival of the Kohathites with the sacred furniture between the second and third divisions.

xii. The Historicity of P's Tabernacle.—After what has been said in our opening section—with which the art. Ark must be compared—as to the nature, location, and ultimate disappearance of the Mosaic tent of meeting, it is almost superfluous to inquire into the historical reality of the costly and elaborate sanctuary which, according to P, Moses erected in the wilderness of Sinai. The attitude of modern OT scholarship to the priestly legislation, as now formulated in the Pentateuch (see §§ i. and iv. above), and in particular to those sections of it which deal with the sanctuary and its worship, is patent on every page of this Dictionary, and is opposed to the historicity of P's tabernacle. It is now recognized that the highly organized community of the priestly writers, rich not only in the precious metals and the most costly Phœnician dyes, but in men of rare artistic skill, is not the unorganized body of Hebrew serfs and nomads that meets us in the oldest sources of the Pentateuch. Even after centuries spent in contact with the civilization and arts of Canaan, when skilled artists in metal were required, they had to be hired by Solomon from Phœnicia. Again, the situation of P's tabernacle, its highly organized ministry, its complex ritual, are utterly at variance with the situation and simple appointments of the Elohistic tent of meeting (see § i.). With regard, further, to the details of the description, as studied in the foregoing sections, we have repeatedly had to call attention to the obscurities, omissions, and minor inconsistencies of the text, which compel the student to the conviction that he is dealing not with the description of an actual structure, but with an architectural programme, dominated by certain leading conceptions. The most convincing, however, of the arguments against the actual existence of P's tabernacle, is *the silence of the pre-exilic historical writers regarding it.* There is absolutely no place for it in the picture which their writings disclose of the early religion of the Hebrews. The tabernacle of P has no *raison d'être* apart from the ark, the history of which is known with fair completeness from the conquest to its removal to the temple of Solomon. But in no genuine passage of the history of that long period *is there so much as a hint of the tabernacle*, with its array of ministering priests and Levites. Only the Chronicler (1 Ch 16^{39} 21^{29} etc.), psalm-writers, editors, and authors of marginal glosses, writing at a time when P's conception of Israel's past had displaced every other, find the tabernacle of the priestly writers in the older sources, or supply it where they think it ought to have been (cf. 2 Ch $1^{3f.}$ with 1 K $3^{2ff.}$). See, further, Wellh. *Proleg.* (Eng. tr.) 39 ff., and recent works cited in the Literature at the end of this article.

xiii. The ruling Ideas and religious Significance of the Tabernacle.—If, then, the tabernacle of the foregoing sections had no historical existence, is its study, on that account, a waste of time and labour? By no means. On the contrary, the tabernacle as conceived by the priestly writers is the embodiment of a sublime idea with which are associated many other ideas and truths of the most vital moment for the history of religion. In this place it is impossible to do more than indicate in summary form some of these vital religious truths to which reference has been made. We have already (§ iv.) expressed the conviction that the only standpoint from which to approach the study of the true significance of the tabernacle, as designed by the author of Ex 25-29, is that laid down by this author himself. Following the lead of Ezekiel, his chief aim, and the aim of the priestly writers who expanded the original sketch, is to show to future generations the necessary conditions under which the ideal relation between J″ and Israel may be restored and maintained. This ideal is expressed by Ezekiel and by P as a dwelling of J″ in the midst of His covenant people (reff. in § iv.). The methods, however, by which these two kindred spirits sought to impress this ideal upon their contemporaries are diametrically opposed. Ezekiel projects his ideal forward into the Messianic future; P throws his backwards to the golden age of Moses. Both sketches are none the less ideals, whose realization for prophet and priest alike was still in the womb of the future. Both writers follow closely the arrangements of the pre-exilic temple, P, however, striving to unite these with existing traditions of the Mosaic tent of meeting. It is the recognition of these facts that makes it possible to say that 'a Christian apologist can afford to admit that the elaborate description of the tabernacle is to be regarded as a product of religious idealism, working upon a historical basis' (Ottley, *Aspects of the Old Test.* 226).

---

* The fondness of the priestly writers for proportion (2 : 1) has again led to strange results, for, even with the colossal 'boards' of previous writers reduced to frames (see § vii. (*b*)), the loads of the Merarites were out of all proportion to those of the Gershonites. Nu 7, however, is now recognized as one of the latest sections of the Hexateuch.

The problem that presented itself to the mind of P was this: Under what conditions may the Divine promise of Ezk 37^{27} ('my dwelling shall be with them, and I will be their God, and they shall be my people') be realized? This we take to be the supreme idea of the priestly code, the realization of the presence of God in the midst of His people (Ex 25^{8} 29^{45}). This thought, as we have seen, is expressed in the characteristic designation 'the dwelling,' given by P to the most essential part of the sanctuary which is to be the concrete embodiment of the thought.

The Divine dwelling must be in accordance with the Divine character. Now, in the period from Deuteronomy to the close of the Exile, the two aspects of the Divine character which the inspired teachers of the time place in the forefront of their teaching are the unity and the holiness of J″. Each of these attributes has its necessary correlate. The unity of J″ requires the unity or centralization of His worship, which is the keynote of Deuteronomy. The holiness of J″ demands the holiness of His people, which is the recognized keynote of the Law of Holiness (Lv 19 ff.). The crowning result of the discipline of the Exile may be summed up in the simple formula 'one God, one sanctuary,' a thought which dominates the priestly code from end to end. That there should be but *one* sanctuary in the wilderness, a symbol of the unity of J″, is therefore for P a thing of course, requiring neither justification nor enforcement.

With regard to the other pair of correlates, a holy God and a holy people, the whole ceremonial system of the priestly code expends itself in the effort to give expression to this twofold thought. The centre of this system is the tabernacle and its priesthood, and every effort is made to render the former a visible embodiment of the holiness of the God who is to be worshipped in its court. We have seen (§ iv.) the precautions taken by Ezekiel to guard his new sanctuary from profanation; the same thought is prominent in H (Law of Holiness), and is impressively exhibited in the arrangement of the desert camp in P. Between the tents of the twelve tribes and the throne of J″ there intervene the cordon of the tents of the tribe of Levi, the court, and the Holy Place—into which priests alone may enter,—all so many protecting sheaths, to borrow a figure from plant-life, of the Most Holy Place, where J″ dwells enthroned in ineffable majesty and almost unapproachable holiness.* Once a year only may the high priest, as the people's representative, approach within its precincts, bearing the blood of atonement. Not only, therefore, is the one tabernacle the symbol of J″'s unity, it is also an eloquent witness to the truth: 'Ye shall be holy, for I, J″, your God am holy' (Lv 19^{2}). Yet these precautions are, after all, intended not to exclude but to safeguard the right of approach of J″'s people to His presence. The tabernacle was still the 'tent of meeting,' the place at which, with due precautions, men might approach J″, and in which J″ condescended to draw near to men. It is thus a witness to the further truth that man is called to enjoy a real, albeit still restricted, communion and converse with God.

One other attribute of the Divine nature receives characteristic expression in the arrangements of P's sanctuary. This is the perfection and harmony of the character of J″. Symmetry, harmony, and proportion are the three essentials of the æsthetic in architecture; and in so far as the æsthetic sense in man, by which the Creator has qualified him for the enjoyment of the beauty and harmony of the universe, is a part of the Divine image (Gn 1$^{26f.}$) in each of us, these qualities are reflexions of the harmony and perfection of the Divine nature. The symmetry of the desert sanctuary has already been abundantly emphasized. The harmony of its design is shown in the balance of all its parts, and in the careful gradation of the materials employed. The three varieties of curtains (§ iv.) and the three metals correspond to the three ascending degrees of sanctity which mark the court, the Holy Place, and the Most Holy respectively. In the dwelling itself we advance from the silver of the bases through the furniture of wood, thinly sheathed with gold, to the only mass of solid gold, the propitiatory, the seat of the deity. As regards the proportions, finally, which are so characteristic of the tabernacle, we find here just those ratios which are still considered 'the most pleasing' in the domain of architectural art, viz. those 'of an exact cube or two cubes placed side by side . . . and the ratio of the base, perpendicular and hypotenuse of a right-angled triangle, *e.g.* 3, 4, 5 and their multiples' (see art. 'Architecture' in *Encyc. Brit.*^{9}). The perfect cube of the Most Holy Place is universally regarded as the deliberate attempt to express the perfection of J″'s character and dwelling-place, the harmony and equipoise of all His attributes. The similar thought, the perfection of the New Jerusalem, 'in which no truth will be exaggerated or distorted,' is expressed by the fact that 'the length and breadth and height of it are equal' (Rev 21^{16}).

The 'symbolism of numbers' in the measurements of the tabernacle, of which so much has been written, is too firmly established to admit of question (for general principles see art. Number). The sacred numbers 3, 4, 7, 10, their parts (1½, 2, 2½, 5) and multiples (6, 9, 12, 20, 28, 30, 42, 48, 50, 60, 100), dominate every detail of the fabric and its furniture.† In all this we must recognize an earnest striving to give concrete expression—in a manner, it is true, which our Western thought finds it difficult to appreciate—to the sacred harmonies and perfection of the character of the Deity for whose 'dwelling' the sanctuary is destined.

---

* For 'the fundamental sense of *unapproachableness* which is never absent from the notion of J″'s holiness,' see Holiness, vol. ii. p. 397^{a}.

† The curious student will easily detect these measurements and numbers in the previous sections.

On the other hand, that the author of Ex 25-29 intended to give expression to ideas beyond the sphere of J″'s relation to His covenant people, or even within that sphere to invest every detail of material, colour, ornament, etc., with a symbolical significance, we do not believe. Following in the wake of Philo (*op. cit.*) and Josephus (*Ant.* III. vii. 7), the Fathers, and after them many writers down to our own day, among whom Bähr stands pre-eminent, have sought to read a whole philosophy of the universe into the tabernacle. Now it is designed to unfold the relations of heaven and earth and sea, now of body, soul, and spirit, and many wonderful things besides. Happily, the taste for these fanciful speculations has died out and is not likely to revive.

Quite apart from the authors of such far-fetched symbolisms stand several of the NT writers, who see in the tabernacle the foreshadowing of spiritual realities. Once and again the terminology of St. Paul betrays the influence of the tabernacle (*e.g.* the laver of regeneration, Tit 3^5 RVm). For the author of the Fourth Gospel the tabernacle on which rested the Divine glory in the cloud prefigured the incarnate Word who 'tabernacled (ἐσκήνωσεν) among us, and we beheld his glory, the glory of the only begotten of the Father' (Jn 1^{14}). In the Epistle to the Hebrews, again, the tabernacle, its furniture, and ministering priesthood supply the unknown author with an essential part of his argument. With 'singular pathos,' to borrow Bishop Westcott's apt expression, he lingers over his description of the sacred tent and all its arrangements. Yet, like the whole Levitical ceremonial, it was but the shadow of the heavenly substance (8^5), a 'parable for the time present' of 'the greater and more perfect tabernacle' (9^{11}) which is heaven. Into this tabernacle Jesus Christ has entered, our great High Priest, by whom the restricted access of the former dispensation is done away, and through whom 'a new and living way' has been opened of free access into the 'true' Holy of Holies (9^{24}), even the immediate presence of God. Last of all, in the Book of Revelation we have the final consummation of the kingdom of God portrayed under the figure of the tabernacle: 'Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men, and he shall tabernacle (σκηνώσει) with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them' (Rev 21^3—for v.^{16} see above)—in which the final word of revelation takes up and repeats the sublime ideal of Ezekiel and the priestly writers. 'In this representation of the New Jerusalem culminates the typology of the OT sanctuary' (Keil).

LITERATURE.—Works on the tabernacle are legion, but there is no monograph from the standpoint of the foregoing article. The student must start from a careful study of the text of Exodus and of the more recent commentaries, such as Dillmann-Ryssel, Strack, Holzinger, Baentsch. The commentary in the International Critical Series by the writer of this article is in preparation. The critical problems are treated by Popper, *Der bibl. Bericht über die Stiftshütte*, 1862; Graf, *Die geschichtl. Bücher d. AT*, 51 ff., 1866; Kuenen, *Hexateuch*; Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*; and more recent writers (see § ii. above). In addition to the relevant sections in the *Archæologies* of Ewald, Haneberg, Keil, Benzinger, Nowack (vol. ii.), the articles should be consulted in the Bible Dictionaries of Winer, Riehm, and *PRE*^{2} (by Riggenbach), all under 'Stiftshütte'; artt. 'Tabernacle' and 'Temple' (the latter especially) in Smith's *DB*. The more important monographs are by Neumann, *Die Stiftshütte*, 1861; Riggenbach, *Die Mosaische Stiftshütte*^{2}, 1867; Schick, *Stiftshütte und Tempel*, 1898; and (in English) Brown, *The Tabernacle*^{6}, 1899. The most exhaustive treatment of the tabernacle, its arrangements and its significance, is Bähr's *Symbolik d. Mosaischen Cultus*, 2 vols. 1837-39 (Bd. i. 2nd ed. 1874), full of fanciful ideas. On somewhat different lines is Friederich, *Symbolik d. Mos. Stiftshütte*, 1841. Sound criticisms of both, and an attempt to reduce the symbolism to saner limits, characterize Keil's full treatment in vol. i. of his *Archæology* (Eng. tr.). See also Westcott, *Epistle to the Hebrews*, 1889, Essay on 'The general significance of the Tabernacle,' p. 233 ff.; Ottley, *Aspects of the OT*, esp. p. 261 ff., 'The symbolical significance,' etc.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

TABERNACLES, FEAST OF.—The names of this feast and the references to it in the Bible are given in the art. FEASTS AND FASTS.

As the present article is a supplement to the above-named general one, the reader is recommended to refer to the latter (vol. i.), especially pp. 860, 861, and the synopsis on p. 863. (In the reff. to Tabernacles outside the Pentateuch insert 'Neh' between 'Ezr 3^4' and '$8^{14\text{-}17}$'). In what follows, a number by itself will be a reference to a page in that article.

Of the six passages containing injunctions concerning the observance of this feast, two are from Ex. and two from Deut. (863). The two in Ex. call it the **Feast of Ingathering**, refer to it as one of the three Pilgrimage Feasts (860^a and note), place it at the end of the year, and enjoin the attendance of all males at the sanctuary with offerings.

The injunctions in Deut. contain noteworthy additions to those in Exodus. The Feast of Ingathering is called the **Feast of Booths** (*ṣukkôth*, without explanation as if the term were familiar), its duration is fixed for seven days, and it is to be kept at Jerusalem, 'the place which the LORD thy God shall choose.' Also in the year of release in the Feast of Tabernacles the law shall be read before all Israel in their hearing (Dt $31^{10\text{ff.}}$). The name of the festival points to the custom of erecting booths in the vineyards during the time of the vintage (cf. Is 1^8 'a booth in a vineyard,' RV), a custom which is continued to the present day in parts of Palestine; it served also (Lv $23^{40\text{-}43}$ [H]) to remind the Israelites that their fathers dwelt in booths or tents during their passage from the house of bondage to the Promised Land. Of the two ceremonies enjoined in Dt 26, the second (vv.$^{12\text{-}15}$) was probably performed at this festival. Both in Ex. and Deut. the connexion of this and all three Pilgrimage Feasts with agriculture is clearly indicated (cf. 860^b).

Before considering the two remaining passages, let us trace the observance of the feast before the Exile. It appears to have been a custom of the Canaanites to keep a vintage festival, for according to Jg 9^{27}, after gathering the vineyards and treading the grapes, the men of Shechem held a feast in the house of their god, and at this gathering dissatisfaction with Abimelech's rule was openly expressed. (For a discussion of this incident see art. ABIMELECH, and cf. Moore on Jg 9^{27}).

In Jg 21^{19} mention is made of a similar festival observed at Shiloh, when the maidens went out to dance in the vineyards; but note the contrast between the Canaanites *in the house of their god* and the *feast of the LORD* held by the Israelites. Although this festival was held at Shiloh, where the ark was, it appears to have been an observance by a tribe or part of Israel only.

The yearly sacrifice which Elkanah offered to the LORD of Hosts in Shiloh (1 S 1^3) was probably in the autumn. The dedication of Solomon's temple took place 'at the feast in the month Ethanim, which is the seventh month' (1 K 8^2),* *i.e.* at the Feast of Tabernacles. It was in imitation of this feast that Jeroboam instituted a feast at Bethel in the eighth month (1 K 12^{32}).

From these references to the feast in pre-exilic times it may be inferred that, (1) at least in the times before the establishment of the kingdom, the pilgrimage to the sanctuary was made but once a year (most probably in the autumn); (2) festivals at other times of the year were also observed [cf. 1 K 9^{25}, 2 Ch 8^{13}, Is 9^3 ('the joy in harvest'; the same word as in Ex 23^{16} is applied to the feast elsewhere called the **Feast of Weeks**)

---

* A difficulty arises in comparing this passage with 1 K 6^{38}, where it is stated that the house of the LORD was not finished till 'the month Bul, which is the eighth month.'

29^1 ('let the feasts come round,' RV) 30^{29}, Hos 2^{11} Am 5^{21}].

Let us now consider the two remaining passages, which contain injunctions concerning this feast (Lv 23 and Nu 29), and here we notice that, instead of prescriptions relating to the three Pilgrimage Feasts as in Ex. and Deut., we have a sacred calendar in which the position of each festival is fixed by the month and day. A special name (מִקְרָא קֹדֶשׁ 'a holy convocation') is given to the festivals, or rather to certain days of the festal periods, and servile work is prohibited on those days. The Feast of Tabernacles lasts for seven days as in Deut., but an eighth day is observed at its close as an עֲצֶרֶת 'a solemn assembly' (see Driver's note on Dt 16^8).

The post-exilic references to this feast are contained in Ezra and Nehemiah. In Ezr 3^4 it is stated that the Feast of Tabernacles was observed by the returned exiles as soon as the altar was set up, and before the foundation of the temple of the LORD was laid. The terms used in vv.$^{3-6}$ show acquaintance with the prescriptions of P with reference to burnt-offerings.*

Very different in character from the notice in Ezr 3 is the account found in Neh 8^{13-18}. Here the details are interesting and instructive. The reference to Lv 23^{40-43} is clear. The material gathered by the people is that prescribed in Lv 23^{40} (the wording of the two passages is in some respects different; cf. Ryle's note on Neh 8^{15}). With it they make booths, and set them up in the courts of the temple and in the open spaces of the city, and dwell in them, according to Lv 23^{42}. The feast was kept seven days, and the *'ăzereth* of the eighth day was duly observed.† The writer is aware that a new method of keeping the festival is introduced, one unknown to the people during the rule of judges and kings, and the ceremonial throughout is that enjoined in Leviticus. It is not, however, definitely stated whether the numerous sacrifices prescribed for this festival in Nu 29 were offered on this occasion.

The OT history of the Feast closes here. The eighth day, which is still distinguished from the seven days of Deut., is by the time of the writer of 2 Mac 10^6 reckoned as part of the Feast. Josephus (*Ant.* III. x. 4) speaks of keeping a festival of eight days, and also mentions the custom of bearing the *lulab*, consisting of a myrtle, willow, and palm branch in the right hand, and the *ethrog* or citron in the left. For this and other ceremonies observed at the feast see Jos. *Ant.* XIII. xiii. 5; the Talmudic treatise, *Sukkah*; Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, ii. 149, 157; and the references on p. 861 of art. FEASTS; and the NT references in the synopsis.

On one point is stress laid in all the accounts: that the ingathering which the feast commemorates is general ('when thou gatherest in *thy labours out of the field*,' Ex 23^{16}; '*the fruits of the land*,' Lv 23^{39}; '*from thy threshing-floor and from thy wine-vat*,' Dt 16^{13}). The Feasts of Unleavened Bread (*mazzôth*) and of Weeks or Harvest marked certain stages in the work of ingathering, but the autumn festival, the last of the yearly cycle, was the thanksgiving for the combined produce of the whole year. As the vintage and olive harvests had just been gathered, the worshippers might think chiefly of these rich gifts, yet the injunctions above quoted bade them take a wider view, and thank God for all His good gifts. It is also to be noted that in the autumn festival no special offering of the fruits of the earth is enjoined corresponding to the sheaf of the wave-offering (Lv 23^{9-14}) at Passover, and the two wave-loaves with sacrifice at Pentecost (23^{15-21}). Yet in other respects the Feast of Tabernacles is specially distinguished from other feasts. In Deut. it is the only one of the three at which the Israelite must dwell at Jerusalem for seven days, and in Numbers the sacrifices prescribed for this festival are in excess of those for any other (for details see p. 861^b). Its pre-eminence is asserted by Josephus (*Ant.* VIII. iv. 1—it was ἑορτὴ σφόδρα παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἁγιωτάτη καὶ μεγίστη). In the OT it is sometimes called '*the* Feast,' κατ' ἐξοχήν: 1 K $8^{2.65}$ (=2 Ch 5^3 7^8), Ezk 45^{25}, Neh 8^{14}; cf. Lv 23^{39} (H), 1 K 12^{32} (Driver, *Deut.* 197). But it was also the festival which in early times was common to Israel and to the heathen round about them. May it be that the wider view of the autumn festival and the avoidance of any special offering of the fruits of the ground at this season were designed in order to make a distinction between their own festival and that of their neighbours, and possibly to avoid excesses which attended the heathen celebrations,—to impress upon the Israelite, when he appeared before the LORD his God, that he was present at a harvest thanksgiving rather than at a vintage carnival?

A. T. CHAPMAN.

TABITHA.—See DORCAS.

TABLE.—A word used in several senses, either in sing. or plural, 108 times in the OT and 20 times in the NT. In the former when singular it is usually (56 times) the tr. of שֻׁלְחָן *shulḥân* (LXX τράπεζα, Vulg. *mensa*). 'Table' is used with the following meanings. **1.** A flat-topped stand, upon which victuals were set during meals, and around which people squatted or reclined. Such stands were usually small; in ancient Egypt they were rarely more than a foot in height. Lepsius represents a table of this kind heaped with meat, bread, and fruit, with two persons sitting by it (*Denkm.* ii. 52). In the Middle and New Empire stands are sometimes represented as frameworks of laths bearing jars and other vessels on the top, and with an undershelf for the solid food. Such tables are named *wth* or *wtn* or *tbhu*. In Assyrian contracts, temple tables are called *šalḫu*. The tables used by the fellahin of Palestine are mostly round, and rarely more than 12 inches high. Probably the ancient domestic tables were also round, as Goodwin and Zornius have inferred from such expressions as 'round about the table.' The table in the prophet's chamber (2 K 4^{10}) was probably a stand of this kind. It is possible that the *shulḥân* may have been originally a mat or something spread under the food platter, as can be often seen at present among the fellahin; but it must sometimes have been sufficiently high to allow of portions of food dropping from it. The seventy kings who gleaned their meat under Adonibezek's table (Jg 1^7) may have been fed from the leavings of the royal meals; but the boast is probably an Oriental exaggeration, and the number a copyist's mistake. Posidonius tells of the king of the Parthians throwing food to persons sitting around him (Athenæus, iv. 38). The Greek *trapeza* was usually four-footed, hence perh. the name (Eustath. *Comm. ad Odyss.* A. 111); nevertheless it was sometimes called *tripous* (Ath. ii. 32), a usage ridiculed by Aristophanes in an extant fragment of *Telmesses*. Homer represents each guest as having a separate table (*Od.* xvii. 333). These were sometimes covered with a cloth (Crates, *Theria*, in Ath. vi. 267). The table was removed after the feast. The larger tables of a guest-chamber were longer *trapezai*, around which the guests reclined, and helped themselves from the common dishes; hence the expression in Lk 22^{21} 'the hand . . . is with me on the table.' The food was usually on a platter, but sometimes laid on the table without any dish; hence the disgust of the condition described in Is 28^{8}.

---

* The doubts raised as to the historical character of this section do not materially affect the statement here made.

† The difference between keeping the festival with and without the additional eighth day is illustrated by comparing the accounts of the dedication of Solomon's temple in Kings and Chronicles. In 1 K 8^{66} it says, 'on the eighth day he sent them away,' *i.e.* on the 22nd of the month; but in 2 Ch 7^{8-10} it says, 'in the eighth day they made a solemn assembly (*ăzereth*) . . . and on the three and twentieth day of the seventh month he sent the people away. . . .' The Chronicler describes the feast as kept according to the rule of Leviticus; the writer of Kings assumes that the rule of Deut. was followed.

2. *To prepare a table* for any one is to feed or nourish him, as in Ps 23^{5}. Figuratively, the personified Wisdom is said to furnish a table for man's instruction (Pr 9^{2}). Distributing the means of sustenance to those of the early Christians who lacked, was called by the apostles 'serving tables' (Ac 6^{2}). *To eat at one's table* is to be a member of his household or an honoured guest. David, as one of Saul's officers, ate at the king's table (1 S 20^{29}), and Mephibosheth as a guest ate at David's table (2 S $9^{7-10.\ 11.\ 13}$, 1 K 2^{7}). The 850 prophets who are said to have eaten at Jezebel's table (1 K 18^{19}) did not necessarily sit down with their royal hosts, nor did the servants of Solomon who consumed the meat of his table, the variety and amount of which amazed the queen of Sheba (1 K 10^{5}): the expression means that they were fed by the royal bounty (see Heraclides in Athen. iv. 26). The same is probably true of the 150 Jews and rulers whom Nehemiah claims to have had at his table (Neh 5^{17}). The honour of sitting at meat with the king was a special favour (2 S 19^{28}), requiring careful behaviour (Pr 23^{1}), and sudden leaving of the table was a mark of displeasure (1 S 20^{34}). Those round the table are said *to sit at table* (1 K 13^{20}), and the members of the family circle are said to be round about the table (Ps 128^{3}); squatting, as the children of the fellahin do still. 'The table,' in the sense of the *indulgence in dainties*, is to be a snare for the wicked (Ps 69^{22}, Ro 11^{9}). God's table to which the birds of prey are invited is provided with the flesh of His enemies (Ezk 39^{20}), a figurative description of His just judgment of the wicked. The table in Ezk 23^{41} is prepared for purposes of the toilet.

In the NT 'table' is used in the sense of meal in Lk 22^{21-30}, Jn 12^{2} (where RV substitutes 'sat at meat' for the AV 'sat at the table'). In Jn 13^{28} 'no man at table' is the tr. of *οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀνακειμένων*. The dogs in the neighbouring Gentile district fed under the table (Mt $15^{27.\ 28}$, Mk 7^{28}, Lk 16^{21}). Lazarus the beggar desired the crumbs which were gathered and thrown out from under the rich man's table (Lk 16^{21}),

3. For the table of shewbread see artt. SHEWBREAD, and TABERNACLE, p. 662 f.

4. The 'table of the Lord' stands in Mal $1^{7.\ 12}$ (cf. Ezk 41^{22} 44^{16}) for *the altar*. In 1 Co 10^{21}, where it is contrasted with the 'table of devils,' it is evidently from the context the Lord's Supper as compared with pagan idol-feasts, the expression being probably borrowed from our Lord's words 'at my table' in Lk 22^{30}.

5. The tables of the money-changers (*αἱ τράπεζαι τῶν κολλυβιστῶν*) were the small square trays on stands which are familiar objects at the gates and bazaars of Eastern towns on which coins are displayed, and beside which the money-changers stand. These are not infrequently overturned in the numerous disputes about the value of exchanges. These money-changers were the bankers of primitive times: thus in the Isæus of Dionysius of Halicarnassus the expression *τράπεζαν κατασκευάζεσθαι* is used in the sense of setting up a bank (Reiske, vii. 309). Our Lord overthrew those set up in the courts of the temple (Mt 21^{12}, Mk 11^{15}, Jn 2^{15}).

6. Table in the sense of a flat surface upon which writings were inscribed is expressed by the word לוּחַ. See following article.

7. In Ca 1^{12} 'table' is the tr. of מֵסַב, rendered by LXX *ἐν ἀνακλίσει αὐτοῦ* and Vulg. *in accubitu suo*; cf. perh. 1 S 16^{11}, and in late Heb. מְסִבָּה (Levy, 3. 163) and הֵסֵב (*ib.* 464; Schechter, *Ben Sira* 56). It probably means, from the context, a couch. See, further, the Comm. *ad loc.*

In RV 'table' is left out in Mk 7^{4}. AV here tr. *κλινῶν*, 'tables,' but puts 'beds' in margin. The words *καὶ κλινῶν* are read by ADXΓΠΣΦ al min $^{\text{pl}}$ latt syrr. $^{\text{pesh hel}}$ go arm Or; omitted by ℵBLΔ min $^{\text{perpauc}}$ syr $^{\text{sin}}$ me.

LITERATURE.—Besides the authors cited in text see also Bähr, *Symbolik des Mosaischen Cultus*, Heidelberg, 1837; Schlichter, *De mensa facierum*; and Ugolini, 'De mensa et panis propositionis' in *Thes.* x. 995.

A. MACALISTER.

TABLE, TABLET.—**1.** לוּחַ (etym. unknown). This word, which may be used of *wooden* boards or planks (Ex 27^{8} 38^{7} in the altar of the Tabernacle, Ezk 27^{5} in the ship fig. of Tyre, Ca 8^{9} in a door) † or of *metal* plates (1 K 7^{36} on bases of lavers in Solomon's temple)†, is far more frequently used of *stone* tablets, esp. those on which the Ten Words are said to have been written (Ex 24^{12} $31^{18\ bis}$ $32^{15\ bis.\ 16\ bis.\ 19}$ $34^{1\ ter.\ 4\ bis.\ 28.\ 29}$, Dt 4^{13} 5^{19} (Eng. 22) $9^{9\ bis.\ 10.\ 11.\ 15.\ 17}$ $10^{1.\ 2\ bis.\ 3\ bis.\ 4.\ 5}$, 1 K 8^{9}, 2 Ch 5^{10}); of a tablet for writing a prophecy upon (Is 30^{8} [‖ סֵפֶר], Hab 2^{2}); fig. in Pr 3^{3} 7^{3} (wise counsels are to be written on the table of the heart), Jer 17^{1} (the sin of Judah is graven [חֲרוּשָׁה] upon the table of their heart). In all these passages both AV and RV tr. לוּחַ, when used of *stone*, by 'table(s),' except Is 30^{8} where RV has 'tablet,' a rendering which might well have been adopted uniformly. The LXX reproduces by *πλάξ* (except Ex 24^{12}, Is 30^{8}, Hab 2^{2} [all *πυξίον*], Pr 3^{3} 7^{3} [both *πλάτος*], and Jer 17^{1} [wanting in LXX]), and this is also the NT term (2 Co 3^{3}, He 9^{4}). The 'writing-table' (*πινακίδιον*, RV 'writing-tablet') of Lk 1^{63} was probably a waxen tablet. For a description of the use of both *stone* and *wax* for writing purposes see art. WRITING.

2. גִּלָּיוֹן (the tablet inscribed with a חֶרֶט [*stylus*], 'to Maher-shalal-ḥash-baz,' Is 8^{1} AV 'roll'). The essential signification of this word appears to be something with a *smooth polished* surface, whether of wood, stone, or metal.* [For גִּלּ׳ גָּדוֹל B has *τόμος καινοῦ μεγάλου*, A *τόμ. χάρτου κ. μ.*, Aq. *κεφαλὶς μεγάλη*, Symm. *τεῦχος μέγα*]. The only other occurrence of the Heb. word is in Is 3^{23}, where [in plur.] it prob. means 'tablets of polished metal,' 'mirrors' (so Targ., Vulg., Ges., Del., Cheyne, Dillm.-Kittel, but see Marti, *ad loc.*, and cf. the LXX *τὰ διαφανῆ Λακωνικά*). **3.** AV 'tablets' (כּוּמָז [etym. unknown]; LXX *περιδέξιον, περιδέξια*; RV 'armlets'), Ex 35^{22}, Nu 31^{50}. The Heb. word prob. stands for some neck ornament † (RVm 'necklaces'; cf. Dillm.-Ryssel or Baentsch, *Exodus, ad loc.*). **4.** The 'tablets' (*i.e.* lockets) of AV in Is 3^{20} become in RV 'perfume boxes' (so Ges.; cf. Vulg. *olfactoriola*), and some such sense [possibly 'ointment boxes'; so P. Haupt (deriving from Assyr. *pašâšu*, 'to anoint oneself') in Cheyne's 'Isaiah,' *SBOT* p. 82] is required by the context for the Heb. בָּתֵּי הַנֶּפֶשׁ, although it may be doubted whether נֶפֶשׁ ever in the OT [Pr 27^{9} is a doubtful passage] actually *means* 'odour.' The meaning is perh. 'of health,' *i.e.* serving to give health to those who smell them (='reviving,' 'refreshing'; cf. the Niph. of the root נפשׁ, and its use in Ethp. in Syr.

---

* In the Talmud גִּלָּיוֹן stands for the empty margin of a page or roll.

† This is no doubt the meaning of the English word used by AV, for in the language of the day an ornament hanging from the neck could be called a 'tablet,' as Golding, *Ovid*, 123, 'Riche pearles were hanging at her eares, and tablets at her brest.'

=ἀναψύχω). See, further, art. PERFUME, vol. iii. p. 747^a.
J. A. SELBIE.

TABOR (תָּבוֹר; B Θαχχειά, A and Luc. Θαβώρ; Vulg. *Thabor*).—A city in Zebulun given to the Merarite Levites (1 Ch 6^{77}). No name having any similarity to Tabor occurs in the earlier list of Levitical cities in Zebulun (Jos $21^{34.\,35}$). Various suggestions, none of them quite satisfactory, have been made in regard to this place,—that the occurrence of the name in 1 Chron. is due to a transcriber's error; that it is an abbreviation of Chisloth-tabor, a town on the border of Zebulun (Jos 19^{12}); that it is the Daberath of Jos 21^{28}, now *Debûrieh*; and that either a town on Mount Tabor or the mountain itself is intended. Some authorities suppose it to be the same place as Tabor on the border of Issachar (Jos 19^{22}, B Γαιθβώρ, A Θαφώθ, Luc. Θαβώρ), and that at which the brothers of Gideon were slain by Zebah and Zalmunna (Jg 8^{18}).
C. W. WILSON.

TABOR, MOUNT (הַר תָּבוֹר; LXX ὄρος Θαβώρ, τὸ Ἰταβύριον (in Jer. and Hos.); *Thabor*).—One of the most celebrated, and, at the same time, one of the most striking, mountains in Palestine. At the N.E. extremity of the rich plain of Esdraelon, and only about 5 miles E. of Nazareth, a limestone hill of unique outline rises to a height of 1843 feet above the sea. This is Mount Tabor, the *Atabyrium*, or *Itabyrium* of Greek and Roman writers, now called *Jebel eṭ-Ṭûr*. The mount overlooks the adjacent hills of Lower Galilee, and, being connected with them only by a low ridge, is practically isolated. Its form approaches that of a truncated cone with rounded sides, and a fairly level, oval-shaped summit. When viewed from a distance, especially from the S.W., it has the appearance of a hemisphere, and is remarkable for its symmetrical form, its graceful outline, and its wooded slopes. The mount is often capped with mist, and even in the dry season heavy dews refresh the parched soil, and give new life to the oaks, pistachios, and other trees that partially cover its slopes. In these coverts, during the Middle Ages, wild beasts found shelter; and wild boars, birds, and small game still make them their home. The slopes are steep and rocky, but the ascent can be made with ease—nearly everywhere on foot, and in more than one place on horseback. The view from the summit is disappointing, in so far that there is no one spot from which a complete panorama can be obtained; but from many points places of the greatest sacred and historic interest can be seen. To the S.W. and W., stretched out like a map, the great plain of Esdraelon extends beyond Taanach and Megiddo to the gorge of the Kishon and the ridge of Carmel. To the N. are the heights of *Lûbieh* and the 'Horns of Hattîn,' where Guy de Lusignan and the Templars made their last stand before surrendering to Saladin; and beyond them lie *Ṣafed* and the hills of Upper Galilee, with snow-capped Hermon and the peaks of Lebanon in the distance. To the N.E. and E. are the Sea of Galilee and the rugged *Ḥaurân*, the Jordan Valley, the deep gorge of the *Yarmuk*, and the high tableland of Bashan; and to the S.E. the mediæval fortress of Belvoir (*Kaukab el-Hawa*), the Jordan Valley below Bethshean, and the mountains of Gilead. To the S., on the lower slopes of *Jebel Duhy* (Little Hermon), are Nain and Endor, and beyond *Jebel Duhy* can be seen the crest of Mt. Gilboa.

A mountain so situated, and so beautiful, necessarily played an important part in the history of Israel. Its isolation, and the steepness of its slopes, marked it out, from time immemorial, as a fortress or rallying point; and its attractive beauty led the Rabbis to maintain that it was the mountain on which the temple ought of right to have been built had it not been for the express revelation which ordered the sanctuary to be built on Mount Moriah (Schwarz, p. 71). Amongst the mountains of his native land, the Psalmist (Ps 89^{12}) could have selected no more fitting representatives than Tabor with its rounded features and scattered glades, and Hermon with its lofty peak and pure canopy of snow. So, too, its natural strength and conspicuous position led the prophet (Jer 46^{18}) to use it and Carmel as an image either of the power and pre-eminence of the king of Babylon, or of the certainty and distinctness of God's judgments. Some commentators suppose Tabor to be the mountain alluded to in Dt $33^{18.\,19}$ (see discussion in Driver, *ad loc.*); and hence it has been conjectured that Tabor was an early sanctuary of the northern tribes, which afterwards became the scene of idolatrous rites (Hos 5^1).

Mount Tabor is mentioned by its full name only in Jg $4^{6.\,12.\,14}$, where it is stated to have been the place at which Deborah and Barak assembled the warriors of Israel before the memorable victory over Sisera (Jos. *Ant.* V. v. 3).

The mount is probably (but see Dillm. *ad loc.*) intended in Jos 19^{22}, where the boundary of Issachar is said to have reached to Tabor; and this view was held by Josephus (*Ant.* V. i. 22) and Eusebius (*Onom.*). Whether the Tabor at which the brothers of Gideon were slain (Jg 8^{18}) was the mount, is more doubtful (see preceding art., and Moore, *ad loc.*). According to Josephus (*Ant.* VIII. ii. 3), Mt. Tabor was in the district of Shaphat (Jehoshaphat in 1 K 4^{17}), one of Solomon's commissariat officers. In the 3rd cent. B.C. there was an inhabited city, *Atabyrium*, on Mt. Tabor, which Antiochus the Great took (B.C. 218) by stratagem and afterwards fortified (Polyb. V. lxx. 6). In the time of Alexander Jannæus (B.C. 105–78) Tabor was in the possession of the Jews (*Ant.* XIII. xv. 4). But the mount passed to the Romans when Pompey conquered Palestine, and, near it, Gabinius, the Roman proconsul of Syria (*c.* B.C. 53), defeated Alexander, son of Aristobulus II., who had risen in revolt (*Ant.* XIV. vi. 3; *BJ* I. viii. 7). At the commencement of the Jewish war Tabor was occupied by the Jews, and fortified by Josephus, who surrounded the summit with a wall (*Vit.* 37; *BJ* II. xx. 6, IV. i. 8). A little later, after Josephus had been taken prisoner by the Romans at Jotapata, a large number of Jews took refuge in the fortress. Placidus was sent against them with a body of horse, and, having succeeded by a feint in drawing the fighting men into the plain, defeated them and cut off their retreat. Upon this, the inhabitants of the place, whose supply of water, derived from the rainfall, was failing, submitted (*BJ* IV. i. 8).

The later history of Tabor is connected with the belief that Christ was transfigured on the mount, and with the churches and monasteries erected upon it in consequence of that belief. The narrative (Mt 16. 17, Mk 8. 9) seems to demand a site near Cæsarea Philippi; but, apart from this, the existence of a fortified town on the summit of Tabor before and after Christ, makes the selection of that mountain improbable. Eusebius, who states (*Onom.*) that Tabor was situated in the plain of Galilee, and from 8 to 10 Roman miles E. of Diocæsarea (*Sefûrieh*), makes no allusion to the tradition; whilst the Bordeaux Pilgrim (A.D. 333) places the scene of the Transfiguration on the Mount of Olives. The first notice of Tabor as the place of the Transfiguration is a remark by Cyril of Jerusalem, *c.* A.D. 350 (*Cat.* xii. 16). Jerome, A.D. 386, says that St. Paula 'climbed Mt. Tabor on which the Lord was transfigured' (*Ep. Paul.* xvii.; cf. *Ep. ad Mar.* viii.), but does not mention a church. Antoninus Martyr, *c.* A.D. 570, saw (vi.) three churches 'at the place where St. Peter said to Jesus: "Let us make here three tabernacles."' Arculf, *c.* A.D. 670, found (ii. 25) a large monastery with many cells, and three churches, enclosed by a stone wall. Willibald, A.D. 754, mentions (xiii.) a monastery and a church, 'dedicated to our Lord, and to Moses and Elias.' Sæwulf, A.D. 1102, saw three monasteries, and adds that the one dedicated to Elias stood a little apart from the others. The Russian abbot, Daniel, A.D. 1106–1107, gives a full description of the mount, which he compares to a haycock, and of its holy places (lxxxvi.–lxxxviii). Its slopes were covered with olive, fig, and carob trees; and on the summit, at the S.E. end of the platform, a small rocky knoll was shown as the place of the Transfiguration. Here there was a fine church, probably that built by Tancred, and near it, on the N. side, a second church dedicated to Moses and Elias. The churches and a Latin monastery were enclosed by solid stone walls with iron gates; and outside the walls were fields, vineyards, and fruit trees. A bowshot W. of the place of the Transfiguration was shown a rock-hewn cave in which Melchizedek was said to have dwelt and to have received Abraham when returning from the slaughter of Chedorlaomer (cf. Fetellus, A.D. 1130). Amongst the churches and monasteries noticed by Sæwulf and Daniel must have been the church built by Tancred, to whom Galilee was granted as a fief; and the monastery founded by the Black Friars of the reformed order of Benedictines of Cluny, who in A.D. 1111 disputed the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Nazareth (Albert of Aix, vii. 16; W. of Tyre, ix. 13; de Vitry). In 1113 the monasteries were pillaged by Arabs from Damascus, and the monks massacred; but they were soon reoccupied. Theoderich, in 1172, mentions a church and monks under an abbot (xlvi.) who, according to Ludolph von Suchem, 'used a leaden *bulla*, like the Pope'; and places the scene of the meeting between Melchizedek and Abraham at the foot of the mount. In 1183 the monks repulsed an attack by the troops of Saladin. Two years later, 1185, Phocas, a Greek monk, found a Latin monastery at the place of the Transfiguration, and to the north of it a Greek monastery. He also saw the grotto of Melchizedek, with chambers above and under ground, and many cells for anchorites; and close by, a church on the spot where Melchizedek met Abraham. In 1187 the mountain was laid waste by Saladin; but in 1212 it was strongly fortified by his brother el-Melek el-'Âdel. The fortress was unsuccessfully attacked by the Crusaders in 1217, and dismantled by el-'Âdel in the following year. The monastery and church must have been spared, or little injured, for Yâkût, A.D. 1225, mentions it (ii. 675; cf. *Mar.* i. 434) as standing on the S. side of the mountain; and adds that there were many vineyards, from which the monks made wine. This is confirmed by the tract '*Citez de Jherusalem*,' pt. ii., which notices 'a church of black Latin monks' on Mt. Tabor. In 1263 the Church of the Transfiguration was levelled with the ground by order of Sultan Bibars; and later visitors found only 'hollow places and caves beneath the ruins of splendid buildings, wherein lurk lions and other beasts.' Amidst these ruins, however, the Latin and Greek monks from Nazareth continued to hold an annual service in memory of the Transfiguration. The ruins on the summit are those of a fortress with square flanking towers, and, in places, a rock-hewn ditch. There are also many rock-hewn cisterns and a pool, and the remains of the churches and monasteries noticed above. The ruins are Jewish, Byzantine, Crusading, and Arab; but, without excavation, it is difficult to make any clear distinction between them. The Latins and Greeks have in recent years erected churches and monasteries on the sites of the earlier buildings, and the Latins have recovered the place of the Transfiguration mentioned by abbot Daniel.

LITERATURE.—*PEF Mem.* i. 367, 388-391; de Vogüé, *Église de T. S.* 353; Guérin, *Galilée*, i. 143-163; Robinson, *BRP*^{2} iii. 351 ff.; Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria*, 1822, p. 332 ff.; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 394, 408, 417; Buhl, *GAP* 107 f., 216 f.; Barnabé, *Le Mont Thabor.* C. W. WILSON.

TABOR, THE OAK OF (AV THE PLAIN OF TABOR; אֵלוֹן תָּבוֹר; *ἡ δρῦς Θαβώρ*; *quercus Thabor*), is mentioned (1 S 10^3) between Rachel's sepulchre in the border of Benjamin at Zelzah and the 'hill of God,' or Gibeah, as one of the points passed by Saul on his homeward journey after his anointing by Samuel. The site is unknown. Thenius emends, from Gn 35^8, א' תָּבוֹר to א' דְּבוֹרָה 'Oak (terebinth) of Deborah' (Rachel's nurse). This tree is called in the Genesis passage Allon-bacuth, and Ewald and others identify it further with the palm (תֹּמֶר) of Deborah mentioned in Jg 4^5. (Cf. Moore on Jg 4^5; Dillm. on Gn 35^8; Siegfried-Stade and *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.* אֵלוֹן).

C. W. WILSON.

TABRET (see art. TABER) is AV tr. of תֹּף in Gn 31^{27}, 1 S 10^5 18^6, Is 5^{12} 24^8 30^{32}, Jer 31^4, Ezk 28^{13}. The same Heb. word is tr. '**timbrel**' in Ex 15^{20}, Jg 11^{34}, 2 S 6^5, 1 Ch 13^8, Job 21^{12}, Ps 81^2 149^3 150^4. The RV, strangely enough, follows this want of uniformity in rendering, except in 1 S 10^5 18^6, where it substitutes 'timbrel' for 'tabret.' It might have been well to drop both 'timbrel' and 'tabret,' neither of which conveys any clear sense to a modern ear, and adopt some such rendering as 'tambourine' or 'hand-drum.' The LXX always tr. תֹּף by *τύμπανον* except in Job 21^{12}, where we have *ψαλτήριον*, and Ezk 28^{13}, where a different Heb. text. has been followed. [This last *may* have been the case even in Job 21^{12}]. See, for a description of the תֹּף, vol. iii. p. 462^b.

The AV rendering of Job 17^6 'aforetime I was as a tabret,' has arisen from a confusion of תֹּפֶת 'spitting' [*ἅπ. λεγ.*] with תֹּף 'tambourine.' The words תֹּפֶת לְפָנִים אֶהְיֶה, in parallelism with the preceding הִצִּיגַנִי לִמְשֹׁל עַמִּים ('I am made [lit. 'one hath made me'] a byword of the peoples'), mean 'I am become one to be spit on in the face' (RV 'an open abhorring'). See A. B. Davidson, *ad loc.*, and cf. the notes of Dillm. and Duhm. The LXX reproduces תֹּפֶת by *γέλως*, 'a laughing-stock.'

J. A. SELBIE.

TABRIMMON (טַבְרִמּוֹן, 'RIMMON [*Ramman*] is good *or* is wise' [see TABEEL]; B *Ταβερεμά*, A *Ταβενραημά*, Luc. *Ταβερεμμάν*).—The father of Benhadad, 1 K 15^{18}.

TACHES.—An old word of French origin (cf. *attacher*) used by AV to render the Heb. קְרָסִים *ḳĕrāsîm*, which occurs only in P's description of the tabernacle (Ex $26^{6.\,11.\,33}$ 35^{11} etc.). The Gr. rendering is *κρίκοι*, which denotes the rings set in eyelets at the edge of a sail for the ropes to pass through; Vulg. *circuli*, RV 'clasps.' The Heb. word evidently signifies some form of hook or clasp like the Roman *fibula* (see Rich, *Dict. of Rom. and Gr. Antiq. s.v.*). Fifty 'taches' or clasps of gold, attached at equal distances along the edge of one set of tapestry curtains, fitted into the same number of loops along the edge of the second set, and 'coupled' the two sets together. A similar arrangement of bronze clasps joined the two sets of hair curtains which formed the 'tent' (see TABERNACLE, § vii. (*a*)). The veil which divided the tabernacle or 'dwelling' into two parts, the Holy Place and the Most Holy, was suspended immediately underneath the line of clasps, a detail of considerable significance for the dimensions of the tabernacle (see § vii. (*c*)).

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

TACKLING.—In Is 33^{23} 'Thy tacklings (חֲבָלָיִךְ) are loosed,' the Heb. word plainly means a ship's ropes. And that was the ordinary meaning of the Eng. word 'tackling' about 1611, as in Shaks. *Rich. III.* IV. iv. 233—

> 'Like a poor bark, of sails and tackling reft.'

But the Eng. word was also used more comprehensively of the whole gearing, as in Ascham's *Scholemaster*, 65, 'Great shippes require costlie tackling.' And so it is used in Ac 27^{19} 'We cast out with our own hands the tackling of the ship' (RVm 'furniture'). The Greek word (σκευή) is as vague, says Rendall, as the English 'furniture,' and may include any heavy fittings that could be readily detached, or spare masts and spars. See SHIPS AND BOATS.

The word is of Scand. origin; the *le* in 'tackle' is the instrument, so that the tackle is that which *takes* hold of; the *ing* is collective.

J. HASTINGS.

TADMOR (1 K 9^{18} [so *Ḳĕrê*, AV, RVm; **Tamar** in *Kĕthîbh* and RV; B om., A Θερμάθ, Luc. Θοδμόρ], 2 Ch 8^4 B^K Θοεδομόρ, A Θεδμόρ, Luc. Θεδμάρ).—The Tamar of 1 Kings is believed by the present writer to be the same place as the 'Tadmor' of 2 Chronicles (see, however, art. TAMAR; G. A. Smith, *HGHL*^{1} 270, n.^{2}; Kittel, *Könige, ad loc.*).

Whatever view be held as to Tamar, Tadmor is undoubtedly the Palmyra of history, a city whose ruins have excited the admiration of all travellers, and whose history under the rule of Odenatus and Zenobia can never be read without feelings of high interest. The city rose from an oasis in the Syrian desert due to springs welling up through the sands, or from rivulets descending from the neighbouring hills, giving rise to vegetation and groves of palms.[*] At a later period it was supplied with water by means of an aqueduct built by Justinian. The position of the city is about 150 miles N.E. of Damascus, half-way between the valleys of the Orontes and the Euphrates; and the caravan routes in ancient times as well as in the beginning of our era, connecting the Persian Gulf with the Mediterranean, and between Northern Syria, Petra, and Central Arabia, passed through Palmyra. During the wars between Rome and Parthia, Palmyra endeavoured to maintain a position of neutrality; and, about the year A.D. 130, Hadrian took the city under his special favour, giving it the name of Adrianopolis. At a later period Palmyra received the *Jus Italicum* and became a Roman colony; and in the early period of the Persian wars the city became an important military post, and the inhabitants thus gained a knowledge of military tactics which they afterwards turned to use against their instructors.

Odenatus and Zenobia.—Up to this time Palmyra was governed by a senate; but on the defeat of the Roman army under Valerian by Sapor, king of Persia, and the rejection of the offer of alliance made by Odenatus, who had attained the position of king or prince of Palmyra, the Palmyrene army hovered round the Persian host as it was retreating across the Euphrates with the captive Roman emperor and enormous booty, and inflicted such loss on the Persians that they were glad to put the river between them and their pursuers.[†] By this exploit Odenatus laid the foundation of his future fame and fortunes. With the consent of the emperor Gallienus the Roman senate conferred the title of *Augustus* on the brave Palmyrene, and seemed to entrust to him the government of the East, which he in effect already possessed.[*]

On the death of Odenatus, by assassination, Zenobia his widow, who had shared with him the government of the kingdom, became his sole successor, with the title of 'Queen of Palmyra and the East.' Of this remarkable personage Gibbon says: 'Modern Europe has produced several illustrious women who have sustained with glory the weight of empire; nor is our own age destitute of such distinguished characters. But if we except the doubtful achievements of Semiramis, Zenobia is perhaps the only woman whose superior genius broke through the servile indolence imposed on her sex by the climate and manners of Asia. She claimed her descent from the Macedonian kings of Egypt, equalled in beauty her ancestor Cleopatra, and far surpassed that princess in chastity and valour.'[†] On ascending the throne (A.D. 267) Zenobia maintained the same policy of hostility, both to Persia and Rome, which had been adopted by her husband, and defeated a Roman army commanded by Heraclianus. She also invited the celebrated Platonic philosopher Longinus to her capital to be her instructor in Greek literature and her counsellor in affairs of state. But Aurelian, who had ascended the throne of the Western empire, had resolved to endure no longer the authority of a rival in the East; and in A.D. 272 he marched to attack Zenobia with all the forces of the empire. Zenobia, being but weakly supported in the unequal contest by Varahran, successor to Sapor, was defeated in battle, and attempted to escape by flight towards the Euphrates,[‡] but was captured on the banks of that river and brought before her conqueror, who carried her to Rome to grace his triumph. While crossing the straits which divide Europe from Asia, Aurelian received intelligence that the Palmyrenes had risen in revolt and massacred the governor and garrison he had left behind. Enraged at this conduct he at once retraced his steps, and the helpless city felt the full weight of his resentment. A letter of Aurelian himself admits that old men, women, children, and peasants were involved in indiscriminate slaughter; but, taking pity on the miserable remnant of the inhabitants, he granted them permission to rebuild and inhabit the city. 'But (as Gibbon observes) it is easier to destroy than to restore. The seat of commerce, of arts, and of Zenobia gradually sank into an obscure town, a trifling fortress, and at length a miserable village. The present citizens of Palmyra, consisting of thirty or forty families, have erected their [mud] cottages within the spacious court of a magnificent temple.'[§]

Ruins.—The ruins of Palmyra attest its former magnificence. The principal building is the great Temple of the Sun (Baal), with its lofty arch and grand rows of columns, originally about 390 in number; but besides this there are remains of the walls of Justinian which enclosed the city, and outside the wall towards the north several ruined sepulchral towers, together with the remains of the aqueduct.[‖] For an account of the Gr. and Aram. inscriptions see de Vogüé, *Syrie centrale*, pp. 1–8. Cf. also the interesting 'Zolltarif' (A.D. 155) published by Reckendorf in *ZDMG* (1888), p. 370 ff. (text and com.); text in Lidzbarski.

E. HULL.

---

[*] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, i. 396.

[†] Peter Patricius, p. 25, quoted by Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, i. 352.

[*] *Hist. August. Scrip.* p. 180.

[†] *Decline and Fall*, i. 391.

[‡] *Ib.* i. 398.

[§] *Decline and Fall*, i. 400; the history of Zenobia and Palmyra is taken principally from the writings of Pollio; Vopsicus in *Hist. August.* i.; a modern romance, *Zenobia, or the Fall of Palmyra*, by Rev. W. Ware (1844), will repay perusal. See also Wright, *Palmyra and Zenobia*, 1895.

[‖] An excellent plan of Palmyra, taken from R. Wood's *Ruines de Palmyre*, will be found in Baedeker's *Palestine and Syria*; and in Murray's *Syria and Palestine*, one of less merit.

TAHAN (תַּחַן).—The eponymous head of an Ephraimite clan, Nu $26^{35\,(39)}$ (Τάναχ), 1 Ch 7^{25} (BA Θάεν, Luc. Θάαν). The gentilic name **Tahanites** (תַּחֲנִי, ὁ Ταναχ(ε)ί) occurs in Nu $26^{35\,(39)}$.

TAHASH (תַּחַשׁ, Τόχος).—A son of Naḥor by his concubine Reumah, Gn 22^{24} [J]. The name means 'porpoise,' and this animal was probably the totem of the (unidentified) tribe that bore it.

TAHATH (תַּחַת).—**1.** A Kohathite Levite, 1 Ch $6^{24\,(\text{Heb. }9)}$ (B om., $A^{a?}$ sup ras Θάαθ) $^{37\,(\text{Heb. }22)}$ (BA Θάαθ). **2. 3.** The eponym of two (unless the name has been accidentally repeated) Ephraimite families, 1 Ch 7^{20} (A [only first time] Θάαθ, B om. both times).

TAHATH (תַּחַת; BA Luc. Κατάαθ, F Κατθάαθ).—One of the twelve stations in the journeyings of the children of Israel which are mentioned only in Nu 33. It comes between Maḳheloth and Teraḥ (v.$^{26f.}$), and, like them, has not been identified.

TAHCHEMONITE, AV Tachmonite.—See HACHMONI.

TAHPANHES, TEHAPHNEHES (תַּחְפַּנְחֵס Jer $43^{7ff.}$ 44^{1} 46^{14}, תְּחַפְנְחֵס Ezk 30^{18}, תחפנס [text. error] in *Kĕthîbh* of Jer 2^{16}, Ταφνάς, Ταφναί).—A city on the E. frontier of Lower Egypt. There is no doubt that it is the same place that was known to classical writers as Daphnæ. The etym. of the name is unknown, and no hieroglyphic equivalent has yet been found. It seems likely, however, that this frontier city was named 'the beginning of the . . . (?)' *Ta-ḥat-p* . . . (?). The modern name, *Tell Defneh* (often mis-spelled *Defeneh* or *Defenneh* on maps) is very close to the Greek. The site is now a desolate mound on the edge of the desert, and but little removed from the brackish swamp of Lake Menzaleh. Formerly this district was to a great extent cultivated, being irrigated and drained by the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, now silted up. Pelusium, situate at the mouth of the Nile and surrounded by swamps, was nearly 20 miles away. Flinders Petrie excavated the site for the Egyp. Expl. Fund, and has demonstrated much of its history. One mound is apparently Ptolemaic and Roman, showing where the Daphno of the Rom. itineraries had been. Another mound, still apparently bearing a name connecting it with the Jews, contained remains of a palace or citadel destroyed by fire, which stood in the midst of a great camp. In the camp and fortress were found amongst other things thousands of arrowheads, of small weights, and many fragments of fine Gr. and Egyp. pottery; while in the foundations of the central building were plaques inscribed with the name of the builder, Psammetichus I. This king, the founder of the Saite dynasty (B.C. 664) is recorded by Herodotus (ii. 30) to have established a garrison at Daphnæ as one of three chief frontier posts, and the Greek objects found there show that Herodotus was referring to the same place when he mentions (ii. 154) that Psammetichus established a camp of Ionians in this region. The number and variety of the weights afford some indication of the amount of trade and money-changing that must have gone on here. It is very unfortunate that no inscriptions of importance could be found; a great tablet of hard quartzite was indeed discovered, but, as it had been exposed for centuries to mutilation, few signs were left upon it. They are apparently the remains of a historical inscription of Psammetichus I. There was little indication of Daphnæ having existed before Psammetichus, but for two centuries from that time it was a frontier post of the highest importance, and a name particularly well known to nations living on the E. of Egypt. A colony of fugitive Jews under Johanan established themselves there after the murder of Gedaliah, Jer $43^{7ff.}$ 44^{1}. The fulfilment of Jeremiah's prophecy, made on this spot, that Nebuch. would invade and take Egypt ($43^{8\text{-}13}$), has not yet been ascertained from the monuments, but the excavations gave evidence of violent destruction and conflagration. Herodotus (ii. 30) says that in his time the Persians kept up the garrison there. The place is mentioned Jth 1^{9}.

Hanes, in Is 30^{4}, can hardly be Daphnæ, for the latter did not rise to importance till a later date.

F. LL. GRIFFITH.

TAHPENES (תַּחְפְּנֵיס; B Θεκεμείνα, A Θεκεμίνα, Luc. Θεχεμείνα).—The name of the queen of 'Pharaoh king of Egypt,' who gave his sister in marriage to Hadad the Edomite before the death of David (1 K 11^{19}). Winckler (*AT Untersuch.* 1–6), and still more Cheyne (*Encyc. Bibl. s.v.* 'Hadad'), consider the passage as full of corruptions, the chief point being that Miẓraim (Egypt) should be corrected back to Muṣri (in North Arabia). If we accept the text as it stands, Hadad's marriage was not so grand as to be improbable. David was contemporary with the weak 21st dynasty, which appears to have had no influence abroad; nor is it probable that the 21st dynasty kings reigning at Tanis had any considerable authority even over the high priests at Thebes. The name 'Tahpenes' has an Egyptian appearance, but has not hitherto been found on the monuments.

F. LL. GRIFFITH.

TAHREA (תַּחְרֵעַ).—A grandson of Mephibosheth, 1 Ch 9^{41} (B Θαράχ, A Θαρά, Luc. Θαράα). The name appears (prob. by a copyist's error) in 8^{35} as **Tarea** (תַּאֲרֵעַ; B Θερέε, A Θαρέε, Luc. Θαράα).

TAHTIM HODSHI, THE LAND OF (אֶרֶץ תַּחְתִּים חָדְשִׁי; B εἰς τὴν Θαβασὼν ἥ ἐστιν Ναδασαί, A εἰς γῆν Ἐθαὼν Ἀδασαί; *terra inferiora Hodsi*).—A place east of Jordan, which Joab and his officers visited when making the census for David (2 S 24^{6}). It is mentioned between Gilead and Dan-jaan. The MT, however, is certainly corrupt. In all probability we should read הַחִתִּים קָדֵשָׁה 'to the land of *the Hittites, towards Ḳadesh* [*sc.* Ḳ. on the Orontes].' The emendation הַחִתִּים is due to Hitzig (*GVI* p. 29), קָדֵשָׁה to Thenius (who suggested קִדְשִׁי or קָדֵשָׁה). Both emendations, which are strikingly confirmed by Luc. εἰς γῆν Χεττιείμ Καδής, are accepted by Wellh., Driver, Budde, *et al.* Another emendation of חדשי is that of Ewald (*Hist.* iii. 162), who would read חרמן (Ḥermon). This is supported by Buhl (*GAP* 69), and somewhat favoured by Löhr and H. P. Smith (*Sam. ad loc.*), mainly on the ground that Ḳadesh on the Orontes is too far north to suit the requirements of the passage.

C. W. WILSON.

TAKE.—The verb 'to take' is one of a short list of English words which Earle 'can offer with most confidence as words which have come in through Danish agency' (*Philology*, § 59). It is at any rate a Scand. word; and from the meaning of the Gothic *tekan* and its relation to Lat. *tangere* it is probable that its earliest meaning is to 'touch with the hand,' as in Morris' *Old Eng. Misc.* p. 31, 'Ure lord . . . spredde his hond, and tok his lepre; . . . and al so rathe he was i-warisd of his maladie.' From this would easily flow 'lay hold of,' 'seize,' 'receive,' and the like. The examples that deserve attention in AV may be grouped as follows:—

1. *To seize one's person*: Sir 23^{21} 'This man shall be punished in the streets of the city, and where he suspecteth not he shall be taken (πιασθήσεται)'; Jn 7^{30} 'Then they sought to take him (πιάσαι), but no man laid hands on him.' Cf. Mt 4^{12} Tind.

'When Jesus had hearde that Jhon was taken, he departed into Galile.'

2. *To come upon one unexpectedly:* 2 Mac 5^{25} 'Taking the Jews keeping holiday, he commanded his men to arm themselves'; 1 Co 3^{19} 'He taketh the wise in their own craftiness.' Cf. Earle, *Microcos.* 'A Constable'—'Hee is a very carefull man in his Office, but if hee stay up after Midnight you shall take him napping'; Shaks. *As You Like It*, IV. i. 175, 'You shall never take her without her answer, unless you take her without her tongue.' So to be taken (*i.e.* 'overtaken') with *night*, Sir 36^{26}; with *evil*, Gn 19^{19}; *disease*, 2 Mac 9^{21}, Mt 4^{24}; *fever*, Lk 4^{38}; *palsy*, 1 Mac 9^{55}; *pangs*, Mic 4^{9}; *one's iniquities*, Pr 5^{22}; *a demoniacal seizure*, Mk 9^{18}; *fear*, Lk 8^{37}. Cf. Lk 7^{16} Rhem. 'And feare tooke them al, and they magnified God'; Rutherford, *Letters*, 61, 'Take you no fear.'

3. 'Take' was formerly used of the fascination of some good or bad influence, which was often supposed to be due to supernatural powers. Thus Palsgrave, '*Taken*, as chyldernes lymmes be by the fayries, *faée*'; Cotgrave, '*fée*, taken, bewitched'; Markham, *Treatise on Horses*, 'A horse that is bereft of his feeling, mooving, or styrring, is said to be *taken* . . . some farriers conster the word *taken* to be striken by some planet or evil spirit.' So Pr 6^{25} 'Lust not after her beauty in thine heart; neither let her take thee with her eyelids' (וְאַל־תִּקָּחֲךָ, LXX *μηδὲ συναρπασθῇς*); so 6^{2}; Sir 9^{4} 'Use not much the company of a woman that is a singer, lest thou be taken with her attempts' (*μήποτε ἁλῷς*; RV 'Lest haply thou be caught'), 23^{7}. Cf. Bunyan, *Holy War*, 17, 'They were taken with the forbidden fruit'; Adams, *II Peter* 46, 'It is said that Judith's pantofles ravished Holofernes' eyes; her sandals took him.'

4. The following phrases demand attention: (1) *Take care*, in the sense of 'be anxious' (see CARE), To 5^{20} 'Take no care, my sister, he shall return in safety' (*μὴ λόγον ἔχε*); 1 Co 9^{9} 'Doth God take care for oxen?' (*μὴ τῶν βοῶν μέλει τῷ θεῷ*; RV 'Is it for the oxen that God careth?' Tind. 'Doth God take thought for oxen?'—See THOUGHT. (2) *Take indignation*, Bel^{28} 'They took great indignation' (*ἠγανάκτησαν λίαν*); 2 Mac 4^{35} (*ἐδείναζον*). The usual phrase is 'to have indignation,' as Mal 1^{4}, Mt 26^{8}. (3) *Take heart*, Bar 4^{30} 'Take a good heart, O Jerusalem' (*θάρσει*). (4) *Take one's journey*, Dt 2^{4}. Cf. Ex 40^{36} Tind. 'When the clowde was taken up from of the habitacyon, the children of Israel toke their iornayes as oft as they iornayed.' (5) *Take order*, see ORDER. Cf. Ac 8^{2} Rheims, 'Devout men tooke order for Stephens funeral.' (6) *Take a taste of*, 2 Mac 13^{18} 'When the king had taken a taste of the manliness of the Jews' (*εἰληφὼς γεῦσιν*). (7) *Take thought*, see THOUGHT. (8) *Take in vain*, see VAIN, and cf. Erasmus, *Crede*, 153, 'This thynge is to be noted and marked that he dyd not saye, thou shalte not name god, but he sayde, thou shalte not take the name of god. For that thynge is taken which is applyed and put to some use, and that thynge is taken in vayne and indiscreetly which is taken to a prophane and a vyle use, as when a man swereth by god in a matter of smal wayghte or valoure.'

Notice, finally, some antiquated uses of the phrase *to take up*: (1) *To lift*, Is 40^{15} 'He taketh up the isles as a very little thing'; cf. Ac 7^{43} 'Ye took up the tabernacle of Molech' (*i.e.* to carry it about with you); 21^{15} 'We took up our carriages' (*ἀποσκευασάμενοι*, edd. *ἐπισκ.*, RVm 'made ready'). (2) *To translate to heaven*, 2 K 2^{1} 'When the Lord would take up Elijah into heaven by a whirlwind,' 2^{15}, Ac 1^{2} 'Until the day in which he was taken up,' 1$^{9. 11. 22}$. (3) *To utter*, used of a *parable*, as Nu 23^{7} 'He took up his parable, and said,' so 24$^{3. 15. 20. 21. 23}$, Mic 2^{4}, Hab 2^{6}; also of a *proverb*, Is 14^{4}; a *word*, Am 5^{1}; a *reproach*, Ps 15^{3}; a *lamentation*, Jer 7^{29}, Ezk 19^{1}; a *weeping*, Jer 9^{10}; and a *wailing*, Jer 9^{18}. Cf. Ps 16^{4} 'Nor take up their names into my lips'; Ezk 36^{3} 'Ye are taken up in the lips of talkers.' (4) In Neh 5^{2} the meaning is *to obtain on credit.* 'We take up our corn for them, that we may eat and live' (RV 'let us get corn'; see Ryle's note). Cf. Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour*, i. 1, 'I will take up, and bring myself in credit, sure.' J. HASTINGS.

TALE.—The Anglo-Sax. *talu* meant a 'number' (cf. Germ. *Zahl*) as well as a 'narrative,' and the verb *tellan* meant to 'count' as well as to 'narrate.' In all the examples but one of 'tale' in AV (apart from the Apocr.) it means 'number' or 'sum.' Thus Ex 5^{8} 'And the tale of the bricks which they did make heretofore, ye shall lay upon them'; so 5^{18}, 1 S 18^{27}, 1 Ch 9^{28}. In Nu 1^{36} Tindale speaks of Benjamin being numbered 'by the tale of names,' but in 1^{30} Zebulun is counted 'after the numbre of names,' and in 1^{38} Dan is numbered 'in the summe of names.'

In like manner 'tell' occurs frequently in the sense of 'count,' as Gn 15^{5} 'Tell the stars, if thou be able to number them'; 2 Ch 2^{2} 'Solomon told out threescore and ten thousand men to bear burdens'; Sir 18^{5} 'Who shall number the strength of his majesty, and who shall tell out all his mercies?' Cf. 1 S 14^{17} Cov. 'Saul sayde unto the people that was with him, Tell and se which of us is gone awaye. And whan they nombred, beholde, Jonathas and his wapen bearer was not there'; Is 10^{19} Cov. 'The trees also of his felde shalbe of soch a nombre, that a childe maye tell them'; Nu 1^{27} Cov. 'All that were able to warre, were tolde in the trybe of Juda'; cf. also Jer 33^{13}, 1 K 8^{5}, 2 K 12^{10}, Ps 22^{17} 48^{12} 56^{8} 147^{4} (in several of which 'tell' might be misunderstood as ='mention'), and Milton, *L'Allegro*, 67—

> 'And every shepherd tells his tale
> Under the hawthorn in the dale.'

In 1 S 27^{11} occurs the expression 'tell on,' used, as it is still vulgarly, in the sense of 'inform against.' J. HASTINGS.

TALENT.—See artt. MONEY and WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

TALITHA CUMI.—The command addressed by our Lord to the daughter of Jairus (Mk 5^{41}), and interpreted by the Evangelist, 'Maiden, I say unto thee, arise.' The Aram. words טְלִיתָא קוּם (so Dalman, *Gram. d. Jüd.-Pal. Aramäisch*, p. 118, n. 6; p. 266, n. 1) have been variously transliterated in Greek MSS of NT. Tisch., with ℵACLNΠ, reads *ταλιθά*; WH, with B, *ταλειθά* (see on the spelling Westcott-Hort, *NT.* ii. Append. p. 155, and Winer-Schmiedel, *Gram.* pp. 43, 44). D has the extraordinary variant *ταβιτά* (found in different forms in Old Latin texts, *e.g.* the curious reading of *e*, *tabea acultha*; cf. Chase, *Syro-Latin Text*, p. 109 ff.). *κοῦμ* (rather than *κοῦμι*) has the best attestation. This is borne out by the occurrence of the same imperative קוּם in the Talmud, used in *Shabb.* 110*b* 'seven times in one page,' where a woman is addressed (so Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus*, i. p. 631). *ταλιθά* is probably the Aramaic fem. of טְלִי, found in Hebrew only in plur. טְלָאִים. The relating of the actual (Aramaic) words used by Jesus is characteristic of St. Mark's graphic narrative; cf. 7$^{11. 34}$ 14^{36} 15^{34}. It is needless to speak of 'mysterious Aramaic words' as Keim does (*Jesus of Nazara*, iv. p. 170) on the assumption that the Gospels clothe our Lord's words of command given in miraculous healings 'in Aramaic . . . as if they were magical formulæ' (iii. p. 183). The Evangelist simply reports the very sounds which fell from Jesus' lips upon the ears of the chosen disciples on a specially solemn and memorable occasion.

H. A. A. KENNEDY.

TALMAI (תַּלְמַי).—**1.** A clan, possibly of Aramaic origin, resident in Hebron at the time of the Hebrew conquest and driven thence by Caleb (Nu 13^{22} [BA Θελαμειν, Luc. Θαλαμειν], Jos 15^{14} [B Θοαλμεί, A and Luc. Θαλμαί], Jg 1^{10} [B Θολμειν, A Θαμεί, Luc. Θολμεί]). See, further, art. AHIMAN, No. **1**. **2**. Son of Ammihur (or Ammihud), king of Geshur, and a contemporary of David to whom he gave his daughter Maacah in marriage. He was still living many years after Maacah's marriage, for her son Absalom, when he fled from David after the death of Amnon, found refuge with Talmai at Geshur (2 S 3^{3} [B Θομμεί, A Θολμεί, Luc. Θολμί] 13^{37} [B Θολμαιλήμ, A Θολομαί, Luc. Θολμί], 1 Ch 3^{2} [B Θοαμαί, A Θολμεί, Luc. Θολομί]).

G. B. GRAY.

TALMON (טַלְמֹן, in Neh 12^{25} טַלְמוֹן).—The name of a family of temple gatekeepers, 1 Ch 9^{17}, Ezr 2^{42}, Neh 7^{45} 11^{19} 12^{25} (B Ταμμάμ, Τελμών, Τελαμών, Τελαμειν; A Τελμάν, Τελμών, Τολμών; Luc. Σελμών, except in 1 Ch 9^{17} Τελμών). See, also, TELEM.

TAMAR (תָּמָר 'palm-tree').—**1.** (Θαμάρ) A Canaanite woman, married to ER and then to his brother ONAN. When Judah, deterred by the death, successively, of two sons, hesitated to give his surviving son, Shelah, to perform the duty of *levir* (see MARRIAGE, vol. iii. p. 269^{a}), Tamar, who had assumed the disguise of a *ḳĕdēshāh* in order to effect her purpose, became by her father-in-law himself the mother of twin sons, PEREZ and ZERAH (Gn 38 [J], Ru 4^{12}, 1 Ch 2^{4}, Mt 1^{3}). **2.** (Θημάρ, Θαμάρ) The beautiful sister of Absalom, who was violated and brutally insulted by her half-brother, Amnon, 2 S 13^{1}. This conduct led to the murder of the latter by Absalom, v.$^{23ff.}$ The significance of v.^{13} ('speak unto the king, for he will not withhold me from thee') is noticed in art. MARRIAGE, vol. iii. p. 267^{b}. **3.** A daughter of Absalom (2 S 14^{27} B Θημάρ, A Θαμάρ). The LXX adds that she became the wife of Rehoboam. She would thus be identical with MAACAH of 1 K 15^{2}, 2 Ch $11^{20ff.}$. Indeed Lucian reads Μααχά even in 2 S 14^{27}. This question, however, of the identity of Rehoboam's wife is involved in considerable obscurity. See the *Comm. ad loc.*

J. A. SELBIE.

TAMAR (תָּמָר 'palm-tree'; Θαιμάν; *Thamar*).—**1.** In the vision of Ezekiel, the eastern boundary of the land which the twelve tribes were to inherit was to terminate at the East, or Dead Sea; and the S. boundary was to be 'from Tamar as far as the waters of Meriboth-kadesh to the wādy of Egypt' (Ezk 47^{19}; read also תָּמָרָה 'unto Tamar,' for תָּמֹדּוּ 'ye shall measure' in v.^{18}). The land was to be divided into parallel strips extending from E. to W., and the southern strip was to be assigned to Gad, whose S. boundary was to be that of the twelve tribes (Ezk 48^{28}). A comparison of the boundaries in Ezk 47 with those given in Nu 34, shows that the same limits are intended, and Tamar must therefore be looked for in the vicinity of the ascent of Akrabbim to the S. of the Dead Sea (cf. the boundary of Judah in Jos 15^{1-4}). Tamar cannot be 'Hazazon-tamar which is Engedi' (2 Ch 20^{2}), for this place is near the middle of the W. shore of the Dead Sea, and is mentioned under its later name by Ezekiel (47^{10}). It may possibly be the *Asasan Thamar* of Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.* 85. 3, 210. 86), which they identified with *Thamara*, a village with a fort and Roman garrison, which was a day's journey from Hebron on the road to Elath. This place appears as Thamaro in the Peutinger Tables, on the road from Hebron to Petra; and as a place in Judæa in Ptolemy (V. xvi. 8). But it has not yet been identified.

2. In 1 K 9^{18} the RV, following the *Kĕthîbh*, reads *Tamar* (B om., A Θερμάθ) as the name of one of the places which Solomon built, whilst AV, following the *Ḳĕrê*, reads *Tadmor* (cf. 2 Ch 8^{4}). All the other places mentioned in this passage, Gezer, Beth-horon, and Baalath, are in Southern Palestine, and the expression 'Tamar in the wilderness, in the land,' seems to imply that, like Baalath, it was either in the Negeb, or in the wilderness of Judah. It is probably the same place as No. **1** above. 'Tadmor' of the *Ḳĕrê* prob. came from 2 Ch 8^{4}, and its place there may have been due to a characteristic desire on the part of the Chronicler to bring Solomon into connexion with the historic Palmyra (see Thenius or Kittel, *ad loc.*).

C. W. WILSON.

TAMARISK (אֵשֶׁל, ἄρουρα).—This name occurs 3 times in OT (RV only; see GROVE, No. 2). Abraham planted a tamarisk tree in Beersheba, Gn 21^{33} (J); Saul sat under the tamarisk בָּרָמָה 1 S 22^{6}; Saul and his sons were buried under the tamarisk in Jabesh, 1 S 31^{13}. There are 8 or perhaps 9 species of tamarisk in Palestine and Syria. Of these the most abundant are *Tamarix Syriaca*, Boiss., *T. tetrandra*, Pall., *T. tetragyna*, Ehr., and *T. Pallasii*, Desv., all of which are found along the coast. There are also *T. Jordanis*, Boiss., *T. mannifera*, Ehr., *T. articulata*, Vahl, and *T. macrocarpa*, Bunge, desert species. They are shrubs or small trees, with a flattened hemispherical comus, and brittle branches and twigs, with minute scale-like leaves, white or pinkish, perfect or diœcious flowers, in dense spike-like racemes. Most of them thrive, especially in sandy soil, or exposures where they receive the sea air laden with salt. They sometimes attain a height of 30 ft., and would easily, in that case, serve as landmarks (1 S 22^{6}). The tamarisk in Jabesh may have marked a shrine.

G. E. POST.

TAMMUZ (תַּמּוּז, Θαμμούζ, *Adonis*).—In the 6th year of Jehoiachin's captivity, and the 5th day of the 6th month, Ezekiel saw women in the north gate of the temple 'weeping for Tammuz' (Ezk 8^{14}). Tammuz was a Bab. deity whose worship had been imported into the west at an early period. The name was originally the Sumerian *Dumu-zi*, 'the son of life,' which became in Semitic Babylonian *Duwu-zu* and *Dûzu*, though in Babylonian contract-tablets of the age of Abraham we also find *Tamuzu* (see *Rec. de trav. relat. à la phil. et arch. égyp. et assyr.* t. xvii. p. 39 note). The form Tâ'ûz given by en-Nedîm, an Arab writer of the 10th century, contains a reminiscence of the abbreviated form, like the Thoas and Theias of Greek mythology.

Tammuz was originally the Sun-god, the son of Ea and the goddess Sirdu, and the bridegroom of the goddess Istar. He seems to have been primarily a god of Eridu, the culture-city of Babylonia on the Persian Gulf. His home was under the shade of the tree of life or world-tree, which grew in the midst of the garden of Eridu, and on either side of which flowed the rivers Tigris and Euphrates. The legendary poems of Babylonia described him as a shepherd, cut off in the beauty of youth, or slain by the boar's tusk of winter (see Macrob. *Saturn.* i. 21), for whom the goddess Istar mourned long and vainly. She even descended into Hades (see BABYLONIA, vol. i. p. 221^{b}) in the hope of restoring him to life, and the hymn which described her descent through the seven gates of the infernal world was recited at the annual commemoration of the death of the god by 'the wailing men and wailing women.' This took place in Babylonia on the 2nd day of the 4th month, which bore, accordingly, the name of Tammuz (our June), the day being called a day of 'weeping.' Istar was believed to have mourned her lover with the words, 'O my brother, the only (son)!' and to these the mourners further added, 'Ah me, ah me!' This mourning for the 'only son' is referred to in Am 8^{10} (cf. Zec 12^{11}), and the words of the refrain are given in Jer 22^{18}. Under the form of *αἴλινον* (*ai-lênû*, 'woe to us') they were carried from Phoenicia to Greece, and gave rise to the belief in the mythical Linos.

In Canaan Tammuz was addressed as Adonai, 'my lord,' the Greek Adonis, and the story of Adonis and Aphroditê, the Ashtoreth or Istar of the Semites, made its way to Cyprus, and from thence to Greece. But Tammuz had long since changed his character. He had ceased to be the young and beautiful Sun-god, and had become the representative of the vegetation of spring, growing by the side of the canals of Babylonia, but parched and destroyed by the fierce heats of the summer. Hence in Babylonia his funeral festival came to be observed in the month of June, and in Palestine two months later.

Gebal was the chief seat of the Phœn. observance of the festival. In the red marl brought down in the spring-time by the river Adonis (now *Nahr Ibrahîm*), the women of Gebal saw the blood of the slaughtered god. 'Gardens of Adonis' were planted, pots filled with earth and cut herbs, which soon withered away, and in which a wooden figure of the god had been placed. The wailing women tore their hair and lacerated their breasts during the seven days that the period of lamentation lasted. In the time of the 26th Egyp. dynasty, Adonis of Gebal was identified with Osiris, and the festival of his resurrection was accordingly commemorated as well as that of his death. The announcement of it was made by a head of papyrus which came over the waves from Egypt, while the Alexandrians declared that it was at Gebal that Isis had found the dismembered limbs of Osiris (see Lucian, *de Dea Syr.* 7). How the funeral festival was celebrated in the temple of Aphroditê (Ashtoreth) on the Lebanon is described by Lucian (*de Dea Syr.* 6). In an ancient Bab. hymn Tammuz is called 'the lord of Hades.'

In the *Nabatæan Agriculture* of Kuthâmî, a Mendaite writer of Chaldæa in the 5th cent. A.D., we are told of the temple of the Sun at Babylon, in which the images of the gods from all the countries of the world gathered themselves together to weep for Tammuz, and Ibn Wahshiyyah, the translator of the work into Arabic, adds that he had 'lit upon another Nabatæan book, in which the legend of Tammuz was narrated in full; how he summoned a king to worship the 7 (planets) and the 12 (signs of the Zodiac), and how the king put him to death, and how he still lived after being killed, so that he had to put him to death several times in a cruel manner, Tammuz coming to life again each time, until at last he died.' Abû Sayyid Wahb ibn Ibrahim (quoted by en-Nedîm) states that the festival of weeping women in honour of 'Ta'uz' was on the 15th of Tammuz, and that Ta'uz had been put to death by having his bones ground in a mill. The Græco-Phœnician version of the legend is given by Melito in his *Apology* (Cureton's *Spicileg. Syriacum*, p. 25 of Syr. text): 'The sons of Phœnicia worshipped Balthi (Beltis), the queen of Cyprus. For she loved Tamuzo, the son of Kuthar, the king of the Phœnicians, and she forsook her kingdom and came to dwell in Gebal, a fortress of the Phœnicians. And at that time she made all the villages subject to Kuthar the king. For before Tamuzo she had loved Ares, and committed adultery with him, and Hephæstos her husband caught her, and was jealous of her. And Ares came and slew Tamuzo on Lebanon while he was hunting the wild boars. And from that time Balthi remained in Gebal, and died in the city of Aphaka where Tamuzo was buried.'

LITERATURE.—Sayce, *Rel. of the Ancient Babylonians*, ch. iv.; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, i. 278 [^{2} ii. 115 ff., 253 f.]; W. R. Smith, *RS* (Index *s.* 'Adonis'); Jensen, *Kosmol. der Bab.*, *passim*; Movers, *Phön.* i. 191, 202 ff.; Jastrow, *Rel. of Bab. and Assyr.*, 1898, pp. 482, 564, 574, etc.; Toy in *PB*, 'Ezekiel,' *ad loc.*; and the Comm. on *Ezekiel*, esp. those of A. B. Davidson, Bertholet, and Krætzschmar; also Cheyne on Is 17^{10} and Driver on Dn 11^{37} (where Tammuz is very prob. alluded to).

A. H. SAYCE.

TANHUMETH (תַּנְחֻמֶת).—The father (?) of Seraiah, one of the Heb. captains who joined Gedaliah at Mizpah. He is called in 2 K 25^{23} the NETOPHATHITE, but in Jer 40 [Gr. 47]^8 the words 'and the sons of EPHAI' come between 'Tanhumeth' and 'the Netophathite' both in MT and LXX. The form of the name *Tanḥumeth* (LXX in 2 K 25^{23} B *Θανέμαθ*, A *Θανέμαν*, Luc. *Θανεέμαθ*; in Jer 47^8 B *Θανέμαιθ*, A *Θαναέμεθ*) looks like a feminine (cf. Lagarde, *Bild. d. Nom.* 126 f.).

TANIS (Τάνις), Jth 1^{10}.—See ZOAN.

TANNER (*βυρσεύς*) occurs only in Ac 9^{43} $10^{6.32}$ of the Simon at whose house St. Peter lodged in Joppa; but tanning was a trade that the Jews carried on in OT times (Ex 25^5, Lv 13^{48}). It was, however, regarded with aversion (see the citations from Talm. in Farrar, *St. Paul*, i. 264 n.), as it necessitated more or less of ceremonial uncleanness, especially if the skins of unclean animals were dealt with. The fact that St. Peter did not hesitate to lodge in the house of a tanner indicates that he had already become somewhat liberal in his views regarding the ceremonial law. Simon's house was by the seaside, which accords with the custom to-day in towns by the sea. In ancient times tanneries were usually without the walls of towns, because of the unclean character of the trade, and the disagreeable odours caused by the work.

The process of preparing skins for use by the Jews may be inferred from what is known of it among the Egyptians and Arabs. The hair of the skins was removed by lime or the acrid juice of the *Periploca secamine*, a desert plant (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyp.* ii. 186, ed. 1878); the skins were first treated with flour and salt for three days, and cleansed from fat and other extraneous matter. The stalks of the above plant were pounded and placed in water, and then applied to the inner surface of the skin. This caused the hair to loosen, after which the skin was left to dry for two or three days, and then subjected to the further processes of tanning. In these they used the pods of the *Sunt* or *Acacia Nilotica*, which is common in the desert, or the bark or leaves of certain species of *Sumac*, *Rhus Coriaria* or *R. oxycanthoides*, the former of which is common throughout the country (see Post's *Flora of Syr. and Pal.*).

Though the trade of the tanner in general was disliked by the Jews, the preparation of skins for parchment was regarded as an honourable calling.

H. PORTER.

TAPHATH (טָפַת; B* Ταβληθεί, A Ταφατά, Luc. Ταβαάθ).—Daughter of Solomon and wife of Benabinadab, 1 K 4^{11}.

TAPPUAH (תַּפֻּחַ; B Θαπούς, A Θαφφού, Luc. *Φεθρούθ*).—A 'son' of Hebron, 1 Ch 2^{43}.

TAPPUAH (תַּפּוּחַ 'apple').—1. (BA om., Luc. *Θαφφουά*) A town in the Shephēlah mentioned between

En-gannim and Enam, and in the same group with Zanoah, Jarmuth, Adullam, and Socoh (Jos 15^{34}). It was probably to the N. of *Wâdy es-Sunṭ*, but the site has not been recovered. Tristram (*Bible Places*, p. 48) proposes *'Artûf*, near Ẓo'rah; G. A. Smith (*HGHL* 202 n.) places it in *Wâdy el-'Afranj*. 2. (B Ταφού, Θαφέθ, A 'Εφφουέ, Θαφθώθ) A town on the border of Ephraim (Jos 16^{8}), which lay within the territory of Ephraim, whilst its lands belonged to Manasseh (Jos 17^{8}). It is mentioned in connexion with the brook Ḳanah (*Wâdy Ḳâna*), and is probably the same place as En-tappuah. Tristram (*Bible Places*, p. 195) suggests *'Atûf*, on the N. side of *Wâdy el-Ferrah*. See EN-TAPPUAH. 3. (B 'Αταφούτ, A Θαφφού) One of the towns W. of Jordan whose kings Joshua smote (Jos 12^{17}). It is mentioned between Bethel and Hepher, and was perhaps the same place as No. 2 above; but this is by no means certain.

C. W. WILSON.

TARALAH (תַּרְאֲלָה; B Θαρεηλά, A Θαραλά; *Tharala*).—A town of Benjamin mentioned between Irpeel and Zelah (Jos 18^{27}). It was unknown to Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.* Θεραμά, *Therama*), and its site has not yet been recovered.

C. W. WILSON.

TAREA.—See TAHREA.

TARES (ζιζάνια).—There are 4 species of tares in the Holy Land: *Lolium perenne*, L., the Ray Grass, *L. multiflorum*, Gaud., *L. rigidum*, Gaud., and *L. temulentum*, L., the Bearded Darnel. The latter is the most common in the grain fields, and, being as tall as the wheat and barley, is doubtless the plant intended in the parable (Mt 13^{24-30}). The other species are lower, and have more slender spikes, and smaller grains. The Gr. and Lat. *zizania* are prob. derived from the Arab. *zû'ân* or *zuwân*, the common name for the tare. The seeds are poisonous to man and the herbivorous animals, producing sleepiness, vertigo, nausea, vomiting, diarrhœa, and convulsions, and sometimes death. They are, however, innocuous to poultry. They are sold in all Oriental grain markets as food for chickens. It is customary to gather out of the grain fields, not only tares, but all the taller plants growing among the grain, which can be easily pulled up without causing the person engaged to bend over in a way to endanger breaking the stalks of grain. This not only cleans the fields of other plants, but furnishes a large amount of forage for cattle. The allusion in the parable is in substantial accord with modern custom in the East, which is to leave the cleaning of the fields until the grain is well advanced towards the harvest, and can be readily distinguished from all other plants. Then the women and children go into the fields and weed them out, so that an Oriental grain farm in harvest-time is a model of cleanness and beauty. The Talmud asserts that tares are degenerate wheat; and Tristram (with Thomson and others) says that the peasants of the Holy Land believe 'that the darnel and the wheat spring from the same seed . . . and that in very wet seasons the wheat itself turns to tares; the fact being that, in such seasons, the wheat perishes, while the rain is favourable to the development of the darnel' (*Nat. Hist.* 487). It is clear, however, that the owner of the field, in the parable, had no such idea, as he attributes the result to the sowing of the seeds of tares by the hand of an enemy. The bearing of this parable upon theories of the Church and of Church government is beyond the scope of the present article, and must be studied in works on the Parables.

G. E. POST.

TARGET.—1. = a mark to aim at; see MARK (vol. iii. p. 244). 2. = a shield; see BUCKLER and SHIELD.

TARGUM (תַּרְגּוּם[*] 'translation,' 'interpretation,' cf. מְתֻרְגָּם Ezr 4^{7}).—The Targums are the translations or paraphrases of the OT books made in the Aram. dialect, which superseded Hebrew as a spoken language among the Jewish population of Palestine and Babylon. The language of the Targums was formerly called *Chaldee*, but, while the incorrectness of this is universally recognized, no quite satisfactory designation has replaced it. The Targums were composed in Palestine; their language is the Aramaic of Judæa, a later representative of the Aramaic already found in Ezra and Daniel.[†] In the features that chiefly distinguish Eastern and Western Aramaic it agrees with the old Pal. forms as against the dialect of the Bab. Talmud. Those Targums that were officially recognized in the Bab. schools probably owe something to the influence of the Aramaic spoken by those who edited and copied them, while the influence of the Hebrew is seen in those translations which exhibit least tendency to free composition and paraphrase.[‡]

Jewish tradition connects the origin of the Targums with the need for an intelligible translation felt by those who no longer spoke or easily understood the Heb. language. The disuse of Heb. as the vernacular of the Jews, before the encroachments of Aramaic on all sides, was a very gradual process, and was probably not general much before the time of Christ. Several books or parts of books in the OT canon stand as proof that Heb. was written and read fully three centuries after the return from Babylon. The bilingual character of the books of Ezra and Daniel (however it is to be explained) presupposes equal familiarity with both languages. Then the Semitic words which occur in the NT are, with few exceptions, Aramaic. Probably the desire to possess explanations of the Heb. text in Aramaic made itself felt in some places earlier than in others. The first translations consisted of the oral explanations given along with the reading of the Sabbath lessons in the synagogue. These were made by a class or guild of interpreters called *mĕthorgĕmānîm* (מתורגמנים), appointed for the purpose, but in no sense was their exposition regarded as official or 'authorized.' How far back the custom extended we cannot be certain. The Mishna (*c.* 200 A.D.) contains some rules made to regulate the practice.[§] Thus the reading of the Law was to proceed verse by verse, first in Heb. by the reader, and then its Aram. equivalent by the *mĕthorgĕmān*. In the reading of the lesson from the Prophets three verses at a time might be read, to be followed by their Aram. rendering. There is no mention here of reading out of written Targums, and elsewhere[||] the use of such writings was forbidden, at least for the Law, in the Sabbath service, but not the preparation and use of them by individuals for private study or school instruction (see, further, art. SYNAGOGUE, p. 641^{b}). There must therefore have been a time when the caprice of the *mĕthorgĕmān* contributed to the form of the translation, and in fact it is known that certain renderings which have found their way into the Targums were not approved.[¶] Nevertheless, the general phraseology of the oral translations would tend to become fixed by the custom of learning them, and by the recurring use of them in public. Thus we find in NT times traces of Aram. renderings of Heb. verses in books like the Psalms.* The agreement of these with readings still found in Targums, which we know were not reduced to their present form till long after, cannot be purely accidental. The tradition of the confiscation of a Targum on Job in the 1st cent. A.D.† shows that written Targums existed then, though the use of them was not countenanced by the authorities and guardians of the sacred text. Of the character of these earliest attempts at translating the Heb. Scriptures into Aramaic we know nothing, as none of them have come down to us. All those in our hands are the products of a much later time, none perhaps older than the 4th or 5th cent. A.D. Like much else in Jewish literature, these late productions were based upon older exegetic material, the origin of which lies far behind our first means of access to it. But it is no longer possible for us to separate the different strata and assign them to different ages of composition. The examinations of them which have been made in this direction do not yield a sufficient number of cases of distinctly older contents to enable us with confidence to assign them to an early date, embedded as they are in documents admittedly late, of which they share the linguistic and other peculiarities.

---

[*] Etymology unknown; probably non-Semitic.

[†] Nöldeke, *GGA*, 1872, p. 828 f.; *Die Semitischen Sprachen*, 1899, p. 35 f.

[‡] Nöldeke, *Lit. Centralbl.* 1877, p. 304 f., 1884, p. 1345 f.; Dalman, *Grammatik*, p. 9, *Die Worte Jesu*, pp. 66, 67.

[§] *Meg.* iv. 4.

[||] Jerus. *Meg.* iv. 1.

[¶] See passages enumerated in Dalman, *Grammatik*, p. 24.

The Targums now known to be extant are as follows:—

i. For the Pent., three Targums: (1) the Targ. of Onḳelos, also called the Bab. Targ. on the Pentateuch; (2) a Targ. of certain parts of the Pent., called the Jerus. Targ. II. or the Fragmentary Targum; (3) a complete Targ. on the Pent. akin to No. (2), called the Targ. of Jonathan [pseudo-Jonathan], or Jerus. Targ. I.

ii. On the Prophets, Earlier and Later: the Targ. of Jonathan bar Uzziel, also called the Bab. Targ. on the Prophets.

iii. On the Hagiographa we have Targums for (1) Psalms, Proverbs, Job; (2) the Megilloth (Cant., Ruth, Lam., Eccles., Est.); (3) Chronicles.

No Targums have been found for Ezra, Nehemiah, Daniel.

In harmony with their character as popular translations of religious books, intended in part to meet the wants of the religious community, the Targums are not always or primarily literal translations. The translations are often mixed up with curious paraphrases and stories such as we meet with in the other Jewish exegetical or homiletic works (*midrāshîm*). They contain, besides, expansions or alterations adapted to secure that the sense of Scripture current among the authorities should find access in an intelligible form to the minds of the people. The theology of the early books of Israel's history and religion took no pains to obviate the appearance of a very distinct anthropomorphic character, but the time came when the main feature of Jewish criticism and exegesis was the anxiety to remove or soften down all references to God that could thus give rise to misunderstanding in the popular mind. The history of the Heb. text itself bears witness to this scrupulous feeling for the Divine majesty: cf. the *tiḳḳūnê Ṣōphĕrîm*; the use of נאץ = ברך or קלל when used directly before the name of God; punctuation like לֵרָאוֹת Is 1^{12}, etc.; and the LXX has sometimes been influenced by the same solicitude (cf. Ex 24^{10}). But the clearest expression of this hermeneutic principle is to be found in the Targums, and every page of them illustrates the practice. In fact the basis for anthropomorphic views of God is taken away by the Jewish notion that man was created, not in the image of God but in the image of the angels (cf. Gn 1^{26} Jerus. Targ.). It will be sufficient here to enumerate the more usual ways by which everything was avoided that could lead to erroneous or undignified conceptions of God in His own nature or in His manner of revealing Himself.

When God is spoken of as coming into relation with man, walking, speaking, swearing, repenting, etc., some periphrasis for the Divine name is used, by which literary device it was felt that God was somewhat removed or raised above the plane of human affairs, and that His action, therefore, was less direct and more fittingly mediated. There is some evidence that דבורא דיהוה, 'word of Jahweh,' found only in the so-called Jerus. Targg. (cf. Lv 1^{1}), was poetically and fantastically personified, and so treated as a mediating factor between God and the world.* In much the same way the מימרא דיי, as God's messenger in nature and in history, unfailingly operative wherever He sends it, is the most usual expression for bridging over the chasm between God and man. But it is so identified with Jehovah Himself as creator, judge, helper, deliverer of His people, that, from the mediating use of it, it has become but another name for Him (*e.g.* Gn 18^{1} 35^{9}, Ex 3^{12} 6^{8} 12^{42}, Am 8^{8}, Is 42^{1}, Ps 2$^{4.12}$, Job 1^{21}). How completely מימרא has lost all reference to its own meaning is seen esp. from such a phrase as מיד מימרא דיהוה, Jos 22^{31}.†

God has His dwelling-place in the central division of the highest heavens, and the throne of His glory is there. This glory, resting upon the throne, is conceived of as light, and manifestations of God become manifestations of His glory, veiled doubtless in a cloud so as not to cause blindness (cf. Gn 27^{1} Targ. Jerus.). This 'glory of God' (יקרא דיי) and 'the presence of the glory of God' (שכינת יקרא דיי) are further expressions which may be used for God Himself active in the world: Gn 28^{13}, Ex 3^{1} 20^{20} 34^{5} (pseudo-Jon.), 1 K 22^{19}, Is 64^{3}, Ps 9^{12} 17^{8}; similarly זיו אפך Ps 13^{2}, cf. Ex 33^{11} (pseudo-Jon.); זיו שכינתא דיי Ps 42^{3}. This instance is indicative of the tendency in later times to use a double expression for the earlier simple one, *e.g.* שום מימרא דיי Gn 16^{13} 21^{33} (Frag.), יקר שכינתא דיי Gn 22^{14} 49^{27} (Frag.), Job 14^{18}.‡

As God is and remains infinitely exalted above and distant from men, His actions and theirs become, equally, events that happen in His presence as a spectator. Hence the preposition קדם is in almost exclusive use before the Divine name throughout the Targums. As a variant for it we sometimes find לשמא esp. in the Jerus. Targums (cf. Ex 22^{19}, Lv 23^{12}); or such words as פולחנא, רחלתא are used before the Divine name (Nu 14^{43}, Dt 4^{4}). Of course, unlike מימרא, יקרא, שכינא, these cannot be subjects of verbs.

Another way of removing the Divine name from too immediate a relation to man was found in putting a verb to which the name was subject in the passive voice: Gn 44^{16}, Ex 19^{19}, Nu 9^{8}. In this way ירע, ראה become גלי קדם; שמע = שמיע קדם; ירד, בוא, עבר = אתגלי.

In passages where eyes, arms, hands, fingers, face, mouth, wings, etc., are attributed to God, some other expression (as 'word,' 'might,' 'shekinah') is often (not always) employed: Gn 8^{21}, Ex 7^{4} 8^{15} 15^{16}, Jos 4^{24} 9^{14}, Ps 36^{8}. Expressions in the gen. case before the name of God are paraphrased: Gn 28^{17} 31^{13}, Ex 4^{20}.

The sense of a passage is even altered from motives of reverence or to avoid anthropomorphisms: Gn 4^{14} 20^{13}, Ex 33^{3}, Is 1^{18} 10^{6}, Ps 2^{7}. Interrog. sentences are rendered by the words that expressed the translator's sense of what the answer intended would be: Gn 18^{25}, Dt 32^{4}.

When one and the same expression has for object both God and men, the difference to the translator's mind is obtained by using a different preposition: Gn 32^{29} 50^{20}, Ex 14^{31}, Nu 21^{5}. The word אלהים, when used of heathen deities, is usually rendered טעוא: Jos 23$^{7.16}$, Jg 2^{12}. When applied to men it is rendered רב (Ex 4^{16} 7^{1}), דיניא (Ex 21^{6}, in Ps 82^{1} דינין); cf., further, Gn 3^{5} כאלהים = כרברבין, Ps 8^{6} מאלהים = ממלאכיא.

i. TARGUMS ON THE PENTATEUCH.—1. **Onḳelos.**—The official Targ. on the Pent. has been handed down under the name of the Targ. of Onḳelos. According to the Bab. Talmud, Onḳelos was a proselyte who lived in the 1st cent. A.D., but only once is any mention made of him as the writer of a Targum;§ and here the corresponding passage in the Jerus. Talmud,‖ which makes no mention of a Targ. of Onḳelos, makes it clear that a confusion with the Gr. translator Aquila is the origin of the tradition which connects Onḳelos with the Targ. called by his name. The author of the Targ. is quite unknown; and it is not at all certain that we have to seek for it a single author. It has certainly a uniformity of style and diction, but this may equally well arise from official revision. The work, or parts of it, may have been first compiled during the 2nd or 3rd cent. A.D. in Judæa, but it never seems to have obtained any great currency or esteem in Palestine. It is first quoted by the name of Onḳelos in a writing of Gaon Sar Shalom in the 9th cent. A.D.[*] In the Bab. Talmud it is referred to as 'our Targum' (תרגום רידן), or by the formula 'as we translate.'[†] The name 'Babylonian Targum' does not therefore refer to its linguistic character, as was formerly supposed, for its language is the Aramaic of Judæa, but has been given to it because in the 4th or 5th cent., after a final revision in Babylon, the centre of literary activity among the Jews at that time, it was sanctioned or recognized as an 'authorized' version. It came, in fact, to enjoy the reputation of being the best of all the Targums, and a special Massorah was prepared for it as for the original text itself. Even after the original purpose of the Targ. had been left behind, when Aramaic had disappeared before the rise of Islam and the spread of the Arabic language, the Targ. of Onḳelos continued to be written, and printed, as an accompaniment of the Heb. text, verse after verse, or in parallel columns. The custom of reading it in the synagogue has gradually died out. Yemen, in South Arabia, is now the only exception to this.

---

* Mt 27^{46}, cf. Ps 22^{2}; Eph 4^{8}, cf. Ps 68^{19}.

† Bab. *Shab.* 115. 1.

* Weber, *System der Altsynagogalischen Theologie*, p. 174 f.

† Notice the use of מימרי Job 7^{8} 19^{18} (of Job himself).

‡ Cf. Ginsburger, *Die Anthropomorphismen in den Thargumim*, p. 44.

§ Bab. *Meg.* iii. 1.

‖ Pal. *Meg.* i. § 11.

Speaking generally, the translation is good, and faithful to the original. The text from which it was made was in all essentials the Massoretic text, and it is rendered in accordance with the conceptions that prevailed in the Jewish schools of the period. Poetic passages, *e.g.* Gn 49, Dt 32. 33, are not rendered so accurately, probably on account of their greater difficulty; paraphrase occasionally takes the place of translation; *midrāshîm*, both *halākhā* and *haggādā*, though by no means in the same degree as in the other Targg. to the Pent., are not entirely wanting. The removal of anthropomorphic or anthropopathic expressions referring to God is effected by the devices mentioned above; but, apart from this, the characteristic Jewish theological doctrines find scarcely any illustration in this Targum. Figurative language, as a rule, is not translated literally, but is explained: *e.g.* Gn 49^{25}, Ex $15^{3.8.10}$ 29^{35}. For an instance of cabbalistic interpretation in Onḳelos cf. Nu 12^{1}, where אתתא שפירתא is the Targ. for האשה הכשית. Gn 49^{10} and Nu 24^{17} are 'Messianically' explained. Geographical names are sometimes replaced by those current at a later time; cf. Gn 10^{10} 37^{25}, Dt 3^{17}.

The first edition of this Targum was published at Bologna in 1482.

2. **Fragmentary Jerusalem Targum.**—This Targ. contains only certain parts of the Pent., estimated at about 850 verses in all. Three-fourths of it are on the historical sections of the Pent., and the remaining fourth on the legislative sections in Exod., Lev., Numbers. In about 90 verses the translation refers only to some single word of the text, and in about 14 chapters there is no translation or annotation at all. Where longer sections of it occur it is often extremely paraphrastic, the text being overlaid with *midrashic* stories. Its language is Palestinian Aramaic, but of a degenerate type, foreign words occurring in it to a great extent. It has affinities with the language of Onḳelos, the Pal. Talmud, and *midrāshîm*, and also with the vocabulary of the Bab. Talmud.[‡]

Its fragmentary condition has been accounted for in various ways. (1) Zunz[§] considered it a collection of various readings to the so-called pseudo-Jonathan Targum on the Pentateuch. But the agreements are no less numerous and striking than the differences, and cannot be reasonably explained by the assumed negligence of the compiler of the variants. (2) It has been supposed[*] to be a collection of variants and corrections to the Targ. Onḳ., more suited to the taste of the compiler and his age than the bald and literal version that had gained supremacy in the schools of Babylon. (3) Another form of this view[†] is that the Fragmentary Targ. contains extracts from an earlier Jerus. Targ. which at one time existed complete.

Its present form is not due to chance: the selection of passages was made to be interpolated in the Targ. Onḳ., supplementing or correcting it at certain points. Such an interpolated Onḳ., with the supplements and corrections combined, is actually found for the Song of Moses and for the Decalogue in old Machzor MSS, and has been made known by Hurwitz's publication of the Machzor Vitry.[‡] That there was an earlier complete Jerus. Targ. on the Pent. has been inferred from the fact that in various Jewish works from the 11th to the 14th cent. there have been counted over 300 quotations from a Jerus. Targ. which are not to be found in the Fragmentary Targ., and nearly 300 which do not occur in the Targ. of pseudo-Jonathan. As these quotations often belong to several verses of the same chapter, and many chapters of all the books of the Pent. are represented, the source of them was evidently a continuous and complete work.[§] The Fragmentary Targ. is more akin to this source than the Targ. of pseudo-Jon., for, in passages where both the Frag. Targ. and pseudo-Jon. exist, over 100 quotations are found in the Frag. Targ., while only about 20 are found in pseudo-Jon. which are wanting in the Frag. Targum.[‖] In about 100 passages the older Jerus. Targ. shows itself dependent on late sources: the two Talmuds, Tanchuma, Rabba Gen., and Rabba Leviticus. It cannot be dated earlier than the second half of the 7th cent., and may be later. The Frag. Targ. therefore cannot be earlier than the 8th century.[¶]

First edition of Frag. Targ., Venice, 1517.

3. **The Jerusalem Targ.** (*so-called pseudo-Jonathan*).—The complete Palestinian Targ. on the Pent. has, since the 14th. cent., borne the name of Jonathan bar Uzziel, the reputed author of the Targ. on the Prophets. From the manifest incorrectness of this—תרגום י' intended for תרגום ירושלמי being read תרגום יונתן—the name pseudo-Jonathan has gained currency. The name ת' ארץ ישראל is found in writers of the 11th cent., and ת' ירושלמי is only another, not so accurate, variation of this. It had its origin in Palestine, and its language is the Pal. dialect. It is a complete Targ. on the Pent. (only about a dozen verses are wanting[**]), of the same general character as the Frag. Targ., and based partly upon this latter (or perhaps upon its source, the old Jerus. Targ. mentioned above) and partly upon Onḳelos. Its essential character is its free *haggadistic* handling of the text. The Targumist's purpose, plainly, was to make the translation but a vehicle for all the popular stories and comments that had grown up around the Biblical characters and events. Among the indications of its date may be noted: Ex 26^{9}, the six orders of the Mishna are referred to; Gn 21^{21} ערישא and פטימא, a wife and daughter of Mohammed, are mentioned as wives of Ishmael; Gn 49^{26}, Dt 33^{2}, Edom and Ishmael are spoken of as world-powers in a way possible only in the 7th cent. at the earliest. Like the other Targums, it sets aside figurative speech, and eliminates (though not with the same regularity as Onḳelos) all anthropomorphic expressions re-

---

[*] Dalman, *Grammatik*, p. 9.

[†] *Kiddushin*, 49*a*; cf. Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge*², p. 69; Deutsch, *Lit. Remains*, pp. 343, 380; Friedmann, *Onḳelos und Akylas*, p. 5 *n*.

[‡] Dalman, *Grammatik*, p. 24.

[§] *l.c.* p. 74.

[*] Seligsohn, *De duabus Hierosolymitanis Pent. Paraph.* 1858.

[†] Bassfreund, *Das Fragmententargum zum Pent.* 1896, p. 16 f.

[‡] Bassfreund, *l.c.* p. 35.

[§] See, on the other hand, Dalman, *Grammatik*, p. 25. He does not find any proof that the source of the quotations was a single work on the whole Pentateuch.

[‖] Bassfreund, *l.c.* p. 21.

[¶] *Ibid.* p. 93.

[**] Dalman, *Aram. Dialektproben*, p. 35.

ferring to the Deity. The heroes of Israel are idealized and their faults leniently passed by, as in the Jewish *midrashic* literature in general. The angelology and demonology of the earlier period appear in a much more developed form than even in the Frag. Targ.; but it is to be noted that some of the relevant passages do not occur in the latter, which has references of its own to angels that are wanting in pseudo-Jonathan. In general, the additions of the Frag. Targ. are found in pseudo-Jon. in a somewhat more condensed form, all the Scripture quotations being regularly omitted. Early geographical names are replaced by those current in a later age. The Targ. is a mine of information on most of the religious and dogmatic conceptions of the Judaism of the Talmudic age. Weber (*l.c.*) gives illustrations, from the Targums as well as from other Midrashic works, of the later Jewish doctrines of the Being of God, His dwelling-place, His revelation in the Torah, Angels, Creation, Sin, Death, the Messianic Kingdom, the resurrection of the just and the future life, Gehenna and its torments, the second death which the wicked die in the world to come, etc.

First edition of Jerus. Targ., Venice, 1591.

Order and mutual Relation of the Pent. Targums.—The question whether the Frag. Targ. was not a collection of variants and parallels to pseudo-Jon., and therefore later, has been referred to above. A further question was raised by Geiger,[*] when he claimed to prove that the Jerus. Targg. are, in respect both of a great part of their contents and of their general manner of interpretation, older than Onḳ., and that Onḳ was manifestly the result of a complete revision of the Targ. pseudo-Jon. in the fourth century. Bacher[†] holds, somewhat similarly, that the Targ. Onḳ. is an abridged and revised ed. of a Jerus. Targ. which has been only partially preserved, viz. in the Frag. Targ., and that the Targ. pseudo-Jon. is later than both Onḳ. and the Frag. Targ., being in fact a combination of them, with additional *midrāshîm*. The Targ. pseudo-Jon. would thus form the third and final stage in the development of the Pent. Targums. Both the Jerus. Targums in their present shape are admittedly much later than the Targ. Onḳ., as they contain additions made to them through successive generations down to the 7th or 8th cent. On the other hand, all the Targg. probably contain material that is much older than the date of their final compilation and redaction. It still remains questionable whether actual proof has been furnished that any given passage is really ancient, or that the Targ. Onḳ. has been made up from an older Jerus. Targ. by curtailment not always successfully effected. As passages for which a very ancient date has been claimed may be mentioned: Gn 15^{19}, Nu 24^{21}, the rendering of קיני by שלמאי, the contemporaries and allies of the Nabatæans (cf. in Proph. Targ. Jg 1^{16} 4^{17} 5^{24}); Gn 43^{2}, where Egyptian animal-worship is spoken of as though it still existed; Dt 33^{11}, the reference in which to Johannes Hyrcanus could (it is claimed) come only from a contemporary.[‡] Further, the absence of polemics against the Christian faith points (it is thought) to an early pre-Christian date; but unless we are prepared to show that all the Targg. were fixed once for all at the early date, if the Jews at a later time had wished to combat Christian tenets, the opportunities for inserting such were not wanting, and there is no evidence of this. As regards the alleged dependence of Onḳelos upon an earlier version of the Jerus. Targums, an examination of the passages adduced by Geiger and Bacher does not produce the conviction that the priority is on the side of the Jerus. Targums. That Onḳelos received some revision in Palestine or Babylon is probable; but it is not probable, if the original Jerus. Targ. were to any great extent similar in character to our Frag. Targ., that a translation like Onḳ. could be reached by pruning it down. The resultant Targ. is too dissimilar to be spoken of as a revision of such a work. Onḳelos, when compared with the MT, is quite as intelligible as any literal translation ever is; and though the same exegetic traditions or principles, drawn from the general mental atmosphere in which the compilers lived, may disclose themselves here or there, it has not been made out that the Targ. Onḳ. shows on the face of it any phenomena which are only reasonably to be explained by the use of the Jerus. Targums.

A few instances may be cited where the reader may judge whether the priority is necessarily on the side of the Jerus. Targums: Gn 4^{7} 40^{13} 49^{22}, Ex 3^{1} 12$^{42.43}$ 14^{15} 33$^{3.5}$, Lv 26^{43}, Nu 12^{12} 24^{4}, Dt 32^{6} 34^{7}. The decision remains with an examination of such passages, rather than by quoting passages on the other hand which presuppose dependence of the Jerus. Targ. on Onḳ., as no one denies that the Jerus. Targg. in their present form are later than Onḳ. and have drawn from it.

ii. Targum on the Prophets.—The official Targ. on the Prophets bears the name of Jonathan (bar Uzziel), a disciple of Hillel in the 1st cent. B.C.[*] Elsewhere in the Talmud, passages are quoted from it under the name of R. Joseph bar Chija (A.D. 270–333), who was president of the school of Pumbadita. Its origin is at least in part to be sought in Palestine, and it received its final and authoritative form in Babylon in the 5th cent. A.D. Its language largely resembles that of Onḳelos. Whether more than the sections which were read in the synagogue services were included in the first translation of the Prophets we cannot say. Making allowance for the difference between the historical and the prophetic books, our Targ. has a uniformity of style and character, due to a careful revision which aimed at producing this. Gesenius has shown that parallel passages (2 K 18 f.=Jer 36–39, Is 2$^{2-4}$=Mic 4$^{1-3}$) are tr. alike in both places of their occurrence, and vary only according to the variation of the originals, and that other features are common to the different books (*e.g.* תרשיש rendered by ימא in Jonah, Jer., Ezekiel).[†] The Targ. on the Prophets is not so literal as the Targ. of Onḳ., yet the method of both translations is alike, and they are clearly meant to be companion works. From certain passages which both have verbally in common, it has been inferred, probably correctly, that Jonathan used Onḳelos: cf. Jg 5^{8}, Dt 32^{17}, 1 S 12^{3}, Nu 16^{15}, 2 K 14^{6}, Dt 24^{16}, Jer 48$^{45.46}$, Nu 21$^{28f.}$.[‡] The Targ. on the historical books is more literal than that on the *Prophetæ Posteriores*, but poetical or difficult passages are paraphrased: cf. 1 S 2$^{1-10}$, which is explained verse by verse with references to Sennacherib, Nebuchadnezzar, the Greeks, Hasmonæans, Mordecai, Esther, etc.; 1 S 15^{23} 17^{8}, 2 S 14^{11} 20^{18}. Of the prophetic books we have generally a faithful translation, with explanatory additions. For examples of paraphrase, cf. Is 28$^{10.13}$ 49^{15} 50^{11}; for instances of *haggādā*, Is 12^{3} 33^{22} 62^{10}, Mic 6^{4}. With regard to the rendering of anthropomorphic expressions, figurative language, and the like, the usual rules of Targumic interpretation are observed: *e.g.* the whole story (Hos 1^{3}) of the prophet and Gomer gives place to a series of denunciations upon the continued sins of Israel, with promise of pardon on repentance, and the perplexing features of the original never once appear. Geographical names are mostly retained as in the Heb., but are sometimes tr. into more modern forms: שנער=בבל ; בשן=מתנן ; מנא אמון [or, more prob., נֹא alone]=אלכסנדריאה ; קיר=קיריני ; תוגרמה=גרממיא. The influence of the religious or dogmatic ideas of the author's time is more noticeable than in Onḳelos. The Targum in this respect is a mean between Onḳ. and the Jerus. Targum on the Pentateuch.

First edition of this Targum, Leiria, 1494.

Reference has been made already to the quotations which Jewish writers make from Jerus. Targg. on the Pent., and which are not now found in either of our recensions (the Frag. Targ. or pseudo-Jon.). Similar fragments of Targg. on the Prophets have been printed from the Reuchlin Codex in Lagarde's ed. of the *Prophetæ Chaldaice*, and Bacher has investigated their character in *ZDMG*, 1874. He finds that the variants may be divided into five classes which come from as many sources, and concludes that they are remains of Jerus. Targg. to the Prophets, as they resemble in certain features of language and style the Jerus. Targg. to the Pentateuch. Some of them he considers older than the official Targ. to the Prophets (cf. his view, mentioned above, of the relation of the Frag. Targ. to Onḳ.); others he considers are the result of a *haggadistic* enlargement of earlier texts at a date later than the Bab. Talmud and the *midrāshîm* (cf. his view of the Targ. pseudo-Jon. in relation to the Fragmentary Targ. and Onḳelos).

iii. Targums on the Hagiographa.—A Targ. on the Bk. of Job is mentioned as in existence in the 1st cent. A.D., but it is certain that no Targ. of that age has come down to us. None of the Targg. to the Hagiog. which we possess is earlier than the close of the Talmudic period, and probably all of them are much later. The first mention of them is in the 11th century. Unlike the translations of the Law and the Prophets, the Targg. on the Hagiog. are entirely the work of individual translators, modelled upon the older Targums. They were never meant for public use in synagogue or school, having, in fact, been composed after the need for Aram. translations had ceased. They may be conveniently divided: 1. Psalms, Job, (Prov.). 2. The Megilloth. 3. Chronicles.

---

[*] *Urschrift u. Uebersetzungen der Bibel*, p. 455 f., 'Das nach Onḳelos benannte bab. Thargum' in his *Ztsch.* 1871.

[†] *ZDMG*, vol. xxviii.

[‡] Nöldeke, *Die alttest. Litteratur*, pp. 256, 259; cf. Dalman, *Gram.* p. 23, and esp. *Worte Jesu*, p. 67.

[*] Bab. *Meg.* 3 *a*.

[†] Cf. *Comm. über den Jesaia*, i. pp. 70, 71.

[‡] Berliner, *Targ. Onqelos*, p. 124.

1. It is possible that the Targg. on the Psalms and Job come from a single author; at any rate they exhibit marks of similarity in their general method of handling the Heb. text, and they have some linguistic and other features in common. Unlike the Jerus. Targg. on the Pent., they aim at giving a pretty faithful rendering of the original. *Haggadic* additions are met with occasionally, but they are concise, and can easily be separated from the translation proper. Many verses are provided with double translations, the second being ascribed to a different Targ. (ת״א = תרגום אחר). In such cases one of the translations is generally *haggadic*, while the other is more literal. Between forty and fifty verses in Job have such alternative translations, but there are not so many in the Psalms. Half a dozen verses in Job have even a third rendering. The age of the interpolator has been given as the 8th or 9th cent., but there is really no reason for claiming a higher age for the Targg. themselves. Their language is late and artificial; they are compositions in what is no longer to the translators a living speech. The general exegetic devices of the older Targg. are reproduced. Anthropomorphisms as a rule, and all figures of speech, are set aside; references to the history of Israel, to the Law and its study, are frequently introduced; passages are applied to Edom, Ishmael, or Gog; and the eschatological ideas of the synagogue are all met with. We may note that סלה in the Psalms is rendered לעלמין (cf. Hab $3^{3.9.13}$).

The peculiar dialect in which the Targ. to the Proverbs appears has taken up so many features from Syriac that it can only be regarded as an incongruous mixture of the Aramaic of the Targg. and the Syriac of the Peshiṭta. Linguistic elements have been gathered from different quarters and placed side by side, without any regard to the unity of structure which must exist in a spoken or written language.[*] Many entire verses, estimated as forming a third of the whole book, are identical with the Syriac translation; in a further large number there are close resemblances between the two versions, all the more striking where they agree as against the Heb.; cf. 1^{7} 4^{26} 5^{9} $7^{22.23}$ 9^{11} 12^{19} $16^{4.25}$. It has been shown[†] that the peculiarities of the Targ. are due to the use of the Pesh. by the Targumist. The view that the Pesh. has borrowed from the Targ. does not account for the Syriasms which the latter contains; the analogy of the Jerus. Talm., where most of the peculiarities of the Targ. occur, though in less proportions, does not help us to understand why just in such large proportions these peculiarities are here found together. Apart from the distinctly Syriac forms, the language and style of the Targ. are akin to that of the Targg. on the Psalms and Job, and there is no reason for assigning it an earlier date. The translation is literal, and additions to the text are extremely rare.[*]

2. The Targg. on the Megilloth are distinguished among the Targg. to the Hagiog. by their extreme paraphrastic treatment of the text. In parts of them we can still find the translation embedded in the paraphrase, but in other parts the legendary and homiletic sections which have been added form the main feature of the work. These are made up in various ways. Historical parallels are cited for the narratives of the text, with what would be anachronisms if the Targ. were regarded as a tr. of an ancient writing; motives and reasons are supplied to explain the occurrence of events; proper names are etymologized and 'explained'; while figurative language is rendered into prose, allegory takes the place of narrative; the Sanhedrin is frequently mentioned, and the study of the Law introduced on every possible occasion; lengthy genealogies are appended to some of the names occurring in the text; general statements are connected with the names of particular individuals, esp. the patriarchs, Nimrod, Pharaoh, Nebuchadnezzar, Titus and Vespasian, Alexander (? = Antiochus), Messiah the king, and Elias the high priest. The books of Ruth and Lam. are less paraphrastic than Eccles., Esth., or Canticles. One text of the Targ. on Esther (that given in the Antwerp Polyglot) is, with few exceptions, a literal translation. Essentially the same text, with many *haggadic* additions, is printed in the London Polyglot, and this forms the usual Targum to Esther. The so-called second Targum (*Sheni*) is much more voluminous than the last named, and is regarded as an amalgam from other Targums and *midrāshîm* which from time to time were made for this favourite book. It is quoted by the commentators as 'haggādā' and as 'midrash.' More than half the work has nothing to do with the story of Esther, but contains legends about Solomon, the queen of Sheba, etc. The Targ. on Canticles is of the same *midrashic* class: on the basis of certain words of the text we have outlined for us the varying fortunes of the Jewish people from the days of Moses down to the Talmud. We may note besides in this Targ. references to the two Messiahs—Messiah son of David, and Messiah son of Ephraim (iv. 5, vii. 3; cf. Jerus. Targ. on Ex 40^{11}; also Jerus. Targ. on Zec 12^{10} in Lagarde, p. xlii).

3. No Targ. to the Books of Chronicles was known to exist until after the great Polyglot Bibles had been published. In 1680–83 a somewhat incomplete Targ. from an Erfurt MS was edited with tr. and notes by M. F. Beck;[†] and in 1715 a more complete form of the text from a Camb. MS was edited with tr. by D. Wilkins. There are numerous variations in the two recensions. The tr. is in many parts fairly literal, but examples of *midrashic* amplification are not wanting (cf. 1 Ch $1^{20.21}$ 4^{18} 7^{21} $11^{11.22}$ 12^{32}, 2 Ch 2^{6} 3^{1} 23^{11}). The author made use of the Jerus. Targg. to the Pent. (cf. Gn 10^{20} and 1 Ch 1^{21}, Gn 36^{39} and 1 Ch 1^{43}). The Targ. on the Books of Samuel and Kings was also largely used, of course with the changes in diction and orthography which characterize the Jerus. Targums. 1 Ch 16 is tr. from the Heb. text of Chronicles, and the variations from the Targ. on the Psalms are quite as noticeable as the agreements. Indications of the age of the Targ. are the translations or modern forms of geographical names. The redaction of the text represented by the Erfurt MS has been assigned to the 8th cent., that of the Camb. text to the 9th.[‡]

The *text* of the various Targg. has been handed down and edited in a very unsatisfactory condition. The official Targums on the Pent. and Prophets are relatively the best preserved, but an examination of MSS and the printed edd. shows that a critical ed. was never attempted, nor were the materials for it forthcoming. The early disuse of the Targg. accounts for the unskilful and arbitrary treatment of the texts, and of the non-official Targg. it would be correct to say that they never reached a fixed form till such was obtained by the multiplication of printed copies. The vocalization is specially faulty. The South Arabian MSS, with the simpler supralinear system of vowel points first brought to Europe in 1876, provide us with an older and more trustworthy recension of the Targ. on the Law and Prophets than any yet in our hands. MSS on the Pent., Prophets, and Megilloth are now to be found in London, St. Petersburg, and Strassburg, and selections from these have been published.*

---

[*] Cf. the preform. Impf. 3 pers. masc. in נ *as well as* in י; emph. state of nouns in ־ֵי; ל for ית; adverbs in ־ָאִית; ניר (= ארום), etc.

[†] Dathe, *De ratione consensus versionis chaldaicæ et syriacæ Prov. Salom.*, ed. Rosenmüller, 1814; cf. Nöldeke in Merx's *Archiv*, 1871, p. 246; Maybaum, *ib.* p. 66.

[*] Cf. Pinkuss in *ZATW*, 1894, p. 109. He mentions only two instances of paraphrase, 24^{14} 28^{1}.

[†] Cf. Lagarde, *Hagiographa Chaldaice*, 1873.

[‡] Rosenberg und Kohler in Geiger's *Ztsch.* 1870.

Even when critically edited, the Targums are not likely to be of much use for the criticism of the Heb. text of the OT. That text was fixed as we have it before any of our Targg. were compiled, and it is but seldom that they throw any reliable light where it is needed. For a reflexion of the spirit of Judaism, on the other hand, as well as for the Jewish interpretation of the text of their sacred books, they are invaluable. Not that any importance would now be attached to the use formerly made of them by Christian controversialists. The Jewish Messianic ideas run throughout all their Targg.,† but it is now clear that the correct interpretation of particular passages was not exclusively to be found either on the Jewish or on the Christian side (cf. Is $7^{14f.}$ 52^{13}–53^{12}).

LITERATURE.—Carpzov, *Critica Sacra Vet. Test.*, Lips. 1748; Zunz, *Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, Berl. 1832, 2nd ed. Frankfurt a/M. 1892; Geiger, *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel*, Breslau, 1857; Levy, *Chald. Wörterb. über die Targumim*, Leipzig, 1867–68; Nöldeke, *Die alttest. Litteratur*, 1868, *Die Semitischen Sprachen*², Leipz. 1899, and reviews mentioned below; Maybaum, *Die Anthropomorphien bei Onqelos und den späteren Targumim*, 1870; Weber, *System der altsyn. Pal. Theol.* 1880, 2nd ed. 1897; Merx, *Bemerkungen über die Vocalisation der Targume*, Berlin, 1882, *Chrestomathia Targumica*, Berl. 1888; Ginsburger, *Die Anthropomorphismen in den Thargumim*, Braunschweig, 1891; Buhl, *Kanon und Text des AT*, Leipz. 1891 [Eng. tr.]; Schwally, *Idioticon des christlich-paläst. Aramäisch*, Giessen, 1893; Dalman, *Gram. des jüd.-paläst. Aramäisch*, Leipz. 1894, *Aram. Dialektproben*, Leipz. 1896, *Aramäisch-Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch*, Frankfurt a/M. 1897–1901, *Die Worte Jesu*, Leipz. 1898; The *Introductions to the OT*, by Eichhorn, de Wette, Riehm, Bleek-Wellhausen, König, Cornill, Strack; cf. also Deutsch, *Literary Remains*, Lond. 1874 = art. 'Targum' in Smith's *DB*; Schiller-Szinessy, art. in *Encycl. Brit.*⁹; Volck, art. in *PRE*², revised by Nestle in 3rd edition.

On the Pent. Targums: Winer, *De Onqeloso eiusque Paraphrasi Chald.*, Lips. 1820; Petermann, *De duabus Pent. paraphrasibus chald.*, Berl. 1829; Luzzatto, *Philoxenus, sive de Onkel. chald. Pent. versione Dissertatio*, Vienna, 1830; Frankel, 'Einiges zu den Targumim' in *Ztsch. für die Interessen des Judentums*, 1846, *Zu dem Targum der Propheten*, Breslau, 1872; Seligsohn und Traub, 'Ueber den Geist der Uebersetzung des Jonathan zum Pent.' in Frankel's *Monatsschrift G. W. J.* 1857; Seligsohn, *De duabus Hierosol. Pent. paraphrasibus*, Breslau, 1858; Etheridge, *The Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan ben Uzziel on the Pent. with the Fragments of the Jerusalem Targum: from the Chaldee*, 2 vols. Lond. 1862–65; Geiger, 'Das nach Onkelos benannte babylonische Thargum zum Pent.' in his *Jüdische Ztsch.* 1871; Bacher, 'Ueber das gegenseitige Verhältnis der pent. Thargumim' in *ZDMG*, 1874; Berliner, *Die Massora zum Targum Onkelos*, Leipz. 1877 (cf. review by Nöldeke, *Lit. Centralbl.* 1877), *Targum Onkelos*, Berl. 1884 (cf. review by Nöldeke, *Lit. Centralbl.* 1884, by de Lagarde, *GGA*, 1886); Gronemann, *Die Jonathansche Pent.-Uebersetzung in ihrem Verhältnisse zur Halacha*, Leipz. 1879; Singer, *Onkelos und das Verhältniss seines Targums zur Halacha*, Halle, 1881; Kautzsch, *Mittheilung über eine alte Handschrift des Targum Onkelos*, Halle, 1893; Barnstein, *The Targum of Onkelos to Genesis, a critical enquiry into the value of the text exhibited by Jemen MSS*, London, 1896; Bassfreund, *Das Fragmententargum zum Pent.*, Breslau, 1896; Friedmann, *Onkelos und Akylas*, Vienna, 1896; Landauer, *Die Masorah zum Onkelos*, Amsterdam, 1896; Ginsburger, *Das Fragmententargum* (edited from MSS), Berl. 1899; Diettrich, 'Beobachtungen zu drei jemenitischen Handschriften des Onqelostargums' in *ZATW*, 1900.

Targums on the Prophets: Gesenius, *Commentar über den Jesaia*, Leipz. 1821, Einl. § 11; Pauli, *The Chaldee Paraphrase on the Prophet Isaiah*, Lond. 1871; Frankel, *Zu dem Targum der Propheten*, Bresl. 1872 (cf. review by Nöldeke, *GGA*, 1872); de Lagarde, *Prophetæ Chaldaice*, Lips. 1872 (cf. review by Nöldeke, *Lit. Centralbl.* 1872); Bacher, 'Kritische Untersuchungen zum Propheten-Thargum' in *ZDMG*, 1874; Prätorius, *Das Targum zu Josua in jemenischer Ueberlieferung*, Berl. 1899, *Das Targum zum Buche der Richter in jemen. Ueberl.* Berl. 1900.

Targums on the Hagiographa: Ginsburg, Translation of Targum on Ecclesiastes in his *Commentary*, London, 1861; Rosenberg und Kohler, 'Das Targum zur Chronik' in Geiger's *Ztsch.* 1870; Maybaum, 'Ueber die Sprache des Targum zu den Sprüchen und dessen Verhältniss zum Syrer' in Merx, *Archiv*, 1871, p. 66 f. (cf. Nöldeke's review, p. 246 f.); Bacher, 'Das Thargum zu Hiob' in *Monatsschrift G. W. J.* 1871, 'Das Thargum zu den Psalmen,' do. 1872; de Lagarde, *Hagiographa Chaldaice*, Lips. 1873; Weiss, *De Libri Jobi Paraphrasi Chaldaica*, Berl. 1873; Reis, 'Das Thargum Scheni zu dem Buche Esther' in *Monatsschrift G. W. J.* 1876, 1881; Munk, *Targum Scheni zum Buche Esther*, Berl. 1876; Cassel, *Das Buch Esther*, Berl. 1878 [gives tr. of the Targ.]; Baethgen, 'Der textkritische Wert der alten Uebersetzungen zu den Psalmen' in *Jahrb. Prot. Theol.* 1882; Gelbhaus, *Die Targumliteratur*, Heft 1, 'Das Targum Sheni,' Frankfurt a/M. 1893; Pinkuss, 'Die Syrische Uebersetzung der Proverbien' in *ZATW*, 1894; Levin, *Targum und Midrash zum Buche Hiob*, Mainz, 1895; David, *Das Targum Scheni*, Berlin, 1898.

T. WALKER.

TARPELITES (טַרְפְּלָיֵא, plur. emph.; B Ταραφαλλαῖοι, A and Luc. Ταρφαλλαῖοι).—One of the peoples settled by Assurbanipal (?) in the cities of Samaria, Ezr 4^{9}. Their identity is quite uncertain. Rawlinson suggested the *Tuplai* of the Inscriptions, *i.e.* the Τιβαρηνοί on the coast of Pontus; Hitzig conjectured Tripolis in N. Phœnicia.

TARSHISH (תַּרְשִׁישׁ).—**1.** See following article. **2.** The eponym of a Benjamite family, 1 Ch 7^{10} (B Ῥαμεσσαί, A and Luc. Θαρσεἰς). **3.** One of the seven princes of Persia and Media who 'sat first in the kingdom,' and had the right of access to the royal presence, Est 1^{14} (LXX om.). See ADMATHA. **4.** The name of a precious stone (once Ezk 10^{9} אֶבֶן תַּרְשִׁישׁ, elsewhere simply תַּרְשִׁישׁ), Ex 28^{20} 39^{13}, Ezk 1^{16} 10^{9} 28^{13}, Ca 5^{14}, Dn 10^{6}; identified by AV and RV with the *beryl*, although RVm offers as alternative renderings *chalcedony* or *topaz* or *stone of Tarshish.* The LXX has in Exodus and Ezk 28^{13} (cf. Jos. *Ant.* III. vii. 5) χρυσόλιθος, in Ezk 40^{9} ἄνθραξ, elsewhere θαρσεἰς. See, further, artt. STONES (PRECIOUS), p. 620^{b}, and TOPAZ, p. 797.

J. A. SELBIE.

TARSHISH (תַּרְשִׁישׁ; LXX Θαρσεἰς [on other renderings see below]).—The name of a maritime country, situated far to the W. of Palestine. The biblical passages teach us the following facts about this much discussed name:—

In Gn 10^{4} = 1 Ch 1^{7} Tarshish is one of the sons of Javan, under which latter name the Orientals seem to have comprised almost all Western maritime nations. In Gn 10 we find the order: Elishah (*i.e.* Cyprus, after the most modern researches), Tarshish, Kittim (AV Chittim, which was, until recently, usually explained as the Cyprians, but they belong, with all probability, to much more westerly tracts of the Mediterranean; cf. Winckler, *Forschungen*, ii. 442), and Dodanim (or Rodanim, a very obscure name). This arrangement does not allow any certain conclusions.—In Jon 1^{3} the prophet embarks at Joppa to flee to Tarshish (cf. 4^{2}), which seems to represent here the extreme ends of the earth, so far as it was known to the Hebrews, the country farthest away from Jehovah's seat.—In Is 66^{19} it represents, together with Javan, with the isles afar off and several Asiatic (if we except the somewhat doubtful Pul or Put) countries, the most remote quarters of the earth to which the exiled Jews may have fled; cf. below on 60^{9}.—Somewhat similarly, Ezk 38^{13} places Sheba and Dedan and the merchants of Tarshish parallel with (or, better probably, in contrast to) the mysterious Gog of Magog. It is impossible to draw any inferences about the situation of Tarshish from this parallelism; certainly vicinity to the Arabian countries Sheba and Dedan is not indicated (cf. Gn 10^{1}).—Ps 72^{10} quite analogously places the kings of Tarshish and of the isles in contrast to the kings of Sheba and Seba.—In Is 23^{6} the prophet sarcastically advises the Tyrians to flee from the approaching destruction of their city to Tarshish and the isle (read evidently the plural: isles). V.^{10} works this out more fully: ‘Overflow (RVm) thy land as the Nile, O daughter of Tarshish: there is no more girdle’ (AVm; text ‘strength’), *i.e.* that country will be overcrowded by Phœnician fugitives. Evidently, Tyrian ships were specially familiar with the journey to Tarshish.

---

* See the Literature, mentioned below, under the names Merx, Kautzsch, Prätorius, Dalman, Barnstein.

† Cf. Hühn, *Die Messianischen Weissagungen des israelitisch-jüdischen Volkes*, 1899, p. 111 f.

The remote position of Tarshish led to the use of the expression ‘Tarshish ship’ for a certain class of specially strong and large ships, destined for longer voyages, exactly as sailors used to mean by an ‘East Indiaman’ a type of ship, not only one sailing to or from India (thus, correctly, already Gesenius, *Thesaurus*). Ezk 27^{25} (RV) ‘the ships of Tarshish were thy caravans for thy merchandise,’ need not necessarily point to a prevalence of naval trade with Tarshish. Is 60^{9} ‘the isles shall wait for me, and the ships of Tarshish first to bring thy sons from far,’ might, indeed, also be understood literally as a parallel to 66^{19}. The curse on Tyre, however, in 23^{1}, beginning ‘Howl, ye ships of Tarshish,’ means, evidently, the Tyrian fleet, or its best ships; or, at any rate, not ships belonging to the inhabitants of Tarshish. Ps 48^{7} ‘with the east wind thou breakest the ships of Tarshish,’ intends only a very general illustration of God’s power over the most mighty things. Cf., analogously, Is 2^{16} ‘(the day of the Lord shall be) on all ships of Tarshish.’ In 1 K 10^{22} ‘the king (Solomon) had at sea a navy (better: a ship) of Tarshish with the navy of Hiram,’ and this ship was sent to bring ‘gold and silver, ivory, and apes and peacocks’; evidently, the expeditions to Ophir (v.^{11} and 9^{28}) are meant. Wherever that country of Ophir may have been, it is clear that the Tarshish ship was not sailing to or from Tarshish, but along the E. African coast, as already its sailing port Ezion-geber shows. The Chronicler, however, no longer understood that old nautical expression, and interpreted it, literally, of an expedition sent to Tarshish. Thus 2 Ch 9^{21} ‘ships that went to Tarshish with the servants of Huram,’ etc. (after 1 K 10^{22}), and 20^{36} ‘Jehoshaphat of Judah joined himself with Ahaziah, king of Israel, to build ships in Ezion-geber to go to Tarshish.’ These ships were broken so that they were not able to go to ‘Tarshish,’ while the original text, 1 K 22^{48}, spoke merely of ‘ships of Tarshish to go to Ophir for gold.’ These passages might be understood (together with Ezk 38^{13}, Ps 72^{10}) as pointing to a region of Arabia, Africa, or even India, assumptions which of course would be in direct conflict with Gn 10, etc.*

The products of Tarshish are mentioned Ezk 27^{12}; Tarshish traded with Tyre with a ‘multitude of all kinds of riches, with silver, iron, tin, and lead.’ According to Jer 10^{9} ‘silver spread (RV ‘beaten’) into plates’ is brought from Tarshish. Finally, the precious stone called *tarshîsh* may be noticed; but this, unfortunately, cannot be identified. See preceding article.

The tradition of the ancient versions on the situation of Tarshish is very unsatisfactory. First, the passages are to be set aside where it was felt, correctly, that Tarshish, translated literally as a geographical name, would be misunderstood, *i.e.* the passages speaking of the Tarshish ships. The Jewish scholars translated, or rather paraphrased there freely, but not inadequately, ‘sea ships.’ Thus already LXX in Is 2^{16} (πλοῖα θαλάσσης).* The Vulg. extends this translation to less suitable passages; cf. Is $23^{1.10}$ (*filia maris!*) 60^{19} 66^{19} (*gentes in mari*), Ezk 27^{25}, 1 K 10^{22} (*per mare*), 2 K $22^{48(49)}$, otherwhere, mostly, *Tharsis*. Thus also the *Targum* (ימא), usually, in the Prophets (for exceptions see below). This was followed by Saadia and modern versions (*e.g.* Luther). Jerome (on Is 2^{16}) was told by his Jewish teachers that *Tharsis* was the proper Hebrew word for ‘sea’† (in opposition to Aramaic?): a strange artifice!

Another Jewish tradition appears in the LXX of Ezk 27^{12} (also Vulg.) and Is 23, where Tarshish is rendered ‘Carthage’ or ‘Carthaginians’; likewise Targ. in 1 K 22^{49}, Jer 10^{9} ‘Africa’ (*i.e.* the Roman province of Africa, the former territory of Carthage). This tradition is evidently founded on the frequent association of Tarshish with Tyre, the apparent mother-city of Carthage,‡ but it does not suit the sense of the other passages.

Josephus (*Ant.* I. vi. 1) read the name apparently *Tarshûsh*, and explained it as Tarsus in Cilicia, an interpretation which formerly seemed very satisfactory. Now, however, we know from coins of Tarsus and from Assyrian inscriptions (Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 103, etc.) of Shalmaneser that the old Cilician city had the name תרזי *Tarzi*, not as Josephus presupposed.

The interpretation most widely accepted at present was proposed by Bochart, *Phaleg* (preceded by Eusebius [*Onom.* ed. Lag. 166. 8, cf. 183. 17–18], who already combined Tarshish and the Iberes, *i.e.* Spaniards). Bochart found the Hebrew name Tarshish in the Greek *Tartessos*, explaining the seeming interchange of *t* and *sh* by the analogy of Aram. *th* for Heb. *sh* (which analogy, unfortunately, does not apply here, where no Aramæans come in question). The remote position attributed both to Tarshish and to Spain, the W. end of the world, according to the opinion of the ancients, suits well, and so does the wealth in metals (especially the Spanish silver and tin); finally, some connexion of the Phœnicians with Spain seems to be recognizable before the Carthaginian conquest. Tartessos is supposed to have been the name of a city (?), extended first to the S. of Spain, then to the whole country. The name of the southern coast, *Turdetania*, and of a tribe, somewhat farther north, the *Turdûli*, *Turdali*, seems to allow a comparison (cf. Strabo, below).

A very vigorous attack upon this popular theory has been made by P. le Page Renouf in *PSBA* xvi. (1894) 104. He urges that the whole theory rests only on a deceptive similarity of sound, that Bochart’s appeal to Aramaic is unsuitable (see above), that we have no proof for Phœnician settlements in Spain (which were only alleged to have existed in order to suit Is 23^{6} etc.).§ He even claims that the city or country Tartessus seems ‘to have existed only in the realms of imagination, like the isle of Calypso or the garden of the Hesperides. Its site was certainly unknown at the time of Strabo, though it was then identified on grounds of probability with the neighbourhood of the Bætis or Quadalquivir.[*] Late writers, like Valerius Maximus, Pliny, and Arrian, confounded Tartessus and Gades.' The metallic treasures of Spain, Renouf claims, were developed only by Hamilcar Barcas after the first Punic war, and the tin in the bronze of earliest Greece and Babylonia came rather from Eastern mines (?).[†] Thus the necessity for going to Spain for tin is removed. Renouf's (*l.c.* p. 138) idea is that Tarshish has a Semitic etymology, 'the broken' (??), which might (!) mean 'shore, coast' (??), whence the translation 'sea' in the versions (?).[‡] The passages connecting it with Tyre show then, he claims, that the Phœnician coast itself is meant. This theory is so inconsistent with Ezk 27, etc., and so forced, that it does not deserve a detailed refutation.

---

* To avoid this conflict, Bochart assumed two Tarshishs—one in the W. of the Mediterranean, the other in the Indian Ocean. This desperate effort to avoid the acknowledgment of a small misunderstanding by the Chronicler is now universally abandoned. See, further, W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} 140; A. B. Davidson, *Ezekiel*, p. 200; Sayce, *HCM* 130.

* This might, however, be taken from a Hexaplaric source (Symmachus or Theodotion ?).

† ‘Hebræi putant lingua propria mare Tarshish appellari.’

‡ More correctly, the mother-city was Sidon.

§ For such colonies, indeed, the tradition (Strabo, p. 157, Arrian, etc.) is very recent. It is questionable if those late writers were able to distinguish between Carthaginian and earlier Phœnician colonies.

Winckler (*Forschungen*, i. 445) modifies the Tartessus theory of Bochart, by referring Tarshish to Ταρσηΐον, a place mentioned by Polyb. III. xxiv. 1 as one of the principal cities of Carthaginian Spain.[§] This view, however, he puts forward with great reserve.

Cheyne (*Or. Lit.-Zeitung*, iii. 151; cf. the present writer, *ib.* 294) expresses the opinion that Tarshish is identical with Tiras (better vocalized probably *Tûr(a)s*) of Gn 10^2. This latter name might have come in from another source or as a gloss, so that the same nation would be represented in two different forms. Vocalizing *Turshûsh* (cf. Josephus), we should obtain the Tyrsenians, Tyrrenians or Etruscans, bold seafarers, and well known as pirates already to the ancient Egyptians (*c.* 1200 B.C.), by whom they were called *Tursha*. Their name might stand for the whole of Italy, possibly even for all European coasts west of Greece. This comparison with the Tyrsenians (proposed already by Knobel) agrees with the wealth in metals, especially with the tin. The Etruscans might have brought this from Spain, although a more probable assumption would be that they obtained it either in the harbours of Southern Gaul (cf. Diodorus, v. 38, on the trading of English tin through Gaul to Massilia) or more directly in Upper Italy, where it might have been brought from various places in Central Europe.

This last identification seems to the present writer the most plausible. Next to it, the identification with Spain might claim most relative probability. Certainty will hardly be obtained with our present means of knowledge.

W. MAX MÜLLER.

TARSUS (Ταρσός; on coins תרז) is mentioned in the Bible only as the city where St. Paul was born, of which he was a citizen (Ac 9^{11} 21^{39} 22^3), and in or near which he spent a number of years not long after his conversion (Ac 9^{30} 11^{25}). It has been universally recognized that his birth and his early education in this city were important factors in preparing the Apostle of the Gentiles for his career. No direct evidence is accessible as to the surroundings of St. Paul's early years, which makes it all the more necessary to study the general character of the city and the society in which he grew up. The history of Tarsus is at the same time the history of Cilicia, which affords the opportunity of somewhat fuller treatment of that subject than was given under CILICIA.

i. SITUATION.—Tarsus, the chief city of Cilicia in ancient times, was situated in a rich and fertile plain, only slightly elevated above sea-level, less than 10 miles from the seacoast at its nearest point. The river Cydnus flowed through the middle of the city, and entered the Rhegma,[*] a sort of lake[†] some distance below the city and close to the sea. This lake served as an arsenal and harbour for Tarsus; but ancient ships could ascend the river right up to the city (as Cleopatra did). In modern times the lake has become a large marsh[‡] on the west side of the river, while the bed of the river has become shallow and impassable to anything larger than a small rowing-boat, and its mouth is blocked by a bar. These changes are the result of the ignorance, carelessness, and incapacity of government and inhabitants, neglecting the engineering operations which must have been applied by the ancients to regulate the river-bed. The proximity of the marshes has made Tarsus more unhealthy than it was in ancient times, though from its low situation in the plain under the mountains of Taurus it can never have had an invigorating climate. South-west of Tarsus towards Soli lay the strong walled city Anchialos, which must have been between Mersina and the Cydnus, a little way back from the coast.[§] Mersina, the modern port of Tarsus, stands on or close to the ancient Zephyrion, a small town near a promontory of the same name, 16 miles W.S.W. from the great city. This promontory is a very little way west of Mersina. Anchialos is described by Ritter as the port of Tarsus, and as closely connected with it (like Piræus with Athens), so that the two might be regarded as a single great city, which would suggest that Anchialos was somewhere near the west side of the lake. But Aulai is said to have been the name of the port-town on the lake, and Ritter's view seems a misinterpretation of Arrian, *Anab.* ii. 5.[‖] The statements of the ancients as to the mutual relations of these places are confused.

The Cydnus originally flowed through the heart of Tarsus, as many authorities mention. But, when a flood in the river had done great harm in the city, Justinian (527-563) cut an artificial channel to carry part of the water round the east side of the city. It would appear that gradually the branch of the river that flowed through the city grew smaller as its bed became choked, and in modern times almost the whole of the water passes through Justinian's channel.[¶] In 1432 the inner branch is described as a tiny stream; and in 1473 the eastern branch is spoken of as the only one (see the quotations in Ritter's *Kleinasien*, ii. p. 184 f.). The falls of the Cydnus beside the northern entrance to the city are still very picturesque, though only a few feet high.

Tarsus possessed almost all the qualifications required for a great commercial city. Not merely did it possess a safe and good harbour and a rich territory, it was also placed in front of the southern end of the great trade and war route across Mount Taurus, through the Cilician Gates, to Cappadocia, Lycaonia, and inner Asia Minor generally. Such a situation made it a great city from time immemorial.

---

[*] Cf. Strabo (148 ff.), who, indeed, quotes this only as a hypothesis, does not know with certainty what the ancients meant by Tartessus, and cannot identify an alleged city Tartessus (at the mouth of the Bætis or at Carteia?). The old name Tartessis (!) of Spain seems to him to survive in that of the Τουρδοῦλοι (?) and Τουρδητανια (?). However, le Page Renouf seems to overstate here the shadowy position of Tarshish. Herodotus (*e.g.* iv. 192) uses it clearly for Southern Spain. Eratosthenes (in Strabo, 148) takes it more narrowly as the region around Calpe-Gibraltar.

[†] This belief, for which he quotes O. Schrader, *Prehistoric Ant.* 192, etc. (where the Paropamisus is thought of), has been refuted by Winckler, *Forschungen*, i. 161 (cf. the present writer in *Or. Lit.-Zeitung*, ii. 295, on the Egyptian texts). The tin of the ancient East came from the West, evidently through maritime commerce.

[‡] *Sea* and *coast* are, however, very different ideas.

[§] This was mostly confounded with Tartessus, while, in Polybius, it seems to have been another name of Mastia. The text in Polybius is, besides, very obscure.

[*] Ῥῆγμα, Strabo, p. 672.

[†] λιμνώδης τόπος, apparently a broadening of the river so as to look like a lake, Strabo, p. 672.

[‡] A marsh 30 miles in circumference (Barker, *Lares and Penates*, p. 137).

[§] Strabo, p. 671.

[‖] Ritter, *Kleinasien*, ii. 202; Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Αὖλαι.

[¶] Barker says that a canal from the Cydnus passes through Tarsus, and formerly flowed into the marsh, but was recently diverted to rejoin the river. This may be the old channel.

ii. Tarsus the Oriental City.—Its foundation was attributed by legend to Sardanapalus, who was said to have built Tarsus and Anchialos in one day, and whose tomb is said to have been at the latter place. A more Oriental form of the legend, as reported by Eusebius (*Chron.* i. p. 27[*]), named Sennacherib, king of Nineveh, as the founder. When Tarsus became a Greek city, a centre of Greek civilization and seat of a university, it could not be satisfied with such an origin, but invented a Greek foundation. Perseus or Herakles was named by the Tarsians as founder of the city (see Dion Chrysostom's *Oratio* xxxiii. *ad Tars.*; Libanius, *Or.* xxviii. 620); but this is only the Assyrian legend in a slightly Grecized form, for Perseus was a peculiarly Oriental and Assyrian hero (Herod. vi. 54), connected with the mythology and religion of many places in the eastern parts of Asia Minor; and Herakles was the Tyrian god, the founder of colonies. These legends contain a memory of the time when the Assyrian power extended over Syria and Cilicia, and Tarsus was their western capital. Tarsus is mentioned on the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser among the towns which he captured in the middle of the 9th cent. B.C. Athenodorus, the Tarsian, said that the city was originally called Parthenia, from Parthenius, son of Cydnus, and grandson of Anchiale, daughter of Japetus: here, too, fancy is giving a Greek colour to local Asiatic legend.

Tarsus continued for a long time an essentially Oriental town. Its early coinage was struck, not by a municipal government like that of a Greek city, but by native kings or Persian satraps, who used Tarsus as their capital. It is true that at an early time considerable influence was exerted on the city by Greek trade and civilization. Thus Greek letters were sometimes engraved on the early coins, and the coinage as a whole was modelled after Greek coins, and was probably made by Greek artisans employed by the rulers of Tarsus. Yet even in the Roman period, after Tarsus had for centuries been transformed (at least externally) into a Greek city, marked Oriental characteristics are apparent. A deity standing on a horned lion, thoroughly non-Greek and Asiatic in character, probably the god Sandon, often appears on coins under the empire; and a monument at Anchialos, inscribed with letters believed to be Assyrian, is often mentioned[†] by Greek writers. Tarsus therefore was never so thoroughly Hellenized as to lose or to forget its Asiatic character and origin; even as a Greek city it was far from being wholly Greek. Its population, doubtless, was very mixed (as it is at the present day); and even to a greater degree than Syrian Antioch it may be regarded as a meeting-place of Greeks and Orientals.

In the Assyrian and afterwards in the Persian period hardly anything is known of Tarsus. When the central government was strong, presumably the city was governed by satraps. When the central government was weak, the satraps tended to become more and more independent, and even a dynasty of native kings seems to have held Tarsus during part of the 5th and 4th cents. B.C.

In the *Anabasis* of Xenophon, Tarsus is described about B.C. 400 as a great and wealthy city, containing the palace of Syennesis the Cilician king. But its coinage is much older. Electrum coins of the 6th cent. have been assigned to it, though not with great probability. The kings or satraps of Cilicia struck coins at Tarsus throughout the 5th and 4th cents., with legends mostly Aramaic, but partly Greek, frequently with Baaltars, the Baal or Zeus of Tarsus, enthroned, holding sceptre, grapes, and corn. Coins of Baaltars were struck during the last efforts of the Persians and under the earlier Seleucid kings; but they appear to have been minted at Babylon, and many of the extant specimens have come from India.

iii. Tarsus the Greek City.—In Seleucid times autonomous coins were first struck at Tarsus, showing its transformation from an Oriental town into a Greek *polis*, a highly important stage in its history. This municipal and strictly Greek coinage began under Antiochus IV. Epiphanes (B.C. 175-164), when the city was styled 'Antioch beside the Cydnus,'[*] and took that name on its coins. The growth of Tarsus is evidently the result of a change in the Seleucid rule; it is connected with their frontier policy, and shows that increasing attention was paid to Cilicia by that Syrian king. Before 190 Cilicia had been a district in the heart of the Seleucid empire; but, at the peace of 189, the whole of Asia Minor up to the Taurus mountains was taken from Antiochus III., and Cilicia became a frontier land. It was necessary now to pay more attention to its organization and defences; and the refoundation of cities like Tarsus-Antiocheia, Epiphaneia, Adana-Antiocheia, Magarsa-Antiocheia, belongs to the same reign.[†] Mopsuestia, guarding the important crossing of the Pyramus, was refounded as Seleuceia by Seleucus III. (187-175). Almost all these cities (along with Alexandria *ad Issum* and Hieropolis-Castabala) began to coin as self-governing municipalities in the reign of Antiochus IV.[‡] It is therefore highly probable that Cilicia had previously been treated more like a subject country or satrapy,[§] and that now its cities began to be allowed greater liberty and to be more thoroughly Grecized in their institutions, when it was important to make them heartily loyal. The incident mentioned in 2 Mac 4^{30} takes us into the midst of this process, and shows that about 171-169 is the probable date of this important transformation. In 171 Antiochus gave the revenues of Tarsus and Mallus to his mistress Antiochis. This provoked riot and even insurrection; and Antiochus had to go in person to quell the disturbances. Apparently he succeeded in this peaceably, by granting freer constitutions to the cities and reorganizing the country generally. The year 170 B.C., therefore, marks an epoch in the history of Tarsus, for it was now refounded as a Greek *polis*, and called by a new name, 'Antiocheia on the Cydnus.'

There is no reason to think[‖] that the change of name was a mere act of adulation to the reigning king, implying no real development in the city constitution. It is true that the name Antioch soon fell into disuse, and the name Tarsus revived; but this was due partly to the fact that the town was not thoroughly Grecized, partly to the fact that the name Antioch was already too common, and the three new Antiochs would hardly establish a right to exist beside the many older Antiochs. Rather we must look on the refoundation of Tarsus as a critical epoch in its history.

The refoundation was certainly accompanied by an increase of population, for the regular Seleucid policy in such cases was to introduce a body of settlers whose loyalty might be reckoned on, and to give them special privileges in the city. The colonists whom the Seleucid kings most commonly planted in the cities of Asia Minor were Jews;[¶] and therefore it is highly probable that a Jewish colony was established at Tarsus about B.C. 170.

---

[*] Ed. Schoene: Eusebius quotes from Alex. Polyhistor.

[†] Athenæus, viii. p. 335, xii. p. 529 f.; Strabo, p. 672; Cicero, *Tusc.* v. 35; Arrian, *Anab.* ii. 5; Clearchus Solensis in *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* ii. p. 305, 5.

[*] Steph. Byz. and le Bas-Waddington, *Inscr. d'Asie Min.* No. 1486.

[†] Compare Magarsos (see Mallos).

[‡] Hill, *Catalogue of British Museum Coins, Cilicia*, etc. pp. xcviii, ci, cx, etc.

[§] The name satrapy was used in the Seleucid empire; see Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i. p. 257.

[‖] As Waddington (*l.c.*) wrongly thinks.

[¶] See Phrygia, vol. iii. p. 868.

iv. TARSUS THE ROMAN CITY.—From the decaying Seleucid empire Tarsus passed into the hands of the Romans. From B.C. 103 onwards the name Cilicia became 'the Roman term for a great, ill-defined, half-subdued agglomeration of lands, comprising parts of Cilicia, Pamphylia, and other lands' (Ramsay, *Histor. Comm. on Galatians*, p. 103). In 66 Cilicia Campestris was decisively conquered by Pompey, after having been under the power of king Tigranes more or less since 83; and in 64 it was properly organized (see CILICIA) as a province with Tarsus for its capital, though considerable parts of the country were left for a long time under native kings—Tarcoudimotos I. and II. and Antiochus being the most famous.

Tarsus, while exposed to the oppression generally exercised on subject cities by the Roman republican officials, was favourably treated by Julius Cæsar, Antonius, and Augustus. Cæsar passed through the city on his march from Egypt to Pontus; and the strong partisanship of the Tarsians for him was shown by the name Juliopolis which was granted to, or assumed by, them (Dio C. 47. 26). In punishment for its devotion to Cæsar, Tarsus was harshly treated by Cassius in 43. But Antonius soon after granted it the privilege of enjoying its own laws (as *civitas libera*) and the right of duty-free export and import trade.[*] He also made it his residence for a time; and received here a visit from Cleopatra, who sailed up to Tarsus in B.C. 38 in circumstances of extraordinary magnificence and luxury. It formed part of the large realm which he bestowed on the Egyptian queen (see vol. ii. p. 86). When Augustus triumphed over Antonius he recognized that the Tarsians were partisans, not of Antonius specially, but of the Empire as contrasted with the Republic; and he even increased their privileges. Cilicia was now united in one large province with Syria.

Thus Tarsus, when St. Paul was a child, stood before the world at the entrance to the greatest province of the East as a metropolis, a free city with a free harbour, mistress of a large and fertile territory, a centre of Roman imperial partisanship. It had been a Greek self-governing city since B.C. 170, and the enthusiasm with which it had taken up Greek education and civilization had made it one of the three great university cities of the Mediterranean world. Strabo (14, 5, 13, p. 673) speaks of the Tarsian university as even surpassing in some respects those of Athens and Alexandria; and he observes that all the students were natives,[†] and no strangers came to it; but, on the contrary, many natives of the country went abroad to study and reside, few returning home again: Rome was full of Tarsian and Alexandrian scholars. So strong was the Tarsian love for letters and education! They filled their own university and foreign cities and Rome itself. Demetrius, as Plutarch tells (*de Defect. Orac.*, *ad init.*), went to Britain and Egypt, the Erythræan Sea and the land of the Troglodytes, to satisfy his scientific curiosity. Athenodorus the Stoic was the companion of Cato the younger, and died in his house; another Stoic, Athenodorus Kananites, was the teacher of Augustus; Nestor taught the young Marcellus, his heir (and Tiberius the emperor, according to pseudo-Lucian, *Macr.* 21); Antipater the Stoic was head of the school in Athens and the great opponent of Carneades; and other philosophers and poets of Tarsus are named by Strabo, p. 674 f.

Philosophers governed Tarsus at the important crisis when it was adapting itself to the imperial system. Athenodorus retired to Tarsus in his old age, greatly honoured by his pupil Augustus, and invested by him with extraordinary authority in the city. He found that Tarsus had been seriously misgoverned and plundered by a certain clique, favoured by Antonius, but now greatly weakened since his defeat. After vainly attempting to bring them back by reason to a law-abiding spirit, Athenodorus, in virtue of the powers conferred by Augustus, sent them into exile, and reformed the constitution of Tarsus.[*] It appears from Dion Chrysostom (*Orat.* xxxiii. *ad Tars.* 20) that the constitution in the Roman period was of oligarchic or rather timocratic type, citizenship requiring a certain fortune;[†] and there can be no doubt that this was the kind of reform introduced by Athenodorus, for it was in harmony with the whole tendency of the Roman imperial policy.[‡] After the death of Athenodorus, at the age of 82, another Tarsian philosopher named Nestor, who also had approved himself to Augustus, succeeded to his commanding position in the city, and enjoyed the respect of a series of provincial governors. The rule of these two philosophers probably continued from about B.C. 29 to some time after Christ.[§] It is very probable that St. Paul may have seen and listened to Nestor, who lived 92 years.[||] The influence of Athenodorus, too, lasted long in Tarsus, where he was worshipped as a hero, for Dion Chrysostom about A.D. 100 quotes his name (in the Oration which he addressed to the Tarsians) as a household word among them. His doctrines may be taken as those which most influenced Tarsus in the time of St. Paul, and which the latter is likely to have been taught in the schools of that city. Being a Stoic, he found the aim and end of life in release from passions; but, if we may judge from the scanty quotations from or allusions to his writings, he estimated the quality of human action greatly by reference to its relation to God. 'Know,' said he, 'that you are set free from all passions, when you have reached such a point that you ask nought of God that you cannot ask openly'; and Seneca, who quotes this,[¶] goes on to state as the rule of life, in his spirit, if not in his words, 'So live with men as if God saw; so speak with God as if men were listening.' The spirit in which he guided the politics of Tarsus is expressed in a longer extract,[**] the gist of which is: 'It would be best to strengthen one's mind by making oneself useful in politics to fellow-citizens and the world; but in the degraded and envenomed state of politics one must be content with the opportunity for free expansion of the mind in benefiting one and all by educating them, by encouraging virtue, by teaching them to comprehend the gods, and to have a good conscience: thus even in private life one fulfils a public duty. The student lives well, not by renouncing humanity and society, but by drawing friends round himself. He who lives and studies for his own sole benefit will from lack of work fall into mere misuse of the time which nature requires us to spend. One must be able to give an account of one's time and prove one's old age by the amount of what one has done for the good of the world, and not simply by the length of time one has lived.'

---

[*] Pseudo-Lucian (*Macr.*) and Dion Chrys. (*ad Tars.*) assign this grant to Augustus, who gave it again when he might have taken it away.

[†] Among the natives (ἐπιχώριοι) Strabo includes, doubtless, persons from the neighbouring parts of Asia Minor. Athenodorus, the most famous of Tarsian philosophers, was called *Kananites*, from the name of his native village. The village probably was *Kanna* in eastern Lycaonia, which afterwards rose to be a city coining money.

[*] κατέλυσε τὴν καθεστῶσαν πολιτείαν (Strab. p. 674).

[†] See Kühn, *Städteverwaltung im röm. Kaiserreiche*, pp. 250, 470.

[‡] See Kühn, *l.c.*

[§] The exact date of Athenodorus is uncertain. He is commonly conjectured by modern writers to have been a pupil of Posidonius (B.C. 140-60); but Eusebius, *Chron.*, gives the date when he was flourishing as A.D. 7. This tends to show that the common dating of his career is too early; perhaps he may be placed B.C. 72 to A.D. 10; or, more probably, Eusebius made a mistake, taking his death in the height of influence for the date when he flourished: in that case 75 B.C. to 7 A.D. was his period.

[||] Pseudo-Lucian, *Macr.* 21.

[¶] *Ep. Mor.* I. x. 5.

[**] Seneca, *de Tranq. An.* 3 (in *St. Paul the Trav.* p. 394, *Clem.* is mentioned wrongly in place of *Tranq.*).

Such was the environment, on its best side, amidst which St. Paul spent his early years. To estimate its influence on him would be out of place here; but we remember that, when he was rescued from imminent death, bruised doubtless and torn by the hands of the mob in Jerusalem, in answer to the question of the Roman officer, the words that rose to his lips as he recovered breath were: 'I am a Jew, a man of Tarsus in Cilicia, a citizen of no mean city' (Ac 21^{39}). In such circumstances a man does not waste words, or speak what does not lie deep in his nature. St. Paul had to show the officer that he was not an Egyptian, but the tone in which he spoke of Tarsus shows a warm feeling about it as a city and for its own sake.[*]

The timocratic system introduced by Athenodorus into Tarsus has an important bearing on St. Paul's life. In a city where the mass of the inhabitants could be said to be 'outside of the citizenship,' *i.e.* not possessing the full rights of a citizen,[†] he claimed to be a citizen. Citizenship in Tarsus was the certificate of respectability and standing which he mentioned to Claudius Lysias, when it was necessary at once to explain away appearances which were certainly much against him as he was pulled out of the murderous hands of the mob. One may ask why he did not mention his Roman citizenship at that time, for Roman citizenship was a higher honour and a greater proof of respectability; and it seems hardly possible to make any other answer except that, in the excitement of that terrible scene, the feeling that lay deepest in his heart about worldly position rose to his lips. When he was a child he felt himself a 'Jew, a citizen of Tarsus,' and almost unconsciously the words rose to his lips. But the Tarsian citizenship had this value in the eyes of those who possessed it, because it was confined to a select small body.

The history of Tarsus under the empire is a large subject. The following points may be noticed as characteristic of the Asiatic Roman cities generally, and illustrative of their relation to the early Christians and to the Roman State:—

The loyalty of those great cities to the emperors was very strong, and is unusually well illustrated in the case of Tarsus, which assumed titles from the name of the emperors Hadrian, Commodus, Severus, Antoninus (Caracalla), Macrinus, and Alexander Severus,[‡] dropping some when the emperor died, and keeping others for long. It took the title of Temple-Warden (*νεωκόρος, δὶς νεωκόρος*), indicating that one, or two, temples of the imperial worship were built in the city. It induced governors of the province and even the emperor himself, Alexander Severus, to accept office (of course merely honorary) in the city, and boasted of this on coins and in inscriptions.

Titles like these, however, sprang as much from vanity as from loyalty. The great cities vied with one another in inventing titles and appropriating the titles of rivals. Tarsus and Anazarbus competed with one another in this way. Each claimed such titles as Metropolis, First and Greatest and Fairest, Temple-Warden; but Anazarbus was never Twice Temple-Warden, nor Metropolis of the Three Eparchiai (Cilicia, Lycaonia, Isauria), but only Metropolis of the Nation (*ἔθνους*, *i.e.* Cilicia). On one occasion, about A.D. 218, Anazarbus induced the emperor Elagabalus to accept the office of Demiourgos[§] in the city, and struck coins to commemorate this honour. Tarsus doubtless was downcast till it could strike similar coins boasting of Alexander Severus as Demiourgos. Both cities boasted that the koinoboulion (Council of the Koinon of Cilicia) met within its walls; but Tarsus alone could boast of the festival and games common to the three united provinces. And so on, title after title was devised to imitate or outshine a rival.

Tarsus was saved by the barrier of Mount Taurus from many of the invasions which swept over Asia Minor. Only an enemy who took the route from Syria over Mt. Amanus through Cilicia would reach Tarsus; but most invasions preferred the route through Eastern Cappadocia, keeping north of Mt. Taurus. Thus, in the long peace of the empire the defences and the defensive powers of the people in Cilicia must have grown weak, and when at last an enemy entered the country they found it a helpless prey.

In the Byzantine ecclesiastical and political system Tarsus became even more important than in the older empire, owing to the steady growth of the Eastern provinces in wealth, education, and weight. Thus Basil of Cæsarea (*Ep.* 34), in A.D. 373 (or 369), emphasizes its importance as 'a city so placed as to be united with Cilicia, Cappadocia, and Assyria' (*i.e.* Syria).

Two churches are mentioned at Tarsus. In A.D. 485 Leontius forced Verina to proclaim him emperor at Tarsus in the Church of St. Peter outside the city. Such an important ceremony is likely to have been held in the principal church of Tarsus, and we may identify this Church of St. Peter as the great church of Tarsus destroyed by the Moslems in A.D. 885.[*] If so, it is remarkable that the principal church was not dedicated to St. Paul; but it is recorded that the Church of St. Paul in Tarsus was built by the emperor Maurice (583–602),[†] while we may be confident that the great church of Tarsus was built as early as the 4th century.

v. TARSUS THE ARAB CITY.—In view of the strongly Syrian associations of Tarsus, it is important to observe the way in which it lost its Western relations, and reverted to a purely Oriental type during the long wars against the Mohammedans. The Arabs first crossed into Cilicia by the Syrian Gates from Antioch in 641.[‡] In 646 the Arabs found all the fortresses between Antioch and Tarsus deserted; presumably the terror of these raids and the neglect of frontier defence by the emperor made the people flee to the mountains.

In 650 the Arabs invaded Isauria (so Theophanes; 649 Ibn Al Athir). This would appear to imply that Tarsus, with Cilicia generally, was in Arab hands, though it must be remembered that the Arab invasions were often only passing raids, in which the forts and cities were left unattacked, or watched by detachments of the invading forces, while the open country was ravaged, and captives swept off into slavery. Cilicia, however, having been so neglected by the central government, was exposed defenceless to the Arabs. Yet the military strength of the empire soon revived, while the Arab raids made little permanent impression. Tarsus was quickly reoccupied by the Christians; but in 673 it was captured (after a defence presumably) by the Arabs. In the following years the Arab attacks were made chiefly by the north road nearer the Euphrates, or by sea; Cappadocia was occupied, and Armenia and Pontus attacked, while Cilicia was not much molested by formal invasions, but its cities seem to have still remained unprotected, and exposed to any small raids. Thus in 692 an Arab army advanced from the Euphrates nearly to Amorion, and returned by Cilicia.

In 699–700 the Christians recovered Cappadocia, and the Arabs henceforth made regular use of the Cilician route in invading the Byzantine empire. Mopsuestia at the important crossing of the Pyramus was fortified in 701, and Tarsus was now permanently occupied as an Arab capital on their northwestern frontier. The northern part of Eastern Cilicia, with the town of Sision (now called Sis), was conquered in 703; in 706 the last struggle of the Romans to retain this country is recorded by Al Tabari. The wars of the following years imply that Cilicia was the permanent basis for the Arab operations[§] in Lycaonia, Pisidia, Phrygia, and Bithynia. At the same time Cæsarea, with Eastern Cappadocia, was again taken by the Arabs in 726, but recovered by Constantine in 746. After this the Arab frontier cities on the north were generally Melitene and Germaniceia, and a debateable land lay between them and Cæsareia, though the Christians attacked or even destroyed one or other of the two Arab fortresses in 750–754 and 778, while the Arabs frequently advanced north and north-west into Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, etc. In 806 and 830 the Arabs carried forward the Cilician frontier to Tyana, building a mosque and settling colonists there; but both attempts failed immediately, and Tarsus remained the capital of Orientalism against the West.

---

[*] It must be remembered that such expressions as *οὐκ ἀσήμου πόλεως, οὐκ ὀλίγον*, often imply a strong assertion of the opposite.

[†] *ἔστι πλῆθος οὐκ ὀλίγον ὥσπερ ἔξωθεν τῆς πολιτείας* (Dion. Chrys. *ad Tars.* p. 321; see p. 687, col. 2, n. †). On the rights and meaning of *πολιτεία* see Szanto, *Das griech. Burgerrecht.*

[‡] It calls itself *Ἀλεξανδριανὴ Σευηριανὴ Ἀντωνινιανὴ Ἀδριανή* in an inscription, and coins often give the last three cumulated.

[§] Title of the chief magistrate in many Cilician cities; the title is Doric, and points to the old Doric relations of Cilicia.

[*] Muralt, *Essai de Chronogr. Byzant.* p. 740.

[†] Sim. viii. 13. There may have been an older Church of St. Paul, of course, in Tarsus, but this was built, not rebuilt, by Maurice.

[‡] Dates from Arab authorities from 641–750 are given according to Mr. E. W. Brooks' papers in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1898, p. 182 f., 1899, p. 19 f.; dates from Byzantine authorities according to Muralt, *Essai de Chronogr. Byzant.*

[§] This appears in incidental expressions, such as Theoph. p. 390, l. 18 f. (de Boor).

In 807 the emperor Nicephorus invaded Cilicia, and defeated the Arabs near Tarsus; but the Caliphs Harun and al-Mamun strengthened the Arab power on this frontier. The latter died at (or near) Tarsus in 833. About the middle of the 9th cent. Byzantine power grew stronger, and Cilicia and Tarsus were the scene of many conflicts, while the Caliphs' vigour waned. In 883 Tarsus is mentioned as a strong fortress, the capital of an independent Mohammedan State. In 891 an Arab fleet is said to have sailed from Tarsus towards the Byzantine coasts; and in 900 the fleet at Tarsus was burned by the Caliph on account of the disloyalty of the city. In 898 the Greek forces landed near Tarsus and gained a victory over the Arabs. About this time Tarsus is mentioned frequently as the centre of Mohammedan opposition to the reviving Christian power. In 904 a Tarsian fleet burned Thessalonica. At length, in 965, after all the rest of Cilicia had been recaptured by the Christians, Tarsus surrendered on favourable terms, the Moslem population were given safe retirement to Antioch, and only Christians were left in the city. The great gates of Tarsus were carried in triumph to Constantinople.

vi. MODERN TARSUS.—The new Christian city of Tarsus had a checkered history. Byzantine Greeks, Latins, Armenians, Turcomans, Turks, Egyptians struggled for it, and alternately held it and lost it. For a century Greek rule in Cilicia was practically unchallenged by the decaying Saracen empire; but even during this time Tarsus must have undoubtedly retained many traces of the three centuries of Arab rule, and become far more Oriental than it had been under the Roman and early Byzantine rule. About 1067 the Seljuk Turks began to ravage Asia Minor, and their terrible armies were seen and felt in Cilicia; and in 1071 the victory of Mauzikert laid the country prostrate and helpless at their feet. Their rule over Phrygia, Lycaonia, Cappadocia, Armenia, Pontus, was recognized by the feeble emperors; but Cilicia still remained, on the whole, in Christian hands, so that the wall of Mt. Taurus once more formed a line of demarcation between the two religions (though now Islam was on the north and Christianity on the south). A new power now appeared in Cilicia: in 1080 Reuben, the first Armenian prince of Cilicia (called often during the next three centuries Lesser Armenia), seized some forts in the eastern Taurus mountains on the north frontier of Cilicia. The history of Lesser Armenia was stormy, and its bounds varied from year to year, sometimes confined to the Taurus forts, sometimes including Tarsus and Cilicia as a whole. In 1097 Baldwin with his Crusading army captured Tarsus, and introduced another factor into the confused history of Cilicia.

The vicissitudes of Tarsian history in this period are so rapid and so numerous that they cannot be traced in detail. Tarsus, the capital, passed from hand to hand. The Turks, who captured it in 1078, did not hold it; the Crusaders were a more permanent power. The emperor John Comnenus took Tarsus in 1137, the Armenian Reuben II. in 1182. The Memluk Sultans of Egypt became a factor in Cilician history in 1260. The terrible Egyptian invasion of 1322 devastated the country. The Armenians suffered from quarrels in the governing family, from religious feuds, and from national inability to unite in a vigorous defensive policy. In 1375 the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia (Lesser Armenia) finally gave place to the Egyptian power, and Tarsus may from this time be said to have relapsed into its original condition of a purely Oriental city. But it was still not subject to Turkey. It was the prey sometimes of Egypt, sometimes of Turcoman chiefs called Ramazanoglu, whose tribes seem to have entered the Taurus fastnesses about 1200, and to have gradually established their hold on the plain, and to have brought the country once more almost into nomadic barbarism. In 1466 the Osmanli or Ottoman Turks entered Cilicia, when the army of Mohammed II. captured Tarsus; but the city was often recaptured, until Selim destroyed the Memluk power in 1516. Again in 1832 the Egyptian forces of Mehemet Ali entered Cilicia, and held Tarsus till 1840, when once more it passed under Ottoman power.

Tarsus remains a wretched town of the Turkish style, little more than a large collection of hovels, with a trying climate, an oppressive atmosphere, retaining not a trace of its former splendour, and few scraps even of ancient marbles. There are few places where the contrast between ancient and modern life is more conspicuous. The unsightly and shapeless mass of concrete, wrongly called the Tomb of Sardanapalus, is the only ancient monument that is displayed to the tourist. It is the substructure of the platform on which stood a temple of the Roman period, and was originally hidden under the marble walls and floors and steps, afterwards utilized to make mediæval buildings, which in their turn have been utterly destroyed.

LITERATURE.—Ritter, *Kleinasien*, ii. (*Erdkunde von Asien*, vol. xxi.) pp. 181-235; Beaufort, *Karamania*; Leake, *Tour and Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 214; Barker, *Lares and Penates*; Hill, *Catalogue of British Museum Coins of Lycaonia, Isauria, and Cilicia*, pp. lxxvi ff., 162 ff.; Koldewey in Robert, *Aus der Anomia*, p. 178 f.; Wernicke, *ib.* p. 77 f.; Sir C. Wilson in *Murray's Handbook.*

W. M. RAMSAY.

TARTAK (תַּרְתָּק; Θαρθάκ; *Tharthac*).—An idol of the Avvites, introduced by them into Samaria, whither they had been transported by the Assyrian king Sargon (2 K 17^{31}). Tartaḳ is mentioned with another deity called NIBHAZ, and, according to the Bab. Talmud (*Sanhedrin*, 63*b*), was worshipped under the form of an ass.* Various speculations have been made as to the identity of this deity, the religious systems of the Egyptians, Persians, and Carmanians having been laid under contribution to supply points of comparison; but the Typhon of the first, and the sacrificing of an ass by the last to their god (identified with Mars), do not seem to afford satisfactory explanations. In Assyro-Babylonian mythology no god in the form of an ass is at present provable, and the comparison of the name Tartaḳ with the Babylonian god Itaḳ (on account of the second syllable) can no longer be made, the correct reading of the latter being Išum. In all probability no trustworthy identification of the deity, nor satisfactory explanation of his name, will be made until the position of the place (AVVA or IVVAH†) whence his worshippers came, has been determined.

T. G. PINCHES.

TARTAN (תַּרְתָּן; BA Ταναθάν, B^b Ναθάν, ℵ$^{c.a.,d.a.,al.}$ Q* Θαρθά[ν] in Is 20^1; B Θανθάν, A Θαρθάν in 2 K 18^{17}; *Tharthan*).—The title of an Assyrian military officer, sent by Sargon to Ashdod (Is 20^1), and later (probably another person) despatched by Sennacherib, accompanied by RAB-SARIS and RAB-SHAKEH, 'with a great host,' against Jerusalem. Like the other titles in the latter passage, it was long thought to be a personal name; and it is apparently this (notwithstanding the presence of the article in the Greek) which has given rise to the variant Nathan (an abbreviation of Tanathan) in B^b. In the Assyrian inscriptions and lists of officials, however, it appears as the title of the highest officer of State next to the king, and probably corresponds to the modern military title 'commander-in-chief.' In the list of officials given in *WAI* ii. pl. 31, ll. 26, 27, two grades appear, *turtanu îmni*, 'the *turtan* of the right,' and *tartanu šumēli*, 'the *tartan* of the left,' the former probably corresponding with the *turtanu rabû*, 'great Tartan,' or 'field-marshal' of Shalmaneser II., and the latter with the *tartanu šanû*, 'second Tartan,' mentioned by Johns. That the two forms, *turtanu* and *tartanu*, were interchangeable, is shown by the contract-tablet in which the form *turtanu šumēli* occurs, and the variant spellings *turtannu* and *tartannu* in the inscriptions of Sargon.‡ As one entitled to hold the office of Eponym, the Tartan came next in order to the king (see the titles for the Eponyms for B.C. 809, 780, 770, 752, and 742). Who the Tartans were who are referred to in Is 20^1 and 2 K 18^{17} is not known. In B.C. 720, Ašur-iska(?)-udannin was Eponym, and possibly held the office, and in that case may have been the one sent to Ashdod. For the reign of Sennacherib we have Abda'u, who held the office during the eponymy of Ilu-ittĉa, B.C. 694; and Bêlêmuranni, who was Tartan and Eponym for B.C. 686. Either of these may have been the one sent against Jerusalem.

---

* The companion-deity, Nibhaz (changed to Nibhan by reading ן for ז), is stated to have been in the form of a dog—an explanation which is due to the supposition that the word was connected with *nābaḥ*, 'to bark.' It is therefore not improbable that the statement that Tartaḳ was a deity in the form of an ass may be due to a similar (popular) etymology.

† Sachau (*ZA* 12, 48) identifies it with the modern *Imm*, between Antioch and Aleppo.

‡ The forms with double *n* imply that the second vowel was long (*tartānu*), as in Hebrew.

LITERATURE.—Schrader in Riehm's *HWB*^{2}; Fried. Delitzsch, *Assyr. HWB*; Johns, *Assyrian Deeds*, vol. ii. pp. 68, 69; Driver in *Authority and Archæology* (ed. Hogarth), 140.

T. G. PINCHES.

TATTENAI (תַּתְּנַי).—The name of the governor (*peḥah*) of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia under Darius Hystaspis, Ezr 5^3 (B Θαναναί, A Θαθθαναί, Luc. everywhere Ταvθαναῖος) ^{6} (B Θανθανᾶς, A Θαθθαναίς) 6^6 (LXX om.) ^{13} (B Ταvθαναί, A Θαθθαναί). He is called in 1 Es $6^{3.7.27\,(26)}$ 7^1 SISINNES (Σισίννης), which is simply a reproduction in Greek (cf. Σισίνης in Arr. i. 25. 3, vii. 6. 4) of a Persian name *Thithinaia* (orig. *Thathanaia* ?), with aspirated *t*. See Ed. Meyer, *Entstehung des Judenthums*, 32.

TAVERNS, THE THREE, is the rendering in Ac 28^{15} of Τρεῖς Ταβέρναι, the Greek form which represents the Latin *Tres Tabernæ*, as the name of one of the two stations on the Appian highway whither Christian brethren from Rome, who had heard of St. Paul's arrival at Puteoli on his way to the capital, went forth to meet him. The first group of the brethren met him at a point earlier on his journey—the Market of Appius—(see APPIUS, MARKET OF) 43 (Roman) miles from Rome; the second awaited him at the stage called *Tres Tabernæ*, which was 10 miles nearer to the capital, being, according to the Itinerary of Antoninus, 33 miles distant from it. The Latin *taberna*, which is by no means to be identified with or restricted to our modern sense of *tavern*, but was applied to structures of boards, booths, huts, and shops of various kinds, probably denotes here an inn for travellers. Three such inns might fitly give name to a halting-place, which doubtless was the seat of local traffic, and from which a road branched off to Antium on the seacoast. Cicero mentions it in writing to Atticus (*Ep.* ii. 10, 12, 13). Its precise site has hardly been identified, but is generally referred to the vicinity of the modern *Cisterna*.

WILLIAM P. DICKSON.

TAW (ת).—The twenty-second letter of the Heb. alphabet, and as such employed in the 119th Psalm to designate the 22nd part, each verse of which begins with this letter. It is transliterated in this Dictionary by *t* or *th*.

For the use of *taw* (תָּו) in Ezk 9^4 and Job 31^{35} see FOREHEAD, and MARK No. 6 (vol. iii. p. 244^b).

TAXES, TAXING.—See PUBLICAN and QUIRINIUS.

TEACHER, TEACHING.—In the OT various Heb. words are used for teachers and their work (chiefly verbal forms, הבין, הורה, למד); and several other words are employed more indefinitely for teaching generally (אלף, הזהיר, הודיע, יסר, ירה, השכיל). This is one indication that in early times there was no recognized office of teacher with a technical title. Nevertheless the duty of teaching, especially in the education of the young, is much insisted on. In Deut. this is repeatedly urged as an obligation resting on parents (*e.g.* 4^{10} 6^7 11^{19}). The head of the family is to be diligent in teaching his children the great precepts of the Law, and in talking of them habitually in the house and in the street. The prophets were recognized to be divinely-inspired teachers, commissioned to instruct the people in the knowledge of Jehovah and His will. The word *tôrāh* (תּוֹרָה), which was applied to Deut. in the days of Josiah (*e.g.* 2 K 22^8), and from the time of Ezra to the Pent. (*e.g.* Neh 8^2), means 'teaching' (lit. 'direction'), and was used in earlier times for the instruction given by the prophets. It is used in this sense by Hosea (4^6 8^1 8^{12}), by Amos (2^4), by Micah (4^2), by Isaiah (1^{10} 2^3 etc.), by Zephaniah (3^4). It is to be observed that in all these instances of the occurrence of the word in the prophets we never read of 'the *tôrāh* of Moses' as in Ezra and later, but of 'Jehovah's *tôrāh*,' or 'the *tôrāh*' indefinitely. The clear distinction, now resulting from OT criticism on the date of the Pent., accentuates the importance of teaching under the prophets by demonstrating that what formerly appeared to be a reference to the Mosaic law is, in fact, an allusion to the prophets' teaching. In early times the priests also undertook the religious instruction of the people. Thus Micah, rebuking the mercenary leaders in Jerusalem, declares, 'the priests thereof teach (יוֹרוּ) for hire' (Mic 3^{11}). After the return from the Captivity an immense impulse was given to religious teaching. Religion had now passed into a literary phase. The public reading of the Law by Ezra was an indication that the new Judaism was to restore popular knowledge (Neh 8^{1-8}). It is a significant fact that the high priest took no part in this effort to popularize what had hitherto been cherished as a mystery in the sacerdotal clan. The scribe who not only copies the Law, but teaches it, now becomes the leader of the Jewish religion among the people, gradually taking the place of the prophet, but with an inferior rôle, since he cannot pretend to come with an original message from Jehovah, and must content himself with interpreting, commenting on, and 'fencing' a fixed written *tôrāh*. Thus he in turn comes into antagonism with the priest who performs official functions, administers the Law, and enjoys an aristocratic rank; because the scribe's work in popularizing the Law lessens the power of the priesthood by opening the eyes of the people and by making religion more an affair of ideas than of ritual, or if of ritual still of observances within the reach of the laity. Accordingly, the growth of the synagogue goes on side by side with the development of teaching by the scribes. See RABBI.

In NT times teaching was most highly valued among the Jews, and the teacher held in great respect.* Josephus, writing the history of his people from the standpoint of his own day, relates how Moses commanded that 'boys should learn the primary laws (πρώτους τοὺς νόμους) as the best knowledge and the cause of prosperity' (*Ant.* IV. viii. 12); and affirms for his own time, 'We take most pains of all with the instruction of children' (*c. Apion.* i. 12). Similarly Philo writes: 'Since the Jews esteem their laws as divine revelations, and are instructed in the knowledge of them from their earliest youth, they bear the image of the law in their souls' (*Legat. ad Gai.* 31); and, 'They are taught, so to speak, from their swaddling-clothes, by their parents, teachers, and those who bring them up, even before instruction in the sacred laws and unwritten customs, to recognize one God as the Father and Creator of the world' (*ib.*). The Talmud abounds in traditional sayings on the importance of teaching. This is much insisted on in the *Pirkê Aboth*, where we read how Joshua ben Perachia said, 'Get thyself a teacher' (i. 6); Rabban Gamaliel, 'Appoint for thyself a teacher, so wilt thou avoid what is doubtful' (i. 16); Hillel, 'An ignorant man cannot be truly pious' (ii. 5). Certainly elementary schools existed in the time of the Mishna, and the way in which they are referred to implies that they were then established institutions. It is most probable that they were in existence in the time of Christ. The name of these schools was *beth-sepher* (בֵּית הַסֵּפֶר)—'the house of the book'—*i.e.* of the *tôrāh*. Thus we read (Jerus. *Megill.* iii. 1), 'R. Pinchas said in the name of R. Hoshaiah that there were 480 synagogues in Jerusalem, and each had a *beth-sepher* and a *beth-Talmud*, the former for the *mikra* (text of Scripture), the latter for the *mishna* (oral tradition).' A frequently quoted sentence about the order of a child's education—of late date, being found in an appendix to the *Aboth* of the post-Talmudic period—states that 'at 5 years old (he comes) to the reading of Scripture, at 10 to the Mishna, at 13 to the practice of the commandments, at 15 to the Talmud, at 18 to marriage,' etc. (*Pirkê Aboth*, v. 21). For further particulars on this point see Schürer (*HJP* II. ii. § 27, and artt. EDUCATION and SYNAGOGUE).

---

* In 2 Mac 1^{10} we read of a Jew named Aristobulus who had been Ptolemy's 'teacher' (διδάσκαλος).

In the NT, teaching is mentioned chiefly with reference to the exposition of specifically Christian ideas. Nicodemus acknowledges Jesus to be 'a teacher (*διδάσκαλος*) come from God,' and addresses Him with the recognized Jewish name of a teacher, 'Rabbi' (*ῥαββεί*, Jn 3[2]). In all four Gospels the usual name for our Lord is 'Teacher' (*διδάσκαλος*, tr. 'Master' in AV and RV, but 'Teacher' in RVm and in *Twentieth Cent. NT*). This word is not only used by the disciples; it is also employed by others in addressing our Lord, *e.g.* the Pharisees and Herodians (Mk 12[14]). No doubt it is the evangelist's rendering of the Aramaic title, 'Rabbi,' which occasionally appears in its original form in Jn (1[38. 49] 3[2. 26] 6[25], and once *Rabboni*, *ῥαββουνεί*, 20[16]). It is important to observe that a clear distinction between 'teaching' (*διδάσκω*) and 'preaching' (*κηρύσσω*) is maintained throughout the NT. This is manifest in our Lord's public ministry. He commenced with preaching, as John had done before Him (Mk 1[4]). This preaching was the call to repentance in connexion with the announcement that the kingdom of God was at hand, and was called 'preaching the gospel of God' (Mk 1[14]). Then, having gathered some disciples about Him, our Lord proceeded to instruct them in the mysteries of the kingdom, its nature, laws, and principles. This instruction is called 'teaching,' and it was with such teaching rather than with preaching that the later part of His ministry was occupied.

A similar distinction was observed in the apostolic ministry and in the life and organization of the early Churches. Among the various functions in the Church mentioned by St. Paul in Romans occurs that of 'teaching' (Ro 12[7]). It there takes the third place in a series, being preceded by prophecy and ministry, and followed by exhorting, giving, ruling, and showing mercy. The last of these functions being of a general character, and such as any one might be called on to exercise, suggests that the list as a whole may not point to definite offices. But, in a nearly contemporary and probably earlier epistle, teaching is assigned to specific persons. In 1 Co 12[28] this also comes third in a list; but the list as a whole is different from that in Romans, containing titles of persons, not merely functions; so that we have 'teachers,' not merely 'teaching.' They are preceded by 'first apostles, secondly prophets'; then we come to 'thirdly teachers.' The form changes after this to gifts and functions—'miracles,' 'gifts of healing,' etc. That the teaching is ascribed in an especial way to some people, to the exclusion of others, is shown by St. Paul's questions, 'Are all apostles? Are all prophets? *Are all teachers?*' (v.[29]). Nevertheless, the following questions, 'Are all workers of miracles? have all gifts of healing?' etc., show that the personal differences rest on differences of gift. At Corinth they who have gifts of teaching are teachers, as they who have gifts of healing are healers. Another arrangement appears in Ephesians: 'and he gave some to be apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers' (Eph 4[11]). Here we have four offices, and that of teacher set last, an office not mentioned in the earlier lists—the evangelist's—coming between it and the offices of apostles and prophets. Further, it is also known by the name of 'pastor'; for the arrangement of the clauses ('and some' introducing each class) shows that the 'teachers' and the 'pastors' are the same persons. The distinction of the teacher from the evangelist is significant, suggesting the differentiation of function in which the evangelist preaches, declaring the gospel, and the teacher instructs the converts. The companion title 'pastor' points to a settled ministry within the Church as distinct from the travelling missionary activity of apostles and evangelists; but it is to be observed that the apostles gathered up in themselves the several functions that were afterwards distributed among various members of the Churches. Thus St. Paul describes himself as appointed 'a preacher and an apostle . . . a teacher,' etc. (1 Ti 2[7]—assuming these to be St. Paul's words). When we turn to Acts we meet with yet another arrangement. Here teachers seem to be identified with prophets (Ac 13[1]); but St. Luke may mean that the prominent men whose names he gives consisted of prophets and teachers, as two classes. In course of time the teacher melts into the bishop, his function is absorbed in the episcopate; as a separate officer he is discredited by comparison with the higher official, and ere long he disappears entirely. These stages may be noted thus: (1) At the first appearance of the teacher there is no reference to the bishop: thus there is no indication of bishops in 1 Cor. or Romans. (2) At the time of the Epp. of the Captivity the teachers seem to have practical oversight, like that of the early bishops, even if the name is not given to them, since they are called 'pastors' (Eph 4[11]). It seems reasonable to suppose that these were equivalent to the 'bishops' of Ph 1[1], especially since the word 'bishop' in the latter case may be functional rather than official, as Dr. Hort suggested. (3) In the Pastoral Epistles teaching is joined to the episcopal office. The bishop must be 'apt to teach' (1 Ti 3[2]; compare Tit 1[9]). Especial honour is to be given to the elders who 'labour in the word and in teaching' (1 Ti 5[17]): this suggests that teaching was not carried on by all the elders. St. Paul will not allow women to teach publicly in the Church (1 Ti 2[12]), and yet he had written of aged women being 'teachers of that which is good' (Tit 2[3]), when he must have meant home teaching, or perhaps teaching by example, unless we are to suppose that he changed his views on the subject between Titus and 2 Tim., which is improbable. Already the teacher's office is falling into unworthy hands; and the apostle writes of the time when people will not endure 'healthful teaching' (RVm *ὑγιαινούσης διδασκαλίας*, not 'sound doctrine' AV and RV), but, having itching ears, will heap to themselves teachers after their own lusts (2 Ti 4[3]). (4) In the sub-Apostolic age we still meet with the teacher as distinct from the bishop, though teaching now is more and more appropriated by the latter officer, and the teacher is sinking in importance. In the *Didachê* there are 'teachers' as well as 'apostles' and 'prophets.' All three of these functionaries appear as itinerant ministers visiting the Churches. The teacher is to be tested by what he teaches, and received or rejected according as his instruction agrees with what is laid down in this treatise or differs from it (see *Didachê* xi.). These travelling teachers are quite distinct from the 'bishops and deacons' whom the writer bids his readers 'appoint for yourselves' (xv.). Still later we meet with 'teachers' in the *Shepherd of Hermas*, and here they appear among the officers of the Church, coming between the bishop and the deacon. The stones in the mystical building 'are the apostles and bishops and teachers and deacons' (*Vis.* iii. 5). Hermas writes disparagingly of 'self-appointed teachers,' who 'praise themselves as having understanding,' 'senseless though they are' (*Sim.* ix. 22). We have no definite account of the manner in which the teachers performed their work, or of the substance of their instructions. We are tempted to think of the catechetical teaching of later times; but there is no clear indication of a catechumenate in NT. Still something of the kind must have arisen early from the necessity of the case. The *Didaché* seems to have been a text-book for some such teaching. It has been suggested that the *Logia* recently discovered in Egypt might be a list of sayings of Jesus drawn up for use in teaching. Possibly St. Matthew's *Logia* was compiled with that end in view; and the same may be suggested of the canonical Gospels (cf. A. Wright, *NT Problems*, p. 91 ff.). With reference to teachers and teaching in the NT see Allen, *Christian Institutions*, pp. 28, 29, 40, 42; McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, 528 ff., 640 ff., 654 ff.; Weizsäcker, *Das Apostolische Zeitalter*, pp. 621, 622. W. F. ADENEY.

TEBAH (טֶבַח; A Τάβεκ, Luc. Τάβεχ).—A 'son' of Nahor by his concubine Reumah, Gn 22^{24} [J]. The name stands for an Aramæan town, prob. the same as is named in 2 S 8^{8} [where read, after LXX, Pesh., and 1 Ch 18^{8}, טבח for בטח. See TIBHATH].

TEBALIAH (טְבַלְיָהוּ 'J" hath dipped, *i.e.* purified'; B Ταβλαί, A Ταβελίας, Luc. Ταβεήλ).—A Merarite gatekeeper, 1 Ch 26^{11}.

TEBETH (טֵבֵת, Τηβήθ).—The 10th (Bab.-) Jewish month. See TIME.

TEHAPHNEHES, Ezk 30^{18}.—See TAHPANHES.

TEHINNAH (תְּחִנָּה; B Θαιμάν, A Θανά, Luc. Θεεννά).—The 'father' of Ir-nahash, 1 Ch 4^{12}.

TEIL TREE.—A mistranslation (AV Is 6^{13}) of אֵלָה (RV 'terebinth'). For the various trs of *'ēlāh* see OAK and TEREBINTH.

TEKEL.—See MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN.

TEKOA (תְּקוֹעַ; LXX Θεκῶε, Θεκοῦε, Θεκώμ, Θεκώς).—A town in the tribe of Judah, about 10 miles S. of Jerusalem and 5 S. of Bethlehem, situated on a detached hill about 2700 ft. high which is girt with other lower hills. From the summit there is a broad prospect. In the W. and S. the view is closed by hills, cultivated or clothed with low vegetation. On the N. is the ravine of Urtâs and its continuation Khureitûn, cutting deeply through the hills down to the Dead Sea. The Frank mountain and Bethlehem are visible: Jerusalem is hidden behind intervening hills, but the Mount of Olives can be seen and, still farther to the N., Nebi Samwîl. To the S.E. is another deep and wild valley, Wady Jehâr, running towards the Dead Sea, glimpses of which can be obtained through the distant cliffs. Eastwards the hill slopes down to the Wilderness of Judah. Canon Tristram describes the approach from the Wady Bereikeh: 'In front of us is a long hill, with a copious spring at its foot. . . . The district in its natural features seems to have been always what it is now—bare, treeless, open pasturage. We here lose all traces of the ancient terraces which gird the undulations of every hill farther west with their swathing bands. Here and there are still patches of cultivation in the hollows of the valleys, but the soil is dry and stony, and we begin here to lose the rich vegetable mould which, however scanty, still covers more or less the whole of the central hills, and have, in its stead, only a thirsty, chalky marl. That vegetable soil is doubtless due, in the first instance, to the primæval forest, which certainly once covered the whole of the Judæan, as of the Gilead, range, but has left no trace of its existence on the Western slopes towards the Dead Sea.'

The town is not mentioned very frequently in Scripture. The Heb. of Jos 15^{59} does not include it in the list of places belonging to Judah: the LXX gives it and ten other towns, one of them being Bethlehem. 1 Ch 2^{24} 4^{5} ascribe to Tekoa an antiquity coeval with the Conquest. According to these passages, Ashhur, Caleb's half-brother, was the father, *i.e.* the founder, of Tekoa. In 2 S 14 the wise woman of Tekoa is spoken of in such a manner as to convey the impression that her shrewdness had brought her dwelling-place into notoriety. David spent much time in this part of the country during his *Wanderjahre*: afterwards it was a recruiting ground for the ranks of his mighty men (2 S 23^{26}, 1 Ch 11^{28}). From 2 Ch 11^{6} we learn that it was one of the towns fortified by Rehoboam. Its commanding position and its situation on the utmost frontier of the cultivated land would ensure its being made a military post. Jer 6^{1} shows that its defences continued to be kept up. The prophet bids the children of Benjamin raise up a signal on Beth-haccherem (Jebel Fureidis, the Frank mountain), and blow the trumpet in Tekoa. This is not said merely for the sake of the play on words, *tiḳ'û*, *Tĕḳōa'* [note also *taḳĕ'û* in v.^{3}], but also because this was a garrison town. The Wilderness of Tekoa is named at 2 Ch 20^{20} as the battle-field where Jehoshaphat defeated the Ammonites and their allies. In the Bk. of Nehemiah ($3^{5.\,27}$) the public-spiritedness of the commonalty is sharply contrasted with the contemptuous refusal of their chiefs to bend the neck to the Tirshatha's yoke. 1 Mac 9^{33} relates that Simon and Jonathan fled to the Wilderness of Tekoa from before Bacchides. The crowning glory of Tekoa was its connexion with the prophet Amos (Am 1^{1}).

Josephus, who mentions Tekoa as one of the 'strong and large cities' built by Rehoboam (*Ant.* VIII. x. 1), speaks of it as a village in the Maccabæan period (*BJ* IV. ix. 5) and in his own day (*Vita*, 75). Jerome (*Comm. in Jerem.* vi. 1) calls it a village, 12 (Roman) miles from Jerusalem, visible to him from Bethlehem every day. In the Pref. to Amos he adds: 'There is no village beyond Tekoa, not even [a probable conjectural emendation is 'except'] rustic huts, of the appearance of ovens, which the Africans call *mapalia*: such is the desolateness of the desert which extends as far as the Red Sea and the boundaries of the Persians, Ethiopians, and Jews. And because no kind of crop whatever grows on the dry and sandy soil, the whole neighbourhood is occupied by shepherds, to compensate for the barrenness of the soil by the multitude of sheep.' The same Father asserts that the tomb of Amos was shown at this place. The Talmud speaks of the oil of Tekoa as the best in the country; and one of the Arab geographers says that its honey was so excellent as to have become proverbial. In the early part of the 6th cent. Saba founded a new monastery here, which, in contradistinction to Laura (Mâr Sâba), was called Laura Nova, 'New Monastery.' Soon after his death it became the scene of fierce conflicts between the Monophysites and the orthodox. In Crusading times it was inhabited by a large population of Christians, who afforded considerable help to the Franks during the first siege of Jerusalem. The village was sacked by a party of Turks from beyond the Jordan in A.D. 1138, but the majority of the inhabitants had taken refuge in the great cave of Khureitûn. There is a somewhat puzzling reference in Bahaoddinus, *Vita Salad.*, ed. Schultens, p. 237. He writes of 'the river of Tekoa (نهر تقّوع), one parasang [=about 3 Eng. miles] from Jerusalem, which furnished a sufficient supply of water to Richard of England and his army' of Crusaders. It is obvious that the distance here given does not agree with the facts. The suggestion has been made that the water in question was that of the lake mentioned 1 Mac 9^{33} *τὸ ὕδωρ λάκκου* Ἀσφάρ (ℵ, Ven.), or Ἀσφάλ (A), which Josephus (*Ant.* XIII. i. 2) calls *τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ καλούμενον λάκκου* Ἀσφάρ, and which Mühlau identifies with *ez-Za'ferâne* S. of Tekoa, Robinson (*BRP*² ii. 202) with *Bir Selhub* S.W. of En-gedi.

The Palestine pilgrims of the Middle Ages do not enlighten us greatly as to the condition or history of Tekoa. In the account of St. Willibald's pilgrimage (8th cent.) it is said that he came hither, and 'there is now a church, and there rests one of the prophets.' The anonymous itinerary of this journey asserts that Nathanael was one of the infants at Bethlehem when Herod slew the children, that his mother hid him under a fig tree (Jn 1^{48}), and that he escaped to Tekoa. In the 12th cent. John of Würzburg and Fetellus state that the tomb of Amos was shown there, the latter adding, 'From its confines Habakkuk was borne by the angel to Babylon. In Thecua many of the prophets used to meet together to discuss divine things.' Isaac Chelo (A.D. 1134) speaks of the tomb of Amos as being in a cave at this place. From William of Tyre we learn that in A.D. 1144 queen Melesinda gave the spot to the canons of the Holy Sepulchre in exchange for property at Bethany.

The ancient name *Tekûa* still clings to the site (Robinson, *Pal.* ii. 406 ff.; Guérin, *Judée*, iii. 141 ff.). In the neighbourhood large flocks of sheep and goats, together with a few oxen, are pastured by Arabs, genuine representatives of the nomads who dwelt there in ancient days. On the level ground immediately near the hill corn is grown. The shepherds use for sheep-cotes the numerous caves with which the mountains are honeycombed. On the broad summit of the hill of Tekoa there are ruins which cover a space of four or five acres. They 'consist chiefly of the foundations of houses constructed of large hewn stones, some of them bevelled. At the N.E are the remains of a square tower, occupying a very commanding position; and near the middle of the site are the ruins of a Greek church, with several broken columns and an octagonal baptismal font of rose-coloured limestone, 5 ft. diam. on the outside, 4 on the inside, and 3 ft. 9 in. deep. There are also many cisterns excavated in the rock.' The view of the font in Wilson's *Picturesque Palestine*, iii. 184, is well worth seeing.

Cyril of Alexandria asserts that the Tekoa of Amos was an Ephraimite, not a Judæan city. The author of the *Lives of the Prophets* says that it was in the tribe of Zebulun—probably a mistake for Simeon, since Simeon bordered closely on Judah. Abarbanel and Kimchi place it in the tribe of Asher. But there is not a particle of real evidence in favour of a second Tekoa.

Tekoite.—A native or inhabitant of Tekoa. The adjective is used three times in the singular number (2 S 23^{26}, 1 Ch 11^{28} 27^{9}) of one of David's mighty men, Ira, the son of Ikkesh the Tekoite. In 2 S $14^{4.9}$ the Heb. has the fem. form, but our versions render the expression, *'ishshâh hat-tĕḳō'îth*, by 'woman of Tekoa.' In Neh $3^{5.27}$ the plural is employed for one of the bands of volunteers who rebuilt the wall of Jerusalem under Nehemiah. It is a little doubtful whether these men actually occupied Tekoa at the time. Tekoa does not figure in the list of repeopled towns given in Ezr 2; they may have been simply 'a clan of fellow-townsmen who had held together during the Exile, and were known by this name after they had settled in Jerusalem.' In any case their public-spirited zeal (v.^{27}) sheds lustre on the name.

J. TAYLOR.

TEKOAH.—This is the AV form in 2 S $14^{2.4.9}$ for Tekoa, and is retained by RV in 1 Mac 9^{33} in the expression 'wilderness of Tekoah.'

TEL-ABIB (תֵּל אָבִיב, perh. 'hill of corn,' but see Del. *Heb. Lang.* 16; *μετέωρος*; *ad acervum novarum frugum*).—A place on the Chebar (Ezk 3^{15}),—one of the rivers or canals in Babylonia. The site is unknown. The LXX and Vulgate have translated the term as if it were not a proper name.

C. W. WILSON.

TELAH (תֶּלַח; B Θάλεες, A Θάλε, Luc. Θάλα).—An Ephraimite, 1 Ch 7^{25}.

TELAIM (הַטְּלָאִים 'the lambs'; *ἐν Γαλγάλοις*; *quasi agnos*).—The place at which Saul concentrated his forces, and numbered his fighting men before his campaign against the Amalekites (1 S 15^{4}). The LXX reads Gilgal for Telaim, and Josephus (*Ant.* VI. vii. 2) also makes Gilgal the place of assembly. Gilgal, however, though so frequently mentioned in connexion with the history of Saul, would be an inconvenient mustering-place for a force about to operate against the Amalekites in the desert S. of Palestine. Still it is possible that Saul may have started from the sanctuary to which he returned with his prisoner and booty. A more suitable locality for the place of assembly would, however, be in the Negeb, or South; and here lay **Telem** (Jos 15^{24}), with which Telaim is probably identical. So Wellhausen, Driver, and Budde, who prefer to point טְלָאִם. Wellhausen reads טֶלֶם also in 1 S 15^{7} for חֲוִילָה. The same reading should also probably be found in 1 S 27^{8} (see Wellh. and Driver, *ad loc.*, and Hommel, *AHT* 243).

C. W. WILSON.

TELASSAR (תְּלַאשָּׂר 2 K 19^{12}, תְּלַשָּׂר Is 37^{12} 'hill of Asshur'; B Θαεσθέν, A Θαλασσάρ; *Thelassar*, *Thalassar*).—A town, inhabited by 'the children of Eden' (see EDEN), which had been conquered by Sennacherib's forefathers, and was in the possession of the Assyrians during that monarch's reign (2 K 19^{12}, Is 37^{12}). It is mentioned with Gozan, Haran, and Rezeph—places in Western Mesopotamia. In this direction lay Beth-Eden, or *Bit-'Adini* (see art. EDEN, vol. i. p. 642ᵇ), a district between the Euphrates and the Belik. It probably stretched along both banks of the Euphrates, between *Balis* and *Birejik*. In the inscriptions, Gozan, Haran, Rezeph, and Bît-'Adini are stated to have been destroyed by Sennacherib's forefathers—a fact which harmonizes well with what is said in 2 Kings and Isaiah (Schrader, *KAT*² 327). A place of this name (*Til-Aššuri*) is mentioned by Tiglath-pileser III. (Ann. 176, ed. Rost, cf. Nimr. ii. *a* 23); but this seems to have been in Babylonia. The name is, however, as Schrader remarks, one that might have been given to any place at which a temple had been built to Asshur; and the *Til-Aššuri*, which Esarhaddon speaks of having conquered (*KIB* ii. 219), near the land of the Mitanni, as Del. (*Parad.* 364) remarks, suits better.

C. W. WILSON.

TELEM (טֶלֶם; B Τέλημ, Aℵ Τέλλημ).—A gatekeeper who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10^{24}; called in 1 Es 9^{25} **Tolbanes**; perhaps the same as **Talmon** of Neh 12^{25}.

TELEM (טֶלֶם 'oppression'; B Μαινάμ, A Τέλεμ; *Telem*).—One of the uttermost cities of Judah towards the border of Edom in the South, or Negeb (Jos 15^{24}). It is mentioned between Ziph and Bealoth, and may be the same place as **Telaim** (1 S 15^{4}). In the LXX reading of 2 S 3^{12}, Abner is said to have sent messengers to Thelam (Θαιλάμ), where David was; and, if this reading be correct, Telem or Telaim was probably intended. The site has not been recovered, but a trace of the name seems to linger in that of the Dhallâm Arabs who occupy the country S. of Moladah (*Tell Milh*). According to Schwarz (*HL* 71), who places Telem N. of Moladah, the whole district is called *Toulam*. Telem is probably the Talmia of the Talmud (Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* 121). A position to the S. of *Tell Milh* would meet the requirements of all the above passages. See, further, TELAIM.

C. W. WILSON.

TEL-HARSHA (תֵּל חַרְשָׁא 'hill of the wood'; B Θααρησά, Ἁρησά, A Θελαρησά, Θελαρσά; *Thelharsa*).—A Babylonian town, of unknown site, from which some of the Jews, who 'could not show their fathers' houses, and their seed, whether they were of Israel,' returned to Judæa after the Captivity (Ezr 2^{59}, Neh 7^{61}). In 1 Es 5^{36} the name is written **Thelersas**. C. W. WILSON.

TELL.—See TALE.

TELMELAH (תֵּל מֶלַח 'hill of salt'; B Θερμέλεθ, Θελμέλεθ, A Θελμέχελ, Θελμέλεχ; *Thelmala*).—A Babylonian town, of unknown site, which is mentioned with Tel-harsha and Cherub (Ezr 2^{59}, Neh 7^{61}). In 1 Es 5^{36} it is written **Thermeleth**.

C. W. WILSON.

TEMA (תֵּימָא 'on the right,' 'south'; Θαιμάν, Θημάν; *Thema*).—A tribe of Ishmaelite Arabs, and a place or district in Arabia, which took their name from Tema, one of the twelve sons of Ishmael (Gn 25^{15}, 1 Ch 1^{30}, Is 21^{14}). The people were leaders of caravans, or camel-men, and their encampments were apparently on a caravan-route which would be followed by fugitives from Dedan (Job 6^{19}, Is $21^{13.14}$). According to some authorities, the passage in Job refers to 'caravans crossing the desert in the dry season; pressing forward to look for water in the winter torrents, and finding none. Their disappointment is a lively image of the experience of Job when he looked for sympathy from his brethren' (Smith, *DB*, Amer. ed., note to TEMA). In Jer 25^{23} Tema is mentioned with Dedan and Buz, and it may be inferred from Is $21^{13.14}$ that it was E. of the former place. Ptolemy (V. xix. 6) mentions a town called *Themma* (Θέμμη) in the Arabian desert; and, according to Schrader (*KAT*^{2} 149), Tema is the *Timai* of Tiglath-pileser II., mentioned in conjunction with the *Mas'ai* (the Massa of Gn 25^{14}).

Tema is now *Teimâ*, a well-known place in N. Arabia, about 40 miles S. of *Dumat el-Jendel* (Dumah), and on an old route from the Gulf of 'Akabah to the Persian Gulf. The ancient city was enclosed by a stone wall about 3 miles in circuit, and there are still remains of this, and of some great rude stone buildings. *Teimâ* is described as 'a tall island of palms enclosed by long clay orchard walls, fortified with high towers.' The houses are low buildings of mud or clay (Doughty, *Travels*, i. 285). The Aramaic inscriptions discovered by Euting at Teima prove it to have been the seat of an ancient civilization (see *Sitzungsber. der Berl. Akad. der Wissensch.*, 1884, p. 813 ff.; and cf. *Studia Bibl.* i.). The LXX reading, followed by Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.*), apparently connects Tema with Teman.

LITERATURE.—Dillmann on the passages above cited in *Genesis*, *Isaiah*, and *Job*; *Sitzungsber. d. Berl. Akad.*, 1884, p. 813 ff.; Euting, *Nabat. Inschr.* 9 ff.; Buhl's *Gesenius*, *s.v.*

C. W. WILSON.

TEMAH (תֶּמַח: AV Tamah is due to the occurrence of the word in pausal form תָּמַח).—The eponym of a family of Nethinim, Ezr 2^{53} (BA Θέμα, Luc. Θεμαά)=Neh 7^{55} (B Ἡμαθ, A Θήμα, Luc. Θεμαά).

TEMAN (תֵּימָן 'on the right,' 'south'; Θαιμάν; *Theman*).—A district, and perhaps also a town, which received its name from, or gave it to, a grandson of Esau, who was one of the 'dukes' of Edom (Gn $36^{11.15.42}$, 1 Ch $1^{36.53}$). Teman was one of the most important districts in Edom. From it ('the land of the **Temanites**,' Gn $36^{34.35}$) came one of the early kings of Edom; and it is sometimes used poetically for Edom. The name is apparently used in its wider sense for Edom in Am 1^{12} (cf. Am $2^{2.5}$, where the country and its chief town are connected); in Ob ^{9} (cf. 'the mighty men of Edom' in Jer 49^{22}); in the poetical parallel (Jer 49^{20}), where the inhabitants of Teman are those of Edom; in Hab 3^{3}, where Teman stands for Edom, as Seir does in Dt 33^{2}; and in Bar $3^{22.23}$. In its narrower sense the name occurs in Gn $36^{34.35}$, Job 2^{11} 4^{1} 15^{1} 22^{1} 42^{9}, Ezk 25^{13}, and perhaps also in Jer 49^{7}. The Temanites were pre-eminent for their wisdom (Jer., Ob., Bar., as quoted above); and it was fitting that ELIPHAZ, one of the wise men of Teman, should be the chief of the three friends of Job.'

The name of Teman has not been recovered, and its position is uncertain. A district in the N. of Edom seems to be implied in Ezk 25^{13} 'from Teman even unto Dedan,' and in Am 1^{12} it is mentioned with Bozrah (*el-Buseireh*); but, on the other hand, it is connected with the Red Sea in Jer $49^{20.21}$. Eusebius states (*Onom.*) that, in his day, Teman was a town 15 (Jerome 5) Roman miles from Petra, and a Roman post; but he does not give the direction. No trace of this place has been found, but it was probably on the road from Elath to Bozrah.

LITERATURE.—Dillmann on Gn 36^{11} and Job 2^{11}; Driver on Am 1^{12}; Wetzstein, *Ztschr. f. allgem. Erdkunde*, xviii. 52 f.

C. W. WILSON.

TEMENI (תֵּימְנִי, Baer תֵּימְנִי [cf. Kittel, *SBOT*, 'Chronicles,' p. 52]; BA Θαιμάν, Luc. Θαιμανεί).—The 'son' of Ashhur, 1 Ch 4^{6}.

TEMPERANCE.—The Eng. word 'temperance' occurs in Scripture only in the NT; but the idea of temperance, *i.e.* **self-control**, pervades the OT as well as the Scriptures of the Christian period, and the duty of realizing it is strongly insisted on throughout the Bible. The legal regulations about clean and unclean foods required self-restraint in the matter of diet. The Wisdom literature dealing especially with practical conduct is explicit and urgent on the duty of self-control. This is prominent in the Bk. of Proverbs, as in the sayings concerning *eating*—'When thou sittest to eat with a ruler, consider diligently what (or who) is before thee; and put a knife to thy throat, if thou be a man given to appetite' (Pr $23^{1.2}$); *wine-drinking*—'Look not upon the wine when it is red,' etc. (v.^{31}); *licentiousness*—the laws against adultery, the frequent warnings in Prov. against 'the strange woman'; *anger*—'He that is slow to anger is better than the mighty; and he that ruleth his spirit than he that taketh a city' (16^{32}); *revenge*—'Rejoice not when thine enemy falleth' (Pr 24^{17}); and elsewhere *greed of wealth*—'Thou shalt not covet' (Ex 20^{17}); 'Woe unto them that join house to house,' etc. (Is 5^{8}). A specific self-restraint was put upon the Nazirites (see NAZIRITE), and a similar self-restraint was practised by the Rechabites (see RECHABITES); and certain forms of abstinence were required by the Law in all the Jews, as at fasts (see FASTING), and previous to solemn religious services (Ex 19^{15}). The religious life of the OT saint was not ascetic, but it was simple and free from the excesses of paganism. While the Israelite was encouraged to receive the gifts of God with thankfulness, and to use them without fear of any Nemesis on his prosperity, he was not to plunge into reckless self-indulgence. Solomon's luxurious living is not Israelite, but a result of the importation of foreign manners. Baal-worship was denounced for its licentiousness as well as for its idolatry, and the unfaithfulness to Jehovah it involved on the part of the Israelites. The prophets repeatedly denounce the luxurious living of the wealthy, and the growth of self-indulgence generally, as foreign to the rigour of righteousness, and certain to bring ruin on a nation (*e.g.* Am 4^{1} 6$^{1-6}$, Is 3$^{17-24}$ 5$^{11.12}$).

When we come to the NT treatment of this subject, we have the description of John the Baptist in his rough dress and simple fare, feeding on the native products of the wilderness (Mk 1^{6}), whom our Lord contrasts with those who 'wear soft raiment,' and 'are in kings' houses' (Mt 11^{8}). But the supreme example of temperance is afforded by the life of Jesus Christ. That was not ascetic; the charge of gluttony and wine-bibbing was brought against our Lord by malignant slanderers because He did not practise asceticism. And yet the extreme simplicity of His living, the many hardships He voluntarily endured, and His complete unconcern with regard to His own comforts, as well as His perfect freedom from all forms of sin and selfishness, show Him to us as one who lived the ideal life of temperance, avoiding excess and extravagance in all directions. This was the method of life He inculcated on His disciples. There is no passage in His teaching requiring asceticism, and no direct commendation of fasting (the word 'fasting' is omitted in RV of Mk 9^{29} and the parallel Mt 17^{21} in accordance with best MSS); but there is much urgent dissuasion from the life of ease and self-indulgence. The disciple of Christ is required to hold his thoughts as well as his words and actions under control (*e.g.* Mt 5$^{21.22.27.28}$). In the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus the self-indulgence of the former, while he ignores the sufferer at his gate, aggravates his guilt. The Gr. word for 'temperance,' ἐγκράτεια, and its verbal form, ἐγκρατεύομαι, are found in the NT only in Acts (there ascribed to St. Paul), St. Paul's Epistles, and 2 Peter. Derived from κράτος, 'strong,' they indicate the strength a man uses towards himself in self-control. St. Paul makes temperance one of the subjects of his very personal address to Felix (Ac 24^{25}); and elsewhere brings it forward as one of the fruits of the spirit (Gal 5^{23}). Using the verbal form of the same word, he appeals to the analogy of the athlete whose training involves universal self-restraint (1 Co 9^{25}). The virtue is one of the requisites for a bishop (Tit 1^{8}). In 2 P 1^{6} it appears in an ascending series of commended attainments, following knowledge and preceding godliness.

See also art. SOBER. W. F. ADENEY.

TEMPLE (A.S. *tempel*, from Lat. *templum*, a space marked out; a sanctuary: cf. τέμενος [from τέμνω, 'to cut'], a piece of land cut off from the rest and dedicated to a god).—In the EV 'temple' renders the Hebrew words:—הֵיכָל (*hêkāl*, in a narrower sense the Holy Place) and בַּיִת ('house,' including *hêkāl* and *dĕbîr* דְּבִיר, or Most Holy Place). Three Gr. words are tr. 'temple' in the NT: ἱερόν (more correctly the whole of the sacred enclosure), ναός (strictly the sanctuary or sacred edifice alone, embracing *hêkāl* and *dĕbîr*), οἶκος.

i. *SOLOMON'S BUILDINGS.*—The pile or series of edifices of which the Temple formed one part,[α] embraced in addition the king's house,[β] the porch of pillars,[γ] the throne porch,[δ] the house for Pharaoh's daughter now married to Solomon,[ε] the king's dwelling, and the *ḥaram*. The following is Stade's[ζ] plan of the royal buildings as slightly simplified by Benzinger in his *Heb. Arch.*[η] and in his Com. on *Kings*.[θ]

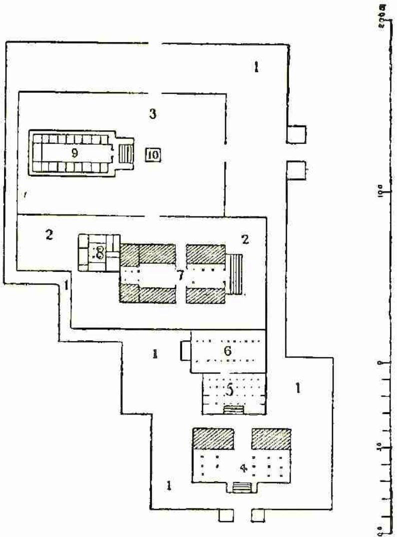

FIG. 1.—PLAN OF ROYAL BUILDINGS.

1. The great court. 2. The 'other' or middle court. 3. The inner (or temple) court. 4. House of Lebanon. 5. Porch of pillars. 6. Throne porch. 7. Royal palace. 8. Ḥaram. 9. Temple. 10. Altar.

The above plan takes for granted that the pile of buildings formed a complete whole. There was one 'great court' (1) which surrounded the whole. The 'other court' (2) encompassed the king's palace[ι] and *ḥaram*;[κ] in 2 K 20^{4} it is called the 'middle court,' because it lay between the inner or temple court and the southernmost buildings (Lebanon house, etc.). The 'inner court'[λ] (3) was that which contained the temple and its belongings: 'inner' not in contrast with an outer court of the temple (of such a court Solomon's temple knows nothing), but as distinguished from the 'greater court,' which contained within it all the royal buildings. Apart from the description in 1 K 5-7, Ezk 43^{8}[μ] makes it exceedingly likely that the whole of these buildings were together, making one whole.

On the other hand, Thenius,[ν] Furrer,[ξ] and others place the temple on the east hill, but the other royal buildings on the modern Mount Zion and the *ḥaram* hill, between which two

---

[α] But to the author, or at all events the editor, of even Kings the temple was the principal building of the group, if not the final cause of the whole.

[β] 1 K 7^{2} 'House of the forest of Lebanon,' so called on account of the cedar wood used in its construction and the piles upon which it rested. J. D. Michaelis, Dathe, Iken (*Dissert. Philolog.* i. diss.), and Hamelsfeld (*Bibl. Geog.* i. p. 338) hold that the house in question was a summer residence for king Solomon built on Lebanon or at the foot of it. Dathe refers for support to 1 K 9^{19}, 2 Ch 8^{6}. But the fact that Solomon deposited the golden shields in the house (see 9^{19}) shows that the house was close to Jerusalem. Besides, we never read of Solomon's having more than one palace.

[γ] 1 K 7^{6}.

[δ] 1 K 7^{7}.

[ε] 1 K 7^{8}.

[ζ] *Gesch.* i. 315.

[η] p. 239.

[θ] p. 26.

[ι] 1 K 7$^{10.12}$.

[κ] 1 K 7^{8}.

[λ] 1 K 6^{36}.

[μ] 'They (the children of Israel) shall no more defile my name . . . in their setting of their thresholds by my thresholds, and their posts by my posts, and the walls between me and them.'

[ν] On *Kings*; see his plan, Tafel i.

[ξ] Schenkel, iii. p. 222 ff.

hills the Tyropœon valley is situated. But the references we have are wholly opposed to this, as is also the probability that the king would have his palace erected in closer proximity to the royal sanctuary.

In 1 K $6^{2ff.}$ we read of the building of the temple. V.^{36} tells us of an inner court, meaning clearly the court which enclosed the temple area and was itself included in the great court,[α] which had in it the whole complex of royal buildings, sacred and secular. The passage in Ezekiel[β] already noted makes this arrangement still more likely.

The eastern hill on which the royal buildings were erected is that which is known in the OT as ZION and also as MORIAH. The modern fiction, which fixes Zion on the hill west of the Cheesemongers' (=Tyropœon) valley, has nothing to support it except tradition. It has against it topographical and historical considerations which are overwhelming.[γ] Had the buildings been extended to a west hill, substructions of a deeper and more expensive character would have been necessary.

Relative positions of the Royal Buildings at Jerusalem.—Assuming that the royal buildings were all of them on the eastern hill, how were they relatively situated? The temple must have been either north or south of the other buildings, as the distance between the Tyropœon and the eastern declivities was too small to allow of its being on the east or west. It is exceedingly likely that it was on the north, and therefore on higher ground. From 2 K 11^{19}, Jer 22^{1} it follows that the way from the temple to the palace was a descent. On the other hand, in 1 K 8^{1} 9^{24}, Jer 26^{10} it is equally implied that it was an ascent from the palace to the temple. In these passages it is taken for granted that the temple was in proximity to the other royal buildings. When Jeremiah was arrested for foretelling the destruction of the temple, the princes were *at once* upon the scene and constituted themselves into a body of magistrates to deal with the matter[δ]—an incident illustrating the closeness of their residences to the sanctuary. Probably the southern wall of the temple was also the northern wall of the 'other' or 'middle' court, a gate leading from one into the other.[ε]

If we can fix the position of the altar of burnt-offering, we can locate at once the main parts of the temple and also the other royal buildings. There is good reason for believing that the *sakhra* or rock under the dome of the mosque of Omar is the spot where the altar in question stood. A very old tradition connects with this spot the incident in which Abraham prepared to offer Isaac, as also the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite. It was on this threshing-floor that the destroying angel stood when Jehovah stopped him in his work of destroying the people.[ζ] Even if these associations with the place are imaginary, yet they show that it was a sacred spot from very primitive times, and in the conservative East there is but little change in roads or towns or sanctuaries. Solomon would be very likely to erect his chapel close to some spot where a Divine manifestation had been made or some altar had been raised.

The form of the stone gives good reason for concluding that it was that on which the sacrifices were offered. It is a huge limestone rock, measuring some 60 by 50 ft., standing above the marble pavement about 5 ft. On its top there is an opening, through which the blood of the victims sacrificed could pass. Lower down there is an open cave in the same rock, at the bottom of which the stones make a hollow sound when struck. This, with other indications, makes it very probable that there was an opening at the bottom through which the blood passed, this opening leading into a subterranean passage which continued its way to the Kidron Valley. This agrees with what the Mishna says,[η] that under the altar of burnt-offering there was a conduit by means of which the blood of the victim flowed into the valley of the Kidron.

Close to the *sakhra* or rock there were formerly two fountains, one of them still sending up fresh and beautiful water. The natives say the water of this last is very putrid, but Pierotti tasted it and found they were wrong. He was of opinion that the water had the name of being filthy on account of its long-time association with the sacrificial blood which mingled with it.[θ]

Nowack[ι] thinks that, probably, the sacrificial blood after passing into the aperture at the bottom of the cave joined the waters of that 'fountain which flowed fast by the oracle of God,'[κ] and fell with them into the eastern valley, joining ultimately the Kidron.[λ]

The altar was rough and in its natural stone, which meets the requirement of Ex $20^{24f.}$,[μ] that the altar should be either of earth or of unhewn stone. Moreover, there were to be no steps going up to the altar,[ν]—a condition also satisfied by this rock, supposing it to be the altar of Solomon's temple. This last is, however, but twice named in Kings[α] and only once in Chronicles;[β] in all these three instances the altar is described as brazen; besides the size which the Chronicler gives,[γ] that is all we are told of the altar of burnt-offering of Solomon's temple. Nowack, indeed, completes the picture from the fuller description of Ezekiel's temple,[δ] but with questionable justification. It is likely enough that the adjective 'brazen' is a later addition, and that the altar of the first temple was one of unhewn stone. If this stone had not all along occupied a very important place in popular esteem, it could not have been tolerated, but it would many centuries before have been levelled to the ground.

Since the temple and its courts were arranged in terraces, the house itself, together with the altar, must have stood on the highest platform: this is true of the ground on which the rock rests.

Among leading authorities who have held that the altar was at the present *sakhra*, the following may be named:—Williams,[ε] Tobler, Furrer, Pierotti,[ζ] Stade,[η] Benzinger,[θ] and Nowack.[ι] Sir Charles Warren puts the altar just a little to the south of the rock, but quite close to it.[κ] If the *sakhra* marks the site of the altar,[λ] the house must have been to the west,[μ] the inner or temple court[ν] east, west, south, and north, while the remaining structures built on the hill would lie towards the south.

In order to make the rock-crowned Moriah fit for building upon, the rocky surface would have to be levelled—the *sakhra* being left as it was—and the parts lower down raised to be as high as the rest. Subterranean passages and rooms were erected, 'hewn stones,' 'costly stones,' 'great stones' being used, large quantities of earth being thrown in to fill up the intervening spaces.[ξ] There are to be seen at the present time remains of these underground buildings.[ο]

All agree that somewhere on the modern *Ḥaram esh-Sherif* the temple was built; but this area is a quadrangle of unequal sides. Its west side measures 1590 ft., its east 1525 ft. The north and south sides are 1036 and 921 ft. respectively. It is impossible that the temple enclosure included the whole of this space, though de Vogüé, de Saulcy, Sir Henry James, and Sepp maintain that Herod's temple, with its courts and enclosures, did cover the Ḥaram surface. German and French writers almost to a man, and the majority of English and American authorities, unite in holding that the temple building proper stood west of the rock as advocated above, and that with its adjuncts it covered about 600 ft. east to west and 400 ft. north to south.

A number of English writers have followed Fergusson[π] in maintaining that the temple occupied a square of some 600 ft. at the S.W. angle of the Ḥaram (so Thrupp, Lewin,[ρ] and W. R. Smith[ς]). Fergusson was led to this view by architectural considerations, and especially by his acceptance of the Mosque of Omar site for the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. W. R. Smith states succinctly what is to be said for this opinion, but there does not seem much inclination on the part of students of the subject to accept it. Indeed, but for the necessity to support a foregone conclusion, Fergusson would hardly have hit upon this site for the temple at all.

Sources.—Our original sources for the history and description of Solomon's temple are threefold. (1) We have what is said in 1 K 6. 7, which leaves out much that is absolutely necessary to make a complete picture. Many technical terms are used, the meaning of which it is beyond our power to elucidate with any feeling of confidence. Moreover, the text is exceedingly corrupt and defective, so that conjectural emendation and addition have to be constantly employed. Böttcher in his *Aehrenlese*, Thenius in his Commentary, and especially Stade in his *ZATW* iii., have made praiseworthy attempts to supply the student with a correct text. (2) We have, further, the parallel history in 2 Ch 2^{1}–5^{5}; but that the history in this book, however sincere and pious, is constructed from the point of

---

[α] 1 K $7^{10.12}$.
[β] 43^{8}.
[γ] See art. ZION, Mühlau in Riehm^{2}, *s.* 'Zion,' and especially Guthe in *ZDPV* v. 271 ff.
[δ] Jer $26^{10f.}$
[ε] Cf. Ezk 43^{8}.
[ζ] 2 S $24^{15ff.}$, 1 Ch $21^{15ff.}$ (Ornan).
[η] *Yoma* iii. 1.
[θ] *Jerusalem Explored*, London, 1864, vol. i. 88 ff.
[ι] *Heb. Arch.* ii. 41.
[κ] Is 8^{6}.
[λ] Cf. Ezk $47^{1ff.}$
[μ] Belonging to the Book of the Covenant.
[ν] Ex 20^{26}.

[α] Viz. 1 K 8^{64} (in a narrative of the dedication of the temple) and 2 K $16^{17ff.}$ (A has supplemented it by an altar from Damascus).
[β] 2 Ch 4^{1}.
[γ] 20 cubits long by 20 cubits broad by 10 cubits high.
[δ] Ezk 43^{13-17}.
[ε] *The Holy City*^{2}, p. 296 ff.
[ζ] *Op. cit.*
[η] *Gesch.* i. 314 ff.
[θ] *Könige*, p. 26 f.
[ι] *Heb. Arch.* ii. 27 f.
[κ] *Underground Jerusalem*, p. 60.
[λ] Fig. 1, 10.
[μ] Fig. 1, 9.
[ν] Fig. 1, 3.
[ξ] 1 K 7^{9-12}; Jos. *Ant.* VIII. iv. 82, etc.
[ο] See Warren's *Underground Jerusalem*, p. 61 ff.
[π] Essay on the 'Ancient Topography of Jerusalem,' 1847.
[ρ] *Sketch of Jerusalem*, 220 ff.
[ς] *Encyc. Brit.*^{9} *s.* 'Temple.'

view of a Jerusalem Levite of the time after the Exile, and represents events as they were *regarded* and not as they *were*, any one who compares Kings and Chronicles, and considers the history of religious thought and institutions among the Israelites, may see. Chronicles aims at glorifying David as the founder of the kingdom and of the religious society, especially of the priesthood and the psalmody. According to the Chronicler, David received from God a detailed plan of the temple,[α] and gathered together materials, especially gold, silver, copper, and iron,[β] for the building. Kings gives a fuller account, but leaves out this and similar things. (3) The temple of Ezekiel's vision[γ] must have been more or less suggested by the temple which he actually saw; and from its elaborate description one may, to a certain extent, fill in the omissions in the shorter description of Solomon's temple; only, it is to be considered that the temple which the prophet saw on the banks of the Chebar is as symmetrical as imagination unhampered by fact could make it. The text of Ezekiel is also corrupt; but Böttcher in his *Proben Alttest. Schrifterklärung*, Smend, Bertholet, and especially Cornill, in their Commentaries, have done much to obviate this difficulty.—We have secondary sources in Josephus[δ] and the Mishnic tract *Middoth*, but these are valuable chiefly for Herod's temple; for, even when describing the temples of Solomon, Ezekiel, and Zerubbabel, it is Herod's which they have in mind. Josephus has also a strong passion for exaggeration, especially when the glory of the temple is concerned. In matters of size and measurement his imagination seems almost as free as was Ezekiel's.[ε]

1. Plan and Dimensions of Solomon's Temple.—Fergusson[ζ] says that the temple of Solomon was a copy of the tabernacle, the dimensions of the latter being doubled, and such other changes made as were necessary in a fixed as compared with a portable structure. But the resemblances so often, especially in former times, pointed out, are accompanied by differences of an important character—as in the porch, the two pillars Boaz and Jachin, the altar, the chambers, etc. This supposed connexion has led to many wrong results as to the dimensions of the first temple; as in the height of the building, which, because stated to be 30 cubits, *i.e.* thrice, not twice, that of the tabernacle, is made to refer to the exterior, not to the interior, though the other measurements are admitted to be internal. But the assumption of Fergusson, based on the oldest authorities, falls to the ground when it is remembered that the tabernacle in question had no actual existence at any time, and no existence in thought until about the time of the Exile. It would be far nearer the truth to say that the tabernacle is itself modelled upon the second temple, than to say that the first temple was modelled on the tabernacle. See Tabernacle.

The temple of Solomon included the house and the court which surrounded and enclosed house, altar, and other belongings.

The 'house' was a rectangular building 60 cubits long (east to west), 20 cubits broad, and 30 cubits high.[α] These are inside measurements, as the account of the *dĕbîr*, or Holy of Holies, in 1 K 6^{16a} (cf. v.^{20}) shows, and as the temple of Ezekiel suggests. But no allowance is made for the wall separating the *hêkāl*, or Holy Place, from the *dĕbîr*, which in Ezekiel's temple was 6 cubits thick.[β] The building looked towards the east. It is of course quite possible that this arrangement may have been due to the form of the hill, which made it much more suitable to build west to east than north to south.

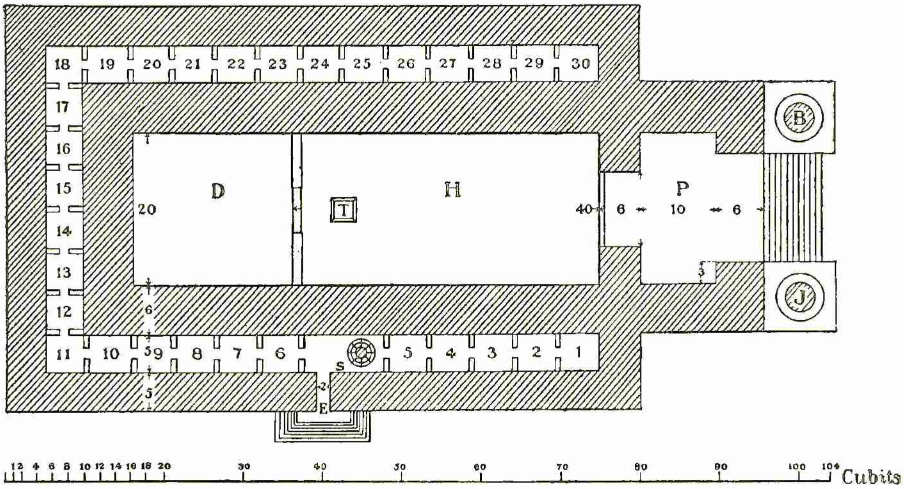

FIG. 2.—GROUND PLAN OF SOLOMON'S TEMPLE.

B and J = Boaz and Jachin—the pillars. P = the porch. H = the *hêkāl* or Holy Place. D = the *dĕbîr* or Most Holy Place. T = the table of shewbread. S = the stairway to the upper chambers. E = entrance to the chambers. 1, 2, etc., the chambers after Ezekiel's temple.

The sanctuary structure.—The temple building had three parts, or rather two and a porch which is not reckoned as a portion of the house. The arrangement and number of the chambers is conjectural, being based on what we know of Ezekiel's temple.

The larger of the two parts of the house is the *hêkāl*,[γ] the *dĕbîr*[δ] being the smaller. The *hêkāl*

[α] 1 Ch $28^{11\text{-}19}$.

[β] 1 Ch 22^{14}.

[γ] Ezk 40–42 and in part 43 and 46.

[δ] *Ant.* VIII. iii., XV. xi. 3 ff.; *BJ* V. v. 1–6.

[ε] See Robinson's *BRP*² i. 277 f.

[ζ] *Early Temples of the Jews*, p. 26 ff.

[α] 1 K 6^2 ‖ 2 Ch 3^3. The latter passage does not give the height.

[β] Ezk 41^5.

[γ] *Hêkāl* (הֵיכָל) is probably the same as the Accadian *e-gal*, 'great house,' as Schrader, Haupt, and most Assyriologists hold. It may mean properly a *hall* (*AJSL*, July 1901, p. 244 ff.). See the *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* on the word. Though used in other senses, its commonest meaning is that of the Holy Place (קֹדֶשׁ), which is the later term. In this article *hêkāl* has always this meaning.

[δ] *Dĕbîr* (דְּבִיר) is the term employed in Kings for what in the parallel parts of Chron. is often called 'Holy of Holies' (קֹדֶ

was an oblong rectangle 40 cubits from west to east, and 20 cubits from north to south. The *dĕbîr* was a cube measuring 20 cubits in all three directions. Since the whole house was 30 cubits high—the house (הַבַּיִת) including *hêkāl* and *dĕbîr*—there must have been 10 cubits of space-room on the top of the *dĕbîr*, this being used probably for storing purposes, though Ewald says it was inaccessible and empty.

Stieglitz and Grüneisen view the *dĕbîr* as externally lower than the *hêkāl* by 10 cubits, but 1 K 6^{2} says the whole house had a height of 30 cubits. Kurtz and Merx held that the *hêkāl* had an inside height of 20 cubits only, and that on the top of the whole house there was an upper room, 60 cubits in length, for keeping the relics of the tabernacle.[α] They say further that the Chronicler means this upper space by his הָעֲלִיּוֹת (LXX τὸ ὑπερῷον). But how could such an upper chamber be reached, and why do we never read about it or about the means of getting at it? The chambers about the house[β] reached, taking the three storeys together, to 15 cubits. Above these were the windows;[γ] but there would be scant room for the windows between the roofs of the chambers and the ceiling of the house if the latter were but 20 cubits above the floor. The Chronicler does not say where his עֲלִיּוֹת were placed, and it is most probable that by them we are to understand the צְלָעִים, or the chambers ranged along the three sides of the house.

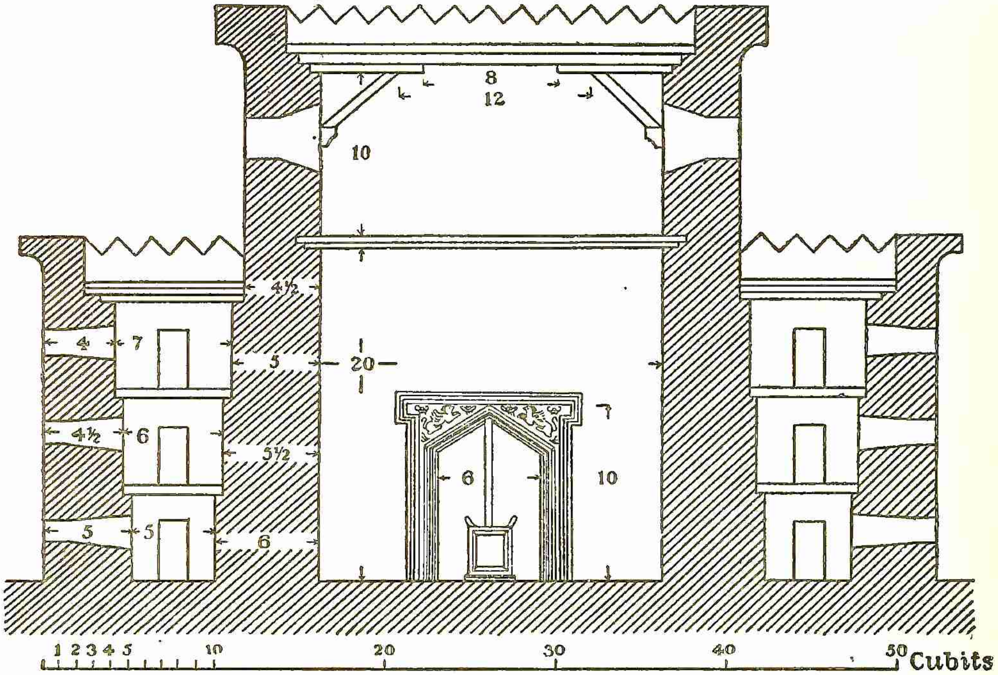

FIG. 3.—SECTION OF THE TEMPLE, NORTH TO SOUTH.

The porch.—In front of the house and continuous with it—the two, indeed, forming one building—was the porch,[δ] which was not considered a part of the house. Its length,[ε] east to west, was 10 cubits; its breadth, north to south, being the same as the breadth[ε] of the house, viz. 20 cubits. Not a word is said in Kings about the height of the porch, but in 2 Ch 3^{4} it is said to be 120 cubits. But such a structure would have been called a מִגְדָּל (tower) and not a אוּלָם (porch). The proportions, 20, 10, 120, are impossible on both æsthetic and statical grounds. There is certainly a corruption of the text, or we have another example—a gross one here—of the love of exaggeration to which the Chronicler is prone when describing the sanctuary and its worship. It is most natural to think of the porch as having the same height as the house; and it is not stated in 1 K 6, because that would be inferred by the reader.

Walls.—There is no information given as to the thickness of the walls, but it must have been substantial, because they had rebatements of a cubit, or at least of half a cubit, at each successive storey of chambers.[α] It could be diminished therefore by 2 cubits, or at least by one, without any material change in the appearance. Ezekiel gives the thickness of the walls of his temple as 6 cubits.[β]

In 1 K 6^{18} the cedar-covered walls are said to have figures carved on them of knops and open flowers; but this verse is not in the LXX, and it breaks in upon the account of the *hêkāl* in v.^{17} and of the *dĕbîr* in v.^{19}, besides repeating what has been said in v.^{15}. Probably this carving was the work of a later king, a later editor, by mistake, ascribing it to Solomon. Yet in v.^{35} the doors of both *hêkāl* and *dĕbîr* are said to have been adorned with figures of cherubim, palm trees, and open flowers; and the verse is above suspicion.

Roofing.—Very little is told us concerning the roof of the house. 1 K 6^{9b}[γ] is made by Bähr, Keil, Thenius, in their Comm. and Treatises, as also by the Targ., Pesh., Vulg., and Arabic versions, to refer to the covering of the roof. But Benzinger and the LXX take it to mean the covering or wainscotting of the walls; and 1 K 7^{7}[δ] shows that the same verb certainly can be used of the walls,

---

הַקֳּדָשִׁים). Jerome connected the word with the Hebrew דִּבֵּר (*dibber*) 'to speak,' and followed the LXX χρηματιστήριον in rendering it *oraculum* (*oraculi sedes*). It is really derived from the root still used in Arab., دبر (V) 'to be behind.' So *dĕbîr* דְּבִיר=what is behind; that is, what lies to the west, the east being called קֶדֶם, or what lies to the front, just as the south is the right-hand side (יְמִינִי) and the north the left-handed (שְׂמֹאל). *Dĕbîr* is the older term, and in the LXX of 1 Kings and in 2 Ch 3^{15} 4^{20} $5^{6.8}$ it is simply transliterated δαβείρ and δαβίρ. *Dĕbîr* occurs also in Ps 28^{2}, prob. also 2 K 10^{25} (for עִיר).

[α] 2 Ch 3^{9}.

[β] See below.

[γ] 1 K 6^{4}.

[δ] אוּלָם (*'ûlām*).

[ε] In the OT, length and breadth, when used of a surface of two dimensions, mean the greater and smaller measurement respectively.

[α] 1 K 6^{6}.

[β] Ezk 41^{5}.

[γ] 'He covered the house with beams and planks of cedar.'

[δ] 'And it (the throne porch) was covered with cedar from floor to floor.'

—which Thenius is inclined to deny,—and that it probably is so used in this passage. Yet, as Thenius objects, the wainscotting of the walls is described in 6^{15}. V.^{9} is otherwise awkward in its present position; and it is hard to make out the exact meaning of the technical terms translated 'beams and planks.'[α] Probably the verse is an interpolation.

1 K 6^{15}[β] in the EV has the word 'ceiling' in it. Instead of 'walls' we must read 'beams':[γ] 'from the floor of the house unto the beams of the ceiling.' We thus learn that the ceiling had cedar beams, but that is all we learn about it.

But these beams must have been covered with stone, probably the hard limestone of which the walls were built, to protect the house from the rain. In the three most rainy months there descends as much rain in Jerusalem and its neighbourhood as the average rainfall upon any similar area in Great Britain throughout the year.

Was the roof *flat* or *gable-formed*? Most certainly it was flat, as all ancient temples and houses were, and as, with hardly an exception, Eastern houses continue to be up to the present time. The custom with regard to private houses is to have a parapet all around the roof to prevent persons who are on the much-frequented roofs from falling.[δ] Certainly no other kind of roof than the flat one is hinted at anywhere in the Bible, nor is any other known in the primitive East. It is remarkable to find leading Rabbinical writers, followed by Lund,[ε] Hirt, Schnaase, Winer, and Thenius, plead that the roof was gabled. Hirt argues that there were spikes on the roof to keep off the birds, and that the roof was overlaid with gold. But he gets these, as perhaps also his gable roof, from the temple of Herod.[ζ]

Inner supports or not?—It is uncertain whether inside the house there were pillars to bear up the roof. In the *hêkāl*, at all events, it is very likely there were such supports, as the walls were 30 cubits high, and a roof of wood and of stone would be in great danger of tumbling unless there were something besides the walls to keep it up.

Fergusson[η] argues for such pillars, and he thinks there would be eight in all, four on each side of the house, one between each couple of tables and lampstands.[θ] Such an arrangement would, he thinks, promote at once architectural effect and the stability of the structure. He refers to 1 K 10^{12},[ι] but the word rendered pillars[κ] means 'support,' and the parallel word in Chron.[λ] means 'highways,' though it is rendered in EV 'terraces.' There is so much doubt as to what is meant that the passage cannot be made to carry what is put upon it.

The *material* of which the house and its appendages were built was the white hard limestone which abounds in the country, and which can be polished like marble; indeed it is a kind of marble. The slabs used were prepared at the quarry before they were brought to the temple, so that there was neither hammer nor axe nor any tool of iron heard in the house while it was in building.[μ]

The inside walls of the house were, as seen before, overlaid with cedar planks,[ν] on which were carved 'knops' and 'open flowers.' As to the gold said to cover the inside of the house,[α] see below under 'The gold covering of Solomon's temple' (p. 700^{b}).

The floor of the house was probably made of hewn stone of the same material as that of the walls. But this stone floor was covered with cypress[β] wood, as the walls were with cedar; so that nowhere inside could the stone be seen.

Chambers surrounding the house.[γ]—In every side of the house except the east there were chambers[δ] arranged in three storeys. They did not go around the porch, as Grüneisen said, for the house only is mentioned; nor were there any on the east. We are not told how thick the walls of these chambers were, how many in number the chambers were, nor is anything said of their arrangement. For such details and others see *EZEKIEL'S TEMPLE*, below. Similar side rooms have been discovered at Birs Nimroud.[ε] The beams on which the upper storeys were constructed—made, no doubt, of cedar wood—rested upon rebatements in the temple wall, so as to prevent the wall from being built into—the house being too sacred for that.[ζ] The temple wall so built would therefore, at the roof of the first chambers, according to most writers, recede half a cubit, and at the roof of the next row of chambers it would recede another half cubit. The opposite wall—that built specially for the chambers—had a corresponding rebatement. So Keil, Stade, Now., Benz., and most; and at least symmetry is secured by this arrangement. Thenius[η] and others think the whole rebatement of one cubit at each storey took place in the house wall, and it seems to the present writer that this is likeliest, as not a word is written about rebatements in the chamber wall.

The chambers on the ground were 5 cubits broad, those on the middle storey being 6, while those on the top storey were 7 cubits broad. The chambers were entered from the court on the south side through a door[θ] (Fig. 2, E). In Ezekiel's temple there were entrances on the north as well as on the south. From the lowest storey one ascended to the others by means of a ladder and trap-door, and not, as used to be thought, by means of a winding stair: of such winding stairs the ancient East was quite ignorant.[ι] The history is silent as to whether or not there were windows in these chambers. Probably, however, there were, and they would be of the same kind as those of the house. See below concerning these. The chambers seem to have been used for the storing of the furniture, vessels, and other things belonging to the temple.[κ] In them, too, were placed some relics of the wilderness worship.[λ] 1 K 8^{4}, however, has many signs of having been tampered with. Of 'Levites' as distinct from 'priests,' Kings knows nothing. Nor does Kings show acquaintance with any tent besides that built by David for the ark.[μ] 'Tent of meeting,'[ν] if genuine, must have the sense it bears in JE (Ex 33^{7}, Nu 11^{16} 12^{4}) and not in P.

Windows.—There were no windows in the

[α] גֵּבִים, שְׂדֵרוֹת.

[β] 'And he built the walls of the house within with boards of cedar, from the floor of the house unto the walls of the ceiling.'

[γ] קוֹרוֹת for קִירוֹת with LXX, Then., Keil, Bähr, Stade, Benz., and ‖ 2 Ch 3^{7}.

[δ] Dt 22^{8}, Jg 16^{27}.

[ε] 281 (or 324).

[ζ] See art. PINNACLE.

[η] *Temples of the Jews*, p. 28 f.

[θ] On the tables and lampstands of the *hêkāl* see below under 'Contents of *hêkāl*.'

[ι] 'And the king made of the almug trees *pillars* for the house of Jehovah, and for the king's house.'

[κ] מִסְעָד.

[λ] 2 Ch 9^{11} מְסִלּוֹת.

[μ] 1 K 6^{7}. Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. 324, n. 2), Stade (*ZATW* iii. 136), and Benzinger (*Com. in loc.*) doubt the genuineness of this verse. It comes into the middle of the account of the side chambers (see art. QUARRY).

[ν] 1 K 6^{15}.

[α] 1 K 6^{21}.

[β] בְּרוֹשׁ 1 K 6^{15}; not 'fir,' as EV.

[γ] 1 K 6^{5-8}.

[δ] יָצוּעַ (*Kĕrê* יָצִיעַ) should be read with LXX, Bött., Now., Benz., etc., צֵלָע. The word occurs in no other place. If retained it can but mean 'storey,' lit. what is spread out (צע'= وَضَعَ).

[ε] Fergusson, *History of Architecture.*

[ζ] 1 K 6^{6}.

[η] See his diagram, Tafel ii. figs. 2 and 5 (at the end of Com.).

[θ] 1 K 6^{8} correcting 'middle'—first occurrence—to 'lowest,' with LXX, Targ., and nearly all writers.

[ι] See Stade, *ZATW* iii. 136 ff.

[κ] 1 K 7^{51} ‖ 2 Ch 5^{1}.

[λ] 1 K 8^{4}, 2 Ch 5^{5}.

[μ] 1 K 1^{39} 2^{28-30}, cf. 2 S 6^{17}.

[ν] אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד.

temple as the term 'windows' is now understood. In Bible times glass was not used for what are called windows; nor is it so used at the present time in Eastern countries. Indeed the main purpose of the apertures translated 'windows' is to let impure air out and pure in, rather than to give light to the house.[α] Considering the thickness of the walls—6 cubits, or say 9 ft., in Ezekiel's temple—it would have been difficult for the light to enter. In most Eastern houses the lamps are kept burning night and day; it is by them that the house is lighted. This was true probably of the temple as well.

In 1 K 6^{4} the windows are described as *latticed*[β]—most Eastern windows are—and *beamed*:[γ] *i.e.*, besides the latticed covering, there were beams used to protect the opening and to form the framework of the window. Various other reconstructions of the windows have been suggested. The Targ., Pesh., several Rabbinical writers, Luther, and others have rendered 'windows broad within[δ] and narrow[ε] without.' Keil explains as 'windows with closed beams'; *i.e.* whose lattices cannot be opened or closed at pleasure, as the lattices of ordinary windows could.[ζ] For a statement and examination of other views see the Comm. of Thenius and Keil, and especially Keil's valuable treatise on Solomon's temple.

We know nothing about the size of the windows, nor is it stated in what part of the walls they were made. The chambers surrounding the house reached a height of 15 cubits—5 cubits being the height of each, if we are to infer from Ezekiel's temple. If, therefore, the windows of the house looked directly to the outside, they must have been some 20 cubits from the ground. It is probable that the chambers had windows as well; and in that case the house windows might have looked immediately opposite to those of the chambers, and have been put in three parallel rows. This is quite possible, as we are not told the number or the position of the windows. There was perhaps a row of windows above the chambers as well.

It is generally thought that there were no windows in the *dĕbîr*, and 1 K 8^{12}[η] has been advanced to prove this. The difficulty of having windows between the uppermost roof of the chambers and the ceiling of the *dĕbîr* is pointed out. But this difficulty is not insuperable, for, assuming the chambers, between them, to reach a height of 15 cubits, there would still be a space above of several cubits for the windows. If, however, the windows of the house looked immediately upon those of the chambers, the difficulty in question disappears.

Doors.—Both *hêkāl* and *dĕbîr* had doors.[θ] We are not told what size they were, but in Ezekiel's temple they were 10 and 6 cubits broad respectively.[ι] How high they were is not said. The *hêkāl* door was square,[κ] while that of the *dĕbîr* was pentagonal.[λ] The door of the *hêkāl* was made of cypress wood, its posts being of olive wood. The door of the *dĕbîr* was of olive wood. Both doors were divided into two horizontal halves; but the two leaves thus formed were in the case of the *hêkāl* door further divided vertically, each into two folds, which were joined by hinges. It was not therefore needful to open the whole leaf in order to enter the *hêkāl*.

The *dĕbîr* door had two leaves only without the subdivisions, because it was not opened and shut as was the outer door, but was always kept open according to Keil,[α] though he says the veil kept the interior hidden. See, however, below, and also VEIL.

Ezekiel's temple had the same construction for the *hêkāl* and *dĕbîr* doors, viz. that which seems to have obtained for the *hêkāl* door alone in Solomon's temple.[β] This is the more striking, as the idea of sanctity is more strictly recognized in Ezekiel's temple. Not at all improbably the inner door of Solomon's temple was constructed exactly like the other, though this is not stated owing to an oversight of the writer. Upon both doors were carved cherubim, palm trees, and open flowers;[δ] but there is no reliable evidence that the walls had such figures on them (see 'Walls').

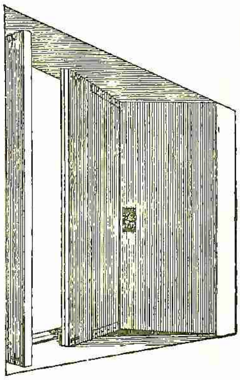

FIG. 4.—AN EGYPTIAN FOLDING DOOR, SHOWING VERTICAL DIVISION.[γ]

In 2 Ch 3^{14} it is said there was a veil before the door of the *dĕbîr*, corresponding to that of the tabernacle.[ε] In Zerubbabel's temple there was such a veil,[ζ] and it was this which gave rise to the veil of the tabernacle, and caused the Chronicler to transfer it to the first temple; but Kings says nothing about it, though Thenius, approved by Riehm,[η] brings the word into 1 K 6^{21} by arbitrarily altering a very difficult text; the text is, however, probably an interpolation, as Stade,[θ] Now.,[ι] and others hold. The veil was an invention of the time when the sacred had to be more rigidly separated from the profane. It was quite possibly introduced into the pre-exilic temple after Solomon's time, though of that we know nothing definitely.[κ]

The gold covering of Solomon's temple.—The following parts of the temple are said to have been overlaid with gold: (1) the walls of the *dĕbîr*;[λ] (2) the walls of the *hêkāl*;[μ] (3) the floor of the whole house;[ν] (4) the altar before the *dĕbîr* [but the support for this—1 K 6^{22b}—is not to be found in the LXX, and it shows otherwise strong marks of being an interpolation. Far better with Stade[ξ] and Benzinger omit the clause. With it goes the puzzle of knowing what is meant by the 'altar belonging to the *dĕbîr*.' He 9^{4} speaks of an

---

[α] חַלּוֹן, lit. 'a perforated space,' 'a hole,' from חָלַל = 'to pierce *or* perforate.'

[β] אֲטֻמִים, lit. 'shut.' The Arabic word for such windows is *shubbāk*.

[γ] שְׁקֻפִים—prob. pass. ptcp. of denom. verb. There is no need to alter the vowels as Benzinger does, reading שְׁקָפִים 'beams.'

[δ] שְׁקֻפִים—such as could be seen through; cf. הִשְׁקִיף 'to look at from an eminence.'

[ε] אֲטֻמִים, lit. 'shut.'

[ζ] 2 K 13^{17}, Dn 6^{10}.

[η] 'Jehovah has said that he would dwell in the thick darkness.' Cf. Ps 18^{11} 'He made darkness his hiding-place, his pavilion round about him; darkness of waters, thick clouds of the skies.'

[θ] 1 K $6^{31.34}$.

[ι] Ezk $41^{2f.}$.

[κ] 1 K 6^{33}, reading, as LXX, Vulg., Then., and Benz., מְזוּזֹת רְבֻעוֹת 'beams made into a square.'

[λ] It is better so to understand חֲמִשִׁית in 1 K 6^{31}. Ges. (*Thes.* i. 42 ff.), Keil, Bähr, Then., and Bött. take the numerals in 1 K $6^{31.33}$ to denote some fraction of either the width of the wall—Ges., Keil, and Bähr—or of the entrance wall (jambs, posts), as Then. and Böttcher. But no writer would choose this way of expressing this idea. It is far better, with the Rabbis, Stade (*ZATW* iii. p. 148), and Benzinger, to understand the words as above.

[α] *Der Tempel*, 75.

[β] Ezk 41^{24}.

[γ] Merx and Ewald have held that the two leaves of the *hêkāl* door were divided horizontally only. But the epithet גְּלִילִים—'going around each other'—supports the first view; which is that defended by Thenius, Keil (Comm.), and Benzinger.

[δ] 1 K $6^{32.35}$.

[ε] Ex $26^{31ff.}$.

[ζ] See VEIL.

[η] *HWB*^{2} 1627^{a}.

[θ] *ZATW* iii. p. 145.

[ι] *Heb. Arch.* ii. 31.

[κ] See VEIL, and cf. TABERNACLE.

[λ] 1 K 6^{20}.

[μ] 1 K $6^{21f.}$ ‖ 2 Ch $3^{5f.}$

[ν] 1 K 6^{30}.

[ξ] *ZATW* iii. 145.

altar[α] belonging to the *dĕbîr*, but this error arises from the above interpolated clause rightly rejected by Stade and Benzinger]; (5) the cherubim;[β] (6) the leaves of the door.[γ]

It is probable that the statement about gilding is a late addition in all the above instances, and that, in Solomon's temple, it had no place. It is significant that in every one of the passages in question there are other indications which awaken suspicion (for details consult Stade, *ZATW* iii. 140 ff.). When Shishak, king of Egypt, attacked and conquered Jerusalem, he took away the treasures of both temple and palace: the golden shields are distinctly named, but not a word occurs about the gold of the walls, etc.[δ] Jehoash, king of Israel, overcame the king of Judah, and took from Jerusalem the gold and silver and the temple vessels, but nothing is said about his stripping walls, etc., of the gold that covered them.[ε] Similarly, Ahaz in his extremity took the oxen on which the brazen sea rested, and also other things (2 K $16^{8.17}$). One would expect to read of his purloining the gold that was so conspicuous if it covered walls, doors, inner altar, cherubim, and even floors. When Hezekiah stripped the doors and pillars of the temple, in order to make a present to the king of Assyria (2 K $18^{15f.}$), nothing is written about there being any gold given, though of course this is not denied either. 'Gold' in the EV, as the italics indicate, is not in the Hebrew.—Ezekiel's temple does not appear to have had any of this gold-overlaying. In short, apart from the suspicious reference named, we have no allusion in the subsequent history to this gold covering. In post-exilic times the wealth of Solomon was greatly exaggerated, just as his wisdom and power were, among Arabs as well as Hebrews, in yet later days. It was felt by those who made the additions *re* gold that Solomon's exalted character demanded them. Besides, the P tabernacle was pictured as plentifully supplied with gold: this would afford a strong motive for making gold more conspicuous in Solomon's temple.

2. THE PATTERN OR STYLE OF ARCHITECTURE IN WHICH THE TEMPLE OF SOLOMON WAS BUILT.—Those who claim to speak with authority on this point have held opinions widely apart, showing that the data are inadequate for a clear and reliable decision.

Some (*e.g.* Williams, etc.) have found the model of Solomon's temple among the Greeks. Thrupp,[ζ] de Vogüé,[η] Thenius,[θ] and Benzinger[ι] pronounce the architecture of the temple to be Egyptian. Benzinger gives a detailed account of the temple of Amon Râ at Karnak, together with a plan, in order to show how much Solomon's temple resembled this. He calls special attention to the threefold division of porch, *hêkāl*, and *dĕbîr* which obtained in both temples. Nowack, on the other hand, points out that this same feature characterizes the ancient temples of Sicily.[κ] Thenius' diagrams at the end of his valuable Commentary on Kings are all based on Egyptian originals, and he is controlled throughout his Commentary and treatise by the idea that the first Jerusalem temple was a copy of the Egyptian temples. Puchstein[λ] and Nowack[μ] argue for a Syrian origin. W. B. Cobb[ν] makes the Syrian factor the principal one, as indeed Puchstein does, only the latter contends that Assyrian art was originally Syrian.

Fergusson[ξ] pronounces the problem insoluble, only that he says Egypt is out of the question. He thinks that either the valley of the Euphrates or Phœnicia was the most likely home of the temple architecture. But he does not give any arguments of weight to support his opinion.

Friedrich,[ο] Perrot and Chipiez,[π] and W. R. Smith[ρ] trace the style to Phœnicia. The fact that HIRAM, the artificer (1 K $7^{13f.}$, 2 Ch $2^{13f.}$), was a Phœnician, though connected with Israel, lends strong support to the last view, and Fergusson is not against it.

The natural conclusion to come to is that either Phœnician or Syrian art—it is hardly possible to distinguish these two—was that followed in the construction of Solomon's temple; but the arguments and illustrations adduced by Benzinger, Cobb, and others go to prove that there was a close resemblance between the sacred architecture of the Semitic world and of Egypt.

Contents of the hêkāl.—In front of the *dĕbîr* was an altar-shaped table on which the SHEWBREAD was set as an offering to God.[α] This is not the altar of incense, as Keil,[β] Bähr,[γ] and most of the older authorities contend, for we do not find such an altar named or implied in any pre-exilic document.[δ] There was no such altar in Ezekiel's temple, nor for a long time afterwards. See Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* p. 401 n. On the other hand, there was in the latter temple a table-like altar of shewbread,[ε] which is more fully described than that of the first temple. See art. INCENSE, vol. ii. p. 467^b.

According to 1 K 7^{48-50} the following were also made and set in the *hêkāl*: (1) a golden altar, the altar of incense; (2) a table for the shewbread: (3) ten golden lampstands,[ζ] five on the right side and five on the left; (4) lamps for these; (5) many other smaller things.

But these verses have all the appearance of being by a later hand, for the purpose of heightening the impression. In 1 K 6^{20} the *hêkāl* is said to contain the altar-like table, but there is no hint of anything besides being in this part of the house. Chronicles[η] has, however, a parallel account to 1 K 7^{48-50}. Jer 52^{19} refers to 'lampstands'[θ] as taken by the Chaldæans, but in the parallel account of 2 K 25 nothing is said of lampstands. If, however, the writers of Jer 52^{19}, 1 K 7^{48-50}, and 2 Ch 4^{19-22} were under the influence of P, they would have spoken of one lampstand, such as obtains in P's tabernacle, and not of ten. There must have been some ground for the tradition of the ten lampstands. Probably these did exist—but brazen, not golden ones—in Solomon's temple, or they were added soon after, for there must have been some way of lighting the interior of the house. They would be kept burning day and night, as house lamps in the East are at the present day.[ι] They might have been fixed upon pedestals,—the Eastern fashion,—but most likely they were set on the ten tables about which we read in 2 Ch 4^8.[κ] Keil, however, maintains that these tables were for the shewbread; but 2 Ch 13^{11} 29^{18} seem to show that there was but one such table.

Contents of the dĕbîr.—After the building of the temple was completed, the ark[λ] was brought from the city of David at the south-east of the temple hill, and placed in the *dĕbîr*, which, using the later name, is explained as the Holy of Holies.[μ] It was carried by the priests, though, according to the older history of 2 S 6^{13}, priests were not considered the only proper bearers of the ark.

The ark is said to have contained nothing except the two tables of the Law.[ν] In David's time and Solomon's the ark seems to have been looked upon as involving in some way the Divine presence,—as a kind of *numen præsens*. Stade, Benz., Nowack, and many others think that the ark held originally a stone which was considered to represent Jehovah, and that it was at a time later than Solomon's that it contained or was believed to contain the two tables of stone.

In He 9^4 the pot of manna and Aaron's rod are said to have been in the ark.[ξ] Nowhere else in the Bible is this said, though these articles are spoken of[ο] as being laid up before the ark of the tabernacle. The writer of Hebrews has on his side the common belief of the later Rabbis.[π]

Overshadowing the ark were two huge cherubim,[ρ] each being 10 cubits high, *i.e.* exactly half as high as the ceiling of the *dĕbîr*. These had two wings apiece, each being 5 cubits broad. These wings were outstretched, the outer ones touching the walls, the inner ones reaching to each other. The four wings of 5 cubits each were stretched from wall to wall, extending along the whole width of 20 (=4×5) cubits. The ark had its place under the two inner wings. On the form and significance of these cherubim see CHERUBIM.

[α] *θυμιατήριον* is certainly 'altar' not 'censer.' So Bleek, Lünemann, Kurtz, Westcott, Delitzsch. *Per contra*, cf. Biesenthal and EV.

[β] 1 K 6^{28}.

[γ] 1 K $6^{32.35}$.

[δ] 1 K 14^{26}.

[ε] 2 K 14^{14}.

[ζ] *Ancient Jerusalem.*

[η] *Le Tempel de Jérusalem.*

[θ] Com. and Appendix.

[ι] *Heb. Arch.* 385.

[κ] *Heb. Arch.* ii. p. 34, n. 3.

[λ] *Jahrb. des Kaiserlichen deutschen archäol. Instituts*, vol. vii. pt. 1.

[μ] *Heb. Arch.* ii. 34.

[ν] *Origines Judaicæ*, 242.

[ξ] *Temples of the Jews*, p. 33.

[ο] *Tempel u. Palast Salomo's, Denkmäler Phönikischer Kunst.*

[π] *History of Art in Sardinia, Syria, and Asia Minor*, p. 141 f.

[ρ] *Encyc. Brit.*^{9}, art. 'Temple.'

[α] 1 K 6^{20b} renders the last part of this verse, 'And he *made* (not overlaid) an altar of cedar': so LXX, Then., Benz. etc.

[β] *Der Temp. Salom.* 178 f.

[γ] *Der Temp. Salom.* 109 f.

[δ] Thus Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. 232), Thenius, Stade (*ZATW* iii. p. 168 ff.), Nowack, Benzinger.

[ε] Ezk 41^{22}.

[ζ] Not 'candlesticks.' The Bible knows nothing of 'candles' or of 'candlesticks.' Render in all cases, in OT and in NT, 'lamps' and 'lampstands.'

[η] 2 Ch 4^{19-22}.

[θ] מְנֹרוֹת.

[ι] The light in the temple of Shiloh was kept burning during the night only (1 S 3^3).

[κ] 'He made also ten tables, and placed them in the *hêkāl*, five on the right side and five on the left.'

[λ] אֲרוֹן 'chest'; תֵּבָה (an Egyptian word), meaning 'a hollow vessel,' is the word for Noah's ark.

[μ] 1 K 8^6.

[ν] 1 K 8^9.

[ξ] *κιβωτός.*

[ο] Ex 16^{32-34} 25^{16}, Nu 17^{10}, Dt 10^5.

[π] See ARK.

[ρ] 1 K 6^{23-28}.

In 2 K 18^{4} it is recorded that Hezekiah 'removed the high places, and brake the pillars, and cut down the Asherah; and he brake in pieces the brazen serpent that Moses had made; for unto those days the children of Israel did burn incense to it.' Where in the temple—if in it at all—this symbol of deity was kept we have no intimation. The brief notice is interesting, however, as showing to how late a time the Israelites worshipped Jehovah in the form of some material object. See art. NEHUSHTAN.

The court.[α]—Keil and the older authorities generally hold that there was an outer temple court[β] as well as an inner one.[γ] What can be said for this view is well said by Keil in *Der Tempel Salomos*, p. 114 ff. So far, however, as the history and description of Solomon's temple are concerned, we know of but one temple court, the other courts mentioned not being temple courts at all. The epithet 'inner,' when employed to designate the temple court, gets its meaning from the fact that it was surrounded by the greater court, and formed, indeed, a part of the latter.[δ] This one court is called by the Chronicler the 'court of the priests,'[ε] but under the influence of later ideas and usages Ezekiel was the first to think of reserving a court for the priests, and in the later temples his conception was carried out. It was owing to stricter notions of holiness, and the belief in a more urgent need for Jehovah to be approached through His appointed ministers, that God's house—the place where He dwelt—came to be safeguarded by a walled space into which priests alone could enter. But in Solomon's day and for a long time afterward such conceptions were unknown. No need was therefore thought to exist for more than one temple court.

The greater court—of which the temple court formed a part—was surrounded by a wall made of three layers of hewn stone, and on the top of them a layer of cedar planks, the latter probably gable-shaped, so that the water might fall to the ground.[ζ] Keil[η] and others think the cedar planks stood upright, making a kind of railing. There was the same sort of wall around the temple court, as well as around the court below, in which the royal palace stood.

No information is supplied about the *extent* of the court. Ezekiel's inner court was 100 cubits square;[θ] and Keil thinks the court in question had the same size. But it must be remembered that the court about which Keil is thinking was, like Ezekiel's, for the *priests alone*; the one and only court of Solomon's temple was for the *people* as well as for the *priests.*[ι] The Rabbis say that the temple court was 187 cubits from east to west, and 135 cubits from north to south. They get these figures, however, from the second temple, and moreover they, too, believed that the first temple, like the others, had an outer court.

We are left equally in the dark as to the *form* of the court. Judging, however, from other temples, we should expect it to be rectangular, if not a square. Hirt and Grüneisen say the front or east side of it formed a semicircle; but this is simply a guess. The fact that so little is said concerning the court shows how small was the importance attached to it at this early time.

Gates of the court.—No court gates are named in the history of the building of the temple. It is natural to think that there was a gate on the south side, for it was on that side that the royal palace lay,[κ] and the king would enter by that gate. It is possible that the people also had to enter the sacred enclosure through this southern gate. But it is probable that there were gates on the north and east also, as there were in Ezekiel's temple.[λ] We have evidence that for some time before the Exile there were gates. In Jer 38^{14} we read of a 'third entry into the house of Jehovah,' and three keepers of the threshold are referred to in Jer 52^{24}, 2 K 25^{18}. But these references are not conclusive as to the court of Solomon's temple. Moreover, we read of a northern gate,[α] which is probably identical with the 'upper gate of the house of Jehovah,'[β] the 'upper gate of Benjamin,'[γ] and 'the altar gate,'[δ]—so called because to this the people brought their offerings. Assuming that the same gate is meant in all these passages, we gather from 2 K 15^{35} that it was built by Jotham (B.C. 740–736); moreover, it is called a 'new gate.'[ε] It could not therefore have been made in Solomon's time, though it might have taken the place of a much older gate. In 1 Ch 9^{18} an eastern gate is named, and it is called 'the king's gate,' probably because the king used it either principally or exclusively.[ζ] We have supposed that Solomon would be more likely to enter through a south gate, about which, however, we know nothing certain.

The *floor* of the court was paved; at least it was so in Ahaz' day (B.C. 736–728), for it was upon the pavement that he set the brazen sea after he had taken away its proper support.[η] The Chronicler[θ] says it was paved from the very first. Ezekiel's outer court was paved for 50 cubits all round the outer wall, except on the west;[ι] and it is likely that his inner court was paved, for the other is called the lower pavement, implying the existence of a higher. According to Smend,[κ] the whole of Ezekiel's inner court was paved.

Contents of the court.—**The Altar of Burnt-offering.**—We have in Kings no account of the making of this altar, though its existence is implied in 1 K 8^{64}, where it is called a 'brazen altar,' and in 2 K $16^{10\text{ff.}}$, where we read that king Ahaz ordered Urijah the priest to set aside the brazen altar that was in the 'forefront of the house'[λ] in favour of a new altar, built according to an Assyrian model which the king saw at Damascus. In 2 Ch 4^{1} it is said that Huram Abi, the temple artist, made an altar of brass, 20 cubits in both length and width, and 10 cubits high. Beyond the instructions thus given we know nothing authentic of this altar. Its being made of brass was contrary to the directions laid down in the Book of the Covenant,[μ] and is probably due to contact with surrounding peoples. Keil[ν] tries to save the character of Solomon by maintaining that the inside of the altar was made up of earth and unhewn stone, and that its outside was alone of brass,—brass plates, he says. But such an altar could hardly be called one of brass.

Keil[ξ] reconstructs the altar according to what we know of the altar of the tabernacle. Most modern authorities reconstruct it in accordance with what we know of Ezekiel's altar.[ο] But neither procedure is a safe one; certainly not the former, since the whole account of the tabernacle is conceived under the influence of late ideas and practices. Nor is it safe to argue from Ezekiel's to Solomon's altar of burnt-offering; for, assuming that the prophet's conception was governed by what he had seen of the pre-exilic temple at Jerusalem, yet many changes are likely to have been made between Solomon's time and that of the prophet. Some of these are known to us, and have already come under our notice.[π]

The altar of the first temple stood probably at the spot where David erected an altar after the plague was stayed.[ρ] Indeed this altar might have been the very one that David raised, though 2 Ch 4^{1} is against this supposition, as is also the fact that the rest of the temple was new.

The Brazen Sea.[ς]—Between the house and the altar, but towards the south, was the Brazen Sea (called also 'the Molten Sea' and simply 'the Sea'). See SEA (BRAZEN).

The Lavers.[τ]—On each side of the altar, at

[α] חָצֵר. The later term is עֲזָרָה.
[β] הֶחָצֵר הַחִיצֹנָה Ezk 10^{5}.
[γ] חָצֵר הַפְּנִימִית 1 K 6^{36} 7^{12}; but cf. *ZATW* iii. p. 152 f., and Benzinger's Commentary.
[δ] See above, p. 695^{b}.
[ε] 2 Ch 4^{9} חֲצַר הַכֹּהֲנִים.
[ζ] 1 K 7^{12}.
[η] *Der Temp. Sal.* 115.
[θ] Ezk 40^{47}.
[ι] 2 K 12^{12}, Jer $35^{1\text{ff.}}$ 36^{10} show that laymen were allowed to enter the court of the pre-exilic temple.
[κ] See p. 696^{b}.
[λ] Ezk $40^{28\text{ff.}}$.

[α] Ezk 8^{3} 9^{2}.
[β] 2 K 15^{35}.
[γ] Jer 20^{2}.
[δ] Ezk 8^{5}.
[ε] Jer 26^{10} 36^{10}.
[ζ] Cf. Ezk $46^{1\text{ff.}}$.
[η] 2 K 16^{17}.
[θ] 2 Ch 7^{3}.
[ι] Ezk 40^{18}.
[κ] On Ezk 40^{18}.
[λ] פְּנֵי הַבַּיִת.
[μ] Ex $20^{24\text{f.}}$.
[ν] *Der Temp. Sal.* p. 117 f.
[ξ] *l.c.*
[ο] Ezk 43^{13-17}.
[π] Cf. 1 K 16^{35}, 2 K 16^{17}.
[ρ] 2 S $24^{15\text{ff.}}$.
[ς] 1 K 7^{23-26} ‖ 2 Ch 4^{2-5}.
[τ] 1 K 7^{27-37}.

the right and left wings of the temple, there were ten brazen stands on wheels, with brass basins set upon them (see the very elaborate article, with illustrations, entitled 'Die Kesselwagen des salom. Tempel,' by Stade, in *ZATW*, 1901, p. 145 ff.). They were filled with water, which was used for the purpose of washing the flesh that was to be offered in sacrifice. Perhaps the water in them was obtained from the brazen sea. Or it may be that both the brazen sea and also the lavers were supplied direct from the stream mentioned in Ezk 47^1.

In 1 K 7^{40} (‖ 2 Ch 4^{11}) we are told that Huram made also pots,[α] shovels,[β] and basins,[γ] but it is not stated where these were kept.

Of any additional chambers in the court besides those around the house the Biblical accounts say nothing. There is no mention, for example, of chambers for sacrificing, for washing the sacrificial flesh, for storing the instruments used in sacrificing, etc.

Rabbinical writers say there were eight stone tables on the north of the altar of burnt-offering, fastened to the pavement by twenty-four iron rings. Lund,[δ] who follows Jewish authorities far too slavishly, gives details of these tables, depending upon his Jewish guides. If, however, these tables obtained at all, it was in the temple of Herod alone, with which Jewish writers were familiar, and from which far too freely and uncritically they drew conclusions concerning the temple of Solomon.

Subsequent history of Solomon's temple.—Solomon did not intend the temple he built to be a rival to the already existing high places of the land, much less did he intend by his sanctuary to supplant the many others. For long after his time, as the genuine Books of Kings show, the *bāmôth* or high places had the stamp of approval as much as the Jerusalem sanctuary. The writings of the early prophets make this very clear. From Amos and Hosea we see that the people of the Northern kingdom made pilgrimages to Beersheba in the south (Am 5^5, cf. 8^{14}, Hos 4^{15} (text as amended by Wellh., Now., etc.)), and that they worshipped there and at Dan, Bethel, and other places (Am 4^4 5^5 8^{14}, Hos 10^{15}) without incurring blame, so far as concerned the locality of the sanctuaries. On the other hand, the inhabitants of Judah sacrificed at Gilgal as well as Jerusalem (Hos 4^{15}; but text dub., see Wellh. *ad loc.*). The opposition to the *bāmôth* arose from the superstition and immorality associated with them, and the danger of worshipping the Canaanite deities to which they were originally consecrated.[ε] It should be noted that the temple-worship of Jerusalem is as strongly reprobated by Isaiah as worship at the *bāmôth* is by Amos and Hosea, and for a similar reason; see Is 1, etc. Elijah was one of the first to set his face against these local cults; but the first to make any attempt to suppress them was Hezekiah (B.C. 729–629).[ζ] But the high places continued to be recognized until about B.C. 621, when Josiah (B.C. 640–609) employed vigorous measures, and for the most part succeeded in stamping them out.[η] More and more the temple became the centre of the nation's life, religious and political, especially after the return from exile (see Smend, *Alttest. Religionsgesch.* 216 f., 230 f., 315 f., 438 ff., and especially his article in *SK*, 1884, p. 689 f.).

In 2 Ch 20^5 mention is made of a 'new court' belonging to the house of Jehovah before which Jehoshaphat stood; an outer court could hardly have existed at this time; probably the Chronicler is influenced by the temple of his own day.

We have already spoken of the following incidents connected with the temple: (1) the new gate made by Jotham;[θ] (2) the supplanting by king Ahaz of the altar of burnt-offering,[ι] and the removal by him of the brazen oxen on which the brazen sea rested;[α] (3) the taking away by Hezekiah of the gold, etc., of the house.[β] But worse than that of Ahaz or Hezekiah was the conduct of Manasseh, for he caused altars to be raised in the court to all the host of heaven, and an image to be put in the house of Jehovah.[γ] Moreover, he erected abodes for hierodules, in which women wove tents for the Asherah, these tents to be put up in the sanctuary.[δ] He had also horses, consecrated to the sun, kept in a part of the inner court.[ε] Josiah purged the temple of these abominations,[ζ] but unfortunately his life was cut short at Megiddo in the war with Egypt, about B.C. 609.[η] Twelve years later Jerusalem was attacked by the Chaldæans under their king, Nebuchadrezzar.[θ] In B.C. 586 Jerusalem and its temple were burned to the ground, and whatever of value remained in the temple was carried to Babylon.[ι] Thus ended the first temple after an existence of over four centuries.

ii. *EZEKIEL'S TEMPLE.*—Ezekiel's programme for the new State and temple was suggested to him by the sights he had seen in the Holy City, and the events amidst which he moved. Hence the picture he drew of the temple that was to be is helpful in understanding what the temple was immediately before its destruction. In a less degree, less than is generally supposed, it is an aid, too, in reconstructing the temple of Solomon.

But Ezekiel's temple obtains its chief significance from its relation to the future. The legislation set forth in the last 9 chapters of Ezekiel represents an intervening stage in ritual and theological conceptions between the Deuteronomic legislation and the Priestly. In Ezekiel's ideal picture the temple and its priesthood stand in the very foreground. Some items in his programme could not be realized. For instance, the territory in which each of the 12 tribes was to dwell is marked out, but the 12 tribes did not return. Again, the temple buildings did not, and could not, occupy exactly a square of 500 cubits each way.

The description of Ezekiel's temple is to be found in 40^1–43^{27} and parts of the following chapters.

The text is often very corrupt, and has to be conjecturally emended. Böttcher's *Proben alttest. Schrifterklärung* (1833) and Thenius' Com. on *Kings* are very serviceable in reconstructing the text. The Commentaries of Smend and of Cornill are of the utmost value in the same direction: especially Cornill's monumental work, which deals mainly with the text. One cannot but wish, however, that Cornill were less wedded to the text implied in the LXX. We ought not to omit noticing the Commentaries of Keil, Bertholet, and Kraetzschmar, all of which the present writer has found helpful, more particularly that of Bertholet.

Hävernick in his Commentary on *Ezekiel* has called attention to the fact that in the account of Solomon's temple it is the house—including *hêkāl* and *dĕbîr*—which receives most attention; but in the description of Ezekiel's temple it is the external circumstances that stand out most prominently, such as the courts with cells and doors, the guardrooms, chambers, ornaments, dresses, and the like. The house is but slightly touched upon. This may be owing to the fact that in both temples the house was in all essentials identical: the differences and additions were in the external parts.

1. General Arrangement.—Solomon's temple was but one part of the complex of royal buildings on the eastern hill. It was enclosed in the great court, as were the royal palace, the house inhabited by his Egyptian wife, and other erections. In this temple court the people were in the habit of gathering to offer sacrifices. Priests and people mingled around the altar and in the immediate precincts of the house. In Ezekiel's time no palace and no State

---

[α] Reading סִירוֹת for the obviously inaccurate כִּיֹּרוֹת.

[β] יָעִים.

[γ] מִזְרָקוֹת.

[δ] Book iv. ch. 17.

[ε] Dt $12^{2.30}$, Nu 33^{52}, Ex $34^{12f.}$.

[ζ] 2 K $18^{4.22}$.

[η] 2 K $23^{1ff.}$

[θ] 2 K 15^{35} ‖ 2 Ch 27^3.

[ι] 2 K 16^{10}.

[α] 2 K 16^{17}.

[β] 2 K $18^{15f.}$.

[γ] 2 K $21^{4.5.7}$.

[δ] 2 K 23^7.

[ε] 2 K 23^{11}.

[ζ] 2 K 23.

[η] 2 K 23^{29}.

[θ] 2 K $24^{2ff.}$.

[ι] 2 K 25 ‖ Jer 52.

buildings were needed. The space on which these had been built was now devoted, accordingly, to that outer court which is the grand feature of this new temple. Israel had suffered for want of proper reverence. God had not been worshipped with becoming respect. His house had been desecrated, the sacrifices profaned. Now the house was to be shut off from secular buildings. In close proximity to it the priests alone were to be allowed; it was only in the large outer court, which stood where previously the royal buildings were, that the common people could gather. There was to be a new land separated to Jehovah, and cut off on the west by the sea, and on the east by the rapid Jordan and its seas, or rather lakes. But of that all-holy land the temple hill was to be first secured as a kind of *tĕrûmāh* [α] or first-fruits. An enclosed land was to have its sanctuary enclosed—nay, doubly enclosed, the inner enclosure for the priests alone. It is no doubt this idea of the holiness of Jehovah and His house that prompted the prophet, in the spirit of his time and people, to appropriate the whole of the upper hill for his temple, and to substitute the outer court for Solomon's all-encompassing great court.

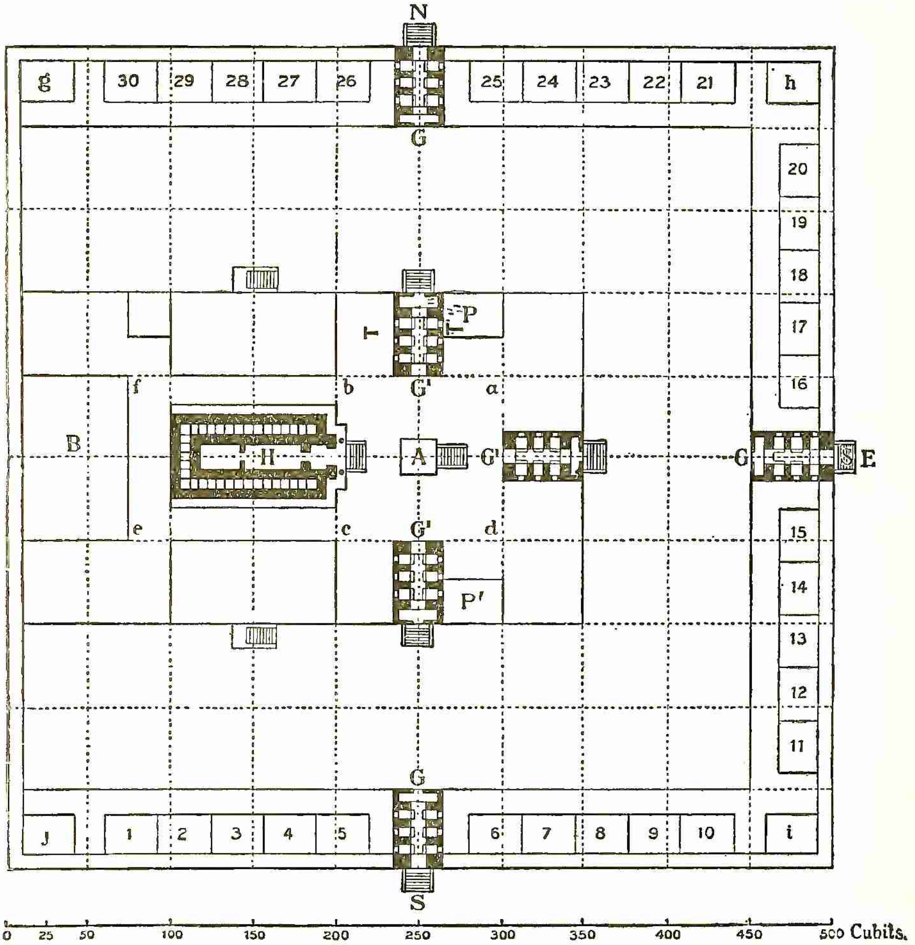

FIG. 5.—GROUND PLAN OF EZEKIEL'S TEMPLE. [δ]

g h i j = the encompassing walls. G G G = the 3 outer gates. G¹ G¹ G¹ = the 3 inner gates. P P′ = priests' cells. H = the house (*hêkāl* and *dĕbîr*). A = altar of burnt-offerings. The numbers around the outer walls mark the cells.

A leading feature in Ezekiel's temple is its *symmetry*: this is due to its ideal character, and its consequent freedom from practical restraints. The area it covered was a square 500 cubits [α] on each side. The proportion 2 : 1 obtains largely. The gateways are 50 cubits long and 25 broad. The house with walls and chambers had a length of 100 cubits and a breadth of 50. Between the house and the 3 inner gates was a square of 100 cubits each side. A glance at the plan below will show the thoroughly symmetrical character of the whole. From square to square is 50 cubits.

The temple area was encompassed by a wall (g h i j) 6 cubits high and of the same thickness.[β] In the centre of the N., E. and S. walls there were gateways [γ] (G G G). Just opposite to them, towards the inside and exactly 100 cubits distant, there were three gates of the same construction leading into the inner court [γ] (G¹ G¹ G¹). Within the precincts of the inner court was the house, embracing both *hêkāl* or Holy Place and *dĕbîr* or Most Holy Place (H). In our more detailed description we shall follow the order in which the angel showed the temple to the prophet in the vision. We

---

[α] תְּרוּמָה, cf. Nu 15$^{19f.}$ 18$^{11ff.}$ 31^{41}.

[α] Ezk 42^{16} not 'reeds' as MT. The LXX has simply 500, but in v.^{17} it has 'cubits,' which should be understood in v.^{16}, as the general measurements and other passages show.

[β] Ezk 40^{5}.

[γ] See below for full description.

[δ] The plan is adapted from Benzinger's *Heb. Arch.* 394. Benzinger takes his from Stade, *Gesch.* ii. 51. The squares are due to Benzinger.

begin, therefore, at the eastern gate of the outer court.

The first thing we encounter as we approach the eastern gateway is the ascent by 7 steps[α] to the level of the outer court, which was higher than the ground outside. At the inner gate there was a corresponding flight of steps which conducted to the inner court, but here there were 8 steps[β] not 7. In a similar way an ascent of 10 steps had to be made before the house could be entered.[γ] The whole constituted thus three terraces, all which would yield a commanding view from the mountains and high ground around, and from the lowest court.

Height of steps.—According to Ezk 41^{6} the 10 steps leading immediately to the house were equal to an elevation of 6 cubits, *i.e.* each step was $\frac{3}{5}$ of a cubit high. The other steps were probably of the same height.

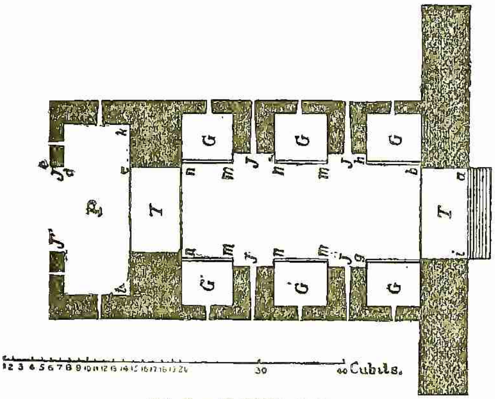

FIG. 6.—AN OUTER GATE.

Having reached the topmost of the steps in front of the outer gateway, we enter the gateway itself, which, as is common in the East, has rooms on both sides,[δ] though it has none above, such as are often found in Eastern countries, and, indeed, not seldom in Europe. First of all we enter the threshold[ε] (*T*), an open space with a length[ζ] (E. to W.) of 6 cubits[η] and a breadth[ζ] of 10 cubits.[θ]

Passing beyond the threshold, we find right and left of us guard-rooms[ι] in which the temple officers were stationed to keep order and to watch the house.[κ] These were four-square, the side being 6 cubits. Five cubits farther on there were two identical guard-rooms, and the same distance yet farther to the west there were two more. There were thus six guard-rooms in all (Fig. 6, *GGGGGG*).

No *doors* are mentioned as belonging to the guard-rooms, but it is probable that on the sides towards the outer court there were doors. On the inner side of each guard-room there was a 'border' (RV) or 'barrier'[λ] (Cornill, Bertholet, A. B. Davidson) (see Fig. 6, *mn*), of one cubit thickness. The purpose of this barrier was to enable the sentry to see along the whole length of the gateway without being jostled by the crowd that passed in and out. Of its form we are told nothing, but it was probably simply a straight stone wall, a cubit in thickness and 6 cubits across. Between the guard-rooms there were 'posts' (EV) or 'wall fronts'[α] (A. B. Davidson) (Fig. 6, *J J J J*), which from guard-room to guard-room were 5 cubits. There were four in all—two on each side. Their use was purely architectural. At the west end of the guard-rooms there was a second threshold[β] (*T′*), the same in all respects as the other, but acting as threshold to one entering from the outer court, as the other did to one entering from the outside.

We now enter the porch (*P*), an empty space 8 cubits long (E. to W.), *c d*, and 20 broad (N. to S.),[γ] *k i*. The breadth of the gateway all along its length was 10 cubits,[δ] except where the barriers occur: these occupying a cubit each side would reduce the distance between the guard-rooms from barrier to barrier (*m m n n*) to 8 cubits. The length of the gateway, leaving out the steps, which are not counted, was 50 cubits,[ε] and it was wholly roofed, as may be gathered from the fact that guard-rooms and intervening 'posts' required windows. The length of the gateway is thus made up—

Outer threshold (*T*) *a b*	6 cubits.
3 guard-rooms (*G G G*)	18 ,,
2 'posts' or 'wall fronts' (*J J*) . . .	10 ,,
Inner threshold (*T′*) *n c*	6 ,,
Porch (*P*) *c d*	8 ,,
'Posts' or 'wall fronts' (*J′J′*) *d e* . .	2 ,,
Total . . .	50 cubits.

Windows.—According to Ezk 40^{16} there were windows in the guard-rooms, in the 'posts' between them, and in the porch. Those of the guard-rooms looked out into the court, and lighted at once the rooms themselves and also the adjoining gateway.[ζ] The windows in the 'posts' extended all through their thickness of 6 cubits. If these posts were solid walls, it must have been so, and not, as Davidson's diagram[η] represents, a mere opening on the outside wall. On the nature and function of the windows see above. There must have been windows on the north and south of the porch, and probably the 'post' walls had them too. See Fig. 6. The end 'posts' (*d e*) had palm trees engraved on them.[θ]

The north and south gates are said to have been exactly like the eastern gate, and so did not need separate description.

Outer court.—For remarks on the function and significance of the outer court sec above. And

---

[α] Ezk 40^{6}, cf. $40^{22.\ 26}$. [β] 40^{31}. [γ] 40^{49} 41^{8}.

[δ] 2 S 18^{24}; cf. Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* 57, and note.

[ε] סַף 40^{6}.

[ζ] Length in Ezekiel is greater dimension, breadth the smaller dimension.

[η] *i.e.* the breadth of the outer wall, with which it ran parallel.

[θ] Bertholet (see on $40^{11.\ 12}$) gives no good reason for making the breadth (Ezekiel's length) other than 10 cubits. His misapplied ingenuity arises from his acceptance of 40^{11b}, which Smend and Cornill rightly reject.

[ι] תָּא 40^{7}, AV 'little chamber'; RV 'lodge,' 'guard chamber.'

[κ] 1 K 14^{28}, cf. 2 K 11^{6}. [λ] גְּבוּל Ezk 40^{12}.

[α] 40^{10} אֵילִים; LXX αἰλάμ. [β] 40^{7}.

[γ] The width of the porch (N. to S.) is not given in the MT. In Ezk 40^{14}, however, we read, 'He made also posts of 60 cubits.' Kliefoth, followed by Heng., Keil, Schröder (Lange), Perrot and Chipiez—[see their restorations]—and others defend the text as it stands. The two 'posts' at the end of the porch were like church steeples—so says Kliefoth; and it was such gate pillars that suggested our church steeples. But the 'posts' in question formed no part of the sanctuary, as church steeples usually do: unless, indeed, Kl. was thinking of the *campanile* or bell-tower churches, such as is to be seen at Chichester, etc. It is far more sensible to emend the text with the aid of the LXX, and to read, 'And he measured the porch (changing אֵילִים *'êlîm* to אֵילָם *'êlām*) 20 cubits'; *i.e.* in breadth—the other measurements have been given: thus Smend, Cornill, Davidson, and Bertholet. This would leave 5 cubits for the two side walls, *i.e.* 2½ cubits apiece. The 'jambs' or posts towards the outside (*d e*) are said to have had a thickness of 2 cubits.

[δ] 40^{11a}.

[ε] Ezk 40^{15}. The statement in v.^{13} that the gateway was 25 cubits, though supported by the Versions, is in direct collision with v.^{15}, and must, with Smend and Cornill, be rejected as an interpolation. Bött., Hitz., Häv., and Keil retain, however, and explain thus: the whole gateway (שַׁעַר) consisted of a covered portion at each end, with an unroofed space in the middle. It is, they hold, the covered part that is meant in v.^{13}. But if so, why is this not stated? Bertholet's defence of the words requires a non-natural interpretation of the verse.

[ζ] The 'barrier' was probably a wall sufficiently low for the light to pass over it. There is nothing in the text opposed to this. There might have been windows in the barrier itself; this is likely if the barrier walls were high.

[η] *Com.* p. 294. [θ] Ezk $40^{16.\ 26.\ 31}$.

for considerations showing that the first temple had but one court, see '*Court*' under *SOLOMON'S TEMPLE*. The outer court was comparatively free from buildings. Besides the north, east, and south gates, it had 30 cells[α] ranged along its outer walls.

The 30 cells (Fig. 5, 1. 2. 3, etc.) which went around the court were used for keeping utensils and provisions, and served also as residences for the priests.[β] They were also used for sacrificial feasts. The ancient high places had connected with them a festive chamber, where sacrificial meals were partaken of.[γ]

We are not told the size of these cells, nor how they were distributed. A stone pavement extended from the outer wall to a distance corresponding to the gateways, *i.e.* 44 cubits, which with the width of the wall (6 cubits) made 50 cubits. The cells are said to have been 'upon the pavement,' which seems to mean that they had the pavement for floor. But the preposition rendered 'upon' means prevailingly 'to,'[δ] and the Hebrew permits the translation: 'the cells were attached to the pavement,' *i.e.* they were placed at the termination of the pavement without being on it. But the analogy of other cells makes it practically certain that these were attached to the boundary wall. Taking this for granted, the prophet is quite silent as to how they were arranged.

Most authorities—Stade,[ε] Benzinger,[ζ] Nowack[η] (both the latter follow Stade closely), Davidson, Perrot and Chipiez, Keil, etc.—place 10 cells on the north, east, and south sides, leaving the west side for the *binyān*[θ] (Fig. 5, B). Five are supposed to be on each side of the respective outer gates. This answers well to the symmetry so characteristic of Ezekiel's temple. Orelli and Bertholet—the latter treads closely in the footsteps of his Basel colleague—allocate six of these cells to the west side, 3 on each side of the *binyān* (*B*). There are then 8 on each of the remaining 3 sides, 4 on one side of each gate and 4 on the other. The *binyān* occupying but a small part of the western wall, leaves room enough for 3 cells on each side of it. The words 'chambers and a pavement' made for the court *round about*,[ι] support the plan of putting cells on each of the 4 sides, unless, indeed, with Kliefoth and Cornill, we limit the words 'round about' to the pavement.

Opinions are divided also as to the way in which the cells stood in relation to one another. Keil[κ] maintains that the cells on each side of the north, east, and south gates were but rooms in one building, like the rooms of a house. He has therefore on his plan but 6 buildings for the 30 cells, 5 cells in each. But in that case we should have expected to read of 6 buildings, and not merely of 30 cells. Davidson separates the cells by an intervening space.[λ] Stade, Benz., Now., Orelli, Berth., and Perrot and Chipiez join the cells, putting a mere wall between them; and this is the likeliest view, for on Davidson's conception there would be a considerable waste of labour and materials in the extra walls required.

Pavement.—The pavement already spoken of is called the 'lower pavement,'[μ] from which one would infer that the inner and upper court[ν] was also paved. Smend concludes from 2 Ch 7^3 and Aristeas' letter that the whole of the inner court was paved. Cornill rejects the words as an interpolation, though on purely subjective grounds.

Kitchens.—In each of the four corners of the outer court there was a kitchen in which the sacrificial meals were got ready,[ξ] the size of each being 40 cubits long by 30 broad. The 'ministers of the house'[ο] boiled in them what the people brought to be sacrificed.

The Inner Court.—The inner court was for the priests alone; and its being thus exclusively used, and there being more than one court at all, marks a new step in the religion of Israel. As compared with the outer and larger court, the inner was crowded with buildings having to do with the temple service, particulars of which will be found below. From the external margin of the outer walls to the walls of the inner court there was a distance of 150 cubits. The entrance to the inner court was by means of 3 gates opposite to the 3 outer gates and of the same construction, only that the parts—threshold to porch—occurred in reverse order; the porch of the inner gate being next the steps, and not farthest away, as in the outer gate, etc. There were 8, not 7 steps between the two courts—a sign perhaps of the increased progress in holiness as compared with the passage from the outside to the first court.

Sacrificial cell and tables about the porch of the inner Northern (or Eastern?) Gate.—On one side of the inner northern gateway, joining the porch, and with a passage into the porch, there was a cell, not further described as to structure, size, or position. Smend[α] represents it as on the south side of the porch, having the same length and a third of its breadth. This cell was used for washing the burnt-offerings.[β]

Kliefoth, Keil, and Schröder (Lange) maintain that the sacrifices were washed—the last process they were put through before they were laid upon the altar—at each of the 3 inner gates. Indeed Kliefoth goes so far as to say that there were two washing cells attached to each porch of the inner gates, one on each side. But the slaughtering took place at one gate only,[γ] and it is practically certain that the washing did too. 'Gates' in v.^{38} should be read 'gate' with the LXX and most authorities.

Another debated and debateable question is—Which gate is meant at which this washing cell was situated? Ew., Hitz., Smend, Corn., and Berth. hold that it is the eastern, their principal grounds being, that (1) the eastern gate was the most sacred, that (2) the stream that supplied water for washing the sacrifices passed by the east end of the temple,[δ] and that (3) at the N. and S. gates there were other buildings[ε] (Fig. 5, P P′). On the other hand, Böttcher,[ζ] Hävernick, and Davidson hold that the northern gate is meant,[η] and for reasons which, to the present writer, appear conclusive. Here are some of them:—(1) The prophet is already at the N. gate. Cornill gets rid of this difficulty by his usual and often successful way of emending the text. In the beginning of v.^{38} he introduces a clause answering to the beginning of v.^{35} 'And he brought me to the door of the porch of the *eastern* gate.' But he has absolutely no external support for the change thus made. (2) According to the regulations in Leviticus,[θ] the slaughtering of animals for sacrifice was to take place at the N. side of the altar in the case of burnt-, sin-, and trespass-offerings. No directions are given as to peace-offerings.[ι] It is to be expected beforehand that Ezekiel's legislation and that of the Priestly Code would tally. (3) The N. gate is called in 8^5 the 'gate of the altar.' Since it was to this gate that the people brought their offerings, it was the most frequented. The two E. gates were kept shut except on Sabbaths and new moons,[κ] or on other special occasions when the prince desired to present freewill-offerings.[λ] The western gate was closed by buildings connected with the temple. In the pre-exilic temple the S. gate was joined to the palace court, which is partly true of the eastern gate as well.

Passing into the inner N. gate, on both sides of the porch—which is first reached—we see 4 tables, 2 on each side (T′), on which the burnt-, sin-, and trespass-offerings were slain;[μ] or at least they were used *in connexion with the* slaying of these sacrifices, as Keil and Davidson understand the words. The actual slaughtering took place probably on 4 tables outside, the 4 inside tables being used in that case for preparing the sacrifices for the altar. According to Lv 1^{11} 6^{25} 7^2 the above-named sacrifices had to be killed on the N. side of the altar.[ν] If these tables were placed near the N. gate, this requirement of P would be met.

There were without the porch two tables on each side—4 in all (T); on these, as stated above, the actual slaughtering took place.[ξ] In addition to the 8 tables noticed above there were 4 of hewn stone, each with a length and breadth of one cubit and a half, having a height of one cubit. They had ledges running round the 4 top edges a hand-

---

[α] For the sake of distinctness we use 'cell' for לִשְׁכָּה, 'guard-room' for תָּא, and 'chamber' for צֵלָע. Indian, Egyptian, etc., temples, as is well known, contained also, within their courts, dwellings for priests, besides kitchens, refectories, etc. See Beale's *Guide to Architecture*, p. 34.

[β] Ezk 40^{17-45} $42^{1ff.}$; cf. 1 Ch 9^{26}, Ezr 10^6, Neh $13^{4f.}$.

[γ] 1 S 9^{22}; cf. Jer 35^4 36^{10}.

[δ] אֶל.

[ε] *Gesch.* ii. 51.

[ζ] *Heb. Arch.*

[η] *Heb. Arch.*

[θ] Ezk 41^{12}.

[ι] Ezk 40^{17} סָבִיב סָבִיב.

[κ] *Com.* p. 353, pl. 1.

[λ] *Com.* p. 299

[μ] 40^{18}.

[ν] 40^{21}.

[ξ] 46^{21-24}.

[ο] *i.e.* the subordinate officials; cf. Ezk 44^{10-14}.

[α] *Com.* p. 330.

[β] Ezk 40^{38}.

[γ] 40^{39}.

[δ] Ezk $47^{1f.}$.

[ε] 40^{44}.

[ζ] *Proben.*

[η] 40^{35-37}.

[θ] 1^{11} $4^{24.29.33}$ 6^{25} 7^2 14^{13}.

[ι] $3^{2.8.13}$.

[κ] $46^{1ff.}$.

[λ] 46^{12}.

[μ] 40^{39}.

[ν] See above.

[ξ] 40^{40}. Böttcher contends that these tables stood in the outer court, two at each of the angles formed by the steps and the gate front. His reasoning turns chiefly on the meaning of כָּתֵף, rendered 'side.' See *Proben*, etc. p. 330 f. But we have certainly to seek some spot in the inner court in which the angel and prophet now are.

breadth in width: those turned inwards. The instruments made use of in the burnt-offerings were kept on these stone tables.[α]

Priests' cells[β] (P P′).—Close to the N. and S. inner gates there were 2 cells for the officiating priests. The N. cell (P) was for the priests who saw to the house,[γ] its gates, sacrifices, etc. The other (P′) was for the Zadokite priests who had charge of the altar.

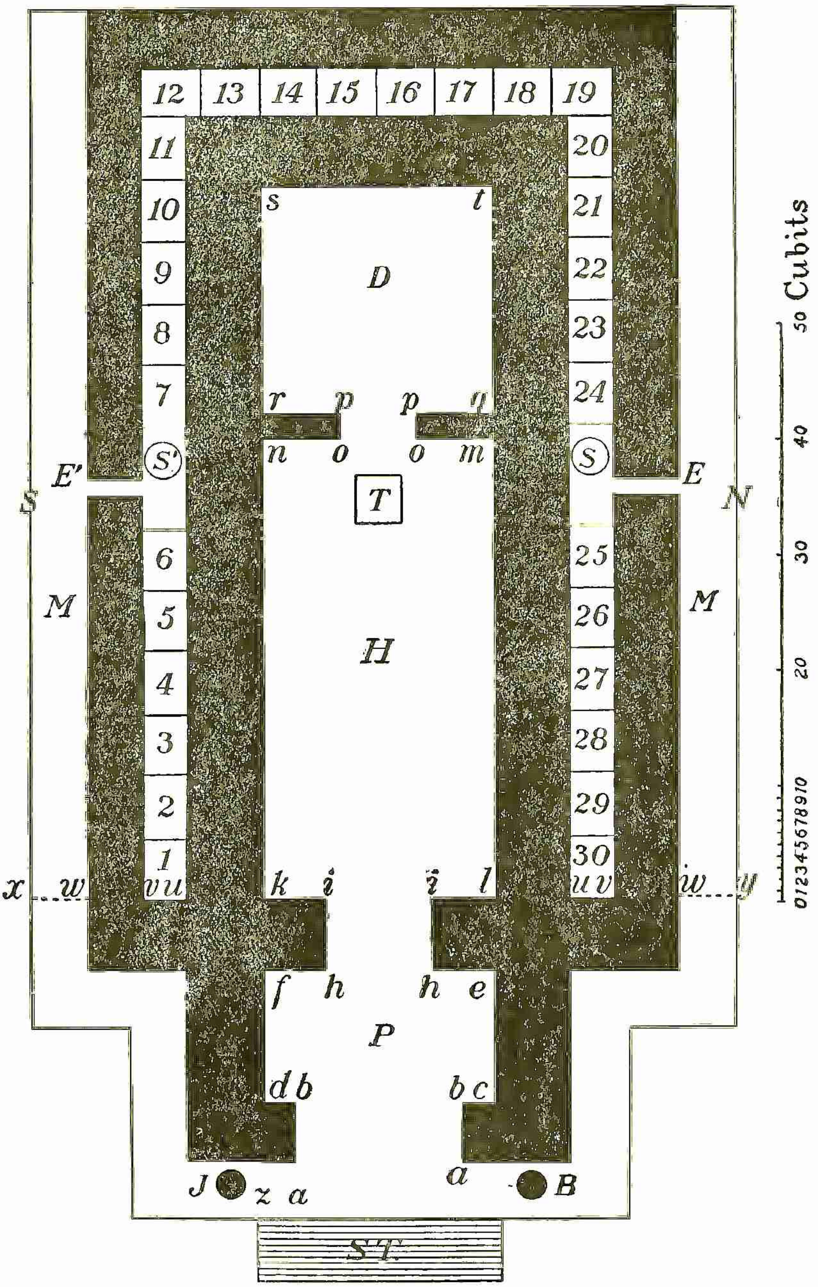
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
11
20
10
21
9
22
8
23
7
24
s
t
D
r
p
p
q
n
o
o
m
S′
S
E′
E
S
N
T
6
25
M
M
5
26
H
4
27
3
28
2
29
1
30
x
w
vu
k
i
i
l
uv
w
y
f
h
h
e
P
db
bc
J
z
a
a
B
ST
Cubits
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
20
30
40
50

FIG. 7.

ST=steps before the porch. *P*=porch. *H*=*hêkāl.* *D*=*dĕbîr.* *E E′*=N and S. entrances to chambers. *S S′*=stairs connecting the storeys. *B*=Boaz. *J*=Jachin. *M*=the *munnāḥ*. *T*=the altar-shaped table of shewbread.

Between the house and the inner ends of the inner gates there was a square, having 100 cubits to the side (a b c d). The altar (A) was probably in the centre, and therefore equally visible from all the inner gates.[α] The space between the altar and the house was deemed specially sacred.[β]

2. THE HOUSE AND ITS MEASUREMENTS.[γ]—The house and its appurtenances formed a square of 100 cubits each way. The manner in which this is made up will be shown in summary after the several details have been considered.

[α] 40^{42}.
[β] 40^{44-46}.
[γ] In 44^{15-31} the Levites are said to have charge of the house.

[α] Cf. $43^{13\text{ff.}}$.
[β] Ezk 8^{16}, Jl 2^{17}, Mt 23^{35}.
[γ] Ezk 40^{48}–41^{4}.

The porch[α] (*P*).—The porch (Fig. 7) was 20 cubits from N. to S. (*d c*), and 11 cubits, or rather 12,[β] from E. to W. (*d f*). The platform of the house was 6 cubits higher than the ordinary level of the inner court: this was reached by 10 steps.[γ] Close to the 'posts' or 'wall fronts' of the porch were two pillars,[δ] the Boaz and Jachin of 1 K 7^{21} (*B J*).

The hêkāl or Holy Place[ε] (*H*).—The *hêkāl* was 40 cubits long (E. to W.) and 20 broad (N. to S.)—inside measurements. The posts of the entrance wall (*i h*) were 6 cubits thick. The door or entrance way into the *hêkāl* was 10 cubits (*h h*, *i i*).

The dĕbîr or Most Holy Place[ζ] (*D*, Fig. 7).—The *dĕbîr* was a cube of 20 cubits each way. Its posts (*o p*) were 2 cubits in thickness, this being the thickness of the wall (*n o*) which extended from the N. and S. walls of the house to the door. This wall[η] (*n o*) was 7 cubits wide, leaving 6 cubits for the door.[θ]

Doors of hêkāl and dĕbîr.[ι]—Both *hêkāl* and *dĕbîr* had folding doors of the kind already described.[κ] It is not said that the *dĕbîr* of Solomon's temple had such doors. The doors of the *hêkāl* were carved with cherubim and palm trees,[λ] as the *hêkāl* walls were.[μ] The porch entrance (*a–a*: *b–b*)—we read of no door—was 14 cubits wide.[μ] The door or entrance to the *hêkāl* was 10 cubits wide,[ν] that of the *dĕbîr* being 6.[ξ] The entrances were therefore in the proportion 7 : 5 : 3 (14 : 10 : 6). It is singular, though probably only a coincidence, that the wall projections (= 'sidepieces')[ο] had exactly opposite ratios, viz. 3 (*z a*) : 5 (*f h*) : 7 (*n o*).

The side chambers.[π]—On every side of the house except the east, Ezekiel's temple, like Solomon's, had side chambers. The MT gives the number of them as 33, and Smend displays much ingenuity in justifying the text, which in this connexion is by universal confession very corrupt. In favour of there being 30 are the LXX, Josephus,[ρ] Böttcher, Cornill, and most recent authorities, as also is the fact that there were 30 cells along the outer wall, not to add the greater symmetry of the round number. In Kings the number is not given. The chambers, arranged as in Solomon's temple in 3 storeys, were on the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd storeys respectively, 4, 5, and 6 cubits broad: in the first temple the figures were 5, 6, and 7. The 2nd and 3rd storeys rested upon rebatements, on which see p. 699^{b}. Concerning the rebates in the temple wall, the ladders by which the upper storeys were reached, and the uses of the chambers, see above, p. 699^{b}.

Ezekiel's temple had doors (*E E′*), one N., one S., by which admission to the chambers could be obtained. There was but one for the first temple, and it was situated at the south[ϛ] (see Fig. 2, E). There was probably a ladder at each entrance: Ezekiel's temple would thus have two ladders (*S S′*), Solomon's temple one (Fig. 2, S).

The munnāḥ,[τ] *or 'what was left'* (EV).—On the outside of the chambers N. and S. there was an empty margin of 5 cubits (*M*). It was out of this *munnāḥ* that entrance was had to the chambers through the two doors (*E E′*).

[α] אוּלָם.

[β] Thus the LXX; and the other measurements require 12. See Summary at p. 708^{b}.

[γ] Ezk 41^{8}.

[δ] 40^{49}. See Boaz.

[ε] $41^{1f.}$.

[ζ] $41^{3f.}$.

[η] 41^{3}. LXX correctly τὰς ἐπωμίδας τοῦ θυρώματος, reading וּכְתֵפוֹת instead of וְרֹחַב ('and the width').

[θ] 41^{3}.

[ι] $41^{23\text{-}25}$.

[κ] Above, p. 700^{b}, Fig. 4.

[λ] 41^{26} $41^{17ff.}$.

[μ] Though the Hebrew does not give the width, it is supplied by the LXX of 41^{48}. Adding to this 14 cubits the two projecting walls (*d b*, *b c*) we get 6 (=2×3)+14=20, the width of the porch (N. to S.), which is a confirmation of the LXX.

[ν] 41^{2}.

[ξ] 41^{3}.

[ο] 41^{3}.

[π] $41^{5\text{-}11}$.

[ρ] *Ant.* VIII. iii. 2.

[ϛ] 1 K 6^{8}.

[τ] מֻנָּח Ezk $41^{9.\,11}$.

The gizrāh,[α] *or 'separate place'* (EV).—On every side except the E. there was a space of 20 cubits, called the *gizrāh* (Fig. 5, b c e f). This court ran round the whole house buildings, including the *munnāḥ*, on N. and S.; or it went round the raised platform on which these stood. Reckoning together *gizrāh*, *munnāḥ*, chambers, and house, there was a breadth (N. to S.) of 100 cubits, which makes it highly probable that the *gizrāh* formed *part* of the upper platform, instead of merely enclosing it. The text[β] is silent as to any use to which the *gizrāh* was put. Perhaps, like our cloisters, it was for the priests to exercise themselves in, and take fresh air when unable to get farther afield.

The binyān[γ] *or 'building'* (EV).—On the W. side of the house and adjoining the *gizrāh* there was a rectangular structure called, apparently, technically *binyān* (Fig. 5, B), the inside measurements of which were 70 cubits from E. to W. and 90 from N. to S. Its encompassing wall was 5 cubits in thickness. Its W. limit reached to the western wall and joined it, as may be seen from the dimensions below:—

Length of *binyān* (E. to W.)	70 cubits.
2 walls of do. (E. and W.) 2×5	10 ,,
Gizrāh	20 ,,
Total	100 cubits.

We know that the western side of the house was 100 cubits from the outer wall, so that there could be no space between the latter and the *binyān*.

Thenius[δ] contends strongly that there was such an intervening space, and that behind the *binyān* there were gates through which wood and animals to be sacrificed were brought into the temple area, and through which refuse of every kind was carried away. Klief. and Keil hold that the *binyān* was made for the purpose of receiving the offal of the sacrifices and the sweepings of the gates. Curry[ε] says the carcase of the sin-offering was burnt at this building.[ζ]

It is very probable that by the *binyān* we are to understand the same as the הַפַּרְוָרִים[η] of 2 K 23^{11} (places in which horses and chariots were kept) and the פַּרְבָּר of 1 Ch 26^{18} (a part of the temple west of the house, of which the priests had charge).

In Ezk 41^{15a} we read of the *binyān* and its 'galleries': for the last word we should certainly read, with Corn. and others, 'walls.'[θ] This is confirmed by calculation. Adding 90 cubits, the N. to S. dimension, to the widtbs of the two enclosing walls (5+5=10), we get 100 cubits. Besides, in no other place do we read of there being galleries in the *binyān*.

General measurements of the house.—The house and its belongings formed a square of 100 cubits a side,[ι] as shown below—

From E. to W. we have these details (see Fig. 7)—

ab	Porch wall, Ezk 40^{48}	5 cubits.
df	Porch, 40^{49}	12 ,,
fk	Wall of *hêkāl*, 41^{1}	6 ,,
kn	Length of *hêkāl*, 41^{2}	40 ,,
nr	Wall of *dĕbîr*, 41^{3}	2 ,,
rs	Length of *dĕbîr*, 41^{4}	20 ,,
	Walls of house (W.), 41^{5}	6 ,,
1, 2, etc.,	Side chambers, 41^{5}	4 ,,
	Wall of side chambers, 41^{9}	5 ,,
	Total	100 cubits.

This calculation proves that the *munnāḥ* (*M*) did not extend to the W. side.

These are the dimensions from N. to S.—

Breadth of house, Ezk 41^{2}	20 cubits.
Side walls, 41^{5}, 6+6	12 ,,
Side chambers, 41^{4}, 4+4	8 ,,
Walls of side chambers, 41^{9}, 5+5	10 ,,
Munnāḥ, E. and W., 41^{9}, 5+5	10 ,,
Gizrāh, E. and W., 41^{10}, 20+20	40 ,,
Total	100 cubits.

[α] גִּזְרָה, from גָּזַר Ezk $41^{12\text{-}15}$ $42^{1.\,10.\,13}$.

[β] Ezk 41^{12}.

[γ] בִּנְיָן, lit. 'building,' from בָּנָה 'to build.'

[δ] See *Das vorex. Jerus. und dessen Tempel*, Taf. iii. fig. 3.

[ε] *Speaker's Comm.*

[ζ] Ezk 43^{21}.

[η] AV 'suburbs,' RV 'precincts.' Both פַּרְוָר and פַּרְבָּר are derived by Gesen. (*Thes.*) from Pers. *farwar*, a summer-house, open on all sides to admit air. He considers the 'parbar' of 1 Ch 26^{18} to have been an open porch adjoining the temple. In Rabbinical Hebrew (Mishna, etc.) *parbar* means temple court, and also suburbs of a city. See, further, art. Parbar.

[θ] קִירוֹת for אַתִּיקִים.

[ι] $41^{15a\text{-}20}$.

Decoration of the inside of the house.—The walls[α] of *hêkāl*, *dĕbîr*, and porch were wainscotted, as were also the closed windows.[β] The wall decoration was arranged in compartments or fields,[γ] in each of which a cherub and palm tree were engraved, the cherub having faces of man and lion, one face looking upon the other.[δ] On the side walls of the porch, palm trees alone were carved.

Windows.—Little is said about the windows of Ezekiel's temple. Those of the gateway,[ε] the porch,[ζ] and the house[η] are characterized as 'closed,'[θ] *i.e.* 'latticed.' In 1 K 6^4 the windows of Solomon's temple are further characterized as 'beamed.' This second feature is probably understood of Ezekiel's temple too. See more fully above (p. 700^a) on windows of Solomon's temple.

Priests' cells in the Inner Court.[ι]—N. and S. of the *gizrāh* there were 4 rows of cells in which the priests ate the holy food and deposited their garments, two rows being on the N. and two on the S. First there was one abutting upon the *gizrāh* and lying along its whole length of 100 cubits. Then came a parade or walk 10 cubits broad of the same length. Next to this, parallel to the *gizrāh* and the first row of cells, was a half row, starting at the west, the remaining space being taken up by a wall. The chambers had 3 storeys, but no pillars supporting them, as the 30 cells of the outer court had. The cells on the upper storey were narrower than the two below, so that in the direction of the house there was a balcony, or rather corridor. The entrance to the cells was at the E. end, and was apparently on lower ground than that on which the cells were.[κ] Bertholet concludes from this that the entrance was thus on the outer court level.

The MT does not say anything as to the number of cells there were, but the LXX gives the number as 30 in its best copics (A, etc.): *i.e.* 15 N. and the same number S., 10 in each full row and 5 in each half row. The total would, according to this, be identical with the cells along the outer wall.

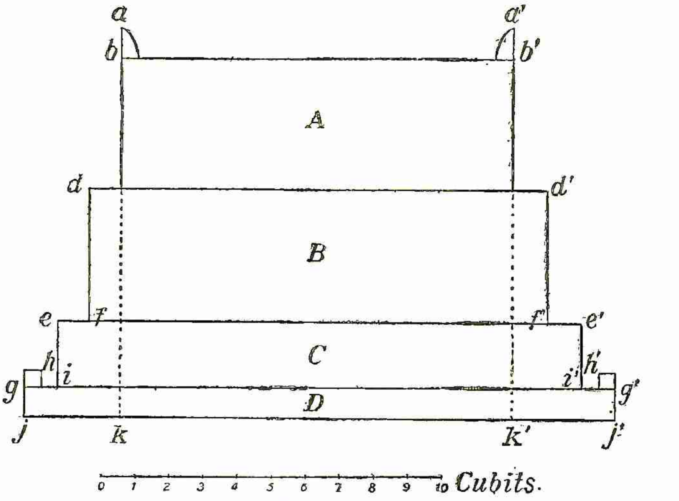

FIG. 8.—ALTAR OF BURNT-OFFERING IN EZEKIEL'S TEMPLE.[ι]

Contents of the house—In the *hêkāl* of Ezekiel's temple there was nothing except the cedar wood altar,[α] which was 2 cubits in both length and breadth[β] and 3 cubits high. It had raised corners,[γ] wrongly called horns[δ] by the LXX, and is described as a 'table (set) before Jehovah.'[ε] The altar of burnt-offering is also called the table of Jehovah.[ζ] It cannot be the altar of incense that is meant, for we find no such table mentioned earlier than P. No doubt we are to understand the altar-shaped table of shewbread (Fig. 7, *T*), as in Solomon's temple, this table occupying the same position in both temples. Of other tables or of lampstands not a word is written. Nor is anything said about what the *dĕbîr* contained. This may, of course, be due to the brevity with which the house is treated; but as a matter of fact we do not read of the ark after the destruction of Solomon's temple.[η]

Ezekiel's altar is much more elaborate than that of Solomon's temple, and owing to the large number of technical terms[θ] and other difficulties it is harder to reconstruct.

The altar was in form as if made up of four square blocks of stone, the lowest being the largest, the next being smaller to the extent of one cubit each side, the third and fourth having a superficial area less than the block below also of one cubit each side. There was thus a ledge or margin[κ] of one cubit in width at the basis of the three upper blocks (Fig. 8 *d d'*, *e e'*, *g g'*). On the outer half of the lowest margin there was an upright parapet[λ] (*g h*, *g' h'*), forming a kind of channel into which, according to tradition, the sacrificial blood flowed, whence it was conducted by a subterranean passage to the Wādy Kidron.[μ] The altar was not made of solid stone; its interior was of earth,[ν] but this was covered with stones, just as the altar of Solomon's temple had a covering of brass. The

---

[α] *i.e.* the walls enclosing the openings rendered 'openings.' These walls were themselves covered with beams; cf. שְׁקֻפִים 1 K 6^4: it was on these beams that the wood-carving was done. Berth., on account of the difficulty of understanding how windows could be covered with wood, rejects this clause; yet it is found in all the MSS and versions.

[β] 'Galleries' of MT must go—so LXX, Cornill, Davidson. Other changes are necessary in 41^{16}.

[γ] מִדּוֹת; cf. Neh $3^{11.19.21}$. The LXX omits the word.

[δ] Not four faces, like the cherubim of ch. 1. More than two faces could not be represented on a flat surface.

[ε] Ezk 40^{16}.

[ζ] 41^{26}.

[η] 41^{16}.

[θ] אֲטֻמִים.

[ι] 41^{10} 42^{1-12}.

[κ] Ezk 42^9.

[α] 41^{22}.

[β] The breadth is not given in MT, but it is supplied by the LXX.

[γ] מִקְצְעוֹת.

[δ] κέρατα.

[ε] 41^{22}.

[ζ] Ezk 41^{22}.

[η] See ARK.

[θ] גַּב, גְּבוּל, חֵיק, עֲזָרָה.

[ι] Ezk $43^{13ff.}$.

[κ] חֵיק. The majority of commentators follow the Targum, and make this word stand for 'basement,' גַּב being really the word used for this. Thus Gesen. (*Thes.*), Häv., Keil, Corn., Orelli, Bertholet, and Kraetzschmar. The view favoured in the text above is defended by Villalpando (†1608) and other older commentators, and by Smend (see his *Ezechiel*, where the arguments are given).

[λ] גְּבוּל.

[μ] *Yoma* iii. 1.

[ν] Ex $20^{24f.}$

altar had, however, the appearance of three blocks of solid stone, with three successive terraces, the lowest of them being bound by a parapet half a cubit wide. The uppermost surface was a square of 12 cubits each way; and as on this the sacrifices were offered, it is called, by way of pre-eminence, *the altar.*[α]

Keil and Cornill maintain that the altar proper was a cube of 12 cubits a side, the rest of the structure (all except *b b' k k'*) being added for use or ornament, but forming no part of the altar; but in the text the word 'altar' is used of the entire structure;[β] and this larger sense is defended by Kliefoth, Ewald, Smend, A. B. Davidson, and Bertholet.

The *'ărî'ēl*[γ] or altar-hearth had four horns (*ba, b'a'*), each a cubit high, rising out of its four corners.[δ] The uppermost surface was, as stated, a square of 12 cubits on each side. The highest block (*A*) had a thickness of 4 cubits. The area of the next block (*B*) was a square of 2 cubits more on each side; that is, it was 14 cubits a side, and it had a thickness of 4 cubits. The third block from the top (*C*) had for its surface a square of 16 cubits on each side, and a thickness of 2 cubits. The lowest block, the back or base,[ε] had for its upper surface a square of 18 cubits a side, and a thickness of one cubit. The height of the upper surface of the whole was 12 cubits, as is seen from the following details:—

Basement (גַּב)	1 cubit.
Lower block (עֲזָרָה)[ζ]	2 cubits.
Higher block (עֲזָרָה)[ζ]	4 ,,
Block of altar hearth (אריאל)	4 ,,
Horns	1 cubit.
Total . . .	12 cubits.

The proportion of height and (assumed) basement is $\frac{2}{3}$ (= $\frac{4}{6}$),[η] a favourite ratio with Ezekiel. Note further that the height is identical with the altar surface: thus we get a cube (*a k : a' k'*). In the calculation of height the horns are included. In fact the horns seem to have been an essential part, nay the most sacred part, of the altar.[θ] On them the blood was sprinkled; and to them fugitives came, feeling safe if they had hold of them. In early times the altar possessed no horns.[ι] Stade,[κ] Nowack,[κ] and others regard the horns as a survival of the bull image of Jehovah worshipped in the N. kingdom, which was also a representation of deities worshipped by the Egyptians, Canaanites, and Phœnicians. The holy stone or altar, it has been said, was in early times covered by the skin of the animal sacrificed, the skin of the bull having the horns attached. But why, in that case, was not the altar constructed with *two* horns, the number on one skin, instead of *double that number*? Villalpando[λ] thought the horns trophies of the animals sacrificed to God. Spencer[μ] inclines to the opinion that the horns were expressive of dignity, the horn being a decoration worn by distinguished persons.

iii. *ZERUBBABEL'S TEMPLE.*—The temple erected by the Jews who returned from exile is called Zerubbabel's, because he was the leader in promoting its erection, supporting Haggai and Zechariah in their endeavours to urge the people to build when the latter were inclined to relax. He was grandson of Jehoiachin and probably nephew of Sheshbazzar.[ν] In the spring of B.C. 537, forty-nine years after the temple had been destroyed, Sheshbazzar[α] was sent by Cyrus, king of Persia, to be governor of Judæa. He received permission to take with him his leading fellow-countrymen from Babylon, to restore their Jewish religion and rebuild the temple.[β] Sheshbazzar was accompanied by his nephew Zerubbabel and Joshua the high priest, representing respectively the royal and priestly lines. Cyrus not only gave orders that the temple should be re-erected, but he gave Sheshbazzar power to carry with him the sacred vessels taken by Nebuchadnezzar from the temple, and imposed a tax upon the provinces west of the Euphrates to meet the expenses of the return of the Jews to their own country.[γ] Phœnicia and Tyre were to supply the wood from Lebanon, and to send it on rafts to Joppa.[δ] Whether all the instructions given by the Persian king were carried out we have no means of knowing.

Seven months after the Return, the altar of burnt-offering was erected,[ε] probably upon the same site as the old one. The building of the house was slower work, but a collection was made to meet the needful outlay.[ζ] In the 2nd month of the 2nd year after the Return, the foundation-stone was laid.[η] Then there was a pause in the work owing to the opposition of the mixed population of Samaria,[θ] who, as not being pure Israelites, were not allowed to share in the rebuilding of the temple.[ι]

There is no confirmation of the statement[κ] that the people of Samaria intrigued with the Persian king to authoritatively stop the work. According to Haggai and Zechariah, it was the indifference of the people that was at the root of the delay. See especially Zec 1–8, where the various difficulties are met in the successive visions.

Nothing further was done until B.C. 520, the 2nd year of the reign of Darius Hystaspis. Sheshbazzar was probably dead now, and the lead was taken up by his nephew and successor Zerubbabel, aided by the high priest Joshua. Much of the new zeal was owing to the earnest pleadings of the new prophets named. Recommenced in B.C. 520,[λ] the temple was completed in B.C. 516.[μ]

Sources of information as to Zerubbabel's Temple.—These are very meagre: indeed we have hardly anything which for certain applies to the temple as it was at or soon after the Exile. There are scattered notices in Ezra and Nehemiah. Hecatæus of Abdera, contemporary and friend of Alexander the Great, is said by Josephus[ν] to have written a book concerning the Jews, and he quotes parts of it referring to the temple. It is by no means certain that Hecatæus wrote the book in question; nevertheless, the quotations made by Josephus are interesting and of value. The OT Apocrypha also has important allusions; especially is this true of the Books of Maccabees. But it is hard to say how far the statements are true of the temple completed in B.C. 516. Josephus is too much controlled by the temple as he saw it, to be a reliable guide concerning the earlier temples.

It is probable that the temple building occupied the same site as the earlier temple. Hecatæus says it was a 'great house.' Cyrus gave instructions that it was to be 60 cubits high and 60 cubits broad.[ξ] Probably this means that they were to build it as large as they liked—as large, if they

---

[α] הַהַרְאֵל : הָאֲרִיאֵל : for the proper writing of the word see *SBOT*, notes on Isaiah 29^1 (Cheyne), and on Ezekiel 43^{15} (Toy). It is probable that the word is not compound, the ending being a mere noun suffix as in בַּרְזֶל, כַּרְמֶל, and עֲרָפֶל. So Cheyne and Kraetzschmar, following Ewald (see *Comm.* and *Gram.* § 163*g*). The word simply means in that case 'burning place,' from אָרָה 'to burn.'

[β] See Ezk $43^{13ff.}$.

[γ] So Cheyne would read it.

[δ] V.^{15}.

[ε] גַּב.

[ζ] EV 'settle'; the Heb. word means elsewhere *court* or *enclosure*, from a Semitic root meaning to press in, to enclose. Perhaps the word stands in Ezk 43^{14} strictly for the surrounding ledge of one cubit width; then for the square block above it.

[η] Ezk 40^{42} 41^{22}.

[θ] Cf. Am 3^{14}.

[ι] Ex 20^{25} (Book of Cov.); cf. Stade, *Gesch.* i. 465; Now. *Heb. Arch.* ii. 18.

[κ] *Loc. cit.*

[λ] *On Ezekiel*, ii. 393.

[μ] *De Legibus*, ii. 677 (ed. Tüb. 1732).

[ν] Called Sanabassar by the best Greek authorities.

[α] Not the same as Zerubbabel, as is often held; see Cornill, *History of People of Israel*, Chicago, 1898, p. 151 f.; Cheyne, *JRL* p. 6; and cf. SHESHBAZZAR and ZERUBBABEL.

[β] 2 Ch 36^{23}, Ezr $1^{2ff.}$ 5^{17} $6^{1ff.}$.

[γ] Ezr $1^{7ff.}$ $5^{14f.}$ 6^5.

[δ] Ezr 3^7.

[ε] Ezr $3^{1ff.}$

[ζ] Ezr $2^{68ff.}$, Neh $7^{70ff.}$, cf. Ezr 1^6.

[η] Ezr $3^{8f.}$

[θ] See SAMARITANS.

[ι] Ezr $4^{1ff.}$

[κ] Ezr $4^{8\text{-}23}$. See Schrader on this section in *SK*, 1867, 367 ff.

[λ] Ezr $6^{1ff.}$.

[μ] Ezr 6^{15}.

[ν] *c. Apion.* i. 22.

[ξ] Ezr 6^3.

would, as, say, some well-known temple in Babylon. We are not told that it was actually built of these dimensions, nor is it likely that Solomon's, which was 60 cubits long, 20 broad, and 30 high, should be so far exceeded by Zerubbabel's. It is not needful to consider the 60 cubits' length as meaning height of porch,[α] and the breadth as applying to the chambers as well.

It is inferred from Ezr 3^{12} and Hag 2^{3} that the second temple was greatly inferior to the first. But when these words were uttered, the temple was not finished: and the inferiority may refer to the absence of the ark and other sacred vessels which were for ever lost after the destruction of the first temple. According to Bab. Talmud (*Yoma* 22*b*), the second temple wanted five things which were in that of Solomon: (1) the ark, (2) the sacred fire, (3) the shekinah, (4) the Holy Spirit, (5) the Urim and Thummim.

Hêkāl or Holy Place.—The *hêkāl* had within it one holy lampstand, one table of shewbread, one golden altar of incense, together with pouring vessels and spices.[β] There would seem to have been the two *veils* of which we read as being before the *hêkāl* (*māsākh*) and *dĕbîr* (*pārôkheth*) doors of the tabernacle.[γ] The fact that Antiochus Epiphanes is represented as plundering the gold, silver, etc., of the temple,[δ] is no proof that the walls, doors, etc., were covered with gold, as the MT declares to have been the case with Solomon's temple (see above, p. 700 f.), though Schürer seems to think it is.[ε]

Dĕbîr or Most Holy Place.—The *dĕbîr* had a veil in front of it, as the *hêkāl* also had. There was nothing in the *dĕbîr* according to Jos. (*BJ* v. v. 5), except that according to the Mishna[ζ] the stone of foundation[η] stood where the ark used to be. Upon the Day of Atonement the priests used to put their censers on this stone.[θ] Prideaux, without a tittle of evidence, held that the ark was in the second temple. Tacitus applies the words 'inania arcana' to the *adytum* or *dĕbîr* of the temple.[ι]

Courts.—This temple had two courts,[κ] but the separation between them was not perhaps rigidly enforced, for when Alexander Jannæus was sacrificing on the altar during the Feast of Tabernacles the people pelted him with citrons, etc. To stop such conduct, he ran a wooden wall around the priests' court. According to Ezr 6^{4}, three rows of hewn stone and a top row of new wood were to go about the temple, viz. the inner court.[λ]

The inner court had in it an altar of burnt-offering made of unhewn stone[μ]—so conforming to the ancient law of Ex 20^{24}, which Solomon's did not.

According to Hecatæus[ν] it had the same dimensions as the first temple, viz. 20 cubits long by 20 cubits broad by 10 cubits high. The Mishna[ξ] speaks of a כִּיּוֹר or laver as being in this court; and Sir 50^{3} speaks of a 'cistern' as having been made by Simon the high priest. The Syriac leaves out 'cistern' altogether, and renders 'he dug a well.' The allusions are far too uncertain to infer from them that there was a molten sea in the inner court of the second temple.[ο]

There were cells in the outer court for storing furniture and for other purposes. In 1 Mac $4^{38.\ 57}$ priests' cells are named.[π] Josephus makes mention of corridors with pillars.[ρ] The 'Miphkad gate' of Neh 3^{31} was probably one leading into the outer court on the western side (see JERUSALEM, vol. ii. p. 593^{b}). The 'prison gate' of Neh 12^{39} was most likely on the north side (*ib.*). In later times there was a bridge crossing the Tyropœon or Cheesemongers' Valley from the modern Mount Zion to the temple hill. When Pompey besieged Jerusalem, many Jews took refuge on the temple area and broke this bridge, that the Roman soldiers might be hindered from coming to them. This was probably where the remains of Wilson's arch are now seen, though Rosen.[α] thinks the bridge was of Herod's making.

Later history of this temple.—Simon the high priest, son of Onias, repaired and fortified the temple; but the passage in which we have the information[β] is very obscure.

In B.C. 168 Antiochus Epiphanes plundered, laid waste, and desecrated the temple.[γ] He placed an altar to Jupiter Olympius on the altar of burnt-offering. The brazen vessels taken away by him were given by him to sympathizing Jews at Antioch, and they were transferred to the local synagogue.[δ] Three years[ε] later JUDAS MACCABÆUS recovered Jerusalem, cleansed and repaired the house, made a new altar, and also fresh vessels.[ζ] The Feast of Dedication, still observed among Jews, commemorates the opening ceremony of the restored and cleansed temple. At this time Judas also adorned the front of the temple by hanging up[η] gilded crowns and shields,[θ] and he also fortified the enclosure by putting high walls around it.[ι] These were razed to the ground by Antiochus Eupator,[κ] but restored by Jonathan Maccabæus;[λ] they were strengthened by Simon his brother.[μ] Reference has already been made to the wall put around the inner court by Alexander Jannæus. In B.C. 63 Pompey conquered Jerusalem, and after a long siege took the well-fortified temple hill. He entered the house, and even, in the face of loud protests, the *dĕbîr* itself; but he did not touch the sacred vessels.[ν] Nine years later (B.C. 54) Crassus plundered the temple of its valuable things most mercilessly, taking away what was worth two millions of pounds in English money.[ξ] Herod, afterwards called the Great, a descendant of the Maccabees, was made king of the Jews by decree of the Roman Senate. In B.C. 37 he stormed Jerusalem,[ο] and burned some of the temple walls, causing a goodly amount of blood to be shed. From other injury, however, he protected the temple.

iv. *HEROD'S TEMPLE.*—*The sources.*—The principal sources of information in regard to Herod's temple are: (1) Josephus, who in *Ant.* XV. xi. gives a full account of the outer court with its gates and rooms, and in *BJ* v. v. describes the inner court and also the house. Josephus was a priest, and was therefore familiar with the temple and its services from personal experience. He writes his history, however, from memory, and he is so full of admiration for the sacred enclosure that he falls into obvious exaggeration when giving measurements. (2) The Mishnic tract *Middoth* preserves valuable Jewish traditions (see Eng. tr. in Barclay's *Talmud*, reproduced in Fergusson's *Temples of the Jews*, Appendix i. In Surenhusius' *Mishna* [vol. vi.] there is a Lat. tr. of the text, as also the text and translation of Bartinora's Com-

---

[α] As Herod the Great; see Jos. xi.; Winer, *RWB*³, *s.* 'Tempel'; Keil, *Bibl. Arch.* i. 184 n.

[β] 1 Mac 1^{23} $4^{49\text{ ff.}}$; Jos. *Ant.* XIV. iv. 4; cf. Hecatæus as quoted *ap.* Jos. c. *Apion.* i. 22.

[γ] 1 Mac 4^{51}; see VEIL.

[δ] 1 Mac 1^{23}.

[ε] Riehm, *HWB*² 1662*a*.

[ζ] *Yoma* v. 2.

[η] אֶבֶן שְׁתִיָּה.

[θ] 1 Mac 1^{22} 4^{51}.

[ι] *Ann.* iii. 9.

[κ] 1 Mac $4^{38.\ 48}$; cf. Jos. *Ant.* XIV. xvi. 2.

[λ] Cf. 1 K 6^{36} 7^{12}.

[μ] 1 Mac 4^{47}.

[ν] In Jos. *BJ* v. v. 5.

[ξ] *Midd.* iii. 6.

[ο] Ezr 8^{29} 10^{6}, Neh 3^{30} $10^{37\text{ff.}}$ 12^{44} $13^{5\text{ff.}}$ לִשְׁכָּה in every case but Neh 3^{30}, where we find its equivalent נִשְׁכָּה (ל and נ interchanging. Cf. T. W. Davies, *Magic, Divination, and Demonology*, p. 51).

[π] παστοφορια LXX for לִשְׁכָּה.

[ρ] *Ant.* XI. iv. 7, XIV. vi. 2.

[α] *Haram* 7 ff., cf. p. 64.

[β] Sir $50^{1\text{ff.}}$

[γ] 1 Mac $1^{23\text{f.}\ 49\text{f.}\ 57}$ 4^{38}, 2 Mac $6^{2\text{ff.}}$.

[δ] Jos. *BJ* VII. iii. 3.

[ε] 1 Mac $4^{43\text{ff.}}$, 2 Mac 10^{3} (two years, according to last passage).

[ζ] חֲנֻכָּה; cf. Jn 10^{22}. See 1 Mac $4^{52.\ 54}$ $1^{57\ (54)}$; Jos. *Ant.* XII. vii. 7.

[η] Inside the porch.

[θ] 1 Mac 4^{57}.

[ι] 1 Mac 4^{6} 6^{7}.

[κ] 1 Mac 6^{62}.

[λ] 1 Mac 6^{62} cf. with 5^{1}, 2 Mac 12^{36}; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. v. 11.

[μ] 1 Mac 13^{53}.

[ν] Jos. *Ant.* XIV. iv. 4.

[ξ] Jos. *Ant.* XIV. vii. 1; *BJ* I. viii. 8.

[ο] Jos. *Ant.* XIV. xvi. 2 f.

mentary). The *Middoth* is more modest in its dimensions than Josephus, and nearer the truth; but it is also often inaccurate. Rabbi Hildersheim's *Die Beschreibung des Herod. Tempel im Tractate Middot und bei Fl. Joseph.* states and examines the divergences between these authorities. (3) Maimonides in יד חזקה (part vi.) collects many passages about the temple which are scattered through the Talmud. These relate especially to the priests, temple furniture, etc., and have been put into Latin by Ludwig Compiègne. This tr. is to be met with in Ugolinus' *Thesaurus*, vol. viii. (4) Dr. John Lightfoot's work on *The Temple*, etc. (London, 1823), rests mainly upon Rabbinical sources, and is for that reason valuable.

Was Herod's temple the second or the third?—It is usual to speak of Herod's temple as the third Jerusalem temple. Modern Jews, however, followed by many Christian writers, regard it as simply the second temple rebuilt and improved, and so call it the second temple. Christians are led to this conclusion, or at least confirmed in it, by a consideration of Hag 2^{6-9}. Messianically interpreted, the temple erected by Zerubbabel was, they say, to see the Messiah. But the passage is not Messianic, and, if it were, the prediction contained in it is made from the writer's point of view.

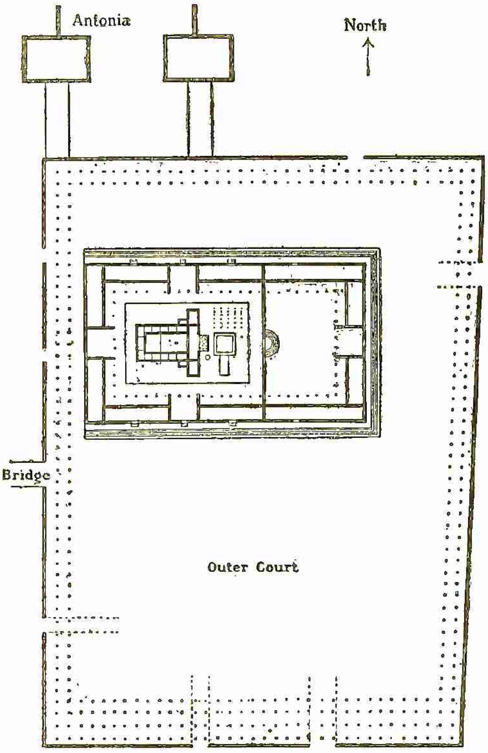

FIG. 9.—HEROD'S TEMPLE: GENERAL VIEW.

It was in the 18th[α] year of his reign (B.C. 20–19) that Herod the Great set about the rebuilding of the temple. In his day there was among the Romans a great rage for restoring Greek cities and their temples, and Herod probably caught the prevailing spirit. Josephus reports (*Ant.* XV. xi.) the speech in which Herod announces his intention, and gives as his reason a desire to promote the religious welfare of the nation; but the historian says the king's real purpose was to raise for himself an everlasting memorial. The Jews were at first afraid that, if the king pulled down their temple, no other might be for a long time put up in its place. To allay this fear, Herod got together all the material before the work of rebuilding was begun, and then pulled down and put up as gradually as could be done. Since only priests could enter the house and the inner court, he engaged a thousand of them to act as masons and carpenters in these parts. The building of the house was hastened on with great vigour, and was finished in a year and a half. Surrounding buildings took eight years, but the work went on, and was not ended until the time of the procurator Albinus (A.D. 62–64). The Jews (see Jn 2^{20}) said the temple had been forty-six years *in building*, and in fact it was still in building then, and was to be for over thirty years more (but see E. A. Abbott in *Class. Rev.* 1894, p. 89 ff.). The building is spoken of as exceedingly impressive in its grandeur. Its eastern front was covered with plates of gold, which threw back the rays of the rising sun, and formed an object of rare beauty for miles around. The stone of which it was built was white marble, and a large part of the side walls was covered with gold.

The area of Herod's temple is essentially that of the modern *Ḥaram esh-Sherif*, with the exception of the north end, at which, in Herod's day, the fortress Antonia was situated, the temple court being to the south of it. The excavations made beneath the Ḥaram and its surrounding walls show that the lie of the ancient walls on the west, south, and east agrees with those of the walls to be seen to-day (see Rosen. *Das Haram*, 4 ff.; Robinson's *BRP* iii. 222 ff.). The house itself would be sure to be erected on the site of the one preceding it.

For his temple Herod used double the space that was covered by Zerubbabel's temple,[α] and in order to obtain it he erected subterranean vaults in the south of the temple hill, and filled intervening spaces with stones and earth. The bounding line was raised from 4 stadia[β] to 6, the breadth remain

[α] According to Jos. *BJ* I. xxi. 1, the 15th.

[α] Jos. *BJ* I. xxi. 1.

[β] Jos. *Ant.* XV. xi. 3.

ing 1 stadium, the length (N. to S.) being doubled.[α] The whole was surrounded by a high wall, covered with spikes,[β] the better to protect the place. The temple, including its courts, occupied an area of 1 stadium according to Josephus, or 500 cubits according to the Talmud. Assuming the stadium to be about 600 English feet, and the cubit to be about 18 inches, there is a difference of over 100 feet; but the numbers are round in each case, and the truth lies probably between them. Perhaps, as Fergusson suggests, the Talmud copies the dimensions of Ezekiel's temple: Fergusson's own dimensions, got by careful calculations, agree well with what Josephus says, viz. 585 ft. E. to W., and 610 ft. N. to S.; see *Temples of the Jews*, p. 77 ff.

Gates.—The principal entrance to the enclosure was on the western side. *Middoth*[γ] names one only on that side called 'Kiponos,' but Josephus has four.[δ] Probably that named in *Midd.* is the principal one, as it led to the king's palace and to the city. Two more to the south led to suburbs of the city, one coinciding probably with 'Barclay's' gate, the other with 'Warren's.' Remains of the fourth are to be seen perhaps to the south of 'Wilson's arch.' Josephus[ε] speaks of gates on the south, but he does not say how many there were. *Midd.* mentions the two Huldah gates, which are to be identified with the two gates buried in the existing south wall of the Ḥaram—one west of the double gate, the other east of the treble gate. Both these show Herodian workmanship. Through both these gates it was possible to ascend from the vaults below to the temple area. On the east, *Middoth* refers to one gate on which the palace of Shushan was carved. It has been commonly thought to have been the same as the modern Golden Gate, but the latter is undoubtedly a Byzantine structure. Josephus does not say anything of any east gate. He speaks quite incidentally of one gate on the north;[ζ] *Midd.*[η] calls it Ṭadi[θ] (or Ṭari ?).

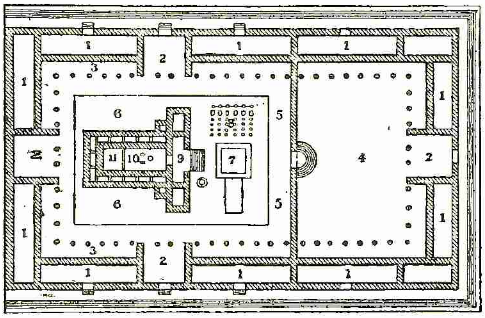

FIG. 10.—THE INNER COURT.

1. Chambers. 2. Gate-rooms (*Exedræ*). 3. Porticoes. 4. Women's court. 5. Court of Israelites. 6. Priests' court. 7. Altar of burnt-offering. 8. Place for killing, etc., animals. 9. Temple porch. 10. *Hêkāl*. 11. *Dĕbîr*.

The Outer Court.—This is commonly called the Court of the Gentiles, because Gentiles were allowed to enter it; but in neither Josephus nor in *Midd.* does it get that name.

The walls of this court were surrounded on the inside by porticoes or cloisters. The north, west, and east sides had double porticoes, with two rows of white marble monolithic columns. The roofs were of carved cedar. On the south were the royal porticoes, the στοὰ βασιλική, which had 162 columns, with Corinthian capitals. These columns formed three aisles. The outermost row of columns were fastened into the wall of the enclosure. The middle of the three aisles was 45 ft. wide, the two side ones having a width of 30 ft. The inner portico was on higher ground than the two nearer the wall. The columns were so thick that three men with their hands stretched out could hardly clasp around one. On the east was what is called **Solomon's Porch** in the NT,[α] and is said by Josephus to have survived from the time of Solomon.[β] The east porticoes were, however, the work of Herod, according to the best judges; but it is singular that Josephus should have believed any part of these porticoes to have been the work of Solomon, unless it was much older than Herod's time. During the feasts the Roman soldiers used to walk on the roof of the porticoes in order to see that order was kept. The whole of the outer court was paved with stones. There were for the lower officials *pastophoria*[γ] or chambers ranged along the outer walls, probably between the walls and the porticoes, unless, indeed, they were between the double porticoes themselves. In close proximity to the west gate and the chambers was the *Beth Din*,[δ] where the SANHEDRIN met.

In the older sources (Josephus and *Middoth*) the Holy Place is not the *hêkāl*, as in the case of the previous Jerusalem temples, but the whole of the inner court, including the women's court, as contrasted with the outer court, which was open to heathen, and could be used for buying, selling, etc.[ε] The inner court was a rectangle, which included in it the women's court (4), the men's court or court of the Israelites (5),[ζ] the priests' court (6), and the house which stood in the last (10, 11). The inner court was on higher ground than the outer, there being five steps from the one to the other. Between the wall of the inner court and the porticoes of the outer court there was a free space of 10 cubits, higher than the rest of the outer court, and reached by a flight of fourteen steps. This formed a terrace all round the inner court except the east, and was called the *ḥêl* (חֵיל). At the inner edge of this *ḥêl* there was a stone parapet called *ṣôrēg* (סוֹרֵג).[η] On this tablets were put with inscriptions warning non-Jews against passing beyond this boundary. One such was found in recent years by the French consul, Clermont-Ganneau, on which, in Greek, the following words occur: *μηθένα ἀλλογενῆ εἰσπορεύεσθαι ἐντὸς τοῦ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τρυφάκτου καὶ περιβόλου. ὃς δ' ἂν λήφθῃ ἑαυτῷ αἴτιος ἔσται διὰ τὸ ἐξακολουθεῖν θάνατον*, *i.e.* '*No stranger is to enter within the balustrade*

[α] *BJ* v. v. 2.
[β] *BJ* iv. ix. 12; see PINNACLE.
[γ] i. 3.
[δ] *Ant.* xv. xi. 5.
[ε] *Loc. cit.* 5.
[ζ] *BJ* ii. xix. 5, vi. iv. 1.
[η] *Loc. cit.*
[θ] טדי (or טרי ?).

[α] Jn 10^{23}, Ac 3^{11} 5^{12}.
[β] *Ant.* xx. ix. 7; *BJ* v. v. 1
[γ] *BJ* iv. ix. 2.
[δ] בֵּית דִּין.
[ε] Jn $2^{13ff.}$
[ζ] Keil (*Bib. Arch.* i. p. 190) excludes the women's court from the inner court. Now. (ii. p. 78) includes it, and rightly, because it stood on the higher platform of the courts of Israelites and priests and of the house.
[η] Jos. *BJ* v. v. 2; *Midd.* ii. 3.

and embankment round the sacred place. Whoever is caught will be answerable for his death, which will ensue.' This illustrates Ac $21^{26ff.}$, when St. Paul almost lost his life. The inner court was surrounded by a wall 40 cubits high on the outside, and on the inside but 25, owing to the raised ground inside. From the lower ground to the higher there were five steps.

Gates.—This wall had nine gates—four on the north, four on the south, and one on the east. The west had no gate at all. They had all of them folding doors, covered with gold and silver.[α] Of the four on the north side three were in the men's court (5), and one in the women's (4). Three of the north gates were called Nitzius, the Gate of Offering, and the Makad. On the south we read of the Flaming Gate, the Gate of Offering, and the Water Gate. The last opened upon the altar, and appears to have been a continuation of the Huldah Gate. The gate on the east was much more costly than the rest, and it is probably the 'Gate Beautiful' of Ac 3^2, and 'Nicanor's gate' of the Mishna.[β] It was made of Corinthian brass. Between the women's court and the men's there was a gate larger than the others, led to by fifteen steps, at the top of which was the level of the men's court. It was thickly overlaid with silver and gold.

Büchler[γ] argues ably that this is the Nicanor gate of the Mishna. *Midd.* i. 4, as all admit, states that; but it is argued by Schürer,[δ] Grätz,[ε] Spiess,[ζ] Nowack,[η] and most, that it is the gate on the east of the women's court that is meant by the above name. Büchler admits that Josephus is against him; but he charges the Jewish historian with inaccuracy, and calls the Talmud to his aid in proving this. Büchler's view is bound up with another position, which he also defends with ability,[θ] viz., that the wall of the inner court shut out the women's court altogether, as being part of the court of the Gentiles; the Nicanor gate being, then, that one at the east of the men's court through which one passed into the inner gate. Keil also speaks of the inner court as being reached by a gate at the western end of the women's court.[ι] But this is, as Büchler admits, against the common view, which is supported by Schürer,[κ] and Nowack,[λ] and the received text of Josephus.

Nicanor's gate—assuming the usual view—was 56 cubits high and 40 broad, the others that led out of the lower court being 30 high and 40 broad. Round the walls of the court there ran porticoes with a single piazza, the roof of which rested on lofty and highly-finished pillars. These porticoes were less indeed, but not less beautiful, than the porticoes of the outer court. Between the gates there were cells for storing the various properties belonging to the temple: these are called by Josephus[μ] γαζοφυλάκια.[ν] Concerning the special purposes of these rooms see Now. *op. cit.* ii. 79 n. 2. There were upper rooms over the gateways, hence justifying Josephus' description of them as tower-shaped. The cells between the gates had also upper rooms; hence we read of the upper room of Bet-Abtinas.[ξ] Somewhere within the women's court would be placed the thirteen boxes for receiving contributions to the temple. At least one must have been in the women's court, else the widow (Lk $21^{1f.}$) could not have put in her mite. See TREASURY. According to *Midd.* ii. 5, there were four cells in the women's court, but both Schürer and Now. think this unlikely.

The inner court was divided into an eastern part, into which women were admitted as well as men, and a larger western portion, which included the men's court and the priests' court. The house and the altar were in the latter, and were surrounded by its rampart. Just as the whole inner court was separated from the outer, and within the inner the men's was shut off from the women's, so the remainder was subdivided into a larger part for priests only. The men's court was 11 cubits wide, and surrounded the priests' court on all four sides.[α] The Mishna, however, appears to reduce the space for men to 11 cubits on the east alone. The altar and all the arrangements for sacrificing, as well, of course, as the house itself, were in the priests' court.

The house.—The higher ground of the house was attained by means of twelve steps. The inside area was 60 cubits high and the same in length, by 20 cubits in breadth. There were, as in the other temples, two divisions—the *hêkāl* or Holy Place,[β] which was 40 cubits long, and the *dĕbîr* or Most Holy Place, which was 20 cubits long. This last was empty, and was entered by the high priest once a year, viz. on the Day of Atonement. The *hêkāl* or larger room had in it the following:—Table of shewbread,[γ] altar of incense, the seven-armed lampstand.[δ] The altar stood in the middle, between the temple walls: to its north was the table, and the lampstand was on its south.[ε] Only the officiating priests were permitted to enter the *hêkāl*, to bring in the incense morning and evening, to trim the lamp, which was done once a day, and to supply the table with fresh shewbread, which was done every Sabbath.

The porch was 100 cubits in both height and breadth, and 11 cubits deep. It stood, therefore, like a high wall in front of the house. The breadth of the house, including its surrounding chambers, being 70 cubits,[ζ] the porch projected 15 cubits on each side.[η] There was an entrance to the porch 40 cubits high and 20 broad. There was, however, no door. Above the entrance Herod placed a golden eagle, which as a Roman emblem was very distasteful to the Jews; and during a turmoil, some time before the king's death, it was destroyed. From the entrance of the porch the *hêkāl* door, gilded like the court gates, could be easily seen. It was adorned with carvings of golden vines, with grapes, according to Josephus, as large as a man.[θ] Tacitus also speaks of this vine.[ι]

Veil.—In front of the *hêkāl* door there hung a beautifully coloured Babylonian veil. The *hêkāl* was shut off by a veil or veils, but there was no wall, nor therefore any door, leading into the *dĕbîr*. According to the Mishna,[κ] there were two veils between the *hêkāl* and the *dĕbîr*, with a cubit's free space between them. The outer was loose on the south side, the inner being loose on the north. On the Day of Atonement the high priest entered the *dĕbîr* with his censer by passing to the south side and getting behind the outer veil, until he reached the north of the inner veil, where he was able to enter the *dĕbîr*. In the NT this veil is spoken of in the singular, the two perhaps being looked upon as one.[λ] The veil outside the door of the *hêkāl* is never referred to in the NT. See VEIL.

Light.—No natural light came into the house from roof or side wall: it depended, for what light it had, upon the lampstand.

Chambers.—On all sides except the east, where

[α] They were the gift of a Jew from Alexandria.
[β] *Midd.* i. 3.
[γ] *JQR*, Oct. 1898.
[δ] Riehm's *HWB*^{2} 1666^b.
[ε] *Monatssch.* 1876, 434.
[ζ] *Das Jerusalem des Josephus*, p. 76.
[η] *Op. cit.* ii. p. 78.
[θ] *JQR*, July 1898.
[ι] *Op. cit.* i. p. 190. But he is inconsistent, for in the previous page (Eng. ed.) he says the inner court went around the women's court, and he takes the view that Nicanor's gate was on the east of the women's court.
[κ] Riehm, *HWB*^{2} 1666^b.
[λ] *Op. cit.* ii. 78.
[μ] *BJ* v. v. 2, vi. v. 2.
[ν] See TREASURY.
[ξ] *Yoma* i. 5; *Tam.* i. 1.

[α] Jos. *BJ* v. v. 6; cf. *Ant.* viii. iii. 9, xiii. xiii. 5.
[β] Not called 'the Holy Place' in the sources.
[γ] See SHEWBREAD, TABLE OF.
[δ] See LAMPSTAND.
[ε] Cf. Ex 26^{35} 40^{22-26}.
[ζ] See below.
[η] Twenty, according to Josephus.
[θ] Josephus says 70 cubits high by 25 broad.
[ι] *Ann.* v. 5.
[κ] *Yoma* v. 1.
[λ] See Mt 27^{51} ‖ Mk 15^{38} ‖ Lk 23^{45}.

the porch was, there were small chambers in which temple utensils were kept and priests resided. They were thirty-eight in number, and arranged in three storeys, in such a way that on the north there were five on each storey, making fifteen on that side: on the south there were also five on each storey. On the west there were three on the lowest and three on the middle storey, two being on the top. The three storeys reached, together, the same height as the house. The main entrance was on the N.E. of the house, where a small door communicated directly from the porch with the nearest chamber. From this chamber there was a stairway leading to the upper and middle storeys. This stairway was erected at the N.E. corner; just opposite, on the S.E. corner, there was an arrangement for carrying off the water. Above the house proper there was an upper room 40 cubits high, and of the same ground area as the house itself. The entire building, including the intervening wall and the ceiling, attained a height of 100 cubits, *i.e.* exactly that of the porch. The upper room had on the south a door leading upon the roof of the upper chambers on that side. By means of the stairs on the N.E. the top chambers could be reached. Passing round from N.W. to S. one came to the door leading into the top room of the house. In the floor of this upper room there were trap-doors, through which workmen were let down in boxes, that they might not be able to see any part of the house except where they were repairing.

Including the side chambers, the house had a width of 70 cubits, which is thus made up—

1.	Wall of stairway	5 cubits.
2.	Stairway	3 ,,
3.	Wall of chamber	5 ,,
4.	Chamber itself	6 ,,
5.	Wall of house	6 ,,
6.	Space within the house . . .	20 ,,
7.	Wall of house	6 ,,
8.	Chamber	6 ,,
9.	Its wall	5 ,,
10.	Room for letting off water . . .	3 ,,
11.	Wall behind	5 ,,
	Total	70 cubits.

Altar of burnt-offering.—In the east of the priests' court, immediately in front of the porch, was the altar of burnt-offering made of unhewn stone. It was larger than Solomon's altar, it being, according to the Rabbis, 32 cubits in length and breadth, and 10 cubits high. Josephus, however, gives 15 cubits as length and as breadth. The length and breadth given above are for the base, for it rose in three sections, so that at the top it formed a square of 24 cubits. According to Lv 6^9, fire was to be always burning on the altar. On the east of the altar there was a stairway of unhewn stone leading up to the altar: it was 32 cubits long and 16 broad. Altar and steps were whitewashed twice in the year, viz. at Passover and Tabernacles.[α] In the S.W. corner of the altar there were two holes for receiving the sacrificial blood, which passed thence to a passage in the ground, by which it was conveyed to the Kidron. Close by there was a marbled opening, down which men went to cleanse the channel along which the blood ran to the Kidron.

Between the altar and the house there was a space of 22 cubits, taken up largely by the twelve steps which led up to the porch. South of these steps there was a laver or wash-basin, in which priests washed their hands and feet. It was supplied through two pipes from the temple spring: these two pipes were increased to twelve at a later time by a certain ben Katin, who also made arrangements by which the water could be regularly renewed.[β]

North (8) of the altar the sacrificial animals were slain, and to aid in this there were six rows of rings, four in each row, all fixed in the ground. The animals that had to be killed were attached first of all to these rings, and then despatched. Still farther north there were eight low pillars with boards on them, each board having three rows apiece of iron hooks from which the animals after death were suspended. The spot would look much like a butcher's shop. By the side of these pillars there were eight marble tables on which the slain animals were flayed, washed, etc., ready for the altar.[α]

Priests' Court.—No one except a priest was usually permitted to enter the priests' court, which was regarded as more sacred than the men's court. Yet lay Israelites were allowed admission when they had sacrifices to offer, that they might, according to the ritual, lay their hands on the victim.[β] As before stated, this court was bounded all round, and not merely on the east by the men's court, which was 11 cubits broad.

The temple police.—The charge of the sacred enclosure was in the hands of the priests and Levites. The head of police—the captain of the temple[γ]—held so dignified a position that he was ranked with the chief priests. The entire external arrangements of the temple were under his authority. We read in Mark[δ] and Luke[ε] of 'rulers of the temple,' who were subordinates of 'the captain.' The guardianship of the temple was entrusted mainly to Levites, but partly also to priests. By day they were to see that no one overstepped the boundary beyond which he had no right to go, *e.g.* Gentiles had to be kept out of the inner court, women out of the men's, laymen out of the priests', and non-officiating priests out of the house; the *dĕbîr* to be entered but once a year, and even then by the high priest only. By night the gates were all shut, and none were allowed within except priests and Levites, who were stationed at different points. Three places of the inner court were guarded by priests; at twenty-one positions Levites kept watch, especially at the various gates. During the whole night the captain walked around to see that each was at his post. If the guard did not immediately arise on the captain's approach, the captain exclaimed, 'Peace to you.' If the guard were asleep the captain would strike him with a stick, and he had the right even to set fire to his clothes. Each day the guards were changed, those who followed receiving the keys from their predecessors at mid-day.[ζ] The senior of the men in charge kept the key of the court, in which the men were sentry, in a hole covered by a marble slab, to the under side of which was fastened a chain: the key was attached to this chain.

When the time came to close the gates, the marble slab was lifted and the key taken: the priests locked the inner court, replacing the key in the usual place. On the slab under which the key was, the guard in charge laid his clothes, and on them lay down to sleep.[η] How many were at one time in charge of the enclosure we do not know, but according to Josephus 200 men were appointed for the gates alone.

For the fate which befell the temple in the last years of its existence, reference must be made to the histories of Josephus, Grätz, and others. See, especially, short but striking accounts in Cornill, *History of the People of Israel*,[θ] and Cheyne, *JRL*.[ι] Already, in the days of Archelaus, the courts of the temple became the scene of revolt and

---

[α] *Midd.* iii. 1–4.

[β] *Yoma* iii. 10.

[α] *Midd.* iii. 5, v. 2; *Tam.* iii. 5; *Shek.* vi. 4.

[β] *Kelim* i. 8.

[γ] Ac 4^1 5$^{24.26}$.

[δ] 5^{22}.

[ε] 8^{49}.

[ζ] Jos. *c. Apion.* ii. 8.

[η] *Midd.* i. 9.

[θ] Chicago, 1898.

[ι] New York and London, 1898.

bloody massacres.[a] During the last Jewish revolt the most horrid scenes were witnessed. In A.D. 70 Roman soldiers were in possession of the fortress of Antonia, close to the enclosure. One of them, though contrary to the wish of Titus the emperor, threw a firebrand into the house itself, which took fire and burned to the ground. Thus perished the last of the Jerusalem temples. All of them were built by a people feeble politically, in art and in literature (except religious) despised; yet these temples are better known, and their records more fully preserved, than is the case with any other ancient temple, Egyptian, Assyrian, or Indian.

LITERATURE.—(A) *JEWISH WRITINGS.*—Josephus, *Ant.* xv. xi., *BJ* v. v.; cf. Spiess, *Der Tempel zu Jerusalem nach Josephus*, 1880; the Mishnic tract. *Middoth*; cf. Rabbi Hildersheim, *Die Beschreibung des Herod's Tempel im Tractat Middot und bei Flavius Josephus* ('Jahresbericht des Rabbiner-Seminars für das Orthodox Judenthum,' Berlin, 1876-77). There is a good edition of *Middoth* (no Gemara has been handed down) with Latin tr. and Com. by L'Empereur (Lugd. Bat. . . . 1630, small 4to). See also Surenhusius' *Mishna.* Maimonides, in part vi. of his י' חזקה, gives the Rabbinical traditions regarding the temple, its furniture, priests, etc. This was put into Latin by Ludwig Compiègne, and is found in vol. viii. of Ugolinus' *Antiquitates Hebraicæ.* Monographs on the temple have been written in Hebrew by O. Altschul (Amst. 1724) and others, but none of them are of much importance.

(B) *CHRISTIAN WRITINGS.*—Of the older treatises by Christian writers the following are noteworthy:—Villalpando and Prado, *In Ezech.* 3 vols. 1605; Capellus, *Τρισάγιον Sive Triplex Templi Delinatio* (Amst. 1643; also included in the Introd. to the London Polyglot); Lamy, *de Tabernaculo Fœderis, de Sancta Civitate Jerusalem et de Templo ejus* (Paris, 1720); Lightfoot (Dr. John), *Descr. Templi Hieros.* (Eng. in vol. ix. of Pitman's edition of his works in English; also published separately, Lond. 1825),—Lightfoot uses the Rabbinical material, but deals mainly with the temple of Herod; Lund, *Die alten Jüd. Heiligthümer*, Hamb. 1695, bk. ii. (several other editions). For a detailed recital of the older literature see Winer, *RWB*^{3}, s. 'Tempel,' and Bähr, *Der Tempel Salomo's.* The following are the most important modern treatises:—Hirt, *Der Tempel Salomo's*, Berlin, 1809 (strong on the architectural side, but deficient in Biblical scholarship); J. Fr. von Meyer, *Der Temp. Salom.*, Berlin, 1830; Stieglitz, *Gesch. der Baukunst*, Nürn. 1827, p. 127 ff., *Beiträge zur Ausbildung der Baukunst*, Leipz. 1834; Bähr, *Der Temp. Sal.* 1848; Keil, *Der Temp. Sal.*, Dorpat, 1839 (critical and constructive, valuable), *Biblical Archæology*, T. and T. Clark, i. 162 ff.; Robinson, *BRP* (1841) i. 415 ff.; G. Williams, *The Holy City* (1849), ii. 296 ff.; Fergusson, *Essay on the Ancient Topography of Jerusalem*, 1847, *The Holy Sepulchre and the Tomb*, 1865, *The Temples of the Jews*, 1875, art. 'Temple' in Smith's *DB* (Fergusson's fanciful views as to the site of the temple, etc., have failed to win conviction except to a very limited extent); Warren, *The Temple and the Tomb*, 1880, *TSBA* vii. 309 ff. (in both he answers the arguments of Fergusson); T. H. Lewis, *The Holy Places of Jerusalem*, 1880; Th. Friedrich, *Tempel u. Palast Salom.* etc., Innsb. 1887; O. Wolff, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem und seine Maase*, 1887; Stade, *Gesch.* i. 311 ff. (the author, an acknowledged Biblical scholar, was aided by his colleague von Ritgen, professor of architecture); Perrot et Chipiez, *Le Temple de Sol.*, Paris, 1889, large folio, with fine diagrams; *History of Art in Sardinia, Judæa*, etc., London, 1890, i. 142 ff.; Conrad Schick, *Die Stiftshütte der Tempel in Jerus. und der Tempelplatz der jetz. Zeit*, Ber. 1896 (by an architect; the scholarship is weak, and proof references almost wholly wanting, though the constructions and plans are good). In addition to the older treatises on *Biblical Archæology* by Jahn (in English also), de Wette (4th and last edition improved by Räbiger, 1864), Allioli, and Keil (cf. also Spencer, *de Legibus, Dissertatio Sexta*), note particularly the works by Benzinger and Nowack, both issued in 1894, and based on the latest results. Nowack's work is the fuller, but Benzinger's the more compact and interesting. See also the Commentaries and other works referred to in the course of this article.

T. W. DAVIES.

TEMPT, TEMPTATION.—The Heb. and Gr. words which are translated 'tempt' and 'temptation' in EV have a range of meaning which covers every form of testing or putting to the proof, whether of man by God or of God by man.

The Heb. words rendered 'tempt' in AV are—

1. *Nissāh*, which signifies (1) to attempt to do a thing, as Dt 4^{34} (EV 'assay'); (2) to test or prove a thing, such as a weapon, 1 S 17^{39} (EV 'prove'); but chiefly (3) to test a person: in AV translated 'tempt' of God's testing Abraham, Gn 22^{1}; elsewhere of men faithlessly and provokingly putting God to the proof, Ex 17$^{2.\ 7}$, Nu 14^{22}, Dt 6^{16}, Ps 78$^{18.\ 41.\ 56}$ 95^{9} 106^{14}, Is 7^{12}.

2. *Bāhan*, synonymous in meaning with *niṣṣāh*, but translated 'tempt' in AV only Mal 3^{15}, of tempting God. In Mal 3^{10} and a few other places it is translated 'prove' in AV and RV; but most frequently the Eng. rendering is 'try.'

The only Heb. word translated 'temptation' is *maṣṣāh* (formed from *niṣṣāh* above), used of the *testing* by Jehovah, through signs and wonders, of the heart of Pharaoh and the Egyptians, Dt 4^{34} 7^{19} 29^{3}; and of the *trial* or *testing* of an innocent person, Joh 9^{23} (EV 'trial')—unless the word here comes from *māṣaṣ* and means despair, RVm 'calamity.' The word is translated 'temptation' also in Ps 95^{8}, but there the place Massah (so RV) seems to be intended, as in Ex 17^{7}, Dt 6^{16} 9^{22} 33^{8}. See art. MASSAH.

The Greek words translated 'tempt' are—

1. πειράζω, which means (1) to attempt something, as Ac 9^{26} 16^{7} (EV 'assay'); (2) to test a person, without evil intent, as Jn 6^{6}, Rev 2^{2}; (3) to tempt to evil, as Mt 4^{1}, 1 Co 10^{13}, Ja 1$^{13.\ 14}$. On this verb see Cremer, *s.v.*; Hatch, *Essays in Biblical Greek*, 71 f.; Kennedy, *Sources of NT Greek*, 106 f. For the distinction between π. and δοκιμάζω see Trench, *NT Syn.* 267 ff.; also Cremer, *s.* πειράζω, and Berry, *s.* δοκιμάζω.

The devil is called 'the tempter' (ὁ πειράζων) in Mt 4^{3}, 1 Th 3^{5}.

2. ἐκπειράζω, to put to the proof, or test. (*a*) God, Mt 4^{7}, Lk 4^{12}; (*b*) Christ, Lk 10^{25}, 1 Co 10^{9}—all translated 'tempt' in EV, Amer. RV always 'try.'

3. In Ja 1^{13} ἀπείραστος (only occurrence) is translated by the verb 'tempt'—'God cannot be tempted (literally, 'is untemptable') with evil,' RVm 'is untried in evil.'

The only Greek word translated 'temptation' is πειρασμός, which is the translation in the LXX of *maṣṣāh* everywhere except Dt 33^{8} (Πεῖρα) and Joh 9^{23} (where a different reading is followed). This word is used in NT for (1) a *testing* or *proving*, as 1 P 4^{12} (EV 'trial'), He 3^{8}, or that which tests or proves a person, as Gal 4^{14}; (2) *enticement to sin*, as Mt 6^{13}, Lk 4^{13} 8^{13}, Ja 1^{12}, 1 Co 10^{13}; and (3) of *affliction* or *calamity*, due to persecution or other trial from without, as Lk 22^{28}, Ac 20^{19}, Ja 1^{2}, 1 P 1^{6}. On this word see Hatch, *Essays*, 71 f.; Mayor on Ja 1^{2}, and his *Com.* 183 ff.; Hort on 1 P 1^{6}; Swete on Mk 14^{38}.

About 1611 the Eng. words 'tempt' and 'temptation' were used almost as widely as those Heb. and Gr. words, the only difference being that the verb had ceased to mean 'to attempt.' Examples (outside AV) of 'tempt' in the sense of 'test,' 'put to the proof,' without evil intent, are Jn 6^{6}, Wyc. 'But he said this thing, temptynge hym; for he wiste what he was to do'; Dt 13^{3} Tind. 'For the Lorde thy God tempteth you, to wete whether ye love the Lord youre God with all youre hertes and with al youre soules'; Dt 8^{2}, in Wilson's *Christian Dictionary* (1611), 'tempting thee that hee might know what is in thy heart.' In the same sense is 'temptation' used in 1 P 4^{12} Rhem. 'My deerest, thinke it not strange in the fervour which is to you for a tentation, as though some new thing happened to you.' And in the allied sense of trial, affliction, we find 'temptation' employed by Tymme in *Calvin's Genesis*, p. 717, 'But this also was a moste greevous temptation, to be banished from the promised lande, even unto death'; and p. 815, 'This was a verie sore temptation, that holie Jacob, of whome the Lorde had taken care, shoulde almoste he and his perish with hunger.' See also Driver on Dt 6^{16} and in *Par. Psalt.*, Gloss. i. under 'Prove.'

J. HASTINGS.

TEN COMMANDMENTS.—See DECALOGUE.

TENDER.—The adj. 'tender' is somewhat more restricted in use now than formerly. Probably under the influence of the Biblical 'tender mercies,' it has become mostly figurative, and is chiefly used in a good sense. We might still speak of diamonds as 'tender' with Maundeville (*Travels*, 106, 'Other diamonds men find in Arabia that be not so good, and they be more brown and more tender'); but we should not speak of wax so, as Wyclif does (*Select Works*, iii. 103, 'The tendre wex maketh no preynte in the seel, bot the seel maketh a preynt in tendere wex'). The meaning in AV is usually 'soft,' 'delicate,' used of children (Gn 33^{13}); gently nurtured youths (1 Ch 22^{5} 29^{1}, Pr 4^{3}), men (Dt 28^{54}, Is 47^{1}), and women (Dt 28^{56}); also of herbs (Dt 32^{2}, Job 38^{27}), plants (Is 53^{2}), grass (2 S 23^{4}, Pr 27^{25}, Dn 4$^{15.\ 23}$), grapes (Ca 2$^{13.\ 15}$ 7^{12}), branches (Mt 24^{32}, Mk 13^{28}) in spring. In 2 Ch 13^{7} Rehoboam is called 'tender hearted'

---

[a] Jos. *Ant.* XVII. ix. 3, x. 2.

(רַךְ־לֵבָב, LXX δειλὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ, Vulg. *corde pavido*), a phrase which has now quite a different meaning. The modern meaning is found in Eph 4[32] (εὔσπλαγχνος). In Gn 29[17] we read that 'Leah was tender eyed' (וְעֵינֵי לֵאָה רַכּוֹת; LXX οἱ δὲ ὀφθαλμοὶ Λείας ἀσθενεῖς, Vulg. *sed Lia lippis erat occulis*), where the Heb. as well as the Eng. probably means that Leah's eyes were weak (not 'bleared' as Vulg.), and so, as Dillmann and others suggest, 'without brightness or brilliancy of lustre.' See LEAH. The Heb. word רַחֲמִים *raḥămîm* (in this sense always plu.) is translated occasionally in AV 'tender mercies' (Ps 25[6] 40[11] 51[1] 69[16] 77[9] 79[8] 103[4] 119[77. 156] 145[9], Pr 12[10]). The sing. 'tender mercy' occurs in NT, Lk 1[78] (σπλάγχνα), Ja 5[11] 'The Lord is very pitiful, and of tender mercy' (οἰκτίρμων, RV 'merciful').

The verb 'to tender' in the sense of 'care for' occurs in 2 Mac 4[2] 'Thus was he bold to call him a traitor, that had deserved well of the city, and tendered his own nation' (τὸν κηδεμόνα τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν). Cf. Cranmer, *Works*, i. 136, 'But to be plain what I think of the Bishop of Winchester, I cannot persuade with my self that he so much tendereth the king's cause as he doth his own'; Latimer, *Sermons*, 96, 'How God tendreth and regardes the cause of the widdow and the poore.' The verb in this sense is a direct derivative from the adj. (which is from Lat. *tener*, through Fr. *tendre*), not the same as the verb to tender (fr. Lat. *tendere*, through Fr. *tendre*), meaning to proffer, show.

J. HASTINGS.

TENT.—אֹהֶל (οἶκος, σκηνή) is the word commonly used for 'tent'; AV often 'tabernacle,' RV always 'tent' except Ps 61[4]. מִשְׁכָּן (σκηνή) 'habitation,' is usually rendered 'tabernacle,' only once (Ca 1[8]) 'tent.' For distinction between אֹהֶל and מִשְׁכָּן see art. TABERNACLE. סֻכָּה = 'booth' made by interweaving leaves and branches; once (2 S 11[11]) AV 'tent' (RV 'booth,' LXX σκηνή) and AVm (1 K 20[12. 16] RVm 'hut'). According to the Rabbis, a booth becomes a tent if a bit of cloth is spread over it to protect it from the sun, or stretched under the roof to prevent leaves and twigs from falling on the table (*Succah* i. 3). קֻבָּה (κάμινος) from [קָבַב] 'to hollow out,' is once in AV tr. 'tent' (Nu 25[8] RV 'pavilion,' marg. 'alcove'; cf. Arab. *ḳubbah* 'a large vaulted tent,' also 'dome,' 'vault,' whence, with the art., through the Spanish, 'alcove,' orig. *a vaulted recess*). From חָנָה (παρεμβάλλω) 'to encamp,' AV 'to abide in tents' (Nu 9[20. 22], Ezr 8[15]), comes מַחֲנֶה 'camp' (LXX ἀτείχιστος), tr. by AV 'tents' in Nu 13[19] etc.; in each case RV corrects.

We may safely take the modern tent as closely resembling that of ancient times. No simpler dwelling can well be imagined. The tent-cover is rough, strong cloth of dark goats' hair. It is commonly supported by nine poles arranged in rows of three; the middle row lengthwise, is somewhat higher, measuring from 6 to 7 ft.: the roof therefore slopes to front and back. The cover is stretched, and the tent held in position by means of long cords fastened to the cloth, and attached to pins firmly driven into the ground. A curtain of the same material, but rather lighter, is hung round the more exposed side of the tent, to shelter from sun and wind. A similar curtain, drawn across the middle, fixed on the tent-poles, divides the tent, the one end forming the men's apartment, the other that of the women (חֶדֶר, cf. Arab. *khidr*). Very seldom, and that only in cases of considerable wealth, the women have a tent to themselves.

The making, pitching, striking, packing, and unpacking of the tents is all women's work. They spin the hair yarn, twist the cords, and weave the cloth in long narrow strips, with very primitive appliances. To form roof or curtain, these strips are sewn together to the required breadth. The greatest care is taken with the roof. When it has been used for a little, and is somewhat shrunken, it becomes quite waterproof, and will turn the heaviest rain. Sometimes cloth for the roof is bought by way of barter, from such villages as Khabab, in el-Lejâ, or Judeideh, overlooking Merj A'yûn, which are famous for their hair manufactures. To excel in skilful driving home of the tent-pegs is an immemorial ambition among Arab women.

The furniture of this 'house' or 'house of hair' (*bait*, *bait sha'r*, or, less frequently, *bait wabar*) is extremely simple. In a few tents of the rich may be found cushions and mattresses covered with coloured silk; but for the most part a couple of coarse straw mats serve the purposes of chairs and table by day, and bed by night. A circle of thin leather, about 2 ft. in diameter, drawn into a sort of bag by means of a thong passed through holes round the edge, contains the thin loaves baked in the desert, and is spread flat on the ground at meal-time. The lamp (anciently of clay) or lantern is now generally of tin, made by Jewish travelling tinkers, from empty petroleum cans. Clay ware is too brittle to be of much use. Usually each tent has a metal plate, flat or convex, for baking; a few pots or pans for cooking, the food being eaten from the dish in which it is cooked; perhaps a hand-mill; and if the owner make any pretensions to dignity, mortar and pestle; and the necessary utensils for roasting the beans and making coffee. The fireplace may be a few stones set loosely together, or a hole in the ground just at the edge of the tent. Goat-skins, half tanned, with the hair outward, are made into bags, which hold grain, water, butter-milk, and other liquids; and when swung on a tripod serve to churn butter. The butter is always melted at once, and is carried about in these skins. The saddles of horse and camel, with corresponding saddle-bags of rough hair cloth, complete the tent furniture. Most things are crowded together in the women's apartment; that of the men is always free for the reception and entertainment of guests.

When the tents are few in number, belonging to some small family or division, they are set in a circle; the sheikh's tent is that to the right of the entrance. In larger camps the order varies. One visited by the present writer contained upwards of 150 tents, and from a distance resembled a town of black-roofed houses, arranged in irregular streets. The sheikh's tent is distinguished from the others only by its greater size. It always faces the direction from which strangers are most likely to arrive.

The black tents of the nomads have flitted shadow-like over Syrian field and Arabian steppe from the dawn of human history. The ancient fathers of the Hebrew race dwelt in tents (He 11[9] etc.). Their wealth consisted mainly in cattle. The tent, so easily portable, is by far the most convenient 'house' for the flock-master, who is ever on the move in search of fresh pasture. After the settlement in Palestine, those portions of the people who followed the herdsman's life continued to dwell in tents, *e.g.* those east of the Jordan who held the grazing lands towards the desert. This old form of life left its impress in the language of later times, *e.g.* נָסַע, where the root-idea is the pulling out of the tent-pegs. When the tent-life was long past, men still spoke of going home as going 'to their tents' (Jos 22[4], 2 S 20[1], 1 K 12[16]). The tent and its appurtenances play a considerable part in sacred imagery. Fleeting life is like the shepherd's tent, here to-day, gone to-morrow (Is 38^{12}). When the cord gives way the tent collapses; hence the tent-cord as a figure of the thread of life (Job 4^{21}). The secure city is a tent whose pegs cannot be plucked up, nor its cords broken (Is 33^{20}). Prosperous growth is pictured as a lengthening of the cords and a strengthening of the stakes (Is 54^{2}). See also in NT 2 Co $5^{1.4}$, 2 P $1^{13.14}$, Lk 16^{9}.

On tent-making see, further, art. HAIR, vol. ii. p. 285^{a}, and PAUL, vol. iii. p. 699^{a}.

W. EWING.

TEPHON (ἡ Τεφών; *Thopo*; Syr. *Tephus*).—One of the towns in Judæa fortified by Bacchides (1 Mac 9^{50}). Josephus gives the name as Tochoa (Τοχοά, *Ant.* XIII. i. 3), which is suggestive of Tekoa; but he always writes this place Θεκώα, or Θεκωέ. Tephon was probably an old Tappuah; but whether it was Tappuah **1** or **2**, or Beth-tappuah, is uncertain. The occurrence of the name with Timnath and Pharathon suggests Tappuah **2**. See TIMNATH.

C. W. WILSON.

TERAH (תֶּרַח, Θάρρα and Θάρα).—The father of Abraham, Naḥor, and Haran, Gn 11^{24-32}, 1 Ch 1^{26}, Lk 3^{34}. Along with his three sons he is said to have migrated from Ur of the Chaldees to Ḥarran, where he died. In Jos 24^{2} it is said that he 'served (עבר) other gods,' a statement which gave rise to some fanciful Jewish *haggādôth* about Teraḥ as a *maker* of idols (see, *e.g.*, *Bereshith rabba*, § 17, and cf. Bk. of Jubilees, chs. 11. 12). The question whether Teraḥ is to be taken as a *personal* name is involved in the same uncertainty as arises in connexion with the names of all the patriarchs (see art. ABRAHAM, and esp. art. JACOB, vol. ii. p. 533 ff.). Knobel compares the name with *Tharrana*, south of Edessa. W. R. Smith makes *Teraḥ* = 'wild goat' as totem, comparing Syriac ܬܪܚܐ, to which Frd. Delitzsch (*Prolegom.* 80) adds Assyr. *turâḫu* with same meaning [but see *ZDMG* xl. [1886] 167 f. (where Nöld. points out not only that ܬܪܚܐ in the passage quoted is an error for the correct ܬܪܘܚܐ, but also that the root is ארח, of which in Heb. the א would not be readily elided); cf. Gray, *HPN* 110]. Jensen (*ZA* vi. 70, cf. *Hittiter*, 150 ff.) thinks it may be the name of a god, comparing the first syllable of N. Syrian or Hittite personal names, such as *Tarḫular*, *Tarḫumazi*, etc. (cf. Mez, *Gesch. d. Stadt Ḥarran*, 23). Any of these explanations appears preferable to that suggested in Riehm, *HWB*^{2} 1478^{b}, that the name is to be accounted for because Teraḥ *remained behind* (late Heb. *tāraḥ*, Aram. *tĕraḥ*) in Ḥarran, while Abraham journeyed farther.

J. A. SELBIE.

TERAH (תֶּרַח; B Τάραθ, A Θάραθ).—One of the stations of the Israelites in the desert (Nu $33^{27.28}$). It comes between Tahath and Mithkah, and has not yet been identified.

TERAPHIM (תְּרָפִים).—The word is plural according to its form. But its derivation, the purpose of that which it denoted, and the method of its use, still present many obscurities. Several of the older Jewish commentators derive the word from תּוֹרֶף *tōreph*, which means 'foulness,' and especially *pudendum*; but, if this is correct, it is plausible to suppose that this word, expressive of contempt, was substituted for and finally supplanted the original name, in which case that name is entirely lost (cf. בֹּשֶׁת for בַּעַל). Among the numerous later derivations the one which most deserves consideration is that suggested by Schwally (*Leben nach dem Tode*, p. 36 n.), who connects the word with רָפָה *rāphāh*, a derivation which would bring it into contact with the *rĕphā'îm* or 'shades' of Is 14.

Teraphim are generally supposed to have been household deities (cf. Gn 31^{19}, 1 S $19^{13.16}$, but see Ezk 21^{21}). Hence it has for long been the habit to compare the reverence paid to them with that which was offered to the *Lares* and *Penates* in Roman times. Further, almost every passage in which the word occurs in OT shows that their use was bound up with the practices of magic and soothsaying (cf. especially Ezk 21^{21}). The above passage in Samuel makes it also certain that the figures sometimes represented the human form. It is unknown whether these were always full life-size. Thus, on the one hand, the fact that Michal could deceive the messengers from her father by leading them to believe that the muffled teraphim which she had laid on the bed was the figure of her husband, makes it probable that some were so. And, on the other hand, the fact that Rachel (Gn 31^{34}) could hide those which she had stolen from Laban beneath her in the camel-litter, while her father searched the baggage for his lost property, is sufficient to prove that others were considerably smaller. Again, there is nothing in the incident with Michal to show conclusively whether such a figure represented the entire human form, or whether it was simply a head or at most a bust. Thus the suggestion of some among the Jewish commentators (see Moore, *Comm. on Judges*, p. 382) is not devoid of probability, viz. that the teraphim, at least in the early period, were mummied human heads, for which the refinement of later centuries substituted more or less rude representations in wood or in the precious metals. One might then bring their use (of which among the Hebrews we hear very little) into comparison with the customs of divination by means of such heads among the Hauranians (cf. Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier u. der Ssabismus*, ii. pp. 19 ff., 150 ff.). With great likelihood then do Stade (*GVI* i. p. 467) and Nowack (*Heb. Archäol.* ii. 23) consider that the teraphim came to represent the figures of ancestors, and make the consulting of them a kind of Manes oracle. This would further make it easy to understand how their use was common to the Israelites and the Aramæans (cf. Gn $35^{2.4}$), and how Nebuchadnezzar is represented as resorting to this method of divination (Ezk 21^{21}). And it would serve to explain, since they were used for oracular purposes, why in 2 K 23^{24} they are set alongside 'those who consult familiar spirits' and 'wizards.' The reverence paid them as household deities, and the fact that their use was common to all the nations of the region, make it more natural that, though the teraphim were abolished by Josiah, they reappear during the years of the Exile (Zec 10^{2}). And if we recognize that they were used for such oracular purposes, and were not honoured with supreme worship, we can find it easier to understand how men who sincerely worshipped J″ might not note the inconsistency of their presence in their homes. See, further, art. SOOTHSAYING.

It may be added that in Hos 3^{4} and Jg 17^{5} teraphim are mentioned along with the ephod, as though they were in some way connected with that. It was an old suggestion by Spencer (*De legibus Hebr. ritualibus*, I. iii. diss. 7, sec. 2), that the Urim were of the same nature as, and eventually took the place of, the teraphim. The LXX at Hos 3^{4} reads δῆλα for תְּרָפִים, and this may imply that the translator found in the Heb. text אוּרִים.

A. C. WELCH.

TEREBINTH does not occur at all in AV, and only thrice in RV, being substituted in Is 6^{13} for 'teil tree,' in Hos 4^{13} for 'elm,' and in Sir 24^{16} for 'turpentine tree.' Strong reasons, however, can be urged (see the very full discussion in Ges. *Thes. s.v.*) for rendering by 'terebinth' whenever the Heb. is איל [only in constr. אֵיל and plur. אֵילִים] or אֵלָה or אֵלוֹן, and for reserving the tr. 'oak' (by which these words are commonly rendered in AV and RV)* for אֵלוֹן [in Jos 24^{26} אַלָּה, unless, as is probable, we should read here אֵלָה]. See esp. Del. and Dillm. on Gn 12^{6}, cf. *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.vv.*, and note that in Hos 4^{13} and Is 6^{13} אֵלָה and אַלּוֹן are clearly distinct. The references to the terebinth in Scripture would thus be the following:†—

(1) איל: Is 1^{29} 'They shall be ashamed of the terebinths which ye have desired,' 57^{5} 'ye that inflame yourselves among the terebinths,' 61^{3} 'that they might be called terebinths ‡ [prob. the figure is derived from the strength and durability of this tree] of righteousness,' Ezk 31^{14} 'nor that their terebinths § [perh. fig. of pride] stand up in their might.' ELIM, the second station of Israel after passing the Red Sea (Ex 15^{27} 16^{1}, Nu 33$^{9.\,10}$), may have derived its name originally from the presence of terebinths, although latterly associated more with *palms*.

(2) אֵלָה: Gn 35^{4} 'the terebinth which was by Shechem,' Jos 24^{26} [reading אֵלָה for אַלָּה] 'the terebinth that was in the sanctuary of the LORD,' Jg 6$^{11.\,19}$ 'the terebinth which was in Ophrah,' 2 S 18$^{9.\,10.\,14}$ the terebinth in which Absalom was entangled, 1 K 13^{14} the terebinth under which the 'man of God' sat, 1 Ch 10^{12} the terebinth in Jabesh under which the ashes of Saul and his sons were buried [this tree is called in 1 S 31^{13} a tamarisk ‖], Hos 4^{13} (‖ אַלּוֹן and לִבְנֶה) 'they burn incense . . . under oaks and poplars and terebinths,' Ezk 6^{13} 'their idols . . . under every thick terebinth,' Is 1^{30} Judah is to be 'as a terebinth that withereth,' 6^{13} (‖ אַלּוֹן) 'as a terebinth and as an oak whose stock remaineth when they are felled.' This tree gives its name to the Vale of ELAH (עֵמֶק הָאֵלָה) 1 S 17$^{2.\,19}$ 21$^{9\,(10)}$, and to ELAH Gn 36^{41} (=EL-PARAN Gn 14^{6}, ELATH Dt 2^{8}, 2 K 14^{22} 16^{6}, and ELOTH 1 K 9^{26}, 2 K 16^{6}).

In Gn 49^{21} we should probably tr. 'Naphtali is a slender terebinth [reading אֵלָה for אַיָּלָה], the one who sends out beautiful tops' [referring to the heroes and national leaders sprung from this tribe]; so Dillm. and many modern commentators. For other suggested renderings, with their justification and the necessary textual emendations, see Gunkel ('Naphtali is a nimble hind, which drops fine lambs,' as an alternative to Dillm.'s rendering), Ball ('Naphtali is a branching vine that yieldeth comely fruit'), Hommel ('Naphtali is a hind let loose, which drops he-goat lambs,' *i.e.* which has a numerous male progeny [*Expos. Times*, Oct. 1900, p. 46^{b}]).

(3) אֵלוֹן: Gn 12^{6} (so Dt 11^{30}) 'the terebinth of MOREH' ('director's terebinth'), 13^{18} 14^{13} 18^{1} 'the terebinths of MAMRE,' Jg 4^{11} 'the terebinth in ZAANANNIM' (cf. Jos 19^{33} [reading אֵלוֹן not אַלּוֹן] 'the terebinth of BEZAANANNIM'), 9^{6} 'the terebinth of the pillar that was in Shechem' (see art. PILLAR [PLAIN OF THE]), 9^{37} 'the terebinth of MEONENIM' ('soothsayers' terebinth'), 1 S 10^{3} 'the terebinth of Tabor' [where it is possible that we should read דְּבוֹרָה 'of Deborah'].

The terebinth is repeatedly (see, amongst above passages, esp. Gn 12^{6} 35^{4}, Jos 24^{26}, Jg 6$^{11.\,19}$, Is 1^{29} 57^{5}, Hos 4^{13}, Ezk 6^{13}) mentioned in connexion with Canaanitish or Israelitish religious rites (see art. SANCTUARY, p. 395^{b}). The tr. 'terebinth' we have contended for is supported by the circumstance that this tree was less common in Palestine than the oak and would thus be better suited to mark a locality, while the higher age it attains would cause it to be esteemed as more sacred.

The terebinth (*Pistachia terebinthus*, L.) grows in Palestine to the height of 15–17, rarely 20, feet. It has a thick gnarled trunk, numerous long branches with slender twigs, feathery leaves with 7 oval lanceolate leaflets, which are at first of a reddish, but afterwards of a glossy dark-green colour. In Palestine the tree is deciduous, being an evergreen only in more southern latitudes. The male and female flowers grow upon different trees, the fruit consists of small oval berries which are produced in grape-like clusters. **Turpentine** of a very pure quality may be obtained by making incisions in the stem and branches, and collecting the resin which exudes. In modern Palestine this practice appears to be unknown (Rob. *BRP*^{2} ii. 222 f.). J. A. SELBIE.

TERESH (תֶּרֶשׁ).—A chamberlain of Ahasuerus, who along with BIGTHAN formed a plot against the king, which was foiled by Mordecai, Est 2^{21} (BAℵ om., ℵ$^{\text{c.a. mg sup}}$ Θάρας) 6^{2} (BAℵ om., ℵ$^{\text{c.a. mg}}$ Θάρρας). It is possible that the name should be read תדרש, *i.e.* Theudas (see Willrich, *Judaica*, p. 19). He is called in Ad. Est 12^{1} THARRA.

TERTIUS (Τέρτιος).—The amanuensis through whose agency St. Paul wrote the Epistle to the Romans. In Ro 16^{22} he joins personally in sending his greetings. St. Paul seems to have generally written by means of an amanuensis, adding just a few words at the end (1 Co 16^{21}, Col 4^{18}, 2 Th 3^{17}) in his own hand, by way of authentication, perhaps written in large and bold characters (Gal 6^{11}). In the case of the Epistle to the Romans he probably added the concluding doxology (16$^{25\text{-}27}$). It is an interesting subject of speculation how far the employment of different amanuenses who wrote out their shorthand notes may have influenced the style of different epistles or groups of epistles (see Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*, Introduction, p. lx). A. C. HEADLAM.

TERTULLUS.—The name is a diminutive from Tertius, as Lucullus from Lucius, etc. It is thoroughly Latin, and occurs in the 2nd cent. as *agnomen* of Pliny's colleague Cornutus, and as a *cognomen* borne by Flavii and by Sulpitii. In Ac 24 Ananias arrives at Cæsarea to accuse Paul before Felix, accompanied by certain elders, 'and, as pleader (ῥήτωρ), one Tertullus.' Tertullus was doubtless one of the Italian *causidici* who abounded in the provinces. The proceedings, even in the inferior court of a mere *procurator* like Felix, would probably be in Latin (Smith's *Dict. Gr. and Rom. Antiq.*, *s.* 'Conventus'; yet see Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 50; Lewin, ii. 684) and conducted under Roman forms, requiring the services of a professional advocate. Tertullus was not a Jew, as Blass needlessly infers from his use of the first person plural. The advocate naturally identifies himself with his clients. Tertullus' speech begins with a characteristic *captatio benevolentiæ*. He gives to Felix the coveted praise of *Pacator provinciæ* (v.^{2}), and welcomes the reforming hand of the governor, present at every place and in every matter (v.^{3a}); whereas Tacitus remarks of Felix (*Ann.* xii. 54), 'intempestiuis remediis delicta accendebat' (cf. *Hist.* v. 9). These singularly gross compliments, evidently condensed by Luke, culminate in a subtler turn: Tertullus hints (v.^{4}) that they must be distasteful to so modest a man. The body of the speech is evidently, in its uninterpolated form, a mere jotting by Luke, who may have been present (20^{17} 27^{1}), of the heads of the accusation. But these are carefully preserved: Paul is (1) a stirrer up of στάσεις, (2) the ringleader of a sect, and (3) guilty of an attempt to profane the temple. The charges are most skilfully chosen. Felix, with his experience (v.^{10}) of Jewish affairs, would realize how dangerous such a prisoner was to the peace of his province. Tertullus is a competent counsel, and knows his man.

---

* The distinction between the Heb. terms is no more maintained in the LXX than in the EV. Cf. the conspectus of renderings in art. OAK.

† In many of these passages RVm gives 'terebinth.'

‡ AV and RV poorly 'trees of righteousness,' LXX γενεαὶ δικαιοσύνης, Vulg. [taking from a different איל] *fortes justitiæ*.

§ AV 'trees,' RV [taking from a different איל] 'mighty ones.' The text is very doubtful; Cornill strikes out אליהם; for conjectural emendations see Bertholet and Kraetzschmar, *ad loc.*

‖ It is possible that the Chronicler may have substituted אֵלָה for אֵשֶׁל as being a less distinctively sacred tree marking a shrine.

The grammar of the speech is dislocated, the participle of v.^{15} has no proper principal verb; the interpolated passage only partially supplies this defect. Cases of broken construction are somewhat frequent in the speeches of the latter part of Acts: see $24^{18f.}$ $26^{2.16.23.}$ (an obvious condensation)^{28}. The author had not worked up his drafts into their final form, or at any rate the finishing touches were not given. A more remarkable example of this may be found in the eighth book of Thucydides, where all the speeches are left in the form of rough abstracts.

On fanciful etymologies suggested for the name (τερατολόγος, Ter-Tullius) see Basil Jones in Smith's *DB*, *s.v.* A. ROBERTSON.

TESTAMENT.—This word does not occur in the EV of the OT; and, whereas in the AV of the NT it occurs 13 times, this number is reduced to 2 in the RV by the substitution of '**covenant**' in 11 places. In the NT the Gr. equivalent both of 'testament' and of 'covenant' is invariably διαθήκη. In the LXX the same Gr. word is the equivalent of *bĕrîth* ('covenant') except in two passages, Dt 9^{15} (μαρτύριον, pl.) and 3 (1) K 11^{11} (ἐντολή, pl.), while it represents no other Heb. word, according to the best authorities, except about 8 times: Ex 27^{21} 31^{7} 32^{15} (*'ēdûth*, 'testimony'), Dt 9^{5} (*dābār*, 'word'), 2 Ch 25^{4} (*kāthûb*, 'what is written'), Jer 41 (34)^{18} (*dibrê habbĕrîth*, 'words of the covenant'), Dn 9^{13} (*tôrah*, 'law'), and Zec 11^{14} (*'aḥăvāh*, 'brotherhood'). This double exclusiveness is a peculiarity of the LXX version, for *bĕrîth* is often represented in the later versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion by συνθήκη, the common Gr. word for 'covenant' in its more exact sense of *compact between parties*. Apparently, then, the choice of διαθήκη was deliberate, and has severely ruled out συνθήκη, even where the latter would have been more strictly correct, as Ps 82 (83)^{5} the compact made with one another by Edom, Moab, etc.; 1 K (S) 23^{18} the covenant between David and Jonathan. Why this deliberate determination, extending even to solecism? The idea mainly associated with *bĕrîth* was religious, that of an independent, voluntary engagement or settlement on the part of God, and the 'least unsuitable' Gr. equivalent for this was διαθήκη, an arrangement by one, not συνθήκη, an agreement between two; for though διαθήκη meant, in ordinary Greek, a disposition *by will*, the verb διατίθεσθαι covered authoritative arrangements generally. This 'one-sided' sense of διαθήκη (the acceptance of which is in harmony with Dr. Davidson's interpretation of *bĕrîth* in art. COVENANT) comes out very clearly in such uses of it as in Sir $14^{12.17}$ 'the covenant of the grave' (the imposition of death), 'the covenant . . . "Thou shalt die the death."' In Sir 24^{23} διαθήκη is made equivalent to the *Law*, and in 3 (1) K 11^{11} *bĕrîth* is ἐντολαί (commandments), which Solomon had not kept. But the Divine 'arrangement' was a gracious one: 'the Divine διαθήκη is a promise' (Vaughan on Ro 9^{4}, cf. Eph 2^{12}); hence St. Paul, while he uses διαθήκη only 9 times, uses ἐπαγγελία 25 times, because it lays stress on God's free grace; cf. Gn 15^{18} ('the Lord made a covenant with Abraham . . . I will give,' etc.), Ex 34^{10} ('I will make a covenant . . . I will do marvels'), Is 59^{21} ('This is my covenant . . . my spirit shall not depart'). It is true that there are conditions to be fulfilled; but the idea is that God imposes these as part of His beneficent arrangement; just as a will imposes conditions, but is not a *covenant* in the strict sense of the term. (Cremer asserts that Philo uses διαθήκη in no other sense than that of 'one-sided' disposition).

The LXX translators made their choice of διαθήκη before its older signification was seriously affected by the extensive spread of will-making among the Greeks, and the assimilation by them of 'Roman ideas on wills' (Ramsay, *Galatians*, p. 360). Thus they had still at their disposal in the word the connotation of the solemnity and publicity of an irrevocable disposition by which, as a religious act, the maker of the disposition voluntarily, and by his own authority, bound his heir and, concurrently, himself in the presence of the community and its gods, assigning to the heir primarily the religious duties and rights of the family, and imposing arrangements which the heir had to carry out, and which he could at once undertake, and into the advantages of which he could at once enter, while he who made the disposition was still living. A word with such a connotation suited the idea of an irrevocable promise made by God to His chosen people, freely and on His own absolute authority, a promise of a religious inheritance into which they could at once enter by fulfilling the conditions which God, on the same absolute authority, imposed (Ramsay, *Galatians*, p. 361 ff.).

Διαθήκη is of course often used in the NT in the OT sense, Lk 1^{72}, Ac 3^{25}, Ro 9^{4}, Eph 2^{12}. In some passages engagement and testamentary disposition seem to be combined (He 9^{16}, 1 Co 11^{25}), the διαθήκη being a testament in the light of the death, an engagement in the light of the blood shed as a pledge (Evans). The sense of 'will,' the ordinary Gr. sense, is an exclusively NT usage; and this usage varies in its aspect according to the conceptions of the readers for whom the Epistles in which it occurs were designed. Thus the Epistle to the Hebrews—even if it was intended for a Church in Jerusalem and not in Rome—was written to a people who knew only the Roman will, out of which the rabbinical will in Palestine arose, and on which it was modelled. Hence the will there spoken of is regarded as in force only after the maker's death (9^{15-17}), and consequently the writer is led to argue that a death is connected with every Divine διαθήκη, specially with the last will, that of Christ; and according to Roman law the last will was alone valid. In Gal 3^{15}, on the other hand, where again a human will, a will dealing with an inheritance (3^{18}), furnishes the parallel, the writer conceives of a will known to his readers as irrevocable and unalterable, even by the maker, when once it has been made by him and ratified by public authority, and argues from this analogy that the Law could not, as a hostile codicil, abrogate the Promise. Further, the devolution under this will was a devolution of religious responsibilities and rights, and those who inherited these under the will became there and then *sons* as inheriting and continuing the faith of Abraham (3^{7}). Such a will was not Roman but Greek, or rather Græco-Syrian, and its regulations are found in the Roman-Syrian law-book, which recognized Græco-Syrian law as still largely in force in the Eastern provinces. This law regarded will-making as *per se* son-making; and where sons were thus made by adoption (Gal 4^{5}), which was not a Jewish practice of any importance, they could not be put away; they were even in a better position than sons by birth. Thus the line of thought is that the believing Gentiles inheriting and continuing the faith of Abraham became thereby adopted sons, with a title more secure than the 'Jews by nature.' But at Ro 8^{17}, 'If sons, then heirs,' the idea is reversed. Here we are in the atmosphere of Roman law; and the idea in Roman law was that children must inherit.

It is noticeable that the Latin word *fœdus*, signifying a covenant between parties, is also applied to an independent, 'one-sided' disposition, arrangement, imposition. When Lucretius (ii. 254) writes of *fœdera fati* he means nothing else than the arrangements imposed by fate; and Vergil (*Georg.* i. 60) and Ovid (*Met.* x. 353), as well as Lucretius (v. 924), speak of the *fœdera* imposed by nature. But the classical usage of διαθήκη as 'will,' and the close connexion of the word in the OT with the idea of κλῆρος (inheritance), together with the intensification in the NT of the idea of sonship, combined to bring *testamentum* into greater favour than *fœdus* as the rendering of διαθήκη, especially as *fœdus* suggested equality and *testamentum* superiority. Finally, as a consequence, *testamentum* became the title of the documents containing the attested promises of blessings willed by God and bequeathed to us in the death of Christ.

LITERATURE.—Ramsay, *Historical Commentary on Galatians*; Mitteis, *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht*; Bruns and Sachau, *Ein syrisch-römisches Rechtsbuch aus dem fünften Jahrhundert*; Cremer, *Bibl.-Theol. Wörterbuch*; the publications by Grenfell and Hunt on the Egyptian papyri; and the various Commentaries and Bible Dictionaries. J. MASSIE.

TESTAMENTS OF THE XII PATRIARCHS.—i. TITLE AND CONTENTS.—This most valuable pseudepigraph has never received the attention it deserves, but the next few years will witness a full atonement for past neglect. This writing consists, as the title indicates, of the dying commands of the twelve sons of Jacob to their children. The idea is in part derived from the Testament of Jacob in Gn 49. Each Testament treats of some virtue or vice which finds special illustration in the life of this or that patriarch. In some cases the virtue or vice in question appears in the title. This holds true of the Greek MS C throughout. But in this respect C is late; for in O[*] and R all mention of the virtues and vices is omitted, and where they appear in P (as they do in a few cases) they differ in all but two instances from C. In the Armenian Version the titles of Simeon, Benjamin, Issachar, and Zebulun contain no reference to ethical characteristics, and those of Levi and Gad differ from their forms in CP. It is probable, therefore, that the name of each Testament was originally merely Διαθήκη in the Greek Version, followed by the name of the particular patriarch to whom it was ascribed, and צואת in the original with a similar sequence. (Compare the Hebrew title of the Testament of Naphtali צואת נפתלי, published by Gaster, and observe that צוה is used technically of a man's last will and testament, 2 S 17^{23}, 2 K 20^{1}, Is 38^{1}). According to R, it is true that the title of each Testament is merely the name of the patriarch. The title of the entire work was probably 'The Twelve Patriarchs'; for it is mentioned simply as Πατριάρχαι in the Stichometry of Nicephorus, the Synopsis Athanasii, and other lists.

In the next place it is to be observed that in each of the Testaments three elements can be distinguished. (1) The patriarch gives a brief history of his life, in which he emphasizes his particular virtue or vice. This history is generally a midrashic expansion of certain biblical statements, but in some cases it contains materials that are in direct conflict with them. (2) The patriarch next proceeds to 'improve' on the incidents just set forth in his own career, and exhorts his children to imitate the virtues or to shun the vices that were conspicuous in it. (3) Finally, the patriarch deals prophetically with the destinies of his descendants, emphasizes the premier rank and authority of Levi and Judah, and foretells the evils of overthrow and captivity that they will bring upon themselves should they fall into sin and disown the hegemony of Levi and Judah. These predictions are for the most part of purely Jewish authorship, but not a few are distinctively Christian.

ii. CRITICISM.—To account for the conflicting Jewish and Christian elements which appear side by side in the work, Grabe (*Spicileg. Patrum*^{2}, 1714, i. 129-144, 335-374) suggested that the book was written by a Jew and subsequently interpolated by a Christian. This hypothesis, however, failed till recently to gain the suffrages of scholars, mainly owing to the opposition of Corrodi (*Krit. Gesch. des Chiliasmus*, ii. 101-110). For nearly two centuries after Grabe little progress was made. Nitzsch (*de Test. XII Patriarch. libro VT pseud.*, Wittenberg, 1810) described the author as a Jewish Christian of Alexandria, who had imbibed many Essene doctrines; whereas Ritschl (*Entstehung der altkathol. Kirche*^{1}, 322 ff.) assigned the book to a Gentile Christian, mainly on the ground of Benjamin 11, a chapter which, we now know, is a Christian interpolation; but in the second edition of the work abandoned this view and advocated a Nazarene authorship.

It is needless here to enter on a discussion of the views of Kayser (*Die Test. der Zwölf Patr.*, in Reuss and Cunitz's *Beiträge zu den theolog. Wissenschaften*, 1851, pp. 107-140), who, falling back on Grabe's theory of interpolation, traced the book to Ebionitic circles; or on those of Vorstman (*Disquisitio de Test. XII Patriarcharum origine et pretio*, 1857), who submitted Kayser's theory to a severe criticism, and concluded that the Testaments showed no trace of Ebionism, but were the product of Gentile Christianity. This conclusion, which upholds Ritschl's first view, was subsequently upheld by Hilgenfeld (*ZWT*, 1858, pp. 395 ff.; 1871, 302 ff.), while the view of Nitzsch was adopted by Langen (*Das Judenthum*, 1866, pp. 140-157 and Sinker (*Test. XII Patr.* 1869, pp. 16-34; Appendix with collation of R and P, 1879; art. 'Test. XII Patr.' in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, iv. 865-874).

It must be confessed that, so far, few results of permanent value were arrived at, but in 1884 a great advance was made through Schnapp (*Die Test. der XII Patr. untersucht*, Halle, 1884), who revived in an improved form Grabe's hypothesis of Christian interpolation of an originally Jewish work. Schnapp's theory is that in its original form the book consisted of biographical details respecting each of the patriarchs, and of appropriate exhortations founded on these details. Thus the work embraced only two of the three elements mentioned above. At a later date this book was worked over by a Jewish writer, who enriched all the Testaments with sections dealing with the coming destinies of the various tribes and with other details of an apocalyptic character. Finally, the book was re-edited by a Christian, who in some cases made large additions, and in others merely modified the text in order to adapt its predictions to Christianity.

Subsequent research has notably confirmed part of the above theory. Thus Conybeare's collation of the Armenian Version in the *JQR* [1893], 375-398; [1896], 260-268, 471-485, proved that very many of the passages marked by Schnapp as Christian interpolations were absent from that version.

Since Schnapp's work the Testaments have been rehandled from various sides, by Kohler (*JQR*, 1893, pp. 400-406), Gaster (*PSBA*, 1893, 1894), Marshall (*PSBA*, 1894), Charles (*Encyclopædia Biblica*, 1899, i. 237-241), and Bousset (*ZNTW*, 1900, 142-175, 187-209). Bousset's articles are of great value, and will call for frequent reference.

Since many of the above articles were published before Kautzsch's *Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, 1900, it must be confessed that it is with disappointment that scholars have turned to Schnapp's introduction to and translation of the Testaments in that volume. Both are quite inadequate from the standpoint of our present knowledge.

---

[*] COPR denote Greek MSS. See below, § v. (*a*).

1. *Christian Interpolations.*—These were, as we have seen, rejected by Schnapp merely on internal grounds in 1884, though he could occasionally have justified his conclusions from R. But even in his translation[*] of 1900 he has repeatedly failed to call attention to the fact that his conjecture is confirmed by MS evidence, and in many passages he has attributed too much to the interpolator, where a study of his textual authorities would have enabled him to make much smaller and neater excisions. But not only can the student summon rich textual materials to his aid, he can also in not a few cases detect the interpolator's hand in certain poetical passages where the foreign element destroys the rhythm and parallelism. Thus Levi 18, Judah 25, Simeon 6, Dan 5 are either wholly or in part Hebrew poetry. Only the first of these has been recognized by Schnapp as being such. We quote a few lines as an illustration—

Τότε ἐκλείψει ἡ γῆ Χάμ,
Καὶ πᾶς λαὸς ἀπολεῖται.
Τότε καταπαύσει ἡ γῆ πᾶσα ἀπὸ ταραχῆς,
Καὶ πᾶσα ἡ ὑπὸ οὐρανὸν ἀπὸ πολέμου.
Τότε Σὴμ ἐνδοξασθήσεται,
Ὅτι Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς μέγας τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, φαινόμενος ἐπὶ γῆς ὡς ἄνθρωπος καὶ σώζων ἐν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἀδάμ.
Τότε δοθήσονται πάντα τὰ πνεύματα τῆς πλάνης εἰς καταπάτησιν,
Καὶ ἄνθρωποι βασιλεύσουσι τῶν πονηρῶν πνευμάτων.

It will be seen that v.^{6} destroys the parallelism. We must reject as interpolations μέγας τοῦ Ἰσραήλ and σώζων ἐν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἀδάμ from a comparison of the two Armenian recensions (see Bousset, *ZNTW* [1900], 147). The ὡς ἄνθρωπος is against the parallelism. The verse probably read—

Ὅτι Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς φανήσεται ἐπὶ γῆς.

By means of textual authorities the Christian interpolations can be removed from Reuben, Issachar, Judah, and Zebulun. Those in Simeon can be reduced to one or two phrases in 6. 7, and likewise those in chapter 8. Dan 5. 6. 7 cannot be wholly purged by means of textual authorities, nor yet Naphtali 4. 8.—In Joseph 19 the Greek is defective and the Armenian corrupt; but Schnapp is wrong in branding the bulk of it as a Christian interpolation, it is probably a fragment of an early Maccabæan Apocalypse.—As regards Benjamin, though the distinctively Christian phrases are omitted by the Armenian at the close of 3, yet the promise of redemption through Joseph is suspicious. Though ἄμωμος ὑπὲρ ἀνόμων παραδοθήσεται could be said of him, yet the next phrase ἀναμάρτητος ὑπὲρ ἀσεβῶν ἀποθανεῖται cannot be justly referred to him. In 9 the Christian interpolations in the Gr. are wanting in the Arm., save the words ὑβρισθήσεται (cf. Lk 18^{32}) and ἐξουθενωθήσεται (Lk 23^{11}), which appear Christian. In Levi 2. 3 the text of COP is very corrupt, but by means of recension *a* of the Armenian and R it is possible to recover the primitive Jewish text. This latter text described the three heavens, but this account was intended by the interpolator to be an account of the seven heavens. To this question we shall return presently. In Levi 4 and 10 and in 14^5[†] Christian interpolations are present alike in Gr. and Arm., and one or two phrases at the close of 16. The famous passage in Levi 8, which claims for the descendant of Levi the triple honours of prophet, priest, and king, becomes intelligible through the aid of R and the Arm., and is of Jewish origin. It refers to John Hyrcanus. To this section we shall return later.

The Christian interpolations, therefore, which cannot be eliminated by textual authorities, do not extend beyond certain phrases or sentences in Sim. 6. 7, Levi 4. 10. 14. 17, Dan 5. 6. 7, Napht. 4. 8, Asher 7, Joseph 19, Benj. 3 (?). 9.[*] Thus by means of recent research about three-fourths of the Christian interpolations have been removed from the text.

2. *The Source and Character of the Christian Interpolations.*—Schnapp was of opinion that all the Christian passages were inserted in the text by a single Christian interpolator. The present writer in 1899 (*Encyc. Biblica*, i. 239) contended that the evidence pointed rather to a succession of interpolators. Bousset, however (*ZNTW* [1900], 174), has since maintained Schnapp's view, on the ground of the unusual affinities subsisting between the interpolated passages. Assuming, then, that all the interpolations were from one hand, Bousset has not much difficulty in determining the probable period of the interpolator to be between A.D. 150 and 200. But his assumption cannot be maintained, as we hope to show presently. In the meantime, excluding the conflicting statements, we have the following theological doctrines in the Christian additions:—

Thus 'the Lamb of God,' Benj. 3^{18}, 'the Only-begotten,' Benj. 9^8, should be born of a virgin of Judah, Jos. $19^{3f.}$, a man, indeed, Napht. 4^{11}, a man from the seed of Judah, Jud. 24^2, yet at once God and man, Sim. 7^4. 'God' should 'take a body,' Sim. 6^{15}, and appear as 'God in the flesh,' Benj. $10^{18f.}$, and dwell with men on earth, Napht. $8^{3ff.}$. He should be 'sinless,' Jud. 24^4, Benj. 3^{19}, 'the Light of the world,' having come 'to lighten every man,' Levi 14^9, 'the Branch of the Most High and Fount of life for all flesh,' Jud. 24^8. He should be a High Priest, Reub. $6^{13f.}$, and 'the Saviour of Israel,' Napht. 8^3, 'the Saviour of the Gentiles,' Dan 6^{16}, the Saviour of the world, Levi 4^{11} 17^5, Benj. 3^{18}, and 'save Israel and all the Gentiles,' Asher 7^8 (Benj. 3^{20}), yea, all mankind, Levi 2^{19} (Sim. $6^{11f. 16}$). On earth He should be baptized, Levi 18^{14}, and acknowledged by the voice of the Father from heaven, Levi 18^{12}, should afterwards be seized by the high priests, Levi $14^{5. 6}$, 'insulted, set at nought and lifted up on a tree,' Benj. $9^{9f.}$, crucified, Levi 4^{13}, 'die for the godless,' Benj. 3^{19}. The veil of the temple should be rent, Benj. 9^{10}, Hades robbed through His sufferings, Levi 4^5: He should redeem His sons from Beliar, Zeb. $9^{16ff.}$, take the captives from Beliar, even the souls of the saints, Dan $5^{25f.}$, ascend from Hades, Benj. $9^{11f.}$, rise from the dead, Levi 16^7 $17^{5f.}$, ascend into heaven, Levi 18^6, Benj. 9^{12}.[†]

The above is a fairly full Christology to be worked into a Jewish book. We have now to draw attention to conflicting statements on the doctrine of the Incarnation.

In accordance with the account just given, it is said in Benj. $10^{14f.}$ that 'the King of heaven will appear on earth in the form of a man' (ἐν μορφῇ ἀνθρώπου). On the other hand, the doctrine is probably Docetic in Zeb. 9^{19} 'ye will see God in the fashion of a man' (ἐν σχήματι ἀνθρώπου), and undoubtedly so in Asher 7^9 'God in the semblance of man' (θεὸς εἰς ἄνδρα ὑποκρινόμενος). Again, there is a third view represented, the Patripassian, in Sim. $6^{10f.}$, where we read of 'the Lord, the great God of Israel,' appearing on earth as man. In Asher $7^{6f.}$ the language betrays the same standpoint: 'The Highest (ὁ Ὕψιστος) will visit the earth—as man, eating and drinking with men'; and in Levi 4^5 'the sufferings of the Highest.' The contrast is brought into fuller relief by such a declaration as that in Levi 4^{11} 'Till the Lord visit all the nations through the mercy of his Son.' Again there is a want of uniformity as regards the descent of Christ. Thus He is said to be from Judah only, Napht. 8^3, from Judah and Levi, Gad 8^{1-3}, Dan 5^{23}, from Levi and Judah, Sim. 7^4, Lev. $2^{18. 19}$.

Together with the above phenomena, we should observe that the Christian additions are very differently attested by the Gr. MSS COPR. R has the fewest of these, and in many cases attests single-handed the non-interpolated text against COP and the two Arm. recensions; OP attest it in a few cases, and C in at least one (Levi 18^{17}). Of the two Armenian recensions, *a* agrees most with R, and *β* with COP. Finally, each Gr. MS has Christian additions peculiar to itself, and similarly the Armenian Version (cf. Sim. $7^{1f.}$) and apparently each of its recensions.

---

[*] Schnapp has printed in his translation all the passages he considers Christian interpolations, in spaced type. This is a very convenient arrangement. We shall touch upon most of these in the sequel.

[†] Where a form such as 14^5 is used in reference to the Testaments, it means ch. 14, line 5, in Sinker's edition.

[*] Bousset (*op. cit.* p. 173) makes the list slightly shorter.

[†] In addition to the above, observe the important passage (Benj. 11) regarding St. Paul, which mentions his writings and achievements; also the expansion of the account of the three heavens into one of the seven heavens in Levi 2. 3; but this expansion may be due to a Jewish hand.

From the above facts, therefore, we conclude that the Christian additions are due to several hands, and were made at different periods, probably from the middle of the 2nd cent. onwards.

3. *Integrity of original Jewish Testaments.*—We have seen how thoroughly critical research has confirmed Schnapp's theory that the Christian references in the text are the result of interpolation. We have now to consider his second hypothesis, that the apocalyptic sections do not belong to the original work, which confined itself to biographical details and practical exhortations founded on these. Thus two different sources are postulated. But Schnapp has not succeeded in establishing this hypothesis as he did the former. He has tried to show, indeed, that in the Testament of Joseph we have two partially conflicting accounts of Joseph's history, derived from different authors—*i.e.* $1\text{-}10^a$ and 10^b-18. But, even if we agreed with him that these sections sprang from two distinct sources, this concession would not support his hypothesis. On the other hand, his analysis of this Testament may be quite wrong. We may have here merely a transposition of the text such as is found in the Ethiopic Enoch, chs. 91-94. Nearly every difficulty disappears if we read it in the following order—1. 10-16. 2-9. 17-20. In the Testament of Levi the section ch. 2, *ὡς δὲ ἐποιμαίνομεν* . . . 6, *ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου*, certainly conflicts with its present context. This vision does not refer to the events before and after, except in $5^{5\text{-}8}$, but has a general fitness, in that its object is the glorification of Levi. The writer of the Testament may have embodied this section from already existing materials, or it may have been added subsequently by an interpolator. But, neglecting further consideration of Schnapp's hypothesis of two Jewish sources, we may observe that the evidence points rather to a groundwork, written, as we shall presently see, in the 2nd cent. B.C., in praise of the earlier Maccabæans, and enlarged with certain interpolations of a conflicting character in the 1st cent. B.C. These interpolated sections, which constitute an attack on the later Maccabæans, are Levi 10. 14-16, Judah 21-23, Dan 5 (certain paragraphs), Zebulun 9, Sim. 7^4.* With these sections we shall deal presently when establishing the dates of their origin and that of the groundwork.

iii. DATE.—The earliest reference to our book by name is not earlier than Origen (*Hom. in Josuam*, 15^6 [ed. Lommatzsch, xi. 143]: 'In aliquo quodam libello qui appellatur testamentum duodecim patriarcharum, quamvis non habeatur in canone, talem tamen quendam sensum invenimus quod per singulos peccantes singuli satanæ intelligi debeant'). An earlier reference may exist in *Fragment* 17, Irenæus (ed. Stirren, i. 836, 837). External evidence, therefore, is of slight service for our present purpose. The internal evidence, however, is happily clear and decisive.

The groundwork of the Testaments constituted an apology on behalf of the Maccabæan high priests. Thus in Reub. $6^{19.\ 20}$ the words *ἀποθανεῖται ἐν πολέμοις ὁρατοῖς καὶ ἀοράτοις* can only be interpreted of a high priest who is also a warrior.† Such a description would suit John Hyrcanus. Earlier in the same chapter this double function is referred to more clearly, *διαστελεῖ εἰς κρίσιν καὶ θυσίας ὑπὲρ παντὸς Ἰσραήλ*. And a few lines later, *εὐλογήσεται τὸν Ἰσραὴλ . . . ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐξελέξατο Κύριος βασιλεύειν παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ* (R). But the reference becomes still clearer in Levi $8^{19\text{-}21}$ *ὁ τρίτος ἐπικληθήσεται αὐτῷ ὄνομα καινόν, ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἐν τῷ* (Arm. Gr. MSS give *ἐκ τοῦ* wrongly) *Ἰούδα ἀναστήσεται, καὶ ποιήσει ἱερατείαν νέαν, κατὰ τὸν τύπον τῶν ἐθνῶν, εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη*.* These clauses point clearly to the civil and priestly functions of the Maccabees subsequent to B.C. 153, and a few lines further on the attribution of prophetic powers to this family (*ἡ δὲ παρουσία αὐτοῦ ἀγαπητή, ὡς προφήτης ὑψίστου* [O]) enables us to identify the very member of this dynasty to whom our author alludes. This was John Hyrcanus,† who, according to Josephus (*BJ* I. ii. 4; *Ant.* XIII. x. 7), combined in his own person the threefold offices of prophet, priest, and king (*τρία γοῦν τὰ κρατιστεύοντα μόνος εἶχεν τήν τε ἀρχὴν τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην καὶ προφητείαν*). This limits the date of the work to B.C. 135-105. To the above period belongs the eschatology of the Messianic hymn in Dan $5^{23\text{-}33}$, according to the best textual authorities, with the exception of such an expression as *τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἁγίων καλέσει εἰς ἑαυτόν* (so Arm.) in Dan 5^{26}, and of one or two phrases.‡ The same is true of the Messianic hymn in Jud. 24 and the account of the resurrection in Jud. 25.

Unhappily, the second Apocalypse in Jos. 19 is too hopelessly corrupt, even in the Armenian,§ to arrive at any definite chronology. Finally, in Napht. $5^{14\text{-}16}$ the successive nations are mentioned that brought Israel into bondage; the last of these is the Syrians: Ἀσσύριοι, Μῆδοι, Πέρσαι, Ἐλιμαῖοι, Γελαχαῖοι, Χαλδαῖοι, Σύροι, *κληρονομήσουσιν ἐν αἰχμαλωσίᾳ τὰ δώδεκα σκῆπτρα τοῦ Ἰσραήλ*. Thus the passage was written prior to the domination of Rome, *i.e.* before B.C. 63.

The book, therefore, so far as we have considered it, was written between B.C. 135 and 63. Since, however, no reason has appeared for bringing the *terminus ad quem* later than B.C. 103, the work may safely be assigned to the years B.C. 135-103.‖ It would thus form a sequel to Eth. Enoch 83-90, which was written before B.C. 161. It reproduces some of its phraseology in Jos. 19.

But certain passages, to which we have already referred, belong, like Eth. Enoch 91-104, and the Psalms of Solomon, to a later date. In these the Maccabæan king-priests are the object of the fiercest invective. These attacks are made in Levi $10^{14.\ 15}$, where, as in Ps-Sol 2. 4. 8, the priests are charged with destroying the Law and teaching false doctrine (cf. Eth. En. 94^2), with seducing Israel (cf. Eth. En 94^5 104^{10}), with profaning the temple, with committing fornication, and marrying the daughters of the Gentiles. Again, in Jud. 23, Judah is charged with every kind of abomination and idolatry (cf. Eth. En $99^{7\text{-}9}$). But the notes of time are still more manifest in Jud. $22^{1\text{-}3}$, which speaks of internal divisions and civil wars and the overthrow of the Maccabæan dynasty by aliens (*ἐπάξει δὲ αὐτοῖς διαιρέσεις κατ' ἀλλήλων καὶ πόλεμοι συνεχεῖς ἔσονται ἐν Ἰσραήλ, καὶ ἐν ἀλλοφύλοις συντελεσθήσεται ἡ βασιλεία αὐτῶν* [Arm. Gr. *μου*]). The aliens may be taken to be the Romans or the Herodian dynasty (which was of Idumæan origin). In Zeb. $9^{4.\ 7f.}$ the civil strife between Aristobulus II. and Hyrcanus II. is clearly depicted: *Μὴ σχισθῆτε εἰς δύο κεφάλας . . . Ἐν ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις . . . διαιρεθήσεσθε ἐν Ἰσραήλ, καὶ δύο βασιλεῦσιν ἐξακολουθήσετε.* Since the writer in the last passage says that this civil war will be *ἐν ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις* (cf. Levi 10, *ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων*; also Levi 14), it follows that the composition of Levi 10. 14-16, Jud. 22. 23, Dan $5^{13\text{-}23}$, Zeb. 9, cannot be of a much later date, and may be reasonably assigned to the years B.C. 60-40. It is more difficult to determine the date of Jud. 21. This chapter stands by itself in attacking the monarchy and in upholding the priesthood. Bousset (*op. cit.* 192) assigns it to the time of Hyrcanus II.

iv. LANGUAGE.—The time of composition in itself determines this question in the main. The various writers of the work belonged in all cases to the ranks of the HASIDÆANS, who maintained the doctrines afterwards upheld by the Pharisees. The original, we therefore presume, was written in Semitic, and, in all probability, in Hebrew. The present writer has elsewhere pointed out (*Encyc. Biblica*, i. 239-241) that (1) Hebrew constructions and expressions are frequent, (2) that paronomasiæ which are lost in the Greek can frequently

---

[*] So also Bousset on the whole (*op. cit.* 189 ff.) in 1900. The present writer had drawn attention to this fact in his *Eschatology, Hebrew, Jewish, and Christian*, 1899, and to the early elements in the Testaments in *Encyc. Biblica*, i. 237-241.

[†] Another reference to the warrior priests occurs in Sim. $5^{9f.}$ *καὶ ἐν Λευὶ ἀδικήσουσιν ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ ἀλλ' οὐ δυνήσονται πρὸς Λευί, ὅτι πόλεμον Κυρίου πολεμήσει.*

[*] This kingly high priest is the theme also of Levi 18^2—

Τότε ἐγερεῖ Κύριος ἱερέα καινόν,
Ὧ πάντες οἱ λόγοι Κυρίου ἀποκαλυφθήσονται.
Καὶ αὐτὸς ποιήσει κρίσιν ἀληθείας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐν πλήθει ἡμερῶν,
Καὶ ἀνατελεῖ ἄστρον αὐτοῦ ἐν οὐρανῷ ὡς βασιλέως (P Arm.).

[†] So already Kohler, *JQR* v. 402; and subsequently Bousset.

[‡] The Messianic hope here appears as in Eth. En. 83-90. The Messiah is said to proceed from 'Judah and Levi.' This is certainly wrong for 'Judah' or 'Levi' or 'Levi and Judah'; cf. Dan 5^9, Reub. 6, Sim. 5. 7, Levi 2, Iss. 5. The order 'Judah and Levi' is found in Christian interpolations, as Bousset has already recognized; cf. Gad 8, Jos. 19. According to Jud. 24, the Messiah is to be descended from Judah. This no doubt is what is meant in Eth. En. $90^{37.\ 38}$; for the Messiah is there distinguished from Judas Maccabæus, who is represented as fighting till the advent of the Messianic kingdom. Bousset assigns both these hymns to the latter half of the 1st cent. B.C.; but the character of the eschatology is wholly against this assumption.

[§] See Preuschen's translation in *ZNTW* [1900], 138.

[‖] This date holds good of the narrative portions also. See Bousset, *op. cit.* 197-205.

be restored by retranslation into Hebrew, and (3) that certain passages which are obscure or unintelligible in the Greek become clear on retranslation into Hebrew. We shall content ourselves with one or two examples of the above statements.

Thus in Reub. 3 ἐν αὐτῷ ἐξελέξατο = בחר בו ; Levi 8^{19} ἐπικληθήσεται αὐτῷ ὄνομα καινόν = יקרא לו שם חדש. Napht. 1^{9} ἐν πανουργίᾳ ἐποίησε Ῥαχὴλ . . . διὰ τοῦτο ἐκλήθην Νεφθαλείμ = . . . נפתלה רחל לכן נקראתי נפתלי. Finally, in Napht. $6^{3\text{f.}}$ ἰδοὺ πλοῖον ἤρχετο . . . μεστὸν ταρίχων, ἐκτὸς ναυτῶν καὶ κυβερνήτου, the phrase μεστὸν ταρίχων, which = מלא מְלָח, has arisen from a corrupt dittography of בלא מַלָּח = ἐκτὸς ναυτῶν. This last fact was pointed out by Gaster (*PSBA*, Dec. 1893, Feb. 1894) in his edition of the Hebrew text of a Testament of Naphtali, and may be regarded as conclusive; for the above phrase is found in this Hebrew Testament—והנה אנייה הולכת . . . בלא מלח.

v. VERSIONS (Greek, Aramaic, Syriac, Armenian, Slavonic, Latin).—The earliest versions were the Greek, the Armenian, and probably the Syriac. (*a*) Of *the Greek Version* six MSS are known. Of these, the Cambridge MS (C) of the 10th and the Oxford MS (O) of the 14th cent. have already been made known through Sinker's edition of the Greek text (*The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, 1869); the Vatican MS (R) of the 13th and the Patmos MS (P) of the 16th cent., through the Appendix he published in 1879. The two remaining MSS are still unpublished, but are being used by Sinker in forming a new Greek text. It is to be presumed that in the new text R will be mainly followed and not C as in the old edition.

(*b*) *The Aramaic Version.*—This version was not brought to light till quite recently. Only one complete leaf and a half of the entire MS have been preserved. The MS was brought by Schechter from the Cairo Genizah in 1896, and its contents recognized in 1900 by H. L. Pass, who, together with J. Arendzen, published the text in the *JQR* [1900], 651–661. The fragmentary folio contains a passage somewhat similar to Jud. 5. The complete folio has portions of Levi 11–13. Although at times the Greek and Aramaic agree word for word, they more often diverge both as to contents and to order. The Aramaic is much fuller. It is noteworthy that it agrees in this respect with the Syriac fragment against the Greek. To this point we shall return in dealing with that version.

(*c*) *The Syriac Version.*—Of this version only a fragment remains, preserved in a Syr. MS [Brit. Mus., Add. 17,193—*Cat.* ii. 997], dated A.D. 874. This MS consists of a series of 125 extracts from different sources, No. 80 of which is derived from Levi 12. This extract contains three sentences which are unattested by the Greek, and it was probably on this ground that Preuschen (*ZNTW* [1900], 108) declared that its evidence was valueless as regards the existence of a Syriac Version. Now, it is worthy of remark that these additional three sentences are present word for word in the newly discovered Aramaic; and yet, so far as all three versions have a common text, the Syriac and Greek agree against the Aramaic. Thus, Gr. and Syr. give ὀκτώ where Aram. = ὀκτωκαίδεκα, and where the former give ὀκτωκαίδεκα the latter = ἐννεακαίδεκα.

(*d*) *The Armenian Version.*—It is to F. C. Conybeare that we owe our first knowledge of the value of the Armenian Version, through his collation of the Armenian with Sinker's Greek text of the Testaments of Reuben, Simeon, Judah, Dan, Joseph, Benjamin (*JQR* [1895], 375–398; [1896], 260–268, 471–485). In 1896 the first Armenian edition of the text was published by the Mechitarist Fathers at Venice in a small volume, including many other non-canonical writings of the OT. This edition is based on five MSS.* Subsequently Preuschen wrote a learned article (*ZNTW* [1900], 106–140), in which he shows, in dependence on the Venice edition, that there were two recensions of the Armenian text α and β, of which the former is much the briefer and earlier, and contains likewise fewer Christian interpolations. In this article he gives a German translation of the Testament of Levi. For further details see *op. cit.* 130–140.

(*e*) *The Slavonic Version.*—This version exists in two recensions, which are published by Tichonrawow in his *Monuments of Old Russian Apocryphal Literature* [1863], i. 96–145 and 146–232. With the help of Bonwetsch, Bousset tested this version and found it worthless for textual purposes. It is most nearly related to the Greek text of O (P).

(*f*) No earlier *Latin* Version is known than that of Robert Grosseteste. This was made from C, and is valueless, therefore, from a critical standpoint.

vi. VALUE OF THE TESTAMENTS.—This work has been simply a sealed book till the present, owing to the difficulty of discriminating the various elements in the text. Now that we have achieved this task in its main outlines, we discover that we have in the groundwork of the Testaments a unique work of the 2nd cent. B.C.; for, with the exception of Jubilees, it constitutes the only Apology in Jewish literature for the religious and civil hegemony of the Maccabees from the Pharisaic standpoint. To the few Jewish interpolations which belong to the next cent. a large interest attaches; for these, like Eth. Enoch 91–104 and the Psalms of Solomon, constitute an unmeasured attack on every office—prophetic, priestly, or kingly—administered by the Maccabees. But, turning aside from the historical to the religious bearings of the book, we may notice shortly its eschatology, its teaching on the various heavens, and its peculiar view as to the twelve tribes of Israel.

(*a*) *The Eschatology.*—We shall confine our attention to three Messianic passages, Levi 18, Jud. 24. 25, and Dan $5^{23\text{ff.}}$. According to Levi 18, the Messiah is to spring from Levi and be the eternal High Priest and civil ruler of the nation, Levi 18^{16}. During his rule sin should gradually cease, Levi 18^{17}; Beliar be bound, Levi $18^{20.\,21}$; the gates of Paradise be opened and the saints eat of the tree of life, Levi $18^{19\text{-}21}$. We have here an eternal Messianic kingdom on earth as in Eth. Enoch 83–90. In Jud. 24. 25 and Dan $5^{23\text{-}33}$ the forecast is on the whole the same, save that the Messiah is to spring not from Levi but from Judah (Jud. 24^{9}, Dan 5^{23}†), as no doubt also in Eth. Enoch $90^{37.\,38}$. These hymns would be earlier, if we are right, than that in Levi 18, and would thus be written before enthusiasm for John Hyrcanus had reached its height. According to these hymns, the resurrection (of the righteous?) is to take place during the Messiah's reign (Jud. 25), the evil spirits are to be cast into eternal fire (Jud. 25^{10}), the saints to live in Eden (Dn 5^{28}), and all the nations to rejoice (Jud. 25^{16}), and God to abide with men (Dan 5^{31}). Here also we have an eternal Messianic kingdom on earth, in which the Gentiles participate.

---

[*] There are seven other MSS known to scholars. Two of these have been collated by Conybeare, belonging respectively to the London Bible Society and to Lord Zouche; see *ZNTW* [1900], 108–110.

[†] In Dan the text says 'Judah and Levi.' Since this is the order of these names in the Christian interpolations, we must emend the phrase into 'Levi and Judah,' or simply 'Levi' or 'Judah.' But, since the Messiah is nowhere else in the Testaments said to be sprung from 'Levi and Judah' (though it is declared that by means of Levi and Judah God will deliver Israel), we must fall back simply on 'Levi' or 'Judah' as the original text. We take it that 'and Levi' is an intrusion here. See p. 723^{b} note ‡.

(*b*) *The three heavens and the seven heavens.*—From R and the Armenian Version of Levi 2. 3 it is now clear that these chapters contained originally a description of only three heavens. R* alone preserves the true text here; for the two recensions of the Arm. *α* and *β* are both confused and corrupt, the former mentioning only two heavens, and the latter four. It was Lueken (*Michael* [1898], 92) who first recognized this fact. Its further elucidation we owe to Bousset (*ZNTW* 159–163). Thus it appears that a belief in the three heavens prevailed early in the 2nd cent. B.C. It has thus an older attestation in Judaism than that of the seven heavens, but which is in reality the earlier we cannot at present say.

(*c*) *The Twelve Tribes.*—The Twelve Tribes are supposed to be in existence at the date of the composition of this work, and in Palestine. Thus in Napht. 5^{16} the Syrians are said to hold sway over them. In Reub. 6^{13} the high priestly ruler (*i.e.* John Hyrcanus) is 'to judge and offer sacrifice for all Israel till the consummation of the times'; and 'to bless Israel and Judah' (Reub. 6^{17}). The very fact that the book is addressed to the Twelve Tribes, although it speaks of the ultimate dispersion or destruction of Reuben (6^{9}), Dan, Gad, and Asher (Asher 7^{13}), points in the same direction. Bousset calls attention to the fact that the Letter of Aristeas states that Eleazar the high priest sent six men of each of the Twelve Tribes to Ptolemy. This naturally presupposes the presence of the Twelve in Palestine or its neighbourhood. The idea that the Jewish kingdom embraced once again the entire nation, could easily arise when the Maccabees extended their sway northwards over Samaria and Galilee and eastwards beyond the Jordan. This displaced the older belief that nine tribes were still in captivity (see Eth. Enoch 89^{72}, written 20 to 30 years before the Testaments). But with the growing degradation of the later Maccabees the older idea revives. According to the Psalms of Solomon (17$^{28.\ 34.\ 50}$), the dispersed tribes are to be brought back. This thought reappears frequently in the 1st cent. A.D., and then in new forms. The nine or ten tribes were in the far East enjoying great prosperity (Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium*, 31; Jos. *Ant.* XI. v. 2; *Sib. Or.* ii. 170–173), or, according to a later view, they were lost, and their place of abode was unknown to men, but God was keeping them safely till the Messianic times (4 Ezr 13$^{39-47}$). This form of the idea, which is now the current one, is not attested till after the fall of Jerusalem, A.D. 70.

LITERATURE.—The principal authorities have been cited in the body of the above article. See, further, Schürer, *GJV*^{3} iii. 262 [*HJP* II. iii. 124]. Since the above article was written, an English translation of the Armenian Version has been published (*Uncanonical Writings of the OT found in the Armenian MSS of St. Lazarus*, Issaverdens, Venice, 1901, pp. 351–478). As the translator has made no attempt to distinguish between the two recensions, this translation is worthless from a critical standpoint.

R. H. CHARLES.

TESTIMONY.—In the OT this word is scarcely, if at all, used in the ordinary sense of 'witness' or 'evidence,' although it has this meaning frequently in the NT. We will reserve the treatment of this sense of the term and partly of the OT 'testify' for art. WITNESS, and devote the present art. to the special OT usage.

The Heb. terms are [עֵדָה] and עֵדוּת or עֵדֻת. The existence of the first of these has been postulated to account for the plur. עֵדֹת, which is found (alone or with suffixes) in Dt 4^{45} 6$^{17.\ 20}$, Ps 25^{10} 78^{56} 93^{5} 99^{7} 119$^{2.\ 22.\ 24.\ 46.\ 59.\ 79.\ 95.\ 119.\ 125.\ 138.\ 146.\ 152.\ 167.\ 168}$. Such a course appears, however, to be unnecessary, for in every instance עדת might be vocalized עֵדֻת, or עֵדֹת might be taken as a contraction of עֵדְוֹת (*'ēdwôth*), the plur. of עֵדוּת (so Stade, § 320*b*; Siegfried-Stade, Buhl). The form עֵדְוֹת is found in 1 K 2^{3}, 2 K 17^{15} 23^{3}, Jer 44^{23}, 1 Ch 29^{19}, 2 Ch 34^{31}, Neh 9^{33}, Ps 119$^{14.\ 31.\ 36.\ 99.\ 111.\ 129.\ 144.\ 157}$. In both these sets of passages the name 'testimonies' is applied to God's laws as being a *solemn declaration* of His will or a *protest against* deviation from its performance (see Driver, *Deut.* p. 81, who compares הֵעִיד בְּ = 'testify or protest *against*' [not 'unto'], 2 K 17^{15}, Jer 11^{7}, Ps 50^{7} 81^{5}, Neh 9$^{26.\ 29.\ 30}$).* '*The* testimony' (הָעֵדוּת) is a technical term, esp. in P, for the Decalogue (LXX *τὰ μαρτύρια*, Ex 25$^{16.\ 21}$ 40^{20}) as being *par excellence* the declaration of the Divine will. Hence the expressions 'tables of the testimony' (LXX *αἱ πλάκες τοῦ μαρτυρίου*, Ex 31^{18} 32^{15} 34^{29}); 'ark of the testimony,' which contained these tables (LXX *ἡ κιβωτὸς τοῦ μαρτυρίου*, Ex 25^{22} 26$^{33.\ 34}$ 30$^{6.\ 26}$ 31^{7} 39^{35} 40$^{3.\ 5.\ 21}$, Nu 4^{5} 7^{89}, Jos 4^{16} [Dillm.; but Bennett, Steuernagel, *et al.*, הַבְּרִית 'ark of the covenant']);† 'tabernacle of the testimony *or* witness' (LXX *ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ μαρτυρίου* [so in Ac 7^{44}, Rev 15^{5}]), Ex 38^{21}, Nu 1$^{50.\ 53\ bis}$ 10^{11} [all *mishkan hā'ēdûth*], Nu 9^{15} 17$^{7.\ 8}$ 18^{2}, 2 Ch 24^{6} [all *'ōhel hā-'ēdûth*]. See art. TABERNACLE, p. 655. 'The testimony' is an abbreviation for 'the ark of the testimony' in Ex 16^{34} (LXX *ἐναντίον τοῦ θεοῦ*) 27^{21} (*ἐπὶ τῆς διαθήκης*) 30$^{6.}$ (*ἐπὶ τῆς κιβωτοῦ τῶν μαρτυρίων*) ^{36} (*ἀπέναντι τῶν μαρτυρίων*), Lv 16^{13} (*ἐπὶ τῶν μαρτυρίων*) 24^{3} (*ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ τοῦ μαρτυρίου*), Nu 17$^{10.}$ (*κατέναντι τοῦ μαρτυρίου*) ^{25} (*ἐνώπιον τῶν μαρτυρίων*). A later usage extended the term *hā-'ēdûth* from the Decalogue to the Law in general: Ps 19^{8} 78^{5} (‖ תּוֹרָה) 81^{6} (‖ חֹק 'statute') 119^{88} 122^{4}.

For הָעֵדוּת ('the *testimony*') of 2 K 11^{12} = 2 Ch 23^{11} we should prob. read הַצְּעָדוֹת ('the *bracelets*,' see Wellh.-Bleek, p. 258 n.), although LXX has *τὸ μαρτύριον* and *τὰ μαρτύρια* in the respective passages.

In Sir 45^{17}, where the LXX has 'to teach Jacob the testimonies' (B *τὰ μαρτύρια*, A *μαρτυρίαν*), the Heb. text has 'so he taught his people statute' (חֹק).

J. A. SELBIE.

TETH (ט).—The ninth letter of the Heb. alphabet, and as such employed in the 119th Psalm to designate the 9th part, each verse of which begins with this letter. It is transliterated in this Dictionary by *ṭ*.

TETRARCH (*τετράρχης*, WH *τετραάρχης*).—A ruler of a fourth part of a country or province, or at Sparta a commander of four companies of soldiers. The compound occurs first in Eur. *Alc.* 1154 in reference to Thessaly, which in early times and again in the constitution given by Philip of Macedon was divided for civil administration into four districts (Demos. *Philipp.* iii. 26). In Galatia, too, each of the three tribes had its four tetrarchs (Strabo, 566 f.), until Pompey reduced the number (App. *Mithrid.* 46, *Syr.* 50; Livy, *Ep.* 94), retaining the name. Thenceforward little attention was paid to the original signification of the title, which was freely applied to dependent princelings in possession of some of the rights of sovereignty. They were of subordinate rank to kings or ethnarchs, and were especially numerous in Syria (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 74 *et al.*; Cicero, *Milo*, xxviii. 36 *et al.*; Horace, *Sat.* I. iii. 12; Tacitus, *Ann.* xv. 25; Cæsar, *Bell. Civ.* iii. 3; Plutarch, *Anton.* 36; Jos. *Ant.* XVII. x. 9; *et al.*). The title as used in NT retains in part its etymological meaning in two cases. For both Antipas (Mt 14^{1}, Lk 3$^{1.\ 19}$ 9^{7}, Ac 13^{1}) and Herod Philip (Lk 3^{1}) inherited each a fourth part of his father's dominions (Jos. *Ant.*

---

* COP agree in giving the corrupt text which contains an account of the Seven heavens. For an account of the latter see Charles, *Book of the Secrets of Enoch* (1895).

* Cf. תְּעוּדָה, used of prophetical testimony or *injunction*, in Is 8$^{16.\ 20}$.

† BA *ἡ κιβωτὸς τῆς διαθήκης*; om. *τῆς διαθήκης*, F* (habet F^{1} mg); *μαρτυρίου* in mg et sup ras A$^{a\,?}$.

XVII. xi. 4; *Wars*, II. vi. 3). At the same time, since their father had himself received the same title without geographical significance from Antony (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. xiii. 1; *Wars*, I. xii. 5), and as Antipas is styled king (Mt 14^{9}, Mk 6$^{14ff.}$) almost as often as tetrarch, it is not unlikely that the latter title was applied to him without any designed allusion to its strict meaning. In a similar sense Lysanias [which see] is called tetrarch of Abilene in Lk 3^{1}, the district of Abila in the Lebanon having been severed from the Ituræan kingdom subsequently to the death of Lysanias I. and placed under the rule of a younger man of the same name. In support of St. Luke's accuracy may be cited two inscriptions in *CIG*, Nos. 4521, 4523. See, for further details and for the literature of the subject, Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 7 f. R. W. Moss.

TEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.—A history of the text of the OT, in the proper sense of the word 'history,' it is not possible to write, even if one were content to start from the period in which the OT was closed. For in the first place we do not know the date when, or the way in which, this closing was effected. Further, we have no MSS of the Heb. OT from the first eight centuries of the Christian era, at least none whose date is certain. Unfortunately, moreover, we are as yet without critical editions either of the most important early Versions (LXX, Pesh., Targg.), or of the ancient Jewish literary works (Talmuds, Midrashim) in which a great number of Bible passages are cited and explained. And, finally, the history of the text is much older than the close of the Canon. Even during the period when the writings which are now gathered into one in the OT had still a more or less separate circulation, the text underwent a variety of changes, due partly to the carelessness of copyists, and partly to intention, what was considered objectionable being dropped out, and additions being made. The proper course of procedure, then, appears to us to be to work *backwards* from a fixed point, viz. the printed text. We will discuss—

i. The printed editions.
ii. The manuscripts.
iii. The work of the Mas(s)oretes (and the punctuation).
iv. Earlier traces of the Heb. text of the OT.
v. The importance of the ancient Versions.
vi. Observations on the history of the growth of the OT.

i. PRINTED EDITIONS OF THE HEB. OT.—A. *FIFTEENTH CENTURY.*—The first portion of the Heb. Bible ever printed was the Psalter, 1477 (small folio, prob. Bologna), with D. Ḳimḥi's commentary. Only the first psalms have the vowel points, in a very rude form (Ginsburg, *Introd.* 780–794). || The first ed. of the Pent. appeared in 1482 (Bologna folio, pointed), with Targ. Onḳ. and Rashi. || Ed. *princeps* of the Prophets, 1485 (Soncino, folio, 2 vols. [the 2nd has no date]), with D. Ḳimḥi's com., neither vowel points nor accents. || Ed. *princeps* of the Hagiographa, 1487, 86 (Naples, folio, 3 parts). The vowel points are most unreliable, the printers having done their work very carelessly. There are no accents. The accompanying comm. are Ḳimḥi on the *Psalter*, and Immanuel on *Proverbs.* || The first ed. of the whole OT appeared at Soncino in 1488, folio; it had vowel points and accents, like almost all the following editions; || 2nd ed., Naples, *c.* 1491–93 [neither date nor place is given]; || 3rd ed., Brescia, 1494. Luther used this ed. in translating the OT into German; || Pesaro, 1494 (?, see Wolf, *Bibliotheca Heb.* ii. 364, iv. 109; B. Riggenbach, *Das Chronikon des Konrad Pellikan*, Basel, 1877, p. 20).

B. *SIXTEENTH CENTURY.*—Heb. OT, Pesaro, 1511–1517, folio, 2 vols. || The Complutensian Polyglot, Alcala, 1514–1517, *Vetus testamentū multiplici lingua nūc primo impressum*, folio, 4 vols. (Heb., LXX, Vulg., Targ. Onḳ.). No accents; the vowel points cannot be relied upon. The editors used, for the compilation of their Heb. text, the Lisbon Pent. (1491), the Naples OT (1491–1493), and the MS of the OT in the Madrid University Library No. 1. The consonantal text is, according to Ginsburg (p. 917), remarkably accurate and of great importance. || First Rabbinical Bible, folio, 4 vols., Venice, 1516–1517. The editor, Felix Pratensis, was the first to indicate, in a purely Hebrew Bible, the Christian chapters[*] on the margin of the Heb. OT, and to divide Samuel, Kings, Ezra, and Chronicles each into two books. He was likewise the first to give, though not consistently, the consonants of the *Ḳĕrê* in the margin. || The first Venice quarto Bible (1516–1517) is only a re-issue of the folio, without the Targums and the commentaries. || The second Rabbinical Bible, folio, 4 vols., Venice, 1524–1525, with the Mas(s)ora collected and arranged by Jacob ben Chayim ibn Adonijah. 'No textual redactor,' says Ginsburg (p. 964), 'of modern days, who professes to edit the Heb. text according to the Mas(s)ora, can deviate from it without giving conclusive justification for so doing.' || Third Rabbinical Bible, 1547–1548; fourth, 1568, Venice, folio, 4 vols.; || *Biblia Sacra, Hebraice, Græce et Latine*, Antwerp, 1569–1572, folio [OT vols. i.–iv.]; printed at the expense of Philip II. (hence surnamed *Biblia Regia*), ed. Arias Montanus. || Of the great number of other editions we will mention here but two: מקדש ״ *Hebraica Biblia Latina planeque nova S. Munsteri tralatione . . . adiectis insuper è Rabinorum cōmentarijs annotationibus*, Basel, 1534–1535, folio, 2 vols. [2nd ed. 1546]; and דרך הקדש *Biblia Sacra eleganti et majuscula characterum forma, qua . . . literæ radicales [plenæ et nigræ] & serviles, deficientes & quiescentes &c. [vacuæ] situ et colore discernuntur.* Authore Elia Huttero, Hamburg, 1587, folio.

C. *SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.*—Fifth Rabbinical Bible, Venice, 1617–1619; sixth, Basel, 1618–1619, revised and edited by J. Buxtorf the elder; unfortunately, he altered the vowel points in the Targums according to the Aram. portions of Daniel and Ezra. || The Paris Polyglot, printed at the expense of the Paris barrister, Guy Michel le Jay, 1629–1645, folio [OT vols. i.–iv.]. || Much better, and indeed the best of all the Polyglot Bibles, are the *Biblia sacra polyglotta*, ed. Brian Walton, London, 1657, folio [OT vols. i.–iv.]. || The basis of nearly all the newer editions are the *Biblia Hebraica . . . lemmatibus Latinis illustrata* à J. Leusden, Amsterdam, 1667, publisher Athias. || *Biblia Hebraica* . . . ex recensione D. E. Jablonski, Berlin, 1699. The latter follows Leusden's edition, but has collated also other edd. and some MSS. In the Preface he states that he has found and corrected more than 2000 *errata* in the Bible of 1667.

D. *EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.*—*Biblia Hebraica* . . . recensita . . . ab Everardo van der Hooght, Amstelædami et Ultrajecti, 1705. This OT is very often extolled as the best octavo ed. of the Bible, but without sufficient reason. The ed. of the *Biblia Hebraica*, Amstelædami, 1725, pub. by Salomo ben Joseph Props, is far superior. || Seventh Rabbinical Bible: ספר קהלות משה, pub. by Moses of Frankfort, Amsterdam, 1724–1727, folio, 4 vols. || J. H. Michaelis, *Biblia Hebraica, ex aliquot manuscriptis et compluribus impressis codicibus, item masora . . . diligenter recensita. Accedunt loca scripturæ parallela . . . brevesque adnotationes*, Halle, 1720. This is the first printed attempt at a critical edition. The Erfurt MSS collated by Michaelis are now in Berlin. || The Mantua Bible, 1742–1744,

---

[*] The division of the books of the Bible into chapters was the device of Stephen Langton of Canterbury (1205 A.D.), who introduced it in the Vulgate.

4°, pub. by Raphael Chayim Basila, contains Salomo Norzi's mas(s)oretical commentary on the OT. ‖ B. Kennicott, *Vetus Test. Heb. cum variis lectionibus*, Oxford, 1776, 1780, folio, 2 vols., gives the text of van der Hooght, without the vowel points and accents. The MSS are for the most part very perfunctorily collated (cf. Bruns' ed. of the *Dissertatio Generalis*, and see below, ii. J).

E. *NINETEENTH CENTURY.—Biblia Hebraica* . . . recensita ab E. van der Hooght. Editio nova emendata a J. D'Allemand, London, 1822, and often. ‖ *Bibl. Heb.* . . . recensuit Aug. Hahn, Leipzig, 1831, and often. ‖ *Bibl. Heb.* . . . curavit C. G. G. Theile, Leipzig, 1849, and often. ‖ [Christian] David Ginsburg, עשרים וארבעה ספרי הקדש מדויקים היטב . . . עם חלופים והגהות, London, 1894, 2 vols.

F. *EDITIONS WITHOUT VOWEL POINTS AND ACCENTS.—Bibl. Heb. non punctata* . . . accurantibus Joh. Leusdeno & Joh. Andr. Eisenmengero, Francofurti, 1694, 16^{mo}. ‖ *Bibl. Heb. sine punctis*, Amstelædami et Ultrajecti, 1701, 16^{mo}. ‖ תקון הסופר והקורא, *Pent.* ed. S. Baer, Roedelheim, 1866, and often. ‖ *Bibl. Sac. Heb.: Pent., Jos., Jud., Sam., Psalmi* . . . *sine punctis* ediderunt R. Sinker et E. T. Leeke, Cambridge, 1870. ‖ *The Psalms in Heb., without points*, Oxford [Clarendon Press].

G. *S. BAER'S EDD. OF SEPARATE BOOKS* (those issued down to 1890 have prefaces by F. Delitzsch), Leipzig: Genesis, 1869; Jos., Jud., 1891; Sam., 1892; Kings, 1895; Isaiah, 1872; Jer., 1890; Ezekiel, 1884; Minor Proph., 1878; Psalms, 1880; Prov., 1880; Job, 1875; Megilloth, 1885; Dan., Ezr., Neh., 1882; Chron., 1888. Cf. H. Strack in *Theol. Litztg.* 1879, No. 8, and Ginsburg's criticisms in his *Introduction.*

H. *CRITICAL EDITIONS.—The Sacred Books of the OT: a critical ed. of the Heb. text, printed in colours* . . . under the editorial direction of Paul Haupt: Leipzig, Baltimore, and London, 4°. The following have appeared at the date of this article: Genesis by C. J. Ball, 1896; Leviticus by Driver and White, 1894; Numbers by J. A. Paterson, 1900; Joshua by W. H. Bennett, 1895; Judges by G. F. Moore, 1900; Samuel by Budde, 1894; Isaiah by Cheyne, 1899; Jeremiah by Cornill, 1895; Ezekiel by Toy, 1900; Psalms by J. Wellhausen, 1895; Proverbs by A. Müller and E. Kautzsch, 1901; Job by C. Siegfried, 1893; Daniel by A. Kamphausen, 1896; Ezra-Nehemiah by H. Guthe and L. W. Batten, 1901; Chronicles by R. Kittel, 1895.

A critical edition of the Aramaic portions of the OT is given by the present writer in his *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen*^{3}, Leipzig, 1901 (Dn $3^{12-15.\ 20-24}$ 4^{21}–7^7 also with supralinear punctuation).

LITERATURE.—Joh. Chr. Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebræa*, Hamburg, ii. (1721) pp. 364–385 (on whole Bible), 385–413 (on parts), iv. (1733) pp. 108–123 (Bible), 123–154 (parts); ‖ Jac. le Long, *Bibliotheca sacra* . . continuata ab A. G. Masch, Halle, i. (1778) pp. 1–186; ‖ J. B. de Rossi, *Annales hebræo-typographici sec. XV.*, Parma, 1795, *Annales hebræo-typogr. ab anno MDI ad MDXL digesti*, Parma, 1799, *De ignotis nonnullis antiquissimis hebraici textus editionibus ac critico earum usu*, Erlangen, 1782; B. W. D. Schulze, *Vollständigere Kritik über die gewöhnlichen Ausgaben der heb. Bibel, nebst. . . . Nachricht von der Heb. Bibel, welche der sel. D. Luther bey seiner Übersetzung gebraucht*, Berlin, 1766; ‖ M. Steinschneider, *Catalogus librorum hebræorum in bibliotheca Bodleiana*, Berlin, 1852 ff., cols. 1–164; ‖ B. Pick, 'History of the printed editions of the OT' in *Hebraica*, ix. (1892–1893), pp. 47–116; ‖ Ch. D. Ginsburg, *Introd. to the massoretico-critical ed. of the Heb. Bible*, London, 1897, pp. 779–976 (describes 24 early printed edd. of the whole OT or of parts of it).

On the Polyglot Bibles: Wolf, ii. 332–364, iv. 99–107; le Long-Masch, i. 331–408; Ed. Reuss in *PRE*^{2} xii. 95–103; Franz Delitzsch, *Zur Entstehungsgesch. der Polyglottenbibel des Kardinals Ximenes*, Leipzig, 1871, 1878, 1886 (44, 38, and 60 pp.), 4°.

ii. THE MANUSCRIPTS.—A. *Rolls.*—The oldest form of book is the roll (מְגִלָּה, *volumen*). Even at the present day the books which are read aloud in the principal part of the synagogue service are written in the roll form: namely, the Pentateuch (סֵפֶר הַתּוֹרָה), from which a *pārāsha* is read every Sabbath, and the five Megillôth (*quinque volumina*), namely, the Song of Songs (read at the Passover), Ruth (at Feast of Weeks), Lamentations (on anniversary of Destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldæans), Ecclesiastes (at Feast of Tabernacles), Esther (at Feast of Purim).

The material of the rolls is usually parchment; in the East, leather was also employed. At the beginning and the end there is a wooden roller (עֵץ הַחַיִּים 'the tree of life'), and the columns that have been read are rolled up on the first of these. Neither vowel signs nor accents are present. In seven parchment rolls at Tzufutkale the present writer noticed a point at the end of each verse, in two of them two points. The letters ש ע ט נ ז ג ץ have generally small ornamental strokes (תגין *coronulæ*). Between each book of the Torah four lines are left blank. The whole Pent. is divided into 669 sections (*pārāshas* פָּרָשִׁיּוֹת), which are called, according to the character of the spaces which separate them, open (*apertæ* פְּתוּחוֹת, marked פ) or closed (*clausæ*, סְתוּמוֹת, marked ס). The 54 Sabbath *pericopes* are marked פפפ and ססס respectively (with the exception of the 12th, Gn 47^{28}, at whose commencement the intervening space is only that of one letter). Six words, whose initial letters are ביה שמו (Ps 68^5), stand, particularly in Spanish (Sephardic) MSS, at the beginning of a column: בראשית Gn 1^1, יהודה Gn 49^8, הבאים Ex 14^{28}, שני Lv 16^8, מה Nu 24^5, and ואעידה Dt 31^{28}; in others, particularly the German (Ashkenazite) MSS, the ש and מ are represented by Dt 16^{18} שפטים (or 12^{28} שמר) and 23^{24} מוצא. Instead of יהודה some MSS have יששכר of Gn 49^{14} at the commencement of a column. Many copyists begin each column with a new verse, some begin each with the letter *waw*, ווי הָעַמּוּדִים. The poetical passages Ex 15 and Dt 32 are written (and even printed) in artistically constructed divisions. On these and other rules to be observed by the writers of rolls, see the Literature. Epigraphs are rare. The rules that have to be observed by a modern copyist of a Torah roll may be learned very conveniently from S. Baer's ed. of the Pentateuch, תקון הסופר והקורא, Rœdelheim, 1866 and often.

B. MSS in *book* form. These may contain the whole Bible, or one or two of its four principal parts (Pent., Prophetæ priores, Prophetæ posteriores, Hagiographa). The material is either parchment or paper (on the employment of the latter see Steinschneider, *Handschriftenkunde*, p. 18 f., and cf. art. WRITING). The size is very frequently quarto; in ancient times folio is commoner than octavo. Almost all codices have vowels and accents. The omission of the double point *soph paṣuḳ* at the end of the verse is rare (four codd. at Tzufutkale, and cod. Brit. Mus. Orient. 4445; see Ginsburg, *Introd.* p. 473); still rarer is the placing of only a single point (cod. Tzufut. 102).—Most MSS contain also *mas(s)ora*, *i.e.* observations on the number of times that particular words and word-forms occur: *mas(s)ora parva* (*Ḳĕrê* and *Kĕthîbh*; the indication of the number of occurrences of a word or word-form, *e.g.* בֹ = twice, קלֹד = 134 times) on the side margins; *mas(s)ora magna* (detailed lists with citation of passages) on the top and bottom margins; *mas(s)ora finalis*; some MSS have Mas(s)oretic material also at the beginning. The extent of these observations was regulated by the space available, the inclination of the copyist, and the remuneration offered by the man who ordered the copy. Some copyists wrote part of the *mas(s)ora magna* in figures (animals, leaves, etc.) formed by elaborate flourishes, so that the reading is at times a matter of no little difficulty. Such embellishments have also proved not infrequently detrimental to the accuracy of the copy

Highly valuable, but unfortunately found only in a portion of the MSS, are the epigraphs, especially when these give the date, the country, and the name of the scribe.—The punctuation and the *mas(s)ora* are frequently not from the hand of the writer of the consonantal text, but have been added by one or two other scribes. The punctuator is called נַקְדָן.

C. A scientific examination and collating of all ancient or otherwise important MSS of the OT has not as yet been undertaken. Collections of various readings are given by Sal. Norzi, J. H. Michaelis, and B. Kennicott (see above, i. D), J. B. de Rossi (below, J), S. Baer (i. G), and Ch. D. Ginsburg (i. E). Some of the most important MSS are—

(*a*) Codex of the Former and the Latter Prophets, written by Moses ben Asher 827 years after the destruction of the temple, *i.e.* A.D. 895, now in the Karaite synagogue at Cairo. See M. Weissmann in the Heb. weekly *Hamaggid* i. (1857), Nos. 47, 48, 50, ii. 16; Jacob Sappir, אבן ספיר, Lyck, 1866, fol. 14; on the other side Ad. Neubauer in *Studia Biblica*, iii. (Oxford, 1891) pp. 25–27.—(*b*) Bible written by שלמה בן בויאעא; the vowel points, the accents, and the *mas(s)ora* are added, according to an epigraph, by Aaron ben Asher. It is now in the possession of the Jewish community at Aleppo. See Sappir, fol. 12, 13, 17–20; Strack, *Prolegomena*, pp. 44–46, and in Baer-Strack, *Die Dikduke ha-tᵉamim des Ahron ben Moscheh ben Ascher*, Leipzig, 1879, pp. ix–xiv. W. Wickes (*Treatise on the accentuation of the twenty-one so-called prose-books of the OT*, Oxford, 1887, p. ix) contends that this epigraph 'is a fabrication, merely introduced to enhance the value' of the codex. The present writer is still doubtful whether Wickes is right. Ginsburg (*Introd.* p. 242) does not call in question the credibility of the epigraph. — (*c*) St. Petersburg Bible written at Cairo in the year 1009 by Samuel ben Jacob, who declares that he copied the codex of Aaron ben Asher. See Harkavy-Strack, *Catalogue*, pp. 263–274. Wickes (*l.c.*) says, indeed, that the codex 'is much younger,' but the present writer feels certain that he is wrong. Ginsburg, too, believes in the trustworthiness of the epigraphs.—(*d*) *Prophetarum posteriorum codex Babylonicus Petropolitanus* [B3], edidit H. L. Strack, Leipzig, 1876 (449 and 37 pp.), fol. max., written A.D. 916. Regarding the readings of this MS see Ginsburg, *Introd.* pp. 215–230, 439–441, 475 f.

D. The *age* of many MSS is much controverted. Cod. Brit. Mus. Add. 4708 (Latter Prophets) was assigned by the late Dr. M. Margoliouth to the 6th cent.; Mor. Heidenheim judged that it might have been written between the 6th and the 8th cent.; B. Kennicott (cod. 126) ascribed it to the beginning of the 15th century. Ginsburg says: 'The writing is such as we meet with in the Sephardic codices of the 12th and 13th centuries,' and, so far as the present writer can judge without having examined the MS for himself, Ginsburg is right. ‖ The Bible Cambridge 12 bears the date '7 Adar, 616,' *i.e.* 18th Feb. 856 A.D. We wonder that so sagacious and learned a scholar as the late S. M. Schiller-Szinessy accepted this date as correct (see his *Catalogue*, p. 13). Cf. L. Zunz, *Zur Gesch. u. Literatur*, Berlin, 1845, p. 214 f.; Ad. Neubauer in *Studia Biblica*, iii. pp. 27–36.

The number of unquestionably genuine ancient epigraphs in Bible MS is not large. At Tzufutkale the present writer in 1874 noted the following, which emanate from the writers of the MSS themselves: 922 A.D. = 1234 Seleuc., cod. 34, Moses ben Naphtali, known as a contemporary of Aaron ben Asher; 930 A.D. = 1241 Seleuc., cod. 35/36, Salomo ben בויאעא, *mas(s)ora* written by Ephraim ben בויאעא; 943 A.D. = 4703 of the Creation, cod. 39, Isaak ben Jochai; 952 A.D. = 4712 of the Creation, cod. 40, Joseph ben Daniel; 961 A.D. = 4721 of the Creation, cod. 41; 989 A.D. = 1300 Seleuc., cod. 43, Joseph ben Jacob; 994 A.D. = 4754 of the Creation, cod. 44, Moses ben Hillel; 1051 A.D. = 4811 of the Creation, cod. 11, Moses (?) ben Anan.—Unfortunately, the Karaite Abraham Firkowitsch (both in his first collections and in the latest just mentioned, which since 1875 has likewise been in St. Petersburg) either himself wrote entirely a great many epigraphs, or falsified them by altering dates and names. For instance, in cod. Tzufut. 11 he changed 4811 of the Creation into 4411 = 651 A.D.!

Much fresh information is to be hoped for from the treasures of the Genizah of Old Cairo brought by S. Schechter to Cambridge; see the description of the Genizah by E. N. Adler in the *JQR*, 1897, p. 669 ff.

E. Why is the number of ancient MSS of the Heb. OT so small? Why have we no MSS as old as those of the NT, the LXX, and the Peshiṭta? The reasons are: (1) Not a few Bible MSS, especially Pentateuch rolls, were destroyed by fanatical Christians during the persecutions of the Jews in the Middle Ages, particularly in the time of the Crusades. (2) A much larger number, however, of MSS were destroyed by the Jews themselves by means of the *genizah* (גְּנִיזָה). Already the Talmud (*Megilla*, 26*b*) tells of how a worm-eaten Pentateuch roll is buried beside the corpse of a sage; cf. *Shulḥan 'Arukh, Joreh De'ah*, 282, § 10. This custom was later extended to all Heb. MSS of Biblical and non-Biblical texts, frequently, indeed, with the modification that a room, generally a cellar, in the synagogue was devoted to their concealment. To the dryness of the Egyptian climate we owe the abundance of the material which, as was mentioned above, has been found in the synagogue of Old Cairo. But it was not only such MSS as had been damaged by the tooth of time, by fire, by water, or by constant use, that were deposited in the *genizah*; further, all Torah rolls that contained more than three mistakes in a column had to be concealed (see Talm. *Menaḥoth*, 29*b*; *Shulḥan 'Arukh, Joreh De'ah*, 279). This rule partly explains how the MSS that have come down to us represent in the main one and the same text. Codices which deviated from the text of the recognized *naḳdānîm* and the mas(s)oretic principles were considered 'incorrect,' and were consigned to the *genizah*. A very notable instance of this is the codex of 916 A.D. found by Abr. Firkowitsch (cf. A. Firk., אבני זכרון, Wilna, 1872, p. 12, No. 29). Hence the present writer is unable to adopt the view of J. Olshausen, P. de Lagarde, and most moderns, that all Heb. MSS go back to a single standard copy (cf. also his discussion in G. A. Kohut's *Semitic Studies*, Berlin, 1897, pp. 563–571).

F. LITERATURE.—In general: Wolf, *Biblioth. Heb.* ii. 281–332, iv. 78–98; ‖ O. G. Tychsen, *Tentamen de variis codicum Heb. generibus*, Rostock, 1772; *Befreyetes Tentamen*, 1774; ‖ J. G. Eichhorn, *Einleit. in das AT*⁴, ii. 456–584, Göttingen, 1823; ‖ H. L. Strack, *Prolegomena critica in VT Heb.*, Leipzig, 1873, pp. 9–58 [this book has been long out of print; the author hopes to write a new work on the subject]; 'Die biblischen und die massoret. Handschriften zu Tschufut-Kale in der Krim' in *Ztschr. f. luther. Theologie*, 1875, pp. 587–624; ‖ M. Steinschneider, *Vorlesungen über die Kunde hebräischer Handschriften, deren Sammlungen und Verzeichnisse*, Leipzig, 1897 (110 pp.); ‖ Ad. Neubauer, 'The Introduction of the square characters in Biblical MSS, and an account of the earliest MSS of the OT' in *Studia Biblica et Eccles.* iii. (Oxford, 1891) pp. 1–36.

G. On rules for the writing of rolls destined for synagogue use: Joel Müller, *Masechet Soferim* [מַסֶּכֶת סוֹפְרִים], *Der talmud. Tractat der Schreiber, eine Einleit. in das Studium der altheb. Graphik, der Masora und der altjüd. Liturgie*, Leipzig, 1878; ‖ J. G. Chr. Adler, *Judæorum codicis sacri rite scribendi leges*, Hamburg, 1779 [chs. i.–v. of מס׳ סו׳]; ‖ Raph Kirchheim, *Septem libri Talmudici parvi Hierosolymitani*, Frankfurt a. M., 1851, pp. 1–11 'Ṣepher torah'; Moses Maimonides, *Hilkhoth tephillin umezuzāh weṣepher torah* [separate impression of chs. vii.–x. in Jac. Henr. van Bashuysen, *Observationes sacræ*, Frankfurt, 1708]; ‖ Leop. Löw, *Graphische Requisiten und Erzeugnisse bei den Juden*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1870–71; ‖ Salomo Ganzfried, *Dinê kethibath ṣepher torah*, etc., Ungvar, 1860; ‖ A. G. Waehner, *Antiquitates Ebræorum*, i., Göttingen, 1743, pp. 187–208.

H. Catalogues of important collections of MSS.—Berlin: M. Steinschneider, *Das Verzeichniss der heb. Handschriften*, 1878 (149 pp.) and 1897 (172 pp.), 4°. ‖ Cambridge: S. M. Schiller-Szinessy, *Catalogue of the Heb. MSS preserved in the University Library*, i. 1876 (248 pp.). ‖ Florence: A. M. Biscioni, *Bibliothecæ Ebraicæ Græcæ Florentinæ . . . Catalogus*, 1757. ‖ London, British Museum: Ginsburg, *Introduction*, pp. 469–728 [describes 49 MSS collated for his edition of the OT]; R. Hoerning, *Description and Collation of six Karaite MSS of portions of the Heb. Bible in Arabic characters*, London, 1889 (68 pp. and 42 facsimiles). ‖ Oxford: Ad. Neubauer, *Catalogue of the Heb. MSS in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford, 1886 (1168 cols. and 40 facsimiles). An Appendix by Ad. Neubauer and A. E. Cowley is in the press. ‖ Parma: *MSS codices hebraici biblioth. J. B. de Rossi*, Parma, 1803, 3 vols. ‖ St. Petersburg: A. Harkavy und H. L. Strack, *Catalog der heb. Bibelhandschriften der kaiserl. öffentl. Bibliothek zu St. Petersburg*, Leipzig, 1875 (296 pp.). ‖ Rome: *Bibliothecæ Apostolicæ Vaticanæ codicum manu scriptorum Catalogus* . . . Steph. Evod. Assemanus et Jos. Sim. Assemanus . . . recensuerunt, vol. i., Rom, 1756, fol. (Heb. and Sam. MSS). ‖ Turin: B. Peyron, *Codices hebraici . . . in Taurinensi Athenæo*, 1880. ‖ Vienna: A. Krafft und S. Deutsch, *Die handschriftl. heb. Werke der K. K. Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, 1847, 4°.

J. On the MSS collated for Kennicott's work (above, i. D): *Dissertatio generalis in VT Heb. . . . auctore B. Kennicott.* Recudi curavit et notas adiecit P. J. Bruns, Brunswick, 1783 (596 pp.). ‖ J. B. de Rossi, *Variæ lectiones Vet. Test.*, Parma, 1784–88, 4°, and *Scholia critica in VT libros*, 1798, 4° [describes not only his own MSS, but all the codd. used by or for Kennicott which he had been able to see for himself].

K. Facsimiles of Bible MSS: The Palæographical Society's *Facsimiles of ancient MSS* (Orient. series), ed. W. Wright, London, pt. iii. plate 40: Brit. Mus. Harley 5720, Former and Latter Prophets, 2 K 19^{22-35} ('seems to be of the 12th cent.'); plate 41: Cambridge Univ. 25, Hagiographa with Targum, Dn 1^{1-4}, Jan. 1347 A.D.; pt. iv. (1879) plate 54: Brit. Mus. Orient. 1467, Pent. and Targ. Onḳ. with the supralinear vowel signs, Nu 22^{41}–23^{15} ('written in Babylonia or Persia, about the 12th cent.'). ‖ Ad. Neubauer, *Facsimiles of Heb. MSS in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford, 1886, plate 1, cat. 64: Dt 9^{5-7}, with supralinear vowel signs and accents; plate 8, cat. 2322: Gn 1^{1-26}, Span. square character, 1476 A.D.; plate 14, cat. 20: Ex 18^{25}–19^{9}, German, 1340 A.D.; plate 21, cat. 1144: beginning of the book of Jonah, followed by a Gr. tr., before 1263 A.D.; plate 31, cat. 2328: 2 S 22^{2-11}, Yemen, 1561 A.D.; plate 38, cat. 2484: Pr 4^{14}–5^{3}, Yemen, with the simplified supralinear punctuation; plate 39: Mal 1^{1}–2^{13}, unknown characters, from a MS in private possession in Kertsch (see A. Harkavy, *Neuaufgefundene heb. Bibelhandschriften*, St. Petersb. und Leipzig, 1884 [48 pp. and 5 facsim.]). ‖ Ch. D. Ginsburg, *A series of fifteen facsimiles from MS pages of the Heb. Bible, with a letterpress description*, London, 1897, fol. max. [13 of these MSS are in the Brit. Mus., 1 is in the possession of the Earl of Leicester, 1 is cod. Petropol. 916 A.D.]. ‖ B. Stade (*GVI*) gives facsim. of: cod. Petropol. 916 A.D.; cod. Karlsruhe 1 [Kennicott 154], Former and Latter Prophets with Targum, once in the possession of Reuchlin, 1 S 30^{26}–31^{9}; Erfurt Bible, now Berlin Orient. fol. 1213, Is 1^{1-26}; Hagiographa, with the simplified supralinear punctuation, Yemen, Berlin Orient. Quarto 680, Ps 101^{4}–102^{11}. ‖ W. Wickes (*Accentuation of the Prose books*) gives as frontispiece a photograph (reduced scale) of a page of the Aleppo codex, Gn 26^{34}–27^{30}. ‖ Ad. Neubauer in *Studia Biblica et Eccles.* iii. gives facsimile of cod. Cairo A.D. 897 and cod. Cambridge 12 (see above, D). ‖ On other facsimiles (mostly from non-Biblical MSS) see M. Steinschneider, 'Zur Literatur der heb. Palæographie' in *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 1887, pp. 155–165.

L. On A. Firkowitsch: H. L. Strack, *A. Firk. und seine Entdeckungen*, Leipzig, 1876 (44 pp.); *ZDMG*, 1880, pp. 163–168; *Lit. Centralbl.* 1883, No. 25, cols. 878–880. ‖ A. Harkavy, *Altjüd. Denkmäler aus der Krim*, St. Petersburg, 1876 (288 pp.), 4°.

iii. THE WORK OF THE MA(S)SORETES.—Whence comes the text of our extant MSS? In all essentials, of course, from older MSS. But there is no doubt that *all* copyists meant to work עַל־פִּי הַמָּסֹרֶת, *i.e.* according to the traditions which had been handed down to them as to the writing and reading of the sacred texts.

A. First of all, as to the word מסרת. It is the custom now in many quarters to write מַסֹּרֶת (cf. כַּפֹּרֶת, בַּצֹּרֶת), and to derive from the post-Biblical verb מסר 'hand down.' The older form of writing it, however, is מָסֹרֶת. This word is taken from Ezk 20^{37} (where it signifies 'binding', from the root אסר), but in post-Biblical usage it assumed quite a different sense (as אותיות of Is 41^{23} 45^{11} means in New Heb. not 'coming things' but 'letters'). מסרת in New Heb. means primarily 'tradition,' *e.g.* Mishna, *Sheḳalim*, vi. 1; hence the derivation from מָסַר (*Aboth*, i. 1) might be *per se* admissible, and even the pronunciation מַסֹּרֶת, but the oldest witnesses, as has been said, are in favour of מָסֹרֶת. In the next place, מסרת stands for the tradition relating to the interpretation of Scripture. R. 'Aḳiba says (*Aboth*, iii. 13), 'Masoreth is a fence to Torah,' *i.e.* the prescriptions of the oral Law make transgression of the written Law difficult. Further, however, the word *Māsōreth* was applied to the tradition relating to the Bible text, and those who busied themselves with this tradition were called בַּעֲלֵי המסרת, or *Ma(s)soretes.*

B. The 24 books of the OT were considered, at all events as early as the 1st cent. of the Christian era, as holy (see Jos. *c. Apion.* i. 8 [cf. *PRE*^{2} vii. 427 f. = ^{3} ix. 751 f.]). It was an object to preserve the text of these books, in particular and above all that of the Pentateuch, and its traditional understanding for coming generations. This was accomplished first by *attention to the consonantal text.*

(*a*) Conscientious care on the part of the copyists was ensured by numerous rules about the writing out of Bible codices, especially of synagogue rolls (cf. above, ii. G).

(*b*) They *counted* the verses and the words of each of the 24 books and of many sections; they reckoned which was the middle verse and the middle word of each book; nay, they counted the letters both of particular sections and even of whole books. The Talmud, *Kiddushin*, 30*a*, says: 'The ancients were called Sopherim because they counted [ספר 'to count'] all the letters in the Torah. They said: Waw in גחון Lv 11^{42} is the middle letter in the Torah; דרש דרש Lv 10^{16} is the middle word; והתגלח Lv 13^{33} is the middle verse; 'Ayin in מיער Ps 80^{14} is the middle letter in the Psalms, and והוא רחום Ps 78^{38} is the middle verse.' R. Joseph asked: 'To which side does *waw* in 'gaḥôn' belong? Answer: Let us bring a Torah, and I will count. Surely, Rabba bar bar Ḥanna has said that they did not go away until they had brought a Torah and counted' (cf. Morinus, *Exercitationes biblicæ*, Paris, 1669, p. 442). They counted also the frequency of the occurrence of words, phrases, or forms, both in the whole Bible and in parts of it. *Shabbath*, 49*b*: 'As the sages sat together, the question was raised, To what do the 39 principal works that are forbidden on the Sabbath day correspond? Ḥanina b. Ḥama said: To the [39] works at the building of the tabernacle; Jonathan b. Eleazar said in name of Simeon b. Jose: They correspond to the 39 occurrences of the word מלאכה in the Torah. Then Rab Joseph asked, Does Gn 39^{11} belong to the number or not? Abaji replied, Let him bring a Lawbook and count.'

(*e*) They collected *notabilia* into groups, and thus not only helped the recollection of these, but also facilitated the control of the MSS. For instance, 8 words written with final *waw* are read with *he* (cod. 916 A.D., Jer 2^{24}); 14 words written with final *he* are read with *waw* (cod. 916 A.D., Ezk 37^{22}). There is a great fondness for anything alphabetical; *e.g.* we have an alphabetical list of words which occur only twice in the OT—once with and once without *waw* at the beginning: אָכְלָה 1 S 1^{9} and וְאָכְלָה Gn 27^{19} etc. (cod. 916 A.D., Jer 10^{19}).

(*d*) The *scriptio plena* and *scriptio defectiva* and other peculiarities of the traditional text were very often noted in the Haggādā (esp. in the Midrashim), and not seldom also in the Halākhā. These notes serve on the one hand as a proof that the form of writing remarked on was actually received from tradition; and on the other hand they helped to ensure that this particular form was retained in the Bible codices. For instance, in Gn 23^{16} the name *Ephron* is written the first time עפרון (*plene*) and the second time עפרן (*defective*). On this the midrash Gen. rabba 58 remarks: 'Pr 28^{22} "He that hath an evil eye hasteth to be rich, and considereth not that poverty shall come upon him"; that is Ephron who wished to get possession of the riches of the just one, but afterwards he came into poverty.' In Hag 1^{8} *Kĕthîbh* has אכבר, *Ḳĕrê* אכבדה. Talmud, *Yoma*, 21*b* asks: 'Why is ה not written? Answer: Because five [ה as numerical sign=5] things which were present in the first temple were wanting in the second, the ark of the covenant with *kappôreth* and cherubim, the holy fire, the Divine gracious presence (Shekinah), the Holy Spirit, and the Urim and Thummim.'

C. By means of the invention of *punctuation* (vowel signs and accents) between the 6th and 8th cent. it was sought to ensure the preservation of the traditional pronunciation; perhaps there was also the intention of lightening the task of learners of the language. Unfortunately, we are without precise details as to the history of this invention; the only point that is practically certain is that Syriac influence must be assumed. (In Syr. a point above the letter indicates the fuller, stronger pronunciation; a point under it the finer, weaker vocalization or even the absence of a vowel). Attention to these signs involved a large addition to the studies of the later Ma(s)soretes. For instance, 18 words beginning with *lamed* occur twice—in the one instance with *shĕwa* (or *ḥireḳ* with following *shĕwa*), in the other with *pathaḥ* (cod. 916 A.D., Is 8^{20}); alphabet of words ending in הָ which occur once (cod. 916 A.D., Is 34^{12}).

D. Two systems of punctuation are completely known to us: (*a*) that employed in most MSS and in all printed editions, the so-called Tiberian, named from the city of Tiberias, where the study of the Ma(s)sora flourished for centuries. This system has special accents for the three books, Psalms, Proverbs, and Job.—(*b*) the supralinear punctuation, so named because all the vowel signs are placed over the consonants; it was in use, alongside of the Tiberian system, among a portion of the Jews of Babylonia (hence its usual designation, 'Babylonian punctuation') and Yemen (in Yemen till the 18th cent.). The signs for the principal vowels *a, u, i* are formed from the *matres lectionis* א, ו, י; the disjunctive accents have mostly the form of the letter with which their name begins: *e.g.* ז=זקף *zaḳeph*, ט=טרחא *ṭarḥa*. The accentual system is certainly dependent upon the Tiberian; the vowel system, too, gives the impression, at least to the present writer, of less originality. The most important MS in which this system is employed is cod. Proph. post. Bab.-Petropol. 916 A.D. — The simple supralinear punctuation system adopted in many later Yemen codices is derived from the complicated system of cod. Petropol. 916 A.D. (G. Margoliouth, it is true, is of the opposite opinion). —(*c*) M. Friedländer describes 'A third system of symbols for the Heb. vowels and accents' in *JQR*, 1895, pp. 564–567. (In two fragments of Bible text found lately in Egypt and acquired by the Bodleian Library; see Neubauer's *Catalogue*, No. 2604, xi., and 2608, i.). Cf. C. Levias in *AJSL* xv. 157–164, and P. Kahle in *ZATW* xxi. (1901) pp. 273–317.

E. As the very name indicates, it was not the aim of the Ma(s)soretes to give anything new, but to preserve for future generations the Bible text exactly as it had come down to them, and this in regard not only to the consonantal text but also to its pronunciation. 'Tendency' of any kind was foreign to them. Instead of הֵילֵל in Is 14^{12} we should certainly read הֵילֵל, but the former pronunciation is proved by Aquila and the Peshiṭta to have been in use *before* the punctuation. The name of the well-known Canaanite god can hardly have been *Molekh*, but *Melekh*; but already LXX, Aq., Symm., Theod. have Μόλοχ=MT מֹלֶךְ.

F. The distinction between Ma(s)soretes and punctuators is no absolute one. The Ma(s)sora, as is shown by cod. 916 A.D., was complete before the end of the 9th century. Aaron b. Moses b. Asher, 'the great teacher' (המלמד הגדול), whose activity fell within the first third of the 10th cent., enjoyed already in his lifetime a great reputation, and as early as the year 989 the Bible codex supplied by him with punctuation and Ma(s)sora was regarded as the model codex and as authoritative. This is the judgment, too, of the writer of the St. Petersburg Bible MS B19*a* (1009 A.D.), Moses Maimonides, of David Ḳimḥi and of the later Jews. Aaron ben Asher himself had a rival in Moses b. David b. Naphtali, whose views were different not only regarding many *minutiæ* of punctuation (*daghesh, metheg*, accents), but even, at least in some passages, regarding the consonantal text (see Ginsburg, *Introd.* pp. 241–286). In like manner there were not a few differences amongst the older Ma(s)soretes. The tradition about the text was not a uniform one, and it must be acknowledged that there were different schools of Ma(s)soretes. According to the readings of the codices employed as standards must have been the different indications in the Mas(s)oretic rubrics; and S. Baer is not justified when, in the case of two statements that differ, he simply as a rule pronounces one to be wrong and corrects it from the other.

G. The content of the Mas(s)ora was collected into special books or reproduced in Bible MSS. Of those collections the best known is the book which is named from its opening words אָכְלָה וְאָכְלָה (ed. Frensdorff, Hanover, 1864); cf. Ginsburg, *Introd.* p. 464. In the MSS the detailed statements of the *Mas(s)ora magna*, varying indeed greatly in extent, according to the inclination or the ability of the scribe, are found on the top and bottom margins, some at the end of a codex or a book, only a few at the beginning. For the fullest collection of such material we are indebted to Ch. D. Ginsburg.

H. LITERATURE.—H. L. Strack, art. 'Massora' in *PRE*^{2} ix. pp. 388–394; ‖ W. Bacher, 'A contribution to the history of the term Massorah' in *JQR*, 1891, pp. 785–790; 'Die Massora' in Winter und Wünsche, *Die jüd. Litteratur seit Abschluss des Kanons*, ii. (Trier, 1894) pp. 121–132; ‖ Is. Harris, 'The rise and development of the Massora' in *JQR*, 1889, pp. 128–142, 223–257; ‖ Ginsburg, *Introd.* (above, i. J) *passim*, esp. p. 421 ff.; ‖ Elias Levita, ספר מסורת המסורת, Venice, 1538, 4°; Ch. D. Ginsburg, *The Massoreth ha-massoreth of E. L., with an Eng. tr. and . . . notes*, London, 1867; J. Buxtorf, *Tiberias sive commentarius masorethicus triplex*, Basel, 1665 (1st ed. 1620); ‖ S. Frensdorff, *Massoretisches Wörterbuch*, Hannover, 1876 (20 and 387 pp.), 4°; ‖ Ch. D. Ginsburg, *The Massorah compiled from MSS, alphabetically and lexically arranged*, London, 1880–85, 3 vols. fol. (758, 838, and 383 pp.); ‖ S. Baer und H. L. Strack, *Die Dikduke ha-teamim des Ahron ben Moscheh ben Ascher, und andere alte grammatisch- massorethische Lehrstücke*, Leipzig, 1879 (42 and 95 pp.).

iv. EARLIER TRACES OF THE HEB. TEXT OF THE OT.—The work of the Ma(s)soretes was ended (see above, iii. F) at the latest in the 9th cent., and lies before us in this form in the St. Petersburg codex of the Latter Prophets, 916 A.D., and in other MSS. What other means have we now of ascertaining what was the form of text in earlier times?

A. On the margins of many codices, sometimes also at the end, there are notices of differences between various authorities, and of readings found in MSS that are now lost. From these notices we gather, for instance, that the Jews of the West (מַעֲרָב), *i.e.* Palestine, differed from those of the East (מִזְרָח, מַדִּנְחָא), *i.e.* Babylonia, even in regard to their Bible text. This difference, moreover, concerned not only the Prophets and the Hagiographa, but also the Pentateuch, not only the consonants, but also the punctuation; cf. Ginsburg, *Introd.* pp. 197-240. The Eastern *Madnᵉḥa'ê* were not always at one among themselves; the views of the scholars of Ṣura differed on not a few questions from those of the scholars of Neharde'a. Cf. Strack, 'Ueber verloren gegangene Handschriften des AT' in Geo. Al. Kohut, *Semitic Studies*, Berlin, 1897, pp. 560-572.

B. The quotations in the Talmuds and the oldest Midrashim. The present writer has called attention to the importance of these quotations in his *Prolegomena critica in VT Heb.*, Leipzig, 1873, pp. 59-111, esp. p. 94 ff. A prerequisite, which has not yet been supplied, for such investigations is critical editions of the Jewish literature just named.

C. As to the activity of the *Ṣopherim* (*γραμματεῖς*), *i.e.* those students of the Law who preceded the Ma(s)soretes, and laboured during the last centuries B.C. and at the beginning of the Christian era, we have, unfortunately, only very scanty information. The principal passage is Talmud, *Nedarim*, 37*b*, 38*a*: 'A law given to Moses on Sinai (*i.e.* a very ancient tradition) is the following: מקרא סופרים, the pronunciation fixed by the *Ṣopherim*, *e.g.* שָׁמַ֫יִם *shamáyim*, accented on the penult; עִטּוּר ס׳, the cancelling [of *waw*] by the *Ṣopherim* before אַחַר Gn 18^5 24^{55}, Nu 31^2, Ps 68^{26}, and before משפטיך Ps 36^7; קְרִין וְלָא כְתִיבָן, words read which are not written in the text, *e.g.* פְּרָת 2 S 8^3, אִ֫ישׁ after יִשְׁאַל 2 S 16^{23}, בָּאִים Jer 31^{38}, לָהּ after יהי Jer 50^{29}, אֵת before כָּל־ Ru 2^{11}, אֵלַי Ru $3^{5.17}$; כְּתִיבָן וְלָא קְרִין, words written but cancelled in reading, *e.g.* נָא after the second יִסְלַח 2 K 5^{18}, ואת before המצוה Jer 32^{11}, the second ידרך Jer 51^3, the second חֲמֵשׁ Ezk 48^{16}, אִם Ru 3^{12}.'* This record does not give all the instances: there were many differences as to the presence or the absence of the *waw* conjunctive. There were more words read but not written, and written but not read; see Frensdorff, *Okhlah we'okhlah*, Nos. 97, 98; and Ginsburg, *Massor.* ii. p. 54 f. We learn from the above extract that the *Ṣopherim* were not simply copyists but revisers of the text.—A large part of their work consisted in removing everything which could give offence in any way to pious souls when the sacred texts were used in the course of public worship. Further, the Divine names, especially the Tetragrammaton, had to be protected against irreverent, and above all against frequent, utterance (see §§ v., vi., and Ginsburg, *Introd.* pp. 345-404).

It may be assumed as certain that the results of the common labours of the *Ṣopherim* in Jerusalem were utilized in the Bible codices that were prepared under their superintendence. These codices would then serve as the basis of future copies. When differences were remarked between MSS, especially those kept in the sanctuary, it was the custom to follow the majority; cf. Pal. Talm. *Ta'anith*, iv. fol. 68*a* [according to *Ṣopherim*, vi. 4, Resh Laḳish is the author of the record]: 'Three codices of the Pent. were in the court of the temple. In Dt 33^{27} one read מעון, two מעונה; they accepted the text of the two, and rejected that of the one. In Ex 24^5 one read זעטוטי, two נערי; they accepted the text of the two, and rejected that of the one. In one codex היא was written nine times, in two eleven times; they accepted the text of the two, and rejected that of the one.' (זעטוטי was, according to Talm. *Meg.* 9*a*, one of the alterations made by the seventy-two elders in translating the Pentateuch into Greek. הוא, as is well known, is written in the Pentateuch for both masculine and feminine gender; היא occurs in MT of the Pentateuch only eleven times).

v. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE OLD VERSIONS.—As really old MSS of the Heb. OT are not available (ii. C-E), the ancient Versions have been examined in order to discover the character of the text at a period earlier than that for which the MSS and the Mas(s)ora give their evidence. On these Versions see the separate articles in the present work. Here it may be generally remarked that an exhaustive use of these aids is impossible so long as we are without critical editions. Such editions we do not as yet possess, whether of the LXX, the Targums, the Peshiṭta, or the work of Jerome.

Of all the Versions the most important for our purpose is the Alexandrian, *i.e.* the LXX (see the Literature in Strack's *Einlcit. in das AT*, § 87, and art. SEPTUAGINT above). Although, as has been just remarked, a critical edition is not yet in existence (for Dr. Swete gives only the text of cod. B with the variants of the oldest uncials), this much can be affirmed with certainty that the Heb. text which was the basis of the Alex. translation frequently differed from the MT. But from the circumstance of this difference it by no means follows that the Heb. text used for the LXX was a better one than the MT. (This assumption is a capital error in the painstaking work of A. W. Streane on Jeremiah). Owing to the variety of translators, a special examination is required for every part of the OT. The LXX is of most use for the recovery of the Heb. text in the books of Samuel, Ezekiel, and partially Kings. For instance, in 1 S 8^{16}, where MT has בחוריכם, LXX has rightly *τὰ βουκόλια ὑμῶν*, *i.e.* בקריכם. But in many passages the text was corrupt even prior to the LXX: for example, 1 S 6^{19} '50070' and 2 S 15^7 '40.'

The Hebrew exemplars from which the Alexandrian translators worked had, at least in most of the books, the *scriptio continua*, that is, there was no separation of the words: for example, 1 Ch 17^{10} וָאַגִּד לָךְ appears in LXX as *καὶ αὐξήσω σε* =וָאֲגַדֶּלְךָ; Pr 2^7 הלכי תם, LXX *τὴν πορείαν αὐτῶν*; 18^3 בָּא גַם, LXX *εἰς βάθος αὐτῶν* (cf. Driver, *Notes on Heb. text of Sam.* p. xxx f.; Ginsburg, *Introd.* 158-162).—The *matres lectionis* were less frequently employed than is now the case in the MT (cf. Driver, *l.c.* pp. xxxii-xxxiv; Ginsburg, *l.c.* pp. 137-157.—It is uncertain whether any, or how many, MSS with the old Heb. (Canaanite) script were used by the Alex. translators, and hence whether deviations from the present MT may be explained by interchange of letters which resemble each other in the old form of writing (cf. Ginsburg, *Introd.* pp. 291-296; A. J. Baumgartner, *L'état du texte du livre des Proverbes*, Leipzig, 1890, pp. 272-282).

Of the revising activity of the *Ṣopherim* many traces are to be discovered from the LXX, a circumstance which shows that this activity had commenced long before. Ish-baal the son of Saul is called in the LXX Ἰεσβόσθε, as in MT אִישׁ־בֹּשֶׁת (see vol. ii. 501 f.). The most of the emendations of the *Ṣopherim* (תקון סופרים) are found also in the LXX, *e.g.* Jer 2^{11} כבודו *τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ* for כבודי; but in two passages at least the ancient text is preserved: 1 S 3^{13} מקללים להם, LXX *κακολογοῦντες θεόν*, *i.e.* מ׳ אלהים, and Job 7^{20} עָלַי, LXX *ἐπὶ σοί*, *i.e.* עָלֶיךָ.

vi. OBSERVATIONS ON THE HISTORY OF THE TEXT OF THE OT.—What means have we of getting back to still earlier times?

A. Comparison of parallel passages. *Historical.*

---

* It is worth while to remark that at least two of these examples give the Eastern readings, namely, Ru 2^{11} אֵת before כל read but not written, and Jer 32^{11} ואת before המצות written but not read.

Gn 5, etc. and 1 Ch 1; 2 S $23^{8ff.}$ and 1 Ch 11; Sam., Kings *passim*, and Chron.; 2 K 18^{13}–20^{19} and Is 36–39; 2 K 24^{18}–25^{30} and Jer 52. *Legislative:* Ex 20 and Dt 5 (the Decalogue); Lv $11^{2ff.}$ = Dt $14^{4ff.}$. *Poetical:* 2 S 22 = Ps 18; Ps 105. 96. 106 and 1 Ch $16^{8ff.}$; Ps 14 and 53; Ps $40^{13ff.}$ and $70^{1ff.}$; Ps $57^{7ff.}$ and $108^{1ff.}$; Ps $60^{5ff.}$ and $108^{6ff.}$. *Prophetical:* Is 2^{2-4} and Mic 4^{1-3}; Ob $^{1-9}$ and Jer $49^{7ff.}$. Some of the differences which show themselves between parallel passages may be explained by the assumption that they are due to an intention on the part of a later author or redactor (even if this intention was based on nothing more than the principle of *variatio delectat*). To intention, for instance, must be ascribed the deviations of the Deuteronomic Decalogue from Ex 20. Intention, too, explains the diversity of construction of the word אֱלֹהִים 'God,' which is plur. in Ex $32^{4.8}$ (הָלְכוּ) but sing. in Neh 9^{18} (הֶעֶלְךָ), and so 2 S 7^{23} הָלְכוּ, but 1 Ch 17^{21} הָלַךְ. It is very remarkable that the revising activity of the *Ṣophcrim* is less manifest in Chronicles than in the books that were earlier accepted as canonical. One of David's sons is called in 2 S 5^{16} אֶלְיָדָע, LXX Ἐλιαδέ, but in 1 Ch 14^{7} בְּעֶלְיָדָע the original form of the name has been preserved (cf. אִישׁ־בֹּשֶׁת of 2 S 2^{8} *al.* with אֶשְׁבַּעַל of 1 Ch 8^{33} *al.*).—In many instances, however, we must assume an error in the tradition: Gn $10^{3.4}$ *R*iphath and *D*odanim, 1 Ch 1 *D*iphath and *R*odanim; 1 K 5^{6} [Eng. 4^{26}] '40,000,' but 2 Ch 9^{25} '4000'; 1 K 7^{26} '2000,' but 2 Ch 4^{5} '3000'; 1 K 7^{24} 'knops' (*pĕḳāʿîm*), but 2 Ch 4^{3} 'oxen' (*bĕḳārîm*). Both texts cannot be correct; the one or the other rests upon a mistake. Possible sources of error are: freaks of the eye or (in cases of dictation) the ear, wandering of the memory (*e.g.* the putting down of a synonymous word, cf. 2 S 22^{7} אקרא and Ps 18 אשוע), false interpretation of abbreviations, or, conversely, failure to recognize the abbreviated form of words. All these sources of change and of error were of course at work also in those passages where, on account of the non-existence of a parallel passage, we cannot so readily recognize them.

B. Carrying the Heb. text, as it presently exists in the so-called square script, back to the ancient Heb. form of writing. It is natural to assume that, in connexion with the change of written characters, errors must have slipped in, whose discovery may be facilitated by restoring the old script. The art. ALPHABET (vol. i. p. 70 ff.) can now be supplemented and improved with the help of the admirable work of M. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch des nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, Weimar, 1898 (pp. 173–203, 'Die Schrift der nordsem. Inschriften').

C. We have seen that the text of the OT books has undergone not a few changes since their composition. We must be careful, however, not to exaggerate the importance of these changes. The circumstance that we are still in a position to analyze, in the main with perfect confidence, most sections of the Pentateuch, *i.e.* to separate from one another the sources from which these sections have been composed, is a convincing proof that even the sum of all the changes in question has been far smaller than one might be disposed to think, and far smaller than critics like Aug. Klostermann have held it to be.

vii. LITERATURE.—F. Buhl, *Kanon und Text des AT*, Leipzig, 1881 [Eng. tr. Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark], §§ 23–99; F. G. Kenyon, *Our Bible and the ancient MSS, being a history of the text and its translations*², London, 1896; T. H. Weir, *A short history of the Heb. text of the OT*, London, 1899 [both the last two works are of a popular character]; A. Loisy, *Hist. critique du texte et des versions de la Bible*, 2 vols., Paris, 1892. 95; A. Dillmann and F. Buhl, 'Bibeltext des AT' in *PRE*³ ii. 713–728; the OT *Introductions* of Eichhorn, Ed. König, H. L. Strack.

HERMANN L. STRACK.

TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.—

i. Introduction: Uncertainty about the Text of the Greek Testament.
ii. Materials for restoration of the text.
  1. Manuscripts.
  2. Versions.
  3. Quotations.
  4. Number of Variations increased by the new materials.
  5. Rules of Textual Criticism.
Literature and Addenda.

[In this article '*Introd.*' or '*Introduction*' stands for Nestle's *Introd. to the Gr. NT.*, 1901].

i. INTRODUCTION: UNCERTAINTY ABOUT THE TEXT OF THE GREEK TESTAMENT.

—For the general reader, as a rule, no question exists about the text of the book which he is reading. The copy in his hand is for him the work of the author. It is only under special circumstances that the question arises how far we may rely upon the text in our hands. Especially since the invention of the printing-press such circumstances have become much more rare, but they are far from having disappeared altogether. It may suffice to recall the obscurity in which the works of Shakespeare and the early editions of them are enveloped, or questions like that as to the origin of some Rubrics in the Prayer-Book.* But in the case of works composed at a time when their multiplication was possible only by means of copying, it requires little thought and experience to bring home this point with full force. It presses upon the mind with increased weight in the case of the NT, which was or is no 'book' at all, properly speaking, but a collection of writings, a great many of which were at the outset not destined for publication and multiplication. When St. Paul wrote his first letter to the Thessalonians he did not write it with the intention that it should or might be published afterwards, and consequently did not give it the form appropriate to such an object. Neither had he—or she, perhaps a poor slave or an old woman—who first copied it the intention of copying it for publication. Hence parts may have already been omitted which did not appear of importance, *e.g.* the address, or the date and subscription; sentences may have been abbreviated or expressions changed. It is similar with the Gospels. When the first collection of sayings of Jesus or the first narrative of His deeds was set down in writing, the next who copied it might feel inclined to enlarge it or to change any detail according to the form in which he had heard it, without any bad intention.

In spite of this situation of things, not only readers but even editors of the Greek Testament rested for a long time satisfied in the naïve belief that the next best, *i.e.* worst, text in their hands was *the* text of the NT. When Erasmus finished, on the 1st March 1516, the first edition of the Greek Testament sold in print, he put at the end: *Finis Testamenti totius* AD GRÆCAM VERITATEM *vetustissimorumque Codicum Latinorum fidem ad probatissimorum authorum citationem et*

---

* A most significant example in German literature has been investigated lately by Prof. Tschackert of Göttingen. What is the original text of the *Confessio Augustana*? It was handed to the emperor Charles v. on the afternoon of the 25th June 1530, in two copies, German and Latin. Both copies have disappeared. The Confession appeared in print as early as Sept. 1530, and two months later there was a semi-official publication of it by its author, Melanchthon; but neither of these gave the original. Therefore Prof. Tschackert examined 35 manuscript copies, all dating from the year 1530, and nine of which once belonged to men who had subscribed the Confession. In an official document like this we expect now that all duplicates shall agree to the very letter. Yet, besides orthographical differences, Prof. Tschackert had to collect hundreds of variants, and the writer of the present article is convinced that the true text has not been restored by him in every case. In one case it concerns a quotation from the NT (Gal 1^{8}), where Prof. Tschackert, following his MS N, prints '*der* sei verflucht,' 'let *him* be accursed,' while the present writer believes that the other MSS ARZ give the true reading, '*das* sei verflucht,' *i.e.* 'let *it* be cursed.'

interpretationem ACCURATE *recogniti, opera studioque D. Erasmi Roterodami.* This *ad Græcam veritatem* does not mean only 'the Greek Original' or 'the original Greek' in contradistinction to the Latin translation, but was meant to include the idea of original correctness and integrity. Erasmus was convinced that he had (on the whole) edited *the* original Greek Testament. In like manner, it was no empty boast, but an expression of their full persuasion, when the Elzevir printers put in the preface of their edition of 1633 the words: *textum ergo habes nunc ab omnibus receptum* IN QUO NIHIL IMMUTATUM AUT CORRUPTUM DAMUS. For the following comparison with the faithful representation of ancient monuments and inscriptions shows that they were really persuaded that they had given *the* original text to their readers (*qui, cum lapides ac monumenta antiquorum quidam venerentur ac religiose repræsentent, multo magis chartas has ab origine θεοπνεύστους vindicandas a mutatione ac corruptela iudicamus*). And yet the difference is clear. In the case of an ancient monument and inscription, the original is before our eyes, in our hands; in the case of literary works, we are removed from the original by thousands of years, and are brought into connexion with it only through a series of repeated copyings; and every fresh copy—perhaps even the first—was a source of errors, *even when the copyists took all possible pains to be correct.* We have already pointed out and accounted for the fact that in the case of the NT there was at first a *period of textual laxity* (cf. Westcott-Hort, §§ 6-14, 'Transmission by writing,' where it is shown how, even when the copyist has the intention of transcribing language (not *sense*), he, by mental action, passing from unconscious to conscious, may come to introduce free modification of language and even rearrangement of materials). A few examples may show to what differences copying gave rise—

What is the name of the tenth apostle in Mt 10^{3}?

(*a*) One set of our witnesses gives	Θαδδαῖος.
(*b*) Another,	Λεββαῖος.
(*c*) A third, combining (*a*+*b*),	Θαδδαῖος ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Λεββαῖος.
(*d*) A fourth (*b*+*a*),	Λεββαῖος ὁ ἐ. Θαδδαῖος.
(*e*) A fifth,	*Judas Zelotes.*
(*f*) A sixth,	*Judas the son of James.*
(*g*) A seventh (=*e*+*b*+*a*),	Ἰοῦδας ὁ καλούμενος Λεββαῖος ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Θαδδαῖος.
(*h*) An eighth,	*Thatheus Zelotis.**

Or, what was the clothing of John the Baptist? According to Mk 1^{6} 'Camel's hair and a leathern girdle about his loins'? or only 'the skin of a camel' without a girdle (δέρριν καμήλου)? The latter is the reading of D, while the girdle is missing also in several Old Latin MSS.

How does the Apocalypse and the NT conclude? We have—leaving out such minor variations as the addition of 'Amen' or 'Amen, Amen,' or the grace 'of the Lord Jesus,' or 'our Lord Jesus,' or 'the Lord Jesus Christ,' or 'Christ' alone—the variations—

(1) 'With the saints' (RV).
(2) 'With all' (RVm).
(3) 'With *you* all' (AV).
(4) 'With *us* all.'
(5) 'With all the saints.'
(6) 'With all men.' †

On *internal* grounds it would be quite impossible to decide which is the true reading; how difficult a decision is on the basis of all arguments (witnesses and internal grounds) is shown by the difference between the latest editors.

For more examples it is sufficient to refer to the margins of the AV (Mt 1^{11} 'Some read'; 26^{26} 'Many Greek copies have'; Lk 10^{22} 'Many ancient copies add these words'; 17^{36} 'This 36th verse is wanting in most of the Greek copies'; Jn 18^{13}, Ac 25^{6} 'as some copies read'; 1 Co 15^{31}, Eph 6^{12}, Ja 2^{18}, 2 P $2^{2.11}$, 2 Jn ^{8}); but especially to those of the RV which are crowded with such remarks as 'Some (many) ancient authorities read (insert, omit, etc.)' from Mt 1^{18} down to Rev 22^{21}. Cases like the Doxology of the Lord's Prayer, the close of the Second Gospel, the *comma Johanneum* (1 Jn 5^{7}), will readily occur to the mind of the reader.

It is not possible here to count up all the ways in which errors may originate; every one who has to do with copying and printing has some testimony to bear regarding it. One of the commonest is, for instance, the so-called *homoioteleuton*, by which arise what our printers call 'match' or 'funeral,' whereby a passage is either written twice or totally omitted; the latter being, of course, the more dangerous case. By such an omission in the editions of Erasmus the words χαριν ^{1}—χαριν ^{2} (Ja 4^{6}) were wanting in the Bibles of Luther till 1568 or even longer. Another equally frequent source of error is the *transposition* of *letters* (especially where *liquidæ* are concerned) or of *words.* In Jn 8^{12} six possibilities are represented in the position of the words: 'Jesus spake unto them'—

(1) αὐτοῖς ἐλάλησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ℵB,
(2) αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐλάλησεν, EF,
(3) ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, D 1, 33,
(4) ἐλάλησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς αὐτοῖς, Cyril, iv. 484,
(5) ὁ Ἰησοῦς αὐτοῖς ἐλάλησεν, TR,
(6) ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς, N^{2};

and a seventh, the combination of (1) and (4), is given by N* αὐτοῖς ἐλάλησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς αὐτοῖς.

A third source is the *addition* of words which the copyist found missing; the subject, for instance, as 'God,' 'the Lord,' 'Jesus.' By such a (wrong) supposition, *e.g.*, the text is explained which ascribes the *Magnificat*, Lk 1, to Mary instead of Elisabeth (see *Introd. ad loc.*).

In view of all the perils to which literary works like the NT have been exposed, it is really astonishing to find how much has been preserved, and, on the whole, how faithfully. And we willingly subscribe to the words of Bengel, placed at the end of *the editio minor* of the 'NT in the original Greek,' which is at present the nearest approach to the goal, that of WH: *Ipsa summa in libris omnibus salva est, ex Dei providentia: sed tamen illam ipsam providentiam non debemus eo allegare, ut a lima quam accuratissima deterreamur.* But also the sequel will still hold good: *Eorum, qui præcessere, neque defectum exagitabimus, neque ad eum nos adstringemus: eorum, qui sequentur, profectum neque postulabimus in præsenti, neque præcludemus in posterum: quælibet ætas pro sua facultate veritatem investigare et amplecti, fidelitatemque in minimis et maximis præstare debet.*

ii. MATERIALS FOR RESTORATION OF THE TEXT.—The means of arriving at the original text, and the rules for the application of these means, are of course the same for the NT as for other literary works of antiquity; only that for the NT we are in a much better situation than for most other works, as, for instance, the Greek and Latin classics, or the OT, owing to the abundance, variety, and comparative excellence of the documents at our disposal. These documents are: *Manuscripts, Versions, Quotations.* The colophon of the first edition of Erasmus, quoted above, mentions these three classes of documents.

---

* WH adopted (*a*) on the authority of ℵB 17, 124 *c corb* vg me the Hier. *loc.* (apparently), and adduced § 304 among the examples of important or interesting readings, attested by ℵB, but lost from the rest of all extant uncials; Tischendorf, on the contrary, preferred (*b*) on the strength of D 122 *k* Orig. Aug.—and so does Blass now—a reading which is by WH here and in Mk 3^{18} declared 'a Western corruption,' these being the only two places where either name occurs. (*e*) is a well-supported 'Old Latin' reading (*a*, *b*, *h*, found also in the Roman Chronography of 354, see art. THADDÆUS); (*g*) is found in 243 and the *Apostolic Constitutions*; (*h*) in the Rushworth Gospels, on which see *JThSt*, iii. p. 96.

† The third reading, 'with *you* all,' has no Gr. MS authority at all, but was retranslated by Erasmus from the Latin Vulgate because the only Gr. MS of Revelation which was at his disposal was defective at the end; it has been retained in the Lutheran Version even after its revision, while the RV replaced it by the first (and second). Also the fourth does not seem to have any MS authority, but to be, as Ed. Reuss styled it, *pium correctoris aut typothetæ suspirium* in a Basle edition of 1545, from which it passed over into the edition published in the same year and place by Melanchthon, who mentions, however, ὑμῶν in his Appendix (*Introd.* p. 159 is to be supplemented). With (5) compare the reading of D* (for 3) in He 13^{25}.

1. *Manuscripts* (cf. WH, §§ 98–106).—The first place in the class of MSS would be held by those of the authors themselves if they were extant—the *autographs*. The possibility of their existence cannot be denied, seeing that we have documents written on papyrus, *i.e.* on the same writing material which was used in NT times, and from regions not far removed from the birthplace of the NT, of twice, almost three times the age which the autographs of the NT would have to-day (see art. WRITING, p. 950^{b}). But, as a matter of fact, the NT autographs have been lost. Already Irenæus appeals only to careful and old copies (*ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς σπουδαίοις καὶ ἀρχαίοις ἀντιγράφοις*), and the testimony of those who have themselves seen the author (*καὶ μαρτυρούντων αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τῶν κατ' ὄψιν τὸν Ἰωάννην ἑωρακότων*), and to internal evidence (*καὶ τοῦ λόγου διδάσκοντος ἡμᾶς*).

On the style in which the autographs of the NT may have been written, and the whole question how we have to conceive of them, see *Introd.* p. 29 ff., and art. WRITING, p. 951. Of expressions referring to books and writing we have in the NT: *βίβλος, βιβλίον, βιβλαρίδιον* (only in NT [Rev.], with the variant *βιβλιδάριον*), *μεμβρᾶναι, χάρτη, κάλαμος, μέλαν, γράφειν*, etc.

The hope which Bengel expressed with reference to the much disputed passage 1 Jn 5^{7} *etiam atque etiam sperare licet, si non autographum Johanneum at alios vetustissimos græcos . . . in occultis divinæ providentiæ forulis latentes suo tempore productum iri*, has been fulfilled lately in a way that could not have been expected at his time.

Erasmus (1516) had at his disposal for his first edition only one or two MSS, the oldest being of the 10th cent.: Stephen used for his *Regia* (1550), besides the printed edition of Ximenes, two uncials (DL) and 13 cursives. The London Polyglot (1657) was for the first time able to make use of the Codex Alexandrinus. More additions to the stock of witnesses were made by Mill (1707), Bengel (1734), especially Wetstein (1751); but of the two MSS which are now reckoned best, the *Vaticanus* was not yet accessible in a trustworthy form, and the *Sinaiticus* was not yet discovered.

Tischendorf knew in his 7th edition (the last which he fully completed) for the Gospel 52 uncial MSS or fragments of such, at the head of them the codex Sinaiticus, ascribed by him to the middle of the 4th cent.* When Gregory completed the Prolegomena to Tischendorf's *editio octava*, he counted for the Gospels alone about 25 uncials more; and in the most recent work on the subject, Gregory's German revision of the said Prolegomena (*Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes:* Erster Band, 1900), he describes 97, promising the description of 4 more for the appendix. It is similar with the other parts of the NT. And while hitherto very few MSS had been known on *papyrus* (the writing material of Apostolic times), and none earlier than the age of Constantine, now several fragments on papyrus have been found recently, and two at least are assigned to the 3rd cent. (see WRITING, p. 952^{a}).

Of *cursive* or *minuscle* MSS (see on them art. WRITING, p. 954^{a}) about 3000 are now known, if we include the Lectionaries; and 2000, so it is estimated by Gregory, wait for description and classification. As a whole the cursive MSS are less valuable than the uncials, but several of them are very important, even more than uncials, because the text of a cursive MS, in spite of the recent date of the MS, may be much older than that of an uncial. It is impossible to give here a list either of the uncials or, still less, of the cursives; some of the former have been treated in separate articles, see A, ALEPH, B, C, D, L; we must refer to Tregelles' revision of Horne's *Introduction* (vol. i. 1856), Tischendorf-Gregory, Scrivener-Miller ^{4}, Gregory, i. (see Literature).

Special attention is due, though they have not received it hitherto, to the *Lectionaries, i.e.* the manuscripts of ecclesiastical lessons taken from the NT (WH, §§ 103, 104; Scrivener, i. 74 ff., 327 ff.; Gregory, *Textkritik*, i. 327 ff.). 'Comparatively few of them have as yet been collated. Some of these have been found to contain readings of sufficient value and interest to encourage further inquiry *in what is as yet an almost unexplored region of textual history*, but not to promise considerable assistance in the recovery of the apostolic text' (WH, *l.c.*). Liturgical books are always conservative, are official books, and can be localized with much more certainty than other MSS of the NT. Gregory is inclined to believe that the order of lessons read on Sundays originated perhaps as early as the first half of the 2nd cent., that for the Saturdays towards the end of the third quarter of this century, and that for the week-days towards the end of the same century (p. 337). In the *Apostolic Constitutions*, ii. 57, it is prescribed that, after the Lessons from the OT, are to be read the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of Paul, and after this, by the deacon or presbyter, the Gospels of Matthew and John, Luke and Mark. No mention is here made at all of the Catholic Epistles and the Apocalypse. This is exactly the old Canon of the Syriac Church (see SYRIAC VERSIONS, p. 647). The redactor of the *Constitutions* knows, apparently, the First and Second Epistle of Peter, but he does not make use of James, 1–3 John, Jude, and Rev.; for the references to Ja $1^{6.7}$ and Rev $22^{18.19}$ (ed. Lag. p. 203, 10. 204, 9) must be changed into *Didache*, ch. 4, Dt 4^{2} (see Zahn, *Geschichte des Kanons*, ii. 182 f.). Up to the present day no lessons from Rev. are found in the system of the Greek Church; and there seem to be preserved Lectionaries which even do not contain lessons from the Catholic Epistles either; see *Apost.* 65 (Scriv.=68 Greg.), a MS in the possession of the Baroness Burdett-Coutts, iii. 25, though it may be only of the 14th cent. (according to Gregory; 12–13th acc. to Scrivener). A MS like this, which has preserved such an old system of lessons, is likely to contain also a text of ancient character. Up to the present, however, these MSS have not been examined on this point.

2. Similarly the second class of our documents has been enriched, namely, the ancient *Versions*.

See WH, §§ 107–122; art. VERSIONS, and the separate artt. ARABIC, vol. i. p. 136; ARMENIAN, *ib.* 153; EGYPTIAN, *ib.* 668; ETHIOPIC, *ib.* 741; LATIN, vol. iii. p. 47; SYRIAC, p. 645; VULGATE, p. 873.

The very first edition of the Gr. Test., the Complutensian Polyglot of Cardinal Ximenes (1514–17), placed side by side with the Greek Text the Latin Vulgate,* and even remodelled the former after the latter in various places (especially 1 Jn 5^{7}; see art. SEPTUAGINT, p. 440^{a}). On Erasmus see above (p. 732^{b}). Beza (1519–1605) made a modest beginning with the use of Oriental Versions, publishing a triglot edition of the NT, 1569 fol., Greek, Latin, and Syriac, the latter edited by Immanuel Tremellius, and using for Acts and 1 and 2 Cor. an Arabic Version, put at his disposal by Franciscus Junius. These versions were presented in a convenient combination by the '*Polyglots*', especially that of Walton, 1657 (Syriac, Ethiopic, Arabic, and, for the Gospels only, Persian). J. Fell (1675) took care to insert in his apparatus the Gothic and the Coptic, as *versiones antiquissimas et a regionibus qua patet orbis maxime distantibus orientes.* But the older of the Egyptian Versions, the Sahidic, was first mentioned in 1778, and edited in 1799;

---

* Compare also the table in WH, § 19, showing the late date at which primary MSS have become available.

* On the Gr. MSS used by St. Jerome, see, besides the *Epilogus* of Wordsworth-White (pp. 653–671); E. Mangenot, *Rev. des Sciences Ecclésiastiques* (Jan. 1900); J. H. Bernard, *Hermathena* (xi. No. xxvii. 1901, 335–342).

and of an older Syriac Version, only one, and this a mutilated MS, had been made known by Cureton as late as 1858, till the Syriac-Sinai palimpsest was discovered by Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson in 1892. F. C. Burkitt is inclined to ascribe the latter MS to the end of the 4th cent.; and there is no doubt that the version contained in it is in some way or other connected with the Diatessaron of Tatian, the pupil of Justin Martyr, *i.e.* a work of the third quarter of the 2nd century.

3. The mention of Justin may lead to our third class of documents, the *Quotations* (cf. WH, §§ 123–126, 'Fathers'). The finds of the last century have greatly enriched this source (cf. Clem. *ad Corinthios*, Barnabas, Hermas, Aristides, *Didache*, etc.); and for those Fathers whose works had been previously known, but only in inadequate editions, trustworthy editions are now everywhere in the course of preparation or publication; cf. the *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, edited by the Academy of Vienna (now more than 40 vols.), and *Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*, to be published by the Academy of Berlin (up till now 7 volumes, including 3 of Origen).

For illustrations of how untrustworthy the printed editions have hitherto been, partly owing to the fault of the editors, see *Introd.* p. 145 ff., from Origen, Cyril, Cyprian; on Ephraem Syrus see F. C. Burkitt in *Texts and Studies*, vii. 2.

And yet the importance of the quotations is very great. Some of the Christian writings belong to the 1st cent.,* of most of which the date and birthplace are exactly known: thus they help us as landmarks for the fixing of texts handed down in MSS of unknown origin. Especially valuable are those passages in which the Fathers refer to the *manuscripts* in their hands (*ἀντίγραφα*, *exemplaria*, *libri*) and their variants, from Irenæus downwards (see above, p. 734^{a}), and it is strange that these passages are not yet collected and sifted.

Most welcome will be *Sancti Irenæi Novum Testamentum*, edited by W. Sanday, advertised as in preparation by the Oxford University Press; on Clement of Alexandria see P. M. Barnard (*T. and St.* v. 5, but only for Gospels and Acts); on Tertullian, Rönsch, *Das Neue Testament Tertullians*; see also *Introd.* p. 144 ff. From Augustine alone P. de Lagarde collected 29,540 quotations from the NT, together with 13,276 from the OT (now in the Library of Göttingen [MS Lagarde, 34]); Dean Burgon, with the help of several ladies, filled 16 thick volumes of quotations, which were acquired after his death by the Trustees of the British Museum. See Ed. Miller, *Textual Commentary upon the Holy Gospels*, I. i. pp. xii f., xx ff.

On the other hand, it is clear that all depends on the exactness with which the author has quoted his text. Amongst the earliest quotations we may reckon the use made in the NT itself by one writer of an earlier writing, for instance by Luke and Matthew of Mark, by Jude of 2 Peter, or *vice versa*.

4. *Number of Variations increased by new materials.* — Bewildering as this cloud of witnesses is, still more bewildering is the mass of variants presented by them. Already in the time of Mill the number of variations in the NT was estimated as 30,000. Scrivener reckoned in 1874 at least four times that quantity, Schaff (*Companion*, 1892) stated that now it cannot fall much short of 150,000, *i.e.* more variants than words, or, as the NT consists of 7959 verses, about 20 variants for every single verse. And yet every new document that comes to light increases them. Take so short a letter as that of Jude. The discovery of the codex Sinaiticus alone brought to light 9 readings not recorded before in Tischendorf's 7th ed., among them the addition of *καὶ ζωῆς* after *σωτηρίας* in v.^{3}, and the substitution of *πᾶσαν ψυχήν* for *πάντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς* in v.^{15}.

The first part of the *Amherst Papyri*, published by Grenfell and Hunt, 1900, supplied the single verse He 1^1 written (along with Gn 1^1) in a small uncial hand of the late 3rd, or more probably early 4th cent., at the top of a papyrus leaf containing a letter from Rome. It furnishes the reading *τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν* not recorded before. In the same volume was published a single vellum leaf, dating apparently from about the 5th or 6th cent., containing Ac $2^{11\text{-}22}$ with lacunæ; it furnished as singular readings v.^{12} *πρὸς τὸν ἄλλον*; v.^{13} *ἐχλεύαζον λέγοντες*, the latter reading being practically that of D (*διεχλεύαζον λέγοντες*), with which D had stood hitherto alone, instead of *χλευάζοντες* (or *διαχλευάζοντες*) *ἔλεγον*.* Even in the case of documents known from early times a fresh revision will enrich (or correct) the critical apparatus of our present editions. Cf., for instance, the notes of the present writer on cod. D in *ZWTh*, 1895, 157 ff., and the collation of this codex in *NT Gr. Suppl.* p. 66. The reading *παρακαλοῦμεν* (*præs. hist.*) in Ac 21^{12}, not mentioned by Blass in 1895 (Gött.), has been received by him into his text in 1896 (Lips.). On certain readings of B see *Introd.* p. 289. On 1 P 1^{16} Tischendorf states that ℵC have *ὅτι γέγραπται*, in reality they have *διὸ γέγρ.* etc. F. C. Burkitt was the first to make out, in 1899 (*JThSt*, i. 278), that the Old Latin MS *k* read in Mk 15^{34} by its first hand *maledixisti*, corroborating thus *ὠνείδισας* of D. In regard to the Gothic translation of Ulfilas, Tischendorf does not mention the very curious reading *managaini*, Jn 7^{15}=*turbæ*, for *Ἰουδαῖοι* (see cod. *f*), and the fact that there are various readings on the margins, as *καυχήσωμαι* 1 Co 13^3, *ἀναγινώσκετε* Gal 4^{21}, *ὑμᾶς* Eph 1^{15}.

The same holds good of the *Versions* and of the *Fathers*, that a new revision will greatly enlarge or rectify the critical apparatus of our present editions. Cf. Mk 7^7 *τιμα* : *αγαπα* D a b c; yet cf. Clem. of Alexandria, who is older than any of our MSS: *ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς χείλεσιν ἀγαπῶν λαός* (583); *ἔστι γὰρ καὶ ὁ λαὸς ὁ τοῖς χείλεσιν ἀγαπῶν* (614). The use of *ἀγαπᾶν* is of course a reminiscence of Ps 78^{36}; see Clem. *Strom.* iv. 32 (Dind. ii. 334, l. 2, compared with 333, l. 27, where Ps 58^{11} is a misprint for '78') *ἀπέχει* : *ἄπεστιν* L 2pe Clem. Rom.; but in Clem. *ad Cor.* i. 15 only cod. A has *ἄπεστιν*, cod. H *ἀπέχει*. The reading *ῥακάν* or *ῥακκάν* (cod. O) Mt 5^{22}, in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, ii. 22; *ἀρχαίαν* for *πρώτην* in Lk 15^{22}, *ib.* ii. 41 (cf. קדמיתא in the Syriac translation of I Clem. *ad Cor.* 47 for *ἀρχαίαν*).

We leave out—for want of space—all variations concerned with the later additions to the text, as headings, summaries, numbering of sections, *stichi*, quotations, miracles, Eusebian sections, notes on the voyages of Paul, noting of church lessons, etc.; though some of these particulars are of great importance for the history of the text, especially for the classification of MSS. Only by way of example we may mention that Tischendorf gives, for the inscription of the Epistle of Jude, eleven, and for its subscription twelve different forms; *for the heading of the Apocalypse their number actually rises to eighteen.* We confine ourselves strictly to the text.

If any of our readers is startled by this mass of variations, though it will no longer cause him dogmatical anxieties and heart-burnings as it did to J. A. Bengel in former times, he may console himself, in the first place, by observing that the variety is not nearly so great as it might have been, and as it actually is in a closely allied department, —that of the *Apocryphal* literature (Gospels, Acts, etc.).

Let us compare the statement of A. C. Headlam, on the Clementine literature (*JThSt*, iii. 48), and simply cast a glance at the very first item in Tischendorf's 2nd ed. of the *Evangelia Apocrypha*, the so-called 'Protevangelium Jacobi.' Take as an example Tisch. 24, where the original text said that '*the chapiters of the temple wailed and were rent from the top to the bottom*' at the murder of the father of John the Baptist by Herod. One manuscript writes that the priests rent *τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν*, another changes this into *καὶ ἐθρήνησαν θρῆνον μέγαν*.

We have nothing like this in the canonical NT. Even the greatest variations offered by D

---

* 'There are perhaps as many as a hundred ecclesiastical writers older than the oldest extant codex of the NT; while between A.D. 500 and A.D. 600 (within which limits our five oldest MSS may be considered certainly to fall) there exist about two hundred Fathers more' (Dean Burgon, *Last Twelve Verses of Mark*, p. 21).

* How common such variations are may be seen from Wis 11^{14}, where the very same example occurs: *ἀπεῖπον χλευάζοντες* ℵAB, *ἀπειπόντες ἐχλεύαζον* C.

(in Luke and Acts, which have been called '*monstra* potius quam variæ lectiones') are tame compared with these. Nevertheless, we should be only too glad to have a thread of Ariadne to guide us through the labyrinth of NT criticism.

5. *Rules of Textual Criticism.*—To meet this want, the *rules* drawn up for literary criticism in general have been applied to the NT in particular. We can only touch on some of them. First of all, that of Bengel: *proclivi scriptioni præstat ardua*, which is commonly quoted in the shorter but less balanced form: *difficilior lectio placet* or *difficilior lectio principatum tenet*. Under this rule falls that of Griesbach: *Brevior lectio præferenda est verbosiori*; also that which Wordsworth-White formulated (in the *Oxford Latin NT*): *Vera lectio ad finem victoriam reportat* [*i.e.* where a phrase occurs several times with variations, that reading is the true one which is attested at the later places: 'sæpe enim scribæ quod primo loco pro mendo habent, secundo pro vero agnoscunt'].* But it is clear that these rules have a very limited application. *Internal* judgment is liable to much error, even if the textual critic has a special gift—and has developed it by practice—of divining what the author is likely to have written (*intrinsic* probability), and what a copyist is likely to have made him seem to have written (*transcriptional* probability).

Of greater importance is the *external* evidence, the MSS, Versions, Quotations. But here again some warnings are necessary. For instance, the rule of Sauppe: '*Do not overrate your Codex*,' that which you may have discovered (as Tischendorf did with ℵ), or in which you are for some reason or other specially interested. Or the rule from the *Ten Commandments for a philologist*—we think they are by the late Professor A. Lehrs of Königsberg—'Thou shalt worship no Codices.' Or the saying: 'Common sense is older than any Codex'; or in Latin: 'Ratio et iudicium centum codicibus potiora.'

How are we to sift and judge the evidence? That it is not allowable to *count* the witnesses is now generally acknowledged; in theory, too, it is acknowledged that we have to distinguish between the *age* of the MS and that of its text; but in practice too great weight is still allowed to the oldest of our MSS. Neither is it sufficient to follow an *eclectic course*,† to decide each case by itself, to stop at the comparison of single readings. This is only the first step; and for this it is sufficient to take the most *significant* variations, *i.e.* (*a*) such as offer a considerable divergence of meaning with a small variation of form, whether it be brought about (α) accidentally or (β) by purpose; or (*b*) such as offer identity of meaning with great variation of form; or, finally (*c*), additions, omissions, and transpositions.

Such passages are, for instance, for (*a*) from Revelation ‡—

1^{5} λύσαντι, ℵAC . . .
λούσαντι, QP . . .
8^{13} ἀετοῦ, ℵAQ . . .
ἀγγέλου, P . . .
13^{18} '666,' almost all.
'616,' C 11 (MSS quoted by Irenæus).
22^{14} πλύνοντες τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν, ℵA . . .
ποιοῦντες τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ, Q . . .

But as in Rev. the documents are rare, it is of greater importance to quote from other books—

Mk 6^{20} ἠπόρει, ℵBL.
ἐποίει, almost all.
Lk 3^{32} Ἰωβήλ, ℵ*BD*(ωβηλ).
Ἰωβήδ, the rest.
1 Co 13^{3} καυχήσωμαι, ℵAB 17.*
καυθήσομαι (-ω-), the rest.
He 2^{9} χάριτι, almost all.
χωρίς, M 67^{b}, mentioned by Origen.
1 Ti 4^{10} ἀγωνιζόμεθα, ℵ*AC.
ὀνειδιζόμεθα, $ℵ^{3}$DL.
1 P 1^{23} σπορᾶς, BKL.
φθορᾶς, ℵAC.
2 P 2^{13} ἀδικούμενοι, ℵ*BP.
κομιούμενοι, $ℵ^{3}$AC . . .
„ ἀπάταις, ℵA*C.
ἀγάπαις, A^{3}B.
Jude ^{12} ἀγάπαις, ℵBKL.
ἀπάταις AC.†
„ $^{22.23}$ οὓς μὲν ἐλεᾶτε . . . οὓς δὲ ἐλεᾶτε, ℵB (with minor variations).
οὓς δὲ ἐλέγχετε . . . οὓς δὲ ἐλεατε̂, A.‡

(*b*) Of the second class compare—

Mk 3^{5} πωρώσει, almost all.
νεκρώσει, D, old lat. syr^{sin}.

---

* Cf. further: '*id verius, quod prius*,' called by Dean Burgon an axiom which holds every bit as true in Textual Criticism as in Dogmatic Truth (*Last Verses*, 76).

† How dangerous an eclectic course is may be seen from the latest recension of the NT, that of B. Weiss, who reads in Lk 5^{2} πλοιάρια δύο (diminutive, and δύο as second word), a reading which none of our witnesses offers—

ℵD . . . δύο πλοῖα.
B . . . πλοῖα δύο.
AC* . . . δύο πλοιάρια.

‡ In the first line is put the reading adopted in the text by WH. Only a selection of the witnesses is given, chiefly uncial MSS.

* WH adduce for this reading also Clement of Alexandria, 614: ἔστι γὰρ καὶ ὁ λαὸς ὁ τοῖς χείλεσιν ἀγαπῶν (see above, p. 735), ἔστι καὶ ἄλλος παραδιδοὺς τὸ σῶμα, ἵνα καυχήσηται, '*for so the parallelism to* τοῖς χείλεσιν *makes it necessary to read; the only extant MS has* καυθήσεται.' As tbe passage is of primary importance, the present writer consulted the future editor of the works of Clement (for the Berlin edition), Dr. Stählin, who does not think this change justified, pointing to the preceding φόβῳ δέ, which refers to a violent martyrdom. We may refer further to Clement, 588 ff., where Clement, after several references to 1 Co 13, mentions examples of heathen who endured the fire (Postumus, Anaxarches), and goes on to say: μένει δὲ ἐλευθέρα κἂν . . . τῷ παμφάγῳ ὑποπέσῃ πυρὶ . . . ταῖς θείαις ἀπαρτωμένη φιλίαις ἀδούλωτος ἄνω περιπολεῖ τὸ σῶμα παραδοῦσα τοῖς τούτου μόνου ἔχεσθαι δυναμένοις. Here there seems to be a reference to 1 Co 13^{3} as well as to Mt 10^{28}.

† Here, as in Lk 3^{32}, 1 Co 13^{3}, the decision of WH seems influenced by tbeir predilection for ℵB. To what is remarked (*Introd.* p. 324 ff.) on these two passages add the following: Whatever view may be taken of tbe relation of 2 Peter to Jude, it seems clear (1) that the reading must be *the same* in both Epistles, either ἀπάταις or ἀγάπαις; the one Epistle quoting from the other—Peter from Jude, or Jude from Peter. (2) To the present writer, at least, it is clear that ἀπάταις is the true reading. The apparatus of Tischendorf is very misleading, as the translation of Jerome (*convivia* in Peter, *epulæ* in Jude) testifies in both cases for ἀπάται = diversions, pastimes. Cf. in Jude the reading εὐωχίαι in cod. 66^{b}; Protev. Jacobi, 6. 1: διεπλάνων αὐτήν; 7. 2 (cod. L): εἰς πλάνην αὐτῆς = pseudo-Matthias 8. 4 *ad solatium*; Sir 14^{16} ἀπάτησον τὴν ψυχήν σου = 'let thy soul fare delicately' (Taylor, Heb. פנק); Syriac פרנ׳ (lit. = τέρπειν) for διαπλανᾶν in the Protevangelium. Bigg (*Commentary*, 1901, pp. 212, 282, 333) declares ἀγάπαις in both places to be the right reading.

‡ Here WH remark: 'Tbe smooth reading of A, etc., has every appearance of being a correction of the difficult double ἐλεᾶτε of ℵ and B. . . . Some primitive error evidently affects the passage. Perhaps the first ἐλεᾶτε . . . is intrusive.' Cf., on this verse, the elaborate paper by R. A. Falconer in the *Expositor*, Sept. 1901; but note that the *Didache*, or, rather, the still older writing which forms the basis of the first part of the *Didache*, clearly testifies for ἐλέγχετε. In tbe only extant MS of the *Didache*, it is true, οὓς μὲν ἐλεήσεις has fallen out, in its Latin text also ἀλλὰ οὓς μὲν ἐλέγξεις before it and περὶ δὲ ὧν προσεύξῃ after it; but after the *Apostolic Canons* (Greek and Syriac) we must read in the *Didache* οὐ μισήσεις πάντα ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ οὓς μὲν ἐλέγξεις <οὓς δὲ ἐλεήσεις>, περὶ δὲ ὧν προσεύξῃ, οὓς δὲ ἀγαπήσεις ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχήν σου. The passage seems one of the best examples of the value of quotations, and yet the latest commentator does not even quote it (Bigg), and Falconer declared that nothing can be made of the supposed reference in the *Didache* on the question whether there are three or two clauses in the verse.

Mt 17^{20} *ὀλιγοπιστίαν*, ℵB curs. syr^{cu} . . .
ἀπιστίαν, CDEF . . . it vg . . .

(*c*) Of the third for additions, omissions, and transpositions—

Mt 5^{22} ὁ *ὀργιζόμενος τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ*, ℵB.
+*εἰκῆ*, most.*
25^{1} *τοῦ νυμφίου*, ℵBC . . .
+*καὶ τῆς νύμφης*, DX*Σ . . . latt syr^{sin} vg hl, with the remark of Thomas that 'the bride' is not found in all copies, especially not in the 'Alexandrian'; see on the importance of this difference for the explanation of the parable a paper of A. Hilgenfeld in *ZWTh*, xliv. (1901) pp. 545–553.

It is sufficient to recall the doxology in the Lord's Prayer, the end of Mark, 1 Jn 5^{7}.

Transpositions—

Jn 7^{53}–8^{11} stands after Lk 21^{38} in the closely-related MSS 13-69-124-346, the principal members of the so-called Ferrar group.

In Romans 'the great doxology' (16^{25-27}) is found also after 14^{23} in AP 5, 17, here alone in the 'Syrian' text (Greek, Gothic, and Syriac). On the inferences which may be drawn from this fact, see WH, Appendix, Lightfoot, *Bibl. Ess.* 287 ff., and Zahn, *Einleitung*, on the one hand, and on the other Fr. Spitta, *Untersuch. über den Brief des Paulus an die Römer* (*Zur Gesch. und Litt. des Urchristentums*, iii. 1, 1901). Textual criticism here passes over into higher criticism. Cf., further, B. W. Bacon, 'The Doxology at the end of Romans' (*JBL* xviii. 167–176).†

These examples show that, according to WH at least, ℵ and B, and especially the combination ℵB, have preserved in most cases the true reading. But WH came to this decision not on the basis of the intrinsic merits of these readings, but led by their important principle: *Knowledge of documents should precede final judgment of readings* (§ 38); and: *All trustworthy restoration of corrupted texts is founded on the study of their history*, that is, of the relations of descent or affinity which connect the several documents (§ 49). This is undoubtedly the true principle, and may be called the historical or genealogical method of textual criticism. It consists in the attempt to retrace the history of the text in the opposite direction from that which it has taken, *i.e.* from recent times backwards, step by step, if possible to the very original. In many cases (compare the Heb. OT and the Greek and Latin Classics) the *scantiness* of our materials does not allow of such a method; in the case of the NT it is, on the contrary, made difficult by the wealth of materials and the complicated character which this history must have had. And the great question of the textual criticism of the NT at present is, whether the study of its history led WH to correct conclusions. Only the principal results can be mentioned here: for all particulars see vol. ii. of their great edition, or the Appendix of their manual edition.

This study led them to recognize (1) that the text of Chrysostom and other Syrian Fathers of the 4th cent. is substantially identical with the common late text (§ 130). This text must be due to a '*recension*' in the strict sense, with an elaborateness which implies deliberate criticism (§ 185). This part of their theory is very generally accepted, except by the defenders of the traditional text, like Burgon and Ed. Miller. But, further, WH believed themselves able to distinguish (2) an *Alexandrian* text, the chief characteristics of which are said to be temperate forms of incipient paraphrase and of skilful assimilation, with careful attention to language, and without bold paraphrase or interpolation from extraneous sources (§§ 181–184); (3) a *Western* text, not limited to the West, but widely used; not single and created at once, but various and progressive, with its two chief characteristics, boldness of paraphrase and readiness to adopt extraneous matter; represented, especially by codex D, Old Latin MSS, but also the Old Syriac (§§ 170–176); finally (4) the *neutral* and comparatively pure text, to be discovered, especially by comparison of ℵ and B, the ancestries of which WH believe to have been separate from a remote antiquity, so that an exceptional purity of text would be found in readings common to ℵB.*

> § 297: one of three alternatives must be true; either the respective ancestries of ℵ and B must have diverged from a common parent extremely near the apostolic autographs;
> Or, if their concordant readings were really derived from a single not remote MS, that MS must itself have been of the very highest antiquity;
> Or, lastly, such single not remote MS must have inherited its text from an ancestry which, at each of its stages, had enjoyed a singular immunity from corruption.

This is the most elaborate theory about the text of the NT put forward in the 19th cent. as the result of its study during thirty years. Fifteen years after its first publication the then surviving editor brought out a new edition with some Supplementary Notes, required by the discovery of fresh documents, especially the Syriac palimpsest from Sinai; at the same time declaring that *no arguments* had been advanced against their general principles which were not fully considered by themselves in the long course of their work, and, in their judgment, dealt with accurately. And in their Introduction itself it is declared (§ 105): 'Nothing can well be less probable than the discovery of cursive evidence sufficiently important to affect present conclusions in more than a handful of passages, much less to alter present interpretations of relations between the existing documents.' Again, in the concluding paragraphs on the 'Conditions of further improvement of the text' (371–374) they wrote: 'It would be an illusion to anticipate important changes of text from any acquisition of new documents,' and did not hesitate to express the conviction that no trustworthy improvement can be effected except in accordance with the leading principles of their method; further, 'that the general course of future criticism must be shaped by the happy circumstance that the fourth century has bequeathed to us two MSS, of which even the less incorrupt must have been of exceptional purity among its own contemporaries, and which rise into greater prominence of character the better the early history of that text becomes known.'

---

* To the witnesses for the omission of *εἰκῆ* is to be added the *Didascalia* as edited by Lagarde (p. 53^{26}); the *Constitutions*, ii. 53 (p. 79^{21}, ed. Lagarde, not mentioned in his Index), and the MS of the *Didascalia* published by Mrs. Gibson in the *Studia Sinaitica*, add *εἰκῆ*, איקי.

† In a note at least we may touch on the question of *Conjectural Emendation*. There has been so much misuse of this art, that of late it has fallen somewhat into contempt; and, on the other hand, there are so many good documents for the NT at our disposal, that its place is very inconsiderable (WH, §§ 93–95); but to say that Conjectural Emendation must *never* be resorted to, even in passages of acknowledged difficulty (Scrivener^{4}, ii. 244), or to say that it is not allowed 'prêter de l'esprit à l'Esprit saint' (Lagrange, *Revue Biblique*, 1900, 206), is to go too far. The reading *φθονεῖτε* of the TR in Ja 4^{2} seems to be a conjecture of Erasmus put forward in his second edition; *ἀκούσμασιν*, mentioned by WH among the suspected readings, is a conjecture of Nösselt, approved by J. C. Vollgraff (*de tribus locis interpolatis in Evangelio secundum Marcum*, Mnemosyne, 1901, 148–161). When the present writer hit upon the reading *ἐπὶ πόντον* instead of *ἐπὶ τόπον* or *ἐπὶ πλοίων* (Rev 18^{17}), received into the text by Baljon, it was by mere conjecture, though it was confirmed afterwards by the reading *super mare* of Primasius (the confusion of *πόντον* and *τόπον* is very common, see Eus. *HE* iv. 15, v. 15, 23). Baljon's edition gives a convenient collection of the conjectures of his countrymen. Fr. Blass received into the text of his *Evangelium secundum Matthæum cum variæ lectionis delectu* (Lipsiæ, 1901) 7 conjectural emendations, marking them with a star (*): 7^{25} *προσέπαισαν*, 16^{23} *ὀπίσω σου*, 17^{27} *εὑρήσει*, 22^{31} *ζωῆς* (for *ἀναστάσεως*), 25^{1} *ἔλαβον* . . . . *ἐξελθεῖν*, 26^{50} *αἶρε* for *ἑταῖρε*, 27^{46} *ἀζαφθανί*. Of remarkable readings of this edition note *συνορίαν* for *Συρίαν* 4^{24} (a complete collation of it at the end of the 3rd ed. of Nestle's *Gr. Test.*).

* As examples of important or interesting readings attested by ℵB, but lost from the texts of all other extant uncials, WH quote (§ 304), *e.g.*, Mt 5^{22} omission of *εἰκῆ*, 10^{3} *Θαδδαῖος* (see art. THADDÆUS), 11^{19} *ἔργων* for *τέκνων*, Mk 9^{29} omission of *καὶ νηστείᾳ*, $16^{9\cdot20}$ omission, Eph 1^{1} omission of *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ*.

WH do not, of course, deny the presence of wrong readings in ℵB (see § 303), still less in ℵ or B, but they are slow to acknowledge them. Cf. their note on Mt 27^{49}, which is, to all appearance, an intrusion from the Gospel of John. 'Two suppositions alone are compatible with the whole evidence. First, the words may belong to the genuine text of the extant form of Mt. . . . Or, secondly, they may be a very early interpolation.' They are extant in ℵBCL, etc. WH included them within double brackets, but did not feel justified in removing them from the text altogether, and were not prepared to reject altogether the alternative supposition. Dean Burgon, on the other hand, *Last Verses*, p. 80: 'There does not exist in the whole compass of the NT a more monstrous instance of interpolation . . . in defiance of reason as well as of authority,' cf. pp. 313–318. Though the verse is not attested by Ephraem's Commentary on the Diatessaron or the Arabic revision of it, we see no reason why we should doubt the statement of the scholion that the sentence was present *εἰς τὸ καθ' ἱστορίαν εὐαγγέλιον Διαδώρου, καὶ Τατιανοῦ καὶ ἄλλων διαφόρων ἁγίων πατέρων* (cod. 72, where *Διαδώρου* may have arisen from *διὰ δ'*, *i.e.* *διατεσσάρων*). Comp., further, Mk 4^{21} *ὑπὸ τὴν λυχνίαν*, attested by ℵB* 13-69-346 33: 'the concurrence of four such documentary authorities, all independent, implies the highest antiquity, the number rendering accidental coincidence very unlikely.' To the four authorities quoted by WH is to be added a fifth, Σ, and just on that account it becomes more likely that the coincidence is accidental; comp. He 7^{1} *ὅς*, rejected in spite of ℵABC^{2}D; 9^{2} the addition of *καὶ τὸ χρυσοῦν θυμιατήριον* in B and its omission in v.^{4}.

The present writer is not prepared to contradict these statements. Yet, on the other hand, it cannot be denied that there is a growing doubt whether the importance of the so-called *Western* variations has not been underrated and the purity of the text of ℵB overrated.[*] See, besides the contributions of Fr. Blass of Halle, the latest statement by C. H. Turner in *JThSt*, iii. 3, p. 111 f.: 'If the authority for the words of the Evangelists is to be sought primarily or even partially from the "Western" text, it must be admitted that a problem lies before us which, if it may well call forth all the energies of Christian scholars, will make heavy calls alike on their patience, their caution, and their courage.'[†]

The other question is whether WH estimated the testimony of ℵB correctly. What if ℵB or their ancestors were not separated from a remote antiquity, but one codex was influenced by the other? WH were inclined to believe that B was written at Rome, and that all its ancestors may have been there, while to ℵ they ascribed an Egyptian origin. Tischendorf, on the other hand, believed he could demonstrate that one and the same copyist worked at both MSS. Quite recently the suggestion has been thrown out that B originated under the influence of Athanasius (Rahlfs, Nestle, Zahn), and is perhaps the very copy which was procured by Athanasius for Constans. If so, it is a question how an exceptional purity can have been handed down till that time. On the other hand, this fact would explain how B seems to have left no children; the private copy of an emperor would not be given out that other MSS might be copied from it; certainly not at first. It is at all events strange that no MS seems to have been found as yet which might be pronounced with certainty to have been copied from B.[*] In some books of the OT ℵ and B have an almost identical text; in others they present us with quite different recensions; in the Book of Judges B contains a version not quoted by the Alexandrian Fathers from the 2nd to the 4th cent. (Clement, Origen, Didymus), but for the first time by Cyril, which therefore some scholars have been inclined to ascribe to Hesychius. In the NT it is easier, as Burgon stated, 'to find two consecutive verses in which the two MSS differ the one from the other, than two consecutive verses in which they entirely agree.' But this, instead of sensibly detracting from our opinion of the value of their evidence, as Burgon believed, on the contrary enhances it where they agree. It is intelligible that, as long as cod. B stood alone among extant MSS in the omission of Mk 16^{9-20}, scholars were slow to follow it; even after ℵ had come to its support, Burgon was not justified, but might be excused for coming, after an investigation of more than 250 pages, to the conclusion 'that cod. B and cod. ℵ must be henceforth allowed to be *in one more serious* particular untrustworthy and erring witnesses. They have been convicted, in fact, of bearing false witness in respect of St. Mark 16^{9-20}, where their evidence had been hitherto reckoned upon with the most undoubting confidence.'[†] But now, since F. C. Conybeare found in 1893 the Armenian manuscript which between v.^{8} and v.^{9} has the words 'Ariston eritzou,' *i.e.* of the 'Presbyter Arist[i]on' (see the facsimile in Swete's *Commentary* and in *Introd.* pl. ix), and has preserved even the name of the man to whom (directly or indirectly) we owe the longer conclusion of the Second Gospel, no reasonable doubt is any longer possible. Therefore in this important case ℵB turn out to be our best witnesses among extant MSS. This awakens, of course, a strong prejudice in their favour. But what, on the other hand, about the 'Western non-interpolations'? and the other places where D alone seems to have preserved the original reading? See WH, §§ 240–242, 283. Certain apparently Western 'omissions' are shown by their internal character to be original, *i.e.* non-interpolations; that is to say, only those Western documents remained free from interpolations which found their way into all other documents. Their presence in even the best of these documents appeared to WH such an extraordinary phenomenon that they were led to the thought—worked out later by Blass—that 'the Western and the non-Western texts started respectively from *a first and a second edition* of the Gospels, both conceivably apostolic.' WH decided finally to leave them in the text, but to mark them by double brackets ⟦ ⟧. Apart from the singular addition to Mt 27^{49} (see above, p. 737^b n.), these Western non-interpolations are all found in the last three chapters of Luke ($22^{19f.}$ $24^{3. 6. 12. 36. 40. 51. 52}$).

---

[*] Even Burgon speaks favourably of D, despite of its many 'monstra potius quam variæ lectiones' (*Last Twelve Verses of Mark*, p. 20).

[†] There has just appeared the Prospectus of the great undertaking of Prof. H. von Soden of Berlin: *Die Schriften des Neuen Testamentes in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte*; Berlin, A. Duncker, 2 vols.—2328 Codices have been examined, 454 more than are mentioned by Gregory, with the result that the text of ℵB is held to be decidedly that of a recension, not the neutral or original, as WH believed. This forthcoming edition will henceforward form a new starting-point [24th March 1902].

[*] The reading φανερῶν (He 1^{3} for φέρων), which is attested by Tischendorf only from B*,—a second hand changed it into φέρων, a third restored it, and wrote on the margin ἀμαθέστατε καὶ κακέ, ἄφες τὸ παλαιόν, μὴ μεταποίει,—has now been found in an Egyptian treatise (see J. A. Robinson, *Texts and Studies*, v. 5, p. x).

It is a great drawback that our critical editions do not permit of an easy glance over the differences of these principal MSS; there is Hansell's edition (*NT græce: Antiquissimorum codicum textus in ordinem parallelum dispos.; notas crit. et collationem Cod. Sinaitici adjecit Ed. H. Hansell*, Oxonii, 3 vols., 1864, 52½ sh.), and now that of Schjott (*NT græce ad fidem testium vetustissimorum recognovit necnon variantes lectiones ex editionibus Elzeviriana et Tischendorfiana subjunxit*, Hauniæ, 1897).

[†] This conviction as regards B arose from the fact, first pointed out in its importance by Burgon, that the scribe of B, after ending the Gospel with v.^{8} in the second column of a page, has, contrary to his custom, left the third or remaining column blank, evidently because one or other of the two subsequent endings, and apparently the longer of the Textus Receptus, was known to him personally, while he did not find it in the exemplar which he was copying. That the same scribe, by retaining on the margin the sectional figures in the Epistles of Paul, has preserved for us the knowledge that the Epistle to the Hebrews had formerly a different position from what it has now in B, may be mentioned here with due thanks to him, and as proof how the smallest particulars may be of importance in textual criticism. That in the OT part one of the scribes was in the habit of using for the name Ισραηλ the abbreviation $\overline{\mathrm{I}\eta\lambda}$, the other $\overline{\mathrm{I}\sigma\lambda}$, enabled E. Abbott to recognize their different hands without even seeing the codex, while the Roman editors were not able to discern it from the handwriting which lay before them.

Of other places where D alone (or nearly alone) seems to have preserved the original reading, B. Weiss mentions (*Die vier Evangelien*, pp. 48, 180) Mk 13^{22} the omission of ψευδόχριστοι καί, and the reading ποιήσουσιν for δώσουσιν; Lk 12^{27} πῶς οὔτε νήθει οὔτε ὑφαίνει, Mk 3^{14} etc.

In his *Philologica sacra* (1896) the present writer pointed out other passages of this kind, *e.g.* Mt 6^8 πρὶν ὑμᾶς ἀνοῖξαι τὸ στόμα instead of αἰτῆσαι αὐτόν; 26^{73} ὁμοιάζει for δῆλόν σε ποιεῖ; Lk 18^{30} ἑπταπλασίονα, etc. Blass has received a great deal into his edition of St. Matthew (1901). And the great question of the day is the weight to be allowed to D. But it seems that new materials must come to light before a decision can be reached. In the meantime the task will be (1) to collate as many MSS, Versions, and Fathers as possible; (2) to collect all statements of the Fathers about what may be called editions or recensions of the NT; (3) to compare these statements with the results of our collations.

That Marcion edited a NT (Gospel of Luke and Epistles of Paul) is well known. Are traces of his work to be found in any existing MS or MSS? and, if so, in which? Of Tatian we know not only that he composed his *Diatessaron*, but also that he tampered with the text of Paul: τοῦ δὲ Ἀποστόλου, φασί, τολμῆσαί τινας αὐτὸν μεταφράσαι φωνὰς ὡς ἐπιδιορθούμενον αὐτῶν τὴν τῆς φράσεως σύνταξιν (Eus. *HE* iv. 29). Has the *Diatessaron* left its traces in D or anywhere else? and what is the relation of the so-called Western text of the Pauline Epistles to Tatian? When the Epistle to the Philippians begins in D_2 etc.: Ἐγὼ μὲν εὐχαριστῶ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν (v.^{3}) instead of Εὐχαριστῷ τῷ θεῷ μου; when FG will not allow a πορθεῖν but only a πολεμεῖν of the Church through Saul (Gal $1^{13. 23}$), not a ζυμοῦν but a δολοῦν as the result of the leaven (1 Co 5^6, Gal 5^9), on which side is the 'metaphrasis,' and from whom did it proceed? Who were the ὀρθόδοξοι who took away (ἀφείλαντο) a passage from the Gospel of Luke, so that it is found only ἐν τοῖς ἀδιορθώτοις ἀντιγράφοις, in the 'uncensured copies' according to Epiphanius (*Ancor.* 31)? See on Lk 19^{41}.

What about the 'Codices quos a *Luciano* et *Hesychio* nuncupatos paucorum hominum adserit perversa sententia, quibus utique nec in veteri testamento . . . nec in novo profuit emendasse, cum multarum gentium linguis scriptura ante translata doceat falsa esse quæ addita (eod. E edita) sunt,' according to Jerome's preface to his Latin Gospels? What about the 'Evangelia quæ falsavit Hesychius apocrypha' in the so-called *Decretum Gelasii*? to which some MSS add a similar statement about Lucian.

What about the 50 copies of the Bible which Eusebius procured by order of Constantine for the Churches (not of his 'empire,' correct *Introd.* p. 54, but) of his capital, which Eusebius sent off ἐν πολυτελῶς ἠσκημένοις τεύχεσι τρισσὰ καὶ τετρασσά? Does this mean that they were written in three or four columns or bound in three or four volumes? and still more, did they leave no traces at all? or is the Sinaiticus really one of them? What about the recension of the Pauline Epistles which was undertaken according to the subscription in cod. H,—its fragments are now dispersed in Athos, Kiew, Moscow (at two places), St. Petersburg,* Paris, and Turin,—and other testimonies by a certain Euthalius (or Euagrius) of Sulke? Basil the Great († 379) corrected a copy with his own hand: may it not be traced? His younger brother, Gregory of Nyssa, is the sole authority besides Marcion for that peculiar form of the second petition in the Lord's Prayer: ἐλθέτω τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμά σου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ καθαρισάτω ἡμᾶς. How did this creep into the codex 604 (of the 12th cent., in the British Museum), which exhibits 2724 variations from the Textus Receptus and 270 readings peculiar to itself? Has the last word been spoken about the origin of the *Ferrar* group? Where are the *accurate* copies (ἐσπουδασμένα) or the *ancient* in Jerusalem to be sought for, deposited on the Holy Mount (ἐκ τῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις παλαιῶν ἀντιγράφων τῶν ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ ὄρει ἀποκειμένων), with which, according to their subscription, cod. Λ and some cursives have been collated?

We might go on asking such questions,—and that these questions do not belong to those which a fool asks, and which no wise man answers, may be exemplified by the reading of the Ferrar group in Mt 1^{16} which WH, in their (first) edition did not find worth mentioning; and now there appears suddenly an old *Syriac* fragment from the far East, containing that reading, which was hitherto known only in some *Latin* witnesses from the far West, and in those four solitary *Greek* MSS written probably in Calabria towards the end of the Middle Ages,—a reading which seems to have some connexion with the very composition of the First Gospel.

'Criticism,' said Ph. Schaff, in his excellent *Companion to the Greek Testament and the English Version* (at the opening of the fifth chapter, which treats of the Nature and Object of Textual Criticism),—'Criticism is a dry study.' Dry? Surely we do not know a study of more interest. It requires, it is true, as the same writer said, 'an unusual amount of patience and attention to the minutest details.' Yes, but then it will be rewarded. 'The smallest particle of gold,' said Bengel, in the connexion from which Westcott-Hort took the word with which they closed their task, 'is gold, but we must not allow that to pass as gold which has not been proved.'

'Codicibus emendandis primitus debet invigilare sollertia eorum qui scripturas nosse desiderant, ut emendatis non emendati cedant,' said Augustine (*de Doctrina Christiana*, ii. 14, 21). It is a satisfaction that in the same country in which and from which the British and Foreign Bible Society circulated, for almost a century, more than a hundred thousand copies of the Textus Receptus of Elzevir-Stephen-Erasmus, the most decided attempt has been made to fulfil the task imposed by these words of Augustine, to fulfil the command of one greater than Augustine,—the word of St. Paul, πάντα δοκιμάζετε, τὸ καλὸν κατέχετε (1 Th 5^{21}), or of the Master Himself, though it is not recorded within the compass of our present New Testament: γίνεσθε δόκιμοι τραπεζῖται.

LITERATURE AND ADDENDA.—(1) On the history of the Printed Text, which seemed unnecessary here, see WH, §§ 15-18, 244-255 (Mill, Bentley, Bengel, Semler, Griesbach, Hug, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles); Scrivener-Miller^4, ii. 177-243; P. Schaff, *Companion to the Greek Testament and the English Version*^{4}, 1892; S. P. Tregelles, *Account of the Printed Text of the Greek NT*, 1854; Nestle, *Introduction*, i. pp. 1-27; E. Reuss, *Bibliotheca Novi Testamenti Græci, cuius editiones omnes . . . quotquot reperiri potuerunt collegit digessit illustravit*, Brunsvigæ, 1872.†

---

* One leaf at St. Petersburg is no longer extant, but its contents may be read by the mirror on the opposite page, on which it is impressed.

† Justice must be done at least in a footnote to the edition (not mentioned by Scrivener or Nestle) of Ed. Harwood,

(2) On the MSS see the Literature quoted in *Introd.* pp. 30, 32, *e.g.* Ch. F. Sitterley, *Praxis in Manuscripts of the Greek Testament. The mechanical and literary processes involved in their writing and preservation.* With table of MSS and thirteen facsimile plates, New York [1898].—On the Autographs add the statement that according to the *Acta Joannis* (ed. Zahn) the Apostle dictated his Gospel to Prochorus in two days and six hours, to be written on parchment.—K. Lake, *Text of the New Testament* (Oxford Church Text-Books), 1900; M. Lundberg, *Nya Testamentets text*, Lund, 1899.—*Facsimiles of Biblical Manuscripts in the British Museum*, edited by F. G. Kenyon, London, 1901, fol., cf. the same author's *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the NT*, London, 1901; John W. Burgon, *The Last Twelve Verses of the Gospel according to St. Mark, vindicated against recent critical objectors and established.* With facsimiles of codex ℵ and codex L, Oxf. and Lond. 1871.

On cod. D. See on the Italian origin of codex Bezæ, K. Lake and F. E. Brightman (*JThSt*, i. 441, 445, 454); J. R. Harris, *The Annotators of the Codex Bezæ*, London, 1901. The reasons which make against the theory of Blass, that D preserved for Acts a first recension, are said (*Expos. Times*, xiii. 96) to be best summed up in an appendix to the new edition (1900) of Mr. Page's *Acts* (Macmillan).

On the new Purple MS from Sinope see H. Omont, 'Notice sur un très ancien manuscrit grec de l'Évangile de saint Matthieu en onciales d'or sur parchemin pourpré et orné de niniatures' . . . Paris, 1900 (*Notices et Extraits*, xxxvi.; and *JThSt*, ii. 590 ff.). On the leaf found in Russia see *Acad. des Inscr.*, 8 fév. and 29 mars 1901.—Conti-Rossini, 'L'evangilo d'oro di Dabra Libānos' (*Rendiconti dei Lincei*, vol. x. 5, 6, pp. 177–219 [not seen]). A fragment of Jn 7^{6-10} 9^{17-23} has been published by F. C. Burkitt and Mrs. Gibson in *Studia Sinaitica*, ix. p. 45 f.

Cursives: J. R. Harris, *Further Researches into the History of the Ferrar Group*, Londou, 1900. On ev. 47 and 67^{mg}, 565, see F. C. Burkitt in *JThSt*, i. 626 f.

As to the *age of Church Lessons*, Job was read in the 'Great Week' as early as the time of Origen.

Versions: On the use of two lauguages in the Service see the Itinerary of Sylvia Aquitana (in Jerusalem); the Sacramentary of Serapion of Thmuis (*JThSt*, i. 254).—*Latin:* F. C. Burkitt, on the age of codex Bobbiensis *k* (*Cambridge Univ. Reporter*, 5th March 1901; rather of the 4th than 5th or 6th cent.); the same author doubts more and more whether there was a Latin Version in the time before Cyprian (*JThSt*, i. 627), and finds an early Latin text of the *Diatessaron* as one of the constituent elements of the mixed and curious text of *g* (*TSt*, vii. 2, p. 46). On the influence of the Gothic Version on *f* (brixiensis) see F. C. Burkitt (*JThSt*, i. 129 ff.) and Fr. Kauffmann (*Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, vol. xxxiv.); see also J. Heidenreich, *Der neutestamentliche Text bei Cyprian verglichen mit dem Vulgatatext*, Bamberg, 1900. *Egyptian:* H. Hyvernat, 'Un fragment inédit de la version sahidique du NT' (Eph 1^{6}–2^{8b}) in *RB*, April 1900, 248–253. On middle-Egyptian see W. E. Crum in *JThSt*, i. 416 ff., aud Egyp. Exploration Fund Report for 1899–1900, 1900–1901.

Quotations: On the liberties taken by copyists and editors. In a quotation from Mt 21^{21} Hippolytus (ed. Lagarde = Nicephorus), 138, 16, has πρῶτος; ed. Achelis, 1, 2, pp. 68, 4, ἔσχατος. In the Chronicon of Georgios Hamartolos a report of Papias on the end of John the Evangelist is preserved; '26 MSS write ἐν εἰρήνη ἀνεπαύσατο, one μαρτυρίου κατηξίωται.'

The *dictum agraphum* of Ac 20^{35} reads in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, in one class of witnesses: ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ κύριος μακάριον εἶπεν εἶναι τὸν διδόντα ἤπερ (cod. O ὑπὲρ) τὸν λαμβάνοντα. καὶ γὰρ εἴρηται πάλιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· Οὐαὶ τοῖς ἔχουσιν; in the other: μακάριόν ἐστι διδόναι μᾶλλον εἶπεν ἢ λαμβάνειν. καὶ πάλιν ἀλλαχοῦ εἴρηται· οὐαί, etc.

On the falsification of MSS by heretics see, besides the notices in *Introd.* p. 197 ff., Bartholomæus Germon, Jesuita non indoctus in *Opusculo de veteribus hæreticis Ecclesiasticorum Codicum corruptoribus*, part 2, cc. 8 and 9, 'ubi de codicibus MSS Colbertino, Carnutensi, et Vaticano disserit' (known to the present writer only from Cas. Oudin, *Trias dissertationum criticarum: Prima de codice MS Alexandrino*, Lugd. Bat. 1717, ch. 5).

On Justin: E. Lippelt, *Quæ fuerint Justini Martyris* ἀπομνημονεύματα *quaque ratione cum forma Evangeliorum syro-latina cohæserint*, i., Halle, 1901.

(3) Theory of Textual Criticism: Ed. Miller, *The Present State of the Textual Controversy respecting the Holy Gospels*, [1899]; *The Textual Controversy and the Twentieth Century*, 1901; *The Oxford Debate on the Textual Criticism of the NT, held at New College on May 6, 1897, with a Preface explanatory of the Rival Systems*, London, 1897; F. C. Burkitt, *Two Lectures on the Gospels*, Macmillan, 1901; Fr. Blass, *Philology of the Gospels*, Macmillan, 1898; G. Salmon, *Some Thoughts on the Textual Criticism of the NT*, London, Murray, 1897; Nicol. 'The Lower Criticism of the NT' (*Lond. Quart. Rev.* April 1901); Fr. Blass, *Notwendigkeit und Wert der Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, Vortrag, Barmen, 1901 (popular); G. L. Cary, *The Synoptic Gospels, with a chapter on the text. criticism of the NT*, New York, 1900; Marvin Vincent, *History of Textual Criticism of the NT*, Macmillan, 1900. According to *Studia biblica*, iii. 235, Prof. Sanday has had an *Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the NT* for some time in preparation. Its publication will be welcomed by all students of the NT. C. Tischendorf, *Haben wir den ächten Schrifttext der Evangelisten und Apostel?* Leipzig, 1873 (popular), 1st and 2nd ed., tr. by H. W. A. Smith in *Presbyterian Quarterly and Princeton Review*, Oct. 1874; A. N. Jannaris, 'Misreadings and Misrenderings in the NT' (*Expositor*, Dec. 1898, April and Aug. 1899); Aug. Pott, *Der abendländische Text der Apostelgeschichte und die Wir-Quelle*, Leipzig, 1900; F. Blass, 'Textkritische Bemerkungen zu Matthäus,' Gütersloh, 1900 (in Schlatter-Cremer, *Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie*, iv. 4); G. Delors, *Essai de critique du texte Jean* $18^{12.28}$, Thèse, Cahors, 1900. A work is announced by C. F. Gregory on *Canon and Text of the New Testament*, in the 'International Theological Library series,' published by T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh.

Postscript.—The article SYRIAC VERSIONS was already in type when two publications came to hand, which are of primary importance not only for the Syriac Versions, but also for the Text of the Greek Testament; therefore this is the fit place to add a word on them. The one is a short study, the other a bulky edition. They are *S. Ephraim's Quotations from the Gospel*, collected and arranged by F. Crawford Burkitt (Cambridge, 1901, *Texts and Studies*, vii. 2); and *Tetraeuangelium sanctum* juxta Simplicem Syrorum Versionem ad fidem Codicum, Massoræ, Editionum denuo recognitum. Lectionum supellectilem quam conquisiverat Philippus Edwardus Pusey, A.M., olim ex æde Christi, auxit, digessit, edidit Georgius Henricus Gwilliam, S.T.B., Collegii Hertfordiensis socius. Accedunt Capitulorum Notatio, Concordiarum Tabulæ, Translatio Latina, Annotationes (Oxonii, 1901, xvi. 608 pp. 4^{o}).

By a minute examination of St. Ephraem's quotations from the Gospel—note the *singular*—Burkitt not only proves his statement quoted above (p. 647), that we can never trust a biblical quotation (in the Roman edition of Ephraem's works) where it agrees with the Peshitta, but shows positively that his quotations from the Gospel 'afford *no proof of the use of the Peshitta*, the Syriac Vulgate.' On the other hand, there are marked differences between his quotations and the text contained in the Curetonian MS and Sinaitic palimpsest: 'these differences suggest that it was not the Old Syriac Version of the Four Gospels, the *Evangelion da-Mepharrêshe*, that St. Ephraem was using, but the *Diatessaron*.' This suggestion the present writer also is inclined to accept, and there is no longer any hindrance to our accepting the third suggestion, that the great event, the production and introduction of the Peshitta, 'took place soon after 411 A.D. under the auspices of Rabbula, who had been in that year appointed bishop of Edessa,' and that the words of his biographer quoted above (p. 646) contain 'a description of the making and production of the Syriac Vulgate.'

It is clear that in this case the Peshitta ceases to be the queen of the NT versions, and loses especially the importance which it had for the upholders of the *Textus Receptus*, whose 'sheet-anchor' it was (see above, p. 646^{b}). One of their fundamental arguments used to be: the theory of WH cannot be right; for what WH declare to be a late Syrian recension is attested already by the Peshito; and the Peshito was in use already by Ephraem, nay, is a work of the 2nd cent. Nevertheless, all biblical scholars, and not the Syriacists only, will be thankful to have at last, through the labours of the late Ph. E. Pusey and his successor in the work, for the Gospels at least, in the edition mentioned above, the most solid ground they can wish for. *Forty* MSS of the highest age, mostly from the 5th or 6th cent., have been collated—MS 4 was written between 530 and 540, No. 40 is *dated* from 548, No. 26 from 586, No. 32 from 615, No. 39 from 634; neither for the Greek nor for the

---

London, 1776 (Reuss, pp. 185–190). It is the first edition which omitted εἰκῇ Mt 5^{22}, the first which made a more decided use of the codex Bezæ Cantabrigiensis and Claromontanus.

Of modern editions a convenient survey is given by the *Resultant Greek Testament*, ed. by R. Fr. Weymouth, London, Stock [1886] (with new title 'cheap edition,' 1892, again 1896); and, on a smaller scale, by the *NT cum apparatu critico ex editionibus et libris manu scriptis collecto*, prepared by the present writer for the Württemberg Bible Society (3rd ed. 1901).

Latin MSS have we a similar exactness in date. The result is, on the whole, a very thorough corroboration of the printed text; but this does not diminish our thankfulness for the new edition. For while hitherto we were not sure about the basis of the texts in our hands, we have now the firmest foundation. And there are not wanting passages where the printed text finds no witness in any of the MSS collated by Pusey-Gwilliam. They do not affect, so far as the present writer is yet aware, the Greek text, but only the Syriac wording; cf. Mt 5^{17} 6^{27} 7^{14}. But we must first be sure of the Syriac text before we can proceed, and this end is reached by the edition of Pusey-Gwilliam, which, it is to be hoped, will give a new stimulus to studies concerning the text of the four Gospels.

If one word may be added about the best method to be pursued in these studies, it would seem best first to single out those sections which were contained in Tatian's *Diatessaron*, and to study their language, in all extant Syriac texts; then to compare their language with that of the rest of the Gospels. In this way it ought to be possible to get an answer to the fundamental question, whether Tatian made use of a pre-existing Syriac Version of the Gospels, or whether our Syriac Gospels are based on Tatian. To quote one example: all our Syriac texts (sin, cur, pesh, together with the Ethiopic Version and the Arabic Tatian) arrange the gifts of the Magi (Mt 2^{11}) in the order 'gold and myrrh and frankincense'; so also the Syriac translation of the *Protevangelium Jacobi* (21^3). Epiphanius (p. 1085 D, where he reads ἤνοιξαν τὰς πήρας αὐτῶν, adding the strange statement ἢ τοὺς θησαυρούς, ὡς ἔχει ἔνια τῶν ἀντιγράφων), has the order 'myrrh and frankincense and gold.' Is the agreement in the Syriac (Arabic, Ethiopic) texts accidental, or does it go back ultimately to Tatian? EB. NESTLE.

THADDÆUS.—The name in Mt 10^3 (AV 'Lebbæus, whose surname was Thaddæus'; RV only 'Thaddæus') and Mk 3^{18} of the apostle who is called by Luke (6^{16}, Ac 1^{13}) 'Judas of James.' In Matt. most critics now read only Θαδδαῖος (Lachmann, Tregelles, WH [who quote this reading, § 304, as proof for the unique excellence of ℵB], Revisers, Weiss, with ℵB sah vg; Evang. Ebionit.), others only Λεββαῖος (Alford, Tischendorf, Blass, with D 122 *k* Origen; 'Western' reading); the TR (AV) combined both readings, Λεββαῖος ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Θαδδαῖος (cf. *e.g. Constit. Apost.* vi. 14, viii. 25, where in a marginal note the names are reversed: Θαδδαῖος ὁ καὶ Λεββαῖος ὁ ἐπικαλούμενος Ἰούδας Ζηλωτής); some Old Latin MSS, finally, have *Judas Zelotes*, a reading which found its way into the *Chronicon* of the year 354 and the Roman *Canon* of 382 ('Judæ Zelotis apostoli epistula una').

See on the latter reading Zahn, *Grundriss der Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*, 1901, p. 60; *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, xii. (1901) p. 743; R. A. Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, Ergänzungsheft (1890), p. 209; and the passage of the *Apostolic Constitutions* quoted above (ed. Lagarde, p. 282; ed. Pitra, p. 59, note).

In Mark all editors agree in reading Θαδδαῖος, Λεββαῖος being again the 'Western' reading; in Luke one of the MSS collated by Wordsworth-White adds to *Judam Jacobi* on the margin '*i.e.* Tadeus,' just as Luther added in Matt. to the Received Text the marginal note 'ist der fromme Judas.' This identification (Thaddæus = Lebbæus = Judas of James*) is indeed the most natural result of a comparison of the Gospels; cf. vol. ii. p. 799, artt. JUDAS, and JUDE (THE LORD'S BROTHER), and vol. iii. p. 92, art. LEBBÆUS. But whence this twofold or threefold name?*

The solution has been sought in the linguistic identity of the name *Lebbæus*, from Heb. לֵב 'heart,' with *Thaddæus*, from Aram. תַּד = Heb. שַׁד 'female *breast*'; so still, *e.g.*, Sieffert (*PRE*² vii. 277); Resch, *Paralleltexte*, iii. 827. But this is more than doubtful. There is more probability in the view adopted by WH, that Λεββαῖος or Λεβαῖος is some form for Levi,† caused by Mk 2^{14} 'Levi the son of Alphæus.' This is denied by Bengel ('Λεββαῖος *non est idem, quod* Λευί'), but accepted by Nilles, *Calendarium ecclesiæ utriusque*², i. 184 (on 19th June): Ἰούδα ἀποστόλου. 'S. Judas, qui et Thaddæus et *Levi* et Zelotes,' etc. A similar view had been proposed already by Grotius on the ground of Origen, *contra Celsum*, i. 62 (ed. Koetschau, i. 113).‡ Grotius quoted further from Theodoret (*Quæstiones ad* Nu 16): Θαδδαῖος ὁ καὶ Λεβί. Dalman (*Grammatik*, p. 142) denies that Λεββαῖος has anything to do with Levi, and is more inclined to see in it an abbreviation from חלב or חלבו, or to combine it (*Worte Jesu*, p. 40) with a Nabatæan name לבאי. The other name תדי (תראי, *Erubin*, 23*c*) he connects with the Gr. Θευδᾶς as an abbreviation from Theodotos, Theodosios, or Theodoros.§ The etymology of both names, *Lebbæus* and *Thaddæus*, is at present quite doubtful. The Jacobite Syrians vocalized *Labbī* and *Thaddī*, the Nestorians *Labbaj* and *Thaddaj*, Pusey-Gwilliam spell *Labbi* and *Taddai*.

Matters became even more complicated in the post-canonical literature. Eusebius (*HE* i. 12) states that Θαδδαῖος was one of the Seventy, and then tells the story of his mission to Abgar of Edessa. But already Jerome (on Mt 10^4, ed. Vallarsi, 1769, vii. 57 = Migne, xxvi. 61) understands this of the *Apostle*, writing: '*Thaddæum* apostolum ecclesiastica tradit historia missum Edessam ad Abgarum regem, qui ab Evangelista Luca *Judas Jacobi* dicitur et alibi appellatur *Lebæus* quod interpretatur *corculum*,‖ credendumque est eum fuisse *trinomium*.' How great the confusion became may be shown by the *Acta Thaddæi* (first published by Tischendorf, *Acta Apostolorum apocrypha*, 1851, p. 261 ff.). This piece begins: Λεββαῖος ὁ καὶ Θαδδαῖος ἦν μὲν ἀπὸ Ἐδέσσης τῆς πόλεως . . . ἦλθεν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ . . . ἐβαπτίσθη καὶ ἐπεκλήθη τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Θαδδαῖος . . . καὶ ἐξελέξατο αὐτὸν [Ἰησοῦς] εἰς τοὺς δώδεκα, κατὰ μὲν Ματθαῖον καὶ Μάρκον δέκατος ἀπόστολος. Nevertheless, the piece is headed in one of the MSS used by Tischendorf: πρᾶξις καὶ κοίμησις τοῦ . . . ἀποστόλου Θαδδαίου ἑνὸς τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα, in the other as ἑνὸς τῶν ιβ'. Zahn (*Forschungen*, i. 366, 382) believes that the whole confusion is due to Eusebius, who substituted for the name *Addai* אדי of the Syriac legends the Gr. name *Thaddæus.* It is very strange that the Syriac translation of Eusebius' *HE*, in one of its MSS (A), substitutes in 10 cases out of 15 the spelling הדי (with ה, not א), which has not been found hitherto anywhere else, for תדי for the name Θαδδαῖος; see the edition of Wright-McLean, p. 49_{18} 53_{10} $54_{3\ 4}$ 55_{4}. (The same version gives everywhere אדא for *Agabus*). When in the *Book of the Bee* (ed. Budge, p. 124) Aggai (אגי), the disciple of the Syriac Addai, is followed by *Thaddai* ('his father' as is added in the recension published by I. H. Hall in the *Journal of the Amer. Or. Soc. Proc.*, Oct. 1888, pp. lxxv, lxxxi), giving the series Addai—Aggai—Thaddai, the question arises whether this is the result of contamination of Greek and Syriac legends. The names themselves recall Ἀδ[δ]αῖ *διδάσκαλος καὶ* Ἀγγαῖος *Λευίτης* in the *Acta Pilati*, ch. 14, etc.

---

* The same Judas is apparently meant in Jn 14^{22}, though the Syrians identify this Judas with Thomas.

* In the 'Preaching of Simon son of Cleophas' (*Studia Sinaitica*, v. 62, 65, ed. Gibson) we even read: 'Simon son of Cleophas, who was called *Jude*, which is, being interpreted, *Nathanael*, who was called the *Zealot*, and was bishop in Jerusalem after James the brother of the Lord'; see Zahn, *Forschungen*, vi. 293.

† Cf. Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim*, p. 689, where לְבַיָּא *Labya* is quoted as the various reading for *Levi*.

‡ ἔστω δὲ καὶ ὁ Λευὴς—this is the true reading, not Λεβὴς—τελώνης ἀκολουθήσας τῷ Ἰησοῦ· ἀλλ' οὔτι γε τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ ἦν, εἰ μὴ κατά τινα τῶν ἀντιγράφων τοῦ κατὰ Μάρκον εὐαγγελίου. From the same combination between Mk 2^{14} and 3^{18} WH explain the 'Western' reading Ἰάκωβον for Λευείν in 2^{14}. Interesting, in this connexion, is the article of Hesychius (rec. M. Schmidt, ii. 338): Ἰάκωβος Ἀλφαίου, ὁ καὶ Θαδδαῖος καὶ Λευὶ παρὰ τῷ Μάρκῳ, παρὰ δὲ τῷ Ματθαίῳ Λεβαῖος, παρὰ δὲ Λουκᾳ Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου. Schmidt wishes to read Ἰάκωβος Ἀλφαίου καὶ Θαδδαῖος ὁ καί, etc.

§ Instead of תֶּרֶשׁ Est 2^{21} 6^2 Θευδᾶς (תרש) may perhaps be read; see Willrich, *Judaica*, p. 19.

‖ The same interpretation (surname of Scipio Nasica) is found in Jerome's *Liber interpretationis* (Lagarde, *Onomastica sacra*, p. 62), where the name Thaddæus is entirely omitted. It is curious that also in the list of the names of the apostles (*l.c.* p. 174) Thaddæus, Lebbæus, and Judas are missing.

According to some statements, Thaddæus was from Jerusalem and of the tribe of Judah (*Book of the Bee*, Barhebræus), and preached the gospel in the African language (*Gospels of the XII Apostles*, ed. J. R. Harris, pp. 26, 29); while the Syriac Addai is said to have been from Paneas. Bar Bahlul (p. 939) refers *Labbi* to the tribe of Simeon.

The apocryphal 'Gospel of Thaddæus' (*Evangelium Thaddæi*), mentioned in some MSS and editions of the *Decretum Gelasii*, seems to be due to a clerical error (*PRE*³ i. 663).

For the extra-canonical statements on Thaddæus see Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, ii. 142–200, and his art. 'Thaddæus' in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, iv. 875–881. As a Christian name Thaddæus never seems to have been very frequent.* Eb. Nestle.

THANK-OFFERING.—See Sacrifice, under 'Peace-offering.'

THARRA (BA Θαρρά, Luc. Θεδεύτης).—Ad. Est 12^1 = Teresh of Est 2^{21} 6^2.

THASSI (A Θασσίς, ℵV Θασσ(ε)ί).—The surname of Simon the Maccabee, 1 Mac 2^3. The meaning of the word is quite uncertain. As likely an interpretation as any is 'the zealous,' obtained by connecting with Aram. and New Heb. חסס 'to bubble up *or* ferment' (used of new wine). For the history of Simon see art. Maccabees, vol. iii. p. 185.

THEATRE (*θέατρον*).—At the disturbance recorded in Ac $19^{21ff.}$ we are told that the crowd rushed to the theatre, and that it was there that the somewhat tumultuous meeting, afterwards described, took place. We also learn from Josephus (*Ant.* XIX. viii. 2) that it was in the theatre at Cæsarea that the events described in Ac 12^{20-23} took place.

For general descriptions of the Greek and Roman theatre, reference must be made to the ordinary Dictionaries of Antiquities. The theatre at Ephesus was on the slope of Mt. Coressus, and was famous as being one of the largest, if not the largest, in the ancient world. A description of the remains with a plan may be found in Woods, *Discoveries at Ephesus*, ch. iv. p. 68. A large number of inscriptions also were found on the site, which have been published in full in Hicks' *Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum.* These are specially important as illustrating the very varied part the Greek theatre played in public life, as the place not only of amusement, but of every form of large assembly. The results are well summed up by Lightfoot, *Essays on Supernatural Religion*, p. 299—

> 'The theatre appears as the recognized place of public assembly. Here edicts are proclaimed, and decrees recorded, and benefactors crowned. When the mob, under the leadership of Demetrius, gathered here for their demonstration against St. Paul and his companions, they would find themselves surrounded by memorials which might stimulate their zeal for the goddess. If the "town clerk" had desired to make good his assertion, "What man is there that knoweth not that the city of the Ephesians is sacristan of the great goddess Artemis?" he had only to point to the inscriptions which lined the walls for confirmation. The very stones would have cried out from the walls in response to his appeal.'

The same Greek word is also used in 1 Co 4^9 'for we are made a *spectacle* unto the world, and to angels, and to men,' where the meaning is the scene or spectacle in the theatre.

A. C. Headlam.

THEBAIC VERSION.—Now generally called the Sahidic Version. See Egyptian Versions, vol. i. p. 669^b.

THEBES.—See No-Amon, vol. iii. p. 555.

THEBEZ (תֵּבֵץ 'brightness' (?); B Θηβής, Θαμασί, A Θαιβαίς, Θαμασεί; *Thebes*).—The place at which Abimelech was killed by a millstone which a woman threw down upon him from a tower that was holding out after the city had been taken (Jg 9^{50}, 2 S 11^{21}; Jos. *Ant.* v. vii. 5). Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.*) say that in their day there was a village called Thebes, about 13 Rom. miles from Neapolis, on the road to Scythopolis. The Roman road from N. to S. can still be traced, and on it, about 10 miles from *Nâblus*, is *Tûbâs*, which Robinson was the first to identify with Thebez (*BRP*² ii. 317, iii. 305). *Tûbâs* is a large village, surrounded by olive groves and cornfields, on the western slope of a broad fertile valley. Its oil and corn are held in high estimation; and the villagers, who are divided into three factions, own large flocks of sheep and goats. There are numerous rock-hewn cisterns, on which the people depend for their water-supply; and rock-hewn dwelling-places, of which many are still occupied. There is a tomb of *Neby Toba* in the village, which the Samaritans believe to be that of Asher, son of Jacob. The village suffered greatly from the earthquake of 1837 (*PEF Mem.* ii. 247; Guérin, *Samarie*, i. 357; Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.*³ 224).

C. W. Wilson.

THEFT.—See artt. Crimes and Punishments in vol. i. p. 522^b, and Man-stealing in vol. iii. p. 239.

THELERSAS (B Θελερσάς, A Θελσάς), 1 Es 5^{36} = Tel-harsha, Ezr 2^{59}, a Bab. town.

THEODOTION.—See Septuagint, p. 453^a, and Versions (Greek other than LXX), p. 866^a.

THEODOTUS (Θεόδοτος).—1. One of the messengers said to have been sent by Nicanor to Judas Maccabæus, 2 Mac 14^{19}. 2. The author of a plot to assassinate king Ptolemy Philopator, which was frustrated by Dositheus, a renegade Jew, 3 Mac 1^2.

THEOPHILUS (Θεόφιλος).—The name of the person to whom the Third Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles were addressed (Lk 1^3, Ac 1^1). It has been supposed by some (and the supposition is an early one*) that the name is, after all, only a general name applicable to any Christian, as meaning 'beloved by God' or 'the friend of God.' Others (*e.g.* Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller and*

---

* The Church days for Thaddæus (Judas of James) are in the Greek Church 19 June and 21 Aug., in the Latin 28 Oct. (together with Simon); on the Armenian see Nilles², ii. 589, 627; on the Coptic 702, 721 f. (2 and 28 Epip = July); on the Syriac, i: 480 (20 Aug.), 485 (18 Oct.) 489. The Calendar in McLean's *East Syrian Daily Offices* mentions Mar Adai for the Sixth Sunday of the Resurrection.

* It is certainly as old as Epiphanius (*Hær* 51, p. 429).

the Roman Citizen, p. 388) hold that the use of this name puts forward the Acts, as a complete work at least to the time of Domitian, and supports the idea that the book is a composite one, consisting of the original notes of St. Luke ('called the 'Travel-Document'), added to and increased by a later editor. The name is certainly that of an individual; and this statement is confirmed by the title *κράτιστος* prefixed to the name in Lk 1^{3}, as it is prefixed to the names Felix and Festus in the Acts (23^{26} 24^{3} 26^{25}). The title implies that the person to whom it was ascribed belonged to the equestrian order—he must certainly have been a Gentile. Attempts have been made to fix the place of his residence at Antioch, Alexandria, in Achaia, or at Rome, but there are not sufficient data to go upon to establish any of these theories. Other theorists have gone so far as to deny that he was a Christian, or to say that, at any rate, he knew very little about Christianity.* A step still further has been taken in an attempt to identify him with a high priest of his name (Joseph. *Ant.* XVIII. iv. 3) who held office for about five years, and was perhaps the high priest to whom Saul, afterwards Paul, went to ask for 'letters to Damascus unto the synagogues,' that he might take any Christians who were there prisoners to Jerusalem. Whether Theophilus was a learned and cultivated man or not we do not know, but the dedication to him of the Third Gospel is in style the most elegant piece of writing in the NT. Tradition has not been busy with him as it has with most of the early Christians.

H. A. REDPATH.

THERAS, 1 Es 8^{41} (A Θέρα, B om.) ^{60} (BA Θερά).—The name of the place and river where Ezra's caravan halted, called AHAVA in Ezr 8$^{21.31}$, and now usually identified with the modern Hit on the Euphrates. The origin of the form of the name in 1 Es. is uncertain. Jos. (*Ant.* XI. v. 2, *εἰς τὸ πέραν τοῦ Εὐφράτου*) possibly read *πέραν* for Θέραν.

THERMELETH (Θερμέλεθ), 1 Es 5^{36}.—The equivalent of TELMELAH, a Bab. town in Ezr 2^{59}, where Cod. B gives the same Gr. form of the name.

THESSALONIANS, FIRST EPISTLE TO THE.—

i. Date.
ii. Circumstances.
iii. Analysis.
iv. Value.
v. Authenticity.
vi. Integrity.
Literature.

i. DATE.—The date of this Epistle in relation to St. Paul's life is fixed within the limits of a few months. It was written during the eighteen months which he spent at Corinth at the end of his Second Missionary Journey (Ac 18^{11}). For it was written after he had left Thessalonica, and while the memories of his first visit there were still fresh (chs. 1. 2 *passim*, esp. 2^{1} *γέγονεν*); after he had gone on to Athens and had left it (3^{1}); after he had been rejoined by Silvanus and Timothy (1^{1}, Ac 18^{5}); while Silvanus and Timothy, of whom Silvanus is not mentioned in any subsequent journey, are still his companions (1^{1}); and, lastly, while he is in some central place where he hears news readily from Macedonia and Achaia, and even from wider sources (1^{8} *ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ*, *i.e.* perhaps the Asiatic and Syrian Churches [so Zahn, *Einleitung*, p. 147]; but may it be that Aquila and Priscilla had told him that they had heard even at Rome of the conversion of the Thessalonians? and might Jason have been the channel of communication? Ac 17^{8} 18^{2}, Ro 16^{21}). It was, then, at Corinth—but not very early or very late in that stay; not very early, as time must be allowed for the mission and return of Timothy (3^{6}), for the occurrence of some deaths at Thessalonica (4^{13}), for the active brotherliness of the Thessalonians to manifest itself to other Christians in Macedonia (4^{10}), and the news of their faith to have spread widely even beyond Macedonia and Achaia (1$^{7.8}$). Nor again very late, if 2 Thess. is genuine, for room must be left for the circumstances which led to the writing of that Epistle. The exact date will depend on the system of chronology adopted. It must lie between 49 and 53 (see CHRONOLOGY OF NT).

ii. CIRCUMSTANCES.—St. Paul and his companions, full of hope owing to the Divine call which had led them to preach in Europe, and encouraged by the spiritual success which, in spite of the insults to their Roman citizenship (2^{2}), they had gained at Philippi, reached Thessalonica. This was a larger and more important centre than Philippi. It was the capital of one of the four divisions of Macedonia; it was a great commercial centre (? cf. 4^{10} *ἐν τῷ πράγματι*, *im Handel* [Luther], *in Geschäften* [Weizsäcker]), holding easy communication with East and West both by sea and by land (cf. 1^{8} 4^{10}); it was a free town with its public assembly and its local magistrates (Ac 17^{5} *εἰς τὸν δῆμον*; v.^{6} *ἐπὶ τοὺς πολιτάρχας*, cf. *CIG* 1967), and a mixed population of native Greeks, Roman colonists, and Orientals, the Jewish settlement being large enough to have a synagogue. St. Paul began as usual with the synagogue, preaching there for three weeks, appealing to the Jewish Scriptures, proving that Jesus was the Messiah, and that His sufferings and Resurrection were in accord with the Scriptures. The result was that some Jews threw in their lot with Paul and Silas, and so did a larger number of Greek proselytes and of leading ladies. The Acts thus bears witness to the fact that a majority of the Church were of Gentile origin, but speaks only of Gentile proselytes, whereas the Epistle implies converts from heathenism (1^{9} 2^{14}). The Epistle, though it implies that St. Paul's stay was prematurely cut short, yet seems to require more than three weeks, and Ph 4^{15} shows that St. Paul twice received supplies from Philippi during the time, even though he was supporting himself by his own work (2^{9}). It is therefore probable that the three weeks of Ac 17^{2} were confined to exclusive work in the synagogue; that after that St. Paul, as at Corinth and Ephesus, made some new place, perhaps the house of Jason (Ac 17^{5}), his abode and place of teaching for Gentiles; and the chronological data would admit of a stay of six months (Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 228). It was a time of hard work: St. Paul and his companions rose early, working before daylight to support themselves (2^{9}, II 3^{8}); they preached with effectiveness and conviction (1^{5}); they laid stress on the worthlessness of idols, on the reality of the living God (1^{9}); they told of the wrath that was coming on the world, when God would punish the heathen world for its impurity (1^{10} 4^{6}) and the Jews who refused to accept the gospel (2^{16}, II 1^{8}); of the death of Jesus, of His Resurrection, of His power to deliver from this wrath (1^{10} 4^{14} 5$^{9.10}$). They added that God had now established His kingdom and called heathen into it (2^{12}); that such a call required a holy life, a separation from impurity (4^{2}), an active life of work (4^{11}, II 3^{10}); that Christianity would lay them open to persecution (3^{4}); but that after certain signs had appeared (II 2^{5}) Jesus would return suddenly, like a thief in the night (5^{2}), and they would be with Him for ever. Their preaching met with great

---

[*] This theory is based mainly on the ground that Theophilus from his title 'most excellent' was an official, and that it is not likely that any of the early Christians would hold high office under the Roman authorities.

success (1^{8} 2^{13}) in spite of much conflict (2^{2}); the gifts of the Spirit, especially that of prophecy, were manifested ($5^{19.\,20}$); the Divine word made the converts strong to bear persecution (2^{13-15}). There is no indication of the size of the Church; but some of the chief men, perhaps Jason (Ac 17^{5}), Aristarchus, and Secundus (Ac 20^{4}), took the lead in active work and preaching (5^{12-14}), and probably St. Paul, as elsewhere, officially appointed them to this position; apparently, also, some form of almsgiving was organized (II 3^{10}).

These results roused the jealousy of the Jews. They misrepresented the teaching of Christ's kingdom as treason to the emperor: working on the heathen populace, they attempted to bring St. Paul before a hastily called meeting of the assembly; but, failing to find him, they took Jason, his host, and other Christians before the native magistrates (cf. *ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων συμφυλετῶν*, 2^{14}). These were bound over to keep the peace, *i.e.* probably to send Paul and Silas away; and the same night they withdrew to Berœa. Probably, even while there, they planned a return to Thessalonica, but were unable to carry it out (2^{18} *ἅπαξ*: there would scarcely be time for two such proposals at Athens). From Berœa St. Paul passed on to Athens, leaving Silas and Timothy there, but sending back word that they should join him as quickly as possible (Ac 17^{15}). The writer of the Acts gives the impression that they did not do so until after he had reached Corinth (18^{5}); but this impression must be supplemented from this Epistle. They came at once to him while at Athens, perhaps bringing news of some fresh persecutions at Thessalonica (3^{3} *ταύταις* and ^{4}). Paul, Silas, and Timothy were anxious to return; the tie between them and their converts had been very close; their stay had been interrupted before their work was done; they had only meant to be absent a short time; their converts were young, and might be tempted by persecution or cajolery (3^{2}) to renounce their faith (2^{17} 3^{5}); their opponents, whether Jews or, more probably, heathen, knew well how to misrepresent their motives; their very taunts (*πλάνη, ἀκαθαρσία, δόλος, κολακεία, πλεονεξία, ζητοῦντες δόξαν*, perhaps *ἐν βάρει ὄντες*) are echoed in this letter (2^{3-6}). But there were obstacles; perhaps the guarantee which Jason had given to the magistrates was still enforced (Ramsay, *l.c.*). So Paul and Silas (*ἐπέμψαμεν*, 3^{2}) decided to send Timothy to Thessalonica, and Silas probably returned to visit some other Church in Macedonia. Possibly St. Paul in his growing anxiety sent yet another messenger (*κἀγὼ . . . ἔπεμψα*, 3^{5}).* While they were absent, St. Paul moved on to Corinth, and Silas and Timothy both rejoined him there.

The news that Timothy brought was in the main good: the faith of the Thessalonians had stood the test of persecution (1^{3} 3^{6}); their love showed itself in hospitality and charity, even to other Macedonian Christians (1^{3} 3^{6} $4^{9.\,10}$); they strove to edify each other (5^{11}); they tried to walk obedient to Christ's commands (4^{1}); they were loyal to their teachers, and wished to see them once more ($3^{6.\,7}$). At the same time the calumnies against the new Christian teachers were still prevalent, and the converts were still persecuted; they were also exposed to the ordinary perils of a new Church in a heathen town; they were tempted to fall back into impurity (4^{1-8}); some of the poorer members, perhaps abusing the charity of the richer, were living a life of idleness and dependence (4^{9-12}), others were careless and forgetful of the coming of Christ (5^{1-11}). There was a tendency, perhaps due to 'the old Macedonian spirit of independence' (Lightfoot, *Bibl. Ess.* p. 248), to disorder and contempt of those in authority ($5^{12.\,15}$; *ἄτακτος, ἀτάκτως, ἀτακτεῖν* only in these two Epp.; *στηρίζειν* 4 times, 2 elsewhere). There was a danger of a misuse of spiritual gifts at the meetings of the Church (5^{19-22}); while some had lost friends by death and were afraid that these would not share in the blessings of Christ's Advent (4^{13-18}). On receipt of this news St. Paul writes this Epistle; he writes in the name of Silas and Timothy as well as himself, so that, with a few exceptions (2^{18} 3^{5} 5^{27}), he uses the plural number and speaks for them all; probably he dictated it to Timothy and added the conclusion (5^{25-28}) in his own handwriting (cf. II 3^{17}). Their hope is still to return to Thessalonica, but meanwhile they write to express their delight at the good news, to defend their own conduct as teachers, and to complete what was left wanting in the faith and life of their converts. The words of 4^{1} *καθὼς καὶ περιπατεῖτε, ἵνα περισσεύητε* form the connecting link between the two parts. He aims at 'binding closer the link between the community and himself, and at more effectually severing the link between it and heathenism' (Jülicher). [For the circumstances cf. Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, vi., vii.; Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, ix–xi; Spitta, *Zur Gesch. und Litt. des Urchristenthums*, i. pp. 111–154; Zahn, *Einleitung*, pp. 145–160.]

iii. ANALYSIS.—After a salutation, entirely free from all official titles or allusions to controversy, written as from friends to friends, as by men who are still anxious not *ἐν βάρει εἶναι ὡς Χριστοῦ ἀπόστολοι* (cf. 2^{6}), the writers give thanks for the spiritual state of the Thessalonians, reviewing their personal relations with them in the past, both at Thessalonica (1^{4}–2^{16}) and at Athens (2^{17}–3^{5}), their feelings in the present on the receipt of the news from Timothy (3^{6-9}), and their hopes for the future (3^{10-13}).

The didactic part deals with questions of personal morality (4^{1-12}), with teaching about the dead (vv.$^{13-18}$), and the need of watchfulness (5^{1-11}); ending with regulations for the community-life (vv.$^{12-22}$).

A. *Personal* (1^{2}–3^{13}).

Gratitude for their spiritual virtues is based upon the conviction which the writers felt (*εἰδότες*) of the election of their converts by God ($1^{3.\,4}$); and this is proved (i.) by the effectiveness and assurance of their first preaching, and by the results in the lives of the Thessalonians (vv.$^{5-7}$); (ii.) by the reports of others, who bear witness both to the success of their preaching (*περὶ ἡμῶν*) and the reality of the conversion of the Thessalonians (vv.$^{8-10}$); (iii.) by the knowledge of the Thessalonians themselves (*αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἴδατε*), who can bear witness to the boldness of their preaching, to the purity of their motives, to their tenderness, and the absence of all self-assertion, to the example of self-sacrifice, to their fatherly entreaties (2^{1-12}). This preaching produced the true results in the lives of the converts; they had been bold to endure persecution—as the Churches in Judæa had from the Jews, the determined opponents of the gospel (vv.$^{13-16}$). Consequently, when obliged to leave Thessalonica, they had longed to return; Paul himself had twice planned a visit, but had been prevented; and so at last Paul and Silas had sent Timothy. Paul himself had sent yet a second messenger to comfort and strengthen them and to reassure himself (3^{1-5}). The news that Timothy has brought is like a new gospel, a new life to them, making them thank God and desire to revisit and to complete such faith (vv.$^{6-10}$). So they pray that God will make a visit possible, and meanwhile increase the love of the Thessalonians (vv.$^{11-13}$).

B. *Ethical.* Guidance for the future (4^{1}–5^{22}).

They must press forward in the spiritual life; they must be specially on their guard against all forms of impurity, for God specially punishes that sin, and it is inconsistent with the Christian calling and the gift of the Spirit (4^{1-8}). They must increase their brotherly love, active as it already is (vv.$^{9.\,10}$); they must live an orderly, industrious life, that they may gain the respect of the heathen and be independent (vv.$^{11.\,12}$). They need not be anxious about their dead friends: the union of Christians with the Risen Christ ensures their resurrection (vv.$^{13.\,14}$), and a special word of the Lord has revealed that the dead will meet the Lord, even before the living (vv.$^{15-18}$). But they must not relax their vigilance, for the Lord comes as a thief in the night, and they must watch and be sober, ready to gain the salvation which He will bring (5^{1-11}).

Finally, the community-life is regulated; the members of the

---

* It is possible that St. Paul sent a short letter with Timothy, and that the Thessalonians also replied by a written answer (cf. *Expositor*, Sept. 1898, pp. 167–177, where J. Rendel Harris ingeniously reconstructs the Thessalonian letter).

Church (ὑμᾶς, v.^{12}) are to pay due honour to those in authority, and *they* (ὑμᾶς, v.^{14}) are to keep discipline and be long-suffering. Joy, prayers, and thanksgiving are to be constant; and spiritual utterances are not to be discouraged but tested (vv.$^{12-22}$).

The Epistle ends with a prayer to the God of peace for their complete preservation; with a request for their prayers; a command to greet one another with the holy kiss; a solemn charge by Paul himself that the Epistle be read to all the members of the Church, and a simple benediction (vv.$^{23-28}$).

iv. VALUE.—The value of the Epistle is twofold: it represents most closely St. Paul's preaching to the heathen world, and therefore is to be compared with the speeches at Lystra and at Athens (cf. Sabatier, *L'Apôtre Paul*^{3}, pp. 86–101); St. Paul's antagonists were Jews defending national prejudices; Judaizing Christians are perhaps alluded to in 2^{6}, but quite incidentally: and also it is not only the earliest of St. Paul's Epistles, but possibly the earliest extant specimen of Christian literature.

It shows us St. Paul as the *missionary*, in the absence of any special controversy; as the *consoler* and the *prophet*. We see his self-denial for the sake of others (2^{6-9}; cf. 1 Co 9–11); his intense sympathy with his converts and dependence on their sympathy ($2^{7.11.17}$ 3^{5-10}); his power of self-adaptation (2^{7} νήπιοι ἐγενήθημεν; cf. 1 Co 9^{20}); his sensitiveness to the opinions of others; his assertion of the purity of his own motives (2^{1-5}); his appeal to his own conduct as an example (1^{6}); his insistence on spiritual progress, based upon a hearty recognition of the good already achieved (1^{2} $4^{1.10}$ 5^{11}); his indignation with those who thwart God's work (2^{16} 4^{6}); his sense of union with Christ (4^{1}); his prayerfulness (1^{3} 3^{11-13} 5^{23}); his gratefulness (1^{2} 3^{9}). This is exactly the character which reappears, intensified by controversy, in 2 Corinthians.

The witness to the *organization* and *faith* of the Church is equally interesting. The local Church forms one congregation (1^{1}). The only official title that occurs is ἀπόστολοι, which is apparently used to include Silvanus and Timothy as well as St. Paul; these apostles hold a position of superiority (ἐν βάρει (?) 2^{6}), including the right to be maintained there as in other Churches (2^{9}); they speak generally in a tone of entreaty ($4^{1.11}$ $5^{12.14}$); once St. Paul, separating himself from the others, uses the language of solemn authority (5^{27}). But, under the apostles, there are already officers who preside—probably both for discipline and for worship (5^{12-22}). There are meetings with the holy kiss, the symbol of brotherhood (5^{26}), and with prophetic utterances ($5^{19.20}$); probably at such a meeting the letter would be read (5^{27}). There is a link of sympathy and charity between them and other Churches (1^{8} 2^{14} 4^{10}).

The faith of the Church is directed to God (1^{8}), a God of life and truth (1^{9}) and judgment; a Father, who has called them and marked them out for salvation (4^{7} 5^{9}). Christ is thought of mainly in His future capacity as Judge. Christian life is a waiting for Him (1^{10}). Christians have to be always watchful (5^{1-12}); He may come at any moment, and will come to inflict punishment on sin, as well as to give joy to His followers (4^{6} 2^{19}; ἡ παρουσία of Christ's coming, four times in 1 Thess., twice in 2 Thess., once only elsewhere in St. Paul). But Christ is more than this: His death was the means of salvation in the past (5^{9}); He is now ὁ κύριος, ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν, the OT language about Jehovah being applied to Him (5^{2}); He is God's Son (1^{10}); He is united with the Father as the mystic source of life both for the living and the dead (1^{1} 2^{14} 4^{16}). He is the object of prayer, working with the Father in bestowing earthly as well as spiritual blessings (3^{11} κατευθύναι, ^{12} $5^{18.28}$). The Holy Spirit is given to all Christians to enable them to conquer evil (4^{8}); it gives them joy under persecution ($1^{5.6}$), and inspires the utterances of the prophets (5^{19}). This Epistle gives us the fullest division of human nature into spirit, soul, and body (5^{23}). The picture of the Christian life has all the freshness and glow of early days. It is true that it needs steadying and disciplining, but it is strong and radiant. The converts welcome the good news; they put it to active proof; the message is handed on, as by a trumpet note, to others; they imitate their teachers and become objects of imitation to others; they are taught of God; there is mutual affection and confidence between teachers and taught; there is an atmosphere of love, of joy, of life; they live 'en plein jour.' [For the theology cf. Weiss, *Biblical Theology*, pt. iii. § 1, cap. i.; Lechler, *Apostolic and Post-Apostolic Times*, pt. ii. § 2, cap. i.; *The Speaker's Commentary*, iii. pp. 691–701].

RELATION TO THE OT AND TO CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.—The OT is never appealed to as authority or directly quoted; but its history is referred to (2^{15}) and its language perhaps consciously adapted (2^{16} $4^{5.6.8.9}$ $5^{8.22}$ (?)). There is a certain similarity of language between 4^{15-17} and 2 Es 5^{42}, but the thought there is different, the writer considering the justice of God's dealing with different generations of men, and the language is not sufficiently similar to suggest literary dependence on either side; if there is any, probably 2 Esdras is the later work.

There is no reference to Christian *literature*, but it is possible that $1^{9.10}$ point to the germ of some profession of faith in the Father and the Son made at Baptism (ἀληθινός here only in St. Paul); it is possible again that 4^{2} (παραγγελίαι διὰ τοῦ K. Ἰησοῦ) refers to the definite enactments of Ac 15^{29}, and that 4^{14} is a semi-quotation from a creed. There seems a reminiscence of St. Stephen's speech (Ac 7^{51}) in 2^{15}; and of our Lord's eschatological discourse in 2^{16} (Mt $23^{32.36}$) 4^{15-17} (Mt $24^{31.37.39}$) $5^{2.5}$ (Mt 24^{43}) 5^{3} (Lk 21^{34}, Mt 24^{8}); but the majority of these are too much the common language of all Apocalypses to allow us to build on them with certainty.

A comparison of 3^{4} with Ac 14^{22} 2 Ti 3^{12} suggests a semi-quotation of our Lord's words, *e.g.* Mt 24^{9}, Jn 16^{33}, but a suggestion that there is a reminiscence of our Lord's sayings recorded in Jn 6^{29} in 1^{3} and of Jn 17^{3} in 1^{9} (P. Ewald, *Das Hauptproblem der Evangelien-Frage*, pp. 85, 93) is more doubtful.

In 4^{15} ἐν λόγῳ Κυρίου is a possible quotation of some saying unrecorded in the Gospel (cf. Zahn, p. 159); and 5^{19}, which is often found combined with the *agraphon* γίνεσθε δόκιμοι τραπεζῖται, is perhaps another (cf. Resch, *Agrapha*, p. 116). All these cases point rather to an oral tradition than to written documents.

v. AUTHENTICITY.—The authenticity is now generally admitted, though there are still opponents (cf. Holtzmann, *Einl.*^{2} p. 237). The external evidence outside the NT is less strong than for some Epistles, as this Epistle did not lend itself readily to quotation; but it was included in Marcion's canon (*circ.* 140), and that implied some previous Catholic collection. The language of 2^{16b} (ἔφθασε . . . τέλος) is found in exactly the same form in the *Test. XII Patr.* (Levi, ch. 6; but see below). There are possible reminiscences of 4^{15-17} in *Didaché* xvi. 6; and of 1^{5} and 4^{2} in Clem. Rom. ch. 42 (but not of 5^{23} in Clem. 38, where the thought is different). But the strongest support is given by 2 Thess., which, whatever its date, implies the existence and the recognition of the Pauline authorship of our Epistle. No doubt of its authenticity was raised before the 19th century.

The internal evidence equally supports the genuineness, in spite of a few difficulties. The objection that the Epistle implies a longer lapse of time than a few weeks is met by the consideration that the Acts will permit of an interval of nearly a year between the foundation of the Church and the writing of the letter. The difficulties of reconciliation with the Acts about the movements of Silas and Timothy and the persecution by heathen have been discussed above. As far as they are difficulties, they affect the historical character of the Acts rather than of 1 Thessalonians.

A few other objections deserve notice. It is urged that St. Paul's eager defence of his motives (2^{1-5}), and incidentally of his apostolic rights (2^{6}), implies a later stage in his life, when Jewish Christians had attacked his apostleship. But such depreciation of his motives would be natural to Jews longing to thwart him (cf. 2^{16}), or to heathen, indignant at the conversion of their friends. The incidents of Ac 15, and probably of Gal 2^{11}, lay behind him, and would account for the incidental allusion in 2^6; while, even apart from any attack of opponents, he might think it well to contrast his motives with those of other teachers with whom he might be confused—such as Jewish impostors like Elymas (Ac 13^{10} πλήρης παντος δόλου), heathen rhetoricians or sophists, taking pay for their teaching (πλεονεξία); or, again, he may have desired to dissociate himself from the impure teaching (ἐξ ἀκαθαρσίας) of the priests of the Cabeiri (Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, p. 257).

Again, 2^{16b} has been interpreted as implying the previous destruction of Jerusalem. If this were so, it would be more rational to strike out the last sentence as the interpolation of a scribe pointing out the fulfilment of St. Paul's words; but the words do not necessarily mean more than that 'sentence has been pronounced upon them; the wrath of God is gone forth; the kingdom of God passed from them when they rejected the Messiah'; they are parallel to the thought of 1 Co $2^{6\cdot 8}$, Ro $11^{19.\,25}$, and Ac 13^{46} 18^6; and the use of the phrase in the *Test. XII Patr.* perhaps shows that it was a half-stereotyped Rabbinical formula for declaring God's judgment. Moreover, the present participles ἀρεσκοντων, κωλυόντων, and the phrase εἰς τὸ ἀναπληρῶσαι are inconsistent with the destruction of Jerusalem.

Once more, 4^{17} offers an apparent inconsistency with 2 Co 5^8; but a change of expectation on such a point would not be unnatural, and a careful comparison of 5^{10} with 2 Co 5^{10} will show that there is no real antithesis.

Lastly, the solemn command of 5^{27} may have been due to the presence of disorderliness and dissension ($5^{14.\,15}$), and would be natural, even without such a supposition (cf. Col 4^{16}).

The objections, then, can be fairly met, while on the other hand the style, the character of the writer, the many points of contact with 2 Cor., the simplicity and directness of the thought, the primitive stage of Church organization, the state of the spiritual gifts, the question about the dead which must have arisen very early in any Church, the absence of any motive for forgery, the apparent discrepancies with the Acts, the improbability that a later forger would put language in St. Paul's mouth which at least seems to imply that he expected the Parousia in his lifetime, — all these carry conviction of its genuineness. The arguments on both sides are well stated in Holtzmann (*l.c.*), and the genuineness well defended by Jowett, Weizsäcker (*Das Apostol. Zeitalter*, p. 250), Jülicher (*Einl.*^{3} pp. 41–45), and most fully by von Soden (*SK*, 1885), and Bornemann, § 5.

vi. INTEGRITY. — The integrity of the Epistle has been questioned both on a large and on a small scale.

(1) Pierson and Naber (*Verisimilia*, Amsterdam, 1886) treat it as a composition of two authors. The first was a pre-Christian Jewish writer, writing a hortatory address to Gentiles before the first coming of the Messiah to foretell His advent, and to exhort them to live a life of Jewish morality. The second was a Christian bishop, whose date is not given, named Paul, who inserted into the Jewish treatise a few Christian phrases and a justification of his own motives and preaching. This analysis is based upon the variety of tone,—now that of an authoritative prophet, now that of a humble pastor—the want of close sequence of thought between the paragraphs, and the difference in the usage of particular words (ἡμέρα, γρηγορεῖν), and the scantiness of specially Christian teaching. But the criticism is pedantic, and often inconsistent with itself in details: it requires from a letter the exact structure of a scientific treatise, and allows no play to varieties of mood and thought within one writer's mind.

(2) A list of suggestions of interpolations on a smaller scale will be found in Clemen, *Die Einheitlichkeit der Paul. Briefe* (Göttingen, 1894). The most important affect $2^{15.\,16}$ and 5^{27}. The objection to $2^{15.\,16}$ as a whole is groundless, the attack on the Jews being as natural to St. Paul as it had been to St. Peter or St. Stephen (Ac 2^{23} 3^{14} 7^{52}); but v.^{16c} ἔφθασε . . . τέλος might be an editorial comment added after the destruction of Jerusalem, to point out the fulfilment of St. Paul's words (εἰς τὸ ἀναπληρῶσαι); yet, as we have seen, they are quite natural in St. Paul's own mouth at the time. 5^{27} might also be a later addition, emphasizing the importance of the Epistle; but there, too, a natural reason for the words is to be found in the circumstances of the moment (cf. Schmiedel, *Hdcom. ad loc.*; Moffatt, *Histor. NT*, p. 625).

The chief questions of textual criticism affect the reading in 2^7 (see Westcott-Hort, *NT*, ii. App. p. 128) $^{8.\,12}$ 3^3 $4^{1.\,8}$ $5^{3.}$ (*ib.* p. 144) ^{4}.

LITERATURE.—Of ancient commentators, Chrysostom, though discursive, is excellent in entering into the writer's point of view; and the moral homilies—*e.g.* those on friendship (1 Th 2^8), on the fear of hell (1 Th 4^{18}, 2 Th 1^8), on intercession (2 Th 3^2)—are very spiritual and pointed. Theodore of Mopsuestia (*circ.* 415 A.D.) has more of the modern exegetical instinct, and explains the exact meaning and the historical and practical references well, but at times forces the language to suit his own views. Theodoret, while dependent on these two, shows independence of judgment. His notes are clear and sensible, and he is especially careful to draw out the dogmatic inferences of the Epistle.

Of modern writers, Jowett, A. J. Mason (Ellicott's *Comm. for English Readers*), Bishop Alexander (*Speaker's Comm.*), and J. Denney (*Expositor's Bible*) are most interesting on Introduction and doctrinal teaching. More careful exegesis will be found in Ellicott, Alford, Findlay (*Cambr. Bible for Schools*), Lightfoot (*Notes on Epistles of St. Paul*, 1895), P. W. Schmiedel in the *Hdcom. z. NT*, and, most completely of all, in Börnemann-Meyer^6. Useful notes on 2^6 and 5^4 will be found in Field, *Notes on Trans. of NT* (*ON*^{2}); and on $2^{3\text{-}8}$ by F. Zimmer in 'Theologische Studien D. B. Weiss dargebracht' (Göttingen, 1897); Askwith, *Introd. to Thess. Epp.* (1902).

W. LOCK.

THESSALONIANS, SECOND EPISTLE TO THE.—

i. Date and Circumstances.
ii. Analysis.
iii. Literary Dependence.
iv. Authorship.
v. Integrity.
vi. Value.
Literature.

i. DATE AND CIRCUMSTANCES. — The genuineness of this Epistle is more contested than that of any other attributed to St. Paul, except the Pastorals. If it is not genuine, the exact date and circumstances are merely a literary setting, of little historical value. Yet, even so, a definite situation was in the writer's mind and must be examined.

The following points fix that situation. Apparently the temple is still standing (2^4), *i.e.* the date is before A.D. 70. Further, Paul, Silvanus, and Timothy, after having founded the Church at Thessalonica (2^5 $3^{1\text{-}10}$) and written a letter, probably 1 Thess., to it (2^{15} and perh. 2^2 3^{14}), are still working together (1^1) in some place where they are thwarted by perverse and malicious men (3^2), and where there are other churches in the neighbourhood (1^4). This will suit exactly the time of Ac $18^{5\text{-}11}$ (cf. 2 Co 1^1 with 1^4); late in the stay at Corinth, but probably before the appeal to Gallio had stopped the Jewish persecution. At this time news about the Thessalonian Church reached them at Corinth (3^{11} ἀκούομεν); perhaps brought by the messenger implied in 1 Th 3^5, perhaps by the bearer of 1 Thess. on his return, perhaps by some chance passer-by. They were still exposed to persecution, and were still bravely enduring it; but there were tendencies to disorder and insubordination; idlers were presuming on the charity of their neighbours; and there was a tendency to excitement caused by an expectation of the speedy setting-in of 'the day of the Lord'; spiritual utterances, not duly tested (1 Th $5^{20\text{-}22}$), increased the expectation; sayings of Paul, Silvanus, and Timothy were exaggerated to countenance it; possibly a forged letter in their name was circulated, or (more likely) the language of 1 Th 4. 5 was distorted in the same interest (2^2). The three teachers feel that their converts must be praised and comforted, yet stimulated and steadied. They write a common letter—always in the plural, except that once one of them, probably Paul, intervenes with a special appeal to his own teaching

(2^{5}), and Paul confirms the whole with his autograph at the end (3^{17}).

ii. ANALYSIS.—

1$^{1.2}$ Greeting.

A. *Gratitude for their spiritual state*, especially for their loyal endurance under persecution ($^{3.4}$).
  Strengthening of them by the thought of
    (1) the justice of God (^{5});
    (2) the special manifestation of that justice, which will accompany the Appearance of the Lord Jesus ($^{6-10}$).
  Prayer to God to complete their Christian life, that Christ may be glorified in them on 'that day' ($^{11.12}$).

B. *Fuller teaching about that day.*
  Warning against being misled into thinking it immediately at hand (2$^{1.2}$), and a reminder of Paul's past teaching (^{5}), which implied (*a*) a mystery of lawlessness and of error already at work; (*b*) a restraining power or person; (*c*) a removal of that restraint at some future date; (*d*) a great apostasy; (*e*) the appearance of the man of sin; (*f*) the appearance of the Lord destroying the man of sin and all who have been deceived by him ($^{3.4.6-12}$).
  Thanksgiving to God that He saved them from this doom ($^{13.14}$).
  Exhortation to abide loyally by their past teaching (^{15}).
  Prayer to God to comfort and to steady them ($^{16.17}$).

C. *Request for their intercession* (3$^{1.2}$). Assurance of God's faithfulness (^{3}), and of their teacher's faith in them (^{4}).
  Prayer to God to give them love and patience (^{5}).

D. *Regulation of their community-life.*
  They are to shun all disorderly brethren (^{6}); for such disorder is contrary to the example which their teachers had set ($^{7-9}$), and their repeated command (^{10}). Such brethren must earn their own bread ($^{11.12}$). The rest must be forbearing, but yet break off intercourse with any one who persists in disobeying this written command ($^{13-15}$).
  Prayer to the God of peace to give peace to them *all* (^{16}).
  Autograph salutation in Paul's own handwriting (^{17}).
  Benediction (^{18}).

iii. LITERARY DEPENDENCE.—(1) The Epistle presupposes the existence of 1 Thessalonians. For II 2^{15} explains itself readily by reference to I 4$^{1-8}$ 5$^{1-10}$; II 3^{6} to I 4^{11}; II 3^{14}, perhaps, but less probably, to I 4$^{10-12}$; and II 2^{2} may imply a misunderstanding of I 4^{17} 5$^{2.3}$. Further, there is a remarkable similarity of structure, *e.g.*, in the form of greeting (I 1^{1}, II 1$^{1.2}$), of thanksgiving (I 1^{2}, II 1^{3}), of prayers (I 3^{11} 5^{23}, II 2^{16} 3^{16}), of transition (I 4^{1}, II 3^{1}). And this extends to many verbal points, as will be seen by a comparison of the following places:—

I 1^{3} with II 1^{3}.
I 1^{4} with II 2^{13}.
I 1^{6} with II 1^{4}.
I 1$^{8.9}$ with II 1^{4}.
I 2$^{6-9}$ with II 3^{9}.
I 2^{12} with II 1^{5}.
I 3^{2} with II 2^{17}.
I 4$^{1.10}$ 5^{11} with II 3^{4}.
I 5^{9} with II 2^{14}.
I 5$^{14.15}$ with II 3^{13}.

The writer of 2 Thess. must have lately written 1 Thess., or have known it as a piece of literature.

(2) *Previous apocalyptic teaching* is also presupposed. No one passage of the OT is appealed to, but the apocalyptic descriptions 1$^{6-10}$ 2$^{3-12}$ weave together phrases from Is 2$^{10.19.21}$ 11^{4} [found in a similar context in Ps-Sol 17$^{27.39}$] 49^{3} 66$^{5.14}$, Jer 10^{25}, Ezk 28^{2}, and Dn 11^{36}. There are also striking resemblances between the language here and that of our Lord's eschatological discourse; cf. 1^{9} with Mt 25$^{31.46}$; 2^{1} with Mt 24^{31} (ἐπισυνάξουσιν); 2^{2} with Mt 24^{6} (θροεῖσθαι, here and Mk 13^{7} only in NT); 2^{3} with Mt 24^{5}; 2^{4} with Mt 24^{15} (ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ), Mk 13^{14} (ἑστηκότα ὅπου οὐ δεῖ); 2^{7} with Mt 24^{12} (ἀνομία); 2^{9} with Mt 24^{24}. Such similarities may be due to the fact that each draws independently from the common stock of apocalyptic imagery, and they do not prove a literary dependence on any written Gospel, but they make probable a knowledge of some oral tradition of that discourse.

(3) A knowledge of other Gospel sayings may lie behind 1^{5}=Mt 5^{10}, 3^{3}=Mt 6^{13}. The command in 3^{10} is a quotation of a Rabbinical saying, but possibly it had been already used by our Lord Himself, and may have been taken by St. Paul from Him (cf. Resch, *Agrapha*, pp. 128 and 240).

iv. AUTHORSHIP.—Church tradition universally ascribed the Epistle to St. Paul. It is directly attributed to him by Polycarp (c. xi.), who quotes 1^{4}, though by mistake he quotes it as addressed to the Philippians. Reminiscences of the apocalyptic language may underlie Justin Martyr, *Dial.* xxxii. cx.; *Didache*, c. 16; and more prob. *Ep. Vienne and Lyons*, *ap.* Eus. v. 1 (ἐνέσκηψεν ὁ ἀντικείμενος, προοιμιαζόμενος ἤδη τὴν μέλλουσαν ἔσεσθαι παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ . . . Χριστὸς . . . καταργῶν τὸν ἀντικείμενον . . . οἱ υἱοὶ τῆς ἀπωλείας), but in no case can the reference be called undoubted. Marcion included the Epistle in his Canon as Pauline, and so did the Latin and Syriac translators.

The internal evidence on the whole supports this view. The general structure of the Epistle, the style and phraseology, the affectionate tone, the frequent intercession for the readers, the request for their prayers, the appeal to his own teaching and example, the sharp insistence on his own authority in a matter of discipline, are all characteristic of St. Paul. But two main objections are raised.

(*a*) The relation of the style to that of 1 Thessalonians. In spite of the points of likeness (see above), there is a difference; the tone is more official (εὐχ. ὀφείλομεν), the feeling less vivid, the sentences more involved, the same things are being said, but said with less point and directness; they suggest a second person adapting Pauline thought (Spitta, pp. 116–119). But the variety seems equally explicable as that of one writer writing after a short lapse of time, and in a different mood. A comparison of the style of 2 Timothy with 1 Timothy, of Colossians with Ephesians, of 2 Co 11 with 1 Co 9, will show very similar variety.

(*b*) The eschatology is said to be un-Pauline. It is true that no such detailed anticipations are to be found elsewhere in St. Paul (but 2 Co 6^{15} τίς συμφώνησις Χριστοῦ πρὸς Βελίαρ may refer to the Antichrist tradition). But such teaching was naturally esoteric; and, even here, the writer seems intentionally to avoid being explicit, through fear, perhaps, of giving the Roman authorities a handle against himself or his converts (cf. the reticence of Jos. *Ant.* x. x. 4, about the interpretation of Daniel's prophecies). Further, some such teaching was common among the Jews, so that St. Paul would have inherited it; and, lastly, it is almost universal in Christian writers (Synoptists, John [5^{43}], James, 1. 2 John, Apoc.), so that the probability is in favour of St. Paul having shared the expectation in some form.

But is the form implied here Pauline? This again is difficult to answer, because of the difficulty of deciding what the writer was pointing to. There lay behind him in the history of the doctrine the following stages. (1) A common Oriental myth of a struggle between the power of evil, represented by a dragon (Bab. Tiāmat) and the Creator of the world (Marduk), in which the dragon had been bound, but would revive for another conflict with God before the end of the world (see articles RAHAB, SEA MONSTER, and REVELATION). The connexion of this with the following is only a conjecture, but a very possible conjecture. (2) A Jewish expectation, springing up during the Exile, of an attack upon Israel by foes led by some human leader or (later) by Satan or Beliar, which would be frustrated either by J″ or the Messiah. Such a victory is described in Ezk 38. Something similar recurs in the prophecies of Daniel (7. 8 and 11) about the conflict with Antiochus Epiphanes. The expectation did not cease with the death of Antiochus; it was applied to the thought of deliverance from the Roman empire in 2 Es 5^{1}, Ps-Sol 17, Orac. Sib. iii. 60, Apoc. Baruch, c. 40, Asc. Is. c. 4 (cf. MAN

OF SIN). (3) This anticipation had become Christian. Our Lord had contemplated a leader 'coming in his own name' (Jn 5^{43}) and demanding allegiance; some person, 'the abomination of desolation, standing in the holy place (ἑστηκότα)'; many false prophets, a growth of lawlessness, a destruction of Jerusalem, and a coming of the Son of Man (Mt 24, Mk 13, Lk 21). Similar teaching had been given at Thessalonica by the writer frequently (ἔλεγον, 2^{5}), but it was shared by his fellow-teachers (ἐρωτῶμεν . . . ὡς δι᾽ ἡμῶν, $2^{1.2}$), and the phrases ἡ ἀποστασία, ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ὁ ἀντικείμενος, ὁ κατέχων are quoted without explanation as from a well-known body of teaching. (4) A new point had probably been given to the expectation among the Jews in A.D. 39 or 40, by the attempt of Caligula, frustrated only by his death, to erect his own statue in the temple of Jerusalem (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. viii.; Tac. *Hist.* v. 9). This would help to explain the language of 2^{4}, and Spitta suggests that St. Paul and his colleagues had adapted a Jewish form of the apocalyptic teaching written in view of Caligula's attempt; but there is no necessity for such a suggestion, interesting and possible as it is.

This history of the doctrine helps us to define the probable application which is implied in this teaching. It is not indeed necessary to suppose in St. Paul's mind any clear identification with a definite person or a definite time; yet the language is more natural on such a supposition, and the interpretation will come in one of two directions.

(α) Probably the opposition comes from Jewish soil. τὸ μυστήριον τῆς ἀνομίας is the opposition of the Jews to the spread of Christianity (cf. $3^{1.2}$, 1 Th 2^{16}, Ac 18^{6} and *passim*); the ἐνέργεια πλάνης is the blinding of the eyes of the Jews to the gospel (Ac 13^{41-46}, 1 Co 2^{6}, 2 Co 3^{14}, Ro 11^{25}); τὸ κατέχον is the Roman empire controlling the Jews 'assidue tumultuantes' (cf. Ac 18^{2}) and preventing their illegal attacks on the Christians; ὁ κατέχων, the Roman emperor, or perhaps on the analogy of Dn $10^{13.20}$ some archangel who presides over the order of the empire (so Goebel, *ad loc.*); ἡ ἀποστασία is the final rejection by the Jews of their Messiah, or possibly some Christian apostasy such as is contemplated in He $10^{35\text{ff.}}$; ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἁμαρτίας is some false Messiah, expected to lead the Jews in a final rising against the Roman empire; and his destruction lies in the overthrow of the Jewish polity and the salvation and establishment of the Christian Church. This interpretation is most in accord with the Synoptists and with the subsequent Church tradition, as well as with St. Paul's own circumstances at the moment.

(β) The opposite view has been frequently maintained of late, which sees the explanation in heathen opposition and especially in the worship of the Cæsars. The lawlessness and deceit will then be that of heathen wickedness and error; the restraining power, the antagonism of the Jewish State (Warfield), or the imperial authority (Jülicher); the man of sin, the emperor or some heathen personification of evil proclaiming himself as God; the apostasy, that of the Jews, or, as on the former theory, of some Christians; and the coming of the Son of Man will be the ultimate annihilation of Cæsarism and the establishment of Christianity as the religion of the world. This view would be more in accordance with the past history of the application to Antiochus Epiphanes, with the attempt of Caligula, and with the reference to Nero in the Apocalypse; but it seems less in accord with St. Paul's own circumstances at the time.

Either of these views gives a setting possibly Pauline; the language, no doubt, is indefinite; it is capable of being applied to the theory of a Nero *redivivus* (*c.* 69 A.D.), or to some Gnostic opposition to Christianity in the 2nd cent.; but none of the language requires such an interpretation. Nor, again, is this view fatally inconsistent with St. Paul's expectation elsewhere. 1 Th 5^{1-3} certainly foretells a sudden surprising appearance of the day of the Lord; but that is consistent with a previous preparation of events, the length of which is left, as here, wholly indefinite. Ro 11^{26} also implies a hope that 'all Israel will be saved,' which seems scarcely consistent with a great Jewish antagonism; but the language cannot be rigidly pressed; the failure of a Jewish false Messiah might be a stage in the conversion of the Jewish nation; and it is possible that St. Paul's expectation on this point may have changed. Again, 1 Ti 4^{1}, 2 Ti 3^{1} point to an expectation of an apostasy within the Christian Church; but that would not be inconsistent with the view maintained here.

Recent investigations have emphasized the strength of the tradition both Jewish and Christian; but they have also shown the versatility of its application; it is applied to the danger which threatens the truth at any moment. Daniel gives it a heathen application to Antiochus Epiphanes; the writer of the Psalms of Solomon to Pompey; St. Paul, thwarted by Jews, applies it to them; St. John sees many Antichrists in teachers untrue to Christianity; the writer of the Apocalypse, when the Roman empire had become a persecuting power, applies it to the Roman emperor; the writers of the Ep. of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons see in the persecution there an anticipation of the final conflict: 'he that opposeth' swoops down upon the Christians; Christ in the martyrs 'brings to naught' him who opposeth; the apostate Christians are 'the sons of perdition.' This application is all the more interesting that it is incidental, and the passage is not quoted. Consequently there may be many applications and many fulfilments yet in the future, as long as the cleavage between faith and unfaith, error and truth, remain. [Cf. MAN OF SIN, vol. iii. p. 226; PAUL, vol. iii. p. 709; Bousset, *Der Antichrist* (Göttingen, 1895, Eng. tr. 1896); in *Encyc. Bibl. s.v.*; Thackeray, *The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought*, pp. 136–141; Stanton, *Jewish and Christian Messiah*, iii. c. 2; R. H. Charles, *Eschatology*, p. 380 ff., and art. 'Apocalyptic Literature' in *Encyc. Bibl.*; Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 154 f.; B. B. Warfield in *Expositor*, 1886, ii. pp. 30–44; G. G. Findlay, *ib.* 1900, ii. pp. 251–261].

There is, then, no reason for denying the authorship to St. Paul. Spitta in a valuable examination of the Ep. (*Zur Gesch. und Litt. des Urchristentums*, i. pp. 111–154) suggests Timothy as the real author, supposing that St. Paul, instead of dictating as usual, left Timothy to compose it, and that Timothy is referring in 2^{5} to his own separate teaching at his last visit to them; St. Paul then adds a general authentication in 3^{17}. In this way he attempts to explain the difference of style between 1 Thess. and this Ep., and the difference of the eschatological view. But these differences are not so great as to call for such an explanation; further, St. Paul would not authenticate a letter which contained any substantial difference from his own teaching; the Thessalonians would naturally refer ἔλεγον of 2^{5} to the leading apostle whose name stands first (1^{1}) and who is named in 3^{17}, the only other use of the singular; and $2^{1.2}$ imply that the teaching of the one teacher (2^{5}) was shared by all. If another author were needed, Silvanus seems a more natural suggestion, for he, as a prophet, might be the source of the prophetic passage; but the theory creates more difficulties than it solves.

Those who reject the Pauline authorship altogether suppose that at some later date an expectation of the immediate coming of Christ arose and produced excitement and neglect of daily duties; that some one in authority tried to meet the peril implied in the excitement by writing a letter which described the stages that would precede that coming, and in order to gain weight for it composed it in the name of Paul, deliberately modelling it upon 1 Thess., the Pauline Epistle which was most cognate in subject. Of the many suggested situations, that of Schmiedel seems the best, who would connect it with the expectation of a return of Nero, and so place it after Nero's death (June 68), and before the destruction of the temple (August 70). It would then deal with the same circumstances as the Apocalypse (ch. 13). But there is no detail here, which connects 'him that opposeth' clearly with Nero *redivivus*, and the very elaborateness of the theory is against its truth.

v. INTEGRITY.—The difficulties of 2^{1-12} have naturally led to suggestions of interpolation. Pierson and Naber (*Verisimilia*, pp. 21–25) treat 1^{5-10} 2^{1-12} 3 (except $^{7-13.\ 16-18}$) as parts of a pre-Christian Jewish apocalypse, worked up into a Christian form by some unknown bishop of the name of Paul (cf. preceding art.). Schmidt, S. Davidson, and others treat the main body as Pauline, with 2^{1-12} as a late insertion of about 69; Hausrath treats 2^{1-12} as the only Pauline fragment worked up into an Epistle at a later date. But there is no MS support for any of these theories, and 2^{1-12} cannot be separated from 1^{5-10}, which latter section shows striking similarities with the Jewish expectations; cf. esp. 1^8 and 2^9 with Sib. Orac. iii. 67 f. of the coming of Beliar—

> ἀλλ οὐχὶ τελεσφόρα ἔσσετ' ἐν αὐτῷ
> ἀλλὰ πλάνα, καὶ δὴ μέροπας πολλοὺς τε πλανήσει
> πιστούς τ' ἐκλεκτούς θ' Ἑβραίους ἀνόμους τε καὶ ἄλλους
> ἀνέρας, οἵτινες οὔπω θεοῦ λόγον εἰσήκουσαν·

(cf. Clemen, *Die Einheitlichkeit der Paul. Briefe*, pp. 17, 18; Moffatt, *Historical NT*, p. 626).

vi. VALUE.—Short as the Epistle is, it is of great value, both doctrinal and historical. It marks the high position attributed from the first to Christ, the language of the OT about Jehovah being applied to Him (1^7), and He being ranked with the Father as the one source of comfort and strength (2^{17} *παρακαλέσαι . . . στηρίξαι*, each in the singular). It shows us the strength of the expectation of the Second Advent in the Early Church; the deep sense of the struggle between good and evil, between truth and falsehood, its consummation in definite persons, and the final triumph of the good and true; the faith in the ultimate justice of God to right the injustice of this world. It shows the method in which the apostle met the feverish impatience that would antedate the end: (*a*) laying stress on those elements in the traditional expectation which implied lapse of time and an overruling Providence which fixed the right moment for the coming (*ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ καιρῷ*, cf. Ps-Sol 17^{23} *εἰς τὸν καιρὸν ὃν οἶδας σύ, ὁ θεός*); (*b*) insisting on the duty of each man earning his own livelihood and discouraging all cringing dependence on Church charity; (*c*) strengthening the bonds of discipline, pressing the authority of his own commands, and calling upon the Church to rise to the duty of keeping its ranks free of unworthy members; 3^{14} marks the commencement of Church discipline. It sanctions the tendency to read the signs of the times and to see the great struggle between good and evil working itself out in contemporary events; and even if we cannot for certain identify St. Paul's application, or even if it was not fulfilled exactly as he expected, yet as the great expectation had grown with centuries and was rooted in principles, so it remains still, claiming a more adequate fulfilment. For applications made in subsequent Christian times see Smith's *DB*, *s.v.* 'Anti-Christ.'

Historically, the section 2^{1-12} was of great importance; for the identification of the Roman empire with *ὁ κατέχων* led to its being treated as the great protecting power, and so gave special point to the prayers for it and for the emperor (cf. Tertullian, *Apol.* 32: 'est et alia major necessitas nobis orandi pro imperatoribus, etiam pro omni statu imperii rebusque Romanis, qui vim maximam universo orbi imminentem ipsamque clausulam sæculi acerbitates horrendas comminantem Romani imperii commeatu scimus retardari'). The language of 3^{17} is also valuable, as indicating that St. Paul had a larger correspondence than we now possess, and probably hints at a danger of forged letters even at this early date.

LITERATURE.—See at end of preceding article, and add Goebel, *Die Thessalonischen Briefe*, a crisp, terse, sensible commentary. The authorship is best discussed, as against St. Paul, by Spitta (see above), Schmiedel, *Hdcom.* pp. 7–11: as for St. Paul, by Jülicher, *Einl.*^{4} pp. 45–51; Zahn, pp. 160–182; Moffatt, *Historical NT*, pp. 142–148; Bornemann in Meyer's *Commentar zum NT*. Interesting suggestions for the emendation of the text (in 1^{10} ἐπιστώθη, 2^2 ὡς δὴ ἡμῶν) will be found in Westcott-Hort, ii. App. p. 128; Field, *Notes on Trans. of NT*, p. 202.

W. LOCK.

THESSALONICA (Θεσσαλονίκη), a city of Macedonia, still known by that name under the but slightly altered form of *Saloniki*, has long held a prominent place in history, and still ranks, after Constantinople, as the most important town in European Turkey. It is situated on the innermost bay, or north-eastern recess, of the larger gulf, which now takes its name from the modern town, but was known to the ancients as the Thermaic Gulf, after an earlier town on the same site, called Therme. It is built in the form of an amphitheatre on the slopes at the head of the bay; and it is seen from a great distance, crowned by its citadel above, and conspicuous by white-washed walls several miles in circuit. 'The situation,' says Tozer, 'recalls the appearance of Genoa from the way in which the houses rise from the water edge, and gradually ascend the hillsides towards the north. It is admirably placed for purposes of communication and trade, as it lies in the innermost bay of the winding gulf, and forms the natural point of transit for exports and imports; besides which it commands the resources of the immense plain, which reaches in a vast arc as far as the foot of Olympus, and receives the waters of three important rivers, the Axius, the Lydias, and the Haliacmon' (*Geog. of Greece*, 1873, p. 204). It is said to have borne earlier the names of Emathia and Halia: certainly it bore that of Therme, by which it is known to Herod. (as a halting-place of Xerxes on his way to Greece, vii. 121, 123, 124, 127, 128, 183) and Thucyd. (i. 61, ii. 29), and which it probably owed to hot mineral springs (*thermæ*), still existing in its vicinity. The name Thessalonica (as to the origin of which various conjectures are brought together by Tzetzes, *Chil.* xiii. 305 ff.), which is first employed by Polybius (xxiii. 4, 4; 11, 2; xxix. 3, 7), would appear to commemorate a victory over the Thessalians, of which nothing definite is known as to time, place, or victor (Philip?). It was most probably given to the city by Cassander (who rebuilt it about B.C. 315, and transferred to it the inhabitants of several small townships in the vicinity; Strabo, vii. fr. 21) in honour of his wife of that name, who was daughter of Philip, and step-sister of Alexander. The place soon gained importance, becoming, on the conquest of Macedonia by the Romans, the capital of the second of its four divisions (Liv. xlv. 29), and, on the conversion of the country a few years later into a province, practically the capital of the whole, and residence of the Roman governor; called 'the mother of all Macedonia' (*Anthol. Gr.* ed. Jacobs, ii. p. 98, *Epig.* 14), although the name 'metropolis,' occurring on coins of the city, is of later date. The Romans had docks (*navalia*) there (Liv. xliv. 10); the great Egnatian highway traversed the city from west to east, the remains of arches at either end of a long street still marking the site of its gates; Cicero during his exile found friendly shelter there for seven months with Plancius the quæstor (*Orat. pro Planc.* 41; *Ep. ad Att.* iii. 8 ff.). In the first Civil war it supplied a basis of operations for Pompeius and the Senate (Dio Cass. xli. 20); in the second it espoused the cause of Antonius and Octavianus (Plut. *Brut.* 46; Appian, *Bell. Civ.* iv. 118), which brought to it apparently the privilege of becoming a free city (*liberæ conditionis*, Pliny, *HN* iv. 36), for there are several coins inscribed with the words ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ · ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΣ, probably to be associated with the victory at Philippi, from the reverse bearing the joint names of Antonius and Augustus. This privilege implied autonomy (hence the mention of τὸν δῆμον in Ac 17^{5}), and the appointment of their own magistrates, who were in this instance designated πολιτάρχαι, as is apparent from Ac 17$^{6.8}$, where the term is rendered RULERS OF THE CITY (which see). Tafel, in his comprehensive monograph (*De Thessal. eiusque agro dissertatio geographica*, Berol. 1839), follows out the fortunes of the city as under the later Empire a main bulwark against the Gothic and Slavonic invasions (of which he enumerates six); and, during the Middle Ages, thrice captured,—by the Saracens in 904, by the Normans under Tancred in 1185, and by the Turks in 1430. It has still a population of about 70,000, whereof 20,000 are Jews.

When St. Paul, along with Silas, visited Thessalonica on his mission to Macedonia and Greece, the Jews there, who were numerous and influential enough to have founded a synagogue, were his most active opponents. The discussions with them on three Sabbaths persuaded few Jewish hearers, but a much larger number ('a great multitude') of 'the devout Greeks'—*i.e.* proselytes—'and of the chief women not a few' (Ac 17^{4}). But the Jews, who were not won over, called to their aid some worthless idlers of the market-place (ἀγοραῖοι), excited a tumult, beset the house of Jason, and, not finding there those whom they sought, dragged Jason and others before the politarchs, accusing them of having received disturbers of the world's peace, and of contravening the imperial decrees by owning another king in Jesus. Upon this alarm, the politarchs took securities from the accused and dismissed them; but the brethren at once sent away Paul and Silas by night to Berœa. The subsequent fortunes of the Church which their brief ministry had formed called forth from the apostle (courteously associating with himself Timothy as well as Silvanus=Silas) the two Epistles to the Thessalonians. See preceding two articles.

WILLIAM P. DICKSON.

THEUDAS (Θευδᾶς; the name is supposed to be a contraction of Θεόδωρος).—In the speech of Gamaliel contained in Ac 5$^{34\text{ff.}}$ the speaker is represented as referring to the rebellion of a certain Theudas, who professed to be some one great: 400 men followed him; but he was killed, and his following came to nothing. At a later date, Gamaliel goes on to say, Judas of Galilee arose at the time of the taxing, and his following too were scattered. In Josephus (*Ant.* XX. v. 1) we have an account of one Theudas. While Fadus was procurator, he tells us, a certain magician whose name was Theudas persuaded a great part of the people to take their effects and follow him across the Jordan. He pretended he could divide the river by his power as a prophet. Fadus attacked him suddenly, cut off his head, and dispersed his followers. It is perfectly clear that if this Theudas be the same person as is mentioned in the Acts, the author of that book has been guilty of an anachronism. For he puts into the mouth of Gamaliel, who must have spoken before A.D. 37, a reference to a revolt which occurred about A.D. 45 or 46. This discrepancy is one of the chief difficulties in the Acts of the Apostles, and various suggestions have been made to account for it.

1. Reference has already been made to the suggestion that the mistake arose through the blundering use of Josephus (vol. i. p. 30). It is not necessary to add anything to what is said there, except that a careful reperusal of the passages does not tend to make the hypothesis more credible.

2. Bishop Lightfoot (Smith's *DB*^{1} i. 40) points out that Theudas (=Theodorus, Theodotus, or Theodorius) would be quite natural among the Jews as the Gr. equivalent to several Heb. names; and that Josephus (*Ant.* XVII. x. 8; *BJ* II. iv. 1) tells us of many disturbances which took place at this time without giving names. He also quotes an opinion of Wieseler's that Theudas may be the Gr. form of the name of Matthias, son of Margalothus, mentioned by Josephus (*Ant.* XVII. vi. 2). But the identification is hardly probable.

3. Blass (*ad loc.*) seems to suggest that the name Theudas has been interpolated in the passage of Josephus from the Acts, because the Christians thought that the two passages illustrated one another. We have some reason for thinking that Josephus was interpolated by the Christians; but in this instance it is hardly probable that anything of the sort was done.

We do not know enough to explain the difficulty. It is perfectly possible that the explanation of Lightfoot may be correct; it is quite possible that the mistake of St. Luke may only be one of name, and it is very bad criticism to condemn an author for an apparent discrepancy when our knowledge of the circumstances is so limited. But, assuming that the Acts are incorrect, we may ask what this implies. It implies that, to a certain extent at any rate, the speech of Gamaliel was the author's composition. This may mean only that he supplied one of the incidents which Gamaliel referred to, having from some source a general knowledge of the attitude of the speaker; or it may mean that he took this manner of putting before his readers what he had reason to believe was a tendency of a section of the Jews.

A. C. HEADLAM.

THICKET.—See FOREST.

THIGH (יָרֵךְ, μηρός).—The girding of the sword *upon the thigh* is referred to in Ex 32^{27}, Jg 3^{16} (Ehud girded his sword upon his *right* thigh, whence, being left-handed, he could most conveniently draw it, v.^{21}), Ps 45^{3}, Ca 3^{8}. Jacob's thigh was dislocated by his opponent in wrestling, so that next day he limped upon it, Gn 32$^{25\,(26)}$ [J]. In an editorial note this circumstance is assigned as the basis of the Jewish custom of declining to eat of 'the sinew that shrank,' v.$^{32\,(33)}$. See art. FOOD, vol. ii. p. 39^{a}. In the jealousy ordeal one of the effects looked for in the event of a wife's guilt was the falling away (נפל) of her thigh, Nu 5$^{21.22.27}$ [P]; see Dillm. *ad loc.* In the *waṣf* in praise of the Shulammite it is said, 'the roundings of thy thighs (חַמּוּקֵי יְרֵכַיִךְ) are like jewels,' Ca 7^{1}. Smiting upon the thigh appears in Jer 31^{19} and Ezk 21^{12} as a token of consternation. For the phrase 'smite them hip upon thigh' (הִכָּה אוֹתָם שׁוֹק עַל־יָרֵךְ), see art. HIP.

Special attention is due to a set of passages in which the thigh appears as the seat of procreative power. In Gn 46^{26}, Ex 1^{5} [both P], Jg 8^{30} a man's descendants are spoken of as proceeding from his thigh (יֹצְאֵי יְרֵךְ). Cf. W. R. Smith, *Kinship*, 34, *RS*^{2} 380. This throws light upon the placing of the hand under the thigh [=the genital organ] in taking an oath, Gn 24$^{2.9}$ 47^{29} [all J]. The *sacredness* attributed to this organ in primitive times (see Holzinger or Gunkel on Gn 24^{2}) would give special solemnity to an oath of this kind. Moreover, seeing that 'it is from the thigh that one's descendants come, to take an oath with one's hand upon the thigh could be equivalent to calling upon these descendants to maintain an oath which has been taken, and to revenge one which has been broken' (Dillmann).

It is not clear how we should understand Rev 19^{16} 'He hath on his mantle and on his thigh (*ἐπὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν μηρὸν αὐτοῦ*) a name written, King of kings and Lord of lords.' The *καί* may be epexegetical, when the meaning would be that the name is written on His mantle where this falls upon His thigh (so Düsterdieck, B. Weiss, Holtzmann). Spitta suggests that *μηρός* [this is its only occurrence in NT] may be the name of an article of uniform, perhaps the sword-belt.

J. A. Selbie.

THINK.—This verb is frequently used in AV in the sense of 'devise,' 'intend,' as Gn 50^{20} 'But as for you, ye thought evil against me' (חֲשַׁבְתֶּם רָעָה, LXX *ἐβουλεύσασθε εἰς πονηρά*, RV 'ye meant evil'); Ex 32^{14} 'And the Lord repented of the evil which he thought to do unto his people' (אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר לַעֲשׂוֹת, RV 'which he said he would do'); Nu 24^{11} 'I thought to promote thee unto great honour' (אָמַרְתִּי, LXX *εἶπα τιμήσω σε*); Neh 6^{6} 'It is reported . . . that thou and the Jews think to rebel' (חֹשְׁבִים לִמְרוֹד, LXX *λογίζεσθε ἀποστατῆσαι*). So Jn 11^{53} Wyc. 'Fro that day thei thoughten [1688 soughten] for to sle him'; Mandeville, *Travels*, 87, 'This Tartary is holden of the great Caan of Cathay, of whom I think to speak afterward.'

To think on or upon is to remember, as Gn 40^{14} 'But think on me when it shall be well with thee' (כִּי אִם־זְכַרְתַּנִי אִתְּךָ, LXX *ἀλλὰ μνήσθητί μου διὰ σεαυτοῦ*, RV 'But have me in thy remembrance'); Neh 5^{19} 'Think upon me, my God, for good, according to all that I have done' (זָכְרָה־לִּי, RV 'Remember unto me, O my God, for good, all that I have done'); 6^{14} 'My God, think thou upon Tobiah and Sanballat according to these their works' (זָכְרָה, LXX *μνήσθητι*, RV 'Remember'); Jon 1^{6}, Sir 18^{25} 51^{8}. So He 10^{17} Wyc. 'I schal no more thenke on the synnes and wickednessis of hem' (*οὐ μὴ μνησθήσομαι*, Vulg. *non recordabor*).

In Anglo-Saxon there were two distinct verbs, *thencan* to think, and *thyncan* to seem, the latter used impersonally. These verbs began to be confused very early, and in course of time were always spelt alike. In poetry we still use 'methinks,' where the pron. is in the dative, and the word means 'it seems to me.' In *Rich. III.* III. i. 63, the Quartos have 'Where it thinks best unto your royal self,' but the Folio reads 'Where it think'st best,' probably from confusion between 'it thinks' (=it seems) and 'thinkst thou.' Knox in his *History*, p. 315, says, 'But to this houre I have thought, and yet thinks my selfe alone more able to sustaine the things affirmed in that my Work, than any ten in Europe shall be able to refute it,' where the ungrammatical 'I thinks' may be due to familiarity with the form 'methinks.'

In AV we find the verb 'think' = *seem* in 'me thinketh,' 2 S 18^{27} 'Me thinketh the running of the foremost is like the running of Ahimaaz.' Cf. Gn 41^{3} Tind. 'And him thought that vii other kyne came up after them out of the ryver'; Lv 14^{35} 'Me thinke that there is as it were a leprosy in the house'; Mandeville, *Travels*, 117, 'And them thinketh that the more pain, and the more tribulation that they suffer for love of their god, the more joy they shall have in another world.' This is the verb that is used in the phrase 'think good,' Dn 4^{2} 'I thought it good to shew the signs' (RV 'It hath seemed good unto me'); Zec 11^{12} 'If ye think good, give me my price'; 1 Th 3^{1} 'We thought it good to be left at Athens alone' (*εὐδοκήσαμεν*).

J. Hastings.

THISBE (B*א* *Θίσβη*, A *Θίβη*).—The place from which Tobit was carried away captive by the Assyrians (To 1^{2}). Its position is described as being on the right hand (south) of Kedesh-naphtali in Galilee above Asher. No trace of the name has yet been found. Some commentators maintain that Thisbe was the home of Elijah the Tishbite, but this is very doubtful. The LXX reading of 1 K 17^{1}, which makes the prophet come from 'Tishbeh (or perh. Thisbon) of Gilead,' seems more likely to be correct. See Elijah in vol. i. p. 687^{a}.

C. W. Wilson.

THISTLES, THORNS.—There is probably no country on earth of the same extent which has so many plants with prickles and thorns as the Holy Land. One would be tempted to believe that this is a providential provision to protect them from the ravages of goats, asses, and camels, were it not that the mouths of these creatures are provided with a mucous membrane so tough that it seems impervious to thorns. One of the spectacles most striking to a stranger in this land of surprises is that of a flock of goats, browsing in a patch of *Eryngiums*, or *Cirsiums*, or prickly Centaureas, and crunching down the heads, a couple of inches in diameter, composed of stiff thorns, and then masticating them with evident relish. The camel deals even with the *noli-me-tangere* spheres of the *Echinops*, the huge heads of the *Onopordon*, *Carlina*, and *Cynara*, and the thorny plates of the Indian fig. *Zilla myagroides*, Forsk., a most impracticable crucifer, with a juice as pungent as its long stiff thorns, is the favourite desert food of the camel. He tears off and devours the twigs of the thorny *Astragali*. Only a few thorny plants, with little succulence to tempt, and with extraordinary defensive armour, such as the acacia trees, the buckthorn, and some of the more erinaceous *Astragali* of the alpine regions, and *Calycotome villosa*, escape the devourers. Notwithstanding this, the thorns flourish and multiply, and, in many places, take possession of the land. Thistles grow to a height of 10–15 ft. Thorny *Astragali* cover acres of ground on the high mountains. *Poterium spinosum*, *Rhamnus punctata*, and *Calycotome villosa* are everywhere. So abundant is the first of these, the thorny burnet, in one region of Hermon, as to give its name to the district, which is called *Muḳâta'at el-Billân*, *i.e.* District of the Thorny Burnet. A large part of the lime produced in the country is burned with this shrub, which is 'cut up' (Is 33^{12}) with pruning-hooks. It is then bound in huge bundles, and transported on the backs of men or animals to the kilns. Often an acre or more around a lime-kiln is seen covered with these large heaps of most combustible fuel. It produces a high heat, and makes excellent lime. These and other thorns are also used in ovens, and for culinary purposes (Ec 7^{6}). Owners of asses thresh out various species of thistles and thorns, and use them for feeding their beasts. It is probably in allusion to this custom that Gideon is said to have 'taught [*threshed*] the men of Succoth (*along*) with thorns of the wilderness and briers' (Jg 8^{16}).* It is not strange that, with such a number of prickly plants as exist in Palestine, there should have been many names in Heb. to express them. Few or none of these denote species, and the VSS have not attempted to tr. them with any uniformity. We subjoin an analysis of these terms.

1. אָטָד *'āṭād*, *ῥάμνος*, *rhamnus*, occurs twice as the name of a plant (Jg 9$^{14.15}$ AV 'bramble,' m. 'thistle,' RV 'bramble,' m. 'thorn,' Ps 58^{9} AV and RV 'thorns'). It occurs once as a proper name in the expression 'the threshing-floor of Atad' (Gn 50$^{10.11}$). The Arab. *'ăṭăd* is defined as the branches of the *'ausaj*. The *'ausaj* is 'a species of thorn, having a round red fruit, like the carnelian bead, which is sweet, and is eaten,' or 'a species of thorn trees, having a bitter red fruit, in which is acidity . . . when it grows large it is called *gharkad* . . . some regard it as the *'ulleiḳ.'* It is clear that the term *'ausaj*, and therefore *'ăṭăd*, must have been applied to a number of plants. *'Ulleiḳ* most commonly signifies the bramble or blackberry, but also the *smilax*, and other prickly climbers. The *gharkad* is *Nitraria tridentata*, Desf., a plant confined to salt marshes, of which the fruit is called in Arab. *'enab-edh-dhîb, i.e.* 'wolf's grapes.' Dioscorides (*Avicenna*, ii. 232) seems to include a number of plants in his vague description of *'ausaj*. The other descriptions would apply to the boxthorn, of which there are 3 species in the Holy Land, *Lycium Europæum*, L., *L. Arabicum*, Schw., and *L. Barbarum*, L., all of which have thorns and red berries. Or they would, in part at least, apply to the jujube, of which there are also several species, *Zizyphus vulgaris*, L., the *'ennâb*, *Z. Lotus*, L., and *Z. Spina Christi*, L., the *nebḳ* or *sidr*. All of these would have been included under the term *Rhamnus*, the buckthorn, a genus from which *Zizyphus* has been set off in modern botany. This genus contains one thorny species, *R. punctata*, Boiss., with its variety *Palestina*, which is found everywhere in Palestine and Syria. This species would admirably suit the needs of the passages. It is a thorny shrub, 2–6 ft. high, with obovate-oblong to elliptical leaves less than an in. long and about ⅓ in. wide, insignificant flowers, and small fruits. It is well known under the Arab. name *'ajram*, is used for light fuel, and suits exactly the contrast intended in Abimelech's speech between the *'āṭād* and the lordly cedar. To speak of sitting under the shadow of this contemptible straggling bush is the acme of irony. Being far more general than the boxthorn, especially in the hill-country where Abimelech spoke, it is more likely to have been in his mind. The boxthorn would never have been spoken of by the Greeks as *ῥάμνος*, which is the classical name of the *buckthorn*. The writer has never met with the former in the hill-country. It is a plant of the coast and Jordan Valley and the interior plateaus.

---

* On the text of this verse and on its interpretation and its relation to v.^{7}, see, above all, Moore's note, *ad loc.*

2. בַּרְקָנִים *barḳānîm* (Jg 8^7.16^). According to Moore (*Judges, ad loc.*), 'in the Egyp. dialect of Arabic *berqan* is the name of *Phaceopappus scoparius*, Boiss. = *Centaurea scop.*, Sieber, a composite plant, with thorny heads.'

3. דַּרְדַּר *dardar* (Gn 3[18], Hos 10[8], each time coupled with קוֹץ). The Arab. *dardâr* signifies the elm or the ash, but *shaukat ed-dardâr* is generic for the thorny Centaureas, star thistles or knapweeds, which are not proper thistles, *i.e.* of the genus *Cirsium*. In both the passages cited the LXX has *τρίβολος*, Vulg. *tribulus*. At least 2, perhaps 3, plants were known to the Greeks by this name: *Trapa natans*, L., the water chestnut, and *Tribulus terrestris*, L., a prostrate herb of the order *Zygophyllaceæ*, with pinnate leaves, resembling those of the milk vetch, and a fruit composed of bony cells, with a prickly back. These are liable to get into the shoe or between the sandal and the foot, and produce a veritable *tribulation*. The caltrop, an instrument suggested by them, was used in war to impede the charge of cavalry. Some have identified the *tribulus* with the thorny Centaureas.

4. חֵדֶק *ḥēdeḳ* (Pr 15[19], LXX *ἄκανθα*, AV and RV 'thorn'; Mic 7[4] [LXX text differs] AV and RV 'brier') refers to some unknown kind of thorn, certainly in the first passage one of those used for hedges. The most common of these in Palestine and Syria is *Eleagnus hortensis*, M.B., the silver berry or oleaster, known in Arab. as *zaizafûn*. It has stiff, sharp thorns, and grows in a dense fashion which well fits it for this purpose. The ordinary brambles, species of *Rubus*, are also much used for hedges, especially along the coast. Also *Paliurus aculeatus*, Lam., one of the so-called Christ thorns, a plant of the order *Rhamnaceæ*, growing in the interior tablelands. Also *Cactus Ficus-Indica*, L., the prickly pear, *Smilax aspera*, L., the green brier, which makes a most efficient hedge, and the boxthorn, which is common in hedges about Jaffa, Lattakia, and elsewhere. The hawthorn, Cratægus, of which there are several species, is not used in this way.

5. חוֹחַ *ḥôaḥ*. This is variously tr. (2 K 14[9] 'thistle,' RVm 'thorn'; 2 Ch 25[18] 'thistle,' AVm 'furze bush' [*Calycotome villosa*] or 'thorn,' RVm 'thorn'; Hos 9[6] 'thorns'; Is 34[13] AV 'brambles,' RV 'thistles'; Job 31[40] 'thistles,' RVm 'thorns'; Pr 26[9] 'thorn'; Ca 2[2] 'thorns'; 1 S 13[6] חֲוָחִים 'thickets' [better *thorn brakes*, unless we read with Ew., Wellh., Driver, *et al.* חוֹרִים 'holes']; Job 41[2] AV 'thorn,' RV 'hook,' m. 'spike'; 2 Ch 33[11] AV 'thorns,' RV 'in chains,' m. 'with hooks'). From the above inconsistencies, which are quite parallel to those of the LXX and Vulg., it is clear that no specific meaning can be attached to *ḥôaḥ*. It would seem, however, rather to designate thorns and thorny shrubs and trees than prickles and prickly herbs like thistles.

6. מְסוּכָה *mĕṣûkāh* (Mic 7[4]) is a 'thorn hedge.' Of what kind we have no means of determining (see 4).

7. נַעֲצוּץ *na'ăẓûẓ*. The Arab. *nu'ḍ* corresponds with this, and signifies *a thorn tree growing in Arabia*. It may be one of the thorny acacias. In the two passages in which it occurs (Is 7[19] 55[13]) it is tr. 'thorns.' In the latter (LXX *στοιβή*) it is said that it will be replaced by the *bĕrôsh*. See FIR.

8. סִירִים *ṣîrîm*. This seems to refer to the lighter thorns, like the thorny burnet, which often grows in ruins (Is 34[13]), and many of the star thistles, etc. The burning of these produces a crackling (Ec 7[6] AVm 'sound,' where there is a word-play between סִיר 'pot' and סִירִים 'thorns'). 'Folden together as thorns' (AV Nah 1[10], RV 'like tangled thorns') would well suit such as the *burnet*, and many others in Palestine. As *ḥôaḥ* came to mean 'hook,' from the resemblance to a thorn, so *sîrôth* is once used in this way for 'fish-hook' (Am 4[2]).

9. סִלּוֹן *ṣillôn*, AV and RV 'brier' (Ezk 28[24]); סַלּוֹנִים *ṣallônîm*, AV and RV 'thorns' (Ezk 2[6], but text dub.), are stout thorns, such as are found on the midrib of the palm leaf, corresponding exactly to the Arab. *sulâ*.

10. סָרָבִים *ṣārābîm* is from an obsolete root signifying perh. *to be refractory* or *rebellious*. In the single passage where it is used (Ezk 2[6]), the context points to some stiff, refractory thorn, of which *ṣārābîm* was prob. the ancient name. It is associated with the stout thorn of the palm, *ṣillôn* (9); but we have no Arab. clue, as in the other case, to help us to a knowledge of what it was. AVm tr. it 'rebels'; but this is forced. Instead of 'briers and thorns' (סָרָבִים וְסַלּוֹנִים), Cornill, Bertholet, *et al.*, would read 'resisting and despising' (סֹרְבִים וְסֹלִים).

11. סִרְפַּד* *ṣirpad*.—A plant of neglected and desert places, mentioned with נַעֲצוּץ (Is 55[13]), to be replaced by the myrtle as *na'ăẓûẓ* will be by the fir. The LXX has *κόνυζα* = *Inula viscosa*, L., the elecampane, a plant which grows on all the hillsides of Palestine and Syria. It is a perennial of the order *Compositæ*, growing from 2–3 ft. high, with lanceolate to linear-lanceolate leaves, and yellow heads, about ⅓ in. long. It is very glutinous, and has a strong, disagreeable smell. It is a plant worthless either as forage or fuel. It possesses only two merits. The first is that brooms made of the green stems with their leaves on are used to sweep the floors of the native houses, and help to rid them of the fleas, which adhere to the slime which covers the plant. The other is that it grows on dry, rocky hillsides, and mitigates by its greenness the otherwise deserted and barren aspect of the landscape. Now it happens that the myrtle grows on similar hillsides, often side by side with the elecampane. The contrast between this worthless plant and the myrtle, with its delicious fragrance, its beautiful foliage, exquisite flowers, and edible fruit, is quite sufficient for the requirements of the passage. 'Brier' of AV and RV, and *urtica*='nettle' of Vulg., besides lacking the authority of the LXX, would not convey a meaning so forcible as the elecampane. The Arab. name for the plant is *'irḳ et-ṭayyûn.*

---

* So Baer; MT סִרְפָּד *ṣirpād*.

12. צִנִּים *ẓinnîm* is used twice: Job 5^5 (LXX *κακῶν*), where both MT and meaning are doubtful [Bevan, *Journ. of Philol.* xxvi. 303 ff. reads plausibly וְאוֹנָם צִנִּים יִקְחָהוּ, and renders 'and their wealth barbs lay hold of it']; and Pr 22^5 (LXX *τρίβολοι*), where the froward wander into desert places, where they are sure to meet with thorns. Another form of the same, צְנִינִים *ẓěnînîm* (Nu 33^{55}, where it is associated with שִׂכִּים [see **15**], Jos 23^{13}), simply refers to thorns as piercing the flesh, not to any particular plant.

13. קוֹץ *ḳôẓ* is a generic term for thorny and prickly plants, tr. indifferently 'thorn' (Ezk 28^{24} where it refers to an individual thorn, Hos 10^8), or 'thorns' (Gn 3^{18}, Is 32^{13}), pl. קוֹצִים or קֹצִים *ḳôẓîm* (Jg 8^7, Jer 4^3 etc.).

14. קִמְּשׁוֹנִים *ḳimmĕshônîm* is once (Pr 24^{31}) tr. 'thorns,' but the sing. form קִמּוֹשׁ (Is 34^{13}) and קִימוֹשׁ (Hos 9^6) 'nettles.' See NETTLES.

15. שִׂכִּים *sikkîm*, the pl. of שֵׂךְ=Arab. *shauk*, generic for thorns (Nu 33^{55}), tr. 'pricks.'

16. שַׁיִת *shayith* occurs only in Isaiah, and always associated with שָׁמִיר *shāmîr* (5^6 7^{23-25} 9^{18} 10^{17} 27^4); always tr. 'thorns,' as *shāmîr* is tr. 'briers.'

17. שָׁמִיר *shāmîr* means both 'thorn' and 'adamant.' In the former signification it occurs only in Isaiah, and each time but one (32^{13}, where it is associated with *ḳôẓ*) in company with *shayith.* It is uniformly tr. 'briers.' Its Arab. equivalent, *samûr*, is the desert *Acacia Seyyal*, or *A. tortilis.*

Most of the above names were probably specific and well understood in the days when they were used; but, as has been seen, few, if any, can certainly be identified. The NT words for 'thorns and thistles,' *ἄκανθαι* and *τρίβολοι* (Mt 7^{16}, Lk 6^{44}), and 'thorns,' *ἄκανθαι* (Mt 13^7), and 'thorn' (rather 'stake'), *σκόλοψ* (2 Co 12^7), are indefinite. There are not less than 50 genera and 200 species of plants in Syria and Palestine furnished with thorns and prickles, besides a multitude clothed with scabrous, strigose, or stinging hairs, and another multitude with prickly fruits.

Crown of Thorns.—It is impossible to tell of what species our Saviour's crown (*στέφανος ἐξ ἀκανθῶν, ἀκάνθινος στέφανος*) was composed. It is certain, however, that it must have been made from a plant growing near to Jerusalem. It is often identified with *Zizyphus Spina-Christi* (see Tristram, *Nat. Hist. of Bible*, 429). It might well have been *Calycotome villosa*, Vahl, the *ḳundaul* of the Arabs. Crowns of this are plaited and sold in Jerusalem, as representatives of our Saviour's crown. The facility with which the branches of this shrub are wrought into the required shape, and the evident adaptation of the resulting crown to the torture intended, make it highly probable that this was the material used. *Poterium spinosum*, L., is also wrought into such crowns, but makes a much softer and less efficient instrument of torture than the last. A cruel one could be made of *Rhamnus punctata*, Boiss., also of *Ononis antiquorum*, L., the *shibruḳ* of the Arabs.

G. E. POST.

THOCANUS (B *Θόκανος*, A *Θώκανος*, AV Theocanus), 1 Es 9^{14}=Tikvah, Ezr 10^{15}. Probably תקוה was read as תקנה.

THOMAS (*Θωμᾶς*=תאמא).—One of the Twelve, always placed in the second of the three groups of four in which the names of the apostles are arranged in the NT lists. In the oldest extant list (Mk $3^{16f.}$) the names are not distributed in *pairs*, and he is No. 8, as also in Lk $6^{14f.}$; but in the later lists he is coupled with Matthew and assigned the seventh place (Mt $10^{2f.}$), or given the sixth place, coupled with Philip (Ac $1^{13f.}$). No incident is recorded of him by the Synoptists, but from John we learn that he played a conspicuous part in the anxieties and questionings which followed the Resurrection, which perhaps accounts for the higher position assigned to him in the lists as soon as the names began to be arranged or classified; cf. Jn 21^2, where he is placed after Peter and before the sons of Zebedee. John thrice describes him as *Θωμᾶς ὁ λεγόμενος Δίδυμος* (11^{16} 20^{24} 21^2). תְּאוֹם is a 'twin' [only Gn 25^{24} 38^{27}, Ca 4^5 7^3, always in plur.], and of this *Θωμᾶς* is a transliteration, *ὁ δίδυμος* being the Gr. translation. This last would be the form of the title most natural among the Greek-speaking Christians of Asia Minor, for whom the Fourth Gospel was written. His personal name is not given in the NT, but he is called 'Judas Thomas' in the apocryphal *Acta Thomæ*, in the Syr. *Doctrina Apostolorum*, and also in the Abgar legend (Eus. *HE* i. 13), which represents him as sending THADDÆUS to Abgar with Christ's letter. The name 'Judas' was a common one, and it may well have been his; at any rate the ascription of it to him led in time to his identification with Judas 'of James,' and Judas the 'brother' of the Lord (Mk 6^3), and so to the widespread tradition that the Apostle Thomas was the twin brother of Jesus (*Acta Thomæ*, § 31). The identification of Thaddæus (Mt 10^3, Mk 3^{18}) with Luke's Judas 'of James' (Lk 6^{16}, Ac 1^{13}) accounts for a later Syrian tradition which makes Thomas and Thaddæus the same person. Another story makes one Lysia the twin sister of Thomas.

The three notices of Thomas in John reveal a personality of singular charm and interest. When the other apostles would have dissuaded Jesus from the risk of going to Bethany where Lazarus lay dead, and Jesus had said that He would nevertheless go, Thomas at once declared his intention of sharing the danger: 'Let us also go that we may die with him' (Jn 11^{16}). His eager devotion could not endure the thought of separation, and so the announcement at the Last Supper that the Master was about to depart filled him with perplexity: 'We know not whither thou goest; how know we the way?' (Jn 14^5). Like the other disciples, he could not but suppose that the Crucifixion had put an end to his hopes, although it does not appear from the narratives (as has sometimes been assumed) that Thomas had severed his connexion with the other companions of Christ, for 'the eleven' are mentioned as still a coherent body (Lk $24^{9.33}$ [Mk] 16^{14}), and Thomas is found in their company on 'the first day of the week,' presumably for worship and conference, even after he had expressed his doubts as to the Resurrection (Jn 20^{26}). When, however, the Christ appeared to the other apostles at Jerusalem, Thomas was not with them, although the reason of his absence is not recorded (Jn 20^{24}). They were invited to assure themselves by the test of touch that the vision was not that of a phantom but of the Risen Jesus (Lk 24^{39}), and even this did not convince them until He 'did eat before them' (Lk $24^{41.43}$). Thomas, on being informed of the vision of the Lord, refused to believe until he too had satisfied himself by sight and touch that there was no misapprehension (Jn 20^{25}); but when this test was offered to (and applied by?) him, his recognition of his Master was immediate and adoring: 'My Lord and my God' (Jn 20^{28}). No greater confession of faith is recorded in the NT. These three incidental notices of Thomas depend entirely, as has already been pointed out, on the authority of the Fourth Gospel; but there is nothing in any of them which is either incredible in itself, or inconsistent with the Synoptic accounts, and the psychological truth and naturalness of the resulting picture of the man confirm belief in the trustworthiness of the Johannine narratives.

The *Acta Thomæ* or Περίοδοι Θωμᾶ* is a Gnostic work probably going back to the 2nd cent., and written by one Leucius the author of several apocryphal *Acts*. It begins by telling that, at the division of the field of the world among the apostles, India was allocated to Thomas; that he was at first unwilling to go there, but was persuaded by a vision of Christ, who sold him as a slave to an Indian merchant. After some adventures by the way (which display the Gnostic tendencies of the writer; see Salmon, *Introd. to NT*^{7} p. 334 f.), he arrived in India, and there (being a carpenter) was entrusted by his master with the building of a palace, but expended the money on the relief of the poor. His missionary efforts were at last crowned with success. The connexion of his name with India, for which these *Acta* are the earliest authority, was widely accepted after the 4th cent. in both East and West. The Malabar 'Christians of St. Thomas' still count him as the first martyr and evangelist of their country. It is probable, however, that these Christians were evangelized from Edessa, and that the traditional account of their origin is due to a confused memory of one of the pioneer missionaries from that place, who was called Thomas after its patron saint. For there is a quite distinct (and seemingly earlier) account of the missionary activity of the apostle which makes Parthia the scene of his labours (Eus. *HE* iii. 1; see also Clem. *Recogn.* ix. 29, and Socrates, *HE* i. 19), and Edessa his burial-place (Rufinus, *HE* ii. 5, and Socrates, *HE* iv. 18). According to the Roman Martyrology his remains were brought from India to Edessa, and thence, it was said, to Ortona in Italy during the Crusades. The oldest extant tradition as to the manner of his death is that it was from natural causes (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 9. 73).

J. H. BERNARD.

THOMEI (B Θόμθει, A Θόμει, AV Thomoi), 1 Es 5^{32}=Temah, Ezr 2^{53}, Neh 7^{55}.

THORNS.—See THISTLES.

THOUGHT.—In 1 S 9^{5} 'Come, and let us return; lest my father leave caring for the asses, and take thought for us,' the phrase 'take thought' means 'be anxious,' 'grieve.' The same verb (דָּאַג) is translated 'sorrow' in 10^{2} 'Thy father hath left the care of the asses, and sorroweth for you.' RV has 'take thought' in both passages, but Amer. RV gives 'be anxious' in both. In Ps 38^{18} both versions render the Hebrew word 'I will be sorry.' 'Thought' was once freely used in English in the sense of 'anxiety' or 'grief.' Thus Cranmer, *Works*, i. 162, 'Alas, Master Secretary, you forget Master Smyth of the Exchequer, who is near consumed with thought and pensiveness'; *Somers Tracts*, 'In five hundred years only two queens have died in childbirth. Queen Catherine Parr died rather of thought'; Shaks. *Hamlet*, III. i. 85—

> 'And thus the native hue of resolution
> Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought';

and IV. v. 177—'And there is pansies, that's for thoughts.' Cf. Wyclif's use of the verb, *Select Works*, iii. 9, 'As a bird of a swalowe, so I schal crie, I schal thinke as a dowve.' In AV 'thought' occurs in this sense only in the phrase 'take thought.' Besides 1 S 9^{5} (above) the examples are Mt 6$^{25.\ 27.\ 28.\ 31.\ 34\ bis}$ 10^{19}, Lk 12$^{11.\ 22.\ 25.\ 26}$ (all *μεριμνάω*), and Mk 13^{11} 'take no thought beforehand' (*μὴ προμεριμνᾶτε*); RV always 'be anxious.' Cf. Coverdale's tr. of 1 S 10^{2} (see above), 'Thy father hath put the asses out of his mynde, and taketh thoughte for the, and sayeth: What shall I do for my sonne?' and Shaks. *Jul. Cæsar*, II. i. 187—

> 'If he love Cæsar, all that he can do,
> Is to himself take thought and die for Cæsar.'

J. HASTINGS.

THRACIA (Θρᾴκη) was the country lying east of Macedonia, bounded on the north by the Danube and on the south by the Ægean Sea, the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmora, and the territory of Byzantium (a 'free city,' connected with the Roman province of Bithynia from B.C. 74). Thrace is never mentioned in the NT, nor did any action alluded to in the NT take place in that country. Philippi and Neapolis, indeed, had originally been in Thrace; but the boundaries of Macedonia were extended far towards the east by the conquests of the Macedonian kings, and included both cities. Before the Roman period the boundary between Macedonia and Thrace was the boundary between civilization and barbarism, and this varied as civilization enlarged its limits. Originally the name Thracia was used in a very loose and vague fashion, and the Macedonians were even sometimes spoken of as a tribe of Thrace, which in that case practically meant the land north and north-east of Greece. The Macedonians were akin to the Thracians, but came under the influence of Greek civilization earlier.* It was not until A.D. 46 that Thrace was incorporated as a province in the Roman empire.

In 2 Mac 12^{35} a Thracian soldier is mentioned as saving the life of Gorgias, governor of Idumæa† under Antiochus Epiphanes, in a battle against Judas Maccabæus, about B.C. 163. The Thracian tribesmen, barbarous, hardy, and inured to war, were much used as mercenaries by the Greek kings of Syria, Pergamum, Bithynia, etc. This is several times mentioned by Polybius (V. lxv. 10, lxxix. 6); and inscriptions along with other evidence entirely corroborate him. Thracian mercenaries were settled as colonists in many of the garrison cities founded by those kings, *e.g.* in Apollonia of Pisidia (where they are often mentioned on coins, etc., in the full title of the city) and in other places: the Thracian mercenaries were sometimes called *Traleis* or 'warriors'; see Ramsay, *Histor. Geogr. of Asia Minor*, p. 112, *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, i. p. 34; Fränkel, *Inschr. Pergam.* i., No. 13, p. 16.

W. M. RAMSAY.

THRASÆUS (A Θρασαῖος, V^{*vid} Θαρσίας, V^{a} Θαρσέας).—The father of Apollonius, 2 Mac 3^{5}; but see APOLLONIUS, No. 1, and cf. RVm.

THREE CHILDREN, SONG OF THE (or, more accurately, as in Codex B: 'The Prayer of Azarias' and 'the Hymn of the Three'), is one of the additions to the book of Daniel, extant only in the Greek Bible and in versions taken from the Greek. It contains 67 verses, and is inserted between v.^{23} and v.^{24} of Dn 3 in the canonical text. In Codex A our 'addition' forms also two of fourteen canticles appended to the Book of Psalms. The ninth and tenth of these canticles are called respectively *προσευχὴ Ἀζαρίου* (Prayer of Azarias) and *ὕμνος τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν* (Hymn of our Fathers).

i. CONTENTS.—The apocryphon contains three sections: (1) the Prayer of Azarias; (2) descriptive narrative; (3) thanksgiving of the Three for their deliverance from the fiery furnace.

---

* The best edition of the Gr. and Lat. texts of these *Acta* is that of Bonnet (1883); for the Syriac *Acts* see Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* (1871); and, for the Æthiopic version of the story, Malan, *Conflicts of the Holy Apostles* (1871). For all legends about Thomas the best and fullest account will be found in Lipsius' *Die Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten* (1883-1890), vol. i. pp. 225-347.

* It is maintained by some scholars that Thrace, in that early wide extension, is alluded to in Gn 10^{2}. In that verse the sons of Japheth are said to be Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan, Tubal, Meshech, and Tiras; but see TIRAS.

† *Idumæa* is suspicious: it has been thought to be an error for *Jamnia*.

(1) *The Prayer of Azarias*, vv.$^{1-22}$ (Gr. $^{24-45}$).—In Dn 3^{23} it has been narrated that the three men, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, fell down bound into the midst of the burning fiery furnace. After 3^{23} Theodotion (whose text is followed in Vulg. and the English Apocr.) proceeds: 'And they walked ['in their chains,' Syr W] in the midst of the fire, praising God.' The connexion is, in LXX, effected thus: 'Thus then prayed Hananias and Azarias and Mishael and sang praises to the Lord, when the king commanded them to be cast into the furnace.' Both then say that 'Azarias stood and prayed in the midst of the fire'; LXX adding 'together with his companions,' which Theod. omits, as he does also the statement of LXX that 'the furnace had been heated exceedingly by the Chaldæans.' The Prayer opens with praise to God for His righteous acts to the nation, acknowledging His justice even in the disasters which He has brought upon Jerusalem. National ruin was completely justified, because of national sins. He complains, however, that the nation by which God had chastised His people was a very lawless one, and that their king was the most wicked king on earth, treating Israel scornfully and tyrannically. He then pleads the covenants with the fathers and the promises of the vast expansion of the nation as the ground of God's intervention to the very small remnant. They had been brought very low: the State was dissolved: State functionaries had ceased to be: State religion was no longer possible; but with the sacrifice of a contrite heart, rather than of myriads of rams, they would seek the LORD and implore Him to remove their shame and transfer it to their foes; that all may know that J″ is God alone.

(2) In vv.$^{23-27}$ of EV (Gr. $^{46-51}$) we have *a continuation of the narrative* of Dn 3^{23}, describing how the king's servants kept on heating the furnace with naphtha and pitch till it was seven times as hot as usual, and the flame reached 49 cubits above the furnace. Then an angel came down, called in Syr. 'the angel of dew,' and by means of a dewy whistling wind made the centre of the furnace cool, forming an inner zone which the flames could not touch. After this 'the three' unitedly began to praise God.

(3) *The Hymn of Thanksgiving*, vv.$^{28-68}$ (Gr. $^{52-90}$). This Hymn, like Ps 136, contains, as the second line of each verse, a refrain. As the Psalm repeats throughout the words, 'For his mercy endureth for ever'; so our Hymn, in every verse, ascribes praise to God. For the first six verses the ascription is verbally varied, though identical in meaning. After that, the second line of each verse is ὑμνεῖτε καὶ ὑπερυψοῦτε αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, 'Praise and superexalt him for ever.' In the first place the Psalmist (for such he really is) exults in the fact that J″ is worthy to be praised in the heavenly temple, sitting on the throne of His glory: from the loftiest heights looking down on the deepest depths. Then he apostrophizes all the works of God and calls on them to praise the Lord: angels, the heavens, the celestial waters, sun, moon, and stars. From things celestial he passes to what *we* call meteorological phenomena, but which, to the Jewish mind, were changes presided over by an angel,—if not indeed themselves actual entities,—rain and dew, winds, frost and snow, light and darkness, lightnings and clouds. Then the terrestrial creation is addressed, mountains, vegetation, showers, fountains, monsters, fowls, and beasts. After that, men of various ranks and conditions in life: Israel, priests, slaves, the righteous, the humble, and last of all, as Ps 103 terminates with the words 'Bless the LORD, *O my soul*,' we have in v.^{88} 'O Hananias, Azarias, and Mishael, bless ye the Lord.' The last two verses are from Ps 136, and were probably appended by some later hand.

ii. LITERARY ESTIMATE. — The judgment of Eichhorn (*Einleitung*, 419, ed. 1795), that the Prayer of Azarias is unsuitable to the circumstances, and that it betrays a lack of literary art to suppose that in a fiery furnace any man could pray as he does, is endorsed by most later scholars (Fritzsche, 115). There are 'no groans,' 'no personal petitions,' 'no cries for help.' The author makes Azarias review the history of the Jewish nation as calmly as an aged saint might do under the fig-tree of solitude at the time of evening prayer. On one supposition, however, the Prayer becomes thoroughly relevant. If we might assume that the author of the Prayer regarded the narrative of Dn 3 as a Haggada, a symbolical, but not historical, account of the Babylonian captivity: as in Zec 3^{2} the angel says concerning Joshua the high priest, 'Is not this a brand plucked out of *the fire*?'—then the Prayer would be quite suitable. As to the *poetical* character of the Hymn, critics differ. Fritzsche considered the accumulation of doxologies devoid of all literary skill, and the enumeration of the powers of creation, frigid. Ball, however, replies (*Speaker's Com.* 307) that the very monotony is effective. 'It is like the monotony of the winds or the waves, and powerfully suggests to the imagination the amplitude and splendour of God's world, and the sublimity of the universal chorus of praise. The instinct of the Church which early adopted the *Benedicite* for liturgical use was right.' Zöckler sympathizes so strongly with Ball against Fritzsche that he quotes the above in English. The Hymn is modelled after Ps 136, and has equal claim to be considered poetical.

iii. AUTHORSHIP.—The name and date of the composer of the Prayer and Hymn are quite unknown. It is even disputed whether they come from the same author. The chief argument for duality is that v.$^{15\ (38)}$ implies the cessation of Temple worship. 'There is no . . . sacrifice nor place to offer sacrifice before thee': whereas in v.$^{31\ (54)}$ there is reference to a Temple, and in v.$^{62\ (85)}$ to priests. The argument is not valid. The Temple in v.^{31} is the heavenly Temple, where the Lord is enthroned on the cherubim. Further, the priesthood was hereditary. A man did not cease to be a priest when the Temple was destroyed; and hence we note that v.^{15} does *not* say, 'There is no priest.'—It is even more eagerly disputed whether the Gr. text is the original, or a translation from Heb. or Aramaic. Eichhorn in his first edition favoured Gr. authorship. In his second edition he adduced reasons for regarding it as a translation, but held the evidence to be indecisive. This uncertainty still remains. Fritzsche, Keil, Bissell, and Schürer are against a Semitic authorship. Ball attaches more importance than they do to Eichhorn's indications of translation. The difficulty is this: every extant version is clearly based on the LXX. Where Theod. differs from LXX, it is usually in very small matters of addition or omission. There are no synonymous, but verbally variant, phrases, indicating that both are translated from the same original. There are no marks that Theod. or any version used a Semitic copy in order to correct LXX. In such cases the only evidence of translation work is to be sought in the awkward, barely intelligible phrases. We have to retranslate these into the hypothetical original, and see if by some slight modification of this we can secure a better rendering. In the case before us the results are disappointing. We may premise, however, that if there ever was a Semitic original, it would be Heb. and not Aramaic. The orthodox Palestinian Jew considered Heb. the language of heaven, and always used it in prayer and praise.—The evidence in favour of Heb. stands thus: (1) The style is intensely Hebraistic, perhaps more so than an Alexandrian Jew would use in original composition. (2) The names of the three men are their original Hebrew names (Dn 1^{7}), not the Aramaic names found in Dn 3$^{16.\ 19.\ 23.\ 26}$ etc. (3) V.$^{17\ (40)}$ is very obscure. In LXX it reads literally, 'Let our sacrifice be before thee, and may it *make atonement* behind thee' (ἐξιλάσαι ὄπισθέν σου). Theod. reads ἐκτελέσαι ὄπισθέν σου, 'May it *make requital* behind thee.' At the end of the verse in LXX there occurs an incorporated marginal gloss: τελειῶσαι ὄπισθέν σου, 'let it *be perfect* behind thee.' These three Gr. verbs seem very diverse, but, if we might assume a Heb. original from which they are a tr., the matter is simplified. These Gr. verbs may represent different forms of the Heb. root שלם. The Hiphil הִשְׁלִים 'to make peace' may account for ἐξιλάσαι. The Piel שִׁלֵּם and the Gr. τελείω both mean to 'pay,' 'requite'; and the Qal שָׁלֵם means to 'be perfect.' We do not attempt to explain ὄπισθεν. (4) It might seem that the phrase 'to *scatter* a covenant' in v.^{11}, instead of '*violate*,' was a confusion of פזר and פרר: but the same thing occurs in LXX of Gn 17^{14} and Lv 26$^{15.\ 44}$. So also the use of ἀπό with καταισχύνεσθαι, 'to be ashamed,' might arise from translating the Heb. מִן (Eichh. 428); but both ἐκ and ἀπό are used in LXX with verbs of 'shame,' and thus this also may be a Hebraism, and due to familiarity with the LXX. The evidence of a Heb. original is not irresistible, but probable.

iv. VERSIONS.—The LXX presents the earliest extant text. Theod. edited the LXX with sundry emendations of little significance: none of them so important as in 'Bel and the Dragon' (vol. i. 267). A collation of the two versions is given by Eichhorn (422 ff.), and also in Field's *Hexapla* (ii. 914 ff.). The Vulg. is in the main an accurate tr. of Theodotion. The Syriac as given by Lagarde is the same text as Walton's, the differences being merely such as occur in transcription. Worthy of note are the readings: $^{15\ (38)}$, 'a place where we may offer *spices* and a sacrifice': $^{17\ (40)}$, 'let not thy servant be ashamed' for ἐξιλάσαι ὄπισθέν σου: $^{49\ (72)}$, 'The angel *of dew* went down into the furnace.' The Syro-Hexaplar text is a tr. of the LXX.

v. CANONICITY. — Ball gives several citations from Jewish writings of the incidents narrated in the Biblical portions of Dn 3; but it is difficult to find Rabbinic quotations of our apocryphon. *Pesachim* 118*a* tells how R. Hiskiah describes the three martyrs as reciting Ps 115, clause by clause, in rotation; and how R. Samuel the Shilonite used to say that Yorḳemi, the prince *of hail*, begged to go down to cool the furnace; but Gabriel offered not only to make the furnace cool within (as the hail would do), but also to make it hot without (*Speaker's Apocr.* 306 f.).

In the Christian Church, Hippolytus gives a few notes explanatory of the Song. Julius Africanus disputed the canonicity of the additions to Daniel. Origen wrote in reply defending their genuineness, and on several occasions quotes 'the Prayer'; *e.g.* in *Com. on Matt.* bk. xiii. 2 he quotes v.$^{64\ (86)}$ 'as it stands in the book of Daniel according to the LXX' as representing the difference between the soul and the body. Cyprian, *de Lapsis*, c. 31, quotes v.$^{2\ (25)}$ as 'scriptura divina'; and he adduces the Prayer of the 'tres pueri in camino inclusi' as a model of public prayer (*de Orat. Dominica*, c. 8).

LITERATURE.—Ball in *Speaker's Apocr.* ii. 305 ff.; Fritzsche, *Handbuch zu den Apokr.* i. 123 ff.; Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. 183 ff.; Zöckler, *Apokr. des AT* 230 ff.; Bissell in Lange's *Apokr.*; Eichhorn, *Einleitung in die Apokr. Schriften*, 419 ff.; Rothstein in Kautzsch's *Apokr. u. Pseudepigr. d. AT* i. 172 ff.
J. T. MARSHALL.

THRESHING.—See AGRICULTURE, vol. i. p. 50.

THRESHOLD.—1. In Neh 12^{25} אֲסֻפֵּי הַשְּׁעָרִים (AV 'thresholds of the gates') undoubtedly means 'storehouses of the gates' (so RV; cf. RV 'storehouse' as tr. of בֵּית הָאֲסֻפִּים [AV 'house of Asuppim'] in 1 Ch 26^{15}, and of אֲסֻפִּים alone [AV 'Asuppim'] in v.^{17}). The text of the LXX is in this verse defective, but the words ἐν τῷ συναγαγεῖν με τοὺς πυλωρούς obviously represent בְּאָסְפִּי הַשְּׁעָרִים. 2. סַף: Jg 19^{27} the Levite's concubine was found in the morning dead, with her hands upon the threshold; 1 K 14^{17} Jeroboam's wife had just reached the threshold of the palace at Tirzah when her son died; Am 9^{1} 'Smite the chapiters [of the columns supporting the temple roof] till the thresholds shake'; Is 6^{4} 'the foundations of the thresholds were moved at the voice of him that cried'; Ezk 43^{8}, referring to the circumstance that the royal palace and Solomon's temple were within the same enclosure and formed one set of buildings, God makes it a matter of reproach that they have set 'their threshold by my threshold, and their door post beside my door post'; Zeph 2^{14} 'desolation [חֹרֶב; but Wellh., Now., *et al.*, after LXX κόρακες, read עֹרֵב 'raven(s)'] shall be on the thresholds (of ruined Nineveh).' A class of temple officials were 'keepers of the threshold' (שֹׁמְרֵי הַסַּף): Jer 35^{4} [in sing.], 2 K 12^{10} 22^{4} (=2 Ch 34^{9})* 23^{4} 25^{18} [=Jer 52^{24}]; 2 Ch 23^{4} [שֹׁעֲרֵי הַסַּף]; in 1 Ch 9$^{19.\ 22}$ [in the latter verse שֹׁעֲרִים בַּסַּף] similar officials are provided for the tabernacle; the office is a secular one in Est 2^{21} 6^{2}, answering more to that of bodyguard (cf. the LXX ἀρχισωματοφύλακες in 2^{21}). In Ps 84^{11} the pilgrim declares that he prefers *being at the threshold* (B παραριπτεῖσθαι) in the house of God to *dwelling* in the tents of wickedness. The other occurrences of סַף are: Ezk 40$^{6\ bis.\ 7}$ 41$^{16\ bis}$, 2 Ch 3^{7}.

The principal LXX renderings of סַף not noticed above are: τὸ πρόθυρον, Jg 19^{27}, 1 K 14^{17}, Ezk 43^{8}; τὸ ὑπέρθυρον, Is 6^{4}; τὰ πρόπυλα, Am 9^{1}; οἱ πυλῶνες, Zeph 2^{14}, 2 Ch 3^{7}; (ὁ φυλάσσων or οἱ φυλάσσοντες) τὴν αὐλήν, Jer 35 (42)^{4}, or τὸν σταθμόν, 2 K 12$^{10\ (9)}$ 22^{4} 25^{18}, or τὴν πύλην, 2 Ch 34^{9}, or τὴν ὁδόν, Jer 52^{24}, or τὴν εἴσοδον, 1 Ch 9^{19}; (εἰς τὰς πύλας) τῶν εἰσόδων, 2 Ch 23^{4}; θυρίδες, Ezk 41^{16}.

3. מִפְתָּן: 1 S 5$^{4.\ 5}$ Dagon was found prostrate before the ark, with his head and hands cut off upon the threshold; hence, it is said, the worshippers of Dagon leap over the threshold, to avoid contact with a spot rendered sacred by having been the resting-place of these members of the god. It is impossible to decide whether it is this (Philistine) custom that is referred to in Zeph 1^{9} 'every one who leaps over [or 'upon,' עַל] the threshold.' See art. CHERETHITES, vol. i. p. 377^{a}. The threshold of the temple is referred to in Ezk 9^{3} 10$^{4.\ 18}$ 46^{2} 47^{1} (in the last named passage as the source of the stream which is seen in vision to flow forth to fertilize the 'Arabah).

The usual LXX equivalent for מִפְתָּן is αἴθριον: Ezk 9^{3} 10$^{4.\ 18}$ 47^{1}; in 46^{2} and 1 S 5^{4} πρόθυρον; in 1 S 5^{5} βαθμός; in Zeph 1^{9} πρόπυλα.

For Trumbull's view (*The Threshold Covenant*, 303 ff.) of the Passover as a *threshold cross-over sacrifice*, see art. PASSOVER, vol. iii. p. 689. Cf. also art. FOUNDATION.
J. A. SELBIE.

THRONE is OT rendering of the Heb. כִּסֵּא [in 1 K 10$^{19\ bis}$, Job 26^{9} כִּסֵּה; in Dn 5^{20} 7$^{9\ bis}$ Aram. כָּרְסֵא], which is used for any seat of honour or state, *e.g.* of the high priest, 1 S 1^{9} 4$^{13.\ 18}$; of an honoured guest, 2 K 4^{10}; of the *peḥah* beyond the River, Neh 3^{7}; of a judge, Ps 94^{20}; of a military officer, Jer 1^{15}; but far more usually of a king, Gn 41^{40} [E], Ex 11^{5} 12^{29} [both J], 1 K 2^{19}, Is 47^{1}, Ezk 26^{16}, Est 5^{1}. Solomon's throne is described in 1 K 10$^{18-20}$ [=2 Ch 9$^{17-19}$]. It was overlaid with ivory and the finest gold (see Kittel, *Könige, ad loc.*), and was ascended by six steps, with twelve lions standing upon them. For figures of Assyrian and Egyptian thrones see Riehm, *HWB*^{2} ii. 1106, 1684. God as the heavenly King has His throne: Is 6^{1}, Ezk 1^{26} 10^{1}, 1 K 22^{19} [=2 Ch 18^{18}], Job 26^{9}, Ps 11^{4}; heaven is called His throne in Is 66^{1} (cf. Mt 5^{34}), Jerus. in Jer 3^{17}, the sanctuary in 17^{12} and Ezk 43^{7}. 'Throne' is frequently used as = *royal dignity*, *authority*, *power*, *e.g.* 1 K 2^{45} ('the throne of David shall be established,' cf. 2 S 7^{16} [=1 Ch 17^{14}]), Is 16^{5}, Pr 16^{12}; of God, La 5^{19}, Ps 47^{9} 89^{15} 93^{2} 97^{2} 103^{19}, Jer 14^{21}. For the cult of 'empty thrones' see Reichel, *Ueber vorhellenische Götterkulte* (Wien, 1897), and Budde's art. 'Imageless Worship in Antiquity' in *Expos. Times*, ix. (1898) 396 ff.

Similar is the use of 'throne' (θρόνος; once Ac 12^{21} βῆμα, lit. 'judgment-seat,' of Herod) in NT; almost always [the exceptions are Mt 19^{28} ‖ Lk 22^{30} 'ye shall sit upon twelve thrones,' etc., Col 1^{16} 'thrones' as a rank of angels (?; see art. DOMINION), Rev 20^{4} 'I saw thrones, and they (the assessors of the heavenly Judge) sat upon them'] of the throne of God or of Christ: Mt 5^{34} (‖ Lk 23^{22}) 19^{28} (‖ Lk 22^{30}), Lk 1^{32}, Ac 2^{30} 7^{49}, He 1^{8} 4^{16} 8^{1} 12^{2}, Rev 1^{4} 3^{21} and very often.

In Ps 45^{7} the Heb. text כִּסְאֲךָ אֱלֹהִים וגו׳ ('thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever'; LXX ὁ θρόνος σου, ὁ θεός, followed in He 1^{8}) is probably corrupt. In addition to the tr. of EV the following renderings have been proposed: (1) 'Thy throne is God' (Döderlein, supported most recently by Westcott [on He 1^{8}] and Hort); (2) 'thy throne of God' ['thy God's throne'] (Ges. *Jes.* i.

---

* These keepers of the door are in 2 K 12^{10} 'priests'; in 2 Ch 34^{9} they characteristically become 'Levites.'

p. 365); (3) 'thy throne is (a throne) of God' (Aben Ezra, Hitzig, Ewald, Baethgen). To all these renderings there are either grammatical or exegetical objections. Bickell and Cheyne would insert נכונה יסודתו הקימו 'thy throne [its foundation is firmly fixed], God [hath established it].' Perhaps the simplest solution is to substitute יִהְיֶה for אֱלֹהִים ('thy throne shall be for ever'). This original יִהְיֶה might easily be misread יהוה (Jahweh), which in turn would be intentionally changed into אֱלֹהִים. So Giesebrecht, Wellh. ('Psalms' in *SBOT*, following Bruston, *Du texte primitif des Psaumes*, Paris, 1873), Duhm (in *Kurzer Hdcom.*). See, further, Driver, *Heb. Tenses*^{3}, § 194, Obs.; Cheyne, *OP* 182.
J. A. SELBIE.

THUMB (בֹּהֶן [in Jg $1^{6.7}$ plur. בְּהֹנוֹת, as if from sing. בְּהוֹן, the form used throughout the Sam. Pent.] joined with יָד 'hand' means 'thumb,' while with רֶגֶל 'foot' it means 'great toe').—In all the Scripture passages where 'thumb' occurs, it is coupled with 'great toe.' In the consecration of Aaron and his sons, blood was sprinkled upon the tip of the right ear, upon the thumb of the right hand, and upon the great toe of the right foot (Ex 29^{20}, Lv $8^{23.24}$). It has been generally held (Dillm., Baentsch, *et al.*, *ad loc.*, Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* ii. 123) that this procedure symbolized the consecration of the organs of hearing, handling, and walking, the priests becoming thus fitted to hear God's voice, to handle holy things, and to tread holy ground. This explanation fails, however, to account for the selection of these three organs alone, and it does not harmonize well with the circumstance that the cleansed leper was similarly sprinkled (Lv $14^{14.17.25.28}$). There is more probability in the view of Holzinger (*Exodus*, *ad loc.*) that, like the horns of the altar, the *extremities* of the human body, with inclusive sense, are chosen for consecration.—The cutting off of Adonibezek's thumbs and great toes (Jg 1^6), a mutilation which he declares he had himself practised on seventy kings (v.^{7}), disabled him from fighting, and possibly disqualified him from reigning (see Moore, *ad loc.*, where parallels from classical writers are cited; cf. also art. ADONIBEZEK).
J. A. SELBIE.

THUMMIM.—See URIM AND THUMMIM.

THUNDER (רַעַם, βροντή) is the loud sound which accompanies the discharge through the atmosphere of electricity from the clouds. It seems to follow the lightning flash after an interval proportioned to the observer's distance from the place of disturbance. Thunderstorms are frequent in Palestine during the winter season, but very rarely occur at any other time of the year (Schwarz, *Palestine*, 327). They are always accompanied by rain or hail. In the OT thunder is both poetically described and popularly regarded as the voice of God. It is spoken of as a voice in Ps 77^{18} 104^7, Sir 43^{17} (cf. 1 S 7^{10}). In several passages (Ex $9^{23\text{ff.}}$ 19^{16} 20^{18}, 1 S $12^{17.18}$, Job 28^{26} 38^{25}) 'thunder' or 'thundering' is simply the tr. of קֹלוֹת ('voices'), and even where קוֹל is rendered 'voice' the verb רָעַם ('to thunder') in the context sometimes shows that thunder is meant (2 S 22^{14}, Job $37^{4.5}$ 40^9, Ps 18^{13} 29^3; cf. the use of φωναί in Rev 4^5 8^5 11^{19} 16^{18}). Ps 29 is throughout a sublime poetic description of a thunderstorm and its effects, though the noun רַעַם does not once occur in it, but only the often repeated phrase קוֹל־יהוה. The sequence of thunder after lightning is referred to in Job 37^4, Sir 32^{10}, and the general connexion of the two phenomena in Job 28^{26} 38^{25}. In Ps 104^7 the creative voice of God which bade the waters go to their appointed place (Gn 1^9) is identified with thunder. Thunder accompanied by hail is enumerated in Ex $9^{23\text{ff.}}$ as the seventh of the PLAGUES OF EGYPT (see vol. iii. p. 891). From Ps 77^{18} it would appear that it was a thundercloud which came between the Israelites and the Egyptians at the crossing of the Red Sea, and this is probably alluded to in Ps 81^7. Thunder was one of the impressive phenomena amidst which the Law was given at Sinai (Ex 19^{16} 20^{18}). A thunderstorm decided the issue of a battle between Israel and the Philistines (1 S 7^{10}, Sir 46^{17}), and another served to deepen the impression made by Samuel's warning to Israel when they desired a king (1 S $12^{17.18}$). This latter event was all the more significant because it occurred at a most unusual season,—that of wheat harvest.

In Job 39^{25} thunder is used figuratively for the noise of battle; and in Job 26^{14} the difference between a whisper and thunder is used to illustrate the contrast between what man sees of God's ways, and the reality of God's power. In Sir 40^{13} the goods of the unjust are said to go off in a noise like thunder; and in Mk 3^{17} 'sons of thunder' is the interpretation of the title βοανηργές given by Jesus to the sons of Zebedee (see BOANERGES). In Is 29^6 thunder is among the metaphors describing the disasters impending on Ariel, and it appears in a similar connexion in Rev 8^5 16^{18}. Like other convulsions of nature, it enters largely into the imagery of the Apocalypse (4^5 11^{19}). Voices like thunder are mentioned in 6^1 14^2 19^6, and in $10^{3.4}$ actual thunders are conceived to have an articulate meaning. In view of this last fact, and of the close OT association between thunder and the voice of God, it seems probable that the 'voice out of heaven' (Jn $12^{28.29}$) was a thunder-peal, as indeed most of those present thought, and that its significance was recognized and interpreted by Jesus alone. A similar construction may be put on the voices in the narratives of the Baptism and Transfiguration of Jesus, and the whole subject is illustrated by the Jewish doctrine of the בַּת־קוֹל, which was always supposed to be preceded by a thunderclap (Barclay, *Talmud*, p. 16, note).

The Greek word κεραυνός, like Lat. *fulmen*, denotes thunder and lightning together. It is used in Wis 19^{13} of the punishment of the Egyptians at the Exodus (EV 'thunders'), and in 2 Mac 10^{30} of certain human missiles of destruction (AV 'lightnings,' RV 'thunderbolts'). κεραύνωσις is the LXX tr. of נֶפֶץ in Is 30^{30}, where all the phenomena of a thunderstorm occur in the context as metaphors for the disasters awaiting Assyria. AV renders נֶפֶץ 'scattering,' RV 'blast,' RVm 'crash,' Delitzsch 'cloud-burst.'

In Ps 78^{48} 'thunderbolt' is the tr. of רֶשֶׁף (mg. 'hailstone'). For the meaning of this word see under COAL, 4. vol. i. p. 451^b. In Job 39^{19} AV has 'thunder' as a mistranslation of רַעְמָה (RV 'quivering mane'). JAMES PATRICK.

THYATIRA (Θυάτειρα) was an important and wealthy city in the northern part of Lydia, in a district which was in early times sometimes assigned to Mysia; and it was sometimes called 'the last city of the Mysians,'* owing to the uncertainty about national boundaries in Asia Minor. In its situation in the open fertile valley of the Lycus, a stream that flows south-west from the Mysian frontier to join the Hermus, it must have been a settlement (doubtless a large village beside a temple, after the Anatolian fashion) from the earliest time; and according to Pliny and Stephanus it was then called Pelopia Euippa Semiramis; but these seem to be mere epithets, and the name Thyateira is probably an old Lydian word, meaning 'the town or citadel of Thya': Teira occurs as a Lydian city name. But the importance of Thyatira began when it was refounded with a colony of Macedonians by Seleucus Nikator between B.C. 301 and 281.† Its history as a Greek city dates from that time; and it continued to be a rich and busy commercial city throughout ancient times. The peacefulness and prosperity of its development afford little for the historian to record. Antiochus the Great lay encamped there for a time in B.C. 190, until he was forced to retire on Magnesia; and the decisive battle against the Romans under Scipio was fought between the two cities. Thyatira derived its importance strictly from the valley in which it was situated, and not from lying on a great trade route. Hence it was limited in its development by the restriction of its range, and it never became a metropolis or leading city of Asia, nor was it honoured with the Neokorate in the State cultus of the emperors. Ptolemy, indeed, styles it metropolis of Lydia (V. ii. 16); but the title never occurs in inscriptions or on coins, and is probably erroneously given. The epithets by which Thyatira sought to glorify itself are therefore rather vague in character, *λαμπροτάτη*, *διασημοτάτη*, *μεγίστη*, etc. But in A.D. 215 Caracalla passed through the city, and issued an edict (which came before, and was probably addressed to the *Koinon* of Asia, and was of course carried into effect by vote of the *Koinon*), ordering that it should be one of the seats of *conventus* of the Province (*ἐδωρήσατο τῇ πατρίδι ἡμῶν τὴν ἀγορὰν τῶν δικῶν*).

---

* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* So Iconium was 'the last city of Phrygia.'

† So Stephanus; but Schuchhardt (*Athen. Mitth.* 1888, p. 1 ff.) attributes the new foundation to a later date in the 3rd cent.,

In regard to religion, Thyatira also rejoiced in the title 'the holy city of the *προπάτωρ θεὸς* Ἥλιος Πύθιος Τυριμναῖος Ἀπόλλων' (just as Ephesus boasted itself the city of Artemis); and the inscriptions often mention the patron god. The coins often show the horseman-god Tyrimnos, with double-axe on shoulder (a figure common under various names in Lydian and Phrygian cities), and a goddess of the Greek Artemis type, called Boreitene. But Boreitene is simply a surname of the goddess who was worshipped along with the patron god, probably derived from some locality in the territory of the city with which the goddess was specially associated. The Boreitene Artemis was, undoubtedly, closely related to the Ephesian Artemis on the one hand, and to the East Lydian and Pontic Anaitis (Persian in origin, called Persike on the coins of the neighbouring Hierocæsareia) on the other. Apollo Tyrimnaios is known only from the inscriptions, which show that there was a sacred *temenos*, with a *propylæum*, containing doubtless a temple: games called Tyrimnaia, in honour of the god, are also mentioned. The priest of Apollo and the priestess of Artemis were husband and wife (*Bull. Corresp. Hellén.* xi. p. 478, No. 57), showing how intimate was the relation between the two deities in the Thyatiran cult. This deity was Πρόπολις (with his temple in front of, not inside, the city) and Προπάτωρ (patron of the city, and ancestor of some leading family or families, doubtless priestly families, in it). Tyrimnos was evidently the ancient Lydian sun-god,* identified with the Greek Apollo Pythius. Under the Roman empire the worship of Apollo Tyrimnaios was united with the cult of the emperors, as we see in the ceremony of the Sebasto-Tyrimnæan festival (*τῆς Σεβαστείου καὶ Τυριμνήου πανηγύρεως*). The worship of Artemis and Apollo was conjoined with mysteries, which were under the direction of the priestess (*CIG* 3507).

Further, there was outside of the city (*πρὸ τῆς πόλεως*) a shrine of the Oriental (Chaldæan, or Persian, or Hebrew) Sibyl Sambethe, or Sambathe, in the sacred precinct of the Chaldæan (*πρὸς τῷ Σαμβαθείῳ ἐν τῷ Χαλδαίου περιβόλῳ*,* *CIG* 3509). It may be taken as certain that this shrine was a seat of soothsaying, and that a prophetess was the recipient of inspiration and uttered the oracles at the shrine. It is also highly probable that this foundation arose from an eclectic religious system, combining some Hebrew conceptions with pagan forms and customs. So much may be taken as generally admitted; but to this Schürer (*Die Prophetin Isabel in Thyatira* †) has added the, at first sight, attractive theory that the woman Jezebel of Rev 2^{20} was the prophetess at the shrine, who perhaps played the part of the Sibyl herself, and whose character was perhaps not purely heathen but contained a mixture of Jewish elements. We cannot, however, consider this probable. While we must agree with Schürer and many older scholars that 'Jezebel' here denotes a definite woman, the context seems to require a woman of great influence within the Thyatiran Church (like Jezebel within the kingdom of Israel), in all probability an official, active, prominent in religious observances, claiming to be and accepted in the Church (*ἀφεῖς*) as one of those prophetesses who were so important in the early Church, using her position to disseminate her own views, maintaining and teaching the doctrine (against which the letter inveighs so bitterly) that it was possible to be a Christian and yet remain a member of ordinary pagan society and belong to the social clubs, which were so characteristic of pagan life, and fulfilled many useful purposes of a charitable or beneficial kind, but were (according to St. John and St. Paul alike) inextricably implicated in idolatrous observances, and conducive to luxury and sensual enjoyment.‡ The person who was condemned so strenuously by the author was not a pagan prophetess, but a danger within the Church, and the Church itself is censured for treating her with allowance and respect instead of casting her out with abhorrence. Yet a time for repentance is granted even to her, before her punishment shall come upon her.

The passage of Rev. places us amid the difficulties besetting the Thyatiran Christians in the early period of the Church. The population of the city was divided into trade-guilds, many of which are mentioned in inscriptions. To belong to the guild was a most important matter for every tradesman or artisan; it aided his business, and brought him many advantages socially. Each guild was a corporate body, possessing considerable powers, directed by elected officers, passing decrees in honour of Roman officials or other persons who had aided it, possessing property or revenues under its own direction, constructing works for the public; many of them, if not all, were benefit societies for mutual aid, and showed vigorous life, and were on the whole healthy and praiseworthy associations.

The objection to the guilds from the Christian point of view was twofold. In the first place, the bond which held a guild together lay always in the common religion in which all united, and in the common sacrificial meal of which all partook; the members ate and drank fellowship and brotherhood in virtue of the pagan deity whom they served. In the existing state of society it was impossible to dissociate membership of a guild from idolatry, and the idolatry was of a kind that by its symbolism and its efficacy exerted

---

and regards Thyatira as a Seleucid garrison founded to resist the growing Pergamenian power.

* We cannot adopt the view of Blakesley in Smith's *DB* and others, that Tyrimnas (as they wrongly call him) was a Macedonian deity brought by the colonists from their own country. They may have brought the name (Tyrimmas was a mythical Macedonian king), but not the religious institution.

* From a single reference it is impossible to determine whether a Chaldæan deity, or a Chaldæan who instituted and regulated the cultus, is meant. M. Clerc (*de Rebus Thyatir.* pp. 23, 79) puts the shrine of the Sibyl near the Chaldæan's precinct; but the inscription defines the position of the grave as by the Sibyl's shrine in the Chaldæan's precinct.

† In *Theolog. Abhandl. Weizsäcker gewidmet*, 1892, p. 39 ff.

‡ On this see *Expositor*, Dec. 1900, p. 429 ff.; Feb. 1901, p. 93 ff.

great influence on its adherents, making them members of a unity which was essentially non-Christian and anti-Christian. In the second place, the common banquets were celebrated amid circumstances of revelry and enjoyment that were far from conducive to strict morality, as is evident from representations of the feasts in such clubs; see *Bulletin de Corresp. Hellén.* 1900, p. 592 ff., and authorities there quoted.

But, considering the many good characteristics in these guilds, it was a serious question whether the Christian converts were bound to cut themselves off absolutely from them. In Rev $2^{20ff.}$ we see that the question had not yet been decisively answered in the Thyatiran Church, but was still under discussion: one influential female member, who was generally believed to be inspired, taught that Christians might continue in their guilds and share in the duties and privileges thereof. On the other hand there was a section of that Church (Rev 2^{24}) which opposed the teaching of the prophetess in this respect; we should probably gather from the whole passage that this section was the minority in the Church. This minority shares in the general condemnation of 2^{20} for suffering the woman Jezebel: they had not condemned her absolutely, but treated her teaching as mistaken in this one point, while otherwise regarding her as worthy of respect. The minority, however, is not threatened with any further penalty, provided they continue to reject the teaching of the prophetess. Thus the letter to Thyatira reveals to us a very early stage in Christian history. The very first problems, which must have faced the Christians in the Ægean cities, connected with their relation to the pagan society and institutions, are still unsettled. No final decision had yet been come to in Thyatira on the subject; and contrary opinions were maintained by members of the same community. The decision had indeed been pronounced by St. Paul as regards Corinth,[*] but in somewhat veiled and general terms, and had not as yet become the current and definite principle of all the Churches. As regards date, it might appear that this points to an earlier period than the reign of Domitian, and favours the earlier date for Rev. which many scholars have advocated; but a single detail is not conclusive, and exceptional circumstances must be admitted as possible in outlying communities like Thyatira and Pergamum (Rev 2^{14}). In Ephesus, the administrative centre of the Asian Churches, the decision of the Church was already fixed (Rev 2^{6}). Here it is implied that the error of the prophetess had already been denounced, 'and I gave her time that she should repent' (2^{21}). It is only after that previous formal warning that her punishment is now denounced as immediate: her followers have still an opportunity of escaping the punishment, if they repent, but otherwise it will affect them and her together.

The punishment denounced is illustrated by the nature of such guild-feasts, as shown in ancient reliefs. The members and worshippers reclined on couches at the banquet; and it is probable that the *κλίνη* of Rev 2^{22} should be understood, not as a bed (AV and RV), but as a couch: 'I set her on a couch, and her associates alongside of her (no longer for the revelry of their idolatrous celebrations, but) for tribulation' (see *Expositor*, Feb. 1901, p. 99 ff.).

Apart from this serious fault, the Church of Thyatira is praised highly for its energetic and truly Christian conduct, and for its steady progress: 'thy last works are more than the first.'

The guild of coppersmiths (χαλκεῖς) seems to have been influential in Thyatira (see inscription in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* x. p. 407, belonging to the early imperial times). The type on coins, Hephaistos forging a helmet, probably refers to the bronze trade; and perhaps the enigmatic allusion to the unknown χαλκολίβανος would be understood, if more could be learned about the Thyatiran bronze or copper work. Mr. Blakesley has suggested that the description of the Son of God, whose feet were like *chalcolibanos* (Rev 2^{18}), may have been suggested by the way in which the tutelary deity of the city was represented in Thyatira.

The guild of dyers is mentioned in several inscriptions. M. Clerc's view, that the dyeing in Thyatira was performed in ancient times with madder-root, *rubia* (as in the mediæval and modern trade), not with the juice of the shell-fish (as in Tyre and Laconia), nor with the worm *Coccus ilicis* (κόκκος), may be regarded as practically certain; and in that case the purple stuffs which the Thyatiran Lydia sold in Philippi (Ac 16^{14}) were dyed with what is, in modern times, called 'Turkey red' (as the purple proper, the scarlet of the *coccus*, and the red of *rubia* seem to have been all included under the generic title purple).

Thyatira lay close to the road connecting Pergamum with Sardis, and hence is placed between the two in the list of the Seven Churches of Asia (Rev 1^{11}). No evidence remains as to how and when Christianity reached the city, except that, if we press the words of Ac 19^{10}, the new religion was preached there by some of St. Paul's coadjutors and helpers during his first residence in Ephesus.

The modern town of Ak-Hissar occupies the site, approximately, of the ancient Thyatira. It is a busy commercial town, possessing a railway station and a considerable industry in carpet-making, etc. The population is about 20,000, of whom 7000 are Christians.

LITERATURE.—Clerc, *de rebus Thyatirenorum*, Paris, 1893; Stosch, *Antiquitatum Thyatirenarum Libri duo*, Zwollæ, 1763; Zaka, *περὶ τῶν τῆς πόλεως Θυατείρων*, Athens, 1900 (tr. from Clerc, with some additions and *corpus* of Thyatiran inscriptions); Imhoof-Blumer in *Revue Suisse Numism.* vii.

W. M. RAMSAY.

THYINE WOOD (*ξύλον θύϊνον, lignum thyinum*).—The product of *Thuja articulata*, Desf., a tree of the order *Coniferæ*, growing in the Atlas. It is of the same genus as the *lignum vitæ*, and was specially valued by the Greeks and Romans for tables. It formed part of the precious merchandise of Babylon [Rome] (Rev 18^{12} AVm 'sweet wood'). It is dark brown, very hard and durable, and withal fragrant. G. E. POST.

TIBERIAS (Τιβεριάς) is unlike most cities in Palestine in that we have a definite account of its origin, and can fix pretty accurately the date when it was built. Herod Antipas, the ruler of Galilee, was its founder, and it was named in honour of the emperor Tiberius. In the very beginning of his reign Antipas had already honoured Julia the mother of Tiberius, by rebuilding Betharamatha or Betharamptha (the Beth-haram of Jos 13^{27}), and calling it Julias or Livias. This was on the Shittim Plain east of Jericho. At a later period, some time between A.D. 20 and A.D. 30, Tiberias was built on the west shore of the Sea of Galilee. We are able to fix its site, because Josephus (*Ant.* XVIII. ii. 3) says that there were warm baths at no great distance from it in a place called Emmaus (the Hammath of Jos 19^{35}).

To secure sufficient room for the new city, an old cemetery had to be removed; and this fact, on account of the law of defilement by dead bodies, created a prejudice against it in the minds of the stricter Jews, which took a long time to overcome. Hammath was an ancient fortified town, and, as was customary, the dead were buried without the walls. These graves may have been a part of the cemetery of that old city, since the site of Antipas' new city was nearly a mile to the north of it. It is a curious historical fact that, while at the beginning the Jews thought Tiberias unclean, so that they could hardly be forced to settle there, at last in the course of time they chose it as one of their sacred cities (see below).

---

[*] 1 Co 10^{15-22}.

People from various quarters helped to make up the first inhabitants of Tiberias. Some foreigners came, some poor people were compelled to make it their residence, and many persons who were 'not quite freemen' were brought thither and given certain privileges in the way of houses and lands. Some of those who settled there, however, are described as persons of wealth and position. The place grew rapidly, gates, colonnades, and marble statues made the streets attractive. Soon Tiberias could boast of 'the finest synagogue in Galilee,' a device of Herod to conciliate the Jews. From all accounts at our command, the city, touching the water of the lake, must have been beautiful, and its social and political importance were assured when Antipas removed thither from Sepphoris, till then the capital of Galilee, the seat of his government. His palace was a building of elegance, with costly furnishings, and in it was a large amount of the royal treasure (Jos. *Life*, xii. 13).

The Gr. character of the town may be the reason why, although Christ was so thoroughly identified for long with the Sea of Galilee, there is no evidence that He ever visited Tiberias, the new capital of the civil ruler to whom He was subject. The NT has little to say about this city; once the fact is mentioned that 'boats came from Tiberias' near to the spot where the Feeding of the Five Thousand took place (Jn 6^{23}); further than this the Gospels are silent.

At the time of the war with Rome, A.D. 66–70, Tiberias was one of the chief cities of Galilee. It had a council of 600 members. Its citizens were loyal to the national cause. When Gaius wanted to set up his statue in the temple at Jerusalem these people made such a desperate resistance, showing that they were ready to die rather than have their laws transgressed (*Ant.* XVIII. viii. 3), that the foolish project was at last abandoned. The strength of the place is shown by the fact that Vespasian led against it three legions before its inhabitants would open their gates to him. Another change awaited Tiberias, this time one of humiliation, when Herod Agrippa II. degraded it from being the chief city, and restored that honour to Sepphoris, where he kept the public archives and had stored a magazine of arms.

If in this way Tiberias lost political prestige, it gained in another direction, for after the destruction of Jerusalem it became the chief centre of Jewish schools and learning, so that it has a large place in the history of Palestine, and indeed of the world, while its rival Sepphoris is practically forgotten. At one time during this flourishing period its synagogues numbered no fewer than thirteen. Here the Mishna and the Palestinian Talmud were compiled and published, *c.* A.D. 220 and A.D. 420 respectively. The beautiful situation of the city, some of the noted scholars who either lived or were buried there, the hot springs which helped to make the place famous, and the earthquakes from which it has occasionally suffered, have been mentioned under GALILEE, and GALILEE (SEA OF).

The founder of this city is remembered as the murderer of John the Baptist, and as being present in Jerusalem at the passover when Jesus was arrested and put to death (Lk 23^{7}). What was once attractive is now a place of filth and misery. On the shore S. of the town are some interesting ruins, which, could they be properly excavated, might reveal remains and possibly treasures of this royal city of Herod Antipas. *Tabarîyeh* (the modern name of the town) has a population of 5000 or 6000 souls, made up of a few Christians, some Mohammedans, and a large number of Jews. It has a Protestant mission with a school and a resident physician.

LITERATURE.—Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 143 ff.; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 447 ff.; Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* 208 ff.; Graetz, *Gesch. d. Juden*, iv. 473; Reland, *Pal.* ii. 1040; Robinson, *BRP* iii. 342 ff.; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xv. 315 ff.; Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.* 382 ff.; Guérin, *Galilée*, i. 250 ff.; Merrill, *East of Jordan*, 125 f.; de Saulcy, *Journey in Bible Lands*, ii. 394 f.; Stanley, *Sinai and Pal.* 368 ff.

SELAH MERRILL.

TIBERIAS, SEA OF (Jn 21^{1}).—See GALILEE (SEA OF).

TIBERIUS (*Τιβέριος*).—The second Roman emperor, A.D. 14–37. The former is the date of Tiberius' accession on the death of Augustus. But there is good reason to suppose that St. Luke (3^{1}) in his reference to the 15th year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, as the beginning of John the Baptist's ministry, is reckoning from the date of Tiberius' association with Augustus in the empire some two years before the death of the latter. For the argument see art. CHRONOLOGY OF NT in vol. i. p. 405 f. The exact year of Tiberius' adoption by his stepfather in the government is not known. Mommsen puts it A.D. 11, other authorities A.D. 13. Perhaps the use of the word *ἡγεμονία* (AV and RV 'reign') implies that Tiberius was only acting as regent before the death of Augustus. From the evidence of coins struck at this date it is shown that it was customary to regard Tiberius' reign as beginning A.D. 12 or A.U.C. 765. This reign spread over the most momentous period in Christian chronology. In it occurred our Lord's ministry and death (A.D. 29); the Resurrection; the pouring out of the Holy Ghost; the martyrdom of St. Stephen, and the general persecution that immediately followed. All allusions to Cæsar during our Lord's life, *e.g.* in the case of the tribute money and the taunt levelled against Pilate, 'Thou art not Cæsar's friend,' refer to Tiberius. The last years of his reign witnessed the conversion of St. Paul and the beginning of his preaching.

Tiberius at his accession retained Valerius Gratus as procurator of Judæa, in order to lessen the frequent changes, and thus diminish the extortion in the provinces. Each new governor, expecting only a short lease of power, exacted as much as possible in the shortest time. Gratus deposed Annas and made his son Eleazar, and afterwards Caiaphas, his son-in-law, high priest. Pontius Pilate, the successor of Gratus, was also appointed by Tiberius, and was the nominee of Sejanus, the emperor's unprincipled favourite.

The name *Tiberias*, given to the city and lake, was intended by Herod Antipas as a compliment to the reigning emperor. See art. TIBERIAS.

C. H. PRICHARD.

TIBHATH (טִבְחַת 'extensive,' 'level'; B *Μεταβήχας*, A *Ματεβέθ*; *Thebath*).—A city of Hadarezer, king of Zobah, from which David took much brass (1 Ch 18^{8}). In 2 S 8^{8} the name of the town is **Betah**, but the original reading was probably **Tebah**, as in the Syriac version, and as a tribal name in Gn 22^{24}. The site of Tibhath is unknown, but it was possibly on the eastern slopes of Anti-Lebanon, between which range and the Euphrates Aram-zobah is supposed to have been situated.

C. W. WILSON.

TIBNI (תִּבְנִי; B *Θαμνεί*, A *Θαμνί*, Luc. *Θαβεννεί*).—After the seven days' reign of ZIMRI had ended in his death in the flames of his palace, Tibni disputed the throne for four years (compare 1 K 16^{15} with v.^{23}) with OMRI, whose sway was acknowledged only after the death of Tibni and his brother Joram. Our knowledge of Joram we owe to the

LXX, whose addition (in 1 K 16[22]) *καὶ Ἰωρὰμ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ* no doubt preserves an original ויורם אחיו בעת ההיא which has dropped out of the Heb. text.

TIDAL (תִּדְעָל; A Θαλγά, Θαλγάλ, Luc. Θαργάλ; *Thadal*).—King of GOIIM, who, along with Arioch of Ellasar and Amraphel of Shinar, followed his suzerain, Chedorlaomer of Elam, in his campaigns in Palestine (Gn 14[1.9]). His name has recently been found * by Mr. Pinches in a cuneiform tablet (*Sp.* iii. 2. 13) under the form of Tudghula in connexion with Eri-Aku of Larsa, Khammu[rabi] of Babylon, and Kudur-Laghghamar of Elam. Tudghula is here called the son of Gazza[ni]. In another tablet relating to the same historical events we read: 'Who is Kudur-Laghghamar, the worker of evil? He has assembled the Umman Manda, he has laid waste the people of Bel (*i.e.* the Babylonians), and [has marched] at their side.' The Umman Manda, or 'Barbarian Hordes,' were the mountaineers who lived to the north of Elam, and the name given to them is the Bab. equivalent of the Heb. Goiim. It seems probable, therefore, that Tudghula or Tidʿal came from the mountains N.E. of Babylonia. A. H. SAYCE.

TIGLATH-PILESER (תִּגְלַת־פִּלְאֶסֶר; B Ἀλγαθφελλάσαρ,, Θαλγαθφελλάσαρ, Θαλγαλφελλάσαρ, A Ἀγλαθφαλλάσαρ, Luc. Θεγλαφαλάσαρ; Assyr. *Tukulti-Pal-Esarra*, '(my) trust is (Ninip) the son of Ê-Sarra,' Ê-Sarra signifying 'the House of Hosts.' The Heb. spelling of the first part of the name is peculiar, but precisely the same spelling is found in the Aram. inscriptions of Zinjerli, which are contemporaneous with the reign of Tiglath-pileser. In 1 Ch 5[6.26] and 2 Ch 28[20] we find the corrupt form Tilgath-pilneser [תִּלְּגַת־פִּלְנֶסֶר; B Θαλγαβανάσαρ, Θαγναφαμάσαρ, Θαλγαφελλάδαρ; A Θαγλαθφαλνάσαρ; Luc. Θεγλαθφαλάσαρ]).

The Tiglath-pileser of OT is Tiglath-pileser III. of the native monuments, whose original name was Pulu (the Pul of 2 K 15[19]). He usurped the Assyr. crown, the 13th day of Iyyar, B.C. 745, after the fall of the older Assyr. dynasty, and assumed the name of Tiglath-pileser from that of a famous Assyr. king and conqueror who had reigned four centuries previously. In Babylonia, however, he continued to be known by his original name Pulu.

Tiglath-pileser III., the founder of the second Assyr. empire, was a man of great ability, both military and administrative. He introduced a new system of policy, the object of which was to weld the whole of W. Asia into a single empire, bound together by a bureaucratic organization. It was the first experiment in political centralization. He also established a standing army, which he made, by careful training and equipment, an irresistible engine of war. And it was he who first devised the system of satrapies and finance which prevailed in the Persian empire of later days.

Immediately after his accession he marched into Babylonia, where he subdued the Aramæan tribes and united the northern portion of the country to Assyria. In B.C. 744 he chastised the wild tribes on the eastern frontiers of his kingdom, penetrating into the remotest parts of Media. Next he had to defend himself against Sarduris II. of Ararat and his allies from Asia Minor. These he defeated in a pitched battle, capturing no fewer than 72,950 soldiers of the enemy as well as the city of Arpad in N. Syria. Here he received tribute from various princes, including Rezin of Damascus and Hiram of Tyre. Arpad, however, revolted immediately afterwards. In B.C. 742, accordingly, he began the siege of it; but it did not fall till B.C. 740. In B.C. 739 the Assyrians came into conflict with Azariah of Judah (not Yadi in N. Syria, as has recently been suggested; but see art. UZZIAH, and ASSYRIA, vol. i. p. 185[b]), whose allies from Hamath were overthrown, and the 19 districts of Hamath placed under Assyr. governors. Meanwhile the Assyr. generals had suppressed a revolt among the Aramæan tribes in Babylonia. Transportations of the conquered populations now took place on a large scale. This was the beginning of a policy which was afterwards more fully developed by the Assyr. and Bab. kings. Tribute was again brought to Tiglath-pileser by the kings of Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine, among them being Menaḥem of Samaria (2 K 15[19]).

In B.C. 737 there was another campaign in the east, the Medes and other neighbouring tribes being overrun, and in 736 war again broke out with Ararat. In B.C. 735 Ararat itself was invaded, and, though the capital Dhuspas (now *Van*) resisted capture, the country round it was ravaged to the extent of 450 miles. Next year (B.C. 734) Tiglath-pileser was summoned to the help of Ahaz of Judah, called Jehoahaz in the cuneiform texts, who had been attacked by Pekah of Israel and Rezin of Damascus. Rezin was defeated in a decisive battle, and fled to his capital, which was thereupon closely invested by the Assyrians. With another portion of his army T. now ravaged 16 districts of Syria, captured Samahla (the modern *Zinjerli*), and descended on the kingdom of Samaria. Gilead and Abel-[Beth-Maacah] were annexed to Assyria (2 K 15[29]); tribute was received from Ammon and Moab; the Philistine cities, Ekron, Ashdod, and Ashkelon, were conquered, and Gaza was plundered. Edom was also compelled to submit as well as Samsi, queen of the Arabs of Saba or Sheba. Various cities of N. Arabia, including Tema (now *Teima*), were taken at the same time. In B.C. 732 Damascus fell at last, Rezin was put to death, and an Assyr. satrap appointed in his place. After the capture of Damascus, T. held a court there, which was attended by the subject princes, Kustaspi of Comagênê, Urikki of Ḳuê, Sibittibaal of Gebal, Eniel of Hamath, Panammû of Samahla, Tarkhu-lara of Gurgum, Suluval of Milid (*Malatiyeh*), Uas-survi of Tubal, Uskhitti of Tuna, Urpalla of Tukhana, Tukhammu of Istunda, Matan-baal of Arvad, Sanibu of Ammon, Solomon (Salamanu) of Moab, Metinti of Ashkelon, Jehoahaz (Yahu-khazi) of Judah, Ḳausmalaka of Edom, and Khanun (Hanno) of Gaza. It was while he was at Damascus that Ahaz saw the altar of which he sent the pattern to Jerusalem (2 K 16[10ff.]). Soon afterwards Uas-survi of Tubal revolted: for this the people were fined, and a new king established over them. Metenna of Tyre was also forced to become tributary to Assyria, and to pay 150 talents of gold to the Assyrian exchequer.

About B.C. 730 (or perhaps 733) Pekah of Samaria was murdered by Hoshea, whom T. claims to have appointed to the throne. In B.C. 731 the Assyr. king marched into Babylonia, and received an embassy from Merodach-baladan, the Kaldû prince who ruled in the marshes at the mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates. But it was not until B.C. 728 that he succeeded in occupying Babylon and receiving the crown from the hands of Bel, thereby making his title to the throne legitimate, and becoming king of Western Asia *de jure*. In the following year, B.C. 727, in the early part of the month Tebet, he died. He had built two palaces—one at Nineveh, the other at Calah (now *Nimrûd*). A. H. SAYCE.

TIGRIS.—See HIDDEKEL. The Tigris rises a little south of Lake Göljik, and flows southward to Diarbekr. After passing Diarbekr, it receives the eastern Tigris (which rises in the Niphates mountains) at Osman Kieui. Then it flows through narrow gorges into the plateau of Mesopotamia, where it receives from the east the Greater and Lesser Zab, the Adhem or Radanu, and the Diyaleh or Tornadotus. On the E. bank, opposite Mosul, were Nineveh and Calah, a little N. of the junction of the Tigris and Greater Zab; and on the W. bank, N. of the Lesser Zab, was Assur (now Kalah Sherghat), the primitive capital of Assyria. The Tigris is about 1150 miles in length, and rises rapidly in March and April owing to the melting of the snows, falling again after the middle of May. A. H. SAYCE.

---

* King, *Letters of Hammurabi*, i. (1898) p. liii, and Ball, *Light from the East*, p. 70, however, question these identifications.

TIKVAH (תִּקְוָה).—**1.** The father-in-law of HULDAH the prophetess, 2 K 22^{14} (B Θεκκουαύ, A Θεκκουέ, Luc. Θεκουέ), called in 2 Ch 34^{22} **Tokhath** (*Ḳĕrê* תָּקְהַת, *Kĕth.* תוקהת; B Καθουάλ, A Θακουάθ, Luc. Θεκωέ). **2.** The father of JAHZEIAH, a contemporary of Ezra, Ezr 10^{15} (B Ἑλκειά, A Θεκουέ), called in 1 Es 9^{14} **Thocanus.**

TILE, TILING (לְבֵנָה, κέραμος).—In Ezk 4^1 ‘tile’ is the rendering of לְבֵנָה, which is elsewhere tr. ‘brick’ (LXX πλίνθος). See BRICK.

In Lk 5^{19}, in the account of the healing of the paralytic at Capernaum, the sufferer is said to have been let down διὰ τῶν κεράμων (AV ‘through the tiling,’ RV ‘through the tiles’). The parallel passage (Mk 2^4) is more detailed in its expressions (ἀπεστέγασαν τὴν στέγην . . . καὶ ἐξορύξαντες), and a difficulty has been felt in reconciling these with Luke’s phrase. The roofs of Oriental houses are usually formed by laying tree trunks with the branches and twigs from wall to wall. Above these is a layer of earth about a foot thick, and over this is spread a paste of clay and straw, which hardens in the sun and renders the roof impervious to rain. This upper layer needs to be renewed at the beginning of the winter season (Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* i. 140; Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 116). Mark’s account seems to suggest the breaking-up of such a roof as this, while Luke’s expression does not, and various explanations of the latter have been attempted. The idea of a door or trap in the roof does not fit either narrative. It has been suggested that διὰ τῶν κεράμων is to be understood in the general sense of ‘through the roof,’ though, if taken literally, the words would be more applicable to Greek and Roman houses than to those of Palestine. Another explanation is that the court of the house was partly roofed over but had an opening above the centre, which was covered in wet weather by tiles, which could be easily removed (so Godet, following Delitzsch, *Ein Tag in Capernaum*, 44–46). The best view, however, is that of Tristram (*Eastern Customs in Bible Lands*, 34, 35), who states that ordinary Galilæan houses of the present day have a court separated from the street by a wall on one side, while on the other three sides it is surrounded by apartments opening into it. The roofs of these apartments are always of earth and lime, firmly pressed down and whitewashed. The roof may be supported by pillars on the side next the court, from which the rooms may be separated only by movable curtains. From the roof proper, however, eaves stretch over the court for six feet or more. These are supported on light rafters, and are covered with matting or with shingles (wooden tiles) lightly tacked together. The principal apartment is on the side of the court away from the street. In the case before us both this and the court itself would be full of people, and Jesus, in order to be heard by all, would be standing at the outer margin of the room. Access could be gained to the roof by an outside stairway, and if the covering of the eaves were removed, as it could easily be, the paralytic could be let down from the edge of the roof proper to the very spot where Jesus was. The expressions in Mark, though applicable to the breaking through of an earthen roof, describe this proceeding equally well. JAMES PATRICK.

TILGATH-PILNESER.—See TIGLATH-PILESER.

TILON (*Ḳĕrê* תִּילוֹן, *Kĕth.* תולון; B Ἰνών, A Θιλών, Luc. Θωλείμ).—A son of Shimon, 1 Ch 4^{20}.

TIMÆUS, only Mk 10^{46}.—Father of the blind beggar BARTIMÆUS (vol. i. p. 248). If the name be Greek, it must be written Τίμαιος, and thus WH write even the second name Βαρτίμαιος; if it be Semitic, like most names in -αιος in the NT, it must be Τιμαῖος, like Ζακχαῖος, Βαρθολομαῖος, etc. Both suppositions have their difficulties. Again, ‘the son of Timæus’ (υἱὸς Τιμαίου) seems a mere translation of Βαρτιμαῖος. Ecclesiastical tradition gives to the name the meaning ‘blind’ (see *Onomastica sacra*, ed. Lagarde, 176, 35, Βαρτιμαῖος υἱὸς τυφλός; 66, 10 (Jerome): *Barsemia* filius cæcus, quod et ipsum quidam corrupte Bartimæum legunt).* סָמֵא, סַמְיָא means ‘blind’; but how are we to get from *sĕmē* to *timai*? Jastrow (*Dictionary*, p. 532; similarly, Krauss, *Lehnwörter*) mentions from *Ḳoh. rabba* to Ec 9^7 ר׳ יהושע בריה דר׳ טימי, but Yalk. Koh. 979 has only ר׳ שמלאי, and with Dalman, *Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Wörterbuch*, p. 162, we must perhaps read שִׁימַי=Simeon. The *Thesaurus Syriacus* (486, 1462) mentions a place בֵּית טִימַי. The Syriac Versions, including the Arabic Tatian, Syrus Sinaiticus, and the Palestinian Syriac (Land, *Anecdota Syriaca*, iv. 141), read *Timai bar Timai*, the Egyptian *Catenæ* as published by Lagarde (1886, p. 101), BAPTIMENOC IIωHPI NTIMENOC. Origen connected the name with τιμή (ὁ τῆς τιμῆς ἐπώνυμος); Strauss thought of ἐπετίμων in v.^{48}; others of √טמא ‘unclean’; Neubauer (*Studia Biblica*, i. 57) would spell it תֵּימָא, against the general rule that τ=ט. The etymology is still obscure, and so is the relation of the account of Mark to that of Luke and Matthew. See Schmiedel, *Enc. Bibl.* i. 489–491; Nestle, *Marginalien*, 1893, pp. 83–92; art. BARTIMÆUS in vol. i. p. 248. EB. NESTLE.

TIMBREL.—See TABRET.

TIME.—i. ERAS.—The Bible offers insufficient data for confident generalizations regarding the methods employed at various periods for measuring and indicating the passage of time. We should naturally expect considerable changes in these methods as the Israelites passed through various phases of civilization and modes of living. The literary records, however, do not completely reflect all these modified conditions, and just as Josephus translates the current Jewish dates of his age into their Macedonian equivalents, so earlier writers would probably date past events in accordance with their own rather than with the ancient systems of the calendar. Until the 2nd cent. B.C. we know of no fixed *era* from which events were dated by the Israelites. The books of the Maccabees show us the Seleucidean era (beginning B.C. 312) in full force. This era (*minyan Yevanim* ‘numbering of the Greeks,’ or *minyan shetaroth* ‘numbering of documents’) was the first to be adopted and the last to be rejected by the Jews; it survived among the Egyptian Jews till the 16th cent. A.D. The ordinary Seleucid era began with the autumn of the year B.C. 312; but Schürer (*HJP* I. i. p. 37) maintains that the authors of the books of the Maccabees reckon the year from the spring season, though later Jews counted from the autumn (Tishri). Wellhausen rejects Schürer's theory (*IJG*^{4} 258). Several of the Hellenistic cities founded along the seacoast of Judæa and in the north had eras of their own in the Greek period (after Alexander the Great), but the only exact Jewish parallel is found in the time of Simon the Maccabee (143–2 B.C.). 'In the hundred and seventieth year (of the Seleucidean era) was the yoke of the heathen taken away from Israel. And the people began to write in their instruments and contracts, "In the first year of Simon the great high priest and captain and leader of the Jews"' (1 Mac 13^{41}). No documents so dated are extant, but it has been doubtfully conjectured [but see art. MONEY in vol. iii. p. 424 ff.] that some silver coins bearing the year numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, and the inscription ירושלים קדשה, etc., refer to this era. That the era of Simon was of short duration is certain; even in 1 Mac. (14^{27}) it is only employed side by side with the more permanently used Selucidean epoch.

---

* On the Syriac lexicographers (Bar Ali, Bar Bahlul) see Nestle, *Marginalien*, p. 87.

The prevalent method of dating events both in OT and NT is by regnal years of monarchs, or by synchronism with other events [see CHRONOLOGY]. The Exodus from Egypt was sometimes taken as an era (1 K 6^1, cf. Ex 19^1, Nu 33^{38}); and Ezekiel (1^1) perhaps turns the reformation of Josiah (B.C. 622–1) to this purpose. It is unlikely that the 'thirtieth year' refers to Ezekiel's own age [but see Budde in *Expos. Times*, Oct. 1900, p. 39 ff., and Aug. 1901, p. 525 f.], though the patriarchal dates are often collated with the ages of various characters. At the beginning of the Christian era, the Jews were compelled to adopt the year of the Roman emperors as their norm (Graetz, *History of the Jews*, Eng. tr. ii. 134). The erection of Solomon's temple (1 K 9^{10}), the commencement of the Egyptian entanglement (Gn 15^{13}), the Babylonian Exile (Ezk 33^{21} 40^1), and such natural phenomena as a remarkable earthquake ('two years before the earthquake,' Am 1^1), were also in a minor degree used as eras. Soon after the time of Christ, the Jews must have devised a method of counting by *anno mundi*, for the Talmud assumes that something like 4000 years separated the destruction of the temple from the Creation. The dating by A.M. first occurs in the *Seder Hadoroth*, a work attributed to Jose ben Chalafta. The Jewish system differs from the Dionysian era (6th cent. A.D.), and, while Ussher dates the Christian era as 4004 A.M., the current Jewish numbering assigns the year 3760 A.M. to the beginning of that era. Thus the Jewish year beginning September 1901 is 5662 A.M. Jews in later times occasionally used the Mohammedan era, and dated from the Hegira. There is no indication whatever that the Jews ever turned the jubilee period to calendar use in the same manner in which the Olympiads were employed. They may, however, have made use of the idea of the *dor* or 'generation.'

ii. THE YEAR.—In the main, the Jewish *year* was lunar, with corrections designed to bring about a more or less exact correspondence with the solar seasons. It seems to have been the view of the writer of the first report of the Flood (P) that the oldest Hebrew year was a *pure* lunar year, containing 12 lunar months and 354 days. In Gn 7^{11} (cf. 8^{14}) the Flood is said to have lasted from the 17th of the 2nd month in one year to the 27th of the 2nd month in the next year, or 1 year and 11 days. This reckoning, as Benzinger suggests (*Heb. Arch.* p. 198), arose through the translation of a solar year into its lunar equivalent. The actual duration of the Flood was in the general Semitic tradition a year, meaning a solar year of 365 days. 'In the presupposition that the oldest ages had a pure moon year, P, when dating the Flood, uses such a year as the basis, and shows his archæological knowledge and his pretended historical exactitude by not giving the round figure a year, but he gives the right total in an inferential manner.' It may, however, well be that we have here a genuine tradition of an ancient pure lunar year; moreover, even when solar corrections were made, *some* Jewish years were more or less purely lunar. From another factor in the Flood narrative, the 150 days, which amounted to 5 months, a year of 12 × 30 = 360 days has been inferred (Schwarz, *Der Jüdische Kalender*, p. 7). So much is certain, that in the historical time the Hebrew year was solar, though the months were lunar. The Calendar must have been roughly congruous with the cycle of natural life. The old Arabs had a sun-year of 365 days before Mohammed converted it into the pure lunar year of 354 days, which still prevails.

The fact that solar considerations must early have affected the Hebrew Calendar is obvious from the cycle of feasts which on the one hand fell in definitely fixed lunar months, and on the other hand coincided with equally definite seasons of the solar year. In the pure lunar year, Passover would, in a period of about 34 years, make the round of all the four seasons (Schwarz, p. 9). This was an impossibility in the Jewish Calendar. How the correction was effected we have no means of discovering. The lunar character of the Calendar must have prevented the intercalation of an odd 10 or 11 days annually (as Lewisohn suggests, *Gesch. und Syst. d. K.* p. 6), yet we are nowhere told of an intercalary *month*, unless the law as to the deferred Passover (Nu 9^{10}) be held to be some indication of it. The Talmud (*Sanhed.* 12 *a*) proves the biblical knowledge of the intercalary month from 1 K 4^7, but the argument is ineffective. On the other hand, 1 Ch 27, where arrangements for the succession of royal officers are only made for 12 months, cannot be held to prove the total ignorance of intercalation of a thirteenth month. The knowledge of this method was very ancient in Babylon, an intercalated Elul being older than the intercalated Adar. The latter, being sacred to Ashur, must have been the work of astronomers standing under Assyrian authority (Jastrow, *Rel. of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 463).

The Babylonian year seems to have consisted of 12 lunar months of 30 days each, intercalary months being added by the priests when necessary (W. Muss-Arnolt, 'The Names of the Assyro-Babylonian Months and their Regents,' in *JBL* vol. xi. p. 72 f.). In later times, according to Strassmaier and Epping (*Astronomisches aus Babylon*), months of 30 days alternated with months of 29 days (Nisan, Tammuz, Elul, Tishri, Kislev, Shebat, and Adar had 30 days, while the others had only 29). Muss-Arnolt expresses himself as uncertain whether the intercalary months were fixed, or were added whenever the priestly directors of the Calendar discovered that the disagreement between it and the true year had become serious. We may fairly assume that the latter was the method in ancient Israel, at all events till well into the post-exilic period. Without any definite rules a month was probably intercalated on occasion, when the discrepancy was sufficiently marked (Schwarz, p. 14) to render correction imperative. Some have sought to find the key to the ancient intercalations in the jubilee periods (Zuckermann, *Ueber Sabbatjahrcyklus und Jobelperiode*; Schwarz, pp. 10–12), with 18 or 19 intercalary months inserted in every 49 or 50 years. All such exact calculations, including those based on eras of 8 or 84 years, and more particularly on the Metonic cycle of 19 years, certainly belong to the post-Christian period. Jewish tradition is very consistent in its evidence that the old method of empiric intercalation both of a monthly day and a yearly month prevailed for many centuries after Christ (see NEW MOON). Schürer (Appendix iii. to Division i. vol. ii.) expounds the generally accepted view of Jewish scholars as against Wieseler (see, however, CHRONOLOGY). Throughout the Middle Ages the empiric method partially held its ground. Nevertheless, calculation (of which we have early indications in Enoch 72 ff.) must have much aided observation, and we read of family traditions in the case of Gamaliel (*Rosh Hashana* 25*a*), and the mean duration of the lunar month (about 29½ days) must have been known long before the destruction of the temple (see the evidence for this in Schwarz, p. 19). By the middle of the 2nd cent. A.D. the calculated calendar was on the way to acceptance (*Sanhed.* 12*a*), but it was not fully adopted till the 4th cent. under Hillel II. In the intervening period the proclamation of New Moon and of the intercalary months was still dependent on the evidence of eye-witnesses as to the reappearance of the moon on the one hand, and the relation of the lunar months to the solar seasons on the other. But astronomical calculation was certainly utilized as well, and, by observing 2 days' new moon in places distant from the Patriarchate, some of the difficulties of the Diaspora were removed. (See on this and on other points of the Rabbinic calendar, Zuckermann, *Material. zur Ent. der altjüd. Zeitrechnung*). The fixing of the Day of Atonement was, however, a perennial difficulty until a calculated calendar was finally adopted, based on the Metonic cycle with variations which do not belong to the scope of the present article.

Beginning of the Year.—'The Hebrew year had begun in the autumn with the month of September; but side by side with this West-Semitic calendar there had also been in use in Palestine another calendar, that of Babylonia, according to which the year began with Nisan or March. It was the Babylonian Calendar which was now introduced for ritual purposes. While the civil year still began in the autumn, it was ordained that the sacred year should begin in the spring. The sacred year was determined by the annual festivals, and the first of these festivals was henceforth to be the Passover. The beginning of the new year was henceforth fixed by the Passover moon' (Sayce, *EHH* p. 178). According to Dillmann (*Monatsberiehte*, Societas Regia Scientiarum, Berlin, 1881) both the autumn and the spring new years are pre-exilic. The autumn era was, he holds, an economic rather than a calendar year; but, as Nowack well remarks, to an agricultural people the economic year must have coincided with the calendar year. That at all events an economic year began in the autumn is clear from such phrases as בְּצֵאת הַשָּׁנָה, תְּקוּפַת הַשָּׁנָה ('the end of the year,' Ex 23^{16} 34^{22}, cf. 1 S 20) used in describing the autumn harvest festival. The narrative of the Flood places the commencement on the 17th of the 2nd month, which on an autumn reckoning would correspond with the rainy season. The sabbatical year began in autumn (Lv 25^{9}), though it was not at the beginning of a calendar year (being on the 10th of the month). The royal years also at one time began in the autumn, and the synchronism of the Jewish events with the regnal year of Nebuchadnezzar in Jeremiah (46^{2}) seems to support the same conclusion. Dillmann at all events infers that the second half of the Jewish royal year corresponded with the first half of the Babylonian royal year (the fourth year of Jehoiakim corresponds both to the first year of Nebuchadnezzar, Jer 25^{1}, and to the twenty-first of his predecessor Nabopolasar, in which the battle of Carchemish was fought).

But besides the autumn year a spring era seems also to have been pre-exilic. The use of the term תְּשׁוּבַת הַשָּׁנָה for the resumption of royal campaigns (2 S 11^{1}, 1 K $20^{22.\ 26}$, 2 Ch 36^{10}) points to a spring era. So also does the order of the feasts. In the oldest form (Ex $23^{14\text{-}16}$), as well as in J (Ex $34^{18\text{-}22}$), and Deut. ($16^{1\text{-}17}$), the cycle begins with Passover and ends with Tabernacles. A Babylonian influence, to which was, however, due the introduction of the new names for the months, need not therefore be sought for this fixing of the beginning of the year in the spring (Ex 12^{2}, and in Priestly Code throughout), but the period of the Exile no doubt did mark the completion of the change from the autumnal to the vernal equinox. By this arrangement the order of the months began in Nisan, but the succession of years began in Tishri. Josephus is clearly accurate when he says (*Ant.* I. iii. 3): 'Moses appointed that Nisan, which is the same with Xanthicus, should be the first month for their festivals, because he brought them out of Egypt in that month: so that this month began the year, as to all the solemnities they observed to the honour of God—although he preserved the original order of the months as to selling and buying and other ordinary affairs.' The Mishna (*Rosh Hashana* i. 1) enumerates four new years—Nisan (for kings and the cycle of feasts), Elul (for the tithes of cattle), Tishri (for years, as at present in the Jewish Calendar, sabbatical years and jubilees, and other agricultural purposes), Shebat (for trees). 'During the Exile,' says Benzinger, 'the new year seems to have been calculated not on the first but on the 10th of the 7th month (Lv 25^{9}, Ezk 40), only later was the great Atonement festival fixed on this day.' But it may be doubted whether the 10th of the 7th month was ever the beginning of a calendar year. But the 1st of Tishri with its rite of blowing the *shōphār* (see TRUMPET), and its later spiritual associations as a day of penitence, acquired great importance in the Jewish Calendar. (On the history of the New Year Liturgy see Friedmann in *JQR*, vol. i. p. 62 f.).

Divisions of the Year.—The regular Hebrew word for 'year' is שָׁנָה (Assyr. *sanu* 'to change,' whence *sattu* 'year'). In Daniel עִדָּן means both an indefinite period of time (like the Heb. עֵת), and more definitely a *year* (Dn 4 and 7^{25}). Buhl compares a similar definition of meaning in the case of the word χρόνος, which in new Greek signifies 'year.' In Daniel, again (12^{7}), we meet with a use of מוֹעֵד for 'year,' though elsewhere the word more generally denotes an appointed or recurrent period such as the feast (exclusive of the Sabbath and New Moon). Another word זְמָן, which occurs only in late Hebrew (Ec 3^{1}, Neh 2^{6}) as a generic term for 'time,' had already acquired in canonical Hebrew (Est $9^{27.\ 31}$) the sense of season or festival, which it conveyed in Rabbinic Hebrew.* The ordinary seasons of the year were also distinguished in Hebrew as קַיִץ 'summer' and חֹרֶף 'autumn and winter.' August is usually the warmest month, February the coldest in Judæa. The חֹרֶף was further divided into two parts (Dt 11^{14}) by the יוֹרֶה 'earlier rain' (October) and מַלְקוֹשׁ 'the later rain' (spring equinox). Generic terms for the differences of temperature were קֹר 'cold' (Gn 8^{22}) and חֹם 'heat' (*ib.*). The sowing period was known as זֶרַע (*ib.*), the harvest-time as קָצִיר (mid-April till mid-June, the barley and wheat-harvest being meant).

---

* The Babylonian year was divided into *reš satti* 'beginning of the year,' *misil satti* 'the middle of the year,' and *kit satti* 'end of the year.' Two of the terms are paralleled in Hebrew.

iii. MONTHS.—The Hebrew months have always been lunar, and extended from one new moon to another. The oldest Semitic word for month was *archu* (יֶרַח), which properly signifies the 'beginning of the month' (Muss-Arnolt, p. 73. Much of the following information is derived from this excellent authority). The same word appears in Aramæan (Ezr 6^{15}, Dn 4^{26}), Phœnician, and Ethiopic. In Hebrew the word is common in the pre-exilic passages, but it became entirely superseded by חֹדֶשׁ. This last word, properly 'new-moon' (which see), is employed (like the Assyrian *iddisu*) only for the beginning of the month, by other Semitic peoples; its use for 'month' was an innovation of the Israelites.

There are three sets of terms to distinguish the biblical months—(*a*) old (Canaanite) names, (*b*) numbers, and (*c*) the Babylonian names.

(*a*) Of the first class only four have survived: these names are all derived from climatic and economic conditions. Similarly, the earliest epithets of the months among the Babylonians are connected with agriculture and the pastoral life.

Abib (אָבִיב month of the ripening ears, Ex 13^4 etc.), subsequently the 1st month.

Ziv (זִו month of flowers, 1 K 6^1), subsequently the 2nd month.

Ethanim (אֵתָנִים month of perennial streams, 1 K 8^2), subsequently the 7th month.

Bul (בּוּל rain month, 1 K 6^{38}), subsequently the 8th month.

The last two names also occur in Phœnician inscriptions; *Ethanim* having been found in Cyprus (middle of 4th cent. B.C.) and *Bul* in Sidon (4th cent. B.C.; see Driver in Hogarth's *Authority and Archæology*, pp. 137, 138, and Buhl-Gesenius, *s.v.*).

(*b*) In the time of the Exile these old Canaanite names were dropped, and the months were distinguished by numerals, as in parts of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Kings (in the latter the old names are explained by numbers, 1 K $6^{1.38}$ 8^2), lastly in Haggai (1^1 2^1) and Zechariah (1^7 7^1). See Nowack, *Heb. Archäologie*, i. p. 217.

(*c*) From the Exile the new Babylonian names begin to find a definite place in the Hebrew Calendar. The proofs for the Babylonian origin of these names may be found in Muss-Arnolt, in Schrader, *COT* (ii. 69). Cf. Schürer, Appendix iii. Of the twelve names only seven occur in Scripture, but the whole twelve appear in the *Megillath Ta'anith*, which in its original form dates before the Christian era.

(1) **Nisan** נִיסָן, Ξανθικός, **Xanthicus**, March–April.

The English equivaleuts are inexact: Nisan mostly corresponds to part of March and part of April. Nisan occurs in Neh 2^1, Est 3^7. The Gr. form Νισάν (Νεισά[ν]) occurs in 1 Es 5^6, Ad. Est 1^1, and often in Josephus. The Macedonian *Xanthicus* is found in 2 Mac $11^{30.33.38}$. The first month in the Babylonian year is *ni-sa-a(n)-nu*, from *nesu* (Heb. נסע) to 'move,' or 'start.' It is the opening month of the ecclesiastical year. That the vernal equinox occurred in Nisan is attested by Josephus (*Ant.* I. x. 5) and also in cuneiform literature (Muss-Arnolt, p. 77). Nisan corresponded to the first zodiacal sign (Aries) in which the vernal equinox fell. That Josephus frequently uses the Macedonian names as equivalent to the Heb.-Bab. does not imply that he thought that the two series of months began on identical days.*

(2) **Iyyar** אִיָּר, Ἀρτεμίσιος, April–May.

Not named in Scripture, but found in Mishna, *Rosh Hashana* i. 3; Jos. *Ant.* VIII. iii. 1 (Ἰάρ), *Hypomnest.* 27 (Εἰάρ); Bab. *a-a-ru*. Derivation uncertain; perhaps connected with אור 'to be bright' (so Delitzsch), or איר 'to send forth, open, germinate,' whence ARU 'flower' (so Muss-Arnolt). This would make the meaning equivalent to *Ziv* and April (*aperire*). The *Megillath Ta'anith* identifies Iyyar with the 2nd month mentioned in 1 Mac 13^{51}.

(3) **Sivan** סִיוָן, Δαίσιος, May–June.

Est 8^9; Mishna, *Sheḳalim* iii. 1, etc. Gr. Σιουάν (Bar 1^8), also Σειούαλ; Bab. *si-ma(n)-nu*, pronounced later *si-vanu*. Delitzsch (*Hebrew and Assyrian*, p. 16) derives from *samu* 'to appoint' (שים), Haupt from *asamu* 'to mark.'

(4) **Tammuz** תַּמּוּז, Πάνεμος, June–July.

The word but not the month mentioned in Bible (Ezk 8^{14}). Mishna, *Ta'anith* iv. 5; Bab. *du-uzu*. LXX has Θαμμούζ.

(5) **Ab** אָב, Λῷος, July–August.

Not mentioned in Bible. Mishna, *Pesachim* iv. 5, etc.; Bab. *a-bu*; Jos. *Ant.* IV. iv. 7, Ἀβά [Niese reads Σαβά]. Delitzsch derives from Assyr. *abu* 'hostile' (from excessive heat of month), Haupt from *abe* 'bulrushes' (cf. Job 9^{26} אבה), the season in which bulrushes were cut for building purposes. This, with two other months, was consecrated by the Babylonians to building.

(6) **Elul** אֱלוּל, Γορπιαῖος, August–September.

Neh 6^{15}; Mishna, *Sheḳalim* iii. 1, etc.; Ἐλούλ, 1 Mac 14^{27}; Bab. *ululu*. Perhaps from ילל (*alalu*) 'to shout for joy,' inasmuch as the month represented the resurrection of Tammuz-Adonis (Muss-Arnolt).

(7) **Tishri** תִּשְׁרִי, Ὑπερβερεταῖος, September–October.

Not named in Scripture. Mishna, *Sheḳalim* iii. 1, etc.; Gr. Θισρί; Jos. *Ant.* VIII. iv. 1 [as amended by Hudson; Niese reads Ἀθύρει]; Bab. *tish-ri-tum*. From *surru* 'begin,' 'dedicate.' The Assyrians, like the Jews, had two new year days—Nisan for the sacred year, Tishri for the civil. The Seleucidean year began in Nisan, the Arsacidan with Tishri (Epping and Strassmaier, *Astronomisches aus Babylon*, p. 177). The month was dedicated to the sun-god, and Halévy (*Mélanges de critique et d'histoire*, p. 178) conjectures that this originated the later Jewish association of Tishri with the Creation and the Day of Judgment.

(8) **Marcheshvan** מַרְחֶשְׁוָן, Δῖος, October–November.

Not named in Scripture. Mishna, *Ta'anith* i. 3, etc.; Jos. Μαρσουάνης; Bab. *arachsamna* ('eighth month')=יְרַח שְׁמִינִי. Original form probably ורחשמן, whence מרחשון (ו and מ being often interchanged in later Babylonian). Modern Hebrew regarded Heshvan as the name of the month (*mar* being taken to mean 'drop,' 'rainy season'). Dillmann and Stade see in the Bab. name of this month a relic of the oldest method of counting the months by numbers and not by names. See Siegfried-Stade, *Dict. s.v.* ירח.

(9) **Kislev** כִּסְלֵו, Ἀπελλαῖος, November–December.

Zec 7^1, Neh 1^1; Mishna, *Rosh Hashana* i. 3, etc.; Gr. Χασελεῦ (1 Mac 1^{54} etc.; Jos. *Ant.* XII. v. 4, χασλευ); in Palmyrene Inscriptions כסלול; Bab. *kislimu*. Derivation uncertain.

(10) **Tebeth** טֵבֵת, Αὐδυναῖος, December–January.

Est 2^{16}; Mishna, *Ta'anith* iv. 5, etc.; Jos. Τέβεθος (*Ant.* XI. v. 4, but see Niese); Bab. *tebetum*. *Tebu* (Heb. טבע)='to sink,' 'dip.' The rainy season begins in 10th month.

(11) **Shebat** שְׁבָט, Περίτιος, January–February.

Zec 1^7; Mishna, *Rosh Hashana* i. 1; Gr. Σαβάτ (1 Mac 16^{14}); Bab. *sha-ba-tu*.

(12) **Adar** אֲדָר, Δύστρος, February–March.

Freq. in Esth., Ezr 6^{15}; Mishna, *Sheḳalim* i. 1, etc.; Ἀδάρ, 1 Mac 7^{43}; Jos. *Ant.* IV. viii. 49, etc.; Bab. *addaru*. Delitzsch derives from a root 'to be dark' in contrast to *aru*. It was, says Muss-Arnolt, the name of this month that induced former investigators to derive the Heb. names from Persian, for Adar is also a Persian month name. (See Benfey, *Monatsnamen einiger alter Völker*). The intercalated month was a second Adar (Heb. אֲדָר שֵׁנִי, *Megilla* i. 4, or וַאֲדָר).

iv. WEEKS AND DAYS.—The week of seven days (שָׁבוּעַ) is an obvious derivative of the lunar month, for the week corresponds roughly to the phases of the moon. The discrepancy would not affect the Hebrew week, for there is no indication that the new moon in historical times coincided with the beginning of the week. The Assyrians and Babylonians knew the seven-day week, and the week began with the moon, whereas the Hebrew week ran regularly through the whole year, especially when the weekly Sabbath replaced the new moon in importance as a sacred day. Nowack (ii. 215) unnecessarily assumes that the Israelites probably borrowed the week from the Babylonians. He, with others (see Holzinger on Ex 12^3), detects traces of an older Hebrew week of *ten* days (Gn 24^{55}, Ex 12^{3}), but this is very doubtful. It would perhaps fit in with the idea of a year of 360 days (traces of a thirty-day month being detected by Nowack in Nu 20^{29}, Dt 34^{8}, cf. 21^{13}, as well as in the Flood narrative). Driver holds that 'it is difficult not to agree with Schrader, Sayce, and other Assyriologists in regarding the week of seven days, ended by a Sabbath, as an institution of Babylonian origin' (*op. cit.* p. 18). The week thus is presupposed by the Creation narrative, and is not derived from it. 'In other words, the week determined the "days" of Creation, not the days of Creation the week' (*ib.*). This may well be, and yet the Hebrew week not necessarily a derivative from Babylon. (Jastrow has shown that the Hebrew Creation narrative is more independent of Babylonian parallels than has usually been supposed. *JQR* xiii. p. 620 ff.). See, further, on this subject, Jensen in *Ztschr. f. deutsche Wortforschung*, Sept. 1900, p. 153 ff.; and art. SABBATH above, p. 319.

---

* The **Dioscorinthius** of 2 Mac 11^{21} is quite obscure (cf. note in RVm). It is barely probable that the author wrote *Dioscorus* (the reading of O.L.), the name of the third Cretan month (see Kamphausen's note in Kautzsch's *Apokr. ad loc.*).

In the NT (as in neo-Hebrew) the week is termed *σάββατον*, and the days of the week were numbered, not named. The eve of the Sabbath (Friday) was called *παρασκευή* (Mt 27^{62}, Lk 23^{54}, Jn 19$^{31. 42}$; *πρόσαββατον* Mk 15^{42}, Jth 8^{6}). Mondays and Thursdays acquired special importance in the later Jewish life, for the public reading of the Law and the holding of law-courts occurred on those days (see Schürer, ii. 1–83, 190). Schwarz (*Jüdische Kalender*, p. 7) suggests that the numbering of the Christian *Feriæ* was derived from the Heb. usage רִאשׁוֹן שֵׁנִי שְׁלִישִׁי בַּשַּׁבָּת. See, however, Ideler, *Handbuch*, ii. 180.

The Babylonians divided the day (יוֹם) into equal parts by sun-watches, and were also acquainted with the 60 system (minutes and seconds). The Syrian peoples may have acquired similar knowledge from the Babylonians, but there is no trace of this among the Israelites in the pre-exilic period. There was an important difference between the Israelites and Babylonians, for, while the former began the day at sunset, the latter began the day with the morning. There are, according to most modern commentators, indications of the Babylonian reckoning in the first chapter of Genesis and, according to Dillmann, in Ex 12$^{6. 18}$, Lv 23^{32}. The chaotic darkness (Gn 1^{5}) lies behind the reckoning; with the creation of light began the first morning, and the first day extended till the next morning (so Dillmann). The reckoning from evening to evening became the exclusive Jewish method 'with the triumph of the Law.' The system is also met with among the Arabs, Athenians, and Gauls (cf. Pliny, *HN* ii. 79). The evening-morning day was the עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר of Dn 8^{14} (though Driver and others explain the phrase in Daniel to mean half-days). Cf. the *νυχθήμερον* of 2 Co 11^{25}. There was no exact division of the day into parts before the Exile, the natural order being followed: עֶרֶב 'evening,' בֹּקֶר 'morning,' and צָהֳרַיִם 'mid-day.' The day *declined* (Jg 19^{8}), perhaps with reference to shadows on a sun-dial (so Moore, but cf. Jer 6^{4}; see DIAL), the evening *turned in* פְּנוֹת עֶרֶב (Gn 24^{63}); there were also terms for the evening twilight when the cool sea-breeze blew (נֶשֶׁף Job 24^{15}, cf. לְרוּחַ הַיּוֹם Gn 3^{8}); the dawn ascended (עָלָה הַשַּׁחַר Gn 19^{15} 32^{24}); compare such expressions as 'when the day was hot' (חֹם הַיּוֹם Gn 18^{1}, cf. 1 S 11^{9}). In neo-Hebrew there were other phrases of a similar nature (Mishna, *Berakhoth* i.). We meet in the Bible with parts of the day described as the time when certain occupations were usual; as the time when girls were accustomed to fetch the water required for domestic use (Gn 24^{11}); 'while the day was still great' (Gn 29^{7}) is another similar phrase, but it indicates an earlier point in the afternoon; the time of bringing the meal-offering (1 K 18^{29}) and of the evening sacrifice (Ezr 9^{4}, Dn 9^{21}). These last two refer to the same point of time. יוֹם sometimes means 'day' in contradistinction to 'night' (לַיְלָה) Gn 29^{7}, sometimes it represents the civil day of 24 hours, including night (Gn 1^{5} etc.). The phrase בֵּין הָעַרְבַּיִם 'between the two evenings' (Ex 16^{12} etc.), the time at which the paschal lamb and (Ex 29^{39} etc.) the daily evening offering were brought, represents some period in the late afternoon.

The Hebrews also had terms for the days in relation to one another—אֶמֶשׁ 'the previous evening,' תְּמוֹל or אֶתְמוֹל 'yesterday,' מָחָר 'to-morrow,' שִׁלְשׁוֹם 'the day before yesterday.' But they did not divide the days into hours until late; in fact, the custom long persisted of counting by portions of the day. The term רֶגַע (in derivation = 'moment,' *movimentum*) meant an 'instant,' or a longer, but still very brief, interval of time, the chief idea being suddenness or rapid passage. שָׁעָה 'hour' is Aramaic (Dn 3^{6}), and is common in Syr. and in later Hebrew. 'Originally it denoted any small interval of time, and was only gradually fixed to what we call an "hour"' (Driver). The hours of the Mishna differed in duration, as they were reckoned as $\frac{1}{12}$th of the actual day. Earlier than the division of the day into hours was the division of the night into three **watches** (אַשְׁמֹרֶת, אַשְׁמוּרָה), La 2^{19}, Jg 7^{19}, Ex 14^{24}, 1 S 11^{11}. The threefold division continued into post-Roman times, 1st cent. (*Berakhoth* 3*b*); but the Roman division into four watches was also known (*ib.*; cf. Mk 13^{35}, where all four watches are referred to: 'in the evening' *ὀψέ*, 'at midnight' *μεσονύκτιον*, 'at cock-crowing' *ἀλεκτροφωνίας*, or 'in the morning' *πρωΐ*), and these extended from six to six o'clock. **Cock-crow** is an interesting note of time (Lk 22^{60}), to which considerable importance was attached by Rabbinical Jews. There is still a morning benediction in the Jewish liturgy to be recited at cock-crow.

I. ABRAHAMS.

TIMNA (תִּמְנַע, Θαμνά).—Concubine of Eliphaz, Esau's son, and mother of Amaleḳ, Gn 36^{12}. The branch of the Amaleḳites in question was closely associated with the Ḥorites, Gn 36$^{22. 40}$, 1 Ch 1$^{39. 51}$. In all these passages the spelling should be Timna, the Heb. being everywhere תִּמְנַע. RV has inadvertently followed AV spelling **Timnah** in Gn 36^{40}. See TIMNAH, No. **3**.

TIMNAH (תִּמְנָה 'lot,' 'portion').—**1.** A place on the N. boundary of Judah, situated between Beth-shemesh and 'the side of Ekron' (Jos 15^{10} B λίβα, A νότον, *Thamna*). It was a Philistine town (Jg 14^{1} Θαμναθά, *Thamnatha*), within the territory of Dan (Jos 19^{43} B Θαμναθά, A Θαμνά, *Themnatha*), to which Samson went down from Zorah to take his wife (Jg 14$^{1. 2. 5}$; Jos. *Ant.* v. viii. 5, 6), whose father is called the **Timnite** in Jg 15^{6}. There Samson slew the young lion, and propounded his well-known riddle at the marriage-feast. Timnah was taken by the Philistines during the reign of Ahaz, not long after they had been completely subdued by Uzziah (2 Ch 28^{18} Θαμνά, *Thamna*); and later it was occupied by Sennacherib after he had defeated the Egyptians at Elteke (*Altaku*). It is called in the inscriptions *Tamnâ*, and is mentioned as lying between Elteke and Ekron (Schrader, *KAT*^{2} 170).

Timnah retains its old name almost unchanged, and is now *Tibneh*, on the S. side of the valley of Sorek (*Wâdy es-Surar*) and to the W. of Beth-shemesh (*'Ain Shems*). The site is deserted, but is marked by ruined walls and rock-hewn caves, cisterns, and wine-presses. On the N. side of the ruins is a spring. Vineyards and olive groves still cover the hill-slopes between *Tibneh* and *Wâdy es-Surar* (*PEF Mem.* ii. 417, 441).

2. (B Θαμναθά, A Θαμνά; *Thamna*) A town in the hill-country of Judah, mentioned with Cain and Gibeah (Jos 15^{57}). It is now *Tibna* near *Jeb'a* (Gibeah), and about 8 miles west of Bethlehem. The site is marked by a few foundations only, and is reached by a path from *Beit Nettif*, about 2¾ miles to the west (*PEF Mem.* iii. 53). This is probably the Timnah (Gn 38$^{12. 13. 14}$, Θαμνά, *Thamnatha*), to which Judah 'went up' to visit his sheep-shearers. The narrative gives no other indication of position.

3. (תִּמְנָע; Θαμνά; *Thamna*) The name of one of the 'dukes' of Edom, and probably also of a town or district (Gn 36^{40}, 1 Ch 1^{51}; cf. Gn 36$^{12. 22}$, 1 Ch 1^{39}). See also art. TIMNA. Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.*) identify it with *Thamna*, a town of Edom in their day. C. W. WILSON.

TIMNATH (AV Thamnatha; Θαμνάθα; *Thamnata*).—One of the strong cities in Judæa built by Bacchides (1 Mac 9^{50}). The name occurs between Bethel and Pharathon. Pharathon may perhaps be a corruption of Ephraim (*et-Taiyibeh*), and in this case Timnath would be Thamna, now *Tibneh*, on the Roman road from Antipatris to Jerusalem, which Josephus says was the chief town of a toparchy (*BJ* III. iii. 5). G. A. Smith (*HGHL* 355 n.) considers that the two names Timnath and Pharathon should not be separated, and that they represent one place,—Pharathon being *Wâdy Far'ah*, and Timnath being recognized in the name *Tammûn*, so common now at the head of *Wâdy Far'ah*. But this position is too far N. to have been in Judæa. C. W. WILSON.

TIMNATH-HERES (תִּמְנַת חֶרֶס 'portion of the sun'; B Θαμναθάρες, A Θαμναθάρ· εως; *Thamnath Sare*).—The name of Joshua's inheritance and burial-place (Jg 2^{9}), which is called **Timnath-serah** in Jos 19^{50} and 24^{30}. *Ḥereṣ* is supposed by some commentators (Ewald, Bertheau, Mühlau, etc.) to be a very early copyist's error for *Ṣeraḥ*. On the other hand, it is held to be the correct form of the name by the Jews and Samaritans, who identify the place with *Kefr Ḥâris*.* But see TIMNATH-SERAH.

C. W. WILSON.

TIMNATH-SERAH (תִּמְנַת סֶרַח; B Θαμαρχάρης, Θαμναθασαχαρά, A Θαμναθσαρά, Θαμνασαχάρ; *Thamnath Seraa, Thamnath Sare*).—The place given by the children of Israel to Joshua as an inheritance, and in the border of which he was buried. It was in the hill-country of Ephraim, and on the north side of the mountain of Gaash (Jos 19^{50} 24^{30}). In Jg 2^{9} the name is written **Timnath-Heres** (see preceding art.). According to Josephus, Joshua was buried at Thamna (Θαμνά), a city of Ephraim (*Ant.* V. i. 29). This is apparently identical with Thamna, the chief town of a toparchy (*BJ* III. iii. 5), which adjoined the toparchy of Lydda (*Onom.*), and was reduced to subjection by Vespasian before he marched on Lydda and Jamnia (*BJ* IV. viii. 1). Thamna, now *Tibneh*, occupied an important position on the road from Jerus. to Antipatris and Cæsarea. It was taken by Cassius (*Ant.* XIV. xi. 2), and was occupied by John the Essene, at the commencement of the Jewish war (*BJ* II. xx. 4). Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom. s.* Θαμναθσαρά) say that Timnath-ṣeraḥ, the town of Joshua, where his tomb was shown, was in the hill-country, and that it was in the territory of Dan. They identified it with the *Thamna* to which Judah went up to visit his sheep-shearers (Gn 38^{12}), and placed it in Dan, or Judah, on the border of Lydda, and on the road from that place to Jerus. (*Onom.* Θαμνά). Elsewhere (*s.* Γαάς) they state that Joshua's tomb was shown near Thamna, on the N. side of Gaas, a mountain of Ephraim. Jerome takes St. Paula to Timnath-ṣeraḥ after leaving Bethel, and before reaching Shiloh (*Ep. Paul.* xv.). The place referred to by Eusebius and Jerome is *Tibneh*.

Two sites have been proposed for Timnath-ṣeraḥ, and their claims may be thus stated—

(1) *Tibneh* is an old Tibnath, and the position, guarding an approach to the interior of the country, is a suitable one for the home of the great Jewish warrior. Josephus probably, and early Christian tradition certainly, identifies it with the city of Joshua. In the north face of a hill to the S. of the ruins there is a remarkable group of rock-hewn tombs; a great oak tree near the tomb is called *Sheikh et-Teim*, 'the chief servant of God'; and about 3 miles to the E. is *Kefr Ishu'a*, or Joshua's village (*PEF Mem.* ii. 374–378; Guérin, *Samarie*, ii. 89, etc.). The identification with *Tibneh* is accepted by most moderns, *e.g.* Dillm. (on Jos 19^{50}), Moore, Mühlau (in Riehm's *HWB*), Buhl (170).

(2) *Kefr Ḥâris*, about 9 miles south of *Nâblus*, is, according to existing Samaritan tradition, the burial-place of Joshua and Caleb. It is also the *Kefr Cheres* of the Jewish pilgrims, Rabbi Jacob (A.D. 1258), hap-Parchi, etc., which Schwarz (151) places S. of *Nâblus*. To the E. of the village there are two sacred places (*mukâms*)—one named *Neby Kifl*, the 'Prophet of the Division by Lot,' the other *Neby Kulda*, or *Kunda*. Conder identifies the first with Joshua, the second he takes to be a corruption of Caleb (*PEF Mem.* ii. 378). If the identification with *Kefr Ḥâris* be accepted, it must be supposed that the name of the place, *Timnath*, has disappeared whilst its distinctive title, *Ḥereṣ* or *Ṣeraḥ*, has survived. C. W. WILSON.

TIMON (Τίμων).—One of the seven elected (Ac 6^{5}) to assist the apostles by 'serving tables.' Later legends about him will be found in the *Acta Sanctorum* under April 19, when he was commemorated.

TIMOTHEUS (Τιμόθεος).—**1.** A leader of the Ammonites who was defeated in many battles by Judas Maccabæus (1 Mac 5$^{6ff. 34ff.}$, 2 Mac 8^{30} 9^{3} 10$^{24-37}$). According to 2 Mac 10^{37} he was slain at the capture of Gazara by the forces of Judas. For the unchronological setting of the narrative in 2 Mac. see vol. iii. p. 191^{b}. **2.** The AV form of the name TIMOTHY everywhere in NT except 2 Co 1^{1}, 1 Ti 1^{2}, 2 Ti 1^{2}, Philem ^{1}, He 13^{23}.

TIMOTHY (Τιμόθεος), St. Paul's young and trusted companion, was a native of Lystra, or possibly of Derbe (Ac 16^{1} 20^{4}, where see Blass); the son of a Greek father and of a mother who was a Jewess at least by religion (2 Ti 1^{5}) and probably also by birth. The son of a mixed marriage, he received a name which was fairly common in Greek (1 Mac 5$^{6ff.}$, 2 Mac 8^{30}), but which by its significance would be acceptable to a religious Jewess; he was trained by his mother in the OT Scriptures (2 Ti 3^{15}), but was not circumcised. When St. Paul reached Lystra on his First Missionary Journey, the young Timothy accepted Christianity, being converted by St. Paul (1 Co 4$^{14-17}$), and probably was a witness of his sufferings at this time (2 Ti 3$^{10. 11}$, cf. Ac 14^{22}). By the time of the Second Missionary Journey he was a disciple well known to the Christians both in Lystra and in Iconium: the mention of his mother first, the description of her in some MSS of the Western text as 'a widow,' and perhaps the use of ὑπῆρχεν (Ac 16^{3}), make it probable that his father was already dead.

St. Paul was attracted by Timothy, and wished to have him as a travel-companion to take the place of John Mark, if not of Barnabas. If we may refer to this occasion the language of 1 Ti 1^{18} 4^{14}, 2 Ti 1^{6}, St. Paul was not left unaided in this decision. Prophetic utterances, perhaps those of Silas, who was himself a prophet (Ac 15^{32}), led Paul to him: the local presbyters laid their hands upon him (cf. Ac 13^{3}); Paul joined in the formal setting apart of 'his son' for the task; he himself witnessed a noble confession in their presence (1 Ti 6^{13}); and thus received a formal ministry (2 Ti 4^{6}, Ac 19^{22}), perhaps with the title of 'evangelist' (2 Ti 4^{5}), but in 1 Th 2^{6} he is loosely classed with Paul and Silas as an 'apostle.' In one respect Timothy was not fitted for the task: St. Paul's plan was to preach first to the Jews, and they would be offended by the presence of one who was half-Jew by birth and yet never circumcised, so St. Paul took him and perhaps with his own hand circumcised him (cf. Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, pp. 84–87; *The Christian Ecclesia*, pp. 178–188; and, as against the historical character of this incident, Holtzmann, *Die Pastoral-Briefe*, pp. 67–78). Timothy now became a loyal companion, slaving for St. Paul as a son for a father (Ph 2^{22}); he took an active part in preaching at Thessalonica (1 Th 1. 2 *passim*); accompanied Paul to Berœa, and stayed there when St. Paul was obliged to withdraw to Athens, but at the apostle's request followed him speedily thither. Thence he was despatched at once on an important mission to strengthen the Thessalonians who were suffering under persecution, and on returning with his report found St. Paul already removed to Corinth. His presence and the news he brought gave St. Paul new life, for Timothy joined him in preaching Jesus Christ the Son of God (2 Co 1^{19}): he was associated with Paul and Silvanus in both letters to the Thessalonians, and was perhaps the scribe in each case, though there is not sufficient ground for accepting Spitta's theory (*zur Gesch. des Urchristenthums*, i. p. 110) that 2 Thess. was his composition. After this time he is not mentioned again until we find him with Paul at Ephesus on the Third Missionary Journey (Ac 19^{22}); he may have been with him all the time, or may have stayed at Ephesus, a stay which would have qualified him for his later work there. On this occasion he was sent again on a mission—this time with Erastus and apparently other brethren (1 Co 16^{11}) to Macedonia and thence to Corinth (1 Co 4^{17}). The mission took place shortly before the writing of 1 Cor. (4^{17}); its purpose was to remind the Corinthians of St. Paul's 'ways in Christ'; St. Paul was anxious about the result; he was afraid that Timothy would be timid, and that others might set him at nought, and he bespoke a kindly reception for him (1 Co $16^{10.\,11}$). The effect of his mission was not successful; he brought back news which caused Paul great anxiety and necessitated a mission of Titus; it is possible that a personal attack was made on Timothy, and that he is ὁ ἀδικηθείς of 2 Co 7^{12} in whose interests Paul had demanded sharp punishment on the offender (see PAUL, vol. iii. p. 711^{b}). However this may be, he followed Paul to Macedonia, was associated with him there in the writing of 2 Cor., and was with him in Corinth as an active worker (*ὁ συνεργός μου*) who sends greeting to the Christians at Rome (Ro 16^{21}, if this chapter belongs to this date). When Paul started on his last journey to Jerusalem, Timothy was one of his party, and was with him at Troas (Ac $20^{4.\,5}$); but he is not mentioned again in the Acts, though he probably completed the journey to Jerusalem. He must also have joined Paul in his imprisonment at Rome, as he is associated with him in writing Col. (1^{1}), Philemon (v.^{1}), and Philippians (1^{1}); and St. Paul contemplates sending him on a mission to the Philippian Church ($2^{19\text{-}24}$). Of this no more is heard; but on the supposition of the genuineness of the Pastoral Epistles, Paul when released joined Timothy in the East, and while on a journey to Macedonia left him in charge of the Church of Ephesus (1 Ti 1^{3}). His task was to be the representative of the absent apostle, who was hoping to return shortly; he was to check false teaching, to order public worship, to regulate the requisite qualifications for the ministry, and to exercise discipline over all orders in the Church. It may be that for this task he was formally set apart by laying on of hands both of the apostle and of the presbyters (1 Ti 1^{18} 4^{14}, 2 Ti 1^{6}, but see above). As the apostle might be delayed from returning, he wrote 1 Timothy to lay stress on the points of primary importance and to strengthen and embolden Timothy. Not long thereafter Paul was arrested a second time and carried to Rome; thence he wrote 2 Timothy, begging Timothy not to be ashamed of the gospel, but to come with Mark to help him in his imprisonment, and, before he leaves, to secure the transmission of true teaching by ordaining trustworthy ministers. It may have been on this visit to Rome that Timothy was himself arrested on the occasion on which the writer of the Ep. to the Hebrews mentions his release (He 13^{23}).

---

* It is not improbable that by an intentional metathesis, to avoid anything that savoured of idolatry, Timnath-*ḥeres*, 'portion *of the sun*,' was changed into Timnath-*ṣeraḥ*. See HERES, *ad fin.*; and cf. Moore on Jg ^{29}.

Of Timothy's subsequent history little can be said with certainty. He *may* be [but this is very unlikely] the 'angel' of the Church of Ephesus addressed in Rev $2^{1\text{-}7}$; he may be one of the sources from which St. Luke gained information for the composition of the Acts, though there is no ground for regarding him as the author of the book or of the 'We' sections (see Zahn, *Einleitung*, ii. p. 424). Church tradition regarded him as having continued bishop of Ephesus until his death (*Const. Apostol.* vii. 46; Euseb. iii. 46), as having been martyred in a popular tumult when he tried to dissuade the people from taking part in the violent and coarse orgies of the *καταγώγιον* (a festival of which there is no mention elsewhere), and his bones are said to have been transferred to Constantinople by Constantius (Polycrates and Simeon Metaphrastes quoted in the *Acta Sanctorum*, iii. pp. 176–183, *Menæon*, ad Jan. 22; Lipsius, *Die Apocryphen Apostelgesch.* ii. 2, 372–400).

Though Titus is a stronger man and more able to deal with crises, yet Paul's love and affection goes out more lavishly to the younger Timothy, whose character is clearly marked. He is affectionate to tears (2 Ti 1^{4}), delicate and often ill (1 Ti 5^{23}), timid (1 Co 16^{10}), shrinking from a proper assertion of his own authority (1 Ti 4^{12}), needing to be warned against youthful lusts (2 Ti 2^{22}), to be encouraged to face shame for Christ's sake (2 Ti 1^{8}). Yet he has been Paul's loyal follower and imitator from the first (2 Ti 3^{10}); he is his 'genuine' son (1 Ti 1^{2}), his loved son (2 Ti 1^{2}), his son loved and faithful in the Lord (1 Co 4^{17}); of one mind with himself (Ph 2^{20}), 'working the Lord's work as I do' (1 Co 16^{10}); 'my fellow-worker' (Ro 16^{21}); 'our brother and God's minister' (1 Th 3^{2}); 'the slave of Jesus Christ' (Ph 1^{1}), who 'seeks the things of Jesus Christ' (*ib.* 2^{21}).

Timothy's death is commemorated in the Greek and Armenian Churches on Jan. 22, in the Coptic Church on Jan. 23, in the Latin and Maronite Churches on Jan. 24, though the earlier Latin calendars place it on Sept. 27, perhaps as following the day of the commemoration of St. John, who was thought of as his predecessor in the see of Ephesus (Lipsius, *l.c.* p. 392; Nilles, *Kalendarium Manuale utriusque Ecclesiæ*, Innsbruck, 1896).

W. LOCK.

TIMOTHY, FIRST EPISTLE TO.—

i. Historical Situation.
ii. Analysis.
iii. Literary Dependence.
iv. Situation implied at Ephesus: (*a*) False teaching; (*b*) Church organization
v. Authorship.
vi. Integrity.
vii. Value.
Literature.

i. HISTORICAL SITUATION. — St. Paul had recently been with Timothy: either they had been together in Ephesus, or Timothy had come from

Ephesus to meet Paul at some point on his journey to Macedonia (cf. the situation of Ac 20^{17} with 1^{3}). St. Paul was bound to go forward, but hoped to return shortly: yet he was so much impressed with the dangerous tendencies of some false teachers at Ephesus, who were tempting the brethren there from walking in 'sober gospel ways,' that he pressed Timothy to stay on in order to counteract them.

Some time elapsed. Paul may have heard that all was not prospering at Ephesus, possibly through a letter from Timothy himself, or his natural anxiety (cf. 1 Thess.) may have prompted him to write. Timothy was, indeed, a 'genuine son'; he had witnessed a good confession in the past, prophecies had pointed him out for the task, he had received a special gift for his ministry by the laying on of hands ($1^{2.\,18}$ 4^{14} 6^{12}); yet he was naturally timid, he was young (4^{12}), he had frequent attacks of illness (5^{23}), he might be misled (5^{7} 6^{11}); St. Paul's own return might be delayed (3^{15}): so he writes this letter to press his original charge more solemnly on Timothy, to encourage him in his work, to guide him in his teaching and dealing with various classes in the Church, and to regulate certain points of Church order, which needed organization without delay.

The central purpose is summed up in 3^{15} *ἵνα εἰδῇς πῶς δεῖ ἐν οἴκῳ θεοῦ ἀναστρέφεσθαι.*

The subjects are miscellaneous, and no very exact analysis can be expected; but three points stand out clearly in the structure. (1) There is a rough correspondence between the introductory and the concluding sections; cf. $1^{3\text{-}11}$ with $6^{3\text{-}10}$, $1^{18\text{-}20}$ with $6^{11\text{-}16.\,20.\,21}$. These form a framework for the central part. (2) The central part falls into clearly-marked halves, and the kernel of the whole Epistle, which divides these halves, is 3^{16}. The mystery of the Incarnate, Risen, and Ascended Lord is the fact on which Christian life and teaching is to be based, by which the Christian minister is to be inspired. (3) $6^{17\text{-}19}$ is a postscript, which would more naturally have been placed before or after $6^{1.\,2}$, but which was added as an after-thought, perhaps first suggested as needing treatment by $6^{9.\,10}$.

ii. ANALYSIS.—

$1^{1.\,2}$. Greeting.

Introductory, $1^{3\text{-}20}$.

(*a*) Reminder of the purpose for which Timothy was left at Ephesus (^{3}), description of the false teaching as speculative rather than ministering to the spiritual life ($^{4.\,5}$), as ignorantly taught by teachers who lay stress on law ($^{6.\,7}$) without knowing the true purpose of law and its relation to the gospel ($^{8\text{-}11}$).

(*b*) Personal expression of Paul's own gratitude to Christ Jesus, who had entrusted him with the ministry in spite of his past sin, as a proof of God's long-suffering and as an encouragement to others, for the gospel is summed up in the *faithful saying*, Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἁμαρτωλοὺς σῶσαι ($^{12\text{-}17}$).

[This section is not only a personal digression called out by the thought of God's mercy to himself, but is intended to point Timothy to the same source of strength for his task (ἐνδυναμώσαντι, cf. II 2^{1}), and to fix his mind on the central message of the gospel as a gospel of salvation from sin (cf. ^{5} and ^{19})].

(*c*) Reiteration of the charge to Timothy, and enforcement of it by (1) a reminder of the past prophecies about him (^{18}); (2) a warning drawn from the fate of two false teachers ($^{19.\,20}$).

Formal advice, 2^{1}–6^{2}. A. *General*, 2^{1}-4^{5}. B. *Personal*, 4^{6}-6^{2}.

A. *General regulations of Church Life.*

I. *The proper scope of Public Prayer.*—This is to include all mankind, and specially rulers, that Christians may live a quiet life ($2^{1.\,2}$). This is based on God's desire to save all men ($^{3.\,4}$), which itself rests on (1) the unity of God (^{5}); (2) the nature of Christ representing both God and man (*ib.*); (3) the conscious purpose of Christ's death, who died for all, and commissioned Paul to teach this truth ($^{6.\,7}$).

II. *The position of men and women at Public Prayer.*—
Men are to lead the prayers (^{8});
Women to dress modestly and avoid ostentation ($^{9.\,10}$), to listen in silence and subjection ($^{11.\,12}$). This is based on the order of creation (^{13}), and woman's action at the Fall (^{14}). Yet woman too will share the Christian salvation, if she abide in a Christian life, for the *faithful saying* declares σωθήσεται διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας (^{15}).

III. *Rules for the choice of ministers.*

(1) For the ἐπίσκοπος. His position is one of honour and of work (3^{1}), hence he must be tested as to his private character ($^{2.\,3}$); as to his power of ruling his own family well ($^{4.\,5}$); he must not be a new convert (^{6}), he must have won the respect of the heathen world (^{7}).

(2) For διάκονοι: their private character must be tested ($^{8\text{-}10}$), and their relation to their own family (^{12}). For their office, too, may be one of honour, and will raise their status in Christ's sight (^{14}).

(3) For γυναῖκες. They too, if in any official position, must have a high character (^{11}).

The purpose of all these regulations is to secure a right moral life and intercourse in God's family, because it is His Church, and the upholder of the Truth. This truth is summed up in the well-known hymn about Christ—

ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί,
ἐδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι,
ὤφθη ἀγγέλοις,
ἐκηρύχθη ἐν ἔθνεσιν,
ἐπιστεύθη ἐν κόσμῳ,
ἀνελήμφθη ἐν δόξῃ.

Warning.—Yet there are symptoms of false teaching, that will contradict this great truth, depreciating marriage and food, though they are God's creatures, God's gifts, capable of sanctification, if received with prayer and thanksgiving ($4^{1\text{-}5}$).

[This section forms the transition from A to B. It stands in contrast to 3^{16} (4^{1} δε), but leads on to 4^{6} (ταῦτα)].

B. *Personal advice to Timothy.*

(*a*) *With regard to his own teaching and conduct.*—He is to be loyal to these truths (^{6}), to avoid foolish fables (^{7}), to exercise a true asceticism, such as will produce true holiness—for holiness, according to the *faithful saying*, ἐπαγγελίαν ἔχει ζωῆς τῆς νῦν καὶ τῆς μελλούσης,—and any effort is worth while, for our hope rests on a God of life, a Saviour of all mankind ($^{6\text{-}11}$). He is to assert himself, in spite of his youth; to be a model of Christian character; to attend to public reading, exhortation, teaching; to remember the gift given him for his task, and to throw his whole heart into his work ($^{12\text{-}16}$).

(*b*) *For his dealings with various classes of people.*

1. *Men*, old and young (5^{1}).—2. *Women*, old and young (^{2}).—3. *Widows*, who are to be supported by the Church, only if their own families cannot do so (^{3} and ^{4}), who are to lead a religious life of prayer ($^{5.\,6}$). There is to be kept a list of widows above 60 years of age, of good character; but younger widows are not to be enrolled upon it, but are to be encouraged to marry ($^{7\text{-}16}$).—4. *Presbyters:* the hard-working are to be rewarded ($^{17.\,18}$); the sinful to be formally tried and punished impartially ($^{19\text{-}21}$); he must not ordain (? remit penalties) hastily, lest he should be entangled in the sins of others (^{22}); but he must keep himself pure, though this need not imply total abstinence (^{23}), and he will need caution in judgment, whether for praise or blame ($^{24.\,25}$).—5. *Slaves*, whether under heathen or Christian masters ($6^{1.\,2}$).

Conclusion.

(*a*) Further denunciation of the false teachers, as conceited, ignorant, excited about questions which only produce envy and strife, striving to make money, knowing nothing of true Christian content, but ruining themselves through the desire of gain ($^{3\text{-}10}=1^{3\text{-}10}$).

(*b*) Solemn appeal to Timothy to avoid such teaching: to aim at spiritual qualities, to lay hold of eternal life, remembering his past confession; and to hold fast Paul's commandment with the thought of the future appearance of the Lord ($^{11\text{-}14}=1^{18\text{-}20}$).

Doxology ($^{15.\,16}$).

Postscript.—Further advice as to the teaching which Timothy is to give to the rich ($^{17\text{-}19}$).

Final appeal to Timothy to guard the deposit and to avoid false claims to knowledge ($^{20.\,21}$).

Salutation.

This analysis will have shown that the primary interest is ethical and spiritual. Morality, Salvation, Truth are the keynotes; the Church worship and Church ministries are to minister to them. The kernel is the great hymn of 3^{16}, but each section has some great doctrinal statement or some faithful saying embedded in it, which leads up to or away from that climax (1^{15} $2^{4\text{-}6}$ 2^{15} $4^{4.\,8\text{-}11}$ 6^{6}). The Epistle is full of the thought of the Salvation of all mankind, the consecration of all Creation.

At the same time it is personal throughout; and it is hard to believe that it was intended to be read out as it stands, in public; though a greeting to the whole Church is added (6^{21}), and though the substance of the teaching was meant to be conveyed to the Church (4^{11} 5^7 $6^{2.\,17}$), and though certain sections (2^{1-15} 3^{1-13} 5^{3-16}) are necessarily of a general kind. In these it is hard to feel sure whether the writer has only the local needs of Ephesus in his mind, or whether he was consciously framing rules which would be of universal application and obligation (cf. 1 Co 7^{17}). The phrase *ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ* (2^8) favours the latter view; so perhaps does the use of *ἐκκλησία* in 3^{15}; and some of the rules deal with such essential doctrines or points of morality that the writer may have regarded them as *ipso facto* binding on every one: but his primary thought was probably only for the church or churches of which Timothy was in charge.

iii. LITERARY DEPENDENCE.—The OT is quoted as authoritative only once, 5^{18}=Dt 25^4 (cf. 1 Co 9^9); but its language is consciously adapted or its history appealed to in—

2^{13}=Gn 2^{22} (cf. 1 Co 11^8).
2^{14}=Gn 3^6 (cf. 2 Co 11^3).
4^4 =Gn 1^{31}.
5^5 =Ps 4^6 (?) (cf. 1 P 3^5).
5^{19}=Dt 19^{15} (cf. 2 Co 13^1).
6^1 =Is 52^5 (cf. Ro 2^{24}).

It will be noticed that nearly every passage had been used in earlier Pauline Epistles.

In $2^{13.\,14}$ we have perhaps a later Jewish adaptation of the OT history. A Christian rhythmical hymn is quoted in 3^{16}; Christian sayings in 1^{15} 2^{15} (?) 4^9 (?) (*πιστὸς ὁ λόγος*); Christian prophecy in 4^1 (cf. 1^{18} 4^{14}); liturgical doxologies are used, which had probably passed from Jewish into Christian worship, in 1^{17} $6^{15.\,16}$; traces of a creed seem to underlie 6^{13}; and Greek proverbial sayings, 1^9 (?) 4^4 6^7.

With regard to writings of the NT, there are interesting parallels with the Gospels, especially with St. Luke, which in 5^{18} may possibly be treated as 'Scripture' on a level with the OT; but none of the other parallels give the impression of literary quotation, so that it is probably not so here.

Cf. 2^6	with	Mk	10^{45}.
4^8	,,	Lk	18^{30}.
5^5	,,	,,	2^{37}.
5^{18}	,,	,,	10^7 (where Luke agrees verbally with 1 Tim., but Matt. differs).
5^{21}	,,	,,	9^{26}.
6^{17-19}	,,	,,	$12^{20.\,21}$.

There are striking points of contact with 1 Peter; cf. 2^{9-11} with 2 P 3^{1-6}, 3^{16} with 1 P 3^{18-22}, 5^5 with 1 P 3^5; but it is not clear whether they do (so von Soden) or do not (so Jülicher) imply literary acquaintance: if they do, the priority seems to be clearly on the side of 1 Timothy.

On the other hand, 'an intimate acquaintance with the Pauline letters must be assumed on the part of the writer' (Jülicher). There are certainly conscious parallels with Romans and 1 and 2 Corinthians.

Cf. 1^1	with	Ro	16^{26}.	1^{12}	with	1 Co	7^{25} 15^{10}.
1^5	,,	,,	13^9.	$2^{11.\,12}$	,,	,,	11^{12} 14^{34}.
1^8	,,	,,	7^{16}.	4^4	,,	,,	10^{30}.
1^{10}	,,	,,	13^{10}.	4^8	,,	,,	9^{25} (?).
1^{17}	,,	,,	16^{26}.	5^{18}	,,	,,	9^9.
2^5	,,	,,	3^{30}.	5^{19}	,,	,,	9^{14}.
2^7	,,	,,	9^1.	1^{11}	,,	2 Co	4^4.

The likeness culminates in the relation to Titus and 2 Timothy.

Cf. $1^{1 \text{ and } 11}$	with	Tit	1^3.	1^{12}	with	2 Ti	1^3.
2^6	,,	,,	2^{14}.	2^7	,,	,,	1^{11}.
3^{2-4}	,,	,,	1^{6-8}.	3^7	,,	,,	2^{26}.
4^{11}	,,	,,	2^{15}.	4^1	,,	,,	3^1.
4^{12}	,,	,,	$2^{7 \text{ and } 15}$.	4^{14}	,,	,,	1^6.
5^{13}	,,	,,	1^{11}.	5^{13}	,,	,,	3^7.
6^1	,,	,,	2^5.	5^{21}	,,	,,	4^1.
6^2	,,	,,	2^{15}.	6^{11}	,,	,,	2^{22}.
6^{14}	,,	,,	2^{13}.	6^{12}	,,	,,	4^7.

The parallels with Romans and 1 and 2 Cor. are explicable either as deliberate adaptations by some later writer or as the reiterations of the same thought by Paul himself. Those with 2 Tim. and Titus are stronger, and either point to nearly contemporary composition by one writer or to a deliberate adaptation. It has been held by von Soden (*Hdcom.* p. 154), Moffatt (*Historical NT*, p. 560), McGiffert (*Apost. Age*, p. 413), that 1 Tim. is the latest of the three, and based on 2 Tim. and Titus; but a mere comparison of style does not indicate any priority as between 1 Tim. and Titus, and favours the priority of 1 Tim. to 2 Timothy. The other points of difference—fuller organization in 1 Tim., fuller description of the false teachers, etc.—are as explicable by the difference of circumstances in each place as by a difference of date.

iv. SITUATION IMPLIED AT EPHESUS.—(*a*) *The False Teachers.*—The primary purpose of the letter is to remind Timothy of the charge given to him to check certain false teachers; but, as he is assumed to know them, they are described in such general terms that it is difficult for us to identify them. It is not, indeed, necessary to assume that all the descriptions apply to one set; Ephesus supplied a great variety of forms of religion, heathen, Jewish, and Christian (Ac 19): and 4^{1-2} (cf. Tit 1^{10}, 2 Ti 3^1) perhaps implies a separate development in the future; yet the probability is in favour of one main tendency. The teachers were prominent in the Church (1^6): they may have held office [cf. the stress on the discipline over presbyters (5^{20-25}), and the need of more careful choice of ministers (3^{1-13})]: two of them had already been 'handed over to Satan' (1^{20}): and they may have attempted to attack St. Paul's own apostleship (1^1 2^7 1^{20} *μὴ βλασφημεῖν*). They are untrue to the central Christian temper (1^6), they do not listen to the dictates of their own conscience (1^{19} 4^2), are ignorant (1^7), influenced by the desire of making gain out of their religion (6^{5-10}), living in a state of feverish excitement (6^4 *νοσῶν*), suggesting curious disputations and investigations which are 'other' than the deposit (1^3 6^{20}), and producing an atmosphere of strife, jealousy, and suspicion (6^4). In the substance of their teaching a few details emerge.

(1) They claimed to be 'teachers of *law*' (1^7): misinterpreting the OT in some way for purposes other than those for which it was intended (cf. 2 Ti $3^{16.\,17}$): possibly depreciating law in an antinomian spirit, so that the writer has to insist on its real value (1^{8-10}): or, more probably, exaggerating its value, so that he has to point out its limitations, as intended only for *ἄδικοι* (*ib.*).

(2) They laid stress on *μῦθοι καὶ γενεαλογίαι* (1^4 4^7). The reference of this is also ambiguous. The words would be applicable to the speculative theories of Gnosticism, with its legends about the creation of the world and the relationships of the various æons which separated God from matter: and the Christian writers of the 2nd cent. constantly made this application (Irenæus, *adv. Hær.* Præf.; Tertullian, *c. Valent.* 3, *de Anima*, 18, *de Præscriptione*, 33, *adv. Marcionem*, i. 9; Epiphanius, *Hær.* 33. 8).

But the context connects them with teaching about the Law (1^7): Titus speaks of *Ἰουδαικοὶ μῦθοι* (1^{14}), and connects *γενεαλογίαι* with *μάχαι νομικαί* (3^9); and Ignatius (*ad Magn.* 8) uses exactly similar language of the Judaizers of his day. They are therefore Jewish in origin, and were probably speculations based upon the legendary history of the patriarchs and their descendants, akin to the Jewish Haggadoth, and illustrated by the Book of Enoch, the Book of Jubilees, and the treatise on Biblical Antiquities attributed to Philo [cf. Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, pp. 130–146]. The reference to Jannes and Jambres (2 Ti $3^{8.9}$) will then be a half-ironical *ad hominem* illustration from one of their own favourite myths.

(3) They laid a special claim to *knowledge* (6^{20}). This again would have a peculiar applicability to any form of Gnosticism, and it is so applied by Hegesippus *ap.* Euseb. iii. 32; but it is equally applicable to the Rabbinic claim to special knowledge (Lk 11^{52}, Jn 7^{49}, Ro 2^{20}). The word ἀντιθέσεις in 6^{20} offers an easy suggestion to the ἀντιθέσεις, 'Contradictions between OT and NT,' of Marcion; but such an allusion is inconsistent with the stress on Jewish law (cf. 2), and impossible in date, unless the verse be a subsequent interpolation. It may either refer to 'Rival theses,' *i.e.* conflicting decisions of the Jewish Rabbis on the application of the Law, the Jewish Halakha, the 'tradition of the elders' (so Hort, *l.c.*); or it may be translated 'oppositions' (cf. 2 Ti 2^{25}), and if so, gives no clue to the nature of the opposition.

(4) They taught a false *asceticism*, prohibiting marriage, requiring abstinence from certain foods (4^{1-4}), and perhaps from wine (5^{23}), and that on the ground that matter was evil ($4^{4.5}$, cf. $4^{7.8}$ 6^{17}). This particular teaching is ascribed to δαιμόνια, and so probably came from a heathen source; and it is quoted as a prophecy of the future, and so is perhaps separable from the rest. But the writer is probably quoting a *past* prophecy as being fulfilled in the present, and it is placed in close connexion with the 'myths' (4^7). This teaching, again, is exactly parallel to the teaching of later Gnostics (cf. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 3; Tert. *adv. Marcionem*, i. 14; Irenæus, *Hær.* i. 28); but it may equally have arisen from an exaggeration of the Jewish law, with a mixture of Oriental speculation, coming perhaps through Essenism (cf. 1 Co 7 and 8, Ro 14, Col 2, He 13).

It is perhaps legitimate to read allusions to the false teachers in the regulations of chs. 2. 3, which follow so directly upon the warning against them. If so, their teaching was characterized by an exclusiveness, limiting God's universal salvation, whether from a Gnostic or a Jewish standpoint, and perhaps denying the salvation of women; perhaps also by a low standard of morals.

The main tendency, then, is that of a Rabbinic speculative Judaism, playing with historical legends and casuistry, and coloured by an asceticism borrowed from some heathen source, perhaps through Essenism (cf. Lightfoot, *Col.* 'On the Colossian Heresy,' *Biblical Essays*, xi., *Ignatius*, i. pp. 359-374).

(*b*) *Organization of the Church.*—The Church forms one organized community, described as God's family ($3^{5.15}$), an 'ecclesia' of a God of life (*ib.*): its members are οἱ ἀδελφοί (4^6), οἱ πιστοί (4^{12} 5^{16} 6^2), ἅγιοι (5^{10}). They meet for common worship, and apparently up to the time of this letter men and women alike had been wont to teach and to lead the prayers, but the writer limits this right to the men (2^{8-12}). At the worship there are reading, exhortation, and teaching (4^{13}), prayers, intercessions, thanksgivings (2^1 5^5). Over this body the apostle is supreme: he hands over offenders to Satan (παρέδωκα, 1^{20}; but this would not necessarily exclude the co-operation of the Church, as in 1 Co 5^4); his exhortations (2^1) and wishes (2^8) are authoritative; the true teaching is the gospel, which has been entrusted to him (1^{11} 2^7). Timothy is his delegate, 'the instrument of an absent rather than a wielder of inherent authority' (Moberly), commissioned to ordain ministers (though the whole community would have a voice in the choice of them, cf. $3^{2 \text{ and } 10}$), to exercise discipline over them, to regulate worship, to control teaching, and hand on the traditions of the apostle. His exact status is not clear: he may have been a temporary delegate for a special work, as he had been before to Corinth (1 Co 4^{14-17}) and Philippi (Ph 2^{19}), and as Titus had been twice or thrice to Corinth (2 Co 7 and 8); or he may have been permanently set apart as St. Paul's delegate for the higher functions of ministerial work, unlimited by any local sphere, but sent from time to time to various places; or, again, he may have received a permanent commission to represent the apostle and a permanent localization at Ephesus, or possibly throughout Asia Minor. Either view is tenable, but the first springs most naturally out of the language of 1^3 4^{14}.

It is also uncertain whether he had received special ordination for this task. He had received a special gift, given by laying on of the hands of the presbyters, and prophecies had led Paul to choose him (1^{18} 4^{14}); but the reference may be either to consecration for *this* piece of work, or to formal ordination when he first became Paul's helper (Ac 16^{1-4}). His position seems to be that of a vicar apostolic rather than of a localized bishop, though it is the germ out of which the later localized and monarchical episcopate developed.

The more permanent ministry under Timothy is assumed to be already in existence. There are no directions to establish any new office, unless it be that of the church-widows, but only to regulate and spiritualize those that exist. These are—

(1) The ἐπίσκοπος. He occupies a prominent position in the eyes of the Church and the heathen world; he must have high moral qualifications: from these it may be inferred that his duties will be to entertain travelling brethren (φιλόξενος), to teach (διδακτικός), perhaps to control the finances (ἀφιλάργυρος), to preside and care for the Church (προστῆναι, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι).

(2) πρεσβύτεροι, who are formally ordained (?) for the position (5^{22}), who also preside (προεστῶτες), who also preach and teach (ἐν λόγῳ καὶ διδασκαλίᾳ), who receive maintenance in return for their work, and who are under Timothy's discipline. (There is not, as often assumed, a contrast in 5^{17} between teaching and non-teaching presbyters, but only between those who take pains with their teaching and those who do not).

Are these two different orders of ministers, or only two names for one order? This question, too, cannot be positively answered. The fact that πρεσβύτεροι are not mentioned in ch. 3; that the ἐπίσκοπος is not mentioned in ch. 5; that the same functions of presiding and teaching are attributed to both; the *prima facie* meaning of Tit 1^{5-7}, cf. Ac 20^{17-28},—these favour the identification of the two. On the other hand, the constant use of the singular ἐπίσκοπος and of the plural πρεσβύτεροι, and the usage of the 2nd cent., favour the separation, and leave it a tenable view that out of the many presbyters one bishop was already chosen at Ephesus in order to preside over the whole and to represent them to the outer world.

(3) διάκονοι. Subordinate officers, whose character has to be tested before the whole community before they enter on office. Their duties are not defined; but they perhaps have to administer the finances under the ἐπίσκοπος (μὴ αἰσχροκερδεῖς), and to teach, as a successful diaconate gives them boldness of speech. After their diaconate they may perhaps hope to rise to a higher position (βαθμός) in the Church ($3^{8-10.12.13}$).

(4) γυναῖκες are also mentioned in the official ministry, between two sections dealing with διάκονοι: *i.e.* probably 'women who are deacons,' deaconesses; but possibly only 'wives of deacons.' A high character is required of them, but their duties are not defined.

(5) χῆραι. The regulations for widows are described at fuller length, and give the impression that the writer is introducing a fresh organization in this case. There is probably a distinction to be drawn between lonely widows who are the

objects of charity, and who devote their time to prayer (5^{4-8}), and active widows who are church workers, whose names are entered on a church list, after careful examination of their antecedents ($5^{9.10}$). The distinction is not, however, clearly marked. See also art. WIDOW.

[Cf. Gore, *The Church and the Ministry*, ch. v.; Moberly, *Ministerial Priesthood*, ch. v.; Hort, *Christian Ecclesia*, chs. xi. xii.; J. H. Bernard in *Camb. Gr. Test.* pp. lvi–lxxiv; Weiss, § 4; Zahn, *Einl.* i. 459–466].

v. AUTHORSHIP.—The Epistle claims to be by St. Paul, and is directly attributed to him by Irenæus (Præf. II. xiv. 7, IV. xvi. 3), Tertullian (*de Præscr.* c. 25), Clement Alex. (*Strom.* ii. p. 457, iii. p. 534), and the Muratorian Canon; it was included in the Latin and Syriac versions, and this implies an acceptance of its Pauline claim. It was known to Marcion (*c.* 140); there are many parallels to its regulations in the earliest documents that underlie the *Apostolic Constitutions* (cf. Harnack, *TU* II. v. pp. 50–52, or *Chron.* i. p. 483): these may be due to independent treatment of some earlier list of regulations, but the more prob. view is that the *Apost. Const.* give a later and fuller adaptation of 1 Timothy; and there are parallelisms to its language in the Epistle of Vienne and Lyons (Eus. v. 1), Hegesippus (Eus. iii. 22), Justin Martyr (*Dial.* vii. 17, xxxv. 3 (?)), and above all in Polycarp (cc. 4. 5. 8. 9. 12), Ignatius (*ad Trall.*, *Inscr. ad Magn.* 8, *ad Polyc.* 3), and Clement of Rome (7. 21. 54. 61), which make it probable that it was known to all these writers, and well known in Asia Minor before A.D. 115, and perhaps at Rome before A.D. 95. For an instructive comparison of the Pastoral Epistles with Ignatius, cf. von der Goltz in *TU* XII. iii. pp. 107–118, 186–194.

On the other hand, it was rejected with 2 Tim. by Tatian (Jerome, *Prol. ad Titum*), by 'certain heretics' (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ii. 11), and with both 2 Tim. and Titus by Marcion (Tertull. *adv. Marcionem*, v. 21) and Basilides (Jerome, *l.c.*). Tertullian implies that the reason of the rejection was that they were private letters; but it may have been due to a dislike of their teaching, or, if they were not Pauline, to a real knowledge of their origin. The external evidence is as strong in church writers as for any Epistle; but it is met by a persistent rejection on the part of some heretics.

The internal evidence permits two alternatives. Either the author is Paul, or he is some later writer anxious to support Christian morality and orthodox teaching against growing heretical tendencies, and for this purpose composing the letter, possibly with the help of some genuine Pauline fragments, and certainly with a deliberate use of the Pauline letters. In deciding between these two alternatives it is not possible to appeal to points of similarity with Pauline language or with St. Paul's character, as they are assumed on both sides; on the other hand, differences from the known facts of St. Paul's life are as much an argument against the second alternative as against the first.

(1) The historical situation cannot be fitted into the account of St. Paul's life in the Acts. This is true in spite of recent attempts to place it at the time of Ac 20^{38} (Bartlet, *Apostolic Age*, pp. 179–182, 511–515; Bowen, *The Dates of the Pastoral Epistles*, London, 1900); yet the Acts is incomplete even over the ground which it traverses, *e.g.* it makes no mention of the intricate circumstances connected with the mission of Titus to Corinth, *i.e.* it helps us to understand 2 Cor. as little as this Epistle. Further, it confessedly ends before the death of St. Paul. There are other grounds for believing in a release of St. Paul after Ac 28 (cf. art. PAUL), and the situation implied here may easily fall in the interval between that release and his death, about the same time as Titus but before 2 Tim., as this Epistle gives no trace of the danger of persecution.

(2) The style is unlike St. Paul's more argumentative passages, but it resembles that of the more practical sections of the earlier Epistles, *e.g.* 1 Th 5, Ro 12–16, 1 Co 16, 2 Co 8. 9. The general structure, the quick passage from practice to doctrinal basis, the personal interludes (1^{12} 2^{7}), the frequent repetition of a word and its cognate forms (*πίστις*, 1^{12-17}; *πᾶς*, 2^{1-7}; *πλοῦτος*, $6^{17.18}$), the fondness for sharp antithesis (5^{6} 5^{13} 6^{7} 6^{19}), the use of the language of the OT and of Greek proverbs, are subtle points that might escape an imitator. But two points of difficulty remain. (*a*) The vocabulary is largely different. The average of *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα* is one for every verse and a half: a large group of words (34 in the three Pastoral Letters) is not found elsewhere in St. Paul, but is found in St. Luke's writings; and many characteristically Pauline words are absent (cf. Holtzmann, *Einl.* pp. 318, 319, *Past. Briefe*, p. 100; W. H. Simcox in *Expositor*, 1888, p. 180).

But the argument from the mere use of words is always precarious (cf. an illustration from Shakespeare in the *Expos. Times*, June 1896, p. 418, and from Dante in Butler's 'Paradise,' p. xi); St. Paul's language elsewhere shows great variation, even within the compass of one letter (cf. 2 Co 8. 9 with 10–13); the proportion of *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα* is—

1 for 1·55 verses in the Past. Epp.;
1 ,, 3·66 ,, ,, 2 Cor.;
1 ,, 5·53 ,, ,, 1 Cor.;

hence the difference between 2 Cor. and 1 Cor. is as great as that between the Past. Epp. and 2 Cor. (Kölling *ap.* Weiss, p. 51). Within the Pastorals 72 words are found in 1 Tim. only, 44 in 2 Tim. only, 26 in Titus; 10 are peculiar to 1 Tim. and Titus; 8 to 1 and 2 Tim.; 3 to 2 Tim. and Titus. *ὠφέλιμος*, *εὐσέβεια*, *διάβολος* as adjective, are common to the three, and they all have some word cognate to *σώφρων*, and the phrases *πιστὸς ὁ λόγος*, *ἐπίγνωσις ἀληθείας*, *ἡ ὑγιαίνουσα διδασκαλία*, *ὁ νῦν αἰών*. There is no word which is of clearly later date: many of the differences arise from difference of subject, esp. in 2^{8-10} 5^{3-16} where they are most frequent; some occur in phrases which seem to be quotations (see above). Many are words common in the Greek of the Apocrypha (cf. the instances from 2 Mac. in *Camb. Gr. Test.* p. xxxix). Some few are Latinisms (*χάριν ἔχω*, *πρόκριμα*), due perhaps to residence in Rome; others are medical metaphors (*ὑγιαίνειν*, *νοσεῖν*), due perhaps to intimacy with St. Luke; while it is difficult to estimate how far the mere wording of a letter was due to the amanuensis employed. [The question of the vocabulary is carefully treated in Findlay's Appendix to Sabatier, *The Apostle Paul*].

(*b*) But many of the phrases seem technical and stereotyped: *Ἰησοῦς ἡ ἐλπὶς ἡμῶν* (1^{1}; notice the advance on Col 1^{27}), *ἡ παραγγελία* (1^{5}), *ἡ ὑγιαίνουσα διδασκαλία* (1^{10}), *πιστὸς ὁ λόγος* (1^{15} etc.), *τὴν καλὴν στρατείαν*, *τὴν πίστιν* (1^{19}), *ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν θεός* (2^{3}), *τὸ μαρτύριον καιροῖς ἰδίοις* (2^{6}), *ἡ τεκνογονία* (?) (2^{15}), *τὸ μυστήριον τῆς πίστεως* (3^{9}), *τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον* (3^{16}), *ἡ καλὴ διδασκαλία* (4^{6}), *ἡ διδασκαλία* (6^{1}), *ἡ εὐεργεσία* (?) (6^{2}), *ἡ ἐντολή* (6^{14}), *ἡ παραθήκη* (6^{20}); there is an articulated fixity about them which seems to mark a late date, and to be unlike the freshness of the earlier style. This, again, is true; but the date on any hypothesis is later, the diction is that of 'the old man' *less* 'eloquent,' and he is writing to an intimate companion, so that his language may naturally have somewhat of an esoteric stamp.

(3) The tone of the religious life implied shows a similar development. It is in all essentials Pauline; for it consists of life eternal, won by Christ's death, which has brought salvation to all mankind; and this life must show itself by a high Christian morality, and be ready to face the appearance of Jesus Christ. But there is more stress on the value of law; on the need of good works, or attractive works, *καλὰ ἔργα* (4 times in 1 Tim., 3 in Tit., elsewhere not in St. Paul); religion is described as *εὐσέβεια* (8 times in 1 Tim., once in 2 Tim. and Tit., not elsewhere) or *θεοσέβεια* (1 Ti 2^{10} only); the favourite qualities are those of a sober, orderly loyalty. Yet each point could be illustrated from St. Paul (1 Co 6^2, Ro 3^{31} 7^{12}, Gal 1^8 $5^{6.22.23}$, Eph 2^{10}), and there is a uniform tendency in the earlier Epistles to pass onward from the strain of the first conversion to the quiet ordered after-life, and to bring every sphere of human relationship under the control of Christian discipline (cf. W. Lock, *St. Paul, the Master Builder*, ch. 4).

(4) So, too, with regard to Church organization. There are more details of it, and more stress upon it; yet the details can be paralleled elsewhere: cf. Ac 14^{23} 21^{17}, Ja 5^{14} (*πρεσβύτεροι*), Ac 20^{28}, Ph 1^1 (*ἐπίσκοποι*), Ph 1^1 (*διάκονοι*), Ro 16^1 (deaconess), Ac 6^1 9^{39}, 1 Co 7 (*χῆραι*). St. Paul organized some ministry from the first (1 Th 5^{12}, 1 Co 12^{28}); his influence from the first had been used to check the irregular utterances of the spirit and to lay greater stress on the ordered ministry (1 Co 12–14); and the further stress upon it is natural with the lapse of time bringing new developments of false teaching and the prospect of his own death.

The prominence of prophecy, the uncertainty about the exact status of Timothy, about the presence of a monarchical episcopate, about the distinction between *ἐπίσκοπος* and *πρεσβύτερος*, the need of regulation of public speaking by women, all favour a date considerably earlier than the Ignatian letters.

Certainly the letter gives the impression of a Church well established; the functions of the various ministers are implied as already fixed, the *ἐπισκοπή* is an object of desire (3^1), Timothy can choose between novices and older members of the Church (3^6), the Church widow must be of 60 years of age (5^9), there has been sad experience of the falling away of Christian widows ($5^{12.15}$); but none of these points carry us beyond the possible conditions of a flourishing community in a large city which may have been established at least ten years, at a time of quick development such as is stamped on every page of the NT.

The advice of 5^{14} is inconsistent with that of 1 Co 7^{40}, but there the advice is confessedly a counsel of perfection (cf. v.^{39}), and given in face of a special necessity.

A comparison with other documents connected with Ephesus, *e.g.* Ac 20^{18-35}, esp. ^{30}, the Prologue of St. John (with the stress on God's creation of all things (cf. 4^4), of the manifestation of Christ in flesh (cf. 3^{16}), of the contrast between the Law and grace and truth and glory (cf. 1^{8-11})), and with the Ep. to Eph. (with its stress on the Ascended Lord as the source of spiritual strength, on the importance of the ministry, of the Church, of family life, its witness to the growth of Christian psalms and hymns), shows that the writer knows the conditions of Ephesus in the 1st century.

(5) The teaching of the false teachers has been shown to be compatible with the Pauline authorship, and it may be added that the very vagueness of it suits an earlier rather than a later date, while the absence of any certain or probable allusion to Docetism, which was the prevalent danger in Ephesus and its neighbourhood at the time of 1 John and of the Ignatian letters, is in favour of placing this Epistle before those.

(6) Some critics feel an artificiality in the situation implied. Paul is about to return shortly, yet troubles to write on points like those of 2^1–3^{13}, which could afford to wait; yet the circumstances of the writing of 1 Cor. and 1 Thess. (1 Co 4^{19}, 1 Th 3^{11}) are exactly analogous. Again, Timothy is placed in a position of very great importance, yet is distrusted as young, liable to be weak, and to be misled; but this corresponds to the little we know of Timothy's character elsewhere, and it is probable that he had failed to deal with a crisis at Corinth (cf. TIMOTHY): and both these are objections to *any* unity of authorship; indeed, if anything, it is more probable that St. Paul should have spoken thus in a private letter to Timothy, than that a later writer, who was *ex hypothesi* using Timothy as a type of an important official, treated as being the recipient of important instructions, should have thus weakened his character.

The conclusion is difficult. The Epistle marks at all points an advance on the earlier Epp. of St. Paul. In style, in organization, in stereotyped fixity of teaching, in the character of the teachers opposed, there are marked differences. On the other hand, in all these points it also offers marked differences from any writings of the 2nd cent. It falls within a period in which we have little to guide us. 'The secularization of Christianity is in full swing' (Jülicher), but there were the beginnings of this in 1 Cor. and Ephesians. 'The writer is a type of a time when the ethical voice of a noble Hellenism and the Roman instinct for organization are uniting themselves with the Christianity which had sprung as religion out of Judaism, in order to build up the old-catholic Church' (von Soden); but such incorporation of Greek and Roman thought had taken place in Paul's time, and was mainly due to his genius. It is Pauline in claim; admittedly Pauline in central doctrine; 'their author was an adherent of the apostle's who reproduced his master's ideas' (Moffatt, *l.c.* p. 561). He has an intimate acquaintance with the Pauline letters: the letter was accepted as Pauline by those who most represented Paul's teaching. Whether we can take the further step and assert that it is Paul's own work, depends upon the question whether the stress on organization, authority, teaching, loyalty, can fall within his lifetime; and whether he was one who could forget the controversies of the past and devote himself in the face of a new danger to lay stress on the foundation already laid, and to try to secure a high moral and spiritual tone within the Churches under his control by enforcing more strictness in worship and in the qualifications for the ministry. The points of comparison with the earlier Epistles can scarcely be urged in favour of the authorship; indeed in one or two places, 1^{11} 2^7 (csp. the parenthesis, *ἀλήθειαν λέγω, οὐ ψεύδομαι*), the language seems scarcely explained by the circumstances of the time, but to be due to a mere extract from earlier letters, and if so, would be an argument *against* genuineness; but these phrases may be reminiscences in St. Paul's own mind of a past controversy (cf. Eph 2^9) rather than extracts from his letters; while the differences, *e.g.* in the salutation (1^1), in the deeper description of his own sinfulness (1^{12-15}), side by side with the stronger assurance of the truth of his message, the boldness of the criticism on Timothy, the personal reference to his illnesses and his water-drinking, the affectionateness of the last appeal (6^{20}),—all these are subtle points, which are more natural at first than at second hand, and which seem to bring us face to face with Paul himself.

vi. INTEGRITY. — There is no MS ground for doubting the integrity of the Epistle ; nor is there any intrinsic inconsistency or lack of arrangement—given the ordinary discursiveness of a letter—which would suggest interpolation. For the awkward anacoluthon 1^{3}, cf. Eph 3^{1} ; 3^{11} comes in awkwardly between ^{10} and ^{12}, and may need transposition, but 3^{12} may be an after-thought (cf. 1 Co 1^{16}) ; for 6^{17-19} cf. Ro 16^{17-20}.

But the doubt has arisen in connexion with the authorship. On the theory of the Pauline authorship, it has been suggested that the sections which imply a late date may be later additions to a genuine letter. Thus 3^{1-13} is of a quite general character : it has no personal expression : it could be dropped without destroying the sequence of thought. $2^{1-7.\,8-15}$ $5^{1-16.\,17-22}$ are almost as general ; and the personal expressions *παρακαλῶ* 2^{1}, *βούλομαι* 2^{8} 5^{14}, *ἐπιτρέπω* 2^{12}, *διαμαρτύρομαι* 5^{21}, might be those of Timothy himself or of some later authority, laying down detailed instructions in accordance with the general principles enunciated by St. Paul. This would meet the difficulty of the large number of non-Pauline words in these sections ; but that may be met by the fact that Paul is treating of new subjects, and is perhaps borrowing from half-stereotyped lists of virtues required of candidates for office, perhaps based on Jewish requirements, perhaps on Gentile analogies (for the correspondence between the requirements of 3^{1-8} and the characteristics of the Stoic wise man, cf. *Camb. Gr. Test.* p. 57) : besides, it makes it necessary to treat 2^{7} as a deliberate insertion, with a view to claim Pauline authorship for the section [cf. Harnack (*Chron.* pp. 482–484), who treats 3^{1-13} $5^{17.\,20}$ as fragments later than 138 A.D.]. Again, on the theory of the non-Pauline authorship, it is necessary to explain the personal allusions. Some of these ($1^{4.\,12-16}$ 2^{7}) may be borrowed from or based upon previous letters, but 5^{23} cannot be ; it cannot have been invented by a forger ; it must be genuine, and the very awkwardness of its insertion at this point is against the theory of a second-hand compiler, who might more naturally have inserted it in 4^{6-16}. The command and the insertion of the command here depend upon some intimate acquaintance between the writer and Timothy, and intimate knowledge of the conditions at Ephesus.

The most elaborate attempt to resolve the letter into its constituent factors is that of Knoke (*Commentar zu den Pastoralbriefe*, 1889), who assumes a combination of three letters—two of them from Paul to Timothy, the third the final redaction in the 2nd cent., in the interests of Church organization. An attempt to read these letters consecutively as arranged by him,

(*a*) $1^{3.\,4.\,18}$–2^{10} 3^{14}–4^{12} $5^{1-3.\,5.\,6.\,11-15.\,19-24}$,
(*b*) 1^{12-17} 3^{14}–$4^{11.\,13-16}$ 2^{12-15} 5^{7-9} 6^{17-19},
(*c*) $3^{1-9.\,12.\,10.\,13}$ 2^{11} $5^{9.\,10.\,16.\,4.\,17}$ $6^{1.\,2}$,

will show the arbitrariness of the division, and the possibility on such a test of subdividing the three still further. For exact details of suggested theories cf. Moffatt, *l.c.* p. 702 ; Clemen, *Die Einheitlichkeit der paul. Briefe*, pp. 143–175 ; McGiffert, pp. 405–412 ; Harnack, *Chron.* i. pp. 480–484.

vii. VALUE.—The intrinsic value is partly independent of its authorship, for the Pastoral Epistles, even if not written as proofs of love and affection by Paul to Timothy and Titus, 'in honore tamen ecclesiæ catholicæ in ordinatione ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ sanctificatæ sunt' (Murator. Canon). But its witness is not so much to details of ecclesiastical order (for these are ambiguous), as to principles.

(*a*) It witnesses, more fully than even Titus and 2 Tim., to the principle of the delegation of apostolic authority. The highest duty of ordaining, and exercising discipline over all the officers, is not inherent in a Church already possessing presbyters and deacons, but is delegated from above to a representative of the apostle. On the Pauline authorship the fact that this was Paul's view, on the non-Pauline authorship the belief in the fact is testified. St. Paul acts as St. John acted in the presence of the growing needs of the Church (Clem. Alex. *Quis Dives*, c. 42).

(*b*) It witnesses that a highly ethical and spiritual conception of religion is consistent with and is safeguarded by careful regulations about worship, ritual and organized ministry. There is no opposition between the outward and the inward, between the spirit and the organized body.

(*c*) It breathes a healthy manly impatience of intellectual quibbles and sophistries, which are divorced from a moral life. It is akin to St. Paul's protest against *σοφία* and *γνῶσις* in 1 Co 1 and 7, but it carries it into a different region.

(*d*) In details it has had a direct influence upon the position and dress of Christian women in worship—though here it does not add anything to 1 Cor.—upon the subjects of prayer in all Christian liturgies, making them universal and loyal, and so contributing to a missionary feeling and to a conciliatory attitude of the Church to its rulers. It is again the first handbook of Church discipline, and its direct influence may be seen in the *Apostolic Constitutions* and subsequent legislation, mainly in requiring high moral qualifications in all Christian officials, and in insisting on a high standard of justice and impartiality in dealing with them. Even more is it the germ of treatises on the qualifications of the ministerial office, such as St. Chrysostom's *περὶ ἱερωσύνης* ; St. Ambrose, *de Officiis Ministrorum* ; St. Gregory, *de Pastorali Cura.*

LITERATURE.—A very full account of previous literature will be found in Holtzmann's or in Mangold's *Einleitung*. It will be sufficient here to mention as the best modern statements of the problems connected with the Epistle : (1) against the Pauline authorship, Holtzmann, *Die Pastoralbriefe* (1886) ; von Soden in the *Hand-Commentar* ; Harnack, *Chronologie*, i. pp. 480–485 (1897) ; Jülicher, *Einleitung* 4, pp. 136–156 (1901) ; McGiffert, *History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age*, pp. 398 ff. (Edin. 1897) ; Moffatt, *Historical NT*, pp. 556–563 (Edin. 1901).

(2) For the Pauline authorship, Weiss in Meyer's *Commentar zum NT* ; Riggenbach in the *Kurzgef. Comm.* (semi-Pauline) ; Zahn, *Einleitung*, i. pp. 398–489 (1897) ; Salmon, *Introd. to NT*, c. xx. ; Findlay's Appendix attached to the translation of Sabatier's *The Apostle Paul* (1891) ; Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, chs. xi. xii., and Hort's *Judaistic Christianity* and *The Christian Ecclesia*.

For exegesis : Theodore of Mopsuestia with Swete's notes (Cambridge, 1882) is indispensable as representing the Patristic views. Theodoret and Ambrosiaster are terse and sensible, and St. Chrysostom's homilies are illuminating and edifying. Of modern commentators von Soden for keen penetration, Weiss and Riggenbach for well-balanced judgment, are pre-eminent, and H. P. Liddon for careful analysis and Patristic illustrations (1897). Ellicott, Alford, Wace (in the *Speaker's Commentary*) are careful and learned ; Plummer in the *Expositor's Bible* interesting and suggestive ; J. H. Bernard in *Camb. Gr. Test.* (1899) and A. E. Humphreys in *Camb. Bible for Schools* (1897) are excellent school manuals ; R. F. Horton in the *Century Bible* (1901) is interesting, but sometimes inconsistent. Useful notes on special verses will be found in Westcott-Hort, ii. App. p. 133, and Field's *Otium Norvicense*, iii.2 pp. 203–214.

W. LOCK.

TIMOTHY, SECOND EPISTLE TO.—

i. Historical Situation of the writer.
ii. Analysis.
iii. Literary Dependence.
iv. Situation at Ephesus.
    (*a*) False Teaching.
    (*b*) Church Organization.
v. Authorship.
vi. Integrity.
vii. Value.

i. HISTORICAL SITUATION.—St. Paul is in prison at Rome, bound with a chain, and had been a prisoner for some length of time ($1^{8.\,16.\,17}$ 2^{9}). He had incurred imprisonment in the cause of Christ (1^{8}) as an apostle and teacher of the gospel (1^{12} 2^{10}) : perhaps some definite charge of misdemeanour had been made against him (*ὡς κακοῦργος*, 2^{9}; cf. *κακοποιός*, 1 P 2^{12} 4^{15}, but this may be no more than a simile). But the place and circumstances of his arrest are not clear. He had been travelling through Asia Minor and Greece with a band of fellow-travellers (cf. Tit 3^{15} *οἱ μετ' ἐμοῦ πάντες*), including Demas, Crescens, Titus, Tychicus, Erastus, and Trophimus; apparently he had been opposed at Troas by Alexander, and obliged to leave hastily ($4^{13.14}$): in Asia he was deserted by those to whom he looked for support (1^{15}): at Miletus he left Trophimus ill: at Corinth Erastus stayed behind: the rest probably moved forward to Nicopolis (Tit 3^{12}): and there, or perhaps at Rome itself, he may have been arrested: Demas deserted him: Crescens was despatched to Galatia (?Gaul): Titus to Dalmatia: Tychicus to Ephesus: and when he writes Luke is with him single-handed. An Asiatic Christian, Onesiphorus, had found him out, though with difficulty, had cheered his loneliness, and perhaps was enabled to better his condition (1^{16}); the Roman Christians are in touch with him, and he is able to send a word of greeting from all of them (4^{21}). Perhaps his trial had already begun and been adjourned ($4^{16.17}$, but cf. Zahn, *Einl.* i. p. 402, and Spitta, *Zur Gesch. des Urchristentums*, i. pp. 35–50, who make out a good case for referring this to his trial in the previous imprisonment): at any rate he regards his death as certain and as not far off ($4^{8.9}$). So in his loneliness he wants help, and his mind turns to his 'beloved son' Timothy, and to Mark, to whom he had been reconciled. Timothy was at the time somewhere in Asia Minor,—probably at Ephesus, as he is in a position of authority, where he has to teach and hand on his teaching, cf. 1^{18} $2^{2.14}$ 3^{1} $4^{2.19}$,—and Paul writes to beg him to come, and to come quickly before the winter, to pick up Mark by the way, and to stop at Troas for the cloak and books and parchments left there. But Timothy was of a timid nature, and the journey was one which would imply peril, and possibly he may arrive too late to see St. Paul, or may have to face death himself; so he exhorts him to have courage and to provide others who will be able to teach the truth, and warns him against the special dangers which are likely to beset his teaching. The interest of the Epistle oscillates between St. Paul's desire for sympathy and his wish to strengthen Timothy's hands and to guard the deposit of the truth.

ii. ANALYSIS.

$1^{1.2}$. Greeting.
$^{3\text{-}5}$. Thanksgiving for Timothy's past affection and faith, and desire to see him again.
A. 1^{6}–2^{13}. Exhortations based mainly on St. Paul's position.
B. 2^{14}–4^{8}. Exhortations based mainly on the position of Timothy.

A. Exhortation (1) to stir up his ministerial gift (^{6}):
remembering the nature of the Spirit given by the laying on of the apostle's hands (^{7}).
(2) to be bold to face suffering (^{8}):
remembering (*a*) the power and grace of God, which has conquered death and brought life and immortality to light ($^{9.10}$).
(*b*) the example of Paul himself, who has faced suffering with perfect trust in God ($^{11.12}$).
(3) to hold fast the truth entrusted to him (^{13}), in the strength of the indwelling Spirit (^{14}).
These exhortations are enforced by an appeal to the example of others:
(*a*) as a warning—the disloyalty of the Asiatic Christians (^{15}).
(*b*) as an encouragement—the boldness and affection and kindly help of Onesiphorus ($^{16\text{-}18}$).
(4) to be strong in the power of grace (2^{1}).
(5) to commit the true teaching to others and secure its tradition (2^{2}).
(6) to be ready to face suffering,—like a noble soldier (^{3}), which implies whole-hearted service (^{4}); like an athlete, who must keep the rules of the game (^{5}); like a husbandman, who is only rewarded if he toil well ($^{6.7}$):
remembering (*a*) the gospel of the Risen Christ, which has enabled Paul himself to face suffering for the elect's sake ($^{8\text{-}10}$).
(*b*) the faithful saying—with its encouragement to all who suffer with Christ, and its warning to all who deny Him ($^{11\text{-}13}$).

B. Exhortations, mainly dealing with the nature of the teaching to be given by Timothy—
(1) to urge Christians to avoid idle and useless discussions (^{14}).
(2) to be himself a true worker, rightly teaching the truth and avoiding profane babblings ($^{15.16}$):
remembering that (*a*) such discussions lead to impiety and spread quickly to the ruin of faith ($^{17.18}$).
(*b*) whereas God's foundation rests upon His knowledge of His own, and their abstention from iniquity (^{19}).
(*c*) in every house there are good and bad vessels, and a man must cleanse himself from evil to be a good vessel ($^{20.21}$).
(3) to avoid youthful passions, and to aim at the true spiritual qualities (^{22}).
(4) to avoid foolish investigations (^{23}):
for they cause strife, and hinder the true character and patient hopeful work of the servant of the Lord ($^{24\text{-}26}$).
(5) to avoid false teachers: for,
(*a*) there lies in the future a great growth of empty profession of Christianity combined with selfishness and a low standard of morality ($3^{1\text{-}5}$).
(*b*) this will be ministered to by false and vain teachers, deluding their votaries and opposing the truth, like Jannes and Jambres, who will, however, be soon exposed ($^{6\text{-}9}$).
(6) to abide loyally by his past teaching:
remembering (*a*) their past common experience of suffering, and of God's protection from it ($^{10.11}$).
(*b*) that suffering is a universal law for Christians (^{12}).
(*c*) that deceivers will grow worse (^{13}).
(*d*) the teachers from whom he has learnt even from childhood the real spiritual value and purpose of all Scripture ($^{14\text{-}17}$).
(7) to fulfil his whole duty, as an evangelist, with patience, sobriety, and courage ($4^{1\text{-}5}$):
remembering (*a*) that people will grow impatient of sound teaching ($^{3.4}$).
(*b*) that Paul himself is passing: his work is done: he can only look forward to the crown of righteousness ($^{6.7}$).
(c) that that crown will be given to all who love the Lord's appearing (^{8}).

$4^{9\text{-}21}$. Personal messages.
Appeal to Timothy to come quickly, because of Paul's loneliness ($^{9.10}$): to bring Mark also (^{11}), and to stop at Troas for his cloak and books (^{12}): to avoid Alexander ($^{14.15}$).
Reminder of the way in which the Lord had protected him in the past in spite of men's desertion, and trust in Him for the future ($^{16\text{-}18}$).
Special greetings to and from individuals ($^{19\text{-}21}$), with further account of his fellow-travellers (^{20}), and a renewed appeal to come soon.
^{22}. Final Salutation to Timothy and to those with him.

With the exception of the last word the Epistle is a personal letter throughout, and was probably never intended to be read aloud to the Church under Timothy's care. The note in 2^{7} emphasizes this esoteric character.

iii. LITERARY DEPENDENCE.—The Epistle is so personal and so little argumentative that there is little direct quotation in it, even from the OT, the importance of which is so strongly insisted upon ($3^{15\text{-}17}$). The allusions to it are subconscious and secondary. This may be partly accounted for by the fact that the writer was without his books and parchments (4^{13}); yet his mind is thoroughly steeped in it. Nu 16^{5}, Is 26^{13} lie behind 2^{19}, but mediated through Christ's saying in Mt $7^{23.24}$, Lk $13^{25\text{-}27}$: Wis 15^{7} lies behind 2^{20}, perhaps mediated through Ro 9^{21}: Ps 62^{12} is adapted in 4^{14}: Ps $22^{22\text{-}29}$ colours the whole language and thought of $4^{17.18}$; and perhaps Is $42^{1\text{-}3}$ affects the description of the servant of the Lord in $2^{24\text{-}26}$.

Jewish tradition—whether written or unwritten is uncertain (cf. Thackeray, *Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought*, pp. 215–222)—is quoted in $3^{8.9}$.

One 'faithful saying' is quoted in 2^{11-13}, possibly a fragment of a Christian hymn based on Ro 6^{8} 8^{17}, Mt 10^{33}, Lk 12^{9} (cf. *CGT*, *ad loc.*): the 'seals' in 2^{19}, while based on the OT, were probably already stereotyped as Christian watchwords: 2^{8} reads like a reminiscence of some early form of creed (cf. Burn, *Introduction to the Creeds*, pp. 27–30): 4^{1-5} is perhaps a quotation from some Christian prophet (cf. Jude ^{17}): 4^{8} from some ἄγραφον of the Lord (cf. Resch, *Agrapha*, p. 253): 4^{18} recalls the end of the Lord's Prayer.

There are many parallelisms with the earlier Pauline Epistles.

$1^{3ff.}$	cf. Ro $1^{8ff.}$.	2^{11-13}	cf. Ro 6^{8} 8^{7}.
1^{7}	,, Ro 8^{15}.	2^{16}	,, Tit 3^{9}.
1^{8}	,, Ro 1^{16}, Eph 4^{1}.	2^{22}	,, 1 Ti 6^{11}.
1^{9}	,, Ro 16^{25}, Eph 1^{4} 2^{8}.	3^{5}	,, Tit 1^{18}.
1^{11}	,, 1 Ti 2^{7}.	3^{7}	,, Tit 1^{18} 3^{1}.
1^{14}	,, Ro 8^{11}.	4^{6}	,, Ph 1^{23} 2^{17}.
2^{4-6}	,, 1 Co $9^{7ff.}$		

Of all these passages Ph 1^{23} 2^{17}, 1 Ti 2^{7} 6^{11} alone suggest a conscious literary imitation; and they are equally consistent, if not more consistent, with the hypothesis that they are the entirely independent utterances of the same writer. The correspondences with the Acts are mainly with the speeches of St. Paul there (1^{3}, cf. Ac 23^{1} 24^{14}; 4^{7}, cf. Ac 20^{24}), but they are not close enough to be extracts; and if they need any explanation, it is very possible that St. Luke was preparing the Acts at this time.

iv. SITUATION IMPLIED AT EPHESUS (?). — (*a*) *False Teachers.*—The warning against false teachers is less prominent than in 1 Tim. or Titus: they are in the background, and their features are seen with less distinctness; yet, so far as they can be descried, they may be identified as the same as there. Their chief characteristic is to 'strive about words' (2^{14}), to indulge in 'profane babblings' (2^{16}), in 'foolish and ignorant questionings' (2^{23}), in 'fables' (4^{4}): they are 'corrupted in mind' (3^{8}), unspiritual (2^{16}), tending to a low standard of morality (2^{19}): attracting silly women by professions of knowledge, yet unable to satisfy their desire for it ($3^{6.\,7}$). These tendencies will increase hereafter (3^{1} ἐν ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις, perhaps an application of some previous prophecy; perhaps little more than 'hereafter,' cf. Pr 31^{25}), but within Timothy's own lifetime (3^{5} ἀποτρέπου, 4^{3-5}). In all these points they resemble the teachers of 1 Tim. and Titus. There are, however, two distinctive traits. (1) They are γόητες (3^{13}), *i.e.* either, loosely, 'seducers' (AV), 'impostors' (RV): or, more exactly, 'magicians,' 'jugglers,' carrying on, even in their professed Christianity, the old Jewish sorcery or the magical formulæ of the 'Ephesian letters,' akin to Simon Magus, Elymas, the sons of Sceva, or those who practised 'curious arts' at Ephesus. The analogy of Jannes and Jambres (3^{8}) makes it probable that the more exact sense is right.

(2) Two of them, Hymenæus and Philetus, taught definitely that 'the resurrection is already past.' Such an assertion must have sprung from a low view of matter, shrinking from belief in a literal resurrection of the body, and *either* (*a*) asserting that the only resurrection is the resurrection of the spirit to newness of life in baptism—a view which springs from the same source as the difficulties about the resurrection in 1 Co 15, and may have been based on a misrepresentation of St. Paul's own teaching (Ro 6^{4}), and which was a common tenet in Gnostic teaching (cf. Iren. i. 23, ii. 31; Tert. *de Resurr.* 19, *de Præscript.* 3; Justin, *Dial.* 80; Polyc. c. 7; 2 Clem. Rom. 9), but would also find sympathy in Jewish thought; *or* (*b*) asserting that a man only rose and lived again in his posterity, an explanation which is found in *Acta Theclæ* 14, ἡμεῖς σε διδάξομεν ἣν λέγει οὗτος ἀνάστασιν γίγνεσθαι ὅτι ἤδη γέγονεν, ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἔχομεν τέκνοις—a view which would be akin to earlier Jewish thought, but is a less natural perversion of any Christian theory (see Zahn, *Einl.* i. p. 486).

There is, then, nothing to dissociate the teachers of this Epistle from those of 1 Tim. and Tit.; and the importance laid on the true spiritual purposes of the OT, as well as the *ad hominem* appeal to the Jewish Haggada ($3^{8.\,9}$), make it probable that they were perverting the spiritual value of the OT by the introduction of worthless Rabbinic legends and speculations.

(*b*) *Church Organization.*—On this there is little stress and few details of it. Timothy represents St. Paul; he is to uphold the deposit, the teaching received from Paul, Paul's gospel ($1^{12.\,13}$ $2^{2.\,8}$ $3^{10.\,14}$); he is to guide the teaching of others ($2^{14ff.}$), to exercise discipline (4^{2}). He has received a spiritual qualification for his task conferred by the imposition of St. Paul's hands (1^{6}, but see 1 TIMOTHY): his task is described as a διακονία, he himself as an εὐαγγελιστής: he is being summoned away for a special visit to St. Paul, but it seems to be assumed that he will return (3^{1-6} 4^{3-5}). Meanwhile he is to secure a sure succession for St. Paul's teaching by entrusting it to others, who will be able to hand it on in their turn to others (2^{2}). The suggestion of this Epistle, in contrast to that of 1 Tim., is distinctly against the idea that Timothy was a temporary delegate, and favours the theory that he held a permanent office and a permanent localisation of the office.

v. AUTHORSHIP.—The external evidence for the Pauline authorship is much the same as that for 1 Timothy, save that the allusions to its language in writers of the first quarter of the 2nd cent. are less unequivocal. It was possibly known by Ignatius, more probably by Polycarp (c. 5=2^{12}, c. 9=4^{10}), but the conscious borrowing from the Epistle is not certain in either writer. This difference may be due to the fact that it is a more private letter than 1 Timothy.

On the other hand, the intrinsic evidence of genuineness is much stronger than in 1 Tim. or in Titus. Positively, there are personal touches throughout; negatively, there is less to be urged against the genuineness. The picture of Timothy as young, timid, affectionate, is of a piece with what is known of him elsewhere: the allusions in 1^{15-18} 2^{18} $4^{10-16.\,19-21}$ bear the stamp of truth, giving a picture of desertion and cowardice in some Christians which could scarcely have been invented, and they are independent of the Acts and of all other known sources. So with regard to the writer; in character—the affection for his fellow-workers, the gratitude for kindness, the sensitiveness to desertion (cf. 2 Cor.), the prayer for those who have deserted him, the sense of the importance of his own mission, the appeal to his own teaching and his own sufferings, the self-sacrifice for the elect's sake, the assurance of the Lord's protection and of the reward which he shall receive at the last day; in method of teaching—the loyalty to Judaism (1^{3}=Ph 3^{5}), the value attached to the OT ($3^{16.\,17}$, cf. Ro 15^{4}), the use of Jewish traditions (4^{8}), the masculine contempt for trivialities of argument (2^{16}); in the substance of the doctrines taught—the stress on God's purpose and grace, on the conquest of death, on the risen Christ as the inspirer of confidence, on the need of suffering and of courage, on the moral tests of faith,—all these point clearly to St. Paul. There is no objection, on the side of Church organization or of the doctrines assailed, to be raised against his authorship. The slight distrust of Timothy's courage and conduct (1^{6} 2^{22}) may surprise us, but they would be more surprising in a forger: the repetition to him of the names of his mother and grandmother (1^{5}) are indeed unnecessary, but very natural in an old man recalling his old converts; the assertion of his apostleship (1^{11}) is natural to one who is enforcing the duty of loyal adherence to his teaching: the vague generalities about the false teaching and the absence of controversial argument in refutation of them are natural in writing to one who knew all the circumstances. The reference to the persecutions in Antioch, Iconium, and Lystra *only* (3^{11}), is explicable, as they were the first which Timothy had witnessed, and is very like that in 2 Co $11^{32.\,33}$. The only ground of suspicion lies in the style—partly in the large number of *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα* (44 in this Epistle alone: *ἀθλεῖν, ἀκαίρως, ἀκρατής, ἀναζωπυρεῖν, ἀνάλυσις, ἀνανήφειν, ἀναψύχειν, ἀνεξικάκος, ἀνεπαίσχυντος, ἀνήμερος, ἀντιδιατίθεσθαι, ἀπαίδευτος, ἀποτρέπεσθαι, ἄρτιος, ἀφιλάγαθος, βέλτιον, γάγγραινα, γόης, γυναικάριον, δειλία, ἔκδηλος, ἐλεγμός, ἐνδύνειν, ἐπανόρθωσις, ἐπισωρεύειν, θεόπνευστος, καταφθείρειν, κνήθειν, λογομαχεῖν, μάμμη, μέμβρανα, νεωτερικός, ὀρθοτομεῖν, πιστοῦσθαι, πραγματία, στρατολογεῖν, συνκακοπαθεῖν, σωφρονισμός, φελόνης, φίλαυτος, φιλήδονος, φιλόθεος, χαλκεύς, χρήσιμος,* no one of which, however, suggests a later date), and more definitely, in the many words or phrases—either Latinisms (*χάριν ἔχω, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν*) or half-stereotyped formulæ (*καθαρὰ συνείδησις, καθαρὰ καρδία, ἐπίγνωσις ἀληθείας, παραθήκη, ὑγιαίνοντες λόγοι, ἡ ὑγιαίνουσα διδασκαλία, πιστὸς ὁ λόγος, βεβήλοι κενοφωνίαι, ἡ τοῦ διαβόλου παγίς, ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος, ὁ νῦν αἰών*)—which suggest a different writer at a rather later stage of Christianity. With regard to these the suggestions urged on 1 Tim. will hold good, and it will perhaps be felt that, if they stood alone, they would not be so striking as when placed side by side with 1 Tim. and Titus. They would be scarcely a serious objection to this Epistle, on the hypothesis that those were later imitations of this.

The difficulty of inserting the historical situation in the time covered by the Acts, or of placing the date of the Epistle in the first Roman imprisonment, seems insuperable, and, if it is genuine, it presupposes a later imprisonment (cf. 1 TIMOTHY).

vi. INTEGRITY.—The MSS supply no hint of interpolation or of 'contamination' in the Epistle, neither does any internal necessity require such an hypothesis. But there are certain facts which have not unnaturally raised doubts about the integrity. Thus (1) the Epistle varies between two main purposes, and there is a possibility of contradiction between them. The greater part is an instruction to Timothy about his teaching at Ephesus, and it seems to be assumed that he will remain there; the latter part summons him to leave and join the writer. These two purposes are obviously capable of being combined, and the appeals in chs. 1 and 2 may naturally be interpreted 'show courage by coming to join me in my prison,' 'entrust your teaching to others in your own absence or in the prospect of your own death'; but this is not said, as might have been expected in the face of 4^9.

(2) Again, sections of the Epistle are personal and distinctly Pauline throughout; while others (2^{14}–3^9) consist of vague generalities, consistent with Pauline authorship, but not demanding it.

(3) There are some apparent contradictions, *e.g.* 3^6 as contrasted with 2^{17} (but they are not necessarily spoken of the same persons, and, while 3^6 refers to external success, 2^{17} refers mainly to internal degeneracy): again, 4^{11} as contrasted with 4^{21} (but Luke may have been St. Paul's only attendant in prison, Eubulus and the others Roman Christians who had access to him from outside).

(4) The construction of the opening sentence is difficult, and has suggested that it has been carelessly reconstructed from some earlier form; but its difficulty does not go beyond that of many Pauline paragraphs. Again, $1^{15\text{-}18}$ is easily separable from the surrounding context, and its connexion with it is not at first sight obvious: yet there is a real connexion (see the analysis), and the difficulty of its position will remain on any theory of construction.

These facts have given rise to attempts of two kinds to resolve the Epistle into separate parts.

(1) It consists of two, or possibly more, letters by St. Paul himself, which have been accidentally combined. In this case 1^1–4^8 with, perhaps, $4^{19\text{-}21}$ and ^{22b} might form one letter, written from the Roman imprisonment, and $4^{9\text{-}18}$ with 4^{22a} will be a second letter, perhaps written earlier, at the time of the imprisonment in Cæsarea (Clemen), or even later in the Roman imprisonment. This theory meets many difficulties, would imply very little dislocation of MSS, and very possibly has an analogy in the end of the Epistle to the Romans.

(2) It consists of genuine fragments of Pauline letters, worked up into one whole by some later writer, say of the time of Domitian (Clemen), with the object of strengthening Christians in the face of persecution, and securing the tradition of apostolic doctrine against innovating tendencies. We might then have (*a*) $4^{9\text{-}15.\,19\text{-}21.\,22a}$ a short letter, calling Timothy to rejoin him, written at some time in the third missionary journey (McGiffert, Bartlet); (*b*) 1^1–2^{13} 3^{10}–4^8 and $4^{16\text{-}18}$ a letter of encouragement to Timothy, written at the end of the Roman imprisonment; (*c*) 2^{14}–3^9 the addition of the ultimate redactor. Further and more detailed suggestions of the possibility of reconstruction will be found in Clemen (*Die Einheitlichkeit der Paul. Briefe*, pp. 142–156); McGiffert (*The Apostolic Age*, pp. 404-414); Moffatt (*The Historical New Testament*, pp. 700–704). But there is no sufficient reason for treating any part of the Epistle as un-Pauline: the theories of interweaving of document with document are too intricate to be probable, and no one theory has commanded anything like a common assent. Jülicher (*Einleitung*^{3}, pp. 155, 156) entirely rejects the theory, because of the unity of each of the Pastoral Epistles, and regards them throughout as purely inventions attributed to the apostle.

vii. VALUE.—The importance of the Epistle is not great on doctrinal or ecclesiastical grounds: doctrinally, indeed, it adds the fullest statement of the inspiration of the OT and of its primary value to a Christian teacher that is to be found in the NT: it probably bears witness to the practice of prayer to God for mercy to the dead (1^{18}), and it shows the power of the Christian doctrine of a Risen Christ to support a Christian in the face of death: ecclesiastically, it shows the value attached to the imposition of the apostle's hands, and to a succession of ministers as a means of securing the tradition of sound teaching; but none of these points are peculiar to this Epistle. Its real value is historical and personal. Assuming the Pauline authorship, it is the chief source of evidence for Paul's life after the close of the Acts, supporting the theory of a second imprisonment, giving details of the last trial, implying further missionary work to the east, and possibly to the west (4^{10}) of Rome, testifying to his reconciliation with John Mark, and giving glimpses of some of his friends, who are not known to us from other sources. On the non-Pauline authorship, its witness to these historic facts may be trusted, and it would also be a witness to the tone of ecclesiastical thought in Pauline Churches at the end of the 1st or beginning of the 2nd cent. But its main interest is one of character, and two portraits emerge from it. (1) The portrait of the ideal Christian minister. He is, like Christ Himself, to reproduce the features of Isaiah's ideal of 'The

Servant of the Lord,' patient, gentle, hopeful, interceding (2^{24}): he is to be God's man, His loyal liegeman (3^{17}); like a soldier, unentangled with civil duties (2^{14}); like an athlete, obeying loyally the rules of the contest (2^{5}); like a husbandman, toiling hard, and, if so, earning his reward (2^{6}); like a tradesman, honestly cutting out his goods (2^{15} ?); like a fisherman, trying to catch back those who have been caught by the devil (2^{26} ?): he needs courage, gentleness in face of opposition, willingness to face suffering, hopefulness for those who have gone wrong: he is to be serviceable (εὔχρηστος, 4^{11}), thoroughly equipped for every good work (3^{17}), to keep himself free from moral evil (2^{22}), to rekindle the grace given by ordination, remembering that it was the gift of a spirit of love and power and discipline (1^{7}). In teaching, he is to avoid idle speculations and restless innovations, to be loyal to the truth, to be long-suffering and yet bold in rebuke; the remembrance of the Risen Christ is to be ever before him; and he is to take for his standard of life and teaching (*a*) the facts of the apostle's life (3^{10}), (*b*) the outline of the apostle's teaching, (*c*) the OT Scriptures, which are not only able to make him wise unto salvation, but also to guide him in his discipline of others.

(2) The portrait of the Christian minister, with his work done, facing death (cf. 1 John and 2 Peter). He acquiesces gladly in the present, but his eyes are turned mainly to the past or to the future. He recalls the way in which he from his youth, and his ancestors before him, have worshipped God (1^{3}): he dwells on God's power ($1^{7.\ 8.\ 12}$ 2^{1} 4^{17}) as having protected him in all past dangers (3^{11}), as communicated to himself (4^{17}), and yet independent of himself—God may imprison His preachers, but His word is never fettered (2^{9}): he reviews his whole course, he has no doubt of his reward; and so he looks into the future, he anticipates the false teaching that will arise (3^{1}), he warns against it, he provides for a succession of teachers to whom the truth can be entrusted (2^{2}): he strengthens his favourite son for his task: he is sure that God will protect him from every evil work that may meet him in this life, and he looks beyond the grave: he sees God's sure foundation firmly standing (2^{19}): he sees God protecting the teaching which he has handed back to His care (1^{12}): he sees God rewarding evil-doers according to their work (4^{14}): he sees the heavenly kingdom, eternal glory, life and immortality; he sees the coming in brightness (ἐπίφανεια) of the Righteous Judge, and the crown of righteousness given to him and to all who have loved that coming (4^{8}).

The Epistle is the letter of a good shepherd who is laying down his life for his sheep to one whom he is training to be also a good shepherd and to lay down his life for his sheep, and is inspired by the remembrance of 'the Good Shepherd' who had laid down His life and risen from the grave.

LITERATURE.—For the literature cf. 1 Timothy and Titus.

W. LOCK.

TIN (בְּדִיל *bĕdhîl*) was known as an alloy with copper at least as early as 1600 B.C. in Egypt, and probably before 2000 B.C. in Europe. It was also prepared pure in Egypt at least by 1400 B.C. The source of it is much debated. Banca, Spain, and Britain have all been proposed. That it appears as an alloy earlier in Europe than in Egypt shows that it was European; and the nearest source of it to the early bronze lands of Europe is in the tin mines of Bohemia and Saxony. Tin (Gr. κασσίτερος) in the literal sense is mentioned in Nu 31^{22} (P) along with brass, iron, and lead, and along with the same metals is used fig. of Israel in Ezk 22^{18} (cf. v.^{20}); and it appears in Ezk 27^{12} along with silver, iron, and lead, as an article of commerce brought to Tyre from Tarshish. In Is 1^{25} 'alloy' would be a better rendering than 'tin.' In Zec 4^{10} הָאֶבֶן הַבְּדִיל = *plummet*. See further under MINES, MINING. W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

TIPHSAH (תִּפְסַח = 'the ford').—The name of two places.

1. (Θαψά; *Thaphsa*) The northern limit of Solomon's dominions west of the Euphrates—the southern limit being Gaza (1 K 4^{24}). It is identified by nearly all commentators with Thapsacus on the right bank of the Euphrates, above the confluence of the *Belik*. Tiphsaḥ was the lowest ford across the Euphrates, and the point at which Cyrus the younger forded the river, the water being breast-high (Xen. *Anab.* I. iv. 11). At the same place Darius crossed before and after Issus, and Alexander crossed in pursuit, on two bridges (Arrian, iii. 7). Tiphsaḥ was the most important crossing-place in the middle course of the Euphrates, and on one of the great commercial routes between the East and the West. In the time of Xenophon it was great and prosperous, and it is mentioned later as the point at which river-borne goods from the lower Euphrates were landed and shipped. Under the Seleucids it was called *Amphipolis*. The town was at or near *Kala'at Dibse*, about eight miles below *Meskine* (Peters, *Nippur*).

2. (B Θερσά, A Θαιρά [*i.e.* תִּרְצָה Tirzah]; *Thapsa*) A town, apparently near Tirzah, which was taken by Menaḥem after he had dispossessed Shallum and seized the throne (2 K 15^{16}). Josephus (*Ant.* IX. xi. 1) writes the name Θαψά as if it were Thapsacus. Thenius suggests that the name was originally written *Tappuah* (cf. Luc. Ταφωέ). The site is unknown. C. W. WILSON.

TIRAS (תִּירָס; Θειράς, Luc. Θιράς).—A son of Japheth, Gn 10^{2} [P], 1 Ch 1^{5}. Ethnologically, the name should probably be identified with the *Turusha*, a seafaring people mentioned in the Egyptian inscriptions of the 13th cent., the Τυρσηνοί of the Greeks (so Ed. Meyer [*Gesch. d. Alterthums*, i. 260], followed by Dillm., Holzinger, Gunkel, *et al.*). Jensen (*Theol. Ltztg.* 1899, 3, col. 70) makes it = Tarsus; W. Max Müller (*Orient. Ltztg.* Aug. 1900, col. 290) takes it as a doublet of Tarshish of v.^{4}, which he identifies with Turs, *i.e.* the land of the Tyrrhenians or Italy. There are the strongest objections to the view of Josephus (*Ant.* I. vi. 1), Jerome (on Gn 10^{2}), and the Targg., that *Tîraṣ* = the Thracians. J. A. SELBIE.

TIRATHITES (תִּרְעָתִים; BA Ἀργαθιείμ, Luc. Θαραθεί).—A family of scribes that dwelt at Jabez, 1 Ch 2^{55}. The passage is very obscure. See SHIMEATHITES, and cf. GENEALOGY, vol. ii. p. 128^{a}, and Wellh. *de Gentibus*, 30 ff.

TIRE.—The Eng. word 'tire,' which occurs as a subst. = headdress in Is 3^{18}, Ezk $24^{17.\ 23}$, Jth 10^{3} 16^{8}, is simply an aphetic form of 'attire'; it has nothing to do with 'tier' or 'tiara,' though its special application to the dress for the *head* is perhaps due to such a fanciful connexion. Cf. Adams, *II Peter*, 70, 'They metamorphose their heads, as if they were ashamed of the head of God's making, proud of the tire-woman's. Sometimes one tire is half the husband's rent-day'; also Spenser, *FQ* II. ix. 19—

> 'Her yellow golden heare
> Was trimly woven, and in tresses wrought,
> No other tire she on her head did weare,
> But crowned with a garland of sweete rosiere.'

The verb 'to tire' is used more generally = dress, adorn, as 1 P 3^{5} Tind., 'For after this maner in the olde tyme dyd the holy wemen which trusted in God, tyer them selves, and were obedient to their husbandes'; though its only occurrence in AV has the sense of attiring the head, 2 K 9^{30} 'And she painted her face, and tired her head, and looked out at a window.' The Heb. verb in this last passage is הֵיטִיב, lit. *to make a thing good, right, beautiful* (LXX ἀγαθύνειν); cf. its use in Ex 30^{7} (of trimming a lamp) and Hos 10^{1} (of erecting goodly *mazzēbahs*). The nouns rendered 'tire' are—**1.** פְּאֵר Ezk 24$^{17.\,23}$. This word prob. denotes a *tiara* or *turban* of an ornate character. Its other occurrences are Ex 39^{28}, Ezk 44^{18} (both of the headdress of the priests), Is 3^{20} (worn by fashionable ladies) 61$^{3.\,10}$ (in the last the bridegroom 'makes his headdress priestly,' in allusion to the splendour of, or the special way of folding, the priestly turban [unless, with Marti, *et al.*, we read יָכִין for יְכַהֵן]). **2.** שַׂהֲרֹנִים Is 3^{18}. See CRESCENTS. **3.** μίτρα, Jth 10^{3} 16^{8}.

J. HASTINGS.

TIRHAKAH (תִּרְהָקָה), king of Cush (Θαρά [so B in 2 Kings; A Θαρακά, which is read also by B in Isaiah; Luc. Θαρθάκ] βασιλεὺς Αἰθιόπων), marched out from Egypt against Sennacherib during the expedition of the latter against Judæa, in the reign of Ḥezekiah (2 K 19^{9}, Is 37^{9}), immediately before the destruction of Sennacherib's army in the night by the angel of the Lord at Libnah. Herodotus (ii. 141) relates that Sethos or Sethon, king of Egypt and priest of Hephæstus, obtained the destruction of the army of Sennacherib from his god, who at night-time sent a host of field mice into the invaders' camp at Pelusium. The mice devoured the bow-strings and harness, and left the foe helpless. 'Sethon' seems to be simply the title of the priest of 'Hephæstus,' *i.e.* Ptah of Memphis (see Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, p. 8), and this title is hardly compatible with that of king. If Sennacherib's expedition be that of B.C. 701,—the only expedition to these parts recorded in his annals (see art. SENNACHERIB),—it must have taken place before the reign of Tirhaḳah, which began in 691. This evidence combined points to the following hypothetical reconstruction of the episode: Tirhaḳah, before his elevation to the Ethiopian-Egyptian throne, was governor of Lower Egypt; and at its capital, Memphis, he was high priest of Ptah when Sennacherib threatened invasion (Griffith, *l.c.* p. 10). After some signal and unexpected disaster on the frontier of Palestine or Egypt, Sennacherib was compelled to retreat hastily.

To return to facts: Sennacherib died in B.C. 682. Tirhaḳah (Egyp. THRQ), who was the last king but one of the 25th (Ethiopian) Dynasty,—founded by Shabaka,—began to reign in 691. His monuments are found at Gebel Barkal in Nubia, as well as throughout Egypt. In Egyptian documents Tirhaḳah is entitled 'Pharaoh'; but, though probably long resident in Egypt before ascending the throne (Schaefer, *Aegyp. Ztschr.* 1900, 51), he was essentially an Ethiopian, and was for some time excluded from Egypt by the Assyrians. Outside Egypt, doubtless, he was known as 'king of Cush.' After sustaining several attacks, Taharqa (Assyr. Tarḳû) was driven out of Egypt in 670 by Esarhaddon, who plundered Memphis and Thebes, and divided the government among 20 rulers—chiefly native—tributary to Assyria. This arrangement was of short duration. Tirhaḳah seems to have returned to Egypt after Esarhaddon had withdrawn, and Esarhaddon was on his way to punish the Egyptian revolt when he died in Nov. 669 (Johns in *Enc. Bibl. s.v.* 'Esarhaddon'). The first expedition of his successor, Assurbanipal, was against Egypt. It was on a great scale, and overwhelmed both Lower and Upper Egypt. Tirhaḳah fled from Memphis to Thebes, and from Thebes to Ethiopia, whence he at once commenced intriguing with the princes of the Delta. The plot was frustrated, and soon afterwards Tirhaḳah died. He was succeeded by Tanut-Amon (Assyr. Tandamane), who recovered Egypt, but was driven out by Assurbanipal in the last Assyrian expedition ever made against that country.

F. LL. GRIFFITH.

TIRHANAH (תִּרְחֲנָה; B Θαράμ, A Θαρχνά, Luc. Θαρααναά).—A son of Caleb by his concubine, Maacah, 1 Ch 2^{48}.

TIRIA (תִּירְיָא, but Baer תִּירְיָא; B om., A Θηριά, Luc. Ἐθριά).—A son of Jehallelel, 1 Ch 4^{16}.

TIRSHATHA (הַתִּרְשָׁתָא).—The word occurs in five places; the LXX omits it altogether in Neh 8^{9} 10^{1}; reads on the doubtful authority of a late corrector Ἀθαρσαθά in Neh 7^{70}; and in Ezr 2^{63}, Neh 7^{65} fluctuates between A Ἀθερσαθά, B Ἀθερσαά, and Ἀσερσαθά. The term occurs also under the disguised form of Attharias in 1 Es 5^{40} and of Attharates in 1 Es 9^{49} (cf. vol. i. p. 203). That the word is the name of an office, is indicated by the constant presence of the article; but Ewald's (*HI*, Eng. tr. v. 87) conjecture of the high-shrievalty is not happy. The word is genuine Persian, a modified form of a hypothetical Old Pers. *tarsāta* (cf. J. Scheftelowitz, *Arisches im AT*, p. 93), of which 'his reverence' in its literal sense and not in its ecclesiastical usage may be taken as a close modern equivalent. In Neh 12^{26} and elsewhere, for the Persian term is substituted the Semitic פֶּחָה (see GOVERNOR), which is the title of the prefect or viceroy, with both civil and military functions, of a province or smaller district under either Assyrian or Persian rule. The appointment was made directly by the king; and when for any reason such an official was sent on special service, his relation to the chief of the province was not always clearly defined, and friction and jealousy followed (Ezr 5^{3} to 6^{14}). The title is derived from the Assyrian *paḥû*, through the Babylonian *paḥat* (see Delitzsch, *Heb. Lang. in Light of Assyr. Research*, pp. 12, 13; Schrader, *COT* i. 175, 176), and is neither post-exilic nor Persian in its origin. Its use dates from the time of Jeremiah, and continued into the Talmudic period, when the term was used as equivalent to ἀρχιερεῖς (*Bikkurim*, iii. 3). On the whole the Tirshatha appears to have been a royal commissioner or plenipotentiary, invested with the full powers of a satrap or viceroy, and employed on a special mission with the accomplishment of which his appointment ceased.

R. W. MOSS.

TIRZAH (תִּרְצָה, Θερσά).—**1.** Mentioned Jos 12^{24} as one of the 31 places whose kings Joshua smote. Tirzah afterwards became the capital of Jeroboam I., presumably of his son Nadab, and certainly of the three adventurers, Baasha, Elah, and Zimri (1 K 14^{17} 15$^{21.\,33}$ 16$^{6.\,8.\,9.\,15}$). In 1 K 14^{17} the reading of the LXX (A) is Σαριρά, *i.e. Zereda*, Jeroboam's birthplace. Baasha was buried at Tirzah (1 K 16^{9}), probably Elah also, as it was there he was slain while drinking in the house of one of his officers (v.$^{9f.}$). The Omrides transferred the seat of government to Samaria (vv.$^{24.\,29}$), but Tirzah retained its importance probably as a fortress, as it was there [if MT be correct, but cf. LXX and Buhl, p. 247] that Menaḥem gathered a force to attack Shallum (2 K 15^{14}). After this Tirzah drops out of history.

In Ca 6^{4} the Shulammite is declared to be beautiful as Tirzah, comely as Jerusalem. The Heb. custom of personifying cities as women robs this comparison of the strangeness it would else have for us. It may be the glory and prestige of the capital that led to the simile, quite as much as the circumstance that Tirzah had a reputation for beauty, or that it occupied a site renowned for its loveliness.*

---

* Neither LXX nor Vulgate take Tirzah here as a proper name. A derivation from רָצָה, *to delight*, is implied in their renderings (εὐδοκία, *suavis*).

The site of Tirzah has not yet been recovered beyond doubt. *Teiasir*, a fortress on the high road from Shechem to Bethshan at its junction with the Abel-meholah road (see G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 355), seems too far north to suit 2 K 15^{14}, and generally farther north than Jeroboam would be likely to fix his home. Robinson (*BRP*^{2} iii. 302 f.) suggests the identification of Tirzah with *Tulluzah*, a town on a hill not far north of Mt. Ebal, which agrees with the position assigned to *Thersa* by Brocardus (*Descriptio*, vii.), 3 leagues east of Samaria. A. Socin in Baedeker's *Pal. and Syr.* accepts this identification; but Buhl (*GAP* 203) is inclined to identify Tirzah with the modern *eṭ-Ṭîre*, the Tirathana of Jos. (*Ant.* XVIII. iv. 1) in the neighbourhood of Gerizim.

2. One of the five daughters of Zelophehad whose case decided woman's rights in property among the Jews. The order of their names (Nu 26^{33} 27^1 36^{11}, Jos 17^3, all P) differs in 36^{11} from that of the other lists, and Heb. and LXX do not agree.

A. S. AGLEN.

TISHBITE.—See ELIJAH, vol. i. p. 687; and cf. Ed. König in *Expos. Times*, xii. (1901) 383.

TISHRI (Month).—See TIME.

TITANS.—A Greek word (Τ(ε)ιτᾶνες), mythological in its history and meaning, used in the LXX in translating the term 'valley of Rephaim' in 2 S $5^{18.\,22}$. It is also used in Judith (16^7), in the encomium upon the heroine—

> 'For their mighty one fell not by young men,
> Neither did sons of Titans smite him,
> Nor tall giants set upon him;
> But Judith,' etc.

These passages are principally interesting as showing how the Hellenistic Jews who translated the OT, and who wrote Judith, connected in thought the *rĕphā'îm* of their scriptures with the dim and mighty figures of the Greek mythological legends. See REPHAIM, GIANT. W. J. BEECHER.

TITHE (מַעֲשֵׂר, *δεκάτη*).—The payment of tithe is a practice both ancient and widespread, being found among many peoples, Semitic and non-Semitic. The choice of a tenth as the portion due to God was dictated by obvious considerations. The history of the tithe in Israel is in many respects obscure. In the strange, and probably late, document, Gn 14, we read that Abraham paid tithes of the spoil to Melchizedek; and Jacob at Bethel makes a conditional vow to pay God a tenth of all that He gives to him (Gn 28^{22} E). But these narratives cannot be taken as evidence for patriarchal times. The latter is one of several which carry back the practice of the narrator's own time to an origin in the patriarchal age, and is illustrated by Am 4^4, which shows that tithes were paid at some of the N. Isr. sanctuaries in the reign of Jeroboam II. (see Driver, *ad loc.*). It is accordingly remarkable that no reference is make to tithes in the Bk of the Covenant. This is usually explained on the theory that the tithes were originally identical with the first-fruits, and that the need of more strictly defining the amount that should be paid, led, in the later legislation, to the use of the term which had already been employed in the N. Isr. sanctuaries. W. R. Smith, on the contrary, thinks that the tithe was a fixed tribute, comparatively modern in its origin. At an earlier period the tribute took the form of first-fruits, which were a private offering. When this was no longer adequate to meet the expenses of a more elaborate cultus, the tithe was charged as a fixed burden on land. We know from 1 S 8^{15} that a tithe was paid to the king, and, if he devoted this to the support of the royal sanctuaries, the transition to a tithe paid by the farmers directly to the sanctuaries is readily accounted for. Unlike the first-fruits, the tithe was used to provide the public banquets at sacred festivals (see W. R. Smith, *RS*^{2} 245–254). The later legislation and practice were as follows:—

(*a*) *In Deuteronomy.*—In 14^{22-27} it is enacted that each year the produce of the soil should be tithed, and the tithe taken to the central sanctuary and there eaten; or, if this be inconvenient by reason of distance, it may be turned into money, which must be spent on a sacrificial banquet at the central sanctuary. To this the Levite, since he has no portion, is to be invited. It must be noticed that the tithe is not used for public feasting, but is to be consumed by the farmer and his household. This regulation may be a reform due to the fact that in earlier times the ruling classes, while not furnishing the provisions for the feast, secured the best for themselves. Further, the tithe is not used for the support of the priesthood or the temple services. The Levite has a moral claim to a share in the banquet, but it rests with the farmer himself whether this is recognized. In the following verses ($14^{28.\,29}$) and in 26^{12-15} it is enacted that every third year, called the year of tithing, all the tithe shall be laid up in the towns and distributed to the Levite, the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow. It is generally agreed that Deuteronomy does not contemplate two tithes,—one to be consumed each year, including the third, at the central sanctuary, and the other to be levied for charity every third year,—but rather a different destination for the same tithe, so that in the third year it shall be kept at home and devoted exclusively to charity. The origin of this regulation is perhaps to be found in the abolition of the old public banquets, and consequent necessity that some other provision should be made for the poor. Since there would be no tithe in the Sabbatical year, when the land lay fallow, the year of tithing would probably coincide with the third and sixth years in each cycle of seven years. The question remains whether the tithe in Deuteronomy is to be identified with the first-fruits. In favour of this view it may be urged that it is not probable that a double tribute should be exacted from the crops, and that the close connexion of the law of first-fruits with that of tithes in Dt 26^{1-15} shows that the two are really identical. The basket of first-fruits presented to the priest must be assumed in that case to be a portion of the first-fruits taken from the tithe. The command to 'rejoice in all the good which J″ thy God hath given unto thee,' implies that a feast followed the presentation of the basket of first-fruits, and this would correspond to the banquet on the tithe enjoined 14^{22-27}. The introduction of the term 'tithe' will then have been due to the necessity of fixing with precision the amount of the first-fruits. On the other hand, 18^4 ordains that the first-fruits shall be given to the priest, but this was certainly not the case with the tithe. And the feast referred to in 26^{11} may not have been a feast on the first-fruits. It is difficult to decide between the two views, but it seems safer on account of 18^4 (which would otherwise have to be regarded as probably later) to distinguish between the tithe and the first-fruits. The objection based on the improbability that a double tribute would be exacted, falls to the ground if the first-fruits consisted merely of the basket of fruit, etc., presented at the central sanctuary.

(*b*) *In the Priestly Code* (P).—In the legislation of Ezekiel, which forms the transition to P, there is no law as to tithes. P exhibits a great advance on the earlier regulations. According to Nu 18^{21} 'all the tithe in Israel' is given to the tribe of Levi 'for an inheritance.' The Levites are in their turn to give a tenth of this ('a tithe of the tithe') to the priests ('a heave-offering to Aaron the priest,' Nu 18$^{26-28}$). The origin of this is probably to be sought in an extension of the charity tithe enjoined in Deuteronomy, which is now devoted to the Levites exclusively, and used for this purpose, not once in three years, but every year. Lv 27$^{30.31}$ ordains that, if the tithe is redeemed, one-fifth of the value shall be added. It is generally agreed that a tithe of cattle is not contemplated, but only of agricultural produce. It is true that in Lv 27$^{32.33}$ cattle are included, and rules are given as to the selection, and to prevent any exchange. But this law stands by itself, it is not referred to in Neh 10$^{37.38}$ 12^{44} 13$^{5.12}$, and is first mentioned 2 Ch 31$^{5.6}$. It is probably a later addition inserted between the time of Nehemiah and that of the Chronicler. Attempts have been made to reconcile the regulations of the Priestly Code with those of Deuteronomy. It has been supposed that Deuteronomy refers to a second tithe distinct from that in P and to be levied on the nine-tenths remaining after the tithe to the Levites had been deducted. Against this the following considerations are decisive. No hint is given in Deuteronomy that such a second tithe is spoken of, nor can such an interpretation be fairly put on the passage, for a reference to the assumed first tithe would have been necessary. Nor is it probable that a tax of nearly one-fifth of the whole produce should be imposed on the farmers. Nor is it credible that the Levites should participate in the second tithe because, like the poor and defenceless, they were dependent on charity, if they were in possession of a tithe already made over to them. And, lastly, the language of Nu 18^{21} 'unto the children of Levi, behold, I have given all the tithe in Israel for an inheritance,' utterly excludes any tithe which was devoted, as the Deuteronomic tithe, to other purposes. Here, as elsewhere, the explanation is that the regulations belong to different stages of legislation.

(*c*) *In later Judaism.*—Two tithes were levied —one for the Levites in accordance with the law of P, the other to be consumed by the offerer in accordance with that of D. The tithe was the most valuable part of the income of the Levites. The Mishna laid down this rule: 'Everything which may be used as food, and is cultivated and grows out of the earth, is liable to tithe' (*Maaseroth* i. 1). The Pharisees evinced their scrupulous adherence to the Law by offering tithes of 'mint, anise, and cummin' (Mt 23^{23}). The second tithe was of course consumed by the offerer, and with it the tithe of cattle was usually reckoned, though Philo apparently includes it in the perquisites of the priests. If the second tithe was converted into money, one-fifth of the value had to be added; and the money could be spent only on food, drink, and ointment necessary for the sacrificial feast. The charity tithe (or 'third tithe') was levied for the poor every third year.

LITERATURE.—Nowack, *Heb. Archäol.* ii. 257–259; Wellhausen, *Prolegom.* pp. 156–158; Driver, *Deut.* pp. 166–173; W. R. Smith, *RS* ^{2} pp. 245–253; Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 231.

A. S. PEAKE.

TITLE ON CROSS.—It was customary in the Roman empire, when a criminal was going to execution, for a board (called σανίς), on which the ground of condemnation (*αἰτία*, *causa*) was written, to be carried before him or hung round his neck—the inscription being known as *titulus* (Gr. τίτλος). Instances of this custom will be found in Suet. *Calig.* 32—'*præcedente titulo qui causam pœnæ indicaret,*' *Domit.* 10; Eusebius, *HE* v. 1 (see Swete, *St. Mark*, p. 359). All four evangelists mention that the custom was observed at the crucifixion of Jesus Christ, though they describe the title as affixed to the cross, without referring to its being carried on the way to Golgotha. They have various styles of indicating it. As usual, St. Mark's description is the fullest. He calls it 'the superscription of his accusation' (ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ τῆς αἰτίας αὐτοῦ, Mk 15^{26}); in the First Gospel it is 'his accusation' (αἰτίαν αὐτοῦ, Mt 27^{37}); and in the Third it is simply 'a superscription' (ἐπιγραφή, Lk 23^{38}). The Fourth Gospel calls it by the technical name (τίτλος), and states that it was written in three languages—Hebrew (*i.e.* Aramaic, the language of the Jews of Palestine), Latin (the official language), and Greek (the language current throughout the East), Jn 19$^{19.20}$. The four Gospels also vary in their statements of the words of the title, viz.:—

Mk = 'The king of the Jews' (ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων).

Mt = 'This is Jesus the king of the Jews' (οὗτός ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων).

Lk = 'This is the king of the Jews' (ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων οὗτος).

Jn = 'Jesus of Nazareth the king of the Jews' (Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων).

It is not easy to determine which of these was the original form of words. The instance from the *Letter of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons*, where the martyr's name is given (οὗτός ἐστιν Ἄτταλος ὁ Χριστιανός, Eusebius, *HE* v. 1), would suggest (1) that Mt and Lk are right in giving the word '*this*' (οὗτος), and (2) that Mt and Jn are right in giving the name—'*Jesus.*' Since Mt is the only Gospel that has both the forms found in the passage cited from Eusebius, the preference seems to lie with the phrase as given in that Gospel. But then we cannot be sure that the same form of words was used in all cases, or that the *Letter of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons* gives it with verbal accuracy. Moreover, it may have been variously phrased in the three languages. The following arrangement has been suggested :—

ישוע הנצרי מלך היהודים

ΟΥΤΟϹ ЄϹΤΙΝ ΙΗϹΟΥϹ Ο ΒΑϹΙΛЄΥϹ ΤΩΝ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ·

REX JUDAEORUM.

(See Geikie, *Life and Words of Christ*, ch. lxiii. note e).

The variations are quite immaterial. In all four accounts the essential words are the same. The title describes Jesus as 'King of the Jews.' It makes no mention of sedition or usurpation; the phrase is absolute. Plainly, it was a sarcastic expression; but it was perceived at once that the point of the sarcasm was against the Jews rather than against their Victim. This is shown by St. John, who narrates how the chief priests requested Pilate to change the title to 'He said, I am king of the Jews,' and how Pilate haughtily refused to alter what he had written (Jn 19$^{21.22}$).

W. F. ADENEY.

TITTLE.—The Eng. word 'tittle' is simply a various spelling of 'title.' One of the uses of 'title' (after Lat. *titulus* in late use, and Fr. *title*) was to denote the stroke above an abridged word. It was thence used for any trifling stroke or mark which distinguished one letter from another, and was chosen by Wyclif and Tindale to translate the Gr. κεραία (WH κερέα, see vol. ii. App. p. 151) in its only occurrences Mt 5^{18}, Lk 16^{7}. All the Eng. VSS up to and including AV (1611), except the Rhemish, spell the word with one *t*. So Tindale in his address to the Reader, *Pentateuch* (Mombert's Reprint, p. 3), 'For they which in tymes paste were wont to loke on no more scripture then they founde in their duns or soch like develysh doctryne, have yet now so narowlye loked on my translatyon, that there is not so moch as one I therin if it lacke a tytle over his hed, but they have noted it, and nombre it unto the ignorant people for an heresye.' But, in quoting Mt 5^{18} three pages later, he spells the word 'tittle.'

The Gr. *κερέα* (lit. 'little horn') was used by grammarians to denote the Gr. accents and any small stroke distinguishing one Heb. letter from another, as ב from כ. On the importance attached to these marks by the Rabbins see Lightfoot on Mt 5^{18} (vol. xi. p. 99 ff.). J. HASTINGS.

TITUS (Τίτος).—A companion of St. Paul, who is always mentioned by him with great affection and confidence, yet whose name appears but on rare occasions in the Epistles and never in the Acts. On account of this silence of the Acts it has been conjectured that Titus is the second name of some one of St. Paul's companions who are mentioned there, and attempts have been made to identify him with Timothy, with Silas, and with Titus (or Titius) Justus (Ac 18^{7}); but none of these conjectures has met with acceptance (cf. Zahn, *Einleitung*, i. pp. 149, 190; Holtzmann, *Pastoralbriefe*, p. 81). The name is Latin, but, as with *Paul*, this proves little: his birthplace is unknown; later legends place it in Crete; St. Chrysostom in Corinth; and the Acts of Thecla (c. 2) speak of him as living with Onesiphorus at Iconium at the time of St. Paul's first visit there. All that can be said for certain is that he was a Gentile (Gal 2^{3}), probably converted by St. Paul himself (*γνησίῳ τέκνῳ*, Tit 1^{4}), and living at Antioch fourteen years after St. Paul's conversion, when the dispute arose about the circumcision of the Gentiles. At this time Paul took him with him to Jerusalem: there an attempt was made to compel him to be circumcised; St. Paul resisted the compulsion, and probably Titus was never circumcised, though the ambiguity of St. Paul's words leaves it just possible that he was circumcised as a voluntary concession on St. Paul's part (cf. Lightfoot on Gal 2^{1-4}; Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, pp. 76–83).

Titus remained St. Paul's companion, being perhaps with him when he wrote Galatians [may *ὁ σὺν ἐμοί* (2^{3}) mean 'who is with me still'? cf. *οἱ σὺν ἐμοί* of 1^{2}], but not mentioned again until the time of the incidents which caused the writing of 1 and 2 Corinthians. At this time he paid two, if not three, visits to Corinth.—(*a*) In the year before the writing of 2 Cor. (*ἀπὸ πέρυσι*, 8^{10}) he went at Paul's request (2 Co 12^{18}) with one other brother to Corinth, perhaps carrying 1 Cor. with him, perhaps also authorized to explain the method of the collection for the saints alluded to in 1 Co $16^{1.2}$: at any rate he did organize it, and that on a religious basis (*προενήρξατο*, 2 Co 8^{6}), and returned to St. Paul with news of the zeal shown in the matter at Corinth.—(*b*) Probably after he had left Corinth there arose some serious opposition to St. Paul there; perhaps Timothy was insulted and set at nought [cf. 2 CORINTHIANS and PAUL], and Titus, who was already known there, was despatched from Ephesus to deal with the crisis, carrying the letter referred to in 2 Co 2 and 7. St. Paul had often boasted to Titus of the loyalty of his Corinthian converts (2 Co 7^{14}); but he was afraid now lest his boast would be proved empty: he waited, restless and anxious for the return of Titus; he expected to meet him at Troas, but Titus did not appear; apparently, the crisis required a longer time than Paul had expected: he moved on to Macedonia; and there Titus arrived, and with good news. The majority of the Corinthian Church had formally punished the offender: they had received Titus with fear and trembling: they had shown regret for their previous conduct, indignation against the offender, enthusiasm for St. Paul: Paul's boast had been justified: Titus had been overjoyed: St. Paul was comforted (2^{14} 7^{11-15}).—(*c*) On the receipt of this news Paul wrote 2 Cor. and requested Titus, who gladly accepted the request, to go, accompanied by two other brethren, on a fresh visit to Corinth and to complete the collection for the saints. Titus was to represent the apostle; the two brethren represented Churches, probably those of Macedonia (8^{23}).

The next reference to Titus is in the letter to him. This implies that St. Paul, after the release from his first Roman imprisonment, had travelled with Titus in the East, that they had landed at Crete and had evangelized several towns (*κατὰ πόλιν*, 1^{5}), but that St. Paul had been unable to remain longer, and had therefore left Titus behind to appoint presbyters and to complete the organization of the Church. Titus found considerable opposition, especially from the Jews (1^{10}), and much tendency to insubordination, and possibly had written to St. Paul to report this and to ask for his advice (so Zahn, *Einleitung*, i. p. 430). Whether this were so or not, St. Paul wrote a short letter pressing him to complete the organization, to ordain presbyters, to teach sound doctrine and avoid empty disputations, and to exercise his authority firmly. The letter was probably sent by Zenas and Apollos (3^{13}), and Titus was requested to be ready to leave Crete and join St. Paul at Nicopolis as soon as he should receive a further message through Artemas or Tychicus (3^{12}). Probably it was thence that St. Paul despatched him on a mission to Dalmatia (2 Ti 4^{10}).

A comparison of 1 Ti 3^{12} with Tit 2^{15} perhaps suggests that Titus was older than Timothy, and the relations of the two with the difficulties at Corinth imply that he was the stronger man (cf. 1 Co 16^{10} with 2 Co 7^{15}). He volunteers readily for a delicate task (2 Co 8^{17}), is full of affection and enthusiasm for the Corinthians (*ib.* 7^{15}); he is effective, free from all sordid motives, sharing St. Paul's spirit, walking in his steps (12^{18}), his genuine son (Tit 1^{4}), his brother (2 Co 2^{13}), his partner and fellow-helper (8^{23}).

The omission of his name in the Acts is scarcely remarkable when the references in the Epistles are considered: if the incident of Gal 2 is to be identified with that of Ac 15, he is alluded to, without name, in *τινας ἄλλους ἐξ αὐτῶν* (v. ^{2}): the incidents of 1 and 2 Cor. are wholly omitted in the Acts: and those of the Epistle to Titus and of 2 Tim. fall without its scope.

It is interesting to note that Titus, the Gentile, is chiefly employed in missions to the mainly Gentile Church of Corinth: that his principal work there was organizing the collection for the saints, carrying out the injunction to 'remember the poor,' laid upon St. Paul in his presence at Jerusalem (Gal 2^{10}); and that at Crete he finds his chief opponents among those of the circumcision, (Tit 1^{10}).

Subsequent Church historians treated Titus as bishop of Crete and living a celibate life to an old age in the island (Eusebius, *HE* III. iv. 6; *Const. Apost.* vii. 46; pseudo-Ign. *ad Philad.* c. 3; and for fuller details, Lipsius, *Die Apokryph. Apostelgeschichte*, ii. 2, pp. 401–406). An interesting panegyric on him is found in the works of Andrew of Crete (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* vol. 97). His name is given still to churches in Crete: it was appealed to as a battle-cry in the struggles of the Cretans with the Venetians; his body was said to have been retained at Gortyna for many centuries; the head was carried away by the Venetians, and is still preserved at St. Mark's. His death is commemorated on Jan. 4 in the Latin Church, on Aug. 25 in the Greek, Syriac, and Maronite Churches (*Acta Sanctorum*, i. pp. 163, 164; Nilles, *Kalendarium Manuale*). W. LOCK.

TITUS, EPISTLE TO.—

i. Historical Situation of the Letter.
ii. Analysis.
iii. Literary Dependence.
iv. Situation at Crete: (*a*) false teaching; (*b*) organization.
v. Authorship.
vi. Integrity.
vii. Value.
Literature.

i. HISTORICAL SITUATION.—Paul and Titus had been together in Crete. It is probable that they found the island already evangelized before their arrival (cf. Ac 2^{11}); for by the time this letter is written whole families ($1^{6.11}$), and people of all classes and ages (2^{1-10}), consisting both of Jews and Gentiles (1^{10}), belong to the Church. But the communities were unorganized, and there were false teachers. St. Paul himself began to complete the organization; probably meeting with opposition from the false teachers ($3^{10.11}$), and calling out hearty affection from others ($3^{14.15}$). But for some reason he could not stay to finish his work, and left Titus with definite instructions to complete it (1^{5}). Time elapsed after he left, but apparently only a short time, before this letter was written. St. Paul was moving about with some of his disciples (3^{15}),—perhaps in Macedonia (if we may argue from the likeness to 1 Tim.),—intending to winter at Nicopolis. Possibly he received some communication from Titus, reporting progress at Crete (so Zahn, *Einl.* i. p. 430; but unconvincingly). More likely, he took the opportunity of the fact that Zenas and Apollos were starting on a journey which would take them past Crete to send a letter to Titus in order to prepare him to join him in Nicopolis, and to strengthen him to enforce a high moral standard in Crete, in spite of the dangerous tendencies of the false teachers.

The dates both of the visit to Crete and of the composition of the letter are uncertain. The organization of the Church is so little advanced that it might easily fall within the period covered by the Acts; and it is possible that the visit may be that of Ac 27^{9} (ἱκανοῦ χρόνου), and that this letter was written early in the Roman imprisonment (so Bartlet, *Apostolic Age*, p. 182): but Titus is not mentioned as being present at the time of Ac 27, and the surest indication for the date of the letter is its likeness to 1 Tim.; so that probably both the visit and the letter fall after the release from the Roman imprisonment [see 1 TIM.].

ii. ANALYSIS.—

1^{1-4}. Salutation (with special emphasis on the writer's own apostleship and on the common faith).
1^{5}–3^{11}. Advice to Titus.
A. 1^{5-16}. *Need of appointing proper ministers.*
  Reminder of Paul's past instructions to appoint presbyters (^{5}).
  Importance of high moral character in an overseer ($^{6-8}$), that he may (*a*) strengthen the sound teaching, (*b*) refute the opponents of it (^{9}).
  Description of these opponents, as insubordinate, quibbling, money-making, caring for fables and commandments of men, forgetting the great Christian truth—'All things pure to the pure,'—inconsistent and worthless ($^{10-16}$).
B. 2^{1}–3^{11}. *Sketch of the true features of the Christian character which Titus is to enforce.*
  (*a*) *For Christians among themselves* (2^{1-15}); for the elder men and women, for the younger women and men, for Titus himself, and for slaves,—all are to live a life true to the sound teaching: (1) in order to avoid giving offence to the heathen world around ($^{5.8.10}$); (2) because the saving grace of God and Christ's atonement have trained us to rise above sin, and live an attractive life ($^{11-14}$).
  (*b*) *For Christians in relation to the outer world* (3^{1-8}): (*α*) subordination to authority (^{1}); (*β*) gentleness to all men (^{2}).
  Reason—God's loving-kindness to us has raised us from the old heathen life of hatred to a new life of righteousness; so that believers in God are bound to set an example of noble and useful lives ($^{3-8}$).
  (*c*) *For Titus himself.*—He is to avoid foolish questionings (^{9}), and to reject from the Church a 'heretic' who refuses to listen to his admonition ($^{10.11}$).
Personal message about his own movements ($^{12.13}$).
Final word of advice to those who obey him at Crete (^{14}).
Salutation (^{15}).

Like 1 Tim., it is essentially a private letter of instructions, probably never intended to be read aloud in the churches at Crete, though a word of greeting to the whole Church (or possibly only to Titus and his helpers) is added (3^{15}). The main stress is throughout on character, on a useful fruitful life, as the outcome of a wholesome teaching; and (as in 1 Tim.) each section culminates in an important doctrinal statement—1^{15} 2^{11-14} 3^{4-7}, the last saying being called 'faithful' (πιστὸς ὁ λόγος).

iii. LITERARY DEPENDENCE.—One Christian saying is quoted (πιστὸς ὁ λόγος, 3^{8}), and one line of Epimenides (1^{13}). The OT is never appealed to in direct quotation, but its language is consciously used in 1^{14} = Is 29^{13} (cf. Mt 15^{9}, Mk 7^{7}, Col 2^{22}), 2^{5} = Is 52^{5} (cf. Ro 2^{24}, 1 Ti 6^{1}), 2^{14} = Ps 130^{8}, Dt 14^{2}, cf. Ezk 37^{23} (cf. 1 P 2^{9}), 3^{6} = Jl 3^{1} (cf. Ac $2^{17.18}$); all of them passages which belong to the common stock of early Christian writers, and half of which are used in the Pauline Epistles.

Reminiscences of our Lord's teaching may be found in 1^{15} (= Mk 7^{19}, Lk 11^{41}), 3^{5} (= Jn 3^{5}), 3^{10} (= Mt 18^{15-17}), but are not such as to imply literary dependence on the written Gospels. The same is true of points of similarity with 1 Peter, which are very slight: 1^{5-9} = 1 P 5^{1-4}, 3^{1} = 1 P 2^{13}, 3^{4-7} = 1 P 1^{3-5}. (But see Bigg, *International Critical Commentary on 1 and 2 Peter*, p. 21, who would regard 1 Peter as older than and as having influenced this Epistle). There are more verbal points of contact with the earlier Pauline Epistles; cf.

1^{1-4} with Ro 1^{1} 16^{25-27}.
1^{15} ,, ,, 14^{20}.
2^{14} ,, Gal 1^{4} (?).
3^{1} ,, Ro 13^{1}.
3^{3} ,, Eph 2^{3}, 1 Co 6^{9-11}.
3^{5} ,, ,, 2^{8} 5^{26}.

But they all suggest the same mind dealing with the same subject at a different time, rather than a different writer borrowing from literature.

The relation to 1 Tim. and, in a less degree, to 2 Tim. is more complex. As compared with 1 Tim. the purpose is the same, and the structure is the same; the warning against false teachers forming a framework in which the rules about organization and character are inserted; in the same way each section culminates in a doctrinal climax. There is also verbal similarity of a marked type.

Cf. Tit 1^{1-4} with 1 Ti $1^{1.2}$.
,, 1^{5-9} ,, ,, 3^{1-7}.
,, 1^{11} ,, ,, 3^{9}, 2 Ti 3^{6}.
,, 2^{1-6} ,, ,, $5^{1.2}$.
,, 2^{7} ,, ,, 4^{12}.
,, $2^{9.10}$,, ,, 6^{1}.
,, 2^{14} ,, ,, 2^{6}.
,, 2^{15} ,, ,, 4^{12} 5^{20} 6^{2}.
,, 3^{1} ,, 2 Ti 2^{21} 3^{17}.
,, 3^{5} ,, ,, 1^{9}.
,, 3^{9} ,, 1 Ti 4^{7} 6^{11}, 2 Ti $2^{16.23}$.

In nearly every case there is a freshness of treatment which is against the theory of deliberate borrowing; even in 1^{5-8}, the most continuous instance of similarity, there are changes (*e.g.* the omission of μὴ νεόφυτον, 1 Ti 3^{6}) which are suitable to the circumstances of a comparatively new Church, and this list of requirements may easily have been drawn up in a written form by St. Paul for freqnent use, and be partly indebted to Jewish or Gentile lists of official requirements (cf. 1 TIM.).

The more complex organization and the fuller details about worship in 1 Tim. apparently favour the priority of Titus; but all the differences may be due to the different circumstances of the two delegates and the two Churches. There is nothing in the letters to make it improbable that they were written on the same day and sent by the same messenger.

The analogy of the relation of Ephesians to Colossians is the nearest in the NT.

iv. SITUATION IMPLIED IN CRETE.—(*a*) *The false teachers* are partly Jews, partly Gentiles; the Jews being the more prominent. They are influential, upsetting whole families (1^{11}), opposing sound teaching (1^{9}), tending to reject the authority of Titus (1^{10} 2^{15} 3^{10}), quibbling, misleading, money-seeking (1^{10-12}), inconsistent in their lives with their professed knowledge of God (1^{16}, but these words do not necessarily apply to the teachers). The substance of their teaching consists of foolish and profitless investigations, genealogies, questions connected with the Law ($3^{9.\,10}$), Jewish legends, and commands of men (1^{14}), apparently laying stress on the requirements of a Levitical purity (1^{15}). In contrast with 1 Tim., there is in this Epistle no trace of anything akin to 2nd cent. Gnosticism. Each phrase is not only capable of a Jewish explanation, but calls for it as its natural meaning. The question of purity (1^{15}) is on a par with our Lord's treatment of Pharisaism (Mk 7); the confession of a knowledge of God is more naturally attributable to Jews, 1^{16} (cf. Ro 2^{17}), than to Gentiles; and the genealogies and legends will probably be those connected with the patriarchal history (cf. 1 TIMOTHY).

(*b*) *Organization.*—As with Timothy at Ephesus, the exact position held by Titus himself at Crete is not clear. He represents the apostle and his teaching; he has authority (*ἐπιταγή*, 2^{15}), which is not confined to one place, but extends over the whole island (1^{5}): it extends to ordaining presbyters, to correcting and exercising discipline over 'heretics' (2^{15} 3^{11}), to enforcing the lines of teaching and the features of Christian character (2 *passim*); but whether the position was permanent or temporary is not clear: the most probable inference from 1^{5} and 3^{12} is that the delegation of power was for a temporary purpose only. Nothing is said about any ordination for the work.

For permanent organization, he is to appoint presbyters (whether one or more is not stated) in each city; and apparently the presbyter in each city is the same as the *ἐπίσκοπος* (1^{5-7}, but see 1 TIMOTHY). Their moral qualifications for office are stated; and it may be inferred that their duties were to teach (1^{9}), perhaps to control the finances of the community (1^{7} *μὴ αἰσχροκερδῆ*, but 1^{11} shows that this is not a necessary inference), and to be hospitable, ready to welcome Christians from other Churches (cf. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 368).

There is no mention of deacons, deaconesses, or widows. The Christians are called *ἐκλεκτοὶ θεοῦ* (1^{1}), *λαὸς περιούσιος* (2^{14}) (both OT titles for Israel), *οἱ πεπιστευκότες θεῷ* (3^{8}), and perhaps—by a title which suggests the new family of God—*οἱ ἡμέτεροι* (3^{14}). There is no reference to common worship, except as implied in the references to teaching and exhortation. Baptism is referred to as the instrument of salvation (3^{5}); perhaps 1^{16} (*ὁμολογοῦσιν*) points to some public confession of faith.

v. AUTHORSHIP.—The external evidence is much the same as in 1 Timothy. The evidence of its rejection is less, but the parallels to its language are also fewer. It is quoted as Pauline in Irenæus (i. 16. 3, iii. 3. 4), Clem. Alex. (*Strom.* i. p. 350), Tertull. (*de Præscript.* 6, *adv. M.* 5. 21), and the Muratorian Canon. It was accepted by Tatian in spite of his rejection of 1 and 2 Tim., but rejected by Marcion and Basilides (Tert. *adv. Marcionem*, v. 21). It was embodied in the Syriac and Old Latin Versions, and parallels to its language are found in Justin Martyr (*Dial. c. Tryph.* 47) and Theophilus (*ad Autolyc.* iii. p. 126, where the command of 3^{1} is quoted as a *θεῖος λόγος*); and perhaps in Ign. (*ad Magnes.* c. 8 = 3^{9}) and Clem. Rom. (i. 2 = 3^{1}).

It claims to be by St. Paul in 1^{1-4}; and implicitly in 3^{12-14}, passages which are indeed separable from the rest. But in the body of the letter there is nothing in tone, teaching, or circumstance inconsistent with his authorship. The character of Titus corresponds to the little known of him elsewhere (cf. TITUS): the character of the writer, his insistence on his own teaching and wishes (cf. 1 Cor.), the sharpness of tone against false teachers (cf. Gal., 2 Cor.), the quick passage from moral inference to doctrinal premiss, the quotation from Greek poetry, the adaptation of OT language, the sense of his own sinfulness (3^{3}), are quite Pauline. So, too, the bases of doctrine,—the purity of all created things to the pure (cf. Ro 14): the eternal promise of life, the manifestation of it in due time, the saving grace, its universal efficacy (2^{11}), the redeeming death of Christ, the gift of the Spirit in baptism, the power to live a new life of love, the looking forward to the Coming of Christ, are quite true to the earlier letters, though the expressions are never borrowed. The false teaching implied at Crete and the organization of the Church, each simpler than in 1 Tim., can clearly fall within his lifetime.

The only ground of suspicion lies in the vocabulary and its relation to that of 1 and 2 Timothy. (*a*) There are 26 *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα* in 46 verses, *αἱρετικός, ἀκατάγνωστος, αὐτοκατάκριτος, ἀφθορία, ἀψευδής, βδελυκτός, ἐγκρατής, ἐκστρέφομαι, ἐπιδιορθόω, ἐπιστομίζω, ἱεροπρεπής, Ἰουδαϊκός, καλοδιδάσκαλος, ματαιολόγος, οἰκουργός, ὀργίλος, πρεσβῦτις, στυγητός, σωτήριος, σωφρονίζω, σωφρόνως, φιλάγαθος, φίλανδρος, φιλότεκνος, φρεναπάτης* (Gal 6^{3} *φρεναπατάω*), *φροντίζω*. Yet none of these betrays a late date. *αἱρετικός*, the only one that suggests a later ecclesiastical meaning, is earlier in existence than St. Paul, and the new meaning given to it here is akin to his own use of *αἵρεσις*, and apparently means 'factious' rather than 'heretical'; and it is still an adjective.

(*b*) There is, as in 1 Tim., a fixity of phrase which suggests lateness, *e.g. ἐπίγνωσις ἀληθείας, ἀλήθεια ἡ κατ' εὐσέβειαν, καιροῖς ἰδίοις* (1 Tim. only, but *καιρῷ ἰδίῳ*, Gal 6^{9}), *ὁ σωτὴρ θεός* (applied both to God the Father and to Christ here: in 1 Tim. only to the Father, in 2 Tim. only to Christ), *μιᾶς γυναικὸς ἀνήρ* (1 Tim. only), *ἡ διδασκαλία ἡ ὑγιαίνουσα* (1 and 2 Tim.), *καλὰ ἔργα* (1 Tim.), *ὁ νῦν αἰών* (1 Tim., 2 Tim.), *ὁ μέγας θεός, λουτρὸν παλινγενεσίας, πιστὸς ὁ λόγος* (1 Tim., 2 Tim.).

We are in the presence of a large vocabulary, fresh, fixed, and shared to a great extent by the writer of 1 and 2 Timothy. The alternatives of authorship are *either* that it is by Paul himself, writing late in his life, and writing to an intimate companion,—and there can be little doubt that if the Epistle stood alone, this would be the natural explanation; *or* by some later writer, essentially Pauline in spirit, perhaps using genuine Pauline fragments (see below), and wishing to obtain Pauline authority for securing a sober useful standard of Christian life and high standard of clerical morality, as against a revival of a Rabbinical Judaism. On this latter supposition the priority of Titus to 1 Tim. would seem almost certain, as there would be so little reason for the same writer composing it if 1 Tim. were in existence, and intended as a general treatise.

vi. INTEGRITY.—The MSS suggest no insertion or dislocation in the text; nor does the sequence of thought require such a theory. 1^{7-9} is indeed easily separable from the rest, but no conclusive reason requires its separation; and 3^{14} comes in awkwardly after 3^{13}, but there is a possible connexion of thought between them, and such postscripts are found elsewhere, Ro 16^{17-20}, 1 Ti 6^{17-19}.

The question of the integrity has arisen only on the theory of a non-Pauline authorship: for critics are almost entirely agreed in regarding $3^{12.13}$ or 3^{12-15} as Pauline, and the question arises whether there are other Pauline fragments, and whether they are separable.

The chief attempts to distinguish are these—

1^{1-6}. Pauline (McGiffert, Harnack, Clemen); but expanded from some simpler form by a late hand (von Soden).

1^{7-9}. Non-Pauline (*ib.*), added to strengthen the episcopate in the 2nd cent. (Harnack); but the distinction between the *ἐπίσκοπος* and *πρεσβύτεροι* would have been clearer.

1^{7-11}. Non-Pauline (Hesse, Clemen).

$1^{12.13.16}$. Pauline. $1^{14.15}$ non-Pauline (*ib.*) (as not suiting the other descriptions of the false teachers; but there is no real inconsistency).

2. Non-Pauline (Hesse).

3^{1-7}. Pauline (McGiffert). Non-Pauline (Clemen): partly because 3^{4-7} is a repetition of 2^{11-14}, but there is a difference in the motive appealed to, which suits the exhortation of $3^{1.2}$.

3^{8-11}. Non-Pauline. $3^{12.13}$ Pauline (Harnack, McGiffert, Clemen).

The Pauline fragment so obtained is supposed to be a letter from Paul written to Titus at Corinth after 2 Cor.; this was developed into a letter to Crete at the end of the 1st cent. because of the outbreak of Judaism there (Clemen). There is, however, no substantial ground for distinguishing between Pauline and non-Pauline, except in 1^{1-4} and $3^{12.13}$: the grounds for separation elsewhere are hypercritical and the divisions arbitrary.

For fuller details cf. McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, p. 406; Harnack, *Chronologie*, i. p. 480; Clemen, *Die Einheitlichkeit der Paul. Briefe*, pp. 157–163; Moffatt, *Historical NT* p. 700.

vii. VALUE.—As with 1 Tim. (which see), the value is a good deal independent of its authorship, and due to the fact of its canonization. On the point of the organization of the Church it adds nothing to that in detail or principle; but it has a historical value as showing the method of organizing communities in a very early stage of development, as showing the persistence of Judaism as a danger to the early Church; and the atmosphere of a suspicious and critical heathenism in which it lived. In such an atmosphere, and dealing with communities of rough islanders on a low social level and disposed to anarchy, the writer, while laying stress on faith and the salvation wrought by the appearance of Christ, organizes a ministry, insists on moral qualifications for it, and tries to develop an orderly, disciplined, useful, fruitful life in all ages and classes, and inspires even slaves with the hope that they may adorn the true teaching: it is an attempt to convert heathenism by the attractive beauty of an ordered family life and a loyal citizenship. Doctrinally, the Epistle offers no new point of interest unless it be the identification of Christ with 'the Great God,' 2^{13} (but see Ezra Abbot, *Critical Essays*, xviii.), or the reference to baptism as *λουτρὸν παλινγενεσίας*, 3^{4}.

LITERATURE.—The same introductions and commentaries as are referred to under 1 TIMOTHY are useful for this Epistle, with the exception of H. P. Liddon; to the Patristic commentaries should be added a short commentary by Jerome, and a long extract on $3^{10.11}$ from Origen's lost commentary preserved in a Latin translation by Pampbilus. W. LOCK.

TITUS JUSTUS.—See JUSTUS, No. 2. **TITUS MANIUS.**—See MANIUS.

TIZITE (הַתִּיצִי; B ὁ Ἰεασεί, A ὁ Θωσαεί, Luc. Ἀθωσί).—A designation, whose origin is unknown, applied to JOHA, one of David's heroes, 1 Ch 11^{45}.

TOAH.—See NAHATH.

TOB, THE LAND OF (אֶרֶץ טוֹב 'land of good'; γῆ Τώβ; *terra Tob*).—The place to which Jephthah fled for refuge from his brethren, and in which he was living when the elders of Gilead went to fetch him on the occasion of the Ammonite invasion of Gilead (Jg $11^{3.5}$). At a later date, 12,000 'men of Tob' (AV Ish-tob) formed part of the force raised by the Ammonites in their war with David (2 S $10^{6.8}$ B Εἰστώβ). They are here associated with the Syrians of Beth-rehob and Zobah, and the king of Maacah—all small Aramæan states. The 'land of Tubias' (AV 'places of Tobie'), in which all the Jews were put to death by the Gentiles (1 Mac 5^{13}), was apparently the same place. In 2 Mac 12^{17} Charax, a place 750 stadia from the strong town of Gephyrum, or Caspin, is said to have been occupied by Jews called **Tubieni**, *i.e.* 'men of Tob.'

Possibly Θαῦβα, which, according to Ptolemy (v. 19), was S.W. of Zobah, is identical with Tob. The Jerusalem Talmud explains 'land of Tob' by *Susitha*—the 'province of Hippene' (Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* 239). In this case Tob would be Hippos, or Susitha, now *Sûsiyeh*, on the E. side of the Sea of Galilee, and not far from Gamala, *Kal'at el-Husn*. Conder (*Hbk. to Bible*, 295) and G. A. Smith (*HGHL* 587) identify Tob with *et-Taiyibeh*, about 10 miles south of Gadara (*Umm Keis*). De Saulcy identifies it with *Thaban*, about 9 miles east of the bridge over the Jordan called *Jisr Benât Yakûb*. C. W. WILSON.

TOB-ADONIJAH (טוֹב אֲדוֹנִיָּה 'good is the Lord Jah' [Gray, *HPN* 140, n. 3]; B Τωβαδωβειά, A and Luc. Τωβαδωνιά).—One of the Levites sent by king Jehoshaphat to teach in the cities of Judah, 2 Ch 17^{8}.

TOBIAH (טוֹבִיָּה and טוֹבִיָּהוּ 'Jah is [my ?] good').—1. The eponym of a family which returned from exile, but could not trace their genealogy, Ezr 2^{60} (B Τωβειά, A Τωβίας, Luc. Τουβίας) = Neh 7^{62} (BA Τωβιά, Luc. Τουβίας). 2. The Ammonite who, in conjunction with SANBALLAT and others, persistently opposed the work of Nehemiah, Neh $2^{10.19}$ $4^{3.7}$ 6^{17} $13^{4.8}$ (Τωβιά, Τωβίας). For details see art. NEHEMIAH.

TOBIAS (Τωβ(ε)ίας, Τωβείς).—1. The son of Tobit, To 1^{9} and often; see art. TOBIT (Book of). 2. The father of HYRCANUS, 2 Mac 3^{11}.

TOBIEL (Τωβιήλ, *i.e.* טוֹבִיאֵל 'El is [my ?] good'; cf. the name TABEEL).—The father of Tobit, To 1^{1}.

TOBIJAH (טוֹבִיָּה).—1. One of the Levites sent by Jehoshaphat to teach in the cities of Judah, 2 Ch 17^{8} (LXX om.). 2. One of a deputation that came from Babylon to Jerusalem with contributions of gold and silver, from which a crown was ordered to be made either for Zerubbabel *and* Joshua (Ew. Hitz.) or for Zerub. and *not* Joshua (Wellh. Now., cf. G. A. Smith, ii. 308 f.), and laid up in the temple as a memorial of the donors, Zec $6^{10.14}$ (LXX in both passages tr. טוביה by *χρήσιμοι*, *i.e.* טוֹבֶיהָ).

TOBIT, BOOK OF (A *βίβλος λόγων Τωβίτ*, B Τωβείτ, ℵ Τωβείθ; Lat. *liber Tobiæ, liber Tobit et Tobiæ, liber utriusque Tobiæ*; = Heb. טוֹבִיָּה = 'Jehovah is my good,' and טוֹבִי, dropping the theophoric affix יָה).—One of the deutero-canonical books of the OT, containing, according to Jewish conceptions, an idyllic picture of pious home life in the Captivity.

i. TEXTS AND VERSIONS.—The popularity of the story of Tobit is attested by the number of variations in which it exists in several languages. We shall, in the course of this article, endeavour to prove that the book was originally composed in Aramaic; though all trace of the original is lost, and the Aramaic MS, now extant, is somewhat late, and was not taken directly from it.

(1) *Greek Version*.—Of this we have three texts: (*a*) that of AB. The differences between these two

MSS are few and unimportant. (*b*) That of א, which while giving little additional matter, adopts a more verbose style than AB. Whether AB or א presents the earlier text is much disputed. Fritzsche, Nöldeke, Grimm support AB; Ewald, Reusch, Schürer, Nestle, Harris, א. (*c*) A recension of 6^{9}–13^{8}, found only in three cursives: the Zittau Cod. 44 and the Ferrara Codd. 106, 107, and given at length by Fritzsche (*Handbuch z. d. Apokr.*). These present a composite Greek text. From 6^{9} to 7^{17} it presents many features of originality, but contains many of א's additions to the text of B, *e.g.* $6^{14f.}$ $7^{11\text{-}13}$. From 8^{1} to 12^{6} it agrees closely with the Syriac, which, as we shall see, during this section transfers its allegiance from B to א. From 12^{6} to 13^{8} it presents some readings of B, as 12^{8} $13^{5\text{-}8}$, but agrees in the main with Syr., even when Syr. differs from both B and א, as in $12^{12\text{-}19}$. Before 6^{9} and after 13^{8} our cursives present the text of B.

(2) *Latin Versions.*—(*a*) Vetus Itala or Old Latin, which Ilgen, in 1800, correctly surmised was based on a then unknown Gr. text, which has proved to be that of א. Though all codices of this Version agree substantially with א, there are clearly three recensions. (*α*) It. I., the text edited by Sabatier (*Bibliorum sacrorum Latinæ versiones antiquæ*, Paris, 1751) and by Neubauer (in his excellent little work, *The Book of Tobit*). It is based on a Parisian Codex, Regius 3654, and on Cod. 4 in the library of S. Germain. (*β*) It. II., a text found in Cod. Vat. 7 which contains only 1–6^{12}, and once belonged to queen Christina of Sweden. It was collated by Sabatier in the above work, and was edited by Bianchini, Rome, 1740. (*γ*) Fragments of a third recension (It. III.) are given in the *Speculum* of Augustine, edited by Mai (*Spicilegium*, ix.).—(*b*) The Vulgate. Jerome affirms that he translated Tobit in one day from the Syro-Chaldee. As he was not familiar with this language, a Jew, who knew both languages, translated it for him into Hebrew, from which he made his Latin translation. There are many readings in Vulg. that were not found in any other text, until Gaster, 1896, discovered a Heb. MS, which in the narrative, as distinct from the exhortations and prayers, agrees in the main with Vulg. (see below, HL).

(3) *Syriac Version.*—This has been edited by Walton in his Polyglot; and by Lagarde in *Libri apokr. Syriace.* As far as 7^{11} it is a close translation of B. After that, it agrees with א or the Gr. cursives. It lacks $13^{9\text{-}18}$.

(4) *Chaldee* or *Aramaic Version* (Aram.).—This was first edited by Neubauer from a collection of Midrashim, copied in the 15th cent. in Greek-rabbinical characters. The Book of Tobit is an extract from the *Midrash rabbah-de-rabbah* on Genesis, and forms a haggāda on Jacob's promise to give a tenth of his proceeds to God (Gn 28^{22}). Neubauer thinks that the Chaldee text of Jerome was Aram. in a fuller form; but in the view of the present writer there are facts which seem to imply that the Aram. is a translation from the Greek. The facts that the dat. Ῥάγοις (4^{1} 5^{5}) is found in Aram. as רגיש, and Ἐκβατάνοις (3^{7} 6^{5}) as אגבתנים, and the acc. Τίγριν (6^{1}) as תיגרין; and that the Gr. words ἄριστον (2^{1}) and σημεῖον (5^{2}) are transliterated in Aram., afford strong proof that Aram. is based on a Greek text: not on א (as Schürer), for Aram. agrees more often with B than with א; but on a briefer text than either, and more free from Christian influences.

(5) *Hebrew Versions.*—(*a*) Heb. Munsteri (HM), so called because it was published, with a Lat. tr., by Seb. Münster, at Basle, in 1542. The *first* edition, however, was printed at Constantinople in 1516. It is included in Walton's Polyglot, and also in Neubauer's *Tobit.* Neubauer gives, in the footnotes, various readings from No. 1251 of the Heb. MSS in the National Library at Paris: from a Persian tr. from the Heb. which is No. 130 in the same Library; and No. 194 of de Rossi's catalogue, at Parma. It is noteworthy that HM usually agrees with Aram. when the latter dissents from the Greek. In chs. 12. 13, where Aram. is lacking, HM presents an eclectic text, agreeing in the main with Syr., but for $13^{3\text{-}18}$ it has an original and very brief doxology, and omits ch. 14 altogether. Ginsburg assigns it to the 5th century.—(*b*) Heb. Fagii (HF). This is a free, independent translation, made perhaps in the 12th century. The translator was a learned Jewish scholar, fond of precise, technical terms; very familiar with the Heb. Bible, and fond of introducing suitable Bible texts, and of reducing the text of Tobit to biblical phraseology. This is also given in Walton's Polyglot.—(*c*) Heb. Londinii (HL) is a text found by Gaster in the British Museum, Add. 11,639. A description and translation of the MS, which belongs to the 13th cent., is given by Gaster in *PSBA*, vol. xviii. 208 ff., 259 ff., and vol. xx. 27 ff. So far as the exhortations, prayers, and doxologies are concerned, they are certainly late. They develop, in a remarkable degree, the tendency observable in HF to reduce the text to biblical phraseology. In the exhortations, etc., HL gives us a cento of Scripture texts, skilfully selected as being most cognate to the Gr. text. As to the *narrative*, it is intensely interesting to note how closely HL agrees with Vulg., and Gaster claims for the MS as a whole a close relationship to the 'Syro-Chaldee' used by Jerome. As to the narrative portions, the author of HL certainly *may* have used an Aramaic or Heb. text closely related to Jerome's 'Syro-Chaldee,' though, if the doxologies, etc., are of late composition, one cannot escape the unpleasant surmise that HL may be drawn from the Vulg. itself.—(*d*) Heb. Gasteri (HG). This was copied some years ago by Gaster from a Midrash on the Pentateuch, which he fears has now perished. It is a condensation in Heb. of the narrative portions of Aram., with the exhortations, prayers, and doxologies rigorously excluded, and all approach to verbosity in the narrative sternly checked. It is possible that the author of HL may have possessed a similar History, exhibiting those peculiarities of the Vulg. which, until the publication by Gaster of the translation of HL, were considered unique in the Vulgate. The tr. of HG is given in *PSBA* vol. xix. 33 f. Its agreements with Aram. are very significant.

ii. THE NARRATIVE.—Tobit, a pious Jew of the tribe of Naphtali, very scrupulous as to feasts and tithes, was, with his wife Anna and his son Tobias, taken into captivity by Enemessar (Shalmaneser) to Nineveh. Even there he remained loyal to Mosaism, abstaining from eating the food of the Gentiles; and yet became in time the king's purveyor. Once when travelling in Media, he deposited 10 talents of silver with a brother Jew named Gabael, at Rhagæ (RAGES). When Sennacherib (who is called in 1^{15} Enemessar's son) returned from Judah, Tobit fell into disfavour, chiefly from his habit of burying Jews who were assassinated in the king's fury. Tobit fled, but, on the entreaty of his nephew Achiacharus (Ahikar), was reinstated by king Sarchedonus (Esarhaddon) (ch. 1). At a feast of Pentecost he sent out his son to bring in some poor Jew to dine with him. Tobias returned, saying there was a Jew lying in the street strangled. Tobit rose at once, hid him, and at night buried him. Being thus rendered unclean, he slept in the courtyard; and sparrows 'muted warm dung into his eyes' and blinded him ($2^{1\text{-}10}$). Reduced to poverty again, Anna wove and spun for hire, and one day, under provocation, she reproached her husband for his blindness; whereupon he prayed to die (3^{1-6}). The same day, in Ecbatana of Media, Sarah, the daughter of Raguel and Edna, who had been married seven times, but whose husbands had all died on the bridal night, was reproached by a maid for having slain them; whereas it was Asmodæus, the arch-demon, who slew them. She also prayed to die (3^{7-15}). The prayers of both were heard, and Raphael was sent to deliver both of them. Tobit, in view of his death, wished to send Tobias to Rhagæ, to fetch the silver, and gave him a long exhortation (ch. 4). When Tobias sought a guide, Raphael offered his services, pretending to be Azarias, a kinsman. The guide's wages being fixed, the two set out with a favourite dog for Media (ch. 5). On the way, while Tobias was bathing in the Tigris, a great fish threatened him, but he caught it; and on Raphael's advice cut out its heart, liver, and gall for medicinal use later on (ch. 6). Passing through Ecbatana, they stayed with Raguel; and Tobias asked for Sarah in marriage. He had been previously instructed by Raphael how to exorcise the demon from Sarah, and before night the marriage was celebrated (ch. 7). Raguel naturally is apprehensive, and digs a grave at midnight; but the odour of the heart and liver of the fish, when burnt on ashes, caused Asmodæus to flee to Egypt, whither Raphael follows him and binds him; and Tobias and Sarah, after uniting in prayer, pass the night in peace (8^{1-10}). Edna satisfies herself on this during the night, and Raguel, after previously thanking God, fills in the grave and prepares the nuptial festivities, which he swears must last 14 days (8^{11-21}). Raphael goes forward to Rhagæ, secures the silver, still sealed in bags, from Gabael, and brings him back to the wedding, where he pours his blessings on the bridal pair (ch. 9). The festivities over, Raguel sends forth Tobias and his wife in peace to Nineveh, and gives them half his wealth (10^{7-12}). Anna has for days been very miserable, and has stood all day on the highway watching, at intervals reproaching poor blind Tobit for allowing their son to go (10^{1-5}). When at length she sees Tobias and Azarias who had come on in front, she runs to tell Tobit. Tobias skilfully applies the gall of the mysterious fish to his father's eyes; a white film peels off and his sight is restored. Then Tobit and Anna welcome Sarah with pious wishes (ch. 11). All that remains is to reward the faithful Azarias. Father and son agree to give him half of all they have. Whereupon he discloses his identity and returns to heaven (ch. 12). In ch. 13 we have a Song of Thanksgiving from Tobit; and in ch. 14 Tobit, being now very old, gives to his son and grandsons his dying valedictions, and urges them to leave Nineveh for Media. After his death they go to Media, and arrive in time to witness the death of Raguel and Edna. Tobias lives to a ripe old age, and is allowed to hear the glad news of the destruction of Nineveh.

VARIATIONS OF THE NARRATIVE IN THE SEVERAL VERSIONS.—If we compare the Jewish VSS with the Gr. and Lat. we find three interesting variations: (*a*) Aram. and Heb. VSS all omit reference to the dog, which the other VSS mention. (*b*) In 8^7 the Jewish VSS (as also Syr.) narrate that after Tobias' prayer in the bridal chamber, '*Sarah* said Amen'; the rest, that 'they *both* together said Amen.' (*c*) In 5^3 9^5 Aram., HM, HF say that Gabael gave Tobit his *bag* as a token, not his *bond*.

Aram., HL, HG, and Vulg. differ from the rest in that throughout they speak of Tobit in the third person, whereas all other texts make Tobit speak in the first person as far as 3^{15}. The third is used afterwards.

[*N.B.*—Except when quoting from the Vulg., the verses are those of the RV].

Peculiarities of text.—(α) B stands alone (except HG) in omitting the blessing of Gabael, 9^6; and in its condensation of Edna's prayer, 10^{12}; though HL and Vulg. omit this entirely. Unique readings are: glory of the great Raphael, 3^{16}; Jonah, 14^8; Nasbas, 11^{18}; Aman, 14^{10}; 158 years old, 14^{11}.—(β) א. There are scores of στίχοι added by א to the text of B. A few may be noted: 1^2 Thisbe is 'west of Phogor'; 1^5 Israel sacrificed to the calves 'on all the Mts. of Galilee'; 2^{11} 'on the 7th of the month Dystrus she cut the web'; 5^3 Raguel and Tobit divided the bond into two, and each took half; 5^5 the mendacious angel says, 'I have come here to work'; 6^8 'blow on the films'; cf. also 10^{10} 12^8 13^{16}. א omits 4^{7-19} (owing probably to a leaf being lost) and 13^{6b-10}. In 13^{18} it gives the correct spelling 'Αχεικάρ, and gives a fuller account of him than B.—(γ) *Greek cursives.* A remarkable Gnostic reading occurs in 8^{15} 'Let all *the Æons* praise thee, and let thy angels bless thee.' This is the only Gr. text which says 'the dog ran *before* them' (11^4).—(δ) *Syriac*, which is really two recensions connected at 7^{11}, shows the fact in change of spelling: Achior, 2^{10}; Aḥiḳar, 14^{10}; Raga, $4^{1.\,20}$; 'Arag, 9^2; 'Edna, 7^2; 'Edna, 7^{14}. Alterations:—102 years, 14^2; 107 years, 14^{14}; 10 days, 8^{20}. Additions:—Edna dressed Sarah, 7^{16}; Anna put on a veil before going to meet her son, 11^9. Omissions:—13^{9-18}, where Tobit exults in the glories of the future Jerusalem; 14^3 'Jonah' and also 'Nahum'; 14^5 the words, 'but not like to the former house'; $14^{6.9}$ that all nations shall forsake idolatry; 7^{13} the marriage contract.—(ε) *Aramaic* is embedded in a Midrash, and is inserted there to show the merit of giving tithes. The moral at the end also is: 'Behold we learn how great is the power of alms and tithes,' and Gn 14^{20} 26^{12} 28^{22} are cited in confirmation. Its chief peculiarity is that the MS virtually closes with ch. 11. A few lines, in place of Greek ch. 12, state that Raphael did not go into the house, but went his way; and when Tobias went out to seek him he could not find him, nor had any one seen him; and thus Tobit knew he was an angel. In place of ch. 14, Aram. states that, when Tobit fell sick, he called for his son and impressed on him the importance of almsgiving from the example of the three patriarchs. Aram. omits Tobit's genealogy, 1^1; Aḥiḳar's offices, 1^{22}; Elymais, 2^{10}; and the dog, 5^{17} 6^2א 11^4. On the other hand, it expands Sennacherib's return, 1^{18}; Anna's welcome to Sarah, 11^9; and Tobit's thanksgiving, 11^{14}. In 10^7 Aram. and HM say, 'Anna ate nothing but tears.' Aram. abridges the destination of the three tithes, 1^{6-8}; calls Asmodæus 'king of Shedim,' $3^{8.\,17}$+; and renders 5^{18} 'without money, God has fed us.' It contains 4^{7-19} lacking in א; and agrees with B against א about as often as with א against B.—(ζ) *Heb. Munsteri* is remarkable for its omissions from the Gr., sometimes pruning its redundancies as in $4^{6.\,11-16}$ $6^{11.\,14}$+. With Aram. it omits 1^{21}; Elymais, 2^{10}. It omits Sarah's intention to hang herself, 3^{10}; and her going to meet Tobias, 7^1. It omits 'Noah' from 4^{12}; the citation of Gn 2^{18} in 8^6; Tobit's conversation with Anna, 10^{2-5}; and Aḥiḳar's visit, 11^{18}. It abridges Tobit's prayer for death, 3^6; and the prayers in 8^5 $8^{15f.}$ $12^{6ff.}$. But HM has also several original enlargements: notably after 1^{20}, where we have a Midrash on the mischief caused by Sennacherib. After 3^4 it cites Is 1^9, and Ps 17^{15} after 4^{10}. It abridges and modifies the Song in ch. 13 (omitting ch. 14), and its last words are, 'O Lord of the world! show us in our days salvation and redemption by the coming of our Redeemer and the building of Ariel'; then citing Jer 23^6, Ps 147^2. Theological features are the thrice repeated prayer for 'children devoted to the Law,' 8^7 9^6 10^{11}; the designation of Raphael as 'prince,' 3^{17} 12^{15}; Jerusalem as 'Ariel,' 13^{16}; and Jehovah as 'the Holy One, blessed be he,' 4^{19} 12^{12}+. A play on words occurs in 3^7 'It is not meet to call thee Sarah, but Ẓarah (distress).' Instances in which HM agrees with Aram. against the Gr. are: 1^{10} (dwell), 1^{13} (until his death), 2^{10} (every morning), 5^3 $9^{2.\,5}$ (bag), 3^{16} 12^{11} (throne), 6^{17} (under her clothes), 6^{18} ('foreseen' for 'foreordained'), 10^7 (nothing but tears).—(η) *Heb. Fagii* differs from B very considerably. It is fond of inserting OT texts: 3^5 Ps 40^{13}, 3^6 Ps 63^3, 4^{13} Pr 16^{18}, 4^{19} Pr 3^3, 13^6 Ps 86^{15} 96^6 72^{10}, Jer 31^{17}. It aims at precision: in speaking of 'peace-offerings,' 1^4; 'a beka'' for 'a drachma,' 5^{14}; 'the right of redemption,' 3^{17} 7^{10}; 'the eternal home,' 3^8; 'the Torah and the Halakhah,' 7^{12}; the seven blessings, 7^{13}; the cemetery, 8^9; and especially in 1^8, where it assigns the third tithe 'for the repair of the breaches of the house,' cf. 2 K 22^5. Interesting theological allusions occur: 3^{16} prayer was heard before our Father in heaven, 4^{11} the judgment of Gehinnom, 8^6 the first Adam, 6^{17} the union of Tobias and Sarah was foreseen from the 6th day of creation, 8^{15} the Æons of the Gr. cursives are described as 'those who are exalted above all blessing and praise,' 14^5 'the house shall stand until the completion of one æon.' But the learned Rabbi was no geographer. He gives Alemania = Germany for Elymais in 2^{10}; Midian for Media, 1^{14}; and Laodicea (?), 6^2. The latter part of ch. 14 is meagre. Aḥiḳar is omitted 11^{18} 14^{10}.—(θ) *Heb. Lond.* is, as we have said, remarkable for presenting many readings heretofore found only in Vulgate. Such, *e.g.*, are 1^{14} 'power to go where he wished'+, 1^{23} Tobit fled naked with wife and son, $2^{12ff.}$ the parallel between Tobit and Job, 3^{10} Sarah spent 3 days in prayer, $6^{18ff.}$ Raphael advises 3 nights of continence. HL also agrees with Vulg. in omitting Aḥiḳar in B 2^{10} and the doctors in א 2^{10}, as well as in many other omissions; but HL gives the absurd amount of 1000 talents in 1^{14}; it narrates Sarah's intended suicide, which Vulg. omits, 3^{15}; it states that Anna went to the outskirts of the town, 5^{16}; and that a large party went with the bridal pair a day's journey homewards; and every one gave a ring of gold and a *ḳĕsîṭah* and a piece of silver, 11^1; it also introduces two long original prayers, by Tobias and Sarah, in the bridal chamber, ch. 8. Vulg. only gives Sarah's prayer thus: 'Be merciful to us, O Lord, be merciful, and let us both grow old healthily together,' 8^{10}.—(ι) HG has a few unique readings: *e.g.* 'dust' for 'dung,' 2^{10}; 'ring' for 'bond,' 5^3; and that Tobias put the heart of the fish on a *censer* and burnt it under Sarah's clothes. It is very brief, but agrees closely with Aram.: *e.g.* HG and Aram. only say that the fish 'sought to eat the *bread* of the youth,' 6^{2}.—(*ϰ*) *Itala* is a close translation of ℵ. We have collated only the text given by Neubauer. Its chief eccentricity is the spelling of proper names. Bihel for Thisbe, 1^{2}; Raphain for Phogor, 1^{2}; Bathania for Ecbatana, 5^{6}; Anna (so Vulg.) for Edna, wife of Raguel. It states that Raphael *read* the prayers before God, 12^{12}; and gives 'didrachma' for 'drachma,' 5^{14}.—(λ) *Vulgate.* Jerome omits (with HL) all mention of Aḥiḳar, except in 11^{20}, which is probably an interpolation. He also omits the patriarchs in 4^{12}; the fate of Nadab, 14^{10}; and the fate of Nineveh, 14^{15}. But he has several additions. Some we have mentioned under HL. Others are Sarah's prayer, 3^{13}; and her self-vindication, $3^{16ff.}$. These are found in HL, but in more biblical language; but Vulg. alone states that Tobias, father and son, remained three hours on their faces before Raphael, 12^{22}; that the dog wagged its tail, 11^{9}; that the coating of an egg peeled off Tobit's eyes, 11^{14}; that Tobias held his father half an hour, 11^{14}; and closed the eyes of Raguel in death, 14^{15}. Scholars have often pointed out the indications in Vulg. of the fact that Jerome was a Christian and an ascetic. Even if provisionally we concede that he had an Aram. MS before him, which in the narrative resembled HL, Jerome's personal influence can still be traced. The three nights' continence we should have to surrender ($6^{18ff.}$), as this is in HL; but HL does not contain 2^{18}, where in Vulg. Tobit says, 'We are sons of God, and wait for that *life* which God is about to give'; so 12^{9} 12^{13} 9^{11}.

iii. ORIGINAL LANGUAGE.—We wish now to adduce evidence, which we trust will be regarded as conclusive, that the original language was *Aramaic.* (1) The Aram. form אָתוּר (Heb. אַשּׁוּר) is found in ℵ 14^{15} Ἀθουρεία, and 14^{4} Ἀθήρ. (2) If we accept alphabet 69 in Euting's *Tabula Scripturæ Aramaicæ* as an approximation to the Aram. alphabet used (*ex hypothesi*) in the original copy of Tobit, we find that it explains the diverse form of many proper names, as in each case the letters confounded are very similar: *e.g.* שמליה in ℵ 5^{13} for שמעיה in B; ענמסר for שלמנסר; סנחרים in ℵ 1^{15} + for סנחריב; עביאל HF 9^{5} for נבאל; פנר in ℵ 1^{2} for פער; רנואל for רעואל; קסרי in ℵ 10^{13} for כסרי in Syr. (3) The variants in the VSS are often possible renderings of the same Aramaic word. 'The *mountain* of Ararat,' 1^{21} (Bℵ, Syr., It.), and 'the *land* of Ararat' (Aram. HM, HF), are possible renderings of טוּר (Schwally, *Idioticon*, 37). 'Thou judgest *for ever*,' 3^{2}, [Bℵ, It.] 'Thou judgest *the world*,' [Aram., HM], give לעלם; 5^{7} 'Wait *young man*' [ℵ Syr.], 'Wait *a little*' [Aram. HM], give זעיר; 2^{4} 'I left the *meal*' [ℵ Vulg.], 'I left the *table*' [Aram. HM, It.], give שרותא. In Pal. Syr. at Ac 16^{34} this word is used for τράπεζαν. In 4^{17} Jerome has *constitue* for ἔκχεον, thus giving to סַךְ, imperative of Aram. נסך 'to pour out,' the meaning of Heb. נסך or סכך. (4) In other instances the variants yield *similar* Aramaic words—

1^{4}	ℵ, Heb., Itala	was *built* in it	אתבני
	Syriac	was *prophesied* in it	אתנבי
1^{13}	ℵB	God gave me μορφήν	דמותא
	HM, HF	God gave me *favour*	רחמותא
1^{18}	ℵB, Aramaic	I *stole* the bodies	ננבת
	Itala	I *wrapped* . . .	ענבת
1^{21}	ℵB	all the *finance* of the kingdom	חשבנא
	Itala	all the *care* . . .	חששא
2^{6}	B .	your *pleasures*	שבוהיכון
	ℵ	your *ways*	שביליכון
	Itala	your *songs*	שבחיכון
2^{10}	ℵB	Achiacharus *nourished* me	פַּרְנֵם
	HF, It. II.	Ach. *persuaded* me	פַּיֵּים
4^{3}	ℵ	bury me *honourably*	בהדרא
	HF	bury me *immediately*	כהדרא
6^{17}	ℵ, HF	*Take* her	שא לה
	Itala	*Ask* for her	שאל לה
8^{3}	ℵ	*bound* him forthwith	חבר
	Itala	*returned* forthwith	חור
10^{12}	B	*Honour* thy father	הַדֵּר
	ℵ	*Return* to thy father	הֲדַר
11^{11}	B	*daubed* it on his eyes	פח
	ℵ	*blew* into his eyes	אפית
12^{13}	ℵB	thou didst *cover* the dead	שקעת
	Syriac	thou didst *carry away*, etc.	שקלת
12^{14}	ℵB	sent me *to heal* thee	מיסא
	Itala	,, ,, *to test* thee	מְסייא
14^{4}	ℵ	our brethren *shall be counted*	יתפרעון
	B	,, , *shall be scattered*	יתפרשון
14^{5}	ℵ	the time of *the seasons*	עלמיא
	HF	,, ,, *one æon*	עלם א׳
	Itala	,, ,, *cursings*	עלבניא

iv. HISTORICAL CHARACTER.—This was never called in question until Luther did so. The minuteness of its details has often been adduced as evidence of its historicity, and it must be admitted that there is nothing in it so marvellous and superstitious as to be incredible to educated men of antiquity. The angelophany is only a slight amplification of Gn 18; possession by unclean spirits was a recognized belief, and exorcism by fumigation was recognized in medical science. W. R. Smith quotes from Ḳaswini, i. 132, that 'the smell of the smoke of crocodiles' liver cures epilepsy, and its dung and gall cure Leucoma' (*Encyc. Brit.*⁹ art. 'Tobit'). Without calling in question that the book probably rests on a real history, the following considerations forbid our regarding it as being what it claims to be, viz. a narrative written in the 7th cent. B.C.:—(1) It contains *historical* errors. (*a*) It was Tiglath-pileser who took Naphtali and Zebulun into captivity (B.C. 734), not Shalmaneser, 2 K 15^{29}. (*β*) Sennacherib was not Shalmaneser's son (1^{15}), but the son of Sargon a usurper. (*γ*) It is implied in 1^{4} that Tobit was a boy at the time of Jeroboam's revolt from the house of David. (*δ*) The occurrence of Ahasuerus (14^{15}) and Aman (A 14^{10}) ought not to be pushed. Ἀσύηρος in B is a scribe's blunder for Ἀθουρίας in ℵ, and Ἀμάν in A is due to the same cause, taking Ἀχιάχαρος for Mordecai.—(2) It is a *geographical* error to put the Tigris between Nineveh and Ecbatana; and also to state (so ℵ Aram. HM, It.) that Rhagæ is two days from Ecbatana. B omits the 'two days'; but in 6^{9} says that Ecbatana was '*nigh* unto Rhagæ.' It took the army of Alexander 10 days to march from one to the other (Arrian, iii. 20).—(3) The *spirit* and *theological tone* belong to a later date.

v. DATE OF COMPOSITION.—Most Roman Catholic authorities, relying on 12^{20} 13^{1}, ascribe the book to the 7th cent. B.C. Ilgen maintains that 1–3^{7} 13^{1-8} was written by Tobit in B.C. 689, and the rest in Palestine about B.C. 280. Ewald fixes it B.C. 350. Graetz assigns it to the time of Hadrian (A.D. 130), and Kohut to A.D. 226. The chief reason alleged for the last two dates is that it is considered that the one principal object of the book is to insist on the duty of burying the dead. Twice in Jewish history was this prohibited: after the fall of Bether, so valiantly defended by Bar Cochba, and in Persia under Ardeshir I. Both these dates are probably nonsuited by the fact that Tobit is cited by Polycarp († 155). The following considerations suggest the 2nd cent. B.C. as the probable date:—(1) Unless it could be shown that 14^{5} is prophetic, it implies that the writer was living at the time of a temple which was inferior in grandeur to Solomon's, *i.e.* before the time of Herod. (2) The law of marriage with relatives, so strongly insisted on also in the Book of Jubilees, fell into desuetude before the 2nd cent. A.D. (Rosenmann, *Studien z. B. Tobit*). (3) The prominence given to the duty of interring the dead may well have been caused by the action of Antiochus Epiphanes, who, we are told (2 Mac 5^{10}), 'cast out a multitude unburied.' (4) Marriages with Gentiles still needed discouragement, 4^{12} 6^{15}. (5) It contains no bright eschatology, and no

Messianic hope, from which it seems to have been written before the persecution of Antiochus. (6) Its soteriological and ethical tone closely resembles that of other works known to have been written about a century B.C. This we will now try to prove.

vi. TOBIT AND CONTEMPORARY JEWISH LITERATURE.—**1.** *Sirach.* There is, as Fuller has shown (*Speaker's Apocr.* i. 160), a great resemblance between the thought of Tobit and Sirach.

(1) As to the saving value of good works. Both emphasize the value of almsgiving: it is a good gift in God's sight, To 4^{11}, fills the doer with life, cleanses away all sin and delivers from death, 12^{9}; cf. Sir 3^{20} 29^{12} 40^{24}. Sinners are enemies of their own life, 12^{10}; cf. Sir 18^{21} 38^{15}. (2) The eschatology of Sir. and of Tobit are on the same plane. Both regard Sheol as the abode of joyless shades: it is ὁ αἰώνιος τόπος, 3^{6}, where even the righteous go, 3^{10} 13^{2}; cf. Sir 46^{19} 14^{16} 17^{28}. (3) Both insist on reverent interment of the dead. Very pathetically does Tobit ask to be buried, 4^{3}, and for Sarah to be buried beside him, 4^{4}; he risks his life to inter his brethren, 1^{17} $2^{3.7}$, and urges his son to place cakes (and wine, Aram., HF, It., Vulg.) on the graves of the righteous [cf. Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, i. 485 ff., ii. 30 ff.]; cf. Sir 7^{33} 30^{18} 38^{16}. (4) Both set value on the same ethical duties: purity of marriage, $4^{12f.}$ 8^{6}, Sir 7^{26} 36^{24}; honesty to servants, 4^{14}, Sir $7^{20f.}$; the true estimate of wealth, 5^{18}, Sir 5^{1}; benevolence, $4^{7.14.17}$, Sir 4^{1-5} 12^{4} 35^{10}. (5) Both base all virtue on the fear of God, $4^{5.6.19}$, Sir 6^{37} 35^{10} 37^{15}.

2. *The Story of Aḥiḳar.*—In this work, recently published by Camb. Univ. Press, Aḥiḳar is a pious vizier of Sennacherib, who, being childless, adopted a boy, Nadan, and took much pains with his instruction; but when Nadan grew up he incriminated his adoptive father by false letters, and caused him to be sentenced to death. The executioner spared his life, and imprisoned him in a cellar under his (Aḥiḳar's) house. At length he was released, and vengeance was executed on Nadan. This is the story which is alluded to in 14^{10}, more fully in ℵ than B.

Aḥiḳar, in 'the Story,' bemoans himself thus: 'I have no son to *bury* me, nor a daughter, and my possessions no one inherits.' Read with this To 1^{18} 2^{7} 3^{15} 4^{3}. There are many features of resemblance between Aḥiḳar's moral teaching to Nadan, and Tobit's to Tobias. In the Syriac Version of Aḥiḳar (*op. cit.* 61) we read: 'My son, eat thy portion, and despise not the righteous' (cf. To 4^{13}); 'Do not eat bread with a shameless man' (cf. To 4^{17} Vulg.); 'Associate with a wise man and thou wilt become like him' (cf. To 4^{18}); 'My benevolence has saved me' (cf. To 4^{10}); 'My son, flee from whoredom' (*op. cit.* 5); cf. 4^{12}; and notably, 'Pour out thy wine on the graves of the righteous, rather than drink it with evil men'; cf. 4^{17} 'Pour . . . give (it) not to sinners.' Harris discusses the two texts of ℵ and B in the *Story of Aḥiḳar*, ch. v., and also in the *Amer. Journ. of Theology*, iii. 541.

3. *The Book of Jubilees* contains passages probably known to the author of Tobit.

To 4^{12} states that Noah took a wife from his relatives. Of course there is no Scripture warrant for this; but Jubilees (ch. 4) furnishes us with the names of the wives of all the patriarchs from Adam to Noah, and each one married a very near relative. Again, when Jacob left home for Haran, Isaac (Jub 27^{10}) uses words to Rebekah which resemble To $5^{20f.}$ 10^{6} 'My sister, weep not: he has gone in peace, and in peace will he return (so ℵ 5^{21}). The Most High will preserve him from all evil. For I know his way will be prospered . . . and he will return in peace to us (To 5^{20}), for he is on the straight path (4^{19}). He is faithful (ℵ 10^{6}), and will not perish.' In Jub 22^{16} we read, 'Separate thyself from the nations, and eat not with them, and become not their associate (To 1^{10}): they offer their sacrifices to the dead, and eat over their graves' (To 4^{17}).

4. The *Testament of Job* has the foll. parallels:—

Job's wife begged bread for him (ch. 22); Job sang a hymn (ch. 33); in ch. 45 Job, when dying, says, 'Behold, I die; only forget not the Lord (To 4^{5}); do good to the poor (4^{16}); despise not the helpless (4^{13}); take not to yourselves wives from strangers (4^{12}), and, lo, I distribute to you all as much as belongs to me' (4^{16}).

5. *Judith* (8^{2}) attaches importance to the fact that she and her husband were 'of the same tribe and family.'

vii. TOBIT IN THE CHURCH.—The *Didaché* (1^{2}) gives this advice, 'Whatever thou wishest not to happen to thee, do not thou to another'; To 4^{15} gives this form, 'What thou hatest, do not to another' (so also Hillel [Taylor, *Pirḳe Aboth*, 37]). *Did* 4^{6-8} is also an adaptation of To $4^{10f.}$. Polycarp (*ad Phil.* ch. 10) says, 'When ye can do good, defer it not, for almsgiving delivers from death'; cf. To 12^{9}. Pseudo-Clem. (*ad Cor.* 16) seems to quote 12^{8} thus: 'Almsgiving is as good as repentance for sin; fasting is better than prayer, but almsgiving (is better) than both. Love covereth a multitude of sins. Prayer from a good conscience saveth from death.' Harris (*Amer. Journ. Theol.* iii. 546 ff.) suggests to read 'prayer' for the first 'almsgiving'; and thinks we have the original reading of To 12^{9} in the Gr. cursives. 'Good is prayer with fasting, and almsgiving with righteousness better than both.' Clem. Alex. quotes 4^{16} as ἡ γραφή (*Strom.* ii. 23, § 139). Origen (*Ep. ad Afric.* xiii.) and Athanasius (*Apol. c. Arian.* xi.) use Tobit as canonical, though theoretically they did not include it in the Canon, because it was not in the Heb. Bible. Cyprian treats it as authoritative in his work on the Lord's Prayer (c. 32). Hilary cites it to prove the intercession of angels (*in Ps.* 129^{7}). Ambrose (*de Tobiâ*, 1. 1) treated the book as prophetic, and Augustine included it among the Apocr. of the LXX which 'the Christian Church received' (*de Doctr. Christ.* ii. 8). Jerome (*Præf. ad libb. Salomonis*) allowed its perusal, but forbade its canonicity; whereas the Council of Carthage (A.D. 397) and the Councils of Florence (1439) and of Trent (1546) declared it canonical. Luther (cf. Fritzsche, p. 19) deemed it 'a truly beautiful, wholesome, and profitable fiction.' The Homilies of the Church of England use 4^{10} 12^{9} as 'a lesson which the Holy Ghost doth teach in sundry places of the Scripture' (Second Book, *On Almsdeeds*, part 1). The Offertory contains sentences drawn from To 4^{7-9}, and the preface to the Marriage Service, that marriage 'ought not to be taken in hand lightly or wantonly to satisfy carnal lusts,' is clearly an adaptation of Vulg. 6^{17}; in fact, the first Prayer Book of Edward VI. contained these words: 'As Thou didst send the angel Raphael to Thobie and Sara, the daughter of Raguel, to their great comfort, so vouchsafe to send Thy blessing upon these Thy servants.' The names of Abraham and Sarah are now substituted.

LITERATURE.—*COMMENTARIES:* Ilgen, *Die Geschichte Tobi's, nach drey verschiedenen Originalen*, Jena, 1800; Reusch, *Das Buch Tobias*, Freiburg, 1857; Fritzsche, *Exeg. Handbk.* 1853; Fuller, *Speaker's Apocr.*, vol. i., London, 1888; Sengelmann, *Das Buch Tobit*, Hamburg, 1857; Gutberlet, *Das Buch Tobias*, Münster, 1877; Bissell in Lange's *Apocr.*, Edinburgh, 1880; Scholz, *Comm. z. B. Tobias*, Wurzburg, 1889; Zöckler, *Apokr. des AT*, München, 1891; Löhr in Kautzsch's *Apokr. u. Pseudepigr. des AT*, Tübingen, 1900.—*TEXTS:* Swete, *OT in Greek*, vol. ii., gives the text of B and ℵ in full, with readings from A as footnotes; Fritzsche gives the text of the Cursives 44. 106 in his *Com.* pp. 89–104; Neubauer on *Tobit* gives Aram., HM, It. I.; the Syriac is found conveniently in Lagarde's *Libri VT Apocr. Syriace*, London, 1861; for HF we have only Walton's *Polyglot*; the most accurate edition of Vulg. is that of Vercellone, Romæ, 1861.—*HELPS TO STUDY:* Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. 37–44; *The Story of Ahikar*, from the Syr., Arab., Arm., Eth., Gr., and Slav. Versions, by Conybeare, Harris, and Mrs. Lewis, Camb. Univ. Press, 1898; 'Testament of Job' (*TS* v. 1; also in *Sem. Stud. in Memory of A. Kohut*, Berlin, 1897, pp. 264–338); Book of Jubilees, tr. by Conybeare in *JQR* vi. vii.; Nestle, *Septuagintastudien*, iii. 1899, p. 22 ff.; W. R. Smith's art. 'Tobit' in *Encycl. Brit.* 9; Nöldeke, *Monatsber. der kön. Akad. der Wissensch. zu Berlin*, 1879, p. 45 ff. [orig. lang. Greek]; Grätz, *Monatsschr.* 1879, pp. 145 ff., 385 ff., 433 ff., 509 ff. [orig. lang. New Heb.].

J. T. MARSHALL.

TOCHEN (תֹּכֶן 'task,' 'measure'; B Θόκκα, A Θόχχαν; *Thochen*).—A town of Simeon mentioned with Ain, Rimmon, and Ashan (1 Ch 4^{32}), and consequently in the Negeb. There is no name like Tochen in the corresponding list of Jos 19^{7}, where, however, the LXX Θόκκα shows that the name has fallen out. The site is unknown.

C. W. WILSON.

TOGARMAH (תֹּגַרְמָה, Θοργαμά, *Thogorma*).—Son of Gomer and brother of Ashkenaz and Riphath (Gn 10^{3}). If Ashkenaz is the Asguza of the Assyr.

inscriptions which is associated with the Minni by Esarhaddon, we shall have to look for Togarmah to the east of Assyria. In 1881 Fr. Delitzsch suggested that it might be Til-garimmu, a fortress of Kummukh or Comagênê; but it must have been a country, since horses and mules were exported from it (Ezk 27^{14}), and not a mere fortress. Most modern authorities decide for Western Armenia. A. H. SAYCE.

TOHU.—See NAHATH.

TOI.—See TOU.

TOKHATH.—See TIKVAH.

TOLA (תּוֹלָע 'crimson worm' 'cochineal'; Θωλά, Jg $10^{1.2}$).—A minor judge, following Abimelech. His name is that of one of the chief clans of Issachar; see Gn 46^{13}, Nu 26^{23} (הַתּוֹלָעִי, ὁ Τωλαεί), 1 Ch $7^{1f.}$, and art. PUAH. His home and burial-place were at Shamir, the seat of the clan, probably in the N. of the highlands of Ephraim: the site is unknown.
G. A. COOKE.

TOLAD (תּוֹלָד 'birth,' 'generation'; B Θουλαέμ, A Θωλάδ; *Tholad*).—A town of Simeon mentioned with Ezem, Bethuel, Hormah, and Ziklag (1 Ch 4^{29}). It is the same place as El-tolad in the Negeb (Jos 15^{30} 19^{4}). The site has not been recovered.
C. W. WILSON.

TOLBANES (Τολβάνης), 1 Es 9^{25}=Telem, Ezr 10^{24}.—One of the porters in the time of Ezra.

TOLL, PLACE OF (*τελώνιον*, Mt 9^{9}, Mk 2^{14}, Lk 5^{27}, in AV 'receipt of custom').—The place where the tax collector sat to receive his dues. In Wyclif's translation it is rendered *tolbothe*. In the case of Matthew or Levi, the toll collected was the custom exacted by and paid into the treasury of Herod Antipas, the Idumæan prince who then ruled over Galilee. The *τελώνιον* at Capernaum was of importance, as a large traffic passed on the highway between Damascus and Ptolemais. See PUBLICAN. J. MACPHERSON.

TOMB.—See BURIAL and SEPULCHRE.

TONGUES, CONFUSION OF.—The narrative of Gn 11^{1-9} is too familiarly known to need detailed repetition here; and it will be sufficient to recall briefly its leading features. Mankind, at the time to which it refers, all had one speech, and lived together. They journeyed, it seems to be implied, nomadically from spot to spot; and on one of their journeys they found a plain in the land of Shin'ār (Babylonia), where they settled, and where also they determined to build a city, and a lofty tower, which should both gain them lasting renown, and also serve as a centre, or rallying-point, to prevent their being dispersed over the surface of the earth. J″, however, 'came down' to view the building, and [supplying here, with Stade, *ZAW*, 1895, p. 158, and others, words which v.^{7} seems to show have been omitted] having returned to His lofty abode, signified to His heavenly counsellors or associates there (cf. 3^{22}) His disapproval of it: if this, He said, is the beginning of their ambition, what will be the end of it? nothing will soon be too hard for them. So He 'came down' a second time, and 'confounded' (Heb. *bālal*) their language; and from this occurrence the narrator (J) explains the diversity of existing languages, the dispersion of mankind, and the name of the city of Babylon (in Heb. *Babel*).

1. From a critical point of view, the narrative presents considerable difficulties; for, though it belongs to J, it is difficult to harmonize with other representations of the same source. The distribution of mankind into different nations has been already described by J in (parts of) ch. 10, and represented there, not as a punishment for misdirected ambition, but as the result of natural processes and movements; and Babylon, the building of which is here interrupted, is in 10^{10} represented as already built. The narrative connects also very imperfectly with the close of J's narrative of the Flood; for, though the incident which it describes is placed shortly after the Flood, the terms of v.^{1} ('the whole earth'), and the general tenor of the following account, imply a considerably larger population than the 'eight souls' of Noah's family. In all probability (Dillm.) the story originally grew up without reference to the Flood, or the usual derivation of mankind from the three sons of Noah, and it has been imperfectly accommodated to the narratives in chs. 9 and 10; perhaps, indeed, Wellh. and others (cf. the *Oxf. Hex. ad loc.*) are right in conjecturing that originally it belonged to the same cycle of tradition of which fragments are preserved in 4^{17-24}, and formed part of the sequel to 4^{24}.

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion (Wellh., Dillm., and others; cf. the *Oxf. Hex.* ii. 5 f.) that 4^{17-24} (describing the beginnings of *existing* civilization) belongs to a cycle of tradition, in which the continuity of human history was not interrupted by a Flood; and if the conjecture, just mentioned, respecting 11^{1-9} be correct, the same assumption must of course be made with regard to that.

2. That the narrative can contain no scientific or historically true account of the origin of language, is evident from many indications. In the first place, *if* it is in its right place, it can be demonstrated to rest upon unhistorical assumptions: for the biblical date of the Flood (Ussher's artificial treatment of Gn 11^{27} and Ex 12^{40} being disregarded) is B.C. 2501 (or, acc. to the LXX of Gen. and Ex., 3066); and, so far from the whole earth being at either B.C. 2501 or B.C. 3066 'of one language and one speech,' we possess inscriptions dating from periods much earlier than either of these dates written in *three* distinct languages—Sumerian, Babylonian, and Egyptian. But, even if Wellh.'s supposition, that the narrative belongs really to an earlier stage in the history of mankind, be accepted, it would still be impossible to regard it as historical. For (1) it could not, even then, be placed in a different category from the other narratives in Gn 1-11, which (for reasons which cannot be stated fully here; cf. FALL, FLOOD, etc.) must relate to the prehistoric period. And (2) the narrative, while explaining ostensibly the diversity of *languages*, offers no explanation of the diversity of *races*. And yet diversity of language—meaning here by the expression not the relatively subordinate differences which are always characteristic of languages developed from a common parent-tongue, but those more radical differences relating alike to structure, grammar, and roots, which show that the languages exhibiting them cannot be referred to a common origin—is *dependent upon diversity of race.* Of course, cases occur in which a people living near a people of another race, or sub-race, have adopted their language (as, *e.g.*, the Celts in Cornwall have adopted English); but, speaking generally, radically different languages are characteristic of different races, or (if the word be used in its widest sense) of subdivisions of races, or sub-races, which, in virtue of the *faculty* of creating language distinctive of man, have created them for purposes of intercommunication and to satisfy their social instincts. Differences of *race*, in other words, are more primary in man than differences of *language*,[*] and have first to be accounted for. It is, now, a disputed ethnological

---

[*] Cf. Sayce, *Races of the OT*, p. 37 f., 'Diversity of race is older than diversity of language.'

problem whether man appeared originally upon the globe at one centre or at many centres.

The former of these alternatives is preferred by modern scientific authorities. Mr. Darwin in his *Descent of Man*, vol. i. ch. 7, after reviewing the arguments on both sides, sums up (pp. 231-233, ed. 1871) in its favour (upon the ground, stated briefly, that the resemblances, physical and mental, between different races are such that it is extremely improbable that they should have been acquired independently by aboriginally distinct species or races): see also to the same effect Lyell, *Principles of Geology*[12] (1875), ii. ch. 43; Huxley, *Critiques and Addresses* (1883), p. 163 ff. (= *Collected Essays*, vii. p. 249 ff.); and Dr. Tylor, art. 'Anthropology' in the *Encycl. Brit.*[9] and in his volume *Anthropology* (1881), p. 6. But of course these authorities postulate for man a far higher antiquity than is allowed by the biblical narrative (so also Sayce, *Races of the OT*, 23, 37).

But, whichever of these alternatives be adopted, it is easy to see that differences of race are not accounted for in the biblical narratives: the case of primitive man appearing independently at different centres (with, it may be supposed, racial distinctions, at least to some degree, already implanted in him at these centres) is not contemplated in them at all; if, on the other hand, racial differences were gradually developed by the play of natural selection upon the descendants of a single pair, migrating into new climatic and other physical conditions, then the growth of these differences is neither explained by the biblical narratives, nor, in fact, reconcilable with them. For, taking account only of the simplest and most obvious division of mankind into the white, black, and yellow races,* even Gn 10 (Sayce, *HCM* 120) notices only (except Cush?) tribes and nations belonging to the *white* race; while, from the known fixity of racial types, in cases where we are able to observe them, it is certain that, if the white, black, and yellow races, with the many sub-races included in each, have been developed from a single original pair, the process must have occupied a vastly longer period of time than is allowed by the biblical narrative (which places the creation of man at B.C. 4157, or [LXX] B.C. 5328), however early after Adam the dispersion of Gn 11[9] may be supposed to have actually occurred.

3. It does not fall within the province of a Dictionary of the Bible to give an account of the languages of the world; but a few particulars may be stated here for the purpose of indicating the general conclusions to which the study of the subject has led modern philologists. Prof. Sayce writes (*Introd. to the Science of Language*, 1880, ii. 31 f.): 'The genealogical classification of languages, that which divides them into families and sub-families, each mounting up, as it were, to a single parent-speech, is based on the evidence of grammar and roots. Unless the grammar agrees, no amount of similarity between the roots of two languages could warrant us in comparing them together, and referring them to the same stock. . . . The test of linguistic kinship is agreement in structure [*i.e.* the formation of sentences], grammar, and roots. Judged by this test, the languages at present spoken in the world probably fall, as Prof. Friedrich Müller observes, into "about 100 different families," between which science can discover no connexion or relationship. When we consider how many languages have' probably 'perished since man first appeared upon the globe, we may gain some idea of the numberless essays and types of speech which have gone to form the language-world of the present day.' Basque is an example of an isolated survival of an otherwise extinct family of speech; and in Tasmania four dialects spoken when our colonists first landed on the island have recently disappeared. On pp. 33-64 of the same volume Prof. Sayce gives a list of 75 families of languages, all unrelated to each other, and each comprising mostly a variety of individual languages or groups of languages.

Of these families the two best known are the Semitic and the Aryan (or Indo-European). The principal languages included in the *Semitic* family are Assyro-Babylonian, Hebrew, Phœnician and Punic, the different Aramaic dialects, Arabic, the S. Arabian dialects (Himyaritic or Sabæan, and Minæan), Ethiopic and allied dialects: all these, though in subordinate details they often differ widely, yet display such obvious resemblances in 'structure, grammatical form, and roots,' that they are manifestly merely varieties of a common parent-tongue. The principal groups included in the *Aryan* family are the Indian group (Sanskrit, with allied languages and many modern vernaculars), the Iranian group (Zend, Persian, etc.), the Celtic group (Welsh, Cornish, Irish, etc.), the Italian group (Umbrian, Oscan, Latin, with the dependent Romance languages), the Thrako-Illyrian group, the Hellenic group, the Letto-Slavonic group (Slavonic, Russian, Polish, Lithuanian, etc.), and the Teutonic group (Gothic, Low German, Anglo-Saxon, English, Dutch, High German, Old Norse, Icelandic, Swedish, Danish, Norwegian): all these languages, though in details they differ even more widely than the Semitic languages, nevertheless exhibit so many common features as to make it evident that they are but varieties, which have arisen by gradual differentiation, under the influence of separation and different local conditions, out of a single original parent-tongue.

Languages, however, differ not only in grammar and roots, but also in a manner which it is more difficult for those, like ourselves, familiar with only one type of language, to realize, viz. 'morphologically,' or in the manner in which ideas are built up into a sentence. Different races do not *think* in the same way; and consequently the forms taken by the sentence in different languages are not the same. The only type of language with which we are practically acquainted is the 'inflectional' type, which prevails in Western Asia and Europe, and to which both the Semitic and Aryan families belong; but there are besides the 'agglutinative' type (of which Turkish is an example), spoken chiefly in Central Asia, the Islands of the Pacific, and many parts of Africa, the 'incorporating,' of which Basque (in S.W France) is the chief representative, the 'polysynthetic,' which prevails throughout America,* and the 'isolating' (of which Chinese is the best-known example), characteristic of Eastern Asia (Tibet, Burmah, etc.): all these types of language differing in the manner in which ideas are grouped by the mind, and combined into sentences (for further particulars reference must be made to Sayce, *op. cit.* i. 118-132, 374 ff., ii. 188 ff.; *Races of the OT*, 35 f.; or Whitney's art. 'Philology' in the *Encycl. Britannica*, ed. 9). It is remarkable, as even this cursory description will have indicated, that the morphological character of a language is correlated, in some hidden way, with the geographical and climatic conditions of the country in which it originated: thus the different families of languages spoken in America, though utterly unrelated to each other, are nevertheless all 'polysynthetic.'

It is an obvious corollary from the radical differences which the various families of language display, as compared with one another, that, whatever may have been the case with the races of mankind, the families of language spoken by mankind must have arisen independently at different centres of human life. 'The languages of the present world are but the selected residuum of the infinite variety of tongues that have grown up and decayed among the races of mankind. . . . The idioms of mankind have had many independent starting-points, and, like the Golden Age, which science has shifted from the past to the future, the dream of a universal language must be realized, if at all, not in the Paradise of Genesis, but in the unifying tendencies of civilization and trade' (Sayce, *Science of Lang.* ii. 322, 323).

---

* See, further, on the classification of the races of mankind, Dr. Tylor's article and work (ch. 3) referred to above.

* In polysynthetic languages the sentence is the unit of thought; and in many of them separate *words* hardly exist.

As need hardly be remarked, what the primitive language of mankind was, is unknown. Formerly, indeed, it was the general belief that it was Hebrew, and all other languages were supposed to be derived from this (!); see Max Müller, *Lectures on the Sc. of Lang.* 1st series, ed. 1864, p. 132 ff. Leibnitz appears to have been the first to point out the absurdity of this view, remarking justly (*ib.* p. 135 f.) that 'to call Hebrew the primitive language was like calling branches of a tree primitive branches'; and the science of comparative philology, which has arisen since Leibnitz's day, has but confirmed the soundness of his judgment. Even among the Semitic languages, Arabic, in many respects, exhibits older and more original features than Hebrew; besides, unless all analogy is deceptive, the language of primitive man must have been of a far more simple, undeveloped type than any of the existing Semitic languages.

4. Differences of language and differences of race thus point independently to the great antiquity of man upon the earth. And their evidence is more than confirmed by testimony from other quarters. Even during the last ten years the discoveries of Petrie and de Morgan in Egypt, and of Hilprecht and others in Babylonia, have shown that civilization existed in these two countries at a period considerably earlier than had previously been supposed; while the existence of inscriptions, sculptures, paintings, and various objects of art, belonging certainly to a date not later than B.C. 4000, makes it evident that the beginnings of civilization and art in both these countries must have preceded that date by many centuries, not to say by millennia. And the numerous relics of human workmanship, especially stone implements of different kinds, and bone or other material, engraven with figures, which have been found during recent years in different parts of Europe and America, bear testimony, in the opinion of geologists, to a greater antiquity still, and show that man, in a rude and primitive stage of development, ranged through the forests and river-valleys of these continents, in company with mammals now extinct, during periods of the so-called 'glacial age,' when the glaciers (which then extended over large parts both of the British Isles and of the Continent of Europe) retreated sufficiently to enable him to do so (Dawkins, *Early Man*, 112-122, 137, 152 ff., 161-164, 169, etc.). The date at which these relics of human workmanship were embedded in the deposits in which they are now found, cannot be estimated, precisely, in years B.C.; but the late Prof. Prestwich, a geologist not addicted to extravagant opinions, assigned to palæolithic man, as 'a rough approximate limit, on data very insufficient and subject to correction,' a period of from 20,000 to 30,000 years from the present time.

See Prestwich's *Geology* (1888), ii. 534; in his *Controverted Questions of Geology* (1895), p. 46, he gives similar but somewhat higher figures. It was in 1859 that 'the barriers which restricted the age of man to a limited traditional chronology were overthrown by the discoveries in the Valley of the Somme and Brixham Cave' (*ib.* p. 19). 'Palæolithic' implements are those found in association with extinct mammalia; 'neolithic' implements, which show a higher type of workmanship, are those found with existing species. In the palæolithic period, the 'river-drift man' hunted the elephant and the lion, the hippopotamus and the rhinoceros, in the valley of the Lower Thames.—See further on this subject Evans, *The Ancient Stone Implements, Weapons, and Ornaments of Great Britain*^{2}, 1897 (on their antiquity, pp. 703-9); Boyd Dawkins, *Early Man in Britain*, 1880 (where, at the end of the several chapters, the characteristics of the civilization of the successive ages—the river-drift hunter, the cave man, the neolithic farmer and herdsman [contemporary with the beginnings of organized empires in the East], the bronze age, and the iron age—are well indicated); Lyell, *Antiquity of Man*^{4}, 1873; Lord Avebury (Sir J. Lubbock), *Prehistoric Times*^{6} (1900), esp. ch. 11; G. F. Wright, *Man and the Glacial Age* (in the *Intern. Scient. Series*), 1892, p. 242 ff.; Morris, *Man and his Ancestor* (a small popularly written work), 1900, p. 21 ff.; Tylor, *Anthropology*, p. 28 ff. That man was coeval in Western Europe with the glacial period is accepted by Sayce, *Races of the OT*, p. 23.

The general conclusion, resulting from all that has been said, may be summed up in Dr. Tylor's words: 'Man's first appearance on earth goes back to an age compared with which the ancients, as we call them, are but moderns. The four thousand years of recorded history only take us back to a prehistoric period of untold length, during which took place the primary distribution of mankind over the earth and the development of the great races, the formation of speech and the settlement of the great families of language, and the growth of culture up to the levels of the old-world nations of the East, the forerunners and founders of modern civilized life' (*Anthropology*, p. 24).

5. It is thus apparent that there are two great facts, the *antiquity of man*, and the *wide distribution of man over the surface of the earth*, of which the biblical narrative, whether in 11^{1-9} or elsewhere, takes no account. It is true, of course, that $11^{8.9}$ accounts *ostensibly* for the distribution of man 'over the face of the whole earth'; but it has been shown above why it does not do so really: the dispersion is placed *too late* to account for the known facts respecting both the distribution of man and the diversity of races: how, for example, can the 'river-drift man' of the glacial, or even of the post-glacial, period be brought within the scope of the biblical narrative? To say that the biblical writers spoke only of the nations of whom they knew is perfectly true; but the admission deprives their statements of all historical or scientific value: 'palæolithic' and 'neolithic' man, and the black and yellow historic races, all existed; and any explanation, purporting to account for the populations of the earth, and the diversity of languages spoken by them, must take cognizance of them: an explanation which does not take cognizance of them can be no historically true account either of the diffusion of mankind, or of the diversity of speech. The first 11 chapters of Genesis, it may be safely assumed, report faithfully *what was currently believed among the Hebrews* respecting the early history of mankind: they contain no account of the *real* beginnings of man, or of human civilization, upon the earth.

6. The true explanation of the story in Gn 11^{1-9}, it cannot be doubted, is that which is given by Prof. (now Bishop) Ryle in his *Early Narratives of Genesis*, p. 127 ff. As in 2^{4b}–4 the origin of various existing customs and institutions is explained in accordance with the beliefs of Hebrew antiquity, so in 11^{1-9} the explanation is given of the diversity of languages spoken by different peoples inhabiting different parts of the earth. As soon as men began to reflect, they must have wondered what was the cause of differences of language, which not only impressed the Hebrews (Is 33^{19}, Dt 28^{49}, Jer 5^{15}, Ps 114^{1}), but also were an impediment to free intercourse, and accentuated national interests and antagonisms. 'The story of the Tower of Babel supplied to such primitive questionings an answer suited to the comprehension of a primitive time. Just as Greek fable told of the giants who strove to scale Olympus, so Semitic legend told of the impious act by which the sons of men sought to raise themselves to the dwelling-place of God, and erect an enduring symbol of human unity to be seen from every side'; and how Jehovah interposed to frustrate their purposes, and brought upon them the very dispersal which they had sought to avoid. The narrative thus contains simply the answer which Hebrew folk-lore gave to the question which differences of language and nationality directly suggested. At the same time, it is so worded as to convey (like the other early narratives of Genesis) spiritual lessons. Though the conception of Deity is naïve, and even, it may be (v.^{7}), imperfectly disengaged from polytheism, the narrative nevertheless emphasizes Jehovah's supremacy over the world; it teaches how the self-exaltation of man is checked by God; and it shows how the distribution of mankind into

nations, and diversity of language, is an element in His providential plan for the development and progress of humanity.

7. No Bab. parallel to Gn 11^{1-9} has as yet been discovered.

The reference in the fragmentary Brit. Mus. Inscription (K. 3657), tr. by G. Smith, *Chald.-Gen.* 160, and mentioned in *HCM* 153, is very uncertain; for though the inscr. does seem to speak of the erection of some building in Babylon by the order of the king, which offended the gods, so that they 'made an end by night' of the work done by day, the crucial words, rendered 'strong place' and 'speech,' are (as is admitted for the latter [*tullu*] by Smith himself, p. 163) both extremely doubtful: see Delitzsch's note in the Germ. tr. of Smith's book, p. 310; and for *tâzimtu*, 'strong place,' Del. *HWB* 37, where it is tr. *Wehklage*! Cf. the transcr. and tr. by Boscawen in *TSBA* v. (1877) p. 303 ff. (where, however, p. 308, 'speech' for *melik*, 'counsel' (*HWB* 413), is quite gratuitous).

In the Jewish Haggada of a later age, the tower was said to have been destroyed by mighty winds: see the *Orac. Sibyll.* iii. 97 ff. (whence Jos. *Ant.* I. iv. 3 [the quotation] = Alex. Polyhistor *ap.* Syncell. *Chron.*, ed. Dindorf, i. 81 C), and *Jubilees* 10^{19-26} (tr. Charles, *JQR* vi. 208 f.): cf. (from Abydenus) Eus. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 14 = Eus. *Chron.*, Schoene, i. 33 = Syncell. i. 81 D, and (from Eupolemus *ap.* Alex. Polyhistor) ix. 17. 1. From the fact that in Jos. and Abyd. (τοὺς ἀνέμους θεοῖσι βωθέοντας ἀνατρέψαι τὸ μηχάνημα) the plural 'gods' is used, Stade (*l.c.* p. 161 f.) conjectured that these authorities have preserved reminiscences of an older polytheistic version of the tradition.

In fact, though the narrative plainly presupposes a knowledge of Babylonia, it does not seem itself to be of Babylonian origin: if any Bab. legend lies at the basis of it, it must have been strongly Hebraized. As Gunkel has remarked, the narrator speaks as a foreigner rather than as a native: the unfavourable light in which the foundation of Babylon is represented; the idea that the erection of what (*ex hyp.*) can hardly have been anything but a Bab. *ziḳḳurat* (or pyramidal temple-tower *) was interrupted by (*ex hyp.*) a Bab. deity; the mention, as of something unusual, of brick and bitumen, as building materials, and the false etymology of the name 'Babel,' are all features not likely to have originated in Babylonia. It does, however, seem a probable conjecture (Ewald, *Jahrb.* ix. [1858] 12f., Schrader, Dillm.) that some gigantic tower-like building in Babylon, which had either been left unfinished or fallen into disrepair, gave rise to the legend. The tower in question has often been supposed to be Iuriminanki, the *ziḳḳurat* of Ê-zida, the great temple of Nebo, in Borsippa (a city almost contiguous to Babylon on the S.W.), the ruined remains of which form the huge pyramidal mound now called *Birs Nimroud.* This *ziḳḳurat*, remarkably enough, Nebuchadnezzar states had been built partially by a former king, but not completed: its 'head,' or top, had not been set up; it had also fallen into disrepair; and Neb. restored it.† Others regard it as an objection to this identification that Ê-zida was not actually *in* Babylon; and prefer to think of Itiminanki, the *ziḳḳurat* of Ê-sagil, the famous and ancient temple of Marduk in Babylon itself, the site of which is generally ‡ considered to be hidden under the massive oblong mound called *Babil*, about 20 miles N. of Birs Nimroud.§ Schrader does not decide between Ê-zida and Ê-sagil: Dillm. thinks Ê-sagil the more likely, but leaves it open whether, after all, the Heb. legend may not have referred to some half-ruined ancient building in Babylon, not otherwise known to us. The high antiquity of Babylon, and the fact that it was the chief centre of a region in which the Hebrews placed the cradle of the human race, would fit it to be regarded as the point from which mankind dispersed over the earth.

See, further (besides the Comm.), Cheyne, art. 'Babel (Tower of)' in the *Encycl. Bibl.*; and Dr. Worcester in *Genesis in the Light of Modern Knowledge* (New York, 1901), 491 ff.

S. R. DRIVER.

TONGUES, GIFT OF.—i. THE BIBLICAL EVIDENCE.—(*a*) *Acts of the Apostles.* On the first day of Pentecost after the Resurrection and Ascension (Ac $2^{1ff.}$), the disciples, about 120 in number (1^{15}), were assembled together. 'Suddenly there came from heaven a sound as of the rushing of a mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting. And there appeared unto them tongues parting asunder, like as of fire; and it [*sc.* γλῶσσα] sat upon each one of them. And they were all filled with the Holy Spirit, and began to speak with other tongues as the Spirit gave them utterance.' Two wonders are here described—the vision of the fiery tongues, apparent to all in the house, but, as it seems, to them only; and the speaking 'with other tongues,' which was, as the sequel shows, apparent to others also. The latter (v.^{11}) consisted in 'speaking the mighty works of God.' It was not, at first at any rate, addressed to those outside. But 'when this sound was heard, the multitude came together,' and Jews, then present at Jerusalem from every nation under heaven, heard to their astonishment the brethren speaking in their own respective languages (vv.$^{5-12}$). Some, however, 'mocking, said, They are filled with new wine.' In reply to these latter, St. Peter interprets the phenomenon by recalling the prophecy of Joel, which speaks of an outpouring of the Spirit in the latter days, which shall cause the servants and handmaidens of the Lord to see visions and to prophesy (vv.$^{17.18}$), and deduces it from the Messianic office of Jesus, in whose exaltation this promise of the Holy Spirit is fulfilled (v.^{33}). The phenomenon of the fiery tongues reappears no more in the sacred narrative; but that of speaking with tongues is repeated (Ac $10^{44.46}$) upon the conversion of the Gentile household of Cornelius, who with a sudden inspiration of the Holy Spirit 'speak with tongues and glorify God.' This is clearly the same phenomenon as is described in Ac 2^{11}, and *the identity is expressly asserted by St. Peter* (11^{15}) ὥσπερ καὶ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἐν ἀρχῇ. The 'speaking with other tongues' is therefore a recurrent phenomenon in the Apostolic Church; and accordingly we read of the twelve disciples at Ephesus (19^{6}), that 'when Paul had laid his hands upon them, the Holy Ghost came on them; and they spake with tongues and prophesied.' In this passage the phenomenon is for the first time expressly associated with the exercise of the prophetic gift. (On Spitta's analysis of the sources of Ac $2^{1ff.}$ see Knowling, p. 100).

(*b*) *Gospel of St. Mark.*—In the doubtful appendix to this Gospel (16^{17}), among the wonders which are to follow those who believe, it is said 'they shall speak with [new] tongues.' The word 'new' is of very questionable genuineness; if it be rejected, the passage is a bare reference to 'speaking with tongues,' and throws little light upon the nature of the utterances.

(*c*) *First Epistle to the Corinthians.* — In chs. 12–14, especially the last-named chapter, we have the most circumstantial reference to the phenomenon. In 12^{4-11} St. Paul enumerates different gifts, which in their diversity proceed from the self-same Spirit. First come gifts of ordinary teaching (λόγος σοφίας, λ. γνώσεως), then faith, healings, and other miracles, then at the end prophecy and the discerning of spirits, followed, in the last place of all, by 'kinds of tongues' (γένη), a new qualification, and 'interpretation of tongues,' which also appears in these chapters alone. The enumeration of offices and gifts in vv.$^{28-30}$ corresponds to that of gifts in vv.$^{4-11}$. The teaching offices come first (apostles, prophets, teachers), then miracles and healings, then 'helps' and 'guidances,' then, again last of all, 'kinds of tongues.' Prophecy and 'discernings of spirits' are evidently omitted here because of the insertion of 'prophets' after 'apostles.' Then, in the interrogative clauses that follow, the 'tongues,' this time with the added mention of 'interpretation,' but without the mention of γένη, again bring up the rear: 'Do all speak with tongues? do all interpret?' In ch. 13 the tongues, which St. Paul has put last in the order of precedence, come first in the order of depreciation. 'Tongues of men and of angels' may be taken as a climax, for this purpose, upon the less rhetorical γένη γλωσσῶν (see below, § iii. (*b*)). Apart from charity, not only tongues (however wonderful), but even prophecy, even *works* of charity, are worthless. Compared with it, prophecy, tongues, knowledge itself, all belong to our childhood, to our ignorance, to the sphere of things temporal. Then in ch. 14, after a closing reminder of the subordinate place which πνευματικά are to occupy in our desires as compared with charity, the apostle enters in detail upon a comparison between the two most conspicuous πνευματικά, viz. prophecy and tongues. Prophecy is the more desirable of the two, *because it is addressed to men, and benefits them*, whereas 'tongues' *are addressed to God, and benefit the speaker only* (vv.$^{1-5}$). The only exception to this is when the speaker (or some other person, v.$^{27f.}$) can interpret his utterances. This would enable the rest of those present to join in with their 'Amen' (v.^{16}), and so derive some benefit from the prayer. Without going into details of exegesis, which in this chapter are full of difficulty, it is sufficient to emphasize certain points upon which the apostle speaks without any obscurity. *Firstly*, as already remarked, the speaker with tongues speaks to God only; his utterance is *not a sermon but a prayer* or *psalm* (vv.$^{2.\ 13.\ 14.\ 15}$), or a *thanksgiving* (v.^{16}). *Secondly*, the utterance is *unintelligible to the hearers, and even to the speaker*. The spirit is in prayer, but the *mind* takes no part, it is *unfruitful* (vv.$^{14.\ 15}$); the speaker 'edifies himself' apparently by his attitude of ecstatic devotion, not by conscious expression or reception of ideas. *Thirdly*, while 'interpretation' is thought of as possible, its absence seems to have been the rule, its presence the exception (vv.$^{5.\ 13}$). Accordingly (*fourthly*), the impression which 'tongues' produce upon a visitor, especially on a non-believer (v.^{23}), is that of an assembly of madmen (cf. Ac 2^{13}); whereas, in the case of prophecy, the non-believer, or at any rate the visitor, will be profoundly stirred, probably to conversion (vv.$^{24.\ 25}$).

---

* Jastrow, *Rel. of Bab. and Ass.* p. 615 ff.

† The inscr. is tr. in *KAT*^{2} 124 f., *KIB* iii. 2, pp. 53, 55.

‡ See, however, Hommel in vol. i. p. 213^{a}; and BABYLON, § 8, in the *Encycl. Bibl.*

§ See the plan of Babylon and its environs in Smith's *DB*, *s.v.*; or in the *Encycl. Bibl.* *s.v.* Views of the two mounds referred to may be seen in Smith, *s.v.* 'Babel,' and 'Babel (Tower of)'; Riehm, *HWB*, *s.v.*; or Ball's *Light from the East*, pp. 220, 221.

The closing section of the chapter (v.$^{26ff.}$) shows the ἀκαταστασία, which had resulted at Corinth from the childish (12$^{15.\ 29}$ 13^{11} 14$^{12.\ 20}$) desire of too many of the members of the Church to excel in the exercise of abnormal gifts, and from their dangerous tendency to value spiritual gifts in proportion to their abnormal features. The apostle exactly inverts this principle.

ii. CLASSIFICATION OF THE DATA.—There is no possible doubt that the phenomena of the Church of Corinth are homogeneous with those which meet us at Cæsarea (Ac 10^{46}) and at Ephesus (Ac 19^{6}). These two passages are linked together by the reference to baptism, and the close relation of the tongues to prophecy connects the latter passage with the phenomena of Corinth. We may therefore conclude that one feature of the life of the Apostolic Churches was the correlation between the perceptible presence of the Holy Spirit, which began at baptism, but was continued in the assemblies and corporate acts of the Churches (see vol. ii. pp. 407^{b}, 409^{a}), and certain utterances on the part of members of the Churches, sometimes intelligible and less ecstatic (prophecy), sometimes more ecstatic and not intelligible (tongues). On the border-line between the two classes of utterance would come the interpretation of tongues, a gift apparently known to St. Paul, but assumed by him to be exceptional, and passed over in the more occasional notices of the Acts of the Apostles. With these data we can without difficulty class the reference in St. Mark 16 (above, i. (*b*)). It has been not infrequently laid down, that while these passages refer to one homogeneous group of phenomena, that group is separated from the phenomena of Ac 2 by a difference in kind. This assumption, however, is in too direct conflict with the words of St. Peter (Ac 11^{15}) to be admitted. The homogeneity of the later phenomenon with that of Pentecost, here asserted, can be denied only by undermining the credit of the Acts as a source. But, while we are thus obliged to class the phenomena of Ac 2 with those of the other passages of the NT, it must be recognized that with the features common to all passages certain peculiarities are combined in the narrative of Pentecost. First, there is the sound of the rushing wind; second, the vision of the fiery tongues; thirdly, the intelligibility of the utterances *without the 'interpretation*,' which to St. Paul is necessary if the 'tongues' are to be understood. But in Ac 2, as in 1 Co 14, the 'tongues' are utterances of worship, not of a didactic character, not addressed to the Jews (whose attention is attracted by the utterances only after they have begun); the association with prophecy, implied in the quotation from Joel, is, to St. Peter apparently, as to St. Paul, due simply to identity of *origin*; and in both passages (Ac 2^{13}, 1 Co 14^{23}) the impression produced upon less sympathetic hearers is similar. In the attempt, therefore, to interpret correctly the data of the NT relating to the subject of 'tongues,' the only sound method to adopt will be to begin from the most circumstantial account we have,—that of St. Paul,—but, in applying the results to other passages, to bear in mind any peculiar features which distinguish their account of what is certainly in substance the same phenomenon.

iii. INTERPRETATION OF THE EVIDENCE.—(*a*) St. Paul, in common with all to whom the Christian religion is a revelation from God, assumes that the gift of tongues is an energy of the Holy Spirit. No doubt he places it lower in value than any other spiritual gift enumerated by him. No doubt, also, like other gifts of the Spirit, it was capable of being simulated by phenomena not due to genuine inspiration. There was room here for διάκρισις (1 Co 12^{10}). But the main criterion to be applied by the discerner of spirits was *the substance of what was said* (1 Co 2^{4}, cf. 1 Jn 4^{1}, the apostle has no sympathy with the heathenish idea that an utterance, apart from its intrinsic value, could be accredited by its abnormal circumstances). Now, in the case of an unintelligible utterance, like that of ἐν γλώσσῃ, no such criterion was applicable. The apostle therefore assumes, in the case of tongues, that he has to do in each instance with the spiritual reality, not with a merely natural phenomenon (14$^{4.\ 16}$). We must be content with the same assumption, however mindful that where there is the need of self-control (14^{28}) there is the possibility of self-will. The Spirit is doubtless really at work, even upon a psychical background of obscure, easily perversible, mental exaltation.

(*b*) If the phenomena of the NT are essentially homogeneous, we may safely reject some explanations which are applicable at most to a limited number of the passages under review. First among these may be set aside that based upon the strictly literal and physical sense of γλῶσσα, understood of 'the tongue' or organ of speech (Eichhorn, Meyer, etc.). This might at first sight be thought applicable to Ac 2. The disciples, as the fiery tongues appear to settle upon each of them, begin to speak ἑτέραις γλώσσαις (compare the probably spurious καιναῖς of Mk 16^{17}), *i.e.* with (literal) tongues other than their own, identified with, or symbolized by, the tongues of flame. But it cannot be seriously argued that the 'tongues' of this passage are different from the 'dialects' of vv.$^{6.8}$; this identification is quite clear in v.^{11} ταῖς ἡμετέραις γλώσσαις. And this carries with it (by Ac 11^{15}) the interpretation of Ac 10^{46} 19^{6}, where λαλεῖν γλώσσαις is equivalent to λ. ἑτέραις γ. in Ac 2. The literal sense claimed for γλ. in these latter passages has no support in Ps 38^{4} LXX ἐλάλησα ἐν γλώσσῃ μου, where the use of the possessive indicates the literal sense. But it is argued that the literal sense is applicable in 1 Co 12. 14 (but $13^{1?}$), where ($14^{14f.}$) προσεύχεσθαι γλώσσῃ is contrasted with πρ. τῷ νοΐ, the tongue (so it is urged) being conceived as the passive instrument of the πνεῦμα, and the plural γλῶσσαι (surely a *reductio ad absurdum*) referring 'to the various motions of the tongue' (so Thayer-Grimm, *s.v.*; see also Meyer-Heinrici on 12^{10}). Γλῶσσα must mean an utterance, not merely the moving tongue; this latter sense breaks down in the pl. γλῶσσαι, and still more conspicuously in the phrase γένη γλωσσῶν, which clearly points to various kinds of utterance, whether foreign languages or not.

(*c*) Another sense of γλῶσσα which fails of general applicability is that (exemplified in Aristotle, *Poet.* 21 f.) of 'unusual word,' *e.g.* expressions borrowed from the Aramaic, like 'Amen,' 'Maran Atha,' or 'Abba' (Ernesti, Bleek, etc.). The use of such expressions would not be improbable in a state of high spiritual tension, and in fact the last-named word was regarded by St. Paul as specially characteristic of the Spirit (Ro 8^{15}, Gal 4^{6}); but there is nothing in his language to connect it specifically with 'tongues,' which possibly may be referred to, though even this is uncertain, in the στεναγμοὶ ἀλάλητοι of Ro 8^{26}. Moreover, this sense of γλῶσσα fits ill with the data of Ac 2, and still worse with those of 1 Co 14; for these occasional borrowed words had a well-recognized meaning, and in their use the νοῦς was not ἄκαρπος.

(*d*) The same principle, to say nothing of other considerations, absolutely excludes the idea, which has some traditional support in Christian opinion from Origen (*in Rom.* 1^{13}) downwards, that the apostles, at any rate, if not all those present, received at Pentecost the more or less permanent power of *preaching in foreign languages.* To begin with (above, § ii.), the speaking with tongues is an utterance of worship, not of instruction. It has been argued that we never read of the apostles needing the services of an interpreter. But neither do we read of their 'speaking with tongues' on any occasion subsequent to Pentecost. St. Paul, it is true, claims to possess the gift, but in a context (1 Co 14^{18}) which excludes any reference to preaching. With one exception, indeed, we do not read of any apostolic preaching in lands where Greek or Aramaic would not be a sufficient medium. The partial exception is in the bilingual district of Lystra (Ac 14), and here the apostles clearly do not follow what is said Λυκαονιστί. Ocular evidence at last enables them to realize that they are regarded as gods. But though the sacred text says nothing of *preaching*, permanently or even temporarily, in foreign tongues, it certainly suggests at first sight that a great number of foreign languages were supernaturally *spoken*, if only in adoration, on the occasion of the first Pentecost.

(*e*) This interpretation is not so wholly excluded as might appear at first sight by the language of 1 Co 14. For although the γλῶσσαι are, without one to interpret them, unintelligible even to the speaker, the possibility of interpretation, clearly contemplated by St. Paul, suggests that he regarded the utterances as having a meaning, though as a rule not ascertainable (τὴν δύναμιν τῆς φωνῆς, v.^{11}). If so, the only difference in Ac 2 would be that the interpreter was on that occasion unnecessary.

What, then, is really described in Ac 2? The view has been held by both ancient (Greg. Naz. *Or.* 41. xv, Bede, etc.) and modern writers, that while the disciples spoke in some one language, each group of hearers understood the words as spoken in his own; just as St. Vincent Ferrer, preaching in Spanish, was said to have been understood by English, Flemish, French, and Italian hearers, etc. But this is not what the narrative describes: we have a miracle of *speech*, not of *hearing* only, they began (before the hearers had come) to speak ἑτέραις γλώσσαις. But the more difficult question is in what precisely does the miracle described consist? The hearers are not Gentiles, but Jews (2^{5}). Proselytes are included among the Roman visitors (2^{10}, it is conceivable that Ἰουδ. τε κ. προσ. applies to *all* the countries enumerated, but the mention of Ἰουδαίαν (v.^{9}) is rather adverse to this); but clearly we have to do with the assembly of Jewish pilgrims, including perhaps some more permanent visitors (κατοικοῦντες, v.^{5}), whom a great festival would find gathered in the Holy City. Now the list (vv.$^{9-11}$) is one *of countries, not of languages.* Of the fifteen nationalities or regions enumerated, Judæa (even if here used by Luke as in Lk 4^{44} for Palestine generally) and probably Arabia (see ARETAS) belong to the domain of Palestinian Judaism whose language was West Aramaic. The Jews of the Euphrates region, Parthians, Medes, Elamites (*i.e.* of Persia, Elam had ceased to exist as a kingdom since the days of Assurbanipal), and Mesopotamians represent the Babylonian group of Jews, who used an East-Aramaic dialect.

This leaves us with nine countries, of which five fall within Asia Minor, where the Jews, as their inscriptions show, spoke Greek (Schürer, *HJP* §§ 2, 31; this was the case as far north as the Crimea). Of the remaining four, Egypt is the mother of Hellenistic Judaism, Cyrene was Greek, Greek was the language of the Jews in Crete, and, as their inscriptions show, of the Jews of Rome. Accordingly, the narrative does not appear to carry us beyond the area of Greek and Aramaic-speaking Judaism. That the Jews of the different countries enumerated spoke these languages with dialectical differences, is of course more than probable. It might therefore suggest itself that the obstacle overcome by the inspiration of Pentecost was diversity not of language but of dialect only. But we cannot appeal, for confirmation of this, to the use of the word διάλεκτος (in vv.$^{6-8}$), for the word means *language* (*e.g.* Aramaic as contrasted with Greek, Ac 1^{19} 21^{40} 26^{14}). A stronger point is that the surprise of the hearers turned on the fact that the speakers were Galilæans (Ac 2^{7}, cf. Mt 26^{73}), *i.e.* not merely men of Palestinian language (Ἑβραῖοι), but men of a marked provincial dialect. But, quite apart from the result of the above analysis of the list, there is no evidence that Jews outside Palestine used any language but Greek or Aramaic. The conclusion, then, as to the exact implications of the narrative is very obscure. We must probably be content with a *non liquet*; possibly the language of St.

Peter ($2^{17.18.33}$, note ἐκχεῶ, ἐξέχεεν) may permit the conjecture that the narrative combines the two elements, afterwards treated as distinct, of tongues and prophecy. Common to all the NT descriptions of the tongues is the feature of utterances not in the common language of the speakers; but whereas in 1 Cor. the hearers are, as a rule (*i.e.* without an interpreter), in the dark as to the meaning, in Ac 2 the meaning is clear to both Greek-speaking and Aramaic-speaking Jews without any such aid: they hear the praises of God each in the tongue wherein he was born.

(*f*) It has been necessary, in order to test the possibility of a definite interpretation of the data, to reduce the narrative of the first Christian Pentecost to its framework of definite prose statement, so far as the nature of the γλῶσσαι, our special subject of inquiry, is concerned. If our conclusion on this point is necessarily indefinite, we must remind ourselves that the γλῶσσαι are but one element in an event of momentous significance, the baptism (Ac 1^{5}) of the Christian Society for its mission to mankind. The baptism of Pentecost takes its place, in intimate context with the Resurrection and Exaltation of Christ, as the experience which lies behind, and is needed to render conceivable, the abrupt psychological transition which transformed the cowed, perplexed, scattered disciples of a few weeks before into the band that in the succeeding narrative sets out upon its march with joyous swing, conquering and to conquer. That the Spirit was then really given is impossible for believers in the Resurrection of Christ to doubt. That His coming was overwhelming in its suddenness and intensity, and was attended by physical signs not repeated in their fulness on any later occasion, is not less credible than the reality of the 'promise of the Father' and of its fulfilment. That these signs should be not only unaccountable by ordinary causes, but in some details incapable of precise definition, is a small thing, and antecedently probable. Beyond this it is hardly possible to go.

iv. LATER HISTORY.—There is no clear evidence of tongues as a religious phenomenon anterior to NT times, nor of their survival in the early Church after the apostolic age. Ecstatic utterances appear to have occurred in some forms of OT prophecy (2 S 19^{20} etc.), but no mention is made of 'tongues' as a feature of them. Even in heathen religions, as St. Paul hints (1 Co $12^{1\text{ff.}}$), there were analogous phenomena which it was necessary to remember in the attempt to 'discern' the true work of the Holy Spirit. This suggests that profound religious excitement, to whatever cause it may be due, tends to find expression in abnormal utterance. In the NT this tendency gradually gives way to more normal forms; in Eph $5^{18.19}$ we catch, as it were, the last echoes of glossolalic speech; in the later Epistles we hear no more of it. Irenæus (*Hær.* v. vi.) can still tell us, speaking apparently from hearsay, of brethren who prophesied, and spoke through the Spirit in all kinds (παντοδαπαῖς) of tongues; but Chrysostom (on 1 Co 14) frankly declares that the gifts described by St. Paul were unknown in the Church of his day. That the gift of tongues really survived even down to the time of Irenæus is, in the absence of corroborating evidence, difficult to believe. His rather vague statement may rest on some report as to the Montanists of Asia Minor, but in their case again the definite evidence we possess points to 'prophecy' rather than 'tongues' as the distinctive form of their ecstatic speech.

Of more modern examples of such utterances among the Franciscans of the 13th cent., the early Quakers, Jansenists, Methodists, the French Prophets of the Cevennes, and particularly the Irvingites whose 'tongues' (1832-3) have been described by several competent observers, we will only observe that it would be harsh and unjust to ascribe all such phenomena to the studied attempt to reproduce those of the apostolic Church. In whatever way we may explain these utterances, and however good reason there may be to suspect occasional simulation, the spontaneity of the phenomena in general must be freely admitted. But, for reasons suggested above, great caution is necessary in applying them to the interpretation of the NT data.

LITERATURE.—On the last-named class of phenomena, Plumptre's excellent article in Smith's *DB* gives useful references; see also Miller, *Irvingism*. On the NT data the literature is considerable. The Commentaries, *e.g.* those of Meyer-Wendt and Knowling on Ac 2, of Meyer-Heinrici, Godet, Edwards on 1 Co 12. 14, sum up and discuss the various explanations. Among many separate essays we may mention those of Schneckenburger (*Beitr.* 1832); Wieseler (in *SK*, 1838); Hilgenfeld, *Glossolalie*, Leipzig, 1850; Zeller, *Acts of the Ap.*, Eng. tr. vol. i. p. 171 (the ablest anti-miraculous discussion; denies any historical foundation for Ac 2); Rossteuscher, *Gabe d. Sprachen im Apost. Ztltr.* (Marb. 1855, Irvingite); P. Schaff, *Church History*, vol. i. § 24; Weizsäcker, *Apost. Ztltr.* p. 589 ff.; A. Wright, *Some NT Problems*, 277 ff. In these works references will be found to many other discussions, an enumeration of which is beyond the limits of this article.

A. ROBERTSON.

TOOLS.—In Syria, since its conquest by the Arabs in the 7th cent., little or no progress has been made in the mechanical arts: workmen still use much the same kinds of tools and methods of working as their ancestors did ten centuries ago. It is only within the last 40 or 50 years that European implements have come into use. It would occupy too much space to give an account of the tools used in the different handicrafts of Syria; it may be sufficient to mention a few employed in masonry, carpentry, and smith work.

Masonry.—In Syria, in very early times, stones were hewn from the rock by a pointed hammer called the *bîk* (see HAMMER), and the larger the stone the less, of course, was the labour of cutting. This seems to have been the reason for the great size of the stones in the oldest part of the temple of Baalbek. When the wedge came into use for splitting rocks, smaller stones were quarried, and consequently buildings were more quickly constructed. The masons of Lebanon, who are still acknowledged to be the most skilful builders in Syria, use no means, such as cranes, for lifting a stone to its position on the wall they are building. If a stone is too large to be carried, an inclined plane is made of trunks of trees, or of stones and earth, and the stone is rolled to its place. Chisels are used only for giving a fine edge to a stone, or for carving. For other tools see HAMMER.

Carpentry.—The tools of the Lebanon carpenters are the very same as those used by the ancient Egyptian workmen; only, instead of being of flint or bronze, they are of steel. Of all his tools, the *ḳadûm* or adze is the most useful to the Syrian carpenter; it is hammer, chisel, and plane in one. In the early part of this century planes were not used by the carpenters in the higher villages of Lebanon; planks of wood were smoothed by the adze. The ancient Egyptian adze appears to have been, at first, a sharp flint fastened by thongs to a handle, and replaced by a blade of bronze when metals came into use. The axe passed through similar changes. The bow and drill are still in use for boring holes in wood; the awl is a shoemaker's tool. These tools with the saw are the ordinary implements of a Syrian carpenter, and are carried about by him when seeking work. European tools are, however, becoming common.

Smith.—The hammers and tongs are very much the same in form as those used in Europe, but very roughly made. Anvils are simply cubical masses of iron having the upper surface faced with steel. The original bellows was a tube through which the workman blew into the fire; then goat-skin bags were employed; and the form of bellows used by the coppersmiths of Syria at the present time is almost the same as that depicted on the tombs of ancient Egypt. The modern worker in iron requires a more powerful instrument, and two large circular bellows are placed so that he may take advantage of the weight of his body in working them. See, further, the separate articles on various tools. W. CARSLAW.

TOPARCHY (τοπαρχία).—A word used only in 1 Mac 11[28], and there to denote three 'provinces' (RV; AV 'governments') to which the name νομός, or 'nome' (AV and RV 'governments'), is given in 1 Mac 10[30. 38] 11[34]. The three toparchies—Aphærema, that is, Ephraim-Ophrah, Lydda, and Ramathaim—were detached from Samaria and added to Judæa some time before the war between Alexander Balas and Demetrius Soter, and their possession was confirmed to Jonathan Maccabæus by Demetrius II. Nikator.

The toparchy was a small administrative division, corresponding to the Turkish *Nahieh*, which was administered by a toparch as the *Nahieh* is by a mudir. According to Pliny (v. 14), Judæa was divided into ten, or, according to Josephus (*BJ* III. iii. 5), into eleven toparchies. See Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 151 ff. C. W. WILSON.

TOPAZ.—In four passages of the OT (Ex 28[17] 39[10], Ezk 28[13], Job 28[19]) the Heb. word פִּטְדָה [ר *raphatum*] is rendered 'topaz' by AV and RV, in accordance with LXX τοπάζιον and Vulg. *topazius*. The other ancient VSS vary their rendering, Pesh. using ܝܘܪܩܐ, ܦܛܕܐ, and ܡܪܓܢܝܬܐ, whilst Targ. has יַרְקָן and כַּרְדְּלָא יַרְקָא. The LXX and Vulg. also employ τοπάζιον, *topazion*, as representing פָּז at Ps 119[127]; but the Pesh. there contents itself with the vague term 'precious stones,' and the Targ., still more correctly, אוֹבְרִיזָא (Gr. ὄβρυζον). In the NT the topaz is mentioned but once (Rev 21[20]), as the ninth of the foundation stones of the New Jerusalem. The two passages in Ex. name it as the second stone in the first row on the high priest's breastplate, and it is usually believed to have borne the name of Simeon. The comparison used in Job implies its costliness, and indicates the quarter from which it was chiefly derived: 'The topaz of Ethiopia shall not equal it [wisdom].' In Ezek. the wearing of it is a mark of regal splendour: 'Every precious stone was thy [the king's] covering, the sardius, topaz,' etc. There is a fair amount of probability in the derivation of the Heb. name פִּטְדָה from the Sansk. *pîta*, 'yellow,' and in the suggestion that the Gr. form and those derived from it are merely a transposition of the Heb., *ṭ p d* for *p ṭ d*. Codex Amiatinus in Rev 21[20] spells the word with a *d*, *topadius*.

The question whether the topaz of the Bible is identical with our gem of that name has been rendered somewhat difficult by the well-known description of the stone in Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxvii. 8—

> 'Egregia etiam nunc sua topazio gloria est, e virenti genere, et cum primum reperta est, prælatæ omnibus. Accidit in Arabiæ insula, quæ Cytis vocabatur, in quam devenerant Troglodytæ prædones fame et tempestate fessi, ut, cum herbas radicesque foderent, eruerunt topazion. Hæc *Archelai* sententia est. *Juba* Topazum insulam in Rubro mari a continenti stadiis ccc abesse dicit; nebulosam et ideo quæsitam sæpius navigantibus nomen ex ea causa accepisse, topazim enim Troglodytarum lingua significationem habere quærendi. . . . Eadem sola nobilium limam sentit.'

We need not discuss the etymology: the two important points are the greenness of the gem and its softness. The first of these is not fatal to the identification, seeing that we know of green topazes; the second is. Pliny may have included the chrysolite and the peridot under this name. Yet it does not follow that all the ancient mineralogists agreed with him. It would not be easy to find a more apt description of our topaz than in the first few words of Strabo's interesting account, Γεωγραφικά, xvi.—

> Λίθος δὲ ἐστι διαφανής, χρυσοειδὲς ἀπολάμπων φέγγος, ὅσον μεθ' ἡμέραν μὲν οὐ ῥᾴδιον ἰδεῖν ἐστι, περιαυγεῖται γάρ· νύκτωρ δ' ὁρῶσιν οἱ συλλέγοντες· περικαθάψαντες δὲ ἀγγεῖον σημείου χάριν μεθ' ἡμέραν ἀνορρύττουσι. καὶ ἦν σύστημα ἀνθρώπων ἀποδεδειγμένων εἰς τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς λιθίας ταυτῆς, καὶ τὴν συναγωγήν, σιταρκουμένων ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλέων.

The statements which have appeared as to the chemical composition of the topaz differ strangely. Streeter (*Precious Stones*, p. 221), referring to the distinction between Oriental and Occidental topazes, says that the former consist of pure alumina, the latter being more than half alumina and for the rest composed of silica and fluorine. On the other hand, it has been spoken of as a silicate of aluminium associated with the fluorides of aluminium and silicon. In shape it is an orthorhombic prism with a cleavage transverse to the long axis. It has the power of double refraction, and becomes electric when heated or rubbed. It is almost as hard as the diamond, but there are a few engraved specimens—an antique one, for instance, at St. Petersburg, with the constellation Sirius. Australia produces green and yellow stones. Exquisite transparent ones, clear and bright as the most sparkling water, come from Tasmania—*gouttes d'eau*, the French call them. In Saxony pale violet are found; in Bohemia sea-green; in Brazil red, from pale to deep carmine.

Pliny's influence is very apparent in *The Lapidarium* of Marbodus—

'From seas remote the yellow *Topaz* came,
Found in the island of the self-same name;
Great is the value, for full rare the stone,
And but two kinds to eager merchants known.
One vies with purest gold, of orange bright;
The other glimmers with a fainter light:
Its yielding nature to the file gives way,
Yet bids the bubbling caldron cease to play.
The land of gems, culled from its copious store,
Arabia sends this to the Latian shore:
One only virtue Nature grants the stone,
Those to relieve who under hemorrhoids groan.'

Ruskin, in his lecture on the symbolic use of precious stones in heraldry, states that the topaz is 'symbolic of the Sun, like a strong man running his race rejoicing, standing between light and darkness, and representing all good work.' It is curious to compare this with Marbodus, in his Prose on the Twelve Foundation Stones: 'Contemplativæ solidum vitæ præstat officium.'

J. TAYLOR.

TOPHEL (תֹּפֶל, Τόφολ).—A place named in defining the situation of Dt 1[1]. It has been frequently identified (since Robinson, *BRP*[2] ii. 167, 187, following a suggestion of Hengstenberg) with *eṭ-Ṭafîle* in Gebal, about 15 miles S.S.E. of the Dead Sea, but phonetic, apart from other, reasons make this identification very uncertain (see Driver or Dillm. *ad loc.*).

TOPHET, TOPHETH.—A word of doubtful origin, disputed etymology, rare occurrence, and somewhat uncertain meaning. Milton refers to it, and gives his idea of it in the lines—

'The pleasant valley of Hinnom, Tophet thence
And black Gehenna call'd, the type of hell.'
PL i. 404, 405.

It appears only in the OT, and is never reproduced in the NT. It is not found in the apocryphal books, and its earliest occurrences in Christian literature seem to be in Eusebius (*Onom.*) and

Jerome (on Jer 7^{31}). Even in the OT its range is very limited. It is peculiarly a term of Jeremiah's. It is found once in the historical books (2 K 23^{10}), once in the poetical books (Job 17^{6}), once in Isaiah in a modified form (Is 30^{33}), and elsewhere only in Jeremiah (7$^{31.32}$ 19$^{6.12.13.14}$). Ewald is of opinion that the use of the term *Topheth* in the special sense which it has in 2 Kings was not customary so early as Isaiah's time (*Hist. of Israel*, iv. 209, Longmans' tr.). The Hebrew form in all the occurrences but one is תֹּפֶת. In the Isaianic passage, however, it is תָּפְתֶּה. This latter form is probably constructed by extension from תֹּפֶת, as we have אִשָּׁה from אֵשׁ, פִּשְׁתָּה from פֵּשֶׁת (so Dillm. *Jes. ad loc.*); although some (*e.g.* Stade, *Gesch.* i. 610) have had recourse, in endeavouring to explain it, to such expedients as changing the vocalization so as to get תָּפְתֹה (=‘his Topheth’), or detaching the final ה and connecting it (as the interrogation הֲ) with the word that follows (see the Dictionaries, and Klost., Bredenk., Cheyne [*SBOT*], Marti, *et al.*). The pronunciation of the word is uncertain. In the Massoretic text the vocalization of *bōsheth*, ‘shame,’ has probably been given it as a thing of evil name, and the LXX makes it *Tapheth.* In the ancient Versions, indeed, it takes different forms, *e.g.* *Thopheth* (Vulg.), Τάφεθ (LXX, Aq., Symm.), Θαφέθ (LXX in some copies, Aq., Theod.), Θόφθ (Aq.). In Is 30^{33} the rendering of the LXX is ἀπαιτηθήσῃ or ἀπατηθήσῃ; in Jer 19^{6} διάπτωσις; in Jer 19^{13} ὁ διαπίπτων (in some copies); and in Jer 19^{14} again διαπτώσεως (in some copies). The AV makes it *Tophet* in all cases except 2 K 23^{10}, where it is *Topheth.* RV has *Topheth* throughout.

The passage in Job may be at once discounted. There the word is an ordinary descriptive noun, formed probably from a root meaning to ‘spit,’ and so expressing something *abhorred* or *abominated.* Job describes himself as become ‘an open abhorring’ (RV text), ‘one in whose face they spit’ (RV margin); wrongly rendered by the AV ‘I was as a tabret,’ on the supposition that תֹּפֶת ‘spitting’ is akin to תֹּף ‘timbrel.’ In the other passages the word is a local name, and means properly ‘*the* Topheth,’ the article being attached to it except where it has the prepositions בְּ, כְּ connected with it. The extended form תָּפְתֶּה, however, is anarthrous, and is probably to be rendered ‘*a* Topheth is prepared of old,’ as in RV.

In its various occurrences the term is associated, directly or indirectly, with the valley of shameful name, known in the OT variously as ‘the valley of Hinnom’ (only in Jos 15^{8b} 18^{16b}, Neh 11^{30}), ‘the valley of the son of Hinnom’ (*e.g.* Jos 15^{8a} 18^{16a}, 2 Ch 28^{3} 33^{6}, Jer 7^{32} 19$^{2.6}$), ‘the valley of the children of Hinnom’ (2 K 23^{10} *Kĕthîbh*), or simply ‘the valley’ (Jer 2^{23} 31^{40}), in which the idolatrous Jews, especially in the times of Ahab and Manasseh (cf. 2 Ch 28^{3} 33^{6}), practised the cruel rites of the worship of Molech, and offered human sacrifices. It is with reference to the reforms of Josiah and the steps which he took to defile the impious and horrid place, and prevent any man thereafter from making ‘his son or his daughter to pass through the fire to Molech,’ that mention is made of Topheth in the *narrative* of the OT. The passage in 2 Kings is the passage of primary interest in the study of the term. But the passages in the Prophets have also their contribution to make.

In the paragraph in Isaiah which gives the oracle concerning the destruction of Assyria, Jehovah is represented as Himself coming from afar to execute vengeance on the oppressors of Israel. His people look on and sing their song of gladness, while judgment is done upon their enemies certainly and completely. The declaration of the certainty and completeness of the overthrow of the Assyrian takes the form of an announcement that for the king, or for his god, ‘a Topheth,’ a place of burning and abhorrence like that in the unclean valley of Hinnom, ‘is prepared of old’ and ‘made ready,’ a place of fire which Jehovah Himself hath made ‘deep and large,’ the pile whereof is ‘fire and much wood’; ‘the breath of the Lord, like a stream of brimstone, doth kindle it’ (RV). It is a destruction utter and abhorrent, prepared and ordained in the Divine counsels. In Jeremiah the associations and applications of the word are different. It is used in connexion with Judah's sin and the doom of Jerusalem. There is a retributive judgment of God, the prophet declares, that is to overtake the stubborn, idolatrous, impenitent people, against which the sanctity of Shiloh and Jerusalem and the Temple will be no protection. The place which witnessed their wickedness shall witness their punishment. *Topheth* and *the valley of Hinnom* shall no more be known as such, but shall be called ‘the valley of slaughter.’ Where the Jews had built their high places and had made their children pass through the fire to Molech, there they shall see the awful defilement and overwhelming destruction of war (ch. 7$^{29-34}$). This is repeated in ch. 19$^{1-15}$ in connexion with the figure of the broken vessel. The city is to be polluted by appalling carnage; the hardened people are to be punished with a destruction so terrible that Topheth shall be filled with their dead bodies ‘till there be no place.’ The new announcement, too, of retribution that is made by Jeremiah in response to Pashhur's vengeance is introduced by the statement (ch. 19^{14}) that he ‘came from Topheth whither the Lord sent him to prophesy.’

These being the occurrences of the word, what can be gathered with respect to the position and the exact sense of *Topheth?* Some have taken *Topheth* to be simply a synonym for *Gehinnom.* But it is clear that the two terms do not designate precisely one and the same thing. Several of the passages in view speak of Topheth as *in* the valley of Hinnom—a locality, or, it might be, an object in it. This does not settle, however, the question of the situation of Topheth. It is still uncertain where the Hinnom Valley lay, and with what it is to be identified in the topography of the Holy City. Authorities are still divided on the question whether it is the valley to the east of Jerusalem, the Kidron Valley (Sir C. Warren); the central valley, the Tyropœon (Sayce, Robertson Smith, Schwarz, etc.); or the *Wady er-Rabābi* or *Rubâbeh*, the deep ravine to the west and south, between the slopes of the ‘Hill of Evil Counsel’ and the steep sides of Zion (see article HINNOM, VALLEY OF). This leaves the precise position of Topheth in suspense. It is true that in the narrative of Josiah's reforms in 2 K 23 much is said of Kidron, but it does not follow that Topheth was on the east of Jerusalem. Far less can that position be argued out from the statement in Jer 19^{2} that the valley of Hinnom is ‘by the entry of the east gate,’ as it is erroneously rendered by the AV. For the gate *Harsith* or *Harsuth* mentioned there is not the ‘Sun-gate’ or the ‘east gate,’ but probably the ‘Sherd-gate,’ ‘the gate of potsherds’ (RV), so called perhaps from the fragments of potter's work scattered about there. Neither does the allusion to ‘the graves of the children of the people’ (2 K 23^{6}) carry us far, although Sir Charles Warren thinks we may infer from it that Topheth was near the common burial-place. Nor, again, is much to be made of tradition. Jerome describes the place as a green and fertile spot in the Hinnom Valley ‘watered by the springs of Siloam’—*Illum locum significat, qui Siloæ fontibus irrigatur et est amœnus atque nemorosus hodieque hortorum præbet* *delicias* (on Jer 7[31]). This might point to its being at the mouth of the Tyropœon or on the south of the Kidron. Tradition, again, places the site of Aceldama among the rock-hewn tombs of the 'Hill of Evil Counsel,' and Eusebius speaks of 'the place called *Thapheth*' as if it had been regarded on to his own day as situate 'in the suburbs of Ælia,' near 'the Fuller's Pool and the Potter's Field or the place Aceldama' (*Onom. sub voc.* Θάφεθ). But there must have been some inconstancy in the traditional account, or either Jerome or Eusebius must have made a mistake. For Jerome speaks of Aceldama as on the south (*ad australem plagam montis Sion*), while Eusebius says it was *ἐν βορείοις*. If, however, the 'Potter's Field' is 'the Field of Blood,' and the gate *Harsith* (Jer 7[2]) is the 'Sherd-gate,' Topheth might be located somewhere on the south and west of Jerusalem and on the eastern side of the Hinnom Valley. Sir Charles Warren (cf. Smith's *DB*, *sub voc.* 'Hinnom') points out that where the *Wady er-Rubâbeh* joins the Kidron there is 'an open plot of ground' which might be the spot that Jerome identified with Topheth. These references, however, are meagre, and leave us uncertain as to the strength or the antiquity of the tradition behind them.

On the origin and etymology of the word much has been written that is doubtful, not to say purely fanciful. Some have attempted to connect it with the Greek *θάπτειν* in the phrase *πυρὶ θάπτειν* (Ges.), or with the Greek *τύφειν* and the Hebrew אָפָה = *cook*, תֻּפִינִים = *cooked pieces* for offerings (cf. Lv 6[14]). Jerome, deriving it probably from פָּתָה, interpreted it as = *latitudo*. Some of the great Rabbis (*e.g.* Rashi and D. Kimchi) understood it to come from תָּפַף = *strike, beat*, with reference to the supposed beating of drums and other instruments to drown the cries of the sacrificial victims in the cruel rites of the Molech worship — a practice the alleged existence of which is not borne out by any sufficient evidence in ancient writers. Others have had recourse to peculiar foreign forms, to Assyro-Persian roots, to the Egyptian Θωύθ or Θώθ, etc. (Andr. Müller). Some, again, have taken the original idea to have been that of *beauty*, with reference to Jerome's description of the place. With this in view, Rosenmüller, *e.g.*, was bold enough to connect it with יָפָה = *to be fair*, as if the primitive form had been תּוֹפֶת. With a somewhat similar idea, others, pointing to the mention in succession of *tabrets* (תֻּפִּים) and *Topheth* in Is 30[32. 33], look again to the verb תָּפַף = *strike* (a timbrel or the like), and attach to the word *Topheth* the sense of 'Music-grove,' as if it had been originally part of the royal garden, defiled at a later period by idol-worship and abominable, idolatrous sacrifice (H. Bonar in Smith's *DB*).

Dismissing these fanciful conjectures, we have to choose between two explanations which alone have much reason in them. One of these seeks the origin of the term in a root תּוּף, Arabic تفّف = to *spit out*, and so to *regard with contempt* or *loathing*. In this case the idea will be that of 'place of abhorrence,' 'place of abomination' (Böttcher, Riehm, Pressel, etc.). This is favoured by the fact that there does exist a descriptive noun תֹּפֶת, which appears to have this meaning, in Job 17[6]. The other explanation looks to a root expressing the notion of *burning*, which is supposed by some to show itself in a Persian *toften* (Ges.), in the Greek *τέφρα*, the Latin *tepidus* (Streane). In this case the idea would be that of 'place of burning.' This, again, is understood by some to refer to the disposal of the dead, by others to the offering of sacrifices, in particular to the burning of human sacrifices, as in the worship of Molech. The difficulty in the way of the first of these suppositions is that, except in special cases (*e.g.* that of Saul, 1 S 31[12]; that of the victims of plague, Am 6[16] etc.), the Hebrew dead were not burned, but buried. With regard to the second supposition, the question is whether, as it is ordinarily put, it will suit the various passages. In the case of Is 30[33], *e.g.*, Dillmann is of opinion that it is a vast human holocaust that is in view; while Robertson Smith thinks that the imagery of the passage would be rendered discordant if the notion of the sacrifices in the valley of Hinnom were introduced. The latter scholar, therefore, gives the question another application. He seeks an Aramaic origin for the word, and he connects its use with such sacrifices as the Harranian. He points to the fact that at the time when the term 'first appears in Hebrew, the chief foreign influence in Judæan religion was that of Damascus' (2 K 16). This, he thinks, makes the theory of an Aramaic origin not improbable. He notices, further, that the Arabic word *othfiyā* and the Syriac *tfāyā* are names for 'the stones on which a pot is set, and then for any stand or tripod set upon a fire.' He supposes that a variant form *tfath* might have existed which would be quite according to analogy, and takes תפת to be an Aramaic term for 'a fireplace, or for the framework set on the fire to support the victim.' He points out further, that among the Semites human sacrifices were disposed of ordinarily by burning, and that the victims generally were not burned on the altar or within the sanctuary, but outside the city. His view, therefore, is that the passage in Isaiah refers to 'a rite, well known to Semitic religion, which was practised at Tarsus down to the time of Dio Chrysostom, and the memory of which survives in the Greek legend of Heracles-Melkarth, in the story of Sardanapalus, and in the myth of queen Dido'—the annual rite commemorating the death of the local god in fire. Thus '*the Topheth*' is taken to be the 'fireplace,' or pyre, the deep pit dug in the valley of Hinnom for the purpose of the most distinctive act in the performance of these horrid rites — the burning of the victims. It may be added that Ewald, who places the deep valley of Ben-Hinnom on the south of the 'long, broad ridge' to which 'the ancient name of Zion originally belonged,' takes Topheth to be a glowing furnace in the valley, and regards everything as pointing to the conclusion that it was Manasseh who first built it.

LITERATURE.—Commentaries on the OT passages (Dillmann-Kittel, Marti, and Skinner on *Isaiah*, Duhm on *Jeremiah*), the Lexicons, the Bible Dictionaries (Herzog's *PRE*, Riehm's *HWB*, Smith's *DB*, *sub voc.* 'Hinnom,' 'Gehinnom,' 'Gehenna'); the books on the geography of the Holy Land (Robinson, etc.); Ewald's *Hist. of Isr.* iii. pp. 123, 124, iv. p. 208, etc., Longmans' tr.; Böttcher's *De Inferis*, p. 85; W. R. Smith's *Rel. of the Sem.*[2] pp. 372-378.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

TORAH.—See LAW.

TORCH.—See LAMP and LANTERN.

TORMAH (תָּרְמָה 'fraud, deceit'; B *ἐν κρυφῇ*, A *μετὰ δώρων*).—In the margin of Jg 9[31] 'in Tormah' is given as an alternative rendering of the Hebrew word translated 'craftily' (AV 'privily'). Some commentators have suggested that Tormah is a corruption of Arumah (v.[41]); but there is no evidence one way or the other. The text certainly appears to be corrupt. See Moore, *ad loc.*

C. W. WILSON.

TORTOISE.—The AV tr. of צָב *ẓāb* (Lv 11[29]); RV has 'great lizard'; prob. the *land monitor* is meant. See CHAMELEON, LIZARD.

TOU (תֹּעִי).—King of HAMATH on the Orontes, who sent an embassy to congratulate David on his defeat of HADADEZER, with whom Tou himself had waged frequent wars, 1 Ch $18^{9f.}$ In the parallel passage, 2 S $8^{9f.}$, the name appears as **Toi**, which, however, is less probable philologically (see Driver, *Text of Sam.* 217). In 2 Sam. the LXX has, B Θουού, A and Luc. Θαει; in 1 Chron., B Θῶα, A Θοού, Luc. Θολά. J. A. SELBIE.

TOWER.—(A) In OT for **1.** מִגְדָּל *migdāl*. The *migdāl* served sometimes to defend a city wall, and in particular an angle in the wall or a gate (2 Ch $14^{7\,(6)}$ 26^{9}). Engines for casting arrows and stones were sometimes placed in the towers (26^{15}). A single tower sometimes served as a citadel (Gn 11^{4}, Jg 9^{51}). In the country, towers were erected for the protection of the flocks and herds, and to safeguard the roads (2 K 17^{9}, 2 Ch 26^{10} 27^{4}). The pilgrim route from Damascus to Mecca is dotted with towers which protect the wayside wells (Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, i. 9, 13). A vineyard was sometimes watched from a *migdāl* (Is 5^{2}, cf. Mt 21^{33}), sometimes from a mere 'booth' (סֻכָּה *ṣukkah*). The towers of Jerusalem are mentioned generally in Ps 48^{12}, Is 33^{18}; see also Neh 3^{1} (towers of HAMMEAH and of HANANEL; cf. also Ryle's note *in loco*); v.^{11} (tower of the furnaces; cf. Ryle, and see JERUSALEM, vol. ii. p. 593, for this tower and the next mentioned); vv.$^{25-27}$ (the [great] tower that lieth out); Ca 4^{4} (tower of David); $7^{4\,(5)}$ (the tower of Lebanon which looketh toward Damascus). 'The tower of Babel' (it should be noted here) is not a biblical phrase; the presumption of men was shown not in the height of the tower, which is hyperbolically expressed, but in the whole scheme embodied in the building of 'the city and the tower.' That 'the name of the LORD is a strong tower' (Pr 18^{10}) may mean either of two things: (1) that God Himself is a protection, or (2) that the mention of His name in an adjuration often stops an intended act of violence. The second sense may be illustrated from the tradition that the prophet Mohammed once spared a female captive who exclaimed, 'I take refuge in God (*a'ūdhu billāhi*) from thee.' Mic 4^{8}, in which Zion is addressed, 'O tower of the flock,' is taken by Nowack (*in loco*) and others as a later addition. Jerusalem is here represented, it is said, as already desolate, as a lonely tower from which grazing flocks are watched. A more natural interpretation of the phrase is suggested by Is 14^{32}. Zion is the tower in which the flock of God takes refuge from the enemy.

2. 'Tower' stands also for *migdōl* (Ezk 29^{10} 30^{6}) in EV, where RVm more correctly gives a proper name 'from Migdol' (LXX ἀπὸ Μαγδώλου). **3.** בַּחַן *baḥan*, בָּחוֹן *bāḥōn* (pl. בַּחוּנִים *baḥūnīm*), a tower used by besiegers for observing and (sometimes) for attacking a city; Is 23^{13}. The prophet Jeremiah is compared (Jer 6^{27}) with one of these towers, because he was the herald and (in a sense) the instrument of God's judgments on Jerusalem; cf. Ezk 4^{3}, where the prophet is directed to besiege the city in dumb show. The rendering of Jer 6^{27} in RVm 'trier' is supported by LXX and Pesh. (Lee), and yields a play on the following verb 'try,' but the AV is probably right. **4.** 'High tower' is the rendering of מִשְׂגָּב *misgāb*, in Ps $18^{2\,(3)}$ EV, and $59^{9\,(10).\,17\,(18)}$ RV. God is called the Psalmist's *misgāb*. **5.** עֹפֶל *'ōphel* (2 K 5^{24} AV). RV gives 'hill' (correctly). **6.** מָצוֹר *māẓōr* (Hab 2^{1}), a word meaning 'entrenchment,' 'rampart.' **7.** פִּנָּה *pinnah* (Zeph 3^{6}), 'towers' AV, 'battlements' RV, 'corner towers' RVm (rightly, towers being often set at an angle of a city wall). **8.** The word צְרִיחַ *ẓĕrîaḥ* (Jg 9^{46} 'hold' AV, 1 S 13^{6} 'high places' AV) has been taken by Jewish expositors to mean a 'tower,' but Driver (on 1 S 13^{6}) shows good reason for rendering 'vault' or 'underground chamber'; the Lyons Heptateuch (ed. U. Robert) has *promuntuarium* (for *promptuarium*), 'store-room, magazine,' in Jg 9^{46}.

(B) In the Apocrypha 'the tower' is the regular rendering in AV in 1 and 2 Maccabees of ἡ ἄκρα, 'the citadel' (RV), *i.e.* the fortress commanding the temple (see JERUSALEM, vol. ii. p. 594), which is also called ἡ ἀκρόπολις, 'the tower' (2 Mac 4^{12}), 'the castle' (v.$^{27\,(28)}$), so AV; 'the citadel' (RV). 'Tower' is also the translation of πύργος, a wooden building carried by an elephant, and holding thirty-two men (1 Mac 6^{37}), also a place of execution in which criminals were smothered in ashes (2 Mac 13^{5}). In Sir $37^{14\,(18)}$ σκοπή is 'high tower' AV, 'watch-tower' RV, but the Hebrew varies between שֵׁן *shēn*, 'a steep rock' (cf. 1 S 14^{4}), and מִצְפָּה *miẓpeh*, 'watch-tower' with עֵץ *'ēẓ*, 'tree,' in margin. Sir 26^{22} ('a married [woman] is a tower against death to [her] husband,' AV) occurs in a passage of nine verses which is omitted from RV as an interpolation. It is absent from the uncials (אAB), but it is found in Clem. Alex. $^{p.\ 229}$, in cursive 248 (HP), and in the Syriac and Arabic, and so most probably existed at an early date in Hebrew. The correct translation of v.^{22b} is 'A married woman is a tower of death to those who have company (τοῖς χρωμένοις) with her.' The 'tower of death' is, no doubt, the tower of punishment described in 2 Mac 13^{5} (see above).

(C) In NT 'tower' represents πύργος in Mt 21^{33} (=Mk 12^{1}, see Swete's note) a tower in a vineyard; Lk 13^{4} the tower in Siloam; cf. 14^{28}. Silwān, the modern Siloam, is built on a steep escarpment of rock, on which a building with good foundations would stand for ever; ill-laid foundations would drop their superstructure to the very bottom of the valley.

W. EMERY BARNES.

TOWN CLERK (γραμματεύς).—An official whose powers and functions varied at different periods and in different countries of the Greek world. Here we speak only of the *grammateus* in the Græco-Asiatic cities under the early Roman empire. The titles 'clerk of the city' (γρ. τῆς πόλεως), 'clerk of the senate' (γρ. τῆς βουλῆς), 'clerk of the people' (γρ. τοῦ δήμου), 'clerk of senate and people, or of senate and *ekklesia*' (γρ. βουλῆς καὶ ἐκκλησίας), and even 'clerk of senate and people and *gerousia*,' are all found in inscriptions of those cities. Sometimes there seems to be a difference between some of these titles; but in other cases it seems probable or certain that the 'clerk of the city,' the 'clerk of the senate and the people,' and the 'clerk of the people,' were various designations of one very important official.

The *grammateus* was responsible for the form of the decrees, which were submitted to the popular assembly, *i.e.* the *Demos* assembled in *ekklesia*. These decrees under the empire were first approved by the senate, and afterwards sent to be approved by the people in the *ekklesia*. The powers of the people were limited to accepting or rejecting the decrees sent down from the senate. They could not amend, and gradually their approval became a mere form, which followed as a matter of course, inasmuch as the Roman imperial system discouraged and limited the powers of the popular assembly. After the decrees were passed, the *grammateus* sealed them with the public seal (δημοσία σφραγίς) in the presence of witnesses (δογματογράφοι). In many places he even proposed the decrees in the popular assembly, and acted as chairman.

In Ephesus (Ac 19^{35}), at an excited and uproarious gathering of the people in the theatre (a common place for regularly summoned meetings of the popular assembly), the clerk speaks as one both possessing authority and under personal responsibility for the popular action. The Roman administration regarded irregular and unruly popular assemblies as a serious and even capital offence, because they tended to strengthen among the people the consciousness of their power and the desire to exercise it; and the clerk was evidently afraid lest he should be personally held to account for the irregular meeting.

This picture, as indicated in Acts, is entirely in keeping with the position of the *grammateus* as indicated in the inscriptions. In Ephesus that official is occasionally styled '*grammateus* of the Ephesians'; and often an event is dated by the clerk of the year. Money bequeathed to the people was under his charge. He often was responsible for the execution of works ordered by the people. The inscriptions of neighbouring cities whose constitution is most likely to have closely resembled the Ephesian, enable us to add many other details. The position of clerk is spoken of as the climax of a career of public service to the State of Tralles (μετὰ πολλὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ λειτουργίας γραμματεύσαντα τῆς πόλεως ἐπιφανῶς, *CIG* 2931). He along with the *strategoi* (to whom the real conduct of business came to be trusted more and more in the Greek cities of Asia) drafted the decrees; and this implies that he had a seat as assessor on the board of *strategoi*, and perhaps even presided there (γνώμη στρατηγῶν καὶ τοῦ γρ. τοῦ δήμου).

The clerk contrasts the confused assembly in the theatre with the ἔννομος ἐκκλησία, *i.e.* the people legally and properly assembled in the exercise of its powers. Such meetings were either ordinary on fixed days (νόμιμοι in an Ephesian inscription), or extraordinary, specially summoned at an unusual time (called σύγκλητοι at Athens); but the latter class of meetings required special authorization from the Roman governor of the province, and certainly were rarely permitted by the jealousy of Roman policy. The term ἔννομος ἐκκλησία has not hitherto been found at Ephesus, but occurs at Termessos (see Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyl.* ii. p. 33).

LITERATURE.—Hicks, *Greek Inscr. of the Brit. Museum*, iii. p. 82; Liebenam, *Städteverwaltung im röm. Kaiserreiche*, p. 288 f.; Lévy in *Revue des Études Grecques*, 1895, p. 216 ff.; Ramsay in *Expositor*, Feb. 1896, p. 137 ff., and in *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, i. 66; Svoboda, *Griech. Volksbeschlüsse*, p. 206 f.

W. M. RAMSAY.

TRACHONITIS.—In the Bible only in Lk 3^1, in defining Philip's tetrarchy: τῆς Ἰτουραίας καὶ Τραχωνίτιδος χώρας. Trachonitis was properly the country of, or round, the Trachon or Trachons (ὁ Τράχων, οἱ Τράχωνες), the name given by the Greeks (τράχων = 'rough, rocky ground') to those areas of split and shattered deposits of lava which form so characteristic a feature of the volcanic country S.E. of Damascus, and are known to the Arabs of to-day by the name of *wa'ar* (='stony waste'). *Wa'ar* is the equivalent of the Hebrew יער. The latter is wrongly rendered 'forest' in AV and RV; at the most it can mean only 'wood,' and generally seems to be no more than 'jungle.' Wetzstein (*Reisebericht über Hauran u. die Trachonen*, 15, n. 3) gives good grounds for the opinion that יער originally meant the same as the Arab. *wa'ar* (cf. especially Is $21^{13ff.}$), and that its association with wood, for which he supplies a modern Arabic analogy, is only secondary. Strabo (xvi. 2. 20) speaks of 'the two so-called Trachones behind Damascus.' These are, without doubt, the two largest lava areas in the region, the Ṣafā and the Lejā. Their edges are well defined, and visible from far on the surrounding plain—split banks of black rock with a sheen on it: about 30 ft. high. Within such borders the surfaces are amongst the most waste and broken upon earth. The lava in cooling has assumed the wildest shapes. Its surface has been likened to 'a petrified ocean' (cf. Merrill, *E. of Jordan*, p. 11) and to an 'ebony glacier with irregular crevasses' (*HGHL*^{4} 616). Wetzstein gives a vivid description (with sketches) of the tossed and broken formation, with the volcanic vents from which it burst. 'The Ṣafâ is still, as on the day of its origin, a gush of lava, black and of a dull sheen, full of countless streams, bridged over by thin vaults, of petrified black, often also bright red, waves, which roll down the slopes from the craters over the high plateau' (*op. cit.* p. 7). The Ṣafā, 'the empty or naked,' has no water or vegetation: 'no human being can exist upon it': it lies, too, far east in the desert. The Lejā, 'the refuge,' on the other hand, lies on the fertile plain of Ḥauran, and appears always to have been inhabited. It is 370 square miles in extent, almost bridging the plain between Jebel Druz (from now extinct volcanoes at the N. end of which, the Gharārat el-Ḳibliyeh and Tell Shiḥan, it issued) and the ranges to the E. of Hermon and S. of Damascus. It contains few springs, but with winter rains these form occasional small lakes. Soil has gathered in many of the hollows, and there are cultivated fields. Flocks can be pastured: there are enclosures of dry stone walls, which prove the ancient herding of cattle; and remains of vineyards, and cisterns. The ruins of villages, and well-preserved ancient towns,—Musmieh, Nejrân, Dama, Kubab, Jurēn, and others,—the remains of defences against the easier entrances, and numerous traces of cuttings for roads, point to a considerable population in ancient times. The region is still partly inhabited and cultivated. While, therefore, Strabo, as a geographer, spoke of two Trachons, the Ṣafā and the Lejā, the former, uninhabited and lying far from the ways of men, was ignored by history, and the latter was to history *the* Trachon κατ' ἐξοχήν. So an inscription in Musmieh (le Bas-Waddington, No. 2524), and another in Bereke (*id.* 2396), and so Josephus (*Ant.* XV. x. 1).

How far back the human history of the Lejā extends is quite unknown to us. On the one hand, it is hard to think that so safe and habitable a 'refuge,' whether from Arab raids or the armies of the ancient powers, was unused by man, so long as the surrounding country was inhabited; and equally hard to suppose that a phenomenon of nature, so singular and conspicuous, was not frequently upon the lips of the surrounding peoples. On the other hand, in the OT there is no certain reference to the Lejā. ARGOB in Bashan was identified with it by the Targums, and the identification has been repeated in our days (by Porter, Henderson, and the maps of the Pal. Expl. Fund), on the grounds that the Lejā can hardly have been omitted from the Biblical Geography, and that the phrase by which Argob is described, חֶבֶל אַרְגֹּב, literally the 'rope' or 'limit' of Argob, exactly suits the well-defined edge of the Lejā, called by the Arabs of to-day the Lohf. But חֶבֶל as a geographical term is properly 'district,' and applicable to any well-defined region; and the only natural derivation of ארגב is from רגב, 'a clod of earth,' which no one could take as characteristic of the Lejā; while, also, Israel's conquests very probably did not extend so far to the N.E. Argob is now generally identified with the district of Suwet, E. of Gilead and W. of the Zumle range: to the S. of Bashan, but geologically connected with the latter. Again, in the חררים of Jer 17^6, 'waste tracts,' it is possible to see a reference to the two Trachons, but more probably the word has the much wider reference to all those stony areas of the Arabian desert to which its Arabic equivalent *ḥarra* applies (Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, *passim* and Index). Porter (*Giant Cities of Bashan*, 1882, p. 12 ff., etc.) and others have taken the ancient buildings in the towns of the Lejā and other parts of Ḥauran and Bashan to be the actual remains of the giant races who, according to the OT, preceded the Amorites in the occupation of these lands, and of the Amorites themselves, *i.e.* the cities of Og king of Bashan. For the reasons stated above, we may well believe that the sites of these cities were occupied at a very early historical period; and the visitor to those in Bashan itself (as the present writer recently verified) may still note rude fortifications (under or near the obviously later city walls) which resemble the Amorite remains recognized in other parts of Palestine. But, on the other hand, the peculiar architecture in the Lejā and surrounding country (whether above or under ground), in which Porter claimed to have discovered the 'Giant Cities of Bashan,' bears no proofs of an origin earlier than the eve of the Christian era; that is, after the Greeks settled east of the Jordan.

Practically, therefore, the history of the Lejā opens with the appearance of its Greek name, *Trachon*. The Greeks, who began to settle on the E. of Jordan soon after Alexander the Great's Syrian campaign, seem to have made no impression on the Lejā, which was occupied by Nabatæan Arabs down to the arrival of Pompey's legions at Damascus, in B.C. 65 and 64. The Romans, coming to the aid of the Greek cities, crushed all the Semitic powers in Ḥauran, whether Jewish or Arab, but do not appear to have occupied Ḥauran itself. In B.C. 25 one Zenodorus is said to have ruled over part of the Ituræan territory on the slopes of Hermon, Auranitis (=Ḥauran, Jos. *Ant.* XV. x. 2), and Trachonitis, *i.e.* the Trachon along with some territory round it (Jos. *Ant.* XV. x. 1 Τράχων ‖ *BJ* XVII. ii. 1, etc. Τραχωνῖτις). Josephus and Ptolemy enable us to define approximately the then limits of this territory. According to *Ant.* XV. x. 3 it touched in the N.W. the districts of Ulatha and Paneas, about the sources of Jordan at the S. foot of Hermon; according to *Ant.* XVII. ii. 1, 2 it marched with Batanæa; and according to Ptolemy, v. 15. 4, it extended towards Mons Alsadamus, the present Jebel Druz. Ptolemy speaks of the Τραχωνῖται Ἄραβες 'under' that mountain. About B.C. 25 these Arabs raided the Greeks of Ḥauran, and the Greeks complained to Varro, governor of Syria. Varro appears to have himself inflicted some chastisement upon them (Jos. *BJ* I. xx. 4). But subsequently orders came from Augustus that Varro should replace Zenodorus by Herod, who had already (from his towns Gadara and Hippos eastward: *Ant.* XV. vii. 3; *BJ* I. xx. 3) some experience of fighting with the Trachonite Arabs (*Ant.* XV. v. 1; *BJ* I. xix. 2). Herod subdued them for a time (*Ant.* XV. x. 1; *BJ* I. xx. 4); but they, apparently unable to live upon the meagre crops of the Lejā itself, again, during Herod's absence in Rome, raided the fertile lands to the W. of them (*Ant.* XVI. ix. 1). Herod's soldiers defeated them and drove them into Nabatæa (to the S. of Ḥauran), with the exception of a few, who remained in the Lejā, and the most of whom Herod himself, when he returned, slew. The remainder, in alliance with the Nabatæans, kept up a series of attacks on Herod's borders. He put a force of 3000 Idumæans into Trachonitis, and placed the command in the hands of Zamaris, a Jew from Babylonia, for whom he built forts in Batanæa and at Bathyra, perhaps the present Busr (el-Hariri), on the S. border of the Lejā (*Ant.* XVII. ii. 1-3). Zamaris—it is not mentioned that he conquered the Lejā itself—quieted the surrounding country, and Herod built a temple near Kanatha, in the ruins of which an inscription still records the erection of a statue to him (le Bas-Waddington, 2364). By Herod's testament, his son Philip in B.C. 4 received 'Trachonitis,' along with the rest of the country between the Yarmuk and Hermon, as his tetrarchy (*Ant.* XVII. viii. 1, xi. 4, XVIII. iv. 6; *BJ* II. vi. 3). Strabo (xvi. 2. 20) describes, about A.D. 25, the general security of the country under Philip. Philo (*Legat. ad Gaium,* 41) gives the name Trachonitis to the whole of Philip's tetrarchy. When the latter died, in 34, Trachonitis and the rest of his tetrarchy was comprised in the province of Syria until 37, when Caligula gave it to Agrippa, who held the country as far as the eastern slopes of the Jebel Druz (cf. his inscription, still extant at el-Mushennef [Wadd. 2211]). It was from Agrippa's reign onward that the architecture of the district increased, according to the numerous inscriptions; though the Roman road through the Lejā itself may be as early as the time of Varro (see above). From A.D. 44, when Agrippa died, the whole of Palestine was directly governed by Roman officials till 50, when Chalcis, and 53, when the tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias, were given to Agrippa II., whose inscriptions are numerous throughout Trachonitis. In A.D. 100, on Agrippa's death, the direct Roman administration seems to have been resumed; and in 106, by the creation of the further province of Arabia, Trachonitis became part of the inner province of Syria. The bulk of the remains of its ancient civilization date from the subsequent period. The road just mentioned and others through the province may be wholly or mainly the work of the Antonines. In 295 Trachonitis was joined to the province of Arabia.

The question, whether in the time at which Lk 3[1] was written the Ituræan district and Trachonitis were two distinct portions of Philip's tetrarchy, or two equivalent or overlapping names for it, has already been fully discussed under ITURÆA.

LITERATURE.—Besides Wetzstein's *Reisebericht* quoted above, see Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xv.; Porter, *Five Years in Damascus*, ii., and *The Giant Cities of Bashan*; Selah Merrill, *East of Jordan*; Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. App. 1, etc.; de Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale: Architecture Civile et Religieuse*; Guthe, Fischer, and Stubel, in the *ZDPV*, 1890, 225 ff.; the present writer's *HGHL*, 543, 615 ff.; Major-General Heber-Percy, *A Visit to Bashan and Argob*, 1895, with good photographs; Rindfleisch in *ZDPV*, 1898, p. 1 ff.; v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Pers. Golf*, i. chs. iii. and vi. (with photographs of eṣ-Ṣafā), 1899; *Encyc. Bibl.* artt. 'Argob,' 'Bashan,' and 'Bosor.'

G. A. SMITH.

TRADE and COMMERCE.—i. TERMS.—'Trade' in AV of Gn 46[32. 34] means 'occupation,' and has no equivalent in the Hebrew. In Ezk 27[12-17] it represents the Heb. נתן 'gave'; in Gn 34[10. 21] it is the rendering of סחר *sḥr*. The participle of this last verb is used for 'merchant'; and cognate nouns, סָחָר, סַחַר, סְחֹרָה, מִסְחָר, for 'place of traffic,' 'merchandise,' 'profit,' traffic,' and, by the use of abstract for concrete, 'traffickers' (Gr. ἐμπορεύεσθαι, ἔμπορος, ἐμπορία; Lat. *negotiari, negotiator, institor, negotiatio, mercatus*). The root *ṣḥr*= 'travel,' and describes the merchant as a travelling trader. Similarly from רכל *rkl*, originally 'to travel,' connected with *regel*, 'foot,' we have *rōkhēl*, 'merchant' (ἔμπορος, *institor, negotiator, venditor*, etc.), רְכֻלָּה 'traffic' (ἐμπορία, *negotiatio*), מַרְכֹּלֶת 'place of traffic' (RV 'merchandise,' ἐμπορία, *negotiatio*). The Heb. words of this group chiefly occur in Neh 3. 13, Ezk 26–28.

Similarly in 1 K 10[15], 2 Ch 9[14] MT couples *'anshê hat-tārîm* (EV 'chapmen') with *sōḥĕrîm*, 'merchants'; and *tārîm*, which should mean 'spies,' is explained as 'those who go to and fro,' 'traffickers'; but the text is corrupt. Kittel ('Chronicles' in *SBOT*) proposes to read *'ăsher mē'ārîm*, 'that which came from the cities.'

The proper names *Kĕna'an* (Is 23[8]), *Kĕna'ănî* (Pr 31[24] etc.), are also used to mean 'merchant.' In Neh 10[31] מַקָּחוֹת, from לקח 'to take,' is used in the sense of 'goods for sale' (EV 'ware'); and in Ezk 27 עִזְבוֹנַיִךְ is used for 'thy wares,' so RV (not, as AV, 'thy fairs').

The roots of the following seem to have had originally the meaning 'exchange' or 'barter':

ערב 'traffic,' and its derivative מַעֲרָב 'merchandise' or 'traffic,' only in Ezk 27, cf. DEBT, PLEDGE; with the allied group מור 'to exchange *or* barter,' and תְּמוּרָה 'exchange,' 'barter,' 'price'; מֹהַר 'price paid for a wife,' and its denom. מהר 'to buy a wife'; מכר 'to sell,' and מֶכֶר 'wares *or* price'; מְחִיר 'price.'

The common word for 'buy,' קנה, is a general term meaning 'possess' and 'acquire'; so מִקְנָה, מִקְנָה, 'possession,' sometimes mean 'purchase' or 'price.' Another term for 'buy' is כרה; and לקח 'take' is sometimes tr. 'buy.' שבר usually means 'to buy corn.'

Other words for 'price' are יְקָר, lit. 'value,' and עֵרֶךְ 'an equivalent.' For 'caravan' we have אֹרְחָה (Gn 37^{25}, Is 21^{13}, Job $6^{18.19}$), הֲלִיכָה (so only Job 6^{19} poet.), and מִקְוֵה (1 K 10^{28}=2 Ch 1^{16}), and שָׁרָה (Ezk 27^{25}), lit. 'company' *or* 'band.' A special class of merchant ships were styled 'ships of Tarshish.' See TARSHISH. The tr. 'make merchandise' in Dt 21^{14} 24^{7} is a mistake. The meaning of the word (התעמר, only in these two passages) is probably 'play the master' (LXX in 24^{7} *καταδυναστεύσας*); see Driver's note.

In the NT we have for 'merchandise,' *ἐμπορία*; 'to trade,' *ἐργάζομαι*, *ἐμπορεύομαι*; 'to buy,' *ἀγοράζω*, *ὠνέομαι*; 'to sell,' *ἀποδίδωμι*, *πιπράσκω*, *πωλέω*; 'merchant,' *ἔμπορος*; 'banker' *or* 'money-changer,' *τραπεζίτης*; 'seller of purple,' *πορφυρόπωλις*; 'bank' *or* 'counter,' *τράπεζα* (lit. 'table'); 'mart,' *ἐμπόριον*; 'price,' *τιμή*; 'valuable,' 'expensive,' *πολυτελής*, *πολύτιμος*; 'lading of a ship,' *γόμος*.

ii. DATA.—1. *General.*—The natural features of a country indicate the character and extent of its commerce. Given harbours or practicable land routes, etc., it will export what it produces easily, and import what it produces with difficulty or cannot produce at all. See articles on the various countries of the Bible. Again, references to the possession of articles of foreign production imply commerce with the place of production. See articles on GOLD, SILVER, DRESS, etc.

2. *Trade in OT.*—There are numerous scattered references, but the leading cases are the accounts of Solomon's commerce (1 K 5. 9^{26-28} 10^{11-29}), and of the unsuccessful attempt of Jehoshaphat to imitate him (1 K 22^{48}); and of the Sabbath trading at Jerusalem (Neh 13^{15-22}). The commerce of Tyre is described in Is 23, Ezk 26. 27. A caravan trade in spices, etc., with Egypt is mentioned in Gn 37^{25} (J), and implied in 43^{11} (J).

3. *Trade in the Apocrypha, NT, Josephus, Talmud*, etc.—In 1 Mac 14^{5} Simon makes Joppa a port, and in To 4^{1} 9^{5} we read of a deposit of money repaid on the production of a receipt. In the NT commerce furnishes our Lord with many illustrations; St. Paul sails in trading vessels, and meets with Lydia, 'the dealer in purple' (Ac 16^{14}), and the manufacturers of silver shrines for Diana (Ac 19^{24}). The commerce of Rome, under the name of Babylon, is described in a passage, Rev 18, adapted from Ezk 27. There are scattered references in Josephus. The Talmud often refers to the articles and conditions of commerce in its discussions on tithes, and on the ritual questions, uncleanness, etc., arising out of relations between Jews and Gentiles. These notices can be applied only with caution to periods earlier than the compilation of the Talmuds (A.D. 400-600).

4. *Other Authorities.*—The immense collection of Egyptian, Assyrian, and Babylonian documents and inscriptions afford much information as to commerce in general, and some, direct and indirect, as to that of Palestine. The classical authorities, especially Strabo and Pliny, furnish us with information as to commerce in general in the Greek and Roman periods.

iii. COMMERCE OF THE ANCIENT EAST.—The Tel el-Amarna tablets show that in B.C. 1400 there was an extensive commerce between Babylonia and other States of the farther East, and Syria and Egypt. The letters passing between the Eastern kings and the kings of Egypt are full of references to the journeys, to and fro, of caravans, and to the interchange of numerous commodities. Three lists of articles sent by a king of Egypt to the king of Babylon, and of the wedding presents or dowry of an Eastern princess who married a king of Egypt, occupy 14 large octavo pages in small type (Winckler, p. 399 ff.). Evidence is furnished by inscriptions, etc., of such commerce from an even earlier period, onwards throughout the Bible history. The series of commercial documents, contract tablets, etc., in Babylonia from about B.C. 2400, and in Assyria from about B.C. 900, bear direct evidence to the existence of considerable internal trade, and imply foreign commerce. At a later time such documents enable us to trace the history of the great Babylonian banking firm of Egibi from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar to that of Darius. In the *Times* of 10th Oct. 1899 Conder quoted a letter, which he dated about B.C. 2000, from an Assyrian merchant to a correspondent in Cappadocia, asking, 'Can I settle and trade in Cappadocia on payment of a tax, and by living as a son of the land?' Assyria and Babylonia received merchandise from the farther East, and transmitted it westward. The Phœnicians from Tyre and Sidon and other cities were the intermediaries of a great sea traffic between Western Asia and the shores of the Mediterranean and the Eastern Atlantic, and also, for the most part, of the sea traffic between Egypt, Syria, and other Mediterranean countries (Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, Eng. tr. 15). Later on, this traffic was more and more shared by the Greeks. Egypt received the produce—ivory, ebony, skins, slaves, etc.—of Nubia and other countries to the south, and occasionally sent trading vessels to the 'incense countries,' Punt, etc., *i.e.* Southern Arabia, Somaliland, and perhaps farther east. The celebrated queen Hatshepsut (*c.* B.C. 1500) sent such an expedition (Petrie, *Hist. of Egypt*, ii. 79). There was also trade by land between Arabia and Syria, and, by way of the Isthmus of Suez, with Egypt.

In later times four main causes tended to promote and systematize the commerce of Western Asia, and its trade relations with Egypt and the other Mediterranean countries: (1) the establishment of the Persian dominion over Western Asia and Egypt, including the Greek cities of Asia Minor and many of the Greek islands; (2) the conquests of Alexander, the establishment of Greek States with political relations with Macedonia and Greece, and the founding of numerous Greek colonies throughout Syria; (3) the dispersion of the Jews; (4) the establishment of the authority of Rome over the Mediterranean countries and Western Asia.

iv. EXTENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF ISRAELITE COMMERCE.—We know hardly anything of Israelite trade during the *nomad period.* Probably the clans sometimes carried merchandise between Syria and Egypt (Gn 37^{25} 43^{11}), or escorted trading caravans; and at other times levied tolls or blackmail upon caravans passing through districts which they occupied. With the *settlement in Canaan*, the Israelites would gradually become involved in the system of internal trade, and of trade with Arabia, Egypt, Phœnicia, and the East which had been established for centuries. For some time this trade would remain in the hands of the original inhabitants, from whom the Israelites would obtain foreign commodities, partly by purchase, partly by plunder, *e.g.* Achan's Babylonish mantle (Jos 7^{21}).

In time the extension of the Israelite territory, the growth of cities, and the increase of the power and splendour of the royal court brought about an increase of wealth, and involved the Israelites more largely in the commerce of Syria. The unification of the tribes into a single organized State promoted the interchange of the produce of different districts, the cattle of the pastures, the wheat of the corn-lands, the wine and oil of other districts. The towns must have supplied their wants from the country, and in turn furnished the farmers with some manufactured articles. At first, no doubt, an Israelite farm was largely sufficient unto itself, but the growth of civilization would tend to a primitive division of labour and consequent trade. The establishment of the monarchy promoted external commerce by securing for its subjects the right to travel and trade in foreign countries. Ahab, for instance, obtains from Ben-hadad the right to have 'streets' (חֻצוֹת) in Damascus, *i.e.* an Israelite trading quarter or bazaar (1 K 20^{34}). A powerful king obtained large quantities of foreign commodities as presents or tribute, *e.g.* the gifts of the queen of Sheba and other princes, etc., to Solomon (1 K 4^{21} $10^{10.25}$). The king made similar presents in return (1 K 10^{13}). Moreover, a wealthy sovereign would need foreign articles of luxury for his court, materials for his buildings, and equipment for his army and navy. Thus Solomon obtained timber and carpenters for his buildings, and sailors for his ships, from Hiram king of Tyre (1 K 5^{1-12} 9^{27}); spices, etc. (10^{10}), from the queen of Sheba; horses and chariots for his army from Egypt ($10^{28.29}$). These imports implied exports; Hiram was paid for his timber in wheat and oil ($5^{11.12}$), and there were the 'presents' to friendly princes. David's conquest of Edom (2 S 8^{14}) had given Israel a port, EZION-GEBER, on the Red Sea, from which Solomon sent a trading fleet, partly manned with Phœnician sailors, to Ophir (see OPHIR) for gold, precious stones, etc. (1 K 9^{26-28}). In 10^{22} this traffic with Ophir is said to have been conducted by Solomon and Hiram conjointly, by means of a navy which sailed every three years, and brought 'gold, silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks.'[*] Further, Solomon not only imported horses and chariots from Egypt, but also sold them to the Hittite and Syrian kings (1 K $10^{28.29}$). The wide extent of Solomon's dominions gave him an opportunity, of which he doubtless availed himself, to provide for the safety and comfort of the caravans from the East to Palestine.[†] Naturally, the commerce was not entirely in Solomon's hands, and 1 K 10^{15} refers to the traffic of the merchants.

The only other reference to the trade from Ezion-geber to Ophir is the statement that Jehoshaphat made an unsuccessful attempt to renew it (1 K 22^{48}). Probably in the troubles at the close of Solomon's reign, Judah lost its free access to the Red Sea, and the traffic ceased once for all. Otherwise what we read of the commerce of Solomon's reign will hold good, in varying degrees, for the period of the monarchy. The references of the prophets of the eighth century to the prosperity and luxury of the two kingdoms under Uzziah, Jotham, and Ahaz of Judah, and Jeroboam II. of Israel, imply a demand for foreign manufactures and an active commerce (Is $2^{6.7.16}$ 3^{18-24},[*] Hos 2^{8} 10^{1} $12^{1.7.8}$ 13^{15}, Am 6^{3-6} 8^{5}). On the other hand, the calamities that befell Israel and Judah between B.C. 740 and 586 must have seriously affected its commerce.

It is doubtful whether the Israelites had trading vessels *on the Mediterranean* before the Exile. Herzfeld (*l.c.* p. 17) contends for a considerable maritime traffic mainly in the hands of Zebulun. In the Song of Deborah we read in RV of Jg 5^{17}—

> 'And Dan, why did he remain in ships?
> Asher sat still at the haven (m. shore) of the sea,
> And abode by his creeks.'

This passage seems to imply seafaring habits on the part of the tribes on the Mediterranean coast. It has, however, been proposed to read נאתיו 'meadows' for אניות 'ships'; or to render the first line, 'Why does he live neighbour to the ships?' (Moore), or 'Why does he fear the ships?' *Dan*, too, must be the northern Dan.—In the Blessing of Jacob (B.C. 1000–850) RV renders Gn 49^{13}—

> 'Zebulun shall dwell at the haven (m. beach) of the sea,
> And he shall be for an haven (m. beach) of ships;
> And his border shall be upon Zidon.'

This passage, again, seems to imply maritime trade. Ball, however (in *SBOT*), reads for the second line, 'And he shall sojourn (יגור) in ships,' cf. Jg 5^{17}; Dillmann renders, 'He settles towards the strand of the ships'; while Holzinger denies that the verse in any way refers to trade or seafaring.—In the Blessing of Moses (B.C. 930–750) RV translates Dt $33^{18.19}$—

> 'Rejoice, Zebulun, in thy going out;
> And, Issachar, in thy tents.
> They shall call the peoples unto the mountain;
> There shall they offer sacrifices of righteousness:
> For they shall suck the abundance of the seas,
> And the hidden treasures of the sand.'

'The abundance of the seas' will be fisheries and sea-borne merchandise; 'the hidden treasures of the sand,' the glass made from the sand about Accho, and the purple dye made from the shell-fish. 'Going out' is explained of mercantile expeditions. It is also, however, suggested that 'the peoples' were called 'to the mountain' to a gathering which was at once fair and festival, and that Zebulun and Issachar obtained their 'abundance' and 'treasures' by purchase from the Phœnicians, and not by any seafaring of their own. Ball (on Gn 49^{13}) points out that the fact that one of the clans of Issachar is called *Tola*, the name of the worm from which the dye was taken, suggests a connexion between Issachar and that industry.—The only other item of direct evidence in favour of Israelite traffic on the Mediterranean in this period is the mention of 'ships of Tarshish' (cf. TARSHISH) in Is 2^{16}; but it does not follow that these were Israelite ships. On the other hand, the ports north of Carmel were in the hands of the Phœnicians, and the only port south of Carmel, Joppa, a very bad harbour or roadstead, is never mentioned by pre-exilic writers, and it is doubtful if it was ever occupied by the Israelites. Moreover, the historian who dwells with such marked interest on the commerce of Solomon would surely have mentioned Mediterranean traffic if it had existed. On the whole, therefore, the extant evidence fails to prove that the Israelites had trading vessels on the Mediterranean. Doubtless, however, the tribes bordering on Phœnicia—Zebulun, Asher, and Issachar—profited by the wealth and commercial activity of their neighbours; and members of these tribes settled amongst the Phœnicians and shared their trade.

---

[*] 1 K 9^{26-28} and 10^{22} clearly refer to the same traffic. The 'navy of Tarshish' does not mean a navy going to Tarshish, but a navy consisting of a large class of vessels similar to those which went to Tarshish. The statement of 2 Ch 9^{21}, that 'the king had ships that went to Tarshish,' is a natural misinterpretation of the statement in Kings. Cf. 1 K 22^{48} 'Jehoshaphat made ships of Tarshish to go to Ophir' (Herzfeld, *Handelsgesch. der Juden*, p. 28; Benzinger on 1 K 10^{22}; Oettli on 2 Ch 9^{21}).

[†] Herzfeld (*l.c.* p. 26) lays great stress on the statement in 2 Ch 8^{4} that Solomon conquered Hamath, and built Tadmor; the latter point being confirmed by the *Ḳĕre* of 1 K 9^{18}. TADMOR (Palmyra) would be an important station on the caravan route to the East. But, according to Benzinger on 1 Kings and Barnes on 2 Chron., the reference to Tadmor in the latter is due to a misunderstanding of the former.

[*] 3^{18-23} is perhaps an interpolation.

Another question is as to how far, in the time of the monarchy, the commerce of Israel was *in Israelite hands.* The fact that in Job 41^{6} and Pr 31^{24} 'Canaanite,' and in Hos 12^{7} 'Canaan,' is used to mean 'merchant'; and apparently in Is 23^{11}, Zeph 1^{11} 'Canaan' is used for 'the merchant people,' suggests that in early times the trade of Israel was largely carried on by the Phœnicians. The various codes and the prophets make scant reference to trade. In view of the keen interest in the commerce of Tyre shown by Is 23, Ezk 26. 27, we should have expected more detailed notice of Israelite trade if it had been largely in native hands. Hos 12^{7}, indeed, 'He [Ephraim] is a trafficker [*lit.* 'Canaan'],' * implies the development of native commercial activity in the Northern Kingdom in the last period of its independence. But this seems to have been a new development, speedily cut short by the fall of Samaria. Again, Ezk 26^{2} represents Tyre as exulting over the fall of Jerusalem, 'the gate of the peoples,' and expecting to profit—perhaps commercially—by her ruin: 'I shall be replenished, now that she is laid waste.' No doubt, Jerusalem was to some extent a commercial city. On the other hand, it is to a Canaanite merchant that the Israelite housewife sells her cloth (Pr 31^{24}); the merchant is not mentioned amongst the notables in such lists as Is 3$^{2.\,3}$; and, except Solomon and his agents, no Israelite merchants are mentioned before the Exile. Probably much of the internal traffic, and most of the import and export trade, were in the hands of Phœnicians and other foreigners.

The *restored Jewish community* in Palestine during the Persian period was small and poor (Hag 1$^{1\text{-}11}$ 2$^{16.\,17}$, Zec 7^{7} 8$^{4.\,5.\,10}$, Mal 3^{14}, Neh 1^{3} 2^{17} 4^{2} 5), and its commerce must have been very limited. Still the Jewish settlement was a city,—Jerusalem and its territory,—and a city implies local and other trade (so Neh 3$^{31.\,32}$ 13$^{15\text{-}20}$, where we find the trade partly in the hands of the 'men of Tyre'). There is evidence that during this period Dor, Joppa, and Ashkelon were held by the Phœnicians (G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 129). Probably most of the external and some of the internal trade of the Jewish community in Palestine was in the hands of the Phœnicians. When Jonah set sail from Joppa for Tarshish, it was in a Gentile ship (Jon 1^{5}).

By the time the *Greek period* was reached, the restoration of the temple, the reforms of Nehemiah, and the natural growth of the community must have led to some development of trade, which would be further stimulated by the Greek colonization of Western Asia. Some token of a growing interest in commerce may be seen in the Bk. of Sirach, which refers to the subject more frequently and precisely than does Proverbs. Many of the references, indeed, are quite general, to the dangers of suretiship (Sir 8^{13} 29$^{14\text{-}20}$, as in Pr 11^{15} 17^{18} 20^{16}); or to the obligation to deal fairly (Sir 5^{8} 29$^{4\text{-}7}$ 41^{18}, as in Pr 16^{11} 20$^{10.\,23}$); or to other general topics (Sir 37^{11}, as in Pr 11^{26}). But Sir 42$^{1\text{-}8}$ implies a more intimate acquaintance with commerce, *e.g.* v.^{7}—

> 'Whatsoever thou handest over, let it be by number and weight;
> And in giving and receiving let all be in writing.'

In other passages we discern the protest of traditional sentiment against a growing predilection for business life. Thus—

> 'Hate not laborious work;
> Neither husbandry, which the Most High hath ordained' (Sir 7^{15}).
> 'A merchant shall hardly keep himself from wrong-doing' (Sir 26^{29}).

On the other hand, the silence of Ecclesiastes as to trade still illustrates the comparative indifference of the Palestinian Jew to commerce. Ec 3 does not state that 'there is a time to buy and a time to sell.' This silence is the more significant in a book written in the name of Solomon, the merchant-king.

The *restoration of Jewish autonomy*, and the extension of their territory by the *Maccabees*, must have further promoted trade, more especially the acquisition of Joppa by Simon as a Jewish port (1 Mac 14^{5}). Throughout the Persian and Greek periods the growing commerce of the Jewish Dispersion (see below) must have done something to foster trade in Palestine; which would be further encouraged by the frequent resort of the Jews of the Dispersion to Jerusalem, especially for the Passover.

During the *Roman* or *Herodian period* the same causes were at work, aided by the security and facility of communication due to the imperial government. Herzfeld (pp. 66–130) shows that the Mishna and Jerusalem Talmud make frequent references to the trade of Palestine, and enumerates, mainly from these sources, 135 foreign articles imported into Palestine. On the other hand, Josephus (*c. Apion.* i. 12) denies that the Jews occupied any territory on the coast, or cared to engage in commerce: Ἡμεῖς τοίνυν οὔτε χώραν οἰκοῦμεν παράλιον, οὔτ' ἐμπορίαις χαίρομεν, οὐδὲ ταῖς πρὸς ἄλλους διὰ τούτων ἐπιμιξίαις. He makes this statement to explain why the ancient Greeks never heard of the Jews, and doubtless handles his facts with the rhetorical licence of an advocate, *more suo*. Yet his words probably represent the attitude of old-fashioned Palestinian Jews.

The *Dispersion* of the Jews which began with the fall of Samaria had, before the beginning of the Christian era, scattered Jewish communities over all the Mediterranean lands, together with Arabia and the ancient Assyria and Babylonia. These communities are found in all the great commercial cities—Rome, Antioch, Thessalonica, Corinth, Alexandria, etc. Their circumstances militated against their holding land, even when it was not legally forbidden to them; on the other hand, their relations with fellow-countrymen all over the known world gave them then, as now, exceptional facilities for commerce; so that we may conclude that the Jews of the Dispersion were largely occupied with commerce. This conclusion is supported by references to Jewish merchants and trade in various countries. Jos. (*Ant.* XX. ii. 3, 4) mentions a Jewish merchant at the court of Adiabene; Philo (*in Flaccum*, 8) mentions Jewish shipmasters and merchants at Alexandria; and Herzfeld (p. 219) quotes Talmudic references to Jewish traders in Mesopotamia.

v. TRADE ROUTES, MARKETS, HARBOURS, ETC. —1. *Transport of Commodities.* In times of peace, in the more settled countries, merchants (cf. above, 'Terms'), travelling singly or in small companies, carried their wares to their customers, or to markets (Neh 13^{16}), and visited the scattered farmsteads to purchase farm produce, or clothing made by the housewife or her maids (Pr 31^{24}). The more important international traffic was carried on by caravans of camels (Gn 37^{25}), asses (Gn 42^{27} 43^{18} 45^{23}, Ezr 2^{67}), mules (2 K 5^{17}, 1 Ch 12^{40}), oxen (1 Ch 12^{40}), and slaves (2 K 5^{23}). Horses were not used as beasts of burden or for draught, only for riding and chariots. In Gn 45$^{19.\,21.\,27}$ 46^{5} waggons (*'ăgālôth*) are sent to fetch the aged Jacob and the women and children (cf. the Egyp. *'agolt*, a baggage-waggon drawn by oxen, Erman, *Egypt*, Eng. tr. p. 491). In Nu 7^{3}, 1 S 6^{7} waggons drawn by oxen are used to carry the tabernacle furniture and the ark. In the pictures of convoys of prisoners taken by the Assyrians, the baggage and the sick are sometimes carried in waggons (Maspero, *Anc. Egypt and Assyria*, Eng. tr. p. 336). But there is no mention of waggons in the description of the great caravan in Ezr $2^{66.67}$; and they cannot have been largely used. The caravans were usually accompanied by an armed escort (Ezr 8^{22}).—2. *Trade Routes.* Caravan routes led from S.W. Arabia along the Red Sea from Elath; and also from the Persian Gulf across Arabia to Petra. From Petra there were routes to Egypt, to Gaza, and along the east of the Dead Sea, and the Jordan to Damascus. The great route from the East led from Babylon, across the Euphrates and the desert, by the oasis of Palmyra, to the Plain of Jezreel and the Mediterranean. Another route, partly coinciding with this, started from Gilead, passed over the Plain of Jezreel, and went on by Gaza to Egypt (Gn 37^{25}). Another route went from Damascus by Scythopolis and the Plain of Jezreel to Accho. From Scythopolis routes led to Samaria, Shechem, and Jerusalem. Also from Jerusalem a route by Jericho (Lk 10^{30}) crossed the Jordan, and joined the route east of the river; other routes led to Joppa (Ezr 3^{7}), and, in NT times at any rate, to Gaza (Ac 8^{26}) and, by Antipatris, to Cæsarea (Ac $23^{31.32}$). The combination of these routes connected Babylonia, etc., Damascus, Samaria, Phœnicia, Philistia, Gilead, Jerusalem, Arabia, and Egypt. The Roman roads in Palestine are mostly later than the Bible period. There were numerous minor routes (Herzfeld, pp. 22, 46, 141; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 149–154, 388 ff., 425–430, 597 ff., 626). An important Egyptian caravan route led from Coptos on the Nile to Sauu (*Wādy Gasus*) on the Red Sea (Erman, p. 505). In NT times a great system of Roman roads connected the East with Rome; the most important route was Rome to Brundusium (*Via Appia*), and from Dyrrachium by Thessalonica to Byzantium (*Via Egnatia*).

---

* RVm renders, 'As for Canaan . . .'; but even so the following verse implies that Ephraim had imitated Canaan.

By sea there was traffic from Babylonia with the East by the Persian Gulf; from Edom and Egypt with the East from ports on the Red Sea; from the Phœnician cities with all the Mediterranean lands and the farther West. A similar trade existed, chiefly in the hands of the Phœnicians and the Greeks, from the coast of the Delta. This developed immensely after the foundation of Alexandria. The rivers Euphrates, Tigris, and the Nile were great trade routes.

The chief seaports of Syria are TYRE and ZIDON, and the other Phœnician cities, and JOPPA (cf. above).

As to markets, the MAKTESH of Zeph 1^{11} seems to have been a trading quarter of the Phœnicians in Jerusalem; and Dt $33^{18.19}$ has been supposed to refer to a fair connected with a religious festival held on the borders of Zebulun and Phœnicia. Markets must have existed in the cities, and elsewhere, probably especially in the neighbourhood of 'high places,' but ancient Israel had no 'commercial cities.' In the NT the market-place (*agora*) is often referred to (Mt 11^{16} etc.); and we read of a market held in the temple precincts (Mk 11^{15}, Jn 2^{14}). Herzfeld (pp. 130, 324) gives Talmudical references to shops and markets, especially some that seem to imply weekly markets on Monday and Thursday.

In some cases Israel enjoyed the privilege of a trading quarter, 'streets' or bazaars, in foreign cities; and granted similar privileges to foreigners (1 K 20^{34}, Zeph 1^{11}).

vi. ARTICLES OF COMMERCE.—The chief exports from Palestine were corn, oil, wine, balsam, spices, cattle, wool, fish, and slaves. Honey, balsam, wheat, and oil were exported to Phœnicia (1 K 5^{11}, Ezr 3^{7}, Ezk 27^{17}, Ac 12^{20}), also oaks from Bashan (Ezk 27^{6}). To Egypt were exported spices, balm, myrrh, honey, pistachio nuts, almonds, oil (Gn 37^{25} 43^{11}, Hos 12^{1}). For the slave-trade see SERVANT. Other exports may be inferred from the existence of fertile vineyards and pasture lands, and of the fisheries on the Sea of Galilee. Every article grown or manufactured in Palestine would be exported at some time or another; at any rate, in small quantities. Conversely, most of the products of countries with which the Jews had commercial relations would be imported at some time or another (cf. above, § iii.). But the chief imports were timber and artisans from Phœnicia (1 K 5^{11}, Ezr 3^{7}); corn, horses, and chariots from Egypt (Gn 41^{57}, 1 K $10^{28.29}$, Dt 17^{16}); gold and silver, spices, timber, precious stones, ivory, apes and peacocks, gold and silver plate and ornaments, armour, and mules from Arabia, Ophir, and other countries (1 K 10^{10-25}); wool and sheep from Moab (2 K 3^{4}, Is 16^{1}).

The special products of each district would be articles of internal commerce with other districts; farm produce was sold in the cities; the products of the industry of the cities were bought for the country; and foreign imports were distributed from the cities through the country. Salt (see SALT) was supplied from the districts by the Dead Sea; cattle, wool, etc., from the pastures to the east and south; corn, etc., from the fertile arable land in Esdraelon and elsewhere.

A long list of the articles of Tyrian commerce is given in Ezk 27.

vii. THE GOVERNMENT AND COMMERCE.—Both in Israel and elsewhere, commerce was often carried on by the kings themselves, *e.g.* Solomon, Hiram (1 K 10^{22}), and Jehoshaphat (1 K 22^{48}). The presents interchanged between friendly princes were really barter on a large scale; in the Tel el-Amarna tablets the kings of Egypt haggle over the exact value of the 'presents' they give and receive, in true Oriental fashion (Winckler, p. 61 f.). The tribute from dependent States, the 'presents' or prices paid for princesses given in marriage, were a one-sided commerce carried on for the benefit of the kings.

The governments of ancient States intervened, as we have seen, to obtain special trading privileges for their subjects in foreign countries (1 K 20^{34}); also to secure for them protection and redress for injuries (Winckler, *Amarna Tablets*, p. 25).

From the analogy of other States we should suppose that the Israelite kings levied taxes on imports and exports, and tolls on merchandise passing through the country. In one of the Amarna tablets (Winckler, p. 93) a foreign king stipulates that his property shall not be dealt with by the customs of Egypt. In NT the customs officers of the Herods and the Romans are referred to (Mk 2^{14} etc.); see PUBLICAN.

viii. COMMERCE OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE. — In NT times the empire possessed a highly developed and elaborate commercial system, largely administered by great trading corporations, and involving credit and other features of modern banking. The most important branch of Roman commerce was the corn trade between Egypt and Rome (Ac $27^{6.38}$ 28^{11}).

ix. ETHICS OF COMMERCE. — The Bible deals directly with only two or three elementary points, such as the duty of fair dealing, and the danger of greed of gain (see SERVANT).

On the general subject cf. the articles MONEY, SOLOMON, WEALTH; also the articles on countries, dress, ornaments, etc.

LITERATURE. — Nowack, *Lehrb. der Heb. Arch.* i. pp. 247–251; Benzinger, *Heb. Arch*, pp. 218–223; Erman, *Life in Anc. Egypt*, pp. 479–519; Herzfeld, *Handelsgeschichte der Juden des Alterthums*; Buhl, *Die socialen Verhältnisse der Israeliten*, pp. 76–83; Schürer, *HJP* ('Trade,' in Index).

W. H. BENNETT.

TRADES.—It was an ancient custom and law among the Jews that every boy must learn a trade, not necessarily as a means of livelihood, but as a precautionary measure against destitution, if fortune failed, and the temptations of an idle life. One of the Rabbinic sayings is, 'He that teaches not his son a trade, is as if he taught him to be a thief'; and another, 'He that hath a trade in his hands is as a vineyard that is fenced,' *i.e.* he will be secure from the dangers of temptation and want. Many of their great Rabbis are known by their surname of trade, *e.g.* 'Rabbi Johanan the shoemaker, Rabbi Isaac the blacksmith,' etc. The two illustrious doctors who founded the schools known by their names—Hillel and Shammai—not long before the Christian era, had been taught trades; and the latter, who was a mason, continued to take a practical interest in his handicraft, even when he was vice-president of the Sanhedrin and had a large following of students. So also St. Paul, who was destined for the Rabbinic office, was taught tent-making, probably before he left Tarsus, his native city, to sit at the feet of Gamaliel in Jerus. and learn from him the intricacies of Jewish law. This was of great use to him after his conversion, when he was often compelled to maintain himself by his labour (Ac 18^3); so that he was able to say, 'Neither did we eat bread for naught at any man's hand, but in labour and travail, working night and day, that we might not burden any of you' (2 Th 3^8).—In many handicrafts the ancients attained a very high degree of excellence, and the Hebrews must have learned much from the Egyptians and Phœnicians. The pyramids, temples, and tombs of Egypt, the temples of Greece and Jerus. and Baalbek, and the images of gods and men, show a knowledge of masonry and sculpture which modern skill can hardly equal, while in the work of the goldsmith and jeweller the ornaments belonging to a queen of the 11th dynasty (about B.C. 2000), which were lately found in Dahshur, are said by good judges to be unsurpassed for beauty and finish in the present-day markets of Paris or London. The Tyrian purple dyes, the rich colouring on Egyp. tombs, the elegant vases of pottery and gold, the linen fabrics of the loom, and other products of manual work so copiously depicted on Egyp. walls, all tell the same story of the high civilization in art of those times. — The principal trades mentioned in the Bible are those of smiths and armourers (1 S 13^{19}), coppersmiths (2 Ti 4^{14}), goldsmiths (Is 46^6), jewellers (Hos 2^{13}), masons (2 K 12^{12}), carpenters (Mt 13^{55}), tentmakers (Ac 18^3), potters (La 4^2), tanners (Ac 9^{43}), fishers (Is 19^8), bakers (Jer 37^{21}), barbers (Ezk 5^1). Spinning, weaving, and sewing were chiefly the work of women (1 S 2^{19}, Pr 31^{19}). See separate articles on the above subjects. J. WORTABET.

TRANCE (ἔκστασις). — While in class. Greek ἔκστασις has the meaning of frenzy, in Bib. Greek it is not found in this strong sense, but means either distraction of mind due to fear or astonishment (Ps 16^{11} LXX, Ac 3^{10}), or religious rapture (Ac 10^{10} 11^5). In the strict sense, religious ecstasy denotes a state in which the mind is so dominated by emotional excitement that sensibility to external impressions, the free activity of the intellect, and the initiative and control of the will, are for the moment in abeyance. Its significance as a medium of revelations was found precisely in this suppression of the ordinary mental functions, the mind being regarded as under the control of the Deity, and therefore as His instrument. Ecstasy has been, and is, a more or less familiar phenomenon in almost all religions, more especially in times of religious excitement. While occurring spontaneously, recourse has often been had to artificial means, such as the concentration of the mind on an abstract idea or significant word, fasting, fixing of the look, seclusion, whirling and bodily contortion—above all, music and dancing. In the early days of Heb. prophecy such stimulants were not unknown (1 S 10^5, 2 K 3^{15}). When, however, we come to the canonical prophets, there can no longer be any question of ecstasy in the sense of a morbid state. What is indicated by such expressions as 'the hand of the LORD was upon me' is rather a religious exaltation of spirit, in which the free activity of the mind is not suppressed but heightened. Such a state lies behind vision as its psychological condition. See VISION. The prophets never appeal to the abnormal character of their experience as authenticating their message. In the Apostolic Church we find a revival of ecstasy in the stricter sense, as an accompaniment of the fresh and often violent religious awakening (1 Co $14^{2ff.}$, Ac 2^{13}). It found expression in rapt utterances. While yielding a certain recognition to this gift of tongues St. Paul indicates that it was apt to breed confusion (1 Co $14^{23.\ 33}$), and he places it under strict rule. He himself had also the gift of tongues, but he does not set great store by it (1 Co 14^{19}); and while he relates a marvellous ecstatic experience of his own (2 Co $12^{2ff.}$), he nowhere traces his doctrines to such a source. His allusion to this experience is too vague to admit of its character being precisely defined. See, further, the articles on PROPHET.

W. MORGAN.

TRANSFIGURATION, THE. — The word comes from *transfiguratus est*, the Vulg. tr. of μετεμορφώθη in the narratives of Matt. and Mark. Elsewhere this verb is rendered either *reformari* (Ro 12^2) or *transformari* (2 Co 3^{18}). The event which it designates is recorded thrice (Mt 17^{1-8}, Mk 9^{2-8}, Lk 9^{28-36}) and alluded to once (2 P 1^{16-18}) in NT. The narratives of Matt. and Mark agree closely in wording. But Matt. alone records that when the disciples heard the voice they fell on their faces; and that Jesus came and touched them and said, 'Arise, and be not afraid.' Mark alone has the words, 'so as no fuller on earth can whiten them.' Luke is more independent. Excepting as regards Peter's exclamation and the voice from heaven, his wording is mainly his own; and even in Peter's words he renders 'Rabbi' by his favourite 'Επιστάτα, where Matt. has Κύριε. Luke alone tells us that Jesus went up the mount to *pray*, and that He was praying when He was transfigured. In expressing the Transfiguration he avoids μετεμορφώθη (which might have suggested to Gentile readers the metamorphoses of heathen deities), and substitutes the characteristic ἐγένετο ἕτερον. And he alone tells us that Moses and Elijah were talking of Christ's ἔξοδος at Jerusalem, and that the disciples were heavy with sleep.

The main questions respecting this unique incident in the life of Christ are those as to the place, the nature, and the significance of it.

(1) As to the 'high mountain' (Matt., Mark), which when 2 Pet. was written had become 'the holy mountain,' there are two traditions, which can be traced to the 4th century. (*a*) That it was the *Mt. of Olives*. This is incredible. Both before and after the Transfiguration Christ is in Galilee. And the Mt. of Olives would not have been called ὑψηλόν. (*β*) That it was *Mt. Tabor*. This is near enough to Cæsarea Philippi to be possible; and, although it is only about 1700 ft. above the sea, it appears to be much higher, and commands a very extensive view. But it is not probable. Just a week ('six days,' Matt., Mark; 'about eight days,' Luke) before this event Christ was at Cæsarea Philippi. After it He went through Galilee to Capernaum (Mk

$9^{30.33}$, Mt $17^{22.24}$) on His way to Jerusalem. Would He have gone from Cæsarea Philippi past Capernaum to Tabor, and then back to Capernaum? A much more serious objection is that at this time there was a village or town on Tabor, which Josephus fortified against Vespasian (*BJ* IV. i. 8, II. xx. 6; cf. *Ant.* XIV. vi. 3); so that the necessary solitude (κατ' ἰδίαν, Matt., Mark) could hardly be found there. Yet Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech.* xii. 16) regards it as certain; and through the great influence of Jerome this tradition became widely accepted. In the Greek Church the Feast of the Transfiguration (Aug. 6) is called τὸ Θαβώριον. But (γ) the best modern writers prefer *Mt. Hermon* (Keim, Lichtenstein, Porter, Schaff, Stanley, Ritter, Robinson, Trench, Tristram). It is over 9000 ft. high, and could easily be reached in much less than a week from Cæsarea Philippi.

(2) Christ calls the event a 'vision,' ὅραμα (Mt 17^{9}), which does not mean that it was unreal. It was not one person's optical delusion, but a vision granted to three persons at once. It was a Divine revelation, the manner of which is unknown to us. We can neither affirm nor deny that Moses and Elijah, who had both been taken from the earth in a supernatural way, were there in the body, or only in the spirit, or not at all, except by representation. That the event is historical is shown by the three harmonious accounts, by the intelligible connexion with what precedes and follows, and by the improbability that an inventor would have invented the prohibition to speak of it. Matt. gives Christ's prohibition; Luke states that the disciples kept silence; Mark records both the prohibition and their obedience. There is no suspicious similarity between this event and the Transfiguration of Moses, although Strauss and Keim maintain that there is. And the silence of John is no difficulty, for he would readily omit what had been so often told before. The allusion in 2 Pet. is evidence of what was commonly believed when that letter was written. That a fact corresponding to all this evidence took place is the most reasonable explanation of the evidence.

(3) The meaning of the event is more within our comprehension than the manner of it. Whether it is correct to call it 'the culminating point in Christ's public ministry' or 'the great dividing line in the life' is not certain. That in consequence of it a 'sense of urgency and of the immediateness of a great crisis weighs upon the Lord' is more than we know. It was a foretaste of Christ's glory both in earth and in heaven. As such it served to strengthen the disciples, who had been greatly disturbed by the prediction of Christ's sufferings and death; and to this end they were allowed to listen to Moses and Elijah talking with Him about His death, and to hear the heavenly voice, which had proclaimed His Divine Sonship previous to His ministry, proclaim the same previous to His Passion. It showed them the supernatural character of His kingdom. It helped them to see that the OT being fulfilled by Christ is done away in Christ. Moses and Elijah vanish, and 'Jesus alone' (Matt., Mark, Luke) remains. To Christ Himself it may have had significance also. Whether or not it conveyed to Him any larger knowledge of His Father's will, this foretaste of His glory may have helped Him to bear the prospect of His approaching sufferings. He accepted the strengthening of an angel in Gethsemane, and may have accepted some analogous strengthening on the mount.

LITERATURE.—See Comm. and Lives of Christ; also the Dict. and Encyc. articles on 'Transfiguration' and 'Verklärung.' See also 'The Significance of the Transfiguration,' by W. J. Moulton, in *Bibl. and Sem. Studies* (Yale Univ.), 1901, pp. 157–210.

A. PLUMMER.

TRAVAIL.—In modern editions of AV a distinction has gradually arisen between 'travail' and 'travel,' the former being used when the meaning is to labour (or as subst. for 'labour,' 'trouble'), especially in childbirth, the latter when it is simply to journey. But in the editions of 1611 there was no such distinction. Thus in 1611 Mt 25^{14} reads, 'For the kingdome of heaven is as a man travailing into a farre countrey'; but Is 21^{13} 'In the forest in Arabia shall yee lodge, O yee travelling companies of Dedanim.' So in Ec 4^{4} we find 'Againe I considered all travaile'; but in 4^{6} 'Better is an handfull with quietnesse, then both the hands full with travell and vexation of spirit.' Nor have the editors or printers carried out their distinction completely. In La 3^{5} 'He hath . . . compassed me with gall and travel,' the spelling of AV is retained in mod. editions (Cov. 'travayle,' RV 'travail'). In Nu 20^{14} the sense has evidently been missed, the wider meaning of toil and trouble in the wilderness being taken as if it were merely the marching through it: AV 1611, 'Thou knowest all the travaile that hath befallen us' (mod. edd. 'travel,' RV 'travail').

The Eng. word is simply the Fr. *travail*, toil, trouble, the origin of which is unknown. In Cotgrave's French Dictionary *travail* is described as 'travell, toyle, teene, labour, business, paines-taking, trouble, molestation, care.' Travelling, which is now undertaken for pleasure, was so conspicuous a form of toil and trouble that it appropriated the name. The change of spelling was assisted by the fact that 'traveil' was another variety of spelling in early use. Thus in Ec 2^{23} AV 1611, 'For all his dayes are sorrowes, and his traveile, griefe.' The meaning was sometimes 'he weary,' as Is 40^{31} Wyc. 'Who forsothe hopen in the Lord, shul chaunge strengthe, take to federes as of an egle; rennen, and not travailen; gon, and not faylen.' For the spelling 'travel' for labour cf. Gosson, *Schoole of Abuse*, 41, 'I burnt one candle to seek another, and lost both my time and my travell when I had doone'; and in the sense of labour in childbirth, Hall, *Works*, ii. 11, 'If the house of David had not lost all mercy and good nature, a Daughter and [of] David could not so neere the time of her travell have bin destitute of lodging in the city of David.'

J. HASTINGS.

TREASON.—This word occurs in EV only in 1 K 16^{20} (of Zimri) and 2 K 11^{14}=2 Ch 23^{13} (the exclamation of Athaliah). In these instances it had better have been rendered 'conspiracy,' the tr. of the same Heb. term (קֶשֶׁר) in RV of Is 8^{12} (AV 'confederacy'; for justification of the reading קֶשֶׁר against Secker, Lowth, Lagarde, Stade, *et al.*, who emend קָדֹשׁ, see Cheyne, *Introd. to Is.* 40; LXX has σκληρόν = קָשֶׁה), and in AV and RV of 2 S 15^{12}, 2 K 17^{4}, Jer 11^{9}, Ezk 22^{25}. Cf. the use of the verb קשׁר in 1 S $22^{8.13}$, 2 S 15^{31}, 1 K 15^{27} $16^{9.16}$, 2 K 9^{14} 10^{9} 12^{20} (=2 Ch $24^{25f.}$) 14^{19} (=2 Ch 25^{27}) $15^{10.15.25.30}$ $21^{23.24}$ (=2 Ch $33^{24.25}$), 2 Ch 24^{21}, Neh 4^{8}, Am 7^{10}, in all of which both AV and RV render by 'conspire,' 'make conspiracy,' or 'be a conspirator.'

J. A. SELBIE.

TREASURE, TREASURER, TREASURY.—The word 'treasure' is used in EV in two distinct senses, which are approximately represented in English by 'store' and 'storehouse' respectively. The same ambiguity of meaning (which might be avoided in English by uniformly employing 'treasure' for the one sense and 'treasury' for the other, or by abolishing the latter term altogether and replacing it by 'storehouse' or the like) attaches to some of the words which in the original of the OT are the source of these renderings.

(1) 'Treasure' in the sense of *store* usually stands for Heb. אוֹצָר (generally plur. אוֹצָרוֹת): of gold, silver, costly utensils, etc., Jos $6^{19.24}$ (the vessels found in Jericho [AV and RV have here 'treasury,' which is not so suitable a tr. as 'treasure' or 'store']), Is 2^{7} 30^{6} 45^{3} ('treasures of darkness,' *i.e.* concealed, hoarded treasures), Hos 13^{15}, Jer 15^{13} 17^{3} 20^{5} 48^{7} 49^{4} 51^{13}, 1 K $14^{26\ bis}$, 2 K $24^{13\ bis}$, perhaps also Is $39^{2.4}$, although this should perhaps come under (2); wealth in general, Pr 15^{16} $21^{6.20}$, 1 Ch 29^{8} (the contributions for the building of the temple [here both AV and RV have rightly 'treasure,' but, strangely enough, RV gives 'treasury'

in the similar passage, Ezr 2^{69}=Neh 7^{71}], called in 1 Ch 29^{16} הָמוֹן, lit. 'crowd,' 'abundance,' AV and RV 'store,' cf. 2 Ch 31^{10}); of stores of food, drink, etc., 1 Ch $27^{27.28}$ (AV and RV 'increase'), 2 Ch 11^{11} (AV and RV 'store'); fig. 'treasures of wickedness' (Mic 6^{10}, Pr 10^{2}), 'the fear of the LORD is his treasure' (Is 33^{6}).

'Treasure' stands in OT also for **1.** חֹסֶן, lit. 'strength': Pr 15^{6}, Ezk 22^{25} (AV and RV in both 'treasure'). The Heb. term occurs also in Is 33^{6} (AV 'strength,' RV 'abundance'), Jer 20^{5} (AV 'strength', RV 'riches'), Pr 27^{24} (AV and RV 'riches'). **2.** מַטְמוֹן '*hidden* (treasure),' √ טמן 'conceal': Gn 43^{23} (of money hid in the sacks of Joseph's brothers), Is 45^{3} (treasures at present hidden are to become the spoil of Cyrus), Jer 41^{8} (AV 'treasures,' RV 'stores,' of wheat, barley, oil, and honey hidden in a field), Job 3^{21} (some long for death as for hid treasures), Pr 2^{4} (wisdom is to be sought for like hid treasures). **3.** The same is the meaning of מִכְמַנִּים in Dn 11^{43}, where, indeed, it is possible that we ought to read מַטְמֹנִים. **4.** מִסְכְּנוֹת, from √ סכן 'to be of use,' 'to benefit' (see below for the examples of its use). **5.** עָתוּד (*Ḳĕrê*) or עָתִיד (*Keth.*), in plur. עֲתִידֹתֵיהֶם, Is 10^{13}, lit. 'the things prepared or provided for them,' AV and RV 'their treasures.' **6.** The combination שְׂפֻנֵי טְמוּנֵי חוֹל (RV 'the hidden treasures of the sand'), Dt 33^{19}, may allude to the wealth derived from the manufacture of glass (see Driver, *ad loc.*). **7.** בֶּצֶר, prop. 'precious ore,' Job $22^{24.25}$ (AV in first 'gold,' in second 'defence,' RV in both 'treasure,' m. 'ore'). **8.** For Mal 3^{17} ('a peculiar treasure') see art. JEWEL. **9.** מַצְפֻּנִים, Ob ^{6} (AV 'hidden things,' RV 'hidden treasures').

'Treasure' in NT is always *θησαυρός* except in Ac 8^{27}, where the word *γάζα* from the Persian is used of the treasure of queen Candace. *θησαυρός* occurs in Mt 2^{11} (of the treasures carried by the magi), $6^{19.20.21}$ ‖ Lk $12^{33.34}$ (of the treasures of earth contrasted with those of heaven; cf. the treasure in heaven spoken of in Mt 19^{21} ‖ Mk 10^{21} and Lk 18^{22}), Mt 13^{44} (the kingdom of heaven is like treasure hid in a field; cf. the above OT passages Jer 41^{8}, Job 3^{21}, Pr 2^{4}), He 11^{26} ('the treasures of Egypt'); fig. in 2 Co 4^{7} ('we have this treasure in earthen vessels'; see art. POTTER, p. 25^{b}), Col 2^{3} ('in Christ are all the treasures of wisdom hid').

(2) 'Treasure' or 'treasury' in the sense of *storehouse* is almost always the tr. in OT of בֵּית אוֹצָר: Neh 10^{38} (cf. 12^{44} and Dn 1^{2}), Mal 3^{10} (AV and RV 'storehouse'); or, more frequently, without the בֵּית: 1 K 7^{51} $15^{18\,bis}$, 2 K 12^{18} 14^{14} 16^{8} 18^{15}, Jer 38^{11} 50^{25} (fig. of Jahweh's armoury) v.^{37} (?), Dt 32^{34} (the guilt of the heathen is sealed up in God's treasury till the day of retribution come; see Driver, *ad loc.*), 1 Ch 9^{26} $26^{20\,bis.\,22.\,24.\,26}$ $28^{12\,bis}$, 2 Ch 5^{1} 16^{2} (?) 32^{27} (cf. Ezk 28^{4}), Jl 1^{17} (AV and RV 'garners'), Pr 8^{21}, Neh $13^{12.13}$. Cf. the use of מִסְכְּנוֹת in 2 Ch 32^{28}. אוֹצָר is used fig. of God's storehouses for rain, snow, hail, wind, sea, in Dt 28^{12}, Job $38^{22\,bis}$, Jer 10^{13} 51^{16}, Ps 33^{7} 135^{7}; cf. the use of צְפוּנִים in Job 20^{26}.

In the king's 'treasure house' of Ezr 5^{17} (בֵּית גִּנְזַיָּא, cf. 6^{1} and 7^{20}) the archives of the kingdom were kept. In Est 3^{9} 4^{7} the treasury of the Persian king appears under the name גִּנְזֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ; cf. the likewise Persian name גַּנְזַךְ in 1 Ch 28^{11}.

We read of 'treasure (RV 'store') cities' (עָרֵי מִסְכְּנוֹת) in Ex 1^{11} [J], 1 K 9^{19} (=2 Ch 8^{6}), 2 Ch 8^{4} 17^{12}. For the custom of storing up provisions in particular cities cf. Gn $41^{48.56}$, and see an account of the granaries and 'store houses' of ancient Egypt in Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, 284.

For the chambers (לְשָׁכוֹת) or cells used for storage purposes in the temple see next article.

In the NT 'treasure'='treasury' is (*a*) *θησαυρός*: Mt 12^{35} ‖ Lk 6^{45} (the good or evil treasury of the heart) 13^{52} ('which bringeth out of his treasury things new and old'); (*b*) once, Mt 27^{6}, it is Κορβανᾶς (from Heb. קָרְבָּן; see CORBAN), 'place of [sacred] gifts'; (*c*) *γαζοφυλάκιον*; see next article; (*d*) in Lk 12^{24} ('which have neither storehouse nor barn') the word for 'storehouse' is *ταμεῖον* [in Dt 28^{8} and Pr 3^{10} for the Heb. אֲסָמִים; AV in former 'storehouses,' RV 'barns,' which is adopted by both versions in the latter].

Treasurer occurs as follows. **1.** Neh 12^{13} 'I made treasurers (Hiph. of אצר) over the storehouses' (עַל־הָאוֹצָרוֹת, AV and RV 'treasuries'). **2.** Ezr 1^{8} 'MITHREDATH the treasurer'; 7^{21} 'I, Artaxerxes, make a decree to all the treasurers.' The term (found also in Aram., New Heb., and Syr.) here used is גִּזְבָּר, plur. גִּזְבְּרַיָּא, a loan-word from the Persian *ganjvar*, Pehlevi *ganzavar*. **3.** Dn $3^{2.3}$ Aram. גְּדָבְרַיָּא (plur. emphat.). This may be a by-form of the above גִּזְבְּרַיָּא (so Prince), or a textual error for הַדָּבְרַיָּא (AV and RV 'counsellers') found in vv.$^{24.27}$ 4^{36} 6^{7} (so Graetz, Bevan, *et al.*). But it seems more likely that it is a dittography from the following דְּתָבְרַיָּא. This conclusion (which is that of Lagarde, Nöldeke, *et al.*; Driver and Marti leave the question open) is supported by the circumstance that the LXX and Theod. have only seven officials in place of the eight of MT. **4.** Is 22^{15}, of Shebna. The Heb. term סֹכֵן (fully discussed under art. SHEBNA) would be better rendered 'servitor' or 'steward.' **5.** Ro 16^{23}, where RV substitutes 'treasurer' for AV 'chamberlain' as tr. of *οἰκονόμος* (see STEWARD). J. A. SELBIE.

TREASURY (OF TEMPLE).—The word *γαζοφυλάκιον*, tr. 'treasury' in the NT, is used in the LXX for the Heb. words[*] meaning cells or apartments of the temple court, in which sacred offerings and utensils were kept, and in which also the priests dwelt.[†] The word is used in the Books of Maccabees of the sacred treasury in which not only public treasures were stored, but also public records,[‡] as well as property belonging to widows and orphans.[§] In the inner court of Herod's temple there were rooms which Josephus[‖] represents by *γαζοφυλάκια*, showing that the term had a wider sense than 'treasury' would suggest. In the NT the word is used in three places, viz. Mk $12^{41.43}$ ‖ Lk 21^{1}, Jn 8^{20}.

Josephus has it in the singular,[¶] apparently for the special room in the women's court in which gold and silver bullion were preserved. In Jn 8^{20} this sense would stand, but not so in the parallel passages of Mark and Luke, where the word is apparently the equivalent of the Rabbinical שׁוֹפָרוֹת, 'trumpets,' so called because they had the shape of the ram's-horn trumpet. There were thirteen such boxes, and they may be assumed to have been in the women's court, or the widow could not have got at them with her mite. Six out of the thirteen were to receive free gifts, the remaining seven being for distinct purposes, figured probably on the boxes. They were most likely placed on each side of the large gate which led from the women's to the men's court. See TEMPLE (Herod's), and cf. also art. TREASURE. T. W. DAVIES.

TREE (עֵץ *'ēẓ*, *δένδρον*, *ξύλον*).—The Holy Land is not now a land of trees. Even the mountain tops are for the most part bare, and none of the primeval forests have been preserved. This very fact emphasizes the importance and value of trees, wherever they are planted or grow spontaneously. A large part of the trees that exist are cultivated for their fruits, as the palm, fig, apple, pear, apricot, peach, plum, banana, orange, lemon, citron, walnut, pistachio; or their leaves, as the mulberry; or their wood, as the pine. Solitary trees or small groves are planted by tombs (1 S 31^{13}) or on high places. From ancient times men loved to rest under such trees (Gn 18$^{4.8}$, 1 S 22^{6}). When the hail broke 'every tree' in Egypt (Ex 9^{25}), it was a national disaster. A fruit tree near a besieged city was not to be cut down (Dt 20^{19}), but to be kept for the use of the besieged. Other trees might be cut (v.^{20}). 'A tree planted by watercourses' (Ps 1^{3}) was an emblem of vigour (cf. the vision in Dn 4). The expression 'tree of life' (Gn 3$^{22.24}$) was afterwards applied figuratively (Pr 3^{18} 11^{30} 13^{12} 15^{4}). A tree is known by its fruit (Mt 12^{33}). Allusion is made to the great variety of trees which flourish in Palestine (Lv 19^{23}, Ec 2^{5}). Under 'the tree of the knowledge of good and evil' (Gn 2^{17} 3^{6}) our first parents fell. Under the trees of Gethsemane our Saviour accepted His Father's will (Mt 26$^{36-46}$). The 'tree of life' in heaven has food and healing for the nations (Rev 22$^{2.14}$).

---

[*] לִשְׁכָּה and (Neh 3^{10} 12^{44} 13^{7} ↑) נִשְׁכָּה.

[†] Neh 13^{7} $10^{37\text{ff.}}$.

[‡] 1 Mac 14^{49}; cf. Grimm, *ad loc.*

[§] 2 Mac 3^{10}; cf. Grimm, *ad loc.*; 1 Mac 14^{49}, 2 Mac $3^{6.28.40}$ 4^{42} 5^{18}.

[‖] *BJ* v. v. 2, VI. v. 2.

[¶] *Ant* XIX. vi. 1.

The trees of Palestine and Syria are *tamarisk*, orange, lemon, citron, zaḳḳûm, Pride of India, jujube, maple, *pistachio*, *terebinth*, sumach, moringa, mastich, *carob*, redbud, *acacia*, *almond*, cherry, plum, *apple*, pear, service tree, medlar, hawthorn, *olive*, *ash*, cordia, castor-oil, *elm*, hackberry, *mulberry*, *fig*, *sycomore*, *plane*, *walnut*, alder, hornbeam, ironwood, *hazel*, *oak*, beech, *willow*, *poplar*, *cypress*, *juniper*, yew, *pine*, *cedar*, spruce, *palm*. Those which are in italics are mentioned in EV sometimes wrongly (see artt. on individual trees). The *chestnut* (AV; RV *plane tree*) is not found in Palestine.

G. E. POST.

TRESPASS-OFFERING.—See SACRIFICE.

TRIAL.—See JUDGE and SANHEDRIN.

TRIBE.—

i. *Terms.*—In EV 'tribe' is tr. in OT of Heb. מַטֶּה *maṭṭeh* (φυλή, *tribus*), שֵׁבֶט *shēbheṭ*, or שֶׁבֶט *shebheṭ* (φυλή, *tribus*), Aram. שְׁבַט *shĕbhaṭ* (φυλή, *tribus*); in NT of Gr. φυλή. Δωδεκάφυλον is used Ac 26^{7} for 'the set of twelve tribes.' In Is 19^{13} *shēbheṭ* is used of the 'tribes' (Cheyne 'castes,' Duhm 'nomes') of Egypt, and in Mt 24^{30} φυλή of 'tribes' generally; otherwise all these words are used exclusively of the tribes of Israel, except that *shēbheṭ* is occasionally used of the subdivisions of these tribes, Jg 20^{12}, 1 S 9^{21}, according to MT 'tribes of Benjamin'; but probably the sing. should be read, 'tribe of B.' [Moore, H. P. Smith]; and Nu 4^{18} MT, 'cut not off the tribe of the families,' where, however, we should perhaps read 'cut not off from the tribe,' etc. [the text is doubtful, see LXX, Vulg.]. The use of *maṭṭeh* and *shēbheṭ* for 'tribe' is figurative, the words meaning originally 'rod,' 'staff,' 'sceptre,' 'branch,' etc., in which senses they are used in OT. *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* explains under מַטֶּה: '*tribe*, orig. company led by chief with staff.'

Maṭṭeh as 'tribe' is found in P in the Hexateuch, in Chron.; and in 1 K 7^{14} 8^{1}, where Benzinger regards the clauses in which *maṭṭeh* stands as late additions, in 8^{1} the *maṭṭeh*-clause is absent from LXX^{B}. *Shēbheṭ* is common in D, is found in JE, and very occasionally in P (possibly only in redactional passages), and occurs throughout the OT from JE to Chronicles. Giesebrecht (*ZATW*, 1881, p. 242) maintained that the name and thing expressed by *shēbheṭ* died out before the Exile, and *maṭṭeh* was used for it after the Exile. This position is controverted by Driver, *Journ. Philol.* xi. 1882, p. 213f. The decision depends partly on the view taken as to the text, etc., of individual passages; current views on these points seem to admit the opinion that (1) *shēbheṭ* occurs in post-exilic literature only in passages borrowed from pre-exilic works, or as a literary archaism, its use having been revived through a study of the earlier literature; and that (2) there is no certain instance of the use of *maṭṭeh* for 'tribe' before the Exile.—The use of Aram. words corresponding to *shēbheṭ* in the sense of 'tribe' may be due to the influence of the OT.—On the terms for the subdivisions of the tribe, viz. *mishpāḥā* and *bêth 'ābh*, see FAMILY and below.

ii. *Origin, Nature, and History of the Tribe as a Social Organization.*—The articles on individual tribes show that there are two chief theories of their origin. First, the biblical statements as to the patriarchs are understood as personal history, and the tribe is regarded as having arisen chiefly by the natural increase of the descendants of a son or grandson of Jacob. The descendants of each son kept together as a social group, in which, however, foreign slaves, wives, etc., were sometimes included. The second theory, now more generally held, regards much that is said of the patriarchs and their children as tribal history told in a personal form; cf. BENJAMIN, i. 272^{b}; JUDAH, ii. 792^{b}. According to this view the tribes did not all arise as subdivisions of Israel, but Israel was formed, in a measure, by the aggregation of some of the earlier tribes. The process by which the complete set of tribes was formed began before the Conquest, and was continued afterwards. Israel as it invaded Palestine was a loose confederation of kindred tribes. These tribes had themselves been formed by the aggregation of smaller bodies or *mishpāḥās*, which were groups of families. We have few data as to the tribal system in the nomadic period; but it would be similar to that of the nomadic Arabs. The unifying forces in the tribe, clan, etc., were the blood-bond, and the tribal or family cult. The blood-bond was partly real, partly theoretical; it could be established by mutual agreement and religious ceremonies. The chief duties of members of a tribe were to act together in war, and to protect one another by blood-revenge. The tribes and their subdivisions were fluid organizations liable to combination, subdivision, loss by secessions, and gain by accessions. Cf. W. R. Smith, *Kinship*, etc. 1–58, 171; *RS* 38 ff.

In the Conquest, Israel fought by tribes and subdivisions of tribes; sometimes the tribes combined (Jg 1^{3} 4. 5), sometimes they acted separately (Jg 1$^{22\text{ff.}}$). In the settlement the natural tendency would be for each family, clan, and tribe to settle together in the same district (Jos 14$^{1.2}$ 18^{10}).

It is, however, quite uncertain how far the tribes which we find in Canaan under the monarchy correspond to tribes which existed before the Conquest. Even where there was a real connexion, the name may have been changed. Thus, as the sons of concubines, Gad and Asher (Zilpah), Dan and Naphtali (Bilhah), are regarded as additions to Israel after the Conquest. The stories of the late birth of Benjamin and of the recognition of Ephraim and Manasseh (Gn 48$^{8-22}$ JE) have been understood to mean that these three tribes were formed by the subdivision of Joseph after the Conquest. These views are partly confirmed by the fact that some of these tribal names are apparently names of places in Palestine: Asher (*Aseru*) appears as the name of a district or people in Galilee in inscriptions of Seti I. and Ramses II.; Benjamin is 'son of the right hand' or 'south,' *i.e.* the southern district of Joseph; and Ephraim, from its form (cf. *Miẓraim*, etc.), should be a place-name meaning 'a fruitful land.' The discovery of *Joseph-el* (?) and *Jacob-el* (see JACOB, ii. p. 526^{b}) in a list of places in Palestine conquered by Thothmes III., B.C. 1481–1449, has led to the suggestion that the tribe of Joseph assumed that name after its settlement in Canaan. On the other hand, the comparative lack of territory, and the insignificance of Reuben, Simeon, and Levi in historic times, point to the antiquity of these tribal names (but cf. LEVI).

Possibly in early times the tribes of Israel were known as Rachel and Leah, and at some time, before or after the Conquest, these broke up into divisions, which eventually became the twelve tribes.

After the Conquest the tribes became essentially territorial, though no doubt the theory of the blood-bond survived. Similarly the *mishpāḥā* came to mean the town, or quarter of a town, or village, or district. Hence the tribal name denoted a district, and the tribe included not only the Israelite invaders, but also in time the natives whom they absorbed, or by whom they were absorbed. These tribal districts had no fixed or continuous political organization, and they varied in number or extent. The real political units

ORDER OF TRIBES.

	Genesis.			Exodus.	Numbers.						Deut.		Josh.	Judges.	Ezek.	First Chronicles.				Rev.	
	29–35.	46.	49.	1.	$1^{1\text{-}15}$.	$1^{20ff.}$.	2. 7. 10.	13.	26.	34.	27.	33.	13 ff.	5.	48.	$2^{1f.}$.	$2^{3\text{–}8}$.	12.	27.	7.	
1	Reu.	Reu.	Reu.	Reu.	Reu.	Reu.	Jud.	Reu.	Reu.		Sim.	Reu.	Reu.	*Eph.*	*Dan*	Reu.	Jud.	Jud.	Reu.	Jud.	1
2	Sim.	Sim.	Sim.	Sim.	Sim.	Sim.	Iss.	Sim.	Sim.	Jud.	Levi	Jud.	Gad	*Ben.*	Ash.	Sim.	Sim.	Sim.	Sim.	Reu.	2
3	Levi	Levi	Levi	Levi	Jud.	Gad	Zeb.	Jud.	Gad		Jud.	Levi	*E. Man.*	*Machir*	*Naph.*	Levi	Reu.	Levi	Levi	Gad	3
4	Jud.	Jud.	Jud.	Jud.	Iss.	Jud.	Reu.	Iss.	Jud.	Sim.	Iss.	*Ben.*	Jud.		*Man.*	Jud.	Gad	*Ben.*	Aaron	Ash.	4
5	*Dan*	Iss.	Zeb.	Iss.	Zeb.	Iss.	Sim.	*Eph.*	Iss.	*Ben.*	*Jos.*	*Jos.*	*Eph.*	Zeb.	*Eph.*	Iss.	*E. Man.*	*Eph.*	Jud.	*Naph.*	5
6	*Naph.*	Zeb.	Iss.	Zeb.	*Eph.*	Zeb.	Gad	*Ben.*	Zeb.	*Dan*	*Ben.*	Zeb.	*W. Man.*	Iss.	Reu.	Zeb.	Levi	*E. Man.*	Iss.	*Man.*	6
7	Gad	Gad	*Dan*	*Ben.*	*Man.*	*Eph.*	*Eph.*	Zeb.	*Man.*	*Man.*	Reu.	Iss.	*Ben.*	Reu.	Jud.	*Dan*	Iss.	Iss.	Zeb.	Sim.	7
8	Ash.	Ash.	Gad	*Dan*	*Ben.*	*Man.*	*Man.*	*Man.*	*Eph.*	*Eph.*	Gad	Gad	Sim.		Levi	*Jos.*	*Ben.*	Zeb.	*Naph.*	Levi	8
9	Iss.	*Jos.*	Ash.	*Naph.*	*Dan*	*Ben.*	*Ben.*	*Dan*	*Ben.*	Zeb.	Ash.	*Dan*	Zeb.	Gilead	*Ben.*	*Ben.*	*Naph.*	*Naph.*	*Eph.*	Iss.	9
10	Zeb.	*Ben.*	*Naph.*	Gad	Ash.	*Dan*	*Dan*	Ash.	*Dan*	Iss.	Zeb.	*Naph.*	Iss.	*Dan*	Sim.	*Naph.*	*W. Man.*	*Dan*	*W. Man.*	Zeb.	10
11	*Jos.*	*Dan*	*Jos.*	Ash.	Gad	Ash.	Ash.	*Naph.*	Ash.	Ash.	*Dan*	Ash.	Ash.	Ash.	Iss.	Gad	*Eph.*	Ash.	*E. Man.*	*Jos.*	11
12	*Ben.*	*Naph.*	*Ben.*		*Naph.*	*Naph.*	*Naph.*	Gad	*Naph.*	*Naph.*	*Naph.*		*Naph.*	Zeb.	Zeb.	Ash.	Ash.	Reu.	*Ben.*	*Ben.*	12
13													*Dan*	*Naph.*	Gad			Gad	*Dan*		13
14																		*W. Man.*			14
Omissions.				Joseph omitted as in Egypt.	Levi.	Levi.	Levi, mentioned in 2 after Gad.	Levi.	Levi.	Eastern tribes.		Simeon.		Judah and Simeon.			Zebulun and Dan (unless *Dan* is read in 7^{12}).		Gad and Asher.	Dan.	
Remarks.									Cf. Nu $1^{20f.}$.					Machir = Man. Gilead = Gad. Zeb. is repeated.							

were the smaller communities, towns, and districts whose inhabitants were bound together by neighbourhood and common interests. War would unite a whole tribe or a number of tribes, and induce them to recognize a single leader, like Gideon or Jephthah, and to accord him a certain authority after he had brought the war to a successful close. The term *shōphēṭ* used for such leaders in Judges suggests that their authority was utilized to decide disputes too serious to be settled by local chiefs. The Song of Deborah implies that, apart from such 'judges,' a tribe had no single head; at any rate it does not mention any one in that position, except Deborah and Barak, but speaks of the 'governors' (*mĕḥōḳĕḳîm*) of Machir, 'they that handle the marshal's staff' (*mōshĕkhîm bĕshēbheṭ ṣōpher*) of Zebulun, and the 'princes' (*sārîm*) of Issachar. Similarly in the times of the Judges and the Monarchy we read of 'elders' of Gilead, Jg 11^{5}; of Israel, 1 S 4^{3} etc.; of Jabcsh, 1 S 11^{3}; of Judah, 2 S 19^{11}; of the 'princes' (*sārîm*) of Gilead, Jg 10^{18}. Normally, the highest authorities in the tribe were those 'elders,' probably the heads of the *mishpāḥās* (B. Luther). 1 Ch 27$^{16-24}$, which assigns a 'ruler' (*nāghîdh*) or 'captain' (*sar*) to each tribe, is probably from a late post-exilic source (Gray, *HPN* pp. 185-188). Abimelech's kingship (Jg 9) was quite exceptional, and was not tribal; he is spoken of as king of Shechem only.

It is possible that the tribes brought with them into Palestine a tribal cult, and established tribal sanctuaries which would serve as rallying points. The sanctuary of Dan, at the Northern Dan (Jg 17. 18), however, is hardly an example; the priest, etc., were acquired in Palestine, and Dan itself may not have been one of the original tribes; still, in forming a tribal sanctuary, it may have been imitating them. Dt 33$^{18.19}$ seem to refer to a sanctuary of Zebulun and Issachar. Even if a tribe had no official sanctuary, the various high places promoted union and intercourse in a district.

After the establishment of the Monarchy, as the power of the kings increased, the tribal names gradually became mere geographical expressions, and the districts they denoted ceased to be political divisions. Solomon (1 K 4$^{7-19}$) divided the land of Israel, with the exception of part of Judah, into twelve districts, which do not coincide with the tribal districts. In a measure, however, the tribal system prevailed: by the division into two kingdoms and the disappearance or absorption of the weaker tribes, Judah became the Southern kingdom, Ephraim the Northern kingdom, and Gad stood for S.E. and Eastern Manasseh for N.E. Israel; although the political existence of the other divisions of the Northern kingdom is sometimes recognized (Is 9^{21}). The oracles on the tribes, the Blessing of Jacob (Gn 49), and the Blessing of Moses (Dt 33), come to us in their present form from the period of the Monarchy; but they are constructed on the model of more ancient oracles, so that the fact that they contain sayings on nearly all the tribes (cf. below) does not show that the tribe continued a political unit throughout the Monarchy; on the other hand, the space devoted to Judah and Joseph in Gn 49, and to Joseph and Gad in Dt 33, supports the view taken above. The section on Levi (Dt 33$^{8-11}$) may have received its present form from one of the Deuteronomic writers. The disappearance of the tribe as a political unit is further indicated by the silence of 2 K, etc., and especially by the fact that, with two exceptions, none of the numerous lists of Jewish families in *Ezra* and *Neh.* refer them to their tribes. The exceptions are Neh 11$^{3-24}$ 11$^{25-36}$ (in their present form very late, Guthe, *SBOT*, etc.), where, too, 'Benjamin' and 'Judah' may be mere names of districts.

On the other hand, the Blessings of Jacob and of Moses, with Ezk 48 and such references as Ps 68^{27} 80^{2}, show that a strong archaic religious interest was taken in the ancient tribes. One result of this interest was the set of tribal genealogies, Gn 46$^{8-72}$ = Nu 26$^{5-51}$ (late strata of P), 1 Ch 2-9, which partly expressed the recollections of ancient politics and geography, and partly served to connect existing families with the primitive tribes. Meyer (*Entstehung*, 160) deduces from the statement in Ezr 2$^{59-61}$ that certain families could not prove Israelite descent, the conclusion that the rest traced their descent from Judah or Benjamin. The silence as to tribal descent, mentioned above, seems to show that this is an erroneous theory; and the habit of tracing descent to the ancient tribes and their primitive clans became general only long after the Exile; families which derived their ancestry from distinguished men, David, Saul, etc., could of course name their tribe. In other cases, a family would determine its tribe from its home before or even after the Exile, and from similar circumstances. Hence the description of various persons in the Apocrypha and NT as belonging to certain tribes (To 1^{1}, Jth 8^{1}, 2 Mac 3^{4}, Lk 2^{36}, Ro 11^{1}) can be accepted only in this limited sense.

iii. *Order and Grouping.*—The accompanying Table will show that the tribes are arranged in twenty different orders, only one of which, that of Nu 2. 7. and 10, recurs. The principles of arrangement are—

(1) The relationship to Jacob, and his wives and concubines. Thus: Sons of—

Leah: Reu., Sim., Levi, Jud., Iss., Zebulun.
Zilpah: Gad, Asher.
Rachel: Joseph, Benjamin.
Bilhah: Dan, Naphtali.

This principle, modified in some cases by others, determines the order in Gn 29-35, in the Blessing of Jacob (Gn 49), and in the lists based on the Blessing (Gn 46, Ex 1, Nu 1 (two). 2. 7. 10. 13. 26, 1 Ch 2$^{1f.}$ 27).

As the grouping according to wives and concubines does not correspond to any known historical situation after the Conquest, it must be based on a tradition of the circumstances of Israel before, or shortly after, that event.

(2) Geographical position. This position influences most of the lists mentioned above, and governs in large measure those in Nu 34, Dt 33, Jos 13 ff., Jg 5, 1 Ch 2^{3}-8 (partly), 12; Rev 7 (partly).

(3) In Dt 27 tradition and geography have some influence,—witness the position of Simeon and Issachar; but the chief principle seems to be that the tribes regarded for various reasons as more important are chosen to bless, and the less important to curse. The cursing tribes belong to the E. and N. districts, which were carried away captive first.

(4) The list in Ezk 48 is based on the geography of the monarchy modified by the transference of the Eastern tribes to the West of Jordan, and by the ideal necessity for placing the temple about the middle of the country.

In the Table on the preceding page the sons of the various wives, etc., are printed thus:—

Sons of Leah, small caps., *e.g.* REU.; of Zilpah, ordinary type, *e.g.* Gad; of Rachel, small caps. italic, *e.g.* *JOS.*; Bilhah, italic, *e.g.* *Dan.*

iv. *Subdivisions of the Tribe.*—The tribe was a confederation of *mishpāḥās* (cf. above), RV 'families'; and the *mishpāḥā* was a group of households, *bayith* or *bêth 'abh* ('father's house').* A common worship of the *mishpāḥā* is implied in 1 S 20^{6}. The names of some of the *mishpāḥās*

---

* Also used of a tribe (Nu 17^{17}), or chief division of a tribe (Nu 3^{20} (?)).

(Hebronites, Nu 3^{27}; Hezronites, Nu 26^{6}; Shechemites, Nu 26^{31}) show that in many cases the *mishpāḥā* came to mean the inhabitants of a town or district. Jg 9^{1}, however, implies that in the time of Abimelech ben Gideon there were more than one *mishpāḥā* in Shechem. According to the oldest form of the Gideon narrative (J, Jg 6^{34} 8^{4}, see analysis in *PB*), Gideon's force consisted of the fighting men of the *mishpāḥā* Abiezer, who amounted in number to three hundred. In Ex $12^{3.\,4}$ the *bayith* or *bêth 'abh* is spoken of as normally capable of consuming a paschal lamb at one meal.

Cf. FAMILY, GOVERNMENT, ISRAEL, JACOB, and articles on the separate tribes, etc.

LITERATURE.—See on FAMILY; also B. Luther, 'Die israelitischen Stämme,' *ZATW*, 1901, Heft 1, pp. 1–76; Cornill, *Hist. of the People of Israel*, pp. 36–62; Steuernagel, *Die Einwanderung der isr. Stämme in Kanaan*, 1901; Ed. König, *Neueste Prinzipien der alttest. Kritik geprüft*, 1902, p. 35 ff.

W. H. BENNETT.

TRIBUTE (IN OT).—**1.** מַס. The rendering 'tribute' for this word is very misleading. Its meaning is collective=*forced labourers, labour-gang*. One of the most notable of such companies was the body of task-workers for the public service, consisting of 30,000 men, which Solomon (see above, p. 565^{b}) raised by levy upon the people (1 K $5^{13\,(27)}$ $9^{15.\,21}$; contrast the statement in 2 Ch $8^{8f.}$, according to which this levy was imposed only upon the remnant of the aboriginal inhabitants of Canaan). Something of the same kind appears to have been introduced already by David (2 S 20^{24} 'Adoram was over the labour-gang,' cf. 1 K 4^{6} 5^{13} 12^{18}=2 Ch 10^{18}). Another familiar instance is the slave-gangs of Israelites in Egypt, with their overseers (שָׂרִים Ex 1^{11}). Conquered populations were frequently subjected to forced labour: Dt 20^{11}, Jos 16^{10} 17^{13}, Jg $1^{28.\,30.\,33.\,35}$, Is 31^{8}, La 1^{1}. 'Issachar became a slaving labour-band' (לְמַס־עֹבֵד Gn 49^{15} [J]). In Pr 12^{24} it is said that 'slothfulness [a slothful man] shall be put under taskwork.' In late Hebrew the word מַס (by use of the concrete for the abstract) came to mean *forced service, serfdom*. In Est 10^{1} it possibly means *tribute* in sense of *forced payment*.

2. In Dt 16^{10} EV 'with a tribute of a freewill offering' would be clearer if RVm were adopted: 'after the measure of the,' etc. The Heb. [here only] is מִסַּת, common in Aram.='sufficiency,' and as adv. acc.=*pro ratione*. The meaning is that the offerer is to give according to the full measure in which Jahweh has blessed him in the year's harvest (see Driver, *ad loc.*, and *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*).

3. מִדָּה (loan-word from Assyr. *mandattu*, 'tribute'), Ezr 4^{13}, Neh 5^{4}. **4.** בְּלוֹ (prob. the Assyr. *biltu*, 'impost'; see Schrader, *COT* ii. 65 f.). **5.** מֶכֶס, prop. 'computation,' used only of the duty for Jahweh levied on the spoil, Nu $31^{28.\,37.\,38.\,39.\,40.\,41}$ [all P]. **6.** מַשָּׂא, lit. 'burden,' 2 Ch 17^{11} (cf. 2 Ch 24^{27}, Hos 8^{10}). **7.** עֹנֶשׁ 'fine,' 'indemnity,' 2 K 23^{33} (of the sum exacted by Pharaoh-necho after he had deposed Jehoahaz), cf. Pr 19^{19} (AV 'punishment,' RV 'penalty'). J. A. SELBIE.

TRIBUTE (IN NT).—Κῆνσος, Lat. *census* (Mt 22^{17}, Mk 12^{14}), φόρος (Lk 20^{22} 23^{2}, Ro $13^{6.\,7}$), in Mt 17^{25} τέλη ἢ κῆνσος ('toll or tribute'), an annual tax levied on persons, houses, or lands. In all the passages quoted the reference is to the imperial taxes, to taxes paid to a prince or civil governor on behalf of the Roman treasury. Both κῆνσος and φόρος are, properly, direct taxes. The φόροι, strictly speaking, were taxes paid by agriculturists, the payment being generally made in kind, and were contrasted with the τέλη or customs collected by the publicans. The word κῆνσος, again, was originally used of the property register upon which taxation was calculated, and thence came to mean the capitation or poll tax (cf. D in Mk 12^{14} ἐπικεφάλαιον). In Mt 17^{24} the word tr. 'tribute' in AV and 'half-shekel' in RV is the didrachmon. This sum every adult male Israelite had to pay to cover the cost of the public sacrifices at the temple. The 'stater' of v.^{27} was a tetradrachmon, equal to a whole shekel, and therefore payment for two. After the destruction of Jerusalem, Vespasian caused the Jews to pay this didrachmon tax for the support of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in Rome. Nerva, though not abolishing the tax, made it less offensive to the Jews by dissociating it from this heathenish use. See MONEY.

LITERATURE.—Schürer, *HJP* (1890), I. ii. 110, 254; Marquart, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, ii. 185 ff. Also, generally, R. Cagnat, *Étude Historique sur les Impôts Indirects*, Paris, 1882; and Otto Hirschfeld, *Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der Röm. Verwaltungsgeschichte*, i. (down to Diocletian), Berlin, 1877.

J. MACPHERSON.

TRIBUTE MONEY, *τὸ νόμισμα τοῦ κήνσου* (Mt 22^{19}), the coin used in payment of the imperial taxes. The phrase literally means 'the lawful money of the tax.' The tribute had to be paid in the current coin of the realm. See MONEY.

TRIPOLIS (ἡ Τρίπολις).—A city of Syria, at which Demetrius Soter landed with an army when he wrested the kingdom from his cousin Antiochus V. (2 Mac 14^{1}; *Ant.* XII. x. 1). It was to Tripolis that Antiochus Cyzicenus retired after being defeated by Hyrcanus (*Ant.* XIII. x. 2).

Tripolis was a maritime town of Phœnicia, and a member of the Phœnician league. Its Phœnician name, and the date of its foundation, are unknown; but it must have been founded some time after Aradus. Each of the principal Phœnician cities, Tyre, Zidon, and Aradus, had its separate quarter at Tripolis, and hence the name—'the three cities.' Little is known of its early history, but, from its position near the western end of the 'entrance of Hamath,' it must have been a place of commercial importance. It was adorned with stately buildings by the Seleucids and the Romans, and a gymnasium was built there by Herod the Great (Jos. *BJ* I. xxi. 11). When Tripolis was besieged by the Arabs, most of the inhabitants escaped by sea, and after its capture it was colonized with Persians and Jews. Even in A.D. 1047, Nâsir-i-Khusrau writes that all the Moslems belonged to the Shîʽah sect. Tripolis was taken by the Crusaders (A.D. 1109), when a valuable library was burned. Under the Franks there was a large silk industry, which was destroyed when the place was captured by the Egyptians (A.D. 1289). At this time Tripolis occupied its original position on the seashore; but the constant attacks of the Franks created such a feeling of insecurity that in 1366 a new town, the present *Tarâbulûs*, was founded about 2 miles inland, on higher ground on the banks of the *Nahr Kadisha*. The old town had the sea on three sides, and on the fourth it was protected by a wide, deep ditch. Hardly a trace of its great buildings remains; war and a succession of severe earthquakes have destroyed everything. The site is now occupied by *el-Mîna*, the seaport of *Tarâbulûs*, which has a large and increasing trade. The plain between old and new Tripolis is still remarkable for the exuberant fertility which attracted the attention of all mediæval pilgrims and travellers.

C. W. WILSON.

TROAS (Τρῳάς, or more correctly Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἡ Τρῳάς) was a city on the Ægean coast of Asia Minor, opposite the small island of Tenedos. The district in which it was situated was sometimes called as a whole Troas, and is in modern times generally called the Troad; it was the north-western part of the land of Mysia. A city was founded on the site by Antigonus, and called Antigonia Troas: the people of Skepsis, Cebren, Hamaxitus, and other towns were settled there. In 300 Lysimachus refounded and renamed the city Alexandria Troas. It was for a time under the dominion of the Seleucid kings of Syria; and there are coins of Antiochus II. Theos (B.C. 261–246) struck at Troas. As Seleucid power waned, it gained its freedom and began to strike its own coinage. Many tetradrachms ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩΝ with the head and name of Apollo Smintheus were coined there from about B.C. 164 to 65; they are all dated from an era whose first year was probably about B.C. 300, when Alexandria was founded.* The Pergamenian rule, under which it must have passed, was not, like the Seleucid, destructive to freedom; and the same was true of the Roman dominion, under which the city passed in B.C. 133.

The Romans cherished a peculiarly warm feeling towards Troas, on account of their Trojan origin, a legend in which they had come to believe thoroughly; their favour for Ilium on the same ground is well known. Alexandria was made a Roman Colonia by Augustus, under the name Colonia Augusta Alexandria Troas (to which under Caracalla the titles Aurelia Antoniniana were added). It possessed the *jus Italicum, i.e.* the Italian privileges in the tenure and ownership of land, along with immunity from poll-tax and land-tax (*immunitas*), and freedom from the command of the governor of the province (*libertas*). It had the ordinary colonial constitution, chief magistrates called *duoviri*, and a senate of *decuriones*; and it was divided into 10 *vici*. Its citizens belonged to the Roman tribe Aniensis (not Sergia, as commonly stated), see Kubitschek, *Imp. Rom. tribut. descript.* p. 247. It became one of the greatest and largest cities of the north-west of Asia. In the coasting voyage system of ancient navigation, it was the harbour to and from which the communication between Asia and Macedonia was directed (cf. Ac 16^8 20^5, 2 Co 2^{12}). Owing to the greatness of Troas and its legendary connexion with the foundation of Rome, the idea was actually entertained by Julius Cæsar of transferring thither the centre of government from Rome (Suet. *Jul.* 79); and some similar scheme was still not wholly forgotten when Horace protested against it in *Od.* iii. 3. Hadrian probably visited Troas,† and it was perhaps his interest in it that led the wealthy and politic Herodes Atticus‡ to build there an aqueduct (the ruins of which were imposing in very recent times) and baths.

Finally, that dream of the early empire may have had some influence on Constantine, who (as Gibbon says), 'before he gave a just preference to the situation of Byzantium, had conceived the design of erecting the seat of empire on this celebrated spot, from which the Romans derived their fabulous origin.' In view of these fanciful but really cherished schemes, it is interesting to observe that the modern name is Eski-Stamboul, 'Old Stambul,' while Constantinople is Stamboul simply.

The great sanctuary of the Alexandrian State was the temple of Apollo Smintheus, near the coast, about twelve miles south of the city; it was originally in the territory of Hamaxitus, and Alexandria inherited the temple along with the people of that town. The symbol of this god was the mouse (or rat), which often appears on the coins of Troas.

The route followed by St. Paul, with Silas and Timothy, from the Bithynian frontier near Dorylaion or Kotiaion, brought the party to the coast at Troas (Ac 16^{6-8}). There can be little doubt that this road led down the Rhyndacus valley past the hot springs Artemaia, sacred to Artemis, on the river Aiscpos.§ In the *Acta Philetœri* (*Acta Sanctorum*, 19 May, p. 312 ff.) the tradition (which is clearly older than the *Acta*) is recorded that the church at a village Poketos, between the Rhyndacus and Cyzicus, was dedicated by Paul and Silas when they visited Troas. This tradition probably relates to this journey (though it might seem not impossible that it relates to the visit of Paul [Silas is not mentioned] to Troas in 2 Co 2^{12}), and embodies a belief that Paul preached in Mysia on this journey, conformably to which belief the Western reading in Ac 16^6 has *διελθόντες τὴν Μυσίαν*, where ℵAB, etc., have *παρελθόντες*, 'neglecting,' *i.e.* passing through without preaching in Mysia (on account of the prohibition to evangelize the province Asia, of which Mysia was part, Ac 16^6). Here the Western reading and the local tradition seem to form a later and secondary interpretation, which tended to obscure and expel the true Lukan reading. The 'open door' at Troas (2 Co 2^{12}) implies either that great facility for mission work was found in the city, or that the city was the entrance of a good avenue to reach the country around and behind (compare the similar door at PHILADELPHIA).

LITERATURE.—On Troas see the travels of Chandler, Fellows, etc., also an article in *Mittheilungen d. d. Instituts zu Athen*, ix. 36; Choiseul Gouffier, *Voyage Pittoresque*, ii. 434; le Bas-Waddington, iii. 1035–1037, 1730–1740; Wroth in *Catalogue British Museum, Coins of Troad, Aeolis, etc.*; *CIG* 3577–3594; *CIL* iii. 384–392.

W. M. RAMSAY.

TROGYLLIUM (Τρωγύλλιον).—According to the AV of Ac 20^{15}, which follows cod. D, the ship in which St. Paul sailed, when on his way to Cæsarea and Jerusalem at the close of his third missionary journey, 'tarried at Trogyllium' after touching at Samos, and before sailing on the following day to Miletus. The principal MSS (ℵ, A, B, C) omit the words 'tarried at Trogyllium.' The addition in D was possibly founded on a tradition that survived in the churches of Asia, and gives a detail which in itself is highly probable (cf. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Trav.* p. 294).

The promontory of Trogyllium projects from the mainland of Asia Minor, and overlaps the eastern extremity of Samos so as to form a strait less than a mile wide between the two promontories. Through this strait St. Paul sailed, and it is natural to suppose that the ship may have anchored for the night under the lee of Trogyllium, either because the wind had dropped, or because there was no moon. A little to the E. of the end of the promontory, not more than a mile from Samos, there is an anchorage still called 'St. Paul's Port' (Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Epp. of St. Paul*, xx. n.). Ramsay has pointed out (*Ch. in Rom. Empire*, 155 n.) that the voyage of St. Willibald is an apt illustration of that of St. Paul, and that his 'Strobolis on a high mountain' is Trogyllium.

C. W. WILSON.

TROPHIMUS (Τρόφιμος).—One of St. Paul's companions (Ac 20^4), called with Tychicus Ἀσιανοί. These two disciples, with others, travelled with the apostle from Macedonia to Asia, and preceded St. Paul to Troas in his third missionary journey. From thence Trophimus must have accompanied St. Paul to Jerusalem. He was an Ephesian (Ac 21^{29}), and the riot raised against St. Paul in Jerusalem was made chiefly on the ground that he had introduced Trophimus, a Gentile, into the temple. The only other passage in the NT where his name occurs is 2 Ti 4^{20}, where St. Paul says, 'Trophimus I left at Miletus sick.' It is to be noted that St. Paul had also sent Tychicus to Ephesus (2 Ti 4^{12}). This must have happened after St. Paul's first imprisonment. Trophimus has been identified with one of the companions of Titus who with Titus carried the 2nd Epistle to the Corinthians from Ephesus to Corinth (2 Co 8^{16-24}). The Greek *Menology* celebrates Trophimus on April 14 with Aristarchus and Pudens, and asserts that they were of the Seventy, and suffered martyrdom at Rome under Nero.

(For the identification of Trophimus with the disciple in 2 Co 8^{18} see Stanley on *2 Cor.* 2nd ed. p. 492).

H. A. REDPATH.

---

* Another suggestion is that the Seleucid State era, beginning B.C. 312, was used at Troas; but all the dated coins were struck after Troas had been included in the Pergamenian realm, and the use of the Seleucid era then, though possible, seems improbable.

† The inscription, *CIL* iii. 466, quoted in proof by Durr (*Reisen des K. Hadrians*, p. 55), affords no evidence. But Hadrian certainly visited Ilium and probably Lesbos (*per Asiam et insulas*, Spart.); and Troas lay between them.

‡ Probably A.D. 132–135, when he was *legatus* to improve the condition of the free cities of Asia (Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* I. xxv. 13).

§ Ramsay, *St. Paul the Trav.* p. 197. A different theory of route was stated by Mr. Munro in the *Geographical Journal*, Feb. 1897, p. 169 f., but afterwards abandoned by him (*Journal of Hell. Studies*, 1901, p. 235).

TROW.—The Eng. verb to 'trow' is the same in origin as 'true' and 'trust.' Its earliest meaning is to believe or trust, as Archbp. Hamilton's *Catechism,* xxv, 'He that trowis and fermely beleiffis in the sone of God, hais evirlastand lyfe, in this warld in hoip, and in the warld to cum in deid'; also p. xxx, 'Thai suld trow the artikillis of thair Crede'; and Mandeville, *Travels,* 13, '*Jesu Christus nascetur de Virgine Maria, et ego credo in eum,* that is to say, Jesu Christ shall be born of the Virgin Mary, and I trow in him.' But through degeneration the word came to signify no more than *think* or *suppose,* as Lk 8^{25} Rhem. 'Who is this (trow ye) that he commaundeth both the windes and the sea, and they obey him?'; Ac 8^{30} Rhem. 'Trowest thou that thou understandest the things which thou readest?' This is the meaning in Lk 17^{9}, the only occurrence of the word in AV, 'Doth he thank that servant because he did the things that were commanded him? I trow not' (οὐ δοκῶ; edd. and RV omit). J. HASTINGS.

TRUMPET (including Feast of Trumpets and New Year).—Among the wind instruments of the Hebrews (see MUSIC, § 2, *e* and *f*) were two, *shōphār* and *ḥăẓōẓĕrah,* which are variously rendered in AV by 'trumpet,' 'trump,' and 'cornet.' The more ancient of these, especially used for *secular* purposes, except in P, was the horn or *shōphār* (LXX κερατίνη or σάλπιγξ). The latter word is used by Philo, who describes the feast of the 1st of Tishri as the feast of the σάλπιγγες (Wendland, *Neuentdeckte Fragmente Philo's,* p. 11; Schürer, *GJV*³ ii. p. 450).

The Heb. name שׁוֹפָר is probably derived from a root meaning *to be bright,* in reference to the clear, sharp, piercing tone of the instrument. That it was made of horn is attested not only by the tradition of the synagogue, but also by the interchange between שׁוֹפָר and קֶרֶן ('horn'); see Jos $6^{4.5}$. As, moreover, the word יוֹבֵל ('ram,' whence 'Jubilee,' see SABBATICAL YEAR) is often associated with *shōphār,* the original instrument was probably made of a ram's horn (cf. Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* i. 277). Some authorities suggest that possibly in later times an instrument of similar shape was made of *metal* (Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 277; Kirkpatrick on Ps 98^{6} etc.). The modern synagogue, which still uses the *shōphār* in the months of Elul and Tishri, preferentially employs the ram's horn, but the Mishna (*Rosh Hashana* iii. 2) permits the use of the horn of any (clean) animal *except the cow.* Driver (*Joel and Amos,* p. 144) defines the biblical *shōphār,* however, as 'the curved horn of a cow or ram.' The Mishna (*ib.* § 3) specially mentions the straight horn of the ibex as used in the temple. The common crook form is pictured in vol. ii. p. 462, but Asiatic Jews prefer spiral forms similar to the trumpets of the Hindu priests. Among the exhibits at the Anglo-Jewish Exhibition (1887, *Catalogue,* p. 97, beautifully illustrated by Frank Haes, Edition de Luxe) was one from Aden, made from the splendid horn of the koodoo (cf. F. L. Cohen, *Jewish Chronicle,* Sept. 1, 1899, p. 25). Thus the *shōphār,* though preferentially made in Western lands of the ram's horn, may be constructed of the horn of any sheep, goat, or antelope, growing separately from its core, and it 'varies in shape from absolute straightness through a gradual curve to the spiral.' The crook is preferred, not, as modern Jewish homilists hold, for symbolical reasons, but 'because of the same acoustic effects consequent on such a curve, as decided the form of the ancient Roman cavalry trumpet, or the modern saxophone. The trumpet of the Roman cavalry was, indeed, only a large *shōphār,* elegantly fashioned in bronze' (Cohen, *ib.*).

The ancient preferential use of the ram's horn was strengthened by the association of the Day of the Trumpet (1st of Tishri) in later Jewish ritual with the narrative of the offering of Isaac (Gn 22^{13}. The whole chapter is read in the synagogues on the 2nd of Tishri, and references to the incident abound in the ritual of the festival). The horns now used are sometimes carved, and adorned with golden crowns and Hebrew inscriptions, but no metallic attachment is permitted at the mouthpiece (*Shulchan Aruch, Orach Chayim,* § 585 ff. For an excellent account of the construction of the *shōphār,* with illustrations, see C. Adler, *Proceedings of the U.S. Museum,* xvi. 287–301; Reports, 1892, 437–450; 1899, p. 548).

As in the modern synagogue, so in the Bible, the *shōphār* is associated (together with certain special offerings, Nu 29^{2-6}) with the feast held on the new moon (see NEW MOON) of the seventh month. This feast is an addition to the Calendar of the Feasts in P (Lv 23^{23-25}, Nu 29^{1-6}). 'In the seventh month, on the first day of the month, shall be a solemn rest unto you (זִכְרוֹן תְּרוּעָה), a memorial of blowing of trumpets' (Lv 23^{24}). 'It is יוֹם תְּרוּעָה, a day of blowing of trumpets unto you.' Thus the precise instrument is not named in the Hebrew (LXX has σαλπίγγων in Lev., whence the plural 'trumpets' in AV. The synagogue uses only one instrument. In Num. the LXX has simply ἡμέρα σημασίας—'a day of signalling'), but the *shōphār* is obviously intended, for the term *tĕrûah,* though also used of the *ḥăẓōẓĕrah* (Nu 10^{5}) and the cymbal (Ps 150^{5}), is connected with the *shōphār* in several passages (see esp. Lv 25^{9}, a passage on which the Mishna rightly relies). The exact musical notes intended are unknown; indeed the rude horn has no precise note, and various examples not only differ in this respect from one another, but from one and the same *shōphār* very different effects are produceable. Greater attention was probably paid to rhythm and length than to the actual musical sounds, and this is still the case. 'Any sound is satisfactory,' runs the Rabbinical prescript, but tradition confesses itself unable to be more precise. In the Bible various terms are used: תָּקַע (whence the term תָּקוֹעַ Ezk 7^{14} for 'trumpet,' and the New Heb. *tĕḳîah* for a *note* on the same instrument) *to smite,* hence *to produce a sharp, clear note*; מָשַׁךְ *to draw out* or *prolong* (whence perhaps the *tĕḳîah gĕdōlah,* or great *tĕḳîah* of the modern synagogue; cf., however, Is 27^{13}); and הֵרִיעַ (whence the biblical *tĕrûah*) *to produce a trembling, vibratory note, or a series of quick blasts.*

The Rabbinical ritual, unable to identify the biblical notes, prescribed three sounds: the simple *tĕḳîah,* the *tĕrûah* produced by vibrating the lips and not the *shōphār,* and the *shĕbārîm* or three short *broken* notes. The *ba'al tōḳēah,* who blows the *shōphār,* utters the benediction, 'Blessed art thou O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who hast sanctified us by thy commandments and commanded us to hear the sound of the *shōphār.*' The number of distinct notes varies in different rites (from 30 to 100). A whole section of the *mûsaph* or additional service of the Day of the Trumpet is known as the *shōphārôth* (Mishna, *Rosh Hashana,* iv. 5); it consists of a collection of scriptural passages in which the *shōphār* is mentioned (see Singer, *Authorized Daily Prayer-Book,* p. 252; and on the New Year Liturgy, Friedmann in *JQR* i. 62). These passages refer chiefly to the giving of the Law at Sinai and to the future redemption, and the association of the *shōphār* with the latter event often occurs in the NT ('Last trump,' 1 Co 15^{52}; cf. 1 Th 4^{16}, Mt 24^{31}, 2 Es 6^{23}, and Is 27^{13}, Zec 9^{14}). Thus the *shōphār* plays its part not only in the biblical feast, but also in the general scheme of the later New Year celebrations.

The festival has, from early Rabbinical times, been known as רֹאשׁ הַשָּׁנָה (New Year; see TIME), יוֹם הַזִּכָּרוֹן ('Day of Memorial'; cf. Lv 23^{24}), and יוֹם הַדִּין ('Day of Judgment'). The festival has been spiritualized into a solemn day of self-introspection, and the *shōphār* is regarded as a signal, calling to inner and outward repentance.

In anticipation of the feast itself, the *shōphār* is with this object sounded in many synagogues throughout the previous month Elul, morning and evening, with the exception of the Sabbaths. (If the 1st of Tishri happen to fall on a Saturday, the *shōphār* is not sounded, except in certain Reformed Jewish congregations. In the temple the *shōphār* was of course sounded on the Sabbath). So, too, after the festival, the *shōphār* is sounded (among the Sephardic Jews) on the 7th day of Tabernacles (*Hosha'ana Rabba*) during the seven circuits of the palms. This last act completes the penitentiary cycle, which includes the Day of Atonement. The whole period is the most solemn in the modern Jewish Calendar, and it is noteworthy that Rabbinical Judaism has in this case, as in several others, developed the biblical prescriptions in a purely spiritual direction. One of the finest sections in Maimonides' Code (*Mishneh Torah*) is the section on Penitence (תְּשׁוּבָה 'return'), in which the ideas of a sense of sin, regret, and practical amendment are, on the basis of Rabbinical conceptions, combined into a remarkable and beautiful whole. It should be added that the עקידה or binding of Isaac on the altar plays in the liturgy of the synagogue for the New Year a rôle in some, though not in the most characteristic, aspects not unlike that of the Crucifixion in the theology and liturgy of the Christian Church.

The other uses of the *shōphār* are not easily discriminated from those of the *ḥăẓōẓĕrah*, and the two instruments must be considered in conjunction. The *ḥăẓōẓĕrah* differed from the *shōphār* in shape (see vol. iii. p. 462 f.), being nearly a yard long, a straight slender tube with a slight expansion at the mouth and a bell-shaped end (Jos. *Ant.* III. xii. 6; so Arch of Titus and Coins). It also differed in material, as it was made of metal ('beaten silver,' Nu 10^{2}). The *ḥăẓōẓĕrah* was the sacred clarion, and was closely connected (mostly in P and Chron.) with the later temple service as described in Chronicles. It was a more musical instrument than the *shōphār*, and was used almost exclusively by the priests. As a secular instrument, the *ḥăẓōẓĕrah* is mentioned in Hos 5^{8}, together with the *shōphār*, as used to signal the approach of an invading army. 'Previously to the Exile,' says Cheyne (*ad loc.*), 'the cornet (*shōphār*) and the trumpet (*ḥăẓōẓĕrah*) were probably different names for the same instrument, as the Law (Nu 10^{1-10} 31^{6}) prescribes the use of the silver trumpet in cases when, according to the prophetic and historical books, the cornet or *shōphār* was used. In writings of post-captivity origin (Ps 98^{6}, 1 Ch 15^{28}, 2 Ch 15^{14}) they appear to represent different instruments, or rather slightly different varieties of the same instrument.' Perhaps in 2 K 11^{14} the *ḥăẓōẓĕrah* is a secular instrument (so *Oxford Hebrew Lex.* p. 348). Mostly it was the *shōphār* that was used in war as a signal either for assembly (Jg 3^{27}, 2 S 20^{1}), attack, or retreat (2 S 2^{28}). We cannot tell whether it was the *shōphār* or *ḥăẓōẓĕrah* that is referred to often in the Books of the Maccabees (*e.g.* 1 Mac 3^{54} *σάλπιγξ*, 4^{40} 'trumpeted with trumpets of signals,' 5^{31} etc.). The watchman blew the *shōphār* to raise an alarm or to indicate impending danger (Am 3^{6}, Jer 6^{1}, Ezk 33^{6}), and Moore (on Jg 6^{34}) renders *shōphār* by 'war-horn.' In the narrative of Gideon (Jg 7^{16}) there seems a large supply of horns in the camp, but in v.^{8} it is expressly said that the troops that were sent home left their horns with Gideon, thus enabling him to furnish each of his 300 men with a *shōphār* (see Moore, *Judges*, p. 203 ff.). In the Jubilee year the *shōphār* was sounded on the 10th of Tishri as a signal (Lv 25^{9} P), and this may be the origin of the synagogue usage to sound the *shōphār* on the conclusion of the Day of Atonement. Possibly, however, this is connected with the custom of sounding a trumpet (*ḥăẓōẓĕrah*) in the temple at the beginning and end of the Sabbath (T. Jerus. *Shabbath* xvii. 16*a*; Bab. *Shabbath* 35*b*; Jos. *Ant.* IV. ix. 12: 'the top of the Pastophoria, where one of the priests usually stood and gave a signal beforehand in the evening with a trumpet at the beginning of every seventh day [Friday evening], as also in the evening when the sabbath day was finished, giving notice to the people when they were to leave off work, and when they were to go to work again').

Reverting to Bible times, a blast of trumpets announced an important event such as a royal accession (1 K $1^{34.\,39}$ the *shōphār* is named, but the *ḥăẓōẓĕrah* in 2 K 11^{14}), and the popular joy was aided in the same manner on other occasions (2 S 6^{15}, cf. Ps 47^{5}). Liturgically, the *ḥăẓōẓĕrah* was the priestly instrument *par excellence* (the Levites had several other instruments). The silver trumpets were blown at the beginning of each month (Nu 10^{10}), but the *shōphār* on the New Moon of Tishri (see Kirkpatrick's notes on Ps 81).

The Talmud (Mishna, *loc. cit.*; Talm. Bab. *Rosh Hashana* 26*b*) explains that the silver trumpets were not omitted on the 1st of Tishri, but that *besides* these a *shōphār* (of straight ibex horn with a golden mouthpiece—an addition unlawful except in the temple) was sounded, its notes being made to predominate over the trumpets.

The silver trumpets were sounded at the daily burnt-offering (2 Ch 29^{26-28}, Nu $10^{1.\,2.\,10}$), and at the three pauses in the singing of the daily psalms (a later introduction) three blasts (nine in all) were sounded from the silver trumpets, and the people fell down and worshipped (2 Ch 29^{28} etc.). There seem to have been 7 trumpets in the Levitical orchestra (so Büchler, *ZATW*, 1899, p. 329, on basis of 1 Ch 15^{24}, Neh 12^{41}). On the prostration as signalled by the trumpets see also Sir $50^{16.\,17}$; Mishna, *Tamid* vii. 3. Trumpets were also used on semi-religious occasions of joy, and particularly at the Ceremony of the Water-Drawing at the Feast of Tabernacles (Mishna, *Succah* v. 4), a ceremony which is very ancient, and may even underlie Is 12^{3}. I. ABRAHAMS.

TRUST.—See FAITH.

TRUTH.—The usage of Holy Scripture in respect to words expressive of the idea of 'truth,' in its broadest signification, is a point of considerable interest and importance. The study of it illustrates the influence of Hebrew training upon the writers of NT, and brings into relief characteristics of the ethical and religious thought both of OT and NT which are full of profound instruction.

i. THE OLD TESTAMENT.—The verb אָמַן—from which אֱמֶת and אֱמוּנָה, the words with which we are principally concerned, are derived—signifies to *support, sustain.*

In the Qal it is used of a nurse carrying a child (Nu 11^{12}, 2 S 4^{4}, Ru 4^{16}), and more generally of those who have the charge of rearing children (2 K $10^{1.\,5}$, Is 49^{23}, Est 2^{7}); in the Niphal, of those who are carried (Is 60^{4}). Again of that which is firmly founded, as 'a *sure* house' (1 S 2^{35} 25^{28}, 1 K 11^{38}, and cf. 2 S 7^{16}), of a firmly fixed nail (Is $22^{23.\,25}$), of national stability and prosperity (2 Ch 20^{20}, Is 7^{9}); of that which continues long (Dt 28^{59}); of waters that are unfailing (Is 33^{16}, Jer 15^{18}); of Samuel *established* as a prophet (1 S 3^{20}); of words being established—*i.e.* verified—, God's words through His prophets (1 Ch $17^{23.\,24}$, 2 Ch 1^{9} 6^{17}, Hos 5^{9}), and of the word of men (Gn 42^{20}), and, in a remarkable passage, of those who have a character for uttering sentiments that are true, showing knowledge of human life and its laws, etc. (Job 12^{20}); lastly, in a distinctly ethical sense, of one trustworthy in ordinary human relations (Pr 11^{13} 25^{13} 27^{6}, Neh 13^{13}, Is 8^{2}), or unswerving in his loyalty to Jehovah (Ps $78^{8.\,37}$), faithful in the fulfilment of a trust divinely committed (Nu 12^{7}, 1 S 2^{35} 22^{14}); also of God's faithfulness (Is 49^{7} 55^{3}, Jer 42^{5}, Dt 7^{9}, Ps 19^{7} 89^{28} 93^{5} 111^{7}).

The Hiphil has the sense *to put confidence in, to believe*, either specific declarations of God or of man (Gn 15^{6} 45^{26}, Is 53^{1}, Jon 3^{5} etc.), or persons, again either God (Dt 1^{32}, 2 Ch 20^{20} etc.) or man (Jg 11^{20}, 2 Ch 32^{15} etc.). Comp. also Job 39^{12} of putting confidence in the wild ox, and Job 4^{18} 15^{15} of God, 'He putteth no trust in his holy ones,' and Job 15^{31} 'to trust in vanity.' It is also used absol. Is 7^{9} 28^{16} etc. There are more special applications at Dt 28^{66}, Job 24^{22} 39^{24}.

The noun אֹמְנָה *a pillar* (2 K 18^{16}) illustrates clearly the signification of the root. For the ethical idea connected with it we have analogies in נָכוֹן *made firm, fixed*, hence morally *directed aright, stedfast*; and יַצִּיב (Aram.) *stable, true*; cf. יַצֵּב (Aram.) *to make firm*, and Heb. הִתְיַצֵּב *to station oneself.*

The senses in which אֱמוּנָה is used correspond on the whole very closely with those of the verb, and so, to a considerable extent, do those of אֱמֶת. The former word, however, sometimes has a purely physical meaning: this the latter never has, while (unlike the former) it is also used to describe a quality of speech or thought in a manner not distinguishable from that in which the term 'truth' commonly is among ourselves. In the following analysis the two words will be taken together; this is most convenient, because their meanings overlap. But references to the former are printed in thick type.

1. *Steadiness*, **Ex 17**^{12} (on the construction see Ges.-K. § 141^{d}).

2. A *set*, or *fixed*, *office*, or perhaps a *trust* (as RVm in some places), **1 Ch 9**$^{22. 26. 31}$, **2 Ch 31**$^{15. 18}$.

3. *Loyalty to obligations and engagements*, *uprightness*, *honest dealing*, as between man and man, Jg 9$^{15. 16. 19}$, **Ps 37**^{3}, **Jer 5**$^{1. 3}$; perhaps also Gn 42^{16}. אֱמֶת in this sense is frequently joined with חֶסֶד, kindness or mercy—so in Gn 24^{49} 47^{29}, Jos 2$^{12. 14}$, **Pr 3**^{3} **16**^{6} (cf. also **Pr 20**^{28}, included under headings 5 and 9, for their conjunction as Divine attributes. For the general purport of the combination see the latter place).

4. *Honesty* and *fidelity* in respect to a charge committed to one, **2 K 12**^{15} **22**^{7}, **2 Ch 31**^{12} **34**^{12}, Neb 7^{2}.

5. *Justice* in a specific sense, that which is in accordance with rights, Hos 4^{1}, Dn 8^{12}. So also **Pr 12**^{17} ('he that uttereth truth =declareth what is just'). Similarly **Jer 7**^{28}, Is 59^{4}. As a quality of judges and kings, **2 Ch 19**^{9}, Ex 18^{21}, Ezk 18^{8}, Pr 20^{28} 29^{14}. This characteristic is emphatically applied to the government of the Messianic king, **Is 11**^{5}, Ps 45^{4}, Is 16^{5} 42^{3}.

6. Of a state of true national well-being, which would be specially realized in the promised times, frequently coupled with 'peace.' As the Heb. for 'peace' implies *health*, *soundness*, so that for 'truth' implies *stability*. But the word 'truth' may also, from its associations, suggest a condition in which justice prevails in all social relations (**Is 33**^{6}, Ps 85$^{10. 11}$, Jer 33^{6}), also 'peace of truth,' *i.e.* '*assured* peace,' Jer 14^{13}, and more generally 2 K 20^{19}, Is 39^{8}, Est 9^{30}, Zec 8$^{16. 19}$.

7. *Faithfulness* to God, as shown by zeal for His worship, the avoidance of the worship of false gods, and diligence in keeping all His commandments. Justice between man and man is included, because He ordains it. Sometimes it is difficult to say whether most stress is laid on one or another part of this complex idea. The reference, however, seems, considering all the associations of the word, to be most often to the faithfulness shown in outward conduct, even in the phrase 'in truth'; other expressions in the same contexts refer to inward sincerity, Jos 24^{14}, Jer 2^{21} (cf. 'children that will not deal falsely,' Is 63^{8}) 4^{2}, **Ps 119**^{30} (cf. v.^{29}), 2 Ch 31^{20} 32^{1}, 1 S 12^{24}, 1 K 2^{4} 3^{6}, 2 K 20^{3}, Is 10^{20}. Yet at Ps 145^{18}, Is 48^{1} 'in truth'=*sincerely*, in contrast with hypocrisy. Cf. also Ps 51^{6}. The expression 'I have walked' or 'I will walk in thy truth' (Ps 26^{3} 86^{11}) may on the whole most probably belong to this heading; that is to say, 'Thy truth' may mean the faithfulness (towards Thee) which Thou hast appointed. But 'walking in God's truth' might also possibly mean 'walking in reliance on God's faithfulness.'

8. *Confidence*, *trust*, **Hab 2**^{4}; probably, however, the meaning here also is 'faithfulness' (RVm), in which case this passage should be placed under 3.

9. As a Divine attribute; (*a*) God's *constancy* to His people, the *faithfulness* with which He had fulfilled or would fulfil His covenant with Abraham and his descendants or witb David (Gn 24^{27}, **Hos 2**$^{19. 20}$, Mic 7^{20}, **Ps 89**$^{1. 2. 5. 8. 15. 24. 33. 49}$ **98**^{3} **100**^{5} **115**^{1} **117**^{2} **119**$^{42. 121. 130}$); also in regard to all who serve Him (Gn 32^{10}, **Ps 25**^{10} 30^{9} **40**$^{10. 11}$ 54^{5} **57**$^{3. 10}$ **71**^{22} 86^{15} **88**^{11} **92**^{2} **108**^{4} 138^{2} **143**$^{1. 2}$, Pr 14^{22}, Is 38$^{18. 19}$). It is also recognized that alike in the case of the nation (**La 3**$^{22. 23}$, Neh 9^{33}), and of the individual (**Ps 119**^{75}), calamities do not prove that God has failed in faithfulness. We meet, also, with the prayer or wish that God may show His truth (2 S 2^{6} 15^{20}, Ps 61^{7}). In the great majority of the passages, so far given under this head, חֶסֶד 'mercy' is coupled with 'truth.' These two words are doubtless to a certain extent complementary, the one as expressive of a free compassion and favour which is ever fresh, tbe other of a fidelity to promises. But there is a danger of pressing this contrast too far, as Wendt seems to do, *SK*, 1883, p. 520. When society was less organized and rights could be less easily enforced and were even less determinate, the spirit of mercy was often required to dictate the doing of truth (or justice). Moreover, love is at all times the true motive for the doing of justice, and no other is likely to suffice if it be a question of justice in those many relations of life with which law cannot interfere; while at the same time the action of true love must ever be controlled by the law of justice. This applies where the two words are conjoined in speaking of human action (see above, No. 3). But so, also, the thought that God's truth proceeded from His mere goodness is frequently suggested in OT, and, on the other hand, that His mercy is an exhibition of His truth. God's own love is closely associated with His righteousness (comp. the usage of the word צֶדֶק in OT; see also Ps 62^{12}). Some other combinations should be compared, esp. 'the light of God's countenance,' *i.e.* His favour and 'his truth' (Ps 25^{5} 43^{3}), 'his righteousness' and 'his truth' (Ps **40**^{10}, Zec 8^{8}; cf. also **Dt 32**^{4}).

(*b*) Truth seems also to be contemplated more generally as one of the great elements in God's character, Ex 34^{6}, **Ps 36**^{5} **119**^{90}. He is the true God, as contrasted with the false gods who are but lying vanities (Ps 31$^{5. 6}$, 2 Ch 15^{3}, and Jer 10^{10}, where 'the living God' is a parallel expression). Hence His works are wrought in faithfulness, Ps **33**$^{4. 5}$ **111**^{7} 19^{9} 69^{13}, Is 25^{1}. His commandments also are true in that they are firmly established, that they are not subject to change, that those who observe them will certainly be rewarded, and those who transgress them punished, **Ps 119**^{86}, 119$^{142. 151. 160}$, Neh 9^{13}, **Pr 11**^{18}, Is 61^{8}.

10. Of the utterances of prophets (1 K 17^{24} 22^{16}, 2 Ch 18^{15}, Is 43^{9}, Jer 26^{15} 28^{9}); of a vision that does not mislead, Dn 8^{26} 10^{1}. 'The writing of truth' is the book of destiny, Dn 10^{21}; cf. 11^{2}.

11. Truth, in the sense in which we commonly employ the term, for the agreement between language and facts whatever these may be; 1 K 10^{6}, 2 Ch 9^{5}, Dt 13^{14} 17^{4} 22^{20}, Jer 9^{5}, Ps 15^{2} ('in his heart' here should be 'with his heart,' *i.e.* cordially, gladly), Pr 12^{19} 14^{25} 22^{21}.

12. Divine revelation (Mal 2^{6}, Dn 9^{13}); or that true philosophy, that knowledge of the order of the world and of life, to which the wise have in fuller or less measure attained (Pr 8^{7} 23^{23}, Ec 12^{10}); with this last sense cf. the use of the verb at Job 12^{20}.

[The noun אֵמֻן occurs in sing. at **Dt 32**^{20}, and in pl. at **Pr 13**^{17} **14**^{5} **20**^{6}, Is 26^{2} in sense 'faithfulness,' to which Ps 12^{1} 31^{23} should perhaps be added (so RVm); but in these two passages it may be pass. partic. of Qal, and mean 'the faithful' (so RV). אֹמֶן in Is 25^{1} is taken in same sense, but the phrase of which it forms part is thus rendered difficult, and the pointing may be wrong. On אָמֵן see AMEN].

In the case of both words it is easy in the vast majority of instances to trace the connexion with the signification of the root, which, ethically regarded, conveys the notion of constancy, steadfastness, faithfulness. But there are secondary meanings, and the precise train of ideas by which these were reached cannot be considered certain. Thus truth in the sense of civil justice—to which, in some passages at least, it approximates—may be derived from the general notion of faithfulness, and with this—when it is a question of a social state in which justice prevails—the notion of stability, which brings us still nearer to the original meaning of the root, may be united. Since not merely אֱמֶת but אֱמוּנָה is used in this way, some such explanation seems on the whole the most likely. Yet it may also be supposed that justice in giving or procuring judgment is called truth, simply as being in agreement with the facts. The same view of truth may also, with even more probability, be suggested, when it is predicated of speech or of thought. Nevertheless, the origin even of this application may have lain in the circumstance that truth-speaking is part of the character of a faithful man; or again, the intention may have been to describe words that are well founded, based upon facts, and therefore firm. This idea of an underlying reality may probably be traced in the use of the term to describe God's revealed will, or the knowledge of the wise. It may not be unnecessary to add a caution that we must not so insist on giving effect to the force of the root as to exclude other ideas which may have entered in the course of the history of the word, and thus to limit the range of its meaning.

Moreover, the various senses of a word, even after they have once been differentiated by custom, may act and react upon one another in their further use. And thus there can be little doubt that the conception formed of religious and intellectual truth must have been more or less affected by the various associations of the term which had come to be employed to designate it. In particular, the contemplation of truth as an attribute of the Divine nature and operations must in devout and reflective minds have promoted a comprehensive and profound view of the quality. It will be important to bear this in mind when we pass on to consider the meaning of 'truth' in the NT. First, however, we must briefly notice the usage of the LXX, whereby the Greek language itself, which the NT writers were to use, was in a measure re-minted.

The verb אָמַן—to pass over the ptcp. of Qal, meaning 'a nurse,' or having kindred significations to this—is represented by πιστοῦν (Niph.), πιστεύειν (Niph. and Hiph.), πίστιν ἔχειν (Niph.), πιστὸς εἶναι, or ptcp. πιστός (Niph.). אֱמוּנָה 20 times by πίστις and once adjectivally by πιστός, 22 times by ἀλήθεια (20 of these being in the Psalms, 8 in Ps 88 (89) alone; the other two are 2 Ch 19^{9}, Is 11^{5}), twice by ἀληθινός (Is 25^{1} 29^{4}). אֱמֶת in nearly four-fifths of the passages in which it occurs is rendered by ἀλήθεια, 12 times by ἀληθινός, a few times by ἀληθής and ἀληθῶς, 12 times by δικαιοσύνη or δίκαιος, and once by ἐλεημοσύνη.

The difference in the treatment of אֱמוּנָה and אֱמֶת shows a sense, which is up to a certain point correct, of the difference between them in meaning. One of the most instructive points, however, in connexion with our present subject is the practice of the LXX in regard to the rendering of the former word. Broadly speaking, πίστις or πιστός is used where it is a question of human character or conduct, ἀλήθεια and its derivatives with reference to Divine.

Πίστις is, however, attributed to God once, acc. to Qmg, at La 3^{23}; the adverbial phrase ἐν πίστει is also used a few times of God, Ps 32 (33)^{4}, Hos 2^{20}, Jer 35 (28)^{9} 39 (32)^{41}, and the epithet πιστός is applied to God, Dt 7^{9} 32^{4}, and to the Divine testimony, covenant, etc., Ps 18 (19)^{7} 88 (89)^{28} 110 (111)^{7}, Is 55^{3}. ἐν ἀληθείᾳ is used in a charge to judges, 2 Ch 19^{9}, ἀληθής of human character, Neh 7^{2}; a few other similar instances might be given; ἀλήθεια is used for אֱמוּנָה at Is 11^{5} to describe an attribute of the Messianic king. It may be further noted here that πίστις is only once used to render אֱמֶת with reference to God, and there only in the phrase ἐν πίστει (Jer 31 (32)^{41}). πίστις at Pr 14^{22} refers, according to LXX, to men.

The idea of 'faithfulness' is, as a matter of fact, very prominent in OT in connexion with the Divine character, and is undoubtedly conveyed by the word אֱמוּנָה, used of God, and from this point of view would have been best represented by πίστις or πιστός. But the LXX translators seem to have felt that the ordinary associations with these words were too purely human. ἀλήθεια was a word of larger meaning, and, though the same ideas were not connected with it by reason of its derivation and history, it conveyed, even according to classical usage,—though especially, of course, that of the philosophical writers,—the notion, not simply of agreement between speech and fact, but of *reality*. This helped to make the word serviceable as a rendering alike of אֱמוּנָה and of אֱמֶת. At the same time, the new contexts into which it was brought could not fail to have an effect upon its signification. Its former use could scarcely make intelligible such expressions, for instance, as ἐξαποστέλλειν ἀλήθειαν (Ps 42 (43)^{3} 55 (57)^{3}), or ποιεῖν ἀλήθειαν (said of God Gn 47^{29} etc., and of men Jos 2^{14} etc.). It is not, however, to be supposed that the translators either intended, or would have been able, to transfer to ἀλήθεια all the associations of the original words. But it acquired a connotation which was partly the result of its classical usage—for on this side, also, the biblical use received enrichment—partly of the Hebrew words for which it now stood. Lastly, the occurrence of ἡ ἀλήθεια repeatedly in books of the Apocrypha, in remarkable sayings, in the sense in which we have met with אֱמֶת two or three times in the Sapiential books of the Canon, for the sum of true knowledge, or Divine revelation, deserves to be noticed. *E.g.* see 1 Es 3^{12} $4^{35.41}$, Sir $4^{25.28}$.

The use of ἀληθής and ἀληθῶς in LXX need not detain us; there is nothing in the case of either that calls for special remark, with the exception that once the former is applied as an epithet of a man. But the use of ἀληθινός must be examined. The effect of the termination -ινος is to draw attention, as it were, to the presence of the quality denoted by the root, in that to which the epithet is applied. Sometimes ἀληθινός does not practically imply more than ἀληθής with a certain amount of emphasis on it, *e.g.* 3 (1) K 10^{6}. But in other places ἀληθινός signifies in a more specific manner that the thing is what it professes to be, or that it really corresponds to the idea of the name given to it. This seems to be the force of the word at 2 Ch 15^{3}—'for a long while there was in Israel no God who was truly such.' But this sense is not common in LXX. Again, it expresses the notion of trustworthiness as an attribute of persons, or of their habitual words and deeds. Evidently, this imports something deeper than simply the truth of a particular saying or report can. This appears to be the commonest meaning in the LXX, and we can trace in this the influence of the Hebrew (*e.g.* Ps 18 (19)^{9} 85 (86)^{15}, Is 59^{4}, Jer 2^{21}). In Zec 8^{3}—κληθήσεται ἡ Ἰερουσαλὴμ πόλις ἡ ἀληθινή—there is not specially the idea of trustworthiness, but it is asserted that the character of Jerusalem should be that of a city full of truth.

ii. THE NEW TESTAMENT.—In NT the conception of 'truth,' while it retains traces of its previous biblical history, is greatly enlarged and deepened, especially in the writings of St. Paul and St. John. It will be most convenient and instructive to examine the idea separately, in the first instance, in different writers or groups of writings. The Synoptics and Acts will form one such group, which will not detain us long. Next, we will take the Epp. of St. Paul. Epistles other than those of St. Paul and St. John may most suitably be considered immediately after those of St. Paul, as their usage resembles his, on the whole, most nearly. Lastly, we will take the Johannine writings; the idea of truth in these, or, to speak more accurately, in the Gospel and the Epp., has important elements in common with that in St. Paul, but there are also significant traits characteristic of each writer.

1. *Synoptics and Acts.*—The few instances of the occurrence of ἀλήθεια and its congeners have little that is distinctive about them. It will suffice to notice (*a*) the use of ἀληθής to describe character, not simply speech or doctrine, Mt 22^{16}=Mk 12^{14}; (*b*) ἐπ' ἀληθείας and ἀληθῶς in the mouth of Christ (Lk 4^{25} 9^{27} 12^{44}), where it may be compared with His use of Ἀμήν, and is probably a Greek equivalent for that word, and doubtless is intended to convey the same earnestness of asseveration; (*c*) τὸ ἀληθινόν, of the true riches (Lk 16^{11}), where we cannot but be reminded of the use of ἀληθινός in regard to the true bread, light, etc., in the Fourth Gospel, which must be considered presently.

We do not find in this group of writings any examples of πιστός used of God or Christ, or of πίστις as a Divine attribute.

2. *Epp. of St. Paul.*—i. There are two passages (Ro 3^{7} 15^{8}) in which ἀλήθεια signifies the Divine characteristic of *fidelity*, just as אֱמֶת and אֱמוּנָה so frequently do in OT. In the context of the former place, vv.$^{3\cdot 7}$, πίστις as an attribute of God, and the contrast between it and human ἀπιστία should be observed, also that between ἀληθής and ψεύστης, ἀλήθεια and ψεῦσμα, and that which is implied between ἀλήθεια and ἀδικία. At the same time there is ground for Cremer's remark, that the substitution of ἀλήθεια for πίστις as the argument proceeds, shows that ἀλήθ. is the word of larger meaning.

πιστός is strikingly used by St. Paul as an epithet of God in connexion with the thought of the new pledges which God has given in Christ and through the mouth of His servants and the work of the Spirit. See esp. 1 Co 1^{9}, 1 Th 5^{24}, also (where the reference may be more general), 1 Co 10^{13}, 2 Th 3^{3}, 2 Ti 2^{13}. The same quality of fidelity and trustworthiness is attributed, it would seem, to Christ at 2 Co 11^{10}, where the apostle claims that this ἀληθ. Χριστοῦ is reflected in himself, Christ's servant. Cf. also Ro 9^{1}, and consider as illustrating the thought 2 Co $1^{18\text{-}20}$. At Eph 4^{21} καθώς ἔστιν ἀλήθεια ἐν τῷ Ἰησοῦ has a somewhat different force (see below).

ii. But far more commonly ἀλήθεια, generally with the def. art. prefixed, denotes not a quality of a person, Divine or human, but a body of doctrine, though it is always the ascertained will of God which is so designated. In Ro $1^{18.25}$ $2^{8.20}$ it refers to Divine truth, imparted to man through reason and conscience and the laws of nature, as well as in a more specific manner to the Jews. But far more often St. Paul describes thereby the Divine revelation in Christ, the substance of the apostolic message, the gospel. See esp. Eph 1^{13}, where 'the word of the truth' is placed in apposition with 'the gospel of your salvation.' See also 1 Ti 3^{15} 6^{5}, 2 Ti $2^{15.18}$ 3^{8} 4^{4}, Tit 1^{14}, in all which places 'the truth' is plainly contemplated as in some sense formulated. It is to be believed (2 Th $2^{12.13}$), known (1 Ti 2^{4} 4^{3}, 2 Ti 2^{25}, Tit 1^{1}), loved (2 Th 2^{10}). On comparing these passages it must be evident that ἡ ἀλήθ. τ. εὐαγγ. (Gal $2^{5.14}$, Col 1^{5}) likewise means not the truthfulness of the gospel, but 'that truth which is set forth in the gospel.' At 2 Co 4^{2} 13^{8} also 'the truth' seems to have the same meaning.

In several passages where the def. art. is omitted, this same object appears to be intended, and the purpose of the omission is only to lay special stress upon its character as truth (2 Co 6^{7}, Gal 5^{7}, 2 Th 2^{13}, 1 Ti 2^{4}, 2 Ti 2^{25} 3^{7}). At 1 Ti 2^{7} also—διδάσκαλος ἐθνῶν ἐν πίστει καὶ ἀληθείᾳ—the πίστις and the ἀλήθεια seem each to be the subject-matter of St. Paul's teaching presented under two different aspects. So, again, at Eph 4^{21} there is plainly a reference to knowledge that has been imparted in the words, 'Ye did not so learn Christ if so be that ye heard him, and were taught in him, even as truth is in Jesus.' But the moral characteristics and contents and effects of the doctrine appear clearly from the context. St. Paul declares that the true reception of it must render it impossible for them to practise sins that were common among the Gentiles. And he goes on to speak of the old man as, on the other hand, 'waxing corrupt after the lusts of deceit,' while truth is one of the determining principles of the whole nature of the new man: 'After God' he 'hath been created in righteousness and holiness of truth.'

The ethical qualities of 'the truth' may be not less forcibly illustrated from some of the passages enumerated above in which the def. art. is used. 'The truth' commends itself not merely to the intellect but to the conscience of man, by what it is (2 Co 4^{2}). The principle that is most directly adverse to it is ἀδικία (Ro 2^{8}, 2 Th $2^{10.\,12}$), the very same that is contrasted with δικαιοσύνη as an attribute of God (Ro 3^{5}). The strength of the apostle and his fellow-workers lies solely in the power which is inherent in that which they teach by virtue of its nature (2 Co 13^{8}), and the sense of this lays them under the obligation to practise the utmost sincerity in word and deed (2 Co 4^{2} 6^{7} 13^{8}).

iii. As might be expected from what we have already seen, St. Paul shows a high sense of the value of truth as an ordinary human virtue (1 Co 5^{8}, 2 Co 7^{14} 12^{6}, Eph 4^{25} 5^{9} 6^{14}, 1 Ti 2^{7}).

iv. ἀληθινός occurs but once in the Epp. of St. Paul, at 1 Th 1^{9}, as an epithet of God. It marks out the God who is really God in contrast with false gods. (Cf. in LXX 2 Ch 15^{3} and Is 65^{16}).

3. *Epistles other than those of St. Paul and St. John.*—Ἀλήθεια occurs 7 times in this group (He 10^{26}, Ja 1^{18} 3^{14} 5^{19}, 1 P 1^{22}, 2 P 1^{12} 2^{2}), and appears in every instance to mean, as in 2 ii. above, the doctrine delivered by the apostles of Christ. Several of the same characteristics of this 'truth' might be illustrated from them. The Divine attribute of 'faithfulness' is asserted in 1 P 4^{19}, not only, as in OT or as by St. Paul, in regard to those who have been brought into a new relation to God 'in Christ,' but still more largely in the unique and remarkable phrase πιστὸς κτίστης.

Before we pass on we must note the use in Ep. to Heb. of ἀληθινός in regard to the heavenly archetypes of the tabernacle and sanctuary of the old covenant (8^{2} 9^{24}). At 10^{22}, where it is applied to καρδία, its force may be expressed by 'thoroughly true' (cf. Is 38^{3}, and see below 4 iii.).

4. *The Johannine writings.*—i. Ἀλήθεια is used a few times for a simple quality inherent in a person (Jn $4^{23.\,24}$ 8^{44}; there does not seem to be any other clear instance).

ii. Most commonly that is signified by it, the knowledge of which is of all knowledge the most necessary for man, and which was made known in and through Christ in a way that it never had been before. The connexion between 'the word' that is taught and 'the truth' appears $8^{31.\,32}$ and 17^{17}, and the evangelist declares that 'the truth came through Jesus Christ' (1^{17}).

A portion of it only could be communicated by Christ to His disciples during His time on earth, because they were unprepared to receive it. And it can never be fully comprised in any formulas. Nothing could show this more clearly than its identification with a person—with Christ Himself (Jn 14^{6}). Moreover, it evidently has intimate relations with the ideas of 'the light' and 'the life' by which He is also described. The manifestation of the truth gives light; the inward appropriation of it brings life. After the withdrawal of the visible presence of Christ it was to be the office of the other Paraclete, who was promised, to teach the truth (Jn 16^{13}). He is called 'the Spirit of the Truth' (Jn 14^{17} 15^{26} 16^{13}, 1 Jn 4^{6}), chiefly, perhaps, because of this function which He is to discharge, but partly also, it may be, on account of its very nature; for the spiritual is pre-eminently the true, the real (cf. Jn $4^{23.\,24}$). It is even said of the Spirit, as well as of the Christ, that He is 'the Truth' (1 Jn 5^{6}). Yet His relation to the Truth as revealed in Christ is carefully defined (Jn $16^{13\text{-}16}$).

The truth has been and is commended through testimony,—that of the Baptist (Jn 5^{33}), that of Christ Himself (8^{40} 18^{37}); and the testimony is believed by those in whom there is a right moral disposition (*ib.* cf. also 3^{21}). The function of the Spirit, too, is described as 'bearing witness' (1 Jn 5^{7}). His witness must be primarily inward, to the human spirit; yet it is to be remembered that He acts upon each individual not only directly, but through others, and through the whole Body of Christ.

If a certain moral aptitude is a condition for receiving the truth, so also, when received, it has profound moral effects. It makes free (Jn 8^{32}). The recognition of the truth and conformity to it brings man's being into the state meant for it; the discords and contradictions involved in a state of sin are removed. This freedom is described from another point of view as holiness (17^{19}).

In 1 John the truth in action and thought and character is contrasted with viciousness in conduct and hollow self-complacency (1 Jn $1^{6.\,8}$ 2^{4} 3^{19}). But even in such passages the truth is not to be thought of merely as a quality, the presence or absence of which in human characters may be noted. Rather it is the same truth which is elsewhere regarded as an object of knowledge, considered here in its practical consequences. The unity of thought, the prevalence of the same dominant ideas, throughout the Johannine Gospel and Epp., are decisive for this view. And indeed we can sometimes mark the more absolute and the more concrete meanings of truth passing, as it were, the one into the other, as in 1 Jn 2^{4}, where it is implied that the commandments of Christ furnish the norm for truth of life. Again, where we observe similarity with OT language,—as in Jn $1^{14.\,17}$ (cf. חֶסֶד joined with אֱמֶת and אֱמוּנָה Ps 40^{11} 85^{10} etc., in LXX ἔλεος καὶ ἀλήθ.), and ποιεῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, 1 Jn 1^{6} (cf. Neh 9^{33} etc.),—though the form of expression has doubtless been derived thence, other considerations must also be borne in mind in determining the meaning. Indeed in the former of these examples the substitution of χάρις for ἔλεος employed by LXX should warn us to do this, as Cremer points out.

iii. Ἀληθινός, which occurs but 5 times in the remainder of NT, is common in the Johannine writings, and adds materially to the prominence of the idea of truth in them. It is unquestionably used sometimes in the Gospel and First Ep. to signify that a thing truly corresponds to the idea of the name given to it (Jn 1^{9} 4^{23} 6^{32} 15^{1}, 1 Jn 2^{8}). Some writers try to bring all the applications of it under this head. Thus Jn 7^{28}—ἔστιν ἀληθινὸς ὁ πέμψας με—is explained by Bp. Westcott as meaning 'one who completely satisfies the conception of a sender . . . God is described as true, not merely in so far as He gave a true message, but as one who really sent a messenger; a real Father, as it were, sending a real Son.' [He 10^{22} ἀληθινῆς καρδίας—he renders 'a heart which fulfils the ideal office of the heart']. But such a thought seems in many cases too far-fetched. In particular, when applied to persons, it is more natural to take ἀληθινος to mean 'full of the quality of ἀλήθεια.' Where it is an epithet of κρίσις (Jn 8^{16}) or of μαρτυρία (19^{35}), it is a little more difficult to decide between the two views of its force, chiefly because they so nearly approximate. Judgment or testimony, which fulfils the idea expressed by the term, must be judgment or testimony which has the quality of, and corresponds with, truth. Yet the latter explanation is to be preferred as the simpler. This seems to be the force of the word in all the 10 places in which it occurs in the Apocalypse ($3^{7.\,14}$ 6^{10} 15^{3} 16^{7} $19^{2.\,9.\,11}$ 21^{5} 22^{6}), in which it is generally combined with other adjectives—ἅγιος, δίκαιος, πιστός—and used to describe God or Christ, or the Divine ways, words, judgments. Ἀληθινός in this use of the word differs from πιστός only in having a somewhat larger meaning. On the other hand, at 1 Jn 5^{20}, in the concluding words of the verse, οὗτος ἐστιν ὁ ἀληθινὸς Θεός, 'the true God,' has the same meaning as at 1 Th 1^{9} (see above, 2 iv.), viz. as distinguished from false gods; and this may therefore be the meaning of ἀληθινός in the two preceding cases in the same verse, though the other shade of meaning would seem natural, especially in the second of them.

Whereas, then, in OT 'truth' is mainly thought of as a quality inherent in God or in men, especially the quality of steadfastness or fidelity, it is used commonly in NT in a more detached and larger sense for the real, that which indeed is, and which it is the proper function of the mind of man to occupy itself with and to apprehend. At the same time, this 'truth' does not appeal solely to the intellect. That it may be received, the moral dispositions of men must correspond with it; and its reception will further take effect upon character. In conforming himself to it in his life lies man's only security for well-being. The associations which the word had acquired through OT usage helped to secure for the conception those elements to which this deep moral and religious significance is due.

It appears, further, that the knowledge of the truth in its fulness has been rendered possible only through Divine revelation. The idea of revelation was no new one; but it is a point of great importance, not only that the contents of revelation should have been greatly extended, but that what before was known simply as the Will of God, or as Torah (Instruction), should now be called by the name which denoted agreement between statement and fact in common matters, or between a mental image and an external object, the opposite of illusion, fancy, or mere opinion. We have seen the beginnings of such a use of the term in a few instances in the later books of OT and in the Apocrypha, and Greek modes of thought may in a measure have facilitated it. The significance of the usage in NT lies in the actual application of it to the Christian revelation and in its frequency. Finally, after the idea has been abstracted and made comprehensive, it is once again connected with persons. The source of it, in this fuller meaning of the term, is found in the Divine nature, in the Father, in Christ, in the Holy Spirit.

Unless we impugn the historical trustworthiness of the Fourth Gospel, that presentation of the idea of truth which is characteristic of NT begins with the teaching of Christ Himself. St. Paul, however, would seem to have acquired his view of it rather from the effect on his mind of faith in Christ than directly from any of His sayings. And in the case of St. John, too, it was doubtless the impression left upon him by the Person of the Lord which led him to perceive the meaning and power of the words on this subject which he has recorded. They and their fellow-believers felt that in the doctrine of Christ, and in the character and counsel of God, manifested in the Person and the life, death, and resurrection of Christ, they had been permitted to grasp that which is substantial and abiding, and to which the name 'the true' belongs of right, in a way that it does to nothing else. But a standard of reality had thus also been furnished them, of which the effect may be seen in that transparent sincerity of temper and high estimate of the value of ordinary truthfulness which they show, and which is the more noteworthy by reason of the contrast which it offers with the usual tendencies both of Oriental and of Greek character.

The term 'the truth,' as applied to Divine revelation, has in later generations been sometimes vulgarized, and often employed with too little sense of its ethical associations. On the other hand, the study of Nature and the study of History have in our own day, in consequence of the thoroughness and the improved methods with which they have been pursued, supplied a high ideal of intellectual truth. In the NT attention is undoubtedly fixed primarily on moral and spiritual truth, which in large degree rests upon evidence that is specially appropriate to it. Yet the spirit of the NT is favourable to the vigorous and fearless application to religious knowledge of the same tests, so far as it is amenable to them, as to other branches of knowledge; while a large conception of truth is suggested to the mind, which must embrace facts of every order, alike those which are known through sensible experience and that deeper reality in which even these must have their ground.

It cannot but be interesting to those whose mother-tongue is English that the word 'truth' has much the same range of meaning as the biblical terms which we have been considering; whereas in German *die Treue* has been kept to the meaning of constancy, and *die Wahrheit* denotes agreement between statement, or thought, and fact, and in the Romance languages the distinction between *fides* and *veritas* is maintained in the words derived from them.

LITERATURE.—H. G. Hoelemann, *Bibelstudien*, i. 1861; H. H. Wendt, 'Der Gebrauch d. Wörter ἀλήθεια, ἀληθής, und ἀληθινός im Neuen Testamente,' *SK*, 1883, also *Inhalt d. Lehre Jesu*, 1890, p. 199 ff.; Cremer, *Wörterbuch d. Neutest. Gräcität, s.v.* 1893 [Wendt appears to the present writer to force OT associations too much on passages of NT, forgetting the powerful new influences that were at work. On the other hand, Cremer makes a little too much, perhaps, of the analogies of classical usage]; Westcott, *Gospel of St. John*, Introduction, p. xliv ff.; Hort, *The Way, the Truth, and the Life.*

V. H. STANTON.

TRYPHÆNA (Τρύφαινα).—In Ro 16^{12} St. Paul salutes two women, Tryphæna and Tryphosa, 'who labour in the Lord.' The names occur in Inscriptions of the Household, *CIL* vi. 4866, D. M. | VARIA · TRYPHOSA | PATRONA · ET | M. EPPIVS · CLEMENS | : 5035 D. M. | TRYPHAENA | VALERIA · TRYPHAENA | MATRI· B·M·F· ET | VALERIVS · FVTIANVS : 5343 TELESPHORVS · ET · TRYPHAENA and others.

The name Tryphæna has a further interest in Christian tradition which may be shortly referred to. In the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* a considerable part at Pisidian Antioch is played by a wealthy lady who is called 'the queen Tryphæna.' For the existence of this person there is historical authority. A coin of Pontus is known having on the obverse ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝΟΣ, on the reverse ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΤΡΥΦΑΙΝΗΣ. This Tryphæna was daughter of Polemon, king of part of Lycaonia and Cilicia, wife of Cotys king of Thrace, and mother again of Polemon king of Pontus. She was great-granddaughter of Marcus Antonius, and consequently first cousin once removed of the emperor Claudius. She belonged to a family of great wealth and high repute in the eastern part of the empire which provided tributary kings for many of the small principalities there existing. We know that her son Polemon became a Jew, and it is very probable that Tryphæna may have belonged to that class of devout and honourable women mentioned in Ac 13^{50} (see also Hogarth, *Authority and Archæology*, p. 391).

LITERATURE. — Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 175 ff.; Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*, p. 426; A. von Gutschmid, *Kleine Schriften*, ii. 355; Mommsen, *Epp. Epig.* i. 270 ff., ii. 259 ff.; Ramsay, *Church and the Roman Empire*, p. 382.

A. C. HEADLAM.

TRYPHON (Τρύφων).—An officer of Alexander Balas, who, after the death of the latter, took advantage of the unpopularity of Demetrius to put forward Antiochus, the son of Balas, as a claimant to the throne (1 Mac 11^{39}). His real aim, however, was to gain the crown for himself, and this he accomplished after he had murdered in succession Jonathan the Maccabee (12^{39-50}) and Antiochus ($13^{31f.}$). His rapacity led Simon to appeal to Demetrius (13^{34}). The latter was organizing an expedition against Tryphon when he was himself made prisoner by ARSACES (14^{1-3}). In the end Antiochus Sidetes, the brother of Demetrius, attacked Tryphon, besieged him in Dor, and pursued him when he escaped thence to Orthesia ($15^{10-14. 37-39}$). Tryphon was finally shut up in Apamea, where he committed suicide (Strabo, p. 668; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. vii. 2; App. *Syr.* 68). See, further, art. MACCABEES; and cf. Schürer, *HJP* I. i. 176, 246 ff.

TRYPHOSA.—See TRYPHÆNA.

TUBAL (תּוּבַל and תֻּבַל; LXX Θόβελ, A in Ezk 39^{1} Θόβερ).—A people in Asia Minor, always (except in Is 66^{19} [MT], Ps 120^{5}) named along with MESHECH. Lagarde (*Ges. Abhandl.* 254) identified the latter with the *Moschi*, and Tubal with the *Tibareni*, and this has been generally accepted. The Tibareni are mentioned by Herodotus (iii. 94, vii. 78), and are known to have dwelt east of the Thermodon in the mountainous district to the S.E. of the Black Sea. They are the *Tabal* of the Assyr. inscriptions (cf. Schrader, *Keilinschr. u. Geschichtsforsch.* 155 ff., *KAT*^{2} 82 ff. [*COT* i. 64 ff.]; Del. *Paradies*, 250 f.; Halévy, 193 ff.; Ed. Meyer, i. 245). In Gn 10^{2} [P] = 1 Ch 1^{5} Tubal is a son of Japheth; in Is 66^{19} [LXX] Meshech and Tubal are associated with Javan as distant peoples; in Ezk 32^{26} they appear as peoples who have suffered severe reverses; in Ezk 27^{13} as trading with Tyre in slaves and vessels of copper; in Ezk $38^{2f.}$ 39^{1} as among the chief allies of GOG. In Ps 120^{5} ('Woe is me that I sojourn with Meshech [LXX οἴμοι ὅτι ἡ παροικία μου ἐμακρύνθη, 'woe is me that my sojourn is prolonged,' *translating* משך], that I dwell beside the tents of Kedar'), Meshech and Kedar stand as types of savage peoples; as we say, 'it could not be worse among Turks and heathen' (Duhm, *ad loc.*).

See, further, next article. J. A. SELBIE.

TUBAL-CAIN (תּוּבַל קַיִן). — One of the sons of LAMECH, and brother of JABAL and JUBAL, Gn 4^{22} [J]. The MT (לֹטֵשׁ כָּל־חֹרֵשׁ נְחֹשֶׁת וּבַרְזֶל), which is certainly corrupt, might possibly (although חֹרֵשׁ in the sense of 'cutting instrument' is a difficulty) mean 'the forger of every cutting instrument of copper and iron.' It is likely, however, that לֹטֵשׁ was originally a marginal gloss to חֹרֵשׁ (Olshausen, Ball) or to קַיִן (Holzinger, Gunkel), and that the words הוּא הָיָה אֲבִי (cf. vv.$^{20. 21}$) have dropped out before כָּל־. The rendering would then be 'he was the father of all such as forge copper and iron.' The LXX (Θόβελ· *καὶ ἦν σφυροκόπος, χαλκεὺς χαλκοῦ καὶ σιδήρου*) supports the view of Wellh. (*Comp.*^{2} 305), which has found general acceptance, that the name תּוּבַל alone stood in the original text, this Tubal being the *heros eponymus* of the Tibarenian metal-workers (cf. Ezk 28^{13} and the preceding art.), and that קַיִן, the generic name for 'smith,' was afterwards added. The double name Tubal-cain would thus have its analogues in such combinations as Jahweh-Elohim. Against Budde's reconstruction (*Urgeschichte*, 137 f.) of the text, which makes Lamech instead of Tubal-cain the subject of 'ח' חֹרֵשׁ, see Dillm. and Holzinger, *ad loc.* Cheyne (*Encyclopedia Biblica*, i. col. 626 f.) suggests that Tubal is 'a pale form of the god of the solar fire, Gibil or Nusku,' and that in the earliest form of the Heb. legend he was the instructor of men in the art of getting fire.

J. A. Selbie.

TUBIAS, TUBIENI.—See Tob.

TURPENTINE TREE.—Only Sir 24^{16} AV (B *τερέμινθος*, ℵA *τερέβινθος*) 'As the turpentine tree [RV 'terebinth'] I [*sc.* Wisdom] stretched out my branches.' The Syr. has רודדפנא *rhododaphne*, *i.e.* the oleander, which appears to be an unfortunate guess of the translator, who did not understand the Heb. אֵלָה (?); so Ryssel in Kautzsch's *Apokr. ad loc.* See, further, art. Terebinth.

TURTLE, TURTLE DOVE (תּוֹר *tôr*, *τρυγών*, *turtur*).—The Latin name of this bird is a reduplication of the Heb., and both refer to its well-known note. There are three species in Palestine and Syria, *Turtur auritus*, L., the true turtle dove, *T. risorius*, L., the collared turtle dove, and *T. Senegalensis*, L., the Egyptian turtle dove. The collared species is the largest, reaching 13 in. in length, and is found principally about the Dead Sea and in the Jordan Valley. It is an Indian species. It derives its name from a narrow black collar at the back of the neck. The palm or Egyptian turtle dove is smaller, being about 10 in. long. It is more widely distributed than the last species, but not as much so as the following. It also has a black collar. It nests by preference in palm trees, whence one of its names. The common turtle dove is not only general in distribution, but very abundant. It is about 12 in. long, and has 3 oblique coloured bands at the side of the neck. The Scripture references in the older books are to the bird as a substitute for the pigeon in sacrifice (Gn 15^{9}, Lv 5^{7} etc., Nu 6^{10}; cf. Lk 2^{24}). The plaintive note and unresisting habits of the turtle dove are probably the characteristics alluded to by a psalmist, when he pleads that the gentle turtle dove shall not be delivered to the cruelties of the wicked (Ps 74^{19}). Its voice is the harbinger of spring (Ca 2^{12}). Its migrations are also alluded to (Jer 8^{7}). The above references would apply equally to any or all of the species. The palm turtle could have been used for sacrifice in the wilderness; the collared turtle would have served in the plains of Moab; while the common turtle would be found in all parts of the land. The common Arab. name for the turtle dove is *terghull*. It is also called *ṣulṣul*, *dubsî*, and *fâkhit*. There is the usual uncertainty as to the specific value of these names.

G. E. Post.

TUTOR.—Gal 4^{2} only, 'The heir . . . is under tutors and guardians,' *i.e.* as RV, 'under guardians and stewards,' Gr. *ὑπὸ ἐπιτρόπους καὶ οἰκονόμους* (cf. Lightfoot, *ad loc*). In its oldest use 'tutor' (Old Fr. *tuteur*; Lat. *tutor* a protector, from *tueor* to protect) means protector or guardian. Thus Fletcher, *Double Marriage*, v. 1—

> 'I'll have mine own power here,
> Mine own authority; I need no tutor.'

The word still has this sense in Scots law: Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, v. 252, 'The guardian—the tutor in Scottish phrase—of the orphans and their land.' Cf. Knox, *Hist.* 423, 'Now when we are at our full maturitie, shall we be brought back to the state of Pupils, and bee put under Tutory?'

J. Hastings.

TWELVE.—See Number, vol. iii. p. 563^{a}.

TWIN BROTHERS.—See Dioscuri.

TYCHICUS (*Τυχικός*), classed with Trophimus as *Ἀσιανοί*, *i.e.* natives of Asia (Ac 20^{4}). They were, with other disciples, St. Paul's companions in travel from Macedonia as far as to Asia, and preceded him to Troas. Tychicus is mentioned four times in the Epistles of St. Paul. In Eph $6^{21. 22}$ St. Paul says, 'That ye also may know my affairs and how I do, Tychicus, the beloved brother and faithful minister in the Lord, shall make known to you all things: whom I have sent unto you for this very purpose, that ye may know our state, and that he may comfort your hearts.' He was therefore the bearer of the letter to its destination, whatever that may have been. Tychicus had the same charge entrusted to him by St. Paul, a prisoner at Rome, in carrying the Epistle to the Colossians ($4^{7. 8}$), where he is called, in addition to the titles given above, St. Paul's 'fellow-servant in the Lord.' From 2 Ti 4^{12} it appears that Tychicus was sent on a second occasion to Ephesus, most probably after St. Paul's first imprisonment at Rome. At this time his old companion Trophimus was close by 'at Miletus sick' (2 Ti 4^{20}). St. Paul also speaks of sending Tychicus or Artemas to Titus (Tit 3^{12}) to Crete, and says that when he does, Titus is to 'give diligence to come unto him to Nicopolis.'* He may have been the other disciple (2 Co 8^{22}) with Trophimus (see Trophimus) who carried the 2nd Epistle to the Corinthians from Ephesus to Corinth. One tradition makes Tychicus bishop of Chalcedon in Bithynia. In the Greek *Menology* (Dec. 9) he is said to have been bishop of Colophon after Sosthenes, and to have suffered martyrdom for the Christian faith.

H. A. Redpath.

TYRANNUS (*Τύραννος*) is mentioned only in Ac 19^{9}. When St. Paul, after spending three months in addressing himself to the Jews of Ephesus, using the synagogue for his place of preaching, found them determinedly hostile, he withdrew his adherents from the synagogue and began 'reasoning daily in the school of Tyrannus' (*καθ' ἡμέραν διαλεγόμενος ἐν τῇ σχολῇ Τυράννου*). The passage is enigmatical in its extreme brevity; but it may have been addressed to readers who were more familiar with the situation than we are.

The word *σχολή*, rendered 'school' in AV and RV, means leisure, and is frequently applied to the learned leisure of the contemplative or philosophic life as contrasted with the life of politics or business; hence it is frequently used to denote the written treatises produced in the philosopher's cultured leisure, or the lessons or lectures which he gives to pupils; and, finally, it is often applied, as here, to the place or building or room in which such lessons were given. Some such locality, already used for lecturing or teaching, was procured for the use of St. Paul when the synagogue ceased to be suitable. When we attempt to go beyond this, we find that the difficulties are many. The very reading is uncertain; and the difference is of the utmost importance for the sense.

---

* This was previous to the writing of the 2nd Epistle to Timothy.

(1) The reading which we have quoted follows the text of the great MSS ℵAB (supported by many secondary authorities). It might be possible that the writer should designate in this bare way a school which belonged to a private individual, Tyrannus, otherwise unmentioned in the work, and necessarily obscure to all except his own contemporaries in Ephesus. A case which presents a remarkable analogy occurs in Juvenal, vii. 40, where a rich patron puts at the disposal of his humble poet-friend 'the house of Maculo' (*Maculonis ædes*),* a disused house in a remote part of Rome, which for some reason was familiar to the Roman public whom Juvenal addressed. But the illustration proves that this meaning cannot be accepted in Ac 19^9. There is not the remotest probability that the writer of Acts was addressing an Ephesian audience, to whom 'the school of Tyrannus,' an obscure place belonging to a private person, was familiar. The only other possible interpretation of this text is that 'the school of Tyrannus' was a public building in Ephesus, which could thus be described by its stereotyped name.† It would then be necessary to understand that St. Paul, as a teacher of a new philosophy, lectured publicly in this building. It is well known that philosophical teachers commonly gave lectures or held discussions in this public fashion in buildings or localities freely open to the whole population, as Socrates and St. Paul held disputations in the Athenian agora, as the Stoics lectured in the Stoa Pœkile and the Academics in the Academy. The custom is in keeping with the extreme openness and publicity of life in Greece or Italy, which was such that a schoolmaster is represented in a Pompeian wall-painting as holding classes in the open forum. Habitual use of a public building could hardly be made except with permission granted by the city or the magistrate charged with surveillance of the building (probably the *agoranomos*, corresponding to the Latin *ædilis*). Now, although St. Paul was evidently regarded not unkindly by magistrates and leading men in Ephesus (cf. Ac $19^{31. 37}$), yet it would be surprising that he should be accorded such formal public recognition; and it seems quite out of harmony with the general character of Pauline teaching that he should have accepted such a position, for recognition by a public official or body implies some submission to conditions and sacrifice of freedom. St. Paul's address to the Ephesian elders is far from suggesting any such legalized method of address during the period of his Ephesian ministry (Ac 20^{18-35}). Hence the almost unanimous opinion of scholars has rightly rejected the view that Tyrannus' school was a public building. Yet it seems necessary in that case also to reject the reading of ℵAB, etc. (adopted in RV), and return to the text of 'Western' type which appears in AV.

(2) This text in its various forms differs only by adding a word or words after the reading of ℵAB, etc.‡ The common reading adds *τινός* after *Τυράννου*: an exclusively and characteristically Western reading adds also *ἀπὸ ὥρας πέμπτης ἕως δεκάτης*. 'The school of a certain Tyrannus' must be a private, not a public, building or place; Tyrannus was either a teacher who ordinarily used it, or the private owner who granted the use of it whether for hire or free. In the latter case the situation would be similar to that in the passage just quoted from Juvenal, according to the reading of the scholiast and many editors: the patron grants to his literary friend the use of a poor old house belonging to himself. A certain individual named Tyrannus might on this interpretation have permitted St. Paul to use or to hire a *schola* which belonged to him: *τινός* explains and apologizes for the mention of an unknown person. There can be no doubt that goodwill to St. Paul must have been entertained by the person who allowed him the use of this school. Even if he hired it, we may be sure that no actively hostile owner would have let it to him.

But the Bezan addition 'from the fifth to the tenth hour' strongly favours the interpretation that Tyrannus was a teacher or philosopher, who also used the *schola*. It was then obviously necessary to make some arrangement as to hours: Tyrannus continued to use the *schola* during the early hours of the day, while St. Paul used it from one hour before noon till two hours before sunset. This partition of the day is an interesting point, and true to ancient life. The customary time for teaching in Græco-Roman life began very early, probably soon after sunrise. Juvenal in his usual exaggerating way describes the teacher as already in school at work before sunrise by artificial light (vii. 222);* and it is established by many passages that the fifth hour was the usual time for stopping all work and business (Martial, iv. 8. 3, *prandium* being eaten between the fifth hour and noon). Thus the school would be vacated by Tyrannus at the fifth hour, and was then at the disposal of St. Paul till the tenth.

The full Western text establishes the meaning of an otherwise very obscure passage, and gives a natural and satisfactory sense. The shortest text implies a sense that is either un-Lukan or improbable. There seems no reason why the Western addition should be made, while there was considerable temptation to allow the words of the Western text to drop out, as they seemed quite unimportant to 3rd cent. students. These considerations make it probable that the full Western reading is the true Lukan text, and that part of the true text was lost from many authorities. We cannot think that both the long and the short readings are original Lukan (as Blass and others hold).

The possibility that Tyrannus may have been a Jew has been favourably regarded by some scholars. But this seems distinctly improbable. If Tyrannus was an unconverted Jew, he would have almost certainly been unfavourable, if not actively hostile, to Paul; and he would have been most unlikely to facilitate the apostle's work, especially as by doing so he would have incurred the strong dislike of his own people. The sequence of thought in the verse, 'he separated the disciples (*i.e.* from the Jews), speaking daily in the school of Tyrannus,' seems hardly reconcilable with the view that Tyrannus was a Jew. Moreover, the way in which 'a certain Tyrannus' is mentioned would hardly suggest that he was a convert. But it is an error on the part of some writers to urge the Greek name as any argument against the theory that Tyrannus was a Jew. The Jews of the great cities of Asia Minor had become very strongly Grecized, and Greek names were in ordinary use among them.

Further, Knowling points out that the daily meetings in the *schola* imply that St. Paul made his adherents separate even from the synagogue services of the Sabbath. It seems impossible that a Jew could have aided in such a purpose.

The name is given in D as *Τυραννίου τινός*: this is certainly a mere corruption. The name Tyrannus is common in inscriptions, and several persons of the name are mentioned in literary authorities; but Tyrannius is unknown. The form Τυράννιον is a woman's name (neuter diminutive), like Τυραννίς (falsely accented, *CIG* 3730). W. M. RAMSAY.

---

* This is the MSS reading. Many editors follow the scholiast, who evidently had *maculosas*.

† The origin of the name would of course be obscure to us, on this view: it would be in keeping with Greek city life if Tyrannus was the donor, who built the *schola* and presented it to the city.

‡ Blass in his edition of the Western (Roman) Text, Leipzig 1896, prefers the reading *τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν*, following D: his reason is perhaps that this is characteristically Attic. He also strangely denies that the Western reading contained *τινός* (though he accepted this in his earlier edition), in spite of the strong *consensus* of Western authorities for it.

* So also Martial, ix. 68.

TYRE (צֹר [11 times צוֹר] *Ẓôr, i.e.* 'rock'; Τύρος; Tel el-Amarna tablets *Zuru, Zurri*; referred to by Jerome as Σώρ, Πέτρα, ἡ Τυρίων πόλις; Arab. *Ṣûr*). —i. SITUATION.—The modern small town of Tyre, built on the ruins of the once celebrated city, lies on a narrow strip of the Phœnician plain, about equidistant from Ẓidon and Acre. On the north the sandy coast-line runs up to the headland of Sarafend (Sarepta), and on the south the view is blocked by the high three-headed promontory, of which the middle point is the precipitous Ladder of Tyre (*Scala Tyriorum*). The ancient island, with its half mile of channel between it and the coast, is now a blunt headland, and there is nothing to remind the present inhabitants of the existence of the famous mole, and of the difficulties encountered in its construction. The pathway of 60 yards in width, along which the soldiers of Alexander rushed to the attack, is now half a mile broad, owing to the drifting up of the sea sand on the S.W. side.

It was from the island that the town received its name. The Rock, lying off, about a mile in length and three-quarters of a mile in width, was the special feature that caught the eye, both on land and at sea. And it was owing to the accommodation which the island provided for shipping, and the protection thus afforded to its inhabitants, that Tyre became the most celebrated maritime city of the ancient world. At these entrances of the sea Tyre sat like a pedlar spreading out his wares at a city gate, and became 'the merchant of the peoples unto many isles' (Ezk 27^3). The island had two harbours, one on the north side and the other on the south, formed by the indentation of the outline, and extended by breakwaters. These harbours were called the Ẓidonian and Egyptian, much in the same way as the west gate of Jerusalem is called the Jaffa gate, and its northern the Damascus gate. The part of the town that was built on the mainland was strongly fortified, and in times of peace the inhabitants cultivated the neighbouring gardens, and received their supply of water by aqueduct from the great fountain now called *Ras-el-'ain*, lying several miles to the south. As the wealth of Tyre increased, and the danger of military invasion became chronic, its inhabitants would come to regard the island as being not merely the storehouse of their merchandise, and a place of retreat in time of invasion, but as the actual city of Tyre. Thus the city on the shore, with its often-battered walls and scattering of peasant houses among the gardens by the aqueduct, was called ἡ πάλαι Τύρος, Παλαίτυρος, *Palætyrus, vetus Tyrus.*

According to a letter, quoted by Josephus (*Ant.* VIII. ii. 7) as having been written by king Hiram to Solomon, the request for payment in grain is based on the fact that Hiram's people inhabited an island. The five years' siege by Shalmaneser IV., and that of thirteen years by Nebuchadnezzar, also seem to indicate that Tyre could not be attacked in the ordinary way.

Nothing now remains of the strength and splendour of the island fortress, except that on a calm day one may look from a boat, and see in the water along the rocky shore great blocks of the ancient breakwater and tumbled pillars of rose-coloured granite.

ii. ANTIQUITY.—In the time of Joshua, Tyre is mentioned as being a fortified city, and its character as a stronghold is also noted in 2 S 24^7, Is 23^{14}, Zec 9^3. It is included in the list of Phœnician towns visited by the Egyptian *mohar* in the time of Ramses II. Herodotus (ii. 44) states, on the authority of the Tyrian priests of Melḳarth, that the town was built about B.C. 2750. Josephus, on the other hand, informs us (*Ant.* VIII. iii. 1) that Tyre was founded 240 years before the building of the temple, *i.e.* about B.C. 1217. Isaiah seems to be referring to a well-known claim when he speaks of the city 'whose antiquity is of ancient days' (23^7). Strabo (XVI. ii. 22) calls it ἀρχαιοτάτη πόλις Τύρος.

iii. RELATIONSHIP OF TYRE AND ẒIDON.—Isaiah speaks of Tyre as the 'daughter of Ẓidon' (23^{12}). With this agree the references in Greek and Latin poetry, where Ẓidon represents in a general way everything Phœnician. Ẓidon seems to have been the first to pass from being a fishing village, as its name implies, to the undertaking of commercial transactions on the coast of Syria. From this small beginning, her ships began to traffic with Cyprus and northwards among the Greek islands. The transference of maritime power from Ẓidon to Tyre was owing, according to one account (Justin, 18. 3), to an attack by the Philistines of Ascalon upon Ẓidon by way of punishing that city for having seized Dor. Possibly, a number of the Ẓidonian merchants transferred their connexion to Tyre as being more convenient for the trade with the south-east of the Mediterranean. Isaiah refers to Tyre as having been replenished by the merchants of Ẓidon (23^2). While Ẓidon had made its name familiar over the eastern half of the Mediterranean, Tyre put a bolder spirit into its mercantile enterprises, and steadily advanced in wealth and power until it became 'the mart of nations' (Is 23^3). See, further, under ZIDON.

iv. EXTENT AND INFLUENCE OF TYRIAN TRADE. —While Tyre produced certain manufactured articles, such as glass work and the crimson and bluish-purple dyes obtained from the shell-fish[*] of the coast, the chief cause of its wealth and fame was its trade-carrying pre-eminence. Tyre was the great sea-pedlar of the ancient world. By their charts of the ocean and study of the stars, along with carefully guarded records as to depths and distances, winds and currents, the Tyrian sailors were able to outstrip all competitors by sailing during the night, and keeping their course when out of sight of land. Also by land they had their trading stations along the eastern caravan routes that passed to the N.E. by Aleppo and Palmyra, and to the S.E. into Arabia. From Armenia to the Persian Gulf all the paths of merchandise converged towards Tyre. Their ships, for a time in partnership with those of Solomon, traded in the Red Sea. A recent conjecture is that Sofala (with the prefix *s* dropped and the *l* restored to *r*) was the celebrated OPHIR, with its traces of Semitic workmanship in the neighbouring gold mines. The Tyrians rounded the continent of Africa in their vessels, not larger than a modern herring-boat. They traded on the Nile, selling their wares and laying in wheat and linen at their station at Memphis. They had their ports along the north coast of Africa, notably at Utica and Carthage, the latter of which was said to have been founded by the Dido of romance. In the great Roman epic Virgil must give his hero a Tyrian steersman, Palinurus (possibly *Ba'alonûhro*, 'Baal is light'). All the islands of the Mediterranean were familiar with their richly freighted vessels. Beyond the Straits of Gibraltar they established Gades and other stations on the west coast of Spain. They crossed also to Cornwall, and passed down the west coast of Africa as far as Cape Nun and the Canary Islands. Traces of their presence survive, especially in the islands of Cyprus, Sicily, and Sardinia, in the names of harbours, in excavated relics, and in graves with Phœnician inscriptions, telling where some Tyrian sailor had rested from his wanderings.

---

[*] In 'the book of the Rolls,' pp. 47, 48 (*Studia Sinaitica*, No. viii.), there is an account, which the writer of the book dismisses with contempt, of the way in which the purple dye of the Tyrian murex was discovered. It was a Jewish tradition to the effect that a shepherd lad one day noticed his dog eating something on the shore near Tyre, and observed that the dog's mouth was stained with bright crimson fluid. With the Oriental instinct for decoration he dipped some wool in the bright dye, and put it on his head as a crown. The incident having been reported to Hiram, king of Tyre, the dye instantly became an important article of commerce.

Ezekiel (ch. 27), in describing the height of glory from which Tyre was cast down because of the unrighteousness of her traffic, gives a glowing account of the various lands that gave her of their best, ministering to her vast merchandise, and so to her wealth and power and pride and destruction. In Ezk 27[25. 26] there is a picture of the ships of Tarshish, homeward bound and heavily laden, being buffeted by the common Levanter or east wind of the Mediterranean.

Tyre was a great civilizer, bringing East and West together, and teaching the world the peaceful lesson of mutual dependence. From the 12th cent. B.C. it strove with wonderful talent and persistency to carry out its great aim, which was to gain from the whole world rather than to gain the world itself. Its world was gain. Its destiny, unlike that of Rome, was not to beat down the proud and mighty, but to supply the wants of the rich and great, bringing idols for their shrines, beautiful vases for their palaces, shields and swords of cunning work for warriors, cloth of gold, embroidery, and royal purple for kings, and silk work in stripes and tartan for princesses. By exporting various products to lands where they were unknown or of inferior quality, productive activity was stimulated on all sides, and the standard of industrial art was raised. Like a goodly merchantman, Tyre was willing to pay for her treasures. Thus tribute was willingly given to kings in return for freedom of trade; and with regard to unseen dangers and difficulties, of which they were deeply conscious, their commercial prudence was ready with costly gifts or cruel sacrifices in order to touch the vanity or avert the wrath of the gods. It was an expenditure in order to secure a larger gain.

v. TYRE AND ASSYRIA.—Under Assur-nazir-pal, Shalmaneser II., and Tiglath-pileser, Assyria gradually established its authority over Phœnicia, until Shalmaneser IV. in 726 overran the country. Tyre refused to surrender, and Shalmaneser succeeded in detaching her jealous rival Zidon, so that he was able to attack Tyre by sea with an armada of 60 ships. The Tyrians moved out to meet them, and with 12 war-vessels defeated their enemy, taking 500 prisoners. The siege was maintained on land for five years, until it was raised on account of the death of the Assyrian king (*Ant.* IX. xiv. 2). Later on, Tyre was attacked with uncertain success by Sennacherib with a vast army. In 673 Esar-haddon found his vassal Tyre in league with Egypt, and in 664 Assur-bani-pal took it by storm.

vi. TYRE AND ISRAEL.—In the partition of the kingdom of Israel under Joshua, the stronghold of Tyre is mentioned in connexion with the portion of Asher (Jos 19[29]). The most intimate connexion between Tyre and Israel was in the time of Hiram and Solomon, when a covenant of friendship was entered into in connexion with the building of the temple (2 S 5[11], 1 K 5[1] 7[13. 14] 9[11. 12], 1 Ch 14[1] 22[4], 2 Ch 2[3. 11. 13. 14]). Amos (1[9. 10]) complains that this covenant* was shamefully violated by the Tyrians when they sold Israelite captives as common slaves. In the prophecies of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, the pride, luxury, and greed of Tyre are denounced (Is 23[1-17], Jer 25[22] 27[3] 47[4], Ezk 26. 27. 28. 29). In the Psalms, the daughter of Tyre with her costly gift stands in the retinue around the throne (45[12]), its inhabitants are mentioned among the sworn enemies of Israel (83[7]), and again Tyre is numbered among those who are brought to know the Lord (87[4]). The beautiful scenery of Ephraim is likened to that of Tyre (Hos 9[13]), and in Zec 9[2] the astuteness of the Tyrians is alluded to.

In the NT its people are among those who flock to Galilee to see and hear Christ (Mk 3[8], Lk 6[17]). Christ visited its coasts (Mt 15[21], Mk 7[24] [where see Swete's note]), and declared that its people, if favoured like the cities of Galilee, would have been moved to repentance (Mt 11[21. 22], Lk 10[13. 14]). The incident of reconciliation with Herod, recorded in Ac 12[20], reveals in its motive and management the artfulness of the Phœnician trader. Finally, in Ac 21[3. 7] the ship in which St. Paul sailed to Syria comes to Tyre to discharge its cargo.

vii. TYRE AND BABYLON.—In the early years of the Bab. empire, Tyre was left at peace, and its connexion with Egypt was more closely established. When it became evident that Babylon was to tread in the path of Assyria, the Phœnician cities Gebal, Zidon, and others with them, laid aside their local jealousies and sought to strengthen Tyre to defy the invader (Ezk 27[8]). After the famous battle of Carchemish, in which Nebuchadnezzar defeated Pharaoh-neco in 605, Tyre was besieged for 13 years (cf. Jos. *Ant.* X. xi. 1). The issue of this siege is somewhat uncertain (see *Expos. Times*, x. 378, 430, 475, 520). The prophet Ezekiel seems to imply at least that the island was not given up to plunder, but the Divine purpose was fulfilled in punishing the unrighteous princes and the proud king of Tyre (Ezk 28[12] 29[17-20]). A time of anarchy and unrest followed, in which the city discarded for a time its monarchical form of government. Gradually order was restored, prosperity returned, and the allegiance to Babylon remained unbroken to the end of that dynasty in 538.

viii. TYRE AND PERSIA.—The condition of Tyre under the Persians was better than it had been under the Assyrians and Babylonians. Persia required the help of the Phœnician fleet in attacking Egypt and repressing the rising Macedonian empire. When after B.C. 400 the power of Persia showed signs of decay, the Phœnician cities rebelled; but when Zidon was reduced to ashes by Ochus in 351, Tyre surrendered without a siege. During the Persian dynasty it is related, to the credit of Tyre, that its fleet refused to convey the army of Cambyses against Carthage on account of blood-kinship, and thus an expedition was averted that might have influenced the destinies of Rome.

ix. TYRE AND THE MACEDONIANS.—The greatest event in the history of Tyre was its capture by Alexander in B.C. 332 after a siege of seven months. Much ingenuity and courage were displayed on both sides. Help was expected from Carthage, Persia, Cyprus, Zidon, but in vain. It was Tyre's darkest day when Alexander was seen bearing down from the north with a large fleet chiefly collected from Phœnician ports and old rivals. It was the fire from the midst of her that had come to devour a city that claimed admiration and obedience, but did not ask to be loved. The mole was completed with ease, when the harbour was thus blockaded; and in the taking of the city 6000 are said to have perished by the sword, 2000 were crucified, and 30,000 women, children, and slaves were sold. Yet within the brief space of 18 years Tyre was repeopled and refortified, and was able to offer a strong but ineffectual resistance to Antigonus. About 287 it again became an Egyptian possession, till in 198 it fell to the Seleucidæ, and, with the exception of a brief interval (83–69) of Armenian rule, it remained under its Syrian governors till in 65 it passed quietly into the Roman empire, receiving the status of a free city. In the 4th cent. A.D. Jerome refers to Tyre as a beautiful city and 'an emporium for the commerce of the whole world.' It was made the seat of a bishopric, and had two such talented but widely-different citizens as Origen and Porphyry. Later on, it was taken by the Saracens in the 7th cent., recovered by the Crusaders in 1124, to fall again into the hands of the Saracens in 1291. After relapsing for a time into the possession of Egypt, with minor intervals of Druze and Venetian control, it ceased to exist as maritime Tyre and became an Arab village.

---

* For a different interpretation of the 'covenant of brothers' see Driver, *Joel and Amos*, p. 137.

Few sites in the historical East present such an affecting and instructive record of persistent struggle, splendid achievement, and irretrievable doom. By her destined pathway of commerce Tyre exerted upon the world an influence that ranks with that of Jerusalem in religion, Athens in philosophy, and Rome in government. But to-day the steamers on the Syrian coast that call at the Bay of Acre and Ẓidon consider Tyre too insignificant to deserve a visit. After having been the mother of colonies and mistress of the seas, bearing her merchandise into otherwise unvisited lands and adjusting the supply and demand of the world, Tyre is now content at the close of her career to be a stagnant village in stagnant Turkey.

LITERATURE.—Thomson, *Land and the Book*; Robinson, *BRP* (Index); Rawlinson, *Hist. of Phœnicia*, and *Phœnicia* in 'Story of the Nations'; Kenrick, *Phönicia*; Movers, *Die Phönizier*; art. PHŒNICIA in present work. G. M. MACKIE.

TZADE (צ).—The eighteenth letter of the Heb. alphabet, and as such employed in the 119th Psalm to designate the 18th part, each verse of which begins with this letter. It is transliterated in this Dictionary by *ẓ*.

U

UCAL (אֻכָל).—Mentioned only in Pr 30^{1}. In AV and RV the word is treated as a proper name. It is, however, of an unusual form, and there are other objections to the rendering. A slightly different reading (see RVm) would give the meaning, 'I have wearied myself *and am consumed*' (LXX *καὶ παύομαι*). See ITHIEL, and cf. Lag. *ad loc.*

UEL (אוּאֵל; BA Οὐήλ, Luc. Ἰωήλ).—One of the sons of Bani who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10^{34}; called in 1 Es 9^{34} JUEL.

UKNAZ.—For וּקְנַז in 1 Ch 4^{15} AVm gives 'Uknaz' instead of 'even Kenaz' (AV) or 'and Kenaz' (RV). In all probability something has dropped out of the text, which had read originally 'the sons of Elah: . . . and Kenaz.' This is favoured by the plural sons. An alternative is to drop the ו, with LXX (*καὶ υἱοὶ Ἀδά· Κενέζ*) and Vulg. (*Filii quoque Ela: Cenez*), and read simply KENAZ (קְנַז).

ULAI (אוּלַי, Theod. Οὐβάλ, LXX Οὐλαί).—The classical Eulæus, now the *Karûn*. It flowed past Susa or Shushan, and Assurbanipal states that in the battle fought outside that city between the Assyrians and the Elamites, the Ulâ (or Ulai) was choked with the bodies of the slain. In Dn $8^{2.16}$ it is similarly described as flowing past Shushan. The Eulæus is also called Pasitigris by the classical geographers, and Pliny (*HN* vi. 27) says that it surrounded the citadel of Susa. But the rivers of Susiana have so changed their channels since the classical epoch as to make their identification with the present rivers of the country somewhat difficult. It would seem, however, that what are now the Upper Kerkhah and the Lower Karûn were formerly a single stream (see SHUSHAN). A cuneiform tablet (*WAI* ii. 51. 32) describes the Ulâ as 'the water which carries its treasures into the deep' (but see Driver on Dn 8^{2}, and Dieulafoi, as cited p. 126 *n.*). A. H. SAYCE.

ULAM (אוּלָם).—**1.** The eponym of a Manassite family, 1 Ch $7^{16.17}$ (BA Οὐλάμ [B om. in v.^{17}], Luc. Ηλάμ). **2.** A Benjamite family, specially noted as archers, 1 Ch $8^{39.40}$ (B Αἰλάμ, Αἰλείμ; A both times Οὐλάμ). Benjamite archers appear also in **2** Ch $14^{7\,(8)}$.

ULFILAS' VERSION.—See VERSIONS (Gothic).

ULLA (עֻלָּא; BA Ὠλά, Luc. om.).—The eponym of an Asherite family, 1 Ch 7^{39}.

UMMAH.—An Asherite city, Jos 19^{30}. There can be little doubt, however, that the MT עֻמָּה here is a slip for עַכּוֹ ACCO (cf. Jg 1^{31}); so, following certain MSS of the LXX (Ἀκκώ, Ἀκκώρ), Dillmann, Bennett, Kautzsch, *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* etc.

UNCLEAN, UNCLEANNESS.*—

i. Origin of the distinction between Clean and Unclean.
ii. Four main types of Uncleanness; connected with (*a*) the functions of reproduction; (*b*) food; (*c*) leprosy; (*d*) death.
iii. Uncleanness and Ritual.
iv. Uncleanness in NT.
Literature.

i. ORIGIN OF THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN CLEAN AND UNCLEAN.—The distinction between clean and unclean is to be found as far back as we are able to trace the history of the religion of Israel. The validity of Rachel's excuse to her father when seeking the teraphim (Gn 31^{35} E) rested on the uncleanness of her condition; and Saul, in spite of his insane suspicion of David, yet recognizes that he may be detained from the feast of the new moon by ceremonial defilement (1 S 20^{26}). The division of Israelites into 'those shut up and left at large,' indicates how frequent uncleanness was if those shut up are those ritually unclean. Several allusions to uncleanness are found in the Prophets (Am 7^{17}, Hos 9^{3}, Ezk 4^{14}, Hag 2^{13}, Is $52^{1.11}$ 35^{8}), while in Deuteronomy, and much more elaborately in the Priestly Code, it is made the subject of detailed legislation. The laws of defilement and purification were developed by the misdirected ingenuity of the scribes into a system of casuistry, even more than ordinarily fine-spun and minute, which constituted, in fact, the most important part of the regulations by which the pious Jew had to order his life. But the laws of uncleanness are far older than the Hebrew people. It is only necessary to read them, to be convinced that they are not the creation of the higher religion of Israel. Anthropology, however, has proved, what might naturally have been suspected, that they belong essentially to the prehistoric past. Their congenial atmosphere is not that which breathes in the Hebrew prophets, but that which animates the crudest forms of savage religion.

---

* This article deals only with the ceremonial idea of uncleanness, not with the ethical or religious. The Heb. verb טָמֵא, with the noun טֻמְאָה or טָמְאָה and adj. טָמֵא, is commonly used to express this idea. The notion of profanation or pollution is conveyed by the verb חָלַל, which also means 'to make common'; the corresponding noun is חֹל. The late verb גָּאַל is rare in this sense. Cleanness is expressed by the verb טָהֵר, its noun טָהֳרָה, and adj. טָהוֹר. These words may further express the idea of purification, for which the Piel and Hitbpael of חָטָא are also used. The Greek word for uncleanness, ἀκαθαρσία, is used in the NT, except in Mt 23^{27}, in an ethical sense only, and the adj. ἀκάθαρτος is used in the Gospels exclusively of unclean spirits, and in the Epp. in an ethical sense. It is used of ceremonially unclean birds in Rev 18^{2}, and, coupled with κοινός, 'common,' is used of ceremonially unclean food in Ac $10^{14.28}$ 11^{8}. Ceremonial defilement is expressed by the verb κοινόω, 'to make common,' and its adj. κοινός (Mt 15, Mk 7, Ac 10. 11. 21^{28}, Ro 14^{14}, Rev 21^{27}), and once (Jn 18^{28}) by μιαίνω. For the idea of purification the verb καθαρίζω, with the noun καθαρισμός and adj. καθαρός, and the verb ἁγνίζω, with its noun ἁγνισμός, are used.

Some of the laws might, indeed, be explained on rational grounds, as due to sanitary precaution, to love of cleanliness, to natural aversion from disgusting objects. But it is certain that these do not explain many of the prohibitions, and cannot account for the precise selection or omission which characterizes the list of things unclean. We may grant that these considerations may have played some part in late development, but this should probably be reduced to a minimum. It is more likely, in fact, that the laws of uncleanness created sanitary laws and aversion for certain things than that they were created by them. Where a tribe happened to regard things as unclean which also are insanitary, it would, so far as it did so, increase its chances in the struggle for existence, while natural selection would tend to eliminate tribes whose ritual in no way coincided with sanitary requirements. Thus with the survival of the former set of tribes sanitary regulations might come by degrees to be established, with no intention of doing more than securing ritual cleanness. Again, what we call natural aversion is probably natural only in the sense that habit is second nature. The natural disgust which we feel at certain kinds of food is due altogether to custom, and sentiment formed by custom. The dog or horse is naturally no more repulsive than the ox, yet many have an invincible repugnance to dog-flesh or horse-flesh. A Jew's instinctive loathing for the swine, which is eaten freely by Gentiles, often survives the surrender of all religious scruples. And it is decisive that these laws originated at a time when the rudiments of sanitation were still undreamed of, and are found among peoples who own no restraint of cleanliness or natural disgust. It is also well known that even in higher religions ritual cleanness may be obtained by bathing in very dirty water. Still less happy are the attempts to find a rational basis for these laws in the spiritual principles of the higher religion of Israel. For not only does it need strained arguments to remove their essentially irrational character and make them at home in a spiritual religion, but the numerous parallels in much lower religions are so close that it is unreasonable to shut the eyes to their essential affinity. It is futile to fumble at the lock with such rusty keys, when anthropology has given us one which fits every ward.

The ideas and usages among other peoples, which are similar to the Hebrew laws of uncleanness, are conveniently classed under that widespread system known as 'taboo.' The general notion of taboo is that certain things are regarded as unsafe for contact or use in common life, by reason of the supernatural penalties which would thereby be incurred. A common thing may become taboo through the action of a god, chief, or priest, and the sanction for the restriction he imposes is his own power of avenging its violation. But some things or conditions are intrinsically taboo, and infringement of their character brings its own penalty by a mechanical necessity without external aid. There is an inherent energy in them, which is discharged on all who rashly break the taboo. One of the most striking features of taboo is its infectious character. It is transmitted by contact, and the person or thing thus tabooed may become a new source of infection, though the supernatural virus loses intensity at each new stage of transmission. The infection might in some cases be removed by ritual means, chief among which must be placed washing. In other cases it was too deeply engrained to be removed. From this single root of taboo sprang not uncleanness only, but holiness. Originally, paradoxical as it may seem, there was little difference between them. Both holiness and uncleanness are infectious, and require identical or similar ritual purification (see HOLINESS). It is especially instructive to compare the law of the sin-offering (Lv 6^{25-30}) with such passages as Lv $11^{24-28.31-35}$ $15^{4-12.20-24.26.27}$. It is to be observed that both are treated as of purely materialistic quality, so much so, in fact, that holiness or uncleanness may be scoured off a vessel, unless it is of unglazed earthenware and the holiness or uncleanness has soaked into it, in which case it must be broken. It is further confirmation of the original identity of the two, that while a holy thing is usually said to communicate holiness and an unclean thing uncleanness, in one case a holy thing produces uncleanness. The canonicity of a book was expressed in the phrase, it 'defiles the hands.' If it was a common, that is, a non-canonical book, it was not holy; if canonical, it was holy, and produced ceremonial defilement. The practical consequence of both holiness and uncleanness was to withdraw the object they infected from participation in common life. The holy thing was dedicated to God, and to treat it as common was to violate its sanctity and incur His anger. Hence the avoidance of holiness as a plague, and the precautions taken to avoid catching it. Moses must keep his distance and remove his shoes from his feet on ground made holy by God's presence in the bush (Ex 3^{5}); bounds (corresponding to a taboo line) must be set about the mountain at Sinai, lest the people draw too near and J" break forth upon them. Whatever touched the mountain became so sacred that it was too dangerous to be touched, the death penalty must be executed on it from a safe distance (Ex 19^{12-24}). The men of Beth-shemesh, and Uzzah, were smitten for contact with the ark (1 S 6^{19}, 2 S 6^{7}). The priests are bidden put off the garments wherein they minister, when they go out to the people, lest they sanctify the people with their garments (Ezk 44^{19}); and those who take part in the heathen mysteries described in Is 65^{3-5} warn the bystanders not to come near lest they catch the contagion of their holiness (Is 65^{5} reading, with a change in the pointing, 'lest I make thee holy').

The process by which the notions of holiness and uncleanness, which were undifferentiated in taboo, came to be distinguished was probably something of this kind. It has already been pointed out that two classes of taboo may be distinguished. A common thing may become taboo if a god or sacred person lays a taboo upon it. Or a thing or state may be intrinsically taboo. Roughly speaking, this corresponds to the distinction between holy and unclean. The holy is that which is naturally common, but has become holy through contact with the Divine. But there is an uncleanness of a primary order, of an intrinsic and not accidental kind, uncommunicated as no earthly holiness can be said to be. It is true that there is a communicated uncleanness, but uncommunicated uncleanness has no uncommunicated holiness to match it in the human realm. All holiness is derivative save the holiness of God. It is by this principle that the unclean thing may be taboo in its own right, while the holy thing cannot be, that we must explain the priestly torah given in Hag $2^{12.13}$. Holy flesh infects with holiness a garment in which it is carried, but this garment does not transmit the holiness to what it touches. A man who is unclean by contact with a dead body infects with

---

* 'In general, we may say that the prohibition to use the vessels, garments, and so on, of certain persons, and the effects supposed to follow an infraction of the rule, are exactly the same whether the persons to whom the things belong are sacred or what we might call unclean and polluted' (Frazer, *The Golden Bough*^{2}, i. 325; cf. also ii. 304–309).

uncleanness what he touches. In other words, a dead body is endowed with higher virulence of contagion than holy flesh. And the reason is that a corpse is a fountainhead of uncleanness, while holy flesh is holy, not intrinsically, but only because it has been devoted to God, the sole fountainhead of holiness. Probably, then, the distinction between holiness and uncleanness was simply the explicit affirmation of a distinction already implicit in the idea of taboo. And it was a great step in advance when the essential difference of things indiscriminately classed together as taboo emerged into clear consciousness. A large irrational element, it is true, survived in the idea of holiness as well as in that of uncleanness. But by linking the idea of holiness with that of God, the former was started on a career of intellectual, moral, and spiritual development, which made it at last the fit expression of the highest religious ideal. On the other hand, uncleanness remained to the last a virtually savage idea, one of the heathen survivals in Judaism which Christianity had simply to eliminate. And where life is lived under the shadow of innumerable taboos, these form an insuperable barrier to progress, for man is tied to the fixed routine, not venturing on unknown paths for terror of the perils that lurk everywhere in his way. But when taboos are recognized as expressing the will of the gods, instead of the paralyzing dread of unknown and incalculable forces, we have the restraint imposed by a kind and trusted deity, which leaves room for progress, because it introduces a rational element, and claims for religion what had been inextricably bound up with superstition.*

The opposite of 'holy' is 'common,' the opposite of 'unclean' is 'clean.' While 'holy' and 'unclean' are strong positive terms, 'common' and 'clean' are simply their pale negatives. Clean is not the same as holy; it implies no dedication to the Divine service, and has no infectious quality. The clean person is one who may freely approach his God in worship. For this he need not be holy, though there are certain cases where cleanness, *i.e.* the mere absence of uncleanness, is insufficient. At Sinai the Hebrews had to sanctify themselves by washing and abstinence from women (Ex 19). But so exceptional an occasion cannot be taken as typical. Nor are the common and the unclean identical; the common is rather, ordinarily at any rate, also the clean. Yet, just as the clean and the holy tended to be identified, since whatever is holy must also be clean, so their opposites, the unclean and the common. But, in spite of such obliteration of distinctions, it only creates confusion if they are not emphasized.

It should further be noticed that the laws of uncleanness, while largely a survival from prehistoric savagery, or the semi-civilization of primitive Semites, partly originated in a protest of the higher religion of Israel against heathenism. Certain things which were connected with heathen cults, and constituted a danger to spiritual religion, were placed under taboo. Whether by survival or protest a thing was regarded as unclean, it was alike an abomination to J″, cutting off the offender from intercourse with Him and fellowship with the community. It is probable that the extent to which the laws are due to protest against heathenism has been overrated in recent discussions. Similarly, in the face of savage parallels, it is probable that some laws in the Priestly Code, which are often regarded as very late developments and impracticable refinements, are in substance of the highest antiquity. That, as at present codified, they are late is clear, and such a passage as Lv 11^{24-38} is not unfairly regarded as exhibiting the rudiments of the casuistry of the scribes. But the central prohibition of the passage is probably quite early. It is remarkable that some taboos which survived into the Levitical legislation, disappeared among the more conservative Arabs.

ii. FOUR MAIN TYPES OF UNCLEANNESS may be distinguished: uncleanness connected with (*a*) the functions of reproduction, (*b*) food, (*c*) leprosy, (*d*) death. These must now be considered in detail.

(*a*) *Uncleanness connected with the functions of reproduction.*—These functions early excited the superstitious awe of mankind, which invested the organs and their activities with mysterious powers. Sexual intercourse was widely regarded as producing uncleanness, which might be removed by bathing, but in some cases fumigation was also required. Among the Arabs it was specially necessary to take precautions against the demons on the consummation of marriage (Wellh. *Reste Arab. Heid.*^{2} 155). The Book of Tobit yields an interesting parallel to this. Before Tobias married Sarah she had been given to seven husbands, who had been slain on the bridal night by Asmodæus her demon lover (To 3^{7-9} $6^{13.14}$ 7^{11}). Tobias drove away the demon by fumigation, burning on the ashes of incense some of the heart and liver of a fish (8^{1-3}). It is probable that among the Hebrews intercourse was always considered to produce defilement. This is expressly laid down in P (Lv 15^{18}). Naturally the defilement was slight, involving bathing and uncleanness till the evening. Certain conditions of holiness, however, required complete abstinence. This was so when J″ was to appear on Sinai (Ex 19^{15}). So David's men may eat holy bread only on condition that they 'have kept themselves from women' (1 S 21^4). David's reply is obscure (see Driver and H. P. Smith on the passage, also W. R. Smith, *l.c.* pp. 455, 456). But it seems clear that on a warlike expedition David asserts that women were taboo. The prohibition of women to those engaged in war is widespread. War was regarded as sacred; the warriors were holy as long as the campaign lasted. Among many savage peoples continence must be observed not only by the warriors, but, on grounds of sympathetic magic, by those left at home, and after their return this taboo with many others is enforced with even greater strictness (Frazer, *l.c.* i. 328; W. R. Smith, *l.c.* 455). No such strictness obtained among the Hebrews in historical times, but Uriah's refusal to visit his wife while the campaign was in progress was probably due to a religious scruple of this kind (2 S 11^{8-13}). Perhaps it is on this ground that we may explain why a man is excused from military service during the first year after marriage, Dt 24^5.

Puberty is regarded by many people as a period when evil can be averted only by the observance of very rigorous taboos. The boys then pass through elaborate ceremonies of initiation, circumcision often playing an important part. So far as boys are concerned, the original meaning of circumcision was lost among the Hebrews by the custom of performing it on the eighth day. But uncircumcision came to be regarded as uncleanness, depriving the offender of approach to God or membership in the community. In the case of girls an analogous rite was often performed, though not, so far as we know, by the Hebrews.

But the greatest terror was aroused by **menstruation.** At its first appearance the girl was often strictly isolated, and in some cases this was continued for years. All through life, precautions, though not so stringent, had to be taken. The blood was regarded as highly dangerous for men to touch or even see (Frazer, *l.c.* i. 325, 326, iii. 204–233; W. R. Smith, *l.c.* 447, 448; Spencer and

---

* See W. R. Smith, *RS*^{2} pp. 152–155.

Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 460, 461; Kalisch and Dillmann-Ryssel on Lv 15^{19-24}).[*] Among the Arabs 'menstruous women might not take part in feasts and sacrifices, only for them are the old expressions for clean and unclean customary in pre-Islamic Arabic' (Wellh. *l.c.* 170). This was true also in Israel. As in so many other cases, the strictness of the taboos on this state is much modified. But it naturally fell among the graver types of uncleanness. For it was a condition doubly unclean, combining the uncleanness of the reproductive functions with that of blood. It was regarded as unclean in old Israel (Gn 31^{35}, 2 S 11^{4}). In the Priestly Code (Lv 15^{19-24}) the period of 'separation' is defined as seven days. The uncleanness was communicated to the bed or seat; contact with either of these produced uncleanness till evening, and required the washing of body and clothes. So infectious was the impurity that any one touching an article on the bed or seat incurred the milder penalty of uncleanness till the evening. This is the penalty prescribed according to the present text of Lv 15^{19} for contact with the patient herself. But it is incredible that a secondary stage of uncleanness should require a more complete purification than the primary. Probably the words 'shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and' have fallen out. The meaning of the injunction in Lv 15^{24} is uncertain. Probably it does not refer to conjugal relations, which in these conditions were not only said in Lv 20^{18} (H) to incur the punishment of death, but were viewed with utter repugnance in antiquity. It is possible that the reference may be, as some think, to defilement caused by the commencement of the discharge during intercourse.

Closely connected with this form of uncleanness was that caused by abnormal issues in both sexes. The pathological conditions indicated need not be discussed in detail (see the commentaries). An 'issue of blood' (Lv 15^{25-30}, Mt 9^{20} and paralls.) made a woman unclean as in the normal discharge. The impurity lasted seven days after the discharge had stopped. Then she offered two turtle doves or young pigeons—one for a sin- and the other for a burnt-offering. It is curious that neither in the case of the normal nor abnormal issue is any reference made to washing of body or clothes in the case of the woman, though both are required for the man (Lv $15^{13.16}$). Jewish custom at a later period certainly insisted on a bath of purification after the normal discharge. In the case of men, seminal emission involved washing of the body and uncleanness till the evening, while every garment or skin on which there had been any discharge must be washed and be unclean till evening. According to Dt $23^{10.11}$, a nocturnal accident while on a military expedition excluded a man from the camp for the next day. As evening came on he had to bathe, and he returned to camp when the sun was down. Corresponding to the abnormal discharge of women is that of men described in Lv $15^{2.3}$. The various forms of uncleanness produced by it are elaborately referred to (vv.$^{4-12}$). The rites of purification are the same as for a woman's abnormal issue.

That *childbirth* made the mother unclean is only what was to be expected. It is surprising that Nowack should regard this as obviously a development in later time of the old view that pollution was incurred by intercourse as by menstruation (*Heb. Archäol.* ii. 284). The uncleanness of childbirth is an almost universal belief among primitive peoples.[*] It was also an Arab custom in certain places to build a hut outside the camp, where the woman had to stay for a time (Wellh. *l.c.* p. 170). The fact clearly is, that, so far from being a late development among the Israelites, it was a survival from prehistoric times. And a modified survival, for it is striking that whereas the newborn infant is almost universally regarded as in a high degree taboo, this has not survived among the Hebrews (though Ezk 16^{4} may allude to it).[†] The rule in Lv 12 (P) enjoins that after the birth of a boy the mother shall be unclean, as in menstruation, for a week, and shall continue 'in the blood of *her* purifying' thirty-three days. During the first week her uncleanness would of course be infectious, but possibly this was not so during the rest of her forty days. All that is required is that 'she shall touch no hallowed thing, nor come into the sanctuary.' When a girl was born, the two periods were doubled. It was commonly believed that the symptoms persisted much longer after the birth of a girl than after that of a boy. The numbers thirty-three and sixty-six are chosen to make up with seven and fourteen the favourite number of forty and its multiple eighty. When the requisite period was over, she offered a lamb of the first year for a burnt-offering, and a young pigeon or a turtle dove for a sin-offering. If too poor to offer a lamb (as was the mother of Jesus, Lk 2^{24}), a second young pigeon or a second turtle dove might be substituted.[‡]

The '*prohibited degrees*' belong to the same order of ideas: on this subject the article MARRIAGE may be consulted. On forbidden degrees in Arabia see W. R. Smith, *Kinship*, ch. vi.; and, on the whole subject, especially Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*^{2}, chs. xiv. xv., and the summary pp. 544–546.[§] The 'bastard,' who is excluded from the assembly of J", is probably the offspring of such a marriage (Dt 23^{2}).[‖] Probably Moabites and Ammonites are excluded on the ground of the incestuous origin of the two peoples (Gn 19^{31-38}). The exclusion of eunuchs (Dt 23^{1}) is apparently meant to refer, in the first place at any rate, to those who had mutilated themselves for religious reasons. This is an example of a taboo originating in a protest against heathenism.

Some see analogous ideas in the prohibition of 'unlawful mixtures.' Sowing a field with two kinds of seed made the whole crop holy, that is, taboo. Linen and wool might not be used in the same garment; the clothing proper to one sex might not be worn by the other;[¶] an ox and an ass might not be yoked together to the plough; nor must cattle gender with a diverse kind (Dt $22^{5.9-11}$, Lv 19^{19}). Parallels cannot here be quoted so easily. The Kamschatkans at the beginning of the 18th cent. had a taboo on cooking fish and flesh in the same pot.* Frazer gives several examples of taboo on mixing different kinds of food in the stomach (*l.c.* ii. 336, 337). Baentsch says that mingling of stuffs from the animal and vegetable kingdoms played a rôle in magic.

---

[*] 'The object of secluding women at menstruation is to neutralize the dangerous influences which are supposed to emanate from them at such times. That the danger is believed to be especially great at the first menstruation appears from the unusual precautions taken to isolate girls at this crisis. . . . In short, the girl is viewed as charged with a powerful force which, if not kept within bounds, may prove destructive both to the girl herself and to all with whom she comes in contact. . . . The uncleanness, as it is called, of girls at puberty and the sanctity of holy men do not, to the primitive mind, differ from each other. They are only different manifestations of the same mysterious energy which, like energy in general, is in itself neither good nor bad, but becomes beneficent or maleficent according to its application' (Frazer, *l.c.* iii. 232, 233). For the Arabic custom see W. R. Smith, *l.c.* 448. The Basutos purified girls at womanhood by sprinkling (Tylor, *Primitive Culture*^{3}, ii. 432).

[*] 'Women after childbirth and their offspring are more or less tabooed all the world over' (Frazer, *l.c.* iii. 463). See also Jevons, *Introd. to the Hist. of Rel.* 74, 75.

[†] See Jevons, *l.c.* 75, 76; Tylor, *l.c.* ii. 431.

[‡] For savage purifications see Tylor, *l.c.* 432, 433.

[§] The Australian black-fellows of the interior, quite uncivilized as they are, have developed a most elaborate system of forbidden degrees (see Spencer and Gillen, *l.c.* ch. ii.).

[‖] Bertholet thinks they were the offspring of the mixed marriages in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. It is questionable if the chapter is so late as that, and the reference in the same context to Moab and Ammon confirms the other view.

[¶] 'This is not a mere rule of conventional propriety, but is directed against those simulated changes of sex which occur in Canaanite and Syrian heathenism' (W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} 365).

Possibly we should regard as an extension of the law of issues, the uncleanness of the *human excreta.* Ezekiel protests against using human excrement for fuel with which to bake bread, on the ground of the uncleanness that would then be communicated to the food, and is permitted to substitute animal excrement, which apparently was not defiling, or defiling in a much slighter degree, and is often used now in Syria for fuel (Ezk $4^{14.15}$). The law in Dt $23^{12\text{-}14}$, directed to secure cleanness in the camp, is regarded by some as a mere impracticable refinement of a theorist. But numerous savage parallels may be quoted for this as for all the Hebrew war taboos. Frazer says that the rules of ceremonial purity prescribed for Hebrew warriors are 'identical with rules observed by Maoris and Australian black-fellows on the warpath.' The precise rule in question is found among Australians, Melanesians, South Africans, and Fijians. Frazer suggests that the original motive in the case of the Hebrews was identical with the avowed motive of savages, 'a fear lest the enemy should obtain the refuse of their persons, and thus be enabled to work their destruction by magic' (*l.c.* i. 328).† It is not necessary to appeal to savages; the same custom is found among the Arabs (Wellh. *l.c.* p. 173). We should perhaps bring under the same law the prohibition of woollen garments to the priests, because they caused sweat (Ezk $44^{17.18}$). The clause 'they shall not gird themselves *with anything that causeth* sweat' is regarded by Cornill and Toy as a gloss, and the translation is a little uncertain; but it correctly represents what must have been the object of the prohibition, as is shown by the Syrian and Egyptian parallels. A law of decency underlies the requirement in Ezekiel and P that the priests should wear linen drawers. This was a survival of the feeling that the deity dwelt in the altar, and that the person must not be exposed to it (Ezk 44^{18}, Ex $28^{42.43}$, Lv 6^{10} 16^{4}). In the Book of the Covenant the same result was secured by the prohibition of steps up to the altar (Ex 20^{26}, see W. R. Smith, *OTJC*² p. 358).

(*b*) *Uncleanness connected with food.* — The article FOOD deals very fully with much of this subject, and it is unnecessary to repeat in detail what is said there. Naturally, however, questions arise in this article that do not arise in an article on Food. The taboos on food among savage peoples are very numerous. These cannot be explained as due to sanitary considerations or as the expression of natural disgust. The reason is religious. It is very probable that many cases are to be explained as originating in totemism.‡ But it is not only among savages that such restrictions on food are found. They survive among many civilized peoples of antiquity — Indians, Egyptians, Syrians, Greeks, and others. According to Wellhausen, the distinction between clean and unclean food was not known to the ancient Arabs; they recognized only usual and unusual (*l.c.* 168, 169). At the same time, taboos in some sense seem from Wellhausen's own statements to have been recognized. Still in this, as in some other respects, the Hebrews preserve the more primitive type.* In the Flood story (J²) the distinction between clean animals and animals not clean is presupposed as known, though the technical word for unclean (טָמֵא) is not used (Gn 7^{2} 8^{20}). P, on the contrary, represents man as hitherto vegetarian; and when animal food is first permitted, no restriction is made, except that the blood should not be eaten, since it was the vehicle of the life (Gn 1^{29} $9^{3.4}$). We have lists of clean and unclean animals in Dt $14^{4\text{-}20}$ and Lv 11.†

The criterion for clean beasts, that they must part the hoof and chew the cud, should probably be regarded as a late attempt to define a class by a single formula, the members of which had already been selected on other grounds. The camel, hare, and coney (*Hyrax Syriacus*) are pronounced unclean, because while they chew the cud they do not part the hoof, and the swine for the opposite reason. The *camel* was eaten by the Arabs and used in sacrifices: it may conceivably have been excluded on this latter account. There are traces of a belief in Arabia 'that camels, or, at all events, certain breeds of camels, were of demoniac origin' (W. R. Smith, *RS*² 283, n. 2).‡ The *hare* was probably a sacred animal, for 'hares' heads were worn as amulets by Arab women' (W. R. Smith, *l.c.* 382), and the foot was used as a charm against demons (*Kinship*, 211). While the Arabs eat it, the other inhabitants of Syria, the Turks and the Armenians, abstain from it, and the Parsees regard it as the uncleanest of animals; the ancient Britons regarded it as taboo, 'gustare fas non putant' (Cæs. *de B. G.* v. 12. See Dillm. and Kalisch, *Leviticus*, ii. 55).§ It was supposed to menstruate, and was thus assimilated to mankind. It was regarded as very lascivious (cf. Barn. 10). The *coney* (*Hyrax Syriacus*) is still avoided for food by Christians and Mohammedans in Abyssinia. In the Sinai peninsula it, with the panther, is believed to have been originally human, and he who eats its flesh, it is said, will never see his parents again (W. R. Smith, *RS*² 88, 444). There is much evidence to show that the *swine* was a holy animal. While forbidden food to the Semites, the taboo was variously explained as due to its holiness or uncleanness. It was eaten only in such mystic sacrifices as are described in Is $65^{3\text{-}5}$ $66^{3.17}$. The Egyptians regarded it as highly taboo, not only as food, but to touch; yet once a year sacrificed it to the moon and Osiris, and ate the flesh. Its identification with the demon Set or Typhon, the enemy of Osiris, is probably a degradation from its original identification with Osiris himself. Among the Syrians it seems to have been regarded as an incarnation of Tammuz. Its flesh was also taboo to worshippers of Attis. It was further supposed to possess magical powers.*

---

* Brinton, *Religions of Primitive Peoples*, p. 109.

† Hair and nail parings are often buried with great precaution, for a similar reason. The 'hill of foreskins' (Jos 5^{3}), according to one interpretation of its meaning, would be a Hebrew parallel (cf. 24^{30} LXX).

‡ See W. R. Smith, *Kinship*, ch. viii. and pp. 304-311, *OTJC*² 366, 367, *RS*² *passim*; Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, 167-169, 202-211, 467, 468; Jevons, *Introd. to the History of Rel.* 102, 116-127.

* In spite of this, there is one important respect in which the primitive type seems not to be preserved. Frequently certain foods are taboo to people in various stages of life or certain physical conditions, or again to particular orders of people. Elaborate rules may be found in Spencer and Gillen, *l.c.* 256, 467-473; Frazer, *l.c.* i. 391. Only slight survivals are to be found among the Hebrews, *e.g.* taboo on wine and whatever comes from the grape, imposed on the Nazirite, and his mother before his birth, and the prohibition of wine to the priests before offering. With such slight exceptions, the food taboos are binding on all Israelites. In this connexion Saul's taboo on eating food till evening, unwittingly violated by Jonathan (1 S $14^{24\text{-}31}$), may be referred to. We naturally sympathize with Jonathan's common-sense criticism; but this was somewhat rationalistic for that age, and the writer represents J″ as too much offended by its transgression to answer when consulted. Saul wished by this strong taboo to assure supernatural aid, such as would be cheaply purchased by the impaired efficiency of his men.

† The relation between these laws is disputed. Some regard the law in Deut. as a secondary addition. It seems at least probable that the two sections are mutually independent; and it is not unlikely that they draw on oral or written torah of the priests. Driver and White assign Lv $11^{2\text{-}23.41\text{-}47}$ to H. Baentsch ('Handkom.' *Ex.-Lev.*) objects that the passages exhibit too little of H's phraseology. For a very elaborate analysis see *Oxf. Hex. ad loc.*, and art. LEVITICUS.

‡ 'I take it, however, that the eating of camel's flesh continued to be regarded by the Arabs as in some sense a religious act, even when it was no longer associated with a formal act of sacrifice; for abstinence from the flesh of camels and wild asses was prescribed by Symeon Stylites to his Saracen converts; and traces of an idolatrous significance in feasts of camel's flesh appear in Mohammedan tradition' (W. R. Smith, *l.c.* 283).

§ On the Yorkshire superstition of the close connexion between hares and witches see Frazer, *l.c.* iii. 408.

The criterion that clean animals must be ruminants with cloven hoof excluded the ass, horse, and dog, and all beasts of prey. The *ass* seems from Jg 6^{4} to have been commonly used for food: the Midianites 'left no sustenance in Israel, neither sheep, nor ox, nor ass' (cf. 2 K 6^{25}). The Arabs seem to have regarded it as a sacred animal, and it was forbidden to his converts by Symeon Stylites, just as our abstinence from horse-flesh is due to the prohibition to Christian converts from the worship of Odin, to whom it was sacrificed. The story that the Jews worshipped the ass may point to the worship of it in Syria. The flesh and hoofs were used for magical purposes by the Arabs (see W. R. Smith, *Kinship*, 308; *RS*^{2} 468).† The *horse* was little used by the Hebrews, even in war; probably the uncleanness of the ass would be felt to extend to it. Josiah 'took away the horses that the kings of Judah had given to the sun' (2 K 23^{11}); this connexion with idolatry may account for its uncleanness. Four horses were cast into the sea at Rhodes at the annual feast of the sun (W. R. Smith, *RS*^{2} 293). The *dog* seems to be sacred from the reference to its use in the mysteries (Is 66^{3}). Among the Harranians dogs were said in the mysteries to be the brothers of men. They seem also to have been sacred among the Carthaginians and Phœnicians. 'In Moslem countries dogs are still regarded with a curious mixture of respect and contempt' (W. R. Smith, *l.c.* 291, 292).‡ *Beasts of prey* were naturally regarded as unclean, because they fed on the blood as well as the flesh of their victims. Most of the unclean birds were birds of prey or fed on carrion. Others lived in ruins, and were regarded as companions of the demons who haunted them. (For the ostrich as a demon cf. W. R. Smith, *l.c.* 129, n. 2). It is curious to observe how unclean birds mentioned in these lists are catalogued with the uncanny monsters which are to dwell in the ruins of Babylon (Is $13^{21.22}$, Jer 50^{39}) or Edom (Is 34^{11-16}). No list of clean birds is given. See article FOOD for those that were eaten. It need only be mentioned that the *dove* was permitted, though to the Syrians taboo in a high degree.§

Fish also were taboo to the Syrians, who regarded ulcers as the penalty for eating them (W. R. Smith, *l.c.* 292, 449). The Hebrews did not sacrifice, but were permitted to eat them. The only restriction was that fish without fins and scales might not be eaten. The reason was, no doubt, their snake-like appearance, the serpent being unclean (see FOOD).

Further, in the Law of Holiness (H) '*swarming things*' (see art. CREEPING THINGS, where the two terms so translated are distinguished) are forbidden (Lv 11^{41-44}). What was included under this term may be seen in the article mentioned (vol. i. 518^{b}). The prohibition of reptiles is explained by the superstitions universally attached to serpents. The Arabs frequently regarded them as demoniacal, and identified them with the *jinn* (W. R. Smith, *l.c.* 120, 121, 129, 130, 442, *Kinship*, 197; and especially Wellh. *l.c.* 152–155).* The serpent of Gn 3 illustrates the demoniacal nature of these reptiles. It is curious that the list in Deuteronomy speaks only of 'winged swarming things,' by which apparently winged insects are meant. These are regarded as unclean also in P (Lv 11^{20}, unless this belongs to H), for the phrase 'winged swarming creatures that go on all fours' seems to mean the same as 'winged swarming creatures.' Four kinds of *locusts* are permitted for food (see FOOD, LOCUST). Whether this is a variation from Dt 14 is uncertain. On the one hand, the rule in the latter passage seems to admit of no exception. On the other, the term translated 'fowls' in Dt 14^{20} may be used in this restricted sense of 'winged swarming things,' in which case the meaning will be that certain winged insects are clean and lawful food. Inserted in Lv 11 we have a list of things the carcases of which produce uncleanness through contact (vv.$^{24-38}$). This list includes the unclean quadrupeds, and of swarming things—the weasel, the mouse, certain lizards, and the chameleon.

It is curious that the list is not more extensive, especially as the author enters on a casuistical discussion of details. The swarming things mentioned were regarded as demoniacal, the mouse is coupled with the swine in Is 66^{17} as eaten in the mysteries there denounced (see W. R. Smith, *Kinship*, 302, 303, *RS*^{2} 293; A. Lang, *Custom and Myth* (1893), 103–120). This section is probably a later addition, not at all on the ground that pollution by contact is a late refinement of pollution by eating, for taboo on contact is very ancient, but because of its casuistry and its interruption of the context. Touching involves uncleanness till the evening, bearing the carcass of the quadrupeds induces uncleanness in a deeper degree; for not only is the person unclean till the evening, but he must wash his clothes. The carcases of swarming things infect with uncleanness all clothing or vessels, and the food in them. The vessels are unclean till the evening, and must be steeped in water. If made of earthenware they must be broken, as the uncleanness would sink into the pores. A fountain or cistern, however, remained clean, though whatever touched the unclean thing (*i.e.* to remove it) became unclean. Seed was not polluted by contact, unless water, by which it would soak in, had been put upon it.

Contact with a clean beast that died a natural death produced uncleanness till the evening. Eating of it or carrying it involved the washing of clothes in addition. In Lv 17^{15} bathing of the body is also required.

This law is made to apply to the stranger as well as the home-born. In Dt 14^{21} the prohibition is made absolute for the Hebrews, and based on their holiness to J″. But the flesh of such animals may be given to the stranger who is sojourning in Israel, or sold to the foreigner.† It must be remembered that the law is not sanitary, but ritual; there was therefore no reason why a taboo, binding on the holy people, should be imposed on those who are not members of it. For the priestly legislators the land is holy, because J″ dwells in it, and therefore those who are in it, Israelites or not, must observe precautions against uncleanness. The priests are forbidden to eat such food absolutely (Lv 22^{8}). The reason was that the flesh had still the blood within it. Blood was always prohibited (1 S 14^{33}, Dt 12^{23-25}, Gn 9^{4}, Lv 17^{10-14} 3^{17} etc.), but the prohibition seems not always to have been observed (1 S 14^{33}, Ezk 33^{25}). It, with the fat, was regarded by primitive peoples as in a special sense the seat of life, and in ordinary sacrifice was made over to the deity. It is probable, however, that in the earliest type of sacrifice it was devoured by the worshippers, and in the mystic sacrifices that are referred to in Is 65. 66 this feature reappeared. The breaking of the dog's neck was a killing of it without shedding the blood (see, further, under FOOD, SACRIFICE).[*]

---

* See Movers, *Die Phönizier*, i. 218-220 (where several further exx. are collected); W. R. Smith, *l.c.* 153, 218, 290, 291, 411, 475; Frazer, *l.c.* ii. 299-311; Jevons, *l.c.* 118, n. 3; the very elaborate discussion in Kalisch, *Leviticus*, pt. ii. 79–93; also art. FOOD.

† According to Ex 34^{20} (JE) the firstling of an ass had to be redeemed with a lamb, but if not redeemed its neck must be broken. The later law (Lv 27^{27}) prescribed that an unclean firstling should be redeemed at the priest's valuation, plus one-fifth, but if not redeemed it must be sold.

‡ Frazer mentions that the dog is regarded by the Ojibways 'as unclean, and yet in some respects as holy' (*Enc. Brit.*^{9} art. 'Taboo').

§ W. R. Smith, *Kinship*, 196; *RS*^{2} 219. The author points out that though a 'clean' bird in legal times, we never read of it in OT as an article of diet. It was not used for sacrifices accompanied by a meal, but in burnt-offerings and sin-offerings, which had a connexion with mystical sacrifices (p. 294).

* For India see Frazer, *The Golden Bough*^{2}, i. 456, 457.

† In Ex 22^{31} (JE) 'flesh that is torn of beasts in the field' is not to be eaten, because the Hebrews are holy to J″; it must be cast to the dogs.

The 'sinew of the thigh' is said in Gn 32^{32} not to be eaten by the Israelites, though no reference is made to this in the Law. It became taboo through the touch of Jacob's Divine antagonist. Probably, as W. R. Smith suggests, 'the thigh is a seat of life and procreative power' (*RS*^{2} 380).[†]

The thrice repeated (Ex 23^{19} 34^{26}, Dt 14^{21}) taboo on *seething a kid in its mother's milk* is discussed in the articles FOOD, GOAT. Here it is necessary to add only what is required by the nature of this article.

We may safely set aside the view that the rule rests on sentimental considerations. It is directed against some religious or magical practice in connexion with the dish. The common explanation that goat's milk was used to produce fruitful crops, while true in itself, does not account for this special prohibition. W. R. Smith suggests that milk was a substitute for blood, so that this dish would violate the taboo on blood (*l.c.* 221). But neither does this explain why it is *a kid* so prepared that is forbidden. If goat's milk possessed magical qualities, these might be supposed to be present also in a sucking kid. The combination of the two doubles the magical intensity, and we may suppose that the rite condemned was originally pastoral rather than agricultural. The subsequent use of goat's milk in agriculture is a natural application of a pastoral charm for fruitfulness. The question may further be raised whether it has not been too hastily assumed that 'mother's milk' means simply goat's milk, *i.e.* the milk of any goat. The physical blood relation between the kid and its dam would make the magic more efficacious, doubling it in upon itself.

As examples of the care with which the Jews practised these laws, Dn 1^{8}, To 1^{10-12}, Jth $12^{1.2}$, Ad. Est 14^{17}, 1 Mac $1^{62.63}$, 2 Mac 6^{18} 7^{1} may be quoted.

The ultimate origin of the uncleanness of certain animals probably lies in the fact that they were *totems of primitive Semites.* It is true that some of the greatest Semitic scholars doubt if the Semites passed through the totem stage. Egyptologists also seem to be unanimous in denying that totemism ever prevailed in Egypt. But it is a question on which the anthropologist also, with the comparative method, must be consulted; and Robertson Smith, the chief defender of the theory in question, spoke with the authority not only of a most eminent Semitist, but that of an expert anthropologist. The theory gains much of its plausibility from the light and order it brings to a number of otherwise obscure and incoherent facts. That the unclean foods are so numerous is perhaps due to the very heterogeneous origin of the Hebrew people, the totems of many stocks being regarded as forbidden food by the united nation. At the same time it must be remembered that among savage races totem stocks exist side by side in the same community, without necessarily tabooing each other's totems, though they may avoid the ostentation with which they feast on the totem of an enemy. Further, even in totem clans there are taboos on food at certain stages of life or in certain conditions, which are otherwise lawful food. We need not, of course, look for actual totemism in the historical period of the Hebrew people. But if the Semites passed through totemism, numerous survivals must be expected, and part at least of the prohibitions probably are to be accounted for in this way. Two principles, however, even in this case, may have been at work. The lists in Deuteronomy and Leviticus may include food traditionally taboo. In this case the Law simply endorses, as in so many instances, ancient practices. But they may also forbid food, not on the ground of immemorial custom, but because its use in heathen rites constituted a religious danger to Israel. It ought to be added that the proof of the demoniacal or magical qualities attaching to certain unlawful foods in no way conflicts with their totem character. On the contrary, as is well illustrated by the connexion between the *jinn* and the wild beasts among the Arabs, these qualities are probably attributed to them in virtue of their original totem significance.

(*c*) *Uncleanness connected with leprosy.*—This disease and the purifications after cure are so thoroughly dealt with in the article LEPROSY that it is unnecessary to add more here than a few supplementary remarks. For the view there mentioned, that the leper was regarded as the victim, in a peculiar degree, of a stroke of God, like the man hanged on a tree, 'accursed of God,' we may compare the euphemistic name for it among the Arabs, 'the blessed disease,' *mubâraka* (Wellh. *l.c.* 199). The man 'smitten by God' necessarily becomes unclean. We find examples of a belief among savages that leprosy may be caused by eating the totem animal, though it must be added that other diseases might be so incurred, skin diseases, however, predominating. With this we should compare the fact that the Egyptians, to whom the swine was taboo in a high degree, thought that drinking pig's milk caused leprosy (Frazer, *l.c.* ii. 306, 307). The rules laid down for lepers corresponded to those prescribed for mourners; perhaps the feeling entered in that leprosy was a living death. The ritual of releasing the live bird into the open field, rests on a similar idea to that expressed in the 'goat for Azazel.' A similar custom was practised by widows in Arabia on release from the uncleanness of widowhood, at the end of a year.[*] The bird is said to have died. An Assyrian parallel is, 'May the bird to heaven cause it (my groaning) to ascend' (*RP* ix. 51). It seems strange that a guilt-offering should be required. Nowack (*Heb. Arch.* ii. 289) thinks the author regarded a sin-offering as inadmissible in this very peculiar rite, and further took the rite over from an earlier time, and did not freely create it (see, further, LEPROSY).

(*d*) *Uncleanness connected with death.*—This also is familiar among primitive peoples. That the numerous rites which have grown up around the dead express partly a horror of the spirit and dread of its return, is true.[†] But there are many examples of rites designed to continue with the dead the communion held with them while living.[‡] Frequently the taboos on the dead are attributed to ancestor-worship; but this view seems improbable, for we find the taboo more widely prevalent than it is likely ancestor-worship ever was,—and the proofs for this among the Hebrews are certainly not stringent. The taboos rest on the belief that the soul survives the body, and lingers near its earthly house or its grave. How serious the danger was taken to be, is clear from the highly infectious character attributed to it.[*] This prevails, probably, among all savage peoples. The Hebrews are in this respect more primitive than the Arabs. Among the latter, mourning does not usually make unclean; and in Islam contact with the corpse does not defile, though it is doubtful if this rule prevailed among the ancient Arabs (Wellh. *l.c.* 171, 172). Such cases, among the Hebrews, as those of contact with the carcases of animals have already been dealt with. The human corpse was regarded by them as most defiling. Although we have no very early evidence, it is unquestionable, in view of the savage parallels, that they always had this belief, and, in more primitive times, probably in a much intenser form. The late codification of the laws in no way disproves, in itself, the antiquity of the observances.

---

[*] See W. R. Smith, *Kinship*, 309, 310, *RS*^{2} 234, 235, 338-352; Frazer, *l.c.* i. 353-362; Jevons, *l.c.* 73, 74.

[†] For the same taboo among the N. American Indians, accounted for by a mythical story, see Frazer, *l.c.* ii. 419-421. Kaffir men also will not eat it, it is 'sent to the principal boy at the kraal, who with his companions consider it as their right.'

[*] Wellh. *l.c.* 171; W. R. Smith, *l.c.* 422. The reference to Frazer, *l.c.*, in the article LEPROSY, corresponds to iii. 15 in the second edition.

[†] Frazer, *l.c.* i. 325, etc.; Tylor, *l.c.* ii. 25-27; W. R. Smith, *l.c.* 336, n. 2, 369, 370.

[‡] W. R. Smith, *l.c.* 322, 323, 370. 'While the rudest nations seek to keep up their connection with the beloved dead, they also believe that very dangerous influences hover round deathbeds, corpses, and graves, and many funeral ceremonies are observed as safeguards against these' (336, n. 2). 'There is a tendency at present, in one school of anthropologists, to explain all death customs as due to fear of ghosts. But among the Semites, at any rate, almost all death customs, from the kissing of the corpse (Gn 50^{1}) onwards, are dictated by an affection that endures beyond the grave' (323). See, also, Tylor, *l.c.* 32-34 (especially the pathetic dirge there quoted); Jevons, *l.c.* 46-58.

The fullest legislation on the subject is to be found in Nu 19 (P). It is there enjoined that every one who touches 'the dead body of a man shall be unclean seven days.' If a man die in his tent, every one who is in the tent, or who enters it, is unclean for seven days; and any vessel standing open in the tent is unclean. In the open field actual contact is necessary to produce defilement. But such contact was not merely with a body dead by the sword or natural death, but even with a bone or the grave. Hence it became customary to whiten graves, that they might be readily avoided and involuntary uncleanness not be contracted (Mt 23^{27}, Lk 11^{44}). The striking illustration of the infectious uncleanness of the corpse given in Hag $2^{11\text{-}13}$ has been already referred to. The law in Nu 19^{22} is that whatever the person thus unclean touches shall be unclean, and the person who touches this object shall be unclean till even. In Nu 5^2 those unclean by the touch of a corpse are put out of the camp along with lepers and those who have issues. Josiah defiled the altars at the high places with dead men's bones (2 K $23^{16\cdot 20}$). Similarly, the dead bodies of Gog's host defiled the land, which was cleansed only by their burial (Ezk $39^{12\text{-}16}$). In old Israel the kings were buried close to the temple, a practice warmly denounced by Ezekiel as defiling it ($43^{7\text{-}9}$). Bloodshed defiles the land, and the uncleanness can be removed only by the blood of him that shed it (Nu 35^{33}).[†] Hence warriors, while holy persons, as already shown, were rendered unclean by the slaughter of men in war. Thus, after the slaughter of the Midianites, those who had killed any one or touched the slain had to remain outside the camp seven days, purifying themselves on the third and seventh day. Every thing that could endure fire was passed through it, but was also purified with the water of separation. All that could not endure the fire was passed through water. Clothes had to be washed on the seventh day (Nu $31^{19\text{-}24}$). Some of the taboos on warriors have been already discussed. The present rule is relegated by some to the class of legal refinements which had never any existence in the national life. Here, again, the comparative method warns us against too hasty a conclusion. Even more stringent rules are found among savages.[*] Their origin seems to be due to dread of vengeance from the ghosts of the slain. Among the taboos to which the Nazirite was subject was that on contact with the dead. This and the purification prescribed for its violation are fully discussed in the art. NAZIRITE.

The priest, according to Ezekiel, must come at no dead person to defile himself, except parent, child, brother, or unmarried sister.[†] In the case of the death of such a relative, even after he is cleansed he must wait seven days, and then, on entering the sanctuary, he must offer a sin-offering (Ezk $44^{25\text{-}27}$). A curious relaxation of the law of uncleanness is that those who are unclean by contact with a dead body may yet eat the passover (Nu $9^{6\text{-}12}$). Certain mourning customs also produced uncleanness. Hence the Israelite, when offering his charity tithe, was required to affirm that he had not eaten of it while mourning, nor removed it from his house while unclean, nor given of it for the dead (Dt 26^{14}). If he had eaten of it in his mourning, it would have contracted his uncleanness.[‡] The reference to giving it for the dead is of uncertain meaning. The sense may be that he has not sent it to the friends of the deceased for a funeral feast (which would make the whole tithe unclean), or that he has not (in accordance with a very widespread custom) placed some of it in the tomb to serve the spirit for food on its road to Sheôl, or that he has not used it in sacrifices to the dead (cf. Jer 16^7, itself an obscure passage). The bread of mourners is referred to in Hos 9^4 as causing uncleanness. Other mourning customs, such as cuttings in the flesh, or making baldness between the eyes for the dead, are forbidden in Dt 14^1, Lv 19^{28}, as incompatible with the holiness of the people of J″. Both are well-known savage customs,[§] and were regarded as legitimate signs of mourning (Jer 16^6, Ezk 7^{18}, Is 22^{12}) apparently down to the time of Ezekiel (see CUTTINGS IN THE FLESH, MOURNING). The mourning custom for the captive whom the Israelite (Dt $21^{10\text{-}13}$) takes to wife is interesting. The shaving of head and paring of nails remove the uncleanness of mourning (cf. the shaving of hair in the cleansing of the leper, Lv 14^9). A similar rite was performed by widows in Arabia after the twelve months they spent in a hut outside the camp, neither dressing the hair nor cutting the nails.[‖]

Purification from the uncleanness caused by a dead body was effected by the 'water of separation,' made by pouring water on the ashes of a red heifer (Nu 19). The heifer was completely burnt, along with cedar wood, hyssop, and scarlet. The burning of the blood in this rite is unique; it was clearly intended to communicate an intenser sanctity to the ashes. The ashes were kept in a clean place outside the camp, and 'living water' was poured on them. Then the unclean was sprinkled by a clean person on the third and the seventh days, and on the latter he washed his clothes and bathed his body, and was clean at even. The priest who superintended the slaughter and burning of the heifer, and the man who burned her, had to wash their clothes, bathe, and be unclean till even. He who gathered the ashes had to wash his clothes, and be unclean till even; he who sprinkled the water had to wash his clothes, and he who touched it was unclean till even (see, further, art. RED HEIFER). The purifications prescribed after the slaughter of the Midianites (Nu 31$^{1-24}$), including fire for metal, have been already referred to.

---

[*] 'Among the Maoris any one who had handled a corpse, helped to convey it to the grave, or touched a dead man's bones, was cut off from all intercourse, and almost all communication, with mankind. He could not enter any house, or come into contact with any person or thing, without utterly bedevilling them. . . . And when, the dismal term of his seclusion being over, the mourner was about to mix with his fellows once more, all the dishes he had used in his seclusion were diligently smashed, and all the garments he had worn were carefully thrown away, lest they should spread the contagion of his defilement among others' (Frazer, *l.c.* i. 323, 324; Jevons, *l.c.* 57, 58, 76–78).

[†] When the offender was unknown, guilt was purged from the land by the ritual of the heifer, whose neck was broken in an uncultivated valley with running water (Dt $21^{1\cdot 9}$). See HEIFER; Driver, *ad loc.*; and W. R. Smith, *l.c.* 370, 371.

[*] Frazer, *l.c.* 331–339. The account of the Pima Indians is especially noteworthy as showing that taboos far more 'impracticable' than those enjoined in Nu 31 are actually observed. The uncleanness and purification prescribed in this passage for warriors after the return from battle are similar to those recognized over a very wide area.

[†] Unmarried sister, because marriage was regarded as transferring her to the husband's family. The same feeling underlies the law that the priest's daughter on marriage to a stranger loses the right to eat of the heave-offerings of the holy things (Lv 22^{12}). Women could not eat of the sin-offering (Lv 6^{29}), guilt-offering (7^6), or meal-offering (6^{18}), on account of their high sanctity.

[‡] For taboos on mourners and mourning customs see Frazer, *l.c.* i. 388, 389; W. R. Smith, *l.c.* 322–326, 336; Wellh. *l.c.* 170, 171, 177 ff.; Spencer and Gillen, *l.c.* 499, 500–507, 509.

[§] See, for example, Spencer and Gillen, *l.c.* 509, 510.

[‖] W. R. Smith, *l.c.* 428, 447; Wellh. *l.c.* 171. The meaning of the custom is clearly brought out by Frazer, *l.c.* i. 388, 389. He quotes parallels from mourning customs in ancient India, Borneo, and the West Coast of Africa. It is very instructive, as throwing light on the underlying idea, that moral uncleanness is purged away in some cases by the shaving off of all the hair and bathing in the sacred stream.

iii. UNCLEANNESS AND RITUAL.—Throughout the history of Israel uncleanness disqualified a man for the worship of God. David's absence from the sacred festival was fully accounted for by the supposition of his uncleanness (1 S 20^{26}); Jeremiah was 'restrained,' probably by uncleanness, and could not go into the temple (Jer 36^{5}). The idea has undergone an ethical transformation when the song of the seraphim and the smoke of the Divine resentment (?) make the heart of Isaiah quail at the consciousness that in his moral impurity he has dared to cross the temple threshold (Is 6$^{3-5}$). In spite of Ezekiel's complaints that the priests had not caused the people to discern between the clean and the unclean (22^{26}), it is clear that some rules were all along observed. Yet these permitted practices which, from the standpoint of Judaism, were highly irregular. Uncircumcised foreigners were allowed to enter the sanctuary (Ezk 44^{7}). Ezekiel insists that this shall be absolutely forbidden in the future (44^{9}). Uncircumcision in the male worshipper was regarded as uncleanness, as a state which precluded him from communion with God. So we read that into the restored Jerusalem, the holy city, there shall come no more the uncircumcised and the unclean (Is 52^{1}). The rule is strongly enforced in the Law. Similarly, the unclean may not pass along the holy way by which pilgrims come up to the temple (Is 35^{8}). The sacred feasts may be observed by any clean Israelite. The meat of the peace-offerings may be eaten by any clean person, but any one eating with his uncleanness upon him will be cut off by the stroke of Divine judgment (Lv 7$^{19-21}$).[*] On the other hand, both clean and unclean were permitted to eat the flesh of sacrificial animals if they were not brought in sacrifice (Dt 12^{15} 15^{22}), but the blood had to be poured out on the earth as water. Naturally, uncleanness disqualified the priests for eating holy things (Lv 22$^{3-7}$, cf. Is 52^{11}). If, further, the sacred food touched anything unclean, it might not be eaten (Lv 7^{19}).

A very interesting law is that forbidding an iron tool to be used on the stones of which the altar is constructed (Ex 20^{25}, Dt 27$^{5.6}$, Jos 8^{31}). Exodus, it is true, does not mention iron; it simply forbids the altar to be polluted by the use of a tool to hew the stones. But the point of the prohibition lies in the reference to iron. It can scarcely be that the requirement that the stones shall be unhewn is a protest against the intrusion of culture into religion. Nor can there be any question of offending the deity that dwelt in the stone, for it is not a monolith, but a structure built out of several stones, that the author has in view. Nor is the use of iron in war and its consequent connexion with death regarded as unfitting it for the service of God (in this case 1 Ch 22^{8} might be compared). The taboo on iron in ritual is very widely observed. It is wholly due to 'the conservatism of the religious instinct.' Long after iron came into common use in daily life, the dread of innovation in religion forbade it to be employed in ritual. Hence bronze knives continued to be used in religious ceremonies after iron knives were in common use. But it is even more striking that survivals from the Stone Age should persist into the Iron Age than that we should have survivals from the Bronze Age. Yet of this there are several examples. The true parallel to the prohibition of the iron tool on the altar is Zipporah's circumcision of her son with a flint (Ex 4^{25}), and Joshua's circumcision of the Israelites with flint knives (Jos 5$^{2.3}$).[*]

Lastly, the references to foreign lands as unclean have a ritual significance. Palestine was the only land in which J″ could be worshipped with sacrifice and offering, unless soil were actually taken from the clean into the unclean land, as was done by Naaman (2 K 5^{17}), whose point of view, we need not doubt, was shared by ordinary Israelites. Exile was therefore regarded with dread, for it severed the connexion of the worshipper with his God. And since neither tithe nor first-fruit could be offered, the crops remained unclean, and those in an unclean land were compelled to eat unclean food (Hos 9$^{3.4}$).

iv. UNCLEANNESS IN NT.—Since nothing in the Law touched the daily life of the Jew at so many points as the laws of uncleanness and purification, and that not only in the Dispersion (where the sacrificial system could not legally be practised) but in Palestine itself, it was natural that the scribes should develop the rules concerning it with the most painful minuteness. Casuistry, in fact, ran riot in this inviting field. The NT has many references to the laws of purification, and the largest of the six books of the Mishna (סדר טהרות) is devoted to this subject. Thirty chapters in it are devoted to the single subject of vessels. The rules went far beyond anything laid down in even the most casuistical Pentateuch laws. This is shown most of all in the regulations about the Washing of Hands. It was granted that these were not found in the Law, but were only traditions of the elders; yet they were very strictly enforced. The chief point to observe is that the hands were washed before food although they might be ceremonially clean. At first adopted by the Pharisees, it became a practice almost universal among Jews. Probably its origin was to prevent any contact with food when the person might have unconsciously contracted defilement. If the hands were known to be unclean, two washings before food were required. It also became customary to wash the hands after food; and some Pharisees, ingenious in discovering new ways of self-righteousness, washed between the courses. The washing of the hands was performed by pouring, the hands being held with the fingers up, so that the uncleanness might be washed down away from the fingers. The water had to run down to the wrist, else the ceremony was ineffectual (Edersheim thinks that in Mk 7^{3} we should translate πυγμῇ, 'to the wrist'; but see Swete's note). We have a further reference to the Jewish custom in the story of the marriage at Cana, where there were six stone waterpots for the water of purification (Jn 2^{6}; cf. also the discussion between John the Baptist's disciples and a Jew about purification, Jn 3^{25}, and the Jews purifying themselves or avoiding defilement before the passover, 11^{55} 18^{28}).

---

[*] The apparent exception to this principle already mentioned, that the unclean by touch of a dead body might eat the passover, is partially accounted for by the fact that in P the passover is not considered a sacrifice (cf. 2 Ch 30$^{17-20}$, Ezr 6^{20}).

[*] See Frazer, *l.c.* i. 344–348. Among the natives of Central Australia circumcision and subincision are still performed with stone knives, though iron knives are known. But, according to tradition, circumcision was originally performed with the fire-stick, and the stone knives were adopted because so many died in consequence of the operation (Spencer and Gillen, *l.c.* 223, 224, 394–402).

More importance attaches to the attitude of Jesus and the apostles to these customs. He excited the surprise of a Pharisee because He did not wash His hands before breakfast (Lk 11$^{38-41}$); and His disciples, by the same neglect, led the scribes and Pharisees to challenge Jesus to account for their behaviour (Mk 7$^{1-5}$, Mt 15$^{1.2}$). This gave Him occasion to denounce the making void of the word of God through tradition, and to enunciate the great liberating principle that not that which goeth into a man defiles him, but that which cometh out of him, from the heart. At one stroke He repealed all the Levitical rules as to unclean meats (Mk 7$^{6-23}$, Mt 15$^{3-20}$). There can be no such thing as ceremonial, there is only moral defilement. It was long, however, before this decisive pronouncement was really appreciated by the disciples. Just before he was sent to Cornelius, St. Peter could say that he had never eaten anything common or unclean (Ac 10^{14}). The principle was adopted, with concessions to Jewish prejudices against meats offered to idols, things strangled, and blood, in the letter of the Church of Jerusalem (Ac 15^{29}). St. Paul expressed the principle in the clearest form—that all things are clean, and nothing of itself is unclean (Ro 14$^{14.20}$, cf. Tit 1^{15}). 'All things are lawful; meats for the belly, and the belly for meats: but God will destroy both it and them' (1 Co 6^{13}). Nay, food perishes in the very act of use. What we can destroy must not be suffered to rule us (Col 2$^{20-22}$). So Christians must not permit themselves to be judged in meat or drink (Col 2^{16}). But, in actual practice, both Jesus and St. Paul made gracious concessions to Jewish feeling. Jesus bade the leper offer for his cleansing the things which Moses commanded (Mk 1^{44}). And St. Paul himself, becoming a Jew to the Jews, submitted to a rite of purification (Ac 21^{26}). This apostle laid down the great principle that Christians must be governed by the law of love; and, while we cannot make the conscience of another the measure of our own, we must exhibit always the tenderest consideration for the scruples of others, lest we place a stumbling-block in their way; and, further, that where these scruples exist, he who entertains them must not defile his conscience by violating them. But it is clear that in the Christian atmosphere the essentially heathen idea of ceremonial uncleanness could not survive.

LITERATURE.—The most important has been freely quoted in the article. Most is to be learned from W. R. Smith and Frazer (cf. also his art. 'Taboo' in the *Enc. Brit.*^{9}). For Arab usage Wellhausen's *Reste Arab. Heid.*^{2} is valuable. For non-Semitic parallels Jevons' *Introd. to the Hist. of Rel.*, and Spencer and Gillen's very important work, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, are most useful. The Hebrew customs are treated by Benzinger, and much more fully by Nowack, in their works on *Hebrew Archæology*. Their conclusions on several points might have been modified by a more thorough study of savage parallels, through which alone we can hope to understand the Israelitish ideas and usages. The discussion in the *OT Theologies* of Schultz, Dillmann, Smend, and Marti may also be consulted, together with Stade's in his *GVI*^{2} i. 481–487. The commentators on *Leviticus* deal with the subject; the soundest treatment is probably that of Baentsch in Nowack's *Handkommentar*. Bertholet's commentary in Marti's *Kurzer Hand-Commentar* appeared too late to be used in this article. An article by J. C. Matthes, 'De begrippen rein en onrein in het OT,' in the *ThT* xxxiii. (1899) 293 ff., has not been read by the present writer.

A. S. PEAKE.

UNDERGIRD.—See art. SHIPS AND BOATS, p. 506^b.

UNDERLING.—Sir 4^{27} 'Make not thyself an underling to a foolish man' (*μὴ ὑποστρώσῃς σεαυτὸν ἀνθρώπῳ μωρῷ*, RV 'Lay not thyself down for a fool to tread upon': for *ὑποστρώννυμι* used literally see Lk 19^{36} 'they spread their clothes in the way'). Underling is found in the Bishops' Bible La 5^3 'Wee are underlings without fathers'; and in Bunyan, *Holy War*, p. 15, 'Can you be kept by any Prince in more slavery and in greater bondage than you are under this day? You are made underlings, and are wrapt up in inconveniences.'

J. HASTINGS.

UNDERSETTER (כָּתֵף 'shoulder,' esp. as support for burdens).—The Heb. word (in the plu.) is translated 'undersetters' only in 1 K 7$^{30\,bis.\,34\,bis}$, and the meaning there is pedestals for the bases of the lavers in the temple. The Eng. word means props or supports, but that it is not altogether an inappropriate translation the foll. quotation shows: Gn 49^{15} Wyclif (1388), 'Isachar . . . undirsettide his schuldre to bere.' Elyot (*Governour*, i. 28) says that 'a wyse and counnynge gardener, purposynge to have in his gardeine a fine and precious herbe,' will, 'as it spryngeth in stalke, under sette it with some thyng that it breake nat, and alway kepe it cleane from weedes.' Tindale uses the verb metaph., *Expos.* p. 208, 'If our souls be truly underset with sure hope and trust.' Wyclif (1388) has the form 'undersettings' in Ezk 41^{26} (same Heb.), the 1382 ed. having 'shoulders.'

J. HASTINGS.

UNDERTAKE.—Is 38^{14} 'O Lord, I am oppressed; undertake for me' (עָרְבֵנִי, RV 'be thou my surety': in Job 17^3 the very same form of the verb is rendered in AV 'put me in a surety,' RV 'be surety for me'). The Eng. word has the usual sense of the intrans. verb, 'to assume responsibility for,' 'become surety for.' Cf. Fuller, *Holy War*, p. 137, 'The barren warres in Syria starved the undertakers.' J. HASTINGS.

UNDERWRITE.—2 Mac 9^{18} 'He wrote unto the Jews the letter underwritten' (*τὴν ὑπογεγραμμένην ἐπιστολήν*). The word is used literally, as RV 'the letter written below,' the words of the letter being then quoted. Cf. Shaks. *Macbeth*, V. viii. 26—

> 'We'll have thee, as our rarer monsters are,
> Painted upon a pole, and underwrit
> "Here may you see the tyrant."'

J. HASTINGS.

UNEASY is now restless, but in its only occurrence in AV it means literally 'not easy,' 'difficult': 2 Mac 12^{21} 'The town was hard to besiege, and uneasy to come unto' (*δυσπρόσιτος*, RV 'difficult of access'). So Shaks. *Tempest*, I. ii. 451—

> 'This swift business
> I must uneasy make, lest too light winning
> Make the prize light.'

The modern sense is quite as old, thus *II Henry IV.* III. i. 10—

> 'Why rather, sleep, liest thou in smoky cribs,
> Upon uneasy pallets stretching thee?'

J. HASTINGS.

UNGRACIOUS.—This Eng. word occurs in 2 Mac 4^{19} 'this ungracious Jason' (*Ἰάσων ὁ μιαρός*, RV 'vile'), 8^{34} 'that most ungracious Nicanor' (*ὁ τρισαλιτήριος Νικάνωρ*, RV 'thrice-accursed'), 15^3 'the most ungracious wretch' (*ὁ τρισαλιτήριος*, RV 'the thrice-accursed wretch'), always in the sense now conveyed by *graceless*. So Mt 18^{32} in Cranmer's Bible, 'O thou ungracious servaunt' (Gr. *Δοῦλε πονηρέ*). Cf. Erasmus, *Crede* 45, 'Rejoysynge in synne and ungratiousnes'; Hos 7^1 Cov. 'When I undertake to make Israel whole, then the ungraciousnesse of Ephraim and the wickednes of Samaria commeth to light.' J. HASTINGS.

UNICORN (רְאֵם and רְאֵים *rĕ'êm*, רֵים *rêm*; cf. Assyr. *rîmu* [see Schrader, *KAT*^{2} 456]).—The various forms of the Heb. word refer to an animal, characterized by its great strength (Nu 23^{22} 24^8), untameableness (Job 39$^{9.10}$), fleetness and activity (Ps 29^6), noted for its horn (Ps 92^{10}), of which it had more than one (Dt 33^{17} קַרְנֵי רְאֵם 'horns of a *rĕ'êm*,' not pl. as in AV 'unicorns'; cf. Ps 22^{21} קַרְנֵי רֵמִים 'horns of *rêms*'), associated with bullocks and bulls (Is 34^7). All of these references seem to point to a well-known animal, probably of the ox tribe. Certainly they do not refer to the fabulous unicorn, a rendering which has been adopted from the LXX μονοκέρως, which is the word in all the above passages except the last, where the rendering is ἁδροί = 'strong ones.' The Arab. *ri'm* is undoubtedly a white antelope, probably the *leucoryx*. Some of the above references would suit this animal. But most of them seem to imply a creature of the ox sort, and one of the strongest and fiercest of its group. RV tr. it 'wild ox,' m. 'ox-antelope.' Two species of wild oxen once abounded in Palestine. One, *Bos primigenius*, the *Auerochs* of the Old Germans, is now quite extinct everywhere. The other, *Bison bonasus* or *Bos urus*, which the Germans erroneously call the *Auerochs*, still exists in the forests of Lithuania and in the Caucasus. The latter cannot be the *rĕ'ēm*, on account of the shortness of its horns. The former was noted for its size, and the prodigious length and strength of its horns. It existed in Germany down to the time of Cæsar (*Bell. Gall.* vi. 28), and is depicted on the monuments of Assyria as one of the animals hunted by the kings of that country. (See art. ASSYRIA, vol. i. p. 182^b). Relics of it are found in the bone brecchia caves of Lebanon, and in the lake-dwellings of Switzerland. It is probable that it was not extinct until the Middle Ages. It is every way likely that this is the animal intended by the *rĕ'ēm*. Cf. Tristram, *Nat. Hist. of Bible*, 146 ff., and Driver, *Deut.* 407.

G. E. POST.

UNKNOWN GOD (ἄγνωστος θεός).—In his speech at Athens, St. Paul begins by referring to the universal interest in religious matters shown by the Athenians. In passing through the city he had seen an altar dedicated TO THE UNKNOWN GOD (ἀγνώστῳ θεῷ). He makes this the text of his speech, saying that that Divine power which they ignorantly worshipped he would declare to them (Ac 17^{23}). An exact parallel to this inscription is not known. An inscription is quoted from Euthalius (ed. Zacagn. p. 514): Θεοῖς Ἀσίας καὶ Εὐρώπης καὶ Λιβύης, θεῷ ἀγνώστῳ καὶ ξένῳ. According to Jerome (on Tit 1^{12}), the Athenian inscription was *Deis ignotis et peregrinis*. Other quotations are Paus. I. i. 4: Θεῶν ἀγνώστων καὶ ἡρώων; Philaster, *Vit. Apoll.* vi. 3: Ἀθήνησιν, οὗ καὶ ἀγνώστων δαιμόνων βωμοὶ ἵδρυνται. None of these give the parallel required, but all suggest that such an inscription would be possible. The whole point of the inscription lay in its being in the singular; and it is quite uncalled for to suggest, as Blass does, that St. Paul wrote originally in the plural because the neuter (ὃ . . . τοῦτο) in the next verse is changed by later MSS into the masculine (see Blass, *ad loc.*).

A. C. HEADLAM.

UNLEAVENED BREAD.—See LEAVEN and PASSOVER.

UNNI (עֻנִּי).—**1.** The name of a Levitical family of musicians, 1 Ch 15^{18} (B Ἐλιωήλ, ℵ Ἰωήλ, A Ἀνί, Luc. Ἀνανίας) ^{20} (Bℵ Ὠνεί, A Ἀνανί, Luc. Ἀνανίας). **2.** See UNNO.

UNNO (עֻנּוֹ *Kĕthîbh*, followed by RV; but *Ḳĕrê* עֻנִּי Unni (so AV, cf. 1 Ch 15$^{18.\ 20}$)).—The name of a family of Levites that returned with Zerubbabel, Neh 12$^{8\,(9)}$ (BA om., ℵ$^{c.\ a\ mg}$ Ἰανά, Luc. Ἰαναί). Guthe would read עֻנִּים, which he finds represented by the ἀνεκρούοντο of Lucian, taking the Ἰαναί of the latter to be a doublet of this word, and dropping BAKBUKIAH as an explanatory gloss derived from 11^{17}.

UNRIGHT.—Wis 12^{13} 'To whom thou mightest shew that thy judgment is not unright' (ὅτι οὐκ ἀδίκως ἔκρινας, RV 'that thou didst not judge unrighteously'). We find 'unright' for *unrighteous* also in Tindale, as *Pent.* (Mombert's ed.), p. cxxviii, '*Avims*, a kynde of Giauntes, and the worde signifieth crooked, unright, or weaked.' More common, however, is the subst. 'unright' for *unrighteousness, wrong*; thus Tindale's *Pent.* Gn 16^5 (ed. 1530), 'Thou dost me unrighte' (changed in 1535 ed. into, 'The wrong I suffre be on thy head'); Dt 25^{16} 'All that doo unright are abominacion unto the Lord.'

J. HASTINGS.

UNTOWARD.—The meaning of this word is seen in the foll. quotation from the *Judgement of the Synode at Dort*, p. 32, 'All men therefore are conceived in sin, and borne the children of wrath, untoward to all good tending to salvation, forward to evil.' It occurs in Ac 2^{40} 'Save yourselves from this untoward generation' (ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς τῆς σκολιᾶς ταύτης, RV 'from this crooked generation'). The subst. 'untowardness' is also found in AV in the headings to Is 28, Hos 6.

J. HASTINGS.

UPHARSIN.—See MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN.

UPHAZ (אוּפָז; in Jer 10^9 Μωφάζ, Q^{mg} Σουφείρ, Vulg. *Ophaz*; in Dn 10^5 Theod. Ὠφάζ; Vulg. [*aurum*] *obrizum*).—There is considerable uncertainty as to this word, which is much increased by the diverse opinions of the ancient authorities. Thus LXX has in Dn 10^5 καὶ τὴν ὀσφὺν περιεζωσμένος βυσσίνῳ, καὶ ἐκ μέσου αὐτοῦ φῶς instead of Theodotion's καὶ ἡ ὀσφὺς αὐτοῦ περιεζωσμένη ἐν χρυσίῳ Ὠφάζ, implying considerable divergence as to the reading. The Vulg. *aurum obrizum* is evidently based upon a comparison of the Heb. form of Uphaz with פָּז *pāz*, 'pure gold,' whilst the Gr. Μωφάζ implies some such variant reading as מוּפָז *mûphāz*, 'pure,' said of gold, though the Gr. translator of Jer 10 regarded this, like its variant Ophaz, as the name of a place. On the other hand, the mention of gold in both passages where the word occurs, naturally caused other translators to think of אוֹפִר Ophir, from which the Heb. form of Uphaz (without the vowel-points) differs only in having ז for ר.* It is apparently this which has given rise to the Gr. var. Σουφείρ (see art. OPHIR) in Q^{mg} (so also the Targ. and Pesh.). Among the conjectures as to the position of Uphaz may be mentioned that of Hitzig, that it may be the Sanskr. *vipâça* ('the free'), designating an Indian colony from the neighbourhood of the Hyphasis (= Hyphas = Uphaz) or Indus (Sanskr. *vipâça*), which had settled in Yemen—an identification which has been described as 'more acute than probable.'

LITERATURE.—*Calwer Bibellexikon*, and Riehm, *Handwörterbuch*, *s.v.*

T. G. PINCHES.

UR (אוּר 'flame').—Father of one of David's heroes, 1 Ch 11^{35} (B Σθύρ, A Ὡρά, Luc. Οὔρ). See AHASBAI.

UR OF THE CHALDEES (אוּר כַּשְׂדִּים; ἡ χώρα [τῶν] Χαλδαίων; *Ur Chaldæorum*).—The name of this city or district occurs four times in the OT, namely, Gn 11$^{28.\ 31}$ 15^7, and Neh 9^7; and as there is no indication as to its position, except that it was 'of the Chaldæans,' much uncertainty exists as to its identification, which is increased by the fact that the LXX do not transcribe the name Ur, but substitute for it χώρα, 'country.' Apparently on account of its comparative nearness to Canaan, whither Teraḥ and his family were bound (Gn 11^{31}), and because of the passage in Ac $7^{2.4}$, where the proto-martyr, St. Stephen, places it in Mesopotamia, many have supposed it to be identical with Urfa or Orfa, which the Greeks named Edessa. The origin of this city is attributed by Isidore to Nembroth or Nimrod, which opinion is confirmed by Ephraem, who states that Nimrod ruled at Arach and Edessa (*Comm. in Genesim*). From Isidore's reference to Μάννου Ὄρρα, which Vaux explains as 'evidently the Orrha of Mannus, who was one of the kings of Edessa,' the ancient name of the place has been described as Orrha, the likeness of which to Ur is evident. As, however, this name would seem not to be provable before B.C. 150, it is doubtful whether it can be quoted in support of the identification of Edessa with so old a site as Ur of the Chaldees. Indeed, according to Appian, the town itself was comparatively modern, having been built by Seleucus. Testimony to the firm belief of the Mohammedans that Urfa is the ancient Ur of the Chaldees is to be found in the fact that the chief mosque there bears the name of the 'Mosque of Abraham,' whilst the pond in which the sacred fish are kept is called 'the lake of Abraham the Beloved.'

---

* The reading אוֹפִר instead of אוּפָז is adopted by Ewald, Klostermann, Prince, Driver, Marti ['probably'], *et al.*

Another tradition, which is at the same time also the received opinion of scholars at the present time, is, that Ur of the Chaldees is the modern Mugheir, or, more correctly, *Muḳayyar*, 'the pitchy,' so called from the bitumen used in the construction of the principal building on the site. The original name of this place was Uru, and as it lies in S. Babylonia, anciently called (though not by the native inhabitants) Chaldæa, such an identification would leave but little to be desired. It is contained in a tradition quoted by Eusebius from Eupolemus, who lived about B.C. 150, to the effect that, tenth in generation and thirteenth in descent, there lived in the city of Babylonia called Camarine (Καμαρίνη), which is called by some the city Urie (Οὐρίη), a man named Abraham, of noble race, and superior to all others in wisdom. As Eupolemus occupied himself especially with Jewish history, there is hardly any doubt that what he says was the common opinion of the Jews at the time. That the place he refers to is that now represented by Mugheir is proved by the fact that its later name, Camarine (perhaps Aramaic), is evidently connected with the Arabic name for the moon, *ḳamar*, and that the city anciently occupying the site is now known to have been the great centre of Babylonian moon-worship. The statement that it was in his time called *by some* Urie is significant, as it suggests that the ancient name was going out of use.

The position of this city is close to the point where the Shatt al-Hai enters the Euphrates, about 125 miles N.W. of the Persian Gulf. Babylonian lists of wooden objects refer to a class of ship called *Urite*, suggesting that it was anciently not so far from the sea, its present inland position being to all appearance caused by the alluvial deposits at the head of the Gulf. The ruins cover an oval space, 1000 yards long by 800 wide, and consist of a number of low mounds within an enclosure. The principal ruin is near the northern end, and is evidently the remains of a tower in stages, such as many of the cities of Babylonia and Assyria anciently possessed, and similar to the Birs-Nimroud (generally regarded as the tower of Babel) and the temple of Belus at Babylon (which Nebuchadnezzar calls 'the tower of Babylon'). From the bricks of this building we obtain indications of its history, among the kings who restored it being Ur-Engur, Dungi his son (about B.C. 2700), Kudur-mabug and his son Arad-Sin (or Eri-Aku = ARIOCH), and Nûr-Addi; whilst other names found in connexion with this or other ruins on the site are, En-anna-duma, Bûr-Sin, Išmê-Dagan and his son Gungunu, Rim-Sin (probably the same as Arad-Sin or Eri-Aku), Sin-idinnam of Larsa, and Kuri-galzu son of Burnaburiaš. The principal ruin, which was, as has been already said, the great temple-tower of the place, was apparently 'the supreme great temple' (*ê gala maḫa*), called, to all appearance, Ê-šu-gana-dudu. Nabonidus, in the inscription on the four beautiful cylinders found at the four corners of this edifice, tells us that he restored it, and, in doing so, seemingly came across the records of Ur-Engur, and Dungi his son, whom he apparently regards as its founders. From this inscription we gather that the tower bore also the names of Ê-lugal-gaga-sisa and Ê-giš-šir-gala. South of the temple-tower of Nannara was the temple of the goddess Nin-gala, and south-east Ê-gipara, 'the temple of the lady of the gods.' Like other renowned cities in Babylonia, it was one of the sacred places to which the dead were taken for burial, and is completely surrounded by graves. In the time of Ur-Engur and his successors, it was the capital of the district, and an exceedingly important place, many of the smaller States around being subject to it. The possession of important shrines naturally added to its influence, and Peters states that from the amount of slag found there it must have been also one of the principal manufacturing centres of the district in which it lies. Many scholars are of opinion that proof of the identity of Ur of the Chaldees with this site lies in the fact that Ḥaran, to which city Teraḥ and his family migrated, was also a centre of moon-god worship, whilst the sacred mountain of the Jews, Sinai, being so named after Sin, the moon-god, is a further confirmation. This, however, is a point which may well be left undecided, as it is by no means certain that Teraḥ and his family were worshippers of the moon; and, even supposing that such was the case, Ḥaran may have been selected for other reasons than that the moon-god was worshipped there, shrines to that deity being not uncommon in the ancient East.

Notwithstanding the inherent probability of the identity of the ancient Babylonian Uru (Mugheir) with the biblical Ur of the Chaldees, the name is not so near as might be wished. The Heb. form has a long vowel, represented by אוּ, at the beginning, and no vowel at all after the consonant (ר). In the Bab. *Uru*, however, though there is no indication that the end-vowel was long, there is but little doubt that it was originally so, as the non-Semitic (Akkadian) form *Urima*, or, better, *Uriwa*, shows. Frd. Delitzsch (*Paradies*, p. 226) expresses the opinion that the old form of the name in Akkadian was Urum (Uruma); but that this is not quite correct, is proved by the 4-column syllabary 82–8–16, 1,* where the non-Semitic pronunciation is given as Uri, the terminal *-ma* or *-wa*, found in the archaic brick-inscriptions from the site, being (as is usual in the Assyr.-Bab. syllabaries) omitted. There would, then, seem to be but little doubt that these last two syllables, *-ima* or *-iwa*, are in part preserved in the form *Urie* (Οὐρίη), used by Eupolemus as quoted by Eusebius. It is true that it implies that the *i* of *iwa* only was heard, but the Heb. form, which is undoubtedly older, does not contain it.

This circumstance leads to the probability that the Ur-Kasdim of the OT may, in reality, stand for more than the name of a mere city; and if this be the case, it is not impossible that by these words the whole land of Akkad was intended—the Uri or Ura of the non-Semitic (Akkadian) inscriptions. The patriarch and his family in such a case would have had the whole extent of the province of Akkad

---

* Published by T. G. Pinches in S. A. Smith's *Miscellaneous Assyrian Texts*, 1887 (pl. 26).

(northern Babylonia) in which to roam and find pasturage for their flocks and herds, instead of being confined to the neighbourhood of the city of Uru (Mugheir). Ur-Kasdim, 'Ur of the Chaldæans' (the '*land* of the Chaldæans' of the LXX), is probably so called in order to distinguish it from some other Ur where the Chaldæans were not; and, in this case, either the province of Ura (Akkad) or the city of Uriwa would suit best, to the exclusion of Urfa and the castle of Ur between Hatra and Nisibis.

From exceedingly early times the kings of Babylonia called themselves kings of Kengi-Ura, *i.e.* Sumer and Akkad, and from this equivalence it is clear that Uri or Ura is the same as the district (not the city) called Akkad, and so named apparently from one of the chief cities, known as Agadè, Semiticized into Akad or Akkad. On this account the Semitic population called the whole tract Akkadu, 'the Akkadian (land),' to the exclusion of Uru, which name was already used, to all appearance, as the Semitic form of Uriwa. That they did not call this Akkadian district Uru may be regarded as an argument against its possible identification with Ur of the Chaldees, though it would seem, on the other hand, to be to a certain extent justified by the translation of the LXX, whose rendering, 'country of the Chaldæans,' notwithstanding that it does not seem to represent any Semitic or non-Semitic Babylonian expression,* may nevertheless be due to some tradition which they possessed. In connexion with this it is worthy of note that Ur, in the Heb. text, is not called the 'city,' but the 'land' of the nativity of Ḥaran, who died there 'in the presence of his father Teraḥ.'

The tradition that Ur of the Chaldees is represented by the ruins known as Warka may be dismissed, as this is now known to be the Erech of Gn 10^{10}, called by the Babylonians *Uruk*.† Its identification with the castle of Ur (Ammianus Marcellinus, XXV. viii. 7) in the Mesopotamian desert between Hatra and Nisibis, is also worthless, this place having been founded by the Persians.

Concerning the name itself, it is needful to state that *Kaldu* is to all appearance a late word, not provable in the cuneiform inscriptions before the 9th cent. B.C., when Adad-nirari III. uses it, and seems to mean, by the expression *mât Kaldi*, the whole of Babylonia. The Heb. *Kasdim* preserves the original *s*, changed, in the native form, into *l* before the dental.‡

LITERATURE.—Loftus, *Travels*, 1857; Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 226; Dillmann, *Genesis*, 199 ff.; G. Rawlinson, *Monarchies*, vol. i.; Schrader, *COT* i. p. 114 ff.; Peters, *Nippur*, vol. ii.; Vaux in Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geography*; also the articles ACCAD, BABEL, CHALDÆA, and SHINAR, in this Dictionary.

T. G. PINCHES.

URBANUS (Οὐρβανός, AV Urbane).—The name (masculine) of a Christian greeted by St. Paul in Ro 16^9, described as 'our helper in Christ.' The name is common among slaves, and is found in inscriptions of the Imperial household (*CIL* vi. 4237). He is commemorated Oct. 31 with Stachys and Amplias (which see). For later legends see *Acta Sanctorum*, Oct., vol. xiii. p. 687.

A. C. HEADLAM.

URI (אוּרִי 'fiery'; or perhaps contracted from אוּרִיָּה).—**1.** The father of BEZALEL, Ex 31^2 35^{30} 38^{22}, 1 Ch 2^{20}, 2 Ch 1^5 (B Οὐρείας in all except 1 Ch 2^{20} Οὐρεί; A Οὐρί in all except 2 Ch 1^5 Οὐρίας). **2.** Father of one of Solomon's commissariat officers, 1 K 4^{19} (BA 'Αδαί, Luc. 'Αδδαί). **3.** A porter, Ezr 10^{24} (Bℵ 'Ωδούθ, A 'Ωδουέ, Luc. Οὐρίας).

URIAH, in 2 K 16^{10-16} **URIJAH** (אוּרִיָּה, אוּרִיָּהוּ Jer $26^{20.\,21.\,23}$, 'flame of J″' or 'my light is J″'; B Οὐρείας, A Οὐρίας; *Urias*).—**1.** One of David's 'thirty' mighty men (2 S 23^{39}, 1 Ch 11^{41}). Like Ahimelech, another of David's followers, Uriah belonged by race to the ancient Hittite population; but, as his name seems to indicate, he had adopted his master's God as his own. The few personal traits of Uriah's character, which are incidentally revealed in the narrative of 2 S 11, not only illustrate the quiet heroism so often existent in the lives of commonplace people, but also enable us to gauge the depths to which David had fallen.

When summoned by royal command from the scene of war, Uriah's behaviour was guided by a resolve to live as far as was possible under the same conditions as his comrades in the field; accordingly after his interview with David, instead of seeking repose and relaxation in his own house, he immediately went on duty as one of the royal bodyguard; and this chivalrous determination was so firmly fixed in his mind that he retained it even when intoxicated. Josephus (*Ant.* VII. vii. 1) in his usual way embellishes the story of Uriah's death. In particular he states that David wrote to Joab 'commanding him to punish Uriah, and signified that he had offended,' and supplies graphic details of the engagement in which Uriah fell. Besides 2 S 11, Uriah's name occurs in 2 S $12^{9.\,10.\,15}$, 1 K 15^5, Mt 1^6.

2. High priest in the reign of Ahaz. The two notices of him that are found in the Bible leave us in some doubt as to his real character. On the one hand, he is selected (Is 8^2) as one of two 'faithful witnesses' who were to attest the utterance of the prophecy concerning Maher-shalal-ḥash-baz; while, on the other hand, the narrative of 2 K 16^{10-16} presents us with the picture of a weak compliant man who not only tolerated but even actively abetted the religious innovations of king Ahaz. It is possible that this unworthy complaisance is the cause of the omission of his name in what seems intended to be a list of high priests in 1 Ch 6^{4-15}. He is, however, included in a list given by Josephus (*Ant.* X. viii. 6), which is evidently based on that in Chronicles. There are so many suspicious features about the Chronicler's list that one is tempted to suppose an extensive corruption of the text. It is of course conceivable that Urijah was the *second* priest, whose special duty it was to regulate the temple services (cf. Jer 29^{26}).

The changes introduced by Ahaz with the connivance of Urijah were of a startling character. The priest had apparently so placed the Assyrian altar that the ancient brazen altar stood between it and the front of the Holy Place. Ahaz, however, was determined that his new altar should be the 'great' or principal one, and so he removed the ancient altar to the north side of the new one. The new altar now occupied the correct legal position before the Holy Place, and was used for all ordinary sacrificial purposes. The old altar was not, however, entirely discarded. From time immemorial kings and leaders of Israel had inquired of J″ at this same brazen altar. A favourable answer might not so easily be obtained at a new one, however elegant and modern. The old altar therefore was retained for purposes of divination. It must, however, be noted that this explanation of v.^{15} is not free from doubt. Michaelis, followed by Gesenius, Kittel, *et al.*, renders וּמִזְבַּח הַנְּחֹשֶׁת יִהְיֶה־לִּי לְבַקֵּר: 'as for the brazen altar it will be for me to inquire,' *i.e.* 'to consider what I shall do with it'; so Vulg. *erit paratum ad voluntatem meam.* The LXX εἰς τὸ πρωί [=לַבֹּקֶר] does not convey a meaning consistent with the context. It seems to be implied in the subsequent narrative that Urijah assented to the other structural alterations in the temple carried out by Ahaz.

---

* *Uru*, the non-Semitic (dialectic) word for 'city,' the original form of which was *guru*, also *kur*, 'country,' and *ḫur*, 'mountain,' furnish material for comparison, but the combination of these with Kasdim, 'Chaldæans,' a *Semitic* word, is in the highest degree unlikely.

† Sir Henry Rawlinson (*JRAS* xii. 141, note) refers to a tradition that Abraham was born not at Ur, but at Erech. This would bring the district of Ur somewhat far south, but Erech *may* have been included within its boundaries. The statement probably has, however, little or no value.

‡ According to Prof. Sayce, the Kasdim and the Chaldæi each had a different origin, the former being those West Semitic tribes who invaded Babylonia towards the end of the 3rd millennium B.C., and established there that dynasty of kings of which Ḫammurabi (Amraphel) is the most renowned. It was at this time that Kasdim and Babylonian became synonymous, like Chaldæan and Babylonian in later days. Ur (Muḳayyar), being situated on the western bank of the Euphrates, would naturally be in the district which, as pointed out by Hommel, was outside the limits of Babylonia proper, and therefore within the domain of those early conquerors. (On these matters, and the question of Arphaxad, see Sayce, *Expos. Times*, Nov. 1901, pp. 64–66, and Hommel, *ib.*, March 1902, p. 285).

3. A prophet, son of Shemaiah of Kiriath-jearim, the story of whose death is incidentally narrated in Jer 26$^{20-23}$. From this we learn that he was a contemporary and perhaps a disciple of Jeremiah, whose denunciations against Jerusalem and Judah he is stated to have echoed. Unlike the greater prophet, however, he did not succeed in evading the vengeance of Jehoiakim. Uriah having taken refuge in Egypt, the king demanded his extradition through Elnathan, his father-in-law (2 K 24^{8}), who was leader of an embassy, the real object of which was, in all probability, to solicit the aid of Egypt against Nebuchadnezzar. It is unlikely that Jehoiakim would have gone to the trouble and expense of sending a special mission merely to capture a single prophet. Having executed Uriah, the king added the further outrage of casting his dead body into the common graveyard. It is commonly thought that this story is introduced here by Jeremiah in order to prove that his own personal risk, as recorded in this chapter, was a very real one. On the other hand, Rashi maintains that these verses constitute the rejoinder of Jeremiah's enemies to the precedent of Hezekiah and Micah alleged by his friends. **4.** A priest, son or representative of HAKKOZ (Neh 3$^{4.21}$), by whom is probably meant the seventh of the twenty-four courses of priests (1 Ch 24^{10}). He is mentioned only as father or ancestor of Meremoth or Meraioth, an eminent priest who was chief of the four officials to whom Ezra entrusted the sacred vessels and treasure brought from Babylon (Ezr 8^{33}, 1 Es 8^{62} [URIAS]), who repaired two sections of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh 3$^{4.21}$), and whose name is substituted in the lists of priestly families, Neh 10^{5} 12$^{3.15}$, for that of Hakkoz. **5.** One of those who stood on Ezra's right hand when he publicly read the Law (Neh 8^{4}, 1 Es 9^{43} [URIAS]). He was probably a priest. N. J. D. WHITE.

URIAS.—**1.** (B Οὐρείας, B^{b} Οὐρίας, A Οὐρί, AV Iri) 1 Es 8^{62} (LXX ^{61}). In Ezr 8^{33} Uriah. Perhaps identical with—**2.** (B Οὐρείας, B^{b} A Οὐρίας) 1 Es 9^{43}. In Neh 8^{4} Uriah.

URIEL (אוּרִיאֵל, 'flame of El,' or 'my light is El'; cf. Phœn. ארמלך, Assyr. *Urumilki*).—**1.** A Kohathite chief, 1 Ch 6$^{24\,(9)}$ (B 'Οριήλ, sup ras A^{a}? and Luc. Οὐριήλ), 15$^{5.11}$ (B Οὐριήλ, 'Αριήλ, A both times Οὐριήλ). **2.** The maternal grandfather of Abijah, 2 Ch 13^{2} (BA Οὐριήλ). See MAACAH, No. 3, and cf., further, Benzinger, *Chron. ad loc.* **3.** See next article.

URIEL (Οὐριήλ).—One of the four chief archangels. In Enoch 20^{2} he is called 'the angel who is over the world (? angel-host) and Tartarus.' In keeping with this title, Uriel is the one who accompanies Enoch in his visits to Tartarus, and who explains to him the tortures of the lost (19^{1} 21$^{5-10}$ 27^{2} 33^{3}). In 2 Esdras, Uriel is sent to ask Esdras if he can 'weigh the flame of fire, or measure the wind, or recall the past.' If not, why does he presume to challenge the dealings of God (4^{5})? Similar errands are narrated in 2 Es 5$^{20ff.}$ 10^{28}. In the *Prayer of Joseph*, Uriel is the angel with whom Jacob wrestles. In wrestling with him, Jacob claims to be 'the firstborn of every creature animated by God,' and affirms that Uriel is eighth in rank after him [see JOSEPH, PRAYER OF, vol. ii. p. 778^{b}]. In the *Sibylline Oracles*, ii. 228, Uriel is named as the one who will bring the sorrow-stricken forms of the Titans and giants to judgment; and in the *Life of Adam and Eve*, § 48, Michael and Uriel are commanded to bury Adam and Abel in Paradise. J. T. MARSHALL.

URIM AND THUMMIM.—From an interesting passage of an early historical work we learn that the ancient Hebrews recognized three principal media through which the Divine will might be revealed to men. When Saul in his later years 'inquired' of J", 'J" answered him not, neither by dreams, nor by Urim—which we may provisionally render, by the sacred lot—nor by prophets' (1 S 28^{6}). The same three channels of Divine communication were also recognized in ancient Greece, although there divination by lot 'was entirely overshadowed by the prophetic frenzy and inspiration through dreams' (art. 'Sortes' in Smith's *Dict. of Antiq.*^{3}). In this article we have to investigate the mode of ascertaining the Divine will by means of the sacred lots, known as 'the Urim and the Thummim [more correctly *Tummim*].'

Considering the evident importance of this, apparently the only legitimate, mode of divination in early times, the number of express references to the Urim and Thummim is surprisingly limited. In Ex 28^{30}, Lv 8^{8} (both P) we have הָאוּרִים (*hā-'ûrîm*) and הַתֻּמִּים (*hat-tummîm*); in Ezr 2^{63}, Neh 7^{65}, without the article (here only in OT) *'ûrîm* and *tummîm.* Dt 33^{8} gives them in the reverse order (see below). In Nu 27^{21}, 1 S 28^{6} *'ûrîm* stands alone. 1 S 14$^{41f.}$, from which, in our MT, Urim and Thummim has disappeared, will be fully discussed below,* where also will be found the few references in the apocryphal writings.

The present vocalization leaves no doubt as to the etymology and signification of אוּרִים and תֻּמִּים intended by the Massoretic scholars. The former is evidently connected with אוֹר 'light,' the latter is the plural of תֹּם, 'completeness,' in a moral sense 'perfection,' 'innocence'; the idea being, perhaps, that Urim was the lot which *brought to light the guilt* of the subject of the ordeal, while Thummim established his *innocence.* The words are to be understood as intensive plurals, and rendered, on this hypothesis, 'Light and Perfection (or Innocence),' rather than as RVm (Ex 28^{30}), 'the Lights and the Perfections.' It will, however, appear in the sequel that the sacred lot was frequently used where there is no question of guilt or innocence, and it is an open question whether the Massoretic pronunciation reaches back to the time when the lot was in use. Various alternative etymologies have been proposed of late. Thus Wellhausen in his *Prolegomena* (Eng. ed. p. 394) proposed to connect Urim with the verb אָרַר, 'to curse,' and expressed approval of Freytag's connexion of Thummim with the Arabic *tamîma*, a species of amulet (see Freytag, *Lex Arab.-Lat.* i. 199^{b}; *JBL* xix. (1900) 58); cf. Haupt-Schwally, *ZATW* xi. 172, who suggests 'cursing and blessing' as probable renderings; and Ball, in the list of proper names at end of his *Light from the East*, 'biddings and forbiddings (?).' In his later works, however, Wellh. has given up this etymology. In view of the ancient and long-continued influence of Babylonian ideas on the religious thought of the West, there is greater probability in the etymology recently proposed by some Assyriologists of repute, who suggest as the root of אוּרִים the Piel infin. form *u'uru* (stem אאר or איר), 'to send forth (an edict),' whence *urtu* and *tertu*, the technical Babylonian terms for an oracle. (See Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kentnis d. bab. Religion*, 88 f. 91, note 2; Muss-Arnolt, *AJSL* xvi. (1900) 218). One is further tempted to connect Thummim with the verb *tamû*, Piel *tummû*, frequent in the divination vocabulary of the Babylonians, in the sense of 'to put under a spell' (see Zimmern's vocabulary, *op. cit.* 78). 'If these derivations are correct, אוּרִים and תֻּמִּים would correspond to the Babyl. *ûrtu* ("command," "decision," mostly of the gods), and *tamîtu*, a synonym of *pirishtu*="oracle," "oracular decision of the gods"' (Muss-Arnolt, *op. cit.* 219).

The renderings of the ancient VSS give no help either towards the etymology and significance of the original terms, or towards the real nature of the objects themselves.

---

* In Ps 43^{3} Lagarde (*Prophetæ chald.* p. xlvii) would read 'send forth thy Urim and thy Thummim' (cf. Dt 33^{8}). See also Duhm in *Kurzer Handcom. in loc.*

The Targums and Syr. VSS merely transliterate the Heb. terms. The Gr. VSS vary in a remarkable way, showing that their authors had no tradition to guide them. For אוּרִים we find the following renderings: (*a*) δήλωσις, 'manifestation' (perhaps rather 'direction,' 'instruction,' since the corresponding δηλόω is used by LXX to render the Hiphil of יָרָה in Dt 33^{10} and other synonymous Heb. verbs), Ex 28^{30} [LXX ^{26}], Lv 8^{8}, 1 Es 5^{40}; (*b*) δῆλοι[*] [*scil.* λίθοι], 'clear,' 'transparent' [jewels, see below], Nu 27^{21}, Dt 33^{8}, 1 S 14^{41} [not in MT] 28^{6}, Sir 45^{10}, also 36^{3} [EV 33^{3}], according to the better reading of אA; cf. AVm 'as the asking of Urim'; (*c*) the verb φωτίζω, 'to give light,' Ezr 2^{63}, Neh 7^{65}; (*d*) the later translators prefer the more literal rendering φωτισμοί, 'lights,' so Aq., Symm., and Theod. Ex 28^{30}; but in Dt 33^{8} Symm. has (*e*) διδαχή, the source of Jerome's *doctrina*, unless the Latin Father so understood δήλωσις as above suggested.

For תֻּמִּים we have (*a*) ἀλήθεια, 'truth'—perhaps suggested by the fact that the presiding judge in Egypt wore, suspended from his neck, an image of Tme, the Egyptian goddess of truth (see end of this article)—Ex., Lv., Deut., 1 Es., as above, Sir 45^{10}; (*b*) ὁσιότης, 1 S 14^{41},[†] here 'innocence'; (*c*) τέλεια, 'perfect things,' Ezr 2^{63}; (*d*) in the later translators (Aq. etc.) also literally τελειότητες, 'perfections.' The renderings of the Old Latin and Jerome hesitate in the same way between *doctrina, demonstratio, ostensio*, also *doctus*, for Urim, and *veritas, perfectio, sanctitas, perfectus, eruditus*, for Thummim.

In proceeding to investigate the nature and use of the Urim and Thummim, it seems advisable to begin with the data of the youngest products of Heb. literature, and to proceed backwards to those of the earliest. Setting aside for the present the speculations of Philo and Josephus, to whom we shall return, we find no help in our investigation from the references in the deutero-canonical writings recorded above, viz. 1 Es 5^{40}, in which the high priest is described as 'wearing Urim and Thummim' (so RV; AV, following Vulg., 'clothed in doctrine and truth'), Sir 36^{3} 45^{10}. The first item of interest is furnished by the fact recorded in Ezr 2^{63} = Neh 7^{65}, that certain families were excluded from the enjoyment of priestly rights until the purity of their descent should be established by 'a priest with Urim and with Thummim.' From this it is manifest that the use of these mysterious objects, and possibly also their precise nature, were unknown to the Jewish authorities of the post-exilic age.

This brings us to the Priests' Code. Without pausing to inquire, at this stage, into the full significance attributed by the compilers of this document to the Urim and Thummim, we may learn at least two facts which will clear the way for further investigation, and prove the impossibility of a widely current view as to the identity of these objects. After giving minute directions for the making of the 'breastplate of judgment' (for which see vol. i. p. 319 f.), attached to the high priest's ephod, P proceeds thus: 'And thou [Moses] shalt put *into the* (breastplate or) *pouch of judgment* the Urim and the Thummim' (Ex 28^{30}). No explanation is given of these, nor any instructions for making them. The latter omission so impressed the Samaritans that the requisite order is supplied here, and executed 39^{21}, in their recension of the Pentateuch. The rendering above given of the ambiguous phrase of the original וְנָתַתָּ אֶל־חֹשֶׁן הַמִּשְׁפָּט is that imperatively demanded by the context (see the commentaries) in preference to the possible alternative adopted by the LXX, *καὶ ἐπιθήσεις ἐπὶ τὸ λόγιον τῆς κρίσεως τὴν δήλωσιν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν*, 'thou shalt *put upon*[‡] the oracle of judgment the Urim and the Thummim.' This mistaken rendering is mainly responsible for the view entertained by many writers, from Josephus to Kalisch (*Hist. and Crit. Comm. in loc.*), that the Urim and Thummim are to be identified with the jewels of the breastplate, enumerated in the verses preceding. P's contribution to the discussion, therefore, consists in showing (1) that the Urim and Thummim were understood in priestly circles, about the close of the Exile, as something distinct both from the ephod and from the gems with which the pouch of the ephod was ornamented; and (2) that they were conceived as *material objects of comparatively small dimensions*, capable of being inserted in the pouch, which indeed was constructed solely with a view to contain them. The other references of the Priestly Code (Lv 8^{8}, Nu 27^{21}) give no further clue to the nature of Urim and Thummim. The second passage, however, shows the importance attached to them in the ideal theocratic community of P as the authorized medium of Divine revelation.

When we pass from these ideal representations to the actual history of the pre-exilic period, while we meet with an equal readiness to presuppose familiarity with the objects under discussion, we are able for the first time to learn something as to the *modus operandi* in the use of the sacred lot. The most explicit of the earlier passages in which this *modus operandi* is exhibited is the graphic narrative in 1 S 14. Here we find the Hebrew host, led by Saul and Jonathan, proceeding to ascertain the cause of the Divine displeasure (v.^{37}) in the face of their hereditary enemies, the Philistines. Unfortunately, the Heb. text has here suffered serious mutilation, and, as even the most conservative scholars admit, must be restored by the help of the Greek version. The latter, in Lucian's recension (Lagarde's ed.), runs thus, v.$^{41f.}$: 'And Saul said, O Lord, the God of Israel, why hast thou not answered thy servant this day? if the iniquity be in me or in Jonathan my son, give Urim (*δὸς δήλους* [see above]); and if thou sayest thus: The iniquity is in the people, give Thummim (*δὸς ὁσιότητα*; MT הָבָה תָמִים, which cannot possibly mean, as RV, 'show the right').[*] And the lot fell upon Saul and Jonathan, and the people escaped. And Saul said: Cast the lot between me and Jonathan my son, and on whomsoever the Lord shall cause the lot to fall, let him die.' The true text was apparently still accessible to Jerome, who renders: 'si in me aut in Jonatha filio meo, est iniquitas hæc, da ostensionem [Urim]; aut si hæe iniquitas est in populo meo da sanctitatem [Thummim].'

From the text of this important passage in its original form, then, we learn (1) that the Urim and Thummim were the recognized medium for discovering the guilt or innocence of suspected parties, a species of Divine ordeal; (2) that as the lots were only two in number, only one question could be put at a time, and that in a way admitting only of two alternative answers; (3) that where these answers, from the nature of the case, could not be given by a mere 'yes' or 'no' (see below), it was necessary to agree beforehand on the way in which the issuing lot was to be interpreted; (4) a fourth inference, that the manipulation of the lots was the prerogative of the priests, may be drawn from the context (see below), but is more explicitly stated in the only other reference to Urim and Thummim in pre-exilic literature. In the so-called 'Blessing of Moses' (Dt 33)—perhaps as early as the time of Jeroboam I. (so Dillmann and Driver), certainly not later than Jeroboam II. (so most critics)—the benediction of Levi opens thus: 'Give to Levi thy Thummim, and thy Urim to the man of thy favour' (v.^{8}, following LXX with Ball, *PSBA*, 1896, 118 ff., and Bertholet, *Kurzer Handcom. in loc.*).

Another step forward is suggested by the comparison of the function here assigned to the

---

[*] Hos 3^{4} LXX for 'teraphim.'

[†] The MT has here the corrupt reading תָּמִים, see below.

[‡] The Samaritan-Hebrew actually read ונתתה על here and in Lv 8^{8}.

[*] See Driver's *Notes on the Heb. Text of the Books of Samuel* for the restoration of the original Hebrew of the essential portions of the above.

Levitical priesthood with another recital of the priestly prerogatives, where the tribe of Levi alone is represented as chosen by J″ ‘to offer upon mine altar, to burn incense, and *to bear* * (לָשֵׂאת) *an ephod before me*’ (1 S 2^{28}, cf. 22^{18} LXX). For although our present Heb. text nowhere *expressly* associates the Urim and the Thummim with the mysterious ephod-image of the early writers (see Ephod, No. 2, vol. i.), an examination of the whole narrative of 1 S 14 in the Greek text, and of other passages in the Books of Samuel, where this ephod figures as indispensable to the manipulation of the lot, leads to the conclusion that the ephod-image and Urim and Thummim had some intimate but as yet undiscovered connexion the one with the other. Thus, in 1 S 14, the priest of v.^{36} who presides over the ordeal of Urim and Thummim can be no other than Ahijah the descendant of Eli, who accompanied Saul, ‘bearing an ephod’ (נֹשֵׂא אֵפוֹד v.^{3}). In v.^{18}, according to the true text, he is summoned to ‘bring forward the ephod’ (*προσάγαγε τὸ ἐφούδ*—not as in MT ‘the ark’; see Ark, vol. i. p. 150^{a}, note §; Ephod, vol. i. p. 776, note ‡), evidently for the purpose of consulting the lot, but immediately ordered to ‘withdraw’ his hand when on the point of proceeding to its manipulation (v.^{19}). Again, in the story of David’s adventures at Keilah, we read of his being joined by the priest Abiathar, bringing ‘an ephod in his hand’ (1 S 23^{6}). He is requested by David, in terms identical with those used by Saul, to ‘bring forward the ephod’ (v.^{9}); whereupon the former proceeds to ask a series of questions, each capable of being answered by a simple ‘yes’ or ‘no’ (vv.$^{10-12}$). It is impossible to escape the inference that these two narratives of a solemn inquiring of J″ on the part of Saul and David offer complete parallels, that in both the answer is obtained by means of Urim and Thummim, and that in either case these objects are carried in and cast from, or in some other way intimately connected with, the ephod-image. What has now been said of the incidents of 1 S $23^{6ff.}$ applies equally to the similar procedure in $30^{7ff.}$, where David again ‘inquired of J″’ by means of the ephod.

Indeed most scholars would go further, and maintain that in a number of other places, where the same phrase ‘to inquire of J″ (שָׁאַל בְּי״)’ is employed, and where the use of the sacred lot ‘before J″’ is stated, recourse to Urim and Thummim is implied in every case. The most important of such passages are Jos 7^{14-18} Achan’s trespass, Jg $1^{1f.}$ $20^{27f.}$, 1 S 10^{19-22} the election of Saul, 2 S 2^{1} $5^{19.23}$.

To say that the Urim and Thummim of the earlier historians must have been intimately connected with the portable images to which they gave the name of ephod in the casting of the sacred lot, does not help us to discover the real nature of the objects in question. The etymology, as we have seen, is equally of no avail. The Greek translators in rendering Urim by δῆλοι [λίθοι] apparently identified it with the jewels of the breastplate. We are therefore left to *conjecture* that, on the analogy of the *sortes* of classical antiquity, they may have been two stones, either in the shape of dice or in tablet form, perhaps also of different colours. Some support is given to this view, which is that of most modern writers (see Literature at end of article), by the fact that the Heb. word for ‘lot,’ *gôrāl*, as is inferred from its Arabic congeners, originally signified a stone (cf. Gr. ψῆφος, ‘a pebble used in voting,’ and the Bab. *puru*, ‘a stone,’ whence, according to Jensen, quoted by Wildeboer in *Kurzer Handcom.*, פּוּרִים Est 3^{7}, synonymous with גּוֹרָל, is derived).

With the growth of more spiritual conceptions of the Divine character and of His relation to mundane affairs, recourse to the lot as a means of ascertaining the mind of J″ gradually fell into abeyance. It cannot be a mere coincidence that the use of Urim and Thummim is never mentioned in the historical narratives after the time of David. The rise of the prophetic order in Israel provided the nation with a worthier channel for the revelation of the Divine will, and with more trustworthy counsellors in the crises of the individual and national life. The further we descend the stream of history the more conspicuous is this displacement of the priestly lot by the prophetic voice (contrast Ezr 2^{63}=Neh 7^{65} with 1 Mac 4^{46} 14^{41}). That the Urim and Thummim should reappear in the scheme of the Priestly Code is not surprising. It is part of its ideal reconstruction of the theocracy that the high priest should be at all points fully equipped for his office as the Divine vicegerent in the theocracy. For this end he is provided with the already mysterious Urim and Thummim, the manipulation of which was one of the most prized of the ancient prerogatives of the priestly caste. Their early association with the now long tabooed ephod-image, and the fact that the bosom-folds of the upper garment was a common receptacle for the ‘lot’ as used in everyday affairs (see Pr 16^{33} ‘the lot is shaken in the bosom-fold, but the whole disposing thereof is of J″$_{p}$’),* may have suggested to the authors of the Priestly Code the placing of the Urim and Thummim in the jewelled pouch of the high priest’s ephod. In any case it is clear from the principal passage, Ex 28^{30}, that it is rather a symbolical than a practical significance that is attached to the mysterious contents of the ‘pouch of judgment (or decision).’ Israel, in the person of Aaron its representative, is here presented as the continual recipient of J″’s ‘decisions’ and guidance, and the position of the symbols ‘upon his heart’ betokens the readiness of Israel at all times to yield obedience to these Divine commands.

After the exhaustive presentation of the earlier biblical data as to the use and associations of the Urim and Thummim, little need be said of the views of older scholars, whose method of research was vitiated by their taking the representations of the Priests’ Code as decisive for the nature and use of these objects in the historical period. Thus, probably, few will be found to maintain the once widely accepted theory that found the prototype of the Urim and Thummim in the jewelled image of Tme, the goddess of truth and patron of justice, which the Chief Justice (ὁ *ἀρχιδικαστής*, Ælian, *Var. Hist.* xiv. 34; cf. Diod. Sic. i. 48) of Egypt wore on his breast; still less to defend an Egyptian etymology for Urim and Thummim (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyptians* [1878], vol. iii. p. 183, with figure of judge’s breastplate).† The same comparative ignoring of the evidence of our oldest sources as to the nature of the ancient lot is fatal to the acceptance of the thesis recently brought forward by an American scholar (Muss-Arnolt, see below), that the Urim and Thummim are a reflexion of the ‘Tablets of Destiny’ of the Babylonian mythology.‡

Nor need we dwell on the many absurd speculations as to the nature of Urim and Thummim, and as to the mode in which their guidance was supplied, which are to be found in the works of Jewish and Christian writers from Philo and Josephus downwards, and for which the curious reader is referred to the bibliography at the end of this article.* Philo, it may be said, did not, as is often erroneously stated, regard the Urim and Thummim as two images carried in the breastplate (see Mangey's note, *Opp.* ii. 152), but as symbols of 'the two virtues, Illumination and Truth (*δήλωσίν τε καὶ ἀλήθειαν*).' Josephus (*Ant.* III. viii. 9) does not expressly name the Urim and Thummim, but appears to identify them with the jewels of the breastplate and on the shoulders of the high priest, which, by a miraculous effulgence, gave supernatural guidance, particularly on the eve of battle.†

---

* Not as EV. ‘to wear,’ a sense which נָשָׂא nowhere has in Hebrew.

* Cf. Book of Jubilees 8^{11}, where the lots for the apportioning of the earth among the sons of Noah are drawn from the patriarch’s bosom.

† See, however, Hommel, *AHT* 282 f., who finds the original of the Jewish high priest’s ephod in the pectoral of the High Priest of Memphis, as figured by Erman, *Egypt*, 298.

‡ The most that can be said for this view is that the presence of these tablets on the breasts of Marduk and Nebo was known to P, and may possibly have influenced his placing of them on the breast of the high priest (but see above).

A favourite explanation of Jewish writers, reaching back to the Jerusalem Targum (pseudo-Jonathan on Ex 28^{30}), was to the effect that Urim and Thummim contained the sacred tetragrammaton (יהוה), which spelled out answers to inquirers by illuminating the letters of the tribal names on the transparent gems! Scarcely less curious is the view, probably still widely entertained, that the high priest threw himself into a hypnotic trance by gazing intently on the dazzling jewels,—again wrongly identified with Urim and Thummim,—and while in this state was the recipient of the Divine message (see Kalisch, *Exodus*, pp. 540–545, and cf. Plumptre in art. cited above).

Literature.—For the views of older scholars see Buxtorf, 'Historia Urim et Thummim' in Ugolini, *Thesaurus*, vol. xii., and Spencer, *De legg. Hebræorum ritualibus* (1685), dissert. 7. Of modern works and articles reference may be made, besides the ordinary commentaries, to the artt. in Winer's *RWB* (with reff. to many older works); Riehm, *HWB*, art. 'Licht und Recht' (Luther's rendering of Urim and Thummin); Smith's *DB*, and esp. to the excellent study of Kautzsch in *PRE*^{2} vol. xvi.; the standard treatises on Biblical Archæology; Kalisch's excursus in the body of his commentary on *Exodus*, pp. 540–545; Haupt, 'Babylonian Elements in the Levitical Ritual' in *JBL* xix. (1900) pp. 58 f., 72 f.; and for a complete conspectus of the views of modern scholars, W. Muss-Arnolt, *The Urim and Thummim, a Suggestion as to their original Nature and Significance*, a reprint from *AJSL*, July 1900.

A. R. S. Kennedy.

USURY.—See Debt, vol. i. p. 579 f. We may add here that the Babylonian contract tablets show that the payment of interest was an established custom from the time of Khammurabi (*c.* 2200 B.C.) onwards. Doubtless it had already existed for centuries in the time of that king. He interferes to enforce the payment of a loan with interest. The usual rate of interest seems to have been 20 per cent., though the payment is also mentioned of $11\frac{2}{3}$ and $13\frac{1}{3}$. In another case a loan is to be repaid within two months, after which 10 per cent. interest will be charged. In addition to silver or money there are lent corn, dates, sesame seed, and onions. Some of the loans are secured on houses, slaves, etc.; and in one case the services of the slave specified as security are given in place of interest. These contract tablets, etc., extend from *c.* 2200 B.C. to *c.* 100 B.C. (*Guide to Bab. and Assyr. Ant.*, Brit. Mus., 1900, pp. 122–191).

At Athens, in the classical period, interest varied from 12 to 20 per cent., at Rome from $8\frac{1}{2}$ to 12 per cent.; but towards the beginning of the Christian era the rate of interest at Rome was lowered through the accumulation of capital, but high rates still prevailed in the provinces. In Greece and Rome money was often lent and interest paid by the month. See art. 'Interest' in *Dict. Class. Ant.*, O. Seyffert, etc.

W. H. Bennett.

UTA (Οὐτά), 1 Es 5^{30}.—His sons returned among the temple servants under Zerubbabel. There is no corresponding name in Ezra and Nehemiah.

UTHAI (עותי).—**1.** The name of an individual or a family of Judah, settled at Jerusalem after the Captivity, 1 Ch 9^{4} (B Γωθεί, A Γωθί, Luc. Οὐθί); called in Neh 11^{4} Athaiah. **2.** One of the sons of Bigvai who returned with Ezra, Ezr 8^{14} (B Οὐθί, A Οὐθαί, Luc. Ὠθαί).

UTHI (B Οὐτού, A Οὐθί), 1 Es 8^{40} = Uthai, Ezr 8^{14}.

UZ (עוץ; LXX Ὥς [Gn 22^{21} Ὥξ, Lag. Ὥζ; Job 1^{1} 32^{2} $42^{17b.\,e}$ ἡ γῆ [χώρα] ἡ Αὐσ(ε)ῖτις]; Vulg. *Hus* [Gn 10^{23} *Us*, Jer 25^{20} *Ausitis*]).—**1.** The eldest son of Aram, and grandson of Shem (Gn 10^{23}). As the name of Aram is omitted in the parallel passage in 1 Ch 1^{17}, Shem would there seem to have been his father. This, however, must be due to some oversight, the wanting passage being duly inserted in the LXX.—**2.** A son of Naḥor by Milcah, the eldest brother of Buz and Ḳemuel 'the father of Aram' (Gn 22^{21}). In the AV the name is transcribed Huz (Josephus has Οὖξος).—**3.** One of the two sons of Dishan, son of Seir the Ḥorite (Gn 36^{28}).—**4.** The name of the native place of Job. Considerable difference of opinion exists as to how far the above names are connected. There would seem to be but little doubt that the genealogical statements in Gn 10 are ethnological and geographical rather than personal, and all that can be deduced from them therefore is, that the people of Uẓ were Semites of the Aramæan stock. That Uẓ the son of Naḥor should be uncle of Aram and Chesed, is probably due to the existence of two distinct traditions concerning these Semitic races, the earlier one making him a son of Aram, and the later one attributing to him an earlier period than that of Aram. Nevertheless, it is not by any means impossible that a recurrence of names at a later date may have taken place, such a thing being by no means unusual, as the genealogical lists show.* Kautzsch, on the other hand, goes further, and maintains not only the connexion of Uẓ the grandson of Shem with Uẓ the son of Naḥor, but also with Uẓ the son of Dishan as well.† This he regards as indicating that the district belonging to the tribe represented by Aram's firstborn originally included a considerable part of that of the Aramæan tribes. From this Uẓ in the wider sense is to be separated Uẓ in the narrower sense, which originated in the mingling of the Aramæan Uẓites with another Semitic race—the 'Naḥorites' of Gn $22^{21ff.}$. Uẓ the grandson of Seir is to be explained in a similar manner as a mingling of (pre-Edomite) Ḥorites and Aramæan Uẓites in a part of Idumæa. The 'land of Uẓ' would therefore be a rather extensive geographical idea. All this seems to be confirmed by other coincidences of names accompanying that of Uẓ—the name of Aram, already referred to; Maacah, another son of Naḥor (Gn 22^{24}, which forms part of a geographical name in 1 Ch 19^{6}); Buz (Gn 22^{21}) and Buzite (Job 32^{2}); Chesed (Gn 22^{22}) and Kasdim (Job 1^{17} AV and RV 'Chaldeans'); Shuaḥ, a nephew of Naḥor (Gn 25^{2}), and Shuḥite (Job 2^{11}); also Ḳedem, the country whither Abraham sent Shuaḥ, together with his other children by Ḳeturah (Gn 25^{6}), and the race to which Job belonged—the 'sons of the East' or Bĕnê-Ḳedem (Job 1^{3}).

The question of the position of the land of Uẓ would appear to be determinable within very narrow limits. In Job $1^{15.\,17}$ it would seem that

---

* A convenient and accessible summary of the more important of these older views will be found in Plumptre's article in Smith's *DB*.

† Josephus' statement, 'the breastplate and sardonyx (prob. intended by him to represent Urim and Thummim) left off shining two hundred years' before his time, is too absurd to require refutation.

* The Assyro-Babylonian royal lists likewise indicate that the repetition of renowned or venerated names was far from being an uncommon thing among the Semites in ancient times.

† It is to be noted that Frd. Delitzsch regards Uẓ, the grandson of Seir (Gn 36^{28}), as another person of the same name,—or a chance-likeness,—a theory supported by La 4^{21}, where Edom appears in temporary possession of Uẓ, either wholly or in part.

Job's estate lay open to the depredations of the Sabæans and the Chaldæans, and was therefore on the edge of the great desert, agreeing with v.^{19}, where the destruction wrought by the wind from that direction is referred to. The native countries of Job's friends likewise favour this view—that is, so far as those districts can be identified. Thus Eliphaz came from Teman (Job 2^{11}), which was to all appearance an Edomite locality, Teman being referred to in Gn 36^{11} as a descendant of Esau and son of Eliphaz, which last was evidently, therefore, a genuine Edomite name. His second friend, Bildad 'the Shuḥite,' came from Shuaḥ, the district and name of one of the sons of Abraham and Ḳeturah. The name of Job's third friend, Ẓophar the Naamathite, does not help, that district being unknown (see NAAMAH); but Elihu the Buzite must have come from a neighbouring country, as is implied by Gn 22^{21}. The inscriptions of the kings of Assyria also throw some light upon the question. Thus Esarhaddon, in one of his expeditions to the west, passed through *Bâzu*, reaching, at a distance of 180 *kas-gid*, the country of Ḫazû, and these two districts are, with one consent, regarded as the Buz and Hazo of Gn $22^{21.22}$. Shuaḥ is in like manner identified with the *Suḫu* of Tiglath-pileser I., according to whom it lay one day's journey from Carchemish in the land of Ḫatti. In the same neighbourhood lay the land of *Yasbuḳâa* ('the Yasbuḳians'), identified by Frd. Delitzsch with the Ishbak of Gn 25^{2}. This place, which is referred to by Shalmaneser II., was in the neighbourhood of Shuaḥ, with which it is mentioned in the passage of Genesis here referred to. Shalmaneser received tribute from the land of Shuaḥ; but whether it was at this time (B.C. 859) or 28 years later, when he sent an army to the same district, is not certain. On the second occasion he received tribute from a certain Sâsi, *mâr mât Uẓẓâ*, 'a son of the land of Uẓẓâ,' who submitted to him, and whom he placed on the throne of Patinu. It may even be that the rulers of this latter place were counted among 'the kings of the land of Uẓ.' Uẓẓâ (or Ûẓâ, as analogy teaches may have been the more correct form) certainly lay, according to Frd. Delitzsch, W. and N.W. of Aleppo, at no great distance from Patinu, and must have been an important place; hence the raising of its king to the dominion of Patinu.*

Though the Assyrian inscriptions do not indicate clearly the land of Uẓ, and its identification with the land of Uẓẓâ is not so satisfactory as could be wished,† they at least confirm the indications given in the Book of Job. Tradition places the home of the patriarch in the Ḥaurân, where a monastery bearing his name exists (it is situated in the *Wâdy el-Lebweh*). He is said to have been a native of *Jôlân*, and early Arabian authors state that he was born in the neighbourhood of *Nawâ*. Not far from the monastery is shown the *Maḳâm Eyyûb*, or 'Station of Job,' his well, and the trough in which he is said to have washed after his trials were over. His tomb is shared by a Mohammedan saint, and on a hill close by is a stone upon which he is said to have leaned when first afflicted. The currency of the tradition among both Christians and Mohammedans living in the district implies that it is of considerable antiquity. In view of the testimony of the Assyrian inscriptions as to the position of the land of Uẓ, however, Frd. Delitzsch would prefer to regard it as being situated rather in the neighbourhood of Tadmor (Palmyra). According to Josephus (*Ant.* I. vi. 4, 5) it embraced Trachonitis and Damascus, and the LXX represents the patriarch as having lived in Ausitis, on the borders of Edom and Arabia (there is no doubt that it was closely connected with the former country), so that the neighbourhood of Palmyra would seem to be much too far N.E. It is difficult, however, to fix, at this distance of time, the boundaries of a district which is known to have been fairly extensive, and which probably varied in extent, in consequence of political changes, from time to time.

LITERATURE.—Kautzsch in Riehm's *Handwörterbuch*, *s.v.*; Frd. Delitzsch in *ZKF* ii. 87 ff. (cf. his *Paradies*, 259); Baedeker's *Palestine and Syria*, 407.

T. G. PINCHES.

UZAI (אוּזַי). — Father of Palal who helped to rebuild the wall, Neh 3^{25} (B Εὐεί, A Εὐζαί, Luc. Οὐζαί).

UZAL (אוּזָל, Sam. איזל).—Name of a son of Joḳṭan, Gn 10^{27} (A Αἰζήλ), 1 Ch 1^{21} (A Αἰξήν, B om., Luc. Οὐζάλ), but figuring as a local name in Ezk 27^{19}, according to one interpretation [reading מֵאוּזָל ('from Uzal,' so RVm), with Hitzig, Smend, Cornill, *et al.*; B ἐξ Ἀσήλ, A ἐξ Ἀσαήλ]. With this word Gesenius compared *Euzelis of Hindu*, mentioned as a market town in a passage of John of Ephesus (6th cent. A.D.) preserved by Dionysius of Tell-Mahre (*ap.* Assemani, *Bibl. Or.* i. 361), who supposed it to be situated in the interior of the Indian (*i.e.* Arab) country, beyond the territory of the Himyar. This may well be identical with Uzal (Al-Bekri, p. 206), Izal or Azal (Yakut after Hamdani), which the Arab geographers declare was the former name of Ṣan'a, now capital of Yemen. The name was, they think, changed to Ṣan'a either in honour of a queen of that name, or of Ṣan'a son of Azal; or it may have been given the place by the Abyssinians, in whose language it means 'fortress.' The name Ṣan'āu is found in an inscription which Glaser (*die Abessinier*, etc. p. 117) assigns to the 2nd cent. A.D. An earlier name (according to him) was Tafidh (*Skizze*, ii. 427); none of these names appear to be known to the classical geographers of Arabia (Pliny, Ptolemy, etc.), who go rather fully into the names of places and tribes in Arabia Felix. The Arab tradition, however, regarded it as the most ancient city in the world, and the seat of the 'kings of Yemen'; the former theory being apparently due to the derivation of the name Azāl from the Arabic *azal*, 'eternity,' or to the alternate form Uwal (Harris, *loc. citand.*, p. 319), which might be rendered 'first.' If, however, there be any truth in its great antiquity, and its having been a metropolis in ancient times, it must be identical with one of the capitals mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy; but with which cannot at present be decided. The name of the city must therefore have changed repeatedly; and in the use of the name Azāl or Izāl in the century before Mohammed we are justified in seeing with Glaser (*Skizze*, ii. 427) the influence of the Jews. Their influence in these regions appears from the statements of the Syriac chronicler to have been considerable; and early Arabic writers occasionally preserve traditions dating from the time of their ascendency. A place was shown at Ṣan'a where sixteen prophets had been slaughtered at once (Ibn Rustah); and Wahb Ibn Munabbih (died *c.* 735 A.D.) professed to have found in a sacred book the text, 'Azal, Azal, though all be against thee, yet will I be gracious unto thee,' which seems to come from Is $29^{1\text{-}3}$ with Azal substituted for Ariel (*Taj al-'arus*). Whether, then, the place was called Azal by conjectural identification of it with the son of Joktan, or Azal was an old name revived by the Jews, is not clear; the latter supposition is rather the more probable, because an Arabian locality, Azalla, is mentioned in the campaign of Assurbanipal (*KIB* ii. 221), and Azal rather than Uzal is the form that is best attested. The objection to the identification raised by Glaser (*l.c.* 436) on the ground that of the objects mentioned by Ezekiel as exported from Uzal only iron is really found in the neighbourhood, whereas spices are not to be found in the whole of Yemen, seems wanting in weight, since Ṣan'a may have been a depôt for them; rather more force attaches to his objection that the port of Ṣan'a would probably have been Aden (mentioned by Ezekiel in this context) rather than Waddan (VEDAN) and Javan. But, indeed, the difficulties of both text and interpretation in the passage of Ezekiel are so great as to render it unsuitable for the deduction of inferences.

---

* Whether Patinu be connected etymologically with Batanea or not is uncertain, but is worthy of consideration.

† There is doubt as to the sibilant, whether it be really *ẓ* (צ) or *z* (ז). In addition to this, a long terminal vowel would not be expected. Delitzsch evidently regards the word as a gentilic adjective; but if this be the case, there is a mistake in the text, *Uẓ-ẓa-a* having been written for *Uẓ-ẓa-a-a* (= *Uẓẓâa*).

Of the beauty and wealth of Ṣan'a glowing descriptions are given by Arabic writers, and modern travellers (*e.g.* W. B. Harris, *A Journey through the Yemen*, 1893, pp. 299–322) confirm them. It is at an elevation of 7250 feet above the sea-level, with a mountain (Jebel Nujum) rising abruptly on the east. In the rainy season a torrent of water runs through the river-bed, which occupies the middle of the town; Ibn Rustah (*Bibl. Geogr. Arab.* vii. 110) says it is not much narrower than the Tigris, and was in his time used for irrigation. The climate varies little during the whole year; and of most produce there are two crops. The fortress and temple of Ghumdan, destroyed by the Caliph Othman, was the most magnificent building in Arabia. In the 7th cent. of Islam the Zaidite Imams made it their capital. Of the forms of the name, *Izal* appears to be the best attested; the LXX translators clearly connected the second syllable with *Il* (god), and the first perhaps with the god *As* (who appears in some Punic proper names) or some other deity. Other etymologists seem scarcely more successful.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

UZZA (עֻזָּא). — **1.** The eponym of a Benjamite family, 1 Ch 8^7 (B Νααvά, A 'Aζά, Luc. 'Aζάν). **2.** The head of a family of Nethinim that returned, Ezr 2^{49} (B Οὐσά, A 'Aζά, Luc. om.) = Neh 7^{51} (B 'Oζεί, A 'Oζί, Luc. 'Aζά). **3.** The driver of the cart on which the ark was removed from Kiriath-jearim, 2 S $6^{3.6.7.8}$ = 1 Ch $13^{7.9.10.11}$. Uzza's sudden death at a place called, in commemoration of this untoward incident, **Perez-uzzah** ('breach of Uzzah'; cf. artt. CHIDON and NACON), led to the temporary abandonment of David's project of transporting the ark to Jerusalem. Uzza's death was attributed by the popular mind to anger on the part of Jahweh at his having presumed to handle the sacred emblem too familiarly. There are, however, points of obscurity in the narrative, and the text is in several instances quite uncertain. See Driver, Wellh., Budde, Löhr, H. P. Smith, *ad loc.*

The name appears as עֻזָּא, Uzza, in 2 S 6^3, 1 Ch $13^{7.9.10.11}$, as עֻזָּה, Uzzah, in 2 S $6^{6.7.8}$. B has everywhere 'Oζά, which is read also by A in the Chron. passages; A has in 2 Sam. 'Aζζά, once [6^3] 'Aζά.

4. Manasseh and his son Amon were buried in the 'garden of Uzza' (גַּן־עֻזָּא), 2 K $21^{18.26}$ (LXX κῆπος 'Oζά), which was attached to the palace of Manasseh. The conjecture of Stade (*GVI* i. 569, ii. 679), that עֻזָּא here = עֻזִּיָּה (Uzziah), has found wide acceptance (but see footnote to next col.).

J. A. SELBIE.

UZZAH (עֻזָּה).—**1.** The name of a Merarite family, 1 Ch $6^{29 (14)}$ (B 'Oζά, A 'Aζά, Luc. 'Oζιά). **2.** See UZZA, No. 3.

UZZEN-SHEERAH.—See SHEERAH.

UZZI (עֻזִּי; 'Oζ(ε)ί).—**1.** A descendant of Aaron, 1 Ch $6^{5.6.51}$ [Heb. $5^{31.32}$ 6^{36}], Ezr 7^4. **2.** The eponym of a family of Issachar, 1 Ch $7^{2.3}$. **3.** The name of a Benjamite family, 1 Ch 7^7 9^8. **4.** A Levite, son of Bani, overseer of the Levites dwelling in Jerusalem, Neh 11^{22}. **5.** The head of a priestly family, Neh $12^{19.42}$.

UZZIA (עֻזִּיָּא, prob. same as עֻזִּיָּה, *Uzziah*; B 'Oζειά, A 'Oζιά, Luc. 'Oζίας).—One of David's heroes, 1 Ch 11^{44}.

UZZIAH (עֻזִּיָּהוּ and עֻזִּיָּה [on the name see next art.]). — **1.** A king of Judah. See next article. **2.** A Kohathite Levite, 1 Ch $6^{24 \text{ (Heb. 9)}}$ (B 'Oζειά, $A^{a?}$ sup ras 'Oζίας). **3.** The father of an officer of David, 1 Ch 27^{25} (B 'Oζειού, A 'Oζιού). **4.** A priest who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10^{21} (B 'Oζειά, A 'Oζιά, Luc. 'Oζίας). **5.** Name of a Judahite family after the Exile, Neh 11^4 (B 'Aζέδ, ℵ 'Aζεδvά, A 'Oζιά, Luc. 'Oζίας). The LXX reads 'Oζ(ε)ιά also in Neh 11^5 for חֲזָיָה HAZAIAH of MT.

UZZIAH (AZARIAH).—The Heb. names vary in form. We have עֻזִּיָּהוּ (2 K $15^{32.34}$, Is 1^1 6^1 7^1, 2 Ch $26^{1ff.}$ 27^2) and עֻזִּיָּה (2 K $15^{13.30}$, Hos 1^1, Am 1^1, Zec 14^5). The meaning is 'J" is my strength.' We have a Heb. parallel in עֻזִּיאֵל and in the Phœn. עזבעל and עזמלך. The alternative Heb. name עֲזַרְיָהוּ occurs in 2 K $15^{6.8}$, while עֲזַרְיָה is found in 2 K 14^{21} $15^{1.7}$ etc., and also 1 Ch 3^{12}. The meaning of the alternative name is similar to that of עֻזִּיָּהוּ, viz. 'J" hath helped (me).'

In Assyr. the names *Ašur-nirâri* ('Ashur is my help') and *Rammân-nirâri* ('Rammân is my help') are parallel in thought and expression to both the alternative proper names of the Heb. monarch, while the Phœn. furnishes a close analogy to the latter in עזרבעל 'Baal is (my) help,' represented in Latin by *Hasdrubal*; or, with the elements of the name reversed, in בעלעזר (cf. also עזרתבעל, prob. 'my help is Baal'; and see Bloch, *Phön. Glossar.* p. 49). The Gr. forms are 'Oζείας ('Oζίας) and 'Aζαρίας. In a number of instances, as in 2 K $15^{13.32}$ (and in v.^{34} in A), LXX substitutes 'Aζαρίας for Uzziah, whereas in 2 K 15^{30} 'Aχάς is substituted for 'Aζαρίου, which is the reading of A. In Is 6^1 7^1 'Oζίας is the form preserved in B^bAQ. It is quite possible that the king had really only one name, עזריה, and that the name עזיה (Uzziah) may have arisen through a corruption of the text, the early form of ' (*yôd*), viz. 𐤉, being confounded with an imperfectly written ר (*resh*), viz. 𐤓.*

Uzziah was the son of Amaziah king of Judah, and, according to the redactor of the Books of Kings (see Kittel's *Com.*), ascended the throne of Judah at the age of sixteen, and in the 27th year of Jeroboam king of Israel (2 K $15^{1f.}$). It is well known, however, that such synchronisms are of no chronological value, and lead to endless confusion. We can only assert that both these kings were contemporaries. Whether Uzziah's reign extended to 52 years is uncertain.

The record of his reign in 2 K 14 and 15 is singularly brief. Though the worship of the high places—the normal cult of Israel and Judah—still continued, the verdict of the Deuteronomic redactor is favourable to him, as it was to the memory of his father, Amaziah; he 'did what was right in the eyes of the Lord' (2 K 15^3).

The record in the Book of Kings gives us no information respecting the events of this long reign, except that Uzziah fell a victim to leprosy towards its close (2 K 15^5). But in 14^{22} we probably have a fragment from the Annals which refers to his reign, though its somewhat strange position after the section by the redactor (vv.$^{15-21}$) renders its interpretation uncertain. We there read that Elath, the chief port of Edom, which was of great commercial value to Judah as an outlet as well as inlet for commerce, was again recovered to Judah by the successful military enterprise of Azariah after his father's disastrous overthrow by Jehoash king of Israel had entailed its temporary loss. Owing to the leprosy which attacked Uzziah towards the end of his long reign, he was compelled to go into retirement,* while his son Jotham discharged the royal functions (שׁפט) in his place.

---

* This seems to us more probable than the view of Stade (*GVI* i. p. 569 footn.^{1}) that the name 'Azariah was abbreviated to עֻזָּא (2 K 21^{18} 'garden of 'Uzza,' cf. 2 S 6^3), and that the name 'Uzziah grew out of the latter. For 'Uzzâ is not improbably the name of a deity, as 2 K 21^{18} and 2 S 6^8 seem to indicate. On the Arabian Al-'Uzza see Baethgen, *Beiträge zur Sem. Religionsgesch.* p. 114; Ḳorân, 53. 19; Wellhausen, *Reste*^{2}, p. 34 ff.

Such is all that can be learned about this monarch in 2 Kings. The Book of Chronicles (2 Ch 26^{5-20}) adds to the above narrative a number of details. (1) We have an account of the military preparations and exploits of the king, and also of his agricultural pursuits. (2) We have a *Haggadic* narrative attached to the fact of the king's leprosy which ascribes the latter to Divine judgment on him for attempting to fulfil the priestly function of offering incense on the altar of incense. Kittel in his *History of the Hebrews* attempts to defend the historicity of this conflict between the royal and priestly authority;† but it is quite clear that the form of the narrative is based on the tradition of the P passages in Ex $30^{1.6.7}$, Nu 17^5 18^7. Furthermore, the name of the chief priest *Azariah* probably originated from the older alternative name of Uzziah himself, who, like Solomon and all royal personages (cf. the Assyr. kings who assumed the office of *patesi*), exercised priestly functions.

But the *military* exploits and preparations of Uzziah recorded in 2 Ch 26^{6-15} cannot be dismissed as unhistorical, since they serve to explain facts in subsequent history which would otherwise remain obscure. We read that Uzziah equipped an armed host of 307,500 men, and fortified Jerusalem, and provided it with engines of war. He also conducted a successful campaign against the Philistines, and stormed the cities of Gaza, Jabneh, and Ashdod, and also conquered the Arabians and Ammonites. Subsequently recorded events render many if not all of these details exceedingly probable, though here, as so often in Chronicles, the numerical statements are exaggerated. (*a*) That Jerusalem was fortified and provided with means of defence during the reign of Uzziah, is rendered exceedingly probable by the account of its defence in the days of Ḥezekiah, which has come to us not only in the record of 2 K $18^{13ff.}$, but in the Taylor cylinder of Sennacherib (col. ii. 69-col. iii. 41), which, in describing the invasion of Palestine by Sennacherib, expressly mentions (1) the forty-six fortified towns (col. iii. 13) captured by the Assyrians; (2) that the Philistine town Eḳron (*ir Amḳarruna*) was under the control of Ḥezeḳiah, and that the king Padi, a puppet of Assyria, was delivered up to the king of Judah (col. ii. 70 ff.). Now, it is reasonable to conclude that the control of Philistia by Ḥezeḳiah was probably due to the strong military policy of Uzziah described by the Chronicler, who must have derived his information from annals of his reign from which the redactor of the Books of Kings did not draw. Certainly, the reign of Aḥaz, distracted by the troubles of the Syro-Ephraimite invasion and weakened by subservience to Assyria, was not the time when strong defensive measures would be adopted. Indeed we know that Philistia was instigated to revolt by the confederacy of the two Northern kings. (*b*) The mention of Arabians (col. iii. 31) among the troops which defended Jerusalem against Sennacherib sustains the statement of the Chronicler that Uzziah subjugated the Arabs, and this is probably to be connected with the recovery of Edom and the port of Elath to which 2 K 14^{22} refers. (*c*) Kittel lays stress on the prosperity of Judah in the days of Aḥaz, of which Is 2 and 3 furnish abundant evidence. This is best explained as due to the consolidation of the resources and power of the Southern Kingdom during the long and prosperous reign of Uzziah described in 2 Ch 26. This view is ably sustained by McCurdy in the *Expositor*, Nov. 1891, p. 388 ff.

It was formerly held by Assyriologists, including especially Schrader, that the records of Tiglath-pileser prove that Uzziah (Azariah) was the head of a powerful confederacy of Northern Hamathite States against Assyria. Unfortunately, the passages in which reference is made to Azariah (*Az(Iz)ri-ya-u*), whom Schrader identified with Uzziah (*KGF* 399–421), are much mutilated. The following is a translation of the passages so far as they can be deciphered and interpreted on the basis of Rost's edition of Tiglath-pileser's Annals, lines 101–111—

101–2 . . . my officer as ruler of the province I placed over them [gifts and tribute like the Assyrian imposed on them]
103 in the further course of my campaign the tribute of the ki[ngs
104 I received Azar]iah king of Ja-u-di like . . .
105 . . . zariah of Ja-u-di . . .
[106 and 107 seem to refer to the towns in which Azariah sought refuge]
108 by the attack of the light-armed (?) of the bodyguard . . . [of the approach of
109 the Assyrian troops] the numerous, they heard [their heart] feared
110 [the town] I destroyed, laid waste, burnt down
111 . . . placed themselves on the side of [Azar]iah strengthened (?) him . . .

Lines 125–132 refer to the 19 districts of Hamath which 'placed themselves on the side of Azariah,' the series being enumerated from South to North, the most southerly being Arḳâ, Zimarra, Usnu, Sianna, and Ṣimirra, and the most northerly Ellitarbi and Bumami.

Now, even twenty years ago, the identification of the *Azri-ia-u* of Tiglath-pileser's Annals with Azariah of Judah was disputed, for example, by Gutschmid (*Neue Beiträge zur Kunde des alten Orients*, p. 55 ff.) and by Wellhausen (*Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, xx. 632). But at that time there were certainly many reasons why the identification made by Schrader should have been considered sound. No other land *Ja-u-di* was then known except Judah. Judah was called by that name in the Nabî-Junus inscription preserved in Constantinople, in which Sennacherib refers to his subjugation of Ḥezeḳiah (of which the following is a transcription, line 15: *rap-šu na-gu-u* (*mâtu*) *Ja-u-di Ḫa-za-ki-a-u šarri-šu i-mid ap-ša-a-ni*), while the references to the same king in connexion with (*mâtu*) *Ja-u-da-ai* in the Prism inscription of Sennacherib (col. ii. 72, iii. 12, 13) need not be cited here. Indeed Tiglath-pileser himself (2 Rawl. 67, line 61) refers to *Ja-u-ḥa-zi* (*mâtu*) *Ja-u-da-ai* in close juxtaposition to the rulers of Ashkelon and Edom, so that it is absolutely certain that *Ja-u-ḥa-zi* (=Joaḥaz) is the Assyrian name of king Aḥaz. Moreover, the fact here mentioned, that Aḥaz paid tribute to the Assyrian monarch, is certified by 2 K 16^8. Certainly, the evidence for Schrader's identification seemed cogent.

Nevertheless, there are serious difficulties in the way of its acceptance. In the *first* place, the geographical conditions militate strongly against it. The nineteen districts of Hamath can hardly have depended for support on the ruler of so distant a realm as Judah. *Secondly*, the chronological argument tells decisively against it. For if Uzziah was the mainstay of a conspiracy of nineteen Hamathite States in 738 B.C., which is the year which Assyrian data would lead us to assign to its overthrow, we can allow only three years for the leprosy of Uzziah, the interregnum of Jotham, Jotham's sole reign, and the Syro-Ephraimite war against Judah. *Thirdly*, the discovery of the Zinjerli inscription (on the stele erected by בר רכב the son of Panammu, king of Sam'al, to his father) has thrown a fresh light on the problem. There we find mention of a land יארי (and also on the stele of Hadad, erected by Panammu its king). We might with Winckler regard the א here as *hamza* and pronounced as *u*, and thus read the word (as the Assyrians did) *Ja'udi*. This country lay north of the Orontes and bordered on the land Unki, and it is possible that Sargon refers to it in his Nimr. insc. line 8: (*mâtu*) *Ja-u-du ša ašaršu rûḳu*, 'J. whose situation is remote.' The mention of Hamath in the same line lends colour to this view. The objection that the name *Azrijâhu*, with its Heb. name of deity, clearly indicates a Hebrew personality, loses force when we remember that Hamath, as we learn from the same inscription of Sargon, had a prince called *Jau-bi'di*, elsewhere called *Ilu-bi'di*. This shows that a deity *Jâhu* was also worshipped in those regions. *Lastly*, the close similarity which subsisted between the language of the Zinjerli inscr. and Hebrew renders it in no way improbable that the land Ja'di should have a ruler named Azariah. The capital of the land was Kullani, the Calno of Is 10^9.

---

* The text here is uncertain. The Heb. text has בְּבֵית הַחָפְשִׁית, LXX ἐν οἴκῳ ἀφφουσώθ (cf. 2 Ch 26^{21}). Judging from the well-known meaning of חָפְשִׁי, this can mean only 'in a free house,' *i.e.* free from the intrusion of others. The expression, however, is very strange, and Kittel is warranted in accepting the ingenious emendation of Klostermann, בְּבֵיתֹה חָפְשִׁית 'in his house unmolested,' חָפְשִׁית being an adverb with the ending ִית—, as in אֲחֹרַנִּית (Gn 9^{23}).

† *Gesch. der Heb.* ii. p. 281.

This is the evidence based on the arguments used by Winckler (*Alttest. Forsch.* i. (1893) pp. 1–23; cf. *KAT*^{3} i. 54 ff., 262) for disconnecting the inscr. of Tiglath-pileser from any reference to Uzziah (Azariah) of Judah.* McCurdy, however, upholds Schrader's position (*HPM* i. 413 ff.), but the arguments of Winckler have been adopted by Hommel (art. ASSYRIA in this Dict. vol. i. p. 185, footn.†), Guthe (*GVI* p. 188), Maspero (*Passing*, etc., 150). The chronological difficulties which beset the biblical student of the latter half of the 8th cent. become in this way somewhat lessened. The death-year of Uzziah may be placed, as Winckler suggests, in 739 B.C., but it may easily be earlier (*KAT*^{3} i. 320)—in fact as early as 750 (Winckler, *Gesch. Israel's*, Theil i. p. 179). Cf. Cheyne, *Introduction to Isaiah*, pp. 4, 16 ff.

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

UZZIEL (עֻזִּיאֵל 'my strength is El,' cf. the name עֻזִּיָּה *Uzziah*; LXX Ὀζ(ε)ιήλ).—**1.** A son of Kohath, Ex $6^{18. 22}$, Lv 10^4, Nu $3^{19. 30}$, 1 Ch $6^{2. 18}$ 15^{10} $23^{12. 20}$ 24^{24}; with gentilic name the **Uzzielites** (הָעָזִּיאֵלִי), Nu 3^{27}, 1 Ch 26^{23}. **2.** A Simeonite; one of those who took part in the expedition to Mt. Seir, 1 Ch 4^{42}. **3.** Eponym of a Benjamite family, 1 Ch 7^7. **4.** A musician, of the sons of Heman, 1 Ch 25^4 (called in v.^{18} AZAREL). **5.** A Levite, of the sons of Jeduthun, 2 Ch 29^{14}. **6.** One of the guild of the goldsmiths, who took part in the repairing of the wall, Neh 3^8. **7.** See JAAZIEL.

---

* If the view advocated in this art. be correct, the statement in art. CHRONOLOGY OF OT (vol. i. p. 401^b *ad fin.*) will have to be modified accordingly.

V

VAGABOND.—This English word is used in AV in the sense of *wanderer* (Lat. *vagabundus*, from *vagari* to wander). It is applied to Cain, Gn 4^{12} 'A fugitive and a vagabond shalt thou be in the earth' (נָע וָנָד, LXX *στένων καὶ τρέμων*, Symm. *ἀνάστατος καὶ ἀκατάστατος*, Vulg. *vagus et profugus*, Tind. 'A vagabunde and a rennagate,' RV 'A fugitive and a wanderer'), 4^{14}; Ps 109^{10} 'Let his children be continually vagabonds, and beg' (וְנוֹעַ יָנוּעוּ בָנָיו; Cov. 'Let his children be vagabundes and begg their bred'). So in Jg 11^3 Cov. 'There resorted unto him [Jephthah] vagabundes, and wente out with him'; Fuller, *Holy War*, 206, 'Being to shape their course into Palestine, they went into France; showing they had a *vertigo* in their heads, mistaking the West for the East; or else, that like vagabonds they were never out of their way'; Goldsmith, *Citizen*, vii. 'He who goes from country to country, guided by the blind impulse of curiosity, is only a vagabond.'

The adj. occurs in Ac 19^{13} 'Certain of the vagabond Jews, exorcists' (*τῶν περιερχομένων Ἰουδαίων*, RV 'strolling'). So Melvill, *Diary*, 361, 'To take order with the pure [=poor] that there be not vagabund beggars'; Shaks. *Ant. and Cleop.* I. iv. 45—

> 'Like to a vagabond flag upon the stream.'

J. HASTINGS.

VAHEB (וָהֵב).—An unidentified locality, mentioned only in the obscure quotation from the book of the WARS OF THE LORD in Nu 21^{14} (BA Ζωόβ, F and Luc. Ζοόβ). See SUPHAH.

VAIL.—See VEIL.

VAIZATHA (וַיְזָתָא; B Ζαβουθαῖος, A Ζαβουγαθά, ℵ Ζαβουδεθάν, Luc. Ἰζουθάθ).—One of the ten sons of Haman, Est 9^9. The name may be = Pers. *Vahyazdâta*, 'given of the Best one' (cf. Benfey, *Pers. Keilinschr.* [1847] 18, 93; F. Spiegel, *Altpers. Keilinschr.* 240).

VALE, VALLEY.—*Vale* stands in AV for two Hebrew words עֵמֶק and שְׁפֵלָה; and *valley* for five Hebrew words, בִּקְעָה, גַּיְא, נַחַל, עֵמֶק, שְׁפֵלָה, and one Greek word, *φάραγξ* (Lk 3^5†). Of these words, the meaning and use of בִּקְעָה, a *broad plain between hills*, שְׁפֵלָה *lowland* (so always in RV), and נַחַל *wādy*, have been dealt with under PLAIN, 3. 7, and RIVER, 3, respectively; so that גַּיְא, עֵמֶק, and *φάραγξ* alone remain to be considered here.

1. גַּיְא (*gai'*), always 'valley' in both AV and RV, is a *narrow* valley, and would be more exactly represented by *glen* or *ravine*. The *gai's* mentioned in the OT are—the v. of Hinnom (Jos 15^8 and frequently; 'the valley,' Jer 2^{23}), which gave its name to the '*valley*-gate' of Jerus. (2 Ch 26^9, Neh $2^{13. 15}$ 3^{13}); of Iphtaḥ-'ēl, Jos $19^{14. 27}$, on the border between Zebulun and Asher; of Ẓebo'im (the hyænas), 1 S 13^{18}, S.E. of Gibeah; of Salt, apparently somewhere near Edom (2 S 8^{13} = 1 Ch 18^{12}, cf. Ps 60$^{\text{title}}$; 2 K 14^7, 2 Ch 25^{11}); the v. of craftsmen, or smiths (1 S 13^{19}; cf. *HGHL* 160 f., 211), 1 Ch 4^{14} (RV here *Ge-ḥarashim*), Neh 11^{35}, near Lod (Lydda); and of Ẓephathah, 2 Ch 14^{10}, near Marēsha (though prob. 'in the v. *north of* M.' should be read with LXX; cf. Buhl, 89), no doubt the *Wādy el-Afranj*, *HGHL* 231, 233. Valleys not expressly named are—the v. in front of Beth-pe'or, a station of the Isr., in which Moses

was buried (Nu 21^{20}, Dt 3^{29} 4^{46} 34^{6}); one on the N. of Ai (Jos 8^{11}); one near Gedor (1 Ch 4^{39}; but see Gedor, 2); one in the 'vale' of Elah (1 S 17^{3}), perhaps the 'deep trench which the combined streams' of the W. es-Sur and the W. el-Jindy 'have cut through the level land' below the point where they meet (*HGHL* 228); the 'valley of vision,' in or close to Jerus. (Is $22^{1.5}$); one close under Samaria (Is $28^{1.4}$, Mic 1^{6}); one mentioned as the ideal burial-place of the hosts of Gog (Ezk $39^{11.11.15}$); and the ravine which Zech. ($14^{4.5.5}$) pictures as being split through the Mt. of Olives, when J″ descends upon it to deliver His people.

The word occurs also, without reference to specific localities, in Ps 23^{4} ('a ravine of deathly gloom,' fig. of a situation of loneliness and peril); Is 40^{4} (LXX *φάραγξ*, whence Lk 3^{5}); and in the plur. generally (usu. opp. to *mountains*), 2 K 2^{16}, Ezk 6^{3} 7^{16} 31^{12} 32^{5} 35^{8} $36^{4.6}$. In 1 S 17^{52a} (RV 'to *Gai*') 'to *Gath*' is evidently to be read with LXX and most moderns; see v.^{52b}. In the Apocrypha 'valley' stands for *φάραγξ*, Jth 2^{8} 7^{4} 11^{17} 12^{7} 13^{10}; and for *αὐλών*, Jth 4^{4} $7^{3.17}$ $10^{10.11}$.

2. עֵמֶק *'ēmeḳ* (EV mostly *valley*; AV *vale* in Gn $14^{3.8.10}$ 37^{14}, to which RV adds Gn 14^{17}, Jos 8^{13} 15^{8} 18^{16}, 1 S $17^{2.19}$ 21^{9}). *'Ēmeḳ* (lit. *depth*, *deepening*) is 'a highlander's word for a valley as he looks *down* into it, and is applied to wide avenues running up into a mountainous country, like the Vale of Elah, the Vale of Hebron, and the Vale of Aijalon' (*HGHL* 384). It thus denotes something broader than a *gai'*, but less extensive or plain-like than a *biḳ'āh* (Plain, 3);* and it is a pity that, for distinction, especially from *gai'* ('valley'), it has not in AV been uniformly represented by 'vale.'

The importance of distinguishing specific geogr. terms in the OT was long ago pointed out, and well illustrated, by Stanley, *S. and P.*, Appendix, pp. 475–534; cf. *HGHL* 653 ff. The student will find it a good plan, in the case both of these and of other synonyms (cf. Creeping Things; Offer, Offering) which are confused in EV, to mark on the margin of his RV either the Heb. word used or its proper English equivalent.

The following are the *'ēmeḳs* mentioned in the OT:—the 'vale' of Siddim, Gn $14^{3.8.10}$; of Shaveh, Gn 14^{17}, said there to be the same as the 'King's Vale,' which is mentioned also in 2 S 18^{18} † (according to Jos. *Ant.* vii. x. 3, 2 stadia from Jerus.); of Hebron, Gn 37^{14}; of Achor, Jos $7^{24.26}$ 15^{7}, Hos 2^{15}, Is 65^{10}; of Aijalon, Jos 10^{12}, a 'broad fertile plain gently sloping up' between the hills 'to the foot of the Central Range' (*HGHL* 210); of Rephaim, S.W. of Jerus., on the border between Judah and Benj., Jos 15^{8} 18^{16}, 2 S $5^{18.22}$ 23^{13} (=1 Ch $14^{9.13}$ 11^{15}), Is 17^{5}; ‡ of Jezreel, Jos 17^{16}, Jg 6^{33}, Hos 1^{5}, not the 'great plain' of Esdraelon (Jth 1^{8}), *W.* of Jezreel, stretching towards Carmel, but 'the broad, deep vale *E.* of Jezreel which descends to the Jordan' (*HGHL* 384 f.); of Ḳĕẓiẓ, Jos 18^{21} (RV 'Emek-keziz,' as the name occurs in an enumeration of *cities*), somewhere in E. Benjamin; of Elah, 1 S $17^{2.19}$ 21^{9}, now prob. the *W. es-Sunṭ*, 18 m. W.S.W. of Jerus. (*HGHL* 226 f.); of Beracah ('Blessing'), 2 Ch $20^{26.26}$, in or near the wilderness of Tekoa (v.^{20}); of Succoth, Ps 60^{6}=108^{7}, the broad part of the Jordan valley about Succoth, near the ford Dāmiyeh, S. of the Jabbok (cf. Jos 13^{27} 'in the *vale*,' of the same locality); of Baca ('weeping'), Ps 84^{6}; of Gibeon, Is 28^{21} (prob. some part of one of the gorges which lead down from Gibeon to Aijalon, Jos 10^{10-13}; cf. *HGHL* 210); of Jehoshaphat, Jl $3^{2.12}$ (perhaps the fairly broad and open part of the *naḥal* of the Kidron, between Jerus. and the Mt. of Olives), called in v.^{14} by the emblematic name 'vale of decision' (*i.e.* of judgment).

'Vales' without specified names are alluded to in Jos 8^{13} ('the vale' near Ai, rightly distinguished in RV from the 'valley' (*gai'*) of v.^{11}); 13^{19} (in Reuben); 19^{27} (a place Beth-hā'ēmeḳ, in Asher); Jg 5^{15} (the Plain of Esdraelon); $7^{1.8.12}$ (apparently the vale of Jezreel, 6^{33}); 18^{28} ('the vale that belongeth to Beth-Rĕḥob'); 1 S 6^{13} (near Beth-shemesh; the broad valley, the upper part of the *Wādy eṣ-Ṣarār* (the ancient *naḥal* of Soreḳ), opening out westwards and leading down in the direction of Ekron; (cf. *HGHL* 218 f.); 1 S 31^{7}=1 Ch 10^{7} (prob. the vale of Jezreel); Jer 21^{13} (very uncertain; the Tyropœon valley? or as Jl 3^{2}, above? or not of Jerusalem at all?); 32^{40} (the *gai'* of Hinnom); 47^{5} (of the Phil. plain, though hardly suitable, in spite of *HGHL* 655; read prob. 'the remnant of *the 'Anāḳim*' [עֲנָקִים for עֲמָקִים; see Jos 11^{22}], with LXX, Ges., Hitz., Graf, Giesebr. etc.); $49^{4.4}$ (in Ammon). The word is also used generally of 'vales' in different parts of the country, mentioned often either with reference to their fertility (cf. 1 S 6^{13}, Is 17^{5}), or as suitable for war-chariots to deploy in; Nu 14^{25}, Jos 17^{16}, Jg $1^{19.34}$, 1 K 20^{28}, 1 Ch 12^{15} 27^{29}, Job $39^{10.21}$ ('he paweth in the *valley*,' of the war-horse), Ps 65^{13}, Ca 2^{1} ('the lily of the *valleys*'), Is 22^{7} (about Jerus.), Jer 48^{8} (in Moab), Mic 1^{4}.

S. R. Driver.

VANIAH (וַנְיָה [but text dub.]; B Οὐιεχωά, A Οὐουνιά, ℵ Οὐιερεχώ, Luc. Οὐανιά).—One of the sons of Bani, who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10^{36}.

VANITY.—1. הֶבֶל (1) lit. a breath of air, as a gentle breeze, Is 57^{13}; a breath of the mouth, Ps 144^{4}; hence (2) fig. evanescence, emptiness, La 4^{17}, Job 9^{29}; (3) idols and idolatry, Dt 32^{21}, Jer 10^{8}, 2 K 17^{15}, Ps 31^{6}; (4) exhalation, mist, Ec 6^{4} 11^{8} (cf. Abel [wh. see], Gn 4^{2}). **2.** אָוֶן (1) labour, sorrow, Hos 9^{4}, Hab 3^{7} (cf. Ben-oni for Benjamin, Gn 35^{18}); (2) nothingness, Is 41^{29}; worthlessness, sinfulness, Job 31^{3}, Pr 17^{4}; (3) idols and idolatry, Is 66^{3}, 1 S 15^{23} (cf. Beth-aven for Beth-el, Hos 4^{15} [see Cheyne, p. 69]; Aven for On in Egypt, Ezk 30^{17}; Aven for Heliopolis in Syria, Am 1^{5}). **3.** שָׁוְא (1) wickedness, Job 11^{11}; (2) calamity, Is 30^{28}; (3) falsehood, Ps 12^{2}; (4) emptiness, uselessness, Ps 60^{11}, Mal 3^{14}, Jer 2^{30}, Ps 127^{1}. **4.** רִיק (1) emptiness, Jer 51^{34}; hence (2) fig. a useless, worthless thing, Ps 2^{1} 4^{2} 73^{13}, Lv 26^{16}, Is 49^{4}, Hab 2^{13}. **5.** תֹּהוּ (1) waste, Gn 1^{2}, Dt 32^{10}, Is 24^{10}; hence (2) fig. emptiness, uselessness, Is 49^{4} 41^{29} 45^{19}. Greek *ματαιότης*, what is devoid of truth and fitness, 2 P 2^{18}; perverseness, Eph 4^{17}; frailty, Ro 8^{20}; also *ματαιολογία*, empty talk, 1 Ti 1^{6}; *ματαιολόγος*, idle talker, Tit 1^{10}; *μάταιος*, devoid of force, truth, success, result, Ja 1^{26}, 1 Co 15^{17} 3^{20}, Tit 3^{9}, 1 P 1^{18}; *τὰ μάταια*, idols and idolatry, Ac 14^{15}; *ματαιόω*, to become profitless, empty, Ro 1^{21}. Also *κενός*, literally empty, fig. void of truth, Eph 5^{6} Col 2^{8}; void of worth, Ja 2^{20}; void of result, 1 Co 15^{10}; *κενοδοξία*, groundless self-esteem, empty pride, Ph 2^{3}; *κενόδοξος*, conceited, Gal 5^{26}; *κενοφωνία*, empty discussion, 1 Ti 6^{20}, 2 Ti 2^{16}; *κενόω*, to empty, to make void, Ro 4^{14}, 2 Co 9^{3}: also some other words of less importance.

The varied senses, literal and figurative, of the words tr. 'vanity' indicate the wide range of its use in the Scriptures. The literal tr. 'breath' would probably be better than 'vanity' in several passages (Ps 78^{33} 94^{11} 144^{4}, Is 57^{13}) in which the word is used to indicate the evanescence of man's life (also Ec 6^{4} 11^{8}, cf. Ro 8^{20}), which itself is unsubstantial and unsatisfying (Job $7^{3.16}$, Ps $39^{5.6.11}$, Hab 2^{13}). Man himself cannot be trusted (Ps 60^{11} 62^{9}), and this his worthlessness is shown alike in falsehood (Job 31^{5}, Ps 12^{2} 41^{6}, Pr 30^{8}, Is 58^{9} 59^{4})

---

* Only once or twice does it seem to be used of what is elsewhere described by one of these words (Jer 21^{13}? 32^{44}; Jg 5^{15}).

† AV '*dale*' in these two passages; RV inconsistently 'King's Vale' in Gn 14^{17}, 'king's dale' in 2 S 18^{18}.

‡ RV, again inconsistently, 'vale' in Joshua, elsewhere 'valley.'

and in wickedness (Job 11^{11} 31^{3}, Ps 10^{7}, Is 5^{18}, Eph 4^{17}, 2 P 2^{18}), of which the disaster and disappointment of his lot are but the punishment (Job 15$^{31.\ 35}$, Is 30^{28}, Pr 22^{8}), although man dares to question God's meaning in making him (Ps 89^{47}, cf. Is 45^{18}).

As there is but one God, idols are unreal (Is 66^{3}, Jer 10^{15} 51^{18}, cf. 1 Co 8^{4}); their worship is unprofitable (Dt 32^{21}, 1 S 15^{23}, 2 K 17^{15}, Ps 4^{2} 24^{4} 31^{6}, Jer 2^{5} 10$^{3.\ 8}$ 16^{19} 18^{15}, cf. Ac 14^{15}), and their worshippers worthless (1 S 12^{21}, 2 K 17^{15}, Is 41^{29} 44^{9}). Under the same judgment come false prophecy (Jer 23^{16}, La 2^{14}, Ezk 13$^{1\text{-}23}$, Zec 10^{2}), reliance on any other help than God's (Is 30^{7}, Jer 3^{23}, La 4^{17}), and ritual without righteousness (Is 1^{13}, cf. Ja 1^{26} 2^{20}). While to doubt or unbelief, God's service (Ps 73^{13}, Mal 3^{14}), His dealing (Jer 2^{30}, Is 49^{4}), and even His law (Jer 8^{8}), may seem to come to naught, yet He does reward those who do His will (Dt 32^{47}, Is 65^{23}), and fulfils His promises (Is 45^{19}) as His threats (Ezk 6^{10}). Without His blessing (Ps 127$^{1.\ 2}$), or by His curse (Lv 26^{16}), man's labour is profitless (cf. Pr 13^{11} 21^{6}), for man before God is nothing (Is 40$^{17.\ 23}$), and his charms worthless (Pr 31^{30}).

Jesus pronounced worthless alike Gentile ritual (Mt 6^{7}) and Pharisaic piety (Mt 15^{9}, Mk 7^{7}, cf. 1 P 1^{18}), and Paul so judged pagan philosophy and the speculative theology which, under its influence, was finding entrance into the Church (Ro 1^{21}, Eph 5^{6}, 1 Co 3^{20}, Col 2^{8}, and 1 Ti 1^{6} 6^{20}, 2 Ti 2^{16}, Tit 1^{10} 3^{9}). Christian faith, life, and service have worth and use (1 Co 15$^{10.\ 58}$, 1 Th 2^{1}), but may lose these through man's failure or faithlessness (1 Co 9^{15}, 2 Co 6^{1} 9^{3}, Ph 2^{16}, 1 Th 3^{5}). Denial of the resurrection of Christ makes Christian preaching false (1 Co 15^{14}) and Christian faith profitless (1 Co 15^{17}); and even belief in works empties faith of worth (Ro 4^{14}) and Christ's death of meaning (Gal 2^{21}).

Thus, in the Bible, 'vanity' is used in the objective sense of emptiness, worthlessness, unprofitableness, uselessness, deceit, and illusion; in the subjective sense of conceit or pride it is not used, but the idea is expressed by the compound words vainglory (Ph 2^{3}) and vainglorious (Gal 5^{26}). The fullest treatment of the vanity of man's life, work, joy, and hope is found in the Bk. of ECCLESIASTES (which see). A. E. GARVIE.

VASHNI.—Samuel's firstborn son, according to MT of 1 Ch 6$^{13\ (\text{Eng. } 28)}$, which is followed by AV. RV, following the Syr. (see mg.), and on the strength of v.$^{18\ (33)}$ and the ‖ 1 S 8^{2}, supplies Joel as the name of Samuel's oldest son, and substitutes 'and the second Abiah' (וְהַשֵּׁנִי אֲבִיָּה) for 'Vashni and Abiah' (וַשְׁנִי וַאֲבִיָּה). This is supported also by Luc. [although BA have *Σαν(ε)ὶ*] *Ἰωὴλ καὶ ὁ δεύτερος Ἀβιά*, and is adopted by Driver, Kittel, Benzinger, *et al.*

VASHTI (וַשְׁתִּי, perh. = Pers. *vahista*, 'best' [Jensen, *Ztschr. f. Kunde d. Morgenl.* 1892, pp. 63, 70, connects the name with that of the Elamite goddess *Mašti* or *Wašti*; see also Wildeboer, *Kurzer Hdcom.* 'Esther,' p. 173]; BA Ἀστίν, Luc. Οὐαστίν).—The name of the queen of Ahasuerus (Xerxes), Est 1$^{9.\ 11.\ 12.\ 15.\ 16.\ 17.\ 19}$ 2$^{1.\ 4.\ 17}$. See art. ESTHER in vol. i. p. 775.

VAU OR **WAW** (ו).—The sixth letter of the Hebrew alphabet, and as such employed in the 119th Psalm to designate the 6th part, each verse of which begins with this letter. In this Dictionary it is transliterated, when consonantal, by *v* or *w*.

VEDAN (וְדָן [AV, taking וְ as conjunction, tr. 'Dan also'], Ezk 27^{19}).—Name of a city (Rashi). It is identical in form with the Arabic Waddan, a name clearly connected with the god Wadd, who was worshipped by Kalb and other tribes. The geographers mention three places of this name, of which the only one that can be plausibly identified with Vedan is midway between Mecca and Medinah, six miles from Abwa on the pilgrims' road (Istakhri, etc.). It was celebrated in Islam as the scene of Moḥammed's first campaign, and also as the home of the poet Nusaib. Modern travellers in this perilous region do not appear to mention the name. Ezekiel says that Vedan exported goods from Uzal to Tyre, implying that the first was a port. Waddan may at one time have been one, and have ceased to be so owing to the recession of the sea. If Uzal is Ṣan'a, the goods had to come a long distance. According to Burckhardt (*Travels in Arabia*, French ed. ii. 216), the pilgrims take forty-three days from Ṣan'a to Medinah. See UZAL.

Brugsch (*Religion der alten Ægypter*, p. 152) suggests that Vedan is to be identified with 'Uethen, also written Ueten, Ueden, and Uedenu, a spice-bearing country, situated to the east of Egypt, whose inhabitants, the Uethentians, were first subdued by king Thotmosis III.' According to Mariette (*Karnak*, p. 47), the monument to which he refers is a work of imagination, not of history, and it would be a mistake to demand of it decisive arguments on questions of geography.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

VEIL and (AV) **VAIL.**—In the AV 'vail' and 'veil' are both used, and that alike for the article of dress so called, and for a part of the tabernacle and the temple. The spelling 'veil' in AV does not occur outside the NT, except in Ca 5^{7}. On the other hand, 'vail' is not used in the NT, except in 2 Co 3$^{13\text{ff.}}$ In RV 'veil' is the uniform spelling.

i. *The Veil of the Tabernacle and the Temple.*—Two Heb. words used in connexion with the tabernacle are tr. in AV 'veil.' **1.** מָסָךְ (*māsākh*), RV 'screen,' stands for the coloured linen covering which hung before the door of the *hêkāl* or Holy Place.* It is also used for a similar covering which hung in front of the gate entering the court.† **2.** פָּרֹכֶת (*pārôketh*), perh. from Assyr. 'what shuts off,' is the technical term for the veil of the same material which hung between the *hêkāl* and *dĕbîr* or Most Holy Place;‡ for this we find also a combination of the two words, thus פָּרֹכֶת הַמָּסָךְ.§ All the above occurrences are in P, and they relate to the tabernacle—a significant fact.

We read of no veil in Solomon's temple nor in Ezekiel's, except that 2 Ch 3^{14}, written under P's influence, says Solomon's temple had a *pārôketh* or inner veil. Besides the one passage adduced, there is no Biblical evidence for this fact. Thenius reconstructs 1 K 6^{21} so as to bring the word *pārôketh* into the text; but he has absolutely no support from MSS, versions, or ancient citations. Lund‖ and the older authorities generally take for granted that the outer and inner veils of the tabernacle were found also in Solomon's temple. The only proof Lund gives is the above passage from Chronicles.

It is probable that Zerubbabel's temple had veils corresponding to the *māsākh* and *pārôketh* of the tabernacle, but there is no certainty of this. Since the tabernacle follows the second temple in so many matters in which the latter differs from Solomon's temple (*outer* and *inner* courts, etc.), it is *a priori* likely that they coincided in having an outer veil before the entrance of the *hêkāl* and an inner one before the entrance of the *dĕbîr*.¶

---

* Ex 26$^{36\text{f.}}$ 39^{38} 40^{5}.

† Ex 35^{17} 39^{40}.

‡ Ex 26$^{31.\ 33.\ 36.}$ 35, etc.

§ Ex 35^{12} 39^{34} 40^{21}, Nu 4^{5}. In Lv 24^{3} פָּרֹכֶת הָעֵדֻת 'veil of the testimony' (because hiding the ark), 4^{6} פָּרֹכֶת הַקֹּדֶשׁ.

‖ *Heiligthümer*, 307^{b}.

¶ *τὸ καταπέτασμα*, with the article, stands in LXX (Ex 26^{33} etc.) and in Philo (*Vit. Moys.* III. iii. 5) for the inner veil, *the* veil pre-eminently.

The evidence that Herod's temple had the two veils referred to above is stronger, though not conclusive. It is but one veil—the inner—that is spoken of in the NT, and that only in two connexions, viz. the account of the Crucifixion in the Synoptics, * ('the veil of the temple was rent in twain') and also in Hebrews.† In the latter it is the tabernacle, not the temple, that is meant; but as this Epistle was written almost certainly before the destruction of the temple in A.D. 71, there would have been some hint of it if the sanctuary known to the writer lacked this feature.

Josephus clearly points out the existence of the two veils in the temple which he describes, and there can be little doubt that his account is based on what he saw. Of the outer one he says, 'it was a Babylonian curtain of fine linen interwoven with blue scarlet and purple, and of a contexture that roused admiration.'‡ The inner veil, it seems implied, was of the same kind.

Maimonides says there were thirteen veils about the temple, viz. seven for the seven gates of the court; one at the gate of the porch, one at the gate of the temple; two between the *hêkāl* and *dĕbîr*, and two in the space above the house. Lightfoot adopts this opinion.§ Another Jewish opinion which Lightfoot,‖ Lund,¶ and others approve of is, that in the post-exilic temples the cubit-thick wall separating *hêkāl* and *dĕbîr* of Solomon's and Ezekiel's temples was lacking. Instead of it there were two veils one cubit apart, occupying therefore exactly the same space as the wall. In favour of this, Lightfoot, followed by Lund, adduces Maimonides ** and the Talmud, both Mishna †† and Gemara,‡‡ though in the latter Rabbi Jose raises a discordant voice, which is silenced by the harmonizing Rabbis.

ii. *The Veil as an article of dress.*—Many of the words rendered 'veil' in EV designate articles which would not be so called in modern English books, as they do not cover the face alone, nor do they in all cases cover the face at all. Indeed, even the face-veils which may be seen in Egypt and Palestine very rarely cover more than the lower half of the face, leaving the eyes and forehead entirely exposed. The white muslin veils which cover the whole face are used in the harem, and are not intended to *cover*, but to *decorate* the face.§§

The veil plays a much more important part in women's life in the East than in the West. No respectable woman in an Eastern village or city goes out without it, and, if she does, she is in danger of being misjudged; indeed, English and American missionaries in Egypt told the present writer that their own wives and daughters when going about find it often best to wear the veil.

But it should be borne in mind that the ancient Egyptians were as much strangers to the face-veils as Europeans are, for on their paintings and sculptures such veils never appear.‖‖ Nor were such veils worn by the ancient Ethiopians,¶¶ Greeks,*** or the primitive inhabitants of Asia Minor.††† They are not worn at the present day in Egypt or Syria by slaves, by the very poor, by the Bedawin, nor in out-of-the-way places by any, as a rule. The present writer stayed two days with the chief of Tobas, between Nâblus and the Jordan: the wife, daughters, etc., wore no veils, and were quite free. The people who have been most influenced by Islâmic culture are most observant of the veil, which is in favour of the belief that its use in the modern East, and also the institution of the harem, are due to Islâm.

In early times the Israelites laid but little stress on the use of the veil by women. Neither Sarah nor Rebekah wore it on the occasions mentioned in Gn 12^{14} and $24^{65f.}$, though Rebekah put it on when she appeared before Isaac. When worn at all in Biblical times, it was mostly* as an ornament, as is the case now with Moslem women in the harem. Jewish women in Palestine—Jerusalem, etc.—are not in the habit of wearing veils.

Gn $24^{65f.}$ and $29^{22f.}$ show that it was customary among the early Israelites for betrothed maidens to veil themselves before their future husbands, and especially at the time of the wedding. This custom obtains in Egypt at the present day.† The use of the veil by betrothed maidens and brides may betoken subjection. St. Paul in 1 Co $2^{5ff.}$ so regards it.‡

Rashi says, 'The Israelitish women in Arabia go out veiled (רְעוּלוֹת), while those in India go out with a cloak fastened about the mouth' (פְּרוּפוֹת). It has been inferred from Gn 38^{14} that immoral women were to be known by the veil they wore;§ but probably Tamar wore the usual veil on the occasion referred to in order to escape recognition by her father-in-law, Judah. Nor does Ex 34^{33-35} show that men as well as women wore veils. Moses when he descended from the mountain wore a מַסְוֶה, *i.e.* a covering: a word not elsewhere used, though its cognate סוּת is found,‖ and has for parallel לְבוּשׁ 'clothing,' 'garment.' מַסֵּכָה¶ occurs in Is 25^7 (AV 'vail') and 28^{20}, and by RV it is rendered rightly 'covering.' מַסְוֶה, סוּת, and מַסֵּכָה are general terms, and should never be tr. 'veil.' כְּסוּת עֵינַיִם in Gn 20^{16} does not mean a veil, but a covering or blinding of the eyes by a gift; cf. Dillm. *ad loc.*, and vol. iii. p. 129^a.

The following Heb. words appear to denote veils in a stricter sense:—

1. רְעָלָה.** See art. MUFFLERS. 2. The צָעִיף is what Rebekah wore before Isaac,†† and Tamar before her father-in-law.‡‡ The word means what is 'doubled' over.§§ We know that it covered the face.‖‖ 3. צַמָּה is tr. by AV in Is 47^2, Ca $4^{1.3}$ 6^7 'locks' (of hair), but there can be little doubt that the word means some kind of veil. That like צָעִיף it covered the face, is all we know about it. 4. רְדִיד appears to have been a light garment which covered the whole dress,¶¶ as Jerome *** and Schröder held.††† See Del. (on Is 3^{23}), and art. MANTLE, vol. iii. p. 240^a. 5. סָדִין ‡‡‡ is held by Delitzsch to have been a kind of veil or light summer outer garment. The Arabic word (*sidn*, *sadeen*) is explained by Freytag and Lane as 'veil'; but a veil in the English sense is hardly meant by the Hebrew or the Arabic word. It was probably a summer outer dress of fine material (cambric or muslin), and so, according to Is 3^{23}, capable of much adornment. See Del. on Pr 31^{24}.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works cited above, cf. Dozy, *Diction. détaillé d. noms des vêtements chez les Arabes*; Weiss, *Gesch. der Tracht und des Geräths der Völker des Alterthums*, Stuttg. 1881; and also the works on Biblical Archæology, especially that by Nowack.

T. W. DAVIES.

VERMILION.—See COLOURS, vol. i. p. 458^b.

VERSIONS.—

Introductory.
i. General History: (*a*) origin and early history; (*b*) revisions; (*c*) printed editions.
ii. Method of use, and precautions to be observed: (*a*) those precautions common to all authorities; (*b*) those peculiar to the Versions.
iii. Uses of the Versions: (*a*) critical; (*b*) exegetical; (*c*) general, in connexion with the history of the Bible, Canon, etc.; (*d*) literary and philological.

Introductory.—The object of this article is not to treat any Version in detail, but to draw attention to some of the features common to them all, with only sufficient illustrations * to make the general statements intelligible.

---

* Mt 27^{51} ‖ Mk 13^{38} ‖ Lk 23^{45}.
† 6^{19} 9^3 10^{20}.
‡ *Kele Miḳdash*, cap. 7; quoted by Lightfoot (*Works*, Pitman's ed. ix. 280).
§ *Loc. cit.*
‖ *Hor. Heb.* Mt 27^{57}.
¶ *Heilig.* 308^a.
** *Beth Habbechirah*, cap. 4.
†† *Midd.* iv. 7.
‡‡ Same passage.
§§ See DRESS, vol. i. 628.
‖‖ Weiss, *Kostümkunde*, p. 13.
¶¶ *Ib.* p. 56.
*** *Ib.* 318; cf. Lübke, *Grundriss der Kunstgeschichte* (1879), i. 149 ff.
††† Weiss, 173 f.

* Ca $4^{1.3}$ 6^9.
† Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, i. (Gardner, 1895, p. 182, ch. vi.).
‡ Commentary on *Shabbath* 65*a*; quoted by Delitzsch on Is 3^{23}.
§ Winer³ ('Schleier') and many others.
‖ Gn 49^{11}.
¶ Same root as סֻכָּה 'booth,' *i.e.* covered place.
** Is 3^{19}.
†† Gn 24^{65}.
‡‡ $38^{1.4.19}$.
§§ Same root as ضعف II *to double*; Syr. ܐܥܦ (for ܥܦܝܦ = צָעִיף) *double*. See Lag. as quoted in *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*
‖‖ *Loc. cit.*
¶¶ Ca 5^7, Is 3^{23}.
*** On Is 3^{23}.
††† *Vestit. Mulierum.*
‡‡‡ Is 3^{23}.

It will be well to state at the outset the main objects which the student of the Versions may have in view. The most important is their use for critical purposes in conjunction with MSS of the original text of the OT or NT, and with Patristic Quotations. The second is their use for exegetical purposes. Thirdly, they have a value in connexion with the history of the Bible and the light they throw on a number of questions, such as the Canon, the order of books inside the Canon, etc. Lastly, many of the Versions are of the greatest interest from a literary and philological standpoint, because they are often the earliest monuments of the language in which they are written.

Their exact and scientific use, however, depends on a knowledge of their history, and on a consideration of certain precautions and limitations, which their history shows to be necessary if sound conclusions are to be reached. It will be desirable, therefore, firstly to consider some general points in their history, secondly to notice some of the necessary cautions, and lastly to discuss the uses just enumerated.

i. GENERAL HISTORY.—The first reference to translations of the Bible is found by some in the words of Neh 8[8] 'They read in the book in the law of God distinctly [RVm 'with an interpretation'], and they gave the sense so that they understood the reading.' The Heb. word מְפֹרָשׁ used for 'distinctly' occurs again in Ezr 4[18], where RVm renders 'translated.' The text gives more correctly than the margin the meaning of the Hebrew, which does not imply more than clearness in the reading. Moreover, the supposed need of a translation requires us to believe that the Jews returned from the Exile ignorant of the Hebrew in which the Law was written—a view hardly tenable in face of the post-exilic writings contained in the Bible. In any case we should have to think of an explanation rather than a translation, and an oral and not a written Version. We cannot therefore fix precisely the date at which Versions of the Bible began to be made.

There is little doubt that the earliest Version committed to writing was the SEPTUAGINT, begun for the use of the Alexandrian Jews under Ptolemy II. (B.C. 285–247), and 'it is probable that before the Christian era Alexandria possessed the whole or nearly the whole of the Hebrew Scriptures in a Greek translation' (Swete, *Introd. to OT in Greek*, p. 25). The only other Version for which there is likely to have been any demand in pre-Christian times is the SYRIAC. There are various traditions as to the origin of this Version, *e.g.* those recorded by Gregory Barhebræus, which refer it to the date of Solomon (who is said to have had it made for Hiram), or to the incidents recorded in 2 K 17[27], or that recorded by Jacob of Edessa, which assigns it to the date of Abgar, king of Edessa. Like the Septuagint, it was not the work of one time or one hand; for 'from the differences of style and manner in its several parts we may suppose that it was made by many hands, and covered a long period of time' (W. Wright, *Encyc. Brit.* 'Syr. Lit.' p. 824). The earliest definite reference to the Version is in a commentary of Melito of Sardis, where ὁ Σύρος is cited at Gn 22[13]. To this date, *i.e.* to the 2nd cent. A.D., the beginning of the Version may be assigned. To the same century the beginning of the LATIN Version, and to that or the following century the origin of the EGYPTIAN Versions, is generally ascribed. These represent the earliest Versions of the Bible, and they are succeeded by numberless others up to the present time.

If the beginnings of the history of the Versions take us back so far, and are veiled in obscurity, the last chapter cannot yet be written, for each year sees some fresh translation made for purposes of missionary work.* The chief critical interest of the latest is to be found only in the illustrations they afford of the difficulties which beset the translator of every age in his attempt to transfer the ideas and expressions of one language into those of another without suggesting new associations or dropping old ones.

The study of this long history is a fascinating subject. It presents problems of all kinds, and for their solution draws on the stores which have been accumulated by the students of language and literature, of art, of palæography, of liturgical usage, of history,† and many other branches of knowledge, while in return the MSS of the Versions contribute to all these studies material which is often of the greatest value, and can be found nowhere else. Hence the student of the Versions will find materials in books and periodicals dealing with almost every subject, and the literature is almost boundless.

1. *Origin and early History.*—The first point to try to make clear is at *what date and place*, and in *what circumstances*, the Versions in each language were made. We find general and somewhat rhetorical statements, like that of Chrysostom, in which he says, in his first Homily on St. John, that the Syrians, Indians, Persians, Ethiopians, and numberless other nations, have translations into their own languages. But it is only in regard to some of the later ones, that is, those made in and after the 4th cent., that we have definite historical statements on these points: as, for example, in the case of the Gothic, Armenian, and Slavonic; and even these apparently definite statements will not always stand cross-examination, and need explanation or qualification. In some cases they are so much later than the event to which they refer as to be untrustworthy in detail, while in other cases they lack perspective, and ascribe to one person or date work which probably passed through several hands and extended over a long period. Besides such historical statements, which have to be carefully examined before we use them, we have arguments of an inferential kind, based on the evidence afforded by the MSS of the Version itself.

The first question which we naturally ask is whether the Versions were *authoritative*, the work of translators chosen for their knowledge of the two languages involved, and from MSS carefully selected of a collection of books regarded as canonical, or whether they were made by private and irresponsible persons independently, in different districts, and from chance MSS of separate books as they became known or were required for use. Obviously, the answer to such questions is of great importance, but definite answers can rarely be given.

---

[*] Many of these illustrations are taken from those collected by the writer for his Ellerton Essay, printed in part in *Studia Biblica*, ii. 195 ff., on 'The Evidence of the Early Versions and Patristic Quotations on the Text of the Books of the New Testament.'

[*] For a list of these see (1) *In our Tongues*: a popular handbook to the translation work of the British and Foreign Bible Society, by G. A. King; 2nd issue, comprising the work of the last quarter of a century, 1875–1899; also (2) *Bible House Papers*, i.–v.

[†] The use of *language* may be illustrated from the discussion of the African origin of the Old Latin; of *art*, from the use made of different kinds of decoration found in MSS, such as the Celtic, to identify the place of origin; of *palæography*, from the evidence based on different national hands, Irish, Lombardic, etc.; of *liturgical usage*, from the use made of the notes in Codex Bezæ (*JThSt*, i. 454), or in connexion with the Lindisfarne Gospels (Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 39); of *history*, from the article on Codex Amiatinus in *Studia Biblica*, ii.

There can be little doubt that the earlier the Version the more likely the second alternative is to be true. Thus Ridley says: *plures a pluribus interpretibus in vulgus effusæ sunt explicatius quæ tandem collectæ et nonnunquam refictæ in unum Codicem vel editionem relatæ sunt*;[*] and elsewhere,[†] in the same treatise, that the Versions were at first a sort of Targum, derived from copies *circumforaneis et vulgatioribus*, from which the glosses were gradually removed. Similarly Augustine, in a well-known passage,[‡] writes in regard to the Latin: *ut cuique primis fidei temporibus in manus venit Codex Græcus et aliquantulum facultatis sibi utriusque linguæ habere videbatur, ausus est interpretari.* This hypothesis, while it does not destroy the value of the Versions as evidence often older than our MSS of the Greek text of the NT, certainly lessens the authority we should, on the first hypothesis, have to give them as made from the best MSS of the time, and exhibiting *non unius alteriusve hominis sed totius ecclesiæ interpretationem et judicium*.[§]—In regard to some of the later Versions we are told, and may well believe, that they were made by carefully chosen persons from specially selected MSS. But even then the area of selection must have been limited by circumstances of place and time and opportunity. So that, in the last resort, our estimate of the critical value of a Version and its text must be formed entirely from that text as contained in the MSS of the Version, or rather as it can be restored to its original form by the removal of errors which have come in during the centuries. For it has to be remembered that in some cases a considerable interval has elapsed between the date at which the Version was first made and that of the earliest MS of it. It is true that in no case is the interval as great as the thousand years or more which separate the last Heb. book of the OT from the earliest MS in which it is preserved to us. Of the more important Versions the Bohairic may be taken as the most striking instance in which the MSS of the Version, with very few exceptions, belong to a date very much later than that of the Version itself.[‖] We nearly always have to measure the interval by centuries, and in that time much often happened[¶] to alter the original characteristics of the Versions, both in regard to the text which underlay them and the language in which that text was expressed, and so to obscure or distort the light thrown by the MSS of a Version on its origin. But, even when we have made all necessary allowances, much evidence remains which may be used to date and localize the origin of a Version. First and foremost comes a comparison with the quotations found in Patristic writers using the same language. Thus the value of the writings of Tatian, Ephraem, and Aphraates has been generally recognized in regard to the Syriac Versions and their relation to each other, though there is divergence of opinion as to the actual conclusions to be drawn. Again, a comparison of the Old Latin with the Latin Fathers, especially Cyprian and Tertullian, gave Wiseman the first clue, which has, however, to be used with caution,[**] to the grouping of the MSS of that Version into families. The Patristic quotations often help us to date, as well as to localize, the text found in a Version. Thus Robert[††] dates the Version contained in the Lyons Heptateuch by its agreement with the Quotations of Lucifer of Cagliari, and its differences from those of Ambrose and Augustine.—Another argument in regard to the date and origin of Versions is furnished by the order in which the books of the Bible are given, or the Canon of Scripture which is implied.[*] This argument has been used to refer the Peshitta to a date prior to that at which all the Catholic Epistles and the Apocalypse were included in the Canon.

Other arguments in regard to origin are derived from linguistic considerations, and from notes by scribes and others in the margin of the text or elsewhere in the MSS. At the same time, in regard to all these it has to be remembered that *data* which seem at first sight to be coeval with the Version, and to throw light on its origin, may have been either carried over from the text on which the Version was based, or introduced later by some scribe.[†] Instances of these possibilities are afforded by liturgical notes, text divisions, dialectical peculiarities of spelling, etc. etc.

2. *Revisions.*—The constant use of the Versions from the date at which they were made onwards required the multiplication of copies. This necessarily involved the introduction of numerous unintentional errors, and gave occasion for linguistic or grammatical changes, and led also to a comparison of the text contained in the Version with that of other authorities. The best-known instances are afforded by the work of Origen on the LXX, and Jerome on the Old Latin. As to such revisions we have the evidence of direct statements, and that of the MSS themselves. We have the well-known passage in Jerome's letter to Damasus, in which he refers to errors introduced not only by *vitiosi interpretes*, but also by *præsumtores imperiti* and *librarii dormitantes*. This led him to his work of revision, of which the Vulgate was the result. Later on in the history of the same Version, the recurrence of the same kind of corruptions, and growing uncertainty as to the right text, led to such revisions as those of Alcuin at the end of the 8th cent. and those of the *Biblia Correctoria* in the 13th. Such formal revisions as those mentioned in connexion with the Latin Version find parallels in many other languages.

They involved the removal of copyists' errors of various kinds, and also changes in the Version itself, such as the translation of words which had been in the first instance merely transliterated, the substitution of current and approved words for those which were obsolete or provincial, a greater consideration for grammar and usage, which had been perhaps sacrificed to secure greater fidelity, as it was thought, to the words and sense of the original.[‡]

Again, in the revisions, reference was sometimes made to the text contained in MSS on the authority of which the Version was based, and to other Versions. That this was so we know from definite statements such as that made by Thomas of Harkel, who tells us that in his revision of the Philoxenian Syriac, in A.D. 616, he used 'two or three accurate Greek MSS in the Enaton of Alexandria,' and the readings derived from that source make the marginal readings of the Version of great value. Similar statements as to the use of Greek MSS for revision are made in regard to several other Versions, and it would be an obvious thing for a critical reviser to do.

But the influence of other authorities besides the original text in these revisions has to be remembered. The influence of the Vulgate will be a case in point. And in dealing with *phenomena* which suggest such influence it must not be forgotten, as is sometimes done, that the true explanation of the resemblances of two Versions may often be, not that they are derived one from the other, but that both are independently traceable to MSS of the Greek, which have a similar type of text.

---

[*] *De verss. Syr. indole* (ed. Semler, 1766), p. 334.

[†] See pp. 284, 291.

[‡] *De doctr. Christ.* ii. 11.

[§] Walton's Polyglot, *Proleg.* § 5. 3.

[‖] Hyvernat, *Étude sur les versions Coptes de la Bible*, p. 10 ff., gives a list of MSS here referred to, with dates.

[¶] See below on 'Revisions.'

[**] Scrivener, *Introd.* ii. 44; and art. OLD LATIN VERSIONS in vol. iii.

[††] *Hept. Partis poster. versio e cod. Lugd.* p. xxvii ff.

[*] See below, p. 854 f.

[†] Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 53.

[‡] In some cases the later Versions were more literal than the earlier, *e.g.* that of Aquila and the Philoxenian Syriac.

These revisions differed greatly both in extent and in character, and occasionally it is matter for argument which is the revised and which the unrevised text. Sometimes, as in the case of Origen's revision of the LXX, they have created a chasm in the history of the text which it is well-nigh impossible to bridge over. Sometimes—and in considering the temper in which these revisions would be conducted this is important—we meet with great reluctance to change what was old and familiar even though it was wrong.[*] The old was therefore retained in part. Thus, in the case of the Latin Version, the Old Latin renderings survived side by side with those of the Vulgate for some centuries. Berger[†] notices that the use of OL survived in Bohemia as late as the 15th cent. Gregory the Great in his Preface to Job says, *ut comprobationis causa exigit nunc novam nunc veterem per testimonia assumo*. Walafrid Strabo (*Pref. ad Gloss. Ord.*) speaks of it as something recent, that the Version of Jerome was in general use when he wrote in the 9th cent.—*Hieronymi translatione nunc ubique utitur tota Romana ecclesia licet non in omnibus libris*. It is clear from what has been said in regard to revisions which may have been made by private persons without any historical notice of the fact, that they constitute the main difficulty of the student in his attempt to recover the text of the Version in its original form. But it is obvious that the amount of success attained in surmounting this difficulty will be the measure of the certainty with which arguments may be built on the data afforded by the texts contained in the MSS of Versions. And it is to this end that these MSS have to be grouped as far as possible into families, which often indicate the nature and extent of the revision, and show that some MSS contain an unrevised, others a revised, form of the Version.[‡]

3. *Printed Editions.*—It is necessary to warn the student against the indiscriminate use of printed editions as evidence of the true text, and also against statements which rest only on such editions. In days gone by it was often accident rather than choice which determined what MS or MSS should be used; nor had the editor the ideas which prevail at present either as to the minute accuracy required for a critical edition, or as to the collection of material necessary for it. Thus Uscan, the first editor of the Armenian Version (1668), admits that he introduced several passages from the Latin without any MS authority. Again, in the Roman edition of the Ethiopic of 1548, the *lacunæ* in the Ethiopic MS used were translated from Greek MSS and the Vulgate. Similar unfavourable criticisms must be made of most of the older editions of the Versions as deficient in regard to the MSS used, or to the way in which they were used, or both. This makes it necessary to accept with caution the evidence of the Versions even as quoted by Tischendorf in the *apparatus criticus* of his *Novum Testamentum*, for he relied in many cases on such imperfect editions.[*] The more critical use, and the danger of quoting vaguely, may be seen from a reference to the second and third *appendices* to Lloyd's *Greek Testament*, edited by Dr. Sanday, and referred to in the note below. Much has been done, and is being done, in preparing adequate and accurate critical editions of the most important Versions such as the LXX, the Latin, the Syriac, the Egyptian, and others. When these are complete, the student will be able to handle the material with confidence. The editors will probably in no case formulate any text as that of the original Version, but will print the text of some one MS, and leave the student to draw his own conclusion from the *apparatus criticus*. They will, as a rule, not attempt to give the readings of all the known MSS, as Holmes and Parsons did in their monumental work on the Septuagint, but only the evidence of those MSS the texts of which are in any sense important for the reconstruction of the history of the Version.

ii. METHOD OF USE, AND PRECAUTIONS TO BE OBSERVED.—From what has been said as to the general characteristics of the history of Versions, and the state in which their evidence is available for the student, it is clear that their accurate use depends on the observance of certain critical rules, some of which (1) are common to all the authorities used for recovering an ancient text, while (2) others are peculiar to the use of Versions as evidence.

1. (*a*) Each MS of the Version has to be carefully examined with reference to its date, the care with which it has been copied, the text on which it seems to be based, and its relation to other MSS of the Version. Tertullian's canon, *id verius quod prius*, may be accepted as a starting-point. But it is often difficult, as we have seen, to determine the date from the evidence of the MS itself, which is often all that is available. Nor is age an invariable guide as to the value of the text contained in a MS, for some late MSS may be copied from good early ones. Thus *each* MS has to be weighed in reference to the degree of accuracy with which it seems to present the text as it left the hand of the translator, and in reference to other MSS containing texts which have been definitely identified with particular dates or localities. (*b*) It has further to be remembered that the different parts of the Bible, and in many cases even the separate books, though they have come to be united in one MS, may have had a different origin and textual history in the case of the Versions, just as in the case of Greek MSS of the NT. The earliest Versions were made when the books of the Bible circulated either separately or in small collections, and at no time till the 7th or 8th cent. do we meet with a complete MS of any Version of the whole Bible, and the text, even of such complete MSS, we should expect to have been derived from MSS which contained only parts of the Bible, and therefore had not an identical history. It is possible, to take one instance, that the difficulties in reducing Tertullian's quotations to a system may be in part due to his having used separate MSS, say, of St. Paul's Epistles. Again, within a group of books, such as the Pentateuch,

---

[*] Augustine (*Ep.* 71, ed. Benedict, vol. ii. p. 161) writes to Jerome as to the uproar caused by Jerome's Version reading *hedera* instead of the familiar *cucurbita* in Jon 4^6. Another case is that of the congregation which persisted in chanting *floriet* for *florebit*. This false conservatism in perpetuating mistakes is not obsolete, as may be seen by the refusal to correct the obvious mistakes (*e.g.* Is 9^3) of the English Bible of 1611.

[†] *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 74.

[‡] This division of the MSS of a Version against each other may be seen in any critical edition of a Version, *e.g.* that of the Vulgate; and in regard to some of the less accessible, in Dr. Sanday's *Appendices ad Novum Test.* iii.

[*] Thus Lightfoot (*Colossians*, p. 246 n.) writes as follows:—'The readings of the Memphitic [or Bohairic] version are very incorrectly given even by the principal editors such as Tregelles and Tischendorf, the translation of Wilkins being commonly adopted though full of errors, and no attention being paid to the various readings of Boetticher's text'; and again (*ib.* p. 247), 'the true readings of the Syriac version are just the reverse of those assigned to them even by the chief critical editors, Tregelles and Tischendorf.' In *JThSt*, i. 611, it is noticed that Tischendorf often omits altogether the renderings of Philoxenian Syriac. The time has almost come for a new edition of Tischendorf, but this will not be possible till critical editions of the separate Versions and Fathers are available.

where we might have expected uniformity, we find that the Old Latin fragments at Lyons, Würzburg, and Munich stand in quite different relations to each other in the Books of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers—a fact which shows that the Old Latin text in those MSS had a separate history in these separate books.

2. (*a*) The two considerations just mentioned depend on the fortunes of the Version after it left the hand of the translator, and are not especially characteristic of Versions; but there are others which are peculiar to translations as such. Thus we have to ascertain whether a Version is *primary* or *secondary*, *i.e.* derived directly from the text which it is to be used to restore, or indirectly through the medium of another translation.

Perhaps the best-known illustration will be afforded by the Latin Psalter.[*] Of this book we have (i.) the text of the Old Latin Psalter as contained, for instance, in MS 11947 of the *Bibliothèque National*; (ii.) the *Roman* Psalter, the first revision of Jerome made in A.D. 383 with tbe help of the κοινή text of the LXX; (iii.) the *Gallican* Psalter, made in A.D. 385 according to the hexaplar text of tbe LXX, the present Vulgate Psalter; (iv.) the *Psalterium Hebraicum*, begun some years later, and based on a Heb. text. In the well-known *Codex Cavensis* of the Latin Bible we have the third and fourth, and on the margin extracts from the first. We also find quadruple Psalters.

One more illustration may be taken, and in this case not from a MS, but from an edition, of a Version, viz. Erpenius' edition of the Arabic of A.D. 1616. Here the Gospels preserve a translation from the Greek, and are therefore a primary Version; the Acts, Pauline Epistles, and three Catbolic Epistles preserve a translation from the Peshiṭta; the other Catholic Epistles and the Apocalypse a Version from some other source. Sometimes one language preserves both primary and secondary Versions, as, for instance, the Armenian does. Sometimes it is a matter of argument whether a Version is primary or secondary.

It will be obvious that the chief value of secondary Versions is in regard to the primary from which they are taken; those derived from the LXX, for instance, are useful to determine the history of the Septuagint and only indirectly to restore a right Hebrew text, and the Armenian will help in restoring the original text of the Old Syriac from which it was in part translated.

(*b*) Another point which is of the first importance in drawing conclusions as to particular readings implied by a Version, is the capacity and intention of the translators in regard to literalness, accuracy of rendering, and doctrinal or other bias.

The Versions vary very much in their efforts to preserve the *letter* of the text they are translating.

As extreme instances of those which sacrifice language, and even clearness, to literalness, may be mentioned Aquila's version of the OT and the Harklean revision of the Philoxenian. These represent one extreme, and at the other we get paraphrastic renderings which are content with giving the general sense. As a rule, however, the mean is observed between undue literalness and undue laxity.

In regard to *accuracy of translation*, it may be said generally that the Versions were made by persons of competent knowledge in regard to both of the languages with which they were dealing.

Exception must be made in some parts or passages of a Version. Thus it is difficult to conceive tbat the Greek in some parts of the LXX can have conveyed any meaning to the translator, and the Ethiopic is a Version the value of which must be depreciated by such confusions as those between κατηχούμεθα and κατειχόμεθα (Ro 7^{6}) or ἐξεπάτησε and ἐξηπάτησε (Ro 7^{11}).[†] It should here be mentioned that accuracy of translation does not require that the same word should always have tbe same equivalent in the Version, and this possibility often causes uncertainty in the conclusions which may be drawn (see below). And it may be remembered that even mistaken renderings may be helpful: thus the rendering *neglexit* of *e* of the Old Latin at Mk 5^{36}, though wrong, supports παρακούσας as against ἀκούσας, and all attempts to translate δευτεροπρώτῳ at Lk 6^{1}, even if unsuccessful, witness to the existence of some epithet attached to σαββάτῳ.

Of any *doctrinal bias* the early Versions show little trace, though we often find in the Fathers complaints of falsification, which cannot, however, be maintained.

As possible instances of intentional alteration may be mentioned the Nestorian substitution of *leavened* for *unleavened* bread at 1 Co 5^{8}, a tendency towards Encratite views in the Syriac version of 1 Co $7^{2.6.7}$, and more clearly in reference to the virginity of Mary. Berger[*] traces the adaptation of various Latin MSS at 2 Mac 12^{46} in regard to a passage bearing on prayers for the dead. Ellicott finds 'a slightly Arian tinge' in the Gothic version of Ph 2^{6-8}. But these are isolated instances, which must not, however, be ignored.

When we come to compare Versions made by Roman Catholics with other Versions, there is more evidence of a preference for words which will support special ecclesiastical positions or views. Thus, in the French version of de Sacy, *elders* become *prêtres*, in Gn 3^{15} it is *la femme* who will bruise the serpent's head, St. Paul hopes to be delivered by *le mérite des prières*; and other instances might be given.[†]

(*c*) Again, it must be remembered that the power and intention of the best translator are limited by the material which he has to use, and that in two ways. In the first place, one language may be incapable of literally reproducing the *grammatical* idioms of another. Thus there are no distinctions of gender in Armenian, no neuter in Arabic, no passive voice in Bohairic, no article in Latin, and therefore these Versions afford no help where readings involving such points are being discussed. Again, words have to be supplied in a translation which were not required in the original.[‡] Such cases may be indicated in later times by the use of italics, but they are a more or less modern device and not always accurately employed. Somewhat akin to the point now being discussed is the ambiguity, which arises as to their evidence, in languages like the Syriac and Arabic, owing to the system of vowel points. Secondly, the translator was hampered not only by grammatical but also by *lexical* difficulties, as is the case with the missionary of to-day.[§] It is true that words could be coined, such as *seminiverbius*, to represent σπερμολόγος (Ac 17^{18}), *camum mittes* to translate κημώσεις (1 Co 9^{9}), or in more modern times (as in Sir John Cheke's version) *hundreder* for *centurion*. Transliteration offers another device, adopted frequently in the case of the oldest Versions, but the result is not an effective or an intelligible translation. Another and more important consideration, which affects, however, the exegetical rather than the critical use of Versions, is that the words used by the translator must often suggest either more or less than the expression translated. This is a difficulty which is felt, for example, in rendering the NT into Chinese.[‖]

(*d*) It must be remembered in connexion with the literary side of translations that a translator will not always use one word or expression, and one only, to render any particular word or expression of the original. As instances where the English Bible shows this freedom in translation we may refer to the equivalents given for παρακύπτω in Lk 24^{12}, Jn $20^{5.11}$, or the various renderings of πραιτώριον: similarly, the word 'ἄνομος is translated in five different ways' in the NT.[¶] Other Versions will provide a number of instances of a like kind.[**] The point is important in connexion with the use of Versions for critical purposes, because it reminds us that we cannot argue from a variation in the translation to a similar variation in the original. Versions, therefore, often fail to give assistance where there is a doubt between two words of almost the same meaning, or between two words which the translators may possibly not have differentiated.[*]

---

[*] See Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, pp. 130, 131, and Index, *s.v.* 'Psalter.'

[†] See Tregelles in Smith's *DB* iii. 1614.

[*] *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 23.

[†] *Revue de Théologie*, ii. 1, 311.

[‡] See below, p. 853b.

[§] Cf. *Life of H. Calloway*, bishop of Caffraria, pp. 249-250, as to the Kaffir and Zulu languages; and for difficulties in connexion witb Hindustani see *Church Missionary Gleaner*, Oct 1899.

[‖] See correspondence in the *Guardian* for 1899 on the Chinese rendering for 'priest.'

[¶] Plummer's *St. Luke*, p. 506.

[**] Thus Westcott, *Epistles of St. John*, p. xxvii, notices that τηρεῖν in three successive verses of tbe Epistle is translated by *observare*, *custodire*, *servare*.

(*e*) It is perhaps hardly necessary, after what has been said as to necessary precautions, to give a reminder that the evidence of Versions can be used only at first hand, and not through the medium of a translation. Many of the scholars who first used the Oriental Versions for purposes of textual criticism had to rely on Latin translations of them, and many misstatements of the evidence have resulted, and may easily be perpetuated, even from the *apparatus criticus* of such an authority as Tischendorf's 8th ed. of his *Novum Testamentum.*[†]

iii. USES OF THE VERSIONS.—(*a*) It is only if we bear all these points in mind, as of possible importance in connexion with the evidence of a Version in a particular passage, that we are in a proper position to consider the most important of the uses which may be made, especially of the early translations, viz. their *use in textual criticism.* (1) We have three different classes of authorities for determining the text of the Bible, viz. MSS of the original Hebrew or Greek text, Versions, and Patristic Quotations. The importance of the last two is that they enable us to a great extent to date and localize particular readings found in the MSS, and thus provide us with the means by which to reconstruct the history of textual changes in a way which would be quite impossible from the MSS alone. An obvious instance of this may be found in the way in which Versions and Patristic Quotations enable us to trace back the readings of the so-called 'Western' text of the NT to the 2nd cent., a date nearly 200 years before that to which our oldest MSS of the Greek are assigned. Without their help we might well have said that readings of this kind belonged to a much later date, and might be dismissed as unimportant. From the Versions we also see not only the antiquity but the wide prevalence of this so-called 'Western' text, for its readings are found not only in properly called Western authorities, such as the MSS of the Old Latin Version, but also in the early Syriac Version. We see, therefore, how misleading this term 'Western' is. On the other hand, caution has to be observed in using Versions to localize a particular text, for the Sahidic and Bohairic, though both connected with Egypt, represent different Greek texts.

(2) In estimating the value of the evidence of Versions it may be assumed that they are based directly or indirectly on MSS of the original text, and therefore allowance has not to be made, as in the case of Patristic Quotations, for the possibility of quotations from memory. Further, if they preserve for us the readings of MSS of the original text, then those MSS in the case of the earliest and most important Versions are considerably older than any which have come down to us. Thus the MSS of the Hebrew on which the LXX was based must be about 1000 years older than any Hebrew MS which survives to the present day, and the MSS which were used by the earliest translators of the NT into Syriac, Latin, or Egyptian, if they are assigned to the 2nd cent., will be nearly 200 years older than ℵ or B. The primary Versions may therefore, with the limitations already noticed, be regarded as MSS of the original text, and used to correct the readings of those MSS of the original text which have come down to us.

(3) But, from what has been already said above, great caution has always to be used in estimating the value of their evidence and drawing conclusions, and in a large number of cases their evidence, without the corroboration of other authorities, has to be ignored or discounted, because the introduction of the readings they support can be sufficiently explained. Thus we may find in them additions to the original text, but these may be inserted for grammatical reasons,[*] or may be explanations necessary for the readers. On the other hand, we may find omissions; but these may be due to a desire for compression, or may have been left out because of their difficulty.[†] Again, in the case of synonyms, the evidence of Versions must be regarded and treated as ambiguous, unless an inductive examination has shown that the usage allows a positive conclusion.[‡]

The *history of the use of the Versions for critical purposes* goes back to the first great textual critic, Origen, who in his *Hexapla* compared the Heb. text with that of the LXX derived from it. Similarly, Jerome makes many references to the evidence to be drawn from Versions. One instance may suffice. He refuses to use a certain recension of text, *cum multarum gentium linguis Scriptura ante translata doceat falsa esse quæ addita sunt.*

After the invention of printing, the first Version to be used critically was the Latin Vulgate, from which the Complutensian edition derived the text 1 Jn $5^{7.8}$. Erasmus also used the same Version to make good the deficiencies of his Greek MS of the Apocalypse. A little later Beza (1519–1605) for his Geneva edition quoted Tremellius' edition of the Syriac of 1569, and for part of the NT (Acts, 1 2 Cor.) used also the readings of an Arabic Version. In the Polyglots of Antwerp (1569–72) and Paris (1630–33) we do not find more than the Versions already mentioned, the Antwerp edition having only the Latin and Syriac. Walton in the London Polyglot (1654–7) printed in the fifth volume, which contains the NT, the Ethiopic as well as the Syriac, Vulgate, and Arabic, and, for the Gospels, the Persian Version. A few years later Bishop Fell, in his edition of the NT of 1675, professes to give variants *ex plus centum MSS codicibus et antiquis versionibus.* Among the latter he quotes, and is the first to quote, the Bohairic and Gothic, but he uses them only here and there, and not systematically. The Versions were used more fully by Mill in his famous edition of 1707. He first 'accorded to the Vulgate and the Old Latin the importance they deserve,'[§] and had a slight knowledge of Syriac, but for the other Versions had to be content to rely on Latin translations often inexact, and so his use of the Versions may well have been 'the weakest part' in his monumental contribution to biblical criticism. The name of Bentley (1662–1742) is important for our present purpose because of the attention he gave to a critical edition of the Latin Version.[*] The next critic who needs to be noticed in connexion with the use of the Versions is Wetstein (1693–1754), who in his *Prolegomena* (1730), besides giving us the ordinarily used notation for our MSS, 'bestowed great pains on the Versions.' Alter, in his edition of the Greek Testament of 1786–7, besides some readings from Wilkins' edition of the Bohairic, quotes also from four MSS of the Slavonic Version and *i* of the Old Latin. Before we leave the 18th cent., reference must be made to the laborious work of Holmes and Parsons on the LXX, for their edition of which they quoted the Old Latin, Syriac, Egyptian, Arabic, Georgian, Armenian, and Slavonic. In every case the help of experts in the several languages was procured, but the permanent value of the work bears no relation to the time and labour expended on it, because the time had not yet come when the material was adequately or scientifically collected, and the collators were not all equally trustworthy.

---

[*] See Westcott and Hort, *Notes on Select Readings*, Ac 11^{20}. As between Ἕλληνας and Ἑλληνιστάς, 'versions are ambiguous: they express only "Greeks," but would naturally be at a loss to provide a distinctive rendering for so rare and so peculiar a word as Ἑλληνιστάς.' See also Ac 6^{1} 9^{29}.

[†] See Gregory, *Prolegomena*, p. 805; *Studia Biblica*, ii. 212 f.; and what has been said above on 'Editions.'

[*] Thus Jerome, quoted by Alford at Eph 5^{22}, says, *hoc quod in lat. exemplis additum est* subditæ sint *in græcis editionibus non habetur sed hoc magis in græco intelligitur quam in latino.*

[†] So Jerome (quoted by Burgon) at 1 Co 7^{35} says, *in Latinis codicibus ob difficultatem translationis hoc penitus non invenitur.*

[‡] Of this the index at the end of the fifth *fasciculus* to the *Oxford Vulgate* would give illustrations. Thus from two successive words we find that ἀγωνίζεσθαι is rendered by several Latin words, and, on the other hand, 'αἰών semper redditur *sæculum.*'

[§] Scrivener, ii. 201.

Griesbach, at the beginning of the 19th cent., is important in connexion with the use of Versions, not only because of his quotations of the Gothic, Armenian, and Philoxenian, but also, and more especially, because he was the first to assign them a place in the families of text which Bengel had introduced. Thus to the *Alexandrian* recension he assigned the Egyptian and some other Versions, to the *Western* the Old Latin and Vulgate, and to the *Byzantine* the vast majority of the Versions. Lachmann (1793–1851) 'restored the Latin Versions to their proper rank in the criticism of the NT,'[†] but did not use the Syrian and Egyptian Versions. In Westcott and Hort's summary of the history of the Greek text of the NT the Versions, of course, find a place. Thus the Bohairic and, with some exceptional readings, the Sahidic are included among authorities for the neutral text, the Old Latin and Old Syriac among those for the Western text, some readings of the Bohairic and Sahidic are Alexandrian, while the vast majority belong to the group of authorities which contain a 'Syrian' or revised text. But one of the important points which recent examination of the Egyptian Versions has tended to establish, is, that the Bohairic does not represent the primitive form of the Egyptian Version so well as the Sahidic. This would involve a weakening of their theory that the neutral text is invariably right.

At the present time it would be agreed by textual critics that *all* the Versions, just as even the latest cursive MSS, have to be examined at any rate to see whether they have any contribution to make to textual criticism; but the main energy of scholars is being devoted to the collection, and proper arrangement, of the materials available and necessary for a proper estimate of the history and text of each Version. When this has been satisfactorily done, and good critical editions are available, but not till then, it will be possible to give each Version its due weight in the scale of evidence, after making allowance for the changes it has undergone in the course of its history, and taking account of the disagreement between different MSS of the same Version.

The *notation adopted for the Versions*, as for the other authorities for the text of the NT, is that used by Tischendorf in the 8th ed. of his *Novum Testamentum*, and described fully by him, and by other authorities since. Some modifications have been made owing to further study, as, for example, in regard to the names now generally given to the Egyptian Versions, and some additions have to be made for reference to material which has become available since the publication of his edition, such as the Sinaitic MS of the Syriac. But the general outlines of the notation will probably remain the same. In the case of separate MSS of the Versions, that notation used by the editors of the standard editions which have already appeared or are in preparation—*e.g.* Wordsworth and White's *Vulgate*, Brooke and Maclean's *Septuagint*, Horner's *Bohairic*, Gwilliam's *Peshiṭta*, etc.—will, it is hoped, be adopted to prevent confusion and double nomenclature, such as is necessary in the cases of many cursive MSS of the Greek Testament owing to the different notation of Scrivener and Gregory.

(*b*) The most striking instance of the *exegetical* value of a Version is to be found in the LXX, and the light it throws on the NT. Bishop Pearson wrote as follows on this point:—

> *LXX viralis versio ad Novum Testamentum recte intelligendum et accurate explicandum perquam necessaria est.* This judgment is quoted by Dr. Swete[*] as 'justified' by the facts.[†] In regard also to the meaning of the Hebrew, 'it is never safe to neglect their interpretations even if in the harder contexts it is seldom to be trusted. Indirectly, at least, much may be learned from them, and their wildest exegesis belongs to the history of hermeneutics and has influenced thought and language to a remarkable degree.' On the other hand, 'transliterations, doublets, confused and scarcely intelligible renderings reveal the fact that in difficult passages they were often reduced to mere conjecture.'

The Latin Version, again, has a very important place in the history of biblical exegesis in the West. The opinion of Dr. Routh, endorsed by Dean Burgon,[‡] that the Vulgate offers the best commentary on the NT, can hardly be justified. There are, indeed, many passages where the Vulgate has erred, and has influenced the English Bible of 1611 through the medium of earlier renderings, *e.g.* Lk 21^{19}, Mt $16^{22.23}$, Ro 2^{18} etc. It is not, however, possible to exaggerate its *general* influence on the formation of theological language, and indirectly on the exegesis of the many Versions which were made from it during the Middle Ages. These two Versions stand, however, in an exceptional position. Of most of the others the exegetical value is not great.[§] In the OT they were, for the most part, secondary, and derived from the LXX; while for the NT we are as well able as the translators to ascertain the meaning of the Greek. Nor do the Versions give much help in regard to difficult words or constructions, such as ἐπιούσιος, νάρδος πιστική, πυγμῇ, ἐπιβαλὼν ἔκλαιε, and the like; indeed they sometimes omit the difficulty altogether.[||] They are, however, even in these cases interesting, because they preserve for us an early traditional rendering.

(*c*) The use which may be made of the Versions in regard to *the history of the Bible, the Canon*, etc., may be illustrated both from the Old and the New Testament. The importance of their evidence, as in the case of their use for textual criticism, consists in our being able by this means to localize the phenomena with which we meet.

> The most obvious instance is the evidence which is afforded by the Versions in regard to the inclusion or exclusion of the Apocalypse. Both the Syriac and the Bohairic Versions indicate that that book was not included in the Canon of the NT when they were made. Another instance—and this affects the arrangement of the books of the Bible—may be found in the so-called Western order of the Gospels found in the MSS of the Latin

---

[*] See Wordsworth and White's *Vulgate*, i. xv ff.

[†] Scrivener, ii. 235.

[*] *Introd. to the OT in Greek* (p. 457). Dr. Swete sums up the question as follows: 'On the one hand, the interpreter [*i.e.* of the NT] ought not to be led astray by visions of the solidarity of "Biblical Greek." . . . On the other hand, the student of the NT will make the LXX his starting-point in examining the sense of all words and phrases which . . . passed into Palestinian use through the Greek OT, and in their passage received the impress of Semitic thought and life.'

[†] Swete, *l.c.* p. 446.

[‡] *Lives of Twelve Good Men*, pp. 76, 77.

[§] Walton, however, in his *Prolegomena*, § 5. 3, says, *sensum clarius explicant ita ut pro pluribus commentariis versio unica inservire possit.*

[||] See Pesh. (Ac 19^{28}) and Jerome's words, quoted above, p. 853^{b}, note †.

Version and elsewhere.* Again, the varying position of the Epistle to the Hebrews which is found in the Bohairic between 2 Thess. and 1 Tim., in the Sahidic between 2 Cor. and Gal., affords evidence as to early uncertainty about the Pauline authorship. From the OT, illustrations may be found in the variations between the Canon of the Hebrew, LXX, and Vulgate, and the light thrown on the history of the OT Canon.† While the order of books in 'the Law' was fixed at the time the LXX translation was made, that of the books contained in the groups of 'the Prophets' and 'the Writings' was not; and evidence of this is found in the variations in order between the LXX and Hebrew. Again, within certain books, such as Exodus and Jeremiah, we find a difference in the arrangement of material between the LXX and Hebrew, and in 1 Sam. a somewhat similar phenomenon meets us.

These facts take us back behind the formation of the Canon, on which the facts already mentioned afford evidence, and can be used for the light they throw on the composition of the separate books. Of course it is only in the very earliest Versions that such a use of the Versions as is here referred to can be made. And, conversely, these phenomena, as we have already noticed, are important in helping us to date those Versions in which they occur.

(*d*) It would be out of place in a Bible dictionary to go at any length into the *literary* and *philological* interest of the Versions, but this part of the subject cannot be wholly omitted. It will be obvious how great this interest must be when we call to mind that in nearly every language the earliest monuments preserved to us consist of translations of the Bible. In many cases (*e.g.* Gothic, Armenian, Slavonic, etc.) we are told that alphabets were devised for the express purpose of these translations. Translations of the Bible, then, take us to the cradle of nearly every written modern language, and they not only give us our earliest information as to written languages, but they have exercised an important influence on their subsequent history by fixing the dialect which was to prevail as the literary dialect. As instances of this, the influence of the translations of Wyclif and Luther on the literary development of English and German may be mentioned; and of a somewhat similar kind was the influence of Hus's Bible in fixing the orthography of Bohemian or Chekh.

Again, when we pass to the early history of printing in any language, the importance of the Versions as evidence is clearly seen from the fact that the earliest printed books were often translations of the Bible. Thus the earliest Russian printed book was the Psalter of 1564, and the first printed book in Hungarian was Komjathy's translation of St. Paul's Epistles of 1533.

In emphasizing the *philological* importance of Versions of the Bible, we may point to Gothic and Basque, in which almost the only monuments of the language consist of translations of the Bible. The first of these, scanty as its fragments are, is by some centuries the oldest monument of the Teutonic family. Again, the MSS of the Latin Bible illustrate many steps in the process by which Latin developed into the later Romance languages in their separate forms.

LITERATURE.—Besides the special literature mentioned in connexion with the separate Versions (which see), the following books dealing generally with the subject will be found indispensable:—*Urtext und Übersetzungen der Bibel* (Leipzig, 1897), a reprint of the art. 'Bibeltext' in *PRE*³, is indispensable both for its outline of the whole subject and its references to literature. For editions of the Bible in different translations the parts of the British Museum Catalogue on Bibles will give the titles and some idea of the size of the subject.

(1) NT: Scrivener's *Introduction to the Criticism of the NT*, vol. ii. (London, 1894), gives the fullest account in English of the Versions of the NT; C. R. Gregory's *Prolegomena*, part iii. to Tischendorf's *Nov. Test.* (Leipzig, 1894), gives the fullest list of MSS of the Versions of NT; Eb. Nestle, *Einführung in das Gr NT*² (Göttingen, 1899, Eng. tr. 1901), is quite the best recent book.

(2) OT: The general subject of the Versions of the OT has not been so fully treated in English as that of the NT. Mention may be made of Wellhausen's edition of Bleek's *Einleit. in das AT*, and Buhl, *Text und Kanon des alten Testament* (Leipzig, 1891, Eng. tr. 1891), and Driver, *Notes on the Heb. Text of Sam.* 1890.

LL. J. M. BEBB.

VERSIONS, ENGLISH.—i. The history of the Versions of the English Bible may be said to begin with **John Wyclif.** Previous to his time there had been various attempts to render parts of the Scriptures into Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman, or Middle-English. But these had not only been very fragmentary, but were for the most part paraphrases rather than literal translations. With Wyclif, however, a new era in Bible-translation began, and nothing that concerns him can fail to be of interest.* He was born about the year 1320 in the vicinity of Richmond in Yorkshire, and when he first comes publicly forward is found filling various important posts in the University of Oxford. The bold attitude with regard to the Papal Tribute which he took up in a Tract, led to his being selected as one of the Royal Commissioners sent to Bruges in 1374 to treat with the Papal Nuncio regarding the reservation of benefices, and from this time may be dated his appearance as an ardent ecclesiastical reformer—'the Morning Star of the Reformation.' For this end he instituted an order of 'poor priests' whose duty it was 'faithfully to scatter the seed of God's word,' and it was to aid them in this work that he set about providing them with the Bible in their native tongue. The first book translated was the Apocalypse, which was followed by a translation of the Gospels with a commentary, and soon after by versions of the remaining books of the NT, the whole being completed by 1380. To this was added a translation of the OT principally by one of his friends, Nicolas de Hereford, though Wyclif himself seems to have supplied the last books and about one-third of the Apocrypha, so that about the middle of the year 1382 the whole Bible was in the hands of the people 'in their mother tongue.' All this had not been accomplished without difficulty and even danger. Hereford had to flee the country, and Wyclif's own teaching was publicly condemned at a Synod in London in 1382. The hostility, however, would seem to have been confined to a few persons, notably Archbishop Arundel, for the new translation was generally tolerated, and the reformer himself, contrary to his own expectations, was eventually allowed to retire to his rectory of Lutterworth, where he passed quietly away on the last day of the year 1384.

But the good work was not allowed to stop, and in 1388 one of Wyclif's pupils, now generally identified with **John Purvey**, issued a careful revision of his translation, introduced by a most interesting Prologue, and accompanied by a number of short comments or notes. This version quickly took the place of the older one, and was largely circulated amongst all classes of the people notwithstanding its great cost.† Both versions were indeed admirably adapted for popular use, being characterized by great homeliness and directness of diction. And though many of the words and expressions used are now of course obsolete or inappropriate, it is wonderful, when the spelling is modernized, how little they differ as a whole from our AV. One great blemish they of necessity possess. They are only translations of a translation, being made from the Latin Vulgate; and it was left to another with improved facilities to carry on the work so auspiciously begun, and more than 'any other man to give its characteristic shape to our English Bible' (Westcott, *General View of the History of the English Bible*^{2}, 1872, p. 24).

---

* See Sanday in Smith's *DB*², p. 1240, art. 'Gospels.'

† This is worked out fully in the chapter in Swete's *Introduction to the OT in Greek* which deals with this part of the subject, and for the Vulgate in Berger's *Histoire de la Vulgate*, pp. 301 ff., 331 ff.

* See especially Lechler's *John Wycliffe and his English Precursors*, translated and edited by Lorimer; and cf. 'The Birth and Parentage of Wiclif' by L. Sergeant in the *Athenæum* for March 12th and 26th, 1892.

† Forshall and Madden, in the preparation of their great work on *The Wycliffite Versions*, 1850, were able to examine 'nearly 150 MSS containing the whole or parts of Purvey's Bible, the majority of which were written within the space of forty years from its being finished' (Preface, p. xxxii f.).

ii. That other was **William Tindale**, and, though there is still considerable uncertainty regarding many of the facts of his life, it is now generally agreed that he was born at Slymbridge in Gloucestershire about the year 1484,[*] and that after studying at Oxford he proceeded to Cambridge in 1515, where the fame of Erasmus' lectures still lingered. In 1521 he returned to his native county as chaplain and tutor in the family of Sir John Walsh of Little Sodbury, and while there is credited with the resolution to which his whole after-life was devoted, saying in controversy with a clerical opponent, 'If God spare my life, ere many years I will cause a boy that driveth the plough shall know more of the Scripture than thou doest.' In pursuance of this purpose he went up to London two years later, in the hope of executing his task under the patronage of Bishop Tunstall; but after a year of anxious waiting the conviction forced itself upon him, 'not only that there was no room in my lord of London's palace to translate the NT, but also that there was no place to do it in all England' (*Pref. to Pentateuch*).

Voluntarily, therefore, in May 1524, Tindale exiled himself, and after a short stay at Hamburg seems to have visited Luther at Wittenberg. In any case, there can be no doubt that in 1525 he was at Cologne, engaged in bringing out a complete edition of the NT. His plan was, however, discovered by a certain priest John Cochlæus, and he and his assistant Roye had barely time to secure the precious sheets already printed, and carry them off to Worms, where either in the same or the following year 3000 copies of the first printed English NT were issued from the press of P. Schoeffer the younger. The size of the book had been altered from *quarto* to *octavo*, probably to escape detection; but shortly afterwards the original *quarto* edition, whose printing had been interrupted in Cologne, was also completed. Copies of both editions were immediately despatched to England, where they were eagerly welcomed. But so vigorous were the steps taken against them that of the *octavo* edition only one complete copy (with the exception of the title-page) remains;[†] while the *quarto* is known to exist only in a single fragment (Mt 1^{1}-22^{12}).[‡]

After the issue of his Testaments, Tindale quietly continued his work abroad, publishing a translation of *The Five Books of Moses* at Marburg in 1530, and *The Book of Jonah* with an interesting Prologue in 1531.[§] An edition of the *Book of Genesis* 'newly corrected and amended' appeared in 1534, and in the same year there was published at Antwerp, 'The Newe Testament dylygently corrected and compared with the Greek by Willyam Tindale,' in which were included certain 'Epistles,' or extracts, out of the OT, a Table of Epistles and Gospels for Sundays, and 'some things added' to fill up the blank pages at the end. The book was thus in some respects more like a modern Church Service Book than an ordinary Testament, while the improvements introduced into the text fully justified the translator's claim that he had 'weeded out of it many faults which lack of help at the beginning, and oversight, did sow therein.' This edition has well been described as Tindale's 'noblest monument'; but not even yet was his work of revision completed. In 1535 there appeared what is often known as 'the G. H. Testament' from the initials attached to the second title-page, and which were first interpreted by Mr. Bradshaw (1881) as denoting G. van der Haghen, the Antwerp publisher. In this edition the 1534 text was 'yet once agayne corrected by Willyam Tindale,' the corrections (there are said to be about four hundred of them) proving by their very minuteness the translator's fidelity and zeal. Another NT bearing the same date (1535) is remarkable for its peculiar orthography, sometimes thought to have been purposely adapted to the pronunciation of the peasantry (*e.g.* 'faether' for 'father,' 'hoeme' or 'hoome' for 'home'), but in all probability caused by the mistakes of some Flemish printer in setting up a foreign language. As further showing the rapid spread of Tindale's translations, it may be mentioned that in the following year (1536) seven, if not eight, editions of his NT appeared, one of which (in folio) is believed to have been the first portion of the Holy Scriptures *printed* in England.[*]

There was to be no return, however, for Tindale himself to what he pathetically calls 'mine natural country,' for, having been betrayed into the hands of his enemies and imprisoned for about a year at Vilvorde, near Brussels, he suffered martyrdom on Friday, 6th Oct. 1536. With his last words he prayed, 'Lord! open the king of England's eyes.'

It is impossible here to examine in detail Tindale's service to the cause of Bible translation, but one or two points may be indicated. (1) Foremost amongst these is the *independence* of his work. Attempts have been made to underestimate this, and more particularly to prove him on the one hand 'merely a full-grown Wycliffe,' and on the other to show how largely he borrowed from the German Testament of Luther. But while Purvey's revision undoubtedly influenced him indirectly by supplying many proverbial expressions and technical terms which through it had become current, and Luther's Testament, more especially in its Prefaces and marginal Notes, was freely consulted and used, Tindale was too good a scholar to be slavishly dependent on any one,[†] and can justly claim the honour of being the first in England at any rate (with the possible exception of Bede) to go straight to the Hebrew and Greek originals.[‡] (2) If, however, in his own work he was largely independent of others, his influence on those who followed him was direct and unmistakable. Thus it is to him that we owe in great part our religious vocabulary,[§] and, what is even more important, that freedom from dogmatic bias and scrupulous fidelity to the exact letter of Scripture which have been in general such happy features of our English Versions.* (3) It would be idle indeed to pretend that Tindale fell into no mistakes. Many of his renderings are incorrect, others are uncouth, others are paraphrases rather than translations. Serious blemishes, too, are his constant disregard of connecting particles, and his habit of translating the same word in different ways even in the same sentence. But, take it all in all, his translation is a noble one, and its very faults, as Fuller says, are 'to be scored on the account rather of that age, than of the author himself.'

---

[*] See *William Tyndale, a Biography*, by R. Demaus, new ed. by Lovett, 1886, p. 24.

[†] Now in the Library of the Baptist College at Bristol, and reproduced in facsimile in 1862 by Mr. F. Fry. It was previously reprinted with an introduction by G. Offor in 1836.

[‡] Preserved in the Grenville Room of the British Museum, and photo-lithographed and published with a valuable introduction by E. Arber in 1871.

[§] The former has been reprinted under the editorship of Dr. Mombert, and the latter in facsimile with an introduction by Mr. Fry.

[*] These and many other interesting details will be found in *A Bibliographical Description of the Editions of the NT, Tyndale's Version, in English*, by Francis Fry, 1878.

[†] According to an eminent German scholar, H. Buschius, who met him at Worms in 1526, Tindale was 'so skilled in seven languages, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, English, French, that whichever he spoke you would suppose it his native tongue' (Schelhorn, *Amœnitates Literariæ*, iv. p. 431).

[‡] The Greek Testament which he used was that published by Erasmus, edd. of 1519, 1522.

[§] It has been calculated that in the whole of Tindale's NT the number of stranger words, or words that do not occur in the AV, is probably below 350, many of which are used once or twice only (Moulton, *The History of the English Bible*, pp. 70, 71). Of his work as a whole, our Bibles are said to retain at the present day about 80 % in the OT and 90 % in the NT.

iii. Nor had Tindale left himself without worthy successors. Amongst those who are stated by Foxe to have assisted him in translating the Pentateuch was one **Miles Coverdale** (b. 1488, d. 1569), who, urged on by Cromwell, now devoted himself so steadily to the work of Bible-translation that on Oct. 4th, 1535, the first complete printed English Bible was issued, the sheets of which are believed to have been printed by J. van Meteren of Antwerp, and then sold to Nicolson the Southwark printer. The original title ran as follows:—'**Biblia**, The Bible: that is, the Holy Scripture of the Olde and New Testament, faithfully and truly translated out of Douche and Latyn into Englishe, MDXXXV.' The English printer in substituting a new title-page of his own omitted for some reason the reference to 'Douche [German] and Latyn,' and added several preliminary pages containing a Dedication to king Henry VIII. and a Prologue to the Christian Reader, both signed by Coverdale. In this Dedication, Coverdale disclaims the position of an independent translator, and speaks of having 'with a clear conscience purely and faithfully translated this out of five sundry interpreters' (now generally identified with Luther, the Zürich Bible, the Vulgate, the Latin version of Pagninus, and in all probability Tindale), and to the same effect in the Prologue he specially acknowledges his indebtedness to 'the Dutch interpreters, whom (because of their singular gifts and special diligence in the Bible) I have been the more glad to follow for the most part, according as I was required.'

Notwithstanding these admissions, it would be wrong, however, to regard Coverdale as a mere 'proof-reader or corrector,' for, while making diligent and discriminating use of the different authorities within his reach, he supplied many of those happy turns of expression which lend so much of its charm to our English Bible. This is perhaps specially noticeable in the Psalter, of which Coverdale's version in the revised form in which it appeared in the Great Bible still retains its place in the English Book of Common Prayer. Two new editions of Coverdale's Bible were issued by Nicolson in 1537, on the title-page of which there now appeared for the first time the significant words, 'Set forth with the Kynges most gracious licence.' The following year found Coverdale engaged in biblical work in Paris, and the fruit was seen in a Latin-English Testament, of which in one year three editions were called for. New editions of the Bible appeared in 1550 and 1553.†

iv. Other translations now followed in rapid succession, one of which is generally known as **Matthew's Bible**. Its real editor, however, was a certain John Rogers, who adopted the *alias* of Thomas Matthew—perhaps, as Foxe suggests, to hide his connexion with Tindale. As to the closeness of this connexion there can at least be no doubt. The whole of the NT and about half the OT in the new edition are Tindale's, while the remainder is Coverdale's. Signs are not wanting, however, of critical editorship. Thus in the Psalter various readings are introduced in the margin, and many technical terms are carefully explained. Numerous notes have also been added, many of which breathe a spirit of ardent Protestantism, and there is a large amount of prefatory matter principally from Olivetan's French Bible (1535). Like the second edition of Coverdale's Bible, the new version bears to be 'set forth with the kinges most gracyous lycēce,' and Cromwell, instigated by Cranmer, further obtained Henry's permission that 'the same may be sold and read of every person, without danger of any act, proclamation, or ordinance heretofore granted to the contrary.' Hence it came about that 'by Cranmer's petition, by Crumwell's influence, and by Henry's authority, without any formal ecclesiastical decision, the book was given to the English people, which is the foundation of the text of our present Bible. From Matthew's Bible—itself a combination of the labours of Tyndale and Coverdale—all later revisions have been successively formed' (Westcott, *History*^{2}, p. 73). Its author did not, however, escape in the troublous times that followed on Mary's accession. Through the agency of Bonner he was imprisoned at Newgate, and on Feb. 4th, 1555, was burned at the stake, setting a second seal to the fourfold seal of martyrdom by which the history of our English Bible has been hallowed.

v. Closely allied to Matthew's Bible is a version bearing the name of **Richard Taverner**, which was published in 1539, and bore to be 'newly recognized with great diligence after most faythful exemplars.' But the changes introduced are not as a rule of any great importance, though in the NT there are occasional forcible renderings. In Mt 21. 22, for example, Dr. Moulton finds in all about 40 variations from Tindale, of which one-third are retained in the AV (*History*, p. 135). So far as we know, Taverner's Bible was only once reprinted, in 1549 (Cotton's *Editions of the Bible*^{2}, p. 21).

vi. We have seen already what a steady friend of Bible-translation Cromwell had proved himself. He was to render it yet another notable service. Not wholly satisfied with any version that had appeared, he applied to Coverdale early in 1538 to undertake a wholly new revision, using Matthew's Bible as his basis;* and as it was determined that the printing should be done in Paris, Coverdale, accompanied by one Grafton, at once repaired thither. Before, however, the work was completed, the Inquisition stepped in, and it was with great difficulty that the sheets were saved, and the presses sent over to England. There the work was soon finished, and in April 1539 the **Great Bible**, as being the Bible 'in the largest volume,' was issued from the press. It possessed a title-page of elaborate design, in which Henry was represented as handing 'the Word of God' to Cranmer and other clergy on his right hand, and to Cromwell and various lay-peers on his left; while the contents are described as 'truly translated after the veryte of the Hebrue and Greke textes, by ye dylygent studye of dyuerse excellent learned men expert in the forsayde tonges.' There can be no doubt, however, that the work was principally Coverdale's, and that in his revision of Matthew's text he made large use of Münster's Hebrew-Latin version in the OT, and of the Vulgate and Erasmus in the NT. From the Vulgate more especially he introduced a number of various readings, but 'certain godly annotations' which he promised in the Prologue to explain 'the dark places of the text' never appeared. In 1540 a new edition was called for, containing a long Preface by Archbishop Cranmer, which has led to its being known as **Cranmer's Bible.** Five other editions followed rapidly within the next eighteen months.* From their size and cost these were principally used as Church Bibles, and it must have been a pleasing sight to see in Old St. Paul's or in the aisle of some country church the little group round the Great Bible, from which some one more educated than the rest read aloud.

---

* 'I call God to record against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus, to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of God's word against my conscience, nor would this day, if all that is in the earth, whether it be pleasure, honour, or riches, might be given me.'—Tindale in *Letter to Fryth*, 1533 (Demaus' *Tyndale*, p. 336).

† A convenient reprint of Coverdale's Bible of 1535 has within recent years been issued by Bagster.

* 'I am always willing and ready,' Coverdale had written in the Dedication to his Bible, 'to do my best as well in one translation as in another.'

vii. The people, however, were soon to have a Bible of their own, and for this we must turn again to the Continent. The accession of Mary had given a new turn to the ever-varying fortunes of our Bible's history. Cranmer had followed Rogers to the stake, and the public, though apparently not the private, use of the Scriptures was strictly forbidden. Foreseeing what was coming, a number of the leading Reformers had taken refuge at Geneva, the city of Calvin and Beza, and there, as they themselves tell us, 'we thought we could bestow our labours and study in nothing which could be more acceptable to God, and comfortable to His Church, than in the translating of the Scriptures into our native tongue.' The immediate result was the publication in 1557 of a translation of the NT alone by one of their number, **William Whittingham**, who, in his Address to the Reader, describes his work as specially intended for 'simple lambs.' And it was doubtless the thought of the same class of readers that led to the numerous 'annotations of all hard places,' and to the adoption for the first time in an English translation of the convenient but often misleading division into verses.†

This Testament was, however, soon cast into the shade by the publication in 1560 of a translation of the whole Bible, due in the main to the combined labours of William Whittingham, Thomas Sampson, and Anthony Gilby. In size this **Genevan Bible** is a moderate quarto, and it is often familiarly known as the *Breeches Bible* from its rendering of Gn 3^7 ('They sewed fig-tree leaves together, and made themselves breeches'). The cost of its production was met by 'such as were of most ability' in the congregation at Geneva.

Regarded simply as a translation, the version deserves high praise, being based on a careful revision of the Great Bible in the OT, and, under the influence of Beza's Latin translation and Commentary, of Tindale's latest edition in the NT. The changes thus introduced were as a rule marked improvements, and many of them were subsequently adopted in the AV. The new version was also abundantly supplied with marginal notes principally of an explanatory character, and these, combined with the convenient size in which it appeared, did much to account for the popularity which for long it enjoyed,‡ passing as it did through 160 editions, 60 of them during the reign of Elizabeth alone,§ and continuing to be printed for some time even after the publication of the AV in 1611.‖

viii. It was not to be expected, however, that the successors of Cromwell and Cranmer could look with favour on a translation emanating from the school of Calvin, and containing so many 'prejudicial notes.' Accordingly, in 1563-64 Archbishop Parker set on foot a scheme for the revision of Coverdale's version by a number of learned men working separately; and in 1568 the **Bishops' Bible**, so called from the number of bishops engaged on it, was completed, and a copy presented to the queen. An effort was made at the same time to secure that it alone should be licensed 'to draw to one uniformity.' But, from whatever cause, this licence was never granted, and, although the version gained a considerable circulation, this was due rather to the support accorded to it by Convocation than to its own merits.*

The truth is that as a translation it was marked by the inequality inevitable to a work which had been sorted out into 'parcels' amongst a number of independent workers. In the OT the historical books as a rule followed the Great Bible very closely; but in the prophetical books greater variation was indulged in, many of the changes being distinctly traceable to the influence of the Genevan Bible. The Psalter was practically a new translation; and on this account failed to maintain its ground against the version in the Great Bible, already endeared by constant use. In the 2nd edition of 1587 the two versions were printed side by side, but in all later editions except one (1585) the old Psalter alone appeared. In the NT, on the other hand, more particularly in the 1572 edition, the bishops introduced many marked improvements, pointing to a careful study of the original text, though their renderings were occasionally marked by cumbrousness and a love of mouth-filling phrases. On the whole, however, the influence of the Bishops' Bible on succeeding versions cannot be said to have been very great, and, as has already been indicated, it failed to oust the Genevan Bible from its place as the favourite Bible for household use. The authority of the latter was now, however, to be subjected to a fresh challenge.

ix. This came from the Church of Rome, and it is again interesting to notice that the new version, like the Genevan and Tindale's, was produced in exile. At the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign a number of English Romanists had taken refuge on the Continent, and in 1582 there was published a NT 'translated faithfvlly into English out of the authentical Latin, according to the best corrected copies of the same, diligently conferred with the Greeke and other editions in divers languages. . . . In the English College of Rhemes.' The translation of the OT had been previously completed, but 'for lack of good meanes' its publication was delayed until 1609-10, when it came out at Douai. The whole Bible thus issued is generally known as the **Rheims and Douai Bible**, and to three men, William Allen, Gregory Martin, and Richard Bristow, the credit of its production principally belongs. Prefixed to the Rhemish NT was an elaborate Preface, in which the translators warned readers against the then existing 'profane' translations, laid the odium on Protestants of casting 'the holy to dogges and pearles to hogges,' and claimed for themselves to have at least been 'very precise and religious' in following their copy, 'the old vulgar approved Latin.' The new version was thus, like the

---

* From the fact that several of these editions were printed by Whitchurch, the Great Bible is sometimes known as Whitchurch's.

† The scheme which Whittingham adopted was that prepared by R. Stephanus for the 4th ed. of his Greek NT, published in 1551. In the OT the division into verses was already in existence in the Hebrew Bible.

‡ In 1649 an edition of the AV itself was actually brought out with the Genevan notes, evidently for the purpose of commending it to public favour.

§ After 1587 a revised version of the NT made by Laurence Tomson in 1576 generally took the place of the earlier version.

‖ The Genevan was the first Bible printed in Scotland in an issue generally known as the *Bassandyne Bible*, from the printer's name Thomas Bassandyne (see *History of the Bassandyne Bible*, by W. T. Dobson, 1887); and so firm was the hold it obtained in the country, that so recently as towards the close of the 18th cent. a Bible of the Genevan translation was still in use in the church of Crail in Fifeshire.

* It passed through nineteen editions; the last bears the date 1606.

Wyclifite versions, only a secondary translation, and it was not to be wondered at that the extreme literalness at which the translators aimed 'word for word and point for point' led often to stilted and even unintelligible renderings, and also to the introduction of many Latinized terms, many of which were afterwards adopted in the AV. The charge of theological bias sometimes brought against the translators with regard to some of these terms is probably without foundation; but the same cannot be said of their notes, which are unmistakably and avowedly of a polemical character. It need only be further noted that in later editions the Douai version has been largely altered to bring it more into conformity with—

x. **The Authorized Version.**—To the history of this version we have now come, and, when we think of the influence it exerted and is still exerting, it is the more remarkable that its origin should have been of such an incidental, almost accidental, character. One of the first acts of king James on ascending the throne of England was to convene a Conference at Hampton Court Palace in January 1604, to hear and determine 'things pretended to be amiss in the Church,' and in the course of the second day's proceedings Dr. Reynolds, the Puritan leader, threw out the suggestion 'that there might be a new translation of the Bible, because those which were allowed in the reign of king Henry VIII. and Edward VI. were corrupt and not answerable to the truth of the original.' The suggestion commended itself to the king, who had at one time begun a translation of the Psalms himself, and he at once proposed that the new translation should be undertaken by 'the best learned in both the universities, after them to be reviewed by the bishops and chief learned of the Church; from them to be presented to the Privy Council; and lastly to be ratified by his royal authority; and so this whole Church to be bound unto it and none other.' He further ordered 'that no marginal notes should be added,' some of those in the Genevan Bible having recently attracted his attention as 'very partial, untrue, seditious, and savouring too much of dangerous and traitorous conceits.'

Notwithstanding, however, the royal favour bestowed upon it, the actual work of translation, or rather revision, was not commenced until 1607, when the forty-seven revisers (it had been originally intended that there should be fifty-four) were divided into six companies, of which two sat at Westminster, two at Oxford, and two at Cambridge. Each company was to busy itself in the first instance with the separate portion assigned to it, but provision was also made for the revision of each portion by the other five companies, and the whole version thus amended was then to be submitted to a select committee representative of all the companies for the harmonizing of details and final preparation for the press. How far these arrangements were rigidly adhered to we cannot now determine, for 'never,' says Dr. Scrivener, who is our principal authority on all that concerns this version, 'was a great enterprise like the production of our Authorized Version carried out with less knowledge handed down to posterity of the labourers, their method and order of working' (*The Authorized Edition of the English Bible*, p. 9). We know, however, that in two years and nine months the whole work of revision was carried through, and in 1611 the new version was published. Its full title ran as follows:—'The Holy Bible, conteyning the Old Testament and the New: Newly Translated out of the Originall tongues: with the former Translations diligently compared and reuised by his Maiesties Speciall Comandement. Appointed to be read in Churches. Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majestie. Anno Dom. 1611.'* After the title-page came the fulsome Dedication to king James, and a most interesting Preface, generally understood to be the work of Dr. Miles Smith, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester, in which the main principles that had guided the translators were set forth.†

We cannot now attempt to detail these, or to examine the leading internal characteristics of the new version; but it is important to keep in mind that, in accordance with the rules that had been laid down for their guidance, what the translators aimed at was a revision rather than a new translation. The basis of their work was the Bishops' Bible; but the versions of Tindale, Matthew, Coverdale, Whitchurch (that is, the Great Bible), and Geneva were used whenever they were found to be more in accordance with the original, so as to make, in the translators' own words, 'out of many good ones one principal good one, not justly to be excepted against.' No marginal notes were permitted, 'but only for the explanation of the Hebrew or Greek words which cannot, without some circumlocution, so briefly and fitly be expressed in the text,'—an exception which was somewhat liberally interpreted;‡ and 'such quotations of places' were 'set down as shall serve for the fit reference of one Scripture to another.'§ A new set of headings of chapters and columns was also substituted for those that had existed in the Genevan, and in the Great and Bishops' Bibles; but the dates (mostly from Ussher) with which we are familiar in most modern editions were first inserted in 1701.

The immediate reception of the new version can hardly be said to have been altogether encouraging to its promoters, for though there was little active opposition extended to it, and it speedily superseded the Bishops' Bible as the official version, it was not until the middle of the century that it ousted the Genevan Bible from the place of popular favour.‖ That it deserved the place which it then attained does not admit of a moment's dispute; and none have shown themselves more ready to admit its merits than those who in 1870 were appointed to revise it. 'We,' so they tell us, 'have had to study this great Version carefully and minutely, line by line; and the longer we have been engaged upon it the more we have learned to admire its simplicity, its dignity, its power, its happy turns of expression, its general accuracy, and, we must not fail to add, the music of its cadences, and the felicities of its rhythm' (*Pref. to RV of NT*, 1881).

At the same time, great as the excellences of the AV undoubtedly are, it would be absurd to contend that it is not capable of improvement, or that the work of constant revision out of which it has been evolved cannot be applied to it in its turn. And indeed, as a matter of fact, what we still know as king James's version has been subjected throughout the course of its long history to a larger amount of revision than many of its readers are aware of. For not merely have the typographical and other imperfections inevitable in so large an undertaking been corrected, but a large number of deliberate changes have from time to time been made in the text, 'introduced silently and without authority by men whose very names are often unknown.'[*] And, in addition to this unofficial and irresponsible work of revision, we have abundant evidence of more ambitious proposals for amending the new version. Thus, in 1645, Dr. John Lightfoot, preaching before the House of Commons, urged them 'to think of a review and survey of the translation of the Bible,' and pleaded for 'an exact, vigorous, and lively translation.' And a few years later (1653) the Long Parliament actually made an order that a Bill should be brought in for a new translation. Nothing, however, came of this and similar schemes which were proposed from time to time:[†] and it was left to the Southern Convocation of the Church of England to take the initial steps for providing us with what is now known as *par excellence*—

---

* A useful reprint of this original edition was issued from the Oxford Press in 1833.

† It has been reprinted in separate form by the S.P.C.K.

‡ In the original edition of the AV, excluding the Apocrypha, over 7000 brief marginal notes were inserted, a number that has since been largely increased.

§ The original 9000 references have, in some modern editions, reached the enormous total of 60,000.

‖ From the words 'Appointed to be read in Churches' on the title-page, it has sometimes been thought that the use of the new version was at once formally enjoined by the king, and that from this it derived its name of *Authorized*. But 'no evidence has yet been produced to show that the version was ever publicly sanctioned by Convocation or by Parliament, or by the Privy Council, or by the king' (Westcott, *History*², p. 123). It became the '*authorized*' version simply because it was the best.

xi. **The Revised Version.**—The fact that it took its rise in Convocation marks off the RV from all other English versions. Tindale's Testament and Coverdale's Bible were the work of individuals; the Great Bible and the Bishops' were Episcopal in their origin; the Genevan and the Rheims and Douai Bibles were due to two bands of exiles, Protestant and Roman Catholic respectively; but the idea of the RV was matured by representatives of the Church of England, and carried through with the assistance of members of other Churches.[‡]

Over the steps leading up to the final decision we cannot linger. Enough that in May 1870 the report of a committee appointed in the preceding February was adopted, to the effect 'that Convocation should nominate a body of its own members to undertake the work of revision, who shall be at liberty to invite the co-operation of any eminent for scholarship to whatever nation or religious body they belong'; and that shortly afterwards, in terms of this resolution, two Companies for the revision of the Old and New Testaments respectively were appointed. Eight rules were laid down for the Revisers' guidance, the most important of which were to the following effect:—the alterations to be as few as possible consistently with faithfulness to the original, and to be made in the language of the Authorized and earlier English versions; each Company to go twice over the portion to be revised, once provisionally, the second time finally; the Text adopted to be that for which the evidence is decidedly preponderating; and no changes in the text to be retained on the second final revision, unless approved by *two-thirds* of those present.

It will be seen that every precaution was thus taken to ensure that no unnecessary changes should be introduced into a version already hallowed by so many and so varied associations; and probably the charge that is most frequently brought against the Revisers is that they were too apt to lose sight of this. At the same time, it is only fair to them to keep in view the varied causes that made many changes inevitable. Thus, in the matter of text alone, it has been estimated that the text underlying the revised NT of 1881 differed from that of 1611 in no less than 5788 readings;[*] while other variations were necessitated by obvious misunderstandings of the original, by the removal of archaisms, and by previous inconsistencies in the rendering of the same words and phrases. Numerous, however, as the differences between the Revised and Authorized versions thus came to be, it is reassuring to know that in no particular have they seriously affected any of the doctrines of our faith, though in not a few instances these doctrines are now presented in a fuller and more convincing light.[†]

The revision of the NT occupied about ten years and a half, and the result was published on May 17th, 1881. Four years later the Revised OT was ready, and thus on May 19th, 1885, the English reader had the whole Bible in his hands, 'being the version set forth A.D. 1611 compared with the most ancient authorities and revised.' Each Testament was furnished with a Preface detailing the principles on which the work had been carried through, and with an Appendix in which the American Companies, who had been associated in the work, placed on record certain points of translation in which they differed from the English Companies. A revised translation of the Apocrypha by various committees of the Revisers was published in 1895. And in 1898 the work of revision was completed by the issue of a new edition of the Revised Bible with a carefully emended set of marginal references.

Literature.—The principal works dealing with the separate versions have already been referred to in the preceding pages. For the versions as a whole, Eadie, *The English Bible: an External and Critical History of the various English Translations of Scripture*, 2 vols. 1876, is the most complete account; but much that is very valuable, especially with relation to the internal history of the text, will be found in the well-known *Histories* of Westcott and Moulton. Of a more popular character are Stoughton, *Our English Bible: its Translations and Translators* (no date); Pattison, *The History of the English Bible*, 1894; and *The English Bible: a Sketch of its History*, 1895, by the present writer, from which the foregoing account with various corrections and additions has been principally drawn. In Kenyon, *Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts*, 1895, the history of the text underlying our various versions is clearly set forth for the benefit of the ordinary readers of the Bible in English; and in *The Evolution of the English Bible*, 1901, by H. W. Hoare, the successive versions are interestingly described in connexion with their general historical setting.

Other works connected with the subject which may be consulted with advantage are, Lewis, *History of the English Translations of the Bible*, 1818, and Anderson, *The Annals of the English Bible*, 2 vols. 1845, 1 vol. revised ed. 1862, both of which, however, require to be carefully verified in the light of later knowledge; Dore, *Old Bibles* ^{2}, 1888; Edgar, *The Bibles of England*, 1889; Mombert, *English Versions of the Bible* (no date); and the historical account prefixed to Bagster's issue of *The English Hexapla* (no date).

The principal authority for the AV, as has been noted above, is Scrivener, *The Authorized Edition of the English Bible* (1611), 1884; while to the books already mentioned as dealing with the RV there may be added Newth, *Lectures on Bible Revision*, 1881 (with an Appendix containing the Prologues and Prefaces to the various versions); Kennedy, *Ely Lectures on the RV of the NT*, 1882; Humphry, *Commentary on the RV of the NT*; Westcott, *Some Lessons of the RV of the NT*, 1897; and Ellicott, *Addresses on the RV*, 1901. Reference may also be made to *Biblical Revision, its Necessity and Purpose*, 1879, the English republication of a series of Essays by members of the American Revision Committee; and to the *Documentary History of the American Committee on Revision*, 1885, prepared originally by order of that committee for the use of its members. For a vigorous but sometimes misleading criticism of the RV see Burgon, *The Revision Revised*, 1883.

G. Milligan.

---

[*] Scrivener, *The Authorized Edition*, p. 3. These changes may also be conveniently studied in *The Cambridge Paragraph Bible*, edited by Scrivener, 1873.

[†] See Plumptre, art. 'Version (Authorized)' in Smith's *DB* iii. 1678 ff.

[‡] The history of the RV still remains to be written, but amongst recent works which helped to prepare the way for it may be mentioned Trench, *On the AV of the NT in connexion with some recent proposals for its revision* ^{2}, 1859; Ellicott, *Considerations on the Revision of the English Version of the NT*, 1870; Lightfoot, *On a Fresh Revision of the English NT* ^{3}, 1891; the Revisions of the Gospel of St. John and of several of the Pauline Epistles by Five Clergymen, the first part of which appeared in 1857; and Dean Alford's *Revised NT*, 1869.

---

[*] See Kenyon, *Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts*, p. 239; and compare Bishop Westcott's weighty words, 'Whatever may be the merits of the revised version, it can be said confidently that in no parallel case have the readings of the original text to be translated been discussed and determined with equal care, thoroughness and candour' (*History* ^{2}, p. viii, note).

[†] See 'The Doctrinal Significance of the RV,' three articles in *The Expository Times*, vii. 377, 452, viii. 171.

VERSIONS (Georgian, Gothic, Slavonic).—

A. **The Georgian Version.**—This version is ascribed to the 5th or 6th cent., and, according to Armenian tradition, was the work of Mesrop, who also invented the Georgian alphabet. There are two characters in use—one for sacred writings called *Kuzuri*, and another, called *Mkedruli*, for civil purposes. By far the fullest account of this Version is found in Tsagareli's *Information about the Monuments of Georgian Literature* (in Russian), from which many of the facts which follow have been taken. The earliest period of literary activity lasted from the 5th to the 9th cent., and to it belong a papyrus Psalter assigned to the 7th or 8th cent., of which a facsimile is given in the work just mentioned, and a copy of the Gospels and a Psalter dated a century later. Both these are in the monastery on Mount Sinai. The next period, from the 10th to the 12th cent., Tsagareli calls the classical period. To this belong the oldest dated copy of the Gospels, assigned to A.D. 936, a MS—dated 974—of the Acts and Epistles of St. James and St. Peter, and the earliest MS of the whole Bible (now in part mutilated in the Pentateuch), dated 978, in two volumes. This last MS is preserved in the Iberian Monastery on Mount Athos. To the same period belongs an important MS of the Prophets at Jerusalem, assigned to the 11th cent. In this the Minor Prophets precede the Major, in the Athos MS the order is reversed. The chief centres of literary activity were the monastery on Mount Sinai, the monasteries of the Holy Cross and St. Sabbas near Jerusalem, and Mount Athos, each centre having a characteristic style of writing. The names of many of the scribes are preserved in the MSS. A chronological list of the MSS near Jerusalem and on Mount Sinai is given by Tsagareli in an appendix. This includes five Psalters, three MSS of other parts of the OT, fourteen of the whole or parts of the Gospels, eleven of the *Apostol*, and two of other parts of the NT.

Our information in regard to the text of the Version is derived mainly from the edition published at Moscow in 1743. This was used by F. C. Alter for the material he supplied to Holmes and Parsons for their edition of the LXX, and in his little monograph *Ueber Georgianische Litteratur* he gives a number of select readings throughout the Bible. Some doubt has been thrown on the value of the Moscow edition of the Georgian Bible because of a suggested corruption from the Slavonic. In regard to this point the Preface tells us that the edition was made for Archel, who, finding no complete Bible in Georgia, translated the gaps according to his powers, using the Slavonic for this purpose. We find passages (*e.g.* Ca 2^1) where misreading of the Slavonic has led to a mistaken rendering. When we go behind the edition to the MSS we find variations of text, as in the Athos and Jerusalem MSS of the Prophets; so again the Moscow edition differs from the Athos MS of the Song of Songs. In this as in the other Versions there seem to have been revisions and additions. Thus Tsagareli (*l.c.* 59) mentions two different translators, and adds, 'looking at the various readings of the Georgian NT and OT, we see there were several redactions of the Georgian Bible.' Mr. Conybeare also refers to the statement of Georgian writers, that 'before the tenth century a revision was made of their version.' Of the Gospels, Mr. Conybeare * from his own collations testifies that 'the printed text fairly represents the MSS,' though he adds that 'the most ancient MSS of the Version must be collated and a critical text of it prepared before it can be quite reliably used as an early witness to the Greek text in regard to any particular points.' Both in the OT and in the NT the Version was made from the Greek.

Literature.—Besides the brief notices in Gregory's *Prolegomena*, p. 922, and Nestle's *Urtext*, reference may be made to F. C. Alter, *Ueber Georgianische Litteratur*, Wien, 1798, to Tsagareli's book already described, and to Mr. Conybeare's account in Scrivener's *Introduction*, ii. 156.

B. **The Gothic Version.**—i. Origin of the Version.—The beginnings of this Version are associated with the name of **Ulfilas**, and our knowledge of him comes mainly from Philostorgius, who was a contemporary and a native of the district of Cappadocia, from which Ulfilas' parents had been carried away near the end of the 3rd cent. during an invasion of Goths who came from Dacia. In Dacia, Ulfilas was born of Christian parents, probably some time between A.D. 310 and A.D. 313; thirty years later, in 340 or 341, he was consecrated bishop either at Constantinople or, as Kauffmann asserts, at Antioch. After remaining in Dacia as bishop for some seven years, he was driven out by persecution to Moesia, and to the period of his stay there the translation of the Bible into Gothic is ascribed. The commencement of the Version therefore dates from about the middle of the 4th cent., and, if it was all the work of Ulfilas, was completed before the year 381, in which year or (according to Jostes) in 383 he died.

This is one of several Versions for which an alphabet is said to have been invented by the translator. Before this time the Goths, like the other Teutonic families, seem to have used runes, and some of these older characters are kept in the alphabet ascribed to Ulfilas. Luft in his *Studien zur den ältesten Germanischen Alfabeten* (quoted by Nestle), traces 18 of the letters used by Ulfilas to a Greek source, 9 to the Latin. As was to be expected, many words were also carried over into Gothic from Greek, Latin, and other languages.* The number of foreign words found in the fragments which have come down to us is put by Nestle at 116.

It will be natural to ask what was the extent of the Version made by Ulfilas. The authority already quoted, Philostorgius, says that Ulfilas translated 'all the books of the Scripture with the exception of the Books of Kings, which he omitted because they are a mere narrative of military exploits, and the Gothic tribes were especially fond of war.' This statement is entitled to serious consideration as that of a contemporary, and we must infer from it that at any rate by A.D. 400, or soon afterwards, there was a translation of the Bible into Gothic, complete save for the books named. On the other hand, Nestle argues from Jerome's language in his well-known letter to Sunnias and Fretella, that at the date of the letter, some 50 years after Ulfilas' translation was made, these two Gothic students were occupied with a translation of the Psalter into Gothic, as if one did not exist. Jerome's words may, however, be interpreted on the supposition that they were working at a translation already made and its relation to the *Hebraica veritas*. Another statement, made by Walafrid Strabo, a writer of the 9th cent., is not sufficient to prove that Ulfilas was aided by others, for it is vague, and the authority on which it rests is unnamed. 'The Goths,' he says (*de Rebus Eccl.* 7), 'had one language; and, as histories testify, they translated the sacred books into their language . . . and of these some monuments are still preserved.' An argument of a different kind is mentioned by Sievers (*Encyc. Brit.*^{9} *s.v.* 'Goths'), who says that 'certain differences in language and manner of translation make it doubtful even whether the fragments of the OT can be traced to the same origin as those of the New.'*

---

* Scrivener's *Introduction*, ii. p. 157.

* The word 'heathen,' as discussed in Murray's *English Dictionary*, gives an interesting illustration. It is traced there on the basis of investigations by Bugge through the Gothic to the Armenian.

ii. The Manuscripts.—The history of the Version breaks off abruptly, for we know nothing more of it than can be gathered from the scanty remains which have come down to us in the MSS—remains which, scanty as they are, are of the greatest possible interest and value to the philologist, because they are 'by several centuries the oldest specimen of Teutonic speech.' How far they underwent any changes during the century and a half, or rather more, which intervened between the date of Ulfilas and that to which they are assigned, we cannot say. They all belong to the period of the East Gothic kingdom in Italy which began with Theodoric (493–526), and are all assigned to N. Italy.

The following† is a list of the MSS of the Bible in this Version :—

1. *Codex Argenteus.*—This MS is the most important. It is assigned to the 5th or early 6th cent., and is now at Upsala in Sweden. It is written in uncial, the letters being of gold or silver, on purple vellum. The MS now contains, on 187 leaves, large fragments of Matthew, John, Luke, Mark in that (the Western) order, beginning with Mt 5^{15}.
2. *Codex Carolinus.*—This and the following fragments are all palimpsest. It is bilingual (Goth. Lat.), and is now at Wolfenbüttel. The upper writing consists of works of Isidore of Seville. The MS is that usually referred to as P. Q. of the Gospels, and *gue* of the Old Latin (Epistles). It was discovered by Knittel, and edited by him in 1762. It contains on four leaves about 42 verses from Ro 11–15. It has been regarded (so Bernhardt) as corrected from the Latin in some places, *e.g.* $12^{2.3}$, and in places agrees very closely with the first fragment at Milan, even in orthographical peculiarities.
3. *Codices Ambrosiani.*—The following are now in the Ambrosian Library at Milan. These fragments, all in MSS which came from Bobbio, and originally belonged to two Gothic MSS, were discovered by Mai in 1817. Other fragments of the same MSS have been discovered at Turin and in the Vatican. Mai ascribes the writing in part to the early 5th, in part to the 6th, century :—
    (1) (S. 36) is a MS containing Gregory the Great's Commentary on Ezekiel. Of this 102 leaves (1 of which is illegible and 6 blank) belong to a Gothic MS (in which a note at 2 Co 4^{14} says, *liber sancti Columbani de bobio*) containing fragments of Rom., 1 and 2 Cor., Eph., Gal., Phil., Col., 1 and 2 Thess., 1 and 2 Tim., Titus, and Philem., in that order, and a fragment of a Gothic calendar.
    (2) (S. 45) is said to be written in an older character than (1), and contains on 78 leaves 2 Cor., and fragments of 1 Cor., Gal., Eph., Phil., Col., 1 and 2 Thess., 2 Tim., and Titus.
    (3) (I. 61 *sup.*) contains‡ on 2 leaves Mt 25^{38}–26^{3}, and 26^{65}–27^{1}.
    (4) (G. 82) contains on 3 leaves fragments of Ezra and Nehemiah.§
    (5) (G. 14) contains on 5 leaves fragments of a commentary on St. John.
4. *Codex Vaticanus* (MS 5750) contains on 3 leaves fragments of the same Commentary on St. John as the 5th Milan fragment.
5. *Codex Taurinensis* consists of 4 leaves belonging to the same MS as the first Milan fragment, found in the binding of a MS at Turin.‖ These leaves contain Gal $6^{14\text{-}18}$, Col $2^{13\text{-}20}$ $4^{13\text{-}18}$.
6. *Codex Vindobonensis.*—This MS, ascribed to the 9th cent., came from Salzburg (MS 140, olim 71), and contains, under runes, fragments of Gn 5, and, on the margin, two half-verses of Ps $52^{2.3}$.

In these MSS we have preserved to us the following passages of the OT :—Gn $5^{3\text{-}23.\ 25\text{-}28.\ 30.\ 32}$, Ps $52^{2.3}$,¶ Neh $5^{12\text{-}18}$ 6^{14}–$7^{3.\ 13\text{-}47\text{ff.}}$, and fragments more or less extensive of all the books* of the NT except the Acts, Catholic Epistles, and Apocalypse of which we have nothing in this Version.

iii. Character of the Text.—The next point to determine in regard to the Version is the character of the text preserved in it.

For the OT the amount preserved is very scanty indeed, but the fragments consist largely of names (as in the lists from Nehemiah), or numbers (as in the Genesis passages), and therefore the nature of the materials is some slight compensation for the deficiency in quantity.

The most careful examination of the Version in its relation to the text from which it was translated is in an article by Kauffmann,† who points out the very close agreement with Lucian's recension of the LXX text. Thus in Neh $7^{24.\ 35}$ (to take two instances only) the Gothic Version agrees with two MSS (HP 93, 108) of this recension in the names Ἀσσομ, Ἡιραμ, and this form is found in no other MSS of the LXX. The same close relationship of the Gothic and Lucian meets us in the Genesis fragments, where we find agreement between the numerals of the Gothic Version and those found in HP 44, another MS of the Lucian recension. But there are differences as well as resemblances, and Kauffmann collects instances in which the Gothic departs from Lucian and agrees with the B-text of the LXX. The Gothic does not preserve 'the original Lucianic text, but one derived from it,' or perhaps we may rather say it preserves one of the strains incorporated in the Luc. text.

In regard to the NT, Kauffmann, in a later series of articles in the periodical quoted below, entitled 'Beiträge zur Quellenkritik der Gottischen Bibelübersetzung,' examines the Version in regard to the sources from which it is drawn. He comes to the conclusion (*ib.* xxxi. 180) that 'the Goth, to whom we owe Matthew, used the Greek text current in the diocese of Constantinople,' and that for St. John there is evidence of 'no other recension than that demonstrated for St. Matthew.' Whether the Version was made from MSS obtained in Moesia, or from MSS brought by Ulfilas' parents from Cappadocia, we should expect, *a priori*, that this would be the type of text used. Westcott and Hort (*New Testament*, i. p. 158) thus sum up the position : 'The Gothic has very much the same combination as the Italian revision of the Old Latin, being largely Syrian and largely Western, with a small admixture of non-Western readings.' A few instances of the readings of this Version in noteworthy passages from the first ten chapters of St. Luke may be given :—Lk 1^{28} εὐλογημένη σὺ ἐν γυναιξὶν ; 2^{14} εὐδοκίας ; 4^{18} ἰάσασθαι τ. σ. τὴν καρδίαν ; 4^{44} Γαλιλαίας ; 6^{1} δευτεροπρώτῳ ; 6^{48} τεθεμελίωτο, κ.τ.λ. ; 8^{26} Γαδαρηνῶν ; 9^{35} ἀγαπητός ; 9^{54} ὡς καὶ Ἠλίας ἐποίησε ; 9^{55} καὶ εἶπεν οὐκ οἴδατε, κ.τ.λ. ; 10^{1} ἑβδομήκοντα. In all these passages save 2^{14} and 4^{44} it supports a reading rejected by Westcott and Hort. On the other hand, in Mk 1^{2}, Mt 7^{13} 11^{23} 27^{4} it has readings accepted by the same editors.

In these and many other passages the Version will be seen to have a close relation to the Latin. Various explanations of this resemblance are possible. It has been suggested that the Gothic has been influenced by the Latin between the date at which the Version was made and the date of the MSS of it which survive. Besides the resemblances of text, it is urged that the Gospels in the *Codex Argenteus* occur in the Western order, and that most, if not all, of the MSS are connected with N. Italy, and date from the time of the Lombardo-Gothic kingdom there; that (as has been mentioned above) many Latin words have been incorporated into the Version, and that there are traces of Latin influence in the spelling of proper names, *e.g.* *Scariotus*. This view has been upheld by Marold in articles in *Germania* for 1880, 1881, but is disputed by Kisch,[*] Kauffmann,[†] and others.

---

* See also Wright, *Primer*, etc. p. 144 : 'The fragments of the New Testament all point to one and the same translator, but the two small fragments of the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah differ so much in style from those of the New Testament that scholars now regard them as being the work of a later translator.'

† This information is largely taken from Stamm-Heyne's *Ulfilas* (ed. 9), Paderborn, 1896. The figures enclosed in brackets give the press-mark of the MS in the library to which it belongs.

‡ See Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 58.

§ Kauffmann (*Z. f. d. Philol.*, 1896) says the supposed fragment of Ezr $2^{18\text{-}42}$ is really Neh $7^{13\text{-}47}$.

‖ See *Germania*, xiii. 271 ff.

¶ See note §, above.

* Nestle, *Einführung in d Griech. NT*, p. 111 (see also Gregory, *Prolegomena* to Tischendorf's *NT*, p. 1111), mentions quotations of the Ep. to the Hebrews as found in the Commentary on St. John, mentioned above. A complete list of fragments of the NT is given by Gregory.

† *Z. f. deutsche Philologie*, 1896.

A second explanation of the relationship is that some of the Latin MSS, at any rate, have been revised from the Gothic. This theory is stated by Burkitt (*JThSt*, i. 1) in regard to the Latin MS known as *Codex Brixianus* (*f*). He refers to the curious preface found in that manuscript,—which had before been noticed, in this regard, by Stamm —*ideo ne . . . legenti videatur aliud in Græca lingua, aliud in latina vel gotica designata esse conscribta*, etc., and supposes that it may be the preface of a bilingual Gotho-Lat. MS, of the Latin of which *f* is a transcript. Burkitt then collects a number of peculiar readings of *f*, in which it differs from the Vulg. and Old Latin, and agrees with the Gothic, *e.g.* Lk 14^{32} 6^{7} etc. In a note he makes the same assertion of Gothic influence in the OL fragment of the Ep. to the Romans (*gue*), mentioned above. Kauffmann has fully examined the relation of the Gothic to the Latin, in the light of Burkitt's suggestion, in the last of the series of articles referred to, and the conclusions to which he comes[‡] are the following:—(1) About the year 410 a 'critical' edition of Ulfilas' Bible was prepared by the two Gothic clergy, Sunnias and Fretella; (2) the preface to this edition is handed down to us (not quite complete) in the *Codex Brixianus*, and formed the introduction to a bilingual (or perhaps trilingual) MS, in which certain variants of the translations were traced to their origin; (3) a fragment of this edition probably lies before us in the *Codex Carolinus*; (4) from this bilingual edition the *Codex Brixianus* arose, the original text of which is demonstrably that of a Gotho-Latin MS, and to which the text of the Gothic Gospels of the *Codex Argenteus* corresponds fairly exactly; (5) the *Cod. Arg.* and the *Cod. Brix.* sprang from that critical edition; even their calligraphical presentation shows they are related; in the 6th cent., about the same time and in the same part of Upper Italy, the Gothic Gospels on the one hand and the Latin Gospels on the other were separately derived from that archetype; (6) on the basis of the recension of Jerome's translation, which had then attained supremacy in Upper Italy,—and this may have been the reason for the whole transaction,—a redactor worked afresh over the Latin Gospels.

A third possibility is that the resemblance is due to the fact of both the Latin and the Gothic being based on Greek MSS belonging to the same family, and preserving the same type of text. Such a hypothesis will leave room for the differences as well as the resemblances of the two Versions.

It has to be added in regard to the general character of the translation that it is a close and accurate rendering of the Greek, though Ellicott notices in regard to its rendering of Ph 2^{6-8} a trace of those Arian views which characterized the Goths, especially in Spain. The 'Arianism of Ulfilas' has been discussed by Kauffmann in the articles already mentioned.

LITERATURE.—On Ulfilas: art. in *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*; *Dict. Christ. Biogr.* *s.v.*; Monograph by C. A. Scott (Cambridge, 1885); artt. by Eckstein in Westermann's *Illustr. Monatsheft*, 1892, and Jostes in *Beiträge zur Gesch. der d. Sprache*, xxii. On the Gothic Version: Scrivener's *Introduction*, ii. 145 ff.; Gregory's *Prolegomena* to Tischendorf's *NT*, p. 1108 ff.; Nestle, *Einführung in das Griech. NT*, p. 110 ff.: *Urtext und Übersetzungen*, p. 119 ff.; art. in *Z. f. deutsche Philologie*, 1896–1900, and in *Germania*. The most serviceable edition is perhaps that of Stamm, the latest editions of which have been revised by Heyne, 9th ed., Paderborn, 1896. The edition of Bernhardt, *Vulfila oder die Gotische Bibel*, Halle, 1875, is very full in regard to the relation of the Gothic to the Greek text. There are also serviceable editions of separate books by Prof. Skeat; and a useful *Primer of the Gothic Language*, Clar. Press, 1899, by Prof. Wright.

C. **The Slavonic Version.**[*]—i. ORIGIN.—Our information as to the origin of the Slavonic Version is fairly definite, and generally trustworthy, at any rate in its main points. The two men whose names are connected with the beginnings of a Slavonic Version are Cyril and Methodius. They were sons of a Greek nobleman of Thessalonica, round which place there were a number of Slavonic settlers. The elder, Methodius, died in 885; the year of his birth is unknown. The younger, Constantine, was born in 827, took the name of Cyril when he became a monk, and died at Rome in 869. It is probable that from childhood they were acquainted with the Slavonic of their native district of Thessalonica, and tradition ascribes to Cyril the invention of the characters which from him are called Cyrillic, assigning as the date of this the year 855. The object of Cyril was to give the Bulgarian Slavs such parts of the Bible as were used in Church services in their own language. A little later the two brothers were summoned to Moravia, and to the period following on this, *i.e.* after the year 864, the beginnings of the Version are by many assigned. But Leskien and Polevoi[†] urge, and with reason, that the work probably began earlier, and was spread over a longer time.

In one of the legendary lives of Cyril[‡] we are told that he began his translation with St. John's Gospel, and soon completed a translation of the 'whole ecclesiastical cycle,' *i.e.* he translated first those parts of the Bible which were used for the Church services, both of the OT and NT. It is stated also in the life of Methodius that a translation of these selected parts preceded the translation of the whole; and John, exarch of Bulgaria, who is almost a contemporary, makes a similar assertion that Cyril first translated a 'selection,' and that Methodius and his brother translated 'the whole 60 books.' This translation may well have been completed before the death of Methodius, who survived his brother some time, though not, we may hope, in the short time of six months, as one authority states.

A much disputed question connected with the origin of the Version concerns the dialect into which the translation was made, and names eminent in Slavonic studies may be quoted as disagreeing. Thus Schäfarik, Leskien, and others say that the original Version was most closely allied to Old Bulgarian, while Kopitar, Miklosich, and Jagič connect it with Old Slovenish. It is possible that the various families of Slavonic had not, at the date of which we are speaking, begun to show the marks of difference found in later documentary evidence.

Another interesting literary discussion gathers round the alphabets which are met with in the early MSS. These are of two kinds. The one is known as the Cyrillic, and consisted of 38 letters, derived mainly from Greek, but also, in part, from Hebrew and other languages, and in part invented to express the peculiar nasal sounds found in Slavonic. The other alphabet is known as Glagolitic, and this is probably the older.

---

[*] *Monatssch. f. Gesch. u. Wissensch. des Judenthums*, 1873.

[†] *Z. f. deutsche Philol.* xxxi. 182.

[‡] *Ib.* 1900, xxxii. p. 335.

[*] For a fuller account of the origin and later history of the Slavonic Version, and its relation to modern Russian, the writer must refer to an article of his on 'the Russian Bible' in the *Church Quarterly Review* for Oct. 1895. Little new work has been done in Russia or elsewhere on this subject since that date.

[†] *History of Russian Literature*, p. 7.

[‡] See Ginzel, *Geschichte der Slawenapostel, Cyrill und Method.*, for details as to the documents in regard to Cyril and Methodius.

ii. THE MSS.—A few of the MSS are ascribed to as early a date as the 10th or 11th cent. by Jagič and other scholars, but these contain only the Gospels, either as complete texts or as lectionaries. The oldest MS of the complete Bible is that called after Gennadius, archbishop of Novgorod, and dated 1499.* As will be seen later, this contains a composite text, of very varying value and importance. The comparative absence of early MSS is explained by the widespread devastation caused by the Mongol invasions of the 13th and 14th cents. The records of the period before these invasions tell us of schools in which the Bible was studied, of copies of MSS of the Bible made by monks and professional scribes, of *catenæ* on the Psalms, the Prophets, the Gospels, and some of the Epistles,† and every page of the chronicles and other writings shows us how inwoven the Bible was into the texture of the language, and what a part it played in Russia, as elsewhere, in fixing the literary style. We find actual quotations of many of the OT books, *e.g.* of the Book of Proverbs, in the Chronicle of Nestor, which dates from the 11th cent.

The oldest MSS of any part of the OT are those of the Psalter, some of which go back to the 11th or 12th cent. Many of the books of the OT have been made the subject of monographs, in which details are given. Besides the editions of the Psalter by Sreznefski and Amphilochius may be mentioned studies in the text of Joshua, the Books of Kings, several of the Minor Prophets, and Isaiah.

Passing to the NT we find the Gospels preserved to us in a large number of MSS, many of which are lectionaries. Among them may be mentioned the *Codex Zographensis* and *Codex Marianus*, both written in Glagolitic characters, and the *Ostromir Codex*, written in Cyrillic, and dated 1056–1057. A critical edition of St. Mark, based on 108 MSS, has been published by Professor Voskresenski. He groups the authorities for the text in four main classes. The history of the next division of the NT, the *Apostol*, has been also carefully studied by the same author. MSS either of the continuous text, or of the parts used in services, go back as far as the 12th cent., and on these he published an elaborate monograph in 1879, and in 1892 produced a critical edition of the Epistle to the Romans based on 51 manuscripts, many of which only give the Church lections. The only other part of the NT which has been examined is the Apocalypse. The MSS of this book are fewer and later, but the earliest is ascribed by Oblak to the 13th century.

iii. THE TEXT OF THE VERSION AND ITS VALUE.—For the OT the MSS do not show any great or important variations, but the characteristics of the translation they contain are different in different parts. 'The Pentateuch shows signs of very great antiquity, and probably embodies fragments of the original translation. The Books of Joshua, Judges, and Ruth also represent an old translation. The Books of Samuel and Kings are less old and less exact. The Psalter is of course very old. Ecclesiastes and Sirach show a later but accurate translation. The Book of Job, Song of Songs, and the Prophets . . . show signs of glosses. While all the above were translated from the Greek, and the Book of Esther from the Hebrew, the Books of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and the other books of the Latin Bible were translated from the Vulgate towards the end of the 15th cent., and embodied in Gennadius' MS [*i.e.* of A.D. 1499]. This text was adopted for the edition of the Bible published at Ostrog in 1581.'*

It will be seen from the preceding words that the value and interest of the Version varies in different parts of the OT. The only part which is of real interest is that based on the Greek, and, in regard to this, its relation to Lucian's recension is the most important point. This has been variously described, Lagarde asserting that Lucian was the basis of the Slavonic; Buhl, that the Slavonic resembles the B text. The writer has examined this point, but only over a limited area, in reference to Lucian's recension.† The results seem to vary in different books. The Slavonic text of the OT, in the books derived from the Greek, deserves a fuller and wider examination than it has yet received.

In regard to the NT the MSS of the Version are more numerous, and contain a number of variations. These are, for the most part, of interest only in regard to the history of the Version itself, and consist of modifications in orthography, the removal of archaisms, and the translation of Greek words which in the earlier recensions had been simply transliterated. To the student of Slavonic these variants present innumerable points of interest. They also point to differences between the underlying Greek text, which are of wider interest, and it is well here to point out that the ordinary printed text of the Russian or of the Slavonic Bible often fails to indicate the important readings found in the older MSS. Among the passages where the oldest MSS differ as to the Greek on which they are based, the following may be noticed: Lk 2[3] 6[1] 14[24], Jn 9[8] 19[14] 21[15].

It cannot be said that the Version has any great value for textual criticism, nor should we expect, remembering its close connexion with south-eastern Europe, to find it preserving a text of any uniform or great importance. Its chief value and interest are in connexion with the history of the development of the Slavonic language, and in this department it is not easy to exaggerate its importance.

LITERATURE.—This is for the most part in Russian. See Scrivener's *Introduction*, ii. 157 ff.; *Church Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1895, and the literature there referred to. Nestle, *Urtext*, etc., p. 211 ff., should also be consulted. There are numerous articles dealing with details of this subject in the *Archiv für Slavische Philologie*.

LL. J. M. BEBB.

VERSIONS, GREEK (other than the LXX).—It would seem from what has come down to us that many persons took in hand to make translations, if not of the whole of the Hebrew Scriptures, yet certainly of some books, and, as was natural, particularly of the Psalms. But, unfortunately, little remains except detached fragments. The longest passages of a continuous text still extant and already published are two passages from 1, 2 (3, 4) Kings (21 [23][7-17] 23[11-27]) and one from 1 (3) Kings (14[1-20]), all attributed to Aquila. The former have been edited by F. C. Burkitt, the latter is quoted in its due order in Field's *Hexapla*. Unfortunately, very few fragments of Origen's *Hexapla* in its original form have been found; a considerable portion of the Psalter is, however, shortly to be edited by Dr. Mercati of the Vatican from a palimpsest in the Ambrosian Library at Milan. It is much to be wished that, amongst the treasures still perhaps remaining to be unearthed in Egypt and elsewhere, a copy of at least some portions of Origen's work might be discovered. For the present we are indebted for the most part to the marginal notes of Septuagintal MSS for the fragments which we do possess, the chief editors of which have been Montfaucon and Field. Fresh fragments are, however, being con stantly brought to light. A number are to be found in the third volume of Pitra's *Analecta Sacra*, and also in the 3rd volume of Swete's *OT in Greek*. The last fragments which have been published are the greater part of two verses of Gn 1, which is to be found in part i. of Grenfell and Hunt's *Amherst Greek Papyri*, and a fragment of Ps 21 (22) in Dr. Taylor's *Cairo Genizah Palimpsests* (Cambridge Press).

---

* This MS is now in the Synodal Library at Moscow, and is fully described by Gorski and Nevostruief in their description of the MSS in that library.

† For details of these writings see Philaret's *Review of Spiritual Literature from 862 to 1720* (in Russian).

* *Church Quarterly Review*, *l.c.* pp. 219, 220.

† *Ib.* cii. p. 388 f.

Considerable difficulties beset the student in his consideration of those fragments that still remain. (1) In various MSS the same words are ascribed in one case to one translator, in another to another; whilst in other cases, and sometimes very questionably, the same translation is attributed to all in common. (2) Owing to Origen's well-meant but unfortunate editing of the text of the LXX, and the loss of or confusion in the diacritical marks which he inserted in his text; and owing also to the various other recensions and re-editings which the text of the Septuagint has suffered from, we are quite in the dark as to how much of these other Greek versions may be embedded in our present Greek texts of the LXX. To take an instance. If with our present limited sources of information we examine the two chapters of the Book of Judges which relate the history of Deborah, and compare the Vatican text of the Cambridge edition with the fragments printed by Field, we shall find at least thirteen expressions (4^{11} [two] $^{14.\ 21}$ $5^{1.\ 14.\ 16.\ 21.\ 26}$ [three] ^{29} [two]) attributed to versions other than the Septuagint. This may perhaps be an extreme case, taken as it is from a book in which the forms of the text vary so much, and as to which questions may be raised concerning the date of the special text, but it will at any rate serve as an illustration of how complicated the phenomena of the present Greek texts of the OT are. In other cases, where a double or even triple rendering of the Hebrew occurs, we shall probably not go wrong in assigning, at least in some cases, one or more of these alternative translations to other versions than the LXX.

Origen's great work itself seems to have taken various forms besides the most prevalent Hexaplaric one. We find mention of (*a*) a *Tetrapla*, containing the four Greek versions; (*b*) a *Pentapla* of doubtful content; (*c*, *d*) a *Heptapla* and an *Octapla*, which apparently contained the fifth and sixth anonymous Greek versions. Specimens of the way in which these were respectively arranged are to be found in Field's *Prolegomena* (pp. xiv, xv); while Mercati gives an actual extract from a Hexapla MS in his 'Un palimpsesto Ambrosiano' in *Atti di R. Accademia di Scienza di Torino*, April 10, 1896 (see also Taylor's fragment of Ps 21 [22] from the Cairo Palimpsest, printed on p. 444 of the present volume).

We pass to the separate translations and their authors.

(1) *Aquila's Version.*—There seems to be no good reason for doubting that this was certainly the oldest of these Greek versions. It most probably had its origin in a desire for a faithful and literal translation of the OT by an orthodox person holding the Jewish faith. The name Aquila is one familiar to us in the pages of the NT. The Aquila of our present notice, like his Scripture namesake, was a native of Pontus, and is said to have belonged to Sinope. He is called a proselyte, and the story goes that he made his translation in the reign of Hadrian (*c.* 130 A.D.) after the return of the Christians from Pella to that city. He is said to have been a pupil of the famous Rabbi Akiba. Attempts have been made to identify him with the Onkelos of the Targum of Onkelos, but they have not at present met with general acceptance.

In translating the OT, Aquila seems to have approached his task from the point of view of an orthodox Jew holding the plenary inspiration of every 'jot and tittle.' Accordingly, his aim was so to translate that for every Hebrew word or particle there should always be an equivalent. The results of his method sometimes become grotesque. Thus having translated גַּם by the Greek καίγε, when the conjunction is prefixed to גַּם and the word becomes וְגַם, Aquila translates καὶ καίγε. The particle את being identical with the preposition את is also translated σύν, so that we have such an extraordinary solecism as σύν followed by the accusative case.

How far Aquila is controversial against the Christians in any of his renderings is a matter of dispute. Tregelles considers this to be proved against him, whilst Field absolves him. The only passage which really seems to support Tregelles' view is Aquila's translation of Is 7^{14}, where for the παρθένος of the LXX he substitutes νεᾶνις, a much less definite word than παρθένος—a translation which would have the support of many modern Christian critics.

His translation shows few traces of any readings differing from the unpointed Hebrew text now in existence. In a few cases his division of Hebrew words is not the same. His vocalization, however, differs in a considerable number of instances from the Massoretes. As between *Ḳĕrê* and *Kĕthîbh*, he more often follows *Ḳĕrê*. It is to be noted also that he, together with Symmachus, follows the euphemism of the Hebrew margin in Is 36^{12}. In his choice of words to represent the Hebrew, Aquila goes far afield. He attempts to indicate the literal meaning of words by corresponding Greek words, *e.g.* ἐπιστημονίζειν. He draws, as other Greek writers of the period do, a certain portion of his vocabulary from the old Greek epic poetry. He also uses Greek words of similar sound to the Hebrew, instead of actually transliterating. He transliterates the tetragrammaton by the archaic form of the four Hebrew letters, a form which appears in Hexaplaric Greek MSS as ΠΙΠΙ (*PIPI*).

There would seem to have been two editions of Aquila's translation. In a few cases he may have altered his mind about the true reading of the Hebrew. Thus in Ps 89^{10} he appears to have read at first איש, afterwards חיש.

Specimens of passages in which the Latin Bible has been influenced by Aquila's version are to be found in Field's *Introduction* (p. xxiv).

For the longer story told by Epiphanius concerning Aquila, his relationship to Hadrian, and his conversion to Christianity, which he afterwards exchanged for Judaism, Epiphanius is our authority (*de Mens. et Pond.* 14), but it seems a very improbable tale, due perhaps in part to the view taken by Epiphanius of his translation. It is also to be found in the new 'Dialogue between Timothy and Aquila,' edited by F. C. Conybeare in *Anecdota Oxoniensia* (Class. ser. pt. viii.).

(2) *Symmachus' Version.*—The tr. of Symmachus occupied in the *Hexapla* the next column to that of Aquila. According to Epiphanius (*de Mens. et Pond.* 16), he was a Samaritan who turned Jew and then translated the OT Scriptures into Greek as a means of refuting the Samaritan errors. According to Eusebius (*HE* vi. 17) he was an Ebionite, and wrote a commentary on St. Matthew's Gospel. It is worthy of note, however, that, in the early chapters of Genesis, Symmachus seems to have followed the Samaritan chronology. The chief object of his version is to give a readable tr. of the Hebrew. To effect this he paraphrases Hebrew with Greek idioms, *e.g.* he replaces the ἄνδρες αἱμάτων of the LXX by ἄνδρες μιαιφόνοι (Ps 25 $[26]^{9}$ 54 $[55]^{24}$ 138 $[139]^{19}$). He does not consider it necessary always to render the same Hebrew word by the same Greek word. In places his translation becomes more of a paraphrase. He constantly gives translations of proper names: thus Ararat becomes Armenia. The influence of Symmachus, as of Aquila, is to be found in the Vulgate. In a few places mention is made of a second edition of this translation, but they are so few that little certainty exists that there actually was one. Like Aquila, Symmachus oscillates between *Ḳĕrê* and *Kĕthîbh*, and very seldom deviates from the consonantal part of the MT. Like the LXX, he explains away the bare anthropomorphic statement of the Hebrew, see, *e.g.*, Ex 24^{10} Heb. 'they saw the God of Israel' (Aq. εἶδον τὸν θεὸν Ἰσραήλ), for which LXX substitutes εἶδον τὸν τόπον οὗ εἱστήκει ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰ., and Symmachus εἶδον ὁράματι τὸν θεὸν Ἰ. There is no reason why this Symmachus should be identified with the one mentioned in the Talmud (Bab. *Erubin*, 13*b*). The date of the translation is quite uncertain, but it is

probably to be assigned to the latter half of the 2nd cent. A.D. It shows an acquaintance with Aquila, but is thoroughly independent of it.

(3) *Theodotion's Version.* — Theodotion was of Pontus, according to Epiphanius (*de Mens. et Pond.* 17), and a follower of Marcion of Sinope, and afterwards became a Jewish proselyte. Irenæus also calls him a proselyte (*adv. Hær.* iii. 24), but describes him as an Ephesian. Jerome says that some called him an Ebionite, others a Jew.

His version has more of the character of a revision of the LXX than of an independent translation. So valuable was it held that in some cases, notably in the Book of Daniel, of which we possess the LXX version in only one copy (cod. 87), Theodotion's version supplanted the LXX. He included in his work the apocryphal parts of Daniel, the addition at the end of Job, the Bk. of Baruch, and the sections of Jeremiah which the LXX omits. He indulges more freely in the transliteration of Hebrew words than the other translators, though occasionally he finds himself able to give translations where the others fail.

His translation was probably made about A.D. 185. Traces of a Greek version of Daniel very like that of Theodotion go back as far as the NT.* This would lead us to imagine that just as we still have traces in other books of the OT of two Greek versions existing side by side, *e.g.* in Judges and still more in the Books of Esdras, so it is quite possible that there may have been two versions of Daniel and of some other books—a literal translation, and one which had more of the nature of a paraphrastic commentary.

(4) In addition to these translations there were at least *three anonymous versions* of at any rate parts of the Scriptures, known respectively as the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh. According to Eusebius (*HE* vi. 16), Origen obtained the Fifth from Nicopolis near Actium. Epiphanius (*de Mens. et Pond.* 18), however, says that it was found hidden away in jars at Jericho, and assigns the Sixth version to Nicopolis. If we can depend upon the quotation of the Sixth version of Hab 3^{13}, the tr. must have been paraphrastic and made by a Christian. As to the Seventh translation, and even the certainty of its existence at all, there is much doubt. These three versions are most frequently quoted in the Psalms.

(5) The *Græco-Venetan* tr., a very late Jewish production, of which only one MS exists, need only just be mentioned. It does not include the whole of the OT. The best edition is that of Gebhardt (Leipzig, 1875).

For further information concerning the *Hexapla* and these versions see art. SEPTUAGINT.

LITERATURE.—Montfaucon, *Origenis Hexaplorum quæ supersunt* (1723); Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum quæ supersunt* (1875); Salmon, *Introd. to NT* (last edition); Swete, *Introd. to OT in Greek* (1900). For Aquila (fragments), Anger, *de Onkelo Chaldaico*; Burkitt, *Fragments of Aquila*; Taylor, 'Fragments' in *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*^{2} (1897), and Fragments of Ps. xxii. (1900), art. 'Hexapla' in *Dict. of Christian Biography*. For Symmachus and Theodotion see artt. *s.vv.* in *Dict. of Christ. Biog.* by Dr. Gwynn.

H. A. REDPATH.

VERSIONS.—In addition to the Versions treated in the preceding three articles, the following are dealt with in the present work under their respective titles: ARABIC VERSIONS, ARMENIAN VERSION, EGYPTIAN VERSIONS, ETHIOPIC VERSION, LATIN VERSIONS (THE OLD), SEPTUAGINT, SYRIAC VERSIONS, VULGATE.

VERY is still used as an adj. freely enough, but either intensively or to mark identity. The sense of 'true' (Lat. *verax*, through late Lat. *veraeus* and Old Fr. *verai*), or 'real' is no longer in use. We find this sense in AV Gn $27^{21.\,24}$ 'Art thou my very son Esau?'; Ps 5^{9} 'Their inward part is very wickedness'; Pr 17^{9} 'He that repeateth a matter separateth very (RV 'chief') friends'; Jn 7^{26} 'Do the rulers know indeed that this is the very Christ?'; Ac 9^{22} 'proving that this is very Christ' (RV 'the Christ'). This use of 'very' is common in Wyclif, as Jn $6^{32.\,33.\,55}$ 'my fleisch is verri mete, and my blood is verri drynke'; 15^{1} 'I am a verri vyne'; 17^{3} 'This is everlastynge liif, that thei knowe thee verri God aloone'; so Tind. 'that they myght knowe the that only very God.' So Erasmus, *Crede*, 76, 'It was no very deathe'; Elyot, *Governour*, ii. 161, 'Seneca saieth that very friendship is induced neither with hope ne with rewarde.' Sometimes the adj. with this sense has to be carefully distinguished from the adverb. Thus Udall's *Erasmus' NT*, ii. 280, 'Jesus Christ . . . is now already come, having receyved a very humayne body'; and Tindale, *Expos.* 230, 'Where faith is, there must the very good works follow.' Hall (*Works*, ii. 151) uses the compar. in the same sense, 'Surely they were not veryer lepers than we?'

J. HASTINGS.

VEX, VEXATION.—These Eng. words, as used in AV, express much more than petty annoyance. The following quotations will illustrate their force: *Vex*—Lk 8^{45} Tind. 'Master, the people thrust the and vexe (*ἀποθλίβουσι*, Gen. 'tread on,' AV 'press') the, and sayest thou, who touched me?'; 1 S 28^{21} Cov. 'And the woman went in to Saul, and sawe that he was sore vexed' (AV 'sore troubled'); Mt 9^{36} Rhem. 'And seing the multitudes, he pitied them because they were vexed' (*ἦσαν ἐκλελυμένοι*, AV 'fainted'; edd. *ἦσαν ἐσκυλμένοι*, RV 'were distressed'); Elyot, *Governour*, ii. 95, 'The first or chiefe porcion of justice (as Tulli saieth) is to indomage no man, onelas thou be wrongfully vexed' (Lat. *nisi laeessitus injuria*); Shaks. *Lear*, III. iv. 62, 'Do poor Tom some charity, whom the foul fiend vexes.' *Vexation*—Shaks. *Mids. Night's Dream*, IV. i. 74—

> 'Think no more of this night's accidents
> But as the fierce vexation of a dream';

Webster, *White Devil*, v. 2—

> 'There's nothing of so infinite vexation
> As man's own thoughts.'

But the force of the words in AV can be best seen by examining the original words so translated. In OT sixteen verbs (and one subst.) are translated 'vex.' These are—1. [*Bāhal*] (Ps 2^{5} $6^{2.\,3.\,10}$), which in Piel (Ps 2^{5}) is usually translated in AV 'trouble,' but means 'dismay' or 'terrify'; in Niph. (Ps $6^{2.\,3.\,10}$) 'be disturbed,' 'dismayed.' In his *Par. Psalt.* Driver has uniformly 'dismay' or 'be dismayed.' 2. [*Dāḥaḳ*] (Jg 2^{18}), elsewhere only Jl 2^{8} of the crowding, thrusting of locusts, but common in Aramaic. 3. *Hāmam* (2 Ch 15^{6}), to make a noise, and so 'discomfit,' 'distress,' as in Ex 14^{24}, where 'the Lord troubled (RV 'discomfited') the host of the Egyptians.' 4. *Zûa'* (Hab 2^{7}), to tremble (as an old man shakes, Ec 12^{3}): here it is Pilp., and Davidson translates 'shall violently shake thee'; it is used figuratively of the foes of Babylon as the instruments of Jehovah's judgments. 5. [*Yāgah*] (Job 19^{2}) in Hiph. means to cause grief, Davidson 'afflict,' who adds, 'the words suggest the crushing effect which the friends' insinuations of wickedness had on Job's spirit.' 6. [*Yānāh*] (Ex 22^{21} RV 'wrong'; Lv 19^{33} RV 'do wrong'; Ezk 22^{7} RV 'wrong' ^{29}) = 'oppress,' 'maltreat,' esp. the stranger [see GER] or the poor by the wealthy and powerful. 7. *Ka'aṣ* (Ezk 32^{9}) in Hiph. = 'provoke,' as Peninnah provoked Hannah (1 S 1^{7}), but esp. used of provoking Jehovah to anger. 8. *Mārar*(Job 27^{2}) in Qal 'to be bitter,' as 2 K 4^{27} 'her soul, it is bitter to her': here Hiph. = 'embitter,' 'Shaddai who hath embittered my soul' (*Oxf. Heb. Lex.*). Cf. Ru 1^{20} 'The Almighty hath dealt very bitterly with me.' 9. [*Āẓabh*] (Is 63^{10} RV 'grieve') in Piel = 'cause pain.' 10. *Ẓarar* (Lv 18^{18}, Nu $25^{17.\,18}$ 33^{55}, 2 S 13^{2}, Is 11^{13}, Neh 9^{27}). This verb is to press (perhaps lit. in Lv 18^{18} though RV 'to be a rival'), press together, then fig. to oppress, persecute. In Neh 9^{27} (Hiph.) to afflict (RV 'distress') on the part of enemies. 11. [*Ḳûẓ*] (Is 7^{6}) = fear, here in Hiph. = put in fear, of a city by besieging it. Cf. 1 Mac 15^{14}. 12. [*Ḳāẓēr*] (Jg 16^{16}), lit. 'be short,' here of one's spirit, *i.e.* to have one's patience exhausted, AV and RV 'His soul was vexed unto death,' Gen. 'His soul was peined unto the death.' 13. *Rā'a* (Nu 20^{15}) in Hiph. to 'do evil,' to 'evil entreat' (so RV here, as AV in Ex 5^{22}, Dt 26^{6}, Amer. RV 'deal ill with'). 14. עָשָׂה רַע *'āsah ra'* (2 S 12^{18}) = 'do evil,' AVm 'do hurt,' here to oneself by grief. 15. *Rā'aẓ* (Jg 10^{8})—'They vexed and oppressed the children of Israel,' Moore 'they broke and crushed.' It is the same verb that in Jg 9^{53} is translated 'and *all to brake* his skull.' 16. *Rāsha'* (1 S 14^{47}), lit. 'be wicked'; here Hiph. = 'declare wicked,' 'condemn,' 'punish,' if the text is correct, which is doubtful, see Driver's note. Amer. RV 'put them to the worse.'

---

* For traces of a version of other books than Daniel similar to that of Theodotion see Swete's *Introd.* p. 48, n. 3.

The subst. *mĕhûmah*, 'vexation,' is translated by the verb in Ezk 22^{5} AV 'much vexed,' RV 'full of tumult.' Besides *mĕhûmah* (Dt 28^{20}, 2 Ch 15^{5}), 'vexation' is the tr. of (2) *zĕwā'āh* (Is 28^{19}); (3) *sheber* (Is 65^{14}); (4) *rĕ'uth* (Ec 1^{14} $2^{11. 17. 26}$ $4^{4. 6}$ 6^{9}), and (5) *ra'yôn* (Ec 1^{17} 2^{22} 4^{16}). RV gives for (1) 'discomfiture' in Dt 28^{20}, retaining 'vexation' in 2 Ch 15^{5}; for (2) 'terror'; for (3) it retains 'vexation'; for (4) and (5) gives 'striving.'

In Apocr. and NT we find thirteen different Gr. words rendered in AV by the verb to vex ('vexation' does not occur). 1. βασανίζω (2 P 2^{8}), which is tr. 'torment' elsewhere except Mt 14^{24} ('tossed,' RV 'distressed'), Mk 6^{48} ('toiling,' RV 'distressed'), Rev 12^{2} ('pained,' RV 'in pain'). The verb means originally to test metals by the touchstone (βάσανος). 2. δαιμονίζομαι: Mt 15^{22} ἡ θυγάτηρ μου κακῶς δαιμονίζεται, 'my daughter is grievously vexed with a devil.' The verb means to be possessed by a demon. 3. ἐλαύνω: Wis 17^{15} τέρασιν ἠλαύνοντο φαντασμάτων, 'were vexed with monstrous apparitions,' RV 'haunted': in 16^{18} the same word is tr. 'persecuted,' RV 'chased.' 4. θλίβω: 1 Mac 15^{14} 'he vexed the city by land and by sea.' Cf. Mt 7^{14} τεθλιμμένη ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ζωήν, lit. 'a compressed (hemmed in, straitened) way is that which leads to life.' 5. κακόω: 2 Mac 5^{22}, Ac 12^{1} RV, in both 'afflict.' The word means to do harm (κακόν) to, as Ac 18^{10} 'No man shall set on thee to hurt (RV 'harm') thee.' 6. καταπονέω: 2 P 2^{7}, lit. 'to exhaust with labour' (πόνος). Found also in Ac 7^{24} EV 'oppress.' 7. λυπέω; Bar 2^{18} 'the soul that is greatly vexed,' λυπουμένη, lit. 'grieved,' 'made sorrowful.' 8. ὀχλέω: Lk 6^{18}, Ac 5^{16}, both 'vexed with evil spirits.' In Luke edd. read ἐνοχλούμενοι, RV 'troubled.' The word means lit. to rouse a mob (ὄχλος) against one. The same verb is used in To 6^{7} of 'a devil or evil spirit' troubling one. 9. παροργίζω: Sir 4^{3} καρδίαν παροργισμένην, 'a heart that is vexed' (RV 'provoked,' as AV in Ro 10^{19}, Eph 6^{4}). 10. πάσχω: Mt 17^{15} κακῶς πάσχει, 'he is sore vexed'; RV 'suffereth grievously.' 11. περισπάω: Sir 41^{2} Ὦ θάνατε, καλόν σου . . . τῷ περισπωμένῳ περὶ πάντων, 'to him that is vexed with (RV 'distracted about') all things.' In NT the verb occurs only Lk 10^{40} 'Martha was cumbered (RVm 'distracted') about much serving.' 12. ταράσσω: 1 Mac 3^{5}, RV 'trouble,' as the word is often tr. in AV in the Gospels and 1 P 3^{14}. In the identical phrase (οἱ ταράσσοντες τὸν λαόν) in 1 Mac 7^{22} the word is tr. 'troubled.' 13. τρύχομαι: Wis 11^{11}, RV 'distress'; elsewhere in Bibl. Greek only 14^{15}, AV 'afflicted,' RV 'worn.'

J. HASTINGS.

VILE.—'There are many places in the Bible in which *vile* is not meant to convey the idea which it now possesses of what is physically and morally detestable, but has simply the force of the Latin *vilis*, properly *cheap*, and then *common*, *lightly esteemed*, or at most *looked down upon*. This, no doubt, is the sense which the Translators of 1611 intended to express in Ph 3^{21}; for the Greek is ταπείνωσις, *lowliness*, *low estate*—as it is rendered in the *Magnificat*, "the lowliness, or low estate, of his handmaiden"; and the contrast is simply between the lowly earthly body which we at present bear, and the future glorified body which has been made like unto the risen body of Christ.'—Driver in *Expos. Times*, Jan. 1902, xiii. 167.

This earlier meaning of 'vile' is seen in Erasmus, *Crede*, 106, 'He whome thou despysest as vyle borne, is thy brother'; p. 137, 'Thou being proude of the palace, doste mocke and skorne the vyle and homelye cotage of the pore man'; Udall, *Erasmus' NT*, ii. 29, 'The heavenly father dooeth garnishe and clothe so freshely the vile grasse, which shortely shall perishe'; Ridley, *Brefe Declaration*, 122, 'The crafte either of fyshyng, whiche was Peter's; or of makynge of tentes, which was Paules, were more vile then the science of phisicke [which was Luke's].' But the word had already a stronger meaning than this. Thus *Preface to AV*, 'Ebionites, that is, most vile heretikes'; Golding, *Calvin's Job*, 582, 'Thou vile toade.'

The examples of 'vile' in AV may be classified thus—

1. *Common, paltry, of small account*, Ps 12^{8} (*zulluth*); Jer 15^{19}, La 1^{11} ([*zālal*]); Jer 29^{17} (*shō'ār*); Wis 11^{15} (εὐτελής, RV 'wretched'), 13^{14} (εὐτελής, RV 'paltry'); Ph 3^{21} (ταπείνωσις); Ja 2^{2} (ῥυπαρός).

2. *Despicable, contemptible* (with *moral* reprobation), Dt 25^{3} (*ḳālāh*); 1 S 3^{13}, 2 S 6^{22}, Job 40^{4} (RV correctly 'of small account'), Nah 1^{14} (all *ḳālal*); 1 S 15^{9} ([*nĕmibzāh*] *nibzāh*); Dn 11^{21} (*bāzāh*).

3. *Shameful, abominable* (with *religious* as well as moral reprobation, almost equivalent to *impious*, see FOOL), 2 S 1^{21} (*gā'al*); Job 18^{3} (*ṭāmāh*); Wis 4^{18} (ἄτιμος); 2 Mac 15^{32} (μιαρός); Ro 1^{26} (ἀτιμία).

AV mistranslates Job 30^{8}: render as RV 'They are scourged out of the land' (the verb is [*nāka'*], to smite).

J. HASTINGS.

VILLAGE.—The earliest Oriental village probably arose in the transition from nomadic to settled life. Interests centring in a particular locality called for more constant residence; and in course of time the tent, best suited to the moving life, would give place to the hut or house, the encampment to the village. The name חַוֺּת (ἐπαύλεις) in חַוֺּת יָאִיר (*Ḥavvoth-jair*, Nu 32^{41} etc.), applied to smaller towns or villages, agrees with this idea. Abulw. connects it with Arab. *ḥayy*, 'tents of a clan' (cf. Arab. *ḥiwā'*, 'group of tents'). The term, which formerly denoted the temporary dwellings, would naturally be applied to the more permanent settlements (Moore, *Judges*, p. 274; W. R. Smith, *RS*² p. 281). The common word for village, חָצֵר (ἔπαυλις), primarily 'an enclosure,' is sometimes used for the open dwellings of the nomads (Gn 25^{16}, Is 42^{11}). כָּפָר (κώμη, Ca 7^{11}, 1 Ch 27^{25}, כְּפִיר Neh 6^{2}, כֹּפֶר 1 S 6^{18}), 'a hamlet' or 'village,' appeared in Palestine with the advent of Aramaic, and still persists in such place-names as *Kefr Kennah*, *Kefr Sabt*, etc. Other words are פְּרָז (δυνάστης, Hab 3^{14} RV 'warrior,' RVm 'hordes' or 'villages'); פְּרָזוֹן (δυνατός, Jg $5^{7. 11}$ RV 'ruler,' RVm 'village'); פְּרָזוֹת (Est 9^{19} LXX ἐν πάσῃ χώρᾳ τῇ ἔξω, EV 'unwalled towns'; Ezk 38^{11} ἐπὶ γῆν ἀπερριμμένην, EV 'unwalled towns,' RVm 'an open country'; Zec $2^{4\,(8)}$ κατακάρπως, AV 'as villages without walls,' RV 'as towns without walls'), which seems to denote the places in open, level country, as distinguished from fortified cities (cf. Arab. *farz*, 'plain'); cf. פְּרָזִי = *peasantry*, 1 S 6^{18}, Dt 3^{5}, Est 9^{19}.

The distinction between *city* (עִיר or poet. קִרְיָה) and *village* is carefully observed throughout the OT. The city was an inhabited, walled place; the village, not so protected, was probably always subordinate to the city. This relation of dependence appears to be indicated by the term 'daughters,' *e.g.* אֶת־קְנָת וְאֶת־בְּנֹתֶיהָ (Nu 32^{42}, cf. Jos 17^{11} etc.), by the phrase 'the cities and their villages,' הֶעָרִים וְחַצְרֵיהֶן (Jos 13^{23} etc.), and is implied in the designation 'a mother in Israel,' applied to the chief town of a district (2 S 20^{19}). This subordination was maintained in later times (1 Mac 5^{8} τὴν Ιζὴρ καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτῆς, cf. 5^{65}). While the city was the chief seat of authority in a district, the smaller towns and villages seem to have been dependent on the larger. On the E. of Jordan, and especially in Trachonitis, μητροκωμίαι are frequently met with, that is, villages holding a position corresponding to that of a capital town. Thus Phæna, the modern *Musmîyeh*, is called μητροκωμία τοῦ Τράχωνος (*CIG* 4551). In NT and Josephus the ideas of πόλις and κώμη are uniformly distinguished; but in the Greek period the point of distinction came to be, not so much size or fortification as constitution and law, which differed in city and village. St. Mark, who notes the numerous towns and villages in fertile Galilee, mentions (1^{38}) κωμοπόλεις, a word used by Strabo and Byzantine writers, denoting towns which for size might be called πόλεις, but in constitution ranked only as κῶμαι. Jos. (*BJ* III. iii. 2) speaks of many villages in Galilee, the smallest of which contained 15,000 inhabitants. If we are to credit these figures, κώμη must be taken to include the surrounding district and suburbs. The Mishna distinguishes (1) כְּרַךְ 'a large city'; (2) עִיר 'a city'; and (3) כְּפָר 'a village' (*Megilla* i. 1, ii. 3; *Kethuboth* xiii. 10; *Kiddushin* ii. 3; *Baba meẓia* iv. 6, viii. 6; *Arachin* vi. 5). The first and second differed only in size. While כְּרַךְ = 'a fortified city,' small towns were often similarly protected (עִיר חוֹמָה, *Arachin*

ix. 3 ff.; *Kelim* i. 7), כָּפָר being the open village (Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 154 ff.).

Villages in Palestine to-day are related in the same way to the towns. Thus *el-Mejdel*, *Ḥaṭṭîn*, *el-Lubiyeh*, etc., are under the jurisdiction of Tiberias. All actions, civil and criminal, and all matters affecting taxation and military service, come before the authorities in that town. The sheikh, or chief man, exercises considerable influence among the inhabitants, and with him, in the first instance, the authorities treat in all that concerns his community.

The villages are the centres of agricultural industry. The surrounding land is frequently common property. All share in its cultivation. When deductions have been made for taxes, etc., the produce is divided according to local arrangement. In other cases the villagers till the soil for a landlord or company, and then a certain percentage of the crops is allowed them in payment.

Nearly all the villages in Palestine are of ancient date. They often stand on the sites, and are built from the ruins, of cities not seldom great and splendid in the past. There is something both grotesque and pathetic in the appearance of Corinthian capital and sculptured stone in the walls of mud-plastered huts. Positions difficult of access are much prized for defence against marauding bands. There are, of course, no scattered dwellings or solitary farm-steadings, which would be too easy a prey to plunderers.

The village life is mean and squalid. The houses as a rule are of but one apartment, in which, along with the family, their animals find nightly shelter. Sanitation is unknown, and the villages are hotbeds of fever. In some it is ascribed to an intervention of *Allah* when a child survives infancy. Oppressed by rapacious tax-gatherers backed by a brutal soldiery, often loaded with debt they can never hope to pay,—interest on which is a first charge upon their yearly pittance,—the spirit is crushed, and there is little inducement to work for improvements the fruits of which would infallibly be seized by others. They put little into the soil; their houses are frail; their furniture scanty; they live practically 'from hand to mouth,' and bear themselves like men who may at any moment receive notice to quit.

The villagers in Palestine mostly rank as Moslems, orthodox or heretical; but there is much obscurity as to their real religious sentiments and practices. Usually a *makâm*, the tomb or sanctuary of some saint or famous sheikh, stands near by or on a neighbouring hill. It serves as a kind of village strong-room. Although it is quite open, no one dreams of removing what has been placed there for safety. A common responsibility for hospitality is also recognized. In every village there is the *menzîl* or *meḍâfy*, 'village guest-house,' where all strangers are welcome. The sheikh acts as 'host,' but the villagers contribute each his share towards the entertainment of the guests. W. EWING.

VINE, VINEYARD.—Three Heb. words are tr. in EV 'vine.' 1. גֶּפֶן *gephen*, Arab. *jafn*. This always refers to grape-bearing vines, except 2 K 4^{39}, where גֶּפֶן שָׂדֶה the 'vine of the fields,' AV and RV 'wild-vine,' refers to a wild gourd-vine, prob. colocynth, and perhaps Dt 32^{32}, where גֶּפֶן סְדֹם 'the vine of Sodom' may denote a grape-vine, or some other plant (see 'vine of Sodom,' below). 2. שֹׂרֵק *sôrēḳ* (Is 5^{2} 'choicest vine'), שׂוֹרֵק (Jer 2^{21} 'noble vine'), שֹׂרֵקָה *sôrēḳah* (Gn 49^{11} 'choice vine'), used of a superior kind, producing dark-coloured grapes, with soft seeds or none. It is called in Arab. *ṣûrîḳ*. 3. נָזִיר *nāzîr* (Lv 25$^{5.11}$ AV 'vine undressed,' m. 'separation,' RV 'undressed vine'), fig. for unpruned vine, named *nāzîr* from its resemblance to the Nazirite, whose hair was uncut and unshaven.

The vine is one of the most important plants mentioned in the Bible and cultivated in the East. Noah planted a vineyard (Gn 9^{20}). The chief butler saw a vine in his dream (Gn 40^{9}). Judah is represented as binding his ass to a vine (Gn 49^{11}), an allusion to the luxury in which he would live. Living under one's own vine and fig tree (1 K 4^{25}, Mic 4^{4}) was an emblem of peace. The languishing of the vine (Is 16^{8} etc.) was an emblem of destruction and desolation. Palestine was a land of vines (Dt 8^{8}). They were planted on mountains (Jer 31^{5}). They flourish best there at the present day. The NAZIRITE, as being under a religious vow, was to 'eat nothing that is made of the grape-vine, from the kernels even to the husk' (Nu 6^{4}). Manoah's wife, as the future mother of a Nazirite, was also forbidden for a time to eat or drink of the fruit of the vine (Jg 13^{14}). The vine is frequently associated with the fig (Ps 105^{33}, Jer 8^{13}, Hab 3^{17}, Ja 3^{12} etc.). Christ calls Himself the true vine (Jn 15$^{1-5}$). There are several other figurative allusions to the vine and vineyard. Israel was a vine brought out of Egypt (Ps 80$^{8-14}$, Is 5$^{1-5}$). The fruitful wife was compared to the vine (Ps 128^{3}). The remnant of Israel was to be gleaned as a vine (Jer 6^{9}). Samaria was to be as plantings of a vine (Mic 1^{6}). Beth-haccherem, 'the house of the vine' (Neh 3^{14}, Jer 6^{1}), Abel-cheramim, 'the meadow of vineyards' (Jg 11^{33}), were named from *kerem* = 'vine.'

The vine is cultivated in a variety of ways. Sometimes it is trained over a trellis, or made to climb a tree (Ezk 19^{11}). In this way a man sat under his vine (1 K 4^{25} etc.). Sometimes it is trained over props about the height of a man, or a little higher, and the branches spread laterally, often forming festoons from stake to stake. But the more usual method is to allow the stem to trail on the surface of the soil, and simply to prop up the cluster-bearing branches by forked sticks, sufficiently to keep them off the ground. The vines in both the latter methods of cultivation are planted far enough apart to allow the plough to pass between them. They are pruned at the end of the fruiting season (Jn 15^{2}), so that, during the winter, the vine is reduced to a trunk and a few principal branches. The shoots of the next spring are thus made more vigorous, and bear better fruit. Those branches which bear no fruit are diligently cut away (vv.$^{2.6}$). A whitened branch is a sign of withering (Jl 1^{7}). The trunks of old vines often attain the thickness of a man's body or more. Vines are sometimes planted in irrigated ground (Ezk 19^{10}), but most of the vineyards are on dry hillsides, where, for 7 or 8 months they have no water except such as they can extract from the apparently arid soil. Notwithstanding this, they live (Ezk 19^{13}). In such situations as have a moist subsoil of clay or marl they flourish without irrigation, and produce large vintages. Whole mountain-sides are often green with vineyards, where one may search in vain for a spring or well. They are often not fenced off, so one can come with ease into a 'neighbour's vineyard' (Dt 23^{24}). To protect the vines from foxes, jackals (Ca 2^{15} etc.), and esp. from men, watchmen are stationed in commanding positions. In Judæa and some other parts of the country round towers are built for the watchmen (Is 5^{2}, Mt 21^{33} etc.). Generally a shelter of boughs and leaves (Is 1^{8} AV 'cottage,' RV 'booth'), similar to the 'lodge in a garden of cucumbers' (see illustration in vol. i. 532^{a}), is constructed in a prominent place, from which the watchman can overlook the vineyard. To frighten away animals, a single cylindrical stone is set up, or several stones are placed one above another, forming a pillar 3 to 4 ft. high. The top of this pillar is often whitewashed, so that it is conspicuous even at night. The large numbers of these pillars make a marked feature in the Oriental landscape. Vineyards are let out (Ca 8^{11}, Mt 21^{33}), or cultivated on the metairial principle on shares. The close association of vine and fig trees in the minds of the people of Palestine is shown by the fact that both a fig orchard and a vineyard are designated in Arab. by the term *karm* (the same as the Heb. כֶּרֶם), which primarily signifies a vine.

Grapes.—A great variety of grapes are cultivated in Palestine and Syria. There is one greenish-white, from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{2}{3}$ in. in diameter, with sweet juicy pulp; another, olive-shaped and white, resembling Malaga grapes; another, dark purple, of the size of a small prune; others similar to Black Hamburgs; others with a green rind, striped with red, and a pulp almost as firm as that of an apple; others nearly the same as the famous Zante currants; others closely resembling the Isabella grape; and many others of divers shapes, sizes, and flavours. Several Heb. words are used to designate them. **1.** אֶשְׁכּוֹל *'eshkôl*, which signifies a cluster, usually of grapes (Is 65^{8}, Mic 7^{1}), in which case greater precision is sometimes given by constructing it with עֲנָבִים (Nu 13^{23}), or associating it with the same (Gn 40^{10}), or constructing it with *gephen* (Ca 7^{8} [Heb. ^{9}]). It is sometimes used of other things, as gall (*mĕrôrôth*, Dt 32^{33}), and *henna* (Ca 1^{14}). **2.** עֵנָב *'ēnāb*, Arab. *inab*. This is the true word for the berry, as distinguished from the cluster (Gn 40^{10}, Nu 13^{23}). Wine is דַּם־עֵנָב=blood of grapes. **3.** בֹּסֶר *bōṣer*= unripe grapes. The Arabs of Syria use the term *ḥuṣrum* for green grapes. *Bōṣer* is tr. in AV 'sour grapes' (Is 18^{5} RV 'ripening grapes'), AV and RV 'unripe grapes' (Job 15^{33}), AV and RV 'sour grapes' (Jer 31^{29}, Ezk 18^{2}). The seed, 'kernel,' of the grape is mentioned, and its skin, 'husk' (Nu 6^{4}).

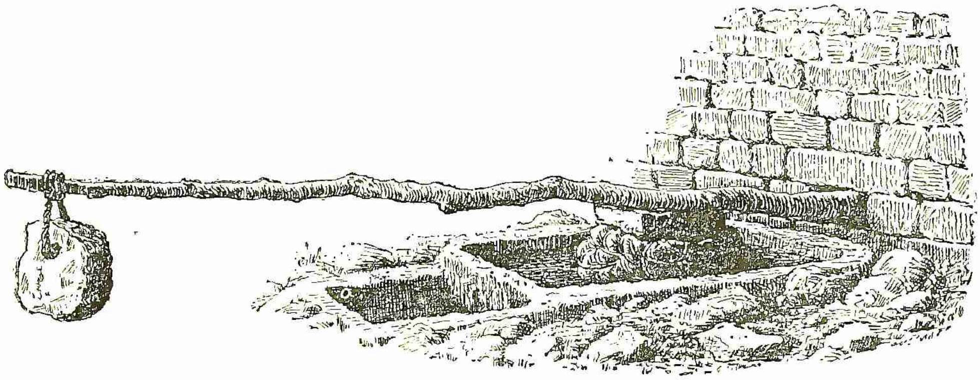

MODERN SYRIAN WINEPRESS.

Vintage.—The vintage is a season of great rejoicing in the East (Is 16^{10}). It begins in low-lying districts in July. The people eat the green grapes (*bōṣer*) even in June. They also express the acid juice of the same, and sweeten it, and add water, to make a cooling drink. The nearly ripe but still acid grapes are slightly laxative, and the grape cure is as well recognized here as a course of mineral waters in Europe or America. But when the grapes are quite ripe, in August or September, the rejoicing is complete. The people go in large numbers to gather the grapes, and eat them in the vineyards (Jg 9^{27}). The quantity which one person consumes is enormous. It is curious to see a man with a huge bunch of grapes in his hand, held a little above his head, with his neck bent backward, and his free hand plucking the grapes, singly or in pairs, and tossing them into his mouth as fast as his hand can move. The luscious fruit is crushed by the tongue and teeth, and swallowed with extraordinary rapidity. The peasants declare that, however many grapes they may have eaten in this way, in the vineyards, their appetite for their regular meals is in no way diminished. The grapes are carried home to serve as food, or spread out on mats to be dried into *raisins*, צִמּוּק *ẓimmûḳ* (1 S 25^{18} etc.), אֲשִׁישׁוֹת *'ăshîshôth* (RV Ca 2^{5}, AV wrongly 'flagons'), or the juice expressed to be converted into wine or dibs. The latter is the juice of the grape, boiled to the consistence of thick treacle, and set aside to cool into a mass resembling in appearance candied honey. It is not true that this substance is anywhere used or known as wine. In its commercial form it is no more a beverage than crystallized honey, and no one here ever saw or heard of any one diluting it and using it as a drink. Much less is any such dilution known as wine. Baskets (Jer 6^{9}) were, and are still, used to gather the grapes and transport them to the houses or presses. The juice is trodden out (Is 16^{10} 63^{3}, Jer 25^{30} etc.). The presses were often dug out in the marly soil (Mt 21^{33}), or excavated in the solid rock. Such rock vats are common throughout Palestine. The boiling of the *misṭâr* (fresh grape juice) is done in large caldrons. *Misṭâr* is sometimes drunk. The name, as applied to this fresh juice, is, however, a popular error, as that word signifies a true fermented wine. The grape juice is never called in Arab. by any of the other names for wine, these names being applied solely to the fermented juice of the grape, date, or other fruit.

Vine of Sodom (גֶּפֶן־סְדֹם *gephen Sĕdôm*) occurs once (Dt 32^{32}), 'their vine is as the vine of Sodom, and of the fields of Gomorrah; their grapes are grapes of gall (*rôsh*), their clusters are bitter' (*mĕrôrôth*). If real plants are intended here, these must have been familiar to the Hebrews, and, if not peculiar to the Dead Sea Valley, at least so abundant there as to be designated by the names of the accursed cities. We have, as a philological guide to the plant intended, the term *gephen*, which certainly refers to a vine. The second member of the parallelism speaks of the fruit as 'grapes of gall' (*innebê-rôsh*), and its clusters as bitter (lit. bitternesses). We are therefore to look for a vine growing so abundantly in the Dead Sea basin as to be attributed to Sodom and Gomorrah, and producing a bitter but grape-like fruit. The first embarrassment in the determination of this plant is the assumption that it is the same as the fruit of which Josephus speaks, the so-called 'apples of Sodom' (*BJ* IV. viii. 4), 'the ashes growing in their fruits, which fruits have a colour as if they were fit to be eaten, but if you pluck them with your hands they dissolve into smoke and ashes.' This description would apply either to the fruit of the *ʿushr*, *Calotropis procera*, Willd., or to that of the colocynth, Arab. *ḥondol*. Both of these have fruits, about the size of a pippin, which, when ripe and dry, contain a dust, which would suggest the 'dust and ashes' of Josephus. The *ʿushr*, however, is not a vine, but a small shrub or tree, and its fruit has no resemblance to the grape. The colocynth is a vine, but it grows over a wide range in Palestine besides the Dead Sea Valley, and its fruit also has no resemblance to a grape. It is like a small water-melon when green. We therefore, while accepting one or both these plants as producing the fruit alluded to by Josephus, unconditionally reject them both as candidates for the 'vine of Sodom.' *Cucumis prophetarum*, L., a tendril-bearing vine, growing in the Dead Sea Valley and southward to Sinai, and having an ovoid, bitter fruit, ½ to ⅝ in. long, might be a candidate, were it not for the fact that its fruits do not grow in clusters. On the other hand, *Solanum nigrum*, L., and *S. miniatum*, Berb., and *S. villosum*, Lam., produce clusters of berries like very small grapes. These are called by the Arabs *ʿinab-edh-dhîb*= wolf's grapes. But they are none of them vines, and none of them peculiar to the Dead Sea Valley. *S. coagulans*, Forsk., although peculiar to the Dead Sea and Jordan Valley, is not a vine, and has fruits like a small tomato, not like a grape. Oak galls cannot be intended. They are not produced in this valley, are not clustered, and bear no resemblance to a grape. We must conclude, therefore, that we have as yet no evidence on which to found a theory as to the plant intended by the *vine of Sodom*. We (with commentators generally) think that the allusion is figurative, and that the quality of bitterness is attributed to the grape-vine of the enemies of Israel, as their wine is said in the following verse to be 'the poison of dragons, and the cruel venom of asps.' The selection of the vine of Sodom and Gomorrah, of which their vine is said to be a shoot, was due to the proverbial bitterness of the Dead Sea, a quality which may have been supposed to be communicated to what grew on its shores. We have a similar instance (Ezk 17^{3-10}) in the rhapsodical riddle of the great eagle, which plucked off a topmost shoot and twigs of the cedars of Lebanon, and set them in a city of merchants, and took of the seed of the land, and set it as a willow-tree, and it grew and became a vine of low stature, and shot forth branches towards the furrows, that it might bear fruit. And the roots were pulled up, and the fruit withered. Here we have a combination far more intricate and unreal than that of the 'vine of Sodom,' to which the bitterness of the Dead Sea water is attributed, and the wine from the same, which is said to be serpent's venom. G. E. POST.

VINEGAR (חֹמֶץ *ḥōmeẓ* ; ὄξος, *acetum*).—A sour liquid, mentioned 5 times in OT and 5 times in NT. The vinegar of Scripture is wine which has undergone the acetous fermentation caused by the presence of a ferment plant (*Mycoderma aceti*), whereby its alcohol is converted into acetic acid. Besides this 'vinegar of wine' there is also mentioned 'vinegar of strong drink' (*shēkār*, Nu 6^3), which is produced by the fermentation of palm juice or any other saccharine fluid. Both these forms of drink were forbidden to the Nazirite (Nu 6^3).

This fluid was used as a relish, 'without which we should miss many of the comforts of civilized life' (Pliny, xiv. 25). Into it food was dipped before eating (Ru 2^{14}). A diluted vinegar or sour wine was used as a drink by the poorer classes (Aristoph. *Acharnæ*, 35), and especially by soldiers. Pescennius Niger forbade his Ethiopian troops to drink anything else (Spartianus in *Hist. Aug. Script. minores*, ii. 180). The vessel of vinegar which the Roman soldiers had by them at the Crucifixion (Jn 19^{29}) was probably filled with this drink, which was called *posca*. It was not regarded as intoxicating (Plautus, *Miles gloriosus*, iii. 836). The Greek medical writers, Oribasius and Aretæus, call it ὀξύκρατον. *Posca* and oil are recommended in veterinary medicine for wounds by Vegetius, iii. 48, vinegar being, as Plutarch says, the most cooling of fluids (*Quæst. conviv.* iii. 5). Cf. the use of wine (οἶνος) and oil by the good Samaritan (Lk 10^{34}) to cleanse the wounds of the robbers' victim.

In the accounts of the Crucifixion given by the four Evangelists vinegar is mentioned, but in each case in a slightly different connotation. According to Mt 27^{34} (AV), the soldiers offered our Lord vinegar mingled with gall (RV has 'wine,' following ℵBD). This was a different drink from the vinegar subsequently given Him on a sponge (v.^{48}), which was probably *posca*. Mark mentions both, but describes the first wine as mingled with myrrh (15^{23} ἐσμυρνισμένον οἶνον); Lk 23^{36} relates that the soldiers after He was crucified offered Him vinegar in mockery. Jn 19^{29} only mentions the vinegar given in response to His exclamation, 'I thirst.' The first 'wine' of Matt. and Mark was probably intended as a narcotic, the χολή being the equivalent of the Heb. word *rōsh*, also tr^{d} 'gall,' which was opium (see vol. ii. p. 104). This was given to those about to be executed, in accordance with the Talmudic interpretation of Pr 31^6, on which see *Sanhedrin*, 43. 1; Lightfoot, *Horæ Hebraicæ*, ii. 36; and Buxtorf's *Lex Talmudica*, 2131. Rosenmüller conjectures that it may have been given rather as a stimulant to keep Jesus alive during the torture (*Bib. Bot.* 163).

Vinegar by itself was too pungent to drink, hence to give vinegar to drink was part of the punishment of a victim, as in Ps 69^{21}; cf. the ἔτι δ' ἐς τὰς ῥῖνας ὄξος in Aristoph. *Batrach.* 619. Its effects on the mouth are mentioned in Pr 10^{26}, reminding of the description of vinegar as ποτὸν στυφόν given by Nikander (*Alexipharm.* 375), or the *Acetum acerbum* of Plautus (*Truc.* i. 2. 83). For other figurative expressions of the irritation and acridity of vinegar see the same author in *Rudens*, iv. 2. 32; *Pseudolus*, ii. 4. 49; and *Bacchyl.* iii. 3. 1; cf. the *mordax acetum* of Persius, v. 86. In the passage in Proverbs the LXX renders the word by ὄμφαξ, unripe grapes, as though *ḥōmeẓ* was here used in the sense of the Talmudic חוּמַץ.

The effect of vinegar on nitre (נֶתֶר=natron or crude sodic carbonate) causing effervescence is mentioned in Pr 25^{20} (see vol. iii. p. 555).

A. MACALISTER.

VIOL.—Thus the Heb. *nēbhel* or *nebhel* is rendered in AV and RV Is 14^{11}, Am 5^{23} 6^5, and in AV Is 5^{12} (RV here 'lute'). See MUSIC, vol. iii. p. 459^b, and PSALTERY (the more usual tr. of the Heb.), above, p. 163^b. See also Driver, *Amos*, p. 234 ff., and Wellhausen, *Psalms* (*PB*), p. 222 ff. The 'viol' (from late Lat. *vidula*, *vitula*, through Fr. *viole*, *violle*; cf. Anglo-Sax. *fithele*, a fiddle) is described by Chappell as a six-stringed musical instrument, the position of the fingers being marked on the finger-board by frets, as in guitars of the present day. But it was played with a bow, not with the fingers as the guitar. Violin is a dim. of viol, as violoncello is of violin. The violin displaced the viol in England in the reign of Charles II.

J. HASTINGS.

VIPER.—See SERPENT.

VIRGIN (בְּתוּלָה, עַלְמָה, παρθένος).—The word בְּתוּלָה is commonly used of a *virgo intacta*, as in Dt 22^{23}, 2 S 13^{2}. It is frequently applied metaphorically, often with the addition of בַּת 'a daughter,' to a people, especially to Israel, originally, it would seem, in the sense of not yet subdued by an enemy, as Is 37^{22}, Jer 14^{17}, La 1^{15}; but sometimes to other nations, as to Ẓidon (Is 23^{12}), Babylon (47^{1}), and sometimes even where the original intention of the metaphor is lost, as in Jer 31^{4}, where the restoration of captive Israel is promised. In Is 62^{5} there is a curious mixture of metaphor. 'For as a young man marrieth a virgin, so shall thy sons marry thee.' The word is, however, once used of a young *married* woman in Jl 1^{8}.

The meaning of עַלְמָה is from its comparatively rare use less easily determined. In Gn 24^{43} it is used with reference to Rebekah, apparently in the sense of a *virgo intacta.* In Ca 1^{3} the same meaning is perhaps probable, but hardly necessary. In Ca 6^{8} the meaning is quite uncertain. The women in the harem of Solomon, distinguished as they are from the wives and concubines, might or might not be virgins. We cannot, therefore, argue from the usage of the word the meaning intended in Is 7^{14}; but the whole context of the passage, as well as the analogy of 8$^{1-4}$, suggests that the sign intended did not consist in anything miraculous in the birth itself, but in the speedy coming of the event, and in the symbolical name to be given to the child. The LXX probably understood by παρθένος a virgin in its strict sense, understanding, it would seem, that the mother of Immanuel was *at the time* a virgin—a possible interpretation of the words, though RVm is probably right in rendering 'is with child and beareth.' St. Matthew, quoting from LXX, takes the passage as a direct prophecy of the birth of Christ from a virgin (see IMMANUEL). Such has till recent times been the practically universal interpretation of the passage by Christians. It has been very naturally disputed by the Jews from the time of Justin Martyr downwards, and is said to have been one of the chief reasons for the first Gr. tr. of OT by Aquila [? Onḳelos], (Eusebius, *HE* v. 8).

There is nothing remarkable about the usage of παρθένος in NT, except in Rev 14^{4}, where it is used of men who have kept themselves free from impurity. St. Paul's discussion of the topic of 'virgins' in 1 Co 7$^{25ff.}$ comes under MARRIAGE (see vol. iii. p. 266^{b}).

For the בְּתוּלִים of Dt 22$^{15.17}$ (EV 'tokens of virginity'), and the Oriental custom referred to in that passage, see art. SONG OF SONGS, pp. 595^{a}, 596^{b}, and cf. Driver, *Deut. ad loc.*

F. H. WOODS.

VIRTUE as the translation of δύναμις is used in AV in Mk 5^{30}, Lk 6^{19} 8^{46} in the sense of power (so RV) or influence. In earlier Eng. it was freely used (after Lat. *virtus*, from *vir*, a man, therefore 'what is manly,' 'courageous') in the sense of 'strength' or 'power.' Thus Chapman, *Odysseys*, xvii. 360—

> 'His double gates, and turrets, built too strong
> For force or virtue ever to expugn.'

It is Wyclif's usual word for δύναμις after the Vulg. *virtus*, as Ac 19^{11} 'And God dide vertues not smale bi the hoond of Poul'; He 1^{3} 'And berith alle thingis bi word of his vertu.' The same in the Rhem. version, as Lk 9^{1} 'He gave them vertue and power (δύναμιν καὶ ἐξουσίαν, Vulg. *virtutem et potestatem*) over al devils.' The modern meaning of 'virtue' was already in use in 1611, as in the *Preface to AV*, 'Solomon was greater than David, though not in vertue, yet in power'; and it is probable that in the above passages the word was retained from the earlier versions because it conveyed the sense of *influence* (supernatural influence) to the translators' minds. Cf. Adams, *2 Peter*, 17, 'It was the brazen serpent that healed, not the eye that looked on it; yet without a looking eye, there was no help to the wounded party by the promised virtue.' Though more generally, 'influence' is also the meaning in Melvill, *Diary*, 15, 'He was a man of rare wesdome, judgment, and discretion; and, therfor, mikle imployed in the trysts and effeares of the noble and gentle men of the countrey, whilk distracted him fra his calling, hinderit his vertew, and schortened his lyff.' Even Coverdale has the word in the sense of righteousness or goodness, Ezk 3^{30}. J. HASTINGS.

VISION (usually חָזוֹן, ὅραμα). In early Heb. religion the vision had its closest affinity with the dream,—by which probably the conception of its character was determined,—and the two are usually coupled as the ordinary sources of prophetic oracles (Nu 12$^{6f.}$, Jer 23$^{25ff.}$). Its recognized psychological condition was an emotional excitement in which the person was no longer master of his own thoughts or will (Nu 24$^{2ff.}$, 1 S 19$^{20ff.}$). See TRANCE. In both dream and vision what carried religious significance was the fact that the presentation did not come through the ordinary sense channels, or as a product of the mind's conscious activity. On this account it was accepted as a revelation from God. When we come to the Prophets the conception of revelation has undergone a change in correspondence with religion in general. The dream disappears, together with the rapt utterance; and prophecy becomes an ethical intercourse of the mind of man with God (Is 8^{19}, Jer 23^{28}). But, while there is no trace of ecstasy in the strict sense or its accompaniments, there are frequent allusions to times of extraordinary elevation of thought and feeling, times therefore of illumination. At such moments an issue becomes clear, a truth breaks on the mind, a resolution is formed (Is 6, Jer 1^{5}). The result is sometimes presented as if it had come to the prophet in a manner analogous to sense experience,—the prophet sees, hears, questions, replies,—but the broad sense in which vision is used makes it clear that the pictorial image was not the source of his knowledge or resolution, but rather that the truth, having taken possession of his mind and heart, created the vision as its imaginative clothing. Even a verbal message, with no reference to a voice or appearance, is spoken of as a vision (Is 1^{1} 21^{2} 22^{1}, Mic 1^{1}, Hab 2^{2}). In Amos' vision of the basket of summer fruits the motive for using the visional form is evidently the play upon the word קֵץ. Again, as in the intricate description of Ezk 1, the vision is sometimes of a kind that could hardly be pictorially realized. Although, in fact, the primitive phraseology is retained,—the prophet sees, hears, the hand of the Lord is upon him,—it is no longer used in the primitive sense. The vision has become a literary and poetical form consciously employed to embody and communicate truths that have become clear to the inner consciousness. The pre-exilic prophets make only sparing use of the direct visional form. In Ezekiel it is more common, but has lost its earlier imaginative spontaneity, and assumed more the character of an artificial construction (Ezk 1$^{4ff.}$). It is not found in Deutero-Isaiah or in Haggai; but it reappears in Zechariah, and continues, in its most artificial form, to be employed by apocalyptic writers. In the NT it finds a place only [but cf. the use of τὸ ὅραμα in Mt 17^{9}] in the apocalyptic book of Revelation, and in those narratives in Acts and the earlier part of Luke that bear the character of popular tradition. (See PROPHECY and the Literature there cited).

W. MORGAN.

VOPHSI (וָפְסִי [but text dub.]; B Ἰαβεί, A Ἰαβί).—The father of Nahbi, the Naphtalite spy, Nu 13^{14}.

VOW (נֵדֶר, נֶדֶר, εὐχή).—It was a universal custom in ancient religions, too natural to need explanation, for men to seek the help of the deity in times of peril or distress (Ps 66$^{13.\ 14}$), or to secure the fulfilment of some much cherished hope, by promising him some special gift that would enlist his own interest on their side. Or their vow might be less of the nature of a bargain, and more the expression of unselfish zeal and pious devotion. It might also be a promise to abstain from some comfort or even necessary of life. Among the Hebrews all these types of vow are to be found: for the last the term אִסָּר 'bond,' which occurs only in Nu 30, was used.

Although we have no legislation on the subject in JE, the practice was very ancient. Thus Jacob vows at Bethel that if Elohim will be with him and give him bread and raiment, so that he comes to his father's house in peace, he will make the pillar a sanctuary of God, and pay tithe of all that He gives him (Gn 28$^{20-22}$ E). In the period of the Judges we have Jephthah's vow, that if J″ delivered the Ammonites into his hand, he would offer as a burnt-offering the person who first came from his house to meet him (Jg 11$^{30.\ 31}$). Though it was his own daughter, the inviolable character of the vow in that primitive age, which had learnt none of the slippery shifts of casuistry, forced him to sacrifice her. Hannah vowed that if J″ would give her a son she would dedicate him to His service all the days of his life, and no razor should come upon his head (1 S 1^{11}). It is interesting to notice that after the birth of Samuel, when Elkanah went for the yearly sacrifice to Shiloh, the writer speaks of him as going to offer the yearly sacrifice and his vow, as if the vow were as much a matter of course as the sacrifice (v.^{21}). (It seems unnecessary to suppose, with H. P. Smith, *ad loc.*, that the words 'and his vow' were added by a scribe). In the period of the early monarchy, Absalom secured permission to go to Hebron on pretext of a vow he had made, while in exile at Geshur, that he would worship J″ if He restored him to Jerusalem (2 S 15$^{7.\ 8}$). The meaning of the vow is that he would appear before J″ and, since none could appear before Him empty, would offer sacrifice to Him. Naturally, this would be offered not at Jerusalem, but at the Judæan sanctuary of Hebron. Each of these instances is a case of a vow intended to secure a favour, and in its essence is a commercial transaction.—A vow of unselfish devotion, which was also a vow of abstinence, is exemplified in the Psalmist's poetical description of David's vow that he would not enter his house, lie in his bed or suffer himself to sleep, till he had found a place for J″ to dwell in (Ps 132$^{2-5}$). Saul's taboo on eating before sundown (1 S 14^{24}) was a vow of abstinence, imposed on others as well as himself, in order to secure victory by the help of J″. An extreme form of vow is exemplified in the ban or vow of extermination on Arad (Nu 21$^{1-3}$): 'Israel vowed a vow unto the LORD, and said, If thou wilt indeed deliver this people into my hand, then I will devote their cities.' Both cities and people were in this case destroyed (see CURSE).

In Deuteronomy we have little legislation on vows. It is insisted that what has been thus dedicated must be eaten at the central sanctuary (Dt 12$^{6.\ 11.\ 17.\ 18.\ 26}$). The hire of sacred prostitutes must not be brought into the sanctuary for any vow (Dt 23^{18}). There may have been a relaxation of sentiment as to the stringency of a vow, such as may be observed in the post-exilic period; for the legislator, while insisting that there is no religious obligation to make a vow, enjoins that, once made, the pledge must be honoured under pain of Divine displeasure.

In P we naturally have much fuller regulations. In Nu 30, which in its present form belongs to a late stratum, both vow and bond are declared to be binding when uttered by a man. But a woman who lives in her father's house or is married is in a different position. Her father or husband has a right of veto, provided that it is exercised at once. But otherwise silence gives consent, and the vow must be regarded as irrevocable. If at a later period her husband cancels it, he does so on peril of Divine punishment. A widow or a woman divorced from her husband, since she is not dependent on another, is bound by her vow. Vows and freewill-offerings must be without blemish (Lv 22$^{18.\ 19}$? H); but while a freewill-offering may be made from that which has something lacking or superfluous, this is forbidden in the case of a vow (v.^{23}). In this connexion it is interesting to notice that Malachi utters a curse on the deceiver who has a male in his flock and vows it and substitutes a blemished thing (1^{14}). The laws as to the discharge of vows are to be found in Lv 27, apparently a late section of P. Persons vowed to J″ could not be sacrificed as Jephthah's daughter had been; they must be redeemed. A fixed scale is laid down. Males between the ages of twenty and sixty were redeemed at 'fifty shekels of silver, after the shekel of the sanctuary' (see MONEY, vol. iii. p. 422), females at thirty shekels. From five to twenty years, males were redeemed at twenty and females at ten shekels; from a month to five years, males were redeemed at five and females at three shekels; while from sixty upwards the tariff was fixed at fifteen and ten shekels respectively. If, however, the person who made the vow was too poor to pay the redemption price, it was to be fixed according to his ability. In the case of animals no change could be made—the vow must stand as originally uttered. Not only was it forbidden to substitute a bad for a good, but also a good for a bad. If such change was made, both became holy to J″. If the animal was unclean, and therefore incapable of being used in sacrifice, it was sold at the priest's valuation, and the money given to the sanctuary. If the owner wished to redeem it, he might do so on payment of the valuation plus one-fifth. Firstlings, however, could not be vowed to J″, since, as such, they already belonged to Him. If devoted to J″ by the ban, they were too holy to be redeemed; and it is startling to read (Lv 27^{29}) that men so devoted must be put to death. The law for the dedication of a house is similar to that for the dedication of animals. It was sold at the priest's valuation, or redeemed by the addition of a fifth to that price. The law as to fields is more complex and obscure. If a man vows part of his hereditary possession, the valuation is to be fixed according to the quantity of seed required to sow it, at the rate of fifty shekels the homer. If the field is consecrated immediately after the year of jubilee, this estimate is to stand; but if some time after, then a reduction in price must be made proportionate to the time that has elapsed. The owner may redeem it by paying the priest's estimate plus one-fifth. If he does not redeem it, but sells it, the right of redemption is lost, and the field instead of returning to him at the jubilee becomes the property of the sanctuary. The law is far from clear. Apparently, when a field was dedicated, the owner commuted his obligation by a money payment according to a fixed scale of valuation. But this by itself does not constitute him absolute owner again: this he can become only by adding one-fifth to the valuation, as penalty for the privilege of redemption. If he pays the valuation without adding the fifth, and sells the field, he loses all claim on it, and it does not revert to him in the year of jubilee, as it would otherwise have done, but falls to the sanctuary. If the field dedicated is not a portion of the owner's hereditary possessions, then the money payment given in commutation is fixed by the time that has to elapse before the year of jubilee, and in that year it returns naturally to the hereditary owner. In this case the redemption penalty of an additional fifth is not required (see, further, SABBATICAL YEAR).

According to Nu $15^{3.8}$ (a late section of P), when an animal sacrifice was offered in fulfilment of a vow, a meal-offering had to be presented with it. Another late law (Lv $7^{16.17}$) prescribed that a peace-offering in discharge of a vow must be eaten on the day on which it was offered, and what was left on the second day. If any portion still remained to the third day, it had to be burnt. This law probably embodies the immemorial practice: a vow would, as a rule, involve a sacrificial meal, and the regulation that the flesh must not be eaten after the second day may even have been a relaxing of earlier usage. In Pr 7^{14} the woman who entices the simpleton to his ruin, has that day punctiliously performed her religious duties—she has paid her vows and come out to find a companion for the sacrificial feast.

The warning in Dt 23^{21-23}, that, while there is no sin in not vowing, when a vow has once been made it must be scrupulously fulfilled, finds an echo in the Wisdom literature. In Pr 20^{25} we apparently have a protest against hasty vows followed by repentance and attempts at evasion (the text and precise sense are alike uncertain; see Frankenberg and Toy, *ad loc.*). So also Koheleth advises his readers to make haste with the payment of their vows, and not trifle with God by delay, for He takes no pleasure in fools. Far better is it to refrain from vows than to make and fail to fulfil them. They must not be betrayed into a vow, which they will afterwards explain away to the priest's messenger as a mistake, lest God be angered with them and destroy the work of their hand (Ec 5^{4-6}, cf. Mal 1^{14}). But while on the one side the ancient sanctity of the vow was relaxed, the more spiritual, as we see from some of the Psalms, came to throw all the stress on the element of thanksgiving, and the material element sank into insignificance, as with other sacrifices (Ps 22^{25} 50^{14}).

Yet vows played a great part in later Judaism, and Jesus came into conflict with the religionists of His time on this question, singling out the law of *Corban* especially as an example of the nullifying of the Law by tradition (see CORBAN). St. Paul became a Jew to the Jews in this matter (Ac 18^{18}, if this refers to him and not to Aquila, and 21^{23-26}). On these cases, and also on the whole question of the Nazirite vow, nothing need be added to what has been said in the article NAZIRITE.

LITERATURE.—Nowack, *Heb. Archäol.* ii. 168, 169, 263–266; W. R. Smith, *RS*², 481–485; Wellhausen, *Reste Arab. Heid.*² 190, 198. For Rabbinical decisions the treatise *Nedarim*, and Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, ii. 17–21.

A. S. PEAKE.

VULGATE.—

i. Life of Jerome, and the circumstances under which his translation was made.
ii. History of the Vulgate after Jerome's death.
iii. Nature and method of Jerome's revision; textual criticism of the Vulgate.
iv. History of the name.
v. Main differences between the Latin and the English Bible.
vi. Manuscripts of the Vulgate.
Literature.

i. LIFE OF JEROME, AND CIRCUMSTANCES UNDER WHICH HIS TRANSLATION WAS MADE.—Jerome, or to give him his full name, Eusebius Hieronymus, was born at Stridon, on the borders of Dalmatia and Pannonia, probably about A.D. 340–342.[*] His parents were Christian, and sufficiently wealthy to give him a good education and to send him early to Rome, to study under the celebrated grammarian Donatus. From the first, Latin literature attracted him, and he especially studied Vergil, Terence, and Cicero; he also worked at rhetoric under Caius Marius Victorinus,[*] laid the foundation of a good knowledge of Greek, and collected a considerable library. Thence he moved to Gaul, where, staying at Trier, he began serious theological study, which he prosecuted further, on settling in Aquileia in 370. Four years later he travelled with several friends in the East, and at Antioch was attacked by a fever, during which a dream made a deep impression on him, and resulted in his abandoning all secular studies. He dreamt that he was summoned to the judgment-seat of Christ; on being asked who he was he replied 'a Christian,' but received the stern answer, 'Mentiris, Ciceronianus es non Christianus; ubi enim thesaurus tuus, ibi et cor tuum' (*Ep.* xxii. *ad Eustochium*, 30). Yet this classical training and fondness for the best Latin literary models proved one of the greatest possible advantages to Jerome for the work of his life, and through him to the whole Christian Church; he had been preparing himself unconsciously for making that translation of the Bible which was to be the *Editio Vulgata*, the authorized version for the whole of Western Christendom during more than a thousand years.

In search of a life of solitude and asceticism he moved the same summer (374) to the desert of Chalcis, east of Antioch, where he passed five years in strict self-discipline and diligent study, a Rabbi who had been converted to Christianity teaching him Hebrew. But this period also saw the beginning of the correspondence and warm friendship with pope Damasus, which afterwards led to the request that Jerome would undertake to put forward an authoritative Latin version of the Scriptures. The correspondence began (*Epp.* xv., xvi., written about 376–378) on doctrinal, but was a few years after renewed on biblical questions (*Epp.* xviii., xix., xx., xxi., xxxv., xxxvi., written during the years 381–384), Jerome giving Damasus the information he had desired on such questions as the meaning of the word *Hosanna*, the interpretation of Gn 4^{15}, the reason why Abraham received circumcision as a sign of faith, etc.

In 379 Jerome moved to Antioch, where he was ordained presbyter, and then to Constantinople, where he listened to the expositions of Gregory Nazianzen (*Epp.* l. 1, lii. 8), and probably continued the systematic study of Greek; and in 382 he returned to Rome. Here he spent nearly three years in close connexion with Damasus (*Ep.* cxxvii. 7), whose confidence and affection he thoroughly enjoyed. He refers with naïve self-satisfaction to his popularity in Rome at this time: 'Totius in me urbis studia consonabant. Omnium pæne judicio dignus summo sacerdotio decernebar. Beatæ memoriæ Damasus meus sermo erat. Dicebar sanctus; dicebar humilis et disertus' (*Ep.* xlv. 3, written on leaving Rome, Aug. 385).

The inconveniences from which the Western Church suffered owing to the absence of one authorized Latin version of the Bible, had long been felt. 'Tot exemplaria pæne quot codices' was Jerome's description of the state of things; and the confusion caused by a number of independent and anonymous translations of the NT was worse confounded by the carelessness of scribes and copyists.[†] Whether in private study or in public preaching, in controversy with heretics or in liturgical use, this 'Latinorum interpretum infinita varietas'[*] must have been almost intolerably confusing to the more cultivated members of the Church, though the common folk felt it not, and were angered at any change. Damasus therefore initiated a valuable and much-needed reform when he commissioned Jerome to undertake the preparation of a revised and authoritative Latin version of the NT. He could not have placed the work in better hands. Jerome's qualifications were unique: he was fully sensible of the urgency and importance of such a revision; he was a good Latin scholar, writing a style that was both pure and vigorous; he had been studying Greek carefully, and had already a fair knowledge of Hebrew;[†] in later years, when he was translating the OT from the original, he had attained a thorough knowledge of that language, while long residence and travel in the East had given him that first-hand acquaintance with the country and its customs which must be invaluable to any one undertaking a task of this nature. His abilities also as a scholar and writer were well known; and Damasus must have argued that a version proceeding from an authority so eminent, and backed by the influence and power of the Roman see, could not fail to obtain a wide acceptance.

---

[*] See the discussion on the question in Zöckler, *Hieronymus, sein Leben u. Wirken*, pp. 21–24.

[*] Victorinus was converted to Christianity in old age, and is known amongst Patristic writers as Victorinus Afer; Zöckler (p. 30) doubts whether Jerome studied under him.

[†] This is a point of which Jerome constantly complains; see *Ep.* lxxi. 5, *Comm. in Matt.* ii. 5, iii. 3, vi. 16, etc.; also in the books of the OT, *Præf. in libr. Chron. iuxta LXX.*

Jerome undertook the task proposed to him by Damasus, we may well believe somewhat gladly, though in the letter to the pope which forms his preface to the Gospels, he professed reluctance to face so great a task, with the odium and the opposition to which he would be exposed from those who were used to the older translations. His fears were well grounded. Even his very sparing emendations in the Gospels were attacked, and he was accused of tampering with our Lord's own words, and denying the inspiration of Scripture (*Ep.* xxvii. 1); though, in Africa, Augustine welcomed this part of Jerome's work.[‡] It was his translation of the OT, however, which brought on him the fiercer storm of indignation and opposition (see below, p. 876^{b}).

The exact date of the pope's commission to Jerome is not known; but the first instalment of the revised text, consisting of the four Gospels, appeared in 383; and this was apparently followed, either the same year, or shortly after, by the Acts and the rest of the NT. It has indeed been doubted whether Jerome ever did revise more than the Gospels; the Latin of the other books shows very few marks of having been emended by him, and there is a rather suspicious absence of the prefaces which usually accompany his emended translations of the books of the Bible;[§] while the preface he affixed to the Gospels promises 'quattuor tantum Evangelia,' and Augustine, in his well-known letter written in 403,[‖] speaks with favour of Jerome's translation of the *Gospel*, not of the *New Testament*. Against this, however, we must set the fact that Jerome more than once definitely asserts that he revised the whole New Testament,[¶] and even mentions passages in the Epistles where his own version differs from the Old Latin.[*] It seems hardly possible to doubt, therefore, that he did revise the whole of the New Testament, though no doubt the revision was much more hurried and perfunctory after the Gospels were off his hands;[†] such readings, however, in the Acts as 8^{2} *curaverunt* for *comportaverunt* of the OL, 11^{4} *ordinem* for *per ordinem*, 16^{25} *laudabant deum* for *hymnum dicebant* (*canebant*) *deo*, 16^{35} *dimittite* for *dimitte*, are obvious instances of Hieronymian correction, sometimes against all known Gr. MSS (see below, p. 882).

At the same time, apparently, Jerome made his first revision of the Old Latin Psalter; it was simply emended from the Greek of the LXX, and the translation was altered only where the sense absolutely demanded it.[‡] This revision was called the *Roman* Psalter, in opposition to the *Psalterium Vetus*, and was in use in the Churches in Rome and Italy till the pontificate of Pius V. (1566–1572), who introduced the *Gallican* Psalter (see below) generally, though the Roman was still retained in three Churches in Italy.[§] Towards the end of 384 pope Damasus died; and in the August of the following year (385) Jerome left Rome for Palestine. There he and his companions studied the topography, scenery, and cities of the Holy Land;[‖] and after a journey to Egypt returned thither again to settle at Bethlehem, where (389) the two conventual buildings were founded, over one of which—that for monks—Jerome was for so long to preside, while over the other—that for nuns—Paula, the devout widow who had been his companion in travel, ruled; and was succeeded, on her death, in 404, by her daughter Eustochium.

Meanwhile, Jerome's Biblical studies had not slackened. The *Roman* Psalter had been so rapidly multiplied and so carelessly copied, that its text was soon in as bad a state as the Old Latin;[¶] and in answer to the requests of Paula and Eustochium he undertook a second revision, correcting in addition the Greek text from the other Greek versions, and making use of Origen's critical signs: a passage between an *obelus* and two points was to be understood as present in the LXX but absent from the Hebrew; that between an *asterisk* and two points was lacking in the LXX, and had been supplied not directly from the Hebrew, but from the Greek version of Theodotion.[**] This version is known as the *Gallican* Psalter, as it early obtained wide popularity in Gaul, probably through the influence of Gregory of Tours,[††] and ultimately became the current version in the Latin Church; the exact date of its publication is not known, but it was probably about A.D. 387.

---

[*] Aug. *De doctr. christ.* ii. 11. The Jews, too, laughed at the variations in the Latin versions; see Jerome's *Comm. in Ezech.* c. xxxvii. (v. 432 in Vallarsi's edition, Venice, 1766–71).

[†] *Apol. adv. Ruf.* iii. 6 (Vall. ii. 537), 'Ego philosophus, rhetor, grammaticus, dialecticus, hebræus, græcus, latinus, trilinguis'; see van Ess, pp. 101, 108.

[‡] *Ep.* civ. 6 (*Augustini ad Hieron.*).

[§] *e.g. Præf. in libr. Job ex Græco*, 'Igitur et vos et unumquemque lectorem solita præfatione commoneo'; *Præf. in libr. Psalmorum iuxta LXX*, 'unde consueta præfatione commoneo,' etc.

[‖] *Ep.* civ. 6 (*Augustini ad Hieron.*), 'Proinde non parvas Deo gratias agimus de opere tuo, quo Evangelium ex Græco interpretatus es.'

[¶] *Ep.* lxxi. 5, 'Novum Testamentum Græcæ reddidi auctoritati,' cf. *De vir. illustr.* cxxxv.; *Ep.* cxii. 20 (*ad Augustinum*), 'Et si me ut dicis, in *Novi Testamenti* emendatione suscipis,' etc., which looks like a correction of Augustine's '*Evangelium ex* Græco interpretatus es.'

[*] *e.g. Ep.* xxvii., where he quotes from Ro $12^{11.12}$, 1 Ti 1^{15} 5^{19}.

[†] See especially on this point Vallarsi's preface to vol. x. of Jerome's works, pp. xix–xxi; and also Bp. J. Wordsworth in *Studia Biblica*, vol. i. p. 128.

[‡] *Præf. in libr. Psalmorum* (Vall. x. 106), 'Psalterium Romæ dudum positus emendaram, et juxta LXX interpretes, licet cursim, magna illud ex parte correxeram.'

[§] Hody, p. 383, 'in una Romæ *Vaticana* ecclesia, et extra urbem in *Mediolanensi* et in ecc. *S. Marci*, Venetiis'; it is still used in S. Peter's at Rome, and at Milan; and also partly retained in the Roman Missal, and in one place in the Breviary in the Invitatory psalm 95 (94); see Kaulen, p. 160.

[‖] The advantages of such study for the purposes of translation he insists on in the *Præf. in libr. Paralip. iuxta LXX.*

[¶] *Præf. in libr. Psalm.* (x. 106), 'Quod quia rursum videtis . . . scriptorum vitio depravatum, plusque antiquum errorem, quam novam emendationem valere.'

[**] *Id.*, 'Ubicumque viderit virgulam præcedentem (÷), ab ea usque ad duo puncta (:) quæ impressimus, sciat in LXX translatoribus plus haberi. Ubi autem stellæ (*) similitudinem perspexerit, de Hebræis voluminibus additum noverit, æque usque ad duo puncta, juxta Theodotionis dumtaxat editionem, qui simplicitate sermonis a LXX interpretibus non discordat.' The *virgula* of course = the *obelus*, and the *stella* = the *asterisk*.

[††] *i.e.* at the end of the 6th cent.; see Walafrid Strabus in Hody, p. 382.

Jerome was also perfecting himself in the knowledge of Hebrew, and was studying under a Jew, who, in fear of being persecuted by his countrymen, used to visit him at night, like a second Nicodemus (*Ep.* lxxxiv. 4). He also published new translations of other books of the OT from the LXX, but as to both the extent and date of this revision there is a considerable amount of uncertainty. Job was certainly revised soon after the Psalter, and in the same way, and published with a preface to Paula and Eustochium;* and these two books alone of all Jerome's revisions *iuxta LXX* have come down to us. We also know that he similarly revised Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, and Chronicles, for the prefaces to these books remain though the books themselves are lost.† Elsewhere he speaks generally of having revised 'the Septuagint' (*i.e.* the Latin translation of it), and 'the Canonical Books,' which certainly suggests that all the OT underwent this revision (*c. Ruf.* ii. 24, 'Egone contra LXX interpretes aliquid sum locutus, quos ante annos plurimos diligentissime emendatos meæ linguæ studiosis dedi?'; cf. iii. 25; *Ep.* lxxi. 5; *Ep.* cxii. 19, 'Quod autem in aliis quæris epistolis, cur prior mea in libris Canonicis interpretatio asteriscos habeat et virgulas prænotatas'). Two objections have been felt against this supposition. (1) The absence of prefaces to the other books, and of any reference to a previous translation in the prefaces which he affixed to those books when he translated them from the Hebrew; whereas rather pointed references occur in the case of Chronicles, Job, etc.‡ (2) The enormous amount of labour that such a work must have involved, when compressed into a very few years (for by 391 he was already engaged on the translation from the Hebrew),—years, too, that were deeply occupied with other business. The second objection need not detain us long. Jerome was an extraordinarily rapid worker: Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Songs were translated from the Hebrew in three days, as he was recovering from a severe illness (*Præf. in libr. Salomonis*); Tobit was translated in a single day (*Præf. in Tobiam*); one 'lucubratiuncula' sufficed for Judith (*Præf. in libr. Judith*); when writing his commentary on the Ephesians he would sometimes finish a thousand lines in a day.§ The first objection is similar to that felt against the revision of the later books of the New Testament (see above, p. 874); and though there is again something suspicious in the absence of his wonted prefaces, we can hardly press such negative arguments against positive assertions, which, if they mean anything at all, mean that he revised the whole of the OT from the LXX: thus in the *Præf. in libr. Salomonis iuxta LXX* he states that he did not correct the books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, 'tantummodo Canonicas scripturas vobis emendare desiderans'; which language certainly implies that he did correct all the other books. Their total disappearance is easily accounted for if the postscript to his *Ep.* cxxxiv. to Augustine‖ (written A.D. 416) be genuine; for there he complains that the greater part of this work had been stolen from him.

While engaged on this work, however, the bad state of the LXX text became more and more apparent to him, and he was convinced that for a satisfactory Latin version of the OT recourse must be had to the original Hebrew (*Præf. in libr. Paralip. ex Hebr.* vol. ix. 1405); the need of such a translation became additionally urgent in controversy with Jews, who, when confronted with texts from the LXX, would naturally refuse to acknowledge the accuracy of the quotation, and would assert that it did not represent the sense of the original,* while many of his friends, who felt the need of a new translation and knew that Jerome was the man best fitted for the task, urged him repeatedly to undertake it. It was indeed, as we learn from his prefaces, in answer to their requests, that he translated this or that book and sent them copies; and so the great work of his life was not prosecuted as a whole and according to a fixed plan, but bit by bit, and for the satisfaction of single and independent inquirers.

About 15 years—from 390 to 405†—were spent on the new translation. Jerome began his work with the books of Samuel and Kings, which he published with the famous *Prologus Galeatus* or 'preface with the helmet'—armed against opponents; this preface, however, is really an introduction to the whole OT, and shows that even thus early he must have conceived some idea of translating all the books. Next came Psalms, the Prophets, and Job; and in 394–396 the books of Esdras and Chronicles; then his work was interrupted by a long illness. In 398 he resumed his labours, and translated Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Songs; and the Octateuch (in which Esther was included) now alone remained of the Canonical books. First the Pentateuch was published, though the precise date is uncertain; then soon after the death of Paula, in 404, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, and Esther; later, the apocryphal parts of Daniel and Esther, and the books of Tobit and Judith, which were translated from the Chaldee: and so at length the work was completed. Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, and probably Maccabees were left unrevised, and Baruch he passed over.

Jerome's translation of the *Psalms* from the Hebrew never became popular, excellent though it is; the hold on the public mind of the more familiar version was too strong to be loosened, and it is the Gallican Psalter which appears in an ordinary Vulgate Bible. A convenient edition of the version from the Hebrew has been published by P. de Lagarde, *Psalterium juxta Hebræos Hieronymi*, Lipsiæ, 1874.

For the date at which *Job* and the *Prophets* were completed, see *Ep.* xlix. 4 *ad Pammachium*; this was written towards the end of 393; he writes, 'Libros sedecim Prophetarum, quos in Latinum de Hebræo sermone verti, si legeris et delectari te hoc opere comperero, provocabis nos etiam cætera clausa armario non tenere. Transtuli nuper Job in linguam nostram.'

The preface to the books of *Esdras* was probably written about 394, as in it he refers to the discussion of several points 'quæ latiori operi reservamus'; this larger work which he was about to publish is certainly the *Ep.* lvii. *ad Pammachium* (de optimo genere interpretandi), which appeared in the latter part of 395. The third and fourth books of Esdras he refused to edit: 'nec quemquam moveat quod unus a nobis editus liber est; nec apocryphorum tertii et quarti somniis delectetur; quia et apud Hebræos Ezrae Neemiæque sermones in unum volumen coarctantur; et quæ non habentur apud illos nec de viginti quattuor senibus sunt, procul abjicienda'; the 4th book is found only in the Latin version. In this same preface to Esdras, Jerome complains of his opponents for attacking his work while they secretly make use of his translation, and he begs his friends Domnio and Rogatianus not to let his translation be publicly known; they are to read it privately, or, at the most, only let a few friends see it. See vol. ix. 1524.

---

* See vol. x. 49-100 (the references are always to Vallarsi's ed. of Jerome's works); the passages added either from the LXX or from the Hebrew through Theodotion's version were marked in the same way as in the Psalms.

† *Præf. in libr. Salom. iuxta LXX* (x. 435 f.), 'Tres libros Salomonis, id est, Proverbia, Ecclesiasten, Canticum Canticorum, veteri LXX interpretum auctoritati reddidi'; see also *Præf. in libr. Paralip. iuxta LXX* (p. 431); the passages added from LXX or Heb. were also marked as in the Psalms.

‡ *Præf. in libr. Paral.* (ix. 1408), 'Ceterum memini editionem LXX translatorum olim de Græco emendatam tribuisse me nostris'; *in Job*, 'Utraque editio, et LXX apud Græcos, et mea juxta Hebræos, in Latinum meo labore translata est' (ix. 1101); *in libros Salomonis*, 'Si cui sane LXX interpretum magis editio placet, habet eam a nobis olim emendatam' (ix. 1296).

§ *Præf. ad libr. II. Comment. in Eph.* (vii. 586).

‖ 'Grandem Latini sermonis in ista provincia notariorum patimur penuriam; et idcirco præceptis tuis parere non possumus, maxime in editione LXX, quæ asteriscis verubusque distincta est. Pleraque enim prioris laboris fraude cujusdam amisimus'; but this postscript is omitted by one MS and by several editors; see Vall. i. 1043-44.

* *Præf. in Psalterium ex Hebr.* (ix. 1155 f.), 'Quia igitur nuper cum Hebræo disputans, quædam pro Domino Salvatore de Psalmis testimonia protulisti volensque ille te illudere, per sermones pene singulos asserebat, non ita haberi in Hebræo'; see also *Præff. in libr. Paralip.*, *in Isaiam*, etc.; yet when in Africa they were appealed to as to whether Jerome's *hedera* or the traditional *cucurbita* was the right translation in Jon 4^6, they defended the translation of the LXX and Old Latin, see *Ep.* civ. 5 (*Augustini ad Hieron.*); later, the Jews bore witness to the accuracy of Jerome's work, see Aug. *De Civ. Dei*, lib. xviii. c. 43; van Ess, p. 117.

† See Kaulen, p. 168 f.; Westcott, art. 'Vulgate' in Smith's *DB*, p. 1700 f.; the latter's dating of the appearance of the several books seems preferable to Kaulen's.

Chronicles was probably finished in 396, for in the preface he remarks, 'Scripsi *nuper* librum de optimo genere interpretandi.'

The *Præfatio in libros Salomonis* contains a reference to his illness: 'longa ægrotatione fractus, ne penitus hoc anno reticerem et apud vos mutus essem, tridui opus nomini vestro consecravi.' Cf. *Epp.* lxxi. 5, lxxiii. 10, both written in 398, in which he refers to the same illness apparently, and in almost the same terms—'longo tentus incommodo,' 'post longam ægrotationem.'

The *Octateuch* must have been in hand about the same time, for he refers to it in *Ep.* lxxi. 5, 'Canonem Hebraicæ veritatis, excepto Octateucho quem nunc in manibus habeo, pueris tuis et notariis dedi describendum.' *Genesis* at any rate was published before 402, as Jerome quotes the preface to it in his apology against Ruffinus (ii. 25), which cannot be later than that date. The other four books of the Pentateuch probably appeared later, as when Jerome wrote his preface to Genesis he had not finished them: 'nunc te precor, Desideri carissime, ut quia tantum opus (*i.e.* Pentateuchum) me subire fecisti, et a Genesi exordium capere, orationibus juves, quo possim eodem spiritu quo scripti sunt libri, in latinum eos transferre sermonem.'

Joshua, *Judges*, and *Ruth* are numbered with *Esther* as books he was just publishing, 'post sanctæ Paulæ dormitionem' in the *Præfatio in Josue*.

For *Tobit* and *Judith* see the prefaces to those books; Jerome was not himself acquainted with Chaldee, but he obtained the help of a scholar who translated the Chaldee into Hebrew, which Jerome in turn translated into Latin.

For his refusal to translate afresh *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus* see the *Præf. in libr. Sal. iuxta LXX*: 'Porro in eo libro qui a plerisque Sapientia Salomonis inscribitur, et in Ecclesiastico, quem esse Jesu filii Sirach nullus ignorat, calamo temperavi, tantummodo Canonicas Scripturas vobis emendare desiderans'; though this was written before he began the translation of the OT from the Hebrew, he does not seem to have changed his mind afterwards. With regard to the *Maccabees*, however, the evidence is conflicting. He nowhere mentions translating the books himself, and his language quoted above certainly suggests that he had no intention of doing so in 387; in the *Prologus Galeatus* (390-91) he passes them by with a short notice: 'Machabæorum primum librum Hebraicum reperi; secundus Græcus est quod ex ipsa quoque phrasi probari potest.' Yet, as M. Berger pointed out to the present writer, there are fairly numerous remains of an Old Latin version of the Macc. other than that which appears in the Vulgate Bible; and these differ so much that the latter must be regarded as a new recension if not an independent translation; see the parallel versions in Sabatier (*Bibl. Sacr. Lat. versiones*, vol. ii.). Sabatier himself (pp. 1013, 1014) allows that Jerome may have corrected the older version, though he hardly thinks he actually retranslated it.

For his treatment of *Baruch* see the *Præf. in Jerem.*: 'Librum Baruch . . . qui apud Hebræos nec legitur nec habetur prætermisimus.'

It may be worth while to arrange the books of the Bible in the chronological order of their revision and retranslation, as given us in the above investigation.

New Testament.

383 A.D.	The four Gospels.
384-385.	Rest of the New Testament.

First revision of Psalter.

383-384.	Psalterium Romanum.

Revision of Old Testament from the Septuagint.

387 (probably).	Psalterium Gallicanum.
387 or somewhat later.	Job, followed by Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Chronicles.
388-391.	Rest of the Canonical books (probably).

Retranslation of Old Testament from the Hebrew.

390 or 391.	Books of Samuel and Kings.
392-393.	Psalms, Prophets, Job.
394.	Esdras.
396.	Chronicles.
398.	Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs.
401?	Genesis, followed by Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy.
405.	Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Esther.
	Tobit, Judith, and apocryphal parts of Daniel and Esther.

We have said that it was at the wish of friends that most of the translations were undertaken;[*] yet Jerome's friends, who could realize present needs and foresee future advantages, were a small circle; the vast body of clergy and laity were satisfied with the existing versions; and the mutterings of suspicion which were aroused by the emended version of the NT were as nothing compared with the storm of indignation and opposition which the translation of the OT from the Hebrew brought on Jerome's head.[*] No doubt several causes had to do with this result; Jerome's own hot temper, and the terribly ready and powerful tongue he could use whenever duty seemed to urge him to speak, had gained him many enemies; the fame of his learning may have made other scholars jealous and critical; but the great stumbling-block was that he should have gone behind the Septuagint version, and made a translation which took no account of it, and even set itself up as an independent rival. The popular legends as to the miraculous agreement of the seventy translators had no doubt surrounded the Greek version with a halo of sanctity, and its frequent use by the NT writers in quotation would help to place it, as regards inspiration, on a level with the original Hebrew; and no charge seems to have been more constantly hurled at Jerome than that of presumption, unlawful innovation, sacrilege, in daring to put aside the LXX version. Even Augustine held the LXX to be equally inspired with the original Hebrew,[†] and deprecated any new translation, though mainly from fear of the offence it would cause to the weaker brethren.[‡] A story became current that a certain African bishop had adopted the new version for public use in his Church; in the book of Jonah, Jerome had employed the word *hedera* for the gourd under which the prophet rested, instead of the *cucurbita* of the earlier Latin versions; the introduction of this new translation in a familiar passage of Scripture caused such excitement and tumult in the Church that the bishop was nearly left without a flock.[§] This incident, whether real or fictitious, would serve as a very fair specimen of the hostility which a new translation of Scripture was sure to encounter; and it would take several generations for such opposition to die out; and certainly Jerome's method of meeting it, as exemplified in his letters to Augustine, was the reverse of conciliatory. In the prefaces to the various books of the OT Jerome defended himself with great warmth from the charges brought against him. Over and over again he maintained that he did not intend to cast a slur upon the LXX translation,[‖] and that he was only endeavouring to render the Hebrew as faithfully as possible, and to make passages clear which in the LXX and the Old Latin were obscure. The objection that the LXX must be inspired and perfect because the apostles and NT writers quoted the OT in that version, he met by bringing forward five quotations (Mt $2^{15.23}$, Jn 19^{37}, 1 Co 2^{9}, Jn 7^{38}), which could not have been taken from the LXX, as the reading varied in every case; they must then have been taken direct from the Hebrew, and he was justified in giving this source of our Lord's, or the apostle's, words to the Church in an intelligible translation (*Præf. in l. Paral.* ix. 1408). Indeed he maintained against Ruffinus that the apostles used the LXX in quotation only where it agreed with the Hebrew, and that where the two varied they quoted from the original.* But in spite of this he always professed the highest respect for the Septuagint version.

---

[*] *e.g.* the Pentateuch was translated at the wish of Desiderius; Chronicles for Chromatius, the books of Esdras for Domnio and Rogatianus, Esther for Paula and Eustochium.

[*] Jerome's former friend Ruffinus was one of his fiercest opponents.

[†] Aug. *De Civ. Dei*, xviii. 43: 'Spiritus enim qui in prophetis erat, quando illa dixerunt, idem ipse erat in LXX viris, quando illa interpretati sunt'; see also the passages in van Ess, p. 91 f.

[‡] *Ep.* lvi. (*Augustini ad Hieronymum*) written in 394; this letter, however, never reached Jerome; *Ep.* civ. from Augustine, written 403; and *Ep.* cxvi. 35, written 405: in the last letter Aug. explains that he had refused to allow Jerome's version to be publicly read in Church—'ne . . . magno scandalo perturbemus plebes Christi.'

[§] See *Ep.* civ. (*Augustini ad Hieron.*) and cxii. 22 (*Hieronymi ad Aug.*); Thierry, *Saint Jérôme*, livre xi. (4th ed. pp. 447, 448) suggests that the incident never really occurred, but was invented probably to throw ridicule on Jerome's work; yet both Jerome and Augustine speak of it as if it were a fact.

[‖] His apology in the *Prologus Galeatus*—'obsecro te lector ne laborem meum reprehensionem existimes antiquorum . . . Quamquam mihi omnino conscius non sim mutasse me quidpiam de hebraica veritate'—is repeated in different words in almost every preface.

Gradually the conflict calmed down; the general acceptance of the new version could only be a matter of time; it was a clear case of the fittest surviving. Augustine was ultimately seen to praise it; in the Gospels he apparently used it;† the Spanish Church adopted it for public use; Sophronius, the friend and fellow-monk of Jerome, retranslated the Psalms and Prophets from Jerome's version into Greek; and when Jerome was ending his stormy life at Bethlehem in 420, the attacks or criticisms of his opponents were no longer heard, or, if heard, no longer attended to.‡

ii. History of the Translation after Jerome's Death.—The reception of the new translation was, however, uneven; some Churches clung more than others to the old version, and sometimes Jerome's version would be adopted in one part of the Bible, while the Old Latin would be retained in another. Thus the proceedings recorded in the *Acta contra Felicem* of Augustine show that at Hippo in the year A.D. 404 the Gospels were quoted in Jerome's version, the Acts of the Apostles in the Old Latin.§

Africa and Britain, both separated by the sea from the main body of the Western Church, clung more steadfastly to the older version, though even here the adhesion was a modified one, and the later African texts, such as *m*, and *h* of the Acts and Epistles (see Latin Versions), show the influence of the Vulgate upon them. In Italy and in other parts of the Western Church generations would soon arise to whom the Old Latin could not be bound by especial ties of use or affection, while by converts the best translation would naturally be that which was most welcomed and most used. The clergy and educated Christians in Rome would be likely to prefer a revision which was begun at the instigation of a pope, and the Latin of which would be more congenial than the ruder dialect of the earlier versions. Augustine's recommendation of the *versio Itala* (by which, Burkitt maintains, he meant Jerome's revision; see *The Old Latin and the Itala*, pp. 54, 60 f., and art. Latin Versions)—'est verborum tenacior cum perspicuitate sententiæ'—was quoted, apparently as a well-known formula, of the Vulgate; Isidore of Seville (6th cent.) uses almost the exact words; and Walafrid Strabus (1st half of 9th) follows Isidore, and says, 'hac translatione nunc ubique utitur tota Romana ecclesia, licet non in omnibus libris, et ipsius translatio merito ceteris antefertur, quia est verborum tenacior, et perspicuitate sententiæ clarior' (see Hody, p. 413).

In the 5th cent. the Vulgate was adopted by Vincent of Lerins, Faustus of Riez, and Prosper of Aquitaine; Eucherius of Lyons and Avitus of Vienne used it largely though not exclusively.‖ In the 6th cent. its use seems becoming almost universal amongst scholars, except in Africa, where Facundus and Junilius still preserve many Old Latin readings; and towards the end of the century pope Gregory the Great (*Præf. in Job ad Leandrum* = Migne, *Pat. Lat.* lxxv. p. 516) could say, 'Novam vero translationem dissero, sed cum probationis causa exigit nunc novam nunc veterem per testimonia assumo; ut quia sedes apostolica, cui auctore Deo præsideo, utraque utitur, mei quoque labor studii ex utraque fulciatur'; compare *in Job*, l. xx. c. 32, where he declares his personal preference for the new translation. It does not, however, follow from this that this version now became the official version in Rome, but only that, in the judgment of the head of the Roman Church, it was raised to an equal rank with the old (see van Ess, p. 137).

Yet we should be mistaken if we measured the disappearance of the older versions simply by the quotations in ecclesiastical writers; the evidence of MSS of the Sacred Books, of Lectionaries, quotations and lessons in service books, etc., must also be taken into account; and these show us that these versions died very hard; sometimes in entire books of the Bible, sometimes in marginal notes, conflate readings, and 'mixed' texts, sometimes in short lections, in antiphons and responses, they lasted far on into the Middle Ages. Thus the St. Germain MS (see p. 888) of the 9th cent. has an Old Latin text in Tobit, Judith, and St. Matthew; in the other books of the Bible which survive it is Vulgate, though strongly mixed with Old Latin readings; the Codex Colbertinus (*c*) of the New Testament (12th or 13th cent., see p. 888) has the Gospels in an Old Latin text, the rest Vulgate; the interesting Perpignan MS (13th cent., see p. 888) has Ac 1^1–13^7 and 28^{15} *ad fin.* in an Old Latin text, the rest Vulgate with a very slight amount of mixture from the Old Latin; the North British and Irish MSS (such as those described p. 887) preserve a good Vulgate text interspersed with Old Latin interpolations and conflations, which with a little practice can be easily eliminated from the main body of the text. The NT suffered from this mixture far more than the OT; for, being a revision instead of a new translation, it resembled the earlier versions more closely; and it was more familiar to the members of the Church. 'L'Ancien Testament au contraire,' says M. Berger (p. 3), 'n'a réellement été révélé aux peuples latins que par Saint Jérôme': yet even the text of the OT would suffer from the very natural confusion that would come between his translation from the Hebrew and his earlier version from the LXX. In addition to this conscious preservation of the Old Latin in many Vulgate MSS, the text of Jerome's translation was exposed in after-years to the same dangers as existed in his own day, and which are inseparable from the transmission and multiplication of books by hand. The carelessness of copyists, their tendency to introduce matter from parallel passages, unconscious reminiscence of older renderings, occasional alteration for dogmatic purposes,—all these in the course of centuries tended to produce a style of text very far removed from the original purity in which it left its editor's hands.

On this point the writer ventures to quote from the preface (p. viii) of the late M. Berger's *Histoire de la Vulgate*, etc., a book to which he cannot sufficiently express his obligations—'Les doctrines les plus chères aux théologiens du moyen âge exercent toutes leur influence sur le texte de la Bible. Ici c'est le dogme de la Trinité, que l'on veut trouver formulé en toutes lettres dans la Bible, et que l'on affirme par la fameuse interpolation du passage "des trois témoins." C'est la foi en la divinité de Jésus-Christ qui s'exprime en un grand nombre de falsifications de détail, toujours au détriment de son humanité. C'est, dans le troisième chapitre de la Genèse, un changement d'une seule lettre qui met "la Femme" à la place de "la Postérité de la femme." Dans le second livre des Machabées, une série de modifications successives transforment insensiblement le passage classique de la doctrine de la prière pour les morts; louée simplement dans le texte original, la prière pour les morts arrive, dans les textes de basse époque, à être prêchée

---

* *Contra Ruf.* lib. ii. (Vall. ii. 529); cf. *Ep.* lvii. 11.

† *e.g.* in the *De consensu Evangelist.*; see Burkitt, *The Old Latin and the Itala*, p. 57 f.

‡ Kaulen, p. 188.

§ See Burkitt, *The Old Latin and the Itala*, p. 57 f.

‖ See Westcott, p. 1702; Kaulen, p. 197 f.; Berger, pp. 2–4; in the 6th cent. in Gaul most of the books of the OT are quoted from Jerome, while for the NT the Old Latin holds its own.

Cassiodorius, indeed, is a witness that even by the middle of the 6th cent. the text of Jerome's version had become corrupted, and that he did his best to revise it; but as to the extent both of the corruption and of the revision we are in the dark. He speaks at some length on the subject in the *De institutione Divinarum litterarum* (Migne, *Pat. Lat.* lxx. p. 1105 f.), which he composed for the instruction of his younger brethren in the monastery at Vivarium, apparently about the year A.D. 544; he expresses himself anxious that they should study their Bibles *in codicibus emendatis*, tells them that his nine codices, containing all the books of the Old and New Testaments, were revised by him 'sub collatione priscorum codicum,' that Jerome's arrangement of the Prophets into cola and commata had been adopted by him for the rest of the Bible, and that he left them a Greek pandect, or whole Bible, by which, according to Jerome's example, they might correct the errors in their Latin translation. But he gives us no list of current errors or of his own corrections; and all trace of his carefully corrected codices has disappeared. With, however, perhaps one exception: the magnificent Codex Amiatinus of the Bible, though it is of the 8th cent., resembles Cassiodorius' Bible not only in being divided into cola and commata throughout, but also in possessing a quaternion of introductory matter (*possibly* of earlier date than the rest of the MS) which strongly resembles chs. xii.-xiv. of the *De institutione*; three lists of the books of Holy Scripture occur in each, and the resemblance is of that puzzling nature which stops well short of direct copying and yet suggests very close affinity; all the closer because Cassiodorius tells us that his third division of the books was written 'inter alias (divisiones) in codice grandiore.' It may be, therefore, that in the first eight leaves of the Codex Amiatinus we actually possess part of Cassiodorius' *codex grandior*; though it is more likely that we possess a not very faithful copy of it.*

Large numbers of Italian texts must have been brought to Britain in and after the mission of Augustine, if not earlier; and in the late 7th and 8th cents. the monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow were, we know, enriched with copies of the Bible (*Pandectes* or *Bibliothecæ* as they were called) and other MSS obtained from Italy by the exertions of Benedict Biscop and Ceolfrid; from them such MSS as the Codex Amiatinus and the Lindisfarne Gospels were copied. The type of text thus obtained would soon penetrate to Ireland, though as it was perpetuated in the local scriptoria it would gradually become tinged with some of the peculiarities of the traditional Old Latin versions.

But the Bible the Irish thus received from Rome their missionaries carried back in the following centuries to continental Europe, to Gaul, Switzerland, and Germany. The Codex Amiatinus was itself sent to Rome by Ceolfrid as an offering to the shrine of St. Peter. Irish and British monks again settled in foreign monasteries and copied the Scriptures there (cf. Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 8); and thus the text which had been first modified by British characteristics, was further modified by the texts of the countries into which it was now brought. We owe to this cause the large number of MSS, mainly of the 9th cent., which were copied in Gaul and Switzerland by Irish scribes, and present a strange mixture of Irish and Continental types, both in text and handwriting.

Meanwhile in Spain a different family of MSS was growing up. Separated off from the rest of Europe, Spain, like Ireland, clung to old traditions and habits; and the Old Latin text preserved in the quotations in Priscillian * lives on in the Spanish Vulgate Bibles. But the Spanish scribes were fonder of interpolations, and of enriching their MSS with marginal notes, and even legendary additions, than the Irish; with the consequence, that while the Irish scribes preserved on the whole a pure type of text—yet mainly in the Gospels, for they rarely copied whole Bibles—the Spanish perpetuated one which was corrupt, and of slight critical value. And as from the north and west the Irish texts moved into France with the missionaries, so from the south the Spanish texts gradually crept in over the Pyrenees, and thus France became the meeting ground of the two opposed types.

The close of the 8th cent. witnessed two recensions of the Vulgate, which, so far as we can see, were founded on these British and Spanish MSS respectively; and, as may be expected, France was the country in which these recensions were made.

Charles the Great took a keen interest in the sacred text and its purity; he was anxious to obtain a uniform standard Bible for Church use, in simple and intelligible Latin, without solecisms.† He accordingly, in the year 797, commissioned our own countryman Alcuin, who was then abbot of St. Martin at Tours, to prepare an emended edition of the Scriptures. Alcuin was familiar with Northumbrian MSS from his youth; he himself was of Northumbrian parentage, and had been educated at York, and it was to that city that he sent for MSS to help him in the performance of his task.‡ As this task was simply to correct the Biblical text by the aid of the best Latin MSS available, without regard to the Greek, we may regard it as fortunate indeed that Alcuin's birth and education should have made him naturally consult just the libraries where the purest texts were preserved. By Christmas A.D. 801 the task was completed, and Alcuin was enabled to present Charles with a copy of the emended Bible. Of existing Vulgate MSS, the famous Codex Vallicellianus is supposed to most nearly represent Alcuin's text (see p. 889).

Simultaneously with this, Theodulf, bishop of Orleans (787–821), was undertaking a revision, though on different lines. Theodulf was a Visigoth, and was born near Narbonne, and the Spanish traditions would therefore be familiar and dear to him; yet he did not simply collect and register Spanish readings. He apparently knew and studied the MSS current in Languedoc and the south of France;§ and, collecting together all the texts he knew of, he worked with a considerable amount of prudence, marking the passages he considered suspicious, and honestly endeavouring to arrive at a pure text. Yet his work was uneven; and his habit of inscribing in the margin of his Bible the variant readings he had collected, had the unfortunate result of introducing into

---

en termes exprès. Dans le quatrième livre d'Esdras, un passage qui paraît contraire à la prière pour les trépassés est, sans plus, arraché de la Bible avec la page qui le porte, et cet exemplaire mutilé est, par une singulière rencontre, presque le seul qui ait jamais été copié.' For the passage in the Maccabees see the note to p. 23 of M. Berger's book; for the fourth book of Esdras see R. L. Bensly, *The Missing Fragment of the 4th Book of Ezra*, Camb. 1875, or Speaker's Commentary, *Apocrypha*, *in loc.*; or M. R. James, *The 4th Book of Ezra*, Camb. 1895.

[*] See P. Corssen, 'Die Bibeln des Cassiodorius und der Codex Amiatinus,' in the *Jahrbücher f. prot. Theologie*, Leipz. 1883; and H. J. White, 'The Codex Amiatinus and its Birthplace,' in *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica*, vol. ii. p. 287 f.

[*] Ed. Schepps, *Corpus Script. eccl. Lat.* xviii., Vienna, 1889; see also Berger, p. 8.

[†] See the Capitularies in Pertz, *Mon. Germ.*, tom. iii. *Leges*, tom i. pp. 44, 65.

[‡] See *Ep.* lxxviii. in Jaffé, *Bibliotheca rer. Germ.*, tom. vi. (*i.e. Monum. Alcuiniana*) p. 346; also *Ep.* lxxii. p. 331; cf. Scrivener-Miller, *Introduction* (4th ed.), ii. p. 59.

[§] Berger, pp. xiv and 145 f., to whom the present writer owes the greater part of this section.

France a whole congeries of corrupt readings from Spain. The best specimen of his revision is the exquisite Bible at Paris numbered Lat. 9380 in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Theodulf's work had a different fate from Alcuin's; it was the private enterprise of a scholar, not a public work undertaken for public utility at the instance of a monarch; and so its influence on the history of the text was (fortunately) slight, whereas Alcuin's was great.

The very favour and reputation which the Alcuinian recension enjoyed, proved indeed the cause of its speedy degeneracy. The demand for Bibles containing it became so large that the resources of the great writing school at Tours must have been severely strained; and the rapidity with which the MSS were copied and multiplied proved fatal to purity of text. They were transscribed hastily and from various exemplars, good and bad; and the large imposing volumes of 'Caroline' Bibles, specimens of which are to be found in almost all our principal libraries, vary indefinitely, from a nearly pure Alcuinian text to one almost worthless.

Very soon therefore after Alcuin's time complaints of the corruption of the text meet us again, the old cry is re-echoed, 'tot exemplaria pæne quot codices.' Yet effort after effort was made to arrest the decay. Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, 1069–89, is related by his biographer[*] to have worked at correcting all the books of the OT and NT, and also the writings of the Fathers, 'ad orthodoxam fidem'; and to have encouraged this study among his pupils: none of his corrected MSS, however, are known to survive. We are more fortunate in possessing the results of the labour of other critics. Stephen Harding, third abbot of Citeaux (about the middle of the 12th cent.), made a similar revision; and his corrected Bible, in four volumes, is still preserved in the public library at Dijon (MS No. 9 *bis*). He purged the text of a large number of interpolations, partly by collating good Latin and Greek MSS, partly with the aid of some Jewish scholars, whom he consulted as to the suspected passages in the OT; it was in the books of Samuel and Kings that the 'major pars erroris inveniebatur.'[†] His example was very soon followed by the Cardinal Nicolaus Maniacoria, whose criticisms are preserved in a MS at Venice.[‡]

With the latter part of the 12th and the 13th cents., however, we are introduced to a new and more organized system of correction. The number of Bibles belonging to these centuries, especially the 13th, testifies to the very large scale on which they must have been copied.[§]

Almost every library possesses some of these small manuscript Bibles, written in double columns on thin vellum, generally with wonderful regularity and beauty. Paris, according to Roger Bacon (Hody, p. 420 f.), was the city where the greatest business in the copying and selling of these Bibles was carried on, the theologians and booksellers combining to produce a regular and fixed type of text, which he calls the *Exemplar Parisiense*; the demand was large in consequence of the fame of the Paris University in the 13th cent., and the numbers of students who flocked to it. The *Exemplar Parisiense*, however, being hastily and unscientifically prepared, furnished a degenerate type of text, and Bacon complains bitterly of it.[*] Efforts were now made to emend it by societies of scholars, who united their labours and researches in the *Correctoria Bibliorum*, as they were called. Here the authority of Latin and Greek MSS was registered in cases of doubtful reading, the testimony of Fathers was quoted, even variants of punctuation were taken account of, and short critical notes were added stating which reading was to be preferred.

The principal *correctoria* are (1) The *Correctorium Parisiense*, prepared probably about A.D. 1236 by the Paris Theologians:[†] this was in the course of the next twenty years adopted and enlarged by the Dominicans residing at Sens, and possibly authorized by the bishop of that diocese; and it is sometimes called the *Correctorium Senonense* in consequence (possibly to be found in the Paris MS, B.N. 17). Roger Bacon had a poor opinion of the Paris correctors and their work; whether Franciscans or Dominicans, he speaks of them with contempt; the carelessness of the scribes at Paris was bad enough, but the ignorant correctors made things worse; 'quilibet lector in ordine minorum corrigit ut vult, et similiter apud prædicatores, et eodem modo scolares (*or* seculares?), et quilibet mutat quod non intelligit.'

(2) The *Correctorium Sorbonicum*, so called because it is preserved in a Sorbonne MS,[‡] varies little from the text of the *Senonense*, and is a sort of collection of more important readings from the earlier *correctoria*.

(3) The *Correctorium of the Dominicans*, prepared under the auspices of Hugo of St. Caro, about 1240, the final corrected form of which is now preserved in the Bibl. Nat. at Paris (*Lat.* 16,719–16,722): this, like the emendation of Stephen Harding, was an endeavour not so much to recover Jerome's actual text, as to obtain a good working text of the Bible, by the use of Greek or Hebrew MSS.[§] The Dominicans thought as little of the *Correctorium Parisiense* as did Roger Bacon, and they discouraged the members of their order from using it.[‖]

(4) The *Correctorium Vaticanum*, a good MS of which is preserved in the Vatican Library (Lat. 3466): this *correctorium* was the work of the Franciscans, and its author has been very reasonably identified by Vercellone with a 'Sapientissimus homo,' praised by Bacon, who he says had spent nearly forty years in the correction and exposition of the text; Denifle concludes that he was Willermus de Mara.[¶] This is the best of the *correctoria*, and has been cited by Bp. J. Wordsworth in his edition of the Vulgate New Testament as *cor. uat.*; the author is not only a good Greek and Hebrew scholar, but has seriously set himself to restore the Hieronymian text.

These remedies were all that could be applied to the Vulgate text before the invention of printing; and, by an unfortunate chance, it was the worst of these *correctoria*, the *Parisiense*, that was made use of by Robertus Stephanus.

With the literary revival of the 15th cent., a natural desire was felt for a more satisfactory text of the Bible, as well as for a multiplication of copies of the sacred book; the great humanist pope, Nicholas V., gave a commission to the scholar Manetti, to translate the NT into Latin; the same pope offered a reward of 5000 crowns for a copy of St. Matthew's Gospel in its original Hebrew.[**] Naturally, some of the first and principal productions of the printing-press were Latin Bibles. But the Bibles that were taken into the printer's workshops, and from which the early editions were printed, would be the small and handy mediæval MSS described above, like the MSS from which Henricus Stephanus printed the Greek NT, and which are still preserved in the library at Basel; there would be a larger supply of such texts, they would be easier to print from, and if they were spoilt the loss was slight, while few people would have cared to entrust one of the great Alcuinian Bibles, or still earlier pandects like the *Codex Amiatinus*, to the rough usage of the printing-office. Thus the early printed editions of the Vulgate did little more than perpetuate the current and corrupt form of text; though the copies printed by Froben at Basel seem to have been made with care, and to have enjoyed a European reputation for accuracy;[*] the present writer has found his Bible of 1502, with the *glossa ordinaria*, preserve a number of good readings, against almost all other early editions.

---

[*] Milo Crispinus, a monk of Bec; see Migne, *Pat. Lat.* cl. pp. 55 and 101 f.

[†] See Hody, p. 418; van Ess, p. 162 f.; Kaulen, p. 245: and, for this section, a valuable article by Denifle, 'Die Hdss. d. Bibelcorrectorien des 13 Jahrh.,' in the *Archiv f. Literar. u. Kirchengesch. des M.A.* iv., Freiburg, 1888.

[‡] Marciana, Lat. class. x. cod. 178, fol. 141; see Denifle, p. 270.

[§] See Kenyon, *The Bible and the Ancient MSS*, London, 1896, p. 186.

[*] See Martin, 'La Vulgate Latine au 13^{me} siècle, d'après R. Bacon' in the *Museon* (Louvain), vol. vii. p. 88 f.

[†] See Hody, p. 418; R. Simon, *Histoire critique des versions du NT*, ch. ix.; S. Berger, *Quam notitiam linguæ Hebraicæ habuerint Christiani medii ævi temporibus in Gallia*, Paris, 1893, p. 26 f.

[‡] Now numbered 15,554 (fol. 147 ff.) in the Bibl. Nat. at Paris.

[§] See Denifle, p. 295; Martene, *Thesaurus nov. anecd.*, tom. iv. 1675.

[‖] Berger, *Quam notitiam*, etc. p. 27.

[¶] Hody, p. 429 f.; Berger, *Quam notitiam*, etc. pp. 32–35.

[**] Paul Fabre, *La Bibliothèque Vaticane*, pp. 39, 41 (Paris, 1895).

Space forbids our enumerating the early editions of the Vulgate or examining their history; the student who wishes to do this, may be referred to the sections on the subject in van Ess, Kaulen, Westcott, to Mr. Copinger's work, to E. Nestle's 'Lateinische Bibelübersetzungen' in *PRE*³, to Le Long, *Bibliotheca Sacra* (ed. Masch, 1778–90), vol. ii., to Vercellone, *Var. Lect.* i. pp. xcvi–civ, ii. pp. xxi–xxvi; and, last, not least, to the British Museum 'Catalogue of printed books; Bible, part i.'

The following editions at any rate should be borne in mind:—

1. The 'Mazarin' Bible, so called because the copy which first attracted the notice of Bibliographers was found in the library of Cardinal Mazarin; otherwise known as the '42 line' Bible; issued at Mentz between 1452 and 1456, in two vols.; the printing is ascribed to Gutenberg, or to Peter Schoeffer, or to Johann Fust. Its rarity and beauty combine to make it one of the most valuable books in the world.
2. The first Bible published at *Rome* is dated 1471, and was printed by Sweynheym and Pannartz, 2 vols. fol.; reproduced by Andr. Frisner and Sensenschmit at Nuremberg, 1475.
3. The important Venice edition by Fr. de Hailbrun and Nic. de Frankfordia, 1475, fol.; the text is based largely on the Mazarin Bible, while in turn many of the later editions are copied from this.
4. The famous Complutensian Polyglot in six vols. fol., 1514 and following years; undertaken by Cardinal Ximenes, and printed at his expense.[†] A definite revision of the Vulgate text was undertaken in this edition, partly with the aid of ancient MSS, still more from the Greek; but with only moderate success.
5. The Vulgate Bible of Robertus Stephanus, Paris, 1528, the first genuine attempt at a critical edition: three good MSS were collated for it. This was followed by a larger edition on the same lines, for which seventeen MSS were collated, four of which can be still identified; printed 1538–40, reprinted 1546. *This edition is practically the foundation of the official Roman Vulgate*; it is cited as ϛ in Wordsworth's edition.
6. Parallel attempts at producing a critical text by the aid of MSS and earlier printed Bibles were being made by the Catholic Theologians at Louvain; and John Hentenius in his fine folio edition (Louvain, 1547, and often reprinted) used about thirty-one MSS and two printed copies; it is impossible to identify them now. This edition is cited as 𝕳 by Wordsworth.
7. The small and rare octavo edition of Robertus Stepbanus, dated 1555, should be noticed, as it is the first *Latin* Bible with the modern verse divisions.

The Sixtine and Clementine editions are noticed below.

The output of printed Bibles was very large; during the first half century of printing some 124 editions were published; Vercellone enumerates 179 editions again between the years 1471 and 1599; and, in addition to these, numerous scholars, both Rom. Cath. and Protestant, undertook independent translations of the Bible into Latin, as well as revisions of the Vulgate text. Remembering this, we may be able to realize what a bewildering amount of differing versions were now current, all or any of which might appear to the ordinary reader as the *Editio Vulgata*. Such new translations were made on the Rom. Cath. side by Erasmus, Johannes Rudelius, Aug. Steuchus of Gubbio, Isidore Clarius, Sanctes Pagninus, Cardinal Caietan, and Joh. Benedictus; on the Protestant side by Andr. Osiander, Conr. Pellicanus, Sebastian Münster, Leo Judas (the Zürich version), and Seb. Castellio.[‡]

All these editions, however, even on the Catholic side, were the undertakings of private individuals; and neither Church nor pope had given to any one the full sanction of their authority. Yet the Council of Trent, in its fourth sitting (8th April 1546), had already taken care to pronounce on the Canon of Scripture, and to enumerate a list of the books it held as canonical (see below, p. 885). Then, in the 'Decretum de editione et usu sacrorum librorum,' pleading the advantage that would accrue to the Church if, out of the many current Latin editions, one should be held as 'authentica,' it proceeded to declare and resolve, 'ut hæc ipsa vetus et vulgata editio quæ longo tot sæculorum usu in ipsa ecclesia probata est, in publicis lectionibus, etc., pro *authentica* habeatur, et ut nemo illam rejicere quovis prætextu audeat vel præsumat.' It also ordered that 'hæc ipsa vetus et vulgata editio quam emendatissime imprimatur.' Two questions naturally suggest themselves as to this decree: what is the real meaning of 'authentica'? and what was the exact type of text, the 'vetus et vulgata editio,' which was thus designated?

The word 'authentica' seems to have been used and understood not only in the sense of *official*,[*] but also in the sense of *accurate*—at any rate to the extent that there were no mistakes in it which might lead to false doctrine in faith or morals; it was in this sense that scholars like Andreas Vega and Bellarmine understood the word.[†] No verbal inspiration or infallible accuracy was claimed for it. Scholars might read their Bibles in the original tongues if they wished; but for ordinary use it was advisable to have one standard edition ('authenticam hac mente ut cujus fas sit eam legere sine periculo') instead of a number of independent and unauthorized translations.

In regard to the second question, it is difficult to believe that the Fathers of the Council had in their minds any one particular printed or manuscript copy as the edition 'longo tot sæculorum usu in ecclesia probata';[‡] probably they were speaking quite generally, and meant by this expression the Hieronymian text, which they believed to have been fairly transmitted through the Middle Ages, and to have been recognized by the Church and used in her services—as against the bewildering amount of new translations and arbitrarily corrected texts.

Though the Council thus ordered the preparation of an official Vulgate, no immediate action was taken by the Church. John Hentenius, however, a professor at Louvain, undertook the preparation of an edition: this is the edition mentioned above (preced. col., No. 6), and often reprinted. The various Hentenian editions remained for some years as the standard text of the Roman Church, but were still private publications.

Yet the task of preparing an official text occupied the minds of several popes, and under Pius IV. and Pius V. efforts were made at Rome to collect some of the oldest and most valuable MSS obtainable, and a commission was appointed to carry on the work. It was not, however, continuously pursued till the pontificate of Sixtus V. (1585–1590), who pushed forward the revision of the text with great zeal. He summoned afresh the committee of cardinals and scholars under the presidency of Cardinal Caraffa, entrusted them with the task, but worked himself with unwearied diligence at examining the readings and correcting the proofs.[§] Old MSS and printed editions were consulted, and, where the authorities were divided, those readings were favoured which agreed with the original Greek or Hebrew. The result was the handsome *Sixtine Edition* of the Vulgate, which appeared in 1590, printed at the Vatican press, and bearing the following title—on the first page: *Biblia* | *Sacra* | *Vulgatæ* | *Editionis* | *tribus tomis* | *distincta* | *Romæ* | *ex Typographia Apostolica Vaticana,* | M·D·XC | ; on the second page: *Biblia* | *Sacra* | *Vulgatæ editionis* | *ad* | *concilii Tridentini* |

---

[*] See W. A. Copinger, *Incunabula Biblica*, London, 1892.

[†] See Kaulen, p. 314; Scrivener-Miller, *Introduction*, ii. pp. 176–181.

[‡] See Kaulen, pp. 318–378; the Zürich version of the Psalms was used in the daily College Service at Christ Church, Oxford, as long as that service was said in Latin.

[*] So Paul Fabre, *La Bibl. Vaticane*, p. 56; see also Kaulen, pp. 401, 402.

[†] See the art. on the Vulgate in Wetzer and Welte's *Kirchenlexicon*; van Ess, pp. 197 f., 245 n. 1, 408, 421; the same author's *Pragmatica doct. Cath. Trid. circa Vulg. decreti sensum*, Sulzbach, 1816, pp. 7, 24; Kaulen, p. 405 f.

[‡] See van Ess, p. 254 f.

[§] His assistant, Angelo Rocca, was so overworked that he grew ill and nearly died; see E. Nestle, *Ein Jubiläum d. latein. Bibel*, Tübingen, 1892, p. 14.

præscriptum emendata | *et* | *a Sixto* ·V·P·M· | *recognita et approbata.*[*]

This edition, though nominally *tribus tomis distincta*, is really in one volume, and the paging is continuous throughout; it is cited by Wordsworth as 𝔖. In text it resembles the Stephens edition of 1540 more than the Hentenian Bibles; but a new system of verse-enumeration was introduced. The inconvenience, however, of a system which differed from one which was almost universal in current Latin Bibles no doubt led to this being dropped in the Clementine edition.

The Sixtine edition was prefaced by the famous Bull beginning with the words: 'Aeternus ille.' This Bull recounted the care with which the pope, and the scholars and divines assisting him, had worked at the preparation of the book—'ita tamen ut Veterem multis in Ecclesia abhinc seculis receptam lectionem omnino retinuerimus'; it was decreed, therefore, that this edition was to be considered as the actual Vulgate, prescribed and pronounced authentic by the Council of Trent, and was to be used in all the Churches of the Christian world, 'pro vera, legitima, authentica, et indubitata, in omnibus publicis privatisque disputationibus, lectionibus, prædicationibus, et explanationibus' (here the Bull goes beyond the decree of Trent, which only asserted that the Vulgate was to be considered authentic 'in publicis lectionibus, disputationibus, prædicationibus et expositionibus'). No future edition was to be published without the express permission of the Apostolic See; nor was any one to print a private or independent edition himself; nor was the Sixtine edition, for the next ten years, to be reprinted in any other place than the Vatican; after that time editions might be printed elsewhere, but must always be carefully collated with the Sixtine edition, 'ne minima quidem particula mutata, addita, vel detracta,' and must be accompanied with the official attestation of the inquisitor of the province, or bishop of the diocese, that this was the case; no variant readings, scholia, or glosses were to be printed in the margin. Persons disobeying these orders, whether editors, printers, or booksellers, were, besides the loss of all the books and other temporal punishments, to suffer the penalty of the 'greater excommunication,' from which they could not be relieved, 'nisi in articulo mortis,' save by the pope himself.[†]

The Sixtine edition, however, met the fate of most revised versions,—unpopularity amongst the clergy and laity who were used to unrevised texts, —and an order in the Bull that the missals, breviaries, etc., were to be corrected from the Sixtine text, was especially distasteful. Sixtus, too, had offended the Jesuits by placing one of Bellarmine's books[‡] on the *Index Librorum prohibitorum*; and Bellarmine, in a letter to Clement VIII., spoke very strongly in condemnation of the Sixtine edition.[§] The brief popularity, therefore, that attended it is easily intelligible. Sixtus died in August 1590. A number of short-lived popes succeeded him; and in January 1592 Clement VIII. ascended the throne. In the same year all copies of the Sixtine edition were called in, and another official edition of the Vulgate was published from the Vatican press, which has ever since been known as the *Clementine* edition (Wordsworth's ℭ). This edition was accompanied by a preface, written by Bellarmine,[*] which asserted that while the former edition was being printed Sixtus V. had himself noticed many inaccuracies in the printing, and had consequently resolved to recall it and bring out a new edition: he had been prevented by death, but his design was now at length carried out by his successor, Clement VIII.

Yet this attempt to shift the blame from the editors to the printers cannot be justified. The number of misprints in the Sixtine edition is extraordinarily small for a book of such size, and many of them were corrected, either with the pen or by pasting a small slip of paper with the right reading over the misprint, before the book was published.[†] The real reasons for the recall of the edition must have been partly personal hostility to Sixtus, and partly a conviction that the book was not quite a worthy representative of the Vulgate text. The Clementine text, indeed, differs from it in some 3000 places, and is a return to the type of text found in the Hentenian Bibles. In the critical notes to the Oxford Vulgate the reader will constantly see ϛ 𝔖 witnessing for one reading, while ℌ ℭ witness for another; and on the whole we willingly admit that the Clementine text is critically an improvement upon the Sixtine.

The difficulty of escaping the penalties, so freely denounced by Sixtus on any who should change the least particle in his text, was surmounted by the bold device of printing his name instead of Clement's on the title-page, and so presenting the edition to the world as a *Sixtine* edition.[‡] The title is—on the first page: *Biblia* | *Sacra* | *Vulgatæ* | *Editionis* | *Romæ* | *Ex Typographia Apostolica Vaticana* | M.D.XCII | ; on the second: *Biblia Sacra* | *Vulgatæ Editionis* | *Sixti Quinti* | *Pont. Max.* | *jussu* | *recognita atque edita* | ; the engraved border in the second page is the same as in the Sixtine edition.[§]

A Bull attached to the Clementine edition forbade any copy of the Vulgate to be printed in future without being first collated with the Vatican copy, 'cujus exemplaris forma, ne minima quidem particula de textu mutata, addita, vel ab eo detracta, nisi aliquod occurrat, quod Typographicæ incuriæ manifeste adscribendum sit, inviolabiliter observetur'; nor were even variant readings to be printed in the margin.

A longer life has been granted to the Clementine Vulgate than was the fate of the Sixtine, and to the present day the edition of 1592 remains the standard edition of the Roman Church.[*] The stern prohibitions of the Papal Bull have succeeded in providing members of the Roman Church throughout the whole world with a fixed and unalterable text of the Sacred Scriptures, but at the cost of suppressing any attempts at a systematic revision in the light of fuller critical knowledge; and by a strange paradox the attempts that have been made in later years to emend the Vulgate text have come mainly from students outside the communion of the Roman Church. Vallarsi, indeed, in 1734, printed an emended text with such MS help as he was able to obtain, not, however, as the Bible, but as the *Divina Bibliotheca* in his edition of the works of St. Jerome. To Bentley's proposed critical edition of the New Testament[†] the Latin Vulgate was to be a most important help; it being his firm conviction that the earliest MSS of the Vulgate would be found to agree so closely with the earliest Greek MSS that it would be possible 'to give an edition of the Greek Testament exactly as it was in the best exemplars at the time of the Council of Nice, so that there shall not be twenty words, nor even particles difference.' Bentley himself collated a number of English Vulgate MSS for this purpose; his friend John Walker collated still more at Paris in 1719 and the following years, and obtained collations of several Oxford MSS from David Casley. The projected edition, however, came to nought, partly perhaps in consequence of Bentley's advancing years, partly because a more extended and thorough collation of Vulgate MSS did not show that exact agreement with the earliest Greek which he had expected. Bentley died in 1742, and John Walker in November 1741; their collations, however, were preserved, and have proved of considerable value to the Bishop of Salisbury (Dr. J. Wordsworth) in his critical edition. The German scholar, Dr. P. Corssen, of Berlin, has been for some time engaged in research with a view to a critical edition of the Vulgate NT, though hitherto only the Epistle to the Galatians has been published.[‡] The Bishop of Salisbury in conjunction with the present writer is also engaged on the same task, and has published the four Gospels with prolegomena; the work is still in progress.

---

[*] So the British Museum and Bodleian copies. See van Ess, pp. 265, 266 n., also Nestle, p. 20; but the Göttingen copy of the Bible, according to van Ess (whose statement Prof. Nestle confirms), has: *Biblia* | *Sacra* | *Vulgatæ* | *editionis* | *Tribus Tomis* | *distincta* | *Romæ* | *Ex Typographia Apostolica Vaticana* | MDXC | , on the second page; while the first page has: *Biblia* | *Sacra* | *vulgatæ editionis* | *Sixti quinti* | *Pont. Max.* | *Jussu recognita atque edita.* There may then have been more than one edition of the Sixtine Bible; it looks, however, as if the first title had been lost, and then filled up by the binder from the Clementine edition.

A reduced facsimile of the Sixtine title-page is given by P. Fabre, *La Bibl. Vaticane*, p. 59.

[†] This Bull is printed at length in Thos. James, *Bellum Papale*, London, 1600, and in van Ess, p. 269 f.; the most important parts of it are given in Kaulen, pp. 449-457.

[‡] *De dominio Papæ directo*, in which Bellarmine maintained not the direct, but only the indirect, dominion of the pope over the whole world; see *The Pope and the Council*, by 'Janus,' 1869, p. 63.

[§] 'Novit beatitudo vestra, cui se totamque ecclesiam discrimini commiserit Sixtus V., dum juxta propriæ doctrinæ sensus, sacrorum bibliorum emendationem aggressus est; nec satis scio, an gravius unquam periculum occurrerit'; see van Ess, p. 290.

[*] Reprinted in James, *Bellum Papale*, and in van Ess, p. 355 f.

[†] The number of words thus pasted over is not above forty in the whole Bible; see James, *Bellum Papale*, and van Ess, pp. 331–333. The present writer has discovered only two uncorrected misprints in the Four Gospels; and, indeed, the Sixtine edition was much more carefully printed than the Clementine.

[‡] The regular form of title in a modern Vulgate Bible—'Biblia Sacra Vulgatæ Editionis Sixti V. Pont. Max. jussu recognita et Clementis VIII. auctoritate edita'—cannot be traced at present earlier than 1604; up to that time Sixtus seems to have appeared alone upon the title-page; later, Clement occasionally figures by himself.

[§] James (*Bellum Papale*) not unnaturally makes capital out of the differences between the two papal editions; cf. Sixtus Amama, *Anti-Barbarus Biblicus*, lib. i. c. lxx., Amstelod., 1628. Lists of the variations can be found in James, Amama, Bukentop, *Lux de Luce*, p. 319 f., and Vercellone.

iii. THE NATURE AND METHOD OF JEROME'S REVISION.—The work before Jerome in his edition of the two Testaments varied so widely that we must treat them apart; and, as the NT was published first, it may be advisable to consider it before the OT.

In his letter to Damasus, Jerome describes plainly enough the nature of his revision of the four Gospels. He revised the existing Latin versions by the aid of the oldest Greek MSS he could have access to, making alterations only where the sense of the passage required it.[§]

Such a revision was no new thing in the history of the Latin versions. We may put aside the question whether what is called the *European* family of the Old Latin texts be an independent version from the *African* family, or an early revision of it [see LATIN VERSIONS]. But there can be no doubt that the *Italian* family, represented in the Gospels by the Codices Brixianus (f) and Monacensis (q), though principally by the former, is a revision of the *European* family, partly in accordance with a different and somewhat later type of Greek MSS, partly in order to give the Latinity a smoother and more even appearance (Westcott and Hort, *Introduction*, p. 79). There can be equally little doubt that Jerome knew of, and valued, this revision, and made it the base of his own: a short examination of a few pages of the Vulgate with the main Old Latin MSS will convince any reader that Jerome's text is in Latinity much closer to the Codex Brixianus than to any other Old Latin MS; Mr. Burkitt, indeed, maintains that f is really a Vulgate MS with Old Latin elements that have come in through the Gothic (see *JThSt*, i. 129; and Kaufmann in *Ztschr. f. deutsche Philologie*, xxxii. 305–335).

If, however, we compare the Greek text underlying the Vulgate with that represented by f q, we shall see that for the Gospels at any rate it is a return to the older type of MS, especially ℵ and B; the tables of readings which, as the present writer believes, demonstrate this, may be studied in the *Epilogus* to the Oxford edition of the Vulgate;[*] but if the student will examine the *apparatus criticus* of Tischendorf's Greek Testament the same fact will be disclosed to him; time after time[†] the Vulgate follows the older Latin and older Greek MSS, while f and q agree with the later. Jerome, indeed, twice in his commentaries quotes with respect the readings of the Greek MSS belonging to Origen;[‡] but the readings in one case agree with and in the other case differ from ℵB, so that we cannot conclude much as to the nature of their text. Other points have been noticed by scholars, connecting Jerome with the Sinaitic and Vatican texts; in the OT, Mr. Burkitt[§] says that Jerome 'in his translations from the LXX in the prophets is generally very faithful to the Vatican text'; and in the Acts the Codex Amiatinus has 70 capitula with corresponding section-numerals in the text, an enumeration which is marked in the margins of both ℵ and B, but is otherwise, according to Hort, unknown in Greek MSS and literature;[||] so that there is a cumulative argument of considerable weight on behalf of Jerome's having made use of manuscripts of this type.

At the same time it is clear that he must have consulted MSS of a type different from anything we now possess. There are instances in the Gospels, few but clear, where he has apparently corrected the reading against all known Greek authorities, as well as against the Old Latin;[¶] and in some of his commentaries he expressly mentions and discusses readings which are otherwise unknown to us. The most striking instances of these latter are, (1) the clause at the end of St. Mark's Gospel (16^{14}) quoted in the *contra Pelag.* ii.

---

[*] Naturally enough, the various modern editions do not all represent the Clementine text with absolute or with equal accuracy; the student who wishes to possess an accurate text is advised to obtain the very careful edition published by Vercellone at Rome in 1861, and to note what the editor says in his preface as to the few occasions on which he has deviated from the Clementine edition of 1592: for the NT the edition of Hetzenauer (Oeniponte 1899) is convenient and, so far as we have tested it, accurate.

[†] His letter to Abp. Wake is dated April 1716, the proposals for printing were issued in 1720; see A. A. Ellis, *Bentleii critica sacra* (Cambr. 1862), p. xii f.

[‡] Corssen, *Epistula ad Galatas*, Berlin, Weidmann, 1885.

[§] *Ep. ad Damasum*, 'Hæc præsens præfatiuncula pollicetur quattuor tantum Evangelia . . . codicum Græcorum emendata conlatione, sed veterum. Quæ ne multum a lectionis Latinæ consuetudine discreparent, ita calamo temperavimus, ut his tantum quæ sensum videbantur mutare correctis, reliqua manere pateremur ut fuerant.'

[*] *Novum testamentum . . . secundum editionem S. Hieronymi . . . recensuit J. Wordsworth, in operis societatem adsumto H. J. White*, Oxonii, 1889, p. 660 f.

[†] *e.g.* in one chapter of St. Matthew, $6^{1.4.6.13.15.25}$.

[‡] In Mt 24^{36} 'in Græcis et maxime Adamantii et Pierii exemplaribus'; in Gal 3^{1} 'in exemplaribus Adamantii' (=Origenis).

[§] *Rules of Tyconius*, Cambr. 1894, p. cviii.

[||] Westcott and Hort, *Introduction*, p. 266; Robinson, *Euthaliana*, p. 42 f., Cambr. 1895; Berger, *Hist. de la Vulgate*, etc. p. 357.

[¶] *e.g.* Mt 27^{55} omission of *videntes* or *aspicientes* = θεωροῦσαι (ὁρῶσαι 300); ff_1 g_1 l, who join in the omission, are mixed texts with a large Vulgate element in them; cf. Mk 6^{27} omission of *abiens* (ἀπελθών) with l; 10^{43} om. *in vobis* with l; Lk 9^{44} *in cordibus vestris* against the Gr. εἰς τὰ ὦτα ὑμῶν and the Old Lat.; 22^{55} *erat petrus* against the Gr. ἐκάθητο ὁ π. and the Old Lat. *sedebat*; Jn 7^{25} *ex hierosolymis* with c ff_2 against the Gr. ἐκ τῶν ἱεροσολυμειτῶν and the Old Lat.; 8^{37} *filii* against the Gr. σπέρμα and the Old Lat. *semen*; 21^{16} *agnos meos* against the Gr. τὰ πρόβατά μου and the Old. Lat. *oves meas*.

15, as occurring 'in quibusdam exemplaribus et maxime in græcis codicibus';[*] (2) the discussion on Jn 10^{16} in the Commentary on Ezk 46, where Jerome says, '*et fiet unum atrium et unus pastor*: hoc enim græce *αὐλή* significat, quod latina simplicitas in *ovile* transtulit'; all existing Greek MSS read not *αὐλή* but *ποίμνη* here, and the Old Latin have *unus* (or *una*) *grex*. The careful student will detect other cases; but enough has been given, we believe, to make it clear that Jerome's Greek MSS were partly of the type so highly esteemed by Hort, partly of a type which has since disappeared.

The other books of the NT may be more summarily considered. In the Acts of the Apostles, the oldest MSS, such as Amiatinus and (less frequently) Fuldensis, agree in text with ℵB and AC;[†] in the Epistles, the revision was much more hasty, and very possibly was made with but slight, though with some, regard to the Greek;[‡] such is also the opinion of Dr. C. R. Gregory,[§] who says of the work outside the Gospels, 'Ceteri vero Novi Testamenti libri annis ut videtur proximis vel etiam proximo anno recensiti non tam diligenter emendati sunt; recensio horum textus nova vix præbet novas lectiones e Græco ductas sed solas elocutiones politiores atque cultiores Latinas.'

The textual criticism of the Vulgate NT is one of the most complicated problems facing modern scholars. The reader will, however, have gained from the section above on the history of Jerome's translation after his own death, a fair amount of information as to the relative value of different groups of MSS. The vast majority of 13th and 14th cent. MSS may be put aside as comparatively worthless, and it would be easy enough for any student to compile—say from the Oxford edition of the Gospels—a list of readings the presence of which in a late MS would be quite sufficient evidence that it was only reproducing the current and valueless mediæval type of text. He will also have learnt the interest of the MSS containing the Theodulfian recension, the very varied types of text presented by the Alcuinian Bibles, and the mixture of French and Irish elements in the 8th and 9th cent. MSS, written in France by Irish or Northumbrian scribes. It is not very hard, therefore, to arrange our MSS in *groups*, as has been done in the lists at the end of this article; but to go further and apply to them a genealogical as well as a geographical classification is what the present writer at any rate has not yet found himself able to do. The grounds on which in the Gospels the early Northumbrian MSS such as AΔSY, the 6th cent. Fuldensis (F), and Ambrosianus (M), and the first hand of the Hubertianus (H*), have been preferred to other MSS, have been set forth at some length in the *Epilogus* to the Oxford edition of the Gospels (pp. 708–732). F and M are two of the earliest existing Vulgate MSS; and the whole group seems to offer strong internal evidence of preserving a pure type of text. The MSS forming it show less trace than others of mixture from Old Latin sources; they agree more closely with the Greek text of ℵBL, and we have seen it to be probable that Jerome partly modelled his revision on MSS of this type; they are free from the numerous small additions, amplifications, conflations, etc. which are commonly found in later MSS, and may fairly be regarded as the marks of a degenerate text even when they are found in an early MS, such as the Harley Gospels (Z). Yet *all* the MSS of the Vulgate NT are so spoiled by mixture, that it is impossible to select one MS or group and follow its readings throughout. There are cases both in the Gospels and in the Acts where one group must be clearly followed in one verse and as clearly rejected in the next, there are others where an obvious clerical error, or a conflate reading, has been perpetuated in every known Vulgate MS; no MS or group seems to preserve a consistent type of text. Still there is here an excellent opportunity for the student; and it may be possible in time to do for the MSS of the Vulgate something analogous to what Westcott and Hort have done for the MSS of the Greek text.

Jerome's work on the OT stands on different ground from his work on the NT; here it was not an emended translation in the light of better MS authority, but a completely new version made direct from the Hebrew, where the text was, as he thought, in a fairly even and satisfactory condition, compared with the confusion shown by the LXX. Jerome does not seem to have imagined the possibility of variation to any serious extent in the Hebrew MSS, though he tried to procure the best that were attainable (*Ep.* xxxvi. 1, *ad Damasum; Præf. in Paralip. iuxta LXX*). He talks in general terms of the 'Hebrew,' the 'Hebraica veritas,' etc.; nor does the text used by him seem to differ largely from the Massoretic text which has been handed down to the present day.[*] Yet it is not quite identical;[†] and as it is practically certain that the copies he used did not possess the vowel points, it is but natural that his interpretation of the consonants should occasionally differ from that adopted by the Massoretes.

Jerome's version, again, was not the first that had been made direct from the Hebrew; he could consult not only the LXX, but also the independent translations of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion; and indeed in the Bk. of Daniel the version of Theodotion was that generally used in the Church.[‡]

His method of translating the OT he describes to us in the preface to his *Comment. in Ecclesiasten*: though he is only referring to that book in his preface, there is no doubt that he is describing his general practice. He worked with the Hebrew text, translating it directly, according to the best of his power and knowledge, with such help as he could obtain from the Jewish Rabbis and their traditional methods of interpretation; he tried to be conservative, and to keep to the lines marked out by the LXX ('de Hebræo transferens magis me LXX interpretum consuetudini coaptavi, in his dumtaxat quæ non multum ab Hebraicis discrepabant'); he did not disdain to incorporate parts of the Old Lat. versions,[*] and he also made use of the translations of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, so as to observe the mean between excessive novelty and slavish adherence to ancient errors;[†] and his aim in translating was to represent the sense of the original rather than strain after literal exactness (*Ep.* lvii. *ad Pammachium*; cvi. *ad Suniam et Fretelam*). Such, at least, was his general practice: 'non verbum e verbo, sed sensum exprimere de sensu.' He professes to be more careful in the Holy Scriptures 'ubi et verborum ordo mysterium est,' and where 'in verbis singulis multiplices latent intelligentiæ' (*Ep.* liii. *ad Paulinum*); yet he shows with such obvious satisfaction that the apostles and evangelists in their interpretation of the OT sought after 'sensum . . . non verba, nec magnopere de ordine sermonibusque curasse dum intellectui res pateret,' that we may well imagine that in his own translation, even of the Bible, he would be much less literal than he thought he was.[‡] An examination of his translation, such as has been made by Kaulen (p. 169 f.) and Nowack, verifies this expectation. It is the work of a good, though by no means immaculate or scientific Hebrew scholar, aiming at the sense rather than at the words of the original. Occasionally in translating he shows traces of the influence of Rabbinical tradition;[§] occasionally, on the other hand, he inserts a Messianic meaning in the translation where the original does not bear it;[‖] and he is fond of *interpreting* Hebrew proper names, thereby reversing the practice of the LXX translators, who frequently solve the difficulty of a hard Hebrew word by simply transliterating it in Greek characters; a few amplifications are found where the verse seems to need them;[¶] in other cases the pleonastic Hebrew is compressed in the Latin.[**]

---

[*] It runs: 'Postea quum accubuissent undecim apparuit eis iesus et exprobravit incredulitatem et duritiam cordis eorum quia his qui viderant eum resurgentem non crediderunt. Et illi satisfaciebant dicentes sæculum istud iniquitatis et incredulitatis substantia (*Cod. Vat.* sub satana) est quæ non sinit per immundos spiritus veram dei apprehendi virtutem. Idcirco jam nunc revela justitiam tuam'; cf. Resch, *Agrapha*, p. 456 (*TU* v. 4).

[†] See especially Blass, *Acta Apostolorum*, Göttingen, 1895, p. 25.

[‡] For the Romans see Sanday-Headlam (*International Critical Commentary*), p. lxvi

[§] In the third volume (Prolegomena) to Tischendorf's *Novum Test. Græce*, ed. 8, Leipz. 1894, p. 971.

[*] Kaulen, p. 166; Westcott, p. 1714; the latter says of Jerome's work that it is 'a remarkable monument of the substantial identity of the Hebrew text of the 4th cent. with the present Masoretic text'; and with regard to the Bks. of Samuel, Wellhausen speaks even more strongly in the same direction, *Der Text d. Bücher Samuelis*, Göttingen, 1872, p. 3, Anm. 2.

[†] Nowack, *Die Bedeutung des Hier. für die alttest. Kritik*, Göttingen, 1875, asserts that the identity is not complete, and that in many cases Jerome follows the Greek translators, or Chaldee, or Syriac, whilst in some variant readings he stands quite alone; similarly H. P. Smith, 'The Value of the Vulgate Old Test. for Textual Criticism,' in the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, April 1891, notes that in a number of cases Jerome's text varies from that of the Massoretes, and even where it simply shows agreement with the Greek it is not always dependent upon it; again, 'it has in a number of cases readings agreeing with the Syriac where the derivation of one from the other is unlikely; it shows besides a number of variants in which it stands alone.'

[‡] *Præf. in Dan.*: 'Danielem prophetam juxta LXX interpretes Domini Salvatoris ecclesiæ non legunt, utentes Theodotionis editione; et cur hoc acciderit nescio.'

The translation, too, varies in the different books; some were translated with the utmost care, some were finished in extraordinarily short time. In the *Prologus Galeatus* Jerome speaks of the diligence he had bestowed on the Bks. of Samuel and Kings,[††] and Kaulen ranks his translation of the historical books as his best work,[‡‡] and after them Job and the prophetic books. Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Songs are carefully rendered, notwithstanding the short time that was directly spent on them; but Judith and Tobit, which were translated in great haste, show more dependence on the Old Latin version. In spite of this occasional unevenness, then, we may confidently assert that the general standard of the translation is a very high one; and we may gladly echo the words of the 'translators to the reader' in our own AV, that Jerome performed his task 'with that evidence of great learning, judgment, industry, and faithfulness, that he hath for ever bound the Church unto him in a debt of special remembrance and thankfulness.'

It must be remembered that the Latinity of the Vulgate is thus partly that of the Old Latin; and, even where Jerome was translating anew, he probably modelled his style, perhaps unconsciously, on that of the older versions. The Latin of those versions was the Latin of ordinary popular conversation, the old 'lingua rustica' with all its archaic characteristics, spoken not simply by the lower classes, but generally, even in Rome and amongst the higher classes; different, of course, from the classical Latin of literature, but at the same time not simply confined to Africa in its popular use, as some writers seem to imagine. Nor, again, do we get this Latin in its natural form; anxiety to reproduce the original as accurately as possible has led to the introduction and preservation of numerous Græcisms and Hebraisms in the translation; and we hardly ought to deplore this when we reflect how this literalism has revealed to the Western world the matchless beauty and power of Hebrew. The Latin of the Vulgate is therefore at once artificial and archaic, and yet forcible, clear, and majestic.[*]

The textual criticism of the Vulgate OT is, alas! still in its infancy. Heyse and Tischendorf published in 1873 a collation of the Codex Amiatinus throughout the OT;[†] and Vercellone has furnished valuable material for the Pentateuch and historical books in the mass of variant readings collected and arranged in his two volumes of 'Variæ lectiones.'[‡] H. P. Smith[§] has devoted some attention to examining and classifying the MSS whose readings are there quoted, with the result of awarding a higher place to the Codex Amiatinus in the OT than even in the NT: he maintains that for a recovery of Jerome's original it is of the first importance, and that any critical edition would have to be constructed on the basis of the Amiatine MS and other MSS belonging to the same group; P. Thielmann has collected a useful amount of material for Wisdom, Sirach, etc. (see Literature, p. 890), and is preparing a critical edition of those books.

iv. HISTORY OF THE NAME.[‖]—For us, as to the Fathers at the Council of Trent, the term *vulgata* —properly *vulgata bibliorum editio, vulgata bibliorum interpretatio, biblia vulgata*—has one meaning, and one meaning only; it means the common authorized Latin version of the Holy Scriptures, translated or edited by Jerome. Yet the expression is older than Jerome's time, and he himself frequently employs it of an edition already in use. It is used primarily in early Latin writers not of a Latin version at all, but of the *Greek* version of the Septuagint,[¶] and so is equivalent to the term κοινὴ ἔκδοσις, by which that translation was known;[**] as, however, the LXX was already familiar to Western Europe in the various Old Latin translations which had been made from it, the term *editio vulgata* would naturally be applied to these; though, as Westcott says, there does not seem to be any instance in the age of Jerome of the application of the term to the Latin version without regard to its derivation from the Greek.[*]

---

[*] G. Hoberg, *De S. Hieronymi ratione interpretandi*, Bonn, 1886, p. 36.

[†] See Nowack's essay, quoted above, and Driver, *Notes on the Heb. Text of the Bks. of Sam.* (Oxford, 1890), p. liv f., who notices that Jerome was especially prone to be guided by Symmachus, and that, where the Vulgate exhibits a rendering which deviates alike from the Hebrew text and from the LXX, the clue to its origin will generally be found in one or other of the Greek translations, especially in that of Symmachus. In the Preface to the *Comment. in Ecclesiasten*, Jerome frankly says, 'interdum Aquilæ quoque et Symmachi et Theodotionis recordatus sum.'

[‡] See the passages collected in Hoberg, p. 4.

[§] *e.g.* Gn 38^{5}, Jos 14^{15}, Neh 9^{7} (Kaulen, p. 173).

[‖] *e.g.* Is 11^{10} 16^{1}, Hab 3^{18} (Kaulen, p. 174).

[¶] Gn $31^{32.47}$ 40^{22}, Lv 16^{3}, Jos 3^{16}, Jg 8^{11} (p. 177); see Hoberg, p. 21.

[**] Gn 35^{13} 39^{19} 40^{5} 41^{23}, Ex $40^{9.23}$; see also Nowack, pp. 18–21; Hoberg, p. 19.

[††] 'Lege ergo primum Samuel et Malachim meum; meum, inquam, meum. Quidquid enim crebrius vertendo et emendando sollicitius et didicimus et tenemus nostrum est.'

[‡‡] Kaulen, p. 179; Hagen (*Sprachliche Erörterungen zur Vulg.* p. 8) praises also the Pentateuch highly.

[*] See Hagen, *Spr. Erörterungen zur Vulg.* p. 5; Kaulen, pp. 137, also his *Handbuch zur Vulg.* p. 5.

[†] *Biblia Sacra Latina vet. Testamenti Hieronymo interprete* . . . ed. Heyse et Tischendorf. Lipsiæ, 1873.

[‡] *Variæ lectiones vulgatæ lat. Bibl. editionis*, tom. ii., Romæ, 1860–1864.

[§] 'The Value of the Vulg. Old Test. for Textual Criticism,' in *Pres. and Ref. Rev.*, April 1891, p. 224 f.

[‖] All that can be said on this question seems to be collected in van Ess, p. 24 f.; Kaulen, p. 17 f.; and Westcott, p. 1689.

[¶] See the passages in van Ess, Kaulen, and Westcott; especially Jerome, *Comm. in Isa.* lxv. 20, 'Hoc juxta LXX interpretes diximus, quorum editio toto orbe vulgata est'; and, in any Vulgate Bible, the notes after Est 10^{3} 11^{1} 12^{6} 14^{19}; also Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, l. xvi. c. 10, 'Fiunt anni a diluvio usque ad Abraham MLXXII. secundum vulgatam editionem hoc est interpretum Septuaginta.'

[**] See the quotations from Origen and Basil in van Ess, p. 25.

From being applied to the *current* version of the LXX, *vulgata editio* would be opposed to the emended text of Origen's *Hexapla*,[†] and so the term acquires the meaning of a corrupt as opposed to an emended text; and in this sense Jerome uses the term interchangeably with *vetus, antiqua editio*,[‡] the very term with which it is now so sharply contrasted.

When Jerome is referring to Latin versions of the Scriptures, he rather uses the terms *in latino, latinus interpres, apud latinos*; and, when speaking of his own, *nos, nostra interpretatio.* As his translation gradually superseded the earlier versions made from the LXX, it was inevitable that the expression which had been applied to them would ultimately pass over to him; but the process was a slow one. The instances given in van Ess, and more fully in Hody,[§] show that even down to the Middle Ages *vulgata editio* was at any rate occasionally used to designate the LXX; while the usual terms by which Jerome's translation was known were *translatio emendatior* [*recens, nova, posterior, Hebraica*], *translatio quam tenet* [*quam recipit*], *Romana Ecclesia*, etc., and most of all, from Bede's time onward, *editio nostra, codices nostri.* Roger Bacon[‖] seems to be the first scholar who uses the term *Vulgata* in its modern sense, though he also applies it frequently to the Septuagint.

v. MAIN DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE LATIN AND THE ENGLISH BIBLE.—It may be asked, in what way does the Vulgate Bible differ from our own Authorized Version? Putting aside variations of rendering and reading, the differences are in the number of books or portions of books received into the Canon, the order of books, and the numbering and division of the chapters. These differences are entirely in the OT; in the NT the order of books is the same (though the Council of Trent[¶] in its list of books places the Ep. of James *after* those of John), and the 'Ep. to the Laodiceans,'[**] though found in many Vulgate MSS, is absent from the best, and from the official printed text. Many MSS indeed vary in the order of the books, and the Cath. Epp. often immediately succeed the Acts; but this order has not been adopted in the Clementine text.

The books in the OT are: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numeri, Deuteronomium, Josuae, Judicum, Ruth, Quatuor Regum, Duo Paralipomenon (*i.e.* Chronicles), Esdræ primus et secundus, qui dicitur Nehemias, *Tobias, Judith,* Esther, Job, Psalterium Davidicum centum quinquaginta Psalmorum, Parabolæ, Ecclesiastes, Canticum Canticorum, *Sapientia, Ecclesiasticus,* Isaias, Jeremias *cum Baruch* (Lamentations is included under Jeremiah in the Tridentine list, though printed separately as 'Threni' in the Bible), Ezechiel, Daniel; duodecim Prophetæ minores, *id est*: Osea, Joel, Amos, Abdias (*i.e.* Obadiah), Jonas, Michæas, Nahum, Habacuc, Sophonias (*i.e.* Zephaniah), Aggæus (*i.e.* Haggai), Zacharias, Malachias; *Duo Machabæorum, primus et secundus.* The order of books, it will be seen, is the same as in an English Bible, except that the books which we count apocryphal (and which are printed in the above list in italics) are with us placed at the end; the sequence of books, however, is the same in our 'Apocrypha,' save that we insert the two additional books of Esdras and the Prayer of Manasses, which are not mentioned in the Trent list, but form in the Clementine Vulgate an appendix to the Bible, headed by the note 'Oratio Manassæ, necnon libri duo, qui sub libri tertii et quarti Esdræ nomine circumferuntur hoc in loco, extra scilicet seriem canonicorum librorum, quos sancta Tridentina synodus suscepit, et pro canonicis suscipiendos decrevit, sepositi sunt, ne prorsus interirent, quippe qui a nonnullis sanctis Patribus, et in aliquibus Bibliis latinis tam manuscriptis quam impressis reperiuntur.' See also art. APOCRYPHA in vol. i. esp. p. 115 f.

With regard to differences of *amount* contained under the title of this or that book, or the *arrangement* of matter in it, the following should be noticed. In most of the books of the OT the only difference found is an occasional variation in the versing, the last verse in a chapter being split up into two, and so on; these are too unimportant to notice. It should be remembered that in its numeration of the Commandments the Vulgate Bible includes our second commandment in the first, and divides up the tenth into two, thereby preserving the full number of ten; this division is also employed by the Lutherans: see DECALOGUE.

The Bk. of Esther in the Vulgate contains the additional chapters, which with us are printed separately in the Apocrypha after Judith. The later chapters of Job are arranged differently from the Authorized Version, though the amount contained is the same: ch. 39 contains 35 verses against 30 of AV, and consequently finishes at 40^5 of AV, and 40^1 = our 40^6; and as this contains 28 verses against our 24, the chapter finishes at 41^9 of AV, and 41^1 = our 41^{10}; but as 41 in the Vulgate has only 25 verses against our 34, the difference ends there, and 42 begins in the Vulgate in the same place as in the AV.

The variation in the Psalms is perhaps the most puzzling. The Vulgate follows the Hebrew in counting the title, where there is one, as the first verse of the Psalms, so that the versing is in these Psalms one verse ahead of AV. Pss. 9 and 10 form one Psalm in Vulgate, so that AV is one Psalm in front of the Vulgate for nearly all the rest of the Psalter, *e.g.* 11 AV = 10 Vulg. etc.; Pss. 114 and 115 forming also one Psalm in Vulgate (*i.e.* 113), the AV is now *two* in front of the Vulgate; but as 116 AV consists of two Psalms in Vulgate, 114 and 115 (which begins at v.^{10} 'I believed, therefore have I spoken'), it does not keep so for long; finally, 147 AV also consists of two Vulgate Psalms, 146 and 147 (which begins at v.^{12} 'Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem'), so that 148, 149, 150 are the same in each.

In Lamentations ch. 5 of AV appears in the Vulgate as a separate book, under the title of 'Oratio Jeremiæ prophetæ.'

In Daniel at 3^{23} follow the additions which are printed in our Apocrypha after Baruch as 'the Song of the three Holy Children'; the versing is different, being $^{24-90}$ instead of $^{1-68}$, so that 3^{24} AV $=3^{91}$ Vulgate, which numbers in all 100 verses to the chapter, and runs into 4^3, chapter 4^1 Vulgate beginning at 4^4 AV but finishing at the same verse (^{34} Vulg. $=^{37}$ AV); the other apocryphal additions are found at the end of the book, the story of Susanna forming ch. 13, and Bel and the Dragon ch. 14.

---

[*] Jerome, for instance, in quoting the text of the LXX, occasionally translates its reading into Latin instead of writing it down in the Greek, and here too speaks of it as *editio vulgata*; but it is the Greek reading, not the Latin translation of it, which he is referring to: see especially *Comm. in Matt.* xiii. 35, 'Legi in nonnullis codicibus . . . in eo loco ubi nos posuimus et vulgata habet editio *ut impleretur quod dictum est per prophetam dicentem*, ibi scriptum, *per Isaiam prophetam dicentem*; and *Comm. in Gal.* v. 24, 'Et hoc ita admonitum sit, si vulgatam editionem sequimur legentes: *Qui autem sunt Christi carnem crucifixerunt cum vitiis et concupiscentiis*,' but see the whole passage. Van Ess (p. 41) seems to be quite right in maintaining that even here Jerome means the Greek by the *editio vulgata*.

[†] Jerome, *Ep.* cvi. 2.

[‡] *Comm. in Osee* xiii. 4, 'Quæ . . . in antiqua quoque editione LXX non leguntur'; *Ep.* xlix. (*ad Pammach.*) 'Veterem editionem (libri Job) nostræ translationi compara'; *Comm. in Isa. præf. ad cap.* liv.; *præf. in Josue*, etc.

[§] P. 402 f.

[‖] See Hody, pp. 420, 429, 'Textus est pro majori parte corruptus horribiliter in exemplari vulgato, hoc est *Parisiensi*; by this he seems to mean the type of text which was produced and sold in Paris; elsewhere (p. 425) he uses *vulgata* of the LXX, or its Latin representative, as opposed to Jerome's translation, 'Quare cum translatio Ieronymi evacuavit translationem vulgatam LXX et similiter Theodotionis, ut certum est omnibus, oportet quod Biblia qua utimur sit translatio Ieronymi,' etc.

[¶] Sess. iv. *Decretum de Canonicis Scripturis.*

[**] For this apocryphal letter see Lightfoot, *Colossians*, pp. 274–300; also Westcott, *Canon of the NT*, App. E, p. 580.

vi. MANUSCRIPTS OF THE VULGATE.—Anything like a complete enumeration of the Vulgate MSS in Europe would be out of the question; there are thousands, not only in the public libraries, but in private libraries and collections. Berger has examined more than 800 in the libraries of Paris alone; and it is estimated that the total number cannot be less than 8000. Nor would a complete enumeration, even if possible, be of much use to the student; the majority are late 13th and 14th cent. MSS, of very slight critical value, and probably all presenting the corrupt type of text about which Roger Bacon used such strong language.

The lists may be consulted which have been drawn up by Le Long, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, ed. 1723, vol. i. p. 234 f.; Vercellone, *Variæ lectiones*, Romæ, 1860, vol. i. p. lxxxiii f., ii. p. xvii f.; in the fourth edition of Scrivener's *Introduction*, vol. ii. p. 67 f., the present writer has drawn out a selected list of 181 manuscripts, mainly of the NT; Berger (*Histoire de la Vulg.* etc. pp. 374–422) gives a good list of 253 MSS; and the largest list yet published is that of Dr. Gregory in the third volume of Tischendorf's *Novum Testamentum Græce*, ed. viii. pp. 983–1108, where some 2270 MSS are enumerated; they are not, however, described with the detail that characterizes M. Berger's list. We have endeavoured here to draw up a list of the more important Vulgate MSS, arranged, according to the type of their text, as sketched out in the history given above. The student can thus, if he wishes, test our theory of the transmission and modification of the text by his own collations; and if he examines other MSS not mentioned in the list, he can determine more easily in which class to place them.

Our list is based mainly on the materials supplied by Berger. The reader will bear in mind that the classification can be only approximate, and that there are MSS which it will be difficult to assign exclusively to this or that group; and indeed the earliest MSS on the list are among those which it is difficult to class, though we may venture to describe them as *early Italian texts*; after them we may place the early *Spanish* texts, and then the other families in due course. The Roman numerals in square brackets signify the centuries to which the MSS are usually assigned.

I. EARLY ITALIAN TEXTS.—*Codex Fuldensis* of the NT, at the Abbey of Fulda in Prussia [vi]; written for Bp. Victor of Capua, and corrected by him A.D. 541–546. The Gospels are arranged in one narrative, based on the order of Tatian's Diatessaron, but the text has been altered to the Vulgate throughout; in the Epp. Laodiceans follows Colossians. Published by E. Ranke (Marburg, 1868). Cited by Tischendorf as *fuld*, by Wordsworth as F.

The *Milan Gospels*; Ambrosian Library, C. 39 inf. [vi]; uncials; the sections and canons in the margin are written in Greek characters, while certain peculiarities of spelling and of reading also suggest that the scribe had a Græco-Latin MS before him. Defective in parts. Wordsworth's M in Gospels.

Codex Forojuliensis, at Cividale, Friuli: Gospels [vi or vii], Matt., Luke, and John are at Cividale in Friuli; these were published by Bianchini, *Evangeliarium Quadruplex*, etc., tom. ii. app. p. 473 f. (Romæ, 1749). The latter part of Mark (12^{21}–16^{20}) is at Prague, and was edited by J. Dobrowsky, *Fragmentum Pragense* (Pragæ, 1778); the earlier part is at Venice, but in a wretched condition, and illegible. Tischendorf's *for* and *prag*, Wordsworth's J.

Codex Perusinus; part of Lk (1^1–12^7, much mutilated), in a purple MS, Chapter Library, Perugia [vi or more probably vii]. Published by Bianchini, *Evan. Quadr.* tom. ii. app. p. 562; Tischendorf's *pe*, Wordsworth's P.

The *Harley Gospels*, Brit. Mus. Harl. 1775 [vi or vii], in a small but beautiful uncial hand, written probably in Italy: the first hand omits the text Jn 5^4. Tischendorf's *harl*, Wordsworth's and Bentley's Z.

II. EARLY SPANISH TEXTS.—Leon, Cathedral Archives 15 [vii]; a palimpsest MS, containing 40 leaves of a Bible in 7th cent. hand, *i.e.* portions of Ch, Jer, Ezk, 1 Mac, Ac, 2 Co, Col, 1 Jn. The text is Vulgate at base, especially in Jer, Ac, and Pauline Epp.; in other portions mingled with Old Lat. elements and characteristic Spanish interpolations; the 'three heavenly witnesses' occurs 1 Jn 5^7. See Berger, pp. 8 f., 384.

The *Ashburnham Pentateuch*, or, more strictly speaking, the Pentateuch of St. Gatien of Tours: now at Paris, Bibl. Nat., *Nouv. acq. Lat.* 2334. A splendid MS, with interesting pictorial illustrations [vii or beginning of viii]; uncial writing; a good Vulgate text. The Palæographical Soc. (i. pl. 234) ascribe the MS to North Italy, but Berger (pp. 11, 12, 410) makes out a strong case, mainly from the nature of the illustrations, for Spain.

Codex Cavensis; Bible [ix probably] written in Spain, probably in Castile or Leon, in small, round, and beautiful Visigothic minuscules, by a scribe Danila; now in the Benedictine Abbey of Corpo di Cava, near Salerno: a copy of it was made early in this century by the Abbate de Rossi, and is in the Vatican (Lat. 8484). The text is Spanish, and in the Gospels shows signs of being a revision; occasionally it is mingled with Old Latin elements; it contains 1 Jn 5^7 *after* 5^8. Before the Pauline Epp. there is the '*Procœmium sancti Peregrini œpiscopi*,' and the canons of Priscillian; after the Apocalypse there is an incomplete *Psalterium ex Hebrœo*; the Psalter in the body of the MS is Gallican, but with numerous Old Latin marginal variants; see Berger, pp. 14, 15, 379. Tischendorf's *cav*, Wordsworth's C.

Codex Toletanus; Bible, Visigothic writing [probably viii], in the Nat. Libr. at Madrid. Characteristic Spanish text, with numerous interpolations; has the text 1 Jn 5^7 in same place as *Cavensis*, but in the Gospels does not present such a good text as that MS. Collated for the Sixtine revision by Chr. Palomares, whose work is preserved in the Vatican (Lat. 9508); the collation, however, was not used in that revision, as it reached Card. Caraffa too late. It has been published by Bianchini, *Vindiciæ Can. Scr.* pp. xlvii–ccxvi (Romæ, 1740), and reprinted by Migne, *Pat. Lat.* tom. xxix. p. 875 f. Tischendorf's *tol*, Wordsworth's T; see Berger, p. 12.

Madrid, University Library, No. 32; second volume of a magnificent Bible, in Visigothic hand [ix or x], containing Proverbs-Apocalypse. The ornamentation occasionally resembles the *Codex Cavensis*; the Pauline Epp. are headed by the Canons of Priscillian and the *procœmium Peregrini*; see Berger, p. 15.

Codex Æmilianeus, at Madrid, Royal Academy of History, F. 186. Bible [x], incomplete, and commencing in the middle of the Psalter; in the NT Laod. is written by the second hand, in the margin. The first hand resembles *Cavensis*, though it is somewhat larger; the writer's name is given as Quisius. The MS formerly belonged to the Abbey of St. Æmilianus (St. Millan de la Cogolla), between Burgos and Logroño; see Berger, p. 16.

Leon, Cathedral Archives, 6; second volume of a Bible [x], beginning at Isaiah; the NT has the Canons of Priscillian and the *procœmium Peregrini* after the Acts, and contains Laod. The writing resembles *Cavensis*, but is somewhat larger; the names of two scribes—Vimara, a presbyter, and John, a deacon—are given; see Berger, p. 17.

Codex Gothicus Legionensis, preserved in the Church of San Isidro at Leon; Bible [x], folio, dated A.D. 960, and written by the notarius Sanctio. The MS has belonged to the Church of San Isidro since the 12th cent., and was collated for Cardinal Caraffa by Fr. Trugillo, bp. of Leon, for the Sixtine revision, and by him called the *Codex Gothicus*. The collation is preserved in the Vatican (Lat. 4859). There are a large number of Old Latin variants in the margin, especially in the OT; and Tobit and Judith are in the Old Latin throughout; see Berger, p. 18; he has printed the Old Latin variants in the Bk. of Job in *Notices et extraits des MS de la B. N.* etc., tome xxxiv. 2^e partie, p. 20 f. (Paris, 1893).

Codex Complutensis (*i.e.* belonging to Complutum = Alcalá), Madrid, University Library, 31. Bible [ix or x], interesting text; Ruth is Old Latin, agreeing closely with quotations in Ambrose; the 4th book of Esdras is also preserved in an interesting text, with variant readings in the margin; Esther, Tobit, Judith, 1 and 2 Mac, are also in an Old Latin version. In the NT the text is Vulgate, but with Spanish characteristics; Laodiceans follows *Hebrews*. Ruth and parts of Maccabees have been published by Berger in the *Notices et extraits*, mentioned above, pp. 8–12, 33–38; see also his *Histoire*, p. 22.

Paris, Bibl. Nat., Lat. 6. Bible in four vols. folio [x.], from the Abbey of Rosas in Catalonia. Tobit and Judith are preserved not only in the Vulgate, but also in the Old Latin; and there are interesting Old Latin and other variants in the margins of the Acts, while Ac 11^1–12^8 is entirely Old Latin; see Berger, p. 24. Wordsworth's R in Acts.

III. ITALIAN TEXTS TRANSCRIBED IN BRITAIN.—(*a*) *Northumbrian MSS.*—*Codex Amiatinus* of the whole Bible, in the Laurentian Library at Florence [beginning of viii]. One of the three *Pandects* written, either at Wearmouth or Jarrow, by order of the Abbot Ceolfrid. He took it as a present to the pope on his last journey to Rome in A.D. 715, but died before he reached the Holy City, and his followers carried on the volume and offered it to the chair of St. Peter. The date and origin of the MS have been thus fixed by the successful deciphering of an erased inscription on the first leaf; see the Palæographical Society's *Facsimiles*, ii. pls. 65, 66, and *Studia Biblica*, ii. p. 273

(Oxford, 1890). Later, the MS was placed in the Monastic Library at Monte Amiata, whence it was sent to Rome for use in the Sixtine revision. Finally, it was placed in the Mediceo-Laurentian Library at Florence. The NT was published in full by Tischendorf (Leipzig, 1850; second ed. with a few emendations, 1854); and in 1873 Heyse and Tischendorf edited the *Biblia Sacra Lat. Veteris Test. Hieronymo interprete*, printing the *Clementine* text of the OT, but dividing it according to the 'cola and commata' of *am*, giving a collation of its variant readings, and printing in full the *capitula* to the various books, which are found in Amiatinus, but not in the Clementine Vulgate; Lagarde has published Wisdom and Sirach, see vol. iii. p. 51.

The text of the MS in the NT, and especially in the Gospels, is a very pure Vulgate type on the whole, though with the characteristics of British MSS in it; see the Oxford *Vulgate*, i. pp. 709, 726–732. In the OT it is also good, but in Ecclesiastes and Ecclesiasticus Old Latin elements have crept in; see Berger, p. 38. Tischendorf's *am*, Wordsworth's A.

Durham Cathedral Library, A. ii. 16; Gospels [vii or viii], said to have been written by Bede, and may very possibly have come from Jarrow. The text is very close to that of Amiatinus, but where it varies Amiatinus is usually the better. Bentley's K, Wordsworth's Δ (in St. John only; in the other Gospels it is not cited).

Do., A. ii. 17; St. John, St. Mark, and St. Luke, incomplete [viii], with another fragment of St. Luke, 21^{33}–23^{34}; large uncial hand, and both text and handwriting closely resemble Amiatinus, though the orthography is occasionally different; see Berger, p. 38.

Stonyhurst St. John. The minute but exquisitely written MS of St. John, now in the possession of the Jesuit College at Stonyhurst [vii or viii]; originally, according to a legend as old as the 13th cent., the property of St. Cuthbert, in whose coffin it was found. The text closely resembles Amiatinus, but is on the whole not quite so good. Wordsworth's S in St. John.

British Museum, Cotton Nero D. iv. The superb *Lindisfarne Gospels* [vii or viii], written by Eadfrith, bp. of Lindisfarne, A.D. 698–721, and other scribes. The Latin is accompanied by an interlinear version in the Northumbrian dialect. The text very closely resembles that of Amiatinus, agreeing with it sometimes even in errors; but, as with the MSS mentioned immediately above, where the two differ, Amiatinus usually has the better text. The MS from which these Gospels were copied must have come from Naples; Dom G. Morin (*Revue Bénédictine*, 1891, t. viii. p. 481) has pointed out that at the beginning of the Gospels there are lists of festivals and saints' days, among which appear names peculiar to Naples; and the book may well have been brought to Lindisfarne by the Adrian who was abbot of a monastery near Naples, and who accompanied Abp. Theodore on his journey to England in 668; see Berger, p. 39 f. Bentley's and Wordsworth's Y.

Fragments of Matthew (1^1–3^4) and John (1^{1-21}) bound up at the end of the famous 'Utrecht Psalter.' The handwriting and text both strongly resemble the Codex Amiatinus, and are about the same dates (vii–viii). Wordsworth's U in Gospels.

For the Psalter itself the reader should consult W. de Gray Birch, *The History, Art, and Palæography of the MS, styled the Utrecht Psalter*, London, 1876; and the later treatise by Count P. Durrieu, *L'origine du MS célèbre dit le Psautier d'Utrecht*, Paris, 1895 (extrait des 'Melanges Julien Havet'); Count Durrieu supposes it to have been written at or near Rheims in the earlier part of the 9th cent. The text is the *Gallican* Psalter.

(*b*) *Canterbury MSS* (traditionally connected with Augustine and with Gregory the Great).—Oxford, Bodley 857, and Auct. D. 2. 14: Gospels formerly belonging to St. Augustine's Library at Canterbury and generally known as 'St. Augustine's Gospels' [vii]. From the point of view of *age*, the MS might well have been brought to Canterbury by some of the later followers of Augustine, but the *text* shows it to be of native origin; it is fairly near to Amiatinus, but has a large number of characteristics partly Irish, partly early Anglo-Saxon; as Berger says (p. 36), it may be placed at the base of the Anglo-Saxon type of text, and must owe its name not to being the personal property of Augustine, but to belonging to the abbey at Canterbury, which was consecrated to his memory. Tischendorf's *bodl*, Wordsworth's O in Gospels.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll. cclxxxvi. Evan.; Gospels [vii], formerly belonging to St. Augustine's at Canterbury, and, according to tradition, sent by Pope Gregory to Augustine; but the text does not bear out this supposition; it closely resembles that of the preceding MS, and is really Anglo-Saxon, though it has been corrected throughout in accordance with a MS of the Amiatinus type. Bentley's B, Wordsworth's X.

British Museum, Cotton Vesp. A. 1. 'Roman' Psalter [ix], known as the 'Psalter of St. Augustine': Anglo-Saxon type of text.

Brit. Mus., Reg. 1. E. vi.; Gospels, imperfect [end of viii]; written in England, and formerly belonging to St. Augustine's, Canterbury; in all probability the second volume of the famous 'Biblia Gregoriana,' mentioned by Elmham ('Hist. Monasterii S. Aug. Cantuar.,' ed. C. Hardwick, Rolls Series 8, London, 1858). Text somewhat similar to those above; Vulgate, mixed with Irish readings; Bentley's P.

(*c*) *Irish and Anglo-Saxon MSS.*—*Book of Armagh*; Library, Trinity Coll., Dublin. New Testament written in a small and beautiful Irish hand, by the scribe Ferdomnach [ix]; it has the *prologus Pilagii in omnes epistolas*, Laod. occurs after Col., and Acts after Apoc. The late Dr. Reeves, bp. of Down, intended to edit it, and his work has been finished and published by Drs. Gwynn and Bernard of Dublin. The text of the MS is at bottom good and closely allied to Amiatinus; it displays many of the national characteristics, however, small interpolations, explicative additions, and relics of Old Latin readings (thus its *omission* of Jn 5^4 is all the more remarkable), etc., while the present writer cannot help thinking that it has been to a certain extent corrected from the Greek; see the Oxford *Vulgate*, pp. 714, 715; Berger, pp. 31–33. Wordsworth's D.

The Book of Kells: Trin. Coll., Dublin, A. 1. 6; Gospels [vii or viii], given to Trinity College by Abp. Ussher; named from Kells or Kenanna, a monastery in County Meath. It is famous for being perhaps the most perfect existing specimen of Irish handwriting, as the *Lindisfarne Gospels* are of English; see Thompson, *Greek and Lat. Palæography*, pp. 239, 245, 246. But the text is also valuable, much resembling the *Book of Armagh*, with the usual Irish characteristics, and a great fondness for conflate readings. A collation has been given by Dr. Abbott in his edition of the Codex Usserianus (Dublin, 1884); see also Berger, p. 41. Wordsworth's Q.

Book of Durrow: Trin. Coll., Dublin, A. 4. 5. Gospels [vi–vii]; according to an inscription on what was the last page, the book was written by St. Columba in twelve days, but, as with the Echternach Gospels (see below in this column), this, with the rest of the book, must have been copied from an earlier exemplar; Durrow or Dearmag was a monastery in King's County, founded by Columba. Irish text, *i.e.* good Vulgate at bottom, but with some of the characteristic national interpolations; collation given by Dr. Abbott in his edition of the Codex Usserianus; see also Berger, p. 41. Wordsworth's *durmach.*

The Book of Moling or *Mulling:* Trin. Coll., Dublin. Gospels [viii or ix], apparently never bound, but preserved in a case. An inscription gives the name of the scribe as Mulling, *i.e.* probably St. Mulling, bp. of Ferns, at the end of the 7th cent.; but, as with the Book of Durrow, the inscription must have been copied from an earlier MS. Characteristic Irish text, sometimes with interesting variant readings; see Berger, p. 33, and H. J. Lawlor, *Chapters on the Book of Mulling*, Edinburgh, 1897. The MS is disfigured by damp, and is illegible in parts.

The Stowe St. John: bound up with the famous *Stowe Missal*, Royal Irish Academy, Dublin. Written in pointed Irish minuscules [viii or ix]; portions of the Gospel only. Good Vulgate text with the usual traces of Old Latin mixture; see J. H. Bernard in *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxx. pt. viii. (Dublin, 1893), who gives a description and collation of the MS; also Berger, p. 42.

Gospels of Macdurnan: Lambeth Palace Library. Written by the scribe Mæielbrith Mac-Durnain [ix–x], delicate and rather cramped Irish writing; Irish text.

Lichfield, Chapter Library. Gospels [vii–viii], traditionally ascribed to St. Chad, bp. of Lichfield. The MS was perhaps written in Wales, but is in an Irish hand; it belonged to the Church of St. Teliau at Llandaff, but was brought to Lichfield towards the end of the 10th cent. The writing and ornamentation are very beautiful, and resemble the Book of Kells; Irish text, possibly corrected occasionally from the Greek. Contains Mt 1^1–Lk 3^9; collation of the MS, with introduction, etc., by Scrivener, *Codex S. Ceaddæ Latinus*, Cambridge, 1887; see also Bradshaw, *Collected Papers*, pp. 458–461 (Cambr. 1889). Wordsworth's L in Gospels.

Cambridge, University Library, Kk i. 24; Luke and John, nearly complete [vii–viii], half uncial Irish hand, somewhat resembling the Book of Kells or the Gospels of St. Chad. In the first 8 chs. of St. Luke the text is a strange medley of Vulgate and Old Latin; for the rest, the text is Vulgate with occasional Old Lat. readings.

Selden Acts: Oxford, Bodl. 3418 (Seld. 30). Saxon MS [viii], valuable text. Wordsworth's O in Acts.

Rushworth Gospels or *Gospels of MacRegol:* Oxford, Bodl. Auct. D. 2. 19 [ix], written by an Irish scribe, who died A.D. 820; has an interlinear Anglo-Saxon version. Irish text, with constant inversions of order in words, especially in St. Matthew; possibly, too, corrected from the Greek. Collation given by W. W. Skeat in *The Gospel of St. Matthew; A.-S. and Northumbrian versions*, Cambr. 1887. Wordsworth's R in Gospels.

Brit. Mus., Egerton 609. Gospels [ix], formerly belonging to the monastery of Marmoutier (Majus Monasterium), near Tours. It is an interesting specimen, however, of a MS, written abroad in ordinary Caroline minuscule, but with *Irish* ornamentation, and with a regular Irish type of text; see Berger, p. 47. It contains a number of variant readings which seem peculiar to the MS. Tischendorf's *mm*; Wordsworth's E.

This MS serves as an introduction to our next class of MSS.

IV. CONTINENTAL MSS, WRITTEN BY IRISH OR SAXON SCRIBES, AND SHOWING A MIXTURE OF THE TWO TYPES OF TEXT.—*Gospels of St. Gatien*, Paris, Bibl. Nat., *Nouv. acq. Lat.* 1587 [viii], Anglo-Saxon hand, but probably written on the Continent; belonged to St. Gatien's at Tours. The text contains a number of Old Lat. readings; in other respects resembles the Egerton MS. Usually cited as *gat*; Berger, p. 46.

The *Echternach Gospels:* Paris, Bibl. Nat. 9389 [probably viii], written in an Irish hand, and belonging formerly to the Benedictine Abbey of St. Willibrord at Echternach; yet an interesting inscription, obviously taken from the exemplar from which the MS was copied, asserts that the scribe corrected the text from a MS, 'de bibliotheca Eugipi præspiteri quem ferunt fuisse sancti Hieronimi.' The Eugippius here referred to was almost certainly the Abbot of Lucullanum, near Naples, in the early part of the 6th cent. The text, however, which has a series of variant readings noted in the margin, is disappointing; neither the first hand nor the corrector seems to display a consistent text; and we have a strange mixture of good Vulgate, Continental, and Irish types; see Berger, p. 52. Wordsworth quotes it regularly.

Codex Bigotianus: Paris, Bibl. Nat., Lat. 281 and 298. Gospels [viii], formerly at Fécamp, just above Havre, and therefore directly facing the English coast. The text and the handwriting are what might be expected from its position; it is written in a fine uncial hand, but the ornamentation shows traces of British influence; and the text is a good example of the mixture of Continental and British types that would be produced by an Irish scribe writing in a French monastery; see Berger, p. 50. Wordsworth's B in Gospels.

Brit. Mus., Add. 5463. Gospels from the monastery of St. Peter at Beneventum [viii or ix], written in a fine revived uncial hand; usually supposed, on the strength of an inscription, to have been written for Ato, abbot of St. Vincent de Volterno, near Beneventum, about the middle of the 8th cent. Berger would, however, place it in the 9th cent. The text is a combination of British and Continental types; see Berger, p. 92. Wordsworth quotes its readings.

Angers: Public Library No. 20. Gospels [ix or x], written in a French hand, but with traces of Irish influence in the ornamentation; and the text is Irish: see Berger, p. 48.

Brit. Mus., Reg. I. A. xviii. Gospels [ix or x], known as the Gospels of Æthelstan, and according to tradition presented by him to St. Augustine's, Canterbury. Written on the Continent, but with a good many Irish characteristics in the text; see Berger, p. 49.

Brit. Mus., Harley 1772. Epp. and Apoc. (viii or ix), in a French hand, but with a good deal of Irish work in the initials and ornamentation; written, therefore, apparently in France, but partly by an Irish scribe. The text has been carefully corrected, and the readings of the first hand are often quite illegible; it contains a good many Old Latin and some Spanish readings; Col. is placed *after* Thess., and Jude and Laod. are both wanting; see Berger, p. 50. Wordsworth's Z_2.

Paris, Bibl. Nat., Lat. 9382: Prophets (Jerem.–Daniel), Saxon handwriting [ix], and a good text. Berger (p. 51) remarks that it is perhaps the only MS of the Prophets we possess that comes from the British Isles.

Do., Lat. 11,553. The second half of a Bible [ix], apparently written in the district round Lyons: the *S. Germani exemplar latum* of R. Stephanus (not *Germanum latum*, as he is sometimes made to call it); it was a St. Germain MS. The text is strangely mixed; in the OT, Spanish elements predominate, but the text is good, especially in Pr, Ec, Song of Songs; in the NT, Mt is Old Lat., and cited among the OL MSS as g_1 (see vol. iii. p. 51); in the other Gospels there are many OL readings, but the text at bottom is of the class copied in France by Irish scribes; Acts, good text, though showing Spanish influence; Cath. Epp., poor Spanish text; Apoc., good; Pauline Epp., fairly good, but with some OL readings. See Berger, pp. 65–72. Wordsworth's g_1 in Mt, G in rest of NT.

Würzburg University Library, Mp. th. f. 61. St. Matthew [viii], written in an Anglo-Saxon hand, with interlinear glosses; mixed text.

Do., Mp. th. f. 12. Epp. of St. Paul [ix], with Irish glosses; a well-known MS. The glosses have been often published, see Zimmer, *Glossæ Hibern.*, Berlin, 1881; Whitley Stokes, *Old Irish Glosses of Würzburg and Carlsruhe*, Austin, Hertford, 1887; Olden, *Holy Scr. in Ireland a thousand years ago*, Dublin, 1888.

Do., Mp. th. f. 69. Epp. of St. Paul [viii], with Irish initials; Col. after Thess.

Oxford, Bod. Laud. Lat. 102. Gospels, Saxon hand [early x]; it formerly belonged to Würzburg, and is among the MSS which were bought there at the instance of Abp. Laud, after the sack of the city in 1631; mixed text.

Other Würzburg MSS worthy of notice, though not possessing Irish characteristics, are:—Mp. th. q. 1 *a*. Gospels [vii], fine uncial hand; belonged, according to tradition, to St. Kilian, in whose tomb it is said to have been found. Mp. th. q. 1. Gospels [x]; q. 4 Gospels [xi]; f. 65 Gospels [viii or ix]; f. 66 Gospels [viii or ix]; f. 67 Gospels [vii or viii]; semi-uncial, and with a good many Old Lat. readings in the first hand; f. 68 Gospels [vi or vii]; good text in the first hand, resembling Amiatinus. And lastly, Mp. th. f. max. 1 Bible [xi]; the Pauline Epp., Laod., and the book of Baruch have been abstracted.

For the Würzburg MSS see Schepps, *Die ältesten Evang. Handschriften der Univ. bibliothek*, Würzburg, 1887, and Köberlin, *Eine Würzb. Evang. Handschr.* (Program d. Studienanstalt bei S. Anna in Augsburg, 1891).

V. Type of Text current in Languedoc (Berger, pp. 73–82).—Paris, Bibl. Nat., Lat. 4 and 4^2; *Codex Aniciensis*, Bible [ix or x]. The text of the first hand somewhat resembles that of the Vallicellian Bible (see below, p. 889), but a contemporary hand has added a number of corrections (amongst others the 'three heavenly witnesses,' 1 Jn 5^7), and these often show traces of Spanish influence in the Acts.

Do., Lat. 7. Bible [xi], with fine illuminations; text coloured by Spanish influence, and in the Acts resembling the corrector of the Cod. *Aniciensis*.

Do., Lat. 254; *Codex Colbertinus* of the New Testament [xii or xiii], written in S. of France. The text is Old Latin in the Gospels, and is cited among Old Latin MSS as *c* (see vol. iii. p. 51); in the rest of the NT the text is Vulgate, and in a later hand, with all the characteristics of the S. of France about it.

Brit. Mus., Harley 4772, 4773: Bible in two fine volumes [early xiii], the second probably of later date than the first; written in S. of France, and with text belonging to that region.

Paris, Bibl. Nat., Lat. 321: New Testament [early xiii], belonging to Perpignan. Ordinary text in Gospels, but parts of the Acts (1^1–13^7 28^{16} *ad fin.*) are Old Latin and allied to the text of the Codex Laudianus (E *e*) and the Gigas (*gig*); Catholic Epp. have a Spanish text, resembling the *Codex Toletanus*. The Old Latin portions of the Acts have been published by Berger, *Un ancien texte Lat. des Actes des Apôtres retrouvé dans un MS provenant de Perpignan (Notices et extraits des MSS de la Bibl. Nat. et autres Bibliothèques, tome* xxxv. 1^{re} *partie)*, Paris, 1895. Wordsworth's *p* in Acts.

Codex Demidovianus. Bible [xiii], but copied from an earlier exemplar; it belonged in the last century to a Paul Demidov Gregorovitch, but its present position is unknown. The text was published in Acts, Epp., and Apoc. by Matthæi in his New Testament (1782–8); and Tischendorf has quoted it from his edition (under the sign *demid*). Wordsworth's *dem.* in Acts.

VI. Other French Texts.—For other types of French texts anterior to the Theodulfian and Alcuinian recensions the reader must study M. Berger's book, p. 83 ff. All that we can do here is to enumerate some of the MSS he quotes, and the centres around which he has grouped them; *e.g.*—

MSS from Limoges: Paris, Bibl. Nat. 5 and 5^2 [ix]; 8 and 8^2 [xi]; 315 [xii or xiii]; 2328 [viii or ix]; 315 [xii–xiii].
from Tours: Paris, Bibl. Nat. 112 [x], 113.
from Fleury: Orleans, Public Library 16, portions of 5 MSS of different dates.
from Chartres: St. John, Paris, Bibl. Nat. 10,439 [viii].
Other MSS from the N. of France: Autun, Grand Séminaire 3 [viii], Paris, Bibl. Nat. 17,226 [vii]; 256 [vii]; 14,407 [ix].
Bibles from St. Riquier: Paris, Bibl. Nat. 11,504–5 [ix], the *S. Germani longum exemplar* of R. Stephanus; interesting text; Bibl. Nat. 45 and 93 [ix or x], the *Codex Regius*; mixed text. Allied in text to these are the MSS Bibl. Nat. 309 [xi] and 305 [xi], both New Test. without Gospels.
The Metz MS (Public Library 7) preserves an interesting specimen of the mixed texts current at the time [ix]; see p. 546^a.
MSS from Corbie on the Somme, near Amiens:—
Amiens, Public Library 6, 7, 11, 12, portions of a Bible in several volumes [viii or ix].
18, the famous *Corbie Psalter* [viii–ix].
10, The four books of Esdras [ix]: one of the few MSS containing the whole book; see R. L. Bensly, *The Missing Fragment of the 4th Book of Ezra*, Cambridge, 1875.
Paris, Bibl. Nat., Lat. 13,174; Acts, Cath. Epp., and Apoc. [ix].
Do., Lat. 11,532–3: Bible [ix]; contains the *Psalterium ex Hebræo*; text interesting but mixed; slight Spanish elements in it.
Bible from the Abbey of St. Vedast at Arras: Vienna, Imperial Library 1190 [ix].

VII. Swiss MSS (especially St. Gall).—Irish monks and scribes penetrated through France, and right down into Switzerland and Italy; it is thus that we get Vulgate MSS written often in Irish hands, and containing the same mixture of Irish and Continental types of text, not only in France, but in such centres of monastic life as St. Gall, Reichenau, Einsiedeln.

Of these the *Codices Sangallensis* and *Boernerianus* (Δδ and *Gg*), which are really different parts of the same interlinear Græco-Latin MS, belong rather to Old Latin than to Vulgate MSS, and are described above (see Latin Versions); though the base of δ in the Gospels is perhaps more Vulgate than Old Latin: possibly the Græco-Latin Psalter now preserved in the Basle Library (A. vii. 3) may also be part of this same MS.

The same may be said of the *Codex Augiensis*, now at Trin. Coll., Cambr. (B. 17. 1.).

Early types of such mixed Irish and Continental texts are found in the St. Gall MSS No. 10. Job, Prov., Eccl., Canticles, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus [x], Irish hand; No. 51, Gospels [viii], Irish hand, mixed text; No. 60, St. John [viii or ix], Irish hand, mixed text. Grandducal Library, Karlsruhe; the Reichenau *Codex Augiensis* 211; Gospels [late ix], with a number of Irish readings. Berne, University Library 671; Gospels [ix or x], fine Irish hand, mixed text. Milan, Ambrosian Library I. 61 sup.; Gospels [viii ?], in semi-uncial Irish hand; formerly at Bobbio. The text has a good many Irish readings in it, and the readings of the corrector or correctors are extremely interesting and valuable; see Berger, pp. 55–59.

We are able to fix some of the St. Gall MSS to the middle of the 8th cent., and to one scribe, Winithar, who was a monk in the monastery—

No. 2, Pentateuch, Acts, and Apoc.; mixed text, in the Acts close to Br. Mus. Add. 11,852; Wordsworth's S in Acts.
No. 70, Epp. of St. Paul; Pastoral Epp. placed after Heb.; the text is very corrupt.
No. 907, Catholic Epp. and Apoc. with interesting prefatory matter; the text is very corrupt, resembling the *Codex Lemovicensis* (Paris, Bibl. Nat. Lat. 2328, noted above).

More important, perhaps, than the work of Winithar was that of a slightly later scribe, Hartmut, who was abbot of St. Gall, 872–883; the following MSS were written either by him or under his direction: Nos. 7, Chron. and Sapiential books; 81, Sapiential books, Job, Tobit; 46, Ezek., Minor Prophets, and Dan.; 45, the same; 77, 78, 82, 79, 83, portions of a Bible; 75, Bible. To them must be added—

Brit. Mus., Add. 11,852, Pauline Epp. (including Laod.), Acts, Cath. Epp., Apoc. [ix], interesting text. See E. Nestle, *Bengel als Gelehrter*, pp. 58–60, Tübingen, 1892; Wordsworth's U in Acts; text agrees closely with the St. Gall MS 2.

St. Gall, however, was connected with other main lines of MS transmission, such as those which ran through Chur, Milan, Bobbio, and Vercelli; and these in turn were in communication through the S. of France with the N.E. frontier of Spain, so that we find the Southern type of text again creeping up and showing traces in the Swiss and N. Italian MSS. Examples of this are—

The Bobbio MS now at Milan (Ambrosian Libr. E. 26 inf.), containing Chron.-Pauline Epp. [ix–x]; mixed text, with Spanish, Old Latin, and Irish elements in it; Berger, p. 138.

Monza, Collegiate Archives 1$\frac{2}{9}$: fragments of Bible [x], text somewhat similar to the previous MS; these two MSS agree with the Codd. *Boernerianus* and *Augiensis* in omitting the last 3 verses of the Ep. to the Romans; Berger, p. 139.

VIII. Alcuinian Recension.—Rome, Vallicellian Library B. 6. Bible [ix], considered to be the best MS of the Alcuinian Recension; Wordsworth's V; see Berger, pp. 197–203.

The Tours Octateuch; Tours, Public Library 10 [commencement of ix], text related to the Vallicellian Bible, though not exactly the same.

Bamberg, Royal Library A. I. 5. Bible [ix], a handsome example of this recension; written at Tours. Wordsworth's B in Acts, etc.; see Berger, p. 206, and Leitschuh, *Führer durch d. kgl. Bibl. zu Bamberg*, 1889, p. 82.

Zürich, Cantonal Library C. 1; text resembling the Bamberg MS on the whole, but differing in Pauline Epp.; Berger, p. 207.

Brit. Mus., Add. 10,546. Bible [ix] known as the Codex Carolinus, or the Bible of Grandval (near Basle). Wordsworth's K; see Berger, pp. 209–212.

Paris, Bibl. Nat., Lat. 250. New Testament [ix], probably written at Tours; text closely resembling the last MS; Berger, p. 243.

Cologne, Chapter Library No. 1. Bible [ix] written at Tours with interesting marginal corrections, made by a contemporary hand also probably at Tours.

Paris, Bibl. Nat., Lat. 1. Bible [ix], a splendid MS, presented to Charles the Bald by Vivian, abbot of St. Martin of Tours.

Do., Lat. 2. Bible [ix] known as the Bible of St. Denis or of Charles the Bald; in the NT the Apoc. is wanting. Used by R. Stephens in his Bible of 1528.

Do., Lat. 3. Bible [ix], belonging originally to the monastery of Glanfeuil; parts of the Apoc. supplied by a later hand; see Berger, p. 213.

Monza, Collegiate Archives, G. 1. Bible [ix], written at Tours by the scribe Amalricus, who was afterwards archbishop of Tours: valuable text; Berger, p. 221.

Paris, Bibl. Nat., Lat. 17,227. Gospels written by Adalbaldus [early ix] at Tours; good Alcuinian text, closely resembling the Bamberg and Zürich Bibles; Berger, pp. 243–247.

Nancy, Cathedral Library. Gospels [early ix], written at Tours; a splendid copy. Text resembling the Monza Bible and the Brit. Mus. Gospels below (Add. 11,848); Berger, p. 247.

Brit. Mus., Add. 11,848. Gospels [ix], probably written at Tours.

Paris, Bibl. Nat., Lat. 266. Gospels [middle of ix], written at Tours, and presented by the emperor Lothaire to the Church of St. Martin.

Rome, Church of St. Paul without the walls. Fine Bible [ix], belonged to Charles the Bald, was written probably in the N. of France, and shows Saxon influence in its ornamentation. Mixed Alcuinian text, with a good deal of resemblance to the *Codex Vallicellianus*, still more perhaps to the first Bible of Charles the Bald (Paris, Bibl. Nat., Lat. 1); Berger, p. 292.

MSS (of Caroline school) written in gold (see Berger, pp. 259–277). In *text* these MSS belong rather to the type of the continental Saxon MSS (above, p. 887) than to the somewhat later Tours school.

The famous *Hamilton Gospels* [viii–ix], now in the library of Th. Irwin, Esq., of Oswego, New York; very early Caroline text, with occasional Spanish and Anglo-Saxon elements; Berger, p. 259.

The *Codex Adæ*, of Trier (Stadtbibliothek, No. xxii.), a splendid MS. Gospels [end of viii], written by two hands, the scribe who has written the latter part of the MS having also added a large number of marginal corrections to the former. The first hand shows connexion with the oldest Tours MSS, and especially the *Codices aurei*; the second hand, with the more ordinary Tours type; Berger, pp. 262–267; see also the monograph *Die Trierer Ada-Handschrift*, Leipzig, 1889; the article on the text of the Alcuinian Bibles by Dr. P. Corssen, is most valuable.

Brit. Mus., Harl. 2788. Gospels [viii–ix], written in golden uncials; an extremely fine MS; illuminations of the same school as those of the *Codex Adæ*.

Abbeville, Public Lib. No. 1. Gospels [viii–ix] written in gold, and strongly resembling Harl. 2788; Berger, p. 267.

Paris, Bibl. Nat., Lat. 8850. The Gospels of St. Medard [early ix]; a fine MS; Berger, p. 268.

Do., Lat. 11,955. Portions of Matt. and Mark [viii?].

Do., Lat. 9383. Gospels [end of viii].

Tours, Public Library 22; formerly at St. Martin's. Gospels [viii–ix], interesting text, on the whole belonging to Alcuinian revision, but with Irish and Old Latin elements in it; Berger, pp. 47, 202, 272, and the Oxford *Vulgate, Epilogus*, p. 720, Tischendorf's *mt*; Wordsworth quotes its readings.

Vienna, Schatzkammer. The famous Gospels [end of viii?], supposed to have been found in the tomb of Charles the Great; written in gold on purple vellum; Berger, p. 275.

Do., Imperial Library, 652. Psalter [end of viii].

Munich, Royal Library, Lat. 14,000 (=Cim. 55). The splendid Gospels of St. Emmeran [ix, dated 870]. Mixed text, with Anglo-Saxon elements in it; probably written in the N. of France; Berger, p. 295.

IX. Theodulfian Recension.—Paris, Bibl. Nat., Lat. 9380. The famous Theodulfian Bible [ix], written in beautiful and minute hand. Wordsworth's Θ; see Berger, p. 149 f., and Delisle, *Les Bibles de Théodulfe*, Paris, 1879; sometimes known as the *Codex Memmianus*.

Puy, Cathedral Library. Bible [ix], written under the direction of Theodulf, and so closely resembling the Paris Bible that Delisle asserts that many pages look almost like proofs struck from the same type. The text, however, is not so good: see Delisle, as above; also Berger, p. 171 ff.

Brit. Mus., Add. 24,142. Bible [ix], formerly belonging to the monastery of St. Hubert in the Ardennes; written in a small minuscule hand, strongly resembling that of the Theodulfian Bible. The text is extremely interesting, the first hand allied to the Northumbrian family, while the marginal corrections present a Theodulfian type. Wordsworth's H.

Orleans, Public Libr. 14. Book of the Prophets [ix], from Fleury. Text shows traces of Theodulfian influence, though the order of the books differs from that of Theodulf. Berger, p. 177.

Do., 11 and 13. Two volumes of a Bible [x], containing Kings, Proverbs, Song of Songs, Job, Macc., and Tobit; from Fleury. Theodulfian Text, but following sometimes the first hand, sometimes the marginal readings. Berger, p. 177.

Paris, Bibl. Nat., Lat. 11,937. Bible [ix–x], the *St. Germani exemplar parvum* of Robertus Stephanus, for the MS was formerly at St. Germain-des-Prés; the hand resembles that of the Theodulfian Bible, and the text also; the latter follows sometimes the first hand, sometimes the margin. Berger, p. 178.

Copenhagen, Royal Libr., nouv. fonds Royal 1. Parts of a Bible, *i.e.* Psalms–Daniel [ix]; handwriting resembles that of the St. Germain MS above, and the text is Theodulfian. Delisle, *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, xlvi. p. 321; Berger, p. 181.

X. Mediæval Texts.—Out of the thousands of such MSS we can but select three, which for various reasons are interesting.

Brit. Mus., Reg. I. B. xii. Bible [xiii], written in 1254 by William of Hales for Thomas de la Wile, 'Magister Scolarum Sarum'; fair specimen of ordinary mediæval text. Wordsworth's W.

Dijon, Publ. Libr. 9 *bis*. Bible, 4 vols. [xii], containing the corrections of Stephen Harding, abbot of Citeaux.

Paris, Bibl. Nat., Lat. 16,719–16,722. Bible, 4 vols. [xiii], containing the corrections of the Dominicans, under the auspices of Hugo de S. Caro.

Literature.—Full lists of works will be found in S. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulg. pendant les premiers siècles du moyen âge*, Paris, 1893, pp. xxii–xxiv; and in E. Nestle (to whom the present writer owes many valuable suggestions), *Urtext u. Uebersetzungen der Bibel*, Leipzig, 1897, pp. 96, 102 (=PRE^3, Bd. iii. pp. 36, 42). We give here a somewhat compressed list of the works likely to be useful to the ordinary student.

A. For the life of Jerome:—The *Vita S. Hieronymi* in Vallarsi's edition of his works, tom. xi. pp. 1–280. For the works of Jerome the student should use by preference the editions of Vallarsi, 11 vols. folio, Verona, 1734–1742, do. quarto, Venice, 1766–1772; the quarto edition is handier, and has been reprinted by Migne (but with different paging), *Pat. Lat.* xxii.–xxx.; von Cölln, 'Hieronymus' in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclopädie* (ii. Section, 8 Theil, p. 72 f.), 1831; F. X. Collombet, *Histoire de Saint Jérôme*, 2 vols., Paris, 1844; O. Zöckler, *Hieronymus; sein Leben und Wirken aus seinen Schriften dargestellt*, Gotha, 1865; A. Thierry, *Saint Jérôme*, 2 vols., Paris, 1867; E. L. Cutts, 'Saint Jerome' in *the Fathers for English Readers* (S.P.C.K.), 1877; Zöckler, 'Hieronymus' in PRE^3 (Bd. viii. p. 42 f.), 1900; Fremantle, 'Hieronymus' in Smith and Wace's *Dict. of Christian Biography*, vol. iii. p. 29 f., 1882; the same, 'Life of Jerome' in Wace and Schaff's *Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, vol. vi. pp. xvi–xxv, 1893; G. Grützmacher, *Hieronymus; eine biographische Studie*, etc., i. Leipz. 1901.

B. For the history of the text, both manuscript and printed:—R. Simon, *Histoire critique des Versions du NT*, Rotterdam, 1690; J. Mill, *Novum Testamentum cum lectionibus variantibus, etc., Præmittitur dissertatio*, Oxonii, 1707; see especially p. lxxxi f.; H. Hody, *De Bibliorum Textibus*, etc., Oxon., 1705, pp. 342–569; L. van Ess, *Pragmatica doctt. Cath. Trid. circa Vulg. decreti sensum*, Sulzbach, 1816, *Pragmatisch-Kritische Gesch. der Vulg.*, Tübingen, 1824; G. Riegler, *Kritische Gesch. der Vulg.*, Sulzbach, 1820; Bp. Westcott, 'Vulgate' in Smith's *DB*, vol. iii., 1863; C. Vercellone, *Variæ lectiones vulg. Latinæ Bibliorum editionis*, 2 tom., Romæ, 1861–1864; F. Kaulen, *Geschichte der Vulg.*, Mainz, 1868; S. Berger, 'Des Essais qui ont été faits à Paris au xiii^{e} siècle pour corriger le texte de la Vulg.' (*Rev. de Théologie et de Philosophie*, t. xvi.), Lausanne, 1883, *De l'Histoire de la Vulg. en France*, Paris, 1887, *Quam notitiam linguæ hebraicæ habuerint christiani medii ævi temporibus in Gallia*, Paris, 1893, *Histoire de la Vulg. pendant les premiers siècles du moyen âge*, Paris, 1893; G. B. de Rossi, 'La Bibbia offerta da Ceolfrido' (from the *Ommagio giubilare della Bibl. Vat. al S. P. Leone* XIII.), Rome, 1888; H. Denifle, 'Die Handschriften der Bibel-Correctorien des 13 Jahrhunderts' (*Archiv f. Literatur- u. Kirchengesch.* t. iv. pp. 263, 471), 1888; P. Martin, 'La Vulg. latine au xiii^{e} siècle d'après R. Bacon' (in *Le Muséon* vii., Louvain, 1888), 'la texte Parisien de la Vulg. Lat.' (*Le Muséon* viii., 1889); *Die Trierer Ada-Handschrift . . . von* K. Menzel, P. Corssen, etc., Leipzig, 1889; H. J. White, 'The Codex Amiatinus and its Birthplace,' in *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica*, vol. ii., Oxford, 1890; W. A. Copinger, *Incunabula Biblica, or the first half-century of the Latin Bible*, London, 1892; E. Nestle, *Ein Jubiläum der Lateinischen Bibel*, Tübingen, 1892; H. J. White, 'The Latin Versions,' in Scrivener-Miller, *Introduction to the Criticism of the NT*^{4}, 1894, vol. ii. pp. 56-90; E. von Dobschütz, *Studien zur Textkritik der Vulg.*, Leipzig, 1894; C. R. Gregory: Prolegomena to Tischendorf's *Novum Testamentum Græce*, etc., *editio octava critica maior*, vol. iii., Lips. 1894, pp. 971-1108; F. G. Kenyon, *Handb. to Text. Crit. of NT*, 1901, pp. 184-203; E. Nestle, *Lateinische Bibelübersetzungen* (revision of Fritzsche) in *PRE*^{3}, Bd. iii., also published separately in *Urtext u. Uebersetzungen der Bibel*, Leipzig, 1897; P. Corssen, 'Bericht über die latein. Bibelübersetzungen' ('Sonderabdruck,' from the *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 1899); P. Thielmann, 'Bericht ü. d. gesammelte handschr. Material zu einer kr. Ausgahe,' etc. (from the Munich *Sitzungsberichten*, 1899).

C. For the grammar, Latinity, etc., of the Vulgate:—J. A. Hagen, *Sprachliche Erörterungen zur Vulg.*, Freiburg in Br. 1863; F. Kaulen, *Handbuch zur Vulg.*, Mainz, 1870; P. Hake, *Sprachliche Erlaüterungen zu dem lat. Psalmentexte*, Arnsberg, 1872; W. Nowack, *Die Bedeutung des Hieron. für die alttest. Kritik*, Göttingen, 1875; H. Roensch, *Itala u. Vulg.*, Marburg, 1875; H. Goelzer, *Latinité de Saint Jérôme*, Paris, 1884; H. P. Smith, 'The Value of the Vulg. OT for Textual Criticism' (*Presbyterian and Reformed Rev.*, April 1891); A. Hartl, *Sprachliche Eigenthümlichkeiten der Vulg.*, Ried, 1894.

D. Critical Editions:—C. Vercellone, *Biblia Sacra Vulgatæ Editionis Sixti V. et Clementis VIII. Pontt. Maxx. jussu recognita atque edita. Romæ, Typis S. Congregationis de propaganda fide*, 1861. This is the best reprint of the Clementine Vulgate Bible, and Vercellone's preface should be carefully read; C. Tischendorf, *Nov. Test. Latine; textum Hieronymi . . . restituit C. T.*, Lipsiæ, 1864; P. M. Hetzenauer, *Nov. Test. Vulgatæ Editionis: ex Vaticanis editionibus earumque correctorio critice edidit P. M. H.*, Oeniponte, 1899; Corssen, *Epistula ad Galatas*, Berlin, 1885; Bp. J. Wordsworth, *Novum Testamentum . . . Latine sec. edit. S. Hieronymi . . . recensuit J. Wordsworth, S.T.P., in operis societatem adsumto H. J. White*, Oxon., 1889-1898. (The four Gospels are published; the rest of the NT is in preparation).

H. J. WHITE.

VULTURE.—דָּאָה *dā'āh* and דַּיָּה *dayyāh* are tr. AV 'vulture' (Lv 11^{14}, Dt 14^{13}, Is 34^{15}), RV 'kite'; אַיָּה *'ayyāh* is tr. AV 'vulture' (Job 28^{7}), RV 'falcon.' רָחָם or רָחָמָה *rāḥām* or *rāḥāmāh* is tr. RV 'vulture' (Lv 11^{18}, Dt 14^{17}), AV 'gier eagle.' Of these four, only the last refers to the vulture. It is doubtless *Neophron percnopterus*, Sav., Pharaoh's Hen, which is still called *rakham* in Arabic. On the other hand, נֶשֶׁר *nesher*, which is always rendered 'eagle,' undoubtedly includes a number of the vultures, esp. the lämmergeier and the griffon. For the habits of the vulture and for Scripture allusions to them, see EAGLE, GIER EAGLE, OSPRAY, and OSSIFRAGE.

G. E. POST.

W

WAFER.—See art. BREAD, vol. i. p. 318.

WAGES.—See SERVANT.

WAGGON.—See CART.

WAIT (from the same root as 'wake' and 'watch') is used in AV both as subst. and verb. 1. As subst. the meaning is a watch, plot, esp. an ambush. The phrases are (*a*) *Lie in wait*, as Dt 19^{11} 'But if any man hate his neighbour, and lie in wait for him, and rise up against him and smite him mortally that he die'; Jos 8^{4} 'Behold, ye shall lie in wait against the city, even behind the city.' So 'liers in wait,' as Jg 9^{25} 'And the men of Shechem set liers in wait for him in the top of the mountains.' (*b*) *Lay wait*, as Jg 16^{2} 'They compassed him in, and laid wait for him all night in the gate of the city'; Jer 9^{8} 'One speaketh peaceably to his neighbour with his mouth, but in heart he layeth his wait' (RV as AVm 'layeth wait for him'). (*c*) *Laying of wait*, as Nu 35^{20} 'But if he thrust him of hatred, or hurl at him by laying of wait.' Udall has 'lay a wait' (*Erasmus' Paraph.* i. 87), 'And in the meane tyme he touched secretelye the conscience of certayne Phariseis, whiche layed deadly a wayte for Jesus.' And Fuller has 'lay at wait' (*Holy State*, 316), 'An adversary who lay at wait for all advantages.'

2. As verb we find 'wait' in the phrases 'wait for' and 'wait on' or 'upon.' (1) 'Wait for' has three meanings: (*a*) *Watch for*, equivalent to 'lay wait for,' Job 15^{22} 'He is waited for of the sword' (וְצָפוּי הוּא אֱלֵי־חָרֶב; LXX ἐντέταλται [A ἐντέτακται] γὰρ ἤδη εἰς χεῖρας σιδήρου; Vulg. 'circumspectans undique gladium'; Cov. 'the swearde is allwaye before his eyes'; Kautzsch, 'für das Schwert ist er ausersehen'); Ps 56^{6} 'They mark my steps, when they wait for my soul' (כַּאֲשֶׁר קִוּוּ נַפְשִׁי); cf. Ps 71^{10} 'And they that lay wait for my soul' (וְשֹׁמְרֵי נַפְשִׁי). (*b*) *Expect*, the modern use, Lk 12^{36} 'Like unto men that wait for their lord, when he will return from the wedding' (προσδεχομένοις τὸν κύριον ἑαυτῶν, RV 'looking for'); Ac 10^{24} 'Cornelius waited for them' (ἦν προσδοκῶν αὐτούς, RV 'was waiting for them'); 17^{16} 'Now while Paul waited for them at Athens' (ἐκδεχομένου αὐτοὺς τοῦ Παύλου); 2 Th 3^{5} 'the patient waiting for Christ' (ὑπομονή, RV as AVm 'patience'). (*c*) The most important use of this phrase is when it refers to the attitude towards God of the patient believer, who is confident that God will yet show Himself to be the enemy of evildoers and the praise of them that do well; it is then almost equivalent to *believe in* or *worship*. Thus 2 K 6^{33} 'Behold, this evil is of the Lord; what (RV 'why') should I wait for the Lord any longer?' (מָה־אוֹחִיל לַיהוָה עוֹד, LXX τί ὑπομείνω τῷ κυρίῳ ἔτι;); Ps 37^{7} 'Rest in the Lord, and wait patiently for him'; 39^{7} 'And now, Lord, what wait I for? my hope is in thee'; 65^{1} 'Praise waiteth for thee, O God, in Sion.' See also Driver, *Par. Psal.* p. 465.

(2) 'Wait on' or 'upon' means: (*a*) *attend to*, as Nu 3^{10} 'And thou shalt appoint Aaron and his sons, and they shall wait on their priest's office'; 8^{24}; 1 Ch 23^{28} 'Their office was to wait on the sons of Aaron for the service of the house of the Lord'; 2 Ch 13^{10} 'the Levites wait upon their business'; Mk 3^{9} 'He spake unto his disciples that a small ship should wait on him' (προσκαρτερῇ αὐτῷ); Ro 12^{7}. So Adams, *2 Peter*, 35, 'Life . . . which is obnoxious to sin, and waited on with misery.' In this sense 'wait at' is used in 1 Co 9^{13} 'They which wait at the altar' (RV 'wait upon'). (*b*) The other use is the same as the special biblical sense of 'wait for,' viz. *look for*, *trust to*, nearly *worship*, as Ps 25^{3} 'Let none that wait on thee be ashamed'; 25$^{5.\ 21}$ 27^{14} 104^{27}.

The simple verb is used twice of God's long-suffering towards men, Is 30^{18} 'And therefore will the Lord wait, that he may be gracious unto you'; 1 P 3^{20} 'the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah.'

J. HASTINGS.

WALLS.—All over the East, where wood is not plentiful, walls of houses and even palaces have been built from the earliest times of crude or sunburnt brick. It is only in certain localities, where stone was plentiful, and in later ages, that stone has been used. Strabo (xvii. 2. 3) tells us that the houses in the cities of Ethiopia were formed by interweaving split pieces of palm wood or of crude bricks, and says (xvi. 1. 5) of Seleucia (Assyria, near Babylon) that on account of the scarcity of timber the beams and pillars of the houses were made of palm wood: they wound ropes of twisted reeds round the pillars, painted them over with colour and drew designs on them; they covered the doors with asphalt. All the houses were vaulted on account of the scarcity of timber. The earliest efforts of construction in Egypt were made in wood, probably like the dwellings now found in Nubia—palm branches interlaced, plastered over with clay and straw, roofs of branches or planks, or faggots of wood. Bricks were an advance upon this. The palaces of Egypt were of very slight construction, stuccoed walls and planks of acacia. In Assyria stone was so scarce that it was only used as an accessory; the bodies of the structures were never composed of it: it was mainly confined to plinths, pavements, and the internal linings of walls. In Chaldæa stone was entirely absent. The mountains which run parallel to the left bank of the Tigris were bare of trees, and the palm and poplar alone yielded wood of any length: the one soft and fibrous, the other brittle and light. Nineveh, Babylon, Egypt, and Jerusalem all drew their timber from the forest of Lebanon. The employment, however, of this excellent wood must always have been rare and exceptional (Lenormant, *Histoire Ancienne*, ii. 298; Perrot and Chipiez, i. 124; Layard, *Discoveries*, 356).

'In Chaldæa the architect was condemned by the *force majeure* of circumstances to employ little more than crude or burnt brick and bad timber; in Assyria he voluntarily condemned himself to the limitations they imposed' (Perrot and Chipiez, i. 125). The Chaldæans could employ neither pier or column, nor bearers or lintels of stone; they were thus debarred from constructing spacious galleries and chambers, and 'consequently their towns were artificial mountains, as solid and massive from base to summit as the natural hills' (*ib.* 133). The few long and narrow apartments contrived within them could be compared only to caves hollowed out in the face of a cliff. When the arch was discovered it was made frequent use of. A bas-relief recovered by Layard, showing a group of buildings at Kouyunjik erected by Sennacherib in his palace at Nineveh, depicts them as having not only flat roofs, but hemispherical cupolas, and tall conical domes: the same forms are still in use all over that country, the flat roofs usually for dwelling-houses, but yet the peasants' houses as well as the store-houses have often domed roofs of brick.

In building the tower of Babel we are told 'they had brick for stone, and bitumen had they for mortar' (Gn 11^3). Herodotus says (i. 179), in regard to the walls of Babylon, 'As they dug the ditches they converted the excavated earth into bricks, and when they had enough they burnt them in the kilns. Finally, for mortar they used hot bitumen, and at every thirty courses of bricks they put a layer of reeds interlaced.' There are many bituminous fountains still to be found springing through the soil between Mosul and Baghdad (Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 46). See BITUMEN. In spite of the abundance of stone in Egypt, crude brick was extensively used, and the captives taken in war were forced to undertake the erection of public granaries and other buildings in that material for the Egyptian monarch. Wilkinson (i. 50) refers to the buildings of great size and solidity, found in various parts of the country, of crude brick. At Thebes these buildings consist of walls enclosing sacred monuments and tombs, and some are made with and others without straw.

In Palestine all the earliest remains that have been recovered are of crude brick; and even in the ruins in the mountains, where stone was plentiful, there are no stone remains attributed to an earlier time than that of king Solomon. At *Tell el-Hesy* (Lachish) at least eight ruined cities have been brought to light, one lying over the other, the earliest being attributed to 1700 years B.C., the latest to 500 years B.C. The houses are of crude brick, similar to those of the country at the present day. No indications were obtained whether the roofs were vaulted or supported by beams; probably the latter, judging by the thickness of the walls (Bliss, *Mound of Many Cities*). At *Tell es-Sâfi* recent excavations of *PEF* have exposed a wall of defence of stone earlier than the times of the Crusades, but the date is not yet approximated to. The stones are roughly squared rubble, laid in mud and straw, and the interstices filled with mud and small stones from the fields: height of courses 1′ 5″ to 2′. A few drafted stones occur. Part of the wall is plastered with dark mud and straw, over which is a layer of white mud and straw, made by mixing a powder of unburnt limestone with water. This kind of plaster is used in the Lebanon to-day (*PEFSt*, 1899, 195).

Foundations of a city in Egypt.—When a new district was to be added to a city, the ground was prepared by building with crude brick a number of long and thick walls parallel to one another; then cross walls at right angles with the first, chess-board fashion. The square pits thus constructed were filled with earth, broken stone, or anything else within reach. The foundations of the future city were laid upon the mass thus obtained, and they profited by the operation both in health and amenity. The cities of Memphis and Thebes both seem to have been built in this manner (Edouard Mariette, p. 139). Diodorus (i. 45. 4) says there were houses of four and five storeys at Thebes, and attributes them to the time of the fabulous monarch Busires. As a rule we find a ground floor, one floor above that, and a covered flat roof on the top.

Egyptian houses were built of crude brick made of loam mixed with chopped straw. These bricks are usually a foot long and 6 inches wide. The ceilings of the larger rooms were of indigenous or foreign wood, the smaller rooms were often vaulted: the walls of the houses were coated with stucco, and painted with religious and domestic scenes. The galleries and columns of the porch were coloured in imitation of stone, or painted. The ceilings were covered with arabesques and interlacing ornaments of all kinds, while the floors were strewn with nets woven of many coloured reeds (M. Gailhabaud's *Monuments anciens et moderns*).

Wilkinson (*Anc. Egyp.* iii. 316) states that the brick arch was used 1540 years B.C., and the stone arch 600 B.C. in Egypt, and suggests that it came into use owing to the small quantity of wood in Egypt, and considers that the invention of the arch there may date as far back as 2020 years B.C.[*] He gives instances of stone monoliths of over 290 tons weight being dragged by manual labour over 500 miles from the quarries: the power to move the mass was the same, whatever might be the distance. They simply put on a sufficient number of men to move the stone by hauling it along on a sledge. One case he mentions of a single block, 587 tons weight, being transported 138 miles.

---

[*] In all probability this date should be carried much further back, for recent excavations at Nippur have shown that in Babylonia the arch of burnt brick was employed prior to B.C. 4000. See BABYLONIA in vol. i. p. 219^b.

The walls of temples and the fortifications of cities required to be of a very solid description, on account of the battering-ram (which see); and as the latter became more scientifically constructed, and other arts of war came into existence, the walls had to be made more and more solid, and the foundations extended deep into the soil or to the solid rock (Lk 6[48]).

There exist a number of instances at the present day of the magnificent walls of cut stone built in early days from the time of Solomon to Herod, at Jerusalem, Hebron, Arak el-Emir, Baalbek, Tyre and Zidon, and Egypt.

At Jerusalem some of the stones in the wall of the temple enclosure, still existing, are over 30 feet long, 8 feet wide, and 3½ feet high, weighing over 80 tons. The ancient walls are in places still over 150 feet in height, and were originally at the corners at least 250 feet in height. The stones are of hard mountain limestone, approximating to marble, and are carefully chiselled, with a sunken draft of about 3 to 5 inches width all round. The stones of the wall surrounding the cave of Machpelah at Hebron are very little inferior in size to those at Jerusalem.

At Baalbek the stones of the wall of the temple are not quite equal in size to those of Jerusalem, and the stone is much softer; but this wall is protected by another one in front built of exceedingly large stones, 3 of which weigh each about 800 tons, and are over 60 feet in length, 17 feet in breadth, and 14 feet in height. The manner in which these stones were cut and brought down from the quarry can be seen in the quarry itself. When a large stone was ready to be brought away, it could be brought down by gravity with not a very great expenditure of labour.

Josephus (*Ant.* XX. x. 7) speaks of square and very white stones used in the temple, the work of king Solomon, 20 cubits long and 6 cubits high; he also speaks (*BJ* V. v. 1) of stones in the temple itself 40 cubits in length. These great stone walls are taken down to the rock for their foundations, while the buildings of Babylon had their foundations usually on the sand near the surface (Perrot and Chipiez, i. 157). The Pharaonic temples were also rather laid on the surface than solidly placed in the ground.

The gardens in Syria formerly, as at present, had stone walls as boundaries (*BJ* V. iii. 2), and narrow paths traversed the gardens of the suburbs (Nu 22[24]). The bare hillsides were terraced with stone walls and soil brought up from the bottom, so that the bare hills became fertile fields, as is the case at the present day in Spain, Northern India, Java, Japan. This also is carried out at the present day in many parts of Palestine (*BRP* ii. 493, iii. 14).

For other points connected with the subject of this art. see BRICK, GATE, HOUSE, MORTAR, PAVEMENT, ROOF.

For details regarding the walls of Jerusalem, Babylon, Nineveh, etc., see the articles under these titles. C. WARREN.

WAR.—

i. The Terrain of Palestine.
ii. The Method of War.
iii. The Conduct of War.
iv. Treaties.
v. The Outlook of the Prophets on War.
vi. Allusions to War in the NT.

i. THE TERRAIN OF PALESTINE.—The first requisite for understanding the wars of the Bible is a knowledge of the geography of Palestine. We need to know something about the routes which so unwieldy a traveller as an army can use, the physical and artificial obstacles which hinder it in its march, the places which allow it room for fighting or for encamping, and other similar geographical details. (In reading this article the reader should have open before him the large map of Palestine prefixed to vol. i. of this Dictionary).

The great strategic routes are three in number. There is the important road which, coming from the north and skirting the coast of the Mediterranean, passes Tyre, Mount Carmel, and Gaza, and finally reaches the border of Egypt. Then there is the scarcely less important route, now followed by the railway from Damascus to Haifa, which takes a S.W. direction to the Jordan, and then crosses the whole length of the fertile plain of Esdraelon in a N.W. direction to the neighbourhood of Mount Carmel. The meeting of this road with the first-mentioned in the plain of Esdraelon confers great strategic importance on the plain. There armies could meet, victual themselves, and find room to manœuvre both with footmen and with chariots. There, too, in ancient times stood four of the chief fortresses of Palestine, put there to hinder the free use of the great plain by an enemy (cf. G. A. Smith, *HGHL*^{3} ch. xix. pp. 387–390). The third great strategic route lies east of the Jordan and runs from Damascus through Sela (Petra) to the port of Elath at the head of the Gulf of Akabah.

Besides these three great routes, none of which touched the heart of the land of Israel, some others must be mentioned which gave access to the central range. Two of these are mentioned below as giving strategic importance to Gilgal. A third, starting from the modern Jenin, crosses several small plains and easy passes (cf. *HGHL*^{3} ch. xvi. p. 327), and gives access from the north to the city of Samaria. It is a route which must often have been followed by Syrian invaders. On the west, the hill-country of Judæa was pierced by several rugged and winding passes, the best known being that which is marked by the Upper and Lower Beth-horon. These passes were the scene of much of the irregular fighting which went on between the Philistines and Israel.

Before leaving this subject one possible strategic line, lying for the most part outside Palestine, must be mentioned, *i.e.* the sea route from the Egyptian Delta to the coast of Palestine. The possession of this line gave the king of Egypt an advantage over the rival power (Assyrian or Babylonian) in the Euphrates Valley, in that it enabled him to threaten his enemy's line of communications by landing troops in his rear. It has been suggested that Pharaoh-neco reached Megiddo partly by the sea route in the reign of Josiah (but cf. *HGHL*^{3} p. 405, note 2), and it is possible that there is an allusion in Dt 28[68] to the possession of such a route by Egypt (but cf. Driver, *in loco*).

Of localities of strategic importance the plain of Esdraelon has already been noticed. A second spot of similar interest is the plain of Gilgal, the S.W. part of the Arabah or 'plains of Jericho.' Here Israel encamped after crossing the Jordan (Jos 4[19] 10[6]; cf. Jg 2[1]), and here the headquarters remained, until a more central place, either Shiloh (Jos 18[1] 22[12] 24[1] [LXX]), or Shechem (Jos 24[1] [MT]), was secured to Israel. From Gilgal a pass leads westwards over the great central ridge by Bethel and the two Beth-horons down to the maritime plain. Some distance north of Gilgal another pass leads up the Wady Farah (*Fâri'ah*), sometimes identified with the Brook Cherith, in a N.W. direction to Shechem. The first of these routes was probably followed by Joshua in his marches on Ai (Jos 8[3]) and on Gibeon (Jos 10[6. 7]); the second is probably referred to in Jg 1[22-25], where the conquest of Bethel by the house of Joseph is recorded.

In this enumeration of routes and localities no reference has been made to Jerusalem. Indeed its strategic importance was not great. Neither Alexander of Macedon (*pace* Jos. *Ant.* XI. viii.; cf. Piepenbring, *Histoire*, pp. 590-592), nor Napoleon Bonaparte when on the march to Egypt, deigned to turn aside to Jerusalem. To an Assyrian king engaged in a similar expedition, Lachish and Libnah (2 K 19[8]), both on the edge of the Shephēlah (see Map), were each of more importance than the comparatively remote Jewish capital. It was the political influence of Ḥezeḳiah over the Philistine malcontents which caused Sennacherib to detach a strong force (2 K 18[17]) against Jerusalem. Isaiah was right in holding that it was possible for Judah to maintain a policy of isolation in the face of the clash of the great powers of western Asia. These powers seldom desired to encumber themselves with such 'a burdensome stone' (Zec 12[3]) as Jerusalem. Shishak, king of Egypt, did indeed capture the city in the reign of Rehoboam, but only because Solomon had made it a city worth plundering (1 K 14[25. 26]). Hazael, king of Syria, 'set his face to go up against Jerusalem,' but commuted his hostility for a payment in money (2 K 12[17. 18]). Similarly was Sennacherib bought off once at least (2 K 18[13-16]). Pharaoh-neco, king of Egypt, slew Josiah at Megiddo and deposed Jehoahaz at Riblah 'in the land of Hamath,' but does not seem to have turned aside to Jerusalem (2 K 23[29-35]). Nebuchadrezzar was at least equally contemptuous. Jehoiaḳim was in a state of rebellion against Babylon for eight years, but the great king contented himself with sending marauding bands against his vassal. Jerusalem was outside the sphere within which great captains contended with great armies.

Samaria, on the other hand, was comparatively of great strategic importance. It stands on a commanding hill (well shown in Sir R. Temple's *Palestine Illustrated*, p. 180) where the important road from Jenin meets at right angles the broad, 'fat valley' (Is 28[1]) which slopes westward towards the plain of Sharon and the Mediterranean. Eastward, passes of no great difficulty lead to the fords of the Jordan. Thus Samaria was strategically as well as politically 'the head of Ephraim' (Is 7[9]).

We have now had occasion to mention representatives of three classes of fortresses in Palestine. On the south-west, Libnah, Lachish, Gezer, and Beth-horon guarded Judah against Egypt, the Philistines, and the inhabitants of the Sinaitic Peninsula. On the edge of the plain of Esdraelon stood Megiddo, Jezreel, and other fortresses closing the different approaches. On the central ridge, Jerusalem and Samaria were strongly fortified. Two classes of fortresses remain to be mentioned. On the border between the northern and southern kingdom Geba and Mizpah and other cities were built to stop the passage of possible fugitives and deserters and to watch the frontier (1 K 15[16-22]). Lastly, the great fortresses east of Jordan, of which perhaps Ramoth-gilead was the most important (1 K 22[3], 2 K 8[28] 9[1]), must be mentioned; nor must the watch-towers, built to protect the roads and watch over the pastures, be forgotten (see TOWER).

The geographical conditions of Palestine were such that the kind of warfare best known to the Hebrews must have been the foray. The south of Judah lay open to the Amaleḳites and other predatory tribes (1 S 30). On the east were the Midianite freebooters (Jg 6[3. 4]). Against these the Jordan was an ambiguous defence, for, if the invaders could seize one of the fords by surprise, they could hold it with a rearguard against pursuers while the booty was being safely carried off into the desert. The Philistines (1 S 13[17]), the Moabites (2 K 13[20]), and the Hebrews themselves (David, 1 S 27[8]; Joab, 2 S 3[22]; and Gad, Gn 49[19]) were much given to making raids ('roads,' AV).

ii. THE METHOD OF WAR.—(*a*) *The Preliminaries.*—Wars were regularly begun in the spring, in order that if possible operations might be concluded before the beginning of winter (cf. 2 S 11[1]). Yet winter did not always bring relief from the pressure of war (Jer 8[20]), and sieges were sometimes prolonged over twelve months, *e.g.* that of Samaria (*three years*, 2 K 17[5]) and Jerusalem (*eighteen months*, 2 K 25[1-3]).

Something approaching to a *declaration of war* was sometimes given, *e.g.* by Amaziah of Judah to Jehoash of Israel (2 K 14[8]), and negotiation was sometimes tried, *e.g.* by Jephthah with the king of Ammon (Jg 11[12]), in order to avert war; but such instances are not common.

Before beginning a war, efforts were generally made to gain religious sanction for the step. Inquiry of God was made before the ark (Jg 20[27. 28] [Heb. and LXX] and 1 S 14[18] [Heb. only]), or before a priest wearing the ephod with Urim and Thummim (1 S 14[18] [LXX only], 1 S 28[6] [Heb. and LXX], and 1 S 30[7] [Heb. and LXX]), or through a prophet (Micaiah, 1 K 22[15]), or by means of dreams (Gideon, Jg 7[13]), or even through a familiar spirit (the witch of Endor, 1 S 28[7]). Hence the phrase 'to consecrate' a war or warriors; Jl 3[9], Mic 3[5], Jer 6[4]; Is 13[3], Jer 22[7] 51[27. 28]. Moreover, the ark was sometimes carried by Israel into the field (1 S 4[3-11], 2 S 11[11]), and, on the other hand, the Philistines took 'their images' with them (2 S 5[21]). When there was no ark to go forth, individual Israelites were found who carried into battle 'consecrated tokens of the idols of Jamnia' concealed under their garments (2 Mac 12[40]).

The people in general were warned of the approach of an enemy or summoned to war (1) by the blowing of trumpets (1 S 13[3], Ezk 33[1-6], Am 3[6]); (2) by putting up ensigns on bare heights to mark rallying places (Is 13[2]), or by kindling fires on suitable hill summits (Jer 6[1] [AV]); (3) by sending messengers throughout the land (Jg 7[24], 1 S 11[7]). It was sometimes necessary to rouse a warlike feeling by unwonted appeals to indignation or to fear; in Jg 19[29] the Levite sends the pieces of his divided concubine into every part of Israel, and in 1 S 11[7] Saul sends the hewn pieces of a yoke of oxen throughout Israel with the threat of so destroying the cattle of any who should be slack to obey his call.

In advancing to attack, a leader gave his troops a watchword ('for Jehovah and for Gideon,' Jg 7[18]; cf. 2 Mac 8[23] *δοὺς σύνθημα θεοῦ βοηθείας*, also 13[15] *θεοῦ νίκην*); and sometimes a 'pæan' was sung (2 Ch 20[21], 2 Mac 12[37] *καταρξάμενος τὴν μεθ' ὕμνων κραυγήν*).

(*b*) *Strategy as illustrated by campaigns conducted in Palestine.*—Strategy is the art of choosing the right route by which to attack or await the enemy. For an instance of consummate strategy we may take the Philistines' conduct of the campaign of Gilboa (1 S 28–31). Instead of attacking Israel by the direct route through the defensible valleys of the south-west, where chariots could hardly pass, much less manœuvre, the army of Achish, with its chariots and horsemen, struck northward, aiming at the fertile plain of Esdraelon, and drawing Saul away from his Benjamite strongholds. The Israelites failed to close the passes over the eastern end of Mount Carmel, and the Philistines poured into the plain, where they could victual their large army and use their chariots with effect. Saul's hillmen could not meet the enemy in such a place with much hope of success.

Their king was outmarched and outmanœuvred. No wonder that his stout heart trembled when he saw the Philistines in force on this vantage-ground (1 S $28^{4.5}$). The battle of Gilboa was from the first only a forlorn hope for Israel. On the other hand, when the Philistines 'came up to seek David' (2 S 5^{17-25}), their strategy was faulty. Despising the enemy, they twice came up the Judæan (or possibly the Benjamite) valleys into the small plain of Rephaim (between Jerusalem and Bethlehem). Twice did David await his opportunity in the hold (v.^{17}) hard by, and twice did he inflict a severe defeat upon the Philistines. They failed because through over-confidence they chose a route more favourable to the enemy than to themselves.

(*c*) *Tactics.*—The tactics of the Israelites in the earliest days were very simple, but often very effective. First a surprise gained by stratagem, and then a sudden rush of men in which personal prowess had its full opportunity. For such warfare the strong individuality of the Hebrew race fitted them in a very high degree. The stratagems described in the historical books belong to all periods and are of various kinds.

(1) *Night marches* and *night attacks* were frequent. Joshua marched all night to the relief of Gibeon, and, it seems, surprised the Amorites at dawn (Jos 10^{9}). Mesha (Moabite Stone, line 15) captured Nebo from Israel by similar tactics. Gideon assailed the Midianite camp 'at the beginning of the middle watch' (Jg 7^{19}), *i.e.* about midnight. Saul attacked the Ammonites in the morning watch, *i.e.* shortly before dawn (1 S 11^{11}). Joram, king of Judah, when surrounded by the Edomites, cut his way through them *with his chariots* by night—a great feat, needing a clear night and able leading (2 K 8^{21}). (2) An *ambush* was a favourite stratagem. By this Ai was captured (Jos 8^{10-28}), and Gibeah (Jg 20^{30-44}). The Syrians tried it against Israel without success (2 K $6^{8.9}$). With the ambush a pretended flight of the main body was often combined. (3) Similar to the ambush was the device of *giving a deserted appearance to a camp*, in the hope of taking the enemy at a disadvantage when he came to spoil it (2 K 3^{24}, cf. 7^{12}). (4) A well-organized *force could be divided* just before an engagement, and the enemy put at a disadvantage by attack from more than one direction (Gn 14^{15}, 2 S 18^{2}, cf. v.^{8}).

The usual defensive tactics of the Hebrews consisted of standing in close order, shield touching shield, with spears carried at the charge, and of awaiting the attack of the enemy on higher ground and with the front protected by a wâdy or other obstacle. Such probably was the array (מַעֲרָכָה *ma'ărākhāh*) with which they fronted the Philistines in the valley of Elah (1 S 17^{21}). In such a position they were unassailable, and things might well remain at a standstill for *forty days* (v.^{16} [not in LXX B]). Unless the position could be turned by a flank movement, the only resource left to an assailant was to seek to shake the steadiness of the array by enticing the prominent warriors to leave their posts to engage in single combats. This resource the Philistines in the valley of Elah tried in vain. 'The men of Israel [when they saw Goliath] fled from him [back to their places in the array]' (v.^{24}).

Israel's simple tactics were really adapted only to broken country, such as the hill-country of Judah, with its caves and deep rugged wâdis. The enemy when defeated said, not without truth (1 K 20^{23}), 'Their god is a god of the hills; therefore they were stronger than we.' For more scientific tactics we have to look to Israel's foes. We see such in use at the battle of Gilboa. Saul, like Harold at Hastings, had formed his army probably in close order on a hillside up which the enemy must advance to attack. But the Philistines, like the Normans towards the close of the battle of Hastings, prepared the way for the decisive attack by flights of arrows. Saul fell like Harold, pierced through by the archers (1 S 31^{3}). Then, and not till then, the Philistines could trust their chariots and horsemen to make a successful charge up the slope (2 S 1^{6}), and a decisive victory was won.

Another good though unsuccessful piece of tactical skill was shown by the Syrians at the battle of Ramoth-gilead. The Syrian king massed his chariots (1 K 22^{31}), and endeavoured to obtain a decisive effect by employing them at a decisive point, viz. the person of Ahab. Ahab escaped this danger through his disguise, and was thus able to encourage his army by his presence 'until the going down of the sun.' Thus Israel was repulsed but not routed at Ramoth-gilead.

(*d*) **Fortresses** played an important part in the wars of Palestine. In the days of the Judges Israel had no fortresses, but had to take refuge from Midianite (Jg 6^{2}) and Philistine oppression (1 S 13^{6}) in cave districts and among the mountains. But the land is studded with heights suitable for fortified posts, and under the kings these were crowned with walled cities.

Fortresses (cities 'having gates and bars,' 1 S 23^{7}) were surrounded by walls of stone or of sun-dried bricks, built often close to the precipitous sides of a hill or mound.* If there were no precipice near to defend the wall, then a trench (חֵל *ḥēl*) was added. Samaria had such a trench (1 K 21^{23} ['wall' AV, 'rampart' RV]); and Jerusalem, though none was needed on the E., where ran the deep valley of Jehoshaphat, probably had one elsewhere (La 2^{8}).

The walls of Jerusalem were strengthened with towers and furnished with battlements (Jer 5^{10} 'thy branches' [RV, prob. a poetical term for 'battlements' AV], cf. Zeph 1^{16} and 2 Ch 26^{15}). On the walls were placed engines for throwing arrows and great stones (2 Ch 26^{15}).

Of the attack of strong places by the Israelites we have many notices. Jericho was captured by *coup de main* with an ease in which Israel rightly saw the hand of God; the *falling of the walls* seems to be a metaphor describing the failing of the hearts of the defenders (Jos 6^{20}, cf. 2^{11}). Similarly, Judas Maccabæus is said to have captured a strong city by 'rushing wildly against the wall' (ἐνέσεισαν θηριωδῶς τῷ τείχει, 2 Mac 12^{15}). Sometimes fire was applied to burn the gates or to set fire to a wooden defence (Jg 9^{48-52}); this device is also pictured on the Assyrian reliefs. As early as the time of David the 'mount' or 'bank' (סֹלְלָה *ṣōlĕlāh*, see below) was employed (2 S 20^{15}). If these means of attack failed, the besiegers were obliged to maintain a wearisome blockade, until surrender was brought about by famine or treachery. The fall of Rabbah was perhaps hastened by threatened water-famine (2 S 12^{27}). The Syrians (Aramæans) probably used engines (1 K 20^{12} [RVm]); and the Assyrians, as masters of the art of war, practised regular siege operations. Great shields or screens were raised against the wall (Is 37^{33}), behind which archers were set to keep under the 'fire' of the defenders. Under cover of this bombardment a causeway was built (perhaps by captives) from the Assyrian camp to the city to be attacked. Rising gradually in height, it was pushed nearer and nearer the city. Such a mound, when it touched the wall, might be used to facilitate an escalade or to bring the battering-ram on a level with the upper part of the wall. Another instrument of attack used by the Assyrians was a movable tower occupied by archers. If these archers succeeded in clearing the wall of its defenders, the tower could then be pushed up to the wall and the place taken by storm (cf. 1 Mac 13^{43-45}). The steps in a siege are enumerated in Ezk $26^{8.\,9}$.

---

* Compare Flinders Petrie (*Tell el-Hesy*, 1891) and F. J. Bliss (*A Mound of many Cities*, 1894).

(*e*) *Payment* to warriors on service was apparently made chiefly in the form of booty. There are, however, some allusions to pay of an ordinary kind. Amaziah is said to have hired 100,000 men from Israel for his expedition against Edom for 100 talents of silver (2 Ch 25^{6}). The Assyrian warrior from the time of Sargon was a paid foreigner, not an Assyrian peasant (*KAT*^{3} p. 64). The Chaldæan armies of Nebuchadrezzar were also mercenary (*ib.* p. 109). Antiochus Epiphanes opened his treasury, and gave his forces pay (*ὀψώνια*, cf. Ro 6^{23}, 1 Co 9^{7}) for a year (1 Mac 3^{28}). But booty meant more to a warrior than pay, as the disappointment of the Israelite mercenaries shows (2 Ch $25^{10.\,13}$, cf. Jg 5^{19}). Booty was to be divided in equal shares between those who went into the battle and those who guarded the camp (1 S $30^{24.\,25}$). A chosen part was sometimes dedicated to the Lord (silver and gold, 2 S 8^{11}; sheep and oxen, 1 S 15^{21}), or reserved for a leader (1 S 30^{20}).

iii. The Conduct of War.—The treatment of conquered enemies was often very severe. David removed the Ammonites from Rabbah and the other cities of Ammon which he captured, and put them to the hardest task-work in the form of hewing stone and making brick (2 S 12^{31}). The allied armies of Israel, Judah, and Edom deliberately made a desert of Moab, filling the good land with stones, stopping the wells, and cutting down the good trees (2 K 3^{25}). Joab slew every male whom he found in Edom (1 K 11^{18}). The still more horrible cruelty of massacring women with child is more often ascribed to the enemy than to Israel itself (the Syrians in 2 K 8^{12}, Menaḥem of Israel in 2 K 15^{16}, Ammon in Am 1^{13}).

More reasonable severity was shown by expatriating the flower of an enemy's army (the first Chaldæan captivity, 2 K 24^{14}), breaking down part of the wall of an enemy's city (2 K 14^{13} and 25^{10}), and taking hostages (2 K 14^{14}).

Two instances of mildness are worthy of note. Ahab let Ben-hadad of Syria go free on his consenting to a treaty (1 K 20^{34}); 'the king of Israel,' on Elisha's advice, fed and dismissed in safety a detachment of Syrians whom the prophet had taken by stratagem (2 K 6^{23}).

There is some uncertainty as to the treatment of the Canaanites by Israel at the conquest. It is true that, according to the earliest document (JE), only one family, that of Rahab, was saved alive at Jericho (Jos 6^{21-25}); that at Ai all persons were put to the sword (8^{24-29}); and that at Makḳedah five kings were slain in cold blood (10^{16-27}). On the other hand, the passages (Jos 10^{28-43} 11^{14-23}) which represent the extermination of the Canaanites as carried out by the Israelites from one end of Palestine to the other are usually referred to a later document (D^2, the work of the redactor of Deuteronomy), and, moreover, these passages cannot be reconciled with the very early document from which Jg 1 is taken, nor again with Jos 15^{63} 17^{11-18}. It is clear from many precise statements in Joshua and Judges that Israel was not able to carry on a war to the knife; the conquerors were obliged to grant terms to the conquered. It may indeed be objected that Dt 20 (which belongs to the kernel of the book) enjoins the massacre of the Canaanites. But (1) D no less than D^2 is a later document than JE; (2) it is far from improbable that Dt 20^{10-14} contains the earlier law (applicable even to war with the Canaanites), and that the exclusion of the Canaanites from the benefits of this law (vv.$^{15-18}$) is due to the author himself, who wrote under the influence of the spirit which was soon to manifest itself in the violent reformation of Josiah (2 K 23^{1-20}). We conclude that the Canaanites were in part massacred, in part reduced to task-work, in part borne with on sufferance, in part taken into Israel by intermarriage.

iv. Treaties.—Treaties of peace were granted to a beaten foe, the most common condition being the payment of an indemnity (Sennacherib to Ḥezeḳiah in 2 K 18^{14}). A modern-sounding treaty is that made by Ahab with Ben-hadad (1 K 20^{34}): cities captured from Israel were to be restored and the right to trade in Damascus was to be conceded. An instance of a barbarian's treaty is that offered by Nahash of Ammon to Jabesh-gilead (1 S 11^{2}) on the condition that the right eye of every male defender (? or of every inhabitant) of Jabesh-gilead should be put out. Savage as the offer is, it was probably seriously meant.

v. The Outlook of the Prophets on War.—The earliest prophets show no horror of war as war, but lead or encourage their own people to resist the enemy. Deborah the prophetess rouses her countrymen against Sisera (Jg 4^{4-9}) and gives the signal for the battle (v.^{14}). Samuel is at the head of the rising against the Philistines (1 S 7^{3-12}, perhaps a late passage, but of importance in this connexion). An unnamed prophet encourages Ahab against Ben-hadad (1 K $20^{13.\,14}$). Elisha's prophetic activity is the turning-point in the campaign against Moab (2 K 3^{11-20}); and the same prophet, on his deathbed, heartens Joash of Israel in the contest with Syria (2 K 13^{14-19}). An interesting touch of mercy or of good policy appears in Elisha's treatment of the Syrian prisoners in 2 K 6^{21-23}. In the writing prophets, however, from Amos onwards we have a wider outlook upon war. War is no longer a mere event; it has become a symbol. The coming Day of the Lord is associated with terrible wars (Am 5–7, Is 13^{6-18}, Jl 3 $[4]^{9-17}$). On the other hand, the Latter Days are to be marked by universal peace, between nation and nation and even between man and beast (Is 2^{1-4} $9^{2-7\,[1-6]}$ 11^{6-9}, Mic 4^{1-4}; cf. Zec $14^{9-11.\,16-19}$).

vi. Allusions to War in the NT.—In the Gospels three references to war, all in Luke, call for notice. In 3^{14} *στρατευόμενοι* ('soldiers on service,' RVm) ask for and receive counsel from John the Baptist. In 14^{31} our Lord takes a lesson from the action of a king in calling a council of war, and in 19^{43} He prophesies that the enemy will cast up a *bank* (*χάρακα*) against Jerusalem. On these passages cf. Plummer's *St. Luke*. In the Epistles, St. Paul shows in a dozen references to a soldier's career that he looked at it with interest and even with sympathy. He calls the Christian life 'the good warfare' (1 Ti 1^{18}), refers to the soldier's *ὀψώνια* (1 Co 9^{7}), holds up the soldier's ideal of service for imitation (2 Ti $2^{3.\,4}$), praises the Colossians as an inspecting officer might praise a legion (Col 2^{5}), and compares the recovery of the erring for Christ to the taking of captives alive in battle (2 Ti 2^{26}). The apostle, moreover, describes himself in words of startling sternness as waging a warfare *οὐ κατὰ σάρκα* against pride and disobedience in his converts (2 Co 10^{3-6}). In the Apocalypse there are several references to the great struggle between the saints and the powers of evil. There is 'war in heaven,' which results in the dragon and his angels being cast down to earth (Rev 12^{7-12}). The Beast (*τὸ θηρίον*) makes war with the saints by commission from the Dragon (13^{7a}, omitted by AC, etc., has the support of the Syriac text—Philoxenian?—published by Gwynn, 1897). The kings of the whole world (*τῆς οἰκουμένης ὅλης*) are gathered together to Har-magedon for 'the war of the great day of God the Almighty' (16^{12-16}). The Word (*ὁ Λόγος*) of God, who 'in righteousness doth judge and make war,' leads the armies which are in heaven to final victory over the Beast (19^{11-21}).

The general teaching of the NT on war can hardly be better given than in the following words: 'We have seen then so far that war is sanctioned by the law of nature—the constitution of man and the constitution of society; and by the teaching and practice of Christ and of His immediate disciples. Certain limitations are imposed, on the ground of expediency, by society; and, in the ideal brotherhood of men to which the Christian gospel teaches all men to aspire, war would be impossible. But, with a view to the necessary process of the attainment of this ideal, war in the abstract is not condemned. Here as always the Christianity of Christ looks to the motive' (Bethune-Baker, *Influence of Christianity on War*, 1888, p. 18).

LITERATURE.—Benzinger (1894), *Heb. Archäologie*, p. 360 ff.; Nowack (1894), *Heb. Archäologie*, i. pp. 357–375 (very full); G. A. Smith, *HGHL* (*passim*). See also ARMOUR, CAMP, ENGINE, FENCED CITIES. W. EMERY BARNES.

WARD.—The Eng. word 'ward' is another spelling of 'guard.' 'Ward' is the older Teut. form (Anglo-Sax. *weard*), 'guard' came in through the Old Fr. *garder*: cf. wage-gauge, warrant-guarantee. Both forms are used in AV, though, with one exception,* the same words are not translated by both. The form 'guard' had not then been very long in use, but was already freely used synonymously with 'ward.' The Anglo-Sax. *weard* is the same in the masc. = 'a guard,' 'defender,' and in the fem. = 'guarding,' 'defence'; hence 'ward' is used in both these senses, as well as for a body of men on guard and the place in which one is guarded, a prison. Bunyan makes a distinction between 'ward' and 'guard': *Holy War*, p. 94, 'He sent special orders to Captain Boanerges . . . to put them all three in ward, and that they should set a strong guard upon them.'

'Ward' in AV means: (1) A body of men on guard; Jer 37¹³ (*pĕḳîduth*, only occurrence; lit. 'oversight,' OHL tr. 'בַּעַל פ 'sentinel'); Ac 12¹⁰ (φυλακή). (2) The office of guarding, the defence: 1 Ch 12²⁹ (*mishmereth*, RV 'allegiance'); Neh 12⁴⁵ *bis* (*mishmereth*). (3) The position of the guard, post: 1 Ch 25⁸ *bis* 'ward against ward' (RV 'for their charges,' Heb. *mishmereth*); 26¹⁶, Neh 12²⁴·²⁵ (all *mishmār*); Is 21⁸ (*mishmereth*); Jth 8³⁶ (διάταξις, RV 'station'). (4) The place for guarding, prison, cell: Gn 40³·⁴·⁷ 41¹⁰ 42¹⁷, Lv 24¹², Nu 15³⁴ (all *mishmār*); 2 S 20³ (*mishmereth*); Ezk 19⁹ (*ṣûgar*, only occurrence; RV 'cage'); 1 Mac 14³ (φυλακή).

The adverbial suffix 'ward,' expressing direction towards a place, was formerly used with great freedom. In AV we find 'to Godward' Ex 18¹⁹, 2 Co 3⁴, 1 Th 1⁸; 'to theeward' 1 S 19⁴; 'to usward' Ps 40⁵, Eph 1¹⁹, 2 P 3⁹; 'to youward' 2 Co 1¹² 13³, Eph 3²; and 'to the mercy-seatward' Ex 37⁹, besides the adverbs northward, rereward, thitherward, and the like. Cf. 'To himward' Dt 32⁵ Tind.; 'to themward,' Berners, *Froissart*, 16; 'to Israel warde' Nu 32¹⁴ Tind.; 'to the city-ward,' Berners, *Froissart*, 16; 'whiche waye soo ever warde,' Erasmus, *Crede*, 46. J. HASTINGS.

WARE (Anglo-Sax. *warn*; Skeat thinks the orig. sense was 'valuables') is used in AV (in both sing. and plu.) for merchandise. The sing. occurs Neh 10³¹ (מַקָּחוֹת), 13¹⁶ (מֶכֶר), 13²⁰ (מִמְכָּר); and the plu. in Jer 10¹⁷ (כִּנְעָה), Ezk 27¹⁶ (מַעֲשֶׂה, AV 'the wares of thy making,' RV 'thy handiworks'), 27³³ (עִזְבוֹן), Jon 1⁵ (כֵּלִים). We still retain 'warehouse,' which Coverdale gives as two words, Jer 40¹⁰ 'Therefore gather you wyne, corne and oyle, and kepe them in youre ware houses.'—See FAIRS. J. HASTINGS.

WARE.—'Ware,' 'aware,' and 'wary' are forms of the same adj., the *a* in 'aware' representing the Anglo-Sax. *ge* (*gewaer*, Middle Eng. *iwar*, *ywar*), and the *y* in 'wary' being an addition. 'Ware' occurs in Mt 24⁵⁰ (1611, mod. edd. 'aware'), Ac 14⁶, 2 Ti 4¹⁵. So Lv 5²⁻¹⁸ Tind. (5¹⁸ 'And the preast shall make an attonement for him for the ignoraunce whiche he dyd and was not ware'); Lk 11⁴⁴ Rhem. 'Woe to you, because you are as monuments that appeare not, and men walking over, are not ware.' Udall (in *Erasmus' Paraph.* ii. 278) uses 'ware' for modern 'wary'; so Erasmus, *Crede*, 127, 'ware and wyse circumspection.' 'Wary' occurs in AV in 2 Es 7⁵², and 'wariness' in Sir 11¹⁸. J. HASTINGS.

WARS OF THE LORD, BOOK OF THE (סֵפֶר מִלְחֲמֹת יהוה; LXX B ἐν βιβλίῳ [A βίβλῳ] Πόλεμος τοῦ κυρίου).—An authority quoted in Nu 21¹⁴ to settle a question about the boundary between Moab and the Amorites. In all probability, the other two citations in the above chapter are from the same source. The last of these is indeed referred (v.²⁷) to a poem circulating amongst the *môshĕlîm* or reciters of sarcastic verses, but this does not prove that it was not incorporated also in the 'Wars of J″.' The book in question is mentioned nowhere else in the OT, for its identity with the 'Book of Jashar,' although contended for by some, cannot be established. From the title we can readily infer the contents of the book. It was doubtless a collection of songs which celebrated the victories gained by Israel in its religious wars from the Mosaic age downwards. The title was chosen by men who delighted to think of J″ as Israel's commander-in-chief (יהוה צְבָאוֹת '*J″ of the hosts* [*of Israel*]'). Cf. the words in the Song of Moses in Ex 15³ 'The LORD is a man of war.'

The meaning of all the three citations in Nu 21 is more or less obscure. The purity of the text is not beyond suspicion, and it may be also, as several critics hold, that some of the extracts refer to events which happened later than the Mosaic age, and that the narrator has only partially succeeded in accommodating the original language to the new context. Stade, for instance, believes that the third quotation has in view incidents that occurred during the wars between Israel and Moab under the dynasty of Omri. The argument of Wellhausen, that the Well-song (vv.¹⁷·¹⁸) should be metaphorically interpreted of the conquest of the Moabite city Beer (well), is plausible but not convincing. If Cornill is right in assigning the whole passage in which the citations occur to E, there is probability also in his conjecture that 'the book of the Wars of the LORD' originated in the N. kingdom. Its composition will in any case hardly be later than B.C. 750.

It is only fair to mention that some deny that Nu 21¹⁴ furnishes any evidence whatever for the existence of a book called 'the Wars of J″.' Sayce (*Academy*, 22nd Oct. 1892) would render the passage thus: 'Wherefore it is said in a (the) book, The wars of J″ were at Zahab in Suph,' etc. It may, however, be safely predicted that few will agree to follow this line of interpretation.

LITERATURE.—Ryle, *Canon of OT*, 19; W. R. Smith, *OTJC*² 327; Delitzsch, *Genesis*, new ed. i. 7; Reuss, *AT* iii. 463; Cornill, *Einleitung*², 69 f.; Wellhausen, *Comp.* 343; Wildeboer, *Lit. d. AT*, 22 f.; Kittel, *Hist. of Heb.* i. 90; Kautzsch, *Heil. Schr. d. AT*, Beilagen, 136; Budde, 'The Well-song' in *New World*, March 1895; Driver, *LOT*⁶ 121.

J. A. SELBIE.

WASHINGS.—See UNCLEAN.

WASHPOT (סִיר רַחַץ).—Only fig.: 'Moab is my washpot,' Ps 60⁸ = 108⁹ (LXX Μωὰβ λέβης τῆς ἐλπίδος μου, Vulg. *Moab olla spei meæ*, taking רחץ in its Aram. [cf. Dn 3²⁸] sense of 'trust'). Like the parallel 'Upon (*or* unto) Edom will I cast my shoe,' the expression appears to combine the ideas of ownership and of contempt. Cf. art. SHOE.

WASP (σφήξ, Wis 12⁸ AV and RVm; RV 'hornet,' see HORNET).—The common wasp, *Vespa vulgaris*, is very abundant in the East. The general colour of its body is yellow, variegated by a longitudinal black line. Its nest is composed of a papery substance, made by chewing up the wood and bark of trees, and is formed of hexagonal cells, like those of the bee. Wasps swarm in the neighbourhood of houses in the summer, and boldly enter them to feed on the meats, sweets, and fruits on the table. They also frequent the vineyards, esp. where grapes are spread out to dry into raisins. They invade the caldron in which grape juice is boiled down to *dibs*, and shops where sweets and fruits are sold. Other *Vespidæ* are also included under the general title wasp. The hornet belongs to the same tribe, and both of these hymenopterous insects are closely related to the bee.

---

* The exception is *mishmār*, which is usually trᵈ 'ward,' but in Ezk 38⁷ Neh 4²²·²³ is rendered 'guard'; RV makes no changes.

G. E. POST.

WATCH.—A division of the night. See TIME, p. 766^{b}.

WATCHER (Aram. עִיר, Theod. *εἴρ*).—A title applied to angels in Dn $4^{13.\ 17.\ 23\ [10.\ 14.\ 20]}$. It means 'wakeful one' (Aq. Symm. *ἐγρήγορος*), and occurs with great frequency in the (Ethiopic) Book of Enoch (see vol. i. p. 707), as well as in Jubilees (4^{15} 8^{3} 10^{5}) and the Syriac Fathers. It is hardly likely that in Daniel it has already acquired the restricted sense of *ἐγρήγοροι* in these later writings; more probably it is a designation of angels in general. See the Comm., esp. Driver, *ad loc.*

WATER in EV is usually the equivalent of מַיִם or *ὕδωρ*.

In 2 K 18^{27}, Is 36^{12} RV 'water' represents שֵׁינֵים and *Ḳĕrê* has מֵי רַגְלַיִם. In 2 Co 11^{26} 'waters' stands for *ποταμοί* (RV 'rivers'). 'Watercourse' is the tr. of תְּעָלָה (Job 38^{25} RV 'waterflood'), of יִבְלֵי מַיִם (Is 44^{4}), and of מוֹצָא מַיִם (2 Ch 32^{30} RV 'spring of waters'). The last phrase is also rendered 'waterspring' (Ps $107^{33.\ 35}$), and 'spring of water' (Is 41^{18} 58^{11}). 'Waterspout' is the tr. of צִנּוֹר (Ps 42^{7} RVm 'cataract'), and 'waterflood' of שִׁבֹּלֶת מַיִם (Ps 69^{15}).

The verb 'to water' represents various Heb. expressions. It stands in Pr 11^{25} for the Hiph. of יָרָא ('to throw [rain]'); in Ps 6^{6} for the Hiph. of מָסָה ('to melt'); in Ps 65^{9} for the Pilel of שׁוּק ('to run over'); in Ps $36^{8\text{mg.}}$ for the Qal, in Ps 65^{10}, Is 16^{9} for the Piel, and in Pr 11^{25}, Is 55^{10} for the Hiph., of רָוָה ('to be saturated'); and in Gn $2^{6.\ 10}$ $29^{2.\ 3.\ 7\text{ff.}}$, Ex $2^{16\text{ff.}}$, Dt 11^{10}, Ps 104^{13}, Ec 2^{6}, Is 27^{3}, Ezk 17^{7} 32^{6}, Jl 3^{18} for הִשְׁקָה ('to give to drink'). מַשְׁקֶה is tr. 'well watered' in Gn 13^{10}, and רָוֶה 'watered' in Is 58^{11}, Jer 31^{12}. In Ps 72^{6} 'showers that water' stands for the apposition רְבִיבִים זַרְזִיף ('showers—a down-pour'). 'Watering' in Job 37^{11} is for רִי (RV 'moisture'). 'Watering' in Lk 13^{15} and 'to water' in 1 Co $3^{6\text{ff.}}$ represent *ποτίζειν*. 'To drink water' (1 Ti 5^{23}) is the tr. of *ὑδροποτεῖν*. 'Waterpot' (Jn $2^{6.\ 7}$ 4^{28}) is for *ὑδρία*, and 'without water' (2 P 2^{17}, Jude ^{12}) for *ἄνυδρος*. 'To have (*i.e.* to be supplied with) water' (Jth 7^{13}) is for *ὑδρεύεσθαι*. *Ὑδραγωγός* (Sir 24^{30}) is tr. 'conduit.'

מַיִם is once rendered by 'washing' (Neh 4^{23} RV 'water'). In Jos 11^{8} 13^{6} the word is retained as part of a proper name (מִשְׂרְפוֹת מַיִם).

Water is among the commonest and most widely diffused of natural substances, and the Scripture allusions to it are consequently both numerous and varied. At ordinary temperatures it is a liquid, transparent, yet capable of reflecting light from its surface (Pr 27^{19}). When heated to the boiling point it is converted into invisible vapour (Is 64^{2}), and the same process of evaporation takes place gradually at lower temperatures (Job 24^{19}). When cooled below the freezing point it solidifies into hard, transparent, brittle ice, which is compared to a stone (Job 38^{30}), and to a breastplate (Sir 43^{20}). The water vapour in the air may be condensed by cooling into the small drops of cloud or mist, or the larger drops of rain (Job 36^{27}), or it may be deposited on the surface of objects as dew. If the cold in the atmosphere is sufficiently great, the moisture may fall in frozen drops as hail, or in feathery ice-crystals as snow (see CLOUD, DEW, HAIL, RAIN, SNOW). Among the most characteristic physical properties of water is that of quenching fire. The antagonism of these two 'elements' appears in 1 K $18^{33\text{ff.}}$, Wis 19^{20}.

The water which the earth receives partly flows along the surface in the form of brooks, streams, and rivers, or gathers in ponds, lakes, and seas; and partly sinks beneath the ground, from which it may flow forth again in springs and fountains (Gn 16^{7}, Dt 8^{7} etc.), or be recovered by sinking pits and wells (see WELL).

Water plays an important part in changing the earth's surface (Job 14^{19}), but the process is so slow that the streams, etc., which effect it seem to be among the most permanent features of the landscape, and acquire a geographical significance. Thus we have the 'water' of Nephtoah (Jos 15^{9} 18^{15}), of Jericho (Jos 16^{1}), of 'the pool Asphar' (1 Mac 9^{33}), of Jordan (1 Mac 9^{45}), and of Gennesar (1 Mac 11^{67}); the 'waters' of Merom (Jos $11^{5.\ 7}$), of En-shemesh (Jos 15^{7}), of Megiddo (Jg 5^{19}), of Nimrim (Is 15^{6}), and of Dibon (Is 15^{9}); the 'great waters that are in Gibeon' (Jer 41^{12}).

A situation on a navigable river or by the sea gave a city great commercial and other advantages; *e.g.* Babylon (Jer 51^{13}) and No (Nah 3^{8}, here esp. as *a defence*, cf. Is 33^{21}).

The waters, like the earth and the air, have their population of living creatures (Gn $1^{20.\ 21.\ 22}$), among which only those with fins and scales (*i.e.* fish) were recognized as clean by the Mosaic law (Lv $11^{9.\ 10.\ 12.\ 46}$, Dt $14^{9.\ 10}$). Images of fishes (Dt 4^{18}), and of anything living in the water (Ex 20^{4}, Dt 5^{8}), were forbidden. The 'dragons in the waters' (Ps 74^{13}) appear to have been mythical sea-monsters symb. of Egypt; see SEA-MONSTER.

Water is indispensable to all forms of life on the earth, whether animal or vegetable. Vegetation is refreshed by rain, dew, etc., and is specially luxuriant where there are streams or springs to moisten the soil. We read of the effect which the presence of water has on trees (Job 14^{9} 29^{19}, Ps 1^{3}, Jer 17^{8}), cedars (Nu 24^{6}, Ezk 31^{4}), vines (Ezk 17^{5}), willows (Is 44^{4}), flags or sedges (Job 8^{11}, Sir 40^{16} RV), and lilies (Sir 50^{8}). One of these passages (Ezk 31^{4}) shows how irrigation was practised in order to convey water from a river to all the parts of the ground under cultivation. Seed was sown beside the waters (Is 32^{20}), and even cast into them, as in Egypt when the Nile is in flood (Ec 11^{1}). The verdure of river-sides made them a favourite haunt of birds (Ca 5^{12}).

Essential to vegetable life, water is equally essential to animals and man. It is enumerated among the necessaries of life in Is 33^{16}, Sir 29^{21} 39^{26}. Among its uses may be noticed—

(*a*) **Drinking.** Here particular references are unnecessary, except to the water which flowed from the rock in Horeb (Ex $17^{5.\ 6}$) and Kadesh (Nu 20^{11}). Next to the absence of water, the greatest of evils was water which for any reason had become undrinkable. This was one of the PLAGUES OF EGYPT (vol. iii. p. 889), and similar calamities appear in the Apocalypse (8^{11} 11^{6}). Israel had an experience of bitter water at Marah (Ex 15^{23}).

The explanation of the remedy used by Moses on this occasion is uncertain. The tree may have had the natural property of purifying the water (see Sir 38^{5}). Various plants are used in different parts of the world for a similar purpose. Rosenmüller (*A. u. n. Morgenl.* ii. 28 ff.) mentions Nellimaran in Coromandel, Sassafras in Florida, and Yerva Caniani in Peru. It seems doubtful, however, whether any plant now growing in the Sinaitic desert has such an effect, though Lesseps (*L'isthme de Suez*, p. 10) says he has been told by Arab chiefs that a certain bitter thorn, growing in the desert, is used by them in this way. Burckhardt (*Travels in Syria*, 474) suggests that the berries of the plant called Gharkad (*Peganum retusum*) might have been employed, but other travellers have not found them effectual (Robinson, *BRP* i. 98 f.; Ebers, *Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, 116 f.).

The waters of Jericho were bad in Elisha's day (2 K 2[19. 22]), but no explanation save a miraculous one can be given of the remedy used in this case.

Drinking water might be fouled by the feet of animals (Ezk 32[2-13] 34[18]). Certain bitter potions receive special mention, such as 'water of gall' (Jer 8[14] 9[15] 23[15]), and the water mixed with the ashes of the golden calf (Ex 32[20]). Water mixed with dust from the floor of the tabernacle was used in the ordeal of chastity described in Nu 5.

Water was not only drunk alone, but also mixed with wine (Ps 75[8], Pr 9[2], 2 Mac 15[39]). The incident of the making of water into wine at Cana is given as the earliest of the miracles of Jesus (Jn 2[6ff.] 4[46]). Water for domestic purposes was usually drawn by women (Gn 24[13], Ex 2[16], 1 S 9[11], Jn 4[7]) or by servants (Dt 29[11]). The Gibeonites were reduced to this menial office (Jos 9[21ff.]). In Mk 14[13] || the unusual circumstance of a *man* bearing a pitcher of water enables the two disciples to recognize their guide. Supplies of drinking water were carried in skins, larger or smaller (see BOTTLE), and we hear also of vessels of earthenware and stone.

(*b*) **Washing** of clothes (Jer 13[1]), of the hands (Job 9[30], Mt 27[24]), the feet (Gn 24[32] 43[24], Lk 7[44], Jn 13[5]), and the whole person (Jth 10[3] 12[7]). To 'pour water upon the hands' is synonymous with being a servant (2 K 3[11]). In the ceremonial system of the OT, washings occupied a prominent place. The priests were washed at their consecration (Ex 29[4]), and the Levites were sprinkled when they were set apart to their special duties (Nu 8[7]). There was a laver before the tabernacle, in which the priests washed their hands and feet before offering sacrifices (Ex 30[18-21] 40[7. 30-32]). Special ablutions were required on particular occasions, such as the Day of Atonement (Lv 16[4. 24. 28]). The sacrificial flesh was washed before it was burnt (Lv 1[9. 13] 8[21]). Washing was a frequent process for removing ceremonial defilement (Lv 11[32] 15[5ff.] 17[15], Dt 23[11]). A specially interesting case is that of recovery from leprosy (Lv 14[8. 9]). In connexion with leprosy and certain other forms of uncleanness *running* water required to be used (Lv 14[5. 6. 50. 51. 52] 15[13], Nu 19[17]). The 'water of separation' used for sprinkling the unclean (Nu 19, He 9[13]) consisted of running water mixed with the ashes of a heifer that had been burnt along with cedar wood and hyssop.

(*c*) **Cooking**, as in Ezk 24[3].

(*d*) **Medicinal Bathing** (Jn 5[3. 4]).

In Eastern lands, where so much depends on the presence of water, the distress caused by drought is very great, and is often vividly described in Scripture (Is 19[5], Jer 14[3], Jl 1[20]). The same result follows when a water-supply is cut off, which was a common operation of warfare and siege. Jehoshaphat and his allies stopped the wells of Moab (2 K 3[19. 25]). Holofernes did the same for Bethulia (Jth 7[7ff.] 8[9] 11[12]). Hezekiah, when besieged by Sennacherib, succeeded in reversing this proceeding, and in securing water for the besieged while the besiegers were deprived of it (2 Ch 32[3. 4], Sir 48[17]). When water is scarce from such causes, it has to be doled out carefully (La 5[4], Ezk 4[11. 16]). 'Water of affliction' seems to mean a supply that is limited either from scarcity (Is 30[20]) or as a punishment (1 K 22[27], 2 Ch 18[26]).

Water, though so necessary, is also a source of danger. It may cause death by suffocation (2 K 8[15]) or by ordinary drowning. Of the latter the Flood and the overthrow of the Egyptians at the Red Sea are the most notable Scripture instances. In the miracle of Christ's walking on the water (Mt 14[25] ||) we see this natural property for once overcome. Water may be destructive from its force when agitated by storms (Ezk 27[26. 34], Wis 5[22], Lk 8[23-25]), or when rushing along in a torrent (2 S 5[20], Rev 12[15]), or from its simply submerging the works of man (Ezk 26[12. 19]).

'Water' is used for tears (Ps 119[136], Jer 9[1. 18], La 1[16] 3[48]), and for the liquid that flowed along with the blood from the pierced side of Christ (Jn 19[34]). The nature of the latter has been much discussed, and all attempts at ordinary physiological explanation seem doubtful. The commentaries must be consulted for the various views that have been suggested. See also MEDICINE (vol. iii. p. 326[a]). The substance NEPHTHAR (which see) is called 'thick water' (2 Mac 1[20. 21. 31. 33]).

In the *biblical cosmogony* water held an important place. There was a primitive waste of waters, which was divided into two portions by the firmament. The upper portion was the source of rain. The dry land rose out of the lower portion and was founded upon it. The FLOOD, in which both the waters above and those beneath were let loose (Gn 7[11]), was a catastrophe provided for by the very structure of the universe (2 P 3[5. 6]). These and similar cosmological ideas appear in Job 26[8. 10], Ps 33[7] 104[3. 6f.] 148[4], Pr 30[4], Is 40[12], Jth 9[12] 16[15]. While the heathen deified the waters as well as the other forces of nature (Wis 13[2]), the biblical conception consistently subordinates them to God. He controls the waters of the thunderstorm (2 S 22[12], Ps 18[11] 29[3] 77[16. 17], Jer 10[13] 51[16]). The division of the Red Sea is His work (Ps 78[13], Is 43[16] 51[10]). It is in obedience to Him that the water flows from the rock (Ps 114[8]). It is He who moves the sea (Am 5[8] 9[6]). The voice of God is compared to the sound of many waters (Ps 93[4], Ezk 43[2]. Cf. Rev 1[15] 14[2] 19[6]).

The metaphorical usages of water are numerous. The want of it is an emblem of spiritual need (Ps 42[1] 63[1]; Am 8[11]), and its presence becomes, in some of the most beautiful poetry of Scripture, a figure for *spiritual refreshment* and blessing (Ps 23[2], Is 30[25] 32[2] 35[6. 7] 41[18] 43[20] 44[3] 49[10] 55[1] 58[11], Jer 31[9], Ezk 47[1-11], Jl 3[18], Zec 14[8], Jn 7[38], Rev 7[16] 21[6] 22[1. 17]). It represents a blessing which may be neglected (Jer 2[13] 17[13] 18[14]). It suggests the gratefulness of *good news* (Pr 25[25]); and *wisdom*, as the drink of the soul, is compared to it (Sir 15[3]). Water symbolizes the means of *moral cleansing* (Ezk 16[4. 9] 36[25], Eph 5[26], He 10[22]), with which we may connect the whole subject of BAPTISM, and also the conception of Christians as 'born of water' (Jn 3[5], 1 Jn 5[6. 8]). Bitter drink is a metaphor for *trouble* (Ps 73[10]), and water in its dangerous aspect is still more extensively so (Ps 18[16] 32[6] 46[3] 66[12] 69[1. 2. 14] 88[17], Is 43[2], La 3[54], Jon 2[5]). *Enemies* are spoken of under a similar figure (Ps 124[4] 144[7], Is 8[7] [Assyria] 17[12. 13] [the nations] 28[2. 17], Jer 47[2]).

Various subordinate metaphors are deserving of notice. Water becomes a figure for *instability* of character (Gn 49[4]), *for weakness and dissolution* (Ps 22[14] 58[7] 109[18], Ezk 7[17]), and for *worthlessness* (Wis 16[29]). *Pride* passes like a ship that leaves no track on the waters (Wis 5[10]). The foam of water [or, perhaps better, a chip on a stream, cf. RVm] is an emblem of extreme *transiency* (Hos 10[7]). To give earth and water is a token of *submission* (Jth 2[7]). In Sir 15[16. 17] *the choice between life and death* is compared to that between fire and water. The *wickedness of Jerusalem* is likened to the water of a fountain (Jer 6[7]). Stolen water is an emblem for *secret sin* (Pr 9[17]), and the drinking of water is a figure for *unlawful love* (Sir 26[12]). To drink the waters of a country is *to conquer* it (2 K 19[24], Is 37[25]), or *to seek alliance* with it (Jer 2[18]). The letting out of water has as its counterparts *the beginning of strife* (Pr 17[14]), or the giving of *liberty to a wicked woman* (Sir 25[25]). *Apostate disciples* are compared to waterless wells (2 P 2[17]), or clouds (Jude [12]). *The inconsistency of blessing and cursing* is suggested by the impossibility of fresh and salt water coming from a fountain together (Ja 3^{10-12}). The salt in the sea corresponds to *God's wrath against the heathen* (Sir 39^{23}). The smallness of a waterdrop compared with the sea is an image of *the relation of time to eternity* (Sir 18^{10}). Deep water is a figure for *wise counsel* (Pr 18^{4} 20^{5}). *Judgment* and righteousness are likened to the waters of a mighty stream (Am 5^{24}). The extent of the sea is made to suggest the universal spread of *God's glory* (Is 11^{9}, Hab 2^{14}).

James Patrick.

WATERSPOUTS.—Only Ps 42^{7} 'Deep calleth unto deep at the noise of thy waterspouts' (RVm 'cataracts'); Heb. תְּהוֹם אֶל־תְּהוֹם קוֹרֵא לְקוֹל צִנּוֹרֶיךָ; LXX ἄβυσσος ἄβυσσον ἐπικαλεῖται εἰς φωνὴν τῶν καταρακτῶν σου. The only other occurrence of the word צנור is in the very obscure passage 2 S 5^{8}, so that its meaning is somewhat uncertain, although in late Hebrew it means a *spout* or *pipe* (cf. Job 38^{25} 'Who hath cleft a channel for the waterflood?' מִי־פִלַּג לַשֶּׁטֶף תְּעָלָה). The reference in Ps 42^{7} is prob. to the numerous noisy waterfalls in a stream swollen by the melting of the snow (see Duhm, *ad loc.*).

WAVE-BREAST, WAVE-OFFERING.—See Sacrifice.

WAW (letter).—See Vau.

WAX.—See Writing, p. 945^{a}.

WAX.—This verb, which means to *grow* (Middle Eng. *waxen*, Anglo-Sax. *weaxan*, allied to αὐξάνειν), is frequently used in AV, and gives another syn. for 'grow,' as in Lk 1^{80} 'And the child grew, and waxed strong (ἐκραταιοῦτο) in spirit,' 13^{19} 'And it grew, and waxed a great tree' (ἐγένετο εἰς δένδρον μέγα, RV 'became a tree,' omitting μέγα with edd.). Cf. Maundeville, *Travels*, 105, 'In Ethiopia, when the children be young and little, they be all yellow; and when that they wax of age, that yellowness turneth to be all black.' The word is sometimes used with scarcely more meaning than 'become,' as Nu 11^{23} 'Is the Lord's hand waxed short?' So Mt 26^{37} Tind. 'And he toke with him Peter and the two sonnes of Zebede, and began to wexe sorowfull and to be in an agonye'; Lk 11^{53} Tind. 'The Pharises began to wexe busye aboute him.' It was, however, formerly used in the sense of *grow* or *increase*, without an adjective (it is never so used in AV), as Ac 6^{7} Wyc. 'The word of the lord wexed'; Gn 9^{7} Tind. 'See that ye encrease, and waxe.'

J. Hastings.

WAY (דֶּרֶךְ, אֹרַח, ὁδός), meaning literally either road[*] or journey, is used by a natural figure for course or manner in a great variety of applications. It is used for God's purpose or action (Ex 33^{13}, Job 21^{31} 36^{23}, Ps 67^{2} 77^{13}, Pr 8^{22}, Is 26^{8} 40^{3}, Job 21^{14} 34^{27}), described by varied epithets of excellence (Ps 25^{10}, 2 S 22^{31}, Ps 18^{30}, Dt 32^{4}, Rev 15^{3}, Dn 4^{37}, Hos 14^{9}, Job 26^{14}, Ro 11^{33}), defended against doubt (Ezk $18^{25.29}$), and contrasted with man's plans and doings (Is 55^{8}); also of His commandments (Gn 18^{19}, Ex 18^{20} 32^{8}, Dt 9^{12} 11^{28} 31^{29} Jg 2^{22}, Job 23^{11}, Ps 37^{34} 119^{14}, Jer $5^{4.5}$, Mal 2^{8}, Mt 22^{16}, Mk 12^{14}, Lk 20^{21}, Dt 5^{33} 8^{6} 10^{12} 11^{22} 19^{9} 26^{17} 28^{9} 30^{16}, Jos 22^{5}, Ps 18^{21} 25^{4} 51^{13} 81^{13} 95^{10} 103^{7} 119^{3} 128^{1} 138^{5}, 2 S 22^{22}, 1 K 2^{3} 3^{14} 8^{58} 11^{33-38}, Is 2^{3} 42^{24} 58^{2} 63^{17} 64^{5}, Jer 7^{23}), which He is ready to teach men (Ps $25^{8.9.12}$ 27^{11} 32^{8} 86^{11} $119^{27.29.33.37}$ 139^{24} 143^{8}, Is 30^{21} 35^{8}, Jer 32^{39} 42^{3}, Mic 4^{2}, Ps 16^{11} $119^{35.105}$ 23^{3}), and in obedience to which there is reward (Pr 8^{32}, Zec 3^{7}, Mal 2^{9}). Man's conduct generally is spoken of as a 'way' (1 K 2^{4} 8^{25}, 2 Ch 6^{16}, Ps $119^{1.9}$, Ja 5^{20}) or 'ways' (1 S 18^{14}, Job 4^{6} 13^{15} 22^{3}, Ps 39^{1} $119^{5.26}$, Ezk 16^{47}, Ac 14^{16}, 1 Co 4^{17}, Ja 1^{8}, cf. Pr 6^{6}), morally contrasted as good (1 S 12^{23}, 1 K 8^{36}, 2 Ch 6^{27}, Job 31^{7}, Ps 1^{6} $101^{2.6}$, Pr 2^{20} 29^{27}, Is 26^{7}, Mt 21^{32}, Ro 3^{17}, 1 Co 12^{31}, 2 P $2^{15.21}$) and bad (Gn 6^{12}, Nu 22^{32}, Jg 2^{19}, 1 K 13^{33}, Job 8^{19} 22^{15}, Ps $1^{1.6}$ 36^{4} 49^{13}, Pr $4^{14.19}$ 19^{3}, Ezk 3^{18}, Hos 10^{13}, Ps 10^{5} 125^{5}, Pr 1^{19} $2^{13.15}$ 3^{31} 10^{9} 14^{2} 22^{25} $28^{6.18}$, Jer 15^{7}). Although man is free to choose his own 'way' (Ps 119^{59}, Pr 7^{25} 21^{29} 23^{19}), hating the evil 'way' (Ps $119^{101.104.128}$), or choosing it (Is 53^{6} 57^{17} 59^{8} 65^{2}, Jer 3^{21}, Is 66^{3}), yet training is important (Pr 22^{6}), and example, whether for good (Jg 2^{17} 2 Ch 20^{32}, 1 K 22^{43}), as David's (2 K 22^{2}, 2 Ch 11^{17} 17^{3}), or for evil (1 K 15^{26}, 2 K 21^{21}, Pr 1^{15} 16^{29} 28^{10}, Is 3^{12}, Jer 2^{18} 10^{2} 18^{15}, Ezk $23^{13.31}$), as of the kings of Israel (2 K 8^{18} 16^{3}, 2 Ch $21^{6.13}$ 28^{2}), of the house of Ahab (2 K 8^{27}, 2 Ch 22^{3}), of Jeroboam (1 K 15^{34} $16^{2.19.26}$ 22^{52}), of Balaam (2 P 2^{15}), and of Cain (Jude ^{11}); but example is not always followed (1 S $8^{3.5}$, 2 Ch 21^{12}). As a man's course is well known to God (Job 24^{23} 31^{4} 34^{21}, Ps 119^{168} 139^{3}, Pr 5^{21}, Jer 16^{17}), He deals with him according to his deserts (1 K 8^{32}, 2 Ch 6^{23}, Ps 146^{9}, Jer 4^{18}, Ezk 7^{27} 11^{21} 16^{43} 22^{31} 36^{19}, 1 K 8^{39}, 2 Ch 6^{30}, Job 34^{11}, Pr 14^{14}, Jer 17^{10} 32^{19}, Ezk 7^{3} 18^{30} 24^{14} 33^{20}, Hos 4^{9}, Zec 1^{6}) in spite of occasional appearances to the contrary (Ps 37^{7}). But God desires men to consider their 'ways' (Ezk 20^{43} 16^{61} $36^{31.32}$, Hag 1^{5}) and turn from the evil (2 K 17^{13}, 2 Ch 7^{14}, Pr 5^{8}, Is 55^{7}, Jer $7^{3.5}$ 18^{11} 25^{5} $26^{3.13}$ 35^{15} $36^{3.7}$, Ezk 18^{23} $33^{8.11}$, Jon $3^{8.10}$, Zec 1^{4}), which He hates (Pr 8^{13} 15^{9}); and He promises to guide them into the good (Pr 4^{11} 8^{20}), which He loves (Pr 11^{20}). There are two 'ways' before man (Jer 21^{8}, Mt $7^{13.14}$, cf. Lk $13^{24.25}$, also *Didaché*, i. 1, and *Ep. of Barnabas*, xviii.), one of which leads to life, peace, and happiness (Pr 6^{23} $10^{17.29}$ 11^{5} 12^{28} 13^{6} 15^{24} 16^{17}, Ac 2^{28}, Ro 3^{17}, Pr 3^{17} 16^{7} 4^{18}), and the other to death, trouble, and misery (Pr 7^{27} 13^{15} 14^{12} 16^{25} 21^{16} 22^{5} 22^{25}, Is 59^{7}), in spite of man's illusions (Pr $12^{15.26}$ 21^{2}). This close connexion between conduct and condition is shown in the use of 'way' or 'ways' for man's lot as well as his deeds (Gn 28^{20}, Ex 23^{20}, Dt 1^{31}, Jos 1^{8}, Jg $18^{5.6}$, Dt 28^{29}; the literal sense is in these six passages passing over to the figurative, which appears clearly in 2 S 22^{33}, Ps 18^{32}, Job 3^{23} 19^{8} 23^{10} 22^{28} Ps 35^{6}). A man may think of ordering his lot after his own wishes (Pr 16^{9}, Jer 10^{23}), but God disposes it according to His own will (Ps 37^{23} 85^{13}, Pr $2^{8.12}$, Ps 91^{11}, Dn 5^{23}), to which it is well for man to commit himself (Ps 37^{5}, Pr 3^{6}). One lot none can escape, for death is 'the way of all the earth' (Jos 23^{14}, 1 K 2^{2}, cf. Job 16^{22}).

The purpose of God, foretold by the prophets (Is 40^{3}, Mal 3^{1}) and fulfilled in Christ, is described as the 'way of the Lord' (Mt 3^{3}, Mk $1^{2.3}$, Lk 3^{4} 7^{27}, Jn 1^{23}, Ac $18^{25.26}$, cf. Ac 13^{10}), of peace (Lk 1^{79}), of truth (2 P 2^{2}), and of salvation (Ac 16^{17}). Christ Himself is (Jn $14^{4.5.6}$), or has opened up, the way for man to God (Heb 9^{8} 10^{20}); and, accordingly, the Christian religion is spoken of simply as 'the Way' (Ac 9^{2} $19^{9.23}$ 22^{4} $24^{14.22}$), either because Christ claimed to be the Way (Jn 14^{6}), or because He had spoken of the narrow way unto life (Mt 7^{14}); or, lastly, because in Him was fulfilled the prophetic saying regarding the way (Is 40^{3}, Mal 3^{1}).

A. E. Garvie.

WAYMARK.—In Jer $31^{21\,(20)}$ 'the virgin of Israel' is called on to set up waymarks and make guide-posts to mark the way for the returning exiles. The Heb. word tr^{d} 'waymark' is צִיּוּן, which apparently means here a small stone pillar, similar to our milestones, with an indication of routes and distances. The only other occurrences of the Heb. term are 2 K 23^{17} (of the tombstone of the man of God from Judah; AV wrongly 'title,' RV 'monument') and Ezk 39^{15} (of the stone to be set up to guide the burying party to a corpse; AV and RV 'sign'). In Jer 31 [Gr. 38]^{21} the LXX, confusing with צִיּוֹן (Zion), reads *στῆσον σεαυτήν, Σ(ε)ιών*; in 2 K 23^{17} it has *σκόπελον*, and in Ezk 39^{15} *σημεῖον*.

---

[*] For an account of the main roadways of Palestine see articles Trade and Commerce, p. 805^{b}, and War, p. 892^{b}.

WEALTH.—i. *Terms.*—In OT 'wealth' is tr^{n} of הוֹן *hôn*, πλοῦτος, etc., *divitiæ*; חַיִל *ḥayil*, πλοῦτος, *divitiæ* [but also, as its proper meaning is 'strength,' 'resources,' *δύναμις*, etc.]; טוֹב *ṭôbh*, properly 'good,' 'prosperity,' an Elizabethan sense of 'wealth'; כֹּחַ *kôaḥ*, properly 'strength'; נְכָסִים *nekhāṣîm*, *τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, χρήματα, substantia* [only in post-exilic literature; the corresponding Aram. נִכְסִין in Ezra is tr^{d} 'expenses,' 'goods']; and in NT of *εὐπορία, acquisitio*. 'Wealthy' tr. in AV שְׁלֵיו, Jer 49^{31} ('quiet,' 'ease'), but RV (from AVm) 'that is at ease'; 'wealthy place' stands in Ps 16^{12} for רְוָיָה ('saturation'), prob. error for רְוָחָה 'a spacious place.' The common term for 'riches' is עֹשֶׁר.

ii. *National wealth* would consist in the fertility, etc., of the soil, the minerals, streams, pasturage, population, cattle, etc.; in the neighbourhood of the country to trade-routes, and in natural facilities of intercourse with other nations; cf. PALESTINE, TRADE. Dt 8$^{7-9}$ describes the land as well-watered, rich in cereals, grapes, olives, figs, iron, and brass. It is possible, however, that these verses come from an exilic editor, and that the colouring is heightened by an exile's fond recollections of the ancient home of his people. The older description 'flowing with milk and honey,' Nu 13^{27} (JE), suggests that the wealth of the land was chiefly pastoral. Naturally, the settled government of the monarchy fostered trade, and promoted a certain accumulation of wealth, especially in the days when the Israelite States were independent and powerful, and were receiving, and not paying, tribute, *e.g.* in the days of Solomon (1 K 10$^{14-29}$) and in the early days of Isaiah (Is 2^{7}). Dt 8$^{12.13}$ looks back to prosperous periods such as these. Nevertheless, in view of the uncommercial character of the people, and the barrenness of large portions of the country, especially in Judæa, Israel can hardly have been wealthy, even in proportion to its population, as compared with great commercial and conquering nations. We gather from the prophets of the 8th cent. that in Israel, as elsewhere, the material well-being of the people generally was greater in the earlier stages of the history, before the development of civilization led to the accumulation of land in large properties.

The Jewish community in Palestine after the Exile was poor, and burdened with tribute to Persia; and, as it seems, with wealthy nobles who preyed upon the necessities of their brethren (Neh 1^{3} 5, Hag 1$^{6-11}$ 2$^{16.17}$, Zec 8^{10}, Mal 3^{14}). Time, no doubt, brought some improvement; and a measure of prosperity resulted from the work of Nehemiah; but the tone of the Psalms and other literature of the Persian and earlier Greek period suggests that the people generally, at any rate, were poor. There was, however, some revival of national wealth under the later Maccabæan kings, and still more under the Herods: witness the splendid buildings of Herod the Great. In addition to a settled government, two other causes contributed to produce this result. First, Palestine could not fail to profit in some measure by the growing prosperity of the Roman empire. Secondly, the Jews of the Dispersion often engaged in commerce and became wealthy; the sanctity of the temple brought vast crowds of pilgrims to Jerusalem for the great feasts, and increased the trade of the city; also, devout Jews and proselytes sent costly offerings to the temple. In the thirty or forty years, however, before the fall of Jerusalem, Palestine suffered severely from misgovernment and disorder.

iii. *Individual wealth.*—In the outlying pastoral districts we meet with men like Nabal in southern Judah (1 S 25) and Barzillai in Gilead (2 S 17$^{27-29}$), rich in flocks and herds and slaves; and their circumstances suggested the terms in which the wealth of the patriarchs is described, *e.g.* Gn 24^{35}. The chief use which such men had for their possessions was to maintain a great retinue, which gave them power and distinction. Another class of rich men consisted of chiefs, kings, priests, and other great officials, like Gideon, Abimelech, Jephthah, Eli, and the kings of Israel and Judah. Their authority brought them wealth (1 S 8$^{11-17}$). We learn from the prophets of the 8th cent. (Is 5$^{8-10}$ etc.), that towards the end of the monarchy there grew up a class of great landowners; and Neh 5 illustrates the process. In bad times the 'nobles and rulers' lent money, probably at exorbitant rates, on the security of the land, which became forfeit to them when the borrowers failed to fulfil their obligations. The allusions in the Prophets show that wealth had now become an instrument of luxury and display. Apart from Solomon, we have no instance in the OT of the successful Israelite merchant, of wealth gained by trade.

In the NT wealthy men like Joseph of Arimathæa and the young ruler appear upon the scene; such, too, figure in parables (*e.g.* Lk 16$^{19ff.}$), and in the teaching; but none of them play any important part in the history of our Lord or the early Church. Both in the Gospels (Mk 10$^{23-27}$) and elsewhere (*e.g.* Ja 5$^{1-6}$) wealth is represented as involving spiritual disadvantages, and as accompanied by high-handed injustice, and by persecution of the Church.

W. H. BENNETT.

WEAN (גָּמַל).—For the Eastern usages connected with weaning see art. BIRTH, vol. i. p. 301^{b}. The meaning of Ps 131^{2} ('Surely I have stilled and quieted my soul; like a weaned child upon his mother, my soul is upon me like a weaned child') is that the Psalmist has learned to renounce lofty aspirations, as the weaned child has learned to dispense with its mother's breast.

WEAPONS.—See ARMOUR.

WEASEL (חֹלֶד *ḥōled*).—The authority of the LXX γαλῆ and Vulg. *mustela* (Lv 11^{29}) is in favour of the EV 'weasel,' and others of the *Mustelidæ*, as the marten and civet. The authority of the Arab. *khuld*, the cognate of *ḥōled*, which signifies the *spalax* or mole-rat of the East, would be against the rendering 'weasel,' were it not that cognates often have widely different meanings. In the articles CHAMELEON and MOLE we have given all the evidence that bears on the question. It is perhaps best to follow the LXX and Vulg., and render 'weasel,' which must be held, however, to include other *Mustelidæ* in Palestine, as the marten, *Mustela foina*, L. (Arab. *nims*), the ichneumon, *Herpestes Ichneumon*, Fisch. (Arab. *nims* and *zerdî*), and the genet, *Genetta vulgaris*, C. A. Gray (Arab. *nisnâs* and *sammûr*), and others.

G. E. POST.

WEAVING (אָרַג 'weave,' אֶרֶג 'web' or 'shuttle.' Besides AV occurrences, RV gives 'weave in chequer work' for AV 'embroider' [שִׁבֵּץ] in Ex 28^{39}, and 'weave together' for AV 'wrap up' in Mic 7^{3}, where MT וַיְעַבְּתוּהָ is prob. corrupt).—Weaving is closely connected with spinning, as the materials for the loom were, for the most part, products of the spindle. Weaving, like spinning, is a very ancient art, one of the first invented by civilized man, being necessary for the preparation of his clothing, and we find abundant evidence of it upon the monuments. The early proficiency of Egyptian weavers is established by the remains of their textile fabrics, some of their linen products being like silk to the touch, and equal to our finest cambric in texture (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyp.* ii. 161, ed. 1878); and vestures of fine linen are mentioned in the story of Joseph (Gn 41^{42}). The goodly Bab. garment found at Jericho indicates the skill of the Chaldæan weavers; and the 'fine linen,' the 'finely wrought garments' (Ex 31^{10} RV), and other articles of similar character mentioned in Ex. by P, as prepared for the tabernacle, and the garments of the priests, make it evident that the Hebrews had attained proficiency in the art. Weaving was generally carried on by men in Egypt, but women sometimes engaged in it (Herod. ii. 35; Wilkinson, i. 316, 317), and this seems to have been true of the Hebrews also (2 K 23^7, Pr 31^{24}). The loom was of various kinds, upright and horizontal, and the woof was pushed both upwards and downwards (Wilkinson, ii. 170, 171). The Hebrews after arriving in Palestine would have a similar variety, but in the desert they might use simpler forms, such as are still found there. Burckhardt (*Bed. and Wah.* i. 67) describes a loom which consists of two short sticks driven into the ground at such distance apart as the width of the piece to be woven requires, and upon these a cross-piece, two other similar stakes with cross-piece being placed at a convenient distance from the first. Upon these cross-pieces the threads of the warp are stretched, the upper and under threads being kept apart by a flat stick. The common loom of the country to-day is quite simple, and has no doubt been used for centuries without much change. Two upright posts are fixed in the ground, which hold the roller to which the threads of the warp are fastened, and upon which the cloth is wound as it is woven. The threads of the warp are carried upward towards the ceiling at the other end of the room, and pass over rollers, and are gathered in hanks and weighted to keep them taut. The different sets are kept apart by reeds. The weaver sits at the cloth-roller and works the shuttle, while the healds are worked by treadles. We have no mention of the loom as a whole in the Bible, but from the incidental notices of various parts we infer that it did not differ greatly from that now in use. Thus we have the *beam*, with which a great spear or its staff is compared (1 S 17^7, 2 S 21^{19}, 1 Ch 11^{23} 20^5), from which we should infer that the cloth-roller is intended. In Jg 16^{14} the loom itself may be meant, the word in Heb. (אֶרֶג) being derived from the verb *to weave*, while the word in the other passages (מָנוֹר) is from quite a different root. The *pin* (יָתֵד) in the above passage seems to be that which holds the web, *i.e.* the cloth-roller, for Samson carried it all away attached to his hair. The *shuttle* (אֶרֶג) is the emblem of the swift passing of human life (Job 7^6), and the *thread work* (דַּלָּה) or *thrum* (Is 38^{12}) which fastens the web, furnishes, by its being cut off at the hands of the weaver, a striking simile for sudden death. These and other notices indicate that weaving was a household word with the Hebrews, and it is quite probable that many families produced their own wearing apparel, as did that of the virtuous woman (Pr 31). The products of weaving were various: fine linen, purple and scarlet, woollen, goats'-hair cloth, tent-cloth, sack-cloth, etc., were produced in abundance. Garments of flax and wool together were forbidden (Lv 19^{19}, Dt 22^{11}), but stuffs of variegated patterns worked in the loom, perhaps by gold thread, were produced as we know they were in Egypt (Wilkinson, ii. 166). This work may be that of the 'cunning workman,' and of those who 'devise cunning works' (Ex 35^{35}) [see, on these expressions, EMBROIDERY (3)], and certainly it is the clothing 'inwrought with gold' (Ps 45^{13} RV). The high priest's garments seem to have been of this character, woven in one piece (Jos. *Ant.* III. vii. 4), as we know Christ's coat (χιτών) was (Jn 19^{23}). H. PORTER.

WEDDING.—See MARRIAGE.

WEEDS, as tr. of סוּף *ṣuph*, Jon $2^{6\,(5)}$, refers to sea weeds. The Red Sea was called יַם־סוּף, because of the numbers of them in its waters (see SUPH). The weeds (χόρτος) of Sir 40^{16} mean the same as our indefinite English term *weeds*.

WEEK.—See TIME.

WEEKS (FEAST OF).—See PENTECOST.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.—

i. Introductory. The Sources, monumental and literary.

THE HEBREW WEIGHT-SYSTEM.

ii. (*a*) The Babylonian or 252-grain unit.
iii. (*b*) The new Syrian or 320-grain unit.
iv. (*c*) The Phœnician or 224-grain unit.
v. (*d*) The syncretic weight-system of the Mishna.

MEASURES OF LENGTH AND SURFACE.

vi. The approximate value of the Hebrew cubit.
vii. Its subdivisions and multiples.
viii. Surface measure.

MEASURES OF CAPACITY.

ix. Scale of wet and dry measures. The value of the *ephah-bath*.
x. The measures of Scripture.
Literature.

i. *Introductory. The Sources, monumental and literary.*—The system of weights and measures adopted by a particular nation of antiquity is not merely a subject of interest to the metrologist, but is of importance to every student of the history and development of the human race. In its metrology we have a clue, frequently older than anything to be found in its literature, to the forces at work in shaping the social and economic development of this particular nation, and to the influence, it may be, which it was able to exercise in its turn. The early economic history of a nation or country, in particular, is a subject of which in many cases the student of metrology holds the key. This is to some extent true even of the economic history of the Hebrews, notwithstanding the comparative antiquity of their literature, and the almost entire absence of monumental evidence in the shape of actual weights and measures.

An outline of our still imperfect knowledge of Hebrew weights and measures may be expected to include the following topics:—(1) A presentation of the various systems—weight, measures of length, and measures of capacity—and of the mutual relation of the various denominations within each system; (2) an attempt to determine the absolute value or values of each individual weight and measure in terms of the British imperial system; and (3) the relation of the Hebrew system in its various divisions to the older metrological systems of antiquity. Reference will be made only incidentally to the question of the origin of weights and measures in general, and to the inter-relation of the various systems,—of the weight standards to those of length, and of both to the standards of volume,—subjects of equal interest and complexity, which belong rather to a scientific treatise on metrology. It must suffice at this stage to record the fact that most Continental metrologists are now agreed as regards the most elaborate of the ancient systems, and, it would appear, the source of all or almost all existing systems, namely the Babylonian, that it was constructed with rigid scientific accuracy upon the basis, astronomically ascertained, of the unit of length. A cubic vessel, a fraction of this unit in the side, furnished the unit of volume; the weight of water contained in this unit was the unit of weight (see below, §§ vi. ix.).

The sources from which are derived the materials for such an outline as has just been sketched are of two kinds — monumental and literary. The former, unfortunately of the most meagre amount, consist of actual measures and weights, including coins, that have come down to us from the various periods of the national life of the Hebrews. The literary sources are, first of all, the books of the Bible, to which the works of Josephus, despite numerous inaccuracies, form an invaluable addition, owing to the frequent valuation of Jewish measures in terms of the contemporary Græco-Roman system. The treatises of the Mishna also contain valuable material for the first two centuries of our era. Finally, we have the late Greek writers on metrology, one or two fragments, in particular, showing accurate knowledge of the later Jewish system (see Hultsch's *Metrologicorum Scriptorum Reliquiæ*, 1864). Under both heads, monumental and literary, may be classed the metrological data furnished by the two great centres of early civilization, Babylonia and Egypt, on the one hand, and on the other by the better-known systems of Greece and Rome.

At every period of their history the Hebrews were alive to the necessity of an accurate system of weights and measures, and of an honest handling of the same. The earliest literary prophets are already found inveighing against the too pliant conscience of their contemporaries who made the ephah small and the shekel great (Am 8[5]); in other words, gave short measure in selling the necessaries of life, while weighing the price to be paid against a weight that was unduly heavy. Amos' successors, Hosea (12[7]) and Micah (6[10f.]), were also led to denounce the 'balance of deceit' with its 'bag of deceitful weights,' and the 'scant ephah which is abominable.' Centuries later there is a sad monotony in the complaints of the religious teachers regarding the prevalent tampering with the 'just' weights and measures (Pr 11[1] 16[11] 20[10]). The first legislative action in the interests of economic righteousness in our extant records is found in the Deuteronomic legislation (Dt 25[13-16]). Here the practice of employing a double set of weights and measures—one above the normal for buying with, and another below it for selling with—is condemned, and 'whole and just,' *i.e.* accurately adjusted, weights and measures expressly enforced under promise of the Divine blessing. A similar demand for 'a just balance, just weights, a just ephah, and a just hin,' is emphasized in the Law of Holiness (Lv 19[35f.]) and in an important passage of Ezekiel's ideal constitution, to which attention will afterwards be called (Ezk 45[9-12]). The latest legislation even went so far as to order the periodical cleaning of the weights, scales, and measures, lest their true value and capacity should be impaired by the adhesion of foreign substances (*Baba bathra*, v. 10 f.).

THE HEBREW WEIGHT-SYSTEM.—ii. (*a*) *The Babylonian or 252-grain unit.*—Just as the natural proportions of the human body furnished the earliest measures of length (see below, § vi.), so man in all probability 'made his earliest essays in weighing by means of the seeds of plants, which nature had placed ready to his hand as counters and weights' (Ridgeway, *Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards*, 387). By the beginning of the third millennium B.C., however, both the Babylonians and the Egyptians had left this primitive system far behind them. The former, in particular, as early as B.C. 3000, and probably long before, had elaborated a metrological system which, in its scientific basis and inter-relation of standards, bears a striking resemblance to the metric system of the Continent (see art. BABYLONIA, vol. i. p. 218 f.). The importance of the Babylonian system for our present study is due to the fact, first clearly revealed in the Tel el-Amarna correspondence, that the early civilization of Canaan was, in all essentials, of Babylonian origin. The grounds on which the older metrologists, such as Boeckh and Brandis, had long before inferred that the Babylonian weight-system had penetrated to Syria and Palestine, and the conclusive proof of the accuracy of this inference afforded by the Amarna tablets, have been given in the opening section of the article MONEY (vol. iii. p. 418), and need not be repeated here. It is essential, therefore, to understand the principle upon which this system was constructed. This was the now familiar sexagesimal principle, characteristic of the Babylonian scheme of numeration, the number 60 holding in this scheme the place of 10 in our decimal system. Thus 111 is not, as with us, 10^2+10+1, but 60^2+60+1, or 3661. Our division of the hour into 60 minutes, each of 60 seconds, it need hardly be said, is a direct legacy from the banks of the Euphrates. The unit of weight in the developed system was the mina (written ideographically MA.NA, and therefore presumably of Sumerian origin, though possibly Semitic), the Heb. מָנֶה *maneh* (so AV Ezk 45[12], elsewhere 'pound') and the Gr. μνᾶ. The next higher denomination, its sixty-fold, was the talent (Heb. כִּכָּר, apparently the *gaggaru* of the Amarna letters, in Greek τάλαντον), while below the mina was its $\frac{1}{60}$th, the shekel (*shiḳlu*, Heb. שֶׁקֶל, from *shaḳalu*, 'to weigh,' hence rendered in Greek by στατήρ from ἵστημι in the same sense, and transliterated by σίγλος). The scale may be graphically represented thus—

1 talent = 60 minas = 3600 shekels.
1 mina = 60 ,,

In the early temple-accounts, dating from B.C. 2000, recently recovered from Telloh in Southern Babylonia, there occurs a subdivision of the shekel into 180 *shê* or grains of wheat, which was afterwards discarded. This subdivision into 60 × 3 parts is of course an adaptation to the sexagesimal system; but it is worth noting that the prehistorical or natural Babylonian shekel, as it may be called, cannot have been far off the weight of 180 wheat-grains. If the weight of a grain of wheat be taken at the usual estimate of ·70–·72 of a grain Troy (originally a grain of barley, according to Ridgeway, *op. cit.* 180 ff.), 180 such grains come to 126–130 Troy grains, which is precisely the weight of the shekel as given by the existing stone weights (see below). As there can be little doubt that the use of the balance was first employed for the precious metals, the shekel, as its name denotes, was almost certainly the earliest unit of weight, as it continued to be, to the exclusion of the mina, in the earlier Hebrew literature (cf. MONEY, vol. iii. p. 420[b] for illustrations).

When we pass to the determination of the value of the shekel and the higher denominations in the Babylonian system, we find that this branch of metrology has been almost revolutionized by the discovery in recent years of a few very ancient inscribed stone weights from the earliest centres of civilization in Southern Babylonia. The evidence of these weights may best be represented in tabular form. For full description (with illustrations) reference must be made to the numerous essays of the discoverer, Dr. C. F. Lehmann (see Literature at end of article), esp. to *Das altbabylonische Mass- und Gewichtssystem*, etc., Leiden, 1893.

Here we have unexpected evidence that the double standard, familiar enough in the weights of the Assyrian period, in which each denomination (mina, shekel, etc.) of the one set weighed was *twice* the weight of the same denomination of the other set, was in existence at a very early period, for the weights in question date from B.C. 3000–2500. Weights of the former class are said to be on the *heavy* standard, those of the latter on the *light* standard. Weight B, it will be found, represents the average mina of the light standard, viz. 491·2 grammes = 7580 grains. The corresponding mina of the heavy standard is therefore 982·4 grammes = 15,160 grains. The following table gives the values of the complete scale :—

	Description of Weight.	Actual weight in grammes.	Weight of resultant mina in grammes.
A	Oval stone, about **4 in.** long, with inscription in Sumerian, '½ mina, true weight,' etc.	244·8	489·6
B	Similar to A in form and material. Inscription uncertain. Clearly ⅓ of the foregoing, or ⅙ mina . . .	81·87	491·22
C	Longish barrel-shaped stone of same hard greenstone as A and B. '⅓ mina, true weight; palace of Nabusumesir, priest of Marduk' .	164·3	492·9
D	Cone-shaped stone, with long inscription in Babylonian. '1 mina, true weight—copy of weight or standard of Dungi . . . by Nebuchadnezzar . . . king of Babylon' [about 18 grains lost by fracture of the stone, originally 15,105 grains =979·5 grammes] . .	978·3	979·5

VALUES OF THE EARLIEST BABYLONIAN WEIGHTS.

	HEAVY.	LIGHT.
Shekel . .	$252\frac{2}{3}$ grains	$126\frac{1}{3}$ grains *
Mina = 60 shekels	15,160 ,,	7580 ,,
	circa $2\frac{1}{6}$ lb. avoir.	*cir.* $1\frac{1}{12}$ lb. avoir.
Talent = 60 minas = 3600 shekels,		
	circa 130 lb. avoir.	,, 65 ,, ,,

These new values are considerably less in the higher denominations than those previously adopted in metrological studies, which were based on the evidence of numerous lion and duck weights of a much later period from the ruins of Babylon and Nineveh, yielding minas of 15,600 (heavy) and 7800 grains (light standard), and shekels of 260 and 130 grains respectively. From the fact that several of the bronze lion weights bear inscriptions containing, *inter alia*, the phrase '1 mina, ⅔ mina, etc., *of the king*,' it has become customary to describe these as belonging to the *royal standard*, to distinguish them from the earlier or *common standard*. In addition to these two standards, Dr. Lehmann has brought forward evidence, to which we propose to add presently, to show that the common standard at some early period received an increase of 5 per cent., yielding minas of *circa* 16,000 and 8000 grains respectively. Whether or not this increase was intended to be confined to payments made to the royal treasury cannot be ascertained, but there is monumental evidence that Darius Hystaspis added just this percentage to the weights of his time (see the inscribed weight published by Budge, *PSBA* (1888), pp. 464–466; Lehmann, *Verhandlungen d. berliner Gesell. f. Anthropologie*, etc. 1889, p. 273).

Returning now to the original mina of 15,160 (7580) grains, and shekel of 252 (126) grains, we find from a comparative study of the weight-systems of antiquity that the advancing tide of Babylonian civilization carried them to the shores of the Mediterranean, from whence they passed, in a bewildering variety of forms, to almost every civilized country. Thus, when the first Ptolemy reorganized the metric system of his new kingdom, he introduced the light mina of 7580 grains as the standard trade weight of Egypt. This mina, again, is exactly 1½ times the Roman pound, or *libra*, of 5053 grains, which is one-third of the corresponding heavy mina. The available evidence, further, goes to show that the shekel of 252 grains was the unit for the weighing of gold adopted by the Hebrews, as it was the gold as well as the trade unit of Babylonia—as has been assumed in the article MONEY (see table, vol. iii. p. 419^{b}), although, in the light of recent discoveries, to be related in the sequel, and of the preference of the priestly legislation of the Pentateuch for the Phœnician or silver standard of the same table, the assumption of that article requires to be somewhat qualified. Still, when we compare the statement of the Hebrew historian as to the amount of Ḥezekiah's indemnity imposed by Sennacherib, so far as the amount of gold is concerned, viz. 30 talents (2 K 18^{14}), with the latter's official account (see Schrader, *KIB* ii. p. 95), where precisely the same amount is recorded, we are bound to infer the identity of the Hebrew and Babylonian talent of gold. Then there is the statement of Josephus with reference to the weight (300 minas) of the beam of solid gold taken by Crassus from the temple treasury : *ἡ δὲ μνᾶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἰσχύει λίτρας δύο ἥμισυ* (*Ant.* XIV. vii. 1 [Niese, § 106]). This gives a weight of 2½ Roman libras, or 12,630 grains, for the mina of 50 shekels, and $252\frac{2}{3}$ grains for the shekel, or alternatively $126\frac{1}{3}$ grains for the mina of 100 shekels (for this division see below). In either case, the result is the familiar shekel of the early Babylonian system. This yields a Hebrew gold monetary talent of 60 minas or 758,000 grains (*c.* 108 lb. avoir.). But another statement of Josephus shows that at least an article made of gold might have its weight stated in other terms; for he gives the weight of the golden candlestick, which was a talent according to Ex 25^{39}, as 100 minas (*μνᾶς ἑκατόν*), adding: *Ἑβραῖοι μὲν καλοῦσι κίγχαρες* [*i.e.* כִּכָּר], *εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν μεταβαλλόμενον γλῶτταν σημαίνει τάλαντον* (*Ant.* III. vi. 7 [§ 144]). The mina of this passage is clearly distinct from the mina of the passage just cited, viz. $\frac{1}{100}$ of 758,000 grains, or 7580, which is the light Babylonian trade mina of 60 shekels of $126\frac{1}{3}$ grains, as shown in the table, § ii. above. This explanation, suggested for the first time, has the merit of preserving the consistency of Josephus as regards the weight of the Hebrew gold talent. On the other hand, inasmuch as the weights of gold and silver in the Priests' Code are expressly stated to have been on the standard of the so-called 'shekel of the sanctuary' (see next §, and MONEY, vol. iii. p. 422), or Phœnician shekel of 224½ grains, 3000 of which yield a talent of 673,500 grains, the explanation of the passage adopted in the previous article (*l.c.*), that the 100 minas are Attic minas of 6735 grains, is perhaps to be preferred, even at the expense of the Jewish historian's consistency, and despite the fact that the Roman-Attic mina in his day weighed considerably less (see § v. below). These considerations, at least, show the difficulty of arriving at definite results in the absence of monumental data.

The persistence, side by side, of the two standards, the heavy and the light, explains how the heavy mina might by one writer be taken as containing 50 heavy shekels, by another as containing 100 light shekels. Thus it is that the weight of Solomon's smaller shields is given in 1 K 10^{17} as three (heavy) minas,* but in the parallel passage

---

* This is only 3 grains heavier than the English sovereign, 123·274 grains.

* The mina (מָנֶה) is here first met with in OT. Elsewhere only Ezr 2^{69}, Neh $7^{71f.}$ (in all three passages rendered 'pound' in EV), Ezk 45^{12} where it is transliterated 'maneh,' and Dn $5^{25\cdot 27}$.

(2 Ch 9^{16}) as 300 (light) shekels, assuming, that is, that the text of both passages is intact. If the explanation given elsewhere (MONEY, vol. iii. p. 421^{b}) of the new denomination, *darkemōn*, found only in the historical work, Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah, is correct, that we have here a Hebraized form of the Greek δραχμή, we have further confirmation of the prevalence in the Persian and early Greek periods of the light, in preference to the heavy, shekel. The weight of 1000 drachms (AV 'drams,' RV 'darics,' Ezr 8^{27}), for example, is undoubtedly 1000 of the light Perso-Babylonian shekel on the royal standard, viz. 130 grains (see above), the theoretical value of the Persian daric.

The same weight is most probably intended by the unique expression employed to indicate the weight of Absalom's hair, viz. '200 shekels after the king's weight' (בְּאֶבֶן הַמֶּלֶךְ * 2 S 14^{26}). The context of this verse is now regarded as a post-exilic addition to the original narrative (Budde, Thenius-Löhr, H. P. Smith); and, since the phrase is parallel to the legends on the lion weights of Nineveh, we may safely understand the shekel in question to be the light Persian unit of 130 grains, giving a total weight of 26,000 grains, or 3$\frac{5}{7}$ lb. avoirdupois.

If the legend of Bel and the Dragon, as is possible, had its home in Egypt, the '30 minas of pitch' in this curious story (v.^{27} LXX) are the Ptolemaic trade minas, which we have seen to be identical with the light mina of the earliest Babylonian weights; and thus we return at the close of this section to the point from which we set out.

iii. (*b*) *The new Syrian or 320-grain unit.*—Reference has already been made to the interesting fact that the tribute of the vassal-states of Syria and Palestine in the reign of Thothmes III. (*c.* 1500 B.C.) when expressed in terms of the Egyptian weight-system, based on the *ket* with its decimal multiple, the *deben* or *uten*, runs to irregular numbers and even fractions of the *ket*, whereas its original weight must have been hundreds and thousands of shekels. Various attempts have been made recently (see Brugsch, *Z. f. Aegypt. Sprache*, 1889, 22 ff., 87 ff., *Z. f. Ethnologie*, 1889, 36 ff.; Lehmann, *Verhandl. d. berl. Ges. f. Anthropologie*, 1889, 272 f.; Hultsch, *Gewichte d. Altertums*, 25 f., 119 f.) to determine the value of the shekel or shekels by which this tribute was weighed. These attempts, however, can yield but doubtful results, owing, for one thing, to the considerable range in the value of the *ket*, as shown by actual weights. Thus, to take a simple illustration, in Thothmes' 34th year 'the tribute of the provinces of the land of Retennu [Syria]' was in 'gold 55 *deben* 8 *ket*' (Petrie, *Hist. of Egypt*, ii. 118). Now, if we take the *ket* as fixed by Lepsius, Hultsch, and others at 140 grains, it will be found that 558 *ket* represent 620 shekels of 126 grains, or 600 shekels of 130·2 grains, on the 'royal' or later daric standard, without a remainder in either case. On the other hand, we have only to take 143·35 grains as a mean value of actual *ket* weights to get 558 *ket* = 80,000 grains, or 10 light minas of the common norm, raised 5 per cent. as explained above. We have been led to this result by fresh evidence, unknown to the writers just cited, to which we now turn. In the spring of 1890 Dr. Chaplin purchased at Nablus a small shuttle-shaped stone weight, here reproduced, on either side of which were engraved a number of early Heb. characters. The correct decipherment and interpretation of these gave rise to a somewhat heated controversy in various periodicals, in which Professors Robertson Smith, Sayce, Driver, and others took part (see *PEFSt*, 1890, 267; 1891, 69; 1893, 22; 1894, 220, 284 ff.; 1895, 187 ff.). With the help of other inscribed weights still more recently discovered by Dr. Bliss in Southern Palestine, one of the two doubtful words on the Chaplin weight is now made out with tolerable certainty to be נֶצֶף, a Heb. word from the same root as the Arabic *nusf*, meaning 'half,' first suggested by Professor Euting in 1890 (in König's *Einleit. in d. AT*, 425). The second doubtful word (של), on which the controversy mainly turned, is apparently an abbreviation of the familiar שֶׁקֶל (Conder, *PEFSt*, 1891, 69; Clermont-Ganneau, *ib.* 1899, 208, and, more decidedly, *Recueil d'archéol. orientale*, iv. (1900) 24 ff., where a full discussion of these early weights will be found), the limited space available perhaps causing the omission of the ק. The evidence of the Chaplin and other weights, five in all, may best be presented in tabular form thus—

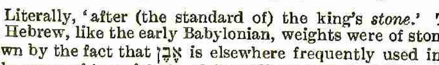

ANCIENT HEBREW WEIGHT (A) FROM SAMARIA.

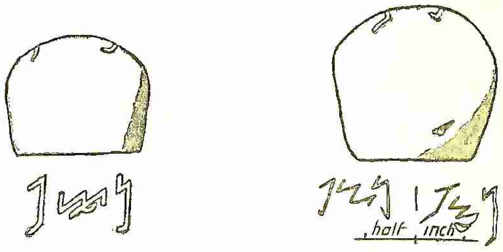

WEIGHT C.

WEIGHTS D AND E.

ANCIENT HEBREW WEIGHTS FROM SOUTHERN PALESTINE.

EARLY INSCRIBED HEBREW WEIGHTS.

	Description of Weight.	Actual weight in grains.	Weight of resultant heavy shekel in grains.
A	Small shuttle-shaped weight of hæmatite from Samaria, with inscriptions רבע נצף רבע שׁ[ק]ל [¼ *neẓeph*—¼ shekel]. Illustr. *PEFSt*, 1890, 267; 1894, 287.	39·2	313·6 156·8
B	A perforated 'bead' of reddish-yellow stone from Anathoth inscribed נצף. Actual weight 134 grains; before perforation approximately 156 grains (*ib.* 1893, 32 f., 257; illust. Clermont-Ganneau, *op. cit.* 26).	156	312
C	Small dome-shaped weight of reddish stone from Tell Zakariya, inscribed נצף (Bliss, *PEFSt*, 1899, 107 f.; illust. *ib.* plate 7).	157·5	315
D E	Two similar weights; one of white limestone, the other of 'light reddish' stone, with the same legend as B and C. Same provenance as C (Bliss, *ib.* 183, with illust.).	146·7 139	293 278

The last two, of soft limestone, are evidently much worn, and may be neglected in favour of the better preserved specimens in our determination of the unit here disclosed. Starting from the more extended inscription of the Chaplin weight, the characters of which point to an 8th cent. date, we note, first of all, the influence of the Babylonian double standard. This alone explains how this tiny weight can be at once the fourth of a whole shekel and the same fraction of a half-shekel, assuming that this is the true sense of *neẓeph* (see Clermont-Ganneau, *op. cit.* 30 f.). Further, although of hard hæmatite, the condition of the inscription shows that it has lost a trifle of its original value, which must have been not less than 40 grains. As it represents a quarter (cf. the רְבַע שֶׁקֶל or quarter-shekel of Saul's servant, 1 S 9^8), this gives 160 grains for the light shekel, the half or *neẓeph* of the corresponding heavy shekel of 320 grains—a result entirely in harmony with the original values of weights B and C. The great importance of these new discoveries lies in the fact that we have here a shekel hitherto unknown in Palestine. Indeed it appears to have been unknown to metrologists until discovered in numerous examples by Flinders Petrie in Naukratis and neighbourhood (Petrie, *Naukratis*, pt. i. 78, 85 f.; *Tanis*, pt. ii. 84, 91 f.; cf. his art. 'Weights and Measures' in *Encyc. Brit.*^{9} xxiv. 487 f.). The standard of these weights is named the '80-grain standard' by Petrie, who regards it as derived from 'the Assyrian 5 or 10 shekel weight, binarily divided and used as an independent unit,' since 128 grains × 10 ÷ 4 gives 320 grains. While differing with reluctance from so distinguished a metrologist, the writer still adheres to the conclusion he had come to before having an opportunity of consulting the Naukratis and Tanis volumes, viz. that the new Palestinian weights are derived directly from the Babylonian mina of 16,000–8000 grains, the origin of which has already been fully explained. The shekels of these minas, of course, yield 266–133 grains, on the sexagesimal system; but in the West this system never supplanted what must be regarded as the earlier decimal system. Hitherto it has been usual, it is true, to assume that the Hebrews in early times adopted the sexagesimal system in its entirety—the talent containing 60 minas of 60 shekels each (so even by our most recent authority on Hebrew archæology, Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* i. 208); but proof of this view is entirely wanting. For the attempt to obtain it from the corrupt MT and the EV rendering of Ezk 45^{12} 'twenty shekels, five and twenty shekels, fifteen shekels [=60 shekels] shall be your maneh,' is grammatically and otherwise inadmissible. The only possible remedy for this passage is, with all recent critics, to accept the reading of the codex A of the LXX, and render: 'five (shekels) shall be five, and ten shekels ten, and fifty shekels shall be your mina'; *i.e.* the weights in everyday use, like the measures referred to in the verses preceding and following, shall be neither more nor less than the standard value.

---

* Literally, 'after (the standard of) the king's *stone*.' That the Hebrew, like the early Babylonian, weights were of stone, is shown by the fact that אֶבֶן is elsewhere frequently used in OT in the sense of 'a weight'; cf. Lv 19^{36}, Dt 25^{13}, Pr 16^{11} etc.

In the West, then, we hold that from the first a compromise was effected between the decimal and sexagesimal systems, and that, while the less frequently used talent of 60 minas was retained, the 'raised' minas of 16,000 and 8000 grains were divided by 50 to yield shekels of 320 and 160 grains. The fact to which Petrie calls attention (*Naukratis*, i. 85 f.), that the Egyptian weights of this standard are of large size, averaging 2000 grains, —Petrie's weights, Nos. 483, 486, 1282, 1286, the largest found, are all *c.* 8000 grains,—seems to tell in favour of the derivation here proposed and against the derivation from a smaller unit. Petrie, however, is of the opinion, to which we were led independently after repeated attempts to find the shekel of the Syrian tribute lists, that the shekel in question is to be found in this new 80-grain unit, which he therefore proposes 'to call in future the Hittite standard' (*Tanis*, ii. 92). On the whole, however, a safer nomenclature would be the Syrian standard; and certainly the unit must be raised, in deference to the unequivocal testimony of the Chaplin weight, to 160 or 320 grains. The result, then, of the recent discoveries is to show that from the 16th to the 6th cent. B.C. a light shekel was in use in Syria and Egypt of the value of 160 grains, which was at the same time the half of a corresponding heavy shekel of 320 grains, each being $\frac{1}{50}$ of minas of 8000 grains ($1\frac{1}{7}$ lb. avoir.) and 16,000 grains ($2\frac{2}{7}$ lb.) respectively. Further, this mina of the 320-grain or Syrian standard continued in use in Syria down to the Christian era: witness the inscribed weights from Antioch and neighbourhood, described by Brandis (*Das Münz-, Maas- und Gewichtssystem Vorderasiens*, 156 ff.), one of which bears the interesting legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥ ΜΝΑ, and weighs 7960 grains. The smallness of the Palestine weights points, like the tribute lists, to the use of this unit for weighing the precious metals; while the large size of the Naukratis weights shows that in Egypt it was rather used 'for domestic and common purposes' (Petrie). So far, then, as our present evidence goes, we may conclude that this ancient unit was in use for all transactions alongside of the Phœnician unit, next to be discussed, until displaced by the latter after the Exile, largely, no doubt, owing to the influence of Ezekiel and the Priests' Code, both these authorities contemplating the latter as the only official unit. It is worth noting, finally, as a notable example of the trustworthiness of tradition, that Maimonides in his הלכות שקלים, a commentary on the Mishna treatise *Sheḳalim*, records that the early Heb. shekel weighed 320 grains of barley (*i.e.* Troy grains), and was supplanted in the time of the second temple by the *ṣela'* (סֶלַע), the Heb. equivalent of the tetradrachm or heavy Phœn. shekel (see Surenhusius' summary in his preface to the treatise in question, *Mishna*, ii. 177).

iv. (*c*) *The Phœnician or 224-grain unit.*—Previous to the discovery of the weights described in the foregoing section, the only Heb. unit monumentally attested was the shekel of the coins of the revolts, generally but wrongly known as the Maccabæan shekel. The usual explanation of the origin of this widely-spread unit (the theoretical value of which may be put at $224\frac{1}{2}$ grains, with effective weight averaging 218–220 grains) as a silver unit from the Babylonian gold shekel of 252 grains, on the ratio of gold to silver as $13\frac{1}{3}:1$, has been given under MONEY (iii. 419^a). Hultsch, on the other hand (*Gewichte d. Altertums*, 7, *et passim*), finds its origin in Egypt, the shekel of 224 grains being $\frac{1}{50}$ of a mina of 60 shekels, each of the value $\frac{4}{3}$ *ket* (140 grains × $\frac{4}{3}$ × 60 ÷ 50 = 224). It is possible, however, that the Phœnician 224-grain shekel is to be derived from the Syrian 160-grain shekel described in the previous section. We have only to assume that in the West gold stood to silver in the more convenient ratio of 14:1; the gold shekel of 160 grains would then be worth ten silver shekels of 224 grains each, since 160 × 14 = 224 × 10. This is at least preferable to Ridgeway's theory based on an assumed ratio between the metals of 17:1 (*Origin of Currency*, 287).

In any case we have to deal with an exceedingly ancient unit, for an Egyptian weight inscribed with the name of Ampi, a priest of the 10th dynasty (*c.* 2300 B.C.), and marked as 10 units, weighs 2188 grains (Griffith, *PSBA* xiv. 445), yielding a unit of 218·8 grains, which can scarcely be other than the Phœn. shekel of 218–224 grains. Its prevalence in Palestine from the earliest historical period need not be doubted, as it may be confidently assumed to have been the silver, if not, also, the trade shekel of the Phœnician traders in Canaan, whose name Canaanite (כְּנַעֲנִי) came latterly to signify 'merchant' in general (Zec 11$^{7. 11}$ [LXX], Pr 31^{24} etc.). It must therefore have existed side by side with the 320 (160)-grain shekel above described. Like the other units of Western Asia, the Phœn. unit had its heavy and light shekels of 224½ and 112¼ grains respectively. Fifty of the former or 100 of the latter went to the heavy mina of 11,225 grains (*c.* 1⅝ lb. avoir.), and 60 minas, as elsewhere, to the talent (see table, vol. iii. p. 419^{b}). It is manifestly the shekel intended by Ezekiel (45^{12}), who first mentions the subdivision into 20 *gerahs*—a term apparently adopted from the Babylonian, *giru* being the name of a small silver coin (?) of Nebuchadnezzar's time, and identified by the Alexandrian translators with the Greek ὀβολός (see, further, MONEY, vol. iii. p. 422). The Priests' Code likewise seems to contemplate its adoption for every transaction with the balance, certainly for silver and gold (Ex 38$^{24ff.}$), spices (30$^{23f.}$), and copper (cf. 38^{29} with Lv 27^{25}). This is confirmed by the evidence of the Mishna to the weights of the first two centuries of our era (see next §). That the heavy shekel of 220–224 grains, and no other, can be the 'shekel of the sanctuary,' or 'sacred shekel,' we have endeavoured to prove elsewhere (*l.c.*). The '20 shekels of bread' of Ezk 4^{10} are doubtless of this standard, probably also the talents of iron of 1 Ch 29^{7}; while for the brass and iron of Goliath's armour (1 S 17$^{5. 7}$) we have the choice of the Phœn. and of the new Syrian shekel.

v. (*d*) *The syncretic weight-system of the Mishna.*—It has been sufficiently explained elsewhere (MONEY, iii. 426 ff.) how, after the Roman conquest of the East, the drachm of the Greek monetary system became interchangeable with the Roman denarius, reduced in weight, first to 60, and then by Nero to 52½ grains, when it differed but little from the quarter-shekel of 54½ grains, effective weight. Now, since the denarius was a fixed fractional part of the Roman pound, being $\frac{1}{96}$ of the libra and therefore ⅛ of the uncia, the denarius-drachm was found to be not only useful as money, but exceedingly convenient as a weight. Thus it came to form the unit of the latest Jewish weight-system as reflected in the Mishna. Its divisions and multiples are a tribute to the adaptive genius of the Jewish people, combining, as they do, elements from the systems of Phœnicia, Greece, and Rome, which all had their meeting-ground in the Palestine of the first century. The denarius-drachm itself was named the *zûz* (זוז), and retained the division into six obols (מָעָה). Two denarii made a (light) shekel, four a tetradrachm (סֶלַע), the ancient Heb. (heavy) shekel, of which 25, or 100 *zûz*, went to the mina. For the last the old Heb. term מָנֶה was retained, *e.g.* a mina of flesh (*Sanhed.* viii. 2), of figs (*Peah* viii. 5), of wool (*Khullin* xi. 2). In the two passages last cited, and elsewhere, we meet with the *pĕrāṣ* (פְּרָס) or half-mina. This term most scholars now agree in finding—as first suggested by M. Clermont-Ganneau—in the PERES and U-PHARSIN of Dn 5$^{28. 25}$, the mysterious writing on the wall signifying, not as in RVm 'numbered, numbered, weighed, and divisions,' but 'a mina, a mina, a shekel, and half-minas.' The system above sketched may be presented thus, omitting the lowest denomination—

THE LATEST JEWISH WEIGHT-SYSTEM.

זוז	Denarius-drachm	1					52½	grs.
שֶׁקֶל	Shekel *	2	1				105	„
סֶלַע	Tetradrachm	4	2	1			210	„
מָנֶה	Mina	100	50	25	1		5250[1]	„
כִּכָּר	Talent	6000	3000	1500	60	1	315,000[2]	„

Notes.—[1] *i.e.* 12 oz. avoir. [2] *i.e.* 45 lb.

The importance of this late Jewish system for our previous investigations lies in the fact that it supplies the evidence, for which one looks in vain in the older Heb. literature, that the Phœn. weight-system has the best claim to be regarded as that on which Jewish trade was conducted not only in the first two centuries of our era, but for several centuries before. It was natural that the mina of this system should be identified with the libra or pound of the Roman weight-system. The latter occurs in the NT only in Jn 12^{3} 19^{39} (EV 'pound,' λίτρα, whence the לִיטְרָא of the Mishna, also occasionally מָנֶה אִיטָלִיקִי). The talent (Rev 16^{21}, cf. Josephus, *BJ* v. vi. 3 [§ 270] ταλανταῖοι πέτραι) of 315,000 grains when doubled, *i.e.* when taken not as 3000 light but as 3000 heavy shekels or tetradrachms, was tariffed on the Roman system as 125 libras, as is testified by a weight with the inscription PONDO CXXV TALENTVM SICLORVM III (3000 shekels, the M for 1000 being omitted), and confirmed by Epiphanius. A large stone weight found at Jerusalem in 1891 (*PEFSt*, 1892, 289 f.), said to weigh 41,900 grammes (*c.* 646,000 grains), is evidently a heavy talent on this system.

To sum up the result of the foregoing sections, evidence has been adduced for the existence, side by side, in the earlier period of Heb. history of three distinct units of weight—the Babylonian 252-grain unit, the new Syrian 320-grain unit, and, the best attested of all, the Phœnician 224-grain unit, each with its corresponding light unit of 126, 160, and 112 grains respectively. The second probably did not survive the Exile; while the last, in the end, gained the day over both its competitors.

HEBREW MEASURES OF LENGTH.—vi. *Approximate value of the Hebrew cubit.*—The most widespread of all metrical denominations are those measures of length which have been derived from certain parts of the human body—the fingerbreadth or digit, the handbreadth or palm, the cubit (κύβιτον, *cubitum*, the elbow), or the length of the forearm from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger. The equally convenient 'foot,' however, is foreign to the Heb. system. By the Gr. metrologists of the empire the digit was regarded as the unit: ὁ δάκτυλος πρῶτός ἐστιν ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ μονὰς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀριθμῶν, so writes Julian of Ascalon (*ap.* Hultsch, *Metrol. Script. Reliquiæ*, i. 200), who proceeds to give the usual denominations of the system in use in his time in Palestine, disclosing the well-nigh universal division of the cubit into 6 palms, each of 4 digits (for exceptions to this division see below). The comparative frequency of the references to the cubit in the OT, however, warrant us in regarding it as the unit of the Heb. system. Before proceeding to the investigation of the length of the cubit, it may be noted at this stage that the Hebrews in their measurements employed both the measuring-rod (קְנֵה הַמִּדָּה Ezk 40^{3} etc., LXX and NT κάλαμος, Rev 11^{1} 21$^{15f.}$) and the measuring-line (קַו הַמִּדָּה Jer 31^{39}; also חוּט 1 K 7^{15}, Jer 52^{21} [AV wrongly 'fillet']). The latter was probably used for the larger measurements, one such being mentioned in the Mishna as of 50 cubits in length (*Erubin* v. 4).

The evidence of the OT goes to show that the Hebrews, before and after the Exile, were familiar with two cubits of different lengths. First of all, we find the bed or sarcophagus of Og, the king of Bashan, measured according to 'the cubit of a man' (בְּאַמַּת אִישׁ Dt 3^{11}, cf. Rev 21^{17}); in other words, according to the then customary, everyday cubit (cf. the similar expressions in the original of 2 S 7^{14},

---

* The old term 'shekel' was henceforth confined to the true half-shekel, formerly 112 grains; cf. the name of the treatise *Sheḳalim*, dealing with the payment of the temple tax of half a shekel. In Galilee, however, the term סֶלַע was applied to the latter, hence in the Mishna the Galilæan *ṣela'* is always said to be equal to ½ the *ṣela'* of Judæa.

Is 8^{1}, Rev 13^{18} etc.). When we consider, in the second place, that the early chapters of Deuteronomy are almost certainly later than the eighteenth year of Josiah, and therefore within the period embraced by the lifetime of Ezekiel, we are led to identify the 'cubit of a man' of the passage cited with the cubit in everyday use among Ezekiel's contemporaries. This prophet, in a passage of the first importance for our investigation, informs us that the measurements of the temple of his vision are not on the standard of the then generally used cubit, but after a cubit longer than the latter by a handbreadth (Ezk 40^{5}, cf. 43^{13}).* Now, since the proportions and arrangements of Ezekiel's temple are in all essential particulars identical with those of the temple of Solomon, the prophet's aim in the use of this longer cubit can hardly be other than to ensure that his temple shall be a replica of the older Solomonic temple. That this, rather than the possible alternative that Ezekiel is here introducing a new cubit on the Babylonian standard (so Haupt in *SBOT*, 'Ezekiel,' 179 f.), is the correct inference from the passage before us, is confirmed by the remark of the Chronicler that the dimensions of Solomon's temple were determined by cubits 'after the *former* measure' (2 Ch 3^{3}). Ezekiel and the Chronicler, then, are our authorities for the conclusion that the cubit in ordinary use, both before and after the Exile, was shorter by a handbreadth than the cubit employed, for building purposes at least, in the reign of Solomon. In view, further, of the all but unvarying tradition, confirmed by the practice elsewhere, as shown above, that the ordinary cubit contained six palms or handbreadths, we are left to infer that the Solomonic building cubit *was a cubit of seven handbreadths.*

When we look for further light on this point to the ancient home of all scientific metrology, the result is disappointing. As early as B.C. 3000, the era of Gudea, the Babylonians had discarded the more primitive or natural system of lineal measures for a rigidly scientific system, constructed, like the rest of their metrology, on a sexagesimal basis. On this system fresh light has recently been thrown by the recovery of two early scales of linear measurement, engraved upon statues of Gudea, from Telloh in Southern Babylonia (see details by C. F. Lehmann in *Verhandl. d. berliner Gesell. f. Anthropologie*, 1889, 288 ff.; 1896, 453 ff.; *Das altbabyl. Maas- und Gewichtssystem*, 52 ff. A short summary with illustration is given by Haupt in Toy's 'Ezekiel' [*SBOT* 179 f.]; cf. art. BABYLONIA, vol. i. p. 218^{b}). The more perfect of the two scales is divided by transverse lines into sixteen subdivisions, each a trifle over ⅝ in. in length, fifteen of which are considered to represent a quarter of the double cubit, which, as we know from the tablet of Senkereh (*IVAI* iv.^{2} 37), constituted the unit of the linear system. This double cubit, then, contained 60 of the *ubānu* or fingerbreadths of Gudea's scale, or about 39¼ in., which gives a single cubit of 30 digits, or 19⅝ in. Five digits on this system are supposed to have gone to the handbreadth, of which 6 formed the cubit. In addition to this cubit there appears to have been a so-called royal cubit of 33 digits (Herod. i. 178), or 21⅝ in. In all periods of Babylonian history the size of the square bricks for building purposes remained constant at 13 in., which is ⅔ of Gudea's cubit or ⅗ of the royal cubit, and is termed by Continental metrologists the Babylonian foot.† The primitive Hebrew measures appear to have remained uninfluenced by this more artificial system.

On the other hand, when we turn to the other centre of early civilization in the East, we find in Egypt a system presenting an exact correspondence with what we have so far learned of the chief Hebrew measure of length (see esp. F. L. Griffith, 'Notes on Egyptian Weights and Measures' in *PSBA* xiv. [1892] p. 403 ff.). Here two cubits were in use from the earliest times—the 'short' cubit of 6 and the 'royal' cubit of 7 handbreadths. Happily, the survival of actual cubit-rods and the measurements of the pyramids and other ancient monuments have made it possible to determine the length of the royal cubit with sufficient accuracy for ordinary purposes as 20·63 in. (Petrie, *Encyc. Brit.*^{9} xxiv. 483^{a}; cf. Watson, *PEFSt*, 1897, 203; Griffith, *l.c.*). The short cubit, as $\frac{6}{7}$ of the other, contained 17·68 in., 6 palms of 2·95 in., or 24 digits or fingerbreadths of ·74 in. We have here, then, the same ratio between the cubits, and the same subdivisions as we found in the case of the Hebrew cubits—facts which render it impossible to avoid bringing the two systems, Egyptian and Hebrew, into more intimate connexion. It would be rash at this stage, however, to propose their original identity until we have had some evidence as to the probable length of the early Hebrew cubit.

Innumerable attempts have been made in the course of the last two centuries to determine the absolute length or lengths of the OT cubit. One of the most eminent of living metrologists is reduced to finding 'the sole reliable determination of the Hebrew measures of length' in a metrological table which in its present form is scarcely older than the 14th cent. of our era! From this document, with doubtful cogency, he argues for the identity of the ordinary Heb. cubit with the royal Egyp. cubit (Hultsch, *Metrol.*^{2} 437 ff.). In our own country a few of the more noteworthy values proposed in recent years are as follows:—

Conder (*Handbook of the Bible*, and elsewhere) . . .	16 inches.
Beswick (*PEFSt*, 1879, 182 ff.) .	17·72 ,,
Watson (,, 1897, 203 ff.) .	17·70 ,,
Warren (,, 1899, 229 ff.) .	17·75 ,,
Petrie (,, 1892, 31) .	22·6 ,,
Petrie (*Encyc. Brit.*^{9} xxiv. 484) .	25·2 ,,

To these may be added the estimates adopted in Smith's *DB*, from Thenius, of 19·5 in. From these widely-varying results it will be clear to every reader that *reliable data for the exact evaluation of the Hebrew cubit do not exist.* The following is merely a fresh attempt to reach an approximate value.

(*a*) *The evidence of the Siloam inscription.*—In lines 4 and 5 of this famous inscription may be read: 'and the waters flowed from the outlet [of the spring] to the Pool [of Siloam] one thousand and two hundred cubits.' Now the total distance from the spring to the pool, according to Conder's careful measurements (*PEFSt*, 1882, 122), is 1758 ft., which yields a cubit of 17·58 in. Unfortunately, the number 1200, like the other specification of 100 cubits as the height of the rock above the tunnel, is evidently a round number, so that the value of the cubit as *c.* 17·6 in. here disclosed is only approximate. The measured length, 1758 ft., yields 1193 short Egyp. cubits of 17·68 in. and 1206 of the Gr. cubit of 17½ in. Both the cubits proposed by Flinders Petrie are evidently out of the question (see, further, below).

---

* This longer cubit, however, is not, as our EV would lead one to suppose, called by the prophet a 'great cubit' (see 41^{8} RVm). But the original is here confessedly unintelligible.

† The whole system of Babylonian weights and measures is based, according to Lehmann, who has made this subject specially his own, on the double cubit (39¼ in.) of Gudea's scale, which he holds to be identical with the length of the seconds pendulum in the latitude of the astronomer priests of Babylonia! The unit of volume was a cubic vessel, the side of which was a handbreadth, or $\frac{1}{10}$ of the double cubit (*c.* 3·9 in.); the weight of water it contained constituted the unit of weight, viz. the heavy mina of 15,160 grains (see § ii. above). For a thoroughgoing criticism of Lehmann's views, and of the earlier researches of Oppert in this field, see Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents* (1901), ch. iii. 'Metrology,' pp. 184-273.

(*b*) *The evidence of Josephus.*—All attempts to solve our problem from a comparison of the measurements of the temple area as given by Josephus and in the Mishna treatise *Middoth* ('measurements') with those of the Ḥaram of to-day, are unsatisfactory, for the double reason that the data of the two authorities named are frequently in conflict,—and, at the best, have no claim to be more than roughly estimated, and, in the case of the Mishna, traditional figures,—and that the Ḥaram area has undergone many changes since the 1st cent. of our era. But there is an argument from Josephus which has not hitherto been pressed, viz. the *argumentum e silentio*. It is generally admitted (see W. R. Smith, *Encyc. Brit.*⁹ xxiii. 166) that Josephus makes use of the Roman-Attic cubit (πῆχυς) throughout his historical writings. Thus the side of the square, within which stood the temple of Herod, is given now as a stadium, or 600 Gr. ft. (*Ant.* XV. xi. 3 [§ 400, cf. 415]), now as 400 cubits (*ib.* XX. ix. 7 [§ 221]), which assumes the ratio (3 : 2) between the cubit and the foot adopted by the nations of classical antiquity. Now Josephus, as we shall see in a subsequent section, frequently gives equations of the Jewish measures of capacity with those of his Græco-Roman readers, and less frequently compares the respective weights and coins; but nowhere, apparently, does he give *a single indication of the Heb. cubit differing materially from the Roman-Attic cubit of the 1st cent.* Hence, in giving the dimensions of objects described in the OT,—such as Solomon's temple, the tabernacle, etc.,—Josephus renders the numbers of the Heb. cubit by the same numbers of the Gr. cubit. In one case at least he even gives the dimensions of 2½ by 1½ cubits of the original (Ex 25¹⁰) as 5 by 3 spans (σπιθαμή), the *spithamé* being the half of the Gr. cubit. Again, the distance of the Mount of Olives from Jerusalem is given by the author of the Acts (1¹²) as 'a Sabbath-day's journey,' which was a very familiar measure of 2000 Heb. cubits (see next §). But Josephus gives the same distance as five stadia (*Ant.* XX. viii. 6 [169]), which are 3000 Gr. feet or 2000 Gr. cubits. These data, then, all go to show that, in Josephus' day at least, the Jewish and Gr. cubits were for practical purposes identical in value. Taking the Roman-Attic foot, as finally determined by Dörpfeld's elaborate researches, as 296 millimetres = 11·65 in. (art. 'Mensura' in Smith's *Dict. of Antiq.*³; Nissen, *Metrologie*²), we obtain 17·47, say 17½ in., as a second approximation to the length of the Jewish cubit in the 1st cent. of our era.

(*c*) *The evidence of the Mishna.*—Nothing is to be gained from the oft-quoted but purely academic discussion regarding the two cubit-rods, said to have been preserved in chambers over the Shushan gate of the temple (*Kelim* xvii. 9, 10), beyond confirmation of the uniform tradition that the 'cubit of Moses,' *i.e.* of the Priests' Code, contained 6 palms or 24 digits (*ib.* 10). The true explanation of the cubit-rods of 24½ and 25 digits respectively may be that we have here a confused recollection that the Heb. cubit was originally longer by a fraction of an inch than the Roman-Attic cubit. Rabbi Judah's cubit of 5 palms 'for vessels' (*l.c.*) may be the *gōmed* or short cubit of Ehud's dagger (see next §). A more definite datum for the approximate value of the Mishna cubit is found in *Baba bathra*, vi. 8, where the law prescribes the following as the dimensions of the *hûkim* (הוּכִים) or *loculi* in the case of a Jew taking a contract for the construction of a rock-cut tomb, viz. height 7 palms, width 6 palms, *length 4 cubits.* The last of these dimensions recalls the ὀργυιά (from ὀρέγω, 'to stretch'), or the 4-cubit fathom of the Greeks, it having been early observed that the 'stretch' of a well-proportioned man, from tip to tip of his outstretched arms, was equal to his height. Since the Jews were buried without coffins, if we knew their average height, we should have a fair approach to the length of their cubit. They were certainly not a tall people, and in modern times, in the most favourable circumstances, are said to average 5 ft. 6 in. to 5 ft. 8 in. (Jacobs quoted by Warren, *PEFSt*, 1899, 228 f.)* Allowing a margin for the bier, we cannot be far wrong in taking 5 ft. 10 in. as the probable length of the *loculi* contemplated by the later Jewish law, which yields a cubit of 17½ in. as our third approximation. In any case, this passage disposes finally of Conder's cubit of 16 in., which would reduce the average height of the Jews to less than 5 ft. 4 in. !

The latest valuation of the cubit by the distinguished metrologist Flinders Petrie (*PEFSt*, 1892, 28 ff., the tomb-cutters' cubit at Jerusalem) cannot be so easily disposed of. The dimensions contemplated in the Mishna are evidently the use-and-wont dimensions that would satisfy a contract in which no more precise specifications were entered, hence they do not preclude the possibility of larger dimensions being used on occasion. Now Petrie, on the strength of many hundred measurements of the dimensions of actual tombs, contends that the great majority disclose a cubit of 22·6 in., which he maintains (*loc. cit.*) 'should be taken as the standard in future.' This is not the place either to expound or to criticise the methods employed by Petrie here and elsewhere in his metrological works, beyond saying that a considerable element of uncertainty must always attach to them where the results cannot be controlled by literary evidence (cf. Ridgeway's criticism of this method of determining the value of ancient standards of length by measurement alone, in Smith, *Dict. of Antiq.*³ ii. 166), a statement of which an illustration may now be given. In the case of the tombs in question, Petrie finds recurring lengths of about

88·1, 113·0, 132·0, 159·7, 171·9, and 226 in.,

all pretty certainly even numbers of the same cubit. And it is therefore seen that the multiples

4, 5, 6, 7, 7½, and 10 cubits

are the numbers in question, as we thus reach

22·0, 22·6, 22·0, 22·8, 22·9, 22·6 in.

for the cubit, yielding an average of 22·61 ± ·03 in. (*loc. cit.* 29). But suppose, taking the first row of figures, we were to say that the multiples

5, 6½, 7½, 9, 10, and 13 cubits

are the numbers in question, we should obtain

17·6, 17·4, 17·6, 17·7, 17·2, 17·4 in.

for the cubit actually a smaller range of variation than is shown by Petrie's own results,—or an average of 17½ in., which is in remarkable agreement with the approximations already obtained. There is therefore a clear alternative before us. Either we must bring down the Siloam inscription to the Roman age, as has indeed been recently proposed, and say that the Jews of that period had finally discarded their native cubit, *of which, in that case, we remain in absolute ignorance*, in favour of the Græco-Roman cubit, or—which is the preferable alternative—we must hold to the Egyptian origin of both the historically attested cubits of 7 and 6 handbreadths, the latter, originally 17⅗ in. in length, having been gradually reduced, until in

---

[*] Warren here gives some interesting statistics as to the height of the modern Jew; and, although not aware of the above passage of the Mishna, conducts the same argument and decides for a cubit of 17·75 in.

NT times it was equated with the Greek cubit of 17½ in. This Egyptian, as opposed to an alternative Babylonian, derivation is further confirmed by the following considerations: (1) the existence, just referred to, at one period among the Hebrews of two cubits of 7 and 6 handbreadths respectively; (2) the subdivisions (see table) are parallel in both systems, and bear no trace of sexagesimal or Babylonian influence; (3) the smallest unit, the digit, bears a cognate designation in both, *'eẓba'* in Hebrew, *t'ba* in Egyptian, while the corresponding Hebrew unit was named *ubânu* in Babylonian, probably the Heb. בֹּהֶן; (4) the Heb. *zereth* or span finds its nearest congener in the Egyptian *drt* (Ges.-Buhl, *Lex. s.v.*; cf. similar affinities below, under measures of capacity). The following table shows the values of the Heb. cubits and subdivisions on the basis of the Siloam cubit of 17·58 in., which proves to be the mean between the original Egyp. short cubit of 17·68 and the Gr. cubit of 17·47 in., and is probably the nearest value attainable until further monumental evidence is forthcoming:—

Table of the Hebrew Measures of Length.

	Digit.	Palm.	Span.	Cubit.	Value in		Convenient approximation.
					Mm.	In.	
Digit .	1	...	...	...	18·6	·73	¾ in.
Palm .	4	1	...	...	74	2·93	3 ,,
Span .	12	3	1	...	223	8·79	9 ,,
Cubit .	24	6	2	1	446	17·58	1½ ft.
Cubit of Ezekiel	28	7	...	...	521	20·51	1¾ ,,
Reed .	144	36	12	6	...	105·48	9 ,,
Reed of Ezekiel	168	42	...	...	...	123·06	10 ,,

No reference has yet been made to the determination of the value of the cubit from the statement of the mediæval Rabbis that the smallest unit, the fingerbreadth, was equal to 6 medium-sized grains of barley laid side by side, partly because the tradition is of late origin, and partly on account of the widely diverging results that this method has produced.* Maimonides, writing in Egypt, seems to have been the first to give currency to this mode. He assigned 7 barleycorns to the digit, or 168 to the cubit, apparently identifying it with the royal Egyptian cubit (see Zuckermann, *D. jüd. Maassystem*, 20; Boeckh, *Metrolog. Untersuchungen*, 268 ff., which see also for further details of this method). It is, however, a striking coincidence, to say the least, that the latest and most scientific attempt to determine the Jewish cubit on the basis of the usual Rabbinic valuation of 144 barleycorns yields a cubit of 17·7 in. (Col. Watson, *PEFSt*, 1897, 201 ff.), which is practically the short cubit of Egypt.

vii. *Subdivisions and multiples of the cubit in OT and NT.*—It now remains to glance briefly at the subdivisions and multiples of the cubit to be found in the canonical literature. At the bottom of the scale stands the *μονάς* or *μέτρον σμικρότατον* of the Gr. metrologists, the digit or **fingerbreadth** (אֶצְבַּע only Jer 52²¹; cf. Joseph. *Ant.* VIII. iii. 4, *δάκτυλος*, and Mishna, *passim*). Four digits naturally went to the palm or **handbreadth** (טֶפַח 1 K 7²⁶=2 Ch 4⁵; טֹפַח in Ezk 40⁵· ⁴³ 43¹³ and P), the *παλαιστή* of the LXX and Gr. writers generally. The cubit and the palm were the most frequently used denominations in later times. Bricks for building purposes, for example, are said to have been '3 palms square' (*c.* 9 in.), not a square span (*Erubin* i. 3).† The **span** (זֶרֶת, *σπιθαμή*, Ex 28¹⁶ 39⁹, 1 S 17⁴ etc.) was always half the cubit. Thus a comparison of Ezk 43¹³ with v.¹⁷ shows that the span might be taken as half the royal cubit of 3½ palms. Josephus, we have seen, renders the dimension of the ark of the covenant, in the original 2½ by 1½ by 1½ cubits (Ex 25¹⁰), by twice the number of spans (*Ant.* III. vi. 5 [135]).

In Jg 3¹⁶ the short two-edged sword of Ehud is said to have been a *gōmed* in length (גֹּמֶד, EV 'cubit'). This measure, occurring only in this passage, is explained by the Jewish commentators as a short cubit, the length of the forearm from the elbow to the knuckles or to the second joint of the fingers (see Moore, *in loc.*, and more fully *JBL* xii. 104). It was thus the equivalent of the Gr. *πυγών* or *πυγμή*, and may have been the cubit of 5 palms mentioned in the Mishna (see above).

The **cubit** itself has been fully discussed in the preceding section, where its apparent Egyptian origin and value have been set forth. At first, naturally, of the same value as the short cubit of Egypt, 17·68 in., it appears to have gradually shrunk, until in the 1st cent. of our era it was practically identical with the Roman-Attic cubit of 17·47 in. By this latter measure, say 17½ in., we may safely estimate the only NT references to the cubit in the literal sense (Jn 21⁸, Rev 21¹⁷). In Mt 6²⁷, Lk 12²⁵ the cubit is best taken metaphorically, 'which of you can add a "span" to his age?' (cf. RVm).

The only multiple of the cubit mentioned in the OT, and that only by Ezekiel, is the **reed** (קָנֶה, *ḳaneh*, the Bab. *ḳanû*, Ezk 40⁵ᶠᶠ· 42¹⁷ᶠᶠ· etc.) of 6 cubits,—in this case the 'royal' cubit of 7 palms. It does not appear to have come into common use. In the Græco-Roman age we find instead the **fathom** (*ὀργυιά*, Ac 27²⁸) of 4 cubits, approximately 6 ft., and the favourite Gr. measure of distance the stadium (*στάδιον*, 2 Mac 12⁹ᶠᶠ·, Lk 24¹³, Jn 6¹⁹ etc.). The latter contained 600 Gr. ft. or 400 cubits, about 194 yds.; it was thus considerably less than the **furlong** (220 yds.), by which it is rendered in our versions. The **mile** (*μίλιον*, Mt 5⁴¹; מִיל, in Hebrew, *Yôma* vi. 4, 8), as its name reveals, was a Roman measure, containing 1000 double paces (*mille passus*), or 5000 Roman ft., equal to 1618 yds. The Romans reckoned their mile as roundly equivalent to 8 stadia. The Jews, on the other hand, reckoned only 7½ stadia or *rîs* to the mile (*Yôma* vi. 4), and so obtained a convenient division of the parasang of 30 stadia—another example of the syncretism that pervades the later Jewish metrology.

The largest measure of distance of native Jewish origin was the **Sabbath day's journey** (*σαββάτου ὁδός*, Ac 1¹²). Its origin was on this wise. Combining the injunction of Ex 16²⁹ with the fact recorded in Jos 3⁴, that the ark preceded the main body of the host by 2000 cubits (*c.* 1000 yds.), the inference was drawn that the tents of the Israelites in the wilderness were this distance from the ark; and, further, that the said distance might lawfully be traversed on the Sabbath, since the injunction of Exodus (*l.c.*) could not have been meant to exclude the privilege of worship on that day. A square of 2000 cubits in the side was also the prescribed 'suburbs' of a Levitical city (Nu 35⁵). The Jews of later times, as is well known, were able ingeniously to free themselves from the restriction of a single 2000-cubit limit, by depositing at its furthest boundary, before the entry of the Sabbath, sufficient food for two meals. This spot, by a legal fiction, was considered to be the traveller's 'place' in the sense of Ex 16²⁹; he was then able to proceed with immunity for another distance of 2000 cubits. The technical name for this process was the 'mixture of limits' (עֵרוּב תְּחוּמוֹת), to the regulation and enforcement of which the treatise *Erubin* (mixtures) is devoted. In certain cases the legal distance might be increased to 2800 cubits, which was the estimated diagonal of a square 2000 cubits in the side. A number of boundary-stones, two of which bear the legend תחם גזר, have been discovered in such relative positions near Gezer (which see) as to suggest that they probably served to mark the Sabbath 'limit' for that city (*PEFSt*, 1899, 118 ff.). (For details as to the mathematical precision with which the Sabbath day's journey was calculated for each town, see Baneth's edition of *Erubin*, also Surenhusius' edition with plates. An English translation is given in Sola and Raphall's selections).

---

* Thenius' cubit of 19·05 in., adopted in Smith's *DB* (art. 'Weights and Measures'), was obtained by this method.

† The Babylonians regularly built with a brick 13 in. square.

As vaguer measurements of length and distance, finally, may be mentioned the pace (2 S 6^{13}) and the 'little way' (כִּבְרַת אֶרֶץ Gn 35^{16} 48^{7}, 2 K 5^{19}), also a day's journey (Nu 11^{31}, 1 K 19^{4}, Jon 3^{4}, Lk 2^{44}) and three days' journey (Gn 30^{36}, Nu 10^{33}), distances which naturally varied according to circumstances (see DAY'S JOURNEY, vol. i. p. 573^{b}).

viii. *Surface measure.*—In OT the idca of 'square' is generally expressed by the passive participle רָבוּעַ (a denom. verb from אַרְבַּע 'four'), rendered 'four square' (Ex 27^{1} 28^{16} etc.), the dimensions, however, being given as x cubits long and x cubits broad. In later Hebrew we find the more compendious expression 'x cubits by (עַל) x,' as in the Mishna *passim.** The diagonal of a square was estimated by the Talmudic authorities as $\frac{7}{5}$ of its side (Baneth, preface to *Erubin*, p. 52; see preceding §). The ratio of the circumference (הֶקֵּיף) of a circle to its diameter (רֹחַב) was taken as 3 to 1 (*Erub.* i. 5).

With regard to the measuring of land, two methods were in vogue in ancient times before and after the application of more scientific methods. The one attested by the consensus of East and West consisted in taking as the standard of measurement the extent of ground which a yoke of oxen could plough in a given time. In Syria at the present day the unit of land measure is the *feddân*, the ground which a yoke of oxen can plough in a day (Post, *PEFSt*, 1891, 110), which is variously estimated in different parts of the country (see Schumacher, *Across the Jordan*, 22, and more fully Bergheim, 'Land Tenure in Palestine,' *PEFSt*, 1894, 192 ff.). The corresponding Roman measure 'jugerum vocabatur quod uno jugo boum in uno die exarari posset' (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xviii. 9), and was legally fixed at *cir.* 3016 sq. yards. The second method was by estimating the size of a field by the amount of seed required to sow it. Both methods were known and practised by the Hebrews. Passing by 1 S 14^{14} as almost certainly corrupt, we find a reference in Isaiah to '10 acres of vineyard' (5^{10}, lit. 10 yoke [צֶמֶד],† *i.e.* of oxen; cf. *jugum* and *jugerum*), which at once suggests the modern *feddân*. Since the Egyp. unit of surface measure was a square 100 royal cubits in the side, called by the Greeks ἄρουρα (Griffith, *PSBA*, 1892, 410 ff.), we shall not be far wrong if we estimate the Heb. *ẓemed* as a square of 100 ordinary cubits in the side, and thus the equivalent of a measure of surface presently to be considered; in other words, at about half an acre.‡

On the other hand, the priestly legislation introduces us to a mode of computing the size of a field 'according to the seed thereof' (Lv 27^{16}), 50 shekels being fixed as commutation-money for a field requiring 'a homer of barley seed.' But there is almost certainly an earlier reference to this method of mensuration in a hitherto misunderstood passage of 1 Kings. The trench which Elijah is said to have dug round about his altar on Mt. Carmel is described as כְּבֵית סָאתַיִם זֶרַע, lit. 'like a house of two seahs of seed' (1 K 18^{32}). What does this mean? The AV and RV rendering is impossible, while RVm suggests that the trench had the breadth and depth of a two-seah measure. In reality the writer is here employing a familiar land measure, and indicating the length—not the depth and breadth—of the trench by the amount of surface which it enclosed. It is true there is no further illustration of this mode of expression in our older extant literature, but the evidence of the Mishna, considered in the light of the immemorial practice in Babylonia and Assyria, shows that its absence is accidental (see the Mishna, *passim*, esp. the agricultural treatises and those dealing with contracts). Here the size of a field is uniformly denoted by the amount of seed required to sow it. The standard of measurement was indeed the very expression under consideration, 'the house,' *i.e.* the field 'of two seahs,' which was fixed as equal in extent to the court of the tabernacle, viz. 100 cubits by 50, *c.* 1195 sq. yards (under $\frac{1}{4}$ acre). The half of this surface, 2500 sq. cubits (*c.* $\frac{1}{8}$ acre), was the *beth-ṣeah* (בֵּית סְאָה), its double 'a four-seah field' or square of 100 cubits in the side. A field of this size is in one place (*Ohaloth* xvii. 1) identified with the obscure מַעֲנָה* of 1 S 14^{14}, which would thus be a later equivalent of the *ẓemed* considered above.

The whole series of dry measures, to be discussed in the following sections, were used by the Jews of NT times in this way, from the frequently mentioned *beth-rôba* or $\frac{1}{4}$ *ḳab* plot (104 sq. cubits, *Peah* i. 6, *Baba bathra* ii. 5, etc.) up to the *beth-kôr* (*B. bathra*, vii. 1) of 75,000 sq. cubits, and its multiples. The dimension last given is that of the field of Lv 27^{16}, mentioned above (for the identity of the *kor* and the *ḥomer* see next §), which was therefore about $3\frac{3}{4}$ acres in extent. This system of field measurement, although it may be traced in parts of the Roman empire, as, *e.g.*, in the σπόριμος μόδιος, which was a third of the *jugerum* (Hultsch, *Metrol.*^{2} 616 f.), had its home in Babylonia, where the field last mentioned would have been described as in Hebrew (*bîtu 1 imêr ekli*, a one-homer field; see Johns, *Assyrian Deeds*, 219 ff.)—a fact which seems conclusive in favour of the explanation of Elijah's trench given above.

HEBREW MEASURES OF CAPACITY.—ix. *The scales of wet and dry measure. The value of the ephah-bath.*—While familiar with such rough-and-ready measures of capacity as the *ḳōmeẓ* or handful (Lv 2^{2} 5^{12} 6^{15}) and the *ḥōphen* (dual, 'two-hands full,' Ex 9^{8}, Lv 16^{12}, Ezk 10^{2}), the Hebrews from early times had a carefully graduated system both for wet and dry measures, the names and values of which have too frequently been obliterated in our English versions by an indiscriminating fondness for the rendering 'measure.'† The relation of the various denominations to each other are happily amply attested, and may be represented in tabular form, by anticipation, thus—

SCALE OF MEASURES OF VOLUME.

Homer-Kor.		Ephah-Bath.		Seab.		Hin.		Kab.		Log.
1	=	10	=	30	=	60	=	180	=	720
		1		3		6		18		72
				1		..		6		24
						1		..		12
								1		4

Of these the *ḥomer*, *ephah*, *ṣeah*, and *ḳab* are mentioned in OT as dry measures, the first named being supplanted in later times by the *kor*; the *bath*, *hin*, and *log* only as liquid measures. The proportions in the table show the influence of the sexagesimal system, while the *ʽomer* or *ʽissaron*, $\frac{1}{10}$ of the *ephah*, represents a parallel decimal subdivision (see below). It will be noted, further, that the two sets are essentially identical. In the case of the *ḥomer* and the *kor*, also of the *ephah* and the *bath*, this identity is indeed expressly attested by Ezekiel in an important context, where also the latter pair are stated to be a tenth part of the former pair (Ezk $45^{11ff.}$).

---

* The MT of Ex 27^{18b} 'fifty by fifty' cannot be defended. The LXX goes still further astray. The second 'fifty' is corrupted from באמה, which the Samaritan still has (see the writer's forthcoming commentary on *Exodus*, *in loc.*).

† Winckler, *KAT*^{3} (1902) 339, finds in צֶמֶד a weight, connecting it with the Assyr. *ṣamâdu*, to weigh.

‡ Strictly 2390 sq. yards with the cubit of 17·6 in.; an acre is 4840 sq. yards.

* It is tempting to compare this expression with the *actus*, originally the headland where the plough was turned (Heb. מַעֲנָה), which ultimately became the Roman unit of land measure (120 × 120 ft., *c.* 1500 sq. yards).

† As illustrations of confusion thus caused—a baneful legacy from the LXX—Lk 13^{21} compared with 16$^{6.7}$ may be consulted, where three denominations, standing to each other in the ratios 1 : 3 : 30, are rendered indiscriminately by 'measure' (see next §).

Of the absolute values of the various denominations in terms of other and better-known systems, we have no reliable evidence older than the 1st cent. of our era, by which time, as the latest Jewish weight-system so strikingly illustrated, Palestine had become the meeting-place of several systems of metrology, leading to an unavoidable syncretism, and to the identification of native weights and measures with the nearest approximations in foreign systems. Bearing this in mind, we shall now adduce a few of the more useful equations to be found in the *Antiquities* of Josephus.

(*a*) VIII. ii. 9 (Niese, § 57), the *bath* (βάτος) is equivalent to 72 *sextarii* (ξέσται).

(*b*) IX. iv. 5 (§ 85), the *ṣeah* (σάτον = $\frac{1}{3}$ ephah or bath) = 1½ Roman *modii*, *i.e.* 24 *sextarii*.

(*c*) III. viii. 3 (§ 30), the *hin* (εἶν = $\frac{1}{6}$ *bath*) = 2 Attic *choes*, *i.e.* 12 *sextarii*. Cf. III. ix. 4 (§ 234).

(*d*) XV. ix. 2 (§ 314), the *kor* (κόρος = 10 *ephah-baths*) is equivalent to 10 Attic *metretai*, *i.e.* 720 *sextarii* (μεδίμνους [read μετρητὰς] Ἀττικοὺς δέκα).

Earlier possibly in date than these equations is the evidence of the anonymous fragment περὶ μέτρων (Hultsch, *Metrol. Script.* i. 258), where after the definition of the Phœn. *kor* as containing 30 *ṣeahs* it is added: ‘the seah is 1½ modius,’ a definition identical with that of Jerome commenting on Mt 13^{33}. Now, the basis of all these equations is the identification, as a glance at our table will show, of the Hebrew *log* with the Græco-Roman *sextarius*, as is done by the anonymous translator of Lv 14^{10} cited *apud* Field, *Origenis Hexapla, in loc.* (cf. *Antiq.* IX. iv. 4 [§ 62], where the quarter *ḳab* of 2 K 6^{25}, *i.e.* the *log*, is also rendered by ξέστης). Evidence to the same effect might be produced from the Mishna, where it is said of the offerings prescribed in the Pentateuch that ‘their measure is on the Roman standard’ (*Kelim* xvii. 11). The determination of the value of the *sextarius-xestes*, the common unit of the Greek and Roman systems, in terms of our imperial system is therefore an indispensable preliminary to further progress. Two methods are open to us. We may, with Hultsch, start from the theoretical and legal determination of the Roman quadrantal as 80 Roman pounds weight of wine, and the similar determination of our imperial gallon as 10 lb. of water, and so reach a value for the *sextarius* of ·96 imperial pint, the value adopted in the tables in Smith's *Dict. of Antiq.*^{3} from Hultsch, *Metrol.*^{2} (*passim*). Or we may prefer the determination given by the best of the extant Roman measures, the Farnese congius in Dresden, which yields a *sextarius* equal to ·99 of a pint. This latter method has the advantage of allowing the *sextarius-log* of the Jewish system to be taken, for the smaller determinations, as the equivalent of our pint, and will be followed in this and the subsequent section. This gives for the *ephah-bath* of 72 *logs*, which is the most convenient measure for detailed examination, the value of 71·28 pints, or approximately 9 gallons (see table below).

It is scarcely to be expected, however, that the measures of OT times can have been so precisely the equivalent of the Græco-Roman denominations as this identification presupposes, and there are not wanting indications of this in Josephus' own writings and in those of later authors, especially as regards the larger denominations. Are there, then, sufficient data available for reaching a closer approximation of the original values of the Heb. measures? Perhaps the most unsatisfactory of all methods of solving this problem is that frequently attempted, down even to our own day (see Watson, *PEFSt*, 1898), on the basis of the dimensions of Solomon's brazen sea and the lavers of the temple (1 K $7^{23f. 38}$ with paralls. in Chron., LXX, and Joseph.)—a solution which the conflicting dimensions in the literary sources named, and our ignorance of the shape of the vessels in question, render only less futile than the converse attempt to deduce from the same conflicting and insufficient data the length of the Heb. cubit! But little more satisfaction is obtained by starting from the Rabbinic theory, that the *log* was equal in cubic content to six medium-sized eggs, as may be seen from the widely divergent results in the writings of previous investigators. The Alexandrian translators (LXX), finally, to whom one naturally turns for the equivalents of the Hebrew measures in the Græco-Egyp. system, are disappointing in the extreme. Here transliterating, there paraphrasing, now omitting and now making a random guess, these translators betray a remarkable ignorance of the contemporary Jewish measures (see next § for ample illustration).

(*a*) Two features of the system under investigation seem to warrant us in looking once more to Babylonia as its original home, namely the number of *logs* in the *kor* (720 = 360 × 2), as if the *log* were the half of a unit that has now disappeared, and the apparent identity of the *kor* with the Babylonian ideogram *gur* (cf. *kikkar*, talent, with Bab. *gaggaru*). Unfortunately, it must be admitted that, notwithstanding the brilliant researches of Oppert and his fellow-workers, the measures of volume are still the least satisfactory department of Bab. metrology (see esp. the elaborate exposition and criticism in Johns' *Assyrian Deeds*, etc. [1901]). Adopting, however, with due reserve the view of Lehmann and others (cf. above § vi., also Hommel's art. BABYLONIA, vol. i. p. 219) that the unit of volume was the *ka*—which Hommel (*l.c.*) would identify with the Heb. *ḳab*—equal to an original heavy mina's weight of water (15,160 grains, see § ii. above), we get 1·73 imperial pints as the value of this unit,[*] 624 pints for a *gur* of 360 *ka*, and 62·4 pints for the assumed original of the Heb. *ephah-bath*. On the other hand, if the measures of volume increased *pari passu* with the weights, the mina of 16,000 grains which has been conclusively proved to have been adopted in the West (§ ii.) would yield a *kor* of 658 pints and an *ephah-bath* of 65·8 pints.

(*b*) Again, if we follow the clue suggested by the Egyptian affinity in the department of the linear measures, we find an interesting parallel to the treatment of the Heb. measures in the Græco-Roman period. A working equivalent of the *ephah-bath*, we have seen, was obtained by identifying it with the Attic *metretes* of *72 sextarii*. Now, precisely this same equation was adopted in Egypt under the Ptolemies for a measure with a long pedigree, known in the Ptolemaic ages as the *artabe* (ἀρτάβη).[†] That this equation of the *artabe*

[*] The imperial gallon contains 10 lb. (70,000 grains) of distilled water at a temperature of 60° Fahr.

[†] Wilcken, however, has found no fewer than five different *artabes* in use in Egypt in the Ptolemaic period (*Griech. Ostraka*, i. 740 ff.).

with the *metretes* was a working and not a scientifically exact equation, is evident from the fact that by the native authorities (Griffith, *PSBA* xiv. 435) the *artabe* was defined as containing 80 Egyptian *hin*, the *hin* being a volume of water 5 *deben* in weight (7020–7170 grains, according to the valuation of the *ket*, see § ii.), which works out at a little less or more than 65 pints for the *artabe*. Now, the *artabe* was the lineal descendant of an ancient measure derived from a fraction of the cubit cubed (Griffith, *l.c.*); and since the Egyp. cubits passed to Palestine, there is a *prima facie* case for suggesting, as an alternative to the Babylonian origin of the *ephah-bath*, its derivation from the Egyptian system, with a value of 65 pints.

(*c*) But there is more reliable evidence than these somewhat hypothetical deductions as to the actual capacity of the Heb. measures, the most trustworthy in the opinion of such metrological authorities as Hultsch and Petrie being a statement in an unfortunately corrupt passage of Josephus. This author, writing of the famine in the time of Claudius (cf. Ac 11^{28}), tells of 70 *kor* of wheat being brought into the temple, and adds—adopting Hultsch's emendation, *Metrol.*^{2} 455—μόδιοι δὲ Σικελοὶ μέν εἰσιν εἶς κόρος τριάκοντα, Ἀττικοὶ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα εἶς (*Ant.* III. xv. 3 [321]). In view of the connexion of Sicily with Phœnicia through Carthage, the '30 Sicilian modii' are most probably 30 Heb. *ṣeahs*,—this rendering of the *ṣeah* by *modius* is found in Epiphanius and other writers; cf. Mt 5^{15} μόδιος for the seah-measure,—while the very precise statement that the *kor* contained 41 Græco-Roman *modii* seems, as Hultsch says, to rest upon actual measurement. Now, 41 *modii* or 656 *sextarii* yield as nearly as possible 650 pints for the *kor*, or 65 for the *ephah-bath*.

(*d*) In several later Gr. writers (see Hultsch, *Metrol. Script.*, Index under σάτον) the *ṣeah* is given as $1\frac{1}{4}$ *modii* instead of, as by Josephus and Jerome, $1\frac{1}{2}$ *modii*, that is, at 20 instead of 24 *sextarii*. Now, in the Mishna there are frequent references to local varieties in the size of the *ṣeah*, *ḳab*, etc., the Jerus. measures, for example, standing to those of Galilee in the ratio of 5 : 6,† which is precisely the proportion disclosed by the variant valuations of the *ṣeah* just cited. It is allowable, in the light of these divergent equations, to hold that different authorities made different attempts to establish a convenient equation of the two systems, Jewish and Greek, and that the true value of the *ephah-bath* lay between the two equations of 60 and 72 *sextarii* respectively, which is quite in harmony with the more positive results already obtained. The same conclusion is established by a study of the conflicting data of Epiphanius in his work on weights and measures (edited by Hultsch, *op. cit.*, and by Lagarde in his *Symmicta*), which give to the *ephah* a value ranging from 64 to 66 *sextarii*. For other, mainly speculative, methods of calculation see Watson, *PEFSt*, 1898, 109 ff. (7·85 galls.), and Warren, *ib.* 1899, 252 ff. (8·42 galls.).

The result of our investigation, then, is to point to an approximate value for the *ephah-bath* in OT times of 65 imperial pints (36·92 litres). From the necessity of establishing a more convenient working equation in later times, it was regarded in most cases as the equivalent of the Attic *metretes* of 72 Roman *sextarii*, or 9 galls. nearly, on the basis of the identification of the *log* with the *sextarius*. Both these values are given in the following tables :—

Table of Hebrew Dry Measures.

	Log.	Kab.	Omer.	Seah.	Ephah.	Earlier values in		Later values in		Approximate values.
						Litres.	Pints.	Litres.	Pints.	
Log . . .	1	...	...	...	...	·51	·90	·56	·99	1 pint
Kab . . .	4	1	...	...	...	2·05	3·6	2·25	3·96	4 pints
[Omer * . .	$7\frac{1}{5}$	$1\frac{4}{5}$	1	...	...	3·7	6·5	4·05	7·13	$7\frac{1}{5}$ "]
Seah . . .	24	6	$3\frac{1}{3}$	1	...	12·3	21·6	13·5	23·76	$1\frac{1}{2}$ pecks
Ephah . .	72	18	10	3	1	36·92	65	40·5	71·28	1 bushel
Homer or Kor .	720	180	100	30	10	369·2	650	405	712·8	11 bushels

Table of Hebrew Liquid Measures.

	Log.	Hin.	Bath.	Earlier values in		Later values in		Approximate values.
				Litres.	Pints.	Litres.	Pints.	
Log	1	...	...	·51	·90	·56	·99	1 pint
Hin	12	1	...	6·12	10·8	6·75	11·88	$1\frac{1}{2}$ galls.
Bath	72	6	1	36·92	65	40·5	71·28	9 "
Kor	720	60	10	369·2	650	405	712·8	90 "

x. *The measures of Scripture.*—It only remains to make a short reference to the individual measures in the canonical and deutero-canonical writings. The log, the lowest denomination in both the wet and dry scales, occurs in OT only in the ritual for the purification of the leper (Lv $14^{10.24}$ LXX κοτύλη = $\frac{1}{2}$ *sextarius*) as a measure of oil. Originally about $\frac{9}{10}$ pint, it was in NT times identified with the *sextarius* (or pint), by which it is rendered by a Gr. translator cited by Origen (Field, *Hexapla, in loc.*), and was then used as a dry measure as well, subdivided binarily down to $\frac{1}{64}$ *log*, the $\frac{1}{4}$ *log* being specially frequent in the Mishna. The $\frac{1}{32}$ *log* was also known as the large spoonful (מְלֹא תַּרְוָד), the $\frac{1}{64}$ as the small spoonful (Herzfeld, *Handelsgesch. d. Juden*, 184). Four *logs* went to the kab, which in OT is found only in the corrupt passage 2 K 6^{25}, which speaks of 'the fourth part of a kab' (so RV, AV 'cab').* At the date when this reading arose the log was probably still confined to liquids. The LXX render by τέταρτον τοῦ κάβου, while Josephus gives the equivalent ξέστης or *sextarius*. Peculiar to the Priests' Code is the next highest dry measure, the *'issaron* (עִשָּׂרוֹן Ex 29^{40}, Lv 14^{10} etc.), the tenth deal of our AV, *i.e.* as RV 'the tenth *part* of an ephah,' as already once correctly rendered by LXX τὸ δέκατον τοῦ οἰφί (Nu 15^{4}). The loaves of the shewbread contained each two *'issarons* (Lv 24^{5}), transliterated ἀσσαρών by Josephus, who wrongly gives its value as '7 Attic cotylæ,' or only $3\frac{1}{2}$ *sextarii* ($3\frac{1}{2}$ instead of 6–7 pints). A special name for this measure is found in the story of the manna (Ex $16^{16ff.}$), viz. the **omer** (עֹמֶר, LXX γόμορ), defined in v.^{36} as 'the tenth part of the ephah,' the same expression as is found in Lv 5^{11} 6^{20} etc. In Ex $16^{32f.}$ the term is used of the *'omer*-measure. This decimal division of the *ephah* is another indication of the conflict between the decimal and duodecimal or sexagesimal systems, which met us in connexion with the Heb. weight-system. It was probably confined to priestly circles, as it does not fit into the rest of the system below the *ephah*.

---

* The *'omer* is here inserted for comparison, though an intruder, as the fractional proportions show; see next §.

† These variations in quantity may also have been due to some extent to the difference between heaped and straked measure; cf. *Baba bathra* v. 11.

* Cheyne, however, would read 'a quarter of a kor of carob pods,' etc. (*Expos.*, July 1899).

The sixth part of the *ephah-bath* for liquids was the **hin** (הִין, LXX ἴν or εἴν [B], but χοῦς, Lv 19^{36}), a term apparently of Egyp. origin, the *henu* (Coptic *eine*) of Egypt, however, being a much smaller measure (see preceding §). With the exception of Ezk 4^{11} ($\frac{1}{6}$ *hin* of water), the *hin* occurs exclusively in the Priests' Code in connexion with the offerings of wine and oil that accompanied the meal-offering. Thus we have $\frac{1}{2}$ *hin*, $\frac{1}{3}$ *hin*, $\frac{1}{4}$ *hin*, all in Nu 28^{14}. The value of the *hin* was $1\frac{1}{4}$–$1\frac{1}{2}$ galls. The double of the *hin*, the **seah** (סְאָה, σάτον), was used exclusively as a dry measure, containing 6 *ḳabs* (see Mishna, *Menaḥoth* vii. 1; *Para* i. 1, and oft.). It was the third of the *ephah*, and is therefore to be identified with the *shālîsh* (Is 40^{12}, lit. 'third,' hence AVm 'tierce'). The *ṣeah* is variously rendered by the LXX; but where not given by the general term μέτρον, whence our AV 'measure,' it is wrongly identified with the *ephah* (1 S 25^{18}) or with the *metretes* (1 K 18^{32}). The correct σάτον is found in the later translations of Aquila and Symmachus, but in LXX only in Hag $2^{16(17)}$, where no measure is named in the original. In the NT also it appears as σάτον (Mt 13^{33}, Lk 13^{21} 'three measures of meal'), where it is equal in value to $1\frac{1}{2}$ *modii* (Jerome) or 24 pints, the 'three measures' being, of course, an *ephah* or $1\frac{1}{8}$ bushels of flour.[*] We have seen in a former section that a seah of seed was calculated to sow a surface of 2500 sq. cubits, which thus became the common unit of surface measure.

The most common of the large measures was the *ephah-bath*, originally in all probability equal to 65–66 pints, but in NT times identified with the *metretes* of nearly 72 pints. The **ephah** was used exclusively for measuring grain and other dry substances, the *bath* exclusively for liquids. The former term appears to be of Egyp. origin, and is given as *οἰφί* by the LXX (cf. Coptic *oipi*) when not rendered by μέτρον (both in Ezk 45^{13}). On the other hand, they render the *ephah* of Is 5^{10} by τρία μέτρα, evidently 3 *ṣeahs*, and so expressly in the Targum of this passage (cf. *Menaḥoth* vii. 1). The $\frac{1}{6}$ *ephah* of Ezk 45^{13} 46^{14} is accordingly $\frac{1}{2}$ *ṣeah*. For the **bath** the LXX again use their favourite μέτρον, or the absurd χοῖνιξ (only 2 pints! Ezk 45^{10}), only once the correct βάτος (Ezr 7^{22}). The 'hundred measures of oil' (Lk 16^{6}) in the unjust steward's accounts were 100 *baths*, or close on 900 gallons. The highest denomination in the system was the **homer** (חֹמֶר) or **kor** (כֹּר, EV 'cor' in Ezk 45^{14}, but generally 'measure'), both used with considerable frequency in OT as a measure of barley (Lv 27^{16} etc.), wheat (Ezk 45^{13}), and cereals generally. The identity of the *kor* and the *ḥomer*, as each containing 10 *ephah-baths*, with the information that the *kor* was also used for liquids, is given by Ezekiel ($45^{11ff.}$). The latter came in time to be the name in ordinary use for both wet and dry measure, and passed to the Greeks as the κόρος (1 Es 8^{20}). The 'hundred measures of wheat' of Lk 16^{7} are 100 *kors*, at this period equal to more than 1110 bushels. Hosea tells us that part of the price he paid for the recovery of his unfaithful wife was a homer of barley and a *lethekh* (לֶתֶךְ), which our EV, following Jewish tradition, render as 'half a homer' (Hos 3^{2}), a value which it certainly has in the Mishna.

In the NT we find the names of Græco-Roman measures, although in some cases the terms are not used as measures, but as the names of household utensils. Thus the *xestes* of Mk $7^{4.8}$, properly the *sextarius* or pint measure, is here used generally of a cup or other small domestic vessel. The *modius* (μόδιος) of Mt 5^{15} and parallels, however, is a classical loan-word for the housewife's *ṣeah*-measure required for the daily provision of the household bread. On the other hand, the '**firkins**' of Jn 2^{6} are the Gr. *metretes* of *c.* 72 pints, which we have seen to be the working equivalent of the *bath*. Apart from its careless use by the LXX, now for *ṣeah*, now for *bath*, it is found 1 Es 8^{20} (AV 'pieces of wine,' RV 'firkins') and Bel ^{3} (AV 'vessels of oil,' RV 'firkins'). We have seen above that the *metretes* was also the working equivalent in Egypt of the *artabe* (ἀρτάβη, Bel ^{3} AV and RV 'great measures'; also Is 5^{10} LXX, another gross miscalculation), which was originally of the same cubic capacity as the *ephah-bath*, *i.e.* *c.* 65 pints. The author of the Fourth Gospel represents Mary of Bethany as taking a λίτρα (EV 'pound') of ointment of spikenard to anoint our Saviour's feet (Jn 12^{3}). This has usually been understood of the Roman pound, as in Jn 19^{39}; and probably with justice. Hultsch, however (*Metrol.*^{2} 720 f., 602), understands by the former *litra* the vessel of horn, in which such unguents were kept by the Roman physicians, with measuring lines on the outside like our modern medicine glasses, and which certainly bore this name. Mention is made, last of all, in Scripture of the small Gr. measure the *chœnix* (χοῖνιξ, Rev 6^{6}) of two *sextarii* or pints as a 'measure' (AV) of wheat.[*]

LITERATURE.—*A*. General works on metrology: A. Boeckh, *Metrologische Untersuchungen*, 1838; J. Brandis, *Das Münz-, Maas-, und Gewichtssystem in Vorderasien*, 1866; F. Hultsch, *Griechische u. Römische Metrologie*^{2}, 1882 (the standard work on ancient metrology, but already out of date in many parts); also, *Metrologicorum Scriptorum Reliquiæ*, 2 vols. 1864; W. M. F. Petrie, art. 'Weights and Measures' in *Encyc. Brit.*^{9} 1888; H. Nissen, 'Griech. ü. röm. Metrologie' in Iwan Müller's *Handb. d. klass. Altertumswissenschaft*, 1892 (also separately); W. Ridgeway, *The Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards*, 1892.—*B*. Special treatises and essays: Hultsch, *Gewichte des Altertums*, 1898; R. Lepsius, *Längenmaase der Alten*, 1884. On Babylonian metrology: J. Oppert, *L'Etalon des mesures Assyriénnes*, 1875 (antiquated); C. F. Lehmann, 'Das altbabylonische Mass und Gewicht und deren Wanderung' in *Verhandl. der Berliner Anthropol. Gesellschaft*, 1889; also in several succeeding years to 1896; the same author's *Das altbabyl. Maas- und Gewichtssystem als Grundlage der antiken Gewichtssysteme*, etc., 1893; C. H. W. Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, 1901 (ch. iii. 'Metrology,' very full collection of material). For Egypt: F. Ll. Griffith, 'Notes on Egyptian Weights and Measures' in *PSBA*, 1892 (pp. 403–450): for the Ptolemaic period, U. Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka*, 1899, i. 738–780. For late Jewish metrology: B. Zuckermann, *Ueber talmudische Münzen und Gewichte*, 1862, *Das judische Maassystem*, etc., 1867. On the general subject of the above article see also corresponding article in Smith's *DB*, and Schrader's articles 'Gewicht' and 'Masse' in Riehm's *HWB*^{2}; also the relevant sections in Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* 1894, i. 198 ff., and Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 1894, 178 ff., and the recent papers on the measures of length and capacity by Col. Watson in the *PEFSt*, 1897, 1898, and Sir C. Warren, 'The Ancient Standards of Measure in the East,' *ib.* 1899; Schrader-Winckler, *Die Keilinschriften u. d. AT*^{3}, 1902, 337–342; W. Shaw-Caldecott, *Bible Archæology*, 1902, part i. Metrological.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

WELL.—A distinction is now made in Eng. between the words 'fountain' and 'well' which did not exist when the AV was made. According to its etymology (Anglo-Sax. *wylla* or *wella*, a spring, from *weallan* to surge, boil, and akin to Sansk. *val* to move to and fro), 'well' was used of springing water, and not confined as now to water standing in a hole or stored up in a pit. Thus Chaucer, *Death of Blaunche*, 160—

---

[*] The same quantity in Sarah's hands (Gn 18^{6}) was nearer a bushel.

[*] The vague 'measure,' it may be useful to state here, stands in AV for *ephah* Dt $25^{14f.}$, Pr 20^{10}, Mic 6^{10}; *kor* 1 K $4^{22\,bis}$ $5^{11\,bis}$, 2 Ch $2^{10\,bis}$ 27^{5}, Ezr 7^{22}; *ṣeah* Gn 18^{6}, 1 S 25^{18}, 1 K 18^{32}, 2 K $7^{1\,bis.\,16\,bis.\,18\,bis}$, Is 27^{8} [but see RV and *Comm.*]; *shālîsh* Ps 80^{5}, Is 40^{12}; βάτος (=*bath*) Lk 16^{6}; κόρος (=*kor*) Lk 16^{7}; σάτον (=*ṣeah*) Mt 13^{33}=Lk 13^{21}; χοῖνιξ Rev 6^{6}.

> 'Ther were a fewe welles
> Came renning fro the cliffes adoun ;

Milton, *Lycidas*, 15—

> 'Begin then, sisters of the sacred well
> That from beneath the seat of Jove doth spring.

In AV 'well' is therefore an accurate rendering of such words as *'ayin* and *πηγή*. In RV the attempt has been made here and there, but not consistently, to bring out the modern distinction. See next article. J. HASTINGS.

WELL (בְּאֵר, בֹּר [properly 'cistern'], עַיִן, מַעְיָן [both ='fountain'], *πηγή*, *φρέαρ*).—The art of sinking wells for supply of water in the absence of springs or brooks comes down from very early times. Three wells of special interest are noted in the Bible: (1) Abraham's well at Beersheba; (2) Jacob's well near the village of Sychar (*'Askar*) in Samaria; and (3) the well at the gate of Bethlehem. All these are in existence at the present day. For the first see BEERSHEBA and SHIBAH. (2) The digging of Jacob's well is not recorded in the OT, but in the NT we have the interesting account of the conversation between our Lord and the woman of Samaria (Jn 4$^{5.6}$) which took place at this spot. The village of 'Askar, which, according to Conder, is the modern representative of Sychar, stands on the slope of Mount Ebal within sight of Jacob's well.* See further under JACOB'S WELL. (3) The well of Bethlehem, for whose water David thirsted (1 Ch 11^{17}), is shown to travellers by the roadside on approaching Bethlehem from Jerusalem. There is no reason to doubt that it is the same which existed in the days of David.

Wells in Eastern countries have always been of the highest importance as objects of possession and as historical landmarks. It was one of the special privileges accorded to the Israelites that they should come into possession of wells which they themselves had not digged (Dt 6^{11}),† and they sometimes became objects of strife (Gn 21^{25}). This is not to be wondered at, considering the difficulty of sinking wells into the rock in these early times, and the great value of the water when it had been reached. E. HULL.

WENCH.—The translators of AV accepted this word from the Bishops' Bible as the tr. of *shiphhah* in 2 S 17^{17}. Wyclif has (1382) 'bondwomman' and (1388) 'handmaide,' Cov. 'damsell,' Geneva Bible 'maid.' The oldest form of the word is *wenchel* (from Anglo-Sax. *wenclo*, plu. 'children'), which signified a child of either sex, as *Ancren Riwle*, 334, 'Were and wif and wenchel.' Afterwards in the contracted form 'wenche' it was restricted to a female child, a girl, or young woman. Thus Mt 9^{24} Wyc. 'Go ye away, for the wenche is not dead, but slepith'; Mk 5^{41} Rhem. 'And holding the wenches hand, he saith to her, *Talitha cumi*, which is being interpreted, *wenche* (I say to thee) *arise*'; Elyot, *Governour*, ii. 324, 'Achilles . . . for a lytle wenche contended with Agamemnon.' By 1611 the most frequent use of the word was to denote a servant maid, its meaning (as above) in AV. So Mt 26^{71} Tind. 'When he was goone out into the poorche, a nother wenche saw him'; Jn 18^{17} Rhem. 'The wench therfore that was portresse saith to Peter.' But the word was already used in a sense that opened the way to its present deterioration, as Bar 6^{9} Cov. 'Like as a wench that loveth peramours is trymly deckte.' J. HASTINGS.

WHALE.—The EV tr^{n} of two words. **1.** תַּן *tan*, and its derivatives (see DRAGON and SEA-MONSTER). **2.** *κῆτος* (Mt 12^{40}). The latter is the LXX and NT rendering of דָּג גָּדוֹל *dāgh gādhôl*, 'a great fish' (Jon 1^{17}). There is no doubt of the existence of whales in the Mediterranean. Large parts of the skeletons of two specimens of the right whale are preserved in the museum of the Syrian Protestant College at Beirût. One of these animals was cast up on the shore near Tyre, not far from the traditional site of the ejection of Jonah, which is at Nebi-Yunûs, near Zidon. The other was drifted ashore at Beirût itself. But the gullet of this species would not admit a man. The sperm whale has a gullet quite large enough to enable him to swallow a man. It is probable that one of these monsters occasionally wanders into the Levant. *Κῆτος*, however, includes marine monsters other than the whale, as the *shark*. Sharks exist in the Mediterranean large enough to swallow a man whole. The writer has seen one at Beirût 20 ft. long. They sometimes attain a length of 30 ft. There are abundant testimonies in books of travel and works of natural history to the fact that sharks have swallowed men, and even horses and other large animals, whole (see Pusey). The preservation of Jonah alive in the belly of the fish seems to be intended by the writer to be considered part of a continued miracle. 'The Lord prepared a great fish to swallow up Jonah' (1^{17}). The Lord heard Jonah's prayer (2^{2}). 'The Lord spake unto the fish, and it vomited out Jonah upon the dry land' (2^{10}). But see art. JONAH.

G. E. POST.

WHEAT.—The following Heb. words are used for 'wheat.' **1.** בַּר *bar*, בָּר *bâr* (Arab. *burr*), is most frequently tr. 'corn' (Gn 41$^{35.49}$ 42$^{3.25}$, Ps 65$^{9.13}$ 72$^{11.16}$, Pr 11^{26}). In four places (Jer 23^{28}, Jl 2^{24}, Am 5^{11} 8^{6}) 'wheat' is the more correct rendering. **2.** דָּגָן *dāghān*. This is generic for cereals (see CORN). It is, however, twice tr. in AV 'wheat' (Nu 18^{12}, Jer 31^{12}; RV 'corn'). 'Corn' (generic) is undoubtedly correct. **3.** רִיפוֹת *rîphôth*. Once (2 S 17^{19}) tr. in AV 'ground corn,' RV 'bruised corn,' and once (Pr 27^{22}) AV 'wheat,' RV 'bruised corn.' The Arabs have two ways of preparing this substance. (*a*) The wheat is boiled, dried in the sun, and then cracked under a wheel or in a mortar. So prepared it is called *burghul*. The fragments are exceedingly hard, and resist the action of weevils and other insects. (*b*) The wheat is cracked under a hand millstone, without previous boiling. This preparation is called *jerish*. It is quite similar in appearance and properties to our wheaten grits. 'Though thou shouldest bray a fool in a mortar among wheat with a pestle' (Pr 27^{22}), may refer to the preparation of these grits with a hand mortar, or to the process of pounding grits in a stone mortar with a wooden pestle, with meat, onions, and spices, in making *kibbeh*, the favourite national dish of Bible lands. **4.** חִטָּה *ḥiṭṭāh* (Arab. *ḥinṭah*). This is the specific word for wheat, as distinguished from other cereals.

Grains of wheat have been found in very ancient tombs in Egypt, and in the ruins at Tell el-Ḥesy in Palestine. Wheat is first mentioned in Gn 30^{14}, where its harvest season is designated (cf. Ex 34^{22}, Jg 15^{1}, Ru 2^{23}, 1 S 6^{13}), as also the barley harvest (Ru 1^{22} 2^{23}). The wheat harvest commences in the lowlands of the Jordan Valley in April, and ends on subalpine Lebanon in August. Wheat was an article of export from Judæa (Ezk 27^{17}). It was offered in sacrifice (Ex 34^{22}), as were all cereals (Nu 18^{12} *dāghān* = '*corn*,' as in RV, not 'wheat,' as in AV). It was of different qualities (Ps 81^{16} 147^{14}). Some produced 100 grains (Mt 13^{8}). This is not an exaggeration in the case of the Egyptian wheat (Gn 41^{22}), the panicle of which is compound. 'Kidneys of wheat' (Dt 32^{14}) doubtless refers to the fat grains of the best qualities. It is usual at the present day to cut off bunches of the fattest wheat ears while still green, and toast them in the fire. Other cereals are treated in the same way. Thus cooked, they are the 'green ears of corn dried by the fire, even corn beaten out of the full ears' (AV Lv 2^{14}, RV 'corn in the ear parched with fire, bruised corn of the fresh ear'), and 'parched corn,' Heb. '*parched*' (1 S 17^{17} 25^{18}, 2 S 17^{28}). They are a favourite food of the people a month or so before the harvest. The Arabs call them *ferîk.* Nearly ripe ears are rubbed out in the hands, and the grains eaten raw (Lk 6^{1} etc.). An ear of corn was called *shibboleth*, which the Ephraimites pronounced *ṣibboleth* (Jg 12^{6}). See SHIBBOLETH.

---

* *Tent-Work*, 40. Conder says: 'The tradition of Jacob's well is one in which the Jews, Samaritans, Moslems, and Christians alike agree.' *Ib.* 38.

† RV 'Cisterns hewn out which thou hewedst not,' probably both wells and cisterns were intended.

The wild original of wheat is unknown. Some have suggested that it is derived from *Ægilops ovata*, L. Only one species of wild wheat, *Triticum monococcum*, L., is found in Palestine, and that only in northernmost Syria. G. E. POST.

WHEEL.—Various Heb. words are so translated. **1.** אָבְנַיִם turnings, wheels. In Jer 18^{3} this word (used elsewhere only Ex 1^{16}, where prob. = *sella parturientis*) refers to the potter's wheel. In Syria this is commonly two horizontal discs of wood joined together by an upright pillar or axle. On the upper disc the clay is put which is to be formed into a vessel, while the lower one is turned by the feet of the potter. **2.** אוֹפָן refers to chariot wheels in Ex 14^{25}, Nah 3^{2}, Ezk $1^{15\text{ff.}}$; in 1 K $7^{30.32\text{f.}}$ to the wheels of the bases of the lavers of the temple; in Pr 20^{26}, Is 28^{27}, to the rollers of a threshing-waggon. **3.** גַּלְגַּל, a rolling thing, a wheel. In Ps 83^{13} it is applied to the dust raised by a whirlwind, 'whirling dust.' In Ec 12^{6} it refers to the wheel of a cistern or well; to chariot wheels in Is 5^{28}, Jer 47^{3}, Ezk $10^{2.13}$ 23^{24} 26^{10}; and in Dn 7^{9} to wheels of throne of burning fire. Another form גִּלְגַּל is found in Is 28^{28}, and is applied to the rollers of a threshing-waggon. **4.** פַּעַם beat, step, in Jg 5^{28} probably refers to the noise made by chariots, or to the step of the horses drawing them. It is evident from Scripture that chariots were frequently used in Syria and Palestine, and the wheels must have been very strongly made to withstand the rocky roads over which they were driven. On the old road near the mouth of the Nahr el-Kelb, or Dog River, a few miles north of Beirût, along which both Assyrian and Egyptian armies passed, the marks of the chariot wheels are still to be seen, deeply engraved in the rock. After the Mohammedan invasion, wheeled carriages ceased to be used, and it was only about the middle of this century that they were reintroduced by Europeans. The wheels of the ancient Egyptian chariots had six spokes (חִשֻּׁקִים), which connected the nave (חִשֻּׁר) with the felloes or rim (גַּב). Slits were made in the tyre, through which bands were passed and fastened round the rim. The axle-tree (יָד) was fixed to the body of the chariot, and its extremities were rounded where they passed through the wheels. The wheels were secured by pins. The wheel evidently had its origin in the roller, then discs of wood were used, and in India wheels are often made of planks of wood nailed together and then cut into a circular shape.

On the 'wheel of nature,' Ja 3^{6} RV, see esp. Mayor, *in loc.* W. CARSLAW.

WHELP.—גּוּר, lit. 'son' (Job 4^{11} 28^{8}), גּוּר (Jer 51^{38}, Ezk $19^{2.3.5}$, Nah $2^{11.12}$), σκύμνος (1 Mac 3^{4} used of the young of the lion (see LION)); in 2 S 17^{8}, Pr 17^{12}, Hos 13^{8}, of bears' cubs (see BEAR). In the last three passages the Heb. is simply שַׁכּוּל 'bereaved,' the words 'of her whelps' being supplied in EV.

WHIRLWIND (סַעַר *ṣaʿar*, סְעָרָה *ṣĕʿārāh*, סוּפָה *ṣûphāh*).—The term is applied generally to any violent destructive wind. The same words are often translated in other passages by 'storm' or 'tempest,' *e.g.* Ps 55^{8} 83^{15} (both *ṣaʿar*); Is 29^{6} (*ṣĕʿārāh*); Am 1^{14}, Jon $1^{4.12}$ (all three *ṣaʿar*). The 'whirlwind' of AV is rendered 'tempest' by RV in Jer 23^{19} 25^{32} 30^{23} (all *ṣĕʿārāh*); 'stormy wind' in Ezk 1^{4} (*rûaḥ ṣĕʿārāh*); 'storm' in Job 37^{9} and Is 17^{13} (both *ṣûphāh*). The term 'whirlwind' is used both in a physical and a symbolical sense. In the former we may take the passage descriptive of the rapture of Elijah in 2 K 2^{1}, as also that in Job 21^{18} 37^{9}, Is 17^{13} 21^{1}, Ezk 1^{4}, Am 1^{14}, Nah 1^{3}, Ps 107^{25} 148^{8}; but in the remaining passages the term is used figuratively: of chariots (Is 5^{28} 66^{15}, Jer 4^{13}, Dn 11^{40}), the passionate acts of man (Ps 55^{8}), the ruin brought upon man by his sin (Hos 8^{7} and oft.), or the anger of God against the wicked (Pr 1^{27} and oft.); nor can the term be considered inapt from what we know of the destructive effect of rotatory storms in some countries. To such storms the references in the Bible must be considered to refer; but, strictly speaking, whirlwinds differ essentially from cyclones, which arise from unequal distribution of atmospheric pressure over *horizontal* areas; whereas whirlwinds, tornadoes, dust-storms, and waterspouts are different forms of atmospheric movement consequent on a *vertical* disturbance of the equilibrium of the air. When occurring over the sea or inland lakes the rotatory movement gives rise to waterspouts; when over the land, and especially over a sandy desert, a dust-storm, a cause of terror to caravans and wandering Arabs, is the result. As this is the form which is most usual in Bible lands, it may be referred to in a little further detail. When a dust-storm is about to commence, the air is unusually stagnant and sultry; presently a tall column of sand approaches, moving in a certain direction, and drawing into itself as it moves along sand, dust, and light bodies whirling around the centre of the column. Sometimes several of these columns move over the surface, each gyrating independently round its own axis. Observations made on such phenomena appear to show that the air of the surface is strongly drawn in towards the base of each column, and that it ascends along the central axis of the whirlwind. The only course of safety for the traveller over the desert, on the approach of a dust-storm, is to descend from his camel, throw himself on the ground, and completely cover his head with his mantle, till the storm passes away. In the tales of the *Arabian Nights*, and generally in the folk-lore of the East, the travelling dust-pillar is regarded as a favourite abode of the *ʿafrît* or *genius loci.*

During the storms that precede the rain at the end of summer (September and October), the wind hustles along in front of it, to the depth of some three feet above the ground, a vast collection of thistle-tops and various seed-vessels. They hasten along so that before the rain comes they may find each in its little hollow or crevice a resting-place in which to die and become fruitful. In places where the wild artichoke abounds, as in the great open plain between the two Lebanons, the rushing wind snaps off the dry, globular, dahlia-like tops, and urges them along, like the jumping chariots (Nah 3^{2}) of the Assyrian king. They move with military precision, now charging at the double-quick, and then wheeling to right or left, as if imitating some phantom fugleman, or obeying some ghostly word of command. Thomson is of opinion that this must be the 'wheel' of Ps 83^{13}, *rolling thing* of Is 17^{13} (גַּלְגַּל); in both instances RV 'whirling dust' (*Land and Book*, S. Pal. 212). The driving power of the storm is exemplified in Ex 10$^{13-19}$, Nu 11^{31}, 1 K 19^{11}.

Very often the whirlwind or tempest is accompanied by rain and dark clouds. The wind whistles and moans, and seems to come from all directions at once, flinging out scuds of fine spray and discharging torrents of rain. The cold is often such as to cause loss of life to men and animals. Tents and booths are wrecked, and the 'overflowing shower' (Ezk 38^{22}) created by it undermines houses and tears down vineyard walls. It is a sort of cloud-burst, and is called by the Arabs a *seil*, that is, a *flood*. Like the suddenness of its onslaught (Pr 1^{27}) is the rapidity of its disappearance (Pr 10^{25}, Is 5^{28}). It is referred to in Ps 18$^{7-16}$, Jer 23^{19}, and its leading features are given in the parable illustration with which Christ closed His Sermon on the Mount (Mt 7$^{25-27}$).

G. M. Mackie and E. Hull.

WHITE.—See Colours, vol. i. p. 458^{a}.

WHITE OF AN EGG (רִיר חַלָּמוּת, EV Job 6^{6}, RVm 'juice of purslain').—The allusion should perhaps be understood to be to the juice of some insipid plant, probably *Portulaca oleracea*, L., the common purslane. 'White of an egg' (lit., on this view, 'slime of the yolk') is a Rabbinic interpretation, and is still accepted by A. B. Davidson, Duhm, *et al.* The comparison in the other member of the parallelism is with 'unsavoury,' which would be better rendered 'insipid.' G. E. Post.

WHOLE, WHOLESOME.—The Anglo-Sax. *hāl* became in Middle Eng. *hole*; the spelling *whole* is due to a dialectic pronun. (as in whoop, whore *) and obscures the connexion of the word with hale, heal, holy. 'Hole' as well as 'whole' is used by Tindale, as Ex 5^{18} 'see that ye delyver the hole tale of brycke.'

1. The earliest meaning is *healthy*, as in Mt 9^{12} 'They that be whole need not a physician, but they that are sick' (οἱ ἰσχύοντες). So Udall, *Erasmus' Paraph.* i. 28, 'Yf thine iye bee clere and wholle, it geveth sight to all the membres'; Hall, *Works*, iii. 461, 'We are not the same men sick and whole'; Calderwood, *History*, 140, 'Mr. Patrick Adamsone, called commonly Bishop of St. Andrews, had keeped his Castle, like a fox in a hole, a long time, diseased of a great seditie, as he himself called his disease. . . . When the King cometh to St. Andrews, he becometh a whole man.'

2. Next, *made healthy*, *healed*, as in Mk 5^{34} 'Go in peace, and be whole of thy plague' (ἴσθι ὑγιής); so Tennyson, *Lancelot and Elaine*—

> 'He called his wound a little hurt,
> Whereof he would be quickly whole.'

3. Then, *unbroken*, *entire*, as in Dt 27^{6} 'Thou shalt build the altar of the Lord thy God of whole stones' (RV 'unhewn'); 2 S 1^{9} 'my life is yet whole in me'; Pr 1^{12} 'Let us swallow them up alive as the grave; and whole, as those that go down into the pit'; Is 14$^{29. 31}$ 'Rejoice not thou, whole Palestina' (RV 'O Philistia, all of thee'). Cf. Erasmus, *Crede*, 139, 'with pure and whole faith.'

Wholesome occurs in AV but twice, Pr 15^{4} 'a wholesome tongue' (מַרְפֵּא לָשׁוֹן, LXX ἴασις γλώσσης, RVm 'the healing of the tongue'), and 1 Ti 6^{3} 'and consent not to wholesome words' (ὑγιαίνουσι λόγοις, RV 'sound words,' RVm 'healthful'). In both places the word means health-giving, healing. In the latter place there is at least a hint of that moral meaning which 'wholesome' had in older English = soul-healing, *saving* ('heilsam'). This meaning is found in the Pr. Bk. Psalter, Ps 20^{6} 28^{9}. See Driver's *Par. Psalt.* p. 485, and the quotations there. See also art. Health.

J. Hastings.

WHORE.—See Harlot.

WIDOW * (אַלְמָנָה *'almānā*; *χήρα*; *vidua*. The absence of any term for 'widower' shows that the wife was considered of less importance to the husband than *vice versa*).

i. OT and Apocrypha.—The position of the widow varied according to her family. A young, childless widow might return to her father's house and remarry after an interval (Tamar, Gn 38^{11}; Ruth and Orpah, Ru 1$^{8. 9}$). She might also be claimed in marriage by her late husband's brother (Gn 38^{8}, Mk 12$^{19ff.}$, Ru 1$^{12f.}$) or nearest kinsman (Dt 25^{5}, Ru 3$^{12. 13}$). In many instances this arrangement would cause serious inconvenience, and provision is made by which the kinsman might be released from his obligation, or might transfer it to some one else (Dt 25$^{7. 10}$, Ru 4$^{4-10}$). The passages cited show that this Levirate marriage was an actual custom, which, however, was often neglected. A widow with a grown-up son would usually live with him, *e.g.* Micah's mother (Jg 17$^{1-6}$), apparently a widow in possession of property of her own (cf. 2 S 14$^{5ff.}$, 1 K 7^{14}, Jth 8$^{1-8}$). The honourable and influential position of the queen-mother, *e.g.* Bathsheba (1 K 2^{19}, cf. Queen), illustrates the status of such widows. But there was evidently a large class of widows who were in very poor circumstances. The widow and the fatherless (cf. Orphan) are constantly spoken of as suitable objects of charity and special consideration (Dt 14^{29} 16$^{11. 14}$ 26$^{12f.}$, Job 22^{9} 24^{21} 29^{13} 31^{16}, Ps 146^{9}, Pr 15^{25}, Jer 49^{11}), or as liable to suffer injustice (Ex 22^{22}, Dt 10^{18} 27^{19}, Job 24^{3}, Ps 68^{5} 94^{6}, Is 1$^{17. 23}$ 10^{2}, Jer 7^{6} 22^{3}, Ezk 22^{7}, Zec 7^{10}, Mal 3^{5}, Sir 4^{10} 35$^{14f.}$). Deut. makes special provisions in favour of widows: their clothing was not to be taken as a pledge (24^{17}), and the forgotten sheaf of the harvest, and the gleanings of the olive trees and the vintage, were to be left for the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow (24$^{19ff.}$).

These needy widows must have belonged to the poorer classes, and have had families of young children; but even the widows and orphans of well-to-do men might be robbed of their property by some kinsman or powerful neighbour, often on some legal pretext (cf. 2 S 14^{7}). The widow ranks with the divorced woman as being her own mistress, and therefore capable of taking a binding vow without obtaining the consent of father or husband (Nu 30^{9}). A high priest is not allowed to marry a widow (Lv 21^{14}), nor is any ordinary priest (Ezk 44^{22}); the latter passage, however, permits a priest to marry the widow of a priest. In 2 Mac 3^{10} we read of deposits for widows and orphans in the temple treasury.

ii. New Testament.—Here, too, the widow is spoken of as poor and an object for charity and special consideration (Mk 12$^{41-43}$, Lk 20^{47} 21$^{2. 3}$, Ja 1^{27} etc.; cf. Barn. xx. 2; Herm. *Sim.* i. 8, etc.; Ign. *ad Smyrn.* 6, etc.; Just. *1 Apol.* 67; Polyc. iv.). The marriage of widows generally is sanctioned (Ro 7^{3}, 1 Co 7$^{8. 39}$), and, according to RV, the marriage of younger widows is enjoined in 1 Ti 5^{14}. RVm, however, makes the injunction refer to younger women.

---

* Hot is spelt 'whot' in Dt 9^{19} AV 1611.

* See also Family, ii. *a*, vol. i. p. 847; Marriage, ii. 2, vol. iii. p. 269; Poverty, p. 27 ff.; Woman (Deaconess, etc.), p. 936^{b}.

The charge against the Pharisees, that they devoured widows' houses (Mk 12^{40}), is sometimes explained of spoliation under legal forms (Gould), but more commonly, and probably, of sponging on the generosity of foolish women through an ostentatious display of unctuous piety (Holtzmann, Swete, etc.). Thus Swete, 'Schöttgen on Mt 23^{14} . . . shows that such a course was familiarly known as מכת פירושין, *plaga Pharisæorum.*'

The care of widows was one of the special ministries of the early Church (Ac 6^1 9^{39}). Weizsäcker, however (*Apostolic Age*, i. 56), considers that widows cannot have formed a separate class so soon, and that the language of Acts reflects the conditions of a later time. From 1 Ti 5^{16} we gather that the relations of widows tried to shift their responsibility on to the shoulders of the Church; and any woman that has 'widows' is told that she must bear her own burden in this matter; further, the duty of supporting widows is specially urged upon children, grandchildren (5^4), and other relatives (5^8). The somewhat lavish charity of the Church at Jerusalem in the days after Pentecost would be a special attraction to the needy, and may account for the apparently large proportion of widows. In considering 1 Ti 5^{16} we must remember the large households of the East, comprising relations of various degrees to three or four generations. The 'woman's' 'widows' might be daughters, daughters-in-law, etc. We further gather from 1 Ti 5 that the Church sought to limit its alms to widows of good repute, exemplary piety and beneficence, over the age of sixty; and, from the similarity of this description to those of presbyters and deacons, it seems that the Church required service from these widows in return for maintenance, and that they constituted an order of church officers; and, according to some, corresponded to the deaconesses, of whom we have an example in Ro 16^1 (cf. Woman (Deaconess)), and who are described in 1 Ti 3^{11}. It should be noticed, however, that in 1 Ti 5 the writer is chiefly occupied with the burden which the relief of widows imposed upon the Church, and anxious to reduce it in every possible way. Hence the age limit, the exacting conditions as to character, and the repeated urgent appeals to relatives to maintain widows. The character qualification suggests Christian service, otherwise this function of the widows is not referred to. In Tit 2^3 the 'aged women' are to be 'teachers of that which is good,' and to train the younger women; but the terms 'aged women,' and, in the previous verse, 'aged men,' are perfectly general.

1 Ti 5, mainly occupied as it is with the subject of poor relief, makes us wonder what was to become of destitute, friendless widows who were under sixty, or who had not reached the requisite standard of piety and beneficence. Did the Church leave them to starve, or allow them to be dependent on casual almsgiving, instead of making regular provision for them? It is sometimes supposed that the roll in 5^9, on which only those widows were to be entered who possessed the qualifications specified in v.$^{9ff.}$, was a register of church officers; and that these 'widows' were distinct from the widows generally whose relief is discussed in the rest of the section. Some such view is supported by v.^{11}, which objects to the enrolment of young widows because it is likely that they will marry again. If the enrolment simply entitled to relief, this would be no objection; it seems to imply that a woman entering the order of widows pledged herself to remain unmarried in order to serve the Church. Cf. Anna (Lk 2^{37}), a widow who devoted her life to religious exercises.

There are two main questions as to the 'widows' of the NT. (i.) Whether they were merely a class of the poor, specially cared for in the distribution of alms, or whether they were an order of church officials. Such an order existed in later times, and continued into the Middle Ages. Polyc. iv. 3 is as ambiguous as 1 Timothy; the terms used of widows, *e.g.* 'altar of God,' seems to imply an ecclesiastical order; and yet from the context the passage seems to refer to widows generally as distinguished from married women. But from the close of the 2nd cent. the existence of the order is vouched for by a succession of references in Tertullian, Origen, *Apostolical Constitutions*, etc. It is therefore natural to understand 1 Ti 5 of such an order, but not necessarily Ac 6^1 $9^{39.41}$. We cannot carry back to the 1st cent. the exact organization and regulation of the order in later times, but no doubt its duties consisted in devotional exercises, the instruction of women, nursing, and other works of charity.

(ii.) The second question as to NT widows is—assuming that they constituted an order, what was its relation to that of deaconesses? They have sometimes been supposed to be identical; but if 1 Ti 3^{11} refers to deaconesses, they are probably different from the widows of 1 Ti 5; and widows and deaconesses appear as distinct orders in the early Church, although they seem to be often confused one with the other. The most probable conclusion is that of Sanday-Headlam on Ro 16^1: 'Of the exact relation of the "deaconess" to the "widows" (1 Ti 5^3) it is not necessary to speak, as we have no sufficient evidence for so early a date; it is quite clear that later they were distinct as bodies, and that the widows were considered inferior to the deaconesses (*Apost. Const.* iii. 7); it is probable, however, that the deaconesses were for the most part chosen from the widows.'

For an account of widows in the early Church see art. 'Widow' in Smith's *Dict. of Christ. Antiquities.* W. H. Bennett.

WIFE.—See Family and Marriage.

WILDERNESS or **DESERT.**—Both these terms, especially the latter of them, suggest to the English ear ideas which are foreign to the Heb. words which are so rendered in EV. In particular, the popular notion of a *sandy* waste must be banished from the mind if one is to understand the meaning of 'desert' in the Bible.

1. מִדְבָּר *midbār* (LXX usually ἔρημος) occurs about 280 times in the OT, and is tr^{d} 'wilderness' by AV except in 12 passages (Ex 3^1 5^3 19^2 23^{31}, Nu 20^1 27^{14} 33^{16}, Dt 32^{10}, 2 Ch 26^{10}, Job 24^5, Is 21^1, Jer 25^{24}), where the tr. is 'desert.' RV renders by 'wilderness' except in Dt 32^{10} and Job 24^5, where it retains AV 'desert,' and Pr 21^{19}, where it substitutes 'a desert land' for AV 'the wilderness' as tr. of אֶרֶץ־מִדְבָּר. *Midbār* is properly a tract to which herds are driven (from דבר 'to drive [herds]'; cf. the Germ. *Trift* and *treiben*), an uncultivated region, but one where pasturage, however scanty, may be found (Ps $65^{13\,(12)}$, Jl 2^{22}, Jer 23^{10}; cf. Jl $1^{19.20}$, Jer 9^{10}); usually without a settled population (Nu 14^{33}, Dt 32^{10}, Job 38^{26}, Pr 21^{19}, Jer 9^2; the abode of pelicans Ps 10^{26}, wild asses Job 24^5, Jer 2^{24}, jackals Mal 1^3, ostriches La 4^3), although in certain districts there might be towns and cities (Jos $15^{61.62}$, Is 42^{11}) occupied by nomads. The term *midbār* is usually applied to the Wilderness of the Wanderings (Gn 14^6, Nu $14^{16.29.33}$ *et al.*), or the great Arabian desert (Jg 11^{22} *et al.*), but may refer also to any other (Ca 3^6 8^5). In the Wilderness of the Wanderings the following special tracts are distinguished: the Wilderness of Shur, Ex 15^{22}; Ṣin, Ex 16^1 17^1, Nu $33^{11.12}$; Ṣinai, Ex $19^{1.2}$, Lv 7^{38}, Nu $1^{1.19}$ $3^{4.14}$ $9^{1.5}$ 10^{12} 26^{64} $33^{15.16}$; Paran, Gn 21^{21}, Nu 10^{12} 12^{16} $13^{3.26}$, 1 S 25^1; Ẓin, Nu 13^{21} 20^1 27^{14} 33^{36} 34^3, Dt 32^{51}, Jos 15^1; Ḳadesh, Ps 29^8; Etham, Nu 33^8. In W. Palestine there are: the Wilderness of Judah, Jg 1^{16}, Ps 63^{title} (cf. Jos 15^{61}); Maon, 1 S $23^{24.25}$; Ziph, 1 S $23^{14.15}$ 26^2; Beer-sheba, Gn 21^{14}; En-gedi, 1 S $24^{1\,(2)}$; Teḳoa, 2 Ch 20^{20}; Jeruel, 2 Ch 20^{16}; Gibeon, 2 S 2^{24}. In E. Palestine: the Wilderness of Moab, Dt 2^8; Edom, 2 K 3^8; Ḳedemoth, Dt 2^{26}.

Midbār is used figuratively in Hos 2^3 ('lest I make her [Israel] as a wilderness' ‖ 'a dry land' אֶרֶץ צִיָּה), and Jer 2^{31} ('Have I [Jahweh] been a wilderness to Israel?').

2. עֲרָבָה *'ărābāh* (prob. from a root meaning *to be arid*; LXX often ἔρημος, but also such renderings as ἀγρός, ἕλος, γῆ διψῶσα) stands for a tract of country whose soil is bare, desolate, unfertile. Its nearest equivalent is 'steppe' or 'desert-plain.' Apart from its application to *the* 'Arabah, the great depression which includes the Jordan Valley, and extends southwards to the Gulf of 'Aḳabah (see art. ARABAH, and PLAIN in vol. iii. p. 893^{b}), the term *'ărābāh* is applied to steppes in general. Its renderings in EV are as follows: Job 24^{5} (‖ מִדְבָּר) 39^{6} (‖ מְלֵחָה 'salt land'), AV and RV 'wilderness'; Is 33^{9}, Jer 51^{43} (in latter ‖ אֶרֶץ צִיָּה) AV 'wilderness,' RV 'desert'; Am 6^{14} AV 'wilderness,' RV 'Arabah'; Is 35^{6} (‖ מִדְבָּר and צִיָּה) 40^{3} 41^{19} (in both ‖ מִדְבָּר) 51^{3} (‖ חָרְבָּה and מִדְבָּר), Jer 2^{6} (‖ מִדְבָּר and אֶרֶץ צִיָּה) 17^{6} (‖ מִדְבָּר and אֶרֶץ מְלֵחָה) 50^{12} (‖ מִדְבָּר and צִיָּה) AV and RV 'desert.' In the plur. *'arbôth* the word is used of the 'plains' (AV and RV; better 'steppes' or 'desert-plains') of Moab (Nu 22^{1} 26$^{3.\ 63}$ 31^{12} 33$^{48.\ 49.\ 50}$ 35^{1} 36^{13}, Dt 34^{1}) and of Jericho (Jos 4^{13} 5^{10}, 2 K 25^{5} [Jer 39^{5} 52^{8}]). See art. PLAIN, *l.c.*

3. חָרְבָּה (in plur. חֳרָבוֹת), from a root meaning *to be waste* or *desolate*, is 3 times tr^{d} 'desert(s)' in AV: Ps 102^{6} (‖ מִדְבָּר; LXX οἰκόπεδον; RV 'waste places'), Is 48^{21} (so also RV; LXX ἔρημος), Ezk 13^{4} (RV 'waste places'; LXX ἔρημοι). Elsewhere EV offers such renderings as 'waste(s),' 'desolation(s),' 'waste places,' 'desolate places': Lv 26$^{31.\ 33}$, Ezr 9^{9}, Is 5^{17} 44^{26} 49^{19} 51^{3} 52^{9} 58^{12} 61^{4} 64^{10}, Jer 7^{34} 22^{5} 25$^{9.\ 11.\ 18}$ 27^{17} 44$^{2.\ 6.\ 22}$ 49^{13}, Ezk 5^{14} 25^{13} 26^{20} 29$^{9.\ 10}$ 33$^{24.\ 27}$ 35^{4} 36$^{4.\ 10.\ 33}$ 38^{8}, Dn 9^{2}, Mal 1^{4}, Ps 9^{6} 109^{10}, Job 3^{14}. The proper application of this Heb. term is to cities or districts *once inhabited, but now lying waste* (cf. the use of שַׁמָּה 'devastation' and its cognates in Is 1^{7} 5^{9} 6^{11}, Jer 42^{18}, Ezk 35^{7}), although it is once (Is 48^{21}) used of the Wilderness of the Wanderings. Its nearest Eng. equivalents are 'waste(s)' and 'ruin(s).'

4. יְשִׁימוֹן.—See JESHIMON. **5.** צִיָּה *ẓîyyāh* is twice tr^{d} 'wilderness' in AV: Job 30^{3} (RV 'dry ground'; LXX ἄνυδρος), Ps 78^{17} (RV 'desert,' RVm 'a dry land'; LXX ἄνυδρος; here used of the Wilderness of the Wanderings). Its proper meaning is 'dry ground' (cf. אֶרֶץ־צִיָּה of Ps 63$^{2\,(1)}$, צָיוֹן of Is 25^{5} 32^{2}, and שָׁרָב [AV 'parched ground,' RV 'glowing sand,' RVm 'mirage'] of Is 35^{7}). In Is 13^{21} 34^{14}, Jer 50^{39}, Ps 74^{14}, צִיִּים is used of wild beasts of the desert; in Is 23^{13} [unless we emend, with Ols., to עִיִּים, or take the word, with Marti, to mean 'seamen'] and Ps 72^{9} [but prob. read, with Ols., Duhm, *et al.*, צָרִים] of human inhabitants of these arid tracts.

6. תֹּהוּ *tōhû* occurs in the collocation בְּתֹהוּ יְלֵל יְשִׁמֹן (LXX ἐν δίψει καύματος, ἐν γῇ ἀνύδρῳ), lit. 'in the waste of the howling of a desert' = 'in the howling (adj.) waste of a desert' [on the construction see Driver, *ad loc.*], Dt 32^{10}, where it refers to the Wilderness of the Wanderings. It is tr^{d} 'wilderness' by AV and RV in Job 12^{24}, and by AV (RV 'waste') in Ps 107^{40} (LXX ἐν ἀβάτῳ). The special sense of this word is that of a wild desolate expanse (Job 6^{18} 'they [the caravans] go up into the waste and perish'). It is the term applied to the chaotic confusion that preceded the creation (Gn 1^{2}; cf. Jer 4^{23}, where the prophet beholds the earth returned to the primeval *tōhû wābōhû*; and contrast Is 45^{18} 'He created it not a waste' [but perhaps here the word = 'in vain,' RVm]).

7. The NT terms are ἐρημία and ἔρημος (the latter used either as adj. with τόπος or the like, or alone, in the fem., with χώρα understood). As a rule AV tr. the substantives by 'wilderness' and the adjective by 'desert.' RV changes 'desert' of AV into 'wilderness' in Mt 24^{26} and Jn 6^{31} as tr. of ἔρημος. Conversely, it changes 'wilderness' of Lk 5^{16} 8^{29} into 'deserts' as tr. of αἱ ἔρημοι, and into 'a desert place' in Mt 15^{33} and Mk 8^{4} as tr. of ἐρημία. It also reads 'a desert place' for 'a solitary place' in Mk 1^{35} as tr. of ἔρημος τόπος.

The wilderness of JUDÆA witnessed the commencement of John the Baptist's ministry (Mt 3^{1} ‖). An unnamed wilderness, probably the *Quarantania* of tradition, was the scene of our Lord's temptation (Mt 4^{1} ‖). The words of Ac 8^{26} 'Arise and go toward the south unto the way that goeth down from Jerusalem unto Gaza: *the same is desert*' (αὕτη ἐστὶν ἔρημος), have occasioned a good deal of difficulty. If αὕτη could be taken as referring to ὁδός, the statement might be justified, for the road that is probably in view actually passes through the desert (so Robinson, *BRP*^{2} ii. 514). But it is more natural to refer αὕτη to *Gaza*, and this city was, in Philip's time, quite a flourishing one. G. A. Smith (*HGHL* 187) seeks to evade this difficulty by supposing the allusion to be to Old Gaza, by which the road ran, and to which the title ἔρημος may have clung, even if it were not actually deserted. Upon the whole, however, it appears preferable to regard the words 'the same is desert' as a late marginal gloss which has found its way into the text.

On Oriental superstitions about the wilderness as the haunt of demons see art. DEMON, vol. i. p. 590.

J. A. SELBIE.

WILDERNESS OF JUDÆA. — See JUDÆA (WILDERNESS OF).

WILDERNESS OF THE WANDERINGS. — See EXODUS AND JOURNEY TO CANAAN.

WILL, WOULD.—**1.** These Eng. words are often used in AV with a significance that is hidden from the reader who does not consult the Heb. or Greek. RV has done much, esp. in the NT, to show their force, but much has yet to be done.

Will was originally an independent verb (Anglo-Sax. *willan* or *wyllan*, Middle Eng. *willen*), and expressed, either transitively or intrans., a wish or resolve, as Bacon, *Essays*, p. 77, 'It is common with Princes (saith Tacitus) to will contradictories'; p. 40, 'In evill, the best condition is not to will; the second, not to can.' As an indep. verb 'will' was often followed by an infin., with or without a direct object. Thus Bacon, *Essays*, p. 255, 'The French king willed his Chauncellor or other minister to repeate and say over Fraunce as many times as the other had recited the severall dominions'; Knox, *Hist.* p. 317, 'Thinke not (said hee), Madame, that wrong was done unto you, when you are willed to be subject unto God.'

But as the Eng. verb lost its inflexions, certain verbs, themselves originally independent, were used to form its tenses, etc. One of these was *will*, though in this case it was rather to supply a defect than to replace a lost inflexion, there being no future inflexion in the Eng. verb.* 'Will' did not cease to be an indep. verb when it became an auxiliary; it was used sometimes in the one way, sometimes in the other. And as Elizabethan writers felt at liberty to insert or omit the 'to' before an infin. as they pleased,† it has now become very difficult to distinguish 'will' as an auxiliary expressing the future tense, from 'will' as an indep. verb followed by an infin. without 'to.' Cf. Mt 10^{26} 'There is nothing covered that shall not be revealed,' with 11^{27} 'Neither knoweth any man the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him.' The former is a simple future (ὁ οὐκ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται, Vulg. *quod non revelabitur*), the other is the verb *to will* with an infin. of the following verb, the 'to' being omitted (ᾧ ἐὰν βούληται ὁ υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψαι, Vulg. *cui voluerit filius revelare*, Rhem. 'to whom it shal please the Sonne to reveale,' RV 'to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal him').

---

* 'Shall' was used as the auxiliary of the future before 'will, and, as Earle says (*Philology*, § 304), 'will has carved all the area it occupies out of the domain of shall.' In the Introd. to *The Psalter of 1539* (Murray, 1894), Earle points out that *will* as an auxiliary 'is hardly to be found in Saxon times, it is even strange to Wyclif in the 14th cent., it is not firmly established in the Bible of 1539. It is encroaching upon *shall* and driving it back, but its limits are not yet determined. And tbis aggressiveness of *will*, which has long ceased in the central places of the language, is still moving at the extremities, like the flapping of the waves on the shore after the subsiding of a storm at sea.'

† Shakespeare uses great freedom with this 'to,' frequently

The attempt has sometimes been made to distinguish the indep. verb 'to will' from the auxil. verb 'will' by their inflexions, 'to will' when indep. being often inflected *will*, *willest*, *willeth* or *wills*; past *willed*; and the aux. *will*, *wilt*, *will*, past *would*. But this distinction cannot be maintained, the indep. verb being often inflected as the auxiliary. Thus Jg 1^{14} 'What wilt thou?' (מַה־לָּךְ, RV 'What wouldest thou?'); Mt 13^{28} 'wilt thou then that we go and gather them up?' (θέλεις οὖν, RV as AV); Jn 1^{43} 'Jesus would go forth into Galilee' (ἠθέλησεν ἐξελθεῖν; Vulg. *voluit exire*, RV 'was minded to go forth'); so *Article*, x. (1553) 'Those that have no will to good things, He maketh them to will, and those that would evil things, He maketh them not to will the same'; *Piers Plowman*, vi. 213—

> 'And now wolde I witen [='know,' inf.] of the what were the best.'

The earlier versions are often a guide to the use of 'will,' 'would,' in AV. But it is often necessary to consult the Heb. or Greek, when it may be considered probable that at least when representing an original indep. verb 'will' and 'would' are themselves independent. The verbs most frequently represented are in OT *'ābah*, and in NT θέλω and βούλομαι,* all meaning to will, purpose, desire. Clapperton (*Pitfalls in Bible English*, p. 90) gives the foll. list of passages which demand special attention: Mt 11^{27} 15^{32} 16^{24}, Mk $6^{19.\,25}$, Lk 11^{31}, Jn 1^{43} 5^{40} 7^{17}, Col 1^{27}, 1 Ti 5^{11}, Tit 3^{8}.

2. Occasionally the following verb is omitted after 'will' and 'would,' as Ps 81^{11} 'Israel would none of me'; Pr 1^{25} 'Ye . . . would none of my reproof'; 1^{30} 'They would none of my counsel'; Sir 13^{heading} 'Like will to like.' So Jn $19^{\text{head.}}$ Rhem. 'Professing that themselves will no king but Cæsar, he yeldeth unto them.' Especially is this so with verbs of motion, as Tindale, *Works*, i. 147, 'The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest his voice, and wottest not whence he cometh, nor whither he will'; Tindale, *Expos.* 23, 'Whosoever will to heaven, must buy it of them'; Ezk 28^{22} Cov. 'Beholde o Sidon, I wil upon the, and get me honoure in the.'

3. There are passages in AV in which 'will' would now be considered redundant, as Gn 32^{11} 'I fear him, lest he will come, and smite me' (RV 'lest he come'); Lv 2^{1} 'When any will offer a meat offering unto the Lord' (RV 'when any one offereth'); Mt 9^{38} 'Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he will send forth labourers into his harvest' (RV 'that he send'); Mk 3^{27} 'No man can enter into a strong man's house, and spoil his goods, except he will first bind the strong man' (RV 'except he first bind').

J. HASTINGS.

WILL.—In this art. the consideration of the teaching of the Bible regarding both the Divine and the human Will is to be included. These may seem at first sight to be subjects of very different kinds; nevertheless, an adequate treatment of either must clearly be impossible if the other is not taken into account. The light of revelation falls upon both the human and the Divine will in the sphere of their relations to one another. We derive our idea of the Divine will in Scripture chiefly, if not entirely, from what we are told of God's mind towards and purpose for man, which have led and lead to action on His part, whereby the action of the human will must necessarily be conditioned. And, further, Scripture is no exception to the rule that the ideas which men can frame or receive about God are affected by their knowledge of themselves. The conceptions commonly formed of the mind and soul of man have ever been transferred to the Divine nature, with more or with less qualification and extension; and this has especially been the case in the absence of philosophical thought, and particularly so in primitive times.

i. *Biblical terms for the act of willing.*—The psychological and metaphysical, and to some extent also the theological, ideas of early ages, and of the majority of men at all times, are to be studied in language. It is, then, first to be observed that there is no word either in OT or NT for the will, as a faculty; and even the act of willing is not contemplated in an abstract manner. As a point of some psychological interest we may also note, that of the two Heb. words in frequent use which seem to describe an act of the will most purely as such (מאן in Pi. and אָבָה), one has a negative signification, and the other is almost invariably joined with a negative. (The exceptions are Is 1^{19}, Job 39^{9}). It is in the absence of apparent reason, and in the resistance offered to a pressure from without, that the power of will is most barely presented, and therefore most readily apprehended. We may compare our term 'wilfulness.' The latter of the two Heb. words just named is often used of the wrongful assertion of the human will in opposition to the Divine will (*e.g.* Ps $81^{12\,(11)}$, Pr 1^{30}). See also, as regards the former word, Ex 7^{14}. The notion of an exertion of the will, not for resistance but for the achievement of something, appears to be most distinctly conveyed by יאל, in Hiph., but it is not so common as either of the words above mentioned. Lit. it means *to set oneself*, *determine*, *undertake*, *to do something*; a sense which we can trace in the LXX rendering ἄρχεσθαι.

We need also to consider the whole group of words signifying to *desire* (אוה, in Pi. and Hithp., and חָמַד), to *take pleasure in* (חָפֵץ), to *favour* (חָנַן and רָצָה), to *love* (אָהֵב and חָשַׁק), to *choose* (בָּחַר). Where there has as yet been little or no psychological reflexion, such words may, and commonly do, involve the notion of willing. The mind has not become accustomed to distinguish between the motive—whether this consists in some purpose which commends itself to the reason, or a physical want, or external attraction acting upon the senses—and its adoption by the will; nor, again, between the act of the will and the feeling which accompanies its exercise. This is eminently true of the language of OT. In the case of men, indeed,

---

omitting where we should now insert, and sometimes inserting where we should omit. Cf. *Othello*, II. iii. 190, 'You were wont be civil,' with IV. ii. 12, 'I durst, my Lord, to wager she is honest.' The omission is found also in Milton, *Sonnet to Mr. Lawrence*—

> 'Where shall we sometimes meet, and by the fire
> Help waste a sullen day?'

And Guest quotes two consecutive lines from the *Mirror for Magistrates*, one of which omits, the other inserts this 'to'—

> 'And though we owe [=ought] the fall of Troy requite,
> Yet let revenge thereof from gods to light.'

* For the distinction between θέλω and βούλομαι consult Ellicott on 1 Ti 5^{14}, Lightfoot on Philem ^{13}, Mayor on Ja 3^{4}, Sanday-Headlam on Ro 7^{16}, and esp. 'the full and excellent note' [Sanday-Headlam] in Thayer, *N.T. Lex.* *s.v.* θέλω

there is the beginning of a distinction in the prominence given to the phenomena of temptation, but it is not followed out philosophically; while in regard to God, who can effect what He pleases, the distinction naturally does not suggest itself in the same way.

The fact, however, which is perhaps of most significance for us is that all words of this class, without material exception, even those which have the most decidedly physical associations, or which are used frequently in a bad sense, are applied to God no less than to men in the Hebrew OT. Thus חָשַׁק *to cleave in love to* (used of sexual passion, Gn 34[8]), though also more generally for what the mind desires (1 K 9[19]), is used of God's love to Israel (Dt 7[7] 10[15]), and also of man's love to God (Ps 91[14]); while חָמַד to *covet* (Ex 20[17], and Mic 2[2]) describes God's feeling for Zion, Ps 68[17 (16)]. It is used also of a spiritual desire in man, Ps 19[10 [11]]. Some words, such as חָנַן to *favour*, and its subst. חֵן *favour, grace*, רָצָה and רָצוֹן, with much the same meaning, and בָּחַר to *choose*, have, esp. through their Greek representatives, come to be more particularly connected in our minds with the mysteries of saving grace; but their early history was not dissimilar to the rest, *i.e.* their transference to God was at first somewhat crudely anthropomorphic. The instance of אָהַב to *love*, to which further reference will be made, should especially bring this home to us.

In the LXX several of these Heb. words are most commonly rendered by *βούλεσθαι, θέλειν*, and *εὐδοκεῖν*, which more simply express the act of willing:—all three are used for אָבָה and חָפֵץ, *οὐ βούλεσθαι* and *οὐ θέλειν* for מֵאֵן, *θέλειν* and *εὐδοκεῖν* for רָצָה; for אִוָּה, *θέλειν*, and also *ἐπιθυμεῖν*; for חָמַד, *βούλεσθαι, εὐδοκεῖν*, and *ἐπιθυμεῖν*. A feeling is, however, manifested in the LXX that some difference of language is advisable in speaking of God; *ἐπιθυμεῖν* is avoided in connexion with Him. אָהַב also, in the case both of God's love for men and men's love for God, is translated not by *φιλεῖν* but by *ἀγαπᾷν*, though it is to be added that this is, on the whole, the commoner rendering of the word in all contexts, and that *φιλεῖν* is used for the love of wisdom (Pr 8[17] 29[3], Wis 8[2]).

The non-classical word *θέλημα* is many times used both for חָפֵץ and רָצוֹן, and for the latter sometimes also *εὐδοκία*.

The usage of NT is based upon, and in the main conforms to, that of LXX. In regard to *θέλημα*, in particular, we may observe that alike in LXX and NT it frequently denotes an individual wish or desire, and hence is used in pl. (Ps 102 (103)[7. 21], Ac 13[22], Eph 2[3]). But it may also describe such a permanent inclination as shows the bent of the character (Sir 32[17], cf. *θέλησις* in 2 Ch 15[15], and *βούλημα* in 1 P 4[3]). Other noteworthy uses are to be found in Jn 1[13], 2 P 1[21]. In Rev 4[11] the created universe is said to proceed from an act of the Divine will, for in accordance with biblical usage we must understand *θέλημα* to denote an act here rather than a faculty.

ii. *The human will.*—In considering the conception of the human will and its present condition, as well as of the Divine will, to be derived from the Bible, grave subjects which have been treated in other articles (FALL, GRACE, PREDESTINATION, and ELECTION) come before us again; but they are to be regarded here, as it were, on their psychological, moral, and metaphysical side, and such a view of them may assist us in rightly apprehending them. At the same time, we may expect that some light will be thrown by the study in which we are engaged on questions which have been debated in the philosophical schools. It is true that little, if any, trace is to be found in any part of the Bible of direct speculation on the nature and prerogatives either of the human or the Divine will. Nevertheless, through the vivid presentation in Scripture of moral and spiritual truth in its practical bearing on man, important elements in the problems relating both to the will in man and to God's will are brought into relief, and this may contribute to the right solution of those problems.

1. The proposition that the will is free is commonly understood, alike by those who assert and those who deny it, to mean that man has, at least within certain limits, the power of self-determination, of yielding to or resisting motives,—those which arise within him as well as those which plainly have their origin without him,—and of modifying his own character in some degree. The notion of moral freedom, however, which meets us in Scripture is something different from this. It appears there simply as the opposite of the bondage of sin. From this point of view, 'to be free' is to have the power of acting according to one's true nature as God designed it; and those whom we cannot imagine to be any longer capable of doing wrong, like the perfected saints, because no tendency to evil remains in them and they are thoroughly established in holiness, would yet in this sense be free, indeed the only true freemen (Jn 8[32-36], Ro 6[17-22] 8[18-21]; cf. also Ja 1[25] 2[12]). There is evidently profound truth in this conception: such must be the freedom of God Himself.

2. Nevertheless, Christian theologians of all schools have ever deduced from Scripture that man, originally at least, possessed free will in the common sense of the term, whether they admit that he still retains it to any extent or not. And, indeed, even apart from what is implied in the narrative of the Fall and all subsequent express statements (*e.g.* Ec 7[29], Ro 1[21-32]), this alone is compatible with the Scripture doctrine of God as at once the all-powerful and all-wise and the perfectly good Creator. Man's fallen condition must be due to his own fault. For some good reason God suffered man to be tempted, but He intended that the temptation should be, as it might have been, withstood. Sufficient light had been granted to man to enable him to discern the true good, and power to choose it; yet he chose evil.

It is worthy of note that even those who have been most ready to silence criticism of the morality of the action which is attributed to God in theories of the method and scope of redemption, by alleging that these are matter of Divine revelation, and by declaring that God's ways are not to be submitted to a human tribunal, have yet themselves asserted, and sought to convince men of, the justice of man's punishment on the ground that in Adam he brought it upon himself.

But we must go a step further. The attempt to satisfy the sense of human justice, significant as it is when made in the quarters just indicated, must break down so long as it is supposed that men lost their moral freedom *totally* by the first fall, and therewith all hope of salvation except in so far as they should be visited by irresistible grace, which to some, and even the majority of the race, would never come at all. The Bible, we are bold to affirm, does not support such a position. It is true that it speaks of man as enslaved by sin, as unable to accomplish his own deliverance, as dependent upon God at every step for salvation, and even for the first motions towards good (Eph 2[1. 5. 8], Ro 3[24], Tit 3[4-6], Jn 6[44. 65]). But the strongest statements to this effect, even if they stood alone, could not fairly be made to mean that nothing depends on the consent, or resistance, of man's own will to the work of God in and upon him. And by the sacred writers who insist most emphatically on man's helplessness by himself, as well as in other parts of Scripture, it is plainly declared, or assumed, that he is responsible for being compliant (Jn $1^{9\text{ff.}}$ 5^{40} and 6^{45}, Ph 2^{12}), and in more general terms for his temper of mind and conduct, and that he will be punished or rewarded on ordinary principles of justice (Ro $2^{1\text{-}16}$ $3^{19\text{-}21}$, Jn 7^{17}); in short, that each man born into the world is put to a probation still, however the conditions of his trial may be affected by the failures and successes of all who have gone before. So that the tragic interest and solemnity of the story of Adam's fall lies not only in the thought of what was lost for the human race from the beginning of its history, but also in its being the type of a conflict between good and evil which is perpetually renewed in the soul of every man.

It is less than the truth to say, as many do, that the recognition accorded in Scripture to the principle of man's moral freedom on the one hand, and its doctrine of grace on the other, present an insoluble antinomy, and that those who accept the authority of the Bible must accept both, though with a sense that they cannot be reconciled. This is certainly a wiser attitude than that of those who virtually deny the one in the interests of the other. It must, however, be admitted on reflexion that the sacred writers themselves do not seem to be conscious of any contradiction; and we cannot but infer that if to us there seems to be one it is largely of our own making, through the effect upon our minds of later controversies and the traditions they have left. The real difficulties in connexion with the conception of the freedom of the will are not, in point of fact, raised through the endeavour to combine in one view those moral and spiritual truths regarding Divine grace and human responsibility to which the Bible bears testimony, nor could they naturally have been indicated there. We gather from its teaching that the Spirit of God is the source of all moral and spiritual good, that Divine grace must be present with and must precede all rightful action of the human will, that this grace is bestowed in some measure upon all, and always with the design of leading on to salvation; but that it rests with man to respond to the Divine love, to yield to the Divine promptings.

Confusion and error have probably been introduced into the subjects disputed by Augustinians, Calvinists, and Pelagians, more through the too narrow notion of Divine grace in which all alike shared—as though it were to be traced only in definite Christian faith and its special fruits, and in the godly of Israel under the Old Dispensation—than from any other cause. Hence the Calvinist has been led to make a distinction between an 'effectual' grace granted in certain cases, and an operation of God's Spirit in other cases which has no saving purpose, and to regard the signs of moral and spiritual life in a multitude of instances as wholly illusory. Hence also, on the other hand, the Pelagian has supposed man to be capable of many kinds of good apart from God. Nowhere does the mistake to which reference has been made appear more clearly as the initial source of error than in the doctrine of certain schoolmen that grace was to be deserved *de congruo*, the authors of which theory evidently aimed at presenting that which they regarded as the truth in Pelagianism in the form in which it would be least open to attack. For here it was supposed that though man could not be finally saved without grace, yet by a character and a course of conduct, in shaping and inspiring which grace had had no part, he could win it. The different opinions here referred to are unscriptural, baseless, and profoundly irreligious. In contrast with all alike we would place the belief—justified, as we contend, by particular declarations of Scripture, and still more by a comprehensive view of the Divine training of man, which finds its clearest interpretation in the Bible—that no human spirit is left destitute of the life-giving visitations of the Divine Spirit, and that, rudimentary as that moral and spiritual life may be which at first He has sought or seeks to create and to foster, *e.g.* in the savage or in many even of those who live in Christian lands, no bounds can be set to the growth which may, and which He intends should, result in this world or another, wherever the human will is consentient. This is consistent with our ideas of justice, while at the same time it recognizes man's absolute dependence always upon God's grace, and can afford man no ground for claiming merit in the sight of God; for there can be no merit in his allowing himself to be saved, though he may justly expose himself to blame and loss if he frustrates God's merciful design. Further, it does not lower the supernatural to the level of the natural, though it treats that which is often called mere natural goodness as itself the outflow of a supernatural life, and as one of the lower stages, it may be, in an ascent to the highest saintliness.

3. To the extent, then, at least of giving or withholding that response to the leading of the Divine Spirit of which we have spoken, man is, according to the teaching of Scripture, free. It will, however, be said on behalf of Necessitarianism by adherents of the so-called Experience Philosophy, or Naturalism, that this response itself, and with it every feeling, thought, purpose, so far as they are not determined by causes now external to the individual, are the result of character, which has been itself completely determined and could be fully accounted for, and its products also predicted, if we knew fully the human being's parentage and life-history, as well as his present circumstances, and if the whole combination were not too complex for us to deal with by the aid of any science which we possess or are likely to possess. The force of this reasoning—and it cannot be denied that it has force—lies in the fact that to a very large extent mental phenomena are, or may with a high degree of probability be held to be, subject to Natural Law, and that the rapid and vast extension in our conception of its domain which has in recent times taken place, predisposes us to believe that all our experience may in reality come under it. On the other side, however, it may be urged that the consciousness in man of a power of choice, of a sense of responsibility for his conduct, his conviction often that he might have done better or acted in some way otherwise than he has, and the remorse which he feels, in spite of his readiness to complain of the action of an adverse fate, the blame which he imputes to himself or to others for any lack of loyalty to truth and right, of firmness and of courage, are facts which cannot be satisfactorily explained on the principles of Naturalism. We seem here to be brought face to face with an element in the sources of human character and action which, whatever its laws may be, is not subject merely to laws analogous to those which we can trace in the physical order,—a power of self-determination, a force which within a limited—in each individual a very limited—range is truly creative, a causation which is not merely phenomenal but real. As believers in the biblical revelation, we can suppose only that the all-wise and loving Creator, without diminishing aught from the fulness of His own power, has yet, in making man a spiritual being, imparted to him a certain—by comparison infinitesimal—amount of power like His own, and left him to make an independent use of it with a

view to the discipline and training which he would thus receive, and also to the response which the creature might then render to the Creator, and which would be otherwise impossible (cf. R. Browning, *Christmas Eve and Easter Day*, § 5). On the philosophical side we derive support for this view from many of the ablest thinkers of the past 150 years, from Kant and Hegel onwards, though it is necessary that we should emphasize the separation between the human and the Divine will more decidedly than some of the transcendental school do, in order to guard against Pantheism and against falling again virtually into Necessitarianism, though one of a different kind from that before spoken of.

Before passing on, it may be well to point out to what a small extent there can be any alliance between those theologians who hold that man altogether lost freedom of the will by the Fall, and philosophical Necessitarians of any school. The latter build upon their conception of what has ever been the constitution of man, of nature, and of the universe; whereas the theologians to whom we have referred regard, and must regard, man as, according to his original and true constitution, free. It is only in attempts to prove that man's belief in his own freedom is wholly illusory that they can make common ground; but this is the weakest part of the philosophers' case.

On the other hand, men in general, and that common-sense philosophy which has aimed only at formulating common opinion and at making it self-consistent, show far too little sense of the mystery attaching to the freedom of the will, or of the binding power of character, which, though not so fixed as to be beyond all possibility of being modified even by the action of the will itself, can, in general, only be altered slowly. But Holy Scripture, which lays so much stress on the bondage of sin, the operation of Divine grace, and the appointment of the circumstances of human lives by Divine Providence, cannot be said to ignore the limitations to human freedom. In this connexion it is important to observe that man's responsibility for the use of any freedom that he possesses is not diminished in proportion to the smallness of its amount. He is as much bound to turn to good account what he has if it be but a very little, as if its stock were practically unlimited. So at least he must be on the Scriptural view of his hopes and opportunities. The effort to strive against strongly riveted habits of evil might not seem worth while on the supposition that the time for seeking to undo them was very brief, and that he was left solely to what he could accomplish for himself and to human assistance; but it is otherwise if the influences of the Divine Spirit are at his disposal, and there is a prospect of infinite time in which a change in his nature may be effected. Thus it is that the Bible can give such prominence to the necessities affecting our human condition, and yet inspire and stimulate human endeavour to the utmost.

iii. *The Divine will.*—The created universe is said to proceed from an act of God's will (Rev 4^{11}, and cf. Sir 43^{16}; this is, of course, also implied in the language used in Gn 1$^{3.6}$ etc., Ps 33^{9} etc.; as regards the creation of man see Ja 1^{18}). His will furnishes the true end and rule for human action. Very broadly, Jn 7^{17}, Ro 12^{2}, Col 4^{12}, and in the Lord's Prayer, Mt 6^{10}; with a more special reference, 1 Th 4^{3}. The Law of the Old Dispensation is not anywhere directly called 'the will' of God, but that it is a principal expression of God's will is plainly suggested in Ro 2$^{17-20}$. With this passage Jn 9^{31} may be compared, both being put into the mouth of Jews. 'The will of God' is also used specifically of God's purpose of redemption through Christ, as by our Lord Himself in speaking of His mission, Jn 4^{34} etc., and also in Ac 22^{14}, Eph 1^{9}. St. Paul and others look for indications of God's will to direct their missionary course (θέλημα without art. in 1 Co 16^{12} may probably mean *God's* will, cf. RVm). It is to be recognized in the ordering of events and the variety of human lots (1 P 3^{17}).

This last point brings us to the manifestation of God's will in the choice of some for special destinies or for temporal, moral, and spiritual advantages—a subject which, on account both of its peculiar difficulty and its connexion with that of human responsibility, needs particular consideration. We have seen that words used in the case of men to describe preferences of a kind for which we do not ordinarily seek to discover rational motives, and which we are content to treat as matters of individual idiosyncrasy, are applied to God, especially in OT. Such language may serve to teach in a simple way the lesson of the *absoluteness* of the Divine will. It may impress upon our minds the practical truth that when God wills this or that, man's duty lies in submission and obedience, or in humble thankfulness for His unmerited favour, on the part of those whom He exalts and blesses. But it must not be assumed that, when no motive is assigned for God's action, therefore it has not a moral and rational motive. It has to be remembered that if words descriptive of simple desire and attraction and the mere exercise of will are applied to God, so also are those which imply planning and taking counsel with oneself (Is 19^{17}, Jer 51^{29}, 2 Ch 25^{16}, Ps 33^{11}, Job 12^{13} etc.). There are, besides, passages in which we are expressly told what the Lord delights in (1 S 15^{22}, Jer 9^{24}, Is 1^{11} 65^{12} 66^{4}, Pr 11^{20} 12^{22} 15^{8}, Ec 5^{4}). Indeed all those many declarations in OT, that purity and righteousness of heart and life are required in those who would please God, are here in point; and it is to the principle thus laid down that the elevating effect of the religion of Israel was largely due.

The chief objects, however, of God's favour mentioned in OT are the Israelite nation and David with his royal house. And, in the case of the former at least, it may be said, the freedom of God's election is insisted on. But the language used can scarcely form a basis for a formal doctrine on this subject, and certainly not for a view of it which conveys the notion of arbitrariness. Later generations of Israelites were indeed taught that God's goodness to them was not due to any merit of theirs. But other reasons for it are given: it was part of the purpose which He had been pursuing from the days of their fathers, men of very different worth from themselves, and which He, in whom constancy is so notable a characteristic, could not abandon, and it was connected also with the punishment of other nations for their exceptional wickedness (Dt 9$^{4-6}$ 8^{18}).

Special acts of Divine favour are seen in their true place in the light of the revelation of God's character as a whole. There could be no more instructive study in the history of the progress of the knowledge of God than that which is supplied by following out the conception of the love of God in the Bible. We have already touched upon the gradual refinement of the idea as shown in the use of language. But we have to observe also that the love of God spoken of in OT is always a distinguishing love for particular individuals and a particular race. The earliest lesson to be learnt by men, and all that they were capable of understanding, was that the good which happened to themselves was the result, not of chance or fate but of God's appointment, and the proof of His merciful regard. As we pass on to the NT the image is presented by Christ Himself of the Universal Father who loves impartially all His human children. It is evident that this revelation ought to control all more partial views.

Those who at first were made the recipients of special privileges could not fully enter into the largeness of the Divine intention in their bestowal. But this became apparent when the Church of Christ became the heir of the truth communicated to Israel. The principle of special grace and vocation was not then abandoned. It is indeed written large in human experience, and in the days of the first preaching of the gospel it was manifested in a new and deeper manner than ever before. Its application to individuals took the place of that to a nation, while spiritual blessings absorbed the attention which had been largely occupied by such as were material. But God's purpose in conferring such favours, viz., that those whom He chooses and calls to receive special knowledge, or upon whom any gift is conferred, should be ministers of it to others, is plainly set forth (Gal 1^{16}, Ro 1^{1}, 1 P 4$^{10. 11}$, Ro 11$^{15. 29-32}$).

V. H. STANTON.

WILL.—See TESTAMENT.

WILL-WORSHIP is the tr. in AV (1611 'will-worship,' mod. edd. two words 'will worship,' RV restores 'will-worship') of ἐθελοθρησκία in its only occurrence, Col 2^{23}. The tr. is probably suggested by the Gen. NT (1557) 'voluntarie worshipping,' where the Geneva translator seems to use the adj. 'voluntary' in the unusual sense of 'arbitrary.' The Gen. Bible (1560) has 'voluntarie religion,' and explains in the marg. 'Suche as men have chosen according to their own fantasie.'

Cran. and Rhem. have 'superstition' after Vulg. *superstitio*. Fuller adopts the word 'will-worship' in *Holy State*, p. 70, 'One Ceremony begat another, there being no bounds in will-worship, wherewith one may sooner be wearied than satisfied.' And Jer. Taylor uses 'will-worshipper,' *Rule of Conscience*, II. iii. 13, 'He that says, God is rightly worshipped by an act or ceremony concerning which himself hath no way expressed his pleasure, is superstitious or a will-worshipper.' These quotations probably explain the Gr. word aright.

J. HASTINGS.

WILLOW TREE (צַפְצָפָה *ẓaphẓāphāh*; **WILLOWS**, עֲרָבִים *'ărābîm* [only in pl.]).—Both these Heb. words appear to be used for the willow, although some consider the latter to be the poplar (see *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* and authorities cited *s.v.*). The former is the cognate of the Arab. *ṣafṣâf*, which is generic for willow. The latter is the cognate of the Arab. *gharab*, which signifies a willow, more particularly the weeping willow, *Salix Babylonica*, L. *Ẓaphẓāphāh* occurs but once (Ezk 17^{5}), in a poetical rhapsody concerning the transplanting of a cedar top, contrary to its nature, apparently to the waterside, where a plant from the seed of the land is set out as a willow, and spreads as a vine. *'Ărābîm* occurs in five places. In all of them the fact that willow trees grow by the watercourses is alluded to. 'Willows of the wādy' (Lv 23^{40}) were taken for booths during the Feast of Tabernacles. The lair of Behemoth was among the 'willows of the wādy' (Job 40^{22}). 'By the rivers of Babylon . . . upon the willows . . . we hanged our harps' (Ps 137^{2}). Moab carried 'riches . . . to the wādy of the willows' (Is 15^{7} AVm 'valleys of the Arabians'). Israel is to 'spring up among the grass as willows by the watercourses' (Is 44^{4}). Eight species of willow grow in the Holy Land—*Salix Safsaf*, Forsk., *S. fragilis*, L., the brittle willow, *S. alba*, L., the white willow, *S. Babylonica*, L., the weeping willow, *S. triandra*, L., *S. Capræa*, L., the Capræan willow, *S. pedicellata*, Desf., the stalked willow, and *S. nigricans*, Fres., the blackish willow (Arab. *bân*). The first four are far more abundant than the latter. One of the peaks of Jebel Mûsa, in Sinai, is called *Râs eṣ-Ṣafṣâfeh*, from some willow trees at its base. No allusion is made in Scripture to the economic uses of the willow. Its branches are much used at the present day for basket-work. Willows are planted or grow spontaneously by all watercourses, and are characteristic trees of the landscape. The 'wādy of the willows' (Is 15^{7}), LXX φάραγγα Ἄραβας, Vulg. *torrens salicum*, is probably a wādy at one of the boundaries of Moab, with willows by its watercourses. If it be the southern boundary, it may be the same as נַחַל הָעֲרָבָה 'the wādy of the 'Arabah (*or* of the Willow),' which was the southern border in the days of Amos (6^{14}), about 70 years earlier. What this was is uncertain. Wādy Kerak, a part of this valley, is said by Irby to be called *Wādy eṣ-Ṣafṣâf*=Valley of the Willow.

G. E. POST.

WIMPLES is AV tr. in Is 3^{22} (only) of מִטְפָּחוֹת (RV 'shawls'). See art. DRESS, vol. i. p. 627^{b}, and MANTLE, vol. iii. p. 240^{a}. The word 'wimple' means a covering for the neck (Anglo-Sax. *winpel*, Old High Ger. *wimpal*). Skeat guesses 'a covering from the wind,' taking Anglo-Sax. *win-pel* as from 'wind' and *pell* (Lat. *pallium*) a covering.

WIND (רוּחַ *rûaḥ*; ἄνεμος).—In Palestine the life of man and beast during the rainless summer depends upon the supply of water in the fountains for drinking, and in the brooks and streams for purposes of irrigation. This supply is in proportion to the amount of rain and snow deposited upon the mountains during the previous winter. As the rain is borne inland by the wind, the winds become of the highest importance, and are characterized by their power to produce or prevent rain. Hence the wonderfulness of water supplied independently of both wind and rain (2 K 3^{17}), and the unnaturalness of wind and clouds that do not produce rain (Pr 25^{14}, Jude ^{12}).

i. THE FOUR WINDS.—Winds claim attention by the periodicity that rules amid continual change, as well as on account of the heat and cold, dryness and moisture, connected with them. The Bible frequently refers to the four winds (Ezk 37^{9}, Dn 8^{8}, Zec 2^{6}, Mt 24^{31}, Rev 7^{1}), and the diversity of specific influence gives individuality to each, and prepares the way for the figurative use of their leading characteristics.

(1) *North wind* (רוּחַ־צָפוֹן *rûaḥ ẓāphôn*).—This is distinguished by its coldness and its power of dispersing rain. 'Fair weather (RV 'golden splendour') cometh out of the north' (Job 37^{22}). In Job 37^{9} ('cold out of the north') the literal meaning, unless a special constellation be referred to, is *out of the scattering winds* (RVm). In Pr 25^{23} 'The north wind driveth away (תְּחוֹלֵל) rain,' RV gives 'bringeth forth rain,' the testimony of the climate, however, being with the former [although the context demands the latter. Perhaps the text is corrupt; cf. Targ. *ad loc.*]. In a day of gloom and persistent rain, if one cloud can be seen moving from the north it is known that in less than an hour the clouds will break up and the sunshine will return.

(2) *South wind* (ר׳ דָּרוֹם *rûaḥ dārôm*).—This wind, whether tempestuous (Is 21^{1}, Zec 9^{14}) or gentle (Ac 27^{13}), is always warm, dry if inclined to S.E., and moist if from S.W. Under the S. wind everything is warm to the touch, and, if it prevails for a day or two, all living things become silent under its oppressive heat (Job 37^{17}). In Lk 12^{55} it is referred to as a sure sign of heat.

(3) *East wind* (ר׳ קָדִים *rûaḥ ḳādîm*).—This is

sometimes called a *wind from the wilderness* (Job 1^{19}, Jer 4^{11} 13^{24}) ; it is described as strong and gusty (Ex 14^{21}, Job 27^{21} 38^{24}, Is 27^{8}, Jer 18^{17}), and its destructive power was felt at sea (Ps 48^{7}, Ezk 27^{26}). It is referred to in Ja 1^{11}, where the expression 'with a burning heat' (*σὺν τῷ καύσωνι*) is correctly rendered by RV 'with the scorching wind' (see Driver on Am 4^{9} and Hos 13^{15}, with references). During summer a light land-breeze usually prevails from sunrise to 9 A.M., and rapidly grows hot under the increasing power of the sun.

(4) *West wind* (ר׳ יָם *rûaḥ yām*).—This is a moist and refreshingly cool breeze. The W. and S.W. winds are the bringers of rain (1 K $18^{44.\,45}$, Lk 12^{54}). If blowing freshly for several days in succession, they will cause a shower to fall even during the dry summer months.

In NT various terms are used to describe the violence of the wind; *e.g.* 'a great wind' (*ἄνεμος μέγας*, Jn 6^{18}); 'a storm of wind' (*λαῖλαψ ἀνέμου*, Lk 8^{23}); 'a great storm of wind' (*λαῖλαψ ἀνέμου μεγάλη*, Mk 4^{37}); 'a great tempest' (*σεισμὸς μέγας*, Mt 8^{24}). 'Tempest' is the translation also of *χειμών* (Ac 27^{20}), *θύελλα* (He 12^{18}). The 'tempestuous wind' (*ἄνεμος τυφωνικός*, Ac 27^{14}), called Euroclydon, RV 'Euraquilo,' is the E.N.E. gale now called *levanter*, which prevails over the eastern half of the Mediterranean. In ancient times it troubled the ships of Tarshish (Ps 48^{7}) when returning deeply laden to Tyre. See EURAQUILO.

ii. FIGURATIVE SUGGESTIONS.—Wind is the symbol of (1) *vacuity and nothingness:* Job 6^{26} 15^{2}, Pr 11^{29}, Is 41^{29}, Jer 5^{13}, Hos 8^{7} 12^{1}.

(2) *Brevity:* Job 7^{7}, Ps 78^{39} 103^{16} 104^{4}.

(3) *Freedom:* Pr 27^{16} 30^{4}, Ec 1^{6}, Eph 4^{14}.

(4) *Power:* Job 21^{18} 27^{21}, Ps 1^{4} 35^{5} 83^{13}, Is 41^{16} 57^{13} 64^{6}, Jer $49^{32.\,36}$ 51^{1}, Ezk $13^{11.\,13}$; Dn 2^{35}, Ja 1^{6} 3^{4}.

(5) *The will of God:* Ps $18^{10.\,15}$; 104^{3} 148^{8}.

G. M. MACKIE.

WINDOW.—See art. HOUSE, vol. ii. p. 435^{b}, and TEMPLE, p. 700^{a}.

WINE.—See art. FOOD, vol. ii. p. 33 f., and VINE, p. 868.

WINEBIBBER (Pr 23^{20} in plu. סֹבְאֵי־יַיִן; Mt 11^{19}, Lk 7^{34}, *οἰνοπότης*).—The Eng. word comes from Coverdale at Pr 23^{20}; AV is the first to use it in NT. The verb 'to bib' (perhaps from Lat. *bibere*, to drink) is still in use, signifying to keep on drinking, tipple. North (*Plutarch*, 847) speaks of 'Orators that did nothing but bib all the day long'; and Drant, *Horace Sat.* VII. E iv, 'Thou thinkes by sleepe and bibbinge wyne, to banishe out all woes.' The Eng. is a lit. tr. of the Heb. and Greek.

WINEFAT (*i.e.* Winevat).—See FAT.

WINE-PRESS.—See VINE, p. 868.

WINK.—In Ac 17^{30} the verb to 'wink at' is used figuratively of God's longsuffering, 'The times of this ignorance God winked at' (*ὑπεριδών*, RV 'overlooked'). The same use (also of God) occurs in Wis 11^{23} 'Thou . . . winkest at the sins of men' (*παρορᾷς*, RV 'overlookest'); and (of parents) in Sir 30^{11} 'Wink not at his follies' (*μὴ παρίδῃς*). So Golding, *Calvin's Job*, 559—'Some times God spareth the wicked and wincketh at their misdedes, and that is to their sorer damnation'; and Udall, *Erasmus' Paraph.* ii. 284, 'Suche maner of faultes of children, those that be gentil parentes doe for the most part winke at, which would not suffre greater offences.'

J. HASTINGS.

WINNOW.—See AGRICULTURE, FAN, SHOVEL.

WISDOM.—1. *In the age of the Prophets.*—The Wisdom (חָכְמָה *ḥokhma*) of the Hebrews developed itself originally as an independent intellectual movement, side by side with the religious one, in the form of a half-poetical, half-philosophical * observation of nature. We have the earliest reminiscences of this in the Fable poetry of the OT (Jg 9^{7-15}, 2 K 14^{9}), and in the traditions which attach to the name of Solomon (1 K 5^{10-14} [Eng. 4^{30-34}]). The comparison between the latter and the allied creations of Arabia (v.$^{11\,(31)}$), and the description of the material of Solomon's sayings (v.$^{13\,(33)}$), show that we have to do here with products not of religious but of secular poetry. This Wisdom was thought of as specially naturalized in Edom (Jer 49^{7}, Ob ^{8}).—The great prophets are upon the whole not favourable to this Wisdom, Is 5^{21} 29^{14}, Jer 4^{22} $8^{8.\,9}$ 9^{23}: they reproach 'the Wise' with conceit and immorality. In the technical language of the prophets, תּוֹרָה, *i.e.* decision by oracle, is attributed to the priests (Jer 18^{18}, Ezk 7^{26}); דָּבָר, 'the word of Jahweh' (= דבר י״ Jer. *l.c.*), to the prophets; עֵצָה, the faculty of self-determination or devising of measures, to 'the Wise' (Jer. *l.c.*). Even before the Exile the need made itself felt of fixing the teaching of Jahweh and establishing firmly its contents. It was this that led to the composition of the Book of Deuteronomy. The fierce conflicts with false prophets which had to be waged by Jeremiah and Ezekiel (Jer 28. $29^{24\text{ff.}}$, Ezk 13) tended further in the direction of limiting the influence of prophecy (Dt 18^{18-22}). The latter decayed to such an extent that in the post-exilic period its silence was painfully felt (Ps 74^{9}, 1 Mac 9^{27}). Yet it proved impossible to cause this dry branch on the tree of Israel to put forth shoots afresh.

2. *Post-exilic development of the Wisdom teaching.*—The priests and 'the Wise,' unlike the prophets, found a new sphere for their activity after the Exile; the former in the re-established cultus of the temple, the latter in the carrying forward of the legal religious system which Ezra the scribe took in hand after the Return (Ezr $7^{6.\,10}$). Yet it was a considerable time before the effort to confine the whole intellectual life of post-exilic Judaism within the limits of rigid law succeeded. The wave which stirred the nations in consequence of the establishment of the world-empire of Alexander the Great, overflowed the Holy Land as well, and on the other hand carried Judaism far beyond the borders of that land to the interior of Asia and all the coasts of the Mediterranean. Israel came thus everywhere into contact with Greek civilization, for the Greeks were from the earliest times a race of colonists.

3. *The earliest traces of Greek influence.*—The traces of the influence of Greek Wisdom meet us for the first time in the Book of *Proverbs* (2nd cent. B.C.), which, in addition to the practical wisdom of life which it preaches (hence the name ספר חכמה applied to it in Tos. to *Baba bathra*, 14*b*), is acquainted also with a special artificial form of gnomic wisdom. On מָשָׁל 'likeness,' 'parable,' attached at first to an object borrowed from the world of nature, or מְלִיצָה (LXX *σκοτεινὸς λόγος*) 'hidden allusion' (Pr 1^{6}; cf. חִידָה, *ib.* and Ezk 17^{2}), cf. Cheyne, *Job and Solomon*, London, 1887, p. 215.

Wisdom is conceived of in Pr $8^{22\text{ff.}}$ as a separate

---

* Philosophy proper had no existence, and could have none, among the Hebrews. A process of thought free from presuppositions was unknown to them. God and Divine revelation were accepted as fixed points. Accordingly, all that was aimed at was merely to penetrate deeper into the contents of what was given and to define it more precisely. Nor is the form of the *Ḥokhma* that of the school speech; it is popular. Its problems are not theoretical, but concern questions dealing with the practical wisdom of life or with godliness.

Existence whom Jahweh formed as the first of His works prior to the creation of earthly things (vv.$^{23-26}$, cf. v.^{22} קנני; see also Ps 139^{13}). The *Ḥokhma* did not co-operate in the creating of the heavens and the earth, for, according to vv.$^{26-30a}$, Jahweh Himself made all things. Hence אָמוֹן of v.^{30} cannot be rendered 'master workman' (RV), but, upon the analogy of הָאֹמֵן of Nu 11^{12} ('guardian of children'), ought to be tr^{d} 'foster-child' (cf. AV, Aquila τιθηνουμένη, Gunkel [*Schöpfung*, 1895, p. 94] 'Hätschelkind'). The *Ḥokhma* poet's thought is that Jahweh, after the toils of creation (which, according even to Gn 2^{3}, rendered rest necessary), found a diversion, as it were, in this His firstborn before the world, as the child played before His eyes (Pr 8^{30b}). Wisdom is thus, in the mind of our poet, not a principle at work in the forming of the world, since she was only an onlooker at this and at the fashioning of individual objects. She has, according to Pr 8^{31b}, to do with men alone. In these she finds her delight, to them alone she turns with her call to hear instruction (מוּסָר Pr 8^{33}). It is thus purely ethical aims to which she seeks to lead men, by whom, of course, from the Judaistic standpoint, are meant simply Israelites.

The notion of the Divine *Ḥokhma* as a separate Existence outside of and over against Jahweh, is, however, as un-Israelitish as possible and absolutely opposed to the monotheism of the יהוה אחד (Dt 6^{4}) that had become firmly established since the time of Deuteronomy. It can be explained only as due to the influence of Greek philosophy, according to which the archetypes of things (ἀρχέτυποι ἰδέαι, Plato, *Timæus*, p. 29) or the powers of the Divine essence diffused throughout the world (the κοιναὶ ἔννοιαι of the Stoics; cf. C. Wachsmuth, *Die Ansichten der Stoiker über Mantik*, etc. p. 21) are regarded as having a separate existence of their own, although in their relation to the world they are otherwise conceived of than in the Book of Proverbs.

4. *The Jewish doctrine of retribution and the struggles of faith to which it gave rise.*—In other parts of the Book of Proverbs the questions of wisdom in the ordering of the life of a Jew are discussed. Piety appears here as the successful and most advantageous course (2$^{7f. 11f. 20-22}$). Virtue is never unrewarded (3$^{1ff. 8-10. 16}$ 10$^{27ff.}$ 16^{20}). Misfortune befalls only the ungodly (11^{31}), for the pious it is only a passing chastisement (3$^{11f.}$).—The actual experiences, which were diametrically opposed to such doctrines, led to a period of struggles of faith (Farrar in *Speaker's Apocr.* vol. i., London, 1877, 'The era of difficulties,' p. 416), whose deposit we have in several of the Psalms, in Job, and in Ecclesiastes.

(*a*) *The Psalms.*—Ps 37 proceeds upon the idea that the good fortune of the wicked has no continuance (vv.$^{2. 9f. 17. 20. 35f. 38}$). In brilliant poetic language the sudden end of their prosperity is described, and this has the counter-description opposed to it of the exaltation and happiness of the godly which always comes to pass after a transient period of woe (vv.$^{5f. 17b-19. 24f. 33. 39f.}$). Since, however, this was contradicted by other experiences which told of wicked men who were prosperous down to the end of their life (Job 21$^{7-15. 23. 29-33}$), the difficulty was not solved. The expedient of declaring that in such cases the punishment overtakes the children of the ungodly (Job 21^{19}) was nothing more than a palliative, for this punishment extended, according to Ex 20^{5}, only to the third or fourth generation; and it gave no satisfaction at all to the later prophets (cf. Jer 31$^{29f.}$, Ezk 18$^{2-32}$), who insisted upon the personal responsibility of the transgressor.—Ps 49 accordingly grappled with the problem afresh and offered the solution that death at all events brings punishment to the wrong-doer whom continued prosperity has made defiant (v.^{7}). Then can none deliver him (vv.$^{8-11}$), he must leave behind him his ill-gotten wealth (vv.$^{12. 17-20}$), and he himself becomes a prey to corruption (v.^{14}). The godly man, on the other hand, has the sure hope that God will deliver him from death (v.^{15}, cf. Ps 16^{10}), and he can enjoy his prosperity, while the wicked die away (v.^{15b}). But, seeing that the stroke of death falls in any case at last upon the righteous as well, neither could this solution of the problem be regarded as satisfactory.—Ps 73, in which we can still detect the scars of the fierce conflict which faith had to sustain with doubt (vv.$^{2-16}$), followed to some extent the same path, arguing that the prosperity of the ungodly is but fleeting, whereas that of the godly is at last permanent (vv.$^{17-24. 27}$). Along with this, it points to a solution which, from the Christian standpoint, indeed, would be perfectly satisfying, namely, that the happiness of the righteous is purely inward, and that this, or in other words the blessedness produced by the fellowship of the heart with God, cannot be torn from them by any suffering of an earthly kind (v.$^{25f.}$). But this solution was inadequate from the standpoint of the OT, for the latter demanded outward prosperity for the righteous by way of reward, and outward suffering for the wicked by way of punishment. Equally unsatisfactory as a full answer was the declaration that, in the case of the righteous, suffering is chastening, and, as such, an evidence of Divine love (Pr 3^{11}, He 12$^{5-9}$), intended to warn them against going on further in sin (Job 33$^{10f. 17-30}$), and, on the other hand, purifies them from stains and in this way perfects them (He 12$^{10f.}$). However correct and beautiful all this is, one does not see why in that case the ungodly, who surely in any case also deserve punishment, receive none. Again, from the OT point of view, the use of such a purifying of the godly could not be apprehended; for if, as frequently happened, the suffering continued till the death of the sufferer, the whole fruit of such purification was lost in Sheol, where godly and ungodly lead the same dreamy existence (Ps 49$^{11. 15}$, Job 3$^{11-19}$ 7$^{7-10}$ 14^{22}, Ezk 32$^{18-32}$). There even the righteous have no more hope (Ps 6^{5} 30^{9}, Is 38$^{10. 18f.}$, Job 7$^{9f.}$ 14$^{10-12}$; cf. esp. W. Schwally, *Leben nach dem Tode nach den Vorstellungen des alten Israels*, Giessen, 1892, pp. 59–74). Nor could doubts be solved by the expedient of declaring that in the last resort all are sinners, that none is good but God alone (Job 4$^{17-19}$ 14^{4} 15$^{14-16}$ 25$^{4-6}$, Mk 10^{18}), for this supplied no answer to the question why it is, under these circumstances, that the notoriously ungodly so often remain unpunished. But, above all, these attempts at solving the problem all left the main question untouched, how the circumstance is to be explained that God does not fulfil His solemn promise to reward the righteous and to punish the wicked (Dt 28), but almost consistently does the opposite. With loud complaints the godly addressed to God the bitter question why He looks so calmly on this course of things (Jer 12$^{1. 2}$); and a kind of despair took possession of them (Jer 20$^{14-18}$, Job 3$^{1-12}$). It appeared as if God were asleep (Ps 44^{23}). The prosperous transgressor asked mockingly, 'Where is now thy God?' (Ps 42$^{3. 10}$) and triumphantly denied the alleged principle of a Divine government of the world (Ps 10^{13} 14^{1} 73^{11}).

(*b*) *The Book of Job.*—The finest exhibition of the problem of the doctrine of retribution on all its sides and in all its depth is afforded by the poem of Job. We have here three [or four] speakers, who state their case from the standpoint of the traditional doctrine; and also in the speeches of their opponent, Job, a large space is devoted to a description of the doctrine he combats. The fundamental dogma of the old doctrine of retribution is that all suffering is punishment inflicted by an angry God. God turns away offended from man (Job 13^{24} 19^{7} $23^{8f.}$ $30^{20f.}$); or turns the glance of His anger upon him (7^{19a} 14^{6a} 16^{9}), meets him as an enemy (19^{11} 13^{24}), smites him with the stroke of His hand (13^{21} 30^{21}). The storms of trial appear like the attack of an adversary (10^{17} $16^{13f.}$ 19^{12}) or the threatened onslaught of wild beasts (10^{16}, cf. Ps $22^{13f. 17}$, Is 38^{13}). Side by side with this we find the figures of the net (Job 19^{6}), the prison (7^{12} 13^{27}), darkness (19^{8b}), the closed-up way (3^{23} 19^{8a} *et al.*). The sufferings are described at one time as outward (9^{23}), and again as inward (30^{27} pains of the entrails). Finally, they carry the man off ($9^{17f.}$ 14^{18-20}). This hostile attitude on the part of God awakens in the mind of the sufferer the fear of further misfortunes (Job 9^{28} $10^{14f.}$ $30^{23f.}$), and therewith a feeling of despair and hopelessness ($3^{25f.}$ $9^{11ff.}$ $23^{14ff.}$), so that he prays merely for a brief respite (7^{19} 10^{20} 14^{6}), or even for death ($6^{9ff.}$ 7^{15}).—The further result of this view of the causes of suffering is that the sufferer torments himself continually with the question why he has incurred this mysterious and, to him, inexplicable anger of God ($10^{2ff.}$ $13^{23ff.}$ $23^{3ff.}$), for it appears to him as if he were continually watched by God, who seeks for occasions to punish him for possible transgressions ($7^{20f.}$ $13^{26f.}$).—To the sufferer it is peculiarly painful that his associates, friend and foe alike, take the same view of the cause of his woes. They regard him as one thus marked out by God. His enemies with malicious joy seize the opportunity to inveigh against him ($16^{10ff.}$ $30^{1ff.}$); his slaves and domestics refuse him obedience ($19^{15f.}$); wife and children and friends shrink from him ($19^{13f. 21f.}$ 12^{4}); all regard him as a reprobate (17^{6}). Whoever should doubt this would call the Divine justice in question, charge God with unrighteousness and untruth, and thus commit the most heinous blasphemy (8^{3} 34^{7-12}), and he would load himself with new and heavier guilt (11^{4} 15^{13} $33^{9ff.}$ $34^{5ff.}$). The whole duty of the sufferer is, accordingly, by honest self-examination to discover his offence. Such must be *a priori* assumed, for otherwise there would be no suffering, *i.e.* no punishment, to explain (8^{11}); and, as no one is perfect (4^{17-19} 15^{14-16} 25^{4-25}), some kind of guilt will not be difficult to discover. [It might be that the offence was trifling: in that case it was God's aim to deter the man from something worse, 33^{27-30}]. Hence the man who denies his guilt reveals a hardened disposition, which will not confess what is certainly there all the same, and which justifies, according to the notions of the time, the heaping of all conceivable evil charges upon his head (ch. 22).—To this doctrine Job objects: in the first place, that at all events the sufferer has a right to complain; in $6^{4ff.}$ that it is harsh when, instead of offering to the sufferer comfort in his affliction, people upbraid him with the sins they impose upon him (v.$^{14ff.}$), repeat with all kinds of variations the familiar theory of the Divine punitive justice and apply this to the unfortunate being before them (12^{2-4} 13^{2} $16^{2ff.}$ 19^{2-5}). Again, it is an easy matter on the ground of pure theory to heap all kinds of charges upon a sufferer's head, charges to which the latter can oppose the partly notorious facts of his blameless life (ch. 31). No doubt, the omnipotence of God makes rebellion on man's part against the strokes of His hand useless, but this does not prove that these sufferings are just ($9^{2ff. 29ff.}$ 10^{15-17} $12^{14ff.}$ 13^{19-21} $19^{6ff.}$). Although it is not to be denied that there are terrible instances of Divine judgment upon wrong-doers (19^{29} $13^{10. 16}$), on the other hand experience shows that good and bad alike are the victims of God's stroke ($9^{22f.}$ $12^{23ff.}$), and that it goes well with the one and ill with the other, without any merit on the part of the one or blame on the part of the other ($21^{23. 25}$). It often happens even that wicked men enjoy undisturbed prosperity down to their death (12^{6} $21^{7-15. 30-33}$ $24^{1ff.}$).—On the other hand, no power in the world, and no alleged doctrine of Divine Providence, however hallowed by time, can tear from the soul of an innocent sufferer the consciousness of his innocence, and compel him, in opposition to the acquitting voice of conscience, to confess himself guilty (10^{7} 13^{18} 16^{17} $23^{6f.}$ $27^{5f.}$ 31). Such a man is entitled to appeal to the better judgment of God Himself, which does not agree with the verdict which men think to discover in the strokes of misfortune that have fallen upon the sufferer (10^{7} 12^{4} $13^{7-11. 22f.}$ 16^{19-21} 17^{3} $19^{23ff.}$). The very assertion that there is not a single righteous man shows how utterly untenable is the old doctrine of retribution, for in that case it is quite incomprehensible why it often happens that it is just those who are relatively least stained with guilt that are most severely punished, whereas gross offenders go free ($8^{12. 20f.}$ $13^{23ff.}$ $14^{4. 17}$). The negative result of these observations is briefly this: What hitherto it has been the custom to call the exercise of Divine justice in the fortunes of men is nothing more than the exercise of Divine omnipotence, whose resolutions are without any moral quality. These take their place, undistinguished, amongst natural occurrences, be these beneficial or destructive, and affect all men alike. In like manner, individuals are prosperous or the reverse in the affairs of their natural life, without regard to whether they are good or bad. The gifts of prosperity and the blows of adversity, in so far as by these are understood material well-being or suffering, do not depend at all on the moral character of the man, and have no relation at all to the moral nature (the righteousness) of God. Such is the result of an unprejudiced examination of things. The old doctrine of Divine retribution is completely shattered against it. Cf. Goethe's *Faust*, i.—

Fluch sei der Hoffnung! Fluch dem Glauben!
Und Fluch vor allen der Geduld!
Geister-Chor: Weh! Weh!
Du hast sie zerstört,
Die schöne Welt,
Mit mächtiger Faust;
Sie stürzt, sie zerfällt:
Ein Halbgott hat sie zerschlagen!
Wir tragen
Die Trümmern ins Nichts hinüber,
Und klagen
Über die verlorne Schöne.
Mächtiger
Der Erdensöhne,
Prächtiger
Baue sie wieder,
In deinem Busen baue sie auf!

Over against this the following positive structure is reared by one who supplemented the poem (cf. C. Siegfried, 'Job' in Haupt's *SBOT*). He insists that, while Nature, especially in her terrible catastrophes, exhibits merely the working of Almighty power whose immensity overwhelms man (ch. 26), yet in her positive operations, in the variety of her creatures and their mode of life, she reveals an admirable law and order; from which it follows that not merely brute force but also hidden wisdom interpenetrates and controls the life of nature (chs. 38–41). The depths of this wisdom are indeed beyond man's understanding (28^{1-27}), but the analogy of the life of nature leads us to postulate a similar order for the moral world, although it is not in man's power to state its laws. Man has left to him the essence of all wisdom in the practical maxim of life—the fear of Jahweh and the avoiding of evil (26^{28}). The theoretical solution of the problem is thus given up in the Book of Job. Yet the standpoint of faith and of religion is maintained, as in Ec $12^{13f.}$.—Another solution is proposed in the Elihu speeches, but it is opposed to the whole tendency of the poem. These speeches trace the sufferings of the righteous to an aim on God's part to purify them morally, and to keep them from sin ($33^{17f.\ 27-30}$ 36). The object of suffering, that is to say, is here a pædagogic one.

(*c*) *Ecclesiastes.*—A complete breach with the position of Jewish orthodoxy was reached in the 'Grundschrift' of this book (Q^1; cf. C. Siegfried in Nowack's *Hdkom. z. AT*, 'Prediger und Hoheslied,' Göttingen, 1898), embracing the following passages: 1^3–$2^{12.\ 14b-24a}$ $3^{1-10.\ 12.\ 15f.\ 18-21}$ $4^{1-4.\ 6-8.\ 13-16}$ $5^{9f.\ 12-16}$ 6^{1-7} $7^{1b-4.\ 15.\ 26-28}$ $8^{9f.\ 14.\ 16f.}$ $9^{2f.\ 5f.}$ 10^{5-7} (cf. *l.c.* p. 6 ff.). We find here a pessimist philosophy radically divorced from Judaism and influenced mainly by Stoicism (cf. *l.c.* pp. 6–10). The book was glossed by an Epicurean Sadducee (Q^2), to whom belong 3^{22} 5^{17-19} $7^{14.\ 16}$ 8^{15} $9^{4.\ 7-10.\ 12}$ 10^{19} $11^{7-8a.\ 9a.\ 10}$ 12^{1b-7a} (*l.c.* p. 10 f.); further, by a *ḥākhām* (Q^3), who defends Wisdom against its disparagement by Q^1, and to whom are attributed $2^{13.\ 14a}$ 4^5 $6^{8.\ 9a}$ $7^{11f.\ 29}$ 8^1 9^{13-18} $10^{1-3.\ 12-15}$ (*l.c.* p. 11); and, most notably, by a Jewish *ḥāsîd* (Q^4; *l.c.* p. 11 f.), who corrected the anti-Jewish views of Q^1. To his hand we owe the passages: $2^{24b-26a}$ $3^{11.\ 13f.\ 17}$ 4^{17}–$5^{1.\ 3-5.\ 6b\ f.}$ 6^{10-21} $7^{13.\ 17.\ 23-25.\ 29}$ $8^{2-8.\ 11-13}$ 9^1 $11^{5.\ 8b.\ 9b}$ $12^{1a.\ 7b}$. On the other hand, scattered interpolations (Q^5; *l.c.* p. 12), in the spirit of the old gnomic Wisdom, contain exhortations to a prudent conduct of life: 4^{9-12} $5^{2.\ 6a.\ 8.\ 11}$ $7^{1a.\ 5.\ 6a.\ 7-10.\ 18.\ 20-22}$ 9^{11} $10^{4.\ 8-11.\ 16-18}$ $11^{1-4.\ 6}$. A redactor (R^1) put together 1^2–12^7, and supplied this whole with the closing formula 12^8. Then came particular additions: first epilogue $12^{9f.}$, which informs the reader as to the personality of Qoheleth and removes the mask of king Solomon; second epilogue $12^{11f.}$, which assumes an opposite attitude, one opposed to this Wisdom literature; and $12^{13f.}$, the work of a final redactor (R^2), who from the Pharisaic standpoint alludes to a final future judgment, a doctrine with which Q^4 (3^{17} 11^{9b}) is not yet acquainted (*l.c.* p. 12).

In the genuine parts of the poem the theme 'All is vanity' is treated by Q^1 in a series of parallel arguments. In the first of these it is established that all that happens on earth exhibits an iron law of cycle, in which certain passing phenomena regularly recur (1^{3-11}). All man's efforts to discover a reasonable ground for this arrangement come to nought (vv.$^{12-18}$). Qoheleth assures us that he has tried all kinds of expedients to banish the pessimistic disposition produced by the above observation; he has revelled in every species of enjoyment; he has given himself to the most laborious inventions. But all in vain (2^{1-11}). The attempt to find consolation in the pursuit of Wisdom ($2^{12.\ 14b.\ 15f.}$) has likewise been a complete failure, so that he has ended in blank despair (vv.$^{17-24a}$).—The second argument on the theme of 1^2 shows how the contraries, which characterize all that happens on earth, prove all labour on man's part to be vain. Birth is followed by death, planting by rooting up, etc. (3^{1-9}). This law of nature, which always destroys again what it has made (vv.$^{10.\ 12.\ 15}$), shows that there is no moral principle in the ordering of the world. Consequently there can be none in the case of men either, for, as their existence is not essentially different from that of the beast, no more can their fate be different ($3^{16.\ 18-21}$). Special arrangements for the good of man are impossible in the plan of the universe.—The third argument (chs. 4. 5) is already interrupted by a number of interpolations. But the hand of Q^1 may still be recognized in $4^{1-4.\ 6-8.\ 13-16}$ $5^{9f.\ 12-16}$ in the complaint about human suffering, from which there is no escape, and which is yet so useless, and about the restless and yet fruitless labours of men. Isolated fragments of the following chapters (Siegfried, *l.c.* p. 22) contain complaints of similar experiences, and wage a special conflict with the Deuteronomic doctrine of retribution. Laws of nature, according to Q^1, not moral laws, rule everything. There is no Divine government of the world. This is proved by the world's course. Man's lot is a continual vain struggle. Pleasures cannot compensate him for this, for they rest upon an illusion. Nor does Wisdom bring any real satisfaction, for the pursuit of her is fruitless.—Amongst the glossators, Q^2 occupies a purely Epicurean standpoint. Eating and drinking and other sensual indulgences he considers of very real value, and counsels participating in these before the coming of old age when the capacity for enjoying them ceases. Labour, again, is, according to him, not without result, for by it man gains something which procures enjoyment. Hence man is to note the good days and accommodate himself to the evil ones.—The glossator, the *ḥākhām* Q^3, as was already remarked, defends Wisdom against the disparagement of its value by Q^1.—The Pharisee Q^4 maintains the positions of Judaism against Q^1, namely the Divine causality in the creation and government of the world: the Divine justice, which calls even the exalted to account and protects the law-abiding; the view of premature death, which overtakes the wicked, whereas it is escaped by the godly (Siegfried, *l.c.* p. 11 f.).

5. *The Wisdom teaching in the Apocrypha.*—In the apocryphal literature the Wisdom teaching received abundant attention. (*a*) *Sirach.* — The standpoint of the sayings of Ben Sira has points of contact with that of Q^4 just described. His 'Wisdom' is out and out Jewish-religious. 'All wisdom is from the Lord, and is with him for ever' (1^1); hence it is unfathomable in its nature, for God alone comprehends it (v.^{6}). God created it (v.^{9}), and poured it out on all His works, but in a special manner upon the godly (v.^{10}), who recognize that the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom (vv.$^{14-20}$). From this source flow all ethical rules, which are specialized in rich variety, a course which gives the author occasion for a number of separate expositions (1^{21}–16^{23}). Once more he turns to the contemplation of the nature of wisdom in 24^1–30^{27}, a section which opens with a call to Wisdom to raise a hymn in praise of herself, to which she responds in 24^{3-12}. She glorifies herself as having proceeded out of the mouth of the Highest, and relates how at the Creation she lay upon the earth like a mist (cf. Gn 1^2 2^6). Then she took her seat upon a pillar of cloud (cf. Ex 14^{19}) and spread her flight through the heights of heaven. But she likewise walked through the depths of the abyss. Sea and dry land have been taken possession of by her, and she has sought a dwelling-place among all nations. But 'the Creator of all things' commanded her: 'In Jacob take up thy dwelling.' Then she received her place in Zion, and flourished there like a fine tree. And so she calls all who long for Wisdom to come and enjoy her fruits. But Wisdom has found its fullest expression in the Book of the Law (24^{23-29}), whose full stream is compared with that of the four rivers of Paradise. With Sirach thus as in Pr 8 (see above, p. 925^a) Wisdom is not God's intermediary in the creation of the world, but has to do only with men. She seeks a dwelling-place with them upon the already created earth, and finds it in Israel, partly in the Temple worship ($24^{10f.}$), partly in the Book of the Law (24^{23}).

(*b*) *Baruch.*—In this book Wisdom appears simply as attached to the book of the commands of God (ch. 4): Israel's misfortunes, which came upon her with the Exile, are due solely to her having forsaken these commandments of life ($3^{9ff.}$; cf. Ryssel in Kautzsch's *Apokr. u. Pseudepigr. d. AT*, i. 230–475).

(*c*) *4 Maccabees.*—Here the Jewish philosopher of religion starts with the principle that the natural reason (ὁ νοῦς) of man is intended to rule the passions (τὰ πάθη). This is accomplished when the νοῦς chooses a life in Wisdom and thus becomes λογισμός. Only thus can it arrive at the σοφία, which consists in possession of a knowledge of things Divine and human and of their causes (σοφία δὴ τοίνυν ἐστὶν γνῶσις θείων καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων καὶ τῶν τούτων αἰτίων, 1^{16}). But the Wisdom that is recognized must also be desired, the λογισμός must be εὐσεβὴς λογισμός, thought determining itself to a virtuous life. The best aid to the leading of such a life is the ancestral Law, which teaches us Divine and human things in the worthiest and most suitable manner (ἡ τοῦ νόμου παιδεία, δι' ἧς τὰ θεῖα σεμνῶς καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα συμφερόντως μανθάνομεν, 1^{17}). By the help of the prescriptions of the Jewish Law a man will be best able to check perturbations of spirit, for from it we derive trust in God, and the conviction that the enduring of any suffering for virtue's sake brings blessedness. True philosophy thus coincides with εὐσέβεια, and is of value simply as laying a scientific foundation for Judaism (cf. J. Freudenthal, *Die Flavius Josephus beigelegte Schrift über die Herrschaft der Vernunft*, Breslau, 1869; A. Deissmann, 'Das sogenannte vierte Buch der Maccabäer' in Kautzsch's *Apokr. u. Pseudepigr. d. AT*, ii. 177; and, in general, Farrar in *Speaker's Apocrypha*, 415^b–420^a; and art. MACCABEES in vol. iii. p. 194).

In this intellectual movement which defended the Jewish religion with the weapons of Greek philosophy, and embellished it with the grace acquired from Greek education, the BOOK OF WISDOM took its place as an important factor. See the following article. C. SIEGFRIED.

WISDOM, BOOK OF.—i. TITLE.—The title σοφία Σαλωμῶνος rests upon the circumstance that the book in several passages, particularly chs. 7–9 (cf. esp. $9^{7f.}$) claims to be the words of king Solomon, who passed in general for the patron of didactic composition, as David did of lyric. In like manner the canonical Book of Proverbs received the title 'Proverbs of Solomon' (מִשְׁלֵי שְׁלֹמֹה), although in 30, 31^1 other composers of oracles are also introduced as authors. Of Solomon's kingly wisdom we hear in 1 K 3^{7-14}. In Sir $47^{12-18\,(14-19)}$ he is celebrated as one who filled the earth with dark sayings, songs, parables, and apophthegms, as well as with interpretations which evoked the admiration of all lands. Also in Qoheleth he is regarded as the real founder of the schools of wisdom (Ec 1^{12}), and even the sayings of this book are in a way attributed to him as their legendary author (see Siegfried, *Prediger*, p. 1 f.). The author of the Book of Wisdom appears to have been moved by a definite polemical aim in opposition to the Book of Qoheleth, when he chose Solomon as the representative of his views. In 1^{10}–2^{20} he assails with remarkable vehemence the opinions of unorthodox Jews, who incline partly to Stoicism, partly to Epicureanism. These opinions correspond exactly to those put forward in the Book of Ecclesiastes. He reproaches these men with their pessimism, in which they in a manner 'called death unto them by their hands and their words' (Wis 1^{16}), consumed themselves with longing after this friend, and made a covenant with him (*ib.*). According to their perverted judgment, life is short and sorrowful (2^{1a}; cf. Ec 6^{12} $2^{22f.}$ 3^{10} $4^{1ff.}$). Man has no remedy against death, and none can release from Hades (2^{1b}; cf. Kautzsch, *Apokr.* i. 482). The breath of our nostrils (cf. Gn 2^7) is but as a smoke that ascendeth; thought (ὁ λόγος) is a spark kindled by the beating of the heart [the ancients had no idea of the functions of the brain], and, when this is extinguished, the body is turned into ashes, and the animating breath is dissipated in the air. Then even the recollection of us fades quickly (2^{4-6}; cf. Ec 2^{16} 9^{5b}). Our life is like the passing of a shadow (2^5; cf. Ec 6^{12}). Hence from these circles of thought comes the Epicurean call to enjoy the good things of this life as long as they are within our reach.—Further, there are expressions here and there in Wisdom which recall the late Hebraisms peculiar to Ecclesiastes: *e.g.* μερίς, Wis 2^{9c} = חֵלֶק of Ec 2^{10} 3^{22} in the sense of 'fruit of toil,' 'reward'; καταδυναστεύειν, Wis 2^{10}, cf. עָשַׁק בְּ Ec 4^1, שָׁלַט בְּ 8^9 (cf. Farrar, *Apocr.* i. 404^b). To this unbelieving Solomon our author opposes a genuinely Jewish, pious, orthodox Solomon.—That the words of the book are those of the historical king Solomon, our author does not mean to assert, nor could the readers of his time have supposed this to be the case. The Muratorian canon pronounces the Book of Wisdom to be 'a work composed in his honour by friends of Solomon' (*ab amicis Salomonis in honorem ipsius scripta*); Clement of Alexandria, it is true, cites sayings from our book as words of Solomon, but also as those of σοφία; Origen and Cyprian use the book as canonical, but Origen is doubtful of its authenticity (ἡ ἐπιγεγραμμένη Σολομῶντος σοφία, *adv. Cels.* v. 29). Jerome and Augustine give up the Solomonic authorship (see Schürer, *GJV*³ iii. 381 f.).

ii. LANGUAGE.—D. S. Margoliouth attempted (*JRAS*, Apr. 1890, pp. 263–297) to prove a Heb. original for the Book of Wisdom.* But, in spite of certain phenomena which at first sight favour this theory, J. Freudenthal (*JQR*, July 1891, pp. 722–753) has conclusively shown that both the speech and the form of thought in our book plainly point to a Greek original. Hebraizing expressions are employed by the author because he found these in the LXX, and because he was himself a Jew (cf. Farrar, 404^b, 405^a; Grimm, *Apokr.* 6^{te} Lieferung, pp. 5, 8); but these expressions do not justify the conclusion that the work was originally composed in Hebrew.—The Greek of the book is indeed not always correct. Our author at times gives words a meaning which is not usual in classical literature (cf. Farrar, 405^a). To this category belong expressions which are particularly characteristic of the Platonic or the Stoic philosophy (Farrar, 407^a; Grimm, 19); compound adjectives, which appear to be in part of the author's own coining (Farrar, *l.c.*; for similar phenomena in Philo see Siegfried, *Philo von Alexandria*, 1874, pp. 46 f., 135). The author shows himself to be also well read in Greek poetry (Farrar, 405^b, 406^a; Grimm, 7); he imitates Greek figures of speech (according to Farrar, 405^b, 406^a, and Grimm, *l.c.*), although not always with success (Farrar, 406^a). Regarding the influence which the Greek of the Book of Wisdom exercised upon the NT, cf. Farrar, p. 408. Our author reveals also an acquaintance with Greek culture, art, and science; in particular, he displays a knowledge of astronomy and natural history (cf. 7^{17-20}), makes reflexions on the origin of idolatry (13^{1-9} $14^{13f.}$ $15^{5ff.}$), etc. Towards the end of his book his creative power gets exhausted, and he begins to repeat himself ($11^{4ff.}$, cf. chs. 16–19). His language, too, degenerates into rhetorical bombast.

iii. GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE BOOK.—In spite of our author's familiarity with Greek culture, and the profundity of his studies, especially in the Platonic and the Stoic philosophy, which may be detected both in his language (Farrar, 407^a) and his world of ideas (Grimm, 19 f.), he was far from feeling, like Josephus and Philo, hampered by his Jewish faith, and far from seeking, like the former, to embellish it with Hellenizing graces, or, like the latter, to make it more acceptable to the educated classes by allegorizing explanations. Besides, he felt himself, as a worshipper of the true God, too far raised above all idolaters (13^{10}–14^{31}) for this, and too much embittered against those of his countrymen who had allowed themselves to be turned by Greek philosophy away from their ancestral religion to free-thought and immorality (1^{16}–2^{24}). His Jewish temper shows itself even in the outward form of his work, to which he strove with all diligence to give a genuine biblical colouring. We have seen already (p. 928^{b}) how closely he attached himself to the LXX and its Hebraisms. Although he is capable of imitating the artistic periodic structure of the Greeks (cf. 12^{27} $13^{1ff. 11-15}$), he prefers as a rule the simple Hebrew fashion of clauses connected without particles (cf. Grimm, p. 13). He seeks also, at least in the greater part of 1–12^{18}, by imitating the Heb. parallelism, to make his book approximate as closely as possible to his model, the Book of Proverbs.

---

* His treatment of this book in the *Expositor* (Feb.–March 1900) can hardly be taken seriously.

iv. THE AIM OF THE BOOK.—The author's zeal for the Jewish religion, and his orthodoxy, are still more evident in the aim of the Book of Wisdom. The Judaism of his time and environment found itself sorely pressed both from without and from within, and this in proportion to its faithfulness ($2^{10. 12-20}$). It was weakened (3^{10-12} 4^{14b-20}) by internal dissensions and by apostasy, particularly, it would appear, on the part of the wealthy and influential classes (5^{8}). In addition, it was continually threatened by the spiritual force of Greek culture and philosophy ($2^{1ff.}$). In face of these dangers, the author seeks to provide a sure hold for the professors of the Jewish faith. It is quite intelligible that, face to face with these Hellenized Jews who 'sought after wisdom' (1 Co 1^{22}), he felt himself moved to proclaim the Jewish religion as the true Wisdom, and to make the notion of σοφία the centre of his discourse. The choice of this notion was specially happy, because within its sweep could be brought all that the Greek philosophy contained of truth and all that the OT taught about *Ḥokhma*. We find, accordingly, that the author drew from all these sources. Platonic is his doctrine of amorphous matter (11^{17}), of the central ideas (13^{1} ὁ ὤν), of the pre-existence of the soul ($8^{19f.}$), of the body as hindering elevation to the divine (9^{15}; in the expressions βαρύνει, βρίθει, and γεῶδες there are points of contact with Plato's *Phædo*, 87^{b}); he Platonizes also in his doctrine of the four cardinal virtues (8^{7}). Stoic is his conception of Wisdom as the all-pervading power ($7^{22. 24}$). On the other hand, his doctrine of Wisdom as an attribute of God is based wholly upon Pr 8. 9. He thinks of Wisdom as immanent in God, as something belonging to the Divine essence (7^{26}), but, on the other hand, also as something independent, existing side by side with God (7^{22} 8^{3} 9^{4}, cf. Pr 8^{30}), so that he frequently personifies Wisdom (1^{6} 8^{9} $10^{1ff.}$). In one point, however, his conception differs from that of Proverbs. While, according to Pr 8^{26-30a}, at the creating of the things in heaven and earth God alone was active, and Wisdom was simply an onlooker (v.^{30b}, cf. above, p. 925^{a}), in the Book of Wisdom (8^{4b}) she is *αἱρετὴς τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ* (*sc.* *τοῦ θεοῦ*), and makes a selection among God's works, *i.e.* she determines which of the works whose idea God has formed are to be actually carried out (Grimm). She is an emanation from God (7^{25}), therefore free from all stains, and she pervades all things (1^{7} 7^{24}), without being in any way infected with the imperfections inherent in them: because she is 'more mobile than any motion,' it is impossible for any of the impurities which belong to things to attach to her.—On the relation of the Wisdom of Solomon to Philo cf. Menzel, *De Græcis in libris* קהלת *et σοφία vestigiis*, 1858, p. 66; Ed. König, *Einl. in d. AT*, Bonn, 1893, p. 489; Soulier, *La doctrine du logos chez Philon*, 1876, p. 162 f.—But, as in Pr 8^{31} $9^{1ff.}$, the special object of interest to Wisdom is man (Wis $7^{23. 27cd}$). Penetrating into the human understanding, she gives birth to all varieties of theoretical knowledge ($8^{6. 8}$), particularly in the realm of theology, because she is initiated into the knowledge of God (8^{4a}). She communicates the inspiration of the prophets (8^{8} 9^{17}), but also the knowledge of earthly things in the sphere of history (8^{8b}), astronomy, chronology, natural science (7^{17-21}), art (7^{16b}; cf. Ezk 18^{3}). But in the practical sphere as well Wisdom is the best counsellor of man, for from her comes all morality and virtue ($1^{4f.}$ 7^{25c} 8^{7}; cf. Pr $8^{12. 18-20. 31-36}$). See, further, Farrar, p. 420.

v. CONTENTS OF THE BOOK.—(*a*) The first section (chs. 1–5) describes the conflict which the Divine Wisdom has constantly to carry on with the godless wisdom of the world, and the victory to which she leads those who surrender themselves to her. In the first place (ch. 1) the author addresses himself apparently, in quite a general exhortation, to all rulers and authorities in the world. But as in what follows he deals not with public conditions or the duties of rulers, but with purely inward physico-ethical developments, it is natural to suppose that he has in view not heathen rulers, but powerful and influential personages in his Jewish environment, who, as is evident from 1^{16} $2^{1ff.}$, had apostatized from their religion and attached themselves to the heathen Government. How high in those days such men might sometimes rise may be seen from the case of the Jewish noble Tiberius Alexander, who a little later was nominated Imperial administrator (*alabarch*) of the whole of the so-called Arabian side of the Nile (Schürer, *GJV*^{3} iii. 490). It was only such rulers, of Jewish descent, that our author could hope to reach with his words; he could scarcely expect to be read by heathen ones. The description contained in 1^{16}–2^{20} suits, moreover, only such apostate powerful Jews. Greek philosophy, particularly Epicureanism, had estranged them from their religion (2^{1-5}), and the practical consequences of the new frivolous view of life had speedily shown themselves in abandonment to sensualism and immorality (2^{6-9}). To these men their fellow-countrymen who remained true to their religion were a genuine stone of stumbling. The life of the latter, with its piety and fidelity to the Law, caused them secret shame, and was a constant prick to their conscience. This drove them to hatred and bitter persecution of the 'righteous' (2^{10-20}). The author now faces these apostates like a prophet of rebuke, and exposes the vanity of their whole conduct in the passage 2^{21}–5^{23}. Wholly ensnared by earthly things, they have no idea that man, formed after the image of God, has an eternal destiny (2^{21-23}), whose form is only decided in the world beyond (3^{7} *ἐν καιρῷ ἐπισκοπῆς* 'on the day of visitation'; v.^{17b} *ἐπ' ἐσχάτων, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ διαγνώσεως*; v.^{18b} 'at the final decision' [the statement varies, it is true, in regard to some points: in $4^{16ff.}$ it is a judgment carried out in the next world after death, in 5^{17-23} it is one that takes place in this world in eschatological times]). Then shall it be manifested whose life was the truly profitable one. The ungodly, *i.e.* those Jews who have despised the Law (3^{16} 4^{20} 5^{7}), with their whole brood, are exposed in their nothingness ($3^{10-12. 16-19}$ $4^{3-6. 18-20}$). They themselves shall confess their mistake with bitter but vain repentance (5^{3-14}). The righteous, on the other hand, who kept by the Law, shall reap the fruit of their strivings (3^{13-15} $4^{1f.}$ $5^{5. 15f.}$), and shall pronounce judgment on the ungodly (4^{16} $5^{1f.}$). The author incidentally controverts the old

Jewish doctrine that premature death is a sign of impiety (Ps 55^{23} 102^{24}), holding that it is so only in the case of the wicked ($3^{18f.}$), but not in that of the righteous, whose sufferings are meant simply to try them, and whose death is a rapture to perfect bliss (3^{1-9} 4^{7-17} $5^{5.\ 15f.}$).

(*b*) The second section (chs. 6–9) sets forth the great advantages of Wisdom. The author here attaches his words in the first instance to the exhortation of 1^{1-15} to rulers, on whom he urges (*α*) in 6^{1-11} that they in particular are bound in quite a special way to seek after Wisdom, and that they will be held specially responsible if they have ruled without it. Such conduct is all the more culpable, seeing that (*β*) Wisdom is so easily accessible and so ready to meet those that seek her, 6^{12-25}. This is followed by (*γ*) 7^{1}–8^{1}, a description which Solomon from his own experience gives of the nature of Wisdom; and (*δ*) 8^{2-21} an account by the same king of how he came to attach himself to Wisdom as a life companion; and the whole closes with (*ε*) 9^{1-18} Solomon's prayer for Wisdom.

(*c*) The third section (10^{1}–19^{22}) recounts, finally, the wonders wrought by Wisdom in the history of Israel: (*α*) in the period from Adam to Moses, specially down to the passage of the Red Sea, 10^{1}–11^{1}; (*β*) during the wilderness wanderings, 11^{2}–12^{27}. This is followed by some general observations (*γ*) on the folly of the Wisdom-forsaken heathen, who have given themselves over to the worship of natural forces and images of gods, as contrasted with the Israelites who obey Wisdom, chs. 13–15; and (*δ*) on the remarkable providences of God, whereby the animal-worshipping Egyptians were punished by means of the very same animals which brought deliverance to the Israelites; in which connexion other instances of contrast between the lot of the Egyptians and the Israelites are also insisted upon.

vi. PROGRESS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGIOUS DOCTRINE IN THE BOOK OF WISDOM.—(*a*) In the doctrine of *God* the central point in the religious system of this book is the thought that the Divine essence is *love*. Whereas the canonical OT regarded Jahweh by preference as the *Lord* of His creatures, who, according to His pleasure, called these into being by His breath, and who by withdrawing that breath causes them to perish (Ps $104^{29.\ 30}$), in the Book of Wisdom Jahweh is full of love to all His creatures, and upholds and spares them because He has pleasure in all that lives. Even the wicked, to whom He gives every opportunity to repent (*τόπον μετανοίας*, 12^{10}, cf. He 12^{17}), God seeks to spare as long as possible. Alongside of this the author's inclination towards Jewish particularistic notions shows itself. God is Father only in relation to the Jews, to the heathen He is Ruler. Sufferings are to the former fatherly chastisement and have an educative value; in the case of the latter they are an expression of anger and a sign of judgment ($11^{9.\ 10}$).

(*b*) In his *anthropology* the author insists preeminently upon individual immortality. Of this the canonical OT knew nothing, its point of interest lying merely in the continuance of the people of Israel and the consummating of the kingdom of God amongst them. But the Book of Wisdom recognizes that man, *i.e.* the individual, was created for incorruption (2^{23} 6^{19} 12^{1}); in particular, the righteous live for ever (5^{15a}); the knowledge of the power of God is the root of immortality (15^{3}). It is true that the conception of immortality vacillates between that of a continued personal existence and that of a survival in the memory of posterity (8^{13}), or even between the first conception and that of the ideal community of life with Wisdom (8^{17}), which the righteous enjoy even here during their earthly existence. On the other hand, a future judgment for the wicked is presupposed in 4^{20}, following up the OT conception of a mockery of the dead in Sheol (4^{19}, cf. Is $14^{10ff.}$). See, further, Farrar, p. 409.

(*c*) In the *soteriology* of the book, the late prophetic expectation of a personal Messiah, the Servant of the Lord, recedes. The author knows Him neither as vicarious sufferer nor as deliverer of His people. The Messianic glory consists in the establishment of a kingdom of Jahweh which shall rule over the heathen (3^{8}); the righteous exercise personally this sway upon earth (5^{16a}), as happened formerly with Solomon by God's command (8^{14}). On the attitude of the rest of the Apocryphal books to this question cf. Farrar, 410^{a}, esp. note 3.—Our author maintains rigidly the Jewish doctrine of retribution (*δι᾽ ὧν τις ἁμαρτάνει διὰ τούτων κολάζεται*, 11^{16}). But his method of expounding this dogma is new. He seeks to show that even the form of punishment corresponds exactly to the sin committed. The Egyptians worshipped animals, therefore they were also punished by means of animals, nay the very animals which they adored (11^{16} 15^{18} 16^{1}). They sinned in connexion with water by casting the newly-born children of the Hebrews into the Nile (11^{6}), therefore they were also punished by means of blood-red water (*ib.*).

vii. INTEGRITY OF THE BOOK.—The work is evidently the well-arranged product of a single author. On now defunct hypotheses, which found in it the work of a number of different hands, see Grimm, pp. 9–15, and Farrar, p. 415^{a}. Its integrity, too, may in general be admitted (Grimm, 15 f.). Only the conclusion ($19^{18ff.}$) gives the impression of abruptness. Although in general the author's intention is successfully carried out in depicting the wonderful guidance of Israel by Wisdom from the Exodus onwards (Grimm), yet the theme started in v.^{18} appears to require somewhat fuller treatment between v.^{21} and v.^{22}, so that the traditional text is here defective.

viii. AUTHORSHIP.—As to the personality of the author various suggestions have been offered. The book has been attributed to Solomon by Clem. Alex. (*Strom.* vi. 120 ff.), Tertullian, Hippolytus (ed. Lagarde, p. 66), *et al.*; to Philo by Jerome, Luther, Joh. Gerhard, *et al.* For these and other conjectures see Grimm, pp. 16–26; Farrar, 412–415^{a}. In view of their untenable character, we consider that we may dispense with a closer examination of them. The probabilities are in favour of an Egyptian Jew who had received a Greek education but had remained true to the Law. His description of Epicureanism, to which many Jews had apostatized ($2^{1ff.}$), appears to have been derived partly from Qoheleth. For his further acquaintance with the works of Greek philosophers see above, p. 928^{b}. The beauty of the works of Greek plastic art found him as unimpressionable as St. Paul (Ac 17^{16}). Sculptors and painters are to him lovers of evil, and their work is unprofitable ($15^{4ff.}$); works of sculpture are to him nothing but idols (14^{10}). He has Euhemeristic notions of the motives that led to the making of them ($14^{15ff.}$). That he was not a Palestinian but an Alexandrian Jew, is shown by his allusions to the Egyptian animal-worship ($15^{18.\ 19}$ $16^{1.\ 9}$). Greek images of the gods ($15^{4ff.}$) might then be seen even in Egyptian cities. In favour of the view that the author lived in Alexandria, is the circumstance that both a Greek and a Jewish population were settled there, and that his culture was derived from both these quarters.

ix. DATE.—For the date of the Book of Wisdom, the *terminus a quo* is the Greek translation of the Bible (*c.* 250 B.C.), the *terminus ad quem* the unquestionable acquaintance of St. Paul with the book (cf. Grafe, 'Das Verhältniss der paulin. Schriften zur Sap. Salom.' in *Theol. Abhandlungen C. v. Weizsäcker zu s. 70 Geburtstage gewidmet*, Freiburg, 1892, p. 251 ff., where in particular the author establishes St. Paul's dependence upon the book in regard to the doctrine of predestination, the condemnation of the heathen, and the conception of the relation of soul and body). Resemblances to the book or influences from the same quarter are discoverable also in the Epistle to the Hebrews (cf. He 1^{3} with Wis 7^{26}, He 4^{12} with Wis $7^{22\text{ff.}}$ etc.). The most recent attempts to fix the date vary up and down between 150 B.C. and 40 A.D. (cf. Farrar, 420^{b}–422^{a}). The position which the author assumes in the development of Alexandrianism prior to Philo (cf. Siegfried, *Philo von Alex.* 22-24) is in favour of placing him between B.C. 100 and 50. Kuenen (*Hist.-crit. Onderzoek*, § 105^{10}), it is true, will have it that the book was not composed till the time of Gaius Caligula.

x. TEXT.—The Text is best preserved in cod. Vaticanus (B); it is very good also in cod. Sinaiticus (ℵ or S), as well as in the fragments of cod. Ephræmi rescriptus (C); it is less satisfactory in cod. Alexandrinus (A) and, with the exception of the excellent cod. 68, in 10 cursives. Swete (*OT in Greek*, vol. ii., Camb. 1891, 2nd ed. 1897, pp. 604-643) uses B in general as the basis of his text, but gives in footnotes all the variants of ℵ (S), A, and C. O. F. Fritzsche in his *Libri apocryphi V.T. græce*, Lipsiæ, 1871, gives not only the variants of the above MSS but also those of cod. Venetus (HP 23), etc., as well as those derived from the cursives and the Versions. W. J. Deane (*The Book of Wisdom*, Oxford, 1881) agrees almost entirely with Fritzsche. Noteworthy emendations are to be found in Grimm *ap.* Fritzsche, in Grimm, *Kgf. exeget. Hdb. zu den Apokr.* 6^{te} Lieferung (Lpzg. 1860), and in F. W. Farrar in 'Speaker's Com.' *Apocrypha*, i. (London, 1888) 403-534, as well as in H. Bois, *Essai sur les origines de la philosophie judéo-alexandrine* (Toulouse, 1890), p. 378 ff.

xi. VERSIONS.—Of the Versions, the Vetus Latinus of Jerome was taken over unaltered into the Vulgate, in the Books of Sirach and Wisdom. The Latin text of the two Wisdoms from the cod. Amiatinus was critically edited for the Wisdom of Solomon by de Lagarde in *Mitteilungen*, Bd. i. 243-284.—Of the Syriac Versions, the Peshitta recension was published in de Lagarde's *Libri apoc. V.T. Syriace*, Lips. 1861; another recension in Ceriani's edition of the cod. Ambros. sæc. vi. (Milan, 1876 ff.); cf. Nestle in *Urtext u. Übersetzungen der Bibel* (a reprint of the art. in *PRE*^{3}), p. 230; Ryssel in Kautzsch's *Apokr. und Pseudepigr. d. AT*, i. 250-254.—On the Armenian literal Version, the so-called Mechitar Bible, Venice, 1805, cf. Nestle, *l.c.* pp. 155-157; also *PRE*^{3} iii. 79 on the special editions of the Wisdom of Solomon, from 1824 to 1854.—For recent English translations by Deane and Farrar see above.—The most recent German translation is that of C. Siegfried in Kautzsch's *Apokr. und Pseudepigr. d. AT*, i. 476-507, with Introduction and short exegetical notes. J. K. Zenner arranged the first section of the book (1^{1}–6^{11}) in strophes and in verses of from 2 to 3 strophes, and published this in a German translation, with short explanatory notes in the *Ztschr. für kath. Theol.* xxii. [1898] pp. 417-429. In an Appendix he adds Egyptian parallels to ch. 2 from Erman's translation (p. 430 f.).

LITERATURE.—For references see Grimm, *Buch der Weisheit* (cf. *Kgf. exeget. Hdb. zu den Apokr. d. AT*), pp. 45, 46, and Farrar, *l.c.* pp. 422^{b}-423. See also W. J. Deane, *The Book of Wisdom*, Oxford, 1881, pp. 42, 43; Zöckler, *Apokryphen*, 1891, pp. 360, 361; Schürer in *PRE*^{3} i. 652, and *GJV*^{3} iii. 383 ff.; Ph. Thielmann, *Bericht über das gesammelte handschriftliche Material zu einer kritischen Ausgabe der latein. Übersetzungen bibl. Bücher d. AT*, Munich, 1900, pp. 207-214. The last-named author has either personally or through others collated 30 MSS. Of these, 27 are complete, while the other 3 contain fragments of the Book of Wisdom. They belong to the 8th-10th centuries, and include Spanish, Anglo-Saxon, pre-Carlovingian French, South German, Swiss, Italian texts, as well as the Bibles of Theodulf and Alcuin. In addition, he deals with excerpts from 33 MSS. This had been preceded by Thielmann's studies, 'über den character der latein. Übersetzung der Weisheit Salomonis,' etc., in *Archiv für latein. Lexicographie und Grammatik*, viii. (1893) 235-297, 501-561, ix. (1894) 247-284. According to Thielmann, the unity of the Latin text of Wisdom can be established; see, further, Schürer in *ThLZ*, 1900, No. 12.

C. SIEGFRIED.

WIST, WIT, WOT, WITTY.—The parts of the verb 'to wit' (Anglo-Sax. *witan*, Middle Eng. *witen*, 'to know') were: Pres. tense 'I wot,' 'thou wotest,' 'he wot' or 'woteth'; plu. 'we witen'; past tense 'wiste'; past ptcp. 'wist'; infin. 'to wit.'

Examples: *I wot*—Maundeville, *Travels*, 72, 'I wot never, but God knoweth'; Knox, *Hist.* 67, 'I wot, and know surely by the Word of God'; Jn 11^{42} Tind. 'I wot that thou hearest me all wayes' (where the tense should be past, ᾔδειν, Wyc. 'I wiste,' Cran. and AV 'I knew,' Rhem. 'I did know'). *Thou wotest*—Jn 13^{7} Tind. 'What I do, thou wotest not now, but thou shalt knowe herafter.' *He wot* or *woteth*—Tindale, *Expos.* 60, 'He that hateth his brother is in darkness, and walketh in darkness, and woteth not whither he goeth.' *We, ye, they witen* (and later, as in AV, *wot*)—*Piers Plowman*, ii. 74—

> 'Witen all and witnessen that wonen here on earth
> That Meed is ymarried more for her richesse
> Than for holiness or hendeness, or for high kind:
> Falseness is fain of her, for he wot her rich.'

Wyclif uses 'they wyteth,' *Works*, iii. 107, 'Fader, forgeve hem this gylt, for they wyteth nought what they dooth.' Past tense, *wiste*—Jn 13^{28} Wyc. 'Noon of hem that saten at the mete wiste wherto he saide to hym'; Tindale has 'wyst,' Dt 34^{6} 'No man wyst of his sepulchre unto this daye.' Past ptcp. *wist*—Mt 12^{7} Tind. 'Wherfore yf ye had wist what this sayinge meneth'; Occleve in Skeat's *Specimens*, p. 22—

> 'For, yf myn hertes wille wist were and preved
> How, yow to love, it stered is and meved,
> Ye shulde knowe I your honour and welthe
> Thurste and desire, and eke your soules helthe.'

Infin. *wit*—Malory, *Holy Grail* (in Morley's *Eng. Rel.* 38), 'And so they looked upon him, and felt his pulse, to wit whether there were any life in him;' Ex 9^{7} Tind. 'And Pharas sent to wete.' For the phrase 'do to wit' (2 Co 8^{1}) see art. Do in vol. i. p. 614^{b}, and observe the parallel phrases 'give to wit,' Rhem. NT, note to Jn 15^{4} 'These conditional speaches, *If you remaine in the vine, If you keepe my commaundements*, and such like, give us to wit that we be not sure to persist or persevere, nor to be saved, but under conditions to be fulfilled by us'; and 'let to wit,' Cranmer, *Works*, i. 70, 'We let you to wit, that forasmuch as it belongeth unto us,' etc.

In AV there occur: (1) Present tense, 'I wot,' Gn 21^{26}, Nu 22^{6}, Jos 2^{5}, Ac 3^{17}, Ph 1^{22}; ['he] wotteth,' Gn 39^{8} 'My master wotteth not what is with me in the house'; 'we wot,' Ex $32^{1.23}$, Ac 7^{40}; 'ye wot,' Gn 44^{15}, Ro 11^{2}. (2) Past tense, 'I wist,' Jos 2^{4}, Ac 23^{5}; 'he wist,' Ex 34^{29}, Lv $5^{17.18}$, Jos 8^{14}, Jg 16^{20}, Mk 9^{6}, Jn 5^{13}, Ac 12^{9}; 'ye wist,' Lk 2^{49}; 'they wist,' Ex 16^{15}, Mk 14^{40}. (3) Infin. 'to wit,' Gn 24^{21}, Ex 2^{4}, 2 Co 8^{1} ('do to wit').

The Heb. and Gr. are the ordinary verbs 'to know,' *yāda'* and *οἶδα*, except in the last case, where 'we do you to wit' is the tr. of *γνωρίζομεν ὑμῖν*, RV 'we make known to you.'

The infin. 'to wit' is also used as a connecting phrase in Jos 17^{1}, 1 K 2^{32} 7^{50} 13^{23}, 2 K 10^{29}, 1 Ch 7^{2} 27^{1}, 2 Ch 4^{12} $25^{7.10}$ 31^{3}, Est 2^{12}, Jer 25^{18} 34^{9}, Ezk 13^{16}, Ro 8^{23}, 2 Co 5^{19}. The fuller phrase is 'that is to wit,' which shows the infin. more clearly, as Mt 23^{8} Tind. 'For one is youre Master, that is to wyt Christ, and all ye are brethren'; Tindale, *Works*, i. 87, 'Wherefoer they which are of faith are blessed, that is to wit made righteous, with righteous Abraham.' Except in 2 Co 5^{19} (*ὡς*) there is no equivalent in Heb. or Greek.

Wit as a subst. occurs in Ps 107^{27} 'And are at their wit's end' (וְכָל־חָכְמָתָם תִּתְבַּלָּע, lit. as AVm, RVm 'and all their wisdom is swallowed up,' RV 'and are at their wits' [plu.] end'; the AV phrase comes from Cov.; Wyc. has the more lit. 'and al the wisdom of hem was devourid,' after Vulg. *et omnis sapientia eorum devorata est*); 1 Es 4^{26} 'Many there be that have run out of their wits for women' (πολλοὶ ἀπενοήθησαν ταῖς ἰδίαις διανοίαις διὰ τὰς γυναῖκας); 2 Es 5^{9} 'Then shall wit hide itself' (*abscondetur tunc sensus*); Sir 31^{20} 'He riseth early, and his wits are with him' (ἀνέστη πρωί, καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ).

The subst. 'wit' was very common in the cent. preceding the issue of AV. It was losing its tone by 1611, and not only occurs less frequently in AV than in previous versions, but is used more readily in the *Preface*, with its familiar style, than in the tr. of any of the books. Thus, 'their sharpnesse of wit'; 'to exercise and whet our wits'; 'opening our wits, that we may understand his word'—all occurring in the Preface. In the earlier versions we find, *e.g.*, He 5^{14} Wyc. 'hem that for custum han wittis exercisid,' so Tind. 'which thorow custome have their wittes exercised,' and all the VSS till Rhem., and AV ('senses,' Gr. τὰ αἰσθητήρια); Lk 2^{47} Tind. 'And all that hearde him mervelled at his wit and answers' (so Matt., Wyc. 'prudens,' Rhem. 'wisedom,' others 'understanding,' Gr. σύνεσις); 24^{45} Tind. 'Then openned he their wyttes that they myght understond the scriptures' (Rhem. and AV 'understanding,' Gr. τὸν νοῦν); Mk 5^{15} Rhem. 'They see him that was vexed of the devil, sitting, clothed, and wel in his wittes.'

The word has some range of meaning, thus: (1) *Sense, meaning*, as Wyclif, *Works*, i. 98, 'Syththe the Pater Noster is the beste prayer that is, for in it mot alle other prayers be closed yf thay schulle graciouslyche be hurde of God, therfore scholde men kunne this prayour, and studie the wyt thereof'; Melvill, *Diary*, 36, 'A babling of words without wit, at least wesdome.' (2) *Cleverness*, as Hall, *Works*, ii. 69, 'How many shall once wish they had been born dullards, yea idiots, when they shall find their wit to have barred them out of heaven? Say the world what it will, a dram of holinesse is worth a pound of wit.' (3) *Understanding, ability to understand*, as Pr. Bk. 1552 (Keeling, p. 379)—

> 'O Holy Ghost, into our wits,
> Send down thine heavenly light';

Elyot, *Governour*, ii. 439, 'A man of greate witte, singuler lernynge, and excellent wisedome.' (4) *Wisdom*, as Ro 11^{34} Wyc. 'Who knew the witte of the lord, or who was his councellour?'; Spenser, *Hymn of Heavenly Beauty*—

> 'O thou most Almightie Spright,
> From whom all guifts of wit and knowledge flow.'

Wittingly is found in Gn 48^{14}: cf. Tind. *Expos.* 177, 'When they espied that the truth could not stand with the honours which they sought in the world, they wittingly and willingly persecuted it.'

Witty occurs in Pr 8^{12}, Jth 11^{23}, Wis 8^{19}. Cf. Mt 11^{25} Cheke's version, 'which has hidden yees thinges from wijs and witti men, and hath disclosed the saam to baabs'; Wyclif, *Works*, iii. 88, 'Who wiser than David? or hwo moore witti than Salomon his sone?' J. HASTINGS.

WITCH, WITCHCRAFT.—See MAGIC, vol. iii. p. 208 f.

WITHS is the tr. in Jg $16^{7. 8. 9}$ of יֶתֶר in plu., which means 'bowstring' in Job 30^{11}, Ps 11^{2}, and is so tr^{d} here by Moore, who thinks that it was with cords made from the intestines of animals that Samson offered to be bound, 'green' meaning fresh, not dried, when they would tie better and be less liable to split. But RV tr. the word 'tent-cord' in Job 4^{21}, and probably the meaning in Jg 16 is simply 'green ropes.' The Eng. word (usually spelt 'withe') means a tough flexible twig or willow branch. Wyclif uses it in Lv 23^{40} 'withies of the rennynge water,' *i.e.* willow branches; also in Ps 137^{2}, Is 15^{7}. J. HASTINGS.

WITNESS.—For 'tabernacle of witness' (הָעֵדוּת Nu $17^{7. 8}$ 18^{2}, 2 Ch 24^{6}; τοῦ μαρτυρίου Ac 7^{44} [RV in all 'testimony']) see art. TESTIMONY. 'Witness,' as treated in the present article, represents the following verbs and nouns: [עוּד], עָנָה (lit. 'answer'); עֵד and עֵדָה (the latter only of things); LXX and NT μαρτυρέω, ἐπιμαρτυρέω, καταμυρτυρέω ('witness against'), συνμαρτυρέω ('witness along with,' 'corroborate'), ψευδομαρτυρέω ('bear false witness'), μαρτύρομαι, διαμαρτύρομαι, προμαρτύρομαι ('witness beforehand'); μάρτυς (of persons), μαρτυρία, μαρτύριον.

The nouns עֵד and עֵדָה [whose root notion is prob. that of *reiterating*, hence *emphatically affirming*] are used in two leading senses—

1. *Witness=testimony, evidence* (of things): Gn $31^{44. 48. 52}$ [JE] the heap of stones that was to witness the covenant between Jacob and Laban, Ex $22^{12\,(13)}$ [E] the carcass that was to be brought in evidence that the animal entrusted to the keeping of a neighbour had been torn, Dt $31^{19. 21}$ [J] the Song of Moses is to be a witness against the children of Israel if they go astray, v.^{26} (D^{2}) the book of the Law is to serve the same purpose, Jos $22^{27. 28. 34}$ [P] the altar erected by the 2½ tribes (see art. ED), Is 19^{20} the altar and the *maẓẓēbah* in the land of Egypt, Job 16^{8} Job's miserable condition is a witness against him, Ps $89^{37\,(38)}$ the moon [possibly, but we prefer the interpretation below]. In all these passages עֵד is used. עֵדָה [only E] occurs in Gn 21^{30} of the seven ewe lambs that are to witness the covenant between Abraham and Abimelech, 31^{52} the heap of stones that witnessed Laban's covenant with Jacob, Jos $24^{27\,bis}$ the great stone set up by Joshua at Shechem to witness Israel's covenant with Jahweh.—Similarly in NT μαρτύριον is used: Mt 8^{4} (‖ Mk 1^{44}, Lk 5^{14}) of the gift to be offered by the leper, Mt 10^{18} (‖ Mk 13^{9}, Lk 21^{13}) the persecutions of Christ's followers, Mk 6^{11} (‖ Lk 9^{5}) the dust to be shaken off the apostle's feet [on all these passages see Swete's note on Mk 1^{44}], Ja 5^{3} the dust of the rich men's silver and gold to be a witness against them.

2. *Witness* (of persons): (*a*) of God: Gn 31^{50} [E] God is to be witness between Jacob and Laban, Job 16^{19} 'my witness is in heaven,' 1 S $12^{5\,bis}$ 'the LORD is witness against you . . . He is witness,' so v.^{6} [reading יְ״ עֵד, after LXX μάρτυς Κύριος], 20^{12} 'the Lord be witness' [inserting עֵד before יְ״], Jer 29^{23} against the false prophets Ahab and Zedekiah, 42^{5} invoked as a witness by Johanan and his companions (cf. Jg 11^{10}, where the elders of Gilead say to Jephthah, 'The LORD shall be witness [lit. 'hearer,' שֹׁמֵעַ] between us'), Mic 1^{2} against the nations, Mal 3^{5} against evil-doers in Israel, Ps $89^{37\,(38)}$ 'the witness in the sky, *i.e.* God [see Driver, *Par. Psalt.*], is faithful.'—Similarly, in NT St. Paul calls God as witness (μάρτυς) to the truth of his words and the purity of his motives, Ro 1^{9}, 2 Co 1^{23}, 1 Th $2^{5. 10}$, Ph 1^{8}.

(*b*) David (or perhaps the Davidic dynasty personified) was God's witness to the nations, Is 55^{4}.

(*c*) Of witnesses in a more or less strictly forensic sense: Jer $32^{10. 12. 25. 44}$ of transfer of property, Ru $4^{9. 10. 11}$ betrothal (see art. SHOE); usually of testimony in court and in civil and social relations: *e.g.* Nu 5^{13}, Dt 5^{20} 17^{6}, Job 10^{17} (fig.), Is 8^{2}, Jer 32^{10}. Note the phrases 'false witness' עֵד שֶׁקֶר (hence Ex 20^{16} עָנָה עֵד שֶׁקֶר בְּ 'bear false witness [lit. 'answer (in court) as a false witness'] against') Ex 20^{16}, Dt $19^{18\,bis}$, Ps 27^{12}, Pr 6^{19} 14^{5}; also עֵד שָׁוְא Dt 5^{20}, Pr 25^{18}; עֵד שְׁקָרִים Pr 12^{17} $19^{5. 9}$; עֵד כְּזָבִים Pr 21^{28}; עֵד חִנָּם 24^{28}; עֵד בְּלִיַּעַל 19^{28}, cf. עֵד חָמָס 'witness of [*i.e.* supporting] violence,' Ex 23^{1} [E], Dt 19^{16}, Ps 35^{11}; 'faithful witness' is עֵד אֱמוּנִים Pr 14^{5}, or עֵד אֱמֶת Jer 42^{5}, Pr 14^{25}; 'at the mouth of witnesses' is לְפִי עֵדִים Nu 35^{20} [P], or עַל־פִּי עֵד(ים) Dt $17^{6\,bis}$ $19^{15\,bis}$.

The verb [עוּד], denom. from עֵד, means in Hiphil [the only instance of Qal is in *Kethîbh* of La 2^{13}]—(1) 'testify *or* witness,' in favour of (Job 29^{11}, La 2^{13} [*Kerê*]), or against (1 K $21^{10. 13}$) one, or between two parties (Mal 2^{14}); (2) 'cause to testify,' *i.e.* 'take as witness' (Is 8^{2}, Jer $32^{10. 25. 44}$), with בְּ 'against' (Dt 4^{26} 30^{19} 31^{28}); (3) 'protest,' 'affirm solemnly,' 'warn' (Jer 6^{10}, Neh 13^{15}), with בְּ (Gn $44^{3\,bis}$ [J], Ex 19^{21} [E] 21^{19} [Hoph. 'if a protest have been entered'], 1 S $8^{9\,bis}$, 1 K 2^{42}, 2 Ch 24^{19}, Neh 9^{26} 13^{21}, Jer 42^{19}, Am 3^{13}); note esp. the instances where God is the subject: Ex 19^{23} [J], Dt 8^{19} 32^{46}, 2 K $17^{13. 15}$, Neh $9^{29. 30. 34}$, Jer $11^{7\,ter}$, Zec 3^{6}, Ps 50^{7} 81^{9}; whence the use explained in art.

TESTIMONY of the term 'testimonies' for God's laws as solemn charges or declarations of the Divine will.

עָנָה [lit. 'answer,' 'respond'] has the specific sense of 'respond *as a witness*,' 'testify': with בְּ 'for' Gn 30^{33}; but usually *against*, Ex 20^{16} 23^{2}, Nu 35^{30} [P], Dt 3^{17} $19^{16.18}$, 1 S 12^{3}, 2 S 1^{16}, Is 3^{9} 59^{12}, Mic 6^{3}, Jer 14^{7}, Ru 1^{21} (?), Pr 25^{18}; with בְּפָנָיו Hos 5^{5} 7^{10}, Job 16^{8}; with לְפָנָיו Dt 31^{21} (+לְעֵד 'as witness').

The testimony of at least two witnesses was required to justify a capital sentence, Dt 17^{6} 19^{15}, Nu 35^{30} [P]. Cf. the general saying 'that at the mouth of two witnesses or three every word may be established' (Mt 18^{16}, similarly 2 Co 13^{1}, He 10^{28}; also the rule laid down in 1 Ti 5^{19} that an accusation is not to be received against an elder except on the information of two or three witnesses); and note the two witnesses against Naboth (1 K 21^{10}), and against Jesus (Mt 26^{60}). Although perjury was punished by the infliction of the same penalty as the false evidence, if accepted, would have involved for the accused (Dt $19^{16ff.}$), we gather from the last two instances (cf. the evidence suborned against Stephen, Ac 6^{13}) as well as from the terms of the Ninth Commandment, that amongst the Jews false witness was as common and as easily procurable as it still is in many Eastern courts of justice. The witnesses, in the event of the accused being condemned to death, had to take the leading part in carrying out the sentence, Dt 17^{7}, cf. $13^{10\,(9)}$ and Ac 7^{58}.

In the NT the apostles are repeatedly presented in the character of witnesses (*μάρτυρες*) regarding the life and death and, above all, the resurrection of the Lord Jesus (Lk 24^{48}, Ac $1^{8.22}$ 2^{32} 3^{15} 5^{32} $10^{39.41}$ 13^{31} 22^{15} 26^{16}, 1 P 5^{1}; cf. Mt 24^{14}, Ac 4^{33}). The name *μάρτυς* is twice (Rev 1^{5} 3^{14}, cf. 1 Ti 6^{13}) applied to our Lord Himself; it is used also of the two witnesses of Rev 11^{3}. John the Baptist came *εἰς μαρτυρίαν*, that he might bear witness concerning the Light (Jn 1^{7}). The heroes of faith of the OT are 'the cloud of witnesses' (*νέφος μαρτύρων*) of He 12^{1}. AV tr. *μάρτυς* by 'martyr' in Ac 22^{20}, Rev 2^{12} 17^{6}, but it is questionable whether the word had acquired this sense in NT times (see MARTYR). RV has 'martyr' only in Rev 17^{6}, elsewhere 'witness.' For the 'witness of the Spirit' (Ro 8^{16}, cf. 1 Jn 5^{10}) see art. HOLY SPIRIT, vol. ii. p. 409^{b}.

J. A. SELBIE.

WIZARD.—See SORCERY, p. 606^{a}.

WOLF.—In all the passages in the OT where AV and RV have 'wolf' the Heb. original is זְאֵב *zĕ'ēb*, LXX and NT λύκος, Vulg. *lupus*, Arab. *dhi'b*. The wolf is, unfortunately, quite abundant in the Holy Land, and very destructive to the flocks of sheep and goats, which constitute so large a part of the wealth of the people. It is not surprising, therefore, that the allusions to it and its habits should be frequent. Its insatiableness is the theme of a comparison with Benjamin (Gn 49^{27}). One of the most signal miracles of the triumph of God's kingdom is the change in the habits and instincts of the wolf (Is 11^{6} 65^{25}, Sir 13^{17}). The princes of apostate Israel are characterized as wolves (Ezk 22^{27}). The nocturnal habits of the wolf are noted (Jer 5^{6} עֲרָבוֹת 'evenings,' m. 'deserts,' Hab 1^{8}, Zeph 3^{3}). The enemies of the truth are wolves (Mt 10^{16}, Lk 10^{3}, Jn 10^{12}). Hypocrites in the Christian Church are wolves (Mt 7^{15}, Ac 20^{29}). The wolves of the Holy Land are large, tawny, and usually solitary, or one or two together. They prowl around the flocks and herds, and sometimes get into the folds. They seldom attack men.

G. E. POST.

WOMAN.—

Heb. אִשָּׁה, a form similar to אִישׁ and אֱנוֹשׁ 'man,' but, according to *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*, not derived from the same root, but perhaps from אנשׁ, أنث, with the sense of 'tender,' 'frail.' Gn 2^{23} (where Luther has *Männin*, Symm. ἀνδρίς, Vulg. *virago*) cannot be taken as an authoritative statement of etymology; but it illustrates a popular conception of the relation of the words based on the Heb. tradition of the origin of woman. In three places (Lv 15^{33}, Nu 31^{15}, Jer 31^{22}) AV, followed by RV, has the Eng. word 'woman' for נְקֵבָה, which is literally 'female,' is used for the female of animals (*e.g.* Gn 6^{19}, Lv $3^{1.6}$), and tr. 'female' when applied to the human race in Gn 1^{27} 5^{2}.

Gr. γυνή, which also stands for 'wife,' as does the Heb. equivalent. In Ro $1^{26.27}$ AV is followed by RV in using the Eng. word 'woman' for the Gr. θήλεια ('female'). The diminutive γυναικάριον occurs in the plural in 2 Ti 3^{6}, and is rendered 'silly women' both in AV and in RV.

For information on the social and legal status of woman in Israel see FAMILY and MARRIAGE. There remain to be considered the place of woman in religion, Jewish and Christian, and the treatment of questions affecting woman religiously and ethically by the Scripture writers.

i. IN THE OLD TEST. AND JUDAISM.—While sharing to some extent the universal Eastern conception of the inferiority of woman to man, the Jewish religion of biblical times by no means sanctioned the total subjection of woman subsequently authorized by Mohammedanism or the low view of woman's place in religion taken by rabbinical Judaism. Women seem to have enjoyed considerable rights and privileges in all the Semitic cults. This is apparent in the ancient Arabic cult, in which an important part was played by female divinities.

Most of the *jinns* were female. According to Robertson Smith, 'in old Arabian religion gods and goddesses often occurred in pairs, the goddess being the greater' (*Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, p. 300). The Byzantine writers regarded the worship of *Aphrodité* as the principal cult at Mecca. This idea is supported by recent research, the white stone being the original Meccan divinity, and the black stone her son, the very name *ka'ba* seeming to point to a supreme female deity. Prostitution, both by married and by unmarried women, in imitation of the conduct of the goddess, was a recognized custom in the ancient Arabian cult. In the various functions of worship, bringing offerings, stroking the sacred stone, etc., women took part as well as men, and in the cult of the dead it was their part to chant the rhythmical dirge. Women were also found in the official position of the *kâhin* (secr), originally the chief officer of the Arabian religion.

Woman also has a prominent place in the Babylonian, Assyrian, and Phœnician religions.

This is seen in the prominence given to female divinities. The Babylonian Ishtar was the mother goddess and head of all the gods. Among the Assyrians Astarté is the supreme goddess. It is to a goddess, apparently, that king Mesha devotes the Israelite captives in the inscription on the Moabite Stone. Then women took a prominent part in the worship. There are inscriptions with the words 'handmaid of Melkart,' 'sister of Melkart.' Women, too, were recognized as priestesses and prophetesses. Thus there were priestesses of Ishtar at Uruk.

The OT contains evidence of the lead taken by women in idolatrous rites. Maacah, the mother of Asa, introduced the worship of Astarté (1 K 15^{13}). Jezebel in the Northern kingdom supported the prophets of the Phœnician cults and persecuted the followers of J" (1 K $18^{4.19}$); and her daughter Athaliah apparently played the same part in the Southern kingdom (cf. 2 K 8^{18} and 2 Ch 21^{6} with 2 Ch 22^{2} and 24^{7}). Jeremiah describes the devotion of the women of Jerusalem to the rites of Ishtar, kneading dough and making cakes which would be shaped like the moon (see QUEEN OF HEAVEN), to represent the goddess (Jer 7^{18}). If we do not accept Stade's conjecture that 2 K 23^{7b} is a gloss, possibly the clause may refer to the work of some of the women in providing sacred garments for the worship of Astarté (*i.e.* on the suggestion of Peritz that כתנות [χιτών, cf. Lucian στολάς] be substituted for the Massoretic בתים). Ezekiel mentions the devotion of Jerusalem women to the worship of the Babylonian Adonis, saying, 'There sat the women weeping for Tammuz' (Ezk 8^{14}). Women must have had their share in the horrible rites of Molech, which took place in the Valley of Hinnom, as the 'inhabitants of Jerusalem' generally, without distinction of sex, are accused of having 'filled this place with the blood of innocents' (Jer 19^{2-4}).

It is therefore quite in accordance with contemporary Semitic custom that woman should take part in the religion of Israel, as Peritz has demonstrated in his exhaustive monograph on the subject, a work to which this article is largely indebted.

1. *The Participation of Woman in the Privileges of Religion.*—(*a*) *Prayer, e.g.* the instance of Hannah at Shiloh (1 S $1^{9ff.}$).—(*b*) *Feasts.* In primitive times women attended the periodic religious gatherings of Israel. It was taken for granted that the daughters of Shiloh would be present at the annual feast (Jg 21^{16-19}). Later, the wives and daughters of Elkanah are found attending the Shiloh festival (1 S 1^{1-4} 2^{19}). Women were present at David's feast and sacrifices on the recovery of the ark (2 S 6^{19}). The Deuteronomic code makes express provision for the presence of women at the temple festivals. The Jews are exhorted to rejoice with their sons and their daughters (Dt 12^{12}). Among those who are to eat the feast we have 'thy daughter' and 'thy maidservant' (v.^{18}), 'thine household' (14^{26} 15^{20}), cf. $16^{11.14}$.—(*c*) *Sacrifices.* Women also took part in the ancient sacrifices. When Manoah offered a burnt-offering because the angel of J″ had visited him, his wife joined him in the deed. They both 'fell on their faces to the ground' (Jg 13^{20}), and it was the woman who said, 'If the Lord were pleased to kill us, he would not have received a burnt-offering and a meal-offering at *our* hand' (v.^{23}). The Law required the attendance only of men at the yearly feasts (Ex 23^{17} 34^{23}, Dt 16^{16}); but it did not forbid women to come, and it is evident that custom, which lay behind the Law, allowed the attendance of women. The meaning of the Law was to make this obligatory on men while it was left optional with women, in part, no doubt, owing to the fact that they could not always take the necessary journey. The women of post-exilic times also have their share in religious functions. The presence of women is expressly mentioned in the account of Nehemiah's reading of the Law (Neh $8^{2.3}$), and again in the description of the sacrifices and rejoicings associated with the dedication of the city walls (12^{43}). Certain sacrifices women were forbidden to eat, viz. the flesh of the sin-offering, which was allowed only to males (Lv 6^{29}). This plainly implies that they were allowed to eat of those sacrifices concerning which no such prohibition was made (see W. R. Smith, *RS* p. 379, note 2). The priest's daughters are mentioned with his sons as those who are to share with him in eating sacrificial meat (Lv 10^{14}). If a priest's daughter is married to an alien she may not eat of the sacrifice, but the privilege will be restored to her on her widowhood or divorce if she has no children ($22^{12.13}$); cf. Nu 18^{11}. Women were required to bring sacrifices for purification (Lv 12. 15^{19-33}).—(*d*) *Vows.* They were free to take the Nazirite vow (Nu 6^2).—(*e*) *Oracles.* Women could consult oracles, as we read in the case of Rebekah (Gn 25^{22}).—(*f*) *Theophanies.* They enjoyed the privilege of theophanies, as in the cases of Hagar (Gn $16^{7ff.}$ $21^{17ff.}$), Sarah ($18^{9ff.}$), Manoah's wife (Jg $13^{3ff.}$).

2. *Official and other leading Positions in Religion held by Women.*—(*a*) *Witchcraft.* The lowest form of female influence in this direction is seen in the idea of witchcraft, according to which certain occult powers in dealing with the unseen world were ascribed to women. The witch of Endor was supposed to be holding intercourse with 'a familiar spirit,' which enabled her to call back Samuel from the dead against the will of the great seer (1 S $28^{7ff.}$). The Law attached the death penalty to the crime of sorcery on the part of a woman, in the command, 'Thou shalt not suffer a sorceress to live' (Ex 22^{18}). For the purpose of divination women attached some sort of amulets to the arm (כסתות Ezk 13^{18}, which the Hexapla renders φυλακτήρια), and also something to the head, both used, according to W. R. Smith, for the purpose of invoking the deity. With this we may compare Rachel's possession of the teraphim. She would hope to perform some occult rite with the idol and obtain an oracle from it (Gn 31^{19}).—(*b*) *Mourning.* While the funeral rites and their accompanying lamentations were used for women as well as for men (Jer 16^7, Mk 5^{38}), women took a prominent place in the performance of them, just as there were 'mourning women' in Arabic heathenism.—(*c*) *Tabernacle and temple service.* There were 'serving-women which served at the door of the tent of meeting' (Ex 38^8; the mention of these women in 1 S 2^{22b} is generally regarded as an interpolation). No account of the service of these women is given anywhere in the OT. The LXX has in Exodus *τῶν νηστευσασῶν αἳ ἐνήστευσαν*, but in 1 Sam. *τὰς γυναῖκας τὰς παρεστώσας*; Vulg. *quæ excubabant*, and Targ. and Syr. have 'who prayed' and 'who came to pray,' manifestly no more than a loose paraphrase of the original Hebrew צבא, a word frequently used in the Priestly Code for some sort of Levitical service in the tabernacle (*e.g.* Nu 4^{23}). The statement that the laver of brass, etc., were made out of the mirrors of 'the serving-women which served' (we might read 'which had served,' reading צבאו as a pluperfect), seems to imply that this service was no longer going on. Thus the sentence points to an ancient custom which had been abandoned. Except that some ritual service associated with the priest's sacrificial work is implied, it is impossible to say what the work of these women had been.—(*d*) *Music, singing, and dancing.* Women appeared in choral dances on occasions of great victories and other sources of rejoicing (*e.g.* Ex 15^{20}, Jg 11^{34}, 1 S 18^6, Ps 68^{25}). In company with singing men, women were also engaged in the temple choir (Ezr 2^{65}). The register of returned exiles contains a reference to 'two hundred forty and five singing men and singing women' (Neh 7^{67}). We are left to conjecture what their special function was, but the fact that there were subsequently men and women singers in the temple points to the conclusion that a guild of singers in connexion with public worship had been formed as early as the Exile.—(*e*) *Prophecy.* Women appear from time to time in the history of Israel as inspired prophetesses. Miriam is called a 'prophetess' (Ex 15^{20}), and is associated with her brother Aaron in exclaiming, 'Hath J″ indeed spoken only by Moses? hath he not spoken also by us?' (Nu 12^2). The prominence of Miriam appears also in Mic 6^4 'And I sent before thee Moses, Aaron, and Miriam' (see MIRIAM). Deborah appears both as a prophetess and as a judge (Jg $4^{4.5}$). See DEBORAH. Huldah appears as a prophetess to whom the messengers of Josiah applied when they were directed to 'inquire of the Lord' (2 K 22^{13-20}). See HULDAH. In Neh 6^{14} 'the prophetess Noadiah' [but see NOADIAH] appears among 'the rest of the prophets' hired by Tobiah and Sanballat to hinder the restoration of Jerusalem, who must therefore be regarded either as heathens or as false Jewish prophets. It is manifest that the appearance of a prophetess in Israel was quite exceptional. The prophetic guilds did not include women; they consisted only of 'sons of the prophets.' A prophetess was, like Amos coming from his farm work, not trained for office, but inspired and compelling respect by her gifts and the power of her utterances. No law forbade her to speak; no custom hindered her from rising to a position of great influence.

ii. IN THE NEW TEST. AND CHRISTIANITY.—

The freedom and prominence of woman in the early Church, compared with the restraint and suppression commonly observed in Eastern civilization, are to some extent developments of contemporary Jewish customs. Women moved freely about in society, and were present at the table of hospitality, though it cannot be shown that in Palestine they partook of the meals in common with men. They went up to the temple to worship, but were there limited to the privilege of using the 'court of the women,' and could not advance so near the altar as men were permitted to go. They united in the worship at the synagogue, apparently sitting by themselves apart from the male worshippers. Now that Conybeare has gone some way towards vindicating the *De Vita Contemplativa* as a genuine work of Philo, it is possible to appeal to that treatise as a witness to customs current in the time of Christ. The following extract describes the arrangements of public worship of the Therapeutæ or Egyptian Essenes:—

> 'And this common holy place to which they all come together on the seventh day is a twofold circuit, being separated partly into the apartment of the men, and partly into a chamber for the women; for women also, in accordance with the usual fashion there, form a part of the audience, having the same feelings of admiration as the men, and having adopted the same sect with equal deliberation and decision; and the wall which is between the houses rises from the ground three or four cubits upwards, like a battlement, and the upper portion rises upwards to the roof without any opening, on two accounts: first of all, in order that the modesty which is so becoming to the female sex may be preserved; and, secondly, that the women may be easily able to comprehend what is said, being seated within earshot, since there is then nothing which can possibly intercept the voice of him who is speaking' (*De Vit. Contemp.* 3).

The phrase 'in accordance with the usual custom there' shows that this participation in the Sabbath worship of men and women, but with some degree of separateness, was the common Jewish form of procedure. The illustration of a battlement, the upper portion of which reached the ceiling, indicated a wall perforated near the top with square holes. We cannot infer from this description that the separation was by the same means and to the same extent in the synagogues of ordinary Jews. All that is implied is that the sexes did not mingle in public worship, though they joined in the same acts of worship. In the simple room known as a προσευχή (Ac 16^{13}) there could have been no elaborate barriers of separation. Paul and Silas seem to have entered freely into the society of Lydia and the other devout women at Philippi. No office in the synagogue appears to have been open to women. The limited education commonly enjoyed by all women but those of the wealthy and leisured class would necessarily debar them from much influence in intellectual regions. The Jews paid great attention to the education of children; but whenever we meet with an explicit statement on the subject we read only of boys. Thus Josephus says that Moses 'commanded to instruct children' (*c. Apion.* ii. 25), and 'we take most pains of all with the instruction of children' (*ib.* i. 12); but when he is more explicit he states that Moses prescribed 'that *boys* should learn the most important laws' (*Ant.* IV. viii. 12). Philo and the Talmud follow on similar lines (see Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 27). The inference is that all young children were taught the elements of religion by their parents, but that when it came to the question of more exact instruction about the Law, in the synagogue schools, this was confined to boys.

1. *The Prominence of Women in the NT.*—Women come to the front with reference to the life of our Lord. This is especially the case in the Third Gospel, St. Luke delighting in gathering information concerning women and in showing their part in the Gospel story. It cannot be maintained that the Magnificat, though ascribed to the Virgin Mary, was actually composed by her. It is more consonant with ancient literary custom to suppose that the evangelist supplies hymns of the Jewish or Christian Church to express the sentiments of the persons whom he represents as uttering them. But, while we may not venture to designate the mother of Jesus as a poetess, Anna is distinctly represented as a prophetess who spent all her time in worship in the precincts of the temple (Lk 2^{36}). Our Lord's teaching and healing ministry was carried on among women as freely as among men. The means for the support of Christ and His apostles appears to have been chiefly derived from the contributions of women: this was in accordance with custom, women sometimes contributing largely towards the support of Rabbis (see Plummer, *Intern. Com.* on Lk 8^{1-3}). Women were prepared to perform the last offices for the dead on the body of Jesus. In the early apostolic age it was to the house of a woman that St. Peter went, after his liberation from prison during the persecution by Herod, to meet a considerable group of disciples ('where *many* were gathered together,' etc., Ac 12^{12}). We cannot infer that the whole Church was accustomed to meet in this house, as has been often assumed, for the majority were not present on this occasion, nor was St. James, since St. Peter says, 'Tell these things unto James, and to the brethren' (v.^{17}). At Joppa, Tabitha was a woman disciple highly honoured for her 'good works and alms deeds' (Ac 9^{36}). St. Paul's first convert in Europe was a woman, and he and his companions stayed at her house ($16^{14.15}$). At Philippi, where this occurred, there were other women who laboured with the apostle (Ph $4^{2.3}$). Priscilla is mentioned before her husband in regard to their teaching of Apollos, as though she took the lead (Ac 18^{26}). Timothy's faith is to be encouraged with memories of his mother's and grandmother's earlier faith (2 Ti 1^{5}). One NT Epistle (viz. 2 John) appears to have been written to a woman, though this is doubtful (see JOHN, EPISTLES OF). Women figure largely in the symbolism of the Apocalypse, *e.g.* 'the woman Jezebel, which calleth herself a prophetess' (Rev 2^{20}, see JEZEBEL, n.), the 'woman arrayed with the sun' ($12^{1ff.}$), the woman representing 'Babylon the Great' ($17^{1ff.}$).

2. *The Gifts of Women and the Exercise of them.*—There were no women among the Twelve Apostles, to whom special gifts of healing were given by our Lord. There is no proof that women disciples were not included among the Seventy (Lk 10^{1-20}), but there is no evidence that there were any, and the nature of the mission renders it improbable. No miracle is ever attributed to a woman. Still, as there were women in the churches among whom gifts of healing were said to be distributed, and no exception in their case is named, it cannot be denied that they may have shared in these as in other gifts. No book of the NT claims to be written by a woman; but Harnack assigns the authorship of Hebrews to Priscilla. Women were present at the day of Pentecost when the gift of the Spirit was bestowed (cf. Ac 1^{14} and $2^{1ff.}$), and must have shared in it, since St. Luke, referring to the whole company, says of the appearance of the tongues, that 'it sat upon each one of them' (2^{3}). Its result was prophecy (v.^{18}), and prophecy is the specific gift, the exercise of which at Corinth by women St. Paul refers to (1 Co 11^{5}), a gift which he prefers in honour to all others (14^{2}). The apostle assumes that women prophesy and pray in the church, only directing that they do so veiled. A little later he orders women to 'keep silence in the churches' (14^{34}). This seems to imply that on further reflexion he thought it not sufficient to protect their modesty that women should wear veils while

preaching or praying, and therefore forbade their exercise of the gift of prophesying in public at all. But observe, (*a*) this was at Corinth, a most dissolute city, where 1000 women were devoted to immorality at the shrine of Aphroditê on the Acrocorinthus, and therefore where it was most important to preserve the modesty of the Christian women from any suspicion or temptation; and (*b*) in the context of the second passage St. Paul does not again mention prophesying or praying, but says, 'It is not permitted unto them to *speak*' (λαλεῖν, which might be rendered 'talk'). This looks as though the apostle were now thinking of mere chattering, or, at best, questioning, especially as he adds, 'And if they would learn anything, let them ask their own husbands at home' (v.^{35}). The ground of the prohibition is more than the requirements of modesty; it is the idea of the subjection of married women to their husbands ('but let them be in subjection,' *ib.*). Possibly there was a temporary and local reason for this apostolic precept in the condition of the Corinthian Church at the time. The apostle's words suggest the idea that in some cases the new, large family brotherhood and sisterhood of the Church was threatening to submerge the original relationships of the home. That must be prevented. But that the apostle holds to a certain subjection of woman in general must be inferred from his appeal to Genesis (3^{16}). This, however, is to be considered rather as a matter of order than a question affecting the spiritual status of women. When referring to the latter, St. Paul lays down the principle that in Christ 'there can be no male or female' (Gal 3^{28}). It has been said that the apostle was inconsistent with the principle here enunciated when giving his specific directions to the Corinthians (McGiffert, *Apost. Age*, p. 305). But he had also said 'there can be neither bond nor free' (Gal 3^{28}), and yet he sent the slave Onesimus back to his master (Philem ^{12}). In both cases he supported established customs for the time being while enunciating great principles which would ultimately abolish them. Thus the NT leads to the emancipation of woman as to the abolition of slavery, not by sudden revolution from without, but by gradual evolution from within. St. Paul's lofty conception of marriage (Eph 5^{22-33}), while including the subjection of women, involves the dignity of womanhood. Even under the restrictions required at the time, it is manifest that women enjoyed more liberty and were more on an equality with men in the church than in the synagogue. There could have been no such separation as Philo (?) describes. 1 Cor. plainly indicates that women took part with men at the *Agapé*. They must have been in view if it was requisite for them to be veiled. Their prophesying before the Church involves their being in the presence of the whole community. Doubtless, the sexes were so far divided as that the men and women sat in separate groups, since this was the custom in the churches of early patristic times. That the kiss of Christian brotherhood and sisterhood was not restricted between the sexes is plain from the fact that in later times it was subject to abuse, which led to the restriction being imposed upon it. Athenagoras (A.D. 177) quotes some apocryphal writing under the designation of 'the Logos' in rebuke of the abuse, which says, 'If any one kiss a second time because it gives him pleasure,' etc., and again, 'Therefore the kiss, or rather the salutation, should be given with the greatest care, since, if there be mixed with it the least defilement of thought, it excludes us from eternal life' (*Legat. pro Christian.* 32). Clement of Alex. condemns 'the shameless use of the kiss, which ought to be mystic' (*Pædagog.* iii. 11). Tertullian remarks on the reasonable complaint of a pagan husband that his wife should 'meet any one of the brethren to exchange a kiss' (*ad Uxor.* ii. 4). Accordingly the custom was altered, the earliest instance of the new regulations appearing in the *Apostolical Constitutions*: 'Let the clergy salute the bishop, the men of the laity salute the men, the women the women' (*Const. Apostol.* viii. 2. See *Dict. of Chr. Ant.*, art. 'Kiss').

3. *Offices held by Women.*—There were no women apostles. The elders were all men, in accordance with the invariable custom of the synagogue. It is given as a sign of the 'contempt' into which religion had fallen in the 5th cent., that women were found to be acting as priests at the altars, a complaint implying that this was an innovation previously unheard of (see *Dict. of Chr. Ant.*, art. 'Women'). Two offices are said to have been held by women in the NT Church—the office of the Deaconess and that of the Widow.—(*a*) **Deaconesses.** There is no certain description of the office of deaconess in the NT. We meet with deacons in Ph 1^{1} and in 1 Ti 3^{8-13}, but without any clear reference to deaconesses, though in the latter passage deacons' wives are referred to; and there is mention of women in the course of the directions about the deacons (v.^{11}), and before the mention of their wives, which seems to suggest that women deacons are meant. Earlier than this, Phœbe of Cenchrea is called 'a servant of the Church' (Ro 16^{1}). The word is διάκονος, RVm 'deaconess.' In the earlier parts of the *Apostolical Constitutions* (ii. 26, iii. 15), ἡ διάκονος is the title of the deaconess; later we have διακόνισσα (viii. 19, 20, 28). See Sanday-Headlam, *in loc.*, also Lipsius, who considers that Phœbe's work would be care of the sick and of strangers. The fact that she went with a letter of recommendation suggests that she was travelling in the service of the Church. She must have been a woman of wealth and social standing, which gave her importance apart from her office, as she is called προστάτις, *i.e.* 'patroness.' See PHŒBE. The earliest definite reference to deaconesses is in Pliny (*Ep.* x. 96), '*Quo magis necessarium credidi ex duabus ancillis, quæ ministræ dicebantur, quid esset veri et per tormenta quærere.*' The title 'ministræ,' by which Pliny says these 'handmaidens'—surely in a humbler position than that of Phœbe—were known, is the Latin representative of διάκονοι and διακόνισσαι; the former of which titles would probably have been in use in Bithynia. There is nothing in the NT to identify the deaconesses with the 'widows' of the Pastoral Epistles; and if 1 Ti 3^{11} refers to deaconesses, they must be in a distinct office, as they are mentioned apart from the widows, to whom reference is made later (5^{3-16}). See Lightfoot, *Com. on Ph.*, Dissertation on Chr. Ministry, p. 189. We have no description of the work of deacons and deaconesses. But the significance of the title, pointing to service in distinction from the work of ruling entrusted to the elders or bishops, implies that they would have the care of the poor, 'serving tables' like 'the seven' (Ac 6^{2-4}). The division of labour effected in the appointment of the seven is also implied in the Pastoral Epistles, since, while the bishop is required to be a capable teacher (Tit 1^{9}), that is not said of the deacon; much less, then, could it have been required of the deaconess. Priscilla's instruction of Apollos, in conjunction with her husband, is not associated with any office.—(*b*) **Widows,** see WIDOW.

LITERATURE.—See the works named in the articles on FAMILY and MARRIAGE; also Peritz, *Woman in the Ancient Hebrew Cult*; W. R. Smith, *RS*; Stade, *Geschichte*; Schwally, *ZATW* xi. p. 176 ff.; Schechter, *Studies in Judaism*; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*; Allen, *Christian Institutions*; Bartlet, *The Apostolic Age*; McGiffert, *Hist. of Christianity in the Apost. Age*; the *Internat. Critical Comm.* and the *Hand-Commentar* on passages referred to.

W. F. ADENEY.

WOOD.—See Grove, Forest, Tree.

WOOL (צֶמֶר *ṣemer*; גֵּז *gēz*, גִּזָּה *gizzah*, Arab. *jazzah*, 'a fleece').—Wool was an important article of commerce (2 K 3^{4} [part of the tribute of king Mesha], Ezk 27^{18}), and woollen fabrics formed a representative element in Oriental wealth (Mt 6^{19}, Ja 5^{2}). It was also an indication of social rank (Mt 11^{8}, Lk 7^{25}). The soft raiment (*τὰ μαλακά*) worn in kings' houses was not the rough homespun of the shepherd's cloak, but prob. like the close smooth-faced broadcloth still woven in the East, with native dyes in grey-blue, moss-green, and various brown and purple tones. Until recently the emirs of the Lebanon prohibited the peasantry from wearing such cloth. A many-folded Oriental suit of woollen cloth must have always been costly, and in modern use it is kept for high family occasions and religious festivals. Esau's 'goodly' garment was under his mother's personal charge (אֲשֶׁר אִתָּהּ Gn 27^{15}), and Tyrian cloth was valuable enough to be stored up as an ancestral heirloom (עָתִיק Is 23^{18}).

Great care had to be taken to protect woollen cloth from the ravages of moths (Is 50^{9}, Lk 12^{33}). In Is 51^{8} mention is made both of the *moth* (עָשׁ *ʽāsh*, Arab. *ʽuththah*) and the *worm* (סָס *ṣāṣ*, Arab. *ṣuṣ*, Gr. *σής*). In Arab. the former is the small silvery moth, and the latter word indicates the destructive larvæ.

The Israelites were forbidden to wear clothing made of interwoven wool and linen, called שַׁעַטְנֵז *shaʽaṭnēz*. The context, Lv 19^{19} Dt 22^{11}, seems to indicate that the objection was to the mixture as such. The matter is the subject of discussion in the Mishna (*Kilaim* ix. 1), and Josephus briefly states that the reason was because such cloth of wool and linen was the special dress material of the priests (*Ant.* IV. viii. 11). It is one of the tit-bits of rabbinical conscientiousness to discuss whether a man wearing a woollen coat, of which the buttons are sewn on with linen thread, is wearing *shaʽaṭnēz*, and so breaking the Law.

Wool was the standard of lustrous whiteness (Ps 147^{16}, Is 1^{18}, Dn 7^{9}, Rev 1^{14}), as goats'-hair or sackcloth was of intense black (Rev 6^{12}).

G. M. Mackie.

WORD (λόγος, ῥῆμα).—Commenting on Dt 8^{3}, Philo says (*Leg. Alleg.* iii. 61), *τὸ μὲν γὰρ στόμα σύμβολον τοῦ λόγου, τὸ δὲ ῥῆμα μέρος αὐτοῦ.* The definition of *ῥῆμα*, as an isolated specific affirmation in contrast with λόγος, a connected whole, though for the most part tenable, cannot be universally accepted. In LXX both words are used indifferently as tr. of דָּבָר, and sometimes λόγος is found, where on the ground of this distinction we might have expected *ῥῆμα* (Is 50^{4}). In the familiar phrase, 'the word of the Lord came,' 'word' is rendered in the historical books, now by λόγος (2 S 24^{11}, 1 K 6^{11} 12^{22} 16^{1} etc.), now by *ῥῆμα* (1 S 15^{10}, 2 S 7^{4}, 1 K 17^{8} 19^{9} etc.); but in the prophetical books (with the possible exception of Jer 1^{1}, where the translation is inexact) λόγος is invariably used to denote the message which God revealed to the prophet that he might declare it to the people in His name. It may be noted that, in referring to the call of the Baptist—'the word of the Lord came unto John' (3^{2})—St. Luke uses *ῥῆμα*. The choice of *ῥῆμα* may be accidental; or he may have done so designedly to mark the contrast between the word that came to the Baptist and the word (λόγος) proclaimed and revealed by Christ.

At a very early date, if not at the very beginning of the Church, *ὁ λόγος* was used *κατ' ἐξοχήν* to designate the special revelation of grace given in and by Jesus Christ (Lk 1^{2}, Ac 4^{4} etc.). Our Lord appears to have so described His message (Mt 13^{20}, Mk 4^{14}). St. Mark thus summarizes the teaching of Jesus (2^{2}). At the institution of the diaconate the apostles characterize their own distinctive duty as a steadfast continuance in the ministry of the word (Ac 6^{4}); it is represented as the exclusive subject and substance of the proclamation of the early missionaries of the cross (Ac 8^{4} 17^{11} etc.); it is found in the earliest as well as in the latest of the Epistles of St. Paul (1 Th 1^{6}, 2 Ti 4^{2}). By describing the gospel in this way, the speakers or writers meant to imply that it was the perfect and authoritative word which was to supersede all other words that God had spoken to men. In relation to its origin it is the word of God (Lk 8^{11}, Ac 4^{31}, 1 Co 14^{36}, He 4^{12}, 1 P 1^{23}); in respect of its method of communication it is the word of hearing (1 Th 2^{13}, He 4^{2}); as to its nature it is the word of the kingdom (Mt 13^{19}), of truth (2 Ti 2^{15}), of life (Ph 2^{16}); it is pre-eminently the word of salvation (Ac 13^{26}), of reconciliation (2 Co 5^{19}), the word of the cross (1 Co 1^{18}). (See Cremer, *Bib. Theol. Lex.*^{4} pp. 392, 393; Trench, *N.T. Syn.* 289, 337). For Word in the personal sense see Logos.

John Patrick.

WORLD.—'The world,' in that meaning of the term from which others that are in use may be most clearly derived, denotes a system known to man through his senses, to which he himself on one side of his nature belongs, but from which, as a personal being, he can and usually does regard himself as distinct. It is a portion of the material universe, and may even stand for the whole of it where man's knowledge of nature is limited. It will be our chief aim in this article to examine the view taken in OT and NT of this material system, and of man's actual as well as his true relation to it.

i. In Old Testament.—תֵּבֵל, which is commonly rendered 'world' both by AV and RV, is not a word of larger meaning than אֶרֶץ 'earth'; indeed, so far as a distinction can be drawn between them, it has the narrower application. [Cf. art. Earth, and see esp. Pr 8^{31} תֵּבֵל אַרְצוֹ = RV 'his habitable earth,' also Job 37^{12}]. The two words constantly occupy the corresponding places in the parallelisms of Heb. poetry (Ps 19^{4} 24^{1} etc.). תֵּבֵל occurs only in poetry, and the word 'world' may have been thought to have somewhat more poetic associations, and have been adopted for this reason to translate it. [תֵּבֵל is never rendered by 'earth' either in AV or RV; אֶרֶץ is rendered by 'world' only at Ps 22^{27}, Is 23^{17} 62^{11}, and Jer 25^{26} in AV, and only at Job 37^{12}, Is 23^{17}, and Jer 25^{26} in RV. In these last two places 'earth' was reserved to tr. אֲדָמָה].

There is no single word in OT which describes the material universe, even as it was conceived by the Hebrews. The phrase 'heaven and earth' is used to convey that notion (Gn 1^{1}, Ps 89^{11}, Jer 10^{12} 51^{15} etc.). Both אֶרֶץ and תֵּבֵל are also distinguished from the seas or the sea (Gn 1^{10}, Ps 98^{7}).

Heaven and earth by their vastness and stability, and by the rich variety, excellence, and beauty of that which they contain (cf. the expression 'the fulness of the world' and 'of the earth,' Ps 50^{12} and 24^{1} etc., as also 'the sea and its fulness,' Ps 98^{7}); the sea kept under firm restraint for all its raging; the sun, moon, and stars observing their regular times and seasons, were felt to be constant witnesses to the power and wisdom of God, of Jehovah the God of Israel, who is the Creator and ruler of all (Am 4^{13} 5^{8}, Is 48^{13} 51^{13}, Jer 5^{22} 10^{12} 51^{15}, Ps $19^{1\text{-}6}$ $24^{1.2}$ 8. $33^{6\text{-}9}$ 29. 89^{11} 93. $95^{4.5}$ 104). To their testimony even the heathen might be expected to pay heed (see esp. Ps $19^{1\text{-}6}$). In this sense even inanimate things praise God (Ps $96^{10\text{-}13}$ $98^{8.9}$ 148). Moreover, His care for His creatures was recognized, as shown in the regular provision which He has made for their sustenance. He is their guardian, the source of life and happiness to all living things (Gn 8^{22}, Ps 33^{5} 36^{5-9} 65^{5-13} $103^{4.\,5}$ 104^{27-30} 147^{8-17}, Job 10^{12}). But He was believed, too, to manifest Himself in a special manner in the more exceptional and terrible aspects of Nature, in storm and earthquake, in drought and pestilence. By means of these He had fought and was expected to fight on the side of His own people against their enemies (Ex 15, Jg $5^{20.\,21}$, Am $9^{5.\,6}$, Ps 18^{7-15} $48^{6.\,7}$ 68^{7-9} 76^{3-9} 77^{11-20} 78. 83^{13-16} 97^{3-6} 105. 106^{7-10} 111. 114. 144^{5-8}), or punished Judah and Israel (Am 4^{6-11}) or individuals (Ps 107) for their sins. Those proofs of His presence and operation which are regular, and those more unusual ones where there has evidently been some particular end in view, are remarkably brought together in some passages (Ps 74^{18-18} 89^{10-14} 136).

With the rise and development of the doctrine of WISDOM, interest in Nature was greatly stimulated, a more careful observation of particular facts, and even a certain kind of speculation upon her laws, were encouraged, but all under the guidance of a strongly religious spirit (Pr 8^{22-31}, Job 26^{7-14} 28. 36^{22}–39. 40^{6}–41. Comp. Wis 7^{17-22}, Sir 43. A similar bent may be noted in a work belonging to another class of literature, En. 72–82 and 2–5).

So far we have spoken of the impression made upon the minds of devout and inspired Heb. prophets, psalmists, and philosophers by the contemplation of that order of which the earth forms a part. But the earth itself was specially thought of by them as the spacious dwelling-place of mankind, divided into its many races, tribes, and kingdoms. [See such expressions as 'kingdoms,' 'peoples,' 'inhabitants' of 'the earth,' or 'the world,' Gn 22^{18}, Jos 4^{24}, 2 K $19^{15.\,19}$, Is $26^{9.\,18}$ 37^{20} etc.]. Hence, further, both תֵּבֵל and אֶרֶץ (ה) are used by themselves for mankind, which is capable of doing right and wrong and of knowing God, and which shall be judged by God (Gn 6^{11}, Ex 9^{16}, Nu 14^{21}, Gn 18^{25}, 1 S 2^{10}, Ps 2^{8}, Is 38^{11}, Ps 9^{8} 10^{18} 33^{8} 96^{13} etc.). But when we speak of mankind in these relations we must beware of thinking primarily of a collection of responsible individuals, as from our modern habits of thought we may be apt to do. In accordance with the point of view of the OT, 'the earth' in this use of the term must be understood to mean 'the nations of the earth'; the judgment of nations and the homage that should be paid by the nations generally to the God of Israel are intended in the passages in question. 'Earth' is also used in a sense akin to our phrase 'human society' in Ps 75^{3} ('the foundations of the earth' = 'the principles on which human society rests'; cf. Pr 30^{21}). In the following places, however, it seems to describe men as men—Jos 23^{14}, Is 24^{18-20} 26^{18}, Jer 50^{46} 51^{25}.

The last-mentioned use may possibly be associated with the idea of man's origin (Gn 2^{7} and 3^{19}, Ps 146^{4}), though it is to be remembered that in these places the words used are אֲדָמָה and עָפָר. But at Ps 10^{18} the expression אֱנוֹשׁ מִן־הָאָרֶץ 'mortal man from the earth' may most naturally be explained thus. The little value of man and his transitoriness are in this way brought home to the mind. No moral signification seems to attach to this 'earthiness' of man. It does not imply earthliness of aims and principles. On the other hand, a notion analogous to this is suggested in at least one passage (Ps 17^{14}) where another word חֶלֶד, sometimes translated 'world,' in sense of *time* (Arab. *khalada* 'abide,' 'endure') is used. [At Ps 39^{5} 89^{47} and Job 11^{17} it is rendered 'age,' 'time,' 'life'; but at Ps 17^{14} 49^{1} and Is 38^{11} (implying here חֶלֶד for חֶדֶל) 'world' both in AV and RV. In the former of these passages, however, 'mortals of time' would give a good sense]. An excessive devotion to the things of this present life, which are the things of sense, is here indicated such as to constitute a type of character. This is an interesting anticipation of NT thought. Another point of interest is the analogy between the use of חֶלֶד, a word denoting time, and the subsequent use of *αἰών*. Another word עוֹלָם, to the meaning of which *αἰών* still more closely approximates, is also translated 'world' at Ec 3^{11} AV and RV (not RVm). In later Hebrew it did bear at times this sense, but it is more than doubtful whether it has it here. (See esp. the commentaries of Nowack-Hitzig in the *Kurzgef. Com.*, and E. H. Plumptre, *in loc.*).

ii. APOCRYPHA.—In the Books of Wisdom and 2 Maccabees we are introduced to the important word *κόσμος* in the sense which it acquired among the Greeks through philosophic usage. The LXX of OT has the word, but only in its earlier meaning of 'adornment,' or as a rendering of צָבָא 'host' (Gn 4^{1}, Dt 4^{19} etc.); while אֶרֶץ and תֵּבֵל are there translated by γῆ and *οἰκουμένη* (אֶרֶץ almost always by γῆ, and תֵּבֵל by *οἰκουμένη*; there are, however, a few cases in which these renderings are interchanged, all in Isaiah). But in the Apocrypha, *i.e.* in the two books of the Apocrypha above mentioned, it occurs repeatedly as a name for the material universe, which is its most common signification there. The Most High is again and again described by such phrases as 'the Creator of the world,' 'the Ruler of the world.' For the word in this sense comp. Plato, *Gorgias*, 508; Aristotle, *de Mund.* 2. The thought of order, and of the beauty arising therefrom, which the word by its derivation suggested, is naturally associated with this application of it, and may well have been present to the mind of the author of the Book of Wisdom in his use of it at 11^{17}. Other passages, interesting in connexion with his view of the *κόσμος*, are 1^{14} and $7^{17\text{f.}}$. In 5^{20} and 16^{17} reference is made to the co-operation of the world, *i.e.* the forces of nature, in the work of moral retribution and the defence of the righteous, in full agreement with OT thought, though the language is somewhat different. Man's birth is described as an entry into the world, 7^{6} (some MSS, however, read *βίον*). The position assigned to him in it is, in accordance with Gn $1^{26.\,28}$, Ps $8^{6\text{f.}}$, that he should 'rule the world—*διέπῃ τὸν κόσμον*—in holiness and righteousness' (9^{3}). For this reason, too, it would seem, Adam is somewhat strangely called 'the first-formed father of the world' (10^{1}). But the world has, through human perversity, become the scene of idolatry and moral corruption, and therewith death has been admitted into it, though this is attributed to the envy of the devil (14^{12-31} 2^{24}, cf. Ro 5^{12}).

There does not seem to be a passage in which *κόσμος*, either in this book or in 2 Mac., denotes mankind exclusively, for at Wis 6^{24} where the world is said to be benefited by the large number of the wise, and at 14^{6} where the ark is spoken of as 'the hope of the world,' the whole of creation may be thought of as associated with men.

Before passing from the Apocrypha we may observe that in Wis 13^{9} there is a use of *αἰών* which may help to show how it came to have at times almost the sense of 'world.'

iii. NEW TESTAMENT.—We have noticed one or two places in the Book of Wisdom in which *κόσμος* appears to denote simply this earth and its inhabitants. Two interesting examples are referred to by Liddell and Scott (*sub voce*) of the use of the word in much the same way in public inscriptions of the end of the first or beginning of the 2nd cent. A.D. Nerva is called *σωτὴρ τοῦ πάντος κόσμου*, and Trajan *σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου*. See Boeck, *CIG* 1306, 334. In NT many more instances of its having this meaning will come before us, as well as of other meanings which arise out of this one. It is necessary to ask at once whether we ought to attempt to carry the original meaning of 'order' through all these applications of the word [Westcott, Comm. on *Gospel according to St. John*, Additional Note at end of ch. 1, on *κόσμος*, tries to do this]. Its sense is not anywhere restricted to denote the earth in classical literature. It is there used sometimes of the heavens alone; and indeed there is reason to think that the Pythagoreans, who are credited with having been the first who employed it to express a philosophical conception, applied it thus. And we can readily understand that the heavenly bodies with their regular motions might impress them with their order and beauty. The earth, too, might well come to be included under the term *κόσμος*, as forming one member of a great system in which there was true relation of parts. But it is not so easy to see how by itself it could have been regarded as 'an ordered whole.' It must be remembered that the ancient mind was not penetrated as the modern is with the thought of law in nature. On the other hand, the possibility that the 'cosmopolitanism' of the Cynics and Stoics influenced common speech is not to be overlooked. Yet it should be observed that their phrase *κόσμου πολίτης* had a different force from that which 'citizen of the world' has to our ears. In the mouth of the Stoic it expressed the conviction that the universal system and law, the polity of the great City of Zeus, in which every man had his own place, conditioned his life and determined his obligations. To the Cynic, on the other hand,—if we may take the passage in Lucian, *Βίων πρᾶσις* §§ 7–10, as a correct representation of the teaching of Diogenes and his school,—it meant, indeed, that he was unfettered by ties of country and could make his home anywhere, but the reason for this was that his life was composed of the simplest, most universal elements. The saying attributed to Socrates by Plutarch (*Περὶ Φυγῆς*, § 4, 600 f.)—that he was himself not Athenian nor Hellene, but citizen of the world (*κόσμιος*)—should also be compared, where in the context Plutarch quotes the saying of Plato that man is *οὐράνιος*. The use of *κόσμος* with that particular limitation of its meaning which we are considering may have been facilitated in a measure by this language of the schools. To a still greater degree, probably, it was due to the fact that the earth seemed, especially perhaps to the Hebrew mind, to be incomparably the most important part of the created universe, to which the heaven with its lights, properly speaking, belonged, as a canopy over it. But the question for us is, not so much what the history of this usage was, but whether the notion of order was usually present to the mind of those who employed it as the NT writers do. We can conceive that it might have been to that of St. Paul (cf. Ac 17^{24}), but it does not seem probable in the case of others, and indeed the idea is not suggested in connexion with the term *κόσμος* by any context in which it is used, even in St. Paul's Epistles. And when our world was viewed in its ethical aspects it seemed to Christian apostles to be, not a realm of order but a scene of disorder; and their teaching substantially is, that it could not be an order while God was left out of account, though there is no evidence that they formulated their thought to themselves exactly in this way.

We have seen what range of meaning אֶרֶץ and תֵּבֵל have in OT, and have observed that *γῆ* and *οἰκουμένη* are used in LXX to render them. In connexion with the meanings of *κόσμος* it is not unimportant to notice that there are in NT parallel or closely similar passages in one of which *γῆ* or *οἰκουμένη* is found, and in the other *κόσμος*. Comp. Mt 4^{8} with Lk 4^{5}, Mt 24^{14} and 26^{13}, Mt 5^{5} with Ro 4^{13}, Jn 3^{31} and 8^{23}. Yet, even though *κόσμος* at times seems to have much the same meaning as *γῆ* or *οἰκουμένη* in many passages of LXX, it was felt to be a preferable word for many purposes. In spite of the usage of LXX there was danger of confusion in employing *οἰκουμένη*, which was applied by Greeks and Romans specially to the Græco-Roman world. [This word occurs most frequently in the writings of St. Luke, and most often with the meaning just indicated]. *Κόσμος* may also more readily have suggested a comprehensive idea, so as to include more at least than *γῆ* did; it suggested the idea of a whole, if not necessarily of an ordered whole. The philosophical associations which still clung to the word also made it more suitable when the intention was to signalize certain principles which underlay and governed the entity in question. It may be observed that *οἰκουμένη* occurs but once in St. Paul's writings (Ro 10^{18}), and there in a quotation from LXX; *γῆ* also is met with there comparatively rarely.

We proceed to review the use of *κόσμος* in NT more in detail. Our object in doing so will be to mark differences between various writers, and also to some extent in the same writers, in the denotation of the term, and in the conception implied when that which is denoted is the same. It will be seen that there are instances in all the chief groups of writings of its standing for (1) the material universe, (2) our world as containing mankind, but without the connotation that the world or men have certain ethical characteristics. The ethical signification of the word appears to be confined to the Epp. of St. Paul, the Gospel and Epp. of St. John, the Ep. of St. James, and 2 Peter; though there is a possible exception when the kingdoms of the world and their glory are offered as a temptation (Mt 4^{8}), and the possession of the whole world is compared with the true interests of the soul (Mk 8^{36}, Mt 16^{26}, Lk 9^{25}); we may in these places be intended to gather that worldly dominion and wealth are even of themselves dangerous to the soul. Further, we ought to be better able to form for ourselves a clear and complete view of the conception as a whole presented in the teaching of NT and in individual writers, after marking aspects of it which are severally prominent in particular passages. The idea thus obtained we must take with us in order that we may fully feel the force of other passages. This is specially true in the case of St. John's writings. Thus, when in Jn 13^{1} it is said that the hour had come that Jesus 'should depart out of this world unto the Father,' and that He had 'loved his own which were in the world,' some thought of what the world is must have been present to the mind of the evangelist. It is, moreover, obvious that where St. John uses the word in successive, or nearly successive, clauses or sentences—as he does again and again in chs. 14–17—though from each occurrence the same notion cannot be gathered fully, it would be a mistake to regard them disconnectedly. The word has one meaning in the thought of the writer, though he may not be equally conscious of all its elements at every moment, and though he is still less able to convey the whole of it at once to others, but lights up first this, then that part of it, after his characteristic manner.

1. The material universe, the heaven and earth which were created at the beginning, most frequently in the phrase *ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου*, or others similar to this, Mt 24^{21} 25^{34}, Lk 11^{50}, Jn $17^{5.24}$, Ro 1^{20}, Eph 1^{4}, 1 P 1^{20}, He 4^{3} 9^{26}. In Jn 11^{9} we read of the natural light of this world; in 1 Co 8^{4} 14^{10} *ἐν κόσμῳ* seems to be equivalent to the Latin phrase *in rerum natura*.

1 Co 4^{9} belongs, perhaps, here. Angels are added probably as distinguished from the world; men, on the other hand, as a particular and important part of it.

2. The earth, but rarely without reference to that which it contains, and especially to its human inhabitants.

(*a*) The scene of human life, the abode of mankind, Ro $5^{12.13}$, 2 Co 1^{12}, Eph 2^{12}, 1 Ti 1^{15} 6^{7}, He 10^{5}, 1 P 5^{9}, Jn 1^{9} 6^{14} 11^{27}, 1 Jn

$4^{1.\,9.\,17}$. In Jn 21^{25} little more seems to be implied than the extent of space included.

(*b*) The earth, together with all the treasures it contains, and including, no doubt, dominion over men, Mt 4^{8}, Mt 16^{26}=Mk 8^{36} =Lk 9^{25}, Ro 4^{13}, 1 Co 3^{22}.

(*c*) The scope appointed for the work of the missionaries of the gospel; it is to be preached throughout the world: Mt 5^{14} 13^{38}, Mt 26^{13}=Mk 14^{9}, Mk 16^{15}, Ro 1^{8}, Col 1^{6}, Ph 2^{15}, 1 Ti 3^{16}.

3. Idiomatic and peculiar uses—

(*a*) A rhetorical expression for the great majority of people in a particular place, as in French, 'tout le monde,' Jn 12^{19}.

(*b*) Equivalent almost to the modern phrase 'the public.' 'Show thyself to the world'='court publicity,' Jn 7^{4}, cf. 18^{20}.

(*c*) Means of sustenance for the body is called *βίος τοῦ κόσμου*, 1 Jn 3^{17}.

(*d*) 'The tongue a world of iniquity,' Ja 3^{6}.

(*e*) The world before the Flood, He 11^{7}, 2 P 2^{5} 3^{6}. The population of the world, then, and its accumulations of wealth and the products of its labour, are no doubt chiefly in view; yet the comparison in 2 P $3^{6.\,7}$ with 'the heavens and the earth that now are,' suggests a sweeping away at that time of the old order of nature.

4. The term used with ethical significance.

(*a*) As material and transitory the world presents a contrast with that which is spiritual and eternal. In this way St. Paul seems to regard it in the very important passages Gal 4^{3} 6^{14}, Col $2^{8.\,20}$. So we gather from comparing them together and from their contents (see Lightfoot, *in loc.*). The instances with which the apostle is dealing illustrate the general principle to which he refers. The Law and its ordinances belong to an external sphere. Now things outward (='the things that are seen' of 2 Co 4^{18}) have for St. Paul lost all their value through Christ's death, in comparison with the things spiritual, and this ought to be the case with all Christians. He is not thinking of the world as evil. Indeed the Law, which is 'of the world' in the sense defined, has been used by God for the rudimentary instruction and discipline of the Israelites, and so may other things which are of the world be used. Elsewhere, also, he allows for a certain use of them, which must, however, be sparing and kept in strict subordination to higher considerations, 1 Co $7^{31.\,34}$; cf. Lk 12^{30}. This view of the world is hardly to be traced in St. John's writings; a darker one appears, we shall find, there, upon which St. Paul dwells less.

(*b*) Devotion to the things of the world produces a certain temper of mind, which under the sense of loss is manifested in that 'sorrow of the world' which is not 'according to God,' 2 Co 7^{10}. There is a scale for estimating men and things, which may be in a measure true relatively to the things of this world, but which is, to say the least, altogether incomplete, 1 Co $1^{27.\,28}$ 4^{13}, Ja 2^{5}. The world has a fancied wisdom which does not know God, 1 Co $1^{20.\,21}$ 3^{19}, Jn 1^{10}; it cannot receive the Spirit of Truth, Jn 14^{17}. There is, in short, a spirit of this world, 1 Co 2^{12}. Those in whom this spirit is are described as being 'of the world' or 'of this world' (Jn 8^{23}, 1 Jn $4^{4.\,5}$); and, by contrast, Christ's disciples as 'not of the world' (Jn 15^{19} 17^{14}; cf. also 1 Co 5^{10} and 11^{32}).

The state of the world arising from the influence of this spirit is one of dire moral corruption, Eph 2^{2}, 1 Jn $2^{15.\,17}$, Ja 1^{27} 4^{4}, 2 P 1^{4} 2^{20}.

(*c*) The world denotes the mass of men who are hostile to the truth and to the followers of Christ, or at least indifferent to it and them, Jn 7^{7} $16^{20.\,33}$, 1 Jn $3^{1.\,13}$ $4^{4.\,5}$.

(*d*) The world is dominated by the Evil One, Jn 12^{31}, 1 Jn 4^{4} 5^{19}.

(*e*) The world as the object of judgment and of saving mercy, Ro $3^{6.\,19}$ $11^{12.\,15}$, 1 Co 6^{2}, 2 Co 5^{19}, Jn 1^{29} $3^{16\text{-}19}$ 4^{42} $6^{33.\,51}$ $8^{12.\,26}$ 9^{5} $12^{46.\,47}$. Primarily, of course, men are the objects of judgment, and that individually. But this is not all that is meant. In view of the general use of the term *κόσμος* and of OT language, we must think, also, of a judgment upon mankind collectively, and on the manner of life and environment which it has made for itself, and in a sense, too, on the whole creation with which it is so intimately connected; and so also with regard to salvation (cf. Ro $8^{19\text{ff.}}$).

(*f*) The Holy Spirit has a special office in regard to the world, distinct from that which He exercises towards believers (Jn $16^{8\text{-}11}$).

(*g*) The Christian can through his faith overcome the world; *i.e.*, no doubt, alike its spirit in himself, the opposition of worldly men, and the world's ruler (1 Jn 4^{4} $5^{4.\,5}$).

5. The word *αἰών*—which signifies properly a period of time, but a much longer one than we mean by an age, probably indeed the whole period during which the present order of nature has continued and shall continue—is used in many places with much the same connotation as 'world.' It is often rendered by this word both in AV and RV, though by 'age' in RVm and at He 6^{5} in RV. *Αἰών* and *κόσμος* are brought into close connexion at 1 Co 1^{20} and Eph $2^{2.\,3}$. This 'æon' is contrasted with that which is to come (Mt 12^{32}, Mk 10^{30}, Lk 18^{30}, He 6^{5}). We read of its cares (Mt 13^{22}=Mk 4^{19}); its sons (Lk 16^{8} 20^{34}); its rulers, *i.e.* the kings and great ones of the earth (1 Co $2^{6.\,8}$); its wisdom (1 Co 1^{20} 2^{6} 3^{22}); its fashion, to which the Christian must not be conformed (Ro 12^{2}). It is evil (Gal 1^{4}), and under the dominion of the Evil One (2 Co 4^{4}). This use of *αἰών* with an ethical signification is not difficult to understand, easier indeed than the corresponding and commoner one of *κόσμος*. It is otherwise with the expression at He 1^{2} *ἐποίησεν τοὺς αἰῶνας*. Here *οἱ αἰῶνες* seems to mean 'the sum of the "periods of time," including all that is manifested in and through them' (see Westcott, *in loc.*). But to regard creation primarily with reference to time, and not merely to time as a general condition, but to periods of time, is not natural for us; it would seem to have been more so for the Hebrew mind (cf. the Rabbinic use of עוֹלָם). It may be worth while to note that the original sense of the Eng. word 'world' by its derivation is 'age of man.' In the Gospel and Epp. of St. John and the Apocalypse *αἰών* occurs only in the phrase *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα* and similar expressions.

The conception of the world which we have been considering is characteristic of Christianity. There is nothing like it in the philosophy or religion of Greece and Rome. It differs widely also from the belief found in the various forms of Gnosticism, in Manichæism, or Neoplatonism, and in Oriental systems to the present day, that matter is essentially evil, or necessarily at best a hindrance and burden to the spiritual nature. From the Christian point of view things material constitute indeed a grave danger owing to the misleading fascination which they have for the minds of men, strengthened, as it is, through the subtle influence of habits of thought and opinions which have grown up in human society, and which are based upon a false estimate of the value of the wealth and honours of this world. To such an extent are men governed by wrong motives and aims in this respect, that any one who, with singleness of purpose, sets himself to act with reference to God and His glory is likely to feel himself more or less alienated from and placed in a position of antagonism to his kind. The little handful of Christians in the first age must have experienced this sense of estrangement with peculiar acuteness. But at the same time they had been taught, and they believed, that the world in its origin came from God, and also that, bad as its present condition was, it was salvable—that alike the men who are of it and the things that belong to it may be redeemed from sin and sinful uses and consecrated to the glory of God.

In conclusion, we may observe that the order of nature is appealed to in NT as well as in OT in proof of the existence, the power, and the goodness of God (Ac 14^{17}, Ro 1^{20}), but the same stress is not laid upon the more exceptional phenomena as signs of His presence.

LITERATURE.—Art. on *κόσμος* in Cremer's *Bibl.-theol. Lexicon*; Westcott's *Commentary on St. John*, Additional Note at end of ch. 1.

V. H. STANTON.

WORM.—The following Heb. words are tr. 'worm' in AV. 1. סָס *ṣāṣ*, *σής*, *tinea* (Is 51^{8}), is undoubtedly the same as the Arab. *sûs*. It is the grub of the moth, *'âsh*, Arab. *'uth*, mentioned in the same passages. See MOTH. 2. רִמָּה *rimmāh*= maggots, bred in putrefying vegetable (Ex 16^{24}) and animal (Job 7^{5} 17^{14} 21^{26} 24^{20}, Is 14^{11}) substances. Once man is declared to be such a maggot (Job 25^{6}). 3. תּוֹלֵעָה *tôlē'āh*, תּוֹלָע *tôlā'*, תּוֹלַעַת *tôla'ath*: (*a*) a maggot, generated in putrefying vegetable (Ex 16^{20}) and animal (Is 14^{11} 66^{24}) substances; (*b*) a worm which gnaws and blights plants (Dt 28^{39}, Jon 4^{7}). The number of these is very large in the Holy Land; (*c*) figuratively to denote the weakness of man (Job 25^{6}, Ps 22^{6}, Is 41^{14}). תּוֹלָע and תּוֹלַעַת are used also of the *coccus* (see CRIMSON, SCARLET). Earth worms do not seem to be included in the meaning of any of the above names. The term 'worms' (AVm 'creeping things,' RV 'crawling things') of the earth; זֹחֲלֵי אֶרֶץ, LXX *σύροντες γῆν* (Mic 7^{17}), is probably generic for all reptiles and worms which burrow in the ground. It certainly does not refer to any genus or species. The worms of which Herod died (*σκώληξ*, Ac 12^{23}) may have been maggots bred in a gangrenous mass. Josephus says that he died five days after he was smitten. *Σκώληξ* is also mentioned in Apocr. (Sir 10^{11} 19^{3}, 1 Mac 2^{62}).

G. E. POST.

WORMWOOD (לַעֲנָה *la'ănāh*).—A generic word for the species of *Artemisia*. It is always spoken of as a bitter and deleterious plant. The root, in Arab. and perh. in Heb., signifies 'to curse.' *La'ănāh* is mentioned with gall (*rôsh*, Dt 29^{18}, Jer 9^{15} 23^{15}, La 3^{19}, Am 6^{12}). It is the summing up of the career of a strange woman (Pr 5^{4}). Figuratively it signifies calamity (La 3^{15}) and injustice (Am 5^{7}). The great star which fell from heaven (Rev 8^{11}) is called 'Wormwood' (*Ἄψινθος*). In point of fact, the excessive dread which the Hebrews had of most bitter substances was founded not on clinical experience but on prejudice. Camels, at least, eat more or less of the species of *Artemisia*, of which there are five in Palestine and Syria, all known in Arabic by the name *bu'aiterân*. They are *A. monosperma*, Del. (Arab. *'adâh*), *A. Herba-Alba*, Asso. (Arab. *shîḥ*), *A. Judaica*, L., *A. annua*, L., and *A. arborescens* (Arab. *dhoḳn-esh-sheikh*). They are composite plants, mostly of the interior tablelands, esp. of the deserts. Their growth in desolate places, added to their bitterness, gave them their bad reputation. G. E. Post.

WORSHIP, both as subst. and verb, was formerly used of reverence or honour done to men as well as to God, and so occurs in Lk 14^{10} 'then shalt thou have worship in the presence of them that sit at meat with thee' (δόξα, RV 'glory'). The word is a contraction of *worthship* (from Anglo-Sax. *weorth* 'worth,' with the suffix *scipe*, Eng. *ship*, Ger. *schaft*, akin to *shape*). It is used of men in earlier versions frequently. See Driver, *Par. Psalt. s.v.* for the Pr. Bk. Psalms. Cf. also for the subst., Wyclif, *Works*, iii. 156, 'Men abstenen in werre, with myche fastyng and peyne, to wynne worschip of the worlde and to anoye hir enmyes'; Nu 24^{11} Tind. 'I thoughte that I wolde promote the unto honoure, but the Lorde hath kepte the backe from worshepe'; Job 14^{21} Cov. 'Whether his children come to worshipe or no, he can not tell.' And for the verb, Jn 12^{26} Wyc. 'If ony man serue me, my fadir schal worschip hym'; Pr. Bk. *Marriage Service*, 'With my body I thee worship.' J. Hastings.

WORSHIP (IN OT).—See Praise (IN OT) and Temple.

WORSHIP (IN NT).—Christian worship grew out of the Jewish synagogue worship, to which, in its early forms, it bore considerable resemblance. Our Lord with His disciples visited the synagogues at Capernaum (Mk 1^{21} 3^{1}) and Nazareth (Mk 6^{2}); and, as He preached in the synagogues of Galilee generally (Mk 1^{39}, Lk 6^{6}), He must have taken part in the public worship. When St. Paul was on his missionary tours he invariably sought out the synagogue, or, if that were wanting, the *proseuchê* (Ac 16^{13}), no doubt joining in the Jewish worship. See Synagogue. It was only by degrees that Christian worship came to supersede synagogue worship in the Church. At first the meetings of the Christian brotherhood, which of course were held in private, were quite distinct from the Sabbath worship, and Jewish Christians would go to the synagogue on the Saturday and to their own meeting on the Sunday. The Epistle of St. James seems to imply that the community there addressed consisted of the worshippers in some synagogue who had accepted Christianity as a body, and who then continued to meet in the building, but as a Christian Church, so that the writer, referring to the place of worship where the Church assembled, could call it 'your synagogue' (Ja 2^{2}; but von Soden understands the word *συναγωγή* here to mean 'assembly,' see *Hdcom. in loc.*; Bennett allows that it may mean the Jewish place of worship 'if the Epistle is very early,' though preferring 'assembly' as RVm, see *Century Bible, in loc.*). The separation of Christian from Jewish worship was brought about under various influences, viz. (1) Jewish antagonism, leading to the expulsion of the Christians from the synagogue; (2) Church development, giving more importance to the worship carried on in the Christian assembly and stamping it with an individual character, thus rendering attendance at the Jewish synagogue superfluous and incongruous; (3) the conversion of the heathen on the lines of Pauline liberalism, dispensing with circumcision, so that the Gentile Christians could not be regarded as proselytes to Judaism. As these free Hellenistic Christians increased in number, and before long became the majority of the Apostolic Church, the necessity for maintaining Christian worship quite apart from the synagogue would be apparent to all but the narrow Judaizers.

i. Teaching and Practice of Jesus Christ.—The only worship that our Lord expressly required was private worship, as when He warned His disciples against the Pharisaic ostentation of praying 'in the synagogues [private prayers] and in the corners of the streets,' and bade them enter their 'inner chamber' and pray to their 'Father which is in secret' (Mt 6^{6}). His teaching about prayer deals with the subject of personal prayer, encouraging individual faith with regard to specific petitions (*e.g.* Lk 11^{5-13}). In one place He commends the united prayer of two persons for a common end (Mt 18^{19}); but this refers to a special emergency, and has no bearing on public worship. On the other hand, He assumed that His disciples took part in public worship; He did not need to command a universal practice which He sanctioned by Himself following it. Whenever our Lord's own praying is referred to, this is not connected with public worship. Most frequently it is associated with mountain solitude. In this worship He was either entirely alone or praying by Himself in the presence of disciples rather than praying with them. Still, is it quite accurate to say that He never prayed together with other men? Must He not have done this in the synagogue? The incident of the woman of Samaria contains His most significant utterance on the subject of worship, in which He denies the peculiar efficacy of sacred places (Jerusalem claimed by the Jews, Gerizim claimed by the Samaritans), and affirms that, for the future, worship must be 'in spirit,' *i.e.* internal, not merely in external functions, and 'in truth,' *i.e.* in accordance with the nature of God and our true relations with Him as at once 'Spirit' and 'Father' (Jn $4^{23.24}$). That this teaching influenced the Church, rendering the dedication of sacred buildings superfluous, is apparent from Justin Martyr's answer to Rusticus (*c.* 165 A.D.) who had inquired, 'Where do you assemble?' Justin said, 'Where each one chooses . . . because the God of the Christians is not circumscribed by place; but, being invisible, fills heaven and earth, and everywhere is worshipped and glorified by the faithful' (*Martyrdom*, 2).

ii. Apostolic Teaching and Custom.—As the Church gradually emerged from the synagogue, specific Christian worship, as distinguished from the customary Jewish worship, came to be shaped on lines indicated by the principles of the new faith.

(*a*) *Times.*—The NT contains no regulations concerning stated days and hours for worship. In so far as Jewish Christians still followed the law and customs of their people, they observed the Sabbath and the great feasts. St. Paul frequented the synagogues on the Sabbath (*e.g.* Ac $13^{14.44}$ 16^{13} 17^{2}); much more must this have been the case with less liberal Jews in the Church. St. Paul also took some account of the annual festivals, *e.g.* desiring to be at Jerusalem for the

Pentecost (Ac 20^{16}, 1 Co 16^{8}). But he held himself to be free from any obligation in regard to sacred seasons, and never laid any such obligation on his converts, even bidding the Colossians let no man judge them 'in respect of a feast day or a new moon or a Sabbath-day' (Col 2^{16}). The Galatians are rebuked because they 'observe days, and months, and seasons, and years' (Gal 4^{10}). But, while no especial sanctity of seasons was recognized by St. Paul, of necessity a certain periodicity was requisite for public worship in the Greek as well as in the Jewish Church. At Jerusalem, over and above the temple worship, which they shared with other Jews, the disciples had their own private assembly. As no mention is made of their attendance at the synagogue, though the temple is named, it seems probable that they gave up this custom in Palestine—perhaps from the time when Jesus was expelled from the synagogue. Thus a necessity would arise to institute some worship in its place. But that was never done formally, nor did it come about suddenly. The Christian worship arose from another cause; it grew out of the fellowship of Christian brotherhood. The origin of this worship is indicated in the statements that the new converts—doubtless associated with the older Christians—'continued steadfastly in the apostles' teaching and fellowship (*κοινωνία*), in the breaking of bread and the prayers' (Ac 2^{42}); that 'day by day, continuing steadfastly with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread at home, they did take their food with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God,' etc. (v.^{46}). This seems to imply a daily meeting, which must have been early in the morning or at night, so as not to interfere with the common work of life. Probably the statement applies only to the time of primitive enthusiasm. We meet with nothing of the kind later. The custom of the Church, both Jewish (cf. Jn 20^{19} and v.^{26}) and Greek (Ac 20^{7}; 1 Co 16^{2}), was to meet on the first day of the week. See LORD'S DAY. The NT contains no reference to any yearly Christian festivals. The Paschal controversy in the 2nd cent. reveals a very early practice of keeping Easter, and Polycarp's association with St. John seems to connect this with apostolic times, especially as the apostolic precedent is cited. Irenæus states that Polycarp, visiting Rome in the time of Anicetus (*c.* 155 A.D.), 'had always observed it [*i.e.* on the 14th Nisan, the date in dispute] with John, the disciple of our Lord, and the other apostles with whom he had associated' (Euseb. *HE* v. 24). But the identification of the date with the Passover—the very question discussed by Polycarp—points rather to St. John's Jewish custom of keeping the Passover than to the institution of Easter as an independent Christian festival. It indicates that, in late apostolic times, the surviving apostles, being Jews, when they kept the Passover, associated this with our Lord's last Passover, and so with His death and resurrection. Similarly, the Pentecost continued down from Jewish times as a Jewish festival adopted by the Church to commemorate the gift of the Holy Spirit as late as the 2nd cent. (Tertullian, *de Idol.* c. 12; *Const. Apost.* v. 20). Subsequently it was divided into the feast of the Ascension and Pentecost proper (Whitsunday), and lost its Jewish associations. Epiphany was not known till the end of the 2nd cent. (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 21), and then as a Gnostic festival, Christmas appearing still later.

(*b*) *Places.*—The Jerusalem Christians worshipped 'in the temple' (Ac 2^{46}). This would be in common with other Jews and according to Jewish custom. The prayer would be private and personal—like the prayers of the Pharisee and the publican in the parable. Similarly, when 'Peter and John were going up into the temple at the hour of prayer, being the ninth hour' (Ac 3^{1}), this must have been for private prayer. There could have been no public Christian worship there. If the phrase *κατ' οἶκον* (2^{46}) should be rendered 'at home,' as in RV, this would not point to Church fellowship as in AV, where we read 'from house to house.' But when the Christians met at Jerusalem it was in a private house, using an 'upper room' (*ὑπερῷον*, Ac 1^{13}), perhaps the same room as the 'guest chamber' (*κατάλυμα*), also called 'a large upper room' (Lk $22^{11.12}$), in which Jesus took the Last Supper with His disciples. When St. Peter was liberated from prison, he went to the house of Mary, the mother of Mark, and found *many* gathered together there praying (Ac 12^{12}). The word 'many' does not suggest that the whole Church was there assembled. But the Church could only meet in such a place. There were no buildings for Christian worship before the end of the 2nd cent. (see Schaff, *Ante-Nicene Christianity*, i. p. 199). St. Paul frequently refers to the Church in a house (Ro 16^{5}, 1 Co 16^{19}, Col 4^{15}). Once only, and that as late as the Pastoral Epistles, do we meet with the expression 'the house of God' (1 Ti 3^{15}); but probably the word 'house' here means 'family' (cf. 2 Ti 1^{16}, Tit 1^{11}. See von Soden, *Hdcom. in loc.*).

(*c*) *Persons.*—The apostles naturally took the lead in conducting public worship when they were present. It would appear that, at Troas, St. Paul conducted the Lord's Supper, himself breaking the bread (Ac 20^{11}). This is the only passage in the NT in which the distribution of the elements by any person, other than our Lord Himself, is mentioned. Elsewhere, the references to the Lord's Supper, in apostolic times, simply tell us of the Christians partaking of it together. The NT references to the functions of Church officers are confined to administration, discipline, and teaching; they are silent in regard to worship. From the fact that the bishops took the lead in the worship of the sub-apostolic age, we may conclude that the elders in the Jewish Churches, and the bishops in the Greek Churches of NT times, had some pre-eminence in the conduct of worship. But from the example of Corinth—the one Church concerning the internal life of which we have any fulness of information—it is apparent that this was not always the case; for 1 Cor. shows that there it was open to any member of the assembly to offer prayer or give utterance to a hymn of praise or a message of exhortation, even women praying and prophesying. If there were any who were more especially looked to for these offices they were the prophets (1 Co 14^{29}), not the bishops, and the *Didaché* makes it certain that these were different persons. That, too, is apparent from Eph 4^{11}, where the bishops must be looked for among the 'pastors' rather than among the 'prophets.'

(*d*) *Method.*—The proceedings of the best-known Church—that at Corinth—suggest that there was no settled order for the conduct of public worship in the apostolic Churches. It would not be safe to treat this one Church as typical of all other Churches, especially as St. Paul has occasion to rebuke its irregularities. Still, in doing so, he lays down no rules beyond that of mutual deference (1 Co 14^{30}); nor is anything approaching a rubric, except that of the Lord's Supper, to be found in the NT, or in any primitive Church writing, earlier than the *Didaché*. It is probable that, throughout the apostolic age, the worship of the Church was always centred in the Lord's Supper, combined with the Agapé. St. Paul gives directions for the conduct of the Lord's Supper on the authority of Christ, from whom the particulars concerning the institution of the ordinance had come down to him (1 Co 11$^{23-28}$). The rest of the service seems to have been left to the impulses of individual members as they felt moved by the Spirit (McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, p. 520 ff.). If, however, the Christians met twice in the day, it is probable that the morning assembly was for prayer and praise, and the evening meeting for the Agapé, the arrangement we find in Bithynia in the reign of Trajan (*c.* 112 A.D.). Pliny writes, 'It was their habit on a fixed day to assemble before daylight and sing by turns a hymn to Christ as a god.' He adds that they 'bound themselves with an oath . . . not to commit theft,' etc., and says, further, 'After this was done, their custom was to depart, and meet together again to take food,' etc. (*Ep.* x. 96). The following functions would certainly be found in the primitive Christian worship: (1) Prayer (1 Co 14$^{14.\ 15}$). (2) Praise, either by individual utterance (v.^{26}), or in hymns sung in common. The example of their Lord would encourage the early Christians to employ the Jewish Psalter, which appears to have been always used in the Church (Mt 26^{30}). Then we have fragments of Christian hymns scattered over the NT (*e.g.* Ac 4$^{24-30}$, perhaps Eph 1$^{3-14}$, 5^{14}, 1 Ti 3^{16}), especially those of the Apocalypse (4$^{8-11}$ 5$^{9.\ 10.\ 12.\ 13}$ 7^{12} 11^{17} 12$^{10-12}$ 15$^{3.\ 4}$ 19$^{1.\ 6.\ 7}$). The Canticles in St. Luke—the *Magnificat* (1$^{46-55}$), the *Benedictus* (vv.$^{68-79}$), the *Gloria in Excelsis* (2^{14}), and the *Nunc Dimittis* (2$^{29-32}$)—though possibly of pre-Christian origin, were probably found by the evangelist in use in the worship of the Churches, together with more specially Christian hymns. The passage from Pliny's letter, cited above, shows that in Bithynia, early in the 2nd cent., the singing was antiphonal (*carmenque . . . dicere secum* vicissim). See HYMN. (3) Lessons. St. Paul's frequent allusions to the OT, even in letters to Greek Churches, presuppose a knowledge of the LXX among his readers. This would be read in Christian worship after the analogy of the synagogue, though perhaps the Law would be omitted and preference would be given to Messianic prophecies. Possibly, *logia* of Jesus were also read and facts of His life recited. St. Paul expected his Epistles to be read in the meetings of the Churches (1 Th 5^{27}, Col 4^{16}), but only the OT was treated as Scripture. (4) Prophecy. The inspired utterance, so named, came from any member of the Church who felt the afflatus of the Spirit (1 Co 14^{1}), though it was especially expected from those who were recognized as prophets (v.^{29}). The Thessalonians were warned not to check this gift or despise the exercise of it (1 Th 5^{20}). But they were to use their own intelligence, accepting the good and rejecting what did not approve itself to their judgment (v.^{21}). (5) Other gifts—tongues, exorcism, etc. (6) Contributions. The Corinthians were to put by, on the first day of each week, their contribution towards the fund for the poor of Jerusalem (1 Co 16^{1}). St. Paul's language implies, not that they were to bring it to the assembly every week, but that they should make up an amount at home by weekly instalments. The gifts for the Agapé, however, would be brought every week, and the apostle requires them to be divided among the brethren. Out of this subsequently grew the communion collections, which were sent to the poor, the sick, and confessors in prison (Justin Martyr, 1 *Apol.* 65–67).

(*e*) *Object.*—Christian worship in NT times is usually offered to God as Father through Jesus Christ as His Son (see Ro 1^{8}, Eph 1^{3} 3^{14}). The Aramaic 'Abba' appears to have been adopted by Greek-speaking Christians as the peculiar title for God in the Churches (see Ro 8^{15}). But, while this was the normal type, worship was sometimes offered to Christ and prayer addressed to Him. Some indefiniteness attaches to this subject, partly owing to the two senses in which the Gr. word *προσκυνεῖν* is used, and partly owing to the ambiguous usage of the title *κύριος*. Liddon claimed many instances of the worship of Jesus during His earthly life, mostly on the strength of the use of the word *προσκυνεῖν* in the Gospels, viz. Mt 2^{11} 8^{2} 9^{18} 14^{33} 15^{25} 17$^{14.\ 15}$ 20^{20} 28$^{9.\ 17}$, Lk 7$^{37.\ 38}$ 17$^{15.\ 16}$ 24$^{51.\ 52}$, Jn 9$^{35-38}$ 20$^{17.\ 28}$ (*Bampton Lectures*, 1866, vii. 1). But it cannot be proved that in any of these cases (except the last, and there the word 'worship' is not used) more than an act of homage and humble obeisance is intended. Josephus uses the word *προσκυνούμενοι* of the high priests (*BJ* IV. v. 2). In the second case cited (Mt 8^{2}), which occurred quite early in our Lord's public ministry, it cannot be supposed that the leper actually offered Divine honours to Christ. The physical act of prostration in profound humility, and as rendering great honour, is all that can be meant. In another case (Mt 17^{14}) the word *προσκυνεῖν* is not used, but we have *γονυπετῶν* (kneeling). Still it is to be observed that this homage was reserved for Christ alone, being repudiated by St. Peter (Ac 10$^{25.\ 26}$) and by the angel in the Apocalypse before whom St. John had prostrated himself (Rev 22$^{8.\ 9}$). The homage offered to Christ would vary in its significance from the simple prostration of the leper before the Great Healer to the adoration of Mary Magdalene and Thomas in presence of the risen Christ, its significance depending wholly on the idea of His nature that had been attained, and therefore not to be determined by the mere statements of the outward acts which we find in the Gospels. It is inappropriate to introduce the case of the dying malefactor (Lk 23^{42}) as an instance of prayer to Christ (Liddon). This was a simple request without the element of worship.

But one effect of the resurrection was to develop so exalted a conception of Christ in the Church that homage which cannot be distinguished from worship came to be addressed to Him. Thus Ananias of Damascus, when addressing Jesus in a vision (since it was in a vision, we cannot cite this as an act of prayer to Christ, because, in this vision, Jesus appears to Ananias and a conversation takes place), describes Christians as 'all that call upon thy name' (Ac 9^{14}; cf. v.^{21} 'them which called on this name'). The same expression is used by St. Paul (1 Co 1^{2}). The form of words is a Hebraism, used in the OT of the worship of Jehovah—קָרָא בְּשֵׁם יְהוָֹה (Gn 4^{26} 12^{8}, 2 K 5^{11}), and St. Paul cites an OT passage where it occurs with reference to God and applies this to Christ (Ro 10^{13}). St. Stephen commends his spirit to Jesus, and prays to Jesus as Lord for the pardon of his enemies, in language closely resembling that which Jesus addressed to God (Ac 7$^{59.\ 60}$, cf. Lk 23$^{34.\ 46}$). St. Paul refers to Jesus Christ in association with 'God himself' as exercising a directing Providence for the help of which he prays (*e.g.* 1 Th 3^{11}, 2 Th 2$^{16.\ 17}$, Ph 2^{19}). Various forms of benediction imply a reference to Christ (*e.g.* Ro 16^{20}, 1 Co 1^{3}). St. Paul writes of praying to 'the Lord,' evidently meaning Christ, but in language which suggests an allusion to the Jewish thought of Jehovah (*e.g.* 2 Co 12$^{8.\ 9}$). The author of Hebrews claims for Christ OT language referring to the worship of God (He 1$^{6.\ 10-12}$). According to the Fourth Gospel, 'all men are to honour (*τιμῶσι*) the Son, even as they honour the Father' (Jn 5^{23}). In the Apocalypse, direct worship is offered to Christ as 'the Lamb.' The prayers of the saints are presented to Him (Rev 5^{8}), and hymns are sung in honour of Him (vv.$^{9.\ 11.\ 12}$). In the sub-apostolic age prayer is usually offered to God through Christ, rather than directly to Christ Himself (*e.g.* *1 Clem.* 59–61; *Didaché*, 9, 10); but Ignatius (*ad Rom.* 4) and Polycarp (*ad Phil.* 1, 12) use the language of prayer concerning Christ; and the ancient homily, called *2 Clement*, begins, 'Brethren, we ought so to think of Jesus Christ as of God' (see Harnack, *Hist. of Dog.* I. iii. 6).

According to Pliny, the Christians were in the habit of meeting to 'sing a hymn to Christ as God' (*carmenque Christo quasi deo dicere,—Ep.* x. 96). There is no indication of saint-worship or of the adoration of the Virgin Mary in the NT; nor do we there meet with the distinction between the *adoration* (λατρεία) due to God alone, and the lower form of prayer to saints (δουλεία, *invocatio*) observed from the time of Augustine. St. Paul rebukes the worship of angels, associated with Jewish Gnosticism (Col 2^{18}).

LITERATURE.—Schaff, *Apostolic Christianity*; McGiffert, *History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age*; Bartlet, *The Apostolic Age*; Weizsäcker, *Apostolic Age* (Eng. tr.), vol. ii.; Harnack, *History of Dogma*, vol. i.; Hort, *The Christian Ecclesia*; Lechler, *Apostolic and post-Apostolic Times*; Beyschlag, *NT Theology* (Eng. tr.); Pfleiderer, *Urchristenthum*; Loening, *Gemeindeverfassung des Urchristenthums*; also article CHURCH, i. *The Public Worship*, and books there named.

W. F. ADENEY.

WOT.—See WIT.

WRATH.—See ANGER.

WRESTLING is twice referred to in EV of OT and once in NT. The Heb. terms are—1. אבק (in Niph.),* of Jacob's wrestling at Peniel, Gn $32^{24.25}$ (LXX παλαίω). On the word-play between *ne'ĕbaḳ* and *Jabboḳ* see vol. ii. p. 530^a, note †. 2. פָּתַל, in Rachel's saying: 'With mighty wrestlings (*naphtûlîm*) have I wrestled (*niphtalti*) with my sister and have prevailed,' whence she is said to have given to Bilhah's son the name NAPHTALI, Gn 30^8. The word means '*twist* oneself' without being specifically confined to wrestling.

Wrestling, which was a familiar spectacle at the games in any Greek city, supplies a metaphor to St. Paul in Eph 6^{12} 'For our wrestling is not against flesh and blood,' etc. (ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν [*v.l.* ὑμῖν] ἡ πάλη πρὸς αἷμα καὶ σάρκα, κ.τ.λ.). For a description of wrestling contests see Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Ant.*, *s.v.* 'Lucta.'

WRITING.—i. THE ANTIQUITY OF WRITING.—The practice of writing in the countries of the nearer East goes back to a remote and indefinite antiquity. Looking only at the nations connected in some measure with Palestine, we find evidence of the use of written characters at a date far earlier than the beginnings of anything that can be called definite Hebrew history. In Egypt, inscriptions have been found containing the name of Menes, the first king in the first dynasty known to subsequent Egyptian chroniclers, whose date cannot be much later (and may be earlier) than B.C. 5000, while other inscriptions are believed to belong to yet earlier rulers. These are inscribed upon stone: the earliest extant example of writing upon papyrus is one found at Sakkara in 1893, containing accounts dated in the reign of Assa, the last king of the 5th dynasty (*c.* 3580–3536 B.C.). To the same date purports to belong the first recorded literary composition in Egypt, the Proverbs of Ptah-hotep, preserved in the Papyrus Prisse, though the papyrus itself is of a much later date (*c.* 2500 B.C.). In Babylonia, inscriptions are extant of Sargon I., who flourished about B.C. 3750; while the thousands of tablets found at Telloh prove the free use of writing among the Sumerian inhabitants of Babylonia at an even earlier date, which cannot be placed lower than B.C. 4000. From Palestine itself we have no remains of so early a period; but the tablets of Tel el-Amarna (see § iii.) include several letters written by the governors of cities in Palestine to their masters in Egypt in the 15th cent. B.C.; and recent excavations at Knossos in Crete have brought to light a large quantity of inscribed tablets, partly hieroglyphic, but mainly linear in script, in characters as yet undeciphered, which must also be assigned to about the middle of the second millennium B.C. How far these are to be regarded as the ancestors of Greek writing is a point still undetermined; but they complete the proof that in the countries surrounding Palestine, and probably also in Palestine itself, writing was an art well known and familiarly practised for many centuries before the earliest examples of Hebrew writing at present extant.

LITERATURE.—Arts. BABYLONIA, EGYPT, above; Petrie, *Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty at Abydos*, 1900, *Hist. of Egypt*, i. 81; L. W. King, *Encyc. Bibl.* i. 439–442; A. J. Evans, *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 1899–1900, pp. 55–63.

ii. MATERIALS.—Many materials were used in Palestine and the adjoining countries for the reception of writing at various times. (*a*) **Stone** is almost everywhere the earliest material on which writing has come down to us. The earliest inscriptions in Egypt and Babylonia are on stone. Stone is also used for the Hittite inscriptions in northern Syria and Asia Minor; and in Palestine itself the earliest considerable examples of writing are the MOABITE STONE and the SILOAM inscription (see § iii.). The Hebrew books, moreover, mention the use of stone in the earliest periods of their history. The Law given to Moses on Mt. Sinai is said to have been written on 'tables of stone' (Ex 31^{18} $34^{1.28}$). Moses commanded the people, when they passed over Jordan, to set up great stones, covered with plaster, and to write the Law upon them (Dt $27^{2.3}$, cf. Jos 8^{30-32}). Job desires that his words might be graven in the rock for ever with an iron pen and lead (Job 19^{24}). In Phœnicia and Greece, similarly, the earliest extant examples of writing are inscriptions upon stone. (*b*) **Clay** was used predominantly in Assyria and Babylonia, the records and literature of which countries have come down to us mainly in the form of tablets of clay, on which characters in cuneiform writing have been inscribed while it was soft (see BABYLONIA). The discovery at Tel el-Amarna, in Upper Egypt, of similar tablets, containing the correspondence of the governors of the Syrian provinces and others with their Egyptian masters (see § iii.), shows that this kind of writing was the normal form of official correspondence between Egypt and Syria, at any rate in the time of the 18th dynasty (*c.* 1400 B.C.). The Knossian tablets also are of sun-baked clay. In Ezk 4^1 the prophet, in captivity in Assyria, is directed to draw a plan of Jerusalem upon a tile (Heb. *lĕbhēnāh*, LXX πλίνθος). (*c*) **Wood** was largely used in many countries, in the form of tablets. In Greece it appears to have been the principal material in use before the introduction of papyrus, and to have continued to be employed for special purposes long after that date. The earliest mention of writing in Greek literature (Homer, *Il.* vi. 169) describes a message written ἐν πίνακι πτυκτῷ. The laws of Solon were written upon wooden tablets (ἄξονες and κύρβεις, Arist. *Birds*, 1354; Plut. *Sol.* 25). Tablets, whitewashed in order to receive ink better, were employed for official notices in Athens in the 4th cent. B.C. (γραμματεῖα λελευκωμένα, πινάκιον λελευκωμένον, Ar. Ἀθ. Πολ. 47, 48); a set of such tablets, used for private purposes at Panopolis in Upper Egypt about the 7th cent. after Christ, is now in the British Museum (Add. MS 33369).

---

* This word may be a denom. from אָבָק 'dust,' and mean 'get dusty' (cf. κόνις, κονίω), or may be a dialectical variant of חָבַק 'clasp,' 'embrace.'

Wooden boards, inscribed in the one case with lines from Homer, in another with part of the *Phœnissæ* of Euripides and the *Hecalê* of Callimachus, are in the British Museum and the Rainer Collection at Vienna respectively, both having been found in Egypt. Many wooden tablets with Egyptian writing are also in existence, and Egyptian monuments represent scribes in the act of using such tablets. In Is 30^8 and Hab 2^2 the 'tablet' or 'table' [Heb. *lûaḥ*, LXX πυξίον] is no doubt wooden. The 'tables [same Heb.] of the heart,' metaphorically spoken of in Pr 3^3, may be regarded either as wood or, in the light of Jer 17^1, more probably as stone. It is not always possible to tell whether the writing upon tablets mentioned by ancient authors is upon the wood itself or upon wax or some similar material with which the wood was covered. **Wax** was certainly used sometimes, and in later periods wax tablets were the commonest form of note-books in Greece and Italy. Herodotus mentions such a tablet (vii. 239), and Cicero, Martial, and other authors refer to them very frequently. Many examples of them are still extant, notably those discovered at Pompeii.* (*d*) **Bark** is said by Pliny (*HN* xiii. 11) to have been used for writing before papyrus was known, and it continued to be used in the West, though rarely, as late as the 5th cent. after Christ (Martianus Capella, ii. 136; though it is not quite clear that the books so described are intended to be contemporary productions). From its name, *liber*, comes the Latin word for 'book.' (*e*) **Linen** also was used in Italy in ancient times (*libri lintei*, Livy, iv. 7, x. 38). The largest extant example of Etruscan writing is upon linen (in the museum at Agram). Linen was also used by the Egyptians for this purpose. (*f*) **Lead** was used in Greece and Italy, and probably elsewhere. Pausanias (ix. 31. 4) mentions a leaden plate which he saw at Helicon, inscribed with the *Works and Days* of Hesiod; but the principal use to which lead (and other metals) was put as writing material seems to have been to receive magical incantations and charms. Such tablets have been found, and mention of them is frequently made in magical papyri. (*g*) **Potsherds** (ὄστρακα) were used at Athens to receive the names of persons on whom sentence of banishment (*ostracism*) was to be pronounced. In Egypt they were very plentifully used for accounts, and especially for tax receipts; in the Coptic period passages of Scripture and quasi-literary pieces were also inscribed upon potsherds. (*h*) **Leather** plays a far more important part in the history of writing, especially of the Bible. It was used in Egypt; leather rolls are extant from about B.C. 2000, and papyri of later date refer to documents written on skins as far back as the 4th dynasty. On the Assyrian monuments scribes are shown holding rolls which appear to be of this material. The Persians used leather to contain the royal records (βασιλικαὶ διφθέραι, Ctesias, *ap.* Diod. II. xxxii. 4). Similarly, Herodotus states that the Ionians of Asia Minor formerly used skins of sheep and goats, and that many barbarous peoples continued to do the same in his own time. In the OT, leather or skins are not expressly mentioned, but it is practically certain that this material was largely used, and was, in fact, the principal vehicle of Hebrew literature in historical times. The use of books in roll form is mentioned in Ps 40^7, Jer $36^{2.4}$ etc., Ezk 2^9; and the roll form implies the use of either leather or papyrus (vellum not having been yet invented, and bark, so far as is known, never having been employed in Palestine). Papyrus might, no doubt, have been introduced into Palestine from Egypt, and there is a recorded case of its being sent to Phœnicia in the 11th cent. (*Zeitsch. f. ägypt. Sprache*, 1900, p. 11); but there is no evidence of its general use at this date. On the other hand, the mention of the 'scribe's knife' (*ta'ar haṣṣôphēr*, LXX τῷ ξυρῷ τοῦ γραμματέως) in Jer 36 (43)^{23} probably indicates that the roll destroyed by Jehoiakim was of leather; since a knife (for the purpose of erasures) was part of the equipment of a scribe writing upon leather or vellum, but could not be used on so delicate a material as papyrus. In Nu 5^{23} it is implied that writing could be washed off with water; but this was the practice in the case of papyrus as well as leather, so that the passage is inconclusive. Clearer evidence is given by later writers. In the Letter of Aristeas the copy of the Law sent from Jerusalem to Egypt for the purpose of the version of the LXX is expressly said to have been written on διφθέραι. Further, the Talmud requires all copies of the Law to be written on skins, and in roll form; and this regulation, which still remains in force for volumes intended for use in the synagogue, no doubt points back to an ancient tradition. All the evidence, in fact, seems to go to show that the OT Scriptures were habitually written on prepared skins, for which, in course of time, vellum was probably substituted in the case of ordinary copies (as distinct from synagogue rolls). It is not improbable that in St. Paul's request (2 Ti 4^{13}) for τὰ βιβλία, μάλιστα τὰς μεμβράνας, the latter word refers to copies of parts of the OT.*

(*i*) **Papyrus.**—If skins probably played the most important part in the early history of the Hebrew Scriptures, the papyrus plant certainly did so in the case of the Greek. The papyrus plant (*cyperus papyrus*), which formerly grew in great profusion in the Nile (though now confined to the higher part of its course), was used from a very early date in Egypt as a material for writing. The earliest extant papyrus MS dates from the 5th dynasty (see § i.), and from about the 12th dynasty onwards many such volumes are known, with writings in all the varieties of Egyptian script—hieroglyphic, hieratic, and demotic. From Egypt the use of papyrus spread into the neighbouring countries, and it was the universal material for book-production in Greece and Italy during the most flourishing periods of their literature. The LXX version of the OT was produced in Egypt under the Ptolemies, and there can be no doubt that it was written upon papyrus, like the hundreds of Greek documents of that period which recent discoveries in that country have brought to light. So, too, with the books of the NT. These were written in Greek, in various parts of the Greek-speaking world—in Asia Minor, in Greece, in Rome, etc.; and there is no reason to doubt that they were written on papyrus in the ordinary way. The only books which may have been originally written in Palestine are St. Matthew and St. James; but these, it must be remembered, would not at first be written as sacred books, so that the rules applying to the OT would not apply to them. They, too, must almost certainly have been written on papyrus; and on this material the Greek OT and the NT must have circulated habitually, if not exclusively, until the 4th cent. of our era.—The method of manufacture of papyrus is described by Pliny (*HN* xiii. 11–13). The pith[*] of the stem of the plant was cut into thin strips, which were laid side by side to form a sheet. Another layer of strips was then laid upon the first, at right angles to it, so that the whole sheet was composed of two layers, in one of which the fibres ran horizontally, in the other perpendicularly. The two layers were attached to one another by moisture and pressure, with or without the addition of glue.[†] The sheets (κολλήματα, *schedæ*) so formed were dried and polished, and were then ready for use. They could be used singly, as for letters, accounts, and the like; or a number of them could be joined together, so as to form a roll. According to Pliny, the manufacturers prepared rolls (*scapi*) consisting of not more than 20 *schedæ*; but a scribe who required more to contain the work he was copying could attach a second roll to the first, and cut off so much of it as might not be needed. The length of papyrus rolls, as actually used, varies greatly. In ancient Egypt, when books were largely used for ceremonial and ritual purposes, they were often of excessive length; the longest at present known measures 144 ft. But for practical use much more moderate dimensions were necessary, and no Greek literary papyrus is known which exceeds 30 ft. The height varies from 15½ to about 5 in.; about 9 or 10 in. is a common height for a literary papyrus. The writing is normally on that side of the papyrus on which the fibres lie horizontally, *i.e.* parallel to the length of the roll (*recto*); the *verso* is only used either when the scribe's matter exceeds the papyrus at his disposal, so that after filling the *recto* he is forced to continue on the *verso*, or (a commoner case) when the *recto* has already been used to receive some other writing. A roll of the first description (whether its material be leather or papyrus) is that mentioned in Ezk 2^{10} (cf. Rev 5^{1}), which was 'written within and without; and there was written therein lamentations, and mourning, and woe.' The multitude of calamities is indicated by the writing extending over both sides of the roll. An example of a roll so written occurs in a magical papyrus in the British Museum (Pap. cxxi.). Opisthograph rolls of the second description imply that the writer employed papyrus already once used, either because he was too poor to get any other, or too remote from a town where it might be obtained, or that the matter he wished to write was too unimportant to justify the use of fresh papyrus. Thus rough accounts are frequently written on the back of used papyrus; or schoolboys' copies, as in the case of the papyrus which bears on its *verso* the Funeral Oration of Hyperides, roughly written in a schoolboy's hand; or we may have a literary work, written for the private use of an individual, not for sale or for a public library, as in the case of the Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία of Aristotle, which is written on the back of farm accounts. Such literary MSS might, no doubt, occasionally come into the market as cheap copies, but they would form no part of the regular book trade. That the habitual use of them implied poverty, appears from Lucian (*Vit. Auct.* c. 9), where it is one of the signs of the poverty-stricken disciple of Diogenes. The writing on papyrus was disposed in columns (σελίδες), the width of which, if not dictated by necessity, as in the verses of a poem, is generally from 2 to 3½ in. in the case of literary MSS of good quality. In copies written without regard to appearances (like the Ἀθ. Πολ.), it might be considerably more. The title of a work was normally written at the end. The inner edge of the roll, or both edges, might be provided with a wooden roller (ὀμφαλός), and volumes which claimed elegance of appearance were probably always provided with them. Commoner copies were not so provided, but the edges were then generally strengthened by an extra strip of papyrus, to prevent tearing. A σίλλυβος, or thin strip of papyrus or vellum, was attached to the outside of the roll, bearing the title of the work; such a σίλλυβος, bearing the title of Sophron's *Mimes*, has been discovered at Oxyrhynchus (Ox. Pap. 301, now Brit. Mus. Pap. 801). The roll might be enclosed in a cover (φαινόλης), to protect it from damage, and stored in a wooden case (*capsa*) with several others.—The roll form of book continued in common, if not universal, use until the 3rd cent.; but from that date onwards (under the influence, no doubt, of the increasing use of vellum) papyrus books in codex form (like modern books) begin to be found, and the roll form gradually drops out of use. The earliest fragments of the Greek Bible are written in the codex form, which seems to have been preferred by the Christian converts. Vellum superseded papyrus as the material for the best books in the 4th cent., but papyrus continued to be employed for inferior copies until the 7th cent. In 640, however, the Arabs conquered Egypt, and, by stopping the export of papyrus, struck the death-blow to its use as a vehicle of Greek and Latin literature. It continued to be used in Egypt to some extent for accounts and for Coptic documents; but its literary importance was at an end.

---

* Sir H. M. Stanley (*Cornhill Magazine*, Jan. 1901, pp. 60, 61) records that on his first visit to Uganda, in 1875, portions of the NT, translated or paraphrased by him and his companions, were written on 'thin and polished boards of white wood, about 16 by 12 inches. . . . During the three months I remained with Mtesa, the translations which we made from the Gospels were very copious, and the principal events from the Creation to the Crucifixion were also fairly written out, forming quite a bulky library of boards.'

* The suggestions that the μεμβρᾶναι were blank sheets of vellum, or note-books (which were sometimes made of vellum at that date), or account-books, seem inconsistent with the importance evidently attached to them.

(*k*) **Parchment or vellum.**—This material may be regarded as a special development from the use of skins, described above; but it occupies a far more important place in the history of literature than its parent. According to Varro (*ap.* Pliny, *HN* xiii. 11), it originated at Pergamum under Eumenes II. (B.C. 197–158), when the king of Egypt, anxious to cripple his rival's growing library, forbade the export of papyrus. The king of Pergamum accordingly reverted to the use of skins, which had formerly been general in Asia Minor (see above); but the skins were made more suitable for literary purposes by a special preparation, and the material thus produced received from its place of origin the name of περγαμηνή, whence our *parchment*. Parchment differs from leather in not being tanned; the skins are merely stretched and dried, the hairs being removed from the one side and the flesh from the other, and the whole being smoothed with pumice. In modern usage the flesh side is also dressed with chalk; the special methods, if any, of preparing ancient parchment are unknown. The skins used are principally those of sheep, lambs, and calves, but those of goats, asses, and swine may also be used; and specially fine vellum is provided by antelopes. Strictly speaking, vellum denotes the material manufactured from calves (and antelopes), and parchment that provided by sheep, etc.; but practically no distinction is made between them, and the term *vellum* is applied to all kinds of dressed skins used for the purposes of writing. Of the character of the vellum MSS of Pergamum nothing is known; but it is certain that the material did not come into general use for literary purposes, in other countries, until a much later period. At Rome, in the 1st cent. B.C. and the 1st and 2nd cents. after Christ, there is evidence of the use of vellum, but only for note-books and for rough drafts or inferior copies of literary works (Cic. *ad Att.* xiii. 24; Hor. *Sat.* ii. 3; Martial, xiv. 7. 184, etc.; Quintilian, x. 3. 31). A fragment of a vellum MS, which may belong to this period, is preserved in Brit. Mus. Add. MS 34473, consisting of two leaves of Demosthenes, *de Fals. Leg.*, in a small hand, which appears to be of the 2nd century. The use of vellum for note-books, which would be shaped according to the analogy of wax tablets, the form of note-book previously existing, naturally led to the evolution of the *codex*, or modern book form; and the rise of vellum into favour for literary purposes is also the rise of the codex. This appears to have taken place during the 3rd cent., the final victory of vellum and the codex form being achieved in the early part of the 4th century. When Constantine founded his new capital, he instructed Eusebius to have fifty MSS on vellum (*σωμάτια ἐν διφθέραις*) prepared by skilled calligraphers for the churches in it (*Vit. Const.* iv. 36, A.D. 331); and about the middle of the century the library of Pamphilus at Cæsarea (consisting largely of the works of Origen), which had fallen into decay, was restored by Acacius and Euzoius, who had the damaged volumes replaced by vellum ('in membranis instaurare conati sunt,' Jerome, *Ep.* cxli.). The spread of Christianity probably had much to do with the change, by creating a demand for complete copies of the Scriptures. No papyrus roll of ordinary dimensions could hold more than one of the longer books of the NT, and a set of some 30 or 40 rolls would be necessary for the entire Bible; while the whole could be gathered into a single codex of not immoderate size. Examples of such codices from this very period remain in the celebrated Codex Vaticanus and Codex Sinaiticus, and probably also in the earliest copies of Virgil. The vellum of these early MSS ranks with the very finest in quality. For special magnificence, the vellum was sometimes dyed purple, with letters of silver or gold. The existence of such MSS in the 4th cent. is proved by Jerome's denunciation of them ('in membranis purpureis auro argentoque descriptos,' *Præf. in Job*; 'inficiuntur membranæ colore purpureo, aurum liquescit in litteras, gemmis codices vestiuntur,' *ad Eustochium de custod. virg.*).

---

[*] Dziatzko (*Untersuchungen*, pp. 31, 32) suggests that in ancient Egypt the fibres of the bark were used as well as the pith, the exclusive use of the latter being introduced after the Greek occupation; but there is no authority for this distinction, and an examination of early Egyptian papyri does not reveal any essential difference in the method of their manufacture. Moreover, since Pliny states that even that part of the pith which was nearest the bark made material too coarse for writing purposes, the bark itself must have been still more unsuitable, and could not produce such excellent material as the papyri of the 18th and even earlier dynasties.

[†] Pliny's words, 'turbidus liquor vim glutinis præbet,' are variously interpreted to mean that the muddy water (of the Nile) 'gives strength to the glue' (*glutinis*, dat. plur.) or 'answers the purpose of glue' (*glutinis*, gen. sing.). Dziatzko (*op. cit.* pp. 84, 85) states that a chemical examination of some fragments of papyrus disclosed no trace of glue between the layers, but showed that it had been applied to the surface, presumably to smooth and strengthen it. Certainly it is not always possible to discern glue, but sometimes it appears to be present.

To this period may perhaps be attributed the Codex Veronensis of the Old Latin Gospels; but most of the purple MSS now extant are of later date. Those of the Greek Gospels are all attributable to the 6th cent. (the codices known as Evann. N, N^a, Σ, Φ, and one recently brought from Sinope to Paris, the latter and N^a being written in gold letters, the others in silver, with gold only for the sacred names). Other purple MSS are the Codices Palatinus and Saretianus (5th cent.), Vindobonensis and Brixianus (6th cent.) of the Old Latin Gospels, the Vienna Genesis (6th cent.), which also has painted miniatures, the Gothic Gospels at Upsala (6th cent.), the Metz Gospels and Psalter of St. Germanus at Paris (6th cent.), the Zürich Greek Psalter (7th cent.), the Vulgate Gospels written by Godescalc for Charlemagne (A.D. 781), the Hamilton Gospels, now in America, and two other copies of the Gospels at Paris (8th cent.). The last four, all written in the time of Charlemagne (to which more of the same and subsequent periods might be added), have letters of gold; the earlier MSS are in silver. Among special curiosities of ornamentation may be mentioned two leaves gilded all over, with lettering in blue, containing the tables of Eusebian Canons, from a copy of the Greek Gospels, of the 6th cent., in the British Museum, and two books of prayers written on black vellum in gold and silver letters, of the 15th to 16th cents., at Vienna.

The sheet of vellum having been prepared for use, it was folded into quires, a process which causes hair-side to face hair-side, and flesh-side flesh-side throughout the volume. Quires are found of various sizes, eight leaves being the commonest number. In Greek MSS the flesh-side normally begins the quire, in Latin MSS the hair-side. Lines were ruled on the vellum with a blunt-pointed instrument, generally on the hair-side, making a furrow on that side and a ridge on the flesh-side. After the use of vellum had become well established, the writing was generally arranged in two columns to the page, sometimes less, but very rarely more. The earliest MSS, however, show a larger number, the Cod. Sinaiticus having four columns to the page, and the Codd. Vaticanus and Patiriensis (5th cent.) three. It is probable that the use of narrow columns which this involves is a reminiscence of the narrow columns habitually found in papyri, from which these MSS were almost certainly copied. A revival of this practice is occasionally found in later MSS, as in Brit. Mus. Royal MS 1 D ii, containing part of the LXX, of which four quires are written with three columns to the page; or the great Bibles containing Theodulf's recension of the Vulgate, which also have triple columns.

(*l*) **Paper**, the ultimate survivor in the competition between the various vehicles of literature, is of much less importance for the history of writing than either papyrus or vellum, on account of the lateness of its appearance in Europe and Western Asia. The date of its invention is unknown, but there seems to be no doubt that it was first manufactured in China. About the middle of the 8th cent. it became known to the Arabs, perhaps as a result of their conquest of Samarcand, in 704, and factories were established in Baghdad and elsewhere. Specimens of their workmanship have been found in Egypt, dating from an early period in the Arab occupation of that country. To this paper the names *charta* (often with the epithet *Damascena*) and *papyrus* were applied, since it served to take the place of the material formerly known by those names. From the Arabs the knowledge of paper passed, after a considerable lapse of time, to the Spaniards and Italians. The earliest known specimens are of the 12th cent., but it was only slowly that the new material made headway against the supremacy of vellum for literary purposes. Towards the end of the 14th cent. it began to be used with some freedom in the book trade, and during the 15th cent. it was coming to supersede vellum for ordinary purposes, even before the invention of printing dealt the fatal blow to the older material. It was formerly supposed that the earliest paper, introduced into Europe from the East, was made from cotton wool, and a distinction was drawn between cotton paper and linen paper. Microscopic examination, however, shows that this is a delusion, and that no such thing as paper made wholly of cotton has ever existed. The name *bombycina*, which is used to describe the Oriental paper, has probably nothing to do with the material out of which it was made, but is a corruption of *bambycina*, from Bambycé, in Syria, where it was manufactured. The materials out of which it was usually manufactured were hemp or flax, for which woollen cloth was subsequently substituted, and eventually (in the 14th cent.) linen rags. Water-marks, which do not occur in Oriental paper, were introduced by European manufacturers in the 13th cent. The earliest known specimen is on paper used in the district of Ancona in 1293.

(*m*) The *implements of writing* have naturally differed according to the various materials on which they had to be employed. A sharp, pointed metal instrument, known to the Greeks as *στῦλος*, Lat. *stilus*, was used for writing on clay or wax tablets (cf. Job 19^{24}, Jer 17^{1}). On papyrus the reed (*κάλαμος*, *calamus*) was used (cf. 3 Jn ^{13} *διὰ μέλανος καὶ καλάμου*), and possibly also on leather (cf. Ps 45^{1}, where the LXX has *κάλαμος γραμματέως*). Metal pens in the form of a reed or quill have been found in the so-called Grave of Aristotle at Eretria, and (of the Roman period) in Italy and Britain. The quill pen is first mentioned by an anonymous biographer of Theodoric the Goth (*c.* 500) and by Isidore of Seville (*c.* 600).—The earliest form of ink (*μέλαν, atramentum, ἔγκαυστον, incaustum,* whence *ink*) appears to have been either the juice discharged by the cuttle-fish (Persius, iii. 13) or a mixture of soot and gum. This often gives excellent results, the ink of the Greek papyri, even from the earliest times (3rd and 2nd cent. B.C.), being often admirably black. This kind of ink did not sink deeply into the material on which it was laid, and could be washed off without much difficulty; on papyrus this was the ordinary method of deletion on a large scale. Gall-apples are not mentioned until the 5th cent. (Martianus Capella, iii. 225), but were probably used considerably earlier. Metallic inks were not used with papyrus, but must have been adopted early in the history of writing upon vellum; it is to this element that the erosion seen in so many early vellum MSS (*e.g.* the Codex Vaticanus and the Codex Alexandrinus) is due. In the Middle Ages a less corrosive ink is generally used. Some beautiful specimens remain from about the beginning of the 8th cent., *e.g.* the Codex Amiatinus and the Lindisfarne Gospels. Many recipes for ink are recorded in mediæval MSS; the principal ingredients are gall-apples, vitriol, and gum.

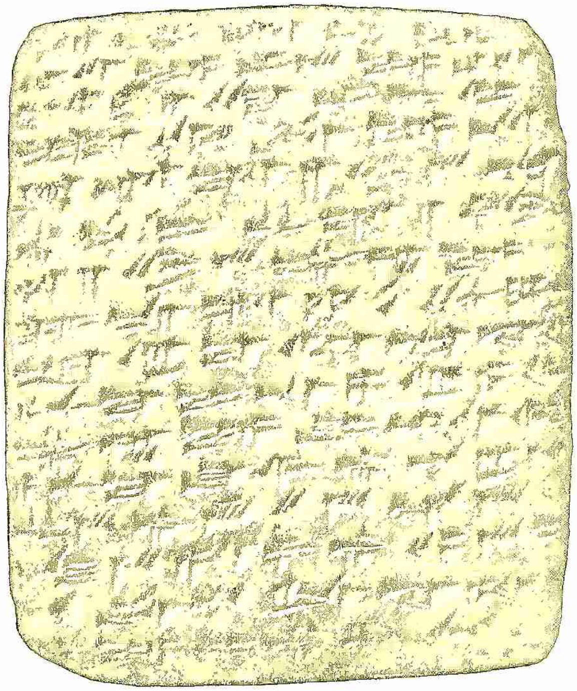

FIG. 1.—CUNEIFORM TABLET FROM TEL EL-AMARNA, 14TH CENT. B.C.
(Brit. Mus. BU. 88-10-13, 75.)

LITERATURE.—Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen*, 1882; Gardthausen, *Griechische Paläographie*, 1879; Thompson, *Handbook of Greek and Latin Palæography*, cc. ii–iv, 1893; Dziatzko, *Untersuchungen über ausgewählte Kapitel des antiken Buchwesens*, 1900; Pietschmann, *Leder und Holz als Schreibmaterial bei den Aegypten* (Sammlung bibliothekswissenschaftlichen Arbeiten, Hft. 8), 1895; Karabacek and Wiesner, *Das arabische Papier* (Mitth. aus d. Sammlung d. Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer, ii. 87 ff.), 1887; Buhl, *Canon and Text of the OT*, Eng. tr. § 74, 1892; Kenyon, *Palæography of Greek Papyri*, ch. ii. 1899; Wattenbach, *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter*^{3}, 1896.

iii. HEBREW WRITING.—It is impossible to fix with any precision the beginning of writing among the Hebrews. The uncertainty which attends the dating of the earlier books of the OT and of the materials upon which they are based, makes it dangerous to draw any conclusions from the references in them to the practice of writing. The discovery (in 1887) of the Tel el-Amarna tablets (Fig. 1), near the site of the capital of Amenophis IV., containing correspondence, in cuneiform characters and in Babylonian dialect, between the Egyptian governors or vassal princes in Palestine and Syria and the king and his ministers in Egypt, proves that writing was practised in Palestine at a date either a century before the Exodus (if that event be assigned to the reign of Merenptah, as commonly held), or contemporary with the Hebrew entry into the Promised Land, according to the alternative chronology. There is also no difficulty in believing that Moses, having been brought up in the Egyptian court (cf. Ac 7^{22}), was acquainted with the art of writing; though, of course, this fact in itself proves nothing as to his actual and immediate authorship of the books ascribed to him. The name Kiriath-sepher (Jos 15^{15}) is held by Sayce and some others (but see Moore, *Judges*, 26 f.) to mean 'city of books,' which might indicate even the existence of a library (perhaps such a one as that of Ashur-bani-pal at Nineveh) or record-office; and one interpretation of *shēbeṭ ṣōphēr* in Jg 5^{14} (LXX B *ἐν ῥάβδῳ διηγήσεως γραμματέως*, AV 'the pen of the writer,' RVm 'the staff of the scribe'; but RV 'the marshal's staff') finds a reference to writing in what is universally admitted to be a very ancient document. It is not until much later, however, that indubitable evidence of Hebrew writing is found. The earliest extant specimens are on the *bowls of Baal Lebanon* (see ALPHABET, vol. i. p. 73), the earliest of which may date from *c.* 1000 B.C., and the *Moabite Stone*, erected by MESHA, king of Moab, about 850 B.C., to commemorate his own revolt against Jehoram. This is written in a dialect scarcely differing from Hebrew, and in the ancient Hebrew characters, which were a development from the original Phœnician alphabet (ALPHABET; for facsimile see MOAB). It is followed by the *Siloam inscription*, attributed to the reign of Hezekiah (*c.* 700 B.C.) or Manasseh (*c.* 650 B.C.), the characters of which are a modification of those on the Moabite Stone. Somewhat later still, probably, are the inscriptions on the jar-handles found by Dr. Bliss at Tell ej-Judeideh, which are assigned approximately to 650–500 B.C. (*PEFSt*, 1900, pp. 207, 341).

Of actual Hebrew *writing* in the old characters we have no remains, since our earliest extant MSS belong to a period long after the adoption of the square characters; but their appearance may be learnt from the MSS of the Samaritan version of the Pentateuch, the Samaritans having retained the ancient alphabet when the Jews abandoned it, after the Captivity, in favour of the Aramæan characters, which represented a different line of descent from the original Phœnician alphabet.

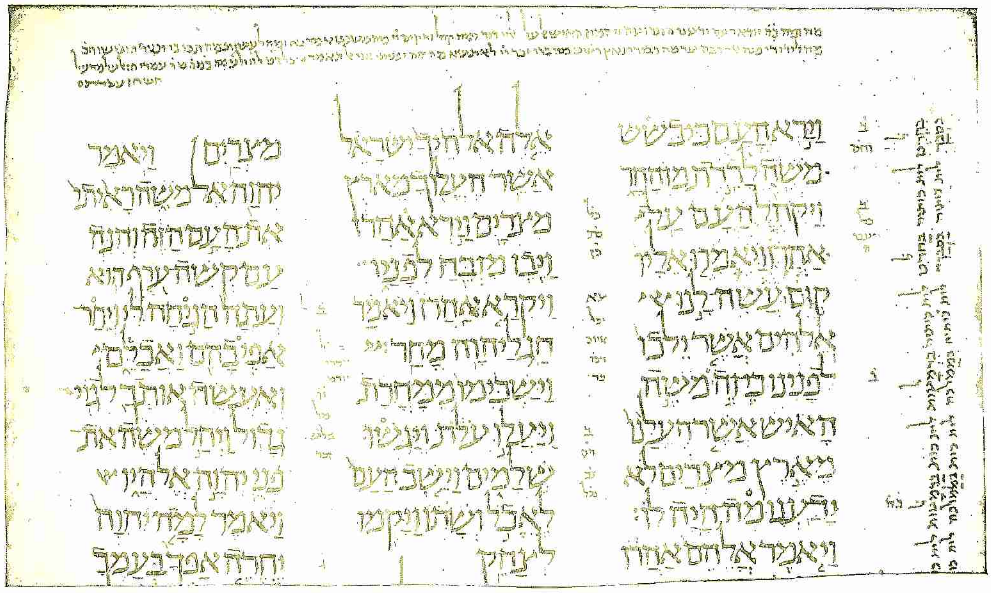

FIG. 2.—HEBREW PENTATEUCH CODEX, 9TH CENT.
(Brit. Mus. MS Or. 4445, reduced).

The old characters remained in use on coins of the Maccabæan period, but they had fallen out of use for literary purposes long before the time of our Lord, and there can be no doubt that the books read by Him (*e.g.* Lk 4^{17}) were written in the square alphabet, in which the smallness of the letter *yôd* justified the metaphor of Mt 5^{18}.* The square characters of the earliest period were not identical in form with those of the MSS now extant, but they were their direct ancestors. So far we have very little light as to the appearance of the MSS in which the Hebrew Scriptures were preserved; it is only when we reach the period of the Talmud (*c.* 300–500) that we find those principles being laid down which, stereotyped by the Massoretes, have given us the MSS now extant (Fig. 2). Minute directions are given for the copying of the Scriptures, especially of those volumes of the Law which were to be used in the services of the synagogue. These must always be leather rolls, not in modern book form; and they must be written with the most scrupulous care.

> 'A synagogue roll must be written on the skins of clean animals, prepared for the particular use of the synagogue by a Jew. These must be fastened together with strings taken from clean animals. Every skin must contain a certain number of columns, equal throughout the entire codex. The length of each column must not extend over less than 48 or more than 60 lines; and the breadth must consist of thirty letters. The whole copy must be first lined; and if three words be written in it without a line, it is worthless. The ink should be black, neither red, green, nor any other colour, and be prepared according to a definite receipt. An authentic copy must be the exemplar, from which the transcriber ought not in the least to deviate. No word or letter, not even a *yod*, must be written from memory, the scribe not having looked at the codex before him. . . . Between every consonant the space of a hair or thread must intervene; between every word the breadth of a narrow consonant; between every new *parāshāh*, or section, the breadth of nine consonants; between every book, three lines. The fifth book of Moses must terminate exactly with a line; but the rest need not do so. Besides this, the copyist must sit in full Jewish dress, wash his whole body, not begin to write the name of God with a pen newly dipped in ink, and should a king address him while writing that name he must take no notice of him' (S. Davidson, *Text of the OT*^{2}, p. 89).

Vowel-points are never added in synagogue rolls. Originally absent from Hebrew writing altogether, vowels were first represented, when some special need required their indication, by the semi-vowels ו, י, ה, and sometimes א, technically known as *matres lectionis*. The insertion of these signs gives what is known as the *scriptio plena*, their omission the *scriptio defectiva*. The date of the introduction of this device is uncertain, but it must be later than the production of the LXX. The more complete and satisfactory system of vowel-points was introduced about the 7th century. An alternative system, in which the points are supralinear instead of infralinear, is found in the oldest dated MS (the St. Petersburg Codex of the Prophets, A.D. 916), and in some others: this is supposed to have been practised at Babylon (but not exclusively even there), but never gained general acceptance. Vowel-points are habitually inserted in MSS other than synagogue rolls, but it was a rule that the consonantal text should be written independently, and the points added by a different scribe.—*Accentuation* was probably introduced into Hebrew writing at about the same date as vowel-points (5th–7th cents.), and used to denote the logical interrelation of the several words in the sentence, as well as their vocal modulation in public reading.—*Separation of words* is effected in the Moabite and Siloam inscriptions by the insertion of a dot; but the frequent mistakes in the division of words in the LXX, and the subsequent introduction of the 'final letters,' show that in early MSS Hebrew writing, like Greek and Latin to a much later period, was undivided. The use of the five 'final letters,' to indicate the ends of words, belongs to a date intermediate between the version of the LXX and the Talmud, a period in which most of the *minutiæ* in the practice of the scribes probably originated.—*Divisions of the text* in Hebrew MSS are of various kinds. The larger divisions, corresponding roughly to our chapters, are the 'open' and 'closed' sections. Open sections begin a new line in the MSS; and if the previous section has ended at the end of a line, a whole line is left blank before the new section begins. Closed sections follow on in the same line as the end of the previous section, a blank space only being left between; or, if the previous section ends too near the end of a line to admit of this, the next line is indented. Late MSS sometimes insert the letters פ or ס in the blank space, to indicate an open or a closed section respectively. In the Law the MSS agree generally in their distribution of open and closed sections, but in the Prophets and Hagiographa there is considerable divergence, indicating difference of tradition in different Massoretic schools. This section-system was certainly introduced before the time of Jerome, and probably before the period of the Mishna.—Another form of division was into *ṣedarim*, or lections suited to a three-years' cycle of the reading of the Law. The Pentateuch is divided into 167 *ṣedarim*, while of the other books, which were similarly divided, the Former Prophets have 77, the Later Prophets 107, and the Hagiographa 81. Side by side with this was a one-year cycle of the reading of the Law, which was in use in Babylonia, involving a division of the Law into 54 *pārāshîyôth*. These are indicated in the MSS, with a mnemonic mark to show the number of verses in each *parāshā*. Verse-division is rarely found in synagogue rolls; in MSS in book form having accents and vowel-points it is regularly practised. The earliest method of indicating the end of a verse is by placing a *ṣilluḳ* (ֽ) beneath the final letter; subsequently the double point or colon (*ṣoph paṣuḳ*) was introduced. The verses were carefully numbered by the Massoretes, as a precaution against interpolation; but the systems of division practised by the Babylonian and Palestinian Jews respectively differed considerably, and the one now in use differs from both of these, being apparently due to the Massoretes.

---

* An isolated survival of the old alphabet occurs in the case of Aquila, in whose Greek OT the name Jehovah was regularly written in these characters. Origen's statement to this effect has been confirmed by the fragments of Aquila recently discovered at Cairo, and now at Cambridge (Burkitt, *Fragments of Aquila*, 1897, cf. Taylor, *Genizah Fragments*, p. 26 f.).

The margins of Hebrew MSS play an important part in their character, since they generally contain the Massorah and certain kinds of various readings. The **Massorah**, or body of traditional commentary on textual matters, is of two kinds—the Greater and the Lesser Massorah. The Greater Massorah generally occupies the upper and lower margin of the page, while the Lesser is placed in the outer side margin. Between the columns come the various readings known as the *Ḳĕrê* and *Ṣevirin* (see TEXT OF OT). The places of the Lesser Massorah and the various readings are, however, sometimes interchanged. Often, too, the Hebrew text is accompanied by an Aramaic paraphrase, either in parallel columns or between the lines.—On the palæography of Hebrew MSS it is not necessary to dwell. Changes in the manner of writing between the 9th cent. (the date of our earliest MS) and the invention of printing were slight, and the best authorities differ considerably in their attribution of dates on the handwriting alone. Moreover, in view of the stereotyped character of the text preserved in all extant MSS, not so much depends on the precise assignment of dates as in the case of Greek MSS.

LITERATURE.—Ginsburg, *Introd. to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible*, 1897; S. Davidson, *Text of the OT*², 1859; Buhl, *Canon and Text of the OT*², Eng. tr. 1892; Wickes, *Accentuation of the so-called Prose Books*, 1887; Driver, *Notes on the Heb. Text of the Books of Samuel*, 1890, pp. ix–xxxv, see also p. 957; Weir, *Short Hist. of the Heb. Text*, 1899.

iv. GREEK WRITING ON PAPYRUS.—We are far better situated with regard to knowledge of the manner in which the Greek Bible was written than is the case with the Hebrew Bible; for, whereas the earliest extant Hebrew MS is separated by more than a thousand years from the date of composition of the latest Hebrew book of the OT, we have (thanks to the discoveries made in Egypt within the last twelve years) Greek MSS as early as the date at which Greek first began to be used as a vehicle for the Scriptures. From the first half of the 3rd cent. B.C. onwards we have a continuous stream of Greek MSS (not indeed biblical, but showing how the biblical MSS must have been written), at first exclusively on papyrus, but from the 4th cent. after Christ also on vellum.

Greek writing upon papyrus falls into two categories, *literary* and *documentary*, the former being used primarily for works of literature, but at times also for documents of special importance, such as petitions to the great magistrates; while the latter, primarily used for all sorts of non-literary documents (receipts, contracts, accounts, letters, etc.), was also occasionally employed for private copies of literary works. Both classes have therefore to be taken into consideration with regard to the transmission of the sacred text. So far as the LXX is concerned, indeed, the non-literary hand is not of much importance, since there is no reason to suppose that the version circulated to any great extent among other than literary classes. Copies were, no doubt, occasionally made in the common hand for poor people or for private use; but it is not likely that this happened to such an extent as materially to affect the textual tradition. With regard to the NT the case is different, as will be shown below.

The literary hand of the 3rd cent. B.C., at the time of the production of the LXX, is known from the papyri extracted by Prof. Petrie from the cartonnage of some mummy cases found by him at Gurob in 1889, of which the best, from a palæographic point of view, are the fragments of the *Phœdo* of Plato and the *Antiope* of Euripides. These are written in a very small uncial hand, neat and firm, in columns about 6 in. high and 2¾ in. wide. According to a rough calculation, two rolls of about 35 ft. each would be required to contain the Book of Genesis in the style of writing employed in the *Phœdo* MS; and, even with a taller column and greater economy of space between the lines, it is certain that such a book could not have been contained in a single roll of normal length. The uncial hand on papyrus admits of occasional ligatures between the letters, so that the distinction between uncial and cursive hands is less sharply marked on papyrus than on vellum. Besides the small literary hand just mentioned, the early Ptolemaic papyri show a larger and rougher uncial hand, likewise used for literary purposes, but probably for cheaper and less carefully executed copies. The non-literary hands of the period are various, but for the most part are very cursive, with broad letters freely spaced out and large ligatures.

In the 2nd cent. B.C. two forms of literary hand are again found in existence (and it must be remembered that the extant evidence is still scanty, so that no description is likely to be exhaustive)—one (exemplified by the papyrus of Hyperides *in Athenogenem* at the Louvre) being a square, firm hand, larger than that of the Petrie *Phœdo*, while the other (contained in a rhetorical papyrus, also at the Louvre) is smaller, weaker, and more sloping. The non-literary hand is generally less straggling than in the previous century, the larger forms of it being often very handsome, and the smaller neat and flowing. The 1st cent. B.C. is a period of transition, the Roman conquest of Egypt leading gradually to a marked change of hand. Of literary papyri, few can be quite certainly attributed to this century, but there are strong grounds for placing the Herculaneum rolls here, with a few others from Egypt. The Herculaneum papyri show a number of rather small, business-like hands, without much ornament, written in narrow columns on papyrus of moderate height, and from these a good idea may be formed of the appearance of a MS of the LXX in the generation preceding the birth of our Lord.

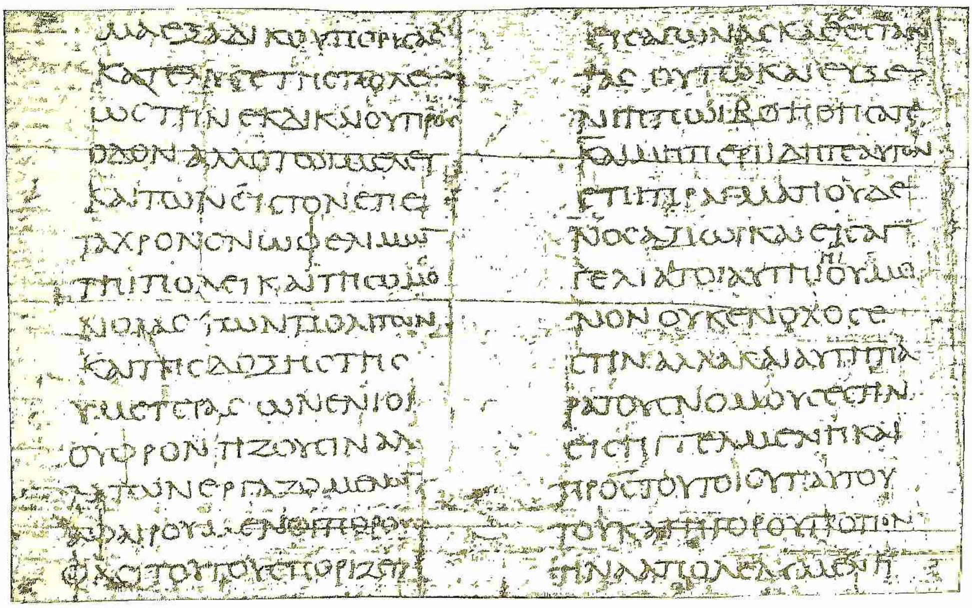

FIG. 3.—GREEK PAPYRUS ROLL, LATE 1ST CENT.

(Brit. Mus. Pap. 115, Hyperides, *pro Euxenippo*).

For the 1st cent. of the Christian era, and especially for the second half of it, during which the books of the NT were written, we have fairly good evidence as to the current literary hand, and ample for the non-literary hand. The literary hand is rather larger than was usual in the Ptolemaic period, with well-rounded curves and not infrequent ligatures; a graceful style of writing, and, at its best (as in a papyrus of the *Odyssey* in the British Museum), very handsome. It is not likely, however, that the authors and early copyists of the books of the NT often had writing of this excellence at their disposal. A better example of the style in which the autographs of the NT may have been written is provided by a MS of Hyperides in the British Museum, written in the latter part of the 1st cent. in a hand akin to the best contemporary non-literary MSS (Fig. 3). Even, however, when the author's autograph or the first transcripts were produced by competent scribes, the conditions of circulation among the Christian community make it practically certain that the Scriptures must often have been copied by private persons, unskilled in the art of writing, and thinking, not of producing a volume fit for the book market, but of reading for themselves, or transmitting to their friends, the all-important narrative of the Master's life. Throughout the first three centuries of the Christian era the books of the NT must have circulated mainly in channels outside the ordinary book trade. Public libraries did not require them; churches must often have lost their copies in times of persecution; professional scribes, unless they happened to be Christians, would not be employed to transcribe them; and in country places skilled calligraphy would not be forthcoming. Under these circumstances, the NT Scriptures must have circulated much in privately written copies. A good example of such a copy of a literary work in a non-literary hand is provided by the papyrus of Aristotle's Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία, written at the end of the 1st cent. on the back of used papyrus, in four different hands, of which three are cursive and one a rough uncial. The cursive hands use abbreviations freely for common words and terminations (*e.g.* / = ἐστί, γ' =γάρ, κ'=καί, κ`=κατά, τ`=τήν, τ'=τῆς, τ'=τῶν), and the possibility must be reckoned with that similarly written MSS enter, to some extent, into the textual history of the NT. The common hands of the Roman period are small and very cursive, and errors in transcription would consequently be easy; to say nothing of the probable want of habits of literary exactness among many of the copyists. No doubt, many well-written copies were also produced, especially in the great towns where Christian communities were strong; and these would have a good chance of preserving a pure tradition, since the literary hand of the 1st and 2nd cents. is clear and good, increasing in size, and perhaps in showiness, as time goes on. The most calligraphically elaborate papyri extant (two copies of the *Iliad*, bk. ii., at Oxford and in the British Museum) probably belong to the 2nd century.

In the 3rd cent. a new element enters into consideration, namely the adoption of the codex form, the roll form continuing alongside of it for a period which cannot be exactly defined. At first the codex form was inferior, as a style of book production, to the roll form, being an adaptation to literary purposes of a form which had hitherto been adopted mainly for memoranda and rough drafts. There are signs, however, that it was early taken into use among the Christians for their private copies of the Scriptures. The evidence at present available is too scanty to justify dogmatism, but it certainly is the case that several of the earliest examples of the codex form contain Christian writings, and that the majority of papyri of the 3rd cent. containing Christian writings are in the codex form. Of the NT, two fragments are extant which are assigned to the 3rd cent., and three of the 4th; all these are in codex form. Of the OT there are three fragments of the 3rd cent., of which one is certainly from a codex, and one is uncertain. In addition, the Oxyrhynchus fragment containing alleged sayings of our Lord is a leaf from a codex of the 3rd century. It appears, therefore, that the codex form was generally used among Christians at an earlier date than among people in general; for of 21 non-Christian papyri assigned to the 3rd cent. only two are written in this form. These early Christian codices are not showy specimens of the calligrapher's art; on the contrary, they are somewhat roughly written, unornamental productions, generally of small size, suitable, it may be thought, for easy conveyance and easy concealment. This fits in with what has been said above as to the character of the MSS in which the books of the NT circulated before the recognition of Christianity by the State. Prof. Hort has observed (*Introd. to NT*, § 352) that the Codex Ephraemi in the Apocalypse must have been copied from a MS composed of small leaves; and it is possible that it was such a one as those which we have been describing,—a private copy, without beauty of workmanship, and perhaps without much attention to precise accuracy of transcription. From this predilection for the codex form even on papyrus, the Christian Church was well prepared to make use of it when vellum began to come to the front as the material for book production.

Before considering, however, the progress of palæography upon vellum, it will be as well to say something as to the *minutiæ* of Greek writing upon papyrus. In ordinary literary papyri, the writing is arranged in narrow columns, often leaning to the right, in uncial characters of medium size (smaller than is usual upon vellum), admitting of ligatures between them to a limited extent. Enlarged initials are not used. Pauses in the sense are indicated (if at all) by small blank spaces in the text, often accompanied by a *paragraphus*, or short horizontal stroke below the first letters of the line in which a sentence ends.—*Punctuation* in the ordinary sense is very rarely found in prose MSS, but it occurs sporadically in a few MSS. In one or two very early MSS a double dot, like a colon, is used to separate sentences; but usually only a single dot is employed. According to the strict system, developed by the Alexandrian grammarians, a dot placed above the line has the value of a full stop; in the middle of the line, that of a comma; and at the foot of the line, that of a semicolon. In a few extant papyri these distinctions are observed; but oftener they are neglected, and the dot is placed above the line to denote all values.—*Accentuation* is not unknown, as it is in the earliest vellum uncials, but is rarely and sporadically applied. No papyrus MS has accents fully and systematically supplied, but some of the best-written of them (notably the Bacchylides MS) have them fairly plentifully. Less well-written MSS have fewer of them, and MSS in non-literary hands practically do not have them at all.—*Separation of words* is not found, except in a few cases where ambiguity might result: here a single point is sometimes used to indicate the correct division. This is again especially the case in carefully written MSS, which are always more fully supplied with aids to comprehension than their commoner kindred. It is not at all likely that any of the early copies of the books of the NT were supplied with accents or punctuation, or had any indication of the division of words.—The use of *abbreviations* in non-literary hands has been mentioned above. In addition to the symbols there described, a common method of abbreviation is to drop the termination of a word, writing the last letter which is retained above the line: *e.g.* αυ^{τ} or αυτ^{ο} for αὐτός or αὐτόν, γραμ^{μ} for γράμμα or γραμματεύς, ποιεισ^{θ} for ποιεῖσθαι, and so on. Abbreviation by the omission of letters from the middle of a word is not practised, except in the common theological compendia ($\overline{κς}$, $\overline{θς}$, $\overline{χς}$, $\overline{ιης}$, κ.τ.λ.), which are found from the 3rd cent. onwards.

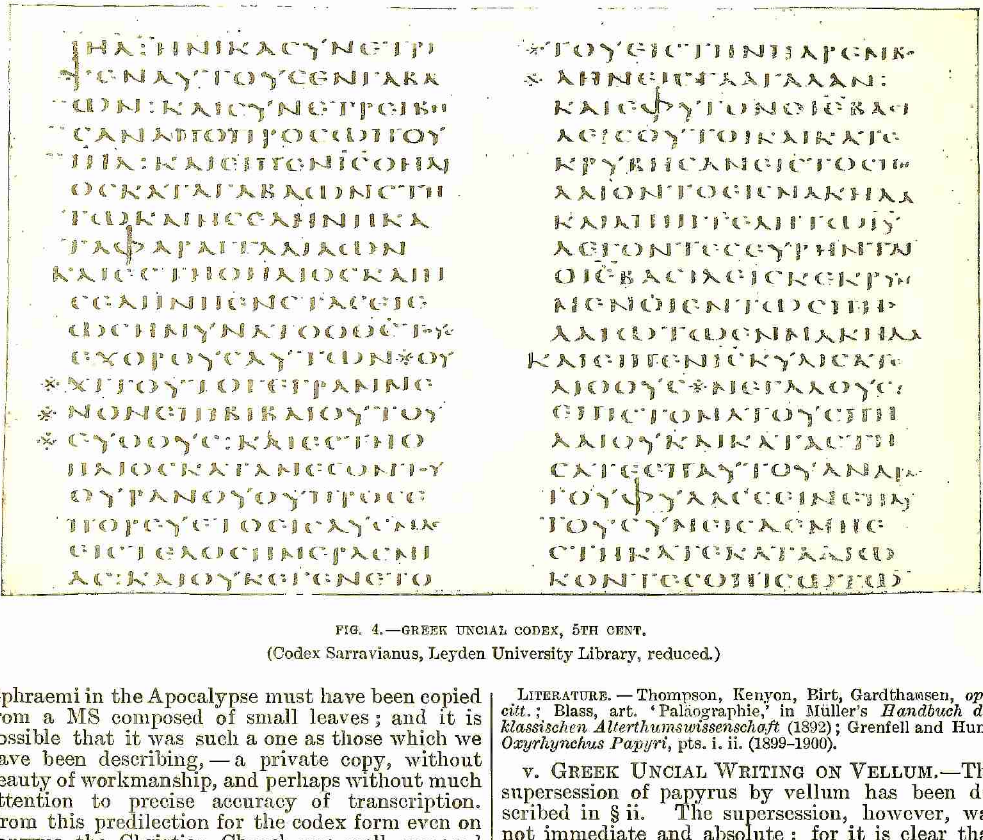

FIG. 4.—GREEK UNCIAL CODEX, 5TH CENT.

(Codex Sarravianus, Leyden University Library, reduced.)

LITERATURE.—Thompson, Kenyon, Birt, Gardthausen, *opp. citt.*; Blass, art. 'Paläographie,' in Müller's *Handbuch der klassischen Alterthumswissenschaft* (1892); Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, pts. i. ii. (1899–1900).

v. GREEK UNCIAL WRITING ON VELLUM.—The supersession of papyrus by vellum has been described in § ii. The supersession, however, was not immediate and absolute; for it is clear that copies of the Scriptures continued occasionally to be inscribed on papyrus as long as the material itself was accessible. Fragments of such MSS are in existence (such as a Psalter in the British Museum, and the Books of Zechariah and Malachi in a MS at Heidelberg) which are attributable to the 7th cent.; and much later than this no Greek MS on papyrus can be, on account of the Arab conquest, which closed Egypt to the Christian world. But from the 4th cent. onwards papyrus takes a secondary place. From that century we have the Vatican and Sinaitic Codices, and we know by tradition of the 50 volumes prepared for the churches of Constantinople; and it is not likely that any papyrus MS, extant or hereafter to be discovered, can be put into successful comparison with these. From this time forward, moreover, there was nothing to prevent the free multiplication of copies of the Scriptures, with all the resources of trained penmanship. The textual tradition of the NT henceforth runs, not through private copies, but through the great churches and libraries; and if Constantinople and Cæsarea used vellum, there is no reason to doubt that their example was followed in Rome and Antioch and even Alexandria; indeed there is good reason for believing, on palæographical grounds, that the Vatican and Sinaitic Codices, and still more the Codex Alexandrinus, were produced in Egypt. It is therefore to vellum MSS that we must look for the custodians of the sacred text from about the date of the Council of Nicæa.

The palæography of vellum MSS has been studied much longer than that of papyri, and rests on a far wider consensus of competent opinion. It may therefore be treated the more briefly here. The earliest vellum MSS show a resemblance to the papyri, not only in the use of narrow columns (see § ii.), but in the handwritings themselves. It appears that, when vellum was taken into use for the best copies of literary works, the scribes abandoned the sloping and somewhat inelegant writing which is characteristic of the papyri of the 3rd cent., and cast back to the better models of an earlier period. The uncial[*] characters of the Vatican and Sinaitic Codices appear to be modelled on the best papyrus MSS of the 1st and 2nd cents., a square, upright uncial of medium size, written with much simplicity of style. Ligatures between letters are entirely eschewed, and no cursive element appears in the writing at all. The Cod. Vaticanus has no punctuation or accents by the first hand, no separation of words, no enlarged initials, no projection of letters into the margin to denote a new paragraph. The same is the case with the Cod. Sarravianus (Fig. 4) of the Pent., probably of the early 5th century. The Cod. Sinaiticus differs only in the last detail, the first letter of a new paragraph projecting very slightly into the margin, but without enlargement. In the Cod. Alexandrinus, assigned to the first half of the 5th cent., the hand is larger and heavier, the number of columns on a page is reduced to two, and the first letter of a new paragraph (or, if the paragraph begins in the middle of a line, the first letter of the first complete line) not only projects into the margin, but is considerably enlarged. In later MSS still these enlarged initials become the subject of ornamentation, until we reach the magnificent illuminated initials of the Middle Ages. In the 6th cent. the style of writing grows generally heavier, and there is more distinction between the thick and thin strokes of a letter. In many MSS, too, the characters are larger, especially in the purple MSS, which are a notable feature of this period. In Egyptian MSS of this period (*e.g.* the Codex Marchalianus of the Prophets) a somewhat stiff and angular style is adopted, which is akin to the hand found in Coptic MSS. After the 6th cent. the best age of uncial writing is past. In the 7th cent. the writing began to assume a sloping form,—always a sign of degeneracy,—and to compensate for its loss of natural strength and firmness by excrescences in the shape of exaggerated knobs and bars at the extremities of the letters. Added to this a tendency to lateral compression is found, which culminates in the so-called 'Slavonic' uncials which dominate the 8th and 9th centuries. In these, whether upright or sloping, the letters are heavy and angular, and tall in proportion to their width. A letter like O, instead of being a circle, is compressed into an oval, or even a diamond shape; while T, K, Γ, and other letters have large bars at the ends of their projecting limbs. A reaction occurs in the 10th cent., when a return to the square and well-rounded characters of the 4th to 6th cents. is seen; but by this time the day for uncial writing was past, and its place was to be taken by a smaller and less cumbrous style.

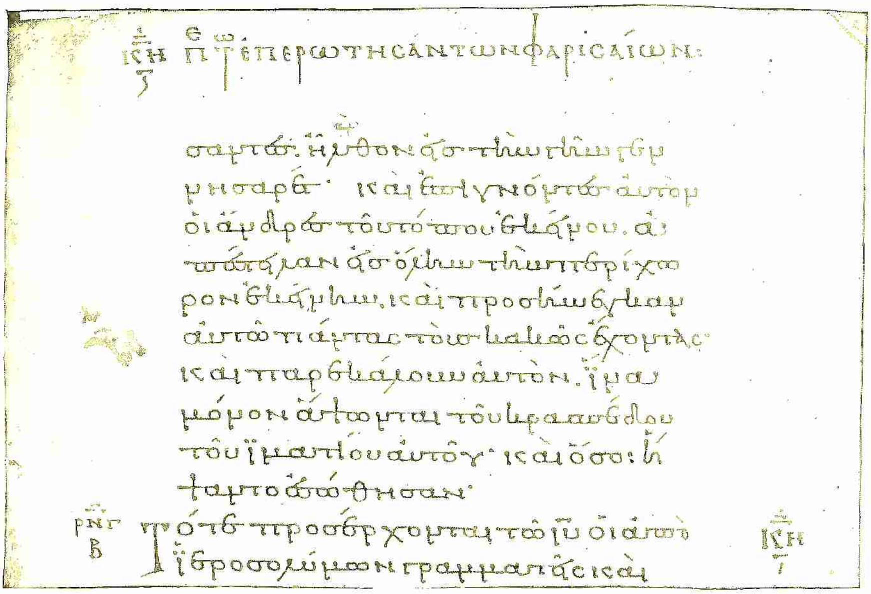

FIG. 5.—GREEK MINUSCULE CODEX, 10TH CENT.
(Brit. Mus. Add. MS 11300).

LITERATURE.—Thompson, *op. cit.*; Gardthausen, *op. cit.*; *Palæographical Society*, facsimiles of MSS; Omont, *Facsimilés des plus anciens manuscrits grecs . . . de la Bibl. Nat.* 1892; Kenyon, *Facsimiles of Biblical MSS in the Brit. Mus.* 1900.

vi. GREEK MINUSCULE WRITING.—The great defect of uncial writing as a vehicle of literature was its cumbrousness. Written without ligatures, in large, heavily-formed letters, it occupied more time and more space than its predecessor on papyrus, and could not be adapted to the production of cheap or handy volumes. Up to the 7th cent. this need was supplied, as has been shown above, by copies upon papyrus; and the failure of the supply of this material drove the scribes ultimately to the production of a substitute. Further, as uncial writing degenerated, it lost its sole recommendation—the beauty of the volumes written in that style; and the way was open to a successor. Both these wants were supplied by an adaptation of the cursive style of common writing to the purposes of literature. It is not to be supposed that uncials were ever the sole manner of writing in existence. From the earliest point at which we have extant remains of Greek writing (3rd cent. B.C.), cursive writing is found in existence side by side with uncial; and common-sense tells us that this must always have been the case, such writing being required for ordinary use, quite apart from the needs of book production. We now have plentiful examples of Greek cursive writing from the 3rd cent. B.C. to the 7th cent. after Christ, with a few specimens from the 8th cent.; and it is only through the accident of the Arab conquest of Egypt that we are unable to trace its development on into the 9th cent. The extant evidence, however, is enough to show that the minuscule hand which was taken into use for literary purposes in the 9th cent. is the direct descendant of that which is found in the Byzantine papyri of the 6th and 7th centuries. The forms of nearly all the letters are the same; only the exuberances of the Byzantine style are repressed, the size of the characters (which is often considerable) reduced, and the whole made far more calligraphic. The Greek minuscule MSS of the 9th and 10th cents. are, in fact, as beautiful examples of writing as exist anywhere; and at the same time the economy in space and labour, as compared with the coarse Slavonic uncials which preceded them, is very considerable (Fig. 5). The effect of the reformation upon the textual tradition of the Greek Bible was very great. The multiplication of copies was rendered infinitely easier, the possession of them was placed within the reach of a much wider circle, and the consultation of the Scriptures was greatly facilitated. The extant uncial MSS of the NT number less than 200, the extant minuscules are nearly 3000; and though much must be allowed for the greater antiquity of the former style (and consequently greater certainty of the destruction of MSS), very much of the disparity must be due to the increased ease with which the minuscule could be produced.

---

[*] The term is derived from an expression of Jerome's (*præf. ad Job.*), 'uncialibus ('inch-long'), ut vulgo aiunt, litteris,' and is applied to writing in capital letters, each formed separately, as distinct from the smaller minuscule style, introduced in the 9th cent., which lent itself easily to cursive writing. In vellum MSS the distinction between uncial and minuscule is clearly marked; but on papyrus it is less evident, and uncial writing on papyrus, as stated above, admitted not infrequently a cursive element.

Into the details of Greek minuscule writing from the 9th cent. to the 15th it is not necessary to enter here. When all are so far removed from the original autographs, little turns on the precise date of a minuscule MS of the Bible. It is the character of the text contained in them, and the evidence thence derivable as to the archetypes from which they are descended, that make them valuable or the reverse. Moreover, it is not possible to describe the successive styles of minuscule writing, with the slight variations by which the typical hand of one century can (more or less precariously) be distinguished from that of another, without a copious use of facsimiles. For these the reader may be referred to the publications of the Palæographical Society or the series of facsimiles of dated MSS in the Bibliothèque Nationale issued by M. Omont. These illustrate at once the predominant hands of the successive centuries, and the uncertainty which must always attend the precise fixing of undated MSS, owing to the sporadic reappearances of the various hands at considerable intervals of time.

The earliest extant dated minuscule MS is dated in A.D. 835 (the Uspensky Gospels); and in the course of this century, though the uncial style was by no means yet extinct, the minuscule hand was perfected into a style of great beauty. It is a firm, upright hand, rather square in character, and sometimes leaning slightly backwards. The letters are frequently linked together, but only in small groups. The breathings are angular (⊢ ⊣ ∟ ⅃), the accents small and inconspicuous. The characters are pure minuscule, without intermixture of uncial forms. The writing stands upon the lines ruled in the vellum. Towards the end of the 10th cent. a change is made in this respect, and the writing frequently depends from the ruled lines. Uncial forms of certain letters (such as η, κ, ν) creep in again among the minuscules. A looser style of writing is adopted, the letters being less firm and square, and more freely spaced out. This is especially characteristic of a number of MSS of classical authors written about the 11th cent., and the same tendencies continue progressively in the succeeding centuries. In the 11th cent., too, the rounded breathing makes its appearance, and in the 12th it is definitely established as the usual form. In the 12th cent. the minuscule hand is often large and somewhat handsome, though without the compactness of the earlier style; but from this point it degenerates more decisively. The forms of the letters become more irregular, accents are larger and more conspicuous, the practice of contraction is introduced, which in later MSS increases to such an extent as to render them unintelligible except after a special study of the various marks of abbreviation. Accents also are frequently formed in one stroke with the letters, and in every respect the tendency to cursiveness increases. The Renaissance, with its revival of interest in Greek in the West, and the increased demand for handsome specimens of Greek writing which it produced, led to some improvement in calligraphy; but here the invention of printing stepped in, and the handiwork of the scribe was superseded by the mechanical precision of the press.

LITERATURE.—The authorities cited in § v.: Omont, *Facsimilés des manuscrits grecs datés de la Bibliothèque Nationale du ix*^{e} *au xiv*^{e} *siècle*, 1890, and *Facsimilés des manuscrits grecs des xv*^{e} *et xvi*^{e} *siècles*, 1887; Wattenbach and von Velsen, *Exempla Codicum Græcorum litteris minusculis scriptorum*, 1878.

vii. LATIN WRITING.—It does not come within the scope of this article to consider all the forms of writing in which the Bible has circulated; but the Latin version holds such a unique position, as the Bible of the West, and one of such special interest to us, that a short description of Latin writing may be useful. Of its early stages, before the general adoption of vellum, we have much less knowledge than in the case of Greek; for the papyri found in Egypt, which are our chief source of information of the pre-vellum period, contain but very few examples of Latin writing. Even the papyri of Herculaneum are almost wholly Greek; and though we know that papyrus was the main material of book production throughout the whole of the most productive period of Roman literature, and continued to be employed for literary purposes as late as the 7th cent., and for certain official purposes (notably papal rescripts) down to the beginning of the 11th cent., we have no literary works of any substantial size now extant on this material, with the exception of a few papyrus codices of the 6th and 7th cents., long after the victory of vellum had been accomplished. We have nothing to show us what the first editions of Cicero and Cæsar, of Virgil and Horace, or even of Tacitus and Pliny, were like. The history of the Latin literary hand begins, where the history of the Greek literary hand began until recently, with the rise of vellum. Of the early non-literary hand we have rather more evidence, in the shape of a few papyri and a considerable number of wax tablets; and this may have been used, like the Greek non-literary hand, for the dissemination of the Scriptures in very early times. On this point, however, there is at present no evidence.

On vellum the history of Latin writing follows substantially the same course as the Greek. It begins with an elaborately-written majuscule hand, in which all the letters are separate; and this is ultimately superseded by a minuscule hand, which from the 9th cent. to the 15th is the universal vehicle of literature. In the majuscule type of hand, however, distinctions are introduced which find no place in Greek. The earliest phase is that of writing in *capitals*, in which rounded forms of letters are rare, the general character being the same as that of inscriptions upon stone. These, again, are subdivided into *square* capitals, in which the letters are even in height and square in build, and *rustic*, in which the horizontal strokes are very short in proportion to the perpendicular. Of square capitals very few specimens now remain (notably two fragmentary MSS of Virgil), and it seems clear that they were used only for *éditions de luxe*, and never were the form of writing exclusively in use. The shapes of the letters are essentially the same as in rustic capitals, only they are increased in breadth. The two styles are contemporaneous, and of the two the rustic style is unquestionably that which was in common use. It is also the earlier in date, going back to the papyrus period (*e.g.* a Roman military roll of A.D. 156, *Pal. Soc.* ii. 165); while the heavier square capitals can hardly have been written except on vellum. Rustic capitals are found in the great early MSS of Virgil, the Romanus and Palatinus of the 4th cent., and the Mediceus of the 5th; also in the Bembine Terence (4th–5th cent.), the Paris Prudentius (6th cent.), and even as late as the Psalter falsely attributed to St. Augustine, but really of the early 8th cent., and the Utrecht Psalter of the 9th cent. Commoner, however, than the rustic hand,—at any rate from the 4th cent. onwards,—is the other form of the majuscule hand known as *uncial*. In this style many of the letters (notably A D E H M), which are angular in the capital hand, are rounded into curves, and vertical strokes are habitually carried above or below the line of writing. This is the hand found in the earliest extant MSS of the Latin Bible, such as the Codd. Vercellensis (4th cent.), Veronensis and Palatinus (4th–5th cent.), Bobbiensis (5th–6th cent.), and other fragments of the Old Latin version; and from the 6th cent. onwards it ousts the capital style from the field, with the exception of a few isolated examples, such as those mentioned above. At first rather a small and irregular hand, without much pretension to beauty, it improves in regularity, firmness, and handsomeness up to the beginning of the 8th cent.; the MSS of that period, such as the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Cod. Amiatinus, being probably the most magnificent examples of Latin writing in existence. Meanwhile there was a tendency to intermix minuscule forms with uncials in writing of a less formal character, and this, which is known as the *half-uncial* style, is found as early as the 6th cent. adopted into use for literary purposes (*e.g.* a MS of Hilary at Rome, written not later than A.D. 509–10). Subsisting side by side with the uncial style, the half-uncial hands paved the way for a general adoption of minuscules, which thus comes by an easier and less abrupt transition than in the case of Greek. On the one hand, the majuscule style had been gradually toned down successively from capital to uncial, from uncial to half-uncial; on the other, the cursive hand in daily use for common purposes was raised into the various 'national' hands, Lombardic, Visigothic, and Merovingian, which, though inelegant enough, were still book-hands of a kind. By the 8th cent. the old literary hands had been broken up, and their place taken by these various species of mixed hands which had neither the beauty of the majuscule nor the ease and simplicity of the cursive. From this state of chaos Latin calligraphy was rescued by the reforms introduced in the reign and under the inspiration of Charlemagne. The Caroline reform, accomplished principally at the school of Tours, under the direction of Alcuin of York, evolved a style of writing which was at once graceful and clear, easy both to write and to read, which was destined to supersede the various national hands then in existence, and form the foundation of the minuscule hand which was the vehicle of literature until the invention of printing. To the Caroline minuscule style belong the Bibles containing the recensions of the Vulgate text by Alcuin himself and by Theodulf of Orleans; while the beautiful uncials of the various contemporary 'Golden' Gospels, produced perhaps in the palace schools at Aachen, show how the best traditions of the 8th cent. could be carried on.

It is impossible here to follow the developments of Latin palæography in all their details. For the history of the biblical text perhaps the most notable is the compressed hand of the 13th cent., in which so many Bibles are still extant. Coming after the bold and handsome hand of the 12th cent., its rigidity and compression are very noticeable. The scribe seems anxious to economize space to the last degree; and this, aided by the very thin vellum then in use, enables him to produce Bibles in a comparatively small compass. It is natural to connect this activity on the part of the scribes in multiplying copies of the Bible with the activity of the scholars of the University of Paris at this same period in revising and stereotyping its text; the whole testifying to an increased interest in the reading of the Scriptures, which may perhaps be attributed to the influence of St. Louis. In the 14th and 15th cents. it is only necessary to point out the divergence of styles in the north and south of Europe; the northern countries developing a heavy character, which, imitated by the printing-press of Gutenberg, was the parent of the 'black-letter' type of the Mazarin Bible and other early printed books; while in Italy a happier taste led to a renaissance of the Caroline style in the beautiful Italian hand from which, through the intermediary of Aldus and the other printers of the south, our modern types are derived.

LITERATURE.—Thompson, *op. cit.*; *Palæographical Society*, facsimiles; Marini, *I Papiri Diplomatici*, 1805; Wattenbach and Zangemeister, *Exempla Codicum Latinorum litteris majusculis scriptorum*, 1876–79; Delisle, *Album Paléographique*, 1887; Kenyon, *Facsimiles of Biblical MSS in the British Museum*, 1900.

viii. PALIMPSESTS.—A few special subjects remain to be noticed. One peculiar class of MSS consists of palimpsests, or MSS from which the original writing has been removed in order that the material may be used again. With papyrus this could hardly be done. The material would not stand scraping with a knife, and, although ink could be removed with a sponge, it does not appear that this could be effected (at any rate without considerable damage to the surface) except when the ink was fresh and had not sunk deeply in. Certainly it is very seldom that traces of an earlier writing are observable on papyrus. Since the writing was in the first instance confined to one side of the roll, the *verso* was still left open for use by a later possessor when writing material ran short; and further than this it does not seem to have been usual or possible to go. With vellum it was different. The tougher material admitted of the use of the knife, with which the scribe is habitually represented in mediæval miniatures, and many instances are known of MSS in which the original writing has been scraped or washed off, and a later work substituted. Such MSS are known as *palimpsests* ('scraped again,' πάλιν and ψάω); and, since the original writing is seldom wholly obliterated, it is often possible to decipher it in whole or in part. The most notable MSS of the Bible in this category are the Codex Ephraemi (C) at Paris, the Codex Nitriensis (R) in the British Museum, and the Sinaitic Codex of the Old Syriac version. In the first instance the upper writing is Greek, in the two others Syriac. Other biblical palimpsests are the Codex Dublinensis (O of the LXX, Z of the Gospels), Codex Cryptoferratensis (Γ of the LXX), the Codices I^{1-7}, P, Q, T^{w}, W^{b}, W^{f} (in part), Ξ, Υ, ד^{5}, of the Gospels, M, P, ב, of the Acts, R of the Pauline Epistles, *t* of the Old Latin Gospels, *s* of the OL Acts, *gue* of the OL Pauline Epistles, the Fragmenta Wirceburgensia of the OL Pentateuch and Prophets, some leaves at Vienna of the OL Kings, a Reichenau fragment of the OL Psalms, some Vatican and St. Gall fragments of the OL Prophets, and some fragments of the Pauline Epistles in Gothic at Milan. In most of these MSS the original writing is of the 5th or 6th cent.; the upper writing is of various dates.

LITERATURE.—Scrivener, *Introd. to Text. Crit. of NT*^{4}; Gregory, Prolegomena to Tischendorf's *NT Græce*; Swete, *Introd. to the OT in Greek*.

ix. STICHOMETRY AND COLOMETRY.—A στίχος (lit. 'row') is used primarily to mean a line of poetry. Hence it comes to denote a length of writing equal to an average line of poetry, and in this sense is used as a unit of measurement for literary purposes. Books are described as possessing so many στίχοι, and scribes were paid according to the number of στίχοι written by them. Thus Dionysius of Halicarnassus (vi. 1126) states that the extant works of Demosthenes contained 50,000 or 60,000 στίχοι; and the edict of Diocletian, *de pretiis rerum venalium*, fixes the scribe's pay at 25 denarii per 100 στίχοι for the more expensive style of writing, and 20 denarii for the second quality. Galen (*de Placit. Hipp. et Plat.* viii. 1) expressly states that the unit of measurement was the average Homeric hexameter, reckoned at 16 syllables (it was independently calculated by Ch. Graux as 37 – 38 letters, but Galen's statement shows that the syllable was the basis of calculation actually adopted). Rendel Harris has argued that the average iambic line of 12 syllables was also employed at times, and that this is, in fact, the second quality mentioned in the edict of Diocletian; but explicit confirmation of this hypothesis has not yet been obtained. The system of stichometry was also applied to Latin MSS, though evidences of its use are less numerous. A 4th cent. MS in the Phillipps Library at Cheltenham (Mommsen, *Hermes*, xxi.) contains a computation of the contents of the works of Cyprian in στίχοι which are the average Vergilian hexameter. The number of στίχοι in the various books of the Bible is stated in many MSS, no doubt for the purpose of calculating the scribe's pay; but there are considerable discrepancies in the figures. The oldest extant tables of biblical stichometry are the Cheltenham list (which includes the biblical books as well as Cyprian), a list (applying to the Pauline Epistles only) in the Cod. Sinaiticus (א), a list in the Cod. Claromontanus (D$^{\text{paul.}}$), a list in an 8th cent. Freisingen MS at Munich, published by C. H. Turner, and the list of Nicephorus in the 9th cent.: for the figures see Swete, *Introd. to the OT in*

Greek, p. 346; Scholz, *Prolegomena to the NT*, vol. i. p. xxviii; Turner, *Journ. Theol. Stud.* ii. 236. The division into *στίχοι*, which is purely mechanical, must be distinguished from the division of texts into *κῶλα* and *κόμματα*, which is a division into clauses according to the sense. Some MSS are thus written, not continuously, but in short sense-lines of varying length, presumably in the first instance to facilitate reading aloud. Such *colometry* was a special feature of the edition of the Acts and Epistles by Euthalius, and appears now in the chief MS of that edition, H of the Pauline Epistles. It is also used in the bilingual MSS, D D_2 E_2, in order to keep the two versions more exactly parallel than they would be in continuous script, and to facilitate comparison between them. Between *κῶλα* and *κόμματα* there is no clear distinction, but the latter denotes somewhat shorter clauses than the former.

LITERATURE.—Graux, *Revue de Philologie*, 1878, p. 97; Diels, *Hermes*, xvii, 1882; J. Rendel Harris, *Stichometry*, 1893; Thompson, *op. cit.* ch. vi.

X. LIBRARIES.—In conclusion, it may be useful to give some account of the manner in which books were preserved in ancient and mediæval times. The most ancient library of which we have precise knowledge is that of *Ashur-bani-pal*, king of Assyria (B.C. 668–626), the contents of which have actually come down *en masse* to the present day. It was not founded by Ashur-bani-pal, having existed under his predecessors, Sargon, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon; but it was under his patronage that it assumed its great proportions. He set himself deliberately to collect books, sending scribes to make copies of works in other libraries, and instructing scholars to compile vocabularies of the Sumerian and Assyrian languages. In 1850 this library was disinterred by Sir H. Layard from the mounds of Kouyunjik, and its contents, amounting to over 20,000 tablets, are now in the British Museum. The tablets appear to have been laid on shelves, grouped in classes, and labelled. They included historical, literary, theological, magical, and scientific works, as well as letters, contracts, and other business documents; and the library was apparently accessible to the people in general. —In *Egypt* there must have been depositories of the papyrus rolls, which were produced in large numbers from very early times; probably, the literature being almost wholly theological, they were preserved in or about the temples. Diodorus Siculus (i. 58) states that Osymandyas, who has been identified with Ramses I., possessed a large library; and two officials of his time are described as librarians. But no details are known of these early Egyptian libraries.—Nor have we express mention of libraries in *Palestine* in pre-Christian times,* though the references in the Books of Samuel and Kings to other books suggest the probability of the existence of some repository where these works might be consulted (2 S 1^{18}, 1 K 11^{41} $14^{19.29}$ 15^{23} etc.). —In the early history of *Greece*, even when her literature was at its height, libraries (as distinct from public record offices, which certainly existed in Athens and presumably elsewhere) play but a small part. Pisistratus is stated to have formed a library, which was taken to Persia by Xerxes, and restored long after by Seleucus Nicator (*Aul. Gell.* vi. 17). Athenæus (i. 4) mentions libraries belonging to Polycrates of Samos, Nicocrates of Cyprus, the archon Euclides, the poet Euripides, and Aristotle. The latter is said by Strabo to have been the first person to collect books; and indeed it is evident that his works could not have been produced without a library. After his death his library was preserved at Scepsis; and, after having been sold to Apellicon of Teos and brought to Athens, it was ultimately taken by Sulla to Rome. The two most famous libraries of the Greek world, however, were those of Pergamum and Alexandria. The former, founded by Attalus I. and Eumenes II. at the end of the 3rd cent. and beginning of the 2nd cent. B.C., flourished greatly for a century and a half, but ultimately was transported by Mark Antony to Alexandria to replace that which had been destroyed by fire in Cæsar's wars. It is said to have consisted of 200,000 rolls at that time. The library of Alexandria, founded perhaps by Ptolemy I., was especially encouraged by Ptolemy II. (Philadelphus). It was a department of the great Museum, and every effort was made to gather into it all extant literature, and to attract the best scholars to accept posts in connexion with it. According to the well-known story embodied in the letter of Aristeas, it was in connexion with the establishment of the Alexandrian library, and at the express desire of Ptolemy Philadelphus, that the production of the LXX was undertaken. The main library, in the Museum, is stated to have been destroyed during the siege of Cæsar in Alexandria, and thenceforth the principal Alexandrian library was that of the Serapeum, which previously had held a secondary place. This in turn suffered greatly at the sack of the Serapeum by Bishop Theophilus in 390, so that it is doubtful if much was left to be destroyed by the Arabs in 641. From the date of the foundation of these two great libraries, public libraries, previously almost unknown in Greece, seem to have become common. Polybius (xii. 27) in the 2nd cent. B.C. speaks as if they would naturally be found in most large towns. At *Rome* they were of later growth. Private collections of books must certainly have been known to Varro, and Cicero's library was an extensive one for those days. Æmilius Paullus and Lucullus brought back libraries from their wars in the East. Cæsar planned the establishment of a public library; but the execution of it was left to Augustus, who, however, had been slightly anticipated by Asinius Pollio. From this point public libraries, often in connexion with temples, became common in Rome, as elsewhere. A concrete example of a library, though on a small scale, is provided by that at Herculaneum, in which the papyrus rolls, now in the Naples Museum, were found. It was a very small room, with shelves round the walls, on which lay the rolls (1756 in number); and a cabinet, also containing rolls, stood in the middle of the room.

Coming to Christian times and Christian literature, it must have been long before anything in the nature of a library was required. The only books with which Christians, as such, had to deal were those of the OT and NT, and the few books which for a time hovered on the border of the Canon, such as the Epistles of Clement and Barnabas, the Shepherd of Hermas, the Gospel of Peter, and the like. These would either be in private possession or the property of a Church, which would also, in time, require something in the nature of service books. The earliest Christian libraries, therefore, apart from the small collections which an individual might have, were attached to churches; but even these could not attain to any considerable size, so long as they were liable to dispersion in the days of persecution. The earliest of which we have individual knowledge is that which Pamphilus († A.D. 308) established at Cæsarea, consisting primarily of the works of Origen. Here the great scholar's *Hexapla* and *Tetrapla* were preserved, and the colophons of several MSS (notably the Codd. Sinaiticus and Marchalianus, and

---

* Little importance attaches to the statement in 2 Mac 2^{13} about Nehemiah founding a library (*καταβαλλόμενος βιβλιοθήκην*).

Cod. H of the Pauline Epistles) testify to the use of these autographs for the purposes of revision. On the adoption of Christianity as the religion of the State, a library was founded by Constantine in his new capital, which was greatly increased by his successors. With the institution of monasticism, monasteries as well as churches became the homes of libraries. Pachomius, the founder of monasticism in Egypt, required his monks to study the Scriptures, and his rules (Migne, *Patr. Græc.* xl.) clearly imply ready access to manuscripts. Throughout the Eastern empire, though learning was never so exclusively the possession of the clergy as it became in the West, the large majority of scribes were connected with churches or monasteries. Naturally, this is especially the case with MSS of the Bible or theological works; but in the list of scribes of Greek MSS of all kinds, whose names are on record, by far the most are monks or clerics (Gardthausen, *Griech. Pal.* p. 302 ff.). In the West, so long as the old Roman civilization remained, private and public libraries continued to exist throughout the empire, and the great provincial mansions of the nobility were well stocked with books, literary culture being one of the marks of that leisured and luxurious section of society.* The irruptions of the barbarians swept this civilization away. The pagan institutions for the preservation and multiplication of literature went to the ground, and the sole libraries which continued to exist were those of churches, and especially of monasteries. Benedict, like Pachomius in the East, prescribed reading as one of the special duties of his monks, thereby establishing a tradition which became an honourable characteristic of monasticism in general, and of the Benedictines in particular. In the early part of the Middle Ages, learning flourished most in the north of England, which was made famous by the scholarship of Bede and by the excellent schools of Wearmouth and Jarrow. From the north of England proceeded what are perhaps the most beautifully written MSS that Latin scribes ever produced—the Codex Amiatinus and the Lindisfarne Gospels. The history of these MSS establishes a point of some importance, namely the ease with which books were transferred from one part of Europe to another. The Lindisfarne Gospels was certainly transcribed from an exemplar brought from Naples; and the Codex Amiatinus, which must have been copied from the same or a similar volume, was itself (though it is one of the largest MSS in existence) conveyed from England to Rome as a gift to the Pope. From England learning spread southward to France and Switzerland; and while Alcuin founded the famous school of Tours, from which a new tradition of calligraphy came forth to influence all Europe, Irish monks founded (and to a large extent peopled) St. Gall, which became the centre of learning and of writing in the Rhone valley and the adjacent countries. As monasticism grew and the monasteries became rich, so did their libraries increase. Monte Cassino, Bobbio, Grotta Ferrata, in Italy; Fleury, Cluny, Corbie, St. Germain des Prés, in France; Fulda, Reichenau, in Germany; St. Gall, in Switzerland; Canterbury (both St. Augustine's and Christ Church), Rochester, St. Albans, York, Durham, in England,—these are only a few of the most famous monasteries whose libraries were special homes of literature in the ages preceding the invention of printing. The accommodation for books was at first neither large nor luxurious. The early buildings of monasteries show no place for a library. The books (apart from such precious ones as were placed in the shrine of the patron saint) were stored in cupboards (*armaria*) along the sides of the cloister, or in recesses in its walls; and in the cloister the monks read and copied them. In course of time the cloister windows adjoining the books were glazed as a protection, and the elder monks, at least, had 'carrells' or pews in which they could sit at their work. As books multiplied, increased provision had to be made for them. In the Cistercian houses, small cupboard-like rooms were introduced, in which the books lay upon shelves round the walls, much after the fashion of the Roman library at Herculaneum. In the 14th and 15th centuries larger rooms were provided, generally above some earlier building; and here the books could be arranged in regular bookcases. Libraries are provided for also in the statutes of the earliest colleges at the universities; and the manner of them can be realized from examples still extant, as in the Laurentian library at Florence. Sometimes the books lay on desks, sometimes they stood on shelves, with desks below or above on which they could be placed for consultation. In either case they were normally attached to their place by chains, so that they could not be carried away without permission. For the copying of MSS special *scriptoria* were provided in the great monasteries, and monks with a turn for literature were told off for this duty; so that in many places (as at Grotta Ferrata or St. Albans) distinct traditions of penmanship were established, and special styles, whether of historical chronicles or of illuminated miniatures, were cultivated. For a long time these were practically confined to monasteries. Only with the revival of learning did literature and art issue out to the world in general; and then the end of the reign of manuscripts was at hand. In the 15th and 16th centuries we find many scribes (especially the Greek scribes in Italy) and many miniaturists who were certainly laymen; and so, before the decline of monasticism was accomplished, its special work as the exclusive guardian of literature was done, and the secular world was ready to take into its own keeping the heritage of learning which the monks had been so largely instrumental in handing down to it.

LITERATURE.—*Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum*, 1900, pp. 34–78; Dziatzko, art. 'Bibliotheken' in Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*; Edwards, *Memoirs of Libraries*, 1859, *Libraries and Founders of Libraries*, 1865; S. R. Maitland, *The Dark Ages*^{3}, 1889; F. A. Gasquet, *Some Notes on Mediæval Monastic Libraries*, 1891; J. W. Clark, *The Care of Books*, 1901.

On Heb. (also Phœn., Palmyr., Aram., etc.) palæography, with facsimiles of gems, seals, inscriptions, etc., see, further, references and illustrations under artt. MONEY and WEIGHTS AND MEASURES; M. A. Levy, *Siegel u. Gemme mit aram. phön. altheb., etc., Inschriften* (1869); Lidzbarski, *Hdb. der nordsem. Epigr. nebst ausgewählten Inschriften* (1898, with plates; indispensable for further study of subject, with full bibliography, pp. 4–88, 493–99); Mordtmann u. Müller, *Sabäische Denkmäler*, 1883; D. H. Müller, *Epigr. Denkmäler aus Arabien*, 1889; Hommel, *Südarab. Chrestomathie*, 1893; *CIS* (Phœn., Aram., Himyar. inscriptions, with facsimiles); Clermont-Ganneau, *Rec. d'Archéol. orient.*; the collection of fine *Facsimiles of MSS and Inscriptions*, pub. by the Palæograph. Society (Oriental series); the atlas of facsimiles of Heb. MSS accompanying Neubauer's *Catalogue of Heb. MSS in the Bodl. Library*. See also the recently established periodicals: Lidzbarski's *Ephemeris für sem. Epigraphik* (I. i. 1900); and *Répertoire d'Epigraphie sém.* [suppl. to *CIS*] (I. i. 1900).

F. G. KENYON.

---

* See, *e.g.*, Dill, *Roman Society in the last Century of the Western Empire*, p. 154 ff.

X

XANTHICUS.—See TIME, p. 765.

XERXES (Ξέρξης), king of Persia (B.C. 485–465), is the AHASUERUS of Ezr 4^{6} and of the Book of Esther.* In the first of these instances the position of the name, between Darius (Hystaspis) and Artaxerxes (Longimanus), scarcely permits of any other conclusion. The view (Ewald, *et al.*) that Cambyses the son of Cyrus is referred to, is now generally abandoned. There has never been any doubt as to the intention of the author of the Book of Esther to identify his Ahasuerus with Xerxes, although a difference of opinion has prevailed regarding the historicity of the rôle he assigns to this king. It may suffice to say here that, while the extravagance, cruelty, and caprice attributed to Ahasuerus, and the vindictiveness of Esther, correspond closely enough to what we are told of Xerxes and his queen Amestris (cf. *e.g.* Herod. vii. 35, 114, 118 ff., 238; viii. 24 ff.; ix. 110 ff.), there are powerful considerations which forbid our accepting the book as a record of actual occurrences. See, further, ESTHER, vol. i. pp. 773^{a}, 775.

The name *Ahasuerus* appears in the MT as אֲחַשְׁוֵרוֹשׁ or אֲחַשְׁוֵרֹשׁ [in Est 10^{1} *Kĕthîbh*, prob. by copyist's error, has אחשרש]. The LXX forms are: Ezr 4^{6} B Ἀσθηρού [or perh. Ἄσθηρος], A Ἀσσούηρος, Luc. Ἀσσύηρος; Dn 9^{1} Theod. Ἀσούηρος [A^{1} B] or Ἀσσούηρος [A* $^{\text{salt}}$ Q], LXX Ξέρξης, Luc. Ἀσσύηρος; To 14^{15} B Ἀσύηρος, A Ἀσούηρος, ℵ$^{\text{c.a}}$ Ἀσσύηρος; in Esther BA, confusing with ארתחששתא (*Artaxerxes*), reproduce uniformly by Ἀρταξέρξης or some corruption of that name, although Luc. has Ἀσσύηρος except in 9^{20} Ἀρταξέρξης. Bevan (*Daniel*, p. 149) holds that the form of the name originally in use among the Jews was no doubt אחשירש (*Aḥashyarsh* or *Aḥshayarsh*), answering to the Pers. *Khshayārshā* (Aram. חשיארש, *CIS* II. i. 122).

J. A. SELBIE.

---

* It seems hopeless to attempt to fix the identity of the Ahasuerus of Dn 9^{1} and To 14^{15}. In any case he cannot be the *historical* Xerxes.

Y

YARN.—See LINEN.

YEAR.—See TIME.

YELLOW.—See COLOURS, vol. i. p. 458^{a}.

YOKE (מוֹט, מוֹטָה, עֹל, עוֹל, צֶמֶד ['team']; NT ζεῦγος 'a team,' 'a pair,' ζυγός) in Scripture usage is almost exclusively associated with the plough. The simple yoke (מוֹט, מוֹטָה) was a cross piece of wood fastened to the forehead of the draught ox; and the same Heb. word, especially in the plural (מֹטוֹת), describes the bars going round the neck of the ox to keep the yoke in its place. Generally, however, the cross piece of wood rested upon the necks of two oxen drawing together, and this (עֹל from עָלַל, Arab. = 'insert,' 'thrust in,' Aram. = 'enter') is the *yoke* of the plough with which we are familiar. The plough used by the *fellahîn* of Syria is the same as that with which Elisha was ploughing when Elijah cast his mantle upon him (1 K 19^{19}). Although in the Ḥaurân and the Ghôr of Jordan two pairs of oxen are to be seen yoked to the plough, in Galilee and the plain of Jezreel the plough is drawn by a single pair. The yoke rests upon the neck of the beasts, being fitted to each by forked pieces of wood mortised into the yoke and joined under the neck with a thong or chain. To the yoke the pole of the primitive plough is attached by thongs or cords fastened to the cross-pin of the pole, which passes through a ring on the yoke, or is held firm by a peg inserted into it (see Figures in *PEFSt*, 1891, p. 113; *ZDPV* xii. pp. 159, 160; Benzinger, *Arch.* 207; Whitehouse, *Primer of Heb. Ant.* 87; and art. AGRICULTURE). The 'thongs' are מוֹסֵרוֹת (AV 'bands' or 'bonds'), see Jer 2^{20} 5^{5} 27^{2} 30^{8}, Nah 1^{13}, and cf. Ps 2^{3} 107^{14}, Is 52^{2}. For examples of מוֹטָה see Lv 26^{13}, Jer 27^{2} 28$^{10.12.13}$, Ezk 30^{18} 34^{27}; fig. Is 58$^{6.9}$.

The yoke (*nîr*) is composed of a horizontal bar of wood with knobbed extremities, but with no hollowed-out portion to receive the nape of the neck of the ox. In place of the *bow* two pins (*isbalân*) are let into holes in the *nîr*, at an angle of about 30 degrees to each other, their upper extremities being about 8 in. apart to receive the nape of the neck. When adjusted they are fastened by a leather thong or a chain (*jenîr*). The ring (*halaḳah*) is a tough branch, bent in a rude elliptical form. It is tied to the *nîr* by a leather thong (*sher'*) between two pintles (*sifrâyah*), which keep it in place (Post in *PEFSt*, 1891, p. 112).

The pair of beasts in the plough is called *a yoke* (1 K 19^{19}, Jer 51^{23} צֶמֶד [from צָמַד 'to bind *or* join together']), or *yoke of oxen* (צֶמֶד בָּקָר 1 S 11^{7}, Job 1^{3}, ζεῦγος βοῶν Lk 14^{19}). The ground that a pair of oxen was sufficient to cultivate was known as צֶמֶד שָׂדֶה (1 S 14^{14}).* See above, p. 910^{b}.

The yoke was among the Hebrews the emblem of subjection and servitude (Gn 27^{40}, Lv 26^{13}, 1 K 12$^{4\text{ff.}}$, La 3^{27}, Nah 1^{13}). Where the subjection was more than usually bitter, the yoke of wood is exchanged for a yoke of iron (Dt 28^{48}, Jer 28^{14}). To impress upon the Jewish people the necessity of submitting quietly to Nebuchadnezzar's sway, the prophet Jeremiah put a yoke upon his own neck, and appeared in public with this badge of servitude. It was the popular thing when Hananiah, one of the prophets who said, 'Peace, peace, when there was no peace,' tore the yoke off Jeremiah's neck to back up his own false prediction that within two years God would break the yoke of Nebuchadnezzar from off the neck of all the nation. To this Jeremiah answered, 'Thus saith the Lord, Thou hast broken the bars of wood, but thou shalt make in their stead bars of iron. For thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel: I have put a yoke of iron upon the neck of all these nations' (Jer 28$^{13.14}$). In the NT 'yoke' (ζυγός) is used only in this metaphorical sense,—the yoke of legal obedience (Ac 15^{10}, Gal 5^{1}), of servitude (1 Ti 6^{1}), of Christ (Mt 11$^{29.30}$), whose yoke is 'kindly' (χρηστός), because it is 'lined with love.'†

LITERATURE.—Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 207 ff.; *PEFSt*, 1891, p. 112; *ZDPV* xii. 159 f.

T. NICOL.

YOKEFELLOW.—See SYNZYGUS.

---

* This superficial measure is known still in Palestine. The *feddân* in Egypt and Syria is the amount which a pair of oxen can plough in the season. In Scotland it is customary to speak of a three pair or five pair of horse farm.

† Matthew Henry, *ad loc.*

Z

ZAANAN (צַאֲנָן; B^{ab} AQ* Σενναάρ, Q^{a} Σενναάν).—A place mentioned, along with SHAPHIR and BETH-EZEL in Mic 1^{11}, where there is a characteristic word-play: 'the inhabitress of *Ẓa'ănān* went (*yāẓĕah*) not out' (for fear of the enemy). Ẓa'ănān is generally considered to be the same as Ẓenan (צְנָן; B Σεννά, A Σεννάμ, Luc. Σενάμ) of Jos 15^{37}, an unidentified town in the Shephēlah.

ZAANANNIM.—In Jos 19^{33} 'the terebinth of Bĕẓa'ănaim' (אֵלוֹן בְּצַעֲנַנִּים) is mentioned in defining the boundaries of Naphtali, while in Jg 4^{11} 'the terebinth of Bĕẓa'ănannim' (א׳ בְּצַעֲנַנִּים; RV gives in both passages 'the oak (m. 'terebinth') in Zaanannim') is the site of the encampment of Heber the Kenite and the scene of Sisera's murder by Jael. There can be little doubt that ב is not the preposition but part of the name (a conclusion which is strongly supported by the absence of the art. from אלון), and that the form בְּצַעֲנִים deserves the preference (see Dillm. *Jos. ad loc.*). The LXX has in Jos 19^{33} B Βεσεμιείν, A Βεσενανίμ, Luc. Σεεναvείμ; in Jg 4^{11} it translates, B πλεονεκτούντων [בצע 'be covetous'], A ἀναπαυομένων [confusing with שאננים].

The site of Bĕẓa'ănaim is quite uncertain. It is difficult, not to say impossible, to reconcile some of the other data in Jg 4 with the statement in v.^{11} that it was 'by Kedesh,' if by the latter is meant KEDESH-NAPHTALI. Equally unsuitable is the Kedesh of Issachar (? *Abu Kadeis*) between Taanach and Megiddo. Conder (*Tent-Work*, ii. 132), favoured by G. A. Smith (*HGHL* 395), identifies Bĕẓa'ănaim with *Khirbet Bessûm*, E. of Tabor, and takes Kedesh to be *Ḳadîsh*, a ruin on the shore of the Sea of Galilee, S of Tiberias. Cheyne (*Encyc. Bibl.* i. 571), somewhat arbitrarily, emends בצענים to קדשונים, supposing the reference to be to a Ḳidshon or Ḳadshon in Issachar, whose inhabitants would be called Ḳidshonim. Upon this theory the words אשר את־קדש of Jg 4^{11} must of course be viewed as a gloss. (See, further, Moore, *Judges*, pp. 121, 125 f.; G. A. Smith, *l.c.*; Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* 225).

On the difficulties of the narrative of Jg 4 see artt. BARAK, DEBORAH, SISERA.

J. A. SELBIE.

ZAAVAN (זַעֲוָן).—A descendant of Seir, Gn 36^{27} (A Ζουκάμ) = 1 Ch 1^{42} (B Ζουκάμ, A Ἀζουκάν, Luc. Ζαυάν). The tribe of which he appears here as the eponymous head has not been identified.

ZABAD (זָבָד, prob. a contraction for זְבַדְיָה or זַבְדִּיאֵל).—The word זָבָד and others formed from it occur as proper names in Palmyrene and Nabatæan inscriptions (Lidzbarski, *Nordsem. Epigraph.* p. 265). Fuller forms are ZEBADIAH, ZABDIEL = 'my gift is Jehovah' or 'God.' G. B. Gray (*HPN* 222 f.) points out that there are in the OT about* 36 persons bearing the name Zabad or names formed from it. Of these, 23 occur in Chron. alone. No more than 3 are mentioned in pre-exilic books. In the case of one of these (and we may add possibly in that of the other two) the text is doubtful, and the original may not have included the element *Zabad*. He draws the conclusion: 'The historical character, therefore, of persons bearing one of these names and mentioned only by the Chronicler seems to me suspicious.' Cf. Nos. **1. 2.**

Zabad occurs in the OT as the name of the following:—**1.** One of the links in the genealogy of the Judahite family Jerahmeel, 1 Ch $2^{36f.}$ (Ζαβέδ) 11^{41} (B Ζαβέτ, A Ζαβάτ). Cf. GENEALOGY, § IV. 12, *Sheshan.*

1 Ch 2^{34-41} is an appendix to the account of the clans of Jerahmeel, which is closed in v.^{33} by the subscription: 'these are the sons of Jerahmeel.' A doubt has been raised as to the identity of Zabad ben Nathan ben Attai ben Sheshan and Ahlai (אחלי) his wife in 2^{31-37}, and Zabad ben Ahlai, one of David's mighty men, in 11^{41}. Siegfried-Stade and *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* regard the former as a family name, and the latter as an individual. There can be little doubt that the Chronicler intended to identify them. The historical value of the sections in which this Zabad is mentioned is uncertain. Kittel (*SBOT*) regards 2^{34-41} as one of the latest additions to Chronicles; Kautzsch (*Bibel*), however, refers it to an ancient source; while Gray (*HPN* 235) says of the section as a whole: 'The character of the thirteen names presents nothing inconsistent with the genealogy being genuine.' He is, unfortunately, douhtful about the names in which we are specially interested. 'The only names which appear to me suspicious are זבד [Zabad] and, in a less degree, עתי [Attai].' 1 Ch 11^{41b-47}, a passage peculiar to Chron., is the direct continuation of vv.$^{26-41a}$, which = 2 S 23^{24-39}. Possibly, therefore, vv.$^{41b-47}$ are from the same ancient source as the rest of the list, and were accidentally omitted from Samuel (so Kautzsch, Kittel, etc.). The concluding note in 2 S 23^{39}, 'thirty and seven in all,' is transposed by LXX, and the number 37 does not correspond with the list. But Gray (*op. cit.* 229 ff.) holds that if vv.$^{41b-47}$ is based on an ancient document, the text is very corrupt. Possibly Zabad b. Nathan (1 Ch 2^{36}) is the same as Zabud b. Nathan, Solomon's priest and 'king's friend' in 1 K 4^{5}. The latter occurs in some texts and versions (see ZABUD, and cf. No. 3) as *Zacur* or *Zaccur*, so that we might read for Zabad in 1 Ch 2^{36} *Zacar*, a contraction of the familiar *Zechariah*. In some scripts of Heb. *Zacar* (זכר) and *Zabad* (זבד) can hardly be distinguished. Cf. JOZACAR. If Zabad is accepted, and 1 Ch 2^{26-41} is regarded as based on some old genealogy setting forth the relations of clans, the apparent occurrence of Zabad as an Ephraimite clan in 1 Ch 7^{21} may indicate that the clan was at one time reckoned to Judah, and at another to Ephraim; or that it was ultimately divided between the two tribes. Note also the Elishama in 2^{41} and 7^{26}.

2. A link in an Ephraimite genealogy, 1 Ch 7^{21} (Ζάβεδ), ending apparently in a certain 'Ezer and Elead,' who were slain by the men of Gath. Zabad in MT is the son of Tahath and the father of Shuthelah. In LXX^{B}, however, the genealogy is much shortened, and it is Zabad who is slain—thus, 'And the sons of Ephraim, Sothalath. The sons of Laada, Noome, his son, Zabad his son: and the men of Gath killed him.' It is pointed out in SHUTHELAH that Zabad (זבד) here is probably a corruption of 'and Bered' (וברד) repeated from v.^{20}.* If so, this Zabad disappears. If, however, Zabad is retained here, cf. No. 1.

3. In 2 Ch 24^{26} the name of one of the murderers of Joash is given as Zabad (B Ζαβέλ, A Ζαβέθ), the son of Shimeath the Ammonitess. 2 K 12^{21} has Jozacar. Perhaps we should read here *Zacar* (Kittel, *SBOT*); cf. JOZACAR.—**4. 5. 6.** Three laymen of the time of Ezra, who had married foreign wives, whom they promised to divorce: (*a*) Ezr 10^{27} of the benê Zattu (B Ζαβαδάβ, ℵA Ζαβάδ; 1 Es 9^{28} Σάβαθος, cf. SABATUS). (*b*) Ezr 10^{33} of the benê Hashum (B Ζαβέλ, A Ζαβάδ; 1 Es 9^{33} B Σαβανναιοῦς, A Βανναιοῦς, cf. SABANNEUS). (*c*) Ezr 10^{43} of the benê Nebo (B Σεδέμ, A omits both this and the following *Zebina*; 1 Es 9^{35} Ζαβαδαίας, cf. ZABADAIAS). Apparently *Zebina* is omitted. One of the two, *Zabad*, *Zebina*, may be due to accidental repetition.

W. H. BENNETT.

ZABADÆANS (Ζαβαδαῖοι).—The name of an Arabian tribe defeated by Jonathan (1 Mac 12^{31}). The Pesh. form of the name seems to mean *Zubaidæans*, *i.e.* Banu Zubaid, which was the name of a famous Arabian family; and indeed derivatives from the root *Zbd* form many proper names in Arabic and Nabatæan (the name substituted for Zabadæan by Jos. *Ant.* XIII. v. 11), though the verb itself in its old sense 'to give' is not found in Arabic. The name of the tribe defeated by Jonathan is thought to be retained in *Zebdany* or *Zabadani*, 'a well-known district between Damascus and Baalbek, where the river of Damascus rises' (Yāḳūt, ii. 913). The plain of Zebdany is thus described by Conder, *Tent-Work in Palestine*, i. 249: 'It is flanked on the west by the ragged and castellated ridges of the Anti-Lebanon, and on the east by a range of equal height. The plateau is bare and treeless, except towards the north, where are groves of poplar. Through the centre runs the river, its course marked by green bushes.' The situation of the plain seems to agree with the movements recorded in 1 Mac. exceedingly well. *Beth Zabdai*, to which allusion is sometimes made in the Rabbinic writings, and which some have connected with this place, has been shown by Kohut (*Aruch Completum*, ii. 68) to belong to a different region. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

---

* It is sometimes difficult to be certain whether the same name in different passages refers to one or to more persons.

* So also GENEALOGY, VII.^{b} 4, and in *Encyc. Bibl.* Hogg, art. 'Ephraim,' 12, and Hervey quoted by Hogg. The present writer arrived at this view independently.

ZABADEAS (*Ζαβαδαίας*, AV Zabadaias), 1 Es 9^{35} = Zabad, Ezr 10^{43}.

ZABBAI (זַבַּי).—**1.** One of the descendants of Bebai who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10^{28} (BA *Ζαβού*, Luc. *Ζαβούθ*); called in 1 Es 9^{29} **Jozabdus.** **2.** Father of Baruch who assisted in the rebuilding of the wall, Neh 3^{20} (BA *Ζαβού*, ℵ *Ζαβρού*, Luc. *Ῥαββαι*). The *Ḳĕrê* has, perhaps rightly, זַכַּי **Zaccai**, a name which occurs in Ezr 2^9 (B *Ζακχού*, A vid *Ζακχάν*, Luc. *Ζακχαίας*) = Neh 7^{14} (Bℵ *Ζαθού*, A *Ζακχούρ*, Luc. *Ζακχαιάς*), and is the origin of the ZACCHÆUS of 2 Mac 10^{19} and the NT.

ZABBUD (*Kĕthîbh* זבוד, *Ḳĕrê* זַכּוּר *Zaccur*; B. om., A *Ζαβούδ*, *i.e.* זָבוּד [cf. 1 K 4^5], Luc. *Ζακχούρ*).—An exile who returned with Ezra, Ezr 8^{14}. In 1 Es 8^{40} וְזַכּוּר is apparently corrupted into ISTALCURUS.

ZABDEUS (*Ζαβδαῖος*), 1 Es 9^{21} = Zebadiah of the sons of Immer, Ezr 10^{20}.

ZABDI (זַבְדִּי? 'gift of Jah,' or perh. 'my gift,' or 'gift to me'; NT *Ζεβεδαῖος*, ZEBEDEE).—**1.** The grandfather of Achan, Jos $7^{1.17.18}$ (B *Ζαμβρεί*, A *Ζαβρί*, *Ζαμβρί*, Luc. *Ζαβδ(ε)ί*), called in 1 Ch 2^6 **Zimri** (B *Ζαμβρεί*, A *Ζαμβρί*). **2.** A Benjamite, 1 Ch 8^{19} (B *Ζαβδεί*, A *Ζαβδί*, Luc. *Ζεβδί*). **3.** An officer of David, 1 Ch 27^{27} (B *Ζαχρεί*, A and Luc. *Ζαβδί*). **4.** A Levite, Neh 11^{17} (B om., A *Ζεχρί*, Luc. *Ζεχρεί*); but read probably זִכְרִי **Zichri**, as in ‖ 1 Ch 9^{15}.

ZABDIEL (זַבְדִּיאֵל 'my gift is El').—**1.** Father of one of David's officers, 1 Ch 27^2 (BA *Ζαβδειήλ*, Luc. *Ζαβδιήλ*). **2.** A prominent official, overseer of 128 'mighty men of valour' in Nehemiah's time, Neh 11^{14} (B *Βαδιήλ*, A *Ζοχριήλ*, Luc. *Ζεχριήλ*). **3.** An Arabian who put Alexander Balas to death and sent his head to Ptolemy, 1 Mac 11^{17} (*Ζαβδιήλ*), Jos. *Ant.* XIII. iv. 8 (*Ζάβειλος*).

ZABUD (זָבוּד 'bestowed').—The son of Nathan, 'priest' and 'king's friend' (see art. PRIESTS AND LEVITES, p. 73), 1 K 4^5 (B *Ζαβούθ*, A *Ζαββούθ*, Luc. *Ζαχούρ*, *i.e.* זַכּוּר).

ZACCAI.—See ZABBAI.

ZACCHÆUS (*Ζακχαῖος*), the same name as Zaccai ('pure') in the OT (Ezr 2^9, Neh 7^{14}).—**1.** The publican. All that we know of him from the Bible is to be found in Lk 19^{1-10}. He was a Jew,* and a chief official amongst the publicans in and about Jericho, where a considerable amount of revenue was raised from the palm-groves and balsam (Joseph. *Ant.* XV. iv. 2). Zacchæus had therefore great opportunities for growing rich. He was a man of short stature. Anxious to see Jesus, he climbed up into a sycomore tree † to be above the throng that surrounded our Lord. On coming to the place, Jesus called to him to come down, and invited Himself to his house. This delighted Zacchæus, though the bystanders murmured at the choice of lodging which our Lord had made. He declared his anxiety to be liberal to the poor, and to make fourfold restitution to any whom he had wronged. His wish to do right won from Christ the declaration: 'To-day is salvation come to this house, forasmuch as he also is a son of Abraham. For the Son of man came to seek and to save that which was lost.' In the *Clementine Homilies* (iii. 63), Zacchæus, after being companion of St. Peter, is made by him bishop of Cæsarea. By 'Prædestinatus' he is said to have combated the errors of Valentinus and Ptolemæus (a disciple of Valentinus),‡ though this is chronologically impossible. There is no early authority for making Zacchæus a bishop at all. A Zacchæus is mentioned by the Talmud as living at Jericho, the father of the celebrated Rabbi Jochanan ben-Zachai.

2. An officer of Judas Maccabæus, 2 Mac 10^{19}.

H. A. REDPATH.

ZACCUR (זַכּוּר).—**1.** A Reubenite, Nu $13^{4(5)}$ (B *Ζακχύρ*, A *Ζαχρού*, Luc. *Ζαγχούρ*). **2.** A Simeonite, 1 Ch 4^{25} (B om., A *Ζακχούρ*, Luc. *Ζαχούρ*). **3.** A Merarite, 1 Ch 24^{27} (*Ζακχούρ*). **4.** An Asaphite, 1 Ch 25^2 (B *Σακχούς*, A *Ζακχούρ*) ^{10} (B *Ζαχχούθ*, A *Ζακχούρ*), Neh 12^{35} (*Ζακχούρ*). **5.** One of those who assisted Nehemiah to rebuild the wall, Neh 3^2 (B *Ζαβαούρ*, A and Luc. *Ζακχούρ*). **6.** One of those who sealed the covenant, Neh 10^{12} (B *Ζαχώρ*, A *Ζακχώρ*, Luc. *Ζακχούρ*), prob. same as mentioned in 13^{13} (BA *Ζακχούρ*, Luc. *Ζακχούρ*). **7.** Ezr 8^{14} *Ḳĕrê*. See ZABBUD.

ZACHARIAH (*Ζαχαρίας*, whence AV *Zacharias*).—In His denunciation of the Pharisees and the guilty nation of the Jews, our Lord declares that the innocent blood of the prophets is to be required of them, 'from the blood of Abel the righteous unto the blood of Zachariah the son of Barachiah, whom ye slew between the sanctuary and the altar' (Mt 23^{35}, cf. the ‖ Lk 11^{51}). The reference is almost certainly to the murder of Zechariah (see ZECHARIAH, No. **11**) recorded in 2 Ch 24^{20-22}. This is far more likely than the view held by some, that the Zachariah intended is the father of John the Baptist (see ZACHARIAS), who, according to Origen (*Com. in Matt.*), was killed in the temple. The reason why Jesus fixes upon a murder in the time of king Joash (*c.* 840-800 B.C.) is probably because the Books of Chronicles already in our Lord's day came last in the Canon of the OT. 'It was equivalent to an appeal, in Christian ears, to the whole range of the Bible from Genesis to Revelation' (Ryle, *Canon of the OT*, p. 141).

Some difficulty is occasioned by the designation 'son of Barachiah.' The Zechariah of 2 Chron. was the son of the high priest Jehoiada. The only 'Zechariah the son of Berechiah' known to us is the prophet who was contemporary with

---

* Tertullian (*adv. Marc.* iv. 37. 1) says that he was a Gentile. This is contradicted by the 'son of Abraham' of Lk 19^9.

† Not the tree commonly called sycomore, but one with fig-like fruits and leaves like those of the mulberry tree.

‡ See Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur*, vol. i p. 791.

Haggai (cf. Zec 1^1). There may be a confusion with him on the part of the evangelist Matthew [Luke omits the designation 'son of Barachiah'] or of a glossator.*

ZACHARIAS (Ζαχαρίας).—**1.** 1 Es 1^8=Zechariah, one of 'the rulers of the house of God' in Josiah's reign, 2 Ch 35^8. **2.** In 1 Es 1^{15} (LXX ^{14}) Zech. stands in place of Heman, the singer of David's time, in the parallel passage 2 Ch 35^{15}. **3.** 1 Es 6^1 7^3 the prophet Zechariah. **4.** 1 Es 8^{30} = Zechariah of the sons of Parosh, Ezr 8^3. **5.** 1 Es 8^{37} (B Ζαχαριαί) =Zechariah of the sons of Bebai, Ezr 8^{11}. **6.** 1 Es 8^{44} (LXX ^{43})=Zechariah, one of the 'principal men and men of understanding' with whom Ezra consulted, Ezr 8^{16}. **7.** 1 Es 9^{27} = Zechariah of the sons of Elam, Ezr 10^{26}. **8.** 1 Es 9^{44}=Zechariah, one of those who stood upon Ezra's left hand at the reading of the Law, Neh 8^4. **9.** 1 Mac $5^{18.\ 56}$ Father of Joseph, a leader in the Maccabæan war under Judas Maccabæus. **10.** Lk 1^5 etc. Father of John the Baptist. See following article.

ZACHARIAS (Ζαχαρίας).—Father of John the Baptist (Lk 1^5 etc. 3^2). He was a priest of the course of Abijah, one of the twenty-four courses into which from the time of the Chronicler at least (1 Ch $24^{7\text{-}18}$) the families of the priests that had returned from Babylon were divided (see Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 216, 219). The course of Abijah was the eighth of these courses, and had now been brought up for its week's service in the temple. The lot for that particular day's service (see Edersheim, *The Temple*, p. 129 ff.) had fallen to the house of Zacharias, and to Zacharias himself the duty of offering incense in the Holy Place. While performing this service he had a vision, and the Angel of the Lord announced that his aged wife should have a son, who should be called John, and be the forerunner of the Messiah. Asking a sign he was struck dumb, and recovered speech only after having the child named John at his circumcision. The Song of Praise which is put in his mouth, the *Benedictus* (Lk $1^{67\text{-}79}$), celebrates in prophetic strains the glorious fulfilment of Israel's Messianic hope. With the song he drops completely out of the pages of canonical Scripture.

ZACHARY (*Zacharias*), 2 Es 1^{40}.—The prophet Zechariah.

ZADOK.—**1.** The most important of the many persons who bore this name was the founder of the leading branch of the priesthood in Jerusalem. We have no reliable information concerning his origin or his early history. He comes before us first in a list of David's officers, where we are told that 'Zadok the son of Ahitub, and Ahimelech the son of Abiathar, were priests' (2 S 8^{17}).

The text of this verse is obviously corrupt. Ahimelech was murdered at Nob, and his son Abiathar was David's attendant and priest to the end of his reign. If Ahitub, in our passage, is the priest mentioned in 1 S 14^3 he can hardly have been Zadok's father, for we are certainly meant to understand that Zadok did not belong to the descendants of Eli (1 S 2^{35}, 1 K 2^{27}). Comparing 1 S 22^{20} it would seem that 2 S 8^{17} should run: 'Abiathar the son of Ahimelech, the son of Ahitub, and Zadok, were priests.'

Zadok and Abiathar appear again when David fled from Jerusalem before Absalom. They purposed accompanying him and taking with them the ark, but the king bade them return with it to the city, watch the course of events, and send him news (2 S $15^{24\text{ff.}}$).

According to the Vulg. (*O videns*) and many modern versions, he addresses Zadok as a seer. 'Art thou not a seer?' (AV and RV text 2 S 15^{27}). But the Heb. will not bear this rendering, and it is difficult to be content with any pointing or translation of it. The LXX רְאוּ (Ἴδετε) is better. Wellhausen (*Text der Bb. Sam.* p. 177) proposes to read הַכֹּהֵן הָרֹאשׁ for הַכֹּהֵן הֲרוֹאֶה: if the two words are a late insertion this would be an improvement. In any case, there is no reason for believing that Zadok bore the title of 'seer.'

At the close of David's reign Abiathar joined the party of Adonijah (1 K 1^7), but Zadok gave in his adhesion to Solomon (v.^{8}), and was ordered by the king to anoint him (v.^{34}). When Solomon had made sure of his position he deposed Abiathar from the priestly office, 'and Zadok the priest did the king put in the room of Abiathar.' This event has influenced the earlier narratives in Samuel, where Zadok is from the first put before Abiathar.

There can be no doubt that the descendants of Zadok continued during many centuries to take the lead amongst the priests of the temple. The Deuteronomic reform raised them to an even higher position than they had occupied previously, for it denied the legitimacy of all sacrifices offered elsewhere than at Jerusalem, and thus brought the provincial priesthood into discredit. Ezekiel went further. To him the sons of Zadok were the only legitimate priests (40^{46} 43^{19} 44^{15} 48^{11}); the rest of the Levites, because of their unfaithfulness, were to be degraded, nothing but the menial work of the sanctuary being left in their hands ($44^{10\text{-}14}$).

The Chronicler's accounts require separate treatment. 1 Ch 12^{28} states that amongst 'the heads of them that were armed for war, which came to David to Hebron, to turn the kingdom of Saul to him,' was 'Zadok, a young man mighty of valour, and of his father's house twenty and two captains.' As he is said to have been of the house of Aaron, we cannot wonder that Josephus (*Ant.* VII. ii. 2) identifies him with the priest. But the narrative as a whole is conceived in a totally different spirit from those in Samuel, and the details do not command our credence. The numbers alone are sufficient to condemn it. Equally unsatisfactory are the genealogical lists in which Zadok's descent from Eleazar is traced (1 Ch $6^{4\text{-}15.\ 50\text{-}53}$ 24^9). Their object is to make out that the Zadokite priests belonged to the elder branch of Aaron's descendants, and the descendants of Eli to the younger branch of Ithamar. The most cursory inspection reveals their artificial construction and their unreliableness. The utmost we can gather from the Chronicler is the fact that after the return from the Exile some families which traced no connexion with Zadok managed to vindicate their right to minister at the altar (1 Ch $24^{3.\ 4}$), but that his representatives were both more numerous and more highly placed (1 Ch $24^{3.\ 4}$ 27^{17}; 1 S $2^{33.\ 36}$ points in the same direction). See, further, art. Priests and Levites.

The MT vocalization צָדוֹק, is probably mistaken. The LXX frequently has Σαδδούκ a transliteration of צַדּוּק. From Σαδδούκ was derived Σαδδουκαῖος, although it cannot be unhesitatingly affirmed that the Sadducees took their name immediately from the original Zadok. There can, however, be no doubt as to their close connexion with the priestly aristocracy.

2. In 2 K 15^{33}, 2 Ch 27^1, we are told that Jotham succeeded Uzziah, his father, and that his mother's name was Jerusha, the daughter of Zadok. In the statements concerning the accession of a king it is not usual to give the maternal grandfather's name; possibly, therefore, Jotham's grandfather was a person of considerable importance, not improbably a priest.—**3.** Neh 3^4 mentions a Zadok, son of Baana (בַּעֲנָא), as one of Nehemiah's willing helpers in rebuilding the city wall. His father seems to be mentioned as one of those who came to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel, Ezr 2^2, Neh 7^7.—**4.** Zadok, the son of Immer, Neh 3^{29}, repaired the wall 'over against his own house,' on the east side of the city, near the horse-gate. We have no means of deciding positively whether he is to be identified with the bearer of the same name in a later passage of the book. But there is no conclusive reason against the identification. Zadok 'the scribe' is appointed by Nehemiah to be one of the 'treasurers over the treasuries' (Neh 13^{13}). He would seem to have been a priest. Shelemiah the priest and himself are distinguished from the Levites. Ezra's example shows that the priest may also be the scribe. In this case Zadok must have been the head of 'the children of Immer.'—**5.** Zadok is distinguished from the priests as one of 'the chiefs of the people' who sealed the covenant (Neh 10^{21}).—**6.** 1 Ch 6^{12}, compared with Ezr 7^{2} and Neh 11^{11}, appears to refer to a high priest of the name of Zadok later than the founder of the line. But it is impossible to rely on these lists, and, in any event, nothing is known of the man.

---

* A Zechariah 'the son of *Jeberechiah*' is mentioned in Is 8^2, but it is quite unlikely that he was thought of in Mt 23^{35}.

Mt 1^{14} mentions a SADOC (Σαδώκ) as one of the progenitors of Joseph, the husband of Mary. Josephus (*Ant.* XVIII. i. 1) states that one Zadok, a Pharisee, assisted Judas of Galilee (Ac 5^{37}) in rousing the people against the 'enrolment' under Quirinius (Lk 2^{1}). Jost (*Gesch. des Judenthums*, ii. 29) refers to a Zadok who is mentioned in the Talmud as having fasted forty years, until the destruction of Jerusalem. He propounds a theological puzzle first to Rabbi Joshua and next to Rabban Gamaliel, who give him discordant answers. Thereupon Joshua is publicly rebuked and put to shame by Gamaliel (*Bech.* 36*a*).

J. TAYLOR.

ZAHAM (זַהַם).—A son of Rehoboam, 2 Ch 11^{19} (B Ῥοολλάμ, A Ζαλάμ, Luc. Ζαάμ).

ZAIN (ז).—The seventh letter of the Hebrew alphabet, and as such employed in the 119th Psalm to designate the 7th part, each verse of which begins with this letter. It is transliterated in this Dictionary by *z*.

ZAIR (צָעִיר).—According to the MT of 2 K 8^{21}, Joram, in the course of his campaign against Edom, 'passed over to Zair' (B εἰς Ζειώρ, A om.). In the parall. passage 2 Ch 21^{9} the Heb. is 'passed over with his princes' (עִם־שָׂרָיו; LXX μετὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων), which may be confidently pronounced to be a corruption of the text in Kings. The latter itself is unfortunately not certain. No place of the name of *Ẓa'ir* being mentioned elsewhere, it has been conjectured that *Ẓo'ar* (Ewald, *et al.*) or *Se'ir* (cf. Vulg. *Seira*) should be read. The latter, however, is somewhat vague, and against the claims of *Ẓo'ar* may be urged the LXX Σειώρ, whereas that name is elsewhere reproduced by Σηγώρ (cf. Buhl, *Edom.* 65, who also objects to Conder's suggested identification of Ẓa'ir with *ez-Zuwēra* S.E. of the Dead Sea).

ZALAPH (צָלָף; B Σελέ, A and Luc. Σελέφ).—The father of Hanun, who assisted in repairing the wall, Neh 3^{30} [the text is a little suspicious, 'the *sixth* son' being a somewhat peculiar note, which, however, is supported by the VSS].

ZALMON (צַלְמוֹן; Σελμών; *Salmon*).—**1.** The place mentioned in Ps 68^{14} is considered by some commentators to be the same as Mount Zalmon (Jg 9^{48})—the hill, near Shechem, on which Abimelech and his people cut down boughs to set 'the hold' of the house of El-berith on fire. There is, however, nothing in Ps 68 to lead to the belief that the Psalmist intended to refer to an underfeature of Mount Gerizim, which is mentioned in the OT only in connexion with an incident that had no influence on the history of the Israelites. The central idea of the psalm is the selection of Zion as the abode of God, in preference to Sinai whence the Law was given, and to 'the mountain of Bashan' which had looked down upon the memorable overthrow of Og and his army. The earlier verses contain a retrospective glance at the journey of the Israelites from Sinai onwards, through the desert, under the immediate leading and guidance of God, and their triumphant occupation of Canaan after vanquishing all their enemies. In this victorious progress, one of the most striking incidents was the complete overthrow of Og, near Edrei, on the plains of Bashan,—a victory which long lingered in the national memory (Ps 135^{11} 136^{20}),—and Zalmon should probably be looked for in that region. Some suppose that Zalmon means 'darkness,' and connect it with the 'darkly' wooded hill near Shechem, but this meaning would be equally applicable to the basalts and volcanic hills of Bashan. Zalmon may have been a portion of Bashan, or one of the summits of *Jebel Hauran*, or Mount Hermon. (In Jg 9^{48} the LXX reads ὄρος Ἑρμών for Mount Zalmon). The allusion to the snow is supposed by some to refer to ground white with the bones of Canaanites slain in battle; but this is rather straining the meaning. Possibly the words refer to an actual fall of snow in Zalmon during the battle with Og.

2. One of David's heroes, 2 S 23^{28}. See ILAI.

C. W. WILSON.

ZALMONAH (צַלְמֹנָה, Σελμωνά).—The station in the journeyings of the children of Israel, following Mt. Hor, in the itinerary of Nu 33, and mentioned there only in vv.$^{41.42}$. Nothing is known as to its position. It must have been in the neighbourhood of Punon, the station following; and, if the identification in art. PUNON be accepted, its site would be approximately determined.

The Gr. rendering is identical with that of Hashmonah, as has been noticed in art. HASHMONAH; but the same rendering also occurs for Azmon of Nu 34^{5} in A, Ἀσελμωνά in F, and in AF of Nu 33^{29} for Hashmonah. Ewald's proposed modification of the text, which would separate Mt. Hor from Zalmonah by inserting vv.$^{36b-41a}$ after Hashmonah, has been given in art. EXODUS, vol. i. p. 805^{b}.

A. T. CHAPMAN.

ZALMUNNA.—See ZEBAH.

ZAMBRI (B Ζαμβρεί, A Ζαμβρίς, AV Zambis), 1 Es 9^{34} = Amariah, Ezr 10^{42}.

ZAMOTH (Ζαμόθ), 1 Es 9^{28} = Zattu, Ezr 10^{27}.

ZAMZUMMIM (זַמְזֻמִּים; LXX Ζοχομμιν, A Ζομζομμειν, F Ζομμειν).—In the archæological notice, Dt 2^{20-23}, said (v.^{20}) to have been the name given by the Ammonites to the 'Rephaim,' who once inhabited their land, but had afterwards been expelled by them,—a people 'great and many and tall, like the Anaḳim' (comp. the similar note in vv.$^{10.11}$ respecting the 'Emim,' the prehistoric occupants of the territory possessed afterwards by Moab, and in v.^{12} respecting the Ḥorites, the original occupants of Edom). The REPHAIM were a people, reputed to have been of giant stature, who left remains or memories of themselves in different parts of Palestine,—cf. *e.g.* the 'Vale of Rephaim' Jos 15^{8} *al.* S.W. of Jerus., and the description of Og, king of Bashan, as 'of the remnant of the Rephaim,' also 2 S $21^{16.18.20.22}$ RV; and the Ammonites called those Rephaim who, in prehistoric times, had inhabited their own territory by the name 'Zamzummim.' This is all that is known about them. As regards the name, *zamzamah* in Arab. is *a distant and confused sound*, and *zizîm* is the *low hum of the Jinn* heard in the desert at night (Lane, 1248 f.), whence W. R. Smith (*ap.* Driver on Dt 2^{20}) thinks with Schwally that the name meant properly *whisperers, murmurers*, and denoted the spirits (cf. Is 8^{19}) of the old giants, which 'were still thought to haunt the ruins and deserts of East Canaan.' But of course this is only a conjecture: we do not *know* that the root *zamzama*, with its Arabic meaning, was in use in Ammonitish. Cf. ZUZIM.

S. R. DRIVER.

ZANOAH (זָנוֹחַ).—**1.** A town in the Shephēlah, Jos 15^{34} (B Τανώ, A and Luc. Ζανώ), Neh 3^{13} (BA

Ζανώ, Luc. *Ζανών*) 11³⁰ (BA om., ℵ^c. a mg inf. *Ζανῶε*, Luc. *Ζανώ*), 1 Ch 4¹⁸ (BA *Ζανών*, Luc. *Ζανῶε*). In the last cited passage Jekuthiel is said to have been the 'father' of Zanoah. The place, it is generally agreed, is the modern *Zanu'a*, S.E. of Zoreah (Robinson, *BRP*² ii. 61). 2. A place in the mountains, Jos 15⁵⁶ (B *Ζακαναείμ* [combining זָנוֹחַ and the following הַקַּיִן], A *Ζανώ*, Luc. *Ζανού*), possibly *Zânûta* S.W. of Hebron (*SWP* iii. 404), although Dillm. objects that this is too far south.

ZAPHENATH-PANEAH (צָפְנַת פַּעְנֵחַ, *Ψονθομφανήχ*).—The name given by Pharaoh to Joseph (Gn 41⁴⁵). Far-fetched attempts of the ancients to explain it by Hebrew have found no favour amongst modern commentators, the name being evidently intended for Egyptian. In 1886 Krall connected it with a well-known Egyptian type of name (*zd*+divine name+*e*-*f* '*nḫ*) meaning 'Said Amon (Bast, Mont, etc.), he liveth,' and in subsequent years Steindorff established its identity more closely (*Zeitschrift für Ægyptische Spr. u. Alterthumskunde*, 1889, 41, 1892, 50). The Massoretic vocalization of the name is wrong: so also are the Greek forms in the LXX and elsewhere. But the consonants in the Hebrew text are a precise transliteration of those in *ϫⲉ-ⲡⲛⲉⲧ-ⲉϥ-ⲱⲛϧ, which would be approximately the pronunciation of a hieroglyphic name *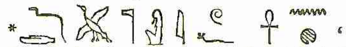 'Said God, he liveth.' A Greek mummy-label of the Roman age preserves an example of the same formation Καμεντεβωνχ, where Μωνθ (shortened to Μεντ-) is the divinity (Steindorff, *l.c.*). This type of personal name grew extremely common in the period of the Deltaic dynasties (22nd-26th): earlier, it is extremely rare, and has not yet been traced before the end of the 20th dynasty. Probably many details in the story of Joseph date from the 26th dynasty (B.C. 666-525), there being much intercourse between Egypt and Palestine at that period. The compound with *p ntr* 'The God' (ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ shortened to ⲡⲛⲉⲧ-) has not yet been found on Egyptian monuments: it is probably a monotheistic touch added by a Hebrew familiar with Egypt and the Egyptian language. F. LL. GRIFFITH.

ZAPHON (צָפוֹן 'north').—A city E. of Jordan, assigned to Gad, Jos 13²⁷ (B *Σαφάν*, A and Luc. *Σαφών*). It is named also in Jg 12¹, where צָפוֹנָה should be rendered 'to Zaphon' (RVm) instead of 'northward' (AV and RV). LXX in the latter passage: B, translating, *εἰς βορρᾶν*; A and Luc., not recognizing the ה *locale*, have, respectively, *Κεφεινά* and *Σεφηνά*. Eusebius and Jerome (*OS*² 219, 75; 91, 26) mention an Amathus 21 miles south of Pella, and the same place is referred to by Josephus (*BJ* I. iv. 2 [if the text be correct]) as the strongest fortress on the Jordan, and as the seat of one of the *synedria* instituted by Gabinius (*Ant.* XIV. v. 4). This is the modern *'Amāteh*, a little north of the Jabbok, at the mouth of Wādy er-Rugeib. There appears to be no reason (in spite of Buhl, *GAP*, 259) to doubt the Talmudic tradition that Amathus represented the ancient Ẓaphon (see Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* 249).

Ẓaphon is probably connected with צִפְיוֹן **Ẓiphion** (Gn 46¹⁶), or (more correctly) צְפוֹן **Ẓĕphon**, with gentilic name **Ẓephonites** (Nu 26¹⁵; LXX *Σαφών*, *Σαφων(ε)ί*), described as a 'son' of Gad.

ZARAIAS (*Ζαραίας*).—1. (A *Ζαρέας*, AV Zacharias) 1 Es 5⁸=Seraiah, Ezr 2²; Azariah, Neh 7⁷. 2. 1 Es 8² (B om.), one of the ancestors of Ezra, called Zerahiah, Ezr 7³, and Arna, 2 Es 1². 3. 1 Es 8³¹=Zerahiah, the father of Eliehoenai, Ezr 8⁴. 4. 1 Es 8³⁴=Zebadiah, son of Michael, Ezr 8⁸.

ZARAKES (B *Ζάριος*, A *Ζαράκης*, AV Zaraces), 1 Es 1³⁸ (LXX ³⁶). He is there called brother of Joaḳim or Jehoiaḳim, king of Judah, and is said to have been brought up out of Egypt by him.—The name apparently is a corruption, through confusion of ר and ד, of Ẓedeḳiah, who was a brother of Jehoiaḳim, 2 K 24¹⁷. The verse of 1 Es. is entirely different from the corresponding passage in 2 Ch 36⁴ᵇ.

ZARDEUS (B *Ζεραλίας*, A *Ζαρδαίας*, AV Sardeus), 1 Es 9²⁸=Aziza, Ezr 10²⁷.

ZAREPHATH (צָרְפַת; LXX and NT *Σάρεπτα* [A in 1 K 17⁹ *Σεφθά*]).—The Arab. village of *Ṣarafend* lies on a promontory about eight miles south of Ẓidon. On the shore in front of it are the scattered remains of what must have been a considerable town, the Zarephath or **Sarepta** of the Bible. This was possibly also Misrephoth-maim of Jos 11⁸ 13⁶ [but see MISREPHOTH-MAIM]. Zarephath originally belonged to Ẓidon (1 K 17⁹), but passed into the possession of Tyre after the assistance rendered by the fleet of Ẓidon to Shalmaneser IV. in B.C. 722 in his abortive attempt to capture insular Tyre. In Lk 4²⁶ it is again called a city of Sidon (RV 'in the land of Sidon'). Zarephath is included in the list of towns captured by Sennacherib when he invaded Phœnicia in B.C. 701. It was the town in which Elijah lodged during the years of famine (1 K 17⁸⁻²⁴). In the middle of the present ruins, by the shore, stands a shrine of St. George, occupying the place of the Crusaders' Chapel, which was built on the traditional site of Elijah's upper room. The rewarded faith of the Gentile woman of Sarepta was recalled by Christ in the synagogue of Nazareth, and the allusion gave deep offence to His hearers (Lk 4²⁶). Here may have lived the Syro-Phœnician woman whose faith was greatly commended by Christ, and whose daughter was healed by Him (Mt 15²¹⁻²⁸, Mk 7²⁴⁻³⁰).

G. M. MACKIE.

ZARETHAN (צָרְתָן).—When the Jordan was divided, the waters rose up in a heap 'at ADAM, the city that is beside Zarethan' (Jos 3¹⁶, LXX om.). One of Solomon's commissariat officers had in his district 'all Bethshean which is beside Ẓarethan, beneath Jezreel' (1 K 4¹², LXX om.). The bronze castings for the temple were made in the Jordan district 'at the ford of Adamah [reading, with Moore, במעברת (ה)אדמה for MT במעבה ה׳ (AV and RV 'in the clay ground')] between Succoth and Ẓarethan' (1 K 7⁴⁶). In the parallel passage 2 Ch 4¹⁷ the name appears as **Ẓerēdah** צְרֵדָה (B corruptly *'Αναμεσιρδάθαι* [? = *ἀνὰ μέσον Σιρ.*], A *ἀνὰ μέσον Σαδαθά*, Luc. *Σαριδαθά*), which is named in 1 K 11²⁶ (B and Luc. *Σαρειρά*, A *Σαριδά*) as the birthplace of Jeroboam, and in Jg 7²² [where read צְרֵדָה Ẓeredah for צְרֵרָה **Ẓerērah**; B *Γαραγαθά*, A om., Luc. *καὶ ἦν συνηγμένη*] in connexion with the flight of the Midianite host.

Ẓarethan or Ẓeredah cannot be precisely located, but must be sought in the vicinity of *ed-Dāmieh* (the city of Adam of Jos 3¹⁶). The proposal (van de Velde, Knobel, *et al.*) to identify with *Ḳarn Ṣarṭabeh*, the great landmark of the Jordan Valley, must be rejected on phonetic and other grounds (see Dillm. *Jos. ad loc.*; Moore, *Judges*, 212 f.; Kittel, *Könige*, 34; Buhl, *GAP* 181).

J. A. SELBIE.

ZATHOES (*Ζαθοής*, AV Zathoe), 1 Es 8³², probably stands for Zattu. The name does not appear in the Heb. of the corresponding passage Ezr 8⁵, which should be corrected by 1 Es. so as to run 'Of the sons of Zattu, Shecaniah the son of Jahaziel.'

ZATHUI (B *Ζατόν*, A *Ζαθθουί*), 1 Es 5¹²=Zattu, Ezr 2⁸, Neh 7¹³; called also Zathoes, 1 Es 8³².

ZATTU (זַתּוּא).—The name of a family of exiles that returned, Ezr 2^{8} (B Ζαθουά, A and Luc. Ζαθθουά) = Neh 7^{13} (B Ζαθουιά, A Ζαθθουά): several members of this family had married foreign wives, Ezr 10^{27} (B Ζαθουιά, A Ζαθουά, Luc. Ζαθθουά); its head sealed the covenant, Neh $10^{14\,(15)}$ (B Ζαθουιά, A Ζαθθουιά, Luc. Ζαθθαίας). The name of this family has dropped out of the Heb. text of Ezr 8^{5}; see SHECANIAH, No. 2.

ZAZA (זָזָא).—A Jerahmeelite, 1 Ch 2^{33} (B Ὀζάμ, A Ὀζαζά, Luc. Ζηιζά). The initial Ὀ of BA is due to taking the ו of MT וזזא as part of the name, and not as the particle = 'and.'

ZEALOT.—See CANANÆAN.

ZEBADIAH (זְבַדְיָה and זְבַדְיָהוּ 'J″ hath bestowed'; cf. the names יְהוֹזָבָד and זַבְדִּיאֵל).—**1. 2.** Two Benjamites, 1 Ch 8^{15} (B Ἀζαβαβιά, A Ἀζαβαδιά, Luc. Ζαβαδιά) ^{17} (BA Ζαβαδιά). **3.** One of those who joined David at Ziklag, 1 Ch 12^{7} (B Ζαβιδιά, A Ζαβαδιά). **4.** One of David's officers, son of Asahel, 1 Ch 27^{7} (B Ἀβδείας, A Ζαβδίας, Lue. Ζαβδαίας). **5.** An exile who returned with Ezra's second caravan, Ezr 8^{8} (Ζαβδειά, A Ζαβδίας, Luc. Ζαβδίας); called in 1 Es 8^{34} **Zaraias.** **6.** A priest, of the sons of Immer, who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10^{20} (B Ζαβδειά, A Ζαβδιά, Luc. Ζαβδιάς); called in 1 Es 9^{21} **Zabdeus.** **7.** A Korahite, 1 Ch 26^{2} (B Ζαχαρίας, A and Luc. Ζαβαδίας). **8.** One of the Levites sent by Jehoshaphat to teach in the cities of Judah, 2 Ch 17^{8} (B Ζαβδείας, A Ζαβδίας). **9.** An officer of king Jehoshaphat, entrusted with judicial functions, 2 Ch 19^{11} (B Ζαβδείας, A Ζαβδίας, Luc. Ζαβαδαίας).

ZEBAH and **ZALMUNNA** (זֶבַח 'victim,' צַלְמֻנָּע 'shade, *i.e.* protection, withheld'; Ζέβεε, Σελμανά; Jg 8^{4-21}, Ps 83^{11}).—The narrative of Gideon's pursuit of these two Midianite kings (Jg 8^{4-21}) cannot be a continuation of the foregoing verses (7^{23}–8^{3}); it must be derived from another source, attached abruptly, and with the loss of its opening verses, to the story of the defeat of Midian. So far from a victory having been just won, it seems such a remote possibility that the men of Succoth and Penuel treat Gideon with derision as he passes them on the track of the two kings ($8^{6.\,8}$). The kings were returning to their country, laden with spoil ($8^{24\text{f.}}$); they were not in flight, and had no thought of being pursued (8^{11}), otherwise they would have used the advantage which their camels (8^{26}) gave them to effect their escape. We gather, in fact, from this narrative (8^{4-21}) that Gideon's expedition against Zebah and Ẓalmunna was not part of the general campaign against Midian, but a private enterprise of personal revenge. On one of their raids, probably on this very one from which they were returning, the two Arab chieftains had murdered Gideon's brethren at Tabor, doubtless a place near Ophrah (8^{18}). To Gideon, as next of kin, fell the duty of avenging their blood. Collecting 300 of his clan, he followed the enemy across the Jordan, attacked them unexpectedly at Karkor, captured the two kings, and, after exhibiting them as his prisoners to the men of Succoth, carried them back in triumph, probably to his home at Ophrah (Moore). There he slew them with his own hand, when his young son refused to be their executioner, the two kings meeting their fate with barbaric courage. The execution was a religious act as well as an act of blood-revenge, and may well have taken place before the altar (Smend, *AT Religionsgeschichte*, 128). Human victims were similarly sacrificed after the return from a victorious campaign (Jg $11^{30\text{f.}\,39}$), or as the chief portion of the spoil (1 S 15^{33}). W. R. Smith, (*RS* 397 n.) compares the choice of Gideon's young son as executioner of the kings with the choice of 'young men' or 'lads' as sacrificers (Ex 24^{5}), and illustrates from the custom of the Saracens, who charged lads with the execution of their captives. The pronunciation of the names Zebah and Ẓalmunna represents merely a popular etymology, which gave a contemptuous meaning, 'victim,' 'protection withheld,' to the names of the kings. The first syllable of Ẓalmunna may be the name of a deity *Ẓalm*, found in Aramaic inscriptions from Teima (*CIS* pars. II. cxiii, cxiv), perhaps also in the Phœnician *Ẓadam* (*Ẓalam*) - *ba'al* (*CIS* i. cxxxii), called in Greek Σαλαμβώ, or -ας; see Hoffmann, *ZA* xi. 244 f. On the other hand, the names may be merely symbolic, and not the actual names of the two kings (so Nöldeke, *Die Amalekiter*, 9 n., and Stade, *GVI* i. 190).

G. A. COOKE.

ZEBEDEE (Ζεβεδαῖος; Heb. זַבְדִּי 'gift of J″,' or, more properly, Aram. זַבְדַּי; raising the question why the name is not spelt Ζαβδαῖος, as in the OT [1 Es 9^{21} etc.], but Ζεβεδ-. On Jewish bearers of this name see Jastrow, *Dict.* 377, where also a local name בֵּית זַבְדִּין, 'probably in Galilee,' is mentioned).—The father of the apostles James and John (Mt 4^{21}) and the husband of Salome (Mt 27^{56}, Mk 15^{40}). Zebedee followed the occupation of fisherman on the Sea of Galilee, and was apparently in easy circumstances, to judge from the mention of his 'boat with the hired servants' (Mk 1^{20}). This is also borne out by the facts that his wife was one of the pious women who afterwards ministered to the Lord of their substance (Mt $27^{55.\,56}$, Lk $8^{2.\,3}$); and that his son John was personally known to the high priest (Jn 18^{16}), and had the means of providing for the mother of Jesus (Jn 19^{27}). Zebedee himself comes before us directly only in connexion with the call of his sons; and, from his raising no objection, it has been conjectured that he himself was a disciple of John the Baptist, as his sons certainly were, and by him had been taught to regard Jesus as the Messiah. Whether he ever became an active follower of Jesus it is impossible to say. The subsequent silence of Scripture regarding him would incline one to think not, unless this silence is to be explained by Zebedee's death soon after his sons' call.

According to Barhebræus (on Mt 10^{2}) and the *Book of the Bee*, the sons of Zebedee belonged to the tribe of Zebulun; according to the *Gospel of the Twelve Apostles* (ed. Harris, p. 26), to the tribe of Issachar.

G. MILLIGAN.

ZEBIDAH (so RV, following *Kĕthîbh* זְבִידָה; AV follows *Ḳĕrê* זְבוּדָּה **Zebudah**).—The daughter of Pedaiah of Rumah, and mother of king Jehoiaḳim, 2 K 23^{36} [MT omits in ∥ 2 Ch 36^{5}]. In Kings the LXX has: B Ἰελλὰ θυγάτηρ Ἐδεὶλ ἐκ Κρουμά, A Ἐἰελδὰφ θυγάτηρ Ἐἰεδδιλὰ ἐκ Ῥυμά; in 2 Chron.: AB Ζε(κ)χωρὰ θυγάτηρ Νηρείου ἐκ Ῥαμά; Luc. has in both passages Ἀμιτὰλ θυγάτηρ Ἱερεμίου [confusing with Zedeḳiah's mother, 24^{18}].

ZEBINA (זְבִינָא).—One of the sons of Nebo who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10^{43} (B Ζανβινά, A om., ℵ Ζαμβεινά, Luc. Ζεβενεί). See ZABAD, No. **6.**

ZEBOIIM.—One of the five Cities of the Plain, Gn 10^{19} (צְבֹיִם) $14^{2.\,8}$, Dt $29^{23\,(22)}$ (*Kĕth.* in all צְבֹיִים, *Ḳĕrê* צְבוֹיִם), Hos 11^{8} (*Kĕth.* צְבֹאִים; *Ḳĕrê* צְבֹיִם, the א being regarded as quiescent; AV and RV here **Zeboim**). The LXX has uniformly Σεβω(ε)ίμ [but in Dt $29^{23\,(22)}$ AF Σεβωείν]. According to Böhme (on Neh 1–6, p. 3) the word is punctuated in MT upon the analogy of צְבֹעִים 'hyænas,' and so as to avoid suggesting צְבָיִם, צְבָיִים, or צְבָאִים 'gazelles.'

The site has not been identified. Upon the general question of the situation of the five Cities of the Plain see art. ZOAR.

ZEBOIM.—1. 'The ravine of Ẓebōʻim' (גֵּי הַצְּבֹעִים 'ravine of the hyænas'; BA Γαὶ τὴν Σαμεὶν, Luc. Σαβαὶν) is named in 1 S 13^{18} in describing the route followed by one of the bands of Philistine marauders. It is prob. the *Wādy el-Ḳelt* or one of its branches (Buhl, *GAP* 98; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 291 n. 1). The name *Wādy abû dabâʻ* ('Hyæna gorge') is still applied to a ravine in this neighbourhood, though perhaps not to the identical one referred to in 1 Samuel. The same locality appears to be referred to in the Ẓeboim (BA om., ℵ^{c. a} Σεβοείμ, Luc. Σεβωείν) of Neh 11^{34}. **2.** Hos 11^{8}. See ZEBOIIM.

ZEBUL (זְבֻל; Ζεβούλ, = 'height,' 'high dwelling' (?), perhaps shortened from '(God's) dwelling' or from (Baal)-zebul).—Jg $9^{28. 30. 36. 38. 41}$, Abimelech's officer (*paḳîd*) and governor (*sar*) of Shechem. By his loyalty and resource he dealt successfully with an insurrection against his master's authority in Shechem. It was an insurrection of Shechemites against Abimelech, who was only half a Shechemite by birth and had usurped his position (so Moore, *Judges* 255 ff., whose arguments are convincing). The interpretation of 9^{28} is uncertain; Moore reads 'served' for 'serve ye' (עָבְדוּ for עִבְדוּ), and explains, 'Abimelech and Zebul were formerly the servants of Shechem; why then should Shechemites serve them now?' Others take the insurrection to have been one of Israelites against Shechemites (*e.g.* Wellhausen, *Composition* 353 f.; Robertson Smith, *ThT* xx. 1886, 195–198); but this does not agree well with the rest of the narrative. See, further, ABIMELECH, No. 3.

G. A. COOKE.

ZEBULUN (זְבֻלוּן, זְבוּלֻן, זְבוּלוּן; Ζαβουλών, *Zabulon*).—The first and second forms of the name in Heb. are used interchangeably; the third occurs only in Jg 1^{30}. Two explanations of the name are given in Gn $30^{19\,(20)}$. In the first (from E) Leah exclaims זְבָדַנִי אֱלֹהִים אֹתִי זֵבֶד טוֹב 'God has gifted me with a good gift,' ד of זבד being made equivalent to ל. In the second (from J) she cries, הַפַּעַם יִזְבְּלֵנִי אִישִׁי 'this time my husband will dwell (lie) by me,' *Zebulun* receiving a meaning like 'neighbour' or 'borderer' (Dillmann). From an Assyr. root the meaning 'will exalt (esteem) me' has been suggested, and Delitzsch (*Genesis, in loc.*) points out that this agrees with the LXX rendering *αἱρετιεῖ*; it seems doubtful, however, whether *zabâlu* means more than *to carry* or *bear* (not *to lift up*).

Zebulun appears in the lists of Jacob's sons, and as the ancestor of the tribe (Gn 46^{14}, Nu 26^{26}). An old Jewish tradition says he was the first of the five brethren presented by Joseph to Pharaoh (Targ. pseudo-Jon. on Gn 47^{2}). So far as our records go, the man and his life are wrapped in obscurity. The chief tribal families are three, at the head of which stand Zebulun's three sons: Sered, Elon, and Jahleel, said to have been born in Canaan before the settlement in Egypt (Gn 46^{14}).

In the desert journey Zeb. was placed with Issachar in the camp of Judah, eastward of the tabernacle. These marched in the van, under the standard of Judah (Nu $2^{7. 8}$). The tribe then numbered 57,400 men capable of bearing arms, and the headman or 'prince' was Eliab, son of Helon (Nu $1^{9. 30}$ 2^{7}). Gaddiel, son of Sodi, represented Zeb. among the spies (Nu 13^{10}). At Shittim, after the camp had been devastated by the plague, the warriors of Zeb. are given at 60,500 (Nu 26^{27}). Elizaphan, son of Parnach, acted with the representatives of the other tribes in the division of the land (Nu 34^{25}). At Shechem, Zeb. the youngest son of Leah, and Reuben, who had fallen from honour, are placed with the sons of the handmaids, over against the other six sons of Rachel and Leah, to make equal division of the tribes (Dt 27^{13}). Zeb. earned no special distinction either under Moses in the wilderness, or under Joshua during the Conquest. In the second division of territory the lot of Zeb. came up third (Jos 19^{10}), and there fell to him a stretch of country, richly diversified, with sylvan vale, fruitful plain, and breezy height.

The boundaries of Zeb. cannot now be traced with any certainty. As described in Jos $19^{10\text{-}16}$ it marched with Issachar on the S., Naphtali on the E. and N.E., and Asher on the W. and N.W. The eastern boundary probably ran from Tabor, along the W. border of Naphtali, as far north as *Kefr Anān* (Hannathon); turning westward, it skirted the district of *er-Rāmeh*, reaching the eastern border of Asher down the vale of *ʻAbilîn*, in which lies *Jafāt*, which some identify with Iphtah-el, or down *Wady el-Ḳurn*, further to the north (Conder): thence it passed southward to the lip of Kishon, opposite *Tell Kaimūn* (Jokneam). We can hardly even guess at the southern boundary. Chisloth-tabor, or Chesulloth (*Iksāl*), and Daberath (*Debūrieh*) seem to be given to Zeb. in v.^{12}; but in v.^{19} the former, and in 21^{28} the latter, are assigned to Issachar. Tabor, possibly the city on the mountain, 1 Ch 6^{77} places in the land of Zebulun. If *Debūrieh* belonged to Issachar, this would mean possession of at least part of the mountain, perhaps the western and southern slopes. If the two tribes shared the mountain, this may be alluded to in Dt 33^{19}. It is the most striking feature in the landscape, and round it sacred associations from of old were sure to gather. Other identifications proposed are precarious, and, if established, would produce a very peculiar borderline. *Tell Shadūd* may be identified with Sarid, by the substitution of *d* for *r*. In that case *Maʻlul* cannot be Marala, as it lies not westward, but a little east of north from *Tell Shadūd*; and not only the change of *r* to *l*, but also the intrusion of *ʻain* before *lamed*, must be accounted for. Again, it is difficult to conceive the line running from *Tell Shadūd* past *Iksāl* to *Debūrieh*, and then doubling back upon *Yafa*, as the identification of this last with Japhia would require. The authority for locating Gath-hepher at *el-Meshed* is very slender, and the name, which is of some antiquity, is against it. The line indicated for the western border of Naphtali seems to throw the boundary of Zeb. further to the east; so also the identification of Nahalal with *ʻAin Mahil*.

The Blessing of Jacob (Gn 49^{13}), which dates from the time of the Judges, or at latest not after Solomon, apparently gives Zeb. access to the sea. 'Zebulun, towards the strand of the sea he settles, he himself towards the strand of the ships, and his rear to, or towards, Ẓidon' (Dillm.); this is supported by Josephus (*Ant.* V. i. 22; *BJ* III. iii. 1). The boundaries between the tribes and the land held by the Canaanites must have varied from time to time, and possibly then Zeb. held an approach to the shore, perhaps through the gorge of Kishon and along the base of Carmel. But the words may mean only that the sea was near and easily reached; that Zeb. bordered on the coast, *i.e.* the coast-lands, and not the sea itself. Delitzsch translates, 'Zebulun, near to the coast of the sea shall he dwell, yea he, near to the coast of the ships, and his side leans on Ẓidon.' The reference to Ẓidon is obscure: Zeb. never approached that city. Possibly the name of their chief city is given to the rich coast-lands, including Acre, from which the Phœnicians were never driven out (Jg 1^{31}). The much later writer in Joshua (P) knows nothing of any 'outgoing' of the territory to the Mediterranean. 'The way of the sea' (Is 9^{1}), the great highway of commerce from north and east to the harbour at Acre, which passed through a large part of his land, and brought Zeb. into contact with the trade of the world, would itself enable him to 'suck the treasures of the sea' (Dt 33^{19}).

In Zeb. four cities were given to the Levites—Jokneam, Kartah, Dimnah (Dillm. and others read Rimmon), and Nahalal (Jos $21^{34.35}$). Of these, Kitron (identical with Kartah [see art. KARTAH]) and Nahalal (probably *'Ain Mahil*) remained in the hands of the Canaanites, and so could not be occupied by the Levites (Jg 1^{30}). In 1 Ch 6^{77} [Heb. ^{62}] only Rimmono (Rummaneh) and Tabor are named, the latter corresponding with no name in the former list.

What is said of the territory of Naphtali (see art. NAPHTALI) applies generally to Zeb., although the mountains of Naphtali north and north-east rise to a much greater height. *Jebel Kaukāb* (1850 ft.) is a prominent feature of the western landscape, and *Jebel es-Sîkh*, N.W. of Nazareth, crowned by *Neby Sa'în*, commands one of the finest and most comprehensive views in N. Palestine. The Plain of Asochis, *el-Baṭṭauf*, is not so large as Esdraelon, but is equally rich and fruitful. Olive groves flourish in the valleys, and most villages have orchards or vineyards, protected by cactus hedges.

Only one judge is mentioned as rising in Zebulun, viz. ELON, who judged Israel ten years (Jg $12^{11.12}$). But the tribe seems always to have produced men of warlike energy and enterprise. 'Marched . . . from Zeb. those who carry the muster-master's staff' (Jg 5^{14}; 'officers who had charge of the enumeration and enrolment of troops' [Moore]). Called by Barak to the conflict with Sisera (Jg $4^{6.10}$), their patriotic devotion and prowess are specially celebrated in Deborah's song (Jg $5^{14.18}$). Gideon summoned them to the strife with Midian (Jg 6^{35}). To David at Hebron came from Zeb. 50,000 men of war 'who were not of double heart' (1 Ch 12^{33}); nor were gifts lacking from the produce of well-cultivated land (*ib.* 12^{40}). Under David the headman of the tribe was Ishmaiah, son of Obadiah (1 Ch 27^{19}). In response to Hezekiah's invitation, despite the scoffing of others, some from Zeb. humbled themselves and went to Jerusalem, where, although not 'cleansed according to the purification of the sanctuary,' they were welcomed and allowed to eat the passover (2 Ch $30^{10.11.18.19}$). Doubtless, Zeb. shared the fate of Naphtali when, along with other districts, Galilee was carried into captivity by Tiglath-pileser (2 K 15^{29}, cf. Is 9^{1}).

The peasant farmers of Zeb. lent strength to the Jewish army in the war of independence, and their soil witnessed some of the fiercest encounters. Jotapata (*Jefat*) made a heroic defence against the Romans (*BJ* VII.). Sepphoris became the centre of Roman administration in the district (*Ant.* XVIII. ii. 1; *BJ* III. ii. 4). Here for a time were the headquarters of the Jewish Rabbis before they settled in Tiberias (Jost, *Judenthum*, ii. 16 ff.). Through the territory of Zeb. from the springs at Sepphoris to the hill of *Ḥaṭṭîn*, the Crusaders marched to their overthrow at the hands of Saladin. It is the chief glory of Zeb. that it afforded the infant Saviour a safe asylum; that on its breezy uplands, in the free atmosphere of the north, His frame grew to maturity, and mind and heart were prepared for His mighty task.

Members of this tribe are called **Zebulunites** (הַזְּבוּלֹנִי, Ζαβουλών, *Zabulon*, Nu 26^{27}). The title הַזְּבוּלֹנִי 'the Zebulunite,' is also applied to Elon the judge (Jg $12^{11.12}$). W. EWING.

ZECHARIAH (זְכַרְיָהוּ and זְכַרְיָה; Ζαχαριά and -ίας).—**1.** Brother of Ner and uncle of Saul (1 Ch 9^{37}), one of the ten sons of Jeiel or Jehiel, patriarch of Gibeon in Benjamin. He is called **Zecher** in 1 Ch 8^{31}. **2.** A Levite, one of the sons of Korah, firstborn son of Meshelemiah (1 Ch 9^{21} $26^{2.14}$). **3.** A Levite, whose place was among the brethren of the second degree under the chief singers Heman, Asaph, and Ethan (1 Ch $15^{18.20}$). **4.** A priest in the time of David (1 Ch 15^{24}), one of the seven appointed to blow a trumpet before the ark. **5.** A Levite, of the family of Kohath (1 Ch 24^{25}). **6.** A Levite, of the family of Merari (1 Ch 26^{11}). **7.** Father of Iddo (1 Ch 27^{21}). **8.** One of the princes of Judah in the days of Jehoshaphat (2 Ch 17^{7}). **9.** A Levite, one of the sons of Asaph (2 Ch 20^{14}). **10.** Son of Jehoshaphat (2 Ch 21^{2}), to whom, with his brethren, his father gave large gifts of silver and gold, together with certain fenced cities. Along with the other sons of the king he was slain by his brother Jehoram on his accession to the throne. **11.** Son of Jehoiada the priest (2 Ch 24^{20}). After Jehoiada's death, Joash, who had yielded to the evil counsels of his princes, was privy to the conspiracy against Zech., because he reproved the idolaters and announced God's judgment against them. He was stoned with stones at the commandment of the king in the court of the house of the Lord. His dying words, 'The Lord look upon it and require it,' were long remembered. See also ZACHARIAH. **12.** A prophet, living in the earlier part of Uzziah's reign, *i.e.* before the middle of the 8th cent., about B.C. 770, who exercised a powerful influence for good upon the king (2 Ch 26^{5}). He is described as having 'understanding in the vision of God,' or giving 'instruction in the fear of God.' **13.** Son of Jeroboam II., king of Israel (2 K 14^{29} 15^{8-12}). It would seem that his father's death had been succeeded by a period of confusion, and probably the interval of at least ten years between the father's death and the son's succession had been spent in incessant conflicts between rival claimants of the throne. Jeroboam died in the twenty-seventh year of Uzziah, and Zech. succeeded in the thirty-eighth year of that monarch's reign (2 K 15^{8}). It may very well be that Zech. was a brave soldier and a capable ruler like his father, but all that the sacred historian records of him is that, in respect of character and moral conduct, he followed his fathers in evil-doing. He did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord, as his fathers had done; he departed not from the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, wherewith he made Israel to sin. After a reign of six months he was slain by a conspirator Shallum, who himself survived only one month. With Zech. ended the dynasty of Jehu, according to the word of the Lord (2 K 10^{30}), 'thy sons of the fourth generation shall sit on the throne of Israel.' **14.** A man of high repute in Isaiah's day (Is 8^{2}). When faithful witnesses were required to attest a solemn prophetic roll, this Zech. was chosen along with Uriah the priest. He is described as son of Jeberechiah, and may possibly be the same as the Asaphite mentioned in 2 Ch 29^{13}, as Delitzsch suggests (see No. **16**). Diestel (in Schenkel, v. 130) would identify him with the prophet of Uzziah's time (see No. **12**); but this cannot be, for the prophet referred to evidently died in the earlier years of Uzziah's reign, whereas this Zech. is represented as living in the days of Ahaz. Riehm suggests his identification with the father of Hezekiah's mother (No. **15**). **15.** The father of Abi or Abijah, the mother of king Hezekiah (2 K 18^{2}, 2 Ch 29^{1}). Murphy thinks he may be identified with the prophet mentioned in 2 Ch 26^{5}; but this is extremely improbable. **16.** A reforming Asaphite under Hezekiah (2 Ch 29^{13}), who took part in the cleansing of the house of the Lord. **17.** Head of a house of the

Reubenites (1 Ch 5^{7}), one of the brethren of Beerah, who as one of the princes of the Reubenites was taken away captive into Assyria by Tiglath-pileser in the days of Pekah king of Israel, about B.C. 734. **18.** A Levite, one of the sons of Kohath (2 Ch 34^{12}), in the days of Josiah. In the work of repairing the temple, about B.C. 620, this Zech. was one of the overseers. **19.** One of the rulers of the temple under Josiah (2 Ch 35^{8}). As Hilkiah mentioned immediately before was chief priest, Zech. was probably second priest (כֹּהֵן הַמִּשְׁנֶה, like Zephaniah in Jer 52^{24}, 2 K 25^{18}). He is also named in 1 Es 1^{8}. See ZACHARIAS, 1. **20.** The prophet. See next article. **21.** One of the family of Parosh or Phoros, who accompanied Ezra from Babylon to Jerusalem in B.C. 458 (Ezr 8^{3}, 1 Es 8^{30}). **22.** Son of Bebai (Ezr 8^{11}), leader of the twenty-eight sons of Bebai who returned to Jerusalem with Ezra. **23.** One of the chief men with whom Ezra consulted at the river Ahava or Theras near Babylon (Ezr 8^{16}. See also 1 Es 8^{44}). **24.** A descendant of Elam, one of the people who had taken foreign wives, and who undertook under Ezra's reformation to put them away (Ezr 10^{26}). See also 1 Es 9^{27}. **25.** One of the descendants of Perez (Pharez), son of Judah, whose descendant, Athaiah, was one of the heads of the children of Judah settled in Jerusalem after the return from Babylon (Neh 11^{4}). **26.** Called the son of the Shilonite (Neh 11^{5}), a descendant of Shelah, son of Judah, whose descendant, Maaseiah, was one of the heads of the children of Judah settled in Jerusalem after the return from the Exile. **27.** Son of Pashhur, a priest and courtier under Zedekiah, whose descendant, Adaiah, was one of the priests settled in Jerusalem under Nehemiah (Neh 11^{12}). **28.** An Asaphite, son of Jonathan, who, 'with musical instruments of David, the man of God,' took part with Ezra in giving thanks at the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh 12^{35}). **29.** A priest, one of the blowers of trumpets at the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem, who took part in that thanksgiving service (Neh 12^{41}).

J. MACPHERSON.

ZECHARIAH, BOOK OF.—

i. The genuine prophecies of Zechariah (chs. 1–8).
ii. The activity and significance of the prophet.
  Literature.
iii. Chs. 9–14: (1) Contents; (2) Relation of the different parts to one another; (3) Date of the various components; (4) Religious and theological value of these chapters.
  Literature.

i. THE GENUINE PROPHECIES OF ZECHARIAH (CHS. 1–8). — The Book of Zechariah includes within it passages belonging to very different dates and proceeding from different hands. The superscriptions that appear in 9^{1} and 12^{1} divide the book into two larger parts: (1) chs. 1–8, (2) chs. 9–14.

For Zechariah, the contemporary of Haggai, who is named in 1^{1}, all that has to be taken into account is chs. 1–8, which fall into three divisions: (*a*) $1^{1\text{-}6}$ a call to repentance, based upon an allusion to the impenitence of the fathers and the consequent judgment that overtook them. They and the prophets are gone, but God's word still abides in force.—(*b*) 1^{7}–6^{9} the nocturnal visions of Zechariah, with an appendix $6^{10\text{-}15}$. In eight visions, which are explained to him on each occasion by the *angelus interpres*, the prophet gives, as it were, a compendium of the eschatological hopes that animated him. The exposition of these is followed up by the direction in $6^{10\text{ff.}}$ to him to take of the silver and gold brought by the deputies of the Babylonian Jews, and to have a crown made for the *Ẓemaḥ*, *i.e.* for Zerubbabel. This crown is then to be laid up in the temple as a memorial of those deputies. Side by side with Zerubbabel is to be Joshua as priest, and peaceful relations are to subsist between the two. Then shall the peoples come from far and help to build the temple of Jahweh. (The text of this passage has not come down to us intact, but has obviously undergone revision in order to obscure the difference between these hopes and the actual history. By aid of the LXX the original text may be reconstructed).—(*c*) Chs. 7. 8. Taking occasion from the question addressed to the priests and prophets whether the fast-days observed during the Exile were still to be kept up, the prophet points to the impending Messianic time, for which a moral reformation is the indispensable prerequisite. Then shall the fast-days become joyous festivals, when men from all peoples shall join themselves to the Jews in their pilgrimages to Jahweh, because they have heard that God has fixed His dwelling-place with them.

ii. THE ACTIVITY AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PROPHET.—According to $1^{1.\,7}$, Zechariah was a son of Berechiah and a grandson of 'Iddo, the latter of whom is mentioned as the head of a priestly family which returned from the Exile (Neh 12^{4}). Zechariah will thus have been presumably somewhat young when he began his prophetical work amongst his people. We are told in 1^{1} that he came forward, like Haggai, in the second year of Darius (Hystaspis), but two months later than that prophet; he continued to labour till the 7th month of the fourth year (cf. 7^{1}). In this way his whole activity would appear to have been confined to rather less than two years. The political background is the same as in Haggai, namely, the violent commotions which the accession of Darius produced in the north-eastern portion of his empire. A feeling of profound depression had laid hold of the community at Jerusalem; Jahweh, it was felt, had not yet had compassion upon His people, He yet remained far from them. Zechariah strives to reanimate the hopes of his co-religionists, and to rekindle faith in the time of consummation, which will speedily set in; and it would appear that he was at least partially successful (cf. $7^{1\text{ff.}}$). An indispensable condition of the arrival of the Messianic era is the building of the temple; for as the commencement of the judgment formerly showed itself when the glory of Jahweh was seen by Ezekiel (cf. ch. 10) to forsake the temple, so upon the day when Jahweh once more makes His abode with His people all the distress of the time shall come to an end; in short, this dwelling of Jahweh in the temple is the *sine qua non* of the dawn of the Messianic age (cf. 8^{15}). Hence Zechariah, like Haggai, concentrates all his energies upon the task of inducing the people to undertake the work of building the temple. It is from this point of view that one can understand Zechariah's view of the priesthood as the security for the coming of the *Ẓemaḥ*, *i.e.* the Messianic King (cf. $3^{8\text{ff.}}$).—Zechariah's endeavour to reanimate the hopes of his contemporaries explains also the central place which Messianic prophecy occupies in his book. The whole of the nocturnal visions turn essentially upon the Messianic expectations of the time, and in ch. 8 as well he has regard to these, so that from this book we can construct a pretty complete picture of the Messianic hopes that were then entertained. The central figure is the Messianic King, whom Zechariah, with reference to Jer 23^{5} (33^{15}), calls the *Ẓemaḥ* and identifies with Zerubbabel, although a redactor, who had regard to the actually existing relations, has sought to substitute the high priest Joshua for Zerubbabel. It is true, indeed, that even with Zechariah himself the high priest holds a highly significant place: he represents the community before Jahweh, and has at all times free access to Him. Cf. also the articles EZRA-NEHEMIAH, HAGGAI, and ZERUBBABEL.

In Zechariah, as in Haggai, we note the disappearance of immediate prophetic inspiration. Connected with this is the circumstance that the message is communicated to the prophet by the angel of Jahweh (cf. Ezk $40^{3ff.}$), and that his visions are no longer the outcome of intuition but rather of deliberate reflexion. Hence the *angelus interpres* is a standing figure in them. Side by side with the *angelus interpres* we have the *mal'akh Jahweh* and the *Saṭan*, the latter of whom also is thus obviously to be thought of as included among the messengers of God. The greater prominence thus assumed by angels is the result of the more transcendental character to which the idea of God has attained: Jahweh is One who is enthroned on high above men, and whose dealings with them must be through the medium of angels. Here for the first time we encounter *ha-saṭan*, still indeed as an appellative. It is not till 1 Ch 21 that it attains the character of a proper name. The Book of Job appears, in its idea of the Saṭan, to occupy a position intermediate between these other two. See, further, the article SATAN, above, p. 408^{b}. —Not without significance, perhaps, for further development is the conception here met with of Sin as an independently existing power. Personified as a woman, she is carried off to the land of Shinar, *i.e.* the land of destruction (cf. $5^{1ff.}$). This last designation is considered, indeed, to include not only Shinar, but the whole heathen world; in Zechariah, as in Haggai, the way is paved for the notion so clearly defined in Daniel of the kingdom of God and the kingdoms of the world. Here the opposition is not yet sharply marked; here, partly as an after-effect of Deutero-Isaianic ideas, but partly also as a consequence of a vivid consciousness of being the bearers of the true religion and of being 'righteous,' in contrast with the 'ungodly Gentiles' (cf. 1^{15} 2^{12}), we meet with the thought that from all peoples those seeking for salvation shall flock to Jerusalem and dwell there, and that Jahweh will own them as His people (cf. $2^{4ff.}$ $8^{20ff.}$).

LITERATURE.—A. Köhler, *Die nachexilischen Propheten*, 1861-1863; K. Bredenkamp, *Der Prophet Sacharja*, 1879; C. H. H. Wright, *Zechariah and his Prophecies*, 1879; W. H. Lowe, *The Hebrew Student's Com. on Zechariah, Heb. and LXX*, 1872; K. Marti, *Der Prophet Zacharja, der Zeitgenosse Serubbabels*, 1892; J. Wellhausen, *Die kleinen Propheten*, 1892; W. Nowack, *Die kleinen Propheten*, 1897; G. A. Smith, *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, ii. 1898. Cf. Sellin, *Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der jüd. Gemeinde nach dem babylon. Exil*, 1901; K. Marti in *SK*, 1892, pp. 207 ff., 716 ff.; J. Ley, *ib.* 1893, p. 771 ff.

iii. CHAPTERS 9-14.—(1) *Contents.*—Ch. 9 opens with the announcement of judgment upon Damascus, Tyre, Zidon, and the Philistines. Jahweh Himself protects Jerusalem and its inhabitants. Jerusalem is to be the seat of the Messianic King, who will enter the city riding upon an ass, the animal of peace. For He works not with secular resources, but by His word puts an end to the strife among the nations. For the sake of the blood covenant Jahweh brings back the captives of Zion. Judah and Ephraim, together with Zion, are to be the weapons wherewith He subdues the sons of Javan. Then will Jahweh feed His people like a flock in His land which is so good and fair.—After a short interlude, in which the Israelites are called on to ask rain from Jahweh, instead of turning to teraphim and soothsayers ($10^{1.2}$), comes 10^{3}–11^{3}: Jahweh threatens the shepherds and the goats; He removes them, and native leaders put themselves at the head of Judah, which with Jahweh's help overcomes those that ride upon horses. But Jahweh will have pity on the house of Joseph and will bring them back, so that they shall be His as if He had never cast them off. From Egypt and Assyria He will bring them back to Gilead and the Lebanon district, but the land will not suffice for them. Jahweh will be their strength, and in His name shall they boast. But the cedars of Lebanon and the oaks of Bashan shall howl because the forest is destroyed, the shepherds bewail the loss of pasturage, the lions roar because the glory of the Jordan Valley is gone. — In 11^{4-17} we have a narrative of what has occurred in recent times; the prophet is to put the contents of his preaching in pictorial form, as it were, before the eye. He receives the commission to take the place of the worthless shepherds in feeding the sheep. He took the two staves 'Graciousness' and 'Union,' in order to represent in a way the principles by which he meant to be guided. In like manner he cut off the three shepherds in one month. But soon he became disgusted with the sheep, and they abhorred him. Therefore he broke the two staves, and now received the commission to act the part of a foolish shepherd, for such an one Jahweh is to set over them by way of punishment. The conclusion of this threatening of 11^{17} is supplied by 13^{7-9}: Jahweh will smite the shepherd, so that the sheep shall be scattered.—12^{1}–13^{5} form a whole: the heathen, and with them Judah, besiege Jerusalem, but from Judah judgment goes forth upon the heathen, while Jerusalem itself remains peacefully in its place. Jahweh has at first helped the Judahites, that the pride of the house of David and of the inhabitants of Jerusalem might not become too great. Then Jahweh protects Jerusalem, the heathen who are moving against her are destroyed by Him. Then shall the inhabitants of Jerusalem look back to him whom they once pierced, and they lament over him as one does over an only son.[*] Then Jahweh opens for the house of David and its inhabitants a fountain for purification, then He roots out the names of the idols, and destroys the prophets, and expels the spirit of uncleanness out of the land.—Ch. 14 begins once more with a reference to an attack by the nations upon Jerusalem; the city is taken, the houses destroyed, half of the inhabitants go into captivity. Then Jahweh appears for her defence, treads upon the Mt. of Olives, which divides under His feet, and the other half of the inhabitants make their escape through the new valley thus formed. There is no more interchange of light and darkness, of heat and cold, but one day. Living waters flow from Jerusalem eastwards and westwards. Jahweh rules as king over the whole earth. The flesh of the peoples who fight against Jerusalem shall moulder away while they are yet alive, but the remnant shall all come to Jerusalem to worship Jahweh and to keep the Feast of Tabernacles.

(2) *Relation of the different parts to one another.* —In seeking to answer this question, the circumstance must be kept in mind that in these chapters events are frequently described not in their actual chronological order, but the final result emerges first, and the description follows of the way in which God brings about this result. Taking this into account, it will be seen that there is no occasion, with Rubinkam, to separate 9^{1-10} from vv.$^{11ff.}$; the latter verses supply an account of the incidents that precede the advent of the peaceful King. On the other hand, $10^{1.2}$ has a very loose connexion with ch. 9. $10^{3ff.}$ might be from the same hand as ch. 9; in the latter there was only a passing allusion to the return of the captives, in $10^{3ff.}$ this has the central place; as in $9^{1ff.}$ Syria is the subject of Divine judgment, so here it is אַשּׁוּר, which in late Hebrew stands for Syria.

It is very questionable, however, whether 11^{4-17} and 13^{7-9} are from the same hand as chs. 9 and 10. No decisive grounds can be alleged in favour of identity of authorship; on the contrary, there is a marked diversity in so far as it is only at 11^{17}, which has its continuation in 13^{7-9}, that the outlook into the future begins.—Ch. 12 is not, as Cornill (*Einleitung*^{3}, p. 203) maintains, the necessary complement of $11^{4ff.}$; in fact, the striking difference of diction makes it impossible to ascribe both chapters to the same hand. Seeing, further, that ch. 13 is undoubtedly closely bound up with ch. 12, a material objection to Cornill's opinion emerges. In ch. 13 the writer holds in abhorrence those who make a public claim to be prophets; Jahweh will make an end of such, just as He sweeps idolatry and the spirit of uncleanness out of the land. On the other hand, in $11^{4ff.}$ the prophet in his experiences is to represent in a way the conduct of the people, and the 'Canaanites (traffickers) of the flock' [reading כְּנַעֲנֵי הַצֹּאן for כֵּן עֲנִיֵּי ה׳], who watch his conduct, are to recognize that it is the word of Jahweh that determines his action. We cannot assent to Rubinkam's separation of 13^{1-6} from ch. 12, which is justified neither by the language nor the contents; the features in the picture of the last days mentioned in $13^{1ff.}$ complete the picture of ch. 12.

---

[*] For the text of this passage, and the use made of it in Jn 19^{37}, see art. QUOTATIONS, p. 184^{b}.

On the other hand, ch. 14 must certainly be assigned to another pen than 12^1–13^6. According to ch. 12, the destructive judgment is executed upon the heathen before Jerusalem, while the city itself stands fast; but, according to ch. 14, Jerusalem is captured by the heathen, the houses destroyed, etc. According to 13^1, a fountain is opened for the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem for the purpose of purification, whereas the fountain of 14^8 obviously serves different ends altogether. As little can we think of a connexion of ch. 14 with chs. 9 and 10, as is plain from the opposition between 14^{14} and 9^{10}.

The result of our examination is that we have the following independent pieces: (i.) 9. ($10^{1f.}$) 10^3–11^3; (ii.) 11^{4-17} 13^{7-9}; (iii.) 12^1–13^6; (iv.) ch. 14.

(3) *Date of the various components.*—(i.) 9. ($10^{1f.}$) 10^3–11^3. Of decisive weight for fixing the date is 9^{13}, where the בְּנֵי יָוָן ('sons of Greece') are named as the principal enemies of the people of Jahweh. The place here assigned to the Greeks carries us to the time subsequent to Alexander the Great. This conclusion is not opposed by $10^{10f.}$, where Asshur and Egypt are mentioned, for, as was noted above, אַשּׁוּר became in later days a name for Syria. It is from this same point of view that $9^{1f.}$ becomes for the first time intelligible: the word of Jahweh is directed against the land of Ḥadrach and Damascus, *i.e.* against the empire of the Seleucids. Thus also we understand certain other features in the picture of the future: the gracious favour shown to Ephraim and the turning again of her captivity, as well as her reunion with Judah, all this has come, since the time of Ezekiel, to be a fixed point in the eschatology of the prophets. The figure of the Messianic King is not opposed to the above date, for it is only an apparent identity that subsists between $9^{1ff.}$ and Is $9^{3ff.}$ $11^{1ff.}$. As a matter of fact, this King is quite passive, His form almost disappears, to make room for that of a *homo spiritualis.* Characteristic of the same period are passages like 9^7, where the return to Jahweh finds expression partly in the observance of Levitical laws about food, a notion utterly impossible in the pre-exilic period. A more precise dating for these chapters is unattainable, on account of a lack of clear allusions to the historical situation.

(ii.) 11^{4-17} 13^{7-9}. This section contains allusions to certain contemporary occurrences, but they are unintelligible to us, partly owing to the probably defective text that has come down to us, but partly also to our very inadequate information regarding considerable periods of the post-exilic history. This alone may be regarded as beyond doubt, that we are pointed to a time after the Exile: what is said in 11^{16} about the shepherds, as well as the similar expressions in v.^{9}, can be understood only in the light of their dependence on Ezk 34. The shepherds are to be understood as the native authorities, especially the high priest. It is of the latter that we must understand the רֹעִי of 11^{17} and the גֶּבֶר עֲמִיתִי of 13^7,—he is, as it were, Jahweh's companion; קֹנֵיהֶן and מֹכְרֵיהֶן (11^5) must be foreign rulers, who are hence fittingly called כְּנַעֲנֵי הַצֹּאן ($11^{7.11}$). Wellhausen is inclined to see in $11^{4ff.}$ a reflexion of the incidents in the last decade before the outbreak of the Maccabæan revolt, which witnessed rapid and violent changes of the high priesthood.

(iii.) 12^1 - 13^6 bears, throughout, the post-exilic stamp. (*a*) The campaign of the heathen against Jerusalem is dependent upon Ezk 38 f. The thought that Jahweh in the first instance helps Judah, lest Jerusalem may exalt herself yet more, cannot be properly understood at any period earlier than that at which Jerusalem had become the rallying-point for the Diaspora of the whole Jewish world, and when the glory of the city and her temple was reflected also upon her rulers and her inhabitants.—(*b*) 13^1, too, points to dependence on Ezekiel, although his viewpoint has been transformed under the influence of notions of the Levitical period, as these find expression in the custom described in Nu 19.—(*c*) We are pointed to the later post-exilic period by the juxtaposition of בֵּית דָּוִד and בֵּית לֵוִי ($12^{12f.}$), which would have been an impossibility in pre-exilic times. And the whole description in $12^{11ff.}$ carries us to a time after the Exile.—(*d*) A late date is also indicated by the hostility breathed in $13^{2ff.}$ against prophecy, *i.e.* against those who come forward publicly, clothed in a hairy mantle. The place of these had been taken by anonymous and pseudonymous prophetical authorship. Our chapters lie upon the line of development, whose culmination is indicated in views like those expressed in 1 Mac 4^{46} 9^{27} 14^{41}, cf. *Sanhed.* 11*a*.

(iv.) Ch. 14 likewise belongs to later post-exilic times. (*a*) This chapter also is dependent on Ezk 38 f. It is true that the thought of the latter is transformed in quite a peculiar fashion, without our being able to recognize the motive for the change, but this cannot prevent our admitting the dependence which is unmistakably present in $14^{8ff.}$.—(*b*) In 14^{11} we are probably carried to the period after Malachi, for this verse is dependent on Mal 3^{24}; it is probable, moreover, that v.^{9} is in conscious opposition to Mal $1^{11ff.}$—(*c*) It is only during the later post-exilic period, when the Jewish Diaspora went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem from all parts of the world to hold the festivals, that we can understand the thought expressed here (v.^{16}) that the converted heathen proclaim their conversion by a pilgrimage to Jerusalem to keep the Feast of Tabernacles.—(*d*) It is only during the same period that the notion of holiness expressed in v.^{20} is intelligible, a notion which once more shows the influence of Ezekiel.

(4) *Religious and theological value of these chapters.*—We stand no longer upon the ground of prophecy properly so called, but of anonymous eschatological writing. Certain stereotyped features of eschatology recur. The writers are very strongly influenced by ancient prophecy; for the most part by its religious rather than by its ethical contents. Ethical features indeed recede far behind religious. Very marked is the influence of the Levitical period. The Messianic King still appears, it is true, in $9^{9f.}$, but He is a comparatively otiose figure which might be left out without damaging the connexion. He is no longer the leader in the conflict against enemies, but exclu-

sively Prince of Peace, with an extremely passive character. The conception of the final King had at this time assumed a pale cast, that it might be able to take on other colours, namely those of the priest and the prophet.—Highly significant is the conception of the Kingdom of God as embracing the whole world. Jahweh is King over all the earth, and, as He is one, His worship is also one (cf. 14^9). But this universalism has a strong Levitical colouring, as is shown especially by the closing verses of ch. 14 with their weighty emphasis upon the purity of the theocracy. The ordering of everything on the basis of the dominion of holiness, in other words the supremacy of the Law,—this is the end of the process of development.

Eckardt, it is true, maintains that the spiritual uniqueness of Deutero-Zechariah consists in the freedom with which he extends the theocratic universalism over the whole religious situation of his time. From passages like 14^9 13^2 9^1 Eckardt draws the conclusion that, according to Deutero-Zechariah, the heathen world unconsciously worships Jahweh in the person of its own gods, that in its ceaseless gropings and strivings it seeks Him without any clear notion of what it is doing. Deutero-Zechariah, he holds, goes beyond Mal 1^{11} and Is 26^{13}; for while Malachi exhibits a view which, carried to its logical conclusion, must end in syncretism and indifferentism, and while Is 26^{13}, on the other hand, shows a large-heartedness which might readily be abused to cover cowardly subservience and denial of the truth, Deutero-Zechariah in his universalism has avoided these errors. So far from seeing in idolatry only a readily excusable error in calculation, he considers that heathenism must be overcome in the most terrible conflict. Eckardt admits that the views of Deutero-Zechariah have a Levitical tinge, but urges that his universalism is not brought to a stand by the wall of the Law, but breaks through it whenever it presents itself as an obstacle. Ch. 14, it is true, lays great stress upon Levitical purity, but it is clear from the context, especially from the closing words of $v.^{21}$, that for the writer the building up of the Kingdom of God culminates in piety of soul, just as the Levitical purity of the last days passes over into inward purity. Nay, from 14^{19}, where he renders חַטָּאת by 'sin-offering,' Eckardt draws the conclusion that the particularistic narrow-mindedness of the laws about atonement is then to be overcome by the universalism of Divine grace, for there shall be a *ḥaṭṭāth* even for the peoples who defiantly refuse to join in the prescribed pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

An accurate unprejudiced exegesis, however, shows these contentions of Eckardt to be irreconcilable with the text. In view of the condition of things described in 14^{16-19}, how can the statement that there shall be no more a Canaanite in the house of Jahweh be made to justify the inference that 'the building up of the Kingdom of God shall be founded on piety of soul'? Or how can 14^9 'Jahweh's name shall be one' give rise to the notion that at present Jahweh is worshipped under a variety of names? In any case no support to this notion is given by 9^1, which cannot mean that the eyes of the heathen world are turned towards Jahweh. 9^7 alone would suffice to turn the scale against Eckardt, for in this verse the conversion of the Philistines is to evidence itself (1) by their eating no more of *εἰδωλόθυτα*, and (2) by their submitting to the Levitical laws about food, 'for Jahweh removes the abomination between their teeth.' It is beyond question also that in 9^6 we have not a promise, in contrast with Dt 23^2, but a threatening, as the context shows. Eckardt's view is thus shown to be untenable on exegetical grounds.

LITERATURE.—B. G. F. Flügge, *Die Weissagungen welche bey den Schriften des Propheten Zacharias beygebogen sind*, etc., 1784; W. Hengstenberg, *Beiträge*, i. (1831) 306 ff., *Christologie des A.T.'s* III. i.^{2} p. 327 ff.; E. F. J. Ortenberg, *Die Bestandtheile des Buches Sacharja*, 1859; B. Stade, 'Deuterozacharja' in *ZATW* i. 1ff., ii. 151 ff., 275 ff. [criticised by Kuenen in *Onderzoek*^{2}, §§ 81–83]; W. Staerk, *Untersuchungen über die Komposition und Abfassungszeit von Zach. 9–14*, 1891; G. K. Grützmacher, *Untersuchung über den Ursprung der in Sach. 9–14 vorliegenden Prophetien*, 1892; Rubinkam, *The Second Part of the Book of Zachariah*, Basel, 1892; Eckardt, 'Der Sprachgebrauch von Zach. 9–14' in *ZATW* xiii. 76 ff., 'Der religiöse Gehalt,' u.s.w., in *Ztschr. für Theol. u. Kirche*, iii. 311ff.; A. K. Kuiper, *Zacharja ix-xiv, eene exegetisch-critische studie*, 1894; T. K. Cheyne, *JQR*, 1888, pp. 76–83; Boehmer, 'Das Raethsel von Sach. 12–14' in *Evang. Kirchenzeitschr.* 1901, p. 914 ff.; on the last chapter cf. Graetz in *JQR* iii. 208 ff. See also the relevant sections in the OT *Introductions* of Driver, Cornill, Strack, König, Baudissin.

W. NOWACK.

ZECHER (זֶכֶר).—A son of Jehiel the 'father' of Gibeon, 1 Ch 8^{31} (B *Ζαχούρ*, A *Ζακχούρ*, Luc. *Ζεχρί*); called in 9^{37} **Zechariah.**

ZECHRIAS (B *Ζεχρίας*, A *'Εζερίας*, AV *Ezerias*), 1 Es 8^1.—Azariah, a priest in the line of Ezra, Ezr 7^1.

ZEDAD (צְדָד [the name occurs only with ה *locale*, צְדָדָה]).—One of the points mentioned in defining the Northern border of the Promised Land in Nu 34^8, and again in Ezekiel's ideal picture, Ezk 47^{15}. The reading is uncertain, the Sam. having in Numbers צררה; LXX in Numbers, B and Luc. *Σαράδακ*, A *Σαδάδακ*, F *Σάδδακ*; in Ezekiel, BA *Σελδαμμά*. If the reading צדד is followed, the site is unknown; for, as Dillmann points out, the *Ṣadad*, on the road from Riblah to Ḳaryaten (accepted by Wetzstein, Mühlau, Furrer, *et al.*), is much too far to the east and north. If we read צרד, as we should probably do, the place may perhaps be identified (so van Kasteren, *RB*, 1895, p. 30) with *Khirbet Ṣerādā*, N. of Abil, E. of Merj 'Ajûn, towards Ḥermon.

ZEDEKIAH (צִדְקִיָּהוּ, צִדְקִיָּה only in 1 K 22^{11}, Jer 27^{12} 28^1 29^3 'righteousness of J″'; LXX *Σεδεκιά*, *Σεδεκίας*, *Σεδεκιού*; Vulg. *Sedecias*).—**1.** Son of Chenaanah, and one of Ahab's four hundred court prophets (1 K $22^{11. 24. 25}$, 2 Ch $18^{10. 23. 24}$). When Jehoshaphat demanded that a prophet of J″ should be consulted about the proposed expedition to Ramoth-gilead, Zedekiah came forward in that character in order to forestall Micaiah ben-Imlah. He produced horns of iron and apparently presented them to Ahab as from J″, with a Divine commission: 'Thus saith the LORD, With these shalt thou push the Syrians, until they be consumed.' He maintained his attitude in the presence of Micaiah, and ventured to insinuate a doubt as to the source of the inspiration of the latter: 'Which way went the spirit of the LORD from me to speak unto thee?' The sharp retort in which Micaiah reaffirmed the coming defeat of Israel does not seem to have weakened the infatuation of the two kings. The lying spirit prevailed.

Josephus (*Ant.* VIII. xv. 4) embellishes this story, and transposes the incidents of it. He puts a speech to Ahab into Zedekiah's mouth, in which he tries to prove Micaiah to be a false prophet because of his disagreement with Elijah as to the place of Ahab's future death, and concludes by proposing a practical test: 'When struck by me, let him injure my hand as Jadaos dried up the right hand of king Jeroboam when he wished to arrest him.' Zedekiah then smites Micaiah, and as nothing happens to him, Ahab is convinced. The incident of the iron horns follows.

2. A prophet, one of the captives deported to Babylon with Jehoiachin. He and another, named Ahab, are denounced by Jeremiah (29^{21-23}) for gross immorality as well as for falsely prophesying a speedy restoration from Babylon. It was probably their action as political agitators that brought on them the cruel punishment of being roasted in the fire by order of Nebuchadrezzar. Jeremiah prophesied that their fate would be proverbial. Zedekiah was son of MAASEIAH, who is probably to be identified with the priest whose son, 'the second priest' Zephaniah, was put to death at Riblah by Nebuchadrezzar (2 K $25^{18ff.}$). **3.** Son of Hananiah, one of the princes in the reign of Jehoiakim (Jer 36^{12}).

4. The last king of Judah (SEDEKIAS in 1 Es 1^{46}, Bar 1^{8}). He was the youngest son of Josiah and full brother of Jehoahaz (2 K 23^{31} 24^{18}; in Jos. *Ant.* X. vii. 2, 'Jehoiakim' is a blunder for 'Jehoahaz'). In 1 Ch 3^{15} his name precedes that of SHALLUM or JEHOAHAZ, perhaps on account of the latter's insignificance, while in the following verse and in 2 Ch 36^{10} he is represented as son of Jehoiakim, perhaps as having been his successor. These variations are instructive as showing the degree of inaccuracy which may exist in biblical genealogies. The direct account of this reign is contained in 2 K 24^{17}–25^{7}, Jer 39^{1-7} 52^{1-11}, 2 Ch 36^{10-21}. Considerable light is also thrown on this period by the prophetical writings of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, especially the narrative portions of Jeremiah which are here enumerated in their chronological order: chs. 24. 27. (Gr. 34.) 28. (35.) 29. (36.) 21. 37. (44.) 34. (41.) 38. (45.) 39^{15-18} (46^{15-18}) 32. (39.) 33. (40.) 39^{1-14} (46^{1-3}). There is, in fact, more contemporary material available for the construction of the history of this reign than of that of any other Hebrew monarch; yet there are few of which there is so little definite to record.

Zedekiah's eleven years' occupancy of the throne was but the last sigh of the expiring Davidic dynasty, one episode in the struggle of Egypt and Babylon for the mastery. The king himself was a weak man in a false position. As a private citizen he might have had an inoffensive and respectable career, for he was of an amiable disposition and religiously inclined, but in the Davidic vine he was 'no strong rod to be a sceptre to rule' (Ezk 19^{14}). Josephus in one passage (*Ant.* X. vii. 5) credits him with χρηστότης καὶ δικαιοσύνη. This is sufficiently evidenced in his dealings with Jeremiah. On two occasions we read of formal deputations from the king to the prophet (Jer 21^{1} 37^{3}), 'Inquire, I pray thee, of the LORD for us,' 'Pray now unto the LORD our God for us'; and when this State recognition was no longer possible, Zedekiah proved the sincerity of his own personal convictions in secret consultations (Jer 37^{17} 38^{16}). It is noteworthy, too, that the only occasions on which we read of Zedekiah's exerting his authority are when he mitigated the rigour of Jeremiah's imprisonment (37^{21}) and sanctioned his deliverance from the miry dungeon (38^{10}), see also Jer 38^{16}; and so it was promised to him, in marked contrast with the fate of Jehoiakim (Jer $22^{18.\,19}$), that he should die in peace and be buried as a king (Jer $34^{4.\,5}$). Jeremiah, in fact, never adopts a harsh tone when speaking of him. Others also felt the same personal attraction. They looked back on him as 'the breath of our nostrils, the anointed of the Lord . . . of whom we said, Under his shadow we shall live among the nations' (La 4^{20}). On the other hand, Ezekiel, whose moral and political judgment was uninfluenced by personal contact with the king, speaks of Zedekiah in terms of unqualified censure. He is the 'deadly wounded wicked one.' The prophetic sentence of deposition anticipates the act of man (Ezk 21^{25-27}). Ezekiel, in fact, is at one with the pro-Egyptian party in regarding Jehoiachin as *de jure* king. He dates his visions not by the years of Zedekiah's reign, but by those of king Jehoiachin's captivity. On other grounds it is difficult to avoid feeling sympathy with the pro-Egyptian party in Jerusalem. In comparison, indeed, with the exiles in Babylon, they were as bad figs, 'very bad, that cannot be eaten, they are so bad' (Jer 24, see also Ezk 5^{4} 11^{15-18} 14^{22} 22. 33^{24-26}), but their patriotism was sincere if perverted, while Zedekiah's throne rested upon a renunciation of national ambitions. This is clearly marked in the words of Ezekiel ($17^{13.\,14}$), 'The king of Babylon . . . took of the seed royal and made a covenant with him; he also brought him under an oath, and took away the mighty of the land: that the kingdom might be base, that it might not lift itself up, but that by keeping of his covenant it might stand.' In other words, it was Nebuchadrezzar's policy to reduce the Jewish nation to impotence and at the same time attach it to himself by motives of self-interest, and thus control the powerful fortress of Jerusalem. Josephus (*Ant.* X. vii. 1) gives the terms of the oath under which Zedekiah was brought: 'That he would surely guard the country for him, and neither make any political changes nor favour the Egyptians.' Accordingly, the hopes of the national party centred round Jehoiachin, whom they hoped to restore to the throne (Jer 28^{4}). Zedekiah's disloyalty, therefore, was directly against his own personal interests; but he was quite passive in the hands of the man or faction that happened to be nearest to him at the time; as Josephus says (*Ant.* X. vii. 2), 'As long as he heard the prophet speaking these things, he believed him and agreed to everything as true, and believed that it would be to his advantage; but then his friends used to corrupt him and draw him away from the suggestions of the prophet to whatever course they wished.' We have here an echo of the taunt-song which Jeremiah (38^{22}) puts into the mouth of the women of the royal harem: 'Thy familiar friends have set thee on, and have prevailed over thee: now that thy feet are sunk in the mire, they are turned away back.' 'The princes' to whom allusion is here made, seem in this reign to have usurped most of the executive power. They tried and sentenced Jeremiah on a charge of desertion (Jer 37^{14}). They reduced the king to abject terror (37^{17} 38^{25}). There was truth as well as pathos in the words with which he surrendered his best friend to them: 'The king is not he that can do anything against you' (38^{5}). In a ruler such weakness is the greatest crime, and in the case of Zedekiah it was aggravated by the fact that 'the princes' for the most part belonged to the pro-Egyptian party to which Jeremiah and Ezekiel (Jos. *Ant.* X. vii. 2) were opposed, and which encouraged the idolatrous reaction which followed on the death of Josiah. That reaction was now in full force (see Ezk 8 and 11). And yet it is not so much for abetting false or irregular worship that the prophets condemn Zedekiah as for breach of faith. The oath of fealty which he made to Nebuchadrezzar struck men as being of a peculiarly binding nature. He 'made him swear by God' (2 Ch 36^{13}) and place his hand under his thigh (Ezk 17^{18}). The lofty and stern morality of the Hebrew prophets did not palliate Zedekiah's subsequent violation of this solemn promise on the ground that it had been made to a heathen. On the contrary, 'Thus saith the Lord God: As I live, surely *mine* oath that he hath despised, and *my* covenant that he hath broken, I will even bring it upon his own head' (Ezk 17^{19}). The new name *Zedekiah* which he now received in place of *Mattaniah*, in token of vassalage, very possibly has reference to the righteousness of J″ which was appealed to on this occasion; and this again may well be 'the circumstantial origin' of the Messianic aspirations after the Shoot of the Davidic stock whose name is 'J″ is our righteousness' (Jer $23^{5.\,6}$).

It is difficult to say how long Zedekiah remained negatively loyal to the Chaldæans, but in his fourth year (B.C. 590) his allegiance was so far questionable that the rulers of Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Sidon (Jer 27[2]), incited thereto by their prophets and diviners, were emboldened to send envoys to Jerusalem in order to induce Zedekiah to join a league for the purpose of throwing off the Babylonian yoke. The prophets and diviners of Israel, too, both in Jerusalem and Babylon, were fomenting a similar agitation, uttering definite predictions that 'shortly' (Jer 27[16]), 'within two full years' (Jer 28[3]), would all the vessels of the LORD'S house and Jeconiah himself be restored to their native land. The silver vessels which Zedekiah is said (Bar 1[8]) to have made to take the place of the gold ones served to emphasize the national humiliation. It seems to us unaccountable that the peoples of Syria could have had such provincial imaginations, so little sense of proportion, as to expect the speedy fall of the empire of Nebuchadrezzar. On the other hand, it must be remembered that the rise of Chaldæa was of very recent date, the sudden collapse of Nineveh must have made anything seem possible, and belief in the inexhaustible resources of Egypt was a tradition in the East. The prestige of centuries dies hard. In opposition to such men as Hananiah and Shemaiah at Jerusalem (Jer 28[1] 29[24]), and Ahab and Zedekiah at Babylon (Jer 29[22]), Jeremiah as chief prophet of the pro-Chaldæan party declared that resistance to Nebuchadrezzar was premature, futile, and suicidal, since supremacy had been assured by God to Babylon for 70 years.

With characteristic energy Nebuchadrezzar at once set about crushing the incipient revolt. He made examples of the agitators at Babylon, 'roasting them in the fire' (Jer 29[22]), and at the same time apparently sent to demand explanations from his vassal at Jerusalem. It is possible that the mission of Elasah and Gemariah (Jer 29[3]) to Babylon should be referred to this date; in any case Zedekiah's personal attendance was required, and he journeyed to Babylon before the close of his fourth year, accompanied by a leading member of the pro-Chaldæan party, Seraiah (Jer 51[59]). There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of the protests of loyalty which Zedekiah doubtless made at this time. He had, in fact, everything to lose by the defeat of Chaldæa, but he counted for nothing in the struggle of factions at Jerusalem, which continued as before, intense, sordid, monotonous. In his fifth year Ezekiel (1[2] 4[1ff.]) sees the fate of Jerusalem to be inevitable. The dominant party had an infatuated confidence in the impregnability of their fortress, 'This city is the caldron, and we be the flesh' (Ezk 11[3]); and as it was hopeless to expect any help from the exiles in Babylon, these latter—the real depositaries of the Messianic hope—came to be regarded as outcasts: 'Get you far from the LORD; unto us is this land given for a possession' (Ezk 11[15]). This was the state of feeling in Jerusalem in the sixth year of the reign.

Psammetichus II., who died in 589, was succeeded on the throne of Egypt by his brother Apries (Uahibri), and Zedekiah was induced to 'send his ambassadors into Egypt that they might give him horses and much people' (Ezk 17[15]). Edom, Moab, and Philistia now held back, but Judah committed itself to an alliance with Tyre (Ezk 26[7] 29[18]), Ammon, and Egypt against Babylon. This took place, according to Josephus (*Ant.* X. vii. 3), at the close of Zedekiah's eighth year; but the prophecy of Ezekiel (21) in which reference is made to it seems to be dated (20[1]) in his seventh year. In any case it was not until his ninth year, the tenth day of the tenth month, that the Chaldæan army actually invested Jerusalem. The delay is easily accounted for. At the time when war was actually declared, Nebuchadrezzar was probably engaged in reducing Elam or Susiana (Jer 49[34-39]), and when he did turn his attention to the Egyptian coalition he was uncertain whether he should first attack Ammon or Judah (Ezk 21[20ff.]). Finally, he established himself at Riblah, whence he despatched expeditions against Tyre and Jerusalem respectively. The division sent against Zedekiah, before settling down around the capital, reduced the smaller fortresses of Judah; Lachish and Azekah alone held out (Jer 34[7]). It was a day never to be forgotten (2 K 25[1], Jer 39[1] 52[4], Ezk 24[2], Zec 8[18]). Some, the king himself included, at last recognized the fact that deliverance from this danger would be a miracle comparable to one of the LORD'S wondrous works of old time (Jer 21[2]). The general alarm, indeed, was such as to cause a religious revival, one feature of which was a renewal, with the patriarchal ceremonial (Jer 34[8. 18]), of the covenant, and in particular a solemn engagement was made by all the people that they would in future observe the law as to the manumission of slaves (Ex 21[2], Dt 15[12]). Their zeal for this enactment may have been quickened by a desire to increase the number of defenders of the city.

Meanwhile the Egyptian army, commanded by Apries in person, was advancing from the south to the relief of his ally (Jos. *Ant.* X. vii. 3), and captured Gaza, and compelled the Chaldæans to raise the siege of Jerusalem. Josephus (*l.c.*) states that the two armies met in a pitched battle, and that the Egyptians were put to flight and driven out of all Syria. From Jer 37[7] we should infer no more than that Pharaoh was forced to retreat to his own land. The Chaldæan army had no sooner withdrawn than the base people of Jerusalem broke faith with their slaves and reduced them to bondage again—a step which called forth an indignant protest from the prophet (Jer 34[13ff.]). Meanwhile there were constant desertions to the Chaldæan army (Jer 37[13] 38[19] 39[9] 52[15]), caused at least in some measure by the predictions of Jeremiah. The burden of his utterances during the siege was that the city and all its contents was doomed, but that individual deserters would save their own lives (21[9] 38[2. 17]). We cannot wonder then that the anti-Chaldæan party regarded him as a dangerous traitor (38[4]), and viewed with suspicion his relations with the king. In fact, after he had been sentenced to imprisonment, Zedekiah could only see him by stealth (37[17] 38[16]).

The relieving force having been completely repulsed, the besiegers once more closed round the doomed city. Josephus displayed a true historical spirit in describing the siege in the light of his own experiences. It must have been an almost exact counterpart, in the desperate courage and the horrors of it, to the siege under Titus. There were the same circles of forts to keep the blockade, the battering-rams against the gates, the 'mounts' built high to overtop the city walls (2 K 25[1], Jer 32[24], Ezk 4[2] 17[17] 21[22] 26[8. 9]), while the besieged strained all their powers of mind and body to erect counter works, destroying even the royal palace to find building material (Jer 33[4]). But deadlier than the missiles of the Chaldæans were the pestilence and the famine (Jer 21[6. 7. 9] 32[36] 34[17] 38[2. 9], La 5[10], Ezk 5[12. 16. 17], Bar 2[25]), with the supreme horror of cannibalism (Jer 19[9], La 2[19-22] 4[10], Ezk 5[10]). The city yielded at last to famine (Jer 52[6]), and on the ninth day of the fourth month, in the eleventh year of Zedekiah's reign, about midnight the six generals who had been conducting the siege entered through a breach and sat in grim state in the middle temple gate (Jer 39[3]; Jos. *Ant.* X. viii. 2; cf. Ezk 9[2]).

In the confusion that followed, Zedekiah with his household and most of the surviving defenders of the city broke through the cordon of the besiegers; they were betrayed, however, by some of the deserters, and had only succeeded in reaching the plains of Jericho when they were overtaken. The unfortunate king was conveyed to Riblah to the presence of Nebuchadrezzar, who 'spake with him of judgment,' taxing him, according to Josephus, with perjury and ingratitude. With a refinement of cruelty his eyes were put out, but not until he had seen the slaughter of his children.

Josephus calls attention to the remarkable manner in which the fate of Zedekiah fulfilled two apparently discrepant prophecies of Jeremiah and Ezekiel respectively. 'Thine eyes shall behold the eyes of the king of Babylon, and he shall speak with thee mouth to mouth, and thou shalt go to Babylon' (Jer 34^{3}), and 'I will bring him to Babylon, to the land of the Chaldæans; yet shall he not see it, though he shall die there' (Ezk 12^{13}).

In all probability, Zedekiah did not long survive his misfortunes. We hear no more of him. The hope of Israel henceforth centres round the more innocent captive, his nephew Jeconiah (2 K 25^{27}).

5. A 'prince' who 'sealed unto the covenant' at Nehemiah's reformation (Neh 10^{1}).

N. J. D. WHITE.

ZEEB.—See OREB.

ZELA(H). — A Benjamite city, Jos 18^{28} (צֶלַע, LXX om.), where was the family burying-place of Saul (2 S 21^{14} צֶלַע [here RV needlessly confuses by writing Zela*h*], LXX ἐν τῇ πλευρᾷ [taking it for צלע 'side']). Its site has not been discovered.

ZELEK (צֶלֶק).—An Ammonite, one of David's heroes, 2 S 23^{37} (B Ἐλειέ, A Σβλεγί, Luc. Σαλαάδ) = 1 Ch 11^{39} (B Σέλη, A Σέλληκ).

ZELOPHEHAD (צְלָפְחָד).—A Manassite who died during the wilderness journeyings, leaving no male issue. His five daughters successfully asserted their claim to the inheritance of their father (Nu 26^{33} 27$^{1-7}$ 36$^{2-12}$, Jos 17^{3}, 1 Ch 7^{15}). See vol. ii. pp. 129^{b} and 341^{b}. The LXX readings are: B Σαλπαάδ except in 1 Ch 7^{15} Σαπφαάδ; A Σαλπαάδ except in Jos 17^{3} Σαλφαάδ (*bis*).

ZELZAH.—In 1 S 10^{2} Samuel tells Saul: 'When thou art departed from me to-day, then thou shalt find two men by Rachel's sepulchre in the border of Benjamin בצלצח.' The last word is rendered by AV and RV 'at Zelzah.' But there are grave reasons for suspecting the correctness of this. No place of such a name is known to us, nor should we expect any further definition after the specific mention of 'Rachel's sepulchre.' The LXX translates by ἁλλομένους μεγάλα 'leaping mightily' (Ew. 'in grosser Eile'); ἁλλομένους = צָלְחִים (v.^{6}). But, as Driver points out, though צלח על may mean (metaphorically) *leap upon*, we are not justified in attributing to צלח absolutely the sense of *leaping*. Moreover, μεγάλα as an adverb does not occur elsewhere in the LXX, and Wellh. is doubtless right in regarding it as simply a Heb. word written in Greek letters and transformed into something significant in Greek (for other instances of a similar kind see Driver, *Text of Sam.* 60 n.). He himself takes ἁλλομένους μεγάλα to be doublets which have arisen from the words ἐν Σηλὼμ ἐν Βακαλάθ which are found in several MSS after the word Βενιαμείν. See, more fully, his *Text d. Bücher Sam.* 73 f.; and cf. Driver and Löhr, who take practically the same view of the passage.

ZEMARAIM (צְמָרַיִם).—A city of Benjamin, apparently in the vicinity of Bethel, Jos 18^{22} (B Σαρά, A Σεμρίμ, Luc. Σαμαρείμ). It prob. gave its name to Mt. Ẓemaraim (הַר צ׳, τὸ ὄρος Σομορών), in the hill-country of Ephraim, 2 Ch 13^{4}, from which the Chronicler makes Abijah harangue Jeroboam and his army. It is generally identified with *es-Sumra* to the north of Jericho (*PEF Mem.* iii. 174, 212 f.; Buhl, *GAP* 180, *et al.*); but Dillm. (*Jos. ad loc.*) doubts the correctness of this, holding that the place (see Berth. on 2 Ch 13^{4}) ought to be sought to the *south* of Bethel, and not far to the *east* where *es-Sumra* lies.

ZEMARITE (צְמָרִי).—Name of a tribe said to be one of the sons of Canaan and placed between Arvad and Hamath, Gn 10^{18} = 1 Ch 1^{16} (A Σαμαραῖος, E [in Gen.] Σαμαρεῖος). The name seems akin to Ẓemaraim of Jos 18^{22}. The Arabian geographers mention several places with similar names; but the juxtaposition of this name with Arvad suggests comparison with Ṣumur of the Tel el-Amarna tablets, in which the two names figure more than once side by side. So 150. 59 (ed. Winckler): 'The people of Arvad have made a treaty to take away Tyre; Tyre they could not conquer, but Ṣumur they did conquer.' From 81. 13 it appears to have been a port, and is identified by Winckler with Botrys. In the fragmentary narrative contained in these tablets it appears to have been repeatedly taken, destroyed, and rebuilt. A place named Simyra, considerably to the north of Botrys, is mentioned by the classical geographers (Strabo, XVI. ii. 12; Pliny, *HN* v. 77; Ptol. v. xv. 4), and was supposed by Michaelis to retain a trace of the name given in Genesis (so also Schrader, *KAT*^{2} 105; Dillm. *Gen. ad loc.*, *et al.*).

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

ZEMIRAH (זְמִירָה).—A son of Becher, 1 Ch 7^{8} (B Ἀμαρίας, A Ζαμαρίας, Luc. Ζαμαριά).

ZENAN.—See ZAANAN.

ZENAS (Ζηνᾶς).—In Tit 3^{13} St. Paul exhorts Titus to bring or, more probably, send forward (πρόπεμψον) on their journey Zenas and Apollos with great care (σπουδαίως), that nothing may be wanting to them, and describes Zenas as τὸν νομικόν, *i.e.* 'the lawyer.' This may mean a lawyer in the secular sense, but more probably one skilled in the Jewish law (cf. Lk 7^{30} 11^{45} 14^{3}). Just above, the same word is used about disputes concerning the Law (Tit 3^{9} 'But avoid . . . strivings about the law, μάχας νομικάς').

A. C. HEADLAM.

ZEPHANIAH. — **1.** The prophet. See ZEPHANIAH, BOOK OF, where also the name is discussed. **2.** A Kohathite, mentioned among the ancestors of Heman the singer (1 Ch 6^{36}). **3.** Son of Maaseiah the priest in Jerusalem in the time of Zedekiah the king and Jeremiah the prophet. He belonged to the court party opposed to making any terms with Babylon, and inclined to trust to the help of Egypt. Though thus opposed to the policy of Jeremiah, he showed a good disposition towards the prophet by letting him see the letter which he had received from Shemaiah in which Zeph. was urged to stop every *mad* prophet, and was called in question for not having rebuked Jeremiah for prophesying that the Babylonian captivity would continue (Jer 29$^{25.29}$). He was sent by Zedekiah to Jeremiah to ask of the Lord through His prophet deliverance from Nebuchadnezzar, and carried back God's message to the king. He was then sent again to inquire as to the proposed league with Egypt (Jer 21^{1} 37^{3}). As next in rank to Seraiah, grandson of Hilkiah (1 Ch 6^{14}), Zeph. is called *second priest*, כֹּהֵן (הַ)מִּשְׁנֶה (2 K 25^{18}). On the occasion of the final overthrow of Jerusalem by Nebuzaradan, in B.C. 587, Zeph. was taken, along with Seraiah and others, down to the king of Babylon at Riblah, and was there put to death. **4.** The father of one Josiah, into whose house in

Jerusalem the messengers from the Jews remaining in Babylon went (Zec $6^{10.14}$). As this occurred some sixty-seven years after the death of the son of Maaseiah, there is not much probability in the suggestion that he may be identical with the father of Josiah. It is not, however, by any means impossible. J. MACPHERSON.

ZEPHANIAH, APOCALYPSE OF.—A Jewish apocryphon, probably similar in contents to the *Ascension of Isaiah.* It is named in each of the two lists of OT apocrypha that have come down to us, viz. the Stichometry of Nicephorus, and an anonymous list found in Codex Coislinianus, and three other codices (Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. 125 ff.). The only extract known is given by Clemens Alex. in his *Stromata,* v. xi. 77, where, after quoting from Moses, Euripides, and Plato to the effect that true worship does not require material temples, he says: 'Are not these (sayings) like those of Zephaniah the prophet? "And the spirit of the Lord took me and brought me up into the fifth heaven and showed me angels called lords . . . dwelling in temples of salvation and singing praise to God, ineffable, most high."' The occupants of the fifth heaven are named also in *Ascension of Isaiah,* $4^{32ff.}$; *Slav. Enoch,* 18^1; *Testaments,* Levi, iii. 3; *Chagigah,* 12*b.*

Fragments of a Christianized Coptic recension of the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* were discovered at Akhmim and published by S. Bouriant in *Mém. de la mission archéol. au Caire,* 1885. A Germ. translation by Stern appeared in the *Ztschr. f. ägyp. Sprache,* etc., 1886, p. 115 ff.; and the same fragments, with additions, and along with a fairly complete Coptic recension of the *Apocalypse of Elias,* have been edited by Steindorff in *TU.* The question of how much belongs to the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* and how much ought to be assigned to an unidentified Apocalypse, is not yet settled (cf. James in *Encyc. Bibl.* i. 256).

LITERATURE.—Fabricius, *Cod. pseudepigr. VT* i. 1140 f.; Dillm. in *PRE*² xii. 360; Zöckler, *Apokr. d. AT* 440; Schürer, *GJV*³ iii. 271 f.; Harnack, *Gesch. d. altchrist. Litt.* i. 854, ii. 1, 572 f.; Bousset, *Der Antichrist,* 1895, pp. 54–57.

J. T. MARSHALL.

ZEPHANIAH, BOOK OF.—

i. The Writer.
ii. Contents of the Book.
iii. Date and Unity.
iv. Literary Characteristics, Condition of Text, etc.
v. Religious Value.
Literature.

i. THE WRITER.—The title of the book reads: 'The word of the LORD, which came unto Zephaniah, the son of Cushi, the son of Gedaliah, the son of Amariah, the son of Hezekiah, in the days of Josiah, the son of Amon, king of Judah.' The name *Ẓephaniah* (צְפַנְיָה, LXX Σοφονίας; cf. the name צפנבעל in No. 107 of the Phœn. inscriptions in *CIS*) means 'he whom J″ has hidden *or* protected,' and is borne in the OT by three men (see art. ZEPHANIAH) besides the author of the prophecy before us. It has plausibly been inferred that the Ḥezeḳiah named in the title is the Judæan monarch of that name (so Hitzig, followed by most moderns). This would account for the genealogy of Ẓephaniah being carried back four generations, whereas the usual practice in the case of the prophets is to name only their father (cf. Is 1^1 'Isaiah the son of Amoz,' Jer 1^1 'Jeremiah the son of Hilkiah,' Ezk 1^3 'Ezekiel the son of Buzi,' Jl 1^1 'Joel the son of Pethuel'). No argument against this conclusion can be drawn from the absence of the title 'king of Judah' after Ḥezeḳiah's name. This title could have been inserted only somewhat awkwardly, seeing that it had to be appended also to Josiah's name, and may have been felt to be unnecessary in the case of so well-known a name as that of Ḥezeḳiah. Ẓephaniah's great-grandfather, Amariah, will thus have been a younger brother of king Manasseh, and no difficulty in the way of Ẓephaniah's being a contemporary of Josiah is occasioned by the circumstance that the succession Ḥezeḳiah—Manasseh—Amon—Josiah appears to contain a generation fewer than Ḥezeḳiah—Amariah—Gedaliah—Cushi—Ẓephaniah. For we learn from 2 K $21^{1.19}$ that Manasseh was 45 years old when his son Amon was born, a date at which his brother Amariah might easily have had a grandson (Cushi). Ẓephaniah may thus have been as old as, or even older than, Josiah. If the prophet belonged to the royal family, all the greater interest attaches to his strictures upon 'the princes and the king's sons' ($1^{8.9}$). He was, clearly enough, a dweller in Jerusalem (note his familiarity with the various localities of the city, the Fish Gate, the Second Quarter, the MAKTESH [$1^{10.11}$], and esp. the words in 1^4 'I will cut off the remnant of Baal *from this place*').

ii. CONTENTS OF THE BOOK.—The prophecy falls into two unequal divisions, the first and larger of these being occupied with threatenings, the second with promises.

A. *The Threatening,* 1^2–3^7.

A destructive judgment, universal in its scope, is proclaimed in terms which recall those that heralded the approach of the Deluge (Gn 6^7; cf. also Hos 4^3 and Ezk 38^{19}); man and beast, the fowls of the heaven and the fishes of the sea, the stumbling-blocks with the wicked, are to be cut off ($1^{2.3}$).

The word מַכְשֵׁלוֹת in v.³ is doubtful. In its only other occurrence (in the sing. מַכְשֵׁלָה Is 3^6) it means 'overthrown mass,' 'ruin,' which of course does not suit here; and even the rendering 'stumbling-blocks' (*i.e.* idols; cf. the use of the cognate מִכְשׁוֹל in Ezk $14^{3.4.7}$) is hardly appropriate to the context. Schwally would emend וְכִשַּׁלְתִּי [G. A. Smith prefers Hiph. וְהִכְשַׁלְתִּי] 'and I will cause (the wicked) to stumble' (cf. v.¹⁷ 'they shall walk like blind men'). LXX reads καὶ ἀσθενήσουσιν οἱ ἀσεβεῖς (=וְכָשְׁלוּ הָרְשָׁעִים). Wellh. and Now. (cf. Davidson) regard the words הַמַּכְשֵׁלוֹת אֶת־הָרְשָׁעִים as an interpolation of a late glossator, who missed a definite allusion to the sweeping away of idols in the general destruction.

In particular this judgment will overtake idolaters and syncretists in Judah and Jerusalem (vv.$^{4-6}$). The 'day of the Lord' (on this conception see the references in art. OBADIAH, vol. iii. p. 578ᵃ) is at hand; He has prepared a sacrificial feast (cf. Is 13^3 34^6, Jer 46^{10}, Ezk 39^{17}), where the victims are the people of Judah, and to this the instruments of His vengeance (prob. the Scythian hordes; see below under 'Date') as 'sanctified' guests (cf. 1 S 16^5 20^{26}) are invited (v.⁷). From the royal house downwards all classes are guilty, and shall share in the terrors of that day (vv.$^{8-11}$).

Nowack's transposition of v.^{9b} and v.^{8b} ('I will punish the princes and the king's sons, who fill their master's house with violence and deceit; and I will punish all who leap over the threshold, and all who clothe themselves with foreign apparel') is perhaps somewhat arbitrary, but it is attractive. As the clauses stand, the 'leaping over the threshold' is connected in such a way with the 'filling of their master's house with violence and deceit,' as to amount to a charging of the royal princes with housebreaking. Perhaps the prophet means to bring such a charge against them (Davidson, *et al.*); but, on the other hand, there is much to be said in favour of the supposition that what he has in view is their imitation of a foreign (? Philistine [see art. CHERETHITES, vol. i. p. 377ᵃ]) custom of leaping over the threshold in entering a house. Upon Nowack's arrangement of the clauses, this habit and the aping of foreign manners in dress fall into line with one another.

In that day Jahweh will search Jerusalem with lanterns (cf. for the figure Lk 15^8), and hunt from their hiding-places (cf. Am 9^3) the men who are now sunk in religious indifferentism and who say, 'The Lord will not do good, neither will he do evil' (v.¹²; cf. Ps 10^4 14^1 etc., and, for the proverbial expression, Is 41^{23}, Jer 10^{5}). The utter ruin and the war alarms of that day are further described in vv.$^{14-18}$.

Then in 2$^{1-3}$ the prophet turns to his countrymen with an appeal yet to seek the LORD, if perchance they may be hid in the day of His fierce anger, when the Philistines (vv.$^{4-7}$), Moab and Ammon (vv.$^{8-11}$), Cush (v.^{12}), and Assyria (vv.$^{13-15}$) shall be overwhelmed.

There is no sufficient ground for Wellhausen's supposition that in 2^{1} the situation and tone are somewhat different from those of ch. 1, a difference due to the choice of the coast road by the Scythian host, and a consequent anticipation on the part of the prophet that Judah might, after all, escape the storm.

Vv.$^{4-7}$ and $^{12-15}$ are in the *ḳinah* measure (see LAMENTATIONS, vol. iii. p. 20^{b}, and POETRY, above, p. 5), although the rhythm is, now at least, in several instances imperfect.

In 3$^{1-7}$ Jerusalem is once more the subject of denunciation, as the rebellious, polluted, oppressing city, whose princes, judges, prophets, priests, are all alike unfaithful to their duty, and whose inhabitants have failed utterly to learn the lesson God meant to teach them by His judgments upon the nations. V.^{8} appears to form the connecting link between the Threatening and—

B. *The Promise*, 3$^{9-20}$.

The faithful in Jerusalem are to wait till the judgment is accomplished, when all peoples shall be brought to serve the LORD with one consent (vv.$^{9.10}$). Israel's sinfulness and pride shall be no more, they shall trust in the name of the LORD and shall dwell safely (vv.$^{11-13}$). The book closes with a triumphant call to the people to rejoice in the LORD who dwells in their midst, and who gives to them a high and honourable place amongst the nations (vv.$^{14-20}$).

The general sense of these closing verses is clear, but there is some uncertainty as to details, as the text is in several places more or less corrupt (see below, § iv.).

iii. DATE AND UNITY.—1. The title of the book assigns the prophecy, as we have seen, to the days of king Josiah. So far as ch. 1 is concerned, the correctness of this date is almost universally admitted, even by those who do not regard the title as an original part of the book.

The only important exception is Ed. König (*Einleit. in d. AT* 352 f.), who would assign the prophecy to the period of reaction that followed the death of Josiah (B.C. 608). But, while much in the book would suit such a date, there is one circumstance which appears sufficient to condemn König's view, namely the absence of any censure upon *the king* in 1^{8}. This is suitable in the case of Josiah but not of Jehoiaḳim (see G. A. Smith, *Twelve Prophets*, ii. 39 f.).

But the reign of Josiah (B.C. 639–608) is crossed by an important dividing line in the year 621, the date of the reformation on the basis of the Deuteronomic law-book. On which side of this line does our prophecy naturally range itself? We have no hesitation in reaching the conclusion that the description of the idolatrous practices in 1$^{4-6}$ and of the whole religious, moral, and social condition of things in 1$^{8.9.12}$ (not to speak of 3^{1} etc.), points to a period prior to the year 621. This opinion, which is the prevailing one among scholars (of moderns it may suffice to name A. B. Davidson, Driver, G. A. Smith, Wellhausen, Nowack, Cornill, Budde, Strack), is opposed for various reasons by Delitzsch (in *PRE*^{2}), Kleinert (in Lange's *Bibelwerk*), and Schulz (*Com.* 1892), who would date the prophecy subsequent to the reforms of B.C. 621.

The argument for a late date, which is drawn from supposed echoes of Deuteronomy (*e.g.* Zeph 1$^{13.15.17}$ compared with Dt 28$^{29.30}$), need not detain us, for it is weak in the extreme. Nor can any great weight be laid upon the expression 'the *remnant* of Baal' in 1^{4}, as if this were an allusion to the survival of Baal-worship after the drastic measures adopted against it by Josiah in 621. For (*a*) it is possible that the original text was 'the *names* [שמות instead of שאר; LXX τὰ ὀνόματα] of Baal'; cf. Hos 2^{17} 'I will take away the names of the Baalim out of her mouth,' and Zec 13^{2} 'I will cut off the names of the idols out of the land.' Or (*b*) שְׁאָר may be taken in the sense of 'the rest' = 'every vestige,' so that the meaning will be 'I will wholly root out Baal-worship,' 'I will cut it off till not a trace of it is left' (cf. Is 14^{22} 'I will cut off from Babylon name and remnant'); so A. B. Davidson, Wellhausen, Nowack. Probably the same sense should be attributed to the שְׁאֵרִית of Am 1^{8} and the אַחֲרִית of Am 4^{12} 9^{1}. Or (*c*), even if the expression be taken in its narrowest sense, the 'remnant of Baal' may refer to the Baal-worship which survived the reforms which, if we can trust the Chronicler (2 Ch 34$^{3\text{f.}}$), Josiah had undertaken six years previously. Besides, as A. B. Davidson points out, *Baal* may stand here for any kind of false worship, even that which is nominally offered to Jahweh. On the CHEMARIM see article under that title.

A difficulty in the way of assigning the prophecy to the earlier part of Josiah's reign has been felt owing to the mention of 'the king's sons' in 1^{8}, seeing that it is impossible that Josiah, who could not have been much over 21 years of age at the time (cf. 2 K 21$^{1.3}$), could have had sons capable of perpetrating the outrages attributed to them in v.^{9}. But here again (*a*) it is not unlikely that the LXX ὁ οἶκος τοῦ βασιλέως [*i.e.* בֵּית הַמֶּלֶךְ instead of בְּנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ] has preserved the original reading—'the king's *house*.' Or (*b*) 'the king's sons' may mean simply members of the royal family (who had a king, but not necessarily the reigning king, among their ancestors); cf. 1 K 22^{2b}, 2 K 11^{2}, Jer 36^{26} [see Hitzig-Graf] 38^{6}. Owing to the youth of the king, his relatives at court would have all the freer scope for their malpractices.

The early date for which we are contending is further supported by the prophet's allusions to an approaching foe, whom he does not name, but who is with much probability identified by most moderns with the Scythians, whose incursions are referred to by Herodotus (i. 102 ff.), and who probably passed along the Philistine seaboard, *c.* 626 B.C. [This explanation is in every way preferable to that of Schwally, who supposes the foe to be *Egypt* (see A. B. Davidson, p. 98, for a conclusive refutation of Schwally)]. These Scythian hordes appear also to have been the subject of Jer 4^{6}–6^{30} in its *original* form, and to have suggested the imagery of Ezk 38$^{4\text{ff.}}$. In the year 626 Josiah would be 21 years of age, and Ẓephaniah possibly a little older. The latter and Jeremiah probably began their prophetic activity in one and the same year (626).

The present position of the book, both in MT and LXX, between Ḥabaḳḳuḳ and Ḥaggai proves nothing, for the arrangement of the Twelve is in other instances (*e.g.* JOEL and OBADIAH) demonstrably unchronological. The proper place of our book is between Nahum and Ḥabaḳḳuḳ.

2. While ch. 1, with the possible exception of a few expressions which may have found their way from the margin into the text, is universally attributed to Ẓephaniah, and dated by the great majority of scholars within the first half of Josiah's reign, there are considerable differences of opinion as to the unity and the date of the rest of the book.

Kuenen (§ 78. 5–8) accepted the genuineness of all but 3$^{14-20}$, which, on account, chiefly, of differences both in tone and situation from the rest of the prophecy, he was inclined to make post-exilic (*c.* 536 B.C.). He defended 2$^{1-3.11}$ against Stade (*GVI* i. 644 n. 3), who denied to Ẓephaniah also the whole of ch. 3.—Wellhausen (followed pretty closely by Nowack) is suspicious of 2$^{2.3}$, he rejects vv.$^{8-11}$, and treats ch. 3 as a later supplement, added in two stages, vv.$^{1-7}$ and vv.$^{8-20}$, upon the analogy of Mic 1$^{1-6}$ and vv.$^{7-20}$.—Budde (followed by Cornill, *Einleit.*^{3} § 35. 3 [contrast his more conservative position in ^{2} § 31. 3]) would admit 2$^{1-3}$ 3$^{1-5.7.8.6}$ [in this order] $^{11-13}$ as in harmony with Ẓephaniah's situation and a suitable sequel to ch. 1; he rejects the whole of 2^{4-15} mainly because Israel appears in these verses as the victim instead of as the perpetrator of wrong (the conception in ch. 1); $3^{9.10}$ are excluded as breaking the connexion between v.^{8} and v.^{11}, while vv.$^{14-20}$ are declared to be a later lyrical epilogue to vv.$^{11-13}$.—Schwally allows to Ẓephaniah nothing outside ch. 1 except 2^{13-15} and possibly 2^{1-4}, holding 2^{5-12} to be exilic and ch. 3 post-exilic. He concedes, however, that 3^{1-7} 'may be' Ẓephaniah's.—G. A. Smith accepts the whole of ch. 2 except vv.$^{8-10}$ (the oracle against Moab and Ammon, which is suspicious for reasons noted below) and v.^{11} which breaks the connexion between v.^{7} and v.^{12}. In 3^{1-13} he considers vv.$^{9.10}$ to be 'obviously an intrusion,' while v.^{8} should possibly precede v.^{6}, as Budde proposes. He has no doubt about attributing vv.$^{14-20}$ to the end of the Exile or the period after the Return.—Driver remarks that 2^{11} seems to be out of place, and that 3^{14-20} is somewhat doubtful, although even here, the picture being of course an imaginative one, 'the question remains whether it is sufficiently clear that it was beyond the power of Ẓephaniah's imagination to construct it' (*LOT*^{6} 342 f., where the author adds a reference to his discussion on Mic 7^{7-20}).—Davidson considers it quite possible that 2^{4-15} has in various places been expanded, but defends the genuineness of ch. 2 as a whole. He allows that 3^{10} should possibly be omitted, but otherwise vv.$^{1-13}$ appear to him to be genuine, although they might suggest that the passage was later than ch. 1. Towards vv.$^{14-20}$ he holds the same attitude as Kuenen, recognizing in them quite a different situation from that of the rest of the book.—König would apparently accept the whole book as genuine, with the exception of that part of the title which refers the prophecy to the days of Josiah.

As to ch. 2, there will be little question that Schwally, in arguing against the genuineness of vv.$^{1-3}$, built too much upon the occurrence of ענו and ענוה in v.^{3} (cf. the criticisms of Bacher, Budde, and Davidson). Yet there is force in the remark of Nowack, that while the *word* ענו occurs in the older literature (Nu 12^{3} [E], Am 8^{4}, Is 11^{4}), the *notion* has not yet assumed there that ethico-religious stamp which it bears in Zeph 2^{3}, and for which we must look for parallels to the later Psalms. No doubt, as an argument this is 'rather precarious' (Davidson, p. 101); but an instinctive feeling may be stronger than logic, and we confess that, like Wellh. and Nowack, we 'cannot repress a doubt' of the genuineness at least of v.^{3}, which with its 'Seek ye the LORD, ye meek of the earth,' 'seek righteousness, seek meekness,' has a decidedly late ring to our ears.

The objections taken to 2^{4-15} in general are singularly pointless (see Davidson or G. A. Smith), but vv.$^{8-11}$ can hardly be defended. The oracle against Moab and Ammon (vv.$^{8-10}$) denounces these peoples for an attitude towards Judah which seems out of place in Josiah's reign; their territories were not on the line of the Scythian invasion of Egypt *via* Philistia [but see, as bearing on this argument, Davidson, p. 99]; and, further, the verses are not, like those that precede and that follow, in the *ḳînah* measure. This last circumstance tells very strongly against their originality. Then v.^{11}, if it belongs to Ẓephaniah at all, is certainly out of place. The omission of these four verses gives a good connexion between v.^{7} and v.^{12}.

It may be held with some confidence that 3^{14-20} emanates from the period of the Return. Its entire difference of tone from ch. 1 and from the opening verses of ch. 3 is unmistakable. The language reminds us of Deutero-Isaiah, and the eschatology of Ezekiel. Like Am 9^{11-15} and Mic 7^{7-20}, the verses were probably introduced into their present place to relieve a sombre background, this having been only imperfectly accomplished in the instance before us by vv.$^{11-13}$. In all probability vv.$^{9.10}$, which interrupt the connexion and spoil the antithesis between v.^{8} and v.^{11}, should also be assigned to the same or a similarly late hand. There does not appear to be any adequate ground of suspicion against the rest of ch. 3, making due allowance, of course, for textual corruptions (see next section).

iv. LITERARY CHARACTERISTICS, CONDITION OF TEXT, etc.—The style of Ẓephaniah is, upon the whole, clear and forcible; several of his figures are striking (*e.g.* 1^{12} 'I will search Jerusalem with lanterns,' [*] *ib.* 'the men that are thickened upon their lees,' v.^{17} 'they shall walk like blind men'). Powerful and awe-inspiring is his description of the day of the Lord in 1^{15-18}, whose opening words in the Vulg. *Dies iræ, dies illa,* commence also the well-known hymn of Thomas of Celano. We have a passage of exquisite beauty in 3^{11-13}. It is true, as Davidson points out, that, as compared with Naḥum's description of the destruction of Nineveh, Ẓephaniah's prophecy of the same event is somewhat general and lacks the power of the other prophet's impassioned oratory; but this difference may be due partly to the fact that the picture in the one case is painted from the imagination, and in the other is the work of one who had beheld the kind of scenes he depicts. To a considerable extent Ẓephaniah borrows from his predecessors, esp. from Isaiah and Amos (cf. $1^{2.3}$ with Hos 4^{3}; the description of the day of the Lord with Is 2^{19-21}, Am $2^{2.14}$ 5^{20}; 1^{13b} with Am 5^{11}; 1^{18b} with Is 10^{23} 28^{22}; 2^{4-15} with Am 1^{3}–2^{3}).

There are traces in Ẓephaniah of the phenomena that characterize late Hebrew. It is partly, indeed, on account of some of these marks that Wellh. doubts the genuineness of 3^{1-7} (note נגאלה and יונה in v.^{1}, חוּצוֹת in sense of *fields* in v.^{6}, פקד על in sense of *command* in v.^{7}). For further instances see G. A. Smith, ii. 37 n. 1, who also gives on the preceding page a list of rare grammatical forms and phrases found in this book. Of *hapax legomena* may be noted נטיל in 1^{11}, נְוֹת and כְּרֹת (?) in 2^{6}, ממשק and מכרה in 2^{9}, ארזה (?) in 2^{14}, מֹרְאָ (= מֹרָה) in 3^{1}, גָּרַם (Qal) in 3^{3}, בוגדות (if correct; see Ges.-Kautzsch, § 124*e*) in 3^{4}, נצדו in 3^{6}, עָתָר (different from Ezk 8^{11}) and פוּץ (?) in 3^{10}. See also 2^{1a}, v.^{b} RV (Aram.).

The *text* of Ẓephaniah is, unfortunately, in several places in rather a corrupt condition, and contains some suspicious words: in some cases, however, it can be corrected with the help of the LXX, and in others Wellh. and others have made plausible emendations (*e.g.* in $1^{5.18b}$ $2^{1.2.6.7.14}$ $3^{7.8}$), though naturally uncertainties still remain. For particulars we must refer to G. A. Smith, *Twelve Prophets* (ii. 35–37, 56–74), or, more fully, to Nowack's Commentary.

v. RELIGIOUS VALUE.—The abiding value of the Book of Ẓephaniah rests mainly upon three foundations: (*a*) the profoundly earnest moral tone of the prophet, with his deep sense of the sin of injustice and oppression, and inflexible demand for purity of heart and conduct; (*b*) his doctrine of the disciplinary value of suffering. God's judgments are meant to humble and chasten Israel, and when she has learned this lesson she trusts in God alone ($3^{7.11-13}$). In vv.$^{9.10}$, a later addition to the book, the same principle is applied to the heathen. Their lips are purified (הפך here in the same sense as in 1 S 10^{9}) by suffering, so that they become fit to call upon the name of the LORD. (*c*) The wide outlook of the prophet's philosophy of history, his doctrine of Divine Providence. The apparently irresponsible Scythians come upon the scene at the moment God needs their presence; the various nations are overtaken by the Divine judgment, in order that God's purpose may be accomplished of blessing not only the Jewish people but the whole world.

A universalism akin to that expressed in Jn $4^{21ff.}$ has sometimes been attributed to Ẓephaniah upon the ground of 2^{11} ('men shall worship him, *every one from his place*') $3^{9.10}$; but in the first-named passage the words we have italicised are of uncertain meaning (but see Davidson), and all three passages lie under strong suspicion of belonging to a later age than that of Ẓephaniah.

It may be added that the Book of Ẓephaniah is one of those from which the figure of the Messianic king is entirely absent. The standpoint of the prophet was indeed such as almost necessarily to preclude the appearance of any such conception.

---

[*] This verse gave rise to the mediæval pictures of St. Ẓephaniah carrying a lantern in his left hand.

LITERATURE.—Driver, *LOT*^{6} (1897), pp. 340-343; Wildeboer, *Litt. d. A.T.* (1895) pp. 189-193; the *Einleitungen* of Cornill^3 (§ 35. 3), Ed. König (1893), pp. 352-354; Strack^5 (1898), p. 109 f.; Baudissin (1901), pp. 550-555.

Commentaries: F. A. Strauss, *Vaticinia Zeph. com. illustr.* 1843; Hitzig-Steiner in *Kgf. exeg. Hdb.* (1881); H. Ewald (1867-68), *Prophets*, Eng tr. iii. 14-26; E. B. Pusey, *The Minor Prophets*; von Orelli in Strack-Zöckler's *Kgf. Kom.*; L. Reinke (Rom. Cath.), *Der Proph. Zeph.* 1868; W. Schulz, *Com. über d. Proph. Zeph.* 1892; Wellhausen, *Die kleinen Propheten* (1893), pp. 28-31, 147-155; A. B. Davidson, 'Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah' in *Camb. Bible*, 1896 (a most valuable work); Nowack, 'Die kleinen Propheten' in *Hdkom. z. A.T.* (1897) pp. 274-296; J. T. Beck, *Erklärung der Propheten Nahum u. Zephanja*, 1899 (a curious work, with an interest of its own, but without any scientific value).

Miscellaneous: F. W. Farrar, 'The Minor Prophets' in *Men of the Bible* series (1890), pp. 153-158; Kirkpatrick, *Doctrine of the Prophets* (1892), pp. 253-263; W. R. Smith, art. 'Zephaniah' in *Encyc. Brit.*^{9}; Buhl on Zeph $2^{11.14}$ $3^{17ff.}$ in *ZATW* (1885), p. 183 ff.; Schwally, 'Das Buch Zephanja,' *ib.* (1890) p. 165 ff.; Bacher on Zeph 2^3, *ib.* (1891) pp. 185 f., 260 ff.; Budde, *SK* (1893), p. 393 ff.; Bachmann, 'Zur Textkritik des Propheten Zephanja,' *ib.* (1894), p. 641 ff.

J. A. SELBIE.

ZEPHATH (צְפַת; B and Luc. Σεφέκ, A Σεφέρ).—See HORMAH, and add to the Literature there Dillm. on Nu 14^{45} and Moore on Jg 1^{17}.

ZEPHATHAH.—According to MT of 2 Ch $14^{10\,(9)}$ Asa joined battle with ZERAH the Cushite in the valley of Zephathah (גֵּיא צְפָתָה) at Mareshah. No such place is known to us elsewhere in OT, and it is not unlikely that the LXX κατὰ βορρᾶν [*i.e.* בְּגֵיא צָפֹנָה instead of בְּגֵיא צְפָתָה] Μαρεισης, 'to the north of Mareshah,' has preserved the original reading.

ZEPHI, ZEPHO.—A son of Eliphaz, and one of the 'dukes' of Edom, Gn $36^{11.15}$ (צְפוֹ Zepho, LXX Σωφάρ) = 1 Ch 1^{36} (צְפִי Zephi, BA Σωφάρ, Luc. Σεπφουή). It is impossible to decide between the claims of the two forms of the name, nor can its ethnological signification be determined.

ZEPHON, ZEPHONITE.—See ZAPHON.

ZER (צֵר).—A 'fenced' city of Naphtali, Jos 19^{35}. It follows Ziddim (properly *Haẓẓiddim* [with art.]). The LXX tr. v.^{35} *καὶ αἱ πόλεις τειχήρεις τῶν Τυρίων* [*i.e.* הצרים], Τύρος [*i.e.* צֹר], *κ.τ.λ.*, but it is difficult to suppose that this can be correct. Haẓẓiddim may be the modern *Ḥaṭṭin*, near *Ḳarn Ḥaṭṭin*, N.W. of Tiberias (so Talm.; see Neubauer, p. 207). The identity of Ẓer is quite uncertain. Conjectures as to the site are noted in Dillm. *Jos. ad loc.*

ZERAH (זֶרַח; LXX Ζάρα, Ζάρε; Mt 1^3 Ζαρά).—**1.** One of the sons of Reuel, the son of Esau by his Canaanitish, or Ishmaelite, wife, Basemath (Gn $36^{13.17}$, 1 Ch 1^{37}). The name appears again as that of the father of Jobab, one of the early kings of Edom (Gn 36^{33}, 1 Ch 1^{44}). **2.** The younger born of the twin sons of Judah by Tamar his daughter-in-law. The peculiar circumstances of his birth are made to account for his name (Gn 38^{30} [J]). He gives his name to the Zerahites (Nu 26^{20}). Of this family was Achan the son of Zabdi (Ζαμβρεί, LXX Jos 7^1; Zimri, 1 Ch 2^6), who took of the spoil of Ai contrary to the Divine command. Zerah's sons are mentioned 1 Ch 9^6, and Pethahiah (Neh 11^{24}) is one of his descendants. He finds a place along with PEREZ his twin brother in the genealogy of our Lord (Mt 1^3). **3.** A son of Simeon, and the founder of a family of **Zerahites** within that tribe (Nu 26^{13}, 1 Ch 4^{24}); called also **Zohar** (Gn 46^{10}, Ex 6^{15}). **4.** A Levite name, borne by a Gershonite (1 Ch 6^{21}) and by a Kohathite (1 Ch 6^{41}). **5.** The name of the Cushite (2 Ch 14^{9-15}) who invaded Judah in the reign of Asa (*c.* 911-871 B.C.), and suffered a disastrous defeat at Mareshah in the south-west of the land.

The invasion of Judah by Zerah the Cushite is unknown to secular history, and rests solely upon the authority of the Chronicler. This circumstance, together with the fact that the name of Zerah the Cushite does not appear in any list of the kings of Egypt, has led Wellhausen (*History of Israel*, p. 207), Stade, and others to pronounce the narrative unhistorical. It is, they say, an invention conceived for the purpose of making the historical overthrow of Rehoboam into a triumph on the part of his descendant: it had its origin at the time when Cushites ruled in Egypt, and transferred a condition of affairs which was true of a later time to the days of Asa. But this is an excess of historical scepticism. There is nothing in the inscriptions inconsistent with the narrative of the Chronicler.* 'There is so little known,' says Wiedemann (*Geschichte von Alt. Ägypten*, p. 155), 'from the time of Osorkon I. that it cannot be considered beyond the bounds of probability for an Ethiopian invader to have made himself master of the Nile Valley for a time in his reign, and for him and not Osorkon I. to be the Zerah of the Chronicler.' Zerah was identified by Champollion (*Précis du Système hiéroglyphique*^{2}, pp. 257-262) with Osorkon I., the second king of the 22nd dynasty; and the identification has been accepted by Ewald and others. The discovery of M. Naville in the ruins of Bubastis (*Bubastis*, pp. 50, 51 f.; Sayce, *HCM* p. 363) goes rather to connect the invasion with Osorkon II., who is made to declare on a monument that 'the Upper and Lower Rutennu have been thrown under his feet.' This would show that Osorkon II. had been engaged in a campaign in Palestine, which is designated Upper Rutennu in the geographical language of Egypt. Hommel (*AHT* p. 315 n.; cf. Ball, *Light from the East*, p. 82) thinks that Zerah and his Cushites were from South Arabia, a view which is favoured by the character of the spoils,—tents, sheep, and camels,—as well as by the very name Zerah, which resembles Zirrikh or Dhirrih, a royal name in the newly-found Sabæan inscriptions. This view is favoured, too, by the designation of the people as Ἀμαζονεῖς in the LXX (2 Ch 14^{15}), which may be compared with the *bânu Mazin*, the Ma'din of the same inscription.†

LITERATURE.—In addition to references given above see Sayce, *Egypt of the Hebrews*, p. 111; Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, p. 774; McCurdy, *HPM* i. 259; Herzog, *PRE*^{2} xvii. 473.

T. NICOL.

ZERAHIAH (זְרַחְיָה 'J" hath arisen *or* shined,' cf. Sab. זרחאל).—**1.** A priest, an ancestor of Ezra, 1 Ch $6^{6\,bis.\,51}$ [Heb. 5^{32} 6^{36}], Ezr 7^4 (B in all Ζαραιά; A Ζαραίας, Ζαρίας, Ζαραιά). **2.** The father of Eliehoenai, Ezr 8^4 (B Ζαρειά, A Ζαραιά).

ZERED (זֶרֶד).—The torrent-valley (*naḥal*) of Zered is named in the itinerary of Israel's journeyings, Nu 21^{12} (B Ζάρετ, A Ζάρε, Luc. Ζάρεθ), immediately prior to their crossing of the Arnon, and in Dt 2^{13} as the point that marked the close of the 38 years' wanderings. It is probably either the *Sail Sa'ideh* (Knobel), the principal confluent of the Arnon from the S.E. (Burckhardt, *Syrien*, 633), or the *Wâdy Kerak* (Ges., Hitz., Keil, Dillm., G. A. Smith, Buhl). The objection to the *Wâdy el-Aḥsâ* (Wetzstein in Del. *Genesis*^{4}, 567 f.; Tristram, *Land of Moab*, 49 f.) is that this *wâdy* must have formed the S. boundary of Moab on the side of Edom, whereas Iye-abarim, the station *before* the crossing of the Zered, is shown by Nu 21^{11} to have been in the wilderness to the E. of Moab (see Driver, *Deut.* 38).

ZEREDAH, ZERERAH.—See ZARETHAN.

ZERESH (זֶרֶשׁ; B Ζωσαρά, A Σωσαρά).—The wife of HAMAN, Est $5^{10.14}$ 6^{13}. Jensen (see Wildeboer, 'Esther' in *Kurzer Hdcom.* p. 173) compares the Elamite goddess *Kiriša* or *Giriša* (suggesting to read גרש). The explanations of the name from the Persian are doubtful.

ZERETH (צֶרֶת).—A Judahite, 1 Ch 4^7 (B Ἄρεθ, A Σάρεθ, Luc. Σάρηθ).

ZERETH-SHAHAR (צֶרֶת הַשַּׁחַר).—A Reubenite town, Jos 13^{19} (B Σεραδὰ καὶ Σειων, A Σὰρθ καὶ Σιώρ). Its site has not been identified, although in the vicinity of *Mkaur* (Machærus) the hot springs *eṣ-Ṣara* and the volcanic mountain *Hammat eṣ-Ṣara* may contain reminiscences of the ancient name (Buhl, *GAP* 268).

---

* Of course his numbers (580,000 men in Asa's army, 1,000,000 in Zerah's) are, as frequently happens, incredibly large.

† See, however, the criticism of this hypothesis of Hommel's in Ed. König's *Fünf neue arab. Landschaftsnamen*, 1902, pp. 53-57

ZERI.—See Izri.

ZEROR (צְרוֹר).—An ancestor of Saul, 1 S 9^1 (BA *Ἀρέδ*, Luc. *Σαρά*).

ZERUAH (צְרוּעָה). — The mother of Jeroboam, 1 K 11^{26} (B and Luc. om., A *Σαρουά*) 12^{24b} (BA *Σαρεισά*, B* *Ἀρειρά*). In the latter passage, which is an addition of the LXX, it is further stated that she was a harlot (*πόρνη*).

ZERUBBABEL (זְרֻבָּבֶל; LXX and NT Ζοροβάβελ, **Zorobabel**).—

The etymology and the meaning of the name are doubtful. It is often taken as = Heb. זְרוּעַ בָּבֶל 'begotten of (*i.e.* in) Babylon'; but proper names with a passive participle as one element are scarcely, if at all, found in Hebrew, though frequent enough in Assyrian (Gray, *HPN* 201, n. 1; Driver, *Text of Sam.* 14; Nestle, *Marginalien*, 7 f.). The same objection applies to the explanation זְרוּי בָּבֶל 'dispersed of Babylon'; while philology and the fitness of things are both opposed to van Hoonacker's (*Zorobabel*, 44 f.) explanation זְרַב בָּבֶל 'crush Babylon.' Upon the whole, we should perhaps accept the view of Ed. Meyer (*Entstehung des Judenthums*, p. v) who makes it a Bab.-Assyr. name and punctuates *Zêru-Babel* = 'seed *or* offspring of Babylon.' The name is said to occur in Bab. documents as *Zêr Babili* (Strassmaier, *Inschr. von Nabonid.* 113, l. 13, *Inschr. von Darius*, 138, l. 2, 297, l. 2).

Zerubbabel played an important part in connexion with the return of the Jews from exile. Of Davidic descent, he is generally called the son of **Shealtiel** or **Salathiel** (Ezr 3$^{2.8}$, Hag 1^1, Mt 1^{12} etc.), who was one of the sons of Jehoiachin, the captive king of Judah (1 Ch 3^{17}). In one passage, 1 Ch 3^{19}, the MT (perhaps by a textual error; the LXX has Σαλαθιήλ) makes him the son of Pedaiah, who was Shealtiel's brother. He probably came to Jerusalem along with the first band of exiles, under the leadership of Sheshbazzar, who is not to be identified with him, and who may have been his uncle, the Shenazzar of 1 Ch 3^{18}. See article Sheshbazzar, p. 493.

In direct opposition to Ezr 3^7 and 4^3 (the latter of which has, without any warrant, been set down as an interpolation)* it is contended by de Saulcy and others that Zerub. came to Jerusalem not under Cyrus, but in the second year of Darius Hystaspis; and appeal is made, in support of this opinion, to 1 Es 3-5^6 and Jos. *Ant.* xi. iii. These last two authorities are indeed but one, for the Jewish historian simply follows, with modifications of his own, the narrative of 1 Esdras. As to 1 Esdras itself, it is possible that it has sometimes preserved a true reading where this has been lost by the MT (see Esdras, vol. i. p. 759^b), and hence where the narrative is parallel with the Heb. Ezra we may occasionally get help from it, but it is more than questionable whether we ought to attach weight to its testimony as to facts where it contradicts the canonical book. As a specimen of the hopeless confusion that reigns in 1 Esdras, we may adduce the position occupied by 2$^{15-25}$ (= Ezr 4$^{6-23}$), which is more out of place than even in the Heb. edition, while the independent narrative in 3-5^6 introduces Darius Hystaspis as if he for the first time gave the exiles permission to return, although this has already in 2$^{1ff.}$ been traced to Cyrus. This section (3-5^6) is not translated from the Hebrew, but is either a free composition of the author or borrowed by him from a Greek source. Its hero Zerub. is introduced as one of the bodyguard of Darius Hystaspis, who as a recompense for the skill with which he had conducted an argument (about the relative power of Wine, the King, Woman, and Truth) received permission from the king to return to Jerusalem and to build the temple. The details of this story are no doubt apocryphal, but it is possible that a substratum of truth underlies it,—Zerub. may have headed an embassy to Darius to invoke his aid against the Samaritans and other opponents of the Jews (cf. Jos. *Ant.* xi. iv. 9).

According to Ezr 3–4^5 (narrative of the Chronicler), Zerubbabel, along with Jeshua the high priest and others, soon after their arrival in Jerusalem (in the seventh month) set up an altar for burnt-offerings, kept the Feast of Tabernacles, and took steps for the rebuilding of the temple, whose foundation was laid in the second month of the second year of their arrival, amidst ceremonies which the Chronicler describes in his characteristic fashion (3$^{1-13}$). Owing, however, to the opposition of 'the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin,' this act was followed by seventeen years of inactivity, until, in the second year of Darius (B.C. 520), and largely owing to the stimulus supplied by the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, the work was resumed in earnest (Ezr 5^1). A new delay, occasioned by the suspicions of Tattenai, 'governor on this side the river,' and others, was ended by an appeal to Darius himself, who ordered that the work should be allowed to proceed (6$^{1ff.}$). The temple was finished and dedicated four years later (6$^{15f.}$).

(*a*) There has been much discussion as to the date when the foundation of the temple was really laid. In Ezr 3$^{8f.}$ this is distinctly asserted to have been done by Zerub. and Jeshua in the second year after their arrival in Palestine (*i.e.* 537). On the other hand, it certainly appears from Ezr 5^2, Hag 1$^{14f.}$ 2$^{15-18}$, Zec 8^9, that the foundation was not laid till seventeen years later (520).* The discrepancy may be removed by the suggestion of Driver (*LOT*^{6} 547) that the ceremony of Ezr 3^8 was of so purely *formal* a character that Haggai could afford to ignore it. It is quite conceivable that the fulfilment of the project formed in 537 had to be postponed till 520, for, not to speak of the opposition of the Samaritans (Ezr 4$^{1f.}$), the character of Cambyses (529–522), the successor of Cyrus, and notably his expedition to Egypt (527), would be unfavourable to the prosecution of the building. Others (see Literature below) prefer to suppose that the Chronicler, for obvious reasons, antedated the laying of the foundation by over fifteen years, while on the other hand he did substantial justice to the real course of events by representing the work of building as not seriously taken in hand till the second year of Darius.

(*b*) A more serious question is raised by Havet ('La modernité des prophètes' in *Revue des deux mondes*, 1889, p. 799 ff.), Imbert (*Le temple reconstruit par Zorobabel*, 1888), and Howorth (*Academy*, 1893), who contend that the Darius of Ezr 4$^{5.24}$ is not Darius Hystaspis (522–485), as we have hitherto taken for granted, but Darius Nothus (424–404). The rebuilding of the temple is thus brought down a whole century (422 instead of 520). The strongest argument in support of this theory is the mention in Ezr 4$^{6.7}$ of Ahasuerus (*i.e.* Xerxes) and Artaxerxes (Longimanus) in such a way as apparently to imply that Darius of 4^{24} is Nothus. But it has long been suspected (cf. Driver, *LOT*^{6} 547 f.; Cornill, *Einleit.*^{2} 268) that the section Ezr 4$^{6-23}$ is out of place and should follow ch. 6. It really refers to events that happened in the time of Nehemiah, and describes opposition to the rebuilding, not of the *temple* but of the *city and walls.* How the Chronicler came to insert this section where he did, is a question we will not undertake to answer; but that even he was capable of supposing that a century elapsed between 4^1, when Zerub. and Jeshua stand at the head of the community, and 5^1, when under their directions the building of the temple is pushed on, is inconceivable.

The only other reason for identifying Darius with Nothus is found in Ezr 6^{14} 'according to the decree of Cyrus and Darius *and Artaxerxes* king of Persia.' But it is abundantly evident from the context that *Artaxerxes* is here an interpolation due to *prolepsis* on the part of a scribe who had in his mind the services rendered to the Jews by that monarch in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. The identity of the Darius of Ezr 4^{24} with Hystaspis is further evident from Zec 1$^{7.12}$, where the 70 years must date from either 597 or 586, and in either case 70 (a round number) will bring us to the reign of this king. Apart from any other consideration, is it credible that a whole century would have been suffered to elapse between the Return and the rebuilding of the temple, seeing that the latter institution had since Josiah's reforms assumed such importance? The Chronicler could not in his narrative allow seventeen years, not to speak of a century, to pass before steps were taken to restore the building, hence perhaps his statement that the foundations were laid shortly after the Return, and about the same time as the altar was re-erected. So clearly does Imbert perceive the force of these considerations, that he admits that shortly after the Return a temple was built *by Sheshbazzar*, which was afterwards destroyed, when or by whom we are not told, and then finally came Zerub., a contemporary of Darius Nothus, and restored it. Imbert most arbitrarily alters the text of Ezr 6^{14} so as to read 'Darius *the son of* Artaxerxes' instead of 'Darius *and* Artaxerxes.' The latter, as in Ezr 4, is held to be Longimanus, who, according to Imbert, is distinguished from Mnemon (under whom he places the activity of Ezra and Nehemiah) by having his name written אַרְתַּחְשַׁשְׂתָּא, while the latter monarch appears as אֲרִתַּחְשַׁסְתָּא. (This is pure fancy; the interchange of שׂ and ס is so common as to be a very precarious foundation for an argument of any weight). Imbert is even able to tell us that the Book of Ezra originally contained an account of the building and the destruction of Sheshbaẓẓar's temple, but that a later generation suppressed this, supplying its place by the list of names in Ezr 2, which was borrowed from Neh 7. It is needless to say that for all this there is not the slightest historical evidence.

---

* Howorth (*Academy*, 1893, p. 174 f.) is wrong in asserting that the first four verses of Ezr 4 are not found in the parallel passage in 1 Esdras. Strangely enough, Sayce (*HCM* 543) falls into the same mistake. As a matter of fact, Ezr 4$^{1-4}$ = 1 Es 5$^{63-68}$.

* Van Hoonacker (*Zorobabel*, 63 ff., *Nouvelles Études*, 105 ff.) labours hard, but it seems to us unsuccessfully, to put a different interpretation on the language of Haggai and Zechariah.

The Darius, then, with whom Zerub. was contemporary, was beyond all reasonable doubt Darius Hystaspis.

How long Zerub. occupied a position subordinate to Sheshbaẓẓar we do not know, but in the beginning of the reign of Darius he was *peḥah* or governor of Judah (Hag $1^{1.\,14}$ etc.). His history subsequent to the building of the temple is involved in hopeless obscurity. He is not named even in connexion with the dedication (Ezr $6^{15ff.}$). A Jewish tradition relates that he returned to Babylon and died there. It is possible that Darius, after the troubles that broke out during his reign, may have preferred to have a scion of the ancient dynasty of Israel under his eye rather than run the risk of his presence in Judæa stimulating projects for the restoration of the Davidic monarchy. Of the sons of Zerub. (1 Ch $3^{19f.}$) we know absolutely nothing. Zerub. is mentioned in Sir 49^{11} in 'the praise of famous men.'

In recent years new interest has been given to the personality of Zerubbabel by the extremely able and ingenious work of Sellin, *Serubbabel: ein Beitrag zur Gesch. der messian. Erwartung und der Entstehung des Judenthums*, 1898. Sellin seeks to make out that, at the instigation of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah (cf. Hag 2^{23}, Zech 4^{9} $8^{9ff.}$), Zerub. was actually raised to the throne of Judah, and the Messianic kingdom thus set up, but that he was soon overthrown by the Persians and put to death. The martyr king was even supposed by Sellin to be the suffering Servant of Is 53. The evidence in support of these conclusions is very skilfully marshalled, but one has a feeling that fancy plays too large a part in Sellin's reconstruction of the post-exilic history, and, so far as the argument rests upon Is 53 and kindred passages, it will have no weight with those (and their number is increasing) who refuse to see in the Servant an *individual* instead of a *collective* sense (cf. esp. Ed. König, *The Exiles' Book of Consolation*, 1899, and Budde, *Die sogenannten Ebed-Jahwe-Lieder*, 1900). [The identification of the Servant with Zerubbabel is abandoned by Sellin in his *Studien zur Entstehungsgesch. der jüd. Gemeinde nach dem Bab. Exil*, 1901].

The investigations of Professor Kosters led him to conclusions which, if accepted, involve a complete recasting of the traditional opinions about the Return from exile, and the influence of that event upon Israel's subsequent history. Founding partly on the undoubted fact that a great many Judahites were never carried into exile at all, Kosters contended that the temple was rebuilt, not by the returned exiles, but by the people of the land (at the generally accepted date 520–516). While Driver and Ryle are satisfied that the Chronicler gives in Ezr 3^{8-13} a substantially correct account of what transpired, Cheyne accepts Kosters' results. He agrees, indeed, with Wildeboer, that Kosters went too far in denying that any exiles at all returned at the accession of Cyrus, but is of opinion that the real Return was not till that headed by Ezra at Nehemiah's *second* visit (432). The story of the Return and the building of the temple as told by the Chronicler is, upon Kosters' theory, constructed with a view to glorifying the *gôla* (exiles) at the expense of the *'am-hā'āreẓ* (people of the land). Zerubbabel and Jeshua may have done all that is recorded of them, but they need never have been in Babylon at all. Kosters' conclusions have been combated, especially by Wellh., Ed. Meyer, and van Hoonacker (see Literature below), from different points of view, and it may be safely asserted that, if it has been the fashion to attribute too much to the *gôla* and too little to the remnant of Judah, the brilliant Leyden professor went to the opposite extreme.

LITERATURE.—Kuenen, *De chronologie van het Perzische tijdvak*, 1890 [*Gesam. Abhandl.* 212 ff.]; de Saulcy, *Étude chronol. des livres d'Esd. et Neh.* 1868; Imbert, *Le temple reconst. par Zorob.* 1888; Stade, *GVI* (1888), ii. 98 ff.; Driver, *LOT*⁶ (1897), p. 545 ff.; Ryle, *Ezra and Nehemiah* (Camb. Bible), 1893; Howorth, 'Real character and importance of 1 Esdras' in *Academy*, 1893, pp. 13, 60, 106, 174, 326, 524, see also *PSBA* xxiii, 147, 305; A. van Hoonacker, *Zorobabel et le second temple*, 1892; Wellhausen, *IJG*³ (1897), p. 157 ff.; Schürer, *GJV*³ (1898), ii. 327 ff. [*HJP* II. iii. 177 ff.]; P. Hay Hunter, *After the Exile* (1890), i. 50 f., 156 f., 219 f.; C. C. Torrey, *The Composition and Hist. Value of Ezr.-Neh.* 1896; Sayce, *HCM* 539 ff.; Schrader, 'Die Dauer des zweiten Tempelbaues,' in *SK*, 1867, pp. 460–504 (the first notable attack on the historicity of Ezr 3; Schrader's view has been adopted by Kuenen, Stade, Marti, Ryssel, König, and many others). Kosters' epoch-making work, *Het herstel van Israël in het Perzische tijdvak*, 1894, was criticised by Wellhausen, upon the whole adversely (though he concedes a good deal to him), in *GGN* (1895, No. 2, 'Die Rückkehr der Juden aus dem bab. Exil' [to which Kosters replied in *ThT*, 1895, p. 549 ff.]), and has met with much more uncompromising opposition from van Hoonacker (*Nouvelles Études sur la restauration juive*, 1896, cf. also his art. 'The Return of the Jews under Cyrus,' in *Expos. Times*, viii. [1897] 351 ff.), and Ed. Meyer (*Entstehung des Judenthums*, 1896; Meyer was severely criticised by Wellh. in *GGA*, 1897, p. 89 ff., and replied in a pamphlet, 'Julius Wellhausen und meine Schrift *Die Entstehung des Judenthums*,' the controversy turning especially upon the genuineness of the documents professedly quoted by the Chronicler, which is affirmed by Meyer against Kosters and Wellhausen). As was noted above, Kosters' conclusions have been largely accepted by Wildeboer, *Lit. d. AT*, 411 f., 419 f., and Cheyne, *Introd. to Isaiah*, xxxiii–xxxix, *JRL* 5 ff.

J. A. SELBIE.

ZERUIAH (צְרוּיָה, in 2 S 14^{1} 16^{10} 23^{37} צְרֻיָה; LXX Σαρουειά and Σαρουιά; *Saruia*).—The mother of David's officers, Abishai, Joab, and Asahel. Her husband's name is never mentioned, and the three heroes are always referred to as 'the sons of Zeruiah' (once in 1 Sam., 13 times in 2 Sam., 3 times in 1 Kings, and 7 times in 1 Chronicles). This fact may simply imply that Zeruiah's husband died early and was forgotten; or it may signify that the mother of these famous men was herself so remarkable a woman that her husband's name was comparatively unworthy of preservation; or it may be an interesting relic of the ancient custom of tracing kinship through the female line.

In the genealogy given in 1 Ch 2, Zeruiah and Abigail are mentioned as sisters of the sons of Jesse (2^{16}). The expression seems to imply that they were not daughters of Jesse, and in 2 S 17^{25} one of the two, Abigail, is called the daughter of Nahash. On this passage Stanley bases the conjecture that Jesse's wife was the mother of Zeruiah and Abigail by a previous marriage with Nahash, king of the Ammonites; but Budde prefers to emend נָחָשׁ into יִשַׁי (Jesse). See NAHASH.

J. STRACHAN.

ZETHAM (זֵיתָם).—A Gershonite Levite, 1 Ch 23^{8} (B Ζεθόμ, A Ζαιθόμ) 26^{22} (B Ζεθόμ, A Ζοθόμ, Luc. in both passages Ζηθάν).

ZETHAN (זֵיתָן).—A Benjamite, 1 Ch 7^{10} (B Ζαιθάν, A Ἠθάν, Luc. Ζηθά).

ZETHAR (זֵתַר).—A eunuch of king Ahasuerus, Est 1^{10} (BA Ἀβαταζά). The Heb. form of the name is compared by Oppert (*Esther*, 25) with Pers. *zaitar*, 'conqueror.'

ZIA (זִיעַ).—A Gadite, 1 Ch 5^{13} (BA Ζουε, Luc. Ζέα).

ZIBA (צִיבָא, צִבָא in 2 S 16^{4}; B Σειβά, A Σιβά, and in 2 S $16^{1.\,2.\,3.\,4}$ Σιββά; *Siba*).—A servant or slave (עֶבֶד) of the house of Saul (2 S 9^{2}). The Philistine invasion, which was so fatal to his master's house, probably gave him his liberty (cf. Jos. *Ant.* VII. v. 5), and he comes on the scene at the head of a household of his own, consisting of 15 sons and 20 slaves (2 S 9^{10}). He is consulted by David, who wishes for Jonathan's sake to show kindness to any surviving representative of the house of Saul, and informs the king of the existence of MEPHIBOSHETH, Jonathan's lame son, in the obscurity of Lo-debar (2 S 9$^{3.4}$). When David thereupon receives Mephibosheth into his own house as a permanent guest, and confers upon him the estate which had belonged to Saul, Ziba is appointed Mephibosheth's land-steward (2 S 9$^{9.10}$). At a later period, Ziba dexterously turns Absalom's rebellion and Mephibosheth's weakness to his personal account. To display his own loyalty, he fetches David a large supply of provisions during the latter's flight across the Mount of Olives, and at the same time, apparently without any grounds, accuses his master of having gone over to the enemy in the hope of obtaining the kingdom of Saul. For this sinister service Ziba is rewarded with a grant of all Mephibosheth's property (2 S 16$^{1-4}$). When the rebellion is stamped out, and the king returns to Jerusalem, Mephibosheth is able to rebut the false charges made against him by his treacherous servant. The king might justly punish Ziba, but in the hour of victory he is in a conciliatory mood. If Ziba has not been faithful to his master, he has at any rate been loyal and serviceable to his king. David accordingly contents himself with restoring half the property of Saul to Mephibosheth and confirming Ziba in the possession of the other half (2 S 19$^{24-30}$). J. STRACHAN.

ZIBEON (צִבְעוֹן).—Gn 36$^{2.14.20.24.29}$, 1 Ch 1$^{38.40}$ (*Σεβεγών* except 1 Ch 1^{38} A *Σεβετών*). See ANAH.

ZIBIA (צִבְיָא).—A Benjamite, 1 Ch 8^{9} (B *Ἰεβιά*, A *Σεβιά*, Luc. *Σαβιά*). This and the name Zibiah may be connected with צְבִי, fem. צִבְיָה 'gazelle,' as totem.

ZIBIAH (צִבְיָה).—The mother of Joash of Judah, 2 K 12$^{1\,(2)}$=2 Ch 24^{1} (BA *Ἀβιά*). See also ZIBIA.

ZICHRI (זִכְרִי).—**1.** A grandson of Kohath, Ex 6^{21} (B *Ζεχρεί*, A *Ζεχρί*), misspelt in modern edd. of AV *Zithri*, although ed. of 1611 has correctly *Zichri*. **2. 3. 4. 5.** Four Benjamites, 1 Ch 8^{19} (B *Ζαχρεί*, A *Ζεχρί*), v.^{23} (B *Ζεχρεί*, A *Ζοχρί*), v.^{27} (B *Ζαχρεί*, A *Ζεχρί*), Neh 11^{9} (B *Ζεχρεί*, A *Ζεχρί*, and so in the next three occurrences). **6.** An Asaphite, 1 Ch 9^{15} ‖ Neh 11^{17} (see ZABDI, No. 4). **7.** A descendant of Eliezer, 1 Ch 26^{25}. **8.** A Reubenite, 1 Ch 27^{16}. **9.** A Judahite, 2 Ch 17^{16} (B *Ζαρεί*, A *Ζαχρί*). **10.** Father of a captain in Jehoiada's time, 2 Ch 23^{1} (B *Ζαχαριά*, A *Ζαχαρίας*). **11.** A mighty man of Ephraim, 2 Ch 28^{7} (B *Ἐζεκρεί*, A *Ἐζεκρί*, Luc. *Ζαχαρίας*). **12.** A priest in the days of Joiaḳim, Neh 12^{17} (Bℵ*A om., ℵ$^{c.a\,mg\,inf}$ *Ζεχρεί*, Luc. *Ζαχαρίας*).

ZIDDIM.—See ZER.

ZIDON (צִידוֹן and צִדֹן; *Σ(ε)ιδών*, Arab. *Ṣaida*).—The ancient city of Ẓidon lay 20 miles to the S. of Berytus (Beyrout), and about the same distance to the N. of its great rival Tyre. It was situated behind a small promontory, and, like Tyre and Jaffa, owed its maritime existence and commercial prosperity to a ledge of rock lying off a short distance from the shore. In the case of Ẓidon, this reef, with its detached islets rounding the N. side of the promontory, presented half a mile of breakwater, and afforded an excellent protection to its shipping. On the S. side of the promontory there was another harbour, more capacious, but less sheltered. The section of Phœnician plain belonging to Ẓidon stretched from the river Tamyras, Arab. *Damûr*, half-way between Ẓidon and Berytus, down to Ẓarephath, 8 miles S. of Ẓidon.

i. EARLY ASCENDENCY.—Ẓidon is considered to have been the most ancient of the Phœnician cities. On her coins she claims to be the mother of Hippo, Citium, and Tyre, and the name of Ẓidon is mentioned in the Egyptian records as far back as B.C. 1500. It is referred to as a city in Gn 10^{19}, and Josephus (*Ant.* I. x. 2) states that it received its name from the eldest son of Canaan (Gn 10^{15}). According to another derivation it owed its name, like Bethsaida of Galilee, to the fishing carried on in its waters. This is in agreement with the allusion to Ẓidon in Anast. *Pap.* i. to the effect that the fish at Ẓidon were as numerous as grains of sand. Ẓidon appears to have taken the lead in the development of industrial exchange among both the civilized and barbarous nations bordering on the middle and eastern divisions of the Mediterranean. In this way the vessels of Tyre on their longer and more perilous voyages still continued to be spoken of as vessels of Ẓidonian commerce. When the Phœnician traffic in cloth, brass, slaves, etc., is referred to in the Homeric poems, it is to Ẓidon, not Tyre, that reference is made (*Il.* vi. 290, xviii. 743; *Od.* iv. 618, xiv. 272–285, xvi. 117, 402, 404). Vergil (*Æn.* i. 446) in the same way calls Dido Ẓidonian, though he mentions Tyrian colonists, and gives his hero a Tyrian steersman, Palinurus. It may have been in this sense, as referring to the general protectorate of Ẓidon, that it is spoken of in Gn 49^{13} as reaching down to the border of Zebulun. This early pre-eminence of Ẓidon continued from the time of Egyptian decline after Ramses II. down to the unsuccessful conflict with the Philistines (B.C. 1252), provoked by the seizure of Dôr as a dyeing station. For an account of the colonial expansion of the Phœnicians see art. PHŒNICIA.

ii. POLITICAL HISTORY.—The public fortunes of Ẓidon were closely connected with those of Arvad and Tyre. These and the other Phœnician cities, although constantly attacked by one or other of their powerful military neighbours, seldom united under any leadership for the welfare of all. The town of Tripoli is said to have been occupied by residents originally belonging to three separate Phœnician towns, and to have been named from their three permanently separate quarters. They sometimes, however, combined against one of their own cities, as when Alexander sailed down upon devoted Tyre with a fleet of over 200 vessels, chiefly Phœnician, collected from the ports of Ẓidon, Cyprus, and Rhodes. One reason for such independence was that each town was nominally under the protection of its own deity, who, as his name, Ba'al-Ẓidon, 'Lord of Ẓidon,' or Melḳarth, 'King of the city,' implied, was expected to defend its rights and promote its fortunes. In the case of Tyre and Ẓidon, commercial jealousy also had an important influence.

(1) *Ẓidon under Assyria.*—Ẓidon came into relationship with Assyria by acknowledging the suzerainty of Ashur-bani-pal in B.C. 877. This position of nominal dependence, with permission to trade with Assyria, soon changed into a more exacting tributary relationship under Shalmaneser II. and Tiglath-pileser, and led to open rebellion in the reign of Shalmaneser IV. (B.C. 727), and to the complete subjugation of the country by Sennacherib in B.C. 701. About B.C. 676 Esarhaddon conquered Ẓidon, and, after beheading its king, 'Abd-Melḳarth, demolishing the citadel and palace, and killing most of the inhabitants, transported the remainder of the population to Assyria, and called the town 'Ir-Esarhaddon ('city of Esarhaddon').

(2) *Ẓidon under Babylon.*—The authority of

Assyria came to an end with the Scythian invasion (B.C. 630–610) and the attack of the Medes in the year 606. The interval of respite gave the Phœnicians an opportunity of consulting for their own better protection against Babylon and Egypt, and at this time Ẓidon and the other cities agreed to follow the leadership of Tyre (Ezk 27^{8}). The alliance seems to have extended beyond the coast towns to Edom, Moab, and Ammon; and Jeremiah was instructed to give the LORD'S message to the deputation sent to Jerusalem (Jer 27^{3}). When Pharaoh-neco marched out of Egypt to invade Mesopotamia in B.C. 608, king Josiah of Jerusalem, in fidelity to the cause of Babylon, endeavoured to arrest him, and lost his life in doing so. Soon after, when in 605, at the great battle of Carchemish, Nebuchadnezzar defeated Neco, Phœnicia was overrun and laid waste by the savage soldiery of Babylon. So cruel was their treatment of the conquered cities that the yoke of Egypt seemed light in comparison, and in 598 they all rebelled, including Judæa. Another invasion followed, with its attendant sufferings. Judæa hastened to submit (2 K 24$^{1.12}$, 2 Ch 36^{6}), but Tyre justified the hegemony committed to her by enduring a long siege, submitting to Nebuchadnezzar in 585. By this humbling of Tyre (Ezk 28), Ẓidon was brought once more to the front, and maintained her position as chief of the cities till the overthrow of the Bab. kingdom by the Persians under Cyrus in 538.

(3) *Ẓidon under Persia, Greece, and Rome.*—A period of rest was enjoyed during the reign of Cyrus (B.C. 540–529). Afterwards the Phœnician cities were required to pay a light annual tax, and on demand to supply transport ships and war vessels to the king of Persia. They were allowed to have their own kings and administration, and their condition was much better than it had been under the Assyrians and Babylonians. In B.C. 351, as the power of Persia began to wane, Ẓidon took the lead in organizing a Phœnician revolt against Artaxerxes Ochus, king of Persia. In the punitive invasion that followed, Ẓidon was captured and reduced to ashes, as many as 40,000 perishing in the flames (Diod. Siculus, xvi. 40–44).

After the battle of Issus (B.C. 333), Ẓidon, with the other cities of Phœnicia, except Tyre, surrendered to Alexander, and Ẓidon contributed a large contingent of vessels to assist Alexander in his attack on the insular fortress. During the confusion that followed the death of Alexander, Ẓidon was at different times under Egyptian and Seleucid rule until, in A.D. 198, it passed to the latter, and became rapidly Hellenized. A school of Philosophy sprang up at Ẓidon, to which was added the school of Law and Jurisprudence transferred from Berytus after the earthquake there in A.D. 551. Under the Romans Ẓidon enjoyed, along with Tyre, the rights of a free city, having its own magistrates and municipal government. During the 12th and 13th cents. it was frequently taken and retaken by the Crusaders and the Saracens.

The modern Arabic town of 10,000 inhabitants lies along the shore of the N. harbour, with its ancient wall, crowded houses, narrow streets, and shaded bazaars. The gardens adjoining the town are irrigated from the river Awâly (Bostrenus), which enters the sea two miles N. of Ẓidon. These gardens are covered with fruit-trees, chiefly orange, and in early spring, when the dark foliage is variegated with fragrant blossom and golden fruit, and the banks of the water channels are beautiful with violets, Ẓidon may still claim the epithet of the Greek poet Dionysius, who called her *ἀνθεμόεσσα*, 'the flowery city.' In these gardens pillars and blocks of carved stone and ancient coins are continually being found. In 1855 the tomb of king Eshmunazar, probably of the 3rd cent. B.C., was discovered. A few years ago a much larger and more important discovery was made of a subterranean burial chamber, with side-rooms containing ornamental sarcophagi, one of which was at first pronounced that of Alexander the Great.

iii. BIBLE ALLUSIONS.—Except during the time of friendly contact produced by the building of the temple (1 Ch 22^{4}), and its restoration in the time of Ezra (Ezr 3^{7}), the general tone of reference to Ẓidon is that of hostility. 'Great Ẓidon' was on the border of the portion assigned to Asher (Jos 19^{28}), but the Ẓidonians remained unconquered, and proved a source of danger and temptation to Israel (Jos 13^{6}, Jg 1^{31} 3^{3} 10^{6}). They are mentioned with Amalek and Midian as having aggressively oppressed Israel (Jg 10^{12}, where perhaps Phœnicians in general are meant). The marriage of Ahab with the Ẓidonian Jezebel is denounced as a sin surpassing that of Jeroboam (1 K 16^{31}). The Ẓidonians are held up to abhorrence as having sought to make merchandise of captured Israelites, and of using the sacred vessels of the Lord at their heathen shrines (Jl 3^{5}). Ẓidon, with the other world powers, is to drink the cup of the Lord's fury (Jer 25^{22}), and it is seen lying cast away and forgotten along with its companions in oppression, Asshur, Elam, and Egypt (Ezk 32^{30}). Ẓidonians were among the multitudes who went forth to hear Christ (Mk 3^{8}), and the sin of Tyre and Ẓidon is made to compare favourably with that of the impervious cities of Galilee (Mt 11$^{21.22}$, Lk 10$^{13.14}$). The Syro-Phœnician woman whose daughter was healed came from the coasts of Tyre and Ẓidon (Mt 15$^{21-28}$, Mk 7$^{24-30}$), and Jesus, after this miracle, passed through Ẓidon (Mk 7^{31}). Ẓidon again appears with Tyre in the conciliatory interview with Herod in A.D. 44 (Ac 12^{20}), and, finally, was visited by St. Paul on his voyage to Rome (Ac 27^{3}).

Ẓidonians (צִידוֹנִים, or, more commonly, צִדֹנִים; *Σιδώνιοι, Φοίνικες*).—From originally meaning the inhabitants of the city of Ẓidon (1 K 11$^{5.33}$, 2 K 23^{13}) the name came to be applied generally to all the cities of the same race, being thus = Phœnician.

LITERATURE.—Kenrick, *Phœnicia*; Rawlinson, *Hist. of Phœnicia*; Thomson, *Land and the Book*.

G. M. MACKIE.

ZIHA (צִיחָא, in Neh 7^{46} צִחָא).—The name of a family of Nethinim, Ezr 2^{43} (B *Σουθιά*, A *Σουαά*, Luc. *Σουδδαεί*) = Neh 7^{46} (Bℵ *Σηά*, A$^{\text{vid}}$ *Οἰαά*, Luc. *Σουλαί*), Neh 11^{21} (Bℵ*A om., ℵ$^{\text{c.a mg inf}}$ *Σιάλ*).

ZIKLAG (צִקְלַג, in 1 Ch 12$^{1.20}$ צִיקְלַג; B *Σεκελάκ* except Jos 19^{5} 1 S 27$^{6\ bis}$ *Σικελάκ*, 1 Ch 4^{30} *'Ωκλά*, 12^{1} *Σωκλά*, v.^{20} *Σωγλάμ*; A *Σικελάγ* except Jos 19^{5} *Σεκελά*).—A Judahite (Jos 15^{31}) or Simeonite (19^{5}, 1 Ch 4^{30}) town, which, in the time of Saul, was in Philistine hands and was assigned to David as his headquarters by ACHISH (1 S 27^{6}, 2 S 1^{1} 4^{10}, 1 Ch 12$^{1.20}$). It was plundered by the Amaleḳites during the absence of David, who, however, overtook and defeated the marauders (1 S 30$^{1-26}$); see art. DAVID, vol. i. p. 560. It is mentioned as inhabited by Judahites after the Captivity, Neh 11^{28}.

The site of Ziḳlag has not been identified with certainty. The most probable of the sites proposed appears to be the ruin *Zuheilîka*, discovered by Conder and Kitchener in 1877, lying E.S.E. from Gaza. This ruin occupies three low hills, and is at a distance of about 4 miles N. of *Wādy es-Sherîʽa* (prob. the Besor of 1 S 30$^{9.10.21}$). This identification is favoured by Mühlau (in Riehm's *HWB*^{2} 1866^{b}), Buhl (*GAP* 185), Dillm. (*Jos.* 527, where other less probable suggestions are mentioned), *et al.*

J. A. SELBIE.

ZILLAH (צִלָּה, *Σελλά*).—One of LAMECH'S two wives, Gn 4$^{19.22.23}$. See ADAH, No. 1.

ZILLETHAI (צִלְּתַי).—1. The name of a Benjamite family, 1 Ch 8^{20} (B Σαλθεί, A Σαλεί, Luc. Σελαθί). 2. A Manassite who joined David at Ẓiḳlag, 1 Ch 12^{20} (Bℵ Σεμαθεί, A Γαλαθί, Luc. Σιλαθά).

ZILPAH (זִלְפָּה).—A slave-girl given to Leah by Laban, Gn 29^{24} (P), and by her to Jacob as a concubine, 30^{9} (J); the mother of Gad and Asher, vv.$^{10-13}$ (J), 35^{26} 37^{2} 46^{18} (all P). The LXX (A) has Ζελφά throughout.

ZIMMAH (זִמָּה).—The name of a family of Gershonite Levites, 1 Ch $6^{20\,(5)}$ (B and Luc. Ζεμμά, A Ζαμμά) v.$^{42\,(27)}$ (B Ζαμμάμ, A Ζαμμά, Luc. Ζεμμά), 2 Ch 29^{12} (BA Ζεμμάθ, Luc. Ζεμμά).

ZIMRAN (זִמְרָן).—A son of Abraham and Ḳeṭurah, Gn 25^{2} (A*E Ζεβράν, A^{a} Ζεμβράν, D^{sil} Ζομβράν) =1 Ch 1^{32} (B Ζεμβράν, A Ζεμράν). The ethnological signification of the word is doubtful. Possibly Knobel is right in connecting it with the Ζαβράμ of Ptolemy (VI. vii. 5), W. of Mecca, on the Red Sea. We may perhaps compare also the ZIMRI of Jer 25^{25}. The name is derived from זֶמֶר, 'mountain-sheep *or* -goat,' this animal having doubtless been the totem of the clan.

ZIMRI (זִמְרִי 'mountain-sheep' [see Gray, *HPN* p. 97, note 2]; Bℵ Ζαμβρεί, AF Ζαμβρί; in 1 Ch 8^{36} A Ζαμρί; Vulg. *Zambri*, but in Chron. *Zamri*).—1. A prince of the tribe of Simeon, son of Salu (Nu 25^{6-14} [P], 1 Mac 2^{26}). While the congregation of Israel in general were expressing repentance for having joined in the impure worship of Baal-peor, Zimri shamelessly and ostentatiously continued in it. This outrage fired the zeal of Phinehas, who followed him and his partner into the alcove (קֻבָּה) and slew them both. 2. Son of Zerah, and grandfather or ancestor of Achan (1 Ch 2^{6}, which also represents him as brother of the four sages who are mentioned in 1 K 4^{31}). He is called **Zabdi** in Jos 7^{1}. 3. A Benjamite, lineal descendant of Saul (1 Ch 8^{36} 9^{42}). 4. King of Israel (1 K 16^{9-20}). He had been captain of half the chariots under Elah, and made use of his position to conspire against his master, whom he assassinated while the latter was drunk. Even amongst the series of deeds of violence that ushered in the constant changes of dynasty in the Northern Kingdom this act of Zimri seemed peculiarly atrocious. 'Is it peace, thou Zimri, thy master's murderer?' was the bitter taunt flung down by Jezebel at Jehu as he entered the gate of Jezreel (2 K 9^{31}). And in the formula which closes the narrative of the reign the historian specially notes 'the treason that he wrought' (v.^{20}). Zimri's *coup d'état* apparently had no general support, the people following either Omri or Tibni, and his brief reign of seven days only enabled him to accomplish the extirpation of the family of Baasha, which had been predicted by Jehu the son of Hanani (v.^{3}). The distance between Gibbethon and Tirzah leads us to infer that Omri must have marched at once on the capital, and that he met with scarcely any resistance. Zimri perished in the ashes of the royal palace to which he had himself set fire. 5. 'All the kings of Zimri' are mentioned in the same verse, Jer 25^{25} (Gr. 32^{11}) with those of Elam and the Medes as amongst those who were to drink the cup of the fury of the LORD. There is considerable doubt as to what place is meant, or even as to the genuineness of the phrase. It is omitted in LXX (BℵA), but Aquila seems to have read it. Delitzsch thinks that a place called Namri in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser II., and situated in north-west Babylonia, is referred to; but Schrader (*COT* ii. 107) discredits this opinion, without suggesting any rival theory. N. J. D. WHITE.

ZIN (צִן; Σεἰν, Σίν; *Sin*), Nu 13^{21} 20^{1} 27^{14} 33^{36} $34^{3.\,4}$, Dt 32^{51}, Jos $15^{1.\,3}$.—A region passed through by the Israelites in their journeyings. The most exact indication of its position is given in Nu 34 and Jos 15. These passages (in which the boundary of Judah is traced in almost identical terms) refer to 'the wilderness of Zin' in v.^{1} of both, and further describe the boundary thus: '. . . and pass on to Zin' (Nu v.^{4} . . . '[. . . and passed along to Zin (Jos v.^{3}) . . .] . . . to Kadesh-barnea'). The Hebrew is identical in both passages וְעָבַר צִנָה, but the *nun* is without *dagesh* in Numbers.

These are the only places where the word Zin occurs by itself, and it seems to denote a place or limited area from which the region round about was named 'the wilderness* of Zin,' the expression which occurs in all the remaining passages cited above.

In Nu 13^{21} 'the wilderness of Zin' is named as the southern limit from which the spies began to search the land. In Nu 33^{36} it is given as one of the stations in the journeyings. The brief note, 'the same is Kadesh,' serves to explain the following verse ('And they journeyed from Kadesh'. . .). Nu 20^{1} records the arrival of the children of Israel 'in the wilderness of Zin' in the first month [the year is not stated], and the following vv.$^{2-13}$ relate the events which took place at Meribah. The remaining two passages, Nu 27 and Dt 32, which are duplicates, refer to the punishment of Moses for his offence at 'the waters of Meribah of Kadesh in the wilderness of Zin.'

Hence it may be inferred (*a*) that the Wilderness of Ẓin formed part of the southern boundary of Judah at its eastern end towards the Dead Sea; (*b*) that Ḳadesh was included within its limits. A reference to art. PARAN leads to the further conclusion that the wilderness of Paran must have been adjacent to that of Ẓin, so that Ḳadesh was regarded as in either territory.

The LXX and Vulg. render both Ṣin and Ẓin by Σίν, Σεἰν, *Sin*; but in Nu 34^{4}, Jos 15^{3} the LXX B renders צנה by Ἔνναχ; AF Σεένναχ in Numbers, A Σεννά in Joshua. Vulg. has *Senna* in Numbers, *Sina* in Joshua. The close similarity between the events recorded in Ex 17 and Nu 20 (noticed in art. MERIBAH), and other points of resemblance between occurrences before and after Sinai, suggest a further question whether Ṣin and Ẓin, the Ṣin of the pre-Sinai and the Ẓin of the post-Sinai narrative, may be variations developed in the course of tradition. Both names are found only in the Hexateuch, and there is no geographical indication of later times to guide us. The hypothesis does not appear improbable, but the narrative in its present form indicates two regions bearing different names. On the supposition of a Sinai to the E. of the Arabah, these two 'wildernesses' would be much closer together than on the traditional hypothesis. A. T. CHAPMAN.

ZINA.—See ZIZA.

ZION (צִיּוֹן; B Σειών, but Σιών in Am 1^{2} and in 28 places in the Psalms; A Σιών, but in Is 1^{8} 2^{3}, Jer 26^{18}, La 2^{4}, Jl $2^{1.\,15}$, and in 6 places in the Psalms Σειών, and in Ca 3^{11}, Is 31^{9}, Jer 8^{19} Σιώ; in Ca 3^{11} B omits. In Apoc. and NT Σιών, *Sion*, where the AV, following the Greek, has *Sion*, the RV *Zion*).—The stronghold (מְצֻדָה) of Ẓion was the castle, or acropolis, of the 'city of the Jebusites' (Jg 19^{11}); see art. JEBUS. Its position must have been one of great natural strength, for it was regarded by its garrison and its inhabitants as impregnable, and when David laid siege to it he was received with taunts and jeers (2 S $5^{6.\,8}$, 1 Ch 11^{5}; cf. Jos. *Ant.* VII. iii. 1). 'Nevertheless, David took the stronghold of Zion, the same is the city of David . . . and David dwelt in the stronghold and called it the city of David. And he built round about from Millo and inward' (2 S 5^{7-9}, 1 Ch 11^{5-8}). In two other passages (1 K 8^{1}, 2 Ch 5^{2}) Ẓion is directly identified with the city of David by the expression 'the city of David which is Zion.' Within the city walls David built a palace (2 S 5^{11}, Neh 12^{37}), round which were gathered the houses of his warriors (2 S 11^{2}); and pitched a tent for the ark of Jahweh (2 S $6^{12\text{-}17}$, 1 Ch 15^{29} 16^{1}). Before his death, David purchased the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite, upon which was erected, afterwards, the altar of the temple (2 S $24^{18.\,25}$, 1 Ch $21^{18.\,26}$); and when he died he was buried in the city of David (1 K 2^{10}, Neh 3^{16}).

---

* For the meaning of 'wilderness' see art. JESHIMON.

The exact position of the stronghold within the later Jerusalem is one of the most important of the disputed points connected with the topography of the Holy City. In the article JERUSALEM it is shown that the ancient city stood on two spurs, or hills, separated from each other by a deep ravine. The western and higher spur is identified by Christian tradition with Ẓion; on the eastern and lower the temple was built. The western spur is broad-backed, and, so far as its original form is known, there is no broken ground or conspicuous feature upon it that would naturally be selected as the site of a castle such as those usually erected for the protection of an ancient hill-town. Moreover, there is no spring; and when, at a later date, the spur was covered with houses, this deficiency had to be met by the construction of reservoirs and aqueducts. The earliest settlement at Jerusalem cannot therefore be placed on the western spur. The eastern spur, on the other hand, is, for the most part, a narrow ridge of rock, upon which there are good natural positions for the construction of a hill-fort or castle. One such position is that which was occupied by the Macedonian Akra and the Herodian Antonia; another is the point, south of the present Ḥaram esh-Sherif, at which the Tyropœon ravine most closely approaches the valley of the Kidron. In that valley, at the foot of the eastern slope of the spur, rises the only true spring at or near Jerusalem—GIHON, now the Fountain of the Virgin.

The evolution of Jerusalem cannot have differed greatly from that of other ancient cities. The earliest settlement would naturally have been on the eastern spur, and it probably consisted of a village on the slopes above the spring, with a small fort on higher ground to which the people could fly on the approach of an enemy.

By about B.C. 1400 Jerusalem had become, according to the Tel el-Amarna letters, the fortified capital of a small district; and such it appears to have been when the Hebrews entered Palestine. The natural disadvantages of its position for trade, and the scarcity of fertile land in its vicinity, were against rapid growth; and there is no reason to suppose that, when taken by David, it was larger than other hill-towns in Palestine, or that it had spread beyond the limits of the eastern spur. The topographical argument in favour of placing the stronghold of Ẓion on this spur rather than on the western, is supported by the historical notices.

The temple area, which is now enclosed by the walls of the Ḥaram esh-Sherif, was *above* the city of David, and was not regarded as forming part of it (1 K $8^{1.\,4}$,* 2 Ch $5^{2.\,5}$; cf. 2 S 24^{18}). And the statements of Nehemiah ($3^{15.\,16}$ 12^{37}, cf. 2^{14}), which place the stairs of the city of David, the palace of David, and his tomb between the pool of Shelah (SILOAM) and the temple, absolutely exclude the western spur as a possible site for the city of David. With this, too, agree the identification by Micah (4^{8}) of the 'tower of the flock' with 'the Ophel of the daughter of Zion'; the references in Ezekiel ($43^{7.\,8}$) to the proximity of the royal palace and sepulchres to the temple; and the apparent connexion of Ẓion and the temple in Ps $78^{68.\,69}$ and Jer 50^{28}. Perhaps also there may be an allusion to the relative positions of Ẓion and the temple in Ps 48^{2} 'Mount Ẓion, *on* the sides of the north, the city of the great King.' Throughout the OT there are passages which have no meaning, if Ẓion and the temple hill were two separate topographical features. Ẓion is the holy hill or mountain (Ps 2^{6}, Jl 2^{1}), the chosen habitation of Jahweh (Ps 9^{11} 74^{2} 76^{2} 84^{7} 132^{13}, Is 8^{18} 60^{14}, Jer 8^{19}, Jl $3^{17.\,21}$, Zec 8^{3}). There He manifests Himself (Ps 14^{7} 20^{2} 53^{6} 128^{5} 134^{3}, Am 1^{2}); and there He must be worshipped and praised (Ps $65^{1.\,2}$, Jer 31^{6}, Jl $2^{1.\,15}$). Hence Mount Ẓion, the intangible mount, the city of the living God, is employed in the NT as the type of heaven (He $12^{18.\,22}$, Rev 14^{1}). At the same time the name Ẓion is given, in some instances, to the whole city (Ps 126^{1} 146^{10}, Is 1^{27} 10^{24}, La 1^{4}; cf. the common expression 'daughters of Zion'); and in others it is mentioned as if it were a separate quarter of Jerusalem (2 K 19^{31}, Ps 51^{18}, Is 30^{19} 64^{10}, Jer 26^{18}, Jl 3^{16}, Am 1^{2}, Mic 3^{12}, Zec 1^{17}; cf. the distinction between Jerusalem and the quarter in which the kings were buried in 2 Ch 28^{27}).

In 1 Maccabees, written *c.* B.C. 100 by some one who was well acquainted with the localities, Ẓion is identified with the temple hill ($4^{37.\,38}$ 5^{54} 7^{33} etc.), and so it is in 1 Es 8^{81}, 2 Es 5^{25}, Sir 24^{10}, and Jth 9^{13}. Josephus, who does not mention Ẓion, says (*Ant.* VII. iii. 1) that David took the lower city and the Akra (both of which he elsewhere places on the eastern spur), and (iii. 2) that, after driving the Jebusites out of the Akra, David rebuilt Jerusalem, called it the city of David, and dwelt in it.* The Rabbis,† without exception, place the temple on Ẓion, and Origen distinctly states (*in Joan.* $4^{19.\,20}$) that the Jews did so in his day. Eusebius (*in Is.* 22^{1}) and Jerome apparently (*in Is.* 1^{21} 22^{1}) take the same view; but elsewhere they identify Ẓion with the western spur, and in this agree with the Bordeaux Pilgrim (*Itin. Hieros.*). From the 4th cent. onwards Ẓion is always identified with the south part of the western spur. This identification first appears after the official recovery of Golgotha, and it possibly owes its origin to the feeling that, without a Ẓion, the 'New Jerusalem' of Constantine would be incomplete and inferior in sanctity to the 'Old Jerusalem' with its temple on the lower ground to the east.

The identification of Ẓion with the eastern spur satisfies the topographical conditions and the historical evidence until the 4th cent. A.D. But the spur is now so completely covered with deep rubbish that its original form is unknown, and the exact position of the stronghold can be determined only by extensive excavations. The fort was probably small, for its builders could have had in view only the protection of the spring and the little town on the slopes above it. Lightfoot (*Op.* i. 553, ii. 187), Fergusson (*Essay on the ancient topog. of Jerus.* p. 55 ff., 1847), and a few other writers, place Ẓion immediately north of the temple; but, if the words of 1 K $8^{1.\,4}$ (cf. 2 S $24^{18.\,19}$) are to be taken literally, it must have been to the south of the Holy Place of the Jews. In this direction, on a site so situated as to command the spring, it has been placed by Birch (*PEFSt.* 1878, pp. 129, 178), Stade (*GVI* i.

---

* Notice here 'bring *up*': so regularly in OT people go *up* from the palace to the temple (Jer 26^{10}), and *down* in the opposite direction (2 K 11^{19}, Jer 22^{1} 36^{12}). If, however, the palace had been on the western spur (2520-50 ft.), the temple (2440 ft.) would have been *below* it.

* Josephus adds (iii. 2) that David took possession of the Upper City, which he called (*BJ* v. iv. 1) the fortress (*φρούριον*), and joined the Akra to it. This possibly refers to the first enclosure of the western spur, which David may well have undertaken towards the close of his reign, when the development of trade had greatly enriched the kingdom.

† Some of the copper coins struck during the war of Vespasian and the rebellion in Hadrian's reign bear the legends *Lig'ullath Zion*, 'Deliverance of Zion,' and *Chêruth Z.*, 'Emancipation of Zion.' See art. MONEY, vol. iii. p. 431.

315 f.), Robertson Smith (art. 'Jerusalem' in *Encyc. Brit.*^{9} 1881), Sayce (*PEFSt*, 1883), von Alten (*ZDPV* ii. 18 ff., iii. 116 ff.), Klaiber (*ZDPV* iii. 189 ff., iv. 18 ff.), Guthe (*ZDPV* v. 271 ff., 1883), G. A. Smith (in *Encyc. Bibl.* 2418), and the majority of recent authorities. Guthe (*l.c.*) believed that his excavations proved the existence of a wide, deep ditch or hollow, cut through the hill, in a N.W. direction, from the Virgin's Fount to the Tyropœon Valley. But his excavations were not complete, and the view that he found the ditch of the stronghold must be accepted with reserve.

The identification of Ẓion with the *western* spur is accepted by Reland, Robinson, Ritter, Williams, de Vogüé, Stanley, Conder, and others; but, as will have been seen, it is exceedingly difficult to reconcile with the statements of the OT.

The following view may be suggested. When David took Jerusalem it was a hill-town on the south part of the eastern spur, with a small castle or acropolis, called Ẓion, situated at a convenient spot to the south of the present Ḥaram esh-Sherif. After David's capture of the city he at once commenced to rebuild and strengthen its fortifications, especially those of the stronghold and Millo.* Towards the end of his reign, when a period of great prosperity had set in, he commenced the enclosure of the western spur; and his work on both spurs was continued by Solomon (1 K 9$^{15.\ 24}$† 11^{27}), Ḥezekiah (2 Ch 32^5; cf. Is 22^9), and Manasseh, who 'built an outer wall to the city of David, on the west side of Gihon in the valley'‡ (2 Ch 33^{14}). The stronghold of Ẓion became the city of David, and this name was soon extended to the town at the south end of the spur. When the town spread northward, Ẓion was connected with the central part of the spur, on which lay the royal buildings and, adjoining them on the north, at the top of the hill, the temple area; and so it became a sacred name for the spot upon which the temple, the dwelling-place of Jahweh, stood. Afterwards, the name was frequently applied by prophets and poets to the temple enclosure, to the eastern spur, and to the holy city of Jerusalem.

In the time of Hadrian there was, according to Epiphanius (*de Mens. et Pond.* xv.), a small church on the western spur, which marked the site of the house—that of the mother of Mark—at which the apostles met after the Ascension. This church, apparently the same as that called by Cyril of Jerusalem the 'Church of the Apostles,' became in later years the basilica of holy Ẓion, or the 'Mother Church' on Ẓion. This tradition now attaches to the church of the Syrian monastery, which claims to be the oldest ecclesiastical establishment at Jerusalem. There was also a Church of St. Peter, or 'House of Caiaphas,' which is mentioned in the 5th cent. as being distinct from that of Ẓion (*Brev.*; Theodosius, *De loc. sanct.*; see discussion in *Antoninus Martyr*, App. ii. P. P. Text Series, vol. ii.). C. W. WILSON.

ZIOR (צִיעֹר).—A town in the hill-country of Judah, Jos 15^{54} (B Σώρθ, A Σιώρ). It is prob. to be identified with the modern village *Sa'ir*, about 6 miles N.N.E. of Hebron. A pretended grave of Esau is shown at the place, the origin of this tradition being probably the similarity of the names *Sa'ir* and *Se'ir* (see Mühlau in Riehm's *HWB*^{2} 1871^a; Guérin, *Judée*, iii. 150 f.; *PEF Mem.* iii. 309, 379; Buhl, *GAP* 158). The Ẓior of Jos 15^{54} can have nothing to do with the Σιώρ (Sior) of Eusebius and Jerome (*OS*^{2} 293, 19, 20; 151, 1–3), which is described as between Ælia (Jerusalem) and Eleutheropolis (Beit Jibrin).

ZIPH (זִיף).—**1.** A son of Jehallelel, 1 Ch 4^{16} (B 'Αμηαχεί, A Ζιφαί, Luc. Ζίφ). **2.** A city of Southern Judah, Jos 15^{24} (B om., A 'Ιθναζίφ [combining *Ziph* and the preceding *Ithnan*], Luc. Ζείφ). Its site has not been recovered. **3.** A city in the hill-country of Judah, Jos 15^{55} (B 'Οζείβ, A and Luc. Ζίφ), cf. 1 Ch 2^{42} (Ζείφ); fortified by Rehoboam, 2 Ch 11^8 (B Ζείβ, A Ζείφ, Luc. Ζίφ). The wilderness of Ziph (מִדְבַּר זִיף) was one of the refuges of David (see vol. i. p. 564^b) when fleeing from Saul, 1 S 23$^{14.\ 15.\ 24}$ 26$^{2\ bis}$. The gentilic name **Ziphites** (זִפִים and זִיפִים; LXX Ζ(ε)ιφαῖοι) occurs in 1 S 23$^{19.\ 24\ \text{[LXX only]}}$ 26^1, Ps 54 $^{\text{title}}$. Ziph is the modern *Tell Zîf*, S.E. of Hebron (Robinson, *BRP*^{2} i. 492, 498; Guérin, *Judée*, iii. 159 ff.; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 306 n.; Buhl, *GAP* 163). Jerome (*OS*^{2} 159, 14) misstates its distance from Hebron as 8 M.P., whereas it is under 5 (Roman) miles (Robinson).

ZIPHAH (זִיפָה).—A son of Jerahmeel, 1 Ch 4^{16} (B Ζαφά, A Ζαιφά, Luc. Ζιφά).

ZIPHION.—See ZAPHON. **ZIPHRON.**—See SIBRAIM.

ZIPPOR (צִפּוֹר, twice [Nu 22^{10} 23^{18}] צִפֹּר).—Father of BALAK king of Moab, Nu 22$^{2.\ 4.\ 10.\ 16}$ 23^{18}, Jos 24^9, Jg 11^{25} (all Σεπφώρ). The name, which doubtless in this case and in that of **Ẓipporah** has a totemistic significance, means 'sparrow.'

ZIPPORAH (צִפֹּרָה; Σεπφώρα).—One of the daughters of the priest of Midian, Ex 2$^{21.\ 22}$ (J), wife of Moses and mother of Gershom. According to 18^2 (E) she had another son.* For the part played by her in connexion with the circumcision of Gershom, 4$^{24\text{ff.}}$ (J), see art. CIRCUMCISION, vol. i. p. 443^a. Ẓipporah, who was a Midianitess, cannot of course be the 'Cushite woman' (see vol. iii. p. 442^b note †) of Nu 12^1. On the name *Ẓipporah* see preceding article.

ZIV.—See art. TIME, p. 765^a.

ZIZ.—The ascent (AV wrongly 'cliff') of Ẓiẓ (מַעֲלֵה הַצִּיץ; BA ἡ ἀνάβασις 'Ασᾶε, Luc. . . . 'Ασισά) is only once mentioned in the Bible (2 Ch 20^{16}), and is generally classed among unidentified sites. The context, however, leaves no doubt in the mind of the present writer as regards identification. It is the ascent to a cliff, rising above the plain of the Dead Sea near En-gedi on the edge of the tableland or wilderness of Judæa (see EN-GEDI). Conder says of this spot: 'On the south are the wolds of the Negeb plateau, with the plains of Beersheba beyond. On the east is the "Solitude," with white peaks and cones of chalk, and deep and narrow watercourses, terminated by the great pointed cliff of Ziz, above Engedi, and by the precipices over the Dead Sea, 2000 ft. high' (*Tent-Work in Palestine*, p. 244). The gorge lying at its base offers one of the few ways of ascent from the western shore of the Dead Sea to the tableland of Judæa, and, on the occasion in connexion with which Ẓiẓ is mentioned, was selected by the hosts of Ammon, Moab, and Edom for a combined attack on the kingdom of Judah in the reign of Jehoshaphat. The attack, however, in answer to prayer, proved disastrous to the invaders (cf. *HGHL* 272).

E. HULL.

ZIZA (זִיזָא).—**1.** A Simeonite chief who took part in the raid on Gedor, 1 Ch 4^{37} (B and Luc. om.,

---

* See art. MILLO, and cf. Stade, *GVI* i. 343.

† [This passage shows that the palace was higher than, and therefore to the north of, the 'city of David.'—ED.].

‡ This wall was built apparently to give more efficient protection to the passage leading to the Virgin's Fount, which was discovered by Sir C. Warren.

* The 'sons' of MT in Ex 4^{20} is from the hand of a redactor. See art. MOSES, vol. iii. p. 439^a note †.

A Ζουζά). 2. A son of Rehoboam, 2 Ch 11^{20} (B Ζειζά, A Ζιζά).

ZIZAH (זִיזָה).—A Gershonite Levite, 1 Ch 23^{11}. The name, prob. by a copyist's error, appears in v.^{10} as Zina (זִינָא). LXX has in both verses Ζιζά. One Heb. MS, cited by Kennicott, also reads זִיזָה in v.^{10}.

ZOAN (צֹעַן, Τάνις, Tanis. The Coptic *Jani* resembles the Hebrew and the Arabic *Sān*, but a Christian Coptic MS, containing a list of bishops, bears witness to the Greek pronunciation with *T*. [Amelineau, *Géographie de l'Égypte*, 1893, p. 413 f.]).—A city of Egypt which the LXX by their rendering identify with the city known to the Greeks as Tanis. It is described by Greek writers as a 'great city' (Strabo, *Meineke*, c. 802; Stephanus Byzant. in his list of cities), and the branch of the Nile on which it was situated was called from it the Tanaitic mouth. The city declined in importance when the river which flowed by it ceased to be a main waterway; and the surrounding country, which in ancient times was rich pasture ground, is now salt marsh and lake. An insignificant collection of dwellings (known as Sān on the Muiz canal), chiefly inhabited by fishermen who ply their trade on the neighbouring lake Menzaleh, marks the site of this once flourishing city. But widely scattered around are ruins which bear witness to its former greatness. From very early times it was a centre of worship, and successive dynasties enriched the city with costly buildings and obelisks which (such is the opinion of those who have explored the site) equalled, perhaps in some respects surpassed, many of the temples which have been more fortunately preserved.

The references to this city in Is. and Ezk. are in accord with the testimony of the monuments and of Greek writers. Isaiah ($19^{11.13}$ 30^{4}) describes it as the abode of princes and counsellors, and Ezekiel (30^{14}) includes it in a list of the principal cities doomed to destruction. The note in Nu 13^{22} that 'Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt,' opens up a wide field of conjecture, but yields little by way of certain inference. Hebron was regarded as an ancient city, existing in the time of Abraham, and the note implies that Zoan also was an ancient city, built before the migration of the Hebrews into Egypt; but whether anything more (such as community of origin) is suggested by the comparison is doubtful. The question of most interest to the biblical student in connexion with Zoan is: Was this city, already flourishing when Israel came into Egypt, in any way connected with their sojourn there? It is known that in Exodus the name Zoan does not occur. Rameses is mentioned (Ex 12^{37}) as the place from which the children of Israel set out on their journeyings. But in Ps 78, which recounts the wonders which God had wrought for Israel, 'the field of Zoan' is twice mentioned (vv.$^{12.43}$) as the scene of the plagues. The Psalmist may have used this expression as a poetical parallelism to 'the land of Egypt,' just as Isaiah places the 'princes of Zoan' in parallelism with the 'counsellors of Pharaoh,' and the only inference to be drawn from the passage is that the Psalmist knew Zoan as a very important city. It is possible that the use of Zoan may be due to a tradition not elsewhere preserved. Ebers (*Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, p. 498) gives an inscription in which the words 'the field of Zoan' occur.

Brugsch asserts that Ramses II. transferred his court to Zoan, strengthened its fortifications and founded a new temple city; that the place was called Pi Ramessu, the city of Ramses, and that the new Pharaoh who 'knew not Joseph' *can be no other* than Ramses II. (*Egypt under the Pharaohs*, ii, 94, 96, 99). These statements if accepted go far towards locating the children of Israel at the time of their departure. But Egyptologists do not agree in interpreting the monumental evidence. In the articles PITHOM and RAMESES will be found the opinions of Naville and others who are not prepared to adopt Brugsch's identification. This at least may be said of the site now occupied by Sān. Its position on the Nile, in or near to what was the land of Goshen, its known antiquity and importance, mark it out as a residence of the Pharaohs and a probable dwelling-place of Israel in bondage.

A. T. CHAPMAN.

ZOAR (צֹעַר, צוֹעַר; LXX usually Σηγωρ, but Gn 13^{10} Ζογορα, Jer 48^{34} Ζογορ; Vulg. always *Segor*; Jos Ζοαρα and Ζοωρ).—The name of one of the 'cities of the Plain' (or Oval; Heb. *Kikkār*: see PLAIN, 4), near the Dead Sea, mentioned in Gn 13^{10} $14^{2.8}$ (where its former name is said to have been *Bela'* בֶּלַע), 19^{22} (where its name is explained, by a popular etymology, as signifying 'littleness,' and it is said to have been spared, on account of its smallness, at the time when the other 'cities of the *Kikkār*' were destroyed), vv.$^{23.30}$, Dt 34^{3} (in Moses' view from Pisgah: 'and the *Kikkār*, the plain [*biḳ'ah*; PLAIN, 3] of Jericho, as far as Ẓo'ar'), and as a city of Moab, Is 15^{5}, Jer 48^{4} (read prob. with LXX [ἀναγγείλατε εἰς Ζογορα], Ew., Graf, *al.* 'make a cry to be heard *unto Ẓo'ar*), v.^{34}.

These are all the biblical notices of Ẓo'ar. Though no place bearing the name is at present known, it is, however, mentioned repeatedly by post-bibl. writers, down to the Middle Ages, as an important place lying at the S. end of the Dead Sea. Jos. says that it was still called Ζοωρ in his day (*Ant.* I. xi. 4), and states that the Dead Sea extended—as the context implies, from *Jericho*—for 580 stadia 'as far as Zoara [μέχρι Ζοαρων] of Arabia' (*BJ* IV. viii. 4). Euseb. (*Onom.* 261) says that the Dead Sea lay between Jericho and Zoora; and states (231, *s.v.* Βαλα) that it had a Roman garrison, and that the balsam and the palm still grew there, testifying to the ancient fertility of the locality. Ptolemy (v. 17. 5) speaks of it as belonging to Arabia Petræa; Steph. of Byz. calls it a κώμη μεγάλη ἢ φρούριον; in the ecclesiastical *Notitiæ* it is mentioned as an episcopal see in Palæstina Tertia, which was represented at the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451 (Reland, *Palæst.* 215, 217, 223, 226, 1065; cf. 230). Under the name Ẓughar (Zughar, Sughar, Suḳar) it is often mentioned by the mediæval Arabic geographers (see Tuch, *Genesis* ^{2}, 280 f.; or, more fully, Guy le Strange, *Pal. under the Moslems*, 1890, 286–92) as situated one degree S. of Jericho (Abul-feda), at the 'end of the Dead Sea,' in a hot and unhealthy valley, but nevertheless an important commercial centre, capital of the province of esh-Sherâh or Edom (p. 39), a station on the great trade route between the Gulf of 'Aḳabah and Jericho, two days' journey from the latter place, and famous for its dates and indigo (cf. *HGHL* 506 f.).* From its proximity to Ẓo'ar, the Dead Sea is often called by these writers the 'Lake of Zughar.' The Crusaders also mention 'Segor' (cf. the Vulg. above) as pleasantly situated, with many palm trees, so that it was even called by them 'Villa Palmarum' and 'Palmer' (cf. Knob. on Gn 19^{20-22} [fuller than Dillm.]; Rob. *BRP* ii. 517–9).

As regards the *precise* position of Ẓo'ar, it was argued by Robinson (*l.c.*) that the notices of Jos. and Eus., though they implied that Ẓo'ar was *near* the S. end of the Dead Sea, did not necessarily fix it *at* that end; and that as Jerome (on Is 15^{5}) says that Luhith was between Areopolis and Ẓoʿar, the most natural site for it would be (see the maps) at *el-Mezraʿa*, in the midst of a verdant stretch of woodland and pasture-ground behind the barren promontory el-Lisān, just where the Wādy Kerak, flowing down from above the old citadel of Kerak, fertilizes the soil on the E. side of the Dead Sea.* The same site was adopted by Tuch (*l.c.* 281 f.). Wetzstein, however, in an important Excursus on Ẓoʿar at the end of Delitzsch's *Genesis*^{4} (1872), p. 564 ff., pointed out that it was not consistent with the *data*: the mediæval Ẓoʿar was one of the six stations on the usual caravan-route from Aila (Elath) by Hebron to Jerus.: it was two days' journey from Aila to Ghamr el-ʿArabah, two more to Ẓoʿar, and two more to Hebron: el-Mezraʿa, as a glance at the map will at once show, is entirely out of the line of this route (for Tuch was in error in supposing that it passed along the *E.* side of the Dead Sea and crossed the Jordan by Jericho: no road is possible along the E. side of the Sea); nor would the steep and narrow W. Kerak be, as Tuch supposed, a practicable route for Baldwin's army to take when marching to the relief of Kerak, for a handful of men could have effectually barred its progress (cf. Tristram, *Moab*, 65, 67–9, esp. 68). Fulcherius, moreover, accompanied Baldwin on an expedition from Jerus. to Petra, passing Hebron and Ẓoʿar on the way; but again, if Ẓoʿar was at el-Mezraʿa, it would have taken them strangely out of their course. Accordingly Wetzstein supposes with great plausibility that Ẓoʿar lay near the S.E. corner of the Dead Sea, in the verdant and tropically-wooded oasis, some 6 miles long by 1–3 broad (see Tristram's Map, and pp. 329 f., 333 f., *Moab*, 46 f., 50–52; Rob. ii. 113; Grove in Smith, *DB* iii. 1182, § 26; Gautier, *Autour de la Mer Morte*, 1901, p. 52 f.), fertilized by the waters of the Wādy el-Aḥsâ ('the W. of the sand-wells'), flowing down from the S.E., and called now, from the high and smooth sandstone-range rising up behind it, the *Ghôr eṣ-Ṣāfiyeh* ('the Hollow of the Smooth (cliff)'). And an Arabic authority (Dimashki, *c.* 1300), *ap.* le Strange (p. 292), expressly places Zughar here. In the curious mosaic map of Pal., also, discovered in 1896 in a basilica at Mêdebah in Moab, and belonging probably to the 5th or 6th cent. A.D., ΒΑΛΑΚ [LXX for *Belaʿ*] Η ΚΑΙ ΖΟΟΡΑ, with a palm-tree beside it, is placed clearly at the S.E. corner of the Dead Sea.†

---

* Le Strange shows very clearly that Merrill (*East of Jord.* 233) is in error in saying that the Arab. geographers place Zughar at the *N.* end of the Sea.

On the *South* of the Dead Sea the character of the soil is very different: there is here a large saline morass, *es-Sebkha* (above, p. 512^a note*), some 6 miles broad and 10 long, bounded on the N. half of its W. side by the cliffs of rock-salt called *Jebel Usdum* (vol. i. p. 575^b, iii. 152), consisting of fine mud brought down by the wādys on the S.W. and S. and mingled with drainings of the Jebel Usdum: this is entirely destitute of vegetation, and only passable with danger and difficulty (see descriptions in Rob. ii. 112; Tristram, *Land of Isr.* 326–9; Gautier, *op. cit.* 48–52). The Wādy Ghurundel divides the Sebkha from the Ghôr eṣ-Ṣāfiyeh.

At present there is nothing in the Ghôr eṣ-Ṣāfiyeh but a wretched village of reed huts, enclosed by a reed stockade, with camps round about, inhabited by Bedawis (Tristram, 330; Gautier, 53 f., with views, 48, 56); and Wetzstein (p. 568 f.) thinks that, from the climate, there could never have been a much more substantial place here; but he points to a castle which may well have been the site of the φρούριον mentioned in ancient times; and perhaps the ancient Ẓoʿar stood in a higher and more healthy situation than the actual floor of the Ghôr (cf. the two ruins to the S.E. a little way up the W. el-Aḥsâ [Tristram, *Moab*, 46–49]).

The usually accepted site of both Ẓoʿar and of the other 'cities of the *Kikkār*' has been at the S. end of the Dead Sea; but it was argued by Mr. (afterwards Sir G.) Grove in Smith's *DB*, *s.v.* 'Zoar,' that they were at the *North* end of the Sea; and this view has been followed since by Tristram (*L. of Isr.* 354 ff.), Conder (*Tent-Work*, 154, 207 f., 210), and other English writers (cf. above, arts. GOMORRAH and SODOM). The principal grounds upon which it is supported are (1) that in Gn 13^{10} Lot is said to have seen from near Bethel (v.^{3}) 'all the *Kikkār* of Jordan,' and afterwards to have dwelt in the 'cities of the *Kikkār*,' whereas the S. end of the Dead Sea is not visible from near Bethel, and a plain situated there would not naturally be called the 'Plain of Jordan'; (2) that the S. end of the Dead Sea is not visible from Nebo, as it is implied in Dt 34^3 (quoted above) that Ẓoʿar was; (3) that Gn 14^7, which states that Chedorlaʿomer, coming up from the S., after smiting the Amalekites in Ḥaẓăẓon-tamar (=En-gedi, 2 Ch 20^2), proceeded to the Vale of Siddim, implies that this vale, and consequently the cities of the *Kikkār* (which were near it), were at the N. end of the Sea. It is true, the language of Gn 13$^{10. 11a. 12b}$ does not seem to suggest that the narrator (J) pictured the part of the *Kikkār*, to which Lot would naturally descend from Bethel, as separated from Sodom by the Dead Sea, with practically no passage along either shore: on the other hand, this conclusion is not *necessary*; the narrative may well be condensed, and Lot may not then and there have directly 'moved his tent as far as Sodom.' The evidence that the *post*-bibl. Ẓoʿar was at the S. end of the Dead Sea clearly cannot be resisted: and in the case of what must anciently have been a well-known place, it seems scarcely likely that the Ẓoʿar of Josephus was on a different site from the biblical Ẓoʿar. Further, as regards (1), *Kikkār* does not mean 'Plain,' but 'Round,' and it may thus have been applied to the entire basin in which both the lower Jordan and the Dead Sea lay, the '*Kikkār* of the Jordan' (Gn 13$^{10. 11}$, 1 K 7^{46}) being in particular the part of it including the lower course of the Jordan: in Gn 13^{10}, also, it is not said that Lot saw the exact part of the *Kikkār* in which the cities were (for 'all' must be an exaggeration, even if the cities were at the N. end of the Dead Sea, since only a part of the plain there is discernible from near Bethel); (2) the view described in Dt 34$^{1\cdot 3}$ includes many points (as Dan) not actually visible from Nebo (Thomson, *L. and B.* iii. 653), and v.^{3} implies naturally that Ẓoʿar was at some distance off, not a place at the foot of Nebo (*Tell Shaghûr*, Conder, *Heth and Moab*^{3}, p. 154 f., 6 m. N.E. of the Dead Sea, in spite of the facts that Shaghûr does not correspond phonetically to Ẓoʿar, and that Tell Shaghûr is not distinguishable from Rās Ṣiāghāh, *ib.* p. 137); (3) the route from En-gedi to the N. end of the Dead Sea, whether inland (across a succession of steep wādis: Rob. i. 526–32) or along the coast (by wading or clambering round promontories: Rob. i. 506 *n.*; Tristram, *Land of Isr.* 252, 274, 278, 284 f.), is much more impracticable for an army than that to its S. end: according to others also, Hazazon-tamar is not En-ged at all, but the Tamar of Ezk 47^{19} 48^{29}, a village on the road between Elath and Hebron (*Onom.* 210), perhaps (Rob. ii. 202) *Kurnub*, 22 m. S.W. of the S. end of the Dead Sea.

And, in fact, there are biblical *data* which, when considered carefully, appear to support the S. site. To say nothing of Dt 34^3, just referred to, it is observable that Ẓoʿar is always spoken of as a *Moabite* town, and never claimed as an Israelite or (Jos 13$^{15-21}$) Reubenite town, as it naturally would be if it lay at the N. end of the Sea; Ezk. also (16^{46}) describes Sodom as being on the 'right' (*i.e.* the south) of Jerus. (Samaria being on its 'left,' or north), which shows that he did not picture it at the N. end of the sea (which is due E. of Jerusalem). The S. site is accepted by the great majority of recent authorities, as Knob., Del., Keil, Dillm. (on Gn 19^{20}), Riehm, *HWB*; Socin, *ZDPV*, 1880, p. 81; Buhl, *Geogr.* 271 f., 274; G. A. Smith, *Expos.*, Dec. 1896, p. 413, *HGHL* 678 (cf. 505–8); Clermont-Ganneau, *PEFSt*, 1886, p. 20; Blanckenhorn, *ZDPV*, 1896, p. 54f. (who gives further particulars).

On the singular argument by which Hommel (*AHT* 195–8) seeks to show that Belaʿ (Gn 14$^{2. 8}$) is mentioned in Assyr. under the name *Malkâ*, *Malgu*, etc., see Johns (in the *Expositor*, Aug. 1898, pp. 158–60), who shows that it rests upon a series of misreadings and misunderstandings.

The site of Ẓoʿar carries with it the site of the other 'cities of the *Kikkār*,' which (Gn 19) may have formed a group by themselves, but cannot have been at any great distance from Ẓoʿar. Provided, therefore, it may be assumed (see SIDDIM, VALE OF) that in Abraham's time what is now the shallow S. part of the Dead Sea was the 'Vale of Siddim,' and the morass es-Sebkha a fertile plain (like the present Ghôr eṣ-Ṣāfiyeh), it may reasonably be supposed that the other four cities were situated on this plain; an earthquake, however, took place, producing on the one hand an eruption of petroleum, which, igniting, destroyed the four cities (Tristram, *L. of Isr.* 353 f.; Dawson, *Egypt and Syria*, p. 125 ff.), and on the other hand a subsidence of the soil, which caused the 'Vale of Siddim' to be covered by the waters of the Dead Sea, and the plain on which the four cities were situated to become the saline morass, now called es-Sebkha (cf. the descriptions of the site of the overthrown cities, Dt 29^{23}, Zeph 2^{9}; Is 13^{20}, Jer 49^{18} $=50^{40}$). S. R. DRIVER.

---

* Tristram, *Moab*, 60, 64. The map at the end of Tristram's *Land of Israel* shows very distinctly the different fertile spots on the shores of the Dead Sea. The elevations will be best learned from G. A. Smith's large *Topogr. and Phys. Map of Pal.*

† See Lagrange, *La Mosaique géogr. de Mâdaba*, in the *Rev. Bibl.*, April 1897, Map (in which the *East* is at the top), and p. 173.

ZOBAH (צוֹבָא or צוֹבָה; Σουβά [A in 2 S 8^{12} and א in 1 Ch 19^{6} Σωβά).—One of the numerous kingdoms into which the Aramæans on the north and north-east of Palestine were divided. Apart from the short notice of the wars of Saul (1 S 14^{47}), which is probably the work of a later editor (see SAMUEL, I. AND II.), the first mention of Zobah or **Aram-zobah** occurs in the reign of David in connexion with his war against Hanun, king of the Ammonites (2 S $8^{3\text{f.}}$ $10^{1\text{ff.}}$). In the fuller and more accurate account of this campaign, given in 2 S $10^{1\text{f.}}$, it is stated that the Ammonites hired the Syrians (or Aramæans) of BETH-REHOB and of Zobah, together with Ish-tob, king of Maacah,[*] to assist them in repelling the expected invasion of the Israelites. Despite this important reinforcement, the Ammonites failed to withstand the Israelites under Joab and Abishai, and both they and their allies were forced to take refuge in flight. The Aramæans, however, seem to have realized that a wider issue than that of the temporary support of Ammon was involved in their struggle with the newly developed kingdom of Israel; for, owing to the enforced inactivity of the two great empires of Egypt and Assyria, it was obvious that the supremacy (for the time being) over northern Palestine would rest with the stronger of the two rival dynasties of Aram and Israel. Hence we find Hadadezer, king of Zobah, making further and more strenuous efforts to overwhelm the Israelite kingdom. To this end he assembled all the forces at his command, and with the aid of the powerful kingdom of Damascus (following 2 S 8^{5} rather than 10^{16}: see below) again took the field. The opposing armies met at Helam; but the Israelites, this time under the command of David himself, once more proved victorious, and compelled the Syrians to accept terms of peace. It would appear from 1 K $11^{23\text{f.}}$ that this battle had an important bearing on the history of Syria; for, according to the notice there preserved, a certain Rezon, son of Eliada, took advantage of the defeat of Hadadezer to desert. Accompanied by a troop of men he fled to Damascus, where he set up a kingdom, and became 'an adversary to Israel all the days of Solomon.'

It cannot be denied that, at first sight, the impression of Zobah conveyed by the biblical narrative is that of a large and powerful kingdom in the north of Palestine, exercising sovereign sway over all the Aramæan tribes. Hence the majority of scholars, until recently, have placed it vaguely between Damascus and Hamath, the nearest approach to a definite site being that of Nöldeke, who assigns it to the neighbourhood of Emesa. As regards its *site*, this impression is confirmed by the Assyrian monuments (Schrader, *KGF* p. 122, *KAT*^{2} p. 182 f., art. 'Zobah' in Riehm's *HWB*; Fr. Del. *Par.* p. 279 f.); but the idea of its *importance* seems to be derived very largely from the fact that (according to the present text of 2 S 10^{16}, cf. 8^{3}) Hadadezer, king of Zobah, exercised control over the distant Aramæan tribes living 'beyond the River.' But a comparison of the two accounts of David's wars with the Ammonites and the Aramæans (2 S 8 and 10) shows clearly that the account given in 2 S $8^{3\text{-}8}$ is mainly the work of a later editor, who probably also substituted the phrase 'that were beyond the River' (10^{16}) for the original 'of Damascus'[*] (on the relation of $10^{1\text{f.}}$ to ch. 8 see SAMUEL, I. AND II., p. 390). On the ground of its importance, therefore, and of the extent of influence, there is no need to place Zobah so far north as the kingdom (or city) of that name mentioned in the Assyrian tribute—or geographical lists (see above). Moreover, a closer examination of the history of the two campaigns makes it more probable that Zobah lay considerably further south. The order in which the Aramæan tribes are mentioned in 2 S $10^{6\text{f.}}$ (Beth-rehob, Zobah, Maacah) is decidedly against the northern theory, for both Beth-rehob and Maacah lay to the S. or S.W. of Damascus, and apparently their territories bordered on that of Ammon: we should expect, therefore, to find the kingdom of Zobah in the same neighbourhood. Hence Winckler (*Gesch. Isr.* p. 137 f.) is no doubt right in identifying Zobah, or Aram-zobah, not with the Assyrian Ṣubiti (or Ṣubutu) lying to the N. of Damascus, but with the place of the same name, S. of Damascus and in the neighbourhood of the Haurân, mentioned by Assurbanipal in the account of his campaign against the Arabian king Jauta (Rassam-Cylinder, vol. vii. ll. 110–112; see *KIB* ii. p. 217). Winckler (p. 141 f.) is inclined to go even further and to identify Zobah with Beth-rehob, but the evidence which he adduces is scarcely convincing.

It is possible that the editor who is responsible for 2 S $8^{3\text{-}8}$ confused the two Zobahs, for the two cities of Zobah which he mentions, Berothai (=Berothah, Ezk 47^{16}) and Betah (1 Ch 18^{8} TIBHATH, probably the modern *Tebah*), were situated N. of Damascus. In addition to the authorities cited, see also Tompkins in *PEFSt*, April 1885, pp. 108 f., 113. J. F. STENNING.

ZOBEBAH (צֹבֵבָה).—A Judahite, 1 Ch 4^{8} (B Σαβαθά, A Σωβηθά, Luc. Σαβηβά).

ZOHAR (צֹחַר).—**1.** Father of Ephron the Hittite, Gn 23^{8} 25^{9} (Σάαρ). **2.** The name of a Simeonite family, Gn 46^{10} (A Σάαρ, *D* Σάαλ), Ex 6^{15} (Σάαρ); called in Nu 26^{13} and 1 Ch 4^{24} **Zerah** (in former, BA Ζάρα; in latter, B Ζάρες, A Ζάραε, Luc. Ζάρα). **3.** The name of a Judahite family, according to the *Ḳĕrê* of 1 Ch 4^{7} (וְצֹחַר 'and Zohar,' which was followed in AV of 1611). The *Kĕthîbh* is יצחר which in modern edd. of AV appears as 'Jezoar' (an incorrect transliteration of יִצֹחַר) and in RV as 'Izhar' (*i.e.* יִצְחַר).

ZOHELETH, THE STONE (אֶבֶן הַזֹּחֶלֶת 'the serpent's stone'; B Αἰθὴ τοῦ Ζωελεθεί, A τὸν λίθον τοῦ Ζωέλεθ).—The spot at which Adonijah prepared a sacrificial feast for all those who supported his claims to the throne of David (1 K 1^{9}). The stone was doubtless a *mazzēbā*, and marked the site of an old Canaanite sanctuary. In ancient times 'living water ' was regarded as inhabited by *jinn*, usually in the form of a serpent or dragon; cf. 'the dragon's well' (Neh 2^{13}): hence such water was itself sacred, and the source whence it issued usually became the site of a temple (see W. R. Smith, *RS*^{2} 170 f.). The actual position of the stone is somewhat uncertain, and depends on the identification of En-rogel; the name seems to have been preserved in the modern *ez-Zehwêleh* (see art. EN-ROGEL and the authorities there cited). Wellhausen (*Skizzen*, iii. 171) suggests that the name Zoheleth may be connected with the Arabic *Zuḥal* = Saturn. J. F. STENNING.

---

[*] 2 S 10^{6}. Read as Wellhausen and Klostermann—וְאֶת־מֶלֶךְ מַעֲכָה אֶת־אִישׁ טוֹב וְעִמּוֹ 'and the king of Maacah, Ish-tob, and with him (12,000 men),' omitting the awkward 'with a thousand men.' In the parallel passage (1 Ch $19^{6\text{f.}}$), the Chronicler gives the sum-total as 32,000 men (*i.e.* 20,000+12,000): he obviously, therefore, did not include the extra thousand (see Klosterm. *ad loc.*).

[*] This seems more prob. than the substitution of 'Damascus' for 'beyond the River,' which was suggested in SAMUEL, I. AND II.; see also Budde, *Richter u. Sam.* p. 250, note 3. Winckler, *Gesch. Israel's*, p. 137 f., indeed, rejects the whole of $10^{14\text{-}19\text{a}}$ as redactional, arguing with some force that v.$^{19\text{b}}$ really forms the conclusion to vv.$^{6\text{-}14}$; but, with the exception of the phrase 'beyond the River,' there seems no justification for doubting the genuineness of the passage.

ZOHETH (זוֹחֵת).—A descendant of Judah, 1 Ch 4^{20} (B Ζωάν, A Ζωχάθ, Luc. Ζαώθ).

ZOOLOGY.—See NATURAL HISTORY.

ZOPHAH (צוֹפַח).—An Asherite, 1 Ch 7^{35} (B Σωχάθ, A Σωφάρ, Luc. Σουφά)^{36} (B Σωφάς, A Σωφά, Luc. Σουφά).

ZOPHAI (צוֹפַי).—An ancestor of Samuel, 1 Ch 6$^{26\,(11)}$ (Σουφ(ε)ί) = ZUPH of v.$^{35\,(20)}$ and 1 S 1^1.

ZOPHAR (צוֹפַר, Σωφάρ).—The third in order of Job's three friends, described in the LXX as 'king of the Minæans' (Job 2^{11}). Probably the chief of a tribe on the borders of Idumæa.

ZOPHIM.—The 'field of Ẓophim' (שְׂדֵה צֹפִים, LXX εἰς ἀγροῦ σκοπιάν) was one of the spots to which Balaḳ took Balaam to view Israel, Nu 23^{14} (JE). It is questionable whether we have here a proper name; the Heb. expression means literally 'field of viewers *or* lookers out' (note the addition 'to the top of Pisgah'). Such 'places of watching' (מצפה) were naturally situated frequently on the tops of hills (see MIZPAH, vol. iii. p. 400^a). On the impossible combination *Ramathaim-ẓophim* of 1 S 1^1 see art. RAMAH, p. 198^a.

ZORAH (צָרְעָה; BA Σαραά, with the following exceptions: B in Jos 15^{33} om., 19^{41} Σαράθ, Jg 13^2 Σαράλ; A in Jg 13^{25} Σαρά, 18^2 Ἀραά; in Neh 11^{29} Bא* A om., א$^{c.a}$ Σαραά, Luc. Σαρά).—A town allotted to Judah, according to Jos 15^{33}; but elsewhere spoken of as Danite, Jos 19^{41}, Jg 18$^{2.8.11}$ (coupled with ESHTAOL); specially noted as the home of SAMSON, Jg 13$^{2.25}$, who was buried between Ẓorah and Eshtaol, 16^{31}. It was fortified by Rehoboam, 2 Ch 11^{10}, and is mentioned in Neh 11^{29} as peopled by Judahites after the Captivity. The gentilic name **Zorathites** (הַצָּרְעָתִי) occurs in 1 Ch 2^{53} (οἱ Σαραθαῖοι) 4^2 (B ὁ Ἀραθεί, A ὁ Σαραθί, Luc. Σαλαθιήλ) and prob. 2^{54} (where read Zorathites הַצָּרְעָתִי for **Zorites** הַצָּרְעִי; B ὁ Ἡσαρσεί, A ὁ Ἡσαραεί, Luc. ὁ Σαραθί). In the latter verse the name *Manaḥathites* (Manoaḥites) is a reminiscence of Manoaḥ the father of Samson.

Ẓorah is the modern *Ṣur'ah* on the northern side of *Wādy eṣ-Ṣurar* (the Valley of Soreḳ) opposite *'Ain Shems* (Beth-shemesh), which lies on the southern side. This corresponds with the statement of Eusebius (*OS*^{2} 293, 29) that it was 10 miles from Eleutheropolis on the road to Nicopolis. It is mentioned under the name *Zarân* in the *Travels of a Mohar* (Sayce, *HCM* 344), and as *Zarkha* in the Tel el-Amarna letters (Winckler, No. 173; Petrie, No. 265) as attacked by the Khabiri.

LITERATURE.—Robinson, *BRP*^{2} iii. 153; Guérin, *Judée*, ii. 15 ff.; Baedeker, *Pal.*^{3} 163; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 218; Buhl, *GAP* 90, 195.

J. A. SELBIE.

ZORITES.—See ZORAH.

ZOROASTRIANISM.—An account of the ancient religion of Iran, the religion of the Parsis at the present day, finds its place in a Bible Dictionary, not because of direct references to it in the Bible which need elucidation,—for these are exceedingly few,—but because of the widely-held opinion that some of the most important later developments of Judaism were profoundly affected by contact with Persian beliefs. The developments in question affect Angelology, Demonology, and the doctrine of the Resurrection. In the present article only that will be described which directly concerns the parallel phenomena in the religion of Israel.

1. The *Mazdayasna* ('worship of Mazda') is variously known as Mazdeism, Zoroastrianism, or Parsism. Its basis is the worship of a supreme deity, *Ahura Mazdāh*, or *Ormazd* ('the Lord Wisdom'), beneath whom stand six highly abstract archangels called *Amshaspands* (*Amesha Spenta*, 'immortal holy ones'), and a large number of angels (*yazata*), who are mostly nature-powers dethroned from the divine position they held in the days when the ancestors of Iranian and Indian tribes lived together as one people. The sacred book of the religion, the *Avesta*,* contains some ancient hymns which appear to come from *Zarathushtra*, called by the Greeks Ζωροάστρης. He is probably to be regarded as a real person, the reformer to whom may plausibly be assigned the monotheistic doctrine of the religion, and the philosophic system which attempts to solve the problem of Evil. This system involves an evil spirit, *Angra Mainyu*, or *Ahriman* ('destructive spirit'), who with his hosts of demons (*daēva*) presides over all evil things in the world and wages war with Ahura and the good creation, till the time when evil will be finally destroyed. Among the most powerful of the good spirits are the '*fravashis* of the pious.' A *fravashi* is part of a man's identity, dwelling in heaven but powerful to aid on earth. It belongs to good men past, present, and to come. It shares the fortunes of its earthly counterpart, when a living man; and if that man becomes evil, it apparently ceases as a *fravashi* to be. The good Zoroastrian had a code of simple and generally high-toned morality to observe, hampered by a complicated and often extremely foolish ritual, which is probably to be laid to the account of alien priests who fastened on the religion during the later Achæmenian reigns. After death, the pious receive a blissful immortality with Ahura in the 'House of Song,' while the *daēva*-worshippers are condemned to torment in the 'House of the Lie.' Ultimately the world is to be renewed under *Saoshyant* ('one who shall save'—a being miraculously descended from Zoroaster), after purification by the 'ordeal of molten metal,' which will consume all that is evil.

2. Such is, in the barest outline, the faith of Zoroastrianism. The only other preliminary left for us to determine here is the date at which this system had penetrated countries inhabited by Jews. It is obvious that if Judaism owed any of its eschatology, or its doctrine of angels and demons, to this foreign influence, Zoroastrianism must have been firmly established in Babylonia or Media before the Book of Daniel was written, and presumably generations before. The date of the Avesta is a warmly disputed question; but for our present purpose this matters little, for the doctrines which find parallels in Judaism are universally admitted to be early, on the witness of classical writers, from Herodotus downwards. That

---

* Its main divisions are the *Yasna* (abbreviated *Ys*), which includes the oldest part, the *Gāthās*, or hymns; the *Yashts* (*Yt*), hymns in honour of old nature powers; and the *Vendīdād* (*Vd*), the Leviticus of Parsism. Many of the most important of the 'Rabbinic' writings of Parsism are translated by Dr. E. W. West in the *Sacred Books of the East* (*SBE*). In this series also is found the best translation of the Avesta itself, by Darmesteter and Mills.

these doctrines were prevalent ‘in the cities of the Medes,’ and other regions inhabited by Israelites during and after the Exile, may also be regarded as certain. Moreover, it is fair to argue that the Jews would be predisposed to look favourably on the religion of their liberator Cyrus. (That the early Achæmenian kings did hold what may be fairly described as Zoroastrian faith, may be assumed as probable, though not at all certain.) At present we have to show how far the Zoroastrian and the later Jewish systems coincide, and examine what reason there is for assuming that foreign influence affected the development of Judaism. Before discussing this question, we may deal with the few passages of the Bible and Apocrypha in which direct allusion is made to Zoroastrian institutions.

3. There are two allusions in the Prophets which have caused no little difficulty, since both of them refer to pre-exilic times. In Jer $39^{3.13}$ RAB-MAG appears to be the Babylonian title of an official head of a sacred caste, like the Magian *ὀνειροπόλοι* of Astyages in Hdt. i. 108. By itself this passage is not decisive: Tiele (*Religionsgesch.* ii. 110 f.) would deny the connexion of the Rab-mag with Median Magi, and make him no religious officer at all.[*] Tiele has not dealt with the very remarkable passage, Ezk $8^{16\text{f.}}$, which creates a strong presumption that there were Magi outside Zoroastrianism, whose influence was felt at Jerusalem before the Exile. The prophet sees sundry ‘abominations’ in the temple, the worst of which are sun-worshippers who ‘put the branch to their nose.’ This ‘branch,’ despite Gunkel, must be the *barsom*, or ‘bundle of fine tamarisk boughs’ (Strabo, xv. 3. 14), which the Parsi priest of to-day holds up to his face at worship. Now, if this were ‘a distinctively Persian rite’ (Davidson, *in loc.*), it would be ‘hardly probable at so early a date in Israel.’ But it is only Magian, and not Persian at all. It belongs to the mass of ritual which the Magi contrived to graft long after this time upon the Mazdayasna, hitherto almost destitute of ceremonies and priestly rites. If, then, this characteristically Magian rite has penetrated as far as Jerusalem in the 7th cent. B.C., it is no longer ‘improbable’ (Tiele) that these famous medicine-men should have ‘come from Media to Babylon.’ On the contrary, their success at Jerusalem is more easily explained if they had already a footing at Babylon.

4. The presence of Parsism in *Tobit* is so clear that we may fairly discuss it at this point. That *Ἀσμόδαῖος* (B *Ἀσμόδαυς*) is *Aēshma daēva*, ‘the demon Wrath,’[†] has been generally accepted, though no very successful attempt has been made to account for this and other Parsi traits in a Jewish romance. A key to the character of the book may perhaps be found in the recognition of a Median folklore story which a Jewish author has adapted: see the details of this theory worked out in a paper by the present writer in *Expos. Times*, March 1900. The following will be included among the features of the original story. (1) The scene is in Media, a meeting-place of Iranian and Semitic, and especially in ‘Zoroastrian Ragha’ (*Ῥάγαι τῆς Μηδίας*, 9^5 ℵ). (2) The demon Aēshma, as is natural in a popular story, has enlarged his functions to include ‘Lust, hard by Hate,’ his Avestan attribute. His opponent in the Median original would be Sraosha, the angel ‘Obedience,’ whom Parsism sets in special antagonism to Angra Mainyu’s arch-fiend Aēshma. Behind him doubtless stands the ‘grateful dead man’ of the folk-tale, found widely in the East,[*] on which Hans Andersen based his *Travelling Companion.* Raphael therefore is ultimately substituted for the dead man of To 2^7. (3) The extraordinary emphasis laid on the duty of burying the dead strongly recalls the Vendidad, and it seems clear that the Jewish adapter has simply substituted burial for the Parsi ‘Tower of Silence,’ on which the vultures strip the bones. Great merit is accumulated when the faithful Parsi, with a companion,—it is mortal sin to do it alone,—removes a corpse thither from polluting the sacred earth. In the original, therefore, the prototypes of Tobit and Tobias must have done this pious work together. Moreover, a *dog* was necessary, that his glance might exorcise the corruption fiend.[†] Hence the entirely otiose and un-Jewish dog which survives in To 6^2 (ℵ) and 5^{17} 11^4 (B). In addition to this, there is a clear reference in 4^{17} (B) to the *draona*, the ‘corpse-cake.’[‡] (4) There seem very clear allusions (see 6^{12}, and note the attempt at explanation in ℵ: also cf. 3^{15} and 3^{17}) to the idea of the merit of marriage with near kin. Now this, in the form of first-cousin-marriage, has always been prominent in Parsism.[§] The Magi went further, and made themselves notorious in antiquity by their vehement preaching of incestuous unions, to which they attributed extraordinary virtue. In the Median *Tobit* no doubt Raguel and the hero were brothers, so that 7^4 (ℵ) may be taken literally. (5) The charm by which Tobit’s blindness is healed is very much like one found in the Shâh Nâmeh of Firdausi; see the story in Atkinson’s epitome (Chandos Classics), p. 106. The parallel suggests that in the Median story the blindness may have been caused by demons’ enchantment; the fish in 6^2 looks also like a demon. (6) In 8^3 (ℵ, the original text clearly) the demon flies *ἄνω εἰς τὰ μέρη Αἰγύπτου.* That the original Aramaic[‖] מצרים was a blunder for מזנדרן was suggested by Kohut,[¶] and in spite of Nöldeke’s objection seems highly probable. Mâzindarân was especially the land of sorcery; and on Mt. Dimâvand therein (cf. *ἄνω* in 8^3) the hero Thraētaona ‘bound’ (*συνεπόδισεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπέδησεν*, *ib.*) the old serpent Azhi Dahâka. (7) The seven angels of 12^{15} may in the original have been the Amshaspands, who are often made seven by the addition either of Ahura Mazda or of Sraosha. If this is so—and it is not really necessary—we have the only distinctively *Zoroastrian* feature in Tobit; the rest are probably Magian, and may well antedate the Zoroastrian reform. But, of course, we have no means of dating the original story. It is noteworthy that there is practically no eschatology in the book; if its original was untouched by Zoroastrianism proper, this would be natural. It follows that we cannot rely much on *Tobit* as a channel for Parsi influences on Judaism. The utmost, therefore, that the book teaches us is that Israelites dwelling in Media were not strongly prejudiced against their neighbours (cf. 14^4), nor perhaps impervious to their religion.

5. To the category of direct references belongs, according to general belief, the story of the MAGI

---

[*] He compares the Assyr. *maġ* ‘great,’ so that the word would mean ‘prince’; cf. ‘שָׂרֵי’ in Jer. *l.c.* But is this distinctive enough, where other classes of officers are mentioned side by side with him?

[†] The translation ‘covetous or lustful,’ given above under ASMODÆUS, is based only on an assumed etymology, and finds no support in Parsi texts. Note that the two words have become one, the Avesta here, as in *Ahura Mazdāh* and *Angra Mainyu*, keeping them separate.

[*] See a close parallel in F. H. Groome’s *Gypsy Folk-Tales*, No. 1. In his note he gives a list of parallels elsewhere. Add Hinton Knowles, *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*, p. 40. A folk-tale closely connected with *Tobit* may be seen in *The Story of Aḥikar* (ed. Harris, Lewis, and Conybeare).

[†] See Geiger, *Civilisation of E. Iranians*, i. 85 ff.

[‡] West, *SBE* v. 283 f. Also cf. Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, ii. 288–312.

[§] Technically known by the Pahlavi term *Khvētuk-das.*

[‖] Assuming the truth of Rendel Harris’s thesis, *Amer. Journ. of Theol.* 1899, p. 541 ff., esp. p. 554.

[¶] Geiger’s *Jüd. Zeitsch.* x. To this paper, vitiated by an impossible theory of anti-Parsic polemic and a very late date for *Tobit*, are due several points in (3)–(6) here.

in Mt 2. The assumption that the name is strictly used is as old as the early Syriac commentators on Matt.,[*] but it is curious that there is so little corroborative evidence. Discussion here is hampered by the necessity of assuming the investigation of Magianism in general. The difficulty lies in the very limited attestation which the most authentic sources of orthodox Parsism give to the connexion of the stars with *fravashis*. We have a very striking identification of stars with representative spirits of a community in Rev 1²⁰. Meanwhile, we may note that although the Avesta and the Pahlavi scriptures but faintly encourage this association, there is a remarkably strong consensus of tradition connecting the Magi with star-lore. It is a side of their activity which would naturally be strengthened by connexion with Babylon (see § 3, above). The extent to which these Magi were orthodox Zoroastrians must remain doubtful. It seems fair to assume that the star did for them represent the *fravashi* of a great one just born. If we insist on Avestan doctrine, that star must have been a brilliant new star, and not a planet, for these were considered malign; there seem, however, to be traces of an opposite view, so that this need not be decisive against Kepler's theory. The question remains why they expected a *king*, and a *king of the Jews*; a prophet or 'saviour' (*saoshyant*) would seem a more natural idea. It is possible that we may fall back on the oneiromancy traditionally associated with the Magi[†] (cf. Mt 2¹²), and suppose that they interpreted the meaning of this new star by the help of an unrecorded dream. It must be noted, however, that both dreams and star-lore are extra-Avestan, though not inconsistent developments of the system as we know it. It is only provisionally that we may cherish the belief that the earliest Gentile homage to the Lord Christ was paid by priests of the lofty religion which in earlier times was perhaps privileged to stimulate within Judaism the growth of the doctrine of the Resurrection.

6. Such are the biblical passages in which direct allusion to Parsism may be traced or reasonably suspected; sundry more doubtful examples may be left to the end of this article. We pass on to a much more important question. It being granted that during and after the Exile great numbers of Jews were living in Mazdayasnian countries, have we reason to believe that the development of certain doctrines among these Jews was stimulated by what they knew of corresponding doctrines in Parsism, and that in this way the history of doctrine in Judaism was vitally affected? The essential parts of our problem may be stated in terms of Ac 23⁸, where (if we may include demons under 'spirits') the Sadducees represent the older Judaism, the Pharisees the newer, which arose after the Jews came in contact with Parsism. *Post hoc*, obviously: is it also *propter hoc*? A detailed examination of Parsism will show the marked likeness between the two religions in respect of eschatology and spirit-lore. Is this coincidence, or has one religion affected the other? If the latter, which is the debtor, or is the obligation mutual? Finally, if foreign influence on Judaism is to be postulated, have the claims of Babylon or Hellas a prior right to be heard? The last question is rather beyond our present range; but we may at least plead that Parsism is incomparably nearer to the faith of Israel than any other religion can pretend to be, and that its influence is antecedently more likely to have been felt. The case for the independent development of Judaism may be seen in the articles on ESCHATOLOGY, ANGEL, and DEMON. But weighty authorities bespeak at least respectful hearing for the theory that the development of Jewish doctrine was stimulated by the knowledge of a creed which contained full-grown dogma that within Judaism was only in germ.[*] It is natural to assume that gratitude to the Persians as their deliverers, to whom the Jews owed the protection which made the birth of the Jewish Church possible, may have predisposed them in favour of religious ideas wherein thinkers could recognize what was latent in their own faith.

7. In *Eschatology* one ground of hesitation to accept a measure of Parsi influence has been the doubt whether the Resurrection is a truly ancient doctrine in Parsism.[†] The doubt is entirely groundless: the mere fact that Darmesteter himself, the great champion of a late date for the Avesta, acknowledges the Resurrection as a doctrine of Achæmenian antiquity, might silence questioning. The important differences between Parsi eschatology and the various systems which struggled for recognition among the Jews during the last centuries B.C. are drawn out by Charles, *Eschat.* p. 135 f. These divergences are fatal to any theory of *borrowing*, but they do not affect the assertion that the Jewish belief 'can hardly have developed without Persian stimulus' (Cheyne). It is generally conceded that OT passages speaking of an individual resurrection do not appear until a period when Persian stimulus is historically possible, when the knowledge that the Persians held this belief could encourage thoughtful Jews to develop their own doctrine in a thoroughly Jewish form. In this case the foreign influence would show itself by the absorption of details, minor doctrines or illustrations of doctrine. Now these are forthcoming, if not beyond dispute in individual cases, yet to an extent making coincidence improbable. Among these are the following.[‡] Is 24²¹ᶠ· is allowed by Charles, a hostile witness (*Eschat.* pp. 116 n., 159), to show probable traces of Parsism: the imprisonment of evil powers before their final punishment may be compared with Bund. 3²⁶ (*SBE* v. 19), which seems to represent an Avestan picture of war in heaven, followed by the binding of the fiend, as in the Apocalypse. In Is 65¹⁷ 66²² a new heaven and earth, following the final judgment and destruction of evil, is parallel with the *frashō-kereti*, 'renewing,' which in Parsism follows the 'ordeal of molten metal' (§ 1). This last, the *ayō-khshusta*, somewhat resembles the figure of Mal 3² 4¹. The four periods in Daniel have a very close parallel in the Pahlavi *Bahman Yasht* (*SBE* v. 193); but in this very late work it seems more reasonable to assume indebtedness to the Bible, as on p. 197 there is an apparent imitation of Lk 16¹⁹ᶠᶠ·, and on p. 203 of Mic 7⁶.[§] A characteristic of Parsism from the first is, however, recognizable in the new manner of looking upon general human history, and in the reckoning of millennia, which became prominent in apocalyptic. Parsi phraseology has been found (Cheyne, *OP* 440) in Is 26¹⁹, where the 'dew of lights' is compared with 'the illimitable, self-created lights' of 'the Best

---

[*] See Gottheil, 'References to Zoroaster' in the *Drisler Classical Studies*, pp. 24–51.

[†] *e.g.* in Hdt. i. 107.

[*] See Kuenen, *Rel. of Isr.* iii. 32 ff.; Grätz, *Hist. of Jews*, i. 441 ff.; Ewald, *OT and NT Theol.* pp. 72–78; Nöldeke in Geiger's *Zeitschr.* x. 233 ff.; Renan, *Hist. Isr.* iv. 156; King, *The Gnostics*², p. 120; Bousset, *ThLZ* xxiv. 513; and esp. Cheyne, *JRL* 257 ff., *Nineteenth Cent.* for Dec. 1891, etc.

[†] So, among others, Schultz, *OT Theol.* i. 330; Schwally, *Leben n. d. Tode*, § 38. The latter observes that only two Avestan passages are quoted for the doctrine. He ignores the witness of Theopompus. Jackson (*JAOS* xv., lix.) adds *Ys* 30⁷, a Gathic text.

[‡] The word *paradise* is not included among these, because it has developed its theological meaning entirely on Jewish soil. The Avestan *pairidaēza*, equated by Spiegel, is a ἅπ. λεγ., equivalent in meaning to its congener περίτειχος.

[§] P. 211 (§ 54) has a less decided resemblance to Rev 12¹².

World of the blest, shining, all illuminated' (*Vd* 19^{36}); but this does not illustrate the *dew*, for which Schwally rightly denies comparison with the *Haoma.*[*] A more hopeful parallel may be seen when we note the Parsi view of the Dawn as a daily parable of the Resurrection — an idea witnessed in Vedic India by the phrase making the dawn the 'banner of immortality' (*Rgveda*, iii. 61. 3): for Parsism see Darmesteter, *Ormazd et Ahriman*, p. 239. There seems no adequate reason to deny the possibility of this conception in Psalms of the Persian period; and in Ps 49^{14} 17^{15} its presence is highly probable. The LXX, as Cheyne observes, shows the doctrine of the Resurrection unmistakably, as in Is 26^{19}, Job 19^{26}, Ps 1^5 65 (title). Passing on to the Apocrypha, *Enoch* shows some decidedly Parsi traits: note the transformed heaven and earth ($45^{4.\,5}$), and the mountain of God's throne set in the *south* (18), compared with *Secrets of Enoch* 10, where a hell is placed in the *north*,—this connotation of north and south is exceedingly common in Parsi books. The Slavonic *Enoch* is notable as an early witness for the idea of seven heavens (see HEAVEN), which appears in late Parsi books,[†] but not in the Avesta, where there are four. In the Apocalypse, which seems to have assimilated not a little Parsism, presumably through earlier Jewish apocalyptic, we have the millennium, the binding and subsequent destruction of the 'old serpent' (see § 4 (6)), the assault of Satan on heaven and his casting down to earth (cf. *SBE* v. 19), the blasting of a third part of the sky (*ib.* 164 and 17), all of which can be more or less illustrated from Parsi sources: closer still are the parallels which may be seen in some late Parsi writings described by West, *ib.* lviii f. It is not till the Talmudic period that we get direct imitations without that thorough assimilation which makes all the comparisons hitherto noted individually disputable: for Talmudic-Parsic eschatology see Kohut in *ZDMG* xxi. 552-591. One interesting example may be quoted, as it has been used to illustrate Jn 11,—the adoption by the Rabbis of the Avestan doctrine that the departing soul hovers three days near the corpse and takes its flight on the fourth.[‡]

8. In *Angelology* the influence of Parsism was also confined to subsidiary points, but is more marked. A tradition is preserved in the Jerusalem Talmud (*Rosh-hashana*, p. 56) that 'the names of the angels came up with them from Babylon,' which may be taken as meaning 'from the Exile' in general. This coincides with the fact that the practice of naming angels, and placing them in an ordered hierarchy, does not appear before the Return. Except, perhaps, in the case of a few Talmudic angels,[§] no parallels are to be expected between Hebraic names and Persian originals. As before, we are at most to postulate Persian stimulus behind the remarkable contrast between the impersonal angels of early Jahvism and the individualized and ordered celestial beings of Daniel, Zechariah, and the NT—still more of the Apocrypha.[‖] The 'seven spirits' of Rev 1^4 8^2 En $90^{21\text{f.}}$[¶] (? cf. Zec 3^9 4^2 and the 'watchers' of Dn 4^{17}) may be linked with the Amshaspands by their appearing first in Tobit (12^{15}): the sacred number would recommend the idea, and the Jews probably met with it in a form they would approve, with Sraosha (Raphael's prototype in Tobit) making up the seven, instead of the Deity himself (see § 4 (7)). There is exceedingly good reason for regarding as Parsic the national angels ('princes') of Dn $10^{13.\,20}$ 12^1, the decisive argument being that *Israel* has an angel other than J″ (contrast Sir 17^{17}). This makes a strong case for recognizing here the *fravashi*—a doctrine the more likely to be assimilated in that it had a (less developed) analogue in Babylonian religion. In the Apocalypse the conception comes out in the 'angels' of the churches. The *fravashi* of a nation or community is a conception found in three Avestan passages: see Mills' version of *Ys* 17^{18} (*SBE* xxxi. 259). The two NT allusions (Mt 18^{10}, Ac 12^{15}) confirm the doctrine of *fravashis* for individuals; but that the doctrine, whatever its origin, is completely assimilated may be seen from the apparent fact that the nation has its *fravashi* long before the individual. The latter may indeed have been developed out of the former, just as in the doctrine of the Resurrection. In Parsism, of course, the individual came first. The *yazatas* are fairly paralleled by genii in Enoch 61^{10} 69^{22}, and in the Apocalypse by angels who watch over waters (16^5, cf. Anâhita), fire (14^{18}, Parsi Âtare), sun (19^{17}, Hvare), wind (7^1, Vâta). In all these parallels, however, we find the Parsi suggestion, if such there be, thoroughly assimilated. The *fravashi* is no longer a being necessarily good, but becomes a complete spiritual counterpart of the nation (Daniel) or the church (Apocalypse), and capable therefore of declension and punishment.[*] Similarly, the 'angels' of the little ones are nearest the throne (Mt 18^{10}), because representing those who have not learned to sin. The study of St. Paul's attitude to these doctrines is instructive in more ways than one.[†] He accepts an elaborate ranking of spirits. The air, as in Parsism, is made the arena of strife between good and evil angels:[‡] the spirit world is a reflex of the earthly in the inextricable mixture of contending powers. But he accepts these beliefs only as enhancing the supremacy of Christ: cf. He 1^4 2^5, Rev 22^9. Like Zoroaster, centuries earlier, he found his contemporaries in danger of a virtual polytheism (cf. Col 2^{18}), and set them free by magnifying the one Divine Being whose transcendence made worship of mere angels impossible. In doing this, Zoroaster simply tried to ignore the deities of the faith he reformed, with the result that after his death they came back like a flood, losing little in position by their formal subordination, as angels, to Ahura Mazda. St. Paul was able to accept fearlessly the angelology he found, while greatly lessening its importance, and achieving a permanent success in raising Christ to an unapproachable height above the spirit world.

9. Much of what has been said can be repeated for *Demonology*. It would be absurd to think of Satan and his angels as borrowed from Angra Mainyu and the *daēvas*. The Semites had demons enough of their own, and the Satan doctrine in Parsism and in Judaism developed in very different ways. We may still believe that the ranking of demons and the elevation of one spirit to their head may have been stimulated by Parsism. There are native forces which largely account for the difference between earlier and later Jahvism in this respect; but when we find the Jews, after historical contact with Persians, advancing to a position

---

[*] The Indian *Soma*—the juice of a sacred plant, endowed in Veda and Avesta with miraculous qualities.

[†] Kohut, *N.Y. Independent*, Jan. 11, 1894. For other Parsic traits in this *Enoch* see Charles's ed. p. 74.

[‡] The doctrine was probably taken from Parsism, but it is found elsewhere: Dr. J. G. Frazer quotes it from modern Greece and from Calabria.

[§] Kohut (*Angelol.* pp. 43-45) has one or two plausible equations.

[‖] For Philo, see Siegfried, *Philo*, p. 141.

[¶] Charles notes here that the 'seven first white ones' come from the Amshaspands.

[*] Cf. Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*^{2} p. 170 f.; also Söderblom in *Rev. Hist. Rel.* xl. 266 ff.: on the whole subject see the writer's paper, 'It is his Angel,' in *JTS*, 1902.

[†] See Beyschlag, *NT Theol.* ii. 100 ff. Mazdeism had probably mixed with indigenous cults in Cilicia (see *Rev. Hist. Rel.* xxxvi. 261), so that St. Paul may have been acquainted with it in youth.

[‡] Against this view of Eph 2^2 see Findlay (in *Expos. Bible*), p. 103. He observes that the Rabbis regarded the atmosphere as Satan's abode—'a notion foreign to Scripture.' They, at any rate, may well have got the notion from Parsism.

more and more like theirs, it is hard to suppose the movement entirely independent. Stave well shows that the teaching of the Prophets, especially Deutero-Isaiah, tended to an absolute denial of existence to heathen deities; yet as early as 2 Ch 28^{23} the gods of Damascus are real, and before long they and other foreign gods are firmly established as demons. The striking contrast between this development and that towards which the Prophets led is explained satisfactorily by the *daēvas* of Parsism, who were to some extent themselves the deities of hostile tribes. The earlier history of Jewish and Parsi demonology may differ widely; but the doctrine of the NT might be broadly enunciated in terms which would accurately describe Zoroaster's own teaching, while that of the Talmud has much in common with accretions found in the Vendidad and the Pahlavi patristics. In both NT and Gathas, Evil is a lying and murderous spirit, which in the beginning chose evil thoughts, words, and deeds, and which has ever since the Fall[*] tempted mankind, with the aid of fiends who afflict the bodies and souls of men. In both, men are called to join in the strife which shall end with the destruction of Evil in hell. Could we believe that a pure Gathic religion was ever preached within the Jews' hearing, the historical connexion of the two systems would be almost indisputable. But the very corruptions of later Parsism must have helped to recommend it to the popular Jewish mind, which was equally in bondage to the fear of evil spirits and the foolish ritual that pretended to control them. It is noteworthy that Judaism deliberately forsook suggestions from its earlier writings—the Serpent of Gn 3 and Azazel in Lv 16—when it formed a new demonology with 'the Satan' as prince of evil. We naturally seek a foreign body whose attraction has drawn it from its proper course. Without pursuing this subject in detail, we may note in conclusion that in the Apocalypse, where parallels with Parsism (however explained) are especially numerous, there is a deep-seated connexion of thought in the characteristic balancing of the heavenly and the infernal—*e.g.* the devil, the beast, and the false prophet as the 'anti-trinity of hell' (see Milligan, *Baird Lecture*, p. 110 ff.). It seems reasonable to suppose that the author would readily make use of imagery from a system so subtly resembling his own. There is significance then in the identification of the Serpent of Gn 3 with Satan (12^9), whose binding and subsequent destruction is narrated in striking accordance with the Parsi story of Azhi Dahāka (above, § 4 (6)). We may perhaps fairly add that Azhi Dahāka is especially connected with Babylon,[†] a coincidence which might be claimed as no mere accident—the less so as in the Pahlavi *Bahman Yasht* (*SBE* v. 234) we find the serpent Azhi, in his brief release before his final destruction, swallowing 'one-third of mankind, cattle, sheep, and other creatures of Auharmazd.' The obvious parallels in the Apocalypse are only discounted by the impossibility of proving that the Pahlavi translator is here faithful to his original Avestan text, now lost. (See above, § 7).

10. The question of Parsi influences upon the ESSENES is raised by Lightfoot's dissertation (in Comm. on *Col.* pp. 387–389). He accepts (like Hilgenfeld) links with Parsism in (1) dualism, (2) sun-worship, (3) angelolatry, (4) magic, (5) striving after purity. Other points might be plausibly added, such as their white garments, the value set on truth, their devotion to agriculture, etc. (Their unbloody offerings must not be counted here, for Mazdeism has always had a sacrifice of flesh, as well as the libation and the Haoma offering). It must be allowed that there is little really distinctive here, except the sun-worship—the one point in which Cheyne (who in other respects endorses Lightfoot's view) thinks Josephus inaccurate.[*] Moreover, there was Magian sun-worship which was not Zoroastrian, as in Ezk $8^{16f.}$ (see § 3, above). Essene dualism seems to owe nothing to that of the Vendidad, which has no philosophical theory of the inherent evil of matter and no trace of asceticism. The most conspicuous features in the picture Josephus draws are alien from the spirit of Parsism. In their psychology and eschatology one or two surface parallels are neutralized by deep-seated divergences. Thus in Mazdeism the pre-existent souls (*fravashis*) came to earth voluntarily, to join in the warfare against evil, not *ἴυγγί τινι φυσικῇ κατασπώμεναι*. And in denying the Resurrection in favour of the immortality of the soul, the Essenes betray affinity with Hellenistic Judaism (especially the Book of Wisdom): note that Grätz and Montet trace the latter doctrine to Neoplatonism, recognizing Parsi influence only in the former. Unless Josephus (*Wars*, II. viii. 11) is entirely drawing on imagination, we must admit, with Söderblom, that Greek influence is demonstrable in their paradise beyond the sea, while the solitary Parsi feature, the hell *ζοφώδης καὶ χειμέριος*, is not sufficient to support an argument.

11. Sundry miscellaneous comparisons may be mentioned, and among them those given by Darmesteter in his attempt to prove that Parsism borrowed from Judaism. (1) Philo's *Λόγος* (mostly Neoplatonic) originates Vohu Manah ('the Good Mind'). (2) The enactments of Pentateuchal and Avestan law are regularly introduced with the formula, '(God) saith to (the lawgiver).' (3) Ahura creates the world in six periods—heaven, water, earth, plants, animals, man.[†] (4) Mankind in the Avesta descends from one couple, and the name *Mashya* signifies 'man,'[‡] like אָדָם. (5) Sin begins with the first man. (6) Ahura bids king Yima collect in a subterranean palace the finest types of the human race, animals, and vegetables. When three destructive winters have depopulated the earth, this 'Var' shall open and re-people it with a higher race.[§] (7) Yima's successor has three sons, between whom the world is parted as among the sons of Noah. (8) Zarathushtra holds converse with Ahura on a mountain before promulgating the Law. (9) Zarathushtra had three precursors in his religion, as Moses had the three patriarchs. (10) The Avesta, like the OT, is divided into Law, Prophecy, and Miscellaneous Literature. Darmesteter tries to show that these parallels must be interpreted by Parsi borrowing. As he has convinced no one, the point need not be argued. It is enough to say that (1) the really Avestan elements in these comparisons are demonstrably far too old to have been borrowed; (2) some features may come from Babylonian or even Accadian antiquity, influencing Hebrew and Parsi alike; (3) most of the parallels are obviously fortuitous, proving nothing even when presented apart from a setting which greatly modifies the resemblance. That some of the later parts of the Avesta (and, *a fortiori*, Pahlavi writings) may have been influenced by Judaism is likely enough. Thus Horn[‖] thinks that the Fall is late in Parsism and due to the Hebrew, also that the virgin-birth of Saoshyant[¶] owes something to Is 7^{14}. Sundry biblical and Talmudic

---

[*] If we may read Yima's fall in *Ys* 32^8: Tiele denies.

[†] See *Yt* 5^{29}; and Darmesteter's note (*Le ZA* ii. 375).

[*] *Expos. Times*, ii. 206.

[†] Cf. Cheyne, *OP* 283.

[‡] Strictly *mortalis*.

[§] See Geldner's tr. of *Vd* $2^{21ff.}$ in Usener, *Sintflutsagen*, p. 208 ff.; Cheyne (*Encyc. Bibl. s.v.* 'Deluge') remarks that it seems influenced by the Hebrew.

[‖] 'Med. u. Pers.' p. 330 (in Hellwald, *Kulturgesch.* pt. 5).

[¶] This is a good example of a parallel made plausible by selective description: the Parsi story is a most extravagant marvel, to be classed with the miraculous births described in Hartland's *Legend of Perseus*, i. 133 ff.

parallels may be seen in Kohut, *JQR* ii. 223 ff. and iii. 231 ff. The period of the Babylonian Talmud seems to have brought a closer contact with Parsism. But these later contacts lie outside our range, as also does the Parsi heresy of Mani—if such it really be.*

12. The Book of *Esther* might reasonably be expected to show traces of Persian religion. But though strong Persian influence is betrayed by the loan-words (see Scheftelowitz, *Arisches im AT*), we cannot with certainty fix on anything of value for the questions we are discussing here. The Persian origin of the Feast of PURIM, which has received new importance from the theory of J. G. Frazer (*Golden Bough*^{2}, iii. 150–198), is examined elsewhere. An attempt has lately been made by H. Winckler † to find the names of the Amshaspands Vohumanah and Ameretāt in those of Haman and Hammedatha. It appears probable that these two archangels' names underlie the *Ὠμανοῦ καὶ Ἀναδάτου (? Ἀμαρδάτου), Περσικῶν δαιμόνων* of Strabo (p. 512): it is clear that the names only have been borrowed in this Pontic appropriation, so that we need not consider the character of the Avestan originals. If the book really starts from an old story celebrating the victory of native Babylonian gods, Marduk and Ishtar, over the foreign divinities answering to 'Vashti' and 'Haman,' we should have to treat it as a composition essentially parallel with *Tobit*, as explained in § 4, above, that is, as a tale whose original significance was unknown to or ignored by a Jewish adapter writing with purposes of his own. In that case Jensen's identification of Haman and Vashti as *Elamite* deities is clearly preferable to Winckler's, which demands that *Persian* deities should suffer humiliation. But the whole theory will have to reckon with the explanation of all these names from Persian alone, as set forth in the new work of Scheftelowitz named above.

13. Two further comparisons may be added from the various suggestions of Prof. Cheyne. The later Jewish practice of prayer at dawn was, he thinks, prompted by Parsi usage—a point which would be hard to prove. He draws an interesting parallel between the 'Wisdom' of OT sapiential books and the *āsna khratu*, 'heavenly wisdom (?),' of the Avesta. But even if this translation were safe, the conception is almost isolated in the Avesta, and it would be better to compare the Amshaspand Vohumanah, a personification strikingly resembling the Wisdom with whom J″ created the world. His rising up to welcome the soul of the good man as it enters *Garō demāna* is in agreement with Wisdom's *φιλανθρωπία*. The sex of the impersonation answers to another Amshaspand, Armaiti, the 'daughter of Ahura.' It is obviously impossible to assert, or to deny, that the one conception springs out of the other, or owes something to it, so long as the dates of the several literatures permit association.

14. To the foregoing, more or less plausible, contacts may be added one which has been rather too ingeniously pleaded by a scholar of great learning, but without meeting with much acceptance. In *ZDMG* xxx. 716 ff. Rabbi A. Kohut tried to prove an 'anti-Parsic bias' in Deutero-Isaiah. It will be enough in general to refer to the criticism by de Harlez in *Rev. d. questions historiques*, April 1877. One passage, however, cannot be so summarily set aside. In Is 45^7 commentators since Saadya have seen a polemic against Persian dualism, a view from which the most recent writers have begun to recoil. If we are to recognize an allusion to some foreign dualistic ideas, it is more probably Magian doctrine than anything we could suppose held by Cyrus. It happens that in the Gathas (*Ys* 44^5) we find Ahura addressed as 'the artificer of light and darkness, sleep and waking, dawn, noon, and night.' A yet more important parallel is the imprecation in Darius' great inscription (*Beh.* 4^{78-80}), 'may Auramazda slay thee . . . and whatever thou shalt do, may Auramazda destroy that for thee.' It is clear therefore that even in the reign of Darius, Persian religion could have used the language of Is 45^7, merely substituting Auramazda's name for that of J″. The idea, therefore, of a veiled polemic against Cyrus' religion must be abandoned.

15. The student will have realized from the foregoing paragraphs that it is no easy task to sum up in the case before us, and that a verdict of 'not proven' is about as much as we can expect in the present state of our knowledge. The difficulty is one which confronts us everywhere in the study of ancient religions in Western Asia, in which certain ideas seem to float about with a freedom that vetoes almost any attempt to fix their parentage. The general independence of Israel's religious development has certainly come out more clearly from the investigation. Of the Hebraists hardly any will allow more than a trifling weight to Persian influence, and even Prof. Cheyne speaks in his latest utterances with more hesitation than he did.* On the Iranian side an able and exhaustive examination has been made in the new work on eschatology by Söderblom (named below), whose results are almost entirely unfavourable to the doctrine of Persian elements in Judaism. He notes how unlike anything in Judaism is the Avestan hell, a place of cold and stench and poison, not of fire — which was, of course, too sacred an element to be applied thus: on the other hand, the underground Hades, divided into two parts, for pious souls and sinners, is essentially Greek. He would allow no genuine contacts of Judaism and Parsism until a late epoch. Thus he compares with 1 Th 4^{15} the passage in *Yt* 19, where through the work of Saoshyant the world is renewed, the dead arise, and the living are endowed with immortality (p. 224). If this is supposed to be more than an accidental parallel, we may place it with the Pauline passages in § 8, above. Söderblom remarks on the uniqueness of the conception in 2 P $3^{5ff.}$, of the earth brought out of water and reserved for fire: this aspect of the future is essentially an Indo-Germanic idea, being found in India, Iran, Greece, Gaul, and Iceland (p. 204). In sharp contrast to this adaptation of a nature myth he sets the purely poetical and spiritual conception of Deutero-Isaiah as to the 'new heaven and new earth' (p. 285). Looking back upon the narrow range of the parallels noted in § 7, we shall probably do well to allow Persian influence in Eschatology only some weight in stimulating what was none the less a native growth in Judaism. It may, however, have prompted the sudden change from a Resurrection of the Just (with some conspicuous sinners) to a Universal Resurrection: so Bousset, with a half consent from Söderblom (p. 317). The presence of Persian ideas in the Apocalypse can hardly be denied; and they can be reasonably explained from the adoption of Zoroastrian imagery in earlier apocalyptic.† In Angelology and Demonology we

---

* So Darmesteter and Jackson: Söderblom denies (*Rev. Hist. Rel.* xl. 427 ff.). See Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, iii. 330.

† In his *Altoriental. Forsch.*, 3rd series, I. i. (1901). On Omanos see Jensen, *Hittiter u. Armenier*, p. 181; on Hammedatha, *ib.* p. 204 n.

* Cf. his language in *Kohut Studies* (1896), and various notes in the *Enc. Bibl.*

† It is curious that Mazdeism so entirely failed to penetrate Western Asia Minor (Cumont, *Myst. de Mithra*, 273). Otherwise we should have naturally thought of Ephesus as a place where such ideas would be in the air.

seem justified in regarding the foreign influence as present in the elaborate ordering and ranking of spirits. In the former we have a very probable Zoroastrian feature in the 'representative angels'; while in the latter we may assign to the same cause the breaches of continuity (1) in the abandonment of earlier ideas, like Azazel and the Serpent, in favour of the Satan; (2) in the changed view of the gods of the nations, who were at first treated as real gods, then became 'nothings,' and finally developed into demons. It is an interesting result of these concessions, if allowed, that the New Testament is very much more concerned with them than the Old.

LITERATURE.—The fullest discussion will be found in Stave, *Über den Einfluss des Parsismus auf das Judentum* (1898: see summary of it in *Crit. Rev.* July 1900, p. 323 ff., and an important review in *Rev. Hist. Rel.* xl. 266 f., by Söderblom); Cheyne, *OP* 394-452, *Expos. Times*, ii. 202, 224, 248 ff., *Enc. Bibl. s.v.* 'Angel,' and in *Kohut Studies* (1896). The relations between Parsism and Rabbinic Judaism were examined by Schorr in his Hebrew periodical *He-Ḥaluz*, vii and viii (1865) [not seen], who was closely followed by Kohut, *Jüd. Angelol. u. Dämonol.* (1866). The question is well discussed from the Biblical standpoint by M. Nicolas, *Des Doctrines Religieuses des Juifs* (1860). See also Kohut in *ZDMG* xxi. 552 ff., xxv. 59 ff.; Geiger in his *Jüd. Zeitschr.* iv. 72 ff., x. 113 ff.; Schwally, *Leben nach d. Tode*, p. 149 ff.; Moulton in *Thinker*, i. 401 ff., ii. 308, 490 ff., *Expos. Times*, ix. 352 ff., *Crit. Rev.* vi. 8-14, x. 99-106; Söderblom, 'La Vie Future d'après le Mazdéisme' (*Ann. du Musée Guimet*, 1901), esp. pp. 301-321. Too late for use came E. Böklen's *Die Verwandtschaft der jüd.-chr. mit der pars. Eschatologie* (1902), a very full, if somewhat uncritical, collection of parallels.

J. H. MOULTON.

ZOROBABEL.—See ZERUBBABEL.

ZORZELLEUS (B Φαηζελδαῖος, A Ζορζέλλεος, AV *Berzelus*), 1 Es 5^{38}. See BARZILLAI.—A daughter of his, named Augia, is mentioned as married to Addus, the ancestor of a priestly family, who could not trace their genealogy at the return under Zerubbabel. The same change of the initial letter occurs in the LXX of Ezr 2^{61} (B Ζαρβελθεί, A Ζερβελλαί; but in the same verse B Βερζελλαεί, A -ί).

ZUAR (צוּעָר).—Father of Nethanel the head of the tribe of Simeon, Nu 1^8 2^5 $7^{18.23}$ 10^{15} (all Σωγάρ).

ZUPH (צוּף).—**1.** An ancestor of Elkanah and Samuel, 1 S 1^1 (B ἐν Νασείβ [reading בנצוף for בן־צוף], A Σούπ, Luc. Σώφ), 1 Ch $6^{35\,(20)}$ (*Ḳĕrê*; the *Ḳĕthîbh* has צִיף **Ziph**; BA Σούφ, Luc. Σουφί), called in v.$^{26\,(11)}$ **Zophai**. **2.** The land of Ẓuph (אֶרֶץ צוּף; B ἡ Σείφ, A ἡ γῆ Σείφ, Luc. ἡ γῆ Σιφά), 1 S 9^5, probably derived its name from having been originally settled by the family of Ẓuph (Driver, *Text of Sam.* 2). The gentilic name **Zuphite** (צוּפִי) probably underlies the name *Ramathaim-ẓophim* of 1 S 1^1 (see art. RAMAH, p. 198^a). Neither the *Sôba* of Robinson (*BRP*^{2} ii. 18 ff.) nor any other known site can be said to contain any certain trace of the name Ẓuph.

ZUR (צוּר 'rock').—**1.** A Midianite prince slain by the Israelites (Nu 31^8). His daughter COZBI was killed, along with the Simeonite ZIMRI, by Phinehas (25^{15}). In Jos 13^{21} he is described as one of the (allied or vassal) princes of Siḥon (נְסִיכֵי סִיחוֹן); but this note is due to a harmonizing redactor (see Dillm. *ad loc.*). **2.** The name of a Gibeonite family settled at Jerusalem, 1 Ch 8^{30} (B and Luc. Σούρ, A Ἰσούρ [*i.e.* וְצוּר 'and Zur']), 9^{36} (BA Ἰσείρ [*i.e.* וצור], Luc. Σούρ).

ZURIEL (צוּרִיאֵל 'my rock is El').—A Merarite chief, Nu 3^{35} (Σουριήλ). On the precarious inferences which have been drawn by Hommel from the composition and meaning of this and the names *Ẓurishaddai*, *Pedahẓur*, and *Eliẓur*, see art. ROCK, p. 290.

ZURISHADDAI (צוּרִישַׁדָּי 'my rock is Shaddai *or* the Almighty').—Father of Shelumiel the chief of the tribe of Simeon, Nu 1^6 (B Σουρεισαδαί, AF Σουρισαδαί) 2^{12} BA Σουρισαδαί, F Σουρισαδαεί) $7^{36.41}$ 10^{19} (LXX in all three Σουρισαδαί). On the name see reference under ZURIEL.

ZUZIM (הַזּוּזִים; LXX ἔθνη ἰσχυρά,—confusing with הָעַזִּים or עִזּוּזִים; Symm. Ζοιζομμειν; Pesh. עשׁינא (pl.) 'the mighty'; Vulg. *Zuzim*).—In Gn 14^5 one of the prehistoric peoples whom Chedorla'omer is said to have smitten on his expedition against the kings of the Pentapolis, described as resident in 'Hām' (which see), and mentioned between the 'Rephaim' of ASHTEROTH-KARNAIM (in Bashan) and the 'Emim' (Dt $2^{10f.}$) of the region occupied afterwards by Moab. The locality indicated corresponds to what was afterwards the territory of the Ammonites, which is said in Dt 2^{20} to have been occupied originally by the ZAMZUMMIM; and hence it has often been supposed that the two names were in some way or another different designations of the same people,—a scribal error having found its way into one of the two passages, or the old prehistoric name having become modified in form in the course of oral transmission. In Babylonian *m* and *w* are represented by the same characters; and hence Sayce (*HCM* 160 f.; *Expos. Times*, viii. 463) very ingeniously explained the difference by the conjecture that in Dt 2^{20} the name appears as it was actually pronounced,—or at least nearly so (*Zuzim* for *ZaWZĕWim*), while in Gn 14^5 it appears as it was written by a scribe who was translating from a Bab. document (*ZaMZĕMim*), and did not know what the true pronunciation was. However, before this theory can be accepted, better proof is needed than has hitherto been produced that Gn 14 was really translated from a Bab. original; the strongly Hebraic style and colouring of the chapter do not favour the supposition. Whether the name is in any way connected with that of *Ziza*, a place 10 m. S.E. of Ḥeshbon, and 20 m. S. of Rabbath-ammon, a military station in Roman times, mentioned also in the Middle Ages (see Dillm.), and still possessing remains of massive forts and other indications of its former importance (Tristram, *Moab*, 182-190), must be left an open question.

THE END OF VOL. IV.

PRINTED BY MORRISON AND GIBB, LIMITED, EDINBURGH.

PALESTINE

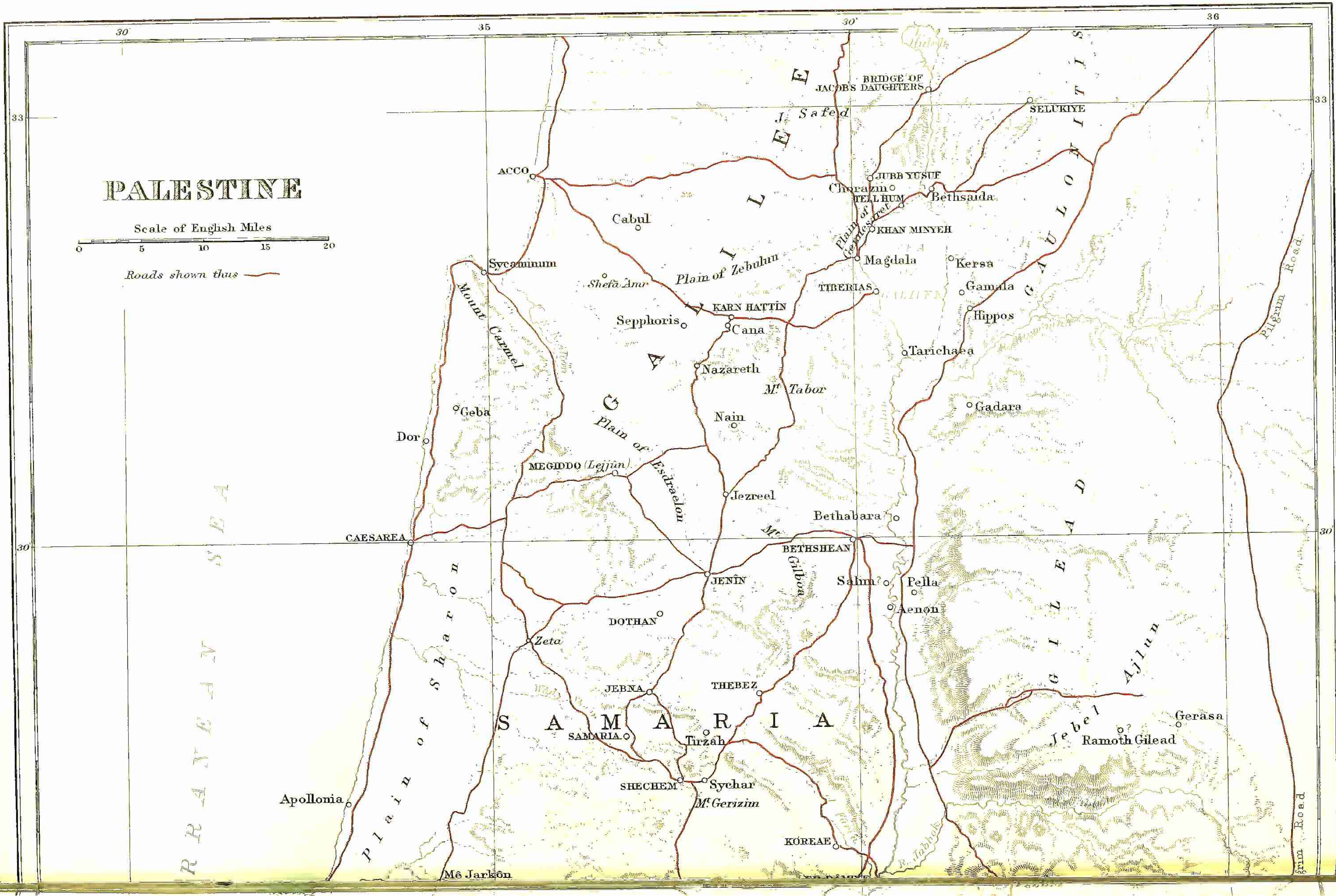
Scale of English Miles
0
5
10
15
20
Roads shown thus
30'
35
30'
36
33
30'
GALILEE
J. Safed
BRIDGE OF JACOB'S DAUGHTERS
SELUKIYE
GAULONITIS
ACCO
Cabul
JUBB YUSUF
Chorazin
TELL HUM
Bethsaida
Plain of Gennesaret
KHAN MINYEH
Magdala
Kersa
Gamala
Hippos
TIBERIAS
Sycaminum
Shefa Amr
Plain of Zebulun
KARN HATTIN
Cana
Sepphoris
Nazareth
Mt. Tabor
Tarichaea
Mount Carmel
Geba
Dor
Nain
Gadara
Plain of Esdraelon
MEGIDDO (Lejjûn)
Jezreel
Bethabara
Mt. Gilboa
BETHSHEAN
CAESAREA
JENIN
Salim?
Pella
Aenon
GILEAD
DOTHAN
Zeta
Plain of Sharon
JEBNA
THEBEZ
SAMARIA
Tirzah
Jebel Ajlun
Gerasa
Ramoth Gilead?
SHECHEM
Sychar
Mt. Gerizim
Apollonia
KOREAE
R. Jabbok
Mê Jarkôn
Pilgrim Road
R. Jordan
MEDITERRANEAN SEA

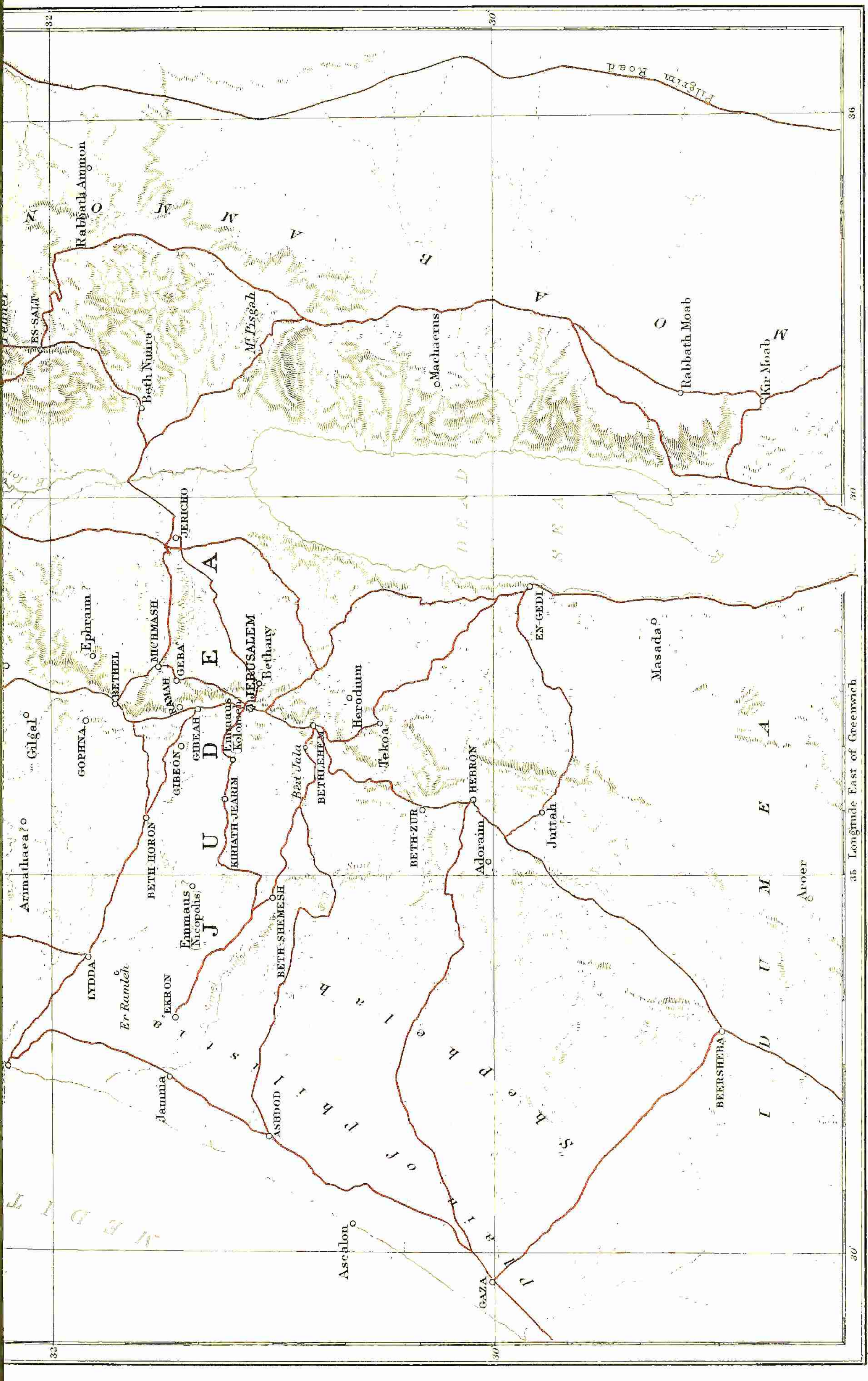
Pilgrim Road
Rabbath Ammon
AMMON
ES-SALT
Beth Nimra
Mt Pisgah
Machaerus
MOAB
Rabbath Moab
Kir Moab
DEAD SEA
JERICHO
Ephraim ?
Gilgal
GOPHNA
BETHEL
MICHMASH
GEBA
RAMAH
GIBEAH
GIBEON
JERUSALEM
Bethany
Emmaus (Kolonieh)
KIRIATH-JEARIM
JUDAEA
Arimathaea ?
BETH-HORON
Emmaus (Nicopolis) ?
LYDDA
Er Ramleh
EKRON
Jamnia
ASHDOD
BETH-SHEMESH
Sorek
Beit Jala
BETHLEHEM
Herodium
Tekoa
EN-GEDI
Masada
BETH-ZUR
HEBRON
Adoraim
Juttah
Aroer
IDUMAEA
BEERSHEBA
Plain of Philistia
Shephelah
Ascalon
GAZA
MEDIT
32
30'
35 Longitude East of Greenwich
36
30'

COPYRIGHT 1906 BY T & T CLARK

Engraved & Printed by W. & A. K. Johnston Limited, Edinburgh & London

A
Dictionary of the Bible

EXTRA VOLUME

CONTAINING ARTICLES, INDEXES, AND MAPS

PREFACE

THIS EXTRA VOLUME of the DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE contains thirty-seven Articles, six Indexes, and four Maps. A word will be sufficient on each of these parts of its Contents.

I. THE ARTICLES

Those who have kept in touch with the study of the Bible in recent years will understand why it has been found necessary to prepare an Extra Volume. Discoveries have been made which have an important bearing on the interpretation of both the Old Testament and the New. It is enough to name the three articles which stand first in the alphabetical list given below—AGRAPHA, APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS, and CODE OF ḪAMMURABI. A Dictionary of the Bible cannot ignore such discoveries. But they do not form part of the Contents of the Bible; nor do they deal directly with its Language or its Literature; so that they are not likely to be looked for in the alphabetical order of words in the Dictionary. The best way seemed to be to gather them into an Extra Volume.

Other articles will be found in this volume, for reasons which will be readily understood and appreciated. Some of them, like the article on the Sermon on the Mount, with which the volume opens, might have taken their place in the alphabetical order of the Dictionary. But they have not usually been so included, and it was felt that the Extra Volume would give more prominence to their special character and importance.

II. THE INDEXES

The Indexes have been prepared with great care. They are full, and yet it will be found that every item in them has been carefully selected and described.

The INDEX OF TEXTS contains all the passages of Scripture upon which there is any note of consequence in the Dictionary; and, again, the most important notes are distinguished by their authors' names. Further, it sometimes happens that a text is quoted in support or illustration of some argument: when such a quotation throws significant light upon the text itself, it is included in the Index.

The INDEX OF SUBJECTS contains the titles of all the articles in the Dictionary, including the Extra Volume. It also refers to a great many other topics which are dealt with in the course of the work. When the subject of an article comes up for treatment in other places, and a reference is made to these places, then the *first* reference in the Index is always to the article itself. Thus—ITHAMAR, ii. 519^a; i. 6^b; ii. 123^a; iv. 89^b—the second volume is mentioned before the first because in it falls the article under its own title; there is also some account of Ithamar in the article on Abiathar in vol. i. p. 6^b, as well as in the other places noted. When the article is of some length the name of the author is given. His name is not repeated under the same heading, so that references without a name attached are to be ascribed to the first author mentioned.

The *cross-references* in the Index of Subjects are always to other parts of the Index itself. Words which occur only in the Apocrypha are marked 'Ap.' or 'Apoc.': as Dabria (Ap.).

III. THE MAPS

The maps are intended to illustrate the articles on ROADS AND TRAVEL. These articles will be of great service to the student of either Testament, and the maps will add to the value of the articles. But they have been prepared so as to be complete maps of the countries they cover, the Roads which are marked on them being additional to the information which such maps usually contain. They have been prepared under the direct supervision of Professor Buhl (for the Old Testament) and Professor Ramsay (for the New), who have spared no pains to make them accurate and up to date.

And now the work on this Dictionary of the Bible is at an end. The Editor has been assisted by the same friends as before and with the same readiness, and he heartily thanks them all. He is also grateful for the way in which the four volumes already published have been received.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

I. General

Alex. = Alexandrian.
Apoc. = Apocalypse.
Apocr. = Apocrypha.
Aq. = Aquila.
Arab. = Arabic.
Aram. = Aramaic.
Assyr. = Assyrian.
Bab. = Babylonian.
c. = *circa*, about.
Can. = Canaanite.
cf. = compare.
ct. = contrast.
D = Deuteronomist.
E = Elohist.
edd. = editions or editors.
Egyp. = Egyptian.
Eng. = English.
Eth. = Ethiopic.
f. = and following verse or page: as Ac $10^{34f.}$
ff. = and following verses or pages: as Mt $11^{28ff.}$
Gr. = Greek.
H = Law of Holiness.
Heb. = Hebrew.
Hel. = Hellenistic.
Hex. = Hexateuch.
Isr. = Israelite.
J = Jahwist.
J″ = Jehovah.
Jerus. = Jerusalem.
Jos. = Josephus.
LXX = Septuagint.
MSS = Manuscripts.
MT = Massoretic Text.
n. = note.
NT = New Testament.
Onk. = Onkelos.
OT = Old Testament.
P = Priestly Narrative.
Pal. = Palestine, Palestinian.
Pent. = Pentateuch.
Pers. = Persian.
Phil. = Philistine.
Phœn. = Phœnician.
Pr. Bk. = Prayer Book.
R = Redactor.
Rom. = Roman.
Sam. = Samaritan.
Sem. = Semitic.
Sept. = Septuagint.
Sin. = Sinaitic.
Symm. = Symmachus.
Syr. = Syriac.
Talm. = Talmud.
Targ. = Targum.
Theod. = Theodotion.
TR = Textus Receptus.
tr. = translate or translation.
VSS = Versions.
Vulg. = Vulgate.
WH = Westcott and Hort's text.

II. Books of the Bible

Old Testament.

Gn = Genesis.
Ex = Exodus.
Lv = Leviticus.
Nu = Numbers.
Dt = Deuteronomy.
Jos = Joshua.
Jg = Judges.
Ru = Ruth.
1 S, 2 S = 1 and 2 Samuel.
1 K, 2 K = 1 and 2 Kings.
1 Ch, 2 Ch = 1 and 2 Chronicles.
Ezr = Ezra.
Neh = Nehemiah.
Est = Esther.
Job.
Ps = Psalms.
Pr = Proverbs.
Ec = Ecclesiastes.
Ca = Canticles.
Is = Isaiah.
Jer = Jeremiah.
La = Lamentations.
Ezk = Ezekiel.
Dn = Daniel.
Hos = Hosea.
Jl = Joel.
Am = Amos.
Ob = Obadiah.
Jon = Jonah.
Mic = Micah.
Nah = Nahum.
Hab = Habakkuk.
Zeph = Zephaniah.
Hag = Haggai.
Zec = Zechariah.
Mal = Malachi.

Apocrypha.

1 Es, 2 Es = 1 and 2 Esdras.
To = Tobit.
Jth = Judith.
Ad. Est = Additions to Esther.
Wis = Wisdom.
Sir = Sirach or Ecclesiasticus.
Bar = Baruch.
Three = Song of the Three Children.
Sus = Susanna.
Bel = Bel and the Dragon.
Pr. Man = Prayer of Manasses.
1 Mac, 2 Mac = 1 and 2 Maccabees.

New Testament.

Mt = Matthew.
Mk = Mark.
Lk = Luke.
Jn = John.
Ac = Acts.
Ro = Romans.
1 Co, 2 Co = 1 and 2 Corinthians.
Gal = Galatians.
Eph = Ephesians.
Ph = Philippians.
Col = Colossians.
1 Th, 2 Th = 1 and 2 Thessalonians.
1 Ti, 2 Ti = 1 and 2 Timothy.
Tit = Titus.
Philem = Philemon.
He = Hebrews.
Ja = James.
1 P, 2 P = 1 and 2 Peter.
1 Jn, 2 Jn, 3 Jn = 1, 2, and 3 John.
Jude.
Rev = Revelation.

III. English Versions

Wyc. = Wyclif's Bible (NT *c.* 1380, OT *c.* 1382, Purvey's Revision *c.* 1388).
Tind. = Tindale's NT 1526 and 1534, Pent. 1530.
Cov. = Coverdale's Bible 1535.
Matt. or Rog. = Matthew's (*i.e.* prob. Rogers') Bible 1537.
Cran. or Great = Cranmer's 'Great' Bible 1539.
Tav. = Taverner's Bible 1539.
Gen. = Geneva NT 1557, Bible 1560.
Bish. = Bishops' Bible 1568.
Tom. = Tomson's NT 1576.
Rhem. = Rhemish NT 1582.
Dou. = Douay OT 1609.
AV = Authorized Version 1611.
AVm = Authorized Version margin.
RV = Revised Version NT 1881, OT 1885.
RVm = Revised Version margin.
EV = Auth. and Rev. Versions.

IV. For the Literature

AHT = Ancient Hebrew Tradition.
AJSL = American Journal of Sem. Lang. and Literature.
AJTh = American Journal of Theology.
AT = Altes Testament.
BL = Bampton Lecture.
BM = British Museum.
BRP = Biblical Researches in Palestine.
CIG = Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum.
CIL = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
CIS = Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum.
COT = Cuneiform Inscriptions and the OT.
DB = Dictionary of the Bible.
EHH = Early History of the Hebrews.
GAP = Geographie des alten Palästina.
GGA = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
GGN = Nachrichten der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.
GJV = Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes.
GVI = Geschichte des Volkes Israel.
HCM = Higher Criticism and the Monuments.
HE = Historia Ecclesiastica.
HGHL = Historical Geog. of Holy Land.
HI = History of Israel.
HJP = History of the Jewish People.
HPM = History, Prophecy, and the Monuments.
HPN = Hebrew Proper Names.
IJG = Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte.
JBL = Journal of Biblical Literature.
JDTh = Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie.
JQR = Jewish Quarterly Review.
JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JRL = Jewish Religious Life after the Exile.
JThSt = Journal of Theological Studies.
KAT = Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Test.
KGF = Keilinschriften u. Geschichtsforschung.
KIB = Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek.
LCBl = Literarisches Centralblatt.
LOT = Introd. to the Literature of the Old Test.
NHWB = Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch.
NTZG = Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte.
ON = Otium Norvicense.
OP = Origin of the Psalter.
OTJC = The Old Test. in the Jewish Church.
PB = Polychrome Bible.
PEF = Palestine Exploration Fund.
PEFSt = Quarterly Statement of the same.
PSBA = Proceedings of Soc. of Bibl. Archæology.
PRE = Real-Encyclopädie für protest. Theologie und Kirche.
QPB = Queen's Printers' Bible.
RB = Revue Biblique.
REJ = Revue des Études Juives.
RP = Records of the Past.
RS = Religion of the Semites.
SBOT = Sacred Books of Old Test.
SK = Studien und Kritiken.
SP = Sinai and Palestine.
SWP = Memoirs of the Survey of W. Palestine.
ThL or *ThLZ* = Theol. Literaturzeitung.
ThT = Theol. Tijdschrift.
TS = Texts and Studies.
TSBA = Transactions of Soc. of Bibl. Archæology.
TU = Texte und Untersuchungen.
WAI = Western Asiatic Inscriptions.
WZKM = Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes.
ZA = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.
ZAW or *ZATW* = Zeitschrift für die Alttest. Wissenschaft.
ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
ZDPV = Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
ZKSF = Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung.
ZKW = Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft.
ZNTW = Zeitschrift für die Neutest. Wissenschaft.

A small superior number designates the particular edition of the work referred to: as *KAT*^{2}, *LOT*^{6}.

DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE

EXTRA VOLUME

SERMON ON THE MOUNT.—

- i. Origin and Transmission.
    - 1. Historicity of the Discourse.
    - 2. Circumstances of its Delivery.
    - 3. Transmission and Translation.
    - 4. Relative Authenticity of the two Accounts.
    - 5. Present State of the Text.
- ii. Interpretation.
    - 1. Popular, Gnomic, and Figurative Style.
    - 2. Effect of the Translation into Greek.
    - 3. Theme of the Discourse and its Development.
    - 4. The Chief Problems of Interpretation.
        - *a.* The Beatitudes.
        - *b.* The World Mission.
        - *c.* Relation to the Old Testament.
        - *d.* Inner Righteousness.
        - *e.* Unselfishness and Forgiveness.
        - *f.* Universal Love.
        - *g.* Religious Worship.
        - *h.* The Lord's Prayer.
        - *i.* Devotion to the Kingdom.
        - *j.* The Treatment of Others.
        - *k.* The Duty of Righteousness.
    - 5. The Relation of the Sermon on the Mount to the Teaching of Jesus as a whole.
- Literature.

The message of Jesus to men contained in the Sermon on the Mount can be essentially understood, and is valid and useful, apart from the historical, literary, and exegetical questions concerning it which are now receiving so much attention, and which tend to overshadow the real significance and power of His teaching. There are problems still unsolved regarding the origin and transmission of the discourse, problems also regarding the interpretation and application of some of its utterances; but the truth, the preaching, and the living of the Gospel have not to wait upon the results of such investigations. The words of Jesus in this Sermon present an ideal of human life, founded upon religious truth and ethical principles, which has been and is intuitively recognized as the highest standard of life yet conceived, or even as the ultimate standard to which mankind can and must attain. They need not so much to be explained by men as to be appreciated, accepted, and lived by them. A sufficient understanding of the Sermon was not meant to be the possession of the few only. In this teaching Jesus aimed at being universally intelligible; and He was so, for through the Christian centuries the kind of life which He here describes has been the guiding star of civilization. If misconceptions as to the origin and interpretation of the discourse have at times arisen, out of imperfect historical knowledge and limited ethical and spiritual insight, these will gradually disappear before a better knowledge and a clearer vision.

i. *ORIGIN AND TRANSMISSION.*—The historical and literary criticism of the Gospels, which has attracted the labours of many eminent scholars in the past three generations, is by no means finished. Yet some important conclusions have been reached regarding the origin and preservation of the NT records of Jesus' life. To this field of investigation belong the introductory questions concerning the Sermon on the Mount. Was there, in fact, such a discourse? If so, what were the circumstances of its delivery? How were the accounts of the discourse affected by the processes of transmission and translation? And what is the condition of the text of the discourse as we now have it?

1. HISTORICITY OF THE DISCOURSE.—It is the prevailing opinion among NT scholars that in Mt 5–7 we have an account of a discourse actually delivered by Jesus, the theme and substance of which are here preserved.[*] It is entirely consistent with this view, and is by the majority held in conjunction with it, that the account as it stands in the First Gospel is not coextensive with the discourse originally given by Jesus. Probably not all of the Sermon is contained in Matthew's report, but only excerpts or a digest; for there is no reason to think that means were at hand for reporting the discourse *verbatim* and entire; Jesus seems not to have cared that His discourses should be so preserved; He was accustomed to teach the people *at length* when a multitude was with Him,[†] while the matter given in Matthew could easily be spoken in twenty minutes; and one would think it faulty pedagogical method to present a series of striking sayings, full of meaning and difficult for the hearers offhand to grasp, without connecting with each germinal saying a more explicit and concrete teaching to illustrate and apply it.

Conversely also, the Matthæan report of the Sermon probably contains some matter which did not form a part of the original discourse. Certain sections of Mt 5–7 are less evidently connected

---

[*] So Origen, Augustine, Chrysostom, Luther, Tholuck, Meyer, Keim, Achelis, Edersheim, Godet, Bruce, Broadus, Kübel, Nösgen, Feine, Steinmeyer, Wendt, Sanday, Plummer, B. Weiss, H. Weiss, Grawert, Burkitt, Bartlet, Bacon, and many others.

[†] See Mk $4^{1f.\ 35}$ $6^{34f.}$.

than the others with the specific theme of the Sermon and its development, *e.g.* $5^{25.\,26.\,31.\,32}$ $6^{7\text{-}15}$ $7^{6.\,7\text{-}11.\,22\text{f.}}$. With regard to these and other passages the possibility of their belonging to the actual Sermon cannot be denied, but the probability is felt by most scholars to be against some or all of them. This view is strongly confirmed by the fact that we find parallels to these sections elsewhere in the Gospels, in other settings which in some cases commend themselves as original. It is difficult to conceive that Luke, or any one else, would break up a discourse of Jesus which had been handed down so fully as in Mt 5–7 and scatter the fragments as in the Third Gospel.* And, finally, it has become recognized that the First Gospel arranges its teaching material into topical groups;† all of the four Gospels exhibit the results of this process, but the First Gospel more than the others.

There have been, and are to-day, a number of eminent scholars who regard the Sermon as a compilation throughout, holding that no such discourse was really delivered by Jesus, and that the alleged occasion of it was a well-meant fiction of tradition or of the Evangelists.* According to this hypothesis, the material grouped under the title of a mountain discourse to His disciples came from various occasions in the ministry which were no longer remembered. The compilation was made for the practical use of the early Christians, to furnish them with a manual of Christian conduct.† But this is to press the theory of compilation to an extreme. It is not an impossible view, and would not entail serious consequences, since it does not deny the authenticity of the sayings; but it must be counted less probable. The examination of the great teaching masses in Matthew seems to show that the briefer sayings were generally grouped with the historical remains of some great discourses, whose approximate position in the ministry and whose circumstances were not wholly forgotten. The main portion of the Sermon, contained in Mt 5^{3}–6^{18}, is (with the exception of certain verses) so closely woven as theme and exposition that it cannot well be denied historical unity and occasion. Jesus must logically have given such teaching as the Sermon presents, in the earlier Galilæan ministry to which the Gospels assign this teaching; and we know that He was accustomed to speak long and connectedly to His hearers. It is therefore probable enough that at least this much of a digest of one of Jesus' most important and impressive discourses should have been preserved.

2. CIRCUMSTANCES OF ITS DELIVERY. — The occasion on which the Sermon was given appears to be clearly indicated by Lk $6^{12\text{-}20}$, which makes it follow closely upon the appointment of the twelve apostles.‡ The Gospel of Matthew agrees with that of Luke in locating the Sermon on the Mount in the first half of Jesus' ministry in Galilee, although Matthew places it somewhat nearer to the beginning of that period.§ There is good

---

* See Heinrici, *Bergpredigt*, i. 49 f. It is obviously true that Jesus taught the same truths and principles on various occasions to different individuals, and in doing so may have at times repeated some of His sayings in quite the same, or nearly the same, words. Such repetition may *sometimes* serve to explain the several forms in which similar sayings have been handed down. But it cannot be used as a universal resolvent of the mass of variations. This stock argument of the apologetic harmonists proceeds upon the assumption that Jesus' words *must* have been transmitted in every case precisely as He uttered them. But the assumption is unwarranted, and the phenomena of variation abundantly and decisively disprove it. Nearly all NT scholars now agree that the differences which appear in parallel passages of our Gospels are due chiefly to the vicissitudes of transmission and translation. The Gospel teaching did not consist of a set of formulæ, to be learned and repeated *verbatim*.

† See Godet, *Collection of the Four Gospels, and the Gospel of Matthew*, p. 131 ff.; Wendt, *Lehre Jesu*, i. 52, 84, 106, 185; Wernle, *Synopt. Frage*, pp. 61–80; Weizsäcker, *Apost. Zeitalter*^{2}, pp. 369–393 [Eng. tr. ii. 33–62]; Jülicher, *Einleitung i. d. NT*, p. 195: Heinrici, *Bergpredigt*, i. 8 f.; B. Weiss, *Meyer-Komm. ü. d. Mattevgm. in loc.*; H. Holtzmann, *Hand-Comm. ü. d. Synoptiker, in loc.* The discourses of Mt 5–7. 10. 13. 18. 23. 24. 25 are compilations in the sense that to the historical nucleus of each discourse there has been joined some matter upon the same or a kindred subject which originally belonged to other historical connexions. Thus Mt 10 contains as a nucleus some instruction which Jesus gave the Twelve when He sent them out on their trial mission ($10^{5\text{-}15}$); but to this section there has been added material from another occasion ($10^{16\text{-}42}$, esp. $^{17\text{-}23}$), when Jesus in the latter part of His ministry was preparing His disciples for the work they must do after His departure. The first Christians found it practically convenient to have the mission teaching grouped together. Mt 13 contains a collection of Jesus' parables upon the nature and development of the kingdom of God. The collection is not found in the corresponding passages Mk 4 and Lk 8. It is quite unlikely that Jesus would make up a discourse of these seven parables (Mt $13^{1\text{-}9.\,24\text{-}30.\,31\text{f.}\,33.\,44.\,45\text{f.}\,47\text{-}50}$). If the disciples did not understand the first parable until it was explained to them privately (Mk 4^{10}), it would be of little use to add six others no more intelligible. But the chapter itself, by the two breaks at v.^{10} and vv.$^{34\text{-}36}$, shows that it is a compilation; vv.$^{3.\,53}$, which *seem* to make all that intervenes a connected discourse, is the editorial device for giving unity and vividness to the teaching. It is probable that the parable of the Sower was given on some occasion (vv.$^{1\text{-}3}$) in Jesus' Galilæan ministry, accompanied by explicit teaching along the same line. On other occasions the other parables were given: then, their original setting having been lost, all seven were topically grouped by the early Christians for practical instruction. Mt 18 contains a collection of teachings from various occasions, grouped about the nucleus of an original discourse (cf. Mk $9^{33\text{-}50}$) concerning the relations and duties of the Twelve and the community life of the first disciples. Mt 23 is a collection of sayings from different parts of the ministry (cf. Mk $12^{38\text{-}40}$, Lk $11^{37\text{-}52}$ $13^{34\text{f.}}$ $20^{45\text{-}47}$), in which Jesus condemned certain acts and characteristics of the Pharisees. The nucleus is apparently in vv.$^{1\text{-}12}$; seven woes (the complete number) are here grouped together as were the seven parables of ch. 13. Mt 24 exhibits the same topical arrangement of material (cf. Lk $12^{39\text{-}46}$ $17^{22\text{-}37}$ 21). And in Mt 21. 22 and 25 appear similar compilations of related teaching. It is probable that the author of the present Gospel of Matthew found this material grouped in this way, although he may have carried the process farther, and have unified these groups by editorial retouching. If, then, the First Gospel has several discourses, consisting in each case of the nucleus of some original sermon augmented by kindred material from other occasions, it becomes quite probable that the discourse in Mt 5–7 is of a similar construction. The added matter is just as valuable and trustworthy as the nucleus matter, being equally the authentic utterances of Jesus.

* So Calvin, Baur, Neander, Bleek, Pott, Semler, Strauss, Kuinöl, Wieseler, H. Holtzmann, Weizsäcker, Jülicher, Heinrici, Ibbeken, Hawkins, Schmiedel.

† Weizsäcker, *Apost. Zeitalter*^{2} (1892), p. 380 f. [Eng. tr. ii. 46 f.]: 'The discourse, as Matthew has adopted it, was in fact a kind of code, but such as originated in and was designed for the Church. . . . The nucleus consists of a few long main sections, $5^{21\text{-}48}$ $6^{1\text{-}18.\,19\text{-}34}$. . . . The commandments in these three sections together form a sort of primer, which was, however, first composed by the combination of these didactic pieces, whose original independence is at once apparent from the parallel sections of Luke's Gospel. . . . The evangelist put on an introduction, $5^{3\text{-}12.\,13\text{-}16}$, and an appendix, $7^{1\text{-}29}$, to fit the whole to the historical situation which he gave it.' H. Holtzmann, *Hand-Comm. ü. d. Synoptiker*, p. 99: 'Probably the discourse was constructed by the evangelist himself out of written and oral sources, with the primary purpose of furnishing an order of life for the new Church.' Heinrici, *Bergpredigt*, i. 39: 'The Sermon on the Mount of Matthew seems to be a free composition of a speech of Jesus from certain genuine sayings of His, which were in part already grouped together, in part in circulation as single sayings.' Similarly Jülicher, *Einleitung i. d. NT*^{3} (1901), p. 232; Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticæ* (1899), pp. 131–135; Schmiedel, *Encyc. Bibl.* vol. ii. col. 1886.

‡ The corresponding passage in Mark is $3^{13\text{-}19}$, but the Sermon is not found at that point nor elsewhere in the Second Gospel. There is no indication at Mk 3^{19} that a discourse followed historically.

§ Too much has often been made of the difference between Matthew and Luke regarding the position to which the Sermon is assigned by each. Matthew places after the Sermon, in chs. 8. 9. $12^{1\text{-}21}$, some matter which Luke places before the Sermon in 4^{31}–6^{11}; but this section contains only incidents, miracles, and brief teachings, which, even if they are all in their proper places in Luke (and Mark, which corresponds), would not require more than a few weeks of time. Matthew does not record the appointment of the Twelve, but first mentions them as apostles in ch. 10 in connexion with their mission. Nor does Matthew represent the Sermon as Jesus' *first* teaching, since he distinctly relates before the discourse ($4^{23\text{f.}}$) that 'Jesus went about in all Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing all manner of disease and all manner of sickness among the people. And the report of him went forth into all Syria' (*i.e.* throughout Jewish territory). The earlier work and teaching are compressed rather than ignored, and the words are given more prominence than the deeds. A compilation of representative teaching by Jesus in chs. 5–7 is followed by a compilation of representative deeds of Jesus in chs. 8. 9.

reason to think that they are sufficiently correct. The contents of the discourse, as clearly as its position in the Gospels, mark it as a part of His Galilæan teaching,—not, indeed, the first instruction Jesus gave, but of the kind fitted for receptive hearers who had gained some acquaintance with Him, and had by skilful preparation on His part become ready for a general presentation of His religio-ethical ideas. To find Jesus giving one of His most significant discourses in connexion with the appointment of the twelve apostles is altogether what one might expect. That appointment was a great event in His ministry. It marked the stage when His popular success required Him to choose and train some men to assist Him in His work (Mk 3^{14}); and it behoved Him also, since the storm of opposition was gathering on the horizon (Mk 2^1–3^6, cf. Mt 23^{29-39}), to prepare these men to carry forward His work after He should lay down His life at Jerusalem.

The Sermon is not, however, addressed exclusively or specifically to the newly-appointed apostles. It contains no trace of esoteric teaching. There is no portion of the discourse which does not pertain equally to all of Jesus' followers, present and future. The internal evidence of the Sermon, therefore, sustains the correctness of the Evangelists' statements (Mt $7^{28.29}$, Lk 7^1) that Jesus spoke directly and inclusively to the people who thronged Him at this time.[*] The multitude was a *disciple* multitude in the sense that many were professed followers of Jesus, many were contemplating discipleship, and all were favourably disposed towards Him, listening with interest to His teaching. The Sermon contains no direct polemic against opponents, but an appeal to all to adopt and to attain a higher type of righteousness than that which was conventionally taught them by the scribes.

The exact time, *i.e.* the year, month, and day, at which the Sermon was given cannot be determined. There is no agreement among scholars as to either the duration or the calendar dates of Jesus' public ministry.[†] But on any chronological hypothesis the discourse stands about half-way between the beginning of Jesus' public work and His crucifixion.

The Sermon was spoken in Galilee, the scene of the main ministry of Jesus (cf. Mt 4^{23-25}, Lk 6^{17}). If there is an indication in Mt 8^5, Lk 7^1 that the place of the event was near Capernaum, the precise locality would not even then be defined, since the site of Capernaum itself is in dispute. The mountain referred to in Mt 5^1 8^1, Lk 6^{12} is not named and cannot be identified.[‡] We may suppose, however, that the scene of the Sermon was in the region to the west of the lake, not far distant from the thickly-populated shore.

3. TRANSMISSION AND TRANSLATION.—We seem to have in Mt 5–7, Lk 6^{20-49} two accounts of the Sermon; they differ somewhat in setting, verbal expression, and content, but are nevertheless essentially one discourse.[*] Both Gospels assign the Sermon to the earlier Galilæan ministry. The circumstances of the discourse are similar—the mountain, the representative multitude, the healings, the address to disciples. The theme of the discourse is the same in each—the true righteousness. The development of the theme is similar—a characterization of this righteousness, with specific teaching as to how it is to affect thought and conduct, and an exhortation to men to live in this way. Each account begins with the Beatitudes, and closes with the injunction to *do* God's will as revealed in Jesus' teaching, enforced by the parable of the Two House-builders. And, finally, nearly the whole of Luke's discourse is contained in Matthew's.

---

[*] That the discourse was addressed to the multitude is the view of Achelis, Bleek, Bruce, Godet, Meyer, Nösgen, and others. That it was addressed to close disciples, but overheard by the multitude to whom it did not directly pertain, is held by Tholuck, B. Weiss, Grawert, and others. Burton and Bacon maintain that the discourse was spoken only to an inner circle of followers. But these hypotheses presuppose a sharper line between disciples (Mt 5^1, Lk 6^{20}) and general followers of Jesus than Jesus Himself indicates in the Sermon, or than can otherwise be made out at this stage of the public ministry. The use of the second personal form by Luke cannot be adduced as evidence that Jesus was speaking only to a close circle of disciples; it was equally applicable to a large company. Matthew's account also has the second personal form after 5^{3-10}. Yet both Evangelists have statements (Mt 5^1 7^{28}, Lk 6^{19} 7^1) to the effect that Jesus addressed His teaching to the multitudes at this time; and it is not clear that these statements are mere literary features, without historical value. The discourse contains positively nothing to indicate that Jesus was speaking only to a small, inner circle of His followers.

[†] See artt. CHRONOLOGY OF NT, vol. i., and JESUS CHRIST, vol. ii.; also art. 'Chronology of NT' in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, vol. i.; and Literature cited in connexion.

[‡] Four views are now current concerning this 'mountain': (1) Latin tradition identifies it with *Karn Ḥaṭṭîn*; the theory is accepted by Stanley (*SP* p. 368 f.), and also by Plummer and H. Weiss. This Latin tradition did not arise until the 13th cent., and is quite unknown to the Eastern Church, so that it cannot have been more than a plausible guess. The location and features of *Karn Ḥaṭṭîn* correspond sufficiently well with the history; but there are a number of other hills along the western shore of the lake which are also suitable (Robinson, *BRP* iii. 487). (2) Some specific mountain is referred to, and was known to the early Christians as the scene of the discourse, but its identity became lost from the Gospel tradition. So Tholuck, Meyer, Keil, Kübel, Achelis, Andrews. (3) The phrase τὸ ὄρος designates not a particular hill or mountain peak, but the range of tableland rising to the west of the Sea of Galilee; and the site of the event is not more specifically designated. The Jews used three leading terms to distinguish the surface features of their territory—'mountain,' 'plain,' and 'valley': of these designations the first is understood to have referred to the tableland, whether broken into isolated peaks or not (cf. Gn $19^{17.19.30}$ $31^{23.25}$ $36^{8.9}$, Mt 14^{23} 15^{29}, Mk 6^{46}, Lk 9^{28}, Jn 6^3). Therefore τὸ ὄρος would in any particular instance refer to the high land—whether tableland or peak—in the vicinity of the event. This view also leaves the site of the Sermon undetermined. So Bleek, Robinson, Ebrard, Thomson, Edersheim, Broadus, Bruce, Nösgen, Stewart, B. Weiss, Bacon. (4) Those who regard the Sermon as a mosaic only, resting upon no particular discourse, but made up of material gathered from many connexions (see names in footnote above), perforce look upon 'the mountain' as a part of the artificial scenery which the compiler of the Sermon arranged about it to give verisimilitude to the whole. Of these four views one may adopt the second or the third, but between these two it is difficult to choose.

The accounts in Mt 5^1 8^1, Lk $6^{12.17}$, which describe the setting of the Sermon, both make mention of the mountain, but are not in agreement concerning it. Matthew locates the entire scene upon the mountain; Jesus and His disciples ascend it, apparently by His deliberate choice, to speak and to hear the Sermon; when it is finished they descend. According to the Third Gospel, Jesus goes up the mountain to spend the night in solitary prayer (cf. Lk 9^{28}, Jn $6^{3.15}$); when it is day He calls His disciples to Him, and appoints the Twelve; afterwards He comes down from the mountain to the multitude which had gathered on a level place below, where He heals many, and later delivers the discourse. The well-meant harmonistic efforts expended upon these passages do not seem convincing. But the discrepancy is neither sufficient to remove the datum of a mountain in connexion with the discourse, nor, in face of strong evidence for their identity, to force the conclusion that the reports of Matthew and Luke represent two separate and distinct discourses with different settings.

[*] This is the almost unanimous opinion of scholars: Tatian (*Diatessaron*), Origen, Jerome, Chrysostom, Euthymius, Theophylact, Luther, Calvin, Maldonatus, Meyer, Bengel, Neander, Schleiermacher, Stier, Ewald, Wieseler, Keim, Keil, Köstlin, Robinson, Ellicott, Schneckenburger, Hilgenfeld, Edersheim, Godet, Tholuck, Tischendorf, Achelis, Andrews, Beyschlag, Broadus, Farrar, Feine, Schanz, Sanday, Steinmeyer, Sieffert, de Wette, Wendt, H. Weiss, B. Weiss, Bruce, Burton, Heinrici, H. Holtzmann, Ibbeken, Jülicher, Kübel, Nösgen, Wernle, Bacon, and many others. The theory of two separate discourses was advocated for apologetic purposes by Augustine, and, following him, by St. Gregory and certain minor Rom. Cath. writers, as, recently, Azibert (*Revue Biblique*, 1894). A few modern Protestant writers also have taken this view, as Greswell, Lange, Plumptre, and, most recently, Plummer (*Comm. on Luke* [1896], p. 177).

The arrangement of the material in Tatian's *Diatessaron* (see Hill, *Earliest Life of Christ, being the Diatessaron of Tatian* [1894], pp. 73–84), which combines the Matthew and Luke accounts, is thus: Mt 5^{1a} Lk 6^{13b-17} [Mk $3^{14.15}$] Mt 5^2=Lk 6^{20a} Mt 5^{3-10} Lk 6^{22a} Mt $5^{11b.12}$ Lk 6^{24-27a} Mt 5^{14-16} [Mk $4^{22.23}$] Mt 5^{17-25a} [Lk 12^{58b}] Mt 5^{25c-42} Lk $6^{30b.31}$ Mt 5^{43-46a} Lk 6^{32b-36} Mt $5^{47.48}$ Mt 6^{1-8} [Lk $11^{1b.2a}$] Mt 6^{9b-18} [Lk $12^{32.33a}$] Mt 6^{19-23} [Lk $11^{35.36}$] Mt 6^{24-27} [Lk 12^{26}] Mt 6^{28b-31} [Lk 12^{29b}] Mt 6^{32-34} Mt 7^1= Lk 6^{37b} Lk 6^{38} [Mk $4^{24b.25}$] Lk 6^{39-42} Mt 7^6 [Lk 11^{5-13}] Mt 7^{12-16a} Lk 6^{44} Mt $7^{17.18}$ Lk 6^{45} Mt 7^{19-23} Lk $6^{47.48a}$ Mt 7^{25}–8^1.

The relation of the contents of the two accounts can be shown in a table :—

Mt 5^{3}	=	Lk 6^{20}	Mt $7^{1.2}$	=	Lk $6^{37.38b}$
$5^{4.6}$	=	6^{21}	7^{3-5}	=	$6^{41.42}$
$5^{11.12}$	=	$6^{22.23}$	7^{12}	=	6^{31}
$5^{39.40.42}$	=	$6^{29.30}$	$7^{16.17}$	=	$6^{43.44}$
5^{44-48}	=	$6^{27.28.32-36}$	7^{21}	=	6^{46}
6^{1-34} has no parallel in Lk 6^{20-49}			7^{24-27}	=	6^{47-49}

Matthew's account has 107 verses, Luke's account 29. Of Luke's 29 verses, $23\frac{1}{2}$ find a parallel in the Matthæan account, where they are arranged as 26 verses. There is no parallel in Mt 5–7 for Lk $6^{24-26.38a.39.40.45}$.[*] Of Matthew's remaining 81 verses, 34 find a parallel in Luke outside of ch. 6 (in chs. 11–14. 16)[†] as follows :[‡]—

Mt 5^{13}	=	Lk $14^{34.35}$	Mt $6^{22.23}$	=	Lk 11^{34-36}
5^{15}	=	11^{33} (8^{16})	6^{24}	=	16^{13}
5^{18}	=	16^{17}	6^{25-33}	=	12^{22-31}
$5^{25.26}$	=	$12^{58.59}$	7^{7-11}	=	11^{9-13}
5^{32}	=	16^{18}	$7^{13.14}$	=	13^{24}
6^{9-13}	=	11^{2-4}	7^{23}	=	13^{27}
6^{19-21}	=	$12^{33.34}$			

This leaves 47 verses of the Matthæan discourse which have no parallel in the Third Gospel: Mt $5^{5.7-10.14.16.17.19-24.27-31.33-38.41.43}$ $6^{1-8.14-18.34}$ $7^{6.15.18-20.22}$. That is, four-ninths of the Sermon in Matthew is peculiar to that Gospel.[§]

These phenomena of the comparative contents of the two accounts of the Sermon present a complex and difficult problem, and compel one to investigate the history of this discourse from the time of its utterance until it took its present twofold form in our First and Third Gospels.

Another important feature of these two reports of the Sermon, and one which must be investigated in conjunction with the problem of content, is the remarkable variation in wording—in the literary expression of the same ideas. Sometimes this variation is slight, as in :[‖]—

Mt 7^{2b}.	Lk 6^{38b}.
καὶ ἐν ᾧ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε μετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν.	*ᾧ γὰρ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε ἀντιμετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν.*

Mt 7^{3-5}.	Lk $6^{41.42}$.
[3] *τί δὲ βλέπεις τὸ κάρφος τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου, τὴν δὲ ἐν τῷ σῷ ὀφθαλμῷ δοκὸν οὐ κατανοεῖς ;* [4] *ἢ πῶς ἐρεῖς τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου Ἄφες ἐκβάλω τὸ κάρφος ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἡ δοκὸς ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ σοῦ ;* [5] *ὑποκριτά, ἔκβαλε πρῶτον ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σοῦ τὴν δοκόν, καὶ τότε διαβλέψεις ἐκβαλεῖν τὸ κάρφος ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου.*	[41] *τί δὲ βλέπεις τὸ κάρφος τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου, τὴν δὲ δοκὸν τὴν ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ ὀφθαλμῷ οὐ κατανοεῖς ;* [42] *πῶς δύνασαι λέγειν τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου Ἀδελφέ, ἄφες ἐκβάλω τὸ κάρφος τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ σου, αὐτὸς τὴν ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ σοῦ δοκὸν οὐ βλέπων ; ὑποκριτά, ἔκβαλε πρῶτον τὴν δοκὸν ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σοῦ, καὶ τότε διαβλέψεις τὸ κάρφος τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου ἐκβαλεῖν.*

Similarly compare Mt 6^{24}=Lk 16^{13} and Mt $7^{7.8}$= Lk $11^{9.10}$. In these four passages there is almost complete verbal agreement—not quite, however—which must be explained. And the four sayings are widely scattered in Luke as compared with Matthew.

But such close verbal agreement is exceptional. In all the other parallel passages the variation in literary form is great, as in :—

Mt $5^{39.40}$.	Lk 6^{29}.
[39] *Ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν μὴ ἀντιστῆναι τῷ πονηρῷ· ἀλλ' ὅστις σε ῥαπίζει εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα [σου], στρέψον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην·* [40] *καὶ τῷ θέλοντί σοι κριθῆναι καὶ τὸν χιτῶνά σου λαβεῖν, ἄφες αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον.*	*τῷ τύπτοντί σε ἐπὶ τὴν σιαγόνα πάρεχε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἴροντός σου τὸ ἱμάτιον καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα μὴ κωλύσῃς.*

Mt 7^{12}.	Lk 6^{31}.
Πάντα οὖν ὅσα ἐὰν θέλητε ἵνα ποιῶσιν ὑμῖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιεῖτε αὐτοῖς· οὕτως γάρ ἐστιν ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται.	*καὶ καθὼς θέλετε ἵνα ποιῶσιν ὑμῖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ποιεῖτε αὐτοῖς ὁμοίως.*

Mt 7^{24-27}.	Lk 6^{47-49}.
[24] *Πᾶς οὖν ὅστις ἀκούει μου τοὺς λόγους [τούτους] καὶ ποιεῖ αὐτούς, ὁμοιωθήσεται ἀνδρὶ φρονίμῳ, ὅστις ᾠκοδόμησεν αὐτοῦ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν.* [25] *καὶ κατέβη ἡ βροχὴ καὶ ἦλθαν οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ ἔπνευσαν οἱ ἄνεμοι καὶ προσέπεσαν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἐκείνῃ, καὶ οὐκ ἔπεσεν, τεθεμελίωτο γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν.* [26] *καὶ πᾶς ὁ ἀκούων μου τοὺς λόγους τούτους καὶ μὴ ποιῶν αὐτοὺς ὁμοιωθήσεται ἀνδρὶ μωρῷ, ὅστις ᾠκόδομησεν αὐτοῦ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμμον.* [27] *καὶ κατέβη ἡ βροχὴ καὶ ἦλθαν οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ ἔπνευσαν οἱ ἄνεμοι καὶ προσέκοψαν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἐκείνῃ, καὶ ἔπεσεν, καὶ ἦν ἡ πτῶσις αὐτῆς μεγάλη.*	[47] *Πᾶς ὁ ἐρχόμενος πρός με καὶ ἀκούων μου τῶν λόγων καὶ ποιῶν αὐτούς, ὑποδείξω ὑμῖν τίνι ἐστὶν ὅμοιος·* [48] *ὅμοιός ἐστιν ἀνθρώπῳ οἰκοδομοῦντι οἰκίαν, ὃς ἔσκαψεν καὶ ἐβάθυνεν καὶ ἔθηκεν θεμέλιον ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν· πλημμύρης δὲ γενομένης προσέρηξεν ὁ ποταμὸς τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἐκείνῃ, καὶ οὐκ ἴσχυσεν σαλεῦσαι αὐτὴν διὰ τὸ καλῶς οἰκοδομῆσθαι αὐτήν.* [49] *ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας καὶ μὴ ποιήσας ὅμοιός ἐστιν ἀνθρώπῳ οἰκοδομήσαντι οἰκίαν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν χωρὶς θεμελίου, ᾗ προσέρηξεν ὁ ποταμός, καὶ εὐθὺς συνέπεσεν, καὶ ἐγένετο τὸ ῥῆγμα τῆς οἰκίας ἐκείνης μέγα.*

Similarly compare Mt $5^{44.45}$ = Lk 6^{35}, Mt $7^{1.2a}$ = Lk 6^{37}, Mt $7^{16.17}$ = Lk $6^{43.44}$; and also Mt 5^{15}=Lk 11^{33}, Mt 5^{18} = Lk 16^{17}, Mt $5^{25.26}$ = Lk $12^{58.59}$, Mt 6^{19-21}= Lk $12^{33.34}$, Mt 6^{25-33} = Lk 12^{22-31}.

In some passages the wording of Matthew is so different from that of Luke that a difference even of the thought results, or seems to result:—

---

[*] But there are parallels for two or three of these passages elsewhere in Matthew, thus: Lk 6^{39}=Mt 15^{14b}, Lk 6^{45}=Mt 12^{35}; and with Lk 6^{40a} compare Mt 10^{24} (Jn 13^{16} 15^{20a}).

[†] These chapters belong to the somewhat clearly marked middle third of Luke's Gospel (10^{25}–18^{34}), which consists mainly of discourse material. It is commonly known as the 'Peræan section,' because its position in this book is between the final departure of Jesus from Galilee (Lk 9^{51}–10^{20}) and His public entrance into Jerusalem (Lk 18^{35}–19^{46}). During this period Jesus perhaps spent some days or weeks in Peræa (Mt 19^{1}= Mk 10^{1}, Lk 13^{31}, Jn 10^{40}), and some of the material in Lk 10–18 may belong to that period, as $12^{1-12.35-59}$ $13^{1-9.22-30.31-35}$ 17^{20-37} 18^{1-8}. But the main contents of these chapters (Lk 11^{1-36} 12^{13-34} 13^{10-21} 14. 15. 16. 17^{1-10} 18^{9-34}) quite surely belong to the Galilæan ministry, because (1) this is indicated by various allusions in the chapters themselves, *e.g.* 11^{29-32} (cf. Mt 12^{39-42}), $13^{10.17.18-21}$ (cf. Mt $13^{31.32}$), 14^{25-35}; (2) the subject of most of this teaching is more suitable to that period; (3) it is altogether unlikely that Jesus would have left so large and so important a portion of His general teaching till the last weeks of His ministry. Luke had for these chapters (10–18) a special source, probably a document of some extent, which contained most valuable teaching; but the settings of the teaching had been largely lost, and he therefore put these passages, with other unattached material from the *Logia* and other sources, into this middle, mixed section of his book,—in fact, what else could he do? The material was too important to omit, and he was too conscientious a historical author to create scenes for the several pieces.

[‡] In the case of three of these passages there are parallels in Mark also: Mt 5^{13}=Mk 9^{50}=Lk $14^{34.35}$, Mt 5^{15}=Mk 4^{21}=Lk 11^{33} (and 8^{16}), Mt 5^{32}=Mk 10^{11}=Lk 16^{18}. There is but one sentence which is put by both Matthew and Luke into the Sermon that has a parallel in Mark, namely, Mt 7^{2b}=Mk 4^{24b}=Lk 6^{38c}; and this saying is of the gnomic type, so that it may have been repeated on various occasions by Jesus. Consequently one is inclined to say that the portion of the Sermon common to Matthew and Luke is not found in Mark. And of the matter in Matthew's Sermon which is found in Luke outside of the Sermon, or not found in Luke at all, Mark has parallels perhaps for five verses,—the three just indicated, and the two named in the following footnote,—so that the Second Gospel scarcely knows of this teaching material which the First and Third Gospels make so prominent.

[§] Except, perhaps, Mt $5^{29.30}$=Mk $9^{43.47}$, Mt $6^{14.15}$=Mk 11^{25}. It is worth observing that three passages of the Matthew Sermon have parallels within the First Gospel itself: Mt $5^{29.30}$= Mt $18^{8.9}$, Mt 5^{32}=Mt 19^{9}, Mt 7^{18}=Mt 12^{33}.

[‖] The Greek text here used is that of Westcott and Hort.

Mt $5^{3.4.6}$.	Lk $6^{20.21}$.
[3] Μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ τῷ πνεύματι, ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν.	[20] Μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοί, ὅτι ὑμετέρα ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.
[4] μακάριοι οἱ πενθοῦντες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ παρακληθήσονται.	[21b] μακάριοι οἱ κλαίοντες νῦν, ὅτι γελάσετε.
[6] μακάριοι οἱ πεινῶντες καὶ διψῶντες τὴν δικαιοσύνην, ὅτι αὐτοὶ χορτασθήσονται.	[21a] μακάριοι οἱ πεινῶντες νῦν, ὅτι χορτασθήσεσθε.

Mt 5^{48}.	Lk 6^{36}.
Εσεσθε οὖν ὑμεῖς τέλειοι ὡς ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος τέλειός ἐστιν.	Γίνεσθε οἰκτίρμονες καθὼς ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν οἰκτίρμων ἐστίν.

Mt 6^{9-13}.	Lk 11^{2-4}.
[9] Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς·	[2] Πάτερ,
ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου,	ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου·
[10] ἐλθάτω ἡ βασιλεία σου,	ἐλθάτω ἡ βασιλεία σου·
γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου,	
ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς·	
[11] τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον	[3] τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον
δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον·	δίδου ἡμῖν τὸ καθ’ ἡμέραν·
[12] καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν,	[4] καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν,
ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν·	καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἀφίομεν παντὶ ὀφείλοντι ἡμῖν·
[13] καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν,	καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν.
ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ.	

Similarly compare Mt 5^{32} = Lk 16^{18} (= Mk 10^{11}= Mt 19^{9}) and Mt 7^{11}=Lk 11^{13}. The corresponding context or setting of each pair of these parallel sayings, or as regards the Lord's Prayer the nature of the case (see below, ii. 4 *h* (2)), indicates that however variant the words have become in transmission, they started from the same utterances of Jesus. The parallel records run the entire gamut of variation from close verbal similarity to wide verbal divergence, and in a few cases even to difference of idea itself.

Now the explanation of these striking phenomena of content, form, and substance in the Sermon of Matthew and Luke is to be found in the history of the transmission of this material during the years *c.* 29-85 A.D. This section of history is one part of the great 'Synoptic problem.'* While many elements of this problem are still in dispute, certain fundamental facts pertaining to it now seem well established.

(1) Jesus habitually taught in Aramaic, not in Greek.† The thorough and deliberate discussion of this question seems to have reached a settled conclusion.‡ We were all eager to believe that these very Greek words of our Gospels came directly from Jesus' lips; yet historical investigation shows that they are but a translation from the original utterances. While the theories of Resch, Marshall, Dalman, Blass, E. A. Abbott, and others as to a primitive Aramaic or Hebrew Gospel are uncertain, it is clear that the Memorabilia of Jesus were originally and for some years in the Aramaic language. The Aramaic vocabulary, syntax, and influence can everywhere be seen through the Greek of the Gospels, like the earlier text in a palimpsest manuscript.

(2) Jesus' more important teachings were marked and remembered from the time they were spoken. It is not too much to suppose that He impressed certain teachings—not their form, but their substance—upon His disciples. From day to day, therefore, during Jesus' public ministry, His followers were gathering and pondering His utterances, holding them in memory and repeating them to one another nearly or quite in Jesus' own words. After His death and resurrection His followers treasured these sayings of their Master's, studied them, preached them, and faithfully taught them to all who came into the Christian brotherhood (cf. Ac 2^{42}). The story of Jesus' life, His deeds and His words, was the guide of every individual Christian, of every Christian community, and of the entire Christian movement. What He had taught was the staple matter of all Christian instruction and worship, and was everywhere regarded as the norm of Christianity. And of all that Jesus had taught there was nothing more prominent, vital, and practical—indeed nothing more generally revered and used—than the teaching contained in the Sermon on the Mount.

(3) It is also certain that, for years after Jesus had given His teaching, it was circulated and transmitted by word of mouth. Jesus Himself wrote nothing, nor did His disciples until long after. Both these facts were due to the Jewish custom of the time. The teaching of the Rabbis in Jesus' day was entirely oral—only their sacred books, the Old Testament, might be written; therefore the pupils of the Rabbis heard and memorized their teaching. Out of this custom arose a special qualification for, and efficiency in, oral instruction and oral transmission among the Jews. To men of this nation and country Jesus' sayings were given, and by them preserved. It cannot, of course, be supposed that Jesus insisted upon *forms of words*; He was neither a literalist nor a verbalist. Therefore His disciples did not place undue emphasis upon the *ipsissima verba* of His teaching. But so perfectly worded were the most significant of His shorter sayings—many of which can be seen in this discourse—that they would persist in their original form. For the remainder of the teaching an exact verbal transmission was unlikely, and the evidence shows that it did not so happen.

(4) After fifteen or twenty years (*c.* 45-50 A.D.) Christianity began to reach out into the great Roman world by the labours of the Apostle Paul and many others; and it became necessary to translate the Gospel story into Greek, since the non-Palestinian Jews and the Gentiles did not know Aramaic—the language in which the story had arisen, and had thus far been handed down. That this translation took place 50-80 A.D. is proved by our present Greek Gospels and the early disappearance of all Aramaic Gospel documents. Now there is every reason to think that this translation of the Memorabilia of Jesus was a *process* rather than an act. The data do not permit us to think of one formal, authoritative translation, comprising the whole Gospel story, and passing directly into the use of all the Greek-speaking Christians. Rather there were numerous persons in various places and at different times who translated portions—the *same* as well as different portions—of the story from the Aramaic into Greek. These individual and fragmentary translations were characterized by various degrees of literalness, differing vocabulary and syntax, loss of original colouring, obscuration of shades of meaning, interpretative modifications and expansions, varying success in reproducing the original ideas, and some adaptation of the sayings (by way of selection, arrangement, and altered expression) to the practical needs of the Churches for whom the respective translations happened to be made. Then these various translations, at first located at the chief centres of the Christian movement, passed into general circulation, and acted and reacted upon each other, mixing the phenomena of the several translations. The features just described can all of them be traced in our two Gospel records of the Sermon on the Mount.

(5) It is now generally understood* that, after fifteen or twenty years of circulating and transmitting the utterances of Jesus by word of mouth, the Gospel Memorabilia were gradually put into writing. We have in Eusebius (*HE* iii. 39. 16) the important testimony of Papias, which is regarded by most scholars as trustworthy, that the Apostle Matthew composed (*συνετάξατο*, *al.* *συνεγράψατο*, cf. Lk 1^{1} *ἀνατάξασθαι*) a collection of the sayings (*Λόγια*) of Jesus, in the Hebrew (*i.e.* the Aramaic?) language. If Papias' statement, and the common interpretation of it as a written account, are correct, then we have a distinct witness that there was a written record of Jesus' teaching, which we may assign to *c.* 50 A.D. That it was in Aramaic(?) shows an adoption of writing, even by the Palestinian Christians, as a

---

* In the extensive and highly important literature upon this subject is to be sought the presentation and treatment of the matters outlined in the following paragraphs. See the art. GOSPELS, vol. ii., and literature there cited; also art. 'Gospels' by Sanday in Smith's *DB*², and by E. A. Abbott and Schmiedel in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, vol. ii.; also Wernle, *Synopt. Frage* (1899); Wendt, *Lehre Jesu*, 1 Th. (1886); B. Weiss, *Matthäus-evangelium* (1876); H. Holtzmann, *Synopt. Evangelien* (1863); Weizsäcker, *Untersuchungen ü. d. evangelische Geschichte* (1864, 2nd ed. 1901); Wright, *Composition of the Four Gospels* (1890); Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticæ* (1899); Burkitt, *Two Lectures on the Gospels* (1901).

† It is not unlikely that Jesus knew some Greek, for many Greek-speaking Gentiles lived in Galilee, and that language must have been used not a little in such a hive of commerce as Capernaum was. Jesus' work, however, was exclusively among the Jews, and there is no conclusive evidence that He knew or spoke Greek at all; even His trial before Pilate cannot prove this, as Pilate must have been accustomed to use an interpreter in treating with the Sanhedrin. See O. Holtzmann, *Leben Jesu* (1901), p. 22.

‡ That Jesus taught in Greek has been ably argued by Roberts (*Greek the Language of Christ and His Apostles*, 1888) and by T. K. Abbott (*Essays chiefly on the Original Texts of the OT and NT*, 1891, ch. 5). The contrary, that Jesus taught in Aramaic, has been shown by Neubauer, *Studia Biblica*, i. 39-74 (1885); A. Meyer, *Jesu Muttersprache* (1896); Zahn, *Einleitung i. d. NT*, i. 1-51 (1897); Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, i. 1-72 (1898): see also art. LANGUAGE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, vol. iii.

* Although there still remain a few earnest advocates of an exclusively oral tradition.

means of collecting, circulating, and preserving the Memorabilia of Jesus. But whether Papias' statement is correct or incorrect, it is practically certain that when the Gentiles received the story of Jesus they committed it to writing, for they were not accustomed to the oral transmission of extended material. This change of oral to written records was informal, unauthorized, and gradual, like the translation already described. But it is probable that soon after 50 A.D. there were many written portions of the Gospel Memorabilia in existence and use. These documents then grew in number and extent until after twenty to fifty years our canonical Gospels absorbed them and became recognized as the final records of Jesus' ministry (cf. Lk 1^{1-4}). There are also indications that the oral tradition continued along with the written tradition through the whole period until our Gospels were composed (and indeed afterwards also), and furnished a larger or smaller amount of the material which went into them.

The history here sketched of the transmission of the entire Gospel story is at the same time the history of the transmission of the Sermon on the Mount, which was one of the most valuable sections of the Memorabilia of Jesus. The whole process has left its marks upon our two accounts of the Sermon, for to it are to be attributed in the main the difference of setting, content, arrangement, variety of literary expression, and divergence of thought. But the fundamental agreement of the two accounts, which shows them to be reports of the same historical discourse, has not been seriously obscured in transmission.

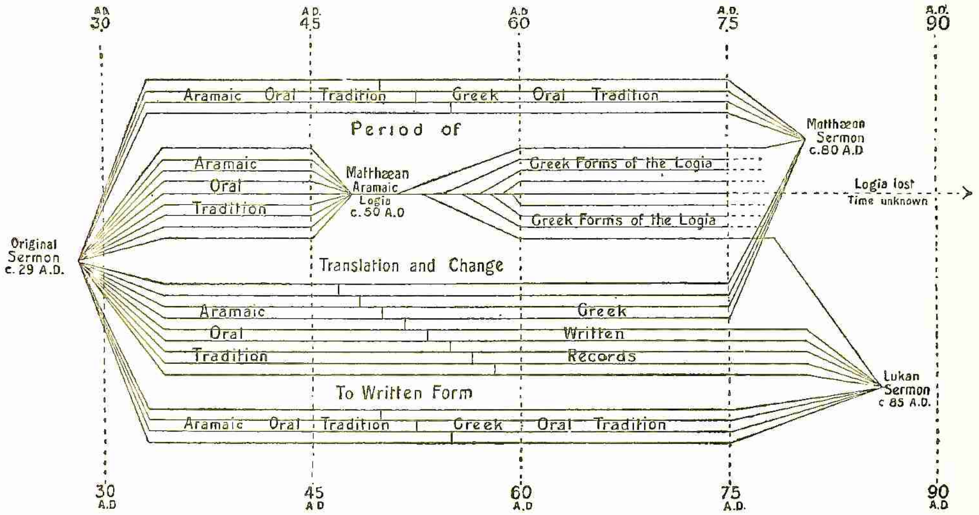

Diagram to Illustrate the Transmission of the Sermon on the Mount.

When one attempts to trace more in detail the particular history of the Sermon on the Mount during the years c. 29–85 A.D., one comes upon many perplexing problems about which at present there is no agreement. Opinions ventured in this sphere can only be tentative and modest.

(1) It seems probable that the Matthæan *Logia* was used in a Greek form, indeed in differing Greek forms, by both the First and the Third Evangelists.* If the same Greek form of the *Logia* was used by both, the one or the other (or perhaps both) has introduced a remarkable series of changes in content, arrangement, and wording which it would be difficult to explain. A much more probable supposition is that the Matthæan *Logia* was *variously translated into Greek*,† in whole or in part, by different persons and in several localities: then these complete or fragmentary translations had each its own history for about 30 years, during which they experienced the vicissitudes of transmission. When the First and Third Evangelists came to prepare their Gospels in c. 80–85 A.D. there were in circulation and use these various Greek forms of the Matthæan *Logia*. The two authors adopted different forms, according to the usage of the locality in which each wrote, or, less likely, according to their judgment of which form was best historically.

(2) In addition to this basal *Logian* source of both our accounts of the Sermon, there were probably other lines of transmission of the discourse in both oral and written tradition. Many disciples had heard the Sermon when Jesus gave it, and for years afterwards had told of it. There must thus have grown up variant reports—one used in one church or circle of churches, and another in another. These further reports also are likely to have been handed down, and some of them may well have come under the notice of the two Evangelists in composing their Gospels.* How much influence such outside sources had upon their reports it would be difficult to determine—perhaps it was considerable.

(3) We need to allow for a fair amount of editorial selection, arrangement, adaptation, and revision on the part of our two authors. Luke (1^{1-4}) has given us important information concerning his material, purpose, and method; and the First Evangelist probably wrote under similar conditions. As they gathered their sources, they found themselves in possession of three classes of sayings from Jesus—(*a*) brief sayings still joined to specific events of His ministry, and which they could in part arrange in their right order; (*b*) the remains

---

* See Wendt, *Lehre Jesu*, i. 52, 53; Jülicher, *Einleitung i. d. NT*³, p. 219; Wernle, *Synopt. Frage*, pp. 79, 80; Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticæ* (1899), pp. 88–92; J. Weiss, *Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes*² (1900), pp. 179–182. That the same Greek form of the *Logia* was used by both the First and Third Evangelists is maintained by O. Holtzmann, *Leben Jesu* (1901), pp. 22–24.

† See Feine, *Jahrb. f. Protest. Theologie*, 1885, p. 1 ff.

* The First Gospel of our NT Canon is neither the Matthæan *Logia* itself, which was in Aramaic (Eusebius, *HE* iii. 39. 16), nor is it an immediate translation of that *Logia*, since it does not contain the inevitable indications of a translated work. The Greek Gospel of Matthew is rather a combination of the *Logia* in some mediate Greek form with the Gospel of Mark, plus the addition of various portions and characteristics which did not belong to either of the original books. However, because it substantially incorporated the *Logia*, it continued to bear the Apostle's name. The author of the enlarged Greek edition of the original Matthew work is unknown. On this matter see the works on NT Introduction by B. Weiss, H. Holtzmann, Jülicher, Zahn, Salmon, and others; also Commentaries on the Gospel of Matthew.

of certain of Jesus' greatest discourses, containing the theme and some of the essential matter belonging thereto; these also could generally be assigned to their proper places in the history; (*c*) small sections of teaching or single sayings, the original connexion of which was no longer known; these would be inserted here and there in the narrative without particular attachment, or would be associated with the nuclei of the great discourses wherever the subject of the one was similar to that of the other. Such compilation would produce the phenomena of extraneous material which we find in both accounts of the Sermon, as well as in other discourse sections of both Gospels. When the material of his Gospel had been arranged satisfactorily by the author, it remained for him to adjust the several parts to each other, to smooth over the joints by his literary skill, and in various ways to give the book a unity and finish such as an author would desire for his work.

(4) In view of the fact that the Gospels were written for the *practical* use of the Christians in their life and worship, the Evangelists felt at liberty to make such a selection and presentation of the Gospel facts and teachings as would be most acceptable and useful to the circles of Christians for whom their books were prepared. Each Gospel therefore has a marked individuality. Matthew, in accordance with his purpose, dwells at length upon the relation of Jesus and His message to the Hebrew Scriptures and the current Judaism. But Luke, or his source, with a Gentile public in mind, passes over this material in the main and presents the Gospel in its universal aspects as a spiritual and altruistic religion for all men. These characteristics of the First and Third Gospels appear strikingly in their respective accounts of the Sermon on the Mount.

The accompanying diagram aims at giving some suggestion of the general course of transmission of the Sermon, and of the kind of sources which each Evangelist may have had before him in preparing his report of the discourse.

4. RELATIVE AUTHENTICITY OF THE TWO ACCOUNTS.—Proceeding now upon the view which has been elaborated, that the two discourses contained in Mt 5–7 and Lk 6^{20-49} are variant reports of one historical Sermon on the Mount, it becomes an important consideration which of the two reproduces the Sermon with the greater completeness and accuracy. The question is as to their *relative* excellence, for the phenomena of the accounts and the vicissitudes of transmission show that neither the First nor the Third Gospel has *perfectly* reproduced the content and wording of the original discourse.

In content, Matthew has much more than Luke of that material which is commonly recognized as having been an essential portion of the Sermon, namely, Mt 5^{3-48} $6^{1-7.16-18}$; compare with this Lk $6^{20-23.27-36}$. Luke or his source omitted most of this section, apparently on the ground that it was inapplicable to the Gentiles, for whom the account was prepared.[*] This omission was perhaps justifiable for the practical purpose of a Gospel, although innumerable Gentiles ever since Luke's day have preferred the Sermon of the First Gospel, as we now do; but however that may be, from a historical point of view such an extensive omission could leave only a seriously incomplete account of the discourse. The further section of the Matthæan discourse (6^{19-34}) may or may not have been a part of the historical Sermon; opinion is quite evenly divided upon this point, and there seems no conclusive evidence either way. The fact that Luke places this material in 12^{22-31}, where it has a topical connexion with what precedes it (12^{13-21}), suggests another occasion, although that occasion is not chronologically located by Luke. On the other hand, if the theme of the Sermon is found in the Beatitudes rather than in the verses Mt 5^{17-20}, this passage, which inculcates devotion to the Kingdom and trust in God, is germane, and marks the discourse as more than an anti-Pharisaic manifesto. For the present, at least, one may prefer to regard this section as belonging to the Sermon. In this case Luke's account of the Sermon, which contains nothing of this portion, is again strikingly incomplete.[*] The final section of the Matthæan discourse (7^{1-27}) has been preserved with some fulness by Luke (6^{37-49}), varying less than the two preceding sections from the Matthæan account. It will appear farther on, that in both the Matthæan and Lukan reports there are some brief extraneous passages which cannot have been in the original Sermon, such as Mt $5^{25.26.31.32}$ 6^{7-15} $7^{6-11.22.23}$, Lk $6^{23-26.38a.39.40.45}$. But in this kind of variation the two reports have both expanded the historical discourse. Considering the relative contents of the Sermon in Matthew and Luke, there can be no doubt (even waiving the question of Mt 6^{19-34}) that the First Gospel presents a much more complete account of the Sermon than that presented by the Third Gospel.[†]

---

[*] So B. Weiss, *Meyer-Komm. ü. d. Mattevgm.* p. 163; Wendt, *Lehre Jesu*, i. 58; Plummer, *Comm. on Luke*, p. 183; Wernle, *Synopt. Frage*, p. 62; Bacon, *Sermon on the Mount* (1902), pp. 36–39; and most other scholars.

[*] It seems impossible to suppose that Luke could have had before him the Sermon in the form in which it now appears in the First Gospel. This is also the opinion of Wernle (*Synopt. Frage*, p. 80), Bartlet (art. MATTHEW in vol. iii.), O. Holtzmann, (*Leben Jesu*, 1901, p. 21), and of Heinrici (*Bergpredigt*, i. 10). Heinrici says the two reports of Matthew and Luke 'are reconstructions of a discourse restored independently by Matthew and Luke rather than in dependence upon one another or upon the same written source.' The Evangelists have re-worked their material, but that alone cannot explain the phenomena of the two accounts. Would Luke have deliberately broken up a collection of teachings so usefully grouped as in the Matthæan accounts, and have scattered them so unreasonably through seven chapters of his own work? On the other hand, the First Evangelist might, so far as the Sermon is concerned, have had Luke's account before him. His own report was surely better than Luke's, and so would not be altered into conformity with the latter. The general phenomena of the two Gospels, however, are against this particular interrelation, and the prevailing opinion assigns Matthew's Gospel to a somewhat earlier date than Luke's.

[†] It is a somewhat difficult matter to explain the absence of the Sermon from the Gospels of Mark and John. The only parallels in Mark to any of the Sermon material are Mk $4^{21.24}$ $9^{43.47.50}$ 10^{11} 11^{25}; in John, 13^{16} (15^{20}). And these sayings are only *possible* parallels, *i.e.* they need not have come into the Gospel of Mark from accounts of the Sermon. The opinion of Ewald, H. Holtzmann, Keim, and Wittichen, that Mark originally contained the Sermon, but that it has disappeared from the canonical work, cannot be accepted. Feine (*Jahrb. f. Protest. Theologie*, 1885, p. 4), is right in holding that Mark did not use the sources which, containing variant accounts of the discourse, were used by Matthew and Luke independently. It seems quite certain, however, that Mark could not have been ignorant of the Sermon. If that discourse did not appear in his sources, oral and written, it must have been because he voluntarily limited those sources. The Sermon was altogether too highly valued and too widely used in the Apostolic age to have escaped any careful compiler of the Gospel Memorabilia. This would be esp. true of Mark, who, if common opinion is correct, had an ultimate Petrine base for much of his material. Is it imaginable that Peter did not give the Sermon a prominent place in his teaching? Surely Mark must have known the Sermon. Why, then, did he omit it from his Gospel? A plausible explanation, which may be the true one, is this:—

When Mark wrote his Gospel, about 65–70 A.D., the Matthæan *Logia* (in various Greek forms) was in general use; this *Logia* passed over the narrative material of the story of Jesus, and consisted mainly of a collection of Jesus' discourses and shorter sayings; it included the Sermon, although in what precise form it is very difficult to determine—probably not that in which it appears in either of our canonical Gospels. Now Mark's Gospel, in striking contrast, reports mainly the acts and events of Jesus' public ministry, giving much less attention to the teaching (the longest sections of discourse material are in 2^{18-22} 3^{23-30} 4^{1-32} 6^{8-13} 7^{6-23} 8^{34-38} $9^{1.39-50}$ $10^{24-31.38-45}$ 11^{23-25} 12. 13). Perhaps Mark wished to put into more complete and permanent transmission that other side of the Gospel story which was neglected in the *Logia*. If so, it was unnecessary for him to repeat the Sermon and certain other discourse elements of that work, since he wrote to complete the

In wording, a like verdict of superior excellence falls to the Gospel of Matthew. Since both Gospels contain the discourse in Greek, therefore in translation we cannot find in either of them the *ipsissima verba* of Jesus (except for the few Aramaic words transliterated, as in Mt 5^{22}). But when we ask which Gospel has more accurately transmuted into Greek the ideas that Jesus expressed in Aramaic, which has more faithfully interpreted His meaning in this teaching, there are many indications that Matthew gives the better record. A complete study of the parallels in the two accounts of the Sermon shows that in almost every instance there is a greater authenticity in the Matthæan account; of this a few illustrations will suffice. (1) The first Beatitude is variously worded (Mt 5^{3} *μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ τῷ πνεύματι*; Lk 6^{20} *μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοί*). It is perhaps true that the Lukan form corresponds more nearly to the Aramaic utterance of Jesus, which may not have had a term corresponding to Matthew's *τῷ πνεύματι*; the important consideration, however, is as to the idea rather than the form. In the Lukan Beatitude, material poverty is intended, as is shown conclusively by the converse woe in 6^{24} *οὐαὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς πλουσίοις* (woe could not be pronounced upon those who were spiritually rich). But in the Matthæan Beatitude the ambiguous term *πτωχοί*—corresponding to the OT עֲנָוִים (Ps 69^{33}, Is 61^{1}) and אֶבְיוֹנִים (Ps 109^{16}, Is 14^{30}), and standing in the LXX for those Hebrew words (see art. POOR in vol. iv.), with a primary moral and spiritual import—is made explicit for the moral and spiritual signification by the addition of the phrase *τῷ πνεύματι*, to protect the Beatitude from the material interpretation which had made its impress upon Luke's source. Thus Matthew has preserved Jesus' original meaning of the first Beatitude (perhaps at the expense of its form); of course it is the meaning rather than the form that is of value. (2) In Mt 5^{43-48} = Lk 6^{32-36} there are many indications of the secondary character of Luke's material: Mt 5^{43} does not appear; the idea of lending (Lk $6^{34.35}$) is a disturbing importation; instead of *τελῶναι* Luke has *ἁμαρτωλοί*; Mt 5^{45a} is given in a non-Jewish form—*ἔσεσθε υἱοὶ Ὑψίστου* instead of *ὅπως γένησθε υἱοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς*; Mt 5^{45b} does not appear, nor the term *οἱ ἐθνικοί* of Mt 5^{47}; and the reminiscence of Dt 18^{13} in Mt 5^{48} *ἔσεσθε . . . τέλειοι* is replaced by a non-Jewish and much weaker *γίνεσθε οἰκτίρμονες*. That is to say, Luke's account lacks the Palestinian setting, the local colour, the Jewish phrases, and the OT allusions, besides introducing an extraneous practical element. (3) A similar practical addition or expansion of Mt 7^{2b} may be seen in Lk 6^{38a}; a true teaching, but foreign to the context. Similarly Lk 6^{45}. (4) In the Mt 7^{12} and Lk 6^{31} forms of the 'Golden Rule' (quoted above), the Matthæan wording approves itself as being a better reproduction of what we may understand Jesus to have said; the Matthæan phrase *οὗτος γάρ ἐστιν ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται* is absent from the Lukan account on the constant principle of expunging Jewish elements. (5) The same principle explains the significant difference of wording in Mt 7^{21} (*οὐ πᾶς ὁ λέγων μοι Κύριε κύριε εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἀλλ' ὁ ποιῶν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρός μου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς*) = Lk 6^{46} (*τί δέ με καλεῖτε Κύριε κύριε, καὶ οὐ ποιεῖτε ἃ λέγω;*). (6) It is obvious in a comparison of the Matthæan and Lukan accounts (quoted above) of the closing parable of the Sermon that the Palestinian colour and the vivid picturesqueness of the story as given in the First Gospel do not appear in the commonplace, secondary expressions of the Third. (7) To these six illustrations from the parallel reports of the Sermon must be added the twofold account of the Lord's Prayer (Mt 6^{9-13} = Lk 11^{2-4}), which is discussed below (under ii. 4 *h*), and most strikingly shows the relative merits of the Matthæan and Lukan reports of Jesus' teaching. It is not to be denied that the Matthæan form may be somewhat expanded from the original Aramaic; but this has to do with form rather than with substance, and the expansion is in the interest of the true interpretation of the Prayer. Here, also, we note (see the two accounts quoted above) the absence from Luke of the Jewish phrases which speak of God as in heaven, and of His 'will' as supreme. The comprehensive and deeply ethical and spiritual term *ὀφειλήματα* of Matthew is replaced in Luke by the conventional term *ἁμαρτίας*. And the petition for deliverance from evil, a characteristically Jewish conception, is expunged.

It cannot be doubted that the strong Jewish element and Palestinian colour of Matthew's discourse actually pervaded Jesus' teaching as originally given. Jesus was a Jew, and spoke to Jews only; His language and His ideas were therefore Jewish and adapted to Jews. There is no room for a theory that this feature was a subsequent artificial transfusion of Judaism into the teaching of Jesus. But it is easy to see how just this feature was eliminated from His teaching in the course of the Gentile mission. The Gentiles neither understood nor liked the Jews, with their peculiar notions and exclusive ways. In order, therefore, to make the Gospel acceptable to them, the Christian missionaries thought it necessary to *universalize* the language of Jesus. This has clearly been done in the case of Luke's account of the Sermon, possibly by himself,* but more likely by a long process of elimination, through which the material had passed on the Gentile field whence Luke drew his sources for the Third Gospel. It is possible that portions of the original Sermon which were too strongly Jewish to remain in that position found their way into Luke's Gospel apart from that discourse, and with the Jewish colouring removed. Perhaps this is the explanation of the variant position of Mt 6^{19-34} = Lk 12^{22-31}, since the same kind of elimination of the Jewish element is apparent here, *e.g.* *τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ* is replaced by *τοὺς κόρακας*; *ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος* is replaced by *ὁ θεός*, note the peculiar addition in Lk 12^{26}; *τὰ ἔθνη* is replaced by *πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τοῦ κόσμου* (a clear

---

current record of Christ's life, not to produce a new Gospel which should antiquate and supersede the *Logia*. This appears also in the fact that the present Greek Matthew combines probably the Matthæan *Logia* with the Gospel of Mark (plus some additional matter) into a quite extensive account of the life of Christ. What makes this theory somewhat unsatisfactory is the fact that no small amount of Jesus' sayings actually contained in Mark's Gospel was in all probability present in the *Logia*, *e.g.* Mk 4^{1-20} 8^{34-38} $9^{1.39-50}$ 12; but perhaps an explanation for this can be found. At any rate, the problem of Mark's omission of the Sermon cannot yet be considered solved.

As for the absence of the Sermon from the Gospel of John, the entire character of that book offers a probable reason for its omission. The author has distinctly chosen not to reproduce Synoptic material, but to make a Gospel with different contents, and setting forth Gospel truth in a different way. That he passes over the Sermon is, therefore, not at all due to his ignorance of the discourse, but to his motive, according to which he passes over *all* the Synoptic discourses (Mt 5-7. 10. 13. 18. 21–25, Lk 6. 10–21), and most of the narrative matter as well. Nor did he, in passing by all this, wish his readers to regard that part of the Gospel story as unhistorical or unessential. He chose to treat a particular phase of Christ's life and personality—what he probably considered the highest phase. This Gospel was designed to illumine, not to supersede, the others

* Bacon, *Sermon on the Mount* (1902), p. 109 f., says: 'It was indeed, from the standpoint of the historian of Jesus' life and teaching, a disastrous, almost incredible mutilation to leave out, as our Third Evangelist has done, all the negative side of the teaching, and give nothing but the commandment of ministering love toward all. We can scarcely understand that the five great interpretative antitheses of the new law of conduct toward men *versus* the old [Mt 5^{21-48}], and the three corresponding antitheses on duty toward God [Mt 6^{1-18}], could have been dropped in one form of even the oral tradition'; but the Third Evangelist has done this in order to 'concentrate the teaching upon the simple affirmation of the law of love.'

alteration to remove the disparaging reference to the Gentiles' love for material wealth and power); again, the absence of *ὁ οὐράνιος* in Lk 12^{30}; and the absence of *τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ* (a technical Jewish term) from Lk 12^{31}. There would seem, therefore, to be no room for question that, historically considered, the Sermon as given by Matthew is of much greater authenticity than the Sermon of Luke, since it has better preserved the actual contents of the historical discourse, its theme and development, its Jewish elements, its Palestinian colour, and the true interpretation of its sayings; and, in addition to these merits, the Matthæan account has a Greek style of higher literary skill and finish. In this preference for the Matthæan report of the Sermon nearly all scholars are now agreed.[*]

But this relative superiority of the account in the First Gospel does not mean its *absolute* authenticity. This account is still but a series of excerpts from the historical Sermon, marred by the incidents of long transmission, showing the inevitable effects of the process of translation, and containing certain passages which originally belonged to other occasions (see below). Even in some cases we are uncertain whether the ideas themselves of Jesus are not misrepresented by the wording of Mt 5–7. Two instances about which there has been much dispute may be mentioned. In Mt $5^{18.19}$ the peculiar tone of Jewish literalness has led many scholars to postulate a Judaistic-Christian colouring of Jesus' words in these verses, since they seem quite foreign to His anti-literal utterances and spirit. Every explanation of them as coming in just this sense from Jesus is beset with difficulties, and fails to satisfy completely (see under ii. 4 *c*). Again, in Mt 5^{32} we find a most significant addition to the teaching of Jesus concerning divorce. This saying probably belongs to the occasion with which it is associated in Mt 19^{3-12}, where it is repeated. In both the Matthæan instances we have the exceptive phrase *παρεκτὸς λόγου πορνείας* (*μὴ ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ*), which is not found in the other Synoptic parallels, Mk 10^{11}, Lk 16^{18}. A serious question is involved concerning the permissibility of divorce. The phrase is rejected as a later interpolation by many of the best modern scholars (see under ii. 4 *d*).

But if we cannot think of the Sermon in Matthew as presenting an absolutely authentic account of that historical discourse, we may yet feel much certainty that it contains many essential teachings from that discourse with substantial trustworthiness. In the Evangelists' reports of the Sermon we have not complete historical accuracy, but practical adequacy.

5. Present Text of the Discourse.—The text of the Sermon as it finally took form in the First and Third Gospels has come down to us through the centuries with less variation than might have been expected; it is in excellent condition. The number of variations is not many hundred, and few of them are of special importance. The Textus Receptus of the 16th cent. (and therefore the AV of 1611 A.D.), compared with the text given us by the great uncials of the 4th–6th cents., shows here as elsewhere numerous elements of assimilation, emendation, revision, and variation; but these have been excluded in the critical texts of the modern editors, Westcott and Hort, Tischendorf, the English Revisers, and others. The most conspicuous changes are the dropping out of words and phrases which have been imported into the text of one Gospel to assimilate its readings to the text of the other, and the literary 'improvements' which the scribes have introduced. The variations which are of importance for interpretation will be treated in their respective places below.

ii. *INTERPRETATION.*—All study of the origin and transmission of the Sermon on the Mount is but a preparation for its interpretation, just as all study of its interpretation is but a preparation for its practice. Both lines of preparation are essential if the teaching is to be understood historically and comprehensively, and is to be applied truly and thoroughly. Surely the untrained English reader can find through the Sermon the spiritual assurance and strength which he needs, and an ideal of life which can determine his conduct in the limited sphere in which he thinks and acts; the gospel is for all, and essentially intelligible to all, rather than the exclusive possession of the educated few (as is the case with intellectual systems of theology, philosophy, ethics, and the like). But when the Sermon is used—as it can and should be used—to illumine the great problems of religion, of morals, and of society, every resource of spiritual capacity, mental ability, and the acquisition of learning should be brought to bear upon this supreme teaching of Christ, in order that it may exert its due and proper influence upon the world.

1. Popular, Gnomic, and Figurative Style.—Interpretation must take full account of the literary style in which Jesus chose to express Himself. That style, as seen in the Sermon on the Mount and throughout the Synoptic Gospels, was distinctly popular and Oriental. Too often Jesus' teaching has been handled as though it were a systematic, scientific treatise on theology and ethics, whose expressions were fittingly to be subjected to laboratory test, each element to be exactly determined by finely-graduated measuring-rod or delicate weighing-scales. No greater mistake could be made, and the results so obtained must be hopelessly incorrect and perverse. Microscopic analysis is a radically wrong process to be applied to Jesus' teachings. For He chose to deal with the masses, and His ideas were expressed in language which they could hear and consider. If at times He disputed with the learned men of His nation, and in doing so in part adopted their dialectical method (see the Johannine discourses), still this was not His main interest or His chief field of work. The common people were open-minded and receptive: to them, therefore, He addressed His teaching. It was to the Galilæans that He gave Himself and His message, while in Jerusalem and elsewhere He had to defend both against the hostile leaders.

As He taught the multitudes, in their synagogues, upon the highways, along the seashore, and on the hillsides of Galilee, He put His religious truths and ethical principles into concrete popular sayings, contrasting His ideal of life in many simple ways with the conventional notions and practices, and illustrating His teaching from the ordinary avocations, experiences, and environment of His hearers.[*] Entirely free from scholasticism and intellectualism, He did not tell the how and why of things, nor present scientific definitions, nor deal in abstractions; but with Divine wisdom and skill He taught those things which it is essential for all men to know. The religious facts and truths which He presented form the foundation of Christian theology, and His instruction concerning human conduct must lie at the root of any true system of ethics; but He did not teach these subjects in the manner of the ancient or modern schools. He put His ideas in such a way as to make His knowledge universal. He spoke with a simplicity, insight, and fervour which would appeal to all serious listeners.

---

[*] The constant preference shown by H. Holtzmann, Wendt, and a few others for the Lukan account of the Sermon as against that of Matthew is, in view of these considerations, a mistake. It is not a true historical criticism to eliminate from the records of Jesus' teaching as much as possible of the characteristic Jewish element, or to give the place of honour to the briefer and more fragmentary of two parallel accounts.

[*] One reading should be given to the Sermon in Mt 5–7 with no other intent than to note Jesus' remarkably fine and abundant allusions to things around Him—religious practices, ethical conceptions, commerce, industries, agriculture, animals, plants, home life, house furnishings, civic institutions, social customs, the conduct of men, human needs, fortune, and misfortune. His observation and appreciation of everything was unequalled, and the relative valuation which He placed upon things was the true norm of all subsequent judgment. No poet—not even Shakespeare—has seen so clearly, felt so truly, or pictured so perfectly the hearts and lives of men.

It was a part of Jesus' method to use all kinds of *figurative* language. That was natural to Him as an Oriental, and by no other means could He have reached the Orientals who formed His audiences. Similes, metaphors, all kinds of illustrations, parables, hyperbolical expressions, were constantly upon His lips.* We have constantly to be on our guard against interpreting literally what He has spoken figuratively.† The Sermon presents the true righteousness, the ideal human life, popularly and practically portrayed and enjoined. To treat this teaching as scientific ethics is to produce confusion. But to draw from it the essential principles of ethics is to find light and peace for mankind.

Many of Jesus' utterances, especially in this discourse, are of the gnomic type in poetic form—a style so effective in the Wisdom literature of the OT and Apocrypha. The wise men of Hebrew history, particularly after the Babylonian exile, put into this attractive literary dress their crystallization of experience, their philosophy of life, their instruction for conduct and practical affairs. This was a favourite style of teaching with the Jews—a fact that was at once the cause and the motive for Jesus' adoption of it. As a literary mode of expression, Jesus used the gnome, as He used the parable, with consummate art.‡ Even the translation of these sayings into a radically different language has not destroyed their literary finish, rhythm, and symmetry, *e.g.* the Beatitudes, the Lord's Prayer, and many other passages in Mt 5-7. The simplicity, lucidity, and energy of Jesus' utterances mask the art with which they were fashioned. Not that we are to conceive of Jesus as *labouring* over His literary productions to bring them to perfection, but that ideal thought intuitively found ideal expression. Jesus' supreme interest was assuredly not in mere letters, but in the truth He taught. Yet this included the vital lodgment of the truth in the minds and hearts of men, and to this end the language in which He clothed His teaching was of great importance. The uniqueness of Jesus manifests itself in the ability to present His teaching acceptably and effectively, as well as in His perfect insight into the truth itself.

But not only was Jesus the true successor of the OT sage. The Hebrew prophets also gave their messages in remarkably fine literary form, as in the Psalms, Isaiah, and Amos. And the prophetic utterances of Jesus, too, were clothed in language full of beauty, fire, and force. Indeed, Jesus was more a prophet than a sage.* He taught not so much as a philosopher of this life; rather, as a seer who has a vision of a higher life which is to be produced in men. Jesus' earnestness and tempered zeal in His teaching were more persuasive and searching than the fervour of any preceding prophet of truth and righteousness. In the Sermon on the Mount He showed men the ideal life, but that was not all—He strenuously urged them to attain it. They must forthwith *do* the will of God which He had made plain to them (Mt 7^{21-27}). Active love, self-denial, and service He fixed as absolute requirements for those who would be members of the kingdom of God. In these utterances the voice of the true prophet is heard proclaiming God's will and demanding that 'justice roll down as waters, and righteousness as an everflowing stream' (Am 5^{24}). Jesus was both wise man and prophet, but greater than either and greater than both; and never greater than in the Sermon on the Mount, where He immeasurably surpassed every lawgiver, seer, and sage. It is with this supreme appreciation of Jesus and His teaching that one should enter upon the specific interpretation of His words in Mt 5-7 and the Lukan parallels.

2. EFFECT OF THE TRANSLATION INTO GREEK.—In view of the fact that we have Jesus' words only in a translation (the original of which has probably passed out of existence), it will be always a wise proceeding to attempt to reproduce the Aramaic form of the words of Jesus which have come down to us only in Greek. By this process, even though success in it can be only partial, an atmosphere for interpretation is obtained, and shades of meaning are disclosed which would otherwise escape us. Unless we get back into the Semitic world to which Jesus belonged and in which He worked, we can never completely understand Him or His teaching. It is therefore a proper and useful undertaking upon which a number of excellent scholars are now engaged,† to restore by conjecture the original Aramaic of Jesus' words. Some of the results already reached are of importance, and still greater things may be expected of it in the future. It is likely that to some extent the variant vocabulary in the Greek of parallel Gospel passages can be explained as the result of translation, a single Aramaic term being represented in the several translations by two or more synonymous Greek words.

A thorough study of the Septuagint in close comparison with the Hebrew text, showing how translators actually put Hebrew into Greek, gives a valuable insight into method, and furnishes criteria for judging of the Aramaic original behind the Greek of our Gospels. Various degrees of literal and free rendering of the Aramaic can be seen in our two accounts of the Sermon on the Mount. Sometimes the translators have been unable to find exact Greek equivalents for the Aramaic words; sometimes they have imperfectly comprehended, and therefore have failed exactly to reproduce, the Semitic ideas; sometimes they have placed a current interpretation upon Jesus' sayings; sometimes they have expanded the sayings as they put them into Greek to remove ambiguity, or to improve the literary form. These and other inevitable phenomena of translation appear in this discourse of the First and Third Gospels, and must be adequately dealt with in an exposition of its contents.

---

* Metaphorically, Jesus calls the disciples the salt of the earth and the light of the world (Mt $5^{13.14}$). Symbolically, He commands the plucking out of the right eye (5^{29}). Figuratively, He speaks of the mote and beam (7^{3-5}), of the pearls before swine (7^{6}), of the narrow way ($7^{13.14}$), of the false prophets (7^{15}), of the tree and its fruits (7^{16-20}). He gives the parable of the Two House-builders (7^{24-27}). And most difficult of all to interpret correctly, we have His hyperbolical utterances, in which He says more than He means, setting forth a principle rather than a rule of conduct, and leaving its application to the judgment of men. Such are the four famous 'non-resistance' injunctions (5^{39-42}), and the sayings concerning the secrecy of benevolence (6^{3}), prayer in the closet only (6^{6}), anxiety for the necessaries of life (6^{25-34}), answers to prayer ($7^{7\text{ff.}}$), and the 'Golden Rule' (7^{12}).

† See Wendt, *Lehre Jesu*, ii. 74-112; Tholuck, *Bergrede*^{5}, p. 109 ff. [Eng. tr. p. 165 f.].

‡ See Heinrici, *Bergpredigt*, i. 19-26; Kent, *Wise Men of Ancient Israel*^{2} (1899), pp. 176-201; Briggs, 'The Wisdom of Jesus the Messiah' in *Expository Times*, 1897, viii. 393-8, 452-5, 492-6, ix. 69-75. Dr. Briggs says: 'Jesus put His wisdom in this poetic form for the reason that Wisdom had been given in the artistic form of gnomic poetry for centuries, and was so used in His time. If He was to use such Wisdom, He must use its forms. Jesus uses its stereotyped forms, and uses them with such extraordinary freshness, fertility, and vigour that His Wisdom transcends all others in its artistic expression' (viii. 395).

* See this view defended by J. Weiss, *Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes*^{2} (1900), pp. 53-57, against Wellhausen, *Israelitische u. Jüdische Geschichte*^{3} (1897), ch. 24.

† See Resch, *Logia Jesu* (1898), who endeavours to reconstruct in Hebrew the Matthæan *Logia*, which he regards as the primary source for the material of the Synoptic Gospels; suggestive for this study is his reconstruction of the Sermon on the Mount, pp. 19-29. Further, Marshall, artt. in *Expositor* (1891-2); Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, i. (1898); E. A. Abbott, *Clue: A Guide through Greek to Hebrew Scripture* (1900); Nestle, *SK* (1896).

3. THEME OF THE DISCOURSE AND ITS DEVELOPMENT.—It is the unanimous opinion of all students of the Sermon on the Mount (whether they regard its contents as original or compiled), that the discourse as it appears in Mt 5–7 and Lk 6^{20-49} has a real unity, presenting a definite theme and developing it logically and effectively. If an actual discourse of Jesus constitutes the nucleus of these accounts, the unity of the Sermon is original with Jesus, notwithstanding the presence of certain extraneous material in the Gospel reports. But, even on the supposition that there was no historical Sermon, still the unity of this discourse in Matthew and Luke remains, and is to be attributed to the sources used by the Evangelists, or to the Evangelists themselves. We have seen good reason, however, for holding that the Sermon, as it comes down to us, rests upon a real event and contains excerpts from a great discourse of Jesus, whose theme and development are here preserved. What the theme is must be carefully considered. There are differing shades of opinion and various statements on this point. The crucial question seems to be: Is the theme of the discourse to be found in the Beatitudes (Mt 5^{3-12}= Lk 6^{20-23}) or in the verses about the fulfilment of the Law (Mt 5^{17-20})?

If the theme lies in Mt 5^{17-20}, as is maintained by some,* several conclusions must follow. (1) The Beatitudes, given both in Matthew and in Luke as the beginning of the discourse, are extraneous matter brought in from some other connexion, or are merely introductory, containing no essential element of the discourse. (2) The account in Luke omits the very verses of the discourse which contain the theme, since Mt 5^{17-20} has no parallel in Lk 6^{20-49}; yet Luke's discourse *has* a theme, and an excellent one, in the promulgation of a perfect life of patience, trust, love, service, and obedience. (3) To find the theme in Mt 5^{17-20} is to make the discourse an apologetical one, in which Jesus was defending Himself against the charge of destroying the OT Law. What follows, however, in 5^{21-48} is not at all in accordance with this conception, for Jesus' teaching in these verses abrogates the OT Law in some points, and in other points supersedes it by a higher ideal of thought and conduct; in other words, He is here showing how little rather than how much He has in common with that legal system—He criticises rather than defends it. (4) Or, the theme in Mt 5^{17-20} may call for a polemical discourse in condemnation of the perverse Pharisaic interpretation of the OT Law. But the occasion of this discourse did not suggest or make appropriate a polemic against Pharisaic conceptions any more than a defence of Himself against Pharisaic charges. If we can trust Luke to have given us the substantially correct setting of the Sermon, it was an address to the Galilæan multitude who followed Jesus, eager to hear His words, well disposed towards Him, and many of them already His professed disciples. Jesus had just formally chosen twelve men to assist Him in His work, which was now assuming the character and proportions of a new religious movement. At this juncture a discourse of a *negative* quality, apologetical or polemical, would have been unsuitable and unwise. The occasion called for a positive, comprehensive setting forth of what this new religious movement aimed to accomplish, for what it practically stood. (5) Finally, to take the theme from Mt 5^{17-20} makes it impossible to find any place in the discourse for the greater part of the material contained in Mt 5–7, since the great sections 5^{3-16} 6^{19-34} 7^{1-27} have no logical relation to a defence against the charge of destroying the OT Law, or a polemic against the Pharisaic interpretation of it.

These considerations point strongly towards another theme for the Sermon. Where should one look for that theme but in the first section, in the Beatitudes themselves? They present the ideal life in character and conduct, the true righteousness over against current shallow and perverse conceptions of righteousness. This, then, is the true theme of the Sermon on the Mount, because: (1) It stands, where the theme should, at the head of the discourse. (2) It is the theme which both Matthew and Luke fix for the discourse, and the only theme which is common to both accounts of the Sermon.* (3) This theme *includes* the section about the Law, Mt 5^{17-20}, with the Jewish allusions contained in its logical development in 5^{21-48} 6^{1-18}, as one of several elements in the discourse, which therefore Luke or his source can omit without radically changing the thought of the Sermon. In this feature of the section the ideal life of Jesus' conception is painted against the background of the Pharisaic conception; and not with an apologetical or polemical purpose, but as an effective mode of positive instruction. When the Gospel story was shorn of this local colouring to make it suitable for the Gentiles, the essential, universal elements of the teaching were extracted and used; compare Lk 6^{27-36} with Mt 5^{21-48}. (4) This theme is appropriate to the occasion described by Luke. There is abundant probability that Jesus, at some middle point in the Galilæan ministry, after careful preparation of the people, and to a general company of His followers, would undertake to set forth somewhat specifically and comprehensively the kind of men and women for whom the kingdom of God called; what it meant in actual life to become a member of that kingdom; the kind of righteousness which God required as contrasted with the current scribal teaching. This would be a definite theme for a great discourse. It would logically involve a characterization of ideal character and conduct; a comparison of this ideal with the ideal commonly held among them; some illustrations of how this ideal character and conduct would manifest themselves in one's attitude towards God, self, and fellow-men; and, lastly, earnest injunctions to the actual attainment of this ideal. This is what we have in the Sermon on the Mount. And there is in the public ministry of Jesus no occasion so suitable for just such a discourse as that of the appointment of the apostles, with which event Luke associates the Sermon.

Certain scholars hold that this general theme of the ideal life, or the true righteousness, unifies the whole contents of Mt 5–7 so that *every verse* finds a place in its development. On this view the Sermon contains no extraneous material, is in no degree a compilation, but, on the contrary, came from Jesus exactly in its present contents and arrangement.† It does not need to be said that we should all like to think of the Sermon in this way, if it were possible. But in the judgment of the great majority of NT scholars* two facts are decisive against this hypothesis. (1) Particular verses in the two accounts have no logical connexion with the theme of the discourse and its development, *e.g.* Mt $5^{25.26.31.32}$ 6^{7-15} $7^{6-11.22.23}$, Lk $6^{24-26.38a.39.40.45}$. It does not meet the point to reply that, since the Gospel reports contain only excerpts from the Sermon, abrupt transitions are to be expected. That is true, as we may see at Mt $5^{12.16.48}$ $6^{18.34}$, Lk $6^{26.31.42}$. But in these cases it is possible to discover a thought relation in the contiguous sections, although the sections are not smoothly joined to one another. In the former class of passages, however, it is difficult to see any logical relation to the theme and discourse as a whole. If now it be said that thought connexion need not exist throughout the contents, this is to attribute to Jesus a mosaic of sayings instead of a discourse, which seems very unlikely. (2) The second fact to be mentioned is still more certain. Most of the material in Matthew which appears to be extraneous to the discourse has parallels in Luke's Gospel *outside* of his Sermon (see table of parallel passages above). Now, if Matthew has right places for these verses, Luke has wrong ones. But can it be considered probable that the Sermon should have been preserved so complete as Matthew's account in one line of transmission, and should have become so disintegrated as Luke's account in another? Would not Luke, who had 'traced the course of all things accurately from the first' (Lk 1^3), have discovered and obtained for his book this far superior account of the Sermon? Again, the original historical setting of some of these extraneous passages in Mt 5–7 is fixed by Luke as not in the Sermon but elsewhere. The Lord's Prayer is shown by Lk 11^{1-4} to have been given by Jesus on another occasion in response to a specific request from His disciples. The true place of the divorce teaching (Mt $5^{31.32}$) is established by Matthew's own Gospel, in Mt 19^{3-9} = Mk 10^{2-12}, where it is germane to the occasion, while in the Sermon it interrupts the movement of the discourse.† Similarly, the parable of the blind guiding the blind, Lk 6^{39}, belongs more likely to the position assigned it in Mt 15^{14}.

---

* H. Holtzmann, Ibbeken, B. Weiss, Wendt.

* Luke's form of the Beatitudes does not show this as clearly as Matthew's, but the subsequent material of Luke's discourse leaves no doubt that the original import of them was the same as of those of the First Gospel. On other grounds also it appears that the Lukan interpretation of the Beatitudes (placed upon them probably not by the Evangelist but by his source) is seriously misconceived.

† So Stier, Morison, Keil, Kübel, Steinmeyer, H. Weiss, Broadus, Grawert.

There are, then, some passages in Mt 5–7 and Lk 6^{20-49} which did not historically form a part of the Sermon on the Mount, but which by a process of compilation (either in transmission or as the work of the Evangelists) have become associated with it. But one cannot be sure just how much extraneous matter is present in these reports, and the question is more difficult in Matthew than in Luke. There is much difference of opinion as to the amount of compilation, even among those who are best qualified to judge. It may be best to indicate three grades of the material: that which probably belonged to the original discourse, that about which there is uncertainty (accompanied by an interrogation-point in the table), and that which must be considered foreign addition (marked by enclosing brackets). The table that follows is intended to show the general opinion of scholars rather than any individual opinion.

Mt $5^{3.4.6.11.12}$	=	Lk 6^{20-23}
?$5^{5.7.8.9.10}$		
		[6^{24-26}]
?5^{13-16}		
5^{17-24}		
Mt [$5^{25.26}$]		
$5^{27.28}$		
?$5^{29.30}$		
[$5^{31.32}$]		
5^{33-48}	=	Lk $6^{27-30.32-36}$
Mt 6^{1-6}		
[6^{7-15}]		
6^{16-18}		
?6^{19-34}		
7^{1-5}	=	Lk $6^{37.38b.41.42}$
		[$6^{38a.39.40}$]
[7^{6-11}]		
Mt ?7^{12}	=	Lk ?6^{31}
?7^{13-15}		
?7^{16-20}	=	?$6^{43.44}$
		[6^{45}]
7^{21}	=	6^{46}
[$7^{22.23}$]		
7^{24-27}	=	6^{47-49}

In a problem so important as this of the theme and content of the Sermon on the Mount, attention must be given to the opinions of many scholars. A brief conspectus of these opinions follows, arranged in two groups: those who hold that the discourse of Mt 5–7 is a perfect and original whole, and those who regard as extraneous a smaller or larger portion of these chapters.

Morison thinks Mt 5–7 a complete unit, given by Jesus to 'the constantly increasing multitude of such as took Him to be the long promised Messiah, and who wished to be instructed by Him as to what they should do in connection with the inauguration and establishment of His kingdom' (*Comm. on Matthew*, new ed. 1884, p. 57).—Broadus maintains that the discourse was given exactly as in the First Gospel, and that in it Jesus 'sets forth the characteristics of those who are to be subjects of this reign [of heaven] and share the privileges connected with it, and urges upon them various duties. In particular He clearly exhibits the relation of His teachings to the moral law, in order to correct any notion that He proposed to set the law aside, or to relax its rigour, when, on the contrary, He came to inculcate not merely an external, but a deeply spiritual morality' (*Comm. on Matthew*, 1886, pp. 83, 84).—Steinmeyer assumes that the Sermon as it appears in Matthew 'came from Jesus in this order and in these words . . . Righteousness is the glittering thread which clearly runs through the whole discourse from the beginning to the end; this is the idea which constitutes its unity' (*Die Rede des Herrn auf dem Berge*, 1885, pp. 10, 20). He makes a threefold division of the contents: the longing for righteousness, ch. 5; the striving for righteousness, ch. 6; the attainment of righteousness, ch. 7.*—Hugo Weiss also defends the integrity of Matthew's discourse, and considers it as 'a necessary strand in the development of the Messianic movement. . . . [It contains] a characterization of the Messianic kingdom and of the duties of its members against a background of Jewish and Gentile conceptions of the world, teaching and practice' (*Die Bergpredigt Christi*, 1892, pp. 2, 3).—Nösgen theoretically admits the possibility of the presence of some extraneous verses in Mt 5–7, but he does not as a matter of fact discover any. He thinks that in the discourse Jesus, as the fulfiller of the Law and the Prophets, aims to set forth the moral conditions of obtaining membership in the Messianic kingdom which is at hand (*Das Evangelium nach Matthäus* ², 1897, p. 54).—Plummer holds that Luke's Sermon is a different one from Matthew's, though Luke has dropped out of his account the long section Mt 5^{17}–6^{18} as inapplicable to his readers. And as to the theme, 'the main point in Matthew is the contrast between the legal righteousness and the true righteousness;† in Luke the main point is that true righteousness is love' (*Comm. on Luke*, 1896, p. 183).—Grawert is the latest defender of the complete unity of Mt 5–7 (*Die Bergpredigt nach Matthäus*, 1900). The proof of this integrity is developed on a new line: the Beatitudes as given by Matthew constitute the key to the whole discourse, each Beatitude corresponding to a particular section of these chapters and forming its epitome. He thinks that for this reason the Beatitudes must have stood originally at the close of the Sermon instead of at the beginning, so that Mt 5^{13-16} was the proper prologue to the Sermon (pp. 5–8). The eight Beatitudes as they now stand in Matthew are in inverse order as compared with the material of the discourse, thus: $5^{10}=5^{11-16}$, $5^{9}=5^{17-26}$, $5^{8}=5^{27-37}$, $5^{7}=5^{38-48}$, $5^{6}=6^{1-34}$, $5^{5}=7^{1.2}$, $5^{4}=7^{3-5(6)}$, $5^{3}=7^{7-11}$ (p. 66). The purpose of the Sermon was 'the consolidation of the disciple-group. By this we mean the inner and outer separation of the disciples from their former Jewish past, and the establishment of their new position on the basis of their relation to the Lord, and in their actual outer connexion with Him as His followers and future messengers of the Kingdom of Heaven' (p. 18). But the discourse has a double character, for it also 'indicates the point at which Jesus steps forth from His former reserve with respect to the ever-increasing hostility of the Pharisees and scribes, and engages in open war against them' (p. 18). It was this that made the picking out and the union of the disciples a necessity. The occasion of the Sermon, as of the appointment of the Twelve with which it was immediately connected, was the daily increasing labours of the Pharisees against

---

* Calvin, Baur, Strauss, Neander, Tholuck, Wieseler, Kuinöl, Bleek, Keim, Weizsäcker, Godet, Meyer, Bruce, H. Holtzmann, Nösgen, Achelis, Wendt, B. Weiss, Ihbeken, Wernle, Jülicher, Heinrici, Sanday, Bartlet, Bacon, and many others.

† The parallel passage in Luke is at 16^{18}, but this verse and the preceding one are both unattached in this position, which indicates that they are dislocated; 16^{17} belongs to the original Sermon, but this determines nothing for 16^{18}, which stands in no logical relation to it.

* Steinmeyer's analysis is entirely formal—it does not characterize the material. The whole treatment is shallow, uncritical, and disappointing.

† From Plummer's view of Luke's discourse it seems fair to conclude that he would hold Matthew's discourse to be practically original as it stands. If so, this statement of the theme of Mt 5–7 is unsatisfactory, since the Jewish contrast appears only in 5^{17-48} $6^{1-6.16-18}$ 7^{1-5}, less than one-half of the whole Sermon. But this conception of the Sermon is also shown to be inadequate by the fact that it lacks the breadth, point, and positiveness which the circumstances of the Sermon on the Mount required.

Jesus and their persecution of His followers, which called out a public manifesto from Jesus and a positive resistance (p. 33). He makes five divisions of the Sermon: 5^{17-37} 5^{38-48} 6^{1-18} 6^{19-34} 7^{1-11}; the introduction is 5^{11-16}, and the conclusion 7^{12-27}, while the Beatitudes 5^{3-10} form a *résumé* of the whole teaching.[*]

The compilation view, which sees in the discourses of Matthew and Luke a larger or smaller quantity of extraneous sayings, is held by the great majority of scholars, who can he represented here by quotations from but a few. Some members of this class have the same large idea of the theme of the Sermon on the Mount as the seven just named. Godet (*Collection of the Four Gospels, and the Gospel of Matthew*, 1899, p. 135) says that 'the report of this discourse in Matthew is a work of a composite order, in which have been combined many heterogeneous elements; but this does not deny that there was really a great discourse of Jesus.' The passages which he thinks belonged originally to other connexions are Mt $5^{7-12. 25. 26. 29-32}$ $6^{7-15. 19-34}$ $7^{(6). 7-14. 21-23}$ (pp. 132–134). The purpose of the Sermon was 'the installation of the true people of God on the earth hy the proclamation of the only righteousness conformable to the holy nature of God, which should characterize the true members of His people, in opposition to the formal righteousness inculcated by the traditional teaching and the example of the doctors. This righteousness, far from heing contrary to the law, is the very fulfilment of it, since the meaning of the law has been falsified hy those who call themselves its interpreters' (p. 135).—B. Weiss (*Meyer-Komm. ü. d. Mattevgm.* 1898) holds that a primitive *Logian* account of the Sermon was essentially shortened by Luke but largely expanded by Matthew. 'If we remove the additions of our Evangelist, we get the form of an original discourse which may well be substantially the Sermon of Jesus, hy reason of its unity of thought, its certain prologue 5^{1-12} and epilogue 7^{13-27}, its highly important theme 5^{17-20}, with the exposition in twice three antitheses against the scribal interpretation of the law $5^{21f. 27f. 31f. 33-37. 38-42. 43-48}$; also in twice three antitheses against the practices of the Pharisees $6^{1-4. 5f. 16-18}$ $7^{1f. 3-5. 12}$, with their genuine reflexion of the conditions of the time' (p. 163). Therefore the extraneous matter in the Matthæan account is $5^{13-16. 23-26. 29. 30}$ $6^{7-15. 19-34}$ 7^{6-11}. In the discourse 'clearly the opposition to the prevailing teaching of the law and the Pharisaic practice of righteousness form the leading point of view and historical motive' (p. 164).—Tholuck (*Die Bergrede Christi*^{5}, 1872 [Eng. tr. from ed.^{4}, 1860]) thinks that there is some indication of compilation, as perhaps Mt $5^{25. 26. 29. 30}$ 6^{7-15} 7^{1-11} (p. 22), but hesitates to pronounce against any specific passages; he defends the Matthæan position of the Lord's Prayer 6^{7-15} and of the important section 6^{19-34}. Jesus' purpose in the Sermon was 'to exhibit Himself as the fulfiller of the law, and to enunciate the Magna Charta of His new kingdom.[†] . . . To exhibit the new economy of the kingdom of God as the truest fulfilment of the old; in this the condemnation of the superficial religion of Pharisaic Judaism was of course implied' (pp. 14, 15). The Sermon must have contained throughout a strictly progressive train of thought, but this disappears in Mt 6^{19}–7^{11} by the fault of the Evangelist.—Bruce (*Expositor's Greek Testament*, vol. i. 1897) presents a novel theory: the material in Mt 5–7 is a literary assemblage of various teachings given during a period of instruction. It is supposed that the Beatitudes were given on one day, teaching concerning prayer on another day, warning against covetousness on a third day, and so forth. 'As these chapters stand, the various parts cohere and sympathize wonderfully, so as to present the appearance of a unity' (pp. 94, 95).—Achelis (*Die Bergpredigt*, 1875) holds that 'the speech of Mt 5–7 is to be regarded as a work of compilation, in which the genuine Sermon of Jesus was combined with sections from other discourses into a new unity' (p. 491). The portion Mt 5^3–6^{18} is the actual nucleus of the Sermon, and 7^{13-27} was the actual close; but the entire portion 6^{19}–7^{12} consists of extraneous matter brought in here from other connexions (p. 400). In this great discourse Jesus 'set before His disciples the norm and the essence of the righteousness of the Kingdom of Heaven' (p. 321).—Wendt (*Die Lehre Jesu*, vol. i. 1886) regards the speech as in part a compilation, the foreign passages being Mt $5^{13-16. 26. 27. 29b. 30}$ $6^{7-15. 19-34}$ $7^{6-11. 19. 20. 22. 23}$.—Feine (*Jahrb. f. Protest. Theologie*, 1885, pp. 1–85) holds firmly to a historical discourse, and regards the Matthew account as the more authentic, but separates as extraneous matter Mt $5^{11-16. 18f. 23-26. 29-32}$ $6^{7-15. 19-34}$ $7^{6-11. 13f. 19f. 22f.}$ (p. 84). The theme of the Sermon is the true righteousness as against the current Pharisaic conception and practice of righteousness (p. 35).—Bacon (*Sermon on the Mount*, 1902) argues stoutly for an actual discourse of Jesus, and defends the account of the First Gospel as the more complete. The portions which did not originally belong to the Sermon are Mt $5^{5. 7-10. 13-16. 18. 23-26. 29f.}$ $6^{7-15. 19-34}$ $7^{6-11. 13-17. 19-23}$. He calls the Sermon 'the discourse on the Higher Righteousness' (p. x), and thinks it 'worthy to be called the new Torah of the Kingdom of God' (p. 35).

H. Holtzmann (*Hand-Comm. u. d. Synoptiker*^{2}, 1892) thinks the speech is a work of compilation *in toto* by the Evangelist, whose aim was to furnish an order of life for the new Church (p. 99). The theme of the entire discourse is in his opinion to be found in Mt 5^{17-20} (p. 103).—Weizsäcker (*Apost. Zeitalter*^{2}, 1891) also regards the Sermon as a collection by the Evangelist of passages adapted to the instruction of the primitive Church (p. 378 f.).—Heinrici (*Die Bergpredigt*, vol. i. 1900) similarly views Matthew's discourse as a free composition from scattered authentic sayings (pp. 10, 39). As to the theme of the Sermon, 'the whole appears as the Magna Charta of true discipleship to Jesus' (p. 13).—Ibbeken (*Die Bergpredigt Jesu*^{2}, 1890) offers a striking view which calls for careful consideration. According to him, the First Gospel was designed throughout to show a close parallelism between the events of Israel's history and the events of Jesus' life, as may be seen in the Evangelist's treatment of the Infancy Narrative (chs. 1. 2), the Baptism (ch. 3), and the Temptation (ch. 4). Then when the author comes to the Sermon (chs. 5–7) he provides for Jesus a multitude explicitly described (4^{25}) as representative of all the Hebrew territory, drawing significantly the parallelism between the giving of the Law on Sinai and the second giving of the Law by Jesus on 'the mount of Beatitudes' (cf. Mt 5^1 7^{28} with Ex 19^3 $24^{9. 13}$). The contents and arrangement of the Sermon also correspond, Ibbeken thinks, with the Sinai law-giving. There are four chief sections of the Matthæan account: 5^{3-48} concerning ethical perfection (the Beatitudes corresponding to the Ten Commandments), 6^{1-18} concerning piety, 6^{19-34} concerning the highest good, 7^{1-12} concerning the judging of members of the Kingdom of Heaven; then follows an epilogue 7^{13-27} containing earnest warnings and admonitions to faithful obedience to this new law (pp. 1–11). He declines to decide whether this parallelism between the old and the new law-giving was drawn by Jesus Himself or only by the Evangelist: 'however many may be the grounds for thinking that the speech was first put together out of the Matthæan Aramaic *Logia* by the author of the First Gospel, the *possibility* remains that Jesus Himself gave the discourse in this form and on this occasion. . . . It seems to me to be unnecessary for the understanding of the Sermon to determine whether Jesus Himself actually gave it in this form, at this time and place, or whether the material of it was first gathered together by Matthew out of scattered single sayings and arranged in this way' (pp. 5, 6).[*]

But granting, as seems necessary, that the Sermon on the Mount, as it comes down to us in twofold form, is in some degree a compilation, though with the nucleus of a historical discourse, it is yet possible to recognize that the material as it stands in Matthew and Luke has a kind of unity, by the consonance of all Jesus' religious-ethical teaching, and by the intelligent grouping of the additional matter within the framework of the actual address. And considering that in those sections of the discourse which are original we have mere excerpts from the whole, only a small part of all that Jesus said in that epoch-making discourse, we can still feel confident that in these verses the theme of the Sermon is before us, and many of the essential ideas—a sufficient number to show the main development of the theme by Jesus. If an

---

[*] Grawert's theory is composed of two parts which are not interdependent. (1) His analysis of the discourse, parcelling out a number of verses to each Beatitude as its epitome, is artificial and reaches absurdity when it is forced to make 'Blessed are they that mourn' (5^4) the epitome of the saying about the mote and the beam (7^{3-5}). Certainly the Beatitudes contain the essential ideas of the Sermon, which are developed, made concrete, and illustrated by the teaching which follows. But no such absolute connexion between the Beatitudes and the contents of the discourse can be shown as shall guarantee that *every verse* of Mt 5–7 was a part of the original Sermon. Not only this, but he has entirely ignored the phenomena of Luke's parallel account and the distribution of much of Matthew's discourse through chs. 10–14. 16 of the Third Gospel. (2) The conception which Grawert has of the theme, occasion, and purpose of the Sermon might as readily he held in conjunction with a mild compilation theory, and unquestionably contains a great deal of truth. The main objection to it is that it presses to an extreme the idea of the Pharisaic opposition to Jesus and His followers *at this stage* of the ministry, and postulates a much sharper separation between the Christian and the Jewish adherents than was then at all probable.

[†] A similar view concerning the theme of the Sermon is held by Baur, Neander, Delitzsch, Ebrard, Ewald, Meyer, Köstlin, and Hilgenfeld.

[*] Logically, however, Ibbeken is driven to a belief in the entire compilation of the Matthæan discourse, and he seems to acknowledge this on p. 5. It is impossible to agree with him that it makes no difference for the interpretation of the Sermon whether the parallelism is from Jesus or from the Evangelist. But his observation is a true one, often noted (see H. Holtzmann, *op. cit.* p. 99; Godet, *op. cit.* p. 131), that the First Evangelist delights in arranging parallels between the events of Hebrew history and the events of Jesus' life. In this interest and occupation he probably represented a large school of primitive Jewish Christians. It is quite likely that he and they found deep significance in comparing the law-giving hy Moses with that by Christ. There is clearly an important truth in the parallelism; Jesus came to create a second great epoch as Moses had created a first, and He gave to men a Gospel which superseded the legal system (see Bacon, *Sermon on the Mount*, pp. 8 f., 26, 36). But the artificial and dramatic devices for indicating the parallelism, which Ibbeken supposes, are hardly to be attributed to Jesus, and it is even doubtful whether the Evangelist intended them to be implied in his narrative. The circumstances and description of the giving of the Sermon are fairly simple and have verisimilitude.

analysis of the Sermon on the Mount is, properly speaking, excluded by the facts just mentioned, we can at least construct an outline of the discourse as given to us by the Evangelists.*

THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT

AS RECORDED BY MATTHEW AND LUKE.

Theme: The Ideal Life:† Its Characteristics, Mission, and Outworkings, and the Duty of attaining it.

A. The Ideal Life described, Mt 5^{1-16}, Lk 6^{20-26}.
  (*a*) its characteristics, Mt 5^{1-12}, Lk 6^{20-26}.
  (*b*) its mission, Mt 5^{13-16}.
B. Its Relation to the Earlier Hebrew Ideal, Mt 5^{17-20}.
C. The Outworkings of the Ideal Life, Mt 5^{21}–7^{12}, Lk 6^{27-42}.
  (*a*) in deeds and motives, Mt 5^{21-48}, Lk $6^{27-30.\ 32-36}$.
  (*b*) in real religious worship, Mt 6^{1-18}.
  (*c*) in trust and self-devotion, Mt 6^{19-34}.
  (*d*) in treatment of others, Mt 7^{1-12}, Lk $6^{31.\ 37-42}$.
D. The Duty of living the Ideal Life, Mt 7^{13-27}, Lk 6^{43-49}.

4. The Chief Problems of Interpretation.—It is an interesting evidence of the relativity of language, and of the large subjective element in all interpretation, that Jesus' words in the Sermon have been variously understood in the Christian centuries. Men have found in them what they were prepared to find, by reason of their political ideas, their social environment, their philosophical theories, their theological beliefs, their moral character, and their spiritual aspirations. Nor can we hope to escape similar contemporary influences when we attempt an interpretation. But in three important respects the expositor of to-day is in a more favourable position than his predecessors for getting at the true interpretation of Jesus' teaching: (1) the prolonged, able, and thorough historical investigation of the four Gospels during the 19th cent. has given us a new knowledge and wisdom in determining the origin and the first meaning of Jesus' words; (2) the present high development of the science of ethics—both individual and social ethics—has enabled us as never before to understand and to appreciate Jesus' teaching in the Sermon; (3) the modern change of emphasis from a Christianity of right belief to a Christianity of right character and right social service has brought us nearer to Christ, and has made us both able and willing to learn from Him.

Space here permits only a brief, general treatment of the interpretation of the material contained in Mt 5–7, Lk 6^{20-49}.

a. The Beatitudes.—Mt 5^{3-12}=Lk $6^{20-23\ (24-26)}$. In a discourse whose one purpose was to describe and to enjoin the true righteousness, it was altogether appropriate that the Divine ideal for men should be characterized at the outset. Jesus presented this ideal in a most significant way; not in a re-enactment of the Ten Commandments of Moses—which His people for centuries had regarded as embodying the will of God for man; nor in a new table of commandments to take the place of the old: but in a series of sayings which pronounce the highest blessings upon those who aspire to the best kind of life. 'Blessed are the poor in spirit, the mourners, the meek, those who hunger and thirst after righteousness, the merciful, the pure in heart, the peacemakers, those who are persecuted for righteousness' sake.'

This beatitude type of utterance was not new upon Jesus' lips, for it appears abundantly in the OT.* But Jesus made the Beatitude His own (as He made the Parable His own), and constantly used it as a mode of expression which carried the idea of love rather than of exaction, the idea of persuasion rather than of force, the idea of God's blessing and assistance to His children whom He tenderly leads and exalts.† When in the 5th cent. B.C. the legal element in the Hebrew Scriptures had become the chief interest of the nation, there followed logically the dominance of the legal idea of God, according to which He was an austere lawgiver and judge, demanding under severe penalties an exact obedience to His statutes, regarding men as slaves to be driven to their tasks or to be punished if they failed. The higher conception of God which is expressed in the Psalms and the Prophetical Writings was for centuries sadly obscured by this supremacy of legalism. It fell to Jesus, as one part of His mission, to restore the former better idea of God as a loving Father who cares for, comforts, guides, and blesses His children.‡

When, therefore, Jesus sets at the beginning of the Sermon these Beatitudes, He does so with the profound intention of revealing at once the spirit and the substance of the Gospel. Man is not made subservient to an external law forced upon him from without, but is made responsive to a creative light and power within. The criterion by which God judges him is not primarily a standard of external performance, but a standard of internal purpose and aspiration, of which external performance is in due time a necessary outworking. This fact is seen in the Beatitudes, whose description of the ideal of human life pertains to the fundamental nature of a person and concerns all men equally. Jesus furnishes here a universal ideal and a universal criterion. Not only did He describe the ideal in words; He also illustrated it in His own life.§ According to Jesus' teaching and example, a man's success or failure is to be judged not by the amount of money he can accumulate, or by the amount of social distinction he can command, or by the extent of his intellectual or official achievements; but rather by the essential character which he fashions within himself, and by the service which he renders to his fellow-men. In the Beatitudes Jesus calls men away from the superficial tests and standards which so commonly prevail, to a criterion which concerns the real nature of man, is equally just to all, and stands in relation not alone to the few years of a man's present existence, but to the whole of his eternal career. In no respect was the Judaism of Jesus' day more perverse, and perhaps in no respect has error been more perpetuated, than in the maintenance of superficial tests of righteousness and of success (cf. Lk 18$^{9-14}$, the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican). The Gospel of Christ was, in the 1st cent. A.D., the rebuke and the correction of this condition; and that Gospel needs, as much now as then, to be established in the world. In no words of Jesus has His essential teaching concerning the ideal of humanity been so simply and clearly epitomized as in the Beatitudes of Mt 5$^{3-12}$. The man, woman, or child who sincerely, persistently aspires and strives to attain to the character and to perform the service described in the Beatitudes, will not fail of Christianity either in knowledge or achievement.*

---

* The entire material of Mt 5–7 and Lk 6^{20-49} is included in this outline, since the passages regarded by the present writer as extraneous would not, if removed, essentially alter what is here given. That Mt $5^{25.\ 26.\ 31.\ 32}$ 6^{7-15} $7^{6-11.\ 22.\ 23}$, Lk $6^{24-26.\ 38a.\ 39.\ 40.\ 45}$ can be best explained as belonging originally to other connexions seems quite clear; but Mt $5^{13-16.\ 29.\ 30}$ 6^{19-34} 7^{12-20}, Lk $6^{31.\ 43.\ 44}$ are here left uncertain.

† Or, The True Righteousness. The former phrase is given the preference here because 'righteousness' (δικαιοσύνη) is a technical term of theology, and is seldom used outside of the vocabulary of religion. In Jesus' day also it was a technical Jewish term. While it occurs five times in Matthew's account of the Sermon ($5^{6.\ 10.\ 20}$ $6^{1.\ 33}$), it is wholly absent from Luke's account. Nor does it appear in Luke's Gospel except at 1^{75}, nor in John except at $16^{8.\ 10}$; and in Mark not at all. This indicates that the term was largely displaced among Gentile Christians by the non-technical terms 'love' (ἀγάπη) and 'mercy' (ἔλεος). St. Paul's constant use of the term (δικαιοσύνη) continued its theological designation.

* See particularly Ps 41^{1} 65^{4} 84^{5-7} 89^{15} $119^{1.\ 2}$ $128^{1.\ 2}$, Pr $8^{32.\ 34}$, Is 30^{18} 32^{20} 56^{2}, Dn 12^{12}; also 1 S 26^{25}, 1 K 8^{15}, Ps 28^{6} 68^{19} $72^{18.\ 19}$ 118^{26}, Jer 17^{7}. The idea 'Blessed' is expressed in the Hebrew OT (see also Sir $14^{1.\ 2.\ 20}$ $25^{8.\ 9}$ 26^{1} 28^{19} 48^{11} 50^{28}) by two different words, אַשְׁרֵי and בָּרוּךְ. The former is a noun in construct case from the root אָשַׁר meaning 'to go straight, to advance, to prosper.' אַשְׁרֵי is in OT usage nearly confined to the Psalms, where it appears nineteen times (elsewhere seven times). It is always rendered in the LXX by μακάριος, which in classical meaning was quite akin to this Hebrew word (see Heinrici, *Bergpredigt*, i. 27). בָּרוּךְ, Qal pass. ptcp. of בָּרַךְ meaning 'to bless' occurs fifteen times in the Psalms, and frequently (twenty-two times) elsewhere. It is always rendered in the LXX by εὐλογητός or εὐλογημένος, never by μακάριος. In the Psalms without exception, and predominantly elsewhere, it is used with reference to God as the object of the blessing, 'Blessed be the Lord God of Israel.' The NT uses both μακάριος and εὐλογητός (-μένος), and after the prevailing practice of the LXX, for μακάριος is used of men and εὐλογητός (-μένος) of God as recipient. אַשְׁרֵי denotes a status of true well-being, due to right thoughts and right conduct, the harmony of a man with his God. בָּרוּךְ when referring to men as recipients denotes some special blessing bestowed by God and coming upon one from without. It is a fair inference from these data that Jesus used אַשְׁרֵי rather than בָּרוּךְ, and the Greek translators of His words did well to follow the LXX in rendering this by μακάριος. The point is of some importance for determining the exact meaning of Jesus when He uses this term in His Beatitudes. In the 'Blessings and Cursings' of Dt 27. 28 the terms are בָּרוּךְ and אָרוּר, rendered in the LXX by εὐλογημένος and ἐπικατάρατος. The Greek word for 'Woe' in the Woe passages of the Gospels is οὐαί.

† 'Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him,' Ps 103^{13}. See also Dt 8^{5} 32^{6}, Is 1^{2} 63^{16}, Mal 1^{6} 2^{10}.

‡ Cf. especially Wendt, *Lehre Jesu*, ii. 139–160 (Eng. tr. i. 184–209); G. B. Stevens, *Bibl. Theol. of the NT*, pp. 65–75.

§ Gore, *Sermon on the Mount*, pp. 15, 16: 'The character which we here find described [in the Beatitudes] is beyond all

Whether all the Beatitudes which now appear in Mt 5$^{3-12}$ originally stood at the beginning of the Sermon cannot be affirmed with certainty. The fact that the parallel section in Lk 6$^{20-23}$ presents but four Beatitudes, suggests that the four additional Beatitudes in Matthew (the meek, merciful, pure in heart, peacemakers) may not have belonged historically to this connexion, but possibly were a part of the composite material which came later to be associated with the historical nucleus of the Sermon.† Even on this theory these four Beatitudes would be authentic utterances of Jesus. And since on many occasions He used the beatitude form of expression, the theory is by no means impossible that the eight Beatitudes of Matthew are a compilation. Yet there are good reasons for the contrary opinion, that they constitute an original unit: (1) the absence of four of the eight Beatitudes from the Lukan account can be explained as a part of the drastic treatment which Luke's material had received in course of transmission. The materialistic import which has been forced upon the four Beatitudes in Lk 6$^{20-23}$ gives evidence of such treatment. Since the other four Beatitudes of Mt 5$^{5.\,7-9}$ will by no means admit of a materialistic interpretation, it is not improbable that for this reason they dropped out of the narrative in that line of transmission. (2) The Third Gospel has not in any connexion recorded these four Matthæan Beatitudes; neither does the Second Gospel have them. So that as the First Gospel has them only in this connexion, no other setting is suggested for them. (3) Their truth is quite too searching and sublime to allow us to regard them as a later creation. They must have come from Jesus. And He must have given them in some significant connexion, such as the Sermon. (4) These four Beatitudes are necessary to the connexion in which they stand in Mt 5$^{3-12}$, since without them the ideal of life which the Beatitudes seem designed to characterize would be essentially incomplete and ineffective. If, as has been argued above, the Beatitudes of Matthew present the theme of the Sermon, and in a way epitomize all that the following discourse contains, one cannot well suppose that the four Beatitudes found only in the Matthæan accouut were absent from the original group.

As to the number of Beatitudes in Mt 5$^{3-12}$ there is difference of opinion. It is customary to count them as either seven or eight, and prevailingly the latter.* Of the first seven, in vv $^{3-9}$, there is little question: the disagreement relates to the enumeration of vv.$^{10-12}$, whether they should be counted into the group at all; or if counted, whether they contain more than one additional Beatitude. The occurrence of the word 'Blessed' (μακάριος) is not generally regarded as determining the number of the Beatitudes, for it appears nine times (vv.$^{3-11}$); instead, the enumeration is by subject-matter—since vv.$^{10-12}$ all treat of persecution for righteousness' sake, they are counted as one Beatitude.† Then is the teaching concerning persecution for righteousness' sake to be classed with the preceding seven ideas as fundamental to ideal manhood, so that these verses present an eighth Beatitude? Such classification seems preferable, and it is strongly supported by the fact that Luke also gives this teaching concerning persecution in his account as the closing Beatitude. Exact correspondence of idea and form among the eight Beatitudes is not to be required.

The order in which the eight Beatitudes of Mt 5$^{3-12}$ stand in relation to one another does not appear to be a closely wrought one, such that any other arrangement would have been illogical. They do not seem to present an ascending, climactic order.‡ Nos. 1 and 4 pertain to the longing for God and righteousness, Nos. 2 and 8 pertain to patient endurance and spiritual growth under affliction and persecution, Nos. 3, 5, 6, 7 pertain to the outworkings in character and service of the internal righteousness. The desire for righteousness, of course, precedes the achievement of righteousness, so that Nos. 1 and 4 should precede Nos. 5, 6, 7; but logically the place of Nos. 2 and 3 seems to be after No. 4. This transposition is made in Luke's account, where the two Beatitudes of desire (6$^{20.\,21a}$) precede the other two (6$^{21b.\,22.\,23}$). If this order of the Beatitudes has the semblance of originality, it may be that Matthew's Beatitudes were rearranged in transmission. It scarcely seems necessary,

---

question nothing else than our Lord's own character put into words, the human character of our Lord corresponding always in flawless perfection with the teaching which He gave. Here are two reasons why our Lord's teaching is capable of universal and individual application: (1) because it is not made up of detailed commandments, but is the description of a character which, in its principles, can be apprehended and embodied in all circumstances; (2) because it is not only a description in words, but a description set side by side with a living example.'

* Harnack, *Das Wesen des Christentums*, 1901, p. 47 [Eng. tr. p. 74], says: 'Should we be threatened with doubts as to what He [Jesus] meant, we must steep ourselves again and again in the Beatitudes of the Sermon on the Mount. They contain His ethics and His religion, united at the root, and freed from all external and particularistic elements.'

† So Resch, Wendt, H. Holtzmann, Adeney (*Expositor*, 5th ser. vol. ii.), O. Holtzmann (*Leben Jesu*, 1901, p. 186 f.), and Bacon (*Sermon on the Mount*, p. 129). J. Weiss (*Predigt Jesu*^{2}, pp. 127, 187) excludes the three Beatitudes of Mt 5$^{7-9}$. Klöpper, *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.* 1894, thinks that the eight Beatitudes were originally scattered through the Sermon, but were collected and placed at the beginning by the First Evangelist; an improbable supposition.

* The number of Beatitudes is counted as seven by Ewald, Hilgenfeld, Köstlin, Lange, Meyer, Nösgen, Steinmeyer, B. Weiss. The arguments for this view are that Mt 5$^{10-12}$ does not really co-ordinate with vv.$^{3-11}$ to make an eighth Beatitude, that Matthew has an intentional parallel to his Beatitudes in the seven Woes of ch. 23, and that probability is in favour of the sacred and frequent number seven being used instead of eight. Bacon (*Sermon on the Mount*, p. 127) counts seven Beatitudes by regarding Mt 5^{5} as a marginal gloss interpolated from Ps 37^{11}. The Beatitudes are counted as eight by Achelis, Bleek, Feine, Hahn, Heinrici, Ibbeken (although he holds that they correspond closely to the Ten Commandments), Keil, Keim, Kübel, Tholuck, H. Weiss, Weizsäcker, and many others. Delitzsch (*Neue Untersuchungen*, p. 76) enumerated them as ten, to complete their parallelism with the Ten Commandments; but this view has found little acceptance.

† Since v.^{10} and vv.$^{11.\,12}$ have a common theme and are actual duplicates, it may be that the one or the other passage is not original in this connexion. The Beatitudes had originally a short form, and were probably of about equal length. Given one of these passages at this point, the other might easily have become topically associated with it. That this has happened is further suggested by the fact that while v.^{10} is given in the third personal form, like the other Beatitudes in Matthew, vv.$^{11.\,12}$ are given in the second personal form, like the Beatitudes of Luke. Achelis and B. Weiss, however, regard all three verses as original, saying that at v.^{11} Jesus turns to speak directly to His disciples. Whether, on the former theory, v.^{10} would be the extraneous passage or vv.$^{11.\,12}$ (so Feine, Hilgenfeld, Weizsäcker, J. Weiss), it is difficult to decide. H. Holtzmann thinks all three verses foreign to the connexion. But the unity of the eight Beatitudes is not affected by the question of duplicate material in these verses.

‡ Most commentators endeavour to show a special meaning and significance in the Matthæan arrangement of the several Beatitudes. Tholuck, *Bergrede*^{5}, p. 56 f. (Eng. tr. p. 64 f.): 'These eight Beatitudes are arranged in an ethical order. The first four are of a negative character. They express the state of spiritual desire which belongs to the indispensable conditions of participation in the Kingdom of God. The next three following are positive: they set forth what attributes of character are required in the members of that Kingdom. The eighth shows how the world will treat the members of the Kingdom.' However, 'the progression among the qualities pronounced blessed is not to be regarded as of such a nature that each stage excludes the rest; or that, in advancing to another, the former are left behind.' Achelis, *Bergpredigt*, pp. 73–75, classifies the first four Beatitudes as pertaining to the desire for salvation, the second four as pertaining to the possession of it; he further subclassifies them also. H. Weiss, *Bergpredigt*, pp. 9, 23, regards the first four as passive, the second four as active. Feine, *Jahrb. f. Protest. Theol.* 1885, thinks the eight Beatitudes make four neatly-fitting pairs. Ibbeken, *Bergpredigt*^{2}, p. 19, says that the effort to find a close logical order in the Beatitudes as they stand has been unsuccessful. Heinrici, *Bergpredigt*, i. 28, thinks that if they had been arranged logically, according to their inner relation, the order would have been Nos. 1, 4, 6, 3, 5, 7, 2, 8. It is scarcely necessary to say that the idea that in their present arrangement the Beatitudes indicate the several consecutive stages of normal Christian growth is a purely fanciful one.

however, to suppose that Jesus insisted upon a particular succession of them.*

Of much more importance is the question whether Matthew or Luke presents the more authentic form of the Beatitudes. The difference between them is of two kinds: (1) Luke gives the Beatitudes in the second person, in the form of direct address; while Matthew has them in the third person, in the form of a general statement (see a similar phenomenon in Mt 3^{17} =Lk 3^{22}). An examination of Jesus' other Beatitudes recorded elsewhere in the Gospels indicates that He used both forms, and apparently without preference for either. The OT Beatitudes are in the third personal form. But since Matthew agrees with Luke in giving the remainder of the discourse (from 5^{11} onwards) in the second person, some scholars hold that the Beatitudes themselves were originally of this form.† On the other hand, a change to the second person in the Lukan account might arise from the materialistic interpretation which has been cast over the Beatitudes and Woes in this Gospel. The change would make the Beatitudes personal and specific to his hearers, instead of general and universal as in Matthew. (2) The wording of the same Beatitudes is in some respects strikingly different in the two accounts. Concerning the first Beatitude (as suggested above, i. 4), it seems probable that Matthew's form of it, while conveying more explicitly Jesus' meaning, has been expanded in transmission by the addition of *τῷ πνεύματι*, the original Aramaic form of the utterance being shorter, as in Luke.‡ The fourth Beatitude (Luke's second) presents a somewhat similar case; when Matthew says, 'Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness,' it is possible or even probable that Jesus' words were shorter (as suggested by the Lukan form) by the implication rather than the expression of the idea contained in *τὴν δικαιοσύνην*, perhaps also of that contained in the *διψῶντες*. These words, too, may have been added to prevent a materialistic misinterpretation. Since the idea of hungering spiritually was common in the OT, Jesus may have used the *οἱ πεινῶντες* alone with that meaning, the additions being made later to remove all ambiguity. In the second Beatitude (Luke's third) the *πενθοῦντες* of Matthew and the *κλαίοντες* of Luke are probably two varying Greek words employed to translate one Aramaic word; the former is the better in this context, since it carries a deeper, finer meaning. The double occurrence of *νῦν* in Lk 6^{21} is an obvious importation. In regard to the eighth Beatitude (Luke's fourth), concerning patient endurance and spiritual growth under persecution, one notices that Luke has no parallel to the first of the two duplicate forms in which Mt 5^{10} gives it; instead, Lk $6^{22.23}$=Mt $5^{11.12}$. A comparison of these passages shows general thought agreement, but much difference in wording; nor can there be any doubt that the Lukan form of the Beatitude is secondary (consider especially $6^{22b.23b}$).

The Gospel of Luke contains, in addition to its four Beatitudes and in immediate sequence upon them, four corresponding Woes. With these Woes an increasing difficulty has been felt; many scholars have come to regard them either as so modified in transmission that they no longer represent Jesus' spirit, or as a free traditional expansion of the four Beatitudes, and therefore unauthentic. Four chief objections are made to them: (1) These Woes find no parallel in the Matthæan account, nor elsewhere in any of the Gospels. Jesus used the Woe type of expression (cf. Mt 11^{21} 18^{7} 23^{13-36}, Lk 10^{11-15} 11^{37-52}) against those who had long and deliberately refused Him and His message; but these four Woes of Lk 6^{24-26} are found only in this passage. If Jesus gave them at this time, they have failed to be preserved in the longer and better of the two reports of the discourse which have come down to us. (2) These Woes have a crass material import. Each of the four Woes gives the converse of each of the four Beatitudes, in the same order, and fixes upon them a materialistic sense. 'Blessed are ye poor!' conversely, 'Woe unto you that are rich!'; therefore only economic poverty and wealth are meant, since spiritual riches cannot be deprecated. 'Blessed are ye that hunger now!' conversely, 'Woe unto you, ye that are full now!'; therefore the 'hungry' are those in physical need of food, for the spiritually 'full' are not doomed to eternal spiritual privation. Also the third and fourth Woes are harsh in their terms, shallow and external in their conceptions. The exaltation of material poverty and distress which thus appears in Luke's Beatitudes and Woes can be seen also in other parts of his Gospel (see the account of the rich young man, Lk 18^{18-30}; the parable of the Rich Fool, Lk $12^{16-21.33}$; the parable of Dives and Lazarus, Lk 16^{19-31}, cf. 1^{53}).* The Evangelist probably is not responsible for these views; rather they had already impressed themselves upon the material which constituted the sources for his Gospel. They represent a strong sentiment in the first century, which grew out of a false contempt for the earthly life and an exaggeration of Jesus' teaching about riches. (3) These Woes are out of character with Jesus. He never condemned wealth as such; what He condemned was that a man should permit wealth to be his supreme purpose and his master. On this subject Jesus taught much, and with profound insight into the true relation of men with things; from Him we must learn the real aim of living and the proper use of the material world about us.† It is difficult, if not impossible, to bring the tone and import of these Woes into accord with Jesus' spirit, conceptions, and method. (4) These Woes are inappropriate to the Sermon. This discourse was given to a large company of people who had been attracted to Jesus by His words and His works; many of them were His professed followers, all of them were well disposed towards Him. The occasion was not suitable for violent language and condemnatory pronouncements. Jesus used the Woe type of utterance for His final judgments against those who rejected their Messiah; but here He is in the midst of His Galilæan ministry, the people hear Him gladly, and the enmity of His opponents has not yet reached its final stage. In view of these four considerations, the full authenticity of the four Woes in Lk 6^{24-26} must be counted an open historical question. If they are not authentic as they stand, they may represent in a modified form actual Woes spoken by Jesus in another connexion during the closing months of His work. Or, if they cannot be attributed to Jesus at all, they will be explained as free expansion in transmission, due to a desire to intensify the teaching against earthly goods. The verses may then have been constructed on the pattern of the 'Blessings and Cursings' of the Old Covenant (Dt 27. 28), or still more likely on the pattern of the great Prophetic utterance (Is 5). Such an expansion should not be charged to Luke himself, but to the line of tradition from which he drew his material.‡

The blessedness which Jesus in His Beatitudes affirms of men who attain to the character and perform the service therein described, belongs both to the present and to the future. In one aspect it is eschatological: the endless future of such men is assured as one of perfect happiness, glory, and communion with God. Since Jewish hopes and expectations were largely eschatological, Jesus met them on this ground. But the blessedness which Jesus promised belonged also, and primarily, to the present life; in His teaching Jesus constantly kept the present life clearly and strongly to the front. Jesus' Beatitudes, just as the Beatitudes of the

---

* The reversal of the order of the second and third Beatitudes of Matthew which is found in Codex D, 33, Syr cur and a few other early text witnesses, was adopted into the text by Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; Achelis approves it, and H. Holtzmann thinks it may be the true reading. It is rejected, however, by Tholuck, Westcott and Hort, Nestle, and B. Weiss. The transposition may have been due to the close OT association of the two ideas of 'poor' and 'meek' (the LXX renders the Hebrew עֲנָוִים by both *πτωχοί* Ps 69^{33} and *πραεῖς* Ps 37^{11}); or it may have been merely fortuitous.

† Similarly Wendt, *Lehre Jesu*, i. 56; Bacon, *Sermon on the Mount*, p. 126.

‡ So Klöpper, *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.* 1894; Kabisch, *SK*, 1896; J. Weiss, *Predigt Jesu*², p. 182 f.; Schmiedel, *Encycl. Bibl.* vol. ii. col. 1855; Heinrici, *Bergpredigt*, i. 29, who says: 'An effort to exclude all misinterpretation is seen in the phrases of closer definition, *τῷ πνεύματι* (v.^{3}), *τὴν δικαιοσύνην* (v.^{6}), *τῇ καρδίᾳ* (v.^{8}), and *ἕνεκεν δικαιοσύνης* (v.^{10}). These additions mar the parallelism. They cannot be explained except as expansions of the original made in the process of translating Jesus' words into Greek.' Similarly Bacon, *op. cit.* p. 127 f. The preservation of the precise meaning of the Beatitudes was of the first importance, and to Greek-speaking Christians they would not have been quite clear in their original brevity, for they would not have understood the terms 'poor' and 'hungry' to have a meaning primarily spiritual. The addition of these phrases removed all ambiguity.

* For this view see Campbell, *Critical Studies in St. Luke's Gospel* (1891), ch. 2; Rogge, *Der irdische Besitz im NT* (1897), pp. 9–68; Peabody, *Jesus Christ and the Social Question* (1901), pp. 190–201; Schmiedel in *Encycl. Bibl.* vol. ii. col. 1841; Cone, *Rich and Poor in the NT* (1902), pp. 118–142; and J. Weiss, *Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes*² (1900), p. 182 f., who says: 'There can no longer be any doubt that Luke [in his Beatitudes] aims to draw a sharp contrast between the different external social conditions; his Beatitudes contain nothing of an ethical or religious element.'

† Mathews, *Social Teaching of Jesus*, ch. 6; Peabody, *op. cit.* ch. 4; Rogge, *op. cit.* pp. 1–68.

‡ The authenticity of the Woes in Lk 6^{24-26} is defended by Wendt, *Lehre Jesu*, ii. 168 f.; Bacon, *Sermon on the Mount*, p. 126; O. Holtzmann, *Leben Jesu*, p. 187; and by Plummer, *Comm. on Luke*, p. 181 f., who says: 'There is no evidence that these were not part of the original discourse. Assuming that Matthew and Luke report the same discourse, Matthew may have omitted them. But they may have been spoken on some other occasion.' On the other hand, many reject them. Tholuck, *Bergrede*⁵, p. 54 (Eng. tr. p. 62): 'Unquestionably, these Woes must be regarded as an expansion of the thought by the recorder of the narrative.' H. Holtzmann, *Synoptiker*, p. 102: 'The Woes of Luke were constructed for the purpose of strengthening and explaining [the Beatitudes] according to the model of Dt 27^{15-26}, Is 5^{8-23}, and not without a remembrance of Jer 5^{31}, Mic 2^{11}.' Similarly B. Weiss, Feine (*Jahrb. f. Protest. Theol.* 1885, p. 15 f.), Wernle (*Synoptische Frage*, p. 62), Schleiermacher, Strauss. F. H. Woods, *Expos. Times*, 1893, p. 256, says: The first Christians 'aimed at giving the general sense rather than the exact words. We can easily understand, *e.g.*, an early preacher so repeating the Beatitudes as to give them in what may be called a negative as well as a positive form; especially when by so doing he would be making a more exact parallel between the blessings and cursings of the old law and the blessings and cursings of the new law. Such a modification of Christ's language might arise in course of time quite unconsciously, when we remember how often so striking a portion of our Lord's teaching must have been repeated to catechumens.'

Psalms, have to do first of all with present well-being. The term *μακάριος* appears in this connexion, as always,* to refer to that condition of true well-being which results from committing one's self wholly to God, with the purpose of living according to His will; it connotes also the effect produced by this status, namely, the peace and joy arising from the consciousness of God's approval and blessing, and the feeling that one's present and future well-being is assured. The conception of blessedness in Mt 5^{3-12} is not essentially different from that which the OT at its best had already presented, but Jesus perfected and exalted the idea of blessedness, setting it before men with a new attractiveness and power. That Jesus' Beatitudes re-echo the highest ideals and promises of the Psalms and of the Prophets has been frequently and truly noted; both the conceptions and the phrases stand in the closest relation to the OT. In the Beatitudes, as everywhere in His teaching, Jesus was building upon the foundation of the Hebrew religion, fulfilling it, *i.e.* perfecting it and establishing it.

The Beatitudes consist each of two phrases: the one expresses the condition, the other the result; the one states the character or service to be attained, the other the blessedness of attaining it. In neither portion of the sayings are the phrases used by Jesus new ones; on the contrary, they are taken up by Him from the OT and current Jewish terminology, and turned to good account in His own teaching, receiving from Him a larger, higher import. Thus the phrases the 'poor,' the 'mourners,' the 'meek,' the 'hungering and thirsting,' the 'merciful,' the 'pure in heart,' the 'peacemakers,' the 'persecuted,' are staple conceptions and terms of the OT and of the Judaism of Jesus' day. And the same thing is true of those ideas and phrases which constitute the second members of the Beatitudes, the 'Kingdom of Heaven,' the 'comfort of the afflicted,' the 'entering into possession of the earth,' the 'satisfaction of longing for righteousness and truth,' the 'seeing God,' and the 'becoming sons of God.'† Jesus' use of OT and current religious terminology served to form an essential connexion between His hearers and Himself; but He did not use it as a mere matter of expedience, a pedagogical device to gain the attention and confidence of His hearers; rather He used it because He found an essential unity between His own ideas and those of the Hebrew prophets. These phrases in their highest meaning were rooted in fundamental spiritual needs, realities, and aspirations such as Jesus came to satisfy, to proclaim, and to fulfil.

The Beatitudes present each a special idea, but they are not mutually exclusive. An organic unity binds them all together, and they interlace with one another. Like so many facets of a diamond, they present the ideal life in eight different aspects, they indicate the several characteristics which make up the whole. The specific meaning of each of the Beatitudes must be carefully determined, in order that we may apprehend correctly the ideal of Jesus for men which they embody.

(1) 'Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.'‡ The phrase 'the poor' (*πτωχοί* = עֲנִיִּים and אֶבְיוֹנִים) was a current one among the Jews, arising in the OT period and bearing a somewhat technical meaning (see art. POOR in vol. iv.). It designated that class, generally in humble circumstances, who lived the higher life, fixing their thought upon God and seeking His spiritual blessings, instead of living in a worldly way, to accumulate property and to attain social distinction and political power; they were in the world, but not of it; they were the faithful and righteous ones whom God could approve and bless.* It seems probable, since Jesus in the Beatitudes has taken up many current Jewish phrases to put upon them His own interpretation, that He here used the phrase 'the poor' in the sense of, and with regard to, the current conception of it. In that case the words 'in spirit,' which in Matthew are associated with the phrase, but not in Luke, may be an expansion of the original utterance made in the Greek for the purpose of protecting Jesus' words from a material misinterpretation.† The *τῷ πνεύματι* would, then, although a later addition, preserve the original meaning of Jesus; as it stands, it limits *οἱ πτωχοί* (not *μακάριοι*) as a phrase of closer definition,‡ like 'the pure in heart' of Mt 5^{8} and the 'lowly in heart' of Mt 11^{29}; cf. also Mk 8^{12}, 1 Co 7^{34}. It fixes the sphere in which the poverty is predicated. Jesus means, not that spiritual poverty is in itself a good thing, but that the man who has a deep sense of his spiritual deficiency and dependence upon God will turn to Him, and will then receive the spiritual blessings which he needs. Therefore the phrase 'the poor in spirit' designates an internal rather than an external condition, a moral and spiritual rather than an economic status.§

---

* See the discussion of the term in the footnote * on p. 14^{b}.

† Tholuck, *Bergrede*^{5}, p. 59 (Eng. tr. p. 66): 'There can be no doubt—and this should be carefully noted—that all the ideas which meet us here in the Sermon on the Mount, those of the Kingdom of God, the righteousness of that Kingdom, the poor in spirit, the pure in heart, seeing God, etc., were no new ideas, but well-known ones, of which Christ only revealed the deepest meaning.' The passages of the OT in which these ideas are found will he indicated below.

‡ Mt 5^{3} *μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ τῷ πνεύματι, ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν*; Lk 6^{20} *μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοί, ὅτι ὑμετέρα ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.* The Gospel of Matthew usually, though not always, employs the phrase *ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν*, while all the other Gospels and the other books of the NT use *ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.* Did Jesus use both phrases in their Aramaic equivalents? If so, did the two phrases mean different things? Or was only one of the phrases used by Jesus, the other being of a different origin? If so, which was Jesus' phrase? These questions have been variously answered. The majority of scholars, however, are of the opinion that the two phrases are identical in meaning, that Jesus was accustomed to use both of them, and that His more frequent term was 'the Kingdom of God.' (See esp. O. Holtzmann, *Leben Jesu*, pp. 124-126). The other phrase, 'the Kingdom of Heaven,' is to be explained as arising out of the fallacious reverence for the name of God which characterized the Jewish people and led them to use circumlocutions instead of speaking the name itself. Jesus, however, did not share this superstitious regard for the name of God; on the contrary, he spoke of God constantly. The First Gospel adopted the phrase, 'the Kingdom of Heaven,' which probably was in general use among Jewish Christians, in order to be more acceptable to the Jewish readers for whom it was intended. On the other hand, in the Second and Third Gospels, and elsewhere, the phrase 'the Kingdom of God' occurs, since this universal use of terms was more acceptable to the great body of Gentile Christians for whom and among whom most of our NT books were written.

* So Ps $9^{12.18}$ $10^{2.9.12}$ 12^{5} 40^{17} 69^{29} $72^{2.4.12.13}$ 82^{2-4} 86^{1} 109^{22} 113^{7}, Is 61^{1} (cf. Lk 4^{18}) 66^{2}. See Achelis, *Bergpredigt*, p. 7 f.; Kabisch, *SK*, 1896; Klöpper, *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.* 1894; Wellhausen, *Israelitische u. Jüdische Geschichte*^{3}, 1897, ch. 15; Rahlfs, עָנִי *und* עָנָו *in den Psalmen*, 1892; J. Weiss, *Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes*^{2}, 1900, pp. 183–185; Driver, art. POOR in vol. iv., who argues for Rahlfs' distinction between עָנִי (poor, needy) and עָנָו (humble towards God).

† It is obvious that when Jesus' words came into the hands of the Gentiles, who were not familiar with the history, literature, ideas, and religious terminology of the Jews, there would be great danger of His words being misunderstood. The first Beatitude, for instance, was likely to be misinterpreted, because the term 'poor' was used by the Gentiles only in a material sense, not with an ethico-religious content. It was therefore necessary to add the words 'in spirit,' in order that Jesus' meaning might not be misunderstood. Modern English usage of the term 'poor' is also economic instead of religious, and therefore we also need the words 'in spirit' to guard against misinterpretation.

‡ So H. Holtzmann, Ibbeken, Kabisch, Klöpper, Tholuck, B. Weiss. The *πνεύματι* does not refer to the Holy Spirit, as maintained by Achelis (*Bergpredigt*, p. 5); so that the phrase 'the poor in spirit' does not mean 'the poor through the Holy Spirit,' nor 'the poor by the Holy Spirit,' nor 'the poor in the possession of the Holy Spirit.' Rather, the *πνεύματι* refers to the spiritual nature of the man himself.

§ So the best of the ancient commentators, Origen, Chrysostom, Augustine, Theophylact, and nearly all modern scholars. Tholuck, *Bergrede*^{5}, p. 63 f. (Eng. tr. p. 70 f.): 'a consciousness of poverty in the blessings of salvation. . . . The idea of

This is in accordance with the tone of the whole group of Beatitudes, for they present an ideal of character and service in its essential elements; while external conditions, the possession or lack of property, are not essential. The Beatitudes and Woes, as given by Luke, speak only of material want and misery;* but that is a perversion of Jesus' teaching as recorded in Matthew. It is intelligible how the more spiritual teaching might have been coarsened in transmission, under the influence of strongly held false theories concerning a man's relation to the material world, to the form which Luke derived from his sources; but how could the reverse have happened? Who could subsequently have perfected Jesus' teaching by creating the lofty spiritual conceptions contained in Mt 5^{3-12}?*

Jesus wished to establish, as the first principle of the better life, that true well-being is not reckoned in earthly goods, or obtained by them; on the contrary, ideal manhood and womanhood come through complete self-committal to God, drawing from Him our spiritual sustenance, making His will our will, and finding in His supreme purpose the only object of our lives. Of such men, and of such alone, can it be said that the Kingdom of God is theirs. He would turn men away from the customary material standard of well-being to the pursuit of the highest good, where one's external conditions become a matter of comparative indifference. Those are blessed who, instead of being self-seeking and self-sufficient, strive earnestly for that communion and co-operation with God which will enable them to realize the highest type of character and to perform the highest kind of service. The conditions of possessing the Kingdom are not external but internal, not material but spiritual. Poor and rich may alike possess it. The poor have it, not as a reward or a recompense for their poverty, but because they set their hearts on things which are above; and the rich have the Kingdom for the same reason, inasmuch as they use their material possessions for the spread of righteousness, truth, joy, and peace.

The second clauses of the Beatitudes respectively express the results of realizing the character or performing the service described in the first clauses. They are promised blessings which correspond to current longings, and are worded in the fixed phrases by which those longings had of old found expression. These blessings, although varied in form, are kindred in meaning; they promise not so much a number of different things, as they convey the idea in various ways that the entire good of which God is the creator and provider will come to those who sincerely seek it in the way He appoints.† 'The Kingdom of God' was a phrase which had long been used to express all conceivable good, to sum up the longings of the devout souls of Israel. Jesus therefore tells them how they may obtain all their desire. And the possession of the Kingdom is not a thing of the far distant future, but of the immediate present: 'theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.' The Kingdom of God, while it has its consummation in the future, was an existing reality when Jesus spoke; and its blessings were available at once for those who would comply with the conditions of receiving them.‡

(2) 'Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted.'§ Here, also, Jesus has taken up an OT phrase, which may be seen in Is 61^{1-3} ('to

---

physical poverty is here carried over into the sphere of poverty of spirit, . . . those poor are pronounced blessed who are sensible of their spiritual poverty.' Kabisch, *SK*, 1896, says that the τῷ πνεύματι is added 'in order to remove the poverty into the realm of the religious sense.' Klöpper, *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.* 1894, holds that there is no reference in the Beatitude of Matthew to the poor in social position; rather they are the poor in spiritual things, those who in opposition to the wise and understanding (Mt 11^{25}) are characterized as 'babes' or 'little children' (Mt 18^{3}); dissatisfied with the traditional wisdom of the scribes, they long for direct Divine instruction. J. Weiss, *Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes*^{2}, 1900, pp. 130–132: 'They are called "poor" . . . not because they have no money, but because, as the עַם הָאָרֶץ, they have no religious, and therefore no social, standing. They do not belong to the righteous, pious class, but are shunned by them like the lepers. . . . They could not and would not conform to the conventional standard of piety. But what was to hinder them from pouring out their heart before their God in their inner chamber? They live as children of God in a true simplicity, naïve and unassuming, without great joy over their condition; because it has been so deeply impressed upon them that they never can attain the true righteousness according to the Pharisaic ideal. . . . They do not realize that they already have, what is precious in God's sight, τὸ πραῢ καὶ ἡσύχιον πνεῦμα (1 P 3^{4}). They do not see that God, in his mysterious wisdom, has chosen to pass by the wise and the learned in order to reveal salvation to just such νήπιοι as they (cf. Lk 10^{21}, Mt 18^{1-4}).'—It is true that a materialistic interpretation of the first Beatitude prevailed in the early and middle Christian centuries, whereby voluntary poverty was pronounced blessed; and this view is still taken by Roman Catholic commentators, as Hugo Weiss, *Bergpredigt*, p. 10. The Lukan form of the Beatitudes arose out of and gave a foundation for this false attitude towards material things. But the whole notion of asceticism is wrong: Jesus neither taught nor practised it; He did not regard material poverty and physical misery as in themselves meritorious. It cannot be said that the poorer men are, the better they are; not even when the poverty is voluntary. Jesus did not require the abandonment of wealth, except in specific cases where it formed an insuperable obstacle to spiritual well-being; what He did require was the supremacy of the spiritual life and the right use of material things.

* So O. Holtzmann, *Leben Jesu*, 1901, p. 186 f. Similarly Plummer, *Comm. on Luke*, p. 179: 'In the four [Beatitudes] that Luke gives, the more spiritual words which occur in Matthew are omitted, and the blessings are assigned to more external conditions. Actual poverty, sorrow, and hunger are declared to be blessed (as being opportunities for the exercise of internal virtues); and this doctrine is emphasized by the corresponding Woes pronounced upon wealth, jollity, and fulness of bread (as being sources of temptation).' Here the materialistic tone of the Lukan Beatitudes is recognized, but the writer has avoided the problem of adjusting the two accounts of the Beatitudes to each other by regarding them as two distinct utterances on different occasions; this is to ignore the facts and data of the Synoptic problem. Wendt, *Lehre Jesu*, ii. 167 f., thinks that the economic poor are meant: 'Because this salvation of eternal life offers an incomparably rich return for all troubles of the earthly life, Jesus can at the beginning of His discourse concerning the true righteousness pronounce blessed the poor, the hungry, the mourning, the persecuted, because of their future participation in the heavenly blessedness of the Kingdom of God. His meaning here is not that in earthly poverty and unhappiness as such lies the ground for their longing for the future salvation of the Kingdom of God; still less in the following Woes against the rich, the satisfied, the laughing, and the praised, does He present earthly happiness as in itself the ground for the future loss of salvation. He intends only to affirm with the greatest emphasis that all future salvation is the single true and full salvation, in comparison with which the earthly unhappiness is insignificant and earthly happiness is not really such. Consequently he declares that those very persons who from the world's point of view are counted miserable are the truly happy ones because of the part which awaits them in that future salvation.' Wendt holds that the Lukan form of the Beatitudes, together with the Woes, is authentic as against the Matthew report, and can therefore give this interpretation; but if the Beatitudes of Matthew are the more authentic report, then Jesus' teaching at this point must be understood as presented by them—and they give a very different set of ideas. Kabisch, *SK*, 1896, interprets: 'Blessed are those who have freed their minds from the earthly wealth: for theirs is instead the heavenly wealth. . . . The absence of earthly goods and happiness is placed in the foreground, here [in Matthew] as in Luke; but not as there that accidental poverty must be blessed, only that voluntary, quiet and meek poverty will be blessed. . . . I regard the Lukan form [of the first Beatitude] as the more original, but at the same time hold that the First Evangelist in his added phrase has come nearer to the actual meaning of Jesus than the Third Evangelist, who with Ebionitic tendency has interpreted the words of the Lord which lent themselves to this apparent condemnation of all material possessions, as well as other words concerning the Kingdom, in a similar way.'

* Yet O. Holtzmann, *Leben Jesu* (1901), p. 186 f., holds that just this change was made.

† So Kabisch, *SK*, 1896; Ibbeken, *Bergpredigt*^{2}, p. 19. Tholuck, *Bergrede*^{5}, p. 57 (Eng. tr. p. 64), says: 'If we consider the substance of the several promises, we shall find that they are all essentially identical, and that the difference is merely rhetorical; formally, they correspond to the thing desired or possessed, but each of them really comprises all spiritual blessings.'

‡ Upon the meaning and use of the term 'Kingdom of God' in Jesus' teaching, see esp. Wendt, *Lehre Jesu*, ii. 293–328.

§ Mt 5^{4} μακάριοι οἱ πενθοῦντες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ παρακληθήσονται; Lk 6^{21b} μακάριοι οἱ κλαίοντες νῦν, ὅτι γελάσετε. The Lukan form is secondary, and its harsh, superficial tone is unsatisfactory. Compare with it Ja 4^{9}.

comfort all that mourn,' אֲבֵלִים) and Ps 126$^{5.6}$. The term 'mourning' (*πενθοῦντες*) is so general a one that it is difficult to determine precisely its scope. The early commentators inclined to regard it as the sorrow of penitence for sin (cf. 2 Co 1^{4} 7^{10}), while others think of it as the sorrow which comes from afflictions, adversities, and persecutions.* There seems no sufficient reason why the term should not be understood here in the inclusive sense, to designate all those experiences of life—internal or external, physical, mental, or spiritual,—which bring sadness and sorrow to men. The world is full of mourning; no one escapes the anguish of pain, disappointment, bereavement, and conflict with sin. And men have always longed for a better day, when this mourning shall be no more. It was one element of the Messianic hope that with the advent of that glorious Divine Kingdom complete comfort and consolation for the world's sorrows would be given to God's faithful ones, Is 61^{2}; cf. Lk 2^{25} 4^{18}. Jesus gave the assurance that this hope would be realized. The Apocalyptist has repeated with thrilling joy the promise: 'And he shall wipe away every tear from their eyes; and death shall be no more; neither shall there be mourning, nor crying, nor pain any more: the first things are passed away' (Rev 21^{4}).

Although the promise of comfort is in the Beatitude expressed in the future tense, its bestowment is not to be regarded as exclusively eschatological. As the Kingdom was present among men at the time when Jesus spoke these words, so the comfort of the Kingdom was already a present reality and available to all. Not that all mourning was then to cease,—that stage belongs to the future consummation of the Kingdom,—but that Jesus brought a true consolation for all sorrow, in the knowledge that God is a loving Father who does all things well, and that all men, like the Son Himself, are perfected through suffering (He 5^{8} 12$^{3-11}$). Rest and peace came to the world in and through Christ (Mt 11$^{28.29}$, Jn 14$^{1.27}$ 16^{33}).

(3) 'Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth.'† The idea is that of Ps 37^{11} 'the meek shall inherit the earth,'‡ and the LXX renders עֲנָוִים by *πραεῖς*. Meekness is an OT ideal, and is closely related to that of the 'poor,' which Jesus had already taken up in the first Beatitude. This same Hebrew word is rendered in the English VSS now by the one word, now by the other; also אֶבְיוֹנִים, commonly translated 'poor,' is sometimes translated 'meek' (cf. Is 61^{1} in RV text and margin, and see Lk 4^{18}). In Is 66^{2} the term עָנִי is associated with נְכֵה־רוּחַ and חָרֵד עַל־דְּבָרִי, where the three ideas seem closely akin: 'To this man will I look, to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit, and that trembleth at my word.' Cf. also Ps 25$^{9-13}$, Pr 16^{19}. The OT conception of meekness seems therefore to concern a man's attitude towards God rather than towards other men. The opposite of this meekness is pride and arrogance towards God, and such men He will bring to nought, Ps 75$^{4-7}$ 94$^{2-4}$. It is primarily His attitude towards God which Jesus has in mind when He says, 'Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls' (Mt 11^{29}). And the 'meek' who in the third Beatitude are pronounced blessed are those who live in trustful submission to God, seeking to know and to do His will; humility rather than self-assumption and pride characterizes them. Compare also the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican, Lk 18$^{9-14}$. They become a part of the great world, and are fellow-labourers with God in His great purposes, instead of being ends in themselves and isolated elements in the Divine system. They do not thereby lose their identity and their importance; instead, by complete self-committal to God, they find the perfect realization of themselves, and achieve a personality of greatest influence in the universe.

A necessary outworking of this meekness towards God is a quality of gentleness, forgiveness, and self-abnegation in a man's relations to his fellow-men. This is the conception which St. Paul seems to have had of the meekness of Jesus, 2 Co 10^{1} (cf. also Eph 4^{2}, Ja 3^{17}, 1 P 3^{4}); and it is the meaning which the earlier interpreters found in this Beatitude, since they paid more heed to the classical Greek usage of *πραεῖς* than to the Hebrew conception of עָנִי. The Greeks had scarcely an idea of that humility of man towards God which formed so true and striking an element in the religion of Israel.

When Jesus promised that the meek 'shall inherit the earth,' He adopted the popular phrase of the Hebrew covenant conception, which was then in use among the more deeply religious as a symbolic expression to denote all those good things which were to come with the Messianic kingdom.* The material and ephemeral elements of this hope Jesus passed by; but the spiritual content of it, the inspiring expectation that God would triumph over the world in the persons of His faithful and obedient servants among men, He reaffirmed. Nor did Jesus conceive that this supremacy of the meek on the earth would be solely eschatological and catastrophic; quite the reverse, for the growth of the Kingdom was to be gradual (Mk 4$^{26-32}$), and the dominance of the world by meekness and humility is progressively realized. Men of such character become increasingly influential and successful; the Divine ideal is making its way among men. Every passing year marks real advance towards the supremacy of the people of God.†

(4) 'Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled.'‡ The

---

* For the former view, Clem. Alex., Chrysostom, Jerome, and recently Achelis; for the latter view, Augustine, Luther, Calvin, and recently Ibbeken. B. Weiss holds that it is impossible to tell whether the one or the other idea is intended or both. Tholuck, *Bergrede*^{5}, p. 73 (Eng. tr. p. 79), says: 'The mourning spoken of is the sorrow of penitence immediately flowing from a felt poverty of spirit. . . . This penitential grief is not, however, to be regarded as confined to the period of conversion, but ought to be viewed as a continuous condition of the soul.'

† Mt 5^{5} *μακάριοι οἱ πραεῖς, ὅτι αὐτοὶ κληρονομήσουσιν τὴν γῆν.* Luke has no parallel.

‡ Bacon, *Sermon on the Mount*, pp. 116, 127, holds that this Beatitude was not given by Jesus, but 'is a mere scribal gloss, a marginal addition from Ps 37^{11}, which has crept in after v.^{3} in some manuscripts, after v.^{4} in others.' This is a possible, but not a likely, hypothesis.

* The phrase יָרַשׁ אֶת־הָאָרֶץ arose in a literal sense, with reference to the inheritance of the Promised Land of Canaan by the Israelites; cf. Gn 15^{7}, Dt 4^{38}, Jos 14^{9}. After the Israelites had come into possession of Canaan, the conception was enlarged, and the phrase became figuratively used to designate an anticipated material, moral and spiritual supremacy of the people of God on the earth, as in Ps 37, esp. vv.$^{9.11}$, already quoted, and in Ps 25$^{9.13}$ 'The meek will he guide in judgment, and the meek will he teach his way. . . . His soul shall dwell at ease, and his seed shall inherit the land.' See also Is 60^{21}, Dn 7^{27}; and in the NT the idea can be seen in Mt 25^{34}, Mk 12^{7}, Ro 4^{13}, Gal 3^{18}, Rev 5$^{9.10}$.

† Tholuck, *Bergrede*, p. 78 (Eng. tr. p. 83): 'In this promise humility and meekness are by him pronounced to be the truly world-conquering principle, with reference to their ultimate victory in the history of the future.' B. Weiss thinks this idea lies very remote from the passage, and describes the meek as 'those quiet sufferers who, trusting in God, bear, without bitterness or a feeling of revenge, the abuse of those who afflict and persecute them. The painful consciousness of their own shortcomings makes them humble when they are treated unjustly by others.' Certainly this teaching is germane to Jesus (Mt 5^{39}), but it comes under the eighth Beatitude rather than under the third.

‡ Mt 5^{6} *μακάριοι οἱ πεινῶντες καὶ διψῶντες τὴν δικαιοσύνην, ὅτι αὐτοὶ χορτασθήσονται.* Lk 6^{21a} *μακάριοι οἱ πεινῶντες νῦν, ὅτι χορτασθήσεσθε.* It may be that the original saying was shorter than that which appears in Matthew's Greek form, the *τὴν δικ.* or even *καὶ διψ. τὴν δικ.* being possibly an expansion; but it seems sufficiently clear that in any case the Matthew account preserves the true idea, and that the material tone of Luke's Beatitude (compare his corresponding Woe, 6^{25}) is a later perversion of Jesus' utterance.

terms ‘hunger’ and ‘thirst,’ representing the fundamental physical necessities, had been of old used symbolically to denote intense spiritual longing, cf. Is 49^{10} $55^{1.2}$ 65^{13}, Am 8^{11}, Ps $34^{9.10}$ 42^{1} (and in the NT see Jn 6^{35} 7^{37}, Rev $22^{1.2}$); χορτάζομαι also was used figuratively of spiritual supply, Ps 17^{15} 107^{9}. Of the meaning of this Beatitude there can be no doubt. The righteousness which men are to seek is that righteousness which the entire Sermon is designed to elucidate and to enjoin. Those who earnestly desire it are pronounced blessed, because it is theirs; every one who sincerely wills to have righteousness obtains it (Rev 22^{17}). Righteousness was the technical Jewish term to connote that quality and quantity of character and conduct which God requires of men, and which it is the one aim of life to attain. It was Jesus' mission to correct and to perfect men's conception of righteousness, and to inspire them to its actual realization. In this Beatitude He speaks of the blessedness of those who long for righteousness, while in the other Beatitudes and throughout the discourse He shows them what true righteousness is, and how it is to be obtained. Since righteousness consists in right character and service, it cannot be externally bestowed,* but must be achieved, by each individual, with the help of God through Christ. And its achievement is a process of growth into the likeness of our Divine Example. It is the glory of the Gospel that to every desirous soul is promised the attainment of God's ideal for him and membership in the eternal Kingdom of the sons of God.

(5) ‘Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy.’† It is probably by intention that this Beatitude stands immediately after the one concerning righteousness, for in both OT and NT the two ideas of righteousness and mercy are correlative:‡ Mic 6^{8} ‘He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?’ (cf. also Ps 18^{24-26}, Is 58^{1-11}); Mt 23^{23} ‘Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye tithe mint and anise and cummin, and have left undone the weightier matters of the law, judgment [*i.e.* justice§], and mercy, and faith.’ There is no righteousness without mercy, whether of God or man. One of the most frequent OT ideas is that God is merciful towards men, and one of its most frequent injunctions is that men must be likewise merciful towards one another. Jesus re-established both teachings, and gave them great prominence in His instruction. Mercy is twofold: subjective and objective. Subjectively, mercy requires that a man shall be loving and forgiving towards all; not revengeful nor cherishing ill-will; not thinking evil of others (Mt 18^{21-35}, 1 Co 13^{4-7}, Eph 4^{32}). Objectively, mercy requires that a man shall show deep, inexhaustible sympathy with all his fellows, manifesting itself in unremitting, helpful service, and in a loving considerateness towards all (Mt 5^{43-48} 9^{10-13} 12^{7} 25^{31-46}, Lk 10^{25-37} 16^{19-31}, Ro 12^{9-21}, Gal $5^{22.23}$, Col 3^{12-14}, 1 Jn 3^{14-18}). It is striking that in the Beatitudes no specific mention is made of *love*, although love (towards God and man) is proclaimed by Jesus as the sum of all duty (Mt 22^{34-40}, cf. Ro 13^{8-10}, Gal 5^{14}). And farther on in the Sermon, at Mt 5^{43-48}, the duty of love is explicitly taught. But the fact is, that although the term ‘love’ does not appear in the Beatitudes, yet the idea of love underlies every one of them. Roughly grouped, the first four concern love to God, the last four love to men. All that the eight Beatitudes contain is but an application of the principle of love to the most important aspects of life, formulating more specifically what love requires in the essential experience and relations of human existence.

The mercy of God precedes the mercy of men, and is its prototype. Inasmuch as God is merciful towards men, He rightly requires that men shall be merciful towards one another. In the parable of the Unmerciful Servant this is most impressively taught, Mt 18^{21-35}. And as the last verse of the passage sets forth, unless men show mercy in their relations to each other, God cannot ultimately deal mercifully with them; cf. also Mt 6^{12-15}, Mk 11^{25}, Eph 4^{32}, Ja 2^{13}. This is not retaliation on God's part. If it seems severe, it is yet a necessary provision to the end that love may triumph in His world. If love is to transform all and to reign supreme, then what is unloving must disappear.

(6) ‘Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God.’* The phrase ‘pure in heart’ occurs in Ps 73^{1} (בָּרֵי לֵבָב, LXX τοῖς εὐθέσι τῇ καρδίᾳ) and in Ps 24^{4} (בַּר לֵבָב, LXX καθαρὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ); cf. also Ps 51^{10}. In the NT the phrase is only twice used (1 Ti 1^{5}, 2 Ti 2^{22}), although the thought is all-pervasive. The term καρδία, corresponding to the Hebrew לֵב and in the NT deriving its signification therefrom, denotes the essential personality, the inner central self, where all feeling, thought, and action originate.† In its dative form here it indicates the sphere in which the purity is predicated, like τῷ πνεύματι in the first Beatitude. By ‘purity of heart’ is meant that profound sincerity and uprightness of thought and feeling which produces an honest, clean, holy life in all its elements and relations. It does not need to be said that this condition of things can exist only where the individual is committed, body and soul, to the love and obedience of God, and regards all men as his brethren and himself as a sacred trust. Jesus has in mind the superficial standards of goodness which prevailed in His day. The rich young man had kept all the commandments from his youth, and yet his heart was set upon his material possessions (Mk 10^{17-31}); the Pharisees outwardly appeared righteous unto men, but within they were full of hypocrisy and iniquity (Mt 23^{25-28}). Against such shallow, false conceptions of right living, Jesus most emphatically sets the duty of real righteousness, of purifying the fountain of a man's life in order that what flows from it may indeed be pure.

That the ‘pure in heart’ ‘shall see God’ is an essential result of their character, not a mere unrelated reward for their goodness. Nor is this seeing of God a solely eschatological event; for, while the perfect vision of Him belongs to the future, there is a present vision which increases day by day with the growth of the pure in heart. Seeing God is, of course, not a physical process, but a spiritual one; it is to enter into full communion with Him, to be spiritually in His immediate presence and to be at rest there, to share directly His favour, joy, and blessings. The phrase to 'see God' arose in ancient Hebrew usage out of the fact that men counted it a supreme privilege to come into the presence of an earthly king (1 K 10^{8}, Est 1^{14});[*] how much more would it mean to come into the presence of the King of kings! The hope of such a vision of God grew with the development of the Hebrew religious conceptions, and became the rapturous aspiration of the OT saints (Ps 11^{7} 'the upright shall behold his face'; 17^{15} 'As for me, I shall behold thy face in righteousness; I shall be satisfied, when I awake, with thy likeness'). In the NT also the aspiration, now become a certainty, reappears (1 Jn 3^{2} 'we shall see him even as he is'; He 12^{14}, Rev 22^{4}); the veil of the temple has been rent in twain (Mt 27^{51}), for in and through Christ men have immediate access to God. This standing in the very presence of God, this direct communion with Him and direct responsibility to Him, is more than a theological theory—it is an actual and essential fact of the utmost practical significance. God is not an absentee ruler, who can be dealt with only through intermediaries; on the contrary, those who love Him live in His presence, rest in His care, receive His blessings, and participate in His joy.

---

* Neither in this passage nor elsewhere does Jesus use the term ‘righteousness’ in the forensic sense to which St. Paul gave currency. That God does, in His love and mercy, pardon and receive every man who in and through Christ sets himself seriously towards the Divine ideal, is abundantly taught by Jesus; but He does not use this term to denote that idea. So nearly all commentators. Achelis, *Bergpredigt*, p. 22: ‘The words indicate that high degree of longing which rests upon the certainty that the object of the longing is essential to life, that without it life would become death. Righteousness is the object of such desire; what is meant by it is that moral condition which is in accordance with God's will.’ B. Weiss defines the righteousness here referred to as that ‘righteousness which corresponds to the norm of the Divine will, the highest good of every true Israelite, upon the possession of which depends the certainty of God's good pleasure and the participation in all the promises. The Kingdom of God proclaimed by Jesus offers men this good in an abundance which will satisfy all longings, bring full contentment, and fill them with righteousness. For in the Kingdom of God, and only there,—though there with the greatest of certainty,—will the ideal of righteousness be actually realized.’

† Mt 5^{7} μακάριοι οἱ ἐλεήμονες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἐλεηθήσονται. Luke has no parallel.

‡ So closely connected are the two ideas that the Heb. צְדָקָה, which more commonly should be and is represented in the LXX by δικαιοσύνη, is at times translated by ἐλεημοσύνη; cf. Dt 6^{25} 24^{13}, Ps 24^{5} 33^{5} 103^{6}, Is 1^{27}. In the Sermon passage Mt 6^{1} ἐλεημοσύνην appears as a variant reading of δικαιοσύνην; the former, however, is not strongly attested (EL against ℵBD), and is accepted by few scholars.

§ So H. Holtzmann, B. Weiss, Wendt; cf. Ps 33^{5}.

* Mt 5^{8} μακάριοι οἱ καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ τὸν θεὸν ὄψονται. Luke has no parallel.

† See Wendt, *Lehre Jesu*, ii. 116–121; Cremer, *Bibl.-Theol. Wörterbuch*⁷ (1892), *in loc.*; art. HEART in vol. ii.

(7) 'Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called sons of God.'[†] The term *εἰρηνοποιός* occurs in the LXX form of Pr 10^{10}, and the thought is present also in Pr 12^{20}. But 'peace' was not so common an OT idea as those dealt with in the previous Beatitudes. Some have maintained that the meaning of *εἰρην.* in this passage is exclusively passive, *i.e.* 'peaceable.' But the mass of interpreters find a larger meaning, which includes this while containing also an active element—to make peace.[‡] Certainly Jesus' idea here is comprehensive; He has in mind to commend and to inculcate the spread of peace—all kinds of peace—among men (cf. He 12^{14}, Ja 3^{18}). In this He is the great leader and example, Mt 11^{29}, Jn 14^{27} (the paradox, Mt 10^{34}), Eph 2^{13-18}, Col 1^{20} 3^{15}; for God is the God of Peace, Ro 15^{13}, 2 Co 13^{11}, Ph $4^{7.9}$, 1 Th 5^{23}, He 13^{20}, who sent peace to the earth in Christ, Lk $2^{13.14}$. Peace between God and men was proclaimed by Jesus, and peace between men and their fellow-men was enjoined. Peace therefore is the Christian ideal. Individual composure and social harmony are to be brought about by the concentration of all interests and forces on the achievement of the individual and social ideal as taught by Christ, and by the realization, within one's self and among all, of those Divine principles of concord and co-operation through which alone true peace can be obtained.

The peacemakers 'shall be called sons of God' because in this essential characteristic they are like Him, the God of Peace. The fact that the article does not accompany the *υἱοί* signifies that the designation is to be understood qualitatively. This idea of sonship as consisting in moral resemblance is of Hebrew origin, and is found in both Testaments; cf. esp. Mt 5^{45}, Rev 21^{7}. The expression 'called' sons of God is also a Hebraism, found frequently in the Book of Isaiah; its special function here seems to be to emphasize the fact of sonship (cf. Mt 5^{19}, 1 Jn 3^{1}) as something not only true, but recognized to be true.

(8) 'Blessed are they that have been persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are ye when men shall reproach you, and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake. Rejoice and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in heaven: for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you.'[*] Although the essence and purpose of the gospel was peace, nevertheless those who enjoyed and endeavoured to spread this peace in the world would incur reproach and abuse from their fellow-men. The OT does not supply passages similar in form to this Beatitude, but the Hebrews had no lack of experience in persecution for righteousness' sake, and the conception is developed with marvellous insight and feeling in Is 40–66. In the NT it is an ever-present idea —the sufferings of the OT saints are recalled (He 11^{33-40}), Jesus lives and dies a martyr to this principle, He predicted persecution for His followers (Mt 5^{10-12}, Jn 16^{2}), and this persecution actually befell them (Jn 9^{22}, Ac 5^{41} 8^{1-3}, 1 P 3^{14} 4^{14-16}). The primitive Christians bravely endured and faithfully preached when they were despised, ostracized, punished, and maliciously slandered.[†]

---

[*] On the 'vision of God' as held by Philo, see Schürer, *Geschichte d. Jüdischen Volkes*^{3} (1898), vol. iii. p. 561.

[†] Mt 5^{9} *μακάριοι οἱ εἰρηνοποιοί, ὅτι [αὐτοὶ] υἱοὶ θεοῦ κληθήσονται.* Luke has no parallel.

[‡] For the passive sense only, Grotius, Socinus, Wetstein, and recently Ibbeken, *Bergpredigt*^{2}, p. 43. For an active meaning also, Luther, Meyer, Tholuck, Bleek, Achelis, H. Holtzmann, B. Weiss, and the RV. Others incorrectly regard the 'peace' mentioned as that obtained by the atoning work of Christ; so Chrysostom, Stier.

[*] Mt 5^{10-12} *μακάριοι οἱ δεδιωγμένοι ἕνεκεν δικαιοσύνης, ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν. μακάριοί ἐστε ὅταν ὀνειδίσωσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ διώξωσιν καὶ εἴπωσιν πᾶν πονηρὸν καθ' ὑμῶν ψευδόμενοι ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ. χαίρετε καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε, ὅτι ὁ μισθὸς ὑμῶν πολὺς ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς· οὕτως γὰρ ἐδίωξαν τοὺς προφήτας τοὺς πρὸ ὑμῶν.* Lk $6^{22.23}$ *μακάριοί ἐστε ὅταν μισήσωσιν ὑμᾶς οἱ ἄνθρωποι, καὶ ὅταν ἀφορίσωσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ ὀνειδίσωσιν καὶ ἐκβάλωσιν τὸ ὄνομα ὑμῶν ὡς πονηρὸν ἕνεκα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. χάρητε ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ σκιρτήσατε· ἰδοὺ γὰρ ὁ μισθὸς ὑμῶν πολὺς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ· κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ γὰρ ἐποίουν τοῖς προφήταις οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν.* With regard to these two reports of what must be regarded as a single utterance, two things are to be said: (1) the corresponding Lukan Beatitude $6^{22.23}$ is parallel not to Mt 5^{10}, but to Mt $5^{11.12}$. It is suggested above that 5^{10} and $5^{11.12}$ may be duplicates, the one or the other passage appearing here through the process of compilation. Since one feature of the Beatitudes was their brief, striking form (like the Ten Commandments of the OT), the original eighth Beatitude must have contained few words, and 5^{10} is closely parallel in form to the preceding seven Beatitudes; both of which things favour its originality. In Luke also the last Beatitude is very long compared with the others. Perhaps, therefore, Mt $5^{11.12}$ and Lk $6^{22.23}$ are varying words from one historical saying, introduced here by a transmitting or editorial hand because of their close similarity in thought to that of the eighth Beatitude. Or another view would be that Mt $5^{11.12}$ is an expansion of the idea contained in Mt 5^{10} by Jesus Himself (or possibly by some subsequent Christian teacher when the persecutions actually came upon the Christians); for the essential thought of the three verses is the same, the general conception of persecution in v.^{10} being expanded in vv.$^{11.12}$ into the specific ideas of verbal abuse, hostile acts, and false reports. (2) The Lukan form of this Beatitude is in several respects secondary in character, *i.e.* it shows greater departure than Matthew's from the probable original form of the utterance. These modifications arose out of a freer handling in transmission, a partial conformity to the new Gentile field in which the material circulated, and a greater yielding to the influence of the actual events of persecution in the Apostolic age. The term *μισήσωσιν* is used in a characteristic Lukan way, cf. Lk 14^{26} 16^{13} 21^{17}. The *ἐκβάλωσιν τὸ ὄνομα ὑμῶν ὡς πονηρόν*, as also the *ἀφώρισεν*, refer to the excommunication of the Christians as heretics from the synagogues and other Jewish relationships—things which actually happened, but which the Matthæan passage does not specifically predict. The *ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ* of Matthew is more original than the *ἕνεκα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* of Luke. Lk 6^{23}, first clause, seems modified. And Lk 6^{23}, last clause, shows various secondary elements, due to the denationalizing of the material. These phenomena are constant throughout Luke's Gospel as compared with Matthew's.

[†] The *ψευδόμενοι* of Mt 5^{11} is attested by ℵBCE and the majority of witnesses; it is omitted by D and certain other witnesses of the 'Western' text. The word is therefore commonly accepted here. But if the new claims for the 'Western' type of text have good foundation, it is not impossible that this *ψευδόμενοι* is, in the terminology of Westcott-Hort, a 'Western non-interpolation.' Jesus, of course, implied the thought which

And in this conduct they were richly blessed—not by the persecutions, but through them; for Jesus, of course, did not mean that persecutions are essential to the development of the ideal life, but only that, where outward circumstances are such as to induce them, they are blessed who steadfastly and joyfully glorify the Gospel. The ἕνεκεν δικαιοσύνης of Mt 5^{10} and the ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ of the following verse are synonymous. The persecutions which would afflict Jesus' disciples were to be met in carrying forward the work which He had begun; if they lived as He lived, and taught as He taught, they would experience the same treatment as He had received (Jn 7^{7} $15^{18.19}$ 17^{14}). Had He not been a true successor of the OT prophets in suffering for righteousness' sake (Mt 5^{12} 23^{29-30})? With the advancing centuries the kind of persecution directed against Christianity has changed, and the amount has lessened; but Christian people can never expect to be free from misinterpretation, ridicule, and abuse until all men become devoted to the righteousness and truth for which Christianity stands. And this Beatitude promises the highest blessings to those who in trust, patience, and forgiveness uphold the Gospel, and allow the persecution to fulfil its own true mission in their lives and in the Church (He 12^{5-11}).

These promised highest blessings are denoted here by the term 'the Kingdom of Heaven,' so that in the eighth Beatitude Jesus has returned to the promise which accompanied the first Beatitude. This conception of the Kingdom of Heaven is the inclusive one, since it comprises all conceivable good and brings absolute well-being. The phrase 'great is your reward in heaven,' which appears in Mt 5^{12}=Lk 6^{23}, is practically one in meaning with that of Mt 5^{10} 'for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.'[*] The term 'reward' (μισθός) was taken over into the Gospel from the commercial, *quid pro quo* terminology of legal Judaism; its legalistic designation had therefore to disappear, and now it was a term to express those gracious spiritual blessings which are at hand and in store for the true children of God. In this Beatitude, then, is promised 'the Kingdom of Heaven' and 'great reward,' but not the Kingdom of Heaven *plus* some additional reward, since the Kingdom itself contains all the good which men can receive.

b. The World Mission.—Mt 5^{13-16} (cf. Lk 11^{33} $14^{34.35}$).[†] The connexion of these verses with those which precede is close. Men of such character and conduct as Mt 5^{3-9} has described will assuredly meet with opposition and calumny, Mt 5^{10-12}; but they must not on this account go into hiding—rather must they stand forth, endure persecution, and uphold the Gospel standard in the world, Mt 5^{13-16}. Salt is a preservative element, light is a life-giving one;[‡] both were current figurative terms for spiritual realities. Men who appreciate the Divine ideal of life which Jesus has presented in the Beatitudes, and who strive to attain it, are God's chosen instruments for the realization of His purpose in the world. They are to live and to work among men, where their character and their deeds may exert their full, true influence. The Christian is not permitted either to withdraw himself from the world, or to live an isolated, unprofessed religious life in the world. He must not only himself be good and do good; he must also help others into the appreciation and the attainment of the same ideal. Salvation is not merely individual; it is social as well. Until Christians do the most and the best they can with themselves and for all others, they are not faithful to the mission which Jesus has laid upon all of His followers, and the consummation of God's Kingdom is in so far delayed.

c. Relation to the Old Testament.—Mt 5^{17-20} (cf. Lk 16^{17}). The logical relation of these verses to what precedes is clear: Jesus has set forth the new Gospel norm of life (5^{3-12}), and has enjoined His followers to live this life openly before the world (5^{13-16}); now He proceeds to show the relation of this new Gospel norm to the Hebrew norm of life which in the OT had come down through the centuries and now held the field among His countrymen. Since Jesus' ideal differed so much from the current scribal standard (as any one could see), the question easily arose—not only among His opponents, the religious leaders of the day, but also among those who 'heard him gladly'—whether this revelation of God's will by Jesus was a wholly new revelation superseding that made by Moses and the Prophets. Jesus gave the answer to this question when He said, 'Think not that I came to destroy the law or the prophets: I came not to destroy, but to fulfil.'[*]

---

it contains, but it was quite superfluous to express it, and its expression disturbs the proper emphasis in the saying. The word is much more likely to have been added later (as a practically useful expansion) than to have been excluded.

[*] On the NT term 'reward' see B. Weiss, *Bibl. Theologie des NT*^{6} (1895), § 32; Tholuck, *Bergrede*^{5}, pp. 99–101 [Eng. tr. p. 101 f.]; Achelis, *Bergpredigt*, pp. 52–55.

[†] This section is regarded as not belonging to the original Sermon by Feine, H. Holtzmann, B. Weiss, Wendt, Bartlet, Bacon; it is defended by Achelis, Meyer, Tholuck, and most commentators. If the theme of the discourse is comprehensive, as maintained above, these verses supply a logical and useful portion of the whole treatment given it.

[‡] The exact function of salt which Jesus had here in mind is somewhat uncertain: was it its quality to save from decay, as in 2 K $2^{19.20}$ (so Meyer, B. Weiss), or its quality as a pleasing condiment, as in Job 6^{6}, Col 4^{6} (so Bleek, H. Holtzmann), or its ritual function as developed in the ancient sacrificial system, cf. Mk $9^{49.50}$ (so Achelis, Keil, Tholuck, *Bergrede*^{5}, pp. 102–106 [Eng. tr. pp. 105–109])? The second of these views is perhaps too shallow for this passage, and the third too complex, too erudite; it seems a simpler and stronger utterance when the salt is conceived in its fundamental property of a preservative. The other metaphor, light, is one of the most common religious expressions, cf. esp. Is 42^{6} 49^{6} $60^{1.2}$, Jn $1^{4.5.9}$ 8^{12} $12^{35.46}$, Eph 5^{8}, Ph 2^{15}, 1 Th 5^{5}. The phrase of v.^{16} τὸ φῶς ὑμῶν, means either 'the light which is intrusted to you,' viz. the Gospel (so H. Holtzmann, B. Weiss), or 'the light which you are,' as in v.^{14}.

[*] Mt 5^{17} μὴ νομίσητε ὅτι ἦλθον καταλῦσαι τὸν νόμον ἢ τοὺς προφήτας· οὐκ ἦλθον καταλῦσαι ἀλλὰ πληρῶσαι. The customary phrase, ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται, is a phrase which arises from the Jewish designation of the OT literature, the νόμος designating the first five books, the προφῆται the remainder; while the whole phrase denotes the OT in its entirety and its unity. It is noticeable that in Mt 5^{17} we have the disjunctive particle ἤ instead of the usual καί in this phrase. The variation is probably intentional, introduced in order to suggest that the Law and the Prophets were distinct portions of the OT, and that a different attitude might be assumed by the same person towards the two divisions—He might abrogate either one without the other, but He wishes to abrogate neither (so Tholuck, Meyer, Ibbeken, Bruce, Wendt, B. Weiss).

While Jesus mentions 'the Prophets' in 5^{17}, He does not again refer to them throughout the whole following section, 5^{18-48}. All that He goes on to say pertains to the Law; He does not present any similar illustrations of how the teaching of the Prophets is to be perfected. This silence concerning the Prophets is explained in different ways. Achelis (*Bergpredigt*, p. 79) thinks that if what He said was true of the Law, that He came not to destroy but to fulfil, *a fortiori* it was true of the Prophets. The more common explanation is that He passed by the Prophets in the remainder of His teaching at this point because He was much more in accord with them, and because the contemporaneous religious teachers paid so little attention to the Prophets that He did not come seriously into conflict with them concerning the prophetic teaching. Recently Professor Briggs (*Expos. Times*, viii. 398) has argued that Mt 5^{17} as given by Jesus stood, 'Think not that I came to destroy the law: I came not to destroy but to fulfil,' for 'the Evangelist added "the Prophets" in order to make the statement refer to the whole OT. This addition destroys the measure of the line, and has nothing in the context of this discourse or in the experience of Jesus to justify it. He was constantly charged with violating the Law, but nowhere with destroying the Prophets.' Bacon takes a similar view (*Sermon on the Mount*, pp. 87, 176). This hypothesis is worthy of consideration. The words ἢ τοὺς προφήτας might easily have been introduced subsequently to round out the original utterance of Jesus, for of course He did come to fulfil both Law and Prophets; even though on this historical occasion He had spoken only of the Law, His attitude towards which was liable to be misunderstood and needed careful explanation. The material contained in the First Gospel has perhaps been retouched at several points to show Jesus as the fulfiller of the entire OT, and especially of the Prophets; the

Jesus' constant warfare during His ministry was not so much against the OT standard of life in itself as against the interpretation of the OT standard which was held and taught in His day. For hundreds of years the priests and scribes had been busily engaged with the legal literature of their religion. These labours had resulted in an elaboration and externalization of the Law; so that when Jesus came the current Jewish teaching was in some respects extremely perverse: (1) it largely ignored the Prophetic portion of the OT, which was the very soul of the Hebrew history and Bible; (2) it exalted legalism until Judaism had become a system of precepts for the performance of an innumerable series of great and small duties which few could know and none could fully obey; (3) it so externalized the Law that religion came to consist chiefly in the observance of minute ceremonial performances, while the internal, spontaneous, and genuinely spiritual elements of the Law were neglected or ignored. Against this scribal abuse of the OT, Jesus had on many occasions to assert himself, and He did so with vehemence. He would not keep their fasts (Mk 2^{18}); He would not observe the Sabbath according to their code (Mt 12^{1-14}, Mk 2^{23}-3^{6}, Jn 5^{16-18}); He denounced, with a true prophetic insight and indignation, their whole legislation regarding the ceremonially clean and unclean (Mt 15^{1-20}, Mk 7^{1-23}, cf. Is 1^{10-17}, Mic 6^{6-8}); He continually associated with the sinful and the despised who did not keep the Law, in order to do them good (Mk $2^{16.\ 17}$). Such an attitude on Jesus' part towards the teaching of the scribes and Pharisees was involved in His introduction of a higher standard. In this attitude He was not, in fact, opposing the OT; rather, He was defending it against the false interpretation which had become current. Nevertheless, and quite naturally, the Jewish leaders identified their conception of the OT with the OT itself—how could they be mistaken about it? Therefore Jesus was a traitor to the religion, the history, and the literature of the race; He richly merited a traitor's death. It seemed to them logical and conclusive, because in their bigotry they regarded their own ideas and interpretations as heaven-penetrating and infallible. To be sure, Jesus' teaching went much deeper than the mere removal of the rubbish which had accumulated about the OT during the preceding centuries; His work did not consist solely in re-establishing the OT as it came from the hands of its makers. But had the Jews been true to the OT in the breadth and height of its teaching, they would have welcomed Jesus instead of rejecting Him; they would have been prepared to appreciate and to receive the fuller revelation of God's will which He brought into the world.

That His Gospel was a fuller revelation, Jesus made abundantly plain. He did not re-enact the Ten Commandments, but only re-established the principles which underlay them (Mt 22^{34-40}). He abrogated such provisions and implications of the Law as were adapted only to the earlier stages of civilization, thus: mere external conformity to statutes regarding moral conduct, Mt $5^{21-24.\ 27.\ 28}$; divorce, $5^{31.\ 32}$; the use of oaths, 5^{33-37}; the practice of retaliation, 5^{38-40}; the pride of race, which made men despise other nations, 5^{43-48}. In these matters, which He dealt with as specimen cases, Jesus revealed an attitude, a method, and certain principles which He intended to be applied to the OT throughout.* He did not repudiate the past, He did not even break with the best which the past had produced; He only developed and perfected the high ideal of life which had found embodiment in the Hebrew Bible. He did not set the seal of absolute duty and truth upon all that the lawgivers and prophets had taught, but He took up and reaffirmed the essential ethical principles and religious ideas which the Hebrew lawgivers had endeavoured to formulate and the Hebrew prophets had endeavoured to instil into the lives of men. That Jesus regarded His own revelation of the will of God as immeasurably superior to that contained in the OT is most strikingly expressed when He says, 'Verily I say unto you, Among them that are born of women there hath not arisen a greater than John the Baptist; yet he that is but little in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he' (Mt 11^{11}, cf. also Mt 13^{17}). To the same effect is Mk $2^{21.\ 22}$ 'No man seweth a piece of undressed cloth on an old garment; else that which should fill it up taketh from it, the new from the old, and a worse rent is made. And no man putteth new wine into old wine-skins; else the wine will burst the skins, and the wine perisheth, and the skins.' Full of a similar meaning, also, is Jesus' parabolic statement in Mt 13^{52} 'Every scribe who hath been made a disciple to the kingdom of heaven is like unto a man that is a householder, which bringeth forth out of his treasure things new and old.'†

When, therefore, Jesus says, 'I came not to destroy, but to fulfil' (Mt 5^{17}), He places in our hands the key to His relation to the OT,‡ and bids us see the continuity of God's purpose among men, the eternity of right and truth, and the absolute certainty that the Divine ideal is to develop and triumph in the world. In these words is comprised all that Jesus was, and did, and taught; they describe His mission. And He felt Himself competent to perform this mighty work, this manifestation of God to men, because He knew Himself to be chosen by God and qualified by Him for the conveyance of this revelation. Since He was superior to all previous revealers of God, He was capable of passing judgment upon their teachings; He was appointed to pronounce what elements in those teachings were of permanent and what of transient value. And it was also His mission to unify, to perfect, and to establish the whole sum of religious and ethical ideas among men. For this service He had the

---

phrase 'the law and the prophets' is a favourite one in Matthew, compare 7^{12} with Lk 6^{31}; 22^{40} with Mk 12^{31}, Lk 10^{28}. But to this argument it may be replied that the Gospels of Mark and Luke, being written for use among the Gentiles, incorporated tradition from which many of the distinctly Jewish elements and phrases actually employed by Jesus had been removed in the interest of a universal Gospel.

* Jesus attacked existing ideas, practices, and institutions only to the extent absolutely necessary for the establishment of His gospel. Many of the evils and wrongs of society He did not attempt to correct, many of the current misconceptions He left for subsequent teachers to remove. His purpose was to transform mankind, not to produce a social or political revolution, and He saw most truly that this transformation was a process for which abundant time must be allowed (Mt 13^{24-33}, Mk 4^{26-29}). His work was not destructive but constructive, not negative but positive, as all true work for the world is. Progress involves the putting aside of old bottles for new, the correction of false ideas and practices, the clearing away of spurious accretions, the defeat of those who counsel stagnation; but no one who follows Jesus' example in advancing the Kingdom will labour exclusively, or even primarily, to overthrow the false; rather will he lovingly and trustfully devote himself to the establishment of what is true. There is a radical difference between a critical and a helpful attitude in one's work for the world.

† On the interpretation of Mt 13^{52} see particularly Wendt, *Lehre Jesu*, ii. 349.

‡ St. Paul's conception of the relation between the Law and the Gospel is the same as that of Jesus, as may be seen in the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians. In Ro 3^{31} St. Paul claims not to annul but to establish the Law; not in form and letter, but in substance and spirit. This is to acknowledge the great law of progress, or development, in the universe. An acorn fulfils its mission not by remaining an acorn, but by growing into an oak. A child fulfils its mission not by remaining a child, but by becoming a man. So the OT Law was fulfilled and established not by continuing in literal force when men were ready for something better, but by becoming in due time through Christ a perfected revelation (cf. Gal $4^{4.\ 5}$), adapted to the higher needs and possibilities of mankind. On the attitude of Jesus and St. Paul towards the Law, see esp. art. LAW IN THE NT in vol. iii.

Divine ideal within Himself, and needed no external criterion.

So that there seems no room for a difference of opinion as to what Jesus meant by saying that He came to 'fulfil' the Law and the Prophets. He could not have meant that He would secure the literal accomplishment of everything hoped for and promised in the OT, as though the OT simply presented a programme which it was His mission to carry out. Nor could He have meant that He would secure the complete, literal observance and performance of all that is commanded in the Law and the Prophets. He neither did nor attempted to do the one thing or the other. If His Jewish hearers might at first understand Him to promise that in 'fulfilling' the Law and the Prophets He would reaffirm their authority, and render and secure absolute obedience thereto, He yet explicitly and emphatically provided against such a misconstruction of His words by what He immediately adds in vv.$^{18-48}$. Jesus could only have meant that He came to 'fulfil' the Law and the Prophets by first perfecting them and then accomplishing them.*

In accordance with this view of Jesus' thought in Mt 5^{17} must be interpreted His words in Mt $5^{18.19}$. The former, v.^{18}, seems to say: I affirm most emphatically that to the end of time† the OT Law, and every portion of that Law, shall remain and shall be actually and completely realized. The latter, v.^{19}, seems to say: The minute observance and inculcation of this OT Law, in every statute and in every detail, is literally and strictly required of every member of the Kingdom of Heaven.‡ Now neither of these statements could have been made by Jesus; they are diametrically opposed to both His teaching and His practice. The OT Law, as a system and as a code, He distinctly set aside, to supersede it with a Gospel dispensation. It was the spirit, not the letter, of the Law which Jesus approved and continued; the high conceptions of God and man and the noble principles of moral obligation which are taught in the OT, Jesus reaffirmed as true and perpetuated for ever. Do these verses then contain some inconsistent elements, or can their apparent inconsistencies be explained away? The commentators have commonly been satisfied with thinking that these difficult statements in vv.$^{18.19}$ could in some manner be harmonized with Jesus' other teaching and His general attitude towards the OT. Some have attempted to show how the Law in every branch and in all its minutiæ was fulfilled in Christ;* others have maintained that Jesus had reference to the Law only on its ethical side and in general, the ceremonial and predictive elements in the Law being passed over;† and still others, having regard to Jesus' frequent use of hyperbolical language, have held that these verses contain hyperbolical statements, the hyperbole being used not to deceive, but to impress the truth he wished to convey.‡ But an increasing number of scholars have come to question the precise authenticity of the utterances as they stand reported in Mt $5^{18.19}$.[*] The wording of them presents the rabbinical conception of the Law as eternally and literally valid;[†] the formulæ used are those of the rabbinical phraseology. The statements themselves are too likely to be misunderstood and to mislead the hearers. The hyperbole is too much in the direction of the literalism which He was strenuously opposing.

---

* This is now the generally accepted interpretation. Tholuck, *Bergrede*^{5}, pp. 124, 126 [Eng. tr. pp. 125, 127]: 'So Christ has come to perfect, to fill up with religious knowledge and life, all that in the OT revelation existed only in outline. . . . That the fulfilling was merely an external supplementing or improvement of the Law cannot be admitted' (see Tholuck's entire discussion of Mt 5^{17}, pp. 113–131 [Eng. tr. pp. 115–131]). Bruce, *Expositor's Greek Testament*, i. 104: 'He brings in a law of the spirit which cancels the law of the letter, a kingdom which realizes the prophetic ideals while setting aside the crude details of their conception of the Messianic time.' B. Weiss, *Meyer-Komm. ü. d. Mattevgm.* p. 102: 'He comes not at all to undo or to abrogate; his mission is a positive one, to provide a new [revelation of the will of God], in which he will bring to perfection all God's revelations and plans of salvation.' Feine, *Jahrb. f. Protest. Theol.* 1885: 'Thus he says that no essential difference exists between the OT revelation and his message of the Kingdom, but that there is a close continuity between them; true religion, presented as an ideal in the OT, is now realized, and the Gospel is the fulfilment of the OT prophecy.' Wendt, *Lehre Jesu*, ii. 338 f.: 'He would say that he recognizes in the Law and the Prophets a true revelation of the will of God, and consequently he does not feel called upon to annul its value for others. But at the same time he would affirm that he could not leave just as it stood the presentation given by the Law and the Prophets of this earlier revelation of God's will, and that he would not explain and confirm that revelation in the detailed manner of the scribal teaching; but that instead he would perfect that revelation, so that the OT presentation of the will of God would find its ideal expression' (see Wendt's entire discussion, pp. 333–351). Similarly also Luther, Meyer, Hilgenfeld, Achelis, Bacon, and many others. H. Holtzmann, *Comm. ü. d. Synoptiker*, p. 104, says, concerning Mt 5^{17}: 'It is open to question whether during the public life of Jesus so radical an interpretation of His mission could have been formulated, either in the positive sense (cf. Ro 10^4) or in the negative sense.'

† The phrase ἕως ἂν παρέλθῃ ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ does not define a *terminus ad quem*, but means 'for ever,' in the sense that He has no pronouncement to make as to a time when the Law shall be no longer valid. So Luther, Calvin, Meyer, Tholuck, Ibbeken, Bruce, B. Weiss; a contrary opinion by Achelis, *Bergpredigt*, p. 84, and Lechler, *SK* 1854. The former view is supported also by the parallel saying in Lk 16^{17} εὐκοπώτερον δέ ἐστιν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν παρελθεῖν ἢ τοῦ νόμου μίαν κεραίαν πεσεῖν (on this passage and its relation to Mt 5^{18} see esp. Feine, *Jahrb. f. Protest. Theol.* 1885, pp. 31–35). B. Weiss, *Meyer-Komm. ü. d. Mattevgm.* p. 104, says that in the phrase 'till heaven and earth pass away' Jesus 'does not indicate a point after which the Law shall no longer be in existence, but [this] is only a popular expression (cf. Job 14^{12}) for the permanent authority of the Law. Since Jesus is speaking of what shall take place in the present world-era, he states that the Law can never pass away. But of a continuation of the Law beyond the last world-catastrophe, as referred to in Mt 24^{35}, nothing is here said.' The second phrase ἕως ἂν πάντα γένηται is parallel to the ἕως ἂν παρέλθῃ ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ, and in meaning can only be synonymous with it.

‡ Concerning the interpretation of the phrase ὃς ἐὰν οὖν λύσῃ μίαν τῶν ἐντολῶν τούτων τῶν ἐλαχίστων, B. Weiss, *Meyer-Komm. ü. d. Mattevgm.* p. 105, says: 'The phrase "one of the least of these commandments" refers not to the Pharisaic distinction between small and great commands; since Jesus has in v.^{18} denied that there was any such distinction in fact, the reference can only be to such commands as seem less important to superficial observation. But these also stand in real organic union with the ideal contents of the whole.' On the contrary, Achelis, *Bergpredigt*, p. 91: 'It is Jesus himself who here makes the distinction between great and small commandments, and in so far he recognized the Pharisaic (later rabbinic) distinction which was the object of their ardent efforts in spite of their tendency to regard unessential things as essential.' The difficulty of regarding the words of this verse as coming from Jesus in just their present form is great. He did make a distinction in values and obligations, cf. Mt 23^{23} 'Woe unto you, ye scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye tithe mint and anise and cummin, and have left undone the weightier matters of the law, judgment, and mercy, and faith: but these ye ought to have done, and not to have left the other undone'; see also Mt 22^{37-40}.

* See particularly Tholuck, *Bergrede*^{5}, pp. 142–146 [Eng. tr. pp. 141–144], who holds that 'more than the moral law is included here, as the expression ἰῶτα ἓν ἢ μία κεραία shows; while v.^{19} indicates that the fulfilment here spoken of extends to all the ἐντολαί. To limit the meaning of the verse to the ethical law is accordingly inadmissible. . . . The Redeemer can have spoken of the necessity of a fulfilment of the ritual law only in its pedagogical and typical symbolical character.' This fulfilment was accomplished 'in His own sacrificial death, in which the shadowy outline of the OT sacrifices was filled up, and their idea realized (He 10^1).' Similarly, 'the idea of the theocracy is realized in the Church; of the priesthood, in the Christian people; the passover, in the Lord's Supper; circumcision, in baptism; the command to avoid the dead and the ceremonially unclean, in avoiding the morally dead and unclean,' etc.

† Achelis, *Bergpredigt*, p. 78 f.: 'The reference here is not to the Law in respect of its typical prophetic element (*e.g.* the law of sacrifice), nor to the Prophets in respect of their predictions concerning the Messianic future; but to the Law and the Prophets in so far as they, corresponding to the new demands and promises of Jesus in the first section of the Sermon, embrace the codified demands and promises current in Israel.' Ibbeken, *Bergpredigt*^{2}, pp. 54, 56: 'That he is thinking here (v.^{18}) especially of the Ten Commandments, which in the Hebrew original had a very much shorter form than in the modern translations, is evident when he says that not a jot or tittle shall pass away; of these short commands at least, not the smallest part could be taken away. . . . The whole difficulty which is felt in this verse (v.^{19}) arises from taking the expression "the law and the prophets" too literally, as though Jesus had intended to say that not the slightest detail of the Mosaic law, including the ritual law, should pass away. If he meant this, then his later life and especially his attitude toward the Sabbath law were entirely inconsistent with his words. But the phrase "the law and the prophets" is to be understood here in a much narrower sense, as signifying only the existing legal order of the common moral life, an interpretation which is placed beyond doubt by the repetition of this phrase in Mt 7^{12}. For if he can say, "All things therefore whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do ye also unto them: for this is the law and the prophets," then it cannot be denied that in 5^{18} he refers only to those commands of the law by means of which the legal order of the common society of men is maintained.' Burton and Mathews, *Constructive Studies in the Life of Christ*, p. 101 f.: 'It is evidently the moral teachings of both Law and Prophets that Jesus is speaking of, not the predictions. . . . Jesus declares his devotion to the Law, and its permanence in the new Kingdom. This Jesus could do, although he disregarded or disapproved certain statutes of the Law (for example, respecting fasting, Mk $2^{19.20}$; clean and unclean meats, Mk 7^{17-19}; and divorce, Mt 19^{7-9}), because he identified the Law with its great principle of love (Mt 7^{12} 22^{37-40}). This was to him *the Law and the Prophets*, and individual statutes were of value and of permanent authority only in so far as they embodied and expressed this central principle. This was just the opposite position from that which the Pharisees took. They gave all heed to the statutes as authoritative in themselves, and lost sight of the principles. Hence the conflict between them and Jesus.'

‡ The figurative language should therefore be interpreted qualitatively, not quantitatively. So apparently, though not

It is not necessary to suppose, nor is it at all probable, that Mt $5^{18.19}$ was a free composition of a subsequent period. The two verses seem to have a real nucleus of something said by Jesus on this occasion. But a certain Jewish-Christian colouring they may have received in transmission. Jesus may well have used some strong expressions in this connexion, for the purpose of affirming the Divine character and the essential correctness of the OT revelation, and of impressing the duty of members of the Kingdom which He was establishing to recognize and preserve the truth thus intrusted to them. And these words of Jesus, already more conservative than He was accustomed to use in His general teaching, may, through the processes of transmission and translation, have taken on a still more conservative tone than He had given them. When it is remembered that for 15 or 20 years after Jesus' death the primitive disciples had no other conception of the OT than that it was literally and completely in force, Jesus' teaching being only supplementary thereto, it is not difficult to see how these words which dealt with that matter assumed a form and interpretation in accordance with the disciples' conceptions of the relation of the New to the Old Dispensation. In such a transformation of Jesus' words and meaning there would be no intention to misrepresent Him, but rather a conscious purpose to make more definite what they at that time conceived Him to have meant by these utterances. What these verses now say is inconsistent with Jesus' other teaching and with His practice regarding the OT Law; but it is consistent with the primitive Apostolic teaching and practice of the Law, which maintained the former Jewish position, ignoring for a time that constant and significant portion of Jesus' teaching and conduct which was against the literal authority and the permanent observance of the OT.

In the following verse, Mt 5^{20}, we are again on firm ground. Jesus assures His hearers that the current conception and attainment of righteousness, as taught and practised by the scribes and Pharisees, was entirely insufficient—not enough to admit one to the Kingdom of Heaven.[‡] Instead, therefore, of abrogating or diminishing religious requirements, as they charged against Him, He was, in fact, demanding of men a great deal more than they demanded, with all their boasted devotion to the Law. What the character of the Pharisees' righteousness was can be seen in Mt 23^{1-33}, Lk 11^{37-52} $16^{14.15.19-31}$ 18^{9-14}; their painful shallowness and perversity, in comparison with what they would have been had they lived faithful to the OT teaching, need not here be described. In vv.$^{17-19}$ Jesus has explained the relation of His Gospel norm to that of the Law and the Prophets. In v.^{20} He has contrasted His ideal standard of life with that of the Pharisees. And now in the verses which follow, vv.$^{21-48}$, He illustrates how both the OT and the Pharisaic norms fall short of that Divine ideal for men which He has come to establish in the world. As generally enumerated, these illustrations are six in number, concerning: (1) anger, vv.$^{21-26}$; (2) social purity, vv.$^{27-30}$; (3) divorce, vv.$^{31.32}$; (4) oaths, vv.$^{33-37}$; (5) retaliation, vv$^{38-42}$; (6) love for all, vv.$^{43-48}$. They illuminate the field of social relations between men by showing what principles are to determine their feelings and their conduct towards one another. These principles we may for convenience designate as the principle of inner righteousness, the principle of unselfishness and forgiveness, and the principle of universal love; although the first comprises really the second and third also.

d. Inner Righteousness.—Mt 5^{21-37} (cf. Lk $12^{58.59}$ 16^{18}). The essential difference between the OT system and the Gospel is that between an external code forced upon one from without and an internal life which first develops character and then manifests itself in conduct. The OT Law told what a man must do and must not do, mainly the latter; although it contemplated right motives, it did not generally formulate them or effect them. A man might 'keep all the commandments from his youth up,' and yet lack some essential element of righteousness (Mk 10^{17-22}). If it is true that for the childhood of the race an external system of conduct is alone suitable and possible, if a child must be dealt with on the basis of precepts until knowledge, judgment, and conscience qualify him for a basis of principles, the reason for the radical difference between the OT and the NT becomes clear: they belong to different stages of human development. And St. Paul is right in saying that 'when the fulness of time came, God sent forth his Son' (Gal 4^{4}). The OT was really and properly superseded by the Gospel, which enjoined life by principle, internal as well as external righteousness, true character as well as good conduct, right thinking and right feeling as the source of all that one is and does.

Consequently, Jesus in His teaching, recorded in these vv.$^{21-48}$, does not need to distinguish between the OT and the scribal interpretation or elaboration of it, because His teaching supersedes both[*] and furnishes the one true and sufficient guide to life. The scribes and Pharisees, to be sure, misunderstood the Law and neglected the Prophets, whereby their religious ideas and practices fell far short of the OT standard. Sometimes Jesus tried to make His contemporaries realize this; cf. Mt $15^{3.6}$, Jn 5^{45}. But Jesus did not re-enact the Hebrew Bible, even though it was better than Pharisaism. It was His mission to perfect the Law and the Prophets. He therefore let the OT stand as a monument of previous Divine revelation and earlier human development, giving in its stead

---

clearly, B. Weiss, *Meyer-Komm. ü. d. Mattevgm.* p. 104: the jot and tittle 'signify in the concrete-plastic form of Jesus' expression every part of the Law, however small. . . . That Jesus has in mind here only the moral law, not the ceremonial law, is an untenable view. He includes the whole Law, and contemplates an antitypical fulfilment of the ceremonial element in it.' With Weiss agree Tholuck, Achelis, Feine, H. Holtzmann, and others, that a distinction of moral and ceremonial portions in the Law, which could be separately and might be differently viewed, is an entirely modern one, unrecognized by Jesus and His contemporaries.

[*] So Baur, Strauss, Keim, Wittichen, Köstlin, Weizsäcker, Hilgenfeld, Feine, H. Holtzmann, Schmiedel. Holtzmann, *Comm. ü. d. Synoptiker*, p. 106, regards the three verses, vv.$^{17-19}$, as an answer of the Evangelist to the Pauline anti-legalism. Feine, *Jahrb. f. Protest. Theol.* 1885, pp. 26–35, argues at length that vv.$^{18.19}$ cannot be authentic, but must be Jewish-Christian additions. Bacon, *Sermon on the Mount*, pp. 133–138, rejects v.^{18}, but thinks that v.^{19} can be explained here as it stands.

[†] The Jews of Jesus' day conceived the Law to be the Divinely revealed will of Jehovah, made known to Moses for the permanent guidance of the people; it could not therefore change or pass away. So Tholuck, H. Holtzmann, B. Weiss (against Meyer, who on the basis of Jer 31^{31} thought that the Jews looked for a new law). See also Bar 4^{1}, To 1^{6}; Philo, *Vita Mosis*, ii. 656; Josephus, *contra Apionem*, ii. 38. *Bereshith R.* 10. 1 reads: 'Everything has its end, the heaven and earth have their end; only one thing is excepted which has no end, and that is the Law.' *Shemoth R.* 6: 'Not a letter shall be abolished from the Law for ever.' *Midrash Ḳoheleth*, 71. 4: '[The Law] shall remain in perpetuity for ever and ever.'

[‡] It is difficult to understand how the words of Mt $23^{2.3}$ can be authentic just as they stand. How could Jesus command the people to render complete obedience to the teachings of the scribes and Pharisees ('All things whatsoever they bid you, these do and observe')? Their teaching was certainly better than their practice, but both were essentially defective and perverse. Jesus characterized the scribes and Pharisees as 'blind,' Mt 13^{13} $23^{17.19}$; His whole mission was concerned with the establishment of an anti-Pharisaic ideal of belief and conduct. So that we seem to have in Mt $23^{2.3}$, as in Mt $5^{18.19}$, a certain false colouring of Jesus' language, the modification of His words in transmission to express an ultra-conservative Jewish-Christian conception.

[*] This is the only possible view, notwithstanding Tholuck's elaborate argument, *Bergrede*^{5}, pp. 156–164 [Eng. tr. pp. 154–159], to prove that Jesus did not offer any 'correction of the Mosaic Law,' as He taught only that 'the righteousness of His disciples must go beyond—*not the Mosaic Law, but the legal religion of its representatives*' (his italics). That the righteousness of His disciples must exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, Jesus has distinctly said in Mt 5^{20}; but that their righteousness need not exceed that commanded by the Mosaic Law, is a statement which Jesus is not reported to have made. Nor could He have consistently so taught, since He came to fulfil the OT, not by re-enacting it but by perfecting it—which is Tholuck's own view when he is interpreting Mt 5^{17}.

a fuller and better revelation adapted to a higher stage of the world's progress. Now and then Jesus had occasion to attest the absolute truth and permanent value of much which the OT contained; but these things He regarded as true and valuable, not because He found them in the OT, but because He knew of Himself that they were so. He set up an ideal of religious belief and conduct which was not put together out of the OT (however many resemblances there may have been), or dependent upon the OT for its truth and authority, but was His own creation, resting on the separate foundation of His own immediate perception of Divine truth and human duty. Jesus was not a mere restorer of a former revelation, but a new authority in the field of religion and ethics, the bearer of a new revelation of God to men. This is the explanation of His words, 'But I say unto you' (vv.$^{22. 28. 32. 34. 39. 44}$). And this is what the people recognized when they testified that 'he taught them as one having authority, and not as the scribes' (Mt 7^{29}).

Jesus' ideal of human brotherhood is first illustrated by an exposition of the principle which lay behind the Sixth Commandment, 'Thou shalt not kill.' In this Commandment the act of murder was explicitly forbidden, and the Jews conscientiously abstained from murder; they kept the letter of the precept. But there existed also the spirit of the Commandment, the principle on which it was founded, that brethren should not hate one another; for it was out of hatred that murder came. Since the Commandment did not explicitly forbid hatred, men had allowed themselves to cherish anger, hatred, and contempt against others without regarding themselves as disobedient to the Law. Jesus set over against this notion the emphatic teaching that all feelings of anger and hate are in themselves sinful, whether or not they take effect in acts of violence; they fall under the condemnation and punishment of God, since His Kingdom cannot fully come until all men love one another.[*] And for that reason He adds in vv.$^{23. 24}$ that no act of worship, however sacred (such as they understood the offerings in the temple to be[*]), was acceptable to God when the formal worshipper cherished ill-will against any fellow-man. The real brotherhood is a paramount religious obligation.

It is doubtful whether vv.$^{25. 26}$ are original in this connexion.[†] Neither does the setting of the parallel passage in Lk 12$^{58. 59}$ seem to be the historical one. The saying is figurative, and may be interpreted in either of two ways: (1) it may teach that a man must put away all hatred of others, and be brotherly towards them, in order that he may be qualified to receive God's forgiveness, so Mt 5^{7} 6$^{14. 15}$ 18$^{21-35}$, Lk 7$^{36-50}$; or (2) it may teach that such banishment of ill-will is a matter of common prudence, in order that a man may get on well in his social relations (this in addition to the truth already stated in vv.$^{21-24}$ that the putting away of hatred was also a Divine command to men).[‡] Either interpretation contains truth, and has a general bearing upon the subject here under discussion in the Sermon.

The second illustration which Jesus uses, vv.$^{27. 28}$, for inculcating true righteousness in human relations is the Seventh Commandment (Ex 20^{14}, Dt 5^{18}). This statute forbade the violation of the marriage union. It was supplemented by the Tenth Commandment (Ex 20^{17}, Dt 5^{21}), which forbade a man to desire another's wife. The two commands together went far towards preserving the peace and purity of the home. Jesus, however, set His own teaching in sharp contrast with even this high teaching of the Seventh Commandment, forbidding a man to look with lustful eyes upon a woman. His demand exceeds that of the OT in two respects: (1) it insists not only upon abstention from the act, but upon the repression of all wrong thought and desire (in this going much deeper than even the Tenth Commandment); (2) it forbids impure thoughts and desires on the part of any one. For while *γυναῖκα* and *ἐμοίχευσεν* (v.^{28}) might be taken in a limited sense as referring only to those who are married, it is inconceivable that Jesus could have given a different standard for the unmarried; and it is altogether probable that, in setting out the principle and ideal of social purity, He had in mind the whole society in which this principle and ideal must be realized. A narrow interpretation, which would limit His teaching exclusively to what would be wrong for a married man to do or think, would be contrary to Jesus' method and intention. Social purity is an equal obligation of men and women, of married and unmarried. And Jesus clearly had in mind to establish by this teaching the absolute necessity for the Kingdom of pure social thought and conduct on the part of every member.[§]

---

[*] With *οὐ φονεύσεις* (v.^{21}) compare LXX of Ex 20^{13}, Dt 5^{17}. *ἠκούσατε* (v.^{24}) refers to the reading and exposition of the OT in the synagogues. *τοῖς ἀρχαίοις* (v.^{21}) is a dative of indirect object, as nearly all scholars (against Ewald, Keim) now hold = 'to the ancients,' *i.e.* to those who first received the Mosaic Law (so Bleek, Tholuck, Achelis), or to both those who first received it and also subsequent generations (so B. Weiss). *κρίσει* (v.^{21}) refers to the official trial and condemnation of the murderer by the appropriate Jewish court; the punishment was death, Ex 21^{12}, Lv 24^{17}, Dt 17$^{8-12}$. *ὀργιζόμενος* (v.^{22}) does not include or deny 'righteous indignation,' which has its proper place, cf. Mt 3^{7}, Mk 3^{5}, Eph 4^{26}. *εἰκῇ*, which is read in v.^{22} by Text. Recept., is not found in ℵB, and is rejected by modern editors and commentators as a superfluous and weakening expansion. *ἀδελφῷ* (v.^{22}) means any and every person, as in 5^{24} 7$^{3. 4. 5}$ 18$^{15. 21}$. The threefold characterization of hatred and punishment in v.^{22} seems to be cumulative: anger unexpressed, anger expressing itself in contemptuous epithet (*ῥακά* = רֵיקָא), and anger expressing itself in a term which implies at once lack of sense, character, and piety (*μωρέ* = נָבָל 1 S 25^{25}, Ps 14^{1}, or מוֹרֶה Nu 20^{24}, Dt 21$^{18-21}$); while the *κρίσει* refers to the local Jewish courts (Dt 16^{18}, Mt 10^{17}), the *συνεδρίῳ* to the supreme SANHEDRIN in Jerusalem, and the *τὴν γέενναν τοῦ πυρός* to the Divine judgment and its consequences. It is important to consider, however, that Jesus has used this triple, cumulative form of expression, not for the purpose of distinguishing grades of guilt in hatred, or of indicating how nicely punishment is meted out in accordance with desert, but to make as emphatic as possible His teaching that all hatred is sinful and destructive, for which reason it can have no place among the members of God's Kingdom. So that the detailed interpretation of Mt 5^{22} is more a matter of historical interest than of practical importance. Bacon, *Sermon on the Mount*, pp. 88 f., 139, 177, adopts the reconstruction of v.$^{22f.}$ which was advocated by Peters (*Journal of Bib. Lit.* 1892), according to which he would read the passage: 'Ye have heard that it was said to the ancients, Thou shalt not kill, and whosoever killeth shall be amenable to judgment. But I say unto you, Whosoever is angry with his brother shall be amenable to judgment. [Moreover, it was said,] Whosoever shall call his brother scoundrel shall be amenable to the court. [But I say unto you,] Whosoever calleth him simpleton shall be amenable to the hell of fire'

[*] Jesus in speaking to Jews appealed, no doubt often (cf. Mt 6$^{5. 17}$ 7^{15} 10^{41} 18^{17}), to their reverence for the temple with its sacrificial system, and to their many religious ideas and customs. In doing so He did not signify that He shared all these ideas and practices with them. Jesus is not reported by the Gospels as ever offering a sacrifice or otherwise taking part in the customary temple worship (cf. Mt 12$^{6. 7}$); He went to the temple, but only to teach. Had the contrary been the case, the First Gospel could hardly have failed to tell of it, because this Gospel is interested to show how close Jesus brought Himself to the Jews of His day.

[†] They are regarded as compiled material by Neander, Wittichen, Feine, Godet, H. Holtzmann, Wendt, B. Weiss, Bacon; while all these scholars except Godet and Wendt regard vv.$^{23. 24}$ as also extraneous to the Sermon.

[‡] For the former view, Jerome, Calvin, Luther, Bengel, and others; for the latter view, Chrysostom, Tholuck, Achelis, H. Holtzmann, B. Weiss, and others.

[§] Jesus is not here attempting to define the relative sinfulness of lust and the performance of lust; it would be a perverse and false inference that the former is as bad as the latter, for the lustful look does not produce the fearful consequences which follow the lustful act. What Jesus means is, that the entertaining of impure thought and desire is in itself a heinous sin, quite as bad as men commonly supposed adultery itself to be.

The logical relation of vv.$^{29.30}$ to the two preceding verses is not close, which has led some scholars to regard them as extraneous matter in this discourse. There are parallel sayings in Mt $18^{8.9}$, Mk $9^{43.47}$, but in both these places also the passage seems to be only partially relevant. The words are figurative and hyperbolical. Jesus means to say with great emphasis that no effort and no sacrifice[*] are to be considered too great for a man in his struggle to master his lower nature and to secure the supremacy of his higher, better self. Until a man brings his body into subjection to his spirit, he fails both individually and socially of what God requires of him (cf. 1 Co 6^{13-20}, Gal 5^{16-24}).

The teaching concerning divorce, contained in vv.$^{31.32}$, appears also in connexion with a specific historical occasion in Mt 19^{3-9} = Mk 10^{1-12}, while the Lukan parallel 16^{18} is entirely unconnected. Not a few modern scholars have come to regard the later Matthæan setting as the original one, explaining $5^{31.32}$ as an importation into the Sermon for the purpose of bringing Jesus' teaching about divorce into immediate connexion with His general ethical discourse, and also to place side by side what He taught concerning the closely related subjects of adultery and divorce.[†] This seems the more probable view, but the teaching is the same whether given in the Sermon on the Mount or under some other circumstances. Divorce was a subject of discussion in Jesus' day. The two rabbinical schools headed by Shammai and Hillel, interpreting Dt $24^{1.2}$,[‡] promulgated different opinions concerning the proper grounds of divorce: the former school was more strict, allowing divorce only in case of adultery and other serious moral offences; the latter school allowed divorce on almost any pretext which the husband might indicate. Remarriage after divorce was considered proper by both schools.[§] It was therefore a matter of lively interest what attitude towards divorce would be assumed by the new Teacher, who was independent of both Hillel and Shammai, and had had no rabbinical training. The Pharisees undertook to discover Jesus' position by their question: 'Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife?' (so Mk 10^2, while Mt 19^3 adds 'for every cause'). Jesus in reply (Mk $10^{3.4}$) first directs their attention (if Mark's order is to be followed instead of Matthew's) to the OT teaching on the subject contained in Dt $24^{1.2}$, where divorce and remarriage are allowed for good cause, the divorce being testified by a formal document. But then He goes on to show (Mk 10^{5-9}) that this permission of divorce was only a concession to a low moral stage of the people, that the Divine ideal of marriage as revealed in Gn $2^{23.24}$ was an inseparable union of man and wife, both spiritually and physically.[‖] This ideal conception of marriage Jesus now solemnly reaffirms and promulgates as His own teaching.

According to Mk 10^{10-12} (cf. Mt 19^{9-12}) Jesus subsequently spoke further on the subject in private to His disciples, forbidding remarriage after divorce. This would be a corollary of His previous statement, for separation might not prevent ultimate realization of the marriage ideal between the husband and the wife, while remarriage would effectually prevent such a realization. Much uncertainty, however, exists as to just what Jesus said about remarriage.[*] The parallel passages to Mk 10^{10-12}, which appear in Mt 5^{32} 19^9, Lk 16^{18}, are in serious disagreement, and there is also difficulty in determining the best textual reading in some places. These variations indicate an agitation of the subject of divorce among the primitive Christians, and an attempt to formulate Jesus' ideal of marriage into practical rules of conduct for specific cases. The words of Jesus on remarriage, so variously reported, reflect the different views on the subject which were current among the Christians while our Gospels were in process of formation.

The fact seems to be, that Jesus in His teaching concerning marriage is dealing with the principle and the ideal of marriage, rather than enacting legal statutes in regard to it. The whole treatment of His words as marriage *legislation*, which began with His disciples and has continued to the present day, is a mistake, and has led to confusion, hardship, contradiction, and strife. Jesus here, as always, was setting forth the will of God for men in revealing the purpose and the Divine conception of the institution of marriage. He therefore establishes the ideal of marriage as a perfect, permanent union in body and spirit, and enjoins all the married to strive for the attainment of this ideal. He did not enter into the casuistry of the matter, but fixed the principle. How far in actual ecclesiastic or civic legislation, at any given period or place, the ideal can be practically formulated and demanded, He left for the decision of those upon whom the administration of such matters devolved. Marriage and divorce regulations, upon which the welfare of society so largely depends, must embody the Divine ideal to the fullest extent made possible by the stage of spiritual, moral, and social progress concerned. And Christian people must never fail to apply to themselves this Divine marriage ideal; however low the current conception of marriage may be, or whatever laxity the civic laws may permit, the disciples of Christ can never conduct themselves according to any standard but that set by Him. Not that they must regard His teaching as statutory and divorce as never permissible; but that the act of divorce would be a confession of complete failure to attain His ideal, so that the highest degree of effort, patience, endurance, and self-sacrifice should be used in order to accomplish the permanence and the perfection of a marriage union when undertaken. In addition, Christian people must uphold Jesus' marriage ideal in the world, striving by every means to secure its increasing recognition and realization in society at large. For only in these ways can the Kingdom of God fully come.

---

[*] The words are not to be understood literally, as though Jesus enjoined the mutilation of the body. Lust would not be removed by the destruction of the physical eye or hand. Nor do the eye and hand stand for specific kinds of evil desire. These concrete figurative utterances, as so frequently in Jesus' teaching, have only a general purpose to fix and impress one idea of moral duty.

[†] So Bleek, Olshausen, Köstlin, Godet, Feine, Ibbeken, H. Holtzmann. That the words belong to the Sermon is held by Meyer, Achelis, B. Weiss, Wendt, Bacon, and many others.

[‡] In Dt $24^{1.2}$ we read: 'When a man taketh a wife, and marrieth her, then it shall be, if she find no favour in his eyes, because he hath found some unseemly thing in her, that he shall write her a bill of divorcement, and give it in her hand, and send her out of his house. And when she is departed out of his house, she may go and be another man's wife.'

[§] On the Jewish marriage laws and practice see Josephus, *Ant.* IV. viii. 23; *Vita*, § 76. Also cf. Wünsche, *Erläuterung der Evangelien*, pp. 52–57; Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, i. 352–354, ii. 332–334; Tholuck, *Bergrede*^{5}, pp. 227–234 [Eng. tr. pp. 217–221]; and art. MARRIAGE in vol. iii.

[‖] Tholuck, *Bergrede*^{5}, p. 239 [Eng. tr. p. 225], thus states the biblical idea of marriage: 'Marriage is a Divine institution, having for its aim to bring man and woman to an indissoluble unity of body and spirit, that they may thus mutually complement each other, and lay the foundation of a family.'

[*] In Mt 5^{32} 19^9 there is a striking addition to the words of Jesus as recorded in Mk 10^{11}, Lk 16^{18}; cf. also 1 Co $7^{10.11}$. This exceptive phrase παρεκτὸς λόγου πορνείας or μὴ ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ is taken to mean that in the case of adultery Jesus explicitly permitted the divorce and remarriage of the innocent party. But this Matthæan addition falls under suspicion for four reasons: (1) the Matthæan account 19^{3-9}, with which $5^{31.32}$ is probably to be associated, is distinctly secondary and divergent from that of Mk 10^{1-12}; (2) this exceptive phrase is significantly absent from the accounts in Mark, Luke, and Paul; (3) the exception is of a statutory nature, while Jesus is establishing the principle and the ideal of marriage; (4) in accordance with Jesus' general teaching, adultery is not *in itself* a sufficient ground for divorce. Consequently, the opinion is becoming strongly supported that these words of the Matthew passages are a mollifying interpretation put upon Jesus' teaching by a generation or group of Christians who took His words as a new marriage legislation, and regarded the statute as intolerably severe (so Bleek, de Wette, Schneckenburger, Bruce, Heinrici, H. Weiss, H. Holtzmann, Wendt, Schmiedel, Bacon). In this case Mark and Luke unite in preserving Jesus' actual words, which laid down a principle and not a statute, leaving the application of this principle, as of others, to be worked out according to the possibilities of the circumstances in any given instance (cf. Mal 2^{14-16}). Similarly Bacon (*Sermon on the Mount*, pp. 117, 177 f.). Other scholars hold that the exceptive phrase in Matthew is an interpolation, but only states explicitly what was already implied as true in the nature of the case, that the act of adultery actually destroys the marriage union and is the divorce, instead of being merely a proper ground of divorce (so Meyer, Tholuck, E. Haupt, B. Weiss). But adultery cannot be *in itself* a proper ground for divorce on Gospel principles. In a case of adultery, divorce might be necessary if the offending party persisted in this evil conduct, wilfully regardless of all moral sense and duty. Suppose, however, that after the wrong had been done, the guilty party became truly repentant, and resolved upon a right life henceforth? The Gospel requires mercy rather than justice, love rather than revenge; forgiveness, patience, and long-suffering. The prophet Hosea, in his trying marriage relation, had discovered the Divine principle involved in such cases, and had recognized that in dealing lovingly and forgivingly with a wayward wife he was following God's own method with His wayward children; cf. also Jer 3^{1-15}. Jesus most impressively taught that love, gentleness, and forgiveness were to characterize the true Christian, even in a case of adultery; for He said to the adulteress: 'Neither do I condemn thee; go, sin no more.' Such teaching seemed to the early Church quite too lenient, so that this incident with its teaching failed to find a place in the Gospels until the 2nd cent., and then not a suitable one. Jesus' treatment of this woman has been lost sight of in the interpretation of His words concerning divorce. The hard spirit of vengeance has ruled men's thoughts rather than the forgiving spirit of love.

The next subject dealt with in the Sermon is the use of Oaths (Mt 5^{33-37}). The oath or vow was a frequent type of expression in all antiquity, and its use has diminished little with the passing of centuries. In its origin the oath was a solemn religious act, in which God—or some object sacred to Him or through Him—was invoked as a witness of the truth of an utterance or the sincerity of a promise, and as an avenger of falsehood and of non-fulfilment of the promise. The use of the oath and vow is recognized and approved in the OT (cf. Ex 22^{11}, Dt 6^{13} 10^{20}, Ps 63^{11}, Is 45^{23}, Jer 4^{2}, and He 6^{13-18}), and the commands concerning them look towards the preservation of their religious character and solemn function. This was the intent of the Third Commandment, 'Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain' (Ex 20^{7}, Dt 5^{11}), in which all misuse of the oath is forbidden, as where an oath is taken thoughtlessly or maliciously, or to cover falsehood.* In the same tenor are Lv 19^{12} 'Ye shall not swear by my name falsely, so that thou profane the name of thy God,' and Nu 30^{2} 'When a man voweth a vow unto the Lord, or sweareth an oath to bind his soul with a bond, he shall not break his word; he shall do according to all that proceedeth out of his mouth.'† The form of Jesus' expression in Mt 5^{33} takes up the substance, though not the exact form, of these OT teachings. The Jews of Jesus' day made most extravagant use of the oath, both in frequency and in variety; some oaths were regarded as binding and some as not binding, the difference of form being purely technical.‡

Christ denounced this casuistry as perverse in the extreme (Mt 23^{16-22}). And in this passage of the Sermon He has the intention of sweeping away the whole system of oaths as resting upon a false theory, namely, that a man might use two qualities of statement: one with the oath, which pledged him to truth or fulfilment; and one without the oath, which required neither truth nor fulfilment. As against this double-dealing and authorization of falsehood, Jesus demands that a man shall speak only the truth, and implies that an oath is not only unnecessary, but harmful. This interpretation of Mt 5^{33-37} is that of the early Fathers and of the majority of modern commentators.* We find the same teaching, with close similarity of words, in Ja 5^{12} 'But above all things, my brethren, swear not, neither by the heaven, nor by the earth, nor by any other oath: but let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay; that ye fall not under judgment.' That Jesus submitted to the high priest's oath at His trial (Mt $26^{63.64}$), as a matter of the moment's necessity, is in no way against this interpretation.† Jesus forbids oaths not as statutory legislation, so that the taking of an oath is sinful; but in principle, on the ground that a man is accountable to God for every utterance (Mt 12^{34-37}). He sets forth the ideal of truthfulness which is to be striven for and ultimately accomplished. A Christian can have no need of an oath. If in the present stage of civilization oaths are still necessary for civic purposes, then Christians must seek to establish a higher standard of honesty in speech, according to which a man's simple word will be the best possible guarantee of the truth and performance of what he says.

e. Unselfishness and Forgiveness.—Mt 5^{38-42} = Lk $6^{29.30}$. The OT Law did, in fact, provide that punishment should be in degree and kind, 'an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth'; thus we read in Ex 21^{23-25} 'Thou shalt give life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe'; as also Lv 24^{17-21}, Dt 19^{16-21}.‡ This *lex talionis* was understood to apply to all relations of men. And not only that, for God Himself was believed to be retributive in His punishment, so that when men could not themselves execute the just penalty God could be appealed to for visiting retribution upon one's enemies; cf. Dt 23^{3-6} 25^{17-19}, Ps 35^{1-8} $41^{10.11}$ 58^{6-11} $68^{1.2}$ 69^{22-28} $78^{20.21.60-66}$ 109^{6-15}, Jer 17^{18} 18^{23}, La 3^{64-66}. This primitive conception and type of justice was probably required, at least in principle, by the conditions of the earliest civilization to which it ministered. When the modes of punishment subsequently changed, and penalties were executed no longer in kind but in some suitable equivalent, it still remained true that the punishment was meant to be retributive and equal to the crime. It is only in modern times that there has come in a new conception of punishment, according to which society is to be protected, not by avenging the wrong in kind or degree, but by reforming the evil-doer. This higher type of justice, based upon the principle of forbearance and helpfulness, also found recognition in Israel. The deeply spiritual saw that God's action was in love, mercy, and forgiveness, and they plead for a like principle of treatment among men; so Lv 19^{18} 'Thou shalt not take vengeance, nor bear any grudge against the children of thy people'; Dt 32^{35} 'Vengeance is mine, and recompense,' *i.e.* God's; Pr 20^{22} 'Say not, I will recompense evil: wait on the Lord, and he shall save thee'; cf.

---

* On the interpretation of the Third Commandment, see Coffin, *Journal of Bib. Lit.* 1900, pp. 166–188; art. DECALOGUE in vol. i.

† See, further, Lv 5^{4}, Nu 30^{1-16}, Dt 23^{21-23}, Jg 11^{29-39}, Jer 7^{9}, Ezk 17^{18}, Zec $5^{3.4}$ 8^{17}, Mal 3^{5}.

‡ See Wünsche, *Erläuterung der Evangelien*, pp. 57–60, 288–292; Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, ii. 17–21.

* So Justin, Irenæus, Clement Alex., Origen, Jerome, Augustine; of our own day, Meyer, Achelis, Bruce, B. Weiss, H. Weiss, and others; see esp. Wendt, *Lehre Jesu*, ii. 210–213 [Eng. tr. i. 269–273]. For the view that Jesus did not forbid all oaths, but only their misuse, thereby simply re-establishing the OT teaching, may be cited Luther, Calvin, Bengel, Stier, Ewald, Keim, Tholuck. H. Holtzmann holds that Mt 5^{33-37} is intended to forbid all oaths, but attributes this tone to the Essenic tendencies of the First Evangelist rather than to Jesus, whose purpose was only to rebuke the profusion and casuistry of the Pharisaic practice.

† St. Paul's use of the oath, 2 Co 1^{23} 11^{31}, Ro 1^{9}, Gal 1^{20}, 1 Th 2^{5}, and elsewhere, is simply a continuation of the OT and Jewish custom in its best use; the primitive Christians in this, as in many other respects, failed to rise at once to the appreciation and attainment of Jesus' ideal.

‡ Similarly the Ḫammurabi Code (*c.* 2250 B.C.), Nos. 196, 200.

also 2 K 6^{21-23}, La 3^{27-30}. But the love of retaliation, the zeal for executing vengeance, and the passion for seeing strict justice done without delay, held the field in both OT and NT times. And consequently, when Jesus came, He found little of the true spirit and service of brotherhood.

Against this false and hateful temper of men Jesus set His principle of unselfishness and forgiveness, following out the higher conception presented in the OT, and requiring that by this principle all men shall determine all their conduct towards one another. In order to make His meaning more explicit and clear, Jesus used four concrete illustrations (Mt 5^{39-42}), in them suggesting what kind of conduct would result from living by this principle. The illustrations, of course, are figurative, and are to be interpreted not literally but in their main idea.* A man is not to be thinking constantly of his own *rights*, as though the chief aim of his life was to avenge injustices and slights towards himself (v.^{39}); he must be willing to endure wrongs, to sacrifice his feelings and his possessions, in order to avoid trouble with others (v.^{40}); he must be ready to labour freely and unselfishly for the good of others, without expecting recompense (v.^{41}); he is not to be of a grasping, penurious disposition—rather he is to assist others in every reasonable way (v.^{42}).†

In this principle of forgiving love and unselfish service lies the essence of Jesus' ethical teaching;‡ it has been well called 'the secret of Jesus.'§ On this principle God acts towards men, and on this principle men must act towards one another. Jesus not only taught this standard of life, but He realized it in His ministry and in His death, thereby becoming the perfect example of human love and service. These are the qualities which make true brotherhood. One cannot for a moment suppose that Jesus, in setting forth this principle as the supreme guide in men's dealings with one another, had the intention of overthrowing the civic laws which society requires for its preservation and welfare; any such interpretation would reduce His sayings to absurdity. What He purposed was to make men recognize the wretchedness of a standard of conduct which rests upon the ideas of revenge and retaliation, of for ever insisting upon one's rights and one's dignity, of working only for one's self and never for others, of getting as much and giving as little as possible. Civic laws and private practice must accept this teaching of Jesus and embody it, not necessarily in the same way, but to the same end.*

---

* In Jn $18^{22.23}$ it can be seen that Jesus did not have in mind literal non-resistance, since He did not Himself practise it. That certain individuals (most recently Tolstoi) and sects (Anabaptists, Mennonites, Quakers) have taken these sayings literally, as statutes to be obeyed, is not to the credit either of their knowledge of the teaching of Jesus or of their own common-sense. Such literalism is the perversion of Jesus' method and intent, and is one of the worst enemies of the Gospel, for it holds up the teaching of Jesus to the ridicule of all sane, thinking men.

† In v.^{39} the τῷ πονηρῷ cannot be the Evil One (as thought by Chrysostom and Theophylact), for Jesus would have him for ever resisted; it might be regarded as a neuter noun, referring to evil in general (so Augustine, Luther, Calvin, Ewald, Achelis, Kübel); but probably the evil man is meant who offers the indignities and demands described; cf. πονηρούς in v.^{45} and Lk $6^{35.45}$ (so H. Holtzmann, Nösgen, B. Weiss). The δεξιὰν σιαγόνα of Mt 5^{39} is altered in Lk 6^{29} to simply τὴν σιαγόνα, since the first blow would naturally be given by the right hand upon the left cheek. In v.^{40} κριθῆναι means to bring a legal action against one (cf. 1 Co 6^{1}), in order to secure property of some kind from him. The χιτών (כְּתֹנֶת) was the common Oriental under-garment worn next the body, while the ἱμάτιον (שִׂמְלָה, בֶּגֶד) was the more costly and elegant tunic or over-garment (cf. art. DRESS); that is, if a man attempts to get from you by law a little property, give him much in order to avoid quarrel and litigation with him. In the Luke parallel (6^{29}) the idea of a lawsuit is replaced by that of a personal assault, in which case the outer garment would first be taken, after which the inner garment was to be offered. In v.^{41} the ἀγγαρεύσει (cf. B. Weiss, *Meyer-Komm. ü. d. Mattevgm. in loc.*) refers to official impressment for temporary service, a common practice in that day (Mt 27^{32}); Jesus uses it as a figure to teach that men must assist others by generously given and willing service. Luke does not have this verse, perhaps because it was liable to be misunderstood as literally referring to legal requisitions instead of figuratively to all social relations. In v.^{42} is added a fourth illustration which, because it is somewhat loosely joined to the preceding, and out of deference to the number 3, has been regarded by some scholars (Ewald, H. Holtzmann, Köstlin, Wittichen) as a remaining fragment of a separate section of this discourse, treating of the interpretation of the Eighth Commandment; they would therefore insert between v.^{41} and v.^{42} something like this, drawn from Ex 20^{15}, Dt 5^{19} $24^{12.13}$ ἠκούσατε, ὅτι ἐρρέθη· οὐ κλέψεις, ἀποδώσεις δὲ τὸ ἱμάτιον τῷ πτωχῷ· ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν· τῷ αἰτοῦντι, etc. This explanation of v.^{42} has not, however, found general acceptance, being specifically rejected by Tholuck, Meyer, Feine, B. Weiss, and others; Luke has the saying in the same connexion as Matthew, and it joins well enough, logically, to vv.$^{38-41}$. The verse does not refer, at least directly, to the lending of money without requiring the payment of interest (so Feine, on the basis of Ex 22^{25-27}, Lv 25^{37}, Dt 15^{7} 23^{20}, against Tholuck, B. Weiss).

‡ See esp. Harnack, *Das Wesen des Christentums*, 1901, pp. 45–47 [Eng. tr. pp. 70–74].

§ Matt. Arnold, *Literature and Dogma*, p. 181 f. See also Mt 26^{49-54}, Mk 8^{31-37}, Lk $9^{54.55}$, and cf. Is 50^{6} 53^{1-12}. St. Paul also teaches with great emphasis the same forgiving and self-sacrificing principle of life (Ro 12^{17-21}, 1 Co 6^{1-8}, 1 Th 5^{15}; cf. also 1 P 3^{9}).

* Similarly Bacon, *Sermon on the Mount*, pp. 109–114: 'The Sermon is not legislative, as our First Evangelist seems to regard it, but prophetic. It does not enact, but interprets. It does not lay down rules, but opens up principles. . . . Matthew, as we have seen, is quite absorbed in the relation of the new *Torah* to the old. So much so that be fails to appreciate that his material is not really a series of new enactments, but in reality, just as Luke perceives, a simple application to the situation of that one principle which Jesus elsewhere enunciates more briefly; and not then as enacting something new, but as explaining the old [Mt 22^{35-40}].' Mt 5^{21-48} gives 'illustrations of the one *principle* which Jesus saw in "all the Law and the Prophets," and saw as well in all nature and history, that the divine calling is to ministering love and service—that and that alone.' Thayer, *Journal of Bibl. Lit.* 1900, p. 149: 'Jesus is not intent on giving precepts, but would lay emphasis on principles. The distinction between the two is most important. A precept is a direction respecting a given action; it is definite, precise, specific, fitting and belonging to particular cases. A principle, on the other hand, is comprehensive and fundamental; it prescribes, not particular actions, but a course of conduct. . . . A precept bids him do, a principle trains him to be; and so begets that inwardness and continuity which are essential to character.' B. Weiss, *Meyer-Komm. ü. d. Mattevgm. in loc.*: 'Jesus explains that His will, as He would have it fulfilled in the Kingdom of God, demands the forbearing, self-forgetful love which renounces all standing on one's rights and desire for retaliation. Jesus illustrates the general principle by concrete examples, which are not to be understood as literal commands to be obeyed, but as setting forth a general standard according to the main idea contained in them.' Tholuck, *Bergrede*^{5}, p. 291 [Eng. tr. pp. 269, 270]: 'The commands in vv.$^{39-42}$ are to be regarded as only concrete illustrations of the state of mind and heart required. . . . It is only the spirit of revenge that our Lord condemns, and therefore it is not inconsistent with His command to seek the protection of the law.' Burton and Mathews, *Constructive Studies in the Life of Christ*, p. 105: 'Some have undertaken to apply such sayings as "Resist not him that is evil," and "Give to him that asketh of thee," literally as fixed rules. But this is utterly to misinterpret Jesus. This whole discourse is a criticism of the Pharisees for making morality consist in a literal keeping of the rules of the OT. It is impossible to suppose that it simply imposes a new set of rules. Others, feeling that a literal obedience to these rules is impossible, if not also harmful, give up all attempt to obey the teachings of this discourse. Both are wrong. [Jesus teaches here] the *principle*, which we ought always to strive to follow. The single precepts are intended to correct the selfishness and narrowness that Jesus saw about Him, and to point out some of the ways in which the principle may be applied. They, too, are to be obeyed, always in spirit, and in letter when such an obedience is consistent with the principle. If a man would follow Jesus, he must not resist an enemy in a spirit of revenge; nor should he refuse to give to a beggar from a selfish motive. If he resist or withhold, he must do so because love, regard for the highest well-being of society in general, requires it.' Plummer, *Comm. on Luke*, p. 185: 'The four precepts here given ($6^{29.30}$) are startling. It is impossible for either governments or individuals to keep them. A State which endeavoured to shape its policy in exact accordance with them would soon cease to exist; and if individuals acted in strict obedience to them, society would be reduced to anarchy. Violence, robbery, and shameless exaction would be supreme. The inference is that *they are not precepts, but illustrations of principles*. They are in the form of rules; but as they cannot be kept as rules, we are compelled to look beyond the letter to the spirit which they embody. If Christ had given precepts which could be kept literally, we might easily have rested content with observing the letter, and have never penetrated to the spirit. What is the spirit? Among other things, this: that resistance of evil and refusal to part with our property must never be a personal matter; so far as we are concerned,

f. Universal Love.—Mt 5^{43-48} = Lk $6^{27.\ 28.\ 32-36}$. When Jesus begins this sixth paragraph illustrative of His statements in Mt 5^{17-20} with the words 'Ye have heard that it was said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy,' He is not quoting precisely any OT or extra-biblical utterance on record (cf. Sir 18^{13}). The clause 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour' is found in Lv 19^{18} 'Thou shalt not take vengeance, nor bear any grudge against the children of thy people, but thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.' But the further clause, 'and hate thine enemy,' while not appearing in that form, is really implied in the words 'the children of thy people,' which fixes a national limitation upon the teaching in the Leviticus passage. There was on the part of the Hebrews a profound contempt and disregard of other nationalities (cf. Dt 23^{3-6} 25^{17-19}, the Book of Jonah, esp. 3^{10}–4^{11}). So that the phrase 'hate thine enemy' justly characterized the prevailing OT conception of social duty (in spite of occasional efforts towards a larger idea, Ex $23^{4.\ 5}$), the 'enemy' signifying any foreigner who did not enter into Hebrew practices, and the 'hatred' signifying their superior disdain for other peoples. The same hatred towards all Gentiles was felt by the stricter Jews of Jesus' day; and the Pharisaic pride and exclusiveness went so far as to include in the sphere of their hatred the lower classes among the Jews themselves who did not satisfactorily observe the Law (Jn 7^{49} 'This multitude which knoweth not the law are accursed').

When Jesus sets over against this national bigotry and caste spirit His own teaching, Mt 5^{44} 'Love your enemies, and pray for them that persecute you,' the term 'enemies' is to be understood in the most comprehensive and general sense of all who do not feel and act lovingly towards one. It no longer means 'foreigners,' for Jesus has removed all national barriers, making all men brethren (cf. Ac 17^{26}). To the primitive Christians the outstanding class of 'enemies' were those referred to by Jesus as their persecutors for the cause of Christ, as also in Mt 5^{10-12}. Jesus wishes to establish the principle of a universal love which would unite all men in a complete human brotherhood.* Every man is to love every other man, and to serve him so far as it lies in his power, with reasonable regard to all his duties. Barriers, castes, classes, distinctions of all kinds are removed, so that love and service are to be all-inclusive. When the scribe propounded to Jesus the question, 'Who is my neighbour?' He replied with the parable of the Good Samaritan (Lk 10^{25-37}), in which He set forth clearly and impressively that the 'neighbour' whom one is to love 'as himself' is any one and every one. And this love which Jesus enjoins is not to be of the self-seeking kind which is common in the world. There may be no real love, He says, in the exchanges of attention and courtesy which men are accustomed to make with one another, for it may proceed on a commercial, *quid pro quo* basis. The Gospel demands a different kind of relation between men which is not self-seeking, does not ask how much will be given in return, is bestowed freely without thought of recompense. And here appears the close logical relation between these verses and vv.$^{38-42}$, for vv.$^{43-48}$ carry forward to complete expression the thought which underlies the previous words.†

This kind of love, all-embracing, unremitting, realizing itself in both feeling and conduct, has its origin and perfect manifestation in God,‡ who cares for all men, however they treat Him. He sets the example of universal love and service, which Jesus reveals in His words and deeds. And men by following this example in their relations to one another become the 'sons' of God (Mt 5^{45}), because in essential respects they feel and act like Him. The sonship thus spoken of is a moral sonship, which is attained by choosing to be and do what is right, rather than a genetic sonship, which is inherent because God has made men in His own

---

we must be willing to suffer still more and to surrender still more. It is right to withstand and even to punish those who injure us; but in order to correct them and to protect society, not because of any personal animus. It is right also to withhold our possessions from those who without good reason ask for them; but in order to check idleness and effrontery, not because we are too fond of our possessions to part with them. So far as our personal feeling goes, we ought to be ready to offer the other cheek, and to give without desire of recovery whatever is demanded or taken from us. Love knows no limits but those which love itself imposes. When love resists or refuses, it is because compliance would be a violation of love, not because it would involve loss or suffering.' Gore, *Sermon on the Mount*, p. 103 f.: 'We may truly say that the Sermon gives us a social law for Christians. That is true in this sense: the Sermon gives us principles of action which every Christian must apply and reapply in his social conduct. But just because it embodies motives and principles and does not give legal enactments, it must appeal in the first instance to the individual, to his heart and conscience; and it is only as the character thus formed must set itself to remodel social life on a fresh basis, that the Sermon can become a social law for Christians. You cannot take any one of its prescriptions and apply it as a social law at once. You cannot take the maxim, "If a man smite thee on the one cheek, turn to him the other also," or, "If a man take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also," and make it obligatory on Christians as a rule of external conduct, without upsetting the whole basis of society, and without ignoring a contrary maxim which our Lord gives us in another connexion. But each of the maxims can be taken to the heart and conscience of the individual, to become a principle of each man's own character and conduct, and then to reappear, retranslated into social action, according to the wisdom of the time, or the wisdom of the man, or the wisdom of the Church.'

It is difficult to understand how Dr. Sanday (art. JESUS CHRIST, vol. ii. p. 621) can say: 'The ethical ideal of Christianity is the ideal of a Church. It does not follow that it is also the ideal of the State. If we are to say the truth, we must admit that parts of it would become impracticable if they were transferred from the individual standing alone to governments or individuals representing society.' A similar view was advocated by the Bishop of Peterborough in the *Fortnightly Review*, Jan. 1890. This misconception of Jesus' teaching seems to arise out of a confusion of principles with precepts. Social ethics and individual ethics cannot rest upon different *principles*; but the principles of ethics will call for different outworkings in concrete cases of their application—and this will be as true for individuals as for society. The people acting collectively through their governing officials (the State) are required to act according to precisely the same ethical standard as when they are acting individually; namely, they are bound to obey the principles of forgiving kindness to all (Mt 5^{21-24}), of moral purity ($5^{27f.}$), of protection of marriage ($5^{31f.}$), of honesty in speech (5^{33-37}), of an absence of the revengeful spirit (5^{39}), of long-suffering (5^{40}), of helpfulness (5^{41}), of generosity (5^{42}), and of an all-embracing love (5^{43-48}). Can any one think that the State is not bound so to act?

* For the Biblical teaching concerning love, see esp. art. LOVE in vol. iii.

† Lk $6^{27.\ 28.\ 32-36}$ has a different order of the contents from that of Mt 5^{43-48}; if the Matthæan material were arranged in the same order, the verses would stand: $^{(43).\ 44\ (39-42\ 7^{12}).\ 46.\ 47.\ 45.\ 48}$; and Lk $6^{34.\ 35a}$ is an addition or expansion for which Matthew has no parallel. It is not easy to determine which order is the more likely to have been original. The striking differences in the wording of the passages, however, indicate beyond a doubt that Luke's account is secondary, with much verbal modification: thus in vv.$^{27.\ 28}$ expansions appear; in v.^{32} χάρις is found instead of μισθός as in Mt 5^{46}, a manifest dropping of a Jewish for a Gentile or universal term (though Luke has μισθός at 6^{35}); in the same and following verses, and for the same reason, Luke twice has ἁμαρτωλοί, once instead of οἱ τελῶναι, once instead of οἱ ἐθνικοί; in v.^{33} Luke has ἀγαθοποιῆτε instead of Matthew's ἀσπάσησθε, a Jewish custom; in v.^{35} Luke has υἱοὶ Ὑψίστου instead of Matthew's clearly more original υἱοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς; in the same verse Luke reduces the fine Jewish words about God's making the sun rise and the rain fall to a commonplace Gentile phrase, χρηστός ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀχαρίστους καὶ πονηρούς; in v.^{36} Luke changes the imperatival future form ἔσεσθε, common in the LXX through the influence of the Hebrew, and occasionally found in the NT (*e.g.* Mt 5^{43} 6^{5} 22^{37-39}), to a better Greek form, the imperative γίνεσθε; he has also the less Jewish and less lofty οἰκτίρμονες instead of Matthew's significant τέλειοι; and again he has only ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν instead of Matthew's ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος. These numerous and important variations in the two accounts of these verses leave no room for doubt that Matthew's form is much nearer to the historical words spoken by Jesus, and that the Third Gospel contains material which had undergone wide verbal divergence, partly perhaps in Luke's own hands, but mainly in the earlier Gentile transmission.

‡ So in the Johannine writings frequently, Jn 3^{16}, 1 Jn $4^{8.\ 10.\ 19}$; cf. also Ro 5^{5-8}.

image (Gn 1^{26}).[*] Jesus therefore commands men to be perfect in love as God is perfect in love,[†] setting before them an absolute ideal of social goodness; not that the ideal is at once attainable, but that towards its realization every man—and all men together—must strive, and in God's providence this striving will ultimately achieve success.

g. Religious Worship.—Mt $6^{1-6.\ 16-18}$ (no parallel in Lk).[‡] The connexion of these verses with the historical Sermon cannot well be doubted; they follow in logical consecution upon the material contained in Mt 5^{3-48}, illustrating the true righteousness still further and on another side. The ideal life which was characterized in vv.$^{3-12}$, enjoined in vv.$^{13-20}$, and illustrated with regard to character and service in vv.$^{21-48}$, is further illustrated in these verses with regard to religious worship. Almsgiving, prayer, and fasting were, in the estimation of the Jews, three of the chief elements of religion, and received a disproportionate attention; while the three performances, really so different in importance, were regarded as about equally necessary and useful.[§] In v.^{1}, which forms an introduction to the group, Jesus gives the key to the interpretation of the whole:[*] He does not pronounce against the acts themselves, but against the spirit and purpose which too often animated the doing of them. Religious worship, such as almsgiving (which the Jews rightly considered an act of worship), prayer and fasting, must never be performed ostentatiously, with the intent of securing a reputation for piety. It was mainly the proud, hypocritical Pharisees who were guilty of such motives in their worship; but the multitude of common people to whom Jesus was now speaking had been brought up to believe implicitly in the teaching and practice of the Pharisees, and were therefore in great danger of being corrupted by the Pharisaic example of ostentation, worldliness, and deceit.

Jesus will therefore warn them against these specific errors of their religious leaders, and in contrast exhibit the character of true religious worship. The three acts of almsgiving (vv.$^{2-4}$), prayer (vv.$^{5.\ 6}$), and fasting (vv.$^{16-18}$) are treated in a parallel way, the same thing being said of each in almost the same language. When they give money in the synagogues, or upon other occasions, for charitable objects, it is to be contributed solely for the benefit of others, with no purpose of obtaining a reputation of generosity for themselves (cf. Ac 5^{1-11}). Against almsgiving in itself He does not speak, but only of the motive behind it. The giving of money to assist others is, in fact, an act of worship to God, and a necessary element of all true righteousness. But such giving must be quietly done, without providing or even wishing that others may know of the fact or the amount, in order that one may receive credit therefor.[†] So also when men pray, as pray they must, their prayers are to be a genuine communing with God, instead of being designed to win the praise of men for a superior piety.[‡] To counterfeit true spiritual communion with God is an intolerable profanation of religion. Jesus, of course, has no thought of forbidding prayer in public, but He will have only sincere prayers made, whether in public or private. And if they fast, as they were accustomed to do regularly and often, they are to observe the fast as a simple humiliation before God, not forced upon others for the purpose of gaining credit for exceptional devoutness.[§] On another occasion

---

[*] On this sonship see Wendt, *Lehre Jesu*, ii. 145 f. In using the term 'Father' for expressing most completely His conception of God, Jesus thinks of the *family* as most characteristic of the relation between God and men. In the family the sons may be either true or false to their relation to their father; if they love, honour, and obey him they realize their sonship—they are sons indeed; if they disrespect him, disgrace him, and disregard his will they are not sons in the moral sense, for they repudiate their sonship. But the actual genetic sonship is none the less a fact, even if the sons will not acknowledge and exalt it. So in the relation of men to God; they do not in reality *become* His sons any more than He *becomes* their Father; this mutual essential relation exists from the first, for all men are His sons, and He is the Father of all. But the NT use of the term 'son' is generally a moral one, and those only are designated 'sons' who honour and realize their sonship. This does not deny the genetic, spiritual sonship, however, which the NT also teaches.

[†] The words of Jesus, 'ye shall be perfect,' can have only the imperative force, as in Lk 6^{36} (so Meyer, H. Holtzmann, B. Weiss, H. Weiss, Wendt, Blass, and nearly all); cf. Burton, *Moods and Tenses in NT Greek*, § 67. The whole v.^{48} is made up from OT language; *e.g.* Lv 19^{2} (LXX) reads, ἅγιοι ἔσεσθε, ὅτι ἅγιός εἰμι ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν; cf. also Lv 11^{44}, 1 P 1^{15}; and Dt 18^{13} (LXX) reads, τέλειος ἔσῃ ἐνάντιον κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου. But the thought of these similar OT passages, as their contexts show, is of levitical purity and national separateness, and it is therefore superficial as compared with the deep meaning which Jesus puts into the words. In Mt 5^{48} we have the closing verse of the short section vv.$^{43-48}$ concerning universal love (so Achelis, Bruce, Heinrici, H. Holtzmann, Tholuck, B. Weiss), not a general summary conclusion of the whole section vv.$^{21-48}$ (so Burton, Ibbeken, H. Weiss). The τέλειος refers only to perfection in love, not to the whole series of attributes which constitute the perfection of God in the theological sense, or to the comprehensive idea of human perfection. This love which Jesus establishes as the principle of the ideal life, to be felt and acted upon by every man towards every other man, cannot be understood as condoning the sins or imperfections in the character and service of others, but insists upon viewing men not as they are but as they may be and should be, and upon rendering them every assistance of sympathy, counsel, and help towards the attainment of the Divine ideal. It is thus that God has dealt with men, and we are to do likewise for one another.

[‡] The account of the Sermon in Luke does not contain this section, probably for the same reason that no parallel appears for Mt 5^{17-37}, namely, because these passages are so saturated with Jewish phraseology, ideas, and customs as to be difficult of understanding for Gentile readers (so Feine, Wendt). Here also, as there, it is more likely that Luke's sources did not contain these sections than that Luke himself excised them.

[§] The giving of alms was held to be a primary duty and a means of salvation, as seen already in the Apocrypha, To 4^{7-11} 12^{8-10} 14^{9-12}, Sir $4^{1.\ 2}$ 7^{10}, cf. also Ps 41^{1}, Is $58^{7.\ 10}$, Dn 4^{27}; there are also many striking Rabbinic sayings concerning the merit of almsgiving (see art. ALMSGIVING in vol. i.; Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, pp. 285–288; Wünsche, *Erläuterung der Evangelien*, on Mt 6^{1-4}). The Greek word in use for the alms is ἐλεημοσύνη (the motive employed by metonomy for the thing), as here in v.^{2}, representing, perhaps, צְדָקָה; since this Heb. word meant primarily 'righteousness,' it came about that δικαιοσύνη might also have this special meaning, but that is not the sense in which δικ. is used here in v.^{1} (the textual variant at this point, ἐλεημοσύνη, is improbable on both external and internal evidence). Prayer was offered by the Jews thrice daily, at 9 A.M., at 12 noon, and at 3 P.M. (cf. Ac 3^{1}), and on three days in the week the people went to the synagogue for prayer. Liturgical forms of prayer were in use (cf. Lk 11^{2}, and Mishna, tractate *Berakhoth*), and they were recited at the proper time wherever one might be. Fasting was prescribed by the OT for the Day of Atonement (Lv 16^{29-34}), and was practised on other occasions also (Ex 34^{28}, 1 S 7^{6}, 2 S 12^{16}, Jer 36^{9}, Dn 10^{3}). The prophets sometimes spoke against it (Is 58^{3-8}, Jer 14^{12}, Zec 7^{5}), but it was a prevailing usage throughout the Hebrew history, cf. Jth 6^{8}, To 12^{8}. In the NT also the Pharisee is represented as boasting in his prayer, 'I fast twice in the week' (Lk 18^{12}), and the frequent fasts are mentioned in Mt 9^{14} (cf. art. FASTING in vol. i.). It is noticeable that Jesus has not joined with these three outstanding acts of Jewish worship the observance of the Sabbath, which stood in somewhat the same prominence; but elsewhere He dealt with that subject also (Mk 2^{23-28}), and on a similar principle.

[*] δικαιοσύνη is to be understood here in a comprehensive sense; it is a repetition of the δικ. of v.^{20}, now to be illustrated in acts of religious worship, and embraces alike almsgiving, prayer, and fasting.

[†] In v.^{2} σαλπίσῃς is a figurative term signifying ostentation. ὑποκριταί refers to the Pharisees; they were hypocrites because they wore a mask of piety over their selfish lives; cf. also Mt 23^{5-7}. συναγωγαῖς, ῥύμαις indicate that almsgiving was a part of the regular synagogue services, but that alms were also given upon the streets to those in need. The ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν puts a special emphasis upon the fact that this almsgiving, when done out of vanity, had no real merit; cf. Lk 6^{24}. In v.^{3} the phrase, 'let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth,' is quite surely a current Semitic proverb to express secrecy.

[‡] In v.^{5} ἔσεσθε is an imperatival future, as in Mt 5^{48}; the parallel verb in v.^{2} is an imperatival subjunctive, and in v.^{6} an imperative, the meaning being quite the same in each. The γωνίαις τῶν πλατειῶν were the four corners of street intersections, which were chosen as the most conspicuous place for the ostentatious prayers. ἑστῶτες indicates that prayers were customarily offered in a standing posture. The ταμεῖον, or, more frequently in the NT, ὑπερῷον, was the upper room of an Oriental house used for guests or for retirement to pray; see Ac 1^{13} $9^{37.\ 39}$ 20^{8}. With the language of v.^{6a} compare 2 K 4^{33}, Is 26^{20}.

[§] In v.^{16} σκυθρωποί and ἀφανίζουσιν τὰ πρόσωπα refer to neglect of the customary care for the head, the unwashed face and

Jesus removed all obligation from His followers to observe the Pharisaic system of fasts, or to practise fasting except as it was the personal and spontaneous expression of inner feeling (cf. Mk 2^{18-22}). Here He teaches that when one fasts it must be a genuinely religious performance, free from all ostentation and selfish motives.

It is true, Jesus says, that those who turn these acts of religious worship to selfish account do secure their object; 'they have their reward' in the false reputation for generosity and piety which for a time they can win. But they cannot win God's approval, or secure any spiritual blessings. These things, which alone are worth while, belong only to those whose worship is sincere, who give and pray and fast with pure unselfish motives, for the good they can do their fellow-men and for their own spiritual growth. And the principle which Jesus here sets forth for these three acts of religious worship is to apply to every kind of religious observance. Sacred things are never to be turned to worldly account; everything we do in the name of religion, and for the sake of religion, must be untarnished by self-seeking ends and unholy purposes.*

h. The Lord's Prayer.—Mt 6^{7-15}=Lk 11^{1-4}. No words of Jesus which have come down to us are of greater significance or usefulness to mankind than this Prayer, which He taught His disciples, indicating as it does the true foundation, the true spirit, and the true substance of all prayer, prayer being our communion with God. A consideration of the Lord's Prayer will involve the following points: (1) the historical occasion on which the Prayer was given; (2) the original form of the Prayer as taught by Jesus; (3) the genetic relations of this Prayer to the OT, to Jewish prayers, and to the life of Christ; (4) the analysis and interpretation of its contents; (5) the right use of the Prayer.

(1) There is no portion of the Sermon as given by Matthew (chs. 5-7) which is so obviously an addition to the historical discourse as the section 6^{7-15} containing the Lord's Prayer. That these verses are extraneous matter, introduced here by the process of compilation, is now maintained by many scholars.† This fact appears in several ways: (*a*) Lk 11^1 explicitly states that Jesus gave the Prayer to His disciples in response to an expressed wish on their part for a form of prayer, such as John the Baptist had given his disciples (the Jews were accustomed to many liturgical prayers). This statement, while it might be a mere literary setting of the Third Gospel, is probably a historical datum; and if historical, it points to another occasion than the Sermon for the presentation of the Prayer. (*b*) The precise time when the Prayer was given is not fixed by Luke, but it is assigned in a general way to the Peræan period, after the close of the Galilæan ministry. This is perhaps too late a position, since it was the example of John the Baptist's disciples which led Jesus' disciples to ask Him for a prayer; but this influence of John's upon Jesus' disciples is more likely to have been exercised before John's death, which came during Jesus' work in Galilee (Mk 6^{14-29}). If, then, the Lord's Prayer was given earlier than the Sermon, it would not have been given again as new teaching in that discourse; and if later, then it can stand in the Sermon only as a result of subsequent compilation. What seems to have happened is, that the original occasion of the giving of the Prayer was remembered (Lk 11^1), but the exact time at which it was given was forgotten; consequently each Evangelist, or his source, introduced the Prayer into his narrative where it was deemed suitable. (*c*) The Prayer, where it stands in the Sermon, clearly interrupts the movement of the discourse, and destroys the unity of the section into which it has been inserted. This is true not only of the Prayer, vv.$^{9-13}$, but also of the two verses preceding, vv.$^{7.\ 8}$, and of the two verses following, vv.$^{14.\ 15}$. The whole passage, vv.$^{7-15}$, does not pertain directly to the subject which Jesus is presenting in vv.$^{1-6.\ 16-18}$, namely, the sin of ostentation and hypocrisy in acts of religious worship; and it mars the symmetry of Jesus' three illustrations about almsgiving, vv.$^{2-4}$; prayer, vv.$^{5.\ 6}$; and fasting, vv.$^{16-18}$. Nevertheless, it is quite intelligible how these verses $^{7-15}$ were brought into this connexion by the compiling process. The Sermon was one of Jesus' most important discourses, and during the Apostolic age it was everywhere in use as a practical digest of His teaching. As the Sermon already contained some instruction about prayer, and the teaching on the same subject in vv.$^{7-15}$ was separated from its historical position, it came easily into association with vv.$^{5.\ 6}$, where—although it was an extraneous element—it added to the completeness of the prayer instruction.

(2) It is in the highest degree improbable that the Lord's Prayer was given on two separate occasions—once in the Sermon in the form which Matthew reports, and again under other circumstances and in a different form as reported by Luke.* This would have been unnecessary; but still more, each of the two Gospels supposes that it reports the one and only giving of the Prayer. On the theory of repetition, why did Jesus present the Prayer in two forms so very different from each other? Having once given it in the fuller, smoother form of Mt 6^{9-13}, why should He subsequently repeat it in the shorter, cruder form of Lk 11^{2-4}? The reason for the postulation of two deliveries of the Lord's Prayer is the unwillingness of certain scholars to admit that Jesus' words could be so variantly transmitted (see the two Greek forms of the Prayer quoted in parallel columns on p. 5). Certainly it is not to be thought that Luke, with the Matthæan form of the Prayer before him, deliberately cut it down and changed it to the form contained in his Gospel; or that Matthew, with the Lukan form of the Prayer before him, deliberately enlarged and altered it into the form which the First Gospel presents. But the two forms may well be the respective results of two independent lines and processes of transmission. The Prayer as given by Jesus in Aramaic was briefly worded, as we may assume from the nature of the language and the Jewish custom, as well as from the original Hebrew 'Ten Words' and the Beatitudes. It is therefore not unlikely that the form of the Prayer given by Matthew is somewhat longer than the historical Aramaic form, for the purpose of producing a more perfect Greek

---

dishevelled hair being an Oriental sign of grief and abasement, cf. 2 S 12^{20}, Is 61^3, Dn 10^3, 1 Mac 3^{47}; that this is what is meant is seen in v.$^{17f.}$, where Jesus bids them give no external sign of their fasting.

* No one would seriously attempt to put these commands of Jesus into practice as precepts to be literally obeyed, so that all charity should be unorganized, and all prayers be absolutely private. Here, again, as in ch. 5, Jesus is dealing with principles only, and His illustrations are to be considered as illuminating the principles rather than as fixing statutes for literal observance.

† So Calvin, Strauss, Neander, Schleiermacher, Bleek, de Wette, Olshausen, Ewald, Ebrard, Meyer, Hanne, Godet, Kamphausen, Page, Feine, Sieffert, Bruce, Chase, Kübel, Weizsäcker, Wendt, H. Holtzmann, Bartlet, Heinrici, B. Weiss, Baljon, Nestle, Bacon. The Matthæan position of the Prayer is regarded as historical by Tholuck, Keil, Morison, Broadus, Achelis, Steinmeyer, H. Weiss, Nösgen, Plummer, Grawert, it being the opinion of most of them that the Lukan position is also historical, and therefore that the Prayer was given on two separate occasions by Jesus. Tholuck is undecided whether to prefer Matthew's position for the Prayer, or to hold that it was repeated.

* Yet this is maintained by Achelis, *Bergpredigt*, p. 297; Chase, *Lord's Prayer in the Early Church* (1891), p. 11, and by some others. Against this view, see Page, *Expositor*, 3rd ser. vol. vii. p. 433 ff.

translation. But in the main the differences which appear in the accounts of Matthew and Luke are due to the influences of independent translation from the Aramaic, and of handing down in practical Church use through fifty years of time. Neither account can be supposed to furnish a literal equivalent of the Prayer precisely as worded by Christ for His disciples.* Consequently it becomes a matter of importance to discover which of the two Gospel reports contains the more exact reproduction of the historical Prayer. The Church, with striking unanimity, from the 1st cent. to the present, has testified to the greater fidelity, dignity, and usableness of the recension in Mt 6^{9-13}; and this choice, as respects both quantity and quality, has been confirmed by the great majority of scholars.†

In order to consider in detail the differences which exist between the two accounts of the Lord's Prayer, it is necessary to make the comparison on the basis of the modern critical texts of the NT, such as Tischendorf's eighth edition and Westcott and Hort's text (with which the RV closely agrees). One notices first the exclusion of the doxology to the Prayer contained in the TR at Mt 6^{13} (and familiar to us through the AV): *ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν.* This ending of the Prayer is not given in Luke, and the external evidence against its genuineness in Matthew is conclusive; so that its authenticity is no longer supposed.‡ It grew up gradually in the 2nd cent. as a product of the Jewish custom of doxologies and responses, continued in the public services of the Christian Church; see esp. 1 Ch 29^{11-13}. The earliest mention of the liturgical use of the Prayer is in the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, viii. 3, where the repetition of it three times daily is enjoined; and there is abundant Patristic evidence that this liturgical use rapidly increased. Readily, therefore, this doxology, which came to be used always at the close of the Prayer, found its way into the later exemplars of the NT text; and the fact that it appears in conjunction with Mt 6^{9-13} instead of Lk 11^{2-4} shows that it was the Matthæan form of the Prayer which the early Church adopted for its liturgy. The doxology is found in many of the secondary uncials, but is absent from ℵBD, the earlier versions, and the Patristic witnesses of the 2nd and 3rd cents. generally. Again, in numerous secondary and late witnesses of the text the fragmentary Lukan account of the Prayer is filled out and modified by the introduction of some or all of the elements peculiar to the Matthæan account; but these are manifest assimilations, and therefore have no textual standing in the Third Gospel.

Taking Mt 6^{9-13} and Lk 11^{2-4} thus according to the best Greek text, it appears that, after the address which is common to both, the Lukan account has five petitions, while the Matthæan account has six (or seven). The five parallel petitions are: (1) Hallowed be Thy name, (2) Thy Kingdom come, (3) Give us our daily bread, (4) Forgive us our debts (sins), and (5) Bring us not into temptation. To these Matthew adds, between (2) and (3), 'Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth,' which is clearly a new petition, and after (5) he adds, 'but deliver us from evil,' which may be a separate petition, but is more likely a fuller, reverse wording of the 'bring us not into temptation.'* Are these two additional clauses in Matthew authentic portions of the Lord's Prayer? The only denial of their authenticity has come from the few modern scholars who hold to the relative originality of the Lukan account here and elsewhere as against the longer Matthæan account, which they think was expanded and supplemented in transmission.† But Matthew's third petition, 'Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth,' brings into the Prayer one of Jesus' essential ideas and constant phrases (cf. Mt 7^{21} 12^{50} $26^{39.42}$, Jn 4^{34} 6^{38}); it is necessary to the literary structure of the Prayer, since it forms the third member of the first triplet of petitions; and while in a general way the same thought is expressed in the clause 'Thy kingdom come,' the Prayer needs this more definite statement of *how* the kingdom must be realized, what *men* must do to make the Kingdom come. It is not difficult to see why this petition was excluded from the Lukan form of the Prayer: the source from which Luke drew his account had passed through a Gentile line of transmission, in the course of which a large part of the characteristically Jewish element in the Gospel story was eliminated, as a detriment to the spread of the Gospel among the Gentiles. Its omission is therefore parallel to the omission of Mt 5^{17-37}, and much other material, from the Third Gospel.‡ With regard to Matthew's other addition to the Lord's Prayer, the enlargement of the sixth petition by conjoining the phrase 'but deliver us from evil,' there is less argument for its authenticity; but its absence from Luke is readily explained in the manner just described, it is a characteristic Jewish conception entirely suitable to Jesus' thought and expression, and it fits in with the literary structure of the second triplet of petitions, since without it the sixth petition would not correspond in structure with the other two.

The phenomena of the parallelism in the wording of the several clauses which Matthew and Luke have in common are striking. The thought and the language of the two accounts agree precisely in the first, second, and sixth petitions (except that in the sixth Luke does not have the phrase *ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ*).§ The third petition Luke does not have. In the remaining two petitions, the fourth and fifth, we find approximately the same ideas and words, but with some variation: thus the *δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον* of Mt 6^{11} is paralleled in Lk 11^{3} by *δίδου ἡμῖν τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν*, the latter being an attempt to generalize and simplify the former; the *τὰ ὀφειλήματα* of Mt 6^{12} is paralleled in Lk 11^{4} by *τὰς ἁμαρτίας*, the latter being the substitution of an easy, well-known word for one full of significance but less common—that this substitution took place can be inferred from the *τῷ ὀφείλοντι* in the adjoined clause; and in the same petition the *ὡς καί* of Mt 6^{12} is paralleled in Lk 11^{4} by *καὶ γάρ*, which also is an obvious attempt to remove the possibility of a false *quid pro quo* interpretation. Very interesting also is the difference in the two accounts of the address of the Prayer; Lk 11^{2} gives only one word, *Πάτερ*, while Mt 6^{9} gives *Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς*. It is, of course, possible that the Lukan report is correct, but it certainly seems too familiar and abrupt for this solemn, lofty prayer; while Matthew's two attributives seem logical and important. The *ἡμῶν* indicates that the Prayer is a universal one for all who will pray to God. The *ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς* is an OT conception (cf. Ps 2^{4} 115^{3}) which Jesus used (see passages below), because it was a customary Jewish expression full of religious meaning.* Its usual, though not entire, absence from Luke is best explained as due to the process already described by which the characteristic Jewish element was largely eliminated from the sources of the Third Gospel. In all these parallel passages, therefore, where Matthew and Luke give different readings for the clauses of the Prayer, the report of Matthew commends itself as possessed of a greater authenticity.† This confirms by historical tests the strong preference of the Church for the longer form of the Prayer as given in the First Gospel, a preference which rested primarily on spiritual and practical tests.

---

* It has been sufficiently argued above, under i. 3, that the entire phenomena of the primitive transmission of the Gospel material require us to recognize extensive verbal variation and occasional thought modification, such as appear in these parallel reports, throughout the narratives of the four Evangelists. There is a striking similarity between the Matthæan and Lukan accounts of the Beatitudes and their two accounts of the Lord's Prayer, and judgments arrived at concerning the features and merits of the one pair will be found to hold in general for the other pair also; the chief differences between the two forms of the Beatitudes and the two forms of the Lord's Prayer are due to similar causes operating on both.

† So Tholuck, Meyer, Feine, Bruce, H. Weiss, Plummer, B. Weiss, and many others; those also who think that Jesus gave the Prayer in two forms hold, almost without exception, that the form in Matthew is to be preferred. The modern scholars who regard the Lukan report as the more authentic (Bleek, Kamphausen, H. Holtzmann, Wendt, Bacon), seem to follow too rigid and exclusive a theory of literary criticism.

‡ See Westcott and Hort, *New Testament in Greek*, vol. ii. Appendix; Scrivener, *Introd. to the Criticism of the New Testament*^{4}, vol. ii. pp. 323–325; Chase, *Lord's Prayer in the Early Church*, pp. 168–176.

* Augustine (*Enchirid.* 116) regarded this phrase as a separate petition, making seven in all, and this became the standard Roman Catholic interpretation: it was adopted also by Luther, and is continued by Lutheran commentators. Among modern scholars there are many who accept this—some on traditional grounds (Kübel, Nösgen, H. Weiss), others on critical grounds (Bleek, Hilgenfeld, Ibbeken, Chase, v. d. Goltz). That the petitions are but six in number was held by Origen and Chrysostom, was adopted by Calvin, and has had the support in recent years of Tholuck (apparently), Bengel, Olshausen, Keim, Kuinöl, Meyer, Achelis, Feine, Hatch, Plummer, B. Weiss, Bruce, Hort, Nestle, and others.

† So Bleek, Kamphausen, H. Holtzmann, Wendt, Bacon.

‡ Feine, *Jahrb. f. Protest. Theol.* 1885, thinks that Luke omitted the third petition because he considered that its idea was already contained in the first and second petitions, so that it was simply redundant. This is also the view of Kamphausen, *Das Gebet des Herrn*, p. 67. H. Holtzmann, *Hand-Comm. ü. d. Synoptiker, in loc.*, regards Luke's five petitions as original, designed to be counted on the fingers of one hand. O. Holtzmann, *Leben Jesu* (1901), p. 203, also maintains that the short form of Luke is original.

§ The presence of this phrase in the text of Lk 11^4 in ACD and some other witnesses is to be explained as the result of a process of text assimilation with the Matthæan reading; it does not appear in ℵBL, the more important versions, or the earlier Patristic writings. Similar cases are the insertion in Lk 11^2 of

(3) When Jesus would condense His teaching into seven concise phrases (the address is an essential part of the Prayer), containing in Aramaic not fifty words, it became necessary for Him to embody His chief ideas about God and men in comprehensive phrases whose significance was already well understood by His followers. To introduce new phrases and new conceptions would have been to confuse those whom He wished to instruct. Consequently, the language and the ideas of the Lord's Prayer are closely related to the OT, where essential truth about God, and about the duty of men towards Him and towards one another, had in many respects been reached. Jesus' general teaching to His disciples previous to the giving of this Prayer had made known to them what He would have them understand by these OT conceptions and phrases.

Naturally, we find in Jewish prayers of a time contemporaneous with Jesus some phrases which are similar to those in the Lord's Prayer. Such parallels have been pointed out for the address and first two petitions; for the remaining four clauses there are no real parallels, although there are expressions with a certain similarity.‡ Some of these Jewish prayer-formulas are subsequent in origin to the 1st cent. A.D., and may well have been influenced by the Christian Prayer. But there is no reason why Jewish prayers of Jesus' own time should not have contained some of the essential religious ideas which Jesus reaffirms, and in language which the OT had already made sacred. Such parallelisms furnish no proper basis for an attack upon the originality and authority of Jesus. His work was not to make a clean sweep of all existing religious conceptions and phraseology, as though the world had never had any vision of God, or truth, or goodness, or right; on the contrary, He came to show that the OT revelation was, in its best thought and teaching, a true, Divine revelation, which He would exalt and perfect (Mt 5^{17}, cf. He $1^{1.2}$). Jesus was not 'original' in the sense that He created a wholly new fabric of religious ideas, or introduced a wholly new set of religious terms; that kind of originality was made impossible by the fact that God was already in His world. Jesus' originality—and the term is not misapplied—consisted in His Divine ability to separate the true from the false, the permanent from the transient, the perfect from the imperfect; and then to carry forward the whole circle of ideas and practices to their ideal expression. The work of an artist is not to manufacture his paints, but to produce with them a perfect picture. Jesus' mission was to clarify and to perfect religious truth, to show the unity and perspective of its many elements, and to transform humanity by revealing the nature, the beauty, and the necessity of the ideal life.

One observes also with interest how the Lord's Prayer embodies the experiences of Jesus in His own personal and official life. His teaching grows out of and expresses His own religious perceptions and realizations, so that there is a vital unity, an instructive correspondence, between this Prayer and His experience.* He finds God to be His Father and their Father, the common Father of all, to whom prayer is to be addressed. He lives and works that God may be revered, that His Kingdom may come, and that His will may be perfectly done by men. He has experienced the truth that God cares for the physical needs of men, and it is their privilege to trust Him for these things. He knows and teaches that men are sinful, needing God's forgiveness; they also must show a forgiving spirit towards one another. He has Himself passed through severe temptations, praying for deliverance from them (cf. Mk $14^{36.38}$, Mt 4^{1-11}).† In giving this ideal Prayer to His disciples, Jesus does not necessarily imply that His experience is in no respect different from theirs, *e.g.* that there is no uniqueness in His relation to God, or in His character and career as regards sin. But He does mean that He has shared humanity with them, has lived through its experiences, has found the way to attain the human ideal, and will declare to them in His words and in Himself the secret of the true life.

(4) An analysis of the Lord's Prayer, accepting the Matthæan form as practically authentic, discloses a well-considered literary structure: there are seven clauses in all, the first containing the address, followed by two groups of petitions, three in each. Regard, therefore, is had to the sacred

---

Matthew's *γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς* (so ℵACD against BL, versions, and quotations), and *ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς* (so ACD against ℵBL, versions, and quotations). Modern text-critical authorities are agreed that these passages are interpolations in the Lukan text.

* Compare the later Jewish prayer-formula, אָבִינוּ שֶׁבַּשָּׁמַיִם; see Achelis, *Bergpredigt*, p. 229; Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* p. 299.

† See Page, *Expositor*, 3rd ser. vol. vii. pp. 433-440; Plummer, art. LORD'S PRAYER in vol. iii.

‡ On this point see the older works of Möller, Augusti, Wetstein, Lightfoot, and Schöttgen; also, Achelis, *Bergpredigt*, p. 238 f.; B. Weiss, *Meyer-Komm. ü. d. Mattevgm.* p. 138; Plummer, art. LORD'S PRAYER in vol. iii.; Nestle, art. 'Lord's Prayer' in *Encycl. Bibl.* iii. 2821; Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*^{2} (1900), pp. 124-130; Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, i. 299-306; v. d. Goltz, *Das Gebet in der ältesten Christenheit* (1901), pp. 40-42.

* See v. d. Goltz, *op. cit.* pp. 1-53; Burton, 'The Personal Religion of Jesus' in *Biblical World*, vol. xiv. (1899), pp. 394-403.

† Chase, *Lord's Prayer in the Early Church* (1901), p. 104 f., notes, but exaggerates, the relation of the Lord's Prayer to the personal experiences of Jesus.

numbers 3 and 7, for the purpose of moulding perfectly the literary form of the Prayer.[*] The first group of petitions pertains to God—'Thy name,' 'Thy kingdom,' 'Thy will.' They express the most profound and comprehensive aspiration of men, that God may be all in all. Only when this is the supreme desire, can one offer the three petitions of the second group, which pertain to the needs of the individual life—'our daily bread,' 'our debts,' 'deliverance from temptation.' The several clauses would have been, in the original Aramaic, shorter and more nearly uniform in length than appears in a Greek translation. One cannot be certain whether the 'as in heaven, so on earth,' which follows the third petition, pertains to that alone, or equally to all the three petitions of the group.[†]

The address of the Prayer (*Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς*) introduces the term 'Father,' which was Jesus' prevailing and characteristic designation for God. It signified God's supremacy, authority, and power, but at the same time His love, patience, and care for men. The OT also has the term, but in the national sense, denoting God's relation to His covenant people; later there grew up the individual consciousness, and God came to be thought of as a personal Father to the worshipper.[‡] Jesus was accustomed to use this title for God in various ways:[§] often without any limiting attributive except the article, often also with a limiting 'my' or 'your'; but it is only in this passage, Mt 6^9, that Jesus is reported to have used the attributive 'our.' One might therefore infer that this 'our' is an unauthentic liturgical addition; but this inference is neither necessary nor satisfactory. 'Our Father' is a significant address, indicating at once the ground and the motive of prayer to Him, as well as the brotherhood of men under a common Father; the 'our' contributes an important element, therefore, to the address, and the occasion of its use is great enough to call for a special expression. It may be that the phrase 'Our Father' was oftener upon Jesus' lips than our Gospel records now show; the widening gulf which the disciples fixed between their ascended Lord and themselves might tend to the disuse of phrases which indicated that 'it behoved him in all things to be made like unto his brethren' (He 2^{17}). The second attributive to the *Πάτερ* in the clause of address, 'who art in heaven,' is a truly OT and Jewish phrase, which Jesus quite surely adopted and employed.[*] It expresses the transcendent position and character of God. In the pre-scientific age it was natural to assign God to a particular locality; the distant sky above the heads of men was logically chosen. But this local conception gradually retired before a growing sense of God's spiritual nature and omnipresence. With Jesus the phrase was a useful one (and we still find it so) to denote the separateness of God from men, His supermundane attributes, His absolute power and authority, His infinite character and qualities. Since the phrase meant these important things to the Jewish people of His day, and it was desirable that they should be in the mind of him who would pray to God, Jesus might well attach these words to His title of address in His model Prayer.[†]

The first petition (*ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου*)[‡] expresses the devout wish of the worshipper in view of what, according to the address of the Prayer, he conceives God to be, namely, that God may be fully recognized, honoured, and revered by all. The English word 'hallow' is no longer in common use; it meant to 'treat as holy,' to revere. Thus it was a proper translation of *ἁγιάζειν* (Lat. *sanctificare*), which, together with *δοξάζειν*, was employed in the LXX to render the Hebrew forms הִקְדִּישׁ and קִדֵּשׁ.[§] Calvin, Kamphausen, and some others have understood that 'the name' in this petition was to be taken in the sense of the Third Commandment, which forbade the misuse of, and disrespect to, the title of God (so also Mt 5^{33-37}). This interpretation is true as far as it goes, but it is too restricted for so comprehensive a prayer as this. Rather, 'the name' is to be understood here in the Oriental sense, as a periphrasis for the Person Himself, as though it were said, 'May God receive due reverence.' To the Hebrew 'the name' stood for what the individual was who bore the name. God's name designated Him as He had made Himself known to men.[||] Therefore the petition prays that God may be perfectly acknowledged by all men, so that all that He is and does may receive due honour, and that men may commit themselves to Him as their Father (cf. Ro 14^{11}, Eph 3^{14-19}).

The second petition (*ἐλθάτω ἡ βασιλεία σου*)[¶] expresses the wonderful Messianic Hope of the Hebrews; it was in substance the prayer which for centuries Israel had addressed to God.* Jesus bade them continue this prayer for the coming of the Kingdom of God, but taught them the true conception of what that Kingdom was, and how it was to be accomplished. The Kingdom of God was Jesus' constant and all-inclusive term to denote the individual and social good which would come to men when they would trust themselves to God's guidance and conform themselves to His ideal (Mt 6^{33}=Lk 12^{31}). In Jesus' conception the coming of the Kingdom was a process, a development through successive stages with a final consummation (Mk 4^{26-32}). He established the Kingdom among men (Lk $17^{20.21}$), His followers were to carry it forward (Mt $28^{19.20}$), and in due time He would bring about its complete realization (Mt 24. 25).† Our prayer, therefore, must be that God in His wisdom, power, and love may hasten the growth among men of righteousness, mercy, and peace; that the principles of the Gospel may prevail in individuals and in society as a whole, that humanity may become transformed into the likeness of Him who revealed to them the Divine ideal of God for His children.

---

[*] It is not to be said that the artistic literary structure of the Prayer is unworthy of Jesus, and must therefore be attributed to the Evangelist. On the contrary, Jesus designedly presented much of His teaching in metre and rhythm (see above, ii. 1). His marvellous literary power was exercised not for art's sake, but to make art serve the highest well-being of men; for ideal thought cannot fulfil its whole mission until it is ideally expressed. On the logical relation of the petitions, see Plummer, art. LORD'S PRAYER in vol. iii.

[†] Tholuck, *Bergrede*^{5}, p. 350 [Eng. tr. p. 328], notes that there are three elements which make up the address clause of the Prayer, and three elements which make up the doxology that came to be used at its close.

[‡] For the national sense cf. Dt 1^{31} 8^5 32^6, Ps 68^5 89^{26} 103^{13}, Is 1^2 9^6 63^{16} 64^8, Jer $3^{4.19}$, Hos 11^1, Mal 1^6 2^{10}; for the individual sense, Wis 2^{16} 14^3, Sir $23^{1.4}$, To 13^4, 3 Mac $6^{3.8}$.

[§] In the Gospel of Matthew the term 'Father' is frequent, and is generally accompanied by either 'my' or 'your' ('thy') in about equal proportion. The term occurs rarely in the Gospel of Mark. In the Gospel of Luke, also, there are relatively few instances of it. But the Fourth Gospel has it abundantly in the discourse sections, often with 'my,' but in the main only with the article, 'the Father.' A comparison of the occurrence of the term in parallel Synoptic passages raises the question as to how much confidence is to be placed upon the precise attributive reported in connexion with the title, or upon the occurrence of the title itself: thus in the group Mt 26^{39}=Mk 14^{36}=Lk 22^{42} we find 'O my Father,' 'Abba, Father' (the Aramaic word with its translation), and 'Father,' respectively; in Mt 5^{45}=Lk 6^{35}, Mt 10^{29}=Lk 12^6, Mt 10^{33}=Lk 12^9, the First Gospel has 'Father,' while the Third Gospel has 'Most High' and 'God'; in Mt 12^{50}=Mk 3^{35}=Lk 8^{21} the First Gospel has 'my Father which is in heaven,' while the Second and Third Gospels have simply 'God'; in Mt 20^{23}=Mk 10^{40} the Second Gospel strikingly lacks the words 'of my Father.' It seems probable that Jesus constantly used the title 'Father,' as the First and Fourth Gospels record; but that it had been largely suppressed or altered in the sources of the Second and Third Gospels, again for the reason that it was a characteristically Jewish designation.

[*] This is shown by the frequent occurrence of the phrase in the First Gospel, *e.g.* Mt $5^{16.45.48}$ $6^{1.14.26.32}$ $7^{11.21}$ $10^{32.33}$ 12^{50} 15^{13} 16^{17} $18^{10.14.19.35}$ 23^9; cf. also Mk $11^{25.26}$, Lk 11^{13}; its almost total absence from the Second and Third Gospels is another feature of the universalization of this material. For Jewish usage see *'Ābôth* v. 30; *Ṣôṭā* ix. 15; *Yômā* viii. 9; and Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, i. 150–159, 299–306. Wendt, *Lehre Jesu*, i. 62 f., can hardly be right in holding that this phrase is an addition in the Matthew passages, not to be attributed to Jesus.

[†] Whether the Prayer was originally given in Aramaic or Hebrew has been discussed, but without a certain conclusion. Chase is sure it was in Aramaic; see, further, Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*^{2} (1897), p. 176 f.

[‡] Compare the parallel clause in the Jewish synagogal prayer *Ḳaddish*: 'Magnificetur et sanctificetur nomen eius magnum in mundo' (Maimonides' translation); see Achelis, *Bergpredigt*, p. 238 f.

[§] See Ex 20^8, Lv 21^8 22^{32}, Nu 20^{12}, Dt 32^{51}, Is 29^{23}, Ezk 36^{23}; and in the NT, 1 P 3^{15}.

[||] See Ps 5^{11} 9^{10}, Pr 18^{10}. So the peculiar phrase (still in religious use) 'for his name's sake,' Ps 23^3 25^{11} 31^3 79^9; cf. Achelis, *Bergpredigt*, pp. 240–243.

[¶] Compare here, also, the *Ḳaddish* parallel: 'Regnare faciat regnum suum.' Marcion, in his Lukan form of the Lord's Prayer, read as the second petition, not what we have here, but *δὸς ἡμῖν τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα*, or another form of the same, *ἐλθέτω τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμά σου πρὸς ἡμᾶς*. The same thought in a more expanded form was known, as a feature of Luke's text, to Gregory of Nyssa and Maximus the Confessor; thus: *ἐλθέτω τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμά σου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ καθαρισάτω ἡμᾶς* (cf. Westcott and Hort, *New Testament in Greek*, vol. ii. Appx.; Nestle, in *Encycl. Bibl.* iii. 2818). This petition for the Holy Spirit cannot be authentic in this connexion, for it has small attestation, is not suitable to the context, and is obviously a drastic substitution to bring into the Prayer a specific request for the Holy

The third petition (*γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου, ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς*) was needed in the Prayer to guard the second petition against misinterpretation. It had become a prevalent misconception that the coming of God's Kingdom depended after all upon Himself, and that when He should choose to do so He could by His omnipotence bring that Kingdom into complete existence; so men had importuned God to become loving and forgiving towards them, and to grant to them the blessings which out of dissatisfaction or neglect He was withholding from them. Jesus makes that idea impossible when He gives this third petition, teaching that God's will must be absolutely done by all.‡ To do God's will, to accomplish His work, was the one purpose of Jesus' own life (Mt $26^{39.42}$, Jn 4^{34} 6^{38} 12^{27} 17^4), and He enjoined it upon all as the one comprehensive human obligation (Mt 7^{21}, Jn 7^{17}). Men must therefore co-operate with God in the realization of the Kingdom by making themselves, with God's help, what they should be, and by bringing in the true brotherhood of universal love and service.

The fourth petition§ pertains to the physical needs of men, upon which the spiritual life is dependent during this earthly stage of existence.* The conditions under which we live are created by God, He has full knowledge of them (Mt $6^{8.25-32}$), and He stands ready to supply what is necessary to human well-being (Mt 5^{45} 6^{33} 7^{11}). This providential bestowal comes, of course, not as a pure gratuity, but as a return for the honest, energetic labour of men. The 'bread' which is asked for in this Prayer is meant in the wider sense as referring to all necessary food; and by implication it certainly includes all those things which are essential to physical welfare. The petition contemplates only a simple, frugal life, enjoining trustfulness and contentment therein. In other words, the idea of the Prayer is that men are to ask God confidently for what they need; but only for what they really need, and only as they need it. The disciples of Jesus are to live trustfully in the present and for the present, without anxious concern as to the future (Mt 6^{34}). About this general interpretation of the fourth petition there can be no question. A difficulty exists, however, as to the precise force of *ἐπιούσιον*; since it is a *hapaxlegomenon*, we cannot determine its usage from other contexts; the Greek word most like it is *περιούσιος*, which appears first in the LXX. Recent scholars are largely in agreement that the word is derived somewhat irregularly from *ἐπί*+*εἶναι* in a fem. ptcp. form, signifying 'being unto,' 'pertaining to'; so that the prayer would be, 'Give us to-day the bread which pertains (to this day),' *i.e.* just so much as is needed for to-day to meet one's physical requirements (cf. Ja $2^{15.16}$).†

Spirit which Jesus had included only by implication. The prominence given to the Holy Spirit in the Apostolic age has left its impress upon the Lukan account of Jesus' words; cf. Mt 7^{11}=Lk 11^{13}, Mt 11^{25}=Lk 10^{21}, also Mt 10^{20}=Lk 12^{12}.

* See art. MESSIAH in vol. iii.; *Encycl. Bibl.*, art. 'Messiah'; also Goodspeed, *Israel's Messianic Hope* (1900).

† See art. KINGDOM OF GOD in vol. ii.; also Wendt, *Lehre Jesu*, ii. 293–325. The verbal form *ἐλθάτω* does not favour the idea that the coming of the Kingdom is continuous; which part of the verb was used in the original Aramaic can only be matter of conjecture—one would suppose a jussive imperfect, and this would have presented no difficulty. At any rate, this petition must be interpreted in the light of Jesus' entire teaching concerning the Kingdom. The Greek aorist here may be due to the idea held by all Christians in the Apostolic age, that the return of Christ was imminent, and that with His return He would bring the catastrophic consummation; this passage would then be one of a number in the Gospels which received an eschatological colouring in transmission, on account of the failure of the disciples to take completely Jesus' view of the nature and coming of the Kingdom.

‡ The conception that God's will is already perfectly done in heaven, by the angelic host, is at the same time an assurance and a model for the full realization of His will on earth among men. The angels are frequently mentioned both in the OT (Ps 91^{11} 103^{20}) and in the NT (Mt 18^{10} 24^{36} 26^{53}, Mk 8^{38} 12^{25} $13^{27.32}$, Lk $12^{8.9}$ 15^{10} 16^{22}, Jn 1^{51}, He $1^{4.14}$ $12^{22.23}$); on the Jewish angelology see art. ANGEL in vol. i.; *Encycl. Bibl.*, art. 'Angel'; also Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, vol. ii. Appx.; Wendt, *Lehre Jesu*, ii. pp. 121–126.

§ Mt 6^{11} *τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον*; Lk 11^3 *τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δίδου ἡμῖν τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν*. It is striking that the strange word *ἐπιούσιον*, which is found nowhere in all Greek literature outside of this passage (so Origen, *de Orat.* 27), should appear in both of these widely divergent accounts of the Lord's Prayer. The fact can be explained only by the hypothesis that these two Greek forms of the Prayer must have had a literary relation to one another in some stage of their transmission.

* Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*², p. 125, thinks that this petition contains an allusion to the giving of the manna, Ex 16^4; cf. Ps $78^{24f.}$, Wis $16^{27f.}$, Jn 6^{32}.

† So Achelis, *Bergpredigt*, pp. 265–271; H. Holtzmann, *Hand-Comm. ü. d. Synoptiker*, p. 116; Kamphausen, *Das Gebet des Herrn*, p. 97 ff.; Leo Meyer in Kuhn's *Zeitschr. f. vergleich. Sprachforschung*, vii. 401 ff. (though he afterwards withdrew this opinion, in *Nachrichten d. kgl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1886, p. 245 ff.); Tholuck, *Bergrede*⁵, pp. 375–385 [Eng. tr. 341–353]; B. Weiss, *Meyer-Komm. ü. d. Mattevgm.* p. 135 f.; Wendt, *Lehre Jesu*, ii. 239 f.; Taylor, *op. cit.* pp. 125–127, 178–186, 190 f.; as also Ewald, Nösgen, Bassett, and many others. A list of the older literature upon the subject may be seen in Tholuck, *loc. cit.* Other interpretations of the passage are: (1) that the derivation of *ἐπιούσιον* is from *ἐπί*+the noun *οὐσία*, which in philosophical usage signified 'subsistence,' 'existence'; therefore the petition would read, 'Give us to-day our bread for subsistence,' *i.e.* that bread which serves to maintain our physical existence. So Cremer, *Bibl.-Theol. Wörterbuch*⁷, *in loc.*; also Origen, Chrysostom, Theophylact, Maldonatus, Bleek, Keil, Kuinöl, Kübel. This conception, however, seems forced, and too technically philosophical; nor is there any certain parallel instance of such a usage of *οὐσία*. It differs from the view adopted above in stating the end of the giving instead of the measure, for what purpose the bread is asked rather than the quantity of bread asked for. (2) That the derivation of *ἐπιούσιον* is from *ἐπί*+*ἰέναι*, and that with it is understood in sense a *ἡμέρα* (cf. Ac 16^{11} *ἐπιούσῃ*. 23^{11}, Pr 27^1 LXX); it then means 'the coming day,' and the petition says, 'Give us to-day our bread for to-morrow.' So Lightfoot, *Fresh Revision of English N.T.*³ (1891), Appx. I.; Schmiedel in Winer's *Grammatik d. NTlichen Sprachidioms*⁸ (1894), pp. 136–138; also Grotius, Wetstein, Bengel, Fritzsche, Winer, Gore, Bruce, Meyer, Marshall, O. Holtzmann, and RVm. The difficulty with this temporal interpretation of *ἐπιούσιον* is that it contradicts the very idea of the petition as intended by Jesus: instead of having men pray for to-morrow's food, He would have them pray for to-day and trust for to-morrow. No other meaning can be derived from the passage Mt 6^{25-34}, ending with the words, 'Be not therefore anxious for the morrow; for the morrow will be anxious for itself. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.' This temporal interpretation also throws an incongruous meaning into the Lukan form of the prayer, 'Give us every day the bread for the next day'; that would be a mechanical kind of Providence. (3) That the 'bread' for which this petition asks is to be understood spiritually, at least in its primary reference. This was the favourite interpretation among the Fathers of the early Christian centuries; it arose easily from the figurative use of 'bread' in Jn 6^{48-58}, and was suitable to the allegorical mode of the time. Augustine held the 'bread' to refer to three things, in an ascending scale of significance: (*a*) physically, actual food; (*b*) intellectually, the word of Christ; (*c*) spiritually, the Lord's Supper. For the

As *περιούσιος* means 'beyond what is necessary,' so *ἐπιούσιον* means 'exactly what is necessary.' This is the conception of supply which we find in Pr 30^{8} 'Feed me with the food that is needful for me.' There are similar Targumic and Talmudic expressions. The wording of the petition as given by Matthew is a specific request for a single occasion, understanding that the Prayer will be repeated as frequently as need arises, presumably each day;[*] while Luke's wording presents a general request for a constant supply: it would seem clear that the Matthæan form is of greater authenticity.

The fifth petition[†] concerns the present religious status of the man in relation to God. The worshipper is to measure himself against the Divine ideal of the highest, fullest self-development, and of complete love and service to God and one's fellow-men. He is to observe how far he has failed to meet the obligations placed upon him by God, and why he has failed to meet them. When a man has made this inventory of his physical, moral, and spiritual status, with a sincere repentance for all his transgressions and shortcomings, and with a supreme purpose to achieve the Divine ideal for men, he is ready to ask God's forgiveness in the words of this petition. Holding that God's will is the only law of life, and that His Kingdom is the only end of life, the worshipper needs God's forgiveness for his spiritual comfort and inspiration, in order that he may start anew each day towards the achievement of the ideal. It is in this fundamental and comprehensive sense that the term *ὀφειλήματα* is figuratively employed in this petition, including everything that we should be and do towards God, our fellow-men, and ourselves.[*] The second clause contains an explicit condition of this Prayer, that men must feel and exercise the same spirit of forgiveness towards one another which they wish God to show towards themselves. Jesus places these words in the petition, in order that men may be face to face with this condition whenever they pray to God for their own forgiveness. This principle of love as the basis of all human and Divine relations is a constant teaching of Jesus, and furnishes the key to the Sermon on the Mount, cf. esp. Mt $5^{7.\ 23f.\ 43-48}$; it is also most impressively set forth in the teaching and parable of Mt 18^{21-35}. In the Lord's Prayer as recorded by Matthew this idea is further strengthened by the two added verses, $6^{14.\ 15}$, with which Mk 11^{25} may be compared.[†] It is not to be understood that the *ὡς καί* which introduces Matthew's second clause signifies a *quid pro quo* kind of forgiveness on God's part, as though God forgave men only in a measure proportionate to their own forgiveness. The words might have this force (as in Mt 20^{14}, Rev 18^{6}), but it is not the only meaning for them (cf. Mt 18^{33}). Such a commercial idea is inconsistent with the method of God as abundantly shown in Jesus' teaching. God is in amount more loving and forgiving than men can be, but He requires that men also shall be loving and forgiving.[‡]

The sixth petition,[§] which closes the Lord's Prayer, provides for the moral and spiritual welfare of the individual in the future. As the fifth petition sought forgiveness for past failures to do God's will, so the sixth petition seeks His protection from future failures. The worshipper, conscious of his own weakness, puts his dependence upon God. He prays for deliverance from those situations in life where he will be liable to yield

---

spiritual meaning also stood Tertullian, Cyprian, Cyril of Jerusalem, Athanasius, Ambrose, and Jerome; and in modern times Delitzsch, Olshausen, Stier, M'Clellan. (4) That the *ἐπιούσιον* has a temporal signification referring merely to the day of the prayer. So the RV, 'Give us this day our daily bread,' and this is the wording in common use in Christendom to-day, made so by the popular translations of the Bible. It is redundant in expression, and its only merit is simplicity; for it lacks the profound meaning which inheres in the *ἐπιούσιον* as interpreted in the text above. Lately this view has been again defended by Nestle (*ZNTW*, 1900, pp. 250-252; *Encycl. Bibl.* iii. 2819 f.) on the basis of the reading אֲמִינָא (=continual), which is found in Syr cur at Mt 6^{11} and Lk 11^{3}, and in Syr sin at Lk 11^{3}, the Matthæan section being wanting; also in the Syriac *Acts of Thomas* (ed. Wright, p. 313). This אמין is said to be the regular Syriac word for the translation of the Heb. תָּמִיד; and Nestle has learned that a Jewish translation of the First Gospel into Hebrew, made in the 16th cent., rendered the *ἐπιούσιον* by תָּמִיד. He supposes, therefore, that the Greek *ἐπιούσιον* in the Lord's Prayer represents an original לֶחֶם הַתָּמִיד, and says that the translation 'our daily bread' is the best English translation of the Greek text. The difficulty with this interpretation is twofold: (*a*) it gives a purely tautological rendering, which is unlikely to have been original; (*b*) it altogether fails to account for the presence in the Greek text of this strange word *ἐπιούσιον*, which seems to have been created to express an intricate thought for which no current Greek word was suitable; but if the thought was so simple as 'continual' or 'daily,' there were several common expressions at hand to use (*e.g.* the *τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν* of Lk 11^{3} 19^{47}), and the LXX had already employed such (cf. Ex 5^{13} 16^{5}, Nu 4^{16}, Ps 67^{20}, Dn 1^{5}, 1 Mac 6^{57} 8^{15}); while the early Syriac reading may well be nothing more than a simplification of a difficult expression whose exact meaning had not been clearly conveyed by the *ἐπιούσιον*, and which in the circle of the translator was no longer understood. Chase, *Lord's Prayer in the Early Church* (1891), pp. 44–53, holds that the original form of the petition was, 'Give us our (or, the) bread of the day,' and suggests that the newly coined word *ἐπιούσιον* was later interpolated to meet liturgical exigencies in connexion with the use of the Lord's Prayer in the evening. With this reading the Prayer could be used in the morning, and would ask bread for that same day; or it could be used at night, and would ask bread for the morrow; however, the *σήμερον* so replaced did not in fact disappear, but remained in the text as a confusing redundancy. Chase's view is accepted by v. d. Goltz, *Das Gebet in der ältesten Christenheit* (1901), p. 49 f.

[*] B. Weiss, *op. cit.* p. 136, holds that the *σήμερον* in the Matthew form of the petition is a subsequent addition, bearing witness to the fact that the Prayer was assigned to daily use in the early Christian liturgy. That the Prayer was used daily, or oftener, in the earlier part of the 2nd cent., is established by the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (viii. 3), and other witnesses; but it does not follow that the *σήμερον* of Mt 6^{11} is merely a product of that practice. There is no inherent reason why Jesus should not Himself have given the corresponding Aramaic word in this connexion. The Prayer was given to the disciples for regular use, because they wished some set form of prayer to recite in the common liturgical manner of the Jews (cf. Lk 11^{1}). The 'day' was a natural and convenient period of time (cf. Mt 6^{34}) for the repetition of the Prayer. Why should not Jesus have arranged the wording on that basis?

[†] Mt 6^{12} *καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν.* Lk 11^{4a} *καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν, καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἀφίομεν παντὶ ὀφείλοντι ἡμῖν.*

[*] In classical Greek, *ὀφειλήματα* was used generally of financial debts, and it was probably to avoid this ambiguity that Lk 11^{4} reads *ἁμαρτίας* instead (originally Luke's account must have had *ὀφειλήματα* like Matthew's, as is seen by the *ὀφείλοντι* in the second clause; so Chase, *Lord's Prayer in the Early Church* (1891), p. 55, and Page, *Expositor*, 3rd ser. vol. vii. p. 437). But *ὀφείλημα* (and its kindred forms) is a frequent NT word for moral and spiritual obligation (Lk 17^{10}, Jn 13^{14}, Ro $15^{1.\ 27}$, Gal 5^{3}), although used also in the money sense (Mt 18^{28}, Lk 7^{41} 16^{5}, Ph ^{18}). Luke's *ἁμαρτίας* lacks the Aramaic colour, the strength and the comprehensiveness of the *ὀφειλήματα*. In the EV also the word 'debts' gives a deeper meaning when rightly understood than the word 'sins,' since the latter term tends in popular usage to signify only positive, flagrant wickedness. And still less satisfactory is the word 'trespasses,' given currency in this petition by the Episcopal Prayer-Book (apparently from Tindale [? by reading 'trespasses' from v.$^{14f.}$ into v.^{12}]); for it is not a proper translation of either *ὀφειλήματα* or *ἁμαρτίας*, and is the most limited in its scope of the three English words.

[†] Mt $6^{14.\ 15}$ has apparently found its way into the Sermon through its previous connexion with the Lord's Prayer. Whether it had its place historically in that connexion is uncertain. Mk 11^{25} has a different setting for the passage, but one due to topical association rather than to original position. There is nothing unlikely in the hypothesis that Jesus, after giving the Prayer, spoke in explanation of it, and that this fragment was a part thereof. In these two verses, as in Mk 11^{25}, *παραπτώματα* is used instead of *ὀφειλήματα* or *ἁμαρτίας*.

[‡] Luke's variant, *καὶ γάρ*, is distinctly intended to remove the possible misinterpretation that God forgives a man just to the extent that the man forgives others. But the Matthæan wording gives evidence of being a closer translation from the Aramaic. Another instance of Lukan modification is his *ἀφίομεν* in this clause instead of Matthew's *ἀφήκαμεν*, to give the petition a general character instead of the specific import of the original Prayer. It was noted that in the fourth petition changes were made for the same purpose, Luke having *δίδου* instead of *δός*, and *τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν* instead of *σήμερον*.

[§] Mt 6^{13} *καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκης ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν, ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ.* Lk 11^{4b} *καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκης ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν.* The first clause is the same in both accounts, while the second clause does not appear in Luke (see above).

to wrong or false influences. But inasmuch as men must undergo trials, and in them work out their own character and service, Jesus gives to this petition a second clause, which provides against necessary trials by asking for strength to come through them safely. We may then paraphrase the sixth petition of the Prayer in this way: 'Spare us as much as possible from all trials in which there is danger that we shall fail to do Thy will; but, so far as we must meet trials, give us the strength necessary to withstand the temptations to evil which are involved in them.'* It thus becomes clear that the second clause of the petition, 'but deliver us from evil,' is not a separate, seventh petition, but an essential element in the sixth, pertaining to those trials from which God cannot and should not deliver us. In them we pray Him to preserve us from falling. The 'evil' which is meant is, of course, moral and spiritual transgression or failure of doing God's will; and the context therefore makes it improbable that the τοῦ πονηροῦ should have been intended to refer concretely to the devil in person.† The term πειρασμός is used with a wide range in the NT, having both a neutral meaning (=trial) and a bad meaning (=malicious temptation).‡ Only in the former, neutral sense can God be spoken of as 'tempting' men, *i.e.* bringing them into situations which test their character and thus promote their growth. Such trials involve a possible lapse into evil, and must cause anxiety and apprehension; so that men may well fear them and pray for deliverance from them. Jesus said to His disciples, 'Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation: the spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak' (Mk 14^{38}, cf. Ja $1^{13f.}$). But, since God brings these trials for the individual's good, He will never allow the tried person to fall into evil if he will commit himself wholly to God's guidance and care through the experience (cf. 1 Co 10^{13}, He 2^{18} $4^{15f.}$, Ja $1^{2-4.\,12f.}$, 1 P $1^{6f.}$).

(5) The Lord's Prayer is thus seen to be an epitome of Jesus' teaching; it contains the essential ideas of God and human duty, expressed in the briefest, simplest, and most impressive words. The vital truths of the Gospel are presented in such a way that any and every man can grasp them, and can see them in their right perspective and relations.* Since the Prayer was intended for universal use, its meaning must be readily intelligible to all; it must be not intricate, but simple of interpretation. And the Lord's Prayer is adapted to every kind of Christian use. It is designed for repetition as it stands, both in private and in public devotions. It is also a pattern prayer, after which all prayer to God should be modelled. Here we learn what things are to be prayed for, how God's glory, Kingdom, and will take precedence of the individual's affairs, and in what spirit all prayer is to be made. The religious practice of Jesus' day too often regarded the virtue of a prayer as consisting in its recital, and measured its value by its length or repetition (cf. Ac 19^{34}). The Gospel of Matthew ($6^{7f.}$) has preserved in connexion with the Lord's Prayer some words of Jesus which were directed against this abuse. Since God knows what things are necessary for men, He does not need to be informed of them; and since He is a loving Father who cares for His children, He does not have to be importuned to give His blessings. These facts do not make prayer useless; on the contrary, real prayer is possible only on the basis of them. God never wished the empty repetition of prayer formulæ, which is a waste of time and strength; and it was an entire misconception of Him that He had to be coaxed into goodwill towards men, or solicited to supply their needs. Prayer, in Jesus' conception, is the loving, obedient and trustful communion of men with their Heavenly Father. It brings men comfort, joy, and peace; it reassures and strengthens them in all their labours and experiences; it brings them to know only God's will in their lives, and to seek only its full realization. As we learn to know God in the words and face of Christ, we pray more instead of less; prayer becomes a privilege instead of a duty. Indeed, to the true Christian, prayer is the atmosphere in which he lives. Instead of occasional periods or moments of prayer, the whole life becomes a prayer, so that we walk and talk with God. Into this perfect communion with God the Lord's Prayer leads us, voicing all our aspirations and petitions, when we come to appreciate its full significance.†

---

* Jesus' Gethsemane experience illuminates the words of this petition (cf. Mt 26^{36-46}, esp. v.^{39}). The Saviour is here face to face with the bitterest trial of His life; the attitude of the Jewish nation towards Him has come to be that of fixed and final rejection; the chosen people are ready to repudiate their Messiah with a violent death, and so to fail of fulfilling their Divine mission to the world (cf. Mt $23^{37.\,38}$). Jesus in the garden feels that He cannot endure this; He is in agony that God should seem to allow it, and prays that He may be spared this trial—that there may be some other outcome of the situation; nevertheless, He has no other desire than that God's will should be done. The prayer of Jesus was answered not by a removal of the trial, but by a Divine reassurance, and an impartation of strength for its endurance (cf. Lk $22^{43f.}$, which gives an essentially correct idea, even if textually uncertain). One may also compare St. Paul's experience when he three times prayed for the removal of his 'thorn in the flesh'; God's reply to him was, 'My grace is sufficient for thee; for power is made perfect in weakness' (2 Co $12^{8.\,9}$; cf. also 1 Co 10^{12}).

† The objection to taking the τοῦ πονηροῦ as a masculine (with Tertullian, Cyprian, Origen, Chrysostom, Theophylact, Calvin, Erasmus, Bengel, Meyer, Olshausen, Ebrard, Fritzsche, Hanne, Gore, H. Holtzmann, Lightfoot, Thayer, Plummer, Chase, v. d. Goltz, Nestle, and the RV) does not lie in the fact that the phrase could not be so used, for there are a number of clear NT cases where ὁ πονηρός refers concretely to the devil (cf. Mt $13^{19.\,38}$, Eph 6^{16}, 1 Jn $2^{13f.}$ 3^{12} 5^{18}); nor in the meaning of the collocation ῥύεσθαι ἀπό τινος, which is used of both persons (Ro 15^{31}) and things (2 Ti 4^{18}); nor in an avoidance by Jesus of the current Jewish conception and terminology regarding the personal devil (cf Mt 4^{10} 12^{27} $13^{38f.}$, Lk 10^{18}, Jn 8^{44}), for, so far as we can discover, He did not give any new teaching on this point (cf. Wendt, *Lehre Jesu*, ii. 121–126). The objection lies rather in the thought of the petition itself, which cannot be, 'Bring us not into trial, but deliver us from the devil,' since this destroys all connexion between the two clauses, though the ἀλλά demands a connexion; nor, 'Bring us not into the temptation of the devil, but deliver us from the devil,' which is improbable tautology. So that some ancient and many modern scholars interpret the τοῦ πονηροῦ as a neuter (Augustine, Luther, Stier, Ewald, Keil, Nösgen, Tholuck, Alford, Burgon, Cook, M'Clellan, Achelis, Ibbeken, B. Weiss, Taylor, and others). This neuter use of τὸ πονηρόν to denote all moral and spiritual evil may be seen in Mt 5^{37}, Lk 6^{45}, Jn 17^{15}, Ro 12^{9}, 2 Th 3^{3}, 1 Jn 5^{19} (the RV is probably wrong in translating most of these as masculines); cf. also 2 Ti 4^{18}. On πονηρός -όν see Cremer, *Bibl.-Theol. Wörterbuch*^{7}, *in loc.*; Achelis, *Bergpredigt*, pp. 286–289; letters in the *Guardian* by Lightfoot (Sept. 7, 14, 21) and Cook (May 21, Nov. 26) (Lightfoot's letters appear in *Fresh Revision of the English N.T.*^{3}, 1891, Appx. II.); Chase, *Lord's Prayer in the Early Church* (1891), pp. 85–167; Hatch, *Essays in Biblical Greek* (1889), pp. 77–82. Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*^{2} (1897), pp. 37, 64, 128–130, 147–150, 191 f., takes the τοῦ πονηροῦ as referring to the יֵצֶר הָרַע, man's evil nature (Gn 8^{21} 'the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth,' cf. Ja 1^{13-15}); see also Porter, 'The Yeçer Ha-ra',' in *Yale Biblical and Semitic Studies* (1901), pp. 93–156.

‡ On the NT usage of πειρασμός, see Cremer, *Bibl.-Theol. Wörterbuch*^{7}, *in loc.*; Tholuck, *Bergrede*^{5}, pp. 394–401 [Eng. tr. pp. 357–362]; Achelis, *Bergpredigt*, pp. 280–284; Mayor, *Comm. on James*, 1892, pp. 175–183.

* Similarly Harnack, *Das Wesen des Christentums*, 1901, p. 42 [Eng. tr. p. 65]: 'There is nothing in the Gospels that tells us more certainly what the Gospel is, and what sort of disposition and temper it produces, than the Lord's Prayer. With this Prayer we ought also to confront all those who disparage the Gospel as an ascetic or ecstatic or sociological pronouncement. It shows the Gospel to be the Fatherhood of God applied to the whole of life; to be an inner union with God's will and God's Kingdom, and a joyous certainty of the possession of eternal blessings and protection from evil.'

† Further, on the Lord's Prayer, see Kamphausen, *Das Gebet des Herrn* (1866); Chase, *The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church* (1891); Tholuck, *Bergrede*^{5}, pp. 346–408 [Eng. tr. pp. 315–369]; Achelis, *Bergpredigt*, pp. 225–305; J. Hanne, *Jahrb. f. deutsche Theol.* 1866; Haffner, *Das Gebet des Herrn* (1880); G. Hoffmann, *De Oratione Domini* (1884); Rieger, *Das Gebet des Herrn* (1901); Wendt, *Lehre Jesu*, ii. 238–245; Plummer,

i. Devotion to the Kingdom.—Mt 6^{19-34} (cf. Lk $12^{33.34}$ 11^{34-36} 16^{13} 12^{22-31}). Nearly all of those scholars who regard the Sermon in the First Gospel as a composite production in whole or in part, look upon this section as extraneous to the original discourse, being brought in here from some other historical connexion.[*] Two arguments against its present position are offered: (*a*) the subject-matter of the section is thought by many to be remote from the theme of Mt 5^{17}–6^{18}; and (*b*) this material is found scattered in the Gospel of Luke, none of it appearing in his parallel discourse (6^{20-49}). To the first argument it may be replied (see above, ii. 3) that the theme of the Sermon does not lie in Mt 5^{17-20}, but is more general, pertaining to the true nature and duty of righteousness. So that Mt 5^{17}–6^{18}, while containing the longest section of the reported discourse, is by no means to be regarded as the only original matter in Matthew's account. There is an abrupt transition, to be sure, between Mt 6^{18} and 6^{19}; but this abruptness may be due to the fact that we have only extracts or a digest of the historical Sermon. Moreover, the teaching contained in Mt 6^{19-34} would seem to be germane—indeed essential—to a setting forth of the true righteousness; the ideal life must be free from material aims, divided efforts, and distracting anxieties. The second argument presents a greater difficulty, for Luke's arrangement of this material in other connexions must be explained. Concerning this it may be said that the Lukan Sermon had received severe treatment in transmission, as already frequently noted; perhaps the exclusion of this section was a part of that process. Also, that the position assigned to this material in the Third Gospel is surely not historical; it appears in the so-called 'Peræan section,' but such teaching as this belonged in all probability to the Galilæan ministry. Further, the Lukan settings of these verses show either no contextual relations, or only literary ones; they are not associated with specific, distinct events. Therefore, while the question must be counted an open one whether Mt 6^{19-34} belonged to the historical Sermon, good reasons are at hand for treating the section as original in this connexion.

The passage has a real unity of thought, to the effect that there is but one aim in life. This aim is the complete realization of the Kingdom of God, in which every man attains that character and performs that service which God requires. The idea thus finds its general statement in Mt 6^{33} 'Seek ye first his kingdom, and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you.'[†] As Jesus had been teaching in Mt 5^{21-48} how the Divine ideal for men was to be worked out in the sphere of individual and social ethics, and in Mt 6^{1-18} in the sphere of religious worship, so in Mt 6^{19-34} He sets forth how this ideal demands an exclusive devotion to spiritual things—not that material things are to be ignored, but they are to be used only that they may contribute to the highest well-being of humanity. This teaching is developed in three paragraphs of the section vv.$^{19-21}$ vv.$^{22-24}$ vv.$^{25-34}$,[*] presenting three distinct phases of the subject of duty as regards earthly things: the one comprehensive aim of life must be spiritual, there must be no division of interests, and there must be no anxiety about the incidental things.

According to the teaching of vv.$^{19-21}$,[†] a man is not to devote himself to an accumulation of wealth for its own sake, or for selfish use. His time is not to be occupied with transient labours, social trivialities, vain displays, and empty talk. 'To lay up treasure in heaven' is to be and to do those things which are pleasing to God, to live nobly, purely, and helpfully. Jesus condemned in the strongest language the kind of life which seeks, first of all, for the gratification of greed and selfish ambition. When a certain man asked Jesus to assist him in securing some property, he rebuked him, and said to His hearers, 'Take heed, and keep yourselves from all covetousness; for a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth.' And He gave the significant parable of the Rich Fool, who must leave all his wealth at his death, adding, 'So is he that layeth up treasure for himself, and is not rich toward God' (Lk 12^{13-21}). To make material things the chief end of life is to reverse the true relation of body and spirit. Immortal spirit is the permanent, ultimate thing for which our lives are to be lived. The possession or the accumulation of wealth is not forbidden by Jesus (see above, ii. 4*a*), but He insists that wealth is a means, never an end; and that wealth must be conscientiously used for the highest good, or it becomes a curse to its owner (cf. Mk 10^{17-22}, Lk 16^{1-9}).[‡] The right Christian attitude is not a despising of riches, but a true valuation and employment of them for human well-being. The ascetic life, the frivolous life, the indolent life, are

---

art. LORD'S PRAYER in vol. iii.; Nestle, art. 'Lord's Prayer' in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, vol. iii.; v. d. Goltz, *Das Gebet in der ältesten Christenheit* (1901), pp. 35–53; Maurice, *Sermons on the Lord's Prayer* (1870); Boardman, *Studies in the Model Prayer* (1879); Newman Hall, *The Lord's Prayer*² (1889). Also, the Patristic treatment of the Prayer by Tertullian (*de Oratione*), Cyprian (*de Oratione Dominica*), and Origen (περὶ Εὐχῆς).

[*] So Feine, Godet, H. Holtzmann, B. Weiss, Wendt, Heinrici, Bacon, and others. Its Matthæan position is defended by Tholuck, Meyer, Keil, Morison, Broadus, Steinmeyer, H. Weiss, Nösgen, Grawert. Achelis regards the section as original here, with the exception of vv.$^{20.21.24}$; and other partition theories are offered.

[†] Mt 6^{33} ζητεῖτε δὲ πρῶτον τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν. Lk 12^{31} πλὴν ζητεῖτε τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῦτα προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν. There is much textual variation as respects the wording of the Matthæan verse. It is difficult to determine the precise original form of this saying of Jesus. Bruce thinks it was simply 'Seek ye his kingdom,' all else in the present Greek forms being expansion for purposes of interpretation; but it seems probable that the second clause was also given, as bringing the saying more closely into relation with its context. The πλήν which introduces the Lukan form is an idiosyncrasy of the Third Gospel (cf. Lk $6^{24.35}$ *et al.*). Matthew's πάντα, in the second clause, is likely to have been an expansion. The πρῶτον of Matthew may belong to the original saying. On this supposition it cannot be understood to mean that there are two things to be sought for, one before the other; it is to be interpreted, not numerically, but qualitatively—there is just one thing to live for, the Kingdom; and the necessaries of physical existence should be trusted to God's providence. The πρῶτον has then disappeared from the Lukan form, perhaps because of its ambiguity and consequent danger of being misunderstood. Whether the historical saying had 'the kingdom,' or 'his kingdom,' or 'the kingdom of God,' all of which are attested, can only be matter of conjecture, and is unimportant. Lastly, Luke does not have the τὴν δικαιοσύνην which is given in this saying by Matthew (whose αὐτοῦ probably limits also the βασιλείαν as in RV). Perhaps it was dropped from the Lukan sources because it was a technical Jewish term; it has been noted above that δικαιοσύνη does not appear in Luke's Sermon, and in his Gospel only at 1^{75}. Or, its presence in Mt 6^{33} may be due to an expansion of the original saying, making a closer verbal connexion of the verse with the Sermon in Matthew (cf. $5^{6.10.20}$ 6^{1}). This would be a probable explanation of its presence on the theory that Mt 6^{19-34} has been imported into the Sermon in the course of transmission. But the τὴν δικαιοσύνην may also be original in this saying. If so, the 'righteousness' referred to is that actual perfect character and conduct on the part of men with which this whole discourse is concerned (so Tholuck, Achelis, B. Weiss); not a righteousness which God imparts to the believer (Meyer, Ibbeken), nor the righteousness of faith according to the Pauline forensic sense. It is thus the righteousness which God requires, that complete conformity to His will which brings in the consummated Kingdom of God.

[*] Feine thinks that vv.$^{22-24}$ are interpolated into this passage from another connexion; Achelis thinks the same of vv.$^{20.21.24}$, and B. Weiss of v.$^{22f.}$. These are possible views, but there is not much to substantiate them. Matthew's setting for these verses is as good as Luke's, or even better.

[†] Lk $12^{33f.}$ has the same thought, but the wording is characteristically different—the 'Sell that ye have and give alms' is a feature of the Third Gospel's exaltation of poverty, as in the Beatitudes and Woes (6^{20-26}). It is striking that the two accounts are in almost exact agreement on the essential utterance, 'Where your treasure is, there will your heart be also.' So Paul in Col 3^{2}.

[‡] See Wendt, *Lehre Jesu*, ii. 163–168.

all alike wrong; no less wrong than the life of worldly pride and ambition. Poverty is not righteousness, nor is it even meritorious; men must be provident and self-supporting. The accumulation of material goods, when not carried on by dishonesty, oppression, or disregard of others' needs and rights, may minister to the highest welfare of one's fellow-men.

Still more specifically does Jesus say, in vv.$^{22-24}$,[*] that the Kingdom must be an exclusive aim. Using the physical eye, which illuminates the body, as a figure (cf. Ps 119^{18}, Mk 8^{18}, Lk 24^{31}), He says that the spiritual discernment must be kept clear in order that one may not go astray from the path of highest duty. A divided aim, which endeavours to combine spiritual and material interests, is impossible; one cannot strive for spiritual goods part of the time, and for earthly goods the other part. Special moments of lofty aspiration, of unselfishness, of generosity, come to almost every one; but in Jesus' thought these things will become habitual and supreme in the true Christian. Everything must be made subordinate and contributory to the attainment of righteousness and the realization of the Kingdom.

But what of our material needs—food, clothing, and shelter, means and opportunities for mental and spiritual growth? Must not life be largely a struggle for these earthly, transient things? To this fundamental problem of human existence Jesus gives an explicit answer in vv.$^{25-34}$.[†] It is that God knows these needs of men, and wills to provide for them (v.$^{32f.}$): men should depend upon and trust Him for those things necessary to life. If the Heavenly Father cares for the birds and the flowers, He will certainly care for His higher human creatures. Men, therefore, must not be anxious about these things; they must live trustingly for to-day, leaving to-morrow to God (v.^{34}). And so in the Lord's Prayer He taught them to pray, 'Give us this day the bread suited to our need.' Here again Jesus is setting forth a principle of life, not laying down a precept to be literally applied. No one could suppose Him to advocate a purely hand-to-mouth existence, like that of the animals; the higher well-being of the individual or the race could not be accomplished by such a manner of living. Common-sense supplies the interpretation that Jesus contemplates labour, prudence, and forethought for necessary material things; in general God provides, not the things themselves without effort on men's part, but the way by which with effort men can secure what they need. And it is no life of ease and luxury to which God calls us, but a working, frugal life. What Jesus wishes is that in it we should be free from the distraction and anxiety which come to those who will not put themselves wholly into God's hands and trust Him for everything. Each day as it comes is to be dealt with in the present, leaving the future with God: if we do our best to-day, God will take care of to-morrow (cf. Ro 8^{28}). Why should it not be so? God has a great purpose in the world, which men are to help Him to accomplish; assuredly, He will care for and assist those who accept their task and sincerely strive to perform it.

j. The Treatment of Others.—Mt. 7^{1-12}=Lk $6^{31. 37-42}$ (cf. Lk 11^{9-13}). The main idea of this passage lies in vv.$^{1-5. 12}$ (vv.$^{6. 7-11}$ belonged originally to other connexions), and pertains to the right attitude and conduct towards our fellow-men. The verses, therefore, form a fourth section in Jesus' exposition of the true righteousness, co-ordinate with sections 5^{21-48} 6^{1-18} 6^{19-34}. Their teaching is twofold: men are not to be of a censorious disposition towards one another (vv.$^{1-5}$), and they are to show the same respect, kindness, and helpfulness to others which they themselves would like to receive (v.^{12}). The two teachings contained in vv.$^{6. 7-11}$ are also of interest and importance, but they interrupt the sequence of thought in the Sermon. It is the view of many scholars that the 'Golden Rule' in v.^{12} follows logically upon vv.$^{1-5}$, and not only finishes this section, but in a way forms a closing utterance for the body of the discourse from 5^{21} onward, 7^{13-27} being in the nature of a hortatory conclusion.[*]

Mt 7^{1-5} finds its parallel in Lk 6^{37-42}, the two accounts showing the usual amount of similarity and variation.[†] While the Lukan context gives a somewhat different aspect to the teaching, the substance is the same. Jesus is here setting forth an essential principle of all true righteousness, on the recognition and practice of which depends the realization of the individual and social ideal. This principle requires that men shall not be critical, fault-finding, and flaw-picking in thought or conduct towards one another. The only right attitude is a full, penitent recognition of one's own weaknesses, limitations, failures, and transgressions, such as will keep a man humble, make him sympathetic for others, ready to overlook their faults, and to see their virtues. The duty of the Christian is to measure himself against the standard which Christ has set, and to judge himself severely with respect to his shortcomings, instead of making his own religious ideas and practices the criterion by which he judges and condemns others. A man is a 'hypocrite' (v.^{5}) when, professing a desire to increase goodness in the world, he assumes a censorious attitude towards the faults of others rather than undertakes the improvement of himself first. In the background of this teaching stands the proud, self-righteous Pharisee, with his odious contempt for all who were less punctilious than himself (cf. Mt $23^{4.\,23f.\,27f.}$, Lk 18^{9-14}, Jn 7^{47-49}). Jesus does not mean, of course, that the character and conduct of men should never be matter of criticism by their fellows; this would be to remove one of the most important aids to uprightness in practical experience. In the affairs of life it often becomes necessary for us to judge others, both privately and publicly. Jesus recognizes this fact when He says also in this same discourse, 'By their fruits ye shall know them' (7^{16}, cf. Mt 18^{15-17}). But the teaching, 'Judge not that ye be not judged,' pertains to that unloving, critical attitude of mind and heart which picks out and magnifies the faults, failures, and inconsistencies of others. This is not the spirit of human brotherhood, and the man who has it cannot himself anticipate a loving, forgiving treatment of himself by God.* It is not that God deals with men on a *quid pro quo* basis—that is not to be understood here any more than in the fifth petition of the Lord's Prayer (see above). But the man who does not come to love his fellow-men, and to treat them accordingly, can have no place in a heavenly Kingdom where love is supreme, and where ultimately it will be perfectly realized.

---

[*] The Lukan parallels 11^{34-36} 16^{13} again have the same thought as the Matthæan passage, but with much variation; except that in the verse about the 'two masters' there is a remarkable verbal agreement. The word 'mammon' is a transliteration from the Aramaic מָמוֹנָא, and signifies here the riches which have become an idol to be worshipped and served.

[†] Lk 12^{22-31} furnishes a parallel for Mt 6^{25-33}, but not for v.^{34}, which is found only here in the Gospels; there are good reasons for thinking that this verse belonged originally to the connexion in which it here appears. The phenomena of the parallel passages are as usual: striking likeness in certain clauses, but many important additions, omissions, and variations. Luke's account has obviously undergone adaptation for Gentile use, as seen in his 'ravens' where Matthew has 'the birds of the heaven,' 'God' and 'Father' where Matthew has 'heavenly Father,' 'nations of the world' where Matthew has 'nations'; and instead of Matthew's 'Be not anxious saying, What shall we eat?' Luke's account reads, 'Seek not what ye shall eat . . . neither be ye of doubtful mind.' The word ἡλικίαν in Mt 6^{27} is capable of two different interpretations, and commentators are divided between them. The RV translates, 'Which of you by being anxious [*i.e.* by giving the matter intense, anxious thought] can add one cubit to his stature?' Since this is the clear meaning of the word where it is found elsewhere in this Gospel, Lk 2^{52} 19^{3}, it has been so understood here by the Vulgate, Chrysostom, Augustine, Luther, Calvin, Bengel, Fritzsche, and others. But the cubit was 18 inches or more, which makes this interpretation seem highly improbable, as a very small amount in proportion to the whole is intended in this context. The word may mean 'age' (RVm); and it was not uncommon to think of life in terms of linear measure (cf. Ps 39^{5} 'Behold, thou hast made my days as handbreadths'; also Jn $9^{21. 23}$, He 11^{11}). So that this is the meaning understood by Bleek, Tholuck, Meyer, Achelis, Feine, H. Weiss, Ibbeken, Thayer, B. Weiss, and most modern scholars.

[*] So Neander, Meyer, Kuinöl, Feine, H. Weiss, H. Holtzmann, B. Weiss, and others. Tholuck and Achelis regard v.^{12} as extraneous material in the Sermon, holding that it was probably the closing epitome of some other discourse; similarly Godet. But in Luke also the verse is given in the Sermon, which—together with the fact that logically it is entirely suitable thereto—makes a strong presumptive case that this was its historical connexion. The position in the Sermon which the verse has received in Luke (6^{31}, as though it stood at Mt 5^{42} instead of 7^{12}) is preferred by Bleek, Wendt, and Bacon, but such a displacement in the Matthæan account is not likely.

[†] In Mt $7^{1. 2a}$=Lk 6^{37} we find a similar difference to that in Mt 6^{12} = Lk 11^{4}, the Lukan form avoiding the measure for measure idea which can be read into the Matthæan words; although both accounts strikingly agree in reporting the statement, 'With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured unto you' (Mt 7^{2b}=Lk 6^{38b}, cf. also Mk 4^{24}), a mode of treatment which can be predicated of God only in a qualitative sense, not quantitatively. Lk 6^{37} is in an expanded form, containing three clauses in synonymous parallelism, for the purpose of emphasis: Mt $7^{1. 2a}$ produces the emphasis, but in a somewhat different way. But Lk 6^{38a} is surely an extraneous element in the Lukan account, an authentic and valuable teaching of Jesus regarding generosity coming from some other occasion than the Sermon. The figurative illustration of the particle in the eye, Mt 7^{3-5}= Lk $6^{41f.}$, is given in almost complete verbal agreement by the two reports (see them quoted above, under i. 3). Foreign also to the Sermon is Lk $6^{39. 40}$. The first verse has its parallel in Mt 15^{14}, which is probably its true context, referring to the Pharisees; the second verse has a partial parallel in Mt 10^{24} (cf. Jn 13^{16}), and seems logically related there, but the saying may also have been spoken at some other time more in the Lukan form. With this teaching of Jesus about judgment may be compared Hillel's saying, 'Judge not thy neighbour until thou comest into his place.'

Mt 7^{6} presents a saying which is found only in this Gospel, and which stands in the Sermon only as a result of the compiling process.† It enjoins prudence and good judgment in the dissemination of the Gospel. Truth is sacred, and it must be carefully dealt with. There are wrong times as well as right times for trying to assist others religiously. The Gospel is to be offered only to the receptive, under suitable circumstances, else it will receive rebuff and indignity at unappreciative hands. The dogs and the swine, in the East the most despised of animals (cf. Mt 15^{26}, Lk $15^{15f.}$, Ph 3^{2}, 2 P 2^{22}), are used here to typify those men, whether Gentiles or Jews, who are devoted wholly to material things, and are indifferent to the higher spiritual realm for which God created them. The parallelism in this verse is for no other purpose than to make the teaching impressive, a literary method of which the Sermon contains numerous instances.

In Mt 7^{7-11}=Lk 11^{9-13} we have another section extraneous to the historical discourse, whose presence here seems fortuitous, since it stands in no topical association with its context.* The teaching herein contained is that God is ready and willing to give all His blessings to men, since He is a loving Father who provides—better than any human parent†—for His children. Men, therefore, are to feel free to pray to Him for all things. The thought is similar to that set forth in Mt 6^{25-34}; but there the attention was fixed upon the physical necessities, while here the thought is of all kinds of blessings, spiritual not less than material. The injunction to pray is thrice repeated, 'ask—seek—knock,' without difference of meaning in the several clauses, in order to produce great emphasis. Jesus promises absolutely that our prayers shall be answered by God; the obvious and necessary conditions can be easily supplied from His other teaching. Thus, all prayer must be made with the intent and in the spirit of the Lord's Prayer (Mt 6^{9-13}), for the sole purpose of the Kingdom (Mt 6^{33}), and with full submission to God's will (Mt $26^{39.\,42}$). Our petitions must permit God to answer them in the way which He knows to be best, and our trust in His wisdom, power, and love must be complete.

Mt 7^{12}=Lk 6^{31}, as already noted, closes this section of the Sermon, and in some sense constitutes the capstone of the whole discourse. The *οὖν* which introduces the verse (mistakenly dropped from ℵ*L) seems to mark this general relation. Matthew gives the saying in a fuller, more rounded form than Luke,‡ and adds the clause, 'for this is the law and the prophets.'§ The idea contained in this teaching is closely related to that of ‘loving one’s neighbour as one’s self’; this idea was already formulated in the OT (Lv 19^{18}), and was pronounced by Jesus to be one of the two great commandments comprehending all human duty (Mt 22^{38-40}). St. Paul also followed his Master in the same teaching (Gal 5^{14}). Our verse has come to be known as the ‘Golden Rule,’ which marks the high place that it holds in the Gospel teaching. What it presents, however, is not a precept for literal application everywhere, but a principle for the determination of social conduct. It inculcates a spirit which men are to cultivate towards one another.[*] Jesus wishes by means of it to correct the mood of selfishness and contempt which obstructs the realization of a true human brotherhood. Men are prone to use their fellow-men as *tools* for their own comfort, advancement, or pleasure. Kant gave perfect expression to the higher idea when he wrote, ‘So act as to treat humanity, whether in your own person or in that of another, in every case as an end, never as a means only.’ It is still the rule rather than the exception that those men who, by reason of their wealth, social rank, or public office, are in a position to command others, abuse them by ignoring their personality, disregarding their rights, appropriating the fruits of their labour, withholding from them opportunities for attaining higher manhood, and in other ways treating them like machines or slaves. This condition of present society is essentially un-Christian, and is to be counteracted and transformed by the Gospel. For this achievement the ‘Golden Rule’ can be exceedingly useful, when applied as a principle, with the aid of a well-trained judgment and a consecrated common-sense. Let each man respect the individuality and observe the rights of every other man, let him honour and treat every other man as he in their places would wish to be honoured and treated, let him give such sympathy and assistance to others as he would himself like to receive. In this manner the ‘Golden Rule’ will be fulfilled.[†]

---

* It was thought by Augustine, Fritzsche, Kuinöl, and de Wette, that the return judgment of which this passage speaks is rendered by men, *i.e.* other men will judge you and measure back to you exactly as you judge and measure. This, however, can hardly be the meaning: it rather refers to the judgment of God upon men, both in the future Day of Judgment and in His present treatment of them; so the modern commentators generally.

† So Neander, Bleek, Tholuck(?), Kuinöl, Godet, Achelis, Feine, Wendt, B. Weiss, Bacon, and others. It is the view of Köstlin, Feine, Hilgenfeld, and H. Holtzmann, that this verse as it now appears is Judaized, to make it a polemic against the heathen (cf. above on Mt $5^{18f.}$); reference is made to the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, ix. 5, which reads, 'But let no one eat or drink of your Eucharist except those who have been baptized into the name of the Lord. This was what the Lord referred to when He said "Give not that which is holy unto the dogs."' Ibbeken thinks the verse refers to the use by Christians of heathen tribunals, as in 1 Co 6^{1-4}. Neither of these views is required to explain this teaching, which has an excellent general sense and import.

* So Achelis, Feine, Godet, B. Weiss, Wendt, Bacon, and others. Futile efforts have been made by Chrysostom, Augustine, Luther, Stier, and Tholuck to find a logical relation of these verses to the verses which precede them. Feine, Weizsäcker, H. Holtzmann, and B. Weiss think that Luke has the original setting for the paragraph, which may be true; but it is also possible that in both Gospels this material is detached. In Luke, at any rate, it has received a topical association. A comparison of the two accounts shows practical identity of the first two verses in each: the second two verses in each account vary, but have the same thought; and Luke adds a third clause about the 'egg and the scorpion' (v.^{12}), perhaps to balance the threefold 'ask, seek, knock.' The last verse of each account (Mt 7^{11}=Lk 11^{13}) is quite the same, with two significant exceptions: (*a*) instead of Matthew's *ἀγαθά* Luke has *πνεῦμα ἅγιον*, which Tholuck, Achelis, and even Steinmeyer regard as a gloss, due to the prominence which the Holy Spirit, as the personification of all good things, attained in primitive Christian thought; (*b*) instead of Matthew's *ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς*, Luke has *ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ*, a peculiar expression of which various explanations are given; see Feine, *Jahrb. f. Protest. Theol.* 1885, p. 74; Achelis, *Bergpredigt*, p. 386; H. Holtzmann, *Hand-Comm. ü. d. Synoptiker*, p. 125. The Lukan reading as it stands cannot be original. Some text-witnesses delete the second *ὁ*, but this is only a makeshift. Perhaps the *ἐξ οὐρανοῦ* came in under the influence of the *πνεῦμα ἅγιον*, to indicate the place from which the Spirit was given; and then, subsequently, the *ἐξ οὐρανοῦ* was imperfectly turned to account in connexion with the *ὁ πατήρ*.

† The phrase, 'if ye then, being evil' (*πονηροί*), contrasts men, in their imperfect, selfish, and sinful lives, with God, who is perfect in love and holiness. The argument is *a minore ad majus*: if limited love provides some good things, how much more will absolute love provide?

‡ Mt 7^{12} *πάντα οὖν ὅσα ἐὰν θέλητε ἵνα ποιῶσιν ὑμῖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιεῖτε αὐτοῖς· οὕτως γάρ ἐστιν ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται.* Lk 6^{31} *καὶ καθὼς θέλετε ἵνα ποιῶσιν ὑμῖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ποιεῖτε αὐτοῖς ὁμοίως.* It would be difficult to explain these two divergent forms as coming from a common Greek original; perhaps they represent two lines of transmission, arising from two different translations into Greek of the same brief Aramaic utterance. It is noticeable that in this verse, as in the Beatitudes, the Lord's Prayer, and other portions of the discourse, Matthew gives the sayings of Jesus in a fuller, finer literary form, which in every instance has commended itself to the Christian Church as the better expression of Jesus' thought and spirit.

§ Luke's source did not contain this clause, perhaps for the usual reason that it was too Jewish. The case is the same in Lk 10^{25-28}=Mt 22^{33-40}=Mk 12^{28-31}, where Matthew's clause, 'On these two commandments hangeth the whole law and the prophets,' is entirely absent from Luke's account, and in Mark's account is differently worded, 'There is none other commandment greater than these.' It is not unlikely, therefore, that in this passage, as in many others, the more Jewish First Gospel

k. The Duty of Righteousness.—Mt 7^{13-27}=Lk 6^{43-49} (cf. Lk $13^{24. 27}$). The discourse which has set forth the Divine ideal of life, closes with strong exhortation for its attainment. Jesus solemnly enjoins the duty of righteousness. It is a strenuous undertaking, in which men must follow only trustworthy guides. And this righteousness does not consist in mere profession, but in actually being and doing what God wills.

It must remain a matter of doubt whether the two verses, Mt $7^{13. 14}$, belonged originally to the Sermon. The thought presented by them has no topical connexion with 7^{1-12}, but, on the view that 7^{13-27} is a concluding hortatory section, such a relation could not be required; while this thought is entirely suitable to a portion of the discourse setting forth the duty of righteousness. The only serious argument against the Matthæan position of the verses is that Luke seems to have them in another and an original setting, $13^{23. 24}$; perhaps it can be maintained in reply that these passages are not parallel, but belong to different occasions, and are rightly placed in each of the Gospels.[*] That the gospel demands are lofty, severe, and exclusive, so that to become a member of the Kingdom requires complete self-commitment and an unceasing struggle to attain the ideal, is what Jesus teaches in these verses. The ‘small gate’ and the ‘narrow way’ forcibly express this idea. The figure is perhaps drawn from the Oriental city, to which the Kingdom of God is sometimes likened (cf. He 11^{10} 12^{22}, Rev 21^{2}). The ‘gate’ signifies one’s entrance into the Kingdom as present, and the ‘way’ signifies his earnest life thereafter.[†] Jesus’ statement that ‘few will find their way into the kingdom’ is perhaps best explained out of the circumstances of His ministry, instead of being taken eschatologically as in Luke. It would then refer to the small number of real followers whom Jesus had secured as a result of His work—a fact which must have impressed the disciples, and for which they may well have sought an explanation from Him. His reply was thus along the line of His teaching about the growth of the Kingdom (Mt 13), that time was required to achieve numbers and maturity.[‡] The parallel saying in Lk 13^{24}, which is made by its context (vv.$^{25-30}$) to refer to the number of persons ultimately to be saved, states—not that the whole number will be small, which

---

has better preserved the original saying of Jesus. Of course it cannot be denied as a possibility that the clause in Mt 7^{12} stands there as the product of an apologetic Judaistic retouching (as in Mt $5^{18f.}$), or by misplacement, or through liturgical usage. As for the meaning of Jesus’ words in this connexion, the Golden Rule ‘is the law and the prophets’ in the sense that it states the principle on which the Law and the Prophets tried to build up a real human brotherhood (cf. Ro $13^{9f.}$, Gal 5^{14}). This is true, even though the Law and the Prophets did not fully accomplish their purpose, or even perfectly grasp the ideal towards which they were working. Jesus would emphasize the fact of the continuity of revelation, showing how the Divine ideal had preceded Himself in the world, and that the OT history and teaching were inspired by the same God and with essentially the same truth as constituted His own revelation. It is thus with deliberate intention that He closes the body of His discourse with this statement, which connects significantly with the words used to introduce the main argument, ‘Think not that I came to destroy the law or the prophets: I came not to destroy, but to fulfil’ (Mt 5^{17}).

[*] See esp. O. Holtzmann, *Leben Jesu* (1901), p. 189.

[†] Sayings similar to this of Mt 7^{12} are found in pre-Christian and post-Christian Jewish writings, and also among Greek, Roman, and Oriental peoples, showing that this principle of life was not first formulated, or exclusively formulated, by Jesus. This does not impugn Jesus’ originality or authority, but indicates that truth and the desire for goodness are innate in man (cf. Ac 17^{22-31}). Jesus, however, so changed the wording of this principle as to give it a new force and sphere, for He stated it—not negatively, as it everywhere else appears—but *positively*, insisting upon that loving service to others which is peculiar to the Gospel. Legalism says, ‘Thou shalt not’ do this and that—a system of repression; the Gospel of Life says, ‘Thou shalt’ do countless good and helpful things—a system of development. The difference is like that between the false and the true child-nurture: the false method says constantly, ‘Don’t do this, don’t do that’; the true method fills the child’s mind with lovely and useful things to do, so that the child will grow in goodness and service. Jewish forms of the Golden Rule may be seen in To 4^{15} ‘That which thou hatest, do to no one’; also in the saying attributed to Hillel, ‘What thou hatest thyself, that do not thou to another: this is the whole of the law, all the rest is only comment upon it’ (Bab. *Shab.* f. 31. 1). The non-Jewish forms are numerous; Isocrates wrote, "Ἃ πάσχοντες ὑφ’ ἑτέρων ὀργίζεσθε, ταῦτα τοῖς ἄλλοις μὴ ποιεῖτε; the Stoic maxim was, ‘Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris’; and in Confucius we read, ‘Do not to others what you would not wish done to yourself’ (Legge, *Chinese Classics*, i. 191 f.). Other parallels have been collected by Wünsche and Wetstein. See literature cited in Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*² (1897), p. 142 f.

[*] This is the view of Neander, Tholuck, Achelis, and all who defend the unity of Matthew’s discourse; while Mt $7^{13. 14}$ is regarded as material extraneous to the Sermon by Feine, Godet, B. Weiss, and others. A comparison of the Matthæan and Lukan passages shows that Matthew as usual has the longer and more literary form, while Luke gives much the same idea in briefer form and different words. In the former the figures are the ‘gate’ and the ‘way,’ in the latter it is the ‘door.’ The final clause of each passage is strikingly varied: Matthew reads, καὶ ὀλίγοι εἰσὶν οἱ εὑρίσκοντες αὐτήν, while Luke reads, ὅτι πολλοί, λέγω ὑμῖν, ζητήσουσιν εἰσελθεῖν καὶ οὐκ ἰσχύουσιν. According to Luke, the statement was made by Jesus in reply to a specific request from some one, ‘Lord, are they few that be saved?’ and after the close of the Galilæan ministry when Jesus was journeying to Jerusalem. Then what follows in the Lukan account (13^{25-30}) makes this question refer to the Final Judgment. But in Matthew the saying does not appear to be eschatological; nor does the statement that ‘there are few who find the narrow way’ appear suitable to the Sermon, since at this time Jesus’ ministry was meeting with large success—much more suitable would it have been after the disappointed withdrawal of the Galilæan multitude, when in sorrowful isolation and rejection Jesus was going up to Jerusalem for the cross. Luke’s position of the saying may therefore be better than that of the First Gospel, while the original form and intent of the saying may have been better preserved by Matthew.

[†] ὅτι is read at the beginning of v.^{14} by nearly all modern editors and commentators, on the authority of ℵB and other important witnesses. τί, which is preferred by Lachmann, Tregelles, Meyer, and Achelis, has strong secondary attestation.

[‡] Similarly Tholuck, Achelis, and others.

could not be true on any possible view of Jesus' teaching or of the world—but that 'many will fail.' If the saying is authentic in this form (it may have become modified when an eschatological meaning was read into it), Jesus is more likely to have intended it as a practical admonition than as an omniscient disclosure of the outcome of the Final Judgment. It is worthy of note that we find in Mt 7^{14} the significant term ζωή to denote the full, blessed existence which comes to him who does God's will. This word, so common in the Gospel of John (1^{4} $3^{15f. 36}$ $5^{24. 26. 29}$ $6^{27. 33. 35. 51}$ 10^{10} *et al.*) occurs but rarely in this sense in the Synoptic Gospels (cf. Mt 19^{16}).

The next paragraph in the Sermon, as it appears in Mt 7^{15-20}=Lk 6^{43-45}, quite surely belongs as a whole to the historical discourse.* Since it is the duty of all men to attain righteousness, it becomes a matter of the utmost importance that men shall choose true teachers who will teach them what true righteousness is, and how it is to be attained. The false teachers † against whom He warns them are all those morally blind and unworthy individuals who assume to guide men into the Kingdom of God. Outstanding representatives of this class were those scribes and Pharisees of Jesus' day whom He described in the severe language of Mt 23; doubtless He had them in mind—blind guides (Mt 15^{14}) and hypocrites, unfit for the task which they performed of teaching the people religion.‡ If this was the explicit and primary reference of Jesus' saying in v.^{15}, there is no reason why it should not implicitly refer to other incompetent and bad teachers such as appeared in the early years of Christianity. Any one who assumes to teach religion and morals without himself living the upright life comes within that class against which Jesus here gives warning. And whether they are bad or good, false or true teachers, can be known by their 'fruits,' *i.e.* by their character and their service. If they manifest the 'fruit of the Spirit' as St. Paul describes it in Gal 5^{22-26}, they will be trustworthy teachers and guides. §

That Jesus has in mind the practical manifestation of righteousness in thought and conduct is proved by the verse which immediately follows this paragraph, Mt 7^{21}, in which He says that only those persons shall enter the Kingdom of Heaven who *do* God's will. Jesus neither here nor elsewhere put the emphasis upon creed apart from character, which the Church has done from the 2nd cent. until our own. His aim was to make individual men and a human brotherhood, not a system of theology. Love, mercy, and peace, purity, trust, and helpfulness, were the tests of goodness which Jesus established (Mt 5^{3}–7^{12} 25^{31-46}). Inasmuch as He came for the express purpose of making God's will known, and in His words, deeds, and character did make God's will manifest to men, He can only mean that men must do and be what He has thus taught them. Luke's form of the saying 6^{46} is therefore equivalent to Matthew's, although so differently worded.* As was seen in considering the third petition of the Lord's Prayer, 'Thy will be done' (Mt 6^{10}), the will of God is the one thing to be accomplished; for this Jesus lived (Jn 6^{38}), and for this He would have us live (Mt 12^{50} 21^{28-31}). His statement that only such shall 'enter the Kingdom of Heaven' seems to be an intentional echo and return to the words of Mt 5^{20}.

The following two verses, Mt $7^{22. 23}$, stand here in all probability as a result of compilation. Luke gives them in another connexion, which appears original ($13^{26f.}$); and since they refer to the Last Judgment, they belong, with Jesus' other eschatological teaching, to the closing months of His ministry. One needs only to consider carefully the time, circumstances, audience, and purpose of the Sermon to see that these verses present an idea, and sound a note, which do not belong to this occasion and discourse.† Nevertheless, they contain authentic teaching of Jesus, and teaching of profound meaning. The thought is analogous to that of Mt 7^{21} in affirming that nothing shall admit to the Kingdom but the actual attainment of righteousness (cf. Lk 10^{20}). The profession of Christianity, the preaching of Christianity, even the production of some good results for the Christian cause, shall not in themselves alone secure salvation, for the criterion of judgment in the great Judgment Day shall be a genuine realization of God's will in and through one's self. And Luke adds (13^{28-30}), what is germane to this connexion, that 'there are last which shall be first, and there are first which shall be last' (cf. Mt $8^{11f.}$ 19^{30}); *i.e.* some who, like the Pharisees of Jesus' day, had had a great reputation for piety, and had been looked upon as models of righteousness, shall be shown to have been selfish, vain, and hypocritical, unworthy to enter the Kingdom of God; while other obscure and once despised persons shall find a welcome there (cf. Lk 18^{9-14}).‡

And, finally, the duty of righteousness is most impressively set forth at the close of the whole discourse by the parable of the Two House-builders (Mt 7^{24-27}=Lk 6^{47-49}).* That this piece belongs to the Sermon, and forms its remarkable conclusion (as the οὖν in v.^{24} suggests), can be considered certain. The parable follows logically upon v.^{21}, enlarging and enforcing the teaching therein. It is a saying of tremendous strength. The life which Jesus has depicted in the Sermon as the ideal life is wonderfully beautiful, inspiring, and attractive to every sincere soul. But men were likely to recognize and to reverence this ideal without achieving it, since that is the earnest and arduous labour of a lifetime. Hence Jesus meets them with the solemn affirmation that the duty of actually doing what He teaches is imperative; that it shall be of no avail for them to have listened to His words, if they do not straightway go and live the life which as God's will He has described to them.

---

* For v.^{15} there is no parallel in Luke, but there is no reason to question its authenticity, and it is not foreign to this connexion. For v.^{19} also there is no parallel in Luke; it may be a verbal reproduction of Mt 3^{10}, perhaps imported into this context in transmission because of the similarity of the figure and the theme, cf. Mt 15^{13}, Jn $15^{2. 6}$ (so Feine, Wendt, and others). Again, v.^{20} is a repetition of v.^{16a}, perhaps therefore a subsequent expansion, resumptive of the main thought after the interpolation of v.^{19}. And, finally, Lk 6^{45} is clearly extraneous to the Sermon, having perhaps its historical setting at Mt $12^{34f.}$ (so Feine against Wendt). The original portion of this paragraph may thus have been Mt 7^{15-18}=Lk $6^{43f.}$. The two reports have the same idea in the same figure, but are peculiarly variant in manner of expression; it is not likely that they started from a common Greek translation.

† The term 'prophet' in both OT and NT denotes primarily the teacher of religious truth and duty, and has no other import in this passage.

‡ So Tholuck, Achelis, Feine, Ibbeken, B. Weiss. The figure of wolves and sheep was a common one among a pastoral people (cf. Is 11^{6} 65^{25}, Mt 10^{16}, Jn 10^{12}, Ac 20^{29}), but only here in the Bible is found the idea of the wolf in sheep's clothing, as in Æsop's *Fables*.

§ There was never any justification for the Roman Catholic view, adopted by Calvin and sometimes promulgated even by Luther, that the καρποί in these verses signified primarily, indeed exclusively, sound doctrines. It is, of course, true that those who teach false doctrines cannot be safe guides, but the Bible rightly interpreted is the criterion of sound doctrines, not the pronouncements of any ecclesiastical organization past, present, or future.

* Mt 7^{21} Οὐ πᾶς ὁ λέγων μοι Κύριε κύριε εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἀλλ' ὁ ποιῶν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρός μου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. Lk 6^{46} Τί δέ με καλεῖτε Κύριε κύριε, καὶ οὐ ποιεῖτε ἃ λέγω;

† So Feine, Godet, Ibbeken, Weizsäcker, Wendt, and others. The parallel sayings, Mt $7^{22f.}$=Lk $13^{26f.}$, give the same idea, with wide divergence of expression. It may be true, as Ibbeken thinks, that the three acts named in Mt 7^{22} sound improbable on Jesus' lips (certainly they are foreign to the Sermon), and they may therefore reflect the experiences of the Apostolic age. But Lk 13^{26} 'We did eat and drink in thy presence, and thou didst teach in our streets,' is also not without difficulty, because so insipid and un-Jewish. The better explanation is that the Matthæan verses are authentic, but belong to the close of the ministry; while Lk 13^{26} has been universalized. In the second verse of each passage, Mt 7^{23}=Lk 13^{27}, there is identity of thought, with some variation of language. The phrase, 'Depart from me, ye that work iniquity,' is a quotation from Ps 6^{8} (cf. Mt $13^{31f.}$ 25^{41}); its two Greek forms here, ἀποχωρεῖτε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν ἀνομίαν (Mt.) and ἀπόστητε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, πάντες ἐργάται ἀδικίας (Lk.), present an interesting minute problem of translation and transmission.

‡ Mt 7^{21-23} has a value also for determining the Christological conceptions of the Synoptic Gospels. See particularly Schlatter in *Greifswalder Studien* (1895), pp. 83–105. This passage is only one of a number where Jesus appears as claiming the Divine prerogative of Judge at the Final Judgment (Mt 25^{31-46} $10^{32f.}$ 11^{27-30}, Mk 8^{38}, Lk 20^{18}; cf. Jn 5^{27} 12^{48}, Ac 17^{31}, Ro 2^{16}, 2 Co 5^{10}), a function appropriate to the Messiah. It would require a radical treatment of the Gospel narratives to explain this idea of Jesus as Judge as an exaggerated Apostolic appreciation of Him. The uniqueness of Christ in mission, person, teaching, and career—in other words, His Divinity—cannot well be denied by a serious historical interpretation of the Gospels; and when this uniqueness is recognized, it is not difficult to admit Jesus' office as Judge.

5. THE RELATION OF THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT TO JESUS' TEACHING AS A WHOLE.—The teaching contained in the Sermon on the Mount was given in the middle portion of Jesus' Galilæan ministry, when enthusiastic multitudes were hearing Him and many followers attended Him. It was in this period that He gave the general teaching about the Kingdom of God—what it consisted in, what it brought to men, what it required of men, what relation He Himself sustained to it, and what its future was to be. The Sermon is an epitome of this general teaching, condensing the whole into a brief statement and exposition of the ideal of life, given for the practical purpose of a simple guide to right thought and conduct. It showed the multitude what He as a teacher of religion had to present as truth and duty, with which they could readily contrast their own and the current ideals.

Jesus confined His teaching entirely to the religio-ethical field; and in this field He dealt with essential truths, facts, and principles rather than with the speculative mysteries of the universe or with the casuistry of ethics. Consequently, He taught again and again the same things, to different persons, under different circumstances, and in different ways and lights. A close organic relation unites all Jesus' teachings, each involving the other, and all together illuminating the path of human existence. The Gospel was so brief and simple that it had not to be committed to writing like the philosophy and the ethics of the schools. Common men could comprehend and communicate Jesus' teaching. His was a universal message which all could grasp; it presented an ideal to which all could aspire and attain.

As has been abundantly seen, the Sermon on the Mount sets forth Jesus' conception of what men should be and do as members of the Kingdom which He came to establish in the world (not as a new movement entirely, but as giving higher content and greater impulse to a movement which God had inaugurated with the very creation of the human race). The true righteousness is determined by God; as He is the source of all life, so it is He who determines what that life shall be. Ethical obligations rest therefore upon religious truths. The ideal of a man's life is to be derived from God, and for its realization he is responsible to God. The aim of man's life is to achieve that personal character and service which fulfil the true manhood, after the pattern of Christ, and to advance as far as possible the real brotherhood of all men as sons of the one common Heavenly Father. The Kingdom of God in its Divine aspect is the purpose, love, and power of God which determine and accomplish this ideal condition; in its human collective aspect it is the company of those who have earnestly set about the realization, in themselves and among men, of this Divine ideal. So that Jesus can sum up all duty, individual and social, in the one injunction to 'Seek supremely the kingdom of God, and the righteousness which he wills' (Mt 6^{33}, Lk 12^{31}; cf. Mt 22^{34-40}). And this righteousness is primarily an internal characteristic; it is apprehended *within* the man. The religio-ethical ideal which God implants in every human heart must be heeded by each man, and his life must become conformed to it. Created by God in His own image, men must attain to God-likeness; and this attainment is, first of all, the recognition of and obedience to the ideal of life which God furnishes in the soul, moved and guided by the teaching and example of Jesus. Those persons will achieve perfect self-realization who enter into complete communion with God, hearing His voice, and doing His will as revealed within themselves and in and through Christ.

The absolute assurance of Jesus that He can reveal the will of God to men, and that this is His mission in the world, is a guarantee of the trustworthiness of His teaching. If the Sermon on the Mount contains few explicit statements concerning the person of Christ such as abound in the Fourth Gospel, it is none the less true that the implications of the discourse are equally high. The Divine personality, knowledge, and authority of Jesus are the foundation on which the discourse rests. The passages, Mt $5^{11.17}$ 7^{21-23}, only state what all the teaching involves, that He who speaks these words is 'the Son of God' in the highest sense, sustaining to Him a unique relation, and rendering to men a unique service. The value of the Sermon cannot therefore be overestimated, and the historical study or critical treatment of this material should never dominate or obscure the fact that this teaching is a Divine revelation of the will of God for men which is forthwith to be accomplished upon the earth.

LITERATURE.—For the quotations from, and allusions to, the Sermon on the Mount in the extra-canonical Christian literature of the first three centuries, see esp. Resch, *Aussercanonische Paralleltexte z. d. Evangelien*, Teil 1 (1893), pp. 62–114; Teil 2 (1895), pp. 62–106. For ideas and expressions akin to those of the Sermon on the Mount in Rabbinic literature, see Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*^{2} (1897); Wünsche, *Neue Beiträge z. Erläuterung d. Evangelien aus Talmud u. Midrasch* (1878); Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, Bd. 1 (1898) [Eng. tr. 1902].

From the Patristic period the only specific separate treatment of the Sermon on the Mount is by Augustine, *de Sermone Domini in Monte* (*Op.*, ed. Bened. vol. iii.) [Eng. tr. in 'Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers,' pp. 63]; it is an important work of interpretation, containing much that is of permanent value. Elsewhere in his writings Augustine dealt further with the Sermon, presenting in some respects different views. Trench collected all this material and prepared a digest of it, which he published under the title, *Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount, drawn from the Writings of St. Augustine* (3rd ed. rev. 1869). Useful also are the interpretations of Origen, *Comm. on Matthew* (*Op.*, ed. Lommatzsch, vols. iii. iv.); Jerome, *Comm. on Matthew* (*Op.*, ed. Vallarsi, vol. vii.); Chrysostom, *Homilies on Matthew* (*Op.*, ed. Montfaucon, vol. vii.); Hilarius Pictaviensis, *Comm. on Matthew* (*Op.*, ed. Oberthür, vol. vii.); the work of the Auctor *Operis Imperfecti*; and the very brief matter in the *Comm. on the Four Gospels* by Theophylact and Euthymius Zigabenus.

From the Reformation period the important interpretation by Luther is first to be named, *Comm. on Matthew* (*Works*, ed. Walch, vol. vii.); and after him, Calvin in his *Harmony of Matthew, Mark, and Luke* (*Works*, ed. 1835–1838, vols. i. ii.). The three Roman Catholic works of most value are the *Comm. on the Four Gospels* by Maldonatus, Jansenius, and Cornelius a Lapide. The extensive but unimportant post-Reformation literature can be seen in full in Tholuck, *Die Bergrede Christi*^{5}, pp. 30–40 [Eng. tr. pp. 41–49].

The Modern period has provided many works upon the Sermon on the Mount, some of them of great value. The standard work upon the subject for the past seventy years has been that of Tholuck, *Die Bergrede Christi* (1st ed. 1833; 5th ed. Gotha, 1872, pp. 484 [Eng. tr. from 4th Germ. ed., Edinburgh, 1860, pp. 443]), and this still remains the most valuable volume on the Sermon, although a portion of the contents is now antiquated. Next in extent and importance is the equally elaborate work of Achelis, *Die Bergpredigt* (Bielefeld, 1875, pp. 492). Other works of scientific character, but smaller dimensions, are: Feine, 'Die Texte der Bergpredigt bei Matthäus u. bei Lukas,' in *Jahrbücher für Protestantische Theologie*, 1885, pp. 1–85; Steinmeyer, *Die Rede des Herrn auf dem Berge* (Berlin, 1885, pp. 156); Ibbeken, *Die Bergpredigt Jesus* (2nd ed., Einbeck, 1890, pp. 216); Hugo Weiss (Rom. Cath.), *Die Bergpredigt Christi* (Freiburg, 1892, pp. 111); Grawert, *Die Bergpredigt nach Matthäus* (Marburg, 1900, pp. 77); Heinrici, *Die Bergpredigt, quellenkritisch untersucht* (Leipzig, 1900, pp. 81), and a second part dealing with the interpretation is promised; Bacon, *Sermon on the Mount* (New York, 1902, pp. 258).—Homiletic treatments of the Sermon are numerous in German, French, and English. An anonymous work, *Die Bergpredigt* (Gütersloh, 1881, pp. 48); Grüllich, *Die Bergpredigt des Herrn Jesu Christi* (Meissen, 1886, pp. 148); Harnisch, *Die Bergpredigt des Herrn* (Breslau, 1901, pp. 35); Kaiser, *Die Bergpredigt des Herrn* (Leipzig, 1901), pp. 521; Monneron, *Le Sermon sur la Montagne* (Lausanne, 1889, pp. 412); J. B. Bousset, *Le Sermon sur la Montagne* (Paris, 1900, pp. 150 [Eng. tr., New York, 1900, pp. 144]). The best English work is by C. Gore, *The Sermon on the Mount* (London, 1896, pp. 218); it contains much, however, that is only of local ecclesiastical interest; further, W. B. Carpenter, *The Great Charter of Christ* (London, 1895, pp. 300). Of special importance are the works of B. Weiss, *Meyer-Kommentar über das Matthäusevangelium* (Göttingen, 1898), and of H. Holtzmann, *Hand-Commentar über die Synoptiker* (3rd ed., Freiburg, 1900); other commentaries upon Matthew (Meyer, Morison, Keil, Broadus, Kübel, Bruce, *et al.*), Luke (Godet, Plummer), and both Matthew and Luke (Bengel, Bleek, Olshausen, Ewald, Fritzsche, Kuinöl, Nösgen, *et. al.*) are of varying usefulness.

---

* See the text of both passages quoted above under i. 3. The Lukan form of the parable is conspicuously secondary in character; the Jewish phraseology is largely removed, and the description is generalized so as to be adapted to any locality. Matthew, on the other hand, gives a faithful picture of the conditions of house-building in the wadis of Galilee. Again, also, the literary superiority belongs to the First Gospel.

Literature upon special portions and aspects of the Sermon has been cited in the footnotes. C. W. VOTAW.

NEW TESTAMENT TIMES.—

Introduction.
i. Distribution of the Jewish Population in the Holy Land.
ii. Languages.
iii. Political Constitution.
iv. Social Conditions.
v. Parties.
vi. Education and Culture.
vii. Art and Literature.
viii. The Jews of the Diaspora.
Literature.

The Advent of Christ falls within the penultimate period of that era of Israelitish history which begins with the Return of the Jews from Babylon (B.C. 538) and ends with the Fall of Jerusalem (A.D. 70). From both an external and an internal point of view, this era marks a far-reaching transformation of the conditions of Jewish life. At the outset, Judæa, which was not quite the same in extent as the ancient kingdom of Judah, forms a small province of the Persian, and afterwards of the Greek Empire. The population, at first scanty and poor, gradually increases, and, under the orderly arrangements of the Law, attains to a certain measure of prosperity. But internal party-strife consumes its strength, and, under Antiochus Epiphanes, reaches such a height that this Seleucid monarch, in the pride of his Greek culture, but with political shortsightedness, forms the resolution of entirely rooting out the proper Jewish religion. This period of extreme danger is unexpectedly followed by a brilliant revival of the Jewish State, which recalls the flourishing period of pre-exilic history, and which struck the people themselves in this light. The nation shakes itself free from the foreign yoke, and the Hasmonæan princes not only become high priests, but finally assume the title of 'king.' This glory, however, is of short duration, and the Jewish people are rudely awakened from their dream. The internal dissensions that followed the death of queen Alexandra, hasten the intervention of the Romans, and lead to the conquest of Jerusalem by Pompey (B.C. 63). The Romans do not, however, destroy the Jewish State, but allow it to continue under a variety of changing forms, until at last the perpetual discontent of the Jews leads to the outbreak of the desperate war for freedom, which issued in the destruction of the State and the Temple.

From the spiritual point of view, this period marks the development of *Judaism* in opposition to the national life and the religion of the pre-exilic period. The deeper foundation of this is found in the remarkable recasting which the Jewish spirit underwent during the Exile. Nowhere else in the history of mankind is there an instance of a people being transformed in so wonderful and radical a fashion as the Jews in the course of their captivity in Babylon. They left Babylon a body whose true life lay not in the actual state of things, but in future expectations and in a world of cultus-notions created out of recollections of the past. To the actual world they sought to accommodate themselves upon certain abstract principles, and, when this attempt failed, they withdrew entirely into that spiritual world which was constructed wholly according to those dogmatic principles. They found their support in the Messianic expectation, for the sake of which they submitted to the burdensome prescriptions of the Law, which were intended to shield them from the heathen impurity of the world, and thereby render them worthy to hail the advent of the Messianic glory. Yet it is not to be overlooked, in this connexion, that the noblest spirits in the Jewish community, especially during the earlier periods of the post-exilic era, filled those outward forms with a rich inward content. There still survived in them the pure prophetic spirit, and the ideas created by men like Jeremiah and Deutero-Isaiah; nay, the writings which emanated from this period, such as the Psalms and the Book of Job, touch us almost more nearly than the writings of those prophets, because the ideas contained in them have found simpler expression and are less closely bound up with the historical form. But the conditions under which the Jews lived seldom permitted a lengthened enjoyment of this contemplative life. Not only were they disturbed in their rest by contact with the heathen world, but even amongst themselves there were men of a different disposition, whose recollections turned rather to their pre-exilic forefathers, and who, with a stronger sense of actualities, plunged vigorously into the relations of life, and sought to help themselves. Between them and the 'quiet in the land' there grew up an ever-increasing opposition, which may be regarded as the moving factor in the post-exilic history. Through these conflicts with opposition without and within, not only was the stricter Judaism disturbed, but it was driven also to the discussion of the great religious problems and to new developments. The fruits of these spiritual struggles may be seen in the entirely new conception of the state of man after death and in the transformation of the Messianic hope, which in the Apocalyptic literature seeks to free itself from national limitations and takes a start in the direction of universalism. It may be safely concluded that, in this movement, contact with foreign forms of thought was not without importance—primarily contact with Parsism, secondarily with the Greek world.

i. DISTRIBUTION OF THE JEWISH POPULATION IN THE HOLY LAND.—Leaving out of account meanwhile those Israelites who were scattered in various lands, the Jewish population was at first confined to *Judæa* proper, from which the Israelites derived their now universally current appellation (Gr. Ἰουδαῖοι, Germ. 'Juden,' Eng. 'Jews'). The land taken possession of by the returning exiles was considerably smaller in the southern direction than in pre-exilic times. Whereas formerly Beersheba was regarded as the southern limit, the part of Judæa that lay to the south had been taken possession of during the Exile by the Edomites, and the post-exilic community was at first far too weak to drive back the intruders.[*] The boundary between this New-Edom and Judæa was formed in the 2nd cent. B.C. by the town of Beth-ẓur, and this was, in all probability, approximately the division between the respective territories also at an earlier period. According to Neh 6^{2}, the original N.W. boundary appears to have been the Plain of Ono (*biḳʿath ʾÔnō*, probably the modern *Kefr-ʿânâ*). But at a later period the Samaritans, who lived at constant feud with the Jews, must have got possession of three places inhabited by Jews, namely Lydda, Ramathaim, and Aphærema (1 Mac 11^{34}). In the Maccabæan period, however, Judæa underwent considerable expansion. The three places just named were taken from the Samaritans and restored to the Jews as early as the time of Jonathan. Afterwards the boundary was extended still farther to the north, for, according to Josephus (*BJ* III. iii. 5; *Ant.* XIV. iii. 4), the N. boundary of Judæa ran by Borkaos (prob. the modern *Berkît*) in the hill-country and Koreæ (now *Ḳurâwa*) in the Jordan Valley. The country in the south inhabited by the Edomites, which now bore the name *Idumæa*, was conquered by John Hyrcanus. As it was originally Israelitish land, the inhabitants were compelled to adopt the Law and submit to circumcision. Accordingly, from that time onwards (in conformity with the prescription of Dt $23^{8f.}$), they were regarded as Jews, although they continue to be called Idumæans. That they also regarded themselves as genuine Jews is evident, for instance, from the words attributed to them by Josephus (*BJ* IV. iv. 4, *τῶν πατρίων ἱερῶν . . . τῆς κοινῆς πατρίδος*), but of course their foreign origin could not be wholly forgotten.[†] On the other hand, in the cities on the Mediterranean coast, which had only transitory periods of subjection to the Jews, the population was preponderatingly heathen, although considerable Jewish minorities existed in them. Only in Joppa (*Jaffa*) were the Jews in the majority, this city having continued after the death of Herod to be united with Judæa. During the war for freedom it played, accordingly, a prominent part, and had to be twice captured by the Romans (Jos. *Ant.* VII. xi. 4; *BJ* II. xviii. 10, III. ix. 2).

To the north of Judæa lay *Samaria*, which stretched as far as the Plain of Jezreel. The population of this district sprang partly from the ancient Israelites, but had received a strong intermixture through the heathen peoples who were settled here by the Assyrian conquerors (cf. 2 K $17^{24ff.}$). In course of time these heathen elements were absorbed by the Israelitish remnants, but the ill-will shown by the Samaritans towards the returning Jews kept the latter from ever forgetting the impure origin of their northern neighbours. Matters came to an open breach when the Samaritans built a temple of their own upon Mt. Gerizim, and thus renounced all connexion with the community at Jerusalem. It is true that they, equally with the Jews, acknowledged the Law, but the breach remained irreparable, and the Samaritans continued excluded from the further development of Judaism. The contempt of the Jews which found vent in the nickname 'Cuthæans' (Jos. *Ant.* IX. xiv. 3, XI. iv. 4, and in the Talmud), and which finds very sharp expression on the part even of the otherwise mild Ben Sira (Sir $50^{25f.}$ 'Two nations my soul abhorreth, and *the third is no people*: the inhabitants of Seir and Philistia, and *the foolish nation that dwelleth in Sichem*'), was repaid by the Samaritans with bitter hate. This manifested itself at times in the form of attacks upon the pilgrims journeying to Jerusalem, who, in consequence, frequently preferred to take the long roundabout way by the east of the Jordan (Lk 9^{52}, Mk 10^{1}; Jos. *Ant.* XX. vi. 1). The destruction of the Gerizim temple by John Hyrcanus made no change in these relations, but rather embittered the feelings of the Samaritans still more.

As to *Galilee*, we learn from 1 Mac 5 that in the course of the post-exilic period Jews had settled in it, but that during the first half of the 2nd cent. B.C. these were still so few that they could not hold their own against the heathen population, and were consequently brought by Simon to Jerusalem. It was not until the time of Aristobulus I., as Schürer (*GJV*^{3} i. 275 f.) was the first to prove, that this portion of the land and its inhabitants, regarding whose nationality we have unfortunately no more precise information, were compelled on the same ground as the Idumæans to adopt the Law (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. xi. 3). It is extremely probable, however, that there were further settlements of Jews of purer birth in these fertile districts, so that they became more completely Judaized. It is characteristic in this respect that Judith (8^{19}) speaks of 'our fathers,' *i.e.* the ancient Israelites. At the time of Christ the land of Galilee was essentially Jewish, and had its Pharisees and scribes (Lk 7^{36}, Mt 8^{19}), as well as its synagogues (Mt 12^{9}, Lk 4^{16} 7^{5}). The designation 'half-Jews' is never applied to the Galilæans as it is to the Idumæans.[*] It may be added that the Judaizing of Galilee embraced only the southern portion of it, for Ḳedesh, lying to the west of Lake Ḥûleh, marked the boundary between the land inhabited by Jews and the territory of the Tyrians.[†]

A similar condition of things prevailed also in the country to the *east of the Jordan*. Here, too, there had been numerous settlements of Jews, who, however, were so hard pressed by the heathen that Judas Maccabæus brought them to Jerusalem (1 Mac 5^{45}). But at a later period the middle portion of the trans-Jordanic tract was conquered by Alexander Jannæus, and the Law imposed upon its inhabitants for the same reason as in the case of the Idumæans (cf. Jos. *Ant.* XIII. xv. 4). As the boundaries of *Peræa* (עֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן), the district inhabited by the Jews, Josephus gives: Pella on the north, Philadelphia on the east, and Machærus on the south. Considerable tracts, however, of the trans-Jordanic country belonged to the Hellenistic cities, which were specially numerous here, and in which the Jews constituted only a minority. Also in the northern portion (Batanæa, Gaulanitis, Auranitis, and Trachonitis) the population was half-heathen half-Jewish (Jos. *BJ* III. iii. 5 f.). But the Jewish element was strengthened by the Babylonian Jews whom Herod transplanted here in order to combat the plague of robbers (Jos. *Ant.* XVII. ii. 13).

The task which, since the time of Ezra, had been assigned to strict Jews—the task of maintaining a complete isolation from the heathen world—was thus an extremely difficult one; for not only were they surrounded on all sides by the heathen, but Hellenistic cities intruded as *enclaves* in the midst of the Jewish country itself. Moreover, the rapid development of commerce brought the Jews into close contact with foreigners, while, finally, the foreign rule naturally introduced many non-Jewish elements into the land. The attractive influence which Greek culture exercised over the Jews is shown by the history of events immediately preceding the Maccabæan era; and even the Hasmonæans who originally came forward to oppose the ethnicizing of the Jews, were afterwards increasingly attracted by Hellenism, so that Aristobulus I. actually received the surname of Φιλέλλην ('friend of the Greeks'). Herod the Great, too, in spite of his essentially barbarian nature, sought to pose as a patron of Greek culture, surrounded himself with Greek orators and writers, had his sons educated at Rome, and made his appearance as a pure Greek in the Hellenistic cities that were subject to him. Nay, even in Jerusalem, to the scandal of the Jews, he caused theatres, circuses, and other Greek buildings to be erected. The same course was pursued by his successors. Tiberias, for instance, was a city with a perfectly pronounced Greek stamp, which may account for the fact that Jesus never visited it. The maintaining of Jewish uniqueness unimpaired was, we repeat, a very difficult task; much more difficult in Palestine than for the Jews of the Diaspora, who found themselves in unequivocal opposition to their environment.

---

[*] On Neh $11^{25ff.}$ cf. now, above all, E. Meyer, *Entstehung des Judentums*, 106 f., 114 ff.

[†] Josephus says of Herod that, as an Idumæan, he was only half a Jew (*Ant.* XIV. xii. 2). On the other hand, when Agrippa I. once felt hurt by the epithet 'foreigner' in Dt 17^{15}, the people, whom he had gained over by his friendly offices, cried out, 'Thou art our brother' (Meg. *Ṣôṭā* vii. 8).

[*] Quite remarkable is the severe judgment on Galilee attributed to Joḥanan b. Zaccai (Jerus. *Shabbath* 15*d*): 'Galilee, Galilee, thou hatest the Law, therefore thou shalt yet find employment among robbers.'

[†] Cf. Buhl, *GAP* 72.

ii. LANGUAGES.—The language of the Jews who returned to Palestine from Babylon was *Old Hebrew.* But even during the Persian domination *Aramaic,* which was then the language of commerce and diplomacy, began to force its way among the Jews as with the neighbouring peoples. The earliest traces of this are found in the extracts in the Book of Ezra drawn from an Aramaic historical writing. The Book of Daniel, composed in the 2nd cent. B.C., is written partly in Aramaic. At the time of Christ the ordinary speech of the people had come to be Aramaic, as is evident not only from the New Testament, but from various cultus terms used by Josephus, and from statements contained in the older Jewish literature. The necessary consequence of this change was the custom of having the passages of Scripture which were read in the synagogue followed by an Aramaic translation—a custom which the Mishna presupposes as an ancient inheritance. The Aramaic spoken by the Jews was a dialect of the Western Aramaic, the pronunciation of which, moreover, differed somewhat in different parts of the country, varying again amongst the Samaritans as compared with the Jews.*

The Old Hebrew language yielded, however, only gradually to the Aramaic idiom, and, before it disappeared, it developed a final species, the so-called *New Hebrew.* Even after men had begun to write in Aramaic, Hebrew writings were still composed; *e.g.* the Book of Chronicles (*c.* 300 B.C.), the Book of Sirach (not long after 200), various Psalms belonging to the Maccabæan period, and the Book of Ecclesiastes. The Hasmonæan rulers, who above all laboured for a national reawakening, favoured the ancient speech, as the Hebrew legends on their coins show; and the First Book of Maccabees was unquestionably written in Hebrew. But the last remark applies also to the Psalms of Solomon, which emanated from the middle of the last century B.C., and to the Apocalypses of Baruch and Ezra, composed after the Fall of Jerusalem. Later still, Hebrew continued to be for long the language of teachers of the Law, so that the Mishna (2nd cent. A.D.) is composed in New Hebrew. It was only after the date last named that Hebrew ceased to be a living language, and subsequently played the same rôle as Latin did in the Middle Ages. See, further, Driver, *LOT*^{6} 503 ff.

Along with the idioms just discussed, we have to take into account, for NT times, also the *Greek* language. The factors we noticed as favouring the introduction of Greek culture paved the way also for the language of Greece. The clearest evidence of this is afforded by the very numerous Greek words adopted into the languages of the Jews. A few of these are found even in the Book of Daniel, notably such as are names of musical instruments (Driver, *l.c.* 501). In all probability אפריון of Ca 3^9 must also be considered Greek (=φορεῖον), and perhaps we should assign to the same category some other terms in the Song of Songs (*l.c.* 449 n.). In the Book of Ecclesiastes, again, we have Heb. renderings of Gr. forms of expression, such as עֲשׂוֹת טוֹב = εὖ πράττειν, תַּחַת הַשָּׁמֶשׁ = ὑφ' ἡλίῳ, etc. In the post-Biblical literature we encounter a large number of Greek loan-words, especially in the domain of political administration, or of commerce, or of public institutions.* It is characteristic, further, that, whereas on some of the later coins of the Hasmonæans we find Hebrew legends side by side with the Greek, the coins of the Herod family bear only Greek inscriptions. It may be held as certain that every Jew who made any claim to higher culture, and therefore in particular every one who was brought into contact with the court, understood and spoke Greek. Traders also must be assumed to have had a certain acquaintance with this tongue. And those Jews who lived in the immediate vicinity of districts where Greek was spoken would doubtless acquire the habit from their youth of using the Greek as well as the Aramaic language. But how far it was customary elsewhere to learn Greek, and how far the knowledge of this language had penetrated among the general body of the people, cannot be determined with certainty. According to *Sôṭā* ix. 14, during the war with Quietus [so read instead of 'with Titus'] in 115–117, it was forbidden that any one should teach his son Greek. From this we may infer that until then this had been a usual practice even within strict circles. It was also an important circumstance that Jerusalem, upon the occasion of the great festivals, was the rallying-point not only of the Palestinian Jews, but of those whose homes were in all other lands. Only a very small proportion of the latter can have been acquainted with Hebrew or Aramaic. And at times some of these, instead of returning to their homes, would settle in Jerusalem. It may also be supposed that the choice of the Alexandrian Jew, Boethus, to be high priest would draw a number of Alexandrians to Jerusalem (cf. Jos. *Ant.* XV. ix. 3). Special synagogues were built at Jerusalem for the use of those foreigners who did not understand the language of the country (Ac 6^9; Tos. *Megilla* iii. 6). Proselytes also would come from other lands to settle in Jerusalem. In this way some knowledge of Greek may be presumed to have been diffused in Judæa as well. In Jn $12^{20ff.}$ we hear of Greeks (Ἕλληνες, *i.e.* either Jews of the Diaspora [?] or proselytes) who asked Philip to introduce them to Jesus—a circumstance which implies that this disciple at least understood Greek. That the same was the case with Jesus Himself cannot be proved with complete certainty from His conversations with Pilate, for the services of an interpreter may have been utilized, although this is not expressly mentioned in the narrative. We may compare the occasion when Josephus (*BJ* V. ix. 2) represents Titus as delivering an address to the people of Jerusalem, although we learn afterwards (VI. ii. 5) that on such occasions he availed himself of the help of Josephus as interpreter. From the last cited passage it is evident, at all events, that the mass of the people in the Jewish capital did not understand Greek.*

---

* Cf. Mt 26^{73}; Dalman, *Grammatik des jüd.-pal. Aramäisch*, 43 ff., *Die Worte Jesu*, i. 64.

* As examples may be cited: אפרכא ἔπαρχος, בולי βουλή, סנהדרין συνέδριον, קטיגור κατήγωρ, פרוזבול προσβολή, קפילא κάπηλος, טימי τιμή, קטאלפטא κατὰ λεπτά, פנדקין πανδοχεῖον, בלני βαλανεῖον, דימוסין δημόσιον. Less numerous are the Latin loan-words, the majority of which, moreover, came in through the Greek: *e.g.* דיקומני *decumani*, דיסקיפילינה *disciplina*. Cf. S. Krauss, *Griechische und Lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum*, 1–2 (1898–99).

iii. POLITICAL CONSTITUTION.—The Greek rule, under which the Jews were brought by Alexander the Great, did not in general press very heavily upon subject peoples, who were left in the enjoyment of no small measure of self-government. The foreign domination confined itself mainly to the taxation of the provinces. So high, however, were these taxes at times, and such was the rapacity of some of those entrusted with the collecting of them, that there was scope here for oppression enough. In the Ptolemaic period Josephus (*Ant.* XII. iv. 3) tells us that the imposts were farmed out to the highest bidder, who could then claim military aid in recovering them. In the Seleucid period, on the other hand, the taxes were collected by officers of the king (1 Mac 1^{29}). The internal administration, however, was in the hands of the native authorities, which meant for the Jews that henceforward, as before, they were governed by the high priest and the council associated with him (*γερουσία*, Jos. *Ant.* XII. iii. 3).† This council was originally an assembly of the heads of families (Neh 5^{17}); but, after the high priest obtained the right of presiding over it, it came to be composed increasingly of members of the temple aristocracy (see art. SANHEDRIN in vol. iv.). The succession of legitimate high priests (the 'anointed' of Dn $9^{23f.}$) was violently interrupted under Antiochus Epiphanes. But after the Hasmonæans by their valour and address had raised the Jewish people to the rank of a Power that had to be reckoned with politically, the Syrian king nominated Jonathan high priest, and thus ruler of the nation of the Jews. The grateful people afterwards handed over this dignity to the last of the Maccabee brothers as a hereditary prerogative: he was to take charge of the sanctuary, appoint the officials, etc., and in his name all instruments were to be executed (1 Mac $14^{41ff.}$). Through the conquests which the Hasmonæans succeeded in making, the sphere of authority of the high priests (or, as they soon came to call themselves, kings) and of the Sanhedrin was materially enlarged. An important epoch for the internal administration was the reign of queen Alexandra, under whom the *Pharisees* succeeded in gaining a footing in the Sanhedrin and an influence upon the legislation.

The independence of the country was brought to a sudden end by the conquests of Pompey. The Jews were henceforward under the Roman domination. The extent of the land was materially diminished by Pompey's withdrawing the numerous Hellenistic cities from Jewish rule. On the other hand, he left to Hyrcanus, as high priest, a certain measure of political authority, so that the conditions were practically the same as those that existed immediately before the war for freedom. But in the year 57 B.C. Gabinius deprived Hyrcanus of all political rule by dividing the whole country into five districts, whose principal cities stood in direct subordination to the Romans (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. v. 4; *BJ* I. viii. 5). Cæsar, however, in 47 restored to Hyrcanus his former power and gave him the title of 'ethnarch.' But the real ruler was not the weak Hyrcanus, but the crafty Idumæan Antipater, who was made Procurator of Judæa, and who succeeded in having his sons Phasael and Herod appointed *strategoi* of Jerusalem and Galilee. After the death of Antipater (B.C. 43), Antony named the two brothers 'tetrarchs,' a step whereby Hyrcanus was once more deprived of all secular power and became merely an ecclesiastical prince. The attack made by the Hasmonæan Antigonus, with the aid of the Parthians, cost Hyrcanus and Phasael their offices, but Herod escaped to Rome, where he was nominated king of the Jews. It was not until the year 37 that he succeeded in conquering his kingdom, but from that date onwards he reigned undisturbed till his death. His position was that of a *rex socius.* Such a king was entrusted with rule only personally: after his death it was left open to the Emperor to decide as to the future lot of the particular country. For this reason Herod required the permission of the Emperor to put his own son to death. Nor could a *rex socius* wage war on his own initiative or conclude treaties, and, if the Romans were engaged in war, he had to furnish auxiliary troops. His right to coin money was restricted, and included only coins of small value. Otherwise he was an independent ruler, levied the various imposts of the country, was the supreme judge within his own land, and could execute capital sentences. Alongside of Herod there was still the Sanhedrin, but its authority was now, of course, very limited. The high priest was its president, but the setting up of an independent kingly authority had practically stripped this office of all significance. The high priests were appointed and deposed by Herod in the most arbitrary fashion—a course of procedure quite contrary to the Law, which intended this office to be held for life and to be hereditary.

After the death of Herod, his kingdom was divided into three portions. Philip received, with the rank of tetrarch, the northern trans-Jordanic territory, over which he ruled till his death, in A.D. 37. Herod Antipas, likewise as tetrarch, had Galilee and Peræa assigned to him, but was deposed in 37. Archelaus had been destined to rule as tetrarch over Judæa and Samaria, but as early as the year 6 the Emperor deprived him of his land, which he united more closely with the Roman Empire. It was, however, subject only indirectly to the Imperial legate in Syria, having a governor of its own, a Roman *Procurator* (*ἐπίτροπος, ἡγεμών*) chosen from the knightly body, who attended to the administration except when any very special necessity called for the action of the legate. The Procurator resided at Cæsarea on the seacoast; but on the occasion of the great festivals, when the mood of the people was always most turbulent, he came to Jerusalem, where he took up his residence in the former palace of Herod on the west side of the city. The largest Roman garrison was stationed at Cæsarea; but smaller bodies of troops were quartered in various towns throughout the land—amongst others in Jerusalem, where they had their barracks in the temple citadel of Antonia. The troops consisted entirely of non-Jews, the Jewish population being, it would appear, exempt from military service.* The taxes were now assigned to the Imperial

---

* Cf. Schürer, *GJV*^{3} ii. 18 ff., 63 ff.; Zahn, *Einleit. ins NT*, i. 1–51; Delitzsch, *Saat auf Hoffnung*, 1874, p. 185 ff.; Kautzsch, *Gramm. des bibl. Aram.* 4 ff.; Neubauer, *Studia Biblica*, Oxford, 1885, p. 39 ff.; Dalman, *Gramm. des jüd.-pal. Aram.* 344 ff., *Die Worte Jesu*, i. 1 ff., 63 ff.; Büchler, *Die Priester und der Kultus*, 1895, p. 61 ff.; A. Meyer, *Jesu Muttersprache*, 1896; T. K. Abbott, *Essays chiefly on the Original Texts of the Old and New Testament*, 1891, p. 129 ff.

† Büchler (*Die Tobiaden und Oniaden*, 1899) and H. Winckler (*Orient. Ltzg.* iii. 87 ff.) maintain that the pre-Maccabæan high priests had no political power; but their arguments are artificial and not convincing.

* Cf. Schürer, *GJV*^{3} i. 460.

fiscus, and were levied by the Procurator, the highest financial official, who in this work availed himself of the aid of the various *communes.* The duties, on the other hand, were farmed out at a fixed sum to private officials (*publicani*).* Both these 'publicans' and their subordinates were often of Jewish extraction (cf. *e.g.* Lk $19^{1ff.}$); on account of the inordinate greed and dishonesty that frequently characterized them, they were greatly hated and despised ('publicans and sinners,' Mt $9^{10f.}$ *et al.*). The taxation was probably connected with the division of the country into eleven toparchies, each with its capital. The Roman taxation of Judæa after the deposition of Archelaus led also in the year 7 to the visit of the legate Quirinius, for the purpose of having the inhabitants assessed.† Finally, the Procurator was the highest judicial authority in the land, and had to attend to all important lawsuits; in particular, no capital sentence could be executed without being confirmed by him. In such cases he had sometimes associated with him a council made up of Romans (*συμβούλιον,* Ac 25^{12}). In other respects the country enjoyed the right of self-government, which was exercised, as formerly, by the high priest and the Sanhedrin. Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 10) puts the matter very well when he says that the Jews, after they had had a monarchical, had now again an aristocratic constitution. But one essential and characteristic change was that the high priest was now appointed by the Roman Procurator. This condition of things underwent no interruption except when Agrippa I., under the title of king, gathered the whole land for a short time (41–44) under his sway. During this period the same arrangements were followed as under Herod the Great; the high priest, for instance, being appointed by the king. After Agrippa's death, not only Judæa, but the whole country of the Jews (with the exception of the districts to the east of the Jordan and in the north, which were assigned to Agrippa II.), came directly under the Roman sway. The constitution was now quite the same as in Judæa prior to Agrippa I., except that the Romans handed over the right of nominating the high priest first to Herod of Chalcis (44–48) and then to Agrippa II. The regular order of things came to an end with the outbreak of the final war for freedom. The land was divided into various districts, each under a ruler invested with dictatorial authority. But this organization gave way before the advance of the Romans. The last high priest, Phannias, was chosen by lot by the Zealots. He was a man of humble extraction, who had lived all his life in the country, so that he understood nothing of the office (Jos. *BJ* IV. iii. 8). After the Fall of Jerusalem, the relative independence of the Jews was gone for ever. The high priests disappeared along with the temple, and the Sanhedrin along with them. Henceforward the cohesion of the Jews was dependent solely upon those spiritual factors which lent such invincible strength to the Jews of the Diaspora and had been the real life-principle even of the Palestinian Jews—the Law and the Messianic hope.

From the foregoing sketch it will be evident that the whole of the properly Jewish administration throughout the period in question was concentrated in the high priest and the Sanhedrin (*γερουσία,* later *συνέδριον,* hence סנהדרין). The sway exercised by these authorities underwent change, however, in the course of time. It reached its culminating point under the Hasmonæans, when the high priest had become the ruler of an independent State. It was weakest under Herod, who left little room for other authorities beside him (cf. Jos. *Ant.* XIV. ix. 4). Those periods during which the Jews were under foreign rulers marked the normal stage of the power of these institutions. Originally, the jurisdiction of the high priest and the Sanhedrin extended only to Judæa. It was otherwise when the Hasmonæans enlarged the boundaries of the country, and it continued to be so during the following periods. But upon the partition of the land after the death of Herod, Judæa became once more the sphere of jurisdiction, the Samaritans being, of course, subject only to the Romans and not to the Jews, while in the other parts of the country the tetrarchs were the judicial heads (cf. Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. iv. 6, and the expression *ἐπὶ ἡγεμόνας καὶ βασιλεῖς* in Mt 10^{18}).

As to the functions of the *Sanhedrin,* there are a number of allusions which enable us to form a pretty clear conception. In conjunction with the high priest it was the representative of the nation to foreign nations and princes (1 Mac 11^{23} 12^{6} 13^{36}). It decided on measures for the fortification and defence of the land (1 Mac 12^{35}; Jos. *BJ* IV. iv. 3; cf. Jth 4^{8}). It granted dispensation in the matter of the sacred dues (Jth 11^{14}), and made arrangements for the organization of the *personnel* of the temple (Jos. *Ant.* XX. ix. 6). But, above all, it was the supreme court of justice, all important cases being brought before it, and the decision lying with it when the inferior courts were not agreed (cf. Mt 5^{22}, Ac 4^{15} 5^{21} 6^{12} 22^{30}, and the story of the Passion). In the earlier period no sentence of death could be carried out without the approval of the Sanhedrin (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. v. 3); but Herod, in order to make the Sanhedrin more pliable to his will, caused a number of its members to be put to death (*ib.* XIV. v. 4); and when at a later period he appealed to this court, his action would appear to have been more *pro forma* (*ib.* XV. vi. 2). Under the direct rule of the Romans, the Sanhedrin lost, as was noted above, the right of condemning to death (Jn 18^{31}; cf. Jos. *Ant.* XX. ix. 1, and Jerus. *Sanhedrin* i. 1). As long as the Jewish State subsisted, the head of the Sanhedrin was the high priest. This is clear from the concurrent testimonies of the NT and Josephus. The statements of the Talmud on this subject are based upon later theories, and cannot be brought either in whole or in part into harmony with the reality. Thus the high priest had, at all times, a certain juridical and also political authority in addition to the functions he exercised in connexion with the cultus. Even in later times the members of the Sanhedrin were chosen by preference from the leading priestly families, a special fondness being shown for those who had held the office of high priest. But, as has already been said, the Pharisees succeeded, under queen Alexandra, in making their way into the Sanhedrin, and in maintaining their position there, a minority though they were, in the times that followed.

iv. SOCIAL CONDITIONS.—The principal occupation of the Jews in the time of Christ, as in the earlier periods, was *agriculture,* with which cattle-breeding was generally combined. The Letter of Aristeas (107 ff.) properly emphasizes the fact that in Palestine the right relation was established between town and country, the land being fertile, yet in need of diligent culture, and thus requiring a dense population settled upon it, so that the great cities did not flourish here, as elsewhere, at the expense of the country population. 'The land,' says the author, 'is thickly planted with olives, covered with fields of grain and leguminous plants, rich in wine and honey; the other fruits and the dates cannot be numbered, while cattle of all kinds are there in abundance, as well as rich pasture land for them.' Especially fruitful was Galilee, where Jesus spent most of His life, and from which He borrowed the numerous country scenes that we encounter in His parables. A great many people found employment on the larger estates, there being numerous servants, maids, and officials of all kinds attached to the service of a single house (cf. Lk 12^{42} 16^{1}).* *Fishing* was a leading occupation in Galilee, being prosecuted in the teeming waters of the Lake of Gennesareth. We find allusions to this both in the Gospel narratives and in the words of Jesus (Mt $13^{47ff.}$, Lk 5^{10}; cf. also the reference in Mt $7^{9f.}$ to bread and *fish*, corresponding to bread and *flesh* elsewhere). After the Jews, under the Hasmonæans, gained access to the sea, they began to prosecute fishing in it as well. A variety of preparations were made from the fish that were caught, and these again played their part as articles of commerce.† See, further, art. FISHING in vol. ii. *Hunting* is said in the Talmud to have been prosecuted by some for a livelihood; the abundance of game in Palestine is shown by the history of Herod, who was an enthusiastic sportsman.‡

---

* Cf. Schürer, *GJV*^{3} ii. 181 f.

† Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. i. 1. On Lk 2^{1-5} cf., above all, Schürer, *l.c.* i. 508 ff.

An important source of income in post-exilic times was that derived from the work of the different *artisans*. Of the industry of some (builders, engravers, smiths, potters) we have a graphic picture in Sir 38; that of others is illustrated by the Talmudic writings.§ Ben Sira recognizes their importance (without them is no city built, and if they sojourn in a strange land, they need not hunger), but he considers them excluded from all higher spheres of activity, such, for instance, as the public service (v.$^{33f.}$). The later scribes held a sounder opinion on this subject, many of them, indeed, supporting themselves by manual labour.‖

Commerce took a great stride in the Greek period. Particularly after the Jews came into possession of Joppa and other seaport towns, they began to imitate zealously the example of their brethren of the Diaspora, and to take their share in the trade of the world. Palestine was favourably situated in this respect. Ancient caravan roads led through Galilee and Samaria to the coast, where the wares were shipped; Arab caravans brought the treasures of S. Arabia to the southern part of the land, from which they could in like manner be exported to the West. See, further, art. ROADS AND TRAVEL (IN OT), below, p. 369 f. The products of the fertile land, such as oil, grain, wine, flax, formed articles of export, which were exchanged for the products of Egypt and the Mediterranean lands. The Jews began to undertake long journeys by sea in order to enter into commercial relations with foreigners (Ps $107^{23ff.}$, Pr $7^{19f.}$, Sir 43^{24}). In Palestine there were both merchant princes and petty traders (Sir 26^{29}). The connexion between home-born and foreign Jews led also to a commencement being made in Palestine with those financial transactions for which the Jews of the Diaspora had developed such a turn, having found in Babylon an excellent training school.¶ Since such a condition of things was quite unknown to the traditional Law, and its enactments were felt to be hampering, Hillel devised the so-called '*prosbole*-rule,' whereby the legal prescription as to the cancelling of all debts every seven years was practically annulled (see, on this and on the Deuteronomic regulations as to the remission or suspension of debts, Driver, *Deut.* 178 ff.). The method of taking security was regulated very precisely, as the Talmudic writings show (cf. the Lexicons, *s.v.* אחריות). There were forms in which the names had merely to be inserted. According to Josephus (*BJ* II. xvii. 6), the bonds signed by debtors were kept in the public archives. As to the estimation in which mercantile occupations were held, Ben Sira speaks as disparagingly as he does of artisans. But at a later period things were otherwise, and both priests and teachers of the Law engaged in trade. For instance, Josephus (*Ant.* XX. ix. 2) tells us that the high priest Ananias was a great man of business; cf. Tos. *Tĕrûmôth*, where we read of the shop of a priest. We may also recall in this connexion the parables which Jesus borrows from commercial life (*e.g.* Mt $13^{45f.}$) The Essenes alone abjured on principle all contact with trade. See, further, art. TRADE in vol. iv. The increasing intercourse for trade purposes led, moreover, to other branches of industry. Thus *inns* sprang up along the much frequented roads, where the hosts had their charges for attending to travellers (cf. Lk $10^{34f.}$). The 'publicans' also, to whom the taxes were farmed out by the Romans or the native princes, were indebted to the growing commercial intercourse for their livelihood and for the wealth which they so often acquired.

How far the civil officials—the military do not come into consideration for reasons indicated above—received payment cannot be made out with certainty. In many cases their office may be assumed to have been an honorary one. This would be the case, for instance, with the elders of the community, the judges, the members of the Sanhedrin, etc. But, upon the generally accepted principle that the labourer is worthy of his hire,* it may probably be inferred that, if not the rulers of the synagogue and the collectors of alms (גבאי צדקה), yet at least the synagogue attendants (חזני הכנסת) had a salary. The same would probably hold good of the numerous officials attached to the court, who would be paid by the king. When we pass to the case of the priests and temple officials, we have precise information to go upon. The incomes of these were very considerable, and they increased with the increasing population and the growing wealth. The Levites were entitled to a tenth of the whole produce of the land, and had then to hand over a tenth of this to the priests (Nu $18^{25f.}$). Other dues besides, of all kinds and in some instances very considerable in amount, fell to the priests. In peaceful times all this was exactly regulated; for what Josephus (*Ant.* XX. viii. 8) relates of the high priests, that they sent their servants to the threshing-floors to seize the portion of the grain due to the priests, belongs to the latest period in the history of the Jewish State, when all legal relations were dissolved. Admittance to the priesthood or to the Levitical body was open to none but those who belonged to the tribe of Levi, and the members of the privileged caste watched over their prerogative with the utmost vigilance. Not only the priests in Palestine, but even the members of priestly families who lived in foreign lands, drew up exact genealogies whose correctness was examined at Jerusalem (Jos. *Vita*, 1; *c. Apion.* i. 7). In the matter of the revenues, however, account had to be taken merely of the priests who lived in the Holy Land, who were divided into twenty-four classes, of which each had to officiate for a single week, but as a rule only twice a year. Quite a number of priests lived constantly in Jerusalem, but there were also some who had their home in other towns of Judæa, or even in Galilee. According to the calculations, somewhat doubtful, indeed, of Büchler (*Die Priester und der Kultus im letzten Jahrzehnte des Jerus. Tempels*, 48 ff.), the total number of priests in the last days of Jewish history amounted to about 20,000, of whom some 5000 lived in Jerusalem.

---

* Cf., further, Vogelstein, *Die Landwirtschaft in Palästina*, 1894.

† Herzfeld, *Handelsgesch.* 105 f.

‡ *Ib.* 103. Cf. also art. HUNTING in vol. ii.

§ Delitzsch, *Handwerkerleben zur Zeit Jesu*, 1875; Rieger, *Versuch einer Technologie und Terminologie der Handwerke in der Mischna*, 1894.

‖ The characteristic saying of Simon b. Zoma, that when he looked on the crowd of humanity he felt impelled to thank God because He had formed them all to serve Him (*i.e.* to execute all His purposes), has reference not to the favoured body of the Wise, but to the division of labour amongst men (Jerus. *Berakhoth* 13*a*).

¶ It is very significant that To 1^{13} represents Achiacharus as 'purveyor' (*ἀγοραστής*) of a foreign king.

* Mt 10^{10}, 1 Co $9^{7ff.}$. A man engaged to accompany one on a journey received, according to To 5^{15}, not only travelling expenses but wages, and a present after the journey was ended.

Of payment of *teachers* there is no mention. According to *Shabbath* i. 3, it was the synagogue attendants that gave elementary instruction to children on the Sabbath. These would receive at most a salary for attending to their duties in general. In any case, the teachers of the Law and the scribes did not live by their work of teaching; on the contrary, if they were without means, they pursued some handicraft, or even engaged in trade, in order to gain a livelihood.—That *physicians* received a fee when their services were over is plain from such passages as Sir 38^{2}, and Midrash *'Ēkhā* on La 1^{5}.

The class of free citizens included also the *day-labourers*, who owned no land, and had no fixed employment, but hired out their labour daily (cf. the picturesque description in the parable of Mt $20^{1ff.}$). When, not long before the outbreak of the war for freedom, the temple was at last finished, Josephus (*Ant.* XX. ix. 7) tells us that more than 18,000 labourers were thrown out of work, that it was resolved to utilize the treasure of the temple in order to procure employment for them, and that they received their wages even if they had wrought only a single hour. See also art. WAGES, below, p. 358.

Quite different was the standing of the *slaves* proper, who enjoyed no personal freedom. Even Jews might fall into this condition, if, for instance, they could not pay their debts (cf. Mt 18^{25}), or had been guilty of theft. The Law, however, contained a series of enactments (see full discussion of these in Driver, *Deut.* 181 ff.) by which the slavery of a Jew had a time limit imposed upon it. By means of the combining method of exegesis, this period was shortened still more, namely when the year of Jubilee happened to fall within the six years' period of service.* But, as the year of Jubilee was not really observed, this enactment could have no practical consequence. On the other hand, the later teachers of the Law laid it down that a Jewish girl was to serve as a slave only till she reached the age of puberty.† It may further be assumed that, as the prosperity of the people increased, such cases would always be more rare, and that poor Jews would be saved from this fate by the ready benevolence of the people, coupled with the organized methods for the relief of the poor (the third tenth every three years, and the collecting of alms in the synagogues). The majority of slaves were, accordingly, without doubt, foreigners acquired by purchase.‡ See, further, art. SERVANT in vol. iv.

When we compare the condition of the Jews immediately after the Exile with that which prevailed in the time of Christ, a very important difference, as was above remarked, presents itself. Instead of the small, poverty-stricken population of Nehemiah's day, we see a numerous people, which with energy and industry can turn to good account the many sources of wealth that abound in their land. In spite of their longing for Messianic times, in spite of the unreality of their world of ideas, they displayed in real life much adroitness and a remarkable turn for business, so that their position had come to be one of great material well-being. The clearest evidence of their extraordinary energy is afforded by the circumstance that, although they were very heavily burdened with taxes, they were not reduced to poverty, but on the contrary continued to increase in wealth. The dues they had to pay were partly sacred and partly secular. The former were based upon the enactments of the Priests' Code (esp. Lv 2^{3} 6^{16-18} [Heb. $^{9-11}$] 7^{32-34}, Nu 18^{8-28}), with which certain prescriptions from Deuteronomy (14^{22-29} 18^{1-8})* were combined. The principal due was the Levites' tenth of all the produce of the soil, in the paying of which the most painful exactness was shown by strict Jews (cf. Mt 23^{23}). But before the tithing of the produce of the soil there was a twofold due deducted: the first-fruits of the 'seven kinds' (see Schürer, *GJV*³ ii. 249), viz. barley, wheat, grapes, figs, pomegranates, olives, and honey; and the *tĕrûmā*, which was not exactly measured, but was understood to be the fiftieth part (see Schürer, *l.c.* 249 f.) of all the fruit of field and tree. From the products which were then tithed there was taken (in addition to the tenth part paid to the priestly tribe) a *second* tenth,† which, however, was destined, along with the tenth of cattle (Lv $27^{32f.}$), for sacrificial feasts. But every three years a *third* tenth (the מעשׂר עני, the 'poor-tithe,' according to the Rabb. interpretation of Dt $14^{28f.}$; but see Driver, *l.c.* 170 n.) was deducted for the benefit of the poor. Further, the firstlings of all animals that might be offered in sacrifice were claimed as a due, while a sum of money had to be paid for firstborn children and the firstlings of unclean animals (Nu 18^{15-17}); not to speak of a firstlings' cake (the *ḥallā*) of coarse flour (Nu $15^{20f.}$, cf. Ro 11^{16}), and a part of the wool at the first shearing (Dt 18^{4}). Lastly, there were various occasional offerings that required to be brought. The annual temple poll-tax (Ex $30^{14f.}$, Mt 17^{24}), on the other hand, was not high (half a shekel for every adult male), and could not be felt except by the very poorest. See more fully, on the subject of this paragraph, Schürer, *GJV*³ ii. 243–262 [*HJP* II. i. 230–254].

In addition to these very considerable dues,‡ there were the secular taxes. After the Jews were freed from the Greek domination, which, from a financial point of view, was very burdensome, requiring a third part of grain and half the produce of fruit trees to be paid, the taxes passed to the Hasmonæans.§ When Herod afterwards became king, he obtained command of all the secular taxes of the country. According to Josephus (*Ant.* XV. ix. 1), these consisted mainly in the rendering of a certain proportion of the produce of the land, besides which the king levied a market toll on all that was sold in Jerusalem (*ib.* XVII. viii. 4). Herod's whole revenue, according to *Ant.* XVII. xi. 4 (with which, indeed, *BJ* II. vi. 3 does not agree), amounted to more than 900 talents (=£369,000) a year. The Jews complained bitterly of the amount of the taxes laid upon them, and alleged that it was only by bribing the king himself and his tax-collectors that it was possible to save oneself from injustice (*Ant.* XVII. xi. 2, cf. viii. 4). But of course we are not to lend too much credit to these complaints, especially as we learn that, after the great famine, Herod voluntarily granted the people remission of a third of the taxes (*Ant.* XV. x. 4). Herod's successors no doubt organized the matter of taxation upon the same lines as himself. Herod Antipas, who derived from his territories an annual revenue of 200 talents, had customs officials stationed on the frontiers (Mt 9[9]), to levy duties on imports and possibly also on exports. Agrippa, too, who for a short time had the whole land under his sway, would probably utilize the system of his predecessor. But during his reign not only was the market toll at Jerusalem abolished (see below), but the king, who was anxious to gain the affections of the Jews, remitted also the duty upon the houses of the capital (*Ant.* XIX. vi. 3). During the period that intervened between the deposition of Archelaus and the accession of Agrippa I., Judæa,* and, after Agrippa's death, the whole country, was taxed by the Romans, and the revenues passed into the Imperial *fiscus* (cf. Mt 22[21]). The taxes proper were levied by the Procurator, the commercial imposts were farmed out to private officials. The taxes consisted partly of a proportion of the produce of the soil, which was paid either in kind or in money, but they included also a poll-tax, which was levied even on women and slaves.† Vitellius remitted to the Jews the market toll that had to be paid at Jerusalem (*Ant.* XVIII. iv. 3); but in spite of this the taxes were very high, and were felt by the people to be extremely oppressive (Tac. *Ann.* ii. 42).

---

* Jos. *Ant.* IV. viii. 28; cf. Saalschütz, *Mosaisches Recht*, 713.

† Saalschütz, *l.c.* 817.

‡ With these foreign slaves they had generally, according to the Talmud, a great deal of trouble; cf. Zadok Kahn, *L'esclavage selon la Bible et le Talmud*, 1867, p. 173 f. For an earlier period, cf. Sir $33^{24ff.}$.

* On the irreconcilable conflict between these codes in certain particulars, see Driver, *Deut.* 169 f., 218 ff.

† Following the Rabb. interpretation of Dt 14^{22-27}, which held the tithe here prescribed to be distinct from, and in addition to, the tithe of Nu 18^{21-28}; but see Driver, *l.c.* 169 f.; Schürer, *l.c.* 246; and art. TITHE in vol. iv. p. 730.

‡ In the Sabbatical years all dues based upon the produce of the soil would of course be dispensed with (cf. Jos. *Ant.* XVII. xi. 6).

§ Regarding their system of taxing we know nothing except the few details contained in Josephus (*Ant.* XVII. x. 6; cf. Schürer, *GJV*³ i. 345). The people felt the taxation of Herod to be heavy in comparison with what had gone before (Jos. *ib.* XVII. xi. 2).

Taking all these dues together, we see that the material resources of this little nation were drawn upon to an extraordinary degree, and that none but a very energetic and temperately living people could have borne such burdens, and upon the whole even prospered under them. From the social point of view, the Jews must be reckoned among the more fortunate nations. As long as the foreign yoke was not too heavy and their religious susceptibilities were not offended, there prevailed amongst them a considerable degree of contentment and a healthy enjoyment of life (Sir 14[11. 14]), which at times might rise to hearty rejoicing, as we see, for instance, in the Song of Songs and the noisy celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles. No doubt there were social extremes, the one of wealth and luxury, the other of grinding poverty (cf. the parable of Dives and Lazarus), but the majority belonged to neither of these classes, and in peaceful times led a temperate and generally contented life.

V. PARTIES.—If the Jewish people was thus free from sharp social contrasts, there were opposing elements of another kind amongst them, which consumed their strength in the most dangerous fashion, and whose conflicts are the moving factors of the whole post-exilic history, until at last they brought about the destruction of the nation. The essential principle of this opposition is of a religious character, social and political principles play only a subordinate rôle in it.

What in pre-exilic times had been the wealthy secular nobility, became after the Exile the temple aristocracy: a privileged class to which a number of quite diverse circumstances gave a marked superiority. We have seen how, in consequence of the growing prosperity of the nation, the priests necessarily came into the possession of great wealth. At the same time the condition of things involved the passing of the relics of independence which were left to the Jews, into the hands of the high priest and his priestly coadjutors. In this way they were brought to interest themselves in actual politics, and thus were gradually forced into opposition to the strict party, whose ideal was complete political passivity and a confident expectation of Divine intervention. There were thus developed opposite religious principles, which by constant friction were always brought into sharper contrast. The 'pious' could not avoid looking upon their opponents with the same eyes as those with which the prophets had regarded the secular nobility of their day. The rich aristocracy were thought of as the ungodly, who believed not in God's help but in political devices often of a desperate nature; they were the unrighteous, who used their wealth and their influence with foreign nations to inflict all kinds of damage upon their opponents, the strict party. At the same time it would be a serious misunderstanding to reduce this opposition to a mechanical system, and to suppose, for instance, that all the priests belonged to the broader party. That there were even high priests who sympathized with the stricter tendency is sufficiently proved by the instance of Simon the Just, whose memory is still glorified in the later Pharisaic literature; and among the ordinary priests there were many who belonged to the 'pious.' Jewish history shows also that, among the priests who politically occupied the standpoint of the secular school, there were earnest men who were prepared to lose their life rather than neglect the duties assigned to them in connexion with the cultus (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. iv. 3). It would be equally wrong to suppose that the strict party represented an opposition to the temple cultus because this was in the hands of the temple aristocracy. That it was not so may be shown from the way in which Ben Sira, who himself belonged to the stricter school, exhorts his readers to honour the priests and to pay them their appointed dues (Sir 7[29ff.]). The correct view is simply that in the ranks of the temple aristocracy there was a party prepared to sacrifice the sacred uniqueness of Israel for the sake of worldly advantages, and that this disposition was so strongly developed that its representatives could not but appear to the strict school in the light of apostates.

The name under which in later times the adherents of the secular party meet us is *Sadducees*, properly members of the Jerusalem priesthood (from *Zadok*, 1 K 1[8], Ezk 40[46]). In opposition to them the *Pharisees* stand for the most uncompromising representatives of the stricter tendency. The name means properly 'those who *separate* themselves,' who keep at a distance from the ordinary unclean life and from all unclean persons (in contrast to the *'am hā-'āreẓ*, the common people, who were indifferent in matters of Levitical purity, etc.).

It was the elevation of the Maccabees that was responsible for the above-described opposition becoming a chronic malady. The Maccabees were originally allies of the stricter school, but, after they attained to the supreme power, they slipped over to the views of the temple aristocracy and thus came into conflict with the Pharisees. Above all, it was repugnant to the strict party that the Hasmonæans should confuse and corrupt the Messianic hopes. It is evident from the so-called First Book of Maccabees that the adherents of the Hasmonæan princes believed that these hopes had found a fulfilment in the persons of the latter. After they had conquered the whole land and assumed the royal title, it did indeed look as if the old Davidic kingdom had been raised up once more. The condemnation of this desecration of the Davidic throne and the sacred hopes meets us in the Psalms of Solomon ($17^{4ff.}$) and in a passage in the Book of Enoch (chs. 94 ff.); cf. also Assump. Mos. $6^{1ff.}$. The overthrow of the Maccabæan house cleared the air. The Sadducees were completely subjected under Herod, and had lost all influence. Under the Roman domination, the high priest, and with him the Sadducees, regained greater political importance (see above, p. 48), but they no longer played the principal part. When the war for freedom broke out, they sought at first to stifle the movement, and then, when they failed in this, to guide it. But the waves now ran so high that they quickly swept away this time-worn and enfeebled party. See, further, art. SADDUCEES in vol. iv.

---

* The Samaritans, who also came under the Roman sway, were relieved, according to *Ant.* XVII. xi. 4, of a third of the taxes, because they had taken no part in the revolt.

† Cf., further, Schürer, *GJV*[3] i. 511.

The development of *Pharisaism* was very materially shaped by the Maccabæan period. Opposition to the Hasmonæans brought out its one-sided tendencies to the full, especially when, under Alexander Jannæus, things went so far as a civil war, in which the Pharisees were at first victorious, but afterwards beaten and cruelly punished. But it was a momentous circumstance that immediately thereafter, under queen Alexandra, they gained political power. They forced their way into the Sanhedrin, carried a number of their laws, and thus tasted the sweets of rule. Thereby their less estimable qualities were developed, and there arose among them those Pharisees with whom we make acquaintance in the Gospels. With them the external flourished at the expense of the internal; beneath their numerous religious exercises, such as fasting, ablutions, prayer, almsgiving, there was often concealed an impure, ambitious, haughty disposition, whose end and aim was to lord it over the crowd. Their renunciation of all interest in foreign politics was abundantly compensated by the influence they exercised over the people—an influence to which even the Sadducees had to bend (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. i. 4). It may be added that it is not only the New Testament that describes the Pharisees in this way. The Assumption of Moses contains a passage ($7^{3ff.}$) of precisely similar import, which also refers without doubt to the Pharisees.* Of course there were exceptions among them, as we learn even from the New Testament; and the Psalms of Solomon, which emanated from Pharisaic circles, still contain much of the pure and noble piety which we encounter in the canonical Psalms. See, further, art. PHARISEES in vol. iii.

While the sharp opposition between the Sadducees and the Pharisees receded somewhat after the overthrow of the Hasmonæans, there grew up within Pharisaism itself opposing influences, which were destined to be still more dangerous to the life of the people. Although the Pharisees otherwise were identified with the quiet and passive waiting for the time of the Messiah, the enrolment of the Jewish people by Quirinius (see above, p. 49^{a}) gave birth to a new party, which in other respects agreed with the Pharisees, but regarded the struggle for freedom and the casting-off of the Roman yoke as a sacred duty. The founders of this party of *Zealots* (קנאין) were a man of Galilee, named Judas, and a Pharisee, Sadduk (cf. Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. i. 4). From the ranks of these patriots there came, during the last decades before the war for freedom, the utterly ruthless *Sicarii*, who, armed with a short dagger (*sica*), mingled with the crowd, especially on the great feast days, and selected their victims alike from among foreigners and from their fellow-countrymen (Jos. *Ant.* XX. viii. 10; *BJ* II. xvii. 6, etc.; Ac 21^{38}). Against wild offshoots like these the more sober-minded of the Pharisees came forward, and were thus at times led to go hand in hand with the Sadducees.

The theological points of difference between the Sadducees and the Pharisees, upon which Josephus lays so much stress, are merely particular illustrations of the above-described deeper contrasts. The spiritual development which had taken place in the stricter circles since the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, and the new conceptions which had been thus reached, were not shared by the Sadducees, who held conservatively to ancient tradition. Hence they rejected and ridiculed the doctrine of a resurrection—a circumstance from which we may infer that they did not accept the Book of Daniel.* In general, the present possessed more significance for them than the hope of Israel, which was the life-principle of the stricter party. Similar was the state of things with their rejection of the belief in spirits and angels. In the circles of the 'pious' there had also been a very pronounced development of the notions regarding these, which had its roots, indeed, in the earlier OT writings, but yet was so peculiarly influenced, partly by foreign conceptions, that strict conservatives were bound to reject it, especially if, like the Sadducees, they had positivist tendencies. When the Sadducees, again, laid stress upon the freedom of the will, this was connected with their political leanings as above described: in their polemic they would have in view not only the passivity of the 'pious,' but also the growing disposition to transfer the real sphere of history to the angel-world, and to convert history into a conflict between good and evil spirits, of which human history was only a reflexion. As to legal enactments, the Sadducees held strictly to the Law, and rejected the oral Torah of the Pharisees. It is, no doubt, also in this connexion that the controverted points mentioned in the Jewish literature come in, but these give no clear picture of the root-principle of the opposition.

The third, 'philosophical,' party, mentioned by Josephus generally along with the Pharisees and the Sadducees, namely the *Essenes*, belonged to an entirely different world. This was a small ascetic sect, permeated with mysticism, and holding some extremely strange notions, the origin of which is still an unsolved problem. From a social point of view, the community of goods was the most characteristic feature of their organization. They employed themselves in agriculture and various handicrafts, but would have absolutely nothing to do with commerce. At least the majority of them renounced marriage. They acknowledged the temple, and sent votive gifts to it, but rejected entirely animal sacrifice. They held the Law in very high esteem. They believed in the immortality of the soul, but did not teach the resurrection of the body, because they regarded connexion with the body as a species of bondage for the soul. The doctrine of angels played a great part in their system. Among their many peculiar customs, those which express a veneration for the sun are the most notable, because they show most clearly that we cannot completely account for this sect from Judaism itself. What is genuinely Jewish in their opinions and customs comes nearest to Pharisaism, but the differences are too great for Essenism to be set down as a degenerate offshoot from it. This small, peaceful body never probably had very much weight. See, further, art. ESSENES in vol. i.

---

* The authority followed by Josephus in *Ant.* XVII. ii. 4 knows of the Pharisees as εἰς τὸ πολεμεῖν καὶ βλάπτειν ἐπηρμένοι.

* Cf. Mt $22^{23ff.}$. On the question to what extent the Sadducees recognized the Torah alone as Holy Scripture, as several of the Church Fathers assert, see Schürer, *GJV*^{3} ii. 411 ff.

vi. EDUCATION AND CULTURE.—Regarding the education of Jewish children we have only scanty information. According to the Bab. Talmud (*Bābā bathrā*, 21*a*), Joshua b. Gamaliel (probably the high priest who held office A.D. 63–65) appointed teachers for boys in every province and every city, and children were brought to these when they were six or seven years of age. According to *Shabbath* i. 3, the synagogue attendant (*ḥazzān*) was required on Sabbath to teach children to read. Josephus (*c. Apion.* i. 12) and Philo (ed. Mangey, ii. 577) speak as if it was customary for the Jews, even as children, to learn the Law. But this can refer only to the circle of the scribes and the educated classes, and not to the mass of the people. For if children learned in the boys' school to read the Law, and if this accomplishment was general, it would have been superfluous to have the Hebrew text translated into Aramaic at the synagogue service (see above, p. 47^{a}). The latter custom was manifestly due to the circumstance that the common people no longer understood Hebrew. When, therefore, Jesus, the carpenter's son (Mt 13^{55}), was able to read and expound the Bible text (Lk 4$^{16ff.}$), this would naturally strike the people as something unusual and excite their wonder. But it is impossible to decide with certainty how large the circles were that possessed rolls of the Law (1 Mac 1$^{36f.}$). As little are we informed as to the number that were able to write, although it is evident that the growth of commerce and the increasing pursuit of a business life must have contributed largely to the spread of this accomplishment (Lk 16^{6}). There is no mention of any regular instruction of girls, a branch of education which was not enjoined in the Law.*

The higher education consisted in the stricter circles of a deeper study of the Law, especially the special enactments that had been orally transmitted. The student selected some eminent legal expert as his teacher. Thus, for instance, the two famous exegetes Judas and Matthias were very popular teachers of youth at the time of Herod the Great (Jos. *Ant.* XVII. vi. 2); the disciples of Hillel and Shammai formed two well-defined schools of interpreters of the Law. St. Paul studied at Jerusalem under Gamaliel (Ac 22^{3}), etc. After his course of instruction was complete, the disciple was reckoned among the Wise (חֲכָמִים), as opposed to the unlearned (הֶדְיוֹט, *i.e.* the Gr. *ἰδιώτης*).† Yet the detailed statements contained in the Talmudic writings as to the instruction in these higher schools (בָּתֵּי הַמִּדְרָשׁ), and as to the organization of teachers and pupils, are not to be transferred *simpliciter* to the time of Christ, for without doubt the conditions subsequent to the destruction of the State must have influenced the development of things.‡

But there were other circles in which the higher education had a somewhat different character, inclining more towards the worldly culture of the time, as was the case in great measure with the Hellenistic Jews. As a matter of course, it was the nobility and the courtiers that favoured this culture. A good example of such an education presents itself in the person of Josephus, a scion of the leading temple aristocracy, related on his mother's side to the Hasmonæan royal family. According to his own account (*Vita*, 2 f.), he commenced even as a child to read the Law, and speedily made such progress that, when a boy of fourteen, he used to be consulted by the leading priests on points of interpretation of the Law. At the age of sixteen he began to study carefully the tenets and maxims of the three sects—the Sadducees, the Pharisees, and the Essenes; nay, he even lived for three years with a rigid ascetic in the desert, in order to put also this conception of life to the proof. When nineteen years old he decided to cast in his lot with the Pharisaic party, but he studied, further, the Greek language and literature. He had such a command of Greek that in his twenty-sixth year he was able to travel to Rome, where he obtained access to the Empress, who treated him with great consideration. He tells us, however, regarding his attainments in Greek, that, while he had made a thorough study of the language, his Jewish usages had hampered him in acquiring an exact pronunciation of it. 'It is not our way to accord any great appreciation to those who have learned many languages . . . for this is an accomplishment of which slaves are as capable as freemen. But those alone are regarded as wise who thoroughly understand the laws, and can expound the Holy Scriptures' (*Ant.* XX. xii. 2). That Josephus had difficulty, further, in the use of Greek in writing, is evident from the circumstance that, in preparing his history of the Jewish war, he availed himself of the help of colleagues who were proficient in Greek (*c. Apion.* i. 9). But he not only devoted himself to the study of the language, but, as his writings show, had read a very considerable number of Greek authors, besides being acquainted in some measure with Greek philosophy. Here, then, we see how, in the case of a Palestinian Jew of good family, a strictly Jewish education might be combined with a Hellenizing tendency.*

As to the ordinary stage of culture among the Jews, this was in general conditioned by their acknowledged dependence upon the Holy Scriptures. Here lay hidden all the treasures of wisdom for those who knew how to dig them up. While the Hellenistic Jews were under the influence of Greek philosophy, and made frequent attempts to discover in the Scriptures the ideas of foreign wisdom, the native exegesis was based essentially upon the text itself, whose many secrets it was sought to penetrate by an acuteness which displayed itself in the form of ingenious combinations of passages of Scripture. Nothing had any value whose presence could not be demonstrated in the Law and in the Scriptures. And yet the world of ideas in which these men moved was not so completely uninfluenced by foreign culture as they themselves may have imagined. Several centuries of contact with Parsism had not passed without leaving clear traces.† As little were the Palestinian Jews able to shut themselves off from the influence of the Greek spirit, by whose effects they were everywhere surrounded, and whose traces may be largely observed in the Palestinian Midrash.‡ Yet all this worked quietly and unconsciously, and did not lead to any essential transformation of the Palestinian culture.

As far as a knowledge of *history* was concerned, there was naturally a disposition to abide by the information contained in the Bible; whereas there were only broken reminiscences of the events of the post-Biblical period. In this respect, indeed, a man like Josephus forms an exception, but he is likewise an exception among his Palestinian fellow-countrymen, and his great work on the history of Israel was intended not for Jews but for the rest of the world.[*]

---

* Later Jews deduced from the word 'sons' in Dt 11^{19} that the Law did not require the instruction of daughters (Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, ii. 372).

† On the other hand, the phrase עַם הָאָרֶץ 'people of the land' is used in opposition to *Pharisees*, who were not all scribes.

‡ Cf. Weber, *Jüd. Theologie*^{2}, 1897, p 125 ff.

* On the other hand, when Rabbi Ishmael was asked whether it was allowable to learn Greek wisdom along with the Law, he replied (in allusion to the words 'by day and by night,' Jos 1^{8}, Ps 1^{2} etc.): 'Only if thou canst find a time which is neither day nor night' (Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, i. 262).

† Cf. E. Stave, *Ueber den Einfluss des Parsismus auf das Judentum*, 1898; also the art. ZOROASTRIANISM by J. H. Moulton in vol. iv. The Babylonian influence contended for, especially by Gunkel, is still somewhat problematical, and its extent is in any case not yet demonstrated.

‡ Cf. Freudenthal, *Hellenistiche Studien*, 1875, p. 66 ff.; Siegfried, *Philo von Alexandrien*, 283 ff.

Of an acquaintance with *natural science* we can scarcely speak. The Book of Enoch, it is true, occupies itself in detail with cosmological and astronomical secrets, and shows, amidst a multitude of fantastic notions, a knowledge of the twelve signs of the zodiac, the regular phases of the moon, the solar and lunar years, perhaps the 8-year cycle of the Greeks, the four intercalary days, and it contains also some geographical allusions (chs. 72 ff.). But this must be viewed as peculiar to a few writers, and not as the standard of the prevailing culture. At all events, in a letter of R. Gamaliel II.[†] the intercalating of 30 days into the current year is justified on the ground that the lambs are still small, and the crops not yet ripe. On the 30th day of each month the Sanhedrin met, and, if it was then announced to it that the moon-crescent was visible, the day was marked as holy, so that the preceding month had only 29 days counted to it. If the day was cloudy, the new moon was not reckoned to commence till the following day.[‡] Geographical knowledge was enlarged by the journeys of Jewish merchants, but yet was in general superficial and vague.[§]

Medicine was upon a primitive basis. The mild and sensible Ben Sira exhorts his readers not to despise the physician's help, since the Lord has created medicines out of the earth, which the apothecary knows how to mix and the physician how to apply (Sir $38^{1ff.}$). The healing powers of the various hot springs of Palestine had been discovered, and they were largely taken advantage of (Jos. *Vita*, 16; *Ant.* XVII. vi. 5). But the conception of diseases was still essentially a purely religious, or, in most instances, a superstitious one, so that in the treatment of them all kinds of magical methods took a prominent place. In general, the belief in magic played no mean rôle amongst the Jews, although it was forbidden in the Law. This was a sphere in which the Law was powerless to control the notions of men.[‖] See art. MAGIC in vol. iii.

It was only in the sphere of *religion* that the standard of popular education was high, and it was regarded as extremely important to see that this should be so. While the cultus was essentially the concern of the priests, there had been for long established all over the land synagogues, where religious instruction was attended to and the people acquired an acquaintance with the holy Scriptures (Ac 15^{21}). The synagogue building (בֵּית הַכְּנֶסֶת, *συναγωγή* or *προσευχή*) contained a press where the sacred writings were kept, and an elevated place where the reader stood. The service was introduced by repeating the passages Dt $6^{4-9. 11. 13-21}$, Nu 15^{37-41}; then came a prayer spoken by a member of the congregation, to the accompaniment of the 'Amen' and other responses by the people. This was followed by the lesson from the Law, which was read by several members, preferably priests or Levites, and translated into Aramaic, verse by verse, by an interpreter (מְתוּרְגְּמָן). Next came the reading of a section from the Prophets, which was translated in the same way (Lk 4^{17}, Ac 13^{15}). To this reading there was attached a sermon, during the delivery of which the speaker was accustomed to sit, whereas the readers stood (Lk $4^{20ff.}$). The service closed with the benediction (Nu $6^{22ff.}$), which was pronounced by a priest. The principal service was that of Sabbath forenoon, but there were less elaborate services also on Sabbath afternoon and on some week days. Lastly, Divine service was celebrated on all feast days. In this way those of the people who felt that they formed a community had abundant opportunity given them of making acquaintance with the Scriptures and of receiving instruction and edification. It is worthy of note how in this matter there is a retrocession of any privileged class, the service being of quite a democratical character. Even if a preference was given to priests in the reading of the Scriptures, this function could be discharged by others as well, while the delivery of the address was open to any member of the congregation, or any qualified visitor who happened to be present (see art. SYNAGOGUE, vol. iv. p. 641^{b}).

The above account of things applies, properly speaking, only to the men. But if we would have a complete picture of the stage of culture among the Jews, we must face the question of how it stood with the women. There is a want of historical data here, but certain characteristic features come out. For instance, we learn from Josephus (*Ant.* XVII. ii. 4) that the Pharisees exercised great influence over women, a circumstance which proves that the latter felt an interest in party questions and themselves took sides. Thus even queen Alexandra allowed herself, contrary to all the traditions of the Hasmonæans, to be guided by the Pharisees. The Gospels show us how deep was the religious interest on the part of women, and how receptive they were to the teaching of Jesus. On the other hand, evidence of the slender culture of women is afforded by the circumstance that it was they especially that devoted themselves to magical arts, so that even women of noble birth were at times accused of sorcery.[*]

vii. ART AND LITERATURE.—With the Jews the first place among the fine arts is held by *music*, because this had entered into the service of religion. The temple musicians formed a guild, in which the technique and the understanding of the numerous technical expressions were hereditary, not being communicated to outsiders—a circumstance which explains why these expressions, when they occur in the Psalms, especially in their titles, were unintelligible to the Greek translators of the LXX.[†] The members of this guild, who were not at first (Ezr $10^{23f.}$, Neh $7^{1. 73}$) reckoned among the Levites, had been by the time of the Chronicler (1 Ch 6^{33-47}) included in this class of temple officials, and shortly before the destruction of the State they obtained, by the aid of Agrippa II., the right of wearing the same linen garments as the priests—an innovation which, according to Josephus (*Ant.* XX. ix. 6), contributed to bring about the punishment of the people. The pieces that were sung were the Psalms of the Old Testament. The whole of these were not, indeed, adapted to this purpose (*e.g.* Ps 119), but in the case of a large proportion of them there is ancient testimony to their liturgical use. The Psalms were sung by the official singers, the people struck in only with certain responses. The singing was accompanied by harps, zithers, flutes, and cymbals, although, unfortunately, we are not informed as to the exact form of procedure either with the singing or the instrumental accompaniment.

---

[*] How inconsiderable were the historical recollections in the Rabbinical literature is shown in Dérenbourg's *Essai sur l'histoire, etc. de la Palestine*, 1867.

[†] To be found in Dalman's *Aramäische Dialektproben*, 1896, p. 3.

[‡] It was not until about 200 years after the destruction of Jerusalem that the Jews began to fix the new moon on astronomical grounds. See Riehm, *HWB* ii. 1094, and cf. art. NEW MOON in vol. iii. p. 522^{b}, and TIME in vol. iv. p. 764^{a}.

[§] Cf. Neubauer, *Géographie du Talmud*, 289 ff.

[‖] To 11^{7}; Jos. *Ant.* VIII. ii. 5; L. Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen*, 1898; Schürer, *GJV*^{3} iii. 294 ff.

[*] Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen*, 23 ff.

[†] Cf. Jacob in *ZATW* xvi. (1896) 171.

The trumpets blown by the priests would not belong to the orchestra proper, but would serve simply to mark fixed points in the service. How early the liturgical system was developed may be inferred partly from the statements of the Chronicler and partly from the very graphic description in Sir 50. But the Psalms were sung also outside the temple, especially at the Paschal meal in private houses (Mt 26[30]). Alongside of this sacred music there was also a secular species, which was used especially to accompany the popular dance (Mt 11[17]). The Israelites, in fact, had always been a music-loving people, with whom this exercise was resorted to on all occasions either of rejoicing or of mourning. The height to which popular poetry had risen among them is evident above all from the Song of Songs, which points back to the songs sung at wedding celebrations.

On the other hand, the *plastic arts* were completely forbidden to the Jews, in so far at least as they had to do with the representation of any living creature. When Pilate on one occasion, forgetting the consideration for Jewish scruples usually shown by the Procurators, caused standards emblazoned with pictures of the Emperor to be brought to Jerusalem, the popular feeling was so violently excited that after a while he ordered the offensive emblems to be removed (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. iii. 1). The golden eagle which Herod had placed over one of the gates of the temple was an abomination to strict Jews, and a number of fanatics, upon the occasion of a false report of the king's death, tore it down—an act for which they were themselves punished with death (*ib.* XVII. vi. 2). Those of high rank, indeed, set themselves above the strict custom in such matters. The Hasmonæan queen Alexandra caused portraits of her children, Aristobulus and Mariamne, to be painted and sent to Antony (*ib.* XV. ii. 6). Agrippa I. had statues made of his daughters (*Ant.* XIX. xix. 1). In the non-Jewish cities both Herod and his successors played the part in general of decided patrons of Greek art. In Cæsarea on the coast, and in other towns, they caused temples and theatres to be erected. Nay, Jerusalem itself did not escape, for Herod had a theatre and a hippodrome constructed in it, to the great offence of the strict Jews. The same course was pursued by Herod Antipas at Tiberias, which assumed quite the stamp of a Greek city (see above, p. 47[a]). The Jews thus made acquaintance with Greek architecture mainly as an element in heathen civilization, and on this account the splendid pile of temple buildings at Jerusalem was not an unmixed source of joy to the strict party. That there were some Jews, however, who availed themselves of this art is shown by the sepulchral monuments in the Ḳidron valley, one of which, according to the inscription, belonged to a priestly family.

The Jewish *literature* that has come down to us from this period, with the single exception of the historical works of Josephus,* is composed in the interest of religion. Shortly before the Maccabæan era, the Book of Sirach, a collection of rules of conduct and *Ḥokhma* teachings, was written. From the Maccabee period itself we have the Book of Daniel, some of the canonical Psalms, and probably also the Book of Ecclesiastes, the beast-vision in the Book of Enoch (chs. 83–90), the First Book of Maccabees (*c.* 100 B.C.), the strongly anti-Hasmonæan passage Enoch 91–105, while the Psalms of Solomon belong to the time of the overthrow of the Hasmonæans. The rest of the Book of Enoch is also possibly all pre-Christian. The Assumption of Moses appears to have been composed shortly after the death of Herod the Great. On the other hand, neither of the two extremely important Apocalypses of Baruch and Ezra was composed till after the destruction of the Jewish State—that of Ezra under Domitian (A.D. 81–96), that of Baruch apparently somewhat earlier. There are, further, the legends of Tobit and Judith, the Book of Jubilees (a midrashic recension of Genesis), and the Martyrdom of Isaiah, which cannot be dated with certainty, but all belong to the period under consideration.

As regards the estimation in which this literature was held at the time, some writings, namely Daniel, Ecclesiastes, and the 'Maccabæan' Psalms, were received into the Canon of the Pharisees, which afterwards became the only authoritative one. The Book of Sirach was not, indeed, canonized, but enjoyed high esteem, and is not infrequently cited by the Talmudic teachers, so that even the original Hebrew text of this work survived, and has recently been recovered in large part. See art. SIRACH in vol. iv. The Psalms of Solomon emanated, beyond doubt, from the heart of the Pharisaic circle, and so frequently remind us of the canonical Psalms that it is a matter of surprise that their original text has completely disappeared. The rest of this literature, on the other hand, was afterwards disavowed by Palestinian Judaism, and hence we make acquaintance with it only in translations which circulated in Hellenistic circles. It is difficult on this account to say how these writings, above all the apocalyptic portions of them, were regarded at the time by the proper representatives of Judaism. The Apocalypse of Ezra itself claims to be a work of mystery to be read only by the initiated.* And the same is true, no doubt, in part of the other Apocalypses, with their many secrets.† On the other hand, they not only obtained currency among the Hellenistic Jews, but their world of thought comes in contact on the one side with the New Testament, and on the other, in spite of essential differences, with the late Jewish literature, in such an unmistakable fashion as to show that they must have been widely read. Even if it should be held that these coincidences are due, not to direct use of these writings, but to a common world of thought, with which the people were familiar and on which the literature in question also shows its dependence, our view of the then existing Judaism would have to be modified all the same; for then we should have to employ for its reconstruction not only the characteristic features of the official Torah study, in conjunction with the survival of the pure and inward spirit of the OT in some circles, but also the mystical sphere of ideas, with its descriptions of the world beyond and its numerous attempts to burst the barrier created by the national limitations of Judaism. Here we have a difficult task, but one that is of extreme importance for the correct appreciation of Christianity, and for the accomplishment of which the necessary preparations have only been commenced.‡

viii. THE JEWS OF THE DIASPORA.—As long as the existence of the post-exilic Jewish State in Palestine continued, the Jewish communities of the Diaspora were thrown into the shade by it. Nevertheless, developments and transformations took place amongst these, which were of the greatest significance both for Judaism itself and for Christianity. At the time of Christ there were Jewish communities in every considerable town of the world. Originally, the Jews had been forcibly transported to foreign lands: by the Assyrians and Babylonians to the Euphrates districts, by Artaxerxes Ochus to Hyrcania, etc.; or they had taken their flight abroad from fear of their enemies: so, for instance, those Jews who fled to Egypt after the murder of Gedaliah (2 K 25^{26}, Jer $41^{17\text{ff.}}$). But afterwards they migrated, in ever-increasing numbers, to various countries and settled there, partly, it may be, because they were dissatisfied with the conditions at home, partly because great material advantages were offered them in foreign parts. The chief centres were the Euphrates districts, Syria, and Egypt;[*] but there were also many Jews settled in the other Mediterranean lands, and it may be presumed that in NT times there was a large Jewish community in Rome. Of all the cities inhabited by Jews the most important was Alexandria, for here they were not only so numerous that two of the five districts of the city were called 'the Jewish,' but they came into contact here especially with the Hellenistic world of thought, and allowed themselves to be strongly influenced by it.

---

* The historical work of Josephus' contemporary, Justus of Tiberias, is lost.

* 2 Es 12[37f.] 'Write all this in a book, and put it in a secret place, and teach the wise of thy people, of whom thou art sure that they are able to comprehend and keep these secrets.'

† The Assumption of Moses appears to have originated in Zealot circles.

‡ Cf., among others, Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, 1898 [Eng. tr. 1902]; Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi. 225 ff.; Baldensperger, *Das Judentum als Vorstufe des Christentums*, 1900.

An essential factor in the life of the Jews of the Diaspora was the free exercise of their religion, which was allowed them in the time of the *Diadochi* and under the Roman domination. Things went best with them in places where they lived as an independent body with State recognition, whereas, in those lands or cities where they simply enjoyed equal rights of citizenship with others, they readily came into collision and conflict with the heathen population. Amongst their privileges must be reckoned also the possession of a jurisdiction and a coinage of their own. The latter in particular was of importance, for thus alone were they in a position to pay the poll-tax to Jerusalem. On other points the constitution and organization of Jewish communities differed in different countries.

The religious instruction of the Jews of the Diaspora was based, like that at home, upon the regular service of the synagogue, there being one or more synagogues wherever Jews were settled. In Hellenistic circles the Septuagint played the same part as the Hebrew text in the mother country, being without doubt used in the reading of the Scriptures, as acquaintance with Hebrew must have been rare on the part of Jews living abroad. See, further, art. DIASPORA in the present volume, p. 91 ff.

The Jewish-Hellenistic literature, owing not only to its being written in the Greek language, but to its being more or less interpenetrated with the Greek spirit, and its use of the Greek literary forms, has a different stamp from the Palestinian. Leaving out of account the Alexandrian expansions of some books of the OT, we may classify this literature under the three heads of History, Poetry, and Philosophy.

A number of writers treated the ancient Jewish *history* in a modernizing fashion, in order thereby to claim for it the interest of the foreign world of readers. In addition to some fragments, of which those of Eupolemus, owing to their peculiar syncretism, are the most notable, we have to mention here especially the *Antiquities* of Josephus, a work which for the reasons mentioned above must be assigned to the Hellenistic rather than to the Palestinian literature. Other authors made the immediate past the subject of their narratives. Thus the so-called Second Book of Maccabees is an extract from the extensive work of Jason of Cyrene on the Maccabæan rising. The most valuable of these writings is Josephus' account (*BJ*) of the great revolt of the Jews against the Romans, to which are attached certain portions of his autobiography. An ill-natured attack upon the Jews led Josephus, further, to compose an apologetic work (*c. Apion.*), having for its aim to exhibit the high antiquity of Judaism. To the class of literary forgeries belongs the so-called Letter of Aristeas, in which a Jewish author makes a heathen relate the story of the origin of the Septuagint. The same is the case with a 'tendency' recension of a work on the Jews by Hecatæus, the reviser of which put forth his composition under the name of the Greek historian.

As regards the employment of *poetry*, we have, first of all, the remarkable attempts to transfer the forms of the epos and the drama to the realm of Jewish history. There are, for instance, fragments of an epic presentation of the history of Jerusalem by a Philo, and a drama by an Ezekiel, whose subject is the Exodus. To the same category belong also the verses put by Jewish poets into the mouth of the ancient oracle-giving Sibyls, and which mark the apocalyptic tendency that was so prominent in Palestinian, but less so in Hellenistic, circles. See below, p. 66 ff.

Most important of all are the writings which are more or less influenced by Greek *philosophy*. The only independent Jewish thinker is Philo, who plays no unimportant rôle in the history of philosophy. The others assume an eclectic attitude towards the various Greek schools, and aim only at bringing their ideas into harmony with those of Judaism, several of them seeking at the same time to justify their dependence on Greek thinkers by maintaining that the latter originally borrowed from the Mosaic Law. The principal expedient to which these authors resort in order to harmonize the heterogeneous elements, is the allegorical interpretation of the Law and the Jewish history.[*] To this category belong the writings of Aristobulus (2nd cent. B.C.), of which only fragments are extant; the Stoicizing work on the authority of reason (the so-called Fourth Book of Maccabees); and the writings of Philo. A transition to this species of literature is exhibited by the Book of the Wisdom of Solomon, which, in spite of Gr. influence, still reminds us strongly of the Pal. *Hokhma* literature. Cf., further, artt. WISDOM in vol. iv., and PHILO, below, p. 197 ff.

LITERATURE (in addition to works on the history of Israel or of the Jews).—Schneckenburger, *Vorlesungen über neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, 1862; Hausrath, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*^{2}, 1873–77 [3rd ed. 1879 (Bd. i.)]; Wellhausen, *Die Pharisäer und Sadducäer*, 1874; Raphall, *Post-biblical History of the Jews*, 1856; Stapfer, *La Palestine au temps de Jésus-Christ*, 1885, *Les idées religieuses en Palestine à l'époque de Jésus-Christ*^{2}, 1878; Baumgarten, 'Der national-jüdische Hintergrund der neutest. Geschichte' (in *JDTh*, 1864–65); Wieseler, 'Beiträge zur neutest. Zeitgeschichte' (in *SK*, 1875); Langen, *Das Judenthum in Palästina zur Zeit Christi*, 1866; Edersheim, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, 2 vols., 1883; Schürer, *GJV*^{3}, 3 vols. and Index vol., 1898-1902 [Eng. tr. (*HJP*) from 2nd ed.]; Holtzmann, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, 1895. For a fuller Bibliography the reader may consult the work of Schürer.

FRANTS BUHL.

TALMUD.—The *Talmud* (תַּלְמוּד), meaning a 'teaching,' an 'inference,' or a 'doctrine,' is a term commonly applied to a collection of works embodying the Oral Law—תּוֹרָה שֶׁבְּעַל פֶּה, lit. 'the Torah by mouth'—handed down to the Jews by way of Tradition, in contradistinction to the Written Law —תּוֹרָה שֶׁבִּכְתָב, lit. 'the Torah in writing.' The origin of this Tradition is unknown: the common view of the mediæval authorities, claiming the same Mosaic authorship and high antiquity for it as for the Scriptures, is uncritical. But, as it is closely connected with the history and development of the hermeneutics of the Scriptures, its commencement may safely be dated back to the exilic period in which was first established the institution of the Synagogue, whose main function consisted in teaching and interpreting the word of God. The Hebrew term for 'interpretation' is *Midrāsh* (מִדְרָשׁ, cf. 2 Ch 13^{22}); and this term, like the Rab. term *Ḳabbālā* (קַבָּלָה, matter received by way of Tradition), which includes the Prophets and the Hagiographa, may likewise, perhaps, be applied to certain portions of the canonical writings, *e.g.* Chronicles. The prominent feature of the *Midrāsh*, however, as an instrument for enlarging upon and expanding the word of the Scriptures, is best discernible in the ancient Rab. productions, which, in spite of some hyperbolical expressions, provoked by heat of controversy, never seriously aspired to the dignity of Scripture. As a consequence, they for the most part properly kept apart text and interpretation, and thus clearly showed the process of expansion. The results gained by this method varied in their character with the nature of the Scripture passages, according as they were legal and ritual, or spiritual and homiletical. The former classes are comprised under the name *Hălākhā* (הֲלָכָה), signifying guidance, a rule of practice, a legal decision; and the term extends also to the usages, customs (*Minhāgîm* מִנְהָגִים), ordinances (*Tĕḳānôth* תְּקָנוֹת), and decrees (*Gĕzērôth* גְּזֵירוֹת), for which there is little or no authority in the Scriptures. The latter (spiritual and homiletical) are classified under the term *Haggādā* (הַגָּדָה, Aram. אַגָּדָה),[*] meaning a tale, a narrative, an explanation, a homily; and the term includes also the gnomic lore of the Rabbis, as well as stories and legends bearing upon the lives of post-biblical Jewish saints. Such topics as astronomy and astrology, medicine and magic, theosophy and mysticism, and similar subjects, falling mostly under the heading of folk-lore, pass as a rule also under the name of *Haggādā*.

---

[*] Philo estimates the number of Jews in Egypt at about a million (ed. Mangey, ii. 523).

[*] An interesting attempt to demonstrate the reasonableness of the laws about food is found in the Letter of Aristeas, 142 ff.

The schools active in this work of the interpretation and expansion of the Scriptures extend over many centuries, and are known under various designations, each designation marking in succession a different period.

i. The *Ṣôphĕrîm* (סוֹפְרִים), 'Scribes,' commencing with Ezra and going down to the Maccabæan period (450–100). Scarcely anything is known of their literary activity; the term 'Words of the *Ṣôphĕrîm*' (דִּבְרֵי סוֹפְרִים) is used indifferently by the Rabbis of *Hălākhôth* dating from various ages, and implying in most cases not the *authorship* of, but the *authority* for, certain given statements. Less vague are the Rab. references to the 'Men of the Great Assembly' (אַנְשֵׁי כְּנֶסֶת הַגְּדוֹלָה) and 'their Remnant' (שְׁיוּרֵי א׳ כנס׳ ה׳), thought by some scholars to be identical with the *Ṣôphĕrîm*, or at least to have formed the executive of the latter.[†] To these are attributed not only certain sayings, suggestive, among other things, of their teaching activity (as 'Raise many disciples,' M. *'Ābôth* i. 1), but also many ordinances and decrees, the most important of which are those bearing upon the arrangement and the completion of the Canon of the OT, the reading of the Law on certain days of the week, the fixing of the daily prayers (probably in six benedictions now embodied in the so-called Eighteen Benedictions, שְׁמֹנֶה עֶשְׂרֵה), and the introduction of the saying of grace after meals. The custom of pouring libations of water at the Feast of Tabernacles, and going in procession round the altar with branches of willow trees, declared by some Rabbis to have been introduced by the prophets, as well as the so-called 'Laws unto Moses from Mount Sinai' (amounting to the number of forty-three, more than a third of which refer to the preparation of the phylacteries), may also have dated from those *ṣopheric* times, remoteness of assigned date pointing, as a rule, to the pre-Maccabæan period.[*]

ii. The *Zûgôth* (זוּגוֹת; Gr. ζυγόν), 'Pairs,' a name given to the leading teachers that flourished between the Maccabæan and the Herodian period (*c.* 150–30). Five such 'Pairs' are recorded in the Rab. literature, extending over 5 generations, and succeeding each other in the following order: 1. Joṣe b. Joezer of Ẓereda and Joṣe b. Johanan of Jerusalem; 2. Joshua b. Peraḥya and Nittai of Arbela; 3. Jehuda b. Ṭabbai and Shim'on b. Shetaḥ; 4. Shema'ya and 'Abṭalyon; 5. Hillel and Shammai.[†] According to tradition each 'Pair' represents the heads of the Sanhedrin of their age, the one whose name occurs first in the list serving in the capacity of *Nāsî* (נָשִׂיא), 'Prince *or* President' of the Sanhedrin, the other in that of *'Ab Bêth Dîn* (אַב בֵּית דִּין), 'Father of the House of Judgment,' or 'Vice-President.' This tradition is contested by many modern scholars as incompatible with the statements of Josephus and of the New Testament, according to which the high priest for the time being was *ex officio* the president of the Sanhedrin. But, whatever their particular function and title were, the existence of the 'Pairs' as the heads of a religious corporation to which the large bulk of the nation belonged, and which thus formed an important factor in the development of the Oral Law, cannot well be doubted.[‡] To them are attributed not only various *Haggadic* sayings (M. *'Ābôth* i. 4–15), but also *Halakhic* statements as well as certain ordinances and decrees. It was under the first 'Pair' (also called *'Eshkôlôth* אֶשְׁכּוֹלוֹת [? identical with the Gr. σχολή], a title that disappears with them) that, according to the testimony of the Rabbis, the first difference of opinion regarding the performance of certain religious practices occurred between the sages. The *Hălākhôth* attributed to Joṣe b. Joezer, the first named of this 'Pair,' as well as the ordinances and decrees ascribed to him and to his colleague of the first 'Pair,' were apparently composed in his age, the language of the *Hălākhôth* (Aramaic [M.

---

[*] See Bacher in *JQR* iv. 406 ff.

[†] See Weiss, *Dor Dor W'Dorshow*, i. p. 54; Kuenen in his essay, 'Über die Männer der grossen Synagoge' (occupying pp. 125-160 of the *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Biblischen Wissenschaft von A. Kuenen*, Freiburg and Leipzig, 1894), contests the existence of such an assembly (cf. also art. SYNAGOGUE [THE GREAT] in vol. iv., and the Literature cited at the end of that article); whilst D. Hoffmann (*Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judentums*, x. 45 ff.) and S. Krauss (*JQR* x. 347 ff.) try to refute his argument. On the whole, the present writer is inclined to admit that there is an element of truth in this tradition regarding the Great Assembly. The Judaism which emerges suddenly after this nebulous period is essentially a product of the Synagogue. It is hard to see how it could ever have thriven under the care of the historical priests or the cosmopolitan *Ṣôphēr* of the moderns; and such a Synagogue would most naturally have developed under the auspices of an authority which acted in conformity with the spirit of the ordinances, decrees, and teachings attributed by the Rabbis to the men of the Great Assembly.

[*] See Weiss, *ib.* p. 66. The high priest Simon the Just (probably Simon I., *c.* 300 B.C.) is supposed to have belonged to this Remnant, but the saying recorded in his name is really *ṣopheric* in its character: 'On three things the world is stayed: on the Torah, and on the Worship, and on the bestowal of Kindnesses' (M. *'Ābôth* i. 2). Of his successor (2nd in the *ṣopheric* line), whose name Antigonos of Sokho shows already a marked Hellenistic influence, only the following saying is known: 'Be not as slaves that minister to the lord with a view to receive reward, but be as slaves that minister to the master without a view to receive reward' (M. *'Ābôth* i. 3). This saying, which has a certain Stoic savour about it, is supposed to have given rise to two heretical sects.

[†] See C. Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*², p. 14, note 9, for the chronology.

[‡] For Literature on this point, see Schürer, *GJV*³ ii. p. 188 ff. Of special importance are Kuenen, *l.c.* pp. 49–81; Hoffmann, *Die Präsidentur im Synedrium Mag.* v. 1878, pp. 94–99; and Jelski, *Die innere Einrichtung des grossen Synedrion*, etc. Wellhausen's *Die Pharisäer und Sadducäer* must be taken with great caution, as his command of the Rabbinic sources is imperfect.

'Edûyyôth viii. 4]) and the subject of the ordinances and decrees (Levitical purity) being both signs of antiquity. Shim'on b. Shetaḥ of the third 'Pair' is credited with having introduced several important reforms in various religious departments, whilst Shema'ya and 'Abṭalyon were called the 'Great Ones of the Generation' and the 'Great Interpreters' (דַּרְשָׁנִים גְּדוֹלִים). The most important 'Pair,' however, are Hillel (the Elder) and Shammai (the Elder), in whose names more *Hălākhôth* are recorded than of any other 'Pair'; they were also the founders of two great schools (*Beth Shammai, Beth Hillel*, בֵּית שַׁמַּאי, בֵּית הִלֵּל, 'the House *or* School of Shammai' and 'the House of Hillel') which continued the work of their masters for some generations. Hillel, a native of Babylon and (according to tradition) a descendant of the house of David, was particularly famous for his meekness and humble-mindedness. Among other things he is reported to have said, 'Be of the disciples of Aaron, loving peace and pursuing peace, loving thy fellow-creatures, and drawing them near to the Torah' (M. *'Âbôth* i. 12); whilst he also taught to a heathen, seeking admission into Judaism, 'What is hateful to thyself do not to thy fellow-man; this is the whole Torah, the rest is only commentary' (*Shabbath* 30*b*). Shammai's saying was, 'Make thy Torah a fixed thing, say little and do much, and receive every man with a cheerful countenance' (M. *'Âbôth* i. 15); but he was not particularly famous for his gentle temper. The most marked feature about these two leaders is their activity as interpreters of the Law and their application of the results of this interpretation to practice. Thus Shammai presses the words עַד רִדְתָּהּ ('until it be subdued,' Dt 20^{20}) to mean that the act of subduing a hostile place must not be interrupted even on account of any religious consideration, and thus he permits the continuing of a battle even on Sabbath (*Shabbath* 19*a*). Hillel, by subjecting the term בְּמוֹעֲדוֹ ('in its season,' Nu 9^2) to the interpretatory 'rule of analogy,' inferred from it the *Hălākhā* that the duty of sacrificing the Paschal lamb overrules all consideration of Sabbath, when the 14th of Nisan falls on the 7th day of the week (*Pĕṣāḥîm* 66*a*).* Indeed it was Hillel who first framed the Rules of Interpretation, seven in number (Introduction to the *Tôrath Kōhănîm*), and which developed later into thirteen and more.

iii. The *Tannaim* (תַּנָּאִים), 'Teachers,' the name given to the authorities living during the first two centuries of the Christian era (*c.* 10–200), commencing with the schools of Shammai and Hillel and terminating with R. Jehuda the Patriarch, a great-grandson of Hillel. The period of the *Tannaim*, most of whom bear the title *Rabbi* (רַבִּי 'my Master,' but losing later its pronominal signification) or (more rarely) *Rabban* (רַבָּן 'Master'), may conveniently be divided into four successive generations, the principal men of which are—

First Generation (10–80).—The 'schools of Shammai and Hillel,' comprising many teachers whose names have not come down to us. The underlying principle dividing these schools on many important points is not known; but on the whole the school of Shammai may perhaps be characterized as staunch conservatives in their adherence to Tradition, who allowed little room for the play of interpretation, and were as a rule very rigorous in their decisions; whilst the school of Hillel, already described by the old Rabbis as 'pleasing and meek,' were more inclined to compromise in their teaching, greatly given to the developing of the *Midrash*, and in general less severe in their *Halakhic* dicta. The most important of those known by name are Rabban Gamaliel the Elder, and Rabban Joḥanan b. Zakkai, both of the school of Hillel. Gamaliel, a son (some say a grandson) of Hillel, is known for various reforms introduced by him, as well as for the part he took in the trial of the Apostle Paul (Ac 5^{34-39}); whilst Joḥanan was equally famous as one of the leaders of the peace party in the war against the Romans (66–70), and as the founder of the Academy of Jamnia, which became the centre of Jewish life and thought after the destruction of the temple.

Second Generation (90–130).—Rabban Gamaliel II., President of the Academy of Jamnia after the death of R. Joḥanan [having been rather autocratic in the treatment of his colleagues he was removed from his office for a time, but soon after restored to it]; R. 'Eliezer b. Jaḳob I., who was considered a great authority in traditions regarding the structure and the arrangement of the service in the temple; R. 'Eliezer b. Hyrḳanos, a brother-in-law of R. Gamaliel, and the head of a school in Lydda [though a disciple of R. Joḥanan b. Zakkai, of the school of Hillel, he cherished Shammaitic principles, which fact brought him into collision with the majority of his colleagues, and subsequently led to his excommunication]; R. Jehoshua b. Ḥananya, likewise a disciple of R. Joḥanan b. Zakkai, but unlike his colleague, R. 'Eliezer, with whom he had many controversies, of a humble and submissive disposition; R. 'Eliezer b. 'Aẓarya, who derived his pedigree from Ezra the Scribe, and who obtained the office of President of the Academy of Jamnia when R. Gamaliel was deposed. To the younger teachers of this generation belong R. Ṭarphon, of the school of Shammai (?), who had attended the service in the temple; R. Joṣe of Galilee, who had controversies with R. Ṭarphon and other *Tannaim*; R. Ishmael b. 'Elisha, best known for his thirteen Rules of Interpretation (see above). Together with other members of the Sanhedrin he emigrated from Jamnia to Usha, where he founded a school called after his name, to which various *Midrashim* are attributed. R. 'Aḳiba b. Joṣeph, a disciple of several older teachers of this generation, was master of most of the distinguished Rabbis of the next generation, and not less famous for his skill in systematizing the content of tradition than for his ingenious methods of interpretation, which enabled him to find a basis for all the enactments of the Oral Law in the Scriptures. This fact, together with the circumstance of his patriotic zeal and his martyr death in the Hadrianic persecutions (*c.* 130), made him the most famous of the *Tannaim*. To this generation belong also the older disciples of R. 'Aḳiba—Shim'on b. 'Azai and Shim'on b. Zoma—best known for their moralizing sayings and mystical tendencies (in the direction of a Jewish gnosis) which they shared with their master, but from which, unlike the latter, they did not escape without injury. 'The one gazed (into the chambers of heaven) and died, and the other gazed and was not in his mind.' Their contemporary 'Elisha b. 'Abuyah, also called 'Aḥer (the Other One), was less happy than these, for he 'gazed' and 'cut the branches,' that is, became an apostate.

Third Generation (130–160).—The disciples of R. Ishmael, of whom only two are known by their names (R. Joshia and R. Jonathan), whilst the others are usually quoted as 'the Tanna of the school' of R. Ishmael. The younger disciples of R. 'Aḳiba are R. Meir, who continued the systematizing labours of his master, and is thus supposed to have laid the foundation of a Mishna; R. Jehuda b. 'Ilai, who is called 'the first of the Speakers'; R. Shim'on b. Yoḥai, of whom R. 'Aḳiba said, 'Be satisfied that I and thy Maker know thy powers'; R. Neḥemiah, to whom, as to the two last-mentioned Rabbis, various *Tannaitic* compilations are attributed; R.'Eleazar b. Shamua, round whom the greatest number of disciples gathered, and R. Joṣe b. Ḥalaphta, to whom the book *Ṣeder 'Olam* (סֵדֶר עוֹלָם), containing a chronology of events and personages in the Bible, is attributed. Abba Shaul, compiler of a Mishna, and the Patriarch R. Shim'on II. b. Gamaliel II., are also included in the third generation.

---

* For the historical and theological significance of this method of interpretation, see Chwolson, *Das letzte Passamahl Christi und der Tag seines Todes* (St. Petersburg, 1892), p. 20 ff.

Fourth Generation (160–220).—R. Nathan Habbabhli, who emigrated from Babylon to Palestine, and there held under the last-mentioned Patriarch an office in the Sanhedrin the nature of which is not quite known; Symmachos, the disciple of R. Meir, and a great authority in matters of civil law; and various other *Tannaim*, sons and disciples of the authorities of the preceding generation. The most important among them is the Patriarch R. Jehuda Hannasi, also called *Rabbênû haḳḳādôsh* (רַבֵּינוּ הַקָּדוֹשׁ), 'Our Master, the Saint,' but more frequently *Rabbi*, 'the Master,' without adding his name. He was the son of the Patriarch R. Shim'on II., and the disciple of R. Shim'on b. Yoḥai, and of R. 'Eleazar b. Shamua; he presided over the Sanhedrin, which during this generation was, as it would seem, a migratory body, shifting from place to place, from Usha to Beth-shearim, and thence to Sepphoris and Tiberias. This R. Jehuda is said to have maintained friendly relations with the Roman authorities of Palestine at that period. This fact, as well as the circumstances of his noble birth, great wealth, official position, saintly character, and his mastery of the contents of the Oral Law, gave him an authority over his contemporaries never enjoyed by any other *Tanna*, and gathered round him a band of distinguished disciples and colleagues which rendered possible his work as compiler and codifier of the Mishna.[*]

The literary productions of all these generations of *Tannaim*, as well as of their predecessors the 'Pairs' and the *Ṣôphĕrîm*, both in *Hălākhā* and in *Haggādā*, are, as far as they have been preserved, embodied in the following collections.

The **Mishna** מִשְׁנָה[†] (from שָׁנָה), meaning a 'teaching,' a 'repetition,' is a designation most appropriate for a work generally looked upon as the main depository of the contents of the Oral Law, which (in contradistinction to מִקְרָא, reading matter, or the Scriptures) could be acquired only by means of constant repetition. This work, compiled (apart from some later additions) by R. Jehuda the Patriarch, is divided into 6 Orders (שִׁשָּׁה סְדָרִים=ש״ס), each of which contains several *Maṣṣikhtôth* (מַסֶּכְתּוֹת, sing. מַסֶּכֶת (Aram. מַסֶּכְתָּא), derived from נָסַךְ, meaning 'to weave'; cf. the Latin *textus*), or 'texts' (but more commonly called 'tractates'), whilst each tractate is divided into *Pĕrāḳîm* (פְּרָקִים, sing. פֶּרֶק), 'joints' or 'sections,' each of which, in its turn, consists of so many *Hălākhôth* (in the sense of paragraphs). The number of the tractates is 63 (or, in another enumeration, 60), bearing the following titles, which are suggestive more or less of their varied contents, though extraneous matter that is in no way indicated by the title is everywhere introduced :—

I. ZĔRĀ'ÎM, זְרָעִים 'Seeds.'

1. *Bĕrākhôth*, בְּרָכוֹת 'Benedictions,' treating of laws and regulations relating to the liturgy. 9 chapters.
2. *Pē'ā*, פֵּאָה 'Corner,' treating of the laws relating to the corner of the field and the forgotten sheaves, etc., to be left for the poor (Lv 19^{9}, Dt $24^{19.21}$). 8 chapters.
3. *Dammai*, דְּמַּי (also דְּמָאִי) the 'Doubtful,' respecting corn and other productions of the earth, of which it is doubtful whether the prescribed tithes had been paid. 7 chapters.
4. *Kil'ayim*, כִּלְאַיִם 'Mixtures,' *i.e.* mixtures of seeds, animals, and materials for cloth, prohibited by the Scriptures (Lv 19^{19}, Dt $22^{9\text{-}11}$). 9 chapters.
5. *Shĕbî'ith*, שְׁבִיעִית the 'Sabbatical year' (Ex 23^{11}, Lv $25^{1\text{ff.}}$, Dt $15^{1\text{ff.}}$). 10 chapters.
6. *Tĕrûmôth*, תְּרוּמוֹת 'Heave-Offerings,' for the priest (Nu $18^{8\text{ff.}}$ and Dt 18^{4}). 5 chapters.
7. *Ma'ăsērôth*, מַעַשְׂרוֹת 'Tithes' (Nu $18^{21\text{ff.}}$). 5 chapters.
8. *Ma'ăsēr Shēnî*, מַעֲשֵׂר שֵׁנִי 'Second Tithe' (Dt $14^{22\text{ff.}}$). 5 chapters.
9. *Ḥallā*, חַלָּה the 'Dough,' a portion thereof to be given to the priest (Nu $15^{18\text{ff.}}$). 4 chapters.
10. *'Orlā*, עָרְלָה 'Uncircumcised,' fruits of the tree during the first three years (Lv $19^{23\text{ff.}}$). 3 chapters.
11. *Bikkûrîm*, בִּכּוּרִים 'First Fruits,' brought to the temple (Dt $26^{1\text{ff.}}$, Ex 23^{19}). 3 chapters.

II. MÔ'ED, מוֹעֵד 'Season.'

1. *Shabbath*, שַׁבָּת 'Sabbath,' laws relating to it, mainly prohibitions of work (Ex 20^{10} etc.). 24 chapters.
2. *'Êrûbîn*, עֵירוּבִין 'Amalgamations' or ideal combinations of localities with the purpose of extending the Sabbath boundary, as well as laws as to the Sabbath day's journey. 10 chapters.
3. *Pĕṣāḥîm*, פְּסָחִים 'Passovers,' laws relating to them (Ex $12^{1\text{ff.}}$, Lv 23^{4}, Nu $9^{1\text{ff.}}$). 10 chapters.
4. *Shĕḳālîm*, שְׁקָלִים 'Shekels,' collected for the temple (Ex $30^{12\text{ff.}}$, Neh 10^{33}), and the various objects for which they were spent; including lists of the higher officials of the temple. 8 chapters.
5. *Yômā*, יוֹמָא 'The Day' (also *Yôm Hakkippûrîm*, יוֹם הַכִּפּוּרִים 'The day of Atonement'), treating of the service in the temple on that day, and of the laws relating to fasting (Lv $16^{1\text{ff.}}$). 8 chapters.
6. *Ṣukkā*, סֻכָּה 'Booth' or 'Tabernacle,' respecting the laws on dwelling in booths for seven days, and other observances during this feast (Lv $23^{34\text{ff.}}$, Nu $29^{12\text{ff.}}$). 8 chapters.
7. *Bêẓā*, בֵּיצָה 'Egg' (so called after the first words with which the tractate begins, but also termed *Yôm Ṭôb*, יוֹם טוֹב 'Feast'), enumerating the different kinds of work permitted or prohibited on festivals (Ex 12^{10}). 5 chapters.
8. *Rōsh Hashshānā*, רֹאשׁ הַשָּׁנָה 'New Year,' dealing with questions relating to the calendar, but chiefly with the laws to be observed on the first of the 7th month (*Tishri*), the civil New Year of the Jews (see Lv 23^{24}, Nu $29^{1\text{ff.}}$). 4 chapters.
9. *Ta'ănîth*, תַּעֲנִית 'Fast,' respecting the laws observed and the order of the liturgy on such days. 4 chapters.
10. *Mĕgillā*, מְגִלָּה 'Roll' of Esther, relating to the laws to be observed on the feast of *Purim*. 4 chapters.
11. *Mô'ēd Ḳāṭon*, מוֹעֵד קָטָן 'Minor Feast' (also called מַשְׁקִין, the first word of the tractate), *i.e.* the laws relating to the days intervening between the first and last days of the feast of Passover and that of Tabernacles. 4 chapters.
12. *Ḥăgîgā*, חֲגִיגָה 'Feast-Offering,' treating of the duty of pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the sort of sacrifices to be brought on such occasions (see Ex 23^{17} and Dt 16^{16}), as well as of laws regarding the degrees of defilement (against which the pilgrims are cautioned). 3 chapters.

III. NĀSHÎM, נָשִׁים 'Women.'

1. *Yĕbāmôth*, יְבָמוֹת 'Levirate Marriages' (Dt $25^{5\text{ff.}}$), and the forbidden degrees in marriage (Lv 18, etc.). 16 chapters.
2. *Kĕthûbôth*, כְּתוּבּוֹת 'Marriage Deeds and Marriage Settlements' (see Ex 22^{16}). 13 chapters.
3. *Nĕdārîm*, נְדָרִים 'Vows,' and their annulment (Nu $30^{3\text{ff.}}$). 11 chapters.
4. *Nāzîr*, נָזִיר 'Nazirite' (Nu $6^{2\text{ff.}}$). 9 chapters.
5. *Ṣôṭā*, סוֹטָה 'The Suspected Woman' (Nu $5^{12\text{ff.}}$). 9 chapters.
6. *Giṭṭîn*, גִּטִּין 'Letters of Divorce' (Dt $24^{1\text{ff.}}$). 9 chapters.
7. *Ḳiddûshîn*, קִדּוּשִׁין 'Betrothals.' 4 chapters.

IV. NĔZÎḲÎN, נְזִיקִין 'Damages.'

1–3. *Bābā Ḳammā*, בָּבָא קַמָּא 'First Gate'; *Bābā Mĕẓî'a*,

---

[*] Some authorities number five generations of *Tannaim*. For the purpose of brevity, we have accepted the plan of those who have condensed them into four. For the same reason, we have confined ourselves to the most important *Tannaim*, omitting many who deserve mention. Compare H. Strack's excellent monograph *Einleitung in den Thalmud*^{2}, p. 76 ff., and his bibliography appended to each *Tanna*. The references there given include those to Bacher's works, which are the most important contributions to the subject in any language other than Hebrew.

[†] St. const. מִשְׁנַת. The Patristic δευτέρωσις (see references in Schürer, *l.c.* i. p. 88, n. 1) speaks for מִשְׁנָה (second to the Torah), st. const. מִשְׁנֵה. Both explanations are represented in Rab. literature. Cf. *Arukh Completum, s.v.* משנה.

בָּבָא מְצִיעָא 'Second Gate'; *Bābā Bathrā*, בָּבָא בַּתְרָא 'Last Gate.' These formed in ancient times only one tractate, bearing the same title as the whole order, מסכת נזיקין 'Tractate of Damages,' divided into three sections, each section consisting of 10 chapters. These three treat of (1) damages and injuries caused by man and beasts for which he is responsible (see Ex $21^{18\text{ff.}}$ $22^{3\text{ff.}}$); (2) of laws concerning lost property, trusts, the prohibition of usury and similar matters, duties towards hired labourers, etc. (see Ex $22^{6\text{ff.}}$ $23^{3.4}$, Lv 19^{13} $25^{14.36}$, Dt $23^{20.25}$ and 24^{14}); (3) laws relating to the different ways of taking possession of various kinds of property, the right of pre-emption, definition of certain terms used in contracts and oral transactions, order of inheritance (see Nu $27^{6\text{ff.}}$), etc.

4. 5. *Ṣanhedrîn*, סַנְהֶדְרִין (10 chapters), and *Makkôth*, מַכּוֹת 'Stripes' (3 chapters), also forming in ancient times one tractate. The former treats of the constitution of the various courts of justice and their modes of procedure, the examination of witnesses, and the four kinds of capital punishment for grave crimes, as well as of the punishment consisting in being excluded from eternal life, etc. etc. The latter deals with offences for which the infliction of 39 stripes is prescribed (Dt $25^{2\text{ff.}}$), with false witnesses (Dt $19^{16\text{ff.}}$), and the laws relating to the cities of refuge (Nu $35^{10\text{ff.}}$, Dt $19^{2\text{ff.}}$).

6. *Shĕbhû'ôth*, שְׁבוּעוֹת 'Oaths,' taken in private or administered by the court (Lv $5^{1.4}$). 6 chapters.

7. *'Ēdûyyôth*, עֵדִיוֹת 'Evidences,' containing a collection of laws and decisions gathered from the statements made by distinguished authorities. 8 chapters.

8. *'Ăbôdā Zārā*, עֲבוֹדָה זָרָה 'Idolatry,' regarding the treatment of idols and their worshippers (Dt $4^{25\text{ff.}}$). 5 chapters.

9. *'Ăbôth*, אָבוֹת 'Fathers' (of Jewish tradition), containing mostly ethical sayings and maxims of the *Tannaim*. 5 chapters.

10. *Hôrāyôth*, הוֹרָיוֹת 'Decisions' (wrong ones) given by the authorities, treating of the sacrifices to be brought if the public acted in accordance with such erroneous teachings (Lv $4^{1\text{ff.}}$). 3 chapters.

V. ḲODĀSHÎM, קָדָשִׁים 'Sacred' things.

1. *Zĕbāḥîm*, זְבָחִים 'Sacrifices' (also called שְׁחִיטַת קָדָשִׁים and קָרְבָּנוֹת), treating of the laws relating to the various modes of offerings, the sprinkling of the blood, the burning of the fat pieces or of whole animals, etc. (Lv $1^{1\text{ff.}}$). 12 chapters.

2. *Mĕnāḥôth*, מְנָחוֹת 'Meat-Offerings,' including also the laws regarding libations (Lv $2^{5\text{ff.}}$ etc., Nu $15^{3\text{ff.}}$). 12 chapters.

3. *Ḥullîn*, חֻלִּין (also שְׁחִיטַת חוּלִין) 'Things Secular,' regarding the mode of killing animals and birds for ordinary use, as well as the various diseases disqualifying them from being eaten, and many other dietary laws. 12 chapters.

4. *Bĕkhôrôth*, בְּכוֹרוֹת 'Firstborn,' of men and animals (Ex $13^{2.12\text{ff.}}$ etc.), including also the laws regarding the tithes of animals (Lv $27^{26.32\text{ff.}}$). 9 chapters.

5. *'Ărākhîn*, עֲרָכִין 'Valuations,' of persons and things dedicated to the temple (Lv $27^{2\text{ff.}}$), also including some laws relating to the year of Jubilee (Lv $25^{15\text{ff.}}$). 9 chapters.

6. *Tĕmûrā*, תְּמוּרָה 'Change,' the laws bearing on cases of substituting a secular animal for one already dedicated to the altar (Lv $27^{9.33}$). 7 chapters.

7. *Kĕrîthôth*, כְּרִיתוֹת 'Excisions,' treating of sins subject to the punishment of 'the soul being cut off' (Gn 17^{14}, Ex 12^{15} etc. etc.). 6 chapters.

8. *Mĕ'îlā*, מְעִילָה 'Trespass,' treating of sacrilege committed by secularizing things belonging to the temple or to the altar (Lv $5^{15\text{ff.}}$). 8 chapters.

9. *Tāmîd*, תָּמִיד 'Continual' sacrifice, describing the temple service in connexion with this daily sacrifice (Ex $29^{38\text{ff.}}$, Nu $28^{3\text{ff.}}$). 7 chapters.

10. *Middôth*, מִדּוֹת 'Measurements,' of the temple, describing its courts, halls, chambers, and gates, etc. etc. 5 chapters.

11. *Ḳinnîm*, קִנִּים 'Nests,' of birds, or pairs of doves brought as sacrifice by the poor (Lv $1^{14\text{ff.}}$ $5^{7\text{ff.}}$). 3 chapters.

VI. ṬOHĀRÔTH, טְהָרוֹת 'Purifications.'

1. *Kēlîm*, כֵּלִים 'Vessels,' furniture, garments, and all kinds of utensils subject to Levitical impurity (Lv 11^{32}). 30 chapters.

2. *'Ōhālôth*, אֹהָלוֹת 'Tents' and habitations as conductors of Levitical impurity (Nu $19^{14\text{ff.}}$). 18 chapters.

3. *Nĕgā'îm*, נְגָעִים 'Leprosy,' in all its various degrees (Lv 13–14). 14 chapters.

4. *Pārā*, פָּרָה 'Red Heifer,' the use made of its ashes for the purpose of purification (Nu $19^{2\text{ff.}}$). 12 chapters.

5. *Ṭohārôth*, טְהָרוֹת 'Purifications,' used euphemistically for טומאות 'defilements' of all sorts and their various degrees. 10 chapters.

6. *Miḳwā'ôth*, מִקְוָאוֹת 'Wells' and cisterns to be used as means of ritual purification (Lv $15^{11.12}$ etc. etc.). 10 chapters.

7. *Niddā*, נִדָּה the 'Menstruous,' the Levitical impurity attaching to women under certain physical conditions (Lv $15^{19\text{ff.}}$). 10 chapters.

8. *Makhshîrîn*, מַכְשִׁירִין 'Preparers,' respecting the conditions under which certain articles became (by coming in contact with liquids) prepared for eventual defilement (Lv $11^{37\text{ff.}}$). 6 chapters.

9. *Zābîm*, זָבִים 'Persons afflicted with running issues,' the impurity arising thereof (Lv $15^{2\text{ff.}}$). 5 chapters.

10. *Ṭĕbûl Yôm*, טְבוּל יוֹם 'Immersed during the day,' *i.e.* the condition of a person who had taken the ritual bath prescribed but has still to wait for sunset to be considered as quite pure (see Lv $22^{6.7}$). 4 chapters.

11. *Yādayîm*, יָדַיִם 'Hands,' respecting the ritual impurity attaching to them (according to the Oral Law), and the mode of cleansing them by pouring water over them. 4 chapters.

12. *'Ūḳẓîn*, עוּקְצִין 'Stalks,' how far they are considered a part of the fruit so as to convey impurity when touched by anything unclean. 3 chapters.

The idiom in which the Mishna is compiled is the New Hebrew, interspersed with occasional Greek and Latin words; its diction is fluent and easy when not disfigured, as all works coming to us from antiquity are, by interpolations and textual corruptions. The date of its compilation may be fixed about A.D. 220. This was undertaken and accomplished by R. Jehuda the Patriarch, not with the purpose of providing the nation with a legal code, but with the intention of furnishing them with a sort of thesaurus, incorporating such portions of the traditional lore as he considered most important. Hence the ground for his including in the work the opinions of the minority (*e.g.* of the school of Shammai), which only in a few exceptional cases were accepted as a norm for practice. A preliminary acquaintance with the contents of the Scriptures bearing upon the topic expounded by tradition is always assumed; so that, *e.g.*, the tractate *Ṣukkā* commences: 'A booth (the interior of which is) higher than 20 cubits is disqualified,' thus premising the duty of living in booths for seven days according to Lv 23^{42}. In many cases even a knowledge of the institutions established by the Oral Law is presupposed. Hence such a statement as that with which the Mishna commences: 'When do they begin to read the *Shĕma'* in the evening (*i.e.* the 3 paragraphs in the Scriptures, Dt 6^{4-9} 11^{13-21}, and Nu 15^{37-41}, the first paragraph of which begins with the word *Shĕma'* שְׁמַע)? From the time the priests (in the case of defilement) come back (from their ritual baths) to eat their heave-offering' (*i.e.* after sunset, see Lv 22^{4-7}). The duty or the custom of daily reading the *Shĕma'* is thus assumed as something generally known though not mentioned in the Scriptures.

The works after which R. Jehuda modelled his compilation and the sources upon which he drew were probably the older Mishna collections, the first composition of which was, as there is good reason to believe, begun by the first successors of Shammai and Hillel, then compiled by R. 'Aḳiba, and continued by his disciple R. Meir, who enriched it by additions of the later *Tannaim*. This Mishna became the groundwork of that of R. Jehuda, apart from various other collections of a similar kind (*e.g.* the Mishna of Abba Shaul), which were equally known to the compiler and utilized by him.* The strata of these older compositions are still in many places discernible, either by their style and phraseology or by the nature of their contents. An instance of the former is the passage illustrating the prohibition against transporting things on Sabbath from a space belonging to a private individual to that constituting a part of the public property. This commences יְצִיאוֹת הַשַּׁבָּת (M. *Shabbath* i. 1), instead of הוצאות הש׳, through which the Scripture expression אַל יֵצֵא (Ex 16^{19}) is still visible, and thus points to a time when the *Hălākhā* was still in its early stage, forming a sort of paraphrase of Scripture, not a set of abstract laws. As an instance of the latter, it is sufficient to refer here to the historical description of the procession in which the sacrifice of the first-fruits was brought to the temple (Ex. 23^{19}), concerning which we read in M. *Bikkûrîm* iii. 4: ‘The pipe was playing before them (the pilgrims) until they arrived at the temple mountain, when even Agrippa the king would take the basket (containing the first-fruits) on his shoulders, stepping forward till he reached the courts; then the Levites spoke in song (chanted), “I will extol thee, O Lord, for thou hast lifted me up”’ (Ps 30^{2}). The mention of Agrippa (probably Agrippa I., *c.* 40) points to a contemporary document, since a Rabbi of a later period would, for the sake of emphasis, have named some biblical potentate (*e.g.* Solomon), not a mere Herodian prince.* This is only a specimen of many other portions of the Mishna, which contain lengthy descriptions of the sacrificial service on certain occasions, or give accounts of the architecture of the temple, its administration (including lists of the names of the higher officials), and its economy; whilst others furnish us with records of actual transactions of the Sanhedrin, the procedure of the courts, and the various methods of execution. All these bear the stamp of their own age, and testify to the early date of their composition.

---

* For this 'higher criticism' of the Mishna, see Dr. Lewy, 'Über einige Fragmente aus der M. des Abba Saul' in *Zweiter Bericht über die Hochschule für die W. d. J. in Berlin*, 1876, and Dr. D. Hoffmann, *Die erste Mischna* (Berlin, 1882).

The question whether R. Jehuda, besides compiling, actually wrote down the Mishna, is still a controverted point amongst modern scholars, as it was nearly a thousand years ago between the Franco-German and the Spanish authorities. The balance of evidence is still about equal on each side. Three things, however, seem to be certain. First, there existed a law or custom, dating from ancient times, prohibiting the writing down of the contents of Tradition, though the Scripture support for this custom (Bab. Talm. *Tĕmûrā* 14*b* and parallel passages) was not advanced till a comparatively late period (end of the 2nd cent.). Ample evidence of this fact is afforded by the traditional term, ‘Torah by mouth,’ as well as the various mnemotechnical aids to be found in the Mishna (*e.g. Megilla* i. 4–11, אין בין) and the homage paid to those who invented them (see Jerus. *Shĕķālîm* 48*c*, regarding the grouping of *Hălākhôth* in numbers, and *Aboth d’ R. Nathan* 18, respecting R. ‘Aķiba’s arranging of the Torah in links). Second, the prohibition did not extend to books of a *Haggadic* character (סִפְרֵי דאַגַּדְתָּא), of which we know that they both circulated among, and were read by, the Rabbis. Under *Haggādā* was included also the gnomic literature—as, for instance, the Wisdom of Ben Ṣira, which both the *Tannaim* and the ’*Amoraim*, as well as the authorities of a later period, the *Geonim* (*e.g.* R. Saadya), knew in the Hebrew original, and were constantly quoting, and of which fragments covering nearly two-thirds of the book have now been found after a disappearance of nearly 700 years. Third, the prohibition was often disregarded, even in cases of *Hălākhā*, as in the case of the *Mĕgillath Ta’ănîth* (מְגִילַּת תַּעֲנִית), containing a list of certain days in the year on which no fast could be declared, or the *Mĕgillath Ṣammānîn* (מְגִילַּת סַמָּנִין), ‘the Roll of Spices,’ treating of the preparation of the incense (Ex 30$^{34ff.}$) in the tabernacle and the temple (Jerus. *Shĕķālîm* 49*a*).

Owing to the great authority of R. Jehuda the Patriarch, his compilation became the *Mishna* κατ’ ἐξοχήν, a sort of canonical collection of the teachings of the *Tannaim*, forming the text-book of the students of the Oral Law, round which centred all the comments, discussions, and the additional matter produced by the succeeding generations. The other collections, likewise confined to the teachings of the *Tannaim*, but composed in schools not presided over by the Patriarch, pass under the name either of מִשְׁנָה הַחִיצוֹנָה *Mishna Haḥîẓônā* (more frequently the Aram. בָּרַיְתָא *Bāraithā*), ‘the external Mishna,’ or *Tôṣephtā* (תּוֹסֶפְתָּא), ‘addition’ (to the Mishna). No treatise representing the ‘external Mishna’ has come down to us, but many hundreds of quotations from such external Mishnas are scattered over the two Talmuds, mostly introduced by such phrases as תָּנוּ רַבָּנָן (‘our Masters taught’), or תַּנְיָא (‘it is taught’), or תנא and תָּנֵי (‘he taught’). But we possess a work, bearing the name *Tôṣephtā*, corresponding with the arrangement of the Mishna, and dealing with the same subjects. It shows marks of different ages; and, whilst it embodies portions coming from collections preceding our Mishna, it presupposes the knowledge of the latter, whilst in some places it even affords comments and explanations taken from the *Gemara* and recast in the New Hebrew style of the Mishna. It is thus safe to assume that the date of its final redaction falls in the later age of the ’*Amoraim*, though its composition may have been initiated by R. Ḥiya and R. Hoshaya the disciples of R. Jehuda, to whom tradition attributes such a work undertaken in imitation of the *Tôṣephtā* of R. Nehemia, who is credited with having collected ‘additions’ to the Mishna of R. ‘Aķiba. To this class of works also belong the so-called Minor Tractates bearing the following titles:—*Aboth d’ R. Nathan* (אָבוֹת דר׳ נָתָן), a sort of *Tôṣephtā* and *Midrash* to the tractate ’*Ābôth*, existing in two recensions;* *Maṣṣekheth Ṣôphĕrîm* (מַסֶּכֶת סוֹפְרִים),† ‘Scribes,’ dealing with the laws relating to the writing of the Scriptures. The text is in a bad condition, the interpolations and additions (on the Jewish liturgy, etc.) almost obliterating the original plan of the work, and it should be studied in connexion with the tractates *Ṣepher Tôrā*, *Mĕzûzā* (laws relating to the writing of certain verses from the Scriptures and to fixing them on the door-posts, see Dt 6^{9}), and *Tĕphillîn* (Phylacteries), edited by Kirchheim; *Maṣṣekheth Sĕmāḥôth* (מַסֶּכֶת שְׂמָחוֹת ‘Joys’),‡ a euphemistic title for laws and customs connected with mourning—of which we have also a shorter recension ed. by C. M. Horwitz under the title מַסֶּכֶת שְׂמָחוֹת זוּטְרָתִי (‘Tractate Joys, the Minor’); *Maṣṣekheth Kallā* (מַסֶּכֶת כַּלָּה ‘Bride’), laws of chastity to be observed in conjugal life; *Maṣekheth Derekh ’Ereẓ* (מַסֶּכֶת דֶּרֶךְ אֶרֶץ), ‘Manners’ and behaviour of the different classes of society on various occasions. The tractate exists in two recensions, a longer (רַבָּה) and a shorter one (זוּטָא). The latter, dealing almost exclusively with the rules of life prescribed for the ‘disciples of the wise,’ is of a very spiritual nature. Lastly, we have to note here the other tractates ed. by Kirchheim, including, besides those mentioned above, the tractates dealing with the laws relating to *Ẓîẓîth* (צִיצִית), ‘Fringes’ (Nu 15^{38}); ‘*Ăbādîm* (עֲבָדִים), ‘Slaves’; *Kûthîm* (כּוּתִים), ‘Samaritans’; and *Gērîm* (גֵּרִים), ‘Proselytes.’

The works recorded thus far, though containing occasional hermeneutical elements, convey, owing to their scantiness and the long intervals at which they occur, but a faint idea of the interpretatory work of the *Tannaim*. For this we must turn to the earlier *Midrash*, which has come down to us in the following works:—the *Mèkhiltā* (מְכִילְתָּא), 'Measure' on a portion of Exodus; the *Ṣiphrê* (סִפְרֵי), 'the Books' on portions of Numbers and the whole of Deuteronomy, both *Midrashim* emanating from the school of Ishmael; and the *Ṣiphrā* (סִפְרָא) or *Tôrath Kôhănîm* (תּוֹרַת כֹּהֲנִים), 'The Book' or 'The Law of the Priests' on Leviticus, a product of the school of R. 'Aḳiba. Besides these fairly complete works we also possess fragments of a *Mĕkhiltā* of R. Shim'on b. Yoḥai on Exodus, and of a small *Ṣiphrā* (סִפְרָא זוּטָא) on Numbers, both originating in the school of R. 'Aḳiba; and of a *Mĕkhiltā* on Deuteronomy, coming from the school of R. Ishmael.* The exegetical system of the Rabbis, forming the basis of the *Midrash*, grew with the rise of the new schools, the seven hermeneutical rules of Hillel having been developed by R. Ishmael into thirteen, and expanded (particularly as regards their application in the department of *Haggādā*) by R. Eliezer, the son of R. Joṣe of Galilee, into thirty-two or thirty-three rules; whilst rules of interpretation of other distinguished Rabbis are also mentioned. The practical object of the *Midrash* was the deduction of new *Hălākhôth* from the Scriptures, or the finding of a 'support' (אַסְמַכְתָּא) for the old ones. It is very difficult to determine in which cases the *Midrash* preceded the *Hălākhā*, and in which the *Hălākhā* preceded the *Midrash*, but it may be safely assumed that in most cases where the interpretation of the Rabbis is forced and far-fetched the *Hălākhā* was first handed down by tradition as an ancient usage or custom, and the Biblical 'support' was invoked only to give it the weight of Scripture authority. Here are one or two instances, which, given in the language of the Rabbis, may convey some idea of the vivid style of the *Midrash*—

---

* See Hoffmann, *l.c.* p. 15; but cf. also A. Büchler, *Die Priester und der Cultus in den letzten Jahrzehnten des Jerusalemischen Tempels* (Wien, 1895), p. 10.

* See S. Schechter’s introduction to his edition of *Aboth d’ R. Nathan*, Vienna, 1878.

† See Dr. Joel Müller’s introduction to his edition of the *Masechet Soferim*.

‡ See N. Brüll, ‘Die Talmudischen Tractate über Trauer um Verstorbene’ (*Jahrbücher der Jüd. Litt.* pp. 1–57).

'R. Ishmael, R. 'Eliezer b. 'Aẓarya, and R. 'Aḳiba were walking on the high-road, and Levi Hassadar and R. Ishmael the son of R. 'Eliezer b. 'Aẓarya were walking behind them. And then the following question was put before them, "Whence is it to be inferred that danger of life 'removes' the Sabbath?" . . . R. Joṣe of Galilee answered, "It is written, BUT (אַךְ) *my Sabbaths ye shall keep* (Ex 31^{13}); the (limiting particle) אַךְ teaches, there are Sabbaths which thou keepest, others which thou 'removest' (the latter in cases of danger of life)." R. Shim'on b. Manaṣya says, "Behold Scripture says, *And ye shall keep the Sabbaths, for it is holy unto* YOU (*ib.* v.^{14}), the Sabbath is given to you (with stress on the word לָכֶם) to desecrate in case of need, but thou art not given to the Sabbath"' (*Mĕkhiltā*, *ad loc.*). Other Rabbis base this *Hălākhā* on the logical principle of *à fortiori* (קַל וָחוֹמֶר, one of the hermeneutical rules of Hillel), but none disputes the *Hălākhā* in itself, which had evidently the authority of ages. Another instance is the interpretation of Ex 21^{24} (cf. Lv 24^{20}): '*Eye for eye*, that is, money (amounting to the value of the eye). Thou sayest money, perhaps it means the real eye (*i.e.* that his eye should be blinded in retaliation for the organ which he has destroyed). R. Eliezer said, "It is written, *And he that killeth a beast he shall restore, and he that killeth a man shall be put to death* (Lv 24^{21}). The Scripture has thus put together damages caused to a man and those caused to a beast. As the latter may be atoned for by paying (the damages), so can also the former (except in cases of murder) be punished with money"' (*Ṣiphrā Lev. ad loc.*; *Mĕkhiltā ad loc.*; *Bābā Ḳammā*, 83*b*). This argument, called הֶקֵּשׁ (analogy of matter), is in direct opposition to the literal sense of the Scriptures, which implies the *jus talionis* in unmistakable terms; but it was only meant to lend some biblical sanction to a *Hălākhā* that had been a controverted point between the Sadducees and the Pharisees for centuries before. It is different, when we read, for instance, with regard to the law, *And the land shall keep Sabbath to the Lord* (Lv 25^{2}): 'One might think that it is also forbidden to dig pits, canals, and caves (this being a disturbance of the land) in the sabbatical year, therefore we have an inference to say, *Thou shalt neither sow thy field nor prune thy vineyard* (*ib.* v.^{4}), proving that it is only work connected with vineyard and field that is forbidden.' In instances like this, where the interpretation has nothing forced or strange about it, it would not be risky to assume that the *Hălākhā* was the outcome of the *Midrash*. But it is not such mere practical questions that have produced the vast *Midrash* literature. A great portion of it is simple commentary, though sometimes reproduced in that vivid dialogue style which makes it appear *Midrash*-like. *E.g. And ye shall take a bunch of hyssop and shall dip it in the blood that is* בַּסַּף (Ex 12^{22}), on which the *Mĕkhiltā* (*ad loc.*) has the following comment: 'The Scriptures tell us that he carves out a hole on the side of the threshold over which he kills (the passover lamb); for סַף means simply the threshold, as it is said, *In their setting of their thresholds by my threshold* (סִפָּם אֶת־סִפִּי Ezk 43^{8}, cf. LXX and Vulg.). This is the opinion of R. Ishmael. R. 'Aḳiba says סַף means nothing else but a vessel, as it is said, *the bowls* (סִפִּים), *the snuffers, the basins*' (1 K 7^{50}, cf. Aram. versions and commentaries). Another example may be taken from the expression וְיִנָּזְרוּ *from the holy things of the children of Israel* (Lv 22^{2}) on which the *Ṣiphrā* comments: 'נְזִירָה (a noun, derived from וינזרו) means nothing else but separation. And so he says *which separateth himself from me* וְיִנָּזֵר (Ezk 14^{7}), and he says again, *They separated backwards* (נָזֹרוּ Is 1^{4}).' Such instances of mere פְּשַׁט (simple meaning) could be cited by hundreds, and it is not impossible that many more were omitted by the scribes, who considered such renderings of words and definitions of terms as universally known through the medium of the various versions, and hence not sufficiently important to be copied.* In the *Haggadic* portions of the *Midrash* the elements of simple exegesis are less prominent—a fact which is easily explained by their subjective character. Sometimes the interpreter or preacher is so deeply convinced of the truth of the lesson he has to teach that he feels no compunction in interweaving it with biblical texts, and putting it into the mouth of a biblical hero. Thus we read in the *Ṣiphrā* with reference to Lv 9^{6} *This is the thing which the Lord commands ye shall do*: 'Moses said unto Israel, *Do* remove the *evil desire* (יֵצֶר הָרַע) from your hearts. Be all in awe and of one counsel to worship before the Omnipresent. As he is the Sole One in the world, so shall your service be single-hearted, as it is said, *Circumcise* the foreskin *of your heart, for the Lord your God is the God of gods and the Lord of lords* (Dt $10^{16.17}$), and *then the glory of the Lord shall appear unto you* (Lv 9^{6}).' The thought expressed in this interpretation is that the manifestation of the Divine glory is the reward for the fulfilment of a commandment, and is sure to occur whenever Israel accomplishes the laws of the Torah in true devotion and single-heartedness of spirit. Occasionally the preacher in his enthusiasm leaves the text altogether and rushes off into a sort of hymn, as, for instance (Ex 15[1]), *I will praise God*, on which the *Mĕkhiltâ* (*ad loc.*):—‘I will give praise to God that he is mighty . . . that he is wealthy . . . that he is wise . . . that he is merciful . . . that he is a judge . . . that he is faithful.’ Each attribute is followed by a proof from Scripture, and the whole is a paraphrase of 1 Ch 29[11. 12]. The constant citing of parallel passages by way of illustration is a main feature of the *Midrash*, *e.g.* *Ṣiphrê* on Nu 15[39] ‘*And ye shall not seek after your own heart and your own eyes* עֵינֵיכֶם: By this latter is meant adultery, as it is said, And *Samson said to his father*, *Get* her for me, for she is pleasing to *my eyes*’ (בְּעֵינָי Jg 14[3]). Again, Dt 6[5] ‘And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with *all thy heart and all thy soul*,’ where the *Ṣiphrê* adds by way of comment: ‘Even if he should take away thy soul. And so he (the Psalmist, 44[22]), *Yea, for thy sake are we killed all the day long.*’ The great exegetical principle was, ‘The words of the Torah are poor (or deficient) in one place but rich in another, as it is said, *She is like the merchant's ship; she bringeth her food from afar*’ (Pr 31[14]; Jerus. Talm. *Rôsh Hashshānā* 58*d*).

---

* See on these *Midrashim*: I. H. Weiss' Introduction to his edition of the *Sifra* (Vienna, 1862); M. Friedmann's Introduction to his edition of the *Mĕkhiltā* (Vienna, 1870); Dr. Lewy, *Ein Wort über die 'Mechilta des R. Simon'* (Breslau, 1889); and Dr. D. Hoffmann, *Zur Einleitung in die halachischen Midraschim* (Berlin, 1886-87).

* See Friedmann's *Introduction to the Mekhilta*, p. lxxvi, and Dr. L. Dobschütz' brochure, *Die einfache Bibelexegese der Tannaim* (Breslau, 1893).

iv. The ’*Amoraim* אֲמוֹרָאִים ‘Speakers,’ ‘Interpreters’; a designation commonly applied to the authorities who flourished 220–500, and whose main activity consisted in expounding the Mishna. The seats of learning were no longer confined to Palestine, great schools having arisen, as in the time of the *Tannaim*, in various places in Babylonia, destined even to overshadow the former. The Babylonian teachers (who received ordination) bear as a rule the title *Rab* (רַב) in contradistinction to their Palestinian brethren who were called *Rabbi* (רַבִּי). The most important among the ’*Amoraim* are the following:—

First Generation (220–280).—(*a*) *Palestine:* R. Jannai, of whom we have a saying in the Mishna; R. Ḥiya and R. Hoshaya Rabba, the supposed compilers of the *Tôṣephtā* (see above); R. Joshua b. Levi, the subject of many legends, to whom various mystical treatises (descriptions of paradise and hell, etc.) are attributed; R. Joḥanan (b. Nappaḥa) of Sepphoris and Tiberias, disciple of R. Judah and the most prominent teacher in Palestine during the 3rd cent., and his brother-in-law R. Shim‘on b. Laḳish. (*b*) *Babylon:* Abba Arikha (‘Long Abba’), commonly cited by his title Rab. He ‘went up’ (from Babylon) to Palestine together with his uncle R. Ḥiya (mentioned above) to study under R. Jehuda, and on his return founded at Sura the school over which he presided; Samuel ירחינאה (the astronomer), a relative of Rab, and, like him, a disciple of R. Judah (though he did not receive ordination from him). He became head of the school in Nehardea.

Second Generation (280–300).—(*a*) *Palestine:* R. Eleazar b. Pedath, R. Simlai, R. Aṣṣi (also Iṣṣi and R. Ammi) (also Immi), and R. ’Abuha. The first four emigrated to Palestine from Babylon; whilst R. ’Abuha, who was a native of Palestine, taught in Cæsarea, where he often had controversies with Christian teachers. The famous *Haggadist* R. Shamuel b. Naḥmani also belongs to this generation. (*b*) *Babylon:* R. Huna (Sura), R. Jehuda (b. Jeḥesḳel), founder of the school of Pumbeditha; R. Ḥiṣda, R. Shesheth, founder of a school in Shilhi. All these were disciples of Rab and Shamuel, or of one of them.

Third Generation (320–370).—This period marks the decay of the schools in Palestine, a consequence of the religious persecutions inaugurated under the reign of Constantine. (*a*) *Palestine:* Jeremia, R. Jona, and R. Joṣé. (*b*) *Babylon:* Rabbah (רַבָּה) b. Naḥmani (Pumbeditha), famous for his dialectical skill and called ‘the mountain-mover’; his colleague R. Joṣeph, a great authority on Targum, whose wide acquaintance with all branches of the Law brought him the title of ‘Sinai’; their pupils ’Abayi and Raba (רָבָא), both famous for the ingenious methods exemplified in their controversies scattered all over the Bab. Talmud; R. Papa, founder of a school in Nares.

Fourth Generation (375–427).—(*a*) *Palestine:* R. Shamuel (b. Joṣe b. R. Bun); (*b*) *Babylon:* R. Ashi (Sura); R. Kahana II. (Pumbeditha), and Amemar (Nehardea). The former is credited with having begun the compilation of the Bab. Talmud.

Fifth Generation (427–500).—*Babylon:* Mar bar R. Ashi; Rubbina (contraction of Rab Abina (Sura)), and R. Tosphaa (Pumbeditha). The two latter were greatly instrumental in accomplishing the work commenced by R. Ashi, finishing the compilation of the Bab. Talmud, and reducing it to writing.

The literary productions of these two schools are largely embodied in the two Talmuds bearing the title of their native countries: (*A*) **Palestinian Talmud** called the Talmud of Jerusalem, ת׳ יְרוּשַׁלְמִי, which is also more correctly called (since there were no schools in Jerusalem after the destruction of the temple) ת׳ אֶרֶץ יִשְׂרָאֵל ת׳ דמערבא and גְּמָרָא דִבְנֵי מַעֲרָבָא ‘the Talmud of (the children of) the Land of Israel,’ ‘the Talmud (or the *Gemara*) of (the people of) the West.’ (*B*) The **Babylonian Talmud** ת׳ בַּבְלִי, which (though only occurring once) was also known under the title of ת׳ אַנְשֵׁי מִזְרָח ‘the Talmud of the people of the East.’* The main object of the Talmuds is the interpretation of the Mishna, tracing its sources, giving its reasons, explaining obscure passages, as well as real or seeming contradictions, by the aid of parallel passages in the ‘external Mishnas,’ and illustrating its matter and expanding its contents (especially in the branches of civil law) by giving such cases as life and altered circumstances were constantly furnishing. It is perhaps in this latter quality that the text of the Talmud proper as distinguished from the Mishna is called *Gĕmārā* גְּמָרָא, meaning, according to some authorities, ‘Supplement’ or Complement to the Mishna.† The Talmuds differ in various minor respects. Thus, the non-Hebrew portions of the Jerus. Talmud are composed in the West Aram. dialect, whilst those of the Bab. Talmud are written in an East Aram. idiom, closely related to the Syr. and still more akin to the Mandaic language. The style of the Jerus. Talmud is more concise, its discussions less diffuse, than those of the Bab. Talmud. The former is altogether free from the casuistic and lengthy discourses on imaginary cases which form a special feature of the productions of the Eastern Rabbis. It should, however, be remarked that, so far as dialect and diction are concerned, the Bab. Talmud is not always uniform, there being various tractates, such as *Nĕdārîm*, *Nāzîr*, *Tĕmûrā Mĕ‘ilā*, and *Kĕrîthôth*, which betray certain grammatical forms and peculiarities of style, reminding us in some places of the diction of the Talmud of Jerusalem. Apart from the main object as described, the text of the Mishna serves sometimes (particularly in the Bab. Talmud) as a mere peg on which to fasten matter having hardly any connexion with the contents of the latter. *E.g.*

---

* See *JQR* ix. 120.

† Neither the Jerus. nor the Bab. Talm. extends over all the 60 (or 63) tractates of the Mishna. The Jerus. Talm. has *Gĕmārā* to the first four orders of the Mishna and to three chapters in the tractate *Niddā* in the sixth order; but in the second order there is missing the *Gĕmārā* to the last four chapters of the tractate *Shabbath*, to the third chapter of the tractate *Makkôth*, and in the fourth order to the tractates ’*Ābôth* and ‘*Ēdûyyôth*. The Bab. Talm. has *Gĕmārā* as follows: in the first order to tractate *Bĕrākhôth* only; in the second order, tractate *Shĕḳālim* is omitted; in the fourth order, tractates ’*Ābôth* and ‘*Ēdûyyôth* are omitted; in the fifth order, tractates *Middôth* and *Kinnîm* are omitted; in the sixth order, *Gĕmārā* to tractate *Niddā* alone.

the lines in Mishna tractate *Giṭṭîn,* 'that the laws regarding the σικάριοι (a name under which certain leaders of the Zealot bands were known) did not apply to the land of Judæa,' are followed in the Bab. Talmud by a legendary account of the wars preceding the destruction of the second temple, and various incidents connected with it, extending over more than 5 folio pages (55*b*–58*a*). Again in the tractate *Bābā Bathrā,* the accidental remark in the Mishna, that a volume (or roll) containing the Scriptures inherited by two or more brothers must not be divided among them by cutting it up into its constituent books even when the parties agree to this, provokes in the *Gĕmārā* (of the Bab. Talmud) a discussion relating to the arrangement of the Canon of the OT, its rise, and the dates at which the various books included in it were composed, accompanied by a long discourse on the particular nature of the Book of Job, the character and date of its hero, together with a few remarks on other biblical personages, which covers nearly 8 folio pages (13*b*–17*a*). This process of inserting matter but slightly connected with the text is at times carried further by adding to the inserted matter other topics having a similar slight connexion with it. As an instance of this process we may regard the following. Mishna *Bĕrākhôth,* ch. ix. 1, runs, 'He who sees a place in which miracles were performed for the sake of Israel says, Praised be he who wrought miracles for our fathers in this place.' By way of illustration the *Gĕmārā* (Bab. Talm. *ib.* 54*a*) cites an 'external Mishna' in which it is taught that 'He who sees the crossings of the Red Sea (*i.e.* the place at which the Jews crossed the Red Sea, Ex 14^{22}), or the crossings of the Jordan (Jos $3^{14ff.}$) . . . is bound to give thanks and praise to the Omnipresent' (*Māḳôm*). The last words suggest a quotation of R. Jehuda in the name of Rab, adding to the number of those who are under the obligation to give thanks, also the four cases enumerated in Ps 107 (people returning from a sea voyage, coming back from a journey through the desert, recovering from a serious illness, or released from prison, 54*b*). This statement is followed by several other sayings (54*b*, 55*a*) which have no other connexion with the preceding matter than identity of authorship, all being cited in the name of Rab. One of these citations is to the effect that for three things man should in particular pray to God (who alone can grant them): 'a good king, a good year, and a good *dream*' (55*b*); but the last word again suggests a new train of thought on the subject of dreams, their interpretation and fulfilment, which forms the theme of the next 6 folio pages (55*a*–57*b*). Owing to these sudden and violent changes from subject to subject, the style of the Talmud becomes very uncertain and rather rambling;* but, on the other hand, it is this very circumstance that keeps the 'sea of the Talmud' in constant motion, relieving it from the monotony and tedious repetition so peculiar to the majority of theological works dating from those early ages. Indeed, owing to this facility for dragging in whatever interested the compilers or the scribes, the Talmud almost loses the character of a work of divinity, and assumes more the character of an encyclopædia, reproducing the knowledge of the Rabbis during the first five centuries on all possible subjects, whether secular or religious. This is, as already indicated, particularly the case with the Bab. Talmud, the *Haggādā* of which is very discursive and rich in all sorts of folk-lore. It must, however, be borne in mind that the authorities in whose names the strangest stories are sometimes communicated are often Rabbis from Palestine, whose sayings and statements were as much studied and discussed in the East as they were in the West.

v. The *Ṣaborai* סָבוֹרָאֵי 'Explainers' or 'Meditators' (upon the words of their predecessors), whose activity is supposed to have extended over the whole of the 6th century. The most important among them are Rabbah Joṣe (Pumbeditha) and R. 'Aḥai (of Be Ḥathim), who flourished about the beginning of the 6th cent., and probably shared largely in the compilation work of the last of the *'Amoraim*; and R. Giza (Ṣura) and R. Simona (Pumbeditha), who belonged to the middle of the same century. The activity of the *Ṣaborai,* about whose lives we know little, consisted mainly in commenting upon the Talmud by means of explanatory speeches, and contributing to it some additional controversies marked by peculiarity of style and by absence of the names of those engaged in the dialogue, as well as by insertion of final decisions upon the differing opinions of their predecessors.* The school of the *Ṣaborai* is peculiar to Babylon, there being no corresponding class of teachers in Palestine. Nor is there any reliable tradition, regarding the compilation of the Jerus. Talmud, by whom it was accomplished, and when it was undertaken. Maimonides' statement, that R. Joḥanan composed the Jerus. Talmud, can, since this work contains quantities of matter dating from a much later period, mean only that by the aid of the schools he founded, this Rabbi was largely instrumental in giving rise to a work embodying the teachings of the later Western authorities. But in consequence of religious persecutions and political disturbances the decay of the schools set in too early to permit even such comparative completeness and finish as are to be found in the Bab. Talmud, which is itself far from perfection in this respect. Indeed the abruptness of the discussions of the Pal. Talmud, the frequent absence of formulæ introducing quotations or marking the beginning of the treatment of a fresh subject or the conclusion of an old one, as well as the meagreness of its matter where the analogy of the Bab. Talmud would suggest the greatest fulness, and the fact that it has no *Gĕmārā* at all on the 5th order (sacrifices), which is so strongly represented in the Bab. Talmud,†—all these circumstances convey the impression that the Jerus. Talmud was never submitted to a real conscious compilation with the object of presenting posterity with a completed work. What was reduced to writing does not give us a work carried out after a preconcerted plan, but rather represents a series of jottings answering to the needs of the various individual writers, and largely intended to strengthen the memory. And thus lacking the authority enjoyed by the Mishna and the Bab. Talmud, which were the products of the great centres of learning, the Jerus. Talmud was, for a long time at least, not elevated to the rank of a national work, and it is therefore easy to understand how such portions of it as had not much bearing upon actual practice were permitted to disappear. Altogether, the people of Palestine were, as an old Rabbi said, 'sick with oppression,' and had no time to spare for the niceties of the *Hălākhā*, 'and did not listen to the words of Talmud (in the narrower sense of discussing the legal portions of it) and the Mishna.' The deeper was their devotion to the *Haggādā*, which gave them 'words of blessing and consolation.' This will account for the copiousness of the *Haggadic* literature, which reached its highest development during the period of the *'Amoraim*. This literature is embodied in the *Midrashim* to various books of the OT as well as in certain independent *Haggadic* treatises, the contents of which, though possibly compiled at a later age, are made up of the homilies and moralizing exhortations given in the names of the same Palestinian Rabbis who figure as authorities in the two Talmuds. They, however, form a literature by themselves, never having served as sources or factors of the Talmud, though they are sometimes useful as parallel passages to the *Haggadic* portions of the latter. They thus do not fall within the scope of this article. It is, however, only fair to warn the theologian that though he may dispense, *e.g.*, with the *Pĕsiķtā* (collection of homilies mainly based on the *Haphtārôth*) or the Midrash *Shîr Hashshîrîm* (allegoric interpretations of the Song of Songs) in his study of the Talmud, he cannot do so safely in his study of the Rabbi, whose performance of his prophetic office is seen to best advantage in such moralizing works as those of which the *Haggadic* pieces just mentioned are a fair specimen.

---

* It is this discursiveness which makes a proper translation of the Talmud almost impossible: see M. Friedmann's brochure, דבר על אודות התלמוד, Vienna, 1895 (Heb.).

* On all these points see N. Brüll's essay, 'Die Entstehungsgeschichte des bab. T. als Schriftwerkes'; and Weiss, as above, vol. iii. p. 208 ff., and vol. iv. p. 1 ff.

† The question whether the Jerus. Talmud ever had *Gĕmārā* to the fifth order is best discussed in the *Heḥalutz* . . . by Osias H. Schorr, who on excellent grounds maintains that such a *Gĕmārā* must have existed. But it must be stated that hitherto, not even in the Cairo collections, which have restored to us so many lost works, has a single line turned up to confirm Schorr's hypothesis. About the peculiarities of the fourth order, see I. Lewy, *Interpretation des 1. Abschnittes des paläst. Talmud-Traktats Nesikin* (Breslau, 1895), p. 20; but compare also the references to the other authorities there given. This essay is the best piece of work yet done on the redaction of the Jerus. Talmud.

LITERATURE (omitting mostly such books as have already been referred to in the notes).—EDITIONS : There are very few critical editions of the ancient Rabbinical literature, though new reprints are constantly appearing. The following, however, deserve special notice:—*Mishna*, Naples, 1492, ed. pr.; *Mishna . . . Latinitate donavit* . . . J. Surenhusius, Amstelod., 1698; *The Mishna, edited from a unique MS*, by W. H. Lowe, Cambridge, 1883; *Mishnayoth : Hebräischer Text mit Punktation, Deutscher Übersetzung*, von A. Samter, Berlin, 1887 (not yet finished). Most editions have, as a rule, the commentaries of 'Obadya di Bertinoro and of Yom Ṭob Lipman Heller (תוספות יום טוב), or the commentary of Maimonides (not as frequently as the two former). As useful editions for students, the tractates edited by Strack may be recommended. *Toṣephta*, edited by Zuckermandel (after MSS), Pasewalk, 1880. *Jerus. Talmud*, Venice, 1523, ed. pr., Krotoschin, 1866, and Zitomir, 1860–67. This last edition has several commentaries. Of single tractates there have appeared, among others, *Bĕrākhôth*, *Pē'ā*, and *Dĕmā'î*, with the commentary *Ahabath Zion*, by Z. Frankel, and a part of *Bābā Kammā* with a commentary by I. Lewy. *Bab. Talmud*, Venice, 1520, with the commentaries of R. Solomon b. Isaac, and the *Glosses* of the Franco-German Rabbis called *Toṣaphoth* (Additions). The last and best edition of the Talmud is that which appeared in Wilna, 1880–86, 25 vols. The *Variæ lectiones in Mischnam et in Talmud Babylonicum*, by Raph. Rabbinowicz, consisting of 16 vols., and extending over a large part of the Bab. Talmud, is a most important work for the critical study of the Talmud. Also to be consulted is the work קונטרס למלאות חסרונות השם, Königsberg, 1860, restoring the words and passages omitted or corrupted by the censors. Of single tractates we have only to notice here the *Tract. Makkoth*, ed. Friedmann, Wien, 1888.[*]

INTRODUCTORY AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL : N. Krochmal מורה נבוכי הזמן, Lemberg, 1851 (Heb.); L. Zunz, *Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*², Frankfurt-a.-M. 1892; M. Steinschneider, *Jewish Literature*, §§ 1–7, London, 1857; Z. Frankel, דרכי המשנה, *Hodegetica in Mischnam . . .* Lipsiæ, 1859 (Heb.); by the same, מבוא הירושלמי, *Introductio in Talmud Hierosolomitanum*, Breslau, 1870 (Heb.); Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vols. 3 and 4 (Germ.); Dérenbourg, *Essai sur l'histoire et la géographie de la Palestine d'après les Thalmud et les autres sources rabbiniques* (Paris, 1867); I. H. Weiss, דור דור ודורשיו *Zur Geschichte der Jüdischen Tradition*, vols. 1–3; Strack, *Einleitung in den Thalmud*, Leipzig, 1894; M. Mielziner, *Introduction to the Talmud*, Cincinnati, 1894; Schürer, *GJV*², i. § 3 E, Leipzig, 1890 (Germ.). For popular accounts see E. Deutsch, *The Talmud*, Philadelphia, 1896; A. Darmesteter, *The Talmud*, Philadelphia, 1897.

DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS : Nathan b. Yeḥiel (of the 11th cent.), ספר הערוך, 1480, ed. pr. This work was last edited or rather incorporated in the *Arukh Completum . . . auctore Nathane filio Jechielis . . . corrigit explevit critice* Alex. Kohut, 8 vols., Wien, 1878–92; Joh. Buxtorf, *Lexicon Chaldaicum Talmudicum et Rabbinicum*, Basel, 1640; Jacob Levy, *Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim*, Leipzig, 1876; M. Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Jerushalmi*, London and New York, 1886; Sam. Krauss, *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch, und Targum . . .* Berlin, 1898; W. Bacher, *Die älteste Terminologie der jüdischen Schriftauslegung : Ein Wörterbuch der bibelexegetischen Kunstsprache der Tannaiten*, Leipzig, 1899; H. L. Strack and C. Siegfried, *Lehrbuch der Neuhebräischen Sprache* . . . Karlsruhe and Leipzig, 1884; A. Geiger, *Lehr- und Lesebuch der Sprache der Mishnah*, Breslau, 1845 (Germ.); I. H. Weiss, משפט לשון המשנה, Wien, 1865 (Heb.); G. Dalman, *Grammatik des Jüdisch-Palästinischen Aramäisch*, Leipzig, 1894 (Germ.); S. D. Luzzatto, *Elementi grammaticali del . . . dialetto Talmudico Babilonese*, Padua, 1865 (Ital.), of which a Germ. tr. was prepared by M. S. Krüger, and was published in Breslau, 1873; Levias, *Grammar of the Bab. Talm.*, Cincinnati, 1900.

The attempts towards translating the Talmud are many and various. A full account of them will be found in Dr. Erich Bischoff's *Kritische Geschichte der Thalmud-Übersetzungen aller Zeiten und Zungen*, Frankfurt-a.-M. 1899 (Germ.). The present writer can, however, recommend only the following books: On the Mishna see above. On *Minor tractates : Masecheth Sopherim*, by J. Müller, Leipzig, 1878; *Derech Erez Suta*, by A. Tawrogy, Königsberg, 1885. Jerus. Talm.: A. Wünsche, *Der jerusalemische Talmud in seinen haggadischen Bestandtheilen ins Deutsche übertragen*, Zürich, 1880. Bab. Talm.: *A Translation of the treatise Chagigah*, by A. W. Streane, 1891; *Tractate Baba Mezia mit deutscher Übersetzung . . .* by A. Samter, Berlin, 1876; *Der Bab.' Talmud in seinen Hagadischen Bestandtheilen wortgetreu übersetzt*, by Wünsche, 1888. The student would do well to consult always, when reading a *Haggadic* text, the following standard works by W. Bacher: *Die Agada der Babylonischen Amoräer*, Strassburg, 1879; *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, Strassburg, 1884; *Die Agada der Palästinischen Amoräer*, Strassburg, 1892.

S. SCHECHTER.

SIBYLLINE ORACLES.—The collection of Jewish and Christian poems which pass under the name of the Sibyl covers in its time of production a period of many centuries, reaching back into at least the 2nd cent. B.C., and coming down (when its latest developments are included) far into the Middle Ages. When we take further into account that, even in its first Jewish and Christian forms, Sibyllism was merely an attempt to transplant a feature of literature that was centuries old, and already effete in the pagan world, it will be seen that it constitutes a very important element in historical theology, and one which has had every influence upon the mind of man that could be secured for it by the exercise of authority (operating through the State as in Roman life, or through great names as in the case of the Christian Church), supported as that authority was by the natural love of the secret and mysterious which characterizes the major part of men in all periods of human history.

The original Sibyl is very nearly the equivalent of 'prophetess' in the Gr. and Rom. world; the derivation of her name from an assumed combination of Σιός (for Θεός) and βουλή (in a form βυλλά) goes back to Varro (cf. Lact. *Div. Inst.* i. 6); and, although it may be (and probably is) invalid philologically, it is sufficient evidence of the character assigned to the persons known as Sibyls, who had the knowledge (as it was supposed) of the Divine will in the fatalistic sense, and were in the habit of recording the fiats of that Divine will in various oracular and prophetic ways. Accordingly, they could be consulted, either in some special *antrum* or grotto, or through an inspection of such prophecies as they had committed to writing. Now, according to the ancients, there were a number of such Sibyls, known sometimes by actual names, and sometimes by the places where they prophesied, as the Chaldæan,

---

[*] A good bibliographical account of the various reprints of the Bab. Talmud is to be found in Rabbinowicz's מאמר על הדפסת התלמוד, München, 1877, whilst a short list of the various MSS in the different libraries is given by Strack in his *Einleitung*, p. 70 ff. It should, however, be noted that the last 20 years have brought to light many Talmudical pieces, not known to any bibliographer. They are still awaiting description. Mr. Elkan N. Adler's library (London) is especially rich in early prints not known to Rabbinowicz; whilst the Cambridge collections, both in the possession of the University Library and in that of Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson (now in Westminster College), contain many MSS fragments of the Bab. and Pal. Talmuds of the highest critical value.

Erythræan, Delphic, etc. But for practical purposes the one that exercised the commanding influence over the Christian Church to which we have alluded above is the Cumæan Sibyl. It is necessary to bear in mind that this commanding influence is merely a case of survival from the Roman State religion. And the question for the student of the Sib. Oracles as we have them extant, is as to the extent of the survival. It can be tested under the heads of (1) the language, (2) the form, (3) the matter of the ancient and the more modern oracles.

The Rom. tradition affirmed that these oracles had originally been offered by a certain Sibyl to a certain Roman king (say Tarquinius Superbus), but at an excessive price; the price being refused, she departed and destroyed a certain part of her books, and returned to offer the remainder at the original price; and, after this process had been repeated a certain number of times, the king was sufficiently interested to buy the remainder, which thus became in the Roman government a State deposit of information concerning the future, placed under the control of the augurs or *viri quindecemvirales*, and to be consulted in time of exigency.

There is no need to spend time in criticising the details of such a story, which is merely an attempt to find a venerable origin for a Roman practice; for it is certain that the Roman government had such books of Sib. oracles, which they from time to time augmented or retrenched by various editorial processes. What is important to remember is—(i.) that these oracles were for the most part, perhaps wholly, in Greek; (ii.) that they were in hexameter verse, probably with the literary devices of alphabetic and acrostic writing; (iii.) that they were concerned *inter alia* with the fortunes of the world at large and of the empire, the ages of the universe, and the collapse and rejuvenescence thereof. The first of these points, and, in part, the second, may best be illustrated by references to an actual oracle which has come down to us, preserved by Phlegon, *de Mirabil.* c. 10, apparently from a Roman writer, Sextus Carminius, and dated in the year A.V.C. 629 (=B.C. 124). It relates to the birth of a hermaphrodite, which the oracle alludes to in the words—

καὶ τοί ποτε φημὶ γυναῖκα
Ἀνδρόγυνον τέξεσθαι ἔχοντά περ᾽ ἄρσενα πάντα
Νηπίαχαι θ᾽ ὅσα θηλύτεραι φαίνουσι γυναῖκες.

Obviously, the oracle was made to suit the portent, and it was composed in hexameters. At this time, then, we know the method of formation of the oracles, and that the collection was subject to accretion or modification. They were written, as all later oracles and books of oracles, in the religious metre and language of Homer. Moreover, on examination it will be found that the oracle is acrostic, and apparently based upon an earlier acrostic which has been used, which was itself metrical. The books were therefore treated as *sortes* by the augurs, but handled with freedom in secret so as to adjust the prophecies to the needs of the time. That they contained some scheme of the ages of the world and of the ἀποκατάστασις πάντων, is clear from Virgil's

'Ultima Cumæi venit iam carminis ætas;
Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo.'
(*Eclog.* iv. 4),

and a number of similar considerations.

All of these features are abundantly illustrated in the Jewish and Christian Sib. books. It was necessary that they should be if the world was to swallow the literary deception that was being practised upon it.

It must not be supposed that such a gigantic and long-continued fraud could have been carried on without meeting with criticism from a people as acute and polished as the Greeks. While it is certain that almost all the Fathers of the Church were firm believers in the inspiration of the Sibyls (for we need not doubt the honesty of Justin and Clement, of Tertullian, of Lactantius, and a host of others, though it is equally clear that the deceived must have been near of kin to the deceivers), it was not possible that such keen wits as Lucian and Celsus should come under the spell. They saw at once that the Christians were making oracles to suit their own propaganda, and were quick to proclaim the fact; and Lucian, in particular, himself turned Sibyllist in order to tell in mock heroics the fortunes of Peregrinus and of Alexander of Abonoteichos. This extant criticism and ridicule must have been widely extended. We can trace from the successive Sibyllists themselves the objections which they had to meet. One, of necessity, was the dependence of the Sibyl upon Homer, for Sibyllism is closely related to Centoism, and borrows lines and expressions freely from Homer. It was necessary, therefore, for the assumed Sibyl to explain that the borrowing was really on the side of that thief Homer. Accordingly, the Sibyl herself attacks the supposed later poet in the following lines—

καί τις ψευδογράφος πρέσβυς βροτὸς ἔσσεται αὖτις
ψευδόπατρις· δύσει δὲ φάος ἐν ὀπῇσιν ἑῇσιν

. . . . . .

. . . ἐπέων γὰρ ἐμῶν μέτρων τε κρατήσει.
(*Orac. Sib.* iii. 419 ff.);

and this judgment is endorsed by Tatian, who in his tract *Against the Greeks*, § 41, maintains the superior date of the Sibyl to Homer. A closer examination, however, of the oracles reveals that Homer is not the only writer pilfered; there is a constant coincidence with fragments of Orphic hymns, which would certainly be much more pronounced if we were not limited in our comparison to the few fragments that have been conserved of this branch of literature. Now, it is worth noticing that Clement of Alexandria (the best read of all the early Fathers in the matter of Greek literature) expressly declares that the Sibyl is earlier than *Orpheus*; while, to quote another author of nearly the same date, Tertullian will have it that the Sibyl is older than *all other literature* (cf. Tert. *adv. Nationes*, ii. 12). It is clear from these testimonies that there had been from the first a critical dispute over the antiquity of the supposed Sibylline verses; at all events, the anti-Homeric strain in the Sibyl which we have quoted above occurs in verses which Alexandre assigns to the time of Antoninus Pius, and the writers who endorse the sentiment belong very nearly to the same period. And before this time there must have been an active Sibylline propaganda carried on by the early Christians, most of whom were deceived and some of them deceivers.

Something of a similar kind to this contest between Homer and the Sibyl and Orpheus and the Sibyl for priority, appears to have taken place at a later date in regard to Virgil. We have already pointed out that the acquaintance of Virgil with Sibylline oracles may be assumed. It does not follow that these oracles have anything to do with the extant collection; rather they seem to be the Roman collection, which Virgil must have known by report, and perhaps by actual study of published or unpublished portions. Now it has been shown by Dechent (*Ueber das erste, zweite und elfte Buch der Sib. Weissagungen*, 1873) that the eleventh book of the Oracles has coincidences of language with Virgil. The Sibyl describes, for example, the flight of Æneas from Troy in ll. 144 ff., which begin—

> ἄρξει δ' ἐκ γενεῆς τε καὶ αἵματος 'Ασσαράκοιο
> παῖς κλυτὸς ἡρώων, κρατερός τε καὶ ἄλκιμος ἀνήρ,

which may be compared with

> 'Romulus, Assaraci quem sanguinis Ilia mater
> Educet' (Virg. *Æn.* vi. 779).

After describing the person and fortunes of Æneas, the writer proceeds to explain that her verses will be stolen by a later poet, much in the same language as we noted in Bk. iii. for Homer—

> καί τις πρέσβυς ἀνὴρ σοφὸς ἔσσεται αὖτις ἀοιδός
>
> . . . . . .
>
> τοῖσιν ἐμοῖσι λόγοις μέτροις ἐπέεσσι κρατήσας·
> αὐτὸς γάρ, πρώτιστος ἐμὰς βίβλους ἀναπλώσει
> καὶ κρύψει μετὰ ταῦτα.

But here we must, in view of the coincidences in language between the Sibyl and the *Æneid*, understand Virgil and not Homer as the supposed thief. Obviously, the Sibyllist, who is so anxious to be prior to Virgil, must have written a good while after Virgil, as is also shown by the reference to Virgil as hiding the oracles. Alexandre refers this part of the oracles to the year A.D. 267; and it is interesting to observe that, not long after that date, the emperor Constantine in his oration to the Nicene Fathers invokes the authority of the Sibyl, and suggests the dependence of Virgil upon her writings, quoting Virgil for convenience in a Greek rendering. It is reasonable, therefore, to suppose that the question of relative priority between Virgil and the Sibyl belongs to this period of time.

It is to be noted, however, that the earliest of all the books of oracles does not seem to have encountered any such hostile reception. Parts of what is now edited as the third book, ll. 97-294, 491-fin., are assigned by Alexandre to the year 166 B.C. It is not decided whether the production of these verses was due to some active inquiry which was being made at the time after extant oracles, which search might easily have led to the fabrication of them by some learned Alexandrian Jew, or whether it is only one more example, to be added to many belonging to this time, of the transference of the text of the LXX into Gr. verse. Whatever may be the reason, it is certain that the versified story of the destruction of the tower of Babel, with the poetic expansion that it was accomplished by the agency of mighty winds, was accepted as a fresh historical authority by contemporaries (Abydenus, Polyhistor, and, following them, Josephus), and as confirming the accuracy of the biblical record from which it is derived, by Clement of Alexandria and Eusebius. So that it does not appear that the earliest Jewish portions of the Sibylline books provoked the same hostility as those which are later and definitely Christian. They appear to have met with an unquestioning acceptance.

It will be convenient to set down here the dates which have been assigned to the extant books. Our first scheme is that of Alexandre, whose *Excursus ad Sibyllinos Libros* is the storehouse of material for all who wish to have a thorough knowledge of the subject. According to him—

Bk. iii. ll. 97-294 and 489-fin. is a Jewish work, written in Egypt in the year 166 or 165 B.C.

Bk. iv., the oldest of the Christian Sibyllines, was written in Asia in the 1st cent. A.D. under Titus or Domitian.

The Prooemium to the collection (a fragment preserved by Theophilus of Antioch) and Bk. viii. ll. 217-429, are probably by the same Christian hand, and written in the beginning of the 2nd cent. under Trajan or Hadrian.

Bk. viii. ll. 1-217, written by a Christian of a millenarian type, in Egypt in the reign of Antoninus Pius.

Bk. iii. ll. 295-488 and Bk. v. are Judæo-Christian, and were written in Egypt in the reign of Antoninus Pius.

Bks. vi. and vii. are Christian (?heretical), and written in the reign of Alexander Severus, about A.D. 234.

Bk. viii. ll. 430-fin., by Christian hands in the middle of the 3rd cent.

Bks. i. ii. and iii. ll. 1-96, by Christian hands, in Asia in the middle of the 3rd cent.

Bks. xi. xii. xiii. xiv., Judæo-Christian, written in Egypt about the year 267 A.D.

With this scheme of Alexandre may be compared that propounded by Ewald. According to Ewald (*Abhandlung über Entstehung Inhalt und Werth der Sib. Bücher*, Göttingen, 1858) we have—

Bk. iii. ll. 97-828, about B.C. 124.

Bk. iv., about A.D. 80.

Bk. v. ll. 52-530, about A.D. 80.

Bks. v. ll. 1-51, vi. vii., in A.D. 138.

Bk. viii. ll. 1-360, about A.D. 211.

[Bk. viii. ll. 361-500, Ewald declares to be non-Sibylline.]

Bks. i. ii. iii. ll. 1-96, about A.D. 300.

Bks. xi. xii. xiii. xiv., much later: Ewald imagines references to the emperor Odenatus and to the rise of Islam!

Further discussions of dates of the whole or parts of the different books may be found in Friedlieb, *Orac. Sibyll.* (Leipzig, 1852), or Bleek (*Theol. Zeitschrift*, Berlin, 1819), or Dechent (see above). The different judgments arrived at by these writers would probably be rectified by a closer study of the whole body of Sibylline literature. So far, the best guide is Alexandre, whose *Excursus* is a monument of patiently accumulated facts.

EDITIONS OF THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES.—The first published portion of the Sibyllines was the famous acrostic, 'Ιησοῦς Χριστός, Θεοῦ υἱός, Σωτήρ, which was printed by Aldus. The first ed. was due to Xystus Betuleus (Sixtus Birken) at Basel in 1545. It contained the first eight books. The second (Lat.) ed. was issued from the same printing-house (John Oporinus) in the following year. The third (Gr.-Lat.) appeared at Basel in 1555. The fourth ed. (that of Opsopœus = Koch) appeared at Paris in 1599, three years after the death of the editor. In 1817 the collection was expanded by Cardinal Mai's discovery of the Books xi.-xiv., which were printed first in his *Scriptorum vet. nova collectio*, vol. iii. pt. 3. Of more modern edd. the ones in common use are those of Friedlieb (Leipzig, 1852), Alexandre (Paris, 1860), and Rzach. Of these, the last, published at Prague in 1891, is by far the best for the text; it contains no excursus, but has a brief critical preface, and a most valuable appendix exhibiting the dependence of the Sibyllines on Homer, Hesiod, the Orphic hymns, etc. With the text of Rzach and the excursus of Alexandre, the student can find out almost all that is known of the Sibyllines. It is necessary to add a final caution with regard to the quotation of the books. There is a fluctuation in their numbering on the part of the editors, due to the imperfection of the series. The last four books, for example, are numbered ix. x. xi. and xii. by Friedlieb.

[Since the writing of the foregoing article, Geffcken's tract, entitled *Komposition und Entstehungszeit der Oracula Sibyllina*, has appeared, to which the student is referred for the latest view of the subject.] J. RENDEL HARRIS.

SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH.—i. HISTORICAL CONNEXION BETWEEN THE SAMARITANS AND THE PENTATEUCH.—The Samaritans are a mixed race, sprung from the remnants of the ten tribes which lost their independence in B.C. 722, and from the foreign colonists who were settled by the Assyrian kings in Central Palestine. Hence the question arises whether the Pentateuch was already known to the subjects of the Kingdom of the Ten Tribes. It might be supposed that this question must be answered in the negative, for the single reason that the Jahweh cultus introduced by Jeroboam I. (1 K 12^{28}) deviated to so large an extent from the Law. This argument, however, is not absolutely decisive, for even the kingdom of Judah, *e.g.* under Ahaz (2 K 16^{3}) and Manasseh ($21^{2ff.}$), witnessed frequent and serious departures from the legitimate religion. But there is at least one valid ground for the conclusion that the Pentateuch was first accepted by the Samaritans after the Exile. Why was their request to be allowed to take part in the building of the second temple (Ezr $4^{1f.}$) refused by the heads of the Jerusalem community (v.^{3})? Very probably because the Jews were aware that the Samaritans did not as yet possess the Lawbook. It is hard to suppose that, otherwise, they would have been met with this refusal. Further, one who, like the present writer, regards the modern criticism of the Pentateuch as essentially correct, has a second decisive reason for adopting the above view. Or does the very existence of the Samaritan Pentateuch present an obstacle to the conclusion at which most representatives of modern Pentateuchal criticism have arrived, namely, that the sources of the Pentateuch were united by Ezra into the one stream which we see in our Pentateuch? At the present day there is scarcely any longer a single writer who would claim that the Samaritan Pentateuch supplies any argument against the critical position. No such claim is made, for instance, by C. F. Keil in his *Einleitung in d. AT*, 1873, § 204, or by Ed. Rupprecht in *Des Rätsels Lösung*, II. i. (1896) p. 196 f., or by the Roman Catholic Fr. Kaulen in his *Einleitung in die Heilige Schrift*, 1892, § 194.

How long after Ezra's time it was when the Samaritans accepted the Pentateuch is uncertain. They may have already done so at the time that Nehemiah, upon the occasion of his second visit to Jerusalem (B.C. 433), expelled the son of Joiada, the high priest, who had married a daughter of the Samaritan prince Sanballat (Neh 13^{28}). For there was hostility between the Jews and the Samaritans even at a much later period, although the latter had adopted the Law. But the view that appears to be most probable is that the above-mentioned son of the high priest induced the Samaritans both to accept the Pentateuch and to build a temple of their own upon Mt. Gerizim. It is well known that Josephus (*Ant.* XI. viii. 2) relates how Manasseh, son of the high priest Ἰαδδοῦς, and son-in-law of the Samaritan prince Σαναβαλλάτης, fled to the Samaritans in the time of the Persian king Darius Codomannus. But here, in all probability, we have simply a chronological error, for later writers were weak in their knowledge of the chronology of the post-exilic period. For instance, in To 1^{18-21} the years 701-681 are compressed into πεντήκοντα or τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέραι (Fritzsche, *Libri apocryphi*, pp. 110, 113), and in *Seder 'olam rabba* 30 it is said that the rule of the Persians after the building of the second temple lasted only 34 years (see, further, art. by the present writer in *Expos. Times*, x. [1899] p. 257). Nor are there wanting in the post-Biblical tradition indications pointing to the fact that it was near the time of Ezra that the Samaritans accepted the Pentateuch. For instance, in Bab. Talm. (*Sanhed.* 21*b*) we read: 'The Torah was originally revealed in the Hebrew character and in the holy [*i.e.* Hebrew] language, the second time in the Assyrian character and in the Aramaic language, and Israel chose the Assyrian character and the holy language, whereas it gave over the Hebrew character and the Aramaic language to the ἰδιῶται.'* This second revelation of the Law which is here presupposed, has in view the activity which, according to other passages of the tradition, Ezra displayed with reference to the Pentateuch. For instance, in Bab. Talm. (*Ṣukkā 20a*) it is said: 'The Torah was forgotten by the Israelites until Ezra came from Babylon and restored it' (other passages are translated in König's *Einleit. in d. AT*, p. 241 f.). Nor is there anything inexplicable in the circumstance that the Samaritans, about the year B.C. 433, accepted no part of the OT but the Pentateuch, for even the Jews exalted the Torah above the other parts of the OT. The Mishna enacts in *Megillā* iii. 1: 'If one sells books (*i.e.* parts of the OT other than the Pentateuch), he may take a Torah in exchange; but if one sells a Torah he may not take other books in exchange' (many further testimonies to this later appreciation of the Torah above the rest of the OT will be found in König's *Einleit.* p. 455 f.).

Later notices of the actual existence of the Samaritan Pentateuch are found in the Talmud (cf. Zach. Frankel, *Ueber den Einfluss der palästinischen Exegese auf die alexandr. Hermeneutik*, p. 243), in Origen (whose *Hexapla* reads on the margin of Nu 13^1 ἃ καὶ αὐτὰ ἐκ τοῦ τῶν Σαμαρειτῶν ἑβραϊκοῦ μετεβάλομεν), and in Jerome (*Prologus galeatus*: 'Samaritani Pentateuchum totidem literis scriptitant, figuris tantum et apicibus discrepantes'). But about the year A.D. 1600 not even a scholar like Scaliger (*De emendatione temporum*, lib. 7) was aware whether there were copies of the Samaritan Pentateuch in existence in the East. At last, in the year 1616 Piedro della Valle purchased a complete manuscript of this Pentateuch from the Samaritans at Damascus. Between the years 1620 and 1630 Ussher collected in the East six copies of it. Since then many codices of this work have been collated; cf. de Rossi, *Variae lectiones VT*, 1784-88, vol. i. p. CLV f.; Rosen, *ZDMG*, 1864, p. 582 ff.; Abr. Harkavy, *Katalog der Samaritan. Pentateuchcodices in St. Petersburg*, 1874. The Samaritan Pentateuch was first *printed*, under the superintendence of Joh. Morinus, in the Paris Polyglott (1645). A second impression appeared in the London Polyglott (1657). It was published, transcribed in the square character, by Blayney at Oxford in 1790. Its peculiarities are also set forth in a separate column of Kennicott's *Vetus Test. heb. cum variis lectionibus* (Oxonii, 1776-80), and in H. Petermann's extremely interesting work, *Versuch einer hebräischen Formenlehre nach der Aussprache der heutigen Samaritaner*, 1868, pp. 219-326. In the latter will be found also a transcription of the whole of the Book of Genesis, as Amram, the then high priest of the Samaritan community at Nâblûs, dictated it to Petermann (pp. 161-218).

ii. COMPARISON BETWEEN THE SAMARITAN-HEBREW AND THE JEWISH-HEBREW PENTATEUCH.—(*a*) *The character of the MSS, and the method of dividing the text.*—The Samaritan manuscripts, like the majority of the Jewish ones, are of parchment or paper; the Samaritans likewise preferred the roll form for use in Divine worship. The Samaritan MSS want the vowel signs and the accents, which are employed in the Jewish Pentateuch. In lieu of these they exhibit the following signs: a point separates each word from the next; two points, similar to the colon in modern languages, mark off smaller and larger paragraphs (Kohn, *Zur Sprache, Litt., u. Dogmatik d. Samaritaner*, p. 1 f.). The whole Pentateuch is divided by the Samaritans into sections which they call קצין (*ḳaẓîn*). Of these they reckon in the Pentateuch 966 (Hupfeld, *ZDMG*, 1867, p. 20), while the Jews are accustomed to count in the Torah 379 close and 290 open *parashas* (cf. König, *Einleit.* p. 463).

(*b*) *Linguistic* differences. The *vowel letters* are much more frequently employed in the Samaritan than in the MT. Even *shĕwā* is many times indicated by ו or י: for instance, אניות, a form which the MT first exhibits in 2 Ch 8^{18}, is written by the Samaritan in Dt 28^{68}, or נישורי is read for גְּשֻׁרִי in Dt 3^{14}. The orthography which the MT favours, especially in the earlier parts of the OT, agrees still oftener with that found on the Jewish coins. But the Samaritan Pentateuch thus reflects the latest stage of development reached by Hebrew orthography within the OT, and in a great many instances goes even beyond this. In the matter of *pronouns*, the unusual forms are regularly changed into the usual ones. For instance, הוא, which in the Pentateuch (Gn 2^{12} etc.) stands for the later היא 195 times, and which is altered in the MT *only in the margin*, is replaced by היא in the Samaritan *in the text*. The form נַחְנוּ, which is permitted in the MT, is changed in the Samaritan into אנחנו (Gn 42^{11}, Ex $16^{7f.}$, Nu 32^{32}). As to the conjugation of *verbs*, the lightened form of the imperfect, the so-called jussive, is almost always changed into the ordinary form: וַיֵּשֶׁב (Gn 32^1) is replaced by וישוב (read by the high priest Amram as *uyeshôv*); יֵרָא (41^{33}) by יראה (*yere'i*); וְאֵרָא (31^{10} 41^{22}) by ואראה (*wêre'i*).—In the declension of *nouns*, the endings in *-ô* and *-î*, which, in spite of J. Barth (*ZDMG*, 1899, p. 598), are to be considered relics of the old case-endings, are almost uniformly dropped: חַיְתוֹ appears as חית in Gn 1^{24} (בנו of Nu 23^{18} $24^{3.15}$ is left unaltered); גנבתי as גנובת (*genuwat*) in Gn 31^{39}; and אֵימָתָה as אימה in Ex 15^{16}. In the construction of nouns, many of the marks are obliterated which point to a *nomen generis* being of common gender: *e.g.* נער 'young maiden' (Gn $24^{14.\,16.\,28.\,55.\,57}$ $34^{3.\,12}$, Dt 22^{15-29} [except v.^{19}]), which the Massoretes altered *only in the margin*, is changed into נערה (*nâra*) *in the text* of the Samaritan (cf. Gesenius, *de Pentateuchi Samaritani origine*, etc. p. 28 ff.). The solitary occurrence of מֵ which the present writer (*Lehrgeb.* ii. 293) has been able to discover before the article in the Pentateuch is מֵהָעוֹף of Gn 6^{20}, and this disappears in the מנ העופ (*min a'ôph*) of the Samaritan.—In the *lexical* sphere, the following differences are worthy of note: ילד 'beget' is replaced by the form that became usual in later times, הוליד, in Gn 10^{8} and 22^{23}. The verb נגח, which is used in Ex $21^{28.\,29.\,31.\,32.\,36}$ of the 'pushing' of an ox, is replaced by the more familiar verb הכה 'strike.'—Differences of a *syntactical* or *stylistic* kind are the following: the sentence הלבן מאה שׁנה יִוָּלֵד (MT of Gn 17^{17} 'shall a child be born to one who is a hundred years old?' LXX εἰ τῷ ἑκατονταετεῖ γενήσεται υἱός;) is in perfect agreement with the Hebrew linguistic usage as this appears in Gn 4^{18} etc. But the Samaritan has missed this construction, and substituted the easier *alben maat shena ulêd* (אוליד), 'shall I at the age of a hundred years beget a child?' In the MT of Gn 7^{2} the formula אִישׁ וְאִשְׁתּוֹ appears alongside of the synonymous pair of words זָכָר וּנְקֵבָה (v.^{3}). This variety of expression disappears in the Samaritan, which uses the latter formula in *both* verses. The asyndetic עֵץ (Gn 1^{11}), אֶל (3^{16}), הנפלים (6^{4}), תמים (v.^{9}), are changed into ועצ etc., and greater clearness is thus obtained.—Under the same heading may be ranged certain phenomena of *diction*, due to the Aramaic dialect, which afterwards became naturalized among the Samaritans. For instance, we find הררט for אררט (Gn 8^{4}), גבחים for גבהים (7^{19}), עמר for חמר 'wine' (Dt 32^{14}). The gutturals are thus very frequently interchanged, because to the Samaritan copyist, accustomed to the Aramaic dialect, they had lost their distinctive phonetic values. To the same cause are due such forms as that of the pronoun אתי (Gn $12^{11.\,13}$ $24^{47.\,60}$) and אתינ (31^{6}), or of צחקתי (for צחקת Gn 18^{15}), the infinitive לאזכרה (for לזכר 9^{16}), etc. (cf. Gesenius, *l.c.* p. 53 ff.).

---

* The view of L. Blau, expressed in his programme 'Zur Einleitung in die heil. Schrift,' 1894, p. 74, that the term ἰδιῶται here does not refer to the Samaritans, will not hold its ground.

(*e*) *Material* differences: (*a*) many passages are altered or supplemented from parallel passages. For instance, לֹא אעשׂה of Gn $18^{29\text{f.}}$ is replaced in the Samaritan by לא אשחית *lâ ashît*, after vv.$^{28.\,31\text{f.}}$. The servant of Moses is called in the MT sometimes הוֹשֵׁעַ (Nu $13^{8.\,16}$, Dt 32^{44}), and sometimes יהוֹשׁ(ו)ע (Ex $17^{9\text{f.}\,13\text{f.}}$ 24^{3} etc.), but the Samaritan writes the latter form even in the three passages in which the change of *Hoshea* into *Jehoshua* is recorded, so that we read in Nu 13^{16} 'and Moses called Jehoshua, the son of Nun, Jehoshua'! Again, in Gn 11^{11-26} the formula is regularly added, 'and all the years of . . . were . . . years, and he died,' which is derived from the parallel genealogy ($5^{5\text{ff.}}$). In $17^{14\text{a}}$ 'on the eighth day' is read in harmony with the parallel passage. After 30^{36} we find a long addition, which is borrowed from 31^{13}. Specially striking is the following series of passages: Ex 6^{9} (cf. 14^{12}) 7^{18} (cf. vv.$^{16-18}$) 7^{29} (cf. vv.$^{26-28}$) 8^{19} (cf. vv.$^{16-19}$) $9^{5.\,19}$ 10^{2} 11^{3} (cf. $4^{22\text{f.}}$) 18^{25} (cf. Dt 1^{9-18}) 20^{17} (cf. Dt $27^{2.\,5-7}$) 20^{21} (cf. Dt $5^{26.\,28}$ 18^{18-22} $5^{27\text{f.}}$) 39^{21}, Nu 4^{14} 10^{10} 12^{16} 13^{33} 20^{13} $21^{11\text{f.}\,20}$ 27^{23} 31^{20}, Dt 2^{7} 5^{18} 10^{7}. The remarkable circumstance about all these passages is that in every instance where it is recorded that Moses said or did something, this is always preceded by a statement in so many words that it was a Divine command that he should act so, and, wherever a Divine command is recorded, this is repeated in the same terms when we are told that Moses fulfilled it. This is a carrying to the extreme of that pleonastic form of expression which may be observed also in certain portions of the Jewish-Hebrew Pentateuch (cf. König, *Stilistik*, etc. pp. 169, 172, 176). That the above passages in the Samaritan Pentateuch are of secondary origin is sufficiently evident from the circumstance that its text there has not the support of a single ancient witness.—(β) There are differences due to a religious or other like interest. The statement in Gn $2^{2\text{a}}$ וַיְכַל אֱלֹהִים בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי וג׳, 'and God declared all his work finished (see König, *Syntax*, § 95*b*) on the *seventh* day' was not understood, and so the seventh was changed into the *sixth* day (Sam. *beyôm eshshishshi*). The number 430 years, during which the Hebrews sojourned in Egypt, according to the MT of Ex 12^{40}, appeared to be too large, and hence the expression בארצ כנענ 'in the land of Canaan' was inserted before the words 'in the land of Egypt.' (By the way, the MT of Ex 12^{40} is shown by Ezk $4^{5\text{f.}}$ to have been the text in existence at the time of the prophet, for the 390 + 40 years of Ezk $4^{5\text{f.}}$ are nothing else than a reflexion of the 430 years of the Egyptian bondage of Israel). Again, the plural predicate with which אלהים 'God' is coupled in Gn 20^{13} 31^{53} 35^{7} and Ex 22^{8}, is changed into a singular, in order to avoid the appearance of polytheism (Kohn, *de Samaritano Pentateucho*, p. 22).—Another group is formed by the following passages.—The statement in Ex 24^{11} ויחזו 'and they beheld (*sc.* God),' is replaced by ויאחזו 'and they cleaved to (God),' the idea being that the Deity must have been strictly invisible. The conception of God was thus transcendentalized. In obedience to the same motive, so-called intermediary beings are introduced between God and man, אלהים ('God') being replaced by מלאכ אלהימ ('an angel of God') in Nu 22^{20} 23^{4}, and יהוה by מלאכ יהוה in vv.$^{5.\,16}$. Conversely, המלאך ('the angel') is once, Gn 48^{16}, changed into המלכ ('the king'), in order to avoid attributing to the angel what God Himself had accomplished, namely, the deliverance of Jacob. The Samaritans showed themselves in other instances as well very jealous for the character of God. From this motive they changed the words 'take all the heads of the people and hang them up' (Nu $25^{4\text{f.}}$) into 'command that they slay the men who attached themselves to Baal-peor,' the command as it runs in the MT appearing to involve an injustice on the part of God. To the same category belongs the substitution of 'hero (גיבור) of war' for 'man (אִישׁ) of war,' as a designation of God in Ex 15^{3}.—Yet another group of differences have for their aim the securing of the æsthetic purity of the Law. The Samaritans, for instance, have not only taken into the text those marginal readings which the Jewish Massoretes adopted for æsthetic reasons (Dt 28^{30}), but have replaced the term מבשיו 'his secrets' (25^{11}) by בשרו 'his flesh.'—Finally, it was upon national grounds that the name עיבל ('Ebal) was exchanged for גריזימ (Gerizim) in Dt 27^{4}. It has been shown, notably by Verschuir (in No. iii. of his *Dissertationes philologicæ-exegeticæ*, 1773), that the context demands the building of the altar nowhere but upon Mt. 'Ebal. God is presented especially as witness to the oath and as avenger of any breach of it ($29^{12.\,14.\,19}$), and accordingly we look both for the building of the altar as a symbol of the Divine presence, and for the offering of sacrifice by the people, upon *that* mountain from which the curse was proclaimed (27^{13}). After the Samaritans, moved probably by 27^{12} where Gerizim is named as the mount of blessing, had built their temple upon this mountain to the south of Shechem, they would be led naturally enough to introduce the name Gerizim in v.^{4}. The Jews, on the other hand, had no interest to substitute the name 'Ebal for the name Gerizim, for the point that concerned them was not whether Gerizim or 'Ebal was to have the preference, but whether the hegemony belonged to Gerizim or to Zion (Jn 4^{20}).

In view of all these differences between the

Jewish-Hebrew and the Samaritan-Hebrew Pentateuch, there can be no doubt that what the Samaritans possess is a *later* form of the Pentateuch. Whether we look at the groups dealing with linguistic differences or at those connected with the subject-matter, the indications point to a *late* period. A sufficient evidence of this is supplied by the Jewish *marginal* readings which are taken by the Samaritans into the *text* itself, but the same conclusion follows equally from the theological peculiarities of the Samaritan Pentateuch which have been mentioned above. For the same transcendentalizing of the conception of God is met with also in the later writings of the Jews: *e.g.* the statement 'and God was grieved' (Gn 6^{6}) is replaced in the Targum of Onkelos by 'and He commanded by His מימרא (*word*) to destroy their energies according to His will.'

iii. RELATION OF THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH TO THE HELLENISTIC (*i.e.* THE SEPTUAGINT).—(*a*) Both these forms of the Pentateuch agree in many details of form. For instance, both, differing in this from the MT, have an 'and' before 'tree' in Gn 1^{11} (MT עֵץ, Sam. *weẓ*, LXX *καὶ ξύλον*). The case is the same in 3^{16} (אֶל־הָאִשָּׁה *wel a'ishsha*, *καὶ τῇ γυναικί*), 6^{4} (הנפלים *wannephilem*, *οἱ δὲ γίγαντες*), and $6^{15.19}$. Again, both have in common some considerable deviations from the MT. In Gn 2^{2} the LXX, like the Samaritan, has replaced 'on the seventh day' by 'on the sixth day' (*τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἕκτῃ*). Instead of the strange order 'earth and heaven' which the MT exhibits in Gn 2^{4b}, the other two forms of the Pentateuch have the more usual succession of the two words (*shamêm waareẓ*, *τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν*). Both supplement the words of Cain in 4^{8} by 'let us go into the field' (*nelaka ashshadi*, *διέλθωμεν εἰς τὸ πεδίον*). Both interpolate into the MT of Ex 12^{40} the words 'in the land of Canaan,' but, while the Samaritan has this addition *before*, the LXX has it *after*, the words 'in the land of Egypt.' Finally, the Samaritan and the LXX agree in some of the expansions of the MT which are derived from parallel passages. For instance, in Gn 1^{14} there is the addition 'to give light upon the earth' (*la'êr al aareẓ*, *εἰς φαῦσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*), and in 11^{8} 'and the tower' (*wit ammegdal*, *καὶ τὸν πύργον*) is added.

(*b*) Differences between the Samaritan and the LXX. As regards the use of 'and,' the LXX agrees with the MT in Gn 6^{9} (צדיק תמים, *δίκαιος τέλειος*, against Sam. *ẓadêḳ utamem*). The LXX prefers asyndesis in *τὸν Σήμ, τὸν Χάμ, τὸν Ἰάφεθ*, as against the syndesis of the MT ('Shem, Ḥam, *and* Japheth') and the polysyndesis of the Samaritan (*it Shem wit Am wit Yephet*). In 2^{25} the האדם of the MT and the *ὁ Ἀδάμ* of the LXX agree, but the Samaritan has the anarthrous אדם (*adam*), whereas in 3^{20} the article is wanting alike in the Samaritan (*adam*) and the LXX (*Ἀδάμ*). In 3^{3} the MT and the LXX have the simple expression 'the tree,' but the Samaritan reads 'this tree' (*a'iẓ azze*). The LXX has different numbers from the Samaritan in the genealogies of Gn $5^{3\text{ff.}}$ and $11^{10\text{ff.}}$. Finally, in the sphere of religion, the Samaritan Pentateuch has retained the Divine name Jahweh in its *text*, only that the Samaritans read for it *Shema* (Petermann, *l.c.* p. 162), which means 'the name' *κατ' ἐξοχήν*. This use of the expression 'the name' has the foundation already laid for it in Lv 24^{11}, and makes its appearance for the first time in the Mishna in the words 'Let him offer a short prayer, saying, Help, O name (הַשֵּׁם), thy people the remnant of Israel' (*Bĕrākhôth* iv. 4). The Greek Jew has already replaced in his *text* the most holy Name יהוה (*Jahweh*) by the expression 'the LORD' (*ὁ κύριος*) which the Hebrew Jews placed in the *margin*. But, on the other hand, the Greek Jew has retained the term 'God' in Nu 22^{20} and 23^{4} (*ὁ θεός*), whereas the Samaritan has introduced the expression 'angel of God,' thus raising the Deity above any intercourse with man.

iv. SOURCE OF THE PECULIARITIES OF THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH. — Four principal suggestions have been made to account for these peculiarities.

(*a*) May not the features in which the Samaritan and the Greek Pentateuch agree with one another, and differ from the Jewish-Hebrew Pentateuch, be traceable directly to certain views and aims of later scribism? This is not only possible, but is even positively favoured by the circumstance that the relation of the Samaritan and the Greek to the Jewish Pentateuch is a mixture of agreement and difference. Let us look at two examples. The later scribes held that אדם in Gn $2^{20\text{ff.}}$ is not the *nomen appellativum*, 'man,' but the proper name 'Adam.' This common opinion, however, found expression in various ways. The Hebrew-Jewish Massoretes pronounced, in 2^{20} $3^{17.21}$ *le-adam*, *i.e.* without the article, because this was possible in these three passages without alteration of the *text*, which in the other two passages (2^{25} 3^{20}) would have had to be altered to get rid of the article. The Greek Jew likewise retains the article in 2^{25} (*ὁ Ἀδάμ*) and drops it only in 3^{20}. But the Samaritan in *both* these passages has introduced the anarthrous word אדם (*adam*) into the text. Again, the view that the 430 years of Ex 12^{40} included Israel's sojourn in Canaan *and* Egypt, finds expression in *different* ways in the Samaritan and in the LXX.

(*b*) Is it more likely that the readings wherein the Samaritan and the LXX agree in differing from the MT were found in older Hebrew codices? (Abr. Geiger, *Urschrift u. Uebersetzungen*, p. 99 f.; de Wette-Schrader, *Einleit.* p. 98; Vatke, *Einleit.* p. 109). There are traces, of course, of Jewish-Hebrew MSS whose text deviates in some points from the MT. For instance, the tract *Ṣôphĕrîm* (vi. 4) relates that 'Three books were found in the forecourt (בעזרה): in one was found written הוא eleven times, and in two היא eleven times, and the two were declared to be right, and the one was left out of account.' That is to say, a manuscript was discovered in the forecourt of the temple in which the personal pronoun of the 3rd pers. sing. was expressed by הוא not only in the well-known 195 passages, but also in the other eleven passages of the Pentateuch, where that pronoun occurs. Yet this is but a weak support for the view that at one time a Jewish-Hebrew MS of the Pentateuch contained the peculiarities wherein the Samaritan and the LXX differ from the MT. Or may it be supposed that a Jewish-Hebrew MS of this kind took its rise amongst the Hellenistic Jews in Egypt? (Riehm, *Einleit.* ii. 446). At all events, the accounts we have of the origin of the LXX know nothing of Egyptian MSS of the Heb. Pentateuch which formed the basis of the Greek translation.

(*c*) Or are we to hold that the Samaritan Pentateuch was subsequently corrected from the Greek? (Ed. Böhl, *Die alttest. Citate im NT*, p. 171). This view cannot be set down as absolutely impossible, but it raises new and difficult questions. Was there once a Greek Pentateuch, which was simply copied by the Samaritans? There is no evidence for this, nor is it likely. On the other hand, if the present text of the LXX was used by the Samaritans for correcting their Pentateuch, why did they adopt only a portion of the peculiarities of the LXX?

(*d*) The same difficulties arise if we assume that it was a Samaritan-Hebrew codex (Eichhorn, *Einleit.* ii. 641 f.) or a Samaritan-Greek codex (Kohn, *Samaritanische Studien*, p. 38 ff.) that was translated at Alexandria. For, in the first place, tradition knows nothing of this. Secondly, it is not in the least likely that as early as the 3rd cent. B.C., when the so-called Septuagint version of the Pentateuch originated, so many Samaritans had adopted the Greek language that a Greek translation of the Pentateuch would have been executed for their use. It is true there are 43 Greek passages which are marked by Origen as *τὸ Σαμαρειτικόν* (Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum quæ supersunt*, p. lxxxii ff.). It is also certain that these passages are relics of a complete Greek translation of the Pentateuch (Kohn, 'Das Samareitikon' in *Monatsschrift f. Gesch. u. Wissensch. d. Judenthums*, 1894, pp. 1–7, 49–67), which was prepared for the use of Samaritans living in Greek-speaking countries. For we are told that Symmachus put forward his Greek translation in opposition to a Greek translation which was current among the Samaritans (Epiphanius, *de Ponderibus et Mensuris*, c. 16). But there is not the slightest probability that this Greek translation was older than the LXX.

When all these considerations are taken into account, the first of the views enumerated above remains the most probable, namely, that the greater part of the differences which show themselves between the MT and the Samaritan Pentateuch, grew up through the influence of later currents of thought, just as is the case with the majority of the differences between the MT and the LXX.

We see the influence of later hermeneutics and theology continuing to work in another form which the Pentateuch assumed among the Samaritans, and which must not be confused with the Samaritan

Pentateuch hitherto spoken of. When the W. Aramaic dialect had inundated also Central Palestine, the Samaritan-Hebrew Pentateuch was *translated* into this new country dialect of the Samaritans. Thus originated the Samaritan Pentateuch-*Targum*, which, according to the tradition of the Samaritans, dates from the 1st cent. B.C., and is attributed to a priest, Nathanael, but which is more correctly derived, with Kautzsch (*PRE*^{2} xiii. p. 350), from the 2nd cent. A.D. This translation was first printed in the Paris (1645) and London (1657) Polyglotts, and the text given there was transcribed in the square character by Brüll (*Das Samaritanische Targum*, 1873–75). After fresh comparison with many MSS, it was published by H. Petermann under the very misleading title *Pentateuchus Samaritanus* (1872–91). The Oxford *Fragments of a Samaritan Targum*, published by Nutt in 1874, have also been used by Petermann in restoring the text of Leviticus and Numbers, as well as the St. Petersburg Fragments published by Kohn in 1876, which are made use of in the 5th part, which embraces Deuteronomy. 'But there are more variants than appear in Petermann-Vollers,' says P. Kahle in his *Textkritische und lexicalische Bemerkungen zum samaritan. Pentateuchtargum* (1898), pp. 8, 11, etc. On the character of this Targum the reader may now compare, above all, the thoroughgoing article of Kohn in *ZDMG*, 1893, pp. 626–97. Kahle (*l.c.* p. 8) remarks that in the Targum 'the Hebrew-Samaritan text is rendered slavishly, word for word.' Yet the transcendentalizing of the Divine and the glorification of Moses show themselves in a still higher degree here than in the Sam. Pentateuch itself.

After the Mohammedan conquest of Palestine (A.D. 637), when Arabic was becoming more and more the medium of intercourse employed by the Samaritans, Abu Sa'îd in the 11th cent. translated the Pentateuch into Arabic. (The books of Genesis, Exodus, and Leviticus in this translation have been edited by A. Kuenen, 1851–54). The so-called Barberini Triglott, a MS which was deposited in the Barberini Library at Rome, exhibits in three columns the Samaritan-Hebrew text, the Samaritan-Aramaic, and the Samaritan-Arabic versions.

ED. KÖNIG.

RACES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.—*Scope and Definition.*—It is essential to the proper treatment of a subject to determine first of all its scope. In the broad sense of the term, the races of the OT include all the peoples that are mentioned within that promiscuous compilation representing a large number of distinctive works and embracing the remains of a literature which covers a period of almost one thousand years of intellectual activity. The character of this literature, as thus defined, makes it natural that the geographical horizon of the OT writers should be practically coextensive with the then existing ethnological knowledge. By actual contact the Hebrews are brought into relationship with the entire group of nations settled around the Mediterranean, as well as with many inland groups to the north, east, south, and south-west of the land which became the home of the Hebrews *par excellence*. The early traditions and the legendary accounts of periods and personages lying beyond the confines of trustworthy knowledge, increase this number by many races of which little more than the names have been preserved. To give an exhaustive account, therefore, of the races of the OT would involve writing a treatise on ancient ethnology.

On the other hand, as ordinarily understood, the races of the OT include primarily those peoples only which stand in close contiguity to the central group in the scene of OT history—the Hebrews themselves; and here, again, a further twofold division suggests itself, viz. between those which belong to the more immediate ethnic group of which the Hebrews form a part, and those which lie outside of these limits. Confining ourselves in the main to a discussion of the theme in the narrower sense, it will meet our purposes best to treat it under these two aspects.

i. THE HEBREWS AND SEMITES.—The group historically known as the Hebrews, and forming the confederation of tribes to which the name Bĕnê Israel is given in the OT, forms part of a larger group known as the SEMITES. By virtue of this relationship, and in consequence of the geographical distribution of the other branches of the Semites, it is to the Semitic family that the races most prominently mentioned in the OT belong. The term Semite is used both in an ethnological and in a linguistic sense. As originally employed by J. G. Eichhorn[*] at the close of the 18th century, it embraced the peoples grouped in Gn 10 as the 'sons of Shem.' Since, however, it has been ascertained that the peoples thus grouped do not belong to one race or even to allied races, the ethnological application of the term has been modified to designate a race distinguished by the following features: dolichocephalic skulls; curly and abundant hair; slightly wavy or straight strong beard, the colour predominantly black; prominent nose, straight or aquiline; oval face.[†]

It must, however, be borne in mind that the pure type is comparatively rare. At an exceedingly remote period the mixture of Semites with Hamites and Aryans began, so that except in the less accessible regions of central Arabia it is doubtful whether pure Semites exist at all. So pronounced has this mixture been that some investigators regard the Semites as the product of two races—a blonde and a dark race; but the introduction of such a division is confusing. The mixture has not been with one race but with many races, and hence it is but natural that a variety of types should have been produced. The preponderating type, however, being dark, it is legitimate to conclude that the latter represents the original stock, and that the 'blonde' Semites furnish the proof precisely of that admixture which we know from other sources actually took place.

Where the original home of the Semites lay is a matter of dispute, and will probably never be settled to the satisfaction of all scholars. The drift of scholarly opinion, after vacillating between southern Babylonia, the eastern confines of Africa, southern Arabia, and the interior of the Arabian peninsula, is now in favour of the latter region.[‡] It is, at all events, in central Arabia that the purest Semitic type is still found, and, so far as known, it was invariably from the interior of Arabia that the Semitic hordes poured forth to the north-east and north-west and south to establish cultured States or to assimilate the culture which they already found existing.

It is in this way that we may account for the greatest of Semitic States—that of BABYLONIA and ASSYRIA in the Euphrates Valley and along the banks of the Tigris. The course of culture in Mesopotamia is from south to north, and this fact is in itself an important indication that the Semites who took possession of Babylonia came from a district lying to the south of Babylonia. The Babylonians and Assyrians thus form a distinct branch of the Semites, though at the same time furnishing an illustration of the admixture with other races upon which we have dwelt. The Euphrates Valley appears to have been from time immemorial a gathering-place of various nations, and, in passing, it may be noted that the Biblical legend of the confusion of tongues (Gn 11), which significantly takes place in Babylonia, appears to be based upon a dim recollection of this circumstance. So far as present indications go, the Semites upon coming to the Euphrates Valley already found a culture in existence which, however, they so thoroughly assimilated, and on which at the same time they impressed the stamp of their peculiar personality to such an extent, as to make it substantially a Semitic product. Indeed, the presence of this earlier culture was probably the attraction which led to the Semitic invasion from the interior of Arabia, just as at a later date the Semitic civilization of the Euphrates attracted other Semitic hordes towards making a northern movement from this same region. It is among these hordes, pouring out of the steppes of Arabia, and proceeding in the direction of the Euphrates Valley, that we are to seek for the ancestors of the Hebrews.

---

[*] *Hist.-Kritische Einleit. in das AT* (Leipzig, 1780), p. 45.

[†] See, *e.g.*, Brinton, *Races and Peoples* (New York, 1890), p. 134.

[‡] For recent discussions of the various theories, see Nöldeke, *Die semitischen Sprachen* (Leipzig, 1887), and his article 'Semitic Languages' in *Encyc. Brit.*^{9}; also Brinton and Jastrow, *The Cradle of the Semites* (Philadelphia, 1891), where further references will be found; and more recently G. A. Barton, *A Sketch of Semitic Origins* (New York, 1902). ch. i.

The sociological process which began thousands of years ago is still going on at the present time, where nomadic groups, attracted by the opportunities of spoil, continue to skirt the regions of culture in the East, with the result that a certain proportion of them are permanently gained for the cause of civilization, and settle in culture centres.* The Biblical tradition which goes back to settlements on the Euphrates—Ur and Ḥarran (Gn 11$^{28-31}$)—finds an explanation in such a movement. Forming part of a nomadic invasion, the Hebrews were among those who, allured by the attractions of Babylonian culture, made settlements of a more permanent character along the Euphrates, first at Ur and later farther north at Ḥarran. That, however, these settlements did not involve casting aside nomadic habits altogether, is shown by the Biblical tradition which records a movement of Hebrews from Ur to Ḥarran and thence by the northern route into Palestine. The presence of an Eliezer clan of Damascus in close affiliation with Abraham (Gn 15^{2}) and his band, points to a temporary settlement at Damascus on the route to the west. Once on the west of the Jordan, the Hebrews continue their semi-nomadic habits for several centuries, and it is not until the 11th cent. that this stage in their career is definitely closed.

These movements of the Hebrews, as recorded in a blurred, and yet for that reason not altogether unhistorical tradition, suggest, as already pointed out, the manner in which southern Mesopotamia became a thoroughly Semitic State, the invading Semites absorbing the old culture (whatever that was, and whatsoever its origin may have been), and giving a new direction to the further intellectual, social, and religious development of the Euphrates Valley. This parallel also indicates—what is more important for our purposes—a common origin for the Semites who obtained possession of Babylonia and those who, after moving up and down the western outskirts of Babylonia, entered Palestine. The testimony of language bears out this supposition, for the relationship between Hebrew and Babylonian is such as to warrant our concluding in favour of the descent of the two peoples from one common branch to which the name 'Aramæan' may be given.

It is both interesting and significant to find that tradition preserves the appropriateness of this designation. On a solemn occasion, when the Hebrew, appearing before Jahweh, is to recall his past, a formula is introduced in which he refers to his ancestor as 'a stray (אֹבֵד) Aramæan' (Dt 26^{5}).

1. The ARAMÆAN branch of the Semites thus assumes large dimensions. Besides the Babylonians and Assyrians and Hebrews, it includes the Semites who settled in Syria as well as the groups of Moabites and Ammonites settled on the east side of the Jordan, while the Phœnicians settled on the Mediterranean coast constitute another Aramæan division or offshoot. Of the relationship existing between Hebrews and Babylonians we have already spoken. *When* the early contact in the Euphrates district began, of which Biblical tradition preserves a faint recollection, it is impossible to say; nor must it be supposed that the Hebrews at the time of their forward movement from interior Arabia were sharply differentiated from the promiscuous groups of Semites who participated in the movement.

By virtue of the relationship existing between Hebrew and the various Aramaic dialects, particularly between Hebrew and Aramaic in its oldest form,* we are justified in thus placing the group subsequently distinguished as a conglomeration of clans, from which the Hebrews trace their descent, in the same category with that large and somewhat indefinite branch of Semites which we have already designated as Aramæan. While the relationship between Hebrews and Babylonian-Assyrians was never entirely broken off, political or commercial associations being maintained with but short interruptions between Mesopotamia and Palestine from the time of the permanent settlement of the Hebrews to the west of the Jordan, down to the destruction of the two Hebrew kingdoms in the 8th and 6th cents. respectively, this relationship was not so close as that which was maintained between the Hebrews on the one hand, and the Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, Ishmaelites (or Arabs), Phœnicians, and other subdivisions of the great Aramæan branch, on the other. Among the races occurring in the OT, it is these which occupy the most prominent place in Hebrew history. It seems desirable, therefore, to dwell upon them in greater detail.

The tradition recorded in Gn 19$^{30-38}$ which ascribes the origin of the MOABITES and AMMONITES to an act of incest committed by Lot with his two daughters, simply reflects the hostility between these two nations and the Hebrews. To throw discredit upon an opponent's ancestry is a favourite method in Arabic poetry of expressing one's contempt and inveterate hatred. More significant, as pointing to the close bond between these three groups, is the circumstance that Abraham and Lot are represented as uncle and nephew. Interpreted historically, this relationship points to a clan or group of clans exercising supremacy over another group or sending forth this group as an offshoot. The character of the Abraham-Lot cycle of stories points to the latter contingency. The separation of Lot from Abraham (Gn 13) is decisive in this respect. It is the form in which tradition records the recollection that one group is an offshoot of a larger one. The quarrel between Abraham's 'men' and the followers of Lot is the common occurrence among nomads. They separate into little groups, and, as these groups grow, rivalry ensues, leading to further separation. We are therefore justified in concluding that Moabites and Ammonites were at one time not differentiated from the Hebrews, or rather that all three belonged to a single group, whatever the name of that group may have been. That there were other clans or tribes arising from that general group is quite certain, and, as this body of Aramæan tribes moved northwards from the Euphrates Valley and settled to the east and west of the Jordan, they were joined on the road by others. It is not necessary for all the members of the group to have come into Palestine at one time. On the contrary, it is more likely that, owing to circumstances beyond our knowledge, it was a series of waves of emigration that led Aramæan groups away from the Euphrates and by a devious northern route towards lands farther to the west. The Hebrews, Moabites, and Ammonites were carried along by these waves; and, whatever the order in which they came, the motives leading them to the west were the same in all. Language again comes to our aid in confirming this theory of the intimate bond uniting Hebrews to Moabites and Ammonites. The Moabite Stone (see vol. iii. p. 404 ff.), found in 1868 at Dibon, the capital of Moab, and recording the deeds of Mesha, king of Moab (*c.* 850 B.C.), proves that Hebrew and Moabitish differ from one another as much as and no more than the dialect of northern Germany differs from the speech of southern Germany, while the proper names of Ammonitish rulers and gods in the OT, in default of Ammonite records which have not yet been found, indicate that Hebrew and Ammonitish stood in the same close relationship to one another. That the political relations continued to be hostile from the first differentiation of the three groups, is the natural outcome of conditions which still characterize the districts once occupied by the Moabites and Ammonites.

---

* See Lady Anne Blunt, *The Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates* (London, 1879), especially chs. xxiii. and xxiv.

* *e.g.* the inscriptions of Teima (*c.* 6th cent. B.C.) and the inscriptions of Zinjerli (8th cent. B.C.).

The case is somewhat different with the EDOMITES. The fact that they do not enter upon the scene until after the Hebrews had crossed the Jordan is significant. The process of differentiation had progressed sufficiently to single out of the Aramæan branch the Hebrews as a distinct subdivision. If tradition is to be trusted, the continuation of this same process which led to the separation of the Abraham and Lot clans, further divided the Hebrews into two subdivisions, one represented by Isaac—Jacob—Israel, the other by Ishmael—Esau—Edom. The double line of tradition, however, complicates the situation considerably. Ishmael and Isaac as 'sons' of Abraham are paralleled by Esau and Jacob as 'sons' of Isaac. To conclude that the Abrahamitic group first separated into two subdivisions, Isaac and Ishmael, and that subsequently another differentiation took place between Esau and Jacob as branches of the Isaac group, seems tempting; but this simple solution of the problem encounters some obstacles. The ISHMAELITES, according to Biblical tradition, are identified with the large body of tribes in central northern Arabia, and the Arabs themselves have accepted this tradition; but the unequal proportion between the two, the Hebrews representing a well-defined group of comparatively small extent, while the Ishmaelites assume the dimensions of a branch of the Semites as extensive and as undefined as the 'Aramæans,' raises the suspicion that the Biblical tradition in this instance is not of popular origin, or at all events not wholly popular, but due to a 'learned' theory which attempted to account for the close racial and the no less close linguistic affinities between Hebrews and Arabs. The theory is naturally interpreted in the OT with due allowance for national pride, so that, while Ishmael is conceded to be the older son of Abraham (Gn 16^{15}), Isaac is the favourite one (22^{2}). While, again, the tradition is forced to make the concession to historical fact in predicting for Ishmael a large progeny (Gn 16^{10}–17^{20}), and otherwise admitting Elohim's partiality for Ishmael (*e.g.* 17^{18}),—witness the act of circumcision which admits him into the covenant with Elohim (17^{23-26}), and Ishmael's miraculous deliverance (21^{13-20}),—the general aim of the tradition is to play off Isaac against Ishmael. This is consciously done, and in a manner quite different from the naïve way in which in other instances popular tradition is given a literary form. If in addition it be borne in mind that, in the actual history of the Hebrews, Ishmaelites play no part, it seems plausible to conclude that the Ishmaelitic current in the OT tradition is not of popular origin. The Ishmaelites do not dwell in Palestine or in the immediately adjacent districts, and popular tradition takes no interest in groups of peoples with which it has nothing to do. At most, Ishmael's being driven away from the domain set aside for Isaac may recall a settlement in Palestine prior to the advent of the Hebrews; but even this element of historical sediment in the tradition is doubtful, and it seems more plausible to assume that the separation of Isaac and Ishmael is a 'doublet' suggested either by Lot's separation from Abraham or Jacob's separation from Esau, the story itself being introduced to account for the ethnic relationship between Hebrews and Arabs. As such it has its value and, in a certain sense of the word, its justification.

2. The ARABS represent the second great branch into which the Semites may be divided, and as further subdivisions of this branch we may distinguish (1) the Arabs of central and northern Arabia; (2) the Arabs of southern Arabia; (3) the offshoot of the latter in Africa—notably in Abyssinia; (4) the offshoots in modern times of the Arabs of northern and central Arabia in (*a*) Egypt and the N. African coast, (*b*) Palestine and Syria, (*c*) India and the Malay Archipelago.

So far as the OT is concerned, we are interested only in the first two subdivisions. The culture of the Arab branch of the Semites begins in the south — in southern Arabia and in Abyssinia. Which of these is the original and which the offshoot is a question which a number of years ago could have been answered without hesitation in favour of the former, but which now is an open one. During the past two decades, inscriptions have been found in Yemen and in Abyssinia revealing the existence of several important kingdoms in southern Arabia, and indicating both here and on the opposite African coast a noteworthy degree of culture, the age of which is at least fifteen hundred years before our era, and which may turn out to be considerably older.

If the theory which places the home of the Semites in central Arabia be accepted, the probabilities are that, corresponding to a northern movement, there was a tendency for certain groups of Semites to spread towards the south; and if the culture in the south was actually established by them in this way, it would also be natural to suppose that this culture was carried by emigrants from Yemen to Abyssinia. However that may be, the language of southern Arabia, known as Himyaritic,—subdivided into a number of dialects, — and that of Abyssinia, known as Ethiopic, prove a close connexion between the groups inhabiting this district. It is interesting to note that southern Arabia and Abyssinia are mentioned in the famous description of the rivers of Paradise (Gn 2^{11-13}); for, whatever the origin of the name *Ḥavîlah* is, there is little doubt that some district of Arabia is meant,* while the land of *Cush* is, to the writer of Gn 2, Ethiopia.

The historical relations between Hebrews and the Arabs of southern Arabia appear to have been entirely of a commercial character, and these seem to have been confined to the short period of political glory which tradition associates with the reign of Solomon. This commercial intercourse between southern Arabia and Palestine gave rise to the 'Midrashic' tale of the queen of Sheba's visit to Solomon (1 K 10^{1-10}), to which the Arabs have added as supplement Solomon's visit to Yemen.* The Arabs have also retained the recollection of the twofold division of the branch, and, in the genealogical lists prepared with such infinite care by the genealogists, one branch—the northern—is traced back to Adnan, and the other —the southern—to Kahtan.

---

* Glaser, *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens* (Berlin, 1890), ii. 323-326.

The Ethiopians were well known to the Hebrews, and the prophets are fond of introducing allusions to them into their orations (*e.g.* Is 18^1, Jer 46^9, Ezk 29^{10} 30^4 etc., Nah 3^9, Zeph 3^{10}), although *Cush* does not always stand for Ethiopia.

Coming back to the tradition in Genesis which divides the Hebrews after Isaac into two divisions —Jacob-Israel and Esau-Edom—there can scarcely be any doubt that we have here again a case of a popular tradition and perfectly reliable, in so far as it points to a common origin for the Hebrews and the Edomites. While the Moabites and the Ammonites remained east of the Jordan and the Hebrews moved to the west, the Edomites eventually established themselves to the south and southeast of the Hebrews; though, retaining their nomadic habits of life and nomadic fierceness of manner, they frequently made incursions into the territory of their neighbours. The form of the Biblical tradition would also indicate that the Edomites formed part of the 'Aramæan' emigration that entered the lands to the east of the Jordan in a series of migratory waves, coming by the northern route from the Euphrates district. Jacob and Esau are represented as twin sons of the Isaac and Rebekah clans. The marriage between Isaac and Rebekah, interpreted historically, means that a branch of the Abrahamitic group formed an alliance with another group which, in continuation of the western movement that brought Abraham and Lot to the west, prompted other Aramæan groups to follow the example. Rebekah coming from 'Aram-naharaim' to join the Hebrew group is a proof for the theory above maintained, that the stream of 'Aramæan' emigration to the west continued steadily for an indefinite period, and perhaps never ceased entirely. Alliances between small groups are common among the nomads to this day; but the result is generally that after a time a separation again takes place, not necessarily between the same groups, but in the next generation or two, by which time the growth of the united group has been such as to engender rivalries among the members.

In the case of Jacob and Esau there is another reason for the separation, and one of no small historical moment. It was natural that some at least of the Aramæan hordes, attracted to the Euphrates district by the culture existing there, should have been influenced by the example of this culture to take a forward step in civilization. We may safely set down Babylonian culture as an important factor in bringing about the division of the Semitic nomads into two classes—those of the fiercer grade retaining their nomadic habits unchanged, dependent upon hunting and plunder for their sustenance; and the higher grade, softer in manner, wandering about, followed by their flocks, and continuing nomadic habits chiefly for the sake of the latter and because of the necessity of seeking proper pasturage at the various seasons of the year. Those groups of the Aramæan branch which became differentiated as Hebrews, Moabites, and Ammonites, attain the higher grade at the time of their entrance into western lands or shortly thereafter, while the Edomites represent a subdivision which either relapses into the fiercer state —a not uncommon experience—or was, for some reason or other, prevented from taking the step forwards which eventually leads to the agricultural stage, and with this the complete laying aside of nomadic habits. Jacob, described as 'a tent dweller' (Gn 25^{27}), represents the nomad on the road to culture, and is contrasted with Esau the hunter—the Bedawî proper* (*ib.*). A hint of impending change in social conditions is already furnished by the tradition associated with Abraham and Isaac of digging wells (Gn 26^{14-33}) for the needs of the extensive herds of sheep and cattle which they acquired (v.^{14}). This being the case, it is not easy to account for the close association of the two groups, Jacob and Esau, representing such different levels of culture, and why there should be, in the case of one of the subdivisions of the Hebrew group, a reversion to the ruder nomadic type. Such, however, is evidently the case, and the Edomites, tracing back their descent to the Esau clan, represent a branch of the Hebrews that remained in a lower stage of culture, while the other steadily advanced till the agricultural stage was reached. The bond between the Israelites and the Edomites appears to have been much closer than that between the Hebrews and any other subdivisions. The rivalry, too, appears to have been keener. There is not merely hatred between Jacob and Esau, but the former adroitly dispossesses the latter, drives him away from his inheritance back almost to the desert, where he takes up much the same sort of life as that led by the Semites before coming into touch with culture at all. Still, the recollection that Israel and Edom are brothers is preserved in the popular mind in quite a different manner from that in which Ishmael and Isaac are so spoken of. A late psalmist (Ps 137^7) still denounces the treachery of Edom at the time of the downfall of the Southern kingdom as particularly reprehensible, because, as a brother, he should have come to the rescue instead of helping to the downfall of Judah. It lies, of course, outside the province of this article to consider the details of the relationship between Israel and Edom. For our purpose it is sufficient to specify in this general way the relationship existing between the Hebrews and the various subdivisions of the Aramæan and Arabic branches of Semites.

Two other branches of the Arabic group which appear prominently among the races of the OT are the Amaleḳites and the Midianites. The tradition recorded in Gn 36^{12} traces the AMALEḲITES back to Esau. Like the Edomites, they represent the fiercer type of the Bedawîn. Their first encounter with the Hebrews takes place during the period when the latter themselves are still in the nomadic stage. The rivalry between the two must have been bitter indeed, since the hatred of the Hebrews towards the Amaleḳites not only survives to a late period, but is inculcated in the Pentateuch as a religious duty (Dt 25^{17-19}). While originally the name of an Arab tribe settled around Ḳadesh, the term seems to have come to be applied to roaming bands of marauders in general. It is in this way probably that we are to account for the presence of Amaleḳites not only at Rephidim (Ex 17^{8-16}), but as far north as Mt. Ephraim (Jg 12^{15}, cf. 5^{14}). Indeed the Hebrews are molested by Amaleḳites as late as the days of Saul (1 S 15^{1-9}), and it was left for David to drive them finally back to their desert haunts (1 S 30^{1-20}). The Ḳenites and Ḳenizzites settled around Ḥebron are set down as branches of the Amaleḳites who joined the federation of the Bĕnê Israel, and this defection must have intensified the hatred of the Amaleḳites for Israel, and led to atrocities and barbarous treatment of captives on the part of the Amaleḳites, the recollection of which survived among the Hebrews to a late day.

---

* Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Musselmänner* (Frankfort, 1845), pp. 245–275.

* The Arabic word *bedwij* signifies the 'one outside,' and is therefore the equivalent of the Hebrew phrase 'man of the field' (Gn 25^{27}).

The application of the name *Amaleḳ* to Bedawîn in general finds a parallel in the still more indefinite manner in which the term *Midian* is used by some OT writers. That the MIDIANITES also belong to the Arabic group of Semites is sufficiently shown by their settlement around Mt. Sinai, where we first find them (Ex $2^{15.17}$) described as shepherds. They were evidently regarded as already, in the days of Moses, belonging to the milder class of Bedawîn—the nomad on the road to culture; and yet subsequently, in the period of the Judges, the Midianites are in alliance with the Amaleḳites (Jg 6^{3}). In genuine Bedawîn fashion they pounce down upon the Hebrews, who had now become agriculturists, and rob them of their flocks and belongings. At this time they are scarcely to be distinguished from the Amaleḳites; and the two groups become synonymous with the marauding bands of Bedawîn, belonging in reality to a vast number of different tribes who constantly threaten the existence of the cultured States of Palestine.

3. There is still one branch of the Semites to be considered which receives prominent mention among the races of the OT—the PHŒNICIANS. If we were to be guided by the testimony of language alone, the settlers along the northern Mediterranean coast certainly belong to the same branch as Hebrews, Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites; but the totally different social conditions prevailing in Phœnicia, and the unique rôle played by the Phœnicians in history as merchants and seamen, suggest that another factor is at work here. The theory has been advanced and met with considerable favour, that the Phœnicians were not the original settlers of the coastland of Syria, but came there from their homes, which were originally on the southern coast of Asia Minor, or, as some are inclined to believe, at the mouth of the Persian Gulf. There is, however, not sufficient material to settle so delicate a problem. There is no indication that the population along the Syrian coast represents a mixture of Semites with other races, and our knowledge of Phœnician antiquities is too meagre—and what there is does not reach far enough back—to enable us to specify the historical relationship existing between the Phœnicians and other subdivisions of the Aramæan branch. As long as no evidence to the contrary is forthcoming, we must continue to place the Phœnicians in the same category with Hebrews, Moabites, etc.; and, assuming that they formed part of the general movement of 'Aramæan' groups from Arabia, they became differentiated after settling along the coastland, where they may already have found a seafaring population, whom they gradually dispossessed, just as the Hebrews upon entering Palestine found the country settled by a population whom they in turn drove out.

The relationship between Hebrews and Phœnicians was, again, chiefly commercial, just as between Hebrews and Yemenites. Commercial intercourse led to political alliances; and at one time, in consequence of such an alliance,—in the days of Ahab,—there was danger of the Phœnician cult becoming a serious rival to the national Jahweh worship.

The Phœnicians lead us to consider another group, which entered into far closer relations with the Hebrews than almost any other, and which, among the races of the OT, occupies a peculiarly prominent and significant place—the CANAANITES. The OT usage of 'Canaan' is not consistent, being sometimes employed to include all of Palestine proper, Phœnicia, and even lands to the east of the Jordan, and at times restricted to Palestine. It is therefore not easy to determine the precise extent of Canaanitish settlements. From the fact that 'Canaanite' comes to be synonymous with the merchant of Phœnicia (Is 23^{8}, Ezk 17^{4}, Pr 31^{24}), we may certainly conclude that the Phœnicians were regarded as Canaanites, and the further use of the term as a designation of the pre-Israelitish inhabitants of Palestine is an indication of a close relationship between some sections at least of those peoples whom the Hebrews dispossessed and the Phœnicians. But at this point certainty ends. The Canaanite is frequently introduced in the OT in connexion with a number of other groups—the Amorites, Ḥittites, Perizzites, Ḥivvites, and Jebuṣites (*e.g.* Ex 34^{11}), to which elsewhere the Girgashites are added (*e.g.* Gn $15^{20.21}$ *). It is quite clear from the way in which these peoples are grouped,—sometimes five being mentioned, sometimes seven, at times only two—Canaanite and Perizzite (*e.g.* Gn 13^{7} 34^{30}),—that they were no longer sharply differentiated in the minds of the writers. Taken together, they constitute the inhabitants of Palestine whom the Hebrews encountered when they attempted to conquer the country; but the survival of the term 'Canaan' as the name for the district, and 'Canaanite' as a general designation for the earlier inhabitants, points to Canaanites as forming the most powerful, and probably also the most prominent, part of the population. It may well be that some of those mentioned in the above conglomeration—notably the Perizzites and Girgashites—were merely subdivisions of the Canaanites that for a time acquired an independent position, but afterwards were again absorbed into the general body of Canaanites. At all events, it is plausible to assume that the interior of Palestine was occupied for an indefinite period, prior to the advent of the Hebrews, by groups of Semites more or less closely related to one another of which the Canaanites became the most prominent.

These Canaanites belonging to the same branches as the Semitic settlers in Phœnicia, the question of their origin is involved in the problem as to the origin of the Phœnicians. Adopting again the general theory above advanced, we may assume a movement similar to that which brought the Hebrews to Palestine to have taken place at a much earlier date. What Hebrew tradition assigns to the days of Abraham appears, then, to have been only a repetition of much earlier events. The Phœnicians and the Palestinian Canaanites would thus represent a subdivision of the Aramæan branch that moved along the Euphrates, and finally passed over by the northern route towards western lands, some settling along the coast and others pushing into the interior.

In the course of time these groups took a step forwards in culture, and became agriculturists. Their villages developed into towns, while those groups living on the coast were lured to seafaring careers.

It was the Canaanites—to use the general name—whom the Hebrews, upon entering Palestine, found in possession, and the wars with them continued for many generations, until finally the Hebrews obtained the upper hand. This contact with the Canaanites forms a most important factor in Hebrew history. By that power of attraction which the higher culture possesses for those of an inferior grade, the Hebrews were prompted to make the attempt to secure for themselves the towns and cultivated lands to the west of the Jordan. The success of their efforts is followed by the permanent abandonment of nomadic habits, and instead of sheep raisers they become and remain for subsequent centuries tillers of the soil. From a religious point of view, the contact with the Canaanites was also fraught, with important consequences. The national deity, Jahweh, originally associated with the sojourn of the people in the wilderness,—the nomadic period of their existence,—becomes the protecting deity of the fields, and the people do not hesitate to call Jahweh by the name which the Canaanites applied to their field deities—Baal. For a time the amalgamation of the Jahweh and the Canaanitish Baal cult seemed imminent, when a 'national' reaction takes place, and, under the lead of jealous Jahweh-worshippers, the attempt is made to drive the Baal priests with the Baal rites out of the country, just as the worshippers of Baal had been forced out of their possessions. For all that, Jahweh absorbs some of the traits of Baal, and it is not until several centuries later—when Jahweh Himself was on the point of becoming a deity singled out from all others by the ethical character attributed to Him—that the last traces of the old Canaanitish cults also disappear.

---

* 'Rephaim' in this verse is an explanatory gloss.

How far back the arrival of the Canaanites in Palestine is to be dated is a question which cannot be answered with any degree of certainty. It is safe to assume an interval of several centuries between this event and the movement of Hebrew tribes from the Euphrates Valley towards western lands. The earliest occurrence of the name is in the Tel el-Amarna tablets, dating from *c.* 1400 B.C., in which we find the name Canaan under the form *Kinaḫi*, but limited in its application to the seacoast, and more properly the northern seacoast, *i.e.* Phœnicia. But, at whatever date we fix the entrance of the Canaanites, even they do not appear to have been the first Semitic group that settled in Palestine. Of the groups mentioned so frequently with the Canaanites in the OT—the Perizzites, Ḥittites, Ḥivvites, Amorites, Girgashites, and Jebuṣites—we know unfortunately very little, with the exception of the Ḥittites and the Amorites. The Perizzites and the Girgashites, it has been pointed out, may have been subdivisions of Canaanites, and yet from the way in which, in two places (Gn 13^{7} 34^{30}), Canaanites and Perizzites are put side by side as comprising all Palestine, one might be tempted to conclude that the Perizzites represented an independent group, which was at one time coequal in importance with the Canaanites. It seems even more certain that the Jebuṣites and Ḥivvites had no direct connexion with the Canaanites. Taking this in connexion with the circumstance that in the Tel el-Amarna tablets the term Canaan does not include Palestine proper, it is more than probable that some of the groups mentioned with the Canaanites represent still other settlers. In a notable passage (Gn 15^{19}) three additional groups—Ḳenites, Ḳenizzites, and Ḳadmonites—are spoken of as occupying the territory later claimed by the Hebrews. That these groups are Semitic is sufficiently indicated by their names, the last mentioned of which, the 'Easterners,' still contains a trace of the district whence they came.

At the period of the Hebrew conquest of Palestine we no longer hear of these groups. They appear ere this to have been driven to the south by the all-powerful Canaanites, and subsequently to the west by the Hebrews. It is quite natural that the traditions regarding these earlier movements should be dimmed. There was no reason why the Hebrews or the Hebrew writers should have been sufficiently interested to preserve any distinct recollection. Their relations were primarily with the Canaanites. The importance of the latter in the eyes of the Hebrews is revealed in the earlier form of the story of the distribution of mankind as furnished in Gn 9^{25-27}, which makes Canaan, Shem, and Japheth the progenitors of the human race; and, on the other hand, the hatred of these rivals of the Hebrews crops out in this same chapter which connects Canaan with Ḥam — the 'accursed' son of Noah (v.^{25}).

ii. Races of doubtful Origin. — A peculiar position is occupied by the Amorites and the Ḥittites. The Amorites are found throughout northern Palestine as early at least as the 12th century B.C., when we encounter the name *Amurru* (or *Amurra*) in cuneiform inscriptions. So prominent do they become that they furnish to the Babylonian and Assyrian chroniclers the name for the entire district of northern and southern Palestine, and there are indications that the Hebrews, too, at one time gave to the term Amorite an extensive application. In the so-called Elohistic document, 'land of the Amorite' is used in this way.* These Amorites must accordingly have turned to the south, and, indeed, when the Hebrews entered Palestine, they found their way blocked by a large powerful kingdom on the east of the Jordan (see Amorites in vol. i.). The remarkable statement of Ezekiel ($16^{3.45}$), that the 'mother' of Jerusalem was a Ḥittite, and the 'father' an Amorite, points also to the early presence of Amorites on the west of Jordan. To assume, however, that 'Canaanites' and 'Amorites' are synonymous terms representing one and the same population, is not justified. In the Tel el-Amarna tablets the 'Amurru' land is frequently mentioned and always designates the interior of Palestine, though more particularly the northern section; but the name may be carried back still farther. In Babylonian legal documents of the period, *c.* 2300 B.C., a town Amurru occurs, situated in Babylonia. If we are to conclude from this that the Amorites also came from the Euphrates Valley, we should have still another instance of the movement which brought such various groups of Semites to the west. A more important conclusion that appears to be warranted, is that the Amorites would thus turn out to be settlers in Palestine earlier than the Canaanites, and that the latter represent the group which finally obtains the ascendency and retains it until the appearance of the Hebrews. That with the conquest of the land by the Canaanites, the Amorites do not disappear, any more than the Ḥivvites, Jebuṣites, and other groups, is quite natural, seeing that when the Hebrews conquered the Canaanites the old inhabitants were dispossessed, but, by the express testimony of OT writers, not driven out (Ex $23^{29.30}$, Jg $1^{21.27-36}$).

The question has been raised, notably by Sayce (*Races of the Old Testament*, p. 110), whether the Amorites and other groups of the pre-Israelitish inhabitants were Semites. Much stress has been laid upon the representation of Amorites on Egyptian monuments where they are depicted with yellow skin, blue eyes, red eyebrows and beard, and light but also black hair (W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Racial Types from Egypt*, London, 1887). The Egyptian artists, however, were not always consistent in their drawings, and more particularly in their colourings, as Sayce himself is forced to admit (*l.c.* 113, 114). Too much importance, therefore, must not be attached to the colouring of the racial types on the Egyptian monuments. Anxiety to produce a pleasing or startling effect was a factor which interfered seriously with ethnographical accuracy. But, apart from the colouring, there are no such decided distinctions between Amorites and Judæans on Egyptian monuments as to warrant the supposition that the two belonged to different races or even to different branches of the Semites; and to account for this, as Sayce would have us do, by assuming that up to comparatively so late a period as the days of Reḥoboam the population of southern Judæa was still largely Amoritic (*l.c.* p. 112), is simply building a further argument upon a mere supposition. The term Amorite, moreover, has a Semitic sound and appearance, and until better evidence to the contrary is forthcoming we may group them with the same race as the later settlers of Palestine. The Amorites were a warlike people, living in walled towns. The recollection of their prowess survived to a late date, and they became to subsequent generations the giants of olden days. It has become customary in consequence to identify the Amorites with the ANAḲIM, REPHAIM, EMIM, and ZAMZUMMIM, or to regard these as so many subdivisions of the Amorites. It is true that the Rephaim and Anaḳim are occasionally spoken of in the OT as though they were identical with Amorites, but this is due to the fact that 'Rephaim' and 'Anaḳim' (cf. *e.g.* Dt $2^{11.\,20}$ $3^{11.\,13}$) are used as generic terms for a powerful race, and no longer as specific designations of any particular group. This, however, does not imply that there were no groups known as Rephaim and Anaḳim respectively, but that they belong to such a remote past as to become mere names to later generations; and since strength and gigantic stature are invariably ascribed by a later generation to remote ancestors,—in part, no doubt, justifiably ascribed, —we may only conclude from the way in which these terms are used that no definite traditions about these groups have survived. As for Emim and Zamzummim (possibly identical with the Zuzim of Gn 14^{5}), they are merely the names of the ancient population of Moab and Ammon respectively (Dt 2^{11} and ^{20}). While it is no longer possible to specify the extent of the territory of the Rephaim and Anaḳim, so much appears tolerably certain that these groups, with the Emim and Zamzummim, constitute the oldest inhabitants of Palestine and the district to the east of the Jordan known to us —preceding the Amorites but afterwards commingled through the faintness of tradition with Amorites, just as Amorites in time are not sharply distinguished from Canaanites, and just as the groups Ḥivvites, Perizzites, etc., come to be viewed in some strata of tradition as subdivisions of Canaanites.

---

* See Steinthal, *Zeits. f. Völkerpsychologie*, 12, 267, and Ed. Meyer, *ZATW* i. 122.

If we are to seek for a *non-Semitic* race in Palestine at all, we must go back beyond the Amorites to the nebulous Rephaim, Anaḳim, Emim, and Zamzummim. There are some reasons for actually supposing the pre-Amoritic settlers to have been of a different race, which was gradually subdued by the Amorites both to the east and west of Jordan; but the thesis is one which in the present state of our knowledge cannot be proved with certainty, though the fact of the existence of an early non-Semitic population in certain portions of Palestine has now been established by ethnological evidence (see Alex. Macalister in *PEFSt*, Oct. 1902, pp. 353–356).

With even greater assurance than in the case of the Amorites, has it been maintained that the ḤITTITES belong to a non-Semitic race. The problem in this instance is even more complicated, in consequence of the vague and indefinite usage of the term. We find a group of Ḥittites in the south around Ḥebron carried back by tradition to the days of Abraham (Gn $23^{5.\,7.\,10}$ etc.). These Ḥittites are also in alliance with Edomites, and in the days of David we encounter Ḥittites in his army (2 S 11, cf. 1 S 26^{6}). The Egyptian and Assyrian monuments, however, reveal the existence of Ḥittite settlements in the north along the Orontes as early as the 15th cent. B.C., and these gave the mighty Assyrian rulers a great deal of trouble before they were finally subdued towards the end of the 8th century. The term appears to include a variety of groups which extend northward and westward of the Amorites to the southern and western crests of Asia Minor as well as far into the interior. These northern Ḥittites do not seem to have anything more in common with those of the south than the name. How this is to be accounted for is an unsolved problem. While the northern Ḥittites have left numerous monuments containing sculptures and inscriptions, those in the south do not appear to have even reached the stage of culture which produces art and literature. From the Egyptian monuments we catch glimpses of the Ḥittite physiognomy, and, to judge from these, the Ḥittites were not a Semitic race; and yet too much stress must not be laid upon these representations. Certainly, we have no sound reason for supposing those of the south to belong to any other race than the Semites. The rather close relations between them and the Hebrews and the Edomites would point to ethnic affinity; and if there is any connexion between the Ḥittites of the south and those of the north, we may at most assume that the latter became mixed with the non-Semitic population without losing Semitic traits altogether.

iii. NON-SEMITIC AND MIXED RACES.—1. But, while a doubt thus remains as to the ethnic character of the Ḥittites, there is no question as to the non-Semitic character of a group with which the Hebrews from a certain period came into close though always hostile contact—the PHILISTINES. There is no reason to question the tradition which makes them come from CAPHTOR (Am 9^{7}, Dt 2^{23}, Jer 47^{4}); and, while the problems connected with the identification of Caphtor have not been entirely solved, still all the indications point towards Crete, and scholars are now pretty generally agreed in regarding the Philistines as pirates belonging to some branch of the Aryan stock, who, attracted perhaps, as were the Hebrews, by the fertile lands of Palestine, forced their way into the Canaanitish settlements, and succeeded in obtaining the supremacy in the entire 'Shephēlah,' where they established a number of petty kingdoms. Almost immediately after they entered Palestine, hostilities between Hebrews and Philistines began, and, long after the Canaanites were subdued, the Hebrews still had to contend against the armies of the Philistines. In the days of David their opposition was broken, and, though after the death of Solomon they regained their independence, it was but a shadow of the old power that remained. The interference of Assyria in Palestinian affairs dispelled even this shadow.

We have thus passed in rapid review the large variety of groups in Palestine and adjacent districts with which the Hebrews came into political or commercial contact, and who occupy a more or less prominent place among the races of the OT.

2. Passing beyond the narrower bounds, and yet not leaving Semitic settlements altogether, we have first to deal with the EGYPTIANS. Like Babylonia, Egypt, by virtue of its flourishing culture, proved an attractive magnet which drew the nomads of the Sinai peninsula and adjacent districts to frequent sallies against the outlying Egyptian cities, and, as in the case of the Aramæan advances along the banks of the Euphrates, the higher culture prompted groups now and then to a forward step which led to the partial abandonment of the life commensurate with the Bedawîn stage of culture. Egypt, accessible both from the north and

the south, on several occasions fell a prey to invaders who managed to obtain control of the political fortunes of the country. The monuments at Beni Hassan depict most graphically an invasion of foreigners, who are none other than the Semites, entering Egypt, and, as we learn from various sources, gradually becoming powerful factions in certain of the Egyptian districts. The Hyksos dynasty is an illustration of the power which foreigners managed to obtain in Egypt; and whoever may be intended by the Pharaoh under whom Joseph, according to Biblical tradition, rose to eminence, his presence marks the success of one of the Semitic invasions of Egypt. The groups that primarily came to Egypt naturally belonged to the Arabic branch of the Semites, but these were not infrequently joined by those coming from southern and central Palestine, who formed part of the Aramæan movement from the Euphrates Valley towards the west. The higher class of nomads, who were prompted to change their location with a view to securing pasturage for their flocks, would find themselves specially attracted to Egypt in those periods, not infrequent in Palestine, when the insufficiency of rain during the wintry season is sure to be followed by a drought and scarcity of food. It was such an occurrence that led some of the tribes which afterwards formed the confederation of the Israelites to pass down to Egypt, and their numbers, as appears from the form of the narrative in Exodus, were from time to time reinforced by others. In that sense we are to interpret the story which tells of Simeon and Benjamin being kept in Egypt as hostages before the others joined them there, which means simply that certain tribes reached Egypt earlier than others. The narrative in Genesis (46^{8-27}) makes all the 'twelve' tribes proceed to Egypt, but we can hardly expect a reliable tradition on such a question of detail. So accustomed are the writers of a later age to regard the federation of the twelve tribes as a unit, that they project this union into the remote past, though without historical warrant for doing so. The OT writers, viewing history from the point of view of later theorists, cannot conceive of less than twelve tribes at any time, and suppose that necessarily these tribes clung to one another. We are permitted to assume that certain Hebrew groups left their Palestinian settlements to seek better pastures in Egypt, but to go further and bring all twelve tribes into the district of the Nile is unhistorical, for the sufficient reason that the federation did not exist at this time except in the mind of the OT narrator, who is so fond of genealogies, and attaches such importance to them that he is inclined to place, in a remote past, facts and factors which really belong to a much later age. It is not surprising, in view of the location of Egypt, thus open to invasion from two sides, that its population was of a mixed character. If one may judge from the language of Egypt, the substratum of which has now been ascertained to be Semitic,* the basis of the population is likewise Semitic; but both language and people are largely mixed with 'Ḥamitic' elements, more particularly Libyan. This element in the course of time appears to obtain the mastery, despite the frequent Semitic immigrations into Egypt, and to such an extent indeed that both the people and the language retain but few Semitic traits.

3. Of the BABYLONIANS we have already had occasion to speak. In the Euphrates Valley, likewise, a mixture of races appears to have taken place at a remote period; but here the situation is just the reverse of what we have found in Egypt, inasmuch as it is the Semitic element which obtains the supremacy to such an extent as to give to the Babylonian culture, from the earliest period revealed to us by historical inscriptions, a purely Semitic character. But the Egyptians and Babylonians (and subsequently the Assyrians) agree in this respect, that their relations to the Hebrews continue, with but few interruptions, throughout the period of the political existence of the latter. Before the counter movement of Hebrew tribes and other Semitic groups* from Egypt back to the Arabian peninsula takes place, Egyptian rulers enter into close relationship with Palestine, Phœnicia, and Syria. The Tel el-Amarna tablets, so frequently mentioned in the course of this article, are the evidence of this uninterrupted intercourse in the 15th cent. before our era. The establishment of a Hebrew confederacy in Palestine exposes the Hebrews to constant danger of being absorbed either by the rulers of the Nile or by the ambitious lords of the Euphrates Valley and the Tigris. The political history of the two Hebrew kingdoms is largely taken up with the endeavour to steer clear of this danger—an endeavour that ends in failure.

iv. THE TENTH CHAPTER OF GENESIS.—The races hitherto discussed are the ones which play a part in the historical events unfolded in the OT narratives, but they are far from exhausting the races whose existence is recorded in the pages of the OT. The geographical horizon of the OT is remarkable for its wide extent, and indeed there are but few races—*e.g.* the Chinese and Japanese —which are left out of account in the famous *tenth chapter of Genesis*, which forms our principal source for a survey of the races of the OT in the wider sense, as including all those *known* to the Hebrews, or, more correctly speaking, to Hebrew writers, whether these races had anything to do with Hebrew history or not. The chapter itself in its present form is the result of considerable editing, involving more particularly the dovetailing of two documents, one of which is commonly assigned by modern scholars to the Jahwistic history, the other to the Priestly Code. The composition of the former of these documents is placed in the 9th cent., the latter shortly after the end of the exilic period; but how much earlier the traditions are, and the knowledge upon which the chapter is based, it is quite impossible to say. Apart from some additions in the list of the descendants of Shem, the chapter may be viewed as representing the geographical knowledge of a group of Hebrew writers in the 8th and 7th cent. B.C. The absence of any direct reference to *Persia* is an indication that even the post-exilic compiler took as his point of view conditions existing previous to his own day. In forming an estimate of the chapter, it should, however, be borne in mind that the traditions embodied therein are of a scholastic and not a popular character, and that, while there are no substantial reasons for assuming that the writers had before them geographical lists written in cuneiform or Egyptian characters from which they transcribed their data, the grouping of the races and nations of the world is distinctly the work of Hebrew schoolmen who are guided by learned and not by popular tradition. This is manifest already in Gn 9, the closing verses of which beginning with $v.^{18}$ should be studied in connexion with ch. 10.

The *three groups* into which the human race is divided do not represent a popular point of view. A people's geographical horizon—its *tout le monde*—is limited by its political and social interests. The three sons of Noah in the popular form of the tradition are not the broad subdivisions of mankind, but three subdivisions within the groups in which the Hebrews were more particularly interested: (*a*) Shem, by which the Hebrews themselves are meant; (*b*) Canaan, the predecessors and hated rivals of the Hebrews in Palestine; (*c*) Japheth, originally designating probably the people of Phœnicia,* with perhaps the adjacent island of Cyprus. These are the three sons of Noah in the original form of the famous blessing and curse (Gn 9^{25-28}). In the scholastic recasting of the popular tradition, the three sons of Noah become the progenitors of the human race. SHEM is taken as an extensive term to include a group of peoples who were regarded as ethnically close to the Hebrews, JAPHETH is similarly extended to embrace a large group of races to the north of the Hebrews, while *Canaan* is replaced by ḤAM, who is viewed as the progenitor of the group of races to the south of Israel as well as of others who were particularly hostile to the Hebrews. Interpreted in this way, it is manifest that we must not seek for a purely scientific division of the races known to the OT writers, but one in which science is linked to national prejudices and preferences. With these preliminary remarks we may pass to an analysis of this remarkable document, so far as scholarship has succeeded in interpreting it. The suggestion has already been thrown out that the grouping of peoples in the chapter in question is *geographical* rather than ethnic or linguistic, though it may at once be added that the geographical principle is not consistently carried out. The clearest section is that referring to the sons of Japheth (vv.$^{2-5}$), the core of which belongs to the post-exilic writers.

---

* See Erman's article in *ZDMG* xlvi. pp. 93–129, and Hommel in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, ii. 342–358.

* Ex 12^{38} speaks of the 'mixed multitude' which left Egypt at the same time as the Hebrews.

1. The *Japhethites* represent groups and races lying to the north of Palestine. Of the 'sons' of Japheth, namely, Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan, Tubal, Meshech, and Tiraṣ, the majority have been identified. GOMER is the equivalent of the Gimirrai frequently referred to in the inscriptions of Assyrian kings, and represents a promiscuous group of peoples who, forced across the Black Sea by Scythian hordes pressing upon them, settled in Cappadocia. In the early part of the 7th cent. we find these Gimirrai in conflict with Assyria and Lydia, and shortly after the middle of that century they are driven still farther to the east. MADAI is Media, JAVAN represents the Ionians, while TUBAL and MESHECH are found in juxtaposition in the Assyrian inscriptions under the forms Tabal and Muski; and the location of these groups may with certainty be fixed in central Asia Minor. There remain only Magog and Tiraṣ. Outside of the occurrence of MAGOG here (and in 1 Ch 1^5, which is copied from Gn 10^2) the name is found twice in Ezekiel (38^2 and 39^6). In the former of these passages it is a gloss to Gog, indicating the identity of Gog and Magog in the mind of the annotator; while in the second passage the LXX has 'Gog,' which the Hebrew text also exhibits in Ezk $38^{14.16.18}$ and 39^1. In view of this, it seems reasonable to suppose that Magog is a slip for Gog, the M being superinduced perhaps by the M of the following Madai. The error, once introduced, was carried over into Ezekiel, once as a variant, and in the second case as an actual reading instead of Gog. From the passages in Ezekiel the views connected with Gog may be clearly deduced. The name is a collective one, for a whole series of peoples coming from the north, and threatening at one time, during the 7th cent., to engulf the Semitic world much as the Goths and Vandals threatened the Roman empire. The danger was averted, but so great was the terror inspired by the northern hordes that Gog survived to a late period as the symbol of wickedness and evil power—a pre-Christian Antichrist. The identification of TIRAṢ is not certain. The view of Ed. Meyer (*Gesch. d. Alterthums*, i. p. 260), which associates Tiraṣ with the Turusha, a seafaring nation mentioned in the Egyptian inscriptions of the 13th cent., and whom the Greeks reckon to the Pelasgians, has been generally accepted; but recently W. Max Müller (*Orient. Lit.-Zeitung*, 15th Aug. 1900, col. 290) prefers to regard Tiraṣ as a doublet—a variant of Tarshish mentioned in v.^{4}, and to identify both with Turs, *i.e.* the land of the Tyrsenians or Italy.

As subdivisions of Gomer, there are mentioned Ashkenaz, Riphath, and Togarmah. The passage in Jer 51^{27}, where ASHKENAZ is placed in juxtaposition with Minni and Ararat, is conclusive for placing the Ashkenazites in western Armenia, while the occurrence of a personage Ascanios as a leader of the Phrygians and Mysians in the *Iliad* (ii. 862 and xiii. 79) has, together with some other evidence (see ASHKENAZ in vol. i.), led some scholars to fix upon the Phrygians as the group more particularly denoted. For the location of RIPHATH there are no certain data, while TOGARMAH appears to be some part of Armenia, whence horses and mules were exported to the markets of Tyre (Ezk 38^6).

As of Gomer, so of Ionia, a number of subdivisions are noted—Elishah, Tarshish, Kittim, and Dodanim. It has become customary to identify ELISHAH with Hellas; but since W. Max Müller has shown satisfactorily that Alashia, occurring in the Tel el-Amarna tablets, is the ancient name for Cyprus, it seems natural to connect Elishah with this term (*Or. Lit.-Zeit.*, 15th Aug. 1900, col. 288). TARSHISH has commonly been identified with the Phœnician colony Tartessus in southern Spain; KITTIM with Cyprus, in view of the town Citium; and DODANIM, for which the LXX as well as the parallel passage (1 Ch 1^7) has 'Rodanim,' with Rhodes. There are, however, serious objections against all these identifications. One can hardly suppose that a writer would jump in this wild fashion from Hellas to Spain, then back to Cyprus, and then on to Rhodes. The very frequent references to Tarshish—no fewer than twenty-five times in the OT—make it certain that an intelligent reader knew where to look for it. But while there was *one* Tarshish, whose location was well known, which probably lay in Spain, it does not follow that 'Tarshish' in all passages refers to this place. There is significance in the juxtaposition with Pul (probably an error for Puṭ, or Punt) and Lydia in Is 66^{19}. This suggests another Tarshish adjacent to Asia Minor; and, while in many if not most of the passages the location in Spain suits the context, in Gn 10 and in some other instances we do not appear to be justified in going so far to the west. Whether Kittim is really the city of Citium in Cyprus has been questioned by both Winckler and Müller (see *Or. Lit.-Zeit.*, 15th Aug. 1900, *ib.*). If Dodanim is really a corrupt reading for Rodanim, the identification with Rhodes may be admitted, but we cannot be certain that the LXX reading and the one in 1 Chron. do not represent an intentional change with a view of suggesting this identification. All therefore that can be said with regard to Elishah, Tarshish, Kittim, and Dodanim is that we must probably seek for them among the larger islands of the Mediterranean and Ægean Sea—preferably among those adjacent to the southern and western coasts of Asia Minor. On this assumption we can understand the reference in v.^{5} to the 'islands of the nations,' which appears to be a convenient manner of designating the minor islands of this region. The groupings of these four names is based on a tradition which regards the people meant as offshoots of Ionia on the Asia Minor coast. It does not, of course, follow that 'the sons of Japheth' represent necessarily subdivisions of the Aryan race. As already pointed out, the writer of Gn 10 has but vague notions regarding racial affinities of nations, whereas his geographical views are quite clear and definite. Still it so happens that Asia Minor, from the western coast far into the interior, was at an early date the seat of Aryan settlements, and in the 7th cent. the greater portion of the population belonged in all probability to the Aryan group of races.

---

* The expression 'dwelling in the tents of Shem' (9^{27}) points to a land adjacent to Palestine.

2. The '*sons of Ḥam,*' as the second division, embrace the races of the south, so far as known to the Hebrews, CUSH being Ethiopia, MIẒRAIM the equivalent of Egypt, while the evidence which identifies PUṬ with Libya—so already Josephus—is still the most satisfactory available. At the same time, it would appear from the passage in Is 66^{19} (above referred to) as well as from other evidence (see Winckler, *Altor. Forschungen*, i. p. 513, note), that there was another country, Puṭ, situated near Lydia, and designating probably some island or group of islands in the Ægean Sea. In most of the passages in the prophetical books in which Puṭ is mentioned, it is this region and not the Puṭ of Gn 10^{6} which is meant. The introduction of CANAAN at this point and the grouping with the 'Ḥamites' is not to be taken as an indication that in the mind of the writer the Canaanites came from the south. The mention is due to the hostility which existed between the Hebrews and Canaanites, and which prompted the writer, in obedience to popular prejudices, to place the Canaanites with the 'accursed' race. The same spirit is responsible for the insertion (vv.$^{8-12}$), which places the *Babylonians* and *Assyrians*—whose ultimate control of Palestine was already imminent at the time when the section was written—also with the sons of the 'accursed' son of Noah, though it is possible that the confusion of Cush = Ethiopia with the Cossæans (a people to the north-east of Babylonia), may have been a factor also in bringing about this result. As offshoots of Cush, there are mentioned Ṣeba, Ḥavîlah, Ṣabtah, Raamah, Ṣabteca, and as offshoots of Raamah again, Sheba and Dedan. Of these seven districts, Ḥavîlah and Sheba and Dedan can be fixed with sufficient definiteness to form starting-points for the general determination of the rest. ḤAVÎLAH is certainly some district in Arabia—probably on the western coast,—SHEBA is a portion of southern Arabia, while DEDAN, to judge from the juxtaposition with Tema in central Arabia (Jer 25^{23}, Ezk 25^{13}), must be sought in the interior of Arabia, extending considerably towards the north. The remaining names appear likewise to have been designations for other portions of the Arabian peninsula, more particularly the western and south-western sections. Unless we assume that the tradition is utterly without foundation, we must perforce conclude that Cushites settled in large numbers on the western coast of Arabia from the southern extremity to a point considerably north. Similarly, in the subdivisions of Egypt (vv.$^{13, 14}$) the certainty that the LEHABIM are Libyans, and that PATHROS is Upper Egypt, justifies the conclusion that the NAPHTUḤIM and CASLUḤIM are to be sought in northern Africa, even though the precise identification is still doubtful. The introduction of the *Philistines* in v.^{14} is, without much question, a gloss which has been inserted into the text at the wrong place. It would come appropriately after the mention of the CAPHTORIM,—*i.e.* probably Cretans (see above),—and the gloss itself, which connects the Philistines with Caphtor, rests upon the traditions embodied in such passages as Dt 2^{23}, Jer 47^{4}, Am 9^{7}. There, again, the bitter hostility between the Hebrews and the Philistines appears to have been the factor which prompted the association of the Cretans and Philistines with the descendants of Ḥamites.

As offshoots of the Canaanites a large number of groups are mentioned, most of which are known to us from the actual relations existing at one time or the other between them and the Hebrews. Such are the Jebuṣites, Amorites, Girgashites, and Ḥittites, while the situation of Ẓidon, Simyra, Ḥamath, and Arvad is perfectly definite. The other groups, ARḲITES and ṢINITES, therefore belong to this same region between the Phœnician coast and eastern Syria. How unimportant, in the mind of the writer, ethnological affinity is may be judged from the introduction of the ḤITTITES in the form of a gloss in v.^{15} and as an offshoot of Canaan. Whatever and wherever the Ḥittites were, they certainly were not closely allied to Canaanites. The name itself designates, as already intimated, a promiscuous group of peoples whose settlements at one time covered a good portion of the interior of Asia Minor, whose culture and general character have little in common with Canaanites. The importance of the Ḥittite settlements in Syria adjacent to the territory covered by Canaanitish groups has led to the mention of Ḥeth, by the side of Ẓidon, as an offshoot of Canaan. It thus appears that the second group—the Ḥamites—represents a greater mixture of totally distinct races than we encountered in the case of the Japhethites. Ḥamites, Semites, Aryans, and Turanians are thrown together without any scruples.

3. The remainder of the chapter, vv.$^{21-32}$, is taken up with the favoured group—the *Shemites*. It is evident from a superficial survey of the list that it cannot originally have belonged to the preceding enrolment of nations. One and the same writer would not have placed Assyria with Cushites (v.^{11}), and a few verses later on made Assyria an offshoot of Shem (v.^{22}). Nor is it conceivable that in one part of a document the Lydians should have been placed with Egypt (v.^{13}) and in another with Aram (v.^{22}). Again (vv.$^{28, 29}$), we encounter Sheba and Ḥavilah among the sons of Shem, whereas in v.^{7} they are grouped with Cushites. Quite peculiar to this third section of the chapter is also the long genealogical chain—Arpachshad, Shelah, Eber, Peleg, and Joḳtan,—whereas, in the case of the Japhethites and Ḥamites, at most a double chain is furnished. The longer chain, in the case of the Shemites, suggests a relationship between this section of the tenth chapter and such a chain as is found in the eleventh chapter. Here as a matter of fact we have the 'doublet' of our section, for vv.$^{10-26}$ present a genealogical table of Shemites introduced as a preface to the narrative of Abraham. Comparing these two lists, it will be found that the Shemites in the narrower sense consist of two branches which meet in the series Arpachshad, Shelah, Eber. With the latter the division begins, the Abrahamitic group tracing descent to PELEG, one of the sons of Eber, while the other branch starts with another son, JOḲTAN. In Gn 10$^{26-29}$ the subdivisions of Joḳtan are given, and the section thus complements the genealogical chain of the Pelegites in the 11th chapter. There is no difficulty in determining the region where the writer places these two branches of Shemites, or, more strictly speaking, Eberites. The descendants of Peleg are represented by the Aramæan settlements along the Euphrates with the gradual extension of these groups into the district to both sides of the Jordan, while the Joḳtanites represent those who passed on to the south and west of Arabia. The situation of Sheba and Ḥavilah has already been referred to. ḤAẒARMAVETH is identical with Ḥadramaut along the southern coast; and HADORAM, UZAL, OBAL, and the rest must likewise be sought in the region of Yemen. Only in the case of the mysterious OPHIR is it possible

that the writer intends to have us take a leap over to the African coast (see Peters, *Das Land Ophir*, 1902, who has made out a strong case for locating Ophir in the district near the Zambesi river in southern Africa). Roughly speaking, the twofold division of the Shemites corresponds to the customary division of Arabia into Yemen and Sham (or Syria), the 'right' and the 'left' land, or, as it was mistranslated by Latin writers, Arabia *Felix* and Arabia *Infelix*. Gn 10^{21}, where Shem is referred to as the 'father' of all 'the sons of Eber,' reveals the real sentiment underlying the genealogical lists of vv.$^{24\text{-}29}$ and $11^{10\text{-}26}$. The two branches—the Pelegites and Joḳṭanites—comprise those groups which, in his opinion, are genuine Shemites, the only Shemites worth speaking of according to his view, though perhaps not the only ones he knew of. The inclusion of south Arabian tribes is rather significant, and strengthens the thesis maintained at the beginning of this article, which makes central Arabia the starting-point for Semitic emigration in two directions. However this may be, it would appear that a later writer, not satisfied with this narrow scope given to the Shemites, saw fit to add as separate subdivisions Elam, Assyria, Lud, and Aram, embracing what he considered *the Mesopotamian branch* of the Shemites, Elam being to the east of Mesopotamia, Assyria the general term for Mesopotamia itself, Aram the designation for the district to the west of Assyria, while LUD (following upon Arpachshad) is one of the puzzles in the chapter. The identification with Lydia is out of the question. That it may be some textual error—*we-Lud* being superinduced by the *Arpachshad yalad* of v.^{24}—is not impossible. If, however, the reading be accepted as correct, the most natural suggestion would be to place Lud to the north or north-east of Mesopotamia. The attempts to identify ARPACHSHAD have hitherto failed. Even Cheyne's proposal (*ZATW* xvii. (1897) 190) to separate the term into two words, ארף (*'Arap* = Arapcha) and כשד (*Kashed* = Chaldæa), which is the most plausible of the many suggestions offered, does not commend itself; and it would appear, indeed, that Arpachshad is no more a district than Sheba, Eber, or Peleg, but in reality only the name preserved by tradition of some ancient group to which the Eberites traced their descent. If this be so, the name is out of place in v.^{22}, and has either been introduced by the writer, whose chief aim it was to add Elam, Assyria, and Aram as a Mesopotamian branch of Shemites to the south Arabian and Syriac-Palestinian branches, or has in reality been brought in by an error, וארפכשד ולוד (v.^{22}) being a 'doublet' of וארפכשד ילד (v.^{23}). At all events, it appears to be clear that Elam, Assyria, and Aram represent a third Shemitic branch added by some writer to the original twofold division. Of the subdivisions of Aram—Uẓ, Ḥul, Gether, and Mash—Uẓ, though not definitely marked off, is the region of Ḥauran, extending, however, considerably to the south; MASH (for which 1 Ch 1^{17} has *Meshech*) may be identical with the Mons Masius between Armenia and Mesopotamia, while ḤUL and GETHER are altogether obscure, and it would be idle to hazard any conjectures at present.

The addition of Aram narrows still further the scope of the Pelegites, who are thus practically confined to the groups of Hebrews in Palestine and their neighbours directly to the east of the Jordan. The omission of Babylonia in this addition of a Mesopotamian branch is an index to the age of the writer who added it. Not, indeed, that we are to conclude that he belongs to the period when the supremacy of Assyria over the south was so undisputed as to justify the application of 'Assyria' to the northern and southern Mesopotamian districts, for, as a matter of fact, the distinction between Babylonia and Assyria was at all times maintained. The omission is intentional, and similarly the inclusion of Elam among the descendants of Noah's favourite son is also dwelt upon with intent. There can be little doubt that *Elam* is merely another designation for Persia in the mind of the writer. The reign of Cyrus, with whom brighter times for the Judæan exiles set in, was a sufficient reason for glorifying Persia at the expense of Babylonia. The writer was willing to permit the hated Babylon to be founded by a descendant of Ḥam, but Persia belongs to the favoured race; and Assyria, which for more than a century had been merely a name without substance, could also be magnanimously included, since consistency demanded that the country adjacent to Persia should belong to the same group. The writer, however, takes his revenge upon Babylonia, ignoring the name entirely and substituting that of her own hated rival Assyria. We are therefore brought down to the end of the Exile for the *addition* of the Mesopotamian branch of the sons of Shem. Once more we observe that ethnic affinity is an unimportant factor in the grouping—geographical proximity counts first, and natural preferences and dislikes second. Still, in the case of the 'sons of Shem' as in that of the Japhethites, it so happens that all those enumerated go together ethnically. With the exception of the *Elamites*, who are Aryans, the members of all three branches of Shemites are also to be grouped as subdivisions of a single race, only that it must be borne in mind that not all the subdivisions are enumerated; and that some which unquestionably belong here, *e.g.* the Canaanites with their numerous branches, are to be found in the Ḥamitic division, while some of those in the Japhethite group, not yet definitely identified, may likewise turn out to be members of the Shemitic race. See also following article.

In this survey, necessarily defective, of the important tenth chapter of Genesis, the chief aim has been to present the view taken of the races of the ancient world by a Hebrew writer, or, more exactly, by Hebrew writers. Two features stand out prominently in this view—firstly, the breadth of the writers' horizon; secondly, their indifference to the ethnic relationships among the peoples grouped together. The main factors in determining this group are, again, two—(1) geographical affinity, and (2) natural dislikes. It is the combination of these two factors that leads to many of the inconsistencies in the grouping that we have noted. The writers are not merely interested in those races with which the Hebrews have come in contact, but extend their view to those which stand outside of this limit, and yet they do not pass farther than Elam and Armenia in the east; the western limits are the islands of the Mediterranean adjacent to the southern and western coasts of Asia Minor; they take in all of northern Africa, and embrace Arabia from the extreme south up to the mountains of Syria. The aim of the writers being to include all mankind, the limitations of the chapter fairly represent the bounds of historical knowledge at the time of composition. The races of the OT in the larger sense, and as revealed by this chapter, cover the civilized States grouped around the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf, together with the less cultured races and tribes of this district. While the tenth chapter of Genesis occupies a unique place in the OT by virtue of the large number of races and peoples enumerated, yet the prophets furnish the proof that the knowledge evidenced by this chapter was not exceptional. A trait of the great prophets is their fondness for including in their view many other nations besides the people whom they addressed.

The Book of Amos opens (chs. 1. 2) with a series of denunciations of a variety of districts: Damascus, Gaza, Tyre, Edom, Ammon, Moab being introduced as a means of heightening the dramatic effect when Judah and Israel are reached. Isaiah (chs. 13–23), Jeremiah (46–51), and Ezekiel (21–32 and 38. 39) similarly have a series of 'oracles' directed against nations near to and remote from the Hebrews, and in addition to this they incidentally introduce many others by way of illustration to their arguments. So, *e.g.*, Ezk 38 is a miniature reproduction of Gn 10. The prophet enumerates in the course of his oration Gog, Meshech, Tubal (v.^{2}), Persia, Ethiopia (Cush), Put (v.^{5}), Gomer, Togarmah (v.^{6}), Sheba, Dedan, Tarshish (v.^{13}). Elsewhere (ch. 27) we encounter Tyre (v.^{3}), Zidon, Arvad (v.^{8}), Persia, Lud, and Put (v.^{10}), Javan, Tubal, Meshech, Togarmah, Dedan, Aram (vv.$^{10-16}$), Arabia, Sheba, Raamah, Eden, Assyria (vv.$^{22-23}$). Through these references, the explanation of the races mentioned in Gn 10 is considerably advanced, though new problems are also presented by the mention of nations not otherwise known. So in the two chapters of Ezekiel under consideration we encounter for the first time Persia, Arabia, and also Eden.[*] The omission of Persia in the Genesis list (though referred to probably in the supplemental mention of Elam) has already been commented upon. In the case of ARABIA, it is the name rather than the race that is new; while EDEN—corresponding, perhaps, to *Bit-Adini* in cuneiform literature and occurring with ḤARAN and CANNEH (probably an error for Calneh)—is covered in Genesis by Assyria and Babylonia.

More important, however, than the variation in nomenclature and the additions, to be gathered from the prophetical orations, to the ethnological phases of the OT, is the circumstance that the prophets in question should have an acquaintance with so many races. The prophets would not have referred to these many nations had they not been certain of being understood by the people to whom they address themselves. From this point of view, the prophetical books reveal the existence of an international intercourse in ancient times on a much larger scale than is ordinarily supposed. The tenth chapter of Genesis is an illustration of this general acquaintance with the races of a considerable section of the ancient world; and while the list rests in part on a theoretical basis, and is prepared for a scholastic purpose, yet it cannot be doubted, in view of the evidence furnished by the prophetical books, that a majority of the peoples there mentioned are races with which, either politically or commercially, the Hebrews came into direct contact.

In this way the treatment of the races of the OT resolves itself, after all, into a consideration mainly of those associated with the Hebrews. While, therefore, the distinction made at the beginning of this article may be maintained [(*a*) the subdivisions of the Semitic race and of the pre-Israelitish inhabitants of Palestine, (*b*) the non-Semitic and mixed races with whom the contact was less constant and in many cases less close where it did exist], the races introduced from the purely theoretical point of view form a comparatively small minority. To be sure, the underlying principle of the chief source for the larger view of OT ethnology which divides the whole of mankind into three divisions is deprived by modern ethnological investigation of its scientific value. The races enumerated under each one of these divisions do not, as we have seen, necessarily form a homogeneous group. The distribution being controlled largely by the geographical factor, it was not to be expected that this should be the case, quite apart from the fact that an ancient writer could hardly be expected to have the ethnological attainments required for such a method of grouping. As a conspectus, however, of races known to the Hebrews, largely through contact and in part through learned tradition, the tenth chapter of Genesis not only retains its intrinsic value, but serves as an indispensable aid in supplementing the ethnological material, furnished incidentally by the narrative which follows the remarkable history of the Hebrews, from the early time of the departure of the first group from the Euphrates Valley through the nomadic period, with its frequent changes of residence, on to the conquest of Palestine and the growth of the federation of Hebrew tribes into a nation in the full sense of the word, with a distinct political organization, down to the political decline and fall of this people, which survived in a strange way even the loss of national independence.

LITERATURE.—Sayce, *The Races of the Old Testament*, London, 1891, also 'White Race of Ancient Palestine' (*Expositor*, July, 1888); Nöldeke, *Die semitischen Sprachen*, Leipzig, 1887, see also his art. 'Semitic Languages' in *Encyc. Brit.*^{9}; Chwolson, *Die semitischen Völker*, Berlin, 1872; Renan, *Hist. générale et système comparé des langues sémit.*^{5}, Paris, 1878; Hommel, *Die semitischen Völker und Sprachen*, Leipzig, 1883; W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Racial Types from Egypt* (London, 1887); G. A. Barton, *A Sketch of Semitic Origins* (New York, 1902); Brinton and Jastrow, *The Cradle of the Semites* (Phil. 1891); A. Knobel, *Die Völkertafel der Genesis* (Giessen, 1850); de Goeje, 'Het tiende Hoofdstuck van Genesis (*ThT* iv. (1870) 241 ff.); Merx, art. 'Voelkertafel' in Schenkel's *Bibellexicon* [bibliographical references]; Glaser, *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens* (Berlin, 1890), chs. xxiv.–xxxi.; E. Schrader, *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung* (Giessen, 1878), *COT* (2 vols. London, 1885–88), *KAT*^{3}, pt. i. 'Gesch. u. Geogr.' by H. Winckler (Berlin, 1902); Fried. Delitzsch, *Wo Lag das Paradies?* (Leipzig, 1881); Commentaries on Gn 10 by Dillmann, Delitzsch, Holzinger, Strack, Ball, Gunkel; and the introductory chapters to the *History of the Hebrews* by Ewald, Guthe, Stade, Piepenbring, etc.; compare also the identifications in Rabbinical literature of the nations mentioned in Gn 10 as put together by Neubauer, *La géographie du Talmud*, Paris, 1868, pp. 421–424; Epstein, 'Les Chamites de la Table Ethnographique selon le pseudo-Jonathan' (*REJ* xxiv. 82–98); S. Krauss, 'Die Biblische Völkertafel in Talmud, Midrasch, and Targum' (*Monatsschrift f. d. Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, xxxix. [two articles]), 'Zur Zahl der biblischen Völkerschaften' (*ZATW* xx. [1900], pp. 38–43); see also the separate articles on the different races mentioned in this article.

MORRIS JASTROW, JR.

SEMITES.—The term *Semite* (*Shemite*), forming the adjective *Semitic* (*Shemitic*), is derived from the patriarch Shem, who in the Bk. of Genesis is named as the ancestor of most of the peoples known to ethnologists and now popularly designated as 'Semites.' The account of Shem and his descendants in Gn 10 is partly genealogical and partly geographical, and does not exactly correspond to a scientific classification. Hence we take the family tree of Genesis as the starting-point of our inquiry rather than as an exhaustive summary. None the less, any description or discussion of the Semites as a whole must have chiefly a biblical interest, and that for two main reasons. In the first place, the actors in and makers of Bible history were Semites, who did their deeds and said their say within the Semitic realm. Further, the truth of God, as it is revealed in the Bible, was not merely conveyed to the world through an outward Semitic channel; it was moulded in Semitic minds, coloured by the genius of Semitic speech, and put to the proof for the education of the world in Semitic hearts and lives. It is perhaps enough in this connexion to remind the reader that Moses, David, Elijah, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Jeremiah, St. John, St. Paul, and the Son of Man Himself, were Semites. The religious and moral significance of the race thus indicated may be further illustrated by citing the fact that Tiglath-pileser, Nebuchadrezzar, and Hannibal are the only Semites of the pre-Christian time whose names stand for world-moving achievements outside the realm of religion and morals.

---

[*] Gebal, Damascus, and Ḥelbon also occur in ch. 27, but as names merely of cities, and need not therefore be taken into consideration. So Zidon (27^{8}) is covered by Canaan and by Tyre in Gn 10.

The principal list of the descendants of Shem appears in Gn 10²¹⁻³⁰. This whole table proceeds from one source, J, except that, according to the critics, v.²², which gives a list of the sons of Shem, belongs to P. These immediate descendants are Elam, Asshur, Arpachshad, Lud, and Aram. Of these names the third and fourth are unfortunately obscure, and it would be unprofitable to discuss here the various explanations that have been offered. *Lud* is generally supposed to stand for Lydia; but the reason for such an enormous interval of separation from the other Semitic peoples is far to seek. Possibly this brief word (לוּד from לד) very early underwent some change, and does not represent the original. It is almost certain that this is the case with *Arpachshad*, since the latter half of the word is the stem of *Kasdīm* (but see p. 82[a]), the Heb. word for *Chaldæans*, who lived in Lower Babylonia. The whole word, thus assumed to be modified in MT, would naturally stand for a portion of the territory to the N.W. of the Persian Gulf.* The first in the list, *Elam*, though historically non-Semitic, must have had many Semitic immigrants. *Asshur* is the well-known people and country of Assyria. The last named of the sons of Shem is *Aram*, that is, the Aramæans. The sons of Aram are next enumerated (v.²³). Thereafter the interest is concentrated upon the progeny of Arpachshad. His grandson is *Eber*, who is not only the ancestor of the Hebrews, as is fully detailed by P in ch. 11, but also of the Arabs (10²⁶⁻³⁰). We may now attempt a present-day view of the descendants of Shem, referring to any of the lists of Genesis as occasion demands, and thus working back from the known facts of modern research instead of attempting to work downward from the indistinct hints of tradition.

i. CLASSIFICATION OF THE SEMITES.—The surest token of racial affinity is ordinarily the possession of a common language or of closely related idioms. It is not an infallible test; for it may happen that through inherent weakness or stress of fortune a tribe or a nation may be absorbed by another, and lose its own form of speech. On the other hand, it very rarely happens that a race predominant in numbers or political influence loses its language and adopts that of an inferior or degenerating race. Hence, while even the exclusive use, by a large community, of a given language or dialect does not necessarily indicate that the race is unmixed, it may be reasonably held that the predominating racial element in that community originally spoke the current language. Again, as regards the degrees of relationship between kindred peoples, it should be remembered that the most valid kind of linguistic evidence is that afforded by the common possession of grammatical or structural elements, and of terms for the most fundamental ideas and the most indispensable or rudimentary arts and appliances of life. These simple and elementary working principles are far-reaching in their application, and will need to be taken into account in all that is said, either as to the original Semitic race and its language, or as to any of the derivative races and their languages or dialects.

On the evidence of language and of historical distribution combined, these peoples are made to fall into two great divisions, the *Northern* and the *Southern* Semites. Roughly speaking, the Southern branch of the family had its permanent and proper home in the peninsula of Arabia; while the Northern division was included in the region bounded on the N. by the modern Kurdistan, on the W. by the Mediterranean, and on the E. by modern Persia. We have, however, except from linguistic induction, no indication of a time when either the Northern or the Southern division formed by itself a homogeneous whole, much less of the presumptive earlier stage when all Semites together were comprised in a single community. On the contrary, our earliest archæological evidence reveals to us these regions as occupied by several families or groups more or less nearly related. Thus, while Arabia has long been known as the home of a single people, though of many tribes, speaking a common language, the earlier record is of peoples speaking and writing distinct though closely related languages. Similarly, the Northern division, as far back as we can see through the mists of antiquity, is found to be made up of distinct families. A tentative comprehensive grouping may be made as follows:—

SOUTHERN SEMITES	Northern Arabians. Sabæans. (Abyssinians).
NORTHERN SEMITES	Babylonians and Assyrians. Aramæans. Canaanites. (Hebrews).

The above classification would describe the distribution of the Semites as a race during that period of ancient history when they were the ruling power of the world, roughly speaking from B.C. 2000 to B.C. 500. It should be added that the hypothesis of a Southern branch is surer than that of a distinct Northern group, and that some scholars (as Hommel and Zimmern) prefer to assume an East-Semitic division—Assyro-Babylonian, and a West-Semitic—Aramæan, Canaanite, Arabo-Abyssinian. It is, indeed, so difficult to unify the Assyrian, the Aramaic, and the Canaanitic languages, that if we were to use linguistic data alone, it would, for working purposes, be allowable to assume these four separate units: Assyro-Babylonian, Aramæan, Canaanite, and Arabo-Abyssinian.

(*A*) *SOUTHERN SEMITES.*—(*a*) *Northern Arabians.*—The term 'Arab,' which at present connotes the only survivors on any large scale of the Semitic races, was originally of very restricted significance. Ancient usage confines it to a comparatively small district in the north of the peninsula E. of Palestine, extending sometimes over the centre of the Syro-Arabian desert. In this sense the word is used in the Assyr. inscriptions, in OT (*e.g.* 2 Ch 17¹¹ 21¹⁶ 22¹ 26⁷, Is 13²⁰ 21¹³, Jer 3² 25²⁴, Neh 2¹⁹, Ezk 27²¹), as well as in the lately discovered Minæan inscriptions. It was not till shortly before the Christian era that it was enlarged so far as to include the whole of the peninsula.* Besides the 'Arabs,' there were several other important ancient communities in N. Arabia. Most of these are embraced under the names of the descendants of Ḳeṭurah ('the incense-bearer'), and of Ishmael, in Gn 25 and 1 Ch 1²⁹⁻³³. We may cite as of historical fame Midian, the northern Sheba (cf. Job 1¹⁵), Dedan, Asshur (Gn 25³· ¹⁸), Nebaioth, Ḳedar, Dumah, Massa (cf. Pr 30¹ 31¹), Tema, and Jeṭur. The general distinction between Ḳeṭurah and Ishmael is that the latter stretched farther to the east and south. According to Gn 25^{18}, the tents of Ishmael were pitched as far east as Ḥavîlah on the south-west border of Babylonia (Gn 2^{11}). In the west, however, their several routes intersected and their pasture-grounds were contiguous. Dumah (Is 21^{11}) and Massa, Ishmaelites, lay in the path of the Ḳeṭurites, Midian, Dedan, and Asshur. But these by no means exhaust the category of N. Arabians. We must fairly include those of the 'Edomites' who are historically and locally Arabs. Thus not only Teman but Amaleḳ is reckoned to Edom in Gn 36^{11-18}. Furthermore, towards the east side of the desert is the great tribe or country of Mash, which with Uẓ, the home of Job in the west, is allotted to the Aramæans in Gn 10^{23}, though, according to Gn 36^{28}, the latter is given to the Ḥorite Edomites. The explanation of the anomaly comes from the important fact that the Aramæans, who, as a rule, did not wander in ancient times far from the valley of the Euphrates, stretched out in certain regions favourable to pasturage, to mix and mingle with the more purely nomadic tribes of the desert.

---

* Some such people seems necessary here, since Arpachshad is indicated as the ancestor of Aramæans and Arabs alike, and the region in question is their natural dividing-point. Moreover, it was peopled also by Semites from the earliest known period. Confirmation of this view is afforded by the fact that, according to v.²⁵, Peleg, 'in whose days the earth was divided,' was a descendant of Arpachshad, while the reference to the dividing of the earth points to Babylonia as the place of his residence, according to 11²⁻⁹, which is also the production of J.

* This extension came about largely through the fact that the original 'Arabs' were the most important tribe living in the neighbourhood of the Greek and Roman possessions in Syria and Mesopotamia. The classical writers use the name not only in the narrower but also in the wider sense, *e.g.* Herod. iii. 107.

(*b*) *Ṣabæans.*—We call the ancient inhabitants of S.W. Arabia Ṣabæans, because this people created the most powerful and extensive kingdom of all that region. Many other tribes, however, sometimes their subjects, also flourished. Among these were the Katabanians, directly north of Aden, and the Himyarites to the east. The latter were so important that scholars formerly called the ancient S.W. Arabians generally by their name. Recent researches, however, which have disclosed elaborate architectural remains, and brought to Europe hundreds of inscriptions, the work of Ṣabæans, more than confirm the ancient fame of Sheba, and vindicate its claim, not only to a wide commerce and a productive soil, but to an influential empire as well.[*] A branch of the same people formed a less known nation, whose recently found inscriptions have suddenly brought it into great prominence—the Minæans. The proper home of this people was the west coast of Arabia between Yemen and Mecca. That they were not identical with the Ṣabæans proper is abundantly proved. Their language is, in fact, a distinct dialect of the S. Arabian or 'Ṣabæan.' Their inscriptions are found over a very wide range of the west country, from the heart of Yemen itself to the very borders of Palestine. Their abundance, as well as the contents of some of them, show that both regions alike were then subject to them. That was, however, before the rise of the Ṣabæan power, and therefore long before the Christian era. They are possibly alluded to in 1 Ch 4^{41}, 2 Ch 26^{7}, where the word employed (מְעוּנִים) reminds us of the original name *Ma'īn.* See, further, art. SHEBA in vol. iv.

(*c*) *Abyssinians.*—This term is more appropriate than the current 'Ethiopians,' since that is the proper designation of the people of the Nile Valley above the First Cataract, in other words the biblical Cushites. That is to say, the Ethiopians are an African race, while the Abyssinians are fundamentally Semitic. At a very early date, far earlier than is generally supposed, a migration from S.W. Arabia, of a people closely akin to the Ṣabæans and Minæans, was made over the narrow sea to the cooler and healthier region of the Abyss. highlands. Here they developed a community which long remained uninfluenced by African elements, and cherished close relations with the Arabian mother-land. Its principal seat was Aksum, the centre of a powerful monarchy, which at length, in the 4th cent. A.D., conquered, and for a time held, Yemen and W. Arabia.[*] The Abyssinians have long since ceased to be a pure Semitic race or to speak a pure Semitic idiom; though 'Ethiopic,' as their language is called, is still their sacred tongue; and the Semitic type is still unmistakable in a large section of the population.

The attempt thus made to bring the Southern Semites under distinct groupings is only approximately successful. Besides the tribes already enumerated, many others are found, particularly in the S.E. and E. of Arabia, which, though Semites, have at least no permanent historical association with any of the groups. Very interesting, however, is the tabulation in Gn 10^{26-30}, which brings the most prominent of these remaining communities under one category. Thus, among the sons of Joḳṭan son of Eber, we find, along with Ḥaẓarmaveth, the modern Ḥadramaut, or the coastland east of Yemen, also Sheba and, to our surprise, OPHIR and ḤAVÎLAH. Unfortunately, the remaining nine tribes or localities cannot as yet be absolutely identified. But inasmuch as Ophir is almost certainly to be found on the E. coast of Arabia, and Ḥavîlah S.W. of Babylonia (but see above, p. 81^{a}), the presumption is that they represent families intermediate between these remotely separated districts. In brief, the summation seems to point to a close connexion between the N.E., E., S., and S.W. inhabitants of ancient Arabia. Furthermore, the brotherhood of Joḳṭan and Eber, the father of Peleg and grandson of Arpachshad, points to a tradition of kinship between the ancient Babylonians and the remotest S. Arabians. These are matters deserving serious attention.

(*B*) *THE NORTHERN SEMITES.*—Of far more importance to the Bible student than the Arabians and Abyssinians is the Northern branch of the Semitic family. Fortunately, it is also not very difficult to indicate the several divisions of the Northern Semites, and their local distribution. Taking them up in the order of their primary settlements from east to west, we have first to do with those dwelling by the lower waters of the Euphrates and Tigris.

(*a*) *Babylonians and Assyrians.*—In that region which Gn 2 describes as the cradle of the human race, lived a people whose history, traced not simply in their language, but also in their architectural remains, and even in their literary monuments, goes back to a period far beyond any other known to men. We call this people summarily *Babylonian*, from the name of the great historical capital. But Babylon or Babel did not come into prominence till about B.C. 2250. We have to regard the whole surrounding country as having been, for centuries and even millenniums before that era, divided up among a number of city-States, having a longer or shorter history of narrower or wider dominion. These communities we have also to consider essentially Semitic. The hypothesis of a so-called 'Sumerian' civilization and 'Sumerian' language, preceding the rise of the Semites, is in its current form the result of hasty and superficial theorizing, and the present writer is convinced that it will have to be essentially modified. As neighbours to the Semites, and more or less mingling with them from time to time, were a foreign people, probably more than one people, who contributed some important elements to their mythology and civic life, with corresponding terms to their language. Who they were and whence they came cannot as yet be said. Possibly they were of a race akin to the Elamites across the Tigris, or to the Kassites of the highlands to the north of Elam. The name 'Sumerian' as applied to them is, in any case, a misnomer; and the supposed Sumerian language is possibly only the Semitic Babylonian, or 'Assyrian,' written according to a system developed alongside of the popular syllabic from the original ideographic, and preserving the essential features of the latter. There are, it is true, many phenomena of this peculiar idiom which such an hypothesis does not explain. On the other hand, no one has yet succeeded in constructing a reasonable or consistent grammar of the supposed language, though good material is abundant. Until this is done, the Semitic has a right of possession, precarious though it may be. Many invasions of Babylonian territory were made by non-Semitic peoples from the most ancient times, especially Elamites and Kassites, but the language, the religion, both State and popular, and the civilization as a whole, remained always essentially Semitic down to the time of Cyrus and the Persians. Distinctive of the Babylonians, although adopted by other people, was their mode of writing in wedge-like characters, which, however, is far from representing the original ideographs. Distinctive of them especially were their culture, their inventive genius, their intellectual enterprise and love of knowledge. They were thus not only prominent among the Semites, but were also the most influential of all the peoples of antiquity, except the Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans. Indeed, when we consider their early development among the races of men, and the indirect influence of their genuine ideas, we may regard them fairly enough as the primary intellectual movers of the world.

---

[*] Its ancient capital was Ma'rib, though San'ā, three days' journey to the west, was a city of greater renown, and is the present capital of Yemen. Thus the Ṣabæan kingdom long comprised the whole of Tihāma, the S.W. coastland of Arabia. It also extended itself far both to the east and north.

[*] That they were separated from the Minæans and Ṣabæans at a very remote period is proved by the fact that their language, though more akin to the Ṣabæan than is the Arabic, is yet quite distinct from the former, whose written characters it borrowed, while it is also much less closely related to the Ṣabæan than is the Minæan dialect.

The Assyrians were of the same race as the Babylonians, and in all probability an offshoot from them. The name is derived from the city of *Asshur*, which was founded at an unknown early date on the west of the Tigris just above its confluence with the Lower Zab, which formed the normal southern boundary of the kingdom of Assyria. The Assyrians used the Bab. language in its purity. Indeed we usually call this language 'Assyrian,' because it was principally from the monuments of Assyria, and not from those of Babylonia, that our knowledge of it was first obtained, towards the middle of the 19th century. Unlike Babylonia, which contained many large cities, Assyria proper had but few, the principal being Nineveh and the surrounding fortresses. The Assyrians had virtually the same institutions as the Babylonians, with many of the same deities, and the same modes of worship. They were inferior to them in intellectual enterprise and culture, but superior in the military art, and in capacity for organization. They would appear, moreover, to have suffered less from the irruptions of outsiders, and therefore to have preserved, on the whole, a more purely Semitic racial type. It should be remarked, however, that the biblical lists make out the Assyrians and a portion of the Babylonians to have been of Cushite descent (Gn 10[8-12]), perhaps in view of the mixture of races that had gone on in Babylonia (but cf. also p. 81[a]). According to the same account (v.[11]), Assyria was settled from Babylonia. See, further, artt. ASSYRIA and BABYLONIA in vol. i.

(*b*) *The Aramæans.*—The second great division of the Northern Semites, the biblical 'Aram,' had as its proper home a much larger range of country than any of the others. Within historical times the Aramæans had their settlements at various points on both sides of the Lower Tigris, to the west of the Lower Euphrates, in Mesopotamia, and in Syria south as far as Palestine. Indeed it is impossible to say with certainty what was their original centre. They seem to have been equally at home herding cattle for the markets of Babylon, driving caravans along the Euphrates, or holding bazaars in the crowded cities of Ḥarran and Damascus. A partial explanation of their ubiquity and versatility is found in their genius for trade and commerce. They were *par excellence* the travellers and negotiators of the ancient East. What the Phœnicians achieved by sea, they with almost equal enterprise and persistence attained on the land. To them was largely due the commercial and intellectual interchange between Babylonia and Assyria on the one hand, and the western States, particularly Phœnicia, on the other. They had their trading posts even in Asia Minor, through which the Greek cities appear to have obtained much of their knowledge of letters and the liberal arts.

It is possible to make certain restrictions of the general fact of the wide extension of the Aramæans. Until the 12th cent. B.C. they are not found in large settlements west of the Euphrates, though doubtless many isolated expeditions had from time to time crossed the River. They appeared in great numbers, with huge herds of cattle, upon the grazing grounds within reach of the Bab. cities. They also formed numerous settlements on the upper middle course of the Euphrates, especially on the left bank, and between that river and the Chabor. Here was Mesopotamia proper, the Aram-naharaim (or 'Aram of the two Rivers') of OT. Here also was Ḥarran, a city of enormous antiquity, held in historical times principally by Aramæans. After the fall of the Ḥittite dominion in Syria, Aram. immigration hither went on apace, and Carchemish, Arpad, Aleppo, Ḥamath, Ẓobah, and, last and greatest of all, Damascus, were colonized and enriched by them. In the time of David (*c.* 1000 B.C.) they are found firmly planted in Syria (2 S 8). From the 10th to the 8th cent. B.C. decisive importance attached to the rôle of the 'Aramæans of Damascus' (the 'Syrians' of EV). But their westward career did not end with the political decay of Damascus. By the 3rd cent. B.C. Palestine, which politically had become in succession Babylonian, Egyptian, Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, Persian, and Greek, spoke popularly an Aram. idiom. After the rise of Christianity and the complete destruction of the Jewish State, the Jewish church perpetuated one dialect of Aramaic and the Christian Semites another. The Euphrates was the general dividing-line between W. and E. Aramaic, just as it had for many centuries parted the two main divisions into which the Aram. race had fallen. The vitality of Aramaism is attested by the fact that, while the popular dialects of Syria and Mesopotamia soon yielded to Arabic after the establishment of Islam in the 7th cent. A.D., Syriac, the principal E. Aramaic dialect, flourished as a literary language till the 13th cent., long after all traces of Aram. political influence had completely disappeared. See, further, art. ARAM in vol. i.

(*c*) *Canaanites.*—For want of a better term, we give this name to the pre-Hebrew inhabitants of Palestine and Phœnicia, with their descendants. We class them as Semitic by reason of their language, their civil institutions, and their religion, all of which reveal the purest type of Semitism. It is true that the Phœnicians of the coastland differed surprisingly from the inhabitants of the interior in their pursuits and mental habits. But common to both are 'the language of Canaan' (Is 19[18]), and analogous forms of Baal-worship. As to their place of departure from the common camping-ground of the Semites we are again left to the widest sort of inference.* Of interest is the question as to the direction from which the Canaanites came into their historical abiding-place. The answer is: from the north or east; for if they had come from the south they would have spoken Arabic, or some dialect of South Semitic nearly akin to Arabic. That they were not the primitive inhabitants of Palestine is clear from the Bible statements as well as other evidence. We may for convenience call the earlier residents 'Amorites,' a people whose antiquity may be inferred from the name 'Land of the Amorites,' given to the country in the remotest times by the Babylonians. The Amorites were possibly not Semitic. The most significant fact about them is that there is no indication that they ever occupied the lower coastland, though they had settlements on both sides of the Jordan. They survived as a community longest in the east, where they were finally absorbed by Moabites, Ammonites, and the invading Hebrews.

The most striking feature of the civic and social life of the Canaanites was their residence in small city-States, independent of each other, and only confederated, if at all, under stress of common danger. This tendency to mutual repulsion was exhibited even among the Phœn. cities, which, however, partly on account of their foreign colonizing experience, became more disposed towards voluntary federation. The pursuits of the two branches of the Canaanites were not more dissimilar than their fortunes. While those of the interior remained isolated, exclusive, and comparatively uncultured, those of the coastland became the most cosmopolitan, and, in a material sense, the most directly serviceable to mankind of all their race. While the one did not survive for more than a generation or two the Heb. occupation of Canaan, the other, in the political world yet not of it, utilizing and subsidizing the great world-powers in the form of tribute-giving, following their own way to opulence and commercial supremacy, survived not only the Heb. monarchy, but the Assyr., the Bab., the Pers., and even the Macedonian empire, succumbing at last to the Roman alone.

It may be added that the various tribes mentioned in the Hexateuch as inhabiting Palestine are in all probability merely local subdivisions of the Canaanites, and not co-ordinate independent races. An exception is made of the ḤITTITES by those who hold them to have been immigrants from Syria, where they preceded the Aramæans. It is a matter of surprise that in Gn 10 the Canaanites, as well as the people of Middle Babylonia, are associated with the people of Upper and Lower Egypt (Cush and Miẓraim). The explanation, probably, is that the Egyptians are partly of Semitic origin, and that there existed in Palestine, as well as in Babylonia, from very remote times, a population supposed to be akin to the Egyptians, with whom the later inhabitants mingled. The PHILISTINES were probably a non-Semitic people, possibly from the island of Crete, whose settlement in Palestine was made not earlier than the 14th or 13th cent. B.C.

(*d*) *The Hebrews.*—By this name we have to understand, not Israel alone, but all the Hebraic peoples, including as well the Edomites proper, the Moabites and Ammonites, whom the traditions of Israel with good reason claim as kindred. Their larger affiliations are not easy to make out. At least Israel and Moab spoke 'Hebrew.' But this was the language of Canaan; and they may have acquired it by immigration, just as the Edomites learned Arabic. Our best guide is the biblical record, according to which Abraham, their common ancestor, of the line of Arpachshad, Eber, and Peleg, came from Ur of the Chaldees, in the west of the Lower Euphrates. This implies Bab. kinship. But as belonging to a family of shepherds he was likely to have Aram. associations, since Aramæans abounded in all the neighbouring pasture-grounds. It is in accordance with this hypothesis that we find him sojourning in Ḥarran, the great Aram. settlement in Mesopotamia. His kindred there were always reckoned as Aramæans; and the immediate ancestor of the Israelites, though born and reared in Canaan, is called a 'stray Aramæan' (Dt 26^5). But none of the Semites show such a racial admixture as do the children of Israel. Primarily of Bab. affinity, their association with the Babylonians is attested by the common traditions of these two most highly endowed branches of the Semitic race. The residence in Egypt did not add any new elements to the already acquired Aramæan. Nor does it seem probable that all of the Hebrews of Canaan joined in the migration to Egypt with the family of Jacob. But both before and after the permanent settlement in Canaan large accessions were made of Arab. derivation (Ḳenites and others), while we have also to take account of the absorption of much of the Can. population after the conquest. It was therefore not till shortly before the founding of the monarchy that the people of Israel assumed that fixity of racial type popularly known as 'Hebrew.' What kept the community together through endless vicissitudes of fortune, what still gives Israel even now a bond of spiritual unity, is not purity of race, but steadfastness of faith in J", the old-time God of Israel. At the same time it is manifest that, so far as descent is concerned, the Hebrews must be taken only secondarily as one of the divisions of the Northern Semites.

ii. HISTORY OF THE SEMITES.—It appears, therefore, that we have to reckon with four primary branches of the Semitic stock: Arabians (and Sabæans) in the south; Babylonians, Aramæans, Canaanites in the north. From the Southern branch the Abyssinians are a secondary offshoot; from the Northern, the Hebrews. When we seek for the original home of this oldest of civilized races we are pointed to a region in N. Arabia, probably not far from the Lower Euphrates. The Semitic civilization is essentially of nomadic origin. N. Arabia is the geographical centre of the race. It is much more likely to have peopled the surrounding highlands than to have been peopled from them. The Arabic language is upon the whole nearest the primitive Sem. speech, as it is by far the oldest and purest of all living tongues, and its speakers in Arabia belong to the oldest and purest of races. Again, the Egyp. language has an important Sem. admixture; and it must have been from Arabia that this element was derived. We assume that the Northern Semites—Babylonians, Aramæans, Canaanites—lived long together apart from the Arabs, who tended always to the centre of the desert.*

The order of divergence seems to have been as follows:—The ancestors of all the Semites remained in their desert home for an indefinitely long period before the decisive separation took place. Very early, however, apparently even before the Sem. language was fully developed, a section of the tribes leavened the N. African population with a strong and persistent Sem. element. It is not yet certain whether the transit was made across the Isthmus or over the lower entrance of the Red Sea. Recent discoveries of remains of primitive Egyptians in Upper Egypt seem to point to the latter route. Possibly there was a very early movement of Semites along E. and S. Arabia, from which came the African migration. This must have preceded the Ṣabæan development. Next, the tribes representing the Northern Semites moved northwards, not yet attaining to fixed settlements, or at least not to life in cities. From these the Aramæans branched off as northern nomads. The ancestors of the Babylonians and Canaanites still held together for a time, while yet civic life and government were unknown. Next came the settlement of the Babylonians between the Lower Euphrates and Tigris, where they found an inferior alien population, which they subdued or absorbed. The Canaanites, parting from them, moved westward across the wilderness till they reached the highlands of Palestine and the sea. The Phœn. tradition that the fathers of the family came from the shores of the Persian Gulf, may perhaps be an authentic reminiscence of this memorable movement. It was not till many ages later that the Hebraic clans made a similar and still more fateful migration to the Land of Promise. A long residence of all the Arabian tribes upon the oases of the central desert preceded the departure of the S. Arabians and their gradual occupation of the coast of the Red Sea and the Ocean. Still another interval elapsed before a migration took place over the sea to Abyssinia.

---

* As to their places of settlement on the west coastland it is noteworthy that the Phœn. maritime cities extend to the north of Lebanon, while the Canaanites of the interior are not found to a certainty anywhere except south of that mountain range. The opportunities of trading by sea perhaps account for this local divergence.

* The first of all the Semites to form fixed settlements were the Babylonians. Since the 'Hebrew' language shows on the whole closer phonetic relations with the 'Assyrian' than does the Aramaic, it follows that the speakers of the former, or the Canaanites, must have lived longer together with the speakers of the latter, or the Babylonians, than did the Aramæans.

Some faint conception of the antiquity of the Sem. race may be gained from a consideration of its oldest literary monuments. We now have access to specimens of the language of the Babylonians as it was written between 5000 and 4000 B.C. It there presents an aspect differing not at all from that which it exhibits over three millenniums later. That is to say, it is a language showing signs of advanced phonetic degeneration, separated by a decisive stage of phonological and structural change from the Heb., still more from the Aram., and more again by an enormous interval from the South Sem. dialects. How many thousands of years we have thus to add to what we may call the historical period, as above indicated, cannot be said. Backward beyond that period we have still to take into account the ages that intervened between the Sem. migration into Africa and the separation of the South and the North.

For biblical study the history of the *Southern Semites* is of comparatively little significance. The interests of the OT centre in Palestine; and it was not till long after the Christian era that the life and thought of our race were affected by any decisive movement from the south. The Arabs played no part in the world's history till the time of Islam. But it would be a mistake to exclude, on that account, Arabia entirely from our historical survey. In the first place, S. Arabia was in the earliest known times a region of much greater importance than it was during the later period of Israel's history. It would appear that wide stretches of grazing land were occupied by great tribal confederations, some of which at certain periods at least assumed the dignity of kingdoms. In very remote times also the mineral productions of gold and precious stones were more abundant and valuable than they are now. The Bab. inscriptions bear testimony that in the fourth millennium B.C. the liveliest intercourse was maintained, and that by overland routes, between Babylonia and E. and W. Arabia,—and it would even appear that Arabs at one time obtained control of Babylonia. On the other hand, Gn 14 mentions what was apparently no exceptional instance of an expedition from Babylonia in the 23rd cent. B.C. to the peninsula of Sinai. In the next place, we learn from the recently discovered Minæan inscriptions that this people had established a flourishing trade and even a kingdom of their own on the west coast of Arabia before the rise of the kindred kingdom of Sheba, that is to say, before the time of Solomon, and that with the aid of writing they had attained to a fairly high degree of civilization. Lastly, it must be remembered that many Hebrews resided for a whole generation in Arabia, that thence its population was perpetually recruited, and that the biblical literature makes great account of the wisdom, piety, and patriarchal simplicity of various tribes of the Arabian borderland.

Outwardly considered, the Bible story of the career of Israel is an episode in the history of the *Northern Semitic* communities. That history begins with the first Sem. settlements in Babylonia. Here agriculture was first practised with large and rich results. Thereupon followed trade by river, sea, and land in days when Zidon and Tyre were still untenanted rocks, and the fertilizing waters of the Nile still flowed to the sea through an uncultivated waste. Cities one after another were built, cities famous in tradition and history, each the centre of a little kingdom, each with its own patron deity, its own temple and priesthood, and its own priest-king, such as were Akkad, and Sippar, and Nippur, and Erech. In these days—perhaps as early as 6000 years B.C.—Ur of the Chaldees and the no less renowned Eridu were unknown, ancient as they are; for the waters of the Persian Gulf then rolled over their future sites.

The next stage was that in which individual cities began to extend their dominion widely and to form little empires of their own. One city after another thus arose to power, until there came to be a few independent kingdoms instead of many. These, however, could not all survive in the rivalries and ambitions of that time and country, and so there came to be two dominant centres, the one in Northern and the other in Southern Babylonia. About B.C. 4000 we find Akkad in the north aiming at dominion, not only over Southern Babylonia, but over the most productive regions of Arabia and Syria, as far as the Mediterranean. This, however, we have reason to believe, was not the first great 'empire.' It is only the first that is fairly well known as yet. The centre of authority was also sometimes in the south, where, among the monarchies of B.C. 3000 and onwards, Ur of the Chaldees occupies a prominent place. The term of this alternating dominion lasted very long. In the 23rd cent. B.C. the rule was broken by an invasion of the Elamites, of whose subsequent domination Gn 14 gives a partial record. Not long thereafter the city of Babylon came to the front, and was made the capital of a united Babylonia, a position which was never abdicated till the close of the Sem. régime. But foreign rule was not at an end. After a lengthy period of native control, Kassites from the eastern highlands broke in upon Babylonia and held sovereign sway from the 18th to the 13th century. This is the period of the political decadence of Babylonia, due not merely to the domination of a foreign dynasty, but to the rivalry of a kindred nationality. For the result of the gradual rise of Assyria was that Babylonia played no world-moving rôle till its revival under the Chaldæan dynasty at the close of the 7th century B.C.

The early history of Assyria is obscure. Beginning very early with the growth of the city of Asshur, it gradually extended northward, mainly on the east of the Tigris, till it touched on the mountains of Kurdistan. The kingdom proper was never very large, but the race had a genius for war, and more capacity for government than any of the other ancient Semites. Its steadily cherished purpose was to secure the dominion in W. Asia already claimed by Babylonia, and to enlarge it till it should embrace the world. It took many centuries to reach the summit of power; but the idea was at length in a measure realized. By far the most important incident in this process of Assyr. extension was the prolonged and bitter strife with Babylonia, ending in the total subjugation of that venerable empire.

Bible students are concerned primarily with the people of Revelation, and secondarily with the actors in the events that prepared the way for that people and determined their providential destiny. From these points of view we are able to look at the history of the N. Semites as one great connected series of events co-operating towards the making and the discipline of Israel. In this 'increasing purpose' each one of the great divisions of the N. Semites played an important part. The home of Israel was to be in the West-land, more particularly in Palestine. This region from the remotest known times was of special interest to the inhabitants of the East. Thither came from the East the Can. immigrants. Thither followed them in course of time the slower-moving Aramæans. Thither came the Hebrews themselves, also from the farther East, as to a land of promise. Thither, before and after the earliest and latest of these permanent emigrants, came the all-dominating Babylonians, for conquest and still more for exploration and for self-enrichment. Normally, until the 16th cent. B.C., the whole of the West-land was under the sway of Babylonia. And when its political control was relinquished, its intellectual influence remained, so that near the close of the 15th cent. the Bab. language and its cuneiform writing were the international means of communication between the remotest regions. Even letters from Mesopotamia, Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine, not to speak of Assyria and Babylonia itself, were written therein to the court of Egypt, 300 miles up the Nile. This state of things at length passed away, because Babylonia and Assyria spent their force upon one another, and thus both alike lost their hold upon the West.

It was in this period, which we may fairly call exceptional in the history of ancient W. Asia, that the opportunity for independent action came to the peoples of the western coastland. It was then also that the Egyptians, who in their whole history never successfully interposed in Asia, except when the Babylonians or Assyrians were enfeebled or quiescent, essayed to conquer Palestine and Syria. It was in this period, too, that the Hittites arose to power in Northern and Central Syria, and contended long and bitterly for supremacy with the invaders from over the Isthmus. Within the same limits of time, Israel, emerging from the obscurity and shame of Egypt, began to play its rôle in Palestine. Then was enacted the earlier half of its unique history, including its conquest and absorption of one branch of the Canaanite race, and its 'brotherly covenant' (Am 1[9]) with the other, and culminating in its greatest external power and splendour under David and Solomon. Then also were formed the settlements in Syria of the Aramæans, which became so fateful for Israel in its 'hundred years' war,' in its cruel suffering, and its moral and spiritual chastening after its own internal dismemberment.

But the Bab. idea of Western dominion, inherited by Assyria, was at length realized. Assyria was the first of Sem. nations to learn how to govern as well as to subdue the territory of its rivals. After intermittent attempts at conquests, progress westward was surely made and maintained from the 9th cent. onwards till the middle of the 7th. The Aramæans were crushed; and Israel, repressed for a time, arose again to prosperity under Jeroboam II. and Uzziah. But its 'day' also came at last. N. Israel was obliterated and added to the realm of Assyria, while Judah was made an Assyr. vassal. Till near the close of the 7th cent. B.C. Assyria remained the undisputed mistress of W. Asia, not simply controlling the other Sem. communities, but making most of them an administrative portion of her own empire. Thus it came to pass that the individuality of the various communities was gradually destroyed, that one was distinguished from the other less by racial connexion than by traditional usages and spoken language. Ethnical terms were generalized, so that Western seafaring men and merchants came to be known as 'Phœnicians' or 'Canaanites,' inland traders and travellers as 'Aramæans,' and at a later date also learned men and astrologers as 'Chaldæans.' The general revolution of which this phraseology is a symptom was immensely accelerated by the irruptions of northern barbarians, Kimmerians, and Scythians, which took place during the later years of the Assyr. dominion. The same influx of foreigners hastened the fall of Assyria, which was in any case inevitable, on account of the impossibility of holding together for ever a multitude of petty communities by centralized force alone.

But when Nineveh fell, in B.C. 607, its ruin was utilized by new exponents of the ancient Bab. spirit, the Chaldæans from the shores of the Persian Gulf. Combined with them, and foremost in the attack upon Nineveh, were the Aryan Medes—a people new to dominion, but the precursors of a movement which was to put an end to the rôle of the N. Semites. In the partition which followed the conquest, the Chaldæans retained the proper Sem. domain, while the Medes claimed the highlands to the east and north. The régime of the Chaldæans was stern and strenuous, though not so cruel as that of the Assyrians. Egypt, which had been subdued and then given up by the later Assyr. empire, made a futile attempt, during the brief interregnum, to occupy Syria and Palestine. It was thrust out by Nebuchadrezzar the Chaldæan. Egypt itself was in due time visited and disciplined within its own domain. The kingdom of Judah, removed from Egyp. control, was put under bond to the Chaldæans. Repeated revolts brought about at last the destruction of Jerus. and the kingdom, and the exile of the people.

But internal decline effected a decay of the Chaldæan empire almost as swift as that of the Assyrian. A round seventy years limited its duration. *Its* destruction also was accelerated by an Aryan power. Cyrus the Persian, beginning his career as the head of a little province of Media, had become lord of the vast Median dominion, the conqueror of Lydia, and the ruler of a territory stretching from the Indus to the Ægean Sea. Babylon fell to him in the summer of 539, and with its transfer into Aryan hands the political sway of the N. Semites was for ever ended.

The rule of Cyrus was tolerant and humane. Under it the principle of delegated power, unknown to the Semitic rulers, was put in force. Under the comparatively genial sway of the Persians, many of the old Sem. communities, Bab., Aram., Can. (Phœn.), and Heb., continued to exist, and some of them to flourish. The Aram. people, in small communities, survived in greatest numbers, and taught their language to most of the old N. Semitic realm. But Jerusalem and Tyre were long the most outstanding representatives of the Sem. genius. Surviving longest as centres of influence, they recalled to the world the ancient power of the Sem. mind and spirit. The one handed over to Europe the method as well as the example of a world-wide commerce. The other, in the more potent and more enduring realm of religion, continued to verify and to publish the essential truth about God and man and duty.

It was, above all, in this region of thought and feeling that the Semites did their work for humanity. In their front we place the community of *Israel*, with all its feebleness and insignificance. It was under the vassalage to Assyria and Babylonia that the prophets and poets of Israel uttered those words which form the most precious legacy of all ancient time. And it was after the national life had been finally extinguished that the ancient Church abjured false gods for ever, and first realized the idea of local and individual worship apart from the central sanctuary. Thus was prepared the way for that final epoch, when He who was not only a Semite and a Hebrew but the Son of Man, did away with ritual, priesthood, and caste, and erected His temple in the heart of humanity. Thus a greater service was done for the world by the most potent of the forces of Semitism under political disability and decline, than any which had been wrought by the mightiest of Semitic empires in the days of their power and pride.

iii. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SEMITES.—It has been stated above that the Sem. civilization is essentially of nomadic origin. We may go further, and assert that the character of the people was vitally affected by their early habitual mode of life. Probably no race in the world's history has had such a prolonged experience of tribalism as a preparation for its wider active career among the nations. The general sketch already given of the early history of the Semites may give some indication of the conditions of their life in those distant ages. The inland Arabs of the present day present the nearest surviving analogy, changed though the type has been from the ancient prototype. A better representation, though still far from adequate, is afforded by the picture which the Arabian historians and poets have drawn of the manners and pursuits of their countrymen in the centuries before Islam: the migrations of their tribes, their alliances, their feuds, their forays and raids, their revenges, their stormy passions, their loves and hates, their swift growth and decline, their superstitions, their monotonous activity, their impulsive energy. But the correct estimate, as nearly as it may be reached, can be gained only by the use of the imagination, trained in the inductions of prehistoric archæology. By a process of reduction and elimination we may arrive at an approximate view of primitive Semitic society.

We must not imagine the Semites shortly before their separation as one large community swayed by a common leader, obeying common laws, and inspired by common memories. We have rather to think of a multitude of small communities, some of them scarcely more than parasitic unorganized hordes, speaking various closely related dialects, constantly intermingling with and modifying one another, and ranging over a vast extent of wilderness land. Hunting still engrossed the attention of many of the tribesmen, though immense herds of cattle were the property of others. They had learned something of the practical uses of metals, especially of copper and iron, besides gold, silver, and several precious stones. The various tools and weapons essential to the business of hunters and shepherds are also represented by words common to the several derivative languages. They were close observers of animals, wild and domesticated, and of various species of plants. They would even appear to have employed some rude form of writing, though none which was later developed into a general system. Their common vocabulary is naturally deficient in legal terms; for their only law was usage and prescription, and their only court that of the family or tribal chiefs. On the other hand, the religious habit and consciousness had found copious expression.

The reciprocal antagonism of a multitude of tribes, so long maintained in spite of frequent alliances and absorptions, and guarded by the tribal badges of social and religious usage, had its most marked result in the permanent political character of the later Sem. communities. Mutual repulsion, even between the States most closely allied by blood or common interest, was universal, and was scarcely ever overcome, even after prolonged forcible amalgamation. City-kingdoms became the rule in all fixed settlements—an institution which was essentially tribal chiefdom made permanent and hereditary. This type of government was scarcely modified, even in the most highly organized States; there intervened no real substantial authority between the king and any of his subjects. Even Israel, which exceptionally began its settled career as a tribal confederation, reverted inevitably to the normal Sem. type of government. After the establishment of the kingdom, Israel was reduced to 'Ephraim,' and Samaria became the synonym of either, while Jerusalem ere long became the virtual surrogate of Judah.

Of absolutely immeasurable importance to the world were the intellectual and moral character and temper of the ancient Semites. Long-continued intense activity, within a wide yet monotonous and secluded territory, was the habit of this unique people. Such a habit of necessity produces men eager, impulsive, and intense, but narrow and unimaginative. Such were the prehistoric Semites, and such the Semites of history. Religious, for the most part, rather than moral; patient, resolute, enduring, brave, serious; faithful to friends, implacable towards foes,—they have borne the stamp of tribalism all through their history. With little breadth of imagination, or range of invention, or intellectual or moral sympathy, they have given to literature scarcely anything dramatic or epic. But their ardour and passion, their religious and patriotic fervour, have inspired a lyrical poetry unequalled or unsurpassed. Intensely subjective, they have little spontaneous interest in experimental science and the pictorial arts. Incapable of wide speculation, they have had no genuine philosophy of their own; but, wholly practical in their views and modes of life, they have attained to the highest eminence in gnomic wisdom. Their faculty of surviving in strange conditions and surroundings, and of arousing themselves from chronic inactivity to almost superhuman daring and enterprise, seems to be the manifestation of a reserve power potentially acquired through ages of undaunted persistence under hard conditions. Not looking far around them, they have at times seen all the farther beyond and above them. And when it has been given them to see straight and clear, they have beheld 'unspeakable things, which it is not possible for a man to utter.' But they are apt to see only one thing at a time, and so in their judgments of men and things they are exclusive, partial, and extreme. When they perceive the principal part of a thing, it is conceived of and described as standing for the whole. In their mental pictures there is but little combining of elements, or shading or perspective. In their vocabulary there are few qualifying or restrictive terms. In their view of the universe they refer everything to direct supernatural agency. Hence they leave little scope to the individual human will, and a circumscribed choice of action to themselves. They know of but two types of government, the one a development of the other: the patriarchal and the absolute monarchical. They follow but few occupations, and their work is divided among hereditary guilds. For the like fundamental reason, they are quite limited in their view of human merits and allotments; men are to them either absolutely good or absolutely bad; and their destiny is to be either beatific or hopelessly wretched. With such mental and moral qualities, they have been, according to the light which they have seen and the course to which they have been driven, the most beneficent or the most noxious of our species. There are two consummate forms and modes of Sem. faith and practice—Judaism and Mohammedanism. The one, with all its inevitable limitations, was incomparably the greatest gift of God to the world in ancient times. The other, in spite of the truth which it has appropriated, is one of the greatest evils of the world's later days, one of the most perverse and malignant, one of the most perplexing and disheartening.

LITERATURE.—On possible relations between the Semites and other races, see Benfey, *Verhält. d. ägypt. Sprache z. semit. Sprachstamm* (1844); Friedr. Delitzsch, *Indogerm.-Semit. Wurzelverwandtschaft* (1873); McCurdy, *Aryo-Semitic Speech* (1881); Brugsch, *Hierogl.-demot. Wörterb.* (1867), Introduction. On the question of the original seat of the Semites and their classification, essays have been written by von Kremer, Guidi, and Hommel in favour of the theory of a migration from the N.E.; by Sprenger, Schrader, and de Goeje approving of the view that Arabia was the starting-place. See the summation in favour of the latter hypothesis in Wright, *Compar. Gramm. of Sem. Languages* (1890), p. 5 ff.; and comp. Nöldeke, art. 'Semitic Languages,' in *Encyc. Brit.*^{9} Hommel's latest classification, as based on language, may be found in *AHT* (1897). The genius and character of the Semites are discussed in Hommel, *Die semit. Völker und Sprachen* (1883), p. 21 ff., where the views of Renan, Ewald, Chwolson, Grau, and Sprenger are also cited and criticised. On the religion of the Semites, see W. R. Smith, *RS*; Baudissin, *Studien zur sem. Religionsgeschichte*; and Baethgen, *Beiträge z. sem. Religionsgeschichte*. For the history of the Semites, see Max Duncker, *Hist. of Antiquity* (tr. from the German [1879], vols. i.–iii.); Meyer, *Gesch. des Alterthums* (1884), vol. i.; Maspero, *Hist. anc. des peuples de l'Orient*; Lenormant, *Hist. anc. de l'Orient*; G. Rawlinson, *The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World*; Sayce, *The Ancient Empires of the East*; McCurdy, *HPM*. See also artt. ASSYRIA and BABYLONIA in vol. i. and in the *Encyc. Bibl.*, and the Literature there referred to; and add on the Sumerian question, Weissbach, *Die sumer. Frage* (1898).

J. F. MCCURDY.

DIASPORA.—

Introduction.

i. Extent of the Diaspora: in (1) the Euphrates districts; (2) Syria; (3) Arabia; (4) Asia Minor; (5) Egypt; (6) Cyrenaica; (7) North Africa; (8) Macedonia and Greece; (9) Rome; (10) the rest of Italy, and Spain, Gaul, Germany.

ii. Organization of the communities: certain features common to them everywhere; differences as to (1) the *name* of the community, (2) the *officials*. Constitution of the Jewish communities akin to that of the Greek communes.

iii. Toleration and recognition by the State anthorities. Three forms of political existence: (1) as a colony of foreigners (κατοικία); (2) as private societies or 'unions'; (3) as more or less independent corporations alongside the communal bodies. Toleration of the Jewish cultus a main essential. Right of administering their own funds, and jurisdiction over their own members. The question of military service. The cult of the Emperor; advantage of the Jews in this matter over the Christians. Varying attitude of different Emperors towards the Jews.

iv. Rights of citizenship, and social standing. Citizenship possessed by the Jews especially in recently founded cities like Alexandria and Antioch, or in those whose constitution had been reorganized like the cities of Western Asia Minor. In such instances the Jews formed a φυλή by themselves. Many Jews enjoyed even *Roman* citizenship. Social standing of the Jews. The offices of *alabarch* and 'head physician.'

v. Religious and intellectual life. Danger of syncretism and philosophic indifference. The Synagogue a safeguard. The *Greek* language used in the Synagogue services. The temple at Leontopolis. Payment of dues to the temple at Jerusalem. Pilgrimages to the festivals. Greek influences. Pædagogic part played by the Diaspora in relation to Christianity.

Literature.

Amongst the causes that contributed to the rapid spread of Christianity during the Apostolic and post-Apostolic periods, one of the most important was the circumstance that Judaism was already dispersed as a powerful force throughout the whole extent of the Roman Empire, nay even beyond it. Everywhere the preachers of the gospel found Jewish communities, which furnished them with the starting-point for their proclamation of the advent of the Messiah. And, even if their success was not very marked within the pale of the communities themselves, it must be assumed to have been all the greater in the circles of 'God-fearing' Gentiles, who in many places had attached themselves as an appendage to the community of Jews. Through these circles being won over by the Jewish propaganda to a worship that was monotheistic and determined by ethical interests, the soil was loosened for the seed of the gospel to be scattered on it.

The enormous extent of the Jewish Diaspora in comparison with the petty mother country presents an enigma to historical inquiry which it is unable to solve with certainty. In any case, various factors must have co-operated to bring about the result in question. In the time of the Assyrians and the Chaldæans forcible deportations to the Euphrates districts took place, and a process of the same kind was repeated even in the Persian period, under Artaxerxes Ochus. At the beginning of the Greek period the rulers sought, in the interests of the consolidation of their dominions, to effect the greatest possible intermixture of populations, and with a view to this they incited and favoured general migrations, by guaranteeing certain privileges and by other means. Pressure from above and the prospect of gain, in particular the interests of trade, combined to produce an ebbing and flowing of the peoples scattered over the wide dominions of the Diadochi. It is to this period that we ought presumably to assign a large proportion of those Jewish migrations, whose occurrence we can only infer from their results in the Roman period. But all this is hardly sufficient to account fully for the fact before us. Is it possible that the small community, which under Ezra and Nehemiah organized itself around Jerusalem, and which even about the year B.C. 200 had not spread beyond the territory of Judæa (in the narrower sense), should have produced merely by natural increase the many thousands, nay millions, who at the latest in the 1st cent. A.D. are found scattered over the whole world? This is highly improbable. We are thus compelled to suppose that it was not only to migration and natural reproduction, but also to numerous conversions during the Greek period, that Judaism owed its wide diffusion over the whole world, and the great number of adherents whose existence we can prove in general with complete certainty, although we cannot give the actual figures.

In the present article we shall describe (1) the extent of the dispersion of the Jews; (2) the organization of the communities; (3) the measure in which they enjoyed toleration and recognition by the State; (4) the share of the Jews in citizenship; (5) their religious and intellectual life in general.

i. EXTENT OF THE DIASPORA.—We have general testimony to the wide dispersion of the Jewish people, commencing with the middle of the 2nd cent. B.C. In the Third Book of the *Sibylline Oracles*, composed probably about B.C. 140, it is said that 'every land and every sea is filled with them' (*Orac. Sibyll.* iii. 271, *πᾶσα δὲ γαῖα σέθεν πλήρης καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα*). In the time of Sulla we are told by Strabo that the Jewish people had already 'come into every city; and one cannot readily find any place in the world which has not received this tribe and been taken possession of by it' (*ap.* Jos. *Ant.* XIV. vii. 2). According to Josephus, there is 'no people in the world without a fragment of us' (*BJ* II. xvi. 4 [Niese, § 398]: *οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης δῆμος ὁ μὴ μοῖραν ἡμετέραν ἔχων*). The fullest details are found in the survey given by Philo in the letter of Agrippa to Caligula (*Legatio ad Gaium*, § 36 [ed. Mangey, ii. 587]): 'Jerusalem is the metropolis not only of Judæa, but of most countries. This is owing to the colonies which on suitable occasions she has sent to the neighbouring lands of Egypt, Phœnicia, Syria, Cœle-Syria; to the remoter Pamphylia, Cilicia, most parts of Asia, as far as Bithynia; and to the farthest corners of Pontus, as well as to Europe, Thessaly, Bœotia, Macedonia, Aetolia, Attica, Argos, Corinth, to the most and the fairest parts of the Peloponnesus. And not only is the mainland covered with Jewish settlements, but also the principal islands: Eubœa, Cyprus, Crete. I leave unnamed the lands beyond the Euphrates, for, with the exception of a small portion, all this district, including Babylon and the satrapies that embrace the fertile territory lying around, has Jewish inhabitants.' We are not able to test the correctness of this testimony in every detail. But the more our knowledge is enlarged by new discoveries, the more do we find the accuracy of the above description established. Coming now to particulars, the following are the most important testimonies:—

1. *THE EUPHRATES DISTRICTS.*—The earliest Diaspora of the Jews is that found in these regions (Assyria, Media, Babylonia). Large masses were deported by the Assyrians from the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, and by the Chaldæans from the kingdom of Judah. The Assyrians settled those whom they had carried away 'in Halah and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes' (2 K 17^6 18^{11}), *i.e.* in the northern part of the region watered by the Euphrates, to the west of Nineveh (see the articles on the various localities just named). The Chaldæans brought their captives to the region of Babylon. It is true that large companies of the Judahites and Benjamites who had been carried to Babylon, afterwards returned to their native land and founded a new community there. But there was no such thing as a complete return of the Babylonian exiles. Still less was this the case with the members of the Ten Tribes deported by the Assyrians. Practically, the whole of these remained in foreign parts. This is not only implied in the biblical narrative, which knows nothing of a return on their part, but is expressly testified to by later writers (Jos. *Ant.* XI. v. 2: *αἱ δὲ δέκα φυλαὶ πέραν εἰσὶν Εὐφράτου ἕως δεῦρο, μυριάδες ἄπειροι καὶ ἀριθμῷ γνωσθῆναι μὴ δυνάμεναι*; cf. 4 Ezr 13^{39-47}; Origen, *Epist. ad Africanum*, § 14; Commodian, *Carmen Apologet.* 936–939). As late as the time of R. 'Aḳiba, the Rabbis continued to dispute whether the Ten Tribes would ever return or not (Mishna, *Sanhedrin*, x. 3 *fin.*; tradition vacillates regarding the authorities who supported the different views [see Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, i. 143 f.]).

A fresh deportation was carried out by Artaxerxes Ochus, who about the year B.C. 350 transported Jewish prisoners to *Hyrcania* (Euseb. *Chron.*, ed. Schoene, ii. 112, ad ann. Abr. 1657; Orosius, iii. 7), probably because they had taken part in the revolt of the Phœnicians against the Persian sway.

All these Israelites who lived in the Euphrates districts maintained communication with the mother country, and, as the centuries ran their course, took their share in its religious development. Instead of being absorbed by the surrounding heathenism (as one would naturally have expected), they rather advanced in the direction of proper, strict, legal Judaism. And to such an extent did their numbers increase that in the Roman period they were counted by millions; and thus, even from a political point of view, constituted a power with which the Romans had to reckon, seeing that their settlements lay on the border of [down to the time of Trajan chiefly outside] the sphere of Roman authority. P. Petronius, the legate of Syria, considered it dangerous in the year A.D. 40 to provoke them to a hostile disposition towards Rome (Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium*, § 31 [ed. Mangey, ii. 578]). Trajan in his advance against the Parthians was exposed to a real danger by the revolt of the Mesopotamian Jews which threatened his rear. It is not probable that these millions (*μυριάδες ἄπειροι*) of Jewish inhabitants were simply descendants of the former exiles. We must rather think of a successful propaganda among the surrounding heathen. This propaganda, too, must have been directed from Judæa, for the population of which we are speaking was Jewish in the sense of Pharisaism, as is evident from the forms of activity displayed by its religious life (pilgrimages to the feasts, sending of dues to the temple, etc.; see, on this, below). The main stock, however, was certainly composed of the ancient exiles, for in the Roman period we find the Jewish population most thickly settled in the very spots to which the Assyrians and the Chaldæans once transported their prisoners. Josephus names, as their two principal cities, Nehardea (*Νέερδα, Νάαρδα*) and Nisibis (*Ant.* XVIII. ix. 1 and 9 *fin.*). The former of these was in Babylonia; the latter on the Mygdonius, a tributary of the Chaboras (Ḥabor), in the centre of the localities named in 2 K 17^6 18^{11}. Around Nehardea were thus grouped the descendants of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin; around Nisibis, the descendants of the Ten Tribes.

It may be further mentioned that, in the time of Tiberius, two brothers, Asinæus and Anilæus, founded in the neighbourhood of Nehardea a robber State, which, owing to the weakness of the Parthian monarchy, maintained its existence for several decades (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. ix.).—In the time of Claudius the royal house of Adiabene (Izates, his mother Helena, and his brother Monobazus) adopted the Jewish faith, and proved its attachment by keeping up intimate relations with Jerusalem, by establishing various foundations there, and by taking part with the Jews in their great war with the Romans under Nero and Vespasian (Jos. *Ant.* XX. ii.–iv.; *BJ* II. xix. 2, IV. ix. 11, V. ii. 2, iii. 3, iv. 2, vi. 1, VI. vi. 3, 4).

2. *SYRIA.*—This is characterized by Josephus as the country which, on account of its proximity to Palestine, had the largest percentage of Jewish inhabitants, these being specially numerous in the capital, Antioch (*BJ* VIII. iii. 3: *τὸ γὰρ Ἰουδαίων γένος πολὺ μὲν κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην παρέσπαρται τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις, πλεῖστον δὲ τῇ Συρίᾳ κατὰ τὴν γειτνίασιν ἀναμεμιγμένον ἐξαιρέτως ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἦν πολὺ διὰ τὸ τῆς πόλεως μέγεθος*). At Antioch the Jews enjoyed the rights of citizenship, they had a splendid synagogue, and carried on a zealous and successful propaganda among the heathen population (Jos. *l.c.*). It is true that by all this they drew upon themselves the hatred of the pagan inhabitants. Regarding the state of things in most of the other towns of Syria we know nothing very definite. But Philo states that there are

'great numbers of Jews in every city of Asia and Syria' (*Legatio ad Gaium*, § 33 [ed. Mangey, ii. 582]: Ἰουδαῖοι καθ' ἑκάστην πόλιν εἰσὶ παμπληθεῖς Ἀσίας τε καὶ Συρίας). For Damascus exact figures are given by Josephus, who, however, contradicts himself on this point. In one passage he states that, at the outbreak of the great war in the year A.D. 66, there were 10,500 [so Niese's text of *BJ* II. xx. 2; according to another reading, 10,000] Jews massacred at Damascus. In another passage (*BJ* VII. viii. 7 [Niese, § 368]) he gives, instead of this number, '18,000, with women and children.' According to the first cited passage (*BJ* II. xx. 2), the women of Damascus were almost all devoted to the Jewish religion (τὰς γυναῖκας ἁπάσας πλὴν ὀλίγων ὑπηγμένας τῇ Ἰουδαϊκῇ θρησκείᾳ).

3. *SOUTH ARABIA.*—At what date Judaism reached this quarter is unknown, but it was strongly diffused there from the 4th cent. A.D. at the latest. When, under Constantius, attempts were made to extend Christianity in that quarter, these had to contend with Jewish opposition (Philostorgius, iii. iv.). At the beginning of the 6th cent. a Jewish king reigned there. Owing to his persecution of the Christians, he was dethroned by the Christian king of Abyssinia (see Fell, 'Die Christenverfolgung in Südarabien,' etc., in *ZDMG* xxxv. [1881] 1–74. Against Halévy, who argued that the king in question was not a Jew but an Arian, see Duchesne in *REJ* xx. [1890] 220–224).

4. *ASIA MINOR.*—Here we have numerous testimonies, and are able to demonstrate the presence of Jews in almost every quarter. They were most thickly settled in Phrygia and Lydia, and we know further how they came there. Antiochus the Great transplanted two thousand Jewish families from Mesopotamia and Babylonia to Lydia and Phrygia, because he considered them more loyal subjects than the Lydians and Phrygians, who were inclined to revolt (Jos. *Ant.* XII. iii. 4). While these Babylonian Jews peopled the inland provinces of Asia Minor, others were attracted by trade interests to the towns on the coast. An indirect evidence of the early appearance of the Jews in Asia Minor may be discovered also in 1 Mac 15^{15-24}. According to this passage, the Romans in the year B.C. 139 simultaneously despatched to a number of kings a letter in identical terms, charging them to refrain from showing any hostility towards the Jews. From this it may be inferred that Jews were already to be found in all the places there named. Of States and cities in Asia Minor the following are mentioned: the kingdoms of Pergamum and Cappadocia; the district of Caria, with the cities of Myndos, Halicarnassus, and Cnidos; Pamphylia, with the city of Side; Lycia, with the city of Phaselis; and, finally, Sampsame, *i.e.* the Samsun of later Arab geographers, or Amisus in Pontus, to the east of Sinope. These various districts and cities were in the year B.C. 139 politically independent, and are therefore named separately beside the great kingdoms of Pergamum and Cappadocia.

As showing the great numbers and the prosperity of the Jews of Asia Minor about the middle of the 1st cent. B.C., we have, on the one hand, the numerous acts in their favour during the closing years (B.C. 50–40) of the Roman Republic (collected by Josephus in *Ant.* XIV. x.); and, on the other hand, the remarkable passage in Cicero, *pro Flacco*, 28, in which he gives precise details as to the circumstances under which quantities of Jewish money, intended to be sent from Asia Minor to Jerusalem, were confiscated by the governor Flaccus (B.C. 62–61). The whole passage reads thus: 'Quum aurum Judæorum nomine quotannis ex Italia et ex omnibus provinciis Hierosolyma exportari soleret, Flaccus sanxit edicto ne ex Asia exportari liceret. . . . Ubi ergo crimen est? quoniam quidem furtum nusquam reprehendis, edictum probas, judicatum fateris, quæsitum et prolatum palam non negas, actum esse per viros primarios res ipsa declarat: *Apameæ* manifesto deprehensum, ante pedes prætoris in foro expensum esse auri pondo centum paullo minus per Sex. Cæsium, equitem Romanum, castissimum hominem atque integerrimum; *Laodiceæ* viginti pondo paullo amplius per hunc L. Peducæum, judicem nostrum; *Adramyttii* per Cn. Domitium, legatum; *Pergami* non multum.' If we add to these general testimonies other special ones, particularly those of the inscriptions, we obtain for the Jews in Asia Minor the following data (commencing with the N.W.):—

a. *Adramyttium* and *Pergamum:* the above testimony of Cicero.

b. *Phokœa:* an inscription (*REJ* xii. [1886] 236–242=*Bulletin de corresp. hellén.* x. [1886] 327–335): Τάτιον Στράτωνος τοῦ Ἐνπέδωνος τὸν οἶκον καὶ τὸν περίβολον τοῦ ὑπαίθρου κατασκευάσασα ἐκ τῶ[ν ἰδ]ίων ἐχαρίσατο τ[οῖς Ἰο]υδαίοις. Ἡ συναγωγὴ ἐ[τείμη]σεν τῶν Ἰουδαίων Τάτιον Σ[τράτ]ωνος τοῦ Ἐνπέδωνος χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ καὶ προεδρίᾳ.

c. *Magnesia* on Mt. Sipylus: a Jewish tomb-inscription (*REJ* x. [1885] 76).

d. *Smyrna:* an inscription from the time of Hadrian, with a list of those who had made presents to the city, among them οἱ ποτὲ Ἰουδαῖοι (*CIG* 3148). The Jews played a prominent part in connexion with the death of Polycarp (*Martyr. Polyc.* 12–13, 17–18; *Vita Polycarpi auctore Pionio*, ed. Duchesne, 1881; cf. also Reinach, *REJ* xi. 235–238). There is, further, this inscription from the 3rd cent. A.D. (*REJ* vii. [1883] 161–166): Ῥουφεῖνα Ἰουδαῖα ἀρχισυνάγωγος κατεσκεύασεν τὸ ἐνσόριον τοῖς ἀπελευθέροις καὶ θρέμασιν μηδενὸς ἄλου ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντος θάψαι τινά, εἰ δέ τις τολμήσει, δώσει τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμείῳ δηνάρια ͵α͞φ͞ καὶ τῷ ἔθνει τῶν Ἰουδαίων δηνάρια ͵ᾱ. Ταύτης τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς τὸ ἀντίγραφον ἀποκεῖται εἰς τὸ ἀρχεῖον.

e. *Sardis:* three official documents quoted by Josephus—1. A despatch of L. Antonius to the authorities of Sardis (B.C. 50, 49), permitting the Jews to refer their disputes for decision to their own tribunals, even when they are Roman citizens (*Ant.* XIV. x. 17). 2. A popular resolution of the city of Sardis, guaranteeing to the Jews the undisturbed exercise of their religion (*Ant.* XIV. x. 24). 3. A despatch of C. Norbanus Flaccus, from the time of Augustus, to the authorities of Sardis, reminding them afresh of the religious freedom of the Jews (*Ant.* XVI. vi. 6).

f. *Hypaepa*, to the south of Sardis: an inscription of *c.* 200 A.D., containing only the two words Ἰουδαίων νεωτέρων (*REJ* x. 74 f.).

g. *Ephesus:* the granting of the city franchise to the Jews, probably as early as the reorganizing of the city constitution by Antiochus II. Theos (B.C. 261–246). Numerous official documents are quoted by Josephus, particularly those dating from the years B.C. 49–42, according to which the Jews living in Ephesus were exempted from military service even when they possessed the Roman citizenship (*Ant.* XIV. x. 11–13, 16, 19, 25. During the years named the Roman citizens in Asia Minor were called out for military service). Under Augustus the authorities of Ephesus were repeatedly reminded that the Jews were not to be interfered with in sending the sacred money to Jerusalem (Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium*, § 40; Jos. *Ant.* XVI. vi. 4, 7). Their synagogue is mentioned in Ac $18^{19.\ 26}$ 19^{8}. In a late tomb-inscription we meet with a Jewish ἀρχίατρος (*Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, iii. 2, No. 677). The 'head physicians' were appointed by the city, and enjoyed immunity from all burdens.

h. *Tralles:* incidental mention in a despatch from the Laodiceans (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. x. 20).

i. *Caria:* see, in general, 1 Mac 15^{23}, and cf. also the above remarks.

j. *Miletus:* a despatch of the proconsul to the city authorities, bearing on the religious freedom of the Jews (*Ant.* XIV. x. 21).

k. *Jasus*, to the south of Miletus: an inscription from the middle of the 2nd cent. B.C., according to which one Νικήτας Ἰάσονος Ἱεροσολυμίτης gave a money contribution in support of the festival of the *Dionysia* (Le Bas et Waddington, *Inscr.* iii. No. 294=*REJ* x. 76). It is not impossible that Jason, the father of this Niketas, is to be identified with the high priest of this name who lived in the Maccabæan period. Support of heathen festivals by Jews was not unknown at that time even in Palestine.

l. *Myndos:* a tomb-inscription from the begining of the Byzantine period (*REJ* xlii. 1–4).

m. *Halicarnassus:* a popular resolution regarding the religious freedom of the Jews (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. x. 23).

n. *Phrygia:* see Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, vol. i. pt. ii. (1897) pp. 667–676.

o. *Laodicea:* see Cicero, *pro Flacco*, 28; also a despatch of the authorities to the proconsul C. Rabirius, in which they disclaim any intention of interfering with the religious freedom of the Jews (*Ant.* XIV. x. 20).

p. *Hierapolis:* three Jewish inscriptions published in *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäol. Instituts*, ivth Ergänzungsheft (=*Alterthümer von Hierapolis*, herausg. von Humann, Cichorius, Judeich, Winter), 1898. We give extracts, showing the most important points—1. No. 69 a tomb-inscription, closing with the threat of a penalty: εἰ δὲ μή, ἀποτείσει τῷ λαῷ τῶν (*sic*) Ἰουδαί[ω]ν προστε[ί]μου ὀν[όμ]ατι δηνάρια χείλια. 2. No. 212 a tomb-inscription ending thus: εἰ δὲ ἔτι ἕτερος κηδεύσει, δώσει τῇ κατοικίᾳ τῶν ἐν Ἱεραπόλει κατοικούντων Ἰουδαίων προστείμου (δηνάρια) (.) καὶ τῷ ἐκζητήσαντι (δηνάρια) (δισχίλια). ἀντίγραφον ἀπετέθη ἐν τῷ ἀρχίῳ τῶν Ἰουδαίων. 3. No. 342 (=Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i. 545) tomb-inscription of a certain Publius Ælius Glykon, who bequeathed to the managing body of the guild of purple-dyers (τῇ σεμνοτάτῃ προεδρίᾳ τῶν πορφυραβάφων) a capital fund, the interest of which was to be applied yearly, ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ τῶν ἀζύμων, to the decorating of his tomb. He bequeathed likewise to the directorate of another guild (τῷ συνεδρίῳ τῶν καιροδαπιστῶν) a sum to be applied to the same purpose, ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ πεντηκο[στῆς]. The whole of the members of these guilds must, accordingly, have been, if not exactly Jews, at least well disposed to Judaism (cf. Ramsay, *Expositor* of Feb. 1902, pp. 98–100).

q. *Apamea:* Cicero, *pro Flacco*, 28 (see above); also a tomb-inscription (*ap.* Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i. 538) ending thus: εἰ δέ τις ἐπιτηδεύσι, τὸν νόμον οἶδεν τῶν Εἰουδέων. The 'law of the Jews' cannot here be the Mosaic law, but a legal ordinance, recognized by the State, imposing a penalty on any harm done to Jewish tombs. The strength of Jewish influence at Apamea can be gauged from the circumstance that at the beginning of the 3rd cent. A.D. coins were struck by the city authorities (!) having upon them figures of *Noah* and his wife descending from the ark, and bearing the legend ΝΩΕ (fullest description of these coins in Madden, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1866, pp. 173–219, pl. vi.; cf. also the Catalogue of the Collection Waddington in the *Revue Numismatique*, 1898, p. 397 f., Nos. 5723, 5730, 5731). Apamea thus claimed to be the spot where Noah's ark was stranded. This claim, which is known also from other sources, is connected in some way with the name of the city, Ἀπάμεια Κιβωτός, for κιβωτός is the biblical term for the ark of Noah. It may have been just this appellation of the city that led to the localizing of the Noah-legend. That this localizing is to be traced to Jewish influence, has been shown especially by Babelon ('La tradition phrygienne du déluge' in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, xxiii. [1891] 174–183). Not only the Noah- but also the Enoch-legend reached Phrygia by means of the Jews; for the Phrygian Ἀννακός or Νάννακος, who lived over 300 years, and after whose death the great Flood came, is certainly no other than the biblical Enoch (he is called Ἀννακός by Stephanus Byzant. *s.v.* Ἰκόνιον; but Νάννακος by Zenobius, *Proverb.* vi. 10, and Suidas, *Lex. s.v.* Νάννακος).

r. *Akmonia:* an inscription in honour of a number of synagogue officials who had restored 'the synagogue built by Julia Severa' (τὸν κατασκευασθέντα οἶκον ὑπὸ Ἰουλίας Σεουήρας . . . ἐπεσκεύασαν, see Ramsay, *Revue des études anciennes*, iii. [1901] 272 [an earlier copy in *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i. 649 f.]). It closes thus: οὕστινας καὶ ἡ συναγωγὴ ἐτείμησεν ὅπλῳ ἐπιχρύσῳ διά τε τὴν ἐνάρετον αὐτῶν [βί]ωσιν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὴν συναγωγὴν εὔνοιάν τε καὶ σπουδήν. This inscription shows us to what influence Judaism had attained in the highest circles of society; for the Julia Severa who is named as the builder of the synagogue is known to us from coins and inscriptions (Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i. 637, 647) as a noble lady of Akmonia in the time of Nero (*Prosopographia imperii Romani*, iii. 224 f., *s.v.* 'Servenius'; also coins in the Collection Waddington, *Revue Numismatique*, 1898, p. 384, Nos. 5488, 5490, 5494). Since she was at the same time high priestess of the cult of the Emperor, she cannot indeed have been a Jewess.

s. *Antioch of Pisidia:* a Jewish synagogue mentioned in Ac 13^{14}.

t. *Lycia* and the city of *Phaselis:* see 1 Mac 15^{23}, with the above remarks on that passage.

u. *Korykos* in Lycia: a tomb-inscription of late date (*REJ* x. 76).

v. *Tlos* in Lycia: a tomb-inscription from somewhere about the end of the 1st cent. A.D. (*Eranos Vindobonensis*, 1893, pp. 99–102). According to it, the ἡρῷον (sepulchral monument) was erected by a certain Ptolemæus for himself and his son Ptolemæus ὑπὲρ ἀρχοντείας τελουμένας παρ' ἡμεῖν Ἰουδαίοις, ὥστε αὐτὸ εἶναι πάντων τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ μηδένα ἐξὸν εἶναι ἕτερον τεθῆναι ἐν αὐτῷ. ἐὰν δέ τις εὑρεθείη τινὰ τιθῶν ὀφειλέσει Τλωέων τῷ δήμῳ [the conclusion is wanting].

w. *Pamphylia* and the city of *Side:* see 1 Mac 15^{23} and the general testimony of Philo (see above, p. 92^{a}), also Ac 2^{10}.

x. *Cilicia:* see likewise Philo, *l.c.* Since, according to Ac 6^{9}, Cilician Jews lived in Jerusalem in somewhat large numbers, the Diaspora in Cilicia must have been very considerable. Tarsus, the capital of Cilicia, was, as is well known, the birthplace of the Apostle Paul (Ac 9^{11} 21^{39} 22^{3}). One Ιουδας υιος Ιοση Ταρσευς is mentioned on a tomb-inscription of Jope (Euting, *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1885, p. 686). In the 4th cent. A.D. the Jewish patriarch caused the dues to be collected '*in every city of Cilicia*' from the resident Jews (Epiphanius, *Hær.* xxx. 11: ἀπὸ ἑκάστης πόλεως τῆς Κιλικείας τὰ ἐπιδέκατα καὶ τὰς ἀπαρχὰς παρὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ Ἰουδαίων εἰσέπραττεν).

y. *Korykos* in Cilicia: a Jewish sarcophagus with inscription (*Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie*, Phil.-Hist. Classe, Bd. xliv. [1896] p. 68).

z. *Iconium* in Lycaonia: a Jewish synagogue mentioned in Ac 14^{1}; on inscriptions there, cf. art. GALATIA in vol. ii. p. 88^{b}.

aa. *Galatia:* testimonies here very scanty, for there are none in Jos. *Ant.* XVI. vi. 2 (the closing remark that the edict of Augustus in favour of the

Jews was to be set up at *Ancyra* is based upon a false reading; the MSS have *αργυρη*). A tomb-inscription from Galatia will be found in *Bulletin de corresp. hellén.* vii. 24 (=*REJ* x. 77). The inscription *CIG* 4129 was found in the neighbourhood of Dorylæum, not therefore in Galatia. Cf., in general, art. GALATIA in vol. ii. p. 85^{b}.

bb. *Cappadocia:* 1 Mac 15^{22} (despatch from the Romans to king Ariarathes) is sufficient to justify the assumption that Jews were settled there. Cf. also Ac 2^{9}; Mishna, *Kethuboth*, xiii. 11; Neubauer, *Géog. du Talmud*, pp. 317–319; tomb-inscriptions of Cappadocian Jews at Jope, in *PEFSt.* 1893, p. 290, and 1900, pp. 118, 122. In the Jerusalem Talmud we meet with three Jewish scholars from Cappadocia (R. Judan, R. Jannai, R. Samuel); see Krauss, *Griech. und lat. Lehnwörter im Talmud*, ii. [1899] 558; Bacher, *Die Agada der paläst. Amoräer*, iii. [1899] 106, 749.

cc. *Bithynia* and *Pontus:* the general testimony of Philo (*Legatio ad Gaium*, § 36, *ἄχρι Βιθυνίας καὶ τῶν τοῦ Πόντου μυχῶν*); a Bithynian tomb-inscription of late date (*REJ* xxvi. 167–171). On Sampsame (1 Mac 15^{23})=Amisus in Pontus, see above, p. 93^{a}. From Pontus came both the Aquilas, the companion of St. Paul (Ac 18^{2}), and the author of a Gr. translation of the Old Testament. Cf. also Ac 2^{9}.

dd. *Pantikapæum* in the Crimea: two inscriptions of great interest (Latyschev, *Inscriptiones antiquæ oræ septentrionalis Ponti Euxini*, ii., Nos. 52, 53 [better texts here than in *CIG* 2114^{bb}, 2114^{b}]), one of which is dated from the year A.D. 81. Both contain deeds relating to the manumission of slaves of Jewish owners. At the close it is noted that the Jewish community 'took part in superintending' this legal instrument, *i.e.* shared the responsibility for its correct execution (*συνεπιτροπεούσης δὲ καὶ τῆς συναγωγῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων*). Thus even in that remote region there was in the 1st cent. A.D. an organized Jewish community.

5. *EGYPT.*—If even in Syria and Asia Minor the Jewish population was a numerous one, this was pre-eminently the case in Egypt. Here, moreover, the Jews came to play an important part in the history of civilization; for, thanks to their favourable social position, they were able to adopt in large measure the Greek culture, and thus became the principal representatives of the Jewish-Greek form of thought. The emigration of larger masses of Jews to Egypt must undoubtedly be held to have first taken place in the Greek period. But sporadic migrations or even forcible transplantings happened earlier than this. Soon after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar (B.C. 586), a large company of Jews, from fear of the Chaldæans, and in spite of the protests of the prophet Jeremiah, took their departure to Egypt (Jer 42. 43; for the motive see Jer 41). They settled in various parts, at Migdol, Tahpanhes, Noph, and Pathros (Jer 44^{1}). But we do not know whether their descendants maintained their existence here as Jews.—Pseudo-Aristeas speaks of two transplantings of Jewish settlers to Egypt prior to the time of Ptolemy Lagi: one in the time of the Persians, and one much earlier, under Psammetichus, who in his expedition to Ethiopia is said to have had even Jewish soldiers in his army (*Aristeæ Epist.*, ed. Wendland, § 13: *ἤδη μὲν καὶ πρότερον ἱκανῶν εἰσεληλυθότων σὺν τῷ Πέρσῃ καὶ πρὸ τούτων ἑτέρων συμμαχιῶν ἐξαπεσταλμένων πρὸς τὸν τῶν Αἰθιόπων βασιλέα μάχεσθαι σὺν Ψαμμητίχῳ*. The king last named is probably Psammetichus II. [B.C. 594–589], who undertook a campaign against Ethiopia. That amongst others there were Semitic mercenaries in his army, we know from the inscriptions of Abu-Simbel [on which cf. the Literature cited in Pauly-Wissowa's *RE*, art. 'Abu-Simbel']. The Jewish migration to Egypt in the time of the Persians is not regarded by pseudo-Aristeas as a voluntary one; cf. § 35, ed. Wendland). See also 'Additional Note' at end of this article.

Whether as early as the time of Alexander the Great any considerable numbers of Jews migrated to Egypt, we know not. But we may trust the statement of Josephus, that, at the founding of Alexandria by the monarch just named, Jewish settlers were from the first incorporated among the citizens (*BJ* II. xviii. 7, *c. Apion.* ii. 4). Confirmation of this is supplied by the decree of the emperor Claudius (*ap.* Jos. *Ant.* XIX. v. 2), according to which the Jews in Alexandria were settled there from the very first (*τοῖς πρώτοις εὐθὺ καιροῖς*) along with the Alexandrians. Larger masses appear to have first come to Egypt under Ptolemy Lagi. According to pseudo-Hecatæus, we are to think in this instance of voluntary migrations (Jos. *c. Apion.* i. 22 [Niese, § 194]: *οὐκ ὀλίγαι δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου θάνατον εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ Φοινίκην μετέστησαν διὰ τὴν ἐν Συρίᾳ στάσιν*, cf. § 186). According to pseudo-Aristeas, on the other hand, Ptolemy Lagi transplanted Jewish prisoners in large numbers to Egypt. The details of his narrative belong, indeed, to the realm of romance. Ptolemy, we are told, carried captive to Egypt 100,000 Jews. Of these he armed 30,000 able-bodied men, whom he employed to do garrison duty in the fortresses of the country (§ 13: *ἀφ' ὧν ὡσεὶ τρεῖς μυριάδας καθοπλίσας ἀνδρῶν ἐκλεκτῶν εἰς τὴν χώραν κατῴκισεν ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις*). The old men, the children, and the women, he is said to have handed over as slaves to his soldiers, on demand, as compensation for their services (*Aristeæ Epist.*, ed. Wendland, §§ 12–14, cf. 35–36). Afterwards Ptolemy Philadelphus is stated to have procured the freedom of all these Jewish slaves by paying to the owners twenty drachmæ per slave (§§ 15–27, 37). Since Josephus, in relating the same narrative (*c. Apion.* ii. 4 [Niese, §§ 44–47], *Ant.* XII. i.), simply reproduces the account of pseudo-Aristeas [in the first cited passage this is self-apparent, and in the other at least probable], the latter is our only witness. But, in spite of the romantic character of the narrative in question, this much at least is credible, that Ptolemy Lagi brought Jewish prisoners to Egypt and set them to garrison duty in the fortresses. For the fact that Ptolemy Lagi took Jerusalem by storm is unimpeachably vouched for by Agatharchides (Jos. *c. Apion.* i. 22 [Niese, §§ 209–211], *Ant.* XII. i.; cf. Appian, *Syr.* 50). And the employment of Jews for garrison work in strongholds is confirmed by the circumstance that at a still later period we hear of a 'Jews' camp' (*Ἰουδαίων στρατόπεδον*, *castra Judæorum*) in various places (see further, on this, below).

At Alexandria, in the time of the Diadochi, a special quarter, separated from the rest of the city, was assigned to the Jews, 'in order that they might be able to live a purer life by mixing less with foreigners' (Jos. *BJ* II. xviii. 7; from *c. Apion.* ii. 4 it might appear as if this quarter had already been assigned to the Jews by Alexander the Great, but, according to the manifestly more exact account in *BJ* II. xviii. 7, this was first done by the Diadochi; cf. also Strabo *ap.* Jos. *Ant.* XIV. vii. 2). This Jewish quarter stretched along the harbourless strand in the neighbourhood of the royal palace (*c. Apion.* ii. 4 [Niese, § 33]: *πρὸς ἀλίμενον θάλασσαν*, § 36 *πρὸς τοῖς βασιλικοῖς*), to the east, therefore, of the promontory of Lochias on the north-east of the city. The separation came afterwards, indeed, not to be strictly maintained, for Philo tells us that not a few Jews had their dwelling-places scattered about in the other quarters of the city. But even in Philo's time two of the five city-divisions were called 'the Jewish,' because they were predominantly inhabited by Jews (Philo, *in Flaccum*, § 8 [ed. Mangey, ii. 525]). We learn from this that *the Jews constituted something like two-fifths of the population of Alexandria.* According to Josephus, the fourth city-division was inhabited by Jews (*BJ* II. xviii. 8: τὸ καλούμενον Δέλτα, the city-divisions being named after the first five letters of the alphabet).

The total number of Jews in Egypt is reckoned by Philo in his own time at about a *million* (*in Flaccum*, § 6 [ed. Mangey, ii. 523]). He remarks in this connexion that they had their dwellings 'as far as the borders of Ethiopia' (μέχρι τῶν ὁρίων Αἰθιοπίας). This general statement is confirmed by many special testimonies, of which the following are the most important:—

a. *Lower Egypt.* To the east of the Delta, in the nome of Heliopolis (and near to Leontopolis, which must not, however, be confounded with the better known Leontopolis situated much farther to the north), lay the Jewish temple (formerly a temple of Bubastis), which owed its origin to the Jewish high priest Onias in the time of Ptolemy Philometor (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. iii. 2: ἐν Λεόντων πόλει τοῦ Ἡλιοπολίτου; see more fully, regarding this temple, below, p. 107^b). The region was known as ἡ Ὀνίου χώρα (*Ant.* XIV. viii. 1, *BJ* I. ix. 4). With this we should probably connect the 'vicus Judæorum' mentioned in the *Itinerarium Antonini* (ed. Parthey et Pinder, p. 75). But the 'castra Judæorum' mentioned in the *Notitia Dignitatum Orientis* (ed. Böcking, i. 69) is presumably different, although also situated in the same neighbourhood. At the spot where, according to the statement of distances given in the *Itiner. Anton.*, the 'vicus Judæorum' should be sought, there is still a *Tell el-Jehudiyeh*, in proximity to which a temple of Bubastis had once stood. Another *Tell el-Jehudiyeh*, which, according to Naville, has 'quite the appearance of a fortress,' lies farther south (see Naville, *Seventh Memoir of the Egypt. Explor. Fund*, London, 1890). We should probably identify the first named *Tell el-Jehudiyeh* [not, as Naville, the more southern one] with the building of Onias, and the other with the 'castra Judæorum.' While these places lay to the east of the Delta, Josephus in his account of Cæsar mentions an Ἰουδαίων στρατόπεδον, which, from the context of the narrative, must have lain to the west of it (*Ant.* XIV. viii. 2, *BJ* I. ix. 4). It cannot therefore be the same as the 'castra Judæorum' mentioned in the *Notitia Dignitatum*. The existence of various 'Jews' camps' is readily intelligible in the light of the statements quoted above from pseudo-Aristeas. Likewise in the Delta, in its southern portion, lies Athribis, where, according to an inscription of the Ptolemaic period found there, a certain Ptolemæus, son of Epikydes, chief of the police, acting in conjunction with the resident Jews, built a synagogue to the most high God (Πτολεμαῖος Ἐπικύδου ὁ ἐπιστάτης τῶν φυλακιτῶν καὶ οἱ ἐν Ἀθρίβει Ἰουδαῖοι τὴν προσευχὴν θεῷ ὑψίστῳ, *REJ* xvii. 235–238 = *Bulletin de corresp. hellén.* xiii. 178–182).

b. *Middle Egypt.* The more recent papyrus 'finds' have furnished information regarding the early settlement of Jews in Middle Egypt. According to a document of the 3rd cent. B.C. discovered in the nome of Arsinoë (the modern Fayum), there had to be paid for the possession of slaves in the village of Psenyris a duty εις τα αποδοχια της κωμης παρα των Ιουδαιων και των Ελληνων (*The Flinders Petrie Papyri*, ed. by Mahaffy, pt. i. 1891, p. 43). In another, belonging to the same region and dating from 238–237 B.C., we meet with a [παρεπ]ιδημος ος και συριστι Ιωναθας [καλειται] (*op. cit.* pt. ii. 1893, p. 23). Towards the end of the 2nd cent. B.C. a προσευχὴ Ἰουδαίων is mentioned at Arsinoë (*Tebtunis Papyri*, ed. by Grenfell, Hunt, and Smyly, pt. i. 1902, No. 86). At Oxyrhynchus, south of Arsinoë, documents have been found of the Roman Imperial period, in which a 'Jews' lane' (αμφοδος Ιουδαικη) is mentioned (*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, ed. by Grenfell and Hunt, pt. i. 1898, No. 100; pt. ii. 1899, No. 335).

c. *Upper Egypt.* Here there were Jews settled as early as the time of Jeremiah, for the Pathros of Jer 44^1 is Upper Egypt. A great many tax-receipts from the 2nd cent. B.C., written upon clay tablets (*ostraca*), have been found in the neighbourhood of Thebes. Among the names of the tax-collectors who grant such discharges there are many which are undoubtedly Jewish: *e.g.* Ιωσηπος Αβδιου, Ιωσηπιος, Σαμβαταιος Αβιηλου, Σαμβαθαιος Σολλουμιος, Σιμων Ιαζαρου, Σιμων Αβιηλου (see the collection in Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka*, vol. i. 1899, p. 523 f.). A papyrus emanating from the same time and place contains a fragment of a letter, from which we learn that a Jew, named Δανοουλος, had failed of his engagement to make delivery of a horse (Grenfell, *An Alexandrian Erotic Fragment*, 1896, p. 75). On tax-receipts of the time of Trajan we repeatedly encounter the name of one Αντωνιος Μαλχαιος who had charge of the harbour dues (?; ὁρμοφυλακία) at Syene, on the southern border of Upper Egypt (Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka*, ii. Nos. 302–304, cf. i. p. 273). As general evidence of the diffusion of the Jews 'as far as the borders of Ethiopia,' we have the above cited testimony of Philo. The great extent of their numbers in the Thebaid is best shown by the circumstance that in the time of Trajan they rose in arms here, as in the rest of Egypt, against the non-Jewish inhabitants (Euseb. *Chron.*, ed. Schoene, ii. 164 f.).*

6. *CYRENAICA.*—Here too the Jewish Diaspora was present in force. Even Ptolemy Lagi is said to have sent Jewish colonists thither (Jos. *c. Apion.* ii. 4 [Niese, § 44]). The Roman despatch of 1 Mac 15^{23} presupposes the presence of Jewish inhabitants in Cyrene. According to Strabo, the population of the latter city in the time of Sulla fell into four classes: citizens, farmers, *metoikoi*, Jews (Strabo *ap.* Jos. *Ant.* XIV. vii. 2: τέτταρες δ' ἦσαν ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν Κυρηναίων, ἥ τε τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ ἡ τῶν γεωργῶν, τρίτη δ' ἡ τῶν μετοίκων, τετάρτη δ' ἡ τῶν Ἰουδαίων). At that time the Jews already played a prominent part in the disturbances which Lucullus, on the occasion of his incidental presence, had to allay (Strabo, *l.c.*). A Jewish πολίτευμα in the city of Berenike in Cyrenaica is brought to our knowledge by a lengthy inscription (*CIG* 5361; see more fully, below § ii.). Augustus and Agrippa took measures in favour of the Jews of Cyrene (Jos. *Ant.* XVI. vi. 1, 5). We have a number of testimonies in the NT to the presence of Jews in Cyrenaica: Mt 27^{32}, Mk 15^{21}, Lk 23^{26} (Simon the Cyrenian); Ac 2^{10} (Cyrenians present at Jerusalem at the Feast of Pentecost); 6^9 (a synagogue of the Cyrenians at Jerusalem); 11^{20} (Cyrenians come from Jerusalem to Antioch); 13^1 (Lucius of Cyrene a prominent member of the church at Antioch). In the time of Vespasian the Jewish *sicarii* also found adherents among their co-religionists in Cyrene (Jos. *BJ* VII. xi.; *Vita*, 76). The great rising of the Jews in Cyrenaica in the time of Trajan was marked by terrible violence (Dio Cass. lxviii. 32; Euseb. *HE* iv. 2).

7. *NORTH AFRICA.*—Here we can demonstrate the presence of Jews, during the Roman period,

---

[*] The diffusion of Semites throughout Egypt in the earlier Ptolemaic period is witnessed to also by a papyrus probably of the year B.C. 240–239, in which a *major-domo* makes a return of the *personnel* of his house for taxation purposes. He enumerates amongst others the γεωργοι μετα Χαζαιος Ραγεσοβααλ Ιααβ Κεραιος Σιταλκης Μαγανβααλ (Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka*, i. 436, and also the correction on p. 823). But the Semites here named may be Phœnicians or Philistines equally well with Jews. For Phœnician inscriptions in Egypt, see *CIS* i. Nos. 97–113; *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique*, i. 1901, Nos. 1–4.

from the border of Cyrenaica to the extreme west (cf., especially, Monceaux, 'Les colonies juives dans l'Afrique Romaine' in *REJ* xliv. [1902] 1–28). We do not know when or how they came there. But, as the neighbouring Cyrenaica was largely settled by Jews as early as the Ptolemaic period, the colonization of Africa will also have begun then, at least that of proconsular Africa, and later that of Numidia and Mauretania.

a. *Proconsular Africa.* At Carthage there has been discovered an extensive Jewish cemetery, containing more than 100 vaults, each with from 15 to 17 *loculi.* Its Jewish character is shown by the frequent portrayal of the seven-branched candlestick (see Delattre, *Gamart ou la nécropole juive de Carthage,* Lyon, 1895; for Latin inscriptions from this cemetery, see *CIL* viii. Suppl. Nos. 14097–14114). The work *adv. Judæos,* attributed to Tertullian, presupposes the presence of Jews in Carthage. At Hammâm-Lif, not far from Carthage, the foundations of a synagogue of the Roman period have been discovered, upon the mosaic floor of which there are Jewish inscriptions in the Latin language (Renan, *Revue archéol.*, trois. Série, i. [1883] 157–163, iii. [1884] 273–275, plates vii–xi; Kaufmann, *REJ* xiii. [1886] 45–61; Reinach, *ib.* 217–223; *CIL* viii. Suppl. No. 12457). At Oea in Tripolis the Christian bishop in the time of Augustine consulted the Jews there about a passage in Jerome's new translation of the Bible (Augustine, *Epist.* lxxi. 3, 5). On the Peutinger Table there is mention of a place in the same neighbourhood, called 'Judæorum Augusti.'

b. *Numidia.* The presence of Jews at Hippo is evident from Augustine, *Serm.* cxcvi. 4. At Cirta there are Latin inscriptions (*CIL* viii. Nos. 7150, 7155, 7530 [cf. Add. p. 965], 7710).

c. *Mauretania.* At Sitifis there are Latin inscriptions (*CIL* viii. Nos. 8423, 8499). At Tipasa there was a Jewish synagogue, at Cæsarea the house of a Jewish 'ruler of the synagogue' is mentioned (see the evidence from processes against martyrs in Monceaux, *REJ* xliv. 8). Even in the extreme west of Mauretania, at Volubilis, a Hebrew inscription, probably of the Roman period, has been found (Berger, *Bulletin archéol. du comité des travaux historiques,* 1892, pp. 64–66, pl. xiii).

8. *MACEDONIA AND GREECE.*—The most important testimony is that of Philo, or of the letter of Agrippa to Caligula which he quotes (see above, p. 92^{a}). Thessaly, Bœotia, Macedonia, Ætolia, Attica, Argos, Corinth, and, finally, *τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ ἄριστα Πελοποννήσου*, are named by him as countries where Jews dwell. If we compare this general statement with the meagre special testimonies that are available, we see how full of *lacunæ* our information is. Interesting dates are furnished by two manumission-deeds from Delphi. In the one a certain Atisidas gives their liberty to three Jewish female slaves (*σώματα γυναικεῖα τρία αἷς ὀνόματα Ἀντιγόνα τὸ γένος Ἰουδαίαν καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτᾶς Θεοδώραν καὶ Δωροθέαν*); in the other the subject of manumission is described as *σῶμα ἀνδρεῖον ᾧ ὄνομα Ἰουδαῖος τὸ γένος Ἰουδαῖον* (*Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften,* herausg. von Collitz, Bd. ii. Heft 3–5 [1892–1896], Nos. 1722, 2029). Since these documents belong to the first half of the 2nd cent. B.C., we have to do in all probability with prisoners of war of the Maccabæan period who had been sold into slavery in Greece. From 1 Mac 15^{23} it is evident that at the same date there were Jews also in Sparta and Sicyon. In the time of St. Paul there were Jewish synagogues at Philippi, Thessalonica, Berœa, Athens, Corinth (Ac 16$^{2\text{f.}}$ 17$^{1.\,10.\,17}$ 18$^{4.\,7}$). For Jewish-Greek inscriptions at Athens, see *CIAttic.* iii. 2, Nos. 3545, 3546, 3547; at Patræ, *CIG* 9896; in Laconia and Thessalonica, *REJ* x. 77 f.; at Mantinea, *REJ* xxxiv. 148.

In the great islands of Eubœa, Cyprus, and Crete the Jews were very numerous. All three are named by Philo in the letter of Agrippa (see above). For Cyprus, cf. also 1 Mac 15^{23}, Ac 4^{36} 11^{20} 13$^{4\text{ff.}}$; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. x. 4. In the time of Trajan the Jews in Cyprus massacred thousands of the non-Jewish population and devastated the capital, Salamis. For this they were completely rooted out of the island (Dio Cass. lxviii. 32; Euseb. *Chron.*, ed. Schoene, ii. 164 f.). For Crete, cf. 1 Mac 15^{23} (Gortyna); Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. xii. 1, *BJ* II. vii. 1, *Vita*, 76.

Of the other islands there is mention in 1 Mac 15^{23} of Delos, Samos, Cos, and Rhodes. The three last named were off the coast of Caria. The settlement of Jews in them would thus be connected with their settlement in Caria. At Cos, as early as the time of Mithridates, we hear of great sums of Jewish money being carried off by that monarch (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. vii. 2: *τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὀκτακόσια τάλαντα*). Rhodes was in the first half of the 1st cent. B.C. the home of two prominent authors who wrote against the Jews, viz. Posidonius and Apollonius Molon (both combated by Josephus in his work *c. Apion.*). In the time of Tiberius a grammarian named Diogenes lived there, whose habit it was to hold disputations only on the Sabbath day (Sueton. *Tiber.* 32). Delos, owing to its political and commercial importance during the Greek period, was a meeting-point for Oriental traders. That Jews with a Greek education were settled there about B.C. 100 at the latest, is shown by two Greek inscriptions emanating from the island of Rheneia (the burying-place of the inhabitants of Delos). The two inscriptions in question are of an imprecatory order, invoking Divine vengeance on the unknown murderers of two maidens. The prayers are unquestionably Jewish; the inscriptions are shown by the character of the writing to be not later than the end of the 2nd or the beginning of the 1st cent. B.C. (cf., on these interesting inscriptions, Deissmann, *Philologus*, lxi. [1902] 252–265). Acts in favour of the Jews of Delos, belonging to the time of Cæsar, are quoted by Josephus in *Ant.* XIV. x. 8 and 14. We have evidence, further, of the presence of Jews at Paros (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. x. 8), Melos (*Ant.* XVII. xii. 1; *BJ* II. vii. 1), and Ægina (*CIG* 9894).

9. *ROME.*—When we pass to Italy, we find that Rome in particular was the home of a Jewish community which could be counted by thousands. According to Valerius Maximus (I. iii. 2), Jews were expelled from Rome by the prætor Hispalus as early as the year B.C. 139, in consequence of their attempts at proselytizing (the passage, which has not survived in the original, reads thus, as extracted by Nepotianus: 'Judæos quoque, qui Romanis tradere sacra sua conati erant, idem Hispalus urbe exterminavit'; or, as given by Paris: 'Idem Judæos, qui Sabazi Jovis cultu Romanos inficere mores conati erant, repetere domos suas coegit' [Sabazius is a Phrygian divinity; there is here manifestly a confusion with Σαβαώθ = Heb. צְבָאוֹת *Ẓĕbā'ôth*]). Since, according to 1 Mac 14^{24} 15$^{15\text{-}24}$, at that very time (B.C. 140–139) a Jewish embassy was sent to Rome by the high priest Simon, it would appear as if the propaganda referred to had been the work of parties in the train of this embassy (not the work of the members themselves).

The earliest witness to the existence of a Jewish colony in Italy (*i.e.* probably in Rome) is Cicero, *pro Flacco*, 28, from whom we learn that already in the time of Flaccus (*i.e.* B.C. 62–61) Italy was one of the places from which Jewish money was wont to be sent to Jerusalem. It was just then that the Jewish community at Rome received a large reinforcement through those of their countrymen whom Pompey brought there as prisoners of war (B.C. 61). The latter were sold as slaves, but were soon afterwards set at liberty, as they proved an awkward possession to their masters (Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium*, § 23 [ed. Mangey, ii. 568]). There were many Jews in the audience when Cicero delivered his speech in defence of Flaccus, in the year B.C. 59 (Cicero, *l.c.*). On the death of Cæsar, their great protector, a multitude of Jews continued their lamentations for whole nights beside his funeral pyre (Sueton. *Cæsar*, 84). In the time of Augustus the Jews were already counted by thousands; we are told that a Jewish deputation, which came to Rome after the death of Herod, was joined on its arrival by 8000 Jews (Jos. *Ant.* XVII. xi. 1; *BJ* II. vi. 1). By the time of Tiberius repressive measures had begun. A resolution of the Senate was passed in the year A.D. 19, whereby all the Jews in Rome capable of bearing arms were deported to Sardinia to perform military service there, while the rest were banished from the city (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. iii. 5; Sueton. *Tiber.* 36; Tac. *Annal.* ii. 85; the last named speaks of banishment from *Italy*). This measure was inspired mainly by Sejanus; after the fall of the latter, in A.D. 31, Tiberius once more adopted a friendly policy towards the Jews (Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium*, § 24 [ed. Mangey, ii. 569]). We may therefore suppose that he granted them permission to return to the city. In any case, they had once more gathered in Rome at the time of Claudius, for he, too, made an attempt to expel them from the city. Suetonius tells us that this step was taken owing to the violent tumults 'impulsore Chresto' [*i.e.* occasioned by the preaching of Christ]. But the edict of banishment, issued probably in the year 49, was not enforced, but restricted simply to a prohibiting of any assembling on the part of the Jews (a decree of expulsion is spoken of in Ac 18^2 and by Sueton. *Claud.* 25; but, according to Dio Cass. lx. 6, Claudius, owing to the difficulty of carrying it into effect, contented himself with withdrawing from the Jews the right of assembly [*ἐκέλευσε μὴ συναθροίζεσθαι*]. The year 49 is given as the date by Orosius [VII. vi. 15], who appeals, incorrectly indeed, to Josephus). Since the prohibition of assembling was equivalent to a prohibition of worship, the existence of the Jews in Rome was seriously endangered. But they succeeded, we know not how, in surviving even this crisis as well as many later ones, for, as Dio Cassius (xxxvii. 17) sums up their history, 'though often oppressed, they always exhibited the most vigorous power of growth.' Educated Roman society looked down on them with contempt. The satirists, Horace, Persius, Martial, Juvenal, made them the butt of their wit (cf. Hausrath, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*^{2}, iii. 383–392). Yet they constituted a factor of no little importance in public life. Even at the Imperial court they entered into manifold relations, whether as slaves or as officials of higher rank. The Jewish societies of the *Αὐγουστήσιοι* and the *Ἀγριππήσιοι* (see, on these, below, § ii.) were in all probability societies formed of placemen of Augustus and Agrippa. The empress Livia had a Jewish slave, Akme (Jos. *Ant.* XVII. v. 7; *BJ* I. xxxii. 6, xxxiii. 7). The emperor Claudius had friendly relations with Alexander [*var. lect.* Lysimachus], the Jewish alabarch of Alexandria, who had served his mother Antonia as minister of finance (Jos. *Ant.* XIX. v. 1). At the court of Nero we find a Jewish actor, Alityrus (Jos. *Vita*, 3). Poppæa herself is spoken of as *θεοσεβής*, and she was always ready to lend her aid in obtaining a favourable response from the emperor to petitions brought to him by Jews (Jos. *Ant.* XX. viii. 11; *Vita*, 3).

The dwellings of the Jews were situated at first and predominantly in the division of the city across the Tiber, which they occupied entirely in the time of Augustus (Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium*, § 23 [ed. Mangey, ii. 568]: *τὴν πέραν τοῦ Τιβέρεως ποταμοῦ μεγάλην τῆς Ῥώμης ἀποτομήν, ἣν οὐκ ἠγνόει κατεχομένην καὶ οἰκουμένην πρὸς Ἰουδαίων*). But at a later period they spread into other divisions of the city as well. We find them in the Campus Martius and in the very midst of the Roman business world, namely, in the Subura (see below, § ii.). Juvenal makes the jocular assertion that the sacred grove of Egeria before the Porta Capena was let to Jews and swarmed with Jewish beggars (*Sat.* iii. 12–16). As to the internal organization of the communities and the stage of culture they had reached, we derive information from the numerous tomb-inscriptions, composed for the most part in bad Greek but also in Latin, which have been found in the subterranean burying-places before the gates of Rome. These belong to somewhere between the 2nd and 4th cent. A.D. The Greek tomb-inscriptions known up to about fifty years ago are collected in *CIG* iv. Nos. 9901–9926. They emanate probably for the most part from a cemetery before the Porta Portuensis which was discovered in 1602, but whose site is now unknown. Rich materials were supplied by the cemetery discovered some forty years ago in the Vigna Randanini on the Via Appia (cf. Garrucci, *Cimitero degli antichi Ebrei scoperto recentemente in Vigna Randanini*, Roma, 1862; also the same author's *Dissertazioni archeologiche di vario argomento*, vol. ii. Roma, 1865, pp. 150–192). Since then some other cemeteries have been discovered, but these do not contain many inscriptions. Five inscriptions from a cemetery in Porto are given, from communications of de Rossi, by Derenbourg in *Mélanges Renier*, 1887, pp. 437–441. For some Latin ones, see *CIL* vi. Nos. 29756–29763. A complete collection of all the Jewish-Greek and Latin tomb-inscriptions at Rome known down to 1896 is given by Vogelstein-Rieger in *Geschichte der Juden in Rom*, i. [1896] 459–483. See also Berliner, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom*, i. [1893].

10. *THE REST OF ITALY, AND SPAIN, GAUL, GERMANY.*—The presence of Jews in these localities is not for the most part demonstrable before the period of the later empire. Relative antiquity belongs to the Jewish community at Puteoli (Dikæarchia), the principal port for the trade between Italy and the East. In addition to Phœnicians and other Orientals we meet here with Jews as well, at the latest about the beginning of the Christian era (Jos. *Ant.* XVII. xii. 1; *BJ* II. vii. 1). But even in a petty town like Pompeii their presence is demonstrable at the date of the destruction of the place, A.D. 79. The names 'Sodoma' and 'Gomora' are scratched on the wall of a house; and not only 'Maria,' which might be the feminine of Marius, but 'Martha,' occurs. The following also are found on earthen vessels: 'mur[ia] cast[a],' and 'gar[um] cast[um] *or* cast[imoniale],' with which cf. Pliny, *HN* xxxi. 95 (Mau, *Pompeji in Leben und Kunst*, 1900, p. 15 f.).

In the period of the later empire the Jews were specially numerous in *Southern Italy* (see Neubauer, 'The Early Settlement of the Jews in Southern Italy' in *JQR* iv. [1892] 606–625). In Apulia and Calabria during the 4th cent. there were many places where the communal offices could not be properly filled, because the Jewish inhabitants declined to accept them (see the decree of the emperors Arcadius and Honorius [A.D. 398] in *Codex Theodosianus*, XII. i. 158). At Venosa (Venusia in Apulia, the birthplace of Horace) a Jewish catacomb has been discovered, with numerous inscriptions in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, belonging to somewhere about the 6th cent. A.D.

(Ascoli, *Iscrizioni inedite o mal note greche latine ebraiche di antichi sepolcri giudaici del Napolitano*, Torino, 1880; *CIL* ix. Nos. 6195-6241). During this later period we meet with Jews also at Tarentum, Capua, and Naples, as well as in all the principal towns (Syracuse, Palermo, Messina, Agrigentum) of Sicily.—They do not appear to have been quite so thickly settled in *Northern Italy*. Yet we find them here too in most of the larger towns (Ravenna, Aquileia, Bologna, Brescia, Milan, Genoa).

For the other provinces of the West, *Spain*, *Gaul*, *Germany*, the testimonies likewise commence about the 4th cent. A.D. As it does not fall within the scope of the present article to examine all these in detail, we would refer the reader to Friedländer, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms*, iii. [1871] 511 f.; the same author's *de Judæorum Coloniis*, Königsberg, 1876; and, above all, Th. Reinach, art. 'Judæi' in Daremberg-Saglio's *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines*.

ii. ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMUNITIES.—Everywhere where Jews lived together in any number, they organized themselves into societies, with a view to maintaining their uniqueness, safeguarding their interests, and practising their worship. It is certain that this organization was not everywhere the same. Differences in regard to the possession of political rights, differences in the degree of authority they were allowed to exercise, differences in the stage of culture in the various places where Jews lived, brought with them differences also in the internal organization. Where they formed an imposing political power, the constitution was different from what it was in instances where they formed only petty, modest, private societies. Nevertheless, there are certain common features that run through almost the whole body of the immense Jewish Diaspora. We can prove both these points from a variety of examples, although in many instances we are unable to pursue the details.

We know practically nothing about the constitution of the Jewish communities in the *Euphrates districts* in pre-Talmudic times. Our survey must thus confine itself to the communities within the sphere of the Roman sway.

At *Alexandria* the Jews, owing to their large numbers and their political influence, found themselves in a peculiarly favourable situation. Although they possessed the rights of citizens (see below, § iv.), they constituted a State within a State. Not only had they their own residential quarters, as mentioned above, but they formed an almost independent community, with a kind of monarchical head. Their constitution is thus described by Strabo (*ap.* Jos. *Ant.* XIV. vii. 2): 'But there is also an ethnarch at their head, who rules the people and dispenses justice, and sees that obligations are fulfilled and statutes observed, like the archon of an independent State' (*καθίσταται δὲ καὶ ἐθνάρχης αὐτῶν, ὃς διοικεῖ τε τὸ ἔθνος καὶ διαιτᾷ κρίσεις καὶ συμβολαίων ἐπιμελεῖται καὶ προσταγμάτων, ὡς ἂν πολιτείας ἄρχων αὐτοτελοῦς*). The maintaining of this independence was materially facilitated during the Imperial period by the circumstance that, from the last of the Ptolemies down to Septimius Severus, Alexandria, unlike nearly all Hellenistic towns, had no city Senate (Spartian, *Severus*, 17; Dio Cassius, li. 17). In the time of Augustus a certain modification of the condition of things appears to have taken place. It is, indeed, noted in the decree of the emperor Claudius (*ap.* Jos. *Ant.* XIX. v. 2) that even Augustus, after the death of the ethnarch who held office during the administration of Aquila [10–11 A.D., see *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, vii. 448 (=*CIL* iii. Suppl. No. 12046)], 'did not prevent the appointment of ethnarchs' (*καὶ καθ' ὃν καιρὸν Ἀκύλας ἦν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, τελευτήσαντος τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐθνάρχου, τὸν Σεβαστὸν μὴ κεκωλυκέναι ἐθνάρχας γίγνεσθαι*). But the whole object of Claudius in this decree is to insist that even under Augustus the political rights and the religious freedom of the Jews in Alexandria had not been diminished. This is not at all irreconcilable with a certain modification of the internal constitution. But we are expressly told by Philo that such a modification was introduced by Augustus. His statement is to the effect that, when the Jewish *genarch* died, Magius Maximus, who was on the point of undertaking for the second time the office of administrator of Egypt, received instructions from Augustus that a *gerusia* was to be appointed to manage the affairs of the Jews (*in Flaccum*, § 10 [ed. Mangey, ii. 527 f.]: *τῆς ἡμετέρας γερουσίας, ἣν ὁ σωτὴρ καὶ εὐεργέτης Σεβαστὸς ἐπιμελησομένην τῶν Ἰουδαικῶν εἵλετο, μετὰ τὴν τοῦ γενάρχου τελευτήν, διὰ τῶν πρὸς Μάγνον Μάξιμον ἐντολῶν, μέλλοντα πάλιν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐπιτροπεύειν* [the traditional *Μάγνον* of the MSS is incorrect, the name was *Magius* Maximus, see *CIL* ix. No. 1125]). Accordingly, we may probably suppose that the difference between this later and the earlier organization consisted in the substitution of a *gerusia* for the monarchical authority of the ethnarch, or in the setting up of a *gerusia* side by side with him. In favour of the latter supposition it can be urged that the decree of Claudius appears to presuppose the continued existence of ethnarchs even after the interposition of Augustus. At the same time, it is also possible that Claudius only means to say in general that the Jews still continued to have their own superiors (*ἐθνάρχαι*). The *γερουσία* and the *ἄρχοντες* at its head are further mentioned by Philo several times in the same context (§ 10 [ed. Mangey, ii. 528]: *τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς γερουσίας τρεῖς ἄνδρες*; *ib.* *μεταπεμψαμένῳ πρότερον τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἄρχοντας*; *ib.* p. 528 f. *τοὺς ἄρχοντας, τὴν γερουσίαν*; *ib.* § 14 [p. 534] *τῶν μὲν ἀρχόντων*). Josephus mentions the *πρωτεύοντες τῆς γερουσίας* (*BJ* VII. x. 1). According to the principal passage of Philo (§ 10 [ed. Mangey, ii. 527 f.]), Flaccus caused thirty-eight members of the *gerusia* to be dragged into the theatre and scourged there. The whole number was, accordingly, greater than this; it may have been seventy, after the model of the Sanhedrin at Jerusalem. In any case the *ἄρχοντες* were not the whole body of the *γερουσία*, but only its committee of management. This is clear not only from the statements of Philo, but from the standing usage of the Greek word.*—A widely diffused error is the identification of the Egyptian *alabarch* with the Jewish *ethnarch*. The first named office was a purely civil one, although, of course, it was repeatedly held by Jews of note (see below, § iv.).

---

* In the above account no regard is paid to a passage in the Letter of Aristeas, which, if its terms were more precise, would supply us with information regarding the organization of the Alexandrian Jews about the year B.C. 200. The passage (*Aristeæ Epist.*, ed. Wendland, § 310) reads: *στάντες οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ τῶν ἑρμηνέων οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πολιτεύματος οἵ τε ἡγούμενοι τοῦ πλήθους εἶπον* (this, which is the text of our MSS, is reproduced exactly in Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* VIII. v. 6; Jos. *Ant.* XII. ii. 13 [ed. Niese, § 108] gives a free summary of the contents of the passage). Since there is no sufficient reason for deleting the *τε* before *ἡγούμενοι*, there are four classes mentioned: (1) the priests, (2) the elders of the interpreters, (3) the elders of the *πολίτευμα* of the Jews, (4) the *ἡγούμενοι τοῦ πλήθους* (cf. the explanation of Wendland in *Festschrift für Joh. Vahlen*, 1900, p. 128). The last two classes answer to the *γερουσία* and the *ἄρχοντες* as organized by Augustus. It would thus appear as if the organization in those early times had been similar to what it again became subsequent to the time of Augustus, whereas in the intervening period it had more of a monarchical form. There is, indeed, nothing strange in a modification of the constitution having taken place more than once in the course of three centuries. But the statement of pseudo-Aristeas is too vague to build certain conclusions upon.

When we take a survey of what we know otherwise about the constitution of the communities of the Diaspora, certain common features show themselves amidst many local differences.

1. One point in which a difference shows itself concerns *the name for the community*. In so far as the latter forms an independent political corporation, it is called **πολίτευμα.** This term, however, is found only in the case of Alexandria (*Aristeæ Epist.* § 310), and of Berenike in Cyrenaica. In the latter instance the word occurs in a decree set up by the Jewish community in honour of the Roman governor, M. Tittius (*CIG* 5361; see facsimile in Roschach's Catalogue of the Museum of Toulouse [where the inscription now is], *Musée de Toulouse, Catalogue des Antiquités,* 1865, No. 225): *ἔδοξε τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τῷ πολιτεύματι τῶν ἐν Βερενίκῃ Ἰουδαίων.* The names of the *ἄρχοντες* who stood at the head of the *πολίτευμα* are given at the beginning of the decree; there are nine of them. (On the use of *πολίτευμα* in a similar sense, see Perdrizet, 'Le *πολίτευμα* des Cauniens à Sidon' in *Revue archéol.*, trois. Série, xxxv. [1899] 42–48; and Wendland, *Aristeæ Epist.*, Index, *s.v.*).

In most towns the Jews formed at first a colony of foreigners side by side with the body of citizens. This is the condition implied in the expressions **κατοικία** (inscription at Hierapolis: *δώσει τῇ κατοικίᾳ τῶν ἐν Ἱεραπόλει κατοικούντων Ἰουδαίων*; cf. Ramsay, *Expositor*, Feb. 1902, p. 96 f.), **λαός** (inscription at Hierapolis: *ἀποτείσει τῷ λαῷ τῶν Ἰουδαίων*), **ἔθνος** (inscription at Smyrna: *δώσει τῷ ἔθνει τῶν Ἰουδαίων*).* These various designations all express the fact that the Jews belonged to a foreign nation, and in Greek towns were counted non-citizens.

The commonest designation, however, especially in later times, is **συναγωγή.** In Greek usage this word occurs only in the sense of 'assembly,' 'festal gathering.' Thus, for instance, *c.* 200 B.C., in the so-called Testament of Epikteta (*CIG* 2448 = *Inscriptiones Græcæ insularum maris Ægæi*, fasc. iii. No. 330), the society which is to attend to the hero-cult instituted by Epikteta is called *τὸ κοινόν*, but the annual gathering of the society *συναγωγά* (col. iv. line 23 f. *τὰν δὲ συναγωγὰν . . . γίνεσθαι ἐμ μηνὶ Δελφινίῳ ἐν τῷ μουσείῳ καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος ἁμέρας τρεῖς*). But in Jewish usage *συναγωγή* stands for the community as a corporation (in the LXX it mostly represents עֵדָה; see art. CONGREGATION in vol. i.). This term has the most general sense, and hence could be retained even when the Jews through Greek culture and participation in the rights of citizenship had become assimilated to the rest of the inhabitants. They then formed a 'society' for the protection of their religious interests. We can adduce instances of the use of *συναγωγή* in this sense from inscriptions in Asia as well as at Rome. So, for instance, in Asia: at Phokæa (*ἡ συναγωγὴ ἐτείμησεν τῶν Ἰουδαίων Τάτιον Στράτωνος*), Akmonia in Phrygia (*οὓς τινας καὶ ἡ συναγωγὴ ἐτείμησεν*), Pantikapæum (*συνεπιτροπεούσης δὲ καὶ τῆς συναγωγῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων*).

At *Rome* the Jews were not, as at Alexandria, organized as a single great corporation, such a thing being apparently not tolerated by the authorities. They had, on the contrary, to content themselves with the more modest position of a number of small private societies. Each society had its special name. The following names are preserved in the inscriptions: **1.** *συναγωγὴ Αὐγουστησίων* (*CIG* 9902, 9903 = Fiorelli, *Catalogo del Museo Nazionale di Napoli: Iscrizioni latine*, Nos. 1956, 1960; *CIL* vi. No. 29757; *REJ* xlii. 4). **2.** *συναγωγὴ Ἀγριππησίων* (*CIG* 9907). **3.** 'Synagoga Bolumni' (*CIL* vi. No. 29756). These three societies are named after prominent persons [Bolumnus is = Volumnus], whether for the reason that the members were in the service of these men (cf. Ph 4^{22} *οἱ ἐκ τῆς Καίσαρος οἰκίας*), or because the latter were the patrons of the societies. Since we meet with *Ἀγριππήσιοι* as well as *Αὐγουστήσιοι* side by side, the reference is doubtless to the first Augustus and his friend Agrippa. The name assumed by the societies would be retained even after the death of their patrons. Other societies take their name from the quarter of the city of Rome in which their members lived, namely,—**4.** The *Καμπήσιοι*, called after the Campus Martius (*CIG* 9905 [more correctly in Garrucci, *Dissertazioni*, ii. 188, No. 4]; also Garrucci, *l.c.* ii. 161, No. 10; *CIL* vi. No. 29756 'mater synagogarum Campi et Bolumni'). **5.** The *Σιβουρήσιοι*, named from the Subura, one of the most frequented quarters in Rome, a centre of trade and business life (*CIG* 6447 = Fiorelli, *Catalogo*, No. 1954). The following additional synagogues are also known:—**6.** A *συναγωγὴ Αἰβρέων*, presumably that of the Hebrew-speaking Jews (*CIG* 9909; *Mélanges Renier*, 1887, p. 439 = Kaibel, *Inscr. Gr. Sicil. et Ital.*, No. 945). **7.** A *συναγωγὴ Ἐλαίας*, named after the symbol of the olive tree (*CIG* 9904; de Rossi, *Bullettino di archeol. crist.* v. p. 16). **8.** At Porto a *συναγωγὴ τῶν Καρκαρησίων*, which derived its name from the occupation of its members, who were *calcarienses*, 'lime-burners' (*Mélanges Renier*, 440; and in *CIG* 9906 we should in all probability read not *Καμπησίων* but *Καλκαρησίων* [see Garrucci, *Cimitero*, 38 f.]).

An isolated occurrence of another designation for the Jewish corporation of a city has yet to be mentioned, namely, the '*Universitas* Judæorum qui in Antiochensium civitate constituti sunt.' This is found in an Imperial statute of the year A.D. 213 (*Codex Justin.* I. ix. 1).

2. A pretty extensive uniformity appears to have prevailed in the matter of the organization and titles of the *officials* of the community. Almost everywhere we have evidence that the managing committee bore the name **ἄρχοντες.** **1.** For Alexandria we have to refer to the above-cited passages from Philo. **2.** For Berenike in Cyrenaica see in like manner the above-mentioned inscription, according to which there were nine *ἄρχοντες* at the head of the Jewish *πολίτευμα*. **3.** At Antioch a Jewish *ἄρχων* is incidentally mentioned by Josephus (*BJ* VII. iii. 3). **4.** At Tlos in Lycia the office of Jewish archon (*ἀρχοντεία*) is referred to in an inscription (see above). **5.** For North Africa we have the testimony of Tertullian, who names quite generally, amongst other Jewish offices, that of *ἄρχων* (*de Corona*, 9: 'Quis denique patriarches, quis prophetes, quis levites aut sacerdos aut *archon*, quis vel postea apostolus aut evangelizator aut episcopus invenitur coronatus?'). It is therefore extremely probable that the archon mentioned in a Latin inscription in Utica is a Jewish one (*CIL* viii. No. 1205, also Addenda, p. 931). **6.** In Italy, too, the title appears to have been in general use. In a Homily for the birthday of St. John (printed among the works of Chrysostom in editions prior to that of Montfaucon, *e.g.* ed. Paris, t. ii., 1687), which takes account of the conditions of Italy in the time of the later empire, it is made a matter of reproach to the Jews that, in opposition to the law of God, they begin the year, not in spring but in the month of September: 'mensem Septembrem ipsum novum annum nuncupant, *quo et mense magistratus sibi designant, quos Archontas vocant.*' When we turn to the Jewish inscriptions of Italy we meet with the title at Capua (*CIL* x. No. 3905 'Alfius Juda arcon arcosynagogus'), at Porto near Rome (Kaibel, *Inscr. Gr. Sicil. et Ital.*, No. 949 *Κλαύδιος Ἰωσῆς ἄρχων*), and with special frequency at Rome itself (*CIG* 9906, 6447, 6337;

---

* In the case of the inscriptions that have been already quoted in § i. we give here only the references.

Garrucci, *Cimitero*, 35, 51, 61, 67, also the same author's *Dissertazioni*, ii. 158, No. 4, 164, Nos. 15, 16, 17, 18; de Rossi, *Bullettino*, v. 16).—At Rome each of the societies, it is certain, had its own archons. They were elected, according to the Homily just named, annually in the month of September. There might be re-election (*δὶς ἄρχων*, *CIG* 9910; Garrucci, *Cimitero*, 47); nay, it would appear as if an archon might be elected for life, for this is the probable meaning of the repeatedly recurring *διὰ βίου* (*CIL* x. No. 1893 'Ti. Claudius Philippus dia viu et gerusiarches'; *CIG* 9907 *Ζώσιμος διὰ βίου συναγωγῆς Ἀγριππησίων*). Cf., in general, Wesseling, *De Judæorum archontibus ad inscriptionem Berenicensem*, 1738; Schürer, *Die Gemeindeverfassung der Juden in Rom in der Kaiserzeit nach den Inschriften dargestellt*, 1879.

It is only for Italy that the presence of the title γερουσιάρχης or γερουσιάρχων is demonstrable. The first of these forms is found in the tomb-inscriptions at Rome (*CIG* 9902 = Fiorelli, *Catalogo*, No. 1956; Garrucci, *Cimitero*, 51, 62, 69, *Dissertazioni*, ii. 183, No. 27) and in the neighbourhood of Naples (*CIL* x. No. 1893); the other occurs at Venosa (*CIL* ix. Nos. 6213, 6221). The title can have no other meaning than 'president of the *gerusia*.' We thus learn from it, what without this evidence might have been assumed, that the communities had not only *ἄρχοντες* but also a *γερουσία*. The fact that, in spite of this, the title *πρεσβύτερος* nowhere occurs in the numerous tomb-inscriptions at Rome, is instructive. The elders were not officials in the proper sense, they were the confidential advisers of the community. Hence *πρεσβύτερος* was not a title. It is not till a very late period that we find it so employed (*e.g.* at Venosa, and that even in the case of women, *CIL* ix. Nos. 6209, 6226, 6230, cf. also *Codex Theodosianus*, XVI. viii. 2, 13, 14).

The office of ἀρχισυνάγωγος (EV 'ruler of the synagogue') was quite generally established. We can prove its existence for all the leading spheres of the Jewish Diaspora. **1.** Egypt (Hadrian's alleged letter to Servianus *ap.* Vopiscus, *Vita Saturnini*, 8). **2.** Asia Minor: Antioch in Pisidia (Ac 13^{15}), Cilicia (Epiphan. *Hær.* xxx. 11), Smyrna (inscription in *REJ* vii. 161 f.), Myndos in Caria (*REJ* xlii. 1–4), Akmonia in Phrygia (see above, p. 94^{a}, for inscription; in this instance an *ἀρχισυνάγωγος διὰ βίου*). **3.** Greece: Corinth (Ac $18^{8.\,17}$), Ægina (*CIG* 9894). **4.** Italy: Rome (*CIG* 9906; Garrucci, *Cimitero*, 67), Capua (*CIL* x. No. 3905), Venosa (*CIL* ix. Nos. 6201, 6205, 6232), Brescia (Kaibel, *Inscr. Gr. Sicil. et Ital.*, No. 2304). **5.** Africa: Hammâm-Lif near Carthage (inscription on the mosaic pavement of the synagogue), Cæsarea in Mauretania (*Acta Marcianæ*, iv. 1; *REJ* xliv. 8). **6.** The Roman empire in general (*Codex Theodosianus*, XVI. viii. 4, 13, 14).

The duty of the *ἀρχισυνάγωγος* was to take charge of the public worship. Since there was no official preacher in Jewish communities, any qualified member of the congregation being permitted to read the Scripture lessons or deliver an address or lead in prayer, it was necessary to have an official to direct and watch over the exercise of this freedom by the members. This was the *ἀρχισυνάγωγος* (Heb. רֹאשׁ הַכְּנֶסֶת). He had to fix on the reader of the lessons and the leader in prayer, and to invite competent persons to address the congregation (Ac 13^{15}). To him fell the general duty of seeing that nothing unseemly took place in the synagogue (Lk 13^{14}), and he had doubtless to take care also that the synagogue buildings were kept in proper repair. He belonged to the number of the *ἄρχοντες* of the community, but his office was a more special one than that of the *ἄρχοντες* in general; hence the two offices are named side by side as distinct (*CIG* 9906; Garrucci, *Cimitero*, 67; *CIL* x. No. 3905; Ac 14^{2} [according to the text of D: *οἱ δὲ* ἀρχισυνάγωγοι *τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ οἱ* ἄρχοντες *τῆς συναγωγῆς*]). Since we meet with a *γερουσιάρχης* side by side with the *ἀρχισυνάγωγος* in the tomb-inscriptions of Rome and Venosa, those two offices also are to be regarded as distinct. That is to say, the *ἀρχισυνάγωγος* was not, as such, at the same time the head and president of the *γερουσία*. It is quite possible, however, that outside Italy [it is only in this country that we hear of a *γερουσιάρχης*] both offices were united in one person.

Finally, we encounter pretty frequently in the inscriptions the titles *pater synagogæ* and *mater synagogæ*:—*πατὴρ συναγωγῆς* (*CIG* 9904, 9905, 9908, 9909; Garrucci, *Cimitero*, 52, *Dissertazioni*, ii. 161, No. 10; *Mélanges Renier*, 440); 'pater synagogæ' (*CIL* viii. No. 8499; *Codex Theodosianus*, XVI. viii. 4); *πατὴρ τῶν Ἐβρέων* (*Mélanges Renier*, 439 = Kaibel, *Inscr. Gr. Sicil. et Ital.*, No. 945); *πατὴρ τοῦ στέματος* (*CIG* 9897); *πατὴρ λαοῦ διὰ βίου* (*REJ* xxxiv. 148); 'pater,' without any addition (Garrucci, *Dissertazioni*, ii. 164, No. 18; *CIL* ix. Nos. 6220, 6221); 'mater synagogæ' (*CIL* v. No. 4411, vi. No. 29756). The very circumstance that the title is found in the feminine as well as the masculine form, makes it probable that it does not stand for a communal *office*, strictly so called. Nor are we to understand it of the patron of the community; it was simply a title of honour given to aged members who had deserved well of the community (cf. the statement of ages in *CIG* 9904 *ἐτῶν ἑκατῶν* (*sic*) *δέκα*, and *CIL* vi. No. 29756 'quæ bixit an. lxxxvi. meses vi.').

The employment of the terms *ἄρχοντες* and *γερουσία* shows that the constitution of the Jews in the Diaspora *was based on the communal constitution of the Greek cities.* There are other traces besides this of the strong influence exercised by this model upon the external arrangements of the Jewish communities. Like the Greek communes, the Jewish communities honoured deserving men and women by the bestowal of a wreath and of the *proedria*. Thus the community of Phokæa honoured a woman who had taken upon herself the cost of building the synagogue, *χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ καὶ προεδρίᾳ* (see above, § i.). The Jewish *strategos* Chelkias was likewise honoured with a golden wreath (*Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, i. [1900] 48–56; *REJ* xl. [1900] 50–54). The community of Berenike resolved regarding the Roman governor, who had shown himself friendly to the Jews, *στεφανοῦν ὀνομαστὶ καθ' ἑκάστην σύνοδον καὶ νουμηνίαν στεφάνῳ ἐλαΐνῳ καὶ λημνίσκῳ* (*CIG* 5361). At Alexandria honorific decrees and gifts of this kind, including also such as related to the emperors, were exhibited in the vestibules of the synagogues (Philo, *in Flaccum*, § 7 [ed. Mangey, ii. 524]). Hence Philo complains that, when the synagogues were wrecked by the Alexandrian mob, 'even the shields and golden wreaths and steles and inscriptions in honour of the emperors' perished in the general destruction (*Legatio ad Gaium*, § 20 [ed. Mangey, ii. 565]: *καὶ σιωπῶ τὰς συγκαθαιρεθείσας καὶ συμπρησθείσας τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων τιμὰς ἀσπίδων καὶ στεφάνων ἐπιχρύσων καὶ στηλῶν καὶ ἐπιγραφῶν*).

The influence of Greek processes of law shows itself in the Jewish legal instruments affecting manumission of slaves, found at Pantikapæum (Latyschev, *Inscriptiones antiquæ oræ septentr. Ponti Euxini*, Nos. 52, 53).—In Asia Minor there was a widely recognized right to exact a money penalty for the unauthorized use of a grave. Hence in a multitude of tomb-inscriptions we find a warning against such an act, with a specification of the fine that would be incurred. Penal cautions of this kind, couched exactly in the terms usual in other quarters, may be read also on Jewish tombs at Smyrna, Hierapolis in Phrygia, Tlos in Lycia, Korykos in Cilicia (see above, § i.). The fines are to be paid either to the Imperial *fiscus* or to the Jewish community (*τῷ ἔθνει τῶν Ἰουδαίων* [at Smyrna], *τῷ λαῷ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, τῇ κατοικίᾳ τῶν Ἰουδαίων* [at Hierapolis]), or to both.—To Greek influence should probably be attributed also the bestowal of titles and honorary offices upon women. In Greek communes and societies we encounter women with such titles as *πρύτανις, στεφανηφόρος, γυμνασίαρχος, ἀγωνοθέτις, δεκάπρωτος*; so amongst the Jews we have *ἀρχισυνάγωγος* (at Smyrna [*REJ* vii. 161 ff.], and Myndos in Caria [*REJ* xlii. 1–4]), *πρεσβυτέρα*, and 'mater synagogæ' (see above).

But, in spite of this extensive adoption of Greek forms, the influence of Greece upon the Jewish communities must not be exaggerated. Not only their religion, but even their civil law was retained by them as far as possible. Everywhere they laid the greatest stress upon justice being administered in the bosom of Jewish communities *κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους* (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. x. 17). And this jurisdiction of their own was to a large extent conceded to them by the heathen authorities.

iii. TOLERATION AND RECOGNITION BY THE STATE AUTHORITIES.—The framework of political rights into which the Jewish communities had to fit themselves, varied in different places and at different times. We may distinguish some three forms under which the communities in the Diaspora attained to a political existence; and all three have more or less numerous analogues.

1. The nearest analogy is that of the *settlements of foreigners*, especially Orientals, in the great trading cities of the Græco-Roman world. In all the great seaports of the Mediterranean, during the era of Hellenism we meet with Egyptian, Phœnician, Syrian traders, who not only carry on their business in passing, but are permanently settled there in greater or smaller numbers, and have formed themselves into close corporations for the defence of their common interests. They built their temples, maintained their religious service, and supported one another in their material interests. Settlements of this kind are known to us from inscriptions, particularly at Athens (Egyptians, Κιτιεῖς from Cyprus, Sidonians), Delos (Tyrians, Berytenses, Egyptians), Puteoli (Tyrians, Berytenses). The members of the corporation lived in the city as strangers (non-citizens), but their society enjoyed toleration and recognition from the State authorities. To this class belonged, without any doubt, the oldest settlements of the Jews in many places. They formed a *κατοικία, i.e.* a colony of foreigners, separate from the political commune.

2. Another analogy is presented by the *private societies* which existed in enormous numbers and in a great variety of forms throughout the whole of the Græco-Roman world. Religious or commercial interests, or both together, led in ancient as in later times to the forming of a great many 'unions' (*θίασοι, ἔρανοι, collegia*), which had their own administration of funds, and exercised a certain discipline over their members. In looking after their own affairs they occupied an independent position in relation to the political commune similar to that of the colonies of foreigners just described, but were distinguished from them by the circumstance that (at least as a rule and for the most part) they consisted of natives, whether citizens and freedmen, or non-citizens and slaves. To this class belong most of the Jewish communities in later times. For the more the Jews became assimilated to their surroundings, the more they passed from the position of foreigners to that of homeborn, particularly in instances where they possessed the rights of citizenship. With all this, however, they appear as a rule to have retained a certain position of isolation, for the amount of jurisdiction which, with the consent of the city authorities, they exercised within their own circle was, so far as we know, for the most part greater than was conceded to other religious or trades unions.*

3. A third analogue to the communities of the Jewish Diaspora is seen in the *corporations of Greeks and Romans in non-Greek or non-Roman countries.* The Greeks, in view of the wide diffusion of Hellenism, had less occasion for forming such corporations. These were much commoner where Romans were concerned. As the ruling nation, the Romans outside Italy everywhere laid claim to a unique position. They were subject neither to taxation by the communes nor to the jurisdiction of the city authorities, but formed independent bodies alongside of the communal societies of the particular cities in which they lived. Examples of this kind are to be met with in great numbers throughout the whole extent of the Roman Empire (Mommsen, *CIL* iii. Suppl. p. 1306, on No. 7240; Mitteis, *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht in den östlichen Provinzen des römischen Kaiserreichs*, 1891, pp. 143–158). It is with this entirely independent position which these associations held in or rather alongside the communes, that we may compare the position of the Jews in Alexandria and in the city of Cyrene as described by Strabo (*ap.* Jos. *Ant.* XIV. vii. 2). For here they were not subject, as would appear, to the rule of the communal authorities, but constituted an independent corporation side by side with the rest of the body of citizens.' Their independence thus went beyond what was enjoyed by the first two classes above described.

A uniform presupposition in all these political regulations was *State toleration of the Jewish cultus.* This was enjoyed by the communes almost everywhere and at most periods of time. In the empires of the Ptolemies and the Seleucids the religious freedom of the Jews was a matter of course. But the early Ptolemies and Seleucids also conferred important political rights upon their Jewish subjects (see below, § iv.).† Antiochus the Great protected the cultus at Jerusalem by royal statutes (Jos. *Ant.* XII. iii. 3, 4). [The genuineness of these is, indeed, disputed (see Büchler, *Die Tobiaden und die Oniaden*, 1899, pp. 143–171; Willrich, *Judaica*, 1900, pp. 48 f., 58–60), but on what appear to the present writer insufficient grounds. The genuineness is held, amongst others, by Ed. Meyer, *Die Entstehung des Judenthums*, 1896, pp. 66, 68]. The persecution of the

---

* Mommsen (*Histor. Zeitschrift*, lxiv. [1890] 421–426) has contended that it was only down to the fall of Jerusalem that the Jews were regarded as a people (*gens*, *ἔθνος*), and that after that event 'the place of the privileged *nation* was taken by the privileged *confession*.' That is to say, in the earlier period political privileges had been accorded to all who were Jews by birth, and to them alone, whereas in the later they belonged to all who professed the Jewish religion, and to them alone. But, in the opinion of the present writer, this is pushing an observation which is correct in itself to far too sharp a point, when an actual juristic formula is thus arrived at. Even during the period of the late empire the Jews were still in many instances regarded as a 'people' (the inscription of Smyrna *τῷ ἔθνει τῶν Ἰουδαίων* dates at the earliest from the 3rd cent. A.D., and even the inscriptions of Hierapolis must be placed subsequent to A.D. 70). And it was just the later emperors who sought to prevent the 'confession' from being extended beyond the circle of the Jewish nation; that is to say, they granted privileges only to the people, and not to the confession. Mommsen's view, however, will be found correct to this extent, that the Jews, as time went on, advanced more and more from the first of the above two classes to the second.

† Cf., on the friendly disposition of the early Ptolemies to the Jews, in general, Jos. *c. Apion.* ii. 4, 5.—A Ptolemy once actually granted the right of asylum to a Jewish *proseuche* (*CIL* iii. Suppl. No. 6583 *Βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος Εὐεργέτης τὴν προσευχὴν ἄσυλον.* The monarch referred to is probably Ptolemy III., for had it been Euergetes II. = Ptolemy VII., we should have expected his consort to be named along with him).

Jews by Antiochus Epiphanes was quite an exceptional phenomenon. Pre-eminent as a friend of the Jews was Ptolemy VI. (Philometor), who even permitted a Jewish temple to be built in Egypt (see below, § v.). The hostile attitude to the Jews assumed by Ptolemy VII. (Physcon) was due, not to their religious but their political partisanship (Jos. *c. Apion.* ii. 5).

The free exercise of their religion was expressly allowed to the Jews also by the Roman legislation, which safeguarded it from any attempts at suppression by the Greek communes. It was especially to Cæsar and Augustus that the Jews were indebted for their formal recognition in the Roman Empire. A whole series of acts have been preserved for us by Josephus (*Ant.* XIV. x., XVI. vi.), partly resolutions of the Senate, partly edicts of Cæsar and Augustus, partly those of Roman officials or of communal authorities of the same date. These all have the same purpose, namely, to secure for the Jews the free exercise of their religion and the maintenance of their privileges (cf., on these acts, especially the investigation of Mendelssohn in *Acta Societatis Phil. Lips.*, ed. Ritschelius, v. [1875] 87–288; also *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1876, cols. 390–396; Niese in *Hermes*, xi. [1876] 466-488). While Cæsar prohibited in general all *collegia* except those that had existed from remote antiquity, the Jewish communities were expressly excluded from this prohibition (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. x. 8: *καὶ γὰρ Γάιος Καῖσαρ ὁ ἡμέτερος στρατηγὸς καὶ ὕπατος ἐν τῷ διατάγματι κωλύων θιάσους συνάγεσθαι κατὰ πόλιν μόνους τούτους οὐκ ἐκώλυσεν οὔτε χρημάτων συνεισφέρειν οὔτε σύνδειπνα ποιεῖν*). We find, for instance, a Roman official appealing to this decree in warning the authorities of Paros not to interfere with the Jews in the practice of their religious observances (Jos. *l.c.*). It is likewise to the influence of Cæsar that we should probably trace the four decrees quoted by Josephus, *Ant.* XIV. x. 20–24. The object, direct or indirect, of all of them is to guarantee to the Jews of Asia Minor (Laodicea, Miletus, Halicarnassus, Sardis) the unimpeded exercise of their religion. After Cæsar's death, the two contending parties vied with one another in maintaining the privileges of the Jews. On the one hand, Dolabella, the partisan of Antony, who made himself master of Asia Minor in the year B.C. 43, confirmed to the Jews the exemption from military service and the religious freedom granted them by former governors (*Ant.* XIV. x. 11, 12). On the other hand, M. Junius Brutus, who in the spring of the year 42 was making warlike preparations in Asia Minor against Antony and Octavianus, persuaded the Ephesians to adopt a resolution that the Jews were not to be interfered with in their observance of the Sabbath and their other religious practices (*Ant.* XIV. x. 25).

All this had the effect of bringing about a legal standing, in virtue of which *Judaism was a 'religio licita' throughout the whole of the Roman Empire* (Tertull. *Apolog.* 21, 'insignissima religio, certe licita' [the expression, by the way, is not a technical one in Roman law, which speaks of '*collegia* licita']). That, amongst others, the Jews in the city of Rome enjoyed this legal standing, is specially testified by Philo for the time of Augustus (*Legatio ad Gaium,* § 23 [ed. Mangey, ii. 568 f.]). It is true, however, that down to the 2nd cent. A.D. foreign *sacra* could be practised only outside the 'pomerium.'

The State recognition of the Jewish communities is essentially connected with two important concessions: *the right of administering their own funds, and jurisdiction over their own members.* The former of these had a special importance, owing to the collecting and transmitting of the dues paid to the temple at Jerusalem. The governor Flaccus, a contemporary of Cicero, had interfered with this (Cic. *in Flaccum,* 28; see the text of the passage quoted above, § i.). The communal authorities of Asia likewise appear, even after the edicts of Cæsar's time and in spite of these, to have continued to act in a similar way. The decrees of the time of Augustus accordingly bear chiefly upon this point. As Augustus permitted the export of sums of money from Rome itself (Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium,* § 23 [ed. Mangey, ii. 568 f.]), it was impressed upon the communes of Asia Minor and Cyrene that in this matter they must put no obstacle in the way of the Jews (Jos. *Ant.* XVI. vi. 2–7; Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium,* § 40 [ed. Mangey, ii. 592]).

Of equal importance for the Jewish communities was *the possession of a jurisdiction of their own.* Since the Mosaic law has regard not only to the performance of the cultus but also to the relations of civil life, placing the latter under the control of a Divine law, it was intolerable to the Jewish conscience that Jews should be judged by any code of laws but their own. Wherever the Jews came they brought their own system of law with them, and executed justice, according to its standard, in the case of their fellow-members. It may be regarded as probable that the employment of their own code in *civil processes* was everywhere sanctioned by the State authorities, in so far, that is to say, as complaints of Jews against one another were concerned. Not only must this have self-evidently been the case at Alexandria, but it is witnessed to also for Asia Minor by a despatch of Lucius Antonius (governor of the Province of Asia, B.C. 50–49) to the authorities of Sardis (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. x. 17: *Ἰουδαῖοι πολῖται ἡμέτεροι προσελθόντες μοι ἐπέδειξαν αὑτοὺς σύνοδον ἔχειν ἰδίαν κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ τόπον ἴδιον, ἐν ᾧ τά τε πράγματα καὶ τὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀντιλογίας κρίνουσιν· τοῦτό τε αἰτησαμένοις ἵν' ἐξῇ ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς, τηρῆσαι καὶ ἐπιτρέψαι ἔκρινα*). The terms of this despatch show that even those Jews who possessed the Roman citizenship (*πολῖται ἡμέτεροι*), and as Roman citizens could have sought redress before the *conventus civium Romanorum,* preferred to bring their disputes before the Jewish tribunal (*σύνοδος, conventus*) for decision. Even in the legislation of the later Imperial period, this Jewish jurisdiction continued to be recognized in civil cases (*Codex Theodosianus,* II. i. 10 [Decree of the emperors Arcadius and Honorius of the year 398]: 'Sane si qui per compromissum, ad similitudinem arbitrorum, apud Judæos vel patriarchas ex consensu partium in civili duntaxat negotio putaverint litigandum, sortiri eorum judicium jure publico non vetentur: eorum etiam sententias provinciarum judices exsequantur, tamquam ex sententia cognitoris arbitri fuerint attributi').

A jurisdiction of their own in *criminal cases,* in the complete sense of the expression, was certainly not conceded to the Jews in most places. On the other hand, not only do we meet with undoubted instances of the exercise of a *correctional police authority* (see Mommsen, *Zeitschrift für die Neutest. Wissenschaft,* ii. [1901] 88 f.), but this would even appear to have been permitted by the State authorities. It is from this point of view that we are to understand how Saul of Tarsus applied to the Sanhedrin at Jerusalem for full powers to punish Jewish Christians living outside Palestine (Ac 9^{2} 22^{19} 26^{11}). He himself was afterwards as a Christian scourged five times by the Jews (2 Co 11^{24}); in these instances we are certainly to think, not of Palestinian but of foreign Jewish communities. At Corinth the proconsul Gallio leaves it to the Jews to proceed against St. Paul according to their own judgment, for he himself will not act as judge when an offence against the Jewish religion is concerned (Ac 18^{12-16}).

In addition to the freedom of initiative secured for the Jews in the instances we have just described, the Roman toleration paid a very large regard to their religious sensibilities. One chief difficulty concerned the question of *military service.* Such service was quite impossible for a Jew in a non-Jewish army, for on the Sabbath day he might neither bear arms nor march more than 2000 cubits. This question became a specially practical one when, on the outbreak of the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey in the year B.C. 49, the party of Pompey commenced the enrolment of troops on a large scale all over the East. In the Province of Asia alone the consul Lentulus raised two legions of Roman citizens (Cæsar, *Bell. Civ.* iii. 4). Amongst these were included the resident Jews who possessed the Roman citizenship. At their own request, however, Lentulus exempted them from military service, and gave his conscription agents everywhere instructions to the same effect (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. x. 13, 14, 16, 18, 19). Six years later (B.C. 43) Dolabella, with express appeal to the earlier edicts, confirmed the privilege of ἀστρατεία to the same Jews (*Ant.* XIV. x. 11, 12). Further privileges enjoyed by the Jews were the following :—1. By a statute of Augustus they were exempted from citation before a court on the Sabbath day (*Ant.* XVI. vi. 2, 4). 2. If a public payment of money or delivery of corn fell on a Sabbath, the Jews were to receive their share on the following day (Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium*, § 23 [ed. Mangey, ii. 569]). 3. Instead of the oil furnished by the communes, the use of which was forbidden to the Jews, they received a money equivalent (Jos. *Ant.* XII. iii. 1).

The whole political standing above described was never in later times essentially and permanently altered. The measures taken by Tiberius against the Roman Jews affected only the city of Rome. The great question of the *cult of the Emperor*, which afterwards became the main occasion of the bloody persecutions of the Christians, led in the case of the Jews to a merely transitory and local persecution. Augustus and Tiberius were, indeed, gratified when the provincials voluntarily offered them divine honours after the Greek fashion, but they did not demand that this should be done. Caligula was the first to make such a demand universally. Since the Jews on account of their religion could not comply with it, a bloody persecution began at Alexandria, due at first to the anti-Jewish mob, but afterwards carried on by the governor himself. But Claudius hastened to issue an edict of toleration by which all the rights and privileges of the Jews were restored (Jos. *Ant.* XIX. v. 2–3). No subsequent attempt was ever made to compel the Jews to take part in the cult of the Emperor. It came to be regarded as an ancient privilege that they were exempt from this. They had thus the advantage over the Christians in that their privileges had been long established before the cult of the Emperor became the State religion, and was demanded of subjects as a test of loyalty. While the Christians had to atone by bloody martyrdom for their refusal to sacrifice to the Emperor, no such demand was ever made upon the Jews.

It is true, indeed, that certain vacillations in their attitude to the Jews are found on the part of the Emperors. Claudius himself felt compelled to take measures against the Jews in the city of Rome. But these were local, and were not thoroughly carried out. The great war of Vespasian and the destruction of the temple at Jerusalem led, in the case of the Jews of the Diaspora, to the result that the former temple tax of two drachmæ had now to be paid to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus (Jos. *BJ* VII. vi. 6; Dio Cassius, lxvi. 7). This must certainly have been repugnant to the feelings of the Jews. But their religious freedom was not otherwise interfered with by Vespasian. Their political rights were even expressly protected by him, for instance in Alexandria and Antioch (*Ant.* XII. iii. 1, *BJ* VII. v. 2). Domitian exacted the two drachmæ tax with the utmost rigour (Sueton. *Domit.* 12), and inflicted severe penalties on any Romans who passed over to Judaism (Dio Cass. lxvii. 14). But the existing rights of the Jews were not annulled. Under Nerva a milder condition of things was inaugurated, in so far as he forbade any one to be accused for 'living in the Jewish manner' (Dio Cass. lxviii. 1). By this order the 'calumnia fisci Judaici,' *i.e.* accusations laid by informers in the interests of the Jewish *fiscus*, was abolished (cf. coins inscribed 'calumnia fisci Judaici sublata').

A violent shock to the existing condition of things was given by the great Jewish revolts under Trajan and Hadrian. The latter was due, not wholly but partially, to Hadrian's *prohibition of circumcision* (Spartian, *Hadrian.* 14). This prohibition, so far as we can learn, was quite a general one, issued on grounds of humanity, and not specially directed against the Jews. But the carrying out of such a decree would have been tantamount to a destruction of real legal Judaism. Hadrian's immediate successor, Antoninus Pius, however, while he retained the prohibition in other instances, once more granted the Jews permission to circumcise their children (*Digest.* xlviii. 8, 11 pr.). Similarly, Septimius Severus forbade only the formal passing over to Judaism (Spartian, *Sept. Sev.* 17). Of Alexander Severus we are expressly told that he 'Judæis privilegia reservavit' (Lamprid. *Alex. Sev.* 22). The policy of the Christian Emperors was not always the same, but in general was directed towards preventing the spread of Judaism, without annulling its existing rights.

iv. RIGHTS OF CITIZENSHIP, AND SOCIAL STANDING.—It has already been remarked above that the Jews as a rule, at least in pre-Christian times, lived in Greek cities as *foreign settlers*, like the Egyptians, Phœnicians, or Syrians. That is to say, they were *not citizens*, and had no share in the management of municipal affairs. But there were not a few towns where they possessed the citizenship. This was the case especially in such cities as had been newly founded, or whose constitution had been reorganized during the Greek period. To the category of the recently founded belong pre-eminently the two capitals of the empires of the Ptolemies and the Seleucids, namely, Alexandria and Antioch.

At *Alexandria* the Jews, we are assured by Josephus, were placed by Alexander the Great on a footing of equality with the Macedonians from the very first founding of the city (*c. Apion.* ii. 4: *εἰς κατοίκησιν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔδωκεν τόπον* Ἀλέξανδρος *καὶ ἴσης παρὰ τοῖς* Μακεδόσι *τιμῆς ἐπέτυχον . . . καὶ μέχρι νῦν αὐτῶν ἡ φυλὴ τὴν προσηγορίαν εἶχεν* Μακεδόνες). In another passage Josephus asserts that Alexander, by way of rewarding them for their services against the Egyptians, gave them equal rights with the Hellenes, and that the Diadochi further permitted them to call themselves Macedonians (*BJ* II. xviii. 7: Ἀλέξανδρος . . . *ἔδωκεν τὸ μετοικεῖν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐξ ἰσοτιμίας* [*var. lect. ἰσουμοίρας*, probably a corruption of *ἰσομοιρίας*] *πρὸς τοὺς* Ἕλληνας. *διέμεινεν δ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἡ τιμὴ καὶ παρὰ τῶν διαδόχων, οἳ . . . καὶ χρηματίζειν ἐπέτρεψαν* Μακεδόνας). In the decree of the emperor Claudius, quoted by Josephus (*Ant.* XIX. v. 2), it is said that the Jews had been settled side by side with the Alexandrians from the first, and that they had obtained equal political rights 'from the kings' (*ἴσης πολιτείας παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων τετευχότας*). These rights were expressly confirmed to them by Cæsar. A brass pillar set up by the latter in Alexandria proclaimed that the Jews were Alexandrian citizens (*Ant.* XIV. x. 1, *c. Apion.* ii. 4). Philo likewise notes that the Jews had the legal standing of Ἀλεξανδρεῖς and not that of the Αἰγύπτιοι (*in Flaccum*, § 10 [ed. Mangey, ii. 528]). The annulment of their rights during the persecution under Flaccus was merely temporary, for Claudius soon hastened to restore their ancient privileges (*Ant.* XIX. v. 2). Even after the great war of A.D. 70 the petition of the Alexandrians, that the Jews should be deprived of the citizenship, was not granted (*Ant.* XII. iii. 1).

A similar condition of things prevailed at *Antioch*. Here, too, from the founding of the city by Seleucus I. (Nikator), the Jews had received the same rights of citizenship as the Macedonians and Hellenes (*Ant.* XII. iii. 1 : *Σέλευκος ὁ Νικάτωρ ἐν αἷς ἔκτισεν πόλεσιν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ τῇ κάτω Συρίᾳ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ μητροπόλει Ἀντιοχείᾳ πολιτείας αὐτοὺς ἠξίωσεν καὶ τοῖς ἐνοικισθεῖσιν ἰσοτίμους ἀπέφηνεν Μακεδόσιν καὶ Ἕλλησιν, ὡς τὴν πολιτείαν ταύτην ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαμένειν* ; and to a similar effect *c. Apion.* ii. 4 [Niese, § 39]). In this city also their privileges were set forth on brass tablets (*BJ* VII. v. 2 [Niese, § 110]). In one passage Josephus expresses himself as if these rights were first conferred upon them by the successors of Antiochus Epiphanes (*BJ* VII. iii. 3). But probably he is thinking of a restoration of their privileges after the period of persecution under Epiphanes. When in the time of Vespasian the Antiochenes begged that the Jews might be expelled from the city or deprived of their privileges, this petition was refused as in the case of the similar application of the Alexandrians (*BJ* VII. v. 2 [Niese, §§ 108–111], *Ant.* XII. iii. 1).

According to the above-cited passage (*Ant.* XII. iii. 1), Seleucus I. (Nikator) granted the rights of citizenship to the Jews, and placed them on a footing of equality with the Macedonians and Hellenes, not only at Antioch, but in all the cities founded by him in Asia and Syria. The number of these cities was very considerable (Appian, *Syr.* 57). Even if the statement of Josephus does not justify the conclusion that there were Jewish settlers in *all* of them, this must have been the case with no inconsiderable proportion.

In all the above instances equality of rights on the part of the Jews was based upon the recent foundation of the cities during the Greek period. In the older cities, if Jews came to settle, they could not obtain the citizenship. There was one contingency, however, which made this possible, namely, if the political constitution of the city came to be organized afresh. Such recastings of their constitution took place frequently at the commencement of the Greek period in the cities of Western Asia Minor. Alexander the Great himself overthrew the oligarchical governments that prevailed there, and replaced them by democratical constitutions (Arrian, I. xviii. 2). This was followed by a series of fluctuating forms in the troubled times of the Diadochi. The definite restoration of autonomy and democracy in the cities of the Ionian coast was essentially the work of Antiochus II. (Theos), B.C. 261–246 (Jos. *Ant.* XII. iii. 2 : *τῶν γὰρ Ἰώνων κινηθέντων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς* [*scil.* *τοὺς Ἰουδαίους*] *καὶ δεομένων τοῦ Ἀγρίππου, ἵνα τῆς πολιτείας, ἣν αὐτοῖς ἔδωκεν Ἀντίοχος ὁ Σελεύκου υἱωνὸς ὁ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν θεὸς λεγόμενος, μόνοι μετέλθωσιν, κ.τ.λ.* This general testimony of Josephus, according to which Antiochus II. bestowed their *πολιτεία* on the Ionians, is confirmed by a number of special inscriptional testimonies). It is probable that at this time of the political reorganization of the cities in Western Asia Minor the Jews amongst others received the rights of citizenship. It is wrong, indeed, to refer the *αὐτοῖς* in the above quotation to the Jews; it really stands for the Ionians. But the context of the passage makes it probable that at the same time with the Ionians the Jews also obtained the citizenship, and that in the time of Agrippa the non-Jewish inhabitants demanded the sole possession of this for themselves (so also Ramsay, *Expositor*, Feb. 1902, pp. 92–95). At all events, in the time of Josephus the Jews in *Ephesus and in the rest of Ionia* possessed the rights of citizens (*c. Apion.* ii. 4 [Niese, § 39] : *οἱ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰωνίαν τοῖς αὐθιγενέσι πολίταις ὁμωνυμοῦσιν, τοῦτο παρασχόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν διαδόχων*). Incidentally we learn that they enjoyed the citizenship in Sardis also (*Ant.* XIV. x. 24), and even outside Asia Minor, at Cyrene (*ib.* XVI. vi. 1).

Wherever the Jews had the rights of citizenship, they must in their totality have formed a *φυλή* by themselves. For the citizens of Greek towns were divided into *φυλαί*, which also practised their own special religious cults. On the latter ground it is inconceivable that an individual Jew, if he desired to remain a Jew at all and to adhere to his religion, could hold the citizenship in a Greek town (attention has been called to this point especially by Ramsay, *Expositor*, Jan. 1902, pp. 22–29). Only where a considerable number of Jews formed a *φυλή* of their own, on the same footing as the other *φυλαί*, could they be citizens. If then St. Paul was a citizen of Tarsus (Ac 21^{39}), we must conclude that the Jews in general who were settled there possessed the citizenship. Ramsay (*l.c.* pp. 29–33) suggests that they may have obtained it on the occasion of the rearranging of the constitution of the city by Antiochus IV. about the year B.C. 170. This appears, however, very improbable in view of the hostility of Antiochus to the Jews.

Even when the Jews formed a *φυλή* of their own, they found themselves, as citizens of a Greek town, in *a self-contradictory position*. They had to take their part in municipal business. But this included, amongst other things, the care of the native religious cults, a duty towards which the Jews were compelled to maintain a uniformly passive relation. And this passivity was a constant ground of complaint on the part of their heathen fellow-citizens. If they desired to be citizens, they must also honour the gods of the city. Such was the demand made by the representatives of the Ionian cities when they brought their complaint against the Jews before Agrippa (*Ant.* XII. iii. 2 : *ἀξιούντων, εἰ συγγενεῖς εἰσιν αὐτοῖς Ἰουδαῖοι, σέβεσθαι τοὺς αὐτῶν θεούς*). The same view was taken everywhere in the Greek cities. Hence it is quite intelligible that the Jews should have been most exposed to the dislike, nay the hatred and persecution, of the heathen inhabitants just in those places where they possessed the citizenship. So it was, for instance, at Alexandria (*BJ* II. xviii. 7, persecution under Caligula), Antioch (*BJ* VII. iii. 3–4, v. 2), the cities of the Ionian coast (*Ant.* XII. iii. 2); and the same was the case at Cæsarea in Palestine, where they had obtained, through Herod the Great, the *ἰσοπολιτεία* (*Ant.* XX. viii. 7, 9, *BJ* II. xiii. 7, xiv. 4–5, xviii. 1). Everywhere it was only the superior authority of the Roman *imperium* that protected them in the enjoyment of the privileges that were recognized as belonging to them.

In addition to the local franchise, not a few of the Jews of the Diaspora possessed also the *Roman citizenship*. At Rome many of them had the degree of citizenship enjoyed by freedmen (*libertini*), for a large proportion of the community was made up of the descendants of those prisoners of war who were brought to Rome by Pompey and sold as slaves, but afterwards manumitted (Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium*, § 23 [ed. Mangey, ii. 568 f.]). This citizenship was, indeed, not a complete but a limited one (Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, iii. 1, 420–457).—In Asia many Jews would appear to have been possessed of Roman citizenship: so, for instance, at Ephesus (*Ant.* XIV. x. 13, 16, 19), Sardis (*ib.* 17), Delos (*ib.* 14), in general (*ib.* 18). Hence it is not surprising to find St. Paul also in possession of it (Ac $16^{37ff.}$ 22^{25-29} 23^{27}). We are not, indeed, aware how the Jews attained to this rank.

The advantages which accompanied the possession of Roman citizenship were very considerable. The possessor was exempt from degrading punishments such as scourging (Ac $16^{37ff.}$ $22^{25ff.}$) and crucifixion. He had also the right not only to appeal to the Emperor against a judgment that had been pronounced, but to 'call upon' the Emperor at the very commencement of the process and at every stage of it, *i.e.* to demand that the examination should be conducted at Rome, and judgment given by the Emperor himself (Ac $25^{10ff. 21}$ 26^{32}; cf. Mommsen in *Ztschr. f. Neutcst. Wissenschaft*, ii. [1901] 90-66). Of one important right the Jews made no use. While they were entitled as Roman citizens to bring civil processes before the special tribunals consisting of Roman citizens, which were found everywhere in the provinces, they preferred to have them decided by the courts belonging to their own communities (*Ant.* XIV. x. 17).

The *social standing* of the Jews must have varied greatly in different places. They appear to have been most favourably situated in Egypt, especially at Alexandria. Owing to their prosperity and culture they here played an important rôle in public life, and under some of the Ptolemies they even rose to high offices in the State. Ptolemy VI. (Philometor) and his consort Cleopatra 'entrusted their whole empire to Jews, and the commanders of the whole army were the Jews Onias and Dositheus' (Jos. *c. Apion.* ii. 5). Another Cleopatra, the daughter of the royal pair above named, likewise appointed two Jews, Chelkias and Ananias, to the chief command of her army in the war against her son Ptolemy Lathyrus (*Ant.* XIII. x. 4, xiii. 1-2).* In an inscription at Athribis there is mention of a Ptolemy, ἐπιστάτης τῶν φυλακιτῶν (chief of police), who, in conjunction with the Jewish community, built the synagogue of the place (see above, p. 96^{a}). Although it does not necessarily follow from this that he was a Jew, the probability, in view of analogous cases, is in favour of such having been the case. The Ἀντωνιος Μαλχαιος who in the time of Trajan held the ὁρμοφυλακία at Syene (see above, p. 96^{b}), *may* also have been a non-Jewish Semite, but ought in all probability to be regarded as a Jew. We may also remind the reader of the above (p. 96^{b}) mentioned Jewish tax-collectors in the Thebaid during the earlier Ptolemaic period.

During the Roman period several Jews of noble birth and wealth held the office of *alabarch*. So, for instance, Alexander, the brother of the philosopher Philo (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. vi. 3, viii. 1, XIX. v. 1, XX. v. 2), and a certain Demetrius (XX. vii. 3). The view that the *alabarch* was the head of the Jewish community is certainly wrong. He is in all probability identical with the ἀραβάρχης, whose office was that of chief superintendent of customs on the Arabian frontier, *i.e.* on the east side of the Nile. (A 'vectigal Arabarchiæ per Ægyptum atque Augustamnicam constitutum' is mentioned in the *Codex Justin.* IV. lxi. 9; an inscription found at Koptos contains a tariff fixing 'how much is to be raised by those who farm the ἀποστόλιον [?] at Koptos under the *arabarchy*'; see the text of this inscription in *Bulletin de corresp. hellénique*, xx. [1896] 174–176; on the office of the *alabarch* in general, see the Literature in Schürer, *GJV*^{3} iii. 88 f., and add Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka*, i. [1899] 347–351). Perhaps it is the office of the *alabarch* that is in view when Josephus says that the Romans 'continued (to the Jews of Alexandria) the position of trust given them by the kings, namely, the watching of the river' (*c. Apion.* ii. 5 *fin.*: 'maximam vero eis fidem olim a regibus datam conservaverunt, id est fluminis custodiam totiusque custodiæ' [the last word is certainly corrupt]). The 'watching of the river' refers to watching it in the interests of levying customs. In any case the *alabarch* was not an official of the Jewish community, but a man who held a prominent place in civil life.—Tiberius Alexander, a son of the alabarch Alexander, even reached the highest grades of a Roman military career, although at the expense of renouncing his ancestral religion.

Outside Egypt the Jews do not appear to have anywhere gained so influential a footing. Yet instances are not wanting elsewhere of their rising to positions of prominence. In Jerusalem at the outbreak of the war of A.D. 66 there were Jews holding the rank of Roman knights (Jos. *BJ* II. xiv. 9). At Ephesus and Venosa we meet in tomb-inscriptions with Jewish 'head physicians' (ἀρχίατροι; see *Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, iii. 2, No. 677; Ascoli, *Iscrizioni inedite o mal note*, 1880, No. 10). These were appointed by the city, and are thus to be regarded as municipal officials. In Italy the Jews from the time of Septimius Severus were admitted to the city offices (*Digest.* L. ii. 3: 'Eis qui Judaicam superstitionem sequuntur, divi Severus et Antoninus honores adipisci permiserunt').

v. RELIGIOUS AND INTELLECTUAL LIFE. — In spite of all its contact with Greek surroundings, the Jewish people preserved its religious uniqueness in a surprising fashion. The effects of the Maccabæan rising manifestly extended also to the Diaspora. As in the mother country at the time of Antiochus Epiphanes there was in aristocratic circles an inclination towards Hellenism even in religious matters, so in the city of Jasus in Caria we hear about the same time of a Νικήτας Ἰάσονος Ἱεροσολυμίτης who contributed money to support the festival of the *Dionysia* (see above, p. 94^{a}). But the Maccabæan rising removed the danger of a wholesale syncretistic amalgamation of Judaism with Hellenistic heathenism. Instances of this last phenomenon do, indeed, occur. The Jewish Hellenist Artapanus considered that he was glorifying Judaism by representing the patriarchs and Moses as not only the creators of all secular culture, but the founders of the Egyptian religious cults in the sense in which Artapanus himself understood these (see the fragments of his writings in Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* ix. 18, 23, 27). In the temple of Pan at Apollonopolis Magna in Upper Egypt two Jews recorded their thanks to 'the god' for an act of deliverance (*CIG* 4838^{c}). In a professed letter of Hadrian it is even said in general that in Egypt all the Jewish ἀρχισυνάγωγοι are 'astrologers, *haruspices*, and quacks' (Vopisc. *Vita Saturnini*, c. 8, in the 'Scriptores Historiæ Augustæ': 'Nemo illic archisynagogus Judæorum, nemo Samarites, nemo Christianorum presbyter non mathematicus, non haruspex, non aliptes'). Side by side with syncretistic mixture we find also philosophic indifference to the literal sense of the Law. There were Jews with an education in philosophy who, on the basis of the allegorical interpretation of Scripture, regarded the higher, philosophical, or ethical sense of the commandments as the only one of value, and neglected the observation of the literal sense (Philo, *de Migratione Abrahami*, § 16 [ed. Mangey, i. 450]: *εἰσὶ γάρ τινες οἳ τοὺς ῥητοὺς νόμους σύμβολα νοητῶν πραγμάτων ὑπολαμβάνοντες τὰ μὲν ἄγαν ἠκρίβωσαν, τῶν δὲ ῥᾳθύμως ὠλιγώρησαν*). It may be also assumed in general that the observance of the Law on the part of Greek Judaism did not attain to the rigour and preciseness of the Pharisaic party in Palestine. Greek culture formed a heavy counter-weight to the latter. Nevertheless, the Judaism of the Diaspora asserted itself in the main along the same lines as in Palestine. Syncretistic movements and philosophic indifference never gained the upper hand. The leaders of the communities took care that even in the Diaspora the religious life was regulated by the standard of the Law of Moses. Any one who seriously broke off from the latter was expelled from the community. Even a philosopher like Philo complains of the depreciation and neglect of the literal sense mentioned by him in the above quotation. With all his skill in the allegorical interpretation, he yet maintained the binding character of the literal sense, nay he attempted to show that all commands, even those relating to ceremonial purity and to food, are based upon reason and nature.

---

* Chelkias and Ananias were the sons of the high priest Onias IV., the founder of the temple of Leontopolis.—A Greek inscription, now in the Berlin Museum, contains a fragment of a decree in honour of a certain *Chelkias* or, as is more probable, his son. All that has survived of the name is the genitive Χελκίου. The subject honoured was στρατηγός, and received as a mark of distinction a golden wreath (see Willrich, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, i. [1900] 48-56). It is possible, but not certain, that this Chelkias is identical with the one mentioned by Josephus.

One principal agency in maintaining the ancestral faith was found in *the regular gatherings in the synagogue on the Sabbath.* It is beyond question that these were held also in the Diaspora in every instance where a community had been organized. According to Philo, 'On the Sabbath day in all cities thousands of houses of instruction are opened, in which understanding and self-restraint and ability and justice and all virtues are taught' (*de Septenario*, § 6 [ed. Mangey, ii. 282]). The apostle Paul, in the course of his journeys in Asia Minor and Greece, found Jewish synagogues everywhere, *e.g.* at Antioch in Pisidia (Ac 13^{14}), Iconium (14^{1}), Philippi ($16^{2.\,3}$), Ephesus ($18^{19.\,26}$ 19^{8}), Thessalonica (17^{1}), Berœa (17^{10}), Athens (17^{17}), Corinth ($18^{4.\,7}$). In the larger cities there were more than one synagogue; at Alexandria there were a great many (Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium*, § 20 [ed. Mangey, ii. 565]: *πολλαὶ δέ εἰσι καθ’ ἕκαστον τμῆμα τῆς πόλεως*).

The *language* used in the synagogue service was undoubtedly as a rule *Greek.* The Church Fathers expressly testify that the Greek Bible was used in the synagogues (Justin, *Apol.* i. 31, *Dial. c. Tryph.* 72; Tertull. *Apol.* 18; Pseudo-Justin, *Cohort. ad Græc.* 13). The Old Testament is familiar to St. Paul in the LXX translation only. It is not therefore likely that the Hebrew and Greek texts were used both together. The prayers and the address were also, it may be regarded as certain, in Greek, for in every instance where this language prevailed the Jews adopted it as their mother tongue. This is shown above all by the tomb-inscriptions. The early period at which the language of the LXX began to exercise a commanding influence on liturgical forms, and especially on the language of prayer, has been recently shown by the above (p. 97^{b}) mentioned imprecatory inscriptions of the island of Rheneia near Delos. These should be dated, in the opinion of epigraphic experts, not later than about B.C. 100. They are couched quite in the style of the LXX (*ἐπικαλοῦμαι καὶ ἀξιῶ τὸν θεὸν τὸν ὕψιστον, τὸν κύριον τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός . . . κύριε ὁ πάντα ἐφορῶν καὶ οἱ ἄνγελοι θεοῦ, ᾧ πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέραι ταπεινοῦται μεθ’ ἱκετείας*). Even the Palestinian Rabbis could not avoid sanctioning the writing of the Scriptures in Greek and the uttering of prayers in the same language. The exceptions not covered by this permission are very trifling (*Mĕgillā*, i. 8; *Ṣôṭā*, vii. 1, 2). For the ordinary prayers (*Shĕma'*, *Shĕmōneh 'Esreh*, and blessing at meals) the employment of any language is expressly sanctioned.

No *sacrificial cultus* was legal, after the Deuteronomic reformation, outside Jerusalem. In spite of this, such a cultus was practised in Egypt for more than two centuries. The occasion of its establishment was the deposition of the ancient high priestly family during the general upheaval under Antiochus Epiphanes. The high priest's son, Onias, having no prospect of gaining his ancestral office at Jerusalem, came to Egypt in the time of Antiochus V. (Eupator) (B.C. 164–162). Here he received a cordial welcome from Ptolemy VI. (Philometor) and his consort Cleopatra. The king placed at his disposal an ancient ruined temple at Leontopolis in the nome of Heliopolis, which had formerly been a sanctuary of the *ἀγρία Βούβαστις*.* This was converted by Onias into a Jewish sanctuary, modelled after the temple at Jerusalem, but smaller and plainer, and with a number of deviations in details. Since there were already priests on the spot in sufficient numbers, a formal Jewish temple-cultus was established, which continued uninterrupted from that date (*c.* B.C. 160) until, after the destruction of Jerusalem, the temple of Leontopolis was also closed by the Romans in the year A.D. 73 (see, in general, Jos. *Ant.* XII. ix. 7, XIII. iii. 1–3, x. 4, XX. x. 3; *BJ* I. i. 1, VII. x. 2–4; *Orac. Sibyll.* v. 429–511). It is true that this cultus was never regarded by the teachers of the Law in Palestine as justifiable, and that the sacrifices offered in the Egyptian temple had only a very limited degree of validity attributed to them (Mishna, *Mĕnāḥôth*, xiii. 10). Nay, even the Egyptian Jews themselves were not satisfied with their own cultus, but kept up their connexion with Jerusalem. They performed the pilgrimages to that city like all other Jews (Philo, *de Providentia*, quoted in Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* viii. 14, 64, ed. Gaisford), and their priests, when they married, always had the genealogy of their wives verified at Jerusalem (Jos. *c. Apion.* i. 7).

Amongst the most important obligations which the Law imposed upon the Jews was that of paying *the manifold dues to the priests and to the temple at Jerusalem*: firstfruits, heave-offering, tithe, firstlings, dues in connexion with baking and killing, offerings on divers occasions, and finally the two drachmæ tax. So far as a due levied on the products of the soil of the *Holy Land* was concerned (firstfruits, heave-offering, tithe), the Jews of the Diaspora were, as a matter of course, exempt. But there remained still enough of performances to which even a Jew living far from Jerusalem was bound, if he meant to be true to his religion. If the dues could not, owing to distance, be paid in kind, they had to be converted into money. All these obligations were, so far as we know, punctiliously and zealously discharged by the far scattered Diaspora. The result of this was the accumulation of immense stores of wealth at the central sanctuary. Josephus (*Ant.* XIV. vii. 2) expressly accounts for these by pointing to the great extent of the Diaspora. Philo gives a detailed account of the collecting and delivery of the money (*de Monarchia*, ii. 3 [ed. Mangey, ii. 224]): 'The temple derives its revenue not merely from a few pieces of land, but from other and much more copious sources, which can never be destroyed. For so long as the human race endures, the temple's sources of revenue will also continue, since their permanence is bound up with that of the whole world. For it is prescribed that all Jews over twenty years of age shall pay annual dues. . . . But, as might be expected in the case of so numerous a people, the dues amount to an enormous sum. *In almost every city there is a receiving office for the sacred funds, into which the dues are paid. And at fixed times men of noble birth are entrusted with the conveyance of the money to Jerusalem.* The noblest are chosen in every city, in order that the hope of every Jew may be transmitted unimpaired. For the hope of the pious is based upon the regular payment of the dues.' In the Euphrates districts the principal treasuries were in the cities of Nisibis and Nehardea. In these the money was first collected and thence transmitted to Jerusalem at a fixed time, many thousands taking charge of its conveyance, in order to protect the sacred treasure from the plundering attacks of the Parthians (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. ix. 1).

---

* Its situation is most precisely defined in Jos. *Ant.* XIII. iii. 2: *τὸ ἐν Λεόντων πόλει τοῦ Ἡλιοπολίτου ἱερὸν συμπεπτωκὸς . . . προσαγορευόμενον δὲ τῆς ἀγρίας Βουβάστεως.* In other passages Josephus says merely that the temple was situated 'in the nome of Heliopolis' (*Ant.* XII. ix. 7, XIII. x. 4, XX. x. 3; *BJ* I. i. 1, VII. x. 3). We have to do, then, not with the better-known Leontopolis, which formed a nome of its own, but with another, which was included in the nome of Heliopolis. The latter lay on the east side of the Delta. In this neighbourhood there are still two mounds, each bearing the name *Tell el-Jehudiyeh* (see Naville, 'The Mound of the Jew and the City of Onias' in *Seventh Memoir of the Egypt. Explor. Fund*, 1890). One of the two will be identical with the foundation of Onias. Naville fixes upon the one farthest south, on account of its being nearer to Heliopolis. The more northern one, however, seems to the present writer the likelier site, because there are evidences of the Bubastis cult at it. See also above, p. 96^{a}.

The transmission of such large sums to Jerusalem repeatedly gave rise to collisions with the Roman and municipal authorities. Flaccus, during his administration of the Province of Asia, prevented the money being sent, and municipal authorities were constantly inclined to do the same. But the Roman legislation subsequent to the time of Cæsar protected the religious liberty of the Jews in this as in other matters (see above, p. 103). After the destruction of the temple, the payment of sacred dues necessarily underwent transformation. The two drachmæ tax was converted into a Roman tax; other dues which depended upon the continued existence of the temple could not, in the nature of things, be paid any longer. But even under these circumstances the Jewish people, by voluntary self-taxation, continued to assert their unity. A new central authority, the Patriarchate, was created, to which at least a portion of the prescribed sacred dues was paid every year. The collecting of these was now accomplished by deputies of the Patriarchate, the so-called *apostoli*.

The principal means of maintaining an exchange of thought between the mother country and the Diaspora, and of furthering and maintaining a close fellowship between the two, was found in the frequent *festival pilgrimages* made by Jews from all parts of the world to Jerusalem. 'Many thousands from many thousand cities journeyed to the temple at every festival, some by land and some by sea, from east and west, from north and south' (Philo, *de Monarchia*, ii. 1 [ed. Mangey, ii. 223]). The number of Jews ordinarily present at Jerusalem at the feasts is reckoned by Josephus at 2,700,000, a number which, indeed, also includes the permanent population of Jerusalem (*BJ* VI. ix. 3).

While the Jews scattered all over the world thus held fast to the religion of their fathers, and that in the legal form it had received through the Restoration under Ezra, they had become in other respects *Greeks*. Greek culture asserted its supremacy in a decisive fashion here, as elsewhere. In Asia Minor, Greece, Egypt, Cyrenaica, nay even at Rome, Greek was the mother tongue of the Jews. All the relics of writing that have come down to us from the Diaspora during the last centuries B.C. and the first centuries A.D. are in Greek. This is true especially of the tomb-inscriptions, whose evidence is of importance because they are concerned not only with the rich and noble, but with the poor and humble (see above, § i., for the most important materials under this head). These tomb-inscriptions are at the same time a faithful mirror of the stage of culture that prevailed in the communities. The Greek of the tomb-inscriptions at Rome is barbarous, and shows, what might otherwise have been supposed, that the Jews here remained for the most part at a low social level. In other places the inscriptions of various kinds that have survived reveal a higher degree of culture.

It was in *Egypt* that the Jews most thoroughly assimilated the Greek culture. Here, as is shown by the case of Philo, they read the Greek poets and philosophers; Homer, Sophocles, and Euripides; Plato, Aristotle, and Zeno. All this could not, as a matter of course, be without far-reaching influence upon their whole intellectual life. Their conception of the world and of life, in spite of their adherence to legal Judaism, was powerfully influenced in its contents by Greek culture. The literature produced by Hellenistic, especially Alexandrian, Judaism is, in consequence, of an extremely varied character. It serves, on the one hand, religious ends, the defence and propagation of Judaism (Apologetics and Propaganda); and, on the other hand, it follows Greek models in History, Poetry, and Philosophy. So far as poetical art is concerned, it was indeed somewhat meagrely represented. The extant fragments of Greek dramas and Greek epics treating of biblical subjects can scarcely be said to be marked by any high poetic strain (see the fragments of a drama treating of the story of the Exodus from Egypt by the tragedian Ezekiel *ap.* Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* ix. 28, 29; and the fragments of an epic on the history of Jerusalem by the elder Philo *ap.* Euseb. *ib.* ix. 20, 24, 37). In philosophy, however, the Jews made very notable achievements. Greek philosophy had indeed advanced far on the way towards monotheism. It had also, as represented by many of its teachers, an ethical cast. Hence the Jews discovered here many elements which were capable of assimilation by them. These they adopted with remarkable powers of adaptation; and in this way, by combining the religious world-conception of the Old Testament with the philosophic world-conception of the Greeks, they created a new unique philosophy of religion which was as much Jewish as Greek. A clear picture of this is given us by the writings of the Alexandrian Philo, which have come down to us in great numbers.

The adoption of Greek culture enabled the Jews again for their part to exercise an influence on their heathen environments. From all that we know, they carried on a vigorous and successful propaganda. Those whom they gained over were either formally received into the communities by circumcision, or they attached themselves to them in a loose form 'as God-fearing' (*σεβόμενοι, φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν*), forming a kind of appendage to the communities (see art. PROSELYTE in vol. iv.). This Jewish propaganda served in great measure as a preliminary to Christianity. In general the Jewish Diaspora, as was remarked at the beginning of the present article, paved the way along which the first preachers of the gospel went forth into the world, and in many ways laid the foundation of the rapid success of their preaching.

[*Additional Note* to § i. (5).—The early settlement of Jews in Alexandria is confirmed also by an inscription, discovered in 1902 in the neighbourhood of Alexandria, which reads thus: Ὑπὲρ *βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης Βερενίκης ἀδελφῆς καὶ γυναικὸς καὶ τῶν τέκνων τὴν προσευχὴν ὁ Ἰουδαῖοι* (see *REJ* xlv. [1902] p. 162). The inscription refers in all probability to Ptolemy III. Euergetes (247–222 B.C.)].

LITERATURE.—Remond, *Versuch einer Gesch. der Ausbreit. des Judenthums von Cyrus bis auf den gänzlichen Untergang des Jüdischen Staats*, Leipzig, 1789; Gieseler, *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, Bd. i. Abth. 1 (4 Aufl. 1844), p. 53 ff.; Winer, *RWB*^{2}, art. 'Exil' (i. 357–360), and 'Zerstreuung' (ii. 727–730), also the articles on particular cities, *e.g.* 'Alexandria,' 'Antiochia,' 'Cyrene,' 'Rom,' etc.; J. G. Müller, art. 'Alexandrinische Juden' in Herzog's *RE*^{1} i. [1854] 235–239; Reuss, art. 'Hellenisten,' *ib.*^{1} v. 701–705, ^{2}v. 738–741; Lutterbeck, *Die Neutest. Lehrbegriffe*, i. [1852] 99–120; Frankel, 'Die Diaspora zur Zeit des zweiten Tempels' in *Monatsschr. für Gesch. und Wissensch. des Judenthums*, 1853, pp. 409–429, 449–463, also the same author's art. 'Die Juden unter den ersten römischen Kaisern,' *ib.* 1854, pp. 401–413, 439–450; Jost, *Gesch. der Israeliten*, ii. 239–344, *Gesch. des Judenthums und seiner Secten*, i. 336 ff., 344–361, 367–379; Herzfeld, *Gesch. des Volkes Jisrael*, iii. 425–579, *Handelsgeschichte der Juden des Alterthums*, 1879; Grätz, *Gesch. der Juden*^{4}, iii. [1888] 24–49; Champagny, *Rome et la Judée au temps de la chute de Néron*, i. [Paris, 1865] 107–154; Ewald, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, iv. 305 ff., v. 108 ff., vi. 396 ff.; Holtzmann in Weber-Holtzmann's *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, ii. 38–52, 253–273; Hausrath, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*^{2}, ii. 91–145, iii. 383–392; Neubauer, *La Géographie du Talmud*, 1868, pp. 289–419; Friedländer, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengesch. Roms*, iii. [1871] 504–517, also 'de Judæorum Coloniis,' Regimonti Pr., 1876 [Progr.]; Deutsch, art. 'Dispersion' in Kitto's *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*; Westcott, art. 'Dispersion' in Smith's *DB*^{2}; Weizsäcker, art. 'Zerstreuung' in Schenkel's *Bibellexicon*, v. 712–716; Hindekoper, *Judaism at Rome* B.C. 76 *to* A.D. 140, New York, 1876 (cf. *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1877, col. 163); Hamburger, *RE für Bibel und Talmud*, Abth. ii. (1883), arts. 'Zehn Stämme,' 'Zerstreuung,' also 'Alexandria,' 'Antiochia,' 'Rom,' etc., further, art. 'Ausbreitung des Judenthums' in Supplementbd. iii. [1892] 9–24; Mommsen, *Röm. Gesch.* v. [1885] 489–499; Pressel, *Die Zerstreuung des Volkes Israel*, 1889; Renan, *Histoire du peuple d'Israel*, v. [1893] 221–247; M. Friedländer, *Das Judenthum in der vorchristlichen griechischen Welt*, 1897; Reinach, art. 'Judæi' in Daremberg-Saglio's *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines*; Schürer, *GJV*^{3}, iii. [1898] 1–102 [*HJP*, II. ii. 219–327], where a number of points are discussed in fuller detail.

E. SCHÜRER.

RELIGION OF GREECE AND ASIA MINOR.—

Introduction.
A. PRIMITIVE ANATOLIAN AND PRE-HELLENIC RELIGION.
I. Sacred Stones and other Inanimate Objects: (1) stones, pillars, columns, etc.; (2) thrones; (3) weapons; (4) wooden posts.
II. Sacred Trees.
III. Sacred Animals: (1) animals as parts of the god; (2) the bull; (3) the goat; (4) the sheep; (5) the horse; (6) the swine; (7) the bee; (8) the sacredness of domesticated animals; (9) domesticated animals as sacrifice; (10) the lion, the stag; (11) the serpent; (12) sacredness of wild animals.
IV. Sacred Places: (1) mountains; (2) sacred caves and mountain glens; (3) sacred springs and lakes; (4) development of the sacred place into a religious centre or *Hieron*; (5) sacred places in the religion of Greece.
V. Relation of the original *aniconic* religion to image-worship: (1) coexistence of the two kinds of worship; (2) votive images and representations of the Deity; (3) shrines (*naoi*).
VI. The Divine in human form and character: (1) the Great Mother; (2) the growth of mythology as the story of the Great Mother; (3) myths of the goddess and the god; (4) the birth and death of the Divine nature.
VII. Ritual and Ceremonial: (1) the origin of ritual; (2) the Mysteries; (3) nature of the Mysteries; (4) the character of the Phrygian and the Greek Mysteries; (5) the growth of ritual; (6) purification; (7) confession; (8) approaching the Deity; (9) priests; (10) *hieroi*.
VIII. Influence on Society and Life: (1) marriage; (2) *hierodouloi*; (3) women guards; (4) self-mutilation; (5) burial; (6) brotherhoods and guilds; (7) government and administration; (8) household *protegés*; (9) religious influences on social conditions.
IX. History and Chronology: (1) development of the Anatolian Religion in history; (2) local diversity in Anatolian Religion; (3) chronology.
B. THE HELLENIC RELIGION.
I. Early Greek Religion.
II. Greek Religion and Greek Law.
III. The Elements of Hellenic Religion.
IV. The Growth of Hellenic Religion: (1) continuity of development; (2) growth of mythology; (3) polytheism and the Hellenic unity; (4) formation of the Hellenic Pantheon; (5) the Hellenic Religion an ideal; (6) theory of the Hellenic Pantheon; (7) moralization of the Hellenic gods; (8) the Daimones and the Divine in the physical world; (9) restrictions on the nature of the gods; (10) State gods and gods within the State; (11) extension of the worship of a god; (12) State recognition of the Pan-Hellenic Religion; (13) the Hellenic Religion a part of the City-State; (14) the Hellenic conception of piety.
V. The Hellenic classification of deities as Olympian and Chthonian: (1) Hellenism and the thought of death; (2) the Olympian and the Chthonian gods.
VI. The Religion of Apollo and the Delphic Oracle (L. R. F.).
C. LATER DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGION IN THE GREEK WORLD.
I. Religion in Literature and Philosophy.
II. The attitude of St. Paul to Greek Philosophy.
III. Degradation of the Hellenic Religion: (1) foreign influence; (2) susceptibility to foreign religious influence; (3) manner in which foreign religion entered Greece; (4) itinerant priests; (5) magic; (6) the worship of living men as deities.
IV. Religion of the Græco-Asiatic cities.
V. Decay and death of the Hellenic Religion.
Literature.

The religion of the Greek peoples and of the races which lay between Hellas and the strictly Oriental nations, in communication with both, influencing and influenced by both, is a subject which can hardly be omitted in a survey of the religions which came into immediate relation to Christianity in the earliest stage of its history; and yet it is a subject which at the present time is hardly susceptible of adequate treatment within narrow space. The antiquities of the most notable Hellenic cults have been much investigated, though not always in a very intelligent fashion or with a proper conception of the religious bearing of the details so carefully and laboriously collected. Hence the religious ideas and conceptions entertained by the various tribes of Greece, often differing widely from one another, have hardly been sufficiently observed and studied in their gradual evolution; and, in fact, evidence is so scanty in regard to most of them, that it is doubtful if the attempt could be successful.

If the religion of the strictly Greek tribes is still very obscure, much more is this the case with what may be called the half-Greek peoples* of Asia Minor. This is a subject still almost unstudied, or studied occasionally, in a haphazard way, partially, and as a sort of appendix to the religion of Greece proper. This way of entering on the study, under the bias and colouring influence of Greek prepossession, is, we believe, injurious, and has caused much misapprehension. One should rather begin the study of Greek religion from Asia Minor, both as being more primitive in many of its forms, and as having sent into Greece a series of religious waves which strongly affected that country. At a later period the Greek influence returned over Asia Minor, and overran it in a superficial way; but this new period in religion was broadly different, and easily distinguishable from the older and truly Anatolian period. It is necessary to begin afresh in that country, to collect and classify and value the religious facts, and on this basis to give an account of the religion of the peoples; but that is a great work, which is far too large for the narrow limits of an article. Probably the most useful way at present will be to state as simply and clearly as possible the views which the writer is disposed to hold, avoiding disputation and argument, and therefore making little reference to discrepant views, except where such reference is the shortest way of stating the subject clearly. This gives unavoidably an appearance of dogmatism, which the writer can only apologize for as the necessary result of the attempt to make the subject clear in small space: if the views of others were stated, either the article would become a confusing congeries of irreconcilable theories, or it would grow too large in estimating and discussing other views. It is also necessary to explain that the writer's views are founded on a far from complete survey of the facts, and are liable to correction, doubtless, in many details, if the opportunity should ever be granted him of writing a complete account of Anatolian religion; but the general principles are the result of more than twenty years of interest and occasional study, and are not likely to be much changed by further thought.*

---

* On the meaning which we attach to this term 'half-Greek,' see the following paragraph.

The phrase 'half-Greek races' is not used in an ethnological sense in this article. It does not imply a mixture of Greek and non-Greek blood in any race. It is employed to indicate a gradual shading off of character, as one proceeds from Greece proper towards the East. The view which we take is that even the tribes of Greece proper were far from uniform in blood and stock. The Hellenic idea and civilization which those tribes evolved was far too many-sided to arise among a homogeneous nation: there were combined in its composition a great variety of characteristics contributed by various tribes of very diverse character, nursed and matured amid the peculiar circumstances of the seas and lands that touch and mingle in south-eastern Europe and Asia Minor. The lands that border on the Ægean Sea were pre-eminently the nursing-home of Hellenism, and the further we go from it the more faint and evanescent become the traces of the Greek spirit. Hellenism is only partially a racial fact; it denotes also a general type of intellectual and political development, of industrial education and artistic achievement.

The point of view from which we start may be stated in outline as follows. (1) The religion of the Anatolian race or races, in its origin, was to a considerable extent an idealized presentation of the actual life of the time, exhibiting a Divine model and authorization for the existing customs and institutions in family and society and the State as a whole.

(2) Their religion was the authority for the laws and rules on which rested their industry and agriculture and general well-being. Perhaps it originally taught those rules to a simple people, in which case the knowledge embodied in them probably belonged at one time to the priests alone. Certainly, the sanction for the rules was religious: the violation of them was punished by the Divine power through sickness, whether disease of any part of the body or the general indefinite fact of fever, which was considered to be a consuming of the body and strength by Divine fire.

(3) The Divine power was the ruler of the people, acting through its visible representatives, namely, the kings or priests: there is every probability that the king was the priest: the priest-kings or priest-dynasts are a most characteristic feature of Anatolia.

This is obviously the religion of a comparatively civilized people, not of a barbarous race. And it must be distinctly understood from the outset that we are not investigating the origin of the religious forms which are described in the following pages: we are attempting to understand clearly and state precisely the religious ideas of a population, possessing an ordered system of government of a peculiar and well-marked character, surrounded by many equipments and devices and implements of an artificial and developed character, practising both agriculture and a very highly developed system of treating domesticated animals and adapting them to the benefit of mankind.

A question of extreme interest and importance is, how far any signs of progress and development can be observed in the religion which we are studying. It may be doubted whether there can be detected anything in the way of growth from within, of elevation of the religious idea and of the moral standard in the application of religion to life, such as is the most striking feature in the history of Hebrew religion. On the whole, the history is one of deterioration and degradation rather than one of elevation. Any improvement that does take place seems rather attributable to, and fully explained by, the meeting of different races with different religious ideas corresponding to their differing social and family organization; and is probably not caused by any mind working from within the religion, unfolding and vitalizing the germs of truth which it contained, and burning away the envelope and accretion of accidental idolatrous forms that clung to it. We use intentionally these last words, for it will appear that the fundamental and essential idea in the Anatolian religion is not strictly idolatrous, and that the development in polytheism and image-worship was gradual, and was external and accidental rather than natural and necessary.

A. *PRIMITIVE ANATOLIAN AND PRE-HELLENIC RELIGION.*—In treating this subject, reference must often be made to primitive Greek, or, as it may be called, Pelasgian worship (anticipating part B, §§ I, II), which illustrates the Anatolian religion so remarkably as to demonstrate that some intimate relation once existed between them. We must here simply assume the relationship without inquiring into its nature.

I. SACRED STONES AND OTHER INANIMATE OBJECTS.—As a preliminary, we may ask what traces of the worship of inanimate things can be observed in Asia Minor or Greece, and what is the idea involved in this worship? Many examples are known of such things being regarded with deep religious veneration.

(1) *Stones, Pillars, Columns*, etc.—A rude and shapeless stone, which had fallen from heaven (διοπετής), doubtless a meteorite, existed originally at Pessinus, and was brought to Rome about B.C. 204; it is a type of many other similar stones at Orchomenos, Thespiæ, Synnada, Adada, etc. Many of these stones had some approximate regularity of shape, sometimes perhaps accidental, in other cases distinctly due to human workmanship. Such were the conical or roughly pyramidal stones in the temples at Paphos (of Aphrodite), Perga (Artemis), Delphi (Apollo), etc.: obelisks, columns, and stones of a distinctly tetragonal shape are indicated in many other cases: above all other gods in Greece such stones or pillars were connected with Hermes, and called *Hermaia* or *Hermai.**

It admits of no doubt that many sacred stones had primarily a purpose in family life or social or political organization. Boundary stones or *termini* were erected by mutual agreement between disputants, and were consecrated by every religious sanction known at the time, by ceremonial, and by a curse on the violator or remover; and the belief indubitably was that the ceremonies of erection and consecration had caused Divine power and life to take up its abode in the stone: this Divine power demanded worship in recognition and propitiation, and was able and ready to punish neglect or violation. The *terminus* was valueless unless it was respected and inviolate: human need was urgent that it should be respected, but mere human power was unable to make it so: accordingly, the Divine power was invoked to supply the deficiency, and by proper rites was brought down and caused to dwell in the pillar or the stone. One of the ceremonies proper to the cult of such sacred stones was the pouring of oil on them; and in general a similar ceremonial to that described in § II was practised. Similarly, in a house any peculiarly important bearing member, a central pillar or roof-tree, was placed under Divine protection by invoking the Divine power to reside in it.

---

* In the *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i. and ii., the present writer was groping his way to the views now expressed in part A. A considerable portion of part B was written in 1879-81, and needed hardly any change to adapt it to the writer's present views. In view of recent theories it should be added that the view here advocated, as to the way in which pre-Hellenic religion developed into Hellenic, remains practically unchanged since 1881, but the name 'Pelasgian' was not used in that old sketch of the subject.

* μεθόριον στησάμενοι τὸ Ἑρμαῖον (Polyænus, *Strat.* vi. 24); τὸ Ἑρμαῖον ἐς ὃ Μεσσηνίοις καὶ Μεγαλοπολίταις εἰσὶν ὅροι (Pausanias, viii. 34. 6). These *Hermaia* were columns, or heaps of stones, or single stones. A useful collection of ancient authorities will be found in Mr. M. W. de Visser's treatise, *de Græcorum diis non referentibus humanam speciem*, Leyden, 1900.

In all cases there is but one method and one principle. The more urgent man's need is, and the more important for his life and well-being any stone or erection is, the more does it become necessary to make the Divine power take up its abode in the stone. In other words, the stone becomes a *Beth-el*, or 'House of God'; the pillar embodies the god Hermes.

The subject in its bearing on early Greek religion has been admirably treated by Mr. A. J. Evans in an elaborate paper on 'Mycenæan Tree and Pillar Cult' (*Journ. of Hell. Stud.* 1901, pp. 99–203), which will henceforth be regarded as fundamental in this department, though it will doubtless receive development and improvement and correction in details from both the author and others. The preceding remarks will show why the objection recently raised against Mr. Evans' theory in *Journ. of Hell. Stud.* 1901, pp. 268–275, cannot weigh with us: the objection is that many of his examples of 'sacred pillars' are obviously structural members, and need not therefore be considered to have any religious purpose: we, however, hold that the structural importance produced the sacred character of the 'pillar.' The sacredness of rude purposeless stones was perhaps due to 'false analogy,' that fruitful agency in thought, and should be regarded as not primitive, but cases of degradation.

Probably no one could doubt that the rude meteoric stone was worshipped because it had fallen from heaven, and was obviously and unmistakably a mark and sign and example of Divine activity and power. Similarly, it seems beyond doubt that the boundary stone, or the supporting member of the family home and roof, is made into a dwelling-place of Divine power, in order that human needs may be satisfied by Divine aid. The same principle of interpretation must be applied in many other cases where the stone was neither in itself an object useful to man, nor marked by its natural character and origin as Divine. It was often urgently necessary to protect a locality for the common use of men, and this was done in a similar way by setting up one or more sacred stones in it; but in such cases the sacred stone was an addition, and not an integral part of the structure or equipment.

In a town it was urgently required that the street, the common property and a necessary convenience for all, should be inviolate and properly kept and respected by the dwellers or passers-by. The common need was guaranteed by the sacred *Hermai* or pillars, which were made the residence of Divine power by charming it into them through the proper rites; and misdemeanour in the street or encroachment on it was thus constituted a disrespect of the divinity, and punished by him.

In a more developed state of society, roads leading from city to city were probably put under Divine protection in a similar way; and the sacred stones were commonly made useful to human requirements by having distances engraved on them, thus becoming milestones.* But such stones generally belonged to a more advanced stage of thought, when men refused to consider a stone the abode of Divine power. On the Roman Imperial roads they were dedicated to the Emperor, and thus placed under the guardianship of the Imperial god incarnate in human form on the earth. The god and the stone are in this stage separated in thought, but the stone remains sacred in a new way as the property of the god.

A meeting of three roads or streets, as an important point, was placed under the guardianship of the Divine power. When the anthropomorphic tendency had become strong, the Divine guardian of the triple crossing was represented as the goddess (under the name Hekate in Greece) with three faces, looking to the three ways (just as in Italy the god protecting the archway and the door was represented with two faces looking in the two directions). But before the anthropomorphic idea had gained full strength, there was doubtless some other way of symbolizing the Divine guardianship of the meeting of the ways; and the suggestion seems obvious that the symbol was the *triskeles*, three human legs and feet, diverging from a common centre, and typifying the walking of men along the three ways which radiated from the meeting-place (*compitum*). Little is known with regard to this form of cultus, except in Rome, where the feast of the *Compitalia* was an important part of the city-religion; but few will doubt that, as streets and roads became important, a cultus corresponding to the *Compitalia* developed in primitive Anatolia. In the coinage of Anatolia the *triskeles* is almost entirely confined to the cities least affected by Hellenic culture, in Pisidia, Isauria, and early or inner Lycia. Moreover, the epithets τρικάρανος, τετρακάρανος, applied to Hekate-Selene, are doubtless to be understood as applying to the goddess who guards the *trivium* or the *quadrivium*.*

It may therefore be reasonably maintained that in many other places, where we know only that in primitive thought a stone was regarded as sacred and made the object of worship in the Greek world, the fundamental character was the same. The stone was worshipped as home and symbol and proof of Divine power—a power able and ready to respond to human needs. See also below, (2), and § IV (1).

As Greek thought developed in the direction of anthropomorphism and polytheism, there arose an opinion that the old sacred stone was either a representation and image of a god, the rudest beginning of a statue, or an altar dedicated to the god. Such views seem not to be original and genuine religious conceptions, but merely philosophic interpretations by which more developed thought tried to bring primitive religious facts into conformity with itself. Thus the pillars, mentioned above, in streets and open places, which were originally called *agyiai* or *agyieis*, were regarded as altars or representations of a Deity, sometimes Helios, sometimes Dionysos, but most commonly Apollo; and *Agyieus* was then usually regarded as an epithet of Apollo. The Greeks themselves hesitated whether to call the pillars altars or statues of Apollo, a sure proof that neither description was complete and true. The pillars or stones in open places and gymnasia, by roads, at boundaries, originally and commonly styled *Hermai*, *i.e.* embodiments of Hermes, came to be regarded rather as statues of Hermes, and were developed accordingly in art, as we shall see in the ensuing paragraph.

The institution of sacred stones was modified by another influence. Art was engaged in the service of the anthropomorphic tendency in religion, and wrought out ideal expression in human form of the various gods: the types of gods and goddesses were elaborated, and distinguished from one another, in the ruder stage to a considerable extent by symbols and equipments, but in the more developed and perfected stage by the varying artistic expression of the idealized conception of each deity as an individual character. Alongside of this rapid progress in the artistic presentation of different types of Divine character as different personal gods in human form, there was another line of development, through which the sacred pillars (which still continued to be erected in numbers during this more developed period) were made to assume more resemblance to the human form. The top of the pillar was carved into a bust, and parts of the body were indicated on the sides: such figures were commonly called *Hermai*, and Greek art developed the type at a later time in various ways, making the busts portraits of real human persons. In all such cases art takes the view that the pillar is a rude statue of some deity or hero, and makes additions or modifications to bring out this character more clearly.

---

* Curtius, *Gesch. des griech. Wegebaus.*

* See *Hermes*, iv. p. 64; Ramsay, *Hist. Com. on Galatians*, p. 219.

The epithet of meteoric stones, διοπετής, was sometimes transferred to certain very archaic statues, about which the legend grew that they had fallen from heaven: such was the case with the rude figure of barely human form in which Artemis of Ephesus was represented (Ac 19^{35}). The nature of those rude old idols will be more fully considered in § III (1) and § V (1).

(2) *Thrones.*—The ancients mention many stones in Greece which were said to derive their sacred character from having been the seat of deities or heroes (who in these cases may usually be regarded as deities degenerated in popular legend). Such were the Agelastos Petra at Eleusis (or at Athens) on which Demeter sat sorrowing for her lost Kora,* or, as another legend said, where Theseus sat before descending to Hades; the chair of Manto at Thebes, the stone of Telamon at Salamis, etc. The bed of Actæon at Platæa and various other stones may be classed with these. The Omphalos at Delphi is often represented with Apollo sitting on it.

In Asia Minor there are examples of rocks cut to the rough form of a seat. The 'Throne of Pelops' in Sipylus beside Magnesia (Pausanias, v. 13. 7) is probably to be identified with the rock-cutting, forming a sort of broad seat, or platform with a back, on the highest point of an early rock citadel on the slope of Sipylus, about 4 or 5 miles east of Magnesia.

Dr. Reichel has elaborated these facts into a theory of Throne-worship: viz., that the Divine nature, not yet represented in personal human form, was symbolized by the throne or seat, which was regarded as an indication of its presence.

Some of Dr. Reichel's examples of Divine thrones rest on his own far-fetched and almost certainly erroneous explanations;† in other cases the recorded story about a Divine or heroic throne may be only a later popular explanation of an older religious fact, no longer understood. But whether that aspect of his theory is only pressed too far and applied to unsuitable cases, or whether it is wholly erroneous, there is, at any rate, another and a true side to his theory. He is right in his view that before the period of images and image-worship we must admit the existence of an imageless worship in the Ægean lands and Asia Minor generally: a Divine power invisible to man was approached and adored; it was felt in the phenomena of the world, in the growth and life and productivity of nature; its presence and power were symbolized and envisaged to its worshippers in various ways, but the symbols were not considered as images or likenesses of that Divine nature, but rather as its home or residence, or as an effect and exemplification of its power. The statement of Nicol. Dam. *Synag. fr.* 19 (p. 148), and Stobæus, *Serm.* xlii. p. 292, that the Phrygians did not swear or exact from another an oath (by any god), probably has some reference to this belief in a Divine nature without images.* On this topic see further, § V (1).

Dr. Reichel has erred, as we believe, only in the direction in which he has developed a correct observation. It was not the seat or throne of the formless and invisible Divine nature that was in the beginning worshipped; for the very idea of a seat already involves the attribution of something like form and personality to the power which needs and uses a seat. The fundamental idea was that of the home and abode, or the origin of Divine power. Out of this springs all the symbolism and all the earlier phenomena of Anatolian religious observances. The sacred stone or the sacred tree is the home of the Divine nature: the cave among the wild mountains, the simple shrine, are easy developments of the same idea.†

(3) *Weapons.*—Other inanimate objects besides stones were made the object of worship. The Alani, a rude barbarian tribe south-east of the Black Sea, are said to have worshipped a naked *sword*, which they fixed for the occasion in the ground. This might be disregarded as a savage custom which had come in from Central Asia, were it not that one of the reliefs—among the most important, to judge from its size—portrayed on the walls of the *adytum* before the eyes of the initiated at Boghaz-Keui (Pteria probably), east of the Halys,‡ represents a gigantic sword stuck in the ground, with only the hilt and a small part of the blade protruding. The hilt in itself is evidently a symbol or representative of Divine power, composed of two pairs of animals, evidently lions, surmounted by a human head wearing the tall pointed hat characteristic of the supreme god. It is therefore not open to doubt that the custom of the Alani in the 4th cent. after Christ was the same as the ancient Anatolian custom. We see clearly that the sword was regarded not as a god in and for itself, but as a symbol of a vague pervading Divine power. That power resides mainly in the hilt, not in the blade, and is moulded not altogether unlike the human form, and yet differing essentially from it, full of the terror and strength of savage nature embodied in the four lions, but human-headed.

If some tribes worshipped the sword, others regarded the *battle-axe* as sacred. The difference obviously arises from difference of warlike custom: the weapon to which the tribe trusted especially in battle was esteemed by it the home of the Divine strength by which they conquered and hoped to conquer. In Caria and in Crete the axe appears as a Divine symbol. We may confidently assume that it was made the object of a special cult, like the Sword-god among the Alani. Though this is not exactly proved definitely by the evidence, yet the importance of the Carian name *Labrys* (*bipennis*, 'battle-axe') in Carian religion leaves little doubt on the point: Labranda was one of the chief centres of the worship of the Carian god, who was actually called *Labraundos*,§ and one of the Kouretes in Carian mythology was Labrandos.[*] But, even more unmistakably than the sword, the axe was a symbol of a Divine power felt as lying behind it and expressing itself through it, and not as a power or a terror in itself. The god carrying the battle-axe on his shoulder is one of the most familiar and widely diffused symbols in east Lydian and west Phrygian coinage.[†]

---

* A similar stone and legend probably existed in Asia Minor; and a Christian form was given to it later; see *Journ. of Hell. Stud.* 1882, p. 349.

† See A. J. Evans in *Journ. of Hell. Stud.* 1901, p. 189; Fritze in *Rhein. Museum*, 1900, p. 588.

* The Pontic oath by Men Pharnakes (Strabo, p. 557) is later (cf. p. 128); but see Roscher, *Selene*, p. 122.

† On the shrine see § V (3); on the sacred cave, § IV (2).

‡ See Perrot, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, iv. pp. 642, 647; Chantre, *Voyage en Cappadoce*, gives the latest account.

§ Hellenized as *Zeus Labraundos*.

We notice that the worship of the axe belongs to the Carians, a people who beyond doubt were an immigrant race; and we shall see among them some examples of divergence from the Anatolian type of religion (see § VI (2)). The worship of the axe must be regarded as also a divergence from that type; and, in accordance with the principle stated at the beginning of the article, this divergence is to be attributed to the character of the Carian race. In the same way the worship of the sword, though traceable in the religion of the central plateau in the earliest period known to us, is probably a development out of the original Anatolian type due to pressure from the east and north-east. The east Anatolian type of cultus is of a much more bellicose type than the central Anatolian (see § IX (2)), and the reason indubitably lies in the rough and warlike character of the tribes on that side, such as the Kardouchoi, modern Kurds, etc.

(4) *Wooden posts.*—A rude wooden post was sometimes worshipped in a way similar to the more common sacred stone. The Divinity at Samos was originally symbolized by a wooden plank; and in the more anthropomorphic development, when the Divinity had come to be thought of as the goddess Hera, this plank was called the earliest statue of her. Many other similar stumps of wood experienced the same development in anthropomorphic thought.

In origin some, and probably most, of those sacred stumps or planks were holy trees, decayed and dead;[‡] and they strictly fall under § II. But in other cases the original was a wooden pillar or column, the support of a chamber or house, and falls under the class described above, § I (1); this was clearly the case with the Dionysos Kadmos at Thebes, described by Pausanias, ix. 12. 4 (which de Visser, p. 88, has aptly illustrated from Diod. Sic. I. xxiii. 4).

II. SACRED TREES.—The worship of sacred trees is one of the most widely spread religious phenomena in the early Greek world. The ancient Homeric hymn to the Aphrodite of the Troad (264–272) mentions that the life of the mountain nymphs, who shall nurse the goddess's son, is associated with the life of the sacred trees, which man may not cut down; and that, when a tree withers and dies, the nymph dies with it. The oaks of Dodona were Divine, and the sound of the motion of their branches was the voice of the god declaring his will and revealing the future to men. The bay tree of Apollo, the olive of Athena, and many others, had doubtless the same origin. In later time the popular legend often attached itself to such trees, that they had been planted by some hero or Divine figure (so with two oaks at Heraclea in Pontus), or in some other fashion they were involved in his life-history (a frequent form being that the god or hero or heroine had been suspended from the tree).[§]

The worship of the tree was conducted on precisely the same plan as that of the image in later times. It was clothed, crowned, adorned;[*] processions were made to it, sacrifices were burnt to it, and meat-offerings laid before it. People prayed to it and kissed it (Ov. *Met.* vii. 631). It was impious to go beneath it without the proper rites (Ov. *Fast.* iv. 749). It was wrong to pass it without some token of respect (Apul. *Flor.* 1). The fall of a holy tree was a very bad omen; and in Rome on such an occasion an *exauguratio* was performed, as there had originally been an *inauguratio* (Plin. *HN* xv. 20).

Dedication of the *hair* has always been the greatest sign of devotion to any deity; boys dedicated their hair on entering manhood, brides before marriage, married women at the birth of a child; and in Delos it was customary for boys and bridal couples to dedicate their hair under the olive tree that grew on the grave of Hyperoche and Laodice.

The sacred tree was the pledge of the presence and favour of the god, and on it therefore depended the prosperity of the family, tribe, or State which worshipped it. Such belief is seen in reference to the fig tree in the Roman forum,[†] or the olive in the Acropolis at Athens; and when the latter put forth a new shoot after the burning of the city by the Persians, the people knew that the safety of the city was assured. A piece of the sacred tree was a pledge of security to the Argo and to the fleet of Æneas (*Æn.* ix. 92). The fate of Megara depended on an olive tree (Plin. *HN* xvi. 72).

The tree, then, was on earth the embodiment or the home of Divine life; and the life of man in some forms of belief was connected with a tree during his earthly existence and passed into it at his death. Like the gods, men are often said to be born from trees. Hesiod's third race of men were born from ash trees, and Meleager's life depended on a piece of wood. Ares was born from Hera and a plant (see below, § VI (2)). Talos and Adonis were born from trees. Most instructive are the cases in which the tree is said to have grown out of the hero's grave. Such was the plane tree on the tomb of Amycus in Bithynia: Amycus had opposed and fought with all strangers; and if any part of his tree was taken on board a ship, there ensued constant quarrelling, until his influence was got rid of by throwing away the bough. Here the tree is evidently the embodiment of the spirit of the dead person. There was generally a fountain beside the tree, as at Dodona and Aulis.

Moreover, transformation into a tree was equivalent to translation to the company of the gods: and the tree became then a sacred pledge for posterity, the prototype of the later hero-chapel. The plants and trees which grew on the grave were the life of the buried human being. Phemonoe, the first Pythia, foretold that from her dead body would spring herbs which would give to animals that ate them the power of showing the future by the state of their entrails. Thus she would live on with men. And, similarly, the plants on graves made a connexion between the deceased and this world: an Athenian law (Ael. *Var. Hist.* 5. 17) punished with death any one who cut a holm-oak growing in a sepulchral ground (*heroon*). From this sprung the later custom of planting gardens in cemeteries. Many passages in literature allude to the sympathy between the dead man and the trees or plants on his grave. On that of Protesilaus grew plane trees, whose twigs pointed towards Troy, and whose leaves fell sooner than those of any tree around.[‡]

The belief in holy trees has lasted, probably unbroken, in Anatolia through Christian times down to the present day. In the *Acta* of St. Philetærus[*] a grove of tall cypress trees at a place in Mysia called Poketos, on the road from Nicæa and the Rhyndacus to Cyzicus, is mentioned as the chief seat of local pagan rites in the 4th cent.; the reference probably proves that the grove existed or was still remembered when the *Acta*, a late composition but embodying a real local tradition, took form. An inscription of Sandal (Satala in the Lydian Katakekaumene) mentions the punishment inflicted in the form of disease by the gods Sabazios and Anaitis Artemis on a man who had cut their trees; and the Mohammedans still believe that disease will afflict any one who cuts the trees on a neighbouring hillock.[†] Sacred trees were hung with garlands, just as at the present day rags and scraps of garments are tied by Mohammedans to sacred trees in many parts of Asia Minor, though this practice is not in accordance with the spirit or the rules of their religion.

---

[*] The Carian local names *Laryma* and *Lôryma* (both bishoprics) may be connected (through an intermediate form *Lavryma*); also *Lobrine*, a title of Cybele at Cyzicus.

[†] See list in Head's *Catalogue of Coins Br. Mus.: Lydia*, p. cxxviii.

[‡] Examples in great number are alluded to by Maximus Tyrius, viii. 1 (de Visser, p. 88).

[§] The oaks at Heraclea, Plin. *HN*, xvi. 89. On the whole subject Boetticher, *Baumkultus*, is fundamental; but Mannhardt and many other writers must be consulted.

[*] Theocr. xviii. 45.

[†] Pliny, *HN* xv. 20, 77.

[‡] See also Paus. x. 5. 4; Persius, i. 39; Propertius, iv. 5. 1, 73.

The veneration of the sacred tree or grove evidently implies the idea that the tree is an embodiment of the Divine life and power, and that he who maltreats the tree injures the Divinity that lives in the tree. At the same time, the utilitarian element also entered here, for the belief protects and safeguards the interests of men, or their deep feelings of respect for the dead. The trees beside a village were useful to its population, or they were sentinels keeping watch over the grave of the dead. The worshippers of the Divine power ornament the tree in which that power is manifested with garlands, or with small representations of the power in some of its manifestations: and out of the latter custom, through growing religious degeneration, springs the legend that some hero (connected with, sometimes a mere impersonation of, the Divinity) has been suspended from the tree, as Marsyas from the plane near Celænæ in Phrygia, or Helena from the plane at Sparta (Paus. iii. 19. 10; Theoc. 18, 43).

III. Sacred Animals.—That various animals had some religious awe attached to them in early Greek and Anatolian religion is well known; but the nature and real meaning of this awe are far from certain. No branch of our subject is more obscure than this; and in none are so many wild and vague statements and such mixture of ideas current.

The question of sacred animals is always liable to be mixed up with the question of Totemism. There are, indubitably, certain facts in the religious ceremonial and symbolism of the Greek peoples which can be most easily and naturally explained as survivals of Totemism. But we cannot think that Totemism held any place in Greek or Anatolian religion as it presents itself to our study. Similarly, the black stone of the Kaaba in Mecca is an old fetish, the veneration of which has survived in Mohammedanism; but fetishism is not really an influence in, or part of, Mohammedanism. Many survivals of pagan rites and symbols are apparent in the developed Hebrew worship, but they did not touch its essence or affect its development except to be successively eliminated from it. Similarly, the survivals of Totemistic forms in the Greek world do not affect our study of its religion, though they are of extreme interest to the archæological investigator. The religious ideas of the tribes and races, whose contact and intercourse produced the form of thought, religion, and civilization which we call Hellenism, were raised above the level of Totemism; and even the earliest Greek thought did not understand those survivals in a Totemistic way, but put a new, and historically incorrect, interpretation on them in popular legend.

Also, the form of religious thought in which the sacred animal was regarded and worshipped as being actually a god incarnate is not characteristic of Anatolia. The nearest approach to that idea is in the Ephesian religion of Artemis (7), where the goddess was the queen bee; but there is no proof that any actual bee was worshipped. The explanations of sacrificial rites as being cases in which celebrants kill and eat the sacred animal as the body of their god, are not admissible, except perhaps in some borrowed rites of external origin.

We may, with some confidence, lay down the general principle (which we shall find confirmed in several instances and contradicted in none), that the sacred animals of Anatolian religion are regarded in relation to a more generalized conception of the Divine power, which lies behind them and finds expression through them. Hence they are often represented in the rude symbolism of primitive Anatolian art as associated with, or employed in, the service of some deity or Divine figure, who is an embodiment of that higher Divine power.

(1) *Animals as parts of the god.* — The most typical appearance of animals in this way is as bearers or supporters or companions or components of gods. A god or goddess is often shown in rude Anatolian cult-representations as standing on an animal or bird: that is the case with a god, presumably Sandon or Baal-Tarz (Hellenized as *Zeus Tarsios*), represented on coins of Tarsus, with several deities on the religious sculptures in the *adytum* at Boghaz-Keui, and with various small works of art in bronze or on seals or in other forms. The Horseman-god described below, (5), perhaps belongs to this class.[*]

In other cases the figure of a god has a rough resemblance to the human form, but is composed of one or more animal forms, supporting a human head, or in an Egyptianizing type the head is that of a beast or bird, but the body is human (as in some figures at Boghaz-Keui, or the Black Demeter with the head of a horse at Phigalia in Arcadia).

To this class belong the representations of Cybele with her lions, or of Artemis with her stags. In those cases the earliest known types show the Deity with a form in which nothing is human except the head and perhaps the arms: the rest of the figure is a mere shapeless non-human mass or stump. The animals stand on each side of this central figure. In one case Cybele's lions rest their forepaws on her shoulders.[†] Greek art took these ancient native types and developed them freely, making the figures of the goddesses entirely human, giving beauty and dignity to them, seating Cybele on a throne with her symbols (*patera* and *tympanon*) in her hands, representing Artemis after the type of the Greek hunting goddess, and introducing some dramatic motive in their relation to the accompanying animals: the goddess plays with the animals or caresses one of them with her hand. Sometimes the lion reclines in Cybele's lap like a pet dog. See also § V (3).

In such representations it is clear that the original religious conception did not regard the Deity as of human form. There is sufficient resemblance to suggest at first sight the human form; but at the second glance the differences are seen to be very marked. The types arose, as we shall see, in the way of votive offerings. The worshipper offered to the Divine power some rude representation of itself, laying this on or near the stone, or hanging it from the tree, which was considered to be the home of the Divinity. The representation rudely embodied the vague, unformed conception entertained by the worshippers: the Divine power was not wholly unlike human, but it was different, and contained the strength and swiftness or the teeming productive power of various animals.

---

[*] *Acta Sanctorum*, 19th May, p. 324.

[†] Μουσεῖον καὶ Βιβλ. τῆς Εὐαγγ. Σχολῆς, Smyrna, 1880, p. 164.

[*] G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of Coins Brit. Mus.: Cilicia*, p. 178; Perrot, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiq.* iv. pp. 637–40, 646, 772, etc. See also § I (3).

[†] *Journal of Hell. Studies*, 1884, p. 245 and plate.

The conception of the *Satyr*, a half-human half-bestial form, belongs originally to Asia Minor, and was developed, first in Ionian, and then in general Greek art. The more strictly Greek conceptions of Thessalian Centaur and Arcadian Pan are fundamentally the same in character. The Satyr-type varies between human mixed with horse and human mixed with goat, while the Centaur is only of the first kind and Pan only of the second. Silenus is a similar idea, of Anatolian origin probably, but developed in art more on the human side. The idea in all these figures is that of rude, free, natural life, untrained, unfettered by conventions and ideas of merely human origin; this life of nature is the spontaneous expression of the Divine life, and comes nearer to the Divine nature than men can approach, but also it has a distinct human side, and can come more easily into relations with mankind than the Divine nature can. Men can by stealth catch and force to their will[*] the Satyr and Silenus, who are thus intermediaries between the Divine and the human. On the other hand, those figures are the companions and servants and associates of the god Dionysos, a deity of marked Anatolian character. In another respect they are a means of mediating between the Divine nature and mankind: 'they took them wives of all that they chose' (Gn 6^2). Now the idea lies deep in the Anatolian religion, as we shall see, that man has come from God and goes back to him at death; and evidently this relation between Satyrs or Sileni and human women is one of the grotesque developments by degradation of that idea; see below on the serpent (11).

(2) The *bull* often appears in surroundings which show his religious significance: in one case he seems to be standing on an altar, as an object of worship to the human figures looking towards him.[†] The very frequent employment of a bull's head on sepulchral and other steles and on sarcophagi at a later period evidently originated in the sacred character of the animal, and had at first an apotropaic purpose (the Divine power protecting the grave), but became purely conventional and ornamental in the lapse of time. But even in the above-mentioned case, where the bull is the object of worship, a glance at the figure is sufficient to show that he is worshipped as a symbol: he represents and embodies the generative power of nature: there lies behind him the Divine power of growth and life, which he expresses: in this character he played a part in the Phrygian Mysteries.[‡]

(3) The *goat*, which is mentioned as sacred in the worship of Leto and Lairbenos,[§] and doubtless generally, was associated with Dionysos, a deity of markedly Anatolian character. At Laodicea on the Lycus the goat appears as a companion of the god Aseis (identified with the Greek Zeus, and treated as an epithet of Zeus), who lays his hands on the horns of a goat standing beside him. In Greek art there is known a type showing Aphrodite riding on a goat, which may probably be an artistic development of an old schema showing a deity standing on a goat. Such also is a late Anatolian type showing Men sitting or riding on a goat.

The goat and the ox are evidently the animals characteristic of a pastoral people on the great plains of central Asia Minor; and the fact that they were so useful must have helped to give them their sacred character. Countless herds of goats are still a feature of the great plains of the central plateau.

Like the bull, the sacred goat is doubtless to be understood as the male animal, the embodiment and representative of the productive Divine power regarded on the active side. The Divine nature, as we shall see, was regarded in Anatolia sometimes as complete and sexless, but more frequently as divided into two Divine beings, male and female; and in the latter case the life of nature is pictured in the cultus as the mutual relations of the Divine pair, the god and the goddess.

(4) The *sheep* was a third animal of great importance on the pasture-land of the plateau; and there is evidence that it was sacred. The sheep was worshipped by the Samians, and was closely connected with the worship of Hermes. Milchhöfer in *Archäolog. Zeitung*, 1883, p. 263, quotes examples of the occurrence of the ram as a figure on graves in Phrygia and Armenia.

The sacred sheep is to be understood as the ram. He stands in the same relation to Hermes as the goat does to Dionysos. It is a ram that appears on the Anatolian and Armenian tombs.

(5) The *horse* must be regarded as a sacred animal (as might be expected), on account of the widely-spread representations of the Horseman-god. No Divine figure is so common in the later hieratic art of Asia Minor as this deity. He occurs on the coins of many cities in Lydia and West Phrygia, and on rock reliefs as well as on votive steles in the Pisidian hill-country; these are almost all of the Roman period, but the type is certainly much older. In many cases the Horseman-god is a hero, *i.e.* the deified form of a dead man (regarded as identified with the god, § VIII (5)), and the type must in those cases be regarded as sepulchral. Hence the horse-head, which appears in many sepulchral reliefs in Attica, may be taken as a symbolic indication of the same type, the part standing for the whole. In those reliefs the deified dead is usually represented as a seated figure of heroic size, and the horse-head in an upper corner of the relief indicates in brief the type of the Horseman-god, which is another form of the dead man's new heroized nature. The horse was probably imported into Anatolia, and belongs to a later period than bull, sheep, and goat.

(6) The *swine*.—Most difficult and obscure are the questions connected with the swine. There is good evidence to show that the swine was sacred in the Anatolian religion. In Crete, which was in strong religious sympathy with Asia Minor, the swine was sacred, and played an important part in the Mysteries and the birth of Zeus. At the Eleusinian Mysteries, which were influenced both from Crete and from Asia Minor, the swine constituted the most efficacious and purificatory sacrifice; the Greek purification for murder or homicide involved the sacrifice of a swine, and the Lydian ceremony is said by Herodotus (i. 35) to have been identical with the Greek (which may be taken as proof that the rite was carried from Anatolia to Greece). In Lycia a swine is represented on the Harpy Tomb, under the chair on which sits the heroized or deified dead. Small pigs of terra-cotta or porcelain have been found in Lydian graves.[*] The older and general Phrygian custom had at least no horror of swine.[†]

---

[*] Xenophon, *Anab.* i. 2, and many other places.

[†] Perrot, p. 668 f.; cf. p. 672.

[‡] Ταῦρος δράκοντος καὶ πατὴρ ταύρου δράκων, 'the god-bull is father of the god-serpent, and the serpent of the bull,' was a formula of the Phrygian Mysteries (Clemens Alex. *Protrept.* ii.).

[§] See Roscher's *Lexikon der gr. u. röm. Mythologie*, s.v. 'Lairbenos' (Drexler), and Ramsay, *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, i. p. 138 f. See also below, (8).

[*] Ramsay, *Histor. Geog. of Asia Minor*, p. 32.

[†] *Ib.* p. 32.

But this Anatolian custom was interfered with by a new influence, namely, the Semitic (or perhaps we ought to say simply the Jewish) and Egyptian abhorrence for the swine.* This ruled, at least in later time, at the Pontic Komana, where a swine might not be brought into the city, much less into the sacred precinct or temple of the goddess.

Here we are brought in view of two opposing and irreconcilable ideas; and our view is, in all such cases, that these contradictory ideas originate from different races (or, in the case of Jewish religion, from the influence of a new step in development). The attempt has been made to interpret the abhorrence and loathing of the swine as arising naturally out of the extreme awe and fear with which it was regarded on account of its high supernatural powers; but, on such a principle, anything can be evolved out of anything. There are two opposite conceptions of the swine.

According to the one, the swine is a sacred and purifying animal; it is in close relation with the Divine nature, and the human worshipper uses it to cleanse himself so that he may be fitted to come into relation with the Deity—sacrificed as the Eleusinian and Eteocretan prelude to initiation or marriage [identical rites, § VIII (1)]; not eaten except after sacrifice (see (8), (9), and Ath. 376).

According to the other conception, the swine must not be brought near the Deity nor permitted even to approach his neighbourhood, any one who has touched a swine is unclean, any one who habitually comes in contact with swine is a permanent outcast. We refuse to consider that these two opposing views have a common origin: they belong to two irreconcilable modes of thought. The abhorrence of the swine we explain on grounds of health: in a hot country the flesh of the swine is not wholesome, and in the development of thought and religion in Egypt and in Palestine this was observed and constituted into a religious law for the benefit of man.

It is said that the Egyptians once a year sacrificed a swine to the moon and Osiris, and ate its flesh; and in Is 66^{17} we hear of Jews who met secretly to eat the flesh of swine and mice as a religious rite. But these are natural examples of the persistence of the old religious facts in secret or on some exceptional occasion: the new and higher religious idea cannot wholly extirpate the ancient idea: the old superstition has a hold on the souls of men, and usually something is conceded to it. Only, the Hebrew prophets would concede nothing, but insisted on the absolute and utter abolition of the old superstition: that is one of the numberless points of distinction between Hebrew religion and all other ancient religions which competed with it.

The principle laid down in the preceding paragraph is one of great importance in our subject. In the religious history of the Greek tribes we observe numerous cases in which the religious idea of one tribe overpowers that of another when the two tribes come together. But a religious fact rarely, if ever, dies utterly: though the weaker, it produces some effect on the stronger, and one of the commonest effects was that a secret and mysterious performance of the submerged religious ritual was permitted at long intervals.† Thus human sacrifice seems to have been allowed to continue in rare acts of ritual, many centuries after the general feeling of the Greek tribes had condemned the idea of sacrificing a human being. Another way in which the submerged religion maintained itself was in the superstitions of the lowest and least educated classes, and in rites which were rejected as magical and irreligious by the higher thought of the people.

The rules of impurity connected with the swine are also a subject of great difficulty; and here again the difficulty seems due to the interlacing and intermixture of different religious ideas, no one of which has made itself absolutely supreme. Thus, for example, the statement is sometimes made that the worshippers of the Lycian and Anatolian god Men Tyrannos abstained from swine's flesh; yet the swine was intimately connected with the Divine power in Lycia (as we have seen).

Out of these facts a very elaborate theory that men abstained from the sacred animal as being holy can be spun. But the abstaining from swine's flesh in the ritual of Men Tyrannos was merely a very brief temporary act of purificatory preparation, as is obvious from the context,* and did not amount to a permanent rule of avoidance, such as obtained in Egypt and Palestine. The rules of preparatory purification in the later period (our authority belongs to the time of the empire) were much influenced by analogy; and this case proves nothing as to the real and original theory ruling in the worship of Men Tyrannos.

The abstinence from swine's flesh, said to have been practised at Pessinus in Phrygia, was, perhaps, a much more serious and real fact. It would hardly have been mentioned by Pausanias had it been a mere act of brief occasional purification: he records it, evidently, as standing in marked contrast to the ordinary usage of Western Anatolia (of which he was a native, and whose people he had chiefly in view as his readers). The custom of Pessinus is to be explained as due to Semitic influence gradually spreading westwards over Asia Minor.

The sacred character of the swine in early Anatolian and Greek ritual was due, beyond all doubt, to its being considered as a symbol and representative of the Great Mother. It was the domesticated sow, with her teeming litters of young, that suggested its holy character. Thus the holiness was founded on similar grounds to that of the bull or cow and the sheep and the goat: the animals which were most useful to man were esteemed sacred, as the gifts of God. There can hardly be any doubt that the method of domesticating and caring for these animals was considered to have been revealed by the god, who continues to be their patron, and whose beneficent power towards man is manifested in them: see (8).

The *wild boar*, which is sometimes connected in mythology with the Divine nature, would derive his sacredness from a different cause, for he must be classed with the wild animals which are impersonations of the Divine strength and swiftness and might: see (10).

(7) *The bee.*—Most instructive of all in regard to the Divine nature is the bee. The bee was the sacred symbol at Ephesus, *i.e.* the bee was the type of the goddess. A large body of subordinate priestesses connected with her worship were called *melissai*, the working bees; and a body of officials (who were originally of priestly character) † were called *essenes*. Now there was a mistake, common in Greece, with regard to the sex of bees; the queen bee was thought to be a male, and called *essen* or βασιλεύς. But, when we look at the Ephesian cult, we find that it was founded on

---

* See Wiedemann, *Herodot's Zweites Buch*, p. 85. Origen, *c. Cels.* v. 49, speaks of the Egyptian priests alone as refraining, which implies a relaxation of usage.

† See below, § VII (2).

* The authority is a pair of almost identical inscriptions frequently published: Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, No. 379, *CIA* iii. 73, 74; Foucart, *Assoc. Relig.* p. 219. The worshipper must purify himself ἀπὸ σκόρδων καὶ χοιρέων καὶ γυναικός, but the purification was a matter of a day, and after washing from head to foot the worshipper could enter the god's presence the same day: the eating of garlic and swine's flesh, like the third fact, is implied to be the habitual and ordinary way of life of the worshippers.

† See, *e.g.*, Pausanias, viii. 13, 1.

a true knowledge. The goddess was the queen bee; and her image makes this plain. Her body has only the slightest resemblance to a human body, but has the outline of the body of a bee. What are ordinarily called *mammæ* on her body are not so, for no nipple is indicated: they really represent eggs, and the mass of the body is simply a great ovary or skin filled with ova. The goddess is literally indicated as the one great mother of all life in the community. The *essenes* are the male bees or drones, who do no work. The *melissai* are the female and working bees, in whom the sexual character is undeveloped (see § VI (3)). The resemblance between the constitution of the swarm or community of bees and that of the primitive Anatolian community, as described in § VIII (3), (7), is striking.

The resemblance is even more striking in respect of the life-history of the Mother-Goddess and of the queen bee; but this will be treated in § VI (3). Taking this in conjunction with the preceding remarks about the Divine power and life under the bee form, we see clearly that the place of the bee in the cultus implies such knowledge of its habits as would be impossible without careful observation and intelligent methods of treatment. This is merely one example of the wisdom and skill applied to the utilization and domestication of animals in the ancient Anatolian theocratic system. The arts of domestication were rooted in religion. The remarkable practice of self-mutilation as a religious act, characteristic of Phrygian worship (§ VIII (4)), seems clearly to have originated from the rule (divinely given, as was supposed) of mutilating in the same way oxen and other domesticated animals, and from the natural mutilation of the bee (§ VI (3)).

(8) *The sacredness attaching to domesticated animals.*—It is obvious that the sacred character of the animals which have hitherto been mentioned rests ultimately on their domestication and their usefulness to man. This suggests that some of the arts of domestication may have originated on the great Anatolian plateau, where the conditions are exceedingly favourable,[*] and where the existing traces show that a large population and great cities were found where now for many centuries only a very sparse sprinkling of nomads and a certain number of small villages have existed. That a high degree of skill was reached in the domestication of animals is also certain. Valuable breeds of animals were artificially produced by intelligent cross-breeding. Of these the Angora goat still survives; and the secret of its breeding is still carefully treasured and concealed.[†] That the secret of preserving the purity of the wool lies in breeding is pointed out elsewhere,[‡] on the authority of practical experience; and the natural probability of this explanation (which has never been mentioned elsewhere) is admitted as obvious by some high authorities to whom it has been mentioned. But the breed of the Colossian sheep with its glossy violet fleece, and the glossy black-fleeced sheep of Laodicea, have entirely disappeared; and the reason is that those artificial breeds were through carelessness allowed to degenerate.[§]

(9) *Domesticated animals as sacrifice.*—No doubt need be entertained, though the fact cannot be definitely demonstrated by extant evidence, that the life of all domesticated animals was sacred. Their existence was so important to man that it must be guaranteed and protected by the strongest religious sanctions. To slay the ox or the sheep or the goat or the swine was an act of impiety. Among the Phrygians it was a capital crime to slay an ox used in ploughing.[*]

Yet there can be equally little doubt both that the flesh of the animals was wanted as food and that they were needed as offerings in sacrifice. Here two religious laws come into collision with one another. A quaint and evidently very archaic ceremony, which was preserved among the people of Athens (a race characteristically autochthonous and Pelasgian), illustrates the way in which the difficulty was met. The ox for sacrifice was selected by a sort of chance, the one being taken which first came forward out of a herd to eat the corn scattered on the altar near which the animals were driven. The ox thus selected was slain for the sacrifice; but the ministers who slew it with axe and knife fled, and in their absence the weapons which had killed the sacred animal were tried and condemned, and punished for sacrilege by being thrown into the sea. The flesh of the ox was eaten; its skin was stuffed with straw, and the stuffed animal was harnessed to a plough.[†]

The character of the ceremony, as an expiation of the apparent crime of slaying the sacred animal, is clear. The god, in his kindness to man, has shown how the guilt may be avoided or diverted, and the flesh of the animal can be enjoyed by man without suffering the due penalty. The name of the sacrifice, τὰ Βουφόνια, 'the ceremonies connected with the slaying of the ox,'[‡] makes the meaning of the whole clear. Probably, in the origin, the killing of an ox (not a common act in agricultural life), perhaps even the killing of any sacred animal, was always accompanied with that elaborate ceremonial, and made a religious act. The ox was induced to commit an act of impiety in eating the sacred barley and wheat on the altar; any guilt involved in slaying him was visited on the murdering weapon; and, finally, the pretence was gone through that the ox was still ready to be used for its ordinary agricultural work.

The attempt has been made to explain the *Bouphonia* as the slaying in the harvest season of the ox which represents the spirit of vegetation: the ox, as the Divine being who constitutes the life of the crop, is supposed to be slain at the harvest (as Lityerses in Phrygia was slain by the sickles of the reapers). This attempt is supported by an incorrect interpretation of the word *Bouphonia*, as 'the slaying of the ox.' The explanation is forced and unsatisfactory, and may be considered as an example of the extreme to which excellent scholars are sometimes led in trying to adapt a theory, which furnishes the correct explanation of many usages, to other usages which it does not suit.

A Phrygian inscription throws some light on this subject. The goat is there mentioned as sacred. A certain person confesses to have sinned because he had eaten the flesh of the goat, though the animal had not been offered as a sacrifice with the proper ceremonial: he atones for the sin, and acknowledges the justice of the penalty with which the god has visited him.[§]

---

[*] See art. on 'Geographical Conditions determining History and Religion' in the *Geographical Journal*, Sept. 1902, p. 272: see also below, (12).

[†] We cannot accept the view advocated by some distinguished German writers, that the Angora goat was introduced from Central Asia, and is a naturally distinct species.

[‡] Ramsay, *Impressions of Turkey*, p. 272 ff.

[§] *Impressions of Turkey*, *loc. cit.*

[*] Nic. Damasc. in Dindorf, *Hist. Græc. Min.* i. p. 148.

[†] The accounts of the ceremony vary a little as regards details: see Mr. J. G. Frazer's *Golden Bough* 2, vol. ii. p. 294 f.

[‡] This sense of the plural is typical and common: Διὸς γοναί, 'the circumstances connected with the birth of Zeus,' and so on. A false interpretation of the word Βουφόνια is alluded to in the next paragraph.

[§] See *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i. pp. 138, 150. The present writer has there adopted an explanation suggested to him by Prof. Robertson Smith, which would take the crime to consist in eating goats' flesh at all. But it is more probable that the crime lay in eating it without first offering the animal in sacrifice. Either of the two different senses given to ἄθυτος in the two explanations is grammatically possible.

(10) The *lion*, which is so often associated with Cybele, is also found in art as the supporter on which a deity stands. Like the bull, and doubtless for the same reason, the lion was taken as a common ornament on tombstones—originally with a protective meaning, later as a mere conventional figure—especially in Phrygia and Pisidia.[*] Similarly, the *stag* was the regular accompaniment of Artemis, and appears carrying a deity on an early Anatolian seal.[†]

There can be no doubt that the sacredness of these two animals, the lion and the stag, springs from their being the most typical representatives of wild natural life in its strength and its swiftness. These two typical wild animals are connected intimately and characteristically with the Divine nature as female, *i.e.* with Cybele or Artemis. That side of the Divine nature bulked far more largely in old Anatolian religion than the male side.[‡] The Great Goddess, the All-Mother, plays a much more characteristic and commanding part than the god, who is often pictured as her attendant, and as secondary to her. The life of nature is commonly represented as female. The spirits of the trees and mountains, the lakes and forests, are the Nymphs, described often as if they led a sexless, separate existence, though there are not wanting examples of the other conception, which brings them into association with the Satyrs or Sileni and makes the reproduction of the life of nature spring from the relations between the male and the female divinities.

Accordingly, it is a pair of lionesses, not of lions, that appear on the most ancient Phrygian Lion-Tombs and on the Gateway at Mycenæ. But the sex is not always emphasized; and artistic considerations probably contributed to determine the ultimate preference for lions and stags, so that these were regularly represented as companions even of the goddesses Cybele and Artemis: the mane and the horns made the male animals more picturesque and striking types.

But in none of these cases is there any universal rule of sex. If the male Divinity is symbolized by the ram or he-goat, there are certain to be some cases in which the female Divinity must be represented by the female animal in order to carry out the mythological tale or the cult-act. These less usual and less typical instances, which need not be quoted in detail, do not really interfere with the general rule of sex which has been stated.

(11) The *serpent*, however, was pre-eminently the sacred animal in Anatolian and Greek religion. It dwells in the bosom of the earth, the Great Mother. It appears and disappears in a mysterious way. In many Greek temples, and especially in the temple of Athena Polias on the Acropolis at Athens, a sacred serpent dwelt: it was fed by the priests, and considered to be a sort of embodiment or guarantee of the Divine presence in the temple. This idea, however, was below the religious level of the highest Greek literature, in which it does not make much appearance; but it played a great part in popular belief and superstition, as well as in actual ritual. Especially, a serpent with large cheeks, called *pareias*, which was believed to be friendly to man and hostile to dangerous serpents, was considered holy, and used in the ritual of the Mysteries. In the sacred drama enacted in the Mysteries the god in the form of a serpent became father of the god-bull by Kora or Persephone his daughter (see the quotation in note to § III (2)); and the initiated fondled a *pareias* serpent in imitation of this.[*] Hence the idea that human life is of Divine origin took the form, in regard to some special heroes, (*e.g.* Alexander the Great) that a serpent was their father.

The idea that the serpent is a representative of the Divine life appears in various forms: a serpent was intimately associated with, and almost the embodiment to human eyes of, Æsculapius or Asklepios, of Sabazios, of Zeus Meilichios, and in general of most heroic and dæmonic conceptions, and of the departed dead. Naturally, the animal, which often took up its residence in graves, was regarded by popular superstition as the embodied spirit of the dead; and, when a serpent took possession of any grave in this way, there was a general tendency to regard the person there buried as being peculiarly active and efficacious, *i.e.* as a hero.[†] The dead man, again, has become identified with the Divine nature; and the serpent therefore is peculiarly representative of the Divine nature in its Chthonian aspect, *i.e.* as connected with the world of death. The Agathos Daimon, a Chthonian power, associated with the earth and the riches of the earth, is represented by a serpent (sometimes with a human head). See B, § V.

The worship of the god-serpent at Hierapolis and Laodicea in the Lycus valley[‡] has played some part in the formation of Christian legend: the sacred serpent is there called the Echidna, and is described as the powerful enemy of St. John and St. Philip.

The belief in the sacredness of the serpent was practically disregarded by the majority of Greeks in the classical period, and despised as a superstition unworthy of an educated person; but some peculiarly sacred serpents, such as that of Athena Polias, retained a hold on general opinion. Ælian mentions that, of all the Peloponnesian Greeks, only the Argives refrained from killing serpents.

(12) *Sacredness of wild animals.*—Obviously, there is not the slightest appearance that the sacredness of the above-mentioned wild animals in this early religion was founded on dread of their power, and anxiety to propitiate them. The facts as stated are absolutely opposed to that opinion. Moreover, in the region of Asia Minor which we take to be the centre and origin of its religious ideas, the great central plateau, wild animals can hardly have been a serious danger within historical times. The country is open, and there is such total absence of cover[§] that beasts of prey cannot have existed in any numbers. The Austrian traveller Sarre quotes the statement of Von Moltke, that the great plains are the most perfectly level known in the world. As a rule, they are and have been for thousands of years so bare and, apart from human work and provision, so unproductive, that little wild life, and none of the greater savage animals, could be supported in them. In such a level country deer would be a difficult prey; and when human skill wrought out some irrigation, found water, where it was not accessible on the surface, by sinking very deep wells, and introduced great herds of domesticated animals, the wild beasts which were able to prey on sheep or oxen

---

[*] For Phrygia, see *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1882, etc. For Pisidia, see Sterrett, *Wolfe Expedition*, pp. 91-93. The present writer has seen many other Pisidian or Isaurian examples. Rohde (*Psyche*, p. 679) thinks that the lion was used as denoting the fourth grade in Mithraic initiation, and Cumont (*Monum. relat. au Cult de Mithras*, p. 173) inclines to agree with him. This cannot be correct. It leaves the sex out of account: see the two following paragraphs.

[†] Perrot, *op. cit.* iv. p. 772.

[‡] See below, § VI.

[*] Σαβαζίων γοῦν μυστηρίων σύμβολον τοῖς μυουμένοις ὁ διὰ κόλπου θεός· δράκων δέ ἐστιν οὗτος, διελκόμενος τοῦ κόλπου τῶν τελουμένων (Clemens Alex. *Protrept.* ii. 16; cf. Arnobius, v. 21; Foucart, *Les Associations Religieuses*).

[†] Strictly, every dead man was a hero; but such ones were heroes *par excellence*.

[‡] Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i. pp. 51, 87.

[§] The central plains were known as *Axylon*, the treeless region, two centuries before Christ, in the first glimpse of them that the records permit; and other considerations show that this state had existed for a long time previously.

or goats could shelter themselves only in the broken ground of the surrounding mountains,[*] and in some of the isolated mountain peaks of the plateau (for others of those plateau mountains are singularly bare and shelterless). Thus the greater beasts of prey must have been from a very remote period few, and regarded in practical life as an object of the chase and of sport to the rulers and the nobles (in whatever form nobles existed); and it is probable that this condition of things fostered the tendency to regard them as sacred by some sort of religious substitute for a game law.

Again, serpents are neither very numerous nor at all dangerous. Various quite harmless species occur in moderate abundance, and a few are said to be venomous, but death from the bite of a serpent is practically unknown in the country. Yet the scantiness of the population in recent centuries, and the small extent of agriculture, have given full opportunity for wild life to increase to its natural limits.

Accordingly, for a period of four thousand years or more, wild animals in the plateau must probably have derived their sacredness from other considerations than the terror and danger that they caused; and the evidence of religious facts is clear that the origin lay in their noble qualities of strength and swiftness, and in their association with the Divine nature living free in the wild and mountainous districts. See also above, (10).

IV. SACRED PLACES.—(1) *Mountains.*—If a stone could be holy, much more could a great rock or a mountain be regarded as the home or the embodiment of the Divine power.[†] Mount Argæus, the lofty mountain which towers above Cæsarea in Cappadocia to the height of nearly 13,000 feet, was regarded as a god or as an image of the god, and by it men took a solemn oath: on the coins of Cæsarea it is the regular type, taking the place which the image of a god occupies in most coins of Hellenic or Hellenized cities. On coins of Prostanna in Pisidia, Mount Viaros is represented in a similar way, and it, too, was evidently regarded by the people who dwelt near it as the holy mountain. The identification proposed in the *Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (p. 407) for Mt. Viaros rests chiefly[‡] on a certain similarity in the situation of the lofty peak, which towers over Egerdir and the great lake called by the ancients Limnai, to Argæus rising out of the level Cappadocian plateau.

Then in general it is probable or certain that the Great God was adored on the tops of other mountains. An example from another Cappadocian hill is proved by an inscription found on the summit.[§] The lofty mountain, now called Hassan Dagh, 10,000 feet high, north-west from Tyana, seems to have borne the same name, *Argæus*, as the Cæsarean mountain; and in that case it probably had a similar sacred character. The Bithynians worshipped Zeus under the names of Papas ('father') and Attis[||] on the tops of mountains.

In the rock-temple at Boghaz-Keui, one of the figures, evidently a personage of great importance on account of his size,[¶] is represented as standing, or rather striding, with his feet on the summits of two mountains. The Divine nature rests on the mountains, and is at home on their summits, just as, in other representations on the walls of the same natural temple, several deities stand on their own sacred animals.[*] Again, in that same rock-temple, several of the sacred animals stand with their feet placed on the top of high squared pedestals; and the so-called 'Niobe' on Mt. Sipylus, which is beyond doubt an image of the goddess Cybele, sits with her feet resting on two similar pedestals.[†] Those pedestals are probably to be interpreted as holy pillars (such as those at Gnossos in Crete, pictured in Mr. Evans' article, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1901, p. 110). The present writer formerly interpreted them as mountains;[‡] but in the art as practised at Boghaz-Keui the type of the sacred mountain was rounded in form and broken in outline, and it seems hardly permissible to suppose that two types so different were employed there simultaneously to indicate the same conception.

The truth may indeed probably be that the sacred stone when unshaped and rude derived its holiness, in some cases, from being regarded as representative of the sacred mountain, the part standing for the whole (just as the bull's head stands for the god-bull, § III (2)), or the miniature for the vast reality. The *omphalos*, on which Apollo sits or stands, would then be a sort of miniature of the mountain which is his Divine abode.

It seems, at any rate, beyond doubt that originally any great mountain, such as Mt. Argæus, was considered sacred, because on it there rested a vague formless Divine presence and power, whose might dominated the country round. This becomes all the more clear when one considers the sacred caves: see the following paragraph.

(2) *Sacred caves and mountain glens.*—Many sacred caves are known: as, for example, Steunos, the cave of Cybele, near Aizani, described by Mr. J. G. C. Anderson in *Annual of British Sch. Ath.*, 1897-8, p. 56; the cave of Leto or Cybele, beside Hierapolis, described in *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i. p. 89; the cave of Zeus on Mt. Dicte in Crete, recently excavated by Mr. Hogarth; etc. All these are caves in the mountains, lonely, far from cities, full of the impressiveness and religious awe of wild and majestic nature. Along with caves in the stricter sense we may class deep gorges and glens among the mountains, in which holy places of Anatolia were often situated. They are roofed with the sky, instead of with a covering of rock.

In those caves and gorges the Divine power was not worshipped in any visible embodiment. The human mind was impressed by the vague formless presence of the Divine nature in such solitary places, and went there to worship. So, in modern times, at the head of the deep romantic gorge of Ibriz, where the great springs of the river of Cybistra-Heraclea flow forth from the rock in surroundings of impressive grandeur, the rude peasants from the neighbouring village come and tie a rag to the tree by the great fountain; and, if you ask the reason why they do so, they reply in simple phrase, '*Dede var,*' which is the nearest approach their untrained thought and scanty words can make to expressing their sense of present Divine power.[§] In ancient times men had the same thought, that the Divine power was clearly manifested for the benefit of man at Ibriz; and they expressed it similarly by votive offerings, as we may be sure. But they expressed it also in more civilized and artistic ways; and above all other forms they expressed it in a great rock sculpture, showing the god presenting his gifts of corn and wine to the king of the land. The river makes this part of the dry Lycaonian plain into a garden; and the god has given the river, making it flow forth from his holy mountain at the head of that deep gorge, which is like a vast cave open to the sky. The king is dressed in gorgeous embroidered robes: the god wears a peasant's dress, for he is the impersonation of the toiling cultivator, who by patience and faith adapts nature to the benefit of man. Nowhere is the spirit of Anatolian religion expressed so unmistakably as at Ibriz. In the words in which St. Paul appealed to a simple audience of Lycaonians, the fountains of Ibriz are a witness to the Divine power, that it did good and gave men fruitful seasons, filling their hearts with food and gladness (Ac 14^{17}). The speaker knew his audience, and caught the exact tone of religious feeling that sounded in their hearts.

---

[*] The present writer has there seen bears and boars often; panthers and leopards are reported to exist.

[†] ὄρος Καππαδόκαις καὶ θεὸς καὶ ὅρκος καὶ ἄγαλμα (Max. Tyr. viii. 8); graves on hill-tops, Puchstein, *Reisen in Kl.* p. 228.

[‡] The order of Hierocles and the established identification of surrounding cities place Prostanna somewhere there.

[§] Ramsay, in *Bull. Corresp. Hell.* 1883, p. 322.

[||] Surely *Attis* must mean 'king' or 'prince.'

[¶] Perrot, *Histoire de l'Art*, iv. p. 639.

[*] See above, § III: the figures are shown in Perrot, *Histoire*, iv. p. 637.

[†] *Journal of Hell. Stud.* 1882, p. 39.

[‡] As quoted in the previous note.

[§] *Dede* doubtless means originally 'ancestor': it is the name applied to those heroized personages worshipped in the *Turbes* common all over the country: the *Turbe* always contains or is built above the grave of the *Dede*, who is sometimes a known historical figure, sometimes a mythical personage, sometimes one whose very name has been forgotten, and who is simply 'the *Dede*.' See below, § VIII (5).

The rock-temple at Boghaz-Keui, which has been so often mentioned above, was of this class. A mile away from the great city, up a gorge in the side of a rocky hill, two chambers with vertical walls cut in the rocks (the human hand having assisted the natural formation of the recesses), entirely open to the sky, and connected by a narrow passage, leading from one to the other, constitute the temple and place of worship.

To the same class belonged the great Cappadocian sanctuary of Komana, in a glen of the Anti-Taurus, where the river Sarus flows in its winding channel deep down among the lofty mountains. To the same class, too, belonged one of the holy places of Ephesus. Besides the familiar and famous home of the Ephesian Artemis, which lay out in the open plain near the city and close to the isolated holy hill near the middle of the Cayster valley, there was another seat of her worship in a glen among the mountains that bound the valley on the south. This more sequestered place retained its sanctity alongside of the more famous temple. The account given of it has been transformed by adaptation to the later Greek mythology of Artemis; and the true old Anatolian aspect can only be guessed at. But there the birth of the goddess had occurred: there an annual festival and assembly (*panegyris*) was celebrated: there were both an ancient temple with archaic images and a later temple with Greek statues: there an association of Kouretes, evidently a society meeting in the worship of the goddess,[*] called by an ancient Anatolian and Cretan name, had its centre and celebrated certain mystic rites. And when the religion of Ephesus had been changed to a Christian form, the city had not merely the Church of St. John beside the great temple in the plain and the church called Maria in the city (where the Council of A.D. 431 was held):[†] there was also a holy place of the Mother of God among the mountains on the south of the plain (to which the Greeks of the district continued to make an annual pilgrimage down to the present day, calling the place Panagia Kapulu, the Virgin of the Door).[‡]

(3) *Sacred springs and lakes.*—In the holy place of Ibriz we have found that the awe attaching to glens amid the mountains was inseparable from the similar religious emotion suggested by bountiful springs. In that thirsty country the most fertile soil without water is a desert; but if water is given or brought it becomes a garden. A fountain, then, was the gift of God; and the modern name applied to such great springs, *Huda-verdi* ('God hath given'), is probably a mere Turkish version of an ancient Anatolian expression. A fine spring[*] which rises in the undulating plain on the east side of Lake Caralis (Bey Sheher), and flows down to the lake, is overhung by a series of ancient sculptures of obviously religious character, which are carved on the side of a small chamber built at the edge of the springs, so that the water seems to run out from under the huge stones of which the nearest wall of the chamber is built.

The fountain was the gift of God. The belief is distinctly different from the Greek idea of the Naiad nymph who lives in and gives life to the spring; and yet the two ideas readily pass into one another. The Greek mind was filled with the sense of joy and life that the spring suggests; the spring was the life of a god; and the life of the spring in the Greek anthropomorphic imagination was pictured as a Divine maiden, human in form and character and emotions, but eternal and ever young. The Anatolian mind regarded the spring as Divine, because given by God, and at the same time it was conceived as the home and embodiment of Divine life, the proper object of worship, the mother of the life of the fields which derive their fertility from its waters, and ultimately, too, the mother of the heroes and men who are born beside it and fed from its produce. This last idea appears still in its earlier form in *Iliad*, ii. 865, where the Lydian chiefs are the sons 'to whom the Gygæan lake gave birth.' But from this it is an easy step to the Greek idea of the Naiad; and we see that the step has been taken in *Iliad*, vi. 22, where the Naiad nymphs in the Troad bear two noble sons to the hero ox-herd. The ultimate cause of sacredness, viz. purity and use to man, appears in the Italian prohibition of bathing in sacred springs or the sources of aqueducts (Plin. *Ep.* viii. 8. 20. 5; Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 22; Sen. *Ep.* 41).

When the spring was of hot or medicinal water, its beneficent qualities and God-given origin were equally or even more conspicuous. Many such springs are known to have been the scene of a special worship, and doubtless all were so. The Divine power was clearly seen in them.

(4) *Development of the sacred place into a religious centre or Hieron.*—Naturally, some of the sacred places became much more famous and important than others. The circumstances that produced such fame and importance belong to the history of each individual locality. It was the needs, the numbers, and the nature of the surrounding population that made some shrines greater than others. Holy places in very secluded situations could hardly become very important as religious centres, though devotees often visited them and made offerings. The great *Hiera* were usually connected with some centre of population, where the primitive form of theocratic government and the needs of the ritual (on which see § VIII (7) and § VII (9)) caused the growth of a large establishment, whose influence became recognized far beyond the immediate circle of its original worshippers. Such, for example, were the Pontic and the Cappadocian Komana, the Galatian Pessinus, the two *Hiera* of the Cappadocian Zeus at Venasa and at Tyana, the *Hieron* of the Milyadic Zeus or Sabazios, mentioned by Ælius Aristides (which is certainly the one that is described in considerable detail in the writer's *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i. ch. ix., though the identification is not there mentioned), the *Hieron* of Leto and Lairbenos at Dionysopolis and Hierapolis (*ib.* ch. iv.), and many others.

---

[*] See *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i. p. 96 ff.; ii. pp. 359, 630 f.; below, § VIII (6).

[†] *ἐν τῇ ἁγιωτάτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ καλουμένῃ* Μαρίᾳ: see above, vol. i. p. 725.

[‡] The Roman Catholics of Smyrna have taken up this place during the last ten years, calling it the house where the Virgin lived after St. John brought her to reside at Ephesus.

[*] Eflatun Bunar, 'Plato's Spring': *Hist. Geogr. As. Min.* p. 39.

It is not the case, however, that those great *Hiera* were later in growth than the cities beside which or in which they were situated. In many cases it was the *Hieron* which caused the city to grow by attracting population. But a large population required a suitable home, and the town where people should dwell could in many cases not be situated exactly at the holy place, and must be placed at some distance. At Ephesus it is highly probable that the place among the mountains on the south of the valley where the goddess was believed to have been born, and where *Mysteria* were regularly performed, was the true old holy place; but the *Hieron* grew in the open valley, beside an isolated hill, which formed a convenient centre for the growing population.

(5) *Sacred places in the religion of Greece.*—It is obvious how entirely pre-Hellenic this religion was, so far as we have yet described it, and how entirely unlike it was to the religion that we are familiar with as Greek. Not a single feature which we regard as characteristically Hellenic is apparent in it. And yet, to everything that we have described, parallels can be cited from religious foundations in the strictly Greek lands. Behind Greek religion proper there lies, far away back, that old aniconic worship in mountain solitudes and mysterious caves, or on mountain tops, like that of Hera on Mount Ocha in Eubœa, or of Zeus on Mount Lycæus in Arcadia; and the most barbarous of the rude symbolic images of Anatolia, compounded of parts of animals, are not more absolutely un-Hellenic than the Arcadian horse-headed Demeter. That early religion of the Greek lands seems to have been the religion of the aboriginal race who elaborated the Mycenæan civilization of Crete and the Ægean Islands, and, above all, of the Argolic valley and other parts of the West Ægean coastland, the people whom Prof. W. Ridgeway would identify as Pelasgian. On this ancient foundation the religion of later and more artistic Greece was gradually built up: see below, B, § I.

V. RELATION OF THE ORIGINAL ANICONIC RELIGION TO IMAGE-WORSHIP. — (1) *Coexistence of the two kinds of worship.*—We have spoken of that primitive religion as aniconic, as reverencing the Divine nature without giving it any definite form; and yet we have been forced often to speak of the rude images in which that primitive conception of the Deity was expressed. The truth seems to be that the inconsistency, in which we find ourselves involved, lies in the religion from the beginning. Probably it was at no time absolutely aniconic and impersonal: doubtless there was always in the popular conceptions a deep-seated and unconquerable tendency to give form to the Divine nature, to regard it as envisaged in something like human or animal form. The anthropomorphic side alone was steadily developed in the growth of Hellenism. In the Anatolian religion the aniconic side and the barbaric bestial envisagement both continued strong and important, until they were forced into the background by the invasion of the formed and completed Hellenic civilization, with its philosophic scepticism about the old religion in theory and its anthropomorphic orthodoxy in practice. But even then those native characteristics were far from being extirpated. They persisted in the form of superstitious and secret mysterious rites, and, for the most part, even the educated tolerated them and accorded a moderate amount of recognition to them.

Again, even in the latest period, when image-worship was apparently universal, the old, vague, impersonal conception of the Divine nature was not extirpated, but remained still vigorous. No inconsistency was felt between the aniconic and the iconic personal idea. All the stages in this long process of development could perfectly well exist at the same time. Two or three centuries after Christ, it is evident from many inscriptions that the popular mind often thought of and spoke about 'the God,' or 'the just God,' or 'the pious and just God,' as the vague, formless Divine power. The people were all acquainted with and reverenced both the purely human representations of the Greek religious art and the barbarous symbolic images of primitive Anatolian worship. But still their mind was also occupied with a mysterious power behind them.

Similarly, we must recognize that from the earliest stage the germs of image-worship and anthropomorphism were not wanting.

(2) *Votive images and representations of the Deity.*—The need for some outward and material representation of religious conceptions seems to have been felt especially in approaching the Divine nature with prayers and vows, and in making acknowledgment of and expiation for neglect or disobedience. The worshippers came to the holy place, cave or grove or mountain or spring or stone, and they desired to leave there either some token of their reverence or some reminder of their own person and their own needs, or perhaps both. In proof of their reverence they dedicated offerings, either the sacred emblems and symbols of the Divine power, *e.g.* axes to the god with the axe in the Dictæan cave of Crete, or representations of the home and nature of the Deity. The most characteristic of those representations were the shrines (*ναοί*), on which see below, (3). Further, in evidence of their gratitude when they paid their vow, or of their penitence when they atoned for some neglect of the Divine will and power, they often left representations of themselves as they had been aided by the god, or of the part of the body in which they had suffered punishment, just as the modern peasant ties a rag from his clothing on a sacred tree beside the old sacred fountain.

(3) *Shrines* (*naoi*). — Most typical among the votive offerings of Anatolian religion are the shrines or *naoi*, which filled so large a place in the practical elaboration of Artemis-worship in Ephesus. The *naoi* of Artemis are described at some length in vol. i. p. 606. Here we have only to allude to the origin of this representation. We seem to find the oldest known form of the *naos* in the colossal figure of the so-called Niobe in Mt. Sipylus, which is indubitably an image of the goddess (whether Cybele or Artemis, two names of the one ultimate Divine nature), and which is probably the ancient statue of the Mother-Goddess described by Pausanias as the work of Broteas. This image we take to be rather a votive representation than intended as a cultus-statue. Its conspicuous situation in a perpendicular rock at the top of a very steep slope seems to prove its votive character: it is a token of the piety of the dedicator, not an image set up to be the object of worship for others, though doubtless some cultus would be established here by the dedicator as part of his pious act.

Other very archaic examples of the same character are probably the Cybele between her lions at Arslan-Kaya,* and the little figure of the goddess on the outside of the wall of the Midas city.†

The thought which the dedicator desired to express was that of the Mother-Goddess in her sacred cave; he imagined her as of vaguely-human form, for she to whom man owes his birth cannot be wholly unlike the human form; he tried to give her the accompaniments and emblems suited to express her power or her chosen ritual, lions or *tympanon*. This primitive idea, worked on the rocks, was developed in numberless small votive works in terra-cotta or marble or silver; and many examples of those in the cheaper materials are found at most of the seats of Anatolian worship. See also vol. i. p. 606.

---

* *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1884, p. 245.

† *Ib.* 1882, p. 42.

VI. THE DIVINE IN HUMAN FORM AND CHARACTER.—If various animals seemed suitable expressions or embodiments of the might of the Divine nature, the human analogy most of all affected the mind, and commended itself as proper to convey some idea of the Godhead. That the anthropomorphic tendency existed from the beginning alongside of other forms of expression which have been described, seems indubitable (just as the aniconic idea has been traced as surviving even in the most developed iconic period); and it has given rise to far the largest mass of myth.

(1) *The Great Mother.*—The characteristic which specially distinguishes the Anatolian religion is its conception of the Divine Being as the mother, not the father, of mankind. This feature runs through the social system and the history of the land. Strong traces of *Mutterrecht* have been observed and collected by several writers. Even in the Græco-Roman period, when those traces had almost disappeared from the cities owing to the spread of Greek manners, women magistrates are very frequently alluded to.

The life of man was conceived in that old religion as coming from the Great Mother: the heroes of the land were described as the sons of the goddess, and at death they returned to the mother who bore them. The god, the male element in the Divine nature, was conceived as a secondary figure to the Great Mother; he was recognized as only an incidental and subsidiary actor in the drama of nature and of life, while the permanent feature of the Divine nature is its motherhood, as the kindly protecting and teaching power. In later development, under the influence of external conditions and foreign immigration, more importance (especially in the exoteric cult) was attached to the god: see § VIII (7).

That conception of the Divine power was prompted and strengthened by the physical character of the land. The great plateau, where the religion had its ancient home, was separated from the sea by broad and lofty mountain walls (and it is on the sea that the sense of personality and individual initiative are most encouraged); and its character tends to discourage the sense of personal power, and to impress on the mind the insignificance of man, and his absolute dependence on the Divine power.* But the Divine was kind, lavish of good gifts in rain and useful winds and fountains of water and everything that was needed; but all those good things required skill and work and obedience to the divinely taught methods, in order to take advantage of them. Disobedience to the Divine commands meant ruin and unproductiveness. Obedience was the prime necessity. With patience and observance the children of the earth found that the Divine power was a protecting, watchful, and kind mother.

That character is permanently impressed on the history of the land and the people; not vigour and initiative, but receptivity and impressibility, swayed the spirit of the people, breathed through the atmosphere that surrounded them, and marks their fate throughout history;† and this spirit can be seen as a continuous force, barely perceptible at any moment, yet powerful in the long-run, acting on every new people, and subtly influencing every new religion that came into the land. Thus, for example, the earliest trace of the high veneration of the Virgin Mary in the Christian religion is in a Phrygian inscription of the 2nd cent.; and the earliest example of a holy place consecrated to the Mother of God as already almost a Divine personality is at Ephesus, where her home among the mountains* is probably as old as the Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431.

In regard to the nature of the Goddess-Mother, it is unnecessary to repeat what has been said in vol. i. p. 605 on the nature of Diana: that whole article may be assumed here.

(2) *The growth of mythology as the story of the life of the Great Mother.*—The Great Mother, evidently, was often imagined simply as the Divine guardian and protecting mother, without any distinctly sexual character being thought of. But her character as the mother could not be separated from the sexual idea in the popular mind; and, naturally, it is on this side that most of the mythology and dramatic action connected with the Divine story originates. The mystery of life, the succession of child to parent and of crop to seed, the growth of plant and tree and animal and man, lay deep in the minds of the primitive Anatolian people or peoples. They regarded all these phenomena as manifestations of the same ultimate Divine power. The custom of killing a human being in the field that his life may pass into the coming crop and make it grow well, is clearly implied in the legend of Lityerses at Celænæ. Similarly, the life of the tree is the life of the Dryad or Nymph. Each form can pass into the others, if the suitable situation occurs.

The life of nature begins anew every spring. This process is the life of the Great Mother: her child is born every year. Sometimes this birth was imagined as originating through her own innate power; she combined, as it were, the male and the female principle in herself. In Caria and in Cyprus this took the grotesque form that the supreme god was bisexual, and some repulsive legends were founded on this barbarous idea. These are probably not strictly Anatolian: they are distortions of the original thought, for a male deity imagined as endowed with some bisexual characteristics does not explain the continuance and perpetuation of the life of nature. They probably arose among immigrant peoples, like the Carians, whose national character substituted a god for a mother-goddess as the supreme conception of Divinity.

Certainly, that bisexual idea was on the whole rejected in the development of Anatolian religious symbolism; and little mythology was founded on it. More common is the idea that the Great Mother conceives through the influence of some flower or fruit, or in some other non-sexual way, as in the birth of Attis at Pessinus.† Not unrelated to this is the already mentioned idea that the god-serpent was the father of the Divine child.

But far more characteristic and widespread, and more simple and natural, is it to describe the Divine life more exactly according to the analogy of the natural world. The Divine nature is then imagined as divided between the two sexes; there is the god and the goddess, and the process of the Divine life evolves itself in the reciprocal action of the Divine pair and the birth of a new offspring: thus we find that the God-Father, the Goddess-Mother, and the Son (Dionysos, Sabazios, etc.) or the Daughter (Kora, etc.), are all assumed as essential to the drama of Divine life in numerous cults and myths.

While we cannot penetrate, in the dearth of evidence, to the earliest forms of these sacred myths and of the cult usages with which they are connected, it seems only reasonable to suppose that they began in a simple and self-consistent form. The view which forces itself on us is that the drama of the Divine life was at first understood and presented to the worshippers in some single and definite form at a time, and not in a confused mixture of different forms. In this ancient ritual the goddess is generally the important and essential figure, while the god is an adjunct needed for the proper development of her life, who passes out of notice when he has fulfilled his part in the drama; and in many cases the union of the two is described as a crime against some law, or actually as an act of fraud or violence even of the most abominable character, which sometimes entails punishment even unto death.

---

* See the art. on 'Geographical Conditions determining History and Religion in Asia Minor' in the *Geographical Journal*, Sept. 1902, where the subject is more fully treated.

† See the art. in the *Geographical Journal*, as in previous note.

* See above, § IV (2).

† Pausanias, vii. 17.

(3) *Myths of the goddess and the god.*—Sometimes the union of the goddess and the god is pictured under the forms of agriculture, as of Demeter with Iasion 'in the thrice-ploughed fallow field.' Thus the goddess bears the Divine child; but Iasion is slain by the thunderbolt; for a life must be given in primitive ritual that the crop may acquire the power to grow. This cult myth (ἱερὸς λόγος) is connected with the Samothracian Mysteries and with Crete, two ancient centres of the primitive population, which we may now call Pelasgian, using the same name that the Greeks used, though modern scholars long ridiculed it.

Most important and most instructive as to the nature of the Anatolian religion is the idea, described above in § III (7), that the Divine power and the Divine life are revealed in the nature of the bee. As we have seen, the form of the Ephesian goddess (a form not restricted to Ephesus, but widely prevalent in Lydian and Phrygian cities) is modelled far more closely on the shape of the bee than of the woman. Now, the life of the queen bee (as described in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*^{9}, whose account may be given more shortly in the following terms) is the best explanation of the Attis legend. As regards reproduction, the opinion was once maintained that the queen bee was in herself sufficient without any male bee, or that the male principle was conveyed to the queen without her coming into contact with a male. But it has been clearly proved that the queen comes into relation with a male bee while taking a flight in the air; and if she does not find a mate within three weeks of her birth the power of intercourse seems to become lost. In the intercourse the male is robbed of the organs concerned; and thus mutilated is left to perish on the ground. His existence seems to have no object apart from the queen bee, and he fulfils no other function and no other duty in life. This description applies with striking exactness to the relation between the Mother-Goddess and the god, who (as we have seen) exists merely to be her consort, and is quite an insignificant personage apart from his relation to her. We must here anticipate what is said in later sections as to the character and original importance of the Goddess-Mother, and as to the growth of the dignity of the god in historic development, in order to bring out the bee nature in her life-history. The god consorted with the goddess by stealth and violence: the goddess was angry at the outrage: she mutilated the assailant, or caused him to be mutilated (*exsectis virilibus semivirum tradidit*). Even the false but not unnatural opinions about the impregnation of the queen bee have obvious analogies in the myths about the Mother-Goddess.

The myths riot in variations on this ugly theme, and we need not allude to them, except in so far as they are necessary for understanding the facts. The god, though mutilated, must still be living in perfect form, for the life of nature (whose annual bloom he represents) is renewed in perfection every year; and accordingly the myth sometimes tells that the penalty was inflicted vicariously, ἀποσπάσας ὁ Ζεὺς τοῦ κριοῦ τοὺς διδύμους φέρων ἐν μέσοις ἔρριψε τοῖς κόλποις τῆς Δηοῦς, τιμωρίαν ψευδῆ τῆς βιαίας συμπλοκῆς ἐκτιννύων, where there is an obvious reference to the treatment which the sacred instructions prescribe for domesticated animals.* Further, purely fanciful developments in Greek myth produced such tales as that the goddess was a lover of the god, and mutilated him in jealousy, or that the mutilation was intended to compel and enforce chastity. Such tales are absolutely opposed to the original Anatolian idea, which is intended to account for the fruitfulness and new life of nature. The subject offered a good opening for attack to the Christian polemical writers, Clemens Alexandrinus, Firmicus Maternus, Arnobius, etc.; and they are our best authorities. The accounts which they give, hideous as they are and concentrating attention only on the evils, must be accepted as correctly stating facts: it would have ruined their effect if they had not been recognized as true statement of facts. Moreover, they are corroborated in various details by pagan authorities; and as a whole they bear the unmistakable stamp of truth, but not the whole truth.

The myths in their older form, as distinguished from the fanciful variations, are obviously in the closest relation to the ritual: they are simply descriptions of the drama as represented in the sacred rites.

At other times the union of the two Divine natures is pictured after the animal world: Demeter as the mare meets the horse Zeus, Pasiphae became the cow, and so on. Popular and poetic imagination, which sported in the most licentious fashion with all those myths of the Divine unions, worked out this class of tales especially with the most diabolical and repulsive ingenuity; and it is in the degraded conception of the Divine nature implied in these abominable fantastic developments that the Christians who inveighed against the pagan religion found their most telling weapons. The mythology that grew around this subject would in itself make a large subject; but, though it possesses considerable interest as bearing on history and social customs, it has little value from a religious point of view.

These exaggerated and really distorted myths did not remain mere tales. They reacted on the ritual, which grew and elaborated itself and took in new elements in the lapse of time. But in this process of elaboration there was no real religious development, but simply degradation.

(4) *The birth and death of the Divine nature.*—The mystery of birth is matched by the mystery of death, and the one occupied the mind of the primitive Anatolian peoples as much as the other. Death was regarded and imagined by them under similar illustrative forms drawn from external nature; and the Divine nature, which is the model and prototype of all the activity of man, was seen living and dying in the life of trees and plants, of grass and corn. The recurring death of nature, the bright and beautiful luxuriance of spring cut off in its prime by the sun of summer, the joy and warmth of the summer alternating with the coldness and darkness of the long severe winter on the Anatolian plateau, the light of day transformed into the deadness of night, furnished a series of expressions of the same principle; and mythology and cult are full of them. In numberless local varieties the same truth is expressed: the young hero is slain in the pride of life and the joy of his

---

* See above, § III (7 f.).

art: Marsyas the sweet rustic musician vies with the god, and is by the god hung up on the plane tree and flayed: Hylas is drowned in the fountain by the nymph who longs for him and takes him away to herself from the earth: the twelve children of Niobe are all slain by the wrath and arrows of the god: Achilles must die young, and his grave was shown at various seats of his worship, in Elis, in the Troad, on the south Russian coasts. The eternal contradiction repeats itself: the life of nature is slain, yet reappears: it is slain by the Divine power, yet it is in itself the embodiment of the Divine power: the god slays the god: on this, mythology plays in endless variations of the same tale.

With this obvious fact of the death of nature, its birth is equally obviously connected. The life of nature never ends: it dies only to be born, different and yet the same. Men mourn for the dead god, and immediately their mourning is turned to joy, for the god is reborn. The mourning over Attis in the Phrygian worship of Cybele was succeeded by the *Hilaria*, as the lamentation for Adonis or 'Thammuz yearly wounded' in Syria was followed by the rejoicing over his rejuvenation.

With this subject the largest and the most valuable class of myths is connected; but the few examples which have been quoted above must suffice.

VII. RITUAL AND CEREMONIAL. — We have spoken of the growth of mythology before speaking of the ritual in which the Anatolian religious ideas sought to express themselves. This order must not be taken as implying the opinion that myth is, either logically or chronologically, prior to ritual. On the contrary, ritual comes first, and myth is secondary: myth grows around the rite, and explains it or justifies it or enlarges it to the popular mind. But myth begins from the very origin of ritual, and there was probably never a time when rite existed free from myth. The human mind must from the beginning describe and think about and imagine to itself the reason and nature of the religious rite; and its thought and fancy and description express themselves as myth. But the ritual has perished, while fragments of the mythology have been preserved; and it is through the myths, compared with some rare pieces of evidence about the rites, that we penetrate back to the ritual.

(1) *The origin of ritual.* — The ritual of the Anatolian religion is very imperfectly known. So far as we are able to discover, it is founded entirely on the idea that the Divine nature is the model according to which human life must be arranged. The god, or rather the Goddess-Mother, is the teacher, protector, corrector, and guide for an obedient family of children. What they ought to do is to imitate the Divine life and practise the divinely revealed methods. The ritual is the whole body of Divine teaching. The sacrifice, as the method whereby man can approach and seek help from Divine power, has been revealed by God; so the god was at the beginning the first priest, and the ritual is the repetition before successive generations of mankind of the original life of the Divine beings. The successive priests in the cultus were each of them representative for the time being of the god; each wore the dress and insignia, and even bore the name of the god.

In accordance with this principle various reliefs are to be explained, in which the representation is grouped in different zones: in the upper zone the Divine figures appear in their own proper circle of circumstances; in the lower zone the Divine figures appear as brought into relations with mankind, their worshippers, and, *e.g.*, as teaching men the method of sacrifice and offering. One of the best examples has been published by an old traveller, Wagener, in his *Inscr. rec. en Asie Mineure*, pl. i. It is still in existence, and will be republished in the proper chapter of the *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, iii.

According to our view, then, the Anatolian religious ritual was a representation or repetition of the stages and actions of the Divine life. The important stages in human life were embraced therein; and human individuals made their lives right and holy by performing their actions after the Divine plan.

This is a large subject. It is as wide as the life of the ancient Anatolian races, and in its full breadth it would have to include the progress of history and the march of conquerors and of immigration, for all those events affected and modified ritual. Here we touch on a few details only. Fortunately, circumstances favoured the preservation, throughout the dominance of paganism, of an important part of the primitive ritual under the form of *Mysteria* in many of its original seats, not merely in Anatolia, but also in Attica, Samothrace, etc. The primitive forms were not, indeed, kept pure, but were adulterated by many additions; but still they remained; and if we had a complete knowledge of the *Mysteria*, we could go far to recover the primitive forms. It is necessary here to treat together the Anatolian and the Greek Mysteries, anticipating part B.

(2) *The Mysteries.* — The ancient ritual of the Greek or Pelasgian tribes was overlaid but not destroyed by later religious forms of more 'Hellenic' character. In mythology this is expressed by tales of the conquest of the old deities by younger gods, Kronos or Saturn by Zeus or Jupiter, Marsyas by Apollo, etc. In such cases the old religion, though conquered, is not extirpated, but only submerged. It takes a long time, and much education, to eradicate a religion from the popular heart: the hearts of the educated and privileged classes are more easily changed. When the new religion stands on a distinctly higher platform than the old, or is of an uncompromising nature, the ancient beliefs persist in some such form as magic and witchcraft and rites proscribed as unhallowed and evil, and the older gods are stigmatized as devils: see B, §§ I, V; C, § III (5).

But in this case the new religion was not uncompromising, but singularly accommodating in type. Its spirit was polytheistic and eclectic in the highest degree. It had little objection to a pair or a score or a hundred of additional gods, old or new. Where laws existed in the Greek cities forbidding the introduction of 'new gods,' the intention was rather political than religious: the dread was lest anything should be introduced that would disturb the delicate equilibrium of Hellenic city-constitution, and especially anything that would prove self-assertive or bigoted, and would tend to subvert the established city religion, which formed an essential element of the city-constitution, and was to a great extent political in character: see B, § IV (14).

Accordingly, the old forms persisted in the form of Mysteries, sanctioned by the State as ancient and holy, yet distinctly regarded as a survival not quite in keeping with the true Hellenic religion. The old gods were still considered and reverenced as gods, admitted as members of the Hellenic Pantheon; and though Zeus was nominally the supreme god, yet in some ways the old gods whom he had dethroned were esteemed more holy and more efficacious than he. The name *Mysteria*, which was given to the ancient rites, was indicative of an element of secrecy, and a certain uncanny character, as of ideas which were not to be admitted as part of ordinary life.

What, then, were the Mysteries? In what lay their essential character? Before trying to answer this question we must point out that, though there is in the general view a distinct separation between Mysteries and the cults of the properly Hellenic gods, yet in practice and in detail they pass into one another, so that it is impossible in some cases to say what category certain rites fall under. But there is a general type characterizing all the cults called Mysteries; and, as we shall see, the great Mysteries were in Roman times developed so as to be even more strikingly similar to one another. The Mysteries of the Anatolian religion may be conveniently summed up under the name Phrygian Mysteries, as they are commonly called by the ancient writers; but they were celebrated far beyond the bounds of Phrygia. The name *Mysteria* was, doubtless, given to them in Asia Minor rather from their analogy to the *Mysteria* of Greece proper; and not because they were considered there so mystic and separate from ordinary religion as they were in Greece proper. In the cities of Asia Minor, however, the Greek or Hellenic views of religion became steadily more effective; and as those views grew stronger, the native religion was more and more felt to be of the nature of *Mysteria*.

(3) *Nature of the Mysteries.*—In the Anatolian religion, either originally or at some stage in its history (whether through contact with some other race or through some other educational influence), the idea of the recurring death and new birth of the natural world—regarded, of course, as the annual death and rebirth of the Divine life—was combined with the fact of the sequence of generations in human life. The same sequence must exist in the Divine nature, for the Divine nature is the counterpart and prototype of the human in all stages of its history. The Divine parents and the Divine child correspond to the human. The drama of this Divine life was set before the worshippers in the Mysteries.

But again in the Divine life, as we see it in the annual life of nature, the father is the son, the mother reappears as the daughter: it is never possible to draw any definite line of division between them: the Divine child replaces the parent, different and yet the same. If that is the case with the Divine, the same must be the case in human life. The stream of human life goes on continuously, changing yet permanent; and death is only a moment in the succession. Here the idea of immortality and a life of man wider than the limits of the material world is touched.

Obviously, an important aspect of religion is here introduced. Human life is regarded as permanent and everlasting, like the Divine life of nature; and the religion of the grave is the foundation of the entire religion [see also § VIII (5)]. That man when he dies becomes a god, was considered already in the 4th cent. B.C. to be part of the teaching conveyed in the Mysteries, as is shown in the curious metrical inscriptions engraved on plates of gold which have been found in graves of South Italy and Crete, and which belong to that and the following centuries. There the deification is considered to be the result of initiation; but in the primitive religion, when all men were religious and the Mysteries were the religion of the whole people and not restricted to some chosen *mystæ*, the dead all went back to the god from whom they came. In a very ingenious paper, S. Reinach has discovered the mystic formula uttered by the initiated—'a kid I have fallen into the milk,' which conveyed in symbolic terms the same meaning as the words which the goddess of the world of death seems to have addressed to the initiated dead who came before her—'thou hast become a god instead of a man,' or 'thou shalt be a god instead of a mortal.'[*]

It is certain that the pagan apologists, defending the established religion and attacking the Christian, found this philosophic meaning in the ritual of the Mysteries, in which that early religion still lived on. That this meaning was implicit in the ritual from the beginning seems fairly certain. That it was understood by some persons is probable, and that some development of the ritual was made at some time or times to give more emphasis to the meaning is also probable. Not merely people in general, but also some of the most educated among the Greeks, believed in the salutary effect of the Eleusinian Mysteries; and this salutary effect is expressly connected with the future world.[†] Advantages in the world of death (or of life) are said to be gained by those who are initiated; and those advantages are not the result of the mere ritual observance. The initiated are said to grow better; and salvation in the future life is said by Isocrates to be gained both by the initiated and by all who live a pious and just life (*Symm.* xii. 266).

But this effect of the Mysteries was not attained or helped by any formal instruction. It was dependent entirely on the intense interest and eager contemplation of the initiated, and the strong impression produced on their minds. The ceremonies at Eleusis took place at night, after a considerable period of preparation and purification: the purification consisted mainly in ritualistic acts, but not entirely so, for probably some stress was laid on the condition that the initiated must be pure in heart and not conscious of having committed any crime: they were, certainly, left to judge for themselves of their own moral purity, and the best ancient pagan conception of purity was consistent with habitual disregard of some of the elementary moral rules of the Christian and of the Hebrew religion. But the principle of moral purity was admitted, even though only in a very defective and poor form; and that was a great thing, at least in comparison with the general character of ancient paganism.

After this preparation, and when in a state of high expectancy, the initiated were admitted to see the drama of the Divine life: the words spoken in the drama were few, and concerned only with the action: the mystic objects were simple in character: the most holy and crowning act at Eleusis was the ear of corn mowed down silently. But there was a belief ready in the minds of the spectators that certain truths were enigmatically expressed in the action, though, as the ancient writers say, a philosophic training and a reverent religious frame of mind were required to comprehend them.[‡]

The details of the Mystic drama set before the worshippers cannot here be described. A very brief description is given, in vol. iii. p. 467, of the ceremonial of the Eleusinian Mysteries; and in the last few paragraphs we have had those Mysteries chiefly in mind.

---

[*] That the kid is here the mystic form of Dionysos, as the God-Son in the Divine nature, is generally recognized: see S. Reinach, *Rev. Arch.*, Sept. 1901, p. 205 (though we cannot go with him beyond what we have adopted from him in the text above). The Phrygian Zeus Galaktinos, or Galaktios, may be brought into comparison (*Histor. Geogr. As. Min.* p. 235, and A. Körte, *Beilage zum Vorlesungsverzeichniss*, Greifswald, 1902, p. 30): he is the god of the pastoral people of the great plains and the grassy hills of Phrygia.

[†] Plato, *Phædr.* p. 250, *Epinomis*, p. 986; Isocr. *Paneg.* vi. p. 59, § 28; Pindar, *fr.* 96 (H.); Soph. *fr.* 719 (Dind.); Crinagoras in *Anthol.* ii. 332 (Jac.); Diodorus Sic. *Hist.* v. 49; Cicero, *de Legg.* ii. 14; Andocides, *de Myst.* § 31; Sopater, *Diær. Zetem.* p. 121 in Walz, *Rhet. Græc.*; Theon. Smyrn. *Mathem.* i. p. 18 (Bull); Strabo, p. 467 f.; Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* i. 15, 17; Herod. viii. 65; and many other passages (see Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* i. p. 67 ff., etc.; Lenormant in *Contemp. Review*, Sept. 1880, p. 429 ff., and in Daremberg-Saglio's *Dict. Antiq.* ii. p. 579 ff. etc.).

[‡] See Aristotle, quoted by Synesius, *Orat.* p. 48, ed. Petau; Galen, *de Us. Part.* vii. 14 (ed. Kuhn); Plut. *Defect. Orac.* 22, etc.: see preceding note.

(4) *The character of the Phrygian and the Greek Mysteries.*—Probably there was not a wide difference even in the beginning, and still less in later times, between the Eleusinian and the Phrygian Mysteries as regards actual ritual: many ceremonies were probably common to both, and in both there was much that was disgusting and repulsive. Yet the Phrygian Mysteries are described as abominable and immoral by the older Greek writers, even by those who praise and admire the Eleusinian: the former were believed to ruin and degrade a Greek city, but the latter to save and ennoble it. The difference lay not simply in the fact that some repulsive ceremonies are quoted by the Christians as peculiar to the Phrygian Mysteries; for much of what remains in Clemens' description of the Eleusinian is equally detestable. The real superiority of the Eleusinian over the Phrygian Mysteries lay, first, in a certain difference of spirit, as the Greek sense of order and measure and art undoubtedly gave a harmony and artistic character to their version of the Oriental forms; and, secondly, in the fact that, as known in Greece proper, the Phrygian Mysteries were introduced by slaves and foreigners, and participated in by the superstitious and the ignorant: they were celebrated for money by strolling priests, and any one who paid a fee was initiated without preparation except some ritual acts: there was no solemnity in the surroundings, and no dignity in the ceremonial, but all was vulgar and sordid. A very few persons, also, might observe that the slight requirement of moral purity made at Eleusis had become a mere phrase in those street celebrations, and that advantages in the future world were promised in return for mere participation in those vulgar rites. But that observation was probably beyond the ordinary range of even the educated Greeks.

As regards the many disgusting details against which the Christian writers direct their polemic, the admirers of the Mysteries might defend them by arguing* that religion places us face to face with the actual facts of life, and that, when the mind is exalted and ennobled by intense religious feeling, it is able to contemplate with pure insight phenomena of nature and life in which the vulgar mind sees nothing but grossness. They would point out that the language of religion may be and ought to be plainer and more direct than the language of common life. These arguments are weighty; but one has only to read the undeniable accounts given by Clemens, Arnobius, etc., to see how insufficient they are to palliate the ugliness of the ritual.

In primitive thought the direct and simple expression of the facts of life would need no apology and no explanation. The feature of the Mysteries that needs and is incapable of apology is that, as known to us in later time, they are not simple and direct: they are elaborate and artificial products of diseased religion. They stand before us as the culmination of a long development; and the development has been a depravation, not an elevation, of a ritual which had at first been naïve and direct in its simple rudeness.

(5) *The growth of ritual.*—The process of growth in ritual went on in two ways.

(*a*) In the meeting of two different races their respective religions affected one another. Doubtless, the one generally swamped and submerged the other; but the apparent victor was not unaffected in the process. An indubitable example is seen in the Lydian Katakekaumene, otherwise called Mæonia. Here an old Mæonian or Lydian population was mixed with a body of colonists introduced by the Persian kings five centuries B.C.; and in the Roman inscriptions six or seven hundred years later the goddess is called Artemis Anaitis, the first name being her ordinary title in Lydian cities, and the second being Persian. In other Lydian cities, where the same mixture of population took place, the goddess is called Artemis Persike, in which the same religious mixture is even more clearly expressed. In cultus, obscure as that subject always is, it is certain that the fire-worship and Magian priests of the Persians were thus introduced into those Lydian cities.*

(*b*) There was often a conscious and deliberate elaboration of forms and ritual by the priesthood. This enlargement of the ceremonial was the result of an attempt to adapt the established religion to popular taste, and was accomplished chiefly by introducing rites that had proved fashionable. The Mysteries celebrated at different religious centres competed with one another in attractiveness, for there was much to gain from a great concourse of worshippers in any city. Hence all of them adapted to their own purposes elements which seemed to be effective in others; and thus a marked similarity of character between the rites of Eleusis, Samothrace, and Anatolia came to exist. Sometimes, at least, new priests were added along with the new ceremonies. These ceremonies were often derived from or influenced by the growth of mythology, and they seem (so far as the scanty evidence justifies an opinion) to have generally tended to obscure any healthy religious idea that lay in the ritual, and to have increased the ugly and repulsive element.

The older forms of religion are the simpler, but it is not probable that any form was ever absolutely simple. There is a certain tendency in human nature to mingle forms, and to see the Divine idea under several aspects. Just as in early literary expression metaphors are often mixed, so in primitive thought different envisagements of the Divine power arise simultaneously, and these pass into one another without the inconsistency being felt. Still, it is beyond question that, when we get any of these religious ideas at an early stage, it has a simpler form and embodies a single process, though the accompanying religious myth may express the process in a way that involves some inconsistency in details. This ancient form is markedly and unmistakably different from the elaborate and artificial ritual of later times.

Especially, the elaborate dramas of the later Mysteries, as played before the initiated in the Roman Imperial period, are obviously composed by a process of syncretism out of various inharmonious and inconsistent cults. In the story enacted in the Eleusinian Mysteries, as described by Clemens Alexandrinus, there are traces so obviously Phrygian, that many modern scholars have regarded his whole description as applying to the Phrygian Mysteries alone. But Clemens distinctly implies that he is describing the Eleusinian Mysteries, and he illustrates his description and his invective by quoting other details, saying that these are taken from the Phrygian Mysteries. The explanation of these facts, undoubtedly, must be that the later Eleusinian Mysteries had been influenced by the Phrygian Mysteries.

That details from various sources were united in those later Mysteries is shown by their composite character: there is not merely the fundamental element, the story of the Divine father and mother and the birth of the child: there are several such stories interlocked in one another: the god-bull, the god-ram, the god-serpent, appear in different details, and pass into each other in kaleidoscopic fashion. There is here an original germ and a series of successive additions due to the reception of new religious forms and ideas, which were incorporated in the growing ceremonial.

---

* The following sentences are slightly modified from the writer's article 'Mysteries' in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*⁹.

* Pausanias, v. 27. 6, VII. 6. 6; the name Artemis Persike is found often on coins of Hierocæsarea in Lydia. See also Head, *Catalogue of Coins, Brit. Mus.: Lydia*, pp. lviii-lxvi and 111 ff.

(6) *Purification.*—This subject has been alluded to in § III (6), where the later rules of ceremonial purity are mentioned. But there can be no doubt that certain practices of purification were prescribed in the original Anatolian ritual. The Greek purificatory rules for homicides were identical with the Lydian;[*] and, as the Lydian cannot be supposed to be derived from the Greek, we must here see an example of the influence which throughout ancient times was exerted by Anatolian religion on Greek. In these and in the preparation for the Mysteries the swine was the cleansing animal.

The ceremonial of purification after homicide carries the inquirer back to a very primitive stage. As the ritual was common to Greece and Lydia (and doubtless Phrygia also, as is probable though unattested), we may presume that the early Greek ideas connected with it are true of Anatolia also. Now, one of the rites of the Dionysiac festival *Anthesteria* was called 'the Cans' (Χόες), because every celebrant drank out of a separate can; and the myth explained that Demophon, son of Theseus, instituted the custom when Orestes came to Athens unpurified: wishing to receive him hospitably, yet not to let an impure person drink out of the same cup as the pure worshippers, the king ordered that every person should drink from his own can separately, and proposed a prize to the best drinker. Here the rite of competition and prize-giving to an individual victor is Hellenic, and belongs to the later development (B, § III). But other elements in the ceremony point to an early date; the chief rite was the marriage of the representative woman or queen among the people (the wife of the Archon Basileus) to the god; and the idea was also associated with this day that it was accursed, for the dead arose on it and must be propitiated. Here again the idea of connecting evil omen and a curse with the dead is Hellenic and late (see B, § V); but the association of the rising from the dead with the Divine marriage is primitive and original. Similarly, we may regard the horror against a homicide partaking of the common cup as a thoroughly primitive idea; he must be purified before taking part in that sacred ceremony of civilized man, the drinking of the common cup. But the application of this to the rite of 'the Cans' is late, and probably founded on a misconception. In the marriage of the risen god and the queen, as an annual rite to ensure wealth and increase to the land (which at that season, 12th February, was being prepared for the coming year's crop and harvest), the common cup was partaken of only by the bridal pair [see § VIII (1)]; and the people in general rejoice separately as individual spectators of the holy rite.

The distinction between the unity and close relationship implied by the ritualistic drinking from the common cup and the separateness implied by drinking from separate cups is a noteworthy feature; and explicit emphasis was probably placed on it in the ceremony; but the details are unknown. Similarly, in the Christian Sacrament the Saviour laid emphasis on the breaking and distribution from one loaf, in contrast to the use in ordinary Oriental meals of a loaf for each guest (see 1 Co $10^{16f.}$). See further, § VIII (1) and (6).

The most important fact for us in purification is that it implies some germs of a conception of sin which has to be atoned for before the worshipper may approach the Divine power. Breaking an oath and refusal to restore money entrusted to one's care entail impurity; and the Divine anger punishes any one who approaches the sanctuary without expiating such a crime. It is, however, true that impurity equally results from offence against purely ceremonial rules, and that the conception of sin and expiation which is revealed in the evidence on this subject is of a very humble kind; but there was at least a germ capable of higher development, though there is little or no sign that any development ever took place, except perhaps to some small extent through the contact with and resistance to Christianity.

Guilt and impurity entailed punishment. The punishment seems to have been inflicted in some cases independently of any disrespect to the Deity due to entering the holy place in a state of impurity. The sin results directly, and without the sinner entering the sanctuary, in punishment at the hand of the god or goddess, who therefore must sometimes have been conceived as on the watch to punish sin. Here again there is the germ of higher moral conceptions.[*]

But the utilitarian element which is so clear in many features of the primitive Anatolian religion can be distinctly traced also in the rules of purification. The Goddess-Mother was the teacher and guide of her people from their birth till she received them back to her in death. The ablutions which she required from them were an excellent sanitary precaution; and if the whole system of purificatory rules were known to us, this side would probably be much more obvious and incontestable.

(7) *Confession.*—A remarkable and important fact in connexion with impurity and sin was that the process of expiation seems to have involved (whether obligatorily or voluntarily, we cannot be sure; but probably obligatorily) a public confession. Sense of guilt was brought home to the individual by some punishment, generally disease (fever, in which the unseen Divine fire consumes the strength and the life, was recognized as the most characteristic expression[†] of Divine wrath). Thereupon the sinner confessed, acknowledged the power, and appeased the anger of the god or goddess, and was cured and forgiven. Finally, as a warning to others, the confession, the punishment, and the absolution were engraved often on a stele and deposited in the sanctuary.[‡] See also below, C, § III (4).

(8) *Approaching the Deity.*—Apart from prescribed ritual, the worshipper came voluntarily to the god or goddess for three purposes: (*a*) to pray for good for himself or his family; this was called εὐχή in Greek, and the prayer was necessarily accompanied by giving, or by a promise to give, something in return to the Deity, if the desire was granted: thus εὐχή (in Latin, *votum*) involved both prayer and sacrifice or vow: it was a sort of bargain with the Divine power; (*b*) to imprecate evil on one's enemies (ἀρά, κατάρα, ἐπαρά): this was really a variety of the former, for ἀρά strictly means 'prayer'; but in the development of Greek religion it was commonly and almost invariably addressed to the powers of the old régime, who had become mysterious, occult, and uncanny, and passed more and more into the sphere of magic. The vow in this case fell into disuse, for the occult powers were not gratified by public gifts, but by the mere recognition of their

---

[*] Herod. i. 31.

[*] See papers on 'The Early Church and the Pagan Ritual' in the *Expository Times*, 1898–99 (vol. x.), especially p. 108 f.

[†] This is shown most clearly in the curses engraved on leaden tablets, in which the wrath of the Deity is invoked against any enemy or false friend; it is usually the Divine fire which is invoked to destroy the fever-struck wretch.

[‡] On this subject see *op. cit.* in footnote * above.

efficaciousness: the mere approaching them in the proper ritual and method enabled the worshipper to call them into action on his side, and he could as it were compel them to act by addressing them by the proper formulæ (which thus acquired a magic character); but some kind of sacrifice was an invariable part of the ritual.* (*c*) To invoke the Deity as a witness of what they were about to say or had said (ὅρκος). This, again, was strictly a variety of the previous class, for the *horkos* was simply an imprecation of evil on oneself in case one were speaking falsely. The person swears by the Deity whom he invokes as a witness, and who is his *horkos*; and, as the form was very ancient, the object sworn by might be an animal or a stone, as the primitive embodiment or home of Divine power: such was the old Cretan oath associated with the name of Rhadamanthus (though the Scholiast on Aristoph. *Av.* 520 speaks as if Rhadamanthus were the inventor of such milder forms of oath, as by the dog, the goose, the ram, etc.): such also was the sacred Latin oath, *per Jovem lapidem*. An oath, as being really a prayer to the Deity, was properly accompanied by a sacrifice.

In all such cases the prayer or oath is binding on the descendants or representatives of him who has invoked the Deity, and the consequences may fall on them even generations later. It was not uncommon to bring the children to the place where the oath was taken, and thus make them explicitly and publicly parties to the act and sharers in its consequences.

These voluntary and occasional acts, which persisted alongside of the stated ritual, were older than, and gave rise to, ritual. The asking of help from the god in difficulties or troubles was as old as the idea of a god; for in the Anatolian belief the god was the helper and teacher. The way in which he was efficaciously approached naturally came gradually to be stereotyped as ritual, and was regarded as revealed by the god, who was in this way his own first priest, and teacher of his own rites.

(9) *Priests.*—The original idea which gave rise to the Anatolian priesthood has become clear in the preceding investigation. The priest is the bearer of the Divine knowledge; he can teach men how to approach and propitiate the Divine power. This knowledge was originally taught by the Divine Being personally to men; in other words, the god is the first priest, performing as an example to his successors the due ceremonies. The idea of a Divine revelation, through which man becomes aware of the nature and will of God, is here present in a very crude and rude form; and it is hardly possible to distinguish how far this rudeness is the real primitive simplicity of a very early stage, when thought is hardly separated from the sensuous accompaniments through which it is suggested to men, and how far it may be imparted by degeneration, *i.e.* by the stereotyping of primitive sensuous forms, and the loss of the germ of thought implicated in those forms.

While the priest in this ancient stage of religion possesses the knowledge and imparts it to the worshippers, he is not considered to be necessary in himself. The worshipper, whether a private individual who approaches the Deity on behalf of himself and his family, or an official or magistrate who acts on behalf of the State or body which he represents, needs no intermediary between himself and the god. Provided he can perform fully and correctly his part in the transaction,† the Deity is satisfied and must respond. The priest or helper is needed only to keep the worshipper right, to guard him against errors, and to help him to understand the way in which the Deity replies or conveys information; in other words, the helping priest merely acts as instructor, while the worshipper plays the part of priest-officiator, and performs the series of acts which the god himself originally did as an example to mankind who come after him.

In this stage there is not, in the strict sense, any priest or any sacerdotal order or caste, though naturally the Divine knowledge would tend to be handed down from father to son. Priests in the strictest sense begin only when a person permanently assumes the place of the god's representative, and plays the part of the god regularly in the ritual as it was rehearsed at the proper intervals before a body of worshippers. The priest in this fuller sense was connected with and helped the growth of an anthropomorphic conception of the Deity. He was the representative on earth of the god as the priestess was of the goddess; and the two played their parts year after year in the Divine drama, which constituted the most important part of the growing body of ritual.

The priest who represented the god wore his dress,* and in some cases, probably in most, assumed his name. In Pessinus, for example, the chief priest was called Atis, as is shown by inscriptions of the 2nd cent. B.C.; and undoubtedly this was simply the name of the god variously spelt Attis or Atys or Ates, and was assumed as an official title, implying that the office was ἱερώνυμος, *i.e.* the bearer lost his individual name and assumed a hieratic name when he entered on office.

In Asia Minor the succession to the priesthood was, in all probability, hereditary (according to some principle of inheritance not as yet determined) in early times. Where the Greek element entered sufficiently strongly, this principle was usually altered; some more democratic principle of succession was substituted; and sometimes life-tenure was changed to tenure for a period of four years, or more frequently of one year, or occasionally even of a shorter period. In some of the more thoroughly Greek cities of the coast, such as Erythræ, the priesthoods of the numberless deities were put up to auction by the State, and sold to the highest bidder. But wherever an early or a more purely Anatolian and less Hellenized condition can be traced, the great priesthoods seem to be for life, and to be connected with certain families.

The number of priests, in this fuller sense, tended to increase from various causes, and to become a sacerdotal order. The possession of knowledge of the Divine law was a powerful engine, for the body of ritual was steadily growing in volume, and any mistake in it would have nullified its effect. Attention was entirely concentrated on details, and the spirit seems to have been wholly lost. But the knowledge of the multitudinous details required study and teaching; and this caused the formation of a priestly caste or order, in which the tradition was handed down. The power of that order rested on the inaccessibility and difficulty of their lore, and on the ignorance of the worshippers; and hence there was every temptation to keep up that ignorance, to multiply details of cultus and make the knowledge of it harder, and to create a bar of separation between the priestly order and the people. But no details are known, though the general principle may be confidently assumed.

Moreover, as the great religious centres or *Hiera* grew into importance (see § IV (4), above), they required a permanent staff of priests and ministers, in order that the increasing number of persons who frequented them might always find help and counsel. In turn the increase of the permanent staff at the great *Hiera* tended to foster the growth of the established ritual. Instead of merely aiding the individual worshipper to perform one single act of the Divine action which suited his special circumstances at the moment, the priests of each *Hieron* on stated occasions set the whole Divine drama before the eyes of bodies of worshippers. While this more elaborate ceremonial had its justification in producing a certain good effect on the spectators, and in imparting ideas to them, yet there was the strongest temptation for the permanent priests to refrain from emphasizing this aspect of the ceremonial, and to elaborate the spectacular side in the way described above. In the simpler Anatolian system of society this strengthened their power (§ VIII (7), below); and in the developed Hellenic system it added to the wealth and influence of the *Hieron* by attracting immense crowds to the great festivals accompanying the annual (or in rare cases biennial) ceremonies.

---

* This second purpose frequently passed into the sphere of magic: see C, § III (4).

† ἐμπορικὴ ἄρα τις εἴη τέχνη ἡ ὁσιότης: Plato, *Euth.* 14 E.

* See *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, i. pp. 56, 103, 110.

Thus there was, necessarily, a large establishment maintained at the principal religious centres: see § IV (4). Besides the great priesthoods there were required large numbers of inferior priests, *ministri* and *ministræ*, to perform the details of the cultus (see § II, above) and prophecy and give attention to the worshippers and the offerings; also *hierodouloi*, of whom there were many thousands at the greatest *Hiera*. The *hierodouloi* had become serfs or slaves attached to the *Hieron* in various ways, and were protected and governed by the theocratic administration of the *Hieron*: on the female *hierodouloi*, see § VIII (2), below. Finally, there was a class of persons called *hieroi*: see next § (10).

It is clearly established by numerous cases, that, in later times at least, there was a college of priests in every religious centre in Anatolia. This college was a hierarchy, with distinct gradation of authority and allotted duties. At Pessinus a priest is described as occupying the fifth or tenth place in order of rank; and in other cases where the evidence shows only that there was a chief and various subordinate priests, we may probably assume from the analogy of Pessinus that strict gradation extended throughout the college. Every religious act was probably the work of the priests as a body (though the chief priest would be the leader); and this furnishes some argument in favour of the Bezan reading ἱερεῖς in Ac 14^{13}, where Prof. Blass condemns that reading on the incorrect ground that there was only one priest for each temple.

(10) *Hieroi*.—This class of persons, mentioned at Ephesus and many other religious centres, and evidently very numerous, have been much discussed, with varying results, by many modern writers. Their status is very obscure. The opinion advocated in the writer's *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i. 147 f., is that the *hieroi* are merely a modification of the non-Hellenic institution of the *hierodouloi* under the influence of Hellenic institutions and spirit. The *hierodouloi* were serfs, but not slaves; whereas the Greek law knew only the grand distinction between freemen and slaves. The peculiar relation of the *hierodouloi* to the *Hieron* gave a power to the latter which was alien to the Hellenic spirit; and the old *hierodouloi* seem to have been transformed in the Hellenized cities into an inferior order of the city population, distinct alike from citizens and from resident strangers and from freedmen. The relation of the *hieroi* to the *Hieron*, and their service at the *Hieron*, seem to have been more a voluntary matter; and violation of it was left to be dealt with by the god; it was not enforced as a rule by legal action.

VIII. INFLUENCE ON SOCIETY AND LIFE.—It is a necessary part of our task to observe the bearing of this religion and ritual on social life; but this subject is too obscure to justify any general statements of a very positive kind; and only a very few details can here be mentioned.

(1) *Marriage*.—There is unmistakable evidence that a marriage ceremony of a religious nature existed, and that this ceremony stood in close relation to a part of the ritual of the Mysteries. In fact, the marriage was, as it were, a reproduction by the bride and bridegroom of a scene from the Divine life, *i.e.* from the mystic drama. The formula, 'I escaped evil: I found better,'* was repeated by the celebrant who was initiated in the Phrygian Mysteries; and the same formula was pronounced as part of the Athenian marriage ceremony. Another formula, 'I have drunk from the *kymbalon*,'† was pronounced by the initiated; and drinking from the same cup has been proved to have formed part of a ceremony performed in the temple by the betrothed pair.‡ It is distinctly stated by a grammarian that the marriage ceremony took the form of celebrating the 'Holy Marriage' in honour of the Divine pair.§ At marriages in Athens certain instruction was imparted to the contracting pair by the priestesses of Demeter and Athena.

The ritual of the Mysteries as reported to us does not contain, it is true, any idea of marriage between the goddess and the god, but on the contrary presents a series of incidents of violence and deceit; and, as we have seen, the whole story is taken straight from the life of nature as seen in animals and crops. Undoubtedly, the suggestion from these incidents would seem to be that the Divine life, which is to form the model and exemplar for mankind, was of that rude and savage kind. But it must be remembered that our information comes from opponents whose object was only to paint the horrors, and not to give a fair judgment of the ritual as a whole. While we must admit the truth of everything they say, we must add what they have omitted; and in all probability they have omitted the reconciliation and the exhibition of the progress of life to a higher level through the influence of religion. That some such exhibition formed part of the Mysteries is made practically certain by certain allusions among the pagan authorities. The formula, 'I escaped evil: I found better,' implies it. So does the whole tone of the defence which the ancients give of the Mysteries. We suppose that the idea of legal union and of marriage formed part of this exhibition and improvement.

Diels, *Sibyllinische Blätter*, p. 48, has observed that part of the marriage ritual was almost identical with the purificatory ceremonies practised in the Mysteries (compare also S. Reinach's ingenious paper, *Rev. Archéol.*, Sept. 1901, p. 210): the connexion was suggested tentatively in the present writer's *Hist. Com. on Galatians*, p. 90; and it may now be regarded as proved.

It is an extremely important fact that the human marriage ceremony was thus celebrated by forms taken from the Mysteries; and the conclusion must be that the human pair repeat the action in the way in which the god and goddess first performed and consecrated it, and that, in fact, they play the parts of the god and goddess in the sacred drama. This single example is, as we may be sure, typical of a whole series of actions. We have seen also that some, probably all, domesticated animals, intended to be eaten, were slain and sacrificed according to an elaborate ritual (§ III (9)); and we may accept as highly probable the general principle that all the important acts of life were regarded as religious ceremonies, which must be performed in the proper fashion, as inaugurated by the god or goddess and taught by them to men. Every important stage in life was modelled on what the goddess or the Divine pair had done, and thus each stage was consecrated by a sort of sacrament. The subject is both wide and obscure: see below, Nos. (5) and (6).

---

* ἔφυγον κακόν· εὗρον ἄμεινον (Demosth. *de Cor.* 259).

† ἐκ κυμβάλου πέπωκα: Firmicus, *de Err. Prof. Relig.* 18.

‡ The proof is given in the present writer's *Historical Com. on the Epistle to the Galatians*, pp. 88–91, and is here strengthened by details there omitted.

§ οἱ γαμοῦντες ποιοῦσι τῷ Διὶ καὶ τῇ Ἥρᾳ ἱεροὺς γάμους: *Lex. Rhetor.* p. 670 Porson, p. 345 Nauck. The grammarian probably did not correctly apprehend the nature of this fact, which he must have got from a good authority. Usener in *Rhein. Mus.* xxx. p. 227, assumes that the reference is to the Athenian 'Holy Marriage,' a festival well known at Athens. But the *Hieros Gamos* was known elsewhere, and the true meaning of the grammarian's words is certainly as stated in the text above.

There are, however, many difficulties connected with the question of Anatolian marriage which must first be noticed briefly.

The practice of marriage between such near relations as father and daughter, mother and son, brother and sister, is often described as common in Asia Minor. This disregard of the common restrictions on marriage is mentioned usually as characteristic of tribes or persons, called *Magusæi*, immigrant from Persia, and diffused over Cappadocia, Phrygia, and Galatia, who retained during the Christian period their mysterious ritual, worshipped fire, refrained from slaying animals (though they employed other people to kill the animals which they required for food).[*] But we must be struck with the fact that, except as regards the worship of fire, we know that all the characteristics attributed to the Magusæi are clearly marked in the Anatolian ritual. The mystic ritual of the Divine life consisted of a series of incestuous unions. The slaying of an animal for food was an impious act, and the impiety was punished in the ritual (§ III (9)), though the animal slain was eaten. Basil, who is one of our authorities about the Magusæi, describes marriage by capture as practised and not harshly judged by ordinary opinion in his own time.[†] Now, marriage by violence is characteristic of the mystic drama.

(2) *Hierodouloi.* — In this connexion another social fact must be noted, viz. ceremonial prostitution of the female *hierodouloi* or slaves of the sanctuary. This custom is known to have been widely practised at the great centres of Anatolian religion. Strabo mentions it at Komana and other Eastern centres. In the West it was characteristic of Lydia generally;[‡] and the women who contributed to build the grave of Alyattes were only employing in a sacred purpose the money which belonged to the goddess. This duty was originally or theoretically incumbent on all unmarried women for a season; but how far it was practically acted on by people in general we have no means of determining. During the Græco-Roman period it seems (so far as the scanty evidence permits any judgment) to have been carried into effect by women of ordinary society only in exceptional cases, on account of some special vow or some Divine command (given in dream or oracle). But, even in the most educated period and society, the custom, though doubtless regarded as a mark of superstition and devotion to an un-Hellenic cult, was recognized and practised in some cases as one of the duties of religion by women who apparently returned to their ordinary place in society after their term of service.[*] Apart from these devotees, the custom was practised in later times by large numbers of women, slaves of the *Hieron*, as a permanent way of life.

It might fairly be disputed whether that custom belonged to the original Anatolian religion, or was part of the accretion which gathered round it in the course of its development. Evidence does not exist to warrant a decided opinion; but the custom probably belongs to a more 'advanced' and artificial state of society than the primitive Anatolian, and is to be ranked as belonging only to its development.[†] This forms part of the ground on which rests our opinion that no trace of elevation can be observed in the history of that religion, but that its development is simply a degradation. The custom is, undoubtedly, not in keeping with the simple type which we attribute to primitive Anatolia, and seems incongruous with the institutions described in the following section. If we are right in this opinion, then the custom would have to be regarded as one of the instances of Oriental influence (like the horror of the swine in § III (6)), due to immigration from the East and long subjection to a succession of Asiatic monarchies. It is certainly an old-established part of the religion, going back to the earliest days of Oriental influence; but we believe it is possible to go back on fairly reliable evidence to an older stage in the history, when the women *hierodouloi* were of a different character, viz. guardians of the goddess and of her worshippers.

(3) *Women guards.*—The myth of Herakles and the Lydian queen Omphale, in which the woman wears the hero's arms, while he sits and spins under her command, takes us back to the primitive type of society which is described in a series of early Anatolian legends of the Amazons. Omphale and Herakles are obviously types of the Great Goddess and her companion or attendant god; and we remember that the Lydian kings for five centuries boasted to be descendants (*i.e.* representatives in orderly succession) of the first priest-king Herakles. The tale of the hero Achilles dressed as a woman and spinning in the family of Lykomedes is another example of the way in which Greek fancy worked up that primitive custom: Achilles is a hero of the north coast of Asia Minor and of some points on the Greek coast.

The Great Goddess, the protecting and guarding mother of her people, had her attendant women. These were armed as warriors, and were called Amazons in Greek legend, where fantastic characteristics are assigned to them.[‡] But that a real foundation lies under those fanciful tales is certain. We can dimly descry in primitive history the Amazons, the servants of the native Anatolian goddess, contending, on the banks of the Sangarios, against the immigrant Phryges from Europe, among whom Priam fought as a young leader of the Western tribe.[§]

The women servants of the goddess are to be considered as resembling her in part of her character as her active and armed *ministræ*. In Ephesus they were the *melissai* or working bees, while the goddess was the queen bee. The sexual side of the *melissai*, alike in the bee and the priestess, is not developed: the *ministræ* therefore must have been young, and their term of service was part of their education. Evidence has perished as regards the women servants of the goddess; but in all probability at the conclusion of their term of service they passed into ordinary society, and in the ceremonial of marriage went through the ceremonies above described, imitating the actions and fate of the goddess. The opinion stated by the present writer, that a number of those armed servants of the goddess are portrayed on the wall of the rock-sanctuary at Boghaz-Keui,* has not been adopted by recent scholars; but the argument against it—the failure of any indication of the female form in the breast—has no force in view of the character of the *ministræ* as active guards, in whom the sexual type is so slightly developed as to be imperceptible in their fully draped and armed forms.

---

[*] Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.* vi. pp. 275, 279 (Viger); Basil Cæs. *Epist.* 258: see an article (by the present writer) in the *Quarterly Review*, vol. 186, No. 372, p. 425.

[†] *Quarterly Review*, No. 372, p. 426; Basil, *Epist.* 270.

[‡] In Phrygia, compare, for example, a Roman inscription (erected by a native of Pisidian Antioch), interpreted and printed correctly in *Histor. Com. on Epistle to the Galatians*, p. 201 (incorrect in Kaibel, *Inscrip. Græc. Ital.* etc., No. 933, and elsewhere), with Strabo, p. 577.

[*] See Ramsay, *Church in Rom. Emp.* p. 397 f.; *Hist. Com. on Galatians*, pp. 40, 201.

[†] The present writer formerly erred in considering it to be a relic of the primitive stage in Anatolian religion; the orderly analysis of that religion, above given, shows that it belongs to its degradation. Marriage was the original rule, though with barbarous usages: promiscuity belongs to the stage of deterioration.

[‡] It is an interesting illustration of the view stated in § III (7) and § VI (3), that the modern discoverer of the sex of the working bees, Dr. Warder, called them 'true Amazons.'

[§] *Iliad*, iii. 184–190.

In the primitive Anatolian period the women *ministræ* must be taken to have been real guardians of the goddess and agents of her government (which she exercised through her priest-king), true Amazons or armed warriors. But history changed: the plateau became a subject land; society, manners, and needs altered, and the *ministræ* necessarily lost their original character. During this change we may believe that their development into the slaves of the sanctuary, as we see them in the more developed period, occurred. There was an element in the old *ministræ*, hinted at in legend, which could be intensified and systematized so as to transform them into the later *hierodouloi*; but the primitive element was essentially different from the organized savagery of the time of the degradation, (2).

(4) *Self-mutilation.*—The most remarkable example of the way in which the individual man imitated in his acts the life of the Deity, was in the practice of mutilation. The fate of the god, the consort of the Great Goddess, had hallowed the act; and it was familiar to all as part of the treatment prescribed by the Divine regulations for domesticated animals. Not merely was it practised on occasion of great religious festivals as a part of the ritual, not merely was it almost certainly the prescribed and necessary condition, originally, for the priest who represented the god in the ritual; it was also often performed on themselves by individuals in a state of religious excitement, induced by some crisis of their own life or of the country in which they lived. On the origin of this ceremony, see § III (7).

This act was alien to the character of Hellenic civilization and religion; and was always regarded with horror and contempt by the Greek spirit as the crowning proof of the barbarity and vulgarity of Anatolian superstition, as in the *Attis* of Catullus (which follows a Greek model).

(5) *Burial.*—In a religion which taught, explicitly or implicitly, that men are children of the Goddess-Mother, and at death return to the mother who bore them, it is natural that great sanctity should be attached to graves and sepulchral rites. In fact the religion of the grave is the religion of the household, and lies at the foundation of religion in general. The dead man, as heroized or deified, was represented under the form of the Deity, and one of the commonest later types was the Horseman-god, § III (5).

This is an exceedingly wide subject; and more can be learned about it than about any other department of Anatolian religion. The principal points may here be briefly stated. See also § IX (1).

The grave was conceived as the house or home of the deceased; and the word οἶκος is sometimes applied to it in epitaphs. But, inasmuch as the dead man is now part of the Divine nature, more frequently the grave is conceived as his temple. His right to the sole possession of it was guarded with jealous care, for, if any unauthorized corpse gains entrance, this intruder will share in the offerings and honours of the temple, and thus in the godhead of the deceased (for the dead man's godhead consists practically in the cultus and offerings paid to him; a god unworshipped is a dead god). It is noteworthy that the sepulchral inscriptions guard far more carefully against intrusion than against mere injury done to the tomb: injury can readily be repaired, but intrusion, if once successful, is hardly reparable.*

Then the making of the grave and the erection of a tombstone was a dedication to the Deity; and the epitaph on the grave was expressed often in the form of a prayer (and, of course, a vow accompanying it) to the Deity with whom the dead person was identified. Even when a person, during his lifetime, prepared his own grave, he expressed the epitaph in the form of a prayer and dedication to the Deity.† It was a duty which one owed to God to make a grave.

Thus every Phrygian grave was also a shrine or temple. Accordingly, there is no force in the argument, which many writers have employed, that such a monument as the famous sculptured rock which bears the dedication 'to king Midas' (ΜΙΔΑΙ FΑΝΑΚΤΕΙ) was a cult-shrine, and therefore cannot have been a sepulchral monument. In truth it was both. Similarly, some of the tumuli in the Phrygian land have probably a utilitarian purpose, being intended to serve as watch-towers and road-marks. But they were, in all probability, also sepulchral. It was desired to give them permanent sanctity, and this end was attained by the grave inside, with the religion attached to it. Probably it is not too bold to lay down the general principle that the sanctity of a locality was generally, in the primitive Anatolian system, confirmed by the awe attaching to the grave-temple. That principle remains to a large extent in force still. Sacred places are numerous all over the country; and in almost every one the sacredness is confirmed by, or founded on, the awe attaching to the supposed grave of some saint or hero. The fact that the grave is often demonstrably fictitious (as when the hero is a mere myth, or has several graves in different places) shows how strongly the need for a grave in every holy place is still felt by the Anatolian mind. The primitive custom in Greece of burying in the house, consecrated and guarded the family home.‡

The essential parts of the grave-monument were an altar and a door; and the two typical forms of gravestone in later Phrygia were developments of the altar and of the door. The former at least retained the name, and is called 'the altar' in numberless inscriptions. On this altar-tombstone there is sometimes engraved, apart from the epitaph (and even on a different side from it), the word 'door' (θύρα); and this custom obviously arises from the feeling that a door was essential and must be indicated, even if only by a word. We have already seen that, in later grave-monuments, members which originally had a meaning were indicated by some part of their original form, and became mere conventional ornament. We may suppose that the door was simply an essential part of the house or temple in which the dead god dwelt, while the altar was necessary for the living worshippers to lay their offerings on.[*]

---

* *Journal of R. Asiatic Society*, 1883, p. 14 f.: the relief is reproduced by Perrot, *Histoire de l'Art*, iv. p. 643.

* *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i. pp. 99 f., 348 (n. 24).

† These statements, made at first in explanation of the identity in form, appearance, and general character between grave-monuments and stones recording a prayer and vow or dedication, were controverted by Prof. A. Körte; but he has since published a stone whose inscription is purely a dedication to the god, except that at the end the dedicator adds the sepulchral form καὶ ἑαυτῷ ζῶν, proving beyond question that the dedicatory stone was at the same time the gravestone over his intended tomb. We are now agreed that this custom was characteristically Phrygian; but the present writer sees far more examples of it than Prof. Körte admits.

‡ See above, § IV (2); also Ramsay, 'Permanent Attachment of Religious Veneration to Special Sites in Asia Minor,' published in *Transactions of the Oriental Congress at London*, 1892, p. 381.

It was probably on the worship of the dead that the worship of Divine personal beings was built up. The dead parent links the family with the Divine nature. Any inexplicable misfortune or mischance was often attributed by the Greeks to some neglect of this cult, and expiated by special attention to the dead. Among the Greeks the special sacrifice to the dead hero took place on his birthday, and was called γενέσια or γενέθλια quite as often as νεκύσια. Among Christians, on the contrary, the day of death of a martyr was celebrated as his *dies natalis*, birth into his true life.

The cult of the dead was therefore of prime importance, and this applies as much to Greece as to Anatolia. Here, too, the gods had set the example, which was to be followed in the case of men. The grave of Zeus, the grave of Achilles, and so on, formed an integral part of the equipment of their worship. The worship of the heroes, *i.e.* the Divine dead, bulked far more largely in Greek life and religion than would appear from a superficial survey of the literature. This is partly due to the fact that the cult of the dead was part of the half-submerged archaic religion, believed in by all, but not made prominent in public life. But even in the literature it is often evident, and must always be understood as the substratum on which all social life rests.

(6) *Brotherhoods and guilds.*—If the ritual of the Mysteries was used as a sort of sacrament to consecrate or give the Divine sanction to marriage and the other important steps in the family life of man, so that the family was united and constituted and maintained by Divine law, the same seems to have been the case in the formation of associations and unions wider than the family. Such groups played a highly important part in Anatolian society. Originally, in the simplest form of primitive society, there was probably only the one wider group, the village, united in the religion of the central sanctuary or *Hieron* [see (7)]. The ritual of the Mysteries (to use the later Greek name anachronistically) constituted the bond to hold the village together. All were brothers, because all knew in the mystic ritual that they were the children of the Great Mother.

But as life and society became more complex, as towns became too large for a common bond of ritual to hold them (while no common municipal bond existed, such as the Greek city offered), groups of persons with common interests and pursuits were formed, some as trade guilds, some for other purposes. They are known under many names, Boukoloi, Korybantes, Hymnodoi, Satyroi, etc.,[†] but all were united in a common ritual; and an essential part of this lay in the common meal and the cup of which all partook. There can be no doubt that the ceremonial was similar to that of the Mysteries, and was of the nature of a sacrament or religious consecration of the common tie, and yet no direct evidence can be given, or is likely ever to be found. But the indirect evidence seems conclusive: the most general name for the members of any association is *symbiotai* ('those who live in association'), but the term *symmystai* is occasionally used as an equivalent;[*] and this term seems conclusive, for it is inexplicable unless the *symbiotai* were united by the tie of the common mystic ritual.

The unity of the brotherhood or society was consecrated, therefore, by the common meal and the common cup from which all drank: this was the ritual of the Mysteries, according to the formula, 'I ate from the *tympanon*: I drank from the *kymbalon*'; where the names of the sacred instruments of the Mother-Goddess are given to the common dish and the common cup. The Christian idea of breaking a common loaf was perhaps peculiar to Christianity, and due to the direct institution of the Founder: the common meal of the pagan societies probably followed the usual practice of simple Oriental meals, in which each guest has his own loaf, though all eat from a common dish. But that eating from one loaf implies brotherhood is an old idea.

(7) *Government and administration.*—The form of social organization which, in the historical period, was characteristic of Anatolia was the village-system,[†] which is often contrasted with the highly articulated and self-governing municipality (πόλις) of the Hellenes. The people dwelt in groups of houses called villages: at the head of each village was a *komarch*, who represented it to the supreme authority, which in the strict Anatolian system was the priesthood of the neighbouring temple (ἱερόν) as representative of the Divine power in human form. The government was in theory a theocracy: in practice the priest (usually hereditary, according to some uncertain system of inheritance) or priest-dynast was autocratic, as speaking in the name of the Deity. One restriction of his power lay in the fact that intimation of the Divine will was often conveyed to worshippers in dreams; but even in this case the interpretation of the dream usually required aid from the priesthood. 'Beyond this there was no education, and no State, and probably little or no formal law.'[‡]

In what relation this system, as we find it later in practical working, stood to the primitive Anatolian system is uncertain. It shows obvious traces of development, in that the mother has become less prominent, and the male element more important. This line of development was inevitable. Immigrant races were usually insufficiently provided with women; and armed conquerors must certainly have consisted mainly of men. The conquering race, therefore, must take wives from the conquered race; and the social position of women necessarily deteriorated when the conquering caste was mainly men, and the women for the most part belonged to the subjugated people. In the earliest period there can be little or no doubt that theocracy was the ruling system; but the way in which it was worked, and the exact position of women in the priesthood, remain uncertain. Further, we know that there were in early Anatolia imperial systems and great monarchies; but what was the relation in which they stood to the theocracy is obscure. We may be confident that the Herakleid dynasty in Lydia ruled as priest-kings, each new king representing the god Herakles, consort of the Great Goddess (as we see in the myth of Herakles and Omphale);

---

[*] *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1884, p. 253; *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i. p. 99 f., ii. pp. 367, 395.

[†] *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i. p. 96 ff., ii. pp. 359, 630. See also the following note, and (among other places) *Athen. Mittheil.* 1899, p. 179 f., where the priest of Dionysos Kathegemon is head of a list of Boukoloi.

[*] οἱ συμβιωταὶ καὶ συμμυσταί, where the two names are embraced under the common article, and thus identified: see Ziebarth, *Griech. Vereinswesen*, pp. 52, 206. The subject is treated more fully in *Histor. Com. on Corinthians*, § xxxi. ff., in the *Expositor*, Dec. 1900.

[†] ᾠκεῖτο κωμηδόν is the expression of Strabo.

[‡] *Histor. Com. on Galatians*, p. 40.

and it is probable that the inheritance passed in the female line, and the king reigned as consort of the heiress.* The natural inference that the same practice existed in the ancient empire of the central plateau, whose chief city was at Boghaz-Keui, and in the later kingdom of Tyana, is valueless, while we have no information as to the relation of this chief priest-king to the priests of the many sacred centres throughout the land (each of which was, presumably, a small theocracy for its surrounding village or villages). The supposition that the empire consisted of a loose aggregate of separate theocracies would not account for the great size and imperial character of the city at Boghaz-Keui; and we are at present reduced to mere conjecture; but evidence is likely to be discovered, when the hieroglyphic inscriptions of the country are deciphered.

(8) *Household protegés.*—A class of persons who are called in documents of the Roman period by various names, *alumni*, *θρεπτοί*, *θρέμματα*, *θρεπτά*, are frequently mentioned in Asia Minor. In the Roman period they are identified almost completely with foundlings, *i.e.* infants exposed by their parents and brought up as a speculation by strangers with a view to selling them for profit: such foundlings were not peculiar to Asia Minor, but known generally over the Empire, and rescripts relating to them were issued by Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian for the province of Achaia, and by Trajan for Bithynia,† and their status and rights formed a frequent subject for Imperial legislation. But in the inscriptions of Asia Minor these *protegés* are mentioned so frequently in epitaphs as to prove clearly that under that name is included also some class of persons peculiarly characteristic of the country. They are generally mentioned immediately after the children, and are sometimes distinguished from and mentioned before slaves, so that it is hardly possible to regard them as *vernæ*, slaves born and brought up in the household, although we would not deny that the term possibly may sometimes have that signification. This class is at present of quite unknown character and origin, but probably it takes us back to a primitive custom — some Anatolian institution similar to, yet distinct from, the Roman *clientela*. In a Bithynian inscription, a husband and wife and their protectress (*θρέψασα ἡμῶν* used as a noun) have a common tomb: all three have the same *nomen*, which the two *θρέμματα* must have received from the protectress; but the two were not the children of the protectress either by nature or adoption, for they were free to marry one another. The inscription, No. 36, in *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, shows a case in which a child had been exposed in accordance with a dream and brought up by another person, and yet the parents retain some rights over him. The tie uniting the *protegé* and the protector was evidently a close and sacred one; but the subject is one for further investigation, and nothing positive can yet be laid down with regard to it.

(9) *Religious influences on social conditions.*—While immigration, war, and conquest are favourable to the male sex, it may conversely be assumed that the high position of women and the influence exercised by, and respect paid to, the mother in the primitive Anatolian system, imply the long continuance of a peaceful condition amid a settled and, so to say, autochthonous people, such that the importance of motherly care in promoting social development had full opportunity to make itself thoroughly appreciated.

In our brief survey of the prominent features of the primitive Anatolian religion, it has become clear that this religion was originally a consecration of the rules and practices which were useful and almost necessary in actual life. While it cannot be proved in detail, yet all the evidence points to the conclusion, that in this religion the life of a simple community was ordered and prescribed from birth to death in a series of religious formulæ for personal conduct, personal purity, relation to others in the family and the community, management of the household and of agriculture and farm economy. A great deal which, in recent times, has ceased to be familiar to the poorest and the least educated classes was, in that early time, enforced on all as obligatory religious ceremonial. In modern times this growing ignorance of the fundamental principles on which comfort, propriety, and happiness in life depend, is felt to be a serious danger alike among the most civilized peoples, and in the less civilized Christian nations like the Russian. It cannot be denied that the tendency of the Christian Church to concentrate teaching on theoretical dogma and Church ritual, and to lose hold on the practical household life of the people, has contributed to spread this ignorance by gradually allowing the ancient stock of practical household wisdom to fall into oblivion, and sometimes even actively discouraging it as involved with superstition.

We have laid little stress on the barbarous elements in the Anatolian cultus, but have omitted them or passed them over lightly. Partly this is due to the fact that in many cases they seem to result from degradation of the primitive religion, due to the influence of foreign conquerors and immigrants, and accompanied by a probable deterioration of the original people. In other cases the barbarous elements are original, and correspond to the equipments and surroundings of primitive Anatolian society: these might profitably be investigated with a view to acquiring a better idea of that society, but time and wide knowledge on the part of the investigator are required.

The failure to develop the higher side of the Anatolian religion is doubtless due to many causes. The country was on the highway of armies, and the uncertainty and suffering consequent thereon were unfavourable to orderly development, while the best and most spirited element in the people was most exposed to extermination under the successive foreign conquerors. Nothing is more destructive to the highest qualities of human nature than the presence of an entirely uncertain and capricious, yet serious and ever dreaded, danger. In the succession of military conquerors the intermixture of foreign religious elements was often brought about in the worst way, viz. through the instrumentality of a rude, brutal, uneducated, and therefore superstitious Oriental soldiery, which had received not even military discipline.

The unquestioned and absolute domination of a priesthood was also unfavourable to development. The element of prophecy, in the sense of becoming sensitive to the Divine will and interpreting it with reference to contemporary events, was recognized, but seems to have been kept entirely under the control of the official priesthood. Moreover, the succession of priests in Anatolia was largely or altogether hereditary (according to unknown rules of inheritance): this increased the cast-iron and unprogressive nature of priestly rule. If, as seems probable, the chief priest in early times had to be a eunuch, that must have further debased the character of the priesthood. Thus there was no opportunity for the growing wisdom of the national mind to declare itself, since the nation outside the priesthood seems to have been given over to ignorance and practical slavery: or, rather, there was probably no nation and no national life, but merely a congeries of villages.

---

* The evidence is collected by Gelzer in *Rhein. Museum*, xxxv. p. 519 ff. (cf. xxx. p. 5).

† Pliny, *Ep. ad Traj.* 65, 66; *Cities and Bish.* ii. p. 546.

IX. History and Chronology.—(1) *Development of the Anatolian Religion in history.*—It would be impossible in this place to treat even in outline the development of the Anatolian religion. The development was different in every region, varying according to the diverse historical vicissitudes and succession of immigrants and conquerors in each; and the subject would thus be a very complicated one. Moreover, as regards no single region has even any attempt been made to collect and classify the extremely scanty evidence. We can merely quote a very few examples of the process.

In north-eastern Phrygia the Gauls settled during the 3rd cent. B.C. They found there the ancient Phrygian worship of Cybele and Attis. In many instances we can prove that the Gauls adopted the religion of the land, in accordance with the ancient belief that every land has its own deities, whose power is supreme there (cf. 2 K 17^{26}). The religious types on the Galatian coins are entirely either Phrygian or Græco-Roman, the latter character coming in later. The marriage ceremony in the one recorded instance was of the Anatolian type:[*] this instance belongs to the family of a chief probably of the 2nd cent. B.C., and the noble families were doubtless more ready to change their religious customs than the common people; but Gaulish tribes would follow their chiefs.

It is, however, beyond doubt that the Gauls introduced some modification into the old worship. The Gallic spirit and temper undoubtedly made some impression on the character of Phrygo-Galatic religion. For example, we know that at Pessinus, one of the chief centres, where the spirit of the ancient religion continued dominant and little affected by Hellenism until the latter half of the first century after Christ, an arrangement was made about B.C. 160, whereby half of the places in the college of priests were appropriated to the Gauls and half left to the old priestly families.[†] We can, however, say little with any confidence about the Celtic element in the Phrygo-Galatic religion. That the Gauls retained the use of the Celtic language as late as the 4th cent. after Christ is certain, but how far they imposed it on the old Phrygian subject-population is uncertain.

But, when we go further back in the history of Phrygia, we find that the Phrygians themselves were immigrants from Europe, who adopted the religion of the native population. The Mother-Goddess was seated in the land before the Phrygians entered it; and mythology retained the memory of the contest between the immigrants and the old religion with its women-guards, the Amazons.[‡] The Phrygian conquerors adopted the worship of Cybele, probably imposing their own language on the mixed population. But there is no trace in mythology that the women-guards were retained in the Phrygian system; and we may probably attribute to this crisis the strengthening of the male element in the Divine idea, and the introduction of the worship of the God-Thunderer (Hellenized as *Zeus Bronton*) or the God-on-the-Car, *Benni* or *Benneus*,[§] into the Phrygian worship.

On the other hand, a special mode of burial was retained among the priests of the Phrygian land, evidently the old priestly usage. They were placed upright on a rock,[‖] whereas in the rock-graves that remain in the country of the Phrygian kings this custom was evidently not followed.

In these two cases we have types of what must have occurred in the many conquests of parts of the country by immigrant races. There was no attempt to exterminate or expatriate the old people and religion. The conquerors took part of the land—sometimes one-third was recognized as the proper proportion—and shared in the established religion along with the ancient worshippers; but they affected the cultus more or less, and imparted to it some part of their own nature.

(2) *Local diversity in Anatolian Religion.*—While we have necessarily directed attention mainly to the common character of religion over the whole of Asia Minor, it must be clearly understood that this community of character was not complete, but that there were great local diversities, which cannot here be properly estimated. For example, the East Anatolian religion of the warlike goddess at Komana, who was identified by the Romans with Bellona, shows a marked diversity from the true Anatolian type; but this is probably to be attributed to racial difference. More warlike and barbarous tribes pressed in from the east of the Euphrates (see § I (3), above), and superinduced a new stratum of religious ideas and rites which belonged to their own tribal character. Similarly, in southern Thrace the Orphic ritual shows a character approximating on one side to the Phrygian, but also revealing clearly a different racial character, viz. that of more barbarous tribes accustomed to eat raw flesh, and giving to this custom a place and a consecration in their religion. This, however, is a large subject.

(3) *Chronology.*—As to the age to which we are carried back before we reach the primitive Anatolian worship in its uncontaminated form, it is not possible to make any positive estimate. The earliest stage in its development that is attested by external evidence is probably found in the subjects portrayed in the rock-sculptures of Boghaz-Keui, which are commonly dated somewhere in the second millennium before Christ. But there we are already face to face with a stage of contamination with the religion and cultus of a people from the east or north-east (perhaps in some degree also from the south-east)—a people who superimpose a new and incongruous stratum of religious, social, and governing ideas on the primitive forms.

Nor is it certain by any means that the Boghaz-Keui stratum was the first stage superimposed on the primitive religious foundation. Those sculptures are of such a highly complex character that they have as yet resisted all attempts at a complete solution; and none of the attempts at a partial explanation has commanded general approbation among scholars. For practical purposes the sculptures are still a mere riddle; and hence we have been unable in this study to make any use, except in a few superficial details, of these earliest and most elaborate religious records of Anatolia. But the very fact that they are so complicated and obscure furnishes probably a sufficient proof that they are not the records of a simple cultus, but of one which had already passed through a complex process of development and contamination.

Thus we are reduced to the study of the development from the inside—a method always unsatisfactory, because subjective and liable to become fanciful, but specially unsatisfactory on the chronological side, for only contact with external facts gives any marks of time. In the development we are struck with the tenacity with which primitive characteristics were retained, readily distinguishable from the added elements; and the primitive character seems autochthonous.

---

[*] See the following footnote.

[†] On this point and on the whole subject, see a fuller discussion in *Histor. Com. on Galatians*, pp. 66 f., 86 ff., 131 ff.

[‡] *Iliad*, iii. 184–190: see above, § VIII (3).

[§] *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1882, p. 123; 1887, p. 511 f.

[‖] Nic. Damasc. in Dindorf, *Hist. Græc. Min.* i. p. 152: presumably the corpse was put in a pit in the rock.

springing from the land, stimulated by its atmosphere, and imposing its character in some degree, more or less, on every new people or religion that entered the land.

The character of the plateau marks it out as an early home of human culture. The soil is fertile, the country is level and little exposed to dangerous animals, and in certain districts, where water is naturally abundant, cereals are naturally produced in sufficient quantity to furnish regular food to an early race of men. The art of agriculture was there taught almost by Nature herself, who thus revealed herself as mother and teacher of her people. The art of irrigation was also taught there by the same kindly mother : in some places it is so easy that the life-giving stream, flowing from a great heaven-sent spring (§ IV (3)), seems to invite men to divert and distribute its waters. The art, when once begun, was readily extended, and a country, which is now almost entirely uncultivated, and part of which is loosely indicated on Kiepert's map as *désert salé,* is shown by the remains to have supported many towns and cities in early times.[*] Step by step, and precept upon precept, the Goddess-Mother, the Thesmophoros of the Bœotian plain and the Athenian plain (see B, § II), educated her people ; and showed them how to make the best of the useful animals, swine, ox, sheep, and goat, and later also of the horse, by proper nurture and careful treatment and breeding. The history of the education which she gave remains for us in that Anatolian religion of which some faint outline has been traced in the preceding pages.

If our view is correct, it is obvious that in a better knowledge of the Anatolian worship lies the key to an extremely early stage of human development ; and that this religion has to be compared with the most primitive stages of the known ancient religions of the east Mediterranean lands. As a rule, even the most ancient Semitic cults are known to us chiefly in a considerably developed stage ; and the Anatolian religion takes us behind them. In that land true religious development was arrested by causes at which we might guess ; and the primitive revelation of the Mother-Goddess found no prophets and seers to carry it to completion : see § VIII (9).

B. *THE HELLENIC RELIGION.*—In studying the development of thought in the strictly Greek lands, we are inevitably carried back to an ancient form of religion there prevalent, which presented a marked similarity to the simple primitive Anatolian cultus. The extent and the limits of the similarity cannot be determined with our present knowledge. But everywhere, in attempting to comprehend the developed Hellenic religion, one finds that it rests on this substratum of deep religious feeling, which sometimes was hardly articulate, and in that case was often rather looked down upon as superstition and δεισιδαιμονία (Ac 17[22]) by the more educated and philosophic minds.

I. EARLY GREEK RELIGION.—Frequent references occur in Herodotus to an older Greek or Pelasgian religion different in character from the religion of which he conceived Homer and Hesiod to be the organizers (ii. 53). Arcadia he believed to contain more of the Pelasgian character than any other part of Greece. Precisely in Arcadia and the adjoining parts of the Peloponnesus, the strongest traces of such a pre-Hellenic religion are shown in the description of Pausanias. According to Herodotus (ii. 53), the gods of that old religion had no names and no images. The meaning of this statement is that statues (ἀγάλματα) in the later sense were not used. Symbols of various kinds, however, existed in greater number and variety perhaps in Arcadia than in other parts of Greece ; but Herodotus, who was speaking of the anthropomorphizing tendency in religion, would not call those rude and non-human embodiments ἀγάλματα. Epithets of a more general character were attached to these gods, but not proper individual names : among these epithets we may reckon 'the Great God or Gods' (θεὸς μέγιστος, θεοὶ μέγιστοι), 'the Pure Gods' (θεοὶ καθαροί), 'the Good God or Genius' (ἀγαθὸς θεὸς or δαίμων), as well as 'the Propitiated Gods' (θεοὶ μειλίχιοι), 'the Revered Ones' (Σεμναί), 'the Kings' (ἄνακτες).

In this religion the worship of the Earth-Goddess appears in various aspects. She is sometimes the physical conception, but more generally is conceived in a more moral aspect, as the orderly harmonious march of physical phenomena, under such epithets as Themis, Harmonia, etc. This order is an avenging power that punishes all offence against itself : it is then Praxidike, Adrasteia, Nemesis, etc. It is also connected with happiness, wealth, and prosperity, and the goddess is then Tyche, Chryse, etc. The goddess is often accompanied by a male genius or deity, described as her husband or brother or attendant or child. He appears as the ἀγαθὸς δαίμων, the protecting hero, or the genius of fertilizing power.

Traces of this religion may be found in most parts of Greece : in Attica, in Bœotia, and the Northern islands, as well as in the Peloponnesus. The goddess is akin in nature to the Italian *Bona Dea.* It is a pre-Hellenic religion, but it has much of the Greek spirit about it. The deities have in many cases as much of moral as of physical character ; Themis becomes a Hellenic conception. The relation of such older forms of belief to the true Hellenic religion is well given by Æschylus (*Eumen.* 1 ff.) in his history of the oracle at Delphi, where the gradual change from the first Gaia to the latest Apollo is clearly shown. No conflict is there said to take place, but the older religion merges in and is recognized by the later, so that the purely physical conception of the Earth (*Gaia*) is moralized and harmonized into Themis, and Themis is elevated into the highest Hellenic type, Phœbus Apollo, through the intermediate stage Phœbe, who is evidently a mere device to facilitate the transition in sex, as the god Phœbus inherits in right of his sister Phœbe. On the other hand, Æschylus (*Agamemnon,* 178 ff.) describes the relation of the Hellenic Zeus to the older dynasty as that of a conqueror and almost a destroyer.

These passages are important as showing that the Greeks always retained the recollection of a certain succession and development in religion, and occasionally they connect it—and in our view rightly—with the succession of races in Greece, where the later conquered without destroying the older.

The development of the Earth-Goddess into Themis was exactly paralleled by that of the older Demeter into Demeter *Thesmophoros,* 'the introducer of *thesmoi*' (θεσμοί, 'ordinances'), who is known chiefly in Bœotia, the plain of Athens, and Paros. The agricultural idea lies at the bottom of her chief festival at the time of the autumn ploughing and sowing. But that fundamental reference was merged in another idea, viz. the analogy between the continuation of the human family and the operations of agriculture.[*] The goddess Thesmophoros founded and presided over social order, family life, the functions of women, and the birth of children; marriage was the chief *thesmos*,[*] and the priestess Thesmophoros gave some instructions to newly married couples. A Hellenic touch lies in the custom of giving prizes to the most beautiful women in Arcadia, and apparently also at Thermopylæ.[†] Here two great Hellenic ideas, love of beauty and liking for the competitive principle, are united in the developed form of the rites; but the goddess whose festival was thus honoured was Eleusinia and not the more primitive Thesmophoros.

---

[*] The 'nomadization' of Asia Minor has been the chief cause of the present desolation : see *Impressions of Turkey,* p. 103, and the paper already quoted in *Geographical Journal,* Sept. 1902.

[*] Cf. Soph. *Œdip. Tyr.* 1497 ; Æsch. *Sept.* 753 ; Eurip. *Phœn.* 18, etc. ; also the old Attic legal formula ἐπ' ἀρότῳ παίδων γνησίων. See A, § VI (2), (3).

The resemblance of this Demeter Thesmophoros to the outlines of the Anatolian Mother-Goddess, as it has been traced in the earlier part of this article, is too obvious to need any words; and Herodotus points out (ii. 171) that the *Thesmophoria* rites were formerly practised by the Pelasgian women of the Peloponnesus, but perished when the Dorians conquered the country, except in Arcadia, where the primitive population and ritual remained. Moreover, the worship of the goddess Thesmophoros was confined to women (which markedly distinguishes her worship from that of the Eleusinian Demeter), and swine were sacrificed to her by throwing them alive into holes in the ground. These are very primitive characteristics, and show that the cult of this goddess had not been developed so much as that of the Eleusinian goddess, who is in the myth marked as an immigrant with a long history of growth out of her Pelasgian germ.

Pausanias is sometimes inclined to identify those earlier conceptions with Hellenic deities. He feels that 'the Good God' must be Zeus;[‡] but about the nature of the two *Anaktes* he expresses doubt, which proves that he was struck by some marked difference between them and the two Dioscuri. In short, the Greeks felt that those gods whom they counted older, and sometimes called Pelasgian, were different from their own gods, and yet closely related to them. The succession is sometimes described as the inheritance of child from parent, sometimes as the acquisition by victor from vanquished and even exiled gods. Those old deities were not in harmony with the later Hellenic gods; there belonged to the older a graver, sterner, and more solemn character; yet there were implicit in them the germs of the double Hellenic conception of Olympian and Chthonian deities, on which see § V, below.

The conservatism with which, as a rule, the old cult-ideas were preserved in Greece and allowed a certain scope alongside of the later, give great historical importance to the study of Greek religion. Often the institutions of a bygone age retained a religious existence long after they had disappeared from actual society.

II. Greek Religion and Greek Law.—That early religion was practically coextensive with the whole circle of public and private life. Religion was the only sanction which originally existed to enforce a custom or strengthen an institution; religion impressed these on the people by constituting them into solemn rites binding on all. When in the development of the Hellenic system political institutions grew and law became a power, the legal sanction to some extent replaced the religious sanction.

One by one the various branches of duty between members of the State were taken into the circle of law. In earlier times this was often done under the advice and approval of the oracles (especially the Delphic). One set of duties after another was formulated as a branch of public law sanctioned by stated punishments and penalties. In various cases the old form was continued alongside of the later, and the offender against a law was not merely punished legally, but was also formally cursed, *i.e.* handed over to the punishing care of Heaven. The Court of Areopagus in Athens well exemplifies the gradual transformation of the religious into the legal sanction, with the religious forms persisting to some extent alongside of the legal.

But the old sanction in its primitive form continued to reign in the circle of family duties and rights, the duty of children to parents and of the younger to the older, the right of children to protection and care at the hands of their parents, of the poor to the charity of the richer, and of the stranger to hospitality. It was the *Erinnyes*, the old vague conception of the avenging power of nature, older almost than the conception of personal gods, who punished any infraction of those duties and rights.[*] Here a conception akin to the primitive one reigned in the developed Hellenic thought. The *Erinnyes* of the father, of children, of the poor, protected their rights and punished the violator; in other words, punishment was left to Divine action, and rarely interfered with by human law. Even the inviolability of the oath is described by Hesiod as protected by the *Erinnyes*, who punished bad faith alike among gods and men.[†]

In the sphere of international law, heralds went between States as Divine officials (*κήρυκες Ἑρμοῦ*). A species of international custom, not formulated into law in the strict sense, was recognized as existing between Hellenic States, but not between Greeks and barbarians;[‡] but it was considered to be Divine or unwritten law, it depended on the conscience and feeling of the individual State, and was regarded by some more than others. By the religious, however, it was considered more binding than the formal laws.[§]

Thus religion continued to be a sort of completion of public law. Where the latter was insufficient or inapplicable, or beyond the reach of the sufferer, the religious sanction was invoked in the form of a curse. Especially, international obligations were guarded by little more than the religious sanction. Any idea of Hellenic unity which existed had been the creation of religion; and the rights of even the Greek stranger or traveller, much more of the non-Greek, were almost wholly left to religion. Law was mostly confined to the relations between one citizen and another; and in the cases where (as in Athens) it touched the relation of a resident stranger to citizens, the stranger must be represented by a citizen, and could not himself have any standing before the law. Similarly, the traveller was under the protection of the gods of the road.

III. The Elements of Hellenic Religion.—Beyond other traceable but less important influences, three forces pre-eminently are to be distinguished in the history and formation of Hellenic religion. There was, first, that above-described pre-Hellenic cultus in the Greek lands, to which we may, like the Greeks themselves, apply the name Pelasgian: that cultus had certainly a very strong resemblance to the primitive Anatolian worship, and we have freely used certain obviously primitive ceremonies of the Greek lands as evidence of the character of the old Anatolian religion.

---

[*] *Odyssey*, xxiii. 296, *λέκτροιο παλαιοῦ θεσμον*, is a faint echo of the religious idea.

[†] Hesychius, *s.v.* *Πυλαιίδεις*; Athenæus, xiii. 90, p. 609.

[‡] Pausanias, VIII. xxxvi. 5.

[*] *Iliad*, ix. 454, 567, xv. 204; *Odyss.* xiv. 57 compared with xvii. 475. The names of the *Erinnyes* as personal beings are of later origin: the very plural is a development.

[†] *Op.* 802; *Theog.* 221.

[‡] *κοινοὶ τῆς Ἕλλαδος νόμοι*: *νομιζόμενα Ἕλλησι*: *κοινὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νόμιμα* or *δίκαια*; cf. Thuc. iii. 59, iv. 97, etc.

[§] *ἄγραφοι νόμοι, ἄγραπτα νόμιμα*, Soph. *Ant.* 454.

Into the question whether it spread from Anatolia into Greece, as so many later religious impulses did, we shall not enter, though it may be pointed out that the Greeks believed themselves to have derived some very characteristic early forms of Greek cult from Crete, which in its turn was certainly connected with and influenced by Asia Minor.

There was, in the second place, the influence exercised by surrounding nations on early Greek history and religion. Only one side of this influence can be considered here, viz. the Oriental. Under the name of Oriental may be included all influence which came from Asia Minor during the period commonly called historical, as well as all traces of Phœnician or other strictly Asiatic influence. There was certainly great importance attaching to this influence; yet its true character must be noted. It did not make Greek ideas, but was simply the raw material out of which the Greek mind drew part of its growth. The Greek mind, with its eager, ardent curiosity, learned from all its neighbours, and most of all from the most advanced neighbours.

In the third place, there was that special quality and tendency of the Hellenic mind, a unique and exquisitely delicate element, which selected and moulded, moderated and regulated, mixed and added life to, the food which it absorbed from the experience and the acquirements of various other nations. That spirit of Hellenism stood in such obvious relations to the peculiar geographical and other external conditions of Greece, that some writers regard it as absolutely produced by them.

But, in our view, there was a certain innate intellectual character in the formed Greek mind, which enabled them to see in nature what no other race could see, and to use opportunities as no other race could have used them. The spirit of Hellenism, it is true, was fostered by the geographical conditions, and could have acquired strength in no other land. It needed just those peculiar relations of sea and land to foster and strengthen it; it was, like the most delicate and exquisite of Hellenic goddesses, born on the sea, not on the land; but that sea must be the Ægean, the path and the roadway of the Greek peoples, which united the Greek lands instead of estranging and separating them (as other seas seemed to do).

One of the most noteworthy forms in which the strong Hellenic appreciation of individual personality and rights (without much feeling of individual duty) showed itself was the love of competition and prizes. The individual Hellene trained himself to the highest pitch attainable in competition with his fellows, and his eagerness was stimulated by the prize of victory. The prize, in the true Hellenic idea, was simply the victor's garland, the recognition by his peers that he had won the victory. In the early stages of Hellenism the mere honour of victory was hardly sufficient to tempt the competitive ardour without prizes of value; and when in later times the Hellenic games were introduced in the Asiatic cities, it was the custom there to give valuable prizes (θέματα); while even the Hellenic contests in that later time were made practically valuable by privileges and money rewards from the victor's own State. Only in the fullest bloom of the Hellenic spirit were the honour and crown sufficient to attract all Hellenes.

Many religious ceremonies were modified or developed by the introduction of such competitions. While the barbarism of primitive funeral rites was developed by the Romans into gladiatorial combats, it was developed among the Greeks into the system of funeral sports and prizes. The crown of wild olive, which originally was simply the garland of the foliage sacred to the god, worn by every worshipper at Olympia, was by the Hellenes given as a prize to the victor in a competition.

The view, then, which we take is that the character of Greek religion arose in the country, and sprang from the Greek genius, which took into itself, assimilated, and gave new life and character to elements gathered from its own past and from every race with which the Greeks came in contact, so far as those races offered anything worth learning; but in this process the Greek spirit, so long as its bloom and vigour lasted, only grew more and more intensely Hellenic. The more the Greeks learned from Phœnicians or Phrygians, the more unlike them they became. In many of the Hellenic deities there is a certain Oriental element, but how utterly different in character and spirit is the Hellenic Aphrodite from a Phœnician goddess. Although Aphrodite, as she was worshipped in the cultus of the Greeks, bore strong traces of the ugly, gross, material Orientalism, and though Phœnician elements in origin can be assigned to her more confidently than to any other Greek deity, yet the Hellenic genius is almost more conspicuous in the graceful, exquisite, smiling Aphrodite of the *Iliad* than in any other Greek deity. The Greek spirit could make her beautiful without making her moral in the modern sense.

IV. THE GROWTH OF HELLENIC RELIGION.—(1) *Continuity of development.*—The Hellenic religion which was built on that older Greek foundation had in itself little of true religious character and depth. It was in many ways a beautiful development of artistic feeling, harmony, and grouping, instinct with the Hellenic sense of individual rights and liberty, and indissolubly intertwined with the political institutions of the free, self-governing, progressive Greek City-State. The city was the highest creation of the Hellenic genius, with its free institutions and its education of the individual man; and the Hellenic religion was the ideal counterpart of the Hellenic city.

But, when we try to sound the real religious depths of the Greek nature, we must go to the worship of the dead or of the sacred stones (the *Hermai*), or the mystic worship of the deities of the old Pelasgian type. Yet the difference between the old religion and the formed Hellenic worship does not amount to absolute opposition. The later grew out of the earlier by a simple process of easy development. No definite and unvarying line divides the older gods of Greece from the properly Hellenic gods. There is hardly one of the latter who has not also in some district, or on account of some aspects of his worship, a place among the former.

(2) *Growth of mythology.*—The old personages of myth and religion continued to acquire new meaning and character amid the historical vicissitudes of the people. Just as among the Germanic and Scandinavian tribes the old Aryan tales took on a Christian character in their later development, so the old pre-Hellenic Divine personalities bear the impress of later history, or (to vary the metaphor) formed centres round which the floating beliefs and facts of later times gathered. Thus the name of Zeus goes back to the primitive Aryan stock, but he came to be the bearer of new thoughts and ideals in the Hellenic mind. To admit that Cadmus represents a Phœnician element in Greek history does not necessarily imply that Cadmus must be a Phœnician name. To take a typical case of a markedly late development: As the Oriental seclusion of women began to spread among the Greeks in general, the familiar use of boys and male favourites in domestic service, with the vices that accompanied this custom, became general. As was invariably the case, a mythical or religious parallel and example was

found, and Ganymedes became the mythical representative of the new custom in all its worst features. But, while one recognizes this, one may carry back the history of the mythic figure Ganymedes much further, and see in him one of the numberless local impersonations of the freshness and bloom of nature, the Good Genius who came from heaven and returns again to it.

The old legends can be traced in Greece in never-ceasing transformations. They appear in the Lyric poets in a very different form from what they bear in Homer; and the Tragic poets take them and again remodel them, while in Pausanias we find occasional traces of local forms differing from all the literary embodiments. The Odysseus of Homer is not the Odysseus of Sophocles. But the inference, which has sometimes been drawn, that the Tragic poets did not know the Homeric poems in the form in which we possess them, has no validity. The Lyric and the Tragic poetry represent a deeper phase—certainly a very different phase—of thought and religion from the Epic; and those later poets treated the myths as their poetic or dramatic property, and read in them or into them the thoughts of their own time.

(3) *Polytheism and the Hellenic unity.*—The older Greek religion, as we have seen, was comparatively simple. There was not a large number of gods worshipped in any one district. But the conception and names of the Divine beings varied in different districts to some degree. Though fundamentally the same, the idea of 'the God' tended in each district to assume some of the special character of the people, and to run through a special kind of development according to the succession of immigrant tribes or the varying experience of the original tribe. New religious conceptions came in with new tribes. The special deity of each race reflected in his nature the whole history of his people. The power of each deity was confined to his own district and the circle of his own worshippers.

But the idea of Hellenic unity became a political force, founded on a religious basis and strengthened in the literary development of the country. This unity was merely ideal, and never became a political reality: it was a power which exerted a certain influence on events: it was an end which some persons saw dimly before them in the distance. The Delphic Oracle was to some extent guided by that ideal in the leading which it gave to the Greek States when they consulted it; but its influence was never directed to modify the character of local or tribal religion. It always supported the established customs of each State. But it favoured uniformity by introducing new gods (πυθόχρηστοι) into almost every city of Greece: *e.g.* Aphrodite, Dionysos, Demeter, and Kora were all introduced at Erythræ by oracles from Delphi. Thus the local religions tended towards a common type by adopting each other's gods.*

Political or social unity, to the ancient mind, could exist only through common religion. Those who worshipped different gods and practised hostile religious rites could have no unity. Therefore, as a Hellenic ideal unity grew, the varying religions of the various States composing that unity could not be felt as essentially different from or really hostile to one another. If there was an ideal unity in the political sphere, there must necessarily be an ideal unity in the religious sphere; and the gods of one Hellenic State were recognized as gods by the others. Those gods quarrelled with one another, as brothers and sisters quarrel, or as the Hellenic States warred with one another. But the States met in the common recognition of the Hellenic deities. Especially the four great Pan-Hellenic games—Olympian, Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian—formed peaceful meeting-places for all Hellenes, where religion kept the peace and all celebrants felt the benign influence of the Hellenic gods.

(4) *Formation of the Hellenic Pantheon.*—But when all the various gods who obtained Pan-Hellenic recognition were thus set side by side, the religious consciousness demanded some theory of the relation between them. Various theories, in which a religious system was built up, came into existence. But out of these the great unifying forces, literature and the Delphic Oracle, formed a generally recognized Pantheon. No two expressions of that system are precisely the same. Different writers conceived it with slight variations, but the general type is clear. The conception of a household, as it were, consisting of twelve great deities is found in several parts of Greece; but it was far from being universal, and the twelve selected were not everywhere the same. Again, in no district did the Hellenic Pantheon correspond exactly to the actual popular religion.

Everywhere both literary and popular conceptions tended towards a common form, which had its root in the popular mind and the popular ideas. It was the great poets who most of all gave shape to it, and made it familiar over the whole country and in the Greek colonies. Hence the popular Greek idea that the Hellenic religion was the creation of Homer and Hesiod had a certain truth. They beyond all others gave expression to the popular tendencies, and were the chief instruments in moulding the recognized, or, as one might almost call it, the 'orthodox' Greek Pantheon.

(5) *The Hellenic Religion an ideal.*—This common religion, which we shall continue to term the Hellenic religion, must be carefully distinguished from the actual religion of any single Hellenic State. Like the political unity which originated along with it, the Hellenic religion was much more an ideal than an actual, realized fact. Its centre and crowning idea is the supremacy and almighty power of Zeus; but very seldom do we find that Zeus is in actual worship the most important god of any State. In Athens, *e.g.*, Athenaia was the great divinity and tutelary goddess of the State; and her festivals were celebrated with greater magnificence and public interest than any others. The honour and safety of the State were bound up with her worship, not with that of Zeus. Zeus, at least so far as actual ritual is concerned, occupied quite a secondary position.

But under this local diversity it is clear that a general likeness existed. We can hardly consider that men who merely performed stated ceremonies had a religion. That term we can use only with reference to men who thought about the ideas involved in these rites; and it was the approximation to a general Hellenic type in their local religion that engaged general attention. Though they spent most care and most money on the festival of Athenaia, of Hera, or of Poseidon, their thought was concerned most with Zeus as *the* god, and with Athenaia or the others only as his representatives. Especially is this common or Hellenic religion the religion of the literature to which the most thoughtful men gave shape. But a national literature, though it be in advance of the prevalent standard of thought, is not in opposition to it. Homer and Plato only gave clearer form to the thoughts that were present in all educated minds. This common character, this Hellenic religion, is the true line in which the actual religion of Greece tended to develop. All intercourse of Greek with Greek, all education, all feeling of pride in their common blood and nationality, tended to foster it throughout the country, but, of course, in unequal degree according to the unequal strength of these influences in different parts of the country. Hence the Hellenic type was not equally apparent everywhere, just as it was not equally realized by all men. Some tribes went more rapidly, others very slowly, but all were tending in one direction. Various lines of argument lead to the conclusion that this Hellenic religion assumed a definite form by the middle of the 8th cent. B.C. Changes continued to take place, new ideas were added, new gods and new rites were popularized after that date, and indeed down to the latest time when Greek gave place to a new religion, which was thoroughly non-Hellenic and even anti-Hellenic, though to some considerable extent it has been influenced by Greek ideas. But at that period the religion of Hellas seems to have assimilated all its essential elements and to have established itself as a power over all the Greek tribes, which acted chiefly from a religious centre recognized by all the Hellenes —viz. the Delphic Oracle.

---

* νόμῳ πόλεως, Xen. *Mem.* iv. 3. 16; Dem. *Mid.* § 51.

In fact, from that time onwards it was not so much blood or locality that determined the right of different tribes to the common name of Hellenes, as recognition of this Hellenic religion and participation in the Hellenic rites.

The history of the Greeks in modern times presents a remarkable parallel. For centuries the Greek religion was the only bond that held together the Greeks in different regions. Every other bond was gone. No Greek government, education, or literature existed. The national name had perished, and the people were serfs to a barbarous race. The tie of language had in many cases disappeared, and even at the present day there are Greeks in Asia Minor who do not know a word of the Greek tongue. Community of blood was confined to a small part of the Greek world, so called. But the religion remained to unite the people, and it proved a stronger tie than any other. Cretans of the Greek Church are Greeks, Cretans whose fathers became Mohammedans are non-Greek. This common religion was enough to preserve all the old feeling; and when the country was awakened from the sleep of centuries, when education and literature came in to help, as strong a national feeling and as complete a severance in the national mind between Greek and the rest of the world have been made manifest as ever existed in olden times. In the western parts of Asia Minor the movement can still be watched in progress. The schools have not yet been universally established, but, wherever they have been planted, a single generation develops the religious feeling into a strongly national one.

(6) *Theory of the Hellenic Pantheon.*—Further, there was a polytheistic element in the primitive Greek religion; and there grew up very early an idea that around the chief deity there were other great deities, in whom the Divine power existed in more narrowly circumscribed fashion: thus a system of higher and lower divinities was formed in such an ancient cultus as that of Eleusis. In the growth of a unified Hellenic religion this idea was developed. According to this system Zeus is the supreme god, father of gods and men, protector of right and punisher of evil: as Ἑρκεῖος and Κτήσιος he is the patron of family and household, as Ξένιος and Ἱκέσιος he is the guardian of hospitality and of friendly intercourse between different countries; finally, he is the protector of cities and public life, and the fountain of law and of morality: from him originates all revelation of the will of heaven (Πανομφαῖος). His will is fate; and the course of events is the gradual consummation of his purposes. In the whole *Iliad* the will of Zeus was wrought out (Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή). In the tale of Melampus and Iphiclus, as it is narrated in the *Odyssey*, xi. 290 ff., the fate from the god fettered the prophet, but, when the full time came, he was released and the purpose of Zeus was perfected. The other gods and goddesses are the ministers of the will of Zeus. Each has his special province: Apollo speaks to mankind in oracles what Zeus wishes to reveal; Hestia is the goddess of family life; Poseidon rules the sea; and so on.

The province or sphere of action assigned to each deity * in this Hellenic idea had not much influence on the local cultus. When we take the Hermes of Imbros we find, not the Hellenic idea of the messenger of Zeus, but the Imbrian idea of the Divine power. But the Hermes who was adopted in many Greek cities under the Hellenic impulse was the Hellenic idea; and the popular view approximated to the Hellenic view. The average Greek thought of Aphrodite as the deity of love and beauty, Hermes as the god of heralds, and so on, irrespective of the cultus; and their names passed often into proverbial popular usage in this connexion.

This religion as we find it in Homer was practically the general religion of Greece. While in each district the same gods as of old were worshipped with special care, and the regular *cultus* at their sanctuaries was traditionally fixed among the priests, the other Pan-Hellenic gods were recognized beside them, and occasionally a Pan-Hellenic cultus even eclipsed the native worship. Thus at Olympia, Hera (perhaps associated in the Holy Marriage, ἱερὸς γάμος, with Zeus Καταιβάτης, the naturalistic deity) was the native goddess; but the festival of Zeus Olympius, a later institution, far surpassed the older worship in magnificence. In general, however, the native worship remained the chief one, and the 'orthodox' Hellenic system was recognized either by altars and worship of other gods separately, or by an altar of all the gods or of the Twelve Gods. See (14).

(7) *Moralization of the Hellenic gods.* — The most important element in the progress of Greek religion lay in the tendency to make its gods more and more into moral conceptions. In the case of the greater gods, the physical character that had once belonged to them almost entirely disappeared from the Hellenic mind. In this respect the view of Homer may be taken as identical with that which prevailed generally during the 6th or 5th century. The gods are concerned with human life and human action; they influence the course of nature solely as a means of aiding or hindering the works of men. While the gods had thus become almost purely moral conceptions, the tendency to see Divine life in external nature remained as strong as ever.

(8) *The Daimones and the Divine in the physical world.* — When once the tendency to polytheism had been established, it increased rapidly. The physical world was filled with Divine beings. Every place, every natural object which impressed men with its beauty or solemnity, became to them the seat of a deity. The nymphs of the old Pelasgian religion formed a convenient expression for this pantheistic idea; and nymphs were seen in every tree and every stream, every glen and every mountain.

In moral conceptions a Divine nature was equally conspicuous; and altars to Pity, Shame, Friendship, etc.,† were erected in different places. Many

---

[*] τιμὰς καὶ τέχνας διελόντες, Herod. ii. 53.

[†] ἔλεος, αἰδώς, φιλία, ὁρμή, φήμη, φόβος, γέλως, εἰρήνη, ἐργάνη, πειθώ, εὐνομία, εὔκλεια, σωτηρια, ὁμόνοια, καιρός, νίκη, ἀρά, κ.τ.λ.

of these names are known as actual epithets of different deities; Athena *Ergane* and Athena *Nike* are well known; Artemis *Eukleia* was worshipped at Thebes. Ara or the Arai are sometimes an independent conception, sometimes a name of the Erinnyes or Eumenides. In such deities as Eros or the Charites we have forms which were in some instances worshipped as the great embodiment of the Divine conception and chief gods of the places (so Eros at Thespiæ, the Charites at Orchomenos); but generally they were only inferior figures attendant on the great gods. The Greeks themselves found it difficult to determine how far a god as worshipped under two epithets continued to be one being. Socrates (Xen. *Symp.* c. 8, 9) knows not whether there is one Aphrodite or two, Ourania and Pandemos; for Zeus himself, whom men count one, has many surnames. Xenophon was wont to sacrifice to Zeus Soter and Zeus Basileus; but a soothsayer of Lampsacos showed him that he had sinned in not sacrificing also to Zeus Meilichios. It cannot here be accidental that Xenophon's first sacrifices acknowledged only the Olympian religion, whereas Zeus Meilichios is a Chthonian deity. Solon's laws ordered that men should swear by three gods, Ἱκέσιος, Καθάρσιος, Ἐξακεστήριος; but these, though expressly called three gods, are obviously epithets of Zeus. It is therefore not surprising to find that epithets gradually tend to acquire distinct personality and a separate worship.

This tendency is seen already in Homer, who personifies the Λιταί. The sea-monster Scylla he calls a goddess, and Chimæra, Echidna, Sirens are godlike beings (θεῖον γένος). So pestilence and hunger are called gods by Sophocles (*Œdip. Tyr.* 28) and Simonides of Amorgos (vi. 102). These and all other striking instances of natural power, real or fabulous, were equally representative of the Divine nature. The term *daimon* (δαίμων) was often applied to such powers. In Homer the term δαίμων denotes a distinctly less personal conception than θεός: hardly anywhere except in *Il.* iii. 420 is a special god called δαίμων: the δαίμων is bearer of the Divine power which works in nature and in human life: the δαίμων has not been so formed, bounded and defined by mythology and cultus as θεός: δαίμων is sometimes even used impersonally (especially in the *Odyssey*) in the sense of *numen.* There is a certain tendency in Homer to attribute a bad influence to the δαίμων, and the preponderance of evil is distinctly marked in the *Odyssey.*[*]

In the post-Homeric usage δαίμων acquired a more definite meaning, and was applied to certain godlike beings intermediate between the great gods and mankind. In Hesiod the spirits of men of the Golden Age are appointed by Zeus to watch and guard men, and are called *daimones,* and the name is also applied to Phaethon, appointed by Aphrodite as guardian of her shrine. Hence it is generally applied to the train of inferior beings attendant on the chief gods, as Satyrs, Corybantes, Erotes, etc. (Plato, *Legg.* 848 D). These *daimones* are often conceived as the executors of the will of Zeus in particular cases.[†] The analogy with some phases of the Hebrew doctrine of angels is interesting. In Arcadia men sacrificed to Bronte and Astrape, evidently *daimones* of Zeus. Wind-gods[‡] are worshipped in a similar fashion, though they are not expressly so named. *Daimones* as companions and guardians of individual men are mentioned by Theognis (161 ff.), and frequently in later authors.[*] The words εὐδαίμων, δυσδαίμων probably imply such a view. They are not found in Homer; and ὀλβιοδαίμων (*Il.* iii. 182) is one of many suspicious expressions in the passage where it occurs. Εὐδαίμων is used by Hesiod (*Op.* 824). The Roman idea of a genius of city or people is not found till a late date. After the Christian era the *Tyche* of the city was worshipped; and the head of the city-goddess appears on coins. This, of course, must be distinguished from the genuine ancient cult of Tyche.[†] In Athens a cult of the *Demos,* alone or along with the *Charites,* is mentioned in inscriptions of the last cent. B.C.

Some order was introduced into this motley throng of Divine beings by the idea of a train of inferior deities attendant on each of the greater gods. Dionysos had a troop of followers from Sileni and Satyrs down through all grades of life to wild beasts. The train of attendants is a sort of epitome of the sphere of action belonging to the god, and that of Dionysos represents all phases of the life and energy of nature which are included in the special significance of that deity. So it is with many other gods. All the deities and *daimones* of the sea form a court round their sovereigns Poseidon and Amphitrite. To Aphrodite is attached every variety of love and grace, Eros, Himeros, Pothos, the Charites, etc. Art had much to do in determining the form of all these trains of beings; and they seldom attained such importance as to be recognized in public cult.

(9) *Restrictions on the nature of the gods.*—The originally restricted character of the Greek gods continued to cling to them. Their power was once confined to a narrow district, their worship to a small circle. As the gods changed from physical to moral conceptions, the range of their power widened, and the circle of their worshippers was increased; but still there was a universal feeling that a defined boundary did exist, and that new worshippers were admitted into a select and exclusive company. The cultus of a god was often transferred to a new place, where his worship was established in a form as closely as possible resembling the original (ἀφίδρυσις); but blood and race were usually the cause of such a transfer. The worship of the mother city thus spread to the colonies. When smaller communities were concentrated in a great State, as the Attic towns were in Athens, the worship of each was transferred to the central city; and the chief festival of the god was constituted a memorial of the original transfer by a procession to the ancient seat of the worship. Thus the old image of Dionysos was taken from Eleutherai to Athens, and an imitation left in its place. But the Eleusinian worship was left in its own home, with Athens as a secondary seat of the cultus.

This process was common in Greek history, and a well-known example in historical times is the foundation of Megalopolis by Epaminondas, in order to establish a centralized Arcadian State in counterpoise to the power of Sparta. When this was done the gods and worship of the minor States were incorporated in the greater, and the memory of their relation was kept up in the annual festival and procession between the cities. The importance of this custom for the development of inter-communication in Greece has been well shown by Curtius.[‡] A system of roads to connect the chief city with the minor ones was a necessity of the growing cult. When the worship was left in the minor State as too holy to be disturbed, a road between the two cities was equally required. This conception of the roads is related to the utilitarian view described in A, § I (1), etc.: the use of the roads for the god's service was the guarantee and consecration of their usefulness for all his worshippers, and ensured that they were respected by all who reverenced his power.

---

[*] Kröcher, *Gebrauch des Wortes* δαίμων, reckons that the word occurs there eighteen times in action unfriendly to men, fourteen times indifferent or friendly. Fick derives δαίμων from the root *das*, 'to teach,' and identifies it with the Sanskrit *dasmant*, 'wise.'

[†] So in Plato (*Legg.* v. 730 A), ὁ ξένιος ἑκάστου δαίμων καὶ θεός, τῷ ξενίῳ συνεπόμενος Διί.

[‡] Herod. vii. 178, 189.

[*] Cf. Plato, *Phædon*, 107 D.

[†] Paus. vi. 25. 4; ii. 7. 5; iv. 30. 2.

[‡] *Geschichte des Wegebaus bei den Griechen.*

Thus originated the sacred roads of the processions of Athens, of Megalopolis, of Sparta to Amyclæ, of Elis to Olympia. The road from Athens to Marathon, by which the god had been brought to Athens, was, as Curtius has emphasized, always traversed by the θεωρίαι sent by Athens to consult the Delphic Oracle. There they found the road that connected Marathon with Delphi, marking the way along which the worship of the god had once been borne; and they travelled by the Sacred Way in preference to the direct path from Athens to Delphi. Hence they watched the lightning over Harma before starting; in other words, they observed the signs of the weather in the direction of Marathon. The most famous Sacred Way in Greece was the path by which Apollo had come to Delphi with the Dorians from the north of Thessaly, and every fourth year the sacred procession to Tempe kept alive the old relation. These processions are among the most interesting features of Greek religion. War was often stopped to allow them to be carried out. But in the Peloponnesian war this was not the case: for years after the Spartans occupied Dekeleia the procession by land to Eleusis ceased, till Alcibiades, by guarding the way with soldiers, enabled it to be held in safety.

(10) *State gods and gods within the State.*—Even in the State itself only a few of the gods were worshipped by the whole people. These were the θεοὶ πατρῷοι, γενέθλιοι, ἀρχηγέται, with whose worship the safety, honour, and existence of the State were bound up. They have to be distinguished from θεοὶ πάτριοι, a term which includes all the gods legally recognized in the community.

Every set of persons within the city united in any relation had their own god. But voluntary associations for the worship of a god, and united by no other bond but this worship, belong to a later time, including those which were made in a city like Athens by a set of strangers for the purpose of their own national worship: see below, C, § III.

Besides the patron-gods of each city (θεοὶ πατρῷοι), all gods legally worshipped in the State required respect from the State. If any of them were injured, or if their full rights were not given them, their anger was shown not merely against the individual wrong-doer, but also against any one in his company, and against the whole community.* Hence it was only prudent for the State to extend its support to the worship of every god, to contribute to the expense of his sacrifices and festivals (δημοτελῆ ἱερά), and to give dedicatory offerings from time to time. At the same time, it was obviously necessary to guard against the introduction of new gods into the State (see (14) below).

(11) *Extension of the worship of a god.*—It depended entirely on the worshippers themselves to determine how far their circle should be widened. In some cases a rigid exclusiveness was maintained, and new members were admitted only as a special honour. In the family worship of Zeus Ktesios some did not allow even the domestic slaves to participate (Isaios, *Ciron.* § 16); but the general custom was to admit the household slaves to the household worship (cf. Æsch. *Agam.* 1026). To the public worship of some States no strangers were admitted, as was the case in the Panionion (Herod. i. 143). At Argos no stranger could sacrifice in the Heraion (Herod. vi. 81). Athens was in general far more hospitable (Dem. *Neær.* § 79). This exclusiveness is rather a relic of the past than a real characteristic of the Hellenic religion, and it disappeared sensibly as time elapsed. The worshippers were the chief source of revenue to the priests and the temple (Lucian, *Phalar.* ii. 8), and were generally encouraged to come from all quarters.

Apart from the formal ritualistic service of the temples, viz. the public festivals, admission to which was a matter of public concern, what may be called occasional worship, depending on the wishes and needs of individual worshippers, was a considerable element in the Hellenic religion. The cost of the public ceremonies was defrayed by the State: private worshippers in the temple also existed. This element was an increasing one, and was encouraged by the Oracle and by the priesthood in general. Pindar's house in Thebes was close by the temple of Rhea, and he honoured the goddess greatly (Pyth. iii. 77): the term indicates not mere vague respect, but practical acts of worship and offering were implied in 'honouring a god.' Neighbourhood to a particular god had the same effect in other cases (Plaut. *Bacch.* ii. 1, 3): even travellers passing a shrine or a sacred tree ought to show some token of respect, were it only to kiss the hand to it.

It is doubtful how far such worship was admitted from all comers. Probably the strict rule, in older time, was that only the privileged circle of worshippers could be admitted; and Herodotus (v. 72, vi. 81) shows cases of exclusion of extraneous worshippers. But it is probable that these cases were exceptional, that worshippers were rejected only in some excitement of national feeling, that the principle of Hellenic religion, which gradually established itself in most of the temples of local cults, was that all Hellenes might worship in Hellenic temples, and that, in such cases as Herodotus mentions, the intending worshipper acted on this principle.

(12) *State recognition of the Pan-Hellenic Religion.*—The idea of a Hellenic religion of gods common to all Hellenes never gained complete ascendency, but is seen in many individual cases. Zeus *Hellenios* or *Panhellenios* was worshipped in Athens (Paus. i. 18. 9; Ar. *Eq.* 1253) and in Ægina (Pind. *Nem.* v. 10; Paus. i. 44. 9). The expression κοινοὶ θεοί and others similar (Herod. ix. 90, etc.) show the same feeling. Invocation of all the gods together is not infrequent (Dem. *de Cor.*, *init.*; *Mid.* § 52). An altar of all the gods (βωμὸς κοινὸς πάντων θεῶν) existed at Olympia; and at Ilium there was a priest of all the gods (τῶν πάντων θεῶν). Altars of the Twelve Gods, as a convenient summary of the chief Hellenic gods, were frequent. Later we find in Messene statues of all the gods ὁπόσους νομίζουσιν Ἕλληνες.

(13) *The Hellenic Religion a part of the City-State.*—In the fully formed Hellenic city the State religion was one part of the commonwealth, and the State gods had a recognized claim to certain perquisites. The relation of the gods to the State lost the religious and pious character, and came to be conceived as a purely legal matter (νόμῳ γὰρ τοὺς θεοὺς νομίζομεν, Eur. *Hec.* 800). Here the verb does not mean so much as 'believe in the existence of' nor so little as 'practise the rites of'; it may be paraphrased by the preceding sentence. Not that the law could abolish the gods and their worship. The original thought that the Divine nature was a necessary part of the world, and help from it a necessary element in human life, was indelible and beyond the legal power to alter. A State without religion was as little conceivable as a State without laws; the good citizen and the religious citizen were equivalent expressions.

* Æsch. *Sept.* 581; Eur. *El.* 1353; Hor. *Od.* iii. 2. 26, etc.

(14) *The Hellenic conception of piety.*—Εὐσέβεια, 'piety,' consisted in giving the gods their due; righteousness is justice to the gods.* Mythologically, the idea is expressed by Hesiod (*Theog.* 535) as a regular compact of mutual duties and rights (κρίνεσθαι) made in Methone between Zeus and Prometheus as the representatives of gods and men. Law and public opinion required that the gods be given their due; but that personal honour be paid them there was no necessity. Their character and position might be ridiculed so long as no intention was shown to do away with their worship. The γραφὴ ἀσεβείας was directed only against him that sought to alter or infringe the established ceremonial. The atheist (ἄθεος) was obnoxious to the law because his principles made the cultus unnecessary.

The worship of new deities was forbidden in Athens, until the Ecclesia, or the Nomothetai acting under its direction, sanctioned the introduction of a new cult, and settled the ceremonial belonging to it. But the effective prohibition of foreign rites was hindered by various causes. It was no one's business to protest against a new worship or prosecute the worshippers; the duty, disagreeable and entailing ill-will from a considerable section of the people, was left to the patriotic piety of the nation to carry out, and seldom found any one to perform it. An openness to novelties, a receptivity for foreign thought, characterized the Athenians; and foreign citizens and foreign religions (ἐπίθετοι) found in general an equally free access to the city. See below, C, § III; above, A, § VII (2).

A higher conception of εὐσέβεια, however, was not wanting. Fear of the god was from the first no prominent part of the idea of piety. Throughout the literature, love is a much more important element. Zeus is the father of gods and men, not as being their creator, but as a father-like ruler (Aristot. *Pol.* i. 12). The good man is the man beloved of God. The gods were full of goodwill towards men. The passages where the fear of God is mentioned often show that a high idea is implied in the word 'fear' (ἵνα γὰρ δέος, ἔνθα καὶ αἰδώς, Plat. *Euth.* 12 C). The word δεισιδαίμων occurs in the sense of 'pious' in Xenophon and Aristotle (*Pol.* v. 11. 25).

But the other conception of God as hurtful to men, and of the Divine action as showing itself in calamity, is not absent (see C, § I). In later times δεισιδαιμονία, as the superstitious fear of God, is distinguished from εὐσέβεια. This sense is first found in Polybius, if we except the doubtful chapter of Theophrastus (*Char.* xvi.). Moreover, the expression 'justice towards God' is often used in a better sense than that of mere compliance with an external law. But such finer thoughts probably belonged only to the few; it is hardly possible to attribute any ideas of the kind to Nicias, who was to many the ideal of a pious man. The picture that Plato gives of the religion of his time is a very dark one. In one place (*Legg.* x. p. 885) he says that some disbelieve in the gods, and others think that they are moved unjustly by gifts and vows. Still worse is the account given by Adeimantos and Glaucon in *Rep.* ii., where the strolling soothsayers who sell pardons to the people, and teach them that a few ceremonies and a little money will gain forgiveness for all sins, are especially inveighed against.

It must, however, be remembered that these passages are purposely one-sided. The truth is that popular thought was unable to reconcile the love of the gods and the fear of the gods, which constituted the central antithesis of Hellenic religion. Their religion provided no help in the difficulty. Ideas of sin, of the wrath of Heaven, were present to all men; and those who could not themselves rise to higher thoughts sank to superstitious practices to avoid the consequences of the guilt which they felt themselves laden with. The mythological legends handed down from an older stage of religion, and frequently gross and revolting in character, still clung to the gods of the national religion. The gods seemed themselves to sanction hateful and immoral acts, and exposed themselves as much to the ridicule of men as to that of their peers (*Il.* i. 600; *Odyss.* viii. 343). The better thought of Greece rejected and abolished these fables; but the vulgar often justified their evil deeds by the example of the gods.*

As the Hellenic State grew, and as art separated itself from the service of religion, the secularization of all cultus proceeded with rapid strides. The productions of the fine period of art were not made to be worshipped, but to be admired in the temple. The spectacular side of religion became every year more prominent. If it could not satisfy the religious wants of the people, it aimed at least at satiating them with fine shows. In many temples the cultus, though never wholly wanting, was quite subordinate to the purposes of State offices and of occasional pageants, which had far more of a political than a religious character. See also C, § III (4).

Art no longer formed, as it once did, a part of religion; but it influenced the popular theory of religion very materially. The Artemis of cultus was developed mainly by the artistic element into the huntress maiden; and this conception of the goddess, though not ruling in cultus, was certainly the common Hellenic idea. In this and other ways the gulf between the ancient cult and the actual thought of the people was widened.

V. The Hellenic Classification of Deities as Olympian and Chthonian.

—This distinction, so characteristic of and peculiar to Hellenic thought, has already been anticipated as if familiar. One can hardly speak about Hellenic religious thought without assuming it.

(1) *Hellenism and the thought of death.*—In the thought which belongs to and constitutes Hellenism, looked at in its relation to religion, the first moment was the revolt of man against the hard law of nature—a revolt springing from the energetic, joyous consciousness of individual power and freedom. This thought expressed itself in the gods whom it pictured to itself—gods of beauty and of enjoyment. There was a tendency to eliminate from the traditional conception of the Divine beings everything that conflicted with this sentiment, and leave only gods of life and brightness. The Athenaia of actual Attic cult died, and was mourned for every year according to the old religious idea of the annual death and rebirth of the life of nature; but the Athena of Hellenic thought was lifted far above death. The grave of Dionysos was a central fact in the actual ritual, but drops out of the literature almost entirely.

The older views as to the dead, which made them into and worshipped them as gods, were not in accordance with the Hellenic spirit, and are not conspicuous in Greek literature. But the continuance of the ritual and worship of the dead in practice among the Greeks is everywhere presupposed and sometimes alluded to. There was in this respect a deep gap between the educated spirit of Hellenism and the actual conduct of the ordinary Greek man or woman. The Hellenic spirit hated and avoided the thought of death. It was concerned with life and brightness and enjoyment, with show and festival and art. Homer describes the *Eidola* of the dead as preserving in the realm of death a shadowy and wretched existence which is worse than the most miserable lot in life. Yet in the Homeric poems the old rites are seen in practice at the graves of Patroclus and Achilles (*Odyss.* xxiv. 65, etc.) That old ritual was systematized and formulated under the influence of the Delphic Oracle (whose rule always was to recognize and regulate the ancient religious usages); and this systematization was repeated in the Solonian legislation, and doubtless all over Greece.*

---

* Cf. Plat. *Protag.* 331, *Rep.* i. 331 B; Cic. *de Nat. Deorum*, i. 41, 116.

* Plat. *Euth.* 5 E; Ar. *Nub.* 905, 1080; Eur. *Hipp.* 451, *Ion.* 449; Ter. *Eun.* iii. 5. 36.

Hellenism could not maintain itself at this stage: the hard facts of the world and of life demand and force recognition. Thus comes in the second moment in the Hellenic religious idea—the inevitable awe before this irresistible power, the power of nature, stern, inexorable, irresistible, which may be regarded either impersonally as Fate or Necessity (Εἱμαρμένη, Ἀνάγκη), or personally as a god whose power or will constitutes and moves and orders the course of nature. Here the gods of the old régime returned into the Hellenic consciousness. They were more closely connected in the Greek mind with the power of nature and the one great fact in nature, Death. Life, the other side of that great fact, was not, as a rule, apprehended by the Greeks in its true relation to Death. The Greek mind had sought to make for itself gods of life alone; and the two antithetic sides of the religious conception were to a great extent developed separately from one another. In this way, probably, must be explained the remarkable fact that in the Hellenic religion life and death are apportioned, so far as that is possible, to two different moods of thought and two different sets of deities. Only in the highest development of Greek thought in some rare minds, and there only in a very imperfect way, was the antithesis reconciled in a higher conception of the Divine nature (see C, § I, below).

(2) *The Olympian and the Chthonian gods.*—The difference between the gods of the old religious ideas and of the newer or Hellenic thought tended to crystallize in the distinction between Chthonian and Olympian gods, though this distinction never became absolute and universal, and there is hardly any deity who belonged everywhere and at all times to the one class and never to the other. But the worship of the dead, *i.e.* of the heroes, and of the Chthonian gods, was marked off by broad lines from that of the Olympian gods; and most of what was really deep and heartfelt religion in Greece belongs to the former, while most of what is artistic and a permanent possession for the civilized world belongs to the latter.

The even numbers and the left hand belonged to the Chthonian deities, the odd numbers and the right hand to the gods of heaven (Plat. *Legg.* iv. 717 A). White was the appropriate colour of the Olympian gods, the East their abode, and the direction to which their temples looked and their worshippers turned when sacrificing to them. The forenoon was the time suitable for their worship. The Chthonian gods preferred blood-red or black; the West was the direction to which their worshippers faced, the afternoon their chosen time. Offerings to the Olympian gods were shared in by men; offerings to the Chthonian gods were burnt whole. Men had community in the sacrifice with the former, with the latter they had none. One who had partaken of the black sheep offered to the hero Pelops in his grove in the Altis might not enter the temple of Zeus (Paus. v. 13). The priestess Theano refused to curse Alcibiades and devote him to the infernal gods, on the ground that her duty was only to bless (Plut. *Alc.* 22).

The worship of the Chthonian deities was for the most part mystic; and a very brief description of the character of the ritual of the Mysteries has already been given in A, § VII. This mystic and secret character shielded the Chthonian gods against the Hellenizing tendency; and thus the awe that attached to them remained unimpaired. Awe was foreign to the spirit of Hellenism; but the human spirit demands an element of awe, and the Hellenes were human. Accordingly, Hellenism protected the Chthonian gods against itself by keeping them private, mysterious, and apart.

VI. THE RELIGION OF APOLLO AND THE DELPHIC ORACLE.—To attain a conception of the spirit and character and the infinite variety of Hellenic religion and its relation to Hellenic life, it is above all necessary to study the practical development of the individual gods out of their primitive form into the full Greek idea. We can here take only one example. We might select Athenaia, the champion and mother of Athens, originally a form of the Pelasgian Mother-Goddess, who became step by step an almost purely Olympian deity (at least in the popular idea, though never in the actual cultus*), patron of what the world holds in memory as most characteristic of Athens, protector of the democracy, of art and of letters, opposed to and yet closely connected with Poseidon, who was the champion of the oligarchic and aristocratic element in the city.† But Apollo is, on the whole, the most typical and representative Hellenic deity, and his oracle at Delphi was the most powerful influence in guiding and moulding the growth of Hellenism. And as, in the much debated subject of Greek religion, it is useful to see more than one view, Mr. L. R. Farnell, the author of *Cults of the Greek States*, will treat this part of it.—

[If the study of any single Hellenic divinity can suffice for the comparison of the pagan and Christian classical world in respect of religious thought and rite, one may be justified in selecting the Apolline worship for the purpose. It may not indeed present us with the highest achievement of the Hellenic spirit in religious speculation: for instance, to trace the gradual evolution of ideas that made for monotheism, we must turn rather to the worship of Zeus. Nor, again, did it attempt to satisfy, as did the Dionysiac and Eleusinian cults, the personal craving for immortality and happiness after death which was working strongly in the Hellenic world before the diffusion of Christianity. Currents of mystic speculation, coming partly from the East, and bringing new problems concerning the providence of the world and the destiny of the soul, scarcely touched and in no way transformed the personality of Apollo. Until the old Hellenic system was passing away, he remained a bright and clearly outlined figure of the early national religion, a Pan-Hellenic god, whose attributes reflected and whose worship assisted the various stages of material, social, and moral development through which the race had passed. The study of the cult is of the highest value for the student of Hellenism, and not without value for the wider study of European ethics and religion.

To understand this, we must distinguish more carefully than is often done between the figure of worship and the figure of myth. This is the more necessary in the case of a religion such as the Hellenic, that was not fortified by any strong and imperious dogma which might bring the mythic fancy under control. Hence Greek myth, though usually bright and attractive, and often illuminative of actual worship, is sometimes repulsive, and no adequate expression of the serious mood of the worshipper. If we confine our view, then, to the public cults—Greek devotion being mainly public—and to the myths that illustrate these, we soon discover that Apollo did not instantly reveal himself, as he emerged above the horizon of prehistoric Hellas, as the divinity of the higher life who brought a higher message to his worshippers. The Apollo of Æschylus and Pindar is not quite the same as the Apollo of the earliest Greek tribes. The records of the historic period still preserve the impress of a wilder and more savage age.

---

* See U. Köhler's commentary on the famous Cean inscription, *Athen. Mittheil.* i. 139; Plutarch, *Solon*, 21.

* Her relation to the Eumenides, the Gorgon, and the serpent-footed Erichthonios, shows her Chthonian and antique character.

† See Neil's edition of Aristophanes' *Knights*, p. 83.

The meaning of the name Apollo, like that of most of the Divine names in Greece, escapes us. A modern etymology that connects it with ἀπέλλα, the Doric word for 'assembly,' would yield us, if we could accept it, the very interesting result, that the aboriginal deity was not a mere 'Nature-god,' a personification of some portion of the natural world, but already a political divinity full of promise for the future public life of the race. But for etymological reasons the word ἀπέλλα could not give rise to the derivative Ἀπόλλων, though they might both come from some common stem.

We must content ourselves with having the right to believe that he is at least an Aryan god, brought in by the Hellenic conquerors, and the common possession of several of the leading tribes. In countries where the autochthonous population claimed to have survived, such as Attica and Arcadia, he is clearly an immigrant, not an indigenous deity. And Greek ritual preserved and hallowed the memory of his original entrance into Hellas from the north. It seems that in Herodotus' time the Delians were still in the habit of receiving certain cereal offerings at the festival of Apollo that purported to come from the 'Hyperboreans.' The route which the offerings followed entered Greece from the north-west, and, passing southward as far as Dodona, then struck across eastward to the Malian Gulf, and so by the Eubœan Carystos to Delos. Wild fancies have been conceived and foolish theories devised about these Hyperboreans. Error arose from the illusory belief that any people, known however dimly to the Greeks, and known to be worshippers of Apollo, could have been styled 'the people who live beyond the north wind.' The key to the puzzle has been undoubtedly found by Ahrens, who as a philologist has made one of the very few philological contributions to the study of Greek religion that are of any value. He discovered that the word Ὑπερβόρειοι is a slight popular corruption for Ὑπερβόροι or Ὑπερβερεταῖοι, a well-attested Macedonian dialect form for the Delian word Περφερέες that Herodotus declares was applied to the sacred 'carriers' of Apollo's offerings. They are then northern Greeks, all bearing pure Greek names, which all have a religious origin proper to their ritualistic function. And it is of the greatest interest to note that the route by which the oblations of the North-Greek tribes are reported to have travelled is the natural route of invasion which the Aryan conquerors are now supposed by modern historians to have followed.

Can we discover the original character of this divinity in the earliest days of the worship in Greece? A belief that still appears to prevail in ordinary classical scholarship is that he began his career as a sun-god, displacing earlier and less personal solar powers, and became gradually humanized and withdrawn from this elemental sphere. But the belief is uncritically held, and breaks down before the evidence of the cult-facts. The epithets whereby a Greek divinity was addressed in prayer and official hymns give the best clue to the ideas of ancient worship. None of those that are attached to Apollo can be naturally interpreted as designating a god of the sun or of the lights of heaven. Λύκειος, one of his most common titles, can come from the stem of λύκο-ς, 'wolf,' and not phonetically from the stem of λύκη, an assumed old Greek word for 'light.' Λυκηγενής, an epithet only used twice in the *Iliad* in a conversation between Athena and the Lycian Pandaros, can mean, in accord with the laws of word-formation, either 'Lycian-born' or 'wolf-born': the latter significance being in harmony with a well-attested legend. Αἰγλήτης, 'the god of the gleam' at Anaphe, appears to have been a later transformation for an older form Ἀσγελάτας, a term of quite different import.

At a comparatively later period, Apollo comes into touch with Helios, especially in Asia Minor: the same may be said of other divinities, for whom no one would claim a solar origin. The first to identify him with Helios was Euripides; but this poet is often quite reckless of the popular religious view, and the statement belongs to a certain theory of his.

In pagan North Europe, and in pagan Greece, the leading practices of ritual that have been discovered and interpreted by modern research aimed at ensuring fertility and growth in the vegetable and animal kingdoms. This must be the chief interest of primitive society in the pastoral and agricultural age; and it is this that gives function and much of their character to most of the Hellenic divinities throughout all periods of their career, and especially to Apollo.

Doubtless, the earliest Hellenic invaders had already advanced beyond the social level of the hunter and the shepherd. Yet early cult and cult-ideas that survived the changes and progress of the ages preserve the traits of savage life. Here and there Apollo was still the cave-dweller: for instance, near Magnesia on the Mæander, where his image and spirit filled his priests with superhuman force, so that in wild frenzy they bounded down steep rocks and uprooted strong trees: even in cultured Athens he was still worshipped in a cave on the Acropolis. To this period belong such conceptions as that of Apollo Λύκειος, the wolf-god, the son of a wolf-mother, the god to whom wolves were offered in Argive ritual. In Cyprus we come upon the worship of Apollo Ὑλάτης, the deity of the woodland, to whom certain trees were sacred; and the bow, the weapon of early man, and always the chief badge of Apollo, belongs to him as the divinity of the chase, to whom the huntsman even in the days of Arrian offered a tithe of the spoil. Throughout all Hellas he was worshipped also as the deity of flocks and herds, who tended sheep and horned cattle in the pastures, and brought plentiful supply of milk, as Νόμιος and Γαλάξιος. The agricultural life, which is again a higher stage, is also under his care. He guards the crops from mildew and vermin, preserves the boundaries of the tenements, and to his shrines at Delphi and Delos the Greek States far and wide send their tribute of corn.

His festivals, which fell in spring, summer, and early autumn, but never in winter, attest very clearly his vegetative and agricultural character. At Amyclæ, in Laconia, he succeeded to and absorbed the cult of an old hero of vegetation, Hyacinthus, probably a pre-Hellenic personage, the beautiful youth who dies young and is bewailed as the incarnation of the bloom and the early fruits of the year. His grave was beneath the basement of Apollo's statue, and the first part of the *Hyacinthia* festival was consecrated to him; the note of sorrow in the ritual is an echo from the primitive life of the husbandman and harvester in Europe and Asia. The Laconian festival of the

Κάρνεια is one of peculiar interest, and it is impossible here to cope with the questions that arise concerning it. Our own view is that Apollo Κάρνειος, whose name means 'the cattle-god,' was worshipped by the Dorians in North Greece, and probably by the Dryopes before the Dorian conquest of the Peloponnese; that the Dorians established his worship in Megara, Sicyon, Argos, and Sparta, though a previous migration, possibly of the Dryopes, may have already planted the worship in certain parts of Southern Greece. The Spartan ritual has been well interpreted by Mannhardt: for nine days all the people lived in tents or huts, a reminiscence of primitive life, and the chief act of the festival was the pursuit of a man called 'the runner,' who was covered with garlands, by youths who carried grape clusters; if they caught him, it was a good omen for the crops and vintage. The ritual is vegetation-magic and old European. Upon this, as upon the ritual of the *Hyacinthia*, the higher worship of the god of song and music was engrafted.

To this early pastoral and agricultural period belongs the rite of human sacrifice which survived here and there in the worship of Apollo, and which was probably more frequent in the earlier period when it was common to all Aryan and to less progressive races. In Cyprus those who touched the altar of Apollo were thrown from a rock; from the famous Leucadian promontory in Acarnania a victim was hurled once a year 'as a piacular offering' to Apollo; and in the Attic Θαργήλια, an early harvest-festival consecrated to Apollo, where most of the ritual was harmless vegetation-magic, the cruel rite may have prevailed, even in the civilized age, of leading forth two human scapegoats and putting them to death by stoning or burning. The human oblation, which Greek civilization tended to abolish or modify, is a practice—whatever its true meaning—that is rooted in savagery. Yet it sometimes contains the germ of the idea of piacular and vicarious atonement that can bear fruit in a higher religion.

So far it has only been the primitive character of Apollo that we have attempted to outline. His real significance for the Greek πόλις touches higher issues. He becomes, or already at the dawn of Greek history he was, one of a special group of deities that presided over the communion of the family, the clan, the village, and finally of the πόλις, the last development of these. His cone-shaped pillar stood in the street before the door of the citizen; and Apollo Ἀγυιεύς becomes Apollo Προστατήριος, the god 'who stands before the door' and shields the household from terrors of the seen and unseen world. To the Ionic communities he stood in the special relation of ancestor, and the Dorian cities honoured him as the leader of their colonies, and sometimes as the founder and organizer of their social institutions.

Two instances may be selected from the many that might be quoted, to show the importance of his cult for social and political progress. At Athens the court called ἐπὶ Δελφινίῳ was founded to try cases of homicide where justifiable circumstances were pleaded. When criminal law becomes able to consider such pleas, it is advancing from the barbaric to the civilized stage. It is of importance, therefore, to note that this great advance was associated at Athens, in part at least, with the name and cult of Apollo. Again, at Delphi the worship of the Pythian Apollo played a very useful part in the emancipation of slaves. The slave who saved money could not, of course, be sure of buying his freedom from his master, for the latter might lay hands on the money and retain the slave; but he could, and from a vast number of Delphic inscriptions we have evidence that he very frequently did, deposit the money with the god, who then purchased him from his master, and let him go free with a religious guarantee, that was legally effective, against further violence or constraint. This excellent system prevailed in other worships elsewhere, but was specially in vogue at Delphi.

To the development of ethical thought the Apolline cult contributed one vital conception, that of purification from sin, an idea that belongs to other cults also, but is most prominent in this. We must not interpret this conception as having at the outset any essential relation to inward or moral purity, or as even enforcing any austere ideal of sexual abstinence. Purification in the Apolline and other Hellenic cults must be understood in a ritualistic sense; the process of purification aimed at washing away certain stains from a man's person that rendered him ritualistically unclean, that is, unable to approach the altars and temples of the gods, or to mix with his fellows without spreading a deadly miasma around him: such stains would be contracted by harmless physical acts, but specially by contact with blood. It is therefore the shedder of blood who stood in special need of the Delphic ritual of purification, in which the use of the laurel and the lustration with swine's blood are combined. Now, these kathartic practices are not proved to have been very ancient in Greece; the poet Arctinus of the 8th cent. B.C. is the first who records them, and he associates them with Apollo and Artemis. There is reason for believing that they were introduced into Delphi from Crete, the land whence the Athenians summoned Epimenides to purge the city from the stain of the Cylonian massacre, and whither Apollo himself repaired to be purified from the blood of Python. The Athenian Θαργήλια was partly a feast of purification; and the idea was still more prominent in the Delphic feast of the Στεπτήρια, held every eight years in the early summer, when, after a dramatic representation of the slaughter of Pytho, the Delphians selected a beautiful and high-born boy, who was temporarily an incarnation of the god, and who proceeded to Tempe, and, after purification, returned by the 'Sacred Way,' bearing the pure laurel through many an old seat of Apollo's worship in Thessaly, Oeta, and Malis. This ritualistic idea of cleanliness, so prominent in the Apolline cult, at first a non-ethical idea, is of the greatest importance for the history of ethics, for from it has grown the advanced conception of moral purity and the civilized horror of bloodshed.

Finally, Apollo was pre-eminently a god of the arts and the higher intellectual life, the leader of the Muses, the deity to whom the stateliest forms of music and song were consecrated. In pre-Homeric days the Pæan was already his special hymn of praise. In its earliest period the Pythian festival was a musical, not an athletic, contest; it came to include a competition of poets, and even of painters, thus fulfilling some of the functions of a Royal Academy of Arts. It is, in fact, the distinction of the Greek as compared with other high religions of the world that it conceived of the Divinity as revealed in the achievements of art and human science no less fully than in the moral life of the household and the State.

It remains to give a very brief outline of the Oracular worship of Delphi; for this presents the salient features of the god in the strongest light; and the Delphic tripod was the chief source of his power, and one of the few bonds of religious union in the Hellenic world. The god had seized upon Delphi or Pytho before the period of the Homeric poems, that is to say, before the Greek colonization of Asia Minor.

We may ask how Apollo became pre-eminently the prophetic god, while the power of divination was always inherent and often active in every deity and many a departed hero. His special distinction in this sphere was probably not due to any fundamental fact in his original character. The prestige of Delphi was probably the cause rather than the effect of the oracular prestige of Apollo; what it was that won for Delphi this unique position is a question that cannot now be raised.

We are certain, at any rate, that it was from the Delphic rock that the fame of the prophetic god spread far and wide over the Hellenic and non-Hellenic world; and affiliated shrines were planted in Greece consecrated to Apollo Pythæus.

The sanctity of the temple was safeguarded by the Amphictyonic Council, whose constitution reflects the pre-Homeric age of Greece, and whose members bound themselves by a solemn oath to defend the shrine, and never to destroy or allow the destruction of an Amphictyonic State. It was not the fault of the religion that the oath was shamefully broken, and that this ideal of a higher national union remained barren.

The manner of divination at Delphi is interesting, and in one respect peculiar. The 'mantic' art in Greece has been defined as twofold; one kind being ecstatic, enthusiastic, insane, the other sane and rational. The diviner of the former type is possessed by the spirit of the god who enters into him or her through the sacramental eating or drinking of a substance in which the spirit of the god was supposed to reside; so possessed, the human frame becomes an organ of the voice of God, and the human lips are moved in madness with utterances that the skilled can interpret. Of the latter type is soothsaying from birds and other animals, inspection of entrails, the drawing of lots, which may be corn-stalks or notched pieces of wood. The soothsayer in this case is sane enough, and may be said to practise rationally an art or science that is merely based on a false hypothesis. To these we may add a third: prophecy by means of dreams that were supposed to well up from the earth and the earth-spirit into the sleeper's brain. The second type is regarded as specially Apolline, ecstatic enthusiasm being considered to be alien to the character of the sane god. All three were once practised at Delphi—the third when the Oracle was under the dominion of the earth-goddess, the two former after Apollo's arrival. But the only divination that was in real vogue there in the historic period was of the ecstatic, enthusiastic, epileptic type. The Pythoness drinks the water of the holy stream, chews the sacred laurel-leaf, mounts the tripod above the chasm whence the mephitic vapours rose, and then speaks words of frenzy which the Ὅσιοι, the five priests of the noblest Delphic blood, holding office for life, who sit near her listening, interpret according to some system of their own. This oracular madness has been supposed to be un-Apolline, and due to the strong influence of the Bacchic cult at Delphi. The theory is plausible, but not convincing. The priestess of the Argive shrine of the Pythian Apollo, a very early offshoot of Delphi, was also 'possessed by the god,' though the possession was wrought by a draught of the blood of the sacred lamb that was offered to him in the night. What strikes us as really un-Apolline is inspiration by means of the subterranean vapour: this may be a heritage from the pre-Apolline and 'Chthonian' period of the Oracle, for the subterranean world and its agencies are wholly alien to him.

The Pythoness was merely a virtuous woman, often of humble origin, a mere tool in the hands of the 'Holy Ones.' The history of the Oracle is really the history of the generations of those Ὅσιοι, the record, if we could gather it, of their varying attitude towards the national ethics, politics, and religion; and a complete list of the oracles would give us a marvellous insight into the average mind of Hellas. For these priests must be taken as reflecting the better average character of the nation, not as inspired teachers with a definite mission and advanced dogma. But their power was really great, and their exercise of it and their claims remind us dimly of the Papal power in the Middle Ages. In one respect their work was evil, and through conservative instinct they lagged behind the growing morality of their age; many a legend and record attest that, so far from softening the harsher traits in Greek religion, they encouraged and insisted on the maintenance of human sacrifice. The savage rite gradually passed away in spite of Delphi.

The political career of the Oracle cannot be dealt with here. It may be enough to say that the oracles which have been preserved display no settled policy; usually, but not always, the Oracle is on the side of constitutional government as against the tyrant, and was nearly always the devoted friend of Sparta, owing much of its great prestige in the 7th and 6th cent. to the support of that State.

In a famous oracle concerning the Spartan plan of Arcadian conquest, Apollo's voice was on the side of righteousness, but the utterance suggests a quasi-Papal claim to dispose of territory. But with all her influence Delphi was too weak to menace the liberties of the Greek States. Her best political activity was in the sphere of colonization; the Ὅσιοι have every reason to be considered the best informed agency for emigration that any State has ever possessed. Of course, neither in this nor in any other matter could they dictate; they merely advised and pointed the route to adventurous spirits; and they advised very well, so that at last no body of colonists were likely to start without the sanction of Delphi. There is reason for thinking that this colonizing of Apollo began in prehistoric times. The Dorian migration was probably blessed by the Oracle; and, what is still more important, we have good evidence from the legends, of the custom of dedicating to Delphi a tithe of the captives taken by any conquest: these appear to have been sometimes sent forth as a colony of the god's.

A few last words may be added concerning the part played by the Oracle in Greek religion and morality. In spite of the dark exception mentioned above, its influence, which was certainly great, was often good, and generally innocent. The priests were propagandists of two departments of cult especially: the cult of Dionysos, who was Apollo's confrère at Delphi, and the cult of heroes. The latter is an interesting feature of Greek religion, for it explains the spread of later saint-worship in the Mediterranean; and as no departed holy person could be canonized without the sanction of the Pope, so no departed athlete, warrior, or benefactor could be, or was likely to be, the object of public worship without the authorization of Delphi. Usually, the Delphic rule in religion is to encourage each State to maintain the religion and ritual of their forefathers.

In the sphere of private morality, in the ethics of the conscience, the Oracle often did good service; and this short epitome of a large theme may close with a few illustrations of this. Herodotus has preserved for us the stern and significant words with which the Oracle denounced Glaukos for tempting the god to connive at fraud: the terrified sinner craved forgiveness for his evil thoughts;

but the Pythoness told him that God would punish evil intent as well as evil act. This was then almost a new phase in the world of Greek ethics. Again, at a later time the Oracle reveals how far the moral thought of Greece had advanced out of the old bondage to ritual: a brave and good man had slain his own friend by accident while defending him in a deadly encounter with robbers; horror-stricken, with his friend's blood upon him, he flees to Delphi to ask what atonement or ritual can wash off the sin; but a better voice greets him than might have greeted Œdipus: 'Thou didst slay thy friend, striving to save his life; go hence, thou art purer than thou wert before.' Akin to the ethical idea embodied here is a χρησμὸς τῆς Πυθίας preserved in the Anthology: 'Enter the shrine of the pure God, pure in soul, having touched thyself with holy water: lustration is easy for the good; but a sinner cannot be cleansed by all the streams of ocean.' The genuineness of these oracles is a matter of indifference; they prove a rising tide of ethical feeling, which originated in the philosophical schools of Greece, and was imputed to Delphi. The conservative Oracle itself came to be regarded as playing its part in freeing men from that ancient heavy burden of ritual that in an older period may have aided certain growths in the moral world, but had long been a clog upon moral advance.

This short exposition of a great chapter in Greek religion puts forth many unproved and undeveloped statements. The present writer hopes to be able to deal more fully and more satisfactorily with doubtful and important points in the fourth volume of his *Cults of the Greek States*.

LEWIS R. FARNELL.]

C. *LATER DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGION IN THE GREEK WORLD.*—I. RELIGION IN LITERATURE AND PHILOSOPHY.—The essential inconsistency and self-contradiction involved in the idea of the Hellenic Pantheon was apparent, in a dim way, even to the common mind. Zeus was himself an individual with a history full of faults and selfishness. While his rule was often a mere capricious despotism, the other gods were a court surrounding him, each with his own schemes clashing both with the will of Zeus and with the wish of his fellow-deities. Thus the power of the highest god was limited, and overruling fate then became an inexorable law, before which even he must bow. However unwilling, he must surrender his own son Sarpedon to the death that fate had allotted him.

The contradictions and inconsistencies which were inherent in the system were felt by the common people. Thus Euthyphron defends his action against his father by the analogy of Zeus's treatment of his own father Kronos. The worship of the different gods in the State was loosely coordinated into a religion. In Athens the enjoyment and splendour of the great festivals of Athena were supplemented by the solemn impressiveness of the Mysteries. The feeling of awe, the fear of God, and the dread of divinely-sent calamity, grew with the spread of education into a vague consciousness of sin, and of the need for reconciliation with an offended God. On this consciousness the Orphic Mysteries were based; and in them certain observances ensured Divine forgiveness and future happiness. Strolling prophets even professed to sell indulgences, and in return for money to ensure, by performing certain rites, safety from punishment. At the same time a vague idea was growing in the popular mind that a good and pious life was needed to please God, quite as much as compliance with a stated ritual.

There was only one possible cure—raising the conception of God and intensifying the tendency to monotheism inherent in human thought, and not entirely lost sight of in the Greek religion. No adequate provision existed in the religion for educating the people and purifying itself. The Delphic with other Oracles had carried on this work for centuries, and ἐξηγηταί, appointed with its sanction in many States, were judges in difficult points of religion, and had some influence in coordinating the several cults; but the influence of the Oracles began to grow weaker after the end of the 6th cent., and their character deteriorated. The established religion became purely conservative, and the effort of all its ministers was solely to keep up the traditional state of things. The only hope lay in the literature of the age and the spread of higher thought. As poets had formulated with the help of the prophets the prevailing system, they with the help of the philosophers had now to raise its character. This was the religious work that the Gnomic poets, Pindar, and the Tragic poets successively performed.

The first adequate recognition in modern times of this important side of Greek literature is probably to be found in the pages of Zeller and of Trendelenburg, to whom especially we owe much in the following paragraphs.

Although the religious thought expressed in Greek literature and philosophy tended constantly to separate itself from the common religion, yet it was only the development of the latent capacities of that common religion. In its earlier stages literature worked hand in hand with the Delphic Oracle. The great Lyric and even the Tragic poets were recognized as the servants and ministers of the god. They wrote hymns for the worship which the Oracle propagated over Greece; and there is every reason to think that their finest conceptions of religion were practically those of the Oracle. Those brief proverbial utterances in which the wisdom of the 7th and 6th cents. concentrated itself are in the records expressly brought into connexion with the Oracle, over whose entrance was inscribed the μηδὲν ἄγαν of the Wise Man.*

But the relation between the two did not always continue so peaceable. Apart from those who simply denied the truth of the prevailing religion, those who like Æschylus or Socrates continued in sympathy with, and tried to read a higher meaning in, the established religion, found themselves in frequent danger of being misunderstood. Æschylus was accused of revealing the Mysteries to the profane, and Socrates was condemned as seeking to introduce new deities into the State. The Delphic rule of maintaining the hereditary order of things (τὰ πάτρια) was generally on the side of the uneducated, though the Oracle seems on the whole to have appreciated the work and character of Socrates. The conflict of religion and science, which had begun in the 5th cent. or even earlier, was the prominent fact in the 4th.

Two questions rose naturally to the minds of all who thought about the common religion: first, what was the relation of Zeus to the other gods, and how could will and power in them be reconciled with his omnipotence? And, second, what was the relation of Zeus to that overpowering fate that seemed at times to control even his will? In truth, the two questions are but two aspects of the same difficulty, and the answer to one involves the answer to the other. As long as the conception of God contains any of the capricious human element, so long must the will of Zeus clash with the will of the other gods and be overruled by the unbending, unvarying order of nature. When the Divine nature is conceived as absolutely regular and the Divine will as absolutely free from arbitrariness and caprice, opposition between the will of the different gods and disagreement with the course of fate tend to disappear.

---

* See especially a paper on Freedom and Necessity in Greek Philosophy in Trendelenburg's *Beiträge*.

As we have already seen, the religious view in Homer varies between the opposite and inconsistent views, and the same wavering is seen throughout Greek literature.

Herodotus represents more completely the lower view of Divine nature than any other of the great writers. In his view, success produces pride; man believes in his own power and sufficiency, and recognizes not the unseen power of God: the gods blind him and lead him into destruction through his own arrogance. This view, that the gods, acting as the instruments of an inscrutable fate, blind men, involves essentially the same idea of fate as the other view, that the gods are friends of men, but that fate is over the gods and too powerful for them. The latter view is summed up in the words of Pittacos, ἀνάγκᾳ δ' οὐδὲ θεοὶ μάχονται. To Herodotus mere success is in itself a defying of the Divine law: the Divine power is chiefly seen in the misfortune which it sends on men. The order and regularity of the world, recognition of which is the fundamental idea of his work, is quite above and apart from human reason; man cannot adapt himself to it, but only mourn when he has felt its power. Only when he dies is a man safe from the calamity that the god may at any moment send on him.

But in the literature Zeus became by degrees more completely the bearer of a moral rule, and the other gods the willing ministers of his providence and will. As this idea was more thoroughly grasped, the opposition between Fate and God was in some degree reconciled; the order of nature (Εἱμαρμένη) became a moral and knowable law, the will of God: man, by learning and living in accordance with that will, can avoid the calamity which must otherwise overtake him. So in Pindar, Zeus causes all that happens to man; he can turn night to day, and day to night: nothing that man does is hid from him; only where he shows the way is a blessing to be hoped for. The constant theme of Æschylus is the unerring, unfailing justice displayed in the course of nature. He uses Justice (Δίκη) and Zeus sometimes as convertible terms; and both denote that order in nature which through suffering teaches knowledge and conformity with itself, and the recognition of which is the only consolation in time of doubt. He recognizes a development in the history of religion; the triumph of Zeus over the older dynasty of the Titans is the triumph of a moral providence over a lower order of gods. He directly combated the ancient saying as it appears, *e.g.*, in Herodotus (παλαίφατος λόγος), and declares that it is the actual sin of man, not the mere fact of his prosperity, that brings on him the divinely-sent calamity (*Agam.* 750; *Eum.* 531); and in many other passages he shows in clear words that such calamity is simply the way in which wisdom is taught to men even against their will. The law of Zeus, or the course of justice, is to learn by suffering (παθεῖν μαθεῖν, πάθει μάθος, *Agam.* 170). The law is a kindly one, the gracious dispensation of one that has power to make his will into Necessity. The older dynasty had represented the rule of fear: Necessity was only a punishing power, which man must dread but cannot understand; and was exercised by the gods of that dynasty—

τίς οὖν ἀνάγκης ἐστὶν οἰακοστρόφος;
Μοῖραι τρίμορφοι μνήμονές τ' Ἐρινύες·

and Heraclitus declares that if the sun were to transgress his bounds the Erinnyes would punish him. But under the completed sway of Zeus the avenging power of the older gods is merged in the helping and benignant power of the younger deities, for Necessity is changed into order and reason, which man can learn and respect, and thereby avoid the punishment and gain the good. Socrates seems even to have substituted *Pronoia*, Providence, for Necessity; but his biographer did not understand him.

In Sophocles, polytheism perhaps appears in its most perfect form; the other gods are only representatives of the one God, or instruments used in turn by a moral providence. To Pindar, also, Zeus is not so much a god, as the one God.

Euripides was clearly conscious of the essential self-contradiction involved in polytheism; he perceived clearly and felt strongly that it results in degrading the several gods and making the world irrational: he gave as emphatic and open expression to this as he dared: for example, in the Apollo of the *Ion*, whose criminal conduct towards Creusa in the past is even surpassed by the dishonesty of his attitude towards her and towards Xuthus in the play. That Euripides was fully conscious of this aspect of the action seems undeniable: that the general Athenian public had only some vague, uneasy sense that the poet was maligning the gods seems equally certain. It is doubtful if Euripides had any solution to offer that satisfied himself; but at any rate the conditions under which he had to work precluded his formally offering any solution, for he dared not make his views about the gods too explicit, and could only suggest difficulties and put questions. But, although his plays are remarkably instructive as regards the attitude of a section of the thinking and educated Greeks towards polytheism, the subject is too large for our limits.

At the same time, the other side of religious thought grew correspondingly. The idea of a larger cycle of life in which the apparent injustice of earthly existence might be eliminated and all men receive their deserts—an idea of which the most scanty traces appear in Homer and Hesiod—grows more apparent in Pindar: future punishment is the climax of the Divine vengeance in Æschylus, it is often referred to in Sophocles, and Euripides says, 'Who knows if death is not really the life, and life the death?' This recognition of a single rule in life and after death reconciles the antithesis of Olympian and Chthonian deities.

The influence of literature penetrated gradually through the people. The more educated were, of course, more open to it, and thus tended to become estranged from the popular beliefs as superstitions. Hence in the 5th and 4th cents. there was a growing gap between the religion of the educated and the religion of the common people. Both, so far as we have yet gone, were equally polytheistic. Philosophy entered on a bolder path, and directly combated the polytheism and anthropomorphism of the popular religion. While the poets saw in the ancestral religion the germs of higher thoughts, they did not try to free these thoughts from the sensuous symbolism in which the prevailing religion enveloped them. Philosophy naturally tended more to rise above the traditional and accepted ideas. Hence it appears to Plato in the Tenth Book of the *Republic* that in the conflict between philosophy and the vulgar crowd the poets are among the latter.

The fundamental doctrine of Greek philosophy is always the unity of the world. Some conceive this unity under the form of God, others under the form of Nature. Heraclitus conceives this unity as the Divine λόγος, which constitutes the correlation and intelligibility of phenomena: and Anaxagoras as νοῦς or Reason. It is therefore the philosophic expression of that fate or order of nature which is recognized by the poets and by religion; but the philosophers from the first maintain it as a knowable law.

The attitude of the philosophers towards the established religion is various. Some do not trouble themselves about it, others use it where it suits them. Heraclitus approaches most closely the Æschylean point of view; he declares that, whereas men see contradiction and perplexity in the world, God sees only unity and consistency; and, like Æschylus, he calls the order of nature 'Justice' (Δίκη). Man learns what is this Justice, and in learning achieves his own character and works out his own fate: τὸ ἦθος ἑκάστῳ δαίμων (compare Æsch. *Eum.* 520 f.). On the other hand, the worship of images and the offerings of beasts seem to Heraclitus hateful.

Democritus and Empedocles bring in the gods of the established religion as part of the system of things evolved from their primordial principles.

A third class of philosophers simply oppose the common religion, and would fain sweep it away to make room for a higher belief. Xenophanes cannot find strong enough terms to express his hatred for such doctrines as the plurality of gods, with all their moral failings. The anthropomorphism of the current religion, where gods are born and die, revolts him. God is infinite, and finite characteristics are foreign to His nature. God does not change and move like the vulgar deities; He is motionless, for He is all that exists, and there is nothing outside of Him into which He could move or change.

To the Sophists (who may be broadly distinguished from the Greek philosophers by their utter lack of sense for the unity of nature, and the limitation of their view to the multiplicity of phenomena) religion was created by voluntary compact among men; the variety of religions proved that it could not exist by nature, for if it came by nature it would be one. That the variety of religious thought was the necessary consequence of the variety of character produced in men by variety of external circumstances, their analysis of the world was too superficial to show. But this very superficiality of theirs is more representative of popular thought than the philosophy of deeper men, and shows better what was the religion of the educated in their own time.

Nothing sets in so clear a light the degradation of the gods in popular thought as the comedies of Aristophanes. Much as he hates the Sophists, and bitterly as he attacks their irreligion, he himself shows the gods of the established religion in more ludicrous and degrading situations than any of the Sophists cared to do. The Sophists approved of these gods as a very useful device, and inculcated respect for them as the means of developing morality among the people.

Isolated outbreaks of popular fury, in times when calamity terrified the people into piety and roused in them a temporary and quickly evanescent reaction against the growing irreligion of the time, were of no avail 'to stem the torrent of descending time.' Purely conservative, without any provision for deepening its character and keeping pace with the rapid growth of thought and of political and commercial life, the established religion continued, as a trammelling and impeding institution, losing its hold year by year on all classes of the people. How intense was the religious feeling of Athens is shown by such outbreaks as took place in B.C. 415 and 410. A longing for something more is everywhere manifest in the literature, and history shows the dissatisfaction to have been as strong in the mass of the people. The feeling was vague, for the people knew not what they sought; and it showed itself at first only in blind outbursts of fury against more prominent violations of the established religion, though in reality these violations were merely stronger examples of the universal dissatisfaction.

Only a prophet with a deeper revelation could bring the strong religious feeling of the people and the decay of the national worship into harmony; and, after Socrates had sealed with his life his belief in freedom of religious thought, the succession of philosophy to the position once occupied by the Delphic Oracle as leader of Greek religion was accomplished. It was, however, the misfortune of Greek life, and a proof of its religious weakness in comparison with the Hebrew race, that the prophetic mantle found no new wearer. In the dangerous path of pointing out the true and divinely ordained course in actual public life,—that path in which Palestine produced a constant succession of great thinkers to walk,—Socrates found no follower. Plato, while fully acknowledging that the true philosopher should take part in public life, found the actual world too full of evil to allow philosophy to enter it. Greek thought therefore remained abstract from actual life; it found its work and its heavenly kingdom, not in the world, but apart from it. Thus, in Greece, there never took place that application of philosophy to practical work which makes for development in religion; and there was never exerted that influence of philosophy on public life and on the mass of the people which is the marvellous feature of Hebrew history.

Socrates only expresses more definitely and in simpler terms the theory of the older poets: one God rules all for the best. He expresses no disbelief in the other gods, and often uses the plural θεοί; but they are not an important element, and he never, so far as our accounts go, expressed any opinion about their relation to the great God. Plato regards the common religion as the exoteric form of a deeper truth; it is generally mythical, *i.e.* it expresses in sensuous language spiritual truths. This exoteric religion is proper for the education of children, and necessary for those who cannot rise to understand the reality pictured to them in the tales of the gods. But the popular mythology must be purified: it is full of hateful and false tales which have crept in through the influence of poets and corrupted the genuine myths.

Aristotle has the same view. Polytheism is a State-engine for education. On the other hand, he sometimes tries to connect it with his system, by placing the gods in the stars; but the subject gets little notice from him.

Aristotle was the last purely Hellenic philosopher; Greek thought had now run its course. With the victorious march of Alexander, Greek civilization went forth to conquer the East; and Greek thought was now brought directly in contact with Oriental religion, and particularly with the genuine monotheism of the Hebrews. The Greek contempt for barbarians gradually disappeared before the actual experience of a religion greater than their own; while the narrowness of the Jews recognized the high character of Greek philosophy. In the last centuries before Christ, constant attempts were made on both sides to unite Hebrew and Greek thought into one system. The doctrine of angels and devils, which was mixed up (in later times) with the Hebrew monotheistic belief, was assimilated with the Greek polytheism. The gods who surrounded Zeus became *daimones* who interposed between God and the world and bridged over the gulf between the infinite and the finite. The idea became common that all men are the children of God; that the true service of God lay, not in the cult-observances of any particular religion, but in a virtuous life; and that a priesthood to mediate between man and God was needless and wrong. The λόγος of Heraclitus and of Plato became in the Jewish school of Alexandria the Divine Word which is the bearer of all Divine power. Most of these attempts at a union of Hellenic and Jewish thought ended in an ascetic system; for all aimed at combining the two by dropping elements from each. In Christianity alone both find their completion and perfection, without loss of any of their true character.

Stoicism was the most remarkable Greek attempt to produce a synthesis of Hellenic and Oriental thought. It was to a great extent a religion, but it was an artificial religion with none of the vigour of natural unconscious life. As Zeller says, the whole Stoic view of the world was founded on the idea of one Divine being, father of all, containing and sustaining all, ruling all, manifest everywhere. God was to the Stoics the beginning and the end of the world's development. Virtuous action consists in fulfilling the Divine will and law. The true philosopher is sufficient for himself, master of his fate, above all surrounding circumstances, perfectly happy in his own knowledge, lord of all things, a true king—and a self-satisfied prig. As all men stand in the same relation to God, all men are brothers.

In its theoretic character Stoicism was wholly careless of and uninfluenced by the popular religion. But in practice the Stoic philosophers inculcated acquiescence in the religion which was accepted by common opinion and a restraint on the passions of the common people. They spoke with contempt of many points in the popular faith, the temples, the images, the fables; but they found real germs of truth in it, and thought these sufficient to justify its continuation.

Better almost than in any other writer we may see in Horace the effect of these religious philosophies on the world of Greece and Rome. To think and reason about conduct and good action and wisdom is his only religion. The gods to him are little more than names and fables. When he supported the attempt of Augustus to re-create the old religious cults, the poet and the emperor were alike urged on by the feeling that religion was a political and social machine so useful as to be indispensable to good government.

II. THE ATTITUDE OF ST. PAUL TO GREEK PHILOSOPHY.—In this brief, imperfect outline of the religious side of Greek literature—a subject which calls for a much more serious and systematic treatment than it has ever received—it has been shown how clearly the Greek thinkers conceived the problem, and how lofty was the plane on which they pitched their thoughts; but we have refrained from dwelling on their weaknesses and errors. But naturally St. Paul, who frequently alludes in very disparaging terms to the *Sophia* of the world, was most keenly sensible of its faults and imperfections. Three characteristics seem to have specially offended him.

In the first place, its method was shallow; it frequently offered irrational 'fables and endless genealogies' (1 Ti 1⁴) in place of real attempts to grapple with the problems, and was quite content with these pseudo-solutions: those genealogical explanations, not unknown even to the deepest Greek thinkers (as in Æschylus, *Agam.* 738 ff.), became more frequent in the later period, and were applied in all departments of pseudo-research, geographical, historical,* etc.

In the second place, the fibre in the popular philosophic speculation of the later Greek time (which alone was presented to the members of the Pauline Churches) was poor and its results disappointing. There came from the study no real advance in knowledge, but only frivolous argumentation and 'questionings' (1 Ti 1⁴).

In the third place, the Greek *Sophia* was entirely devoid of power over the will and heart of mankind. It remained purely theoretical and abstract: it could do nothing for men; it was the property of a few, and had no effect, or a miserably inadequate effect, on the life and character even of those few. Where it did to some degree touch the heart and affect the life of some rare individual, it produced a philosophic and affected prig rather than a true man; and in the case of some of its most eloquent exponents, such as Seneca, there was a woeful contrast in spirit between their words and their life. But the essential feature in St. Paul's teaching was that he propounded a doctrine of power, not of theory. That is what he lays special stress upon; and of that he found not a trace in the *Sophia* of the time. The Greek philosophers had sometimes observed that the unwritten laws which rested on religion had more influence on the will and conduct of men than the written laws of the State (see above, B, § II); but they had not carried out this observation to a practical result.

In this last observation lies the essence of the whole matter. The best and the most characteristic Hellenic thought was bound inevitably to regard the higher life, at which the good man must aim, not as the striving after an ideal above and beyond human nature, but as the proper and natural development of his human nature. There was in Hellenic thought no real conception of sin. There could not be such a conception, for it is of the essence of Hellenism to be perfectly content with the human nature, to rejoice in it, to find in it the Divine perfection. The counsel which Hellenic philosophy gave to man, which it must give so long as it continued true to the Hellenic spirit, was, 'Be yourself: do not fall short of your true and perfect development.' Such an idea as rising above oneself, trampling one's nature under foot as sinful, striving after the Divine nature, is essentially anti-Hellenic, and it is only rarely that any faint traces of it can be found even in those Hellenic philosophers who have been most affected by foreign thought. But it was in this revolt from the yoke of sin, in this intense eagerness after the Divine, that St. Paul found the motive power to drive men on.

But, though St. Paul saw so clearly and resented so strongly the faults of the Greek *Sophia*, it would be wrong to infer (as has been too often done) that he was either ignorant of or uninfluenced by it. It is a general fact that the great creative minds in philosophy have been more alive to the faults of their predecessors than to their excellences, and have given larger space and more emphasis in their writings to criticism of preceding philosophers than to expression of indebtedness to them. They were probably not fully conscious of their obligation, but it was very real. So it has been with St. Paul. He owed much to the Greek philosophy and thought, gained partly in formal education at Tarsus, partly by assimilation of the knowledge which floated on the surface of a more or less educated society and became insensibly the property of all its members. On this see the excellent papers by E. Curtius on 'Paulus in Athen,' and Canon E. Hicks, 'St. Paul and Hellenism,' in *Studia Biblica*, iv.; and on his probable debt (in common with Seneca) to the philosophy of Athenodorus, which must have been the staple of education and educated conversation at Tarsus in St. Paul's childhood, the present writer's remarks in *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 300 ff., may be consulted.

---

* See, *e.g.*, the account given of early Tarsian history and topography by Athenodorus, the greatest philosopher and politician whom the city produced, quoted by Stephanus Byz., *s.v.* 'Anchiale'; also pseudo-Plutarch, *de Fluviis*, etc. (*Expositor*, Dec. 1901, p. 412).

Further, while St. Paul often harshly criticises the current *Sophia* in his letters to his young Churches, he was conscious that he was a debtor both to the educated Hellenes and to the uneducated non-Hellenes, both to the philosophically trained and to those who had no such training (Ro 1^{14}). And he would not have his Churches lose anything of the excellences of the Greek spirit. His extreme fondness for the word *charis* can hardly be quite separated in his mind, and could not possibly be separated in the minds of his numerous Hellenic hearers, from the Greek *charis*, the grace and charm which is of the essence of Hellenism. And he sums up in three Greek words his counsel to the Colossians and the Asians generally, when he urged them to 'make their market to the full of the opportunity which their situation offered them' (Col 4^5, Eph 5^{16}; cf. Ph $4^{4.8}$).

III. DEGRADATION OF THE HELLENIC RELIGION.—(1) *Foreign influence.*—In Greece as in Anatolia (see A, § VII (4), above), the history of religion after a certain period of progress and elevation was a continuous process of deterioration. The changes in religion were for the most part forced on by external causes, viz. by the pressure of foreign worships; and their influence was almost wholly bad. This character resulted partly from the way in which the influence reached the Greek races and cities (see (3), below), and partly from deeper causes which cannot be described in this short sketch (though they have been briefly indicated in A, § VIII (9), above): those deeper causes combined to destroy that sensitiveness to the Divine nature, and that desire to hear and readiness to obey the Divine voice, which make for progress and elevation in religious thought.

(2) *Susceptibility to foreign religious influence.*—Some influence was exerted on the religion of the Greeks by almost every race with whom they came in contact. Even the despised and barbarous Thracians could make their Bendis and Kotys or Kotytto powerful and reverenced in cultured Athens. But it was mainly cults from the East that affected the Greek peoples during the period which is best known to us.

The foundation of this influence was always the same. The Hellenic religion, with its invariable tendency to concentrate attention on the bright side of nature and life, and to permit only reluctantly, under mystic and half-acknowledged forms, any ritual appealing to the sense of fear in the worshippers, could never completely satisfy human needs; and more was always sought after, and seemed to be found in the more impressive foreign religions. Especially the enthusiastic, emotional, and impressive Oriental forms of religion exercised on Greece an influence which acted continuously throughout ancient history. As we have seen in B, § III, the Oriental character and the primitive Pelasgian character in many deities were fused, during the vigorous growth of the Hellenic spirit, into a new form, becoming truly Hellenic conceptions; and although, in the cultus especially, the original characteristics can be traced in the Hellenic deity, yet the completed product is essentially and generically different from the Oriental type.

Thus far back in Athenian history we can observe the entrance of the Brauronian Artemis, a figure analogous to the Ephesian Artemis and the Phrygian Cybele, with her attendant animals and her Amazon priestesses; but myth tells how the invading Amazons were expelled by the hero of Athenian Hellenism; and the Artemis who established herself was the graceful huntress-maiden, a purely Hellenic conception, however much of the primitive forms could be traced in the actual cultus. But as the youth and creative energy of Hellenism passed away the Oriental influence asserted itself more effectively, and was less modified by the spirit of Greece. Asklepios never became so thoroughly Hellenized as Dionysos, but he was a distinctly later introduction into the Hellenic circle of deities.

In all of those deities the Hellenic character is evident; but in later times Hellenism touched only very slightly, if at all, the gods of Phrygia, of Syria, and of Egypt, who were naturalized in Greek lands and cities. In an age when half-Greek or wholly barbarian kings and Roman emperors were worshipped as gods in Hellenic cities, it was clear that the spirit of Hellenism had grown very weak.

Those Oriental deities appealed to the side of human nature which was alien to, and could not be satisfied with, Hellenism and the bright festival-loving gods of Hellenic political and municipal life. But in earlier times, as any Oriental deities penetrated into the Greek circle, Hellenism tended to lend them its peculiar grace and charm, to tone down the excesses and the abandon of their rites, but at the same time to detract from their power to satisfy that deep-seated craving for an awe-inspiring deity. Even as late as the 3rd cent. B.C. the Cybele, who was worshipped at Athens in the Mêtroön, was sometimes invoked under the name of Aphrodite;* and the first signs of the Hellenizing of a naturalized foreign deity was the substitution of a Hellenic for the barbarous name.

The Egyptian Isis, the Phrygian Cybele, and many others, can be traced as far back as knowledge reaches, pressing upon and forcing their way into the mind and the worship of Greece. The worship of Isis was known very early in the Greek colony of Cyrene (Herod. iv. 186); for the Greeks of Cyrene were necessarily in close relations with Egypt, and doubtless Egyptians visited or resided in Cyrene, and, moreover, there was invariably a tendency in the ancients to worship the gods of the land to which they had migrated, in the belief that those gods were powerful in the land which belonged to them.

Cybele was introduced from Phrygia into the Ionic Greek colonies on the west coast of Asia Minor at a very early time, and in much the same way as Isis was introduced at Cyrene. The Phrygian traders came in numbers to Miletus, as Hipponax mentions in the 6th cent. B.C., and they brought their religion with them. Moreover, in times of danger the Greeks turned to Cybele for help, and found her efficacious and powerful; in this respect the story of the introduction of her worship at Miletus is instructive, and may be taken as typical of what happened in many other cases.

The party of the old kingly dynasty in Miletus, having been expelled, took refuge in Assesos, and were there besieged by the tyrant of Miletus. Being hard pressed they consulted the Oracle, and were informed by the god that helpers would come to them from Phrygia, who would release them and Miletus from misfortunes. Thereafter two young men came from Phrygia, bringing the sacred things (τὰ ἱερά) of the Kabeiroi † in a basket, and approaching the wall of Assesos by night asked admittance, as they had come at the order of the god, bringing sacred things from Phrygia for the good of the people of Assesos and Miletus. In the issue the tyrant was defeated and slain, and the new rites introduced into Miletus.‡ Here the reception of the native Anatolian ritual into Miletus is connected with the straits of a political party during a serious dissension in the city. Similarly, the introduction of the worship of the Dioscuri at Rome and the building of their temple in the forum was coincident with the struggle against the tyranny of the Tarquins, the Etruscan intruders, when the Twin Brethren aided the young republic.

---

* See Foucart, *Associations Religieuses*, p. 98, and Appendix, No. 16; cf. 10 and 11.

† This term must indicate the Phrygian rites with the sacred objects displayed to the worshippers in Phrygia.

‡ Nic. Damasc. 53.

(3) *Manner in which foreign religion entered Greece.*—As to the way in which these foreign gods came to be adopted by the Greeks, no clear information has come down to us about the very earliest times, though myth and legend on the subject can be interpreted by comparison with later historical facts. But the facts quoted as typical in the last few paragraphs are taken from a comparatively early period, and they agree in general with the fuller evidence that survives with regard to the later centuries (which will be stated in the following paragraphs). From all these sources of evidence, it results that nothing like intentional spread of religious belief by the adherents of any of those foreign cults occurred; that each body of worshippers rather desired to keep to itself its own gods, and was unwilling to extend the circle except for some distinct present advantage to themselves and their worship; that the spread of a cultus was connected with migration or colonization, both because the migrating people carried their gods with them and because settlers adopted also the gods of the land in which they settled; the adoption of a new god was frequently connected with and suggested by some calamity, which was attributed by popular superstition or by Oracular authority to neglect or contempt of the god in question.

The Oracle was often consulted in such cases of calamity, and often recommended that a novel worship should be introduced. Such was the way in which Rome adopted the Phrygian Cybele in B.C. 204, and Athens in 430. But the Oracle in these cases (as is always probable and in some cases certain) simply confirmed the popular impression, that the new deity if properly invoked would be able to help; and this popular impression was produced by seeing the worshippers of the deity in question, and by the superstitious fear that that deity was very powerful (which the worshippers attested) and was being outraged by neglect.

The religious history of Athens in later times is better known than that of any other Greek State, and may be taken as typical. Athens showed itself more hospitable to foreign cults than any other city, but it was also more hospitable to foreigners. There came into existence in Athens a bewildering multiplicity of gods; but the same process of multiplication went on in all Greek cities more or less, and the increase was greatest in those cities where the largest number of foreign visitors or residents was found.

There was, of course, in Athens (and doubtless in Greece everywhere) a formal law (in some less civilized places, perhaps, only a general principle and 'unwritten law'), confirmed at first by, and indeed originating from, a strong popular feeling, which forbade the introduction of strange or new gods. The penalty was death. The formal permission of the State was necessary before any new god could be introduced. But this law and this originally strong popular feeling were, in practice, far from effective. The following were the usual circumstances.

Commerce and intercourse brought to Athens, the Piræus, and other great trading centres large numbers of foreigners. As these foreigners conduced to the increase of trade, the city which desired to become a great trading centre was forced to encourage them; otherwise, in the keen competition of Greek trading cities, they would have been driven away to more hospitable places. Those strangers naturally desired to practise their own peculiar worship; and, obviously, a State which encouraged them must tolerate their practice of their rites. As early as the legislation of Solon this necessity was recognized by the law which is attributed to him. A body of foreigners who desired to conduct their native worship in Athens might form a religious society (θίασος); and the State granted to the society permission for the rules which it might lay down for its members, and toleration for its rites, so long as its aims and regulations did not conflict with the public law or tend to subvert peace and order in the city. The constitution of those religious societies was modelled on that of the State. The assembly (ἐκκλησία) of members (θιασῶται) framed rules, elected priests and other officials, who were responsible to it, and inflicted fines on disobedient members; the fines could be enforced by action before the legal tribunals of the State. New members were welcomed to these societies, not from the desire to affect the life or conduct or belief of the outside world, but because increase in numbers increased the wealth and influence of the body.

In strict legal effect the Athenian State merely tolerated, but did not encourage, the rites of the religious societies (θίασοι). Special leave was required from the Athenian Assembly (Ἐκκλησία) before any such society could build a sanctuary for itself. As regards the rites celebrated by the societies, if these seemed to the State to be unsuitable or disorderly, the primary law came into force prohibiting the introduction of new deities on pain of death. The ritual was permitted only to the foreigners who constituted the society; and when, as occasionally happened, an alarm was raised that Athenian citizens were going after those strange gods, the primary law was liable to be brought into operation, and the offending society with its gods expelled. Thus in B.C. 430 the strolling priest (μητραγύρτης) who had initiated Athenian women into the rites of the Phrygian goddess was executed. But when the plague immediately afterwards broke out, owing to the overcrowding of the city due to the invasion of Attica by the Peloponnesian armies, an alarm arose, and the Delphic Oracle (which was consulted) attributed the epidemic to the wrath of the goddess at the murder of her priest, and ordered the State to atone by building her a temple. In consequence, the temple of the Mother-Goddess (Mêtroön) was built at the Piræus.

The question arises, whether, and how far, the building of the Mêtroön implied the introduction of the ritual of the Phrygian Mother-Goddess as part of the State religion. It was, of course, necessary that in her temple there should be a cultus of, and offerings to, the goddess: it was also obviously necessary that the ritual of the temple should be such as she loved. But that does not imply that the complete ritual and mysteries of the Phrygian deity were adopted and practised at the expense and under the sanction of the Athenian State. On the contrary, Demosthenes* holds up Æschines to public contempt because he had assisted at the performance of the Phrygian Mysteries; and he could hardly have done so if they had been part of the State religion. Probably the public worship in the Mêtroön was selected and toned down by something of Hellenic restraint and order. But the Phrygian ritual was performed at the Mêtroön by a private society of

---

* Demosth. *de Cor.* p. 259; cf. Aristophanes, *fr.* 478, *Lys.* 388, *Pax*, 10; Cicero, *de Legg.* ii. 15, 37.

'Οργεῶνες, and elsewhere by strolling priests and *Metragyrtai*; and was still despised by the educated and the patriotic citizens, and discouraged by the State.[*]

The reason why the foreign rites spread was in Athens the same as elsewhere. The State religion, with its purely external show, did not satisfy the deep-lying religious or superstitious cravings of the people: the West turned to the more intense and enthusiastic religion of the East. While the educated classes in the later centuries were trying to unite Greek philosophy with Oriental ideas about the nature of God and his relation to man, the lower orders took refuge in the practice of the direct and undisguised Eastern rites. First naturalized in the Piræus among the lowest and most ignorant class of Athenians, who filled the harbour-town with the 'sailors' licence,'[†] those new rites, though scouted and despised by the more educated citizens, spread, and by degrees reduced the national worship to comparative neglect.

There was probably no period when Greece was not affected by such religious influence; but in Athens the movement assumed much greater strength through the influx of foreign merchants, attracted by the commercial supremacy and liberal policy of the city in the 5th cent. B.C.

Thus, *e.g.*, the rites of Adonis were introduced before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war in B.C. 431.[‡] The festival was being celebrated at the time when the great expedition was setting sail for Sicily in B.C. 416, as Plutarch mentions (*Alc.* 18). The rites had come from Cyprus (and ultimately from Syria); one of the female conspirators in the *Lysistrata* of Aristophanes (performed B.C. 412) swears by the Paphian Aphrodite; and the ritual is ridiculed in the same play (389, 557). The chief ceremony was entirely non-Hellenic, with its vehement mourning for the goddess's dead favourite Adonis, the search for the body and its discovery, the planting of quick-growing plants in pots as the Garden of Adonis, the revivification of the god in the garden, and the joyous conclusion of the festival.

The Thracian rites of Kotytto were satirized by Eupolis in the *Baptæ*, and the fragments of that comedy show how ugly was the character of the ritual; while the fact that Eupolis had Alcibiades in view in the play, suggests how far the rites had spread in Athens. Æschylus had previously described the Edonian worship of Kotys and Dionysos in a lost tragedy; but there the worship was foreign, though its place in the tragedy shows how great interest it had for the Athenians. The rites were of similar general character to the Phrygian ritual of Cybele and Attis or Sabazios.

Through the analogy of these cases the nature of the introduction of any foreign worship in the very early Hellenic period can be readily gathered from the associated myths and legends. The worship of Dionysos was essentially of the same kind and character as the Phrygian ritual. When it began to penetrate into Greece, through the influence of foreign settlers or a foreign tribe, it aroused the strongest opposition from the native and patriotic party, and from the government which represented the wisdom and long experience of the governing class. But it won its way through its hold on the masses; and supposed or real calamities occurring to those who had expressed contempt or made open resistance to the new god were taken as proofs of his power. The religion of Dionysos was gradually accepted over Greece, and the god himself was received as the associate of Apollo in Delphi; but in general it rested on the devotion of the lower orders and the democracy,[*] and was resisted by the aristocracy and the governing classes. And even that religion was strongly affected by the Hellenic spirit; and its Greek ritual lost much of its Asiatic character and some of its most repulsive features.

(4) *Itinerant priests.*—The strolling impostors who dealt in religious and purificatory rites, and practised on the superstitions of the common people, have been mentioned above, and are often alluded to by the ancient writers. They generally claimed to be representatives of the old Orphic Mysteries, and to possess prophecies of Orpheus, Musæus, and other ancient seers. They had formulæ by which they could bend the gods to their will, and make them favour or injure whom they pleased; and this power they were ready to exercise in favour of any one who paid them. At a trifling cost, and without any personal trouble, one could gain forgiveness of sins, revenge on one's enemies, and a happy life in the future world. At other times the rites of the Mother-Goddess, or some other foreign ceremonial, formed the engine of their power. Some of them cured madness by ecstatic dances, either round the patient sitting in a chair or in company with him. *Orpheotelestai*, *Metragyrtai*, etc., are common names for such impostors, and little distinction can be drawn between different kinds of them. They were generally of a very low class, and addressed themselves to the lower orders of the people. Their equipment was poor, and they often carried about the instruments of their ritual on an ass.[†]

Some of their customs are described by Apuleius, *Met.* viii. 25 ff. Among them was included a parody of the confession and expiation (see A, VII (6 f.), above): one of the strolling band (who are described as *Galli*) in a loud voice confessed publicly that he had been guilty of violating the law of the goddess in some way, and demanded from himself the just punishment of his crime (in the same way as the goddess is represented in the confessional steles as demanding expiation and penalty from the criminal). Thereupon the devotee took a whip and beat himself, till the blood flowed and the sympathy of the multitude showed itself in gifts.

(5) *Magic.*—The practices of such impostors as are described in the previous section are not always distinguishable from magic, into which they shade off by imperceptible gradation. Magic in the strict sense was always felt by the Greeks to be a foreign and specially an Oriental art, as is shown by the very name μάγος, a magician, literally a magian or Persian priest. The magical art was called γοητεία in reference to the loud howling utterance of magic formulæ.[‡]

In Homer, apart from the tale of the obviously Oriental Circe, little approach to magic appears except in the art of medicine, which was to a great extent learned from the older civilizations of the East, and which always assumes an uncanny character to a primitive people: charms (ἐπαοιδοί) are uttered over wounds: Helena has a care-soothing drink, *nepenthe*; Aphrodite, a love-producing girdle; and Athena changes the form of men. But the use of all such arts is confined to gods and half-Divine heroes, and is therefore clearly distinguished from magic.

Later, the power of transforming men into other shapes, of making love-philtres, of stilling the winds, causing rain, etc., was believed to be attainable by human beings through arts which were strictly magical, and quite distinct from the process whereby (according to a primitive form of religious belief) priests through their prayers and rites could induce the gods to do those things.* The magical art whereby men could attain such powers was so well known and widely practised in Thessaly that the word *Thessalis* was used in the sense of 'witch.' Witches could draw down the moon (as Aristophanes says, *Clouds* 748), turn men into wolves, still the winds, and so on. This magic power was gained by *compelling* the gods; in other words, by appealing to a higher and supreme power to which the gods must bow. Magical art, then, was associated with an older pre-Hellenic religion and the Divine power of a more ancient system, and was always related to the Chthonian religion and the gods of the world of death.

---

[*] See Foucart, *Les Assoc. Relig.* pp. 80, 88, 134, 156.

[†] ναυτικὴ ἀναρχία, Eurip. *Hecuba*, 607.

[‡] They are mentioned as common, Ar. *Pax*, 420.

[*] Compare, for example, the story of Cleisthenes, the democratic tyrant of Sicyon, who expelled the aristocratic hero Adrastus, and substituted *Dionysia* for Adrastus festivals (Herod. v. 67).

[†] Ar. *Ran.* 159; cf. Plat. *Rep.* ii. 364, *Euthyd.* 277 D; Theophr. *Char.* xvi.; Apul. *Metam.* viii. c. 27; Lucian, *As.* ch. 35.

[‡] See W. Headlam in *Class. Review*, 1902, p. 52.

The foreign origin of magic as practised in Greece must not be pressed too far. There can hardly be any doubt that it embodied elements of the primitive pre-Hellenic religion, which persisted in the form of popular superstition and occult lore after the public and acknowledged religion had assumed a new form.

The power of magic was most frequently invoked to attract reluctant persons to a lover, or to bring disease and death upon an enemy. Numerous examples of curses of this latter kind have been found in recent years, and have considerably enlarged our knowledge of the subject. They were usually scratched rudely on plates of lead, the proper metal, and buried in the ground, often in a grave, or in the Temenos of Chthonian deities. They were, however, also turned to a utilitarian purpose, and employed, *e.g.*, almost like advertisements of lost or stolen property, the finder of which was subjected to a terrible curse if he failed to restore it to the owner. Such curses were intended to be seen by the thief, and must therefore have been publicly exposed; but even these seem to have been connected with Chthonian worship, and attached to the shrines of Chthonian deities. The penalty invoked most frequently in all curses was fever, the hidden fire of the gods of death, which burns up imperceptibly the strength and life of the sufferer.†

To this subject belong also the belief in the evil eye (which, while specially injurious to children and domestic animals, was dangerous to all) and other forms of baleful influence, and the use of charms and preservatives against them (ἀποτρόπαια). This belief was a debased form of the doctrine seen in Herodotus, that the gods are jealous of any surpassing success, or power, or beauty, or happiness in man, and interfere to destroy it; and that it is wise to propitiate them by voluntarily sacrificing part of one's good fortune or wealth: hence arose the common practice of guarding against evil by spitting, and by ugly or obscene gestures.

It would, however, serve no useful purpose at present to enumerate the various forms which magic and other superstitious practices assumed in the Greek world. For our purpose, the important point is, that they were alien to and in the long-run stronger than the true Hellenic religion, and helped to destroy it.

(6) *The worship of living men as deities.*—The deification of living men was not in itself alien to the spirit of Hellenism, but, on the contrary, was quite in harmony with the Hellenic satisfaction and delight in human beauty and nobility. The worship of the dead as heroes was developed by Hellenism in a way that tended in that direction, as when the dead freebooter Philip was worshipped as a hero by the people of the Greek colony of Segesta (whom he had wantonly attacked in piratic fashion), simply on account of his personal beauty.* It was an easy step to identify the man of surpassing excellence, physical or mental, with a god either after his death or during his lifetime, when the perfection of human nature was regarded as Divine. Thus Pythagoras after death was worshipped under the form of Apollo Hyperboreios, Lycurgus as a god, Sophocles as Asklepios-Dexion. Sacrifices were offered to Brasidas and Hippocrates, and the term *θύειν*, which properly denotes the offering to a god as distinguished from a hero,† is used about them. According to Plutarch, the first man to whom worship was paid as a god during his lifetime was Lysander (*Lys.* 18). It is significant that this first step was made among the Asiatic Greek cities. While there was nothing essentially non-Hellenic in such deification of human nature, yet the Hellenic sense of order and measure and grace long shrank instinctively from such a step as an excess; but, in Asia, Hellenism never was so pure as in Europe.

The Thasians honoured Agesilaos in a similar way. From the time of Alexander the deification of kings was customary, as a mere recognition of 'divine right.' Roman generals were often honoured by Greek cities with festivals and games, which implied deification.‡ Every Roman emperor in succession was worshipped; and it was inscribed on the coins and the engraved decrees of the greatest Greek cities as a special honour that they were temple-wardens (νεωκόροι) of the emperors.

IV. RELIGION OF THE GRÆCO-ASIATIC CITIES.—In the Hellenized cities of Asia Minor, which had such importance in the early history of Christianity, all these forms of religious thought and act were busy simultaneously. The old Anatolian superstition retained no vestige of its early simplicity and its original adaptation to the needs of a primitive people, and had been brutalized and degraded by the exaggeration of its worst features and the importation of barbarian superstitions; but it was still strong, especially in the cities of the inner country. The Hellenic religion in its decaying forms was introduced and talked about by the Hellenes of the cities. Greek or Græco-Asiatic philosophy exercised a considerable influence on the thought of the educated classes in those cities, and many sayings and principles and scraps from it had passed into the popular language and conversation of society; but it had little influence on life, except in the way of producing disbelief in current religions and contempt for the most vulgar kinds of superstition. But on the great mass of the population all kinds of superstition and magic exercised a very strong influence, and were on the whole in harmony with the spirit of the Anatolian religion in its modern form.

As to the philosophic speculation current in those cities, in spite of its many faults and its obvious weakness as a practical force, the account given in § I makes it easy to understand how and why philosophy, though so depreciated and scouted by St. Paul, was, after all, his ally in a certain degree against the gross forms of vulgar superstition which were the only active religious force in the cities. One can also readily understand why, to the educated observer in contemporary Græco-Roman society, such as Sergius Paulus in Paphos, or the Stoic and Epicurean philosophers in Athens, he seemed to be a new teacher of philosophy, more or less impressive in himself, but not essentially different in type from scores of other lecturers who were striving to catch the ear of the educated world.

---

* Compare, for example, Pausanias, ii. 34. 2 (at Methana in Argolis), viii. 38. 4 (at the spring Hagno on the Arcadian mountain Lycæus).

† See Wuensch in *Corpus Inscript. Att.*, Appendix.

* Herod. v. 47.

† The distinction, however, was not strictly maintained: θυσίαι were offered to Philip at Segesta.

‡ Cicero in *Verr.* ii. 21, 51, *ad Q. Fr.* i. 1. 26, *ad Att.* v. 21. 7; Plutarch, *Lucull.* 23, *Flam.* 16.

V. Decay and Death of the Hellenic Religion.—While the religion of the country ceased to satisfy the wants of the people, the outward show became greater and greater. The Scholiast on Aristophanes (*Vesp.* 661) says that the year consisted really of only ten months, as two were occupied by festivals; and Strabo (vi. p. 429) says that finally at Tarentum there were more feasts than days in the year. But the spirit in which the rites had once been performed was now lost; people tolerated the duties as traditional ceremonial, and enjoyed the festivals merely as fine shows. The word ἀφοσιοῦσθαι, 'to discharge oneself of what is due to the gods,' came to denote careless and perfunctory performance. The duty of performing the public sacrifices was hired out to the lowest bidder. Zeus had to mourn the neglect into which he had fallen compared with the more recent gods (Lucian, *Icarom.* 24).

In truth, the Hellenic religion in its most typical form could not permanently maintain its hold on human nature. It was the evanescent, rare, and delicate product of a peculiar period and of special conditions in human history. It was the belief of an aristocracy of talents and opportunities, filled for the moment with the delight of activity and expansion, and the mere joy of living. It required the Hellenic City-State for the theatre of its development, and the existence of a class, supported and set free from mere drudgery by a large enslaved population, but too numerous and too various in worldly circumstances to be only a narrow, privileged, and idle aristocracy of birth. But such conditions are rarely possible, and can never last long. Where an approximation to them occurs for a time in any considerable section of the population of any land, there results a tendency to a similar artistic development of religion. But there has never been elsewhere an experiment on such a scale as in Greece, where economic and social facts, natural surroundings, and relation to foreign nations, conspired to give a glory and an intoxicated consciousness of life to the small, energetic, busy, keenly competing cities of the Hellenes.

But even there the conditions soon ceased. Greece sank into its inevitable place as a third-rate province in some larger empire. It was essential to true Hellenism that it should be supported by the spirit of a self-governing people; its proud self-consciousness and joy in its own life and activity were inconsistent with servitude.

A mournful consciousness that the 'gods of Greece' were dead is often apparent in the later Greek literature, as, for example, in the well-known story preserved by Plutarch (*de Defectu Orac.* 17), that in the reign of Tiberius, when a ship sailing from Greece to Italy was among the Echinades Islands, off the Acarnanian coast, a voice was heard summoning by name a certain Egyptian pilot who chanced to be on board; and, when he answered the third summons rather reluctantly, the voice bade him announce when he reached Palodes that 'Pan the great is dead.'

It is a fitting conclusion to Hellenic religion that the Oracles became dumb; and especially that the Delphic Oracle, which had played so important and, for a time, so noble a part in guiding its development, lost first its influence and finally its voice. As a force in history it had long lost all power; in the 1st cent. after Christ, Delphi and Ammon had given place to Chaldæan astrologers, as Strabo and Juvenal agree in saying, and Plutarch wrote a treatise inquiring into the reason;* and in the 4th cent., when Julian sent to consult the Delphic Oracle, the last response was uttered for him: 'Tell the king, to earth has fallen the beautiful mansion; no longer has Phœbus a home, nor a prophetic laurel, nor a fount that speaks: gone dry is the talking water.' †

> εἴπατε τῷ βασιλῆι, χαμαὶ πέσε δαίδαλος αὐλά·
> οὐκέτι Φοῖβος ἔχει καλύβαν, οὐ μάντιδα δάφνην,
> οὐ παγὰν λαλέουσαν· ἀπέσβετο καὶ λάλον ὕδωρ.

The religious forms of Greece had served their day; they were now antiquated, and the world passed on to other forms. The alternatives presented to the people were Christianity or vulgar superstition, while a steadily diminishing remnant of the educated class clung to a philosophical form of paganism.

Literature.—Besides the many general Dictionaries and works on Greek Antiquities, which usually include Religious Antiquities, such as Daremberg-Saglio's *Dict. des Antiquités gr. et rom.* (A-M published in 1902), Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopædic* (A-Dem. in 1902), Smith (who includes Mythology under Biography, and Ritual under Antiquities), etc., the works devoted expressly to Greek Religion (under which some casual information is given about cults of Asia Minor), either generally or in some particular department or aspect, are extremely numerous, and complete enumerations unnecessary and hardly possible. The reader who looks at the discussion of any detail in a few of the following works will find in them sufficient indications to guide him to the vast literature (much of it not in itself valuable) that has accumulated round most of the chief topics. Owing to the capricious and subjective nature of the treatment (which can hardly be avoided), the information which is most important for an investigator from a novel point of view may, however, be passed unnoticed in several of the most elaborate works, and may be found only by looking into some of the older or the less important and honoured works. The old-fashioned and unpretending *Handwörterbuch der griechischen u. röm. Mythologie* of Jacobi (Coburg, 1835), with its bare and bald lists of references to ancient authorities, is still often most practically useful for the investigator, because there he gets facts unencumbered with opinions: in the voluminous and indispensable, and in many respects far more complete, work of Roscher, *Lexicon der griech. und röm. Mythologie* (still unfinished: A-Par. published in November 1902), facts are apt to be concealed by opinions: but the variety of writers in the *Lexikon* on cognate topics often supplies a useful diversity of opinion. Those who desire to study the history of modern opinion will find the following list, while inadequate, yet a sufficient introduction from which to make a beginning (only, as a rule, one work by any author is named: the most recent writers as a rule are given, and the older can be followed up from them).—

Maury, *Histoire des Religions de la Grèce ancienne*; Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, i. and ii. 1896 (sequel not ready in 1902); Foucart, *Recherches sur l'origine et la nature des Mystères d'Eleusis*, 1895, etc.; Preller-Robert, *Griechische Mythologie*^{4}, 1887; A. Mommsen, *Feste der Athener* (new edition of *Heortologie*); E. Curtius, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, etc.; Dieterich, *Nekyia*; Diels, *Sibyllinische Blätter*, 1890; Bouchè-Leclercq, *Histoire de la Divination*; Usener, *Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, 1889, *Griechische Götternamen*, etc.; Gruppe, *Die griech. Kulte u. Mythen*; Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, 1901; many articles and other works by these writers, and also by S. Reinach, Miss J. E. Harrison, Wernicke, Wilamowitz, Robert, Maass, Kuhnert, Körte, Bloch, Drexler, Vitry, Perdrizet, Berard, Cumont, Studniczka, Rohde, Tümpel, Marillier, Beurlier, Miss A. Walton, Krause, Keller, Stengel, Weinhold, Crusius, Hoffmann, Reichel, Thraemer, Toepffer, von Fritze, Ziebarth, Ziemann, Buresch, Dümmler, etc. Anrich, *Das Antike Mysterienwesen*, 1894; Wobbermin, *Religionsgesch. Studien*, 1896; Gardner, *Origin of the Lord's Supper*, 1894, etc., treat of the relation of the Mysteries to early Christianity: Anrich is the least imaginative; Gardner takes a more subjective view. Cf. also S. Cheatham, *The Mysteries* (Huls. Lect. 1896–97).

On the origin of rites and their relation to savage ritual, Bötticher, *Baumkultus*; A. B. Cook, *Animal-Worship in the Mycenæan Age*; Frazer, *Golden Bough*^{2} (nominally on Italian, really more on Greek), 1900; Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feld-Kulte*, etc.; Jevons, *Introduction to the History of Religion*, 1896 (totemistic). In Bursian's *Jahresbericht* from time to time reviews of the entire literature can be found.

---

* Juv. *Sat.* vi. 553; Strab. xvii. p. 1168; Plutarch, *de Defectu Oraculorum*.

† Cedrenus, i. p. 532, has preserved the oracle, which is perhaps the work of a triumphant Christian or of one of the last pagan philosophers.

On the religious ideas in the Greek poets and philosophers: Zeller, 'Entwickelung des Monotheismus bei den Griechen' in his *Vorträge und Abhandlungen Geschichtl. Inhalts*, 1865, *Ueber das Wesen der Religion*, Tübingen, 1845; Trendelenburg, 'Nothwendigkeit und Freiheit in der griech. Philosophie' in the second volume of his *Historische Beiträge zur Philosophie*; and many scattered references and discussions in the commentaries on the leading authors, and in the Histories of Literature and Philosophy. Verrall, *Euripides the Rationalist*, states well some of the difficulties which are caused by a too superficial view of the thought of Euripides; but the solution suggested suffers from the want of any attempt to estimate the place of that poet in the development of Greek thought, and the failure to emphasize that Euripides must be studied in relation to the preceding and succeeding writers.

W. M. Ramsay.

STYLE OF SCRIPTURE.—

- i. Historical introduction.
- ii. Characteristics of Biblical style due to earliness of date or to the Semitic idiosyncrasy of the Hebrews.
- iii. Peculiarities of style purposely adopted upon occasion by *all* classes of Scripture writers.
- iv. Peculiarities of style for which a preference is shown by *particular* classes of Scripture writers.
- v. Conclusion. Observations on the *critical* and *doctrinal* significance of differences of style on the part of Scripture writers.

Literature.

i. Historical Introduction.—The question of the style of Scripture has formed the subject of discussion from a very early period. The diversity of forms in which prophecy, *e.g.*, makes its appearance was a point of too much interest to escape the notice of the scribes. Hence we already encounter in the Talmud a saying which contains an excellent illustration of the formal differences that exist between prophecies. We refer to the words: 'Everything that Ezekiel saw, Isaiah also saw; but Ezekiel with the eyes of a rustic who has seen the king, Isaiah with the eyes of a citizen who has seen him' (*Hăgîga*, 13*b*). The meaning is, that the descriptions found in the Book of Ezekiel are elaborated in much greater detail and sometimes developed at greater length than is the case in the Book of Isaiah (cf., *e.g.*, Ezk 1^3–2^3 with Is 6^{1-8}). It may have been simply this diversity which marks the prophetical literature that gave rise to the judgment pronounced in *Sanhedrin*, 89*a*: 'No two prophets prophesy in the same style' (בסיגנון אחד), although this remark primarily concerned the differences disclosed by a comparison between Ob ^{3} and Jer 49^{16}. In the former of these passages we read 'The pride of thine heart (זְדוֹן לִבְּךָ) hath deceived thee,' but in the parallel passage we find 'Thy terribleness (תִּפְלַצְתְּךָ) hath deceived thee.' Such differences between parallel passages of the OT as affect especially their linguistic colouring were not upon the whole unnoticed in antiquity. This may be seen from the *Massora magna* to Ex 20^{17} etc., or from the tractate *Ṣōphĕrîm*, 8, etc. (cf. Ed. König, *Einleitung ins AT*, § 16).

Among early *Christian* writers no one has treated the question of the style of Holy Scripture in more detail than Adrianos in his Εἰσαγωγὴ εἰς τὰς θείας γραφάς (*aus neuaufgefundenen Handschriften herausgegeben, übersetzt und erläutert*, von Friedr. Goessling, Berlin, 1887). His whole book is devoted to the subject of the present article. He points out stylistic peculiarities of particular parts of the OT, *e.g.* the Psalter (§§ 99, 105). He also drew already the distinction between prose and poetry in Scripture. Taking the word 'prophecy' in the wider sense which it assumed in later times (cf. Ed. König, *Einleit.* p. 457), he remarked in the final paragraph of his work: 'It ought also to be known to the initiated that one kind of prophecy is composed in prose, like the writings of Isaiah and Jeremiah and their contemporaries, but another kind in regular measure adapted for singing (ἡ δὲ μετ' ᾠδῆς ἐν μέτρῳ), like the Psalms of the blessed David, and the prophecy [Ex 15^{1-18} and Dt 32 f.] contained in the second and fifth books of Moses' (§ 134).

This question of the style of Holy Scripture is of great importance in its bearing upon the judgment we form regarding its perspicuity and its inspiration. From this point of view, the style of the Biblical writers has been discussed by the authors we now proceed to name. Flacius Illyricus, in his famous *Clavis Scripturæ Sacræ* (1567, etc.; ed. Basileensis, 1628 f.), vol. i. Præfatio, fol. 3*a*, writes: 'Objiciunt illi [*i.e.* pontificii] de sensu ac intelligentia litem esse. Eam illi volunt ex Patribus peti opportere. At contra Augustinus et Hilarius contendunt ex collatione Scripturæ loca aut dicta obscuriora esse illustranda.' The other passages of his work which treat of style are 2_{32} 420_{25} 433_{39} ('Lapsus styli ex alio in aliud') 489_{47} ('De plenitudine styli') 508_{49} ('Stylus Paulinus'). These points, however, are much more fully discussed by Glass in his important *Philologia Sacra*, which went through a number of editions from 1623 onwards. To these questions he devotes the whole of the third and fourth tractates of the first of the five books into which his work is divided (4th ed. 1668, pp. 186–246). He sets out with the following statement: 'Inter rationes, quibus Bellarminus Scripturæ Sacræ obscuritatem probatam dare vult, occurrit etiam illa quam a styli seu modi dicendi in Scripturis usitati ambiguitate desumit,' and he brings forward good arguments in refutation of this charge against Holy Scripture. The same point of view has been since then considered by many scholars, and is touched upon by Sanday in his admirable Bampton Lectures on *Inspiration* (1st ed. 1893, p. 403), and C. A. Briggs in his comprehensive *General Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture* (1899, p. 328). This highest point of view from which the question of the style of Scripture has to be considered, is not, however, the only one. It is a question which is not only an eminently religious one, but of importance as regards the history of culture. For it is an extremely interesting inquiry how far the *art* of description by means of language was developed among the Hebrews and the writers of the NT. In what follows we shall endeavour to satisfy both interests, the religious and the secular.

ii. Characteristics of Biblical style due to earliness of date or to the Semitic idiosyncrasy of the Hebrews.—The most important of these phenomena, arranged according to their noteworthiness and frequency, are the following:—

1. We have only to proceed a short way in our reading of the first book of the Bible to be struck with the great frequency with which the word 'and' occurs. The opening sentence of Genesis is followed by the statement 'And the earth was without form and void' (*tōhû wā-bōhû*). In like manner, the third sentence 'And darkness was upon the face of the deep' is tacked on by 'and,' while the fourth runs 'And the spirit of God moved upon the face of the deep.' And so in this same chapter there is a direct succession of some sixty sentences, all beginning with 'and.' This *preference for the copulative conjunction* may be observed no less in the frequent **Polysyndeton** which characterizes the style of Scripture, as, for instance, in 'Shem and Ham and Japheth' (Gn 9^{18}); or 'Elam and Asshur and Arpachshad and Lud' (10^{22}); or 'thou nor thy son nor thy daughter nor thy manservant nor thy maidservant nor,' etc. etc. (Dt 5^{14}); or 'Thou shalt not kill, neither shalt thou commit adultery, neither shalt thou steal, neither,' etc. etc. (5^{17-21} 6^5). Nay, this preference for 'and' went so far that we even find new books of the OT commencing with 'and.' This is the case not only with the five books of the Pentateuch, but also

with Joshua, Judges, Ruth, etc. It cannot be inferred from this form of opening that these books once formed parts of a continuous work, for the Book of Esther begins with the same formula 'And it came to pass,' although its subject is an isolated episode. The correct view of this phenomenon is that the expression 'And it came to pass' was so much in use that one came to write it from force of custom and almost unconsciously. On this same account, the fact that the Book of Ezekiel opens with 'And it came to pass' is no indication that something has dropped out before this formula, as is contended by Budde and others (see the controversy on this point between Budde and the present writer in *Expos. Times*, xii. [1901] 39 ff., 375 ff., 525 ff., 566 f.; xiii. 41 ff., 95). The expression 'And it came to pass' had become as common as the phrase 'And it shall come to pass,' with which circumstantial statements of time, etc., were introduced (cf. Is 2^{2} 'And it shall come to pass in the last days that,' etc.).

When we compare even so simple a writer as 'the Father of History,' this Hebrew fashion of connecting sentences is striking. After giving his own name and dividing mankind into the two categories of Hellenes and barbarians, Herodotus begins his narrative with the following sentences: '*Now* the learned among the Persians say that the Phœnicians were the authors of the discord (namely, between the Greeks and other peoples). *For*, after they (the Phœnicians) came from the sea that is called the Red Sea to this (the Mediterranean) sea, and settled in the land which they still inhabit, they immediately devoted themselves to great enterprises by sea. *But* in the course of transporting Egyptian and Assyrian goods, they frequently visited Argos as well as the rest of the country.' There is no need for proceeding further with the translation of Herodotus' *History*, in order to show the striking contrast in structure and connexion presented by its opening sentences and those of the Bible. The numerous principal sentences which are *co-ordinated* in Gn 1$^{1\text{ff.}}$, and the stereotyped 'and' by which they are connected, have ceased, as a rule, to strike us, because from our earliest days we have been used to this characteristic of the Biblical narratives, and this fashion of writing, which is peculiar to Biblical history in the widest sense, was also very well calculated to impress our minds. For this way of adding principal sentence to principal sentence, and of connecting them for the most part by 'and,' is the childish device which always meets us at the naïve stage in the history of culture. We encounter it in the childhood of the individual, we find it amongst the uneducated masses of the people, and it shows itself at the primitive stages in the development of the human race. For instance, 'The Homeric speech loves the *co-ordinating* of sentences' (G. Curtius, *Gr. Gram.* § 519$_{5}$; Hentze, *Parataxe bei Homer*, 1889), and it is very interesting to note how the number of conjunctions in the later Hebrew and other Semitic languages underwent increase: for illustrations see Ed. König, *Historisch-Comparat. Syntax der heb. Sprache*, §§ 377–396*r*).

There are other four principal marks of the simple method followed by Hebrew writers in grouping their ideas and their sentences. — (*a*) There are such forms of expression as 'Let them be for signs and for seasons and for days and years' (Gn 1^{14}), words which mean, in all probability, 'Let them serve as signs for seasons,' etc. This is the same simple method of *co-ordinating ideas* as is familiar to us from the 'pateris libamus et auro' of Vergil, *Georg.* ii. 192, and is commonly known as Hendiadys. Other instances of it in Scripture are: 'a city and a mother in Israel,' *i.e.* a mother-city, a metropolis (2 S 20^{19}); 'feasting and gladness' = feasting of gladness (Est 9^{18}); 'I heard whispering and a voice,' *i.e.* whispering of a voice (Job 4^{16b}); 'changes and war' = changes of war (Job 10^{17c}); 'glory and strength' = glory of strength (Ps. 29^{1} 96^{7}); 'time and judgment' = time of judgment (Ec 8^{5}); 'cloud and smoke' = cloud of smoke (Is 4^{5}); 'trouble and darkness' = dark, *i.e.* irremediable, trouble (Is 8^{22}). In like manner the Heb. 'consumption and determination' is rightly changed in EV to 'consumption, even determined' (Is 10^{23} 28^{22}), and 'end and expectation' is correctly replaced by 'an expected end' (Jer 29^{11}). The same co-ordination of ideas meets us in 'the roll and the words' for 'the roll of the words' (Jer 36^{27}). An illustration of the same fondness for simple co-ordinating of ideas is found also in 'her hand . . . and her right hand' (Jg 5^{26}); or 'my hand . . . and my right hand' (Is 48^{13}); or 'the LORD . . . and his glory' (Is 60^{2}); or 'the LORD . . . and his strength' (Ps 105^{4}). This mode of expression is known as *καθ' ὅλον καὶ μέρος*, and a counterpart to it has been recently noted by the present writer in the words 'Who will bring me into the strong city? Who will lead me into Edom?' (Ps 60^{9} ‖ 108^{10}; cf. Ed. König, *Fünf neue arabische Landschaftsnamen im AT*, 1902, p. 33 f.).—(*β*) There is the frequent throwing in of the interjection 'Behold!': *e.g.* 'And God saw . . . and, *behold*,' etc. (Gn 1^{31} 6^{12} 8^{13} 18^{2} 19^{28} etc.; cf. Ed. König, *Heb. Syntax*, § 361*g*).—(*γ*) We have the very frequent employment of *direct speech*. The list of examples of this begins with the words 'Let there be light' (Gn 1^{3}); it is continued in 'Let there be a firmament,' etc. (v.^{6}), 'Behold, I have given you,' etc. (v.^{29}), and so on it goes (cf. *Syntax*, § 377). The NT also shares abundantly in this preference for the *oratio directa* (Mt 1$^{20.\,23}$ 2$^{2.\,5}$ etc.).—(*δ*) The fourth mark of the naïve simplicity of style which is wont to be employed by the Biblical writers may be observed from the following instance: 'Till thou return unto the ground . . . for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return' (Gn 3^{19}). Here we have first a destiny indicated for man, then the reason for this, and finally the destiny itself is once more repeated. Many of our readers must have noticed the same movement of thought in the conversation and letters of persons belonging to the lower classes. This process whereby one returns to the original starting-point is called **Palindromy**, and there are various species of it. Here are some other instances of the class represented by Gn 3^{19}: 'And it repented the LORD that he had made man, etc., and the LORD said, I will destroy, etc., for it repenteth me that I have made them' (Gn 6$^{6\text{f.}}$); 'The earth also was corrupt, etc., for all flesh had corrupted,' etc. (v.$^{11\text{f.}}$); 'The LORD scattered them abroad, etc. Therefore is the name of it called Babel, etc., and from thence did the LORD scatter them abroad,' etc. (11$^{8\text{f.}}$); 'Every beast of the forest is mine, etc., If I were hungry, I would not tell thee, for the world is mine' (Ps 50$^{10\text{-}12}$); 'O that my ways were directed to keep thy statutes, then shall I not be ashamed when I have respect unto all thy commandments' (119$^{5\text{f.}}$); 'Surely he hath borne our griefs, etc., for the transgression of my people was he stricken' (Is 53$^{4\text{-}8}$); 'The LORD said, etc., because I have spoken it' (Jer 4$^{27\text{f.}}$); 'Because ye multiplied, etc., because of all thine abominations' (Ezk 5$^{7\text{-}9}$). — Another species of *Palindromy* is represented by the words 'The land was not able to bear them, that they might dwell together: for their substance was great, so that they could not dwell together' (Gn 13^{6}). There the course of ideas turns from the fact to its cause, and then returns to the fact or the consequence. The same mental movement may be observed in: 'Judah, thou art he whom thy brethren shall praise; thy hand shalt be in the neck of thine enemies; thy father's children shall bow down before thee' (Gn 49^{8}); 'The nakedness of thy mother shalt thou not uncover; she is thy mother, thou shalt not uncover her nakedness' (Lv 18^{7}); and the same is the case in v.^{15} 'My strength is dried, etc., for dogs have compassed me, etc., I may tell all my bones' (Ps 22$^{15-17}$); and in Is 53$^{11f.}$ 'By his knowledge, etc., Therefore will I divide him a portion with the great, etc., because he hath poured out his soul unto death.' Essentially the same phenomenon recurs in 1 Ch 9^{44} 'Azel had six sons, and these are their names: Azrikam, etc., these were the sons of Azel.'—A third species of *Palindromy* is made up of instances like 'God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him' (Gn 1^{27}); 'Make thee an ark, etc. Thus did Noah, according to all that God commanded him, so did he' (6$^{14. 22ab}$); 'Thou shalt speak all that I command thee, etc., and Moses and Aaron did as the Lord commanded them, so did they' (Ex 7$^{2ff. 6ab}$). The same mode of expression meets us in Ex 12$^{2ab. 28. 50}$ 39$^{32. 43}$ 40^{16}, Lv. 4^{20}, Nu 1^{54} 5^{4} 8^{20} etc., Ec 1^{6}, Dn 8$^{1ff. 20}$ etc. (see Ed. König, *Stilistik*, etc. p. 171 f.).

Another feature that strikes us in the structure of clauses in the OT presents itself in 'I am the Lord thy God which *have* brought,' etc. (Ex 20^{2}). Other examples of the same fashion are Dt 5$^{3b.}$ ('all of *us*')^{6}, Jg 13^{11} ('the man that *speakest*'), 1 S 25^{33} ('and thou which *hast*'), Ps 71^{20} ('thou which *hast*'), Neh 9^{7} ('thou art the God who *didst*'), 1 Ch 21^{17} ('I it is that *have* sinned').

2. It requires no great acquaintance with the language of Scripture to enable one to recall such forms of expression as the following: 'Joseph was the *son* of his old age' (Gn 37^{3}), *i.e.* he was born when Jacob was advanced in years, forming thus a contrast to the 'children of youth,' *i.e.* children begotten by a man at the period of his full strength (Ps 127^{4}, cf. Gn 49^{3}). Where we now find in the EV the expressions 'son(s) of' or 'children of,' the Hebrew is בֶּן־ or בְּנֵי, and their use constitutes such a characteristic feature of the style of Scripture that it deserves somewhat fuller illustration.—(*a*) The בֶּן־ (*ben-*) is sometimes retained in the EV: *e.g.* Ben-ammi (Gn 19^{38}), *i.e.* 'belonging to my people'; Ben-oni (35^{18}), *i.e.* 'born in my sorrow'; Boanerges (Mk 3^{17}), *i.e.* 'sons of thunder.' Seven proper names show the Aramaic form of *ben-*, namely *bar-*: Bartholomew (Mt 10^{3}), Bar-jonah (16^{17}), Barabbas (27^{16}), Bartimæus (Mk 10^{46}), Barsabbas (Ac 1^{23}), Barnabas (4^{36}), Barjesus (13^{6}).—(*β*) בֶּן־ or בְּנֵי are reproduced by 'son(s) of' or 'children of' in the following expressions: 'son of his old age' (Gn 37^{3}); 'thy mother's sons,' or the like, *i.e.* brothers who have not only the same father but the same mother (Gn 27^{29}, Jg 8^{19}, Ps 50^{20}, Ca 1^{6}); 'children of his people' (Nu 22^{5}); 'children of Sheth' (24^{17}), *i.e.* friends of war tumult [according to Sayce, *Expos. Times*, xiii. 64^{b}, the 'Sutu], at least Jeremiah in the parallel passage (48^{45}) speaks of 'sons of tumult' (*bĕnê shā'ôn*); 'children (son, sons) of Belial' (Dt 13^{13} [RV 'base fellows'], Jg 19^{22} 20^{13}, 1 S 2^{12} 10^{27} 25^{17}, 1 K 21$^{10. 13}$, 2 Ch 13^{7}), *i.e.* worthless persons (cf. Ed. König, *Syntax*, p. 309, n. 1 [against Cheyne]), cf. 'children of wickedness' (2 S 3^{34a} 7^{10}, 1 Ch 17^{9}); 'son of wickedness' (Ps 89^{22b}); 'children of iniquity' (Hos. 10^{9}); 'son of Hinnom' (?=wailing; Jos 15^{8} 18^{16}, Jer 7^{31} etc.); 'son of the morning' (Is 14^{12}); 'children of strangers' (2^{6b}); 'sons of strangers' (60^{10})= 'strangers' (Ezk 44^{7} etc., Ps 18$^{44f.}$ 144$^{7. 11}$, Neh 9^{2}); 'children of whoredom' (Hos 2^{4}); 'children of the needy' (Ps 72^{4}); 'children of youth' (Ps 127^{4}); 'children of the province' (Ezr 2^{1a}); 'children of the captivity' (4^{1b} 6$^{19f.}$ 10$^{7. 16}$); 'son of man' (Nu 23^{19}, Job 16^{21b} 25^{6} 35^{8}, Ps 8^{4} 80^{17} 144^{3} 146^{3}, Is 51^{12} 56^{2}, Jer 49$^{18b. 33}$ 50^{40} 51^{43}, Ezk 2^{1} etc., Dn 7^{13} 8^{17}, Mt 8^{20} etc.);* 'sons (=disciples) of the prophets' (1 K 20^{35}, 2 K 2^{3} etc., Am 7^{14}); 'children'='disciples' (Mt 12^{27}); 'sons' = 'disciples' (Lk 11^{19}); 'son(s)' or 'children' = 'citizen(s)' or 'adherent(s)' (Mt 8^{12} 13^{38}, Ac 13^{10}); 'children of (*i.e.* those that prepare) the bride-chamber' (Mt 9^{15}, Mk 2^{19}, Lk 5^{34}); 'son(s)' or 'children'='belonging to' or 'sharing in' (Mt 23^{15}, Lk 10^{6} 16^{8} 20$^{34. 36}$, Jn 12^{36} 17^{12}, Ac 3^{25}, 2 Co 6^{18}, 1 Th 5^{5}, 2 Th 2^{3}, Eph 2^{2} 5^{6}, Col 3^{6}).—(*γ*) בֶּן־ or בְּנֵי are paraphrased in the following passages: Gn 5^{32} 'Noah was five hundred years *old*,' lit. 'a son of five hundred years' (and so in many similar passages); 15^{2b} 'the steward,' for the possessor or heir; 29^{1} 'the people (lit. sons) of the East' (cf. Jg 7^{12} 8^{10}, 1 K 5^{10}, Job 1^{3}, Is 11^{14}, Jer 49^{28}, Ezk 25^{10}); 'his ass's colt' (Gn 49^{11}); 'the bullock' lit. 'son of the cattle' (Lv 1^{5}); 'young' lit. 'son(s) of' (1^{14} 4$^{3. 14}$ 5^{7} etc.); 'their people' lit. 'children of their people' (Lv 20^{17}, cf. Nu 22^{5}); 'rebels' lit. 'sons of refractoriness' (Nu 17^{10}); 'meet for the war' lit. 'sons of might' (Dt 3^{18b} AV; RV 'men of valour'); 'men of valour' or the like (Jg 18^{2a}, 1 S 14^{52} 18^{17} etc.); 'worthy' (Dt 25^{2a}); 'breed' (32^{14a}); 'surely die' lit. 'son of death' (1 S 20^{31b} 26^{16a}, 2 S 12^{5}, cf. Ps 79^{11b} 102^{20b}); 'wicked men' lit. 'sons of wickedness' (2 S 3^{34a}); 'hostages' lit. 'sons of pledges' (2 K 14^{14} ‖ 2 Ch 25^{24}); 'young' lit. 'son of' (2 Ch 13^{9}); 'kids' lit. 'sons of' (35^{7}); 'those that had been carried away' lit. 'sons of the exile' (Ezr 8^{35}); 'sparks' lit. 'sons of flame' (Job 5^{7}); 'a man' lit. 'son of man' (16^{21b}); 'lions' whelps' lit. 'sons of pride *or* savagery' (28^{8})= 'children of pride' (41^{34}); 'arrow' lit. 'son of the bow' (41^{28}); 'arrows' lit. 'sons of his quiver' (La 3^{13}); 'young' lit. 'son of' (Ps 29^{6b} 147^{9}); 'any of the afflicted' lit. 'son of affliction' (Pr 31^{5}); 'appointed to' lit. 'sons of' (31^{8}).

This characteristic of Scripture style attains all the greater prominence because the same derived usage is frequently met with in the case of the term 'daughter.' For instance, 'daughters of Heth' stands for Hittite women (Gn 27^{46}). The same usage appears in 28$^{1. 8}$, Nu 25^{1}, Jg 11^{40}; 'the daughters of Shiloh' (Jg 21^{21}); 'daughters of Dan' (2 Ch 2^{14}); 'daughter of Tyre' (Ps 45^{12})='princess of Tyre'; 'daughters of Judah,' etc. (Ps 97^{8}, Ca 1$^{5ff.}$); 'daughters of Zion,' etc. (Is 3^{16} etc., Jer 49^{3αβ}, Ezk 16^{27}); 'daughter of Zion'='inhabitants of Zion' (2 K 19^{21}, Ps 9^{15} 137^{8}, Is 1^{8} 10$^{30. 32}$ 16^{1} 22^{4} 23$^{10. 12}$ 37^{22} 47$^{1a. 5}$ 52^{2} 62^{11}, Jer 4$^{11. 31}$ 6$^{2. 14. 23. 26}$ 8$^{11. 19. 21-23}$ 9^{6} 14^{17} 46$^{11. 19. 24}$ 48^{18} 50^{42} 51^{33}, La 1$^{6. 15}$ 2$^{1f. 4f. 8. 10f. 13. 15. 18}$ 3^{48} 4$^{3. 6. 10. 21f.}$ [on 'company,' etc., Ezk 27^{6b}, see Ed. König, *Heb. Syntax*, § 306*m*], Mic 1^{13b} 4$^{8. 10. 13}$, Zeph 3$^{10.}$ [against Hommel's art. in *Expos. Times*, 1899, p. 99 f., see the present writer's *Fünf neue arab. Landschaftsnamen im AT*, 1902, p. 58]^{14}, Zec 2$^{11. 14}$ 9^{9} [on Is 1^{8} etc., see esp. *Stilistik*, p. 32$_{10ff.}$]; 'daughter of Belial,' *i.e.* of worthlessness (1 S 1^{16a}); Hos 1^{3}; Mic 5^{1}; 'daughter of a strange god,' *i.e.* a female worshipper of him (Mal 2^{11b}); 'the daughters of music'=musical tones (Ec 12^{4}); θυγατέρες Ἀαρών (Lk 1^{5})=remote descendants of Aaron; and a similar sense is conveyed by 'daughter of Abraham' (13^{16}), 'daughters of Jerusalem' (23^{28}), ἡ θυγατὴρ Σιών (Mt 21^{5}, Jn 12^{15}), θυγατὴρ θεοῦ (2 Co 6^{18})=one belonging to the Kingdom of God.

A similar characteristic of the style of Scripture is its fondness for *employing substantives for adjectives*. There are numerous examples of this, even leaving out of account the instances in which the phenomenon disappears in the EV. Thus we find 'jewels of silver,' etc. (Gn 24^{53}, Ex 3^{22} etc.); 'men, etc., of truth' (Ex 18^{21}, Pr 12^{19} 22^{21a}). 'Few in number' is lit. 'men of number' (Gn 34^{30}, Dt 4^{27},

---

* On this expression in all its senses, see art. Son of Man in vol. iv.

1 Ch 16^{19}, Job 16^{22}, Ps 105^{12}, Is 10^{19}, Jer 44^{28a}, Ezk 12^{16a}). Cf. 'the king's court' (Am 7^{13}); 'city of confusion' (Is 24^{10}); 'an iron pen' (Job 19^{24}); 'instruments of death' (='deadly,' Ps 7^{13}); 'sorrows of death' (Ps 116^{3}, cf. Rev 13$^{3.\,12}$ *πληγὴ τοῦ θανάτου*); 'sacrifices, etc., of righteousness'=just *or* right *or* righteous sacrifices, etc. (Dt 33^{19}, Job 8^{6}, Ps 4$^{1.\,5}$ 23^{3} 51^{19} 118^{19}, cf. 119$^{7.\,62.\,106.\,160.\,164}$, Pr 8^{20} 12^{28} 16^{31}, Is 1^{26} 61$^{3.\,10}$, Jer 50^{7}, Am 6^{12}); 'habitation of justice' (Jer 31^{23}); 'Branch of justice' (33^{15}); 'garments of salvation'=garments which diffuse healing (Is 61^{10}); 'God, etc., of my salvation' (1 Ch 16^{35}, Ps 18$^{2b.\,46}$ 24^{5} 25^{5} 27^{9} 65^{5} 68^{20} 79^{9} 85^{4}, Mic 7^{7}, Hab 3^{18}); עֹז 'of strength' is at times replaced by 'strong' (Jg 9^{51}, Jer 48^{17}, Ezk 19$^{11.\,14}$ 26^{11}, Ps 61^{3} 71^{7} 89^{10}), or 'mighty' (Ps 68^{34}), or 'loud' (2 Ch 30^{21}); but we find, on the other hand, 'God of my strength' (Ps 43^{2}), 'the rock of my strength' (62^{7}), 'rod of thy strength' (110^{2}, cf. 132^{8}), 'pride of your power' (Lv 26^{19}), 'fury of his power' (Dn 8^{6b}), 'gall of bitterness' (Ac 8^{23}), *πᾶσα ψυχὴ ζωῆς*='every living soul' (Rev 16^{3}).

Another of the peculiarities which belong to the *Semitic* idiosyncrasy of the Scripture narratives is the frequent introduction of *genealogies.* The interest was strong in the correct preservation of ancient tradition, and thus the genealogical connexions of families and tribes were noted. Hence we find many genealogical trees in the historical books of the Bible. A number of them form considerable lists, *e.g.* Gn 4$^{17ff.}$ 5$^{3ff.}$ 10$^{2ff.}$ 11$^{10ff.}$; many others are shorter, *e.g.* Jos 7^{18}, Ru 4$^{18-22}$, 1 S 1^{1} 9^{1} 14$^{49-51}$ etc., 1 Ch 1$^{1ff.}$, Ezr 7$^{1-5}$ ('Ezra, the son of Seraiah, the son of Azariah, the son of Hilkiah, the son of Shallum, etc., this Ezra went up from Babylon'), Neh 11^{22}, Est 2^{5}, Job 32^{2}, Mt 1$^{1-17}$ Lk 3$^{23ff.}$.

A similar interest accounts for the arrangement of the Book of Genesis. It is an extremely noteworthy feature of its structure that the narrative regarding the main line of the human race, *i.e.* the citizens of the Kingdom of God, stands, like the trunk of a tree, in the centre of the whole. The branches of the race, which diverged from the main stem, are regularly dealt with at the outset briefly, but a detailed enumeration of the successive representatives of the main stem follows. Thus the final compiler, *i.e.* the author proper of the first book of the Bible, advances from the outside inwards, or from the remote to the near in chapters 4 (the Cainites) and 5 (the Sethites, from whose line sprang Noah, who carried the human race over the period of the Flood and ensured its perpetuation thereafter); in 10$^{1-20}$ (Japhethites and Ḥamites) and vv.$^{21-32}$ (Semites); in 11$^{1-9}$ (the human race, which rises in revolt against God in building the Tower of Babel) and vv.$^{10-25}$ (the Semites, and, above all, the Hebrews); in 11$^{26-32}$ (the Teraḥites in general, cf. the supplementary list in 22$^{20-24}$) and 12 ff. (Abraham). In like manner the collateral branches of the descendants of Abraham are treated of in 25$^{1-18}$, but the main stem in v.$^{19ff.}$; and the descendants of Esau are given in ch. 36 before the commencement of the history of which Jacob is the central figure (37$^{1ff.}$). The principal line is always set forth last, because it forms the starting-point for the earthly mediators and heirs of the future salvation.

An interesting light is thrown upon the *social* conditions under which the Biblical writers lived, by the phenomenon we now proceed to describe. There are two sets of passages in which 'thou' alternates with 'my lord,' or 'I' with 'thy servant' (or 'thy handmaid'). The first set finds its earliest illustration in 'Hear us, my lord' (Gn 23^{6}), and recurs, *e.g.*, in 'The LORD said unto my *lord*, Sit *thou*,' etc. (Ps 110^{1} etc., cf. *Stilistik*, p. 244). Thus persons in a subordinate position addressed their superiors as 'thou,' but frequently interjected 'my lord,' in order to express their subjection. In the same way they took care that the 'I' with which they introduced themselves should often alternate with 'thy servant.' *E.g.* 'If now I have found favour in thy sight, pass not away from thy servant' (instead of 'from me,' Gn 18^{3}). Similarly, 'thy servant' and 'unto me' alternate (Gn 19^{19}), or 'me' and 'thy servant' (Ps 19$^{12b.\,13a}$), or 'I' and 'thy servant' (Dn 9$^{16a.\,17a}$). Further, 'I' is resolved into 'your servant' in Gn 18^{5} and 19^{2}, where we read 'Turn in, I pray you, into your servant's house.' Again, 'we' alternates with 'thy servants' in 'We are true men, thy servants are no spies' (Gn 42^{11}); or 'thy servants' has its parallel in 'our' (v.^{13}); cf. 'Prove thy servants . . . and let them give *us* pulse to eat,' etc. (Dn 1^{12} etc.), and the Aram. sentence 'Tell thy servants the dream, and we will show the interpretation' (2^{4} etc., cf. *Stilistik*, p. 252).

Another characteristic feature of Biblical style may be regarded at one and the same time from the *national* and the *religious* point of view. We refer to the frequent use of blessings and cursings. The series of blessings opens with Gn 1^{22}, and is continued in v.^{28} 2^{3} (blessing of the beasts, of man, and of the Sabbath) 5^{2} 9$^{1.\,26f.}$ 12^{3} 14^{19} 25^{11} 28^{1} 35^{9} 47$^{7.\,10}$ 48^{15} 49^{28}, Ex 39^{43}, Nu 23$^{7ff.}$, Dt 33$^{1ff.}$, 1 K 8$^{14.\,55}$, 2 Ch 6^{3}. To the same class belongs also the frequent exclamation 'O the happiness of Israel!' or the like (Dt 33^{29}, 1 K 10^{8}, Ps 1^{1}, and so on to Ec 10^{17}); Mt 5^{44} 'Bless them that curse you'; Lk 24$^{50f.}$ 'bless'=bid farewell; Mt 21^{9}, Mk 11$^{9f.}$, Lk 19^{38}, Jn 12^{13}, cf. Ps 118^{26}. The series of cursings begins with Gn 3^{14} (the curse pronounced upon the serpent), and is continued in v.^{17} 4^{11} 9^{25} 12^{3} 27^{29} 49^{7}, Nu 5$^{18ff.}$, Dt 27$^{15ff.}$ 28$^{16ff.}$, Jos 6^{26} 9^{23}, Jg 5^{23} 21^{18}, 1 S 14$^{24.\,28}$ 26^{19}, Job 3^{8} ('cursers of the day'), Ps 119^{21}, Pr 3^{33} 28^{27}, Jer 11^{3} 17^{5} 20$^{14ff.}$ 48^{10}, Mal 1$^{14ff.}$. To this list must be added the instances in which a 'Woe!' is addressed to any one: Nu 21^{29} ('Woe to thee, Moab!') 24^{14}, 1 S 4$^{7f.}$, Ps 120^{5}, Pr 23^{29}, Ec 4^{10} 10^{16}, Is 3$^{9.\,11}$ 6^{5} 24^{16}, Jer 4$^{13ff.}$, Ezk 16^{23} etc., Hos 7^{13} 9^{12}, Mt 11^{21} 18^{7} etc., Mk 13^{17} 14^{21}, Lk 6^{24} etc., Jude ^{11}, Rev. 9$^{12ff.}$ 12^{12} etc. This form of expression is connected partly with the ancient custom of blessing one's children or friends and cursing one's enemies (Nu 22^{6} etc.), and partly with the habit of the religion of Israel of postulating happiness for the godly and punishment for transgressors.—By the way, these last two categories possess certain features of special interest. The series of blessings has its first representative as early as the narrative of the Creation, that of cursings does not open till after man's first sin. The Psalter, again, contains twenty-five examples of the phrase 'O the happiness!' (cf. *Syntax*, § 321*g*), but only once (120^{5}) the exclamation 'Woe!' The list of blessings is longer than the other, and does not end till the last chapter of the last book of the Bible. Its last utterance is 'Blessed are they that wash their robes [*or* do his commandments],' Rev 22^{14}.

iii. PECULIARITIES OF STYLE PURPOSELY ADOPTED UPON OCCASION BY ALL CLASSES OF SCRIPTURE WRITERS.—These devices will be set forth in such a way as to have regard to the interests, successively, of the human intellect, the will, and the feelings.

1. The Biblical writers aim at clearness, and this quality is not prejudiced (*a*) by the use, which is common to man, of Metonymy and Synecdoche.

Noteworthy instances of **Metonymy** are the following: 'seed' stands for descendants in Gn 3^{15} etc.; 'the earth,' as the source of its products, is put for the latter in 'In sorrow shalt thou eat it (*i.e.* the earth=its products),' 3^{17b}, cf. Is 1^{7b}. *Nābî'*, 'prophet,' is correctly rendered 'prophecy' by AV in Dn 9^{24b}; but 'prophet' in Mt 5^{17} and Lk 16$^{29.\,31}$

has the same meaning; and 'Moses' stands for the Law in the expression 'Moses is read' (2 Co 3^{15}). 'Tongue' became naturally an expression for speech (Gn 10^{5} etc.). 'Lips' stands in Hos 14^{2b} for the confession of sin proceeding from the lips; the prophet means to say, 'We will offer as sacrifices of calves the confession of our sins.' Similarly, 'throat' means in Ps 5^{10} conversation. 'Hand' is often equivalent to activity (Ex 3^{19} etc. 'by a mighty hand'). 'Horn' represents power or rule (1 S 2^{1} etc., 'My horn is exalted,' etc.). In parallelism to 'peace,' 'sword' stands for war (Mt 10^{34}). 'Yield unto thee her strength' (Gn 4^{12}) is = give the product of her strength, *i.e.* her fruits. 'Lest ye be consumed in all their *sins*' (Nu 16^{26}) = through the consequences of their sins, *i.e.* the punishment for them. In 'dust thou art' (Gn 3^{19}), dust = produced from dust (2^{7}). We encounter the same Metonymy in 'dust and ashes' (18^{27} etc., Sir 10^{9a}). 'Wood' or 'tree' is a term for the cross in Ac 5^{30}, Gal 3^{13} etc.—When we read 'Two nations are in thy womb' (Gn 25^{23}), we must plainly understand this to mean the ancestors of two nations. In the same way 'covenant' in Is 42^{6} stands for the mediator of the covenant, and 'blessing' in Gn 12^{2b} for the formula wherewith the blessing is invoked.—The *possessor* naturally often stands for the *possession.* Thus Lebanon is put for the cedars (Is 10^{34b}) which symbolize the host of the Assyrians; and the cup stands for its contents in 1 Co 11^{25} etc. 'Heart and reins' (Ps 7^{9} 26^{2} etc.) refers to thoughts and volitions. In Mk 5^{35} *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχισυναγώγου* means 'from the house of the ruler of the synagogue.' So 'the hour' (Mk 14^{35}) might stand for the events of that period of time.—A *mark of distinction* points impressively to its *bearer* in 'A sceptre shall rise out of Israel' (Nu 24^{17}). So also in Is 23^{3} the Shihor, *i.e.* the Nile, stands for Egypt.—The *contents* may stand for the *container*: for instance, in Ps 9^{14} 'the gates of the daughter of Zion,' the daughter, *i.e.* the population, of Zion must be the equivalent of Zion itself. In like manner 'testament' (2 Co 3^{14}) = book of the covenant, and 'prayer' (Ac 16^{16}) = place of prayer.

Characteristic instances of **Synecdoche** are such as the following: 'the Jebusite,' etc. (Gn $10^{16f.}$); 'and the Canaanite was then in the land' (12^{6}); 'the man' (Ps 1^{1} 32^{1} etc.). This employment of *a part for the whole* may be seen also in other expressions. 'Father' is equivalent to all kinds of ancestors (Gn 47^{9}, Ex 12^{3}, Nu 14^{18}, Ps 22^{5} 39^{13} 106^{6} etc.). Again, in Abraham's words to Lot 'we are brothers' (Gn 13^{8}), 'brothers' stands for all degrees of relationship, and so also in Ex 2^{11} and Nu 16^{10}. The principal members of a class could very readily be used to represent the whole class: *e.g.* 'a land flowing with milk and honey' (Ex $3^{8.17}$ 13^{5} 33^{3}, Nu 13^{27} etc., Dt 6^{3} etc., Jos 5^{6}, Jer 11^{5} 32^{22}, Ezk $20^{6.15}$). So also a principal part could stand for the whole in the following: 'the shadow of my *roof*' (Gn 19^{8}), *i.e.* of my house; 'The ark of God dwelleth within *curtains*' (2 S 7^{2}, cf. 1 Ch 17^{1}, Ca 1^{5}, Jer 4^{20} 10^{20} 49^{29}, Hab 3^{7}), *i.e.* in a mere tent; 'Thy seed shall possess the *gate* of his enemies' (Gn 22^{17} 24^{60}, Dt 12^{15} 15^{7} etc., Ps 87^{2}, Is 3^{26a} 14^{31}, Mic 1^{9}), *i.e.* their city. The 'soul' stands for the whole man in Gn 9^{5a} 12^{5} ('the souls that they had gotten in Haran') ^{13} 14^{21} 17^{14} 46^{18}, Ex 12^{15}, Lv $7^{20f.}$ etc.; 'Let every soul,' etc. (Ro 13^{1}, Ac 2^{43} 3^{23}, 1 Co 15^{45}, Rev 16^{3}); 'three thousand souls,' etc. (Ac 2^{41} 7^{14} 27^{37}, 1 P 3^{20}); cf. 'Thou art my bone and my flesh' (Gn 29^{14}, Jg 9^{2}, 2 S 5^{1} $19^{13f.}$, 1 Ch 11^{1}) = my blood relation; 'flesh and blood' (Sir 14^{18} 17^{31}, Mt 16^{17}, 1 Co 15^{50}, Gal 1^{16}) = man; 'How beautiful upon the mountains are the *feet* of him that bringeth good tidings' (Is 52^{7}, Nah 2^{1}, Ac 5^{2}, Ro 10^{15}), the feet being the organs most necessary to a messenger.—In 'Blessed be the LORD God of Shem' (Gn 9^{26}), the designation of the whole ('Shemites') is put for that of the principal constituent of the race, namely Israel (cf. 10^{21}). The general expression 'the river' stands for the Euphrates, because for Western Asia this stream was 'the great river' (Gn 15^{18}), *i.e.* possessed most importance (31^{21}, Ex 23^{31}, Dt 1^{7} 11^{24}, Jos 1^{4} $24^{2f.14f.}$, 2 S 10^{16}, 1 K $4^{21.24}$ 14^{15}, 1 Ch 5^{9} 19^{16}, 2 Ch 9^{26}, Ezr 8^{36}, Neh $2^{7.9}$, Ps 72^{8} 80^{12}, Is 7^{20} 8^{7} 11^{15} 19^{5} 27^{12}, Jer 2^{18}, Mic 7^{12}, Zec 9^{10}). 'The high' *κατ' ἐξοχήν* is the heavens (2 S 22^{17}, Job 16^{19}, Ps 7^{7} 18^{16} 71^{19} 93^{4} 144^{7} 148^{1}, Is $24^{18.21}$ 32^{15} 33^{5} 40^{26} 57^{15}, Mic 6^{6}).—To this category belongs also the employment of *the abstract for the concrete*: as, for instance, 'a help' (Gn 2^{20}); 'captivity' (2 K 24^{15} 25^{27}, 1 Ch 5^{22}, Ezr 1^{11}, Neh 7^{6}, Est 2^{6}, Is 20^{4} 45^{13}, Jer 24^{5} 28^{4} $29^{16.22}$ 40^{1} 52^{31}, Ezk $1^{1f.}$ 33^{21} 40^{1}, Am $1^{6.9.15}$, Ob ^{20b}, Zec 6^{10}). In Ps 110^{3b} 'youth' is employed in the same way as *iuventus = iuvenes.*

(*b*) Clearness of style can hardly be said to be prejudiced by the following devices.

It was natural that a single verb should express two cognate actions. Thus שׁוּף (Gn 3^{15b}) is used for the hostile action both of the seed of the woman and of that of the serpent, and is thus equivalent in the one instance to 'bruise' and in the other to 'sting.' This employment of only one verb is known as **Zeugma.** Other examples of its use are: Ps 76^{3} 'There brake he the arrows, etc., and [finished] the battle'; Ezk 6^{9} 'I am broken,' etc.; Hos 2^{18} 'I will break the bow, the sword, and the battle.'—Elsewhere we meet with *a play upon the double meaning of words.* For instance, in Gn 48^{22} שְׁכֶם has the two meanings of 'mountain ridge' and 'portion.' Further, Isaiah announces to his people, 'Though thy multitude, O Israel, be as the sand of the sea, a remnant of them shall return' (10^{22a}), *i.e.* 'a remnant certainly, but only a remnant' (Cheyne, 1884, *ad loc.*). Again, when Isaiah says to his people, 'God will lift up his staff over thee' [*i.e.* for thy protection] בְּדֶרֶךְ מִצְרָיִם ($10^{24b.26b}$), he means by דֶּרֶךְ, in the first instance, 'manner' or 'way.' That is to say, God will help Israel in the *way* in which He helped them once before, when He brought them forth from Egypt. But, further, בְּדֶרֶךְ מִצְרָיִם has in view the notion that God will deliver Israel by destroying the Assyrian army on the *way* to Egypt, as actually happened in B.C. 701 (Is 37^{36}). 'A phrase of double meaning, such as Isaiah loves,' is Cheyne's comment on Is 10^{22}. He adduces no other example, but we find a similar 'Janus-word' in $22^{23b.24}$, where כָּבוֹד is used in the two senses of 'honour' and 'weight.' Both originated from the radical notion of the word, namely 'heaviness.' Again, one and the same term שׁוּב means both 'turn away' and 'return' (Jer 8^{4b}). The other instances of this *ambiguity* will be found enumerated in *Stilistik*, p. 11 f.—The striving after a witty use of words in a double sense culminates in the **Riddle**; and, in accordance with the general custom of Orientals of diverting themselves by putting and solving riddles, we find that the writers of Scripture have interwoven a number of these with their histories and arguments. The earliest example is Jg 14^{14} 'Out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong [eater] came forth sweetness.' Both the occurrences mentioned here are opposed to ordinary experience, and thus awaken reflexion. The answer to this riddle was in turn given (v.^{18}) as a riddle, namely, 'What is sweeter than honey, and what is stronger than a lion?' Once more, the words 'The horseleech hath *two* daughters, crying, Give, give. There are *three* things,' etc. (Pr 30^{15}), furnish a specimen of the enigmatic sayings which the Jews called מִדָּה 'measure,' because they lead to the measuring, *i.e.* exhausting of the scope of a notion.

The other instances are Pr 6^{16-19}, Sir 23^{16} $25^{2.\ 7f.}$ $26^{5ff.\ 19}$ 50^{25}. Also the name SHESHACH in Jer 25^{26} contains a species of riddle. The key to it is found in the custom of interchanging letters. In one of these systems the last letter of the alphabet was substituted for the first, the next to the last for the second, and so on. In this way *Sheshach* (ששך) would stand for *Babel* (בבל). The same phenomenon presents itself in Jer 51^{1}, where the words 'in the midst of them that rise up against me' represent the Heb. *Leb-ḳamai* (לב קמי), which, on the same system of interchange of letters, would = *Kasdim* (כשׂדים), *i.e.* Chaldæans.

The following instances of *interchange of pronoun and substantive* may also be traced to natural motives, and are thus readily intelligible: 'God created man, etc., in the image of God created he him' (Gn 1^{27}). The words 'of God' take the place of 'his,' because prominence is meant to be given to the concept 'God.' The same preferring of the name 'God' to the pronoun is to be noted in the following passages: 'And the LORD said unto Abraham, etc., Is anything too hard for the LORD' (Gn $18^{13f.}$) = 'for me'? 'The LORD rained fire from the LORD,' etc. (19^{24}); 'Thou (O LORD) shalt destroy them that speak leasing, the LORD will abhor,' etc. (Ps 5^{6ab}), instead of 'thou wilt abhor,' etc.; 'He (the LORD) answered, etc., and the LORD,' etc. (Is $6^{11f.}$); 'concerning his Son, etc., which was made, etc., and declared to be the Son of God' (Ro $1^{3f.}$). In the same way 'thou' and 'the king' alternate in 2 S 14^{13ab}, and the title 'king' on many other occasions takes the place of the pronoun: *e.g.* 'O king, the eyes of all Israel are upon thee, that thou shouldest tell them who shall sit on the throne of my lord the king,' etc. (1 K 1^{20} 8^{1ab} 22^{15b} etc.); or 'Thine arrows [O king] are sharp in the heart of the king's enemies' (Ps 45^{5} etc.; cf. *Stilistik*, 154).—It was no less natural that the bare pronoun should frequently be used to point to the personage who is the main subject of any particular discussion. For instance, the hero who was called from the rising of the sun to deliver the exiles (Is 41^{1-7}) is indicated by the simple pronoun in 41^{25} 45^{13} 46^{11} 48^{14}, and perhaps 55^{11b}. Who, now, was a more important subject than God Himself, in religious texts such as are contained in the Bible? Hence the reference of the pronoun 'he' is not doubtful in the words 'if he destroy him from his place' (Job 8^{18a}), or in 9^{32a} 'for he is not a man,' etc. In both passages God is self-evidently the other party. The same function is discharged by 'he' in $12^{13f.}$ 13^{16b} 19^{8}, and 'God' is quite justifiably substituted by AV for the Heb. 'he' in 20^{23} and 21^{17b}. The same use of the pronoun 'he' to refer to God is found in the following passages: 'In them (the heavens) he set a tabernacle for the sun' (Ps 19^{4}); 'Judah was his sanctuary' (114^{2}); 'He will no more carry thee away into captivity' (La 4^{22} etc., cf. *Stilistik*, p. 115 f.). Thus 'God' came to be the *great logical subject* or *object of the Bible*. Almost more natural still was it that 'God' should be the *great logical vocative* of Scripture. Examples of the latter are: 'Salvation belongeth to the LORD, *thy* blessing is upon *thy* people' (Ps 3^{8}), or 'Put your trust in the LORD,' and 'LORD, lift *thou* up the light of *thy* countenance upon us' ($4^{5f.}$), or 'the LORD shall judge the people, judge me, O LORD,' etc. (7^{8}). This involuntary turning of the religious man to his God is met with again in 'I have set the LORD always before me,' and 'for *thou* wilt not leave my soul in hell,' etc. (Ps 16^{8-10}), or in 'He sent,' etc., and 'at *thy* rebuke,' etc. ($18^{14f.}$ etc. 69^{23b} 76^{4} etc.). The same natural apostrophizing of God is found in the well-known words 'therefore forgive them not' (Is 2^{9b}), or in 'and the LORD hath given me knowledge of it . . . then thou shewedest me their doings' (Jer 11^{18}). Many similar passages are collected in *Stilistik*, p. 243.

Besides these forms of transition from pronoun to substantive, there are other rapid transitions characteristic of the style of Scripture.—

(*a*) After Joseph has been extolled in the words 'Joseph is a fruitful bough,' etc., he is addressed directly: 'even by the God of *thy* father,' etc. (Gn $49^{21-24.\ 25f.}$). A similar transition shows itself in such instances as the following: 'Let her cherish him, and let her lie in *thy* bosom' (1 K 1^{2}); 'who eat up my people,' etc., and '*you* have shamed the counsel of the poor,' etc. (Ps $14^{4b.\ 6a}$). The complaint '*they* are gone away backward' is continued by the question 'Why should *ye* be stricken any more?' (Is $1^{4f.}$); cf. Hab $2^{7f.}$ etc. The opposite transition, from apostrophe to the objective and calmer treatment of a person, may be observed in the words 'Reuben, *thou* art my firstborn . . . *he* went up to my couch' (Gn $49^{3f.}$). The same change occurs again in 'O Jacob . . . *he* shall pour the water out of his buckets,' etc. (Nu 24^{5-7}); or in 'Worship *thou* him' and '*her* clothing is of wrought gold' (Ps 45^{11-13}); or in '*Thou shalt* be called the city of righteousness' and '*Zion shall* be redeemed,' etc. (Is $1^{26f.}$); or in '*Thy* men shall fall by the sword,' etc., and '*her* gates shall lament,' etc. ($3^{25f.}$ etc. 22^{16b} etc.; cf. *Stilistik*, pp. 238–248). There are, further, many passages in which the employment of the *third* person passes over into a preference for the *first*. A large proportion of these cases is explained by the circumstance that the writer passes to the use of direct speech: *e.g.* 'He feared to say, she is *my* wife' (Gn 26^{7}); 'The rulers take counsel together. . . . Let *us* break,' etc. (Ps 2^{3}); 'He maketh . . . know that *I am* God' ($46^{9f.}$); 'The LORD of Hosts doth take . . . and *I* will give children to be their princes' (Is $3^{1a.\ 4a}$); 'He fenced . . . and now judge between *me*,' etc. ($5^{2f.}$). Other instances are due to the author's including himself in the same group as the persons spoken of: *e.g.* 'They went through the flood on foot, there did *we* rejoice in him' (Ps 66^{6}); 'The daughter of Zion is left as a cottage . . ., except the LORD of Hosts had left unto *us* a very small remnant' (Is $1^{8f.}$). It might also happen that a collective personality like the Servant of the Lord (Is 41^{8} etc.) found its herald in a prophet. In this way is explained the employment of 'I' in the expressions 'In the LORD have I righteousness,' etc. (Is 45^{24} 48^{16b} 49^{1} 50^{4} 53^{1} 61^{1}).—Less frequent is the transition from the *first* person to the *third*, as in 'Lamech said, Adah and Zillah, Hear *my* voice, ye wives *of Lamech*, hearken unto my speech' (Gn 4^{23}). It is obvious that this form of transition is a very natural one. The 'I' or 'my' is replaced by the name of the person concerned. The same phenomenon appears in 'Balaam lifted up his eyes and said, Balaam the son of Beor hath said,' etc. (Nu $24^{2f.}$). 'David' is used instead of 'I' in 2 S 7^{20a}. In the words 'I shall not be greatly moved' and 'How long will ye imagine mischief against a man?' (Ps $62^{2b.\ 3a}$) the poet passes over from himself to the general category to which he belongs. With special frequency does the 'I' of a Divine message pass over into the third person. In some passages the place of the Divine 'I' is taken by a Divine name, as in the words 'Will *I* eat flesh of bulls? . . . Offer unto *God* thanksgiving,' etc. (Ps $50^{13f.}$), or in 'The LORD said unto my lord, Sit thou at *my* right hand . . . the LORD shall send the rod,' etc. ($110^{1f.}$). In other passages where the first person alternates with the third, we observe the language of God passing into that of His interpreter. An indisputable example of this transition is found in the words 'I will command the clouds that they rain no rain upon it, for the vineyard of *the LORD* is,' etc. (Is $5^{6f.}$). So also in 'Mine anger in their destruction . . . *the* LORD *of Hosts* shall stir up,' etc. ($10^{25f.}$ etc., cf. *Stilistik*, pp. 249–256).

(β) Another phenomenon very frequently met with in the OT is the *transition from plural to singular*, and *vice versâ*. For instance, we read 'And ye shall observe this thing for an ordinance to thee and to thy sons for ever' (Ex 12^{24ab}). There 'all the congregation of Israel' (v.^{3}), which in vv.$^{5-24a}$ is addressed by the plural 'your,' is treated in v.^{24b} as a singular, and this singular has probably at the same time an individualizing force, and a warm parenetic tone. But the reader of the OT is not misled thereby, for this transition meets him very frequently: *e.g.* Ex 13^{5-16} 20^{24} etc., Dt 6^{15} etc., Jg 12^{5}, Ps 17^{12a} ('a lion'), Is 56^{5b} (where 'them' instead of 'him' has a levelling effect), Mal 2^{14} ('yet *ye* say . . . the LORD hath been witness between *thee* and the wife of *thy* youth') ^{15b} etc.; cf. *Stilistik*, pp. 232–238.

(γ) Still less surprising is the *sudden transition from one subject to another*. The first instance of this is met with in the words 'When the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them' (Gn 6^{4}). This example is more difficult in the Hebrew text, where there is no equivalent for 'they,' and the verb *yālĕdû* might also mean 'beget' and be connected with the 'sons of God.' The next example is 'God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem' (9^{27}). Here 'God' cannot be the subject of 'shall dwell,' for He has been already extolled in v.^{26a} as the ally of Shem. The same phenomenon appears in 'And he believed in the LORD, and he counted it to him for righteousness' (15^{6}). There are not a few instances of this rapid change of subjects (cf. *Stilistik*, p. 257 f.), seeing that it is favoured by the so-called **Chiasmus**, of which an excellent specimen is presented by the words 'And the LORD had respect to Abel and his offering, but unto Cain and his offering he had no respect' (Gn $4^{4b.5a}$). Here the words that come first in v.^{4b} correspond to those that form the conclusion of v.^{5a}. On the other hand, the words with which v.^{4b} closes and the words that commence v.^{5a} are closely akin. It is readily explicable psychologically that similar ideas should be treated at the end of one sentence and directly afterwards at the beginning of a second. Hence *Chiasmus* is an extremely frequent occurrence in the OT. Here are a few further instances: 'The LORD knoweth *the way* of the righteous, but *the way* of the ungodly shall perish' (Ps 1^{6ab}); 'Why do the nations rage, and the peoples imagine a vain thing?' (Ps 2^{1ab}); 'It was full of judgment, righteousness lodged in it' (Is 1^{21}); 'The vineyard of the LORD of Hosts is the house of Israel, and the men of Judah his pleasant plant' (5^{7}). An exceedingly instructive example is furnished by the words: 'Make the *heart* of this people fat, and make their *ears* heavy, and shut their *eyes*; lest they see with their *eyes*, and hear with their *ears*, and understand with their *heart*' (Is 6^{10}). Here a threefold correspondence may be observed. A number of other examples will be found in *Stilistik*, pp. 145–148.

None of the above phenomena, as they are psychologically explicable, diminish the perspicuity of the style of Scripture, and there are a number of devices whereby its clearness is *increased*.—

The first place amongst these is held by the **Simile.** What a bright light is thrown upon the number of Abraham's descendants by the declaration that they shall be 'like the dust of the earth' (Gn 13^{16} 28^{14}), or 'as the sand which is upon the seashore' (22^{17} 32^{12}), or 'as the stars of the heaven' (15^{5} 22^{17} 26^{4} etc.)! How clearly defined is the victory of the theocratic king by the words 'Thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel' (Ps 2^{9})! With what terrible distinctness the persecutor stands before our eyes when it is said 'lest he tear my soul like a lion' (7^{2} 10^{9} 17^{12})! The few words 'Zion is left as a cottage in a vineyard' (Is 1^{8}) describe the situation of besieged Jerusalem more clearly than could have been done in a series of sentences. With what a shuddering feeling we hear the words 'In that day they shall roar against them like the roaring of the sea' (5^{30})! We will only note, further, the characteristic words spoken of Ahaz, 'His heart was moved as the trees of the forest are moved with the wind' (7^{2}).—A special form of the Simile is the **Example.** For instance, when it is said 'We have sinned with our fathers . . . our fathers understood not thy wonders in Egypt,' etc. (Ps $106^{6f.}$), this is equivalent to 'We have sinned like our fathers,' etc. The *παράδειγμα* or *Exemplum* is merely a Simile introduced in a peculiar manner. The Example is rare in the OT, there being hardly any more instances of it than the following: Mal 2^{15} (Abraham), Ps 99^{6} (Moses, Aaron, and Samuel), $106^{30f.}$ (Phinehas), Neh 13^{26} (Solomon). Later generations had much more occasion to introduce characters from earlier history for the purpose of encouragement or of warning. The following are cited as examples for imitation: Abraham, Moses, and others in the 'Praise of Famous Men,' Sir 44 ff., in Jth 4^{22} $8^{19f.}$, or in 1 Mac 2^{52-60}; David as a pattern of self-restraint (cf. 2 S 23^{16}) in 4 Mac 3^{6-17}; the queen of the south (*i.e.* Saba) in Mt 12^{42}; the widow of Sarepta in Lk 4^{26} etc. We have, held up to warning: the Egyptians in Wis $17^{2ff.}$; the Sodomites in Mt 10^{15} $11^{23f.}$; Lot's wife, that *μνημεῖον ἀπιστούσης ψυχῆς* (Wis 10^{7}) in Lk 17^{32}; Theudas and others in Ac $5^{36f.}$ etc. The OT is somewhat richer in instances of the Example, if we include those that are drawn from the animal world. When, *e.g.*, we read 'The ox knoweth his owner,' etc. (Is 1^{3}), what is this but an example which puts man to shame? Similar is the force of the saying 'The stork in the heaven knoweth his appointed times,' etc. (Jer 8^{7}), and every one is familiar with the call 'Go to the ant, thou sluggard, consider her ways and be wise' (Pr 6^{6}). For further instances see *Stilistik*, p. 78 f.—Closely akin to the Example is the **Proverb.** For the function of the latter is simply to describe the usual working of an Example. It must, however, suffice here to note the high value of the Proverb as a device for lending vividness to a description. For further details, see art. PROVERB in vol. iv.—While, on the one hand, shortened forms of the Simile may be seen in the Example and the Proverb, this figure of speech assumes, on the other hand, expanded forms in the **Parable** and the **Fable,** as well as in those passages of the OT which may be called **Paramyths.** These three species of picturesque description are explained in the art. PARABLE (in OT) in vol. iii.

The second principal stylistic device for illustrative ends is the **Metaphor** and its cognates. The source of the metaphor is a vivid simultaneous contemplation of the main elements in two notions. For instance, the notions of joy and of light are naturally combined, because both exercise a liberative and elevating influence upon the health of man. On the other hand, unhappiness and darkness both weigh man down, as it were. Thus we explain sayings like the following: 'Thou wilt light my candle, the LORD my God will enlighten my darkness' (Ps 18^{28}). For the same reason, a sorrowful period in one's life is described as a passing 'through the valley of the shadow of death' (23^{4}). So we read 'The people that sat in darkness have seen a great light' (Is 9^{2}), *i.e.* they shall attain to political freedom and deliverance from guilt and sin. In a similar way ‘fire’ could be an expression for ‘anger,’ as may be seen in the words ‘therefore the inhabitants of the earth are burned’ (Is 24^{6}). The ‘dew’ was quite naturally used as a symbol for a great many phenomena of a cheerful order, so that there is no difficulty in understanding the expression in Ps 110^{3} ‘Thou hast the dew of thy youth’ (lit. ‘Like the dew are thy young men’). On the other hand, the ‘floods’ and similar expressions stand for hosts of foes (Ps $18^{4b.\,16b}$ etc.). The ‘earthquake’ may point an allusion to political disturbances, as in ‘Thou hast made the earth to tremble,’ etc. (Ps $60^{2f.}$). The ‘rock’ is an equally natural figure for a place of refuge (Ps 27^{5} ‘He shall set me up upon a rock’), as ‘depth’ is for catastrophe or misfortune (Ps 69^{2} ‘I am come into deep waters’; cf. v.^{14b}, and 130^{1} ‘Out of the depths have I cried unto thee’). Regarded from another point of view, the ‘deep’ was naturally employed as a symbol of the inexhaustible and unfathomable. Hence we read, ‘O the depth of the riches,’ etc. (Ro 11^{33}, cf. 2 Co 8^{2}), and for the same reason ‘deep’ in the sense of ‘mysterious’ is used of the heart (Ps 64^{6b}, Jth 8^{14}) or of the lip, *i.e.* the speech (Is 33^{19}, Ezk $3^{5f.}$). Thus ‘to be deep’ is equivalent to ‘to be unfathomable’ (Ps 92^{5} ‘and thy thoughts are very deep’), and a matter that is incomprehensible is compared to the great primeval flood (תְּהוֹם רַבָּה Ps 36^{6} ‘a great deep’).—The number of combinations of phenomena from the different spheres is almost endless. We can note only a few of them. ‘Shield’ is an expression for ‘protector’ (Gn 15^{1} etc.), and ‘star’ is a beautiful figure for a conquering hero (Nu 24^{17} ‘There shall come a star out of Jacob’; cf. Is 14^{12}, Dn 8^{10}, Rev 22^{16}, and Ovid, *Epist. ex Ponto*, III. iii. 2, ‘O sidus Fabiæ, Maxime, gentis’). ‘The waters,’ again, stands for hostile troops (Ps 124^{5}, Is 8^{7}, Rev 17^{1} etc.), and ‘branch’ for ‘descendant’ (Ps 80^{11b}, Is 11^{1} 60^{21} etc.).—From the sphere of animated nature we have ‘lion’ as a honorific title for a strong hero (Gn 49^{9} ‘Judah is a lion’s whelp,’ cf. 2 S 23^{20} etc.); and ‘goats’ might be symbolic either of leaders of the people (Is 14^{9}, where the Heb. is כָּל־עַתּוּדֵי אָרֶץ ‘all the goats of the earth’; cf. Zec 10^{3}), or of refractory elements in the community (Ezk 34^{17}); while ‘sheep’ was an honourable designation for gentle and pious men (Ps 79^{13} 100^{3}, Is 53^{7}, Ezk 36^{38}, Mt $25^{32f.}$, Jn 10^{1} etc.). The expression ‘on eagles’ wings’ (Ex 19^{4}) portrays the triumphant fashion of the Divine intervention in the course of history (cf. Dt 32^{11}, Ps 17^{8b}).—Lastly, certain objects in the inanimate sphere were often regarded as if they had life, and even as if they were human beings. Thus the blood has a voice attributed to it in the words ‘The voice of thy brother’s blood crieth unto me from the ground’ (Gn 4^{10}); and when the prophet says, ‘Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth’ (Is 1^{2}), this only falls short of *personification*. The same figure may be observed in the call to ships to howl (Is 23^{1}); and in the passages where it is said that ‘the stone shall cry out of the wall’ (Hab 2^{11}), or that ‘if these should hold their peace, the stones would immediately cry out’ (Lk 19^{40}), how vividly the scene presents itself to our eyes! Since metaphorical expressions portray, as it were, to our eyes a spiritual process, they readily combine to form whole pictures. We have an instance of this in ‘The whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint; from the sole of the foot even unto the head,’ etc. (Is $1^{5f.}$); and another in ‘There shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a branch shall grow out of his roots’ (11^{1}). A continued series of metaphorical expressions of this kind receives the name of **Allegory.** This figure meets us *in* the Song of Songs, as, for instance, in the words ‘I sat down under his (*i.e.* my beloved’s) shadow with great delight, and his fruit was sweet to my taste’ (2^{3}), or in ‘A garden enclosed is my sister,’ etc. ($4^{12ff.}$, cf. $7^{7f.}$), but it is not the case that the *whole* Song is an allegorical poem regarding the Messiah and His Church (cf. further, *Stilistik*, pp. 94–110, and art. SONG OF SONGS in vol. iv.).

2. The Biblical writers naturally desire to give their words the highest possible degree of *emphasis*. It is this aim that gives rise to not a few characteristic features of the style of Scripture.—(*a*) The employment of a *prospective pronoun*, as in ‘This is that night of the LORD to be observed,’ etc. (Ex 12^{42}); ‘I shall see him, but not now,’ etc. (Nu 24^{17}), the effect in this last instance being to awaken strongly the interest in the star which is then mentioned. So also ‘Thou shalt not go thither unto the land which I give,’ etc. (Dt 32^{52}); ‘the Most High himself’ (Ps 87^{5}); ‘to this man will I look, even to him that is poor,’ etc. (Is 66^{2}; cf. *Stilistik*, p. 153 f.).—(*b*) Emphasis is sought, again, by the repetition of one and the same expression, giving birth to the so-called **Epizeuxis.** The list of its occurrences begins with ‘Abraham, Abraham’ (Gn 22^{11}), and is continued in the following: ‘the red, the red’ (25^{30} AV ‘that same red pottage’); ‘Jacob, Jacob’ (46^{2}); ‘Amen, Amen’ (Nu 5^{22}, Ps 41^{14} 72^{19} 89^{53}, Neh 8^{6}); ‘of justice, justice’ (Dt 16^{20} AV ‘altogether just’); ‘Come out, come out’ (2 S 16^{7}); ‘My God, my God’ (Ps 22^{1}); ‘Return, return’ (Ca 6^{13}); ‘peace, peace’ (Is 26^{3}, where AV has ‘perfect peace,’ although it retains ‘peace, peace’ in 57^{19}, Jer 6^{14} 8^{11}); ‘Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people’ (Is 40^{1}); ‘Ho, ho’ (Zec 2^{6} etc.; cf. *Stilistik*, p. 155 f.). A specially high degree of emphasis was naturally expressed by the thrice-repeated employment of a word. This is seen in ‘Holy, holy, holy is the LORD of Hosts’ (Is 6^{3}); or ‘The temple of the LORD, the temple of the LORD, the temple of the LORD’ (Jer 7^{4}); or ‘O earth, earth, earth’ (22^{29}); or ‘I will overturn, overturn, overturn it’ (Ezk 21^{27}); or ‘The LORD revengeth,’ etc. (Nah 1^{2}). The same *emphatic repetition* occurs also with the conjunctions, as when the words ‘We will arise and go and live and not die’ (Gn 43^{8}) furnish us with a speaking picture of anxious impatience. Again, the double use of the conditional particle in ‘*If* ye have done truly . . . and *if* ye have dealt well with Jerubbaal’ (Jg 9^{16}) serves very well as a reminder that the point was open to question. Once more, to indicate how well deserved a punishment was, we have a repeated ‘because, because’ (Ps $116^{1f.}$); or ‘for, for’ (Is $1^{29f.}$); or ‘therefore, therefore’ ($5^{13a.\,14a}$); or ‘for, for’ (Jer 48^{5ab} etc.; cf. *Stilistik*, p. 159).—Emphasis is also aimed at in such words as ‘Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father’s house’ (Gn 12^{1}), where a series of words is so arranged as to designate an ever-narrowing circle of persons. Abraham must separate himself from even the most intimate circle of his relations (cf. Jos 24^{2}), in order to follow the Divine call. Such a form of expression is known as a **Climax**, and examples of it meet us frequently in the Bible. Here are a few: ‘His bread shall be *fat*, and he shall yield *royal* dainties’ (Gn 49^{20}); ‘The children of Israel have not hearkened unto me, how then shall Pharaoh hear me?’ (Ex 6^{12}); ‘the day . . . and the night’ (Job 3^{3}); ‘ungodly . . . sinners . . . scornful’ (Ps 1^{1}); ‘my friend or brother’ (35^{14}); ‘Forget thy own people and (even) thy father’s house’ (45^{10}); ‘in the twilight, in the evening, in the black night’ (Pr 7^{9}); ‘Are they Hebrews . . . Israelites . . . seed of Abraham . . . ministers of Christ?’ (2 Co $11^{22f.}$); ‘which we have heard, which we have seen, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled,’ etc. (1 Jn 1^{1}). Speci-

ally common is the Climax in connexion with the use of numbers: *e.g.* 'He will deliver thee in *six* troubles, yea in *seven* there shall no evil touch thee' (Job 5^{19}); 'God hath spoken once, twice have I heard this' (Ps 62^{11}); 'Give a portion to seven, and also to eight' (Ec 11^{2}); 'two or three . . . four or five' (Is 17^{6}); 'for three transgressions and for four,' etc. (Am $1^{3.\ 6.\ 9.\ 11.\ 13}$ $2^{1.\ 4.\ 6}$); 'Of three things my heart is afraid, and before the fourth I fear greatly' (Sir 26^{5}); 'Where two or three are gathered in my name,' etc. (Mt 18^{20}; cf. *Stilistik*, p. 163 f.). Quite similar is the phenomenon which presents itself in such expressions as, 'They go *from strength to strength*' (Ps 84^{7}); 'affording from species to species' (Ps 144^{13} AV 'all manner of store'); 'from wickedness to wickedness' (Sir 13^{21} 40^{13}), *i.e.* to ever new forms of wickedness; 'Add iniquity to their iniquity' (Ps 69^{27}); 'The sinner heaps sin upon sin' (Sir 3^{27} 5^{5}); 'A chaste woman shows grace upon grace' (26^{15}; cf. Jn 1^{16} 'grace for grace,' *i.e.* ever self-renewing grace).

3. In conformity with the nature of their subjects, the Biblical writers seek to invest their language with a high degree of *seriousness* and *dignity*. Both these qualities appear to be prejudiced by certain peculiar forms of expression. The first of these is the **Hyperbole**, a figure which is undoubtedly employed in the Bible. What is it but Hyperbole when the posterity of Abraham is compared to the sand upon the seashore (Gn 22^{17} etc.)? Even a theologian like Flacius admits this (*Clavis Script. Sacr.* 1628, ii. p. 383 ff.). But we must also assign to the same category forms of expression like the following: 'under *every* green tree' (from Dt 12^{2} to 2 Ch 28^{4}); 'The cities are great and walled *up to heaven*' (Dt 1^{28} etc.); 'though thou set thy nest *among the stars*' (Ob ^{4} etc.); 'Saul and Jonathan were swifter *than eagles*' (2 S 1^{23} etc.); 'I am a *worm*,' etc. (Ps 22^{6}; cf. *Stilistik*, pp. 69–77). But the employment of such expressions does not detract from the seriousness, not to speak of the truthfulness, of the style of Scripture. The Biblical writers simply conformed in this matter to the usage of their people and their time, and every hearer or reader of such expressions knew in what sense he must understand them. Nor will it be questioned that the same is the case with the examples of **Litotes** that occur in the Bible. Such are the following: 'A broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt *not despise*' (Ps 51^{17}), *i.e.* wilt accept and praise; 'The smoking flax shall he *not quench*' (Is 42^{3}), but supply with fresh oil; 'He setteth in a way that is *not good*' (Ps 36^{4}); 'Thou, Bethlehem, art *not the least*,' etc. (Mt 2^{6}); 'when we were *without strength*' (Ro 5^{6}), *i.e.* laden with sin and guilt. It is true also of these and other expressions of a similar kind (cf. *Stilistik*, pp. 45–50), that they were not strange to readers of the Biblical writings, but were a well-understood equivalent for the positive statement in each case. The same principle holds good of the examples of **Irony** in the Bible. For instance, we have 'Go and prosper,' etc. (1 K 22^{15}), an ironical imitation of the words of the false prophets; 'No doubt but ye are the people, and wisdom shall die with you' (Job 12^{2}); 'It pleased God by the *foolishness* of preaching to save them that believe' (1 Co 1^{21}); 'Now ye are full, now ye are rich,' etc. (4^{8}, cf. 2 Co 12^{10} 11^{19} 12^{13}). The Biblical writers were not afraid of prejudicing the seriousness of their utterances by resorting to Irony, nor had they any occasion to be afraid, seeing that every one knew to convert these ironical expressions into their opposite. Hence we find this figure employed even in utterances attributed to God: 'Let them (the false gods) rise up and help you' (Dt 32^{38}); 'Go and cry to the gods whom ye have chosen, let them deliver you' (Jg 10^{14}); 'and give me to know' (Job 38^{3b} AV 'answer thou me'); 'Gather my saints together unto me' (Ps 50^{5}). Nay, even sayings of Jesus are reported which exhibit the use of Irony. Amongst these we do not include *καθεύδετε τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ ἀναπαύεσθε*, AV and RV 'Sleep on now and take your rest' (Mt 26^{45} ‖ Mk 14^{41}), for *τὸ λοιπόν* means 'later,' 'afterwards.'* But Irony is present (cf. *Stilistik*, p. 43) in the words 'Full well ye reject the commandment of God, that ye may keep your tradition' (Mk 7^{9}). There are other undoubted occurrences of the same figure, as, for instance, in Jn 7^{28} 'Ye both know me, and ye know whence I am.' To the Biblical writers Irony was simply what it is to human speech in general—a means of heightening the effect of an utterance. A similar intention underlies the occurrence of **Sarcasm** in Scripture. There is a scoff in David's question to Abner, 'Art thou not a valiant man?' (1 S 26^{15}), as well as in the exclamation 'How hast thou helped him that is without power!' (Job 26^{2}), or the statement 'As a jewel of gold in a swine's snout, so is a fair woman which is without discretion' (Pr. 11^{22}). Then there are the numerous familiar passages in which the gods of the heathen are the object of *satirical* persiflage: 'Elijah mocked them and said, Cry aloud, for he is a god, either he is talking,' etc. (1 K 18^{27}; cf. Ps $115^{4\mathrm{ff.}}$, Is 40^{19} etc.). We have similar instances of satire in the question 'Is this the city that men called the perfection of beauty, the joy of the whole earth?' (La 2^{15}); in the affirmation 'They that be whole need not a physician' (Mt 9^{12}); and in the indignant substitution of 'concision' (*κατατομή*) for 'circumcision' (*περιτομή*) in Ph 3^{2} (cf. *Stilistik*, pp. 42–45). The Biblical writers, in short, avail themselves of all natural means of reaching their end, to teach and to warn men. In this respect as in others their heart was filled with the wish expressed by the apostle in the words 'I desire to change my voice' (Gal. 4^{20}).

4. The writers of Scripture sought to give to their words that ennobling effect which springs from regard to *purity* or chastity. Of this we find a considerable number of positive traces in the so-called **Euphemisms** such as the following: 'Adam *knew* Eve his wife' (Gn $4^{1.\ 25}$; cf. v.^{17} $19^{5.\ 8}$ 24^{16} 38^{26b}, Nu $31^{17\mathrm{f}.\ 35}$, Jg 11^{39} 19^{25} $21^{11\mathrm{f.}}$, 1 S 1^{19}, 1 K 1^{4}, Mt 1^{25}, Lk 1^{34}); 'The sons of God *came in* unto the daughters of men' (Gn 6^{4}; cf. 16^{2} 19^{31} 29^{23} $30^{6.\ 16}$ $38^{2.\ 8\mathrm{f.}}$ etc., Ps 51^{2b} etc.); '*come near* her' (Gn 20^{4}, Lv 18^{14}, Dt 22^{14}, Is 8^{3}, Ezk 18^{6}); 'to *touch* her' (Gn 20^{6}, Pr 6^{29}, 1 Co 7^{1}); '*lie with*' (Gn 19^{32} 26^{10} $30^{15\mathrm{f.}}$ $34^{2.\ 7}$ 35^{22} etc.); 'Thou *wentest up to thy father's bed*' (49^{4}); '*discover his father's skirt*' (Dt 22^{30} 27^{20}); 'she *eateth*,' said of the adulteress (Pr 30^{20}; cf. *Stilistik*, p. 39); 'Let the husband render unto the wife *due benevolence*' (1 Co 7^{3}). Another series is represented by euphemistic expressions like the following: 'the *nakedness*' (Gn $9^{22\mathrm{f.}}$, Ex 20^{26} 28^{42}, Lv $18^{6\mathrm{ff.}}$ $20^{11\mathrm{ff.}}$, 1 S 20^{30}, Is 47^{3}, La 1^{8}, Ezk $16^{36\mathrm{f.}}$ 22^{10} 23^{10}); 'her young one that cometh out from between her *feet*' (Dt 28^{57}); 'he *covereth his feet*' (Jg 3^{24}, 1 S 24^{3}, cf. Is 7^{20}); '*flesh*' (Lv $15^{2\mathrm{f}.\ 19}$ 16^{4}, Ezk 16^{26} 23^{20} 44^{7} etc.; cf. *Stilistik*, pp. 36–38).—There are only a few passages where it appears to us that the Biblical writers might have shown a little more reserve in dealing with 'the secrets' (Dt 25^{11}). We have no exception to take to those instances in which 'shame' is employed (Is 20^{4} 47^{3}), for this is still a veiled epithet. But the impression of a want of delicacy is given by modes of speech like the following: 'He lifteth up the beggar from the dunghill,' etc. (1 S 2^{8}); 'I did cast them out as the dirt in the streets' (Ps 18^{42}); 'Thou didst make us as the off-

---

* The present writer in his *Stilistik* (p. 43) anticipated Professor Potwin (see *Expos. Times*, Aug. 1901, p. 481), who rightly denies the presence of Irony in the above passage.

scouring,' etc. (La 3^{45}, 1 Co 4^{13}); 'Dost thou pursue after a dead dog, after a flea?' (1 S 24^{14}); 'Am I a dog's head?' (2 S 3^{8}); 'a dead dog' (9^{8} 17^{9}); 'The carcass of Jezebel shall be as dung upon the face of the earth' (2 K 9^{37}); 'They made it a draught-house' (10^{27}); 'that they may eat their own dung,' etc. (18^{27} ∥ Is 36^{12}); 'They became as dung for the earth' (Ps 83^{11}). Two facts, however, have to be taken into account with reference to such modes of expression. In the first place, they are in accordance with the fashion of earlier times, and were not so repugnant to men then as they are to us. But, further, the choice of such strong expressions served in some of the passages in question to increase the emphasis of the prophetic denunciation. This latter point of view helps us also to explain and to excuse certain passages in Ezekiel, notably $16^{3ff.}$ and $23^{3ff.}$. We may assume that in these passages the idolatry of Israel is described in such detail as adultery, in order to deter subsequent generations from a repetition of this sin. At the same time, it must be admitted that the prophet could equally have achieved his purpose by a different method of treatment. In like manner, the description of the 'navel' and the 'belly' of the Shulammite (Ca $7^{2ff.}$) is somewhat too realistic.

5. The Biblical writers are by no means indifferent to *euphony* in their style.

(*a*) The very first words of the OT furnish evidence of this, the Heb. words *bĕrēshîth bārā* ('In the beginning created') being an instance of the first means of securing euphony, namely **Alliteration.** Other instances of it are found in *Nôaḥ yĕnaḥămēnû* 'Noah shall comfort us' (Gn 5^{29}); *shemen shĕmekha* 'ointment thy name' (Ca 1^{3}); *'āphār wā-'ēpher* 'dust and ashes' (Gn 18^{27}, Job 30^{19} 42^{6}); *yishshōm wĕ-shāraḳ* 'shall be astonished and shall hiss' (1 K 9^{8}, Jer 19^{8} 49^{17} 50^{13}); *simḥā wĕ-sāsôn* 'joy and gladness' (Est $8^{16f.}$); *hôd wĕ-hādār* 'honour and majesty' (Job 40^{10}, Ps 21^{5} 96^{6} ∥ 1 Ch 16^{27}, Ps 104^{1} 111^{3}); *shāmîr wā-shayith* 'briers and thorns' (Is 5^{6} 7^{23-25} 9^{18} 10^{17} 27^{4}); *sāsôn wĕ-simḥā* 'gladness and joy' (Is 22^{13} 35^{10} 51^{11}); *shôd wā-sheber* 'desolation and destruction' (Is 51^{19} 59^{7} 60^{18}); *shommu shāmayim* 'Be astonished, O heavens' (Jer 2^{12}); *ḳôẓîm ḳāẓĕrû* 'shall reap thorns' (12^{13}); *sar(r)êhem sôrĕrîm* 'their princes are revolters' (Hos 9^{15}), etc. etc.; *σήμερον σωτήρ* 'this day a Saviour' (Lk 2^{11}).

(*b*) In other passages we meet with expressions like *tōhû wā-bōhû* 'waste and void' (Gn 1^{2}, Jer 4^{23}). These words exhibit what is called **Assonance,** a phenomenon which recurs in *sôrēr u-môre* 'stubborn and rebellious' (Dt 21^{18} etc.); *'ôyēb wĕ-'ôrēb* 'the enemy and the lier in wait' (Ezr 8^{31}); *nĕsûy* ∥ *kĕsûy* 'forgiven' ∥ 'covered' (Ps 32^{1}); *zādôn* ∥ *ḳālôn* 'pride' ∥ 'shame' (Pr 11^{2}); *hôy gôy* 'Ah nation' (Is 1^{4}); *kî* ∥ *yōphî* 'burning' ∥ 'beauty' (3^{24}); *hôy hôdô* 'Ah his glory' (Jer 22^{18}); *σχῖνος* 'mastic' and *πρῖνος* 'holm' (Sus $^{54.58}$); *κτηνῶν* 'beasts' and *πτηνῶν* 'birds' (1 Co 15^{39}). In a good many instances Alliteration and Assonance are combined: *nā' wā-nād* 'a fugitive and a vagabond' (Gn $4^{12.14}$); *Ḳayin* 'Cain' and *ḳānîthî* 'I have gotten' (Gn 4^{1}); *Ḳênî* 'Kenites' and *ḳēn* 'nest' (Nu 24^{21}); 'Achan' and 'Achor' (Jos 7^{24}); the frequently recurring 'Cherethites and Pelethites' (2 S 8^{18} 15^{18} 20^{7}, 1 K $1^{38.44}$, 1 Ch 18^{17}); *'attā 'attā* 'thou, now' (1 K 21^{7}); *'ăniyyā* ('poor') *'Anāthôth* (Is 10^{30}); 'Jezreel' and 'Israel' (Hos 1^{4}), etc.; *πορνεία* 'fornication' and *πονηρία* 'wickedness' (Ro 1^{29}); *φθόνου* 'envy' and *φόνου* 'murder' (*ib.*), etc.; cf. *Stilistik*, pp. 287–295.

(*c*) The superlative degree of this harmony of elements in style is observable in such collocations as the following: *wayyakkîrēm wayyithnakkēr* 'and he knew them, and made himself strange' (Gn 42^{7ab}); *wa-hăshimmōthî . . . wĕ-shāmĕmû* 'and I will bring into desolation . . . and they shall be astonished' (Lv 26^{32}); *shō'ā u-mĕshō'ā* 'desolate and waste' (Job 30^{3} 38^{27}, Zeph 1^{15}, Sir 51^{10c}); *'îm lō ta'ămînû kî lō tē'āmēnû* 'if ye will not believe, surely ye shall not be established' (Is 7^{9}); *mûsād mus(s)ād* 'of founded foundation' (28^{16}). Many other instances might be cited of this species of Euphony, which is usually called **Paronomasia** or **Annominatio.** The number is particularly increased by the very frequent explanations of Proper Names, which form a noteworthy feature in the style of the Hebrew historical books. In Genesis we have the following combinations: *'ădāmā* 'tillable land' and *'ādām* 'man (Adam)' (Gn 2^{7}); *'ishshā* 'woman' and *'îsh* 'man' (v.^{23}); *shêth* 'Seth' and *shâth* 'hath appointed' (4^{25}); *yapht* 'shall enlarge' and *Yāphĕth* 'Japheth' (9^{27}), etc.; cf. *Stilistik*, p. 296. Elsewhere in the OT we have the following examples of Paronomasia: *Môshe* 'Moses' and *māshîthî* 'I drew' (Ex 2^{10}); *Lēwî* 'Levi' and *yillāwû* 'they may be joined' (Nu 18^{2}); *Mārā* and *hēmar* 'hath dealt bitterly' (Ru 1^{20}); *'Edom* and *'ādôm* 'red' (Is $63^{1f.}$); *Jerusalem* and *shĕlômîm* 'wholly' (Jer 13^{19}); *Solomon* and *shālôm* 'peace' (1 Ch 22^{9}); Πέτρος and *πέτρα* (Mt 16^{18}), etc.; cf. *Stilistik*, pp. 295–298.

(*d*) Euphony is aimed at also by making the same words recur at certain intervals. The various *nuances* that thus arise may be illustrated from the following groups of examples: (*α*) *bārûkh* 'blessed' occurs at the *beginning* of a number of sentences in Dt 28^{3-6}. This usage is called **Anaphora,** and we note it also, for instance, in the *'ārûr* 'cursed' with which vv.$^{16-19}$ commence; cf. also 'I will sing . . . I will sing' (Jg 5^{3}); 'Many . . . many' (Ps $3^{1b.2a}$); 'Lift up your heads, O ye gates . . . lift them up' (24^{9ab}); 'and it was full . . . and it was full' (Is $2^{7ab.8a}$); 'Woe . . . woe,' etc. ($5^{8.11.18.20-22}$); 'and I will cut off . . . and I will cut off,' etc. (Mic $5^{11a.12a.13a}$); 'All things are lawful for me, but, etc. . . . all things are lawful for me, but,' etc. (1 Co 6^{12}); 'Have we not power . . . have we not power?' ($9^{4f.}$); 'All our fathers . . . and all . . . and all . . . and all' (10^{1b-4}), etc.—(*β*) In 'We perish, we all perish' (Nu 17^{12}), we find the same expression repeated at the *end* of two successive sentences—a method of securing Euphony which is called **Epiphora.** We encounter it again in the eleven times recurring 'and all the people shall say Amen' of Dt 27^{16-26}; cf. 'Take them alive . . . take them alive' (1 K 20^{18ab}); and we find at the end of sentences repetitions like the following: 'the king of glory' (Ps 24^{10ab}); 'shall be bowed down' (Is $2^{11.17}$); 'when he raiseth up,' etc. (vv.$^{19b.21b}$); 'shall lament her' (Ezk 32^{16ab}); 'as a child' (1 Co 13^{11}); 'so am I' at the close of three sentences (2 Co 11^{22}); 'in watchings often . . . in fastings often' (v.^{27}), etc.—(*γ*) A superior degree of Euphony is sought by *beginning* one sentence and *closing* another with the same expression. This so-called **Ploke** is exemplified in 'Ceased . . . in Israel . . . they ceased' (Jg 5^{7}); 'Blessed shall be . . . she shall be blessed' (v.^{24ab}); 'He lieth . . . he lieth' (Ps 10^{9}); 'Wait on the LORD . . . wait' (27^{14ab}), etc.; 'Vanity . . . vanity' (Ec 1^{2}); 'Hope that is seen is not hope' (Ro 8^{24}); 'Rejoice in the LORD . . . rejoice' (Ph 4^{4}), etc.—(*δ*) Specially frequent is the attempt to secure Euphony by making the same word *end* one sentence and *begin* the next—the so-called **Anadiplosis.** The earliest example of it in the Bible is *shôphēkh dam hā'ādām bā'ādām dāmô yishshāphēkh* 'Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed' (Gn 9^{6}); 'The kings came and fought, then fought,' etc. (Jg 5^{19}); '. . . the way, but the way,' etc. (Ps 1^{6ab}); 'and gathered themselves together, yea . . . gathered themselves together' (35^{15ab}); *lābēsh* ('is clothed'), *lābash* (Ps 93^{1}); ***lākhēn yĕyêlîl Mô'āb lĕ-Mô'āb kulloh*** *yĕyêlîl* 'therefore shall Moab howl, for Moab shall every one howl' (Is 16^{7}); *ha-ḳêẓ bâ, bâ ha-ḳêẓ* 'the end is come, it is come the end' (Ezk 7^{6}), etc.; 'That which the palmerworm hath left hath the locust eaten, and that which the locust hath left hath the cankerworm eaten,' etc. (Jl 1^{4}) etc.; 'In him was life, and the life,' etc. (Jn $1^{4\text{f.}}$); 'Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of Christ' (Ro 10^{17}); 'He that soweth sparingly, sparingly shall he also reap' (2 Co 9^{6}); 'The trying of your faith worketh patience, but let patience,' etc. (Ja 1^{3}) etc.; cf. *Stilistik*, pp. 298–304.

iv. PECULIARITIES OF STYLE FOR WHICH A PREFERENCE IS SHOWN BY *PARTICULAR* CLASSES OF SCRIPTURE WRITERS.—1. In certain parts of the Bible the so-called 'lower' style is employed, while others are marked by the use of a 'higher' style. The difference may be observed even by readers of the Bible who have no acquaintance with Hebrew. They will note how in certain portions of the OT the employment of metaphorical expressions has a special vogue. Every one is familiar with the phrase 'daughter of Zion,' *i.e.* the inhabitants of Zion, and at times = Zion itself. But where do we meet with this phrase for the first time in the OT? From the beginning of Genesis we may read straight on to 2 K 19^{21} before we encounter it, and the passage just named is the only one in the historical books of the OT where it occurs. How has it found its way here? Simply because in this passage we have a report of words spoken by Isaiah (cf. Is 37^{22}), in whose writings this and similar phrases are found repeatedly (1^{8} $10^{30.\,32}$ 16^{1} 22^{4} $23^{10.\,12}$ 37^{22}; cf. [Deutero-] Is $47^{1\,\textit{bis.}\,5}$ 52^{2} 62^{1}). The reader of the English Bible may, further, remark how, for instance, in the Book of Isaiah, the beautiful metaphors of darkness and light are employed ($5^{30\text{b}}$ 8^{22} $9^{1\text{f.}}$ etc.), and how at one time the hosts of the enemy and at another time the Divine judgments figure in the oracles of this prophet as irresistible floods ($8^{7\text{f.}}$ 28^{17} etc.). Any ordinary reader of the Bible will notice, again, how in Isaiah there are far more questions and exclamations than in the Book of Kings. For instance, 'How is the faithful city become an harlot!' (1^{21}); 'Woe unto the wicked!' (3^{11}); 'O my people!' (v.^{12}); 'Woe unto them!' etc. ($5^{8\text{ff.}}$); 'Woe is me!' etc. (6^{5}); 'Bind up the testimony!' (8^{16}); 'Shall the axe?' etc. (10^{15}); 'This people was not!' (23^{13}). Nor can the reader of this book help noticing the dialogues and monologues it contains. How lifelike, for instance, are the words 'The voice said, Cry, and he (the person formerly addressed) said, What shall I cry?' followed by the answer of the first speaker, 'All flesh is grass,' etc. (40^{6}). The same quality excites our admiration in 'Can a woman forget her sucking child?' etc.; 'Yea, they may forget . . . Behold, I have,' etc. ($49^{15\text{f.}}$); or in the question 'Wherefore have we fasted,' etc. (58^{3}), etc.; cf. *Stilistik*, pp. 229–231. But the reader of the original text of the OT will recognize much more clearly still that certain portions and even whole books are distinguished from others by a *higher style*. He will observe that many components of the Hebrew vocabulary are used only in certain passages. For instance, there is no occurrence in Gn 1–4^{22} of *he'ĕzîn* 'give ear,' a synonym of *shāmaʿ* 'hear' which is used in $3^{8.\,10\text{f.}}$. On the other hand, *he'ĕzîn*, which is translated 'hearken' in 4^{23}, recurs in the following additional passages: Ex 15^{16}, Nu 23^{18} (one of the Balaam oracles), Dt 1^{45} 32^{1}, Jg 5^{3}, 2 Ch 24^{10} (perhaps an imitation of Is 64^{3}), Neh 9^{30} (in a prayer), Job 9^{16} etc., Ps 5^{2} etc., Pr 17^{4}, Is $1^{2.\,10}$ 8^{9} 28^{23} 32^{9} 48^{23} 51^{4} 64^{3}, Jer 13^{15}, Hos 5^{1}, Jl 1^{2}. The same is the case with the word *'imrā* 'speech,' which likewise does not occur prior to Gn 4^{23}, and after that is preferred to its synonym *dābār* only in the following passages: Dt 32^{2} 33^{9}, 2 S 22^{31}, Ps 12^{7} etc., Pr 30^{5}, Is 5^{24} 28^{23} 29^{4} 32^{9}, La 2^{17}. Consequently, the choice of these two words suffices to bring Gn 4^{23} into connexion with other portions of the OT where the same comparatively rare terms occur (cf. *Stilistik*, pp. 277–283). To take other two illustrations of a similar kind, the dative 'to them' is expressed by the usual *lāhém* in Gn 3^{21} etc., but by *lāmô* in the following passages: Gn $9^{26\text{b}.\,27\text{b}}$, Dt $32^{32.\,35}$ 33^{2}, Job 3^{14} etc. (10 times), Ps 2^{4} etc. (21 times), Pr 23^{20}, Is 16^{4} 23^{1} $26^{14.\,16}$ 30^{5} 35^{8} 43^{8} $44^{7.\,15}$ 48^{21} 53^{8}(?), La $1^{19.\,22}$ $4^{10.\,15}$, Hab. 2^{7}. Again, 'man' is expressed by *'ādām* from Gn 1^{26} onwards, but *'ĕnôsh* is the term selected in the Song of Moses (Dt 32^{26}) as well as in Job 4^{17} etc. (18 times), Ps 8^{5} etc. (12 times), Is 8^{1} $13^{7.\,12}$ 24^{6} 33^{8} $51^{7.\,12}$ 56^{2}, Jer 20^{10}, 2 Ch 14^{10}; cf. the Aram. *'ĕnāsh* in Ezr 4^{11} 6^{11}, Dn 2^{10} etc.

2. The portions of the OT which are characterized by the 'higher' style embrace the two categories of *addresses* and *poems*. This may be noted clearly enough, we think, by comparing the Book of Isaiah and the Psalms with one another. For instance, Is $1^{2\text{f.}}$ reads—

> 'I have nourished and brought up children,
>   and they have rebelled against me.
> The ox knoweth his owner,
>   and the ass his master's crib:
>   but Israel doth not know,
>   my people doth not consider.'

Here we find that peculiar construction of clauses to which, so far as the present writer is aware, the name 'parallelismus membrorum' was first given by Robert Lowth in the Fourteenth of his famous *Prælectiones de poesi Hebræorum* (Oxonii, 1753). But this ideal rhythm (explained psychologically and comparatively in *Stilistik*, pp. 307–311) is not met with everywhere in Isaiah. For instance, when we read 'When ye come to appear before me, who hath required this at your hand to tread my courts?' etc. ($1^{12\text{-}14}$), it would be precarious here to attribute to the author an aim at *parallelismus membrorum*. As little can any such intention be detected in sentences like 'In that day a man shall cast his idols of silver and his idols of gold, which they made each one for himself to worship, to the moles and to the bats' (2^{20}). Such instances occur frequently in the prophetical books; and if these contain also sentences which exhibit the *parallelismus membrorum*, it must be remembered that the higher form of prose, as employed especially by good speakers, was not without a certain kind of rhythm. This is pointed out by no less an authority than Cicero in the words 'Isocrates primus intellexit etiam in soluta oratione, dum versum effugeres, modum tamen et numerum quendam oportere servari' (*Brutus*, viii. 32); and we find a confirmation of his statement when we examine the opening words of his own First Oration against Catiline: 'Quousque, tandem, abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra? Quamdiu etiam furor iste tuus nos eludet? Quem ad finem sese effrenata iactabit audacia?' The word *nābî'*, indeed, means literally 'speaker' (cf. the present writer's *Offenbarungsbegriff des AT*, i. 71–78), and prophecies as such could be co-ordinated with the productions of poets only if *all* prophetical utterances bore upon them the characteristic marks of poetical compositions. But no one would venture to assert this, for instance, of Zec 1–8 or of the Books of Haggai and Malachi. The last-named portions of the OT lack even those elements of the higher diction described above, (1). Further, the author of Ps 74^{9} did not count himself a prophet, for he says expressly of the age in which he lived, 'There is no more any prophet' (see, further, *Stilistik*, p. 318 f.).

A characteristic feature of the OT prophecies is that they begin with a Divine utterance, which they then go on to develop. For instance, the Book of Isaiah contains at the outset God's declaration 'I have nourished and brought up children,' etc. (vv.$^{2b. 3}$), which the prophet as God's interpreter (30^{2a}) then illustrates in detail. Note the words '*They* have forsaken *the LORD*,' etc. (1^{4b}), and 'Unless the *LORD of Hosts* had left *us*,' etc. (v.^{9}). Many similar instances will be found in *Stilistik*, p. 255 f. Another peculiarity of the style of the Prophets is that many of them commence with censure, then speak of the punishment of the impenitent, and close with the announcement of deliverance for the godly. This order is found, for instance, in Am 7^{1}–9^{15} [on 9^{8-15} see Driver, *Joel and Amos*, pp. 119-123], Hos 1^{2}–2^{3}, Is 1^{2}–2^{4} 2^{5}–4^{6}, Mic $4^{9f. 11-13}$ $5^{1f.}$ etc.

The true relation of the Prophets of Israel to poetry consists, in the opinion of the present writer, in the circumstance that here and there they intersperse their addresses with poetical compositions. Thus in Is 5^{1-6} we have a 'song' about the vineyard of Jahweh, and specially frequent are passages which reproduce the rhythm of the lament for the dead (the *ḳînā*). This rhythm, which resembles the elegiac measure of the Romans, is heard in such passages as Am 5^{2}—

'The virgin of Israel is fallen,
she shall no more rise,
She is forsaken upon her land,
there is none to raise her.'

The same rhythm is found also in the Prayer of Hezekiah in Is 38^{10-20}. Another 'elegy' occurs in Jer 9^{11}—

'And I will make Jerusalem heaps,
and a den of dragons,
And I will make the cities of Judah desolate,
without an inhabitant.'

And such 'elegies' recur in v.^{21}, Ezk $19^{2. 14}$ 26^{17} ('How art thou destroyed,' etc.) $27^{3ff. 32}$ $28^{12ff.}$ $32^{2ff. 16. 19ff.}$. See, further, art. POETRY, vol. iv. p. 5.

3. The structure of the other poetical parts of the OT (cf. מַעֲשַׂי 'my works,' *κατ' ἐξ.* Ps 45^{1}) is not easy to determine. But certain conclusions may be affirmed with confidence, and the first of these is that the rhythm of ancient Hebrew poetry does *not* consist in the alternation of short and long syllables. W. Jones held, indeed (*Poeseos Asiaticæ Commentarii*, London, 1774, cap. ii.), that the poems of the OT exhibit a regular succession of syllables of different quantity, such as we find in Arabic poems. But he was able to prove his point only by altering the punctuation and by allowing the Hebrew poets great freedom in the matter of prosody. The conclusion on this subject reached by the present writer in *Stilistik* (p. 341) is maintained also by Sievers (§ 58): 'Hebrew metre is not quantitative in the same sense as the classical.' Hence it is now admitted in all the more recent literature on Hebrew poetry, that the rhythm of the latter is based upon the alternation of unaccented and accented syllables. Still there are various *nuances* to be observed in the views held by those who have investigated this subject. G. Bickell (*Metrices Biblicæ Regulæ*, etc., 1879, etc.) holds that 'the metrical accent falls regularly upon every second syllable.' But, in order to make this law apply to the Psalms, he has either removed or added some 2600 vowel syllables and proposed some 3811 changes, as is pointed out by J. Ecker in his brochure, 'Professor G. Bickell's *Carmina Veteris Testamenti metricæ* das neueste Denkmal auf dem Kirchhof der hebräischen Metrik' (1883). Nevertheless, Bickell has adhered to his principle, and gives us his transcription, for instance, of Job 32^{6} thus—

'Ẓa'ír 'aní leyámim
W'attém sabím yeshíshim
'Al-kén zaḥált wa'íra'
Meḫávvoth dé'i 'éthkhem.'

That is to say, he makes Elihu speak in Iambic Tetrameter Catalectic. But, in order to reach this result, he introduces in v.$^{a\beta}$ the superfluous word *sābîm* 'grey-headed,' while in v.$^{b\alpha}$ he robs *zaḥaltî* of its ending *-î*, which in Hebrew is the characteristic of the 1st person singular. In spite of such objections, Duhm in his Commentary on Job (*Kurzer Hdcom.* 1897, p. 17) accepted without reservation Bickell's theory of the rhythm of ancient Hebrew poetry. Afterwards, however, he rightly abandoned it (in his Commentary on the Psalms in the same series, 1899, Einleit. § 24). The falsity of Bickell's view is demonstrated by the present writer in *Stilistik* (p. 339 f.), and in like manner Sievers (§ 55) declares, 'I can take no further account of Bickell's system.'—A preferable view of the rhythmical character of OT poetry is that which is represented especially by J. Ley. According to this theory, the ancient Hebrew poets paid regard only to the accented syllables (cf., on this point, *Stilistik*, pp. 330-336). But even the advocates of this view are divided into two schools. The majority (*e.g.* Duhm, *Psalmen*, 1899, p. xxx) hold that the Hebrew poets aimed at an equal number of 'rises' in the corresponding lines. To this group belongs also Sievers (cf. §§ 52 and 88 of his *Metrische Studien*, 1901, Bd. i.). But Budde and still more the present writer have come to the conclusion that a Hebrew poet aimed at nothing more than the *essential symmetry* of the lines that answer to one another in his poem. This may be observed, for instance, in the following four passages: 'Be instructed, ye judges of the earth' (Ps 2^{10b}), 'and rejoice with trembling' (v.^{11b}), 'and ye perish from the way' (v.^{12b}), and 'blessed are all they that put their trust in him' (v.^{12d}). Our conclusion is confirmed also by the poetical compositions which are sung by the inhabitants of Palestine at the present day (see *Stilistik*, pp. 337, 343). Cornill (*Die metrischen Stücke des Buches Jeremia*, 1901, p. viii) supports the same view, so far at least as the Book of Jeremiah is concerned: 'For Jeremiah an exact correspondence of the various *stichoi* was not a formal principle of his metrical system.' Duhm, it is true, in his Commentary on Jeremiah (*Kurzer Hdcom.* 1901) remarks on 2^{2b}: 'In all Jeremiah's poetical compositions the *stichoi* contain three and two "rises" alternately.' But, to make good his theory, he has to deny to Jeremiah a passage like 2^{4-13} because 'the metre of Jeremiah is wanting' in it. Such a conclusion, however, would be valid only if he were able to adduce other, independent, reasons for the excision of this passage. He urges, indeed, that v.^{4} contains a fresh notice of the Divine commission to Jeremiah. But this is nothing strange; such notes occur very frequently in Jeremiah and the later Prophets (see the passages in *Stilistik*, p. 174). Moreover, vv.$^{29-37}$ of the same chapter are allowed by Duhm himself to be Jeremiah's, and yet v.$^{29f.}$ is followed by a fresh call, 'O generation, see ye the word of the LORD,' quite in the manner in which v.^{4} follows upon v.$^{2f.}$ Further, Duhm thinks himself entitled to deny 2^{4-13} to Jeremiah because the people of the LORD are addressed in v.^{4} as 'house of Jacob,' a designation which Duhm believes to be unused except by later writers. But 'house of Jacob' occurs also in Is 2^{3} and 8^{17}, both of which passages are regarded by Duhm himself (in Nowack's *Hdkom.*) as Isaianic; and the same expression is found in Am 3^{13} and Mic 2^{7} 3^{9}, passages which cannot be attributed to 'later writers.' Finally, Duhm's view of Jer 2^{4-13} raises the difficulty that Israel is treated in v.$^{2f.}$ as a feminine, but in v.^{14} as a masculine, subject. But, if v.^{14} is the sequel of v.^{13}, Israel is naturally treated as masculine, because it has just been designated in v.^{13} by the masculine word *'am* 'people.' In any case, it may be added, the supposed interpolator of vv.$^{4-13}$ knew nothing of the metrical system which Duhm attributes to Jeremiah, else he would have accommodated the form of these verses to their surroundings. Hence the present writer is unable to accept Duhm's view as to 'the metre of Jeremiah,' quite apart from the fact that, according to our foregoing contention (see above, (2)), Jeremiah was not a poet.

4. Some interesting features of style occur sporadically in various parts of the OT.—(*a*) There are **alphabetical acrostics.** The present writer cannot, indeed, admit that Nah 1^{2-10} belongs to this category [but see art. NAHUM in vol. iii. p. 475], which, however, probably includes Ps 9 f., and certainly Ps 25. 34. 37. 111 f. 119. 145, Pr 31^{10-31}, La 1–4, and Sir 51^{13-29}, as is shown by the recently discovered Heb. text (cf., further, *Stilistik*, pp. 357–359). There is another species of acrostic which we do not believe to be found in the OT. The letters, for instance, with which the lines of Ps 110^{1b-4} commence are not intended to point to שמען, as the name of Simon the Maccabee, who reigned B.C. 142–135. That such is the case is represented, indeed, by Duhm (*Kurzer Hdcom.* 1899, *ad loc.*) as unquestionable. But, in the first place, it is surely awkward that the alleged acrostic should include only part of the poem. Secondly, as has been shown by Gaster (*Academy*, 19th May 1892), the name *Shimʿon* is written upon the coins (where the vowel letters are relatively rare) 40 times with and only once without the ו. Yet the latter is the way in which, upon Duhm's theory, it would be written in Ps 110. Once more, the clause 'until I make thine enemies thy footstool' (v.^{1b}) would be in glaring opposition to the statement of 1 Mac 14^{41} that Simon was to hold office 'until a trustworthy prophet should arise.' The former (Ps 110^{1b}) promises the highest degree of triumph for the king who is there addressed, the latter (1 Mac 14^{41}) reminds Simon that his choice to be prince was subject to recall.—(*b*) Other poetical compositions in the OT are marked by frequent use of the figure *Anadiplosis* described above (iii. (5)). Such is the case with the fifteen psalms (120–134). For instance, the 'dwell' of 'that I dwell in the tents of Kedar' (Ps 120^{5b}) is taken up again in the 'dwell' of 'my soul hath long dwelt with him' (v.^{6a}). Again, the two lines 'that hateth peace' (v.^{6b}) and 'I am for peace' (v.^{7a}) have a connecting link in the word 'peace.' The same characteristic is still more marked in Ps 121, as may be seen from the clauses 'From whence shall my help come?' (v.^{1b}) and 'My help cometh from the LORD' (v.^{2a}). The familiar title of these fifteen psalms 'Songs of *Degrees*' (AV; RV 'Songs of *Ascents*') has reference, in the opinion of the present writer, to their rhythmical peculiarity as well as to their destination to be sung by the caravans of pilgrims journeying to Jerusalem (cf. *Stilistik*, pp. 302–304).—(*c*) **Rhyme** is found in the poetry of the OT only in the same sporadic fashion as in the plays of Shakespeare (where, *e.g.*, 'rise' rhymes with 'eyes' at the close of *Hamlet*, Act I., Scene ii., or 'me' with 'see' in Act III., at the end of Ophelia's speech). Rhyme of this kind may be observed in the very earliest poetical passage of the OT, namely Gn $4^{23f.}$, where *ḳôlî* 'my voice' rhymes with *'imrāthî* 'my speech.' But such rhymes, which could not readily be avoided in Hebrew, are not found at the end of *every* line of an OT poem. H. Grimme claims, indeed (in an article entitled 'Durchgereimte Gedichte im AT' in Bardenhewer's *Biblische Studien*, Bd. vi. 1901), to have discovered poems of this kind in Ps 45. 54 and Sir 44^{1-14}. But our suspicions are awakened at the very outset by the circumstance that the poet does not exercise his rhyming skill at the opening of his composition (Ps 45^{2}). Grimme offers, it is true, a scansion of the verse, marking it as he does with the sign of *arsis*, but he cannot point to the presence of rhyme in it. Further, with reference to the following lines, are we to hold that the poet considered an identity of final *consonants* (as in *'ozněkh* and *'ābîkh* of v.^{11ab}) to amount to rhyme, although the standing and correct conception of the latter demands an assonance of the preceding *vowel*, such as is heard even in the *rime suffisante* (*e.g.* in 'soupir' and 'désir') of the French? Again, Grimme, in order to establish a rhyme between the end of v.^{3b} and v.^{4b}, drops in v.^{3b} the closing word (*lĕʿôlām*) of the MT, and alters the preceding words. In like manner he transposes the words in v.^{4a}, and again drops two words in v.^{10b}. Lastly, all the rhymes which Grimme discovers in Ps 45 consist simply of the assonance of the pronominal suffix *-kh*, and he increases the number by making the masculine form for 'thy,' namely *-khā*, the same as the feminine form, namely *-kh*. Thus instead of the MT *hădārĕkhā* (v.$^{3(4)b}$), 'thy majesty,' he would pronounce *hădārēkh*, a course of procedure which is shown to be wrong by R. Kittel in his treatise *Ueber die Notwendigkeit und Möglichkeit einer neuen Ausgabe der hebräischen Bibel* (1901), §§ 62–68. The weakest point in Grimme's contention is found in the circumstance that the rhymes he discovers depend upon an assonance of a series of pronouns, which could not be avoided in Hebrew. Why should not the composer of Ps 45 have placed at the end of v.^{4b} a word to rhyme with the final *lĕʿôlām* of v.^{3b}? At all events, the tradition which allowed *lĕʿôlām* to stand at the end of v.^{3}, knew nothing of any intention on the part of the author of Ps 45 to provide all the lines of his poem with rhymes. Grimme's attempt to demonstrate the presence of rhyme in Ps 54 and Sir 44^{1-14} must equally be pronounced a failure (see the present writer's brochure, *Neueste Prinzipien der alttest. Kritik geprüft*, 1902, p. 24).

5. The last feature we wish to notice as discoverable in the stylistic structure of the OT is the construction of **strophes.** Those scholars who at present are disposed to co-ordinate the prophecies and the poems of the OT, speak of strophes also in the Book of Isaiah, discovering them, for instance, in 2^{6-11} vv.$^{12-17}$ and vv.$^{18-21}$. But even an orator may unfold his subject in sections of nearly equal length, and may conclude each of these with the same sentence, the so-called *Epiphora* (see above, iii. ($5d\beta$)). Lately, the opening of the Book of Amos has been a favourite field for attempts to discover a strophic structure. The earlier attempts are examined in *Stilistik*, pp. 347–352, and Sievers (i. § 103) agrees with the judgment expressed there by the present writer. But a renewed effort of the same kind has been made by Löhr in his *Untersuchungen zum Buche Amos*, 1901. He proposes to regard the four prophecies against Damascus, Gaza, Ammon, and Moab (1^{3-5} vv.$^{6-8}$ vv.$^{13-15}$ 2^{1-3}) as four strophes, each consisting of 4+2+4 *stichoi.* But, in order to make out this uniformity, he is compelled in 1^{3} to reckon the object 'Gilead' as the fourth *stichos.* Similarly, in 2^{1} the fourth *stichos* has to be made up simply of *lassîd* ('into lime'). Short parts of sentences have thus to be counted as whole lines, although in the corresponding passage of the prophecy against Ammon (1^{13-15}) a whole clause ('that they might enlarge their border,' v.$^{13b\beta}$) is found, which Löhr himself takes as the fourth *stichos* of the 'strophe' 1^{13-15}. The creating of *stichoi* in such a fashion, in order to form strophes, appears to the present writer to be an artificial procedure, the responsibility for which belongs, not to the

prophet Amos but to modern upholders of the theory that the Prophets of Israel meant to employ 'strophes.' Our view of the matter is that also of Cornill in the *Theol. Rundschau* (1901, p. 414 f.). Sievers (*Metrische Untersuchungen*, ii. p. 473) gives up the attempt to establish an exact equality between corresponding lines, for, according to him, 1^{3b} ('because they have threshed,' etc.) contains four feet, while v.^{6b} has five, v.^{13b} six, and 2^{1b} seven.—In the real poems of the OT there are not a few traces of an aim at a strophic structure. The latter cannot be denied, for instance, to the author of Ps 2, who evidently meant to exhaust his subject in four sets of three verses each. Such an aim was connected also with the construction of alphabetical acrostics (see above, (4)). What, for instance, are the twenty-two groups of eight verses each of which Ps 119 is made up, but strophes? Such divisions of a poem are at times indicated even externally. We have an instance of this in the occurrence of quite similar clauses, 'Surely every man at his best estate is wholly vanity' and 'Surely every man is vanity,' in Ps 39^{5b} and v.^{11b}. In $42^{5.\ 11}$ 43^{5}, again, we have the thrice repeated 'Why art thou cast down, O my soul, and why art thou disquieted within me?' and there are a good many similar 'refrains' in the Psalter (cf. $46^{7.\ 11}$ $49^{12.\ 20}$ $57^{5.\ 11}$ $136^{1b.\ 2b}$ etc., see *Stilistik*, p. 346 f.).

v. CONCLUSION.—1. In so far as the stylistic differences between Biblical writings depend upon the choice of words, the style is not without significance for the purposes of *literary criticism.* This is proved in the present writer's *Einleit. ins AT*, pp. 147-151, and its truth reaffirmed, in reply to recent doubts expressed by W. H. Cobb, and defended, with fresh materials, in the *Expository Times*, xiii. (1901) p. 134. For instance, the relative pronoun is expressed by אֲשֶׁר in Is $1^{1.\ 29ab.\ 30a}$ $2^{1.\ 8b.\ 20b}$ $5^{5a.\ 28a}$, but שׁ is not met with till 40^{24} and 43^{21}. Again, the negative לֹא may be counted at least sixteen times in Is 1–6. Yet how easily we might have had at least one occurrence of בַּל, the word used in 40^{24} 43^{27} $44^{8f.}$. Now, these and other words selected in chs. 40 ff. belong to the vocabulary of the 'higher' style of the Hebrews, and it is a fact that in chs. 1 ff. Isaiah cultivates the most elegant mode of writing. Why should he, then, have avoided in these chapters all those elements of the higher style for which a preference is shown in chs. 40 ff.? Such conduct would be all the more incomprehensible, seeing that the most of the linguistic peculiarities which mark Is 40 ff. concern expressions which, on account of their frequency, are employed without deliberate choice and almost without consciousness.—But a number of the more recent expounders of the OT have thought to discover a critical touchstone also in features of Biblical style which do not depend upon the choice of words. Duhm, for instance, says in his Commentary on Isaiah in Nowack's *Hdkom.* p. 30: 'The fate of the unknown city is depicted in $3^{25f.}$ in too elegiac a strain to allow of our assigning these verses to Isaiah.' He has in view the words 'Thy men shall fall by the sword, and thy mighty in the war,' etc. But to say that this is 'in too elegiac a strain' is simply a subjective opinion, whose correctness is not proved by Duhm, and cannot be proved. For the strongest expressions of grief over the catastrophes that overhang Israel are given utterance to by Isaiah in other passages, such as 1^{5-9} and 6^{11-13}, which are allowed by Duhm himself to be genuinely Isaianic. A number of similar critical judgments, which have been built in recent times upon the mannerisms of style in certain portions of the OT, are examined in the present writer's brochure, *Neueste Prinzipien der alttest. Kritik geprüft*, 1902, pp. 13-19.

2. The differences in style between various books of Scripture have a special significance from the point of view of the *history of religion.* It is a weighty circumstance that Nathan's prophecy, which is found in 2 S 7^{11b-16}, is reproduced somewhat differently in 1 Ch 17^{10b-15}, and that the oracle of Is 2^{2-4} has another form in Mic 4^{1-3}. From this we gather that the Israelites of earlier times cared for nothing more than to preserve the contents of revelation in their essential identity. The form was of importance only in so far as it served for the preservation of the contents, and thus, even with the Prophets, the form was the human element. God permitted His interpreters to make use of the language of their own time. If this statement required proof, it would be found in such facts as the following. In the prophetical writings the two forms for the pronoun 'I,' namely *'ānōkhî* and *'ănî*, stand to one another in the following ratios:—in Amos as 10 : 1, in Hosea as 11 : 11, in Micah as 1 : 2, in Jeremiah as 35 : 51, in Ezekiel as 1 (36^{28}) : 138, in Daniel as 1 (10^{11}) : 23, in Haggai as 0 : 4, in Zec 1–8 as 0 : 9, in Malachi as 1 : 8. Then in the historical books, Samuel has 48 *'ānōkhî* to 50 *'ănî*, Kings 9 to 45, Ezra 0 to 2, Nehemiah 1 to 15, Chronicles 1 (1 Ch 17^{1} ‖ 2 S 7^{2}) to 30, Esther 0 to 6. A number of other evidences will be found in the present writer's article 'Prophecy and History' in the *Expository Times*, xi. (1900) pp. 305–310. The above assertion that the form of the language is the human element in the Bible, is subject only to the reservation that the contents of a prophecy were naturally not without influence upon its form, and this was the case also with the spirit which animated the prophets (Mic 3^{8}, Is 8^{11} etc.). But we are convinced that there is still another point to be observed. When, for instance, we read 'They pierced my hands and my feet' (Ps 22^{16}), the present writer cannot believe this sentence to have been written without the co-operation of the Divine Spirit, who was the supreme director of Israel's history. Such expressions were meant to pre-establish a harmony between the Old and the New Covenant, so that believers who lived under the new dispensation might be strengthened in their faith by noticing the presence of such features in the earlier history of God's saving purpose.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works mentioned in the introductory part of the above article, the present writer's *Stilistik, Rhetorik, Poetik, in Bezug auf die Biblische Litteratur komparativisch dargestellt* (1900) may be consulted throughout. For special points, reference may be made to Karl J. Grimm's *Euphemistic Liturgical Appendices in the OT* (1901), pp. 3–5, and Ed. Sievers' *Metrische Untersuchungen*, 2 vols. (1901).

ED. KÖNIG.

SYMBOL, SYMBOLICAL ACTIONS.—

i. Distinction between Metaphor and Symbol.
ii. Symbols in Scripture.
iii. Symbolical actions: (A) in common life; (B) in the religious life: (*a*) constant or usual actions; (*b*) unusual actions. The symbolical actions in the prophetical literature.

i. DISTINCTION BETWEEN METAPHOR AND SYMBOL.—Both these terms stand for something which is not used in its barest literal sense or for its proper purpose. Both describe methods which are employed to give concrete expression to ideas belonging to the realm of spirit. But what the *Metaphor* is in the sphere of speech, that the *Symbol* is in the sphere of things. 'Metaphorical' applies to expressions, 'symbolical' is an attribute of objects and actions. How closely allied the two conceptions are is shown by the fact that in familiar speech the terms are occasionally interchanged. For instance, we recently met with this sentence: 'If the ordinary man is to fulfil the command to love God above everything, the word "love" must be understood merely as a symbolical [*sinnbildlich*] designation for two dispositions of mind for which there is no more fitting expression' (*Die Grenzboten*, 1900, p. 447). The correct term here would be 'metaphorical,' not 'symbolical.'

The varieties of Metaphor which occur in Biblical literature are enumerated and explained in the present writer's *Stilistik, Rhetorik, Poetik, in Bezug auf die Biblische Litteratur komparativisch dargestellt* (1900). But the notions of 'Symbol' or 'symbolical' could not be handled there, because they have not to do with a sphere in which language is the agency at work. Hence the explanation there given (pp. 93–109) of Metaphor and the present article will be found to supplement one another.

ii. SYMBOLS IN SCRIPTURE.—The extent to which symbolism pervades the Biblical literature is a doubtful question. The following may be regarded as the surest instances:—

(*a*) The word *'ăshēra*, which had all along, in the sense of 'gracious,' been an attribute of 'Astarte, and hence appears also as a personal name for her (1 K 15^{13} [=2 Ch 15^{16}] 18^{19}, 2 K 21^{7} 23$^{4.\,7}$), came in later times to be used mainly as the name for the symbol of this goddess, namely a tree, in allusion to the fruitfulness of the life of nature (Ex 34^{13}, Dt 7^{5} etc., 2 Ch 34^{7}).—Further, the *ḥammānîm* (Lv 26^{30}, Is 17^{8} 27^{9}, Ezk 6$^{4.\,6}$, 2 Ch 14^{5} 34$^{4.\,7}$ *et al.*) were miniature obelisks, which represented the sun's rays. They were symbols of the sun-god who in Phœn. inscriptions is called בעל חמנ or בעל חממנ, and the like (cf. Bloch, *Phön. Glossar*, p. 22).—The *maẓẓēbôth*, again ('pillars,' Gn 28^{18} etc.), were not set up on their own account. They were not meant to be dwelling-places of the Deity, but were symbols, expressive of gratitude for a Divine revelation (Gn 28^{22} 31^{13} etc.); primitive altars (cf. Ex 20^{25}, Is 19^{19}); allusions to the rock (*Ẓûr*), which formed the surest ground of trust for Israel (Dt 32$^{4.\,15.\,18}$ etc.; *Stilistik*, p. 99$_{32\text{-}34}$); or they were symbols of the twelve tribes of Israel (Ex 24^{4}, cf. 1 K 18^{31}).

(*b*) It is equally unmistakable that the visible dwelling-place of God, *i.e.* the Tabernacle and the Temple, was a symbol of His invisible dwelling-place. In point of fact, the Holy Place and the Holy of Holies correspond respectively to the heavens and the highest heaven (שְׁמֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם 1 K 8^{27} etc.), while the forecourt was the analogue of the earth, which, according to Is 66^{1}, is God's footstool. Josephus was quite right, then, when he said long ago that the subdivision of the sanctuary was an imitation of the constitution of the universe (*Ant.* III. vi. 4: *πρὸς μίμησιν τῆς τῶν ὅλων φύσεως*). The same notion is favoured by He 9^{24} *οὐ γὰρ εἰς . . . ἀντίτυπα . . . ἀλλ' εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν οὐρανόν*. Hengstenberg contended that the OT sanctuary was to be viewed as symbolizing the pre-Christian stage of the Kingdom of God (*Authentie des Pent.* ii. 628 ff.). But in that case the arrangement of the sanctuary of the religion of Israel would have pointed to the imperfection of that religion; and the view that this arrangement was chosen in order to express the truth that the OT religion was imperfect, is unnatural. Still less conceivable is the notion (Schegg, *Bibl. Arch.* 1887, p. 418) that 'the sacred tent typified the Christian Church.'

(*c*) A symbolical meaning of *numbers* cannot be certainly demonstrated for the OT. This question has already been so exhaustively discussed in art. NUMBER in vol. iii., that only a very little needs to be added here.—The circumstance that the sanctuary was divided into three parts, has just been explained. It was not, then, on account of the number 'three' that this arrangement was adopted. That number was not a symbol of the Deity (Schegg, *l.c.* 420) at the OT stage of religion. As little is a symbolical meaning of the number 'four' evident in the construction of the Sanctuary. Nor was the number 'ten' meant to express the idea of 'perfection' (Schegg, *l.c.* 419), as one may see from the fact that the Holy of Holies in Solomon's temple formed a cube of 20 cubits (1 K 6^{3}).

(*d*) With somewhat more foundation it may be contended that the *colours* selected for the adornment of the OT sanctuary had a symbolical meaning. Why, for instance, does blue- or violet-purple (*tĕkheleth*) occupy the first place among the four colours of the curtains of the sanctuary (Ex 26^{1})? Without doubt, because it was meant to allude to the unclouded sky and thus to God. But, to take another instance, it appears to the present writer doubtful whether the red-purple (*'argāmān*) 'recalls the God of judgment,' as was suggested by Franz Delitzsch in his interesting work, *Iris: Studies in Colour and Talks about Flowers*, 1888, p. 55. On the other hand, the white colour which we note in the high priest's dress (Ex 28^{5b} etc., Rev 4^{4}), and in the horses, etc., of Zec 6^{3a} and Rev 6^{2} 19^{11} (cf. 14^{14}), is as certainly a symbolical expression of purity, salvation, and victory as black (Zec 6^{2a}, Rev 6$^{5.\,12}$) is a symbol of death.

(*e*) It may be added that the forms of the CHERUBIM in the Tabernacle (Ex 25^{18} etc., 26$^{1.\,31}$) and the Temple (1 K 6$^{23.\,32.\,35}$, Ezk 41^{18}) were symbols of the presence of God (cf. Ps 18^{11}). Again, what but God's dominion over nature can have been meant to be represented by the carved *palms and flowers* (1 K 6$^{32.\,35}$ 7^{36}, 2 Ch 3^{7})? As to the *lions*, finally, which were to be seen on various pieces of the furniture of the Temple (1 K 7$^{29.\,36}$) and on the throne of Solomon (10^{20}), were these not symbols of the power exercised by the heavenly or the earthly king of Israel? This symbolical significance of the lion shows itself also in the description of the Cherubim (Ezk 1^{10} 10^{20}) and the four apocalyptic creatures (Rev 4^{7}); and in the same passages we find the *ox*, the *eagle*, and the *man* as symbols of strength, swiftness, and reason.

iii. SYMBOLICAL ACTIONS.—While it is a debateable question how far the realm of Symbol extends in the Biblical literature, the sphere of *symbolical actions* is defined with almost complete precision. For it is easy, in the case of each particular action, to perceive whether it is performed for its own sake or *in order to express an idea.* But what is the best classification for the wide department of symbolical actions? Perhaps as suitable a course as any will be to distinguish symbolical actions (A) of common life and (B) of religious life. The latter class will then be subdivided again into ordinary and extraordinary actions.

A. *SYMBOLICAL ACTIONS IN COMMON LIFE*—(*a*) The very *beginning* of life was connected with a symbolical transaction. The newborn child used to be placed on the knees of the father, not merely to be caressed by him (Is 66^{12b}), but also to be acknowledged as his offspring. This is the most probable meaning of Job's question, 'Why did the knees receive me?' (Job 3^{12a}). For in the two *stichoi* of v.^{12} it is most natural to find a reference to the action respectively of the father and the mother, and the placing of the newborn child on the knees of the father is encountered also outside Israel as a recognition of the child by the father (cf. *Il.* ix. 455, etc., and Lat. *tollere*). It is essentially the same act that is referred to when in the MT of Gn 50^{23b} it is said that great-grandsons of Joseph were 'born upon his knees.' The expression עַל־בִּרְכֵּי answers to the question Whither?, and the meaning is that great-grandsons of Joseph were brought after their birth to the supreme head of the family that they might be recognized by him as new members of it. It is quite natural that this statement should have come in later times to be regarded as incredible.

Hence in the Samaritan Pentateuch we find the reading בִּימֵי 'in the days of' substituted. But if this had been the original text, as is assumed in Kautzsch's translation of the OT, and by Holzinger in the *Kurzer Hdcom.* (*ad loc.*), it is unintelligible how such a strange reading as the other should have arisen. And how does the גַּם 'also' witness against the reading of the MT, as Holzinger contends? This conjunction really couples the two facts that Joseph lived to see grandsons not only in the line of Ephraim, but also in that of Manasseh. Holzinger further argues that, supposing the statement in Gn 50^{23b} refers to adoption, Joseph may have adopted Machir but cannot have adopted his sons. 'Machir certainly gained the same standing as Manasseh, but his sons did not.' But is it really established as a necessary conclusion that the narratives found in the patriarchal history simply reflect the later history of the tribes of Israel? Is it not rather possible that the story of Gn 50^{23b} contains an argument against the correctness of this recent theory?—Further, adoption on the part of the mother is clearly expressed in the words attributed to Rachel in Gn 30^{3b} 'And she (Bilhah) shall bear upon my knees, and so shall I come into possession of a family from her.'

(*b*) Not only the beginning of life but also *new steps* in life were marked by symbolical transactions. A woman captured in war, who is chosen by an Israelite to be his wife, 'is to shave her head and pare her nails' (Dt 21^{12}). In this way she is to indicate that her former state of mourning has ceased, and 'that she is about to begin life again under new auspices' (Driver, *Deut. ad loc.*). It is not possible to discover in either of the two actions 'expressions of grief,' as is done by Bertholet (*Kurzer Hdcom. ad loc.*). On the one hand, this interpretation is not required on the ground of 14^{1}. For in the last-named passage and in Jer 16^{6} and Ezk 7^{18} it is not the simple shaving off of the hair (Dt 21^{12}) that is forbidden, but 'the making of a baldness between the eyes, *i.e.* on the forehead.' On the other hand, Bertholet's view of Dt 21^{12b} is reduced to an impossibility in view of v.^{13a}. For it is added there that the woman in question is also to put off 'the raiment of her captivity,' which is quite a different thing from 'to strip herself naked like a mourner' (Bertholet). Consequently the three actions described in Dt 21$^{12b. 13a}$ are really meant to illustrate the fact that a happy change has taken place in the woman's life. It is true that she is still to be allowed a month's time to bewail her parents. But during this she is not to return to her previous absolute mourning. This is proved beyond question by the laying aside of her captive garb (v.^{13a}). The intention rather is merely that during the month specified she may have time to reconcile herself to the transition from the old to the new condition of things. Thus her situation during this month is a mingling of grief and joy.—A happy advance in life was very clearly expressed by the 'breaking of the yoke,' a symbolical action introduced in Jer 28^{10}; cf. Is 58^{6}, Ezk 30^{18}, Nah 1^{13}.

(*c*) Symbolical actions which denote a *disturbance* of one's life or its *end*.—The border of the garments, especially over the breast, is rent: *e.g.* Gn 37$^{29. 34}$ 44^{13}, Nu 14^{6}, Jos 7^{6}, 1 S 4^{12}, 2 S 1^{2} 3^{31} 13^{31} 15^{32}, 2 K 2^{12} (לִשְׁנַיִם קְרָעִים) 5^{8} 11^{14} 18^{37} 22^{19}, Is 36^{22} 37^{1}, Jer 36$^{23f.}$ 41^{5}, Jl 2^{13}, Job 1^{20} 2^{12}, Est 4^{1}, Ezr 9$^{3. 5}$, 2 Ch 23^{13} 34^{27}, 1 Mac 2^{14} 3^{47} 4^{39} 5^{14} 11^{71} 13^{45}, Mt 26^{65}, Mk 14^{63}, Ac 14^{14} (Barnabas and Paul), Jos. *BJ* II. xv. 4 (*γυμνοὺς τὰ στέρνα τῶν ἐσθήτων περιερρηγμένων*). Further, one puts on sackcloth, a primitive article of dress, in order to show that one is giving up every convenience and every ornament: *e.g.* Gn 37^{34}, 2 S 3^{31} 14^{2} 19^{24} 21^{10}, 1 K 21^{27}, 2 K 6^{30}, Is 3^{24} 15^{3} 20^{2} 22^{12} 50^{3} 58^{5}, Jer 4^{8} 6^{26} 49^{3}, Ezk 7^{18}, Jl 1^{8}, Am 8^{10}, Jon 3$^{5-8}$, Ps 30^{12} 35^{13} 69^{12}, Job 16^{15}, La 2^{10}, Est 4$^{1f. 3}$, Dn 9^{3}, 1 Mac 2^{14} (*περιεβάλοντο σάκκους*), Mt 11^{21} (cf. 3^{4}), Lk 10^{13}, Rev 11^{3} (cf. 6^{12} *σάκκος τρίχινος*).* One goes barefooted (2 S 15^{30}, cf. Is 20^{2b}) and without turban (Ezk 24^{17a}), or neglects washing oneself (2 S 12^{20}). Ashes are sprinkled upon the head: 2 S 13^{19}, Is 58^{5}, Est 4^{3}, Jos. *BJ* II. xv. 4 (*τῆς κεφαλῆς κόνιν*); cf. G. Jacob (*Altarab. Parallelen*, p. 15, where it is shown how the pre-Islamite Arabs were also wont to sprinkle ashes upon the head in token of great grief); or one simply sits in the ashes: Jer 6^{26}, Ezk 27^{30} 28^{18}, Jon 3^{6}, Job 2^{8} (cf. La 3^{16}). In this way one clothed himself as it were with ashes (Est 4^{1}, cf. Dn 9^{3}, Is 61^{3}), and thus proclaimed in a visible fashion that he was indifferent to the joy of life. Or, again, the hand might be laid upon the head (2 S 13^{19}, Jer 2^{37}), to express the fact that the soul was bowed down by a heavy sorrow. One covered the head (2 S 15^{30}, Jer 14^{3b}, Est 6^{12}), or at least the beard (Lv 13^{45}, Mic 3^{7a}, Ezk 24$^{17b. 22}$, cf. 2 S 19^{24} †) and thereby the mouth, in order to mark oneself as a person who could neither see nor speak for grief. Perhaps the smiting of the thigh or the breast (Jer 31^{19}, Ezk 21^{17b}, Lk 18^{13}) were also meant to express mental suffering.

(*d*) A special group of symbolical actions expresses the *establishing of a relation* between persons. This is above all symbolized by the *giving of the hand*: 2 K 10^{15} ('give me thine hand then'), Ezr 10^{19a} ('and they gave their hand'), Jer 50^{15a}, Ezk 17^{18b}, La 5^{6a}, 2 Ch 30^{8b}, Pr 6^{1} 11^{15} 17^{18} 22^{26}. In 1 Ch 29^{24} the giving of the hand by the vanquished is the sign of submission, and thus a pendant to the placing of the conqueror's feet upon his neck (Jos 10^{24b}). An alliance is likewise cemented by the one party *laying hold of the right hand* of the other: Is 41^{13} 45^{1}, Ps 73^{23} (cf. 80^{18}).—The concluding of an agreement was also symbolized by *a common meal* (Gn 26^{30} 31^{54}, Ex 24^{11b}, 2 S 3^{20}), and it is very natural to find that on such an occasion not only bread (Jos 9^{14a}, cf. v.^{5b}) but, above all, salt was eaten. For salt serves to keep other articles from putrefaction and consequent destruction, and might thus fittingly point to the security of the agreement. The same is still the practice among the modern Arabs (d'Arvieux, *Merkwürdige Nachrichten von einer Reise*, etc., Bd. iii. p. 164 f.), and hence the OT speaks of the 'salt of the covenant' (Lv 2^{13}) and of 'a covenant of salt' (Nu 18^{19}, 2 Ch 13^{5b}).—The establishing of a connexion with a property is indicated by a man casting one of his shoes upon it (Ps 60^{10a} ‖ 108^{10a}. See art. SHOE in vol. iv.). This is based upon the fact that walking upon a piece of ground is a sign of proprietorship. We may recall the Roman custom of bringing before the prætor a clod of earth from the field which one claimed as his property.—A certain relation was established also when Elijah the prophet cast his mantle upon Elisha (1 K 19^{19b}). A special meaning may be discovered in this act, namely, the investiture with the prophetic mantle (2 K 2^{13}, cf. Is 20^{2}). So the covering of a woman with one's mantle (Ezk 16^{8}, Ru 3^{9}) expresses the intention of becoming her protector *par excellence*, *i.e.* of marrying her. This is the interpretation already given to Ru 3^{9} in the Targum ('and let thy name be named [cf. Is 4^{1}] over thy handmaid, to take me to be thy wife'), and by Rashi (*ad loc.*: 'this is an expression for marrying' [לשון נישואין]); and 'thy wing' here does not mean 'thy protecting arm,' as M. Peritz (*Zwei alte arab. Uebersetzungen des Buches Rûth*, 1900, p. 37) holds. The correct view of Ezk 16^{8} and Ru 3^{9} is confirmed by

---

* Perhaps the *rending of the garments* and the *putting on of sackcloth* should be regarded as the earlier and the later form, respectively, of the same announcement of mourning (so M. Jastrow; cf. *Expos. Times*, 1901, p. 337 f.).

Arab custom. ‘The son who, in the heathen period of Arab history, took over the widow of his father, threw his garment over her. So, too, Mohammed cast his mantle over the Jewess Safija, captured at Khaibar, as a token that he desired to have her in marriage’ (G. Jacob, *l.c.* p. 23, where other instances of the same thing will be found). Other actions whereby the conclusion of the marriage bond was symbolized, are not mentioned in the OT, unless we are to reckon among these the loading of Rebekah as Isaac's bride with presents (Gn 24^{53a}), and Isaac's conducting of her into the tent of his mother (v.^{67a}).

(*e*) The opposite condition of things, namely, the *dissolution of relations*, is indicated as follows. One person takes off another's shoe (Dt 25^{9a} וְחָלְצָה וג'), or the wearer removes it himself (Ru 4^{8b} וַיִּשְׁלֹף וג'). The idea at the basis of this act may be explained thus. Seeing that one enters upon the occupancy of a field by treading upon it with his shoes (see above, on Ps 60^{10} ‖ 108^{10}), the pulling off of the shoe indicates the intention of *not* carrying out this occupancy. The drawing off of the shoe was also, among the Arabs, a special sign of the dissolution of a marriage. This is shown by the use of خُلْعٌ (*khul'un=extractio*) for ‘divorce.’ ‘The drawing off of a shoe also meets us in still later times as the symbol of renunciation of allegiance. When a ruler was declared to have forfeited the throne, it was customary to cast off the shoe in a solemn assembly’ (Ign. Goldziher, *Zur arab. Philologie*, Bd. i. p. 47). A parallel to the above-cited passage, Ru 4^{8b}, will be found also in Burton, *The Land of Midian*, vol. ii. p. 197.—A very energetic expression for the complete dissolution of a connexion consists in the *shaking off the dust from one's feet* (Mt 10^{14} ἐκτινάξατε τὸν κονιορτόν, κ.τ.λ. ; Mk 6^{11} ἐκτινάξατε τὸν χοῦν, κ.τ.λ. ; Ac 13^{51}).—The superlative degree of separation from a person may be seen in the *covering of his face* (Est 7^{8b} ‘and they covered Haman's face’). By this act he was marked as if non-existing. A similar symbolical action was practised among the Macedonians (Curtius, IV. viii. 22) and the Romans (cf. Bertheau-Ryssel in *Kgf. exeg. Hdb. ad loc.*). Similar to a certain extent is the Turkish custom of sending a silken cord to one who is condemned to death.

(*f*) *Symbolical actions affecting certain classes of society.*—(α) If a Hebrew slave declined to avail himself of the liberty that was open to him after seven years' service, *one of his ears*—probably the right one—*was bored through with an awl against the door and thus pinned to it* (Ex 21^{6b}, Dt 15^{17}). This was meant to indicate that the service of his ears—*i.e.* his obedience—must henceforth be indissolubly devoted to this house. The pierced ear is found also amongst other nations as the mark of the slave (Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* i. 177).

(β) The office of house steward was conveyed to one by *laying the key of the house upon his shoulder* (Is 22^{22}, cf. Rev 3^{7}). The investiture with the prophetic office is once, too, symbolized by the *giving of a book to eat* (Ezk 3^{1}).

(γ) We find quite a number of symbolical actions intended to indicate a man's rank as ruler. First of all there is *anointing* (Jg 9^{8}, 1 S 9^{16} 10^{1} 15^{1} 16$^{3ff.}$, 2 S 2^{4} 3^{39} 5^{3}, 1 K 1^{39} 19^{15}, 2 K 11^{12} 23^{30}, Ps 45^{8} 89^{21}, 1 Ch 29^{22}, 2 Ch 22^{7} 23^{11}, but not Ps 2^{2}). Although this practice of anointing princes is witnessed to even in the Tel el-Amarna letters (*KIB*, Bd. v., Brief 27$^{50-53}$ 37$^{6f.}$), it acquired a peculiar meaning in Israel. For the oil which fed the lamps of the sanctuary readily became a symbol of Divine illumination, and so a vehicle of the Holy Ghost. —In the second place, the elevation of a man to be ruler was expressed by putting on his head a *diadem* (2 S 1^{10}, 2 K 11^{12}, Ps 132^{18}, 1 Mac 11^{13}, Rev 19^{12}) or a *crown* (2 S 12^{30}, Ezk 16^{12} 21^{26} 23^{42}, Zec 6^{11b}, Ps 21^{4}, Est 8^{15}, 1 Ch 20^{2}).—Thirdly, a ruler was acknowledged by the act of *kissing*. Thus Samuel kissed Saul after he had anointed him king over Israel (1 S 10^{1}). The kiss, as an act of homage, is found, not indeed in Gn 41^{40a}, but in Ps 2^{12}, 1 K 19^{18}, Hos 13^{2}, Job 31^{27}, and the same custom prevailed among the Assyrians (Schrader, *KAT*^{2} 455] and other peoples.—Again, a person may be recognized as a sharer in rule by being *caused to sit at one's right hand* (1 K 2^{19}, Ps 45^{10} 110^{1}, Job 30^{12}, 1 Mac 10$^{62-65}$, Mt 19^{28} 20^{21}, Ac 7$^{55f.}$, Ro 8^{34}, He 8^{1} 12^{2}, Jos. *Ant.* VI. xi. 9 : παρακαθεσθέντων αὐτῷ, τοῦ μὲν παιδὸς Ἰωνάθου [1 S 20^{25}] ἐκ δεξιῶν). Thus Nero made Tiridates, king of Armenia, sit on his right (Sueton. *Nero*, c. xiii. : ‘Juxta se latere dextro collocavit’), and Sallust (*de Bello Jugurth.* xi. 3) tells us : ‘Hiempsal . . . dextra Adherbalem adsedit . . . quod apud Numidas honori ducitur.’ Moreover, when a person is spoken of who stands in need of protection, the man who stands at his right hand is his patron (Ps 16^{8b} 121^{5a}).—Finally, the act of *intercourse with the concubines* of a ruler was meant to indicate seizure of his sovereignty. This was a natural interpretation of the act in question, and is sufficiently authenticated by 2 S 3^{7} and 1 K 2^{22a}. But it was not *necessarily* its meaning, as von Bohlen (Com. on *Genesis*, 1835) maintains with reference to Gn 35^{22} and 49^{4}, and as has been held since by a number of scholars, as, *e.g.*, Guthe, *GVI* (1899) § 1. 4. In these two passages the act in question may denote merely a gross violation of filial duty, and the same interpretation is put upon it in 2 S 16^{21b}, whereas the struggle for the kingly sway was indicated by other acts (15$^{1ff.}$). It is not to Judah, whose tribe actually strove for the hegemony in Israel, that intercourse with one of his father's concubines is attributed.

(*g*) Another group of symbolical actions expresses *thoughts, feelings, and aspirations.*—(α) The consciousness or the assertion of innocence was symbolized by *the washing of the hands* (Dt 21^{6}, Mt 27^{24}, Herod. i. 35 : καθαρὸς χεῖρας ἐών, cf. Verg. *Aen.* ii. 719 f.).—(β) A feeling of aversion to a person is proclaimed by *spitting in his face* (Nu 12^{14a} יָרֹק בְּפָנֶיהָ, Dt 25^{9a}).—(γ) Bitterness and anger show themselves by *gnashing of the teeth* (Ps 35^{16} 37^{12} 112^{10}, Job 16^{9}, La 2^{16}, Mt 8^{12} 13^{42} etc.). Hostile desires express themselves in a similar way : one *gapes with the mouth* as if he would swallow a person (Ps 35^{21}, Job 16^{10}, La 2^{16a}).—(δ) *Clapping the hands* is a gesture expressive sometimes of ill-feeling (Ezk 6^{11} 21$^{17.22}$ 22^{13}), sometimes of joy (2 K 11^{12}, Is 55^{12}, Nah 3^{19}, Ps 47^{2} 98^{8}).—(ε) Scoffing wonder is expressed by *shaking of the head* or *the hands* (2 K 19^{21}, Is 37^{22}, Jer 18^{16} 48^{27}, Zeph 2^{15}, Ps 22^{8} 44^{15} 109^{25}, Job 16^{4}, La 2^{15}, Sir 13^{7}, Mt 27^{39}), silent astonishment by *laying the hand upon the mouth* (Jg 18^{19}, Mic 7^{16}, Job 21^{5} 29^{9} 40^{4}) or *pressing the lips closely together* (Is 52^{15a}, Ps 107^{42}, Job 5^{16}). —(ζ) The fear of profaning a place consecrated to the Deity is expressed by *putting off the shoes*, these being not only a product of man's work, but also dirty (Ex 3^{5} שַׁל וג', Jos 5^{15}, Ex 29^{20}, Lv 8^{23}, cf. the covering of the feet in Is 6^{2}).—(η) The dread of looking upon the holy God found expression in the *covering of the face* (Ex 3^{6b} וַיַּסְתֵּר וג', 1 K 19^{13} וַיָּלֶט וג', Is 6^{2} יְכַסֶּה וג'), and Verg. *Aen.* iii. 405 ff. describes the offering of a sacrifice thus—

> ‘Purpureo velare comas adopertus amictu,
> Ne qua inter sanctos ignes in honore deorum
> Hostilis facies occurrat et omina turbet.’

(θ) The meaning of the interesting ceremony described in 1 S 7^{6}, when the Israelites, moved to repentance by the words of Samuel, *drew water and poured it out* before Jahweh, is unfortunately not clear. But perhaps we shall not be wrong to find in it an expression of humility. Bowed down with grief for its sin, the soul melts like water before its God (Ps 6^{7}), and prostrates itself before Him (Ps 22^{15} 'like water I am poured out,' La 2^{19}).—(ι) Much clearer is the meaning of the action attributed in Zec 9^{9} to the future ideal king, namely, the *riding upon an ass.* This is a striking allusion to the eminently peaceful aims of his rule. For the ass was the riding animal not of poverty (cf. 1 K 1^{33}) but of peace, whereas the horse along with the battle-bow is to be expelled from the future kingdom of God (Zec 9^{10}, Is 2^{4} 30^{15}, Mt 21^{7} 26^{52}, Jn 18^{36}).

(*h*) A connecting link between the symbolical actions of common life and those of the religious sphere is found in the *lifting up of the hand*, by which swearing is symbolized. The first instance of this meets us in Abraham's words, הֲרִמֹתִי יָדִי 'I have lifted up my hand' (Gn 14^{22}), and we have noted the same gesture as mentioned in the following passages: Ex 6^{8} (נָשָׂאתִי), Nu 14^{30}, Dt 32^{40}, Ezk 20$^{6.\,15.\,23.\,28}$ 36^{7} 44^{12} 47^{14}, Ps 106^{26}, Neh 9^{15b}, Dn 12^{7} †. To the same category belongs the somewhat obscure expression יָד עַל־כֵּס יָהּ (Ex 17^{16}), whether כֵּס be regarded as a by-form of כִּסֵּא 'throne,' which to the present writer appears impossible, or whether it is a corrupt form of נֵס 'standard.' The latter view seems to us the correct one, because the words manifestly point back to the rod of God (v.^{9b}), which had once more evinced its character as the standard of Jahweh by the defeat of the Amalekites (vv.$^{10-13}$). The most probable rendering would thus be: 'With my hand on the standard of Jahweh I declare [as interpreter of the Divine oracle in v.^{14b}], War continues for Jahweh against Amalek from generation to generation.' Swearing is symbolized, further, by *placing the hand under the thigh*: Gn 24$^{2.\,9}$ 47^{29}. See art. THIGH in vol. iv.

There are also two isolated actions mentioned in the OT, which are performed not on their own account, but in order to express an idea. We refer to the *cutting in pieces* of the concubine of the Levite (Jg 19^{29}), and of Saul's two oxen (1 S 11^{7}), both of which tokens bear the marks of symbol.

B. *SYMBOLICAL ACTIONS IN THE RELIGIOUS LIFE.* — (*a*) *Constant or usual actions.* (α) In *prayer* we find, first of all, the spreading out of the palms of the hands (כַּפַּיִם, Ex 9$^{29.\,33}$, 1 K 8$^{22.\,38.\,54}$, Is 1^{15}, Ps 44^{21} 63^{5}, Job 11^{13b}, Ezr 9^{5b}, 2 Ch 6$^{12b.\,13b.\,29}$; cf. Ps 141^{2b}, La 2^{19} 3^{41}). This gesture symbolizes the thought that one comes forward as a suppliant and desires to obtain gifts from God. Hence it is intelligible how also at times the hands simply (יָדַיִם) are spread out (Ps 143^{6}, La 1^{17a}), or lifted up (Ps 28^{2} 134^{2}, Neh 8^{6}, 1 Ti 2^{8}), or stretched forth (2 Mac 3^{20} *προτείνειν τὰς χεῖρας*). It is not at all likely that the word כַּפַּיִם 'palms of the hands' was chosen because originally it was the custom to stroke the image of the god (Wellhausen, *Reste*^{2}, 105). Would *this* have been a reason for retaining כַּפַּיִם with the verb 'spread out'? It may be noted that the heathen Arabs also lifted up their hands to heaven in the act of prayer: *e.g.* we read, 'Then he lifted up his hand towards heaven, and said, O Allah, give me victory over Nahd!' This is a parallel to Ex 17$^{11f.}$ (G. Jacob, *Altarab. Parallelen*, p. 8).—Further, in praying, one practised bowing down (Gn 24^{26} 47^{31}, 1 K 1^{47}, Job 1^{20}, Neh 8^{6}, Jg 9^{1}) or kneeling (1 K 8^{54}, Ps 95^{6}, Dn 6^{11b}, Ezr 9^{5b}, 2 Ch 6^{12b}, Ac 20^{36} *θεὶς τὰ γόνατα*), sinking of the head (1 S 1^{26}, 1 K 18^{42}, Ps 35^{13}, Dn 9^{20}). There can be no doubt as to the idea expressed by these actions. They amount to a confession that man humbles himself before his Lord and Judge.

(β) In the act of *blessing*, the hand is laid upon the head of the recipient, or at least stretched out towards him (Gn 48^{14}, Lv 9^{22}, 2 K 13^{16}, Mt 19^{13}, Mk 10^{16}, Lk 24^{50}). This imposition or motion of the hand is meant to symbolize the passing over of the blessing from the one party to the other—an idea which is expressed by the imposition of hands in other cases as well. Cf. the following groups of passages: Nu 8^{10} 27^{18}, Dt 34^{9}, Ac 6^{6} 13^{3}, 1 Ti 4^{14} 5^{22}, 2 Ti 1^{6}; Lv 16^{21} 24^{14}, Sus ^{34}; Ex 29^{10}, Lv 1^{4} etc.; Mt 9^{18}, Mk 5^{23} etc., Rev 1^{17}.

(γ) Other parts of the cultus also provided rich material for symbolical actions. To follow up what was said a moment ago, the *incense offering* is interpreted in Ps 141^{2} and Rev 5^{8} 8$^{3f.}$ as expressing the idea of prayer ascending to heaven. And no less are the other *offerings* the medium whereby such feelings as gratitude or penitence or the longing for reconciliation with God are expressed in an unmistakable fashion. For a God who is spirit has no need of such offerings for Himself (Ps 50^{13}; cf. Is 40^{16} and Ac 17^{25}).

(δ) Symbolical actions with a *negative* purpose included, in the first place, the oft-mentioned *washings* (Ex 19^{10} etc.). Washing oneself is spoken of elsewhere as an act of self-consecration (Jos 3^{5} 7^{13}, 1 S 16^{5}; cf. *Odyss.* iv. 759), and least doubtful of all is this symbolical sense in the case of Jesus' washing of His disciples' feet (Jn 13$^{7ff.}$).—Again, the *circumcision* of male children, when eight days old, as this rite was practised among the Israelites, had a symbolical meaning, being intended to indicate that the child in question belonged to the religious community of Abraham.—Within this community smaller circles receive a higher degree of consecration, and this, too, was effected by means of symbolical transactions. In the case of *priests* we read of washing, anointing (see above), etc., Ex 29^{1} 40^{13}, Lv 8$^{12.\,30}$. Again, the symbolical actions whereby the separation of NAZIRITES was proclaimed, are described in Nu 6$^{1-21}$ (cf. Jg 13$^{7.\,13f.}$, Am 2^{12}, and Ed. Vilmar, 'Die symbolische Bedeutung des Nasiräatsgelübdes' in *SK*, 1864). Once more, there are symbolical actions, although their number is very small, connected with *prophets.* The one action of which we read in this case is anointing, and the mention even of this is doubtful. In 1 K 19^{16} it is merely in parallelism with 'Jehu shalt thou anoint to be king' that it is said 'and Elisha shalt thou anoint to be prophet'; and in Is 61^{1} it is from the possession of the spirit that the inference is drawn 'therefore hath Jahweh anointed me.' Consequently we hear much in the prophetical writings of symbolical actions, and these demand a more detailed examination.

(*b*) *Unusual actions in the sphere of religion.*—This category does not yet include the writing up in public of Divine oracles in the way we find the prophets sometimes enjoined to do (Is 8^{1} 30^{8}, Hab 2^{2}; cf. Jer 36^{2}, Ezk 24^{2}). For this was not intended to give publicity to an oracle itself so much as to emphasize one quality of it, namely, its importance. With more reason may this class be held to include those instances in which prophets *gave a symbolical name* to a person or a thing: *e.g.* 'A remnant shall return' (*Shĕ'âr-jāshûb*), etc., Is 7^{3} 8^{3}; 7^{14b} 8$^{8b.\,10b}$; 30^{7b}; Zec 11^{7}. For Isaiah, in bestowing upon one of his sons the name *Shĕ'âr-jāshûb* (Is 7^{3}), gave an embodiment to the hope that at least a minority of Israel would return to their God; and as often as the bearer of this name walked the streets, *he performed a symbolical action by the bearing of this name.* Although silent, he preached a sermon whose text was Is 6^{13}. But, in the most proper sense, the category with which we are dealing has to do with the following passages:—

The prophet Ahijah tore his garment into twelve pieces, to illustrate the Divine determination to divide the kingdom of Israel (1 K 11$^{30-32}$).

A parallel to this passage was found by 'some,' as Abulwalîd (*Riqma*, ed. Goldberg, p. 215, lines 28–30) says, in 1 S 15^{27b}. They presupposed the reading וַיִּקְרָעֵהוּ, and took Samuel to be the subject of the statement 'and he rent it' (namely, his upper garment). But the subject of the preceding clause וַיַּחֲזֵק וג' is Saul, as the second of two persons that have been mentioned is frequently in the OT taken for granted as the subject of an action (Gn 3$^{10a.\ 11a}$ etc.; cf. König, *Stilistik, Rhetorik, Poetik*, p. 180, lines 29 ff.). But a symbolical action is really recorded in 1 K 20$^{35ff.}$, where we read that one of the 'sons of the prophets' got one of his comrades to smite him, in order that he might exhibit by his wounds the punishment that king Ahab had deserved. A symbolical character belonged also to the iron horns which the false prophet Zedekiah put on, in order to express the notion that Ahab was to push the Syrians as with horns of iron (1 K 22^{11}). Something analogous is seen in the conduct of Tarquinius, who struck off poppy heads (Livy, i. 54) to indicate that his son should deal in like manner with the nobles of the city. While the imperative הַךְ 'strike' in Am 9^{1} is not certainly addressed to the prophet, chs. 2 and 3 of the Book of Hosea belong to the present category. Again, according to Is 20$^{2-4}$, the prophet Isaiah announced the defeat of Egypt and Ethiopia beforehand, by going about half-clothed (cf. 58^{7b}) and barefooted, like a captive. We may notice, in passing, the contrast to this presented by the words of Rev 11^{3} *προφητεύσουσι περιβεβλημένοι σάκκους*. Jeremiah, too, speaks of similar actions in 13$^{1-12}$ (the journey to the Euphrates), 18$^{1-6}$ (the work of the potter), 19$^{1-15}$ (the bottle cast out into the Vale of Hinnom), 25$^{15-31}$ (the handing of the cup, which is full of Jahweh's fury), 27$^{2ff.}$ (putting on of fetters), 28$^{10-13}$ (wearing and breaking a yoke), 32$^{7-15}$ (purchase of the field in Anathoth); cf. also the offering of wine to the Rechabites (35$^{2ff.}$), and the building in of great stones (43^{9}). In the Book of Ezekiel the following passages come into account: ch. 4 (the lying upon the left and upon the right side), ch. 5 (the cutting off, etc., of the hair), 12$^{3ff.}$ (the procuring of baggage appropriate to a captive), v.$^{17ff.}$ (eating bread with trembling), 21$^{11\,(6)}$ (sighing), v.$^{19\,(14)}$ (smiting the hands together), vv.$^{24-28\,(19-23)}$ (the appointing of two ways), 24$^{3ff.}$ (the setting on of the seething caldron), 37$^{16ff.}$ (the two sticks which represent the two separated portions of Israel). Finally, the prophet to whom we owe Zec 9–11 tells how he was appointed to be shepherd of the sheep for slaughter (11$^{4ff.}$), and received instructions to take to himself the instruments of a foolish shepherd (v.^{15}).

With reference to the above passages from the prophetical literature, the difficult question now arises, what we are to hold as to the literal performance of the actions mentioned by the prophets. We will examine the various possible solutions of the problem, in order to arrive at the correct solution.

(*a*) As in dealing with other questions, the proper course will be to consider the OT data themselves. It appears to the present writer that a starting-point from which a sure conclusion may be reached is to be found in Jer 25$^{15ff.}$. There we read: 'For thus saith Jahweh, the God of Israel, unto me, Take the cup of the wine of this fury at my hand, and cause all the nations, to whom I send thee, to drink it (v.^{15}). Then took I the cup at the hand of Jahweh, and made all the nations to drink, unto whom Jahweh had sent me (v.^{17}), namely, Jerusalem and the cities of Judah,' etc. (vv.$^{18-26}$). Now, it is obvious that the causing of whole cities and peoples to drink *cannot* have been carried out literally. But when, in spite of this, the narrative of this transaction runs as if it had been so, we have at least *one* certain instance of a prophetical action which to all appearance was literally performed, although its performance is seen to have been an impossibility. Jeremiah thus means nothing more than that he was stirred up by his Divine director to a certain action, and that he carried this out in his inner life. The purpose meant to be served by the Divine commission and the record of it, is to set forth the determination of God with the greatest clearness. Incidents belonging to the spiritual sphere are to pass like an earthly drama before the eyes of the hearer and reader.

The position of matters disclosed in Jer 25$^{15ff.}$ furnishes a ground for holding that some of the other symbolical actions of which we read in the prophetical books, could also have been performed only ideally. The prophets, like Jeremiah in the above passage, might so relate the symbolical transaction as to guide their hearers to the correct conclusion as to its actual or ideal occurrence. Let us examine this point in detail.

Jeremiah records in 13$^{4-7}$ how he was commanded by God to bury a girdle by the 'Perath' (פְּרָת), and that he carried out this commission. If the contemporaries of Jeremiah must necessarily—and no other possibility can be plausibly made out—have understood by 'Perath' the well-known great river of Asia, the Euphrates, they must at the same time have been aware that the prophet had not actually gone to the Euphrates.—Again, the circumstance noted in Is 20$^{2-4}$ that the prophet went about *for three years* half-clothed and barefooted, is far from natural. But it may be that the statement of time here is not original. The mention of a definite period seemed to be required, and so it was inserted in the form of a so-called round number. We venture to add another remark on this passage. The form of expression, 'At that time Jahweh spake *by* Isaiah' (v.^{2}) is extremely surprising, seeing that the following words are addressed *to* Isaiah. The form is not at all explained by such passages as Ex 9^{35}, Lv 10^{11}, 1 K 12^{15}, Jer 37^{2}, Hag 1$^{1.\ 3}$, which are cited by Duhm (in *Kurzer Hdcom.* on Is 20^{2}), for in none of these does any Divine message follow, addressed to the person who is introduced by 'by' (בְּיַד). Is it too much to assume that the man who wrote the words 'by Isaiah' meant to mark the contents of vv.$^{2-4}$ as containing nothing more than the report of an announcement by God? Have we not the same indication in the strange form of v.^{3}, where the words of God are reported in a definite form meant for the people? Was it not Isaiah's intention by this *narrative* to call attention to the overthrow of Egypt and Ethiopia?

But, be this as it may, the history which meets us in Hos 1 and 3 was certainly enacted only in the spiritual sphere. By means of the Divinely inspired narrative of the experiences of the prophet with an unfaithful wife, the ideal relations are meant to be portrayed, which had partly been realized in the case of the prophet's Master and the people of Israel, and were partly to follow by way of punishment. It is true that, even in recent times, there have not been wanting exegetes who have seen in these chapters the record of *actual* experiences (Nowack, *Die kleinen Propheten*, p. 29; Valeton, *Amos und Hosea*, 1898, p. 221 f.; O. Seesemann, *Israel und Juda bei Amos und Hosea*, 1898, p. 32 ff.). But the objections to this view appear to the present writer to be too weighty to be set aside. The marriage of the prophet with a harlot, if it had been an actual incident, would have been altogether too repulsive. And it may be remarked, in passing, that what the prophet was commanded to do was to take to himself a wife of whoredom and children of whoredom (1^{2}). The notion that 'the impure inclinations of this woman did not reveal themselves to Hosea till after marriage' (Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, v. p. 104 f.; similarly W. R. Smith, *Prophets of Israel*, p. 181 f., and G. A. Smith, *Book of the Twelve Prophets*, i. 238 f.) cannot be reconciled with the text. Our first main argument may be reinforced by the following questions. Would Hosea, even supposing his wife to have been thus guilty, have inscribed her name on the page of history and thus pilloried her for ever? Or would the name of his wife have been so much as named, had it not been a significant one? No, the designations *Gomer bath-diblayim* (Hos 1^{3}) do not really form a proper name. We are constantly told, indeed, that these designations defy all attempts to explain them as appellatives (Nowack, Valeton, *et al.*). But why may not *Gomer* mean 'completion' (Frd. Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, etc. p. 200), or, better, 'ripeness' (namely, for judgment), or 'end' (cf. גמר Ps 7^{10} etc.)? Why may we not find in *diblayim* the sense of 'double compression' (cf. E. Meier, *Wurzelwörterbuch*, p. 163 f.; Wünsche, *Erklärung des Hosea*, p. 15; Arab. *dabala*='coegit')? May not, then, the epithet *bath-diblayim* characterize Gomer as one who had to do with two husbands? (We may recall the question: 'How long halt ye on both knees? If Jahweh is God, follow him; and if Baal, follow him,' 1 K 18^{21}). Finally, it would surely have been a strange circumstance if Hosea's real wife had had a name composed of two elements, capable of being explained as='ripeness *or* end,' and 'double copulation.'

Further, Zec $11^{4ff.}$ records how the prophet was told to call one of the two staves, with which he was to shepherd the people of Israel, 'graciousness,' and the other 'union,' 'community of fate' (cf. Ed. König, *Syntax*, § 244*c*). Would not these very names be enough to show to the prophet's contemporaries that the actions recorded in vv.$^{4ff.}$ were not actually performed? This conclusion is favoured by the circumstance that there is no mention of the execution of the command given in v.^{15}.

Of greatest weight for the solution of the problem before us are the indications supplied by the prophet who speaks most of symbolical actions, namely Ezekiel. The data are as follows:—In the first place, in his narratives regarding symbolical actions, it is only rarely (12^{7} 24^{18}) that he states that these when commanded were carried out. Secondly, in place of mention of the actual performance of these, we find rather an account of their symbolical meaning ($4^{16f.}$ 5^{5} 12^{19} 21^{24-28}). Thirdly, the external performance of the charge 'thou shalt eat thy bread with trembling, and drink thy water with trembling and despair' (12^{18}), would have been scarcely noticeable. The intention of presenting clearly the Divine decree as to the final chastisement of Israel was realized by the bare narrative about a Divine command as effectively as would have been the case if the command had been actually performed. Fourthly, God's command to carry out a symbolical transaction is expressly introduced in these terms: 'Give to the rebellious house a parable (*māshāl*) and *say* (!) to them, Thus saith the LORD God, set on the caldron, and pour water into it,' etc. (24^{3}, cf. also 21^{5b}). This, too, favours the conclusion that Ezekiel's statements about commands from God to perform symbolical actions, do not differ essentially from the parables spoken in $17^{2ff.}$ and $18^{3ff.}$. But, as a matter of fact, these narratives may be understood as parables, whose subject is the prophet as the representative now of God and now of his people. As the *representative of God* he is to smite one hand against the other (21^{17}), to depict the conflict which Jahweh, to His sorrow, has to wage against the unfaithful majority of Israel (21^{24}), just as the smiting together of the hands is attributed to Jahweh Himself in 22^{13}. In the same capacity Ezekiel is also called on to depict vividly the rejection of Israel, to which God has been compelled to resort by the excessive unfaithfulness of His people (3^{24-27} 24^{25-27}). Hence, when the prophet has to picture forth the highest degree of the Divine displeasure, he does so by becoming dumb, *i.e.* by ceasing to act as a reprover (3^{26}), and by refraining from articulate expressions of grief at the destruction of Jerusalem, in order to impress upon the people about him the truth that this turn in their fortunes was a just punishment from God. This dumbness continued till, with the fall of Jerusalem, the Divine justice was satisfied, and then the Divine grace in the person of the prophet turned anew to the people ($33^{21f.}$), and sought to win their love.—Again, as *representative of his people*, Ezekiel is the subject of those narratives in which actions of Jahweh against Israel are vividly portrayed. This comes out with special clearness in the words, 'But thou, O son of man, behold, *they* shall put bands upon thee' (3^{25}), and 'Behold, I put bands upon thee' (4^{8a}). In this way the punishment impending from God upon Israel is described as inflicted upon the prophet, and the purpose of this is evident enough. The exiles who, living far from their native land, could not be onlookers at the act of judgment to be executed upon Judah and especially upon Jerusalem, were to have a clear reflexion of the fate of Jahweh's people placed before their eyes.

Such are the positive grounds for holding that Ezekiel's accounts of symbolical actions, whose actual performance is not specially mentioned (12^{7} 24^{18}), make up a species of parables, whose subject was the prophet as representative either of Jahweh or of Israel (cf. the present writer's art. 'Zur Deutung der symbolischen Handlungen des Propheten Hesekiel' in the *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 1892, p. 650 f.). The same conclusion, however, is supported by weighty considerations of a negative kind. For instance, is it credible that Ezekiel should literally have lain upon his left side for 390 days (4^{5}), *i.e.* for more than a year? Did the neighbours count the days? Or is it likely that he actually baked his barley cakes, using human excrement for fuel (4^{12})? These negative considerations have led even Smend (*Kgf. exeg. Hdb.* 'Hesechiel,' 1880, p. 27) to the conclusion that 'it is evident that such a transaction as that of 4^{4-8} cannot have been literally carried out.' Practically, the same standpoint is occupied also by Kuenen (*Hist.-crit. Einleitung*, ii. p. 258 f.), Toy ('Ezekiel' in *SBOT*, 1899), and Hühn (*Die Messianischen Weissagungen*, 1899, p. 160); and a similar judgment is passed by Frankenberg (in Nowack's *Hdkom.*, 'Sprüche,' 1898, p. 18). It may further be noted that Hos 1 and 3 are called 'parabolæ' by Wenrich (*De poeseos hebraicæ atque arabicæ origine*, p. 152).

(*β*) But in the most recent times there have been a number of exegetes who have held that all the symbolical actions mentioned in the Book of Ezekiel were externally performed. These scholars fall into two groups. The one group is made up of v. Orelli (in Strack-Zöckler's *Kgf. Kom.*, 'Hesekiel,' p. 3) and Giesebrecht (*Die Berufsbegabung der alttest. Propheten*, 1897, p. 171), who both found their interpretation upon the appearance of literalness in the language of the passages in question. In particular, Giesebrecht simply asserts that 'the symbolical actions of Ezekiel cannot be understood as mere figures.' But this is no argument.—The other group comprises the following scholars:—Klostermann, in his art. 'Ezechiel: Ein Beitrag zur besseren Würdigung seiner Person und seiner Schrift' in *SK*, 1877, p. 391 ff.; L. Gautier, *La mission du prophète Ézéchiel*, 1891, p. 85 ff.; Bertholet, in Marti's *Kurzer Hdcom.*, 'Hesekiel,' 1897, p. 24 f.; and Kraetzschmar, in Nowack's *Hdkom.*, 'Ezechiel,' 1900, p. v. They have come to this conclusion in consequence of accepting the hypothesis regarding the person of Ezekiel put forward by Klostermann in the above-named article. Hence it is necessary to examine this hypothesis, and to ask whether it can supply a ground on which to defend the view that the symbolical actions of which Ezekiel speaks were literally performed.

Klostermann's theory is based on the assumption that the dumbness of Ezekiel (3^{24-27} and 24^{25-27}) was due to a temporary *alalia* from which the prophet finally recovered ($33^{21\mathrm{f.}}$); and that his long-continued lying posture ($4^{4\mathrm{ff.}}$) was the result of *hemiplegia* (*l.c.* pp. 417 f., 422). But to this hypothesis there are the following objections:—(α) The Divine command to the prophet to shut himself up in his house and keep dumb ($3^{24.\,26}$), or to refrain from articulate lamentation ($24^{16.\,27}$), and to lie upon his left side (4^{4-8}), must be interpreted in the same manner as the command to shave his head and beard with a sharp sword ($5^{1\mathrm{ff.}}$). It is impossible to pick and choose amongst the various records of symbolical actions contained in the Book of Ezekiel. If, then, symptoms of disease on the part of the prophet are to be discovered in Ezk $3^{24\mathrm{ff.}}$ $24^{16\mathrm{ff.}}$ and 4^{4-8}, all symbolical actions of which he speaks must be traced back to some disease of his, and we must be permitted to bring all the particular features of the narratives of $3^{24\mathrm{ff.}}$ $24^{16\mathrm{ff.}}$ and 4^{4-8} into a causal connexion with some pathological habit of Ezekiel. But it may be asked whether, among other disordered inclinations, he had a fancy for using human excrement for fuel (4^{12}). Did he at one and the same time suffer from temporary *alalia* and also have the peculiarity at one time of sighing (21^{6}), and at another time of crying aloud (v.^{12})? If the Divine command to refrain from any articulate lament for the dead (24^{16}) is to be explained by a temporary speechlessness, then the non-shedding of tears, which is enjoined in the same verse, must be derived from a bodily idiosyncrasy of Ezekiel.—(β) It must be observed that in 3^{24-26} Ezekiel speaks not of dumbness in general, but of keeping silence with any prophetic message. This is obvious from the single circumstance that, in order to carry out the injunction of silence, the prophet had to shut himself up in his house—a course of action which would have been unnecessary if he had been suffering from temporary speechlessness. The same conclusion follows, on the positive side, from the circumstance that his silence is to evidence itself by his not coming forward as a reprover ($3^{26\mathrm{a}}$), and that it is to come to an end when his God again makes disclosures to him (v.^{27}).—(γ) If Ezekiel had suffered from temporary *alalia*, this could not have been unknown to his neighbours, whose principal representatives used to assemble in his house (8^{1} 14^{1} 20^{1}). But, in that case, a new attack of this dumbness could have had no symbolical meaning to them.—(δ) It must truly have been a remarkable *hemiplegia* which compelled the prophet to lie for exactly 390+40, *i.e.* 430 days, and thus to furnish a parallel to the 430 years (Ex 12^{40}) of Israel's bondage in Egypt.—(ε) If it was, as alleged, a bodily infirmity that prevented the prophet from articulate wailing (24^{25-27}), he could, and no doubt would, at least have expressed his grief at his bitter loss by practising all the other mourning usages. But, as he did not do so, it is unmistakably plain that his neglect of the lament for the dead was due, not to a bodily indisposition but to a higher impulse. What a novel kind of *alalia*, by the way, which had its cessation foretold (3^{26} 24^{27})!

Consequently, the view that all the symbolical actions mentioned in the Book of Ezekiel were literally performed, fails again to find any support from Klostermann's hypothesis about the condition of the prophet's health. On the contrary, in 3^{24-26} 24^{25-27} and 4^{4-8} he is only represented as the subject of a symbolical action in the same way as in $5^{2\mathrm{ff.}}$ etc. It is also intelligible how he should be introduced as afflicted with dumbness. For God meant to symbolize the extreme of His displeasure against Israel by breaking off His revelations (3^{27}). Again, Ezekiel is described in 4^{4-8} as lying, because Israel's captive condition might suitably be regarded also as a lying, just as it is elsewhere (Hos $3^{3\mathrm{a}}$) compared to a sitting in isolation.

A subdivision of symbolical actions may be formed of those which depict some feature of the future consummation of the Kingdom of God. They may be called *προφητεῖαι δι' ἔργων* (Adrianos, *Εἰσαγωγὴ εἰς τὰς θείας γραφάς*, ed. Goessling, § 130) or 'types.' But it is questionable whether the OT speaks of any actions which were meant to be performed with the intention of pointing beforehand to some incident in the life of Christ. This is doubtful even in the case of the passage in which Adrianos (*l.c.*) appears with a measure of certainty to have discovered a *προφητεία δι' ἔργων*. We refer to Gn 22^{2} 'Take now thy son Isaac, thine only son, whom thou lovest,' etc. This story is rather intended to express the notion that the God who has revealed Himself to Israel, holds human sacrifices in abhorrence. It could all the less have been meant to point to the time of Christ, seeing that God did not spare Himself the sorrow of offering His only Son as a sacrifice for the sin of mankind. Nor was the Flood sent to serve as an allusion to baptism, although it might afterwards be viewed as an analogue to the latter (1 P 3^{21}). This has been noted also by J. D. Michaelis in his interesting work, *Entwurf der typischen Gottesgelartheit*^{2}, 1763, p. 37.

The most familiar symbolical actions of the NT (Jn $13^{4\mathrm{ff.}}$, Ac 6^{6} *ἐπέθηκαν αὐτοῖς τὰς χεῖρας*, etc.) have been already referred to in speaking of symbolical *washing* and the *imposition of hands* (which see). To these may be added *the cursing of the fig-tree* (Mt 21^{19}, Mk $11^{13\mathrm{f.}}$), the texts relating to which are not meant to be a mere 'symbolical narrative,' as has been recently maintained in the *Theol. Ztschr. aus der Schweiz*, 1899, pp. 228–238. Further, the *casting of lots* (Ac 1^{26}) is merely an external parallel to the previously (v.^{24}) mentioned prayer; and, finally, the *breaking of bread* (*κλάσις τοῦ ἄρτου*, Mt 26^{26}, Lk 24^{35}, Ac 2^{42}) and *baptism* (Mt 28^{19}) have a fundamentally symbolical character. See BAPTISM in vol. i. and LORD'S SUPPER in vol. iii.

LITERATURE.—This has been indicated in the body of the article.

ED. KÖNIG.

RELIGION OF EGYPT.—

Introduction. Official religion and popular faith.
- i. COSMOGONY.
  - (*A*) Creation of the world.
    - (1) Supposed reciprocal relation between deities and men.
    - (2) Creation myths attributing the formative effect to *acts*: (*a*) separation of heaven and earth, (*b*) origin of the sun, (*c*) origin of gods and men, animals and plants, (*d*) methods of creation.—(α) a series of births, (β) artificial construction, (γ) procreation.
    - (3) Creation myths attributing the formative effect to *words*. Supposed connexion between an object and its name. Creation by inarticulate sounds a late conception.
  - (*B*) Destruction of the world.
    - (1) Supposed allusions.
    - (2) A deluge checked by the Deity.
    - (3) Rā's partial destruction of the human race.
- ii. THE OODS.
  - (*A*) Historical development of the power of particular gods.

- (1) Want of unity in the Egyptian religion.
- (2) The nome gods.
- (3) Attempted reformation by Amenophis IV.
- (4) Changing fortunes of the principal gods.
- (5) *Doppelgangers* amongst the gods.
- (6) Uncertainties due to our lack of complete information.

(*B*) List of gods.

- (1) Native Egyptian deities.
- (2) Foreign deities: (*a*) Libyan, (*b*) African, (*c*) Asiatic.
- (3) Deified men.
- (4) The popular gods. Partition of the great gods. (*a*) heaven and earth, and the heavenly bodies, (*b*) stone worship, (*c*) worship of high places, (*d*) cult of springs and streams, (*e*) animal worship, (*f*) worship of plants and trees, (*g*) city divinities, (*h*) veneration of buildings.
- (5) Deified abstract notions.

iii. THE CULTUS. The daily temple ritual.

iv. CONCEPTIONS OF A FUTURE LIFE.

- (1) Notions connected with the sun and his 24-hours' course.
- (2) Dwelling-place of the gods.
- (3) Realm of the dead variously placed: (*a*) above the earth, in heaven, (*b*) under the earth, in *Duat*, (*c*) on the earth, in the Plain of Aalu.
- (4) The Osirian doctrine of immortality: (*a*) the Osiris myth, (*b*) later influences of sun-god myths, (*c*) judgment in the world beyond, (*d*) the Book of the Dead, etc., (*e*) principal features of the Osirian faith. Part-souls.

Literature.

Introduction.—In studying the religion of ancient Egypt we encounter a phenomenon which it has in common with almost all religions. Two forms of conception may be distinguished, which started from the same principles and exercised a permanent influence upon one another, but which at the same time exhibit a number of radical differences in the view they take of Divine things. These two are, respectively, the official religion of the upper classes, and the popular faith. It is true that the difference is not so pronounced in the Nile valley as elsewhere, since the Egyptian religion was never subjected to a systematizing process and a logical establishing of its various dogmas, but always remained in a fluid condition, so that even the official religion was thus permanently exposed to powerful influence from the side of the popular conceptions.

The sources of information of which modern investigation can avail itself in seeking to arrive at a knowledge of the official religion of ancient Egypt are very copious. It is the subject of the inscriptions on temples, and of almost all the texts found in tombs and on monuments (including the religious papyri) dedicated to the worship of the dead. Far fewer materials have to be taken account of in estimating the popular religion. Its adherents belonged in general to the poorer classes, who were not in a position to erect any fine monuments. Besides, in the texts they destined for publicity, such persons almost uniformly employed the terminology and the formulæ of the official monuments, even in cases where they understood the dogmas in view differently from the priestly colleges of the great sanctuaries. In order to recover this realm of ideas belonging to the popular faith, our main resources are a series of ill-executed sepulchral steles and rock-inscriptions, sporadic passages in the temple texts and those concerning the dead which show traces of popular influence, and in which, notably for instance in the so-called Book of the Dead, the popular doctrine could occasionally not be passed over. When referred to, this doctrine is, strangely enough, spoken of as a great secret. Lastly, we have to take account of the statements of the classical writers, who, like their countrymen that were settled in the Nile valley, were brought into contact less with the priests and the upper classes than with the great mass of the people proper, so that their accounts reproduce primarily the notions of the latter. What holds good of these Greeks applies also to the Israelites, who, if they acquired information or received stimulus from Egypt, must have derived these from the middle classes or the lower orders, and not from study of the doctrines in the temples which were so difficult of access to a non-Egyptian, or of the inscriptions which must have been almost always unintelligible to a foreigner.

Under these circumstances, it will be necessary in the present article to lay more emphasis on these popular notions than it has been usual, in view of the above described meagreness of the sources, to do in descriptions of the Egyptian religion. But, on the other hand, owing to the want of materials and the constant interpenetration of the two forms of conception, it becomes impossible to treat the two apart; the difference between their points of view can only be indicated from time to time in the course of our exposition.

i. COSMOGONY.—(A) *Creation of the world.*—(1) From the earliest times from which we possess Egyptian religious texts down to the period when the ancient polytheism gave way to the Christian faith, the relation between Divinity and humanity was thought of by the inhabitants of the Nile valley as reciprocally conditioned. Man dedicates to the Deity food, drink, clothing, a dwelling-place—the things which the Deity, who shares in all earthly qualities and needs, requires for comfort. The Deity gives in return such benefits as he can dispense—long life, endurance, joy, victory over enemies, health, and the like. If either party neglects his duty, the other is at once set free from any counter obligation. Man offers only to *that* god who shows himself helpful to him; the god favours only *that* man who does him some service. Thus in the inscriptions the god says to the king, 'I give thee victory in proportion to thine offerings,' and the king threatens to discontinue his worship if the god will not bestow long life upon him.

As in every instance where similar notions are cherished, this way of thinking led in Egypt to the continuance of a polytheistic system. Upon the assumption that only one or only a few gods existed, or that their supremacy was universal, it was difficult to conceive how, in view of the conflicting interests of different individuals, any decisive pressure could be exerted on the Divine will by a particular suppliant. This was more practicable if a man could apply to special gods who had to be considered in relation to only *one* or only a few individuals. Then, when he had obtained the good graces of these, he could leave it to them to accomplish their will in the circle of their fellow-gods, or to bring it at the proper moment under the notice of a higher god. The kings of the gods were accessible, if necessary, to the Pharaohs and their court; the sphere of their activity was far too exalted to permit of their rendering continuous help to ordinary mortals.

In this way the notion that every family and every locality or province possesses and must retain for itself its special deities, persisted for thousands of years, and was never absolutely suppressed. At no time was there a religious system in which every Egyptian was bound to believe; the belief in the gods always exhibits a particular form and development in the different divisions of the country, the so-called nomes (see below, p. 182^{b}).

It is quite recently that historical science has come to recognize the above characteristic of the Egyptian religion. Only some thirty years ago it began to be urged and demonstrated that, in order to obtain a correct view of the faith of the ancient Egyptians, we must examine individual conceptions and individual deities, instead of setting up *a priori* principles. Up till then it had been the fashion to attribute to this people now an obscure monotheism, now a professedly profound but in reality perfectly unintelligible pantheism, or some other religious system, and to support such pretensions by sentences of the inscriptions torn from their context. From the point of view of scientific inquiry, the ancient Egyptian religion is made up of a long series of particular religions and separate spheres of ideas, which one has to follow in their development, unconcerned at first with the question which of the various conceptions is the oldest and whence each originated. The time may come when it may be possible to bring a number of the deities into connexion with the various elements that gave birth to the Egyptian people of history; with the Libyan aborigines, the conquering Ḥamites, and the Semite peaceful immigrants. But at present the materials at our disposal are far too scanty to lead to any certain conclusions, and the hypotheses that have been started about the Egyptian religion are already so numerous that in the interests of the progress of science any multiplying of them is to be deprecated.

(2) The variety of ways in which myth-forming speculation could view one and the same event forces itself at once on our observation when we essay a survey of the most important of the Egyptian myths intended to explain the origin of the world and of gods and men. It will be best to commence our study of the religion of Egypt with an account of these myths, because we can here take account at the same time of a number of fundamental ideas of the ancient Egyptians about religious questions, which exhibit resemblances to, or differences from, certain classes of notions that prevailed among the Israelites.

In the opinion of the ancient Egyptians, as with other peoples, our world, the heavens and the earth, and the beings that inhabit them, did not exist from the beginning, but were created. Not, indeed, out of nothing, but out of a fluidity which the Egyptians called *Nu*, and which may be compared with the *Chaos* of the Greeks. While this filled the universe, there was, as a text expresses it, 'not yet the heaven; not yet was the earth, not yet were formed the good and the evil serpents.' Or, as it is put in an inscription in the pyramid of a king belonging to the 6th dynasty (Pepi I. l. 663 f.), *i.e.* *c.* 3000 B.C., 'not yet was the heaven, not yet the earth, men were not, not yet born were the gods, not yet was death.'

(*a*) In this primeval mass lay hidden the germs of the future world, but no text as yet discovered points to any attempt on the part of the Egyptians to form a clear and harmonious picture of the relation of these germs to one another. It is only as to particular points that we have indications. Thus, according to a widely diffused notion, in primeval times the heaven, Nut (thought of as female), reposed in the close embrace of the earth, Seb or Keb (thought of as male). Besides the primeval fluid, Nu, there existed, according to Egyptian ideas, prior to the creation, *one* deity, who appears sometimes alone as a male god, and at other times falls apart into a male and a female form. This deity calls into existence from Nu the world that is to be. The means employed are very variously described, but they may be conveniently divided into two great categories, namely, *acts* and *words*.—Amongst the myths belonging to the first class the most popular is that which describes how the creating deity forced his way between heaven and earth, tore them from their embrace, trod the earth under foot, and raised the heaven on high with his arms. For the most part, it is Shu that appears as the separating deity, but his place is taken at times by Bes (Petrie, *Hawara*, pl. 2). We possess numerous pictures (especially from the period *c.* 1500–1000 B.C.), showing, with slight variations of detail, the breaking up of the ancient union. For the most part, the act is represented as just completed. The goddess of heaven, Nut, supports herself on her hands and feet, and so arches herself over the earth-god Seb, who is still falling. A number of other deities are generally to be seen, notably the gods of the Osiris circle. These are regarded as the children sprung from the union of Seb and Nut; they were gradually generated, but first made their appearance at the moment when their parents were torn apart.

Other pictures show a somewhat later scene in the process of creation. We see the earth-god lying wearied on the ground, while the separating god stands over him, holding up the goddess of heaven with his hands. To save himself from fatigue, he has sometimes called assistants to his aid: these either hold up particular portions of the heaven, or even form points of support for the arms of the god himself.—A variant of this legend found it unworthy of the god that he should himself permanently play the part of an Atlas, and be thus hindered from exercising his power in other ways. Accordingly, we are told how the god erected four bifurcated supports—one each in the north, the south, the east, and the west—to bear the arch of heaven. And, in order to ensure the stability of these supports, upon whose existence the continuance of the earth depended, a deity was set over each to guard it. It is the notion of these supports that underlies the figures of the four pillars which, in some pictures of the separation scene, appear beside the god. The names of the supporting deities are variously given. At times they are the usual deities of the regions of heaven: Horus for the south, Set for the north, Thoth for the west, Septi for the east; at other times the place of these gods is taken by goddesses. But the four supports mark the end of the world; and, when the Pharaoh desires to emphasize the fact that he is the lord of all lands, he declares that he rules 'to the supports of the heaven.'

The goddess of heaven is for the most part thought of as a woman, but at times also as a cow—two forms which from the point of view of Egyptian mythology are really identical. For in the Nile valley in general the only purpose served by the goddess is to be the mother and nurse of the future god. The natural symbol for this among an essentially agricultural people was the domestic animal that was most common, the cow, which hence appears as the form of manifestation of practically all the goddesses in their maternal activity. If, for instance, the Egyptians desire to represent the king drinking from the goddess, in order to imbibe, along with her milk, the immortality inherent in her, they introduce him in contact sometimes with the breast of an anthropomorphic form, sometimes with the udder of a cow. Even when such a Divine nurse is portrayed in human form, she is not infrequently provided with a cow's head, in order to indicate with corresponding emphasis her most important function (cf. *e.g.* Naville, *Deir el baḥari*, ii. pl. 53).

On the body of the goddess of heaven the celestial bodies move to and fro, the sun by day, the stars by night; hence she is often depicted with her whole body studded over with stars.

While in the above instances the deity of heaven always appears as female, there is another series of cosmological conceptions where a partition into a female and a male form takes place. We meet with these from about B.C. 1500 downwards, and it is quite possible that they originated at the date just mentioned, for during this period the whole Egyptian mythology is ruled by the effort to divide as far as possible all divinities into a male and a female form of manifestation. This is bound up with a phenomenon that appears even in the language. When the Egyptians wish to express a totality with the utmost possible clearness, they write both the masculine and the feminine of the word, thus exhausting the genders of a language that has no neuter. Thus they say 'every male and every female death,' 'every male and every female disease,' when they mean all forms of death or of disease. In like manner they seek to exhaust the totality of the notion of any particular deity by emphasizing the male and the female form of manifestation. This partition of the divinity is in most instances the result, not of a logical development of religious processes of thought, but of an artificial formation, the female supplementary being obtained simply by adding the feminine suffix *-t* to the name of the male deity. Thus from Ḥer was derived a Ḥer-t, from Rā a Rā-t, etc. (see p. 184^b).

In thus partitioning the deity of heaven, they usually thought of the female form as overarching the upper, inhabited, side of the earth, while the male form correspondingly arched the under side, both being thus placed at a distance, either above or below, the earth-god Seb. Starting from this conception, the rising of the sun is occasionally so depicted that the subterranean god of heaven holds up the sun at arm's length, while the *cynocephali* that have to greet the rising sun offer their praises to it.

Occasionally, although rarely, the sex of the deities of heaven is reversed, the upper heaven being male and its counterpart female. Thus in texts of the 13th cent. B.C. the rise of the sun in the under world is so depicted that the male god of the heaven of day hands the bark with the sun-god to the female deity of the nightly heavens, as she stands upon the spherically conceived under world.

(*b*) The above described cosmogonic conception is connected with another, intended to explain the origin of the sun, but to which we have as yet only brief allusions. One of these is found in the so-called Book of the Dead, a collection of magical formulæ, whose purpose is to procure, for the deceased, entrance into the world beyond and authority there. In pronouncing these the deceased is to identify himself with certain deities, and to endeavour to obtain advantages by pointing to this fictitious identity. One of the chapters (54), which we can trace back to about the year B.C. 2500, begins thus: 'I am the double lion of the egg of the great cackler, I guard the egg which the god Seb drops from the earth' (cf. *PSBA* vii. p. 152, xv. p. 288). This double lion is the horizon. Here sat, according to Egyptian notions, back to back two lions, which represented yesterday and to-day, the issue of the sun from the under world and his entrance into the upper world (cf. *Tombeau de Ramses IV.*, ed. Lefébure, pl. 40), and whose charge was to guard the sun as he rose between them. The sun himself is often called 'the egg of the great cackler,' while this cackler, again, is the earth-god, who was supposed to have let fall, *i.e.* laid, the egg. Hence he had assigned to him as his sacred animal the goose, which he frequently bears upon his head in those pictures in which he is introduced in human form as a man. How he conceived the egg is not expressly said in the texts, but a picture on a coffin of *c.* 1200 B.C. (Lanzone, *Diz. di mit.* pl. 159) points to the explanation. Here we see the earth-god strain himself under the male nightly heaven till his erected *phallus* points to his mouth. That is to say, he must have impregnated himself, and the sun portrayed behind him is the egg which he will detach from himself as the result of this act.

Alongside of the myth of the great cackler which in the form of a goose lays the sun-egg, runs another, according to which the sun- and also the moon-egg are fashioned by a deity upon the potter's wheel, a process in which it is especially the by-form of the god of Memphis, Ptaḥ-Tatunen (relief at Philæ, in Rosellini's *Mon. del culto*, pl. 21), that we find engaged. To Ptaḥ is attributed also the creation of the whole world, in which rôle he is called 'the great artificer,' so that in this instance we have to think not of a crude tearing apart of the primeval mass, but of an artificial construction of the universe. In this work the god had a number of coadjutors, the so-called *Chnumu* or 'formers.' These are little, dwarf-like, deformed, thick-headed forms, which, eight in number, were regarded as sons of Ptaḥ, or, at a later period, also of Rā. Images of them were frequently put in a grave along with the corpse. As they had once co-operated in the forming of the world, they would now in the world beyond devote themselves to the reconstruction of the deceased, and help him to attain to a new and everlasting life.

(*c*) But the creation of the world was a subject of far less interest to the Egyptians than the origin of the living beings and the objects it contains, gods and men, animals and plants. But in the myths connected with this subject we meet again with that want of systematizing which shows itself everywhere in the Egyptian world of ideas. We have statements as to the origin of particular beings and objects, but there is no finished story of creation such as we find, for instance, at the beginning of the Bk. of Genesis. It is this inability to combine individual notions into a whole that explains also how it was possible for the numerous particular statements to maintain their existence side by side in spite of their contradictions. Since it was not required to unite them into a harmonious system, there was no need to separate duplicate legends, or to exclude or harmonize irreconcilable elements.

For the most part, one was content to celebrate in general terms the praises of this or that god as creator. Thus, *c.* 1500 B.C., it is said of Osiris (stele in Paris, Bibl. Nat., published by Ledrain in *Mon. égypt. de la Bibl. Nat.* pll. 21–26; cf. Chabas, *Rev. arch.* XIV. i. 65 ff., 193 ff.): 'He formed with his hand the earth, its water, its air, its plants, all its cattle, all its birds, all its winged fowl, all its reptiles, all its four-footed creatures.' Again, we read of the ram-headed god Chnum: 'He created all that is, he formed all that exists, he is the father of fathers, the mother of mothers,' 'he fashioned men, he made the gods, he was father from the beginning,' 'he is the creator of the heaven, the earth, the under world, the water, the mountains,' 'he formed a male and a female of all birds, fishes, wild beasts, cattle, and of all worms.' In another passage the god of Thebes, Amon-Rā, is celebrated as 'the father of the gods, the fashioner of men, the creator of cattle, the lord of all being, the creator of the fruit trees, the former of the grass, the giver of life to the cattle.'

Similar functions are attributed also to other members of the Pantheon, and it even happens not infrequently that in the same tomb or temple different deities are hailed as creator in almost identical terms, without any sense of contradiction. It is seldom, however, that one gets beyond general language; and above all it is impossible to establish a fixed order in the succession of creative acts. Sometimes it is gods that first come into being, at other times men, or again animals or plants, etc.

(*d*) The choice of methods of creation, again, is left to the different deities—nay, one and the same god adopts one method according to one author, and another according to another. (*a*) Relatively most frequent is the conception of creation, after the analogy of earthly conditions, as a series of births. A god and a goddess are placed at the beginning of the development; these unite and have children born to them, who in their turn are gods. But gradually their posterity degenerates, becoming demi-gods and at last men. To avoid the difficulty of having to postulate the pre-existence of two deities, a myth, which recurs from the Pyramid era down to that of the Ptolemies, makes only one god pre-exist, namely Tum, who by means of Onani formed the first divine pair, Shu and Tefnut (Pyramid Pepi I., l. 465 f. = Mer-en-Rā, l. 528 f.; Papyr. Brit. Mus. 10188, ed. Budge, 'On the Hieratic Papyrus of Nesi-Amsu' in *Archæologia*, lii., 1891; cf. Pleyte, *Rec. de trav. rel. à l'Égypt.* iii. p. 57 ff.; Budge, *PSBA* ix. p. 11 ff.; Brugsch, *Religion der alten Aegypter*, 470 f.; and, for the creation myth, Wiedemann, *Urquell*, ii. p. 57 ff., where a collection will be found also of further ancient statements bearing upon the same circle of conceptions). Then were born to Shu and Tefnut the god Seb and the goddess Nut, who were the parents of Osiris and the gods of his group, whose children multiplied upon this earth. This genealogy shows that the Onanistic creation was placed before the heavens and earth were formed, the representatives of these first making their appearance as grandchildren of the pre-existing god.

It was not only gods that originated from a primeval deity by the instrumentality of Onani; men also were formed in the same way. In the tomb of Seti I., founded *c.* 1350 B.C., there are portrayed (Leps. *Denkm.* iii. 136^b) the four races of men, which, according to the Egyptian view, peopled the earth, and which are characterized as the flocks of the sun-god Rā. They are the reddish-brown 'men,' *i.e.* the Egyptians: the dark-yellow Asiatic Semites; the black negroes; and the whitish-grey Libyans. According to the accompanying inscription, these beings were created by another form of the sun-god, namely the hawk-headed Horus; the negroes by Onani, the Egyptians by his tears, the Libyans by the shooting forth of his eye, *i.e.*, apparently, by his warming beams.

A great creative power is attributed also in other inscriptions to the tears of a deity. They play a part in the most diverse periods of Egyptian history. There are other texts besides the above which trace the origin of the Egyptians to them. But then the sun as well brought other things into being by *his* tears. 'When the sun weeps a second time,' we read in a papyrus of *c.* 800 B.C. (Papyr. Salt, No. 825 in London, tr. by Birch in *RP* vi. p. 115), 'and lets water fall from his eyes, this changes itself into working bees, which pursue their task in flowers of every kind, and honey and wax are produced instead of water.' Further products of the tears of the sun-god Horus are cloth-stuffs, wine, incense, oil, the most varied objects used for offerings, which, accordingly, are designated 'the eye of Horus.' The tear of the goddess Isis, which falls into the Nile, causes the inundation of the river, and thus brings to the land abundance, wealth, and the means of nourishment.

Not only the tears but other fluids from the body of a deity have creative power attributed to them. From the blood that issued from the *phallus* of the sun-god when he cut himself, sprang, according to the Book of the Dead (chs. 17. 23), two gods, Ḥu (Taste) and Sa (Perception), who henceforth remained in his train. After the slaughter of the bull, in which Batau, who in the fable of the Two Brothers (composed *c.* 1300 B.C.) is conceived of as almost a divine being, had incarnated himself (Papyr. d'Orbiney, pl. 16, l. 8 ff.), two drops of blood fell upon the earth, and from these sprang two great trees, which now served Batau as an embodiment.—Side by side with the blood is the saliva. When saliva flows from the mouth of the senile sun-god and falls upon clayey soil, Isis forms from these materials a serpent, which at once assumes life, and whose bite threatens to be fatal to the sun-god (Wiedemann, *Rel. of Anc. Egypt*, 54 ff.).

The root idea is the same in all these instances. In every part of the body of the god, in everything that proceeds from him, there is a portion of his Ego, something Divine and therefore capable of development and life-producing.

(*β*) A further way to the formation of living beings was found in the artificial methods attributed to the gods. We have already had occasion to mention how Ptaḥ, the god of Memphis, was supposed to fashion the sun-egg on the potter's wheel. In like manner, according to the view that prevailed in Upper Egypt, the ram-headed god Chnum fashioned the king and his *ka* upon a similar wheel (relief at Luxor, in Maspero, *Hist. anc.* i. p. 157). If no wheel was available, the god was capable also of forming human beings in a simpler way. When the sun-god, in the fable of the Two Brothers (Papyr. d'Orbiney, pl. 9, ll. 6–8), found his favourite Batau alone, and desired to furnish him with a wife, Chnum 'built' a woman for him. Since the latter owed her origin to a god, she was more beautiful in her limbs than any woman in the whole land, and all gods were in her. The word 'built' has here for its determinative the picture of a man erecting a wall, so that the Egyptian writer thought of an actual construction of a woman—a manner of origin for which the reconstruction of the dismembered body of the god Osiris supplied him with a fitting analogy, for after this reconstruction the god at once acquired new life (cf. p. 195^a).

(*γ*) Procreation is another process which is not left out of account by the ancient Egyptians in connexion with the formation of man. It is employed above all by the sun-god when his earthly representative and son, the Pharaoh, has to be brought into being. In each successive case the god assumes the form of the present occupant of the throne, unites himself with the queen, and thus generates the future ruler (see the detailed representations in Naville, *Deir el bahari*, ii. pll. 47–53). This belief in the Divine origin of the monarch was held fast down to the Greek period. When Alexander the Great gave himself out as the son of Jupiter Amon, he was thoroughly accommodating himself to the notions of his Egyptian subjects. The ram's horn, moreover, which, in conformity with this origin, shows itself in the pictures of Alexander and his successors, has its prototype in the ancient Pharaohs, who (so, above all, Seti I. at Abydos) likewise, as sons of Amon, bear this horn.

For the most part, the king is satisfied with one god as his father; but at times a step further is taken, and the Pharaoh claims a plurality of heavenly fathers. Thus Ramses II. makes the gods of Egypt declare that they had generated him as their son and heir, while the goddesses tell how they nursed and brought him up, so that in a sense at least they performed maternal functions for the monarch.

(3) In all the forms of creation hitherto discussed, some *act* of a deity is required in order to call something new into being; it may be an act of violence, or a procreative act, or a shedding of tears, etc. But, side by side with these, there was a considerable series of myths which did not regard any active exertion on the part of the creator as necessary, but attributed the result simply to *speech*, the uttering of words.

The Egyptian assumed—and this is a very important notion from the point of view of the history of religion—that an inward and indissoluble connexion subsists between an object and its name (cf. Wiedemann in *L'Égypte*, i. 573 ff., and in the *Muséon*, xv. 49 ff.). Every thing has a name; without name is no thing, and without thing no name is conceivable. Thus the name becomes an imperishable component of the Ego, on a footing of equality with soul, form, heart, etc., and its continued existence is indispensable if the whole man is to enter upon immortality. Any one who utters the name of a god correctly is sure of his favour. When the goddess Isis succeeded by her wiles in inducing the sun-god Rā to whisper to her his real name, she thereby obtained the power of this god and became the supreme goddess. Any one who in the under world was able to call a demon by name was safe from any further harm at his hands; a gate must open its leaves to any one who named it correctly.

As acquaintance with the name of a god gave power over the god, so did acquaintance with a man's name give power over him. Hence it was very dangerous to one to have his name known to an enemy, who could make use of it in connexion with magic, and only required to introduce it into a formula to bring disease and death upon its bearer. The anxiety to escape such a result was sometimes so keen that the Egyptian bore two names—one civilian, by which he was called in his ordinary life, and one sacred, which was introduced only into religious texts, in the hope that its holy environment would avail to save its bearer from destruction. We meet with analogous notions among various peoples, it being sometimes the case that even the man himself does not know his real name, for fear of his inadvertently betraying it. The ancient Egyptians did not go so far as this, but the true name was uttered only in the narrowest possible circles. In the above-mentioned myth of the sun-god Rā, the god himself is made to say, 'My name was uttered by my father and my mother, and then was it concealed in me by my parent that no spell might be formed to bewitch me.' For these reasons it is often said of the great gods that their name is hidden, and from the second millennium B.C. downwards the Divine name *Amon* was explained to mean 'the hidden one,' as if the word had been derived from the root *ȧmen*='to be hidden,' which indeed is not true to fact.

The theory of the connexion between name and thing gave rise to quite a number of creation myths, which all go back to the same fundamental idea, however they may differ in details. The moment the deity in the exhilaration of his creative activity utters a word, the object designated by that word springs into being, even if it should happen that the word in the particular instance has quite a different meaning. The word had sounded so or so, and thereupon the notion inherent in it made its appearance, the word had assumed the form corresponding to it, and coexisted now with its notion to all eternity. Some examples taken from the presently to be described legend of the destruction of the human race, will best show how the Egyptians record the process of creation in such instances as we have in view. There the god says, 'I give thee authority to send forth thy messenger (*hab*), then originated the ibis (*habi*),' or 'I let thee turn (*ānān*) to the peoples of the north, then originated the *cynocephalus* (*ānān*).' Sometimes the word uttered is not even the exact name of the object, in which case a resemblance of sound sufficed to bring the latter into being. Thus in one text it is said, 'I let thee comprehend (*ȧnḥ*) both heavens, then originated the moon (*ȧāḥ*).'

Especially in the later periods of Egyptian history, from the 17th cent. downwards, such theories of creation, which in the earlier literature occur only sporadically, find favour, until in the Ptolemaic era a perfect passion for them sets in. Long, fantastic, occasionally unconnected, ætiological myths bring the god into the most diverse situations, in order to cause him to utter the word that shall bring into being one or another portion of the *materia sacra* of a particular sanctuary. And in such myths as little concern is displayed for logical connexion as for grammatically correct derivations (cf. *e.g.* the legend of the winged solar disc at Edfu, tr. by Brugsch in *Abhandlungen der Göttinger Akad.* xiv.).

The god who, above all, created by means of words, was Thoth; who appears sometimes, as at Hermopolis, the principal seat of his worship in Upper Egypt, as exercising this function on his own initiative, at other times as acting as the instrument of the creator proper, for whom he speaks. This was a rôle to which he was specially called, as lord of the words of the gods, composer of the most powerful magical formulæ, god of wisdom. Since he knows what is correct and gives it correct expression, he comes to be also the god of wisdom, who, along with his two embodiments, the ibis and the *cynocephalus*, is revered above all the gods by scholars and devout students of magic.

In all the ancient Egyptian literature known to us, actual words require to be uttered by the god in the act of creation. The notion that *inarticulate sounds*, his laugh and the like, could produce the same results, meets us first in the later Greek papyrus-literature of the Hellenistic and post-Christian period, and then in the Gnostic writings (cf. Maspero, *Études de mythol.* ii. p. 376). How far this belief is older than Hellenism cannot be determined. At all events, there is a connexion between it and the strange statement of the Church Fathers that the inhabitants of Pelusium paid Divine honours to flatulence and to the onions that caused it (Jerome, xiii. *in* Is 46; cf. Clem. Alex. x. 76; Minucius Felix, *Oct.* 28; Theoph. Ant. *Oct.* i. 15; Orig. *c. Cels.* v. 36).

The Egyptians had at their disposal a wealth of materials bearing upon the above doctrines, when it was desired to record the causes and the course of creation, but—to emphasize this point again and once for all—they never succeeded in harmonizing the particular conceptions and constructing out of them a finished system of cosmogony.

(B) *Destruction of the world.*—(1) While the ancient Egyptians have much to tell of the creation of the world, they know far less about its destruction, or even about a partial destruction of the world or of man. Presumably, this world appeared to the ancient Egyptian in a light so fair that in general he was unable to conceive of a time when it should be no more, and when no Egyptian should dwell any more on the banks of the Nile. It is true that recent investigators, founding upon some statements of a Saitic priest reported by Plato (*Timæus*, 22), have frequently attributed to the Egyptians a belief in a great world-conflagration. But the truth is that in the passage in question what is said is that, if a conflagration of the world should set in in consequence of the stars leaving their courses, the Nile would protect Egypt by its inundation. Egyptian papyrus-passages which have been cited for the same purpose (Ebers, *Papyrus Ebers*, p. 15), contain equally little to bear out the contention built upon them. They tell of a fire which threatened to be fatal to Horus, the son of the goddess Isis, and which Isis extinguished. But there is no thought here of a conflagration of the world, but of a local fire, presumably in a hut in the Delta where Horus happened to be at the time. The means, again, employed by Isis are little suited to the extinguishing of a world-conflagration (see Schaefer, *Aegyp. Ztschr.* xxxvi. p. 129 ff.).

(2) The only allusion as yet discovered to a deluge that threatened to destroy the whole earth, or at least parts of it, is contained in a papyrus of *c.* 1200 B.C. (Leps. *Denkm.* vi. 118, ll. 34–39 [the tr. by Pierret in *Études égyp.* 1 ff., is not free from errors]), which contains a hymn of praise to the pantheistically conceived Deity. Here we read: 'Thine (*sc.* the god's) overflowing water [lit. 'Thy spreading-itself-out'] rises to the heavens, the roaring water of thy mouth is in the clouds, thy jackals are upon the mountains [*i.e.* the jackals which, according to an Egyptian doctrine, drew the bark of the sun-god, have been compelled to retire before the flood to the mountain-tops]. The water of the god Horus covers the tall trees of all lands, the overflowing water covers the circuit of all quarters of the heavens and of the sea. A scene of inundation would all lands (still) be, were they not under thine influence. The waters (now) move themselves in the way which thou assignest them, they pass not over the bounds which thou settest them, (the path) which thou openest for them.' The Deity, that is to say, saved the world from destruction by the deluge, and now by his providence prevents a recurrence of that event.

(3) Another text treats of the destruction of a portion of the human race by the Deity, against whom they had rebelled, and thus belongs to the category of so-called Deluge legends in the wider sense of the term. We have this legend in two copies in Theban kings' tombs belonging to the period B.C. 1400–1200 (Lefébure, *Tombeau de Seti I.*, part 4, pll. 15–18, *Tombeau de Ramses III.*, pll. 2–5: cf. Bergmann, *Hierogl. Inschriften*, pll. 75–82; Naville in *TSBA* iv. p. 1 ff., viii. p. 412 ff.; Brugsch, *Religion*, etc., 436 ff., and *Die neue Weltordnung*, Berlin, 1881; Maspero, *Les Origines*, 164 ff. [*Dawn of Civilization*, 164 ff.]; Wiedemann, *Religion*, etc. [Eng. ed.], 58 ff.). There is a further allusion to this myth in Papyrus Sallier IV., of the Ramesside period (cf. Chabas, *Le calendrier des jours fastes et néfastes*, Chalons, 1870), which contains a list of the days of the year, with an appended note as to whether they are to be considered lucky or unlucky, and a record of the mythological occurrence which gave them this character. This text remarks on the 13th Mechir: 'Unlucky, unlucky, unlucky! Go not out in any wise on this day. It is the day on which the eye of Sechet grew terrible and filled the fields with desolation. On this day go not out at sundown.' The same occurrence is in view also in the plates of glazed clay which exhibit the lion-headed goddess Sechet, with a huge eye introduced behind her. These were intended, in all probability, to protect their owners from a fate similar to what then befell guilty men. Their pretty frequent occurrence down to a late period proves that the legend in question not only found its way occasionally into Egypt, but had wide and long-continued vogue.

The myth itself relates how the sun-god Rā ruled over gods and men. But men observed that he had grown old, his bones had turned into silver, his joints into gold, and his hair into lapis-lazuli. When Rā noticed how men were thus inclined towards rebellion, he secretly summoned the rest of the gods to Heliopolis to take counsel as to counter measures. The gods advised him to send forth his eye, the goddess Sechet (the sun in its consuming strength), against men to destroy them, although the rebels, filled with fear, had already begun to seek refuge in flight. Rā followed their counsel, and Sechet slaughtered mankind, wading for several nights in the blood of her victims, from Heracleopolis Magna in Middle Egypt to Heliopolis. But Rā quickly repented of having instigated this massacre. Not venturing directly to forbid the goddess to complete the task assigned her, he had recourse to stratagem. He caused beer to be brewed and poured into the blood of the slain. When the goddess saw this next morning, and found the fields flooded with it, she rejoiced, drank the mixture till she was intoxicated and could not recognize men. Thus mankind was rescued; but Rā was dissatisfied with himself, because he had not left their destruction unchecked. He saw in this a token of his weakness, and determined to abdicate his sovereignty voluntarily before a new weakness should overtake him. At first he set out, on the back of the cow of heaven, for the Mediterranean coasts. At this spectacle men were seized with contrition. They besought Rā to remain with them and destroy his enemies. But the god went on his way, men followed him, and, when it was morning, they came forth with their bows and joined battle with the enemies of the god Rā. Then spake Rā: 'Your transgression is forgiven. The slaughter (which ye have wrought on my behalf) compensates the slaughter (which my enemies intended against me).' In spite, however, of his forgiveness of men, Rā did not continue to dwell with them. He betook himself to higher regions, created the Fields of Peace and the Fields of Aalu, and settled many men there. Then he handed over his sovereignty of the earth to his son Shu (who was likewise a sun-god), called into being a number of sacred animals such as the ibis and the *cynocephalus*, and charged the earth-god Seb to give heed to the serpents, which must be charmed by means of magical formulæ.—In these details, which are not explained by the legend itself, some part is played presumably by the recollection of other myths, in which the serpents appeared as opponents of the sun-god, and with which the author assumed an acquaintance on the part of his readers.

ii. THE GODS.—(A) *Historical development of the power of particular gods.*—(1) We have already remarked that the Egyptian religion was not a unity. Nor did it form a concentrated system any more than the Egyptian State. The latter had originated in early times from a number of small States, which either peaceably or as the result of conquest had become united under a single ruler, without thereby making a complete surrender of their former independence. To these ancient petty States corresponded the later so-called *nomes* (Egyp. *ḥesp*), of which there were generally reckoned 22 for Upper and 20 for Lower Egypt. The number underwent not infrequent variations, adjacent nomes being sometimes united for administrative purposes, while at other times particular nomes might be partitioned owing to rights of succession or other causes. Nevertheless, these nomes, especially in Upper Egypt, continued to be the same on the whole from the Pyramid era down to that of the Greeks and Romans.

The nomes were independent from not only a political but a religious point of view. In their principal city stood the temple of the chief god of the nome, and here the conception and the worship of this higher being developed themselves independently of the religious development in other parts of Egypt. The cultus, however, was not confined to this nome god; worship was offered in his temple to other gods as well. In this way groups were readily formed, a goddess and a son or a larger family being assigned to the god, or the latter was conceived as the supreme deity, with a circle of inferior gods surrounding him. Nor did his cult exclude the worship of other gods in other localities of the same nome or in other temples of the same metropolis. The nome god was simply regarded in general as the tutelary lord who had the first claim upon the inhabitants in all specially important matters, and, above all, when their common interests were concerned.

(2) The authority of the nome god was not so firmly established but that it might be overshadowed, even in his own nome, by other deities, although such an experience was relatively rare. Thus the god of the Thinite nome was originally Ȧnḥer. At a later period, Osiris, the god of the city of Abydos, in the same nome, gained such preponderance that he stepped into the place of Ȧnḥer in the nome cult as well. In the Thebaid the principal rôle appears to have been played at first by Mont (Ment), the god of the ancient metropolis Hermonthis. With the advance of Thebes and the growing importance of its temple of Amon, the latter became from the 12th dynasty onwards the principal deity. But as the power of Thebes waned more and more during the Saitic period, the prestige of its god also sank in the nome, and the significance of Mont once more revived.

In other instances nome gods were able to extend their worship beyond the limits of their own province. Thus shrines were occasionally built to their own gods by men who had migrated from one nome to another. If these shrines were richly endowed, other Egyptians might be led to attach themselves to the newly introduced cult. As far as we can trace the matter back, in such cases the gods who from of old had been in possession were always tolerant, and took no umbrage at the introduction of the new divinities so long as these made no claim to supremacy over themselves. But cults of this kind, whose introduction was due to private persons, had no importance outside a limited sphere. The authority of a nome god increased in far greater measure when the princes of his province raised themselves to the rank of Pharaohs. The god had procured for his prince the supreme power in Egypt, and thereby showed that he was mightier than the other nome gods. The maintenance of his cult was consequently the primary duty of the royal house and of all the courtiers and officials connected with it, not indeed in the sense that an officially prescribed State cult was introduced, but one that had the force of consuetudinary propriety in view of the religious notions which had been cherished from olden times by the now reigning Pharaonic house. But similar considerations would gain over other Egyptians also to the new cult, and move the various priestly colleges to grant it admittance into their temples. This advance in the honours paid to some particular god, followed by a decline when the power of the dynasty from that nome decayed, may still be traced, by aid of the inscriptions, in the case of Amon, Bast, and other Divine figures. With other gods the change of prestige has taken place prior to the commencement of the literary tradition accessible to us. In primitive times, for instance, great significance was possessed by the jackal-headed god Ȧp-uat, who was ultimately regarded as the nome god of Siut. His image was borne upon a standard before the king, and the jackal's tail, in allusion to his cult, was, down to the latest times, worn by the Pharaohs, attached to their girdle behind, as a symbol of rule. In the course of Egyptian history, however, Ȧp-uat receded quite into the background in the cult. In the Old Empire he still held the place of one of the chief gods of the dead, in the Middle Empire even this prestige begins to decay, and under the New Empire in almost every necropolis his place is taken by another jackal-god, Anubis, who, in the train of Osiris, the god of the dead, obtains growing significance in the conceptions of the under world.

(3) In all these instances a political development of Egypt, originally quite apart from religious considerations, had brought with it as a logical consequence a change of faith, without the co-operation of any external compulsion on the part of the State. Once only was it otherwise, namely, when Amenophis IV. sought at one bound forcibly to raise to the chief place the cult of Ȧten, the solar disc, worshipped as one of the natural bodies—a cult which under his predecessors had been slowly growing in importance. The rest of the gods were to take only a secondary place, if indeed the attempt was not made, as in the case of Amon, to prevent their worship altogether, and to damage the god by destroying his name in inscriptions, etc. This violent revolution had no success. After the death of the innovator, even his own family speedily lost interest in his god. The temples consecrated to Ȧten were deserted and destroyed, his worship survived in only a few places, and even there to only an insignificant extent.

(4) In order that the heavenly figures should enjoy Divine authority, it was not necessary for them to be the chief gods in one of the nomes of Egypt; the enormous number of Egyptian divinities is itself sufficient to exclude such a supposition. Some of them even enjoyed widespread regard throughout Egypt, without ever having possessed any such local authority. Some even of the chief deities of the whole country have no place among the nome gods, as for instance the goddess of Truth Maāt, the god Nefer-Tum, the Nile god Ḥāpi, and, above all, the principal god of historical Egypt, Rā. This sun-god was indeed specially worshipped at Heliopolis, a city which was called after him by the sacred name *Pa-Rā*, 'house of Rā,' but the nome god here was originally not Rā but Ȧtum (Tum). The latter is likewise a sun-god, who even in later times always enjoyed veneration side by side with Rā, an attempt being frequently made to represent him as a partial form of Rā, namely, the god of the evening sun. For his veneration over the whole of Egypt, Rā is indebted, accordingly, not to any local authority possessed by him,—as a city Heliopolis never had any very great importance,—but to the doctrine concerning him and to the development of religious conceptions in the Nile valley.

In the time of the early dynasties, whose power was concentrated in Upper Egypt, and which, it would appear, succeeded only gradually in conquering the Delta, Rā plays no considerable rôle. Even under the 4th dynasty, which had its residence at Memphis, not far from Heliopolis, he is still quite in the background. With the accession of the 5th dynasty these conditions are changed. A fabulous story, dating from *c.* 2000 B.C., makes the first three kings of this dynasty to have been the offspring of the god Rā by the wife of a priest of Rā in an otherwise unknown place of the name of Sachebu. How old this legend is we cannot tell, but it is certain that from the 5th dynasty onwards all the Pharaohs give themselves out to be sons of Rā. Nevertheless, the god does not at first appear very frequently in the inscriptions, although king Rā-en-user of the 5th dynasty already caused a great sanctuary to be erected to him at Abusir (cf. *Aegyp. Ztschr.* xxxvii. 1 ff., xxxviii. 94 ff., xxxix. 91 ff.). It is not till the time of the Middle Empire that Rā is mentioned with ever-increasing frequency, and that the conception of the specially close relation between deity and sun begins at the same time to influence the conception formed of other gods. This leads, for instance, in the case of the Theban Amon, to a complete amalgamation of the old god of Thebes with the sun-god—a result which finds outward expression in the usual name for this deity under the New Empire, namely Amon-Rā. But, even when this new name is not employed, the simple name Amon is always during this period to be understood of the deity who had become a solar one. The same happened with other Divine figures. Sometimes the amalgamation is indicated by the name (Sebek-Rā, and the like), at other times the old name is retained, and it is merely the conception of the god that is influenced by solar notions. In the first millennium B.C. practically the whole of the more important Egyptian gods became more or less clearly defined sun-gods, and processes of thought derived from the solar faith were allowed to influence even the conceptions of the gods of the under world who were connected with the Osirian doctrine of immortality (see below, p. 195^b).

But, although the nature of the Egyptian deities was in later times prevailingly solar, we must be careful not to carry inferences from this back to earlier periods. We can trace the progress of the process by aid of the monuments, and are not at liberty offhand to place the result at the beginning of the development of Egyptian religion.

(5) In consequence of the independence of the various nome gods, the doublets already referred to were bound to arise in the circle of the higher powers. In his own district each nome god is at once creator, preserver, ruler of the world, quite untrammelled by similar pretensions on the part of his Divine neighbour. The Egyptians never attempted to remove the logical contradiction that thus arose. Quite the reverse! In taking over a foreign god to a new nome, they calmly took over also his titles and his myths, quite unconcerned that in this way a *Doppelgänger* to the old nome god found entrance into the nome. The only concession occasionally made in favour of more systematized thought was that deities of this kind were declared to be essentially identical or emanations of the same Divine notion, without, however, the further step being taken of abandoning the assumption of an independent individuality for each particular form. Especially in later texts it is often asserted that the nome or temple god bears in other places the names of the local deities, but one must not infer from this, as has frequently been done, *e.g.* even by Brugsch, that the forms in question are actually identical. Such statements are merely intended to characterize the particular god as the possessor of all Divine power—a position which in other places might quite well be attributed to any other who was the ruling deity there.

(6) In principle, then, the nome gods have equal importance, they may all of them, if the occasion demands it, have omnipotence attributed to them; but we have already noted that this relation might assume a different form in practice, according to the power of their particular nome. The material at our disposal does not indeed always give us a trustworthy picture of the actual conditions. We have an exact knowledge only of those deities whose places of worship and temples survive and have been already excavated. Our views are thus subject to constant shifting when new texts and monuments emerge from places that had not been previously examined. Chance plays so great a part in the matter that it is quite possible that gods at present scarcely known to us had great importance in antiquity, and, conversely, that the forms which are frequently named in our sources once possessed only slight significance. Here, as little as elsewhere in Egyptological questions, are we at liberty to forget that, in spite of the wealth of monuments that have survived, their number is relatively small considering the thousands of years of Egyptian history, and hence their data must be used with caution in drawing inferences as to ancient conditions in general. This must be kept in view in judging of the following list of the most important Egyptian deities. These are the forms of which the extant texts principally speak; and, above all, they are those which possessed the greatest interest for the nations of antiquity outside Egypt.

(B) *List of gods*:—1. *NATIVE EGYPTIAN DEITIES.*—Rā is the god of the sun, who, conceived of as a man, or as a man with a hawk's head, guides the heavenly bodies, creates new life by his rays, and thus blesses mankind, although at times he also shoots forth consuming fire (his eye is the goddess Sechet, cf. above, p. 182). The centre of his worship is Heliopolis (Egyp. *Ȧn* [Heb. אֹן] or *Pa-Rā*, Gr. Ἡλιούπολις [Heb. בֵּית שֶׁמֶשׁ]), where the kings of the 12th dynasty built him a great temple. For the most part he stands alone, but occasionally an artificially formed consort (see above, p. 179^a), Rā-t (Rā-t-ta-ui), is placed by his side. The monuments of the cult of Rā resemble the conical stone in which among others he embodied himself at Heliopolis. In the time of the Old Empire huge buildings were erected to him in the form of a flat-topped pyramid surmounted by an obelisk. The best known of these was that erected by king Rā-en-user at Abusir (see above, p. 183^b).

The god pursued his course in the heavens by ship. Two barks, bearing the names Mādet and Sekti, are generally attributed to him; in later times he is supposed to use a special vessel for every hour of the day. The name of Rā is associated with numerous legends which depict him as a king decaying with age, against whom gods and men rebel, but who always emerges victorious from the resulting conflicts. The texts name a number of other sun-gods along with and often confused with Rā. Of these we now proceed to notice the five most important—

(1) **Horus.**—Our treatment of this god is rendered difficult by the circumstance that under this name were understood two deities, who were originally quite distinct, although afterwards they passed into one another: Horus, the son of Isis (see below, p. 194^b), and Horus the sun-god. The latter, again, is separated into a number of independent individual forms, which are distinguished by additions to the name Horus. Thus we have: *Ḥer-ur*, 'Horus the ancient,' of Letopolis; *Ḥer-men-ti*, 'Horus of the two eyes,' of Shedenu in the Delta; *Ḥer-chent-ȧn-ma*, 'Horus in the condition of not seeing,' of Letopolis; *Ḥer-em-chuti*, 'Horus on the horizon,' the Greek Harmachis, at Tanis, and in the environs of Memphis, where the great sphinx of Gizeh is his symbol; *Ḥer-nub*, 'the golden Horus,' who is regarded especially as the midday sun; *Ḥer-beḥudti*, 'Horus of Edfu,' whose symbol, the winged solar disc, used to be placed as an omen-averter on temples, steles, etc. Then, again, *Ḥer-ka*, 'Horus the bull'; *Ḥer-desher*, 'the red Horns'; *Ḥer-ȧp-shetu*, 'Horus the revealer of the secret,' answer to the planets Saturn, Mars, Jupiter, which were thus thought of as solar forms.—*Ḥer-t* is a later-formed female complementary form of the male Horus (see p. 179^a).

(2) **Cheperȧ**, 'he that becomes' (Germ. 'der Werdende'), is primarily the morning sun. A Turin text declares: 'I am Cheperȧ in the morning, Rā at midday, Tum in the evening,' but the three deities just named are usually thought of in pretty much one and the same way as=the sun in general.

(3) **Tum** or **Ȧtum** is the god of Heliopolis, and

is frequently regarded as the creator; he is portrayed mostly as a man with the crowns of Egypt. A great temple dedicated to him was situated at the modern Tell el-Maskhuta, and known as *Pa-Tum* ('house of Tum,' the biblical Pithom; cf. Naville, *The Store-city of Pithom*, London, 1885).

(4) **Shu** appears, above all, as creator, and at Thebes and Memphis is named as one of the Egyptian kings of the gods. His female consort and twin sister is the lion-headed **Tefnut.** The notions cherished regarding this goddess, and especially her genealogical place in the Egyptian religious system, underwent numerous variations. In the myths she does not come at all prominently forward.

(5) **Åten,** 'the sun's disc,' of whom we have spoken already (see p. 183^{b}), is, in contrast to Rā, not an anthropomorphic form, but the celestial body itself. He is portrayed as the solar disc from which rays stream down towards the earth. These end in hands which reach down the signs for life, power, etc. Amenophis IV. (*c.* 1450 B.C.) desired to make Åten the ruling god in Egypt, called himself in honour of him *Chu(achu)-en-åten*, 'splendour of the solar disc,' and built him a great temple at Tel el-Amarna in Central Egypt, to whose neighbourhood he removed the royal residence, which had been at Thebes. Apart from the prominence it gave to the new god, the henotheistic (*not* monotheistic) reformation of this king made little change in Egypt. The organization of officials remained the same (cf. Baillet, *Rec. de trav. rel. à l'Egypt.* xxiii. 140 ff.), and so did the cultus and the religious formulæ, in which the ancient Divine names were simply replaced in many instances by that of Åten. In numerous hymns, touched with poetical feeling, which have been found in the tombs of el-Amarna, the god is hailed as beneficent star, bringer of light and heat, rejoicer of man and beast, creator and nourisher of all things and beings, the only deity that is worthy of veneration, etc. As a matter of course, no myth is attached to the nature god himself.

Amon of Thebes was presumably at first a god of the reproductive natural force which generates animals and plants, as were his neighbour gods, **Ment** of Hermonthis and **Min** of Koptos. The three names probably go back to the root *men* (='stand'), the allusion being to the erected *phallus.* At a later period Amon blends more and more with the sun-god (see above, p. 184^{a}), and thus arises Amon-Rā, who is now hailed repeatedly in hymns as creator, dispenser of nourishment, etc. More and more he arrogates the functions of other gods, and is first invoked in a henotheistic sense, and then designated pantheistically as god of the All, the other gods being his members and parts. During this period the custom originated of deriving his name from *åmen* ('to be hidden'), the idea being that his true name, *i.e.* his real nature, is concealed (see above, p. 181^{a}). He is portrayed as a man with a high feather crown.

At Thebes Amon does not usually appear alone, but in company with the goddess **Mut** and their son **Chunsu.** There is thus constituted a Divine family, a triad, the members of which, however, always remain independent, and never blend into a trinity. It was generally held in ancient Egypt that a god, like a man, grows old and dies. In order to secure, in spite of this, the perpetual life of the god, he is supposed to generate by his wife, who is usually also his sister, a son like himself, who, when the father dies, steps into his place. He in turn generates, by her who had been his own mother, a son like himself—he becomes, as the Egyptians say, *ka-mut-f*, 'husband of his mother,' —who succeeds him on his death. Strangely enough, there is no word of the goddess dying. But this is probably due, not to any real immortality being attributed to her, but to the meagre significance of goddesses in Egyptian mythology.

Besides the triad, we find in Egyptian temples groups of four or eight, and especially of nine deities. The composition of these groups rests upon a variety of principles: at times the forms have actually a close connexion, at other times one of the gods is regarded as king, the others as his court, etc. Pre-eminent in this class is the ennead of Heliopolis, in the formation of which a mythological system co-operated, and which then exercised an influence upon other temples as well (cf. Maspero, *Ét. de myth.* ii. 337 ff.). In place of a single ennead some temples have two, a great and a small, while others have a still larger number.

Mut, depicted as a woman with a human head or that of a lion, had a temple of her own to the south of Karnak in Thebes (Benson-Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, London, 1899), where she passed for queen of heaven and eye of Rā, and where numerous lion-headed statues were dedicated to her or to Sechet (see below, p. 186^{a}), particularly by Amenophis III. and Sheshonk I. Instead of her we occasionally meet with the grammatically formed goddess **Åment** by the side of Amon. She has nothing to do with the almost homonymous goddess of the under world, *Åmenti*, 'she who belongs to the realm of the dead.'

Chunsu appears to have been primarily a moon-god [*chens*='pass through,' here with reference to the motion of the stars]. He bears upon his hawk's head a moon-crescent and sun's disc, and the mention of him runs parallel with that of the other moon-deities (Thoth, Åāḥ, etc.). In later times he becomes the god of healing, and falls apart into two forms, 'Chunsu, the beautifully resting one,' who always abides in the temple at Thebes, and 'Chunsu, the executor of plans,' who is sent out by the other as physician and magician. To the first of these a great temple was erected at Karnak by Ramses III. and his successors; the latter had a small sanctuary beside it, which is mentioned as late as the Ptolemaic era (cf. *Aegyp. Ztschr.* xxxviii. 126).

Ment was worshipped at various places in the Thebaid; he has a hawk's head, solar disc, and the Amon feathers, and in the Theban period of Egyptian history he is regarded especially as the god of war, to whom the Pharaoh, as he sets out for battle, is compared. His embodiment at Erment is the Bacis (see below, p. 190^{a}).

Min [formerly read *Chem* or *Åmsi*] was the god of Panopolis, Koptos, and other places; he presents himself as an ithyphallic man, and is viewed as the god of procreation. Harvest and other joyous festivals are held in his honour, and he often coincides with Amon *ka-mut-f*, as the god who constantly reproduces himself and thus lives for ever.

Chnum or **Chnuphis,** the ram-headed god of the cataract region, is creator of the world, which he fashioned upon the potter's wheel, and of human beings, whom he 'constructed.' By his side appear the goddesses to be presently mentioned, Sati and Ånukit. In addition, we find occasionally coupled with him the frog-headed goddess **Ḥekt,** who is frequently mentioned from the earliest times downwards, without our being able, however, to fix her exact significance. At all events, she played a part in the resurrection dogma, which was symbolized down to the Christian-Coptic era by her sacred animal, the frog.

Ptaḥ (Gr. Φθᾶ) was the god of Memphis, and, as such, well known to the Greeks, who for unknown reasons call him *Hephæstos*. Herodotus visited and described his temple (Herod. ii. 99, 101, 121, 176). Ptaḥ appears in mummy form, swathed, with only the head free; the feet are placed upon the sign for truth. In Memphis he was regarded as the first king of the country and as creator, a rôle which at Philæ is assigned to *Ptah-Tatunen*, a combination of Ptaḥ and Tanen or Tatunen, a deity who makes his appearance especially in Nubia, and who, as earth-god, recalls the Egyptian Seb (Keb). Ptaḥ is also combined with other deities so as to form new special gods. Thus we have *Ptaḥ-Āten-en-pet*, 'Ptaḥ solar disc of the heaven,' who illumines the earth with his rays; *Ptaḥ-Nu*, the father of the gods; *Ptaḥ-Ḥāpi*, Ptaḥ the Nile; and, above all, *Ptaḥ-Sokaris*, to whom *Ptaḥ-Sokaris-Osiris*, *Ptaḥ-Osiris*, and Sokaris alone (see below) correspond. The triad at Memphis is composed of Ptaḥ along with Sechet and their son Nefer-Tum or Imḥetep (Imûthes).

Sechet (Sechmet) is a lion-headed sun-goddess, who, under the title of 'the eye of Rā,' slaughters Rā's enemies. In her essential significance she coincides pretty nearly with the lion-headed Mut of Thebes, Tefnut, Pacht of Speos Artemidos, and the cat-headed Bast of Bubastis.

Nefer-Tum appears, particularly in more recent texts, as a man whose head is surmounted by a budding lotus, from which we may infer that he was a god of the regeneration and reawakening of nature, although there are no specific details of this in the inscriptions. **Imḥetep**, 'he who comes in peace,' is depicted as a youth with a closely-fitting cap upon his head. He generally appears seated, with a rolled-up papyrus upon his knees. In earlier times his figure does not seem to occur, but in the later New Empire, and, above all, in the Saitic period, numerous bronzes of him are found, notwithstanding which he does not become any more prominent in the texts, where he is introduced as a learned god.—For the associates of Ptaḥ, see above, p. 179^{b}.

Sokaris, conceived of as hawk-headed, is primarily a sun-god. His principal festival fell at the winter solstice, and in the Ptolemaic period was celebrated on the morning [at an earlier period perhaps on the evening] of the 26th of Choiak (cf. Brugsch, *Rev. égyp.* i. 42 ff.). He was worshipped especially in the neighbourhood of the necropolis of Memphis (where there is still a reminiscence of him in the name *Saqqarah*), and thus became blended on the one side with the Memphitic Ptaḥ, and on the other with the god of the dead, Osiris, whose symbols were, in consequence, often assigned to him.

Nechebit of Eileithyiaspolis, the vulture-formed tutelary goddess of Upper Egypt, generally appears in company with the serpent-formed **Uat'-it** of Buto, the tutelary goddess of Lower Egypt. The combination of the two stands for the empire of the Pharaoh, who united both their spheres of authority under his sway.

Hathor, 'the house of Horus' according to the later etymology, is mentioned times without number, and had her principal temple at Denderah. She is the goddess of joy, the patroness of mirthful gatherings. Her sacred animal was the cow, in consequence of which she occasionally appears with a cow's head, and, even when she wears a human form, she has very frequently cow's ears. Another Hathor is regarded as the goddess of the under world, and yet other Hathors are the seven female beings who made their appearance at the birth of a child and, like our fairies, foretold its fortune.

Sebak (Suchos) appears with a crocodile's head or as a crocodile. Under this same name, however, we must distinguish at least three different deities. In the first place there was a sun-god, who is combined with Rā and makes his appearance pre-eminently at Ombos, side by side with the sun-god Aroëris. Another Sebak constitutes a kind of by-form of Osiris. Finally, there is a Sebak who is regarded as the god of evil. His sacred animals were the crocodiles, which were supposed to be the associates of Set in the under world, and which in most of the nomes of Egypt were hunted to the death. The centre of worship of a Sebak who was well disposed to men continued till a late period to be the Fayum.

(2) *FOREIGN DEITIES.*—The Egyptian gods during the flourishing period of the country's history were not exclusive. They admitted into their number such of the gods of neighbouring peoples as had been found to be powerful and capable of resistance. It is a sign of deterioration that such a course was not followed with the Greek and Roman deities, who had no place assigned to them in the temple cult, but had to be content with the worship of certain circles of the people who would regard them as special gods. In the first millennium B.C. the Egyptian religion was too ossified to permit of its assimilation of new ideas. And this all the more because at this very time an archaizing tendency made itself felt in religion, so that from the time of the 25th dynasty the oldest attainable religious formulæ are in the most unmistakable fashion sought out and employed once more. In earlier times it was different. Libyan, African, Semite deities were then worshipped in the Nile valley along with the native gods.

(*a*) From the *Libyans* the Egyptians, in invading their future settlements, presumably borrowed the goddesses Neith and Bast, who at the beginning of Egyptian history play a considerable part, then recede entirely, and come forward once more in the Saitic period (from B.C. 700 onwards).

Bast appears pre-eminently as the local goddess of Bubastis in the Delta, where she had a share in the cult of the principal temple (Naville, *Bubastis*, London, 1891; *Festival Hall of Osorkon II.*, London, 1892). She is portrayed with a cat's head, and, like all lion- and cat-headed goddesses, is regarded as an embodiment of the sun. She plays no considerable part in the mythology.

Neith was thought of as an armed woman, with bow and arrow in her hand. As local goddess of Sais she was well known to the Greeks. In mythology she is regarded as the mother of Rā, and then becomes blended with Isis, along with whom she plays a rôle in the Osirian festivals, which under the New Empire had one of their centres at Sais. The Libyans of the time of Seti I. tattooed the ideogram of Neith upon their arms and wove it into their clothes (cf. Mallet, *Le culte de Neith à Sais*, Paris, 1889; Petrie, *Naqada*, p. 64).

Amongst deities that were originally Libyan should perhaps be included also the two goddesses **Sati** and **Ānukit**, who at a later period make their appearance in the cataract district as companions of Chnum (see above). Sati is depicted with the crown of Upper Egypt and the cow's horns, and is regarded as queen of heaven and of Egypt, queen of all gods, and is compared by the Greeks with Hera, although she has fundamentally nothing in common with her. Ānukit wears a feather crown, is regarded above all as mistress of the island of Sehel in the neighbourhood of Philæ, and is compared with Hestia, but never succeeded in gaining any firm footing in Egypt proper.

(*b*) Bes and Ta-urt and their companions appear to be of *African* origin, by which is not meant that we are to think of divinities of a pronounced negro type. We have to do rather with deities whose acquaintance the Egyptians made through the medium of the tribes on the southern border of their empire, and to whom they left their grotesque forms, although these stood in the most glaring opposition to the refined forms of the genuine Egyptian gods, and permanently retained the stamp of their barbarian origin.

Bes is portrayed as a bearded dwarf, with long ears, bandy legs, long and generally bent arms, with a feather crown on his head. Behind him hangs down to the ground a long tail, probably that of the *cynælurus guttatus,* whose name (*bes*) the god himself bears. Apart from occasional ornaments, he is represented naked, and almost always as of the male sex. It is only rarely that a female form appears beside him. In later times a number of by-forms (Ḥait, Aḥti, Sepd, Ȧḥaui, etc.) take their place by his side. These are at one time identified with him, and at another remain independent. In the Old Empire he seems to have as yet played no part; in the Middle Empire there is still little mention of him; it is during the New Empire, especially in the Saitic period, that he attains his bloom (cf. Krall in *Jahrb. d. Wien. Kunsthist.* Samml. ix. p. 72 ff.; A. Grenfell, *PSBA* xxiv. 21 ff.). He is regarded as a deity who renders aid at the birth of gods and kings, who amuses the newborn babe with his dances and waits upon it, protecting it at the same time from all evil, and especially against witchcraft. He thus becomes one of the most important of the omen-averting deities. At times he is confused with the young sun, and at a later period is thought of also as a pantheistic divinity.

Ta-urt's embodiment is a female hippopotamus standing upon its hind legs, with thick belly and pendant breasts, and often with a long mane hanging down to the ground. She, too, is ready with her aid at the birth of gods and kings, and in certain localities she is regarded, in her by-form Ȧpet, as mother of Osiris. In representations of the under world she takes her place by the side of the cow-formed Hathor. She appears at the entrance to necropoleis and to the realm of the dead, presumably occupying this position that she may render aid at the new birth of the dead, the resurrection. Her symbol is one of the most frequently occurring amulets in tombs belonging to the more recent periods of Egyptian history.

(*c*) *Asiatic,* principally *Semitic,* deities (cf. Meyer, *ZDMG* xxi. 716 ff.; W. Max Müller, *Asien u. Europa,* 311 ff.) found their way into the Egyptian temples under the New Empire, a period during which the Egyptian people was much brought into contact, alike in peace and war, with the different tribes of Western Asia. The principal deities of this class are Baal, Reshpu, Astarte, Anta, and the city goddess of Ḳadesh. The last named will be dealt with in the same category as the Egyptian city goddesses (see below, p. 191^{a}).

Baal was worshipped notably in the Ramesside period, and indeed his cult appears to have had its starting-point at the city of Tanis in the eastern Delta, where Ramses II. gave to this god a place even in the chief temple. His name has frequently for its determinative the sacred animal of the god Set, with whom he thus appears to have been identified—a result which would be reached all the more readily because the by-form of Set, namely Sutech, was also regarded elsewhere as god of the Asiatics. No statues of Baal have been discovered in Egyptian temples up till now.

Reshpu, the Phœnician *Reseph,* carries a lance, exhibits Semitic features, and makes his appearance frequently upon steles belonging to the flourishing period of Egyptian history.

Astarte was worshipped in several Egyptian temples. The most frequently mentioned is her shrine at Memphis, which existed down to the Ptolemaic period, and must have stood not far from the Serapeum. In the treaty between Ramses II. and the Asiatic Kheta, she appears as goddess of the Kheta, but even Ramses II. himself esteemed her so highly that he named one of his sons after her—*Mer-Ȧ-(s)trot* (Wiedemann, *Herodot's Zweites Buch,* 433; cf. Spiegelberg, *PSBA* xxiv. 41 ff.).

Anta likewise makes her appearance as goddess of the Kheta. She bears shield, lance, and battle-club, and is occasionally mounted on horseback. Ramses II. and III. worshipped her, and the first named of these monarchs called his favourite daughter and future wife after her—*Bent-Āntȧ,* 'daughter of Anta.' But neither her cult nor that of her Semitic associates appears to have laid hold upon the mass of the people. It remained an official cult, quite in contrast with that of the Libyan and African divinities, who appear to have found their principal worshippers in popular circles.

(3) *DEIFIED MEN.*—In treating of the Egyptian religion, great importance has frequently been attached to the worship of the king of the land, and a whole pantheon of kings has been attributed to the Egyptians. But this way of putting it is not correct. The Pharaoh was, as we have seen already (p. 180^{b}), the direct offspring of a god, and hence bore the title 'beautiful god,' and felt himself to belong to the order of heavenly beings. Even during his lifetime hymns were composed which attributed to him all manner of divine attributes (for examples see Maspero, *Genre épist.* 76 ff.); he is portrayed with the insignia of the gods; his subjects approached him as a god, and no doubt offered adoration to him in the popular cult and elsewhere. But in the temple cult his worship had a very subordinate place. Amenophis III. indeed prays to his own *ka,* and obtains from the latter the promise of all kinds of heavenly gifts. Ramses II. admits himself into the number of his temple gods, etc. But, upon the whole, even these monarchs stand a long way behind the great gods. It may be noted also as a circumstance connected with this, that the cult ceases as a rule upon the death of the particular Pharaoh concerned. It is true indeed, that occasionally, even after their death, offerings continue for a considerable time to be presented to them in accordance with their own directions and from funds left by them for the purpose, until later generations apply these gifts to their own use, but it is seldom that the defunct Pharaohs continue to be invoked as actual heavenly powers. Only a few of them are mentioned after the lapse of centuries as deities (cf. *e.g.* for the kings of the first dynasties, Erman, *Aegyp. Ztschr.* xxxviii. 121 ff.), and even then only in company with others. The temples to the dead, which the Pharaohs erected to themselves, appear to have been nearly all very quickly alienated from their proper use.

Still less frequently than kings did ordinary mortals attain to Divine honours after death. One of these rare instances is found in the time of Amenophis III. in the person of Amenophis the son of Ḥapu, who is still regarded as a god as late as the Ptolemaic period (cf. Wiedemann in *PSBA* xiv. 334, *Urquell,* vii. 289 ff.; Sethe, *Ægyptiaca,* 107 ff.). Another is the prince of Cush, Pa-ser, who for a length of time bears the title of 'the god' (Wiedemann, *PSBA* xiv. 332 f.), and there are examples of the same in other two private persons under the 18th dynasty (Wiedemann, *Orient. Ltztg.* iii. 361 ff.). The Greeks assert, further (see the citations in Wiedemann, *PSBA* xiv. 335), that in the otherwise unknown city of Anabis a man was venerated as a god, and had gifts presented for him to eat. But such notices are isolated; the veneration of such men being confined as a rule to the narrow circle of the clan to which they belonged, or the officials of the building erected by them.

Naturally, we must not confound Divine veneration of this kind with the proper cult of the dead, the object of which was to ensure a supply of food and drink to the deceased so as to prevent his wandering about as a ghost, but which did not necessarily imply the attributing to him of any Divine attributes in the stricter sense of the term.

(4) *THE POPULAR GODS.—Partition of the great gods.*—The older investigators of the history of Egyptian religion proceeded on the principle that the best way to arrive at a thorough knowledge of the character of the particular deities was to collect all the references to them in the monuments and to draw conclusions from these. But the progress of study showed that identity of name is in the Nile valley no necessary guarantee for identity of deity, that, for instance, Horus of Edfu is quite a different form from Horus of Letopolis or Horus the son of Isis. This circumstance it was sought in the first instance to explain by assuming that the original Egyptian gods were worshipped at different places, and that, under the influence of the varying local development of doctrine, the varying images, etc., there arose in course of time different conceptions of the gods, which found expression in the local by-names for the primeval divinities. This view is in general correct, but the phenomenon had a much fuller scope than was formerly supposed. It happened not infrequently that even in one and the same place the same god was worshipped under several forms, and that each of these forms was regarded as an independent personality.

When in invocations a god appears with different by-names, as for instance Amon-Rā the king of the gods, side by side with Amon-Rā the lord of the throne of the world, our first impulse is to find here two titles of one and the same god, and we shall thus do justice upon the whole to the notion of the worshipper. But when in pictorial representations we see a number of forms seated together who all represent the same god, but with the addition in each instance of a different by-name, and who are worshipped together, the Egyptians held in such cases that each of the pictures had also a special divine personality corresponding to it. Thus Thutmosis III. appears at Karnak (Leps. *Denkm.* iii. 36 *c, d*) in the act of worshipping ten gods who are seated side by side and who are all called Amon, but one is Amon the lord of the throne of the world, another Amon-Rā the lord of heaven, another Amon of western Thebes; and these are followed by Amon the bull of his mother, Amon-Rā the great in love, etc. Sometimes the texts in such instances indicate that one is to address the god by his names. But in Egypt to name any one must not be understood in our weakened sense; the name is an independent part of the Ego, the different names have different independent forms corresponding to them. This occurrence of different forms of one and the same primeval god, if one might use the expression, explains how it is that upon certain steles the same god is portrayed in a variety of embodiments. Thus a stele now at Berlin (No. 7295, publ. by Wiedemann in *Mélanges déd. à Harlez*, p. 372 ff.) represents one of the king's shoemakers, Amen-em-ȧpt (about the 20th dynasty), engaged in worshipping the following forms: (1) the human-formed Amon-Rā in the valley, the lord of heaven; (2) the goose-formed Amon-Rā, the lion of valour, the great god; (3) the ram-formed Amon-Rā of Surerii, *i.e.* probably the deity who lived in animal form in a shrine erected by Surerii.

It will scarcely be safe to assume that in such instances as the above there has been uniformly a partition, due to local conditions, of the god into a number of individualities. Rather may we find in not a few of these forms originally independent deities, whose old names afterwards became by-names of a greater divinity, without the memory of their original independence being thereby permanently lost. Many indications in the texts suggest that there was once a god known as 'lord of heaven,' another as 'lord of the All,' a third as 'great in love,' etc., and that these titles were gradually drawn into the sphere of Osiris, Amon, etc., just as happened, for instance, in Greece with deities like Hygieia, Eubuleus, Basileia, and others (cf. Usener, *Götternamen*, 216 ff.). But the old deities never became completely absorbed in the new form, but always detached themselves from it afresh, as may be seen from the variety of their embodiments. To each particular form of the deity a special form of embodiment must correspond, for the Egyptians recognized no gods but such as were conceived of personally, whether as man or beast or any other perceptible object. Thus there could be in the same place different embodiments of the same great god, the latter being only apparently a unity, but in reality composed of a long series of Divine individualities independent of one another.

(*a*) The Divine forms for *heaven* and *earth* are supplied, in the Egyptian mythology known to us, by personal forms that animate these concepts, namely, the goddess of heaven, Nut, and the earth-god, Seb, to whom we have referred already in dealing with the creation myths. So is it also with the *heavenly bodies.* Here, again, there is in general no mention of the worship of the natural body but of that of a deity animating it. For the most part, it is true, these remained special gods; it is only in a few instances that we have to do with great gods whose functions extended beyond giving its proper movement to the heavenly body. Occasionally, however, the attempt was made to combine the special god with a great god, in the same way as at Thebes the special gods were readily brought into relation to Amon-Rā (see above, p. 185^{a}). We thus hear of Isis-Sothis instead of Sothis alone as goddess of the dog-star, or of Bennu-Osiris instead of Bennu (Phœnix). The combination of Horus with the planet-gods also belongs to this category. The old month-gods were almost wholly replaced by great gods, to whom the months were dedicated; the lists of later times have preserved of the old deities, properly speaking, only 'the great heat' and 'the little heat' for the two principal summer months (see, for lists of such divinities, Leps. *Denkm.* iii. 170 f.). The gods of the particular days of the week were also combined with great gods, whereas the goddesses of the hours of day and night were able to preserve their independence down to the latest times. It is only rarely then that we find an invocation of the stars themselves, or that a particular star is mentioned as a god except in star catalogues.

The proper moon-god Ȧāḥ gradually passed into the god Thoth, and, even when he is not exactly amalgamated with the latter, he is depicted similarly to him. In later times he is further attached also to Osiris. In the case of Thoth it is probable that, at least in some localities, we have in him an actual moon-god whose personality originally ran parallel with that of Ȧāḥ, and to whom the *cynocephalus* was sacred; whereas the later more important Ibis-Thoth, associated with writing and the healing art, is, to all appearance, of a different origin. Egyptology has not as yet succeeded in separating the various Divine primary elements combined in the same god, although the task is one that in the Nile valley is at once suggested and facilitated by the presence of the various sacred animals.

(*b*) *Stone* worship prevailed especially in Heliopolis, where the sun-god embodied himself, amongst other forms, in a stone. It is hard to say whether we should detect here the influence of the Semites, in whose native land Divine stones played a great part, or whether we have to do with genuine Egyptian notions. In any case, this species of worship exhibits itself as long established. The form of the deity appears to have varied; the texts speak now of a pyramid, now of an obelisk (whence the obelisks in the classical period of Egyptian history are always dedicated to Rā or to some deity amalgamated with him), and again of a kind of pillar; but the essential form is always that of a cone, the shape common to the Semites. It was probably owing simply to the influence of Heliopolis that the belief in this embodiment of Rā found entrance into other temples. The god Set, the opponent of Osiris, was occasionally thought of as embodied in a stone, as is shown by the determinative of his name, which is a stone in the shape of a brick-mould. Late texts mention also worship paid to the metals and to half-precious stones, but such notices are rare.

(*c*) The worship of *high places* could naturally attain to no great proportions in the Nile valley, as characteristic elevations are in general wanting in the flat plateaus that stretch along both banks of the river; but instances of it do occur. The circumstance that the temple of the Hathor of the copper mines of the Sinaitic peninsula was situated upon a mountain height, may, it is true, have been due to Semitic influence. But we find a similar state of things in other places as well. At Heliopolis there was a sandhill, on which sacrifices were offered to the sun-god at his rising (Piānchi stele, l. 102). At Gebel Barkal the mountain on which the temples were situated was called the holy mountain, probably because it was itself regarded as holy, and not merely because of the sanctuaries to which it afforded shelter. From the end of the second millennium B.C. come some notices pointing to the paying of Divine honours to the mountain peak over Sheḥ Abd el-Gurnah at Thebes. This peak has prayers addressed to it; a *ka*, a Divine personality, is attributed to it; transgressions may be committed against it, which it punishes severely, or forgives if entreaty to that effect is addressed to it. In other texts it is brought into connexion or even identified with the serpent Mer-seker ('she who loves silence'), one of the most popular deities of the Theban necropolis. But originally the mountain was an independent Divine form (cf. the texts in Maspero, *Ét. de myth.* ii. 402 ff.; Capart, *Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles*, vi. [April 1901]), which, amongst other functions, was supposed to discharge those of a healing deity. A more exact study of the rock-inscriptions of Egypt may be expected to bring to light more of these high-place deities; in temple-inscriptions, on the contrary, they appear to be practically wanting, showing that here they were not regarded as of sufficiently high rank to find mention by the side of the great gods.

(*d*) The cult of *springs* and *streams* was in the Nile valley naturally confined to a few instances, there being so slender a supply of independent watercourses. Of springs, the only one, properly speaking, that comes into consideration, is at Heliopolis. In it, according to a stele of the 8th cent. B.C. (Piānchi stele, l. 102), the sun-god Rā washed his face, and his example was followed by kings when they visited the sanctuary. It is not said whether the spring actually received Divine honours, but it certainly possessed a certain sacredness, which it retained even after the fall of the Egyptian State. The Arabs regarded it as the fountain of the sun; and, according to the Christian legend, the Virgin Mary, when fleeing from Herod, washed the swaddling-bands of the infant Jesus in it (*Evang. Inf. Arab.* c. 24; Abd Allatif, *Rel. de l'Égypte* [French tr. by de Sacy], p. 88 ff.).

Far more important was the place held by the Nile (Ḥāpi), on whose flow and inundation the prosperity and even the existence of Egypt depended, and which was conceived of as a fat man with nipple-formed breasts, flowers upon his head, and wearing a loin-cloth composed of sedge. He had temples in a number of places (Nilopolis near Memphis, Heliopolis, etc.); in other instances he was received into the important temples in company with other deities. The greatest of the popular festivals were held in his honour and to mark the phases of his increase; numerous hymns celebrating his beneficence have come down to us, being found even engraved upon rock-walls along with lists of offerings to be presented to him (cf. *e.g.* Stern, *Aegyp. Ztschr.* 1873, p. 129 ff.; Maspero, *Hymne au Nil*, Paris, 1868). In these texts he is hailed as giver of life to all men, bringer of joy, creator, nourisher of the whole land. In all this we have no myth in the proper sense of the term, and the Nile comes into no further relations with the great deities of the temples. Occasionally the Nile is not viewed as one divinity, but is divided into the Nile of Upper and of Lower Egypt. When these two bind together for Pharaoh the plants that characterize them, he is thereby constituted lord of the whole land. There are other instances where the process of partition is carried still further, and each nome has its own Nile.

In the train of the Nile appear a number of forms which embody the blessings dispensed by him. Thus we have the god of provisions, Ka (not to be confounded with the soul-form *ka*), who is also called the father of the gods; the gods Ḥu, T'efā, and Resef, which stand for abundance and nourishment; the goddess of corn, Neperá, and the serpent-headed goddess of the harvest, Rennut.

(*e*) The worship of *animals* (cf. Wiedemann, 'Culte des animaux' in the *Muséon*, viii. 211 ff., 309 ff.; *Mél. de Harlez*, 372 ff.; *Herodot's Zweites Buch*, 271 ff.) has been regarded from ancient times as one of the most remarkable features of Egyptian religion. In discussing this subject we must distinguish between the Divine honours paid to certain individual animals, and the high regard for whole classes of animals sacred to certain gods. In the latter instance it was supposed that certain animals were specially dear to certain gods, whether because they were fond of incorporating themselves in these, or for some other mythological reason. The animals in question must not be hurt or killed, in their lifetime they must be fed, after their death they were frequently embalmed and buried, but were not worshipped. The phenomenon with which we are dealing may be compared with the high regard for certain animals shown in other lands: for instance, at the present day, for the stork in N. Germany; it is not animal worship, properly so called. Almost every species of animal found in Egypt is included in this category of sacred animals (see list in Parthey's Plutarch, *de Is.* 261 ff.), but regard for a particular species is commonly confined to particular nomes or districts, and one nome had no scruple about killing and eating the sacred animals of another.

The case is quite different with individual animals that ranked as Divine. In them a particular god embodies himself when he descends to earth, and lives on in this incarnation in the temple. The cult is then occupied essentially with this god-animal, which is duly supplied with food, drink, adornments, etc. We learn this, above all, from the classical writers; the inscriptions in such cases always speak of the god himself. These animal deities were immortal in the sense that, whenever the animal incorporation died, a fresh embodiment of the god in an animal of the same species immediately took place. Moreover, the death of the first embodiment was not a complete one; its immortal soul passed, like that of man, as Osiris, into the world beyond. Hence the Osiris dirge was raised for the animal, and it was solemnly interred, sometimes in an isolated tomb, sometimes in a spot where there were numerous such graves of animals. Besides real animals, we encounter, amongst these embodiments of deity, certain fabulous creatures. Pre-eminent amongst these is the *phœnix*, an embodiment of Rā. The Egyptians came to look upon these fancied forms as actually existing creatures, like the sphinx, the griffin, etc., which were supposed to inhabit the desert (cf. *e.g.* Leps. *Denkm.* ii. 131).

The most important of the god-animals, or at least the most frequently mentioned in the classical authors, are the following:—

Apis (Egyp. *Ḥāpi*)—a bull in the form of which Ptaḥ of Memphis embodied himself, and whose worship is attested from the 4th dynasty down to the time of the emperor Julian. This animal was believed to be engendered by a moonbeam; the cow which gave birth to him shared in the veneration paid him. He was recognized by a number of marks, about whose appearance tradition varies as to details. Solemnly introduced into the temple, the animal gave oracles, partly directly, and partly through his attendants. His death occasioned general mourning; his place of burial, from the middle of the 18th dynasty, was a rock-cut catacomb, the so-called *Serapeum*, in the middle of the necropolis of Memphis. The soul of the animal passed as Osiris-Apis into the world beyond, and this double form became blended, in the minds of the Greeks who were settled in Egypt, with the notions of Pluto and Asclepios. Thus arose the hybrid god Sarapis or Serapis, whose cult at the beginning of the Christian era was diffused over the whole of the Roman Empire (cf. *e.g.* Lafaye, *Hist. du culte des divinités d'Alexandrie*, Paris, 1884).

Mnevis—an incorporation of Rā as a bull, at Heliopolis.

Bacis—a bull form of Rā (Mont), at Hermonthis.

Suchos—a crocodile embodiment of Sebak in a lake in the Fayum, which likewise gave oracles, and was interred in the catacombs of the labyrinth.

A *ram* form belonged, amongst others, to Osiris at Mendes, and Amon-Rā at Thebes. Thoth had the form of an *ibis* at Hermopolis Magna, and, it would appear, also in a temple at Memphis, where the ibis was regarded as a sacred animal, and buried accordingly.

The **Phœnix** (*bennu*), in earlier times conceived of as a heron, in later also as an eagle, was an embodiment of Rā, especially as the morning sun, in a temple at Heliopolis (cf. Wiedemann, *Aegyp. Ztschr.* 1878, p. 89 ff.), but worshipped also in other places in Egypt, and one of the forms of the blessed dead, whose resurrection was guaranteed by that of the Phœnix itself.

The **Sphinx**, a lion with human head, was an embodiment of Rā-Harmachis, who is represented in this manifestation-form by the great Sphinx of Gizeh. The Sphinx, further, represents more generally the form assumed by various deities when they descend to the earth as watchers. The figures representing sphinxes generally have the features of the dedicator of the particular sphinx, *i.e.*, for the most part, the features of a king. The majority of sphinxes are of the male sex. But if the deity portrayed should be female, and the dedicator of the monument a woman, the sphinx may also have a female form. The sphinx was originally unwinged; it was only under Asiatic influence that it came to assume wings.

The *cow* was an embodiment of Hathor and of other maternal deities.—The *serpent* was the form of embodiment of several deities of the tomb districts—above all, of Mer-seker (see above, p. 189^{a}), as well as of harvest deities like Rennut and many others.

(*f*) In the Nile valley there is less frequent mention of the worship of *plants and trees* than one might expect in the case of an essentially agricultural people. This deficiency of statement is explicable on the ground that the cult of vegetable life was part of the popular religion, and only found occasional admittance into the temple cult. Even when the latter was the case, one can always see clearly how loose was the connexion of the cult of plants with that of the great gods, and how little, in consequence, this connexion was maintained.

Thus, a religiously important tree is the *sycomore* which stood in the West on the way to the world beyond, and from which a goddess, who is more or less identified with the tree, supplied the dead with food and drink for their wanderings. This notion took its rise from the actually existing isolated trees growing at the commencement of the desert, in small hollows where water is found. Under the shadow of these the shepherd or the huntsman would seek rest, and express his gratitude by paying veneration to them. A great deal of vacillation is shown as to the particular deity with whom this sycomore is to be brought into relation. The one usually selected was Hathor, the mistress of the West, but besides her we find Isis, Selkit, Neith, Nut (cf. Wiedemann, *Rec. de trav. rel. à l'Egypt.* xvii. 10 f.). Within the sacred domain of the temples there were groves, the trees of which were occasionally venerated in the same sense as everything else connected with the temple. In the Ptolemaic period an attempt was made systematically to establish this veneration in the case of all temples, and thus to include the various species of sacred trees in the lists of *materia sacra*. Thus in 24 nomes we find the Nile acacia, in 17 the *Cordia myxa* (?), in 16 the *Zizyphus Spina Christi*, in 1 or 2 the sycomore, the *Juniperus Phœnicea*, and the *Tamarix Nilotica*. In all, 10 species of trees appear as sacred. Of these as many as 3 are sometimes venerated in the same nome (Moldenke, *Ueber die in altägyp. Texten erwähnten Bäume*, 8 ff.). So far as we know, the only tree that played a considerable rôle in the temple cult was one that grew at Heliopolis near the spot where the sun-cat killed the Āpepi serpent. From this tree the Phœnix took flight, and on its leaves Thoth or Safech inscribed the name of the king in order thus to endue him with everlasting life (cf. Lefébure, *Sphinx*, v. 1 ff., 65 ff.).

The most surprising circumstance in connexion with the whole subject of plant worship is that the tree which is most characteristic of the Nile valley, namely the palm, makes its appearance only very rarely in the cultus inscriptions. Thus, the palm is found instead of the sycomore of Nut upon a relief now at Berlin (No. 7322); and a stele at Dorpat (*PSBA* xvi. 152) mentions the goddess Ta-urt of the Dum palm; but such notices are only exceptional.

With greater frequency than sacred trees we encounter the special gods of corn, who, as noted above, are sometimes assigned to the train of the Nile god. Also the dogma of the resurrection of Osiris is brought into connexion with plant life, and Osiris awakening to new life is portrayed as a mummy lying upon its back, and with corn sprouting from it (Papyr. Louvre, v. 27, in Pierret, *Dogme de la resurrection*; relief at Philæ, in Rosellini, *Mon. del culto*, p. 23). Allusions to this doctrine are found as early as the Middle Empire (Birch, *Coffin of Amamu*, pl. 276), and then repeatedly in the Book of the Dead. Even in the Osiris festivals of late times the sprouting of grains of corn from the figure of Osiris still plays a part; and in a tomb of the time of Amenophis III. proof has been discovered by Loret (cf. *Sphinx*, iii. 106 f.) that it was occasionally the practice then, in connexion with burial, to make corn grow from an image of Osiris as a kind of pledge of human immortality.

(*g*) Of *city divinities* there must have been a considerable number, but only one of them is mentioned somewhat frequently, namely the goddess of Thebes, who was conceived of as an armed woman, and who appears in two forms, namely Uas-t 'Thebes,' and 'she who is there in sight of her lord' (originally the necropolis of Drah abu Neggah; cf. Maspero, *Ét. de myth.* ii. 403). As yet, we know nothing of temples erected in honour of such personifications. Even a foreign city deity found admittance into the Egyptian pantheon, namely the goddess Ḳadesh, who derived her name from a Syrian city on the Orontes, and who comes before us as queen of heaven, mistress of all gods, daughter of Rā. She is portrayed, with a front view, as a woman standing upon a lion. To what foreign deity she originally answered, whether a Semitic Astarte in her local form as worshipped at Ḳadesh, or a Hittite goddess, cannot be determined, but the fashion of her portraiture makes the latter supposition the more probable.

(*h*) There were also certain *buildings*, temples, pyramids, and the like, that were temporarily regarded as divinities to whom veneration was due.

(5) *DEIFIED ABSTRACT NOTIONS.*—These hold a special place in the list of Egyptian objects of veneration. It would be a mistake to look upon such deification as the result of profound philosophical speculation; it is simply a development of the fundamental idea which never ceased to make itself felt in Egypt, namely, that every word must have corresponding to it a perceptible form, a kind of personality, which could be portrayed and, if necessary, worshipped. The number of abstract notions known as yet from lists of gods or from other indications, is pretty large; the discovery of fuller lists will no doubt increase the number. The base of an altar (now at Turin, pub. in *TSBA* iii. p. 110 ff.) dating from the time of king Pepi I. (6th dynasty), supplies the following group: Day (*Hru*), Year (*Renpt*), Eternity (*Ḥeḥ*), Unendingness (*T'et-ta*); followed by Life (*Ānch*), Stability (*Ṭeṭ*), and Joy (*Fu-t-ȧb*). Further, we find here Seeing (*Ma*), and Hearing (*Sen*), and, finally, Right Speaking (*Maā-cher*). In other inscriptions appear Taste (*Ḥu*), Perception (*Sa*), Strength (*Us*), etc. When it is desired to portray these abstract notions, they are simply provided with a human form having the appropriate written sign on its head, or their ideographic hieroglyph sign is drawn with arms and legs appended to it. In the temple cult these forms in general scarcely received actual worship, although some of them are mentioned not infrequently under the New Empire. A number of abstract notions seem to make their appearance as a connected group at Hermopolis, where the so-called eight elementary deities enjoyed Divine honours. These eight, divided into four pairs, each with a male and a female, were Eternity (*Ḥeḥ*), Darkness (*Kek*), Heavenly Water (*Nu*), Earthly Water of Inundation (of the Nile, *Nenū*); see the Literature in Wiedemann, *Orient. Ltztg.* iv. 381 ff. From this starting-point they found admittance into other temples as well.

There was only one abstract notion which by itself played a prominent part, namely the goddess Maāt, 'Truth,' who appears as a woman, with the ideogram for 'truth' upon her head. She is quite materialistically conceived of; one can eat and drink the truth, in order to become truthful. Maāt is mentioned from the earliest times onwards, but, in spite of the widely diffused veneration for her, she had seldom a sacrificial cult of her own. When prominent officials are called 'priests of the truth,' this is probably rather a title intended to characterize them as specially truthful, and not the name of an actual office. Occasionally we hear of two Truths, in which case there was probably in view the distinction between truth in action, *i.e.* justice, and inward sincerity. The goddess of Truth, when represented as human, appears at times blindfolded, because she judges without respect of persons. She conducts the dead into the judgment-hall of Osiris, where she attends to the weighing of the heart. In mythology she plays no part; and if at times she appears as the consort of Thoth, this has nothing to do with her proper significance, but rests upon later speculation, which desired to bring the god of wisdom into connexion with the truth. A similar judgment is to be passed on the statement that Maāt is a daughter of Rā. This is simply an expression of the thought that the light of the sun brings the truth to view. None of these notions has been further worked up (cf. for Maāt, Stern, *Aegyp. Ztschr.* 1877, pp. 86 ff., 113 ff.; Wiedemann, *Ann. du Musée Guimet*, x. 581 ff.).

iii. THE CULTUS.—The worship of the deity in the temple was concerned, above all, with the charge of the image of the god or the sacred animal that found a place in the holiest part of the building, the *naos*. The door leading to the *naos*, or the barred gate giving access to the god-animal, was fastened by a priest every evening with a strip of papyrus, the ends of which were smeared with clay and a stamp impressed upon them. The following morning it was one of the first sacred functions to break this seal, and thus to renew the possibility of communion between the deity and man. Regarding this ceremony and others which accompanied or followed the breaking of the seal, we are informed through the ritual books of various temples which have come down to us, and which describe the various sacred duties to be performed on the morning of each day. We have the ritual at Abydos, in the time of Seti I., for Osiris, Isis, Horus, Amon, Rā-Harmachis and Ptaḥ (publ. by Mariette in *Abydos*, i. 34–86); at Karnak (in the Hall of Pillars, back wall), from the time of Seti I., for Amon-Rā (not yet publ.). Then there are isolated pieces; mostly with reference to royal visits to the temple, containing also pictures of the various ceremonies, mostly in the correct order, but furnished with abbreviated legends. These are to be met with on most temple walls, on the outside of the *naos*, temple doors, obelisks, etc. Further texts may be found in Papyr. Berlin 55 [now 3055] for Amon, and 14 and 53 [now 3014 and 3053] for Mut, both dating from the time of the 20th dynasty (publ. in

Hieratische Papyr. aus der Königl. Mus. zu Berlin, i., Leipzig, 1896–1901); cf. Lemm, *Ritualbuch des Ammondienstes*, Leipzig, 1882; and Moret, *Le rituel du culte divin journalier en Égypte*, Paris, 1902. For the parallel texts of the ritual for the dead, cf. especially Schiaparelli, *Il Libro dei Funerali*, ii., where numerous examples are given; for the meaning and translation of the latter texts, cf. Maspero, *Ét. de myth.* i. 283 ff. A number of the statements that come under the present category are already found in the Pyramid texts of the 6th dynasty. These surviving accounts of the ritual show that the ceremonies were nearly the same in almost all Egyptian temples.

There is first a brief indication of the ritual act to be performed, with a picture of it also when the text happens to be engraved in relief on the temple wall, and then follow the terms of the prayer which the priest is to utter as he performs each of the acts named. These prayers consist almost exclusively of invocations of the deity, without any further point of interest, whereas the acts themselves have a higher significance, as they let us see what was the form of the ancient Egyptian divine service. They show at the same time that the latter was very much of one cast, for the same ceremonies as were performed before the god every morning were performed also by the king when he brought a great offering to the temple in the hope of obtaining from the god in return the promise of victory over his enemies, joy, strength, or everlasting life. Much the same usages were followed, moreover, when the object was to reanimate a dead man, that he might be able to enter the world beyond and eat and drink there. We cannot go more fully into these ceremonies here, but we must speak of their order:—(1) There was first the 'striking *or* rubbing of the fire,' *i.e.* a spark was generated by striking a flint or rubbing dry pieces of wood against each other, and this spark was regarded as Divine and as an effluence of the eye of the sun-god Horus. It furnished the means of lighting the temple and of kindling the fire for the burnt-offering. The latter was the main object, for now follow: (2) the taking hold of the censer, (3) the placing of the incense-container on the censer, (4) the casting of the incense into the flame. Thereupon (5, 6) the ministrant advanced to the elevated place, the *naos*, (7) loosed the band that fastened its door, (8) broke the seal, (9) opened the *naos*, and thus (10) made the face of the god himself visible, and (11) looked upon the god. Reverently (12–17) he cast himself upon the ground, raised himself, and repeated the prostration a number of times, keeping his face all the while turned towards the earth, and then (18, 19) commenced a hymn of praise to the god. When this was ended, a series of offerings were presented to the god: first of all (20) a mixture of oil and honey, with which it was customary to anoint the images of the gods, and then (21) incense. After this the priest stepped back from the *naos* into the adjoining room of the temple, where (22) he uttered a short prayer. Then (23, 24) he took his place once more in front of the *naos*, and (25) solemnly praying ascended the steps which led from the temple floor to the level of the interior of the *naos*. Whereas he had hitherto stood lower than the deity, he now felt himself, after performing the above-mentioned ceremonies, to be on an equal footing with him, and might thus stand on the same level. But scarcely had he taken this step when he was seized once more with awe of the god, whose countenance was now distinctly visible (26, 27), he looked upon him (28), and repeated the prostrations he had previously performed (29–34). Then he burned incense (35, 36), and uttered one or more prayers and hymns in honour of the god (37–41). A figure of the goddess of Truth was now presented to the god (42), who, in order to be truthful, must receive the truth into himself by eating or drinking. Then followed an incense-offering, meant not only for the god who was the special object of worship, but for all his companions who shared the veneration of the temple (43). Then began the purifying and clothing of the god. First of all the priest laid both his hands upon the god himself (44), then upon the upper side of the case in which the figure was placed, in order to effect its purifications as well (45). Then he purified the deity with four libation-pitchers full of water (46) and with four red pitchers full of water (47), fumigated him with incense (48), brought a white sash (49) and put it on the god (50). Then he put on him, successively, a green, a bright-red, and a dark-red sash (51–53), after which he brought to him two kinds of ointment (54, 55), then green and black eye-paint (56, 57), an act which was followed by scattering dust before the god (58), in order thereby to make even the spot, on which the god or the sacred animal stood, clean. The priest next walked four times round the god (59), and this ceremony explains why the temple *naos* occupied a detached position in the sanctuary, namely, in order that this walking round it might be possible. At the close of this performance the presentation of offerings again took place. First the god received natron with which he was purified (60), then he was fumigated with incense (61), and underwent a purification with four grains of a substance brought from the south, and then with four grains of the same from the north (62, 63), then a purification with water (64), followed by a fumigation with ordinary incense, and another with the Ānti incense from Arabia (65, 66). Here ended the regular Divine service.

The object of all these acts was to clothe and to purify the god. The latter point was considered important, because the Egyptians in all matters of religion laid special stress upon bodily cleanness. Washings of every kind were required before any sacred transaction; even the gods must wash themselves repeatedly if they desire to consult the sacred books. Fumigating and rubbing with ointment also come under the category of purification, it being the custom in the Nile valley to perfume oneself before important transactions of a civil as well as a religious character. The man who above all had to wash himself was the priest, who was accordingly designated 'the clean' (*āb, uāb*), the ideogram for which is a man over whom water is poured or who finds himself beside water, in allusion to these frequent washings.

In addition to the purifying, the supplying of food and drink to the god or to the sacred animal played a part in the cultus; but here we have no extensive books of ritual to tell us in detail, for instance, about the prayers to be uttered in connexion with the performance of the various acts. No doubt, all this was regulated by as exact a code of ceremonial as the actions and prayers connected with the clothing and the purifying of the god. In regard also to other religious ceremonies we are without the prescriptions as to the occasions and the ordering of processions, burnt-offerings, and various consecrations. There are merely allusions in the inscriptions, but these show that here too everything was fixed by a hard-and-fast rule instead of being left to the discretion of the individual worshipper or the temple college.

iv. CONCEPTIONS OF A FUTURE LIFE.—(1) The notions as to a world beyond (cf. Wiedemann, *The Realms of the Egyptian Dead*, London, 1901), where gods and the dead have their home, are primarily connected in the Nile valley with the sun and his 24-hours' course. The sun rises in the east in the morning, and sails in his bark to the west; for the motion of the sun, like that of all the heavenly bodies, is conceived of by the Egyptians as effected by a vessel, the waters on which it sails being sometimes viewed as a heavenly ocean, and sometimes as a Nile that flows through the brazen heaven. The sun-bark is generally supposed to be carried along by the stream, requiring merely to be steered; it is only exceptionally that it is represented as drawn by jackals which run on both banks of the heavenly stream. In the cabin of the bark sits the sun-god, while other gods man the vessel. The day voyage lasts 12 hours, that is to say, the Egyptians divided the time from sunrise to sunset into 12 equal parts, these being consequently, as a matter of course, longer in summer than in winter.

The sun sets in the west, and commences now upon a subterranean stream its night voyage, which also lasts 12 hours. The whole voyage of the sun is compared by the Egyptians to the life of man. The god is born in the morning, grows old during his course, sinks in the evening, as an old man, into the night, to rise again as a new god the following morning. Usually the whole process is accomplished, as indicated above, within four and twenty hours; more rarely, instead of this, it is spread over a whole year or over longer periods of 365 and more years. Wherever the sun comes, he finds gods and spirits, but the distribution of these beings over heaven, earth, and the under world is variously conceived of at different times.

(2) As to the dwelling-place of the gods themselves we have only meagre data. In the matter of the cultus, apart from the offerings which were daily offered to the sun upon open-air altars, the whole concern was with the embodiments of the gods that dwelt in the temples. If *Doppelgängers* who did not dwell on earth were postulated for these, they were spoken of without any precise localizing of them, or they were called by such general titles as 'lord of heaven *or* earth *or* Egypt,' etc. In later times, in addition to this, the various gods are frequently conceived of pantheistically as inhabiting the whole world. Thus it is said (Horrack, *Lamentations d' Isis*, pl. 5, l. 2) of Osiris: 'The heaven contains thy soul, the earth contains thy forms, the under world (*Duat*) contains thy secrets.' A dwelling-place of the gods in the sense of the Greek Olympus is unknown to the Egyptians.

(3) Far more numerous than the statements regarding the abodes of gods are those about the region which was believed to be the place of sojourn of dead men when they were awakened to new life. This region is variously placed—

(*a*) *Above the earth, in heaven.*—Different views prevailed as to how the soul succeeded in gaining admittance into the sun-bark among the stars or into the spreading Plain of the Blessed. According to some, the soul, immediately upon a man's death, hastened to the west to the spot where the sun sank through a narrow opening into the deep, and there clambered into the solar bark. On board of the latter it passed through the under world, and the following morning rose to heaven. Others believed in a ladder, by whose aid the soul could climb to heaven. Another set of notions attached themselves to the cremation of the dead; the soul was supposed to ascend with the smoke from the burning corpse. But the most widely diffused view was that the soul had the form of a bird, that of kings being in the form of a hawk, that of other men in that of a bird with a human head. In this shape it left the body as it grew cold in death, and flew upwards.

On reaching heaven, the soul dwelt in the company of the gods and of the souls that had arrived there before it. How a place was assigned it here is a question on which the Egyptians in general do not appear to have had settled convictions. Only the Pyramids of the 5th and 6th dynasties notice it, the dead Pharaoh being here represented as seizing the supremacy of the other world by force. With the aid of his servants he captures the gods on his arrival, causes them to be slaughtered and cooked, and devours them along with their souls and attributes, crowns and bracelets. In this way their magical power passes over to him, and he becomes the mightiest of the gods. The texts give no indication, it is true, of how he was able to maintain this position against a subsequently dying Pharaoh, or to avoid being himself captured and eaten in turn.

(*b*) *Under the earth.*—Here lay *Duat*, 'the deep,' which the sun passed through by night, and which was divided into 12 parts, corresponding to the 12 hours of night. These were separated from one another by doors, or, according to another view, by massive gates. This realm is described in words and illustrated by pictures in a number of texts, notably in the Book of *Am-Duat*, 'that which is in the deep,' and the Book of the Gates, the beginnings of which go back to the Middle Empire, but which were widely circulated above all in Thebes from the 18th to the 20th dynasty. In later times they were less frequently copied. While their accounts are similar in their fundamental ideas, there are far-reaching differences in details. Through the midst of *Duat* flows a Nile, upon which floats the bark containing the ram-headed night sun. On the banks to right and left were found innumerable demons of the most varied forms, men, animals, especially serpents, or hybrid forms, human and animal. Many of them attend upon the sun, aiding him in his course. Others, with the great Āpepi serpent at their head, labour to destroy the sun, but are always overcome, although this does not prevent their always commencing afresh the conflict of darkness with light—a conflict whose end the Egyptians never attempted to portray, and probably never expected.

The souls of men joined the sun in the west when he entered *Duat*. The god assigned them fields in the various divisions. Here they lived under conditions that were in general far from enjoyable, and had to render help to the god on subsequent nights. Each of them had the benefit of only a single hour's sunshine upon their land. As soon as the god had left any division, night reigned in it, illuminated at most by the seas of fire in which enemies of the sun-god were burned, or by fire-vomiting serpents. Originally it was held that all men, good and bad, kings and subjects, would experience much the same lot in these regions. Only those who were expert in magic might escape from *Duat* and pursue their journey in company with the sun till they reached a new day. In later times *Duat* became the scene of a process of judgment, in which sentence was pronounced concerning good and evil. The good were then allowed to till the fields, the bad were punished by being plunged in seas of water and fire.

Similar and as little reassuring is the account of the future world contained also in other Egyptian works; hence, above all, the numerous exhortations to enjoy life which were in vogue from ancient times down to the closing period of Egyptian history. Here the future world is presented as a land of sleep and darkness, whose inhabitants recognize neither father nor mother, in which they pine for water and fresh air, and where there is a reign of absolute death, which shows no tenderness to its worshippers, and regards not the offerer of sacrifice.

(*c*) *On the earth.*—On this theory the realm of the dead appears to have been for long sought in the north, in the Delta. This Plain of Peace or Plain of *Åalu* (*i.e.* 'of marsh plants'; later, by popular etymology, explained as Plain 'of worms'), as it was called, was thought of as a district traversed by a stream and divided by numerous canals and river-arms into islands, which were the abode of the gods and the dead. The latter were mainly occupied with agriculture, which provided them with the necessary food. When the Delta came to be better known, the realm of the dead was naturally banished from it. At first it moved further north, still continuing on earth, but was afterwards transferred to heaven, being located in the region of the Great Bear.

In that form of Egyptian conceptions of the future world which prevailed in later times, above all in the Osirian faith, a realm of the dead, similarly thought of and named, lies in another quarter of the heavens, in the west, where the sun sets. Whether this notion is as old as that of the dwelling of the dead in the north—which appears most likely—or was of later origin, cannot be made out from the texts. From the time of the Middle Empire the adherents of the Osirian system are likewise at one regarding the western situation of the Plain of Åalu. The dead man, before he could arrive there, must first traverse the desert. In his earthly form, with the traveller's staff in his hand, he set out on his journey, commencing, according to the commonest view, at Abydos, from which a number of caravan roads ran to the west. Hunger and thirst threatened him; with Divine help he procured refreshment from the presiding deities of isolated trees; by means of magical formulæ he overcame the serpents which beset him, and the crocodiles which filled the streams he had to pass through. He was aided by the same kind of formulæ also when he wished to pass terrible demons, or had to go through mysterious rooms, or was terrified by all kinds of dangers. These formulæ, consequently, appeared to be indispensably necessary for reaching the life beyond; and they were collected into a compilation called by modern scholars the Book of the Dead. From the time of the Middle Empire it was a favourite practice to commit these formulæ to the grave along with the body of the deceased, inscribing them at times on the walls of the tomb or on the coffin, at other times entrusting them to the corpse itself, written on papyrus or on the swathings of the mummy. In the various copies extant the terms of the formulæ are approximately the same, but their order varies very frequently. The Egyptians did not mark off the road to the world beyond with geographical precision; the notions on this subject changed again and again; the order of the demons to be encountered and of the various realms of the gods is not the same. Only the starting-point is given, the western mountain-chain of Egypt, and the goal, the Hall of Judgment, in which the verdict is pronounced on the dead (see below, p. 197ᵃ). If this was favourable, they entered the Plain of Åalu, to dwell there for ever, or at least to find a home, which they left only if it was their own wish to do so. In the latter event, they could assume any other form they pleased, visit the earth, or even change themselves into gods.

(4) *The Osirian doctrine of immortality.*—We have already noticed in the preceding pages a considerable number of Egyptian conceptions of the future life. In this matter there was no uniform system of belief in the Nile valley. It appears to have been a generally accepted dogma that man's life endures for ever; but this was represented and developed by each nome in conjunction with its own religious conceptions, without any regard to the possible prevalence of contradictory notions amongst their neighbours. They even went further than this in their want of system. The very same individuals occasionally regarded views of the future life which were logically self-contradictory as equally legitimate, and gave them a place side by side in their funeral texts. We must here pass over a long list of such doctrines, and rest content with giving a short account of the most important of them—a dogma which already played a part in the earliest period of Egyptian history, and became from *c.* 2000 B.C. the prevailing conception of the future life, till, finally, in the first millennium B.C. it was practically the only doctrine on the subject that was taken account of by the great mass of the Egyptian people.

(*a*) This doctrine connects itself with the fortunes of the god Osiris. The first biography of this god we possess comes from the post-Christian period, being found in Plutarch's *de Iside et Osiride*; but allusions in the monuments show that much the same story of his life was known as early as the Old Empire. It is true that, besides this main narrative, there were a number of others which showed deviations in details. Above all, the conceptions regarding the most important episode in the god's existence, namely his resurrection, differed very widely, especially in the later texts. This may be due to the fact that, now that the Osirian doctrine was the prevailing one, the attempt was made to assimilate to it other doctrines of immortality, which originally started from other divine conceptions, or, conversely, to assimilate the Osirian doctrine itself to these heterogeneous processes of thought. The most widely current version, however, continued, to all appearance, to be that handed down by Plutarch, which is essentially as follows:—

Rhea (Nut), the consort of Helios (Rā), had sexual relations with Kronos (Seb). Helios observed this, and laid a curse upon her to the effect that she should not give birth to a child in any month of the year. But Hermes (Thoth), who was also in love with the goddess, succeeded in evading the curse. He won from Selene (Åāḥ) at draughts the 70th part of each day, and formed from these 5 intercalary days, which he placed at the end of the year. Osiris was born on the first of these days, Aroĕris (Ḥer-ur, the elder Horus) on the second, Set on the third, Isis on the fourth, Nephthys on the fifth. Osiris and Aroĕris pass for children of Helios, Isis of Hermes, Set and Nephthys of Kronos. According to some accounts, Osiris and Isis had already intercourse in their mother's womb, the result being the birth of Aroëris. In general Osiris and Isis appear as one married couple, Set and Nephthys as another. After a time Osiris became king of Egypt, ruled mildly, gave laws, taught the doctrines concerning the gods, and then journeyed over the world as an introducer of civilization. On his return he was murdered, on the 17th of Athyr, in the 28th year of his life or his reign, by Set, who had associated with him as fellow-conspirators 72 men and a queen of Ethiopia named Aso. Isis' grief was profound, but she found a companion in Anubis, a son of Osiris and Nephthys. Besides, she had herself a son by Osiris, namely Horus, who later became a helper to her after having during his youth been often threatened with danger at the hands of Set. According to Plutarch, Isis discovered the coffin in which Set had deposited Osiris, at Byblos in Phœnicia, and brought it from there to Egypt. Set, however, found the coffin which had been concealed by Isis, tore the corpse of Osiris to pieces, and scattered them. When Isis discovered this outrage, she searched for the different parts of her husband's corpse, and, wherever she found one of them, erected an Osiris tomb. Then she and Horus commenced a campaign against Set, which ended in the victory of Horus. By way of appendix Plutarch states that Isis had intercourse even with the dead Osiris, the result of which was the birth of Harpocrates (*Ḥer-pe-chrut*, 'Horus the child').

When we look more closely at the treatment of the corpse of Osiris, as described in Plutarch's narrative, we are struck with one feature which points to a mixing up of originally different accounts of the fate of the corpse. At first the latter rests as a whole in the coffin, then it is cut in pieces, and, finally, the pieces are again brought together. As a matter of fact, we have here a reflexion of the chief points in the Egyptian treatment of dead bodies; the only feature wanting is cremation, which in the earliest times was practised in the case of kings, and later occurs sporadically and in connexion with human sacrifice. This omission must be due to the circumstance that, at the time when the Osirian doctrine was attaining to full vigour, cremation was no longer sufficiently in vogue to demand consideration. During the Naqada period, a dismemberment of the corpse was customary at burial. In the Pyramid era this was generally replaced by the burial of the whole body, which it was sought at the same time to preserve from decay by a more or less complete process of embalming. During this same period we find also a transition form, by which the corpse was first allowed to decompose, and then the bones were collected and placed again in the proper order of a skeleton. At a later period the custom that had practically exclusive sway in the Nile valley was that of embalming, which then came in general to be regarded as that applied to Osiris. During the process of embalming the latter, Nephthys and Isis were said to have sung dirges over the god, in order to aid in his resurrection; and a similar practice for a like purpose was followed also in connexion with human interments (see the texts in Horrack, *Lamentations d'Isis et de Nephthys*, Paris, 1866; Budge, *Archæologia*, lii. 11 ff., 65 ff. The festivals in commemoration of the burial and the resurrection of Osiris at the end of the month Choiak are portrayed at Denderah; cf. Loret, *Rec. de trav. rel. à l'Égypt.* iii. 43 ff., iv. 21 ff., v. 85 ff.).

In addition to the embalming of the god, we hear of the reconstruction of his body. This connects itself with the erecting of his spinal column, and a festival in its honour was held on the 30th of Choiak especially at Busiris in Lower Egypt. Finally, side by side with this there lingers on till the latest times the conception of the dismemberment, in consequence of which various parts of Osiris' body remained at different places in the land, and continued to be venerated as relics in the particular temples, the so-called *Serapeums*. Upon this theory, then, there was no such collection of the parts of the body as is referred to by Plutarch. Thus the head of the god was said to be preserved at Memphis, the neck at Letopolis, the heart at Athribis. There is, however, no fixed system in the matter; occasionally the same parts rest at different places, according to the tradition of the temples concerned. Thus the head, for instance, is claimed not only for Memphis but for Abydos, and the legs are catalogued as Divine relics at a plurality of sanctuaries.

(*b*) Taken as a whole, Osiris stands in Egypt for the prototype of the man who after a virtuous life must die, but who afterwards rose again to life for ever. Even in early times, moreover, an influence on the conception of Osiris entered from the side of the sun-religion. This movement appears to have originated at Memphis, where Osiris was identified with Sokaris, the local god of the dead and of the sun, — in Abydos this amalgamation rarely meets us. Then, when the sun-worship was centralized in Rā, the latter assumed the character of a parallel to Osiris. The custom grew up of identifying the fate and the death of Osiris with the fate of the sun; and, as the old Osiris myth was also retained, duplicate dates were thus obtained for the period of the year that marked the occurrence of the different events in the life of Osiris. For instance, the murder of Osiris fell, according to Papyrus Sallier iv. (19th dynasty) and Plutarch, upon the 17th of Athyr. Numerous other texts (from the 18th dynasty onwards), on the other hand, transfer this event to the end of the month Choiak, the period of the shortest days of the year, within which the death and the regeneration of the sun are accomplished. It is this contamination between the Osiris and the sun-god myths that explains how Osiris, from being a human king of divine descent, becomes a complete god. Thus a text of the 18th dynasty describes him in detailed fashion as creator of the world (see above, p. 179^b), although, remarkably enough, it contains also copious allusions to the usual Osiris myth, and remarks: 'Isis the glorious, the avenger of her brother (Osiris), sought him and rested not while she journeyed through this land full of grief; she ceased not until she had found him; a wind she stirred up with her feathers, a breeze she created with her wings; she performed the panegyrics usual at burial; she raised up the wearied parts of him whose heart is still (the dead Osiris); she took his seed and fashioned an heir for herself.' The extraordinary method by which Horus is here generated after the death of his father is mentioned also in Plutarch, and meets us already in the Pyramid texts. This was a matter of faith then during the whole period of Egyptian history, and is even frequently (in Abydos and Denderah) the subject of pictorial representation (cf. Wiedemann, *Rec. de trav. rel. à l'Égypt.* xx. 134 ff.).

(*c*) Osiris in his lifetime had been a king on earth, after his death he became ruler in the world beyond. He there passed judgment on the dead, to him were presented the prescribed offerings which were meant to procure food and drink for the dead. His sisters Isis and Nephthys play no rôle in the world beyond. In general, Set, the murderer of the god, is of course tabooed there, and hence his name is avoided in sepulchral texts. This is carried so far that king Seti I., in the inscriptions on his tomb, in writing his own name, everywhere replaces the *Set* by *Osiris*. It is true that alongside of the usual tradition a wholly different class of conceptions is found attached to the god Set. In Tanis, for instance, he is regarded as a good god and a favourite of the sun-god, on whose behalf he pierces with his lance the Āpepi serpent—in contrast, again, to the Theban conception, in which Set himself corresponds essentially to the Āpepi serpent. This difference is probably connected with the circumstance that at Thebes one started from the original form of the Osiris myth, where Set appears as the murderer of Osiris; whereas, at Tanis, Set or Sutech, as god of the desert and of foreign parts, was amalgamated with the foreign god Baal, who was thought of as the sun-god, the result of which was that in this roundabout way Set assumed a wholly altered character.

Of far more importance in the future world than Set is the jackal-god Anubis, who is generally presented as a son of Osiris and Nephthys, but occasionally also as a son of Rā. He had aided Isis and directed the embalming of Osiris. According to the usual view, he was one of the guides of the dead, whom he, alternating in this function with Thoth, conducted into the judgment-hall of Osiris. His cult had no great vogue, whereas in early times a prominent part was played by another jackal-god Åp-uat (see above, p. 183). The worship of the latter had its centres at Lycopolis in Upper Egypt and Lycopolis in the Delta. In consequence of this double local worship, we frequently hear of two gods of the same name, who are called, respectively, 'Åp-uat of the south' and 'Åp-uat of the north,' and, further, by a combination of Åp-uat with Anubis, two jackals are frequently portrayed upon steles of the dead as guardians of the under world.

(*d*) The doctrine of immortality attached to the name of Osiris is the best known to us of all the Egyptian conceptions of the future life. To it is devoted the so-called Book of the Dead, whose oldest texts date from the Middle Empire (cf. Lepsius, *Aelteste Texte des Todtenbuchs*, Berlin, 1867; Birch, *Egyptian Texts of the Coffin of Amamu*, London, 1886; Lepsius, *Denkm.* ii. 98 f., 145–148; Maspero, *Mém. de la Miss. du Caire*, i. 155 f. [These texts show a great resemblance to the Pyramid texts which Maspero published in *Les inscriptions des Pyramides de Saqqarah*, Paris, 1894, a reprint from *Rec. de trav. rel. à l'Égypt.*, vols. iii.–xiv.]). Its period of bloom, to which belong the copies that are relatively freest from verbal errors and best illustrated, falls within the period from the 18th to the 20th dynasty (for the texts see Naville, *Das aegyp. Todtenbuch der 18–20 Dynastie*, Berlin, 1886; le Page Renouf, *Facsimile of the Papyrus of Ani*, London, 1890 [2nd ed. by Budge, 1894–1895, with Introduction and Translation]; Budge, *Facsimiles of the Papyri of Hunefer*, etc., London, 1899 [among them notably the very important text of the Papyrus of Nu]. Translations have been published by le Page Renouf in *PSBA* xv. ff. [recently continued by Naville]; Budge, *The Book of the Dead*, 3 vols., London, 1898 [abridged ed. under same title, London, 1901]. Renouf's notes are mainly on the language; Budge discusses also the history of the Book of the Dead, with the later and the supplementary texts). In later times many passages were no longer intelligible to the scribes, who, accordingly, frequently produced very faulty copies. To this category belongs the Turin exemplar (emanating from the Ptolemaic period) published by Lepsius, which is now used as the basis for citations from the Book of the Dead (Lepsius, *Todtenbuch der Aegypter*, Berlin, 1842). A similar but less complete text is found in the Papyrus Cadet used by Champollion, and published in the *Description d'Égyp. Ant.* ii. 72–75. Translations, mainly based on the Turin exemplar, have been published by Birch (in Bunsen's *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, v. 123 ff.) and Pierret (*Le Livre des Morts*, Paris, 1881).

At a late period, from about B.C. 1000 onwards, there grew up, side by side with the Book of the Dead, numerous religious compilations, based upon the same doctrines, and utilizing the Book itself as a source. Thus we have the various Books of 'Breathing,' the Book of 'Journeying through Eternity,' the Book of 'May my name flourish,' and the like. (Texts of this class have been published and discussed by, amongst others, Maspero, *Les momies royales de Deir el-Bahari*, p. 594 f.; cf. Budge, *The Book of the Dead*, 1898, ii. pp. clxxxiii ff. [text of Nesi-Chunsu]; Horrack, *Livre des Respirations*, Paris, 1877 [another text in Budge, *l.c.* p. cxcv ff., publ. by Budge with the Book of the Dead of Hunefer]; von Bergmann, 'Das Buch vom Durchwandeln der Ewigkeit' in *Sitzungsber. der Wiener Akad.* 1886, p. 369 ff.; Lieblein, *Le Livre Égyptien 'Que mon nom fleurisse,'* Leipzig, 1895; Papyrus Louvre, No. 3283, ed. by Wiedemann in *Hieratische Texte*, Leipzig, 1879). These works help in some measure to fill up *lacunæ* in the conceptions of the Book of the Dead. Further supplements, emanating from the same circle of ideas, are furnished by the rituals for the process of embalming (Rhind Papyri, ed. by Birch, London, 1863, and Brugsch, Leipzig, 1865; a 'hieratic Papyrus from Vienna' in von Bergmann's *Hieratische Texte*, Vienna, 1887; texts from Gizeh and Paris in Maspero's *Mém. sur quelques papyrus du Louvre*, Paris, 1875) and for the ceremonies at the door of the tomb (Schiaparelli, *Libro dei Funerali*, Turin, 1881–1890; cf. Maspero, *Ét. de myth.* i. 283 ff.).

These texts yield an uncommonly large number of notices with reference to the notions of immortality that attached to Osiris, but they contain nothing like a systematic Osirian religion. This is due to the circumstance that from first to last the Book of the Dead was a collection of hymns to gods and of magical formulæ, which were based upon the most diverse fundamental doctrines, and were united in a single work without any attempt being made to remove the contradictions and establish a harmony. As time went on, this compilation always received fresh accessions in the shape of independent passages; and, in addition to this, the already existing texts were constantly being expanded at every turn, without any regard to the harmony of the various doctrines expressed.

(*e*) Thus the same confusion that reigns in Egyptian religion in general, prevails also in the Book of the Dead and its supplementary texts. It is impossible here to illustrate this in detail; we must be content to sketch briefly the principal features of the Osirian faith, passing over all incidental points and particular deviations.

Originally, the adherents of Osiris appear to have held, in accordance with the teaching of the Book of the Dead, that the dead man as a whole would enter upon the way to the world beyond. The name Osiris — and this custom persisted through the whole course of Egyptian history — was then given to him, in the hope that, like the god Osiris, he would attain to immortality. In earlier times, so far as we know, the deceased was always thought of as male. It was only at a later period, after *c.* 500 B.C., that women began to have their sex left to them, and to be sometimes called in the funeral texts by the name Hathor instead of Osiris.

As experience proved more and more that mummies did not leave the sepulchres, a distinction was drawn between the mummy (*cha*) and the Osiris; the former remained in the coffin, the latter passed to the Plain of Åalu. All the same, however, the two were thought of as essentially identical. The mummy was equipped for the journey to the world beyond, the necessary amulets and magical formulæ were given to it, the tomb was so arranged that it could serve as a dwelling-place of the Osiris, and offerings of food and drink were put in it.

While, on the above view, the immortal part of the deceased, his soul as we should say, was an Osiris, thought of as with an earthly human form, in other places the soul was quite differently conceived. But these divergent views were, even at an early, and still more fully at a later, period amalgamated with the Osiris conception just mentioned, without on that account being completely given up. Thus it came about that a man was credited with a number of souls that pursued their course side by side. It was then supposed that in the man's lifetime these souls were united, while at death they forsook the corpse and sought, each one independently, the way to the next world. If they succeeded in this, and if the deceased was found righteous when tried before Osiris, his souls once more united within him and lived with him in the Plain of Åalu, as they had once done on earth. The fact that these part-souls are borrowed from originally independent doctrines, explains how the views of their nature frequently clash and contradict one another, and, above all, how a number of attributes are ascribed to several of the part-souls. Here, again, there is a complete lack of any systematic harmonizing of the various doctrines, which must of necessity be logically contradictory. Besides, it is to be remarked that the texts in general do not introduce all the part-souls at once, and that now one and now another, according to place and time, came more to the front. The following is a list of the most important of them, along with some notes on the main significance attributed to each of them (cf. Wiedemann, *The Ancient Egyptian Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul*, London, 1895, and 'Le Livre des Morts' in the *Muséon*, xv. 40 ff.):—

Ka had the same form as the man, and corresponded to the Osiris, standing in much the same relation to the man as that in which the word stands to the thing, the name to the person. The *ka* was born with the man, and could, even during his lifetime, separate itself from him to a certain extent: thus Amenophis III. honoured his own *ka* as a god. After a man's death, the *ka* could at any time return into the mummy, animate it, and assume the dignity of the '*ka* living in his coffin.' For the most part, the cult of the dead recognized in the *ka* the essential personality of the deceased, the sacrificial formulæ were addressed to it, the tomb is its house, its temple, etc.

Ba has the form of a bird, mostly with human head and arms. At death it takes flight from the body, but visits it occasionally, and brings it food and drink. The *ba* itself, like the *ka*, also requires nourishment, being thus as little as the rest of the part-souls thought of as an immaterial being.

Ab or *ḥāti* is the heart. At death it leaves the man and goes by itself into the next world. In the Hall of Judgment it encounters its former possessor, and gives evidence, if need be, against him. In the event of his being pronounced righteous, it was restored to him; in the opposite case, the heart was supposed to live on in the Dwelling-place of Hearts. The deceased being bereft of his heart was thereby consigned to annihilation, for without a heart no existence was possible. This notion led to a peculiar practice. In the process of embalming, the readily decomposing heart was removed from the body. But, as neither the latter nor the Osiris could live without this organ, an artificial heart was substituted for the natural one. For this purpose they selected an amulet in the form of a small vase or of a *scarabæus* beetle, the latter symbolizing the notions of Becoming, Being, and Resurrection in general.

Sāḥu is the form, the envelope of the man.

Chaibit is the shadow cast by the man, which has an existence of its own, and is depicted as a black human form, or figuratively as a fan.

Chu (*achu*) is a shining transfigured soul, which was frequently, it may be assumed, conceived of in bird form.

Sechem is the personally conceived strength and power of the man; occasionally it appears to stand also for the form of the dead.

Ren is the name of the man. As long as this survived, and monuments associated with it lasted, as long as sacrificial formulæ, which commemorated it, were uttered, the dead man also continued to live in the other world. In the Saitic period in particular, great importance was attached to the *ren*, the conception of which at times coincides with that of the *ka*.

LITERATURE.—Jablonski, *Pantheon Aegyptiorum*, Frankfort, 1750–1752 (the best collection of the passages from the classical writers, the most important of which are those found in Plutarch's *de Iside et Osiride* [good edition by Parthey, Berlin, 1850]). ‖ Champollion's *Panthéon Égyptien*, Paris, 1823–1831, and Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* (last vol.), London, 1841, have a mainly historical interest. ‖ Lanzone, *Dizionario di mitologia egizia*, Turin, 1881-1886 (alphabetical list of the gods, with citations of the sources, and illustrations. This work is very difficult to procure). ‖ E. de Rougé, *Revue archéologique*, Nouv. sér. i.; Pierret, *Essai sur la Mythologie Égyptienne*, Paris, 1879; le Page Renouf, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion*, London, 1880 (emphasize the monotheistic, or, more correctly, henotheistic element in Egyptian religion). ‖ Tiele, *Histoire comparative des anciennes religions*, Paris, 1882, and E. Meyer, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, 1887 (attempt to trace the historical development of Egyptian religion, but the materials used by them are not sufficient to justify any very far-reaching conclusions). ‖ H. Brugsch, *Religion und Mythologie der alten Aegypter*, Leipzig, 1885–1890 (an attempt, principally with the aid of texts belonging to the late period of Egyptian history, to elucidate a connected religious system, somewhat on the lines of Plutarch's ideas. Brugsch's views, however, lack the support, above all, of the older monuments. Nevertheless, the materials collected by him have an importance of their own). ‖ Strauss und Torney, *Der altägyptische Götterglaube*, 2 vols., Heidelberg, 1889–1891 (draws upon second-hand sources). ‖ Maspero, *Études de mythologie et d'archéologie*, 4 vols., Paris, 1893–1900 (a collection of the extremely important articles of Maspero on general questions of Egyptian religion, and on various religious compositions such as the Book of the Dead and of Åm-duat, together with reviews of modern works on questions of the same kind); cf. also the relevant passages in Maspero's *Histoire ancienne de l'Orient classique*, Paris, 1895-1899. ‖ Wiedemann, *Die Religion der alten Aegypter*, Münster, 1890 [Eng. ed., freshly revised, and with illustrations, under the title 'Religion of the Ancient Egyptians,' London, 1897].

A. WIEDEMANN.

PHILO.—

i. Life.
ii. Works.
iii. System of thought.
  1. The general character and basis of Philo's system.
  2. The origin and nature of philosophy.
  3. Philo's theory of the universe.
  4. Man as the microcosm.
  5. The doctrine of God as eternal Being: (*a*) His existence; (*b*) His nature, ἄποιος; (*c*) His attributes.
  6. The doctrine of the Divine powers: (*a*) existence and character; (*b*) relation to God; (*c*) function.
  7. The doctrine of the Logos: (*a*) meaning of the term; (*b*) the supreme idea; (*c*) the Divine Logos twofold; (*d*) God's son and image; (*e*) mediator between God and matter; (*f*) relation to Wisdom, Spirit, and *logoi*; (*g*) Was the Logos a person?
  8. The higher relations of man: (*a*) general relation to God; (*b*) ethics.
iv. Influence on Christian writers.
Literature.

i. LIFE.—Philo, called *Judæus*, to distinguish him from others of the same name, was a resident, probably a native, of Alexandria. Born about the year B.C. 20, or perhaps a little earlier, he was an older contemporary of Jesus Christ; and this fact lends a peculiar interest to his writings, as revealing the intellectual and religious position of a Hellenist who was at once enlightened and conservative. If these writings did not directly influence the earliest expressions of Christian faith, they certainly exhibit the line of philosophical thought, to some extent the phraseology, and the method of Scripture exegesis, to which that faith resorted when it first appealed to the Græco-Roman world as a system of theology.

Little is known of Philo's life. He belonged to a wealthy and distinguished family, his brother enjoying Imperial favour, and holding the high position of *alabarch*. Familiar with cultivated society and the luxuries of Alexandria, he did not regularly practise the asceticism which he sometimes admired in others. But he led a blameless and studious life, amply availing himself of those opportunities of learning which Alexandria at that time afforded, with its Museum and Library, its concourse of lecturers and students, and the commingling of ideas which resulted from its position as a meeting-place of East and West. He was well versed in Greek literature, especially in the works of the great philosophers, whom he regarded with admiration; but, instead of being led by this admiration to despise the simple records of the Pentateuch, he found whole and untarnished in the sacred books of Israel the wisdom which was partially contained in the writings of Greece, so that, with all his width of culture, he remained a devout and believing Jew. He was strongly attached to his own people. On some occasion he was sent to Jerusalem to offer prayer and sacrifices; and late in life, notwithstanding his aversion to the turbulence and anxieties of political life, he was so moved by the brutal riots in which the Jews were barbarously treated, that he went on an embassy to Caligula, in the winter of A.D. 39-40, to seek for redress and security against further outrage. From such an Emperor nothing was to be obtained but insult and even blows, so that the members of the embassy were glad to escape with their lives. Philo describes himself as old and grey-headed when writing an account of this transaction. The year of his death is unknown.

ii. WORKS.—Philo's collected works have appeared in several editions, of which that of Thomas Mangey is still the standard. This edition, however, published in 1742, is neither sufficiently complete nor sufficiently accurate, and will be superseded by that of Cohn and Wendland, of which four volumes have appeared (November 1902). A convenient edition is that of Richter, in eight volumes (1828-1830), containing in addition to Mangey's text the treatises *de Festo Cophini* and *de Parentibus Colendis*, and the books translated from Armenian into Latin by Aucher. From this the Tauchnitz edition (1851-1853) was taken, with some slight alterations.

The works fall into several groups. 1. There is a series of *philosophical works*, which are believed by Cohn to have been written in Philo's early life, because they contain little of his characteristic thought, and seem like exercises in philosophical style and dialectic. The difference of their character from that of the other writings of Philo has led to suspicions of their genuineness; but Cohn thinks their style so specifically Philonean that there ought not to be a doubt on this point. This series comprises:—1. *de Incorruptibilitate Mundi*. This has been commonly regarded as spurious, but its genuineness has been defended by F. Cumont in the Prolegomena to his edition of the treatise (Berlin, 1891), and is accepted by Cohn. At the close it promises a sequel, which, however, has not been preserved. 2. *Quod omnis probus liber sit*, which, as we learn from its opening lines, was preceded by a discourse *Περὶ τοῦ πάντα δοῦλον εἶναι φαῦλον*. 3. *de Providentia*, in two books, preserved in Armenian (with considerable fragments in Greek), of which the genuineness of the first, which has been somewhat injured in transmission, has been questioned. 4. *Alexander, sive de eo quod rationem habeant bruta animalia*, preserved in Armenian. The mention, in § 54, of an embassy to Rome cannot refer to the embassy to Gaius, as it occurs not in a speech of Philo's, but in the treatise of Alexander which Philo begins to read in § 10. But, as Cohn points out, the consulship of Germanicus, in A.D. 12, is alluded to in § 27, so that the book must be later than this, but might still be a comparatively early work. Philo, however, in § 73, says 'ex juventute in hac nutritus sum disciplina,' so that he probably wrote this treatise in middle life.

2. There is the great collection of writings containing *explanations of the Pentateuch*. This embraces three extensive works. 1. The large group of allegorical commentaries, designed for educated Jews. These begin with the treatises now known as *Sacrarum Legum Allegoriæ* (a title which once had a more extended application), and dealt with the text of Gn 2-20, certain parts being omitted for special reasons. There are several gaps, some of which were certainly, and others probably, filled by books which are lost. This group, following the order observed in the editions, ends with the two books (originally five) *de Somniis*. To this series must have belonged the two lost books 'On Covenants,' to which reference is made in *de Mutatione Nominum*, 6 [i. 586].[*] A second book 'On Drunkenness' also, with the exception of some fragments, is lost; and yet another treatise, 'On Rewards' (founded on Gn 15^1), is referred to as having preceded *Quis rerum divinarum heres* (1 [i. 473]). The fragment *de Deo*, preserved in Armenian, may have belonged to this group, and formed part of a treatise between *de Mutatione Nominum* and *de Somniis*. A few pages which appear in Mangey (ii. 265 ff.) as part of a separate tract, *de Mercede Meretricis*, have been restored by Cohn and Wendland to their proper place in the *de Sacrificiis Abelis et Caini*, § 5. The first section belongs to the treatise *de Sacrificantibus*, where it should be inserted between sections 4 and 5. 2. The explanation of portions of the Pentateuch in the form of question and answer. This was intended to cover the whole Pentateuch; but it is uncertain whether it was completed. Several books on Genesis and Exodus have been preserved in an Armenian translation, and some fragments in Latin and Greek. Though this work is shown by references to be later than the great group of allegorical commentaries, certain difficulties suggest that the two works may to some extent have proceeded simultaneously. 3. An exposition of the Mosaic legislation, in which allegorical explanation is sparingly used. The plan of this series is clearly described by Philo himself in the opening of the treatise *de Præmiis et Pœnis*. It dealt first with the account of the Creation, then with history, and lastly with laws, the following treatises being a supplement. It is clear, therefore, that the tract *de Mundi Opificio*, which occupies the first place in the editions, formed the beginning of this group. This indeed foreshadows the general plan, and is expressly referred to as 'the former composition' in the opening of the treatise *de Abrahamo*, which introduces the second division. The object of this division was to illustrate the excellence of the laws through typical examples. The essays on Isaac and Jacob are lost; and the three books on the Life of Moses do not belong to the series. The tract on Joseph is succeeded by one 'On the Decalogue,' and this again by four books on 'Special Laws.' The first of these has been broken up into several distinct treatises, beginning with that 'On Circumcision,' and the second and fourth books also comprise treatises with distinct titles. The essays on Fortitude, Philanthropy, and Penitence form a kind of appendix, and the work is completed by a dissertation on Rewards and Punishments, and on Curses.

3. There are several *historical treatises*, which were complete in themselves. 1. *de Vita Mosis*, originally in two, but now arranged in three books.

[*] The first number refers to the section in Richter and Tauchnitz; the subsequent figures to the volume and page of Mangey.

2. A work called Ὑποθετικά, of which only fragments have been preserved. This is perhaps the same as—**3.** The Apology for the Jews, from which Eusebius extracted an account of the Essenes (*Præp. Ev.* viii. 11), and to which perhaps belonged the *de Vita Contemplativa*, containing an account of the Therapeutæ. The genuineness of the latter has been sharply disputed by Lucius and others, and ably defended especially by Massebieau and Conybeare (the former in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, xvi. [1887] pp. 170 ff., 284 ff.; the latter in his edition of the treatise, 1895. There are some valuable remarks also in Edersheim's article on Philo in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, iv. 368 ff., and some of the principal objections are considered in a review of Conybeare in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1896, p. 155 ff.). **4.** *in Flaccum.* **5.** *Legatio ad Gaium*, which survives out of five books Περὶ ἀρετῶν, describing the persecutions of the Jews, and the sad fate of the persecutors.

The editions contain also certain works, the spuriousness of which is generally admitted: *de Mundo*; and, in Armenian, *de Sampsone* and *de Iona*.

For fuller information and references, see the excellent section on the writings of Philo in Schürer's *GJV*³ iii. 487 ff. The above classification is in the main that suggested by Ewald (*GVI*² vi. 294 ff.), who, however, regards the Life of Moses as an introduction to group 2 (3), and places the leading groups in a different order. We have followed the careful classification of Cohn ('Einteilung und Chronologie der Schriften Philos,' published in *Philologus, Zeitschr. für das classische Alterthum*: Supplementband vii. Heft 3, 1899). A similar classification, though somewhat differently arranged, is given, with other interesting matter, in an earlier article by Cohn, on 'The latest Researches on Philo of Alexandria' in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, v. [Oct. 1892] pp. 24–50.

iii. SYSTEM OF THOUGHT.—1. *The general character and basis of Philo's system.*—The peculiarities of Philo's thought are largely due to the influence of his time and place. In Alexandria, Greek philosophy and Oriental mysticism met and mingled; and while the former, in its decline into scepticism, sought for support in eclectic schemes or in positive revelation, the latter endeavoured to justify itself before the world of thought by clothing its ideas in the language of philosophy. Jews, living in the midst of intellectual culture, and deeply versed in the finest portions of Greek literature, could no longer be satisfied with the crude ideas of their forefathers, and it became necessary to show that their ancestral religion was in harmony with the highest philosophy. Of those who made this attempt Philo was by far the most eminent, and his writings possess a singular interest for the Christian student, not only as revealing an instructive phase of human thought, but on account of the influence which they exercised, directly and indirectly, on the theology of the Church. He combined in himself the two tendencies which were seeking for reconciliation; for he was at once a religious man, full of devout feeling and moral enthusiasm, and, although his philosophy was largely borrowed, distinguished by no small share of speculative faculty. Of the truth and Divine authority of the Jewish religion he was profoundly convinced. His system avowedly rested upon the Scriptures, which were inspired in the minutest details. The prophets speak nothing of their own, but only what the Divine Spirit suggests, while the voluntary powers are in suspense. This condition, transcending the ordinary operations of the will, is open to good and wise men, and Philo does not hesitate to speak of his own enjoyment of it (*de Migrat. Abr.* 7 [i. 441]). Moses, however, was the supreme prophet, as well as king, legislator, and high priest; and his law remained, among the vicissitudes of States, unchangeable and eternal. Nevertheless, Philo did not resort to the Hebrew Scriptures, but, accepting the current story of the miraculous origin of the LXX, he assumed that the Hebrew and Greek were one and the same both in the facts and in the words. But, though he was ready to attach the utmost importance to a letter or even to an accent, he is not remarkable for the correctness of his citations. This subject has been investigated by Siegfried, who arrives at the following results:—A large part of Philo's citations consists of paraphrases from memory; in many instances the citation and the interpretation are so blended that a complete separation is impossible; there are many examples of double citation, one agreeing with the LXX, the other deviating from it; many of his deviations are found in single manuscripts of the LXX; others are explicable from the Hebrew text; some instances occur which point to a Hebrew text different from the Massoretic; and others indicate an attempt to improve the Greek. Passages also occur in which Philo bases an interpretation on an expression which is not found in our text of the LXX. And, finally, some variations must be ascribed to errors of transcribers. (See Siegfried's *Philo von Alexandria als Ausleger des Alten Testaments*, 1875, p. 162, where he sums up the results of three articles in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.* 1873. See also Dr. H. E. Ryle's *Philo and Holy Scripture: or the Quotations of Philo from the Books of the OT*, 1895, where the subject is carefully treated in the Introduction, § ii.; and two articles in the *JQR*, v. [Jan. 1893] pp. 246–280, and viii. [Oct. 1895] pp. 88–122, 'On the Philonean Text of the Septuagint,' so far as it may be gathered from the Armenian version of the *Quæstiones et Responsiones*, by F. C. Conybeare, who surmises that 'Philo, at different times, and in writing his different works, used different texts of the LXX'; which would not be surprising, as the text must by that time have swarmed with variants). His canon must have been substantially the same as that which is now recognized, though there is no direct proof that he accepted Ruth, Esther, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Lamentations, Ezekiel, or Daniel. (See the subject fully treated in Dr. Ryle's work, Introduction, § i. This volume contains also the text of Philo's quotations from Scripture).

Notwithstanding his apparent narrowness of view and rigid scripturalism, Philo was far from limiting his sympathies to the Jewish nation. The man who conformed to the Law was, he conceived, a citizen of the world. He himself attended the theatre as well as lectures on philosophy, and was a shrewd observer of the habits and emotions of men. But philosophy could not satisfy him; for, owing to the difficulty of its problems, it was broken up into conflicting schools, and, while he found in all the great sects certain elements of Divine truth, he took the teaching of Moses with him as a clue to guide him amidst their contending thoughts. He was not, however, content with carrying the great monotheistic faith and noble moral principles of Judaism into the disputes of the lecture-room; he believed that Moses had anticipated the philosophers, and that the sublimest speculations of Greece lay embedded in the Pentateuch. But how was it possible to find the philosophy of Plato or of the Stoics in the simple tales of Genesis? By the method of allegorical interpretation, which had already been applied by some of the philosophers, and especially by the Stoics, to the ancient mythology, and which Philo seriously adopted in order to rescue the wisdom of Scripture. If anything in the venerated records appeared on the surface to be childish and absurd; if any statement was made which appeared derogatory to God; if there was something contradictory, or a representation which was contrary to known fact,—any of these cases was in itself an indication of some hidden meaning which was worthy of a Divine author; and so a method of exegesis which must seem to us false and arbitrary grew out of the exigencies of the time, and was reduced to a kind of rule among the interpreters of Scripture. The rules which are followed by Philo are carefully classified by Siegfried in the above-mentioned work (p. 168 ff.); and it is evident that allegorical interpretation, however absurd and fantastic it must appear to us, was not left wholly to individual caprice, but followed certain definite lines which were considered as established among the students of allegory. Several of these canons, though differently applied, are found in the Haggadic interpretation of Palestine; but this connexion may be due less to Philo's knowledge of Rabbinical methods than to the general tendencies of thought which characterized the age. While thus holding that almost everything in the Pentateuch was related allegorically, Philo did not reject the literal meaning of that which seemed intrinsically credible or reasonable; and he insists that the ceremonial laws, though possessing a spiritual significance, must be observed according to the letter. Many things, however, especially anthropomorphic expressions, could be understood only allegorically; and here we may observe that no distinction is drawn between allegorical and simply figurative language. Philo's mode of treatment, being that of a commentator rather than a thinker, leaves no room for a systematic exposition of the problems of philosophy, and his theory of the universe must be gathered and pieced together from an immense number of unconnected passages. His style, though flowing and ornate, is often tedious, and the modern reader grows weary of interpretations which destroy the living beauty of the original text, and make the patriarchs the puppets of Alexandrian speculation. Yet the patient student may find many a golden saying, and perceive that Philo's rambling disquisitions are bound to one another by a thread of coherent thought.

From what has been already said, it is evident that for a proper understanding of Philo some knowledge of Greek philosophy, especially of the Platonic doctrine of ideas and of the Stoical doctrine of the Logos, must be presupposed. This the reader must necessarily seek elsewhere. The Old Testament, too, prepared the way both for the main problem of philosophy and for the special mode of solving it. The problem may be thus stated: How was the transcendent and infinite Spirit to be brought into connexion with the material universe and with the souls of men? An answer was partly suggested by the doctrine of angels, and by the poetical personification of Wisdom, while 'the word of the Lord,' frequently translated λόγος, furnished the very expression which Heraclitus and the Stoics had selected to denote the all-pervasive reason of the cosmos, and so provided a scriptural basis for the speculations of the thinker.

2. *The origin and nature of philosophy.*—According to Philo, philosophy originated in the contemplation of the cosmos, especially of the orderly movements of the heavens; but, as this suggested problems which seemed to him insoluble, he turned to the study of human nature, which permitted a closer and more fruitful examination. Thus he was led to the universal Mind, to Him who alone is real Being. Philosophy, accordingly, concerned itself with the whole nature of things, visible and invisible, and with the regulation of conduct, its end being wisdom, which consisted in the knowledge of Divine and human things and their causes. The incentive to it was found in the hope of blessedness (εὐδαιμονία). Before entering on so serious a pursuit, it was necessary to have a good moral and intellectual education, and to master the preparatory or 'encyclical' studies—grammar, geometry, and rhetoric. Philosophy itself had been divided into physics, ethics, and logic. Of these Philo assigns the lowest place to logic, and entertains a very poor opinion of physics or cosmology, as presenting nothing higher than fruitless conjecture. To ethics, which includes theology, or the knowledge of God, is assigned the highest and only worthy position.

3. *Philo's theory of the universe.*—Notwithstanding his depreciation of physics, Philo believed that the invisible could be entered only through the door of the visible cosmos, and he was fairly familiar with the science of his day. In order to understand some of his speculations, it is necessary to know in what sort of universe he conceived himself to be living. The earth, apparently regarded as spherical, was its fixed centre, and around it extended the heavens in successive spheres. Enclosing all was the vast sphere of the fixed stars, with its daily revolution from east to west. Within this were the seven spheres of the planets, the Sun occupying the centre; above it Saturn, Jupiter, and Mars; below it Mercury, Venus, and the Moon. This arrangement was symbolized by the golden candlestick. Matter was divided into four elements—fire, air, earth, and water, the ἀρχάς τε καὶ δυνάμεις of the cosmos. The air extended from the earth to the lunar sphere, beyond which was the ether, the salutary form of fire, as distinguished from the useful but destructive form with which we are familiar on the earth. The various objects of nature which admit of classification were constituted by a process of rational differentiation. First, things were divided into animate and inanimate. The latter comprised things which remained unaltered, through the possession of 'habit' (ἕξις), and things which had the higher property of 'nature' (φύσις), involving nutrition, change, and growth. The animated kingdom, divided into rational and irrational, was distinguished by the presence of soul (ψυχή), which rose above φύσις by having the attributes of perception, mental representation, and impulse. To these, rational beings add reason and free preferential power. Air, or πνεῦμα, was the element which constituted habit, nature, and soul. The air, the life-giving element, must be full of living beings, and therefore was peopled by invisible and immortal souls. It seemed impious to suppose that the stars were only fiery masses of earth. They were unmixed and Divine souls, 'manifest and perceptible gods.'

This survey of the phenomenal world led to many important questions, the answers to which must be briefly given. The universe, notwithstanding the multiplicity of its phenomena, was proved both by monotheistic faith and by pantheistic philosophy to be one, all its parts being mutually related, and each object depending for its perfection upon its place and function in the entire system. The heavenly bodies, besides shedding down light upon the earth, gave indications of future events through eclipses and other celestial occurrences; but Philo rejected the Chaldæan astrology, as deifying fate and destroying human responsibility. This unity, which presented the universe to the eye of reason as a well-ordered city, showed that there were powers by which the several parts were united, and an everlasting law, stretching from centre to circumference, and forming a bond that could not be broken. It was assumed that this universe, being the work of the greatest Creator, must be itself perfect, that is to say, complete in itself, and not depending on anything extraneous for the supply of its wants. Its perfection proved that it was the only cosmos; for it could not be perfect unless the whole substance of the elements had been used up in its production, and the Creator, being one, made it resemble himself in solitude. To the question whether the cosmos was self-existent and eternal a Jew could give but one answer: there was a time when the universe was not. That which is eternal is immutable; and therefore the universe, which is constantly changing, must have come into existence. Its genesis, however, did not take place in time; for time began with the interval of days and nights, and the six days of creation denote not a chronological succession, but an order in thought. Nevertheless, as the cosmos came into existence, Philo is driven into the expression, 'there was once a time when it was not' (*Dec. Orac.* 12 [ii. 190]). The archetype of time is eternity, in which nothing is either past or future, but only present. The genesis of the world was, according to a philosophical maxim, the beginning of its corruption; but the natural process might be stayed by the providence of the Creator, and thus Philo was able to believe that the entire cosmos endures for ever. But, while he admitted the dependence of the universe on an eternal and transcendent Cause, he was not a monist. The four elements pointed to something prior to themselves, of which they were differentiated forms. This was matter (*οὐσία* or *ὕλη*). It was conceived as the necessary substratum of the forms impressed upon it by reason, and as therefore in itself wholly destitute of rational distinctions. It was accordingly described by negative predicates, *ἄποιος, ἄτακτος, ἄψυχος, ἄμορφος, ἀνείδεος, ἀσχημάτιστος, ἀτύπωτος, ἄσημος, ἄπειρος, πλημμελής, ἀνώμαλος, ἄνισος, νεκρός*. Matter was thus only the passive condition of the exercise of efficient causality. Its existence was postulated by a necessity of thought; for causality involved four things—the agent, the material, the instrument, and the end in view. Matter being thus the condition of the efficient causality of God, was itself uncaused and eternal. Nevertheless, Philo does not seem quite at home with dualism, for he nowhere explicitly asserts the eternity of matter, and he occasionally uses expressions which, on a cursory perusal, seem inconsistent with it, but on more careful consideration appear not to be so. Again, he was not a dualist in the sense of accepting an eternal principle of evil. Dead matter could not be an efficient cause of imperfection, or limit the agency of God. Passages are, however, cited which establish Philo's belief that the created universe limited in some way the flow of Divine power. This limitation was due, not to the opposition of matter but to the very fact of creation, for the phenomenal is necessarily contrasted with that which is not phenomenal, and therefore could not be a full expression of Eternal Being. And, again, the parts of the universe were, in the original design of God, arranged in an ascending scale, and so could experience Divine benefits only in proportion to the capacity of their being. These considerations sufficiently explain Philo's language, without attributing to matter a causality which is expressly denied.

4. *Man as the microcosm.*—From the macrocosm we pass to the microcosm, man, considering him at present simply as a natural object. He combines in himself the powers which we have already encountered, *ἑκτική, φυτική, ψυχική*, and adds to these *λογική* and *διανοητική*. It is accordingly from the study of man that we derive our knowledge of God; for the higher principle in man corresponds with the supreme Mind in the cosmos. Man, then, is a duad, composed of body and soul. The body is made out of the same four elements as the rest of the material world. Soul is distinguished by the possession of *αἴσθησις*, which, being an *εἴσθεσις*, introduces things to the mind through the five channels of sensation, which are signified by the creation of animals on the fifth day; of *φαντασία*, which is an impression (*τύπωσις*) left in the soul by what the senses have communicated; and impulse (*ὁρμή*), which has the two forms of desire and aversion. The human soul, however, is twofold, and, in addition to the lower part which it shares with the animals, has the higher principle of reason. The lower part of the soul, the vital principle, consists of blood, or, more properly, of air which is mixed with blood, and carried by it to every part of the body. Like the sphere of the planets, it has seven parts or natures. These are the five senses, speech, and the faculty of reproduction. Being material, it is mortal. The higher principle is regularly spoken of as *νοῦς*. The possession of *νοῦς* in a qualified sense is indeed sometimes extended to the lower animals; but this vacillation in the use of language does not necessarily indicate any contradiction in Philo's thought. The rational principle, in its highest sense, was distinctive of man, and in him it was the sovereign part (*τὸ ἡγεμονικόν*). Several able interpreters believe that Philo derived the substance of the rational soul from the ether, and to that extent was a materialist, although he sometimes wavers. A remarkable passage seems decisive. He alleges that we cannot know the substance (*οὐσία*) of mind, and nevertheless asserts parenthetically, as though this one point were certain, *ἀλλ' οὐ σῶμα, ἀσώματον δὲ λεκτέον* (*de Somn.* i. 6 [i. 625]). To resolve his doubts he appeals to the statement of Moses, 'God breathed into his face a spirit of life,' meaning by spirit 'not air in motion, but a certain stamp and character of Divine power' (*Quod det. pot. ins.* 22, 23 [i. 207]). Accordingly, the substance of the higher soul is 'Divine spirit' (*de Concup.* 11 [ii. 356]), 'derived from nothing at all that is originated, but from the Father and Sovereign of the universe' (*de Mundi Op.* 46 [i. 32]). It is accordingly *τῆς μακαρίας φύσεως ἐκμαγεῖον ἢ ἀπόσπασμα ἢ ἀπαύγασμα* (*ib.* 51 [i. 35]). In one of the passages which are thought to contradict this view he is simply stating the opinions of others; one or two more admit of an interpretation which is consistent with his more clearly expressed view; and in the remainder the word 'ethereal' may readily be understood figuratively of a pure and heavenly origin. Philo is a rhetorical writer; and his highly wrought language must frequently be interpreted by reference to his more careful and exact statements. The immaterial soul was by its nature incapable of division, and accordingly corresponded with the unbroken sphere of the fixed stars, and so completed the analogy between the microcosmos and the macrocosmos. It belonged to the tribe of souls who peopled the air. These fell into two divisions: some, endowed with a more Divine constitution, living close to the ether; others descending into mortal bodies. The former were called by Moses angels, as bearing messages between God and man. The desire of the latter to descend into bodies is not clearly explained, and seems to imply an original moral distinction among souls. The souls of the wise, indeed, may have come to increase their experience and wisdom; but others abandoned wisdom, and were swept away by the earthly torrent. In either case, however, the soul was intrinsically immortal.

We must now view the soul in its temporary connexion with the body. Its seat is the heart or brain, more probably the brain, which is so closely connected with the senses. There it acts as a 'god' of the irrational part (*Leg. All.* i. 13 [i. 51]), through which, though itself incapable of severance, it is wholly diffused. This diffusion is effected by means of the ductile powers, which, without rupture, not only pervade the body but extend far beyond it, reaching even to God Himself. The analogy for this extension of an inseparable monad confined to one small portion of space is found in the sun, which, without leaving its place, sends its rays into every part of the cosmos (*de Somn.* i. 14 [i. 632]). These powers, however, are not dependent on the soul that has them, but are in their nature imperishable, so that the individual mind only has its share of those spiritual essences which belong equally to countless others. Beyond the division into rational and irrational, Philo does not venture on any systematic classification, though numerous powers are casually alluded to. We must confine our attention to the most important. Man alone, upon earth, has been endowed with freedom and the power of voluntary choice between good and evil, and is therefore justly subject to praise and blame (the most important passage is *Quod Deus immut.* 10 [i. 279 f.]). He alone is capable of sin, for higher beings are above the reach of temptations, and the animals, being subject to necessity, are below it. It is not inconsistent with the power of choice between alternatives that God is represented as the sole originating Cause; but one fragment pushes this so far as to be inconsistent with the general doctrine, the writer's mind being for the time overwhelmed by his sense of the nothingness of the creature (see J. Rendel Harris, *Fragments of Philo Judæus*, p. 8). The logos is another faculty which raises man above the brute. Here Philo, except in his scriptural allegories, simply follows the Greek philosophers. The logos is twofold: *ὁ ἐνδιάθετος, ὁ κατὰ διάνοιαν λόγος*, by virtue of which we are rational; and *ὁ προφορικός*, or *ὁ κατὰ προφοράν*, or *ὁ γεγωνὼς λόγος*, whereby we are able to converse. The latter is the interpreter (*ἑρμηνεύς*) of the mind, and therefore ought to be cultivated, so as to do justice to the thought. The virtues of the double logos were symbolized by the Urim and Thummim (*δήλωσις* and *ἀλήθεια*) on the breastplate of the high priest. The sources of knowledge are sensible perception and reason. The former brings the mind into connexion with the material world, and is the starting-point of all our knowledge; for the intuitive apprehension of the intelligible cosmos arises only on occasion of some sensible experience, as space is apprehended from the perception of bodies at rest, and time from perceiving bodies in motion. Nevertheless noümena shine by their own light, and in their higher forms reveal themselves only to the pure. Knowledge, however, which depended simply on the natural faculties, was insecure. As a rule, things were known only by comparison with their opposites, and that which required something else to support it could not be depended on. The formula of scepticism, that it is safest to suspend one's judgment (*ἐπέχειν*), is advocated in a long passage, in which the errors of the senses and the conflicting views of men are dwelt upon (*de Ebriet.* 41–49 [i. 383–388]). Through the varying opinions of the philosophers, therefore, Philo took for his unerring guide the laws and customs divinely communicated to the Jews.

5. *The doctrine of God as eternal Being.*—(*a*) The belief in the *existence* of one supreme God was fundamental in the Jewish religion. In the world of speculation, however, this was opposed by atheistic and pantheistic hypotheses, and it was therefore necessary to support the belief by philosophical arguments. The microcosm, man, suggested the true solution of the problems presented by the macrocosm. As the visible body was presided over by the invisible mind, so the universe which engages our vision must be held together and governed by an unseen sovereign. This conclusion is confirmed by the evidence of design and harmony in the objects around us. The cosmos has all the appearance of being a work of art, and consequently cannot be itself *ὁ πρῶτος θεός*, but must have proceeded from an intelligent and providential artificer. Again, the universe, as we have seen, bore the marks of transience and dependence, and so pointed to a *πρῶτον* or *πρεσβύτατον αἴτιον*, which could be none other than supreme Reason or Mind (*ὁ τῶν ὅλων νοῦς*), which alone could produce a world that bore everywhere the impress of rational thought. But the highest mode of approaching God was by religious intuition. The world was only a shadow, which left men subject to conjecture; but God shone by His own light, revealing Himself to the eyes of the soul, and imprinting immortal thoughts upon the mind. This intuition is not universal. It requires solitude, detachment from earthly cares, and freedom from the sway of the senses. Self-knowledge, leading to self-despair, opened the way for this diviner knowledge; and he who had despaired of himself knew the Self-existent. Accordingly, the apprehension of God not only varied in different persons, but in the same person changed with changing moods.

(*b*) In forming an opinion about the Divine *nature* we are necessarily hampered by the limitations of our own consciousness. The human analogy evidently fails in a fundamental point. Man is a derived being, placed in a world which he has not created, while God is the underived Creator of the universe. He is not only without the human form, but without human passions. The highest truth is expressed by the statement that 'God is not as man' (Nu 23[19]), and it is only for purposes of admonition that He is said to be 'as man' (Dt 1[31]), and to have bodily organs, and such passions as enmity and wrath. This thought is frequently insisted on. The two most instructive passages are *de Sacr. Ab. et Caini*, 28–30 [i. 181–183], and *Quod Deus immut.* 11–14 [i. 280–283]. The former, explaining the necessary use of anthropomorphic language on account of our weakness, sums up in these words: *ἀφελεῖς οὖν, ὦ ψυχή, πᾶν γενητὸν θνητὸν μεταβλητὸν βέβηλον ἀπὸ ἐννοίας τῆς περὶ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀγενήτου καὶ ἀφθάρτου καὶ ἀτρέπτου καὶ ἁγίου καὶ μόνου μακαρίου.* The higher faculties in men, however, reason and the preferential freedom of the will, were peculiar to them among created beings, and must be regarded as essentially Divine; so that we may regard God as free, self-determining, ever active Mind (*ὁ τοῦ παντὸς νοῦς*), possessed of *τὸ αὐτεξούσιον κράτος*, even His beneficence being ascribed, not to His inability to do evil, but to His preference for the good (*de Plantat. Noe*, 20 [i. 342]).

When we seek to pass beyond this description, and inquire into the essence of God, we are met with blank mystery. The essence of the human mind is impenetrable, much more that of God, so that we can know only that He is, not what He is: *ὁ δ' ἄρα οὐδὲ τῷ νῷ καταληπτὸς ὅτι μὴ κατὰ τὸ εἶναι μόνον· ὕπαρξις γὰρ ἔσθ' ἣν καταλαμβάνομεν αὐτοῦ, τῶν δέ γε χωρὶς ὑπάρξεως οὐδέν* (*Quod Deus sit immut.* 13 [i. 282]). Accordingly, He is in the strictest sense without a name. There are, indeed, numerous appellations which serve to denote Him, and He is called in Scripture *κυρίῳ ὀνόματι ὁ ὤν* (*de Abr.* 24 [ii. 19]); but these do not reveal His essence, so as to communicate a perfect knowledge of what

He is. In spite of this opinion, Philo constantly assumes that we have a very extensive knowledge of God, and it is generally supposed that his whole doctrine is involved in hopeless contradiction. This, however, may be resolved by a strict attention to the meaning of words. According to Philo, God is a simple uncompounded unity. But, when we speak of Him as rational, good, powerful, we violate His unity, and represent Him as manifold. This is due to the imperfection of our thought, which cannot comprehend the essence in which these things are one, but can notice only the different effects of the Divine causality in the manifoldness of nature. As a simple essence, God is without qualities (*ἄποιος*, a word which expresses not, as is often said, the absence of attributes, but the impossibility of classification). God is not a sort of God, or a sort of anything, but is alone in His incomprehensible perfection. How, then, are we to regard His attributes? A man is good by partaking of goodness, which, as it may be shared by others, makes the man a particular sort of man. God, however, is not good by partaking of goodness, as though it were something extraneous to Himself. Goodness and all such attributes are among the *ἰδιότητες* of God; and if other beings may be classified as good, it is only because they participate in the Divine essence, in the eternal and archetypal ideas which the fulness of God exhausts and transcends. *Οὐδὲν γάρ ἐστι τῶν καλῶν, ὃ μὴ θεοῦ τε καὶ θεῖον* (*de Sacr. Ab. et Caini*, 17 [i. 174]); *πλήρης δὲ ἀγαθῶν τελείων, μᾶλλον δὲ, εἰ χρὴ τὸ ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν, αὐτὸς ὢν τὸ ἀγαθόν, ὃς οὐρανῷ καὶ γῇ τὰ κατὰ μέρος ὤμβρισεν ἀγαθά* (*de Septen.* 5 [ii. 280]); *ὁ τῶν ὅλων νοῦς ἐστὶν εἰλικρινέστατος καὶ ἀκραιφνέστατος, κρείττων ἢ ἀρετὴ καὶ κρείττων ἢ ἐπιστήμη καὶ κρείττων ἢ αὐτὸ τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ καλόν* (*de Mundi Op.* 2 [i. 2]).

(*c*) There is, then, no contradiction in ascribing *attributes* to Him whose uncompounded essence is so inscrutable. He is eternal, incorruptible, and immutable, and thus differentiated in the most absolute way from every thing created. Hence He is not only the one only God, but He is the indivisible, archetypal unity, without parts or members. He is invisible, except as spiritual light revealing itself to the soul. He is omnipresent, and 'has filled the cosmos with Himself' (*de Post. Cain.* 5 [i. 229]), having stretched his powers through the earth and sky, so as to leave no part empty. Being independent of place, He is at once everywhere and nowhere, and all terms of motion, like up and down, are inapplicable, except figuratively, to God in His essence (*τῷ κατὰ τὸ εἶναι θεῷ*; see especially *Conf. Ling.* 27 [i. 425]). He is equally independent of time, which belongs only to the phenomenal world. Every thing being thus present to His view, He is omniscient, and no man can hide himself from Him. As sole efficient Cause, He is omnipotent. He is also perfect, that is, complete in Himself, so that nothing could add to the fulness from which all things come; and, regarded as pure Being, He is out of all relation (*τὸ γὰρ ὄν, ᾗ ὄν ἐστιν, οὐχὶ τῶν πρός τι*), but some of His powers are, as it were, relative (*ὡσανεὶ πρός τι*); a phrase which implies that, though they are described by relative terms, their character is not altered by the relation, but they impart all and receive nothing (see *de Mut. Nom.* 4 [i. 582]). Philo habitually teaches that God has no participation in evil, and is the source only of good. With him are *οἱ θησαυροὶ μόνων ἀγαθῶν* (*de Fuga et Invent.* 15 [i. 557]). In one passage, however, this is verbally contradicted, *εἰσὶ γὰρ ὥσπερ ἀγαθῶν οὕτω καὶ κακῶν παρὰ τῷ θεῷ θησαυροί* (*Leg. All.* iii. 34 [i. 108]). This may illustrate the kind of inconsistency into which Philo is betrayed by his allegorical interpretation of different passages; but here the contradiction is relieved by the consideration that in one passage he is dealing with moral evil, and in the other with Divine punishments. When we add that God enjoys perfect blessedness and uninterrupted peace, we have completed this preliminary survey of His attributes.

And now a profound question arises which philosophy was bold enough to answer. Why did a Being so perfect, and in need of nothing, create the universe? Because He was good and munificent, and did not grudge to matter a share of His own best nature; and in thus bestowing His favours He acted from His own sole initiative, *οὐδενὶ δὲ παρακλήτῳ—τίς γὰρ ἦν ἕτερος;—μόνῳ δὲ αὐτῷ χρησάμενος* (*de Mundi Op.* 5, 6 [i. 5]). From the same source springs His providential care, with which He pours forth the abundant riches of His favours, blessing the imperfect, and pitying the unworthy. But His mercies are measured out in due proportion, for not even the whole world could contain them in their purity. Every doctrine of Providence, however, is required to account for the existence of pain and of moral evil. The questions thus suggested are discussed by Philo in his treatise on Providence, where he gives the usual philosophical answers, on which it is unnecessary to linger. We must pass to the more characteristic problem, How are we to reconcile the absolute simplicity and unity of God with His manifold activity in the world of phenomena?

6. *The doctrine of the Divine powers.*—(*a*) *Their existence and character.*—When we survey this world and observe the mutual relation of its several parts, we are driven to the conviction that it is one system, and therefore that it is held together by a pervasive and enduring power. But this power is manifested in a vast variety of objects, which embody distinct ideas or rational forms; and nothing but the presence of a compelling force can prevent them from sinking back into amorphous matter. We are therefore constrained in thought to recognize a multitude of powers, such as habitual, vital, rational. God being the only efficient Cause, these powers must be Divine, and so constitute the link between God and matter. They belong therefore to the Divine essence, and, as that essence is unknown, the powers too hide their essence, and reveal only their effects. They are uncircumscribed, timeless, and unbegotten, holy and unerring as God Himself, and consequently they are only partially exercised in creation. From this brief description it is apparent that they correspond with the Platonic *ideas*, and accordingly Philo adopts this part of Platonic philosophy. The principal passage bearing on this subject may be quoted. God is represented as replying thus to Moses: 'As, among you, seals, whenever wax or any similar material is applied to them, make innumerable impressions, not suffering the loss of any part, but remaining as they were, such you must suppose the powers around Me to be, applying qualities to things without quality, and forms to the formless, while they experience no change or diminution in their eternal nature. But some among you call them very appropriately *ideas*, since they give ideal form to each thing, arranging the unarranged, and communicating determinate limits and definition and shape to the indeterminate and indefinite and shapeless, and, in a word, altering the worse into the better' (*de Monarch.* i. 6 [ii. 218 f.]). The function of these powers or ideas in the work of creation is described in the following passage: 'For God, as being God, anticipating that there could never be a beautiful imitation without a beautiful pattern, or any perceptible thing faultless which was not modelled in conformity with an archetypal and intelligible idea,

when He wished to fabricate this visible cosmos, first shaped forth the intelligible, in order that, using an immaterial and most Godlike pattern, He might work out the material cosmos, a more recent copy of an older one, destined to contain as many perceptible genera as there were intelligible in the other. But it is not to be said or supposed that the cosmos which consists of the ideas is in any place; but in what way it subsists we shall know by following up an example of what takes place among ourselves. Whenever a city is founded to gratify the high ambition of some king or emperor, claiming autocratic authority, and at the same time brilliant in thought, adding splendour to his good fortune, sometimes a trained architect having offered his services, and inspected the good temperature and suitability of the place, describes first within himself almost all the parts of the city that is to be erected—temples, gymnasia, town-halls, market-places, harbours, docks, lanes, equipment of walls, foundations of houses and other public edifices. Then, having received the forms of each in his own soul, as in wax, he bears the figure of an intelligible city, and having stirred up the images of this in his memory, and, still more, having sealed there its characters, looking, like a good workman, to the pattern, he begins to prepare that made of stones and timber, making the material substances like each of the immaterial ideas. Similarly, then, we must think about God, who, when He purposed founding the great city, first devised its forms, out of which, having composed an intelligible cosmos, He completed the perceptible, using the former as a pattern. As, then, the city which was first formed within the architect had no exterior place, but had been sealed in the artist's soul, in the same way not even the cosmos that consists of the ideas could have any other place than the Divine Logos which disposed these things into a cosmos. For what other place could there be for his powers which would be adequate to receive and contain, I do not say all, but any one unmixed?' (*de Mundi Op.* 4 f. [i. 4]). The ideas are not mere names, which could have no efficiency, but are real essences, to which the qualities of things are due (see especially *Sacrificant.* 13 [ii. 261 f.]), and which maintain in material objects the permanence of ideal types. They are eternal, and do not perish with the things on which their seal has been set; for wisdom and goodness do not die with the wise and good man. In their combination they form the κόσμος νοητός, which is the archetype of the κόσμος αἰσθητός. They have no locality but the Divine thought, or God Himself, who is the 'immaterial place of immaterial ideas' (*Cherub.* 14 [i. 148]), the primal archetype, or rather older and higher than the archetype, the Idea being only one mode of the eternal Thought. From this point of view the κόσμος νοητός is the son of God, and its counterpart, the κόσμος αἰσθητός, is his younger son. Philo attempts no careful classification of the powers; but there are a few on which he frequently dwells. The highest of all is the Logos. Next to this comes the creative power, ἡ ποιητική, and then, in succession, ἡ βασιλική, ἡ ἵλεως, and the two divisions of ἡ νομοθετική, the preceptive and the prohibitive. The lowest on the scale, which are virtually only two, are subordinate varieties of the two powers above them, affecting the life of men, and not the entire cosmos. The two great powers, the creative and the regal, have their unity in the Logos. They are otherwise called ἀγαθότης and ἐξουσία, for by goodness God generated the universe, and by authority He rules it. Scripture represents this distinction by the two titles, θεός and κύριος. Under the latter power is ranked the punitive, for it is the business of a ruler to punish the guilty; but this is not inconsistent with goodness, 'the oldest [*i.e.* the highest and best] of the graces,' for punishment is intended as a prevention or correction of sin.

(*b*) We must now notice a very difficult question, What was *the relation of the Divine powers to God*? It is generally said that Philo is here involved in hopeless contradiction, sometimes treating the powers merely as attributes, sometimes regarding them as distinct persons. Philo himself felt that the subject was obscure, and not to be rashly spoken of before those who were incapable of philosophical reflexion (see, especially, *de Sacr. Ab. et Caini*, 15 and 39 [i. 173 f. and 189]). The most definite statement is found in an allegorical interpretation of the visit of the three men to Abraham. These symbolized the Father of the universe, and His two oldest and nearest powers, the creative and the regal. These present to the seeing intelligence a mental image, now of one, and now of three,—of one, whenever the soul, being perfectly purified, presses on to the idea which is unmingled and complete in itself; but of three when it is unable to apprehend the self-existent Being from itself alone, but apprehends it through the effects. That the triple image is virtually that of one subject is apparent not only from allegorical speculation, but from the word of Scripture, which represents Abraham as addressing his visitors, not as three but as one, and as receiving the promise from one only (*de Abr.* 24 f. [ii. 18 ff.]). It is clear from this passage that the creative and regal powers are not conceived as beings distinct from God, but only as answering to our imperfect modes of apprehension, while to a true perception both are lost in the supreme and unbroken unity of God. In other words, our highest thought, when it penetrates to the Divine unity, can apprehend God only as pure Being; but, when we view Him through the variety of His operations, we are obliged to think and speak of certain aspects of that Being. An instructive analogy is furnished by a description of the 'power' in the wise man. It receives various names, piety, natural philosophy, ethical, political; and the wise man contains these and numberless other powers; but in all he has one and the same εἶδος (*de Ebriet.* 22 [i. 370 f.]). Agreeably to this view, the powers are spoken of collectively as equivalent to the 'invisible' or 'eternal nature' of God. It is not surprising, therefore, that God and His power or powers are used interchangeably. Again, there are several passages in which the powers are regarded as predicates of God, and God is referred to as Himself being or doing what is implied by their several names.

(*c*) What, then, is *the function of the powers*? They are not intended, as is so often said, to act as personal agents who can take the place of God in all mundane affairs, but to present to our thought the mode in which we may conceive of the Eternal Mind as acting in time and space; or, in other words, they are not meant to separate God from the material world, but to bring Him into contact with it. It is through them that the self-existent Being (ὁ ὢν or τὸ ὄν) is omnipresent, having filled the universe with *Himself*. He 'stretches' them into every part, as we may stretch our mind to a speaker, or the energies of our souls to God. It is through the powers that God 'touches' the soul; for we can receive only a broken and partial revelation. The passage which is thought to prove decisively the separate personality of the powers is the following: ἐξ ἐκείνης [οὐσίας] γὰρ πάντα ἐγέννησεν ὁ θεός, οὐκ ἐφαπτόμενος αὐτός· οὐ γὰρ ἦν θέμις ἀπείρου καὶ πεφυρμένης ὕλης ψαύειν τὸν ἴδμονα καὶ μακάριον, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἀσωμάτοις δυνάμεσιν, ὧν ἔτυμον ὄνομα αἱ ἰδέαι, κατεχρήσατο πρὸς τὸ γένος ἕκαστον τὴν ἁρμόττουσαν λαβεῖν μορφήν (*Sacrificant.* 13 [ii. 261]). Yet even here it is God, evidently used in the highest sense, who generated the universe, and the powers are really 'ideas,' which impart form to every genus. God did not touch matter Himself, for that would imply that He communicated to it the totality of the Divine idea, and that the universe, instead of affording fragmentary glimpses of the Divine thoughts, was a complete revelation of His nature. Again, it is quite in conformity with Philo's abundant use of figurative language when God and His powers are compared to a sovereign and his attendant bodyguard. Similarly, the human mind, as a king, has its bodyguard of attendant powers (*de Migrat. Abr.* 31 [i. 462], and several other passages); and the passages where the Divine powers figure most clearly as separate persons may all be explained as instances of this rhetorical style. It is impossible for us to survey these in detail. Some confusion arises also because expositors are not careful to separate Philo's literal interpretations from his allegorical. Thus the three visitors to Abraham might literally be angels, and yet allegorically might be designed to represent God under three aspects of His being. A different order of reflexion arises in connexion with the creation of man. The words 'Let us make man' point to a plurality of persons. These words would have been quite intelligible if Philo had looked upon all the Divine powers as distinct persons; but in fact he feels their difficulty, and declares that the truest reason for them is known to God only. He treats of them in four passages of considerable length (*de Mundi Op.* 24 [i. 16 f.]; *Conf. Ling.* 33–36 [i. 430–433]; *de Fuga et Inv.* 13 f. [i. 556]; and *de Mut. Nom.* 4 [i. 582 f.]); and in these he professes to give only a plausible conjecture. One distinction is made perfectly clear. Man, unlike the rest of the creation, has been partly formed by inferior agents, whereas the whole cosmos, heaven and earth and sea, was made by the architect Himself, without the co-operation of others. This proves conclusively that the subordinate agents, to whom is assigned the partial creation of man, were not regarded as identical with the Divine powers which were exercised in every part of creation. Man occupies a unique place in that he is liable to sin; and therefore God delegated the creation of man in part to others, in order that, if evil arose, it might not be ascribed to the Supreme Goodness. These others are angels, and angels are souls flying in the air, and 'under-servants of God's powers' (*τοὺς ὑποδιακόνους αὐτοῦ τῶν δυνάμεων ἀγγέλους, de Monarch.* ii. 1 [ii. 222]). Nevertheless, they are themselves spoken of as God's powers. This apparent inconsistency is easily explained. All objects which embodied a rational idea might be spoken of as powers; but these created and finite manifestations of Divine thought in the elements, in all the lovely sights of nature, and in pure angelic souls inhabiting the air, are not to be identified with the infinite and unbegotten powers which, in our modern language, must be described as attributes of God. While, however, they are distinct to our thought and perception, they participate in the same nature; for it is only through sharing in a Divine idea that matter can receive the impress of rational form, or souls concentrate in themselves the characters of personality.

7. *The doctrine of the Logos.*—(*a*) At the head of the hierarchy of Divine powers was the Logos. This word occasions a good deal of difficulty to interpreters of Philo, owing to the want of any precise English equivalent. It denotes, in its highest sense, the mind itself, but more especially the rational faculty. Then it is applied to any rational thought or idea residing within the mind, and is extended to any relation which may be rationally conceived, to an underlying principle or law, for instance, of numbers or harmony, and to the meaning of anything. From this it passes to any kind of outward expression of some thought or idea, particularly in spoken or written language. Probably its best representative in English is 'Thought,' a word which has some approach to the same variable application.

(*b*) We have already seen that the cosmos presented a picture of rational forms or ideas; and, as these were combined in one harmonious whole, they constituted one cosmic thought. This thought was the highest genus, under which the multitudinous ideas took rank as species; or, more strictly, God, as pure Being, was the most generic, and His reason or thought was second. The Logos, therefore, regarded as a Divine power, was the unitary principle of all beneath it. It was by virtue of His reason that God was both ruler and good; or, in other words, creation and providence were both expressions of reason. If so, a *νοητὸς κόσμος* must have existed in the mind of God prior to the visible world; and, as it was the sum of the Divine thoughts, it was the Logos of God. 'The intelligible cosmos,' says Philo, 'is nothing else than God's Logos, when he is already engaged in making a cosmos; for neither is the intelligible city anything else than the reflexion (*λογισμός*) of the architect when he is already intending to create the city' (*de Mundi Op.* 6 [i. 5]). From this point of view the Logos is the supreme archetypal idea (*ἰδέα τῶν ἰδεῶν*), which by its impress, as of a seal, on matter constitutes the visible universe. Matter, however, was inherently incapable of retaining what was once impressed upon it; and hence its ideal forms were forces or powers constantly present and active, and might be regarded as a law, the eternal and pervasive law of 'right reason,' which, stretching from centre to circumference, was a bond of the universe that could not be broken. The same supreme Logos appeared in man as the moral law, enjoining what was right and forbidding what was wrong. Thus the Logos, the intelligible cosmos, became manifest in the universe, where it dwelt as an 'intelligent and rational nature,' ministering as a high priest in the cosmic temple of God.

(*c*) It is well known that the human logos was divided into *ἐνδιάθετος* and *προφορικός*, and that these terms were, in the later theology, extended to the Logos of God. Now Philo, while familiar with this distinction in the case of man, never applies to God the technical language by which it was described. Hence it is sometimes maintained that the distinction in the Divine Logos was absent from his thought. But the conception of a twofold Logos is involved in the account which we have already given, and it is quite explicitly recognized by Philo. The principal passage is in the *Vita Mosis*, iii. 13 [ii. 154], where it is said that the 'Logos is double both in the universe and in the nature of man,' and the former is divided into that which relates to immaterial ideas, and that which relates to the visible objects of the perceptible cosmos. Nevertheless, the analogy between man and God was incomplete; for God had no organs of speech, and His word was seen in His works, and not heard by the ears (see, especially, *de Migrat. Abr.* 9 [i. 443 f.]). Philo may therefore have shrunk from adopting the usual terms, as one of them suggested anthropomorphic ideas.

(*d*) The Logos, as the sum and unity of the world of ideas, was identical with the Divine reason; and this reason was not an essence extraneous to God, by sharing in which God became rational, but was a mode of the Divine essence, and in no way broke the solitude of God which existed prior to creation. God, however, was more than reason (κρείσσων ἢ πᾶσα λογικὴ φύσις, *Fragments*, ii. 625); and therefore it was possible to apprehend the Divine reason, though none could reach God in His essence. Since thought may be regarded as a product of the mind, the Logos, as the cosmic thought, might be conceived as produced by God, and in this aspect is spoken of under the figure of a *son*, πρεσβύτατος or πρωτόγονος υἱός. The epithet implies that there were other and younger sons; and this is agreeable to Philo's view of God as ὁ πατὴρ τῶν ὅλων or τῶν ὄντων. As the son of God, the firstborn archetypal idea, which by its impress has converted formless matter into a cosmos, it is God's *image*, in accordance with which the rational soul in man was created. Or, in another figure, it is the shadow of God, disclosing by its incidence upon matter the rational form of which the substance is invisible.

(*e*) It is now apparent in what sense the Logos was conceived as *mediator* between God and matter. It was not a personal demiurgus, creating, under orders, a universe which God Himself would not touch, but rather the effectual Divine Thought, through which God made His own work (τὸ ἴδιον ἔργον, *Quis rer. div. her.* 42 [i. 502]), impressing it, like a seal, upon matter. As the hidden Reason of God, it is eternal; as the objective Thought of God, impressed upon matter, it has come into existence. As essentially Divine, it might be spoken of, but only imperfectly (ἐν καταχρήσει), as God (*de Somn.* i. 39 [i. 655]); and once it is described as ὁ δεύτερος θεός (*Fragments*, ii. 625). This we can understand, if we bear in mind that matter was not regarded as simply put into shape, and then left to itself, but its cosmic form was the living presence of Divine thought, the sum of all that man could truly apprehend of God, though he could rise to the knowledge that Reason was not exhaustive of Being, but transcendent beyond it was the eternal Cause, whose essence was unknowable.

(*f*) Philo, following the Old Testament, frequently refers to *Wisdom*. In many passages this is identified with the Logos. In others the two terms are distinguished; and it is a little perplexing to find that their mutual relations are inverted, Wisdom being the fountain of the Logos, and the Logos being the fountain of Wisdom. Probably the difficulty may be resolved by the difference between the universal and the particular. Human reason or wisdom, distributed among many souls, flows from the supreme Wisdom or Reason, which are identical with one another in either the higher or the lower sphere. The term Wisdom is almost always used in relation to man, and is more applicable than Logos to some forms of character and attainment; but the latter term is generally preferred, both on account of its philosophical associations, and perhaps owing to Philo's preference for a masculine substantive.

Another word which is sometimes used instead of Logos is πνεῦμα. This occasionally denotes 'air in motion'; but in its higher sense it is identical with Logos. In the latter sense it is used only in connexion with men, and under the suggestion of some passage of Scripture.

The cosmical Thought necessarily contained a multitude of subordinate thoughts or *logoi*. This Stoical doctrine was fully adopted by Philo, who used the word *logoi* as synonymous with the Platonic ideas, the powers which constituted the essence of things. In relation to man they are 'the right words of wisdom,' seen with the eyes of the soul, ethical ideas or laws, the heavenly manna by which the soul is fed.

(*g*) The question of the *personality* of the Logos is one beset with difficulty, and consequently receives conflicting answers. It may be maintained that Philo regarded it as a person, that he did not so regard it, or that he vacillated illogically between the two conceptions. The doctrine hitherto laid down does not involve the attribute of personality. Large allowance must be made for Philo's excessive love of poetical personification. Laughter is the ideal son of God, and the graces are his virgin daughters. Similar figures are abundantly applied to the Logos. It is a 'charioteer and umpire,' a 'physician,' a 'military officer,' a 'spear-bearer,' and a 'champion.' This use of personification is largely suggested by the allegorical interpretation of the persons in Genesis, who represent ideas, including the Logos. Passages where such figures are employed could hardly induce any one to ascribe personality to the Logos; but they may warn us to be very careful in other passages where the figurative meaning is not so obvious. We must briefly survey the arguments which have most weight. The Logos is the image of God and the archetype of man: could this be true of anything but a person? The answer must depend on the writer's style of thought and language; and this is clearly revealed in his treatment of the number seven. This number is the 'image' of God, and is referred to as if it were the very essence of the Logos. It is everywhere impressed upon creation. There are seven stars in the Pleiades and in the Bear. There are seven planets. There are seven zones marking the divisions of the sky. There are seven days in the week, determined by the changes of the moon. The same law extends to man. The head has seven essential parts—two eyes, two ears, two nostrils, and the mouth. We need not give further details. In brief, the number seven is a mirror in which the Maker and Father of the universe is manifested (see especially *de Mundi Op.* 30 ff. [i. 21 ff.]; *Leg. All.* i. 4, 5 [i. 45 f.]; *de Decal.* 21 [ii. 198]). This presents to us in a very striking way the mode in which Philo conceived that the Divine Thought was impressed upon matter, and became there an image of its originator. Regarded as the archetype of human reason, the Logos is simply the rational power of God, by participation in which man becomes rational. 'The suppliant Logos' (ὁ ἱκέτης λόγος) is sometimes the suppliant cry of men; and once, where it is represented as standing between God and creation, the ambassador of the one and the suppliant of the other, it seems clearly to mean, in a figure, the cry 'of the mortal pining always for the incorruptible,' seeking for the complete realization of the Divine idea (*Quis rer. div. her.* 42 [i. 501 f.]). Whether the title παράκλητος is ever applied to the Logos is at least doubtful; if it is so at all, it is only to the Logos as identified with the cosmos. The passages which are most relied on as proving the personality of the Logos are those in which the term 'angel' is applied either to it or to the *logoi*. Of these there are no fewer than seventeen, and it is impossible for us to consider them here one by one. The key to the true interpretation of all of them is to be found in Philo's system of allegorical interpretation. The angels of the Old Testament become in this system Divine thoughts, just as the patriarchs, Moses and Aaron, and other persons, have fixed symbolical meanings attached to them. As we might expect in dealing with such a visionary world, Philo's language is not always quite consistent and clear; but, with a little care, every passage will yield its allegorical sense, and will save us from the necessity of forcing on Philo the absurd supposition that the great cosmic Thought of God was a soul flying in the air, that Jacob literally wrestled with this uncircumscribed and incorporeal power, and that ordinary men eat showers of angels. The Scripture is accustomed to describe heavenly visitations under the name of angels; but these, when applied to the various characters represented by the persons whom they visited, symbolize the Divine thoughts, precepts, or laws which come with their heavenly messages to the soul. We may be permitted to sum up in words which have been used elsewhere: 'The Logos is the Thought of God, dwelling subjectively in the infinite Mind, planted out and made objective in the universe. The cosmos is a tissue of rational forces, which images the beauty, the power, the goodness of its primeval fountain. The reason of man is this same rational force entering into consciousness, and held by each in proportion to the truth and variety of his thoughts; and to follow it is the law of righteous living. Each form which we can differentiate as a distinct species, each rule of conduct which we can treat as an injunction of reason, is itself a Logos, one of those innumerable thoughts or laws into which the universal Thought may, through self-reflexion, be resolved. Thus, wherever we turn, these Words, which are really Works of God, confront us, and lift our minds to that uniting and cosmic Thought which, though comprehending them, is itself dependent, and tells us of that impenetrable BEING from whose inexhaustible fulness it comes, of whose perfections it is the shadow, and whose splendours, too dazzling for all but the purified intuitions of the highest souls, it at once suggests and veils' (Drummond, *Philo Judæus*, ii. p. 273).

8. *The higher relations of man, and the ethical principles which rested upon them.*—(*a*) The Logos was the archetype of human reason; and this reason was the true generic man, made according to the image of God, and not yet divided into species, which arose with the 'moulded' man, who participated in quality, consisted of body and soul, was man or woman, and naturally mortal. We have seen that Philo believed in the pre-existence of the soul; but how he reconciled this doctrine with the biblical account of the creation of man is not apparent. The first man, having proceeded more directly from God, was the most perfect, while his descendants, who sprung from men, underwent continual degeneration. Adam himself made a wrong choice, being led astray by woman, sensation, which acted under the seduction of the serpent, pleasure. But participation in the original type of humanity was never lost. Man was the true temple of God, and none was so base as never to be visited with noble thoughts. The highest form of this visitation was prophecy, which came only to the wise and good, who in moments of ecstasy were possessed by God, and spoke nothing of their own. The knowledge of grand ideals, combined with the power of wrong choice, made man a moral and responsible being; and Philo deals so abundantly with ethical questions that it is possible to gather his unsystematic utterances into some sort of orderly arrangement.

(*b*) The supreme end of human life is *εὐδαιμονία*, and this consists of 'the practice of perfect virtue in a perfect life' (*Quod det. pot. ins.* 17 [i. 203]). But, while virtue should be followed for its own sake, it is something higher to follow it for the sake of honouring and pleasing God. He is the perfect good; and to follow Him, and find refuge with Him, is eternal life (*ζωὴ αἰώνιος*), while departure from Him is death (*de Fuga et Invent.* 15 [i. 557]). The supreme evil, then, is *φιλαυτία*, otherwise described as *μεγαλαυχία*, *ἀσέβεια*, or *ἀμαθία*. This ignorance is a forgetfulness of our indebtedness to God, to whom alone it is congruous to say 'mine'; and 'whoever dares to say that anything is his own shall be written down a slave for all eternity' (*Leg. All.* iii. 70 [i. 126]). The conditions of responsibility are, first, the possession of a twofold nature, inclining respectively to the eternal and the transient; consequently the power of choice between alternatives; and, thirdly, a knowledge of the better and the worse, which is given by the conscience. It is man's bodily constitution that renders him liable to sin; for the body, being phenomenal, is opposed to the eternal, and sin consists of a preference for the transient and partial instead of the eternal and universal. The body, accordingly, is a prison, a tomb, or a foreign land, which impedes the reason in the pursuit of its true end. Pleasure (*ἡδονή*), one of the irrational passions, is the principle which brings mind and sensation together; and it is the desire for pleasure that leads us into moral evil. *Ἐπιθυμία* is generally used in a bad sense, as the desire 'for absent things which are looked upon as good, but are not truly so,' such as food and drink, wealth, glory, power. From this source all public and private wrongs have sprung. Nevertheless, Philo distinctly disapproves of asceticism. 'If,' he says, 'you see any one not taking food and drink at the proper time, or declining the use of baths and ointments, or neglecting covering for his body, or sleeping on the ground and keeping an uncomfortable house, and then from these things counterfeiting temperance, take compassion on his error, and show him the true way of temperance' (*Quod det. pot. ins.* 7 [i. 195]). If the perfect man reaches a state of *ἀπάθεια*, this is only a deliverance from the sway of the irrational passions through the joyous energy of love and trust. As the end of man's probation, Philo expected the triumph of good over evil. The Israelites would be gathered together into their own land; but there is no clear recognition of a Messiah, still less of any identification of him with the Logos. The punishment of sin is a living death, and the final reward of virtue is to have the Divine Spirit of wisdom within, and to hold communion with the Unbegotten and Eternal.

iv. PHILO'S INFLUENCE ON CHRISTIAN WRITERS.—The interest which is felt by Christian theologians in the writings of Philo is due not only to the light which they throw on Hellenistic thought in the time of Christ, but still more to the wide influence which they exerted on the development of Christian theology. The beginning of this influence is sometimes traced in the doctrine and language of the Fourth Gospel. The doctrine of the Logos set forth in the Prologue has several points of contact with Philo's, and through the remainder of the Gospel many other parallels have been pointed out. Nevertheless there is no obvious quotation, and the style of the author is entirely different from that of Philo. His vocabulary too is strikingly different, as any one may see by looking through Siegfried's 'Glossarium Philoneum,' which fills more than 83 pages of his *Philo von Alexandria* (pp. 47-131). A few examples of classes of words, taken at random, may be given. Philo is fond of compounds with *δυς-*, having 28 words of this kind; the Gospel has none. Philo has 40 compounds with *εὐ-*; the Gospel has only 2 quite common words. Philo has 73 compounds with *ἐκ-*, not one of which is in the Gospel, though the latter has 14 such compounds, nearly all very common words. Philo has 67 compounds with *ἐπι-* which are not in the Gospel, the Gospel having 11 ordinary words. If the writer was versed in the writings of Philo, it is strange that he has not even inadvertently borrowed an appreciable quantity of his characteristic vocabulary. Even in the doctrine of the Logos the characteristic phraseology is wanting in the Gospel: *πολυώνυμος*, *ὁ ἑρμηνεὺς τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος*, *ὁ τομεύς*, *πρεσβύτατος υἱός*, *ὁ ἀγγέλων πρεσβύτατος*, *ἀρχάγγελος*, *εἰκών*, *ὁ κατ'* *εἰκόνα ἄνθρωπος, ἀπεικόνισμα, παράδειγμα, ἰδέα τῶν ἰδεῶν, ἀρχέτυπος ἰδέα, ὁ νοητὸς κόσμος, τόπος τοῦ ἐκ τῶν ἰδεῶν κόσμου, σφραγίς, χαρακτήρ, σκιὰ θεοῦ, δεύτερος θεός.* We may further observe that the multitude of philosophical terms descriptive of God is entirely absent from the Gospel. In reading the valuable collection of parallels made by Professor Julius Grill (*Untersuchungen über die Entstehung des vierten Evangeliums*, Erster Teil, 1902, pp. 106–138), where the Greek text of Philo is fully presented, one cannot fail to be impressed by the marked difference in the style and phraseology of the two writers. Amid many interesting resemblances of thought, which indicate the presence of a similar religious and philosophical atmosphere, there are some striking contrasts; and, in the few cases where the same words are used, the identity may be explained without the hypothesis of direct literary dependence. These facts show that it is not unreasonable to suppose that the resemblances may be due to the common stock of ideas which belonged to thoughtful men at that time. There are two lines of evidence which strengthen the probability that this may be the case. First, Philo himself had an extensive acquaintance with Palestinian interpretation. For particulars see Siegfried, *Philo von Alexandria*, p. 145 ff., and Bernhard Ritter, *Philo und die Halacha: Eine vergleichende Studie unter steter Berücksichtigung des Josephus*, 1879. Secondly, other books of the New Testament also contain a number of parallels to Philo's exposition; and, although we cannot prove that the writers of these books had not read Philo, it seems more probable that the coincidences are due to the general drift of thought. Even the Synoptic Gospels furnish some striking resemblances in phraseology and sentiment. The Epistles of St. Paul approach Philo more nearly, and even contain examples of allegorical interpretation. It is perhaps more surprising to find that the Epistle of James has many words and figures, allusions and precepts, in common with Philo, and that the two writers agree in some of their doctrines, both in substance and in the mode of presenting them. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews betrays an obvious affinity with the Alexandrian school; and yet, even in his case, we cannot prove a direct dependence upon Philo. See particulars, and other works referred to, in Siegfried, and in Anathon Aall, *Geschichte der Logosidee in der christlichen Litteratur*, 1899, who assumes a more direct dependence upon Philo than seems securely established by the evidence. On the wide prevalence of a Logos-doctrine in the 1st cent., and its connexion, through the mediation of Stoicism, with the old Egyptian theology, see many interesting particulars in R. Reitzenstein's *Zwei religionsgeschichtliche Fragen nach ungedruckten griechischen Texten der Strassburger Bibliothek*, 1901.

When we pass from the New Testament, the connexion with Philo gradually becomes more and more obvious, especially through the predominance of that vicious mode of interpretation of which he made such extensive use. This is seen in the Epistle of Barnabas, which follows some of the principal rules of allegory. It is still further exemplified in the writings of Justin Martyr, where the whole false system is fully established. The Apologist, moreover, in his doctrine of the Logos, has many points of agreement with Philo, which are wholly wanting in St. John; and it is certainly not improbable that a philosopher had studied the works of the Alexandrian sage. Similar appearances are presented by the works of other apologists, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus. When we come to the great Alexandrian writers, Clement and Origen, there is no longer any room for doubt; for they expressly refer to him. They inherit from him the rules of allegorical interpretation, and are dependent on him in some of their important doctrinal statements. Eusebius frequently quotes him, and borrows his doctrines and interpretations; and he was read even in the West, for Ambrose makes ample use of him, and sometimes transfers his very words, in a Latin translation, to his own pages. Jerome, too, is familiar with his writings, and avails himself especially of his interpretations of scriptural names, though sometimes correcting him. It was probably, for the most part, through Jerome that these explanations passed on to other Latin Fathers. See the whole subject treated by Siegfried, p. 303 ff., where other works are referred to. This widely spread knowledge of his writings shows the high estimation in which Philo was held; but, nevertheless, we cannot place him among the world's great original thinkers. To class him, as ancient writers did, with Plato, must seem to us an absurd exaggeration of his powers. His system of interpretation, borrowed indeed but extended and popularized by him, may have helped for a time to save the reverence due to the Scriptures, but was in its ultimate effect purely mischievous, hiding the real beauties of the ancient records, and reducing Revelation to a fantastic puzzle. But he gave eloquent expression to a great movement of thought, and prepared a sort of philosophical mould in which the fluid doctrines of Christianity could acquire consistency and shape; and amid his tedious interpretations there are splendid flashes of spiritual thought, while his ethical teaching reaches an exalted purity, without transgressing the bounds of sober sense, and is always flushed with the hues of religious faith, and reverence for the Will and Spirit of God.

LITERATURE.—In the foregoing article only the most important references have been given; for the opinions of Philo are collected from such a number of passages that the complete references would occupy an undue amount of space. They will be found in the present author's work, *Philo Judæus: or the Jewish-Alexandrian Philosophy in its Development and Completion*, 2 vols., London, 1888, where also there is a much fuller discussion of controverted points. In addition to works already referred to, it may be sufficient to mention the following: August Gfrörer, *Philo und die alexandrinische Theosophie*, 1831; August Ferdinand Dähne, *Geschichtliche Darstellung der jüdisch-alexandrinischen Religions-Philosophie*, 1834; Friedrich Keferstein, *Philo's Lehre von den göttlichen Mittelwesen*, 1846; Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, iii. Thl. 2 Abth. 1881; Henry Soulier, *La Doctrine du Logos chez Philon d'Alexandrie*, 1876; Anathon Aall, *Geschichte der Logosidee in der griechischen Philosophie*, 1896. A fuller bibliography may be consulted in Schürer, *GJV*³ iii. 542 ff. An interesting *Florilegium Philonis* has been collected and published by Mr. C. G. Montefiore in the *JQR* [April 1895 vii. pp. 481–545.

JAMES DRUMMOND.

TEXTUAL CRITICISM (OF NT).—

i. §§ 1, 2. The Object of Textual Criticism.
ii. §§ 3, 4. Materials for Textual Criticism, and Critical Editions.
iii. §§ 5–84. Methods and Principles.
§§
5. Two rival schools, 'Traditional' and 'Critical.'
6–8. The 'Traditional' School as represented by Mr. Miller.
9. Their claim to take account of the whole evidence. [Note on the difference between 'the date of a document' and 'the date of the text contained in it'].
10. Suggested causes for the corruptions of the text. [Note on the attitude of Westcott and Hort to the 'Synoptic Problem'].
11. The rise of the 'Critical' School.
12–15. Mr. Miller's account of the triumph of the 'Traditional' Text tested by reference to the period 381–450 A.D.
16 f. Dr. Hort's challenge with regard to the ante-Nicene evidence for 'distinctively Syrian' readings.
18. *Prima facie* evidence for the existence of the readings in 1 Timothy.
19–22. Examination of these readings in the light of 'Intrinsic' evidence and of the evidence of Versions and ante-Nicene Fathers.
23. The Traditional Text of Mk 1^{1-28} printed so as to indicate its relation to other types of text current in early times, with a detailed examina-

tion of all the variants in the light of the 'Internal Evidence of Readings.'
§§
24. The groups of Authorities brought to light by this examination.
25-28. Are the names 'Syrian,' 'Western,' 'Alexandrian,' 'Neutral,' applied by Dr. Hort to these groups, 'question-begging'?
29. The fundamental importance of the 'subjective' element in Textual Criticism illustrated by the examination of Mk 1^{1-28}, leading to a description of the checks on personal idiosyncrasy provided by 'Intrinsic' and 'Transcriptional' Probability, and by the 'Internal Evidence of Documents.'
30. The principle of Genealogy.
31-34. The consequences of this principle.
35-59. Grounds for the 'Critical' rejection of the Traditional Text illustrated by reference to 'distinctively Syrian' readings in Mk 1^{1-28}.
36 f. The argument from 'Conflation.'
38-41. Ante-Nicene evidence.
42-48. Detailed examination of the evidence for τοῖς προφήταις in Mk 1^{2}.
49. And for ἔμπροσθέν σου.
50-51. Conclusion with regard to ante-Nicene evidence.
52. Summary of the evidence against 'Syrian' readings.
53-55. Evidence of editorial activity in the production of the Traditional Text.
56-58. The argument *a priori*.
59. The argument from ecclesiastical use.
60-62. The characteristics of the 'Western' readings in Mk 1^{1-28}.
63. The acceptance of these readings not precluded by 'Genealogy.'
64-66. 'Alexandrian' readings in Mk 1^{1-28}.
67 f. 'Neutral' readings in Mk 1^{1-28}.
69. The value of B as determined by the 'Internal Evidence of Readings.'
70. The relation of B to other primary authorities.
71-76. The relation of ℵ to B.
77-81. ℵ and B in relation to the oldest forms of the Latin and Syriac Versions, especially k and Syr-*sin*.
82. The value of ℵB in opposition to Syriac and Latin evidence combined.
83 f. Conclusion.

i. OBJECT.—1. The object of Textual Criticism is to recover the *ipsissima verba* of the documents of which the NT is composed, and to present them to modern readers as nearly as possible in the form in which they left their authors' hands. This definition is based on the assumption that all the copies of the different books we possess, whether in Greek or in a translation, are capable of being traced back in the last resort to one and the same original. The assumption is a natural one, and not to be surrendered without very cogent reason. Still we cannot exclude the possibility that any particular book may have been current from Apostolic times in two closely related but distinct forms. St. Paul may, as Lightfoot suggested,[*] have issued a second edition of his Epistle to the Romans. St. Luke may, as Blass maintains, have issued two editions, both of his Gospel and of the Acts. The phenomena presented by the text of St. Mark, not only in regard to the last twelve verses but throughout the Gospel, may need the same hypothesis for their adequate solution.[†] In such cases the task of the critic becomes still more delicate. He has to disentangle and present distinctly not one original but two, which were once current side by side, but which have in the course of time been blended together, in almost inextricable confusion, in all our extant authorities.

2. From this definition of the object which all textual critics alike have before them two consequences follow, to which it will not be superfluous, judging from the past history of the science, to call attention before we pass on.

The first is this. There is at present, and there must remain, room for legitimate difference of opinion. We must be careful not to arrogate to the form of text which we ourselves prefer an exclusive right to represent the true 'word of God.' The necessity for this caution is perhaps not so great as it was in the days of Griesbach.[*] The appeal made in a recent pamphlet by the leading supporter of one of the two rival schools of Textual Criticism to a standard which has yet to be fixed is a most hopeful sign.[†]

The second consequence which follows from our definition of the object of Textual Criticism is this. As all textual critics are engaged on one and the same sacred study, and are fellow-workers to a common end, they will do well to take special pains to cultivate mutual respect. It is strange, but it is none the less true, that the study of Textual Criticism seems to have a peculiarly disastrous effect upon the temper. The virulence with which Walton, Mill, Griesbach, and Lachmann were assailed, not to speak of more recent examples, is a deep stain on the annals of the study.[‡]

ii. MATERIALS.—3. It does not fall within the scope of this article to describe at length the materials available for the Textual Criticism of NT. In part they are dealt with under separate heads (see A, ℵ, B, C, D, Arabic Version, etc.). For a complete list (and for purposes of reference anything short of a complete list is unsatisfactory) the student must be referred to the recognized storehouses of information, *e.g.* Tregelles, vol. i. of Horne's *Introduction to the New Testament*, revised 1856, by no means to be neglected; *Prolegomena to Tischendorf*, ed. C. R. Gregory, 1884-94; Scrivener's *Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*^{4}, 1894, revised by E. Miller and others; Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes*, Leipzig, 1900. The evidence, so far as it had been ascertained at the time of publication, was collected in two great critical editions.

4. The edition by Tischendorf, ed. viii. 1869-72, is at present indispensable for students, but it needs throughout to be carefully checked and supplemented. The edition of Tregelles (1857-79) is no less a marvel of patient accuracy. Unfortunately, the first two Gospels were issued before the discovery of ℵ, and, though the evidence is supplied in an Appendix issued by Hort and Streane after the author's death, it is awkward to use. The statement of the evidence is, however, given with great clearness. And the method adopted—a deliberate limitation of the authorities, whose evidence was to be represented, to the uncial

---

[*] See the papers by him and by Hort, reprinted from the *Journal of Philology* in *Biblical Essays*, pp. 287-374.

[†] See Blass, *Textkritische Bemerkungen zu Markus*.

[*] See the Prolegomena to his second edition, Sect. I. § 3, p. xlv f. [ed. London, 1809], esp. 'Deinde non ideo *verbum Dei* mutatur, quia in textu vulgari unum alterumve vocabulum deletur aut additur aut cum alio permutatur. Quod hebraico magis quam latino nomine verbum Dei appellare solent, continetur *sensu* Scripturæ sacræ; non autem ita in ipsis syllabis atque literis consistit, ut mutato (ob gravissimas rationes et auctoritates, ac salvo sensu) vocabulo quodam, ipsum Dei verbum, hoc est doctrina Christi ac Apostolorum, pereat. Nulla emendatio a recentioribus editoribus tentata ullam Scripturæ sacræ doctrinam immutat aut evertit; paucæ sensum sententiarum afficiunt. Ad has posteriores quod attinet, tenendum porro est, principium, ut aiunt, peti ab iis, qui verbum Dei ab editore mutari existiment. Nempe hoc est id ipsum, de quo disputatur, utrum scilicet lectio vulgarium editionum, an vero lectio aliorum ac meliorum codicum, genuina sit verbi divini pars. Nemo itaque *verbum Dei* se defendere ideo jactet, quia textum Elsevirianum tuetur. Nam *æquo* jure ii, qui manuscriptorum codicum textum defendunt, dicere possent, verbi divini integritatem a se propugnari contra corruptorum interpolationes.'

[†] See *The Textual Controversy and the Twentieth Century*, by Edward Miller, M.A., p. 24: 'Thus I submit my case to all the learned in Christendom. When I speak of the Traditional Text, I mean that recension of the Received Text which shall ultimately be settled by the voice of Christendom upon an exhaustive examination of all the evidence in existence. My own Commentary, so far as it goes, is meant to be a contribution towards such a settlement.

'Accordingly, neither does my theory consciously override facts, nor must my expressions be taken to be dogmatic, when convenience in writing leads me to drop hypothetical language.'

[‡] See Tregelles, *Account of the Printed Text*, pp. 115-117. 254-256.

MSS, a few select cursives, all the Versions, and the Fathers up to Eusebius—has a real advantage, as it concentrates attention on that period in the history of the text about which there is room for serious difference of opinion.*

Editions which aim at giving only a selection of readings such as Baljon's (1898) are radically unsatisfactory. It is impossible to estimate the value of any authority in any single book without studying the whole of its readings through that book.

Editions such as that published by E. Nestle at Stuttgart in 1899 are convenient as indicating concisely the differences between the most important among recent critical editors, but do not profess to give the grounds on which their judgments are based. *A Textual Commentary upon the Holy Gospels,* edited by E. Miller largely from materials collected by the late Dean Burgon, of which part i. (Mt 1–14) appeared in 1899, will afford a useful index to the Gospel references to be found in the Fathers down to the latest period. This list is based directly on the indexes compiled with enormous labour by Dean Burgon, now in the British Museum. It has not apparently been supplemented by reference to other sources, *e.g.* Tregelles, or Hort in the Notes on Select Readings in his Appendix. It needs, besides, and will no doubt in due course receive, careful sifting. Scholars, however, cannot but be grateful for the labour that has been bestowed on its preparation.

It is only right to add that Mr. Miller's judgment on the drawback to the use of Patristic evidence from the uncritical character of the current editions of their works † must be checked in the light of Barnard's edition of the *Quis dives salvetur,* and his account of 'The Biblical Text of Clement of Alexandria' in *Cambridge Texts and Studies,* v. 2 and 5. Nestle also has some pertinent remarks, with illustrations, in his *Textual Criticism of NT,* p. 144 ff., Eng. tr.

Mr. Miller's edition embodies, besides, the results of recent collations, chiefly of cursives. A certain number of misprints are inevitable in a work of this scope. Students, however, should be warned that Mr. Miller has not incorporated all the various readings for which there is MS evidence. Nor does he always quote completely the subsidiary authorities, *e.g.* the MSS of the Latin Versions, in the passages which he selects for comment. Again, the authority of the Revisers is quoted constantly for readings on which it is clear that they were never called upon to pronounce an opinion.

iii. METHODS AND PRINCIPLES.—5. The main purpose of this article is to discuss the methods and principles by the help of which we may hope to secure the best result from our use of the materials available for Textual Criticism. This, it is well to remember, is the true province of the textual critic. It is, no doubt, of first-rate importance for any one who wishes to bring out a critical edition, that he should have a certain amount of experience in the direct handling of MSS. But to imagine, as Dean Burgon seems to do, that the value of a man's opinion on a matter of Textual Criticism depends directly on the extent of his first-hand acquaintance with original documents, is very like measuring the skill of a jeweller by the amount of his experience in the work of a diamond field or of a gold mine, or refusing to accept a historian's estimate of a document unless he has himself inspected the MS from which it was printed. In fact, the qualities that go to make an ideal collator, such as Scrivener for instance, are very rarely combined with the capacity and the opportunity for taking such a comprehensive and intelligent survey of the whole evidence as can qualify a man to pronounce a sound judgment on the relative importance of any particular element in it. The constant growth of available material makes it increasingly important to lay stress on the radical distinction between the two functions —the function of collecting and the function of interpreting the materials of criticism.

It is strange, and not a little sad, that after nearly two centuries of discussion there should as yet be no general agreement among textual critics on the fundamental principles or even the methods of their science. Yet so it is. Critics have from the first been divided into two main schools—the 'Traditional' and the 'Critical.' They approach the problem from diametrically opposite points of view, and are at present almost as far from coming to an agreement as they have ever been. The 'Oxford Debate,' however, at least indicates a desire for mutual understanding, and is so far a sign of better days in store.

6. The Traditional School is represented by a small but vigorous band of English scholars, at the head of whom stands Mr. Miller,* to whom reference has already been made more than once.† This school has, so far as known to the present writer, no support on the Continent, though readings of the Traditional Text constantly commended themselves to the veteran French commentator, Godet.

7. Traditionalists are strong in the prescriptive right due to fifteen centuries of almost unchallenged supremacy. They have, or had,—for the 19th cent. has not left matters as they were in this respect,—what Mr. Gwilliam in writing of the Peshitta (Scrivener^4, vol. ii. p. 17) fairly calls 'the advantage of *possession.*' They are, however, fully alive to the necessity of establishing their position on the ground of a reasoned and not an unreasoning faith. They are busy, therefore, in justifying their position by argument in the court of truth and fact, which, as they cannot but feel, must cast prescription to the winds if there is a flaw in their title. Their fundamental canon, as formulated by Mr. Miller (*Oxford Debate,* p. xii), runs as follows :—

> 'It (the true text) must be grounded upon an exhaustive view of the evidence of Greek copies in manuscript in the first place, and, in all cases where they differ so as to afford doubt, of Versions or Translations into other languages, and of Quotations from the NT made by Fathers and other early writers.'
>
> On p. xiv we read further: 'In the ascertainment of this text, or these readings, guidance is to be sought under Seven Notes of Truth, viz.—(1) Antiquity, (2) Number, (3) Variety, (4) Weight, (5) Continuity of Witnesses, (6) The Context of Passages, (7) Internal Evidence. These Seven Notes of Truth, which are essential to the Traditional Text, sufficiently exhibit the agreement of it with the Canons laid down. In fact, coincidence with the first Canon implies coincidence with all the rest.'

---

* Von Soden's *Die Schriften des NT,* etc. (Bd. i. Abt. 1, 1902) is a worthy fruit of the recent revival of German interest in NT Textual Criticism. He has already revolutionized the catalogue of NT Greek MSS. When completed, the work cannot fail to mark an immense advance in the scientific presentment of the materials for Criticism.

† *l.c.* p. xiii: 'I am persuaded that more is made of this drawback than would be if it were generally known how little modern editing of the best kind, perhaps not in Eusebius, but in most authors, alters the quotations.'

A somewhat lurid light is thrown on this remark by a sentence in Nestle, *l.c.* p. 145, Eng. tr. 'As late as 1872 an Oxford editor, in bringing out Cyril of Alexandria's Commentary on the Gospel according to St. John, wrote down only the initial and final words of the quotations in his manuscript, and allowed the compositor to set up the rest from a printed edition of the Textus Receptus.'

* Mr. Miller died while the present art. was passing through the press.

† Mr. Miller is the author of—(1) *A Guide to the Textual Criticism of the NT,* 1886; (2) *The Oxford Debate,* 1897; (3) *The Present State of the Textual Controversy,* 1899; (4) *The Textual Controversy and the Twentieth Century,* 1901. He is joint author with Dean Burgon of *The Traditional Text of the Holy Gospels,* 1896; and *The Causes of the Corruption of the Traditional Text,* 1896. He also edited the 4th ed. of Scrivener's *Introduction.*

8. There is no indication of the kind of differences between MSS which 'afford doubt,' and render it necessary to call in the evidence of Versions or Quotations; nor is there any hint of the method of determining the 'weight' of a witness. Judging from his *Textual Commentary*, Mr. Miller's own habit is to weigh uncials against uncials and cursives against cursives, and he feels no doubt so long as there is a clear numerical preponderance in each class in favour of the same reading. In 7 cases an adverse group is characterized as 'Western.' In 5 of these it includes ℵ and B. In one case (Mt 9^{13}) a reading attested by ℵBD + 6^{unc} 30^{cu} all latt. exc. c $g^{1,2}$ Syr-*vg* (against *cur* and *sin*) and Clem. Rom. (ii. 2), is described as 'Syrio-Low-Latin with Alexandrian support.' These are the only cases in which he gives any guidance in the classification of MSS.

In 4 cases, viz. Mt 6^{28} (pl. verb after τὰ κρίνα), 13^{25} (ἐπέσπειρεν for ἔσπειρεν), 13^{36} (διασάφησον for φράσον, 'prob. a Latin gloss adopted by Origen'), 13^{57} (ἰδίᾳ for αὐτοῦ, disregarding Jn 4^{44}), he suspects 'Latinization.' In 14^{24} (σταδίους πολλοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀπεῖχεν for μέσον τῆς θαλάσσης ἦν) he hints at retranslation from Syriac. Here, again, we might wish that the suggestions were more illuminating. In 5 cases he discusses the possibility of the influence of Lection systems; in 2 of assimilation to St. Mark; in one case (14^{30}) he appeals to 'internal testimony' (construction of βλέπω). For the rest, he is content to let his lists speak for themselves. The mere recital of a long list of authorities ought, he has no doubt, to bear down opposition by sheer weight of numbers. It is true that in the 'Seven Notes of Truth' antiquity stands before number. But his power to estimate the antiquity of witnesses is limited by his failure to grasp clearly the distinction between *the date of a document* and *the date of the text contained in it*, or at least by his failure to apply this distinction consistently.[*] In practice, his convenient assumption, that the almost universal prevalence of the Traditional Text in the Greek Church after the end of cent. iv proves that text to be Apostolic, frees him from any qualms arising from the demonstrable antiquity of those witnesses which he is content to disregard.

9. At this point it will be well to examine a little more minutely the claim of the Traditionalists to be the only school that takes account of the whole available evidence. It would, no doubt, be a strong point in their favour if they could substantiate it. Unfortunately for them, the assertion is utterly baseless. Their most formidable antagonist, Dr. Hort, framed his text, as any one who has read his *Introduction* must know, at least as directly as any Traditionalist, on a patient examination of all the evidence. And he lays at least as much stress on the importance of bringing the knowledge gained by the examination of all the facts to bear on the interpretation of the evidence in each case that comes up for decision. When at last a choice has to be made between two rival groups of authorities, the one or the other must be rejected. But it does not follow that its claims have not been fully considered. Otherwise, the Traditionalists themselves would be open to the charge of 'taking no account' of what seems to others the most significant part of the evidence. This charge would, of course, be untrue. And it is an encouraging sign of a *rapprochement* between the two schools, that the Traditionalists are beginning to admit the necessity for accounting for the existence of the various readings which they reject, on some more satisfactory theory than that of the blind or malignant perversity of the individual scribe of ℵ, B, or D. A great step towards ultimate agreement will have been made when it is admitted on both sides that no solution of a textual problem can be final which does not leave room for a rational account of the origin of all the extant variants.

10. The cause of corruption on which Mr. Miller is at present inclined (*Oxford Debate*, p. xv) to lay most stress, is a striking admission of the antiquity of the texts affected by it. He traces it back to forms of the oral Gospel which may have been in existence 'even before the Gospels were written.' A similar source was suggested long ago by Dr. Hort as a possible explanation of certain remarkable insertions in the text of D and its allies. It remains to be seen whether the characteristic differences between the text of ℵB and the text of the later Gospel MSS are best explained on the same hypothesis. The suggestion does not at first sight commend itself. In the text of ℵB the separate Gospels stand before us, each with a marked individuality of its own. In the Traditional Text the specific differences in the several reports of the same utterance or the same incident which help to define this individuality, are constantly obliterated. Now, of course, it is *a priori* possible that this uniformity was original, and that the variations came from a corrupting force, which may well have been very potent while it lasted, but which can, *ex hypothesi*, only have been in operation during a very limited period. Only in that case it is difficult to see why it should not have affected all the Gospels equally.

On the other hand, we are bound to make allowance for an undeniable tendency towards the assimilation of parallel passages—a tendency which must have acted with growing intensity as the comparative study of the Gospels developed (as it did very early), and especially in a country which possessed a popular 'Harmony' (cf. Chase, *Syro-Latin Text of the Gospels*, p. 76 ff.). It is unlikely, therefore, that Mr. Miller's suggestion will obtain any wide acceptance as an explanation of the characteristic readings of ℵB.[*]

---

[*] As this distinction is of primary importance in estimating the weight to be attached to a document, and as beginners in Textual Criticism sometimes find a difficulty in understanding it, it may be worth while to explain that the 'date of a document' is, strictly speaking, the date at which it was written, and, when the MS is not expressly dated by the scribe, is settled by palæographical considerations. 'The date of the text contained in the document' is, of course, primarily the date of the autograph. But in the case of a text like that of NT, which has a continuous history, the 'date of the text' refers naturally to the time when the particular form of text contained in the document was current, either generally or in some particular district. *E.g.* D (Codex Bezæ) is a document of cent. vi, but its text represents a type which was widely prevalent in cent. ii. 'k' (Bobiensis) is usually assigned to cent. v. Mr. Burkitt has recently given strong grounds for dating it early in cent. iv, but the text of 'k' is the text current in Africa in the days of Cyprian, A.D. 250 (see *Old-Latin Biblical Texts*, ii.).

It is interesting to notice that Mr. Miller is alive to this distinction in regard to Syr-cur and Syr-sin (p. xviii of *Text. Com.*). But he habitually ignores it in the case of ℵ and B. The confusion in this case goes back to Scrivener, who writes in a note (p. vi, *Advers. Crit. Sacr.*), describing the work of Dean Burgon, which underlies Miller's *Text. Com.*: 'He had been engaged day and night for years in making a complete index or view of the MSS used by the Nicene (and ante-Nicene) Fathers, by way of showing that they were not identical with those copied in Codd. ℵ and B, and, *inasmuch as they were older, they must needs be purer and more authentic* than those overvalued uncials' [italics are the present writer's]. He also quotes, 'as helping to annul much of Dr. Hort's erroneous theories' (p. xxviii), an extract from Mr. Rendel Harris, which exactly expresses Dr. Hort's fundamental contention on the matter. 'It is not a little curious to the person who commences the critical study of the documents of the NT to find that he can discover no settled proportion between the age of a MS and the critical weight attached to it. . . . A little study soon convinces the tyro of the impossibility of determining any law by which the value of a codex can be determined in terms of its age only without reference to its history.'

This quotation can have no point in Scrivener's note, except on the assumption, which Mr. Miller adopts without hesitation, that Westcott and Hort attached fundamental importance to the dates at which ℵ and B were written in arriving at their estimate of the weight to be ascribed to them.

11. In treating of the problems raised by the felt necessity of offering an explanation of the origin of variant readings, we have reached what is really the starting-point of the labours of the 'Critical' school. Ever since the collection of the evidence for the text of NT began in earnest, in the great edition published by Mill in 1707, the attention of critics was attracted by the nature of the variants from the 'Traditional' text contained in the writings of the earliest Fathers, in the Versions, and in a few of the oldest MSS.[†]

Not only was the authority for these variants demonstrably early, but it was again and again so much easier to account for the origin of the variants on the supposition that the Traditional Text was wrong. In fact it soon became clear that the substantial uniformity of the bulk of the later copies of the Greek Text was due to a gradual process, by which the variety of texts current in cent. iv were in the course of three or four centuries transformed after a common type. This common 'Traditional' type Bengel called 'Byzantine.' It is the same as that which Dr. Hort calls 'Syrian' and some modern scholars 'Antiochian.'

It is interesting to notice that there is now no controversy as to the fact of this transformation.[*] The only question at issue is the significance to be attached to it. Mr. Miller contends that the triumph of the Traditional Text was due to the fact that it was already widely diffused at the beginning of the period in documents of such excellence, and so highly accredited, that it simply crushed all rivals out of existence.

12. This contention clearly demands careful examination. In order that the investigation may be as precise as possible, it will be well to define the field which it is proposed to explore. As Mr. Miller's language (*e.g.* Preface to *Oxford Debate*, p. xiv) is quite general, all periods may be assumed to come alike to him. Let us take, then, the period between the Council of Constantinople in 381 and the Council of Chalcedon in 450. It is the latest that we can choose that will give us evidence which can in any real sense be said to speak with the voice of the whole Eastern Church. During this period the development of Christian thought was determined by influences emanating from three main centres: from Alexandria, fresh from the triumph over Arianism, which Athanasius had done so much single-handed to secure; from Antioch; and from the Church which ecclesiastically was the daughter of Antioch, from Constantinople. Of these three centres it is not, the present writer thinks, too much to say that Alexandria never accepted the Traditional Text. The date of the Bohairic Version must, we suppose, still be regarded as uncertain. If, as seems to be at present the verdict of the most competent Coptic scholars, it is to be assigned to cent. iv or v, it would give us exactly the evidence that we need as to the state of the text officially recognized in Egypt either at the beginning or at some point in the course of our period. The Bohairic constantly sides with ℵ and B against the Traditional Text.

Nor does this evidence stand alone. The same type of text[†] is found in the two great Alexandrian writers of this period, Didymus (†394) and Cyril (†444). Further evidence on this point will, no doubt, come to light with the progress of Egyptian exploration. It is too soon as yet to summarize the evidence of the papyri.[‡] Here, then, at the outset, the boasted 'universality' breaks down. On textual matters, as the earliest nomenclature for describing the 'families' of readings might have warned us to expect, there was a permanent distinction between Constantinople and Alexandria.

13. Nor is this all. Jerome's revision of the Old Latin Versions was made at Rome *c.* 382 by the aid of the Greek MSS which he judged most trustworthy. It is true, as Nestle says (*Textual Criticism*, p. 124), that it is not yet clearly made out

---

[*] This seems the most convenient place to notice Dr. Salmon's criticism of Westcott and Hort for their lack of interest 'in the question of the origin of the Synoptic Gospels; that is to say, in inquiries whether the narratives of the three have any common basis, oral or written' (*Some Criticism of the Text of NT*, ch. v.). It is strange that in making this criticism Dr. Salmon should have forgotten Dr. Westcott's *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, the most powerful statement in any language of the case on behalf of the old 'oral' hypothesis, and the share Dr. Hort took in the formation of the plan of (Abbott and) Rushbrooke's *Synopticon*, which was designed as an instrument for testing any 'Documentary Theory' that might be started. Otherwise, he might have looked for some other reason than 'lack of interest' to account for the silence of their *Introduction to the NT* in regard to the Synoptic Problem. The fact is, that to have called in one out of many possible solutions of the Synoptic Problem to fix the weight to be attached to MSS of the Gospels, would have been to explain *obscurum per obscurius*.

It is strange also that so close a reasoner should have failed to notice that his application to the Synoptic Problem of Dr. Hort's method for 'the recovery of the text of a single lost original, assuming the fact of exclusive descent from it to have been sufficiently established,' must fail from the neglect of two vital considerations. He has failed to allow (see Hort, p. 55, l. 6) for the possibility of 'mixture' between the representatives of his different groups. But, what is even more serious, he has overlooked the primary condition of 'exclusive descent.' For, while we may well believe that the three Synoptics take us back to a common original, whether that original be our St. Mark or an Ur-Marcus, no one, least of all Dr. Salmon, has ventured to suggest that St. Matthew and St. Luke had no independent information. In fact, if St. Matthew had anything to do with the Gospel that bears his name, it may well preserve genuine elements in certain incidents that had failed to attract St. Peter's attention. From this point of view, the story of the 'Canaanitish woman' (Mt $15^{21f.}$, Mk $7^{24f.}$), where there is no serious question of reading, affords an instructive parallel to 'the rich young man' (Mt 19^{16}, Mk 10^{17}, Lk 18^{18}). In each case Matthew follows a distinct but by no means necessarily inconsistent tradition. (On 'the rich young man' see G. Macdonald, *Unspoken Sermons*, 2nd series).

It is clear that in settling the text of the Gospels we have to allow for the operation of forces acting in opposite directions: (1) a constant tendency to assimilation, affecting all the Gospels alike, complicated by (2) a tendency to dissimilation, produced by various accidents in the special history of the transmission of each Gospel.

No mechanical rule can therefore be laid down, and we may be thankful that in this, as in other cases, the editors were content to follow consistently the evidence of the MSS which, taking everything into account, they found most reason to trust, whether it made for likeness (*e.g.* Mt 8^{9} 15^{26}) or for difference (as in Mt 19^{16}) between the Evangelists, instead of revising their decision in each case with an eye to the Synoptic Problem. No doubt, the questions cannot be ultimately dissociated. But, after all, we must provisionally settle our text of the Gospels before we can solve the problem of their inter-relation.

[†] A few dates may with advantage be noted here. In the time of Mill (1707) the only 'primary uncials' of the Gospels of which full collations were available were A and D. Bengel (1734) had access as well to 'select readings' of C. Griesbach, in his first edition, used full collations of ACDL. No collation of B was published till 1788. ℵ was discovered in 1859.

In the light of these facts, Mr. Miller's method of accounting for the preference shown by the 'Critical' school for the small over the large group of authorities needs correction. 'The explanation,' he says (*Oxford Debate*, p. 6), 'is what has frequently been called by other men the extreme adulation paid to B, especially by Dr. Hort and men of that side. I think some of it is very natural, and that history quite accounts for it. They [ℵ and B] are the two oldest MSS; and in early times, when people had in their view only a small amount of evidence, it was very natural that they should say that these two MSS, which come to us as the earliest, and were therefore nearest to the original autographs, should be right.'

In the interests of 'true history' and 'sound logic' we must remember that the foundations of the Critical position were laid, not only long before ℵ was discovered, but even while the readings of B were almost entirely unknown.

It must, no doubt, have given B a peculiar interest in the eyes of Griesbach when he found how exactly it verified results which he had arrived at independently (see Tregelles, *Intr.* p. 131), a forecast only less brilliant than that which was verified by the discovery of the Curetonian and Sinaitic Syriac.

[*] See Miller's *Text. Cont.* p. 29: 'Thenceforward [from the end of the 4th cent.] till the 19th [? 18th] cent. was far advanced it [the Traditional Text] reigned without a rival, though perhaps the thorough establishment of it did not take effect till the beginning of the 8th century.'

[†] See Hort, p. 550 of WH Text, smaller ed.

[‡] Yet see Burkitt's Introduction to Barnard's *Biblical Text of Clement*, p. viii ff.

what these MSS were. But it is remarkable that the latest editors of the Vulgate have seen reasons to infer for them a close kinship with ℵ and B.[*] At any rate, Jerome had not been taught by his stay in the East to believe in the exclusive validity of the Traditional Text.

14. The other two centres, Antioch and Constantinople, resolve themselves into one, at least in the person of Chrysostom, the most prominent representative of the Imperial city. Here, no doubt, we do find clear evidence of the coming supremacy of the Traditional Text. But even here the agreement is by no means as complete as it might appear to a casual observer. Each writer, even of those connected with these centres, has his own degree of approximation to the Traditional Text, and can be identified by his readings.

The fact to which we allude is in itself so striking an evidence both of the phenomenon to which we wish to call attention, and of the insight of the scholar who alone in our generation seems to have mastered the textual problems presented by Patristic citations, that we venture to transcribe in full the account which Dr. Hort gave of the steps by which he was led to the discovery of the lost commentaries of Theodore of Mopsuestia. He is referring to commentaries in Latin on ten of St. Paul's Epistles contained in a Corbey MS to which Pitra had recently called attention, claiming their authorship for Hilary of Poitiers. He writes (*Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology*, No. xii., Feb. 1860, p. 303 f.) as follows :—

> 'What led me to the true authorship was, first, the character of the text used in the quotations; and, secondly, two passages on Gal $4^{24.\,29}$, referred to by Pitra among the "splendidiora, quibus sibi haud impar identidem Hilarius emicat." St. Hilary employs, as is well known, a tolerably pure form of the Old Latin version of the NT: the text of the commentary is distinctively Greek of a late and bad type. No Father using any known Latin text could have so written; it contains many corruptions not found in the very worst copies of the Vulgate, much less in earlier versions. It is too corrupt in its character for any considerable Greek Father even of cent. iv, except those connected with the Syrian school, and, among them, a shade too bad for St. Chrysostom or Theodoret. These facts considerably narrowed the question of authorship. And when, in commenting on the passages of Galatians, the author showed himself a vehement opponent of allegorical interpretation, it was easy to see that he must have been a literalist of too decided a character to be unknown,—in fact could not well be any other than Theodore himself, the chief of the literalists, or his brother Polychronius. Reference to a catena at once put an end to all speculation; the Greek fragments of Theodore appeared in the Latin along with their lost context.'

15. Now, if Alexandria persistently rejected the Traditional Text, if Jerome came back from the East convinced of the excellence of the MSS that least resembled it, if there are marked differences during this period even between individual members of the Antiochene-Constantinopolitan school, it is difficult to know where to look for evidence of the universal, not to say exclusive, predominance of the Traditional Text in cent. v. Even the Peshitta, which Mr. Gwilliam[†] believes, and no doubt rightly (*Oxford Debate*, p. 32), that he can trace back with minute accuracy to the shape which it possessed in this same cent. v, is very far from affording that undivided support which Mr. Miller desiderates; a fact which perhaps accounts for the coldness with which he receives a statement that used to be regarded almost as a commonplace —to wit, that 'the Syriac Version is the sheet-anchor of the Traditionalist position.' We are not sure that he would have been pleased with the suggestion, for which nevertheless there is something to be said, that Theodore of Mopsuestia should be promoted to the place left vacant by the Peshiṭta.

16. These, however, are matters of minor importance. It has all along been admitted that the Traditional Text was in existence in substantially its present form by the middle of the fourth century. The really vital point is to determine whether there is any evidence of its existence in the preceding period. On this point Dr. Hort 20 years ago made a statement, which was precise and definite enough, one might have thought, to ensure patient and attentive consideration on the part of those whose whole system must fall to the ground if the position laid down in it should prove to be well founded. His words are these (*Introduction*, p. 114, § 162): 'Before the middle of the third century, at the very earliest, we have no historical signs of the existence of readings, conflate or other, that are marked as distinctively Syrian by the want of attestation from groups of documents which have preserved the other ancient forms of text.' For the identification of the readings referred to, full directions are given in §§ 225 f., 343. And any one who chose to take the trouble could make out lists of them for himself and test the accuracy of the contention. Mr. Miller refuses to take this method of attempting to understand the position of his opponent. He prefers a method which is not a little surprising in a writer who lays such stress on the importance of sound logic. His words (p. xv, Preface to *Oxford Debate*) are as follows :—

> 'We entirely traverse the assertion, that "no distinctly (*sic*) Syrian (*i.e.* Traditional) readings" are found amongst the earliest Fathers. Very many of the readings in the Traditional Text which are rejected by the other school are supported by those Fathers: and there is no evidence, as we maintain, to show that they pertain to the other side or to any other Text rather than to us, or that readings confessedly old and found in the Traditional Text did not belong to that Text.'

In other words, 'we entirely traverse' a statement, which has express reference to one element in the Traditional Text, by asserting propositions which have never been denied with regard to the other elements which on any hypothesis are recognizable in its composition. It would have been simpler to deny altogether the existence of 'distinctively Syrian readings' as defined by Dr. Hort. That at least is a question which can be brought to a definite issue. On that point the *Apparatus Criticus* will be recognized as an impartial arbiter.

17. Let us, then, examine the facts for ourselves. It is clear that in this article we shall have to limit ourselves to illustrative specimens, as an example of a method which any one can learn to apply for himself to any part of the NT that he chooses. At the same time it is important for the right understanding of the method, that it should be seen in application to continuous portions of the text— and not in isolated examples chosen because they possess special features of interest or importance. The weight of authorities in cases of primary importance can be learnt only by patient attention to details which in themselves may seem absurdly trivial and insignificant.

We propose therefore to set forth and to examine first a list of all the readings which have a claim to be regarded as distinctively Syrian in 1 Timothy, and then to attempt a more comprehensive analysis of all the variants in Mk $1^{1\text{-}28}$. It is true that the ultimate decision of the true text in the Pastoral Epistles is less secure than it is in the case of most of the books of the NT, owing to the absence not only of B, but also of any demonstrably early Latin or Syriac evidence—apart from the isolated quotations in Cyprian; but these considerations will not seriously affect the identification of 'distinctively Syrian readings,' and the specimen chosen has the advantage of enabling us to study the influence of similar but not identical contexts on one another in a way that may throw light on a class of readings that meet us constantly in the Synoptic Gospels.

---

[*] Wordsworth and White, *N.T. Latine Epilogus*, cap. vi. 'De regulis a nobis in Textu constituendo adhibitis.'

[†] Mr. Burkitt's essay (*Texts and Studies*, vii. 2) goes far to prove that the Peshiṭta is in fact a revision made in this century.

18. The first step is to collect all the readings supported by the mass of later documents without the support of any of the five leading uncials ℵACD$_2$G$_3$.

(1) 1 Ti 1^2—ἡμῶν (after πατρός) ℵ*AD$_2$*G$_3$ cu^6 Lat-vg Boh Go Arm : Orig$^{\text{int}}$.

+ ϛ c. rell. Syrr Sah Æth : Chr, etc.

See v.^{1}, and note similar addition in 2 Ti 1^2, Tit 1^4, 1 Th 1^1.

It forms part of the true text in all the other Pauline salutations except Galatians.

(2) 1 Ti 1^4 (*a*) οἰκονομίαν, ℵAG$_3$K$_2$L$_2$P$_2$ most cursives Arm Boh : Chr, etc.

(*b*) οἰκοδομήν, D$_2$* Iren Lat-vg Go Syr.

(*c*) οἰκοδομίαν, ϛ^e D$_2$^{c} and a few cursives.

Note characteristic Pauline use of οἰκονομίαν ; cf. Eph 3^2.

οἰκοδομίαν (not found elsewhere in Gr. Bible) combines the sound of (*a*) with the sense of (*b*).

(3) 1 Ti 1^9 πατρο- μητρολῴαις, ℵAD$_2$G$_3$ (P$_2$) (K$_2$) 17 37 137.

πατρα- μητραλῴαις, ϛ c. rell.

The spelling πατρο- is due to a false analogy ; but the question we have to settle is not which spelling is right in itself, but which St. Paul is most likely to have used.

(4) 1 Ti 1^{13} τὸ πρότερον ὄντα, ℵAD$_2$*G$_3$P$_2$ cu^7 : Chr$^{\text{mosc 1}}$ Cyr.

τὸν πρότερον ὄντα, ϛ c. rell. Lat-vg : Chr, etc.

Here the neuter is clearly the more idiomatic.

(5) 1 Ti 1^{17} μόνῳ θεῷ, ℵ*AD$_2$*G$_3$ cu^3 Lat-vg Syr-hr Boh Sah Arm Æth : Eus Cyr Chr$^{\text{com}}$ Tert.

μόνῳ σοφῷ θεῷ, ϛ c. rell. Go Syr-hcl : Chr$^{\text{txt } not \text{ com}}$, etc.

Cf. Ro 16^{27} where σοφῷ has point, cf. 11^{33} ; and note similar insertion in Jude ^{25}.

(6) 1 Ti 2^9 ὡσαύτως γυναῖκας, ℵ*AP$_2$(D$_2$*G$_3$ add καί): (Clem) (Orig).

ὡσαύτως καὶ τὰς γυν., ϛ c. D$_2$$^{\text{b. c}}$ rel : Chr.

Cf. *v.l.* in 1 P 3^1, and note neighbourhood of τοὺς ἄνδρας.

(7) 1 Ti 2^9 ἐν πλέγμασιν καὶ χρυσῷ ἢ μαρ., ℵAD$_2$*G$_3$ Syr-vg Boh : Orig ½.

ἐν πλέγμασιν ἢ χρυσῷ ἢ μαρ., ϛ c. rell. (exc. P$_2$al^3) f m Lat-vg Syr-hcl Go Sah : Clem Orig ½ Cypr Chr.

The combined evidence of Versions and Fathers, if the details may be trusted, proves that this variant is pre-Syrian. It is possibly Alexandrian.

Cf. *v.l.* in 1 P 3^3. There seems to be a point in the distinction between the treatment of the hair and of the jewels.

(8) 1 Ti 2^{12} διδάσκειν δὲ γυναικί, ℵAD$_2$G$_3$P cu^{11} Lat-vg Arm : Orig Cypr.

γυναικὶ δὲ διδάσκειν, ϛ c. rell. Syrr (Boh) Sah : Chr.

The emphasis clearly lies on διδάσκειν.

(9) 1 Ti 2^{14} ἐξαπατηθεῖσα, ℵ*AD$_2$*G$_3$P$_2$ cu^{11}: Chr ¼.

ἀπατηθεῖσα, ϛ c. rell : Chr ¾.

ἐξαπ. Pauline, cf. 2 Co 11^3. ἀπατ. has come in from context.

(10*) 1 Ti 3^3—μὴ αἰσχροκερδῆ, ℵAD$_2$G$_3$KLP cu^{37} verss : Orig$^{\text{int}}$ Tert Chr.

+ ϛ c. rell. Syr-hcl-mg.

Insertion from v.^{8}, Ti 1^7 ; cf. Ti 1^{11}, 1 P 5^2. Here superfluous, see ἀφιλάργυρον.

(11) 1 Ti 3^{16} ὃς ἐφανερώθη, ℵ*A*C*F$_2$G$_3$ cu^3 Boh Sah Syr-hcl-mg : Orig$^{\text{int}}$.

ὃ ἐφανερώθη, D$_2$* Lat-vg Syr-vg-hcl Arm.

θ̅ς̅ ἐφανερώθη, ϛ c. ℵ^{c}C^{c}D$_2$^{c}KLP rell.

F$_2$ is quoted here, though the present writer does not believe that it has any authority independent of G$_3$, because it is sometimes quoted wrongly in support of θεός. The line above ο is not horizontal, and corresponds exactly to the line which elsewhere indicates a rough breathing in this MS. There is no trace of a sagitta in the ο.

On this reading see Hort, Appendix, p. 132 ff.

Note especially the evidence of the Versions.

(12) 1 Ti 4^{12} ἐν ἀγάπῃ ∧ ἐν πίστει, ℵACD$_2$G$_3$ cu^9 verss : Clem Chr.

ἐν ἀγ. ἐν πνεύματι ἐν π., ϛ c. rell.

Insertion awkward ; 1 Co 4^{21}, 2 Co 6^6 no parallels. Prob. from Col 1^8.

(13) 1 Ti 4^{15} φανερὰ ᾖ πᾶσιν, ℵACD$_2$*G$_3$ cu^2 verss.

φαν. ᾖ ἐν π., ϛ c. rell : Chr.

Cf. Ac 4^{16}.

(14*) 1 Ti 5^4 ἀποδεκτόν, ℵACD$_2$G$_3$KLP cu$^{\text{pl}}$ Lat-vg Syrr Æth : Chr.

καλὸν καὶ ἀ., ϛ c. rell. incl. Boh Go Arm.

Insertion from 2^3. The only other instance of ἀποδ. in NT.

(15) 1 Ti 5^{21} Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ℵAD$_2$*G$_3$ cu^3 Lat-vg Boh Sah Arm Æth : Clem Ath.

κυρίου Ἰ. Χ., ϛ c. rell. Syrr Go : Chr.

Cf. 2 Ti 4^1. Fuller titles characteristic of later MSS.

(16) 1 Ti 5^{25} τὰ ἔργα τὰ καλά, ℵAD$_2$G$_3$P$_2$ cu^3.

τὰ καλὰ ἔργα, ϛ c. rell : Chr.

Perhaps from Mt 5^{16}, note οὐ δύναται κρυβῆναι v.^{14}.

(17) 1 Ti 5^{25} (*a*) πρόδηλα, ℵA 67**.

(*b*) πρ. εἰσι, D$_2$G$_3$P$_2$ cu^7.

(*c*) πρ. ἐστι., ϛ c. rell : Chr.

Here (*b*) and (*c*) are insertions of a common type. (*c*) apparently a correction of (*b*) to bring it into agreement with classical rules ; cf. 2 Ti 4^{17}.

The plural is by no means uncommon in later Greek.

(18*) 1 Ti 6^5 διαπαρατριβαί, ℵAD$_2$G$_3$L$_2$P$_2$, etc.: Clem Chr.

παραδιατριβαί, ϛ 'not many cursives.'

διαπαρα—in itself a rarer form of compound—is much more vigorous, connoting an intensified form of παρατριβή, 'friction' or 'collision.'

[19] 1 Ti 6^5 – ἀφίστασο ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων, ℵAD$_2$G$_3$ cu^3 Lat-vg Boh Sah Go Æth.

+ ϛ c. rell. incl. Syrr Arm : Chr ; cf. Cypr.

An insertion, of an unusually bold type for this form of text, to complete a misunderstood construction. The evidence of Cyprian shows that it is not purely 'Syrian.' It is of a Western type.

(20) 1 Ti 6^7 (*a*) ὅτι οὐδὲ ἐξ., ℵ*AG$_3$17 (Lat-vg-codd) r Sah Boh Arm : Ath.

(*b*) ἀληθὲς ὅτι ο. ἐ., D$_2$* m Go : Cypr al. aliter.

(*c*) δῆλον ὅτι ο. ἐ., ϛ c. ℵ^{c}D$_2$$^{\text{bc}}K_2L_2P_2$: Chr.

(*b*) and (*c*) are independent attempts to mend (*a*).

See Hort, Appendix, p. 134. He conjectures that the true reading is simply οὐδὲ ἐξ. This is found in Arm Cyr. Cyprian also seems to omit ὅτι.

(21*) 1 Ti 6^{12} εἰς ἣν ἐκλήθης. All uncials, many cursives, all versions (exc. Syr-hcl) : Chr.

εἰς ἣν καὶ ἐ., ϛ c. rell.

An echo of Col 3^{15}.

(22) 1 Ti 6^{17} ἀλλ' ἐπὶ θεῷ (or τῳ θεῷ), ℵAD$_2$*G$_3$P$_2$ cu^{13} : Orig Chr.

ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ θ., ϛ c. rell.

It seems difficult to find a clear case of *ἐλπ. ἐν* in NT. Certainly not Ph 2^{19}, and 1 Co 15^{19} is more than doubtful.

ἐπί is found regularly, *e.g.* 1 Jn 3^{3}, 1 Ti 4^{10}, and in this verse.

(23*) 1 Ti 6^{17} *πάντα πλουσίως*, all uncials exc. G, most cursives, all versions (exc. Æth): Orig Chr.

πλουσίως πάντα, ϛ Æth, not many cursives.

G_3 omits *πάντα*.

(24) 1 Ti 6^{19} *ὄντως*, ℵAD_2*G_3 cu^{10} verss.

αἰωνίου, ϛ c. rell. (37 'conflates' *αἰωνίου ὄντως*): Chr.

αἰωνίου is habitual with *ζωῆς*; cf. v.^{12}.

ὄντως is striking, and characteristic of this Ep.; cf. $5^{3,5,16}$.

(25*) 1 Ti 6^{20} *παραθήκην*, all uncials, most cursives: Clem Ign.

παρακαταθήκην, ϛ with many cursives: Hipp Chr.

παρακαταθ. is said to be the Attic form.

19. Here, then, are 25 readings which have a *prima facie* claim to be regarded as 'Syrian' or 'post-Syrian.' The criterion, as Dr. Hort warns us (§§ 324 f., 343), is not an infallible one. We need not be surprised, therefore, to find among them 2 readings (7 and 19) which are proved by Old Latin evidence to be pre-Syrian; we may therefore strike them out of our list. The whole 25 belong to the Received Text. How many of them Mr. Miller would assign to the Traditional Text it is impossible to say. No. 2, the support for which is infinitesimal, may be assumed to disappear. We shall therefore exclude it also from consideration. Nos. 10, 14, 18, 21, 23, 25 (which are distinguished above by an asterisk), when there is serious division among the cursives, must be regarded as at best uncertain. Dr. Hort would call them post-Syrian; it would be interesting to know how many of them Mr. Miller would class as 'post-Traditional.' In any case, they witness to a progressive deterioration in the text of the Epistle. We shall not, however, strike them out of the list, as their internal characteristics show a striking 'family likeness' to their predecessors. They may well be regarded as later results of the working of one and the same tendency. We shall, however, where possible, mark a distinction between them and the other readings. We have no wish to take an unfair advantage of the Traditional Text.

20. The first point that strikes us on a survey of the list as a whole is the triviality of by far the greater number of the examples. One (3) is a mere matter of spelling, (4, 6, 16) affect only an article, 3 (8, 16, 23*) relate to the order of words, 2 (13, 22) to prepositions, 3 (9, 18*, 25*) to different compounds of the same root, 4 (1, 17, 20, 21*) are quite trivial insertions; there are only 7—2 changes of words (11, 24) and 5 insertions (5, 10*, 12, 14*, 15)—which can be regarded as at all important. Of these, only 1 (11) can be supposed to affect any point of doctrine, and, as the Nicene Fathers managed to make shift without the reading of the Traditional Text, we need not be afraid to keep the demonstrably older reading.

21. The next point of interest is the distribution of support on the different sides on the part of Fathers and Versions.[*]

In the Patristic evidence the result is remarkable. Taking the whole number of passages (25), ante-Nicene evidence is quoted against the 'Syrian' Text 18 times, and only once (25*—a reading in Hippolytus incapable of verification) in support of it. If we leave out the 6 doubtful examples, the numbers are 12 against, 0 for. Chrysostom's text shows a marked contrast. He is quoted in all on 20 of the passages. In the 6 doubtful cases he supports the ante-Nicene in 5. In the remaining 14 his authority is quoted on both sides in 3 cases (4, 5, 9). He supports the Traditional Text in 12 (or 9) cases, he opposes it in 2 (or 5).

Among Versions the results are as follows:—

Latin Vulg.	supports the Trad. Text	1,	opposes it	13 (9)	times.
Bohairic .	,,	2 (1)	,,	10 (7)	,,
Sahidic .	,,	1	,,	10 (7)	,,
Syriac Vulg.	,,	3	,,	9 (5)	,,
Harclean Syriac	,,	4	,,	8 (4)	,,
Æthiopic .	,,	1	,,	10 (6)	,,
Armenian .	,,	1 (0)	,,	12 (9)	,,
Gothic .	,,	4 (2)	,,	6 (5)	,,

All the extant Versions are combined in 10*, 11, 12, 13, 23*, 24, in each case against the Received Text.

22. It remains to indicate briefly the character of the readings of the Traditional Text. Clearly, its most noteworthy feature is its fulness. In one case (16) it errs by defect, it drops one article out of two, while it contains 9 (6) additions. The most potent factor in this expansion of the text is, without doubt, the tendency to assimilate cognate passages. A second feature we may fairly describe as general weakness. In no single case has any of the editors collated by Nestle in his Stuttgart edition accepted any of those distinctively Traditional readings.

The net result of our examination may, we think, be fairly stated as follows: There is a demonstrably late element in the Traditional Text of 1 Tim.; the readings, which may fairly be regarded as distinctive of it, in which it is unsupported by any member of the numerically insignificant group ℵAC$D_2$$G_3$, are both weak in themselves and can very rarely be traced back historically into ante-Nicene times, and then they seem to belong also to other types of text.

23. We pass[*] now to our second specimen passage, Mk 1^{1-28}.

This time—as we wish to study the whole structure of the Traditional Text, and not merely to sift out 'distinctively Syrian' readings—we must begin by printing the verses at length, marking as clearly as the typographical means at our disposal will allow, the relation in which this text stands to the other types of text out of which, on the Critical hypothesis, it was constructed. In one case (v.^{16}) where 'the verdict of the MSS' seemed decisive, we have ventured to print as 'traditional' a reading which is not found in the Received Text. Otherwise, the text printed here agrees with that which Scrivener edited for the Cambridge University Press as representing the Greek Text that may be presumed to underlie the AV.

[In the form of the extract the following points should be noticed: Words in ordinary type, and undistinguished by any signs above or below them, are common to all forms of text alike; words in heavy type belong to readings which, either in particular words or in arrangement or combination of words, may be regarded as 'distinctively Syrian,' because *as they stand* they agree exactly with no other form of text.

The relation in which the text as a whole stands to the 'Western' Text is indicated by continuous lines. These lines are drawn under the word when the Traditional Text has accepted, above the word when it has rejected, a 'Western' reading. Its relation to the 'Alexandrian' Text is similarly indicated by spaced lines.

---

[*] We have taken the evidence from Tischendorf and Tregelles. We have not thought it worth while to subject the whole to an independent verification. The Patristic evidence includes, it will be noticed, all the ante-Nicene quotations, together with the quotations in Chrysostom.

[*] A careful collation of the readings of 1 and the MSS related to it in Mk 1 has just been published by Mr. Lake in *Cambridge Texts and Studies*. It contains a few variants which have not been noticed above, notably *λίνα* for *δίκτυα* in v.^{18}.

In a few cases, where it is desired to call attention to some evidence for or against a reading of the Traditional Text, though the authorities cannot be assigned with certainty to any of these types, the words affected are indicated on the same principle by a row of dots.

The 'Neutral' Text may be assumed to be at variance with the Traditional Text in all cases where words are underscored; all the other words in ordinary type are supported by it. Slight differences in form and spelling have in this case been neglected].

[1]'Αρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ υἱοῦ **τοῦ** θεοῦ· [2]ὡς γέγραπται ἐν **τοῖς προφήταις**· Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου, ὃς κατασκευάσει τὴν ὁδόν σου **ἔμπροσθέν σου**· [3]φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, Ἑτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν Κυρίου, εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ. [4]Ἐγένετο Ἰωάννης ^ **βαπτίζων ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ καὶ** κηρύσσων βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. [5]καὶ ἐξεπορεύετο πρὸς αὐτὸν πᾶσα ἡ Ἰουδαία χώρα καὶ οἱ Ἱεροσολυμεῖται ^· καὶ ἐβαπτίζοντο **πάντες** ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἐξομολογούμενοι τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν. [6]ἦν δὲ ^ Ἰωάννης ἐνδεδυμένος τρίχας καμήλου, καὶ ζώνην δερματίνην περὶ τὴν ὀσφὺν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐσθίων ἀκρίδας καὶ μέλι ἄγριον. [7]Καὶ ἐκήρυσσεν λέγων Ἔρχεται ὁ ἰσχυρότερός μου ὀπίσω μου, οὗ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἱκανὸς κύψας λῦσαι τὸν ἱμάντα τῶν ὑποδημάτων αὐτοῦ. [8]ἐγὼ μὲν ἐβάπτισα ὑμᾶς ἐν ὕδατι· αὐτὸς δὲ βαπτίσει ἐν Πνεύματι Ἁγίῳ.

[9]Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις ἦλθεν ^ Ἰησοῦς ἀπὸ Ναζαρὲτ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη **ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου εἰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην**. [10]καὶ εὐθέως ἀναβαίνων **ἀπὸ** τοῦ ὕδατος εἶδε σχιζομένους τοὺς οὐρανούς, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα ὡς περιστερὰν καταβαῖνον ἐπ' αὐτόν. [11]καὶ φωνὴ ἐγένετο ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν· Σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν ᾧ εὐδόκησα.

[12]Καὶ εὐθὺς τὸ Πνεῦμα ^ αὐτὸν ἐκβάλλει εἰς τὴν ἔρημον. [13]καὶ ἦν **ἐκεῖ** ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα πειραζόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Σατανᾶ, καὶ ἦν μετὰ τῶν θηρίων· καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι διηκόνουν αὐτῷ.

[14]Μετὰ δὲ τὸ παραδοθῆναι τὸν Ἰωάννην ἦλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν κηρύσσων τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ, [15]καὶ λέγων, Ὅτι πεπλήρωται ὁ καιρὸς καὶ ἤγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ· μετανοεῖτε καὶ πιστεύετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ. [16]**περιπατῶν δὲ** παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν τῆς Γαλιλαίας εἶδεν ^ Σίμωνα καὶ Ἀνδρέαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν **αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σίμωνος βάλλοντας ἀμφίβληστρον** ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ· ἦσαν γὰρ ἁλιεῖς· [17]καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Δεῦτε ὀπίσω μου, καὶ ποιήσω ὑμᾶς γενέσθαι ἁλιεῖς ἀνθρώπων. [18]καὶ εὐθέως ἀφέντες τὰ δίκτυα αὐτῶν ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ. [19]Καὶ πρόβας **ἐκεῖθεν** **ὀλίγον** εἶδεν Ἰάκωβον τὸν τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ καταρτίζοντας τὰ δίκτυα. [20]καὶ εὐθέως ἐκάλεσεν αὐτούς· καὶ ἀφέντες τὸν πατέρα αὐτῶν Ζεβεδαῖον ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ μετὰ τῶν μισθωτῶν ἀπῆλθον ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ.

[21]Καὶ εἰσπορεύονται εἰς Καπερναούμ· καὶ εὐθέως τοῖς σάββασιν εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν ἐδίδασκεν ^. [22]καὶ ἐξεπλήσσοντο ἐπὶ τῇ διδαχῇ αὐτοῦ· ἦν γὰρ διδάσκων αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐξουσίαν ἔχων, καὶ οὐχ ὡς οἱ γραμματεῖς. [23]καὶ ^ ἦν ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ αὐτῶν ἄνθρωπος ἐν πνεύματι ἀκαθάρτῳ, [24]καὶ ἀνέκραξε λέγων, Ἔα· τί ἡμῖν καὶ σοί, Ἰησοῦ Ναζαρηνέ; ἦλθες ἀπολέσαι ἡμᾶς; Οἶδά σε τίς εἶ, ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ Θεοῦ. [25]καὶ ἐπετίμησεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγων, Φιμώθητι καὶ ἔξελθε ἐξ αὐτοῦ ^. [26]καὶ σπαράξαν αὐτὸν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἀκάθαρτον ^ καὶ κράξαν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ ἐξῆλθεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ. [27]καὶ ἐθαμβήθησαν πάντες ὥστε συζητεῖν πρὸς αὐτοὺς λέγοντας, **Τί ἐστιν τοῦτο; τίς ἡ διδαχὴ ^ ἡ καινὴ αὕτη, ὅτι κατ' ἐξουσίαν** καὶ τοῖς πνεύμασιν τοῖς ἀκαθάρτοις ἐπιτάσσει καὶ ὑπακούουσιν αὐτῷ; [28]ἐξῆλθε **δὲ** ἡ ἀκοὴ αὐτοῦ εὐθὺς ^ εἰς ὅλην τὴν περίχωρον τῆς Γαλιλαίας.

V.[1] Om. τοῦ ℵ^{a}BDL.
om. υἱ. τ. θ., ℵ* 28 255 Lat-vg-cod Syr-hr: Iren$\frac{1}{3}$ Orig *Jo*^{3}; *Cels*; *Rom.* Lat. Ruf Bas Hier^2 al^4. See Hort, *Select Readings*, p. 23, *Suppl.* (Burkitt) p. 144.

V.[2] (1) καθώς, ℵBLΔ unc^2 cu^8: Orig$\frac{3}{4}$ al^4; cf. 9^{13} 14^{21}.
ὡς, ADP rell: Orig$\frac{1}{4}$ Iren al; cf. 7^6.
καθώς an unclassical form, usual in NT with γέγρ.
ὡς γ. is rare, but is found in par. Lk 3^4.
(2) τῷ Ἡσαίᾳ τῷ προφήτῃ, ℵBDLΔ cu^{26} Latt Syrr-vg-hcl-mg-h Boh Go (Arm^{mss}): Orig Iren^{gr} Porph al^8.
(-τῷ 1°, D cu^{17}: Orig Iren) (tol* omits altogether).
τοῖς προφήταις, AP rell Syr-hcl-txt Arm^{ed} Æth: Iren^{int}.
Notice here the strength of the early Patristic evidence, and of Versions, coupled with the obvious reason for change. On the tendency to insert 'Isaiah,' see Hort, *Select Read.* p. 13; cf. Burkitt, *ib.* p. 143.
(3) ἐγώ, om. BD 28 (Latt) Syr-vg Boh: Iren^{int} Orig$\frac{1}{5}$ (Orig^{int}) Tert; so Lk 7^{27} (ℵBDL).
Ins. ℵAPLΔ rell Syr-hcl Go Arm Æth: Orig$\frac{4}{5}$ Eus; so Mt 11^{10}.
LXX (not ℵ or B) ins. in Mal 3^1 with Heb.
(4) ἀποστελῶ, ℵ al pauc Boh, assimilating to neighbouring tenses.
So in Mt. in a few MSS, not in Lk.
(5) ἔμπροσθέν σου, om. ℵBDLKP a b c l q Lat-vg-codd Boh Syr-vg-hr: Iren Orig *diserti.*
Ins. AΔ rell f ff$^{1.2}$ g$^{1.2}$ Syr-hcl; cf. Mt. and Lk. (D a l Tert^{marc} om.). In Heb. and LXX of Mal. the phrase is found here, but not after ἄγγ. μου.

V.[3] αὐτοῦ, ℵABLΔ rell ff^1 g^1 l q Syr-vg-hcl-txt Boh Arm Æth: Orig.
τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν, (D) (34^{mg}) a b c f ff^2 g^2 Syr-

hcl-mg Go: Iren$^{\text{int}}$ (D 34$^{\text{mg}}$ *υμων*). Assimilation to Isaiah, LXX and Heb.; found also in Latin and Syriac texts, Mt., Lk.

V.^{4} (*a*) *ὁ βαπτίζων ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ κηρύσσων*, B 33.
(*b*) *ὁ βαπτίζων ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ καὶ κηρύσσων*, ℵLΔ Boh.
(*c*) *ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ βαπτίζων καὶ κηρύσσων*, D 28 Latt (exc. f) Syr-vg.
(*d*) *βαπτίζων ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ καὶ κηρύσσων*, A rell f Syr-hcl.

The clue to the readings here, as the present writer finds hinted in a MS note of Dr. Hort's, lies in Mark's use of Ἰω. *ὁ βαπτίζων* (6$^{14.\ 24}$, not 8^{28}; yet see 28 2$^{\text{pe}}$) as a title for the Baptist. The original reading is: (*a*) = 'John the Baptizer appeared in the wilderness preaching.' (*b*) is an Alexandrian emendation, the Marcan idiom not being recognized, and the article causing difficulty in consequence = 'There appeared John who used to baptize in the wilderness and preach.' (*c*) shows the Western handling of the difficulty, dropping the troublesome article, inserting *καί*, and, because the wilderness was a strange place to be specially connected with the baptisms, transposing the words. (*d*) is 'distinctively Syrian,' and conflates (*b*) and (*c*), keeping the order of (*b*) and dropping the article with (*c*). This is a first-rate example of the excellence of B in Ternary Variations. The connecting particle with *ἐγένετο* in ℵ* and Boh should be noticed. It could preclude the conn. of vv.^{1} and ^{4} which Orig *Joh* favours.

V.^{5} (*a*) *πάντες* after Ἱερ., ℵBDLΔ 28 33 versions: Orig Eus.
after *ἐβαπτ.*, AP rell (69 cu^{4} om. *πάντες* = Mt.).
(*b*) *ποτάμῳ*, om. D a b c ff^{2} Eus; cf. the 'Western' and 'Syrian' reading in Mt.
(*c*) *ὑπ' αὐτοῦ* after *ἐβαπτ.*, ℵBL 33 Latt (exc. a) Arm: Orig Eus.
after *ποτάμῳ*, ADP rell a Syr-hcl Go.
Note, further (*d*), that ℵ 69 a om. *καί* before *ἐβαπτ.*

In (*d*) the omission was probably due to the idea that the subj. of *ἐξεπορεύετο* was complete at *χώρα* (cf. the post-Syrian *ἐξεπορεύοντο*). The result is a strange statement that the city folk took the lead in accepting baptism, which can hardly be historical.

The Syrian change of the position of *πάντες* may be a modified echo of this. It is more likely due to a misunderstanding of the characteristically Marcan indefiniteness of *ἐβαπτίζοντο* = 'men' were being baptized. *πάντες* with *ἐβαπτ.* is hyperbolical after a fashion to which Luke supplies parallels, not Mark.

In (*b*) and (*c*) notice once more how the Syrian Text combines the language of the 'Neutral' with the order of the 'Western' Text. The result is a close assimilation to Mt.

V.^{6} (1) *καὶ ἦν*, ℵBL 33.
ἦν δὲ, AD$^{\text{gr}}$P rel.
Mark's resolute adherence to *καί* causes constant difficulty to scribes. At least 40 times *δέ* has been wrongly introduced into the Syrian Text; cf. vv.$^{14.\ 16.\ 28}$ in this extract.
(2) *ὁ* Ἰω., ℵBL unc^{9} cu^{62}.
− *ὁ*, ADΔ rell? assim. to v.^{4}. Otherwise the tendency in these authorities, esp. D, is to insert articles before proper names. See vv.$^{9.\ 14.\ 16.\ 29.\ 36}$.
(3) For *τρίχας καμήλου* D$^{\text{gr}}$ reads *δέρρην* (= *δέρριν*) *καμ.*, 'a' *pellem* and 'd' *pilos*. *δέρριν* in LXX (of raiment) Jg 4$^{18.\ 21}$, Zec 13^{4} only.
In Zec 13^{4} *δέρριν* = אַדֶּרֶת, found also (Heb. not LXX) for Elijah's mantle in 1 K 19$^{13.\ 19}$, 2 K 2$^{8.\ 13\text{f.}}$.

This is remarkable, because the clause *καὶ ζώνην δερμ. π.τ. ὀσφ. αὐτοῦ*, omitted by D, is found exactly in 2 K 1^{8} in another description of Elijah. *δέρριν* (= the prophetic mantle) was probably regarded as a concise and picturesque equivalent for the whole phrase. But the man who introduced it must have known his Hebrew Bible and his LXX. Note that 'a,' which also omits *καὶ ζώνην, κ.τ.λ.*, places v.^{6} after v.^{8}.

V.^{7} *ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς* for *ἐκήρυσσεν λέγων*, D (a). In 'a's' arrangement of the verses, *αὐτοῖς* has a point which is lost in D. In view of the rest of vv.$^{7.\ 8}$ in D, it is safe to say that *ἔλεγεν* comes from Lk 3^{7} or Mt 3^{7}. *ἐκήρυσσεν* is characteristic of Mk. (cf. *e.g.* 1^{38} and Lk 4^{43}, 1^{45} and Lk 5^{15}, 6^{12} and Lk 9^{6}. It is curious that in these passages there should be no par. in Mt.). It has also point as resuming v.^{4}.

Vv.$^{7.\ 8}$ (1) D a (ff^{1}) read: *Ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμᾶς βαπτίζω ἐν ὕδατι, ἔρχεται δὲ ὀπίσω μου ὁ ἰσχυρότερός μου οὗ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἱκανὸς λῦσαι τὸν ἱμάντα τῶν ὑποδημάτων αὐτοῦ· καὶ αὐτὸς ὑμᾶς βαπτίζει ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ.* Notice first the order of the clauses, natural in Lk 3^{16}, which this reading reproduces almost *verbatim*, but weak in Mk., where there is no ref. in the context to popular surmises about John. Notice also the omission of the characteristic Marcan *κύψας*.
A clear case of assimilation in the 'Western' text.
(2) The Syrian text adopts *μέν* from this text, or from Mt. and Lk. ℵBL 33 69 124 Orig om.; cf. Jn 1^{26}. *μέν* rare, in Mk 4^{4} 9^{12} 12^{5} 14$^{21.\ 38}$ only; cf. 10^{39}.
(3) Also *ἐν* 1° against ℵBΔH cu^{8}. *ἐν* 2° against BL b Lat-vg.

In Mt 3^{11} Jn 1$^{26.\ 33}$ *ἐν* is found with both words without variant. In Ac 1^{5} *ὕδ.* and *ἐν πν.* without variant. In Lk 3^{16} *ὑδ.* (exc. D 1 13 69 al *ἐν ὑδ.*) and *ἐν πν.* without variant. There seems, therefore, no tendency to omit *ἐν* where it is clearly genuine, even to balance phrases, *e.g.* Ac 1^{5}. The tendency to insert from par. must have been very strong.

V.^{9} (1) *ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις*, DΔ Latt (exc. a c).
ἐκεῖνος never comes after *ἡμέρα* in Mk. without special emphasis.
Only in 13$^{19.\ 32}$ 14^{25}, all three eschatological passages.
(2) *ὁ* Ἰησ., DMΓΔ 13 28 69 al. See on v.^{6}.
(3) *εἰς τὸν Ἰορδ. ὑπὸ Ἰωάν.*, ℵBDL cu^{15} (*ἐν τῷ*, 1–28, etc.) Latt (c f) Syr-vg Boh.
ὑπὸ Ἰωάν. εἰς τὸν Ἰορδ., AP rell c f Syr-hcl Arm Æth Go.

Notice the converse change in v.^{5}. Here clearly the important fact is that the baptism was administered by John, not that it took place in the Jordan. *ὑπὸ Ἰω.* is therefore rightly kept to the last.

V.^{10} (1) *εὐθέως* or *εὐθύς*, om. D a b.

A peculiarly difficult word for the textual critic in Mk., clearly characteristic, offending some scribes and some translators by its recurrence, at the same time always to hand when an adventurous scribe wished to 'improve' the story. We find ourselves therefore driven by sheer perplexity to take refuge in obedience to the one golden rule of sound criticism and to 'trust our MSS.' The result will show if our confidence is misplaced.

One point we can lay down at the outset. A close examination of the facts shows that the effect of Synoptic parallels on the text of Mk. must, so far as this word is concerned, have been uniformly towards omission: Mk 14^{45} om. D 251 2$^{\text{pe}}$ a c ff^{2} k q (Mt 26^{49} 'non fluctuat') is the only possible exception.

The facts are interesting, and we may allow ourselves this one excursion into the field of Synoptic criticism. Assuming the WH text as our standard, *εὐθύς* occurs 40 times in Mark. In 29 of these there are parallel contexts in both Mt. and Lk., in 8 there is a parallel in Mt. only, in 2 in Lk. only, in 1 there is no parallel in either. In one case, 1^{42}=Mt 8^{3} =Lk 5^{13}, *εὐθ.* is found in all three Gospels. In none of the other 30 cases where Lk. has a parallel context is *εὐθ.* found: in 7 the whole phrase to which *εὐθ.* belongs in Mk. is transformed; in 17 *εὐθ.* is simply omitted; in 5 he substitutes *παραχρῆμα*, in 1 *εἶτα*. Of the 37 places where Mt. presents a parallel, *εὐθ.* is retained in 12; in 8 the whole phrase, in 15 the word, disappears; in 2 *ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας ἐκείνης* does duty as an equivalent. In one case Lk. (21^{9} =Mt 24^{6}=Mk 13^{7}) substitutes *οὐκ εὐθέως* for *οὔπω*.

Assuming, as it is probably worth while to do at present, that our Mk. was in the hands of both Mt. and Lk., the figures given above supply a good illustration of the delicate literary criticism to which Mark was subjected, esp. by Luke. This general result is not seriously affected by questions of text. In 6 places TR *ins.* where WH *om.*, in 4 TR *om.* where WH *ins.* But it is worth notice that the 'Western' Text, esp. in D and in the various MSS of Lat-vet, shows a clear tendency to omit *εὐθ.* The chief passages are $1^{10.\ 28.\ 29}$ 2^{8} 3^{6} 4^{16} $5^{2.\ 42}$ $6^{25.\ 50}$ 9^{20} $14^{43.\ 45}$. The same tendency is found in the same authorities in Mt., *e.g.* 4^{22} 21^{2}.

In the case before us (1^{10}) the genuineness of *εὐθύς* in Mk. is, we think, supported by its presence in Mt 3^{16}. There are only 2 cases (24^{29} 27^{48}) where Mt. in a parallel context shows a *εὐθ.* which is not represented in the true text of Mark. And in neither of these does any authority for the text of Mk. attempt to assimilate.

(2) *ἐκ τοῦ ὕδ.*, ℵBDL 13 28 33 69 124.
ἀπό, AP rell; cf. Mt 3^{16}.

Here, again, *ἐκ* is characteristic of Mark. In 4 other cases it corresponds to *ἀπό* in a parallel context in Mt., and in 10 cases in Luke. A similar reaction on the MSS of Mk. also in $1^{25.\ 26}$ 7^{15} 9^{9} 16^{3}.

(3) *σχιζομένους*, ℵAB rell.
ἠνυγμένους, D Latt ('apertos')=Mt. and Luke.

Here there is nothing to account for the change of *ἀνεῳγμένους* if it were genuine, while *σχιζομένους* is at once vivid and difficult.

(4) *καταβαῖνον εἰς αὐτόν*, BD 13 69 124 a.
καταβαῖνον ἐπ' αὐτόν, ℵAP rell, but note that ℵ 33 insert *καὶ μένον* before *ἐπ'* from Jn 1^{32}.

Fondness for *εἰς* is another characteristic feature of Mark's style. It occurs in all about 157 times. Of these, 42 are found in both Mt. and Lk., 39 in Mt. alone, 19 in Lk. alone, 57 belong to sections or phrases peculiar to Mark. In 3 places Lk. substitutes *ἐν*, in 2 *ἐπί*, in 1 *ἐν μέσῳ*. Mt. substitutes *ἐν* in 5 places and *ἐπί* in 4. Here (1^{10}) Mt. and Lk. agree in substituting *ἐπί* as they agree in substituting *ἐν* in 11^{8}. In 4 cases Mt. or Lk. supports *εἰς* when the other has changed it.

On the other hand, *ἐπί with acc.* occurs only 32 times in Mark. There is only very slight evidence of a tendency to change it into *εἰς*. See 6^{53} $15^{22.\ 46}$, and perhaps d (not D) in 9^{13}. In no case is there a real parallel to the phrase here, which must have suffered from 'assimilation.'

V.^{11} (*a*) Om. *ἐγένετο*, ℵ* D ff^{2} mt (a f 'venit'; 28 2^{pe} g^{1} *ἠκούσθη*).

Here, again, light is thrown on the reading by a careful study of Mark's usage. He is fond of *γίνεσθαι*, and uses it to cover a great variety of different meanings. It occurs 52 times in the WH Text; of these, 6 are found both in Mt. and Luke. Besides these, Mt. retains only 16, Lk. only 9; and even in some of these instances slight modifications are introduced. (Mt. has a parallel context in 49, Lk. in 36 cases). The text of Mk. shows similar traces of the attempt to obliterate this individualism. See 1^{17} 2^{27} $4^{4.\ 11}$ 5^{16} 6^{2} (9^{6}) 9^{7} 10^{43} 12^{11} 14^{4}. 9^{6} seems to be Syrian. In all the other cases, except 1^{17} 2^{27} 5^{16}, D appears in the group which either omits or provides a substitute for *γίν.* D is generally supported by some Old Latin MSS and various members of the group 1–28, etc. The most instructive case is the closely par. 9^{7} *ἐγένετο φωνὴ ἐκ τῆς νεφέλης* (ℵBCLΔ), where AD rell inc. Syr-sin read *ἦλθεν* (exc. k l Syr-vg-codd *om.*), while *ἰδού* from Mt. and *λέγουσα* from Lk. also find support. In Lk 9^{35} *ἐγένετο . . . λέγουσα* is found without variant, except that D reads *ἦλθεν*, Syr-cu-sin *ἠκούσθη*. In 10^{44} the Syrian Text has *γενέσθαι*, ℵBC(D)LΔ *εἶναι*. The omission of *ἐγένετο* may therefore safely be regarded as 'Western.'

(*b*) *ἐν σοί*, ℵBD^{gr}LPΔ 1 13 22 33 69 cu^{25} Lat-vg a c ff$^{1.\ 2}$ g^{2} l Boh ? Syr-vg-hcl-txt Arm Æth Go.
ἐν ᾧ, AΓΠ unc^{8} rell b d g^{1} f Syr-hcl-mg.
In Lk. there is virtually no doubt (apart from the very early 'Western' variant *υἱός μου εἶ σύ*) about the reading *σὺ . . . ἐν σοί*.
In Mt. the reading is *οὗτος . . . ἐν ᾧ*, exc. that D a Syr-cu read *σὺ—ἐν ᾧ*; Syr-sin *σὺ . . . ἐν σοί*.
ἐν σοί was peculiarly liable to change from the association with Is 42^{1}=Mt 12^{18}; cf. 2 P 1^{17}.

V.^{12} (1) *τὸ πν.* add *τὸ ἅγιον*, D.

The tendency to add *ἅγιον* is much less than might have been expected (see 2^{8}, Jn 7^{39}). Its presence here, perhaps due to Lk 4^{1}, is more likely meant to mark the contrast with the Tempter.

(2) (*a*) *ἐκβάλλει αὐτόν*, DΔ 33–69.
(*b*) *αὐτὸν ἐκβάλλει*, ℵABL rell.

The order in (*b*) is somewhat unusual, though relatively commoner in Mk. than in Mt. or Luke. See $3^{6.\ 11.\ 12}$ 5^{4} $11^{3.\ 18}$ $12^{13.\ 34}$ 14^{65} 16^{7}.

V.^{13} (1) (*a*) *ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ*, ℵABDL 13 33 346 Boh: Orig Eus.
(*b*) *ἐκεῖ* KΠ 1 69 124 131 209 al^{15} Syr-sin Arm.
(*c*) *ἐκεῖ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ*, Δ unc^{9} rel Syr-vg.

Here (*a*) is apparently the original reading. The repetition *εἰς τὴν ἐρ.*, *ἐν τῇ ἐρ.* is thoroughly Marcan; cf. v.^{16}. It is interesting to notice that Mt. keeps *εἰς τὴν ἐρ.* and Lk. *ἐν τῇ ἐρ.*

(*b*) is a substitute for (*a*) to avoid the repetition.

(*c*) is a simple conflation of (*a*) and (*b*).

The only alternative is to regard (*c*) as a reduplication of the regular Marcan type (*e.g.* *ὀψίας δὲ γενομένης ὅτε ἔδυ ὁ ἥλιος*), of which (*a*) and (*b*) are alternative redactions. But Mark's pleonasms are never, we think, weakly tautological, as this would be; *e.g.* in 5^{11} *ἐκεῖ πρὸς τῷ ὄρει*, the second clause brings out a fresh and important feature in the scene; cf. v.^{28}.

(2) *τεσσ- ἡμ.*, ℵBL 33: Orig Eus.
ἡμ. τεσσ., ADΔ rell = Mt. Lk. without variant.

V.^{14} (1) *καὶ μετά*, BD^{gr} a (c) Boh ?
μετὰ δέ, ℵAL rell.
See on v.^{6}.

(2) *τὸ εὐαγγέλιον*, om. *τῆς βασιλείας*, ℵBL 1 28 33 69 209 b c ff^{2} Syr-sin Boh Arm.
Add AD rell Lat-vg a f ff^{1} g$^{1.\ 2}$ Syr-vg Æth.

τὸ εὐαγγέλιον is used without further definition 5 times in Mk. (cf. Ac 15^{7}). In 1^{1} *Ἰησ. Χρ.* is added. In Mt. *εὐαγ.* occurs 4 times, 3 times defined by *τῆς βασιλείας*. *εὐαγ.* is not found in Lk. or John. The full phrase *τὸ εὐ. τ. βασ. τ. θεοῦ* is not found anywhere else. It is most likely that *τ. βασ.* came in from Mt. assisted by its recurrence in v.^{15}. No good reason can be given to explain its omission, if it were genuine. The phrase ἡ βασ. τ. θεοῦ is constant (14 times) in Mk., and never seems to have provoked alteration.

(3) (*a*) καὶ λέγων, BLΔ unc^{3} 1 33 69 rel a b ff^{1} g^{2} Lat-vg Boh Syr-vg-hcl.

(*b*) λέγων, ℵ^{a}AD unc^{8} cu^{30} f ff^{2} g^{1} Go.

(*c*) Om. ℵ* c mt Syr-sin : Orig.

This is a difficult case. It is surprising how many of the various readings in Mk. involve the insertion or omission or change of λέγων. In some cases the insertion is clearly due to assimilation, 9^{7} 11^{9} 14^{4} 15^{34}. In others the word is omitted or changed because it seemed bald or pleonastic, 1^{7} 6^{25} 8^{28} 10^{49} 11^{31} 12^{14}. The aberrant text is almost uniformly supported by D, some MSS of Lat-vet, and some members of the 'Ferrar Group.'

In 3 cases besides this, 1^{25} 2^{12} 15^{4}, no certain decision is possible. In 2 of these, 1^{25} 15^{4}, ℵ is the chief authority for omission. It is difficult to account for the change of (*a*) either into (*b*) or (*c*) if it be genuine. (*a*) is also open to suspicion from Mt 4^{17}.

The asyndeton in (*b*) might have led to (*a*) and (*c*) as independent simplifications (cf. 1^{40}). But it is harsh even for Mark.

(*c*) might have caused difficulty, because v.^{15} can hardly be regarded as merely epexegetic of τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας.

V.^{15} πεπλήρωνται οἱ καιροί, D a b c ff^{2} g^{1} mt, probably due to the association in thought of passages like Lk 21^{24} and esp. Eph 1^{10}, the singular seeming too tame.

V.^{16} (1) καὶ παράγων, ℵBDL 13 33 69 124 346 Latt Boh Arm Syr-hcl-mg.

περιπατῶν δέ, AΔ rell Syrr = Mt.

For δέ see note on v.^{6}.

παράγων recurs in 2^{14} (= Mt 9^{9}) and 15^{21}; cf. Mt 9^{27} 20^{30}, Jn 9^{1}.

It is never found in Luke. He has no strict par. here. In both the other cases he avoids it. There seems no reason why περιπατῶν should have been changed, if it were original.

(2) Σίμωνα, D 28 69 124 346 add τόν.

See note v.^{6}.

(3) (*a*) Σίμωνος, ℵBLM al a Boh Arm.

(*b*) τοῦ Σίμωνος, AE^{2}Δ 1 69 al^{20}. See on v.^{6}.

(*c*) αὐτοῦ, ς DGΓ 33 al vix mu Latt (exc. a) Syr-sin-vg Æth.

(*d*) αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σίμωνος, EFH unc^{5} al plus^{120} Syr-hcl Go.

(*a*) is here clearly the original reading. The repetition of the subst. is a trick of the Marcan style (see 3^{17}). (*c*) is an inevitable 'Western' correction agreeing with Matthew. (*d*) is a simple conflation.

(4) (*a*) ἀμφιβάλλοντας, ℵBL 33.

(*b*) ἀμφιβάλλοντας τὰ δίκτυα, D 13 28 69 124 346 Latt.

(*c*) ἀμφιβάλλοντας ἀμφίβληστρον, AΔ unc^{11} Boh Syr-hcl Go.

(*d*) βάλλοντας ἀμφίβληστρον, E^{2}MΓΠ^{2} al pl Arm = Mt.

Here, again, (*a*) is clearly original. Its full force not being understood (or requiring in translation the express mention of the object), the 'Western' reading (*b*) supplied τὰ δίκτυα from v.^{18}. On the other hand, the influence of Mt. suggested (*c*) ἀμφίβληστρον. Finally, by substituting βάλλοντας (*d*), the resemblance to Mt. was made complete.

V.^{17} γενέσθαι, om. 1 13 28 69 118 209 al^{10} b Syr-sin-vg Æth.

See on v.^{11}. Here the omission is helped by text of Mt.

V.^{18} (*a*) τὰ δίκτυα, ℵBCL al^{10} ff^{1} g^{2} Lat-vg Boh Arm = Mt.

(*b*) πάντα, D a b c ff^{2} = Lk.; cf. 10^{28}.

Note that D a c have already used δίκτυα in v.^{16}.

(*c*) τὰ δίκτυα αὐτῶν, A unc^{12} al pl f g^{1} Syrr Æth Go.

Notice a similar addition in vv.$^{19.\,22}$ etc.

V.^{19} (*a*) ὀλίγον, BDL 1 28 118 124 131 209 2^{pe} a b ff^{2} g^{1} Boh Syr-vg (sin).

(*b*) ἐκεῖθεν, ℵ* = Mt.

(*c*) ὀλίγον ἐκεῖθεν, ℵ^{c} 33.

(*d*) ἐκεῖθεν ὀλίγον, AC unc^{12} al pl c f ff^{1} g$^{1.\,2}$ Syr-hcl Arm Go.

Here there is no doubt of the genuineness of ὀλίγον. ἐκεῖθεν seems to have come in from Matthew. The tendency to omit ἐκεῖθεν is very slight in the Gospels, and confined to quite insignificant MSS, exc. in Jn 11^{54}.

(*c*) and (*d*) represent independent conflations of (*a*) and (*b*).

V.^{20} ἀπῆλθον ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ, ℵABC rell Syrr.

ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ, D Latt Boh = Mt.; cf. v.^{18}.

ἀπερχ. ὀπίσω is a remarkable, apparently unique phrase (Jn 12^{19} is no true parallel), which has suffered assimilation. Perh. a Syriasm; but ἀκολ. is a common word, not wont to provoke alterations.

V.^{21} (1) (*a*) εἰσπορεύονται, ℵABC rel d.

(*b*) εἰσπορεύεται, 1 6 22 71 121 al pauc.

(*c*) εἰσπορευόμενος, Orig (c) (e).

(*d*) εἰσεπορεύοντο, D^{gr} 33 (61) (a b f).

A reading worth looking at. At first sight (*a*) seems entirely natural, and we wonder why it should have caused any trouble. Then we notice the sequence of verbs, ἀπῆλθον, εἰσπορεύονται, ἐδίδασκεν. The subject of no two of them is the same, though they are linked by καί, but in genuine Marcan fashion the reader is trusted to infer the subject of each himself.

Again the sequence of tenses, an historic present, characteristic of Mk., between an Aor. and an Imperfect. (*b*) and (*c*) are independent attempts to smooth over the change of subject, (*d*) assimilates the tenses.

(2) (*a*) τοῖς σάββασιν εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν ἐδίδασκεν, ABD rell Latt (exc. c) Syr-hcl.

(*b*) εἰσελθὼν τοῖς σαβ. ἐδίδασκεν εἰς τὴν συναγ., 33 124.

(*c*) τοῖς σάββασιν ἐδίδασκεν εἰς τὴν συναγ., ℵL 28 346 2^{pe} : Orig.

(*d*) ἐδίδασκεν ἐν τοῖς σάββασιν εἰς τὴν συναγ., C Boh Syr-sin-vg.

(*e*) τοῖς σάββασιν εἰς τὴν συνάγ. ἐδίδασκεν, Δ 69.

(*f*) et ingrediens cum eis sabb. in synag. Capharnaum docebat populum c.

Note that Syr-sin omits καὶ εἰσ. εἰς Καφ.

This is a strange case of confusion affecting the simplest of sentences. The omission of εἰσελθών, which is common to (*c*) (*d*) and (*e*), produces a reading which at first sight seems attractive. It is short and vigorous. And the pregnant use of εἰς might easily have led to the insertion of εἰσελθών. On the other hand, the group ℵCLΔ, which supports the omission, is, the present writer believes, in Mark typically 'Alexandrian,' in Dr. Hort's sense of the term. They exhibit constantly a type of readings quite their own, which, though always interesting, rarely succeed in establishing their claim to preserve the original text. The most favourable examples are $3^{6.\,7}$ $4^{22.\,28}$ 11^{11} $15^{1.\,44}$. Here it is worth noticing that in (*f*) *ingrediens* may stand either for εἰσπορευόμενος or εἰσελθών. And it is possible that the repetition may have given offence to the linguistic sense of the Alexandrians, and have led to the dropping of εἰσελθών. Both words are well established in Mark's vocabulary. For though πορεύεσθαι never occurs (outside $16^{9\text{-}21}$) exc. perhaps in 9^{30}, εἰσπορ. is found 8 times.

Nor is Mk. fond of the pregnant use of εἰς. 1^9 1^{39} (2^1 *v.l.*) $13^{9.16}$ 14^9 are the only examples; and even κηρύσσειν εἰς (1^{39} 14^9) hardly justifies διδάσκειν εἰς.

The larger omission in Syr-sin may well be due to the difficulty of supposing that the work from which Simon had been called (v.^{16}) lay at any distance from his home (v.^{29}).

(3) αὐτοὺς *post* ἐδίδ., D (Latt) Syr-hcl Arm
Æth Go. Probably from v.^{22}.

There is no difficulty in the absolute use of διδάσκειν, which occurs fairly often in all the Gospels, and generally causes no trouble. Mt 4^{23} is the only parallel. Curiously enough, in Mt 21^{23} 26^{55} Lk 23^5 some auth. omit διδάσκειν altogether. Mark is never tired of emphasizing this aspect of our Lord's activity. In 9 cases (out of 17) the word is not paralleled either in Matthew or Luke.

V.^{22} καὶ *ante* οὐχ, om. D*b c d e.
Cf. v.^{14} (3) (*b*).

V.^{23} (1) εὐθὺς *post* καί, ℵBL 1 33 131 209 Boh: Orig.
Om. ACDΔ rell.
Cf. on v.^{10} (1). It is not found in Lk 4^{33}.

Here the word would be specially liable to alteration, as it expresses simply the suddenness of the interruption, without reference to any definite point of time.

(2) αὐτῶν *post* συναγωγῇ, om. DL 72 b c e ff^2
g^1 Boh.

The presence of the word is remarkable. It has no antecedent. συναγ. is regularly defined in Mt., but very rarely in Mark or Luke. Only Mk $1^{23.39}$, Lk 4^{15} (where as here D a b l om.). But there is no trace of any tendency to supply αὐτῶν mechanically with συναγ. in either Mark or Luke. Lat-vg in Lk 13^{10} is an instructive exception. So it is unlikely that it has come in here from Matthew. On the other hand, Mark has no quite similar case (exc. 9^{48}, where αὐτῶν has come in from LXX) of an indefinite αὐτῶν. It is possible that it may represent Mark's transformation of what on St. Peter's lips was 'our' synagogue.

V.^{24} (1) Ἔα om. ℵBD 157 2^{pe} Latt Boh Syr-sin-vg
Æth.
Ins. (A) CLΔ rell. Syr-hcl Arm Go: Orig
Eus = Lk 4^{34} (where as here D cu^4 Lat-
vet Boh Syr-sin-hier Æth om.).

Another 'Alexandrian' reading, this time adopted by the 'Syrian' Text, against the 'Neutral' and the 'Western.' Granted that the 'Western' authority here must be discounted because of its behaviour in Lk 4^{34}, still the 'Neutral' reading is preferable because it alone explains the phenomena in the two passages taken together. There seems no reason why Ἔα (however it is to be understood) should have caused trouble. All is simple, if we suppose that the 'Alexandrian' and 'Syrian' texts here assimilated Mark to Luke, while conversely the 'Western' assimilated Luke to Mark.

(2) οἴδαμεν, ℵLΔ Boh Arm Æth: Tert Iren^{int}
Orig Eus.
οἶδα, ABCD rell Latt Syrr = Lk 4^{34} (where
only Arm has pl.).

Neither reading has any intrinsic difficulty. It is simply a question whether the Alexandrian Text introduced the pl. in consequence of ἡμῖν (cf. ᾔδεισαν, v.^{34}), or whether the rest assimilated Mark to Luke. The fact that the Alexandrians omitted to insert the corresponding change in Luke is not a fatal objection to the first hypothesis.

V.^{25} (1) ἀπ' for ἐξ, HL 33 cu^{16} c f g^1 = Lk.

See on v.^{10}. ἐκ is habitual in cases of possession in Mark. In these cases it is never retained either by Matthew or Luke.

(2) (*a*) τοῦ ἀνθρώπου for αὐτοῦ and + πνεῦμα
ἀκάθαρτον, D (8^{pe}) Latt (exc. f) (Go
Æth).
Go Æth add πν. ἀκ. but read αὐτοῦ.
8^{pe} τὸ πν. τὸ ἀκ.
(*b*) ℵABCLΔ rell: Orig Syr-sin read
αὐτοῦ without πν. ἀκ. = Lk.

Here we have to balance the chance that (*b*) has arisen out of (*a*) by assimilation to Luke, against the chance that (*a*) has arisen out of (*b*) by assimilation to 5^8. (*a*), as 5^8 shows, is thoroughly Marcan; but the evidence for it, as our experience even in these few verses is enough to suggest, is far from trustworthy. Again, if we may allow any weight to our provisional hypothesis as to the relation between Luke and Mark, there is no reason to suppose that Luke would have modified (*a*) if his text of Mark had contained it. In 8^{29} (= Mk 5^8) he retains the words, though putting them into the *oratio obliqua*. His agreement with Mark in these verses, 4^{33-35} = Mk 1^{23-26}, is exceptionally close. There is no par. in Matthew.

V.^{26} (1) The whole verse reads as follows in D:—
καὶ ἐξῆλθεν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἀκάθαρτον σπαράξας
αὐτὸν καὶ κράξας φωνῇ μεγάλῃ ἐξῆλθεν ἀπ'
αὐτοῦ.

With this e agrees (only omitting τὸ ἀκάθαρτον), and ff^2 (only transposing σπαρ. αὐτ. with τὸ πν. τὸ ἀκ.).

It is difficult not to believe that this exhibits a conflation of two readings: (*a*) καὶ ἐξῆλθεν τὸ πν. τὸ ἀκ. σπαράξας αὐτὸν καὶ κράξας φωνῇ μεγάλῃ, with (*b*) the reading in the text. Some such conflation must also underlie the reading of D in v.^{34}. (*a*) might have arisen out of (*b*) by free assimilation to Mk 9^{26}, where also we find the masc. καὶ κράξας καὶ πολλὰ σπαράξας ἐξῆλθεν.

(2) κράξαν is read by AC(D) rell.
φωνῆσαν, ℵBL 33: Orig.

Neither phrase is objectionable in itself. φων. φ. μεγ. is found in Lk 23^{46}, Ac 16^{28}, but not in contexts likely to have suggested themselves here. κράζω, on the other hand, is constantly used of the cries of the possessed, and κράξας φ. μ. occurs in Mk 5^7.

(3) ἀπ' is read for ἐξ by C(D)ΔM 33 Latt.
See on v.^{25}.

V.^{27} (1) (*a*) αὐτούς, ℵB (b e ff^2 q).
(*b*) πρὸς ἑαυτούς, ACDΔ unc^9 al^{90}.
(*c*) πρὸς αὐτούς, GLS rell verss.

It is difficult to find any test to enable us to judge between these readings. The reciprocal use of πρὸς ἑαυτ. is characteristic of Mk 9^{10} 11^{31} 12^7 14^4 16^3, besides *v.l.* $9^{14.16.33}$ 10^{26}. It is not found in Matthew. It occurs in Lk 20^5 (= Mk) 22^{23} (*v.l.* 20^{14} = Mk), and in Jn 12^{19}. On the other hand, ℵB exhibit no special animus against it. They seem clearly right on the three other occasions (9^{33} 10^{26}, Lk 20^{14}), where they combine to attest an alternative reading. συνζητεῖν is used absolutely in 12^{28} and Lk 24^{15}. The construction of Mk 9^{10} is ambiguous. In $9^{14.16}$ the true reading is clearly πρὸς αὐτούς, though here ℵ in each case reads ἑαυτ. These facts, so far as they go, are in favour of (*a*), as is the fact that some of the authorities for πρός (ACE* MΔ^2 al^{20}) give what is perhaps a further sign of the influence of Lk 4^{36} by reading λέγοντες for λέγοντας. αὐτούς has a real point (cf. on αὐτῶν in v.^{23}) if it indicates a distinction between the circle immediately round our Lord, and that part of the congregation whose astonishment found vent in the words that follow.

(2) (*a*) τί ἐστιν τοῦτο; διδαχὴ καινὴ κατ' ἐξουσίαν,
ℵBL 33 (1 118 131 2^{pe} al^3 + αὕτη)
Boh.
(*b*) τίς ἡ διδαχὴ ἐκείνη ἡ καινὴ αὕτη ἡ ἐξουσία
ὅτι, D (evv^3 Latt).
(*c*) τί ἐστιν τοῦτο; τίς ἡ διδαχὴ ἡ καινὴ αὕτη
ὅτι κατ' ἐξουσίαν, (A)CΔ rel (A τίς ἡ κ.
αὐ. διδ.) (69 τίς ἡ κ. διδ. αὐ.).

Note that the Latin renderings are very various.

They agree with D in leaving out *τί ἐστιν τοῦτο*; Some omit *καινή*. Most, if not all, may represent *κατ' ἐξουσίαν*, none exc. 'd,' *ἐξουσία*.

The simplest solution is to regard (*a*) as the original reading; it is vigorous and vivid, and its abruptness might easily offend. (*b*) would then be a 'Western' paraphrase, (*c*) a 'Syrian' conflation of (*a*), with one or other of the various forms of (*b*).

V.^{28} (1) *καὶ ἐξῆλθεν*, ℵBCDLΔM 33 al^{11}.
ἐξῆλθεν δέ, A rel.
See on v.^{6}.

(2) *εὐθύς*, om. ℵ* 1 28 33 131 al^{2} b c e ff^{2} (g) q Boh Syr-sin Arm Æth.
See on v.^{11}.

(3) *πανταχοῦ*, ante *εἰς ὁλ.*, ℵ^{c}BCL 69 124 b e q Boh.
Om. ℵ* ADΔ rell c f ff$^{1.2}$ g$^{1.2}$ Lat-vg Syr-sin-vg-hcl.

A characteristic pleonasm, part of which is represented in Mt 4^{24} *εἰς ὅλην*, part in Lk 4^{37} *εἰς πάντα τόπον*. See on v.^{13}.

(4) (*a*) *τῆς Γαλιλαίας*, ℵ^{c}ABCD rell.
(*b*) *τῆς Ἰουδαίας*, ℵ*, cf. Lk 4^{44}; but there is no indication in Mk., as there is in Lk., of a use of *Ἰουδαία* to include the whole of Palestine.
(*c*) *τοῦ Ἰορδάνου*, 28; cf. Mt 3^{5}, Lk 3^{3}.
(*d*) *ἐκείνην*, s^{scr*}; cf. Mt 14^{35}, *v.l.* Mk 6^{55}.

24. The facts are now before us. We can judge for ourselves the kind of variations that are to be met with on every page of the Gospels, and the kind of considerations by which we can attempt to discriminate between alternative readings, before we are in a position to assign a special value to any particular authority, or group of authorities, over the rest. It is true that we have in one or two particulars anticipated results that must be verified by further examination. We have treated certain groups of authorities, which even within the limits of this passage can be seen to mark themselves off from time to time from all the rest, as approximately constant units, and we have given distinctive names to the particular sets of readings which they attest. The fact that the authorities do exhibit this tendency to fall into groups is now generally admitted, and even the Traditionalists are beginning to see that a careful study of these groups is the first step towards the understanding of the history of the changes through which the text, taken as a whole, has passed. They point out, however, quite rightly, that the term 'text' as applied to these groups must be used with caution. It does not necessarily imply, *e.g.*, that there ever existed an edition of the 'Western Text,' including all the variants that we should be prepared to class as 'Western,' and excluding all their rivals, in the sense in which Westcott and Hort include, with a few exceptions, all the 'Neutral' readings; or, again, in which Mr. Miller prints the Traditional Text. No critic is likely to take serious exception to the definition which Mr. Miller puts forward of the sense in which he is himself prepared to use the word. 'What is properly meant,' he writes,* 'is that of the variant readings of the words of the Gospels which, from whatever cause, grew up more or less all over the Christian Church, so far as we know some have family likenesses of one kind or another, and may be traced to a kindred source.'

25. More serious exception has been taken by Dr. Salmon to the names which Dr. Hort gave to the different groups. He calls them 'question-begging.' But it is by no means easy to see the exact point of his criticism. The names are as free as possible from any invidious connotation, differing in this respect *toto cœlo* from the name 'Neologian,' which Mr. Miller regards as a fair description of the text of any editor who rejects a 'Traditional' reading. They are all descriptive of certain clearly marked and carefully defined characteristics of the groups to which they are applied. The 'Syrian' Text is so called because its most constant support is found, as we have seen, in the writings of Fathers connected directly with the Church of Antioch. An objection may no doubt lie against it, because it must suggest to an uninstructed reader that the chief support for these readings is to be found in the Syriac versions; but in itself it is purely descriptive, and implies no judgment on the genuineness of the readings connoted by it.

26. 'Western' again, as Dr. Hort himself pointed out, is an inadequate title for readings which have early Greek, Syriac, and Egyptian support, as well as Latin. But he retained it because it was established by long usage, and there seemed no sufficient reason for obscuring the continuity of the development of the science of Textual Criticism by any unnecessary change in the accepted terminology. The name as he defined it connoted nothing more than the fact that this group of readings had first attracted the attention of scholars by the support that it receives in the great Græco-Latin MSS and in the Latin versions. There was nothing in the name to imply that no readings in this group could be regarded as genuine.

27. The name 'Alexandrian' was chosen simply because the authorities supporting it are, so far as we can judge, exclusively confined to Alexandria. It had, no doubt, already been applied to all non-Western pre-Syrian readings by Griesbach. Neither ℵ nor B was, however, accessible to Griesbach when he made his classification. And, now that in the light of the new evidence a further subdivision of Griesbach's Alexandrian family has become possible, no serious difficulty is likely to arise from appropriating to one division the name which belonged to the whole class before its elements were fully differentiated.

28. It would be difficult to devise a more scrupulously colourless name than the last on our list—the name 'Neutral.' It was chosen to express the fact that the authorities supporting it were habitually found in opposition to the 'distinctive' readings of both the 'Western' and the 'Alexandrian' groups. It is true that these 'distinctive' readings are, from the nature of the case, in the great majority of instances corruptions that have affected one particular line of transmission; so a group that has escaped them must be, so far as these corruptions are concerned, a relatively pure text. But there is nothing in the name to imply that all the readings attested by it must necessarily be genuine, or to exclude the possibility that the rival authorities may in any individual case have preserved the genuine text. To adopt the name 'Early Alexandrian' for this group, as Dr. Salmon suggests, on the strength of the number of names connected with Alexandria which appear among its most prominent constituents, would obscure the fact, to which attention must be called later, that the attestation to it is by no means confined to Alexandria, besides obscuring the clearly marked distinction between this group and the one last described. It is difficult, therefore, to see what question any one of these names as defined by Dr. Hort can be supposed to beg.

29. It will be noticed that the points suggested for consideration in the notes, as likely to afford a presumption either for or against the genuineness of the different variants, are exclusively of an internal

---

* *Trad. Text*, p. 118. The light thrown on the extent to which Mr. Miller is prepared to believe in the existence of 'editions' in very early times by his note (*l.c.* p. 22) should not be overlooked.

character. This limitation is deliberate, because at this stage of the investigation our purpose must be simply to determine which reading in each case has the best claim to be regarded as original, apart from any preconceived theory as to the weight to be attached to the authorities by which it is attested. Some minds are, no doubt, constitutionally impatient of this class of considerations, and profoundly sceptical of any conclusions which are based on them. And, no doubt, there would be far less room for difference of opinion, and far less need of patient study and careful and exact scholarship in Textual Criticism, if we could start with some external standard, and so dispense with internal considerations altogether. Nothing, for instance, can be easier, if one may assume that the mass of authorities must always be right, than to prove that a numerically insignificant group of dissentients must be worthless, just because the evidence of 'the many' can always, *ex hypothesi*, be described as 'overwhelming.' But when the precise question at issue is the relative weight to be attached to the rival groups, no amount of erudition can conceal the fact that a demonstration constructed on these lines has no logical value; it does 'beg the question.' It is well, therefore, to realize from the outset that the element of personal judgment can never be eliminated from the processes of Textual Criticism. A clear realization of this fact is necessary if we are to understand the importance of a careful study of the laws which must regulate the use of the critical faculty, and of the different methods which other workers in the same field have found useful as safeguards to minimize the dangers arising from unconscious caprice or personal idiosyncrasy. The criteria for testing *the internal evidence of Readings* are of two kinds: *Intrinsic Probability*, or 'the consideration of what an author is likely to have written,' and *Transcriptional Probability*, or 'the consideration of what a copyist is likely to have made him seem to have written.' No doubt, taken separately, they are, as Mr. Miller calls them,* 'weak pillars.' But, when they combine in favour of any variant, their testimony is overwhelming. Such cases are indeed comparatively rare. They are numerous enough, however, to enable us to form, first a provisional, and then a more carefully balanced estimate of the characteristic excellences and defects of each authority with which we have to deal. They enable us—that is, in cases where the internal evidence of the readings is ambiguous—to appeal to *the internal evidence of the Documents* by which the different variants are attested. But even this is not enough. The same document may be of very different value in different parts.

30. We have therefore still to inquire what methods are available when, as in the case of most of the MSS of the NT, whether uncial or cursive, the documents are of a very mixed character, and considerations derived from internal evidence alone are in consequence unusually precarious.†

It is at this point that the real importance of *the principle of Genealogy* comes full into view. It is based on the obvious fact that our documents, to quote the words of Dr. Hort to which Mr. Miller has called special attention, 'are all fragments, usually casual and scattered fragments, of a genealogical tree of transmission, sometimes of vast extent and intricacy.' It is true, as Mr. Miller points out, that the analogy with human relationship which the word suggests is not complete. There is a variability in the transmission of acquired characteristics in human heredity which is lacking under normal conditions in derivation by a process of copying. But this difference is all in favour of the textual critic, and enables him to tread securely even in cases where the normal conditions of transmission are disturbed by the presence of 'mixture,' *i.e.* when the scribe at work on a particular MS embodies either constantly or occasionally readings derived from more than one exemplar. For the process depends on the principle, which it is encouraging to notice that Mr. Miller accepts without reserve, that 'identity of reading implies identity of origin.'

31. The consequences that follow from the acceptance of this principle and the careful application of this method are far-reaching. Its chief importance lies in this, that it opens a field for strictly historical investigation into facts which can be brought to definite tests. These tests no doubt require the greatest delicacy and skill in their application, but the facts are in themselves concrete and quite independent of subjective considerations.

It has, however, one or two subsidiary consequences to which we may call attention before we pass on. We may notice, first, that it justifies at once the treatment of groups of documents, which are found constantly associated in the support of the same variants, as approximately constant units: to this point attention has already been called. It also suggests the explanation of one of the paradoxes of Textual Criticism which has puzzled Dr. Salmon (p. 55). It is certainly strange that the evidence of two witnesses should be lowered in value by being associated with, rather than opposed by, a third; that, for instance, more weight should be assigned by Dr. Hort in the Pauline Epistles to $B+D_2-G_3$, than to $B+D_2+G_3$. As long as each document is regarded as an independent witness, it is clearly impossible to assign a negative value to its evidence. But when we realize that each document has a composite character determined by its ancestry, and that in consequence we have to determine in each case which strain is represented in any particular reading before we can estimate the value to be assigned to its evidence, the paradox disappears. The value of any group is simply the value of the element common to all the members composing it. Thus B in the Pauline Epistles is largely 'Neutral' with a decided 'Western' element: D_2 is Western with a decided 'Neutral' element: G_3 is almost purely 'Western' with a Syrian admixture. The combination $B+D_2$ may therefore be either Neutral or Western, both elements being present, though in different proportions, in each document. And the reading attested by G_3 can be either Western or Syrian. But a reading supported by $B+D_2+G_3$ in opposition to all other authorities must be distinctively 'Western.'

32. One further remark may be allowed before we leave this paradox. It is, no doubt, tempting to illustrate different stages in the critical process by comparison with the everyday procedure of the Law Courts, especially when one's object is to interest Englishmen in the minutiæ of a dry and technical study. But the habit is a dangerous one. The legal and the scientific methods are fundamentally distinct, and, in consequence, serious fallacies, as this paradox shows, may lurk even in the most specious analogy. But the worst effect of yielding to it is that it tends insensibly to merge the critic himself in the advocate, and to make him 'the champion of an opinion,' for whom

---

* *Trad. Text*, p. 238; cf. Hort's *Summary*, ed. minor, p. 543.

† The mixed character of the text in the uncials will be obvious from the study of any *App. Crit.* If any one wishes to realize the mixed character of the text even in the cursives, he cannot do better than study Mr. Hoskier's admirably thorough examination of the codex 604. The only surprising thing is that he should imagine that the facts he has observed disturb any of the results at which Dr. Hort arrived. Compare also the introduction to Scrivener's collation of 20 MSS with Tregelles' remarks upon it (Horne, *Intr.* p. 145).

the value of an argument is measured by its immediate effectiveness rather than 'the single-hearted lover of truth,' who knows that there is no influence against which he must guard more resolutely than the influence of the popular prejudices which tend to warp his own judgment, and which respond most readily to a rhetorical appeal.

33. Dr. Salmon suggests in another place (p. 43) that the dogmatic tone of WH's *Introduction* is due to the influence of the established Cambridge method of mathematical teaching. A closer parallel would seem to be provided by ordinary text-books in any department of Natural Science. We expect to find in them a description of the methods, and a classified record of the results, of an investigation into a series of phenomena which the student is no doubt expected to take on trust, but only until he has repeated the experiment and verified the result by his own observation. The extraordinary insight and skill in classification which the *Introduction* reveals, reflect the expert botanist more than the mathematician.

34. The last consequence of the acceptance of the principle of 'Genealogy' to which we wish to call attention, is the light that it throws on the radical unsoundness of any system of Textual Criticism which bases itself directly on a numerical calculation of the attesting documents, before the significance of the numbers has been checked and interpreted by descent. It is, no doubt, a remarkable fact that one of the types of text which were current side by side in the fourth century is represented to-day in extant MSS by a progeny 'like the stars of heaven in multitude';* while the representatives of the others are few and for the most part fragmentary. But the principle of Genealogy reminds us that, however numerous the progeny of any MS may be, their united value can never be higher than that of their common original. And it has yet to be seen whether that common original can, in the case of distinctively Syrian readings, be traced back beyond the 4th century. The facts which we have already noticed in the history of the text of one of the Pauline Epistles prove that the answer to that question cannot be taken for granted. We must not forget that, if 'identity of reading' implies 'identity of origin,' identity in a demonstrably wrong reading, except in the case of a primitive error, implies a common original later than the autograph. And in such cases it becomes of primary importance to determine as precisely as possible the date of the common original.

35. We can now pass on to consider what light is thrown by our examination of the variants in Mk 1^{1-28} on the character of the witnesses by which they are supported. We must begin with those variants that are the exclusive property of the Traditional Text, and by which in consequence the value of the authorities supporting it can be most effectively tested. We have included provisionally as belonging to it all the readings which are attested by none of the five MSS, ℵBCD or L. Further examination will show which, if any, of these readings have a claim to be regarded as belonging also to one or other of the alternative texts. Sixteen examples occur. The points affected are in almost every case extremely trivial, but they are none the less significant as indications of documentary relationship.

(1) V.^{1} om. *τοῦ* before *θεοῦ*.
(2) V.^{2} *τοῖς προφήταις* for *'Ησ. τ. προφ.*
(3) V.^{2} add *ἔμπροσθέν σου*.
(4) V.^{4} *βαπτίζων ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ καὶ κηρύσσων*. Conflate.
(5) V.^{5} transpose *πάντες*.
(6) V.^{9} transpose *ὑπὸ 'Ιωάννου*.
(7) V.^{10} *ἀπό* for *ἐκ*.
(8) V.^{11} *ᾧ* for *σοί*.
(9) V.^{13} *ἐκεῖ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ*. Conflate.
(10) V.^{16} *περιπατῶν δέ* for *καὶ παράγων*.
(11) V.^{16} *αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σίμωνος*. Conflate.
(12) V.^{16} *βάλλοντας ἀμφίβληστρον* for *ἀμφιβάλλοντας*.
(13) V.^{18} add *αὐτῶν*.
(14) V.^{19} *ἐκεῖθεν ὀλίγον*. Conflate.
(15) V.^{27} *τί ἐστιν τοῦτο; τίς ἡ διδαχὴ ἡ καινὴ αὕτη ὅτι κατ' ἐξουσίαν*. Conflate.
(16) V.^{28} *δέ* for *καί*.

36. Now, it is surely remarkable that in no single one of these cases does the internal evidence, taken as a whole, point unequivocally in favour of the Traditional reading. In many cases it seems to be definitely adverse. Again, it is surely remarkable that even in this short passage five of the readings, vv.$^{4. 13. 16. 19. 27}$, admit of a ready explanation on the supposition that they were produced by combining, with more or less modification, two alternative readings which were at one time current independently. In other words, they suggest the presence of Conflation as a factor in the production of the Traditional Text. This hypothesis is rendered distinctly more probable by the observation which rests on a wide induction of undisputed facts, that the normal tendency of scribes in all ages is towards addition and not subtraction.* The exceptions to this rule, which spring from purely accidental causes, *e.g.* 'Homoeoteleuton,' are clearly not in point here. Nor, again, can we logically give any weight here to the charge of a deep-seated tendency to omission brought against the scribes of all our oldest authorities: because again and again the only evidence adduced in support of it is that the text they attest is habitually shorter than the Traditional, and we are looking for an assurance that the Traditional Text itself is free from addition.

It is true that there is evidence that some scribes, the originators of the 'Western' readings, did in the course of their extraordinarily rash recasting of the text omit a word here and there without introducing an equivalent. But there is no evidence to show that a tendency to omit affected a large proportion of their work. And the common ancestor of ℵ and B was, so far as we can judge, entirely unaffected by 'Western' influence.

37. The suspicion of Conflation is deepened when we indicate to the eye, as has been done in the passage as printed above, the relation in which the Traditional Text stands to the earlier texts out of which on this hypothesis it must have been constructed. The passage certainly illustrates with remarkable vividness the phenomena which Dr. Hort's description would have led us to expect. His words run as follows:—

'To state in a few words the results of examination of the whole body of Syrian readings, distinctive and non-distinctive, the authors of the Syrian Text had before them documents representing at least three earlier forms of text, Western, Alexandrian, and a third. Where they found variation, they followed different procedures in different places. Sometimes they transcribed unchanged the reading of one of the earlier texts, now of this, now of that. Sometimes they in like manner adopted exclusively one of the readings, but modified its form. Sometimes they combined the readings of more than one text in various ways, pruning or modifying them if necessary. Lastly, they introduced many changes of their own where, so far as appears, there was no previous variation. When the circumstances are fully considered, all these processes must be recognized as natural' (§ 165).

---

* See *Trad. Text*, p. 233.

* See Tregelles, *The Printed Text of the NT*, p. 184.

When the whole text has the appearance of being conflate, individual readings combining elements which can be proved to have existed independently are more naturally accounted for on the hypothesis of Conflation than on any other. It would seem impossible to determine *a priori* what proportion of such readings we should expect to find in a passage of any given length. Mr. Miller is probably right when he says, 'I venture to think that, supposing for a moment the theory to be sound, it would not account for any large number of variations, but would at the best only be a sign or symptom found every now and then of the derivation attributed to the Received Text.'* This is exactly the impression that an attentive reader would receive from Dr. Hort's carefully measured language in reference to them.†

38. The last point to be examined in regard to these readings is the presence or absence of ante-Nicene Patristic support. What has already been said on the principle of Genealogy will put us at the right point of view for appreciating the significance of this part of our investigation. For it is clear that, unless we can discover some evidence external to the MSS for locating and dating the readings contained in them, we shall find it difficult, if not impossible, to make sure of the direction actually taken by the different streams of textual change. The primary source of such evidence is provided by fully verified and tested Patristic quotations.

39. We must not, however, hide from ourselves the difficulty of the task. Even at the risk of some repetition, we must remind ourselves that it is always necessary, in cases where the text of a Father appears to agree with the Traditional Text, to make allowance for the possibility that that agreement would disappear if we had access to his autograph, even though there is no variation in the printed editions or in any of the extant MSS of his work. No conclusions can be based on such evidence unless the correctness of the reading is guaranteed by the context.

40. Again, in a passage like the one before us (Mk 1^{1-28}), which has parallels throughout either in one or in both of the other Synoptics, and in which a considerable proportion of the variants suggest the influence of assimilation, it is clearly unwise to build any conclusions on a Patristic reference to the text in its assimilated form, unless the writer gives us independent means of determining the particular Gospel from which he is quoting.

41. Again, in applying the knowledge derived from such evidence, after it has passed all our tests, to the interpretation of the facts of textual history as indicated by the groups into which the MSS are observed to fall, we have to bear in mind that it is impossible on MS evidence alone to determine precisely what readings, other than 'conflate,' are to be classed as distinctively Traditional—*i.e.* are to be regarded on the Critical hypothesis as having originated with the 'Syrian' revisers, and not merely been adopted by them from some pre-existent text. For, as the evidence of the Latin, Syriac, and Egyptian versions shows, the preservation of at least the 'Western' types of text in Greek MSS is incomplete and fragmentary. So that it is practically certain that some of the readings which are at present attested only by MSS of a markedly Traditional type are not really the exclusive property of the Traditional Text. They must have belonged also, at one time, to one or other of its rivals. We must be ready, therefore, to make allowance for the possibility that some of the readings in our provisional list, and in any other list drawn up on the same rough-and-ready principle, may be 'Western,' 'Alexandrian,' or even 'Neutral,' as well as 'Syrian.'

42. Ante-Nicene evidence is quoted by Tischendorf or Tregelles on one side or the other in 7 out of the 15 readings in our list. In the first case (v.^{1}), the insertion of τοῦ before θεοῦ, the ante-Nicene evidence disappears on close examination. The passages in Irenæus which contain the clause are extant only in Latin, and are therefore indecisive. The clause is wanting in the one passage where we have access to the Greek of Irenæus, and in Origen. We may note, however, that Severianus (fl. 400) and Victor of Antioch (d. 430) both omit the article. Cyril Alex. (d. 444) is the earliest authority quoted in support of it. The second reading τοῖς προφήταις for Ἠσ. τῷ προφ. finds a place as No. 14 in Mr. Miller's select 30 (*Trad. Text*, p. 108), and is also discussed at length by Dean Burgon (*Causes of Corruption*, p. 111 ff., cf. *Trad. Text*, App. iv.). So in this case we have the advantage of a full statement of the evidence that can be put forward on behalf of the Traditional reading. It will be instructive to examine this statement in detail.

43. Only a summary of the evidence is given in *Trad. Text*, detailed references being promised in *Causes of Corruption*. In the summary, 6 names appear as supporting τοῖς προφ.: Titus of Bostra, Origen, Porphyry, Irenæus (p. 205), Eusebius, Ambrose. 7 names appear on the other side: Irenæus (p. 191), Origen (*Cels.* ii. 4; *in Joan.* i. 14), Titus of Bostra (*adv. Manich.* iii. 4), Basil (*adv. Eunom.* ii. 15), Serapion, Victorinus of Pettau (*in Apoc. Joh.*), Epiphanius (twice over—the second time with a ref. *adv. Hær.* II. i. 51). When we come to *Causes of Corruption* we are met by a statement that Tischendorf quotes 13 Fathers against the Traditional reading: Irenæus, Origen, Porphyry, Titus, Basil, Serapion, Epiphanius, Severianus, Victor, Eusebius, Victorinus, Jerome, Augustine. We are then told that 'from this list serious deductions must be made. Irenæus and Victor of Antioch are clearly with the Textus Receptus. Serapion, Titus, and Basil do but borrow from Origen, and with his argument reproduce his corrupt text of Mk 1^2. . . . Victorinus and Augustine, being Latin writers, merely quote the Latin version, which is without variety of reading. There remain Origen (the faulty character of whose codices has been remarked upon already), Porphyry the heretic (who wrote a book to convict the Evangelists of mis-statements, and who is therefore scarcely a trustworthy witness), Eusebius, Jerome, and Severianus. Of these, Eusebius and Jerome deliver it as their opinion that the name of "Isaiah" had obtained admission into the text through the inadvertency of copyists. Is it reasonable, on the slender residuum of evidence, to insist that St. Mark has ascribed to Isaiah words

---

* *Causes of Corruption*, p. 270.

† As curious misapprehensions are current on this point, it may be well to quote the sentences in full, italicizing the significant phrases. The reff. are to paragraphs in the *Introduction.* § 133, 'The clearest evidence . . . is furnished by conflate readings, where they exist; and in the case of some of the primary groupings of the textual documents of the New Testament *they are fortunately not wanting.*' In § 165, already quoted, notice the words, '*Sometimes* they combined the readings of more than one Text in various ways, pruning or modifying them, if necessary.' In § 185, '*Occasionally* also the readings of two of the antecedent Texts were combined by simple or complex adaptations.' We may also compare the language used in the short statement of the principles of Textual Criticism printed at the end of the volume containing the text (p. 548, ed. minor). 'The priority of two at least of the three Texts just noticed to the Syrian Text is further brought to light by the existence of *a certain number* of distinctively Syrian readings, which prove on close examination to be due to a combination of the Western with the Neutral readings.' The number of readings in Mk 1^{1-28} that have a claim to be considered as 'conflate' is distinctly larger than this language would have led us to anticipate. But we must not forget that the genealogical antecedents of the component elements are in some cases obscure.

confessedly written by Malachi?' The passage concludes with a lecture on the duty of 'carefulness' and 'honesty.'

44. If, in the light of this statement, we come back to the summary in *Trad. Text*, the result is startling. Of the 6 names quoted on behalf of the TR, the evidence of the first 3 in favour of the rival reading is discussed and discounted. But no hint is given of any justification for the appearance of their names on the opposite side. Of the other 3, Ambrose is left unnoticed; Irenæus, whose name appeared in the summary, like the names of Origen and Titus, on both sides, is boldly claimed exclusively for the TR. Of Eusebius we gather that he is usually quoted in favour of the opposite side, but that he felt the difficulty of that reading so much that he regarded the text as corrupt. (It is difficult to see how he could have failed to refer to a difference of reading among MSS on the point had he been conscious that any such difference existed). A reference to the Latin version of Irenæus is rather a 'slender residuum' from the original 6, even when supplemented by a claim to Victor of Antioch, whose date no doubt excluded his name from the summary. This result, we may notice in passing, does not inspire confidence in the accuracy of the summary, or in the conclusions built on it. But that is not the point immediately before us.[*] We must turn to a closer examination of the details of the evidence in the light of Dean Burgon's comments upon them.

45. The earliest witness is Irenæus. Three passages in his writings (pp. 187, 191, 205) come up for consideration. Two (pp. 187, 205) are extant only in Latin; but, as Grabe showed (see note in Stieren), there is no reason to question the accuracy of the translation. The reading '*in prophetis*,' for which they vouch, cannot have come in through the Latin version, and it is, besides, strongly, though not quite conclusively, confirmed by the context (p. 205). The passage on p. 191 is, fortunately, extant both in Greek and Latin. The Latin reads '*in Esaia propheta*' with no recorded variant. The Greek is attested in various ways. It is found in an extract from Irenæus preserved by Anastasius of Sinai. Here the reading is certainly ἐν Ἠσ. τῳ προφ. The only recorded variant is ἐν βίβλῳ λόγων Ἠσ. τοῦ προφ. in a Florentine MS containing an extract from Anastasius. This independent confirmation of the reading of the Latin version makes the fact that Irenæus in this passage wrote ἐν Ἠσ. τῷ προφ. practically certain. Nor does it stand alone. The same passage of Irenæus is quoted in an anonymous scholion preserved in Evv. 237, 238, 259 (Matthäi's *d*, *e*, *a*). And in each case, according to Matthäi, the reading is ἐν Ἠσ. τῷ προφ. It is therefore not a little difficult to understand how Dean Burgon, in a note expressly based on a reference to the scholion in Ev. 238, should print '*in the prophets*.' If his translation is based on an independent examination of the MS, it was unkind of him not to give a hint that Matthäi's transcript was in error. If not, we have another illustration of the danger of trusting to printed texts when they agree with TR.

Mk 1^2 is quoted also in a short introduction to St. Mark, attributed in some MSS to Cyril Alex. and in others to Victor of Antioch, in the same form ἐν Ἠσ. τῷ προφ. printed in Combefis, i. p. 436. It is true that Germanus (Patriarch of Constantinople, A.D. 715), who has drawn on this same passage of Irenæus, writes ἐν τοῖς προφ. But the natural suspicion that he has in this case assimilated the text of his author to the text with which he was himself familiar, is confirmed by the observation that this same Germanus, a few lines earlier, in his extract, writes τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡ γέννησις in a quotation by Irenæus of Mt 1^{18} in accordance with TR, though, in view of the special stress laid by Irenæus on the point in a well-known passage (p. 204), there can be no doubt that the Latin version '*Christi* autem generatio' preserves the text as Irenæus wrote it.

We may fairly, therefore, claim Irenæus as a witness to both readings in Mk 1^2. It is, no doubt, strange that he should have gone from one codex to another and back again in less than 20 pages, but a similar phenomenon with regard to the reading in v.^{1} shows that something of the kind must have happened. The difficulty, such as it is, would disappear if we might accept Dr. Hort's suggestion (App. *in loc.*) that the whole of the peculiar passage (p. 191) was derived by Irenæus from an earlier writer. As the passage contains the well-known argument proving from 'the nature of things' that the number of Gospels cannot be more or less than four, the conclusion has consequences of wider interest than can attach to the solution of any merely textual problem. If this strange argument was already traditional in the time of Irenæus, it throws back the evidence as to the closing of the Gospel Canon, which is rightly felt to be involved in its very strangeness, into the generation that preceded him.

46. The next authority in point of date is Origen. Tischendorf gives 4 references. Mr. Miller's summary is content with 2. In one passage Origen deals expressly with the problem of the composite quotation. He does not regard the difficulty as serious. He writes (4^{126}): δύο προφητείας ἐν διαφόροις εἰρημένας τόποις ὑπὸ δύο προφητῶν εἰς ἓν συνάγων πεποίηκε· καθὼς γέγρ. ἐν Ἠσ. His evidence is discounted by Dean Burgon on the ground that his codices were bad. As this condemnation is based mainly on the fact that his quotations constantly support 'the few' against 'the many,' it need not delay us at this stage. The significant fact for us is that the MSS used by Origen at different periods during the long course of his literary activity (d. 248) in different centres of Church life read uniformly Ἠσ. τῷ προφ.

47. The next witness is Porphyry, the Neo-Platonist philosopher, a leading opponent of Chris-

---

[*] Mr. Miller's 30 passages are meant to supply materials for comparison between the Patristic evidence to be derived from writers who died before A.D. 400 to the Traditional and the 'Neologian' texts respectively. It is impossible to discover the principle which underlies this selection. He professes to choose passages in which 'evidence is borne on both sides.' But in 8 out of the 30 he can find no Patristic evidence on the 'Neologian' side.

The selection is certainly not regulated by any consideration of the distribution of MS authority. 24 out of the 30 are supported by one or more members of the group ℵBCDL. Nor, again, is any care taken to choose passages where the Patristic evidence is free from the uncertainty caused by the presence of Synoptic parallels. The only element common to all the 30 is that they are printed in thick type by Scrivener in the Cambridge Greek Testament, *i.e.* each of them has, at one time, been adopted by one or more of the critical editions collated at the foot of Scrivener's pages.

It is equally difficult to see the bearing of this evidence on the point at issue. It is true that at the beginning of the chapter a vague reference is made (p. 95) to a statement of Dr. Hort's, and it is assumed at the end that his contentions have been shown to be baseless. But we are left to divine, as best we may, how the collection of reff., reaching to the end of the 4th cent., relating to readings four-fifths of which are obviously not distinctively Syrian, affects Dr. Hort's position that there are no historical signs of the existence of distinctively Syrian readings before the middle of the 3rd cent. There is no excuse for this flagrant *ignoratio elenchi*. Dr. Hort's position was precisely formulated in words which called special attention to the fundamental importance of the fact which he claimed to have observed. The passage reads as follows (*Int.* § 162): 'Before the middle of the third century, at the very earliest, we have no historical signs of the existence of readings, conflate or other, that are marked as distinctively Syrian by the want of attestation from groups of documents which have preserved the other ancient forms of text. This is a fact of great significance, ascertained as it is exclusively by external evidence, and therefore supplying an absolutely independent verification and extension of the results already obtained by comparison of the internal character of readings as classified by conflation.'

tianity from the standpoint of philosophic paganism, who endeavoured, among other things, to confute Christians out of their own Gospels. These facts must, of course, be taken into consideration in estimating his evidence, and no doubt they would make him 'scarcely a trustworthy witness' on a question of Christian doctrine. But it is difficult to see that they invalidate his testimony on a simple question of fact. Indeed the character of the work in which the quotation occurs offers the strongest possible guarantee that he found *ἐν Ἠσ. τῷ προφ.* in his copy of the Gospels. It is impossible to suppose that he invented it in order to create a difficulty. The retort to which he would have exposed himself would have been too obvious and too crushing. As it is, it is not easy to see how, if his opponents were familiar with the existence of the alternative reading, they should not have mentioned it in reply. Controversialists find it difficult to resist the temptation to accuse an opponent of corrupting the text, when he follows a reading to which they are unaccustomed. However easy, therefore, it may be, after the approved style of forensic oratory, to discredit the character of this witness, if one find his evidence inconvenient, we have in this instance a strong guarantee that he gives a true report of what he has seen, and the most venerated names in Church history can do no more. Dean Burgon himself has no scruples about appealing to this same extract from Porphyry for evidence in support of a Traditional reading (*Trad. Text*, p. 286). It would not be easy to find a better illustration of the fact that the help to be derived from Patristic quotations in elucidating the course of Textual History has nothing whatever to do with the personal 'respectability' of the writer from whom it is taken. It is determined entirely by the more tangible considerations of his locality and his date.

48. The other authorities quoted on this text are not included in the chronological limits within which our examination is at present confined. So we must not delay upon them, except to notice that, when a later writer embodies in his own work thoughts derived from one of his predecessors, his evidence is not necessarily worthless. If he repeats an argument which deals directly with the difficulty inherent in a particular reading, the adoption of the argument will be evidence of the continued prevalence of the reading. In any case, we shall have a fresh assurance that the text of his predecessor has been accurately preserved. For instance, Victor of Antioch, as preserved in the catena edited by Possinus, adopts Origen's explanation of the difficulty caused by the reading *ἐν Ἠσ. τῷ προφ.* '*ἐπιτεμόμενος οὖν ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς ὡς ὑπὸ Ἠσαΐου εἰρημένας τὰς δύο χρήσεις παρέθηκεν.*' The fact that in the same catena the text of Victor's quotation from St. Mark contains the reading *ἐν τοῖς προφήταις* (*Trad. Text*, p. 285), is therefore only a fresh instance of the necessity for caution in accepting any reading which reproduces the Traditional Text. Again, Basil's words seem to Dean Burgon to reflect Origen. They present also remarkable affinities with Irenæus. In either case, and especially in the latter, the confirmation of his predecessor's text should not be overlooked.*

49. The next point of reading that we have to consider is the presence or absence of *ἔμπροσθέν σου*. The omission is supported by Irenæus. The passage (p. 187) is known only in Latin. But there is evidence in the context to show that the translator is at any rate not mechanically substituting the Latin version, with which he must have been familiar, for the Greek text in front of him. For this is the first of the two passages in which he gives '*in prophetis*,' when the uniform reading of the Latin versions is '*in Esaia propheta*.' We may fairly therefore assume that *ἔμπροσθέν σου* was wanting also in the Greek of Irenæus. Origen in one place (4^{126}) calls special attention to the absence of the words from the quotation as given by St. Mark. We are quite justified, therefore, in refusing to accept the reference to St. Mark as printed on the preceding page (4^{125}) in support of the inclusion of the words. Of the 2 other passages in Origen quoted in favour of the words, one (3^{769}) is really a direct quotation from the prophet, in the other (1^{389}) there is nothing in the context to decide whether the words did or did not stand as part of the quotation as Origen made it. The passage in Eus.$^{\text{dem } 430}$, which is also quoted on the same side, is really indecisive. He gives the quotation at length from the prophet, and then tells us that Mk. makes use of it. He does not write out Mk.'s text at length.

50. In no other case is any ante-Nicene evidence alleged in favour of the Traditional side of any of our 16 readings. In v.^{4} the 'Western' Text is supported by Eus$^{\text{dem}}$. In v.^{5} Origen $4^{130.\,126}$ Eus$^{\text{dem}}$ are quoted against the TR, and in v.^{9} Origen and in v.^{12} Origen and Eus$^{\text{dem}}$ reappear against it. In 8 out of the 16 no ante-Nicene evidence is alleged on either side.

To sum up our results. The comparative weakness of the *Trad. Text* in ante-Nicene support is obvious at the first glance. The only support it can muster that will stand examination is Irenæus in 2 places out of 3 on v.^{2}, and possibly one passage in Origen on v.^{3}.

51. Before we can decide whether this support is wholly lacking to the 'distinctively Syrian' readings, we shall have to consider more closely the attestation and the internal characteristics of the readings in v.^{2} and v.^{3}. In regard to v.^{2}, it is certainly remarkable that the reading *ἐν τοῖς προφ.*, if not genuine, must be a deliberate emendation of the text, of a bolder type than the other readings of the group, and quite in the 'Western' spirit. When we add to this that Irenæus is one of the most constant supporters of the 'Western' Text, it will not seem unreasonable to class this reading provisionally as an early 'Western' reading of exceptionally limited circulation, which was afterwards taken up into the 'Syrian' Text. We shall thus cease to regard it as 'distinctively Syrian.' In v.^{3}, if the reading in Orig. 1^{389} be accepted, there would be nothing unnatural in classing it as Alexandrian. It is attested by Δ, one of the small group which, as we shall see, have a large Alexandrian element in this Gospel. It also may disappear from the 'distinctively Syrian' list.

So much then for the ante-Nicene evidence. The passages clearly do not afford sufficient ground for any wide generalization. But enough has been said to illustrate the method of investigation which has to be followed, and the results as far as they go are in general agreement with what Dr. Hort's words would lead us to expect.

52. We have now completed our examination of

---

* The passage in Basil runs as follows: *ὁ μὲν Ματθαῖος τῆς κατὰ σάρκα γεννήσεως ἐξηγητὴς γέγονεν ὥς αὐτός φησιν· Βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ υἱοῦ Δαβίδ, υἱοῦ Ἀβραάμ. Ὁ δὲ Μάρκος ἀρχὴν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τὸ Ἰωαννοῦ πεποίηκε κήρυγμα εἰπών· Ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν Ἠσ. τῷ προφ. Φωνὴ βοῶντος, κ.τ.λ.* In Irenæus we read: *Ματθαῖος δὲ τὴν κατὰ ἄνθρωπον αὐτοῦ γέννησιν κηρύττει λεγων· Βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ υἱοῦ Δαβείδ, υἱοῦ Ἀβραάμ. καὶ Τοῦ δὲ [Ἰησοῦ] Χριστοῦ ἡ γέννησις οὕτως ἦν· ἀνθρωπόμορφον οὖν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦτο . . . Μάρκος δὲ ἀπο τοῦ προφητικοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἐξ ὕψους ἐπιόντος τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐποιήσατο λέγων· Ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὡς γέγραπται ἐν Ἠσ. τῷ προφ.*

It should be noticed that Basil here passes straight from the mention of the prophet's name to the quotation which is taken from him—omitting the intervening quotation from Malachi. In this he is supported by Epiphanius and Victorinus. It seems not unlikely that this represents another attempt to escape the difficulty.

the distinctively Syrian readings under the different heads suggested by Dr. Hort's analysis, §§ 132–168. And we have before us examples which will help to give 'actuality' to most of the different classes of phenomena to which he calls attention. We are therefore in a position to estimate to some extent the strength of the case against the Traditional Text. If this passage be, as there is no reason to doubt, a fair specimen of the general character of that text, as indicated by the internal evidence of its 'distinctive readings,' if some of those readings are 'conflate,' if they prove on careful examination to be destitute of ante-Nicene support, we can understand why critics should be driven to the conclusion that, in spite of the vast number of witnesses that support Traditional readings, the true text must be sought elsewhere. We can see also in its true proportions the nature of the issues at stake between the rival schools. In the vast majority of cases the differences relate to points in themselves exceedingly minute and trivial — the loss or the preservation of delicate distinctions in style and phraseology between different Evangelists, the question whether a particular saying of our Lord is recorded by one witness or by two; at the highest, whether narratives of incidents or recorded words which admittedly embody traditions of the Apostolic period, and have the sanction of centuries of ecclesiastical use, were or were not actually incorporated by the Evangelists themselves in the Gospels that they wrote.*

53. Again, a careful comparison of these readings with their rivals will help us to understand why it has now come to be admitted on both sides that the differences between the Traditional Text and the 'Neutral' or the 'Western' cannot be explained as due merely to the normal accidents of transmission. The changes bear too clearly stamped upon them the marks of method and deliberation, and have been carried out too consistently, not to be the result of design. Dr. Hort expressed his opinion on this point with remarkable boldness and precision, asserting that a thorough examination of the facts pointed not to one only, but to two careful revisions under editorial supervision—the first after the death of Origen, and the second about the middle of the 4th century. This second revision he saw reason, as has been already pointed out, to connect with the Church of Antioch. None of his conclusions has roused so much scorn and indignation among his opponents, or has been so unsparingly denounced as groundless and visionary. But time and further study under the stimulus of controversy have brought a more intelligent appreciation of the phenomena. Dean Burgon (*Trad. Text*, p. 234), though 'not so simple as to pretend to fix the precise date and assign a definite locality to the fontal source, or sources, of our perplexity and distress,' yet suspects 'that in the little handful of authorities which have acquired such a notoriety in the annals of recent Textual Criticism, at the head of which stand Codices B and ℵ, are to be recognized the characteristic features of a lost family of (once well-known) 2nd or 3rd cent. documents, which owed their existence to the misguided zeal of some well-intentioned but utterly incompetent persons who devoted themselves to the task of correcting the Text of Scripture, but were entirely unfit for the undertaking.' Mr. Miller sees reason to place this editorial activity at an even earlier period (*Causes of Corr.* p. 22, note); 'I am inclined to believe that, in the age immediately succeeding the apostles, some person or persons of great influence and authority executed a Revision of the NT, and gave the world the result of such labours in a "corrected Text." The guiding principle seems to have been to seek to *abridge* the Text, to lop off whatever seemed redundant, or which might in any way be spared, and to eliminate from one Gospel whatever expressions occurred elsewhere in another Gospel. Clauses which slightly obscured the speaker's meaning, or which seemed to hang loose at the end of a sentence, or which introduced a consideration of difficulty,—words which interfered with the easy flow of a sentence, — everything of this kind, such a person seems to have felt at liberty to discard. But, what is more serious, passages which occasioned some difficulty, as the *pericope de adultera*; physical perplexity, as the troubling of the water; spiritual revulsion, as the agony in the garden,—all these the reviser or revisers seem to have judged it safest simply to eliminate. It is difficult to understand how any persons in their senses could have so acted by the sacred deposit; but it does not seem improbable that at some very remote period there were found some who did act in some such way. Let it be observed, however, that, unlike some critics, I do not base my real argument upon what appears to me to be a not unlikely supposition.'

54. When we add to this that the result of the revision was to produce 'a Thucydidean compactness, condensed and well pruned according to the fastidious taste of the study,' 'exactly that which does not in the long-run take with people who are versed in the habits of ordinary life' (*Trad. Text*, p. 291), we have a picture of the characteristic differences between the rival texts, the main outlines of which it would be difficult to improve, blurred though they are in parts by a failure to discriminate between features peculiar to the Western and features belonging to both the Western and the Neutral types. Students may safely be left to decide for themselves between the rival methods of explaining the character and accounting for the origin of these differences.

It is true that in neither case has any record of this work of revision survived in historical tradition. Mr. Burkitt,* however, has shown, by reference to a far more complete transformation in a biblical text—the exchange of the LXX version of Daniel for Theodotion's by the Church of Africa during the 3rd cent.—that no conclusion unfavourable to Dr. Hort's hypothesis can be based on this silence.

55. For the sub-Apostolic period, to which Mr. Miller would relegate us, historical evidence is at its scantiest, so that the absence of any allusion to the revision which he postulates has virtually no weight at all. Such writings, however, as have survived to show what manner of men the Church produced during that period do not indicate any very high degree of literary power or intellectual distinction. What a delightful surprise it would be, if among the Egyptian papyri even a fragment could come to light representing original work by some leading member of this early-second-century school of critics, who, unlike any other Greek writers of their time, loved Thucydidean

---

* Dr. Salmon seems hardly to do justice to the attitude of WH on this last point. It is true, in a sense, that, as he says (p. 155), they investigated the subject merely as a 'literary problem.' It is difficult to see how, if their work was to have any scientific value, and to provide materials on which a student of the Apostolic age can work with confidence, they could have done otherwise. All considerations of immediate edification had to be rigorously excluded. At the same time they would be the last people in the world to dispute Dr. Salmon's doctrine of 'the well-illuminated penumbra.' A highly developed literary conscience does not necessarily imply a rigidly mechanical theory of Inspiration.

The text adopted by the Revisers really represents that kind of compromise which Dr. Salmon's argument would desiderate. In it distinct recognition is given to 'prescriptive rights.' Passages like the *pericope de adultera* and Mk $16^{9\text{-}20}$ are retained in their familiar places for public use. At the same time, the student receives due warning of the difference in authentication between these passages and their surroundings.

* *The Old Latin and the Itala*, pp. 7, 8.

compactness of style, not wisely, indeed, if it betrayed them into tampering with the text of Scripture, but with a masterful power of reproducing it, and who anticipated by seventeen centuries modern scientific perplexities. It might do far more to shake the foundations of Dr. Hort's position than the discovery of the early history of the cursive script, which seems to Mr. Miller so clear a proof that the world is drifting away from his opponents (*Trad. Text*, p. 238 f.).

56. The points that remain under this head demand reverent handling. They belong to that side of the subject where the textual critic is bound to give an account of the position that he occupies on fundamental articles of Christian faith. Dean Burgon claims that faith in the Inspiration of Scripture carries with it, as a corollary, faith in a special Providence watching over the transmission of the text, and that the same ecclesiastical tradition which guarantees the list of books which are to be accepted as Canonical must be held also to guarantee the type of text which all believers in the authority of the Church are bound to uphold (*Trad. Text*, ch. i.).

57. Let us take these points in order. If there is one doctrine more than another that has in the Providence of God been forced on the attention of Christian students during the course of the last century, it is the doctrine of Inspiration. And if any result with regard to it may claim to be established by the trial through which God has seen fit to test and discipline the faith of those that believe in Him, it is surely this: that there is no subject on which *a priori* arguments are so liable to be upset when they are brought to the test of facts. Here as elsewhere we are forced to acknowledge that God's ways are not as our ways. The course of events has followed again and again a very different line from that which we should naturally have anticipated. And while we may, I think, confidently affirm that the result of this last century of freest discussion has been to deepen and strengthen the faith of men in the reality of the inspiration of the Prophets of the Old Covenant, and of the Apostles and Evangelists of the New, it has shown that there is no royal road to the discovery of the laws by which Inspiration works, except through the most patient and attentive study of the books which owe their form and their contents to its influence.

58. The Church in the 2nd cent. was led by processes, which we have no reason to distrust because they were to a large extent 'instinctive,' to make a provisional selection of the books that had a claim to be regarded as Canonical. The list of books 'of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church,' is amply sufficient as a standard by which we can estimate the claims of those whose credentials are less complete. Centuries of pious use and devout meditation, even if sometimes 'not according to knowledge,' have shown the rich stores of spiritual fruit which can be drawn from them. But the Church, as a whole, has never attempted to put forward an authoritative definition of Inspiration. This being so, we are clearly not in a position to formulate any theory with regard to the course which the Providence of God may be assumed to have followed in regard to the preservation, in literal exactness through the ages, of the text as it left the hands of the inspired writers. Even the languages in which the books are written are living languages no more. Not one Christian in 10,000 can read either Testament in the original. We have therefore no grounds *a priori* to expect that kind of accuracy in the Traditional Text which Dean Burgon would postulate for it.

59. 'But,' it will be said, 'you must at least admit that the claims of the Traditional Text on our acceptance rest on the same Church authority that guarantees the Canon.' Supposing the contention to be true, the patent differences which exist to-day in point of actual content between the Greek, Latin, Syriac, and English Bibles would show that we must expect to find in Textual Criticism, as we find in regard to the contents of the Canon, many questions which cannot be foreclosed by an appeal to 'authority.' The text recognized by the most explicit conciliar decision as alone authoritative for the Latin part of Western Christendom is fundamentally distinct from that for which Dean Burgon claims the prescriptive sanction of undisputed and universal possession. But the contention itself will not bear examination. The differences of use between the different centres of Christendom in regard to the contents of the Canon at the beginning of the 4th cent. were perfectly definite, and the problems arising out of the differences claimed immediate and special attention. The *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius is a permanent memorial of the interest taken in them, and of the general principles that were applied, at least in some quarters, to their solution. But there is nothing even remotely parallel to this in regard to the development of thought on the problems of Textual Criticism. If it is true, as Dean Burgon asserts (*Trad. Text*, p. 11), 'that in the time of Origen the first principles of the science were not understood,' it would hardly be rash to hazard the assertion that Origen at least shows more interest in the subject, and takes more pains to compare the readings of different MSS, and to mention any variants that he found existing, than all the Greek Fathers from Athanasius to Chrysostom put together.*

It would indeed be strange if, in the stress of the battles which they had to fight for the defence and elucidation of the fundamental verities of the Christian faith, the great protagonists of the Nicene period and of that which immediately succeeded it, had had time to spare for such comparative minutiæ. And, unless it can be proved that they ever took more than an occasional and passing interest in the question, what is it but a gross abuse of a great principle to appeal to their authority in a matter like this, as if it stood on the same level as their authority on the great problems which we may well believe they were raised up by God to solve for the guidance, not of their own generation only but of all the generations that were to come after them?

60. We must pass on now to examine such specimens as the same passage (Mk 1^{1-28}) provides of characteristic readings belonging to the other, and, if the conclusion we have reached with regard to the Traditional Text be right, presumably earlier types of text.

The first of these to attract attention is the 'Western.' It will be worth while to print the list *in extenso*, marking the readings which it shares with other types.

(1) V.[2] *ὡς* for *καθώς*, also Syrian.
(2) om. *ἐγώ*, also Neutral. Ins. Syr. and Alex.
(3) V.[3] *τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν* or *ὑμῶν* for *αὐτοῦ*, with further addition from the prophet in *c*.
(4) V.[4] *ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ βαπτίζων καὶ κηρύσσων* for *ὁ β. ἐν τῇ ἐρ. κηρ.*

---

* The *prima facie* grounds for this assertion are strong enough to justify its being put forward for examination. Unfortunately, no systematic collection has yet been made of the materials by which it could be tested. The list of reff. to passages in the Fathers in which express reference is made to *ἀντίγραφα*, which Nestle has compiled (*Intr.*, Appendix ii.) from Tischendorf's *Apparatus Criticus*, is a preliminary step of great importance. It is much to be hoped that the matter will not be allowed to rest there.

(5) V.^{5} *ἐν Ἰορδάνῃ* for *ἐν τῷ Ἰ. ποτάμῳ* with transp. of *ὑπ' αὐτοῦ*.
(6) V.^{6} *δέ* for *καί*, also Syrian.
(7) Vv.$^{6-8}$ completely recast (see above). Chiefly assimilation to parallels in other Gospels. Note, however, *δέρρην* (= *δέρριν*) for *τρίχας*.
(8) V.^{9} *ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις* for *ἐκ. τ. ἡμ.*
(9) V.^{10} om. *εὐθύς*.
(10) V.^{10} *ἠνυγμένους* for *σχιζομένους*.
(11) V.^{10} *εἰς* for *ἐπ'*, also Neutral. Against Syr. and Alex.
(12) V.^{11} om. *ἐγένετο*.
(13) V.^{12} add *τὸ ἅγιον*.
(14) V.^{12} *ἐκβάλλει αὐτόν* for *αὐτ. ἐκβ.*
(15) V.^{13} *ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα* for *τεσσ. ἡμ.* Assimilation.
(16) V.^{14} *καί* for *δέ*, also Neutral. Against Syr. and Alex.
(17) V.^{14} add *τῆς βασιλείας*, also Syr. Assimilation.
(18) V.^{15} *λέγων* perhaps for *καὶ λέγων*.
(19) V.^{15} *πεπλήρωνται οἱ καιροὶ* for *πεπ. ὁ καιρός*.
(20) V.^{16} *αὐτοῦ* for *Σίμωνος*.
(21) V.^{18} *πάντα* for *τὰ δίκτυα*. Assimilation.
(22) V.^{20} *ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ* for *ἀπῆλθον ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ*.
(23) V.^{21} *εἰσεπορεύοντο* for *εἰσπορεύονται*.
(24) V.^{21} add *αὐτούς* after *ἐδίδασκεν*.
(25) V.^{22} om. *καί*.
(26) V.^{23} om. *εὐθύς*.
(27) V.^{23} om. *αὐτῶν*.
(28) V.^{25} om. *ὁ Ἰησοῦς*.
(29) V.^{25} *τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* for *αὐτοῦ*.
V.^{25} add *πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον*.
(30) V.^{26} Recast (see above). Note *κράξας* (cf. Syrian) for *φωνῆσαν*, and *ἀπό* for *ἐξ*.
(31) V.^{27} *πρὸς αὐτούς*, with Syrian and perhaps Alex.
(32) V.^{27} *τίς ἡ διδαχὴ ἐκείνη ἢ καινὴ αὕτη ἡ ἐξουσία* for *τί ἐστιν τοῦτο; διδαχὴ καινὴ κατ' ἐξουσίαν*.
(33) V.^{28} om. *πανταχοῦ*, with Syrian.

To these we should probably add, as we have seen—

(1^{b}) V.^{2} *ἐν τοῖς προφήταις* for *ἐν Ἡσ. τῷ προφ.*

61. The difference in general character between these readings and the 'distinctively Syrian' series is obvious. Without for the most part seriously affecting the sense, they yet show, if we take the Neutral text as our standard, a remarkable freedom in altering the form of expression, 'the love of paraphrase,' which Dr. Hort's description (§ 173 f.) would have led us to anticipate. And in most cases, as we have seen, there is little doubt that the change was made by the 'Western' scribe. This fact will help us to realize the true character of a reading such as *δέρριν* in (7), which, if it stood alone, or was supported only by one or two carefully chosen examples, might quite easily appear unquestionably original, or, at least, a correction due to the author himself. It is in itself remarkably vigorous and appropriate. And, if we were dealing with the work of scribes of a normal type, we should say at once that they could not have had either the inclination or the capacity to invent it. But the matter presents a different aspect where we find in the same company readings like (29) *τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* for *αὐτοῦ*, (20) *αὐτοῦ* for *Σίμωνος*, (21) *πάντα* for *τὰ δίκτυα*, (22) *ἠκολούθησαν* for *ἀπῆλθον ὀπίσω*, (30) *κράξας* for *φωνῆσαν*, (10) *ἠνυγμένους* for *σχιζομένους*. There is no such ground for attributing these to the hand of the author. And a scribe capable of introducing them may well have been capable of changing *τρίχας* to *δέρριν* if the word occurred to him. This assumption is strengthened when we note that this spirit of licence has affected not single words only but whole sentences, *e.g.* (7) (30) (32); where, in like manner, it would seem impossible to attribute the readings to a revision by the author himself.

This case, we may notice in passing, is a good example of the importance of attending to what Dr. Hort called the 'Internal Evidence of Documents,' before deciding finally on particular readings. No conclusion can safely be built on a mere selection of readings, however striking in themselves.*

62. The general character of these readings, then, is not such as to inspire confidence. It is not likely that any editor will be found to accept them as a whole, and construct his text throughout from the documents that contain them. Editions, indeed, like Professor Blass's edition of the Acts and St. Luke, which enable the two recensions to be studied side by side, supply a real need. At the same time, the character of these readings, and the very early date at which they must all have originated, will ensure for them a large share of attention. Certainly, the most fruitful work that has been done in this department of Textual Criticism in recent years, if we except the closely kindred work done by Professor Sanday and Mr. Burkitt on the early history of the Latin Version, is work that has been devoted to the investigation of their origin. The first step was taken by Mr. Rendel Harris in the 'Study of the Codex Bezæ,' printed in the series of Cambridge *Texts and Studies* in 1891. The thesis of this stimulating but inconclusive essay was that the origin of the peculiar readings in the Greek text of Codex Bezæ, the primary authority for the Western Text in its Greek dress, can be traced to the influence of the Latin version that accompanied it in various stages of its history. At the same time, he claimed to trace the Latin version, in the form in which it has accompanied D, back to Carthage early in the 2nd century. One direct result of his work was the publication of two vols. by Dr. Chase on 'The Old Syriac element in Codex Bezæ' and 'The Syro-Latin Text of the Gospels,' in which he collects the evidence in support of the thesis that the true source of the peculiar elements in the Bezan text is to be found, not in Latin but in Syriac. And he emphasized, following a suggestion thrown out by Dr. Sanday in a review of Rendel Harris, the claims of Antioch as the centre from which this influence had spread. It is difficult to doubt that the swing of the pendulum will ultimately bring us back to a simpler, if more commonplace, solution, and we shall be content to believe that the bulk of the Western readings originated in Greek, excepting those which may fairly be regarded as individualisms of D. The influence of Syriac can hardly have been more than occasional and spasmodic. If the suggestion with regard to Antioch can be established, important consequences will flow from it. It would be rash, perhaps, to say more at present.† In any case, it is in striking agreement with the opinion expressed by WH (§ 153): 'On the whole, we are disposed to suspect that the "Western" Text took its rise in North-Western Syria or Asia Minor, and that it was soon carried to Rome, and thence spread in different directions to North Africa and most of the countries of Europe. From North-Western Syria it would easily pass through Palestine and Egypt to Ethiopia. But this is at present hardly more than a speculation; nor do any critical results depend upon it.' It is interesting, however, to notice that, as Mr. Lake has pointed out in his little book on the *Text of NT* (p. 89), this view

---

* This caution is specially necessary in judging of any list of readings which from the nature of the case can consist only of specimens: *e.g.* in Blass's article on 'The Western Text of St. Mark,' and in Nestle's 'Critical Notes on various Passages.'

† See esp. Chase, *Syro-Latin Text*, p. 141.

would at the same time satisfactorily account for most of the phenomena in the remarkable series of interpolations in Acts which Prof. Ramsay has sought to elucidate.

63. A further question, of some importance with regard to this class of readings, still remains. Even if it be granted that, as a whole, the 'Western' represents an aberrant type of text, 'it does not follow,' as WH themselves point out, (§ 237), 'that none of its distinctive readings are original.' The special class of 'Western non-Interpolations' to which they called attention may or may not be regarded as favourable specimens.* At any rate they show that WH did not start, as Dr. Salmon's humorous illustration might lead the unwary to conclude, with an invincible prejudice against any reading that might be called 'Western.' The fact is that their uniform habit, in their preliminary examination of the text of each book of NT, was to make a list of all the Western readings that were not obvious corruptions. In Mk. more than 200 such readings were tabulated. The list so made was then subjected to repeated revisions, and no reading of any interest was passed over without full consideration. In Mk. more than 60 of these readings were recorded in their first edition under one form of notation or other on the same page as the text. In the smaller edition 12 rank as strictly alternative readings, 51 are printed as Noteworthy Rejected Readings in a list at the end of the volume. Whether this list would have received large additions had they had access to Syr-*sin* is an interesting question on which something must be said presently. The only point which it is worth while to emphasize at this stage is this. They state expressly that they were not prevented by any genealogical considerations from accepting any 'Western' reading. Only, they found very few that seemed to them commended by internal evidence (§§ 269–273).

We must postpone for the present the question, raised by Mr. Burkitt,† whether we are bound to attach such weight to the demonstrable antiquity of the readings supported by a combination of the earliest Syriac and the earliest Latin authorities as to enable us to dispense with the necessity of applying the test of 'the Internal Evidence of Documents' to the readings of this as of any other group, before taking it as the foundation for a reconstruction of the text.

64. The Alexandrian readings in our passage are few, but thoroughly representative of the class. They include—

(1) The insertion of *καὶ* before *κηρύσσων* in v.^{4}.

(2) The omission of *εἰσελθών*, with various rearrangements of the words in v.^{21}.

(3) The insertion of Ἔα in v.^{24}.

(4) *οἴδαμεν* for *οἶδα* in the same verse.

To these we should add—

(5) V.^{2} ins. *ἐγώ*, also Syrian.

(6) V.^{14} *δέ* for *καί*, also Syrian.

(7) V.^{27} *πρὸς αὐτούς*, perhaps Alex. as well as Western and Syrian.

These readings are relatively far less numerous and less startling than the 'Western,' and in consequence their identification by WH as a distinct class was a triumph of delicate and patient analysis,‡ and writers who are not alive to the necessity for finding a clue through the maze of the *concordia discors* of the small group of demonstrably early authorities, still find it possible and convenient to despise the evidence on which this part of WH's classification rests. No one, however, who will be at the pains to study the readings of the group ℵCLΔ through the rest of the Gospel will doubt either the soundness or the importance of the conclusion. WH tabulate upwards of 70 examples, printing 11 either in text or margin; see $1^{21. 24. 45}$ $3^{6. 7}$ 4^{8} $8^{21. 25}$ 10^{43} 11^{11} 15^{1}. The readings similarly treated, 3^{17} 4^{22} 5^{23} $6^{14. 23. 33}$ $9^{9. 30}$ 12^{30} 15^{44}, seem to differ from these only by the fact that they were adopted by the Syrian revisers. We must not, however, forget that these are all picked specimens, and cannot be fairly judged apart from their companions.

65. The results of our examination were not favourable to the genuineness of any of the 6 (or 7) examples that are immediately before us. Our study will, however, help us to appreciate the accuracy of WH's sketch of the general characteristics of the class (§ 183). 'The changes made have usually more to do with language than matter, and are marked by an effort after correctness of phrase. They are evidently the work of careful leisurely hands, and not seldom display a delicate philological tact which unavoidably lends them at first sight a deceptive appearance of originality.' 'Some of the modes of change described above as belonging to incipient paraphrase occur as distinctly here as in the Western texts, though as a rule much more sparingly; and the various forms of assimilation, especially harmonistic alteration and interpolation in the Gospels, recur likewise, and at times are carried out in a very skilful manner.'

The example in v.^{4} is an excellent specimen of the class referred to in the closing sentence of § 184: 'The most instructive distributions, as exhibiting distinctly the residual pre-Syrian text, which is neither Western nor Alexandrian, are those produced by the simultaneous aberration of the Western and Alexandrian texts, especially when they severally exhibit independent modes of easing an apparent difficulty in the text antecedent to both.'

66. The subsidiary attestation that they receive both from versions and from ante-Nicene Patristic quotations is remarkable.

In (1) they have the support of the Bohairic.

In (2) (in one form or another) of Boh Syr-sin and some old Latin MSS, besides Origen in 4 places.

In (3) they are supported by Origen and Eusebius.

In (4) by Boh Orig^{2} Eus^{4}, besides Orig$^{\text{int } 1}$ Iren$^{\text{int } 1}$ Tert.

In (5) by Orig $\frac{3}{5}$ Eus.

In (6) by Orig Eus.

67. We come now to the last and in many respects the most difficult part of our task—the examination of the evidence for 'the residual pre-Syrian Text, which is neither Western nor Alexandrian,' and to which in consequence WH gave, as we have seen, the name 'Neutral.' The specimens before us, with the authorities attesting them, are these—

(1) V.^{2} *τῷ Ἠσ. τῷ προφ.*, ℵB(D)LΔ 1 33 Latt Syr-vg Boh: Orig Iren$^{\text{gr}}$ Porph.

(2) V.^{2} om. *ἐγώ*, BD am fu Syr-vg Boh: Iren Orig $\frac{1}{5}$ Tert.

(3) V.^{4} Ἰ. *ὁ βαπτίζων ἐν τῇ ἐρ. κηρύσσων*, B 33.

(4) V.^{5} *ὑπ' αὐτοῦ* after *ἐβαπτ.*, BL 33 (ℵ 69).

(5) V.^{6} *καὶ* for *δέ*, ℵBL 33 Lat-vg b d ff^{1} g^{1} Boh.

(6) V.^{6} ὁ Ἰω. for Ἰω., ℵBPL al^{8} 1 69.

(7) V.^{8} om. *μέν*, ℵBL 33 69: Orig.

(8) V.^{8} om. *ἐν*, 1° ℵBΔH 33 al^{8} Lat-vg: Orig.

(9) V.^{8} om. *ἐν*, 2° BL b Lat-vg.

(10) V.^{10} *εἰς* for *ἐπ'*, BD 69 a 8.

---

* See esp. Dr. Chase's note, *ibid.* p. 130.

† Introd. to Barnard's *Biblical Text of Clement*, p. xvii ff.

‡ It is important to bear in mind the fact, to which attention has already been called, that the discovery was only rendered possible by the help in different ways of both ℵ and B. Griesbach, therefore, whom we might naturally have expected to lead the way in this as in other directions, had not the materials on which to show his skill as a pioneer.

(11) V.[13] *τεσσαρ. ἡμ.* for *ἡμ. τεσσ.*, ℵBL 33: Orig Eus.
(12) V.[14] *καί* for *δέ*, BD^{gr} a (e) Boh ?.
(13) V.[14] om. *τῆς βασιλείας*, ℵBL 1 33 69 b e ff^1 Boh Syr-sin : Orig.
(14) V.[16] *Σίμωνος*, ℵBLM (a Boh ΛE^2 Δ 1 69).
(15) V.[16] *ἀμφιβάλλοντας* without add., ℵBL 33.
(16) V.[18] om. *αὐτῶν*, ℵBCL ff^1 g^2 Lat-vg Boh (D).
(17) V.[19] *προβὰς ὀλίγον*, BDL 1 a b ff^2 Syr-vg Boh.
(18) V.[19] om. *αὐτῶν*, ℵABC*DL Latt Boh.
(19) V.[23] add *εὐθύς*, ℵBL 1 33 Boh : Orig.
(20) V.[23] om. *Ἔα*, ℵBD Latt Syr-sin-vg Boh.
(21) V.[26] *φωνῆσαν* for *κράξαν*, ℵBL 33 : Orig.
(22) V.[27] *αὐτούς* for *πρὸς αὐτούς*, ℵB (b e ff^2 q).
(23) V.[27] *τί ἐστιν τοῦτο ; διδαχὴ καινὴ κατ' ἐξουσίαν*, ℵBL (1) 33 Boh.
(24) V.[28] *καί* for *δέ*, ℵBCDLΔM 33.
(25) V.[28] add *πανταχοῦ*, BC(ℵ^{c}L) 69 b e 9 Boh.

68. The internal evidence, as we have seen, is strongly in favour of the 'Neutral' Text in many of these cases. In none is it clearly unfavourable. What are we to say of the documents by which it is supported?

The first point that will strike us as we go through the list is the variation in size in the attesting groups. At times, *e.g.*, (1) we have an array as strong and varied in its contents as we could desire, including 7 good MSS, all the early Versions, and abundant ante-Nicene Patristic evidence. Side by side with this we find in (3) only one uncial and one cursive. In fact the only constant supporter of the whole series of readings is the single uncial MS, B. Clearly we must test our ground most carefully if we are to rest securely on evidence that is liable from time to time to be reduced to such slender proportions.

69. What, then, is the real foundation for the authority which WH claim for B?

First and foremost it rests, they tell us, on 'Internal Evidence of Readings.'* They claim that the great majority of readings, even when but slenderly supported, approve themselves as genuine after repeated examination. The 25 examples before us certainly tend to confirm this judgment. The case does not, however, rest purely on internal considerations. It is confirmed, so far as the evidence at our disposal will enable us to speak, by 'genealogy.' In this connexion the reading in v.[4] is once more most instructive. It supplies us with a clear proof of the existence of a third type of text distinct alike from the Western and Alexandrian, and presenting a reading which may well explain the origin of both, and it helps us to appreciate the significance of the fact that in other cases the same MS, which in cases like this is seen to preserve a text independent of both the other early groups, supports now one and now the other of these groups against its rival. In other words, except in the comparatively rare cases in which both the Western and Alexandrian text have gone astray in the same place, B has uniformly the support of one set of authorities or the other, *i.e.* it would naturally rank both as an early Western authority as compared with the Alexandrian group, and as an early Alexandrian authority against the Westerns. Or, to put the same thing from the other side, both the Western and the Alexandrian texts are fundamentally 'neutral' in a large proportion of their readings. And the further back we can trace either of them, and more especially the Western, where the evidence, though still far from complete, is yet relatively abundant, the more closely do its readings as a whole approximate to the 'Neutral' Text.

70. In the light of this fact we may estimate more truly the extent of the confirmation which the text of B receives from other primary authorities. *E.g.* in the passage before us it is supported by ℵ in 19, by L in 18, by 33 in 12, by D in 9 out of the 25 cases. C is extant in 10, and supports B in 3. Latin evidence of one kind or another supports B in 16, the Bohairic in 13, Syr-*sin* in 2 out of 8 passages where it definitely supports one or other of the variants (in 3 passages Syr-*sin* presents us with a new variant). Origen, who in some cases supports the rival reading as well, is quoted in support of B in 8 cases, and Irenæus in 2. These results correspond closely with the anticipations which Dr. Hort's words in § 235 would have led us to form.

71. In the case of ℵ and the oldest form both of the Latin and of the Syriac Versions, it is important to examine the extent and the limitations of their support more closely.

Let us take first the relation of these two MSS of the Greek text to one another. The amount of agreement between ℵ and B in readings in which they stand almost or altogether alone is so great that there can be no doubt, on 'genealogical' grounds, that for a considerable part of their contents they preserve unchanged the text of a common original. What, then, we are forced to ask, is the length of the interval which separates each of them from this common ancestor? Or, in other words, to what extent are we justified in regarding their testimonies as 'independent'?

72. To Mr. Miller the case seems very simple. The MSS were certainly written in the same generation ; in part, as it would seem, by the same scribe. What more is wanted, in view of their admitted agreement in a peculiar type of text, to prove that they are 'twin products of a lost exemplar,' and to justify us in quoting them as 'ℵ-B,' linked by a hyphen, as certain groups of cursives are linked, and as Mr. Cronin (*JTS* vol. ii. p. 590) has proved that the Codices Purpureæ (N-Σ-Sinop) should be linked, because they are all derived directly from one and the same MSS?

Dean Burgon was more cautious. His minute comparison of the two MSS had impressed him very strongly with the extent not only of the agreement, but of the differences between them. He writes of them (*Trad. Text,* p. 33) as 'closely resembling one another, yet standing apart in every page so seriously that it is easier to find two consecutive verses in which they differ than two consecutive verses in which they entirely agree.' And, though he would have it that the 'idea of fixing the date of the common ancestor of B and ℵ is based upon pure speculation' (groups of attested variations being for some unexplained reason excluded from the category of facts), yet he was perfectly well aware that the differences between the two MSS required 'several generations' of transcription to account for them. Only he was able to persuade himself that, at a time when the demand for fresh copies must have been very great, these generations could 'have been given off in two or three years' (*ib.* p. 73).

73. The treatment of the problem in WH (*Intr.* §§ 287-304) is very different in character. Few better examples could be found of Hort's inexhaustible fertility in conceiving hypotheses which might fit the

---

* Dr. Bernhard Weiss has published in various numbers of *Texte und Untersuchungen* a careful examination of the text of the leading uncials as determined exclusively by a study of 'the Internal Evidence of Readings.' His results are summarized conveniently in Kenyon's *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the NT*, p. 264 f. They supply a striking and entirely independent corroboration of WH's estimate of the relative purity of the text of B.

The present writer is glad of this opportunity of calling attention to Dr. Kenyon's *Handbook*. It contains, besides other matter which none but so expert a palæographer could supply, a statement of the questions at issue in the present state of Textual Criticism which is eminently clear and fair.

facts by which he was confronted, and the patient consideration which he was prepared to give to each before he pronounced judgment on it. The passage is too long to extract, and too condensed already to admit of further condensation. It cannot, however, be too earnestly commended to the consideration of all students.

Far too many of the theories that have been recently put forward have been framed without reference to the facts to which these paragraphs call attention. Meanwhile we must content ourselves with the summary of his conclusions, given by Hort himself (*ed. min.* p. 559): 'If B and ℵ were for a great part of their text derived from a proximate common original, that common original, whatever might have been its own date, must have had a very ancient and a very pure text. There is, however, no tangible evidence for this supposition; while various considerations, drawn from careful comparison of the accessory attestation of readings supported by ℵB together, by B against ℵ, and by ℵ against B respectively, render it morally certain that the ancestries of B and of ℵ diverged from a point near the autographs, and never came into contact subsequently; so that the coincidence of ℵB marks those portions of text in which two primitive and entirely separate lines of transmission had not come to differ from each other through independent corruption in the one or the other.'

74. The passage of Mark already before us will supply material by which we can at once illustrate and test the force of the argument on which this conclusion rests. We have already examined the most remarkable of the readings in which ℵ and B agree in the course of our study of the 'Syrian,' 'Western,' and 'Neutral' texts in these verses; and certainly the standard of excellence which the two MSS reach in combination is very high. Whatever the date of their common original, 'it must,' judging by internal considerations in those parts of it which we can at once restore with confidence, 'have had a very pure text.' The accessory evidence for a large proportion of these readings makes it clear at the same time that it is also 'a very ancient' text.

75. The following list of readings in which the two authorities disagree will give us examples of the 'various considerations' to which Dr. Hort alludes, and so enable us to appreciate the rest of the passage:—

(1) V.^{1} + *υἱοῦ θεοῦ*, ℵ^{a}BDL etc.: Iren $\frac{2}{3}$ Orig^{int}.
– ℵ*: Iren $\frac{1}{3}$ Orig Syr-hr.
(2) V.^{2} – *ἐγώ*, BD am fu Syr-vg Boh: Iren Orig $\frac{1}{5}$ Tert.
+ ℵAPLΔ etc. Syr-hcl: Orig $\frac{4}{5}$ Eus.
(3) V.^{2} *ἀποστέλλω*, B etc. *ἀποστελῶ*, ℵ Boh.
(4) V.^{4} *ἐγένετο*, B etc. *καὶ ἐγένετο*, ℵ* (Boh).
(5) V.^{4} *κηρύσσων*, B 33. *καὶ κηρύσσων*, ℵLΔ Boh.
(6) V.^{5} *καὶ ἐβαπτίζοντο*, B etc. *ἐβαπτ.*, ℵ* 69 a.
(7) V.^{7} *ὀπίσω*, B: Orig $\frac{1}{2}$. *ὀπίσω μου*, ℵ etc.
(8) V.^{8} *πνεύματι ἁγίῳ*, BL b Lat-vg. *ἐν πν. ἁγ.*, ℵ etc.
(9) V.^{9} *ἐγένετο*, B (a). *καὶ ἐγένετο*, ℵ (ff^{2} mt Boh) etc.
(10) V.^{10} *εἰς*, BD 69 a (g^{1}). *καὶ μένον ἐπ'*, ℵ 33 Latt Boh.
(11) V.^{11} *φωνὴ ἐγένετο*, B etc. *φωνή*, ℵ*D ff^{2} mt.
(12) V.^{14} *καὶ μετά*, BD^{gr} a (c) Boh ?.
μετὰ δέ, ℵALΔ etc. Latt Syrr: Orig Eus.
(13) V.^{15} *καὶ λέγων*, BKLΔ unc^{2} a b ff^{1} g^{2} Lat-vg Boh Syr-vg.
– ℵ* c mt Syr-sin: Orig.
(14) V.^{18} *ἠκολούθουν*, B. *ἠκολούθησαν*, ℵ etc.
(15) V.^{19} *ὀλίγον*, BDL 1 a b ff^{2} Syr-vg (sin) Boh.
ἐκεῖθεν, ℵ* (33).
(16) V.^{21} *εἰσελθών*, ABD etc.
– ℵ (C) L (Δ) (33 69) (c) (Syr-sin-vg) (Boh).
(17) V.^{24} *σύ*, ABΔΓ (a curious instance of accidental coincidence in an *itacism*).
σοί, ℵ etc.
(18) V.^{24} *οἶδα*, ABCD etc. *οἴδαμεν*, ℵLΔ: Iren^{int} Orig Eus Tert.
(19) V.^{25} + *λέγων*, B etc. *om.* ℵ* (A*?): Dam.
(20) V.^{26} – $\overline{\pi\nu\alpha}$ *τό*, B by homœoteleuton. + ℵ etc.
(21) V.^{28} + *εὐθύς*, B etc.
– ℵ* 1 33 b c e ff$^{1.2}$ (g^{1}) Boh Syr-sin.
(22) V.^{28} *Γαλιλαίας*, ABCD etc. *'Ιουδαίας*, ℵ* (cf. 28 s^{scr*}).

76. From this list we may at once eliminate (17) and (20), which are clearly only slips of the pen; and (4), (14), (22), as possibly individualisms. In a certain number of the cases that remain—(2), (5), (12), (16), (18), where, as we have seen, the readings may be classed as either Alexandrian, or Alexandrian and Syrian—it is possible that the variants might have come in together, if the archetype of ℵ had been collated with a MS containing a strongly-marked Alexandrian text. There remain, however, 12 variants, even in these 28 verses, supported on both sides by early evidence, and by no means the same evidence in the different cases, which can only have come into the aberrant text, whichever it is, at different times in the course of an eventful history. We can see, then, what kind of evidence is available in support of Dr. Hort's 'various considerations.' Further evidence will be forthcoming from the investigation which we have yet to make, into the relation in which these two primary MSS of the Greek text stand to the two earliest Versions—the Latin and the Syrian.

77. A complete examination of this, the most important problem that still awaits solution in Textual Criticism, is not as yet possible. Mr. Turner has recently reminded us (*JTS* vol. ii. p. 602) that the 'African Latin' had a history before Cyprian. The evidence of k, priceless as it is, is only part of the evidence that will become available in due course as the result of the work at present being carried on at Oxford under the direction of Prof. Sanday on the text of Irenæus and kindred subjects. Similarly, we must not forget that the history of the 'Old Syriac' did not begin with Syr-*sin*. The total amount of evidence for enucleating this history is still lamentably small, and inaccessible to those who are not themselves good Syriac scholars. Students, however, have long been cheered by the announcement that Mr. Burkitt has in hand an edition of the Syriac Gospels which, they have good reason to know, will leave nothing to be desired that wide reading, accurate scholarship, and brilliant genius can supply.

78. Meanwhile something can be done with the evidence already accessible. Dr. Sanday contributed a valuable essay on the Greek text underlying k to the Oxford edition of that MS.* The various lists are, unfortunately for our present purpose, admittedly incomplete. Still they afford a sufficiently wide basis for the experimental investigation, which is all that can be attempted here. A collation of Syr-*sin* with the readings tabulated by Dr. Sanday supplies a list of upwards of 200 cases in which the evidence of the 4 authorities is simultaneously available for comparison. These may well be taken as samples of the ore which this mine will supply.

It is worth while to tabulate and print these examples in full, as the tables will need to be carefully checked and supplemented by better equipped scholars; and no merely numerical summary of results can give even an approximately true impression of the facts.

---

* *Old Latin Biblical Texts*, No. II. pp. 95–122.

79. List I. ℵB k Syr-*sin* in combination against later 'Western' or 'Syrian' readings.

Mt 4^{12} – ὁ 'I̅s̅.
5^{11} – ῥῆμα.
5^{27} – τοῖς ἀρχαίοις.
5^{44} 3 omissions.
6^{4} – αὐτός.
8^{7} – ὁ 'I̅s̅.
8^{12} – αὐτῆς.
8^{13} – καί.
– ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐκείνῃ.
8^{29} – 'I̅o̅υ̅.
8^{31} ἀπόστειλον ἡμᾶς.
8^{32} εἰς τοὺς χοίρους.
9^{5} ἀφίενται.
9^{12} – αὐτοῖς.
9^{15} πενθεῖν.
10^{8} + νεκροὺς ἐγείρετε.
11^{10} – γάρ.
12^{10} – ἦν.
12^{15} – ὄχλοι (Syr-*sin ut vid.*).
12^{25} – ὁ 'I̅s̅.
13^{9} – ἀκούειν.
13^{36} – ὁ 'I̅s̅.
13^{40} – τούτου.
13^{44} – πάλιν.
13^{46} εὑρὼν δέ.
13^{51} – λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ 'I̅s̅.
14^{12} πτῶμα (Syr-*sin ut vid.*).
15^{30} αὐτοῦ for τοῦ 'I̅o̅υ̅.
Mk 8^{20} λέγουσι for οἱ δὲ εἶπον.
8^{25} διέβλεψεν (Syr-*sin e lacuna*) for ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν ἀναβλέψαι.
8^{28} εἶπαν for ἀπεκρίθησαν.
9^{7} – λέγουσα.
9^{14} ἐλθόντες . . . εἶδον for ἐλθὼν . . . εἶδεν.
9^{16} αὐτούς for τοὺς γραμματεῖς.
9^{24} – μετὰ δακρύων.
9^{44} om. verse.
$9^{45f.}$ – εἰς τὸ πῦρ, κ.τ.λ.
10^{29} – ἢ γυναῖκα.
11^{26} om. verse.
13^{22} δώσουσι (σημεῖα) for ποιήσουσιν.
14^{36} – θέλεις (Syr-*sin ut vid.*).
14^{70} – καὶ ἡ λαλιά σου ὁμοιάζει.
15^{46} – καὶ ἀπῆλθεν.
16^{9-20} omit.

List II. B *v.* ℵ k Syr-*sin*.

Mt 9^{22} + 'I̅s̅.
13^{16} – ὑμῶν.
14^{16} + 'I̅s̅.
Mk 8^{21} πῶς οὐ for οὔπω.
15^{44} ἐθαύμασεν for ἐθαύμαζεν.

List III. ℵ *v.* B k Syr-*sin*.

Mt 5^{9} – αὐτοί.
8^{10} { οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ 'Ισρ. τοσ· πίστιν.
παρ' οὐδένι τοσ. πίστιν, κ.τ.λ. (Syr-*sin aliter*).
9^{28} + δύο.
9^{35} + ἐν τῷ λαῷ.
11^{15} – ἀκούειν.
13^{17} – γάρ.
13^{35} + 'Ησαΐου.
{ + κόσμου.
– B k (Syr-*sin* paraphrases).
Mk 8^{16} { ἔχομεν.
ἔχουσιν, B k (Syr-*sin* paraphrases).
11^{3} + ὅτι.
12^{15} ἰδών for εἰδώς.
14^{22} + ὁ 'I̅s̅. { – B k.
– λαβὼν ὁ 'I̅s̅., Syr-*sin*.
14^{46} αὐτῶν for αὐτῷ.
15^{24} σταυρώσαντες for σταυροῦσιν . . . καί.

List IV. Syr-*sin v.* ℵB k.

Mt 1^{22} + 'Ησαΐου.
1^{25} τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς for υἱόν.
4^{10} + ὀπίσω μου.
4^{16} – μέγα.
4^{20} + αὐτῶν.
5^{25} – ὁ κριτής.
5^{45} ὅς for ὅτι.
ἀγ. καὶ πον. for πον. καὶ ἀγ.
8^{3} + ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν.
8^{9} ἔχων ἐξουσίαν for ὑπὸ ἐξου. τασσ.
+ λέγω.
8^{13} + αὐτοῦ.
8^{15} αὐτοῖς for αὐτῷ.
8^{25} + οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ.
9^{5} + σοι αἱ ἁμ. σου for σοῦ αἱ ἁμ.
11^{17} + ὑμῖν.
11^{23} ἡ . . . ὑψωθεῖσα for μὴ . . . ὑψ.
12^{22} + ἀκούειν.
12^{25} ἰδών for εἰδώς.
12^{31} + αὐτῷ (sentence recast).
12^{35} + τῆς καρδίας αὐτοῦ.
12^{50} ποιεῖ *ut vid.* for ἂν ποιήσῃ.
13^{10} + αὐτοῦ.
13^{22} + τούτου.
13^{37} + αὐτοῖς.
13^{43} + ἀκούειν.
15^{25} προσεκύνησεν for προσεκύνει.
15^{33} + αὐτοῦ.
Mk 9^{3} + ὡς χιών for οἷα γναφ. κ.τ.λ.
9^{23} εἰ πιστεύεις πάντα δυνατά σοι γενέσθαι.
9^{24} + κύριε.
9^{29} + νηστείᾳ καί.
9^{38} + λέγων.
9^{42} – τῶν πιστευόντων [εἰς ἐμέ, B].
10^{13} τοῖς προσφέρουσιν for αὐτοῖς.
10^{24} + τοὺς πεπ. ἐπὶ χρήμ.
10^{49} αὐτὸν φωνηθῆναι for φωνήσατε αὐτόν.
12^{27} + ὑμεῖς δέ.
13^{8} + καὶ ταραχαί.
13^{15} + εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν.
14^{24} + καινῆς.
14^{52} + ἀπ' αὐτῶν.
14^{54} καθήμενον for συγκαθ.
14^{72} – εὐθύς.

List V. k *v.* ℵB Syr-*sin*.

Mt 1^{3} – καὶ τὸν Ζαρὰ ἐκ τῆς Θάμαρ.
4^{4} – ἀλλ' ἐπὶ παντὶ . . . Θεοῦ.
4^{16} εἶδεν φῶς μέγα (Syr-*sin* – μέγα).
φῶς εἶδεν μέγα, ℵB.
4^{23} ὅλην for ἐν ὅλῃ.
4^{24} – καὶ ἐθεράπευσεν αὐτούς.
5 v.^{5} before v.^{4}.
5^{11} δικαιοσύνης for ἐμοῦ, ℵB. 'My own name's sake,' Syr-*sin*.
διώξ. καὶ ὀνειδ. { ℵB ὀνειδ. καὶ διώξ.
Syr-*sin* only διώξ.
5^{25} ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ μετ' αὐτοῦ for μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τ. ὁ.
5^{32} – ὅτι.
– καὶ ὃς ἐάν. . . μοιχᾶται, + ℵ Syr-*sin* (B).
5^{36} { ποιῆσαι τρίχα μίαν λευκὴν ἢ μέλαιναν.
μίαν τρ. λ. ἢ μέλ. ποι., ℵB (Syr-*sin* paraphrases).
5^{46} ἕξετε for ἔχετε.
6^{1} ἐλεημοσύνην for δικαιοσύνην.
6^{8} – ὁ θεός { + ℵB.
+ 'Hou' Syr-*sin*.

Mt 8^{3} − *ὁ παῖς μου.*
9^{11} *εἶπον* for *ἔλεγον*, ℵB. *λέγουσι*, Syr-*sin*.
9^{12} + *Ἰς.*
9^{17} *ῥήσσει ὁ οἶνος, κ.τ.λ.* ℵB *ῥήγνυνται οἱ ἀσκ.* Syr-*sin* conflates.
9^{32} + *ἄνθρωπον* − ℵB. + *τινα*, Syr-*sin*.
10^{2} − *καὶ* bef. *Ἰάκ.*
10^{3} *Λεββαῖος* for *Θαδδαῖος*, ℵB.
Ἰούδ. Ἰάκ. Syr-*sin*.
10^{10} *ῥάβδους* for *ῥάβδον*.
11^{10} *καὶ* for *ὅς*.
13^{24} *σπείροντι* for *σπείραντι*.
13^{30} − *αὐτὰ εἰς*, + ℵB (Syr-*sin ut vid.*).
13^{55} *Ἰωσῆς*, B Syr-*sin* *Ἰωσήφ*. ℵ *Ἰωάννης*.
14^{3} − *Φιλίππου.*
Mk 8^{35} (besides om. *ὃς δ' . . . ψυχήν*) *τοῦ εὐαγγελίου*, ℵB *ἐμοῦ καὶ τοῦ εὐαγγ.* Syr-*sin* *τοῦ ἐμοῦ εὐαγ.*
9^{15} gaudentes for *προστρέχοντες*.
9^{35} − *καὶ λέγει . . . διάκονος.*
9^{38} + *ὃς οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ ἡμῖν* after *δαιμόνια*.
− *ὅτι οὐκ ἀκολούθει ἡμῖν* after *αὐτόν*.
9^{43} *ὁπου ἐστι* for *εἰς*.
10^{10} + secreto.
10^{19} *μὴ μοιχ. μὴ πορν.* B Syr-*sin* *μὴ φον. μὴ μοιχ.* ℵ only *μὴ φον.*
10^{22} + et agros.
11^{1} − *Βηθφαγὴ καί.* + ℵB (Syr-*sin*).
11^{8} *ἔκοπτον* for *κόψαντες*, ℵB.
+ *καὶ ἐστρώννυον.* − ℵB (Syr-*sin* omits the whole sentence, *ἄλλοι δὲ . . . ὁδόν*, app. by homœoteleuton).
11^{9} + *τῷ ὑψίστῳ.*
12^{14} interrogabant eum farisæi dicentes for *ἐλθόντες λέγουσιν αὐτῷ.* Syr-*sin aliter*.
+ *εἰπὲ οὖν ἡμῖν τί σοι δοκεῖ.*
12^{42} − *πτωχή.*
12^{43} − *ἡ πτωχή.*
13^{2} + *καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἄλλος ἀναστήσεται ἀνεὺ χειρῶν.*
13^{14} + *τὸ ῥηθὲν . . . προφήτου.*
13^{18} + *ἡ φυγὴ ὑμῶν . . . μηδὲ σαββάτου.*
13^{22} − *ψευδόχ. καί.*
13^{27} − *αὐτοῦ* after *ἐκλεκτούς*.
14^{4} + *καὶ λέγοντες* − ℵB. + *λέγοντες*, Syr-*sin*.
14^{8} + *αὕτη* − ℵB. − *ἔσχεν αὕτη*, Syr-*sin*.
14^{19} + *καὶ ἄλλος μήτι ἐγώ.*
14^{20} + *ἀποκριθείς.*
14^{37} + *ἰσχύσατε* for *ἴσχυσας*.
14^{45} − *ἐλθὼν εὐθύς.*
15^{23} + *πιεῖν.*

List VI. B Syr-*sin* v. ℵ k.

Mt 12^{49} + *αὐτοῦ* after *τὴν χεῖρα*.
13^{11} + *αὐτοῖς.*
Mk 8^{20} + *αὐτῷ.*
10^{19} *μὴ φον. μὴ μοιχ.* k *μὴ μοιχ. μὴ πορν.* ℵ only *μὴ φον.*
10^{30} + *οἰκίας . . . ἀγρούς.*
14^{71} + *ὃν λέγετε.*
15^{20} + *αὐτόν* after *σταυρώσουσιν*.
14 ^{30} + *δίς.* − ℵ k.
^{68} − *καὶ ἀλέκτωρ ἐφώνησεν.* + k *not* ℵ.
^{72} + *ἐκ δευτέρου.* − ℵ *not* k.
+ *δίς.* − ℵ.

List VII. B k v. ℵ Syr-*sin*.

Mt 12^{44} − *καὶ* before *σεσαρ.*
13^{35} − *κόσμου.* + ℵ (Syr-*sin* paraphrases).
15^{22} *ἔκραζεν* for *ἔκραξεν*.
Mk 8^{22} *ἔρχονται* for *ἔρχεται*.
Mk 13^{27} − *αὐτοῦ* after *ἀγγέλους*.
13^{33} − *καὶ προσεύχεσθε.*

List VIII. ℵB v. k Syr-*sin*.

Mt 5^{11} + *ψευδόμενοι.*
5^{22} − *εἰκῆ.*
5^{41} − *ἔτι ἄλλα.*
5^{46} *τὸ αὐτό* for *οὕτω*.
8^{21} − *αὐτοῦ* after *τῶν μαθητῶν*.
9^{11} *ἔλεγον.* k *εἶπον.* Syr-*sin* *λέγουσιν.*
9^{27} + *καὶ λέγοντες.*
9^{32} − *ἄνθρωπον.* + k. Syr-*sin* *τινα*
10^{23} − *κἂν ἐν τῇ . . . ἄλλην.*
11^{16} *ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς* for *ἐν τῇ ἀγ.*
11^{19} *ἔργων* for *τέκνων*.
12^{6} *μεῖζον* for *μείζων*.
13^{48} *ἣν ὅτε* for *ὅτε δέ* (? Syr-*sin*).
Mk 8^{9} − *οἱ φαγόντες.*
8^{10} *εὐθὺς ἐμβάς* for *ἀνέβη*.
8^{36} *ὠφελεῖ* for *ὠφελήσει*.
10^{2} + *προσελθόντες* [*οἱ*] *φαρισαῖοι.*
10^{5} *ὁ δὲ Ἰς* for *καὶ ἀποκ. ὁ Ἰς.*
10^{6} − *ὁ θεός.*
10^{29} *ἔφη* for *ἀποκ. . . . εἶπεν.*
11^{8} *κόψαντες* for *ἔκοπτον*, k.
− *καὶ ἐστρώννυον.* + k. Syr-*sin* omits app. by homœoteleuton.
11^{31} + *οὖν.*
12^{30} − *αὕτη πρώτη ἐντολή.*
12^{31} *αὕτη* for *ὁμοία αὐτῇ*.
14^{4} − *καὶ λέγοντες.*
14^{8} *ὃ ἔσχεν ἐποίησεν προέλαβεν μυρίσαι τὸ σῶμά μου εἰς τὸν ἐνταφ.*
k : quod habuit hæc, præsumpsit et unguentavit, etc.
Syr-*sin*, 'For that which she hath done, behold as if for my burying she hath done it, and hath anointed my body beforehand.'
14^{9} + *δέ.*
14^{14} *μου* after *τὸ κατάλυμα*.
14^{16} − *αὐτοῦ* after *οἱ μαθηταί*.
14^{19} − *οἱ δέ.*
14^{27} − *ἐν ἐμοί.*
14^{43} + *εὐθύς.*
− *πολύς.*
14^{51} + *ἐπὶ γυμνοῦ.*

80. List I. contains 44 passages in which all four authorities are agreed. Generally (not always) they form the nucleus of a small group of authorities in opposition to the bulk of later evidence. In no case do they stand quite alone. Of course this list represents only a small part of the total amount of agreement between the four texts. The most noteworthy reading in the list is the omission of Mk 16^{9-20}—verses which must on internal grounds, as even their most strenuous supporters are now prepared to admit, have had an origin in some respects different from that of the rest of the Gospel. See, *e.g.*, *Trad. Text*, p. 305.

Lists II.-V. contain passages in which each of the four stands in turn unsupported by any of the rest. Lists VI.-VIII. represent the various combinations of the authorities taken two together.

B stands alone in 5 places.

ℵ stands alone in 14. In 4 of these Syr-*sin* has a reading of its own differing both from ℵ and B k.

Syr-*sin* stands alone in 44 places.

k stands alone in 56. In 15 of these Syr-*sin* presents a third alternative, ℵ in 2.

B and Syr-*sin* range against ℵ k in 7 places (besides the 4 closely connected readings referring to the cock-crowings in Mk.).

B and k oppose ℵ Syr-*sin* in 6 places.

ℵB oppose k Syr-*sin* combined in 31 cases, besides 4 cases in which k and Syr-*sin* offer divergent alternatives.

210 passages in all come before us. In five-sixths B is supported by ℵ, in three-fourths it has the support either of k or Syr-*sin*. And, what is even more remarkable, B (and in a less degree ℵ) is decidedly more nearly allied to both k and Syr-*sin* than k and Syr-*sin* are to one another.

81. What, then, shall we say of the significance of these facts?

First, surely, that they amply vindicate Hort's contention that the 'Neutral' text was by no means confined to Alexandria.

Next, that they demonstrate the absurdity of supposing that the text of ℵB was in any sense the result of a 'recension' by Origen.[*] At least five-sixths of their characteristic readings are demonstrably at least a century older than his time. Even if, as must no doubt have been the case, his judgment on a reading, as expressed in his commentaries, affected the opinions of some of the scholars and scribes—notably, *e.g.*, Pamphilus—who came after him, his influence in the case of the readings where ℵB are opposed by k Syr-*sin* would as often have led away from as towards ℵB.

Thirdly, since both B and ℵ, as we have already seen, are more nearly allied to k than Syr-*sin* is, judging by the standard of k, B and ℵ are better than Syr-*sin*. Similarly, judging by the standard of Syr-*sin*, B and ℵ are both better than k. So it would seem that, on the evidence of the Versions themselves, the value either of ℵ or of B, and *a fortiori* the value of the two combined, is distinctly higher than that of either version separately.

82. It only remains to consider the problem which arises when the two versions combine against the two MSS. Their very divergences would seem to reinforce Mr. Burkitt's argument from geography, and to lend a peculiar weight to their evidence in the readings in which they are found to agree. As we have already seen, even if these readings are to be regarded as distinctively 'Western,' genealogical considerations offer no insuperable objection in the way of their acceptance (WH, *Intr.* § 237). It is true that Hort had had to examine a closely kindred group, k Syr-*cu* in Mt., and had not found reason to reject outright any of the readings of ℵB in their favour. Still he would have been the first to insist on a careful re-examination of the whole evidence in the light of any new discovery, not to speak of a discovery of such primary importance as Syr-*sin*. He would, however, have approached the question from a point of view different in many important respects from Mr. Burkitt's. It would clearly have been no surprise to him to learn that fuller knowledge brought into clearer light the fundamentally 'Western' character of Clement's biblical text (*Intr.* § 159). He would have needed no special exhortation to come out of 'the land of Egypt,' because he had said from the first that the 'Neutral' text in remote times was not confined to Alexandria (§ 178); and the fresh evidence that has come to light since he wrote, esp. the discovery of Syr-*sin*, has brought abundant fresh confirmation in support of his original contention. On the other hand, he would no doubt have been inclined to question very seriously the assumed independence of 'East' and 'West,' of 'Carthage' and 'Edessa,' on which so much of the force of Mr. Burkitt's appeal depends.[†] Mr. Turner may no doubt be quite justified in contending (*Journal of Theol. Studies*, vol. ii. p. 602) that 'the agreement—when they do agree—of the two great pillars of the "Western" text, the African Latin and the Sinai Syriac, can hardly be explained away as due to any identity of their immediate source. Both may have first seen the light, it is true, in some part of Northern Syria, and both may have been produced within the limits of the same generation; but that is the only extent to which a common origin can be ascribed to them, and it is not enough to qualify seriously the weight of their consentient testimony.' It is, however, more than enough, if any part of Northern Syria is really to be regarded as the birthplace of the Latin Version, to weaken considerably the force of Mr. Burkitt's argument. For the agreement of two parts, even allowing them to be different parts, of Northern Syria, is a very poor substitute for the agreement 'of East and West, of Carthage and Edessa.' We shall require at least some clear internal evidence to induce us to go to 'some part of Northern Syria' for a surer foundation than ℵB for the text of the Gospels. In fact the ultimate appeal must lie, as Dr. Hort's words (§ 373) indicate, and Dr. Westcott's words[*] (*Intr.*^{2} p. 328) state expressly, to the Internal Evidence of the Readings of the opposing groups. Judged by this standard, if the readings of List VIII. prove, as the present writer thinks they will, to be a fair sample of the whole, it is extremely unlikely that more than a very few of the readings of k Syr-*sin* will ultimately make good their claim to a place in the text. *E.g.* Mk 10^2 the omission of φαρισαῖοι may with considerable probability be regarded as genuine, but hardly any other in the whole list, least of all the insertion of εἰκῇ, Mt 5^{22}.

83. On the whole, then, there seems no reason to anticipate that the present revival of interest in the early history of the 'Western' text will in the end be found to upset the estimates formed by WH of the relative importance of the different groups of textual authorities, or to modify in more than a mere handful of passages the judgments which they formed on individual readings.

84. As this article is drawing to its conclusion the news comes in rapid succession of the deaths of the two last surviving protagonists in the textual controversies of the nineteenth century. Fundamentally as the present writer differs from the position taken up by Prebendary Miller in his published works on Textual Criticism, and strangely as he seems to him to have overlooked or failed to understand the plainest statements put forward on the other side, he must not close this article without a warm tribute of admiration for his unwearied industry, his enthusiasm for his subject, and his profound conviction of the sacredness of the cause which he felt called to defend.

The loss of Dr. Westcott will naturally be felt most keenly in spheres of Christian thought and activity that are of deeper, broader, and more universal interest than Textual Criticism. But it may be permitted to call attention here to the witness borne to the intrinsic importance of the study by the fact that it occupied so large a share of the time and attention of such a man. The fact that the writing of the *Introduction* fell to Dr. Hort has prevented scholars generally from realizing the nature and the extent of Dr. Westcott's share in that wonderful monument of the labour of 28 years. The minds and methods of the two fellow-workers were remarkably distinct, and well fitted to check and complement each other. And their work is in the strictest sense the resultant of their combined forces, and not, as in weaker hands work on the same principle might tend to become, a mere compromise appreciably feebler and weaker than either scholar would have produced independently.

---

[*] It is interesting to notice that Koetschau ('Bibelcitate bei Origenes,' *Z. f. w. Theol.* p. 321 ff.) has recently expressed his agreement with the opinion of Griesbach and Hort (*Intr.* § 249; cf. Nestle, *Intr.* p. 185 ff.) that Origen 'never made anything like a recension of the New Testament.'

[†] Intr. to Barnard's *Clement*, etc. p. xviii: 'Let us come out of the land of Egypt, which speaks (as Clement's quotations show) with such doubtful authority, and let us see whether the agreement of East and West, of Edessa and Carthage, will not give us a surer basis upon which to establish our text of the Gospels.'

[*] His words are: 'The discovery of the Sinaitic MS of the Old Syriac raises the question whether the combination of the oldest types of the Syriac and Latin texts can outweigh the combination of the primary Greek texts. A careful examination of the passages in which Syr-*sin* and k are arrayed against ℵB would point to this conclusion.' The best comment on the last sentence is supplied by the specimens of Dr. Westcott's habitual method of working, as shown in the introductions to his commentaries on the Gospel and Epistles of St. John, and on the Epistle to the Hebrews. It does not, as Nestle seems to think (*Intr.* p. 923), involve a surrender at discretion to the authority of Syr-*sin* and k. It simply calls for a systematic comparison of the distinctive readings of the rival groups before a final judgment is passed on their respective merits.

All the time the present writer was engaged on this article he was looking forward to the day when he could present it to Dr. Westcott as some acknowledgment, however unworthy, of a debt of gratitude that has been accumulating for 24 years, and gather from his kind but searching criticism what measure of success had attended this attempt to expound and illustrate the principles on which he and his great collaborator had worked. Now he can only inscribe it with reverence and affection to their memory. Christian scholarship will for all time be the richer for the example of their 'implicit confidence in all truth' and their 'guileless workmanship' (*Intr.* § 425).

J. O. F. MURRAY.

VERSIONS (ENGLISH).—Owing to the length of the subject, it may be found convenient to divide it into the following sections: (i.) Anglo-Saxon; (ii.) Anglo-Norman; (iii.) Wyclifite; (iv.) Reformation period; (v.) Puritan; (vi.) Elizabethan; (vii.) Roman Catholic; (viii.) The 'Authorized' and its successors; (ix.) The 'Revised'; (x.) The 'American Revised.'

i. ANGLO-SAXON.—At the head of this period it is usual to place **Cædmon** († *c.* 680), although he did not, properly speaking, translate any part of the Bible. The work ascribed to him is an alliterative poem, in which he paraphrases the Scripture account of the chief events in Genesis, Exodus, and Daniel. A continuation of the poem, now imperfect, treats of portions of the life of Christ. His story is picturesquely told by Bede (*HE* IV. xxiv.),—how, from a servant, he became a monk in the mixed monastery under St. Hilda; and how, when bidden to exercise his newly found gift of song, he burst forth into a hymn of praise of the great Creator. Bede gives in Latin the substance of this hymn. On the margin of some MSS of Bede a short West-Saxon poem of nine lines is found, purporting to be the original. At the end of the Moore MS (Camb. Univ. Lib. Kk. v. 16) the verses are found in the Northumbrian dialect; and, as this would be Cædmon's own tongue, it has been considered to be the older form. But whether any of these is the original vernacular of Cædmon, or only a retranslation from Bede's Latin, cannot be pronounced with certainty. The hymn bears only a general resemblance to the beginning of the poems, and hence doubts have been thrown on the Cædmonian authorship of the latter.[*] The poems exist, so far as is known, in one manuscript only (Bodleian, Junius xi.). It was given by Archbishop Ussher to Francis Dujon, or Junius, librarian of the Earl of Arundel, and by him bequeathed to the Bodleian. It was printed at Amsterdam in 1655, and was edited with an English translation by Benjamin Thorpe in 1832, and again published by Grein in his *Bibliothek* in 1857. A short passage from Thorpe's literal rendering, on the subject of Nebuchadnezzar's chastisement, will give some notion of Cædmon's style—

> 'To thee shall not be meal-meat,
> save the mountain's grass,
> nor rest assigned:
> but thee the rain's shower
> shall waken and chastise.'

Bede († 735) himself is known to have translated portions of Scripture into his native tongue. Purvey, indeed, in his General Prologue,[*] asserts that 'if worldli clerkis loken wel here croniclis and bokis, thei shulden fynde, that Bede translatide the bible.' No authority, so far as is known to the present writer, can now be found for this statement. But Bede expressly says, in a letter to Bishop Ecgbert (c. v.), that he had often translated the Creed and Lord's Prayer for uneducated priests.[†] And the touching passage is familiar to all, in which his biographer Cuthbert describes the end of his life approaching, before he had finished his version of St. John.[‡] It is a matter for regret, that not even this version should have escaped the ravages of time.

King Alfred († 900) added to his other titles to the name of Great an expressed conviction that his code of civil laws must be based upon the revealed law of God. Acting on this conviction, he prefaced his code of Saxon laws with a free translation of the enactments in Ex 20–23, and of the letter sent by the apostles in Jerusalem, contained in Ac 15. His reason for the addition, at first sight apparently singular, of this passage from the NT, was to show how the harshness of the Hebrew *lex talionis* was modified by the teaching of Christianity. In king Alfred's translation there are some noticeable peculiarities. In Ex 20^{11} 'for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth,' for 'Lord' (*Dominus*) he puts, not *Dryhten*, the usual word, but *Crist*:—'forðam on .VI. daʒum *crist* ʒewohrte heofonas ⁊ eorðan.' The explanation is that, in a contemporary Anglo-Saxon poem, Christ is made to describe how He created the earth; and *Dominus*, in the Vulgate of the NT, is of course frequently used of Christ. Another singular change is his transposition of a clause in the Fifth Commandment. He places 'which the Lord thy God giveth thee' directly after 'thy father and thy mother,' apparently wishing to take 'land' in the general sense of earth, and so removing the limitation. A third alteration is made at the end of Ac 15^{29}. In the Latin text followed by him there is an interpolated clause: 'et quod vobis non vultis fieri, non faciatis aliis.' This is duly rendered: '⁊ þæt ʒe willen þæt oðre men êow ne don, ne doð ʒe ðæt oþrum monnum'; 'and what ye would that other men should not do to you, that do ye not to other men.'[§]

Besides these, there are extant various MSS by unknown authors, containing Anglo-Saxon versions of the Psalms and of the Gospels. One such version of the Psalter, contained in a MS found in the National Library of Paris about the beginning of this century, has been thought to be, in part at least, the work of Aldhelm († 709), bishop of Sherborne. If so, it would be as early as the 7th century. There seems, however, no evidence that it is his work, or as early as his time. In this version the first fifty Psalms are rendered into prose, the remainder into verse. It was published by Benjamin Thorpe in 1835.[*] Two other versions were published—one edited by Spelman in 1640, and the other by Stevenson in 1843.[†]

---

[*] See the edition of Bede's works by Plummer, 1896, vol. ii. p. 252, where the question is ably discussed, and F. Graz's *Beiträge zur Textkritik der sogenannten Caedmonschen Genesis*, Königsberg, 1896. An interesting study of this 'Milton of our forefathers' will be found in R. S. Watson's *Cædmon, the first English Poet*, 1875.

[*] Forshall and Madden's *Introduction*, p. 59.

[†] 'Propter quod et ipse multis sæpe sacerdotibus idiotis hæc utraque, et symbolum uidelicet et dominicam orationem, in linguam Anglorum translatam optuli.'

[‡] See Appendix ii. to vol. i. of Plummer's edition. A difficulty is caused, as the editor points out, by the reading of the St. Gallen MS, which appears to make Bede's translation extend only to Jn 6^{19}. Such a limitation spoils the sequel of the story; unless we understand it to mean that the translator had got no further, when the premonitory symptoms of his illness came upon him.

[§] See *The Legal Code of Ælfred the Great*, ed. by Professor Milton Haight Turk, Boston (U.S.A.), 1893, pp. 33–37. The explanations given in the text are from Professor Turk, who in turn acknowledges his indebtedness to the late Dr. F. J. A. Hort.

Of the Gospels, in like manner, three Anglo-Saxon versions were published, from MSS—one by Archbishop Parker, in 1571; another by Marshall, rector of Lincoln College, in 1665; and the third by Thorpe, in 1842.[‡] It had been a complaint of scholars that no proper estimate could be formed, from these detached publications, of the relative value of the original MSS, or their relation to one another.[§] This cause of complaint has now been removed. In the edition of the Gospels just referred to, put forth by Skeat,[‖] not only is a larger number of MSS brought into requisition, but their comparative date and value are ascertained. Two well-known 'glosses' are also included in this collection—the Lindisfarne, or Durham Book, and the Rushworth. In these the Latin is interlined with a *verbatim* rendering in Anglo-Saxon. The date of the Latin text of the Lindisfarne is, roughly speaking, about A.D. 700; that of its 'gloss,' the work of a priest named Aldred, some two and a half centuries later. The gloss in the Rushworth MS (so called from its donor) is derived from the Lindisfarne. In a note at the end of St. John's Gospel the names of the two makers of the gloss (in this case little more than transcribers) are given: Færmen, or Farman, a priest of Harewood in Yorkshire, and Owun.[¶] It is obvious that, from the nature of its construction, a word for word gloss can scarcely be called a translation.

Before leaving the Anglo-Saxon period, a brief mention should be made of the metrical version, with many abridgments and omissions, of the Pentateuch, and the books of Joshua, Judges, Kings, Esther, Job, Judith, and Maccabees, the work of **Ælfric,** Abbot of Peterborough in 1004, and Archbishop of York in 1023. What remains of this version was published in 1698 by Edward Thwaites, at Oxford, under the title *Heptateuchus, Liber Iob, et Evangelium Nicodemi,* etc. It was reprinted by Thorpe in 1834, in his *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica,* and still more recently by Grein in his *Bibliothek.* This version, like all those previously mentioned, is from the Latin.[**]

It is a characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon idiom, in the versions described, that it prefers rendering foreign words, even though clumsily, to retaining and assimilating them. Thus 'centurion' becomes 'hundred-man,' 'disciple' 'leorning-cniht,' 'parable 'bigspel,' 'sabbath' 'reste-dæg,' 'treasury' 'gold-hórd,' and so on.[*] It will be borne in mind, also, that the Latin text from which these versions have been made is not the Vulgate as we have it, but in some cases the earliest of Jerome's revisions, in others the *Vetus Itala.*[†]

ii. Anglo-Norman.—During the three centuries that elapsed after the Conquest, the changes going on in the national life and character were not favourable, at any rate for a time, to the spread of vernacular translations. Apart from the sudden disruption in government, and the diversion of men's thoughts to war rather than religion or literature, the infusion of Norman-French, with its swifter current, into the slower English speech, like the influx of the Rhone into the Saône, would tend to check the formation of a common literary tongue. The native strength of the invaded language prevailed in the long run; but for a while, as all know, the Norman-French remained the language of the court, the school, the bar, while its rival held possession of the farmhouse and the cottage. A collateral result of this state of things was, that the educated classes were the more readily satisfied with Latin, as the language for religious use; while the need, or the possibility, of devotional books in one common native tongue was less and less thought of.[‡]

Yet even in this period, as Forshall and Madden have pointed out, the Anglo-Normans had translated into their own dialect, before the year 1200, the Psalter and Canticles of the Church in prose.[§] More remarkable still, they are said to have executed in this country a prose translation into their own tongue of the entire Bible.[‖] Metrical paraphrases of Scripture stories, such as are found in the *Ormulum,*[¶] would help to keep alive a knowledge of Holy Writ.

It will suffice, however, here to give a short account of two works, both belonging to the first half of the 14th cent.; of one of which it is said that it is 'the earliest version in English prose of any entire book of Scripture.' Both are prose versions of the Psalms. The author of the first is commonly believed to be the **William of Shoreham** (de Schorham), of whom we have a number of English poems remaining. William himself was probably a monk of the priory of Leeds in Kent. Shoreham, presumably his native place, is between four and five miles from Sevenoaks. When the rectory of Chart Sutton, in Kent, was impropriated by Walter Raynolds, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1313 to 1327, to Leeds priory, William of Shoreham became its first vicar.[**] In this capacity, like an earlier George Herbert, he poured forth his soul in verse. So far as is known, his poems are contained in one solitary manuscript,[*] which also contains a prose version of the Psalter in English of this period. Whether the two productions are to be referred to the same author, has been made a matter of question. That the poems are the work of William of Shoreham, is not doubted. His name is found in the colophon to some of them. And it might be thought sufficient evidence of unity of authorship, under the circumstances, that the handwriting is the same throughout. But Konrath argues, on the other side, that the dialect in which the version of the Psalter is written is not Kentish, as 'Schorham's' would naturally be, but Midland.[†]

---

[*] See the Preface to Forshall and Madden's Wyclifite Bible, p. i, and Mombert's *English Versions,* p. 9, where a specimen of the translation is given.

[†] See Moulton's *History of the English Bible*^{2}, p. 8. In 1885 the Vespasian Psalter (an interlinear Anglo-Saxon gloss, so called from its being contained in the Cotton MS Vespasian A. 1) was edited by Henry Sweet for the Early English Text Society. Its date is the first half of the 9th century. The text of a later one, the Eadwine Canterbury Psalter, was also edited for the same Society by F. Harsley in 1888.

[‡] Forshall and Madden, as before.

[§] Westcott, *History of the English Bible,* 1872, p. 6, n. 2.

[‖] *The Holy Gospels in Anglo-Saxon, Northumbrian, and Old Mercian versions,* ed. by the Rev. Walter W. Skeat . . . 1871–1877, 4to.

[¶] These particulars are taken from Skeat's edition. See also the Preface of Forshall and Madden. With regard to the MS versions, Skeat considers the C.C.C. Cambridge MS (No. 140), the Bodleian (441), and the Cottonian (Otho C. 1), to be practically duplicate copies of an unknown original. The MS in the Camb. Univ. Libr. (Ii. 2. 11) is closely akin, perhaps a little later. This evidence is of value as pointing to the existence of a common Anglo-Saxon version.

[**] A specimen of Ælfric's translation will be found at p. 16 of Mombert's *English Versions.* See also Eadie's *English Bible,* vol. i. pp. 15, 16. In the Handbook for the Wyclif Exhibition, arranged by Sir E. M. Thompson, 1884, p. 4, there is a description of an early 11th cent. MS of Ælfric (Cotton, Claudius B. iv.); and also, at p. 1, a full account of the precious 'Durham Book,' mentioned above.

[*] See Bosworth and Waring's *Gothic and Anglo-Saxon Gospels,* 1865, p. xvii.

[†] Moulton, *The English Bible,* p. 9. See also Bosworth and Waring, as before, Pref. p. x, where examples are given.

[‡] See Traill's *Social England,* vol. ii. (1894) p. 538, and Freeman's *Norman Conquest,* v. p. 508.

[§] *Preface,* p. iii. They refer, in evidence, to Cotton MS Nero C. iv., Trinity Coll. Camb. MS R. 17. 1, and others.

[‖] *Ib.* The editors refer to the *Catalogue des MSS françois de la Bibliothèque du Roi,* by M. Alexis Paulin Paris; in vol. i. pp. 1–3 of which is a description of a MS (No. 6701) entitled *Traduction littérale de la Sainte Bible.* M. Paris thinks that the writing and dialect of the MS, which is assigned to the 14th cent., prove it to have been 'exécuté en Angleterre.' The other two MSS referred to by Forshall and Madden contain, according to M. Paris (*Catalogue,* t. vii. pp. 183, 200), only 'traductions en vers' from the Bible.

[¶] The *Ormulum,* so called from its author Ormin, or Orm, an Augustinian canon of the 12th cent., was edited by R. M. White (2nd ed. 1878). Notes on its spelling will be found in an edition of the *History of the Holy Rood,* by A. S. Napier (Early English Text Society), 1894.

[**] These particulars are taken from the Preface to *The Religious Poems of William de Shoreham,* edited for the Percy Society by Thomas Wright, 1849. Wright's text is criticised in many passages by Konrath in his *Beiträge zur Erklärung und Textkritik des W. von Schorham,* Berlin, 1878.

The subjoined extract, containing the opening verses of Ps 56 (in the Latin Bible 55), will enable the reader to judge of the style of the version :—

Miserere mei, deus, quoniam conculcauit me homo : tota die impugnans diabolus tribulauit me. Haue mercy on me, god, for man haþ defouled me. Þe fende trubled me, feȝtand alday oȝayns me. *Conculcauerunt me inimici mei tota die, quoniam multi bellantes erant aduersum me.* Myn enemys defouled m[e] alday, for many were feȝtand oȝains me. *Ab ascendine diei timebo te : ego uero in te sperabo.* Y shal drede þe fram þe heȝt of þe daye : Y for soþe shal hope in þe. *In deo laudabo sermones meos in deo speraui : non timebo quid faciat michi humana caro.* Hii shal hery my wordes, what manes flesshe doþ to me. *Tota die mala uerba mea execrabantur : aduersum me omnes cogitaciones eorum in malum.* Alday þe wicked acurseden myn wordes oȝains me : alle her þoutes ben in iuel. *Inhabitabunt in inferno & abscondent se ibi. ipsi calcaneum meum obseruabunt.* Hii shul wonen in helle, and þer hii shul hiden hem, and hii shul kepen mid fouleinges. *Sicut sustinuerunt* .i. temptauerunt *animam meam, pro illo saluos faceres eos & in ira tua populos istos constringes* .i. aduersabis. As hii tempteden my soule for nouȝt, þou shalt make hem sauf and ȝou shalt bringe to nouȝt þes folkes in þyn ire. *Deus, uitam meam annuntiaui tibi : posuisti lacrimas meas in conspectu tuo.* Ha, god, ich telde my lyf to þe : þou laidest min teres in þy syȝt.[‡]

Whatever doubt there may be as to the authorship of the version of the Psalter known as Shoreham's, there is none regarding that assigned to **Richard Rolle** of Hampole († 1349). Richard was a native of Thornton, near Pickering, in Yorkshire, and was sent to Oxford by Thomas de Nevile, archdeacon of Durham. At the age of nineteen, obeying an inward impulse, he left the university, and became a hermit at Hampole, near Doncaster.[§] His commentary is devotional and mystical, and, as such, is often quoted by Adam Clarke in his notes on the Bible. The following specimens will show his method, which is to set down, after each verse of the Latin in order, a literal rendering of it, and then to add his own comments :—

Ps 135[1] *Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus : quoniam in eternum misericordia eius.* ¶ Shrifis til lorde for he is gode: for withouten end the mercy of him. ¶ Grete louyng of this psalme is shewyd in paralypomenon,[‖] where it is red. that when the sunnys of israel began to loue god and sey *confitemini domino.* the ioy of god fulfilde goddis hous. also nere is the presens of goddis grace, if hit be purly seyd. loue we god here that we may loue him with aungels : his louying is our fode. for no delite is like it.

Ps 136[1] *Super flumina babilonis illic sedimus & fleuimus: dum recordaremur syon.* ¶ Abouen the flodes of babilon thar we sat and gret: whils we vmthouȝt[*] of syon. ¶ fflodis of babilon are all thinges that are lufid here. and passis, that holy men beholdis and forsakes, sittand abouen thaim. & gretis thair oun pilgrymage & thair synne. that are rauysht in til the flodis. whils thei thynk of syon. that is, of heuen, where nothing rennys, bot all that ioy is to gedur. worldis men gretis. bot nouȝt bot for tynsil of thair godes or thair frendis. as thei ioy nouȝt bot in thair welth. ilk man shal grete. bot thinkand of syon.

iii. WYCLIFITE.—To understand aright the Biblical labours of Wyclif and those who worked with him, we must take a brief survey of the events amidst which he grew up, and try to discern their general drift.

The reign of Edward III. is often described as one of outward glory and prosperity. It was so in part, but it was much more (the latter part of it, at least) a period of upheaval and slow-working revolutionary movements. It was a period in which the sentiment of national independence became more strong and definite, both in civil and religious matters. In 1338 the German electors asserted their right to choose a king, whose title should not need confirmation by the pope.[†] The 'captivity' of the papacy itself, when from 1378 to 1409 an anti-Rome was fixed at Avignon, tended materially to strengthen this sentiment. The claims of a spiritual sovereignty, the visible seat of which was at a spot just outside the French frontier, became perceptibly weakened, as regards England at least, in a country which regarded France as its natural enemy. Evidence of the growth of this anti-papal feeling was shown in the passing of the Statute of Provisors in 1351, of the Ordinance of Præmunire in 1353, and of the formidable statute bearing that name in 1393. The great battles of the reign, and its great calamity of the Black Death, both, rightly interpreted, taught the same lesson. At Creçy and Poitiers it was the national militia of England that overthrew the feudal chivalry of France ; the yeoman's cloth-yard shaft that unhorsed the mail-clad noble. After the Black Death of 1348–49, which ceased only after it had swept away half the entire population, those of the working classes who were left, whether as labourers in the fields or handicraftsmen in the towns, were masters of the situation. No statutes of labourers could prevent them from demanding and obtaining higher wages. For the next thirty years the struggle went on between the forces of upheaval, on the one hand, and repression on the other, till it culminated in the Peasant Revolt, and in the scenes of riot at Bury and St. Albans.

This spirit of the age is seen reflected in the two poets who, with Wyclif, are the greatest names in its literature. William Langland, born about 1332, took for the hero of his discursive poem, no noble, but a peasant, Piers the Plowman, who 'rises, in the poet's conception, from being only a representative English labourer, to the type of Christ himself.'[‡] And of the many characters who grew into life under the creative hand of Chaucer, the one drawn with the finest and most loving touch, the 'poure persoun of a toune,' was a ploughman's brother.

Of **John Wyclif** himself, at least for the earlier part of his life, but few facts are known with certainty. He was a Yorkshireman, and, according to Leland,[§] came from the village of Wyclif-on-Tees. That he entered Oxford is certain ; and, as he was afterwards Master of Balliol College, a college founded not long before by a neighbouring family, the Balliols of Barnard Castle, it may be reasonably concluded that this was the place of his education. In 1360 he became, as has just been said, Master of Balliol ; and in 1361 he was presented to the rectory of Fillingham in Lincolnshire, resigning his Mastership soon after. This living he exchanged, in 1368, for that of Ludgershall in Buckinghamshire, probably as being nearer Oxford. Whether he was the John Wyclif appointed by Archbishop Islip, in 1365, warden of his secularized foundation of Canterbury Hall, is doubtful.[*] In 1366 his pen was employed in the service of Parliament, which had rejected the claim of pope Urban V. for payment of arrears of the annual tribute first imposed on king John. On this occasion he terms himself 'peculiaris regis clericus.'[†] In 1371 he advocated the proposal that the revenues of the Church should be subject to the general taxation. In 1374, being by this time a Doctor of Divinity, he was nominated on a commission appointed to confer with the pope's representatives at Bruges about the exercise of papal Provisions.[‡] In his protracted stay on the Continent his mind may well have been stirred by what he saw, to speculate 'de optimo statu ecclesiæ,' as More's was, when on a similar mission on secular business, in the same region, to speculate 'de optimo statu reipublicæ.' The embassy was a fruitless one. Possibly as a reward for his services, Wyclif was presented, in 1374, to the Crown living of Lutterworth ; where, having resigned Ludgershall, he remained till his death.

---

[*] No. 17,376 of the Additional MSS in the British Museum. It is on vellum, 7¾ by 5¼ in. in size. A memorandum by the late Sir F. Madden, on the fly-leaf, relates the curious adventures through which the MS passed before it finally came into the possession of the Museum in 1849. The writer notes also the resemblance of the version of the Psalter to that in a MS in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, ascribed to John Hyde.

[†] *Beiträge*, as before, p. 1. It was, however, a tendency of the Mercian, or Midland, to absorb collateral dialects into itself ; and possibly some who spoke Kentish might write Mercian. See a passage quoted from John de Trevisa in Traill's *Social England*, ii. p. 538.

[‡] The English of this passage was given as a specimen in the Guide-book to the Wyclif Exhibition, before mentioned, p. 10. We have inserted the Latin text from the MS itself, fol. 50. It is noticeable how much it differs from the Vulgate.

[§] See the edition of *The Psalter or Psalms of David and certain Canticles* . . . by Richard Rolle, of Hampole, ed. by H. R. Bramley, 1884, p. v. The MSS used by the editor are Univ. Coll. MS lxiv. ; Sidney Sussex Coll. MS Δ 5. 3 ; and the Laudian MS 286.

[‖] Chronicles. The reference is to 2 Ch 7[1].

[*] Thought about. So *umgang*, with the prefix used as in German.

[†] Traill, *Social England*, ii. p. 159.

[‡] *Ib.* p. 226.

[§] *Collectanea*, ii. 329. For the claims of a supposed 'Spresswell' to be his birthplace, see the Introduction to Wyclif's *English Works*, by F. D. Matthew, 1880, p. i.

In 1377 came the first open attack made upon him by the authorities of the Church. He was cited to appear before Convocation, assembled at St. Paul's on Feb. 19th. But the prosecution was really a political one, aimed at John of Gaunt, through Wyclif, and the proceedings came to nothing. Papal bulls then arrived, requiring his prosecution on nineteen specified articles. For a time these were suspended owing to the death of Edward III. in June of the same year. But in the spring of 1378 he appeared at Lambeth to stand his trial. Once more, however, the prosecution was arrested, this time by the influence of the Princess of Wales, widow of the Black Prince.[§] In 1382 he had a stroke of paralysis, from which he partially recovered. But on Innocents' Day, 1384, he was again struck down, while engaged in Divine service, and died on the last day of that year.

Such are the bare outlines of Wyclif's life. It would seem that one of the subjects most in his thoughts, suggested in part, no doubt, by the events through which he lived, was that of lordship or dominion. By what title did the pope, the abbot, the secular governor, claim the power he exercised? Was that 'lordship' dependent, in any way, on his own personal character? Did it involve a reciprocity of service? The theories he formed appear to have been suggested by the *de Pauperie Salvatoris* of Richard Fitz Ralph, archbishop of Armagh, who died in 1360.[‖] But in the mind of Wyclif they did not remain mere speculative theories, but became actively aggressive principles. One of his propositions was: 'Quod ad verum dominium seculare requiritur iustitia dominantis, sic quod nullus in peccato mortali est dominus alicuius rei.'[*] From this great principle, which Wyclif intentionally made a prelude to his *Summa in Theologia*, the line of action he subsequently followed may in large measure be deduced. His life was a rebellion against what he believed to be unjust dominion—a rebellion analogous to the national one going on in more than one country of Europe at the time.

As a justification of this course of conduct, since ecclesiastical authority was adverse to him, he fell back upon the teaching of Holy Scripture. The Word of God, he believed, would support him in his position, though the religious orders might assail him, and archbishops condemn. Hence he began to lay stress on the importance of a study of the Bible, and the necessity that people should be able to read it in their own tongue. In his tract on the Pastoral Office, probably written not later than 1378,[†] he pleads for an English translation. After instancing the gift of tongues at Pentecost, and the fact of St. Jerome's making a translation of the Bible, he continues: 'Also the wurthy reume of fraunse, not-with-stondinge alle lettingis, hath translatid the bible and the gospels with othere trewe sentensis of doctours out of lateyn in-to freynsch, why shulden not engliysche men do so? as lordis of englond han the bible in freynsch, so it were not ayenus (against) resoun that they hadden the same sentense in engliysch ; for thus goddis lawe wolde be betere knowun & more trowid for onehed of wit (believed for unity of meaning), & more acord be be-twixe reumes.'[‡]

At what precise date Wyclif began himself to supply this want, we have not the means of knowing. No doubt, his thoughts had long been turned to it. But the genuineness of what is commonly cited as his first work in this field, a Commentary on the Apocalypse, with translation, has been called in question. At any rate, by the year 1380 he was busily occupied with the task of translating the NT, while a fellow-worker, **Nicholas of Hereford**,[§] was engaged upon the OT. Hereford's work, of which the original MS is extant, breaks off abruptly in the middle of a verse, Bar 3^{20}. The cause of this sudden interruption has been conjectured to be a summons to appear before a synod of preaching friars, served upon Hereford in 1382, followed by an adjourned trial held at Canterbury, which ended in his being excommunicated on July 1st. Who continued and finished the OT [*] we do not know. It would no doubt be under Wyclif's superintendence; but it was in this year that he had his first seizure of illness, and it is difficult to believe that he could, single-handed, have finished his own NT work, and also what was wanting of Hereford's. It is usual, however, to assign to him the whole of the NT translation and the remainder of the OT.

---

[*] F. D. Matthew inclines to the view that he was. See the *Introduction* as before, p. iv, n. Sir E. M. Thompson, in the account of Wyclif prefixed to the Guide-book before referred to, thinks the evidence for it conclusive.

[†] Compare the title 'clericus specialissimus domini regis,' borne by Philip Repyngdon. It appears to mean king's chaplain, and not, as some think, a special clerk or commissioner.

[‡] Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, 1880, ii. p. 463.

[§] *Ib.* p. 484.

[‖] See the Preface to R. L. Poole's edition of the *de Dominio*, 1890, pp. xxxiv–xxxvi.

[*] *Ib.* p. xlvii. For the evidence that the *de Dominio* is Wyclif's, see p. xxii.

[†] *English Works*, ed. by F. D. Matthew, pp. 405, 429. The editor makes no doubt that this is Wyclif's own composition. In another tract, on the Office of Curates, probably not by Wyclif himself, but by one of his school (*ib.* p. 141), the language used is very decisive. Speaking of the opposite party, the writer says: 'thei crien opynly that seculer men schullen not entirmeten (meddle) hem of the gospel to rede it in heir modir tonge, but heere her gostly fadris preche & do after hem in alle thingis ; but this is expresly ayenst goddis techynge.'

[‡] Mr. Matthew suggests (p. 530) that the French translation referred to in this passage may be that described by M. Paris. See above, p. 237^b note ‖. Bender, in his *Der Reformator Johann Wicklif*, 1884, pp. 11–20, collects the passages, from Foxe and others, which seem to indicate the existence of vernacular Bibles in England before Wyclif's time. But if any such had been known to Wyclif, his argument in the text would have lost its force.

[§] Nicholas of Hereford was an Oxford man, and Fellow of Queen's, with which college Wyclif also is said to have been connected. He was implicated in the confession of John Ball in 1381. Throughout the Lent of 1382 he was preaching zealously at the University Church in support of Wyclif's doctrines ; but on June 15th was suspended from all public functions. On July 1st, failing to appear at his trial, he was excommunicated. From this sentence he appealed to the pope, and set out for Rome. Hence probably the sudden termination of his manuscript work, before referred to. More than once he narrowly escaped being handed over to the secular power. At length, after being, according to Foxe, grievously tormented in Saltwood Castle, he recanted, probably in 1391. He afterwards himself sat in judgment on heretics, was treasurer of Hereford Cathedral in 1397, and died in the Carthusian monastery of St. Anne, Coventry, somewhere about 1420.—See R. L. Poole's article in the *Dict. of Nat. Biography.*

The want of uniformity perceptible in the work, added to the defects naturally attending a first attempt, rendered a complete revision necessary. This was at once taken in hand; but, before it could be finished, death removed the master mind. A faithful disciple of Wyclif, **John Purvey**,[†] carried on the work, and, somewhere about 1388, the whole task of revision was accomplished.

In a lengthy 'Prolog' to the OT thus revised, Purvey states the principles by which he had been guided. Out of a charitable desire, he says, 'to saue alle men in our rewme (realm), whiche God wole haue sauid, a symple creature hadde myche trauaile, with diuerse felawis and helperis,[‡] to gedere manie elde biblis, and othere doctouris, and comune glosis,[§] and to make oo Latyn bibel sumdel (somewhat) trewe.' He then describes the process of revision, as the workers compared the version made with 'the glose,' and other doctors, 'and speciali Lire[‖] on the elde testament, that helpide ful myche in this werke.' A third time their performance was tested, by a reference to grammarians and early writers, in order to settle the precise use and meaning of words and phrases. And yet once again there was a final scrutiny, by a committee, as we should say, when there were present 'manie gode felawis and kynnynge at the correcting of the translacioun.'[*]

That the work, after so much preliminary care, was well and thoroughly done, need not surprise us. Purvey's revision appears to have aimed chiefly at making the rendering more idiomatic, both in respect of the vocabulary and the construction of sentences. In particular, too close an imitation of the participial construction of the Latin had often led the earlier translators into difficulties. 'Wyclif's own part,' says a competent judge,[†] 'offends less in this respect than Hereford's; but the work of each needed anglicizing or englishing; and this was the improvement Purvey set himself to carry out.' A few examples will make this clearer. It should be premised that not only was the Vulgate the sole authority for the translation, but that, as Purvey himself says, the text of the Vulgate was then in a bad state. 'The comune Latin biblis,' he declares, 'han more nede to be correctid, as manie as I haue seen in my lif, than hath the English bible late translatid.' This was particularly the case with the Psalms, St. Jerome's version of which was not used in the services of the Church, 'but another translacioun of othere men, that hadden myche lasse kunnyng and holynesse than Jerom hadde.'

In Ex 7^{22} the *malefici* of the Vulgate is rendered 'the clepers of deuels to doon yuel' by Hereford; 'witchis' by Purvey.

Jos 10^{17} 'lurking in the spelunk of the cite' (H.); 'hid in the denne of the citee' (P.).

Jg 5^{23} *Maledicite terræ*, 'curse ye *to* the loond' (H.); 'curse ye the lond' (P.).

Ps 77 $(78)^{70}$ *De post fetantes accepit eum*, 'fro the after berende blet he toc hym' (H.); 'he took hym fro bihynde scheep with lambren' (P.).

Ps 113^{4} 'The maumetis of Jentilis syluer and gold' (H.); 'The symulacris of hethene men *ben* siluer and gold' (P.).

Lk 14^{15} 'Whan sum man of sittinge at the mete had herd' (H.); 'And whanne som of hem that saten togider at the mete had herd' (P.).

Ro 13^{11} 'And we witinge this tyme, for hour is now, vs for to ryse of slepe' (H.); 'And we knowen this tyme, that the our is now, that we rise fro sleep' (P.).[‡]

Besides the general 'Prolog' already spoken of, there are separate prologues, some of them very short, to most of the books of the OT and NT. These are usually translated from St. Jerome. The order of books in the main follows the Vulgate, but 'Deeds' (Acts) stands between Hebrews and James. The Epistle to the Laodiceans, inserted after Colossians in the first version, was left out by Purvey.[§] The later version has also a number of marginal glosses or notes in place of the short textual insertions common in the earlier. These glosses, it may be remarked, whether textual or marginal, are not of a controversial nature. They are simply explanatory. There does not appear to be any desire to use them for party purposes. Thus, on the passage relating the institution of the Lord's Supper, a subject on which Wyclif's views were elsewhere so strongly pronounced, there is no note at all. Neither is there on Mt 16^{17}, with the exception of a textual gloss, explaining *Bariona* as 'the sone of euluer' (a dove).

---

[*] It should be remembered that, according to the arrangement of the books of the OT in the Vulgate, the portion remaining after Baruch is not large—Ezekiel, Daniel (with its continuations), the Minor Prophets, and 1 and 2 Maccabees.

[†] The important part taken by Purvey in Wyclif's great work makes some particulars of his life desirable. He is said to have been a native of Lathbury in Buckinghamshire, born about 1354. Wyclif, it will be remembered, was at one time rector of Ludgershall in that county. During Wyclif's residence at Lutterworth, Purvey was closely associated with him, and, after his master's death, went, as one of the itinerant preachers, to Bristol, a city in sympathy with the new movement. Proceedings were taken against him by the Bishop of Worcester, and in 1390 he was imprisoned. In 1400–1 he was brought before Convocation, and recanted. In August 1401 he was presented to the vicarage of West Hythe in Kent; but, his mind being ill at ease, he resigned it in Oct. 1403. In 1421 we find him again imprisoned by Archbishop Chicheley. He was alive in 1427, after which nothing seems known of him.—See the article by J. W. Hales in the *Dict. of Nat. Biography*, vol. xlvii. p. 52.

[‡] Who these helpers were we can only conjecture. The three following were noted adherents of Wyclif at the time, and it is not improbable that one or more of them had a hand in the work:—John Aston, or Ashton, is said to have been of Merton College, Oxford. If Wyclif was seneschal of Merton, this might account for their friendship. In 1382 he was conspicuous as one of Wyclif's itinerant preachers. In that year, along with Lawrence Bedeman, Nicholas Hereford, and Philip Repyngdon, he was summoned to appear at Blackfriars, in London, before Archbishop Courtney. By a royal patent, July 13th, he was expelled from his university. On Nov. 27th he recanted, but we find him again denounced as a Lollard, and prohibited from preaching.

Lawrence Bedeman, otherwise Stevine, was an Oxford man, like his companions, being of Stapeldon Hall, afterwards Exeter College. It fared with him, in 1382, as with Aston. Brantingham, Bishop of Exeter, took proceedings against him for his conduct as an itinerant preacher in Cornwall. After making his submission, he became rector of Lifton, Devonshire, and was there as late as 1410.

Philip of Repyngdon was probably a native of Repton. He was educated at Broadgates Hall, Oxford, and before 1382 was an Augustinian canon of St. Mary de Pré, Leicester. Like Hereford, he was a vigorous upholder of Wyclif's tenets in sermons at Oxford. When exposed to the same trial, he appears to have succumbed at once, becoming afterwards a great favourite with Henry IV., with the style of 'clericus specialissimus domini regis Henrici,' and in 1404–5 being made Bishop of Lincoln. On Sept. 18th, 1408, he was created a cardinal by Gregory XII., and died in 1424.—See the articles by C. L. Kingsford and R. L. Poole in the *Dict. of Nat. Biography*.

[§] The *glossa ordinaria*, or 'comune glose,' was the work of Walafrid Strabo, about A.D. 840. The interlinear gloss was later.

[‖] Nicolaus de Lyra, so called from the place of his birth in Normandy, was a converted Jew. Hence the special value attached to his commentary on the Old Testament. He died at Paris in 1340.

[*] Forshall and Madden, vol. i. p. 57. The General Prologue fills 60 pages in this edition. It is strictly a prologue to the OT, hardly mentioning the NT, to which Purvey may have intended to prefix a similar prologue.

[†] J. W. Hales, in the article before quoted. By the publication in a convenient form of *The Book of Job, Psalms, . . .* etc., from Hereford's version as revised by Purvey (Oxford, 1881, 8vo), Skeat has made it easy for the ordinary reader to form an opinion of Hereford's style, though not as he originally wrote.

[‡] The list of such passages may be easily extended from Eadie or Mombert.

[§] As none of the volumes in Forshall and Madden's great edition has a table of contents, Skeat was at the trouble to compile one for a paper read by him at a meeting of the Philological Society, June 5th, 1896. He distinguishes the different MSS used by the editors in each part of their work. See the *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1896, p. 212 ff.

This being the case, one is perplexed to know on what ground Sir Thomas More should inveigh so bitterly against Wyclif's translation :—'In which translacyoun he purposely corrupted the holy text, malycyously placyng therin suche wordys as myght in the reders erys serue to the profe of such heresyes as he went about to sow; which he not only set forth with his own translacyon of the byble, but also with certayne prologes and glosys which he made ther vpon.'[*] Such prologues and glosses as we have do not answer this description. 'The ecclesiastical authorities in England' at the time, writes an unexceptionable witness,[†] 'most certainly approved of various copies of the actual versions now known as Wyclifite.' Some of these extant copies are shown, by the autographs and inscriptions they bear, to have belonged to high personages in Church and State. What is the explanation? A very daring one has been started by Father Gasquet.[‡] He endeavours to prove that the versions of which we have been speaking, those we call the Wyclifite, are not Wyclifite at all; that we have been under a delusion all these years; that the heretical translation of the Bible due to Wyclif and his followers, if it ever existed, has completely disappeared; and that what we possess under that name is neither more nor less than an authorized Catholic translation of the Bible. The existence of such orthodox versions is attested by the evidence of Sir Thomas More, who declares that 'the whole byble was longe before his (Wyclif's) dayes by vertuous & well-lerned men translated into the englysh tonge, & by good and godly people with deuocyon & sobernes well & reuerently red.'[§] In another well-known passage he speaks of having seen 'Bibles fair and old.' It is to be observed that More speaks of such orthodox versions as were made *long* before Wyclif's days. The Bibles he has seen are *old*. That no authorized version was made at, or after, Wyclif's time, follows plainly, it would seem, from another passage a little later on in this same *Dyaloge*. 'And surely howe it hathe happed that in all this whyle god hath eyther not suffered or not prouyded that any good vertuous man hath had the mynde in faythfull wyse to translate it, and ther vpon eyther the clergy or at the lest wyse some one bysshop to approue it, this can I nothynge tell.'[‖]

If, then, the orthodox English versions seen by More were old ones; if, as he implies, no fresh ones were made by authority from Wyclif's day to his own, how is the fact to be explained that the Bible, now suddenly claimed as Catholic, while found, wholly or in part, in nearly 200 MSS, should be found nowhere but in MSS written in or soon after Wyclif's time? Why should the style, in every instance, fix the composition to the last quarter of the 14th century? What can have caused this sudden and prolific growth of orthodox Bibles just then, when no link is visible to connect them with an earlier stage?

Father Gasquet's paradox is a bold one, and, it need not be said, ingeniously and forcibly defended. But, if it is proved untenable, the resorting to it will be one more testimony to the candour and good faith of the Wyclifite translation.[¶]

iv. REFORMATION PERIOD.—The century that intervened between the death of Wyclif and the birth of Tindale has been rightly called a century of preparation. For a time the spread of Lollard opinions was checked. The passing of the Act *de hæretico comburendo* in the reign of Henry IV., and the condemnation of unauthorized versions of the Bible in the Synod at Oxford in 1408, threatened to be a deathblow to the hopes of Wyclif's followers. But the wave which had retreated for a while was soon to return with redoubled force. The fall of Constantinople in 1453 threw open to the Western world the treasures of Greek literature. The invention of printing, about the same period, furnished the means of spreading abroad the results of the new learning. In 1466[**] was born one destined to be perhaps the greatest exponent of that new learning, Desiderius Erasmus. Hitherto authority had triumphed against conviction: it was now to be seen whether it would triumph against conviction allied with knowledge.

Between the years 1480 and 1490, possibly in the same year that Luther was born at Eisleben, **William Tindale** first saw the light, it is believed, in the little village of Slymbridge, Gloucestershire.[*] Foxe says that 'from a child' he was brought up in the University of Oxford. If so, as he did not take his Bachelor's degree till 1512, nor his Master's till 1515,[†] it would seem that his first years there were spent, not in college but in school. And with this agrees the statement that he entered Magdalen Hall, then known as Grammar Hall, the school preparatory to the great foundation of William of Waynflete. As a boy there, he may have seen Colet, who was probably of Magdalen; but Colet left Oxford on being appointed Dean of St. Paul's in 1505, and it is not likely that Tindale could have come, in any direct manner, under his influence. 'Spying his time,' says Foxe, Tindale presently left Oxford for Cambridge. The exact year of this migration we do not know, nor the immediate cause of it. It is natural to connect it with the presence of Erasmus in the sister university, where he was Lady Margaret professor from 1511 to 1515. But here, again, the date of Tindale's M.A. degree is a difficulty.

After leaving the university, about 1521, as we may suppose, he became tutor in the family of Sir Thomas Walsh, a knight of good position and well connected, at the manor house of Little Sodbury, not far from the place of his birth. Here he remained till the latter part of 1523. The need of reform in matters ecclesiastical in Gloucestershire may be inferred from the fact that from 1512, when Sylvester de Giglis returned to Rome, to 1535, when Hugh Latimer was consecrated, there was no resident bishop of Worcester. The see was held by Italians; one of them being afterwards Clement VII. As men's thoughts were turned to such abuses, we can hardly wonder that a blunt, free-spoken man like Tindale occasionally got into heated arguments with the local clergy and others who frequented the manor house. These he silenced by a translation of the *Enchiridion* of Erasmus; but, beginning to preach in an irregular manner to the neighbouring villagers, he was summoned to appear before a clerical tribunal, presided over by Parker, chancellor of the diocese.

Though no proof of heretical teaching was established against him, Tindale began to turn his thoughts to another scene. The idea of an English Bible had been long present to his mind. In London the idea might become a fact. He would address himself to the Bishop of London, Tunstall, the friend of More, a man of repute as a statesman and a scholar. Armed with a translation of Isocrates to be his introduction to the bishop, and a letter from his patron to Sir Harry Guildford, he came to London. The reception he met with from Tunstall, though not surprising to us, and the disappointments he experienced in other quarters, convinced Tindale, as he sorrowfully owns, 'not only that there was no rowme in my lorde of londons palace to translate the new testament, but also that there was no place to do it in all englonde.'[‡]

During his short stay in London he met with one faithful friend. This was Humphrey Monmouth, afterwards an alderman and sheriff, and knighted, who chanced to hear him preach in the church of St. Dunstan in the West. Monmouth took him into his house as chaplain, at a stipend of £10 a year.[*] For this he afterwards got into trouble; and his petition to Cardinal Wolsey, between four and five years later, is valuable for the picture it gives us of Tindale's manner of life while in his house. After relating his first acquaintance with him, Monmouth continues: 'So I took him into my house half-a-year; and there he lived as a good priest as methought. He studied most part of the day and of the night at his book; and he would eat but sodden meat by his good will, and drink but small single beer.'[†]

---

[*] *A Dyaloge of syr Thomas More Knyghte* . . . 1530, f. cviii.

[†] The Rev. F. A. Gasquet, O.S.B., in an article which originally appeared in the *Dublin Review*, July 1895, reprinted and enlarged in *The Old English Bible, and other Essays*, 1897, p. 176.

[‡] In the work just cited, pp. 102–178.

[§] *Dyaloge*, as before, f. cviii.

[‖] *Ib.* f. cxiv. vers., letter G.

[¶] See, further, an article by F. D. Matthew in the *English Historical Review* for January 1895, and Kenyon's *Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts*, 1895, p. 204 ff.

[**] That 1466 and not, as commonly said, 1467 was the date of Erasmus' birth, has been shown by Kan, the learned headmaster of the Erasmiaansch Gymnasium at Rotterdam.

[*] We follow in this account the *Life of Tyndale* by R. Demaus, revised edition 1886. The Reformer, it may be noted, spelt his own name Tindale (*ib.* p. 9), the spelling adopted throughout this Dictionary.

[†] See Boase, *Register of the University of Oxford*, 1885, i. pp. ix, 80. He supplicated for his degree in the name of Huchens, or Hychyns, a name by which some previous generations of his family appear to have been known. The dates furnished by the *Register* make the earlier year suggested for Tindale's birth improbable.

[‡] *Preface to the Pentateuch.*

At the table of Monmouth, a merchant who had travelled, and visited Rome and Jerusalem, Tindale would be sure to meet with men who could tell him of the doings abroad, and especially of Wittenberg and Luther. Determined at length, as the safest course, to entrust his contemplated work to a foreign printer, he made choice of Hamburg, and in or about the month of May 1524 set sail for that busy city. As Hamburg is said to have possessed no printing-press at this time, it is a matter of dispute whether or not Tindale stayed there till his translation was ready for printing. He may have gone to visit Luther at Wittenberg, as is implied in statements of More and others. If so, he returned to Hamburg, to receive his remittance from Monmouth, and then went on to Cologne, to arrange for the printing of his English Testament at the press of Peter Quentel. Three thousand copies of the work, in small quarto size, were to be struck off. The printing had advanced as far as signature K, when the authorities of the city unexpectedly gave orders for the work to be stopped, and the printed sheets confiscated. An enemy, Cochlæus,[‡] had been dogging the footsteps of the English scholar, and from him came the information given to the senate. Tindale and his companion Roye[§] hastily caught up what they could of their materials, and took passage up the Rhine to Worms, where they would be in less fear of interruption. From the difficulty of matching Peter Quentel's type at the press of Peter Schoeffer (son of the partner of Faust), Tindale seems to have given up the thought of completing the 4to edition; and instead to have had his work printed in small 8vo, without notes or glosses. But, not to waste the copies of the sheets printed in 4to at Cologne, he sent them on to England. In this way, about March 1525-26, there appeared the first English New Testament ever printed, the one in 8vo, complete, and the portion of the one in 4to. Of this latter, the first printed in point of time, only one solitary fragment is known to remain; and of the former, only two copies, neither of them complete.[‖]

Before pausing to consider these translations in detail, we must briefly conclude the story of the author's life.

The summer of 1526 was probably spent by Tindale at Worms, in making arrangements for the transmission of his books to England.[*] Obstacles in the way of their reception soon began to appear. Besides the warning given by Cochlæus, Edward Lee, the king's almoner, afterwards Archbishop of York, wrote from Bordeaux on Dec. 2nd, 1525, to report what he had heard of the suspected work in his journey through France. One active agent in the distribution of the books was Simon Fish, author of *The Supplicacyon for the Beggars*, then living near the White Friars. Standish, bishop of St. Asaph,[†] was the first to bring the matter under the cognizance of Wolsey. The great cardinal was disposed to make light of it, but Tunstall was urgent for the condemnation of the anonymous version, and it was ordered that the books should be burnt, wherever found. To make the condemnation more impressive, a public burning was appointed, to follow a sermon by the Bishop of London at Paul's Cross.[‡] A mandate to the like effect was issued by Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, on Nov. 3rd; and by the end of the year the part taken by Tindale and Roye came to be publicly known, and an active search was made for them. West, a priest of the community to which Roye belonged, was sent abroad to track them, and letters from him and Hermann Rinck, during 1528, give an account of their efforts. Tindale and Roye, however, had separated, and their machinations were thus baffled. In 1527, or thereabouts, Tindale went to Marburg in Hesse, the seat of a university, and there, towards the end of 1528, was joined by Frith. At Marburg (anglicized in his colophons as 'Marlborow') he printed several of his controversial works, and, what more concerns us, the first instalment of his long-meditated version of the OT. The Pentateuch was here printed by Hans Luft, and published Jan. 17th, 1530.[§] Several copies of this exist, but only one (now in the Grenville Library) in a perfect condition. It is remarkable for the 'piebald' appearance of the printing; Genesis and Numbers being in Gothic letter; Exodus, Leviticus, and Deuteronomy, in Roman. The explanation probably is that the books were prepared for separate issue, the five having no collective title-page. The following year Tindale printed, at

---

[*] Equal to about £120 now.

[†] Monmouth's petition is in the Harleian MSS. See Demaus, p. 88 n.

[‡] John Dobenek, who latinized himself as *Cochlæus*, was born about 1503 in a village near Nürnberg. He was a violent opponent of Luther. As he was himself passing a book through Quentel's press at the time, he had peculiar opportunities for learning the business of the two Englishmen. See the letters from him in Arber's *First Printed English New Testament*, 1871, pp. 18-24.

[§] William Roye, who had been an Observant Friar at Greenwich, was acting as Tindale's amanuensis. As would be guessed from his poem, he was an uncongenial spirit, and Tindale was glad to get rid of him as soon as he could.

[‖] The fragment in 4to is now in the Grenville Library of the British Museum, No. 12,179. It consists of 31 leaves, and goes to the end of sheet H, ending abruptly with the words 'Friend, how camest thou in hither, and' (Mt 22^{12}). It has been photo-lithographed, with an Introduction, by Mr. Arber. Of the 8vo edition there is an imperfect copy in the Library of St. Paul's Cathedral, and a perfect one (all but the title-page) in the Library of the Baptist College, Bristol. The singular vicissitudes through which this last book has passed are told by Demaus, p. 126.

[*] It is a mystery whence the money was obtained for defraying the first cost of these editions. 3000 copies of the 8vo edition are said to have been struck off at Worms. Whether the 4to edition was completed there, is disputed. No trace of such a complete edition is left, beyond the fragment printed at Cologne. Still, even the existence of *this* was not known till 1834.

[†] For this person, see Erasmus' Letter to Justus Jonas (Eng. tr. 1883, p. 42).

[‡] As need hardly be said, this buying up and burning the copies of Tindale's first edition proved the readiest means of providing money for a second. But it is not fair to call Tindale, as Dore does, a 'participator in the crime' because he let the books he sold, knowing to what purpose they would be put. The motives of the two parties were different. The bishops wished to destroy this translation; Tindale wished to replace it by a better. See Dore, *Old Bibles*, 1888, p. 26.

[§] Genesis alone has the colophon: 'Emprented at Marlborow in the lande of Hesse, by me Hans Luft, the yere of oure Lorde M.CCCCC.XXX. the xvij dayes of Januarij.' From the peculiarity of 'Marlborow' as an equivalent for Marburg, and from an impression that Hans Luft never had a printing-press there, Mombert endeavoured to prove that the Pentateuch was really printed at Wittenberg, and that 'Marlborow' was a pseudonym. 'It is painful,' says one writer, accepting this as proved, 'to think that an intentional misstatement should be on the imprint of the first part of the English bible ever issued' (Dore, *Old Bibles*, 1888, p. 67). The pain may fortunately be relieved, and the fair fame of Tindale cleared, by observing the evidence furnished by an able reviewer of Mombert in the *Athenæum*, Apr. 18th, 1885, to show that Hans Luft really had an itinerant press at Marburg at this time, and that in fact one publication of this very year, the *Compendious olde Treatise* used by Foxe, bears the colophon: 'Emprented at Marlborow in the lãde of Hessen by me Hans Luft.'

Antwerp most probably, his translation of the Book of Jonah.* Antwerp was a dangerous retreat, but it was conveniently situated for communicating with England. Here accordingly he resided from 1533, if not earlier, to his arrest in 1535. The last two years of his life were years of great literary activity. In 1534 appeared at Antwerp his revision of the Pentateuch, Genesis being the only book in which any changes were made; † and in November of that year his revised NT. ‡ This is commonly called the second edition, and it is strange that nine years should have elapsed before Tindale himself published one.§ But if there had been any delay, there was none now. Two editions appeared in 1535. These must be carefully discriminated. The first is entitled: *The newe Testament dylygently corrected and compared with the Greke by Willyam Tindale, and fynesshed in the yere of oure Lorde God A.M.D. and XXXV.*‖ No place or printer's name is given, but it is considered to be from the press of Hans van Ruremonde at Antwerp. It is in 8vo. A striking peculiarity of this edition is the curious misspelling of English words, such as 'faether' for father, 'stoede' for stood, and the like. This gave rise to the fancy that Tindale had adapted his version to the pronunciation of the Gloucestershire farmers. But the more rational explanation is that Dutch or Flemish compositors were employed upon this edition; and that in fact it was not superintended by Tindale at all, but a private enterprise of Dutch printers, who had observed the censure passed on Joye's unauthorized production of the previous August, and wished to anticipate the final revision which Tindale was understood to be preparing.¶

This last revision, in which 'yet once again' Willyam Tindale addressed the reader, has two titles, the first bearing date 1535, the second 1534; denoting, we may suppose, the times of publication and printing. It is in 8vo size, with black letter type, and has a calendar prefixed. While bearing no printer's name, or place, it has a printer's mark with the initials G. H. These were conjectured by Stevens to denote Guillaume Hychyns, a form of the translator's name; ** but the late Henry Bradshaw has shown convincingly that they are the initials of the Antwerp publisher, Godfried van der Hagen, who latinized himself as *Dumæus*. The printer he employed was frequently Martin Emperour, who was probably the printer of this last revision.††

We must hasten to the close. On the 23rd or 24th of May 1535 Tindale was entrapped and carried off from Antwerp to the fortress of Vilvorde, where he was strangled and burnt on Oct. 6th, 1536. Even in his imprisonment he was not idle. In the touching letter ‡‡ to the governor of the fortress, the Marquis of Bergen-op-Zoom, in which he petitions for warmer clothing, he asks also for a Hebrew Bible, grammar, and dictionary. And it is said that he finished in prison a translation of the books Joshua to 2 Chronicles inclusive.* His last words at the stake were: 'Lord, open the king of England's eyes!'

The influence exercised by Tindale's version on subsequent ones will be best considered later on. But it seems proper to notice here a question that has been raised as to his competence for the work of translating. Was he able to form an independent judgment on his Greek and Hebrew originals, or did he take his Pentateuch from Luther, and his New Testament from Luther and Erasmus? † It may be admitted at once that Tindale availed himself freely of the labours of both those scholars. His object being what it was, he would probably have thought it mere perverseness not to do so. But he did not borrow as one who could not pay back. Even in the prologues, he sometimes not only differs from, but argues against, the German translator, as in the case of the prologue to James. Tindale's great aptitude for languages is shown by various testimonies. That of Herman von dem Busche ‡ would be thought high-flown if we did not know that it came from one not likely to be imposed upon. As regards Hebrew, in particular, one of the seven languages that von dem Busche declared Tindale to be at home in, it is not likely that he would have found it difficult to obtain instruction in it at Cologne, or Worms, or other cities where he stayed.

The question is one that, after all, can be settled only by an induction of passages on a sufficiently large scale. For that there is no room here. We give a few, taken almost at haphazard from the NT; some of which will show Tindale's obvious indebtedness to previous versions. But the general impression conveyed by them will be, we think, that he used these helps as a master, and not as a servant.§

Lk 2^{49} An nesciebatis, quod in his quæ patris mei sunt, oportet me esse?
Wissent ir nit, das ich seyn muss in dem das meins vatters ist?
Wist ye not that I must goo aboute my fathers busines? (Compare, as showing Tindale's freedom, the Rhemish of 1582, closely following the Latin, 'I must be about those things which are my father's').

Ac 9^{15} Vade, quoniam organum electum est mihi iste.
Gang hyn, deñ diser ist mir ein ausserwelet rüstzeüg.
Goo thy wayes: for he is a chosen vessell vnto me ('vessell' representing the Greek σκεῦος more closely than the Latin or German).

Ac $27^{30.31}$ Nautis uero quærentibus fugere e naui . . . sub prætextu uelut e prora ancoras extensuri, dixit Paulus centurioni . . .
Da aber die schiffleutt die flucht suchten . . . vnd gaben fur, sy wolten ancker auss dem hinder schiff auss strecken, sprach Paulus zu dem vnderhauptman . . .
As the shipmen were about to fle out of the ship . . . vnder a coloure as though they wolde have cast ancres out of the forshippe: Paul sayd vnto the vnder captayne . . . (Compare 'hinder schiff' with 'forshippe.' The term 'vnder captayne,' for centurion, seems clearly due to the German).

Ro 2^{18} . . . institutus ex lege; vnd weyl du auss dem gesetz vnderricht bist; in that thou arte informed by the lawe (κατηχούμενος ἐκ τοῦ νόμου. Note 'by' instead of 'out of').

1 Co 9^{19} . . . quo plures lucrifaciam; auff das ich ir vil (=ihrer viel) gewinne; that I myght wynne the moo (more). (The comparative is rightly kept, with the Greek and Latin, against the German).

---

* Copies of this had so completely disappeared, that some began to doubt its ever having existed. But in 1861 Lord Arthur Hervey discovered a copy, bound up in an old volume with other pieces, in his library at Ickworth.

† Dore, *Old Bibles*, 1888, p. 69, where the book is described.

‡ *The newe Testament, dylygently corrected . . . by Willyam Tindale.* It was printed in Gothic letter by Martin Emperour, in 8vo. This is the edition used in Bagster's *Hexapla*. In Fry's *Bibliographical Description* it is No. 3. The copy in the British Museum is marked C. 23. a. 5.

§ This is not taking count of surreptitious editions, such as Dore gives instances of (*op. cit.* p. 27), nor of Joye's unauthorized edition in August 1534. For this last, see Westcott, *General View*, 1872, pp. 46–49.

‖ The titles of this and of the next are taken from the Catalogue of the British Museum Library. The press-marks of the two copies are C. 36. a. 2 and C. 36. b. 5.

¶ See the Introduction to Bagster's *Hexapla*, p. 19, col. 1. This edition is the one numbered 5 by Fry.

** See above, p. 241b, note †.

†† See Bradshaw's paper, 'Godfried van der Hagen,' reprinted from the *Bibliographer*, 1886.

‡‡ Reproduced in facsimile by Fry, with a translation.

* The English version of these nine books in 'Matthew's' Bible is not Coverdale's, and reasons are given to show that it was by Tindale. See Moulton, p. 127.

† The reviewer in the *Athenæum* before referred to (May 2nd, 1885) holds very strongly that he did both. Admitting that Tindale possessed a fair knowledge of Greek, he yet insists that the wholesale borrowing of Luther's prologues and marginal notes, in the first Cologne fragment, justifies the charge that the work was adapted from Luther. If this was done with a Greek original, and with Erasmus' Latin rendering as an assistance, what would be done with a Hebrew original? Where could Tindale, travelling about from place to place, and busy with the publication of his treatises, find opportunities of acquiring a sound knowledge of so difficult a language? The reader will find in Eadie, i. pp. 143, 209, a collection of passages from various writers, conveying this imputation more or less directly.

‡ For this writer, sometimes latinized as Dumæus, see the 'Index Biographicus' to Böcking's edition of the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*, to which he was one of the contributors. His biographer, Hermann Hamelmann, speaks of him as the friend of Colet, More, and Fisher. Erasmus was one of his correspondents.

§ The editions used for this comparison are the third of Erasmus' *Novum Testamentum*, Basle, 1522; Luther's *Das neue Testament*, 'zu Basel, durch Adam Petri,' 1522 (the first edition of all came out, we believe, in September 1522, at Wittenberg); and Tindale's New Testament of 1534, as reprinted in Bagster's *Hexapla*.

2 Co 4[7] Habemus autem thesaurum hunc in testaceis uasculis; in irdischen gefessen; in erthen vessels. (Probably Tindale took 'erthen,' that is, of earthenware, from the German. Wyclif's 'britil' preserves one side of the Latin *testaceis*, *ὀστρακίνοις*, as referring to Gideon's pitchers).

Ph 1[20] secundum expectationem; wie ich endlich wartte; as I hertely loke for. (Tindale seems to catch the force of *ἀποκαραδοκίαν*, the 'earnest expectation' of one looking out eagerly for news).

Ph 1[27] . . . adiuuantes decertantem fidem euangelij; vnnd sampt (sammt) vns kempfft (kämpfet) über dem glauben des Euangeli; labouringe as we do, to mayntayne the fayth of the gospell.

Ph 2[7] . . . semetipsum inaniuit; hat sich selbs geeüssert; made him silfe of no reputacion (literally 'emptied himself.' Note the freedom of the rendering).

Ph 4[3] . . . compar germana; mein artiger geferte (mein trewer geselle, 1534); faythfull yockfelowe. (Wyclif has: 'Also I preie & the german felowe').

Ph 4[5] . . . modestia uestra; cuwere lindigkeit; youre softenes. (Here probably the term used is suggested by the German).

Ph 4[10] . . . quod iam tandem reuiguit uestra pro me sollicitudo; das ir der mals eyns wider ergrunet seyt von mir zu halten (das ir widder waeker worden seid, fur mich zu sorgen, 1534); that now at the last ye are revived agayne to care for me.

Ja 1[23] . . . faciem natiuitatis suæ; sein leiplich angesicht; his bodyly face.

Ja 3[5] Ecce, exiguus ignis quantam materiam incendit; Sihe, ein klein feür, welch einen walt zündet es an; Beholde how gret a thinge a lyttell fyre kyndleth.

When we turn to the Old Testament there is, so far as the present writer can pretend to judge, less evidence of originality in Tindale's translation; but instances are not wanting to show that he did not follow blindly either Luther or the Vulgate. Sometimes he differs from both. In many cases he sides with one as against the other; sometimes mistakenly, but quite as often, we think, taking the right side. A few examples will suffice:[*]—

Gn 3[14] *inter* omnia animantia; *vor* allem viech; *of* all catell. (Tindale's *of* is nearer to the original 'out of,' 'from among'—see RVm—than the others).

Gn 4[21] pater canentium cithara et organo; die mit harpffen vnd pfeyffen vmbgiengen; all that excercyse them selves on the harpe and on the organs. (Here it would have been better to render 'pipe' instead of 'organ,' with the German).

Gn 21[23] et posteris meis stirpique meæ; meine kinder . . . meyne näffen; my childern nor my childern's childern. (Tindale, alone of the three, appears to aim at keeping the alliterative cast of the Hebrew).

Gn 30[11] Dixit: Feliciter, et ideirco vocavit nomen ejus Gad; da sprach Lea, Rustig, vñ hiess in (ihn) Gad; Then sayde Lea: good lucke; and called his name Gad. (Compare the rendering in AV).

Gu 35[19] hæc est Bethlehem; die nũ heist BethLehem; which now is called Bethlehem. (The words are now held to be a gloss. Tindale plainly followed Luther).

Gn 37[3] fecitque ei tunicam polymitam; vnd machet im einen bundten rock; and he made him a coote of many coloures.

(The rendering 'of many colours' is retained even in the RV, though in the margin 'a long garment with sleeves' is given. The LXX supports the former, having *ποικίλον*; and probably the same meaning was meant to be conveyed by 'polymitam' (*πολύμιτον*), 'of many threads,' in the sense of damasked).

Ex 3[14] Ego sum qui sum; Ich werde seyn der ich seyn werde; I wilbe what I wilbe. (See RVm).

Ex 12[6] ad vesperam; zwischen abents; aboute euene. (The German is the most literal).

Ex 15[14. 15] (Tindale has the past tense, along with the Vulgate and Luther; the AV has the future).

Ex 16[15] Dixerunt ad invicem, Manhu? quod significat, Quid est hoc? Das ist Man, denn sie wysten nicht . . . They said one to another: What is this? for they wist not . . .

Ex 39[1] Fecit vestes, quibus indueretur Aaron; amptkleider zu dienen in Heyligthum; the vestimentes of ministracion to do seruyce in. ('Vestments of ministration' is as literal as the AV 'cloths of service,' and more dignified).

Lv 19[20] . . . vapulabunt ambo; das sol gestrafft werden; there shalbe a payne vpon it (RV 'they shall be punished'; lit. 'there shall be an inquisition.' Tindale gives the sense, though not pointedly. AV 'she shall be scourged' conveys a wrong impression).

Tindale's last words were a prayer that the Lord would open the king of England's eyes. It is remarkable that the English version of the Bible made by the next translator we have to treat of, bore, in one of its forms, that king's imprimatur.

Miles Coverdale was born in 1488, probably in Richmondshire, in the North Riding of Yorkshire. He studied at Cambridge, where he entered the convent of Augustinian Friars. In 1514 he took priest's orders. Though senior to George Stafford and Bilney, he probably fell under the same influences as they. When Barnes, who became prior of the Augustinians in 1523, was arrested and conveyed to London, Coverdale attended him, and helped him to prepare his defence. About this time he laid aside his conventual habit. In 1529 he is said by Foxe to have assisted Tindale in his work at Hamburg. In 1551 he was consecrated bishop of Exeter, but deprived in 1553, on the accession of Mary, and imprisoned. His deliverance is said to have been due to the intercession of the king of Denmark, whose chaplain, Dr. John Macbee, was his wife's brother-in-law. After living abroad in Denmark and Geneva, he returned to England in 1558, and died in Feb. 1569, at the age of 81.[*]

What first turned Coverdale's thoughts to the translation of the Bible is uncertain. It seems to have been, at least in part, the encouragement to undertake the task given by Thomas Cromwell, with the knowledge, if not the express approval, of Sir Thomas More.[†] The earliest document of Coverdale's we possess is a letter addressed by him to Cromwell, undated, but probably written in 1527, in which he reminds him of the 'godly communication' that Cromwell had held with him in the house of Master More.[‡] As he goes on to speak of now beginning to 'taste of holy scriptures,' of being 'set to the most sweet smell of holy letters,' and of needing books for his work, the natural inference is that he was then engaged in the task of Bible translation. At any rate there appeared, as the result of his labours, two issues in 1535, followed by later ones, of the first complete translation of the Bible into English. The titles present an interesting, but perplexing, variety—

'Biblia | The Bible, that | is, the holy Scripture of the | Olde and New Testament, faith|fully and truly translated out | of Douche and Latyn | in to Englishe. | M.D.XXXV.' (followed by texts).

'Biblia | The Byble: that | is, the holy Scrypture of the | Olde and New Testament, | faythfully translated in | to Englyshe. | M.D.XXXV.' (texts). The title of an edition of 1536 varies from this last only in the spelling of one word. That of an edition of 1537 is: 'Biblia | The Byble, that | is the holy Scrypture of the | Olde and New Testament, fayth|fully translated in Englysh, and | newly ouerseene & corrected. | M.D.XXXVII.' (texts). 'Imprynted in Sowthwarke for James Nycolson.' The word 'Biblia' in all is in Roman capitals, the rest in black letter, occupying the central compartment of a page within a border of figures.[§]

On comparing these titles, two important differences will be noticed. Before 1537 no place of publication is given; and in the first alone is it specified that the translation is made 'out of Douche and Latyn.' With regard to the place, while there can be no doubt that the editions of 1535 and 1536 were printed abroad, opinions differ as to the claims of Antwerp and Zürich. In favour of the former is a statement of Symeon Ruytinck, in his Life of Emanuel van Meteren, 1618, that Jacob van Meteren of Antwerp, the printer, employed 'un certain docte escolier, nommé Miles Coverdal,' on the work of an English translation of the Bible.*

---

[*] The texts used are, besides a modern Vulgate, the Basel edition of Luther's Pentateuch, 1523, and the 1530 edition of Tindale's, printed by Hans Luft.

[*] Art. by H. R. Tedder in the *Dict. of Nat. Biography.*

[†] Dore, *Old Bibles*, p. 90.

[‡] *Remains* (ed. Parker Soc.), p. 490; Moulton, p. 96.

[§] See Plates i.–iv. of Fry's *The Bible by Coverdale*, 1867. No perfect copy of Coverdale's Bible is known. In the British Museum (C. 18. c. 9) is a fine copy, with titles in facsimile by J. Harris. The size of leaf is 11¾ in. × 7½. The dedication, 'Unto the most victorious,' etc., begins near the top of leaf ♣ 2, and ends on the obverse of leaf ♣ iiij. In line 13 it speaks of 'your dearest iust wyfe and most vertuous Pryncesse, Quene Anne.' On the reverse of ♣ iiij. begins the 'Prologe,' 'Myles Couerdale vnto the Christen reader,' ending on obv. of ♣ 7. On the reverse of this last begins a list of 'The Bokes of the hole Byble,' ending on obv. of leaf viii., and on rev. of this begins 'The first Boke of Moses, called Genesis.'

On the other hand, certain peculiarities of type point to Zürich; and Westcott, supported by Ginsburg, is convinced that Froschover of Zürich was the printer. As to the description of the sources from which the version was made, it is most natural to suppose that the words 'out of Douche and Latyn' were omitted after the first issue, as likely to offend some English supporters of the undertaking. The mention of 'Douche' (German), in particular, might suggest a Lutheran bias. But the description was an accurate one, and in his Dedication and Prologue Coverdale openly acknowledges it. He had 'purely and faithfully translated,' he says, 'out of five sundry interpreters.' And again: 'To help me herin, I have had sondrye translacions not only in latyn, but also of the Douche interpreters, whom (because of theyr synguler gyftes and speciall diligence in the Bible) I have been . . . glad to folowe.' What the 'five sundry interpreters' were is a question of much interest. Coverdale's indebtedness to the Vulgate, the Latin version of Sanctes Pagninus (first published at Lyons in 1528), Luther, the Zürich Bible (the work of Zwingli, Leo Judæ, Pellicanus, and others, 1524–29), and Tindale, are unmistakable.† But, as he specifies only 'Douche and Latyn' on his title-page, he may not have meant to include Tindale as one of the five; and if so, the fifth source may have to be sought for in some other Latin or German interpreter. In any case, the perfect candour of Coverdale's declaration in his Prologue is apparent. He had not sought the work; but when it was put upon him he had executed it with the best helps he could obtain. One or two short specimens will show the style of his translation—

Gn 49^{22-25} The frutefull sonne Joseph, that florishinge sonne to loke vpon, the doughters go vpon the wall. And though the shoters angered him, stroue with him, and hated him, yet his bowe bode fast, and the armes of his handes were made stronge by the handes of yᵉ Mightie in Jacob. Of him are come herdmen & stones in Israel. Of yᵉ fathers God art thou helped, of the Almightie art thou blessed, with blessynges of heauen from aboue, with blessynges of the depe that lyeth vnder, with blessynges of brestes and wombes.

2 K (*i.e.* 2 S) 5^{6-8} And the kynge wente with his men to Jerusalem, agaynst the Jebusites, which dwelt in the londe. Neuertheles they sayde vnto Dauid: Thou shalt not come hither but the blynde and lame shal dryue yᵉ awaie. (They thoughte planely, that Dauid shulde not come in). Howbeit Dauid wanne the castell of Sion, which is the cite of Dauid. Then sayde Dauid the same daye: Who so euer smyteth the Jebusites, and optayneth the perquellies, the lame & the blynde, which (Jebusites) Dauids soule hateth. Herof commeth the prouerbe: Let no blynde ner lame come in to the house.

Jer 38^{7-11} Now when Abdemelech the Morian beynge a chamberlayne in the Kynges Courte, vnderstode, that they had cast Jeremy into the dongeon: he went out of the Kynges house, and spake to the kynge (which then sat under the porte off Ben Jamin) these wordes: My lorde the kynge, where as these men medle with Jeremy the prophet, they do him wronge: Namely, in that they haue put him in preson, there to dye of honger, for there is no more bred in the cite. Then the kynge commaunded Abdemelech the Morian. . . . So Abdemelech toke the men with him, & went to yᵉ house of Amalech, & there vnder an almery he gat olde ragges & worne cloutes, and let them downe by a corde, in to the dongeon to Jeremy.

The tender beauty of Coverdale's translation has never been surpassed. In the Psalms especially this characteristic is noticeable. In 1662, at the last revision of the Book of Common Prayer, while the Gospels, Epistles, and other portions of Scripture made use of, were directed to be taken from the newer version, the Psalter was left unchanged, the older version being regarded as more rhythmical for singing. Hence it is that, if the majesty or the pathos of the Psalms has sunk deep into myriads of English hearts, to Coverdale above others their debt of gratitude is due.

Coverdale's Bible had not been more than two years in circulation when there appeared what purported to be a new version, printed in 1537. To this version, commonly known as **Matthew's Bible**, some mystery attaches. The title runs:* '¶ The Byble | which is all the holy Scrip-|ture: in whych are contayned the | Olde and Newe Testament truly | and purely translated into En|glysh by Thomas | Matthew. | Esaye i. | ☞ Hearcken to ye heauens and | thou earth geaue eare: for the | Lorde speaketh. | M·D·XXXVII.' Across the page at the bottom is, 'Set forth with the Kinges most gracyous lycẽce.' This may accordingly be termed the first Authorized Version. On the reverse of the title is a notice of various additions made, including 'many playne exposycyons,' in the margin, 'of svch places as vnto the symple and vnlearned seame harde to vnderstande.' A calendar and similar matter fills the next two leaves. The fourth leaf begins with 'An exhortacyon to the studye of the holye scrypture gathered out of the Byble,' and has at the bottom I. R. in large floriated capitals. The rev. of this leaf and obv. of next have, 'The summe & content of all the Holy Scrypture . . . ,' and on the rev. of the fifth leaf is the dedication 'To the moost noble and gracyous Prynce Kyng Henry the eyght, kyng of England and of Fraunce . . . Defender of the faythe: and vnder God the chefe and supreme head of the church of Engeland . . .' This ends on rev. of sixth leaf with, 'So be it. Youre graces faythfull & true subject Thomas Matthew,' followed by H. R. in capitals. The seventh leaf, signed * *, has an address 'To the Chrysten Readers,' followed by an alphabetical 'Table of the pryncypall matters,' ending on rev. of eighth leaf. This 'Table' shows a strong controversial bias—*e.g.* 'Abhomynacyon. Abhomynacyon before God are Idoles & Images, before whom the people do bowe thẽ selues, Deut. vii. d.' 'Confessyon. Judas, which confessed hym selfe to the prestes of yᵉ lawe, and not to God, is damned, Mat. xxvii. a.' 'Cursynge. God doth curse the blessynges of the preastes, and blesseth their curssyng, Mal. ii. a.' The ninth leaf has 'The names of all the Bokes of the Byble,' with a full-page woodcut of the Garden of Eden. With the tenth leaf a regular system of numbering the leaves begins. The first of the four sections into which the Bible is here divided closes on fol. cxlvij with 'The Ende of the Ballet of Ballettes of Salomon, called in Latyne Canticum Canticorum.' Following this is a leaf, unsigned, forming the title of the second section, or prophetical books. This title has on the obv. a centre-piece, surrounded by a woodcut border in sixteen compartments; and on the rev. a centre-piece (the seraph touching Isaiah's lips), with four large floriated capital letters at the four corners—R. G. along the top, and E. W. along the bottom. With Isaiah the numbering by folios begins afresh, and ends with Malachi on rev. of leaf xciv. Underneath are two capital letters, W. T. The Apocrypha follows, with similar title (but only fifteen compartments in border), and extends to lxxvi leaves. The New Testament in like manner is numbered to cxi leaves; and a leaf not numbered completes the work, with the colophon: '¶ To the honour and prayse of God | was this Byble prynted and fy|nesshed in the yere of oure |

---

* Quoted by Henry Stevens in his *Catalogue of the Caxton Celebration*, p. 88.

† See Westcott, Append. iv., for the sources of Coverdale's notes (sixty-six in all), and Eadie, i. p. 285 ff.

* The copy described is in the Library of the Brit. and For. Bible Society, marked Ss. 9. 2. It is in folio; size of leaf, $11\frac{5}{8} \times 8\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

Lorde God a. | M·D·XXXVII.' There is nothing to show where the book was printed, though the woodcut on the title, and that of Adam and Eve before mentioned, have been traced to the blocks used for a Dutch Bible printed at Lübeck in 1533. The most probable place is Antwerp; 'the larger types being apparently identical with those of Martin Emperour in the edition of Tyndale's N.T., 1534.'[*] While passing through the press, the sheets appear to have been bought by the London printers, Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch, whose names are not obscurely indicated by the capital letters R. G. and E. W. Grafton, in a letter to Archbishop Cranmer (Strype's *Cranmer*, App. 20), speaks of having invested £500—a large sum for those days—in the production of the work, and mentions that the impression would consist of 1500 copies. To prevent infringement of his rights as publisher, Grafton prays the archbishop to use his influence with Cromwell to the end that the king's licence might be obtained for the publication. Cranmer, who was probably already interested in the project, exerted himself so effectually that the king's licence was soon granted for the new translation 'to be bought and read within this realm.'[†] To this English version, then, as has been said, the term 'Authorized' may first be properly applied.[‡]

Three other points require elucidation: the meaning of the capital letters I. R. subscribed to the 'Exhortacyon,' of W. T. at the end of the Old Testament, and of the name Thomas Matthew on the title-page. The initials may be taken, with all but absolute certainty, to denote John Rogers and William Tindale. Rogers, a native of Deritend, near Birmingham, where he was born about 1500, after graduating from Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, the college of Whitgift, Bradford, and Ridley, had gone out, at the end of 1534, to be chaplain to the English factory at Antwerp. There, according to Foxe (*Acts and Mon.* vi. 591), he came under the influence of Tindale and Coverdale to such an extent as to join them 'in that painful and most profitable labour of translating the Bible into the English tongue, which is entitled "The Translation of Thomas Matthew."' As Rogers moved on to Wittenberg soon after 1536, it is doubtful whether he could have had much personal intercourse at Antwerp with Coverdale; but it is highly probable that Tindale, who suffered October 6th, 1536, may have given his manuscript versions and the like into the hands of Rogers at his first arrest. John Rogers, it may be added, was the first to suffer in the Marian persecution, being burnt at Smithfield, February 1555.

Why, assuming that the Bible before us was edited by John Rogers, it should have been put forth under the name of Thomas Matthew, is not easy to explain. Some have supposed it to be a disguise for William Tindale, whose name, if openly given as the author of the greater part of the version, would have roused opposition in high quarters. Others, that it was the real name of a sharer in the work. Both suppositions seem negatived by the fact that, in the register recording the arrest of John Rogers later on, he is described as John Rogers *alias* Matthew. The same motive that made him veil the name of Tindale under initials, might lead him to suppress his own.

An examination of the contents of the book shows that the Pentateuch and NT are certainly Tindale's, with slight variations, the latter having been taken, as Westcott has shown (pp. 183, 184), from the revised ed. of 1535. With equal certainty the books from Ezra to Malachi inclusive, and the Apocrypha (excepting the Prayer of Manasses), may be assigned to Coverdale. The books from Joshua to 2 Chronicles inclusive present a difficulty. It might have been expected that they would be taken from Coverdale's version, that being the only English version as yet extant in print. As a matter of fact, however, they are evidently not so taken. And it has been shown, by a comparison of renderings of identical words found in Tindale's Pentateuch and 'Epistles,' as well as in these historical books, that the version must almost certainly be Tindale's. It has already been mentioned as probable that Tindale, at or before his arrest, would consign his unfinished translations, and the like, to the care of John Rogers.

As to the Prayer of Manasses, which was omitted by Coverdale, the translation may very well be set down to Rogers himself. It owes much to Olivetan's rendering in the French Bible of 1535. Rogers executed his task of general supervision as editor well and carefully.[*] But the controversial character of his annotations, and his inclusion, almost unaltered, of Tindale's Prologue to Romans, were probably among the causes which led to the production of the 'Great' Bible.

Taverner's Bible.—In the same year as the Great Bible, 1539, appeared a new edition, which, from its close relation to Matthew's, it will be convenient to examine first. Its title runs:[†] 'The most | sacred Bible, | whiche is the holy scripture, con|teyning the old and new testament, | translated in to English and newly | recognised with great diligence | after most faythful exemplars by Rychard Taverner. | Harken thou heuen . . . Esaie i. | Prynted at London in Fletestrete at | the sygne of the sonne by John Byd|dell for Thomas Barthlet. | Cum privilegio . . . M·D·XXXIX.'

The title is followed by 15 leaves, not numbered, of which the first has on the recto an Address to Henry VIII., on the verso 'an Exhortacion'; the next 'the Contentes of the Scripture,' and the remainder 'The names of the Bokes,' etc., followed by 'A Table of the principall maters conteyned in the Byble.' From Gn 1 the numeration of leaves begins, ending with 'Salomons Ballet' at ccxxx. The prophets are numbered afresh, to the end of Malachi, at lxxxxi. The Apocrypha and NT have each a separate title-page, and number lxxv and ci leaves respectively; three unnumbered leaves of 'Table' completing the work.

In the Address to Henry VIII. the king is described as 'in erth supreme heed immediately vnder Chryst of the churche of England'; and among all his services to religion it is declared that none is greater than his sanction of the English Bible. Being essentially a 'new recognition' of Matthew's Bible, we do not look for much originality in Taverner's work. But he gives himself a much freer hand than some suppose. The more violent controversial remarks in his predecessor's notes are softened down, or omitted. Thus, in the 'Table of the principall maters,' Matthew began his section on Altars with the words, 'An aulter was neuer commaunded to be made, but only to God,' and ended with, 'So we have no aulter but Christ.' Taverner begins, 'An aulter was commaunded to be made to God,' and leaves out the concluding sentence. Under 'Purgatorye' Matthew wrote, 'He then that wyl pourge hys synnes through fyer or by any other meanes then by the passyon of Christ, denyeth hys sayd passyon . . . and shal be greuously punyshed, because he hath despysed so greate a grace.' Taverner omits the section altogether. The last chapter of Acts ends on leaf liiii; Romans begins on lxi. The inference naturally is that an intermediate sheet of six leaves had been meant to contain Tindale's Prologue to Romans, but had been cancelled.

A few examples will indicate the nature of the changes made in rendering. It will be seen that they are chiefly due to (*a*) the seeking after a plainer, more idiomatic rendering, (*b*) the influence of the Vulgate, (*c*) a better knowledge of Greek.

---

[*] Note in the Brit. Mus. Catalogue. Mr. Sidney Lee (art. 'John Rogers' in *Dict. of Nat. Biogr.*) assigns the work to the press of Jacob van Meteren.

[†] Jenkyns, *Remains*, vol. i. p. 197.

[‡] An edition of Coverdale's Bible in 4to (the first printed in that size), by James Nycolson, of Southwark, which appeared in this same year, 1537, had also the notification: 'Set forth with the Kynges most gracious licence.'

[*] Examples will be found in Westcott, pp. 182, 183; Moulton, pp. 129, 130.

[†] We quote from the copy numbered 4. c. 5 in the Brit. Mus. Library. It is in small folio; size of leaf, 11½×7½ inches.

(*a*) Gn 2^1 with all theyr furniture (Matthew 'apparell,' AV 'host'); Nu 24^{22} neuertheless (M. 'neuerthelater'): Is 2^2 in the last dayes (M. 'in processe of tyme'); Mt 2^{16} was very wrothe (M. 'exceding wrothe'); Mt 5^{11} (and elsewhere) pursue for 'persecute'; Mt 8^9 vnder authority (M. 'subject to the authorytye of another'); Lk 2^4 wente up for 'ascended'; Ac 3^7 anone (M. 'immediately').

(*b*) Gn 43^{11} a quantitie of bawlme (M. 'a curtesye bawlme,' Vulg. *modicum resinæ*); Gn 49^6 they threw down the walls of the city (M. 'they houghed an ox,' Vulg. *suffoderunt murum*); 1 K 21^{21} incluse and furthest (M. 'prisoned and forsaken,' Vulg. *inclusum et vltimum*).

(*c*) Lk $13^{8.9}$ and if it beare frute, *well and good*, if not, &c. (M. 'to se whether it will beare frute, and yf it beare not,' &c.); Ro 8^{20} creature (M. 'creatures'); Mk 14^7 for ye *have* poore with you alwayes (Tind. 'shall have').

His acquaintance with the Greek article does not, however, save him from such oversights as *a* pinnacle (Mt 4^5), *a* candlestick (5^{15}), *a* prophet (Jn 7^{40}), can faith saue him? (Ja 2^{14}). In Jn 7^{40} 'vndoubtedly' is not an improvement on the earlier 'of a truth.' Dore (*Old Bibles*, p. 148) asserts that the translation of 3 Esdras, at least in part, is original. But, so far as the present writer has examined it, it agrees with the one in Matthew.

Richard Taverner was a client and pensioner of Cromwell, who in 1536 appointed him clerk of the Privy Seal. The fall of his patron in 1540 put a stop to his literary work, and made his position unsafe. For a time he was committed to the Tower. He succeeded, however, in regaining the royal favour, and under Edward VI., in 1552, received a general licence to preach, though a layman. He died in 1575.*

The Great Bible.—Before the execution of Cromwell, on July 28th, 1540, that statesman had just time to see brought to a successful issue one great scheme on which he had set his heart. This was the production of an amended version of the Bible in English. Circumstances seemed to favour Cromwell's project. Coverdale, on whom he chiefly relied for an improved translation, was in Paris, where, in 1538, he had brought out an edition of the New Testament in Latin and English, printed by Regnault. Paper and printing were both better at that time in Paris than in London. Francis I., so long as his relations with Henry kept good, was willing, upon certain conditions, to sanction the work of Coverdale and Grafton and the French printer Regnault.† No private opinions were to be introduced. The work was to be 'citra ullas privatas aut illigittimas opiniones.' Bonner, shortly to be made Bishop of Hereford, was transferred from the court of the emperor to that of Francis, and charged 'to aid and assist the doers thereof in all their reasonable suits.' So far, at least, he seems to have regarded the translating of the Bible without disfavour. For a time, therefore, matters went smoothly. But in December 1538 the French king inclining more and more to the side of the emperor, the Inquisition was allowed to interpose, and the printers and others engaged in the enterprise had to flee for their lives. According to Grafton's own statement (*Abridgement of the Chronicles*, etc., 1564, sub anno 29 Hen. VIII.), eighty finished copies were 'seased and made confiscat.' If this was so, no copy of the eighty, which would have Paris as the place of publication, appears to have escaped destruction. Foxe is the authority for a story that 'four great dry vats full' of the printed sheets were rescued from a haberdasher, who had purchased them 'to lay caps in.' But Kingdon (p. 63) discredits the statement, on the ground that the materials seized, for the restitution of which Cromwell and Bonner were making constant efforts, would be in the custody of the university. However this may be, Cromwell succeeded in getting most of the plant transferred to London, and there, from the press of Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch, newly housed in the vacated precinct of the Gray Friars, appeared, in April 1539, the first edition of the Great Bible.

The name 'Great Bible,' as being 'of the greatest volume' (both terms being used by Grafton himself), is a convenient one by which to denote the seven editions of this work issued during the years 1539–41. Of these the second and subsequent ones had a preface by Cranmer, and the name 'Cranmer's Bible' may be properly applied to them. But it is not correct to use it, as is often done, of the first edition as well, in the preparation of which the archbishop had no direct share. The dates of the seven are as follows:—(i.) April 1539; (ii.) April 1540; (iii.) July 1540; (iv.) ready in November 1540, but kept back till the following year, on account of the fall of Cromwell in July 1540; (v.) May 1541; (vi.) November 1541; (vii.) December 1541. Though no two issues are identical, the family likeness is so strong that it will suffice to describe the first, and to indicate briefly the features by which later ones may be identified. The title of (i.) is:* 'The Bible in | Englyshe, that is to saye, the con | tent of all the holy scrypture, bothe | of y^e^ olde and newe testament, truly | translated after the veryte of the | Hebrue and Greke textes, by y^e^ dy | lygent studye of dyuerse excellent | learned men, expert in the forsayde | tonges. ¶ Prynted by Richard Grafton & | Edward Whitchurch. | Cum priuilegio ad imprimen | dum solum | 1539.' This title, in black and red letters, is surrounded by a singularly spirited woodcut, bearing no artist's name or mark, but commonly believed to be by Holbein. In the centre at the top, a king, his crown laid aside, is prostrate on the ground before a figure of the Saviour appearing in the clouds. Lower down the central line, the same king, seated on his throne, and now easily recognizable as Henry VIII., is giving a clasped volume lettered *verbum Dei* to a group of ecclesiastics on his right, headed by Cranmer, and to a corresponding group of lay nobles and others on his left, headed by Cromwell. Beneath, on the dexter side, a preacher, not unlike Colet (who, however, had been dead twenty years), is addressing a mixed multitude on the words of 1 Ti 2^1. Labels, with suitable inscriptions in Latin, issue from the mouths of the chief characters. Some little boys, too young to have learned Latin, cry 'God save the king' in English.† Five more leaves of preliminary matter follow, containing (1) 'The Kalender,' ending with 'an Almanach for xix years'; (2) 'An exhortacyon to the studye' . . . ; (3) 'The summe and content of all the holy scripture' . . . ; (4) 'A prologue' . . . ; (5) 'A descripcyon and successe of the kynges of Juda' . . . ; (6) 'With what iudgement the bokes of the Olde Testament are to be red.' Genesis begins on the seventh leaf, marked 'fo. 1.' It is worth while to give some extracts from the Prologue, 'expressynge what is meant by certayn signes and tokens that we have set in the Byble. First, where as often tymes ye shall fynde a small letter in the texte, it sygnifyeth that so moche as is in the small lettre doth abounde and is more in the common translacyon in Latin, then is founde ether in the Hebrue or in the Greke. . . . Moreouer, where as ye fynde this figure o✢ it betokeneth a dyuersyte and difference of readynge betwene the Hebrues and the Chaldees in the same place. . . . We haue also (as ye maye se) added many handes both in the mergent of thys volume and also in the text, vpon the which w^{e} purposed to haue made in the ende of the Byble (in a table by themselues) certen godly annotacions: but for so moch as yet there hath not bene soffycient tyme minystred to the Kynges moost honorable councell for the ouersyght and correccyon of the sayde annotacyons, we wyll therfore omyt them, tyll their more conuenient leysour. . . . God saue the Kynge.' The colophon is: 'The ende of the new Testamẽt: | and of the whole Byble, ffynisshed in Apryll, | Anno M.CCCCC.XXXIX.* | A Dño factũ est istud.'

---

* See art. by A. F. Pollard in *Dict. of Nat. Biography*.

† The royal permission, along with many interesting letters from Coverdale and Grafton, is given in facsimile in J. A. Kingdon's *Incidents in the Lives of Thomas Poyntz and Richard Grafton*, privately printed, 1895. See also the correspondence in Pettigrew's *Bibliotheca Sussexiana*, 1839, p. 281 ff.

* The copy used is that marked C. 18. d. 1 in the Library of the British Museum. It is a singularly fine copy, the leaves measuring 15 × 10 inches. A sumptuous copy on vellum, meant for Cromwell himself, is in the Library of St. John's College, Cambridge. In this the title is somewhat abridged.

† A full description of the woodcut is given in Moulton, pp. 138, 139, and in Mombert, pp. 204, 205.

Peculiarities by which the various issues of the 'Great Bible' may be distinguished one from another have been minutely tabulated by Fry (*Description of the Great Bible*, fol. 1865). The first three editions alone have the ☞ as a reference for Coverdale's intended 'annotacyons,' the 'conuenient leysour' for which never came. The same three editions also are the only ones which present Cromwell's coat of arms, in Holbein's woodcut, unerased. After his attainder and execution, July 28th, 1540, the circle containing his arms is left blank. Cranmer's Prologue, as was said, is prefixed to the second and following editions. In it he distinguishes two classes of people: some being too slow, and needing the spur; others too quick, and needing the bridle. 'In the former sorte be all they that refuse to read the scripture in the vulgar tongue. . . . In the latter sorte be they which by their inordinate reading, vndiscrete speaking, contentious disputing, or otherwyse by their licentious living, slaunder and hynder the worde of God. . . .' The Introduction to the Apocryphal Books, for which, however, Cranmer is not in the first instance responsible, has a curiously confused account of the term 'Hagiographa,' by which for some reason they are described:—'because they were wont to be reade, not openly and in comen, but as it were in secret and aparte.' The mistake was repeated in the editions of April and July 1540, and of May and December 1541. In the fourth of the seven, the first which shows Cromwell's arms erased, the title presents, by way of compensation, the names of Cuthbert [Tunstall], Bishop of Durham, and Nicholas [Heath], Bishop of Rochester, as those by whom the work was 'ouersene.' In the title to this edition, also, the king is styled 'supreme heade of this his churche and Realme of Englande.'

Who were the 'dyuerse excellent learned men,' expert in Hebrew and Greek, who helped Coverdale, we are not informed. But traces of their work may perhaps be seen in the translation of musical terms in the Psalms, and in the retention of the Hebrew titles of some of the books of the OT. Thus the first book is described as 'called in the hebrue Bereschith, and in the latyn Genesis.'

If we take it for granted that Coverdale was the working editor of the Great Bible, we shall be prepared to find that he reproduces in it very much of his own earlier version of 1535, as well as of what had been incorporated with Tindale's work in 'Matthew's' Bible of 1537. But in the OT there is evidence that this reproduction was carefully revised by the help of an edition of the Hebrew text, published at Basle in 1534–35, with a new Latin rendering by Sebastian Münster. 'Thus,' Westcott goes so far as to say (*Hist.* p. 187), 'Coverdale found an obvious method to follow. He revised the text of Matthew, which was laid down as the basis, by the help of Münster. The result was the Great Bible.' This is too unqualified a statement. For instance, in the opening chapters of Genesis, a book the version of which in Matthew's Bible was by Tindale, we find not a few examples of Coverdale's own rendering in 1535 being preferred, or of a fresh rendering being made. A very few specimens must suffice—

'Then of the euening and the morning was made *one day'* (C.); 'And the euening . . . *one day'* (G. B.); 'And so of the . . . was made *the fyrst daye'* (T.); 'Et *fuit* uespera . . . dies unus' (Münster); 'Factumque est . . . dies unus' (Vulg.).

'And God *set* them in the fyrmament' (C. and G. B.); '*put* them' (T.).

'And all the *hoost* of them' (C. and G. B.); 'apparell' (T.). The Vulg. here has *ornatus*, Münster *exercitus*.

'The Lorde God shope man, euen of the *moulde of the erth'* (C. and T.); . . . 'of the dust from of the grounde' (G. B.).

'In Eden *towarde y^{e} east'* (C.); 'from the begynnynge' (T.); 'eastward from Eden' (G. B.). The Vulgate, followed by T., has *a principio*; Münster *ab oriente*.

The version of Isaiah in Matthew is by Coverdale. But that this was diligently revised for the Great Bible, a few examples from the first two chapters will show—

'An oxe knoweth his LORDE' (M.); 'The oxe hath knowne his owner' (G. B.).

'Like a watchouse in tyme of warre' (M.); 'lyke a beseged cytie' (G. B.).

'Ye tyrauntes of Sodoma' (M.); 'ye Lordes of Sodoma' (G. B.).

'Cease from doinge of evell & violence' (M.); '& violence' omitted (G. B.).

'Leade' (M.); 'tynne' (G. B.).

'Al heithen shal prease vnto him (M.); 'all nacyons (G. B.).

'So that they shal breake . . . to make . . . & sawes therof' (M.); 'They shall breake theyr swerdes also in to mattockes . . . to make sythes' (G. B.).

In the NT the relation of the version found in the Great Bible of 1539 to those of Tindale (1534) and Coverdale (1535) may be conveniently traced by the parallel passages from St. Matthew, 52 in number, set down by Westcott (pp. 174–176), for the purpose of comparing the two latter. If the Great Bible be compared with these it will be found to agree with Tindale in 5 places, with Coverdale in 33, and to differ from both (though on the whole nearer to Coverdale) in the remaining 14.

As regards the relation of the text found in the Great Bible of April 1539 to that of the succeeding editions, Westcott has shown, by a full induction of passages, that while in the OT there is little change in the versions of the Pentateuch and the earlier historical books, a careful revision of the Hagiographa and the prophetical books is apparent in the issue of April 1540. The authority most relied on for the changes thus made is Münster. A curious circumstance pointed out by Westcott is the fact that, instead of the alterations being progressive, the text of Nov. 1540 shows a tendency to recur to that of April 1539; so that practically two groups or recensions may be recognized:—(1) April 1539, Nov. 1540, May 1541, Nov. 1541; (2) April 1540, July 1540. In the NT Erasmus occupies the position which Münster has done in the OT. A single example will show the deference paid to Erasmus—

Ja 1[13] 'Deus enim intentator malorum est: ipse autem neminem temptat' (Vulg.).
'For Gode cannot temte vnto euyll, because he tempteth no man' (G. B., Apr. 1539).
'Nam Deus ut malis tentari non potest, ita nec ipse quemquam tentat' (Eras.).
'For as God cannot be tempted with euyll, so neither he himself tempteth any man' (G. B., May, Nov. 1540).

In the Preface to the Book of Common Prayer it is noted that 'the Psalter followeth . . . the translation of the great English Bible, set forth and used in the time of King Henry the Eighth and Edward the Sixth.' This arrangement, which was unavoidable in 1549, was left unaltered in 1662, the rhythm of Coverdale's version, and its greater fitness for singing, having in the meantime endeared it to the people. The present text of the Pr. Bk. Psalter does not, however, represent the text of any edition of the Great Bible exactly, and it contains some misprints (*e.g.* 'sight' for 'light' in Ps 38[10]). See Preface to Driver's *Par. Psalter*, and esp. the elaborate collation in M'Garvey's *Liturgiæ Americanæ* (1895), pp. 1*–51*.

Though Bishops Tunstall and Heath had allowed their names to stand on the title-pages of several editions of the Great Bible, and Bonner, after the royal proclamation of 1540, had duly caused six copies of the Bible to be set up for public reading in St. Paul's, it is plain that the Episcopal bench generally were only half-hearted as yet in the work of translating the Scriptures into English. A motion was brought forward in Convocation, in 1542, for undertaking a fresh version, but was shelved by Gardiner, who stipulated for the transliteration, not translation, of many words of the original, such as *ecclesia*, *pœnitentia*, *pascha*, *zizania*, *didrachma*; including even some of which the meaning was obvious, as *simplex*, *dignus*, *oriens*. To have constructed a version on these principles would have been to anticipate the worst faults of the Rheims and Douai translations.

---

* Kingdon (*Grafton*, p. 63), following in this Strype's *Cranmer*, i. p. 120, endeavours to show that the impression of 2000 copies, seized in Paris, was *intended* to appear in April 1539, and dated accordingly; but that, when the embargo was removed, and the copies got over to London, they were not actually published there till 1540.

v. PURITAN. — Meantime, however, while the bishops at home were hesitating, the work of a new version, or rather of a vigilant revision of existing ones, was being actively carried on abroad. The result was the **Genevan Bible.**[*]

When, on the accession of Mary Tudor, in 1553, the leaders of the Reforming party sought safety on the Continent, Frankfort became for a time a centre for the refugees. But when dissensions on the subject of the English Liturgy broke out between the moderate section, headed by Cox, afterwards dean of Durham, and the more violent spirits, who followed John Knox, the latter withdrew to Geneva. Among them was William Whittingham, a native of Chester, who in 1545 had been made Fellow of All Souls', Oxford, and Senior Student of Christ Church in 1547.[†] In 1557 he published anonymously at Geneva a new version in English of the NT in small 8vo, bearing date 'This x of June.' This was a prelude to a greater work, an English version of the whole Bible, on which some of the exiles were engaged. The news of queen Mary's death, in 1558, drew most of these back to England; but Whittingham remained at his post, to finish the work, and with him, as Anthony a Wood tells us, there remained 'one or two more.' These 'one or two' were probably Anthony Gilby, of Christ's Coll., Cambridge, who afterwards became rector of Ashby-de-la-Zouche; 'a fast and furious stickler against Church discipline,' as he is called by Fuller, but a good scholar; and Thomas Sampson. Sampson had entered Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, but apparently had not taken any degree. After refusing the bishopric of Norwich in 1560, he was made dean of Christ Church, Oxford, in 1561. Beza gives him the character of being of 'an exceedingly restless disposition.'

By the labours of these men, and of others whose names have not come down to us, there was issued from the press of 'Rovland' Hall, at Geneva, in 1560, an English Bible, commonly called, from its place of publication, the Genevan, which was destined to attain lasting popularity. Its title was: 'The Bible | and | Holy Scriptvres | conteyned in | the Olde and Newe | Testaments. | Translated accor| ding to the Ebrue and Greke, and conferred With | the best translations in diuers langages. | With moste profitable annota|tions vpon all the hard places, and other things of great | importance as may appeare in the Epistle to the Reader.' Below is a woodcut of the Israelites crossing the Red Sea, bordered by texts in small italic character. On the reverse of the title is a list of the books of the Bible, including the Apocrypha (ending with 2 Mac.). Leaves ii and iii are occupied by a Dedication to 'the moste vertvous and noble Qvene Elizabeth,' from her 'humble subjects of the English Churche at Geneva.' Leaf iiii is filled on both sides with an Address 'to ovr Beloved in the Lord, the Brethren of England, Scotland, Ireland, &c.,' dated 'from Geneua, 10 April, 1560.' The regular foliation begins on the fifth leaf, and ends with the close of the Apocrypha on f. 474. The NT begins with fresh foliation, and ends on f. 122, being followed by 12 unnumbered leaves, containing proper names, with interpretation, and chronological tables. A map, folded into two leaves, is placed next after the title of the NT.

If we inquire into the causes which made the Genevan Bible so long a favourite one (Hoare estimates that 160 editions of it appeared between 1560 and the outbreak of the Civil War in England), they are not far to seek. The mere shape and size of the volume as it first appeared, a handy 4to,[*] was a recommendation as compared with the ponderous folios of the Great, or the Bishops', Bible. It was printed throughout in Roman and italic, not Gothic, letter. It adopted the division into verses, first introduced by Stephen in 1551, and followed by Whittingham in his NT of 1557. It retained the marginal notes, Calvinist in tone, but generally free from offensive asperity, of the NT of 1557, with the addition of similar notes for the OT,—the Apocrypha being but slenderly furnished with them. It indicated by marks of accent the pronunciation of proper names. It had woodcuts,[†] and convenient maps and tables.

The version of the OT is substantially Tindale's; that of the NT Whittingham's; but both are vigilantly revised. A comparison of the Genevan version of a passage from Ac 27^{13}–28^{4} with that of Whittingham,[‡] and with that of the Bishops' Bible in 1568, will suffice to show this—

Ac 27^{13}	W.	lowsed *nearer* (ἄραντες ἆσσον).
	G.	losed *nearer*.
	B.	loosed unto *Asson*.
v.^{14}	W.	there arose *agaynst Candie*, a stormye wynd out of the northeast (κατ' αὐτῆς).
	G.	there arose *by it* a stormie winde called Euroclydon.
	B.	there arose *against their purpose* a flawe of winde out of the northeast.
v.^{15}	W.	and *draue* wyth the wether (ἐφερόμεθα).
	G.	and *were caryed away*.
	B.	and *were dryuen* with the weather.
v.^{16}	W.	and we were caryed *beneth* a litle yle . . . to come by *the* boat (τῆς σκάφης).
	G.	and we rā *vnder* a litle yle . . . to get *the* boat.
	B.	but we were caryed *into* an Ile . . . to come by *a* boat.
v.^{17}	W.	*vndergirding* the shyp . . . they let slip *the* vessel (τὸ σκεῦος).
	G.	*vndergirding* the ship . . . *the* vessel.
	B.	and *made fast* the shippe . . . *a* vessel.
v.^{21}	W.	and to haue *gayned* this iniurie and losse (κερδῆσαι).
	G.	so shulde ye haue *gained* this hurt and losse (=haue saued the losse by auoiding the danger—marg. note).
	B.	neither to haue *brought* vnto vs this harme and losse.
v.^{27}	W.	were *caried to and fro* in the Adriatical sea (διαφερομένων).
	G.	were *caryed to & fro* in the Adriatical sea.
	B.	were *saylyng* in Adria.
v.^{40}	W.	they committed *the ship* (italics) (εἴων).
	G.	they committed *the ship* (italics).
	B.	they committed *themselues* (smaller type).
v.^{42}	W.	should *flie* away.
	G.	shulde *flee* away.
	B.	should *runne* away.
v.^{44}	W.	on *broken peces* (both words in italics) (ἐπί τινων τῶν ἀπό, κ.τ.λ.) . . . that they *came* all *safe*.
	G.	on *certeine pieces* (*pieces* in italics) . . . y^{t} thei *came* all *safe*.
	B.	on *broken* peeces . . . that they *escaped* all.
28^{2}	W.	the Barbarians . . . the *showre which appeared* (τὸν ὑετὸν τὸν ἐφεστῶτα).
	G.	the Barbarians . . . the *present showre*.
	B.	y^{e} straungers . . . the *present rayne*.
v.^{3}	W.	a *fewe* stickes.
	G.	a *nomber* of stickes (φρυγάνων τι πλῆθος).
	B.	a *bondell* of stickes.
v.^{4}	W.	the *worme* (τὸ θηρίον).
	G.	the *worme*.
	B.	the *beast*.

---

[*] A series of useful articles on this subject, by N. Pocock, will be found in vols. ii. and iii. of the *Bibliographer*, 1882–83. See also an essay on 'The English Bible from Henry VIII. to James I.,' by H. W. Hoare, in *The Nineteenth Century* for April 1899.

[†] He is said to have been Calvin's brother-in-law; but this is disputed by A. F. Pollard in his art. on W. Whittingham in the *Dict. of Nat. Biography*.

[*] The size of page in the copy before the present writer (Brit. Mus. C. 17. h. 8) is 9¾ by 6⅝ inches.

[†] Some of these are said to be from the French Bible of A. Davodeau, published at Geneva earlier in the same year.

[‡] Whittingham's translation is included in Bagster's *English Hexapla*, from which we quote it.

A few peculiarities of spelling may be noticed. The desire to economize space, as shown in the frequent contractions, even of short words like 'mā' (man), 'rā' (ran), has led to the reduction of double consonants and diphthongs—in many instances, to single letters. Thus we find 'delt,' 'hel,' 'wildernes,' 'confunded,' 'thoght,' and many more of a like kind.

A 4to edition of the Genevan Bible, printed at Geneva in 1570, by John Crispin, professes to be the second edition; but Pocock has shown that this title really belongs to one issued at Geneva in folio without any printer's name, the OT being dated 1562 and the NT 1561. The first edition published in England was one in small folio, with Roman type, issued in 1576 by Richard Barkar (*sic*). An edition of the metrical version of the Psalms by Sternhold and Hopkins was prepared for binding up along with this. Later on, in 1578, we find the Book of Common Prayer, somewhat garbled, printed in the same volume with the Genevan Bible.

No other change need be noticed, except the partial displacement of the Genevan NT by a fresh version, made in 1576, by Laurence Tomson, a private secretary of Sir Francis Walsingham. Tomson closely followed Beza, putting 'that' for the *ille* by which Beza had rendered the Greek article. Thus, in Jn 1^1, we have 'that Word' for 'the Word.' Tomson's notes were more pronouncedly Calvinistic than before. His NT was often bound up with the Genevan OT, and, as a separate book, is said to have been preferred to the other.

vi. ELIZABETHAN.—**The Bishops' Bible.**—It was not to be expected that the Elizabethan bishops should acquiesce in the popularity of the Genevan version. Its Calvinism, if we may judge from Whitgift's example later on, might have been tolerated by them, but not its hostility to their office. Accordingly, a move was made by Archbishop Parker for a new translation, or rather for a fresh revision of that contained in the Great Bible. The steps taken can be followed, with fair certainty, in the *Parker Correspondence.* There is extant a letter, dated Nov. 26, addressed by the archbishop to Sir William Cecil. This is referred, in the Calendar of State Papers, to the year 1566. But if, as Pocock suggests, it should be placed a year earlier, it would present to us one of the first acts in the proceedings. For in this letter the archbishop not only acquaints Cecil with his plans, but asks the busy statesman (out of compliment, we may well suppose) to undertake some portion of the translation. The general principle on which the work was to be carried out, was for certain books to be assigned to individual bishops, or other biblical scholars, who should work on the text of the Great Bible as their basis, and transmit their portions, when finished, to the primate, for his final revision.

The defects of such a scheme were obvious. There was no meeting together for the discussion of various renderings. No provision was made to secure uniformity of style. The final revision to be expected from one with so much business on hand as Archbishop Parker, one not specially distinguished as a scholar, and one who had, moreover, reserved certain books as his own particular share, was not likely to be thorough, even if deputed in part to other learned men. Accordingly, we are not surprised to find traces of haste, if not of negligence, in the work. Thus the revision of Kings and Chronicles was despatched by Bishop Sandys in about seven weeks. As an incentive to diligence, the initials of each contributor were to be printed at the end of the books undertaken by him. Comparing these with a list sent by Parker to Cecil, Oct. 5th, 1568,[*] we can identify nearly all the workers with fair certainty.

According to this list, the archbishop himself undertook, besides Prefaces and other introductory matter, Genesis, Exodus, Matthew, Mark, and 2 Cor.–Hebrews inclusive. Andrew Pierson, prebendary of Canterbury (a conjectural expansion, supported by the initials A. P. C., of the single word 'Cantuariæ'), had Leviticus, Numbers, Job, and Proverbs. The Bishop of Exeter (Wm. Alley) had Deuteronomy. The Bishop of St. Davids (Rd. Davies) had Joshua–2 Kings.[†] The Bishop of Worcester (Edwyn Sandys) had 3 and 4 Kings and Chronicles. Andrew Perne, Master of Peterhouse and Dean of Ely (a conjectural inference, like the former, by help of the initials A. P. E., from 'Cantabrigiæ'), had Ecclesiastes and Canticles. The Bishop of Norwich (John Parkhurst) shared the Apocryphal books with the Bishop of Chichester (Wm. Barlow). The Bishop of Winchester (Rt. Horne) had Isaiah–Lamentations; the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry (I. Bentham) taking the rest of the Greater Prophets. The Minor Prophets fell to the Bishop of London (Edmund Grindal). The Bishop of Peterborough (Ed. Scambler) took Luke and John; the Bishop of Ely (R. Cox) Acts and Romans; the Dean of Westminster (Gabriel Goodman) 1 Corinthians; and the Bishop of Lincoln (N. Bullingham) the General Epistles and the Revelation.

It will be noticed that Parker's list omits the Book of Psalms. The initials appended to this book in the Bible itself are T. B., supposed by Strype to designate Thomas Becon, formerly one of Cranmer's chaplains, afterwards a prebendary of Canterbury. The Psalms had in fact been originally assigned to Edmund Geste, Bishop of Rochester; and if the revised rendering had been made by him on the principles he does not scruple to avow,[‡] the work might well need to be sent on to some other scholar for correction. A difficulty is also caused by the fact that the initials at the end of Daniel, T. C. L., do not appear to correspond with the 'I. Lich. and Covent.' of the list. But the explanation of Burnet is a plausible one, that Thomas Bentham, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry (1560–1580), is meant in both cases, the confusion of I. and T. being easy; and that he was accustomed to sign himself 'Covent. and Lich.,' reversing the usual order.

By these united efforts there was produced, in 1568, from the press of Richard Jugge, dwelling in St. Paul's Churchyard, what well deserved the designation by which it was often known, 'the Bible of largest volume.'[§] The title-page is chiefly occupied by an ornamental border, having within it, on an oblong label at the top, 'The holie Bible,'[‖] and in the centre, within an oval, a portrait of queen Elizabeth: above it, the royal arms; beneath, in three lines, the text *Non me pudet . . . credenti* from Ro 1^{16}. The next three leaves have 'A Preface into the Bible folowynge,' by Archbishop Parker. The fifth, sixth, and part of the seventh leaves are taken up with Cranmer's 'prologue or preface.' Other preliminary matter follows, extending to the twenty-sixth leaf, Genesis beginning on the twenty-seventh. One interesting point among the subjects treated of in the Introduction, peculiar, we believe, to this Bible, is the caution to ministers against heedlessly reading aloud words or phrases which might sound objectionable. Certain 'semy circles' are used as marks to denote what 'may be left vnread in the publique reading to the people.'[¶] This scrupulousness, which would have satisfied Selden, might well have been extended to the designs used for initial letters; some of which (notably that at the beginning of Hebrews in the ed. of 1572) would be more appropriate for an edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* than for an English Bible. Besides the copperplate engraving of Elizabeth already mentioned, there is one of the Earl of Leicester at the beginning of Joshua, and another of Sir Wm. Cecil (to represent king David?) at the beginning of the Bk. of Psalms.

---

[*] Printed in the *Correspondence of Archbishop Parker* (Parker Society), pp. 335, 336.

[†] That is, 2 Samuel.

[‡] 'Where in the New Testament,' he writes to the archbishop, 'one piece of a Psalm is reported, I translate it in the Psalm according to the translation thereof in the New Testament, for the avoiding of the offence that may arise to the people upon diverse translations.'—*Parker Corresp.* p. 250.

[§] In the copy before the present writer (Brit. Mus. 1. e. 2) the size of page is 15½ by 10⅛ inches.

[‖] Some copies have the additional words: 'conteyning the olde Testament and the newe.'

[¶] The note is on the fifteenth leaf, signed * 1, next after the list of 'faultes escaped.'

The 'other perusal,' of which Parker had assured Cecil that the travail of the Revisers would have the benefit, showed itself in an amended edition, published by Jugge, in 4to, the following year, with the brief title, 'The holi Bible.' But only negligent use had been made of the criticisms called forth. Some interesting specimens of these, by a schoolmaster named Laurence, have been fortunately preserved by Strype,[*] and the way in which they were incorporated in the edition of 1569 shows strikingly the want of care exercised. Two examples must suffice. In Mt 28^{14} the traditional rendering of ἀμερίμνους, namely 'harmless,' had been retained. Laurence pointed out that 'careless' (in the sense of *securus*) was rather the word. But he must have been surprised to find himself taken so literally that in 1569 the rendering appeared, 'We will make you careless.' Again, in Mt 21^{38} the Revisers, following the Great Bible in preference to the Genevan, had rendered κατάσχωμεν 'let us enjoy' instead of 'let us take' (RV). Laurence found fault with this, on the ground that the original signified 'let us take possession or seysyn (seizin) upon.' In the edition of 1569, and in every subsequent one, this appeared as 'let us *season upon* his inheritance' ('sease on' in AV of 1611).[†]

The most singular part of the matter is that, while corrections (of whatever value) were freely admitted into the second edition of 1569, the third of 1572 went back in many particulars to the first. A few examples will make this clear. For brevity, the editions may be denoted by A, B, C.

In Gn 36^{24} in A Anah is a woman: 'she fedde'; in B, correctly, a man: 'he fedde;' C goes back to 'she.'—In Jg 5^{10} A reads, 'ye that dwell by Middin' (RV 'that sit on rich carpets'); B 'ye that syt vppermoste in iudgment'; C goes back to A.—In Mt 15^{5} A has 'by the gyft that [is offered] of me, thou shalt be helped'; B 'what gift soeuer shold haue come of me'; C agrees with A.—In Lk 2^{2} A has 'and this first taxing was made'; B 'this taxing was the first and executed when,' etc.; C goes back to A.—In Ac 1^{1} A and C have 'O Theophilus'; B 'deare Theophilus.'—In Ac 7^{34} A and C have 'I haue seene, I haue seene'; B 'I haue perfectly sene.'—In 1 Ti 1^{2} A has 'a natural sonne'; B 'his naturall sonne'; C goes back to A.

The edition of 1572, moreover, exhibited two versions of the Psalms in parallel columns: that of the Revisers themselves, and that from the Great Bible. Many subsequent editions appeared. Dore (*Old Bibles*, p. 239) enumerates nineteen in all, from 1568 to 1606 inclusive; Pocock seventeen, speaking doubtfully also of one of these, as never seen by him, an alleged folio of 1606. The British Museum Catalogue does not show this last, nor yet an 8vo (included by Dore) of 1577.

The Bishops' Bible appears never to have received the royal sanction. Parker, indeed, in his letter of Oct. 5th, 1568, before quoted, tried to procure, through Sir Wm. Cecil, such a mark of recognition. 'The printer,' he writes, 'hath honestly done his diligence. If your honour would obtain of the Queen's Highness that this edition might be licensed and only commended in public reading in churches, to draw to one uniformity, it were no great cost to the most parishes, and a relief to him for his great charges sustained.' But, so far as is known, the application was unsuccessful. Accordingly, the claim to be 'set foorth by aucthoritee,' made by the editions of 1574 and 1575, must be referred to the sanction of Convocation, given in 1571. The *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical* of that year expressly ordain that 'every archbishop and bishop should have at his house a copy of the holy Bible of the largest volume as lately printed at London.' A like injunction was laid upon cathedrals; and, 'as far as it could be conveniently done,' upon all churches.[*]

vii. ROMAN CATHOLIC.—It was not likely that English Roman Catholics should continue unmoved by this untiring work in translating the Bible. Every fresh version made by scholars of the Reformed Church was a tacit reflexion on them for making none. Accordingly, it was resolved by the leading members of the newly founded English College at Douai, that this reproach—so far as they admitted it to be a reproach—should be wiped away. The moving spirit in this undertaking, as in the foundation of the college itself, was Dr. William Allen,[†] made cardinal afterwards in 1587. But the actual work of making the new translation devolved almost entirely on Dr. Gregory Martin, a native of Maxfield in Sussex, who had been one of Sir Thomas White's first batch of students at St. John's College, Oxford, in 1557. Having chosen to forsake Oxford for Douai, he was made by Allen the teacher of Hebrew and Biblical literature there.[‡] Dr. William Reynolds, formerly of New College, Oxford, Richard Bristow, a Worcester man, and others, took a share in the work of revision.

Amid such circumstances, recalling in some measure the origin of the Genevan version, the translation known as the **Rhemes and Doway** took its rise. The entire Bible appears to have been ready for issue together. But, owing to want of funds, a portion only could be published at a time. The NT was properly given the preference, and appeared in 1582 with the following title:—

'The | Nevv Testament | of Iesvs Christ, trans|lated faithfvlly into English | ovt of the authentical Latin, according to the best cor|rected copies of the same, diligently conferred vvith | the Greeke and other editions in diuers languages: vvith | Arguments of bookes and chapters, annota|tions, and other necessarie helpes, for the better vnder|standing of the text, and specially for the discouerie of the Corrvptions of diuers late translations, and for | cleering the Controversies in religion, of these daies.—In the English College of Rhemes. . . . Printed at Rhemes | by John Fogny | 1582 | *cum privilegio.*'

The volume is in a convenient 4to size,[§] printed in clear-cut Roman type, no black letter being used. In some respects the arrangement of the RV is anticipated. The text is broken up into paragraphs, not verses. But the verse numeration is given in the inner margin, an obelus being prefixed to the beginning of each verse. Quotations from the OT are printed in italics. At the head of each chapter is an 'Argument,' and 'Annotations' at the end.

Of the preliminary matter, the long Preface to the Reader, occupying leaves a ij–c iv, well merits attention. The writers address themselves to three special points: (1) the translation of the Holy Scriptures into the vernacular, and, in particular, into English; (2) the reasons why the present version is made from the Vulgate; (3) the principles on which the translators have proceeded. They do not publish their translation 'vpon erroneous opinions of necessitie that the holy scriptures should alwaies be in our mother tongue, or that they ought or were ordained of God to be read indifferently of all . . . . but vpon special consideration of the present time, state and condition of our country.' Holy Church, while not encouraging, had not absolutely forbidden such versions. Using the freedom thus left, divers learned Catholics, since Luther's revolt, had already translated the Scriptures into the mother tongues of various nations of Europe; yet still repudiating the notion that all people alike might indifferently read, expound, and talk of them.

---

[*] *Life of Parker*, ed. 1821, vol. iii. p. 258. It has been conjectured, with much probability, that the Laurence in question, 'a man in those times of great fame for his knowledge in the Greek,' was Thomas Lawrence, appointed head-master of Shrewsbury in 1568.

[†] See Pocock's art. in the *Bibliographer*, vol. i. p. 113, where more examples are given.

[*] Cardwell, *Synodalia*, i. 115.

[†] Allen was born in 1532 at Rossall in Lancashire; entered Queen's College, Oxford, in 1547. He founded the seminary at Douai in 1568, and removed with it to Rheims in 1578, when disturbances in Flanders made Douai unsafe. He died at Rome in 1594.

[‡] See the art. by Thompson Cooper in the *Dict. of Nat. Biography*. Martin and Bristow both died of consumption at a comparatively early age.

[§] In the copy before the present writer (Brit. Mus. 1008. c. 9) the page measures $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

That the Latin Vulgate should have been taken as the basis of their work, in preference to any Greek text, is defended on the ground of its antiquity, of its freedom from the discrepancies visible in MSS of the Greek, and of its having been defined as exclusively authentic by the Council of Trent. Usually it would be found that the Vulgate agreed with the received text of the Greek; and where that was not so it would probably be found in accord with readings relegated to the margin, but not necessarily of less authority on that account. The issue, we think, within ten years of the date of this Preface, of the Sixtine edition of the Vulgate in 1590, and the Clementine in 1592, with the momentous corrections of 'preli vitia,' as Bellarmin called them,[*] must have been a shock difficult for these apologists to withstand.

As regards the style of their translation, the Rhemists profess to have had one sole object in view. This was, without partiality and without licence, to express the sense of the Vulgate with the least possible change of form; 'continually keeping ourselves as near as is possible to our text, and to the very words and phrases which by long use are made venerable . . . [not doubting] that all sorts of Catholic readers will in short time think that familiar which at the first may seem strange.' In carrying out this principle it is inevitable that some felicitous phrases and turns of expression should be hit upon in the course of a long work. 'A *palpable* mount' (He 12^{18}) is better than 'the mount that might be touched' of the AV. In the first chapter of James alone it is to the Rhemish version that we owe 'upbraideth not' (v.^{5}), 'nothing doubting' (v.^{6}), 'the engrafted word' (v.^{21}), 'bridleth not' (v.^{26}).[†] As Plumptre has pointed out, so great an authority as Bacon (*Of the Pacification of the Church*) goes out of his way to praise the Rhemists for having restored 'charity' to the place from which Tindale had ousted it in favour of 'love.' In particular, the closeness with which the translators kept to the Vulgate helped to save them from that needless variation in the rendering of the same or cognate words, which is an undoubted blemish in the AV. Thus, while *δικαιοῦν* is correctly rendered in our version 'to justify,' *δίκαιος* and *δικαιοσύνη* are more often than not represented by 'righteous' and 'righteousness.'[‡] Once more, the antiquity of the MSS from which the Vulgate translation was made causes its readings at times to accord with the results of the highest critical scholarship. It will follow that the Rhemish version occasionally comes nearer our RV than does that of king James. Thus in Mt 5^{44} the clauses, interpolated from the parallel passage in St. Luke, which find no place in the RV, are partially omitted in the Rhemish. So, too, this latter agrees with the RV in reading 'Christ' for 'God' in 1 P 3^{15}.

But, when every allowance of the kind is made, the fact remains that, to ordinary English readers, the translation in question must often have seemed one into an unknown tongue. What else could have been thought of such specimens as these: 'I wil not drinke of the generation of the vine' (Lk 22^{18}); 'the passions of this time are not condigne to the glorie to come' (Ro 8^{18}); 'For our wrestling is . . . against Princes and Potestats, against the rectors of the world of this darkenes, against the spirituals of wickedness in the celestials' (Eph 6^{12}); 'But he exinanited himself' (Ph 2^{7}); 'Yet are they turned about with a little sterne, whither the violence of the director wil' (Ja 3^{4})?[*]

In 1593 the English College returned from Rheims to their old quarters at Douai, and completed their biblical labours by the issue, in 1609 and 1610, of two volumes, containing the OT and Apocrypha. In size, type, and general execution, they closely resemble the volume of the NT published nearly thirty years before. The title is: 'The | Holie Bible | Faithfvlly trans-|lated into English, | ovt of the avthentical | Latin | Diligently conferred with the Hebrew, Greeke, | and other Editions in diuers languages. | With Argvments of the Bookes, and Chapters: | Annotations: Tables: and other helpes, | for better vnderstanding of the text: for discouerie of | corrvptions in some late translations: and | for clearing controversies in Religion.| . . . . Printed at Doway by Lavrence Kellam, | at the signe of the holie Lambe. | M.DC.IX.' The first volume extends to the end of Job. The second volume, bearing a similar title, and the date M.DC.X., comprises from Psalms to 4 Esdras. A preface to 'the right welbeloved English Reader' goes over much the same ground as that prefixed to the Rhemes NT, but more cursorily, being only about half the length of the other. The hindrances, which had delayed the appearance of the work, had all proceeded from 'one general cause, our poore estate in banishment.' The arguments for translating from the Vulgate are re-stated. The retention of Latinisms, or original forms of words, is defended. If English Protestants keep 'Sabbath,' 'Ephod,' 'Pentecost,' 'Proselyte,' and the like, why not 'Prepuce,' 'Pasch,' 'Azimes,' 'Breades of Proposition,' 'Holocaust,' and others of the same kind?

This uncompromising principle gradually gave way. In 1749–50, and again in 1763–4, editions of the Doway OT and the Rhemes NT, each edition in five vols. 12mo, were published by Richard Challoner, Bishop of Debra, *in partibus*, with the assistance of William Green, afterwards President of the College at Douai, and Walton, afterwards Vicar Apostolic of the northern district of England.[†] As thus revised, it is substantially the version used at the present day by English-speaking Roman Catholics. In Cardinal Wiseman's opinion, 'though Challoner did well in altering many too decided Latinisms, he weakened the language considerably by destroying inversion . . . and by the insertion of particles where not needed.'[‡]

The nature and extent of these changes may be judged of by a comparison of a few passages from the older and newer versions, side by side with the RV of 1885:—

1609–10.	1763–4.	1885.
2 K [2 S] 21^{19} Adeodatus the sonne of the Forest a broderer . . .	Adeodatus the son of Forrest an embroiderer . . .	Elhanan the son of Jaare-oregim[§] . . .

---

[*] See the passages quoted by Westcott in his article on 'The Vulgate' in Smith's *DB*, vol. iii. pp. 1706, 1707.

[†] See Moulton, p. 187, where more examples are given.

[‡] See an article in *The Month*, June 1897, pp. 578, 579. The writer appears to think that *χειροτονήσαντες*, in Ac 14^{23}, should be translated 'by imposition of hands.'

[*] See now especially J. G. Carleton, *The Part of Rheims in the Making of the English Bible*. Oxf. 1902.

[†] See the art. on 'Challoner' by Thompson Cooper in the *Dict. of Nat. Biography*. Challoner was born at Lewes in 1691, and died in 1781. His parents were Protestant dissenters. But, losing his father in infancy, he was brought up in Roman Catholic families, and sent to Douai in 1704.

[‡] Cotton, *Rhemes and Doway*, p. 49 n., specifies, as an additional fault, Challoner's excessive fondness for 'that' as equivalent to 'who,' 'whom,' 'which.'

[§] *Oregim*, 'weavers' (thought by Kennicott to be a transcriber's insertion from the latter end of the verse), evidently suggested the *polymitarius*, 'broderer,' of the Vulgate. Want of space forbids any attempt at a commentary on these passages.

1609–10.	1763–4.	1885.
2 Es [Neh] 9[17] and gaue the head to returne to their seruitude.	and set the head to return to their bondage.	and appointed a captain to return to their bondage (marg.).
Job 26[13] and his hand being the midwife, the winding serpent is brought forth.	and his artful hand hath brought forth the winding serpent.	His hand hath pierced the swift serpent.
Ps 67 [68] [15.16] The mountane of God a fat mountane. A mountane crudded as cheese, a fatte mountane. Why suppose you crudded mountanes?	The mountain of God is a fat mountain. A curdled mountain, a fat mountain. Why suspect ye curdled mountains?	A mountain of God is the mountain of Bashan; An high mountain is the mountain of Bashan. Why look ye askance, ye high mountains?
Jer 50[39] Therefore shall the dragons dwel with the foolish murderers.	Therefore shall dragons dwell there with the fig-fauns.	Therefore the wild beasts of the desert with the wolves (Heb. 'howling creatures') shall dwell there.

The free manner in which Challoner borrowed from the AV (itself enriched by earlier borrowings from the Rhemes and Doway version) has been often remarked. A few verses will suffice in illustration.

Ro 8[18] For I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory to come, that shall be revealed in us.

Eph 6[12] For our wrestling is not against flesh and blood, but against principalities and powers; against the rulers of the world of this darkness; against the spirits of wickedness in the high places.

Ph 2[6.7] Who being in the form of God thought it not robbery to be equal with God: But debased himself . . .

He 13[16] And do not forget to do good and to impart; for by such sacrifices God's favour is obtained.

viii. **The 'Authorized.'**—The so-called Authorized Version of 1611 had its origin in the Hampton Court Conference, held on Jan. 14th, 16th, and 18th, 1604. On the second of these days, one of the four representatives of the Puritan party, Dr. John Reynolds, President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, a learned and temperate divine, 'moved His Majesty that there might be a new translation of the Bible,'[*] alleging in support of his request the presence of many faults in the existing ones. It is not likely that much would have come of the motion, but for its happening to chime in with the mood of the king. The caustic remark of Bancroft, Bishop of London, that 'if every man's humour should be followed, there would be no end of translating,' probably indicates the spirit in which the proposal would have been received by his party generally. But, while they were content to let the matter drop, James was thinking out his plans for carrying Dr. Reynolds' suggestion into effect. By July of that year we find him writing to the Bishop of London, informing him that he had made out a list of fifty-four learned divines, to whom the work he had at heart might be suitably entrusted. He also drew up, for the guidance of the workers, a paper of instructions, too long to be given here in full,[†] but containing some sensible rules. In this he requires the bishops to see that provision be made, where necessary, for those engaged on the task of translation. The king's letter, dated July 22nd, 1604, was communicated by Bishop Bancroft[‡] to his brother prelates on the 31st. In this letter king James speaks of having already appointed 'certain learned men, to the number of four and fifty, for the translating of the Bible.' But, for some unexplained reason, the scheme did not come into operation till 1607. Possibly the death of some of those selected, or the difficulty of providing for the maintenance of others, may have caused the delay. However, by 1607 all was in working order. A list of the companies of revisers was issued, together with a paper of rules to be observed in the conduct of the work. Bancroft, no doubt, had a hand in drawing up both these documents. The most important of the rules were the following:[*]—

I. The ordinary Bible read in the church, commonly called 'the Bishops' Bible,' to be followed, and as little altered as the truth of the original will permit.
III. The old ecclesiastical words to be kept, videlicet, the word 'church' not to be translated 'congregation,' etc.
VI. No marginal notes at all to be affixed, but only for the explanation of the Hebrew or Greek words . . .
VIII. Every particular man of each company to take the same chapter or chapters, and having translated or amended them severally by himself, where he thinketh good, all to meet together, confer what they have done, and agree for their parts what shall stand.

As each company finished one book, they were to send it to the other companies for their careful consideration. Where doubts prevailed as to any passage of special obscurity, letters were to be sent to 'any learned man in the land' for his judgment. Finally, 'three or four of the most ancient and grave divines in either of the universities, not employed in translating,' were to be 'overseers of the translations as well Hebrew as Greek.'

It will be seen at once how much more effectual were the provisions made for securing accuracy and thoroughness in the work than those devised by Parker and his coadjutors for the Bishops' Bible.

The lists of translators which have been preserved offer some difficulties. The king, in his letter before referred to, speaks of the workers appointed as numbering fifty-four. Burnet's list, which he obtained from the papers of one of the company engaged in the work, gives only forty-seven names. The discrepancy may be accounted for by the death of members (as in the case of Mr. Lively, who died in May 1605), or some of the other changes to be looked for in a period of three years. Wood supplies two additional names—those of Dr. John Aglionby, Principal of St. Edmund's Hall, and Dr. Leonard Hutton, Canon of Christ Church. Others may still remain to be discovered.[†]

The entire body was divided into six groups or companies, of which two held their meetings at Westminster, two at Cambridge, and two at Oxford. Some uncertainty being allowed for, the lists are as follows:—

First Westminster Company.

(*Genesis—2 Kings*).

(1) Dr. Lancelot Andrewes, Dean of Westminster; Master of Pembroke Hall, Camb., 1589–1605; Bishop of Winchester, 1619–26. (2) Dr. John Overall, Dean of St. Paul's; Master of St. Catherine's Hall, Camb., 1598–1607; Regius Professor of Divinity, 1596–1607; Bishop of Norwich, 1618–9. (3) Dr. Hadrian à Saravia, best known as the friend of Hooker; b. at Hesdin in Artois, 1531; made Professor of Divinity at Leyden, 1582; in-

---

[*] *Sum and Substance of the Conference* . . . by William Barlow, dean of Chester, reprinted in Cardwell's *History of Conferences*, ii. 187, 188.

[†] It may be seen in Cardwell's *Documentary Annals*, ed. 1844, pp. 145, 146.

[‡] Bancroft was appointed to the see of Canterbury at the latter end of 1604. Whitgift having died in February of that year, Bancroft discharged in the interval some of the archi-episcopal duties.

[*] They will be found in Cardwell's *Synodalia*, ed. 1844, ii. pp. 145, 146. Cardwell took them from Burnet, who 'himself took his list from a copy belonging originally to Bishop Ravis.'

[†] Mr. J. S. Cotton has kindly referred the present writer to Clark's *Register of the Univ. of Oxford* (Oxf. Hist. Soc. 1897, ii. 141), where a dispensation from the statutable exercises for the degree of D.D. is granted to Arthur Lakes, 14th May 1605, 'because engaged on the translation of the NT in London.' Arthur Lake, or Lakes, was at this time Master of St. Cross, afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells. A similar dispensation, for a like reason, dated 6th May 1605, is granted to John Harmar. In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, under 11th Apr. 1605, mention is made by Bishop Bilson, writing to Sir Thomas Lake, Sec. of State, of Dr. George Ryves, Warden of New College, as a translator. This ref. also we owe to Mr. Cotton. The names of Lakes and Ryves are new. The three dates given are interesting as furnishing evidence that some of the translators, at least, had got to work as early as the spring of 1605.

corporated D.D. at Oxford, 1590; Prebendary of Canterbury, 1595; d. 1613. (4) Dr. Richard Clerke, Fellow of Christ's Coll., Cambridge; one of the six preachers at Canterbury, 1602; d. 1634. (5) Dr. John Leifield, or Layfield, Fellow of Trin. Coll., Camb., 1585–1603; 'Lector linguæ Græcæ,' 1593; Rector of St. Clement Danes, 1601–17; d. 1617. Noted for his skill in architecture (Collier, *Eccl. Hist.* ed. 1852, vii. 337). (6) Dr. Robert Teigh, or Tighe, Archdeacon of Middlesex, 1601; incorporated at Oxford from Trin. Coll., Cambridge, where he graduated in 1582; d. 1616. (7) 'Mr. Burleigh,' probably Dr. Francis Burley, one of the earliest Fellows of King James's College at Chelsea. (8) 'Mr. King,' probably Geoffrey King, Fellow of King's Coll., Cambridge; succeeded Dr. Robert Spalding as Regius Professor of Hebrew, 1607. (9) 'Mr. Thompson,' taken to be Richard Thompson, of Clare Hall, Cambridge; called, from the land of his birth, Dutch Thompson; the friend of Casaubon and Scaliger. (10) 'Mr. Beadwell,' taken in like manner to be William Bedwell, scholar of Trin. Coll., Oxford, 1541; Rector of St. Ethelburga's, Bishopsgate Street, 1601; tutor of Pocock.

First Cambridge Company.

(*1 Chron.—Ecclesiastes*).

(11) Edward Lively, Fellow of Trin. Coll., 1572–8; Regius Professor of Hebrew, 1575;* d. 1605. (12) Dr. John Richardson, successively Master of Peterhouse, 1609, and Trinity, 1615; Regius Professor of Divinity, 1607–17; previously Fellow of Emmanuel. (13) Dr. Laurence Chaderton, first Master of Emmanuel Coll., 1584–1622; previously Fellow of Christ's Coll. One of the four Puritan representatives at the Hampton Court Conference. (14) Francis Dillingham, Fellow of Christ's Coll., 1581. Praised for his knowledge of Greek. (15) Thomas Harrison, Vice-Master of Trin. Coll., 1611–31. (16) Dr. Roger Andrewes, brother of the bishop, Master of Jesus Coll., 1618–32. (17) Dr. Robert Spalding, Fellow of St. John's Coll., 1593; succeeded Lively as Regius Professor of Hebrew, 1605; d. 1607?. (18) Dr. Andrew Byng, Fellow (?) of Peterhouse; Regius Professor of Hebrew, 1608. About 1605 a stall in the cathedral church of York to be kept for him; d. 1651.

First Oxford Company.

(*Isaiah—Malachi*).

(19) Dr. John Harding, Regius Professor of Hebrew, 1591–8 and 1604–10; Canon of Lincoln, 1604; President of Magdalen Coll., 1607; d. 1610. (20) Dr. John Rainolds, or Reynolds, Dean of Lincoln, 1593; President of Corpus Christi Coll., 1598; d. 1607. His share in the Hampton Court Conference has been already mentioned. (21) Dr. Thomas Holland, Fellow of Balliol, 1573; Regius Professor of Divinity, 1589; Rector of Exeter Coll., 1592; d. 1612. (22) Dr. Richard Kilbye, Rector of Lincoln Coll., 1590; Prebendary of Lincoln Cathedral, 1601; Regius Professor of Hebrew, 1610; d. 1620. (23) Dr. Miles Smith, student of Corpus Christi Coll., about 1568, afterwards of Brasenose; Canon of Exeter, 1595–9; Bishop of Gloucester, 1612–24; d. 1624. To him, along with Bishop Bilson, the final revision of the work was entrusted, and he wrote the Preface. (24) Dr. Richard Brett, Fellow of Lincoln Coll., 1586; Rector of Quainton, Bucks, 1595; d. 1637. Praised as an Orientalist. (25) Mr. Richard Fairclough, scholar of New Coll., 1570; incorporated at Cambridge, 1581; Rector of Bucknell, Oxon, 1592.

Second Cambridge Company.

(*The Apocrypha*).

(26) Dr. John Duport, Fellow of Jesus Coll., 1580; Master, 1590; Prebendary of Ely, 1609; d. 1617. (27) Dr. William Branthwait, Fellow of Emmanuel, 1584; deputy Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity; Master of Caius Coll., 1607; d. 1620. (28) Dr. Jeremiah Radcliffe, Fellow of Trin. Coll. (29) Dr. Samuel Ward, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, 1623; Master of Sidney Sussex Coll., 1610. Had previously been scholar of Christ's and Fellow of Emmanuel. One of the English representatives at the Synod of Dort; d. 1643. (30) Mr. Andrew Downes, Fellow of St. Johu's Coll., 1571; Regius Professor of Greek, 1585–1628; d. 1628. He corresponded in Greek with Casaubon. (31) Mr. John Bois, Fellow of St. John's Coll., 1580; Greek Lecturer, 1584–95; Prebendary of Ely, 1615. When the Apocrypha was finished, he joined the first Cambridge company at their urgent request. (32) Robert Ward, of King's Coll., Prebendary of Chichester; Rector of Bishop's Waltham, Hampshire.

Second Oxford Company.

(*Gospels, Acts, Revelation*).

(33) Dr. Thomas Ravis, Dean of Christ Church, 1596–1605; Bishop of Gloucester, 1605; of London, 1607; d. 1609. (34) Dr. George Abbot, Master of University Coll., 1597; Dean of Winchester, 1600; Archbishop of Canterbury, 1611–33; d. 1633. (35) Dr. Richard Edes, student of Christ Church, 1571; Dean of Worcester, 1597; d. 1604. As he died thus early, some have thought that Dr. James Montague, who succeeded him in the Deanery, was the 'Mr. Dean of Worcester' in Burnet's list. Wood gives, in place of Edes, Dr. John Aglionby, who was Principal of St. Edmund Hall, 1601; d. 1610. (36) Dr. Giles Thompson, matric. from University Coll., 1575; Fellow of All Souls', 1580; Dean of Windsor, 1602: Bishop of Gloucester, 1611; d. 1612. (37) Sir Henry Savile, Warden of Merton Coll., 1585; Provost of Eton, 1596; editor of St. Chrysostom, 1610–13; founder of the Savilian Chairs of Geometry and Astronomy; d. 1622. (38) Dr. John Perrinne, or Perne, Fellow of St. John's College, 1575; Regius Professor of Greek, 1597–1615; Canon of Christ Church, 1604–15; d. 1615. (39) 'Dr. Ravens,' assumed to be Dr. Ralph Ravens, Fellow of St. John's Coll.; Rector of Great Easton, Essex, 1605; d. 1616. In his stead Wood gives the name of Dr. Leonard Hutton, Canon of Christ Church. (40) Dr. John Harmar, Fellow of New College; Regius Professor of Greek, 1585–90; Head-Master of Winchester, 1588–95; Warden of Winchester, 1596–1613; d. 1613.

Second Westminster Company.

(*Romans—Jude*).

(41) Dr. William Barlow, Fellow of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, 1590; Dean of Chester, 1602–5; Bishop of Lincoln, 1608–13; d. 1613. (42) 'Dr. Hutchinson,' taken to be Mr. William Hutchinson, of St. John's Coll., Oxford; Archdeacon of St. Albans, 1581; Prebendary of St. Paul's, 1589; d. 1616. (43) Dr. John Spenser, President of Corpus Christi Coll., Oxford, 1607–14; Chaplain to James I., and Fellow of Chelsea College; d. 1614. (44) Dr. Roger Fenton, Fellow of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge; Preacher of Gray's Inn, 1599; Prebendary of St. Paul's, 1609; d. 1616. (45) 'Mr. Rabbet,' identified with Michael Rabbet, B.A., of Trinity Coll., Cambridge, 1576; incorporated at Oxford, 1584; Rector of St. Vedast's, 1604–17; d. 1630. (46) 'Mr. Sanderson,' identified in like manner with Thomas Sanderson, Fellow of Balliol, 1585; Archdeacon of Rochester, 1606–14; Canon of St. Paul's, 1611; d. 1614?. (47) Mr. William Dakins, Fellow of Trinity Coll., Cambridge, 1594; Professor of Divinity in Gresham Coll., 1604; d. 1607.

With such machinery prepared, the work went on apace. From an expression in the Translators' Preface we may infer that their task took something less than three years in completion. Contrasting their own labours with those bestowed on the Septuagint version, finished, according to tradition, in seventy-two days, they say, 'The work hath not been huddled up in seventy-two days, but hath cost the workmen, as light as it seemeth, the pains of twice seven times seventy-two days and more.' Of the method of procedure we have an interesting glimpse left us by Selden.* 'The Translation in King James' time,' he writes, 'took an excellent way. That part of the Bible was given to him who was most excellent in such a tongue (as the Apocrypha to Andrew Downes), and then they met together, and one read the Translation, the rest holding in their hands some Bible, either of the learned Tongues, or French, Spanish, Italian, &c.: if they found any fault they spoke; if not, he read on.' The final preparation for the press seems to have been entrusted to six delegates, two from each centre.† Dr. Downes and Bois are mentioned by name as of the party, and the time thus occupied is said to have been nine months.

At length, in 1611, the volume appeared from the press of Robert Barker, with this title: 'The | Holy | Bible, | Conteyning the Old Testament, | and the New: | Newly Translated out of the Originall | tongues, & with the former Translations | diligently compared and reuised, by his | Maiesties speciall cõmandement. | Appointed to be read in Churches. | Imprinted at London by Robert | Barker, Printer to the Kings | most Excellent Maiestie. | Anno Dom. 1611.' The title occupies the centre of a copperplate engraving, being flanked, right and left, by figures of Moses and Aaron, and having the four Evangelists at the corners. Above is the Paschal Lamb, surrounded by Apostles; and below is a pelican, symbol of piety. At the summit, in Hebrew characters, is the sacred name of God; on either hand the sun and moon; the Holy Dove beneath; and at the bottom of the plate the artist's signature, 'C Boel fecit in Richmont.'

The NT has a separate title, within a woodcut border, representing, down one side, the tents and badges of the twelve tribes of Israel, and down the other the twelve Apostles. At the corner are the four evangelists with their emblems.

---

* The Cambridge Calendar (unofficial) gives 1580. A touching picture of the close of this great scholar's life—inferior as a Hebraist to Pocock alone—is reproduced, from a contemporary funeral sermon, in Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.*

* *Table Talk*, ed. 1868, p. 20. We owe the ref. to Dr. Westcott.

† *Life of John Bois*, by Dr. A. Walker; printed in Peck's *Desiderata curiosa.*

The second title runs: 'The | Newe | Testament of | our Lord and Sauior | Jesvs Christ | ¶Newly translated out of | the Originall Greeke: and with | the former Translations diligently | compared and reuised, by his | Maiesties speciall Com | mandement. | Imprinted | at London by Robert | Barker, | Printer to the | Kings most Excellent | Maiestie. | Anno Dom. 1611. | cum Priuilegio.'

The first, or general, title is followed by the 'Epistle Dedicatorie' (A 2–3), and this by 'The Translators to the Reader' (A 3 *verso* to B 4 *verso*). Calendars, Tables to find Easter, and the like, occupy the remaining preliminary leaves. The text of this *editio princeps* is in black letter. Headlines and summaries of the contents of chapters (the latter by Dr. Miles Smith) are in Roman letter. Words supplied, which would now be in italics, are in small Roman.[*] Various head-pieces, initial letters, and other embellishments, from the Bishops' Bible, the further reprinting of which was discontinued after 1606, were used again in this edition. The figure of Neptune is now found at the beginning of St. Matthew, and the crest and arms of Walsingham and Cecil are left on in the Psalms.[†] By what warranty the clause 'Appointed to be read in Churches' was inserted in the title is not easy to determine, seeing that there can be found for it, so far as is known, 'no edict of Convocation, no Act of Parliament, no decision of the Privy Council, no royal proclamation.'[‡] The true explanation probably is that, as the new revision was meant to supersede the old Bishops' Bible, it naturally took the place, and succeeded to the privileges, of that work. But, as has been before mentioned, the Bishops' Bible was ordered, by the *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical* of 1571, to be placed in all cathedrals, and, so far as it was practicable, in all churches. Thus the new version was simply the heir of the old. It may be remarked, in passing, that the clause is not found in the NT title of the *editio princeps*, nor at all in the first 8vo and some other early editions.[§] It will be observed also that the OT and NT are spoken of in the general title as 'newly *translated* out of the original tongues'; and the Preface is headed 'the *Translators* to the Reader.' This might be thought a disregard of the very first of the king's instructions. But we must bear in mind how the alternative word *revised* was then used, as for instance in this very title. And the 'Translators' themselves, while content to use this designation in their Preface, make it quite clear what their conception of their duty was in this respect. 'But it is high time to leave them,' they say, referring to Romanist objectors, 'and to shew in brief what we proposed to our selves, and what course we held in this our perusall and survey of the Bible. Truely (good Christian Reader) we never thought from the beginning, that we should need to make a new Translation, nor yet to make of a bad one a good one . . . but to make a good one better, or out of many good ones, one principall good one, not justly to be excepted against; that hath been our indeavour, that our mark.'

Whether or not the translators reached their mark, is now no matter of opinion: history has spoken. Especially as a well of English undefiled, drawing its waters in part from yet older springs, it has solaced the heart, and satisfied the taste, of peasant and scholar alike. One well entitled to be heard (the late Bishop Lightfoot), writing on a subject which made him rather a severe critic than a willing eulogist,[*] speaks of the 'grand simplicity' in which the language of our English Bible 'stands out in contrast to the ornate and often affected diction of the literature of that time.' Another, than whom few, if any, have studied the text of Holy Writ with minuter care, marvels at 'the perfect and easy command over the English language exhibited by its authors on every page.'[†] And yet another, whose testimony may be of the greater value from the fact that, when he gave it, he had ceased to be in the communion of the English Church, pays a generous tribute to the benefits derived from listening, in the course of public service, to the 'grave majestic English,' in which are enshrined 'the words of inspired teachers under both Covenants,' and from associating religion with 'compositions which, even humanly considered, are among the most sublime and beautiful ever written.'[‡]

But it is of more importance, especially as bearing on the question of subsequent revision, to form a just estimate of the defects of the AV than to record the language of panegyric. Some specimens of these defects, taken almost at haphazard, are accordingly given. But it must be borne in mind that their cumulative force loses its effect when a short list only can find place.

Gn 15^{2} 'And the steward (*r.* possessor, *or* inheritor) of my house'; 20^{16} 'Thus was she reproved' (*r.* And so thou art cleared); 25^{18} 'And he died' (*r.* settled); 49^{5} 'Instruments of cruelty,' etc. (variously emended); 49^{6} 'digged down a wall' (*r.* houghed oxen); 49^{14} 'between two burdens' (*r.* between the cattle-pens); Ex 13^{4} 'This day came ye out' (*r.* go ye forth); 15^{2} 'prepare him an habitation' (*r.* praise, *or* glorify him); 32^{25} 'had made them naked' (*r.* had let them loose); 33^{7} 'tabernacle of the congregation' (*r.* tent of meeting—distinct in use from the tabernacle); Nu 11^{25} 'and they did not cease' (*r.* but they did so no more); 21^{18} 'by the direction of the lawgiver' (*r.* with the sceptre; but variously rendered); Jg 5^{16} 'for the divisions' (*r.* by the brooks, *or* watercourses—see also vv.$^{10.\ 13\text{-}15.\ 17}$); 8^{13} 'before the sun was up' (*r.* from the ascent of Heres); 1 S 13^{1} 'Saul reigned one year' (*r.* Saul was [thirty] years old when he began to reign—see margin of RV); 1 K 20^{38} 'with ashes upon his face' (*r.* with his headband over his eyes); 22^{38} 'and they washed his armour' (*r.* now the harlots washed themselves); 2 K 11^{15} 'without the ranges' (*r.* between the ranks); 11^{16} 'they laid hands on her' (*r.* made way for her); 21^{6} 'observed times' (*r.* practised augury); 2 Ch 22^{6} 'because of' (*r.* of); Job 36^{33} 'the cattle also concerning the vapour' (*r.* concerning the storm, *or* concerning him that cometh up); Is 29^{16} 'Surely your turning of things upside down shall be esteemed as the potter's clay' (*r.* Ye turn things upside down! Shall the potter be counted as clay?); Ezk 13^{18} 'kerchiefs upon the head of every stature' (*r.* kerchiefs for the head of persons of every stature); Mal 2^{3} 'I will corrupt your seed' (*r.* I will rebuke the seed for your sake).

Mt 25^{8} 'are gone out' (*r.* are going out); 26^{55} and elsewhere 'a thief' (*r.* a robber); Mk 6^{27} 'an executioner' (*r.* a soldier of the guard); Lk 1^{59} 'called' (*r.* were calling, *or* would have called); 19^{13} 'occupy' (*r.* trade, *or* do business); 22^{56} 'by the fire' (*r.* in the light of the fire); Jn 4^{27} 'with the woman' (*r.* with a woman); 10^{16} 'one fold' (*r.* one flock); Ac 19^{38} 'the law is open, and there are deputies' (*r.* court days are held, and there are proconsuls; *or* the courts are sitting, and there are magistrates); 1 Co 14^{23} 'one place' (*r.* the same place); 2 Co 9^{13} 'experiment' (*r.* proof); Eph 4^{12} 'for the work of the ministry' (*r.* to a work of ministration,—removing the comma after 'saints'); Ph 3^{21} 'our vile body' (*r.* the body of our humiliation); 4^{2} 'Euodias' (*r.* Euodia); 2 Ti 4^{6} 'I am now ready to be offered' (*r.* I am already being offered); He 2^{16} 'He took not on him the nature of angels' (*r.* it is not of angels that he taketh hold, *i.e.* to succour *or* support); 4^{8} 'Jesus' (*r.* Joshua—so also in Ac 7^{45}); Ja 1^{17} 'gift . . . gift' (*r.* giving . . . gift); Rev 4^{4} 'seats' (*r.* thrones).

If we knew with certainty what were the original texts chiefly relied on by the translators, we should be better able to account for some of the flaws in their work. So far, indeed, as the OT is concerned, the variations found among different editions of the Hebrew Bible then printed are less material than might have been supposed. And for this part of their work the translators had good helps. Besides the Latin version of the Hebrew Bible made (1575–9) by Immanuel Tremellius (a converted Jew, who became Professor of Divinity at Heidelberg), revised by his son-in-law Francis Junius, who added a similar version of the Apocrypha, 'an interlinear Latin translation of the Hebrew text, based on that of Pagninus,'[*] had been appended in 1572 to the Antwerp Polyglott by the Spanish scholar, Arias Montanus. The Complutensian Polyglott had been available since 1517. Moreover, in the interval, versions into several modern languages had appeared:—a revised edition of the French Bible, in 1587–8, at Geneva; an Italian translation by Diodati, in 1607, also at Geneva; and two Spanish versions, one by C. Reyna, Basle, 1569, and the other, based on it, by C. de Valera, Amsterdam, 1602.[†] But, as regards the NT, the translators fared worse. The great MSS of the Greek Testament, with which scholars are now familiar, were then unknown. The science of biblical criticism was not yet competent to deal with them, had they been available. The third edition of Robert Stephen, 1550, furnished a *textus receptus*, representing what was best in the Complutensian and Erasmus. To supplement this, the translators had the several editions of Beza's Greek Testament with his Latin version, preferably the fourth, of 1589. It may be going too far to assert, with Hartwell Horne,[‡] that 'Beza's edition of 1598 was adopted as the basis' of the Authorized Version. But even Scrivener, who combats the assertion, admits that, out of 252 passages examined, the translators agree with Beza against Stephen in 113 places, and with Stephen against Beza in only 59; the remaining 80 being cases in which the Complutensian, Erasmus, or the Vulgate were followed in preference to either.

---

[*] The copy used for this description is the one marked 466 i. 6 (1) in the Library of the British Museum. Size of page, $16\times10\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

[†] See Loftie, *A Century of Bibles*, 1872, p. 6.

[‡] Eadie, ii. 204.

[§] A list of those in which it is wanting is given by Dore, *l.c.* p. 326.

[*] *On a Fresh Revision of the English NT*, 1871, p. 191.

[†] Scrivener, *The Authorized Edition of the English Bible*, 1884, p. 141. This is a reprint, with additions and corrections, of the same author's Introduction to the Cambridge Paragraph Bible, 1873.

[‡] J. H. Newman, *Grammar of Assent*, 1874, p. 56.

Poor, however, as was the *apparatus criticus* at the command of the translators, they had an advantage, which it would not be easy to overestimate, in the existence of previous English versions. Some of these the king's letter of instructions had specially directed them to consult. Two others, not named in those instructions, they consulted frequently, and with the greatest benefit to themselves. These were the Geneva Bible and the Rhemish NT. The Douai OT appeared just too late to be of use, not being issued till 1610. It would be exceeding our limits to enter into the statistical calculations, by which it has been sought to apportion aright the indebtedness of the AV to each of its two rivals. It must suffice to say that its obligation to both was great;—to the one for principles of interpretation, to the other for an enriched vocabulary. At the same time its independence was never sacrificed. 'It differs from the Rhemish Version in seeking to fix an intelligible sense on the words rendered: it differs from the Genevan Version in leaving the literal rendering uncoloured by any expository notes.'[§]

The gradual efforts that have been made from time to time to emend and perfect this noble translation will be most fittingly noticed when we come to speak of the Revised Version of 1881. A few words remain to be said on the relation in which the first edition of 1611 stands to its immediate successors; and mention must be made briefly of some of the most conspicuous among the almost countless descendants of king James's Bible.

That the edition described above as the first was really the *editio princeps* of the AV, few scholars will be found to deny.[*] But, when we come to inquire which of the others is to be placed next to it, we are met by a difficulty. A number of Bibles are in existence, the first, or general, title of which agrees in wording with that of the assumed first edition, but differs slightly in the division of lines, and also in not having for border Boel's copperplate engraving, but a woodcut, similar to the NT border of A.[†] For date, the first title of B has 1613 (sometimes 1611); while the second, or NT title, has regularly 1611, and has also, what that of A has not, the words (in italics) 'Appointed to be read in Churches.'[‡] In what relation, now, do A and B stand to each other? It has been held that they represent 'two contemporary issues . . . separately composed and printed, for the sake of speedy production, in 1611.'[§] But this supposition is negatived by the fact that in both these Bibles—and indeed in all the black-letter folios of the AV, save only one of 1613, in smaller type—the printing is so arranged that every leaf ends with the same word. The sheets, notwithstanding many internal differences, could thus be interchanged, and in point of fact are often found so interchanged in copies of the editions dated 1611, 1613, 1617, 1634, 1640. It follows that no two could have been set up simultaneously from two corrected Bishops' Bibles used as 'copy' by separate compositors. They could not by accident have brought their leaves to end uniformly at the same word. The alternative remains of supposing B derived from A, or A from B. Of these Dr. Scrivener chooses the latter. He considers B 'to have been printed first, and rejected by the translators on account of its inaccuracy in favour of the more carefully revised A edition; but to have been ultimately published, by a kind of fraud on the part of the printers, after the translators were dispersed.'[‖] Notwithstanding the learning and ability with which this opinion is defended by its author, it will hardly gain the credit of being more than a brilliant paradox, with those who weigh impartially the evidence furnished by the errors and corrections observable in the two volumes.

In endeavouring to single out the more noticeable in the almost endless list of editions of the AV that have appeared since 1611, our attention is first arrested by those which are conspicuous for the number of errors admitted, or for the efforts made to eliminate previous errors. A few preliminary words thus become necessary on the responsibility of printers in the 17th century.

It is a mistake to suppose that the appointment of King's or Queen's Printer, then or formerly, implied any obligation to greater vigilance in ensuring accuracy of printing. It was simply a matter of purchase. In this way Robert Barker's father, Christopher, had bought, in 1577, a patent granted by Elizabeth a few years before to Sir Thomas Wilkes, and thus became Queen's Printer. In this capacity he opposed the claim of Cambridge, in 1583, to maintain a university press. In 1627 the Barkers assigned their rights to Bonham Norton and John Bill. But in 1635 Robert Barker's second son, of the same name, bought back the reversion of the patent; and it continued in their family till

---

[*] Westcott, *General View*, p. 268. [†] *Ib.* p. 269.

[‡] See Scrivener's *Supplement to the AV*, 1845, p. 8; and the same writer's *Authorized Edition*, 1884, p. 60. The edition of 1598 was Beza's fifth and last, judged less correct than that of 1589.

[§] Westcott, *l.c.* p. 269.

[*] The adverse opinion of Dr. Scrivener will be mentioned presently.

[†] For brevity, we will so denote the assumed first edition; and the one we are describing, by B.

[‡] The actual copy described is that marked 3051 g 10 (1) in the Library of the British Museum.

[§] Art. 'English Bible,' by the late Rev. J. H. Blunt, in *Encyclop. Brit.*^{9} vol. viii. p. 389.

[‖] We adopt the convenient summary of Scrivener's views (for which see his *Authorized Edition*, p. 5 ff.) given by the Rev. Walter E. Smith in his valuable monograph, *A Study of the great 'She' Bible*, 1890, p. 5.

1709, having had a run of 132 years. The subsequent stages, through Thomas Baskett, need not be particularized. In 1799 a fresh patent was granted to George Eyre, Andrew Strahan, and John Reeves; and so we come to the present distinguished firm of Eyre & Spottiswoode.[*]

It is obvious that purely business transactions, such as these, would not of necessity give rise to any lofty ideal of responsibility in a King's Printer. He would feel it his first duty to recoup himself for the sums laid out. Any higher standard of work must be prompted by his own sense of *noblesse oblige*. Accordingly, we are not surprised to find traces of bad workmanship multiplying in editions of the AV, as the years roll on. A flagrant example of such negligence is to be seen in the 8vo edition of 1631,[†] printed by Robert Barker and the assignees of J. Bill. In this, besides many other mistakes, the 'not' is left out in the Seventh Commandment (Ex 20^{14}). For this, it is fair to say, the printers were fined in the then substantial sum of £300 by the Court of High Commission, with Laud at its head. With the proceeds of the fine, Laud, it is said, designed to purchase a fount of Greek type for the university press of Oxford; but it does not appear that payment of the money was ever enforced.

The universities, to which we are now accustomed to look for accuracy and beauty of typography, were late in the race. Cambridge, as we have seen, had pleaded the privilege of its press as far back as 1583. But in point of fact no English Bible issued from it till 1629; nor from that of Oxford till 1673–5. The Cambridge folio of 1629, printed by Thomas and John Buck, is a creditable piece of work, and shows traces of careful revision. But it is the first to exhibit a misprint, which held its ground, it is said, till 1803—'thy doctrine' for 'the doctrine,' in 1 Ti 4^{16}.

In 1638 a still more serious attempt at revision was made by a little band of Cambridge scholars, at the command, we are told, of Charles I. Their names are preserved in a manuscript note, made in a copy of the Bible in question, by a contemporary Master of Jesus College. They were Dr. Goad, Rector of Hadleigh in Suffolk, an old Eton and King's man; Dr. Ward and Mr. Boyse (Bois), both already spoken of in the lists of translators; and Mr. Mead, more familiar to us as Joseph Mede. Dr. Scrivener, while speaking favourably of their work as a whole, points out some fresh *errata* due to them: among these the substitution of 'ye' for 'we' in Ac 6^3, foolishly believed by some to be not an accidental misprint, but a deliberate change, made under Nonconformist influences.

Of other editions of the AV, an 8vo, printed at Edinburgh in 1633, may be noticed as the first printed in Scotland; the earliest in Ireland not appearing till 1714, and in America not till 1752.[‡] A 12mo of 1682, professing to be printed in London, but in all probability from a press in Amsterdam, may be taken as a specimen of a number of editions, produced in Holland, but counterfeiting the imprints of London publishers, with the object of imposing upon English readers. They are mostly full of errors. Conspicuous for the magnificence of their typography are the noble folios of John Baskett (Oxford, 1717) and John Baskerville (Cambridge, 1763). In the former of these, however, a misprint of 'vinegar' for 'vineyard' (or 'vinegarth'?) in the headline over Lk 22, has caused it to be commonly known as 'The Vinegar Bible.'

Passing over the folio of 1701, revised by Bishop Lloyd, in which for the first time dates, taken in the main from Ussher, were added in the margin, we come to two editions which, from their proximity of date and similarity of aim, may be conveniently studied together. These are (1) an edition in folio and one in quarto (2 vols.), printed by J. Bentham at the Cambridge University Press in 1762, revised by Dr. Thomas Paris, Fellow of Trinity College; and (2) an edition, also in folio and quarto, issued from the Clarendon Press at Oxford in 1769, revised by Dr. Benjamin Blayney. The fame of Dr. Paris has to some degree suffered eclipse; partly from the later editor having his predecessor's work to improve upon, and partly from the accident of a fire at Dod the bookseller's having destroyed the greater part of the impression of 1762.[*] Yet competent judges have pronounced the work of Dr. Paris to be at the least not inferior to that of his successor. There is extant a report, dated Oct. 25th, 1769,[†] addressed by Dr. Blayney to his employers, the delegates of the Clarendon Press, in which he states the principles by which he, and by implication Dr. Paris, had been guided. The restoration of the exact text of 1611, where not itself corrupt; the modernizing of the spelling; the weeding-out of references to passages in no way parallel, and the replacing of them by fresh ones; the making clear the allusions contained in Hebrew proper names by adding their English equivalents in the margin; the rectification of the use of italics; the reform of the punctuation,—such were some of the objects aimed at. Oxford has done honour to Dr. Blayney, by making his two revisions of 1769 the standard text for its university press. Dr. Scrivener associates the work of Dr. Paris with his as deserving of equal praise, pronouncing their labours to be 'the last two considerable efforts to improve and correct our ordinary editions of Holy Scripture.' With these, accordingly, the present section may fitly close. But a parting word of tribute must not, in justice, be withheld from the work of Dr. Scrivener himself, whose *Cambridge Paragraph Bible* (in 3 parts, 1870–3) is a model of care and laborious exactness.[‡]

---

[*] See the articles on Chr. and Rob. Barker, and on Thomas Baskett, by Mr. H. R. Tedder in the *Dict. of National Biography*.

[†] Scrivener, *Authorized Edition*, p. 25 n., gives 1632 as the date, and speaks of one copy only as known to be in existence, namely at Wolfenbüttel. Mr. Henry Stevens (*Cat. of the Caxton Celebration*, 1877, p. 114) shows both these statements to be incorrect. The name 'Wicked Bible' originated with Mr. Stevens in 1852.

[‡] This last was issued surreptitiously, bearing the false imprint of 'Mark Baskett, London.' A 12mo, produced at Philadelphia in 1782, is believed by Cotton to be the earliest English Bible avowedly published in America.

[*] Somewhat singularly, the copies of Dr. Blayney's edition suffered, though apparently not to the same extent, from a fire at the Bible Warehouse, Paternoster Row.

[†] Reprinted from the *Gentleman's Magazine* (xxxix. 517) as App. D in Scrivener's *Authorized Edition*.

[‡] We have not considered it within our province to notice versions of detached portions of Holy Scripture. But an exception seems properly made in favour of Sir John Cheke's translation of St. Matthew and part of the first chapter of St. Mark. This singular work is in a fragmentary state, and there is nothing to show how far the author meant to carry it. The MS, in Cheke's beautiful handwriting, is preserved in the Library of Corpus Christi Coll., Cambridge. It is unfortunately defective, having lost a leaf containing Mt 16^{25}–18^{7} inclusive, wanting also the last ten verses of ch. 28. It ends abruptly with the words 'Capernaum, and' in Mk 1. Marginal notes are added, dealing chiefly, as befitted the scholar who 'taught Cambridge and king Edward Greek,' with the wording of the original. Cheke's translation, though probably made about 1550, lay unpublished till 1843, when it found a competent editor in the Rev. James Goodwin, B.D. Its chief peculiarity lies in the attempt deliberately made to exclude words of foreign origin, and like Barnes, the Dorset poet, to use solely, or as nearly so as possible, words of native growth. Thus for 'captivity' he writes 'outpeopling'; for 'lunatic,' 'mooned'; for 'publicans,' 'tollers'; for 'apostle,' 'frosent'; for 'proselyte,' 'freschman'; for 'crucified,' 'crossed.' His principles in this respect were the opposite of those held by Gardiner and his school. Sometimes he is not consistent. Thus in Mt 3 (he adopts the division into chapters, but not into verses) he uses 'acrids' for locusts; but in Mk 1 he retains 'locustes,' putting ἀκρίδας in the margin. Sometimes his system reduces him to hard shifts, as when for 'tetrarch' he gives 'debitee of y^e fourth part of y^e contree.' His method of spelling is interesting, from the light it throws on the pronunciation of the time. To indicate that a vowel is

ix. THE 'REVISED' VERSION.—It must be constantly borne in mind that the work of 1611 was not a new translation, but a revision of an old one. In any such case the thought is readily suggested that the revision may itself need revising. If in nothing else, the revisers may have erred in excess or defect: they may have changed too much or too little. Nor can men who have undertaken to correct the faults of others reasonably complain if their own performance is subjected to unsparing criticism. So it fared with the AV and its authors. Even before the work had seen the light, it became evident that, in certain quarters, it would meet with a hostile reception. And the origin of this hostility is instructive to notice, as disclosing the mixed motives by which men may be influenced under such circumstances.

The leader of the attack was the learned Hebraist, Hugh Broughton; a scholar whose erudition would have fully justified his inclusion in king James's company, but whose lack of judgment and impracticable temper would have made it impossible for him to work with the rest. Rainolds and Lively were old antagonists of his. Moreover, he had himself projected a fresh translation of the Bible. In a letter to Lord Burleigh, dated 21st June 1593, he explained what his plan was. He proposed to have the assistance of five other scholars; to make none but necessary changes; and to add short notes. His views on the subject he further set out in 'An Epistle to the learned Nobility of England, touching translating the Bible from the Original,' published in 1597.[*] And when the AV was in preparation he showed his determination even yet to have a say in the matter, by writing an 'Advertisement how to execute the translation now in hand, that the first edition be onely for a triall, that all learned may have their censure.'[†] We can understand that, when at length the revised translation appeared without his co-operation being asked or his advice attended to, his indignation knew no bounds. A copy of the finished work was sent him for his opinion, and he gave it. Writing to a 'Right Worshipfull Knight attending upon the King,' he passionately exclaims: 'Tell his Majesty that I had rather be rent in pieces with wild horses, than any such translation by my consent should be urged upon poor churches.' It 'bred in me,' he had just said, 'a sadnesse that will grieve me while I breath. It is so ill done.'[‡] The reader will judge how far this was prompted by personal feeling; and how far, as Broughton's learned editor contends, the words were spoken 'in zeal and vindication of the truth.'[§]

As time went on, the faults which Broughton had detected, or thought he could detect, in the AV, were supplemented by an ever-lengthening list of errors due to the carelessness of printers. After the breaking out of the Civil War more especially, learning, and its handmaid, the art of printing, became held in less esteem; and the presses of Holland found their account in doing what the king's printer, or an English university, should have done. But the editions of the Bible thus imported were, it need hardly be said, in most cases extremely incorrect. So serious was the mischief judged to be, that, as early as 1643, the Assembly of Divines made a report to Parliament on the subject. In it they complained of the faultiness of these Dutch editions. To substantiate their charge, they were content with three instances only; but these, it must be admitted, were enough:—Gn 36^{24} 'found the *rulers*' for 'found the mules'; Ru 4^{13} 'gave her *corruption*' for 'gave her conception'; Lk 21^{28} 'your *condemnation*' for 'your redemption.' The Assembly's report was followed up by an appeal from the learned Dr. John Lightfoot. In a sermon preached before the Long Parliament, Aug. 26th, 1645, he urged upon the members the necessity for a 'review and survey of the translation of the Bible,' that by this means people 'might come to understand the proper and genuine reading of the Scriptures by an exact, vigorous, and lively translation.'[*]

It does not appear that either report or sermon produced any immediate effect. There exists, indeed, the draft of a bill, proposed to be brought before Parliament in 1653, authorizing the appointment of a committee 'to search and observe wherein that last translation appears to be wronged by Prelates or printers or others.'[†] But the spirit which prompted the motion for such an inquiry was too obvious, and nothing came of it. There were, in truth, vested interests at stake, and abuses connected with them, not easy to reform, even under a Protectorate.

Henry Hills and John Field (who had obtained his patent from Cromwell) were the licensed printers to the University of Cambridge. But the fact that they had to pay for their privilege a yearly bribe of £500 to certain persons in power,[‡] prepares us to expect from them little conscientious work. Accordingly, when, in 1659, William Kilburne, Gent., printed at Finsbury his *Dangerous Errors in Severall Late printed Bibles: to the great scandal and corruption of sound and true Religion*, it was chiefly against these two printers that his attack is directed. The longer title, or Advertisement, of the tract[§] describes it as 'discovering (amongst many thousands of others) some pernicious erroneous & corrupt Erratas Escapes & Faults in several Impressions of the Holy Bible and Testament within these late years commonly vended & dispersed, to the great scandal of Religion, but more particularly in the Impressions of Henry Hills and John Field, printers . . .' Kilburne brings heavy charges; but he fully justifies them. Two specimens must suffice. Both are from pocket Bibles printed by Field, in 1656 and 1653 respectively:—Jn 7^{39} 'this spake he of the *spirits*' for 'this spake he of the Spirit'; 1 Co 6^{9} 'the unrighteous *shall inherit*' for 'the unrighteous shall not inherit.'

The improvement which authority, regal and republican alike, had seemed powerless to effect, was brought about by private effort and the slow but unvarying growth of public opinion. If any one will take the trouble to go through a list of editions of English Bibles, and parts thereof, which have appeared from about the middle of the 17th to the middle of the 19th cent., he can hardly fail to be struck with the steady increase, first, of paraphrases, and then of new or emended versions of separate books of Holy Scripture. The names of Edward Wells and Zachary Pearce, of Chandler, Harwood and Gilbert Wakefield, of Archbishop Newcome and Bishop Lowth, not to mention many others, will meet him at every turn in this field of inquiry. Or let him apply a simple numerical test to the first fifty years of the 19th cent., taking Cotton's *List of Editions* as a con-

---

long, he doubles it. Thus we have 'taak' (take), 'swijn' (swine), 'ameen,' 'propheet,' 'Herood,' and the like. 'Church' (p. 67) is said to be sounded 'moor corruptly and frenchlike' than the north-country 'Kurk.' Speaking generally, the value of the work is philological rather than biblical.

[*] Printed in H. B.'s collected *Works*, Lond. 1662, p. 557 ff. For several particulars in this account the present writer is indebted to the Rev. Alex. Gordon's art. in the *Dict. of National Biography*.

[†] Sloane MSS, No. 3088, leaf 120 *verso*.

[‡] *Works*, p. 661.

[§] *Works*; Dr. John Lightfoot's Pref., sig. C.

[*] Newth, *Lectures on Bible Revision*, p. 92.

[†] *Ib*. p. 93.

[‡] Scrivener, *Authorized Edition*, p. 26; Loftie, *Century of Bibles*, pp. 12, 13.

[§] Reprinted by Loftie, *ib*. pp. 31–49.

venient basis for his calculation. He will find that there are only nine years out of the fifty in which there has not appeared some fresh translation, or new edition of such translation, of some or all the books of the Bible. And Cotton's *List* is not exhaustive.[*]

Whatever might be the merits or defects of these versions—and some of them are very defective, especially in point of style[†]—they had the effect of keeping alive an interest in the subject. Men were constantly reminded that the revision of 1611, with all its high qualities, could not be accepted as final. Moreover, by the labours of Brian Walton, Kennicott, Mill, Bentley, and others, the only sure foundation for the reviser's work had been laid, or had at least begun to be laid, in fixing, on sound principles, the original texts.

Forces were thus slowly gathering, which culminated during the middle third, or nearly so, of the last century. Many causes contributed to bring about this result. The after-swell of the Reform Bill agitation and of the Oxford movement was still felt, making men less satisfied with things as they were, simply because they were. It was the period of the biblical labours of Tischendorf and Tregelles, of Wordsworth and Alford, of Trench and Scrivener, of Lightfoot, Westcott and Hort. Public attention had been called afresh to the subject of revision by a series of pamphlets and reviews. In 1849 appeared the third and enlarged edition of Professor Scholefield's learned *Hints for an improved Translation of the New Testament.* In October 1855 an Edinburgh reviewer, discussing the merits of an *Annotated Paragraph Bible*, published by the Religious Tract Society two years before, in which corrections of the AV had been freely introduced, expressed the conviction, not only that 'our Common Version requires a diligent revision, but that the great body of the people are aware of it; and that their trust in its perfection, which has been so long opposed against any suggestion of improvement, can no longer be alleged as a pretext for delaying the attempt.'[*] On March 1st, 1856, Canon Selwyn brought the matter before the notice of the Lower House of Convocation, and followed this up, in the autumn of the same year, by the pamphlet just cited. In July 1856 Mr. James Heywood, M.P. for North Lancashire, moved in the House of Commons an address to the Crown, 'praying that Her Majesty would appoint a Royal Commission of learned men, to consider of such amendments of the authorized version of the Bible as had been already proposed, and to receive suggestions from all persons who might be willing to offer them, and to report the amendments which they might be prepared to recommend.'[†] After a short discussion the motion was withdrawn. But its author did not let the subject drop; publishing *The Bible and its Revisers* in 1857, and the *State of the Authorized Bible Revision* in 1860. In 1857 a good pattern of what such a revision should be was set in the publication of *The Gospel according to St. John . . . revised by five clergymen.* In 1863 a remark by the Speaker of the House of Commons (J. Evelyn Denison, afterwards Lord Ossington), suggested the undertaking of the 'Speaker's' Commentary, one express object of which was 'a revision of the translation.'

Not to dwell longer on preliminary matters, by the spring of 1870 things were ripe for action. On February 10th of that year, the Bishop of Winchester (Dr. S. Wilberforce), anticipating a motion which Canon Selwyn had prepared to introduce into the Lower House, moved in the Upper House of Convocation of the Southern Province, 'that a Committee of both Houses be appointed, with power to confer with any Committee that may be appointed by the Convocation of the Northern Province, to report upon the desirableness of a revision of the AV of the NT, whether by marginal notes or otherwise, in all those passages where plain and clear errors, whether in the Hebrew or Greek text originally adopted by the translators, or in the translation made from the same, shall, on due investigation, be found to exist.'[‡] The Bishop of Llandaff (Dr. A. Ollivant) carried an amendment, to include the OT in the terms of the motion. When the motion, thus amended, had been agreed to, it was sent down to the Lower House (Feb. 11), where it was accepted without a division. In pursuance of it, a joint Committee, consisting of eight members of the Upper House and sixteen of the Lower, was formed. The Convocation of the Northern Province had in the meantime declined to co-operate. They admitted the existence of blemishes in the AV. They were 'favourable to the errors being corrected.' But they 'would deplore any recasting of the text.' Notwithstanding, the work went on; and on May 3rd a Report of the joint Committee, embodied in five Resolutions, was laid before both Houses of the Southern Convocation. The Resolutions affirmed—

> '1. That it is desirable that a revision of the AV of the Holy Scriptures be undertaken.
> 2. That the revision be so conducted as to comprise both marginal renderings and such emendations as it may be found necessary to insert in the text of the AV.
> 3. That in the above Resolutions we do not contemplate any new translation of the Bible, or any alteration of the language, except when in the judgment of the most competent scholars such change is necessary.
> 4. That in such necessary changes the style of the language employed in the existing version be closely followed.

---

[*] A good summary of the steps finally leading to the revision of 1881, so far at least as the year 1863, is given in Professor Plumptre's article on the Authorized Version in vol. iii. of Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible.* A list of works, bearing more or less directly on the revision of the AV, beginning with Robert Gell's *Essay*, fol., 1659, will be found in the App. (pp. 216–9) to Trench's *On the AV of the NT*, 1859.

[†] It is almost a slaying of the slain to quote Dr. Edward Harwood (*A Liberal Translation of the NT*, 2 vols. 8vo, 1768), who thus begins the parable of the Prodigal Son: 'A gentleman of a splendid family and opulent fortune had two sons. One day the younger approached his father, and begged him in the most importunate and soothing terms to make a partition of his effects betwixt himself and his elder brother. The indulgent father, overcome by his blandishments, immediately divided all his fortunes betwixt them.' Ja $2^{2.3}$ appears thus: 'For should there enter into your assembly a person arrayed in a magnificent and splendid dress, with a brilliant diamond sparkling on his hand, and should there enter at the same time a man in a mean and sordid habit; Your eyes being instantly attracted by the lustre of this superb vest, should you immediately introduce the person thus sumptuously habited into the best seat,' etc. A revised version of the Bible by J. T. Conquest, M.D. (2nd ed. 1846), purports to contain 'nearly twenty thousand emendations.' The following are a few brief specimens:—

Is $9^{1\text{-}3}$ 'Nevertheless the darkness shall not be such as was in her anguish
When at first he rendered contemptible
The land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali,
So shall he confer honour upon them
By the way of the sea, beyond the Jordan, in Galilee of the nations.
The people who walked in darkness, bave seen a great light:
Those who dwell in the land of the sbadow of death, upon them the light shineth.
Thou hast multiplied the nation,
Whose joy thou didst not increase. . . .'

1 Co 15^{12} 'How say some among you, that there is no resurrection and future existence of the dead?'

He 7^{3} 'Without recorded father or mother, without descent, having neither predecessor or successor in office. . . .'

[*] *Notes on the proposed Amendment of the Authorized Version . . .*, by William Selwyn, Canon of Ely, 1856, p. 11.

[†] Newth, as before, p. 103; Ellicott, *Considerations on Revision*, 1870, p. 5.

[‡] Westcott, *Eng. Bible*, p. 338, quoting *Chronicles of Convocation.* The words 'Hebrew or' will be noticed as indicating a motion originally wider in its scope. Three members of the NT Revision Company (Drs. Westcott, Newth, and Moulton) have left accounts of these proceedings.

> 5. That it is desirable that Convocation should nominate a body of its own members to undertake the work of revision, who shall be at liberty to invite the co-operation of any eminent for scholarship, to whatever nation or religious body they may belong.'

This Report was unanimously adopted by the Upper House, and eight bishops were at once nominated, in accordance with the terms of the last Resolution, to be its quota towards the new joint Committee. On May 5th the report was discussed in the Lower House. Some opposition was there shown to the principle embodied in the last clause of the fifth Resolution; but, on a division, the adoption of the Report was carried, with but two dissentients. On May 6th eight of their own body were chosen, to co-operate with the others in forming the new Committee. This new, or second, joint Committee held its first meeting on May 25th, 1870. It then passed a series of Resolutions, indicating the lines on which the work should be carried out. In substance these were as follows, the more important ones being quoted in full:—

I. Committee to separate into two Companies—one for OT, the other for NT.
II. Names of the members of Convocation, nine in all, forming the OT Company.
III. Names as before, seven in all, for the NT Company.
IV. OT Company to begin with Pentateuch.
V. NT " " " Synoptical Gospels.
VI. Names of 'Scholars and Divines' (18) to be invited to join the OT Company.
VII. Names of 'Scholars and Divines' (19) to be invited to join the NT Company.*
VIII. That the general principles to be followed by both Companies be as follows:—
  '1. To introduce as few alterations as possible into the text of the Authorized Version, consistently with faithfulness.
  2. To limit, as far as possible, the expressions of such alterations to the language of the Authorized and earlier English versions.
  3. Each Company to go twice over the portion to be revised, once provisionally, the second time finally, and on principles of voting as hereinafter is provided.
  4. That the Text to be adopted be that for which the evidence is decidedly preponderating; and that when the Text so adopted differs from that from which the Authorized Version was made, the alteration be indicated in the margin.
  5. To make or retain no change in the Text on the second final revision by each Company, except *two-thirds* of those present approve of the same, but on the first revision to decide by simple majorities.
  6. Cases in which voting may be deferred.
  7. Headings of chapters, etc., to be revised.
  8. Permission to consult learned men, 'whether at home or abroad.'
IX. The work of each Company, on completion, to be communicated to the other, to secure, as far as possible, uniformity in language.
X. 1. 2. 3. 'Bye-rules' as to the mode of making corrections.

The invitation given in accordance with Resolutions VI. and VII. was declined by Canon F. C. Cook, Dr. J. H. Newman, Dr. Pusey, and Dr. W. Wright of the British Museum. The last-mentioned, however, subsequently joined the OT Company. Of those who accepted it, Dr. S. P. Tregelles was prevented by ill-health from joining in the work, while Professor M'Gill was removed by death in 1871. Dean Alford, one of the original members appointed by Convocation, died in the same year. Two other members of like standing, Dr. Chr. Wordsworth, Bishop of Lincoln, and Dr. Jebb, Dean of Hereford, resigned their seats at an early stage of the proceedings. Seven new members were chosen in their stead, of whom one, Dean Merivale, resigned in 1871. Others were added subsequently. The lists of members were accordingly as follows:—

MEMBERS OF THE OT REVISION COMPANY.†

The Rt. Rev. Connop Thirlwall, Bishop of St. Davids (Chairman till 1871).
The Rt. Rev. E. H. Browne, Bishop of Ely, afterwards of Winchester (Chairman from 1871).
The Rt. Rev. Chr. Wordsworth, Bishop of Lincoln.
The Rt. Rev. Lord Arthur C. Hervey, Bishop of Bath and Wells.
The Rt. Rev. Alfred Ollivant, Bishop of Llandaff.
The Very Rev. R. Payne Smith, Regius Professor of Divinity, Oxford; afterwards Dean of Canterbury.
The Ven. Benjamin Harrison, Archdeacon of Maidstone.
The Ven. H. J. Rose, Archdeacon of Bedford.
Dr. W. L. Alexander, Professor of Theology, Congregational Church Hall, Edinburgh.
Mr. R. L. Bensly, Fellow and Hebrew Lecturer of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.
The Rev. John Birrell, Professor of Oriental Languages, St. Andrews.
Dr. Frank Chance, Sydenham.
Mr. T. Chenery, Lord Almoner's Professor of Arabic, Oxford.
The Rev. T. K. Cheyne, Fellow and Hebrew Lecturer of Balliol College, Oxford; afterwards Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture, Oxford.
Dr. A. B. Davidson, Professor of Hebrew, Free Church College, Edinburgh.
Dr. B. Davies, Professor of Hebrew, Baptist College, Regent's Park, London.
Dr. George Douglas, Professor of Hebrew, and afterwards Principal of Free Church College, Glasgow.
Dr. S. R. Driver, Fellow and Tutor of New College, Oxford; afterwards Regius Professor of Hebrew, Oxford.
The Rev. C. J. Elliott, Vicar of Winkfield, Windsor.
Dr. P. Fairbairn, Principal of the Free Church College, Glasgow.
The Rev. F. Field, author of *Otium Norvicense*; editor of Origen's *Hexapla*.
The Rev. J. D. Geden, Professor of Hebrew, Wesleyan College, Didsbury.
Dr. C. D. Ginsburg, editor of *Ecclesiastes*, etc.
Dr. F. W. Gotch, Principal of the Baptist College, Bristol.
Dr. John Jebb, Dean of Hereford.
Dr. W. Kay, late Principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta.
The Rev. Stanley Leathes, Professor of Hebrew, King's College, London.
The Rev. J. R. Lumby, Fellow of St. Cath. Coll., afterwards Norrisian Professor of Divinity, Cambridge.
Dr. J. M'Gill, Professor of Oriental Languages, St. Andrews.
Dr. J. J. S. Perowne, Professor of Hebrew, St. David's College, Lampeter; afterwards Bishop of Worcester.
Dr. E. H. Plumptre, Professor of NT Exegesis, King's College, London.
The Rev. A. H. Sayce, Fellow and Tutor of Queen's College; afterwards Professor of Assyriology, Oxford.
Dr. W. Selwyn, Canon of Ely; Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity, Cambridge.
The Rev. W. Robertson Smith, Professor of Hebrew, Free Church College, Aberdeen; afterwards Lord Almoner's Professor of Arabic, and Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge.
Dr. D. H. Weir, Professor of Oriental Languages, Glasgow.
Dr. W. Wright, Professor of Arabic, Cambridge.
Mr. W. Aldis Wright, Librarian, afterwards Bursar, of Trinity College, Cambridge.

MEMBERS OF THE NT REVISION COMPANY.*

The Rt. Rev. C. J. Ellicott, Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol (Chairman).
The Rt. Rev. S. Wilberforce, Bishop of Winchester.
The Rt. Rev. G. Moberly, Bishop of Salisbury.
The Most Rev. R. C. Trench, Archbishop of Dublin.
The Rt. Rev. Charles Wordsworth, Bishop of St. Andrews.
The Very Rev. E. H. Bickersteth, Dean of Lichfield (Prolocutor of Lower House of Convocation).
The Very Rev. Henry Alford, Dean of Canterbury.
The Very Rev. A. P. Stanley, Dean of Westminster.
The Very Rev. Robert Scott, Dean of Rochester.
The Very Rev. J. W. Blakesley, Dean of Lincoln.
The Very Rev. Charles Merivale, Dean of Ely.
The Ven. William Lee, Archdeacon of Dublin.
The Ven. Edwin Palmer, Archdeacon of Oxford.
Dr. Joseph Angus, President of the Baptist College, Regent's Park, London.
Dr. David Brown, Principal of Free Church College, Aberdeen.
Dr. John Eadie, Professor of Biblical Literature in the United Presbyterian Church, Glasgow.
Dr. F. J. A. Hort, afterwards Hulsean Professor of Divinity, Cambridge.

---

* The names in Resolutions II., III., VI., VII. are included in the final lists given below.

† This and the following list are drawn up, in the main, from those prepared by Dr. Philip Schaff for his *Companion to the Gr. Test.* 1883. It will be noticed that the present list contains 37 names, Dr. Schaff's only 27. There is no real discrepancy. The difference of 10 is made up by including those who were removed by death or resignation during the progress of the work. If they had sat as members, for however short a time, it seemed fair to include them. The losses by death in the OT Company up to 1875, after which year no new names were added to the list, were 7, and by resignation 3. Under the former head come Bishop Thirlwall, Archdeacon Rose, Canon Selwyn, Principal Fairbairn, and Professors M'Gill, Weir, and Davies. Under the latter, Bp. Wordsworth, Canon Jebb, and Professor Plumptre.

* Dr. Schaff's list (exclusive of the Secretary, the Rev. John Troutbeck) contains 24 names; the present one, 28. The difference is accounted for by the presence or absence of the names of Bishop Wilberforce, Dean Alford, and Professor Eadie (removed by death), and of Dean Merivale (resigned).

The Rev. W. G. Humphry, Prebendary of St. Paul's.
Dr. B. H. Kennedy, Canon of Ely; Regius Professor of Greek, Cambridge.
Dr. J. B. Lightfoot, Hulsean Professor of Divinity, Cambridge; afterwards Bishop of Durham.
Dr. W. Milligan, Professor of Divinity, Aberdeen.
Dr. W. F. Moulton, afterwards Master of The Leys School, Cambridge.
Dr. S. Newth, Principal of New College, Hampstead.
Dr. Alexander Roberts, Professor of Humanity, St. Andrews.
Dr. F. H. A. Scrivener, afterwards Vicar of Hendon.
Dr. G. Vance Smith, afterwards Principal of the Presbyterian Coll., Carmarthen.
Dr. C. J. Vaughan, Master of the Temple; Dean of Llandaff.
Dr. B. F. Westcott, Canon of Peterborough; Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge; afterwards Bishop of Durham.

The two Companies, thus constituted, began their labours in June 1870. On the morning of June 22nd the members of the NT Revision Company met together in Henry VII.'s Chapel, to join in Holy Communion, as the best preparation for the work then to be begun. The OT Company first assembled for business on June 30th. One of the NT Revisers, Dr. Newth, has left us a minute and interesting description[*] of the mode of procedure observed in the Company to which he belonged. Much of what he says will apply equally to both Companies; but want of space forbids all but the briefest extracts. The place of meeting was the historic Jerusalem Chamber, placed at their disposal by Dean Stanley. Here, on four consecutive days of every month in the year, except August and September, the NT Revisers met. The session lasted from eleven to six, with half an hour's interval for lunch. The ordinary routine is thus described:—Preliminary matters over, 'the Chairman invites the Company to proceed with the revision, and reads a short passage as given in the AV. The question is then asked whether any *textual* changes are proposed; that is, any readings that differ from the Greek text as presented in the edition published by Robert Stephen in 1550. If any change is proposed, the evidence for and against is briefly stated, and the proposal considered. The duty of stating this evidence is, by tacit consent, devolved upon two members of the Company, who, from their previous studies, are specially entitled to speak with authority upon such questions—Dr. Scrivener and Dr. Hort. . . . After discussion, the vote of the Company is taken, and the proposed reading accepted or rejected.' The reading being thus settled, questions of rendering followed, and were dealt with in a similar way.

It is evident that, with such methods, progress would necessarily be slow. In fact, at the close of their ninth sitting the NT Company had finished the first revision of not more than 153 verses, or an average of 17 a day.[†] It was even proposed, for more expedition, to divide the Company into two sections; one beginning the Epistles, while the other proceeded with the Gospels. Fortunately, the proposal was negatived.

Meantime an event occurred which, while promising to make the work more thorough, seemed likely to render it still more protracted. This was the association with the English[‡] Revisers of two Companies of American biblical scholars. The arrangements were not completed till Dec. 7th, 1871, and work was not actually begun by the American contingent till Oct. 4th, 1872, after they had received from England the first revision of the Synoptic Gospels.[§] But there is evidence that such co-operation had been thought of, almost from the very first. 'On July 7th, 1870, it was moved in the Lower House of Convocation by the present Prolocutor (Lord Alwyne Compton) that the Upper House should be requested to instruct the Committee of Convocation to invite the co-operation of some American divines.' This was at once assented to by the Upper House.[*] Difficulties naturally arose, but were overcome by patience and tact, and by the good feeling displayed on both sides. A visit of Dr. Angus to New York in August 1870, and of Dr. Schaff to this country in the following year (when he was present, unofficially, at one of the meetings of the English NT Revision Company and observed their methods), helped to smooth the way. A representative Committee of American scholars and theologians was formed, with Dr. Schaff for President, and this resolved itself into two Companies, as follows:—

Old Testament Revision Company (American).

Dr. W. H. Green (Chairman), Theological Seminary, Princeton, N.J.
Dr. G. E. Day (Secretary), Divinity School of Yale College, New Haven, Conn.
Dr. C. A. Aiken, Theological Seminary, Princeton, N.J.
Dr. T. W. Chambers, Collegiate Reformed Dutch Church, N.Y.
Dr. T. J. Conant, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Dr. J. de Witt, Theological Seminary, New Brunswick, N.J.
Dr. G. E. Hare, Divinity School, Phila.
Dr. C. P. Krauth, Vice-Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, Phila.
Dr. T. Lewis, Professor Emeritus of Greek and Hebrew, Union College, Schenectady, N.Y. (d. 1877).
Dr. C. M. Mead, Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass.
Dr. H. Osgood, Theological Seminary, Rochester, N.Y.
Dr. J. Packard, Theological Seminary, Alexandria, Va.
Dr. C. E. Stowe, Hartford, Conn.
Dr. J. Strong, Theological Seminary, Madison, N.J.
Dr. C. V. A. Van Dyck, Beirût, Syria (consulting member on questions of Arabic).

New Testament Revision Company (American).

Dr. T. D. Woolsey, New Haven, Conn. (Chairman).
Dr. J. H. Thayer, Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass. (Secretary).
Dr. Ezra Abbot, Divinity School, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass
Dr. J. K. Burr, Trenton, New Jersey.
Dr. Thomas Chase, President of Haverford College, Pa.
Dr. Howard Crosby, Chancellor of New York University, N.Y.
Dr. Timothy Dwight, Divinity School, Yale College, New Haven, Conn.
Dr. H. B. Hackett, Theological Seminary, Rochester, N.Y. (d. 1876).
Dr. James Hadley, Professor of Greek, Yale College, New Haven (d. 1872).
Dr. Charles Hodge, Theological Seminary, Princeton, N.J. (d. 1878).
Dr. A. C. Kendrick, University of Rochester, N.Y.
The Rt. Rev. Alfred Lee, Bishop of the Diocese of Delaware.
Dr. M. B. Riddle, Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn.
Dr. Philip Schaff, Union Theological Seminary, N.Y.
Dr. Charles Short, Columbia College, N.Y.
Dr. E. A. Washburn, Calvary Church, N.Y. (d. Feb. 1881).

It will be noticed that four members of the above Company died before seeing the fruit of their labours, but not before they had each taken part, for a longer or shorter time, in the work. Two names are not included—those of Dr. G. R. Crooks of New York, and Dr. W. F. Warren of Boston—both of whom accepted the invitation to join the Company, but found themselves unable to attend. The place of meeting was the Bible House, New York. Owing to the start they had gained, the English Companies had finished the first revision of the Synoptic Gospels, and been twice over the Pentateuch, respectively, by the time their American brethren were ready to begin. The manner in which their fellow-work was then carried on is described in the Preface to the Revised NT.

> 'We transmitted to them from time to time,' say the English Revisers, 'each several portion of our First Revision, and received from them in return their criticisms and corrections. These we considered with much care and attention during the time we were engaged on our Second Revision. We then sent over to them the various portions of the Second Revision as they were completed, and received further suggestions, which, like the former, were closely and carefully considered. Last of

---

[*] *Lectures*, as before, p. 117 ff.

[†] *Ib.* p. 121.

[‡] The word 'English' is used in its widest sense.

[§] Schaff, as before, p. 391 ff. Dr. Schaff was himself the President of the American Committee.

[*] *Times*, May 20th, 1881, quoted by Schaff.

all, we forwarded to them the RV in its final form; and a list of those passages in which they desire to place on record their preference of other readings and renderings will be found at the end of the volume.'

The first revision of the entire NT occupied six years of labour; the second, about two years and a half. What was to some extent a third revision, together with various necessary details, prolonged the task of the English Company till Nov. 11th, 1880, 'on which day, at five o'clock in the afternoon, after ten years and five months of labour, the revision of the NT was brought to a close.'[*] The Preface bears that date. But further causes of delay intervened; and it was not till Tuesday, May 17th, 1881, for London, and Friday, May 20th, for New York, that the actual publication took place. The scene in each city on both those days—the congestion of streets in the booksellers' quarter, the stoppage of all other traffic, the night-and-day labours of the work-people employed—will not soon be forgotten by those who witnessed them. Dr. Schaff computes that at least three million copies of the Revised NT were sold, in this country and the United States together, within the first year of its publication.

Meantime the revision of the OT was advancing, on similar lines, but more slowly, from the greater extent of ground to be covered. The Revisers in this case were more conservative than their fellow-workers on the NT, and their version differs less in proportion from the Authorized than does the other. The Preface, dated July 10th, 1884, speaks of the revision of the OT as completed in eighty-five sessions, ending on June 20th, 1884, having occupied 792 days, usually of six hours each. The day of actual publication, May 19th, 1885, was marked by little of the excitement which attended the publication of the NT four years before. The Revised Bible, in its complete form, bore the title:—'The | Holy Bible | containing the | Old and New Testaments | Translated out of the Original Tongues | Being the Version set forth A.D. 1611 | Compared with the most ancient Authorities and Revised. | Printed for the Universities of | Oxford and Cambridge | Oxford [*or* Cambridge] | At the University Press | 1885.'

No mention has thus far been made of any revision of the Apocrypha. Such an extension of the work does not appear to have been contemplated by Convocation. That it was finally included in the scheme was a result of the negotiations about copyright. In the course of 1872 an agreement was entered into between the Committee of Convocation and the representatives of the University Presses of Oxford and Cambridge, by which the latter, on condition of acquiring the copyright of the RV, when completed, agreed to provide a sum sufficient to cover the bare cost of production, including the travelling expenses of members of the Companies; whose labour, in other respects, was a labour of love.[†] It was then for the first time stipulated by the University printers, that the Apocrypha should be included in the scheme of revision. This was assented to.

In pursuance of the compact thus made, it was arranged between the two English Companies of Revisers (the Americans not joining in this part of the work), that, as soon as the NT Company should have finished its task, it should resolve itself into three committees for the purpose of beginning the revision of the Apocrypha.[‡] These were to be called, in imitation of their predecessors of 1611, the London, Westminster, and Cambridge Committees. The first of the three had assigned to it the Book of Sirach; the second had 1 Mac., to which were afterwards added Tobit and Judith; the third was to take Wisdom and 2 Maccabees. The London Committee began work on May 11th, 1881, and finished the second and final revision of Sirach on May 25th, 1883. The Westminster Committee completed their second revision of 1 Mac. on Nov. 3rd, 1881, and the remainder of their task on Oct. 11th, 1882. The work of the Cambridge Committee lasted from the spring of 1881 to the summer of 1892. During this comparatively long interval space was found for giving the difficult Book of Wisdom a third revision.

The OT Revision Company having in the meantime (July 1884) come to the end of their own proper labours, passed a resolution, appointing six of their number a committee for revising the remaining books of the Apocrypha. Of these six, two were unable to take any part in the work; and Dr. Field, one of the OT Company, whose co-operation had been invited for the settlement of the text, died in April 1885. A small committee of four members—Professor Lumby, Professor Robertson Smith, Mr. Bensly, and Mr. W. Aldis Wright—had thus the task of revising what remained of the Apocrypha, comprising 1 and 2 Esdras, Ad. Esther, Baruch, Song of the Three Children, the History of Susanna, Bel and the Dragon, and the Prayer of Manasses. For one of these books (2 Esdras) they had the benefit of Bensly's careful reconstruction of the text, and were thus able to give a translation of the 'missing fragment' ($7^{36\text{-}105}$). In the other instances no critical settlement of the existing text was attempted. The revised Apocrypha was published early in 1895. It bore the title: 'The | Apocrypha | Translated out of the | Greek and Latin tongues | Being the Version set forth A.D. 1611 | Compared with the most ancient Authorities and | Revised A.D. 1894 | Printed for the Universities of | Oxford and Cambridge | Oxford [*or* Cambridge] | At the University Press | 1895.'

In endeavouring to form a just estimate of the merits of the RV, it will be convenient to take the component parts of it in the order in which they appeared. The NT, moreover, challenges our attention first, because of its surpassing importance, because the changes made in revising it were relatively much more numerous than in the case of the OT, and because the attack and defence were here the most strenuous. As was not unnatural, the strife grew fiercest about the form in which the Lord's Prayer was now set forth. In both its forms (Mt $6^{9\text{-}13}$, Lk $11^{2\text{-}4}$) alike it was now without the doxology. The form in Luke was much curtailed. For 'Our Father which art in heaven' it had simply 'Father.' It lacked altogether two petitions—'Thy will,' etc., and 'Deliver us from evil.' These changes were made on MS authority, believed to be the highest; and the clauses omitted were duly noted in the margin. So far, the Revisers were within their rights. But a further alteration of 'from evil' to 'from the evil one' could not be so easily defended. It was understood to have been accepted mainly through the influence of Bishop Lightfoot. A chief argument for the change, the alleged fact that ῥύσασθαι ἀπό, as distinguished from ῥύσασθαι ἐκ, denotes deliverance from a *person*, not a *state*, was controverted by other scholars; and we cannot but wish that, in this instance, the renderings in the text and margin could have changed places.[*]

---

[*] Newth, as before, p. 125.

[†] Westcott, *English Bible*, pp. 346, 347.

[‡] Preface to the *Apocrypha* in the RV, from which most of the particulars immediately following are taken.

[*] See, for an outline of the controversy, the Bishop of Durham's three letters in the *Guardian* of Sept. 7th, 14th, and 21st, 1881, reprinted in *A Fresh Revision of the NT*, 3rd ed. 1891, and Canon F. C. Cook's *A Second Letter to the Lord Bishop of London*, 1882.

Fault was also found with the change — the uncalled-for change, as it seemed to many—in the order of the words in the familiar Song of Simeon. What was gained, men would ask, by thus re-grouping the well-remembered lines—

> 'Now lettest thou thy servant depart, O Lord,
> According to thy word, in peace'?

A more perfect parallelism, it might be replied, and a closer adherence to the order of the original. But the further question might be pressed: How far is this latter quality essential to a good idiomatic translation?

More irritating, however, than such changes in important passages as we have noticed, were the incessant alterations in small particulars, which tripped up the reader at every turn.[*] One accustomed to 'Jesus stood on the shore,' in Jn 21^{4}, could not take kindly to 'Jesus stood on the *beach*,' even though assured that the rendering of αἰγιαλός was thus kept uniform. Nor would one who knew how deeply the phrase 'vials of wrath' was embedded in our language, fail to demur, if he read Rev 15, at having '*bowls* of the wrath of God' substituted for the familiar expression. The Revisers of 1611 and those of 1881 both equally admitted that no two words in different languages cover precisely the same ground. But from this common axiom they proceeded to opposite conclusions. The older translators felt justified by it in varying the rendering of the same word in the original. They even made a merit of doing so. 'We have not tied ourselves,' they say in their Preface, 'to an uniformity of phrasing or to an identity of words, as some peradventure would wish that we had done. . . . That we should express the same notion in the same particular word; as, for example, if we translate the Hebrew or Greek word once by *purpose*, never to call it *intent* . . . thus to mince the matter, we thought to savour more of curiosity than wisdom.'

The liberty thus claimed is freely used in the AV, and, it must be admitted, deserves at times rather to be called licence. The translation may gain in spirit and buoyancy, but at the cost of losing other qualities yet more precious. How much is lost, for instance, by the capricious alteration of 'destroy' to 'defile,' in 1 Co 3^{17}?—'If any man destroyeth the temple of God, him shall God destroy.' Nothing but the love of variety for its own sake could have prompted the double rendering of διαιρέσεις in 1 Co 12^{4-6} by 'differences' and 'diversities,' and of ἐνεργημάτων and its cognate verb by 'operations' and 'worketh.' Hardly less injurious to the sense, in many passages, is the converse fault of using the same English word to translate different words in the original. Thus 'light' serves as the equivalent of φῶς, φωστήρ (Ph 2^{15}), φωτισμός (2 Co 4^{4}), φέγγος (Lk 11^{33}), λύχνος (Mt 6^{22}); 'know' of οἶδα, γινώσκω, ἐπιγινώσκω, and ἐπίσταμαι. The Revisers of 1881 were fully alive to the difficulties placed in their way by this peculiarity of their predecessors' labour, and speak in their Preface of the principles on which they endeavoured to solve the problem thus presented to them. They discriminated, as far as possible, between 'varieties of rendering which were compatible with fidelity to the true meaning of the text' and 'varieties which involved inconsistency, and were suggestive of differences that had no existence in the Greek.' To the former class they professed themselves lenient. Some have thought that they would have acted more wisely if they had made this class more comprehensive, instead of sacrificing so much for a uniformity of rendering, not always attainable even by themselves.[*]

It may be well, as helping the reader to form a judgment for himself, to set down a short list of passages from the NT in which the rendering of the RV is generally admitted to be an improvement, followed by another of passages in which the changes made are considered by many to be for the worse.

(A) *Changes admitted to be for the better.*

AV 1611.	RV 1881.
Mt 12^{15} But when Jesus knew it [as if for a time he had not known it].	Mt 12^{15} And Jesus perceiving it.
Mk 4^{21} Is a candle brought to be put under a bushel . . . and not to be set on a candlestick?	Mk 4^{21} Is the lamp brought to be put under the bushel, . . . and not to be put on the stand?
Mk 4^{38} And he was in the hinder part of the ship, asleep on a pillow.	Mk 4^{38} And he himself was in the stern, asleep on the cushion.
Mk 7^{19} . . . purging all meats.	Mk 7^{19} *This he said,* making all meats clean [καθαρίζων, masc. in ℵ, A, B].
Mk 10^{42} exercise lordship over them.	Mk 10^{42} lord it over them.
Lk 23^{42} when thou comest into thy kingdom.	Lk 23^{42} when thou comest in thy kingdom.
Lk 24^{17} . . . as ye walk, and are sad?	Lk 24^{17} . . . as ye walk? And they stood still, looking sad.
Jn 4^{1} . . . made and baptized.	Jn 4^{1} . . . was making and baptizing.
Jn 21^{16} Feed my sheep.	Jn 21^{16} Tend my sheep.
Ac 23^{27} This man was taken of the Jews, and should have been killed of them: then came I with an army, and rescued him.	Ac 23^{27} This man was seized by the Jews, and was about to be slain of them, when I came upon them with the soldiers, and rescued him.
Ac 26^{28} Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian.	Ac 26^{28} With but little persuasion thou wouldest fain make me a Christian.
Ac 27^{40} And when they had taken up the anchors, they committed *themselves* unto the sea.	Ac 27^{40} And casting off the anchors, they left them in the sea.
1 Co 7^{28} . . . but I spare you.	1 Co 7^{28} . . . and I would spare you.
1 Co 9^{5} Have we not power to lead about a sister, a wife . . .?	1 Co 9^{5} Have we no right to lead about a wife that is a believer . . .?
Ph 4^{6} Be careful for nothing.	Ph 4^{6} In nothing be anxious.
2 Th 2^{1} . . . by the coming.	2 Th 2^{1} . . . touching the coming.
1 Ti 3^{13} . . . purchase to themselves a good degree.	1 Ti 3^{13} . . . gain to themselves a good standing.
1 Ti 6^{5} . . . supposing that gain is godliness.	1 Ti 6^{5} . . . supposing that godliness is a way of gain.
2 Ti 2^{26} . . . who are taken captive by him at his will [pronouns ambiguous].	2 Ti 2^{26} . . . having been taken captive by the Lord's servant unto the will of God [see also m.].
Tit 1^{12} The Cretians are alway liars, evil beasts, slow bellies.	Tit 1^{12} Cretans are alway liars, evil beasts, idle gluttons.
Ja 1^{25} . . . he being not a forgetful hearer, but a doer of the work.	Ja 1^{25} . . . being not a hearer that forgetteth, but a doer that worketh.

(B) *Changes not so admitted.*

AV 1611.	RV 1881.
Mt 5^{26} . . . till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing.	Mt 5^{26} till thou have paid the last[†] farthing.

---

[*] Professor Plumptre computes the number of variations in rendering from the AV of the NT to be more than 35,000. Others make them 36,000. See Canon Cook's *Second Letter*, p. 6 and n. Cook further estimates that the deviations from the Greek text of 1611 in that adopted by the Revisers exceed 5000. Edgar (*The Bibles of England*, 1889, p. 342) agrees, making the exact number 5002. The Greek text used by king James's translators, so far as it could be ascertained, was published at Cambridge by Scrivener, and had, as footnotes, the readings preferred by the Revisers. A similar work, but with converse arrangement of text and notes, was published at Oxford by Archdeacon Palmer. The calculation was thus made easy.

[*] See the examples of inconsistency in rendering in the RV collected by Edgar, p. 362. διδάσκαλος is 'teacher,' 'doctor,' 'master'; κύριος has four equivalents; παράκλησις and σπλάγχνα each five. Of course, some of these are AV renderings allowed to remain.

[†] Gr. ἔσχατον. A high authority, Dr. F. Field, himself one of the Revisers, characterizes this change as one 'than which no single verbal alteration has met with more general reprobation' (*Notes on the Translation of the NT*, 1899, Pref. p. xiv n.).

AV 1611.	RV 1881.
Mt 13^{32} . . . it is the greatest among herbs.	Mt 13^{32} . . . it is greater* than the herbs.
Mk 16^{2} . . . they came unto the sepulchre . . .	Mk 16^{2} . . . they come to the tomb . . .
Lk 5^{5} . . . we have toiled all the night, and have taken nothing.	Lk 5^{5} . . . we toiled all night, and took nothing.†
Jn 17^{2} . . . that he should give eternal life to as many as thou hast given him.	Jn 17^{2} . . . that whatsoever thou hast given him, to them he should give eternal life.
Ac 21^{37} Canst thou speak Greek?	Ac 21^{37} Dost thou know ‡ Greek?
Ac 27^{16} . . . we had much work to come by the boat.	Ac 27^{16} . . . we were able, with difficulty, to secure § the boat.
Ro 5^{7} Yet peradventure for a good man some would even dare to die.	Ro 5^{7} for ‖ peradventure for the good man some one would even dare to die.
Ro 5^{15} For if through the offence of one many be dead, much more the grace of God, and the gift by grace, which is by one man, Jesus Christ, hath abounded unto many.	Ro 5^{15} For if by the trespass of the one the many died, much more did the grace of God, and the gift by the grace of the one man, Jesus Christ, abound unto the many.
1 Co 5^{1} It is reported commonly . . .	1 Co 5^{1} It is actually ¶ reported . . .
2 Co 10^{2} . . . that I may not be bold when I am present with that confidence, wherewith I think to be bold against some, which think of us as if we walked according to the flesh.	2 Co 10^{2} . . . that I may not when present show courage with the confidence wherewith I count to be bold against some, which count of us as if we walked according to the flesh.
Gal 2^{16} Knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ.	Gal 2^{16} . . . knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the law, save [m. but only] through faith in Jesus Christ.**
Gal 3^{16} Now to Abraham . . . were the promises made.	Gal 3^{16} Now to Abraham were the promises spoken.
1 Ti 3^{2} A bishop . . .	1 Ti 3^{2} The bishop . . .
1 Ti 6^{10} For the love of money is the root of all evil.	1 Ti 6^{10} For the love of money is a root of all kinds of evil.††
He 11^{5} . . . for before his translation he had this testimony, that he pleased God.	He 11^{5} . . . for before his translation he hath had witness borne to him that he had been well-pleasing unto God.
He 12^{7} If ye endure chastening, God dealeth with you as with sons.	He 12^{7} It is for ‡‡ chastening that ye endure; God dealeth with you as with sons.
He 13^{5} Let your conversation §§ be without covetousness.	He 13^{5} Be ye free from the love of money.
Rev 19^{5} Praise our God, all ye his servants.	Rev 19^{5} Give praise to our God, all ye his servants.

The Revisers of the OT had a task before them in some respects more difficult, in others easier, than that which the NT Revisers had had to face. On the one hand, their subject was a much longer one; more varied in its contents, and hence requiring more diversified knowledge in those who dealt with it; beset, moreover, with greater obscurities, and not illustrated by the light shed from many quarters upon the NT. On the other hand, the confessed obscurity of many passages formed a justification of the Revisers' work; fewer persons were competent to criticise their work; and they had the advantage of an interval of four years after the appearance of the revised NT, in 1881, in which to profit by the verdict passed by public opinion upon the performance of their colleagues. Above all, they were not hampered by the constant necessity of deciding between rival texts of the original. Very wisely, we think, they came to the conclusion, as stated in their Preface, that 'as the state of knowledge on the subject is not at present such as to justify any attempt at an entire reconstruction of the text on the authority of the Versions, the Revisers have thought it most prudent to adopt the Massoretic Text as the basis of their work, and to depart from it, as the Authorized Translators had done, only in exceptional cases.'

Being carried out on the same lines as the revised NT, we find in the present work the same improvements in the arrangement of the English text: the grouping by paragraphs, the indication by spaces of a change of subject, the clearer marking of quotations, the system of parallelism adopted for poetical books and passages, and the like. As in the NT, the direction of Convocation is obeyed, that no change of reading be admitted into the English text if not approved, at the final revision, by a majority of at least two-thirds of the Revisers present. Hence it may often be the case that a particular reading in the margin is one which a majority—though not the requisite majority—of the Revisers would have wished to see inserted in the text. It is permissible to conjecture that an example may be found at the outset in Gn 1^{2}, where 'the spirit of God moved upon' is left undisturbed, but the margin offers the alternative rendering 'was brooding upon' (cf. Dt 32^{11}). As in the case of the NT also, another rule of Convocation is not observed—that, namely, which directed that the revision should extend to 'the headings of pages and chapters.' Both classes of headings have been omitted altogether; with the twofold advantage that space is gained, and the province of the commentator is not encroached upon.

In passing to the more important subject of the merits of the revised translation itself, the first question that will occur to many minds is, whether the changes made are proportionately as numerous as in the NT. Is there, in particular, so frequent an infringement of the rule laid down by the Committee of Convocation 'to introduce as few alterations as possible into the text of the AV, consistently with faithfulness'? The prevalent opinion is that there is not. But to give a decisive answer is less easy than might be supposed; partly from the extent of the ground to be covered, and partly from the fact that the language of the OT is in general less familiar to most persons than that of the NT.* Thus in Jon 4^{6} we had 'to deliver him from his grief'—a vigorous and appropriate expression at the time, although it may well be asked how many modern readers are acquainted with the old meaning of 'grief.' Instead of this, we now have 'to deliver him from his evil case'—a rendering which, while closer to the

---

* Query, used here as a superlative? μείζων is so used in Mt 18^{1} and elsewhere. The tendency of the superlative *form* of adjs. to disappear in NT Greek (noticed by Rutherford in the Pref. to his new translation of *Romans*, 1900) is illustrated by the fact that μέγιστος is only found once in the NT (2 P 1^{4}).

† Justified by RV on ground of aorist tenses.

‡ For the ellipse of λαλεῖν with Ελληνιστί, see Field, *in loc.*

§ 'Difficulty' not found in AV. 'Secure,' as a verb, only in Mt 28^{14} (ὑμᾶς ἀμερίμνους ποιήσομεν), where the Revisers have substituted 'rid you of care.' As a rendering of περικρατεῖς γενέσθαι in the present passage, 'secure' is inappropriate, unless (as is probable enough) the RV uses it as simply equivalent to 'get hold of.'

‖ The 'for' refers to a thought suppressed, by a common Gr. idiom. Rutherford thus supplies the ellipse: 'I say barely conceivable, not wholly inconceivable; for,' etc. As left in the text the words are scarcely intelligible.

¶ 'Actually' in this sense is a modernism.

** Burgon (*The Revision Revised*, p. 147) quotes Bp. Wordsworth of Lincoln as saying that the statement thus put forth, with 'save' instead of 'but,' or 'but only,' 'is illogical and erroneous, and contradicts the whole drift of St. Paul's argument in that Ep. and in the Ep. to the Romans.'

†† πάντων τῶν, not παντοίων, is 'all,' not 'all kinds of.' With ῥίζα, anarthrous as predicate, Field (*in loc.*) aptly compares (after Wetstein) Athen. vii. p. 280 A, ἀρχὴ καὶ ῥίζα παντος ἀγαθοῦ ἡ τῆς γαστρὸς ἡδονή.

‡‡ εἰς has undoubtedly better authority than εἰ. But, with this allowance, let the two versions be compared simply as English.

§§ Gr. ὁ τρόπος. 'Let your manners be without auarice' (Rhemish). It must be admitted, however, that the AV is very unintelligible here, or, if intelligible, gives a totally false sense to a modern reader.

* A writer in the *Church Quarterly Review* (Oct. 1885, pp. 190, 191) reckons that there are about 830 changes in Judges, 684 in Pss 1-41, 335 in Hosea, and 1389 in Job, 'the most difficult book in the OT.' In the *Edinburgh Review* of the same date, p. 483, similar results are obtained. The reviewer notes 2094 changes in the entire Book of Psalms, 1278 in Jer., 1550 in Ezekiel. On an average of nine books, the changes marked 'important' number about one-sixth of the whole. But it is obvious that opinions might differ widely as to what changes were important.

Hebrew,[*] lacks the spirit and force of the other. Objection has been taken, again, to the substitution of 'my provocation' for 'grief' in 1 S 1^{16}, where Hannah pleads: 'Out of the abundance of my complaint and grief [but is this the meaning of the Heb. כַּעַס ?] have I spoken hitherto.'

The OT Revisers made it a principle not to depart from the Massoretic Text save in 'exceptional cases.' One such case occurs in Jg 18^{30}, where are described the idolatries of the tribe of Dan, and the participation in them of Jonathan, the son of Gershom, the son—as we now read—of Moses. The AV in place of Moses has Manasseh. The explanation is simple. To save the great lawgiver from the reproach of having an idolatrous descendant, the Massoretes suggested a corruption of the text in the passage in question, by writing a 'suspended N' over and between the M and S in Moses, thus converting it, so far as the consonants are concerned, into Manasses.[†] The Revisers have rightly restored Moses, which is also the reading of the Vulgate.

To take another example. In Ps 24^{6} the AV reads: 'This is the generation of them that seek him, that seek thy face, O Jacob'; with the marginal variant, 'O God of Jacob.' All attempts to make sense of the former reading being, to say the least, far-fetched, the Revisers have wisely placed in their text that supplied by the margin; in which they have the support of the LXX, the Vulgate, and the Syriac.

The advantage gained by forsaking the received text for the ancient versions being in these and some other instances[‡] indisputable, it is perhaps to be regretted that the Revisers did not use the term 'exceptional' with a greater latitude of meaning. To have done so might have saved them at times from the necessity of encumbering their margin with variants (as in the case of Pss 2^{12} and 22^{16}), only perplexing the reader, and leaving him to reconcile conflicting renderings as best he can.

A word must be said in passing on the treatment of archaisms by the OT Revisers. The principle they lay down in their Preface appears at first sight to be a sound and consistent one. 'Where an archaic word or expression was liable to be misunderstood, or at least was not perfectly intelligible,' they have changed it for another. Where, 'although obsolete,' it 'was not unintelligible,' they have suffered it to stand. Thus, to take their own illustration, 'to ear' (1 S 8^{12}) and 'earing' (Gn 45^{6}) are replaced by 'to plow' and 'plowing,' as being now not only obsolete, but misleading. On the other hand, 'bolled' is retained in Ex 9^{31} ('the flax was bolled'), as the word is still occasionally met with in country parts, and has no English equivalent to express its meaning—that of 'podded for seed.' But, as often happens, a principle, good in itself, is here found to work imperfectly in practice; the reason in this case being, that words and phrases intelligible to one class of readers are unintelligible to another, and hence it is difficult to know where to draw the line. The result is at best a compromise. 'Artillery' is gone from 1 S 20^{40}; but 'bravery,' in the sense of adornments or beauty,[§] is retained in Is 3^{18}. Cain is now a 'wanderer,' not a 'vagabond'; the inlets of the shore, where Asher abode, are 'creeks,' not 'breaches'; the question of Achish (1 S 27^{10}) is made clear by the simple change of 'road' to 'raid.' But we still meet with 'occurrent' for 'occurrence' (1 K 5^{4}), 'chapmen' for 'traders' (2 Ch 9^{14}), 'sith' for 'since' (Ezk 35^{6}). In 1 S 17^{22} 'carriage' is properly changed to 'baggage,' as in Is 10^{28} and elsewhere; and in 2 K 23^{17} 'title' (from the Vulgate) is in like manner replaced by 'monument.'[*] Yet the house in which the leper king Azariah dies is still called a 'several,' instead of a 'separate,' house (2 K 15^{5}); and, yet more strangely, the Latinism 'desired' for 'regretted' is still found in the description of the death of Jehoram (2 Ch 21^{20}).

In spite, however, of defects and inconsistencies, of which only a very few specimens have been given, it is but just to the OT Revisers to admit that they have corrected many a faulty rendering, and by so doing have thrown light on a multitude of obscure passages. In 2 S 1^{18}, for instance, David's bidding '*the use of* the bow' to be taught to the children of Judah has always been felt to be out of place at the beginning of the dirge. By the simple change of *use* to *song*, as the word to be supplied, it is seen that the dirge itself, 'the song of the bow,' was the thing enjoined to be taught. The inconsequent statement in Is 10^{22}, 'though thy people Israel be as the sand of the sea, *yet* a remnant of them shall return,' is made logical by reading '*only*' for '*yet*'; both words being alike in italics. Much improved also is the rendering of the next verse. In the AV it stands: 'For the Lord God of hosts shall make a consumption, even determined. . . .' In the RV it is: 'For a consummation, and that determined, shall the Lord. . . .' 'The ships of Tarshish,' in the older rendering of Ezk 27^{25}, by a poetical but not very intelligible metaphor, 'did sing of thee in thy market.' Now, in simple prose it is: 'were thy caravans for thy merchandise.' In a very obscure passage, Hos 5^{2} 'the revolters are gone deep in making slaughter' can at least be understood, which is more than can be truly said of the earlier version: 'are profound to make slaughter.' Hab 1^{11} gains much in terseness, not to say fidelity, by the rendering 'whose might is his god,' in place of 'imputing this his power unto his god.' Other examples crowd upon the memory, but these will suffice.

As we try to view the work of the Revisers upon the two Testaments as a finished whole, the question inevitably arises: Is their work a failure or a success? Will the Bible, in the form in which they leave it to us, become the Bible of the English-speaking people, or will it be quietly laid aside, to be referred to occasionally as a useful commentary on the older version? Fortunately, we are spared the necessity of replying, as time alone can give the answer. We do not forget how slowly, for a long while, the AV itself won its way to general acceptance; and how the Psalter it contains has not even yet displaced the older version in the Book of Common Prayer.[†] Knowing as we do the long and unselfish labour bestowed by the Revisers upon their task, we cannot but sympathize with the aspirations with which their Prefaces close. But as it is a hazardous undertaking to attempt to restore—not renovate—an ancient building, so is it perilous to apply the touch of any but the most loving and cautious, as well as skilful, hands to the venerable structure of the Version of 1611. For its 'marvellous English,' to recall a familiar passage of F. W. Faber, 'lives on in the ear like a music that never can be forgotten. . . . Its felicities seem often to be almost things rather than mere words.' The makers of that version erred, no doubt, in many places. Small credit is ours, if, with the added knowledge of nearly three centuries, we can discern their faults. But great will be the praise of that scholar, or that band of scholars, who shall be judged to have removed the blemishes of their handiwork, without marring its beauties.[*]

---

[*] כֵּרָעָתוֹ, literally rendered in the LXX by ἀπὸ τῶν κακῶν αὐτοῦ.

[†] See Lord Arthur Hervey's note, *ad loc.*, in *The Speaker's Commentary*.

[‡] As Ps 16^{2}, Ps 22^{16}, 1 Ch 6^{28}. See the article in the *Church Quarterly Review*, before referred to, pp. 186, 187, where these passages are discussed.

[§] See the marginal reading of Is 4^{2}.

[*] The Hebrew word צִיּוּן, here so rendered, is translated 'sign' in Ezk 39^{15} (AV and RV), while in Jer 31^{21} its plural is 'waymarks.' See Edgar, as before, p. 319 n.

[†] See some remarks on this by Scrivener, *Authorized Edition*, p. 139. Professor Cheyne, who quotes the passage (*Expositor*, 3rd ser. vol. v. p. 304), justly urges in reply the claims of sense as against sound. But in a translation of poetical books both must be studied. As a passing illustration, let the reader call to mind two sentences from the older version of Ps $147^{9.18}$ 'Who giveth fodder unto the cattle,' and 'He bloweth with his wind and the waters flow'; and ask himself what has been gained by the alteration of these in the RV.

The revision of the *Apocrypha* was, as before said, an afterthought. It was simply a matter of agreement between the Revisers and the representatives of the University Presses of Oxford and Cambridge. Moreover, whilst, in the *Speaker's Commentary*, the Apocr., issued in 1888, was included under the general title of 'The Holy Bible,' the title-page of the revised edition of 1895 makes no such claim. The Preface ends simply with the unassuming hope 'that it will be found helpful to the student, and acceptable to the general reader of the Apocrypha.' This seems to make a few words desirable on the position held by the Apocrypha in our English Bibles.[†]

The first printed English Bible containing the Apocrypha was that of Miles Coverdale, 1535. In a short prologue, Coverdale describes these writings as 'The bokes and treatises which amonge the fathers of olde are not rekened to be of like authorite with the other bokes of the byble, nether are they founde in the Canon of the Hebrue.' After giving a list of them, which agrees in order with our own as far as the end of Sirach, the translator adds: 'Unto these also belongeth Baruc, whom we haue set amonge the prophetes next vnto Jeremy, because he was his scrybe and in his tyme.' He then explains that these books 'are not iudged amonge the doctours to be of like reputacion with the other scripture, as thou [good reader] mayest perceaue by S. Jerome *in epistola ad Paulinum.* And the chefe cause therof is this: there be many places in them, that seme to be repugnaunt vnto the open and manyfest trueth in the other bokes of the byble. Neuertheles, I haue not gathered them together to the intent that I wolde haue them despysed, or little sett by, or that I shulde think them false, for I am not able to proue it.'

The above 'gathering together' of the Apocryphal books into one place, while it might seem an appropriate bridging over of the interval between the Old and New Testaments, undoubtedly tended to make deeper and more sharply cut the line dividing the canonical from the uncanonical books, and to diminish the esteem in which the latter were held. So long as these were interspersed among the canonical, as in the Greek and Latin Bibles, it was natural that, in the popular mind, the two classes should be indiscriminately regarded as Scripture. Even Colet, in his *Ryght fruitfull Monicion*, cites or refers to Sirach more frequently than any other book; and later still, in the two Books of Homilies (1547 and 1563), we find passages from the Apocr. quoted as 'Scripture written by the Holy Ghost,' or as 'the Word of God.'[*] But, when the Apocryphal writings were grouped together by themselves, the thought easily suggested itself, to the Puritan at any rate, that they might be dispensed with altogether. It is said that some copies of the Genevan Bible of 1576 were issued without the Apocrypha.[†] In any case, the practice of printing Bibles not containing the Apocr. must have continued, for in 1615 it was judged of sufficient importance by Archbishop Abbot to be prohibited, under pain of one year's imprisonment. This prohibition was of little avail in arresting the course of public opinion. In 1643 Dr. John Lightfoot, when preaching before the House of Commons, complained of the privilege, curtailed as it was, still enjoyed by the Apocryphal writings. He speaks of them not as connecting, but as separating, the Old and New Testaments. 'Thus sweetly and nearly,' he exclaims, 'should the two Testaments join together, and thus divinely would they kiss each other, but that the wretched Apocrypha doth thrust in between.' 'Like the two cherubins in the temple oracle,' he continues, the Law and the Gospel would touch each other, 'did not this patchery of human invention divorce them asunder.'[‡]

But in fact the concessions made to the Puritan party at the Hampton Court Conference itself, with regard to the use of the Apocr. in the Lectionary of the Church, and the large excisions then agreed to,[§] furnish evidence enough, if any were still needed, of the diminished esteem into which the Apocryphal books were falling, and help to explain the comparative carelessness with which these books were revised in 1611. That the revision of the Apocr. then made shows signs of less care and deliberation than was bestowed upon the canonical books, is certain. The task was assigned to the second Cambridge Company, a body which comprised perhaps fewer scholars of eminence than any of the others. They were the first to finish their allotted share of the work. 'For the rest,' says Scrivener,[‖] 'they are contented to leave many a rendering of the Bishops' Bible as they found it, when nearly any change must have been for the better; even where their predecessor sets them a better example they resort to undignified, mean, almost vulgar words and phrases; and on the whole they convey to the reader's mind the painful impression of having disparaged the importance of their own work, or of having imperfectly realized the truth that what is worth doing at all is worth doing well.'

One peculiarity of the AV of the Apocr. could hardly fail to strike the reader, though it might not occur to him to ascribe it to its true cause—simple negligence. This is the scarcity of words in italics, or, in case of the early black-letter editions, in small Roman type. As first published, there were only fifty-four examples to be found in the whole Apocrypha. 'In fact only three instances occur at all later than Sir 45^4, after which [ ], or sometimes ( ), are substituted in their room.' *

---

[*] It will be instructive to note the progress made in a parallel revision movement—that concerned with the German Luther Bible. We are enabled to do this by a paper of Dr. Philip Schaff's in the *Expositor*, 3rd ser. vol. v. p. 468 ff. The work was begun, in 1863, by the Eisenach German Evangelical Church Conference, and the result of their labours appeared at Halle, in 1883, under the title: *Die Bibel, oder die ganze Heilige Schrift des Alten und Neuen Testaments nach der deutschen Uebersetzung D. Martin Luthers.* The revised NT had been already published separately. The Halle publication was regarded as a *Probe-bibel*, or specimen of what was proposed. The revision was carried out with extreme care, but in too conservative a spirit; as may be judged from the fact that, while the English revised NT contained some 36,000 changes, the German contained only 200. Failing to please either party—those who desired and those who deprecated change—'it was recommitted by the Eisenach Conference of 1886 for final action.' After being subjected to a second and more thoroughgoing revision, and kept back for the proverbial nine years, the Luther Bible was issued again at Halle in 1892. A Preface by Dr. O. Frick, Director of the v. Canstein Bible Society, gives an interesting account of the progress of the work, and the lines on which it had been carried out. Still more than in the English revision, the difficulty was how to steer judiciously between opposite extremes: to correct errors and remove archaisms, without needlessly disturbing the venerable 'rust' on Luther's handiwork; to keep in view the wants of school and congregation, while not forgetful of the more fastidious taste of scholars;—in short, to pacify alike those who would summarily recast the whole version, and those who would leave it altogether untouched—the large class of those whom Dr. Frick might have described as holding to the opinion of Magr. Petrus Lapp, in the *Epp. obscur. Virorum*: 'Sacra scriptura sufficienter est translata, et non indigemus aliis translationibus.'

Dr. Frick refers, for fuller information on the subject, to *Das Werk der Bibelrevision*, Halle, 1892. See also two articles by Dr. H. L. Strack in the *Expositor*, 3rd ser. ii. pp. 178–187; v. pp. 193–201; and Funck's *Beurteilung der rev. Ausgabe d. N.T. 1892*, . . . Cannstadt, 1896.

[†] For a fuller treatment of the subject, see the art. APOCRYPHA in vol. i., that by Bishop Ryle in Smith's *DB*, and Dr. Salmon's General Introduction to the Apocr. in the *Speaker's Commentary.*

[*] This was noticed by Pusey in his *Eirenicon.* See the *Church Quarterly Rev.*, Oct. 1888, p. 140. In the first part of the *Sermon of Swearing*, a quotation from Wisdom is introduced by the words: 'Almighty God by the wise man saith.'

[†] Churton, *Uncanonical and Apocr. Scripture*, Introd. p. 21.

[‡] Salmon, Gen. Introd. (*l.c.*) p. xxxvii.

[§] A full list of these is given in Perry, *Hist. of the Eng. Church*, i. pp. 105, 106.

[‖] *Authorized Edition*, p. 140. Scrivener notes that Dr. Robert Gell in his *Essay*, 1659, formed a like unfavourable opinion of the revision of the Apocr. in the AV.

It may be of service for forming a just estimate of the merits of the AV and RV respectively, so far as the Apocr. is concerned, to set down two or three short extracts, taken almost at random from the Bishops' Bible, and notice some of the changes made in the revisions of 1611 and 1895. The copy of the Bishops' Bible used is one of the 2nd ed. of 1572. The first passage taken shall be from the description of a friend in Sir 6. And here we are struck at the outset by the advantage the later Revisers have gained in recognizing, by a system of parallelisms, the poetical character of the book. The same remark applies to Wisdom. This in turn suggests the question: why, if the principle of stichometry was admitted in the case of the Sapiential books, it should have been ignored in other parts of the Apocrypha. Why should it not have been applied to portions, at least, of Baruch, to the psalmic Prayer of Manasses, and to the Song of the Three Children? The result, as we have it, seems to point to a want of uniformity of plan.

SIRACH 6 (*Bishops' Bible*, 1572).

6 Holde frendship with many, neuerthelesse haue but one counseller of a thousande.

7 If thou gettest a freende, prooue him first, and be not hasty to geue hym credence.

8 For somme man is a freende but for his owne turne, and wyl not abide in the day of trouble.

9 And there is somme freende that turneth to enmitie, and taketh part agaynst thee: and yf he knoweth any hurt by thee, he telleth it out.

10 Agayne, somme freende is but a companion at the table, and in the day of neede he continueth not.

11 But in thy prosperitie he wyl be as thou thee selfe, and deale plainely with thy householde folke.

12 If thou be brought lowe, he will be agaynst thee, and wyl be hydden from thy face.

Here, in v.^{6}, for 'Holde frendship,' etc., the AV has, more literally, 'Be in peace with many'; the RV, still more exactly, 'Let those that are at peace with thee be many'—*οἱ εἰρηνεύοντές σοι ἔστωσαν πολλοί*. In v.^{7}, for 'If thou gettest' (Coverdale and Bish.) the AV and RV needlessly, 'If thou wouldest get.' It is exactly 'If thou art getting' (or 'acquiring'), *εἰ κτᾶσαι*. For 'to geue hym credence' (so, too, Cov.), the AV, not so well, 'to credit him.' The RV, more simply, 'to trust him.' In v.^{8}, for the cumbrous 'somme man is,' etc., retained by the AV, the RV has, more neatly, 'there is a friend that is so for,' etc. Not to delay over lesser matters, a more important question is, What is the friend referred to in vv.$^{11.12}$? Is it a faithful friend (so the Lat. 'Amicus si permanserit fixus,' followed by Coverdale, 'But a sure frende,' etc.), or is it the time-server of v.^{10}? The Bish. and AV are undoubtedly right in taking the latter view, but obscure the sense by beginning v.^{11} with 'But' instead of 'And.' The RV makes the meaning clear—

> 'And in thy prosperity he will be as thyself,
> And will be bold over thy servants:
> If thou shalt be brought low, he will be against thee,
> And will hide himself from thy face.'

'Be bold over' is not a happy rendering of *παρρησιάσεται ἐπί*, 'will be plain-spoken with.'

SUS 52 (*Bishops' Bible, agreeing with Coverdale*).

'When they were put asunder one from another, he called one of them, and sayd vnto hym, O thou olde cankarde earle, that haste vsed thy wickednesse so long, thyne vngratious deedes whiche thou haste donne afore, are now comme to lyght.'

In this passage the interest centres on the vigorous paraphrase ('O thou . . . long') of *πεπαλαιωμένε ἡμερῶν κακῶν*. The AV has the less forcible but terser rendering, 'O thou that art waxen old in wickedness,' and this is retained in the RV. At the same time it should be observed that *παλαιοῦσθαι* is not a mere synonym of *γηράσκειν* (cf. He 8^{13}), but involves the notion of becoming stale, decrepit, worn out (Lk 12^{33}). Nor is 'wickedness' quite adequate as a translation of *ἡμερῶν κακῶν*. On the other hand, the rendering in the RV of *ἥκασι* by 'are come home to thee' is excellent.

WIS 7$^{22-25}$ (*Bishops' Bible, here differing much from Cov.*).

22 For Wisdome, whiche is the woorker of al thinges, hath taught me: for in her is the spirite of vnderstandyng, whiche is holy, one only, manifolde, subtile, quicke, moouing (marg. *or* liuely), vndefiled, plaine, sweete, louyng the thing that is good, sharpe, whiche can not be letted, dooing good.

23 Kinde to man, stedfast, sure, free from care, hauyng al vertues (marg. *or* power), circumspect in (marg. *or* hauyng regard of) al thynges, and passing through al vnderstandyng, cleane and subtile spirits.

24 For wisedome is nimbler than al nimble thinges, she goeth through and atteyneth to al thinges, because of her cleannesse.

25 For she is the breath of the power of God, and a pure influence flowyng from the glory of the almyghty [God]; therefore can no defiled thing comme vnto her.

The spirit of Divine Wisdom is here described by a string of epithets, numbering in the Greek text twenty-one (7×3). The rendering of the AV is a great improvement on that of the earlier versions. In the RV, where further changes are made, there is a slight tendency to diffuseness. Thus *νοερόν*, 'intelligent' ('understanding,' AV), becomes 'quick of understanding'; *εὐκίνητον*, 'mobile' ('lively,' AV, with which compare the double sense of 'quick'), becomes 'freely moving'; *τρανόν*, 'penetrating,' 'distinct' ('clear,' AV), becomes 'clear in utterance,' as if to harmonize with the Lat. 'disertus.' The rendering of *μονογενές* by 'alone in kind' also seems doubtful. On the other hand, 'unhindered' is a terser rendering of *ἀκώλυτον* than 'which cannot be letted' (AV): and there are several others of this type.

One of the minor defects pointed out in the RV of the Apocr. is a want of consistency in the spelling of proper names. The Revisers, in their Preface, show themselves aware of this, and plead in mitigation the difficulty of securing 'uniformity of plan in the work of the four committees.' But the fault lies deeper. Inconsistencies are met with in the same verse. Thus in 2 Es 2^{18}, where the AV had consistently 'Esay and Jeremy,' the former is altered to 'Esaias' in the RV, while the latter is left untouched. In 1^{40} of the same book, one solitary change is made in a string of proper names—that of 'Aggeus' to 'Aggæus'; and this is left betwixt such incongruous forms as 'Nahum and Abacuc, Sophonias, . . . Zachary and Malachy.' In Jth 8^1 'Elcia,' as it is in the AV, is altered to 'Elkiah,' which represents neither the Hebrew form of the word (חִלְקִיָּה Ḥilḳiah), nor the Greek (Ἑλκειά), nor the Latin (Elai).

More serious is the charge brought against the Revisers of neglecting the help which the Oriental Versions were capable of affording them.* For example, in Sir 25^{15} they are content to reproduce the meaningless rendering of the AV, 'There is no head above the head of a serpent,' without any hint of a better sense being procurable. Yet help is not far to seek. The Syriac version, as Edersheim points out, is literally 'there is not a head *more bitter* than the head of a serpent.' And this at once suggests—what Bissell and others had already perceived—that the Hebrew word, here rendered κεφαλή, 'head,' in the Greek, was probably ראשׁ, which in Dt 32^{33} and elsewhere denotes 'venom.' The meaning then becomes simple and natural, 'There is no poison above (more virulent than) the poison of a serpent.'

Or, again, take Sir 51^{10} 'I called upon the Lord, the Father of my Lord.' If the words had been written from a Christian point of view, they would have been unexceptionable. But such was not the point of view of Jesus Ben Sirach. 'The Syriac shows us,' writes Edersheim, 'that the original text signified, 'unto the Lord, my father, O Lord.'

It is but fair to add that, in two at least of the books, Wisdom and 2 Esdras, the Versions have been freely resorted to, and with happy effect. In 2 Esdras, more particularly, the Greek original of which is not extant, many passages have been corrected through this means. A single chapter will furnish sufficient instances. In 2 Es 3^{18} the AV has 'thou didst set fast the earth,' which does not suit the context. The verb in the Arabic version is rendered by Gildemeister *concussisti*, which justifies the translation of the RV, 'Thou . . . didst shake the earth' (as if ἔσεισας had been corrupted to ἔστησας). In v.^{34} is a singular diversity of rendering: 'and so shall thy name nowhere be found but in Israel' (AV); 'and so shall it be found which way the scale inclineth' (RV). The Arabic again bears out the RV. In the Latin, as Hilgenfeld suggested, *momentum* may have got perverted to *nomen tuum*. Other examples will be found in vv.$^{21. 28. 30}$ of this same chapter. But, on the whole, the Oriental Versions might have been consulted with profit to a much greater extent than they appear to have been.

---

* Scrivener, *ib.* p. 72. Some have thought that in the RV the use of italics is overdone. See the point raised in the *JQR*, vol. viii. (1895–96), pp. 322, 323, where 'a *Greek* place of exercise' is censured as the rendering of *γυμνάσιον* in 2 Mac 4$^{9.12}$. In Sir 22^3 (wrongly cited as 12^3) 'a *foolish* daughter is born to his loss,' the reviewer shows good cause for omitting *foolish*. But it is justified by the parallelism of the passage.

* In an able review of the revised Apocr., which appeared in the *Times* of Nov. 19, 1895, this charge is pressed home.

There are a few instances of conjectural emendation of the text, one or two of which deserve mention. One of the most felicitous is noted in the margin of 2 Mac 7^{36}. By the slight change of πεπτώκασι to πεπώκασι the construction is simplified, and the sense altered from 'having endured a short pain that bringeth everlasting life, have now died under God's covenant,' to 'having endured a short pain, have now drunk of everflowing life under God's covenant.' Another, the merit of which is assigned to Dr. Hort,* is admitted to the text of 2 Mac 4^{4}. It consists in reading Μενεσθέως, '*son* of Menestheus' (as in v.^{21}) for the inappropriate μαίνεσθαι ἕως (or rather, ὡς), 'did rage as,' etc. In 2 Es 1^{38} the Revisers give 'O father' (*pater*, Cod. S) in place of 'brother' (AV). But neither is suitable, the speaker being God. Bensly suggested that the true reading in the Greek might have been περίβλεψον, *circumspice*, and that the contracted form of περί had got mistaken for one of πάτερ. But this conjecture, though ingenious, was not acted upon.†

Subjoined are some examples of changes of rendering made by the Revisers, which have met with approval, or the reverse:—

(A) *Changes generally approved.*

AV 1611.	RV 1895.
1 Es 1^{38} And he bound Joacim and the nobles.	1 Es 1^{38} And Joakim bound the nobles.
1 Es 4^{21} He sticketh not to spend his life with his wife.	1 Es 4^{21} And with his wife he endeth his days.
2 Es 14^{42} and they wrote the wonderful visions of the night that were told, which they knew not.	2 Es 14^{42} and they wrote by course the things that were told them, in characters which they knew not.‡
Jth 3^{9} near unto Judea (m. or *Dotea*).	Jth 3^{9} nigh unto Dotæa [*i.e.* Dothan].
Ad. Est 13^{5} differing in the strange manner of their laws.	Ad. Est 13^{5} following perversely a life which is strange to our laws.§
Wis 1^{4} the body that is subject unto sin.	Wis 1^{4} a body that is held in pledge‖ by sin.
Wis 7^{3} and fell upon the earth, which is of like nature.	Wis 7^{3} and fell upon the kindred earth (ὁμοιοπαθῆ . . . γῆν).
Wis 17^{18} a pleasing fall of water running violently.	Wis 17^{18} a measured fall, etc.¶
Sir 15^{15} If thou wilt, to keep the commandments, and to perform acceptable faithfulness.	Sir 15^{15} If thou wilt, thou shalt keep the commandments; And to perform faithfulness is of *thine own* good pleasure.**
Sir 22^{11} make little weeping for the dead, for he is at rest.	Sir 22^{11} weep more sweetly for the dead, because he hath found rest.*
Bar 5^{6} God bringeth them unto thee exalted with glory, as children of the kingdom.	Bar 5^{6} God bringeth them in unto thee borne on high with glory, as *on* a royal throne.†
Pr. Man ^{1} O Lord, Almighty God of . . . etc.	Pr. Man ^{1} O Lord Almighty . . . thou God of, etc.
1 Mac 2^{21} God forbid . . .	1 Mac 2^{21} Heaven forbid . . .‡
1 Mac 11^{63} purposing to remove him out of the country.	1 Mac 11^{63} purposing to remove him from his office.§
2 Mac 4^{9} to write them of Jerusalem *by the name of* Antiochians.	2 Mac 4^{9} to register the inhabitants of Jerusalem as *citizens* of Antioch.‖
2 Mac 8^{20} the battle that they had in Babylon with the Galatians.	2 Mac 8^{20} the *help given* in the land of Babylon, even the battle that was fought against the Gauls.¶

(B) *Changes not so approved, or not made where needed.*

AV 1611.	RV 1895.
1 Es 4^{39} With her there is no accepting of persons or rewards.	1 Es 4^{39} (the same).**
Jth 16^{11} Then my afflicted shouted for joy, and my weak ones cried aloud; but they (m. *the Assyrians*) were astonished: these lifted up their voices, but they were overthrown.	Jth 16^{11} Then my lowly ones shouted aloud, And my weak ones were terrified and crouched for fear: They lifted up their voice, and they were turned to flight.††
Wis 8^{7} she teacheth temperance and prudence, justice and fortitude.	Wis 8^{7} she teacheth soberness and understanding, righteousness and courage.‡‡
Wis 11^{15} being deceived they worshipped serpents void of reason, and vile beasts.	Wis 11^{15} they were led astray to worship irrational reptiles and wretched vermin. §§
Sir 6^{2} that thy soul be not torn in pieces as a bull [straying alone].	Sir 6^{2} that thy soul be not torn in pieces as a bull.‖‖
Sir 24^{14} I was exalted like a palm tree in En-gaddi.	Sir 24^{14} I was exalted like a palm tree on the sea shore.¶¶

---

* *London Quarterly Rev.*, April 1896, p. 6.

† On the value of Mr. R. L. Bensly's assistance in this section of the work, and the facts connected with his discovery of the 'missing fragment' of 2 Esdras, see a full and discriminating review of the revised Apocr. in the *Guardian* of 24th Dec. 1895.

‡ The RV translates the text adopted by Bensly (*Fourth Book of Ezra*, 1896), in which, *ex successione*, the reading of Cod. C. displaces the meaningless *excessiones* of the Latin. The correction of *noctis* to *notis* is borne out by the Eastern versions.

§ Gr. διαγωγὴν νόμων ξενίζουσαν παραλλάσσον.

‖ κατάχρεω, *oppignerato*.

¶ ῥυθμὸς ὕδατος πορευομένου βίᾳ. But is 'fall' a necessary part of the idea? The context seems to point to ῥυθμός being 'the measured *sound*' or cadence.

** The construction of the second clause in the Greek—καὶ πίστιν ποιῆσαι εὐδοκίας—is disputed.

* ἥδιον κλαῦσον κ.τ.λ., *Modicum plora* (Lat.).

† ὡς θρόνον βασιλείας. For θρόνον some MSS read υἱούς (*filios*, Lat.), followed by the AV.

‡ As the Revisers note in their Preface, the words 'God' and 'the Lord' never occur in the best Greek text of 1 Maccabees. See the point fully discussed in Fairweather and Black's ed. of 1 Mac. (*Camb. Bible*), 1897, Introd. p. 46.

§ χρείας, 'office,' is a better supported reading than χώρας, 'country,' which has very little authority.

‖ Ἀντιοχεῖς ἀναγράψαι. The rendering of the AV throughout this passage needs emending in several points. Thus δι' ἐντεύξεως (v.^{8}) is translated 'by intercession,'—a meaning which the word bears in 1 Ti 2^{1}, but inappropriate here. *Data per congressum occasione* is Wahl's explanation.

¶ It is with some hesitation that this passage is placed among the improved renderings. As to the construction, the words τὴν ἐν τῇ B. should probably be connected, not with ἀντίληψιν, but with the following παράταξιν. The reading of several MSS, τὴν ἐν τῇ B. πρὸς τοὺς Γαλάτας γενομένην παράταξιν, supports this view. The marg. note, 'Gr. *Galatians*,' appended to 'Gauls,' is confusing. Γάλαται may mean Galatians; but, like Κέλται, it may also mean Gauls. The question is, which does it mean here? See Bissell's note on 1 Mac 8^{2}.

** The Gr. says nothing about rewards: οὐκ ἔστι παρ' αὐτῇ . . . διαφορά. Truth '*indifferently* ministers justice.'—Other passages in this book, where the rendering of the AV needs correction, are 2^{20} 'are now in hand' (ἐνεργεῖται, 'are being pushed on'), and 8^{91} 'children' (νεάνιαι, 'youths').

†† The sense is obscured by this rendering. The fault is due (as was pointed out by a reviewer in the *Times*, before quoted) to the true parallelism not being observed. When properly arranged, the first two clauses refer to the Israelites, the last two to their enemies—

> Then my lowly ones raised their battle-cry (ἠλάλαξαν),
> And my weak ones gave a shout (ἐβόησαν, not ἐφοβήθησαν);
> And they (the Assyrians) were affrighted,
> They lifted up their voice (in fear) and were overthrown

‡‡ The names of the four cardinal virtues, needlessly altered.

§§ ἄλογα ἑρπετὰ καὶ κνώδαλα εὐτελῆ.—If 'creeping things' be substituted for 'serpents,' the rendering of this clause in the AV may perhaps be judged preferable.

‖‖ The simile has no meaning. The Lat. couples *velut taurus* with *Non te extollas*, etc., preceding, and thus makes sense; but the reading differs widely from the Greek. Mr. Ball (*Variorum Apocrypha*, in loc.) suggests 'as by a bull'; comparing, for the construction, the LXX of Is 5^{17} and Jer 50^{11}.

¶¶ The Vatican MS has ἐν αἰγιαλοῖς 'on beaches,' which the Revisers follow. But, as Edersheim pertinently remarks, 'palms are not supposed to attain any special height by the sea shore'; whereas En-gedi of the Amorites, as its other name Hazazon-tamar shows, was noted for its palm trees. The Cod. Sinait., by second-hand, has εν ενγαδδοις; the Lat. *in Cades*; the Arabic 'at the fountain of Gad.' Hence the AV is most probably right. Kautzsch (*Apok. u. Pseud.*, 1900) accepts *Engeddi*.

AV 1611.	RV 1895.
Sir 24^{27} He maketh the doctrine of knowledge appear as the light.	Sir 24^{27} That maketh instruction to shine forth as the light.[*]
Sus ^{45} a young youth.	Sus ^{45} (the same).[†]
1 Mac 3^{48} And laid open the book of the law, wherein the heathen had sought to paint the likeness of their images.	1 Mac 3^{48} and laid . . . concerning which the Gentiles were wont to inquire, seeking the likenesses of their idols.[‡]
1 Mac 6^{43} and supposing that the king was upon him.	1 Mac 6^{43} and the king seemed[§] to be upon him.
1 Mac 6^{62} Then the king entered . . . but when he saw . . . he brake, etc.	1 Mac 6^{62} And the king entered . . . and he saw . . . and set at nought . . . and gave . . .[‖]

On the whole, a study of the RV of the Apocr. cannot fail to make us aware of the great amount of work still to be done before such a translation as we desire to see can be produced: work in settling the text, in harmonizing proper names, in elucidating obscure passages.[¶] But it cannot fail to make us conscious also of the vast amount of work done. That there are inequalities in the workmanship none will deny. Wisdom is better done than Sirach, 2 Mac. than 1 Maccabees. But let the fair-minded reader take any of these books, and compare carefully the rendering of a few consecutive chapters in them with that in the AV. He will meet, no doubt, with changes that he demurs to as uncalled for or even wrong. He will be perplexed, on the other hand, by the seeming neglect of alterations, where he had thought them necessary. But for one such case he will find a score, in which the new version is an improvement upon the old, in point of exactness, or finish, or consistency of diction. The Revisers have at any rate thrown down the gage, and may now say to their critics: *Si non placebit, reperitote rectius.*

x. THE 'AMERICAN REVISED' VERSION,[**] 1900 and 1901.—With the completion of their work in 1885, the English members of the joint Revision Company regarded their corporate existence as at an end. The American members retained their organization. In assigning the copyright to the two University Presses, it had been stipulated that for fourteen years every copy issued from those presses should contain in an appendix the readings preferred by the Americans; and that the latter, for their part, should give their sanction to no other version for the same number of years. It became evident, however, as time went on, that the American Revisers would not be content with a version in which the renderings they preferred were permanently consigned to an appendix. Accordingly they continued their labours, it might almost be said without interruption from 1885; and the result has been a fresh recension of the RV of the NT in 1900, and of the whole Bible in 1901.

The book is well printed by Thomas Nelson & Sons, of New York. Each page has two columns. The space running down the middle of each is occupied by marginal references. Various readings printed in italics are grouped at the foot of each column, or in the side margins, according to the size of the book. Along the top of each page runs a headline summarizing the contents of that page. The Apocryphal books are not included. The titles present several noticeable variations from the customary form. The NT title-page begins: 'The New Covenant, commonly called The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour,' but the title of the whole Bible (there being no separate title of the OT) does not exhibit the word 'covenant.' 'S.' for Saint is not prefixed to the names of the writers of the NT. 'The Acts' is the sole title of the historical book; The Epistle to the Hebrews bears no author's name; the term 'general' is discontinued before the Catholic Epistles; and the last book is simply 'The Revelation of John.'

In their Preface the translators indicate with clearness the ends they chiefly desire to attain. The principal of these are: that the name 'Jehovah' be inserted, wherever it occurs in the Hebrew, instead of 'LORD' or 'God,' which had hitherto taken its place. That 'Sheol' in the OT and 'Hades' in the NT be used to express that unseen world which had been imperfectly or inconsistently denoted by 'the grave,' 'the pit,' 'Gehenna.' Throughout the NT they would replace 'Holy Ghost' by 'Holy Spirit.' The translators desire to bring the diction as much as possible into harmony with that in use at the present time. To this end they would always write 'who' for 'which,' when referring to persons; 'are' for 'be,' in using the indicative; and so on in many other instances.

It is obvious that in this last respect consistency cannot be ensured at once; and fault will no doubt be found with the new revision on the ground of want of uniformity.

To advert for a moment to the special objects first spoken of as desirable, there can be little doubt that the restoration of the name 'Jehovah' will be a gain, wherever special stress is laid on it as that of the God of the Hebrews, as in Ex $3^{14.\ 15}$. But in many other passages, notably in the Psalms, the frequent repetition of the name cannot but be felt a burden—a result which was avoided under the old system by the use of two short but impressive words, 'Lord' and 'God.'[*]

Whether the words 'Sheol' and 'Hades,' one or both, will ever become naturalized in the English Bible is not easy to forecast. We have assimilated 'Sabbath' and 'Pentecost,' and many more such terms. Why, it may be asked, not these also? Experience alone can decide.

So in the case of 'Holy Spirit' and 'Holy Ghost.' There can be no question about the intrinsic merit of the former. The one great objection to making the change is that 'Holy Ghost' has become so deeply embedded in the creeds and formularies of the Church that it would be difficult to displace it. This holds good of the American Church as well as of our own.

---

[*] A comparison of vv.$^{25\cdot 27}$ shows that the similes are taken from rivers:—Pishon and Tigris, Euphrates and Jordan, *x* and Gihon. Hence, from considerations of symmetry, *x* should represent, not 'light,' or anything of the kind, but the name of a river. Edersheim thinks that the Greek translator had כָּאֹר before him, which in Am 8^8 and elsewhere means not 'as the light,' but 'as the river' (*i.e.* the Nile), as if כַּיְאֹר; and that he wrongly took the former rendering.—See the review in the *London Quarterly*, before cited, p. 7.

[†] Gr. παιδαρίου νεωτέρου, 'a young lad' (Bissell). Cf. Jn 6^9.

[‡] The RV follows the best-supported reading of the Greek. But Fritzsche, on the authority of some cursives, with the Complut. and the Aldine of 1518, inserts τοῦ ἐπιγράφειν ἐπ' αὐτῶν before τὰ ὁμοιώματα. Such a mode of desecrating the sacred books would be intelligible. Other explanations may be seen in Bissell. All that is here contended for is, that the RV takes no account of the plural in περὶ ὧν, makes ἐξηρεύνων do double duty for 'were wont to inquire, seeking,' and gives a very obscure sense.

[§] The AV appears to have followed the reading of some cursives, ᾠήθη, 'he (Eleazar) supposed.' The RV adopts the common reading ὤφθη, better taken impersonally (see Grimm), 'it seemed that,' just as in the Lat., 'et visum est ei quod . . .'

[‖] This is cited as an instance of the principle, very closely observed throughout this book, of *paralaxis*, or co-ordination, as distinguished from subordination, of clauses. By retaining this peculiarity, the Revisers have reproduced more exactly the form of the original, but at the cost of sacrificing English idiom.

[¶] A help towards this has been gained by the introduction, in 1898, of marginal references throughout the RV.

[**] 'The | Holy Bible | containing the | Old and New Testaments | translated out of the original tongues | being the version set forth A.D. 1611 | compared with the most ancient authorities and revised | A.D. 1881-1885 | newly Edited by the American Revision Committee | A.D. 1901 | Standard Edition | New York | Thomas Nelson & Sons.' |

[*] In Pss 1-41 the name 'Jehovah' occurs 272 times, and in Pss 90-150 it occurs 339 times (see Kirkpatrick, *Psalms*, Introduction, p. 55).

It will perhaps be most serviceable to the reader to set down a few passages in which the new recension may be instructively compared with its immediate predecessor. It will be noticed in how many instances the American Version reverts to that of 1611.

Ec 12[5] 'desire shall fail' (Am. RV); 'the caper-berry shall fail' (RV). This would not be intelligible without the help of a commentator. It is explained that caper-berries were eaten before meals to give a whet to the appetite. If they failed to do so, it might be a sign of the coming on of old age.

Dt 32[14] 'with the finest of the wheat' (Am. RV); 'with the fat of kidneys of wheat' (RV, retaining the Hebrew figure of speech, by which the choicest parts of an animal for sacrifice were taken to express what was finest in other objects. See Ex 29[13]).*

Zec 4[14] 'these are the two anointed ones' (Am. RV); 'the two sons of oil' (RV, retaining the Hebraism in its unmodified form).

Jer 17[9] 'The heart is . . . exceedingly corrupt' (Am. RV); 'the heart is . . . desperately sick' (RV).

Jg 5[12] 'lead away thy captives' (Am. RV); 'lead thy captivity captive' (RV).

Pr 13[15] 'the way of the transgressor is hard' (Am. RV); 'the way of the treacherous is rugged' (RV).

Ac 17[22] 'Ye men of Athens, in all things I perceive that ye are very religious' (Am. RV); 'somewhat superstitious' (RV). It is noticeable how the influence of the Vulgate has drawn all the English Versions, down to the AV inclusive, into rendering δεισιδαιμονεστέρους by some form of 'superstitious.' But it is certain that St. Paul would not have raised a prejudice against himself by using an offensive term at the very outset of his address. Hence 'religious' (a sense in which the word is used by Josephus) is wisely taken as its equivalent. But in prefixing 'very' the American translators obscure the delicate shade of meaning in the comparative.

Ph 2[6] 'who, existing in the form of God, counted not the being on an equality with God a thing to be grasped' (Am. RV); 'who, being . . . counted it not a prize . . .' (RV). This rendering of ὑπάρχων by 'existing' is a distinct improvement on the 'being' of the RV. 'Prize' (RV) renders more neatly than the later equivalent the ἁρπαγμόν of the Greek, but not so literally (see Moule's note on the passage). 'Grasped' should rather be 'grasped at.'

1 Th 2[6] 'might have claimed authority' (Am. RV); 'might have been burdensome' (RV, with 'claimed honour' in the margin). The Greek is ambiguous, δυνάμενοι ἐν βάρει εἶναι. The use of ἐπιβαρῆσαι in v.[9] in the sense of 'prove a burden to,' seems to carry ἐν βάρει εἶναι with it. But, as Ellicott points out, this is counterbalanced by the close connexion of the clause with δόξαν, so that the American Revisers may be right.

2 Ti 2[26] 'having been taken captive by him unto his will' (Am. RV); 'having been taken captive by the Lord's servant unto the will of God' (RV). In aiming at perspicuity the RV has given a comment rather than a translation. The Am. RV leaves an ambiguity in the pronouns 'him' and 'his.' A point would be gained if 'His' were written with a capital letter.

He 11[5] 'for he hath had witness borne to him that before his translation he had been well-pleasing unto God' (Am. RV); 'before his translation he hath had witness borne to him that he had been well-pleasing unto God' (RV). The tenses speak for themselves.

He 11[1] 'now faith is assurance of things hoped for, a conviction of things not seen' (Am. RV); 'now faith is the assurance of things hoped for, the proving of things not seen' (RV). The former of these renderings has been praised as much the better of the two. But, as Westcott points out, 'it is difficult to suppose that ἔλεγχος can express a state'; and he himself gives 'substance' and 'test' for ὑπόστασις and ἔλεγχος.

If, in the above examples, the advantage may be claimed for the American RV, the same can hardly be said in the case of those which follow:—

Ex 20[13] 'thou shalt not kill' (Am. RV); 'thou shalt do no murder' (Prayer-Book Version and RV). It is interesting to observe that each of these newest renderings has gone back to an earlier pattern,—the RV to that in the Prayer-Book, and the Am. RV to that of 1611. There is this merit in the last, that it harmonizes with the word used in our Lord's summary of the Commandments (Mt 19[18]). But the word 'kill' does not necessarily imply a criminal act, and in so far the rendering of the Am. RV is inadequate.

Ps 24[6] 'This is the generation of them that seek after him, that seek thy face, even Jacob' (Am. RV); '. . . that seek thy face, O God of Jacob' (RV). The difficulty lies in supplying the ellipse 'O God of.' It is admitted that, if the Massoretic text be followed, the first of these renderings is the right one; but in that case, as Kirkpatrick points out, 'the construction is harsh; a vocative is needed after *thy face*; and *Jacob* does not by itself convey this sense.' His conclusion is that 'the AVm and RV rightly follow the LXX, Vulg., and Syr. in reading "O God of Jacob."'

Ps 148[12] 'young men and virgins' (Am. RV); 'young men and maidens' (RV). What is gained by the change?

Lk 24[26] 'Behooved it not the Christ to suffer these things, and to enter into his glory?' (Am. RV). Except in the spelling of the first word this rendering repeats that of the RV, and is therefore open to the same objection. By retaining the coordinate construction with 'and' instead of the subordinate, the sense is missed. It should have been 'by suffering these things to enter into his glory,' or 'to suffer these things and so enter,' etc. This will be seen more clearly by comparing such a sentence as Mt 23[23] 'these things ought ye to have done, and not to leave the others undone'; which would appear to charge the Pharisees with neglecting the ceremonial observances of the law. The sense requires: 'without therefore leaving the others undone.'

Ac 8[32] 'The passage of Scripture' (Am. RV); 'The place of the Scripture' (RV). The change of 'place' to 'passage' has not been made by the Am. RV in Lk 4[17].

Gal 1[10] 'am I now seeking the favor of men, or of God?' (Am. RV); 'am I now persuading men, or God?' (RV). While it is admitted that a verb of kindred meaning with πείθω should be supplied by zeugma to govern θεόν, it does not seem necessary that the meaning of πείθω with ἀνθρώπους should also be thus modified.

Tit 1[8] 'given to hospitality' (Am. RV and RV) for the simple 'hospitable' (φιλόξενον).

He 9[16. 17] In this passage διαθήκη is rendered 'testament,' not 'covenant,' both by the Am. RV and the RV. But, as Westcott has shown, 'there is not the least trace of the meaning "testament" in the Greek Old Scriptures, and the idea of a

---

* For this and one or two other examples the writer is indebted to an appreciative article by Professor H. M. Whitney, in the April number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* (Ohio), 1902.

"testament" was indeed foreign to the Jews till the time of the Herods.'

Ja 1[17] 'every good gift and every perfect gift' (Am. RV, in this agreeing with the AV); 'every good gift and every perfect boon' (RV). This latter rendering fails because 'boon' is not a cognate word to 'gift,' as δώρημα in the original is to δόσις. The American Revisers, in making 'gift' serve for both these terms, confess themselves unable to surmount the difficulty.

Rev 2[24] 'as they are wont to say' (Am. RV); 'as they say' (RV). The latter is preferable, the Greek being simply ὡς λέγουσιν.

The inference to be drawn from this brief comparison of renderings, as well as from a more general survey of the work, is that it is premature as yet to call it, as is done on the title-page, a 'standard' edition. It seems evident that, even if the principles of the latest Revisers be admitted, a considerable time must elapse before they can be thoroughly carried out in practice. An illustration taken from one single department of the subject will suffice. In the case of archaic or obsolete words much progress has been made. Many a 'howbeit' has given place to 'yet'; 'or ever' to 'before'; 'evil entreated' to 'ill-treated'; 'meat' to 'food'; and the like. But how many still remain! 'Gendereth' is altered to 'bringeth forth' in Gal 4[24], but left unaltered in Job 38[29]. 'High-minded,' which is now an epithet of praise, is left in 1 Ti 6[17] in the sense which it bore in the days of the Gunpowder Plot. 'Took knowledge of' for 'recognized' still remains in Ac 4[13]. 'Nephews' is rightly changed to 'grandchildren' in 1 Ti 5[4]; but 'piety,' in the Latin sense of the word, still remains in the same passage.

We may see from these few instances that it is vain to hope that a standard edition of the English Bible will be soon forthcoming; and still more vain to dream that the desired object has been attained already. That many improvements have been made upon the Revision of 1885, none would wish to deny. It is reasonable to anticipate that, when the next Revision is accomplished on this side the Atlantic, it may in its turn show a superiority in some respects over that of 1901. But the end to be kept in view is not that the scholars of the two countries should pass and repass each other 'adversi spatiis,' but that they should advance 'facta pariter nunc pace.' The aspiration to which utterance was given in the Preface to the Joint-Revision of the NT in 1881, is not yet, we trust, out of season—that the labours of the fellow-workers, 'thus happily united, may be permitted to bear a blessing to both countries, and to all English-speaking people throughout the world.'

⁂ In concluding this article, the writer desires to acknowledge his indebtedness to his sons (especially the Rev. J. M. Lupton, assistant master in Marlborough College) for much valuable help in the course of it.

Literature.—I. Abrahams, art. on the RV of the Apocr. in *JQR*, vol. viii. [1895–1896] pp. 321–329; Chr. Anderson, *Annals of the English Bible*, 1845; E. Arber, *The First Printed English NT*, 1871; *The Athenæum*, 1885, pp. 500–502, 562–565 (review of Mombert), *ib.* 1888, p. 243 (art. on the Bishops' Bible), 1889, ii. p. 246 (review of Edgar); Bagster's *English Hexapla* (Introduction), n.d.; the Ven. Bede, *Works*, ed. Plummer, 1896; J. A. Beet, 'RV of NT' in *Expos.* 2nd ser. ii., iii.; W. Bender, *Der Reformator J. Wiclif als Bibelübersetzer*, 1884; *Bibliotheca Sacra* (Andover), April 1858 and 1859, pp. 56–81 (early edd. of AV), *ib.* (Ohio), April 1899 (Cædmon); E. C. Bissell, *The Apocrypha with a Revised Translation*, n. d.; J. H. Blunt, art. on Eng. Bib. in *Encyc. Brit.*[9]; Bosworth-Waring, Pref. to *The Gothic and A. S. Gospels*, 1865; H. Bradshaw, *Godfried v. d. Haghen*, 1886; British Museum, *Cat. of . . . Bibles*, pt. i. 1892; Hugh Broughton, *Works*, ed. by John Lightfoot, 1662; J. W. Burgon, *The Revision Revised*, 1883; Cædmon's *Metrical Paraphrase*, ed. B. Thorpe, 1832; E. Cardwell, *Documentary Annals*, 1844, *Synodalia*, 1844, *Hist. of Conferences*[3], 1849; J. G. Carleton, *The Part of Rheims in the Making of the Eng. Bible*, 1902; *The Catholic World* (New York), 1871, pp. 149–170; *The Christian Examiner and General Review* (Boston), 1833, vol. xiv. pp. 327–371 (Eng. VSS); *Church Quarterly*, July 1885 (on RV of OT); T. K. Cheyne on RV Psalms and Isaiah, in *Expos.*, 3rd ser. v., vi., vii.; A. S. Cook, *Biblical Quotations in Old Eng. Prose Writers* (Introd. on Old Eng. Bibl. Versions), 1898; F. C. Cook, '*Deliver us from Evil,' a Letter to the Bishop of London*, 1881, *The Rev. Version of the First Three Gospels*, 1882, *A Second Letter to the . . . Bp. of London*, 1882; H. Cotton, *List of Editions of the Bible*, 1852, *Rhemes and Doway*, 1855; M. Coverdale, *Memorials of* (anon.), 1838; A. B. Davidson, 'Job in RV,' *Expos.*, 3rd ser. iv.; R. Demaus, *Wm. Tyndale: A Biography*, 1886; J. R. Dore, *Old Bibles*, 1888; S. R. Driver, 'Gen. to Josh. in RV,' *Expos.*, 3rd ser. ii.; John Eadie, *The Eng. Bible*, 1876; Eadwine's *Canterbury Psalter*, ed. by F. Harsley, pt. i. 1889; *Edinburgh Review*, Oct. 1885 (RV of OT); A. Edgar, *The Bibles of England*, 1889; C. J. Ellicott, *Considerations on Revision*, 1870; T. S. Evans, 'Crit. Remarks on RV,' in *Expos.*, 2nd ser. iii., v.; articles by various writers on the Failure of the RV, in *Expos. Times*, iii., iv.; F. Field, *Notes on the Translation . . .*, 1899; Forshall-Madden, *The Holy Bible* (Wyclifite Versions), 1850; F. Fry, *Description of the Great Bible*, 1539 . . ., 1865, *The Bible by Coverdale*, 1867, *Bibliogr. descr. of the edd. of NT*, 1878; E. Gasner, *Beitr. z. Entwickelungsgang d. neuengl. Schriftsprache . . . wie sie auf Wyclif u. Purvey zurückgehen soll*, 1891; F. A. Gasquet, *Old English Bible*, 1897; R. Gell, *Essay toward the Amendment* (of the AV), 1659; F. Graz, *Beitr. z. Textkritik Cædmons*, 1896; *The Guardian*, 16th Feb. 1870 (Action of Convocation), 27th Nov. 1895 (letters on use of RV), 24th Dec. 1895 (review of RV of Apocr.); E. Harwood, *A Liberal Tr. of the NT*, 1768; J. Heywood, *State of the Authorized Bible Revision*, 1860, *The Bible and its Revisers*, 1857; H. W. Hoare, artt. on the Eng. Bible in the *Nineteenth Cent.*, May 1898, April 1899, *Evolution of the Eng. Bible*, 1901, 2nd ed. 1902; T. W. Hunt, *Cædmon's Exodus and Daniel*; J. Jacobs, 'Rev. OT' in *Bibl. Archæology*, 1894; A. C. Jennings and W. H. Lowe, 'A Crit. Estimate of RV of OT,' *Expos.*, 3rd ser. ii.; B. H. Kennedy, *Ely Lectures*, 1882; F. G. Kenyon, *Our Bible and the Anc. MSS*, 1895; W. Kilburne, *Dangerous Errors in . . . Bibles*, 1659; J. A. Kingdon, *Incidents in the Lives of Tho. Poyntz and Ric. Grafton* (priv. printed), 1895; A. F. Kirkpatrick, 'Judges to Neh. in RV,' *Expos.*, 3rd ser. i., ii., iii., v.; M. Konrath, *Beitr. z. Erkl. u. Textkr. des William v. Schorham*, 1878; G. V. Lechler, *John Wyclif*, tr. by P. Lorimer, 1884; J. Lewis, *Life of Pocock*, Pref. p. 13 ff., *Complete Account of Translations . . .*, 2nd ed. 1739; J. B. Lightfoot, *On a Fresh Revn. of the English NT*, 1871 (3rd ed. 1891, reprinting Letters in the *Guardian*, 7th, 14th, 21st Sept. 1881); W. J. Loftie, *A Century of Bibles*, 1872; *London Quarterly Review*, 1896 (art. on the 'RV of the Apocr.'); R. Lovett, *The Printed Eng. Bible, 1525–1885*, 1895; M'Clellan, *Four Gospels* (Introd.), 1875; M'Clintock-Strong, *Cycl.* (art. on Eng. VSS), 1873; G. P. Marsh, *Lectures on the Eng. Language*; E. Miller, *The Oxford Debate on the Textual Crit. of the NT*, 1897; G. Milligan, *The Eng. Bible, a Sketch of its History*, 1895, and art. on VERSIONS (ENG.) in vol. iv.; J. I. Mombert, *Eng. VSS of the Bible*, 1883; *The Month*, June 1897, pp. 573–586, July 1897, pp. 43–62 (Rheims and Douay); Sir T. More, *A Dyaloge*, 1530; W. F. Moulton, *The Hist. of the Eng. Bible*, 2nd ed. 1884; S. Newth, *Lectures on Bib. Revision*, 1881; *Notes and Queries*, 5th ser. x. pp. 261, 262 (Trevisa); G. Offor, MS Collections (Brit. Mus., Addl. and Eg. MSS 26,670–26,673); *The Ormulum*, ed. R. M. White, 1878; A. G. Paspati, *Remarks on the RV of the NT*, 1883; T. H. Pattison, *Hist. of the Eng. Bible*, 1894; Percy Society's Publications, *Religious Poems of Wm. de Shoreham*, 1849; T. J. Pettigrew, *Bibliotheca Sussexiana*, vol. ii. 1839; C. Plummer, Pref. to *Ven. Bædæ Hist. Eccl.* 1896; E. H. Plumptre, art. on the AV in Smith's *DB*; N. Pocock, artt. in *The Bibliographer*, vols. i.–iv. on the Bishops' and Genevan Bibles; R. L. Poole, *Wyclif and Movements for Reform*, 1886; Prime Wendell, *Fifteenth Cent. Bibles*, 1888; *The Quarterly Review*, April 1870, p. 129 ff., Oct. 1885, pp. 281–329 (RV of OT); R. Rolle, of Hampole, *The Psalter . . .*, ed. H. R. Bramley, 1884; W. G. Rutherford, *St. Paul's Ep. to the Romans* (Introd.), 1900; W. Sanday, 'RV of NT' in *Expos.*, 2nd ser. ii.; P. Schaff, *Companion to Gr. Test.* 1883; J. Scholefield, *Hints for an Improved Transl. . . .*, 3rd ed. 1849; F. H. A. Scrivener, *Supplement to the AV*, 1845, *The Authorized Ed. of the Eng. Bib.* 1884; W. Selwyn, *Notes on the Proposed Amendment of the AV*, 1856; W. S. Simpson, *Catalogue of St. Paul's Cathedral Library*, 1893; W. W. Skeat, *The Holy Gospels in Anglo-Saxon . . .*, ed. by W. W. S. 1871–1877, Pref. to *The NT in English* (Purvey's rev.), 1879, *Dialect of Wyclif's Bible* (in Trans. of Philolog. Soc., pt. i. for 1895–1896); W. E. Smith, *A Study of the Great 'She' Bible*, 1890; H. Stevens, *Cat. of Bibles in the Caxton Celebr.* 1877; Stevenson-Waring, *The Lindisfarne and Rushworth Glosses* (Surtees Society's Publns., Nos. 28, 39, 43, 48); E. Thwaites, *Heptateuchus . . .*, 1698; B. Thorpe [see above, 'Cædmon']; *The Times*, 19th Nov. 1895 (review of RV of Apocr.); W. Tindale, see Lansdowne MSS (Brit. Mus.), 979, f. 150; R. C. Trench, *On the AV of the NT, in connexion with some Rec. Proposals for its Revn.*, 2nd ed. 1859; M. H. Turk, *The Legal Code of King Ælfred the Great*, 1893; C. J. Vaughan, *Auth. or Rev.* 1882; R. S. Watson, *Cædmon . . .*, 1875; B. F. Westcott, *A Gen. View of the Hist. of the Eng. Bible*[2], 1872, *Bible in the Church*, 1875, *Some Lessons of the RV of the NT*, 1897; S. W. Whitney, *Revisers' Gr. Text*; Lea Wilson, *Bibles . . . in the Collection of*, 1845; John Wright, *Early Bibles of America*, 1893; J. Wyclif, *English Works* of (ed. by F. D. Matthew, 1880), *de Eccl. Notione* (ed. F. Wiegand, 1891), *Opus Evangelicum*, 1895.

J. H. LUPTON.

DEVELOPMENT OF DOCTRINE IN THE APOCRYPHAL PERIOD.—

SOURCES.—

B.C. 200–100: Sirach; Daniel; Ethiopic Enoch 1–36, 83–90, 91–104; Baruch 1–3^8; Tobit; Sibylline Oracles (part of Book iii.); Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (B.C. 140–A.D. 30); Book of Jubilees; Judith.

B.C. 100–1: Ethiopic Enoch 37–70; 1 Maccabees; Psalms of Solomon; 2 Maccabees.

A.D. 1–100: Assumption of Moses; Book of Wisdom; Philo; Slavonic Enoch; 4 Maccabees; Josephus; Apocalypse of Baruch; Book of Baruch (from 3^9 onwards); 2 (4) Esdras; Ascension of Isaiah; Shemoneh Esreh.

[In the above list of authorities the Targums are not included. They undoubtedly contain fragments as old as the time of John Hyrcanus; but as they were not published until, perhaps, the 3rd or 4th cent. A.D., they must obviously be used with caution as sources for estimating the development of Jewish doctrine during our period].

Introduction.
  1. The question stated.
  2. Relation of later Judaism to foreign systems of thought.
      (1) Persian influence.
      (2) Greek influence.
  3. Decay of the older Hebraism.
  4. Classification of the Apocrypha according to the national influences under which they were composed.

i. THE DOCTRINE OF GOD.
  1. The OT position.
  2. The position of this doctrine in Jewish writings of the Apocryphal period.
  3. The extent to which foreign influences affected the doctrine of God as reflected in these writings.
  4. Popular superstitions regarding the name Jahweh.
  5. The Christian doctrine of God.

ii. THE DOCTRINE OF THE WISDOM.
  1. In OT presented not only as human, but also as Divine.
  2. Hellenizing of the Heb. *Ḥokhma* in the Alexandrian Wisdom of Solomon.
  3. The Logos of Philo.
  4. The Memra of the Targums.
  5. NT conception of the Logos.

iii. ANGELOLOGY AND DEMONOLOGY.
  A. Angelology.
    1. OT doctrine of angels.
    2. Post-exilic development of angelology on Persian lines seen in (1) Daniel, (2) Tobit, 2 Mac., 2 (4) Esdras.
    3. Conception of elemental angels in post-canonical Jewish literature.
    4. Doctrine of angels as held by the Essenes and by Philo.
    5. Denial of angels by the Sadducees.
  B. Demonology.
    1. The position as reflected in the earlier OT literature.
    2. The Satan of Job, Zechariah, the Chronicler, and the Similitudes of Enoch.
    3. The doctrine of evil spirits in the Apocrypha and in Josephus.
    4. Demonology of the Alexandrian Jews.
    5. Development of demonology in the Jewish pseudepigrapha.
  C. Relation of the religious consciousness of our Lord to current beliefs about angels and demons.

iv. ANTHROPOLOGY. Teaching of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha as to—
  1. Psychological nature of man.
  2. Original moral condition of man.
  3. Immortality of the soul.
  4. The first sin and its consequences.
  5. Free will and foreordination.
  6. Ethics: (1) Palestinian; (2) Alexandrian.
  7. Final shape given by Christian doctrine to Jewish anthropology

v. THE MESSIANIC HOPE.
  1. Meaning of the expression.
  2. The OT position.
  3. The Messianic idea in the Apocrypha.
  4. Transformation into Apocalyptic ideas.
  5. The Messianic idea in later Palestinian books.
  6. The Messianic expectation in Hellenistic Judaism.
  7. Peculiarities of the later Messianic hope.
  8. Question as to retrogression of Messianic idea during the post-Prophetic period.

vi. ESCHATOLOGY.
  1. Position of eschatological doctrine in OT.
  2. Post-canonical development, with special reference to—
      (1) Future judgment.
      (2) Realms of the departed: (*a*) Sheol; (*b*) Paradise; (*c*) Heaven; (*d*) Gehenna.
      (3) The Resurrection.
  3. Question as to the influence of Zoroastrianism upon Jewish eschatology.

Literature.

Introduction.—1. *The question stated.*—Our first concern in discussing the subject of doctrinal development in the Apocryphal period is to get a clear conception of the true bearings of the question. The field over which our investigation is to extend consists practically of the intervening space between the Old and New Testaments. We have to deal with a transition period, to be considered with due reference both to what precedes and what follows; we are to look back on the OT, and forward to the NT. In short, we must have the OT basis from which to start, and the NT position to which we are to be led up, both in full vision. The question might be broadly stated, then, as the relation of Jewish views of theology at this time to the Old and New Testaments—the special point to be elucidated being whether and how far the Apocrypha and other non-canonical pre-Christian Jewish writings bridge the distance between them. They do so historically; do they do so doctrinally? Is there evidence of real doctrinal development?

The student of theology will hardly say there is no felt want of such a bridge. While the NT stands most intimately related to the OT, and would be a real enigma without it, it is yet true that the difference between them is of the most marked description. And many, instead of following the somewhat doubtful course of leaping from the one to the other, naturally prefer to tread the path, indistinct and curiously winding though it be, that undoubtedly leads through the gloom of these 400 years into the full-orbed light of the Christian era. They claim that amid much that is admittedly of questionable value, and amid much to which distinct objection can be taken in these Apocryphal writings, the latter nevertheless furnish stepping-stones by means of which it is possible gradually to climb the long ascent from Malachi to Matthew. Nor is there anything *a priori* extravagant in this claim. In virtue of its own inherent living power of growth, and in accordance with the divinely chosen method of its gradual delivery to man, revealed truth must have gained something, if not in actual content, at least in clearness of expression, during such a period. As a matter of fact we find that, in the two centuries immediately preceding the Christian era, Jewish literature, though obviously past its prime, has still a measure of vigorous life. It throbs with patriotic feeling, of which indeed (in the Books of Maccabees) it reflects perhaps the most signal instances on record. It shows also that during these 'Middle Ages of sacred history' the lamp of true piety continued to burn, and, so long as that was the case, scriptural doctrine could not altogether have stood still, but must of necessity have undergone some development in its application to the circumstances of the age. And this theological development must have made itself felt in the Jewish religious books of the period. As will be seen from the list of authorities given above, these numbered many more than those included in the OT Apocrypha. Among other extant works falling within the limits of our period are the remarkable and mysterious Palestinian *Book of Enoch* (preserved in Ethiopic), parts of which date from the 2nd cent. B.C.; the Græco-Jewish-Christian *Sibylline Oracles*, which, from a large Jewish nucleus issued from Alexandria towards the middle of the same century, grew first under Jewish and subsequently under Christian hands, into a 'chaotic wilderness' of fourteen books; the *Book* *of Jubilees,* assigned by the most recent scholarship to *c.* 130 B.C.; the *Psalms of Solomon,* dating from B.C. 70–40; and the *Assumption of Moses,* which appears to have been written practically at the dawn of the Christian era (A.D. 7–30). These and other pseudepigrapha dating from the early centuries of our era (*e.g.* the *Apocalypse of Baruch* and the *Ascension of Isaiah*) are mostly apocalyptic, and, while throwing a valuable supplementary light on the religious views of the Jewish people in the time of our Lord, do not take rank with the 'deutero-canonical' books. Although they are sometimes termed apocryphal (Iren. *Hær.* i. 20), they form no part of the OT Apocrypha properly so called, and perhaps we may take the latter as representing on the whole the continuity both of literature and dogma. At the same time, for the sake of completeness, it will be necessary to include in our historical survey material supplied by the pre-Christian Jewish literature generally, as well as by the writings of Philo and Josephus, which date from the 1st cent. of the Christian era.

The history of the Church, moreover, no less than the expansive power of Divine truth, leads us to expect that there should be such a bridge between OT and NT doctrine. Almost any 400 years of Church history have witnessed important new developments of doctrine; and every age has found occasion to sift and discuss many points that never suggested themselves to those of an earlier time. Our own religious perspective has distinctly changed within a relatively shorter period. And, *mutatis mutandis,* is it at all likely that the Jewish theology of the post-Prophetic period took no colour of its own from the special circumstances, struggles, and aspirations of the age? No doubt it is true, as Langen[*] points out, that the OT could never have developed itself into the NT, as the seed does into the plant, seeing that a new and miraculous fact which could not develop, but was accomplished by Divine statute at a definite moment (viz. the Incarnation), came in and sharply defined the boundary line between the old and new economies, and expressed their essential difference of character. But, though the term *development* be inapplicable here, it is otherwise as regards doctrine, which must always of necessity develop itself. This is a natural law in the spiritual world which will not be denied. Are we, then, to suppose that this organic development within the sphere of Jewish theology met with a sudden check after the issue of the books composing the Heb. Canon,—ceased, in fact, in order to the subsequent sudden appearance of quite new truths? Such a thing, to say the least, would be a great anomaly, and to many the Apocryphal books have furnished some tangible and valuable links in the chain of biblical truth.

Certainly, none can with reason refuse to believe that in the eventful period of Jewish history to which they owe their origin there was produced, and in these works preserved, something of significance for the universal Church of God. Yet they have been denounced as worse than worthless. Few will now accept the bitterly hostile verdict of the Edinburgh Bible Society in 1825, that 'the whole work (*sic*) is replete with instances of vanity, flattery, idle curiosity, affectation of learning, and other blemishes; with frivolous, absurd, false, superstitious, and contradictory statements.'[†] For while the Apocrypha admittedly do contain inaccuracies, offences against good taste, and even serious deviations from 'sound doctrine,' it is ridiculous to speak of the whole collection as 'bad in itself, bad in its effects, bad in every point of view,'[*] or as a 'miserable heap of fables and romances, of pitiful fooleries and base falsehoods, of vile impostures and gross immoralities.'[†] Such an estimate of the main portion of the religious literature of the centuries preceding the advent of Christ amounts to the negation of the great law of spiritual evolution, according to which utter stagnation in the matter of doctrinal development is a virtual impossibility. The developments of such a period may have been strange, retrograde, and misguided, as well as normal, progressive, and healthy; but development of some sort there must have been. And we must look for the reflexion of this, such as it was, in the Apocryphal literature as the written repository of the religious thought of the age. Reasonable as this view of the case appears to be, it has been too often either quite overlooked or vehemently rejected. By those who concede to these books no right save that of being anathematized, it will of course be considered monstrous to take account of them at all in connexion with biblical doctrine. And this class has had, and probably still has, its representatives in various quarters. For rooted aversion to the Apocrypha has not been confined to Scotland. A German writer[‡] rather wildly says, 'They tear asunder the code of Divine revelation'; but the real question, which we must not allow to be obscured by a statement of this sort, is, How does NT doctrine stand related to that of the Hebrew Canon? Is there any middle ground? And do these post-canonical books furnish us with that middle ground? Do they show us any doctrines in a transition stage of development between the OT and NT positions? 'Science,' says Reuss, 'can never ignore or neglect with impunity the regular succession and natural connexion of facts, and it acts under a singular illusion when it attempts to bring together the two ends, after cutting away the thread which unites them' (*Apostolic Age,* i. p. 70, Eng. tr.). May not the Apocrypha in this case be the uniting thread which some have been too eager to cut away?

2. Another interesting and important factor here enters into the discussion, viz. *the relation in which the later Judaism stood to foreign systems of thought,* for it was undoubtedly owing to the influence of these, combined with a certain decay of the older Hebraism itself, that it assumed its distinctive character.

The choice of Israel did not absolutely exclude the rest of the human race from being the objects of Divine regard (Jn 1^{9}). On the contrary, it was distinctly contemplated that they should ultimately be received into the larger Israel of the Christian Church (Mt 8^{11}, Jn 10^{16}). While the Jews were selected for the discharge of the missionary function of transmitting the Divine revelation to the world, God was also by His providence gradually and surely preparing the world for Christianity. Consequently, the idea of other nations making some contribution towards the sum-total of the religious knowledge attained in pre-Christian times is not one to be summarily rejected as unworthy of consideration. When in Jn 1^{9} Christ is designated 'the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world,' may we not warrantably trace to this source the reasonings and yearnings of a Socrates for a future and endless life, and the profound thoughts of a Plato concerning the immortality of the soul? After a struggle with his native Jewish prejudices, the Apostle Peter perceived that 'God is no respecter of persons: but in every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted with him' (Ac 10$^{34f.}$). That other nations besides the Jews had at least some measure of light is therefore a fact which should be thoughtfully acknowledged rather than grudgingly admitted. It can in no way derogate from the supreme honour due to the religion of Jesus Christ to recognize that Confucius taught obedience to parents; that Buddha based his system of morality on the notion of the equality of all, and enjoined the widest toleration; that Zoroaster, so far from being accurately described as a 'famous impostor' and 'very crafty knave,' was a teacher of monotheism and of many valuable ethical principles; or that in ancient Egypt men were familiar with the conceptions of immortality and eternity. These were only so many 'past stars getting light from the everlasting sun.' All that was true or good in these ancient faiths was derived from Jesus Christ. The providential shaking together of the nations which took place during the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era enabled each to pour what contribution it could into the great treasury of religious thought and sentiment. The fusion of the diverse tendencies and thoughts of East and West was not without its effect in developing in a forward direction (though not uniformly so) the truth that God had communicated to His people; and the constant intermingling of ideas that took place was, under God, destined to result in nothing less than the inbringing of a cosmopolitan religion, equally suitable for all climates and peoples, and capable of assimilating all that was noblest and purest in human aspiration and culture. Whatever of real advance in doctrinal development is anywhere traceable during this important and formative period is therefore still to be attributed to the revealing Spirit and guiding hand of Jehovah, and is not to be regarded as simply the product of human reason or philosophical speculation.

---

[*] *Judenthum in Palästina zur Zeit Christi,* p. 64.

[†] *Statement relative to the circulation of the Apocrypha* (1825), Appendix, p. 8

[*] *Second Statement,* etc. (1826), p. 60.

[†] *Rev. Andrew Lothian,* at annual meeting of E.B.S., 1827.

[‡] Keerl, *Das Wort Gottes und die Apokryphen des AT,* p. 17.

With the exception of certain modes of thought and expression, including perhaps the ponderous visionary style so much employed by Ezekiel, the patriotic Jew apparently brought back with him from Babylon no new literary possession. His religious borrowing was upon a still smaller scale: he had viewed the idolatrous practices of his captors with lofty scorn (Is 44$^{9-20}$). But his debt to Persian and Greek religious thought proved to be much more considerable.

(1) *Persian influence.*—The worship of the One Supreme God which was common to both Persians and Jews (Ormazd and Jahweh being to this extent practically identified) sufficiently accounts for the bond of religious sympathy which undoubtedly united the two peoples. They were at one in their repudiation of idolatry; both looked for the absolute reign of the good. That the final destruction of evil is well within the horizon of Zoroaster appears from the *Gāthās*, or hymns, the only part of the *Avesta* claiming to be from the prophet's own hand. (For further details, see art. ZOROASTRIANISM in vol. iv., and Cheyne in *Expos. Times*, ii. (1891) 202, 224, 248). Apart from the influence inevitably exerted on one another by men of diverse creeds who are brought by circumstances into close mutual relationship, these fundamental resemblances between their respective faiths naturally led to a certain interaction of belief in other directions also. For example, the Zoroastrians, like the Jews, expected a Saviour (*Saoshyant*, of the stem of Zoroaster) at whose advent the powers of evil were to be overthrown. Again, it need not be doubted that the Zoroastrian expectation of a glorious and happy future, in which the faithful, freed from all contact with evil, should enjoy eternal fellowship with Ormazd and his angels, led the Jews towards a clearer apprehension at least of the hitherto but dimly entertained and scarcely formulated doctrine of a personal immortality. Persian ideas have been traced in the OT itself (Dn 10$^{13.20}$ 12^{1}); they are certainly present in the Apocr. (To 12^{15}); and seem to have passed through the earlier Jewish apocalyptic (En 90$^{21f.}$) into the NT Apocalypse of St. John (1^{4} 8^{2}). A noticeable feature of Zoroastrianism is its artistic and lavish use of numbers and images. This tendency was specially developed in connexion with the doctrine of good and evil spirits, and is already reflected in the later canonical books of the OT (1 Ch 21^{1}, Zec 3^{9} 4^{10}), and still more, as we shall see, in the post-canonical literature. These foreign elements began to produce a freer play of the imagination within the sphere of things sacred than had been possible under the former limitations; they supplied the old faith with a new stock of names and images. That Jewish ritual as well as doctrine was affected by Persian influence appears not only from the institution of the Feast of Purim, but in connexion with such a matter as the saying of the first prayer (*Shĕma'*) in the temple at daybreak.

(2) *Greek influence.*—The tide of Hellenism, which began to flow over the whole civilized world after the brilliant conquests of Alexander the Great, affected Palestine as well as other countries. During the period of the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ the Greek spirit took possession of the land; native customs and traditional ways of thinking everywhere yielded to this subtle overmastering force. In the purely Judæan district, however, the Hellenistic spirit was so far kept at bay. No new Greek cities sprang up within that essentially Jewish area, and when the rising wave of Hellenism dashed up against the rock of Judaism the latter was strong enough to withstand the shock. Only its sharper corners were worn off in the process, and this was necessary in order to the fulfilment of the function assigned in providence to the Heb. faith as the historic preparation for the world-wide religion of Christ. The influx of Greek culture was met by a fresh and resolute devotion to the legalistic ideal developed by the scribes. Such was the result of the conflict epigrammatically referred to by Zechariah in the words: 'Thy sons, O Zion, against thy sons, O Greece' (9^{13}). Proudly conscious of their privileged position as the chosen people, and punctilious to the last degree with regard to their observance of the temple worship, the Jews gained rather than lost in national sentiment. But if the Hellenistic spirit was denied an entrance into the *religious* citadel of Judaism, it crept insidiously into every other department of life (1 Mac 1^{15}, 2 Mac 4$^{9-14}$).

Alexandria, and not Athens, was now the proud 'mother of arts and eloquence,' and it was in this Egyptian city that non-Palestinian Judaism came into closest contact with Hellenistic thought and culture. The spiritual atmosphere of the place was altogether peculiar, and charged with elements derived alike from the East and the West. Two such powerful and opposite streams of tendency could not meet without mutually influencing each other, and the world has profited by their fusion. The translation of the Heb. Scriptures into Greek made them the property of all nations, while the Greek language and philosophy provided the Jewish religion with splendid weapons for apologetic and missionary purposes. Judaism and Hellenism were thus complementary factors in creating a type of thought and life wider and fuller than either of them could have produced of itself. A distinctly religious conception of the universe had hitherto been as foreign to the Greek as the rules and abstractions of metaphysics had been to the Hebrew. But the Greeks were now provided with a direct Divine revelation, capable of filling with life every groove of their languishing philosophical systems; and the Jews, besides appropriating certain Greek conceptions, found the means of giving scientific expression to the contents of their religious consciousness. The result of this union of two great forces was seen in the rise and development of the Jewish-Alexandrian philosophy of religion. In this system, unfortunately, the literal meaning of Scripture was discarded in favour of allegorical interpretations. From the time of Aristobulus (2nd cent. B.C.), who maintained that the Greek philosophy had been borrowed from Moses, to that of Philo Judæus (*c.* 20 B.C.–50 A.D.), who still further developed the allegorical method, philosophers used the Bible largely as a prop for their own speculations. To Judaism the results were sufficiently serious, but it emerged at last from the keen battle which had to be waged as the price of its partnership with 'the wisdom of men,' if not without wounds, yet also enriched with spoil.

There were thus two great streams of influence flowing in upon the Jewish theology of this period, an Eastern and a Western, a Persian and a Greek. Of these by far the stronger was the Greek, though the Persian is as distinctly traceable. The one may be likened to an ordinary under-current, and the other to the Gulf Stream. The Persian current was that of Zoroastrianism; the Greek cannot be associated with a single name. Out of these two forces, which were new, or newly felt, acting upon the native Judaism of Palestine, which was old, was formed that *third* which we meet within the home Jewish theology of the period. But there was also, as we have seen, a Jewish theology outside of Palestine altogether. Not only did foreign influences flow in upon Judaism, but Judaism, now no longer confined to Palestine, went out to meet them. Thus the hitherto unbroken river of OT ideas and doctrines divided itself at this point into three separate streams. One, the main current, continued to flow on in Palestine; while on the east and west of it ran two other streams—the one through Persian territory, and the other through Greek. The tributaries of Persian and Greek ideas by which these streams respectively were fed necessarily caused their waters to be of a composite character, exceedingly difficult to analyze so as to say definitely, 'This is Jewish, that is Persian,' or 'This is Jewish, that is Greek.' These currents, however, into which Judaism was divided, and through which it was widened, were destined in some degree to find a meeting-point again in the religion of Christ, which assimilated what was good not only in Judaism, but also in the splendid creations of foreign philosophical and theological thought.

We find, then, that human speculation had a great function to perform in so acting upon OT dogma as to soften and widen it in the direction of the larger truths of the perfect revelation in Christ. This revelation was certainly the more easily received and apprehended that the Greeks had lived and thought. The contribution of the thinkers of the West to the universal religion was their philosophical culture and spirit. That, joined to the sacred depository of truth that composed the faith of the Hebrews, went to form a religion wide enough for every section of humanity. It wanted only the material force of Rome to fuse the nations into the outward and political union that was to consolidate the deeper union which the interchange of spiritual thought and feeling had already in great measure brought about.

3. *Decay of the older Hebraism.*—If, moreover, in the later canonical books we already find traces of the influx of foreign influences on the one hand, we also discover signs of the decay of pure Hebraism on the other. In particular, we can discern in Ezekiel and Zechariah distinct traces of the process by which the old supremacy of the prophet passed first into the hands of the priest, and subsequently into those of the scribe, the spiritual ancestor of the NT Pharisee. For instance, it is very significant that in the fifth vision of Zechariah the two 'anointed ones' who jointly sustain the spiritual life of Israel are the civil and priestly heads of the nation, and that the prophet is accorded no place by their side. Quite foreign, too, to the older prophecy is the way in which Zechariah introduces mediators to bridge the distance between men and Jahweh, who is conceived as reigning in the remote heaven and maintaining intercourse with the world through the medium of invisible messengers. In Malachi we detect not only a certain scholasticism of style that is new, but also, as contrasted with Isaiah and the other great prophets, a tincture of the legalistic spirit (4^4) which was destined to become so strong in the near future. 'Joel starts, like any older prophet, from the facts of his own day, but these hurry him at once into apocalypse; he calls, as thoroughly as any of his predecessors, to repentance, but under the imminence of the day of the Lord, with its supernatural terrors, he mentions no special sin and enforces no single virtue. The civic and personal ethics of the earlier prophets are absent. In the Greek period, the oracles, now numbered from the ninth to the fourteenth chapters of the Book of Zechariah, repeat to aggravation the exulting revenge of Nahum and Obadiah, without the strong style or the hold upon history which the former exhibits, and show us prophecy still further enwrapped in apocalypse.'* That the ceremonial had now taken precedence of the moral and the spiritual is also clear from a comparison of the historical books of this period with those of earlier times. The Chronicler is concerned chiefly about the outward holiness of Israel, and knows nothing of the ethical earnestness of the older prophets. In the Apocryphal literature of the Gr. period we see the spirit of Pharisaic Judaism altogether in the ascendant.

4. The foregoing considerations supply us with a convenient basis for *the classification of the Apocrypha.* They range themselves into three classes according to the national influences under which they were composed, and it will be important for our present inquiry to view them in that connexion, bearing in mind, of course, that no classification of this sort can be absolutely exhaustive, and that traces of Pers. influence, *e.g.*, may be met with in books prevailingly Gr. or Pal. in their origin, and *vice versâ.* †

(1) The Persian-Palestinian books. These are characterized chiefly by their deep-seated horror of idolatry; by the extraordinary value they attach to alms-giving and other works of benevolence; by a very elaborate doctrine of angels, and especially of demons; by the prominence they give to the miraculous; by a distinct doctrine of immortality, and indications of belief in a future judgment; by the doctrines of the mediation of the saints and the efficacy of prayers for the dead; and by the sure hope of the resurrection of the just. To this class belong Tobit, Baruch, 2 Mac., and the Additions to Daniel. Here it will be observed, on the one hand, what a curious deviation there is in some particulars from OT doctrine, and, on the other, how marked an approximation there is on some other points towards the NT position.

(2) The pure Palestinian books, viz. Sirach, 1 Maccabees, and possibly Judith. These are distinguished by their keen attachment to Judaism, as seen in the way in which they magnify the Law, and celebrate the praises of Zion and the temple services; by the much smaller place given to the miraculous; by their defective ideas about a future life, the only immortality known to them being apparently that of being remembered; by their silence concerning the resurrection; and by their crude notions with respect to a Divine retributive judgment. Here we are in contact with the central stream of Judaism, and hence find no such decided deviations from OT doctrine as in those books written under Persian influence. There is, however, as might be expected, also less of real development towards NT positions. The Pharisaic party, we know, were dominant in Palestine, and did what they could to prevent foreign influences from being introduced. There was thus less violent collision between opposing elements, and hence less pronounced results were produced both in the

---

* G. A. Smith, *The Twelve Prophets*, vol. ii. p. xi.

† This is the principle of classification adopted by Bretschneider in his important work, *Die Dogmatik der Apokr. Schriften des AT*, Leipzig, 1805 (4th ed. 1841).

normal and in the abnormal directions. Yet even here there was a gradual widening as generations passed, and as new influences forced themselves even into the citadel of Judaism.

(3) The Jewish-Alexandrian books. These include 1 Esdras, the Wisdom of Solomon, and the Prayer of Manasses. While also showing an attachment to Judaism, they lay more stress upon a holy life than upon the outward *cultus* of the Mosaic Law. But the chief peculiarity of this third class is that they bear distinctly the colouring of the Greek philosophy. Especially is this true of the Book of Wisdom. This important work is far from being an ordinary sample of Alexandrian theosophy, but neither is it conceived precisely in the spirit of the older Heb. literature. In passing from those OT books to which it bears the closest resemblance, viz. Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, we are conscious of a certain change of atmosphere, and of the presence of a new element which gives a distinct tone to the whole. This new factor is none other than the subtle spirit of Hellenism. The work deals in an abstract and philosophical manner with such subjects as the creation, wisdom, man, history, etc. It also contains the Platonic doctrine as to the four cardinal virtues. In this division of the Apocr. we naturally again meet with more variation from OT doctrine. With regard to sundry points, it would be vain to attempt to reconcile the Canonical and Apocryphal statements. *E.g.*, the position taken up in Wisdom as to creation and the soul of man is not that of the OT. These discrepancies arise apparently from an effort on the writer's part to harmonize the scriptural and philosophical positions. The general strain of the book, however, is thoroughly biblical, only the truths of revelation are viewed through the medium of Gr. learning. While the prevailing standpoint is essentially that of the OT, we not infrequently meet with passages conceived in the larger and freer spirit of the NT. For over against the variations mentioned we must place the fact that there is a clear advance upon some OT doctrines, notably with regard to that of immortality. Ewald says we have in this book 'a premonition of John' and 'a preparation for Paul' (*HI* v. p. 484). And, in fact, altogether apart from the claim that St. John's doctrine of the Logos is found in germ here, St. Paul's argument in Romans that men are inexcusable who do not find out to some extent from nature even the knowledge of God, his description of the Christian's armour in Ephesians, and the expressions used with reference to the Person of Christ in the anonymous Epistle to the Hebrews, are all embodied already in this Apocryphal work ($13^{1ff.}$ $5^{17ff.}$ 7^{26}).

While it is important to recognize the facts just mentioned, we must not put forward an extravagant claim on behalf of the post-canonical Jewish writings. 'These books belong to the decaying period of the nation's life. The earliest of them were written only at the close of the Persian dominion, and belong to a time when prophecy had ceased, and when men were looking not for what might be revealed, but to what had been revealed.'* The statement in 1 Mac 9^{27} that 'there was great tribulation in Israel, such as was not since the time that no prophet appeared unto them,' illustrates the prevailing feeling on this point. There was no longer any proper scope for prophecy as the medium of further revelation. A period when attention to legalistic details became the paramount tendency in religion was not one to call forth men filled with great ideas, and eager in the name of God to unfold them to the people. And, in fact, religious activity was practically confined to the expository handling by the scribes of the revelation already given in the Law and the Prophets. 'Fresh principles and truths were no longer developed, though of course this did not exclude development in the case of what had already found expression.'* The only further revelation now possible was that which was to burst through the limitations of Judaism and bring in a religion for man. The Maccabæan revolt, however, regenerated in a wonderful degree the religious life of the period, and gave rise to a literature of its own which really amounted to a renaissance of a very fruitful kind. Our claim, then, in regard to the Apocr. and other non-canonical Jewish writings of the period is, that, while forming no essential part of OT revelation, they yet supply a very welcome link between the OT and the NT, and contain not a little that is of value in their illustrations and applications and further developments of the principles already revealed. It has been too readily assumed that these books are wholly without 'evidences of the Divine Spirit leading on to Christ.'

i. THE DOCTRINE OF GOD.—The first thing that naturally demands attention when we come to look at the dogmatic of the Apocr. is the doctrine of God. Now here, perhaps, it was not possible as regards the general doctrine that there should be any advance, and we are rather concerned to ask, Is the lofty presentation of the OT, as given especially in Ex $34^{6f.}$, sustained? On the whole, there need be no hesitation in saying that it is, although in some of the Apocryphal books the conception of God is much higher than in others. It is at its lowest in Judith, and at its highest in Sirach and Wisdom. But in general, throughout the Apocr., one finds essentially the OT view of God, as that had been evolved during centuries of theocratic guidance.

1. *The OT position.*—While the general idea of God is everywhere expressed in the OT by the name El (also Elōăh, Elōhīm), the earliest conception of the Divine nature within the sphere of revelation is that conveyed in the name El Shaddai=(?) 'God Almighty.' Although probably of pre-Mosaic origin, it was only at a later stage of revelation (Ex 3^{14} $6^{2f.}$) that the name Jahweh came to be apprehended in its essential significance as the absolutely independent, faithful, and immutable covenant God of Israel. God was next conceived as the Holy One (Ex 15^{11}),—just (Dt 32^{4}, Ps $36^{6f.}$), and jealous (Ex 34^{14}), but also merciful and gracious (Ex 34^{6}). In the prophetic writings He is further designated as the Lord of Hosts (Is 1^{24} 2^{12}, Jer 10^{16}, Hab 2^{13} etc.), and in the *Ḥokhma* literature as the all-wise (Job 35^{5}, Ps 147^{5}, Pr 2^{6}, Sir 2^{26}). See, further, art. GOD (in OT) in vol. ii.

Precisely the same conception of the Divine Being predominates in the Apocrypha. The only point about which there could be any difficulty in maintaining this identity is the spirituality of God; and with regard to this we hope to show that in the Apocr. there is something that may not unfairly be described as intermediate between the perfect revelation of the NT and the more materialistic view of the OT. While the fundamental conception of God remains unchanged from that of the OT Canon, there is at the same time a decided movement towards a more spiritual conception of the Supreme Being.

2. *The position of this doctrine in Jewish writings of the Apocryphal period.*—(1) Of the Pal. books the most important here, and the oldest, is Sirach. This book (written in Heb. *c.* 180 B.C., translated into Greek B.C. 132) has much to say about God, especially about His relation to the world physical and moral. The fullest statement of God's relation to the material universe is found

---

* *Camb. Bible for Schools*, 1 Mac., Introd. p. 14.

* *Camb. Bible for Schools*, 1 Mac., Introd. p. 14.

in 42^{15}–43^{33}; and what is distinctive of the writer's view as here expressed is his assertion that the mighty works of God's wisdom are beyond the power of His saints to declare (42^{17}). He is above all human praise (43^{30}). 'Who hath seen him, that he may declare him? And who shall magnify him as he is?' (43^{31}). There is no doubt that this represents a distinct step in the development of the doctrine of God. 'From the point of view of Ecclesiasticus,' says Nicolas, 'it is not only anthropomorphic representations which give false ideas of deity; not even the most elevated conceptions of the human spirit can declare it as it is. No feat of imagination, no effort of intelligence can reach it. Jesus, son of Sirach, has pronounced the word: the Eternal is incomprehensible in His essence by the limited faculties of man.' * The book also contains many statements regarding God's relationship to the moral world. There is a beneficent design in creation, 'for all things are created for their uses' (39^{21}). 'In the hand of the Lord is the authority of the earth,' and also 'the prosperity of a man' ($10^{4\text{f.}}$). 'Poverty and riches are from the Lord' (11^{14}), and 'he hath not given any man licence to sin' (15^{20}). God is represented as 'visiting' men; but 'as his majesty is, so also is his mercy' (2^{18}). Sometimes the contrast is drawn from the opposite side, as in 16^{12} 'As his mercy is great, so is his correction also; he judgeth a man according to his works.' As judge, there is with Him no respect of persons (35^{12}). In the assertion that 'the Most High also hateth sinners' (12^{6}) we have a deviation from the true biblical position that while hating sin God loves the sinner. The writer addresses God as 'Father and Master of my life' (23^{1}), and recognizes Him as the hearer of prayer (21^{5} 35^{16} 38^{9} etc.). A gracious Providence watches over the godly (34^{16}), but the sacrifices of the wicked are vain (34^{19}). God is regarded as specially the God of the Jews, but yet as the God of all, and loving all ($36^{1\text{-}5.\,17}$ 18^{13}). The relation of God to evil is thus laid down: 'Say not thou, It is through the Lord that I fell away; for thou shalt not do the things that he hateth. Say not thou, It is he that caused me to err; for he hath no need of a sinful man' ($15^{11\text{f.}}$). This passage is one of several in this book, the tenor of which is practically repeated in the Epistle of St. James ($1^{13\text{f.}}$). Except in the two particulars noted above, there is nothing in all this either in advance of, or at variance with, what is met with in the Canonical books of the OT upon the subject of the nature and character of the Supreme Being. The conservative instincts of the writer have even brought upon him the charge of adhering to 'a not so much untrue as antiquated form of religious belief.' †

In the various sections of Enoch the conception of God is practically that of the OT, although occasional divergences occur. *E.g.* the idea of God rejoicing over the destruction of the wicked (94^{10}) is quite foreign to the OT (cf. Ezk $18^{23.\,32}$ 33^{11}). This book employs a great multiplicity of titles for God. Of these, which are collected in the Index to Charles's edition, some of the most striking are, 'eternal Lord of glory' (75^{3}), 'God of the whole world' (84^{2}), 'Head of Days' (46^{2}), 'Honoured and Glorious One' (14^{21}), 'Lord of the sheep' (89^{16}), 'Lord of spirits' (37^{2}), 'Lord of the whole creation of the heaven' (84^{2}).

In the remaining Pal. books the conception of God undergoes little modification. According to the author of Jubilees, Israelites are God's children because physically descended from Jacob (1^{28}); but He is also the God of all ($22^{10.\,27}$ 30^{19} etc.). The idea of God presented in Judith is of the narrowest Jewish type. God is the God of Jews only. He ranks as the greatest of national deities, who will wreak vengeance on the foes of His people. Their misfortunes are due to their having departed from the law of Moses. God hears their prayers when they 'cast ashes upon their heads and spread out their sackcloth before the Lord' (4^{11}). 16^{16} is conceived in a higher strain; but apparently it is borrowed, like a similar passage in Sirach, from Ps 51. The general scope of the book, as regards the relation of the story to the character of God, detracts from the value of its separate statements. God is represented as countenancing the deceit practised by Judith in order to the deliverance of her nation, and by consequence the assassination of Holofernes. This book ranks fairly high as a literary work, but we cannot justify its morality without subscribing to the maxim that the end justifies the means. It contributes nothing to the doctrine of God beyond the general impression arising from the history, and that certainly is such as to convey a conception of Him far inferior to the lofty position maintained in Sirach. The First Book of Maccabees, being wholly historical, contains nothing to the point. Indeed, according to the true text, the name of God does not once occur in the book. Although inserted in several passages of the AV (2^{21} $3^{53.\,60}$ 4^{55} etc.), it is absent from the Greek text. In 3^{18} a few MSS do contain the word 'God,' but there is a preponderance of authority against the reading. While it breathes throughout a spirit of unfeigned faith in God as the defender and helper of His people ($4^{8\text{ff.}}$ 12^{15} 16^{3}), exhibits the deepest reverence for the Law and the temple worship (12^{9} 2^{21}), and recognizes the overruling providence of God (1^{64} 3^{18}) and His unfailing support of those who put their trust in Him (2^{61}), yet the general conception of the Divine Being, so far as presented in this book, is not that of Jahweh dwelling among His people, but that of God enthroned in the distant heaven (3^{50} 4^{10}). In Test. Levi 3, God is designated 'the Great Glory,' as in Enoch 14^{20} 102^{3}. 2 (4) Esdras, while presenting no distinctive doctrinal feature on this head, contains, besides an enumeration of the Divine attributes ($7^{62\text{ff.}}$) and a summary of much OT teaching about God, the striking invocation of $8^{20\text{-}23}$.

(2) Of the Pers.-Pal. books Bar 1–3^{8} is perhaps the oldest. Baruch's idea of God is simply that He is the guardian of Israel (2^{11} $3^{1.\,4}$). In spite of disciplinary trials, they enjoy peculiar privileges (2^{15}). To them alone has the Divine wisdom been revealed; and had they not abandoned it, they would not have been in subjection to the heathen ($2^{1.\,4}$ 3^{8}). The Book of Tobit has a wider conception of God. The writer hopefully contemplates the time when 'all the nations shall turn to fear the Lord God truly, and shall bury their idols. And all the nations shall bless the Lord' ($14^{6\text{f.}}$). The Jews will be raised above all other nations, not, however, because they are Jews, as Baruch holds, but because they do the will of God. In this book we have an illustration of the post-exilic tendency to accumulate names for God. He is spoken of as 'the Most High' (1^{4}), 'the Lord of heaven and earth' (7^{18}), 'God of our fathers' (8^{5}), 'the Holy One' (12^{12}), 'our Lord,' 'our Father' (13^{4}), 'the Lord of righteousness,' 'the everlasting King' (13^{6}), 'the Lord God' (13^{11}), 'the King of heaven' ($13^{7.\,11}$), 'the Lord of the righteous' (13^{13}), 'the great King' (13^{15}). Those who fear God shall be recompensed (4^{14}); indeed the fear of God is the true standard of wealth (4^{21}). The burden of the book is to prove that God's favour is reached through good works, such as fastings, the giving of alms, and the burial of the dead ($12^{8\text{ff.}}$). In this distinctly unbiblical position (cf. Sir $3^{3.\,30}$, which, though pure Palestinian, comes under the excep-

---

* *Des Doc. Rel. des Juifs*, p. 160 f.

† Cheyne in *The Expositor* (1st series), xi. p. 351.

tion noted above, p. 275) we may perhaps trace the influence of Zoroastrianism. According to that system, man's future destiny is determined by his life on earth, apart altogether from any idea of a Saviour. In the books of heaven every man is credited with his good deeds, while he is debited with his evil works. 'After death the soul arrives at the accountant's bridge over which lies the way to heaven'; a balance is struck, and according as the good or evil predominates so will his future be. In the case of equality between the good and the evil, the soul is relegated to an intermediate state until the last judgment, when his fate is finally fixed. The biblical doctrine of forgiveness is foreign to the system of Zoroaster, although it teaches that in view of man's ignorance, and his liability to be led astray by the powers of evil, Ormazd graciously resolved to send a prophet (Zoroaster himself) to point out to men the right way, and so rescue them from everlasting perdition. Still, in the last resort, this is essentially salvation by works—a doctrine propounded in Tobit, but utterly alien to Holy Scripture, the teaching of which on this head has been well voiced in two lines by Tennyson—

> 'For merit lives from man to man,
> And not from man, O Lord, to Thee.'
> (*In Memoriam*).

In the Assumption of Moses, a pure Pal. composition, the OT conception of merit is still adhered to (12^{7}), although in the Apoc. of Baruch, a composite book belonging to the first century of our era, justification by works is taught (51^{7} 67^{6}) just as in the Talmud.

(3) If some of the Jewish-Alexandrian writings contain little that is noteworthy, from our present standpoint, regarding the doctrine of God, there are others which furnish us with much that is germane to our purpose. In the second section of Bar. (3^{9} onwards) there occurs the following passage: 'This is our God, and there shall none other be accounted of in comparison of him. He hath found out all the way of knowledge, and hath given it unto Jacob his servant, and to Israel that is beloved of him. Afterward did she appear upon earth, and was conversant with men. This is the book of the commandments of God, and the law that endureth for ever: all they that hold it fast are appointed to life; but such as leave it shall die' (3^{35}–4^{1}). Owing to a misinterpretation, this was treated as a *locus classicus* in the Arian controversy; the reference in 3^{37} is not to the incarnation of the Logos, but to Wisdom personified, as in Sir 24^{10}. The really special feature of the passage is 'the view which it expresses of the sacred law. This wears the appearance of full creative originality. The Law is the final manifestation on earth of the wisdom of God Himself, which has taken a sort of bodily form, bestowing life and salvation on all who keep it. This constitutes a totally new combination of the older representation of wisdom as the revelation of God in the world with the deep veneration for the law which had recently arisen.'* In Baruch there is therefore no real development of the doctrine of God.

The Wisdom of Solomon, on the other hand, is here of first-rate importance. In this book we have the very highest conception of God, and are lifted entirely above the limitations of the Jewish idea. God 'is manifested to them that do not distrust him' (1^{2}); 'he visiteth his holy ones' (4^{15}). Men please him, not by their Judaism but by the purity of their life. God is described both in His relation to the physical and moral worlds, and also in regard to His nature and essence. His all-powerful hand created the world out of formless matter (11^{17}); by His word He made all things, and by His wisdom He formed man (9^{2}). But while 'He created all things that they might have being' (1^{14}), 'God made not death' (1^{13}). As 'sovereign Lord of all' (6^{7}), He exercises moral supervision over mankind in general: 'being righteous thou rulest all things righteously' (12^{15}). God's infinite resources are used in behalf of the righteous and against the ungodly ($5^{15.17}$ $11^{17ff.}$). Stern, however, as are the writer's delineations of the Divine judgments against sin, he is not oblivious to the correlative truth of the Divine mercy (11^{23} 12^{16} etc.). The sovereign Lord is also the lover of men's lives=souls (11^{26}), and 'the saviour of all' (16^{7}). Full recognition is accorded to the truth of God's gracious and sleepless providence (4^{17} 12^{13} $14^{5.3}$; 17^{2}). The philosophy of Israelitish history is explained by the fact that 'by measure and number and weight thou didst order all things' (11^{20}).

While the view of the Divine nature presented in Wisdom has manifestly much in common with that of the OT generally, it is also decidedly tinged with Hellenism. God is spoken of as 'the first author of beauty' (13^{3}), a designation which would never have occurred to a Heb. mind uninfluenced by Gr. thought. All wisdom is in His hand (7^{16}), and is the reflexion of His essential glory and goodness. In a noble *locus classicus* the author says: 'She is a breath of the power of God, and a clear effluence of the glory of the Almighty; therefore can nothing defiled find entrance into her. For she is an effulgence from everlasting light, and an unspotted mirror of the working of God, and an image of His goodness. And she, being one, hath power to do all things; and remaining in herself, reneweth all things: and from generation to generation passing into holy souls she maketh men friends of God and prophets' ($7^{25ff.}$). This is the language of the educated Greek as well as of the pious Jew. Such metaphysical abstractions and recondite conceptions are altogether alien to the genius of the unsophisticated Hebrew. What is distinctive in the idea of God presented here is that He is regarded not from the point of view of power and majesty, but from that of wisdom. The author's philosophy led him to value wisdom more than power. With him wisdom is the most excellent of all things, the noblest ideal that can be pursued, and the highest Being is necessarily the wisest Being. There is also something non-Hebraic about the following statements bearing on the spirituality and omnipresence of God:—'The spirit of the Lord hath filled the world' (1^{7}); 'thine incorruptible spirit is in all things' (12^{1}); 'verily all men by nature were but vain who had no perception of God, and from the good things that are seen they gained not power to know him that is' (13^{1}). On account of Ex 3^{14} we should perhaps exempt the last from this category, but the other passages look very like Jewish modifications of Gr. thought. The idea of the all-pervasiveness of the Divine spirit occurs also in Ps 139^{8}, but there is a difference in the mode of its presentation. In Wisdom the personality of God is kept more in the background, and is conceived in a vein of idealistic pantheism. With Plato, God is not a person but the all-comprehending idea of the Good, and our author's language seems to indicate a certain bias in this direction. But at the same time he emphasizes the spirituality of God; in the passages referred to we certainly have this apprehended in a very remarkable degree. If they lack the directness and finality of that great revealing word, 'God is spirit' (Jn 4^{24}), they nevertheless furnish an intermediate link between it and the more materialistic standpoint of the OT.

It will be necessary for us here, and at subsequent stages in our investigation, to take account of the theological position of the Jewish-Alexandrian philosopher Philo, whose views, as marking a notable development of Judaism intermediate between the Apocrypha and the NT, cannot reasonably be passed over. Although not the first, 'he is quite the most important representative of Hellenistic Judaism, and his writings give us the clearest view of what this development was and aimed at.'* One of its most cherished aims was the substitution of more abstract teaching for the numerous anthropomorphisms of the OT. And in this field Philo did extensive service. He held that grief, envy, wrath, revenge, etc., cannot be attributed to God, and that when He is represented as showing such emotions and affections the motives of the Divine activity are only being expressed in a way that specially appeals to the human mind. But, strongly influenced as he was by Gr. philosophy, Philo did not abandon Judaism. On the contrary, he did his best to propagate it. In opposition to the Stoic doctrine that God is the (impersonal) soul of the world, Philo declares Him to be essentially different from the world, of which He is the Creator and Preserver. And thus, in spite of such approximations to pantheistic thought as we meet with in his writings, and his free use of Gr. philosophical language and method, Philo stands firmly on theistic ground. Frequently, no doubt, he conveys the impression of sinking the concrete God in a conception of almost purely ideal content. According to this philosopher, God is pure Being, of whom no quality can be predicated, and it is only through the medium of an infinite multiplicity of Divine Ideas or Forces, distinct from his own proper being, that any active relation between God and the world is rendered possible. Regarding the nature of these mediating ἰδέαι or δυνάμεις, however, he has no very definite conception. He follows Plato in calling them *Ideas*, and the Stoics in also designating them *Forces* and *Logoi*, *i.e.* parts of the Reason which operates in the world; while at the same time he further identifies them with the Jewish *Angels* and the Gr. *Dæmons*, *i.e.* intermediaries between God and the world. It is not surprising that this vagueness of conception with regard to a fundamental theological distinction should involve him in a serious contradiction. Philo is unable to avoid the inconsistency of declaring on the one hand that the sum-total of Ideas, the κόσμος νοητός, is nothing more than the Reason of God as Creator, while yet on the other hand he represents these Ideas as so many distinct and independent entities. If God works in the world through the medium of His Ideas or Forces, then the latter cannot be separated from Him; but if He does not come into direct relationship with the world, then they must have an independent existence. See, further, art. PHILO in the present volume.

---

* Ewald, *HI* v. p. 208.

3. *The extent to which foreign influences affected the doctrine of God as reflected in these writings.*—How far, speaking generally, did external views modify the OT conception of this fundamental doctrine? As regards the influence of Persian thought, it must be said that, although traceable, it was yet in this connexion comparatively inoperative. The references in the visions of Zechariah to 'the seven eyes of Jehovah' (3^{9} 4^{10}) are probably derived from Zoroastrian imagery; but, if we except the idea that the favour of God is obtained through good works (To $12^{8ff.}$), there is hardly anything in the Apocrypha touching the doctrine of God which can be attributed to Persian influence. Allusion has already been made to the general identification of Jehovah with Ormazd. But, if there were points of union between the religion of the Persians and that of the Hebrews in their conception of the Supreme Being, there were also points of cleavage. *E.g.*, unlike Judaism, Zoroastrianism starts from a dualistic scheme of the universe. In the persons of their representatives Ahura-mazda (Ormazd) and Angrô-mainyush (Ahriman) good and evil have existed from all eternity. These two spirits divide the world between them; and its history is the record of their contest for the possession of the human soul. Man has been created by, and is accountable to, Ormazd, but he is a free agent, and may, if he choose, become the abettor of evil. To do evil is to serve the interests of Ahriman; to live righteously is to advance the kingdom of Ormazd. The two original spirits wage war by means of their respective creatures. Thus Ormazd is practically an idealized Oriental monarch surrounded by his ministers or *Amesha-Spentas* (mod. Pers. *Amshaspands*) who execute his will. But for the pious Jew, after the Exile as before it, there is no such dual proprietorship of the world; on the contrary, there is one 'Creator of all' (Sir 24^{8}), 'the God of all' (Sir 50^{22}), and 'sovereign Lord of all' (Wis 6^{7} 8^{3}).

But, if the Pers. influence was slight, the Gr. influence on the OT conception of God was considerable. The necessary consequence of Judaism meeting Gr. thought appears in nothing more clearly than in the way in which the LXX translators habitually tone down anthropomorphic expressions about God. A few examples taken from only two OT books will suffice to illustrate this tendency. In Is 42^{13}, where the Heb. text reads, 'Jehovah shall go forth as a mighty man,' the LXX has 'The Lord God of powers (κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων) shall go forth,' while in the same passage, as also in Ex 15^{3}, for His designation as 'a man of war' is substituted the general idea of 'stirring up war' (συντρίβων πολέμους). The statement of Ex 19^{3} that 'Moses went up unto God, and J″ called unto him out of the mountain' is modified as follows: 'Moses went up unto the mount of God, and God called unto him from heaven, saying,' etc. In Ex 21^{6} it is said of the slave who prefers his master's service to freedom, 'his master shall bring him unto God' (RV), but the Gr. tr. runs, 'unto the judgment of God.' An obvious avoidance of the idea of seeing God occurs in Ex 24^{10}, where the Heb. text—'They saw the God of Israel'—is expanded into 'they saw the place where stood the God of Israel'; and in Is 38^{11}, where Hezekiah's lament, 'I shall not see the Lord in the land of the living,' becomes 'I shall not see the salvation of God,' etc. But, while in the case of the bolder anthropomorphisms used by the Heb. writers the LXX translators were thus careful to put more abstract language in their place, they did not of course go the full length of pantheism. That would indeed be a strange travesty of the OT which should attempt to represent J″ as an impersonal Deity, devoid of self-conscious reason and will. All that can be affirmed is a distinct tendency to guard the idea of God from misconception, by making use of language studiously abstract and sober. The same tendency is observable in the Apocrypha. As the majority of these books were written originally in Greek, we cannot trace the process so visibly as in the case of OT books rendered into Greek, but it shows itself none the less in the much rarer employment of names of members of the human body (anthropomorphisms), and in the much rarer ascription of affections of the human mind (anthropopathies), to set forth the personal activity, moral freedom, and spirituality of the living God. Even Wisdom, however, is not wholly free from anthropomorphisms; it speaks of God's ear (1^{10}), and of His hand (5^{16} 7^{16} 10^{20} etc.); it contains the expression, 'them the Lord shall laugh to scorn' (4^{18}), and it 'retains a picture which was removed by the Targumist Jonathan as too anthropomorphic.'*

---

* Schürer, art. 'Philo' in *Encyc. Brit.*

Philosophy has often wavered between pantheism and the recognition of a personal Deity. The human mind has difficulty in uniting the two conceptions of the Absolute and concrete personality. Revelation, however, has done this, and has done it without detracting from the significance of either, or setting the one above the other. The personality of God is not, as in the more popular view, emphasized to the virtual exclusion of the conception of the Absolute, for it is expressly declared that the heaven of heavens cannot contain Him (1 K 8^{27}); nor, on the other hand, is the idea of the Absolute pressed, as in the strictly scientific view, to the exclusion of the individual personality, for God is represented as saying, 'I am the Lord, and there is none else, there is no God beside me' (Is 45^{5} etc.). In the Apocrypha likewise each of these conceptions gets its true position. This appears from such a passage as Wis 1^{7} 'The spirit of the Lord hath filled the world, and that which holdeth all things together hath knowledge of every voice.' Here the author pronounces against Greek pantheism by representing God as a living, personal Being; yet in the second half of the verse the attributes of omnipotence and omnipresence are predicated of the Divine spirit in the most abstract way. In short, God is presented as knowing and willing and actively working, just as in the OT, but He is spoken of in a more philosophical way. In another passage the writer excuses to some extent those who have been led to hold pantheistic views from the mistaken notion that personality is not compatible with absolute Godhead. At the same time, while giving them credit for diligent search after God, he laments that they should 'yield themselves up to sight, because the things that they look upon are beautiful,' and not 'sooner find the Sovereign Lord of these his works' ($13^{6ff.}$).

4. *Popular superstitions regarding the name Jahweh.*—Owing, perhaps, to their more figurative language, the Pal. Jews had not the same aversion as their Hellenistic brethren to representations of God which ascribed to Him visible features or human passions. But even they felt it necessary to harmonize the corporeal conceptions of the theophanies with the many biblical assertions of the spirituality of God. This they sought to do by the theory that God Himself did not appear to the patriarchs and to Moses; they saw only a manifestation of God—His word, His glory, His Shekinah. Persian ideas had as little to do with this attitude of the Pal. Jews as Greek, for Zoroastrianism did not concern itself with religious metaphysics. It was not due to any external influence. They had simply come to build their doctrine of God more upon the spiritual basis of such teaching as that of Ex 3^{14} 10^{28} etc. Unfortunately, they 'did not know how to retain it within the limits of spiritualism. It fell gradually into the excess of a gross theosophy of reveries and superstitions.'† Like the philosophers of Alexandria, the illiterate Jews of Palestine had arrived at the conclusion that God cannot be known to human intelligence. Unlike the former, however, they could not give philosophical expression to this idea, and held it only in the form of a superstitious belief that it is unlawful to utter the sacred name. The Kabbalists refer to it as 'the name of the four letters.' According to Jewish tradition, it was pronounced only once a year by the high priest when he entered into the Holy of Holies, and Simon the Just was the last who did this. He who knew how to pronounce this mysterious name was believed to have a magical power over the forces of nature, and was designated among the Rabbis בַּעַל שֵׁם = 'master of the name.' Mystic speculations upon the name of J″ naturally led up to wild surmises regarding the essence of God and the origin of things, referred to possibly in Sir $31^{21f.}$, practised among the Essenes (Jos. *BJ* II. viii. 9), and embodied later in the Kabbala. The tendency of the period was towards an abstract conception of Deity. Starting from the principle that God was too pure to have immediate relations with created things, men were forced to have recourse to the theory that He governs the world through intermediary beings. And here the Jews of Palestine virtually joined hands with Philo.

5. *The Christian doctrine of God.*—In Palestine the strongest influence opposing the growth of the Hellenistic spirit was the partisan life which the people had come to lead. Samaritan separatism and Pharisaic pride gave the most determined resistance in their power to everything foreign. According to Dillmann ('Enoch' in Schenkel), the Book of Enoch was the first known attempt to defend the biblical conception of the world against the inroads of Hellenism. The work of the scribes in expounding and elaborating the Law helped still further to erect and strengthen the 'middle wall of partition' between Jew and Gentile. Yet it is plain that, when Christ appeared, the doctrine of God was very variously conceived. It was reserved for Him to clear away the heathen elements that, in spite of all efforts to the contrary, had clustered round it, and to reveal God as the loving Father of His creatures, by whom the hairs of our head are numbered, and the sparrows protected and fed (Mt $10^{29f.}$). Christ thus made God known to men as He had never been known before, and gave full expansion to OT glimpses of truth. And we know how in doing this He united the most popular expressions and modes of thought with the most abstract conceptions. His teaching 'joins, in the highest degree possible,' says Wendt (*Teaching of Jesus*, § ii. ch. 1), 'popular intelligibility and rich significance.' The truth is, both elements are necessary. The exclusive use of either the popular language of the imagination or the philosophical terminology of the schools must lead to a defective and one-sided conception of God. In the former case the concrete personality comes to clear expression, but the elaborate use of popular images may seriously interfere with the thought of essential spiritual Godhead. When, as in the OT, He is represented as writing, laughing, bearing the sword, etc., we are brought within measurable distance of such a humanistic conception. That the Israelites were constantly in danger of obscuring the conception of God as the Absolute is shown by their repeated lapses into idolatry, which really meant the putting of many separate deities in the place of the One. On the other hand, a conception of God that is limited to the philosophical language of the schools must always be deficient on the religious side. The free, personal life of Deity can become intelligible to us only when expressed in terms taken over from human life. Such language is of course figurative, but it sets forth the Divine activity in a way singularly fitted to impress us. Our minds cannot lay hold of God in His invisible Being; we need some tangible object on which to fix our thoughts. We see God's glory in the heavens, but we cannot live on abstract ideas of Being and Omniscience. We long for a Person whom we can love, to whom we can tell our sorrows, whom we can approach with confidence. Instinctively we cry, 'Show us the Father.' This great need of the human soul is fully supplied in the Person of Christ. He is the Word of life, whom men's eyes have seen, and men's hands have handled.

---

* Langen, *Judenthum*, etc. p. 205, n. 3.

† Nicolas, *Des Doc. Rel. des Juifs*, p. 159.

Our conclusion, then, is that in at least one of the most important Apocryphal books, The Wisdom of Solomon, there is an appreciable development towards a more spiritual idea of God, and that what of grossness yet remained in the conception of Him was purged away by Christ. In the Christian doctrine of God we have also the true corrective to the exaggerated idealism of Philo, according to which God has no direct connexion with the world which He has made.

ii. THE DOCTRINE OF THE WISDOM.—Among Oriental nations in general, and among the Hebrews in particular (1 K $4^{30f.}$, Jer 49^7), there was a strongly marked tendency of mind known distinctively as 'wisdom,' and comparable to, though not identical with, the speculative philosophy of Greece. Whether indeed the Hebrews can be said to have possessed a philosophy at all, depends on the meaning ascribed to the term. Of metaphysical speculation about God and the world they had none, believing as they did that 'in the beginning God created the heavens and the earth,' but they had a 'sacred' philosophy of their own, which was, above all, religious and practical in its aims. Between secular philosophy and the human wisdom of Israel there was thus an essential difference. They differed in standpoint, in method, and in spirit. The Greek philosopher exercised reason upon the phenomena of the universe (τὸ πᾶν) as he found it, with the view of making it yield up its secret; the Hebrew philosopher had his ethical and religious principles to start with, and merely verified them in the actual occurrences of life.

1. *Wisdom presented in OT not only as human but as Divine.*—In its *human* aspect Wisdom is the ability to recognize, the capacity to understand, and the disposition to co-operate with the Divine purpose as it affects the physical world and the life of men. Theoretically and practically, 'the fear of the LORD is the beginning of wisdom.' Moral and intellectual wisdom are seldom dissociated: the righteous man is the 'wise' man, and the ungodly is the fool (Ps 5^5, Wis 4^{17} 12^{23}). Among the people of Israel the human wisdom assumed different phases from time to time. From being a doctrine of Providence in the widest sense, according to which 'the LORD hath made all things answering to their end' (Pr 16^4), it came to be so in a narrower sense when the events of history appeared irreconcilable with the *a priori* principles contained in the Law (cf. Ps 37. 73, and the Bk. of Job). There came, too, 'a period of comparative quiescence in the presence of difficulties, which are themselves drawn into the general scheme, and shown, as parts of it, to have their own utility.' *

In the OT, however, Wisdom is presented not only as human, but also as *Divine*. By Divine Wisdom is meant the world in its totality as inhabited by God and expressing in its varied phenomena His mind and character and mode of working. As the unity of thought and force underlying the manifold forms of creation, it may be ideally differentiated from God. It is so, *e.g.*, in the passage of most significance—the remarkable generalization of Pr 8. Wisdom is spoken of in such a way as to make it impossible to believe that only the Divine attribute of wisdom is meant. Nor perhaps can we regard this description of wisdom as 'certainly nothing more than a poetical personification of the Divine Intelligence.' † Rather is it here the active, organized, and conscious embodiment of the Divine principles empirically manifested in creation and providence. It is something outside of, yet standing alongside of, God, created by Him so as together with Him to fashion the world. God is the actual worker, but Wisdom is with Him as His workman and fellow. Realizing itself thus in the work of creation, Wisdom is further represented as 'playing' like a child before Jehovah in His habitable earth, in all the glow of conscious power, and as taking special delight in the sons of men. Such qualities are ascribed to it as to make it almost identical now with the Spirit, now with the NT Logos.

In different parts of the Heb. Scriptures God's revelation of Himself is attributed to His word. Gn 1 at once suggests itself in connexion with the idea of the Word as creative; God *speaks*, and the world starts into being. Later on, it appears as the regular medium of the prophetic oracles. In certain psalms (33^6 107^{20} 147^{15}) and in Isaiah (55^{11}) we find the Word personified and set forth as the agent and messenger of the Divine will. It came thus to be conceived as distinct from God Himself, force being perhaps lent to the distinction by the fact that nearly all Heb. words for speech include the notion of *standing forth*. The Word is essentially connected with the idea of mediation, and indeed the whole Jewish revelation is pervaded by the thought that God never manifests Himself except through a medium. He sends His angel, His word, His prophet, His only-begotten Son; but, as for Himself in His essential Being, 'no man hath seen God at any time.'

It is thus possible to find the germ of the doctrine of the Logos already in the opening verses of Scripture, which represent God as having called things into being by speech. But, doubtless, it was only in connexion with the later development of the Wisdom that the origin of the Logos doctrine was referred back to this source. The whole subject is beset with much difficulty. This is partly due to the variable meaning attached to the Wisdom by biblical writers. Sometimes it is conceived as a pure abstraction, sometimes as a simple personification of the Divine Intelligence, and sometimes as virtually a distinct person objective to God Himself. From Pr 8 it is clear, on the one hand, that to the writer Wisdom exists alongside of God in a special sense applicable to none of His attributes; and, on the other, that his picture of the perfectly harmonious coexistence of God and Wisdom excludes the hypothesis of a duality in the Godhead. The Logos is more than a simple personification of Wisdom, and yet is not altogether conceived as a distinct person. The conception is more than poetical, without, however, clearly passing beyond the poetical category. A very near approach is made to the idea of the hypostasis of the Logos, but there is no definite expression given to it. No other passage of the OT affords a deeper glance into the inner Divine life, and yet it is not easy to say what precisely we gain from it in this, to us, necessarily mysterious department of knowledge. Possibly Langen is right—although it may be difficult to reconcile such an opinion with a strict view of inspiration—when he says with regard to the statements of the sacred writer: 'It would really seem that in those expressions he has presented his own dark surmisings about the essence of his "Wisdom of God" rather than clear-cut thoughts' (*l.c.* p. 252).

2. *Hellenizing of the Heb. Ḥokhma in the Alexandrian Wisdom of Solomon.*—In Sirach the conception of Wisdom is often of the vaguest kind. Wisdom may be reason, or foresight, or knowledge, or virtue. He does use it, however, in a more definite sense. Objectively, it is that everlasting

---

* A. B. Davidson in *The Expositor* (First Series), xi. p. 340.

† Godet (*Prologue to St. John's Gospel*), who adds: 'When combined, however, with the notion of the Angel of the LORD, this idea of Wisdom assumes the character of a real personality.' It is difficult to see what good purpose is served by thus mixing up the two ideas. A great deal is predicated of Wisdom that is not in the OT applied to the Angel of the LORD; they have, in fact, nothing in common beyond the notion of representing God to the chosen people.

power by which God created and governs the world. Immanent from all eternity (1^{4} 24^{9}), it became active at the creation. It must therefore be conceived at once as an emanation from God and as standing alongside of God. Subjectively, it is the possession of the man who discovers the Divine Wisdom through the investigation of God's works in nature, and the knowledge of His will as revealed in the Law. The personification in Sir 24, although sharper and bolder than that of Pr 8, does not go beyond the latter in the direction of asserting a distinct personality. Wisdom is represented as a premundane creation of God (v.^{9}), which 'came forth from the mouth of the Most High, and covered the earth as a mist' (v.^{3}). All-embracing (v.^{5}), and with a footing in every nation (v.^{6}), it makes its home in Israel (vv.$^{8.\ 10f.}$), takes root, grows, blossoms, and brings forth fruit (vv.$^{12-17}$), and is enshrined in the Mosaic law (v.^{23}). To Wisdom is thus given the special aspect of the revelation of God in the Law and in 'the assemblies of Jacob.' But, although in this way it corresponds somewhat to the NT λόγος, there is no clear ascription to it of personality: 'the conception of it still floats, so to speak, "as a mist."'[*] Thus we find nothing in Sirach, or in Baruch who agrees with him (cf. $3^{12ff.}$), beyond a highly coloured personification after the manner of the OT writings. They stand, in spite of Greek influences, where the author of Pr 8 stood. But these influences told very strongly in 'that highly original synthesis of Jewish, Platonic, and Stoic elements,' the later Alexandrian Book of Wisdom.

Heraclitus, who was a pantheist, appears to have been the originator of the Greek doctrine of the νοῦς or λόγος. Matter, he said, is God, but the animating νοῦς gave it shape. Anaxagoras improved on this by his threefold system of Godhead, λόγος, and matter, holding that God as the highest Being made use of the λόγος or νοῦς = Divine Intelligence, as the regulative principle of the universe. To Anaxagoras belongs the merit of having asserted the ascendency of Mind, although his theory was much obscured by the attempt to adduce explanations from material causes. In opposition to the physical philosophers, and in continuation of the work of Socrates, Plato put forth his theory of Ideas, in accordance with which he maintained that the phenomena of the universe could be accounted for only by 'The good,' *i.e.* the Final Cause. This philosopher gave a further development to the views of Anaxagoras by holding that the λόγος or νοῦς which gave form and order to the world designed it after the pattern of its own perfections. A supreme Mind, he contended, must as Intelligence work with some end in view; but, as the perfect Intelligence can fittingly have for its object only that which is best, it must have reflected its own attributes in the shaping of the world. Thus 'God is the measure of all things' (*de Leg.* iv.). The νοῦς holds together the κόσμος νοητός, but, as regards its relation to God Himself, Plato is clear only in saying that it is not identical with Him. For, according to this greatest of Gr. philosophers, the Divine essence is to be sought, not in Intelligence but in the idea of the Chief Good; and, when he speaks of God as νοῦς, it is only as Creator of the world that He is so designated. Still, Plato does not go the length of representing the νοῦς as a distinct personality.

It is not difficult to see how the Alexandrian Jews found their Heb. חָכְמָה (*Ḥokhma*) in this Greek doctrine of the νοῦς. Not to take account of differences, Plato and Solomon—or the writer of Pr 8 it should perhaps rather be said—were agreed that Wisdom must be distinguished from God, that it nevertheless belongs to Him, and that through it as a medium He actively works. Here, then, was a distinct point of union; and it is only natural that in passing from Sirach to Wisdom, written in another country and at a later time, we should meet with a considerable development of the OT doctrine, which was still substantially repeated there. This development is in the direction of Hellenizing the Heb. doctrine of Wisdom.

The writer introduces his discussion of Wisdom with the remark that he will explain what it is, and how it arose (6^{22}). Further, the doctrine is set forth in the abstract terms of Platonism, and not in language current among the ancient Hebrews. There is in Wisdom 'a spirit quick of understanding, holy, alone in kind, manifold, subtil, freely moving, clear in utterance, unpolluted, distinct, unharmed, loving what is good, keen, unhindered, beneficent, loving towards man, stedfast, sure, free from care, all-powerful, all-surveying, and penetrating through all spirits that are quick of understanding, pure, most subtil' ($7^{22f.}$). This summation of the attributes of Wisdom in no fewer than 21 particulars is quite after the Hellenistic style. The computation is indeed moderate when compared with the 150 epithets applied by Philo to vicious men.[*] The whole description of Wisdom recalls the manner in which the Gr. philosophers were accustomed to speak of their νοῦς. In point of subtlety of thought and expression the passage is manifestly framed after the Gr. rather than the Heb. models. It is also worthy of note that this does not profess to be a description of Wisdom itself, but only of *a spirit that is in her.* In this connexion Langen says: 'There was a disinclination to transfer directly to Wisdom itself what the Greeks said of the νοῦς, because σοφία in the abstract is only a bare conception, and therefore in the case of such a transference the qualities mentioned ran the risk of being handed over from their more substantial bearer (νοῦς) to a purely ideal one. On this account the writer elevated σοφία into a substance, while investing it with a spirit (πνεῦμα). And hereby there was therefore also implied an actual doctrinal advance, inasmuch as the essential character (*Wesenseigenthümlichkeit*) of Wisdom came to clearer expression than was possible through the figurative language of Solomon (*i.e.* Pr. 8). Yet this advance can be treated only as formal and not material, since Solomon also, through his anthropomorphic presentation of Wisdom playing before God, had already plainly enough raised it above the purely ideal.'[†] As regards the description itself, it would seem that, when the writer speaks of Wisdom as 'a clear effluence of the glory of the Almighty,' 'an effulgence from everlasting light,' 'an unspotted mirror of the working of God,' and 'an image of his goodness,' he means to represent it as standing in a relation to God that is not shared by the Divine creations —a relation so close and peculiar as to constitute Wisdom the very image or reflexion of His own essential Being, in a sense in which man cannot be said to be so. Here at all events Wisdom is no mere personification, but a real essence of purest light, the image of the Godhead, streaming forth as a substance from God before the creation of the world. At the same time there is no sharp distinction of personality drawn between God and His Wisdom. While, in conjunction with the Gr. doctrine of the νοῦς, the Heb. doctrine of the Wisdom came to be more clearly conceived and expressed, it was not as yet, either in the mind of our author or of his contemporaries, hypostatized into a second and subordinate God, as it afterwards was by Philo. There is in more than the usual sense a personification of Wisdom, yet we are led only half-way to personality. As Schürer says, 'The author applies the term *Wisdom* of God to represent the notion of an intermediary hypostasis, so far as he entertains it' (*HJP* II. iii. p. 376 n.). It is, however, important to note that, as the result of the combination and interaction of the Greek and the Jewish mind, the Book of Wisdom marks a distinct step towards greater definiteness of conception and expression in reference to this doctrine.

---

[*] De Wette, *Ev. Joh.* p. 12 (Leipzig, 1837).

[*] *De Mercede Meretricis*, ed. Mang. ii. 268.

[†] *Judenthum*, etc. p. 259 f.

In the Bk. of Wisdom the Heb. *Ḥokhma* is practically identified, however, not only with the Gr. *νοῦς*, but also with the Holy Spirit and with the Logos. In the OT, God's Holy Spirit is the giver of all good; so to the Alexandrian was Wisdom. It is not wonderful therefore that the author of our book virtually identifies the two, and attributes to Wisdom just what the OT (*e.g.* in Is 11^{2}) does to the Spirit of J″. At all events, the idea of the Spirit of God is intermixed with that of Wisdom, for it is Wisdom that inspires the prophets (7^{27}). In one passage in particular (9^{17}) Wisdom and the Holy Spirit are spoken of in quite parallel terms as the sole avenues to knowledge of the Divine counsel. Although not known to most of the Apocryphal writers, the Holy Spirit is, beyond doubt, expressly mentioned here. See art. HOLY SPIRIT in vol. ii. In at least one passage there also seems to be an identification of the Wisdom with the Gr. *λόγος*. Regarding the destruction of the firstborn in Egypt it is said, 'Thine all-powerful word leaped from heaven out of the royal throne, a stern warrior into the midst of the doomed land, bearing as a sharp sword thine unfeigned commandment; and standing it filled all things with death; and while it touched the heaven it trode upon the earth' ($18^{15f.}$). The description here given of the *λόγος* inevitably suggests what the writer has already said of Wisdom as sharing God's royal throne (9^{4}); and besides, as Langen has pointed out, there is merely a transference to the *λόγος* of what was before said of Wisdom, viz. that it 'pervadeth and penetrateth all things' (7^{24}), and 'reacheth from one end of the world to the other' (8^{1}). In support of the view that God's Word is here only another name for His Wisdom, we have the general doctrine, otherwise clearly expressed in our book, that God executes His will through His Word (16^{12}). It can make no difference that in this case His will was to punish Egypt, and was not associated with any creative or healing purpose. A comparison of this passage with 10^{19} shows that what is here ascribed to the *λόγος* might equally well have been attributed to the agency of the Wisdom. Bretschneider, on the other hand, maintains (*l.c.* p. 254 f.) that *λόγος* here denotes the destroying angel, and that nowhere either in the Apocrypha or in the LXX is it the equivalent of חָכְמָה, which is always translated by *σοφία*. But can the epithet *παντοδύναμος* be fittingly applied to an angel? However this may be, it seems quite plain that the doctrine of Wisdom in the Apocrypha is intermediate between that of the OT and the Logos of Philo, just as in Philo again we have the transition from the Apocryphal to the Johannine doctrine. In the Book of Wisdom there is assuredly development of some sort, however we may be disposed to characterize it. If our author says no more than the OT, he certainly says it more clearly. If there be no material advance on the OT doctrine, we have that doctrine presented in a much fuller and more developed form, and this we may regard as the legitimate service of Greek thought. Hagenbach recognizes 'the more definite and concrete form which, at the time when the Apocryphal writings were composed, was given to the personifications of the Divine word and the Divine Wisdom found in the OT.'* And so good an authority as A. B. Davidson says, 'If in the Alexandrian Wisdom of Solomon a progress directly in *advance* of what is found in Proverbs viii. on the doctrine of Wisdom may be justly contested, there is certainly what may be called a progress *round about*,—the ideas about Wisdom are expanded and placed in new lights, and made to enter into new relations in such a way that a general approximation to the NT doctrine of the Logos is the result.'† See, further, the articles WISDOM and WISDOM OF SOLOMON in vol. iv.

3. *The Logos of Philo.*—Already in the OT (Pr 8) there had been drawn the distinction between God Himself and the Wisdom of God, and in connexion with the Platonic doctrine of the *νοῦς* a further development is traceable in the Apocrypha, particularly in the Book of Wisdom. The designation of the Wisdom as *λόγος* furnishes the transition to another notable development—that which we find in the teaching of Philo. According to this philosopher, the relation of the Wisdom to the Logos is that of the source to the stream; the Logos is just Wisdom come to expression. Sometimes, however, he identifies the two (*de Profug.* i. 56). The whole world of ideas is embraced in the single conception and supreme Idea of the Logos or Reason of God. All empirical knowledge of God is referred to the Logos, who ranks indeed as a second, but also secondary, God. It is he who created and who reveals himself in the world, while the true God is inconceivable, and 'hides Himself behind the impenetrable veil of heaven.' The Logos is not in himself God; he is, however, an emanation from God, His firstborn son, and formed in His image. He is the manifested reflexion of the Eternal—the shadow, as it were, cast by the light of God. He is at once the medium and the mediator between God and the world; as 'the many-named archangel' he is the bearer of all revelation; and in him as high priest God and the world are eternally reconciled. With striking vigour and originality of thought Philo built up a religious philosophy, in which the Logos is endowed with personality and represented as a hypostasis standing between God and the world. In thus raising the Logos from an impersonal power to the level of a mediatorial hypostasis he passes beyond the OT and the Apocrypha, and makes his Logos correspond exactly neither to the Jewish Wisdom nor to the Platonic *νοῦς*. His teaching under this head is, however, characterized by the same ambiguity that attaches to his doctrine of God. By no possible ingenuity can the Logos be consistently represented as at once the immanent Reason of God, and yet also as a distinct hypostasis mediating between the spiritual and the material, the Divine and the finite. And in general it may be said that, 'owing to the manifold relations in which Philo places the Logos,—to Divine powers, ideas, and angels, to the supersensual and to the visible world, to the thought, speech, and creation of God, and again to the human spirit, whose heavenly prototype he is,—a perfectly clear and consistent conception of this mythical figure is rendered a virtual impossibility.'‡ Moreover, the service done by Philo in giving clear expression to the personality of the Logos is seriously curtailed by his theory of subordination, which, although no doubt in his view necessitated by the pronounced monotheism of the OT, detracted from the position previously assigned to the Logos, and even anticipated in some measure the fashion of Gnostic polytheism.

---

* *Hist. of Doctrines*, i. p. 106, Eng. tr.

† Art. 'Apocrypha' in *Encyc. Brit.*

‡ Lipsius, art. 'Alexandrinische Religionsphilosophie' in Schenkel's *Bibellexicon*.

4. *The Memra of the Targums.*—Before we come to consider the teaching of the NT regarding the Logos, reference may be made to a kindred expression which occurs very frequently in the Targums. The name given to the Logos in these writings (but never in the Talmud) is *Memra*=‘Word.’

Memra is not, however, always the equivalent, nor is it, strictly speaking, ever the precise equivalent, of Logos, which has the additional meaning of *reason*; and one result of the adoption of this narrower term was to give fresh significance to the statement that the world was created by the word of God (Gn 1^3, Ps 33^6). Still, the mediation of the Memra or Word is not, as in the OT and in Philo's theosophy, represented as specially connected with the creative activity of God; rather is it applied to the whole scope of His activity in the world. With the Targumists it stands in much the same relationship to God as the *Ḥokhma* or σοφία of the earlier Jews, only it is allowed a wider range. By His Word God enters into covenant with men and exercises guardianship over them; to His Word they pray, and by His Word they swear. There is, however, considerable vagueness in the use of the term. Sometimes anthropomorphisms are avoided by the introduction of *word* or *glory*. Thus in Gn 28 the glory of J″ appears to Jacob, who declares that the Word of J″ shall then be his God. But in some passages, when there can be no such motive, Memra or Word is used for the Spirit of J″, apparently to avoid referring directly to the Divine Being the processes of the inner life of Godhead. A distinction is made between the Word as spoken (*Pithgama*) and the Word as speaking or revealing Himself (*Memra*). *E.g.* in Gn 15^1 ‘After these things came the *Pithgama* of J″ to Abram in a vision (? in prophecy), saying, Fear not, Abram, my *Memra* shall be thy strength and thy exceeding great reward.’ ‘A critical analysis shows that in 82 instances in Onkelos, in 71 instances in the Jerus. Targum, and in 213 instances in the Targum pseudo-Jonathan, the designation *Memra* is not only distinguished from God, but evidently refers to God as revealing Himself.’ *

From what has been said, it will be apparent that, while the Memra plays a rôle somewhat similar to it, it is not to be altogether identified with the Logos of Philo. In one respect, however, the Targumists are at one with the Alexandrian theosophy of which he became the leading exponent; the Deity Himself remained in the background, and everything that can be known by us about God's essential Being is transferred to the Word. This is shown, *e.g.*, by their treatment of 1 S 26^{20}, where, instead of ‘Let not my blood fall to the earth before the face of the Lord,’ we have ‘Let not . . . before the *Word* of the Lord.’ Even affections are attributed to God only mediately through the Word (Gn 6^6, 1 S 15^{10}, Is 42^1). With the Alexandrians God is without qualities (ἄποιος); with the Targumists He is virtually unknowable. While, then, the Memra of the Targumists is not to be identified with the Logos doctrine of the Alexandrian school, the former being at bottom religious and the latter philosophical, the two conceptions are yet in some measure related. Indeed the difference between the position reflected in the Targums and the standpoint of the Book of Wisdom is most satisfactorily explained on the assumption that the Alexandrian doctrine of the Logos, as representing the knowable in Deity, was not unfamiliar to Pal. circles, at any rate so far as its general features and results were concerned. In all probability it was to a large extent welcomed and adopted as a ready-made and serviceable conception. This may be inferred from the fact that the expression Memra is used almost to excess, and in the most varied connexions. While really connoting much less than the Jewish σοφία=Gr. λόγος, it was given a far more extended application than is warranted by the doctrine of the σοφία as presented in the Book of Wisdom.

It was in keeping with the spirit of the age that the Targumists should hail a doctrine which made for the purification of the conception of God by excluding the ascription to God in His essential Being of all direct activity in the world or contact with man, and of all such affections of the soul as seemed to savour of the finite and human, and so to import a certain limitation and degradation of the Deity. They did not, however, like Philo, speculate about the position of the Word relatively to God. They were content to connect their generalizations with the OT representation of the creation of the world mediately through Wisdom. And as in the sacred writings the conception of Wisdom is not a fixed one, but appears now as merely a personified Divine attribute, now as virtually a distinct entity or hypostasis, they secured their object by the simple method of giving to it a wider scope. In the hands of the Targumists, however, the Logos doctrine underwent no essential development; they did nothing to give precision or clearness to the obscure and indeterminate position in which it is found in Proverbs and Wisdom, and also in the earlier writings of the Alexandrian school.

For generations thinking men had been grappling with the problems suggested by the OT doctrine of the Logos in conjunction with philosophical speculation, and it would appear as if at length by the first century of our era the hope of a satisfactory conclusion ever being reached had been to a large extent abandoned. Men were weary of wandering in what seemed an interminable maze. For while on the one hand there was a disposition to surmise that the unity of the Godhead was not in all respects absolute, on the other hand it was recognized that the phenomena of the inner life of Deity were secrets undecipherable by man's intellect, and only darkly hinted at even in revelation. Through the dense maze of subtleties and theorizings which had overrun the path of investigation Philo had boldly cut his way to clearer ground by ascribing to the Logos a distinct personality, albeit with the rank of an inferior God. Others went to the opposite extreme, and took no cognizance whatever of the subject. The writer of 2 (4) Esdras, *e.g.*, ignores the whole development of the Logos doctrine. Although that doctrine was specially associated with the creation of the world, and had obtained in Palestine a new significance as Memra, the term ‘Word’ is used by the writer simply as denoting the spoken word, even where he speaks of God as having created heaven and earth by His Word. All mystery is eliminated from the doctrine, and no consciousness betrayed of the existence of the many enigmas which had gathered round it.

5. *NT conception of the Logos.*—But the whole position with reference to this doctrine was about to undergo a development of the utmost consequence through the promulgation of the Christian idea of the Logos. This is set forth in the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel. Here we are taught that the Logos is a Divine personal Subsistence, and, as such, exists in a twofold manner: first, as coexistent with God from eternity, as resting in Him before all time; second, as outwardly existing, *i.e.* as manifested, first of all in order to the act of creation, and finally in His Incarnation in order to the redemption of the world. ‘In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him. . . . And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, full of grace and truth.’ In these bold, concise, and unmistakable utterances, St. John, moved and enlightened by the Holy Ghost, at once completely solves the long-standing riddle of centuries, and communicates a new revelation. Joining on his representation to that of the Mosaic account of the creation as containing the first revelation of the activity of the Logos, he proceeds to erect upon this foundation his great doctrinal superstructure. The opening verses of the OT had already declared that in the beginning God created the heaven and the earth, and through His Word gave shape and order to formless chaos. St. John supplements this statement by further declaring that ‘in the beginning’ the Word already existed alongside of God and partook of the Divine nature. He thereby also confirms the language of Pr 8, which speaks of Wisdom as ‘set up from everlasting,’ and as occupying the very closest relation to God. True, he does not make use of the term Wisdom, but of the term Logos. The latter, however, is employed, not in its older meaning of *Nous* but in its then current sense of *Word*. The connexion with Pr 8 is obvious enough, and the Evangelist's representation makes it impossible to put any other interpretation upon the passage than that which it must bear when read in the light of his words.

The question is often asked, How far was the writer in his view of the Logos influenced by current philosophical speculations, and more especially by those of Philo? In seeking an answer we must keep in mind the fact that when the Gospel was written the name Logos was a familiar one, alike in Jewish and in non-Jewish circles. The air was

* Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, i. p. 47.

full of such doctrines as Philo's, and that of the Logos in its essential features not only existed in Alexandria before his day, but must also have gained currency in Palestine, seeing there was constant communication between Egypt and that country. Consequently, it is not surprising that the author of the Gospel uses the name without explanation as one which his readers would be prepared to understand. Two extreme views have been propounded, and, as frequently happens, the truth would seem to lie somewhere between them. The first is, that the philosophy of the time had no influence whatever on the Prologue to this Gospel, and was not kept in view by the writer. In this case the name Logos is not regarded as derived from the Schools, but as having sprung up solely within the Church, in the sense of *oratio*=‘word,’ ‘revelation.’ But, if we thus exclude the meaning *ratio* and confine it to *oratio*, we cannot put a satisfactory construction on the words ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος. For though we may regard creation as a self-revelation of God, wrought through the Logos, who was as Logos at the beginning *of the world*, yet if, as we believe, ἦν denotes the pre-temporal existence of Christ, we cannot accept the narrowed meaning. It is only as λόγος ἐνδιάθετος that the term can denote His eternal existence *before* time ; and this we find to be an outstanding truth in the record of the Logos made flesh. The other and opposite view, that the writer merely expands and embodies the teaching of Philo, is likewise untenable. Even those who deny the Johannine authorship must reject it, for the two conceptions, if in some respects similar, are yet essentially at variance. While the idea of an Incarnation is utterly destructive of Philo's doctrine of the Logos, it is the central truth of the Christian faith that God's revelation is not completed until it is embodied in a human life. On the assumption that the Gospel is St. John's, this view is incredible. Can we suppose that the disciple whom Jesus loved, who drew from the Saviour the principles that gave character to his life, who pondered deeply and long what he had seen and heard, would have founded his conception of his Master on the crude notions of an expiring philosophy? The matter, then, would seem to stand thus : The author derived his view of Christ's Person from Christ's life and teaching, and his own reflexion upon them, guided by the illumination of the Holy Spirit. Like St. Paul, he might have expressed these views independently of any philosophical system. At the same time he recognized in the name and conception of the Logos a suitable vehicle for his own thought, and adopted it accordingly. In other words, he recognizes and declares that there is a great Truth after which men had been thus groping, that there *is* a Divinity working in the world, as the Greek had faintly perceived, and that there is need for a revealer of the invisible God, as the Jew had come to feel.

Very noticeable in connexion with St. John's solution of an enigma which had become more and more complicated as time went on, is the contrast between the firm tread of Scripture and the hesitating vagaries of the unaided human intellect. In the Prologue to this Gospel there is a note of certainty, of finality, of quiet confidence, and of powerful persuasiveness, which is foreign to Alexandrian theosophist and Jewish Targumist alike. The Logos became flesh : in this simple yet momentous declaration he conveyed to the world the secret of the inner life of the Godhead as he had learned it from the Holy Spirit working in the soul of one who had been so intimately associated with Jesus, and who, more than any other of the Apostles, was capable of being animated by the mind of the Master. That which he had seen and heard, and which had never faded from his adoring consciousness, he announced to men not only as an answer to their problems, but also as the redemption of their souls. The two loftiest ideas in OT revelation are those of Wisdom and the Messiah, and, although the Jews had no proper conception of this, and latterly even lost the consciousness of it, the two ideas were essentially one. It was his knowledge of this that enabled St. John to unlock the mystery which would yield to no other key. To as many as received Him on the footing of His being at once the Word and the Anointed of God, the Eternal Word gave power to become the sons of God. The jarring note in the Evangelist's account of this glorious gospel is the record that ‘he came unto his own, and his own received him not.’ It needed the lurid light of the cross to show the harmony and inseparableness of these two ideas, and to prove that Christ, as combining in His own Person everything ascribed to the Logos and the Messiah, is made unto us ‘wisdom from God, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption’ (1 Co 1^{30}).

iii. ANGELOLOGY AND DEMONOLOGY. — A. *ANGELOLOGY*.—1. *The OT doctrine of angels*.—There was throughout the East a general belief in angels as inhabitants of the spirit-world. In the OT these are recognized as spirits intermediate between God and man, and acting as the messengers and servants of Providence. Their nature, while superior to that of man, is not purely spiritual ; their main function is that of executing the Divine behests. They are poetically conceived as forming the host of heaven (1 K 22^{19}), who praise God in the sanctuary above (Ps 148^{2} 150^{1}), act as the ministers of His will (Ps $103^{20f.}$), attend Him when He manifests Himself in His kingly glory (Dt 33^{2} ? ; see Driver, *ad loc.*), and form His retinue when He appears for judgment (Jl 3^{11}, Zec 14^{5}). The mention of the captain of the Lord's host in Jos $5^{13ff.}$ is too slender a basis for the conclusion that the ancient Hebrew regarded the angels as an organized celestial hierarchy in which the cherubim and seraphim hold their respective ranks. Nowhere are the cherubim endowed with independent personality ; they are only ideal representations, varying according to the conception of the writers who make mention of them. In like manner the seraphim of Is 6 seem to be only symbolic appearances. There is, however, a very perceptible development of angelology in the OT itself. At first the LORD God speaks directly to man (Gn 3^{9}) ; then He appears to men through His messengers, who are called ‘sons of God’ (Job 1^{6}, Ps 29^{1} 89^{6}). We have further the conception of the Angel of the LORD, who is in some passages identified with J″ (Gn 18^{20}, cf. with 19^{13}), and in others hypostatically distinguished from Him (Gn 24^{7}, Zec 1^{12}). Whether this name is to be applied specifically to one angel who represents God's presence, or is to be extended to any angel with a special commission, remains therefore a moot point. The doctrine that Israel was led by the angel of J″ paved the way for the belief in angelic guardianship of individuals, which some would find in Ps 34^{7} 91^{11}, although it is doubtful whether these passages contain more than a poetical expression of trust in a beneficent Providence. On the other hand, angels were regarded as the instruments of judgment (2 S 24^{16}, 2 K 19^{35}, Ps 78^{49}), and even the forces of nature came to be personified as God's messengers (Ps 104^{4}).

Prior to the Exile, with rare exceptions such as Is $6^{2\text{-}6}$, the prophets do not introduce angels, but already in the visions of Ezekiel and Zechariah they play a prominent part, and the mystic number of seven (Ezk 9^{2}, Zec $4^{2.10}$) possibly points to the hierarchical idea which certainly afterwards gained ground (To 12^{15}, Rev 8^{2}). Ezekiel calls them men; Zechariah calls them both men and messengers. By these prophets special prominence is also given to one angel who acts as Instructor or Interpreter. This is the fruitful germ from which has sprung the widespread invocation of angels and spirits in the worship of the Christian Church. Then, as in modern monastic piety, it appears to have arisen from a false conception of God as reigning in the remote heaven; angels were employed to bridge the gulf that separated Him from men. Zechariah is the first prophet to recognize different orders and ranks among the angels ($2^{3.4}$ $3^{1.4}$).

2. *Post-exilic development of angelology on Persian lines.*—In the post-exilic period, chiefly under the Parsi influences brought to bear upon the Jews of the Dispersion, the OT doctrine of angels underwent a curious and interesting development. Not that the Jews adopted wholesale the doctrine of Zoroaster either on this or on other points; but the inevitable social and religious influences amid which many of them lived in contentment and peace, could not but tell on their theology. All the more was this the case that Zoroastrianism was in the zenith of its prosperity as a religious system, and in many respects indeed, as we have seen, was allied to Judaism. In no direction did it influence Jewish thought more than in the department of angelology. Men's minds were strongly attracted to the superhuman, and angels were multiplied until God was conceived as governing the world by hosts of these 'intermediary beings who concerned themselves with the affairs of men with very various ends.' The belief in a regularly graded hierarchy of good and evil spirits, which characterized the religion of Zoroaster, began to be distinctly reflected, at least as to its main features, in the Jewish theology of the period. The position reached with regard to this whole doctrine in the later Judaism was apparently the result of the Persian conception of pure beings who surrounded Ormazd as his servants, acting upon the ancient Jewish belief that the angels were the messengers of Jehovah's will. Development of the doctrine on Iranian lines was facilitated by the general and undefined nature of the Heb. angelology. The latter offered no bar to the acceptance of an ideal structure based upon a common principle; and the religious character of the Mazdean doctrine of pure spirits gave it the appearance of being the complete form of their own more rudimentary belief. In the later Jewish literature, accordingly, the angels are viewed as a well-organized host, whose recognized chiefs (Dn 10^{13}) are admitted into God's immediate presence, and form His secret council (Enoch 14^{22}). They are seven in number (To 12^{15}). Three are named in Daniel and Tobit, viz. GABRIEL, *i.e.* 'man of God,' whose special function seems to have been to communicate Divine revelations (Dn 8^{16} 9^{21}, Lk 1^{19}); MICHAEL, *i.e.* 'who is like God?' the guardian of Israel (Dn $10^{13.21}$ 12^{1}, Bar 6^{7}, cf. 1 Th 4^{16}, Jude ^{9}, Rev 12^{7}); and RAPHAEL, *i.e.* 'God heals,' whose mission it was to cure disease (To 3^{17}), and to present the prayers of the saints before God's throne (To 12^{15}, cf. Zec 1^{12}). Three more are mentioned in 2 (4) Esdras: URIEL, *i.e.* 'God is light' (4^{1}); JEREMIEL, *i.e.* 'God hurls' (4^{36}); and PHALTIEL (the Syriac has *Psaltiel*, 5^{16}).[*] Who was the seventh? Is the silence of the pre-Christian Jewish literature on this point merely accidental, or was J″ Himself reckoned the first of the seven archangels, as Ormazd was the chief of the seven *amshaspands*?[†] On the latter supposition the analogy would be complete, but it would have been alien to all Jewish tradition to compare Ormazd or any of the archangels with J″. To them He was far above, and of another nature than, angels or archangels, who were only His servants. They borrowed the idea of the seven *amshaspands*, and made them the chiefs of the heavenly host; but they regarded them, their chief included, as beings entirely subordinate to J″.

The Persian influence is seen so far in the pronounced angelology of the Book of Daniel. What is new here is that angels, who are designated 'watchers' (עִירִין. In LXX עִיר is Grecized into εἴρ, but Aq. and Symm. render ἐγρήγορος), have recognized princes with particular names, whereas in ancient Israel none of the angels were known by proper names. The angel in Jg $13^{18f.}$ refuses to tell his name. That the names of the angels *ascenderunt in manu Israelis ex Babylone*[*] is expressly acknowledged by the Rabbins themselves. It is also taught in Daniel that the nations have their own special tutelary spirits, who fight actively in their behalf ($10^{13.20}$). This identification of particular angels with different nations carries us a step further than the intercession of the angels in Zechariah's first vision. There is also in Daniel a further development of the former prophet's vision of a hierarchy among the angels; they are classified in categories, of which each has particular functions.

But it is in the Apocryphal writings that we discern the full strength of the Persian influence. The great Books of Sirach and Wisdom have little or nothing to say about angels. Judith speaks of none, and 1 Mac. refers only once to the destroying angel (7^{41}). In Baruch also there is but a single reference to the subject (6^{7}). The other books, and mainly 2 (4) Esdras, Tobit, and 2 Mac., are our sources. The most important passage, and one which formed the groundwork, so to speak, of many subsequent delineations of man's relation to the spirit-world, is To 12^{12-15} (cf. Rev 8^{4}): 'When thou didst pray, and Sarah thy daughter-in-law, I did bring the memorial of your prayer before the Holy One: and when thou didst bury the dead, I was with thee likewise. . . . And now God did send me to heal thee and Sarah thy daughter-in-law. I am Raphael, one of the seven holy angels, which present the prayers of the saints, and go in before the glory of the Holy One.' This passage teaches still more clearly than the Books of Zechariah and Daniel that there is a distinction of rank among the angels. Raphael is one of seven who stand in the immediate presence of God; from Lk 1^{19} and Rev 8^{2} we learn that Gabriel was also a member of Tobit's heptarchy. This idea, which was probably taken from the customs of Oriental palaces, where dignitaries were wont to gather round the throne, and which at all events had been embodied in the religion of Zoroaster, attains great prominence in the Jewish Apocalyptic literature. In spite of the weighty authority of A. B. Davidson, who observes, 'The number seven already appears in Ezk 9^{2}, and there is no need to refer it to Persian influence' (art. ANGELS in vol. i.), it is difficult to resist the conviction that the seven *amshaspands* or princes of light suggested the seven Jewish archangels. So Winer, *RWB*, art. 'Engel'; Ewald, *HI* v. p. 185; Nicolas, *Des Doctrines Religieuses des Juifs*; Cheyne, *OP* p. 335. At the same time there is no reason to suppose that the entire scheme of the supersensible world elaborated in the Avesta became part of the creed of Judaism. While the Persian influence is traceable, and while there are general points of resemblance in the angelology of the two systems, there is nothing like absolute identity. It is further implied in the passage under review, that according to their position in this hierarchy particular functions are performed by particular angels. The great business of 'the seven' is to 'present the prayers of the saints.' It seems to follow from this that the prayers of the pious are directed to the angels for this purpose; compare, on the other hand, Rev $22^{8f.}$. Another belief, clearly reflected in Tobit, is that some angels are charged with the protection of individual men: 'A good angel shall go with him, and his journey shall be prospered, and he shall return safe and sound' (5^{21}). 'Good' is here evidently not descriptive of the angel's character as opposed to evil angels, but to his office of guardianship, in keeping with the statement of v.^{16} 'God . . . shall prosper your journey; and may his angel go with you.' The Israelites thought of the superhuman powers, not as good and evil but as benevolent or antagonistic. If the idea of angelic guardianship of individual men appears at all in the OT (Ps 34^7 91^{11}), it does so in a far less definite shape than here. In NT times, on the other hand, this belief seems to have been quite current (Ac 12^{15}). An interesting example of its recurrence in modern literature is found in Lessing's *Nathan der Weise*, where Recha, Nathan's adopted daughter, is made to say—

---

[*] Cf. Enoch 20^{7} (Uriel, Raphael, Raguel, Michael, Sariel, Gabriel).

[†] These are called (1) Vohu-Manô = 'the good mind'; (2) Asha-vahista = 'the highest holiness'; (3) Khshathra-vairya = 'good government'; (4) Spenta-armaiti = 'meek piety'; (5) Haurvatât = 'perfection'; (6) Ameretât = 'immortality'; (7) Ahura-mazda = 'the supreme god himself.'

[*] Jerus. Talmud, *Rôsh-hashānā*, p. 56.

> 'Ich also, ich hab' einen Engel
> Von Angesicht zu Angesicht gesehn;
> Und *meinen* Engel.'

The same idea was extended to nations and armies (Dn 12^1, 2 Mac 11^6 15^{23}). Indeed we find in 2 Mac. almost a repetition of the old Roman legend of Castor and Pollux mounted on white steeds and appearing at the head of the Jewish armies ($3^{25ff.}$). A somewhat similar tale is told in $10^{29f.}$, where five such 'men' appear, 'two of them leading on the Jews.' In 15^{23} Judas Maccabæus is represented as praying for 'a good angel' to terrify the enemy, and in v.^{27} the Jews are described as having been 'made exceeding glad by the manifestation of God.' This idea as applied to nations seems to underlie the Heb. text followed by the LXX translator of Dt 32^8 'The Most High set the bounds of the people according to the number of the *angels of God'* (בְּנֵי אֵל) instead of 'sons of Israel' (בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל). Perhaps also Ben Sira may have had the angels in view when he wrote: 'For every nation he appointed a ruler' (Sir 17^{17}).

3. *Conception of elemental angels in post-canonical Jewish literature.*—Allusion has already been made to the personification of the forces of nature in the OT. The same tendency showed itself later in the conception of the elemental angels. Sir $39^{28ff.}$ speaks of 'fire and hail, and famine and death; teeth of wild beasts, and scorpions and adders' as 'spirits (πνεύματα) that are created for vengeance.' Although these are not angels, they are said to rejoice in executing God's commandment, and the language used by the writer certainly prepared the way for the introduction into Palestine of the Gr. idea of attributing to every separate thing its δαίμων or angel. In the Book of Enoch, the sea, the hoar frost, the snow, the mist, the dew, and the rain,—each has its special spirit ($60^{16ff.}$). This idea is still further developed in the Book of Jubilees (B.C. 135–105); the different elements are represented as each containing a spirit, and this again its angel, so that it becomes possible to speak of the angels of the fire-spirit, the wind-spirit, etc. The fullest development, however, of the tendency in question is found in the Targums. Thus in that of Jonathan the pestilence of Hab 3^5 becomes the angel of death. That even abstract conceptions had their angels bound up with them appears, *e.g.*, from the statement of the *Testament of Benjamin* that the souls of the virtuous are led by the angel of peace (ἄγγελος τῆς εἰρήνης).

To sum up. The Jewish people, under the influence of what they saw in the religion of Zoroaster, formulated their doctrine of angels with more precision than they had done previously. Especially was this the case with regard to these points: (1) the angels as a whole were conceived as forming a celestial hierarchy with seven princes; (2) those angels who acted as intermediaries between heaven and earth were designated by proper names; (3) the Jews began to follow the custom (which, however, was no less Greek than Persian) of peopling the whole world with angels, and of giving to every man his own protecting spirit or δαίμων; (4) they formed the conception of the elemental angels.

4. *Doctrine of angels as held by the Essenes and by Philo.*—That the Jewish angelology had not reached its full development even at the beginning of the Christian era is evident from the fact that a cardinal point in it, viz. the doctrine propounded in the Talmud and the Targums regarding the creation of angels on the second day of the creation of the world, is entirely absent from the NT as well as from the later pre-Christian Jewish writings. The same conclusion is pointed to by the vagueness in several respects (*e.g.* in the exact division of angelic tasks, and in the varying names given to the last three archangels) of the angelology of the two centuries before Christ, which seems to have been a product of popular imagination rather than the deliberate teaching of the Rabbis. The Palestinian and Babylonian Jew was, however, quite satisfied with an angelology which not only supplied some tangible link between him and the Deity, but also afforded the comfortable assurance that in heaven his destinies were watched over by the accredited commissioners of J". It was otherwise with the Jews of Alexandria and the Essenes, who were concerned with the speculative rather than the practical, and with whom the doctrine of angels took the form of a theory of cosmic powers. By the latter sect the popular belief in angels was spiritualized into an esoteric system, in which the angels were only metaphorically the servants and messengers of God; in reality they were descending grades of being, differing in purity and in power in proportion to their distance from the First Cause, of which they were all emanations. It was the privilege of the initiated to be informed as to the distinctive names of this graduated series of spirits, and of the relations in which they stood to the whole and to one another. Any one admitted to their sect had to take an oath that he would 'equally preserve' their peculiar books and the names of the angels (Jos. *BJ* II. viii. 7). In all this we see the allegorizing and Gnostic tendency already at work.

Philo's doctrine of angels, although much akin to that of the Essenes, bore the peculiar stamp of its birthplace. It was a Platonized version of the ancient Hebrew beliefs. The latter formed, indeed, the common basis of both the Palestinian and the Alexandrian angelology; the differences in the developed products were due to the fact that in the one case Zoroastrian, and in the other Platonic, influences were at work. According to Philo, the angels are incorporeal beings who inhabit the air, and are in number equal to the stars. They are comprehended in two main divisions—the inferior angels, who dwell nearest to the earth and are capable of descending into human bodies; and the higher and purer intelligences (λόγοι = Ideas), whose habitat is the upper regions of the air. It is through the latter that God, who as the perfect Being cannot enter into relations with corruptible matter, communicates with the universe. These intermediaries, whose action is purely spiritual, Philo identifies not only with the Platonic Ideas and Stoic Forces, but with the Dæmons of the Greeks and the Angels of the Jews. Their function is to execute the commands of the Most High, and to protect and direct the souls of good men. Among the infinite variety of the powers two are supreme—goodness and might. It must be said, however, that Philo has no clear-cut conception of these mediating forces. At times he speaks as if they were mere abstractions, at other times as if they were persons. But this is the necessary result of the premises from which he starts. As the media by which He works in the world His Ideas must be inseparable from God; while at the same time, on the assumption of His aloofness from the world, they must rank as independent entities.

5. *Denial of angels by the Sadducees.*—In certain quarters, however, during the post-exilic period the doctrine of angels seems to have met with entire rejection. The position of the Samaritans is not quite clear, but at all events they had a doctrine of angels, and in this respect differed from the Sadducees, who maintained that 'there is no resurrection, neither angel, nor spirit' (Ac 23[8]). This is so far supported by Josephus, who says that according to the teaching of the Sadducees the soul dies with the body (*Ant.* XVIII. i. 4). How much does this denial of angels by the Sadducees imply? It is possible that they only rejected the oral Pharisaic tradition and the developed angelology of their day, while accepting the written Scriptures and a rationalistic interpretation of the old angelophanies. Yet they were evidently pure materialists, and repudiated the idea of a future life. It does seem strange that they should nevertheless have believed in God; but their God was, like the deities of Epicureanism, entirely separated from the world. In their view the present life was complete in itself, and man had no future judgment to face. As adherents of the Epicurean philosophy, they could not accept either the doctrine of a future life, or the Jewish angelology which postulated a spirit-world created by God, and judged by Him.

B. *DEMONOLOGY.*—1. *The position as reflected in the earlier OT literature.*—The development in demonology is still more marked than that of angelology. Among the ancient Hebrews the belief in evil spirits seems to have been of the most rudimentary description, hardly amounting to more than a vague popular superstition. The data furnished by the earlier OT literature is extremely meagre. Ruins and waste places were peopled with weird spectres (*sĕʿîrîm*), including a night-monster, Lilith, who was specially dangerous to infants (Is 13[21] 34[14]).* Mental disease was attributed to the malign influence of evil spirits, but in such cases the evil spirit is said to have proceeded from the LORD (1 S 16[14]). As His Providence comprehended alike the evil and the good (1 S 2[6], Ps 78[49]), there was really no place for demons viewed as the source of evil. The *shēdîm* of Dt 32[17] and Ps 106[37], though illegitimate objects of worship, are not in OT the noxious spirits which they became in the later Judaism, and the story of the serpent in Gn 3[1-7] is not elsewhere alluded to in any pre-exilic writing. If the belief in evil spirits can be said to have existed in Israel before the Exile, it certainly was not in the widespread form which it afterwards assumed. Although those interpreters who have detected a personal being in Azāzel (=(?) 'God strengthens,' Lv 16[8]) are probably right, in view of the fact that Jehovah receives the one goat and Azāzel the other, it does not follow that the conception of the latter arose at an early date in Heb. history. It is probable that the Priestly Code is not of Mosaic origin, and that this allusion to the ritual of the scapegoat belongs to post-exilic times. There is no subsequent mention of Azāzel in OT, although he reappears in the Book of Enoch as a leader of the (fallen) angels. Cheyne ('Azâzel' in *Encyc. Bibl.*) thinks he was 'a personal angel substituted for the crowd of *sĕʿîrîm* (or earth-demons) to whom the people sacrificed; just as the scapegoat was the substitute for the sacrificial victims.' However this may be, it is clear that he was regarded as in some sense antagonistic to J″; and that the conception of him, if not identical with that of Satan, as Origen (*c. Cels.* vi. 305) and others have supposed, was at least a step in the direction of that of the devil.

2. *The Satan of Job, Zechariah, the Chronicler, and the Similitudes of Enoch.*—In the Prologue to Job we have the first trace of the Satan or Adversary, *i.e.* the angel whose function it is to act as Accuser and to execute God's purposes of judgment. As a member of God's council (1[8]) he stands in contrast to those angels whose ministry is concerned with errands of mercy, but while an angel of evil he is not in his own nature an evil angel. Although showing a strong disinclination to believe in human virtue, he does not in Job, as in Jude, contend with God; he is content to act by His permission. But while he is not here represented as an evil spirit, he is yet on the way which led later to his being so conceived. He performs his task with a too evident relish, and instigates God against Job (2[3]). It is still a question among critics whether the Book of Job is pre-exilic, but the other OT writings in which the word Satan is used to denote this minister of God undoubtedly belong to the Jewish period. In Zec 3[1.2] he appears as the pitiless accuser whom J″ repels. The cruel and malicious way in which he exercises his office against the broken-down Church of the Restoration calls forth the rebuke of Divine grace. Here there is an approach to the conception of him as an evil spirit, without his being regarded, however, as an embodiment of all evil; he is still God's servant. In 1 Ch 21[1] Satan is used without the article as the distinctive designation of the spirit who stands up against Israel as their enemy. It is at his instigation that David numbers the people, an act ascribed in earlier times to J″ (2 S 24[1]). The possibility of such an interchange is owing to the fact that in either case the angel who tempts David is the minister of J″. Angels are but the ministers of His will. Even to the 'lying spirit' mentioned in 2 Ch 18[21] we are not to ascribe an evil character. That passage does not prove that at this stage evil spirits were not only believed in, but viewed as having power to 'possess' individual men. The spirit who misled the infatuated Ahab is Jehovah's messenger, and goes forth from His immediate presence. In the Satan of Zechariah and the Chronicler, then, even more than in that of Job, there seems to be some approach to the conception of an evil spirit. At the same time he has not yet become an actual demon. The period was one of transition: foreign influences were at work among the Pal. and Bab. Jews, and primitive Semitic beliefs were undergoing a process of transformation. Thus in the earlier post-exilic age Satan was neither a Heb. angel pure and simple, nor a Jewish demon of the developed type familiar to us in NT. Later, in the *Similitudes* of the Book of

---

* Although these passages are probably exilic, and coloured by Babylonian influence, the mention of jackals and other animals in connexion with the *sĕʿîrîm* warrants the conclusion that demons were supposed to dwell in all those animals which haunt the solitary waste.

Enoch, written, according to Charles, B.C. 95–80, he appears as ruler of the angels whom he has made subject to him (54^{6}, cf. Mt 12$^{24ff.}$). These, who are designated Satans, have access to heaven, but are subject to the Lord of spirits (40^{7}). Like those of Satan in NT, their functions are tempting (69$^{4.6}$, cf. Mt 4$^{1ff.}$, Lk 22^{3}), accusing (40^{7}, cf. Rev 12^{10}), and punishing (53^{3} 56^{1}, cf. 1 Co 5^{5}). It was long before Satan came to be conceived in Palestine as Beelzebub, or prince of devils. There is, in fact, a strange reticence regarding the existence and nature of Satan in the literature of the period between the Testaments. He is not mentioned in the Apocrypha (Satan being most probably used in Sir 21^{27} merely in the general sense of adversary) or by Josephus. There is not, however, the same silence with regard to demons. Under the influence of Mazdeism a more concrete form was given to floating Semitic superstitions about evil spirits. Not that this influence went very deep, for Persian dualism could not seriously affect Hebrew monotheism.

It is a moot point whether the conception of Satan may not have been taken over from the Persians. This is denied by many scholars, *e.g.* Oehler, who maintains that 'the Satan of the OT is devoid of essential characteristics which must be present to justify a comparison with Ahriman' (*OT Theol.* ii. p. 291, Eng. tr.). So also Renan. Cheyne thinks it 'a matter for argument. But who can fail to see that the Satan of the Book of Revelation is the fellow of Ahriman?' (*OP*, p. 282). G. A. Smith, while admitting the difficulty of the question, ranges himself on the negative side (*The Twelve Prophets*, ii. p. 319). According to Wellhausen, however,—who thinks that 'the influence of Parsism upon Judaism was not so great as is usually assumed,'—'Satan has some relation to old Hebrew conceptions (1 K xxii.), but nevertheless is essentially the product of Zoroastrian dualism' (art. 'Israel' in *Encyc. Brit.*). Bruce suggests that the divergence of 1 Ch 21^{1} from 2 S 24^{1}, referred to above, may have been due to a feeling on the part of the Chronicler, begotten of Iranian influence, that temptation was no fit work of God (*The Moral Order of the World*, p. 63). The influence of the Persian dualism, which represents Ahriman as the antagonist of Ormazd, may also possibly be reflected in Zec 3. Here Satan appears as accuser of Joshua the high priest, standing, as was customary upon such occasions, at his right hand (Ps 109^{6}). The rebuke administered to him exactly coincides with that of Jude^{9}, where Michael the archangel is said to have disputed with him about the burial of Moses. It is, however, doubtful whether in Zec. Satan is not used merely in the general sense of the Adversary; the occurrence of the article seems to preclude the view that we have here a regular proper name as in 1 Ch 21^{1}. In the art. 'ZOROASTRIANISM in vol. iv., J. H. Moulton, while characterizing as 'absurd' the idea that Satan was borrowed from Angra Mainyu, is ready to concede that 'the ranking of demons and the elevation of one spirit to their head may have been stimulated by Parsism.' This writer also allows that 'the abandonment of earlier ideas, like Azāzel and the serpent' 'in favour of the Satan,' is to be ascribed to Persian influence. See, further, art. SATAN in vol. iv.

3. *The doctrine of evil spirits in the Apocrypha and in the writings of Josephus.*—Although the Apocrypha say nothing of Satan (unless Wis 2^{24}, on which see below, refers to him), they clearly teach the doctrine of δαιμόνια or evil spirits. These are not angels, nor, apparently, fallen angels. They have power to plague and even slay men, but can be driven away by fumigation, and bound by the angels. Asmodæus is represented in To 6^{14} as being in love with Sarah, daughter of Raguel, and as having killed in succession seven unfortunate men to whom she had been married (3^{8}). The angel Raphael advises Tobias the son of Tobit to marry her, and provides him with a charm, in the shape of the heart and liver of a fish thrown upon the ashes of incense, to drive away the demon. The smell causes the evil spirit to flee into Egypt, where he is bound by Raphael (8$^{1-3}$). If all the other spirits were like this one, they must have had bodies, and must have been inferior in power to the angels. The writer of the Book of Tobit was evidently acquainted with Mesopotamia, and therefore with the Persian demonology, which is reflected in his work, although not to the extent of representing the demon as a rival power to that of God. He stops short of actual dualism. The author of 1 Mac., speaking of the Akra or citadel which was the headquarters of the Syrian garrison, describes it as 'an evil adversary (διάβολος) to Israel,' *i.e.* 'an adversary or devil in stone'; but this simply reflects the popular conception of the devil as hostile to God's true worshippers.

Josephus, though silent as to Satan, has a good deal to say about evil spirits, and we may fairly take his views as those current in his time. His theory is that demons are the spirits of wicked men departed, who enter into the living and kill them unless they can obtain deliverance (*BJ* VII. vi. 3). The art of exorcizing evil spirits is also known to him. By the use of certain incantations, and especially by the application to the nostrils of the demoniac of a fire-coloured root called *barras*, which grew near the fortress of Machærus, the demon can be expelled. Josephus speaks of this as the discovery of Solomon, and says he saw one Eleazar releasing demoniacs in this fashion (*Ant.* VIII. ii. 5). He gravely affirms that great care must be exercised in the handling of this root, otherwise fatal consequences will follow. On the soil being removed, it may, however, be safely taken by tying a dog to it; as soon as the dog moves, it dies, but the plant has been rendered innocuous (*BJ* VII. vi. 3).

4. *Demonology of the Alexandrian Jews.*—If the Pal. demonology of the two centuries preceding the fall of Jerusalem be characterized by an element of triviality, that of the Alexandrian Jews is marked by one of vague generality. In the LXX heathen gods are uniformly demons, and not merely nonentities as in the Heb. text. The same view is taken by the Alexandrian author of Bar 3^{8}–5^{9}, who in his hatred of idolatry charges the Israelites with having sacrificed to devils and not to God (4^{7}). In the Book of Wisdom the subject is dealt with on a higher plane of thought. 'God created man for incorruption, and made him an image of his own proper being; but by the envy of the devil death entered into the world, and they that are of his portion make trial thereof' (2$^{23f.}$). This is interesting as being the first clear allusion in Jewish literature to the narrative of the Fall as told in Genesis. It is also a philosophy of the history, for it 'substitutes a personal devil for the serpent,' and is, moreover, a tolerably precise statement of the doctrine of original sin. But it is only a passing allusion that the writer makes to the subject; he does not return to it, and his views do not reappear in other writings of the Alexandrian Jews. Philo, who makes only a single reference to evil spirits as exciting impure desires in man, adopts another explanation of the Fall (*de Gig.* 4). Yet the recurrence of this view in Rev 12^{7}, and its acceptance by Christian theologians, show that it must have had its advocates.

5. *Pronounced development of demonology in the Jewish pseudepigrapha.*—In the Jewish pseudepigrapha, highly composite works containing many Christian elements, and ranging over one or two centuries before and after the Christian era, much light is thrown upon the development of demonology. These writings embody a mass of heterogeneous material which had considerable influence in shaping NT doctrines, and in no direction is this influence more marked than in that of demonology. The only demon named in the Apocrypha is Asmodæus (To 3$^{8.17}$), but in the pseudepigrapha we meet with many others. Beliar, probably the Belial of 2 Co 6^{15}, appears in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, in the Sibylline Oracles (2^{167}), and in the Ascension of Isaiah (4^{2}) as the Antichrist. The latter work further describes him as the ruler of the world (1^{8} 2^{4}), which will be the scene of his manifestation (4^{2}). In the Book of

Enoch, which seems to embrace all the superstitions of the period, a list is given of the chief of the demons to the number of eighteen (6^{7}), and another of (evil) 'angels' to the number of twenty (so the Greek text of 69^{2}), followed by a further enumeration of their chiefs, with an account of the particular direction in which each showed himself active. In both instances the leader of the demons is Semjâzâ. No place is given in either of the lists (which belong to different sections of the work, and differ considerably from each other) to Asmodæus, or to Sammael, who figures in the Ascension of Isaiah as ruling in the firmament along with Beliar (4^{2} 7^{8}), and in the Targum of Jonathan as the angel of death (Gn 3^{6}). It was he who tempted Eve (*Jalkut Shim.* 'Beresh.' 25). As the special foe of Israel he was the counterpart of Michael (*Shem rabba* 18).

In Enoch 16^{1} the demons are spoken of as the disembodied spirits of the giants, who were the progeny of the fallen angels and the daughters of men, and who will carry on their work of moral ruin upon the earth unpunished till the final judgment (cf. Mt $12^{43\text{ff.}}$ and 8^{29} 'Art thou come hither to torment us *before the time*?'). This is clearly a legendary expansion of Gn $6^{2.4}$, which, however, says nothing about a fall of angels, and nothing condemnatory of the love shown by the sons of the Elohim for the daughters of men. The Heb. tradition, which was not without its analogies in pagan mythologies, arose naturally enough in an age in which no surprise was felt at the fact of familiar relations between God and men. It is not easy to trace the process by which the narrative of Genesis was gradually metamorphosed into the legend of the Book of Enoch; but by the time when the LXX translation was made there was apparently a disposition to look askance upon the union of the sons of God with the daughters of men. This seems the most natural explanation of the curious divergence by which in that translation the simple fact of the existence of giants gives way to the representation of the giants as the offspring of that union. This theory once accepted, it would then be an easy enough deduction from it that such a relationship was a blot upon angelic sanctity. M. Nicolas (*Des Doctrines Religieuses des Juifs*, p. 264f.) thinks that the legend of the fall of angels and of their transformation into demons, as well as the Book of Enoch itself, originated among the Pharisaic and ascetic Jews who gathered round the temple of Leontopolis in Egypt during the high-priesthood of Onias IV. But this view, of course, involves the assumption that the Book of Enoch was originally written in Greek, whereas according to Ewald and more recent authorities (*e.g.* Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, p. 21 f.) it is a Pal. composition with a Heb. original.

C. *THE RELATION OF THE RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS OF OUR LORD TO THE CURRENT BELIEFS ABOUT ANGELS AND DEMONS.*—We can only briefly touch upon this question, as the discussion properly belongs to NT theology.

It is remarkable that Jesus added nothing to the doctrine of angels. He certainly used it as it existed for the advancement of His own purposes, but He nowhere demands faith in angels as necessary to discipleship. In this respect both Judaism and Christianity are distinguished from the religion of Islam. Can we conclude, then, that Jesus made use of angels merely in the way of symbolism? Or does not such a saying as this compel us to the opposite conclusion: 'Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones; for I say unto you, That in heaven their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven'? (Mt 18^{10}). Although it is used with a certain poetic freedom, an angelology is clearly implied in the NT.

The popular belief in Satan and demons is nowhere assailed by our Lord. It may be that this did not lie to His hand as the herald of the heavenly kingdom. But did He accept it? If He had meant to lay stress upon the reality of the idea, would He have used it so exclusively in figure or parable as He has done? Owing to the number of factors (anthropological, physiological, psychological, and theological) involved, the subject is admittedly full of difficulty, and it seems equally perilous either to try to explain it away or to dogmatize upon it. It comes out strongly in NT writings, yet not in such a way, perhaps, as to make it possible to formulate any very definite doctrine. Schenkel and theologians of his school maintain that the belief in Satan and demons in NT literature is only the reflex of the popular Jewish belief produced through foreign influences, but already more or less given up by the educated classes of the period, and that it is therefore no peculiar product of the Christian idea. The difficulty presses most in connexion with the frequent cases of casting out demons recorded in the Synoptic Gospels. How are they to be explained? The theologians referred to do so on the Accommodation Theory, which men like Pressensé again have always consistently rejected; others would explain them psychologically, and diagnose them as cases of delirium or insanity; Schleiermacher and Matthew Arnold speak of the power of a dominant will over a crushed spirit; stricter pietists have clung to the literal doctrine of external evil spirits; Keim has put forward the theory that Christ freed an enslaved self-consciousness from the morbid dispositions engendered by superstition; Bruce attributes the confession of the Messiah by the demoniacs to the prevalence of the Messianic hope, and its special sway over shattered minds. According to a recent writer, the demonic possession recorded in NT is genuine, and has as its distinctive features (1) insanity or mental disease of some sort, forming the natural element; (2) the confession of Jesus as Messiah, forming the supernatural element (Alexander, *Demonic Possession in NT*, pp. 121, 150). The presence of the latter element is the criterion of real demonic possession, which was a counter-movement on the part of the powers of evil to the Incarnation. In this way only three typical cases occur—those of the demoniacs of Capernaum (Mt $9^{23\text{f.}}$, Lk 11^{14}) and Gerasa (Mt $8^{28\text{ff.}}$, Mk $5^{1\text{ff.}}$) and the youth at the Transfiguration-hill, and the sufferers are regarded as having been the victims of epileptic insanity, acute mania, and epileptic idiocy respectively. Interesting and able as is this writer's treatment of the subject, he has not proved his case, and the last word upon the problem has not yet been spoken. There is perhaps no satisfactory middle ground between 'the view that what Christ accepted must be true, and that which sees in His attitude to demonic possession a particular example of Kenosis.' Three things seem clear—(1) Jesus recognizes a Satanic activity and a Satanic mastery over the possessed; (2) He usually reduces the legions of devils commonly believed in to a single Satanic being, though in one passage (Mt 12^{45} ‖ Lk 11^{26}) He speaks about the unclean spirit taking with him seven other spirits more wicked than himself (the question arises here, If we accept the personality of the devil, must we also believe in his angels?); (3) He conceives the relation of Satan to man as a *moral* one, and so gives to the whole doctrine an ethical basis. From this standpoint there is a good deal to be said for the ancient view that there is a possession bound up with moral obliquity.

iv. ANTHROPOLOGY.—The development in regard to the doctrine of man is not so remarkable. In general we find just the OT anthropology in the Apocrypha, though it is in some respects stated with greater precision and clearness. On one or two important points, however, there is a distinct deviation from the OT position.

1. *Psychological nature of man.*—As to his nature and origin, man is a creature of God, consisting of soul and body. There seems to be no distinction made between πνεῦμα and ψυχή; at all events there is no trichotomy. The fullest conception of man's personality is found in the Book of Wisdom; but, although on some other points the phraseology of that book is distinctly of a Platonic cast, it nowhere adopts Plato's doctrine of a tripartite nature in man, 15^{11} being only an apparent exception. This is the more remarkable in that it was the accepted theory of the Alexandrian school, and became one of the tenets of Philo (*de Somn.* i. 22) and of Josephus (*Ant.* I. i. 12). But we have here only one instance out of several in which the writer shows his independence of the Hellenistic philosophy; he can apply it on occasion to the kernel of OT dogma with very fruitful results, but he is not its slave. His position as to the derivation of the human soul is that of creationism, not traducianism. The spiritual ego, which is distinct from the body, comes directly from God, and attaches itself to the body at birth. But at this point we meet with a real variation from OT doctrine. Our author teaches the pre-existence of the human soul. When good, it enters an undefiled body ($8^{19f.}$). Some dispute this interpretation of the passage, but the influence of Gr. philosophy is undoubtedly traceable here, as also in the further statement that the body is only an 'earthly frame' for the mind (νοῦς, 9^{15}). The soul is temporarily lent to the body, which must after a brief space restore it and then return to dust (15^{8}). Here the Jewish doctrine of the resurrection of the body is abandoned in favour of the Gr. conception of the immortality of the soul. The writer's ideas of pre-existence and dualism are borrowed from the Pythagorean and Platonic doctrines respectively. With regard to pre-existence, we may compare the disciples' question in Jn 9^{2} 'Who did sin, this man or his parents, that he was born blind?' This remained for long the main prop of the pre-existence doctrine, and it shows how readily uneducated people must have picked up many philosophical doctrines which did not seem directly to clash with sacred religious customs. One of the alternatives here is, of course, that possibly the man had sinned before his birth. Viewed in the light of the subsequent remark to the man himself, 'Thou wast altogether born in sins,' this seems incapable of explanation except on the theory that there had become visible in this way the punishment of sin committed in a pre-existent state. The saying is probably to be traced to the influence of the Essenes, who in spite of their exclusiveness commanded the reverence of the populace as strict moralists, and as a secret order representing the occult and mysterious. At all events, it shows how deeply foreign views had imprinted themselves on the Jewish theology of the time, and that with regard to anthropology as well as other doctrines. In the attempt to solve the perennial riddle, What is man? the dualistic theory lies midway between the two extremes of materialism and pantheism. But, while dualism is right as to the combination in man's nature of the animal and the spiritual, it settles nothing as to the union of those two elements. On this point, indeed, the Gr. philosophers, and after them the Gnostics, indulge in the wildest speculations. Sense is made to take the place of sin, and the body is viewed as in itself evil, seeing it originates from a principle opposed to the Divine element in the human spirit. In contrast to this the Jewish anthropology as embodied in the OT taught the creation of man, of his body, and his soul, by an act of the Divine will (Gn 1^{27} [P] 2^{7} [J]). Pre-existence is nowhere taught in the OT, Ps 139^{15}, which is perhaps the nearest approach to it, being simply a poetic description of growth in the womb. That in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era the scriptural doctrine was seriously endangered from the side of speculative philosophy, is clear from the Book of Wisdom itself. According to Langen, the writer does no more than clothe genuine Jewish doctrine in a Gr. dress, thereby establishing it with a precision corresponding to the danger it had to meet; but, in view of his position with regard to pre-existence and dualism, the statement requires modification. In connexion with the latter point it should be noted that if in 9^{15}, influenced by the Platonic idea that the body is the soul's prison, the author means that the body led man into sin, he ascribes this in another passage to the envy of the devil (2^{24}). The most probable explanation of this divergence appears to be that he was trying to find a *via media* between philosophy and Scripture.

Although the work is considerably under the influence of Hellenism, the doctrine of creationism is traceable in 4 Mac. (13), where God is spoken of as giving their souls to men. The reverse is the case with Enoch, and yet trichotomy is taught in at least one passage (67^{8}). The expressions of Josephus on this subject are vague and even contradictory (*Ant.* I. i. 2, *BJ* VII. viii. 7). His description of the soul as a part of godhead (μοῖρα θεοῦ) is only his way of affirming its likeness to God, and is not to be interpreted pantheistically; it is evidently used to emphasize the contrast between the perishable material body and the immortal soul. He is at one with Platonic dualism in maintaining the unsuitability of the union of spirit and matter in one body, and, although he nowhere expressly adopts the view of the Essenes, it is doubtful whether he contemplates a bodily resurrection. The one point upon which he is clear is that there is a continued personal existence of the soul after death.

2. *Original moral condition of man.*—According to Gn $1^{26f.}$, man was made in the image of God. This is the positive foundation on which the later Jewish theology bases its view about the moral dignity of the human race. But, although the phrase is uniformly referred not to physical form but to mental and moral characteristics, it is not always understood in precisely the same sense. According to Sirach, man's likeness to God consists in his sovereignty over the rest of creation, and in his intellectual endowments, particularly in the power to discern good and evil ($17^{2.8}$). In Wisdom this resemblance is seen not only in man's dominion over the creatures and in his moral direction of the world ($9^{2f.}$), but also in the fact that he was created for immortality (2^{23}). By Philo the Divine image in man is conceived as mediated through the Logos. The reasonable soul is a transcript of the eternal Word (*de Plant. Noe*, 5), and it is in the rational element or νοῦς that we are to look for the Divine image (*de Mund. Opif.* 23), in virtue of which man is a product, not of earth but of heaven (*de Plant. Noe*, 4). Strangely enough, Josephus makes no allusion to the subject.

3. *The immortality of the soul.*—In Wisdom the idea of a future life is much more prominent than in the earlier OT canonical books. The old vague delineations of Sheol, and intermediate references to the realm of the shadow of death, no longer suffice for the cultured Alexandrian. Materialism is met by a clear and pointed statement of the view that the soul is immortal (2^{23} 3^{1}). The writer

of 2 Mac. adopts the same standpoint (6^{26} $12^{43\text{f.}}$). And if in both books stress is mainly laid upon the fact of the future life of the righteous who were apparently destroyed by persecution, this does not warrant the inference that the writers deny the future existence of the wicked. 2 Mac 7^{14} (cf. Jn 5^{29}) lends no support to this view, and the reference to punishment after death implies the continued existence of the sinner ($12^{43\text{f.}}$).

Apparently, the future existence of the wicked was also accepted by orthodox Pal. Jews. The common phrase 'destruction of the ungodly' must be interpreted in the light of those passages in OT and Apocryphal books which have in view the eternal punishment of the wicked. By the 'removal' of the godless in Enoch 1^{1} is meant their being handed over to the place of punishment, and not their annihilation; cf. 22^{13}, which speaks of sinners whose 'souls will not be slain on the day of judgment.' 'There are degrees of suffering in Sheol. The worst penalty appears to be "the slaying of the soul," but even this did not imply annihilation' (Charles; see this writer's further notes on Enoch 99^{11} 108^{3}). Even in the Ascension of Isaiah, which says that the destruction by fire of the ungodly will cause them to be *as if* they had not been created (4^{18}), absolute annihilation is not intended.

In the doctrinal position of the Sadducees as summed up in Ac 23^{8} (cf. 4^{2}, Mt $22^{23\text{ff.}}$) the anthropological element is the most important. Their denial of angels was of little consequence compared with their denial of the resurrection. A love for Hellenistic worldliness had rendered attractive to them the idea that this life is complete in itself, that death is no mere shadow but a reality, and that a resurrection is not to be thought of. Along with the resurrection of the body, the Sadducees naturally denied the immortality of the soul. They were pure materialists, who made no earnest attempt to reach a philosophy of the nature and life of the human spirit, and took no account of the Scripture fact that the separation of soul and body is the punishment of sin. At the opposite pole from the Sadducean doctrine was the extreme spiritualism of the Essenes, who denied the possibility of a resurrection, but believed in the immortality of the soul. They accepted the Pythagorean doctrine that the human soul is derived from the purest ether, and that its connexion with the body is accidental and necessarily temporal. Its pre-existence they regarded as a necessary consequence of immortality and the dualistic opposition between spirit and matter. The practical effect of these views was seen in a rigid bodily asceticism and in an earnest pursuit of moral ideals. Immortality and the resurrection both formed part of the creed of the Pharisees. Josephus, indeed, says they taught the transmigration of the souls of the good, and the eternal punishment of the wicked. But, so far as the former idea is concerned, this deviation is really more one of form than of substance, the only difference being that in the one case it is asserted that the material frame does not remain the same, while in the other it is held that every soul has its own particular body. It is quite after the manner of Josephus to make a Jewish doctrine as little objectionable as possible to men of other races, and this may account for his curious confusion of the Jewish doctrine of the resurrection with the widely prevalent pagan doctrine of the transmigration of souls. The idea of the punishment of the wicked was certainly not excluded from the doctrine of transmigration, although the resurrection was frequently spoken of as confined to the good. It was conceived only as a resurrection to life, in which, of course, the lost had no part. What was really but a qualification of the resurrection was thus transferred to the resurrection itself, and Josephus was at once right and wrong in limiting the resurrection to the good, while representing the wicked as delivered up to punishment. But in general it is true of this writer that he has no decided anthropological views of his own, and that his pages reflect the most diverse opinions upon this subject current in the Palestinian Judaism of his time.

4. *The first sin and its consequences.*—In Sirach we have exactly the biblical account of the Fall: 'Of the woman came the beginning of sin, and through her we all die' (25^{24}); and this may be taken as representing the general opinion among the Jews of Palestine two centuries prior to the Christian era. As practical reformers, the prophets did not concern themselves with religious metaphysics; but during an epoch when the Law was the one subject of study it was inevitable that attention should be concentrated upon the problem which agitated the whole ancient world—that of the origin of evil. And, naturally, the narrative in Gn 3 formed the starting-point in this discussion. Only gradually was the doctrine of original sin clearly formulated. In Sir 8^{5} all are indeed said to be worthy of punishment; but if there be transgressors who are 'a deceivable seed,' those who love and fear the Lord are 'an honourable plant' (10^{19}). The writer of Wisdom says, 'By the envy of the devil death entered into the world, and they that are of his portion make trial thereof' (2^{24}). This speculative treatment of the narrative of the Fall in Genesis in no way alters its content. The language clearly implies the doctrine of original sin, which, however, is not conceived as inconsistent with a certain predisposition towards good (8^{19}). That this goodness, on the other hand, is in any case not absolute, is shown by the writer's statement that apart from Divine aid he could not possess wisdom (8^{21}).

In Enoch the eating of the tree of knowledge is treated as the source of a radical moral and spiritual transformation in man, which showed itself in his instant recognition of the impropriety of being naked. It carried death with it also, not as a punishment but as a natural consequence (69^{11}). Although Dillmann would read this into 108^{11}, it is doubtful whether the book knows anything of a natural bias of all men towards evil. The question of original sin is scarcely in the view of the writer, whose concern is rather to explain the great moral difference in men. This he attributes to an initial difference of natural disposition. Philo treats the narrative of the Fall allegorically. Man represents the spiritual, woman the physical, side of our being. By teaching man to exchange the celestial for the terrestrial life, woman was the cause of the first sin (*de Mund. Opif.* 53 ff.). Through his descent into a sensible body, the first man caused the most evil consequences to his whole posterity. Sense as such being evil, sin is inborn with human nature (*de Vita Mosis,* ii. 157). Josephus (*Ant.* I. i. 2–4) gives a sort of allegorizing version of the biblical account of the Fall. By eating the forbidden fruit our first parents attained the height of knowledge, but it proved their destruction. Their punishment is made to consist in labour and adversity, in the swift advance of old age and the near prospect of death. Of an original immortality nothing is said. In a somewhat embellished account of the Creation the Book of Jubilees takes cognizance of Adam's sin, and represents it as involving his expulsion from Paradise, with other attendant penalties. But it goes no further. It declares neither that death is the consequence of sin, nor that Adam's transgression resulted in the depravity of the race.

It would appear, then, that in Jewish post-exilic tradition no clear views had been formulated on the subject of anthropology. A certain degree of latitude prevailed alike as regards the philosophical conception of the constitution of man and the theological position as to the original condition of our race. In particular, no doctrine of original sin had, for the most part, been arrived at. With some exceptions, however,—notably that of Josephus,—the recognized necessity of death was connected with the fall of our first parents. Yet, curiously enough, this was usually considered a distinct gain, inasmuch as through the first sin man had audaciously possessed himself of knowledge divinely prohibited. In other words, he had sinned to his own advantage. So that in this particular, as Langen points out, 'pre-Christian tradition agrees rather with the Prometheus-myth than with the biblical account' (*l.c.* p. 365).

In 2 (4) Esdras we meet with the doctrine of original sin in a highly developed form. Already in the angel Uriel's promise to teach him 'wherefore the heart is wicked' (4^{4}), the writer assumes that the question will interest his readers, and in several passages he gives to it a distinct and definite answer. The sins of Israel are fruits of the first fall (3$^{21ff.}$). So also in 4^{30} it is said, 'A grain of evil seed was sown in the heart of Adam from the beginning, and how much wickedness hath it brought forth unto this time! and how much shall it yet bring forth until the time of threshing come!' As in our nature the evil far outweighs the good, so the perishing outnumber the saved (7^{44} 8^{3} 9^{15}). In view of the pessimistic tone of the writer, it would not be safe to infer that his outlook was that of the Judaism of the period, although in days of troublous events it was doubtless shared by many. The element of truth underlying his morbid presentation is that emphasized by our Lord, viz. that relatively few enter in at the strait gate. This is quite in keeping with the strict demands of OT morality, in which the writer finds a point of contact for his doctrine of original sin. He gives clear expression, however, to what was only obscurely wrapped up in Jewish tradition. But in his handling of this doctrine he does not confine himself to abstract theory; he approaches the problem also from the practical side. With the deep feeling of a soul crushed by the curse of sin he cries out, 'O thou Adam, what hast thou done? for though it was thou that sinned, the evil is not fallen on thee alone, but upon all of us that come of thee' (7^{48}). Although the writer's views are coloured by Christian influence, that influence is only a reflex one. He was himself no Christian, and no propagator of Christianity. His work is essentially Jewish, and its aim is to revive the Jewish hope. Nothing is further from his intention than the appropriation of foreign matter, yet it was inevitable that expressions forged in the heat of the conflict attending the early development of Christian doctrine should have appealed to his susceptible spirit. On its austerer side Christianity ministered to his gloomy spiritual tendency. In its milder aspects it seems to have awakened no answering echo within him. What, consciously or unconsciously, impressed him was its delineation of the race as sunk in universal sinfulness and exposed to the wrath and curse of God, of the human heart as naturally wicked, and of the comparatively small number of the saved. Yet he is so far from denying the possibility of salvation that he even specifies what is necessary in order to find it, viz. works and faith (9^{7} 13^{23}). As the thought already appears in Gn 15^{6}, there is no need to ascribe the expression to the influence of St. James.

5. *Free will and foreordination.*—The OT clearly affirms, on the one hand, the doctrine of Divine providence and foreordination, and, on the other, the freedom of the human will. All the later Jewish writings take the same position with regard to man's moral liberty. According to Wisdom, God is found of such as seek Him in singleness of heart (1$^{1ff.}$). Wisdom is attainable by him who loves her and will diligently pursue her (6$^{12.\,14}$). 'For her true beginning is desire of discipline; and the care for discipline is love of her; and love of her is observance of her laws; and to give heed to her laws confirmeth incorruption; and incorruption bringeth near unto God; so then desire of wisdom promoteth to a kingdom' (6$^{17ff.}$). Thus along the entire line of the soul's moral development the way lies open to man. Owing to innate wickedness (5^{13}), he cannot tread this path without Divine help (8^{21}); but for this he can pray (7^{7}), and it will be given him if he shows himself worthy of it (1$^{2ff.}$), and does not court death by unrighteous words and deeds (1$^{12.\,16}$). To the same effect is the teaching of Sirach. The Lord 'showed men good and evil' (17^{7}), and 'left him in the hand of his own counsel' (15^{14}). 'Before man is life and death; and whichsoever he liketh, it shall be given him' (15^{17}). It is noteworthy that, in thus affirming man's power to distinguish between good and evil, the writer stoutly assails the contrary opinion (15$^{11ff.}$). As he would never have controverted an unknown theory, the doctrine of predestination must have had its exponents in Jewish circles. Free will in man, it was held, could not consist with God's government of the world. Providence meant predestination, and man is but a passive agent in the hand of God. This is the point of view against which Ben Sira directs his polemic; and, although we cannot tell with what Pal. school he was specially identified, it is evident that during this period theological questions were keenly debated. In view of the full recognition of human freedom, and in opposition to Sadducean rationalism, special stress was laid in some quarters upon the heavenly ordering of earthly things. This thought gradually came to be expressed under the figure of a heavenly book or heavenly tables, in which was set down the whole course of events as these would unfold themselves in actual history. The idea of a book of life is not foreign to the OT (Ex 32^{32}, Ps 69^{28}), but it was more freely employed in the later literature; cf. *e.g.* Enoch 104^{1} 108^{2} 47^{3}. In the Book of Jubilees sins are said to be written in the eternal books which are before the Lord (39^{6}); while Abraham and Levi are written down as just in the tables of heaven (19^{9} 30^{20}). The same idea occurs in Dn 10^{21}. It corresponds to the Platonic world of Ideas or Divine world-plan, and seems to have been the Jewish expedient for retaining the old doctrine of Divine providence in the face of Hellenism. Philo finds the distinctive nature of man and the most direct consequence of his likeness to God in the faculty of self-determination. The moral liberty belonging to the rational element in man is the very condition of virtue. By a spontaneous act of will man can choose to practise good or evil, and so arrive at honour or condemnation. His destiny is thus in his own hands. According to Josephus, the chief difference between the three leading Jewish sects was connected with the question of human freedom; but, except as adherents of one or other of these, men seem to have troubled themselves little about the relation to each other of the two factors of human liberty and Divine prearrangement. The peculiar use of εἱμαρμένη for θεός affords an example of Josephus' liking for Hellenistic terms as a medium for the expression

of Jewish ideas (*Ant.* XIII. v. 9, XVIII. i. 3; *BJ* II. iii. 1).

6. *Ethics.*—In the sphere of morals the vital question must ever be, What is sin, and what is virtue? According to OT ideas, sin consists in deviation from the law of God, and virtue in the observance of that law. But for the most part the OT is content with laying down general principles, leaving men to apply these to their own special circumstances in accordance with their individual judgment. In post-exilic Judaism we meet with two marked developments differing on opposite sides from the OT position. The one is that of Pharisaism, according to which the main element in morality is the literal observance of positive precepts; the other is that identified with the Alexandrian school, according to which the principal importance is attached, not to the outward act itself but to the sentiment inspiring it.

(1) Palestinian Jews based their ethical system on the Mosaic law, which is not a philosophy but a revelation. It does not deal with the general conditions of moral existence as such, but with the particular conditions that obtained in Israel. Naturally, therefore, the scribes were not philosophers; they were interpreters of the sacred Law. For Ezra and his coadjutors this formed the unique standard, not only of religion and morals but also of economics and politics. Every department of life was regulated by it. No distinction was made between the ceremonial and the moral; Sabbath observance and rules about food were enjoined by the same law that commanded the love of God and just dealing towards men. National law and not conscience was the recognized norm of morality, which thus became synonymous with jurisprudence. In point of fact, the practice of well-doing was often dictated by the love of good for its own sake (To $4^{7\text{ff.}}$, Sir 4^{28} etc.), but in theory morality was simply a matter of mechanical obedience to legalistic prescriptions. This conception of ethics led to the Law being developed in quite a wrong direction. Every biblical commandment was surrounded by a network of petty regulations. No allowance was made for changing circumstances; full obedience to the Law in all its particulars was inexorably demanded of every Jew. To the precepts of the Written Law were added those of the *Halakha* or Traditional Law, which was handed down as a sacred trust from generation to generation, and ultimately embodied in the Talmud. It took centuries for the Oral Law to reach its completed form, but its birth dates from the restoration of Israel under Ezra and Nehemiah. An attempt was thus made to bring every conceivable case within the scope of the Law, and with merciless logic to regulate the whole of human conduct by strict rule of thumb. Legal details were multiplied until religion became a trade, and life an intolerable burden. Men were reduced to moral automatons. The voice of conscience was stifled; the living power of the Divine word was neutralized and smothered beneath a mass of external rules. Hence our Lord's accusation against the Pharisees, that by their traditions they made void the Law. Not that in Palestinian ethics the inner motive was absolutely disregarded. The literature of the period recommends the practice of the Law out of respect to God who gave it (To 1^{12} $4^{5\text{ff.}}$ etc.); and, from the efforts made in the 2nd century A.D. to crush out the modified spiritualism represented by Sirach and the school of Gamaliel and Hillel, we may reasonably infer that the Pharisaic affirmation of the merit of works met with considerable opposition at an earlier date. Liberalism disappeared only when the observance of the Ceremonial Law became the one safeguard of Israel's nationality. Yet there is no doubt that externalism held the field, and that more and more, as the one thing needful.

A conspicuous example of legalistic Judaism is furnished in connexion with the observance of the Sabbath (see vol. iv. p. 320^{b}). No fewer than 39 species of servile work are forbidden on that day, and each of these includes numerous particulars. To observe scrupulously the prescribed rules about food is viewed as morally meritorious (Dn $2^{8\text{ff.}}$, Jth 8^{6} etc.). From the days of Noah downwards, the eating of blood seems to have been considered criminal. In Enoch 4^{5} the giants are depicted as dreadful cannibals because guilty of this enormity. The Book of Jubilees also attaches much importance to this prohibition. 'Eat no blood whatever . . . that thou mayest be preserved from all evil' ($21^{6.\ 18\text{ff.}}$). This appears to be a superstitious gloss upon the biblical statement, 'the blood is the life' (Lv 17^{14}). At all events, it shows us that an ethical significance was given to mere externalities having none. Almsgiving is represented as purging away all sin (To 12^{9} 14^{11}). This error as to the value of good works passed over into Christianity with Jewish Christians, and formed the subject of St. Paul's great controversy. In the special religious conditions of the Jews this mechanical and minute system of ethics was perhaps inevitable. It seems to be a law of religious history that all written tradition gives rise to an oral tradition, and that the latter always claims to dominate conscience; especially is this the case where, as in Mosaism, written tradition is at once a religion and a revelation (Nicolas, *Des Doctrines Religieuses des Juifs*, p. 381). Church history shows that even (official) Christianity has not always refrained from lording it over the conscience in matters of detail not included within the scope of the Divine commandments. Closely connected with the value attached to good works was the exclusiveness which distinguished the Pal. Jews of this period. It was no longer their birth only that marked them off from other nations; in virtue of their observance of the Law they occupied a position of superiority over 'sinners of the Gentiles' (Gal 2^{15}). The strength of this feeling is reflected in the jealousy afterwards shown by Jewish Christians towards their brethren of pagan extraction, and in the demand that all such should at least perform the obligations of proselytes. The misapprehension as to the nature of sin on the part of orthodox Judaism led naturally to a wrong view regarding absolution from sin. In this connexion there was apparently no thought of a moral renewal of the heart. To judge from the attitude of later Rabbinism, it was all a question of calculation. Sin could be atoned for by counterbalancing good works; and if a man's good deeds exceeded his evil deeds, then he was both morally good, and would stand in the judgment. But evidence is not wanting that in the Judaism of the period room was found for the conception that a soul may reach a point in sin which constitutes a state of moral banishment from God. According to Jubilees ($26^{3.\ 31}$), Esau committed 'a sin unto death' in renouncing the yoke of his brother, while 2 (4) Es 7^{49} speaks of 'works that bring death,' *i.e.* for which, on earth at least, there is no forgiveness.

With regard to retribution, the Pal. Apocrypha strongly maintain that a holy life will bring happiness, and that the wicked will meet with misfortune and punishment (Sir 35^{11} 28^{1}). The writers mostly confine their view to the present life. Tobit joins with Sirach in laying great stress on almsgiving as a means of securing the Divine favour, but only, it would seem, with reference to this life; though in one passage he speaks of death as more profitable for him than life, and desires to be released from distress that he may 'go to the everlasting place' (3^6). Future retribution, however, is also taught (Jth 16^{17}, 2 Mac 7^{14}, 2 (4) Es $7^{36.\ 79f.}$).

(2) The moral ideas of the Alexandrian Jews reflect a different and, in one respect at least, more scriptural atmosphere. Moral worth is determined, not by the measure of obedience to positive prescription but by the inner purpose of the heart. The spirit of the Law is not subordinated to the letter. Morality is a quality of soul (Wis 1^4 6^{10}), and has its roots in fellowship with God (15^3). Wisdom, which has its source in the four cardinal (Platonic) virtues—soberness, understanding, righteousness, and courage (8^7)—corresponds somewhat strikingly to what St. Paul designates faith. 'To be acquainted with thee is perfect righteousness, and to know thy dominion is the root of immortality' (15^3). According to Philo, religious reverence is the source of virtue, and the perfect law is the disinterested love of the good for its own sake.

But, if the Alexandrian ethics coincides with OT teaching in the place which it assigns to the heart's intention, it deviates from the scriptural position in virtually setting aside the practice of the Mosaic law. In Wisdom sacrifice is mentioned only incidentally, while stress is laid upon the importance of prayer (16^{28}), and upon the word of God as the true nourishment of the soul (16^{26}). Philo expressly teaches that God takes no pleasure in sacrifices, but is pleased only with purity of heart (*de Victim. Offer.* 3). The virtuous soul is His temple, and its homage the true offering. So far he may be said to anticipate the spirit of Christianity. But in opposing the mechanical morality of the Pal. schools the Alexandrians fell into an unhealthy spiritualism. The writer of Wisdom shows a distinct leaning towards asceticism. In his view the body is the enemy of the soul, upon which it acts as a heavy drag (9^{15}), and celibacy is better than the anxious lot of him whose children are only too likely to be given to wickedness ($3^{12ff.}$ 4^1). Philo goes still further, and allegorically reduces all the positive precepts of the OT to the one idea of overcoming sense by the life of the spirit. It is the duty of the wise man to loosen the bonds that bind the spirit to the material frame in which it is imprisoned (*de Migrat. Abr.* 1). Although the application of this general principle frequently coincides with OT precepts, it amounts to a rejection of the positive teaching of revelation. That there is no fundamental agreement is shown by the difference between the Philonic and OT conceptions of sin. According to OT revelation, the sinner's restoration may be effected by his penitent return to God; in Philo's system there is no healing for the soul that has deliberately sinned. Neither does the Alexandrian theosophist acknowledge any degrees of heinousness in sin, seeing that he attaches no importance to the outward act, but takes account only of the freedom and decision with which the sin is committed. This writer's ascetic bias is so far corrected by his declaration that the care of the soul and devotion to God should not render us oblivious to our duties towards our fellow-men (*de Decal.* 22).

In contrast to the Palestinians, the Alexandrian Jews applied the idea of retribution to the future as well as to the present life. Wisdom clearly teaches the doctrine of future rewards and punishments ($3^{1ff.}$). The Day of Judgment is expressly mentioned ($3^{7.\ 18}$). The terrors of an evil conscience and the thought of future condemnation are jointly set forth in 17^{21}. In 19^4 the hardening of Pharaoh's heart is represented as a necessary doom, quite after the analogy of the Greek *Nemesis*.

Another distinctive note of the Alexandrian ethics is its universalistic tendency. According to Wisdom the peculiar advantage of the Jew consists, not in his birth but in his possession of the knowledge of God. Pagans are sinners, not because they are not of Abraham's race but because they are without the knowledge of the true God ($13^{3ff.}$). It is from this standpoint that idolatry is regarded as the source of evil and the corruption of life (14^{12}). Philo departs even more emphatically than Wisdom from the Jewish particularism taught in Palestine. All men are brethren, similarly organized and endowed; before all is set the same task of emancipating the soul from the bondage of the body. Slavery is the greatest of all evils, and virtue consists in obeying the voice of conscience. It is the mission of the Israelites to be the priests and prophets of the whole human race, and herein lies their privilege. But in order to accomplish this momentous task they must have a true spiritual understanding of their Law, *i.e.* they must become philosophers. This extreme spiritualism was due partly to the influence of Greek philosophy, and partly to the distance of the Alexandrian Jews from Palestine. Equally shut off from contact with the schools of the home land, and from the observance of the Ceremonial Law, they soon idealized their religion.

7. *Christian doctrine gave final shape and precision to the Jewish anthropology,* and threw a flood of light upon the obscurities of a period unrivalled for religious wavering and confusion. To many things in the current theological teaching Christ gave His assent; with regard to others He set men upon the right track; others still He rejected or supplanted by positive doctrine of a contrary character. To a large extent this was done through the use of well-known ideas and expressions. The words of Jesus with reference to unpardonable sin (Mt $12^{31f.}$ ‖; cf. 1 Jn 5^{16}, He $6^{4ff.}$) probably reflect a phraseology familiar to the Judaism of the age. *A propos* of this example, Langen suggestively remarks that the key to many theological difficulties of NT passages lies in approaching them from the standpoint of their historical connexion (*Judenthum,* p. 381). Without essentially altering its content, Christian doctrine introduces light and definiteness into the well-nigh chaotic mass of religious thought and theory which represented the accumulation of centuries. As to the nature of man, it distinguishes between soul and spirit without embracing Plato's doctrine of trichotomy, and rejects the Pythagorean view of the connexion between soul and body. It teaches, further, that there is a personal future life for man, a resurrection to life, but also to judgment. In St. Paul's Epistles we have the facts of redemption joined on to the teaching of the opening chapters of Genesis, and raised to a definite system. Sin, death, and grace appear in their true significance and connexion. On the one hand, we have the loftiest ideal towards which to strive in our moral and spiritual growth and development, and on the other the Almighty will working from eternity towards the fulfilment of His purposes (Ro 8). While not showing how the two doctrines can be held in combination without neutralizing each other, it teaches both free will and an overruling Providence. Finally, Christian ethics neither ignores the motive inspiring conduct, nor minimizes the importance of the external act. It teaches that, while the moral quality of an action is determined by the inner motive, its outward manifestation is also worthy of praise or blame (Mk 14^6).

V. THE MESSIANIC HOPE.—1. *Meaning of the expression.*—The word Messiah (Heb. מָשִׁיחַ, Gr. Χριστός) means 'anointed,' and is used most frequently in OT of the theocratic king of Israel (1 S 12^3 etc.), but with a special significance when applied to David and his descendants (Ps 18^{50}

$89^{19ff.}$). In Dn 9^{25} the reference is apparently to Cyrus (cf. Is 45^{1}). The title does not occur either in the Apocrypha or in the Apocalyptic literature written during the last century and a half B.C. In the latter especially there are undoubtedly Messianic passages, but the style of composition lent itself most naturally to the use of the symbolical. The earliest extant instance of its distinctive use as a technical form is found in the anti-Sadducean Psalms of Solomon (17^{36} $18^{6.\,8}$), composed *c.* 140 B.C. It may be noted here also that the expression 'Messianic hope' is not free from a certain ambiguity, seeing that under this title are frequently comprehended two things which should be carefully distinguished, viz. the expectation of the Messianic *era*, and the expectation of the Messianic *king*. In tracing the development of the Messianic idea in Israel it is necessary to keep in view the fact that many Prophetic and Apocalyptic writers who look forward confidently to a glorious future for the nation entertain no expectation of a personal Messiah. The Jews cherished a strong belief in the restoration of their national prestige as Jehovah's chosen people. After purifying the nation by discipline, He would bestow upon them all that heart could wish. This faith, already preached by the prophets of the 8th cent. B.C., they firmly held apart from and prior to the notion of a unique personal deliverer in the form of the Messiah. In certain sections of Judaism also, and at certain periods, when the latter expectation grew dim, the wider hope was never relinquished.

2. *The OT position.*—The prophets Amos, Hosea, and Joel give clear expression to Messianic hopes for Israel and Judah, but say nothing of a personal Messiah. What they predict is the revived glory of the Davidic house (Am $9^{11f.}$) and the return of the children of Israel (Hos 3^{5}). Nor does Zephaniah, in depicting the happy future that shall follow the Divine judgment on Israel and the nations ($3^{9\text{-}20}$), introduce at all the figure of Messiah. Jeremiah announces the coming of a king of David's line, but seems to think of a succession of them (17^{25} 22^{4} $33^{15.\,17}$); and Obadiah (v.^{2}) speaks of a plurality of saviours on Mount Zion. The same thought appears to be implied in Ezk 43^{7} $45^{8f.}$, and elsewhere this prophet idealizes the reign of David, referring to him as the 'shepherd' of Israel and 'their prince for ever.' In Isaiah, Micah, and Zechariah we meet with a great advance in the development of Messianic expectation. These prophets do not confine the blessing to their own nation, and clearly bring forward the person of a particular descendant of David (Is $7^{13\text{-}16}$ $9^{6f.}$, Mic $5^{2ff.}$, Zec 9^{9} 14^{9}). The terms in which this king is described perfectly fit the character of the Messiah as that came to be recognized in Jewish theology.

3. *The Messianic idea in the Apocrypha.*—While confidently predicting better times for Israel, the Apocrypha afford but few materials for the construction of the doctrine of the Messiah. Baruch, Tobit, and Sirach may be noticed first as falling within the period between the cessation of prophecy and the commencement of the Maccabee revival. Baruch comforts Jerusalem and the Jewish nation by the assurance of the destruction of their enemies, and of the return of their prosperity as a united people 'gathered together by the word of the Holy One' ($4^{21ff.}$). There is no Mediator known to Baruch as accomplishing all this. Many of the Fathers pointed to another passage ($3^{35ff.}$) as a prophecy of the Incarnation; but the words 'afterward did she (AV 'he') appear upon earth, and was conversant with men' are more properly regarded as a personification of Wisdom. Tobit's point of view is somewhat different. He predicts the same happiness for Israel, and a return to Jerusalem, there to re-establish with great pomp the worship of the Lord God. But he speaks of no vengeance to be wreaked on their enemies, over whom they are rather to obtain a glorious triumph in the shape of their conversion to Judaism ($13^{5.\,11.\,16ff.}$). Ben Sira knows no more of a personal Messiah than either Baruch or Tobit. The idea of a glorious future is present to his mind, although he expresses himself on the subject with great sobriety. He recalls the promises made by God to Abraham and to David (44^{21} 45^{25} 47^{11}), and looks for the return of the scattered Jews, for the punishment of their oppressors ($36^{10ff.}$), and for the breaking of 'the sceptres of the unrighteous' (35^{18}). In spite of a dim Messianic expectation in 44–50 that is in no special way connected with an individual Messiah, his real interest is in the perpetuity of the Israelitish people. 'The days of Israel,' he says, 'are innumerable' (37^{25}), and 'their glory shall not be blotted out' (44^{13}). The only other passage we need refer to is one which is generally thought to be of later origin on account of the great contrast it bears to the prevailing doctrine of the book, viz. $48^{10f.}$. This passage, which recalls the closing lines of the prophecy of Malachi, speaks of Elijah returning at the inauguration of the Messianic kingdom, and that in such a way as to seem to imply that the author had hopes of living to see it all. But the Gr. text is obscure, and it is certainly not safe to conclude that he speaks of a future life.

'From the little and in part doubtful evidence that remains to us, it would seem that in the period between the Captivity and the rise of the Maccabees the Messianic hope resolved itself into vague anticipations of a glorious and happy future, in which the presence of God would be more manifest, but of which a Messiah would form no essential feature' (Drummond, *Jewish Messiah*, p. 199). This is exactly the position of those modern Jews who say the Messiah is not a person, but an epoch.

In 1 Mac. three passages have been singled out for discussion in this connexion:—(1) 'David for being merciful inherited the throne of a kingdom for ever and ever' (2^{57}). These words are put into the lips of Mattathias, and it is possible that the writer, without ascribing this expectation to the priest of Modin, contemplated the restoration of the Davidic kingdom through the appearance of the Messiah. (2) 'They pulled down the (desecrated) altar, and laid up the stones in the mountain of the house in a convenient place, until there should come a prophet to give an answer concerning them' (4^{46}). There is here certainly no specific reference to the Messiah. (3) 'The Jews and priests were well pleased that Simon should be their leader and high priest for ever, until there should arise a faithful prophet' (14^{41}). Although the absence of the article makes it difficult to identify the 'prophet' in question with the Messiah, 'the allusion may still fairly be regarded as Messianic in the general sense that the expected "faithful prophet" first appeared in Christ' (Camb. Bible, *ad loc.*). In 2 Mac. there is only one passage of Messianic import—'In God have we hope, that he will quickly have mercy upon us, and gather us together out of all the earth into the holy place' (2^{18}). The use of 'quickly' seems to imply the expectation of the near approach of the Messianic kingdom. There is nothing in Judith beyond the mention of 'the Day of Judgment,' when the Lord Almighty will take vengeance on the enemies of Israel (16^{17}).

In the Alexandrian Wisdom of Solomon likewise we meet with little that can claim to be directly Messianic. We have the same belief expressed as to the punishment of the enemies of God's people, and the elevation of the latter to a position of supremacy, but all in very general terms (3^{7} 5). There is just one passage—2^{12-20}—which has been often reckoned to be Messianic. It describes the suffering of the righteous at the hands of the ungodly, here and there in such language as makes it very natural to interpret it of the Messiah. Most probably, however, it is Israel as a nation that is spoken of here; and many of the expressions are to be applied rather to the present than to the future. In 16^{17} and other passages Israel is called ὁ δίκαιος. Besides, some of the things said scarcely admit of Messianic application, *e.g.* 'Let us lie in wait for the righteous man,' 'He is grievous unto us even to behold,' 'We were accounted of him as base metal.' These expressions all point to national enmities. Moreover, the next chapter proceeds to speak of the righteous in the aggregate. It is inconceivable that, had the hope of a Messiah been clear to his own mind, this writer would not have brought it forward in an unmistakable way in his references to the glorious kingdom awaiting the godly (5^{16}). At the same time it may be conceded to Ewald that 'this work should, . . . in consideration of its central idea and ultimate purpose, be reckoned among the Messianic productions' (*Hist.* v. p. 484).

With the exception of the material supplied by 2 (4) Esdras, which is dealt with below, this sums up what the Apocrypha contain with regard to the doctrine of the Messiah; and certainly it is impossible to claim anything in the way of development here. Indeed, 'in the post-Exilian time the limitation of Messianic apprehension to OT forms becomes again much greater than with Jeremiah and Deutero-Isaiah' (Riehm, *Messianic Prophecy*, p. 231).

4. *Transformation of Messianic hopes into Apocalyptic ideas.*—In the post-exilic period the ancient Messianic promises gradually assumed a new aspect. The *Apocalyptic* presentation of the Messiah-hope appears for the first time in the Book of Daniel, which seems to have formed the model of most of the subsequent literature bearing this name. The work dates from the Maccabæan struggle against the tyrannical attempt of Antiochus Epiphanes (the 'little horn' of ch. 7) to suppress Judaism by force. Its aim is to revive the courage of the Jewish people. This it seeks to do by pointing them to the splendid example of religious constancy set by the heroes of a former age (1–6), and to the glorious destiny awaiting them in the future (7–12). It deals with the restoration of Israel, and the victorious establishment of the worship of J" under a Davidic prince, but with a wealth of detail that is new, and with a reference of the facts to the history of the four great nations which in succession ruled the world. The kingdom of God is represented as the fifth and last monarchy ($2^{44f.}$), the final consummation of the Divine purposes to which the whole series of revolutions, political and religious, consecutively lead up. It will be preceded by the Abomination of Desolation (9^{27} 12^{11}), the culminating point in the career of the transgressors (8^{23}). This will continue for a fixed period, and then the last and vilest of the heathen powers will be crushed by the special interposition of the Most High, who will transfer the dominion to His saints (7^{18}). The glorious deliverance will be signalized by a partial resurrection of the dead, of whom some shall rise to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt (12^{2}). So shall be inaugurated the Messiah's kingdom, which shall extend to all nations and never be destroyed (7^{14}). Some think there is here no trace of the Messiah, and that the person in human form who appears in the vision of Dn 7 is merely the personification of Israel, as the four animals are the personification of the four empires; but the majority of scholars ascribe to him a supernatural character (cf. article SON OF MAN in vol. iv. p. 583 f.). In any case, the Messianic idea appears here in a more precise form than in Sirach. Instead of vague predictions of a prosperous future, there is a definite date assigned to the downfall of Israel's enemies, and to the assumption by the chosen people of universal dominion. Those who have fallen victims to persecution will not be without their reward; they will be raised up to share in the glories of the Messianic era.

Subsequent Apocalyptic writers follow the Book of Daniel in connecting the advent of the Messiah with the general development of human history, although they differ from it and from one another in their mode of mapping it out. Sometimes it is divided simply into the period preceding and that following the Messiah's coming; sometimes into three periods of 1000 years. The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (Levi 17 f.) speak of seven weeks, Enoch of ten weeks, and the Sibylline Or. (2^{15}) of ten generations. Other books, however, represent the time of the Messiah's advent as known only to God (2 Es $6^{7ff.}$). Already in Daniel the enemies of God's chosen people are supported by the rebel angels ($10^{18f.}$ 12^{1}), and in the later literature their last and greatest enemy is represented, not only as a pagan king but as the prince of demons, leading all the hosts of evil against the Messiah. Some other notable developments occur, such as the preparation of the way of the Lord by the reappearance not only of Elijah as in Malachi, but also of Moses, Isaiah, and Jeremiah; the dating in mystical numbers of the main events that usher in the Messianic era; a resurrection *of the just* (qualifying Dn 12^{2}; cf. Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. iv. 3, *BJ* VIII. i. 4); the giving of a new law for the whole world (Sib. Or. $3^{755ff.}$); and the millennium, or reign of the Messiah on earth for 1000 years. These elements sufficiently distinguish the apocalypses from the ancient Heb. prophecies. To speak more generally, the former are differentiated from the latter by their almost purely transcendental character, and by the wider sweep of their horizon. If the essential features of the picture are the same as in the prophetic writings, the main interest is shifted from the present to the future, and the canvas is enlarged. There is greater precision, more fulness of detail, and bolder colouring. This gradual transformation of Messianic hopes into apocalyptic beliefs was the necessary consequence of the political situation in Israel. As each new crisis overtook them, a way had to be found of reconciling the prophetic promises with present misfortunes.

But there is an element in Jewish Apocalyptic literature which forbids us to regard it as a mere extension of OT Messianic teaching. Foreign influence is clearly traceable in such ideas as those of a partial resurrection, a millennial reign, etc. And in this instance the external impulse was not Greek, but Persian. Between Hellenism and Jewish Apocalyptic there is no affinity: the one conceived the golden age as past, the other as future. In the atmosphere of Alexandrian Judaism the Messianic hope lost its vitality, and resolved itself into little else than a philosophy of human betterment from the point of view of religion and morals. On the other hand, apocalyptic beliefs are closely associated with Babylonia under the Persian rule. The scene of the Book of Daniel, in which they were first propounded, is laid in Babylon, and the Pal. Apocrypha show that it was among the Jews who either as returned exiles or as citizens had intimate relations with Babylon that these views found acceptance. Moreover, the sacred writings of the Persians (*Vendîdâd*, etc.) speak of the coming of a deliverer in the last days, of the overthrow of the enemies of Ormazd, and the consequent establishment of an era of happiness analogous to that contemplated in the Messianic expectation of the Jews. The resemblance extends even to such details as the idea of a fifth monarchy, the resurrection of the dead, the millennial reign of the saviour, etc. Not that these elements were simply adopted by the Jews as an addition to their own Messianic hopes by way of supplementing and completing them. In no case does the resemblance amount to identity, and on certain points, as, *e.g.*, that of the final restoration of the wicked, the Persian doctrine was distinctly rejected by the Jews. This again influenced their views of the resurrection, which they conceived as partial and not universal. The Persian elements traceable in the Jewish beliefs of the period merely show that, in the fresh interpretation of ancient documents induced by their changing circumstances, the Jews were influenced by the recollection of something analogous in Mazdeism.

We have a typical specimen of Jewish Apocalyptic in the Book of Enoch. Difficult critical questions arise with reference to this strange and interesting book,—questions of date, authorship, and constituent elements,—but it is unnecessary for our purpose to discuss them. (See the general and special Introductions in Charles' ed.). Two well-marked sections of the book treat of the Messianic expectation, viz. the *Similitudes* (37–71) and the *Dream Visions* (83–90). The date assigned by Charles to the latter section is B.C. 166–161, or a little later than Daniel. The work of a Hasidæan in full sympathy with the Maccabæan insurrection, it contains two visions, of which the first deals with the judgment of the Deluge, and the second gives a bird's-eye view of the entire course of human history from the Creation down to the establishment of the Messiah's kingdom. In the first vision no attempt is made to explain the origin of human sin. According to the representation of the writer, the judgment that first fell upon the world was caused by the sin of the rebel angels, and not by that of man. In the second vision, which employs a symbolism akin to that of the Book of Daniel, special stress is laid upon the distressful condition of Israel after the Exile. This is ascribed to the faithlessness of the seventy shepherds, who wickedly destroyed those whom God entrusted to their care ($89^{19ff.}$). But in the midst of this oppression, from the party of the Hasidæans and in the person of Judas Maccabæus (the 'great horn' of 90^{9}), there will arise a deliverer whose sword shall destroy their enemies. God Himself shall appear, and the earth shall swallow them up (90^{6-19}). Then will ensue the judgment of the fallen watchers, the shepherds, and the apostate Jews, who will be cast into a fiery abyss ($90^{24ff.}$). This will be followed by the setting up of the new Jerusalem, the conversion of the remanent Gentiles, and their submission to Israel ($90^{28ff.}$), the resurrection of those who have succumbed to persecution, and the gathering of the dispersed of Israel (90^{33}). Finally, the Messiah ('a white bullock') will appear (90^{37}); all the saints will be changed into his likeness, and God will rejoice over them (90^{38}). We have here 'the Messiah coming forth from the bosom of the community. He is a man only, but yet a glorified man, and superior to the community from which he springs. So far as he is a man only, he may be regarded as the prophetic Messiah as opposed to the Apocalyptic Messiah of the Similitudes, and yet he is not truly the prophetic Messiah; for he has absolutely no function to perform, and he does not appear till the world's history is finally closed. Accordingly, his presence here must be accounted for purely through literary reminiscence, and the hope of the Messiah must be regarded as practically dead at this period. The writer felt no need of such a personality so long as the nation had such a chief as Judas Maccabæus' (Charles, *Introd.* p. 30 f.).

5. *The Messianic idea in later Palestinian books.*—The Book of Jubilees (written, according to Charles, B.C. 135–105). This work is distinguished by the spirituality of its description of the Messianic kingdom, although the person of the Messiah, whom the writer expects to arise from Judah, is alluded to only once (31^{18}). It is neither strictly apocalyptic in form, nor chiefly concerned with the subject of the Messianic hope. Only two or three passages are of importance for our purpose. Ch. 1 speaks of the day when the sanctuary of God will be established in the midst of Israel for ever and ever. Corrected by reproof, the people will abandon their idolatry. After having been dispersed among the heathen, the penitent Israelites will be gathered into one, and God will come and dwell among them. On the setting up of the Messianic kingdom, 'the heavens and the earth' . . . 'and all the luminaries shall be renewed' (1^{29}). This idea of the gradual transformation of nature as well as man appears to have been taken from Mazdeism (Söderblom, *La Vie Future d'après le Mazdéisme*, p. 254). In ch. 23 the death of Abraham at the age of 175 years gives occasion for some reference to the duration of human life, and this again leads the writer to portray in glowing colours the future vicissitudes of Israel. By reason of sin the infant of three weeks will look like a centenarian. But they will begin to renounce the sins of their fathers, and then their days will gradually lengthen to a thousand years, and the servants of the Lord 'will again pursue their enemies.' In another passage universal empire is promised to kings of Jacob's line (31^{18}). The statement that life will be short until the day of the Great Judgment (23^{11}) seems to indicate that the writer conceives the Judgment as intervening at the point when after protracted trial a new generation penitently kisses the rod. This marks the rise of the Messianic era. 'Jubilees will pass away,' however, before a perfectly pure Israel shall dwell in quiet throughout the land.*

We must next take account of the *Similitudes* of Enoch (chs. 37–71), which Charles refers to B.C. 95–80. This work exhibits the genuine religious spirit of Judaism. The Messianic doctrine in particular finds here unique expression. Dealing with the old problem, How can the temporary triumph of wickedness consist with the justice of God? the writer finds the answer in a comprehensive review of the world's history from the first beginnings of evil down to the final extrication wrought by the establishment of the Messianic kingdom. His method is strictly apocalyptic. Men were led astray by the watchers, who became subject to Satan (54^{6}). After this sinners deny the Lord of spirits (38^{2}), and the mighty oppress God's elect children ($62^{9ff.}$). But the Son of Man along with the Head of Days will appear for judgment. Punishment will be meted out to the fallen angels (54^{6}), the kings and the mighty (38^{5}), and the godless (38^{3} etc.), and 'unrighteousness will disappear as a shadow' from the earth (49^{2}). Heaven and earth will be transformed ($45^{4f.}$), and the elect will live in the light of eternal life (58^{3}). The Elect One will dwell among them, and 'with that Son of Man will they eat and lie down and rise up for ever and ever' (62^{14}). Most frequently the Messiah is designated 'the Elect One' (40^{5} 45^{3} etc.), but also 'the Righteous One' (37^{3}), 'the Anointed' (48^{10} 52^{4}), and 'the Son of Man' ($46^{2ff.}$ 48^{2} etc.). His pre-existence seems to be affirmed in 48^{2-6}. This is a solitary instance of religious speculation on the part of this Apocalyptic writer; and certainly it is rare to find in a Pal. work of pre-Christian date such a union of the Messianic idea with the Logos doctrine of Alexandrian and the Wisdom doctrine of Pal. Judaism. It probably appealed to him, however, as 'the fittest means of preserving intact the religious content of the Messianic idea' (Langen, *Judenthum*, p. 414). In the *Similitudes* the Messiah appears as (1) Prophet and teacher. Wisdom is poured out like water before him (49^{1}); its secrets stream forth from his mouth (51^{3}). He is the last and highest embodiment of the spirit of prophecy (49^{3}), and the revealer of all that is hidden (46^{3}). (2) Vindicator and ruler of the righteous. He has been revealed to the elect (62^{7}), and will be a staff to the righteous (48^{4}). He preserves their lot, and is the avenger of their life (48^{7}). They shall have the earth for their dwelling-place (51^{5}); He will abide over them (62^{14}); and their faces will be lighted up with joy (51^{5}). (3) Judge. The writer's spiritual conception of the Messianic idea comes out specially in connexion with the judicial function assigned to him. The Lord of spirits has chosen the Messiah as judge (49^{4}). For this work he is fitted by reason of his perfect righteousness (46^{3}). No matter by what death they have perished, all the righteous will be raised by him to life again (51^{1} 61^{5}), and no evil shall stand in his presence (49^{2}). He possesses the spirit of might (49^{3}), and rules over all (62^{6}). All judgment is committed unto him, and he will sit on the throne of his glory (45^{3} 69^{17}). The consequences of judgment are presented in $45^{2ff.}$. In the transformed heaven and earth no place will be left for sinners. Azâzel and all his associates he will judge (55^{4}). On all men and angels, good as well as bad, he will pronounce sentence (61^{8}), and in his presence falsehood will be impossible (49^{4} 6^{23}). While the writer thus boldly represents the Messiah as the supernatural Son of Man, clothed with the attributes of Deity and separating the righteous from the wicked, it is noteworthy that, like other pre-Christian Jewish authors, he knows nothing of a Second Advent. The Messiah is spoken of simply as the deliverer of the righteous, the light of the Gentiles (48^{4}), and the judge of the world, and his whole activity is connected with a single appearance. This may help to explain the fact that to the later Judaism, and even to the first Christian disciples, a suffering Messiah seemed a contradiction in terms. Rather, it was thought, must the Messiah on his coming 'abide for ever' (Jn $12^{32ff.}$), in keeping with the view already presented in Enoch of his single and continual presence upon earth.

---

* While Charles admits that this is a correct statement of the case 'if v.^{11} is correctly handed down and to be taken literally,' he argues that the view that the Final Judgment precedes the Messianic kingdom is precluded by the writer's conception of this kingdom as 'a gradual and progressive transformation. Cf. the same writer's note on 23^{30}.

That the Messianic expectation grew stronger as the end of the Jewish State drew near is evidenced by the Psalms of Solomon, a collection of 18 psalms breathing the spirit of OT poetry, and dating from the early years of the Roman supremacy in Palestine (B.C. 70–40). Of these poems, which are of Pharisaic authorship, only two (17 and 18) give expression to such hopes. The writer strikingly combines the thought of God Himself being the King of Israel (17^{1}) with that of an endless Davidic monarchy (17^{5}). After recalling the beginnings of royalty in Israel, and bewailing the havoc wrought by the stranger (?=Pompey), he pleads with God for their restoration under 'a son of David' (17^{23}). He then goes on to describe the person of the future Messianic king, on which he lays greater stress than his predecessors (Daniel, Sirach, etc.). This ruler will gather again the holy people, over whom he will reign in righteousness (17^{28}). The heathen ($17^{25, 27, 31}$) and the 'proud sinners,' *i.e.* the Hasmonæans (vv.$^{26f. 41}$), will be driven from the inheritance usurped by them. The subject nations will come to a purified Jerusalem to bring her wearied children as gifts, and to see the glory of the Lord ($17^{32ff.}$). Himself without sin (17^{41}), there is no unrighteousness in his days, for all are saints, and their king is the Lord's Anointed (17^{36}). Ordinary methods of warfare he will not resort to (17^{37}), but will smite the earth with the word of his mouth (17^{39}). The period of his dominion is limited: 'he shall not faint all his days.' Such is the beauty of the king of Israel, and happy are they who are born in his days (17^{47} 18^{7}). This bright expectation of a Messiah in face of the triumph of the Roman arms shows that the downfall of the national dynasty was marked by a distinct revival of Messianic hopes. The writer contrasts the evils of the present with the glorious future awaiting Israel when they shall have returned to God. The Messianic idea is treated, however, more with reference to its bearing on the earthly prospects of the Israelitish people than is the case in Enoch, and it is very doubtful whether the supernatural at all enters into the poet's conception of his hero. While there is no secularization of the Messianic idea, the future king is represented as David's successor upon the earthly throne (ll. 18^{6-10}).

At the commencement of the Christian era the Messianic idea in its spiritual significance had faded largely from the popular mind. It was in truth the secularization of this idea that led to the crucifixion of Jesus. A Messiah of another sort was wanted. This feeling found its strongest manifestation in the fanaticism of the Zealots, who, on the principle that God had already (under the Maccabees) delivered Israel from the yoke of a great heathen empire, continually fomented rebellion against the power of Rome. At the opposite pole from this was the exclusively spiritual conception of Messianic prophecy which had become the specialty of apocalyptic authors. Both of these elements originally entered into the Messianic idea, but gradually they came to be sharply distinguished.

In the Assumption of Moses, written according to Charles A.D. 7–30, but doubtless embodying views current *before* its composition, the Jewish lawgiver recounts to Joshua the future history of the nation down to Messianic times. The work is apocalyptic, and gives expression to the Messianic idea on its purely religious side. There is no mention of any victory over the heathen. The writer abandons the hope of an earthly Messiah,* and some would even detect hostility to this hope in the statement that 'the Eternal God alone . . . will appear to punish the Gentiles' (10^{7}). In the beautiful passage forming ch. 10 there is nothing beyond an ardent expectation that J″ will manifest Himself for the punishment of their enemies and the salvation of the chosen people. The theocratic kingdom, which will be preceded by a day of repentance (1^{18}), will extend to 'the whole creation' (10^{1}). The dominion of the devil shall have an end, and Israel's enemies shall be punished by the hands of the angel (Michael), $10^{2.8}$. God will also exalt Israel to heaven (10^{9}), whence they shall joyfully behold their enemies in Ge(henna).†

The trend of Jewish Messianic expectation just before and after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans is exhibited in the Apocalypses of Baruch and 2 (4) Esdras. These two writings have so many affinities that some have regarded them as from the same hand; but, according to the most recent scholarship as represented by Kabisch and Charles, they are composite works derived from several authors. Baruch reflects the Judaism of the latter half of the 1st cent. A.D. The Messianic portions, which present an optimistic view of the earthly prospects of Israel, seem to have been written prior to A.D. 70. They are three in number—(1) 27-30^1. The coming tribulation, which will fall into twelve periods, will extend to the whole earth, and the enemies of Israel will be destroyed. After that the Messiah will appear, and the surviving 'remnant' will feed not only on the flesh of animals and the fruits of the earth, but on manna from the skies. It will be a time of plenty, of marvels, and of joy. At the end of his reign the Messiah 'will return in glory' to heaven. (2) 36-40. Four successive world-empires antagonistic to Zion will rise and perish. When the last and most terrible of these (Rome) is ripe for destruction, then will be revealed 'the principate of my Messiah, which is like the fountains and the vine, and when it is revealed it will root out the multitude of his host.' The last surviving leader (?=Pompey) will be put to death by 'my Messiah,' whose reign will endure for ever, until the world of corruption is at an end. Here the Messiah plays a more active part than in the former section, the protection of Israel and the overthrow of their enemies being represented as his sole work. (3) 53-74. In this section, which magnifies the Law while expressing the popular Messianic expectation, the writer divides the history of the world into twelve periods of evil (black waters) and good (bright waters) alternately, followed by a period of woes (the last and blackest waters). To these succeeds the Messiah's kingdom (the bright lightning). He will judge the nations, sparing those who have not trodden down the seed of Jacob, but slaying the enemies of Israel. He will then continue to sit on the throne of his kingdom, and all tribulation will vanish before the universal joy.

---

* Hilgenfeld's identification of 'Taxo' (9^{1}) with the Messiah is purely arbitrary. Cf. vol. iii. p. 449^{b}.

† According to the conjecture of Charles, who for ἐν γῇ (=*in terram*) reads *in Gehenna*, and thus certainly gets a better sense.

The representation of 2 (4) Esdras (written, according to Schürer, in the reign of Domitian, A.D. 81-96), while of the same spiritual type, is marked by some striking peculiarities of its own. Among the Jews hitherto the thought of a glorified Messiah had been universally prevalent, but pseudo-Ezra speaks of him as dying after an activity of 400 years, and says nothing of his resurrection. After the death of Christ, the world, he says, shall relapse into primeval silence for seven days, 'so that no man shall remain.' Then the new world shall be ushered in, the earth shall restore its dead, and the Most High shall be revealed upon the seat of judgment (7$^{28\text{ff.}}$). In contrast to the view presented in the Assumption of Moses, this writer not only sharply distinguishes the Messiah from J" Himself, but also gives a figurative delineation of his person. He is described as a lion rising up out of the wood and rebuking the eagle (*i.e.* imperial Rome) for her unrighteousness. While he has been kept by the Most High unto the end in order to condemn the Romans, the rest of the Jewish people shall live happily under his sway until the Day of Judgment (12$^{31\text{ff.}}$). Again he is pictured as a man coming up from the midst of the sea, and flying with the clouds of heaven (13^3). Planting himself upon a great mountain (the emblem of Zion), he encounters a mighty host who have gathered themselves against him from the four winds of heaven, and destroys them by the flaming breath of his lips. Coming down from the mountain, he then calls to him another and 'peaceable' multitude (the ten tribes). These figures, it is explained, are used of 'this my son' (13^{37}); and, although it is not easy to deduce from them a very concrete doctrine of the Messiah's person, one or two points are sufficiently clear. The writer dissociates himself from the view current in the Judaism of his time: according to him, the Messiah is in no sense an earthly king. At the same time it is plain, from the representation he gives of him as dying, that he does not conceive him as possessing essential Deity. Neither is he depicted as an ordinary man: he comes up out of the sea, 'as it were the likeness of a man,' and flies with the clouds of heaven. As fire melts wax, so his voice burns those that hear it (13$^{3\text{f.}}$). It would therefore seem that in this apocalypse the Messiah is conceived as a created being of a quite peculiar kind, who appears as a man among men for the destruction of Jehovah's enemies and the restoration of His people, although not as an earthly potentate. The Most High has reserved him for long (13^{26}), until the moment appointed for his coming. 'No man upon earth can see my son, or those that be with him, but in the time of his day' (13^{52}). Then he shall be revealed (7^{28}), and his appearance will herald that revolution which shall destroy the power of Rome and bring together the scattered tribes of Israel.

It is clear from the Shemoneh 'Esreh—the chief prayer which it was the duty of every Israelite to repeat thrice daily, and which, although it attained its final form only after A.D. 70, must be considered much more ancient as to its groundwork—that the hopes expressed in these apocalypses were cherished by the nation as a whole. Prayer is offered for the gathering of the dispersed, the rebuilding of Jerusalem, the revival of the Davidic kingdom, and the restoration of the sacrificial service.

6. *The Messianic expectation in Hellenistic Judaism.*—If in Palestine the hope associated with the advent of the ideal Davidic king had not altogether waned in presence of the political and religious liberty enjoyed under the Hasmonæan dynasty, the people were at least content to wait for the rise of a new prophet (1 Mac 14^{41}). But in Egypt, where they were still under Gentile dominion, the Jews seem to have cherished more warmly the hope of a Messianic deliverance. Thus about B.C. 140 the oldest Jewish portions of the Sibylline Oracles predict the approach from the East of a God-sent king, who will take vengeance on his adversaries, and make war to cease throughout the earth. Heathen opposition to the temple will collapse under the stroke of the Immortal, whose children will live in peace and quietness under the protection of His hand. At sight of this the Gentiles shall accept God's law, and bring gifts to the temple. So shall be inaugurated the reign of peace. God will set up an eternal kingdom over all mankind, with Jerusalem as its central seat, and under the just sway and judicial control of the prophets (3$^{652\text{-}794}$). Although the Messiah is not named, and although the main stress of the prophecy is laid on the triumph of the Law, the introduction of the figure of the Messianic king into the writer's delineation of the future is nevertheless very significant in view of the abstract spiritualism affected by Alexandrian Judaism generally, and already traceable in the LXX. No less remarkable is it that even a speculative moralist like Philo, in his delineation of the happiness in store for the righteous, should avail himself of the image of the Messianic king. According to this writer, all adherents of the Law will be liberated 'at a given sign on one day.' Led by a Divine appearance, visible only to the delivered, they will rebuild the ruined cities, and the desert will be fertilized (*de Exsecr.* 8-9). On their deliverance the dispersed Israelites will stream together to a certain place: the indefiniteness here is probably

due to a spiritualizing in Philo's mind of the Zion of the prophets. The coming era will be signalized by the tameness of wild beasts (*de Prœmiis et Pœnis,* 15 ff.); by the saints' bloodless victory in battle ['Then, says the prophecy (Nu 24^7, LXX), a man who goes to battle and makes war shall go forth and subdue great and populous nations, God Himself sending help to His saints' (*ib.* 16)]; by the blessing of physical health and strength (17–18); and by that of wealth and prosperity (20). Athough there is here no express mention of a personal Messiah, the latter is nevertheless clearly indicated in the warrior who subdues great nations. The use of such language, alien as it is to Philo's general point of view, is a proof of the prevalence of the Messianic idea in his time. It is more after his manner to lay stress upon the liberating power of virtue, and this he contrives to do, without, however, altogether excluding the activity of the Logos as a fundamental factor in the future salvation.

The Hellenistic sympathies of Josephus are apparent in his treatment of the Messianic idea. He studiously ignores it. Only in two passages of his writings does it find the faintest expression. In recording Daniel's interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream he declines to explain the meaning of the stone which was cut out of the mountain and destroyed the image (Dn 2^{45}), on the ground that as a historian he is not concerned with the future (*Ant.* X. x. 4). Again, in remarking upon the fulfilment of several of Balaam's predictions, he takes no account of the Messianic prophecy in Nu $24^{12ff.}$, but merely adds: 'One may easily guess that the rest will have their completion in due time' (*Ant.* IV. vi. 5). No further evidence is required to show that in his presentation of Jewish history the Messianic prophecies of the OT are deliberately ignored. When he says of Jesus, 'This is the Christ' (*Ant.* XVIII. iii. 3), all he means to convey is that He was popularly regarded as the Jewish Messiah. Certainly, the words do not contain the confession of his own faith. That he had personally abandoned (if indeed he ever understood) the Messianic hope is clear from his declaration to his fellow-countrymen at the siege of Jerusalem that Rome was invincible, and that God had now given the dominion to Italy (*BJ* V. ix. 3), as well as from his impudent transference of it to the rule of Vespasian (*BJ* VI. v. 4).

After the Exile the doctrine of the Messianic expectation appears to have assumed two very different forms—one in Palestine, and the other in Egypt. The increased clearness of the prophetic doctrine had been accompanied in Palestine by an increased departure from the true understanding of the scriptural position. In the prevailing popular conception the religious character of the Messiah was overlooked. Men either thought of him as a temporal prince, or lost sight of the personal element altogether in their anticipation of a temporal kingdom. 'The theocratic views of the people made it impossible for them to separate the thought of the Messiah from that of a victorious earthly king, and caused them to cling to the political idea till it was finally extinguished in the ashes of the Holy City.' * In Egypt the doctrine had a different history. If the notion of a Messianic ruler did not cease to be popularly contemplated, no place at all was given to a visible Messiah in the Jewish-Alexandrian philosophy. Where Philo does introduce the figure of the Messianic king, this is done purely as a concession to the popular sentiment, and not because it falls in with his ethical view. The conception of the Alexandrian philosophers was wholly ideal, and exclusive of personal Messianic activity. The Law and wisdom were all the Messiah they wished. No other view would square with their philosophical system, which did not favour the concrete and visible side of things. This was the opposite extreme of the development in Palestine, and it is not improbable that what yet remained of true Messianic hope in the latter country was due to the tenacity with which their brethren in Egypt clung to the mystical conception of the Messianic deliverance.

7. *Peculiarities of the later Messianic hope.*—From the situation as broadly reflected in Palestine and in Egypt it is clear that the hope of a bright future, which formed an integral part of the religious consciousness of Israel, assumed various aspects in different minds and at different periods of the national development. Particularly noteworthy are some well-marked points of contrast between the older and the later Messianic hope. These have been well stated by Schürer (*HJP* II. ii. p. 129 ff.), whom we here follow. (1) Upon the whole, the former contemplated nothing more than the advent of better times, when a purified nation under a wise and just Davidic king should occupy a place of power and influence, and enjoy all the blessings of peace and prosperity. (2) While the former was almost entirely national, the latter growingly assumed an individual character. Every pious Jew would share in the glory of the future kingdom, and for this end the righteous dead would be raised to life again. (3) The former did not go beyond the circle of earthly circumstances, whereas the latter conceives the future salvation as transcending the sphere of the present. (4) In later times, and in the hands of the scribes, the Messianic hope assumed a more scholastic form than in the earlier prophetic days. 'The poetic image was stiffened into dogma' in a way not possible so long as the Messianic expectation was a living reality. While this characterization is broadly true, it is to be remembered that 'even in later times the old hope of a glorious future for the nation maintained the supremacy. This forms, even in the later view of the future, the determining ground-plan of the picture. And just as upon this foundation the characteristic peculiarities of the later view have stronger or weaker influence, and produce this or that alteration, is the old image now more now less, now in one way now in another, specially modified and supplemented' (*HJP* II. ii. p. 135).

8. *Question as to the retrogression of the Messianic idea during the post-Prophetic period.*—Was there a break in the development of this doctrine? Did the distinctively Messianic hope disappear with the cessation of prophecy, to be revived only with the advent of Christianity? It would be wrong to suppose that it ever became absolutely extinct. In order to this the Prophetic books of the OT must have perished, and the synagogues must have been closed. Neither of these things had happened. Even in the darkest days there yet remained some earnest souls who clung to the old faith and tried to revive it. It is, however, undeniable that the expectation of a personal Messiah went greatly down after the Prophets were silent. The hope of a bright future for Israel never wavered, yet there was a very strong disposition no longer to associate it with the raising of an ideal Davidic king to the throne. For many, the Prophetic picture of such a king had lost its first attractiveness. They had waited for him long enough, and he had not appeared. Thus among the great mass of the Jewish people there was no living faith in a personal Messiah at the time when the Apocrypha were composed. What was the reason of this retrogression? So far as we can judge, it was due to two considerations—(1) The hope of the Jews was a distant

---

* See the author's *From the Exile to the Advent* (Clark's Handbook Series), p. 175.

hope. It was in books—that was all. They took for granted that there would be no great realization of it in their time, and looked upon the living realities of Divine grace as confined to the past and the future. Such want of heart manifested in regard to this great central doctrine was necessarily a crushing blow to the national development. (2) Their hope was a political hope. The transient glory of the Maccabæan period gave a measure of religious life, but any further deliverance that was longed for was rather along the same lines. 'The speedy triumph of the Maccabees satisfied for a time the aspirations of the people; and a longer period of suffering and disappointment was needed to develop the hope of a Messiah into a passion among the masses of the nation, and into a doctrine in the schools of the learned' (Drummond, *Jewish Messiah*, p. 269). The hopes centred on the Hasmonæan princes were gradually seen to be delusive, and in the struggle for supremacy between a secularized hierarchy and the Pharisees or party of the Law the people took the side of the latter. Turning from all human kingship, they looked for deliverance to the king whom J″ Himself would raise up from David's line. That in the time of Christ this hope was generally prevalent is manifest from the Gospels. It had been abundantly proved that the kingdom of God could not perfect itself under the restrictions of an earthly State. But that stone which the builders rejected was soon to become the head of the corner in the prophetic building; and in the person and work of Jesus as Messiah the true spiritual idea of the Divine kingdom was to arise and prevail.

vi. ESCHATOLOGY.—In the OT, eschatological doctrine appears in a very undeveloped form, and, though it cannot be said to occupy a large place in the Apocrypha either, there is yet enough in these post-canonical books to show that in the period after the Exile there was a much clearer apprehension of a future life than there had been in the earlier stages of the nation's history. It is, however, in the Apocalyptic literature of the two centuries preceding the Christian era that the most marked development in eschatology is met with. In these works the inherent importance of the subject, connected as it was with the Messianic hope, combined with the Jewish fondness for elaborate and fantastic presentation of truth to give it a foremost place.

1. *The OT position.*—By many scholars (Stade, Schwally, Charles) the eschatological ideas of the early Hebrews are traced to the ancestor worship of Semitic heathenism. However this may be, it is certain that in the Mosaic legislation the outlook is confined to the present sphere of existence: virtue is rewarded, and vice punished, during this life. Both in pre-Mosaic and in Mosaic times, however, the view that death does not end the conscious life of all had taken possession of the popular mind. It comes out in connexion with the translations of Enoch (Gn $5^{22\text{ff.}}$) and Elijah (2 K 2^{11}), although immortality is here conceived as a possibility only for soul and body together, previous to death, and not after it. The thought of Jehovah's power restoring the dead through human instrumentality (1 K 17^{22}, 2 K 4^{35}), which is of later occurrence, also implies the thought of a future life. According to the Heb. conception, death does not mean absolute extinction. Although the dead person does not in any real sense live, he still subsists. He descends into Sheol, a dreary region of darkness (Job 10^{21}), a land of silence and forgetfulness (Ps 94^{17} 115^{17}), the house appointed for all living (Job 30^{23}). In this shadowy existence, the dreamy counterpart of his past life, he has no fellowship with the living, whether men or God (Ps 6^{5}, Is 38^{18}). He has nothing to fear, and nothing to hope for. Into this conception of Sheol no moral element enters; there is no distinction made between good and bad. Personal identity, however, is not lost, and the kingdom of the dead reflects the family and other distinctions of the upper world. Thus men are gathered into tribes (Gn $25^{8\text{f.}}$ etc.), and kings sit upon thrones (Is $14^{9\text{f.}}$).

Although they did not actually formulate either the doctrine of immortality or that of the resurrection, the Prophets by their ethical tendency prepared the way for a more spiritual development. Their insistence upon the fact that Israel's relation to J″ is morally conditioned, was fitted to awaken the consciousness of a new life through fellowship with God. The conception of a life of blessedness beyond the grave was the necessary corollary of the law of individual retribution as proclaimed by Jeremiah ($31^{29\text{f.}}$) and developed by Ezekiel (18^{4}). That this law as thus stated caused much perplexity to the afflicted righteous is evident from Job and Ecclesiastes as well as from several of the Psalms. And, although the doctrine of a blessed future life in which the wrongs of the present will be righted is nowhere definitely taught in these books, they contain passages in which it certainly seems to be implied (Job $14^{13\text{ff.}}$ $19^{28\text{f.}}$, Ps 49. 73). If in Job the immortality of the individual is no more than a deep aspiration, in Ps 49 and 73 it becomes a settled spiritual conviction. Early in the 3rd cent., and even perhaps late in the 4th, it was merged in the larger doctrine of the resurrection, which embraced not only the idea of an individual immortality, but also that of the Messianic kingdom. Thus for a time the former idea completely fell into the background, since to the Jew the future blessedness of his nation was more than the well-being of the individual.

This eschatology of the nation is reflected in the Prophetical books of the OT, especially in the conception of the day of J″, when judgment will be meted out to Israel's enemies, and unmingled happiness to the chosen people, the judgment on the former being the inaugural prelude to the national blessedness of the latter. We have here the oldest expression of a conception which subsequently assumed various forms. In the 7th cent., when the Jews chafed under the cruelty of their Assyrian oppressors, Nahum and Habakkuk reasserted it with only slight modification. According to Amos, however (and also Hosea, who, while not using the expression 'day of Jehovah,' predicts the judgment which it denotes, $13^{12\text{ff.}}$), it is upon Israel itself that the judgment will most severely fall (3^{27}), for in His 'day' J″ will manifest Himself, not in order to the triumph of Israel, but for the vindication of His own righteousness. In Isaiah and Micah the judgment is represented as falling chiefly upon Judah and Jerusalem (Is $1^{24\text{ff.}}$ 29^{6}, Mic 3^{12}), while in Zephaniah it is set forth for the first time as embracing the whole world (1^{18}), and leaving only a righteous remnant in Israel ($3^{12\text{f.}}$). In Jeremiah the day of J″ is mainly, although not exclusively, directed against Judah ($37^{6\text{ff.}}$); but at the same time there is held out the hope that the national life will be regenerated and restored ($23^{7\text{f.}}$ $24^{5\text{f.}}$), and that the Gentiles shall be converted, and only the impenitent destroyed ($12^{16\text{f.}}$).

The epoch of the Exile witnessed a revival of individualism in religion. According to Ezekiel and his followers, judgment means the destruction of the Gentiles and the purification of Israel man by man in order to the establishment of the Messianic kingdom, which will be introduced by the day of J″. In the post-exilic age the idea of judgment recedes before that of a universal Messianic kingdom. Through Israel as the Servant of J″ all nations shall embrace the true religion ($42^{3f.}$ 49^{6} 52^{13}–53^{12}), and yield themselves to Him of their own accord (Is $2^{2ff.}$ = Mic $4^{1ff.}$). In Is $19^{16\text{-}25}$ Egypt and Assyria are placed alongside of Israel as sharing in her spiritual blessedness, while in Mal 1^{11} we have the language of unqualified universalism, and the acceptance by J″ as a pure offering even of the unconscious sacrifices of the heathen. In contrast to this standpoint, however, the particularism of Ezekiel continued to have its advocates, and the Messianic kingdom was viewed as the close preserve of a reunited Israel (Hos 3^{5}, Mic 5^{3}, Is $9^{1ff.}$), the Gentiles being either excluded or represented as in subjection to Israel. In Hag. ($2^{20ff.}$) and Zec. ($1^{18ff.}$) the day of J″ is depicted as involving the destruction of the heathen powers, and the establishment of the Messianic kingdom as consequent on the rebuilding of the temple. Joel's point of view is already apocalyptic; the nations generally will be destroyed, and Israel justified; there is no moral sifting of Israel as in older prophets. In the apocalypse of Daniel it is taught that when evil has reached its height the end of the world will ensue.

It needed a combination of both the individual and the national aspects of the thought of a blessed future for the righteous to form the fuller doctrine of the resurrection as apparently conceived by the end of the 4th or beginning of the 3rd cent. B.C. If we accept Cheyne's view as to the date (*c.* 334 B.C.) of the remarkable passage Is 26^{19}, and Charles' interpretation of its meaning, it was then held that immortality would indeed be secured to the righteous individual, but would consist in his resurrection to share in the blessedness of the Messianic kingdom.

2. *Post-canonical development.*—But, although the doctrines of immortality and the resurrection were thus steadily establishing themselves in Jewish thought, it was only very gradually that they won their way to general recognition among the people. In several of the OT Apocrypha there is no mention of them. Sirach limits to this life both the punishment of wickedness and the reward of righteousness. Even after the doctrine of the resurrection was being regularly taught in the schools of the Pharisees, many of the Jews evidently had no clear ideas upon the subject (Mk 9^{10}). At the same time, in the post-canonical literature there is undeniably a further development of the eschatological conceptions of the later prophets. The new views regarding the future destiny of man assumed two distinct forms—one in Palestine, the other in Egypt. To the Pal. Jew the future life was made real only through a bodily resurrection; to the Alexandrian, it was the necessary consequence of the immortality of the soul.

The 2nd cent. B.C. witnessed a great advance in eschatology. Instead of the old indefiniteness of the day of J″, we have the formulation of distinct ideas. The Book of Enoch especially describes the last things and the other world in minute detail.

(1) *Future judgment.*—A prominent feature in the eschatological development of the period is the strongly expressed certainty with regard to future retribution, in contrast to the admitted uncertainty that men will in this life be rewarded according to their works. In the view of the apocalyptic writers of this century the establishment on earth of the Messianic kingdom will be preceded by judgment and just recompense for all men living, and for some or all of the Israelitish dead, as well as for the fallen angels. To a certain extent punishment has already been administered through the first world-judgment on the angels who formed unions with the daughters of men, on their children, and on all men living at the time of the Deluge (Enoch $10^{1\text{-}12}$). These angels are bound fast in gloomy caverns under the hills ($10^{4f.\ 12}$), while the souls of men are relegated to Sheol (22), until the final judgment that shall usher in the reign of the Messiah. Then will judgment be pronounced upon the impure angels, the demons who have hitherto escaped punishment (16^{1}), and, with the exception of one special class of sinners (22^{13}), upon all Israel. The fact of an individual judgment after death is thus already taught in the oldest section of the Book of Enoch. It is also found in Jubilees (4^{23} $5^{9ff.}$ etc.) in special connexion with the idea of 'heavenly tables,' on which 'judgment is written down for every creature and for every kind.' We have it embodied likewise in the Apocalypse of Baruch ($4^{4ff.}$), according to which those who have rejected God's law will first behold the righteous invested with the splendour of angels, and 'afterwards depart to be tormented.' There is here no limitation of the idea to faithless Israelites. In the contemporary Book of Daniel (B.C. 168), which presents a contrast to the Book of Enoch in respect that it has in view the future of the nation rather than that of the individual, judgment is executed by the saints (7^{22}) as a prelude to the final judgment at the hands of the Almighty ($9^{12ff.}$). Although nothing is said as to the judgment of angels, that of the angel princes of Persia ($10^{13.\ 20}$) and Greece (10^{20}) is implied. In Enoch 83–90 (written B.C. 166–161), the last judgment is likewise placed at the inauguration of the Messianic kingdom. Special reference is made to the judgment wrought by the 'great sword' of Judas Maccabæus (90^{19}), whose victorious campaigns against the Syrians were being carried on when this part of Enoch was written. In this section of the book the thought of a general individual judgment is set forth in great judicial detail. A throne is erected for the Lord of the sheep; the sealed books are opened; the seven archangels are commanded to bring before Him the evil angels (the fallen Watchers), who are cast into an abyss of fire; the seventy faithless 'shepherds' of Israel and the 'blinded sheep' (*i.e.* apostate Jews) share the same fate. After this the Messianic kingdom is set up *on earth*; a new Jerusalem takes the place of the old, and the righteous who have suffered oppression are brought into it ($90^{20ff.}$).

During the last century B.C. there occurred a radical change in Jewish eschatology. What lay at the root of this was the conviction that an eternal Messianic kingdom cannot be suitably manifested on the present earth. Such a view had obviously an important bearing upon the whole field of eschatological thought. It led the writers of this century to take new ground with respect to the kingdom, and the place of the Final Judgment relatively to it. Some cut the knot by denying the eternity of the earthly Messianic kingdom (Enoch 91–104); others by postulating the idea of a new heaven and a new earth (Enoch 37–70). The latter section of the Book of Enoch is the only work of this century which still places the Final Judgment at the inauguration of the Messianic kingdom. All others dating from this period (Enoch 91–104, Ps.-Sol., etc.), appear to relegate it to its close. As to the scope of the Judgment, the view of the former period remains unaltered; it extends to all men and angels, righteous and wicked. Enoch 91–104 follows Daniel in speaking of a preliminary judgment wrought through the instrumentality of the saints. In Ps-Sol 17. 18 the Messiah himself is judge, although the act of judgment here is probably confined to the destruction of the hostile powers.

The Pal. Judaism of the 1st cent. A.D. continued virtually to reflect the eschatological position arrived at in the preceding century. In the Assumption of Moses, as well as in the Apocalypse of Baruch and 2 (4) Esdras (certain sections excepted), there is conserved the idea of a preliminary judgment. The Final Judgment on men and angels is placed at the close of the Messianic kingdom, or, failing the expectation of such a kingdom, at the close of the age (Apoc. of Baruch), or on the completion of the number of the righteous (2 (4) Esdras).

So far as the doctrine of a Future Judgment is concerned, it would therefore appear from the above that the Apocryphal period witnessed very decided developments. Although the OT idea of judgment through the overthrow of existing hostile powers was to some extent retained (Enoch $90^{18f.}$, Assumption of Moses 3, Apoc. of Baruch 72^{6}, 2 Es 13^{14}), this gradually gave way to that of a forensic act. The Judgment was placed for the most part at the end of the Messiah's reign instead of at its commencement. It tended to assume a growingly personal and individual character. The scope of the Judgment was also extended so as to include all, men and angels alike. Obviously, we have here a distinct approximation to the doctrine of the Judgment as given by Christ Himself. 'He employs many of the terms which were current, while He relieves the popular beliefs of all that was gross, fantastic, or trivial. He brings to the OT conception the extension and the certainty which it needed. The spiritual principles of His teaching, and the things which it adds to the Heb. faith on the subject, make the old doctrine a new one.' [*] That He is Himself the Judge, that every man will be judged by Him 'according to his works,' and that His judgment is final,—these are the transforming elements by which all the deficiencies of the pre-Christian conception are removed, and the doctrine of a Future Judgment is raised to a clear and definite position in the doctrinal structure of revealed religion.

(2) *Realms of the departed.*—(*a*) *Sheol.*—In Dn 12^{2}, according to the most probable reading, this is designated 'the ground (land) of dust,' and seems to be used in its OT sense as denoting a region devoid of moral distinctions. It is represented as the final abode of all mankind save the best and the worst in Israel, of whom the former shall rise to 'æonian life,' and the latter be cast into Gehenna. For these two classes Sheol is only a temporary and intermediate abode. The writer appears to have in his mind the faithful and the apostates in the struggle with Antiochus Epiphanes.

From the detailed description in Enoch 22 it is manifest that during the 2nd cent. B.C. the conception of Sheol underwent a radical change. From being a place free from moral distinctions it has become a place of retribution, where men are dealt with according to their deserts. Here all souls assemble (22^{3}), and await the Judgment in their respective habitations. Of these there are four—two for the spirits of the righteous, (1) for those who have died an unmerited death, (2) for the rest of the righteous; and two for the spirits of the wicked, (1) for those who have already been punished in this life for their wickedness, (2) for those who escaped punishment in the upper world. From three of these divisions there is a resurrection to final judgment; but from the fourth, the abode of sinners to whom death came as the punishment of their crimes, there is no resurrection. In their case Sheol is equivalent to hell. Ethically, this represents a great advance upon the old Heb. conception, although it is of too cast-iron a description to be truly ethical. The soul can neither become better nor worse, and 'Sheol thus conceived is only a place of petrified moralities and suspended graces' (Charles, *Eschatology*, 187).

Soon, however, this fault was to be remedied, for in 2 Mac $12^{42ff.}$ moral transformation in Sheol is considered possible. Judas is said to have offered sacrifice for the fallen warriors, 'for if he were not expecting that they that had fallen would rise again, it were superfluous and idle to pray for the dead.' During the last century B.C. Sheol is regarded (1) as the intermediate abode of the dead, whence all Israelites (2 Mac 6^{23}), and possibly all without distinction (Enoch 51^{1}), rise to judgment; (2) as the final abode of the wicked, *i.e.* as hell (Enoch 56^{8}, Ps-Sol 14^{6} etc.), where souls are slain (Enoch 99^{11}). In Enoch 91-104 Sheol is almost synonymous with Gehenna, and in Ps.-Sol. entirely so. The *Similitudes* conceive Sheol as the preliminary abode of those dying previous to the establishment of the Messianic kingdom. Subsequent to this, however, it becomes the final abode of the wicked (63^{10}). This view of Sheol was almost a necessary consequence of the belief that only the righteous would be raised from the dead.

In the 1st cent. A.D. Sheol is represented as the intermediate abode of all the dead prior to the last judgment (Apoc. Bar 23^{5} 48^{16}, 2 (4) Es 4^{41}). According to Josephus, the Pharisees taught that the righteous are rewarded and the wicked punished under the earth (*ὑπὸ χθονός*, *Ant.* XVIII. i. 3), or in Hades (*καθ' ᾄδου*, *BJ* II. viii. 14), *i.e.* in Sheol. The righteous rise again, and possess other bodies; but for the wicked there is no resurrection. Between the righteous and the wicked in Sheol there was, according to the prevailing conception of the period, a great gulf fixed. The former inhabited 'the treasuries' (Apoc. Bar 21^{3} etc., 2 (4) Es 7^{95}) of restful bliss; the latter dwelt in a place of torment (Apoc. Bar 30^{5}).

It appears, then, that during the Apocryphal period the conception of Sheol was by no means a fixed quantity. Rather was it in a somewhat fluid condition, and underwent considerable variation. It had, however, 'come to be regarded as a definite *stadium* between death and judgment, with preliminary penalties, and, in some forms of thought, with moral processes. The idea of an intermediate state took a larger and larger place in Judaism, and in this matter Christian theology to a great extent served itself heir to Jewish theology. But all this is in the strongest possible contrast to Christ's own teaching. His words fix our thoughts on the present life and the final issues. . . . They give little or no place to the thought of an intermediate state.' [*]

(*b*) *Paradise.*—According to Schrader,[†] the word 'paradise' is of Perso-Indogermanic origin (*pairidaēza*, from *pairi*, 'around,' and *daēza*, 'a rampart'), and signifies an enclosure or 'park.' From this it came to denote a pleasure-garden generally, as in Neh 2^{8}, Ec 2^{5}, and was ultimately adopted as the distinctive designation of the seat of the blessed, whether conceived as earthly or heavenly. According to the conception that prevailed in the 2nd cent. B.C., Paradise was reserved for those who had been directly translated in the flesh. In other words, its gates had been opened only for Enoch and Elijah. From the way in which it conceives Sheol as 'the place of condemnation' (7^{22} 22^{22}), the Book of Jubilees, however, seems to imply that Paradise is the intermediate abode of the righteous dead until the Final Judgment. But this work also shares the point of view of the later 2 (4) Esdras, according to which

---

[*] Salmond, *Christian Doct. of Immortality*^{3}, p. 318.

[*] Salmond, *Christian Doct. of Immortality*^{3}, p. 345 f

[†] *COT* ii. p. 71.

Paradise is conceived as the final abode of the righteous (7$^{36.\,123}$ 8^{52}). Already in the 1st cent. B.C. it is viewed as 'the garden of the righteous' (Enoch 60^{23}), and the dwelling-place of 'the elect' (Enoch 60^{8} 61^{12}). In the *Similitudes*, however, it is not the eternal abode of the holy, who pass from it to the Messianic kingdom.

It would appear, therefore, that no very definite position had been reached either with regard to the geographical situation of Paradise or with regard to its inhabitants. This is clear from the varying representations of the Book of Enoch under both of these heads. 'In 32$^{2f.}$ it lies in the East: in 70$^{2ff.}$ between the West and North: in 77^{3} in the North. . . . It is apparently empty in Enoch's time in 32$^{3ff.}$, and the righteous dead are in the West, 22: it is the abode of the righteous and the elect in Enoch's and Noah's times in 61^{12} 60$^{8.\,23}$: the abode of the earliest fathers in Enoch's time, 89^{52}.' *

In spite of the uncertainty thus attaching to the term 'Paradise' in Jewish thought, the later Rabbis constructed an elaborate topography of it, with 'Abraham's bosom' as the place of highest honour. The general popular conception in the time of Christ is perhaps fairly well reflected in that of the Essenes, who, according to Jos. (*BJ* II. viii. 11), regarded Paradise as a region situated beyond the ocean, where there was no uncongenial rain or cold or heat, and where righteous souls were perpetually refreshed by gentle zephyrs blowing from the sea. The word is very sparingly used in NT. In the recorded sayings of our Lord it occurs but once (Lk 23^{43}), and not in such a way as to throw much light upon His own conception of the term. He employs it in a very general sense, and possibly as the word which would convey most meaning and comfort to the listener.

(*c*) *Heaven.*—It is not until the last century B.C. that we find heaven represented in Apocalyptic writings as the abode of the righteous subsequent to 'the day of the great judgment.' This view is first met with in Enoch 91–104, where the righteous are described as the objects of angelic intercession (104^{1}). To them will the portals of heaven be opened (104^{2}); their joy will be like that of the angels of heaven (104^{4}); and they will yet become companions of the heavenly host (104^{6}). According to the later Apoc. of Baruch, they will be made like unto the angels (51^{10}), while in the *Similitudes* of Enoch it is claimed that they will themselves become angels in heaven. The Book of Jubilees (23^{31}) and the Assumption of Moses (10^{9}) also regard heaven as the eternal home of the righteous.

(*d*) *Gehenna.*—From denoting the scene of idolatrous sacrifices 'Gehenna' (from the Hebrew גֵּי הִנֹּם = 'valley of Hinnom,' Gr. Γέεννα) came to signify the place where apostate Jews are punished in the sight of the righteous (cf. Is 50^{11}). In Dn 12^{2} it becomes the final abode of all such apostates. But in the last century B.C. this idea took on quite a new complexion. Gehenna is now no longer exclusively reserved for apostate Jews, and is the place of punishment for the nations generally (Jth 16^{17}). More particularly is it intended for kings and the mighty (Enoch 48$^{8f.}$ 53^{5} 54^{2}). Again, whereas according to the older view the torments of the wicked were to afford a constant spectacle to the righteous (Enoch 27$^{2f.}$ 90$^{26f.}$), in the *Similitudes* this spectacle, although still to be witnessed (62^{12}), is only of temporary duration. This fresh development is necessitated by the writer's view with respect to the transformation of heaven and earth at the advent of the Messiah. In the new heavens and the new earth there was no place for Gehenna, which accordingly disappears from the sight of the righteous from henceforth (62^{13}). Still another modification of the older view of Gehenna occurs in Enoch 91–104, where the wicked are cast into the furnace of fire as incorporeal spirits (98^{3}). Hitherto the punishment of Gehenna had been thought of as both bodily and spiritual, but here the former element is eliminated. In this book no distinction is made between Sheol and Gehenna (99^{11} etc.). 2 (4) Esdras contains the following statements: 'The Most High shall be revealed upon the seat of judgment' (7^{33}), and 'the pit of torment shall appear, and over against it shall be the place of rest: and the furnace of hell (Gehenna) shall be showed, and over against it the paradise of delight' (7^{36}). The nations that are raised from the dead will then be called upon to behold the contrast between the delight and rest on one side, and fire and torments on the other (7$^{37f.}$). It was only in the later Rabbinism that the word was used to denote a temporary purgatory as well as the abode of the wicked after death. As employed by Christ in the Synoptic Gospels, 'Gehenna' retains its older meaning as 'the final retributive scene or condition, not any intermediate place, whether of penalty or of purification, between death and the resurrection.' * On the momentous and difficult question as to the *eternity* of the penal condition in Gehenna, the student is referred to the discussion in bk. iii. ch. vi. of the work just quoted.

(3) *The Resurrection.*—The first occurrence in the OT of the idea of a resurrection is in Hos 6^{2}, where the hope expressed is clearly not individual but national. It appears again in a national sense in Ezekiel's vision of the valley of dry bones (37$^{1\text{-}14}$). Chronologically, the next reference to this idea is found in the post-exilic prophecy of Is 24–27. Here there is a distinct advance upon former conceptions. Although the thought of a resurrection is still, as in Hosea and Ezekiel, limited to Israel (26^{14}), its application to individuals (26^{19}), even if the prophets' words do breathe a pious hope rather than contain a clear-cut doctrine, is new. One other OT passage is of importance in this connexion, viz. Dn 12^{2} 'And many of them that sleep in the dusty ground (lit. *the ground of dust* ?=Sheol) shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to reproaches and everlasting abhorrence.' There is here taught for the first time a resurrection of the *wicked*, as also the doctrine of a diversity of lot reserved for the righteous and the wicked in the future. In both cases the writer thinks of Israelites only, and does not even include all of these. Only those are in his view who have distinguished themselves either by their promotion of, or antagonism to, the Divine kingdom.

In the subsequent development of the doctrine the extent of the resurrection was variously conceived. In Dn 12$^{2f.}$ the writer thinks of a partial resurrection of both righteous and wicked; Enoch 1–36 speaks of a resurrection of all the righteous and some of the wicked; the *Similitudes* represent at one time that all will be raised up, good and bad alike (51$^{1f.}$), and at another contemplate the resurrection of the righteous only (61^{5}); while Enoch 91–104, and the later Jewish literature generally, limit the idea of the resurrection to the righteous (Enoch 91^{10} 92^{3}, 2 Mac 9$^{14.\,36}$, Ps-Sol 3^{16} 13^{9} etc.). It is in all these cases the resurrection of Israel that is spoken of; there is as yet no thought of a general resurrection.

Different views were held also as to the nature of the resurrection itself. From 2 Maccabees (which as a professed epitome of the work of Jason of Cyrene must be taken to reflect the eschatological views of the century preceding that in which it appeared) it is evident that in the 2nd cent. B.C. the doctrine of the resurrection of the body was very distinctly held. In the account of the cruel death of the seven brothers and their mother, the resurrection is represented at once as a resurrection to eternal life ($7^{9.36}$) in fellowship with the risen righteous (7^{29}), and as a resurrection of the body (7^{11}). By thus uniting the doctrine of a resurrection with that of immortality, 2 Mac. takes up a more advanced position than any other Apocryphal work.

---

* Charles' ed., note on 60^{8}.

* Salmond, *op. cit.* p. 360.

During the last century B.C. the mode of conceiving the resurrection underwent a change in keeping with the altered view as to the scene of the Messianic kingdom. So long as the latter was regarded as an eternal kingdom on this earth, the idea of a bodily resurrection seemed quite in place. But, after it became usual to think of that kingdom as having its only fitting manifestation in a new heaven and a new earth, the resurrection was conceived either as purely spiritual (Enoch 91–104, Ps.-Sol.), or as one in which the risen righteous shall be invested with garments of glory and of life (Enoch $62^{15f.}$). The *Similitudes*, however, reflect the older view of a bodily resurrection.

Although at the beginning of the Christian era the limitation of the resurrection to the righteous was the accepted view of Judaism, there were still different ideas held with reference to the resurrection itself. According to Jos. (*BJ* II. viii. 14), the Pharisees taught that 'the souls of good men only are removed into other bodies,' *i.e.* bodies of another nature than the present, while the Essenes believed in the soul's immortality, but not in a bodily resurrection. In the Jewish-Alexandrian writings the resurrection is regarded as wholly spiritual, and as taking place immediately after death.' * Matter being essentially evil, there can be no resurrection of the body. As the true self, the soul only is immortal, and can be redeemed only through Wisdom (Wis 8^{13}). The knowledge of God's dominion is the root of immortality (15^3). The author starts from the position that 'righteousness is immortal' (1^{15}) as God is immortal. Then follows the statement that 'God created man for incorruption' (2^{23}); in consequence of his Divine origin he bears the stamp of immortality. Death would have been unknown but for the envy of the devil (2^{24}). Eternal life in fellowship with God is therefore the portion of the righteous. To them death is but an apparent calamity ($3^{3f.}$). The ungodly, on the other hand, are doomed to death (2^{24}), and are punished for their crimes both here and hereafter ($3^{17f.}$). In this book only the larger thought of immortality is emphasized; it leaves it to be implied that there must be a previous (spiritual) resurrection to life. The righteous dead, moreover, are not merely as in OT said to dwell in Sheol, but in immediate nearness to God (6^{19}).

The same view is set forth still more explicitly in the writings of Philo. According to this author, the body is only the temporary and polluted prison-house of the rational soul, which, as an emanation of Deity, is immaterial and imperishable. This is essentially the Platonic doctrine; although Philo, for whom Genesis is only an allegorical history of the soul's development, found it already taught in the statements that God made man in His own image ($1^{26f.}$) and breathed into him His spirit (2^7). Philo's view as to the essentially evil nature of matter precludes the possibility of a bodily resurrection. He quotes approvingly the word-play of Heraclitus, who calls the body (σῶμα) the tomb (σῆμα) of the soul (*Leg. Alleg.* i. 33).

The doctrine of an incorporeal immortality is also taught in 4 Maccabees in connexion with the famous story of the martyrdom of the seven brothers and their mother. It describes the brothers as 'running in the way of immortality' (14^5); the mother as 'again giving birth to the entire number of her sons for immortality' (16^{13}); and both them and her as 'assembled together to the company of their fathers, having received again from God pure and immortal souls' (18^{23}).

Another point, in regard to which no agreement had been arrived at when Christ came, was the *time* of the resurrection. According to Enoch 51^1, it was to take place immediately before the Messianic era; according to the Apoc. of Baruch and 2 (4) Esdras, it was to synchronize with its close.

The only Jewish works of the 1st cent. A.D. which teach the doctrine of a general resurrection of the entire human race are the Apoc. of Baruch (30^{2-5}) and 2 (4) Esdras (7^{32-37}). Even on this view, something was done to conserve the idea that the resurrection is a privilege pertaining to the righteous. In connexion with the appearance of the Messiah, reference is made to 'those that be with him' (2 Es 13^{52}) in such terms as to suggest a retinue of saints whose special prerogative it is to 'rise first' (cf. 1 Th 4^{16}) and accompany Him when He assumes His earthly dominion. The nature of the resurrection body appears to have been the subject of frequent discussion. In Apoc. Bar 49^2–51 it is taught that the bodies of the dead will be raised in precisely the same form as that in which they were committed to the ground, so that they may be recognized. After their identity has been established, they will undergo a transformation in order to endless spiritual existence in glory or in torment. This supplies a link with St. Paul's teaching on the resurrection in 1 Co $15^{35ff.}$.

That the belief in a personal resurrection was not, however, universal during the Apocryphal period is shown by the fact that certain books belonging to it retain the old view of Sheol (Sir $17^{27f.}$ 41^4, Bar 2^{17}). Indeed, from the evidence adduced it will be seen that during this period 'the belief had a varied and interesting history. It underwent certain enlargements, and became more established. But it developed at the same time some doubtful elements, and remained subject to some uncertainty.' * If immortality cannot be said to have been a dogma of the later Judaism, certainly the idea, along with that of the resurrection which stands or falls with it, was one generally current among the Jews. Yet we know that it met with a vigorous opposition from the Sadducees, who made use of the Greek materialism to combat a doctrine that occupied so rudimentary a place in the OT. This party, however, could not succeed in Israel; and the hopes which had long animated those known by that name gradually tended to fix themselves in a clear and definite doctrine, which found its completion in the teaching of Him who declared God to be the God not of the dead but of the living, and Himself to be the resurrection and the life. In these words Christ indicates that man's relationship to God is such as to secure not only his continued existence, but his existence in his whole being, bodily and spiritual. His language, even as reported in the Fourth Gospel, points, moreover, not to a bare immortality in the Hellenic sense, but to a bodily resurrection (Jn $5^{25f.}$). It is further set forth in His teaching that the resurrection will be universal. The expression 'the resurrection of the just' (Lk 14^{14}), so far from limiting the scope of the resurrection, actually suggests the very different lot of the wicked when they shall be raised up. There is a 'resurrection unto life' and a 'resurrection unto condemnation.' Beyond what may be gathered from the comparison between the condition of the risen and that of 'the angels in heaven' (Mt 22^{30}, Mk 12^{25}, Lk 20^{36}), Christ's doctrine furnishes no information with reference to the nature of the resurrection body.

---

* According to the Book of Jubilees and the Assumption of Moses, which were of Pal. origin, the resurrection of the spirit takes place only after the Final Judgment.

* Salmond, *op. cit.* p. 331.

3. *Question as to the influence of Zoroastrianism upon Jewish eschatology.*—The development in eschatology during the Apocryphal period was undoubtedly of the most pronounced character. How are we to explain it? How is it that with the Messianic hope sunk so low there should have been not only an advance in eschatology, but an arrival at such fixed forms as we meet with in the Jewish literature of the age? A living faith in a personal Messiah was not always essential to Messianic expectation and the belief in a Future Judgment; and what we find in Amos and other OT prophets we may be prepared to see repeated. But the position of the apocryphal and pseudepigraphic books is here so much clearer and fuller than anything in the OT that we are constrained to ask, How was it reached? It can hardly have been the result of metaphysical speculation. Was it, then, simply a legitimate development upon doctrines potentially existing in the OT? Those who take this view point to the fact that the restoration of the chosen nation is set forth under the figure of a rising again to authority and influence (Ezk 37). The later Jews, it is said, put their own construction upon such passages, and thence formulated to some extent a doctrine as to the way in which the righteous would come to the enjoyment of the Messianic kingdom. When it should be inaugurated, they would be raised up and have part in it.

Many scholars, however, explain the eschatological development of the period on the theory of the contact of Judaism with foreign systems of thought, and in particular maintain that the doctrine of the resurrection was arrived at through the medium of Zoroastrianism, or at all events assumed the form it did under the stimulus of Persian influence. It can no longer be reasonably doubted that the resurrection formed part of the creed of the ancient Persians; and at any rate we have the express testimony of Theopompus (preserved in Plutarch, etc.) that this doctrine was held by the Zoroastrians at the time of Alexander the Great, *i.e.* previous to its appearance in Daniel, and at least as early as Is 26^{19}. This theory is therefore historically possible. But can it be substantiated? Apart from the general presumption that the Jews would be disposed to regard favourably the religion of Cyrus, their deliverer, stress is laid upon the fact that the doctrine of an individual resurrection appears in the OT only in writings dating from, or subsequent to, the Pers. period, and is (?) first put forward in a book, the writer of which had special connexion with Babylonia. These considerations, however, do not prove that the Jewish doctrine of the resurrection was derived from the religion of Zoroaster. As Nicolas has said, 'Ideas do not pass ready-made and complete from one nation to another like the fruits of industry which are transported in caravans.' And, in fact, the Jewish and Persian beliefs with regard to the resurrection of the body are not identical. Zoroastrianism knew nothing of a partial resurrection, whether of the righteous and wicked as in Daniel, or of the righteous only as in 2 Mac. etc., and, unlike Judaism, looked for the final restoration of the wicked after the resurrection. The idea of simple borrowing is further precluded by the gradual formation of the Jewish doctrine, the development of which, in its principal stages, is distinctly traceable. This doctrine was of no sudden growth in Israel. It had long been nascent, when the persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes gave it life and vigour as the grand sustaining hope of those who did battle for God's law. This was a great turning-point in Judaism, and gave to it, as regards religious beliefs, modes of thought, and ethical practice, a character which has been stamped on all its subsequent history. Scribes and people were united by a common patriotism. The religious conscience was awakened; men looked eagerly for the promised Deliverer, and in the assurance of His coming found a new life. Those who shed their blood to prepare the advent of His kingdom would be raised up to share in its bliss. The resurrection of the dead was thus the necessary complement of the Messianic hope, and in its earlier form was set forth as the first act of the victorious Messiah, and as the privilege of Jews only. This is the genuinely Jewish form of the doctrine of the resurrection of the body, and had a distinct place in an order of ideas called forth by the crisis which overtook the Jewish nation in the second quarter of the 2nd cent. B.C. It did not owe its existence to foreign influence, but was the result of internal development.

But there may be stimulus without transference, and this appears to be what really happened in the case before us. The foreign influence was not such as to supply or even fundamentally to affect the doctrine itself; at most it helped to determine the form of its development. Naturally, therefore, it does not seem to count for much in any single passage in which it can be traced; yet the cumulative effect of its presence in frequent instances is not to be denied. For an interesting enumeration of passages from the OT and post-canonical literature giving evidence of Parsi influence on Jewish eschatology, see par. 7 of the article ZOROASTRIANISM in vol. iv. Among other (and more doubtful) examples the following perhaps may be safely allowed. Is 24$^{21f.}$ speaks of an intermediate place of punishment for evil powers, where they are imprisoned prior to their final judgment. Even Charles, who thinks that the influence of Zoroastrianism on Jewish eschatology was but slight, admits that the ideas here expressed 'appear as a foreign element in the OT, and may be derived from the Mazdean religion.'* Cf. in this connexion Jude^{6}, Enoch 18$^{14.\ 16}$ 21^{6}. The new heaven and new earth of Is 65^{17} 66^{22}, to be ushered in after the Last Judgment and overthrow of evil, corresponds to the Pers. doctrine of 'renewal' after the world's purification by 'the ordeal of molten metal.' The latter may also have suggested the figure used in Mal 3^{2} 4^{1}. In Ps 17^{15} 49^{14} there is probably a reflexion of the Pers. conception of the dawn as a daily emblem of the resurrection. In the later Apocalyptic literature also traces of Parsism occur. In Enoch (45$^{4f.}$) reference is made to the transformed heaven and earth; and its location of the mountain of God's throne in the *south* (18^{6}), taken along with the placing of a hell in the *north* (Secrets of Enoch, 10), recalls another characteristic of Parsi literature. Through the medium of earlier Jewish apocalyptic, many Persian ideas found their way also into the Apocalypse, *e.g.* the binding of the old serpent, Satan's futile attack upon heaven, the millennium, etc. In the peculiar and epoch-making circumstances of their nation the Jews assimilated certain foreign elements, and grafted them upon the data supplied by their own sacred books—so modifying them, however, as to make them fit into and complete their own doctrinal system, with a view to the fuller expression of their own spiritual needs.

LITERATURE.—Besides the OT Theologies of Oehler, Schultz, and Dillmann, and various articles in the best Bible Dictionaries, see Bretschneider, *Die Dogmatik der Apokr. Schriften des AT*^{4}

---

* *Eschatology*, p. 159.

(1841); Nicolas, *Des Doctrines Religieuses des Juifs* (1860); Langen, *Judenthum in Palästina zur Zeit Christi* (1866); Kohut, *Jüdische Angelologie* (1866); Vernes, *Histoire des idées Messianiques depuis Alexandre jusqu' à l'empereur Hadrien* (1874); Wellhausen, *Die Pharisäer und Sadducäer* (1874); Ewald, *HI*; Drummond, *Jewish Messiah* (1877); Stanton, *The Jewish and the Christian Messiah* (1886); Stade, *GJV* (1888); Schürer, *HJP* (Index); Cheyne, *OP* (1891); Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode* (1892); Hühn, *Die Messian. Weissagungen des Israel.-Jüdischen Volkes bis zu den Targumim* (1899); G. A. Smith, *The Twelve Prophets* (1896–98); Charles, *Eschatology* (1900), and the same writer's editions of *Enoch, Assumption of Moses, Baruch, Jubilees*; Salmond, *The Christian Doctrine of Immortality* (1901); Alexander, *Demonic Possession in the NT* (1901); Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im neutest. Zeitalter* (1903).

W. FAIRWEATHER.

TRINITY.—

- *A.* In the Jewish Apocrypha and pre-Christian Jewish writings: (*a*) In Palestine; (*b*) in Alexandria.
- *B.* In the NT.
  - i. In the Advent and Incarnation.
    - (1) Testimony of the Holy Spirit and the return of Prophecy.
    - (2) Birth of Jesus Christ.
    - (3) Baptism of Jesus.
    - (4) The Holy Spirit given to Jesus for ministry.
    - (5) Temptation and Transfiguration of Jesus.
    - (6) Outline of NT doctrine of the Trinity.
  - ii. Teaching of Jesus.
    - (1) In Synoptics.
    - (2) In the Fourth Gospel.
    - (3) The Apostolic Commission and Baptism.
  - iii. Apostolic Teaching.
    - (1) Among Jewish Christians—Acts, Hebrews, and Catholic Epistles.
    - (2) Teaching of St. Paul.
    - (3) Teaching of St. John.
  - iv. Trinity involved in the Life of the Apostolic Church.
    - (1) Equipment of the Apostles.
    - (2) Establishment of the Church.
    - (3) Work of Missions.
    - (4) Test of Doctrine.
    - (5) Christian Worship.
- Literature.

A. IN JEWISH APOCRYPHA AND PSEUDEPIGRAPHA.—Jewish theology in the period between the OT and Christ made some progress towards a Trinitarian view of God. It was marked (1) by a monistic and transcendent conception of God, which put Him far away from man, and avoided all anthropomorphisms about Him (cf. Weber, *Altsynag. Theologie*, 144 f.). On the other hand, the Law was largely put in place of the immanent J", and God made a student of the Law; that is, a *Judaizing* of J" took place, which ended in the dualism of a transcendent God and a Rabbi schoolmaster God. (2) This remoteness of God led men to seek after mediators between the far-off One, whose very name was a mystery (Enoch $69^{14f.}$; Weber, 144), and the earth. Angels and other beings were made prominent; but especially the Messiah was felt after. In Palestine the mediating 'Word' of the prophets, the מֵימְרָא, was taught (cf. Weber, p. 174); while in Alexandria Philo elaborated his doctrine of the Divine λόγος, whom he identified with 'the Angel' and all Divine manifestations in OT (cf. Siegfried, *Philo*, p. 219 f.; Drummond, *Philo*, ii. 239 f.). This 'Word' was regarded sometimes as Divine thought or revelation or action. Again, it was presented as a Divine hypostasis, personal if not a person (4 Ezr 6^{43}, Apoc. Bar 56^{4}, Wis 8^{1}). Biesenthal goes so far as to hold (*Trostschreiben d. Ap. Paul an d. Hebr.* 69) that 'the Generatio æterna filii vel Messiæ was in no wise a later doctrine of Christianity, but belonged to the very oldest teachings of the synagogue.'

The transcendent view of God arose in the schools of the scribes in opposition to surrounding polytheism; and, while it called for a Mediator, it also tended to make him transcendent as was God. This may be the reason for the practical disappearance of the thought of king Messiah in the period just before Christ, and the appearance, through study of the OT, of a heavenly Mediator (cf. Baldensperger, *Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*, 1892, p. 69). This Mediator, the 'Word,' was Divine, in heaven (Dn $7^{9.\ 13}$, Enoch 46. 48. 6^{2}), pre-existent, a supernatural 'Son' of God (En 105^{2}), who would come in due season to reign on earth (En 45^{4}, Ps-Sol $17^{23f.}$). He sits upon the same throne with J", shares His knowledge (En 46) and glory (En 62, 4 Ezr 2^{43}), and will be final judge (En 47^{3}). All that is involved in the 'Word' Enoch ascribes to 'the Messiah' (52^{4}); though Philo does not identify the λόγος with the Messiah. As soon as Jewish theologians systematically studied the OT, they found a God-like Being set forth somewhat after the manner of NT writers and early Christians. He was the 'Wisdom' of Pr 8 (cf. Midrash *in loco*), 'the Angel' (Targ. Ex 23^{16}); He spoke to Moses at the bush; He was the Heavenly Man of Dn 7^{13} (cf. 4 Ezr 13^{3}), and the Eternal One of Mic 5^{1}. All other middle beings are set aside by this supreme Mediator, who is the 'firstborn' of God (Targ. Ps 2^{7}; Baldensperger, p. 88), and 'Christ the Lord' (Ps-Sol $17^{28.\ 35.\ 36}$; cf. La 4^{20}, Lk 2^{11}). The writings which describe His coming are called 'apocalypses,' for He would unveil the very face of God (4 Ezr 6^{72} 7^{28}, Assump. Mos 10^{7}). With him 'Deus palam veniet' (*l.c.*). Here Judaism reaches a half-metaphysical, an Arian conception of the Son of God, beyond which it could not go. Only the incarnation in Jesus Christ could lead men further.

(3) With the Messiah would come also the Holy Spirit, which had left prophetic men since Malachi (Weber, p. 78). But how it was related to God and His Christ was not evident. It is identified with Divine wisdom (Wis 7^{9} 9^{17}), with the Angel (Ps-Sol 10), and with the Memra (Wis $7^{22f.}$). The Spirit is felt to be distinct from J"; the Targums (on Mic 2^{7}, Zec 4^{6} etc.; cf. Schlottmann, p. 82) often distinguish the Spirit from God, and that with the same formula מִלִּפְנֵי י׳=מִן קֳדָם (*e.g.* Gn 1^{2}, Jg 3^{10}, 1 S 10^{6} 16^{13}) where no such distinction is in the Heb. text. Philo gave to the λόγος the designations ὁ *δεύτερος θεός* and ὁ *πρεσβύτατος υἱός*, also 'an image of God' (*de Somn.* ii. 6); and the Spirit he calls an 'impress' of this λόγος image of God. This Spirit of the λόγος of God is the principle of all life. Both 'Word' and Spirit inhere in God: the Spirit is personal (Weber, p. 185), Divine, God's voice in man, the Eternal Wisdom. Again, we hear it called a creature, and made on the first day. Further than this Judaism could not go. We have here, perhaps for the first time, the absolute designation 'the Holy Spirit' (Ps-Sol 17^{14}, 4 Ezr 14^{23}, Wis 9^{17}); and He comes with 'Christ the Lord' (Ps-Sol 18^{8}), who appears 'in wisdom of the Spirit and righteousness and power' (cf. Lk 24^{49}, Ac 1^{5}).

(4) This Jewish teaching was comprehensive but confused. It had elements of the Trinity in it, but did not know what to do with them. It believed in God transcendent and 'God with us,' but could not correlate them. Its Christology found three things in OT—(1) the Son of God, heavenly, Divine, eternal, and the Son of Man, also in heaven (Dn 7^{13}, Enoch 62^{9}); (2) the human Messiah, who would be a glorious king of all the earth; and (3) the suffering Servant of J". How to combine these was beyond the power of Judaism (cf. Enoch 5. 10. 25. 90. 98). The heavenly and the earthly elements would not meet. Two Messiahs were sometimes taught; and most Jews looked for a Messianic kingdom such as actually appeared in Mohammedanism. The Holy Spirit was also beyond Rabbinical grasp. Perhaps the 'still in the land,' from whom NT Christians chiefly came, 'full of the Holy Ghost,' knew more than did the theologians. Philo speaks of 'the Divine Spirit' (*de Gig.* 5); others preached a created spirit, a ministering spirit, like the angels (Weber, 184). The Spirit was needful for holy living; but it was

now withdrawn and hidden, to come again with the Messiah. The *Bath Ḳôl* took the place of the Spirit, the scribe took the place of the prophet. The fulness of OT teachings lies here, but confused, waiting for the NT doctrine of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

B. In the New Testament.—i. *Advent and Incarnation.*—(1) With the close of the OT the spirit of Prophecy left Israel. Judaism, in spite of particular workings of the Spirit, did not have the Holy Ghost (Jn 7^{39}). It was said to have left the nation with Malachi, and was little looked for by Rabbis and scribes (cf. Gunkel, *Wirkungen d. heil. Geistes*, 55). But as the Advent of Christ drew nigh, His great forerunner, the Spirit of God, suddenly reappeared, and a group of saints in Israel, filled with the Holy Ghost, prepared His way. The last OT prophet foretold the first NT prophet; and both, led by the Spirit, proclaimed Messiah the Lord (Mal 4^{5} $3^{1f.}$, Mk 1^{7}). Jesus and the Evangelists regard gospel history as beginning especially with John the Baptist (Lk 16^{16}) and his inspired testimony to the Son of God. He announced the coming of Jesus as the coming of J″ (Is 40^{3}, Mk 1^{3}, Lk 1^{76}). He showed the return of the prophetic Spirit as the Spirit of Christ (Mk 1^{8}, Lk 1^{67}), which alone knew the deep things of the Law and the Prophets, and led to Christ as the fulfilment of both. Now for the first time we hear a prophet clearly preaching salvation as repentance towards God the Father (Mt 3^{2}), faith in a coming King, the Son of God (Mk 1^{1}, Jn 1^{29}), who takes away the sin of the world, and a baptism of the Holy Ghost, given by the Son of God (Mt 3^{11}, Mk 1^{8}, Lk 3^{16}, Jn 1^{33}).

(2) The work of Jesus was inseparable from His Person. What He did rested on what He was, for His preaching included Himself. None born of woman was greater than John the Baptist; but he was less than the least in Christ's kingdom, and beyond measure less than the King Himself (Mt 3^{11}, Mk 1^{7}, Jn 1^{34}). John was filled with the Holy Spirit from the womb (Lk 1^{15}), through the Holy Spirit Christ became man. To the one He imparted character, to the other He gave being. The *Gospel to the Hebrews* (ed. Hilgenfeld, 17^{1}) calls the Holy Ghost the spiritual Mother of Jesus, as Mary was His bodily mother. Angels now appear again as messengers of God, and their chief mission (Lk $1^{15.\,35}$) is to proclaim the entrance of the Spirit into humanity, and to set forth the mystery of the Incarnation by the Holy Ghost. To the inquiry of Mary how she could become mother of the Son of the Highest (Lk 1^{34}), Gabriel replied that it would take place through the co-operation of the Holy Ghost and the power of the Most High (v.^{35}) upon her. The Most High means here God the Father (Lk $6^{35.\,36}$): both Father and Spirit caused the Incarnation (cf. Is 48^{16}). The Father, by His power, appeared as an overshadowing cloud above the Virgin, as later over Jesus when He called Him 'my beloved Son' (Mt 17^{5}). The Spirit is said to 'come upon' (ἐπελεύσεται) Mary, as the power of the Father 'shadowed upon' her (ἐπισκιάσει); so that the conception is more specifically described as of the Holy Ghost (Mt $1^{18.\,20}$): yet Jesus is called the Son of the Father. It is evident that the Holy Spirit is here more than a Divine influence; otherwise, the addition 'the power of the Highest' would be meaningless. It seems also clear that, while the Spirit acts as a Person, the parentage is ascribed to the Father. The God with whom Mary found favour appears in personal distinctions of Father and Spirit in the conception of Jesus, as was perhaps foreshadowed in the creation of Adam (Gn 2^{7}). The result of this supernatural conception was twofold: first, Jesus was holy, corresponding with His relation to the Spirit; and, second, He was the Son of God (Lk $1^{3.\,5}$), corresponding with His relation to the Father. He was as sinless as the Holy Ghost. His sinlessness and His supernatural birth are put together. The RV of Lk 1^{35} shows that the one was rooted in the other; because of this Divine origin 'wherefore, also, that which is to be born shall be called holy, the Son of God.' It was to bring out the truth that 'it was not the *Sonship* but His *holiness* from His very birth, which was secured by the miraculous conception,' that the Revisers were so careful to correct the translation here (Dr. D. Brown in *Presb. and Ref. Rev.* 1896, p. 232; cf. Hofmann, *NT Theol.* 25). His sinlessness was not incidental, but was of His very being. The *non potuit peccare* lay in His nature; otherwise, through childhood and youth He could not have developed without some falls into sin. He was one with the Holy Ghost. He is also so one with the Father that His name is 'God with us' (Mt 1^{23}); and His kingdom, like that of J″, is everlasting (Lk 1^{33}). The angel of the Lord calls Him Christ the Lord (Lk 2^{11}); for the identification of the Messiah with Jehovah, long foretold, was now a historic reality.

(3) The birth of Jesus was of God and of the Spirit of God; in like manner He was baptized for service in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. The Baptist says that Jehovah sent him to watch for the coming of the Son of God; and the sign of His coming, as all Israel knew (Is 11^{2}), would be the descent and abiding upon Him of the Holy Ghost. His great mission, in contrast to that of John, would be to baptize men with the Holy Ghost. In the *Gospel to the Hebrews* ($3^{14\text{-}17}$) the Holy Spirit says, '*Fili mi, in omnibus prophetis expectabam te, ut venires et requiescerem in te. Tu es enim requies mea, tu es filius meus primogenitus, qui regnas in sempiternum.*' The most Jewish Christians had definite views of the Divine Christ and the personal Spirit. We are not sure (Jn $1^{15\text{-}18}$) where the testimony of John passes over into that of the Evangelist; in any case, the witness is remarkable. He knows that the Son came from heaven (Jn 3^{31}), was pre-existent, and because of His heavenly origin was above all human forerunners ($1^{27.\,30}$). What Christ taught He learned by seeing and hearing it from God (3^{32}). He bore the sins of the world (Jn $1^{29.\,36}$), because He was the Lamb of God and a heavenly offering (v.^{30}). He was the final Judge of the sinners of the world (Mt 3^{12}), because He was Jehovah and His way was the way of J″ (Jn 1^{23}). Such was the Son of God whom John recognized at baptism, through the statement of the Father that the Spirit would rest as a dove upon the Son. John adds, 'I saw and bare record that this is the Son of God' (Jn 1^{34}). The Synoptists add that the Father spake from heaven when the Spirit descended, saying, 'Thou art my beloved Son' (Mt 3^{17}, Mk 1^{11} 3^{22}). The objective dove symbol was an indication that the Spirit was distinct from the Father who spake, and from the Son who heard the Father's voice and beheld the dove descend (Mk 1^{10}).

(4) The double witness of Father and Spirit to the Son was regarded as His commission to enter upon His ministry of redemption. And, what is of special importance, Jesus now received authority to baptize men with the Holy Ghost. The Baptist and all four Evangelists regard this as the great truth set forth in Christ's baptism (Mt 3^{11}, Mk 1^{8}, Lk 3^{16}, Jn $1^{23.\,26}$); and the risen Lord confirms their view (Jn 3^{5}, Ac 1^{5}). His work was as far above John's as the Spirit of God is above water. The OT taught that the Holy Spirit would come *with* the Messiah (cf. Jl 2^{28}, Is $11^{2\text{-}4}$); the Baptist takes a long step beyond this in proclaiming that the

Holy Spirit comes directly from the Messiah as Son of God. The truth here developed is that the Holy Ghost stands in the same relation to the Son that He does to the Father (cf. Is 44^{3}). He is the Spirit of God; He is also the Spirit of Christ. At the birth of Jesus the Son appeared as conceived by the Spirit; now the Spirit appears as proceeding from the Son. In the one case Jesus received of the Spirit; in the other the Spirit received of Christ. The Spirit in relation to Jesus Christ cannot be cause in the same sense in which He is effect. We touch here the mystery of the God-man, in which apparently contradictory statements respecting Him find their simplest solution by reference to His human and Divine natures (cf. Novatian, *de Trin.* xi.; Augustine, *de Trin.* i. 8). As man the Messiah needed the Spirit as means of perfect human development; as God He imparted the Spirit to believers for regeneration and full redemption.

(5) The Temptation of Jesus was closely connected with His baptism as introduction to service. The conflict with Satan had to do with the true relation of the Son to the Father; and it was the Spirit that drove Him to this conflict (Mk 1^{12}). 'If thou be the Son of God' was the repeated taunt. The second Adam stood where the first Adam fell. The threefold temptation was the same—lust of the flesh, lust of the eye, and pride of life; bread good for food, to know as much as God, to have the kingdoms of the world, so pleasant to the eyes, at once in Messianic possession. It was a battle of the evil spirit and the Holy Spirit with ministering angels (Mt 4^{11}). It was a struggle of the Son of God and the god of this world, in which the aim of the tempter was to tear Christ out of His oneness with the Father. The same truth appears in the Transfiguration (Mt 17^{2-8}). In face of Satan (16^{23}), doubting disciples, and the cross (17^{9}), the Son stood to reveal what is called the Trinity. The bright cloud of the presence of Jehovah (1 K $8^{10.\,11}$) is here: the Father addressed Jesus as 'my beloved Son,' telling the Church to 'hear him' as the great Prophet (Dt $18^{15.\,18}$); and He was transfigured by the Holy Ghost (*μετεμορφώθη*; cf. *ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ*, Ph 2^{6}, 1 Ti 3^{16}) in anticipation of His return to the glory of the Father. Christ was now ready for His public ministry. Born of the Spirit, baptized of the Spirit, victorious over the devil by the Spirit, He returned in the power of the Spirit into Galilee (Lk 4^{14}). His first public utterance in Nazareth was, 'The Spirit of the Lord is upon me'; and 'the eyes of all . . . were fastened upon him; for he said, This day is this scripture fulfilled in your ears' (Lk 4^{18}). He knew that both Himself and His gospel came from God the Father and the Spirit of God.

(6) The NT doctrine of the Trinity, presented as it is chiefly from the point of view of the Son, contains the following elements:—

First, There is one God, Jehovah, the Father everlasting.

Second, Ever with Him was His Divine Spirit.

Third, With Him also, from before the foundation of the world, was His only-begotten Son, enjoying perfect knowledge of the Father, and sharing His glory.

Fourth, In the fulness of time the Son came into this world (*a*) by incarnation (Jn $1^{1.\,14}$) through the co-operation of the Father and Spirit (Mt $1^{18.\,20}$, Lk 1^{35}), and (*b*) by humiliation, *ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν* (Ph 2^{7}).

Fifth, This coming was for the salvation of men; it was preceded by the love of the Father and followed by the work of the Spirit.

Sixth, In His incarnate mission to save men, the Son was endued with the Holy Ghost without measure.

Seventh, Following the work of humiliation, which ended in death and burial, came the resurrection and exaltation of the Son through the co-operation of the Spirit (1 P 3^{18}) and His ascension to the Father where He was before.

Eighth, This ascension was a triumph over Satan and his kingdom, a reward for the Son, in which He received all Divine gifts for men, these gifts being summed up in the Holy Ghost, whose coming to earth was inseparable from the Son's glorification in heaven. The two foci of NT Christianity are: (*a*) God sending the Son from heaven to earth to redeem men, and (*b*) the risen and glorified Christ sending the Holy Spirit to make men partakers of that redemption.

Ninth, The Church is under the constant providence and mediatorship of the exalted Son and the immanent Spirit: this is sometimes presented as what Christ has done for us, and, again, as what He does in us, by the Spirit.

Tenth, When the end comes, the Son will return and judge mankind; He will then terminate all that is temporal in His kingdom; and Father, Son, and Holy Spirit will continue for ever in those Divine relations which took on the colour of time and space in the history of redemption. Of these inner relations of the Trinity neither Jesus nor the Apostles speak. The Scriptures reveal only the side of the Divine being which has to do with God's relation to the world and man; yet the doctrine of the Godhead in these respects is so set forth as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, that, if such representations rest upon reality, we seem constrained to believe that there are personal distinctions within the Divine Essence.

When we pass to Christ's entrance upon His ministry, we touch the whole sequence of thought here outlined as involved in the Trinity. In the Synoptic accounts Jesus presents the gospel as the kingdom of God the Father, to enter which men must not only accept the words of Christ, but have faith in Him as Saviour; in the Fourth Gospel Jesus offers salvation as eternal life. This life is in the Son, and is imparted by the Spirit.

ii. *Teaching of Jesus.*—(1) In the Synoptic Gospels Jesus appears (*a*) as proclaimer and bringer of God's kingdom. He came from the Father (Mt 20^{28}; cf. Jn 16^{1}), had all the Father had (11^{27} 28^{18}), and entered this world able to seek and to save the lost (Mt 15^{24} 18^{11}, Lk 19^{10}). In this implied pre-existence Jesus claimed more than ethical oneness with God. Ethical pre-existence is no true pre-existence. It was Jewish theologians whom He challenged to tell whose son the Messiah is (Mt 22^{45}); and when they answered 'the son of David,' He replied that David, speaking by the Holy Ghost—whom Jesus presupposed as well known from the OT—called his son his Lord. Isaiah knew (11^{1}) that the Messianic 'rod' and 'branch' sprang from the stem of Jesse, and pointed to a Lord and kingdom above that of David; so Jesus teaches that His sonship was not simply from David, but from a source which made Him David's Lord. He was David's Lord in heaven before He appeared as Jesus on earth (cf. Mt 10^{40}, Mk 9^{37}, Lk 9^{48}). Such seems to be the argument. This heavenly origin made Him well-pleasing in the sight of God (Mt 3^{17} 12^{18} 17^{5}), set Him above the angels in heaven, put Him next the Father (Mk 13^{32}), and gave Him authority from the Father to forgive sins (Mk 2^{10}). As Son of God He cast out devils and empowered others to cast them out (3^{15}). Jehovah said, 'Look unto me, and be ye saved, all the ends of the earth; for I am God, and there is none else' (Is 45^{22}); Jesus does not hesitate to put Himself in place of J″ in the same invitation: 'Come unto me all ye that labour' (Mt 11^{28}). Salvation depends upon Him (11^{27}), and He is always present to save (Mt 18^{20}). Because He was ever with God (Mt 24^{3}; cf. Dn 7^{13}), He can judge men from the beginning of time to the end. As Son of Man He will welcome the saints to glory (Mt 25^{34}, Lk 23^{69}) and sentence the wicked to outer darkness. Jesus knows God as well as God knows Him (Mt 11^{27}). Only the omniscient Father can know the being of the Divine Son (16^{17}, Lk 10^{22}). The sole confession of faith which He approved was that of His own Divinity (Mt 16^{17}); and upon that He built His Church (v.^{18}, cf. Jn 17^{8}). He did not declare sins forgiven: He imparted forgiveness (Mk 2^{5}). The consciousness of Jesus speaks as of one who was with God before all time, through all time, and who continues in eternity with God. His words were thus understood by the Jews (Mk 2^{7}, Jn 5^{18}) and by the Apostles (Mt 10^{40}, Jn 4^{34} 5^{33} 6^{38-40}, 1 Co 15^{47}, 1 Th 1^{10} 4^{16}). The words imply such a relation as theologians call the Trinity.

(*b*) The fellowship of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit appears still more personal and essential in the actual work of man's redemption. The religious value of Father, Son, and Spirit appears to be the same. The Spirit is not prominent in the teachings of Jesus, first, because its work, internal, subjective, tender, must be felt rather than described; and, second, because the outpouring of the Holy Spirit was not to come till after His ascension. Yet the Spirit is there (Mt 10^{20}), for faith in God involves also faith in Christ and the Holy Spirit; since each has part in man's salvation. This truth appears whether considered from God downwards, from man upwards, or from Christ the centre outwards. This last is specially important in NT teachings, for Jesus ever looks back to the Father and forward to the Spirit. He is the only, the living bond between them. No man can come to the Father but by Him (Mt 11^{28}, Jn 6^{44}); no man can come to Him unless the Father draw him (Mt 11^{25}, Lk 10^{21}); neither can any man come to Father and Son unless born of the Holy Ghost (Mk 13^{11}, Mt 5^{45}, Lk 11^{13}). Salvation, Jesus teaches, depends upon right relations to Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Unless men enter the kingdom of the Father through faith in God they will be lost (Mk 1^{15} 11^{22}). Unless they believe in the Son as Saviour they will be left under sin (Mt 11^{28} $24^{30.\,44}$ 25^{34}). And unless they accept the Holy Spirit they will incur eternal death (Mk 3^{29}). The kingdom of heaven comes from the Father (Mt 6^{10}), is brought by the Son (Mk 1^{15} 12^{34}), and put in the hearts of men by the Holy Spirit. When Jesus showed the Holy Ghost casting out devils He said, 'Then is the kingdom of God come unto you' (Mt 12^{28}). Both Father and Son hear the prayer prompted by the Spirit (Mt 6^{6}, Jn 14^{14}); and all the blessings of the kingdom of God flow from the Father in heaven through Christ, who bids us ask what we will; and the Holy Spirit, who brings all the gifts of the heavenly Father to His children on earth (Mt 7^{11}, Lk 11^{13}), will impart it unto us. Jesus taught that the full establishment of the kingdom would be the work of the Holy Ghost (Lk 24^{49}, Ac 1^{8}).

(*c*) The Trinity underlies the kingdom of God; it is also the revelation of God which overthrows the rival kingdom of the devil (Mt 12^{26}). God the Father is at the head of the one, the devil the father is at the head of the other (Mt 13^{38}, Jn 8^{44}). Jesus came to destroy the works of the devil (Gn 3^{15}, Mk 1^{24}, 1 Jn 3^{8}), and the Holy Spirit was the power of God in His hands to cast out Satan. The world of demons was much more prominent in NT thought than we sometimes suppose (cf. Weinel, *Wirkungen des Geistes*, pp. 1–26). Jesus summed up the Lord's Prayer in 'Thy kingdom come' and 'Deliver us from the evil one.' His commission to the Twelve consisted essentially in 'Preach the gospel' and 'Cast out the devil' (Mk $1^{22.\,23.\,39}$ 3^{11} $16^{15.\,17}$, Lk 4^{32-34} $9^{1.\,2}$); His own work might be similarly summed up. The destroyer and the Saviour were thought of together: *Nullus diabolus, nullus Redemptor*, seems to be the NT nexus of thought. It was a conscious conflict of personalities. The demons assailed Christ, or appealed to Him as the Son of God, doubtless understanding more by that title than did the Jews (Mk 3^{11}); and He replied that He carried on a war of destruction by means of the Holy Spirit (Lk 9^{43} 11^{20}, Mt 12^{28}), who was given by the Father (Lk $11^{13.\,14}$). The evil spirit was cast out by the Holy Spirit; and the Holy Spirit came from the Father through the Son (Mt 12^{28}). That Son and Spirit are both Divine and personal, Jesus shows in the terrible passage Mt 12^{22-32}; cf. Mk 3^{22-30}, Lk 12^{10}. Men saw the Son through the Spirit casting out devils, and were so blind as to call it the work of Beelzebub. Looking at the sun they called it midnight. Such confounding of spiritual values meant moral chaos. All other impulsive blasphemies against Father or Son would be forgiven; but to see the personal Holy Ghost at work and call Him the personal devil meant death to spiritual distinctions. It was blasphemy against the Holy Ghost (perhaps, as the derivation of the word, *βλάπτειν τὴν φήμην*, suggests, attack on personal character), and involved 'guilt of eternal sin' (Mk 3^{29}). It was also, so one are Son and Spirit, in some sense an unforgivable sin against the Son (cf. Lk 12^{10} 'a word against the Son'), 'because they said he hath an unclean spirit.' So pointed is the personal antagonism that Jesus seems also to teach: *Nullus diabolus, nullus Spiritus Sanctus.* The blasphemy which Jesus declared fatal was against the Holy Spirit; the blasphemy which the Apostles first feared was against the Son of God (Ac 13^{45}, Ja 2^{7}, 1 Ti 1^{13}). The two sins which have no forgiveness are lying to or about the Holy Ghost, and putting the Son of God to the shame of open denial (Mk 3^{29} 8^{38}, Lk 9^{26}; cf. Ac 5^{3}, He 6^{6}). The destiny of man's soul depends upon his attitude towards the Son of God and the Holy Spirit; we can hardly think of higher claims for the Divinity and Personality of both.

(2) The record of Christ's teaching in the Fourth Gospel presupposes the Synoptics, and in Apostolic perspective, under illumination of the promised Spirit, unfolds their final meaning. Were this Gospel not from John, it still would show how the most spiritual Christians in Apostolic days recalled the words of Jesus respecting the Son and Spirit, and how their experience witnessed to them. In the Apocalypse, Jesus appears, after the manner of the Synoptists, as Son of Man exalted as Son of God; in the Fourth Gospel, Christ is revealed as the Divine Son incarnate, not humbled, but with His eternal glory veiled by temporary abode among men, only to burst forth again in full splendour at His ascension. Jesus here presents Himself as central in salvation; He is the eternal life ($6^{33.\,35}$), of which men must partake or perish. From this central position Jesus ever looks up to the Father and forward to the Spirit. He speaks much more here of the Holy Spirit than He does in the Synoptics. He enlarges and unfolds here what He indicated there. He identifies Himself more closely with the Gospel. The kingdom appears here as eternal life, and that life is in Christ (1^{4} 3^{36} 5^{40} 6^{33}). He is not a guide to the way, or a preacher of truth: He *is* the way, the truth, and the life (14^{6}). When John's disciples wondered at His knowledge of men, He told them that He was Jacob's ladder, reaching all the way to God ($1^{50.\,51}$). To see Him was to see the Father (14^{9}). His solemn words, *Ἀμὴν ἀμὴν . . . ἐγώ εἰμι* (8^{58}), seem to reflect the 'I AM' of Ex 3^{14}. In His typical interview with Nicode-

mus, the Jewish theologian, He presented salvation as flowing from Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Baur says Jn 3^{16} sums up all Christian truths, and from it the Trinity appears as 'the most definite expression of the peculiar relation between God and man which has been realized through the revelation of Christianity' (*Lehre von d. Dreieinigkeit*, i. 80 f.). Nicodemus addressed Jesus as 'teacher' (3^{2}); but Jesus replied that He was 'eternal life' (vv.$^{15.\ 16}$), and pointed out as the three steps in man's redemption, (1) regeneration by the Holy Ghost (vv.$^{5.\ 6}$); (2) faith in the Son of God, who came from heaven to save men by His death (vv.$^{13\text{-}15}$); and (3) the love of God the Father, who gave His only-begotten Son to redeem the world (v.$^{16\text{f.}}$). The elaborate teachings of Jn 14–17 are but an unfolding of what is here taught as the way of salvation. Moving from heaven to earth, as the thought of Jesus does in the Fourth Gospel, we find His theology consists of (1) God the Father in glory and the glorification of the Father in the redemptive work of the Son; (2) the salvation of men through the incarnation, death, and exaltation of the Son; and (3) the establishment of a kingdom (so in the Synoptics) of eternal life (so in Fourth Gospel) through the Church, in which by the special revelation of the Holy Spirit men will be born again and equipped with spiritual gifts for service, and all to the glory of the Father and the Son (Jn $5^{17.\ 21.\ 24.\ 43}$). Even when speaking to a Samaritan woman and early in His ministry, Jesus related acceptable worship to Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. He taught that God is His Father ($4^{21\text{-}26}$), and, through Him, Father of believers only (1^{12} 8^{44}); and that the Father is to be worshipped in spirit and in truth, that is, in the Spirit of truth (4^{24}, cf. 14^{17}). To the Jewish theologian as an inquirer, to the Samaritan woman as indifferent, and to the eager disciples ($14^{6.\ 13.\ 16\text{f.}}$) the Lord's theology is the same—to the Father, through the Son, by the Holy Spirit. In the farewell discourses (14–17) the Father, Son, and Spirit are so repeatedly spoken of as if persons, as acting together and apart, as going forth one from another, and returning one to another, that the question of difficulty is not: How can one God subsist as Father, Son, and Spirit, but rather: How can the Father, Son, and Spirit, here respectively set forth by Jesus, constitute one God?

In these discourses Jesus sheds some light upon the inner Trinitarian relations of the Godhead. He shows first that the work of redemption involves His triumphant return to the glory which He had with the Father before the world was (6^{62} $13^{31.\ 32}$ 17^{5}). It was Divine, eternal glory to which the Son returned: such glory only a Divine Being could lay aside and take again. It remained ever with Him as Son of God, but was veiled in the incarnation (1^{14} 2^{11} 11^{40}). Jesus says the Son is so one with the Father that He has glory of His own, has eternal life in Himself (5^{26} 11^{25}); in fact, that all that the Father has the Son has (5^{21} 16^{15} $17^{2.\ 5}$). Men may believe in Him as in the Father (14^{1}), seek life from Him as from the Father (6^{47}), pray to Him as to the Father (14^{4}), and are as safe in His hands as in the Father's hands ($10^{28.\ 29}$). And for this equality with God He gives a remarkable reason: 'My Father is greater than I.' He describes His relation to the Father in the paradoxical words: 'I and my Father are one' (14^{28} 10^{30}), and again, 'My Father is greater than I' (14^{28} 10^{29}). Jesus never calls Himself God; but ever claims to be Son of God, and does this through a perfect human consciousness (14^{16} 17^{3} 20^{17}). He knows that both as Son of Man and Son of God He came from heaven (13^{6} 8^{38}); and He calls Himself the Son of Man who is in heaven (3^{13}). He claims to be 'the Son' in an absolute sense, as God is to Him 'the Father' in an absolute sense (6^{40} 3^{35} $5^{20.\ 19.\ 21.\ 22.\ 23.\ 26}$ $8^{35.\ 36}$ 14^{13}). It is from this relation of God incarnate that He says, 'My Father is greater than I.' For Moses or Paul or Luther to say, 'God is greater than I am,' would be absurd. Equally absurd would it be for Christ unless He were conscious of superhuman being, as the Jews saw at once (5^{23}). In the two places where He thus speaks (10^{29} 14^{28}) He addressed His disciples. He might thus speak from the point of view of His humiliation by the incarnation or in reference to the precedence ever given the Father before the Son and Spirit; but, plainly, His purpose here is to cheer believers. He does not say, 'I am less than the Father'; His mind dwells upon the absolute oneness with the Father, so that all the greatness and fulness of the Father are for His people. Hence He says to His disciples (10^{29}), 'My Father is greater than all' opponents, and (v.^{30}) 'I and my Father are one.' Again (14^{28}) He says, 'If ye loved me ye would rejoice, because I go unto the Father; for my Father is greater than I.' The greatness of the Father is not apart from the Son, but belongs to the Son, and through the Son becomes His people's. The Father was not greater than the Son by way of contrast or separation, but in the way of likeness and perfect oneness. No mere ethical union of Jesus with God fully explains this 'one.' Only one Divine Being seems able to include such relations and make the infinite fulness of the Father the possession of the Son. Only God could receive all of God. Of such Divine being Christ seems plainly conscious (3^{13} 6^{46} $8^{28.\ 38}$ 10^{36}). When charged with making Himself God (10^{33}) He answered that He was Son of God, and gave, as proof, that He was sinless (cf. Lk 1^{33}, Jn 10^{36}), sanctified and sent of God—a thing no mere man could claim. The salvation of all the redeemed hangs upon Jesus Christ; only a oneness of being with God can bear such a load of weal and woe. It is into this transcendent and real relation of Father and Son that Jesus roots the gospel of redemption. It begins and ends in heaven. Because the Son came from God and went to God (13^{13}) He could wash the disciples' feet, and as Divine Providence be ever with His people. From this transcendence He speaks as Jehovah to His people (Ac $9^{5.\ 10\text{f.}}$), and from it He sends forth the Holy Spirit. The Spirit is spoken of as in heaven with the Father and Son, and coming to earth at the intercession of the Son.

If there is anything cardinal in NT teachings ($14^{16\text{-}19.\ 26}$ 15^{26} 16^{7} 17^{1} 20^{22}, Lk 24^{49}, Ac $1^{5.\ 8}$ $2^{4.\ 17.\ 33}$, Ro 1^{4} $8^{1.\ 9}$, Gal $3^{1.\ 2}$), it is that the gift of the Holy Ghost comes through the glorification of the Son. This is the theme of Jn 14–17, especially of $16^{5\text{-}15}$. Here Jesus sends another Paraclete to continue His personal work (14^{16}). Jesus never spoke of the Spirit as created; there is a power from on high (Lk 24^{49}), but its source is the personal Spirit (Ac 1^{8}). Nor does He ever speak of the gift or outpouring of the Spirit, as John himself does (1 Jn 4^{13}). Jesus speaks of the Holy Spirit as a Personal Being, coming from the Father, sent by the Son, to testify before men to Father and Son ($15^{26.\ 27}$). Hence the disciples would not be 'orphans' when Jesus left them (14^{18}). When He said, 'I will come unto you' (14^{18}), He meant by the Spirit: the one is as personal as the other. The incarnate Son was more of manifestation of God then than the Father; so Jesus says that the Spirit can do greater things for men than the Son, because the Son returned to the glory of the Father and the Son (14^{16} 15^{26} $16^{7\text{f.}}$). Each takes precedence in His peculiar work. The Father can no more complete the work of redemption without the Son than the Son could begin it without the Father. They are so one that Jesus could say that the Father sanctified Him (10^{36}) or that He sanctified Himself (17^{19}). The Father sends the Son; and the Son comes Himself. Jesus excludes in all His teachings separate action of Father and Son ($14^{9.\,10\text{f.}}$ $17^{10.\,21}$). And the mission of the Spirit is to witness to Father and Son. This indicates the equal Divinity of all. Unless the Son were God, He could not send the Spirit of God; and the Holy Ghost would not testify to and glorify a man. Jesus teaches that Father, Son, and Spirit are all equally present in the souls of believers ($7^{38.\,39}$); yet none loses His personality or is confounded with another. The witness of the Spirit, Jesus says, is twofold—first to the Church, and second to the world. To Christians He would so recall the teachings of Jesus and add to them that believers would know the Son as never before. Jesus taught 'these things' (14^{25}); the Spirit would teach 'all things' (v.^{26}), that is, the things of the Father and Son (16^{13}), as the Spirit ever hears (16^{13}, note the present sense in *ἀκούσῃ*) them in Divine omniscience. To the world also, through the Church, the Spirit would testify for Christ ($16^{8\text{-}15}$). As in the Synoptics, so in the Fourth Gospel, Jesus reveals the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit as building up God's kingdom and destroying that of the devil. The Spirit was to convince the world that it had not glorified the Son. To hate the Son was to hate the Father (15^{23}), and to hate the Son called forth the protest of the Spirit ($15^{23.\,26}$). Only the Spirit, coming from the glorified Christ, could overcome this hatred (16^{7}). And this co-operation of Son and Spirit rested on essential relations to one another and to the world (11^{50} 16^{7}). Almost dramatically it is said of the personal Spirit that *ἐκεῖνος ἐλθών* (15^{26}) would convict the world of a threefold sin. The triple attack of Satan upon the Son (Lk $4^{3\text{f.}}$) is met by a triple defence of the Spirit. The first world sin was disbelief in Christ; the second was sin against the righteousness of Christ (cf. 'eternal sin,' Mk 3^{29}). Conviction of this sin the Spirit wrought through the triumphant resurrection of Jesus (cf. 1 P 3^{18} 4^{6}, 1 Ti 3^{16}, He 9^{14}), and His return to the Father, with whom only the righteous can dwell. The third sin, like the third temptation (Mt 4^{9}), was putting Satan in the place of the Son of God. The Spirit would show that the death of Jesus meant the destruction of the devil: 'the prince of this world is judged' (Jn 16^{11}). As intimated in the Synoptics, Jesus here teaches that God is to destroy the kingdom of evil by His Son and Spirit. The prince of this world is judged and doomed. The Son testifies (14^{17}) that the world is lost because it cannot know and receive the Spirit; the Spirit testifies that the world is lost because it does not accept and honour the Son. The only hope of man, Jesus teaches, lies in coming to God through the Son and the Holy Spirit. The Divinity of both and their place in the Trinity appear to be inextricably involved in Christ's own gospel. In most solemn manner He asks the once blind man (9^{35}), 'Dost thou believe on the Son of God?' He accepts his confession of faith in Him as such, 'Lord, I believe.' He also accepts, as He had done before (Mt 14^{33} 16^{16}), worship as Son of God. Here His testimony to His own Divinity and equality with God culminates. But with it He ever associates the Holy Ghost as coming from God ($14^{13\text{-}17}$) and continuing the work of the Son in leading men to God ($3^{5\text{-}8}$ 14^{16}).

(3) The Synoptic Gospels present, by way of just historic accommodation, the teaching of Jesus to the Jews, though showing incidentally, especially after the resurrection, the higher self-consciousness of Christ as found in the Fourth Gospel (cf. especially Mt 11^{27} and Lk 10^{22}). This last, given intentionally for disciples (Jn $21^{23\text{-}25}$), for the Church, and for man as man, unfolds the deeper character and words of Christ. There are two symbolical acts, which show how the doctrine of the Trinity appears with equal naturalness in all the Gospels. Jesus breathed upon His disciples and imparted the Holy Ghost (Jn 20^{22}). He also bade them baptize their converts in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost (Mt $28^{18.\,19}$). Here in brief symbol and formula He sets forth the Trinity conception of Jn 14–17. He breathed upon the disciples from His own glorified body and said, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost.' He speaks as Lord, 'Take'; it is a word of command with which He sends forth the Spirit. He begins to do what He said He would do (16^{7}). Speaking as God (cf. Gn 2^{7}, Ezk 37^{5}), He exercised the authority to impart the Spirit of God. Through His word of command and His vital breath the Holy Ghost proceeded from God the Father to the hearts of men. The Apostles received the baptism of the Holy Spirit for service, as had Jesus Himself for His great Apostleship (Mk $1^{8.\,10}$, Jn 1^{32}, He 3^{1}). The authority to bind and loose given by Jesus (Mt 18^{18}) is now ascribed to the Holy Ghost (Jn 20^{23}). Both Son and Spirit forgive sins through the Apostles. The gift of the Spirit (Jn 20^{22}) corresponds with the baptismal command (Mt 28^{19}). Both set forth the Apostolic commission; and both do so in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. In the Fourth Gospel, Jesus sends forth the Twelve in His own name, with the authority of the Father and inspired by Him with the Spirit (20^{21}). In Mt 28^{20} He claims all power in heaven and on earth, and bids them disciple and baptize men in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Jesus began His own work with baptism, which He said was from God (Mt 21^{25}), and referred to communion with Himself as baptism (Mk 10^{38}); hence His command to baptize is not strange. He would send His disciples to the Gentile world with the same ordinance with which John came to Israel. It is the Trinitarian formula that challenges criticism (cf. Wendt, *Teaching of Jesus*, ii. 349, 374). True, there is no text evidence against it (Resch, *Paralleltexte*, 3 Ev. ii. 393 f.); and it occurs in the most Jewish Gospel, where such teachings are improbable unless from Jesus. Later references to baptism in the name of Jesus (Ac 2^{38} 19^{5}, 1 Co 1^{13}) seem either to describe the acceptance of Christianity, without reference to the mode of baptism, or to prove that the Trinitarian form was not the only one in use. Where the form of baptism is expressly referred to, it is always in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost (*Didache*, vii. 3; Justin M., *Ap.* i. 61; cf. Resch, *l.c.*). If the teachings in Jn $20^{21\text{-}23}$ are from Jesus, Mt 28^{19} is quite natural. If the Apostles were sent by the Father and the Son, and inspired by the Spirit to declare converts' sins remitted, what more natural than to add 'baptize them in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost'? We can hardly think of Paul, some 25 years after Christ's ascension, writing 'the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all,' or John reporting Jesus ($16^{7\text{-}15}$) as building His gospel upon Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, unless the Lord had taught essentially what is in Mt 28^{19}. The teachings of Jesus seem fairly to include the following: (1) He approved of the baptism of John, and His disciples continued it (Jn 3^{32} 4^{1}); (2) after the death of John, He let this preparatory baptism drop (*a*) because the kingdom foretold had actually come, (*b*) because Messianic baptism led to false views of the kingdom and provoked opposition, (*c*) because Jesus gradually turned to the special instruction of the Twelve; (3) His teaching on baptism identified it with the Holy Ghost, as all the evangelists tell us (Mt 3^{11}, Mk 1^{8}, Lk 3^{16}, Jn 1^{33}, Ac 1^{5}), hence, as soon as the Holy Spirit was given at Pentecost, the Apostles felt that the time

had come for the renewal of external baptism also; (4) baptism 'in the name of Jesus' would then mean, as Jesus taught, baptism of the Holy Ghost and into the service of Christ, in contrast with Johannine baptism; (5) Luke shows that Jesus had the same view of baptism and the Trinity as appears in Mt 28^{19}. He taught (*a*) the coming of the Holy Ghost, (*b*) this coming was a baptism of the Holy Ghost, and (*c*) the Father and Son participated in this baptism of the Holy Ghost (24^{49}, Ac 1^{5}). Here are the same elements of doctrine as are contained in Mt 28^{19}. If we suppose with Haupt (*Apostolat im NT*, 38 f.), that this is not a formula of baptism, but a summary by the Evangelist of Christ's teachings on baptism and what it meant, we reach the same result: the only confession of faith and baptism that Jesus taught meant sharing the redemption of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. The Apostolic form 'in the name of Jesus' would then mean just what is taught in Mt 28^{19}. It was baptism in the Spirit unto Christ: hence, when St. Paul found disciples (Ac 19^{3}) who had not received the Holy Ghost, he asked unto what they had been baptized: baptism had special reference to the Holy Ghost. It also referred to all the redemptive work of the Son (Gal $3^{26f.}$, Ro 6^{3}), as well as to the full activity of the Spirit (1 Co 12^{13}, Tit $3^{5.6}$).

St. Paul also puts baptism and the Holy Spirit together (1 Co $10^{2.3}$) in a way to make it seem certain that he traced both to Christ (11^{23}, cf. Mt 20^{22}). St. Peter, too, describing conversion (Ac 2^{38}), united baptism in the name of Jesus, and reception of the Holy Ghost, just as we should expect on our view. Baptism 'into the name' meant baptism unto God (Jer 14^{9}), who is revealed, not through but in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Jehovah was the name of God for the OT covenant; the new name of God for the new covenant in Christ is Father, Son, and Spirit. Their equal Divinity, personality, and participation in man's redemption so form the doctrine of God and His work in the teachings of Jesus, that Mt 28^{19} may well be regarded as a culmination and synopsis of the gospel of the risen Lord. This baptismal formula was the centre of a solemn act of worship in which Father, Son, and Holy Ghost were equally adored. It was a solemn profession of faith in which each was regarded as indispensable ground of man's salvation. It was a solemn confession of covenant relation in which each was equally looked to as source of consecration and blessing. Jesus speaks of these distinctions as of spiritual realities. It seems impossible to paraphrase His words into, 'Baptizing them into the name of the Father, and of the Messiah, and of God as Spirit,' as some modern critics say Jesus meant (cf. Kaftan, *Wesen der Chr. Rel.* ii. 345 f.; see H. M. Scott, *Nicene Theol.* 255 f.). 'The Trinity of revelation, according to Jesus' own teachings, leads up to a Trinity of Being' (Schlottman, *Compendium d. Bib. Theol.* 134). The historicity of Mt 28^{19} is not weakened by later opposition to Gentiles entering the Church (Ac 11^{10} 15^{16}, Gal 2^{16}); for that controversy turned not on the fact but on the mode of their admission: must they enter the Church through the synagogue or not? (cf. Schmid, *Theol. of NT*, 163). On the other hand, this Trinitarian confession has an argumentative relation to all nations; the spread of the gospel would be a proof of the truth of the doctrine. Upon such teaching Christ promised His blessing; with it He would be in His Church unto the end of the world (v.^{20}, cf. Mt 24^{14} 30^{31}). Out of this confession of faith in baptism, taught by Jesus, has grown the first and only creed of all the ages: 'I believe in God the Father . . . and in Jesus Christ our Lord . . . and in the Holy Ghost.' 'The baptismal symbol in its whole *contents* goes back beyond all question to the Apostolic age' (Caspari, *Quellen z. Gesch. d. Tauf-symb.* i. 5); and no other than a Trinitarian formula has ever appeared in the history of the Church (cf. Resch, 424 f.); 'Trinitarian baptism was universal in the earliest churches and among the earliest heretics.' No Judaizer or Gnostic administered Christian baptism without the *τρισμακαρία ἐπονομασία*, the 'trina invocatio, nomen trinæ beatitudinis,' that sprang from Father, Son, and Holy Ghost (Clem. *Hom.* ix. 23).

iii. *Apostolic Teaching.*—(1) The outpouring of the Holy Ghost upon the Apostolic Church brought first the personality of the Spirit into greater prominence, and, secondly, shed new light from the Spirit upon the Son. (*a*) This new light showed (*α*) the great importance of the *Person* as well as the words of the incarnate Christ—He was much more than a prophetic Messiah; (*β*) the unique value of His atoning death; and (*γ*) the vital relation for believers between this shameful death and His glorious resurrection and ascension to the right hand of the Father, where He represents and rules His people. The first martyr, full of the Holy Ghost, saw the heavens opened and Jesus standing on the right hand of God (Ac $7^{55.56}$; cf. 1 P 1^{19-21} $3^{18f.}$, Ph $2^{6f.}$, He 1^{3}). He who ascended to Divine glory, it was felt, must ever have dwelt in Divine glory; and His incarnation, instead of being His life, was but an incident in His eternal existence. These Jewish Christians all start from Ps $110^{1f.}$, and declare by the Holy Ghost that the Psalmist knew by the Holy Ghost that Christ was Lord of David and Lord of all (Ac $2^{34.36}$ 10^{36} 11^{23}, Ja 2^{1}, Jude ^{4}; the *Didache* calls him 'the God of David,' 10^{6}). 'Our God and Saviour Jesus Christ' and 'our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ' meant the same thing (2 P $1^{1.11}$ 2^{20}). Jesus was equal with Jehovah (cf. Weiss, *NT Theol.*^{6} 132); His throne was God's throne (He $1^{5.8}$ 3^{13}); because He was God (He 1^{8}). Language failed these Jewish Christians to say more of the glory of the Son of God. The whole OT, as revelation of the Holy Spirit, testified to the Divine Christ (He 3^{7} $1^{5.8f.}$ $2^{2f.}$ 5^{6} 10^{5}). The ruling idea in Hebrews is that the old covenant of Jehovah with Israel was supplanted by the new, in which Jesus takes the place of Jehovah, Christians take the place of Jews (cf. Ep. of Barnabas 4), and the Holy Spirit, which led Israel towards Canaan, leads Christians through the Son to the rest in heaven (1^{2} $2^{3.4f.}$ $4^{1f.}$). This eternal Son is as the Jehovah of the OT (He $1^{3.13}$ 8^{1} 12^{2}), and is described there as such (Ps 110, He 1^{13}, Ps 102^{26-28}, He 1^{10}). He became incarnate to save men; and, in co-operation with the Holy Ghost the eternal Spirit (9^{14}), the eternal Son (1^{8}) became author of eternal salvation (5^{9}), and eternal redemption (9^{12}) unto an eternal inheritance (9^{15}). The relations of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are eternal. An attempt is made to set forth the connexion of the Son with the Father by comparing it with a brightness streaming from the Divine glory. Christ is one with God as a ray of light is one with the sun: out of such relation He takes form as a Personal Being distinct from the Father, yet so one with Him that to see the Son was to see the very glory which constitutes the Father (He 1^{3}), the very 'character of His being' (cf. Weiss, 493). 'He was everything lofty that could be imagined. Everything that can be said of Him was already said in the first two generations after His appearance' (Harnack, *Dogmengesch.* i. 66).

(*b*) Equally marked is the Apostolic conception of the Holy Ghost and His relation to Father and Son. In the Gospels Jesus speaks 25 times of the Spirit, and the Evangelists make a like number of references; but in the Acts and Epistles over 160 statements are made about the Holy Ghost (Scofield, *The Holy Spirit in NT Scripture*, 11). In the Gospels the Spirit 'was not yet' (Jn 7^{39}), that is, not in the fulness and abiding power of post-Ascension days. But, after Christ's return to the Father, Apostolic men were 'full of the Holy Ghost' (Ac 4^{8}). At Pentecost the Spirit came as Jesus predicted (Jn 3^{8} 16^{5-15}), to inspire and equip the Church. He came also in judgment, as Jesus had said (Mk 3^{28}, Lk 12^{10}). The first mention of the 'Church' (Ac 5^{3}) shows Ananias and Sapphira dead upon its threshold for lying to the Holy Ghost. To lie to the Spirit was to lie to God (v.^{4}); for it is the Spirit of both God (1 P 4^{14}) and His Christ (1 P 1^{11}). Regeneration is the work of the Spirit, who uses the word (1 P 1^{23}, Jude $^{19.20}$); it is also the work of God (1 P 5^{10}). The writer of Hebrews speaks little of the Spirit in believers; but when he comes to set forth the eternal high priesthood of the Son (6^{20}), which was 'after the power of an endless life' (7^{16}), he emphasizes the doctrine that Christ's eternal intercession takes place through the eternal Spirit (9^{14}). If Spirit means here (cf. Delitzsch, *ad loc.*) 'the Divine inward being of the God-man,' we meet once more the view that Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are eternally one with God who is a Spirit.

(*c*) St. Peter as leader of the Jewish Christians preaches the gospel as from Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. He sums it up doctrinally (1 P 1^{2}) as (α) election by God the Father, (β) through the Holy Spirit, (γ) unto salvation by Jesus Christ. This is the order from the side of God: from the side of man he describes it to inquirers and twice over to a court of Jewish theologians (Ac 2^{38} 4^{12} 5^{32}) as (α) repentance towards God, (β) faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, and (γ) receiving the Holy Ghost. He says the conversion of Cornelius was acceptance of the Holy Ghost as a gift of God, and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ (Ac 11^{16}, cf. 1 P $1^{17f.}$). He describes Christians as those who have 'faith in the righteousness of our God and Saviour Jesus Christ' (2 P 1^{1-11}), where Jesus is both God and Saviour. He adds that both the preacher and the Word must be witnessed to by the Holy Spirit, to have any effect (1 P 1^{11} 4^{11}). This Trinitarian gospel of St. Peter is that of St. Stephen (Ac $7^{48f.}$), St. James (1^{5} 2^{1} 4^{5}), and St. Jude (vv.$^{19-21}$). The beginning of the Christian life takes place through presentation of the Son in the Word; for such applying the things of Christ by the Spirit (1 P 2^{3}) regenerates the heart. All Christian growth depends upon being in Christ (3^{16} 4^{1} 5^{14}). The three Apostolic conditions of entering the kingdom of God were repentance (Ac 5^{31} 11^{18}, Ro 2^{4}, 2 Co $7^{9.10}$; cf. Mt 9^{13}, Lk 24^{47}), faith (Ac 3^{16} 14^{27} 20^{21}, Ro 9^{10}, 1 Co 13^{13}), and holiness (Ac 26^{20}, He 6^{1}, Ja 2^{17}, Ro 16^{3}); and these rested upon Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Faith in Christ works by love (Gal 5^{6}) towards the Father, the Son, and the brethren, and purifies the heart by the indwelling of the Holy Spirit (Ac 15^{9}). These constant allusions to the Trinity, with no further explanations, show that this doctrine was taken for granted among the Apostolic Churches. From the adoration of Jesus Christ, the centre of the Trinity, as God by Jewish Christians, light must have fallen in all directions upon the conception of God as Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

(2) St. Paul sets out from fundamental belief in one God (Gal 3^{20}, 1 Co 8^{6}, 1 Ti 2^{5}), but at once proceeds to teach that in the gospel God is the Father of the Lord Jesus Christ. (*a*) Upon this essential relation of Father and Son he built all his hopes (Ro $1^{3.8}$, 1 Co 1^{2-4}, 2 Co 4^{6}). In the eternal Son believers were chosen before the foundation of the world (Eph 1^{4}). He is called *κύριος* and even *θεός*, side by side with the Father (Ro 9^{5}, cf. 7^{25}, Tit 2^{13}). He shares Divine attributes, and, together with the Father, is worshipped and glorified (1 Co 1^{2}, Ro 13^{10}, Eph 5^{19}, 1 Ti 1^{12}). Yet He is never identified with the Father, but is carefully distinguished from Him (1 Co 8^{6}, Ro 1^{4} 8^{32}). He is the image of the invisible God (Col 1^{15}), and shares the invisible glory of God; He is also 'a man' Christ Jesus (1 Ti 2^{5}). As sharing the glory of the Father, He is called the 'firstborn' of all creation (Col 1^{15}). As Jesus spoke of the Father as greater than He, when claiming all the Father has as His, so St. Paul describes the glorified Christ as Head of Creation, in reference both to God and the universe. In Him all things subsist, because He is the Son and receives all from the Father (2 Co 4^{6}). He is described as 'existing before the world in the eternal Godhead, yet He did not cling with avidity to the prerogatives of His Divine majesty, did not arbitrarily display His equality with God; but . . . took upon Him the form of a servant' (Lightfoot's paraphrase of Ph $2^{6f.}$). St. Paul does not use metaphysical terms, but teaches here that the *μορφὴ θεοῦ* involved participation in the *οὐσία θεοῦ*. Similarly, Bengel remarks (in Nösgen, *Gesch. NT Off.* i. 19) that the term *θεότης* as distinguished from *θειότης* expresses 'non modo divinas virtutes sed ipsam divinam naturam.' St. Paul regards the Incarnation as serving the double purpose of showing God's love as Father (Gal 4^{4}, Ro 8^{3}; cf. Jn 3^{16}), and of revealing the inner relations of Christ's premundane and Divine being (2 Co 8^{9}, Ph $2^{6f.}$). A God of love seemed to involve personal subjects and objects of love within the Godhead, from which God who loved the world sent forth the Son of His love to save men. The Father gave the Son (Ro 8^{32}), the Son gave Himself (Gal 1^{4}), surrendered His glory and died on the cross; the Holy Spirit witnesseth to the Son and wins sinners to accept Him (Ro $1^{1.4.5}$). That is St. Paul's gospel (Ro $1^{16.17}$), which has proved itself the power of God unto salvation. He often sums up his gospel, and it is always Trinitarian (Ro 5^{1-5} $8^{2f.}$ $15^{16.17}$, 1 Co 2^{1-4} $12^{3f.}$, 2 Co 3^{3}, Gal 4^{4-6}, Eph $1^{3-5.13}$ 2^{18} 4^{4-6}, Col $1^{3.4.8}$; cf. He $1^{1.9}$ $2^{3.4}$ $10^{26.29.31}$ $11^{22.24.29}$). Over every sermon he can pronounce the benediction of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit (2 Co 13^{14}).

(*b*) St. Paul, like all the Apostles, supports his theology by the Old Testament. His central theme, the Divine Christ, he sets at once in inseparable relations to Jehovah. The Jewish teachings of his day confounded אלהים and יהוה (so Jehovah is rendered *θεός* in LXX of Nu 22^{13} 28^{8}, while אל and אלהים appear as *κύριος* in Nu 28^{8}, Gn $21^{2.6}$); but St. Paul, with a few possible exceptions (1 Co 3^{5}, Ro $14^{4f.}$), agrees with St. James (1^{1} $2^{1.5}$) and St. Peter (Ac 2^{36}) in distinguishing them as two Divine Persons. The Father is *θεός*, though the name is also given to the Son (Ro 9^{5}), and the Son is *κύριος*. This personal distinction of Father and Son is traced by St. Paul to the OT distinctions of אלהים and יהוה, and to the different relations of God to man expressed by those names (cf. Seeberg, *Die Anbetung d. 'Herrn' bei Paulus*, p. 8 f.). The distinction of God in Himself and the revealing Jehovah in the OT, St. Paul sees fully unfolded in the personal distinction of Father and Son. Christ did not *become* Lord; His *κυριότης* was but a form of His activity as a personal Divine Being. He was God before He was manifested as Lord; and He will be God after He ceases to rule as Lord (1 Co 15^{25}; cf. August. *l.c.* i. 8). He is Lord, not in relation to God but in relation to man (Ro $5^{1.11.21}$ 6^{11} 14^{8}, 1 Co $1^{2.10}$). St. Paul, too, goes back to Ps 110, which he quotes oftener than any other OT passage (Ro 8^{34}, Eph 1^{20}, Col 3^{1}, 1 Co 15^{23}). He found there the Lord Christ reigning with the Lord God until all enemies to God's kingdom were subdued, and sharing the Divine majesty and power inseparable from God. This prophecy was fulfilled in the incarnate Lord conquering death and Satan, and through the Resurrection sitting down at the right hand of God, with all enemies at His footstool (Ro 8^{34}, Eph 1^{20}). The glorified Christ is the Lord of glory (Ph 2^{9}, Ja 2^{1}). Not till after the Resurrection was Jesus Lord, though He was ever Divine (1 Co 2^{8}; cf. Mt $22^{41\text{f.}}$). Christ saves us as triumphant Lord (Eph 4^{3}, 1 Co 7^{32}). He is also the Providence of the Church (Gal 2^{2}, 1 Co 4^{19} 16^{7}). When all believers are saved His lordship ceases; He gives the kingdom which He undertook to the Father and resumes the eternal relations of the Son (1 Co 15^{25}). From the Resurrection to the Last Judgment is the rule of Christ. He rules with the Father (1 Co 15^{10}, Ro 8^{30}), as He saves with the Father (Col 1^{3}, Ro 8^{8}). God's work for man, St. Paul teaches, is never apart from Christ's work. They are as rays of heat and light in the same sunbeam. Hence St. Paul was called to be an Apostle by both Father and Son (Gal 1^{1}), who formed one Divine power (as omission of *διά* before *θεοῦ* and singular predicates show; cf. 1 Ti 1^{1}, 1 Th 3^{11}, 2 Th 2^{17}, 1 Co $15^{8.\,10}$; Seeberg); and he sees the final judgment as by both God and Christ (2 Th $1^{6\text{f.}}$, 1 Co 4^{5}). All between these in St. Paul's survey of life is done equally by the Father and Son. 'The active rule of the exalted Lord is, according to Paul, such that in every act of it contemporaneously an act of God the Father is completed' (Seeberg, p. 35). The grace of the Son is as much a Divine element in salvation as is the love of the Father (Tit $3^{6.\,7}$); hence, with the possible exception of Ro 8^{34}, St. Paul never speaks of intercession of the Son with the Father, so one are they considered in working. His God, in opposition to polytheism, is 'one God the Father, of whom are all things, and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things' (1 Co 8^{6}). He says (v.^{4}), 'there is none other God but one,' and that one God is the Father and Son. These were equally God for St. Paul from Ps 110 to his own last experience. The subordination of the Son was but a stepping-stone to lift the saints to the glory of the Father, which was shared by the Son. The words 'Christ is God's' (1 Co 3^{23}) support the assurance 'ye are Christ's,' as the statement 'the head of Christ is God' upholds the teaching that 'the head of every man is Christ' (1 Co 11^{3}). St. Paul follows Jesus' teachings that the Father was greater than the Son, not by way of contrast, but in a unity, which communicates all the greatness of the Father through the service of the Son (cf. Col 1^{19} 2^{9} 3^{11}).

(*c*) St. Paul's theology is Christo-centric. He proceeds from Christ outwards to Father and Spirit, yet everywhere recognizing the Divine relation of the Spirit to the Father and Son. The living bond between the Son, exalted as Lord, and man is the Holy Ghost. St. Paul echoes Jesus' doctrine (Jn 16^{14}) that the Spirit teaches Christ and is an earnest of all good things to come (2 Co 1^{22} 5^{5}, Eph 1^{19}). So one in working are they that he calls Christ a life-giving Spirit (1 Co 15^{45}), and says, 'the Lord is the Spirit' (2 Co 3^{17}). They are one as in the Godhead, yet distinct, both in their subjective and objective relations to man; for he adds: 'where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty,' and elsewhere (Gal 5^{1}) says, 'stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free.' St. Paul's theology grew out of his experience. He knew the personal Divine work of Son and Spirit in his own soul (Ph 3^{3}, Ro 8^{9} 9^{1}). He had extraordinary gifts of the Spirit (1 Co 14^{18}). He knew that all religious life comes from the Spirit (Ro 15^{19}, Gal $3^{2.\,3}$). He knew, also, that Christ in him was his life, his hope of glory (Col 1^{27}). But he sharply distinguished the revelation of the Lord in him (Ac 22^{7}), and the sending of the Son that we may become sons of God, from the sending of the Spirit to awaken us to the life of sons (Gal $4^{4\text{-}6}$). He did not regard the Spirit as merely the spiritual disposition produced in us by Christ. Christian life is equally related to both Son and Spirit; they are equally Divine, but not identical. The Spirit proceeds from the Son as the Spirit of Christ (Ro 8^{9}, Gal 4^{6}, 1 Co 2^{16}, Eph 4^{8}), as well as from the Father; and in his experience St. Paul found the Son to be the fundamental type of the form of life into which believers are brought by the Spirit (so Nösgen, ii. 262). The Spirit is the impelling power, the Son is the abiding life element, in the Christian (Ro 8^{14}, Gal 1^{18}). The same fruits spring from both (Gal $5^{5.\,16.\,22.\,24}$, Eph 5^{9}, Ph 1^{11}). Both make us free from the Law (Gal $5^{1.\,18}$). We are to have the mind of both (1 Co 7^{40}, Ro 8^{27}); both intercede with the Father for us (Ro $8^{34.\,27}$), and with us for the Father (Ro 8^{9}, 2 Co 13^{5}). We cannot trace the limits of the working of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; but St. Paul plainly teaches that there are such limits. The Spirit begins the life of the soul in man, but all NT writers ascribe the resurrection life of the body to the risen Christ (2 Co 4^{10}). The Spirit makes man a new personality, the Son makes man a member of His body, the Church (Nösgen, *l.c.*) The Son may become angry and condemn in wrath (1 Co 15^{22}), the Spirit is only grieved (Eph 4^{30}). The constant use of the names shows a corresponding distinction of functions within the Godhead.

(*d*) St. Paul's worship also is of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. The Spirit is for him personal, searching the deep things of God, with a will of His own for man's good, and showing Divine treasures to man (1 Co 2^{11}; cf. Lk 24^{49}, Jn 15^{26}). The Spirit does the work of the Father and Son (Ph 4^{13}, Gal 3^{5} 4^{6}). Father, Son, and Spirit must have been for St. Paul Divine realities. He could not pray to mere names or personifications. He never suggests that one is more or less Divine or personal than the other. That most solemn claim of Jehovah—'I have sworn by myself . . . that unto me every knee shall bow' (Is 45^{23})—St. Paul applies to Christ as God (Ro 14^{11}, Ph 2^{10}). For a Jew with the First Commandment as the creed of his life, prayer to Jesus Christ meant full equality with God; for neither OT (Is 42^{8} $48^{11\text{f.}}$, Jer $10^{11\text{f.}}$, Ps 18^{22}) nor NT (Ro $1^{24\text{f.}}$, 1 Th 1^{9}) allows worship of anything but God. The blasphemy of Antichrist was claiming Divine honours (2 Th 2^{4}). St. Paul warned against worshipping *φύσει μὴ οὖσι θεοῖς* (Gal 4^{8}), hence he must have worshipped Christ as *φύσει ὄντι θεῷ*. A Christian was a man calling on the name of the Lord Jesus Christ for salvation (Ac $9^{14.\,21}$); and St. Paul, like St. Stephen (Ac 7^{59}) and all saints (Rev 22^{20}), prayed to Christ Himself (Ac 22^{16}) and taught others to do so (1 Co 2^{1}). To call on Christ was the same thing as prayer to God (Ps 88^{10}, Is 45^{23}). St. Paul's test of a Christian was 'calling on' the Son (2 Ti 2^{22}). False teachers knew this test, and did not dare to omit it (2 Ti 2^{22}), because praying to Jesus was the recognized way of salvation (Ro $10^{12.\,13}$). A Christian meant a worshipper of Christ (1 Co 1^{2}). St. Paul prays to the Son to send the Spirit (Eph 3^{14}). The Spirit prays in him to the Father, echoing the familiar 'Abba' of the Lord's Prayer (Ro 8^{15}, Gal 4^{6}). He unites Father, Son, and Holy Ghost in doxologies of adoration and praise (2 Co 13^{14}). He prays for the same things—men's salvation—to Father and Son, and in the same Spirit to both. He thanks the Father through the Son (Ro 1^{8} 7^{25}). He does not pray to them alternately, or in succession, but at the same time (2 Th 1^{2}, Gal 1^{3}, 1 Co 1^{3}). He cannot separate them in his worship. In certain thanksgivings St. Paul prays to God as the Father of Jesus Christ (Ro 15^{6}, 2 Co 1^{3}, Eph 1^{3}), showing that he knew the Lord was within the Godhead as Son. He thanks the Father through the Son, because Christ's work was the ground of all thanksgiving to God. The Son is the completer of the Father's work for man. The love of God and the grace of Christ and the fellowship of the Spirit of love meet, therefore, in the spirit of gratitude. St. Paul's three cardinal virtues are, faith in Jesus Christ, love to God the Father, and hope in the spirit of promise (Eph 1^{13}, Gal 3^{14}, 1 Co 13^{13}). They are all fruits of the Spirit (Gal $5^{22.\,23}$), and come from the Father through the Son. St. Paul certainly taught all the data of a doctrine of the Trinity, however theologians may differ as to its formulation. He could not have learned his fixed, confident doctrine of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit from Jewish theology; neither did pagan thought suggest such teachings: he evidently received it as part of the gospel given him by Christ (cf. Gal 1^{3-8}).

(3) St. John's teachings take their perspective (*a*) from his doctrine of the λόγος, which he sees prefigured in the OT. This is central in his Gospel, as it is in the doctrine of the Trinity. The Divine λόγος became incarnate in Jesus. This may be why Christ's conception of the Holy Ghost is not referred to, and why the Spirit is spoken of as a gift, and not made so clearly personal as in the words of Jesus Himself (1 Jn 3^{24} 4^{13}). The Fourth Gospel presents Christianity as a double revelation of God through the Spirit and through the Son; the Evangelist bears witness chiefly to the Son, and lets the Son testify to the Spirit. Because St. John beholds the eternal Son prominent in the OT (Gn 1^{1}, Ps $33^{4.\,6}$, Is 40^{8} 55^{11}, Jn $1^{1.\,14}$), he does not describe the Incarnation as a humiliation, as St. Paul does (Ph 2^{6}), or rise to it through the thought of His ascension to glory involving pre-existent glory, as in He 1^{3} 2^{9} 10^{12}. He sees the Divine Son, the Creator of the universe (1^{3}), carry the glory of God veiled with Him into the world (1^{10-14}), and, when His work of redemption was complete, move calmly again into the glory which He had with the Father before the world was. His emphatic statements that the λόγος *was* in the beginning with God, and that the beginning of the being of all things was through Him, set forth the eternal Being of the Son. And because of His Divine Sonship He was a Divine revelation: 'No man hath seen God at any time, God only-begotten (μονογενὴς θεός, as in ℵ B C L), who is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him.' What can transcend 'God only-begotten'? St. John exhausts all Jewish descriptions of Divine manifestations to set forth the glory of the Son. He embodied them all. He was one with the יקר, the evident 'glory' of God (1^{14} 2^{11} 12^{41}, Targ. to Is 6; cf. Schlottmann, 130, Mt 16^{27}, Mk 8^{38}). His coming is the coming of the Divine glory, which Ezekiel said (43^{1-7} in Targ.) should dwell for ever with God's people. Jesus had identified Himself with the Shekinah (Mt 18^{20}; cf. *Pirke Aboth*, iii. 3): He even said that His presence was greater than the Shekinah in the temple (Mt 12^{6}): St. John proceeds to identify the Son with the *Memra* or 'Word' (1^{14}). In one statement he combines the *Memra* (λόγος), the *Yeḳar* (δόξα), and the Shekinah (in σκήνοω), and applies all to the incarnation of the Son of God ($1^{14.\,18}$). Jesus Christ reveals the personal glory of God, not temporarily, but incarnate, tabernacling among His people as Jehovah tented among Israel (Ex 25^{8} 29^{45}, He 1^{3}). Philo called the λόγος figuratively δεύτερος θεός; St. John calls Him simply θεός; for He is on one side the λόγος of God, and, on the other, God. Philo's λόγος is πρωτόγονος υἱός, or, as an angel, ἀρχάγγελος (cf. Riehm, *Heb.* 146 f.): but St. John puts the Son-Logos far above all angels; He is one with God, truly personal and incarnate as the Messiah, all of which is foreign to Philo's allegorical exegesis. St. John's theology shows no connexion with that of Philo. Like St. Paul, he comes to Jesus from the OT, and finds that it is the revealed God, the Jehovah, the Lord of David, the 'Memra' that took flesh in Jesus (1^{2} 14^{9}). The relation of the Son to the Father is expressed by St. John as in He 1^{3}, by the terms 'light,' as 'God is light' (1 Jn 1^{7}), 'life,' as 'God is life' (1^{2})—only the Son is called 'the life' or 'eternal life' (1 Jn 5^{20}), because the Son is the manifestation of Divine life and its source for man—and especially by the word μονογενής ($1^{14.\,18}$ $3^{16.\,18}$, 1 Jn 4^{9}; cf. 1^{1}). Christ was the only-begotten Son of God, as the widow's son was her only child (Lk 7^{12}), as the ruler's daughter was his only daughter (Lk 8^{42}), and as the possessed boy was his father's only son (Lk 9^{38}). He was the 'only-begotten' in such a sense that He might be called the only-begotten Son or the only-begotten God. He was the Son absolutely, and in a sense shared by no other being. He was so one with God that St. John says He was God ($1^{1.\,14}$); or, as put elsewhere (1 Jn $5^{5.\,20}$), He was the 'true God' revealing the true God. He was also 'with God' ($1^{1.\,2}$), *i.e.* not God without a property peculiar to Him as Son of God. From this Divine Sonship flows St. John's Gospel. In it he finds the source of all blessing and eternal life (20^{31}, 1 Jn $5^{12.\,13}$). From it come (1) the power to become sons of God (1^{12}), (2) sonship through faith in the Son (9^{35}), (3) sonship through the will of the Father (1^{13}), (4) participation in the truth, grace, glory, and indwelling of the Father (1^{14}, 1 Jn 4^{15}); (5) an experience of the fulness of the Godhead in the Son ($1^{16.\,17}$), through union with whom (6) believers share the victory of the Son of God over the devil (1 Jn 3^{8}), and (7) have the witness of sonship in themselves (1 Jn 5^{10}). No Divine Son of God, no other sons of God. If God be not the Divine Father of the Divine Son, He is the religious Father of no man: that is the theology of St. John's Gospel.

In the Apocalypse, which has a strong Jewish colouring, we find the same high conception of the Father and the Son. As conqueror over Satan and Saviour of the saints, Jesus sits in Divine glory, adored and praised as omniscient (2^{33}), omnipresent, and eternal (1^{18} 2^{8} 3^{21} $5^{8.\,14}$ 7^{12} 11^{15} 20^{6} $22^{1.\,3}$). He is the Son of Man, in heaven with the Ancient of days (Dn 7^{13}, Rev 14^{14}), while judge of all men on earth (2^{27} 12^{5} 19^{15}). His face shines as the face of God (1^{16}); and before Him the prophet falls down as before Jehovah (1^{17}). He is King of kings and Lord of lords (17^{14} 19^{16}), nay, He is Lord God Almighty (15^{3}). Weiss concludes (p. 560): 'It is certain that the Messiah appears here as an original Divine Being,' side by side with the Father.

(*b*) Of the Holy Spirit and His relation to the Father and Son, St. John says little; but his constant presentation of Christianity as life, birth from God and a birth to holiness, presuppose the Comforter. He makes the full teachings of Jesus on the Holy Spirit (14–17, cf. 7^{39}) his own; and says the Apostolic experience and testimony through the Holy Ghost, after the glorification of Christ, were as rivers to drops, compared with what they were before (7^{39}). The water of life is from the Spirit as from the Son (7^{37}). Jesus taught the Spirit as Paraclete on earth representing the Father and Son (cf. παράκλησις of Holy Ghost, Ac 9^{31}); St. John adds the doctrine that the Son is a corresponding Paraclete in heaven with the Father, representing men (1 Jn 2^{1}). The 'new birth' is mentioned five times in the NT. It is a παλινγενεσία of the whole creation through Christ (Mt 19^{28}), and of a single soul in conversion through the Spirit (Tit 3^{5}); St.

James (1^{18}) sees Christians 'come into the world' (ἀποκυεῖσθαι) begotten of the Father; and St. Peter twice speaks of God begetting us again (1 P $1^{3.\,23}$). St. John has the further conception that the birth from God takes place through the Holy Ghost (1^{13}, 1 Jn 2^{29} 3^{9} 4^{7} $5^{1.\,4}$), for there is no doubt that by born *of God* he means *by the Holy Spirit* (3^{6}). In two passages he shows that the indwelling of the Father and the Son depends upon the Spirit (1 Jn 4^{13} 3^{24}). He presents religion also as a command of the Father to believe on the Son (1 Jn $3^{23.\,24}$), and then says that this obedience of faith is possible only through the indwelling of the Father and Son by the Spirit. The only way to keep out evil spirits is to be possessed of the Holy Spirit; and we know, he says, which is the Holy Spirit, by its testifying to the incarnation of the Son of God (1 Jn $4^{2.\,3}$ $5^{5.\,6}$) and to nothing else (16^{13}). In the passage on the Three Witnesses (1 Jn $5^{6.\,8}$) the Holy Spirit testifies to the Son as Divine Redeemer, (*a*) because from Him flows the double stream of life-giving, cleansing water (Jn 7^{38} 19^{34}) and atoning blood; (*b*) because the witnessing Spirit is 'the truth'; and (*c*) because the Father testifies also to the Son (1 Jn 5^{9}).

(*c*) St. John touches here a thought which runs through the whole NT. God, who is transcendent, incarnate, and immanent as Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, establishes His kingdom in opposition to the god of this world, who is the devil and Satan (Rev 12^{9} 20^{2}). The kingdoms of light and darkness run in growing opposition through the Fourth Gospel (6^{70} 7^{20} $8^{44.\,48}$ 10^{20} 13^{2}). St. John knows of demoniacs (cf. 'signs,' etc., 4^{48} 20^{30}), but the only man he describes as possessed of the devil ($13^{2.\,27}$) is Judas, the son of perdition, who betrayed the Son of God. To deny the incarnate Son is to join the ranks of Antichrist, to deny the Father also (1 Jn 2^{22}), and to show that the new birth from God has not taken place (1 Jn 3^{9}). That is, the only way to oppose the devil is to be born of God by the Spirit (1 Jn 5^{18}). Christians are sons of God through the Son of God (1 Jn $3^{1\text{f.}}$), who came to destroy the works of the devil (v.^{8}); and they prove both their sonship and their opposition to the devil by obeying the Spirit in them, testifying to the incarnate Son. Thus both the begotten beginning and the triumphant end of the Christian life are inseparable from Father, Son, and Holy Ghost (1 Jn $5^{1.\,5.\,6}$). Amid the OT imagery of the Apocalypse we move upon the same high plane. It opens with a benediction ($1^{4.\,5}$), like that of St. Paul (1 Co 13^{13}), in which salvation is set forth as coming from God, the seven spirits before His throne,—evidently the sevenfold, perfect revelation of the Spirit promised the Son (Is 11^{2}),—and from Jesus Christ. Salvation is ever ascribed to God and the Lamb (7^{10} 4^{11}), and is mediated by the Spirit to the Churches ($2^{7.\,11.\,17.\,29}$ $3^{6.\,13.\,22}$ 14^{13} 22^{17}). The rapt Christian 'in the Spirit' hears the voice of Jesus saying, 'Hear what the Spirit saith unto the Churches.' As in the Gospel, so here, the Spirit appears both as between Jesus and the Father (1^{4}), and as possessed by Christ (3^{1}). The Son and the Spirit are so identified that what one says is from the other ($2^{7.\,8.\,12.\,17}$ $3^{5.\,6}$). The glorified Christ and the prophetic Spirit are here actually at work as foreshadowed in the OT view of the Word and the Spirit of God. The Paracletes in heaven and on earth are also here. The glorified Christ says, 'Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord,' and the responsive Spirit replies, 'Yea, that they may rest from their labours' (14^{13}). The Spirit and the Bride say, 'Come'; that is, 'Come to Jesus' ($22^{17.\,20}$); and Jesus is the only way to the Father.

iv. *Teachings in the Life of the Apostolic Church.*—The Trinity was not a theory from without, but part of the gospel, life, work, and worship of the Apostolic Church. It lived in devotion long before it appeared in theology. The Father, Son, and Holy Ghost were as much part of Church life as body, soul, and spirit were elements of every believer's life. They are not introduced or explained, but everywhere taken for granted and present. No man can share NT worship without using Trinitarian forms. This natural and incidental yet constant reference to Father, Son, and Holy Spirit in Apostolic Churches presupposes just such a development as our study has indicated. The later and clearer statements are always in full agreement with what had been already taught. What the first disciples received from Jesus went far beyond what is recorded in the Gospels; it went far beyond all that He said or did; for after His ascension they became conscious that Jesus was not only a teacher, but Saviour and Lord, and imparter of the Holy Ghost. The teachings and work of Christ in Apostolic experience expanded much more rapidly than they could have done in any process of merely natural development. The order, too, of growth is just what we should expect: new teachings of Jesus about God as Father, then the teachings of Apostles about the Son, and, last of all, the full reference to the Holy Spirit. This order repeats itself in the history of doctrine which took form in the Nicene Creed. Through the words of Jesus, the Synoptic Gospels, St. Paul, Hebrews, St. John, and the Acts, there runs a harmonious and growing representation of God as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Jesus sets Himself as Son above all the servants of God (Mt 21^{33}, Mk 12^{1-9}, Lk $3^{22\text{f.}}$); He $1^{1.\,2}$ gives the same doctrine in theological form, declaring the Son above all created beings 'God for ever and ever.' St. Paul presents an intermediate view, in which God and His Christ are central (1 Co 1^{3}, 2 Co $1^{2.\,3}$, Gal 1^{3}, Eph 1^{2}); but puts it at once in vital union with the Trinitarian conception of God as Father, Son, and Holy Ghost (2 Co 13^{14}, Eph 3^{14-16}). The Acts shows historically that Father, Son, and Holy Ghost were inseparable from the life and thought of believers; while the Fourth Gospel presents the same teaching as the culmination of NT theology (16^{7-10}). (For further indications of doctrinal growth, cf. the articles GOD IN NT and HOLY SPIRIT in vol. ii.). These early disciples knew that there is an infinite eternal God (2 Co $4^{17.\,18}$, 1 Ti 1^{7}); they knew also that He is personal, and personal only as Father, Son, and Spirit. How the Infinite can be personal is ever a mystery; to Apostolic men the threefold personality of the infinite God was no greater mystery than any personality of the Infinite. They also knew that there is a God of Absolute Right, the Supreme Lawgiver, the Holy Father in heaven (Jn 17^{11}, Ro $7^{7.\,12}$, Rev 4^{8}); on the other hand, they knew that God had broken through His own law, and, by His revelation in the Son and Spirit, opened heaven and poured supernatural grace and blessing upon men (Ro 3^{26} 4^{5}, 1 P 1^{2-5}). Their practical experience found that this personality of the Father, and the mediating personalities of the Son and the Spirit, were indispensable to fellowship with God through grace and faith, and in the struggles against sin. Illustrations of this practical Trinity may be seen (1) in the equipment of the Apostles, (2) the establishment of the Church, (3) the work of Missions, (4) the test of sound Doctrine, and (5) the nature of Christian Worship.

(1) The risen Lord gave His commands no more directly to the Apostles, but through the Holy Ghost (Ac 1^{2}). As inseparable as the Father and the Son appear before the Crucifixion, just as inseparable appear the Son and the Spirit after the Resurrection. To the Son as mediator of the Father, and to the Spirit as mediator of Father and Son, the Apostles turn as to the source of all power and authority.

St. Peter says he opened the Church to the Gentiles because the Lord Jesus Christ from heaven told him to do so (Ac 11^{8}), and because the Holy Spirit told him to do so (Ac 10^{19} 11^{12}). St. John says the Spirit of truth in the Apostles made them men of God (1 Jn 4$^{2. 6}$), and witnessed through them that the Father sent the Son to give life to believers (vv.$^{13. 14}$). The Spirit in the Apostles made them preach the incarnate Son, and denounce all contrary preaching as of the devil (1 Jn 3$^{8-10}$). The Lord Jesus sent Ananias to St. Paul that he might be filled with the Holy Ghost (Ac 9^{17}); then St. Paul preached Christ, that He is the Son of God (v.^{20}). St. Paul supported his claim to be an Apostle by appealing to the call of God the Father and His Son Jesus Christ (Ro 1^{1}, Gal 1$^{1. 15. 16}$, 1 Co 1^{1}), who filled him with the Holy Ghost at his conversion for apostleship (Ac 9^{17} 1^{2}). He traces the grace of apostleship and of all work in the Church to the Holy Spirit (1 Co 12^{13}) and the Son (v.^{27}, 1 Ti 1^{12}, 1 Co 7$^{2-5}$, 2 Ti 2$^{2. 11}$); and he spoke from experience. These Apostles tested all Christ's Trinitarian promises. In His name, as the name of God, they cast out devils (Mk 16^{17}, Ac 16^{18}), healed the sick (*ib.* Ac 3^{6} 9^{34}), and raised the dead (Ac 9^{40} 20^{10}). The Holy Ghost in their work honoured the Son as He honoured the Father (Jn 5^{23} Ac 3^{6} 16^{18}, Ja 2^{19}). St. Peter found that the Spirit inspired him to speak as Jesus promised (Mt 10$^{19. 20}$, Lk 12^{12}), and, thus inspired, he preached repentance towards the Father and faith in the Son as the way of life (Ac 4$^{8. 10. 31. 33}$). He saw also in the OT covenant of God with parents and their children a point of connexion for the doctrine of approach to the Father through the Son (Ac 2$^{38. 39}$ 3$^{13. 17}$). Sins were remitted or retained by the Apostles on the authority of the Son and as inspired by the Spirit (Mt 18^{18}, Jn 20$^{22. 23}$, Ac 8$^{20f.}$). They imparted the Holy Spirit for service (Ac 8^{17}), and, full of the Holy Ghost, acted in the name of Christ as ministers of discipline (Ac 15^{29}), in conscious opposition to the kingdom of Satan (1 Co 5$^{4. 5}$ 6^{11}). They could pronounce Anathema in view of the coming Lord. Christ in the midst, and the Spirit in the midst with the Apostles as ministers, formed the Supreme Court of the Church. St. Paul sums up his apostleship (Ac 20–24) in (*a*) the constant witness of the Holy Spirit, guiding him through bonds and persecutions of Satan and bad men; (*b*) a ministry received from the Lord Jesus Christ; and (*c*) a gospel of the grace of God revealed in His Son. That was his practical work, and not a theological elaboration (Ro 15$^{16. 19}$). The Apostles claimed and exercised doctrinal authority over the Church (1 Jn 4$^{6f.}$, 1 Co 4^{21} 5^{4} 9$^{1f.}$ 11^{23}), resting their claims on the command of the Son through the Spirit (Ac 1^{2}). They alone perfectly knew the meaning of Jesus (1 Co 2^{16}), as Jesus alone perfectly knew the meaning of the OT. They also had the Spirit of prophecy, so that they could declare the future glories of Christ's kingdom, and the overthrow of the kingdom of the devil (1 Co 5^{5} 16^{22}, 1 Ti 1^{20}, 1 Jn 2^{22} 4^{3}, Rev 2^{9} 3^{9}).

(2) The Apostolic Church was built upon faith in Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Pentecost was in an important sense the birthday of the Church; and St. Peter explained it by saying that the Son at the right hand of the Father, having received the promise of the Spirit, 'shed forth this which ye now see and hear.' The Holy Ghost sent by the glorified Son made the Church. If anything is certain, it is that the Apostolic Church saw its foundation laid in the ascension of Christ and the descent of the Spirit. This Spirit of Christ was the regenerating, sanctifying, working power in the Church. If any man had not the Spirit of Christ, he was none of His (Ro 8^{9}). Surrounded by pagans whose gods were devils (1 Co 10^{20}), and by Jews who were led by Satan to crucify the Lord (Jn 6^{70} 8^{44} 13^{2}), Christians were kept by the power of the Holy Ghost (Ro 5^{5}). They met heresy in the same power (1 Jn 4$^{2f.}$), and were given by the Spirit a twofold defence: (1) the Old Testament, inspired at first by the Spirit, and now made practical by the Spirit; and (2) growing faith in the Son of God. The Spirit revealed Him in the hearts of believers as the personal, glorified, triumphant Lord (1 Co 2^{14}). The OT and Christ were shown to be essentially the same Word of God, once spoken by the prophets, now incarnate and glorified in Christ. But, as in the OT, so in the NT, the Spirit is never confounded with the Word or with Christ. Whether speaking through Apostles or Prophets, the Spirit ever declares Jesus Christ to be the true cornerstone of the Church (Eph 2^{20}, 1 P 2^{6}). Through the Spirit believers already share the glory of Christ, and through Him receive all the gifts of the Spirit (1 P 3^{7}, Eph 1^{3} 6^{14}, 2 Co 1^{22}, Ro 8^{16}).

(3) From the Trinity also started the Mission of the Church (Mt 28$^{19f.}$). The Holy Spirit appeared at once as the great propagating power. He repeated the 'Come' and 'Go' of Jesus (Mt 11^{28} 28^{19}, Ac 1^{8}) and continued His work. Jesus declared that the work of foreign missions was the aim of His death (Jn 12$^{20. 23-36}$). It was furthered by the Father (v.$^{28f.}$), and carried out by the Spirit, who inspired the first missionaries, Peter (Ac 4^{8}), Stephen (6^{5}), Barnabas (11^{24}), Philip (8^{29}), and Paul (13^{4}), to preach the gospel and cast out devils (Jn 12^{31}; cf. Ac 8^{7}). 'Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them,' said the Spirit (Ac 13^{2}); 'Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature,' said Jesus. 'Baptize them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,'—that is the Trinitarian foundation of missions. St. Paul is intelligible only as a man who regarded himself as an organ of the Holy Ghost, fighting the powers of darkness (Ro 8^{38}, Eph 6^{12}) to save men by the Son of God (1 Co 2^{4} 1$^{4-7}$). He had more gifts of the Spirit than other Apostles, and was the greatest missionary of Christ (1 Co 14^{18}). The Holy Spirit directed him to his field of labour (Ac 16^{7}), and the Son told him what to expect in those fields (9^{15}). The same is true of St. Peter (Ac 1$^{15f.}$ 2$^{4. 17-38}$) and the rest.

(4) The NT Church also regarded the Trinity as the doctrinal assurance that any man was preaching the gospel. Unless he preached the Son of God in personal witness of the Spirit, he was not true to Christ. St. Paul urged Timothy (2 Ti 1$^{13. 14}$) to hold fast the Apostles' form of sound words, which consisted in faith and love towards Christ, who is God our Saviour (1 Ti 2^{3}), and was committed unto Him by the Holy Ghost. False teachers left the Church because they denied the Father and the Son, and had no unction of the Holy Ghost (1 Jn 2$^{19. 20. 22}$). Only those preaching the Divine Son had the witness of the Spirit: to such there came the demonstration of the Spirit and of power (1 Co 2^{4}, 1 Th 1^{5}, Ro 9^{1}). Supernatural signs of the Holy Ghost encouraged such missionaries to preach, and roused the careless to hear of the Son of God as Saviour (He 2^{3}, 1 P 1^{12}, Eph 1$^{13f.}$). As Christ knew what was in man, in like manner did the Spirit in Apostolic preachers so reveal the hearts of heathen in Christian meetings that they fell down crying, 'God is in you of a truth' (1 Co 14^{25}). The two heresies against which the Apostles warned were an incipient Gnosticism, which rejected Christ as Lord and Head (Col 2$^{6. 8. 19}$, 1 Ti 1$^{2. 3}$), and an allied Antinomianism, which set at naught the Holy Ghost (Eph 5$^{6. 9. 18}$, Rev 2$^{13. 17. 20f.}$, 1 Co 3^{17}). The Holy Ghost warned (1 Ti 4^{1}) against 'doctrines of devils' which opposed the Son, and 'seducing spirits' which fought against the Spirit of God. By the laying on of hands the Holy Spirit was

given to NT workers that they might preach the Son of God as Saviour (1 Ti $4^{14. 16. 6}$). Only such preaching of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost would actually reform and save men (Eph 1^{17} $2^{4-6. 18}$ $3^{1. 2. 5. 14-16}$ $4^{3-6. 13. 14}$ $5^{1. 2. 9. 18-20}$). St. Paul's test description of the gospel against Judaizers is, 'God sent forth His Son . . . to redeem them . . . under the law,' and make them 'sons'; also, 'God hath sent forth the Spirit of His Son' into men's hearts, 'crying, Abba, Father' (Gal 4^{4-6}). All men sent of God would preach this sending of Son and Spirit as the true gospel of Christ (1 Co $12^{3f.}$), and not 'another Jesus,' and 'another Spirit,' constituting 'another gospel' (2 Co 11^{4}).

(5) The NT Church meant two or three gathered together with the Son in their midst (Mt $18^{17. 20}$). The meetings for worship were of two kinds—first, that of the Lord's Supper, in which Christ was central; and, second, the public service of *οἰκοδομή*, in which the Holy Ghost was central; but each carried with it the Trinity. The general worship was charismatic. Its aim and purpose was edification of the saints through the *χαρίσματα* granted the various participants by the Holy Ghost (1 Co 14^{26}). The worshipping people were the body of Christ (1 Co 10^{16} 12^{27}, Eph 4^{12}), in which each member edified the others as an organ of the Holy Spirit (Jn 6^{45} 7^{38}, 1 Co 3^{16}). Each brother who took part was moved by the Spirit of the glorified Head of the Church, the Lord Christ (Eph 1^{22} 4^{15}, Col 1^{18}). St. Paul traces all the elements of worship—tongues, prophecy, teaching, interpretation, prayer, singing—to the Holy Ghost (1 Co $14^{1f.}$; cf. Jude ^{20}); but not apart from the Father and the Son; for in this worship were diversities of gifts by the same Spirit, differences of administration by the same Lord Jesus, and diversities of operations by the same God and Father (1 Co 12^{4-6}). The order of St. Paul's thoughts in worship appears as he prays for the Ephesians (3^{14-17}) to the Father that He would strengthen them by the Spirit, so that Christ might dwell in them. He asks the Romans (15^{30}) to pray in like manner on his behalf. The doxology to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, spoken of God rather than to God, with which St. Paul opens and closes Epistles (Ro 1^{7} 16^{27}, 1 Co 1^{3} 16^{23}, 2 Co 1^{2} 13^{14}), doubtless appeared also at the opening and close of Christian worship (2 Co $1^{2. 3. 9}$ 13^{14}). The synagogue worship began with 'Blessed be Jehovah' (cf. Schürer, *GJV*^{3} ii. 377); the Christian service began with such an invocation as 'Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ . . . the God of all comfort' (2 Co 1^{3}). The Jewish worship closed with the threefold benediction: 'The Lord bless thee . . . the Lord keep thee . . . the Lord give thee peace'; the Christian service ended also, probably, with a threefold benediction of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit (cf. Ro $15^{12. 13. 16}$, 2 Co 13^{14}, Rev 1^{4-6} 11^{13} 14^{7} 16^{9} 19^{7}). St. Paul uses the word *κύριος* nearly 150 times, and always of the Son of God, uniting the Lord Jesus and the Lord God in his worship (cf. Seeberg, p. 3). Both Jewish and Gentile Christians, filled with the Holy Ghost, worshipped equally the Father and the Son—a thing impossible to men whose Bible was the Old Testament, unless they accepted what we understand religiously by the Trinity (Eph 5^{19}, Ph 1^{19}).

A similar recognition of the Trinity underlies the worship of the Lord's Supper. Only those baptized in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost were to partake of this Holy Supper (1 Co 10^{1-4} 14^{16-19}, Gal $3^{27f.}$, Ac 2^{38} 8^{12} 19^{3}; *Didache*, x.). It called to mind the Father, in whose kingdom the new wine would be drunk (Mt 26^{29}, Lk 22^{16}). It was celebrated in remembrance of the Son, who sealed the new covenant with His blood (Mt 26^{28}, Mk 14^{24}, Lk 22^{19}); while the solemn reference to Christ's return to the Father and the coming thereby of His kingdom implies the work of the Holy Ghost (Lk 22^{18}). The wonderful discourses (Jn 14–17) on the mission of the Comforter were spoken in connexion with the Supper. The washing of the disciples' feet while at the table (Jn $13^{5. 13}$) symbolized the work of the Spirit. The worship of all who were here fed by the Son was charismatic (Ac 20^{7}), and conducted by men full of the Holy Ghost. Jesus said, 'this do in remembrance of me'; St. Paul said, 'till he come' (1 Co 11^{26}); the Spirit-filled disciple at the feast prayed especially to the Lord Jesus, saying, 'Come, Lord.' This appears as part of the ritual (*Didache*, x.), and St. Paul's use of it in the original 'Maran Atha' (1 Co 16^{22}) shows that it was already liturgical in NT days (cf. Rev 22^{20}). The object of adoration here, as in all worship, was the Lord Jesus Christ, who, according to promise (Mt 28^{20}), was invisibly present, feeding the Church, and guiding all her activities (Ac 1^{24} 2^{47} 4^{31}). The hymns of the Church must have started from this Christian Passover (Mt 26^{30}, Mk 14^{26}); they are all 'spiritual songs' (Eph 5^{19}), arising in men filled with the Holy Ghost (5^{18}, cf. Col 3^{16}), and without exception glorifying the Son of God (Eph 5^{20}, Col 3^{17}, 1 Ti 3^{16}, Rev $19^{1-3. 6f.}$ $11^{17f.}$ 4^{11} 5^{9-13}). For St. Paul the Lord's Supper consisted in (1) a celebration of the Lord's death, and (2) communion with the glorified Christ (1 Co $11^{24f.}$ $10^{16f.}$). This *κοινωνία* of the body and blood of Christ, which united all to worship the Son, was the creative work of the Spirit, which made a group of individuals a Church of God. After Pentecost, believers continued in this *κοινωνία* (Ac 2^{42}), which was a gift of the Spirit (v.^{38}). The Holy Ghost led believers at the Communion Supper to break bread in memory of the Son and offer prayer to Him as Lord of all. From NT days onwards, the Spirit led Christians at the Lord's Supper to pray to Christ as both Creator and Redeemer (1 Co $10^{21. 26}$, *Didache*, ix.); and in both offices He was inseparable from the Father. The communion of the Lord's Supper was 'unto the *κοινωνία* of His Son Jesus Christ,' to which we are called by the Father (1 Co 1^{9}); and in it as the family gathering of the Holy Brotherhood 'the communion of the Holy Ghost' was indispensable (2 Co 13^{14}). The community of goods (Ac $2^{42f.}$), which was an enlargement of the Lord's Table to provide for the poor of the Church, arose through men 'all filled with the Holy Ghost' (Ac $4^{31. 32}$), speaking the word of God and witnessing to the glorified Christ (v.^{33}). And the sin of Ananias and Sapphira against this communion —St. Paul calls the contribution for the saints a *κοινωνία* (Ro 15^{26})—was lying to the Holy Ghost (Ac $5^{3. 9}$). The men chosen to serve these tables of the Lord and His poor were 'full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom' (6^{3}); and when the first of them, Stephen, began to preach, his gospel was the Most High God and the Glorified Christ, whom he adored as Lord. In urging the Jews to be saved, he declared that opposition to God and His Christ was resisting the Holy Ghost ($7^{48. 59. 51}$). The NT connects also the sacrament of Baptism and that of the Supper. The one was God's Israel marching in covenant with the Lord through the sea; the other was the spiritual meat and drink given to feed them by the way (1 Co 10^{1-4} 12^{13}). And, what is very important, both sacraments profess faith in Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. St. Paul sees in Baptism a profession of fellowship with the Son (Ro 6^{3}, 1 Co 1^{13}), into whom believers are baptized by the Spirit (1 Co 12^{13}), showing that he agrees with Mt 28^{19}; and in the Supper, which commemorates the Son, he says we 'drink of the Spirit' (1 Co 12^{13}; cf. Nösgen, ii. 333). The sent Son and the sent Spirit appear in both sacraments as the only way to communion with God. The Lord's Supper embodies the thought of covenant with the Father through confession of the Son. Jesus called it a new covenant in His blood (Mk 14^{24}). To eat and drink of this Supper was a test of loyalty to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost (1 Co $10^{20.16}$ $11^{22.20.29}$ 12^{13}; cf. Mk 14^{18}, Lk 13^{26} 24^{30}, Jn 13^{18}). At the foot of the cross the sacrificial meal of loyalty to Christ was eaten. It was a place of spiritual life or death; hence St. Paul, following Jesus (1 Co 11^{23}, Jn 8^{44}), sees the alternative here to be the kingdom of God or the kingdom of Satan; table of the Lord Jesus or table of the devil; Spirit of God or spirit of evil,—that is the crucial confession-test at the Holy Supper (1 Co 10^{16-21} 12^{3}). The charismatic communicant, speaking excitedly with tongues, might seem unworthy to sit down at the Lord's Table; St. Paul's supreme and only criterion is, 'No man can say that Jesus is the Lord but by the Holy Ghost' (12^{3}). The test of every Christian in all worship, including the most sacred service of the Lord's Supper, was belief in the Holy Ghost, who testified to the Divine Son, who came forth from the Father. The real presence of the Son of God, set forth in the bodily symbol of the broken bread, experienced in the communing Church, which is the body of Christ, ever one with her Divine Head, and witnessed to by the Holy Ghost, without whose presence there can be no Christian worship, is a doctrine of the NT to which the Church in all ages has borne testimony. In the believer's experience, as in the Bible history of redemption, this doctrine grows upon him. Not till the OT revelation ended was it evident that God was Father; only the Son could perfectly reveal the Father. Not till Jesus had finished His work and returned to the Father was it fully evident that He was the Divine Christ; only the Holy Ghost could perfectly reveal the Son of God. And not till the Church has ended her work on earth and become glorified with her Lord, and the historically revealed economic Spirit has completed her sanctification, will the Divinity and Personality of the Holy Ghost be perfectly manifest. Only in the heavenly life, where the Spirit may cease to be subjective and inseparable from our spirit in religious consciousness, will His distinctive character appear as manifest as that of the Father and the Son.

LITERATURE.—There is no recent literature on this subject. See art. GOD IN NT in vol. i. Besides the works quoted in the text and the sections in *Bibl. Theology of the OT*, by Oehler, Riehm, Schultz, Smend, and *Bibl. Theol. of NT*, by Holtzmann, Beyschlag, Gould, see the Literature under artt. JESUS CHRIST, CHRISTOLOGY, MESSIAH, HOLY SPIRIT, in this Dictionary; and in Herzog-Hauck, *PRE*³. In our day the Trinity is treated chiefly from the point of view of Christology: cf. Kähler's art. 'Christologie' in *PRE*³; Cremer, *Bibl. Theol. Wörterb.* 8, *s.vv.* λόγος, υἱός, πνεῦμα ἅγιον; Gore, *The Incarnation*; Caspari's essay, 'Der Glaube an die Tr. Gottes in d. Kirche des 1 Chr. Jahrh.' (1894), is valuable. The discussion on the Apost. Creed started by Harnack in his *Das Apost. Glaubensbekentniss* (1893), 27 ed., and shared by Zöckler, *Zum Apostolikum*, and Swete, *The Apost. Creed* (1894), sheds side light upon the subject.

HUGH M. SCOTT.

REVELATION.—

i. THE PHILOSOPHY OF REVELATION.
  1. The present position regarding the Bible.
  2. Man and Religion.
  3. Religion and Revelation.
  4. Revelation and Inspiration.
ii. THE HISTORY OF REVELATION.
  1. Characteristics of OT revelation.
  2. Limitation of God's action.
  3. Fulfilment of the OT revelation in Jesus Christ.
  4. Christ's connexion with the OT.
  5. Relation of Christ to the NT.
  6. Limits of the NT revelation.
  7. Relation of Criticism to the History of Revelation.
  8. Assumptions regarding the Supernatural.
  9. History and Literature of Revelation.
iii. THE DOCTRINE OF REVELATION.
  1. The OT doctrine of Revelation.
  2. The doctrine in the NT regarding the revelation in the OT.
    (*a*) The use of the OT by Christ.
    (*b*) The use of the OT in the Gospels and Acts.
    (*c*) The use of the OT in St. Paul's Epistles.
  3. The NT doctrine of Revelation.
iv. THE EVIDENCE OF REVELATION.
  1. Evidence of the Bearers of Revelation.
  2. Evidence of the Literature of Revelation.
  3. Evidence of Experience.
  4. Reception of Divine Revelation.
SUMMARY.
Literature.

This article is intended not simply to state what the teaching of the Bible on the subject of Revelation is, but also to show what is the nature of the revelation preserved in the Bible, and what are the wider relations to human thought and life held by it. It will deal accordingly with the *philosophy*, the *history*, the *doctrine*, and the *evidence* of Revelation. Topics already discussed in previous volumes will again be referred to, but the new point of view from which they will be regarded should prevent repetition, and, wherever possible, reference to previous articles will take the place of detailed treatment. The subject will be handled with this intention and under these limitations.

i. THE PHILOSOPHY OF REVELATION.—1. *The present position regarding the Bible.*—It is generally admitted that a great change in theological thought has taken place during the last century, especially in regard to the Bible. We cannot now think of it as our fathers did. We cannot believe that its science must determine our view of nature; that its historic records can never be convicted of mistake; that its every part alike gives us the whole counsel of God; that the imperfect morality which is found in some whom it commends as holy, or commissions as teachers, must be explained by the discovery of mystic meanings; that every word it utters regarding man's duty, devotion, and destiny must be accepted as authoritative. This change of attitude regarding the Scriptures is due to several causes. *Firstly* must be mentioned the ethical spirit of the age. In the records of the Bible, deeds are reported and approved in the name of God as done by men recognized as servants of God which our conscience must condemn. There are views of God's relation to men presented which contradict man's consciousness of freedom, on which his moral duty and worth alike depend. Can God approve injustice and cruelty? Can man be the creature of a Divine omnipotence? Such questions are being asked, and cannot be answered without considerable modification of the traditional views of the Scriptures. *Secondly*, science has been making many discoveries, if also manufacturing a few theories. Everywhere it finds unbroken order, unchanging law, continuous development. In claiming that miracle and inspiration are possible the Bible seems to come into conflict with science, and harmony can be restored only by a reconsideration of current conceptions regarding the Bible. *Thirdly*, the philosophical conception of evolution, which has so transformed every mode of man's mental activity, has been brought to bear on the Scriptures with results in many ways opposed to the thoughts which have hitherto ruled in the Christian Church. *Lastly*, the literary and historical criticism of the writings themselves has led to conclusions about date, authorship, mode of composition, literary character, and historical value, which are very far removed from the opinions on these matters which have been handed down in the Church. On these grounds, the common views about the Bible hitherto held are being very widely and boldly challenged.

But, on the other hand, we seem to be furnished now with a more secure foundation on which we may build our apology for the worth of the Scriptures. For, *firstly*, within the last century philosophy in the person of the idealist thinkers of Germany has become more favourable to religion, recognizing its use and worth in making man rational, and accepting the conception of God as the necessary, ultimate principle of thought. In more recent sociological theory the value of religion in moralizing man has been recognized. Without expecting very much help from philosophy and science in vindicating the claims of the Bible, we must yet acknowledge that the much more respectful attitude towards religion which now generally prevails among thinkers does offer the promise of more careful and sympathetic consideration of any defence of the Scripture which may be advanced. And, *secondly*, what calls itself the science of Comparative Religion has shown that man is everywhere religious, even as he is rational and moral, although the forms in which these higher activities are expressed are often imperfect and inadequate. Although the discoveries made in this inquiry regarding man's religion have sometimes been used to discredit the unique value of the Bible, yet in an impartial comparison with other religions Christianity need not fear that it will lose its pre-eminence, nor will the Holy Writings of our faith fail to assert their superiority. Keeping these general considerations in view, we may now apply ourselves more closely to the subject of Revelation with special reference to the Scriptures. In dealing with this, it will not be enough to inquire what claim the Bible makes for itself, and what worth the Christian consciousness assigns to it; it will be necessary to verify this claim, and vindicate this worth in relation to man's thought and life. It is the purpose of this preliminary philosophical discussion, therefore, to show that man's nature implies religion, and religion revelation, and revelation inspiration; but that while all these belong to man as man, yet the perfect religion, the ultimate revelation, and the authoritative inspiration are found in only one Person, who is, however, so related to a historical development going before and to a historical development following after Him, that He cannot be viewed apart from their record, or they be seen apart from Him.

2. *Man and Religion.*—It must be here assumed that the attempt to explain man *empirically*—that is, as a product of nature—has failed, and that he must be interpreted *ideally*, as a person in and yet above the process of nature. If *Materialism*, or *Naturalism*, or *Agnosticism* be true, then human religion is a delusion, and Divine revelation an impossibility. But none of these theories can offer a guarantee for the truth of science, or a reason for the claims of conscience; and each of them fails to explain all that man feels to have the highest worth for him. Idealism alone can so interpret man as not to lower the value of his spiritual interests and pursuits. What, then, is the idealist interpretation of man? As *rational*, he seeks truth, the harmony of thought and being; as *moral*, he seeks what from different points of view may be described as holiness or freedom, or the harmony of law and will; as *emotional*, he seeks what from different points of view may be described as blessedness or love, the harmony of his whole self with his whole environment. Now, although these ideals are not always consciously present to his mind, even although they may disguise themselves in the forms of lower desires and expectations, yet they are ever determining his actions both as motive for and as end of his development. These ideals as realized in one Being afford man his conception of God. Of course it is not affirmed that man's religious consciousness reaches this conception by any such analysis or argument; all that is here indicated is that man's ideal nature adequately interpreted implies the conception of God, and that his belief in his ideal involves his faith in a reality corresponding thereto, for such a reality alone can afford him the assurance that his ideal can be realized. Unless the intelligence and the intelligible world have their ground in one reason, the harmony of thought and being can never be reached; unless the activity of man can be derived from the same character as is expressed in moral standards, the harmony of will and law seems unattainable; unless the same purpose is expressed in the desires of men and the process of the world, there will be no escape from the struggle of the self and the environment. Man has ever sought to form relations with, by rendering services to, or seeking benefits from the Being on whom he is proved by his very nature dependent, and with whom, as rational, moral, emotional, he claims affinity. The communion of God and man finds expression in *Religion*, which from a speculative standpoint may be defined as *necessary*, and from a historical as *universal*. It is true that attempts have been made to prove that there are peoples without religion; but in the instances produced it has subsequently been found that closer investigation modified first impressions; and, even should there be any doubt left in a few cases, it can be confidently asserted that peoples without religion have not yet reached the full development of their humanity. Without attempting now to disprove the contentions of the thinkers who do not interpret man's morality and religion as true, but account for them as fictitious, we may assert that the origin of religion cannot be inconsistent with its functions. If man's ideal implies religion, its origin lies not in what is lowest but in what is highest in him. Imperfect as were the forms in which the instincts, impulses, and intuitions of religion at first were manifested, yet we have warrant in the history of religions for concluding that man's consciousness of God developed along with his consciousness of self and the world. The communion he sought with God had necessarily the inadequacy of his purposes for himself, or the uses he made of the world. If religion be thus implied in man as mind and heart and will, the inquiry as to the organ of religion in him is evidently due to a misconception of its nature. Religion is not one of a number of spiritual functions; it is the relation between man's whole personality and the Being who is its ground, law, type, ideal, in whom all his varied functions have their source and reason. Hence religion has his whole nature as its organ, and finds expression in all his spiritual functions. Religion is not primarily or exclusively intellectual (Hegel), or moral (Kant), or emotional (Schleiermacher), but embraces mind and will and heart alike. Just as man responds to his natural environment in knowledge, feeling, deed, so does he respond to his spiritual environment in reason, conscience, reverence. His consciousness of God is at least as varied as his consciousness of the world, or of his own self. But in the history of religions the proportion and harmony of these three elements has not been maintained. Religion as truth and as righteousness has often been subordinated to religion as the satisfaction of emotions. This is sought in worship, from which all intellectual and all moral elements cannot be altogether excluded. In Greece, for instance, we find the popular idolatry completely divorced from the ethical inquiry of a Socrates and the speculative effort of a Plato. The intellectual and moral content of religion has again and again been allowed to fall

behind the stage reached by science and morality, while the ritual elements were made unduly prominent. Yet it is quite evident that the consciousness of God ought to have a content adequate to the demands of reason and the dictates of conscience. The religious development of mankind has not been normal; it has been disturbed and perverted by sin. Renewal as well as progress is needed. Hence God's activity in religion must be redemptive as well as perfecting.

3. *Religion and Revelation.*—It follows from the very nature of religion that God is active as well as man. If man raises himself above his natural to his spiritual environment, from self and world to God, God responds to that approach; nay, it is to the attraction of this spiritual environment that man yields. Unless religion is a delusion, man is not holding intercourse merely with a transfigured self or an idealized world. Religion is not an imagination, which robs the world of its finitude, or lifts the self above its limitations. It is because neither the world nor the self is adequate to his ideal conceptions, or can satisfy his ideal necessities as a spiritual being, that man in religion elevates himself to a region not of his own abstractions, but where Divine reality meets him, and enters into reciprocal relations with him. The truth, pureness, and power of religion depend on the completeness of this elevation. When the consciousness of self or the world dominates, we have conceptions of God false and unworthy. Paganism never so delivered itself from the consciousness of the world as to rise to a true and pure conception of God. Its deities remain natural beings, and therefore not ideally rational or moral. When it did rise above the consciousness of the world, and even strove to rise above the consciousness of self, it reached a pantheism in which God was merely τὸ ἕν or τὸ ὄν. Neither by observation of the world nor by contemplation of the self can the consciousness of God be reached, for neither is adequate to give content to the conception. The world may suggest a final purpose and an ultimate cause, the relation of the self to the world a common ground for both, the self reason and righteousness transcending man's, so much truth there is in speculative theism. But, nevertheless, no effort of man, unaided of God, has reached His reality. Not through nature nor in self does man know God, but only as God makes Himself known. Just as for his natural existence man and nature must be in reciprocal relations, so for his spiritual experience must man and God be alike active. To deny God's action on man in his religion is to destroy its truth, worth, and claim. His religious knowledge is not self-projection, his religious life is not self-subjection, his religious feeling is not self-satisfaction. So to treat religion is not to interpret it as true, but to account for it as fictitious, however necessary and universal the fiction may be allowed to be. Or to explain religion as the action of nature on man is equally to contradict its essential character. It is further to deny that God can have reciprocal relations with the spirit who has affinity with Himself. It is to affirm that God who is absolutely, and man who is relatively, above nature can have no personal relations except through nature; that God, who is communicative, cannot communicate unless under such conditions as make the communication inadequate for His bounty and man's need; that God is unable to constitute such direct relations with man as a complete human development demands. This is to subject both God and man to nature. If man in religion is conscious of elevating himself above nature that he may more completely ally himself with God, shall we say that God is unable so to detach Himself from nature that He may respond to man's effort? May we not believe rather that God stands in such personal relations to man that He can out of His own fulness meet the need of Himself which He has implanted; that the spirit that seeks for knowledge of Him, because it has been made for it, will gain it, and not be mocked by a transfigured self or an idealized world? Yet mystic thinkers have been mistaken when they thought that God could be known only in abstraction from the consciousness of self and the world. It is not by losing the finite consciousness that the Infinite reality is known. Nay, it is in such an elevation and purification of the consciousness of self and the world as carry us beyond their finitude and reveal to us their absolute source and purpose. This is a real distinction, the verbal expression of which is not easy. We do not know God apart from the world and self, and yet we know Him as different, though not separated, from both. We do not leave the world and the self behind when we rise to God, but we see the self and the world in God. Although God is manifested, yet He is not exhausted in world and self. God has a revelation of Himself in nature and history on the one hand, and man's own spiritual being on the other; but that revelation cannot be identified with human discovery in the realm of nature, human reflexion on the course of history, human insight into character. All these human activities imply Divine action, as in God we live, and move, and have our being; yet, to be in the full sense a revelation to man, nature and history, reason and conscience must become the organs of a Divine activity, not of creation, or preservation, or government only, but distinctly of self-communication. Nature as a succession of phenomena, history as a series of events, and personality as an organism of varied functions, are not revelations, but become so when man knows that in them God is speaking to him, and making Himself known.

This revelation, it is to be understood, is permanent and universal. It is not to be supposed that the spiritual activity of man, which seeks God in nature, history, self, summons into activity the spiritual self-revealing function of God; but all these media of Revelation are to be conceived as permanently and universally so related to God that they constitute His manifestations, and man is so made that he interprets them as such when in religion he seeks God. But man's receptivity does not always and everywhere respond to this activity of God. While he is made for intercourse with God, he does not maintain it unbroken; nay, he may even suffer it altogether to cease. God is still active, but man is not responsive. The consciousness of self and of the world are raised into a false independence of the consciousness of God; and, it may be, ultimately exclude it, or so pervert it as to make it but the expression of spiritual deformity. Man's responsiveness to this permanent and universal Divine activity must not only be stimulated and sustained, but the consciousness of self and the world must be put in their true and right relation to the consciousness of God. But since, as the history of heathenism has shown, this consciousness of God has not been mediated, but perverted by the consciousness of self and the world, God must in thought be first detached from self and the world, that the right and true relation may at last be apprehended and appreciated. In other words, God's *transcendence* must be asserted, in order that His *immanence* may be understood. The spiritual vision, so to behold God as above and beyond nature and history, is lacking to man, as neither his inner nor outer experience can stimulate or sustain it, and therefore God, who is Himself the *light*, must bestow on men the *sight* to behold Him. These *objective* and *subjective* requirements have been met in that special revelation of God, the literature of which lies before us in the Holy Scriptures.

4. *Revelation and Inspiration.*—In passing from general to special revelation, we must take note of a certain ambiguity which attaches to the common use of the term 'revelation.' The sense in which the term has been used in the previous discussion is this. Nature, history, conscience, reason, are so constituted that they show what God is; but man has not received this knowledge in its purity and completeness, for he does not know God as He makes Himself known. His receptivity to the Divine revelation must be restored, so that his consciousness of God, obscured and perverted, may be purified and perfected. God must, on the one hand, so act on him as to make him capable of this purified and perfected consciousness; and, on the other hand, that there may be continuity in his spiritual development, this consciousness of God must be mediated by a progressive purifying and perfecting of his consciousness of self and the world. This *action of God on the nature of man* we call 'inspiration'; its *result*, the perfected and purified consciousness of self and the world and God, is 'revelation.' The latter term is sometimes loosely used for the subjective process as well as the objective product, but it is desirable that the method and the purpose of God's action be thus distinguished, and the term Inspiration be reserved for the one and the term Revelation for the other. While the essential content of this revelation is the character and purpose of God, the contingent form is the consciousness of the self and the world of the inspired agent. It is quite possible to imagine that this Divine action might have been universal; and yet, if we consider what is God's method in the progress of the race, we shall recognize that this restriction of inspiration to individuals is not contrary to but in accord with it. Although the form of St. Paul's argument raises great difficulties for our thought, yet the fact must be admitted that there is a Divine election of individuals and nations. God deals with mankind as one body, of which the several members have not one function, but are mutually dependent. Science, art, philosophy, culture of many kinds, is the Greek's contribution to the treasures of mankind. From the Roman the nations have learned law, order, government. The speciality of the Hebrew was religion. Each function was assigned to each people, not for self-enrichment only but also for mankind's greater good. As limitation of effort and concentration of energy are the necessary conditions of the greatest efficiency and fullest service, it would seem that in no one people could all the functions of a complete humanity be developed: to each must be assigned the development of one function, the results of this development in each being in course of time made the property of all. If we compare the historic peoples with the savage races, we may ask, Why has God made them so to differ? Surely the answer is, that to the historical peoples may be given the generous task of imparting the treasures of thought and life, which they have won by ages of toil and struggle, to the savage races, who may have been incapable of gaining them for themselves. The Parable of the Labourers has an application to the history of the world. The labourers hired at the eleventh hour also received a penny. It is to be remembered that God's election is to service through sacrifice, as the world's saviours are also its sufferers. As the Hebrew people was chosen to be the school of the knowledge of God for the world, the lessons were taught in national pain, loss, ruin. This revelation was not only limited in space, but also conditioned by time. A perfect revelation would be wasted on an imperfect nation. Religion, or man's receptivity for God's communication, can make progress only as conscience and reason, morals and institutions are developed. That a revelation may be effective for the ends for which it is intended, it must be adapted to the stage of growth of the persons to whom it is given. Accordingly, the idea of evolution, the application of which has been so fruitful in other branches of knowledge, not only may but must be utilized in the interpretation of this revelation. Viewed from this standpoint, it shows a steady if slow progress, not without relapses followed by recoveries, yet with the dominant tendency to truer thought, purer worship, and better life, until in Jesus Christ the promise of the Hebrew religion found its fulfilment, and from Him went forth the power which has made, and is still making, the Christian religion the final and perfect satisfaction of man's need of God. The theoretic proof of the superiority of the Christian to all other religions is being confirmed by the practical proof that, wherever it is known and understood, the imperfections of the religion hitherto cherished are recognized, and its higher claim and greater worth are acknowledged. In its idea of God as Father it offers the truest object for faith; in its law of love it affords both the highest principle and the strongest motive for morality; in its promise of eternal life it inspires the brightest hope; and in the salvation from sin it offers it delivers mankind from its greatest danger and meets its deepest need.

Before passing to consider more closely the history of this revelation, two remarks, for which the preceding discussion affords the warrant, may be added. *Firstly*, there is no religion without revelation. In so far as men have sincerely sought God, however inadequate their conceptions or imperfect their methods, He has been really found of them. The truth and worth of any religion depends on the measure of man's responsiveness to God's revelation. *Secondly*, we cannot altogether deny the inspiration of the great religious personalities who have in any degree reformed or revived religion, such as Confucius, Buddha, Zoroaster, and Mohammed. In so far as they saw any clearer light than their contemporaries, God gave them sight; but, as any revelation which came through them has done immeasurably less for man's progress than the revelation in Christ, they cannot be regarded as His rivals, but at best as tutors to lead to Him.

ii. THE HISTORY OF REVELATION.—1. *Characteristics of OT revelation.*—In dealing with this history it will not be necessary to enter into any minute details, as these have already been presented in such articles as ISRAEL in vol. ii. and OLD TESTAMENT in vol. iii., but the characteristic features and decisive factors may be briefly shown. The revelation was to and by individuals, lawgivers, judges, priests, and prophets—men who were chosen, called, and fitted by God to be the teachers and leaders of their fellow-countrymen, rebuking their sins, withstanding their unbelief, correcting their mistakes as to God's relation to men, communicating His will and His purpose, and announcing His judgments and His promises. Otherwise it could not have been; for just as peoples are chosen for special functions, so in these peoples persons are chosen, by whose enlightenment and stimulus they are fitted for the discharge of their respective functions. To the minds and hearts and wills of a few men God commits His message and mission to the many. But these few are not isolated from or independent of the society for which their work is done. Not only do the words and works of the individual not suffice for the full expression of the content of Divine revelation, but he in isolation would be incapable of being the organ of Divine communication. As the individual lives not to himself but for society, God's will for him cannot be expressed apart from His purpose for society. God's moral commands, involving as these do the relations of men to one another, can find adequate expression only in the customs, laws, and manners of a society. So communion with God for its variety and vigour needs community with men. If an individual message is not to be wasted, it must be delivered to a society with a measure of responsiveness. But this involves that each teacher or leader does not stand quite alone, but that he has entered into other men's labours, and that he is sowing seed of which others will reap the fruit. Each is continuing a work already begun, and is transferring to others a task waiting to be completed. There must be this inheritance from the past, and this bequest to the future at each stage; for the whole counsel and purpose of God cannot be communicated at once. As God's communication must at each stage be conditioned by man's receptivity, and the development of that receptivity was very gradual, the revelation was progressive. Men were led from lower to higher thoughts of God, from poorer to richer life in God, from narrower to wider hope from God. We must, to complete our conception of the process of revelation, not only consider God's action through the inspiration of men, but must also take into due account God's guidance of the whole course of the history of the people for whom this revelation was intended, and His control of all the events which affected its fortunes and development; for what God had done or was doing in judgment or mercy to punish or to save, was the content of the message and mission of the leaders or teachers. It was not through nature that God discovered Himself; it was not by brooding over their own inner life that God's spokesmen found the word of the Lord. They read the signs of the times in the rise and fall of empires; in famine, pestilence, and invasion; in the wrongs and miseries of the poor, and the tyranny and luxury of the rich; in moral and social conditions as well as in political circumstances: and the signs of the times were to them a Divine language. Accordingly, the history must be included in the revelation, in the measure in which God was seen to be acting, or was heard to be speaking by the inspired persons in all events and experiences. The external history afforded the occasion for the internal revelation, but did not limit its range, as inspired men learned and taught more about God than was immediately suggested by facts. It would be to ignore the most prominent feature of this history not to lay special stress on the redemptive character of it. God again and yet again showed Himself to be a Saviour in delivering His people from the evils which they had brought upon themselves by their transgression. The Exodus from Egypt and the Return from Babylon, to mention only the most momentous instances, were both decisive factors in the process of God's revelation.

2. *Limitation of God's action.*—It is by so viewing the history of Revelation in a nation that we escape some difficulties to which we expose ourselves, if we consider only the inspiration of individuals. It has often been asked, why should we restrict inspiration to Hebrew lawgiver, or judge, priest, or prophet, and refuse it to Greek sage or Roman statesman? Without entangling ourselves in any abstract psychological discussion about the subjective process of inspiration, we can answer the question by pointing out first of all, that, whatever true or holy utterance regarding God or the spiritual order may have fallen from the lips of Greek sage or Roman statesman, it was not addressed to a society, conscious of itself as discharging a Divine function in the world, as constituted by a Divine covenant and regulated by a Divine law; did not connect itself immediately with prior Divine utterances, which were alike the condition of its intelligibility and the basis of its authority; did not mark a stage in the progressive development of the knowledge of God, and of a moral and religious life corresponding thereto. We may most gladly admit that every good and perfect gift is from above, from the Father of lights, and that all truth concerning God is of God; yet we must maintain that such isolated, and for the most part impotent, utterances cannot have for us the same significance as utterances which find their due place and play their needful part in the expression of an ever more adequate and influential knowledge of God in a progressive national history. The distinctively religious character of this history is usually recognized, but is variously explained. The Hebrew people has been credited with *a genius for religion*, an innate tendency towards monotheism, a passion for righteousness. It has accordingly been maintained that we do not need to recognize in this progress any but the ordinary historical factors. Just as the Greeks had the genius of arts and letters, and the Romans the genius of law, so the Hebrews had the genius of religion. But the very phrase in which the function of this people in the world-economy is expressed, forces us to recognize what is claimed for itself by the literature which this genius has produced. If the argument developed in the previous section is valid, religion implies a reciprocal relation of God and man. The consciousness of the world and the self cannot constitute, although they may mediate, the consciousness of God. Nay, those tend to pervert or even exclude this, unless restrained and corrected by an intensified religious life, which is an increased responsiveness to the presence and action of God. Hence a genius for religion implies an activity of God which a genius for art and letters, or for law, does not. The character and the result of religious genius implies a revelation of God by Himself as no other genius does. But besides this consideration, two other evidences of the Divine action in Hebrew history may be indicated. On the one hand, we do not find any of the peoples who had the closest racial affinity to the Hebrews display any innate tendency towards monotheism, or any passion for righteousness; and, on the other, the history of the nation itself shows with what difficulty and delay it learned the lessons of faith and duty, which God was giving to it both by His dealings with it in events, and by His teaching of it by His messengers.

3. *Fulfilment of the OT revelation in Jesus Christ.*—This revelation has its issue and consummation in Jesus Christ. As religion seeks to bring man into such reciprocal relations with God that there may be a community of thought, feeling, and life, in His God-manhood religion had its ideal realized. As the purpose of revelation is to communicate to man such a knowledge of God as shall be adequate to answer the questions of his mind regarding God, to satisfy the longings of his heart for God, to determine his actions by the will of God, in the consciousness of Jesus, who knew the Father as He was known of the Father, in the testimony of Jesus, who being in the bosom of the Father has declared Him, revelation reached its goal. But we must add, inasmuch as man's relation to

God in religion had been disturbed, and his capacity to respond to God's revelation had been destroyed by sin, in Him also was accomplished that redemption from the guilt, power, lust, and curse of sin, and that restoration to the knowledge, love, and life of God, which made it possible for man to receive Christ's revelation of God and to enter on the realization of His ideal of religion. In completing, Christ transcended the Hebrew religion and revelation. He came in the fulness of the time, but He was sent into the world by the Father. Accordingly, we have to recognize in Him two aspects—a historical and a metaphysical, a natural and a supernatural. It is not within the scope of this article to discuss the evidence for His Divinity (see article JESUS CHRIST in vol. ii.). Let it suffice to assert that it seems to the writer impossible otherwise to account, without violation of all historical probability, for the records of His teaching, work, character, and influence which have come down to us; for the growth, the spread, and the worth of the society He founded; for the moral and spiritual forces which proceed from Him to transform the life of individuals, nations, races; and that it appears to him both true and right to regard the universe as the gradual fulfilment of a purpose of self-revelation in a series of existences of ever higher worth, greater truth, and nobler grace, which is not closed by man, capable under limitations of understanding and welcoming this revelation, but finds its most fitting and worthy close in the union of the Creator and the creature, the Word who became flesh. But be it noted that the truth, worth, and claim of the Christian religion and revelation depend on the reality of the Divine incarnation. There may be a better religion and a truer revelation, although our intelligence cannot conceive their character and content, if Christ be only one of the prophets. Only if He is the Son, can we be quite sure that we have found at last, and can never again lose, the infinite and eternal Father.

There cannot be an adequate discussion here of the doctrine of the Person of Christ. But to determine accurately the range and limits of the revelation in Him, the limitations necessarily involved in a Divine incarnation (see article INCARNATION in vol. ii.) must be recognized. We must inquire how far the mode, the form, and even the content, of His teaching was dependent on His relation to His age and His people. Without entering into the very complex problems which His knowledge raises, it seems necessary for the purpose of this article to state two general principles. *Firstly*, He knew all that it was necessary for Him to know, that, as Son, He might reveal the Father, and that, as Saviour, He might redeem mankind from sin and death, and restore it to truth, love, holiness, God. His was unerring moral insight and spiritual discernment. *Secondly*, as regards the facts about nature and history, which men can discover for themselves by the exercise of their faculties of perception and reasoning, He probably knew what and as His age and people knew. All questions about God's character and purpose, and man's duty and destiny, He can answer with infallible authority. But questions about the authorship of a writing, or the date of an event, or the cause of a disease, it was not His mission to answer; and, therefore, regarding all such matters we are warranted in believing that He emptied Himself of all Divine omniscience. Although we cannot account for Him by birth, training, surroundings, yet He must be interpreted through the thought and life of His age and race. As born of Mary and of the seed of David, as brought up in the home, and doubtless taught in the school at Nazareth, as seeking His knowledge of God in the beliefs, fulfilling the will of God in the laws, and observing the worship of God in the rites of Judaism, as linking His precepts with the commands, His words with the teaching, and His claims with the authority of the Hebrew Scriptures, He stands in close and constant relation to the Divine revelation to the Hebrew people. He so attached Himself to it, that we may trace along three lines its progress towards Him.

4. *Christ's connexion with the OT.*—The truth entrusted to the Hebrew people was the conception of the character and purpose of God (see article GOD in vol. ii.). As the Divine discipline of Israel advanced, this conception became richer, wider, purer. At first thought of as might, then as wisdom and righteousness, He is at last conceived as longsuffering, mercy, pity, even love. At first viewed as so bound up with the fortunes of His people that their disasters are His dishonour, He is at last seen to fulfil His larger ends in their loss and ruin. At first regarded as pleased with offerings and won by worship, He is at last recognized as served by pure hearts, clean hands, and true lips. To this spiritual and ethical prophetism, and not to the legal and ceremonial Judaism of His own time, did Jesus ally Himself, and gave to this teaching a wider range and a deeper reach. The conception of God has a very intimate connexion with the organization of life. In the Hebrew people the idea of God was in a pre-eminent degree the regulative principle of life, the national law, and the social morality. All the teaching of the prophets and all the efforts of the reformers were directed to bring the life of the people into accord with its faith. It was this morality which Jesus accepted, unfolding its full meaning, and applying its principles to the inward motives as well as the outward actions, making wider the circle of those to whom the duties were due, correcting imperfections which had been allowed for the hardness of men's hearts, but, above all, supplying stronger and sweeter motives in the recognition of man's filial relationship to God, by the inspiration of His own moral enthusiasm and example, and by the constraining love of gratitude to Him for His sacrifice and salvation. As God came to be more clearly known, and the claims of righteousness to be more fully recognized, a need was more and more felt. The loftier the view of God and His will became, the greater did men's shortcomings appear to be. Of this sense of need was born the hope (see article MESSIAH in vol. iii.) of God's help; and just as God was known to be merciful as well as just, did this hope gain assurance; and just as men learned their helplessness and the failure of all their efforts at reform, did the hope gain urgency; and just as they learned in national disaster God's method of dealing with sin, did the hope gain distinctness. The true Messianic hope was born of a moral need, and grew for a religious end. The false Messianic hope was the offspring of an unethical patriotism and an unspiritual bigotry. Christ fulfilled the true Messianic hope, and was rejected by the Jewish people because He would not accept the false; yet even this true Messianic hope He transcended. Whatever was merely national, legal, ceremonial, had no fulfilment; only what was universal, ethical, spiritual, was realized in Him. He did not leave what He took from the Old Testament as He found it, but transformed it, and it is only as fulfilled by Christ that the older revelation has authority for the Christian Church.

5. *Relation of Christ to the NT.*—Between the two Testaments there is not only an interval of time, there is also a change of religious thought

and life. A trinitarian conception of God takes the place of a unitarian; instead of a national there is an individual and thus universal relation of man to God: a ceremonial is superseded by a spiritual worship of God; an outward is changed to an inward morality; the hope of a deliverance promised yields to the assurance of a salvation possessed. Of course these contrasts are subject to some qualification, as there are parts of the OT which anticipate some of the higher elements of the NT, and there are features in the Apostolic Church as presented in the NT which are survivals of the lower elements of the OT. But that a new creation had been accomplished, no one comparing the two literatures can doubt. How can the NT be accounted for? Not by a mythical process (Strauss), nor by polemical tendencies (Baur), but by the historical person and work, life and death of Jesus Christ. The writers of the Gospels and Epistles give us what is an adequate explanation of their character and contents. In Jesus they had learned to recognize and confess not only the Messiah, but the Son of the living God, in more than the Messianic sense, even the Lord from heaven, and the Word who became flesh. As Healer and Teacher He stood alone above other men. He could not be ensnared by sin, or holden of death. As Crucified, He was to them the power and the wisdom of God unto salvation. In Him, as Risen and Ascended, God was reconciling the world unto Himself. This conception of Him which they give us as not only His own claim for Himself, but as the witness of their own experience of what He had been to them in the flesh or was still in the Spirit, is in perfect harmony with the words which they report as falling from His lips, and the deeds which they record as done by His hands. The Evangelical history and the Apostolic interpretation are in perfect unison. Whatever common sources the Evangelists used, each writes from his own standpoint, and their representations agree. It is unintelligible and incredible that this portrait of sinless perfection and gracious beauty can be a work of the imagination, and not a copy of reality. Four imperfect men could not have succeeded in producing this harmonious picture. Surely the impression and influence of the Original so inspired the writers that they were able to preserve for all time and all lands the grace and glory of the life of which only for a short time a few men were the witnesses.

But the NT offers not only this record, but also an interpretation; and there is at present a tendency to distinguish these two very sharply from one another. Some scholars and thinkers strive to free Christianity as Jesus taught it from the Hellenistic metaphysics of St. John and the Rabbinic exegesis of St. Paul. We must, therefore, inquire whether the Apostolic interpretation does not belong to the revelation in Christ, whether in disowning St. John's philosophy and St. Paul's theology we are not refusing Christ's own testimony to Himself by His Spirit in St. John and St. Paul. It seems necessary to insist that not only Christ's consciousness of Himself, but also the Christian consciousness of Him, belongs to His revelation. If the Person and work of Christ are the objective cause in the revelation, the spiritual contemplation of St. John and the moral conflict of St. Paul are the subjective effect; and the one should not be separated from the other. To know Christ fully, we must not only know what He said and did Himself, but also what He made of the men who fully surrendered themselves to His grace and truth. To grasp His truth in its entirety, we must know it not only as expressed in Him, but also as it finds expression in men of varied capacity and different character. He must present Himself not only as the perfect ideal, but also as the sufficient power for realizing that ideal in imperfect men. When we see Him taking men so different from Himself in nature, habit, character, and making them like Himself, the crooked straight and the rough plain, then only do we learn the fulness of power and the surety of promise which dwell in Him. Because in St. John's conception of the Person of Christ we can discern his mental habits, and in St. Paul's doctrine of Christ's work we can discover his character and experiences, it by no means follows that either of them is false. Nay, rather it follows that Christ evoked what was truest in St. John and best in St. Paul, and that the mind of the one and the soul of the other enable us better to understand Christ, who made them both what they were. He was the centre of numberless relations, the source of countless developments, the cause of manifold influences. Through many varied personalities He needed to exhibit the content of His Person. With regard to St. Paul especially there is an inclination among those whose spiritual experience has not afforded them the ability to understand his, to maintain that his views about sin and grace are morbid, exaggerated, unnatural, too much coloured by the Judaism which he claimed to have laid aside, too much involved in the legalism which he professed to be contending against. The lack of such an experience as St. Paul's gives no man the right or reason to deny its worth, which has been proved to many in the history of the Christian Church because they have shared it. To the present writer, at least, it seems beyond all doubt that without St. Paul's interpretation of the relation of Christ to sin, law, death, grace, and life, the revelation of God in Christ would not have been complete. Is not St. Paul's view of the Cross one of those truths which Christ could not fully disclose to His disciples, because they could not bear it, but into which the Spirit of truth led them? Is it altogether vain to suggest that St. Paul never knew Christ according to the flesh that he might gain his knowledge of Christ in the Spirit through inward struggle and anguish, and might thus in his writings give expression to an experience through which many after him would be called to pass? St. Paul's interpretation of Christ's work has not lacked the confirmation of some of the most notable Christian experiences. The criticism which imagines that when it has traced the exegetical methods of St. Paul to the Rabbinic schools, or the philosophical terminology of St. John to Alexandrian speculation, it has adequately accounted for what is distinctive in them, deludes itself. Behind their words there is their personal experience. These but afford the form, that gives the content. Had St. John not seen all in Christ and Christ in all, the doctrine of the *Logos* had never been. Had St. Paul not passed from sorrow and struggle to peace and power in Christ, he would never have construed the work of Christ as he does. The personalities have to be accounted for, and not merely their forms of speech traced. We may freely and frankly recognize much that was temporary and local in the modes of expressing the truth, and yet be warranted in asserting that the truth expressed is permanent and universal.

6. *Limits of the NT revelation.*—It may be objected, that if the Christian consciousness of Christ has authority even as the testimony of Christ to Himself, why should we limit this authority to the consciousness of St. Peter, St. John, St. Paul, and the other persons whose writings have found a place in the NT? Why should such works as the *Imitation of Christ* or the *Pilgrim's Progress* not be as authoritative as the Gospel of St. John or

the Epistles of St. Paul? From the standpoint of this article the traditional answer, that the latter works are inspired and the former not, cannot be given, because the general principle assumed in this discussion is, that the inspiration of any writing in the distinctive sense in which we apply the term to the Holy Scriptures can be inferred only from its position and function in the history of revelation. The answer from this standpoint cannot be given in so few words, but it will be indicated as briefly as possible. *Firstly*, the men whose writings form the NT stood in an immediate historical relation to Christ, such as no men since have done. They were either eye-witnesses, or had received from eye-witnesses what they had declared. St. John had enjoyed intimate fellowship with Christ. St. Paul, though one 'born out of due time,' lived in such constant and intense realization of the Risen One that he could declare, 'to me to live is Christ.' St. James, although he was not the companion of Jesus during His earthly ministry, yet had known Him according to the flesh, and shared in that vivid and potent consciousness of the exalted Lord which was bestowed on the Church at Jerusalem after Pentecost. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, whoever he was, had connexion with the Church at a time when the Lord's presence, though withdrawn from sight, yet wrought signs and wonders among believers. As the history of the Canon (see articles CANON in vol. i., and OT CANON, NT CANON in vol. iii.) shows, the Christian consciousness hesitated about the admission of some writings, because they had not such warrant, or at least it was doubtful if they had. The value of the writings varies with the closeness of the contact of the writers with Jesus Christ. *Secondly*, a comparison of the writings which have been admitted with those which, though seeking admission, have been rejected, justifies the conclusion that the Christian consciousness, not as expressed in decrees of councils or the authority of bishops, but in a growing unanimity of use and esteem in the Churches, was guided by the Spirit of God in what it accepted as kindred with, and what it rejected as alien to, the deposit of truth and grace committed to it by Christ. That judgment has been confirmed by growing Christian experience. While some, because they lack the sympathetic insight, may reject this book or that, yet individual peculiarities are corrected by the general Christian consciousness. The critical questions which some of the books raise, such as *2 Peter* and *Jude*, are as open as ever to discussion, and may result in the conclusion that these writings should have been excluded, and not included; but that does not affect the conviction that there is a limit to the books which the Christian consciousness will recognize as authoritative, because recording the revelation of God in Christ. *Thirdly*, this conviction is not without grounds in reason. It is altogether reasonable to conclude that those who were brought into contact with Christ Himself or with the Christian Church, in which He manifested His presence and power in an intensified spiritual life and in varied spiritual gifts, should be qualified by His Spirit authoritatively to interpret His mind and will. It is equally rational to conclude that this unique relation was destined to be, not permanent but temporary, continued only until the whole content of the unique personality of Christ, so far as was necessary for the practical ends of revelation, should find a place in the minds and win a hold on the wills of men. The introduction of so unique a Personality into the course of historical development must necessarily have established unique relations between Himself and those immediately connected with Him, and commissioned to proclaim and diffuse the truth historically exhibited in His Person. The varied relations in which men might stand to Him were then displayed; the limits to and the lines of the normal development of the Christian life were then indicated. Just as the seed, when it falls into fit soil, begins to grow, and has in it already, though undeveloped, the promise and the pattern of the full-grown plant, so the seed of the Divine life, finding its fit soil in the souls of disciples and apostles, displayed what is the type to which Christian life must conform. Not that the content was then fully developed, but that the form of that content and the laws of its development were then given. *Fourthly*, a note of revelation is originality. Religious life, however varied and intense, which is dependent on a past development and is not originative of a future development, cannot be accepted as a revelation. Hence, while Christianity is progressive, it is also permanent. It develops, but does not augment, 'the truth as it is in Jesus.' To suggest that religious works of later times may be equally inspired with the writings of the NT, is to ignore this characteristic of the revelation in the Son of God—a revelation which, as it has been shown, must include not only His own words and works, but also the interpretation of His person, which is given in the relations which He formed with, and the transformation which He wrought in, those who came into direct historic contact with Him in that manifestation of His presence and power which immediately accompanied His incarnation. We do not need to deny the high spiritual value of subsequent Christian literature, or doubt that it is the Spirit of God which is still guiding His people into truth. Nay, we should believe that God reveals Himself in the experience of every man whom in Christ He saves and blesses, and that his life in the Spirit is an inspired life; yet the revelation and the inspiration alike are mediated by faith in God's grace in Christ, and are therefore dependent on the original revelation and inspiration. We do not need to affirm that all the writings of the NT are equally inspired, and that no other books are inspired; but nevertheless we may acquiesce in the judgment of the Christian Church, that the Christian Revelation is presented adequately and effectively in the NT Scriptures.

7. *Relation of Criticism to the history of Revelation.*—In this sketch of the Christian revelation and its herald, the Hebrew, critical problems have not been discussed, not because the writer has ignored or been indifferent to their existence in forming his conclusions, but because the scope of the article seemed to him to exclude their treatment, and because in many other articles they have been fully dealt with. But a reference to the bearing of these questions on the conception of revelation cannot be altogether avoided. Whether myths, legends, and traditions were employed by the writers of the Hebrew records or not, whether the patriarchs were historical persons or personifications of tribal characteristics and relations, how much or how little was involved in the relation between Jehovah and Israel mediated by Moses, how far the prophets were innovators teaching new truths or conservators recalling old beliefs, what were the stages of the development of the Law before it assumed its final form in the Pentateuch, — these all are questions on which scholarship must be left to pronounce judgment. Questions of literary ethics, such as the use of older sources without acknowledgment, the composition of speeches for historical persons, the ascription of later developments of the ritual system or the moral code to Moses, the treatment of history from the religious standpoint of a later

age, must be dealt with, not by applying modern standards but by recognizing the customs of each writer's age. That the critical reconstruction of the OT exhibits far more clearly than did the traditional views of date and authorship the progress of revelation, must be frankly admitted. That this progress is to be regarded as a merely natural evolution is a conclusion which no results of a legitimate and sober literary and historical criticism warrant, which involves philosophical and theological presuppositions, the acceptance of which must lead to the denial of the reality of a Divine revelation altogether, and which is contradicted, as will be shown in the next section of this article, by the testimony which the OT Scriptures bear to themselves. So long as criticism recognizes the presence and operation of God in the history of the Hebrew people, it may change our opinion of the mode, but it does not affect our conviction of the fact of a Divine revelation. The essential content of that revelation, the idea of God, the law of life, and the hope of salvation, as just described, will not be contradicted by any of these results. The idea of evolution seemed to many Christian thinkers a denial of the fact of creation; but now Christian theism has recovered from its panic, and confidently affirms that evolution is a creative mode and not a creating cause. So will it be with the results of criticism: it will be seen that it affects only the conception of the mode of revelation, and not the certainty of the fact. When we turn to the NT, it must be frankly conceded that Christian faith must be much more concerned about the results of criticism. If the portrait of Jesus is not substantially historical; if the witness of the Apostles to His resurrection, and the reception of the Spirit by them, is not to be believed; if St. Paul's interpretation of the Cross is nothing else or more than an individual, and in no way a typical experience; if St. John's doctrine of the *Logos* is a theological speculation, for which the historical Person of Jesus affords no justification,—then assuredly the character and content of Christian faith would be thoroughly changed, as the revelation of God in Christ would be essentially altered. Some indications have already been given how this criticism is to be met; but the fuller answer must be reserved until the last section of this article on the *Evidences of Revelation* has been reached.

8. *Assumptions regarding the Supernatural.*—Criticism may have much to tell us about the local and temporary forms of the revelation, about the personal characteristics and historical circumstances of the writers, about the literary methods of the writings,—in short, about the earthen vessel which holds the heavenly treasure; but the serious, even decisive, issue for faith lies not in any of these questions, however interesting, but in the affirmation or denial of the fact that God has spoken to mankind in the revelation, of which the Bible is the literature. In asserting this fact, care must be taken not to assume an untenable position. Even the most cautious criticism has made impossible the assumption of *ultra-supernaturalism*, which asserts the absolute infallibility and authority of all the writings in the Bible, which maintains that all human conditions are transcended by Divine revelation, so that its agents must have been raised quite above their individuality, environment, and stage of development into such a relation to God that the Divine content and the human form can be identified; that they may be regarded as altogether undetermined by their own capacity, character, or circumstances, and that accordingly the literature need not be interpreted by the history, as it may have no relation to the needs of the time when it was written, but may anticipate the needs of another age. The vehement defence which is sometimes met with of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, of the unity of Isaiah, of the accuracy of all the historical narratives, of the literal fulfilment of prophecy and apocalyptic, involves this assumption. This may for a long time yet remain the popular attitude, and here and there will be found a theologian in panic, who will seek to save the ark of God by appealing against the findings of scholarship to the prejudices and the passions of the multitude in the Churches; but in an article such as this it is not necessary to waste any effort in refuting it. What, on the contrary, is much more relevant to the present purpose, is to examine closely the opposite assumption of *anti-supernaturalism*, with which it would be unjustifiable to charge the Higher Criticism as a whole, but which does evidently account for some of the views advanced by some of its representatives.

Without at present entering on any detailed discussion of the subject of *miracles* (see article MIRACLE in vol. iii.) and *inspiration*, the denial of the supernatural operation of God in revelation must be dealt with. The denial may be due to either a supposed scientific interest or an assumed philosophical necessity; *the uniformity of nature* or *the continuity of thought* may be alleged as objections to the supernatural. So long as life, mind, and will cannot be explained by the simple application of the principle of causality, that is, so long as more complex forms of existence call for more adequate categories of thought, the uniformity of nature cannot be asserted so as to exclude the possibility of the supernatural, which is the highest conceivable category. The idea of evolution, with its recognition of a progress in which each successive stage transcends each preceding, is not a hindrance but a help to the belief in the supernatural; as it presents nature to us, not as a rigidly fixed system but as an ever-developing organism, full of surprises in its fresh manifestations, with a possible future inexplicable by its actual past. That personality in this progress appears as the highest stage, forbids the limitation of our conception of the whole process by the application of any of the lower categories, which are inadequate for the interpretation of this highest stage. And personality, which in its religious function reaches out beyond the natural to the supernatural, and recognizes not only its dependence on the order of nature beneath it, but also its affinity with the Maker of nature above it, itself holds the promise of unexhausted possibilities of existence. The categories of science do not explain all forms of being, and therefore cannot determine what may or may not be beyond the range of their application.

Without venturing on the unwarranted course of denying the possibility of the supernatural in the name of science, some writers try to get rid of it by denying the sufficiency of the evidence. But, in the estimate of the value of evidence, mental prejudice, if unconsciously, often affects the decision. Often when the trustworthiness of the witnesses is denied, they have been prejudged false witnesses on the assumption that miracles do not happen. How is it that many are prepared to accept as trustworthy the report of the sayings of Christ in the Gospels, and yet refuse to receive their record of His works? Is there not as much and as good evidence for the fact of the Resurrection as for any of the ordinary events of ancient history about which no doubt is felt? In this so-called scientific examination of the witnesses a philosophical presupposition is involved. Nature is conceived as a self-enclosed and self-sufficient system; but so to think of it is to allow the consciousness of the world to exclude the consciousness of God. When the attention is fixed on the world solely, then order, system, law become the guiding categories of thought. But when attention is turned to God also, then it is recognized that reason, character, will ought to be the predominant conceptions. In accordance with these the consciousness of the world must be transformed. The consciousness of the world suggests necessity, the consciousness of God freedom in the relation of God to the world; the former makes nature appear as a complete unity, the latter leads us to think of it as part of a larger whole; the former constrains us to look at nature as a sphere in which unvarying physical law maintains itself, the latter warrants us in regarding it as a scene in which a moral and spiritual purpose is being realized, to the accomplishment of which the physical order must be regarded as subordinate. The question of the probability of the supernatural is really identical with the question, whether the religious consciousness of God shall transform the scientific consciousness of the world, or the latter be allowed to determine the former. If we follow our religious consciousness, we shall be able to deal without prejudice with all the evidence for the supernatural submitted to us; if the scientific consciousness is allowed to rule over us, however much we protest our impartiality, the improbability of the supernatural will be an influential factor in our treatment of the evidence. The consciousness of God will also afford us the regulative principle in dealing with the narratives. We shall recognize that there is an assertion of the supernatural, due to ignorance of the laws which regulate unusual natural phenomena; that expectation of the supernatural has sometimes led to an assumption of it; that only such evidence to the supernatural can be accepted as valid as justifies it in relation to our consciousness of God, that is, in the supernatural there must be manifested Divine reason, righteousness, or grace. It is only if we view the world teleologically as the expression of Divine purpose that we can admit the supernatural, when it can be shown to be necessary to, and explicable by, the fulfilment of this end. In other words, we must be able to show an intelligible and credible reason why the supernatural order has been manifested in the natural.

A few words will suffice to meet the objection that the supernatural breaks the continuity of thought. If the world is viewed as the manifestation of the Idea or Reason, it is argued by some that no new factor can be admitted, but that each stage of the development must be explicable by that which precedes. But it may with reason be asked whether the limitation of the evolution of the Idea to the natural order is justified; whether we should not rather conceive that the rational system of the universe has the supernatural as the complement of the natural; whether man's thought has warrant to set limits to possible reality. This objection seems to be due to an exaggeration of the achievement and authority of man's self-consciousness. Let us recognize that there may be factors in the historic progress of revelation, inexplicable by our consciousness of ourselves or of the world, but of which the consciousness of God may afford the explanation. The world is something more than the evolution of categories, and its rationality vaster than any logical system. Reason is often set in opposition to revelation, but reason can give no adequate or satisfying interpretation of the world or of self without the regulative conception of God; and reason cannot develop for itself the full content of this conception without religion, or conscious relation to God, which, as has already been shown, presupposes revelation, or God's conscious relation to man. Man's reason is his capacity so to order and relate all his knowledge that the universe will appear to him an intelligible unity; but this unity cannot be constituted without the idea of God; and if man is to affirm a reality corresponding to this idea so that he may be able to base this mental structure on the solid foundation of real existence, it is only by religion, responsive to revelation, that he can bridge the gulf between thought and being. Hence reason must recognize as regulative of the consciousness of self and of the world the consciousness of God, and is therefore dependent on revelation; and that not an abstract revelation discoverable in individual minds, but, as man's reason has developed in human history, the concrete revelation in Christ in which man's conception of God has found its most adequate and satisfying content. If we confine our regard to the intelligence within or the intelligible without, the supernatural may seem unintelligible; but if we develop our sense of God, especially of our need of God to save and bless us, we shall gain the moral insight and spiritual discernment to apprehend and appreciate the supernatural.

9. *History and Literature of Revelation.*—Hitherto revelation has been discussed as a history and not a literature, as a life and not a book. This seems to the writer the proper standpoint. The inspiration of the writings contained in the Bible has in the traditional view too long been allowed to hold the foremost place; and the Higher Criticism has undoubtedly rendered us a service in compelling us to relate the literature to the history. To say that the Bible is the record of the revelation is inadequate, unless we give an extended sense to the word 'record.' While the narrative parts of the OT and NT do record the history of the Divine guidance and rule of the Hebrew people and the Christian Church, which is an essential element in revelation, yet in the Prophetic and Apostolic writings we have more distinctly and directly the literature of revelation, the expression of the inspired consciousness of the bearers of God's message to men. In the Psalms and the Wisdom literature we find the utterance of the devotional mood and the practical or speculative wisdom which a more or less close contact with Divine revelation produced. As in Christ the Spirit dwelt without measure, all His words and works are revelation; and the witnesses of them for us, in so far as they were influenced and impressed by this revelation, were inspired. The inspiration of all the writings is not of the same intensity, but varies with the stage of God's revelation reached, and with the degree in which the writer submitted himself to the presence and power of God's Spirit in it. The primary matter is God's action in events and persons to make Himself known, not in abstract truths about His nature but in concrete deeds in fulfilment of His purpose; altogether secondary is the literature resulting from that action. Although we must approach this revelation through its literature, the value of which is that it perpetuates and universalizes the revelation made temporally and locally, yet we must never allow ourselves to forget that the revelation was before the literature; and that even for us the literature is not an end in itself, but only a means to bring us here and now into vital contact and personal communion with the God who thus revealed Himself that He may continue to reveal Himself to us in a deeper knowledge, and warmer love, and better use of the Bible.

iii. THE DOCTRINE OF REVELATION.—1. *The OT doctrine of Revelation.*—Whatever stages Hebrew faith may have passed through before it reached absolute monotheism, yet in its doctrine of Revelation it is assumed that there is only one God, and that idols are nothing (Ps 18^{31}, 1 S 2^{2}, 2 S 7^{22}, Jg

6[31], Ex 19[5]). Not only the history of the chosen people is ordered by Him (Ps 78. 105–107), but His judgments are also seen in the destinies of other nations (Am 1. 2. 9[7]). He makes Himself known to persons who do not belong to the elect nation, as Melchizedek, Laban, Hagar, Pharaoh, Abimelech, Balaam, Cyrus, Job. His worship goes back to the beginnings of human history (Gn 4[26]), and even the heathen may offer Him an acceptable worship (Mal 1[11]). Nature reveals His glory (Job 38–41, Ps 8. 19. 29. 93, Is 40[12-26]). Man's conscience, reason, spirit, as coming from Him, reveal Him (Gn 1[26], Nu 16[22], Dt 30[14], Lk 3[12], Job 32[8], Ps 8[5] 36[9], Pr 2[8] 9[10] 20[27], Ec 2[26]). But limiting our attention to the revelation to the chosen people, which, however, is conceived as having a relation to all mankind (Gn 12[3], Is 49[6]), God's intercourse with the patriarchs is often represented in language which is startling in its frank and free anthropomorphism. He appears to and talks with them. The references in Genesis to theophanies are so numerous that they need not be specially mentioned. (If with the aid of a concordance the word 'appeared' is tracked through the book, the relevant passages will be easily found). Sometimes the Lord appears or speaks in dreams, as to Jacob, Joseph, Pharaoh, Samuel, and Solomon. Sometimes He makes Himself known in a vision, as to Moses, Isaiah, and Ezekiel. A sign of His presence in the camp of Israel was the pillar of fire and cloud; afterwards His presence was found in the ark of the covenant (1 S 4–5). A sound in the tops of the mulberry trees was to David the proof of God's action (2 S 5[24]). To Elijah, God came not in the whirlwind, earthquake, or fire, but in the 'still, small voice' (1 K 19[11-13]). Through the priesthood, inquiry was made of Jehovah for guidance in perplexity by *Urim and Thummim* (see article in vol. iv.), or otherwise (Jg 20[27. 28], 1 S 14[36. 37] 22[10]), and through it He communicated His blessing and instruction (Nu 6[22-27], Dt 33[10]). The seer also is consulted (1 S 9). God's leading is sought and found by various signs (Gn 24[13. 14], 1 S 10[3], Jg 7[13. 14]).

When the conception of God's transcendence tended more and more to supersede that of His immanence, greater prominence was given to supernatural organs of revelation, as His *Spirit*, *Word*, *Wisdom*, and *Angel*. (Consult the articles on all these subjects). The Angel is sometimes identified with, sometimes distinguished from, Jehovah, but may on the whole be regarded as a manifestation rather than as a messenger. The name of God (see articles on NAME in vol. iii. and GOD in vol. ii.) is the epitome of the revelation of God. It is sometimes so personified as to be virtually equivalent to God Himself, and to be the subject or object of actions (Ps 20[1] 5[11] 7[17], Is 29[23] 52[6] 18[7] 30[27], Dt 28[58] 12[11], 1 Ch 29[16], Ex 9[16] 20[24], Ezk 20[9], 2 S 7[13], 1 K 8[17-20]). In Ex 23[21] the name of God is represented as dwelling in the Angel. A new name marks a fresh stage of revelation (Ex 3[13. 15] 6[3]). But, while God reveals Himself, it is recognized on the one hand that He cannot be fully known by man (Job 26[14] 28[12] 36[26] 37[15] 42[3], Pr 25[2] 30[3], Is 45[15]), and on the other that there is peril for the man who sees Him or His angel, or even looks on or touches the outward sign of His presence (Gn 32[30], Ex 3[6] 19[12] 20[19] 24[11] 28[35] 30[21], Lv 16[2], Jg 6[22], 1 S 6[19], 2 S 6[7]). Piety and morality, however, are the conditions of gaining such a knowledge of Him as avails for the needs of the soul, and of enjoying close communion with Him (Job 28[28], Ps 17[15] 25[12] 27[8] 42[2], Dt 29[29]).

The most prominent and authoritative organs of revelation are the *prophets* (see article PROPHECY AND PROPHETS in vol. iv.). All new beginnings in the life of the nation are made by the authority of prophets. Both Abraham and Moses are regarded as prophets (Gn 20[7], Dt 18[18]). Quite in the spirit of the OT, St. Peter describes David as a prophet (Ac 2[30]). Samuel sanctions the introduction of the monarchy, and even Saul after his anointing is mightily seized by the prophetic spirit (1 S 8–10). Nathan first approves David's intention to build the temple, but afterwards conveys God's prohibition (2 S 7). The division of the two kingdoms is first announced by Ahijah, who also intimates the fall of Jeroboam's house (1 K 11[29] 14[7]). Rehoboam's attempt to subdue the rebellion by force is forbidden by Shemaiah (1 K 12[22]). Elijah not only announces to Ahab God's judgment on his family, but also anoints Hazael to be king over Syria, and Jehu over Israel (1 K 21[22] 19[16]). The part played in the national history by the later prophets, especially Isaiah and Jeremiah, is so familiar that it needs no detailed discussion here. The prophetic consciousness is of special significance for the doctrine of Inspiration; but it would be beyond the scope of this article to discuss this subject fully, nor is it at all necessary, for in the article on PROPHECY AND PROPHETS in vol. iv. it has already been dealt with by a master-hand. Suffice it here to call attention to the important and decisive fact, that while, unless in a few exceptional cases, the prophet continues in the normal exercise of all his faculties, yet he does with confidence distinguish between his own subjective meditations and the objective message of God. It is from this fact we must start in dealing with the question whether the OT does contain a revelation from God, or only the reflexions of men. That in this revelation God may have employed abnormal inward states, as dreams or visions (see articles DREAMS in vol. i. and TRANCE and VISION in vol. iv.), or extraordinary outward signs, is by no means incredible, as these may have been a necessary adaptation to the condition of those whom He used as the organs of His communication. The language about God's coming to and talking with the patriarchs we cannot accept literally, but must recognize the necessarily imaginative character of these narratives, although they probably have some historic basis in tradition, as the revelation of Jehovah through Moses seems to presuppose some antecedent revelation to the fathers of the people. Such conceptions as the *Spirit*, the *Word*, the *Wisdom*, or the *Angel* of God must be regarded as efforts of the human mind to explain God's presence and communion with men in revelation, while maintaining the idea of His transcendence and absoluteness; but in them we may recognize anticipations, however imperfect and inadequate, of the Christian revelation of God as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

2. *The doctrine of the NT regarding the revelation in the OT.*—The recognition of the OT in the NT may be traced along three lines—historical, theological, literary. The Hebrew is recognized as an elect and privileged nation, as the bearer of God's special revelation (Ro 3[1. 2] 9[4. 5] 11[16]). Although the Jews by their unbelief have forfeited their claim, yet God has not forsaken His people, and their partial and temporary rejection is the divinely appointed means of a universal and final salvation (Ro 9–11). The promise had been given to this people in Abraham that it should be a blessing to other nations (Gal 3[8]); God had delivered it from Egyptian bondage, and entered into covenant with it, so that it was pledged to obedience to His law. While St. Paul insists that the promise came before the Law (Ro 4[1-16]), the old covenant is regarded as distinctively a covenant of law, and, as such, is contrasted with the new covenant which has been established by Christ (2 Co 3; cf. also He 8, and see article COVENANT in vol. i.).

Admitting the Divine origin and consequent spiritual character of the Law, its insufficiency to secure righteousness is acknowledged by St. Paul (Ro 7^{7-25}). The author of the Epistle to the *Hebrews* equally acknowledges the inefficiency of the ritual sacrifices to cleanse the conscience and to restore communion with God (He 7). Thus the NT recognizes the imperfection and limitation of the former revelation; and Jesus, in contrasting what was of old (Mt $5^{21.\,27.\,33.\,38.\,43}$), because of the hardness of men's hearts, with His own teaching, seals with His own authority this Apostolic doctrine. The greatest persons of the old revelation are transcended by the supreme Person of the new, and fall far short of the privileges of the humblest and simplest believers. Abraham rejoiced to see the day of Christ (Jn 8^{56}). Moses and Elijah met Him in the Mount (Mt 17^{3}). While law came by Moses, grace and truth came by Jesus Christ (Jn 1^{17}). Greater is He than Solomon (Mt 12^{42}). Greatest of prophets, the Baptist is inferior to the least in the kingdom (Mt 11^{11}). The saints of old longed in vain to see what the disciples see (Mt 13^{16}). Nevertheless, what is best and truest in the old is carried on and completed in the new revelation. Jesus came not to destroy but to fulfil the Law and the Prophets (Mt 5^{17}). He fulfils the Law by disclosing its essential principles, and by giving to these wider and more inward applications, by securing by His sacrifice the salvation from sin's guilt and power, which by obedience to the Law could not be attained, and by imparting a spiritual energy the Law could not offer. He fulfilled Prophecy generally by carrying on to its last and highest stage the Prophetic ideal of morality and religion, but especially by realizing in His own person the aspirations and expectations of saints and seers regarding the Day of the Lord, the Messiah in the narrower sense of the term, the Servant of the Lord, and the Priest after the order of Melchizedek (see articles on MESSIAH in vol. iii. and PROPHECY in vol. iv.).

The extent to which the writers of the NT regard this fulfilment as being carried will be shown in considering next the use of the OT in the NT, which yields us the following conclusions regarding their views:—(1) The OT Scriptures are cited as an organic unity, *ἡ γραφή, αἱ γραφαί, τὰ γράμματα*. (2) They are cited as authoritative, as appears from the formulæ of citation, *γέγραπται, καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ θεός*, from the purpose of the quotations to establish a proof, and from the frequency of the references in exact or approximate quotations or historical allusions. (3) Christ expressly assigns authority to the OT in the words 'the Scripture cannot be broken' (Jn 10^{35}); 'How then doth David in the Spirit call him Lord'? (Mt 22^{43}). (4) The inspiration (see article INSPIRE, INSPIRATION in vol. ii.) of the Scriptures is expressly asserted in two passages (2 Ti $3^{16.\,17}$, 2 P 1^{21}) which, however, are not definite enough to yield a doctrine. (5) The quotations are often inexact, and are drawn from the LXX as well as the Hebrew (see article QUOTATIONS in vol. iv.). To suggest a provisional conclusion at this stage of the discussion, it is evident that, while the writers of the NT treat the whole of the OT as authoritative because inspired, yet the inaccuracy of many of the quotations as well as the use of the LXX show that, even if they would have formally accepted a theory of verbal inspiration, yet they were not limited and controlled by it practically; but this general impression must seek confirmation in a more detailed discussion.

(*a*) Not only does *Jesus Himself* quote from the OT frequently, but in His own language the modes of speech of the OT are recalled. It ministered counsel and comfort to His own personal experience (Mt $4^{4.\,7.\,10}$, Lk 4^{18}, Mt 27^{46}, Lk 23^{46}). It was appealed to in His teaching (Mt $5^{21.\,27.\,31}$ 15^{4} 19^{19} $22^{32.\,37}$). It was His weapon in controversy (Mt 9^{13} 15^{8} $21^{13.\,33.\,38.\,43}$ 22^{44}). OT history served to illustrate His work, as the serpent in the Wilderness, the preaching of Jonah, and the doom of the cities of the Plain. His use of the OT leads us to recognize it as a Divine revelation akin in spirit and purpose to His own. A few quotations there are which raise points of difficulty, as His use of the words of God to Moses in proof of the Resurrection (Mk 12^{26}), His appeal to the taunt to the unjust judges as a justification of His claim to be the Son of God (Jn 10^{34}), His assumption of the Davidic authorship of the 110th Psalm (Mk 12^{36}), His allusion to Jonah's story as an illustration of His own resurrection (Mt 12^{40}). There is good reason for regarding this last allusion as a gloss which has crept into the text; and the other quotations, it may be pointed out, are used in controversy as *ad hominem* arguments, on which it would be perilous to base any conclusions about Jesus' exegetical methods; yet in each case we can discern the connecting link of thought between the quotation and its use, which justifies it as neither arbitrary nor artificial. The allusion to Jonah and the reference of the 110th Psalm to David have been used to drag the authority of Christ into modern controversies of literary and historical criticism. Without comment on the reverence or the prudence of this procedure, this argument can be met from the critical standpoint without recourse to the objectionable explanation that He accommodated Himself to His hearers. For, *firstly*, no wise teacher raises avoidable disputes on questions which lie beyond the range of His purpose of teaching, but uses the popular language in all matters indifferent. It shows a strange lack of moral insight and spiritual discernment to assume that it was so important that the Jews should have correct views about historical and literary questions, that Jesus was bound to spend time and take pains to put them right on these before He could impart to them the gospel of His grace. He came to preach the gospel, and nothing else; and, even if He had held other views than His contemporaries, there was no need of His discussing them with His ignorant and prejudiced hearers. This whole argument is due to a confusion of the accidentals and the essentials of Divine revelation. *Secondly*, the present writer is prepared to go further, not for the sake of getting altogether rid of this argument, but in the interests of a true Christology. One cannot read the Gospels with an open mind without coming to the conclusion that no claim for the omniscience of Jesus is made, nay, even, facts are recorded which disprove such a claim; that His consciousness of the Father whom He came to reveal did not include a knowledge of all the facts of nature and history which can be ascertained by the exercise of ordinary human powers of observation and inference; that His perfect wisdom and absolute truth, His moral insight and spiritual discernment, had no relation whatever to the treatment of literary and historical problems; that, as not embraced in His message and mission, His views on all such questions were the opinions of His age, which He had learned in the same way as all His contemporaries. If the purpose of revelation is practical—the salvation of men by the self-sacrifice of God—then the more complete the reality of the Incarnation, the subjection of the Son to the limitations of humanity, the more thorough is the fulfilment of this purpose. It is as much in the interests of Christian faith as for the sake of intellectual liberty that the limitation of the knowledge of Jesus must be confidently affirmed. But, to return from this necessary digression to the main course of the discussion, the investigation of Jesus' use of the OT shows that He recognized the kinship of His own religious life to that of the saints of old; that in His teaching He assumed as the condition of the understanding of His words the knowledge of the Law and the Prophets; that in the moral standards He imposed the principles of the Jewish theocracy were applied and developed, and that His own historic mission was conceived in relation to a continuous and progressive historical activity of God in and by the chosen people; but, on the other hand, the manner of His use of the OT does not discharge us from the duty, far less forbid the attempt, to free by sound exegetical and critical methods the universal and permanent content of truth in the OT revelation from its local and temporary forms of expression.

(*b*) The distinctive use of the OT in the *Gospels* and the *Acts* is this, that the whole life of Christ is viewed as the fulfilment of prophecy. We observe differences of emphasis, according to the speaker or writer, the hearer or reader. Without entering into details, it may be said that when the writer or speaker is himself imbued with the spirit of Judaism, or addresses himself to Jews, then the argument from prophecy is more prominent than when Gentiles are being spoken or written to by one of broader sympathies. Generally, the OT is appealed to as authoritative by or for those whose religious life had already been developed by it. How large a place this conception fills in the minds of the historical writers of the NT will be best shown by a brief summary of the facts of Jesus' life, in which they find predictions realized. He is *born of a virgin* in *Bethlehem*, and as an infant returns from *Egypt* to *Nazareth*. His public ministry is *heralded* by John the Baptist. He begins His work in *Galilee* by claiming *the endowment of the Spirit*, and in Judæa by showing *His zeal for God's house*. His ministry in Northern Galilee brings *light to dark places*. In His acts of healing He *takes upon Himself the burden of men's infirmities*. As befits the *Servant of God*, He is *humble, silent, patient*. He is compelled by the stupidity of the people *to speak in parables*. He *enters Jerusalem in lowliness, seated on an ass*. He is greeted *as coming in the name of the Lord*. His message is *not believed*; He is *rejected by the leaders of the people*; He is *betrayed for money*; He is *forsaken by His followers*; He is *reckoned among transgressors*, and *hated without cause*. *His garments are divided; His bones are not broken*, although His *side is pierced*; He is not *suffered to be holden of death*; He is *exalted to God's right hand*. By His gift the Spirit is *poured forth upon all flesh*. Although in Him all *the nations of the earth are blessed*, yet against Him *the heathen rage, and the rulers are gathered together*. In His exaltation as *Son of the Highest* all *who scorn Him are put to shame*. He proves Himself a *light to the Gentiles*, and in *Him alone can the ruin of Jerusalem be repaired*.

There can be no doubt whatever that the OT revelation reaches its highest point in the hopes which Christ fulfils, for there is a vital, organic connexion between it and Him. The Messianic hope did in many of its most striking features anticipate the characteristics of His life and work. On the other hand, these writers treat the whole OT as prophetical, even when it is purely historical or didactical, and thus use some passages for quite another purpose than their original intention. Yet even in these cases the interpretation cannot be pronounced altogether arbitrary and artificial. For if Christ may be regarded as the end and reason for all God's historical activity in the Hebrew people, then its whole development may be conceived as a movement towards Him in whom the promises which had never found fulfilment, the hopes which had again and again been blighted with disappointment, the aspirations which neither moral performances nor ritual observances could satisfy, all found their consummation,—then the spiritual experiences of God's saints of old may be viewed as an anticipation of the life hid with Christ in God, and the sufferings for righteousness' sake of God's witnesses to an unbelieving people as a participation in the Cross of the Just and Holy One. These writers, therefore, were entitled to assume the unity of the life of God's Anointed with the history of His chosen people, the prophetical character of its great personalities and the typical significance of its main institutions, although it must be acknowledged that they laid stress on minor details which may be adequately accounted for as coincidences, and need not be regarded, as they regarded them, as immediate prophecies. It has sometimes been assumed that these coincidences are not to be explained by similar conditions and experiences, due to the unity of the principle underlying the whole development of religion and revelation, which not only ends but is summed up in Christ, but must be accepted as Divine harmonies. To the mind of the present writer at least such a view gives an artificiality to, and hides the reality of, the connexion of Christ and the OT. There are cases, however (Mt $27^{9.10}$, Ac 2^{30}), where this connexion is imposed rather than discovered. Again, to note briefly the conclusion to which this part of the investigation leads, we are constrained to recognize the continuity of the revelation of the OT and the NT; and, on the other hand, that the writers of the NT tend to regard the parallelism as more exact than it actually is, owing to their peculiar method of exegesis in treating passages apart from, even in spite of, their historical setting. It need not surprise us to find that the men who were fitted by the Spirit to be both receptive and communicative of the truth as it is in Jesus were lacking in scientific method and historical insight. Their inspiration did not raise them above their times in these respects, and consequently we must, on the one hand, form such a conception of revelation as admits such limitations, and, on the other, maintain that the OT must be interpreted by the grammatical and historical methods of a scientific criticism, unhindered and undisturbed by appeals to the usages of NT writers.

(*c*) In *St. Paul's Epistles* the doctrinal aspects of the OT are more prominent. The frequency of his quotations depends on the subject he is dealing with, and the destination of the letter. Generally speaking, he appeals to the OT most frequently when he is asserting the independence of Christianity against Judaistic objections, and not when he is developing its unique contents. His so-called *Rabbinisms* (1 Co 10^{1-4}, 2 Co 3^{13}, Gal 3^{16} 4^{21-31}) need not excite any surprise and cause any difficulty: that they are so few in number is a testimony to his mental vigour and spiritual discernment. Sometimes he does give to a quotation an application which the context does not justify (Ro $9^{25.26}$ $11^{9.10}$ 12^{19}, 1 Co 9^{9} 14^{21} 15^{27}, Gal 3^{13}). Even in his normal use the OT language sometimes, on the one hand, obscures the Christian conception, and, on the other hand, his Christian conception transforms the meaning of the OT words. Sometimes his use gives a harder, at other times a more gracious, tone to the passages quoted than they have in their own context. The language of the OT is not adequate for his gospel, the essential inspiration of which we may assert and maintain without committing ourselves to an acceptance of his exegetical methods. The occasion and the purpose of the *Epistle to the Hebrews* explain the characteristically Jewish use of the OT. Sentences are taken without any regard to context; stress is laid on single words; allegorical explanations are given of historical references. This reading of the New Faith into the Old does violence to the historical significance of the one and the Divine originality of the other. The *Apocalypse* is steeped in the OT imagery, and applies the Messianic prophecies to the Second Advent. Without any closer examination of the other NT writings, enough evidence has already been produced to justify the conclusion that in every part the NT treats the OT as a Divine revelation, but that the exegetical methods of the NT writers are such as to forbid our basing on their use of the OT any dogmatic theory of verbal inspiration.

3. *The NT doctrine of Revelation.*—Although the NT recognizes the Divine revelation in the OT, it does not limit God's manifestation of Himself to the Hebrew history and literature. The Prologue to St. John's Gospel takes up the OT conception of the Divine *Word*, *Wisdom*, or *Spirit* in its doctrine of the *Logos*, and teaches a permanent and universal revelation in nature and in man as well as in the history culminating in Christ. As significant is St. Paul's teaching regarding the witness of nature to God, in his speech at Lystra (Ac 14[15-17]); regarding man's affinity to God, in his speech at Athens (Ac 17[22-31]); regarding the wilful ignorance of God, to which he traces the religious degradation and the moral depravity of the Gentiles, and the testimony borne to God by conscience, in his Epistle to the Romans (1[18-32] 2[14-16]); and regarding the Divine purpose in the pre-Christian stage in human history, in that to the Galatians (4[1-9]). A study of the science of Comparative Religion does not contradict, but confirms, this doctrine of a permanent and universal revelation in which OT and NT agree. In many religions we find the higher elements suppressed by the lower, and in only a few the higher elements asserting themselves over the lower. Even in the corrupt and superstitious paganism with which Christianity in its earliest days came in contact, there was in its philosophical schools an approach to an ethical monotheism which, imperfect as it was, proved to some men a tutor to lead them to Christ.

As regards the NT doctrine of the OT revelation, enough has been said in the preceding paragraph; we must now consider what it teaches about the origin and the method of the Christian revelation. Jesus Christ is pre-eminently the revealer of the Father; this function He claims for Himself (Mt 11[27], Jn 17[26]), and it is accorded to Him by St. Paul, St. John, the writer to the Hebrews (Jn 1[18], Col 1[15], He 1[1-3]). Yet it is only by the Spirit of God that men are enabled to recognize in Him the Son of God (Mt 16[17], Gal 1[15]). To know God in Christ is to receive a revelation which transforms all things, so that self and world alike appear as a new creation (2 Co 5[17]). An interesting evidence of St. Paul's consciousness that the Christian revelation was both in continuity with and in contrast to the older revelation, is his use of the word 'mystery.' The Divine purpose which has hitherto been concealed is now revealed (Ro 11[25] 16[25], 1 Co 2[7], Eph 1[9] 3[3. 4] 5[32] 6[19], Col 1[26] 2[2] 4[3]). A completion of the old revelation (Mt 5[17], Gal 3[24] 4[4], Jn 5[38]), the new revelation can claim permanent validity, as it will not be superseded by any other (Mt 24[35]). On the other hand, the comprehension of the perfect revelation by man is imperfect relatively to the full and clear vision of Christ, which is the Christian's hope for the hereafter (1 Co 13[12], 1 Jn 3[2]): Christ's consciousness of perfect knowledge of, love for, and obedience to the Father is explained only by the confession of His essential unity with the Father. The promise of Jesus to His disciples, that the Spirit should be given to them, was fulfilled at Pentecost; and in the outpouring of the Spirit on that day St. Peter was bold enough to see the fulfilment of Joel's prophecy of a universal prophetic inspiration (Ac 2[17. 18]). Both in the *Acts* and in *St. Paul's Epistles* it is assumed that all believers are inspired; in the exercise of their charisms, spiritual gifts, the presence and power of the Spirit in them is revealed. But for the instruction and government of the Church (see art. CHURCH in vol. i.) it was believed that Apostles and Prophets possessed an authoritative inspiration. The Apostles had seen the Lord, and were witnesses to the Resurrection (Lk 24[48], Ac 1[8. 22] 2[32], 1 Co 9[1]). They showed the signs of an Apostle (1 Co 9[2], 2 Co 12[12]), and they had received a call from God (1 Co 12[28], Eph 4[11]). They were endowed as well as the Prophets with that higher energy of the Spirit which qualified them for special revelations (see articles APOSTLE in vol. i. and PROPHET IN NT in vol. iv.). Most instructive in this respect are the writings of St. Paul, as to defend the truth of his gospel it was needful for him to establish his claims as an Apostle. He asserts his independence of human instruction and his reception of his gospel by Divine revelation (Gal 1[11-24]). In his own instructions to the Churches which he had founded he distinguishes between the commandments of the Lord and his own judgment (1 Co 7[25. 40]), but expresses the confidence that even in the exercise of this he has the Spirit of God. He testifies that, in a state of ecstasy, he was transported to the third heaven and heard unspeakable words, unlawful to utter (2 Co 12[2. 3]). Not only did Jesus appear to him on the way to Damascus (Ac 9[17], 1 Co 15[8]), but on other occasions also did He come and speak to him in trance or vision (Ac 18[9] 22[17] 26[16]). At Troas he was guided to cross to Macedonia by a vision in the night (Ac 16[9]). The angel of God conveyed an assurance of safety to him (Ac 27[23]). St. Peter, too, was taught his duty towards the Gentiles in a vision during a trance (Ac 10[10]). An angel appeared to Mary in a vision (Lk 1[26-38]), and to Joseph in a dream (Mt 1[20-23]). The visions in the Book of Revelation may be, as is common in Apocalyptic literature, a literary device, but there may have been some basis for them in unusual psychic conditions. Of such mental states as trance, vision, dream as organs of revelation, we must beware of judging by our modern standards. For us such means of Divine communication may seem less credible than inward intuition, but even to a St. Paul these methods of revelation seemed significant and valuable. (The articles on DREAM in vol. i. and TRANCE and VISION in vol. iv. may with advantage be consulted). In closing this section of the article a few general considerations may be offered. The Prophet, or Apostle, or even Christ Himself, is confident that God is revealing His mind and will to him, but distinguishes God's words from his own. With the Prophet, it would seem, the inspiration was not constant; his whole personality did not become the permanent organ of the Spirit. In the Apostle the spiritual possession is more constant and complete. He may still distinguish his own opinions from his Lord's commands, but his inspiration is derived from an intimate personal union and communion with the living Christ Himself. As the natural life has been more completely transformed by the supernatural, their contrast is less evident than in the prophetic consciousness. In Christ the union of

God and man is so complete, that, so to speak, the absolute quantity of the inspiration guarantees the perfect quality of the revelation. There is, therefore, no uniformity in the intensity of the inspiration or the sufficiency of the revelation in the Holy Scriptures; but we must distinguish degrees of the one as we recognize varieties of the other. In the OT the prophetic consciousness exhibits revelation at its highest; the spirit of devotion as expressed in the Psalms may be reckoned nearest to this; then we may perhaps place the meditations in the Wisdom literature on the problems of life and duty; and, lastly, come the historical records, inspired in so far as they regard the history as the development of God's purpose and the fulfilment of His promises. The Apostolic interpretation varies in the fulness of the understanding of the mind of Christ, dependent on the closeness of the fellowship with the life of Christ, in whom revelation and inspiration alike culminate. The OT increases as a revelation as it approaches Him, and the NT varies as a revelation as it receives more or less of His Spirit.

iv. THE EVIDENCE OF REVELATION.—1. *Evidence of the Bearers of Revelation.*—The first line of evidence is to be found in what has just been mentioned at the close of the previous section—the consciousness of the bearers of the revelation. They bear witness that they are not speaking of themselves, but that God is communicating to them what they are declaring to others. The truth of the reality of the revelation, and the sincerity of its organs,—these two are not the same, for a man professing to communicate a revelation might be a deceiver or self-deceived,—cannot be proved by any outward attestation, but only by the moral and spiritual quality of the revelation, and by the personal character it forms in the bearer. The fulfilment of prophecy is not, unless in exceptional circumstances, a test that can be immediately applied, and the performance of miracles does not afford a decisive criterion, as the natural may be made to appear as supernatural. But these two evidences are quite out of court for us. For, where the character of the bearer and the content of the revelation do not inspire confidence, denial that any real prediction has been made, or any actual miracle has taken place, cannot be disproved. If at one time prophecy and miracle were relied on as attesting a revelation, such an argument is worthless at the present day. For, on the one hand, the more critical attitude towards the records of revelation which is becoming more general forbids that unquestioning belief that predictions were made and that miracles did happen which was once common; and it is being more clearly recognized, on the other hand, that a Divine revelation must be able to commend itself morally and spiritually to the conscience and reason of mankind, and that a revelation which could not so commend itself could never be accepted on any external evidence without such an abdication of reason and conscience as would involve a far more serious injury and wrong to the moral and spiritual nature of man than could be compensated for by any such revelation.

2. *Evidence of the Literature of Revelation.*—But, when we get to this position that the evidence of revelation is in the quality of its contents and the character of its bearers, we, to whom this revelation has not come at first hand, but has been transmitted by a literature, have to ask this further question: Is the literature trustworthy in its testimony to the consciousness and character of these bearers and to the contents of this revelation? This is the point at which the history of the formation of the *Canon* of the OT and NT forces itself on our attention. This story has already been told in previous articles, and need not be told again; but one fact deserves special notice, that it was not by formal decree of any ecclesiastical authority that certain writings were selected as sacred, recognized as inspired, and accepted as authoritative for faith and life; but this was brought about by their use in worship and for edification. We need not claim an infallible judgment for either the Jewish or the Christian Church, but what must be insisted on is that it was the religious consciousness which was the court of appeal with regard to the writings to be treated as the literature of revelation. The importance of such a literature cannot be overestimated. Only if God had revealed Himself uniformly to all mankind, would there be no need for such a literature. Reason has already been shown why along with a general revelation we may believe in a special. To perpetuate and to diffuse this special revelation, limited both spatially and temporally, the written record was necessary. Jesus Christ would be incomprehensible without the record of the revelation which led up to Him, and His grace and truth would be inaccessible to the mind and heart of mankind without the report of the revelation realized in and proceeding from Him. Yet a difference between the importance of the two Testaments must, in view of the modern critical position, be clearly recognized and frankly explained. What were the stages and phases, the features and factors, of revelation in the OT is an interesting and important question for our understanding of the OT; but it does not in the slightest degree affect the historical reality of Jesus Christ. Not the view of the OT which most unquestioningly accepts as historical all its narratives and all the traditional opinions about authorship and date of the writings makes Christ most credible, but that which makes to us most intelligible the progress of revelation towards Him, and the fulfilment of its promise in Him. Accordingly, we can, without troubling or bewildering our faith with a task for which it is not competent, leave to a reverent scholarship, which makes neither ultra-supernatural nor anti-supernatural assumptions, all historical and literary questions regarding the OT. The NT, however, holds a much more immediate and vital relation to the revelation in Christ, and from Him through His witnesses. If the substantial historicity of the Gospels and the Acts cannot be maintained, if the image of the Person of Christ presented there is mainly a work of fiction and not a copy of fact, if Jesus did not really so impress and influence men as He is represented to have done, if the Apostles who have undertaken to interpret to us their experience of His grace ascribed to His Spirit what was due to their heredity, individuality, or environment, then the Christian revelation must lose so much of its contents as to affect its character. If, for instance, a filial consciousness towards God and a fraternal consciousness towards mankind was all that Jesus revealed, if He put Himself in no way into relation to the sin of mankind to save men from its guilt and curse, then undoubtedly Christianity becomes a religion of illumination, and not of redemption. But if the historical character of the NT as the record and report of the life and work of Christ, and the interpretation of the experience wrought by His spirit, is more necessary to Christian faith, it can be maintained as that of many parts of the OT cannot. We have more nearly contemporary evidence of the existence and the acceptance as authoritative of the NT writings than for any of the OT. The contents of many portions of the NT are self-evidencing to reason and conscience as revelation, as many portions of the OT cannot be

said to be. The character of Christ, the existence of the Church, the experience of St. Paul,—all these are proofs of the reality of the Christian revelation as presented in the NT such as can meet doubt and help faith. That the NT can be accepted as a true record and a faithful interpretation of the revelation in Christ, is a conclusion which the best scholarship allows and Christian faith claims.

3. *Evidence of Experience.*—No conclusion of scholarship on so difficult and delicate a problem as the date, authorship, historical accuracy, and theological authority of these writings can compel faith. Scholarship, as honest and as competent as that which is found in the Christian Churches, has not felt this compulsion, and has been able to maintain an opposite conclusion. For this conclusion depends not only on the outward data, but on the inward attitude with which the data are approached. If, through the Person and Teaching and Work of Christ, God does not here and now draw near to a man, make Himself known to him, meet his greatest need, and bring him his highest good, neither the OT nor the NT can be proved to him the record and the interpretation of a Divine revelation. He might assent intellectually to the whole process of argument, but a mere assent to the claims of the Holy Scriptures has no religious value or significance. The evidence of revelation is a present experience, the impression the Holy Scriptures make, and the influence they wield, in reproducing in men the same relation to God as was perfectly realized by Christ, and is being progressively realized in men by the presence and power of the Holy Spirit. The intellectual process cannot be ignored, and the spiritual experience alone recognized. If it were proved to a man's reason that the NT is not a true book, he might find an æsthetic gratification, but he could not get a spiritual satisfaction in the life and work of Christ. It will enlarge and strengthen a man's faith, if he not only yields himself to the impression Christ makes on him, and the influence He gains over him, when the NT is read and studied on the assumption that it is true, but if he also sees what evidence there is to justify that assumption. The evidence may at first not go beyond the more probable, or the less improbable, but that is itself enough to justify a man, under the pressure of his practical necessities, in putting Christ to the proof, with all honesty and sincerity, whether He is indeed able to save to the uttermost all who come unto God through Him. The results in personal experience and character will in most cases raise the probability to a certainty, and the man will be able to say that he knows whom he has believed, and is persuaded that He is able to be to all who trust Him all that the NT represents Him as being.

4. *Reception of the Divine Revelation.*—It is with this proving of Christ's grace that the present evidence of Divine Revelation must begin. But the acceptance of Christ as from God will so change the mental attitude, the moral disposition, the spiritual capacity, that a personal apprehension, appreciation, and appropriation of the entire revelation of God in the Holy Scriptures will become increasingly possible. There may remain incidents incredible and doctrines unintelligible, and no Christian man is required to do violence either to conscience or to reason by forcing himself to believe anything which does not evidence itself to him as from God. On the one hand, a large liberty of reserve should be claimed, and, on the other, a wide tolerance of difference should be shown. But no man who has found God in Christ can treat with indifference any element in the Christian revelation. He must feel that his insensibility to impression from or influence by any part of the Holy Scriptures is his own spiritual loss, the narrowing and the impoverishing of his experience; and he should so strive to widen his intelligence and deepen his sympathy by fuller submission to the Spirit of truth and love in Christ, that he will be able at last to secure and rejoice in the whole counsel of God, all the truth as it is in Jesus. Only by this receptive and responsive attitude can a man become the possessor of the Divine revelation as his personal treasure. As in olden times God revealed Himself in outward signs and sounds, so in the Holy Scriptures, read with intelligence, reverence, aspiration, does He still reveal Himself. Not a distant but a present, not an indifferent but an interested, not an indolent but an active Father meets us in Christ by the Spirit, and deals with us here and now. The significance and value of the old revelation is that it is the medium of an ever new revelation. God Himself proves that He spake and wrought of old by speaking and working in us now His own good will and pleasure, even our salvation. Every Christian man should be an inspired man, because the Spirit is in Christ given to all men according to their faith; and, in this experience of the Spirit, God is really revealing Himself. But inasmuch as this revelation comes from this inspiration, and this inspiration is conditioned by faith in Christ's grace, and that faith is not found apart from a knowledge of the Gospel as contained in the Holy Scriptures, this continuous revelation and universal inspiration in Christ is not a rival to or substitute for the revelation and inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, as the former is dependent on and controlled by the latter. We know that God reveals Himself in us only as we know the revelation of the Father in the Son; but to the testimony of the writers of the Scriptures to their own authority and the witness of the Church to the worth of these Scriptures for its faith and life there must be added, to produce that perfect confidence in God's revelation which it demands and deserves, the experience in the individual soul of God's presence and power in His Son and by His Spirit.

Summary.—Let us sum up in a few words the arguments of this article. Man is by necessity of his nature religious. Religion implies revelation; man's approach to God is in response to God's approach to man. As religion is, so is revelation universal; but its quality varies with human capacity and development. It is in accord with God's method that He should through one nation bless all mankind. In the history of the Hebrew people there can be traced a progressive revelation, the record of which is in the OT. This culminates in Christ, in whom the ideal of religion is realized, and the perfect revelation is given. To secure full historic reality to this revelation, the image of His person and the influence of His work must be perpetuated and diffused, as is done by means of the NT. The Holy Scriptures as the literature of revelation offer us a doctrine of its range, method, and purpose. The bearers of the revelation bear a witness to their own qualifications and authority, which is confirmed both by their characters and the contents of their message. This evidence is further strengthened by the recognition of the worth of the OT in the Jewish Church and of the NT in the Christian Church. But the full evidence of revelation is not possessed until its purpose has been fulfilled and its effect realized in the experience of the Christian, saved from sin and death and doom by the love of the Father in the grace of the Son through the fellowship of the Holy Spirit.

LITERATURE.—The special articles referred to may be consulted for the Literature relating to their respective subjects. For the more general literature, the note at the end of the article BIBLE in vol. i. may be referred to. To the books there mentioned may be added Caird's, Pfleiderer's, and Sabatier's *Philosophy of Religion*; Fairbairn's *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion*; and Illingworth's *Reason and Revelation*. Bruce's *Apologetics* deals with many of the topics touched on, and his *Chief End of Revelation* is still worth consulting. Herrmann's *Communion of the Christian with God* offers an original and suggestive treatment of the subject of Revelation.

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

THEOCRACY.—The terms 'theocracy' and 'theocratie' have been used somewhat freely in connexion with the history of Israel, but it is not altogether easy to determine with precision what ideas should be attached to them. It may seem that, if these words are to denote an actual constitution of human society, they must imply the absorption of the State in the Church, or at least the supremacy of the Church over the State. When applied, as they are, to the form and aims of the mediæval Papacy, they have this meaning; and so taken they would be true only of the period, or periods, of Jewish history when the people were under a hierarchy, with the high priest at its head. Wellhausen and other critics of his school do, in fact, restrict the notion of the Theocracy thus, and consequently hold, in accordance with their view of the documents, that it was realized only after the Exile. The question of the best use of the term must not, however, be identified with that of the date of the Priestly Code. Readers of the Bible, generally, taking the Pentateuch as it stands, and believing the constitution therein described to have been given and actually established by Moses, have regarded those early days as ideal ones for the Theocracy. But it may be doubted whether they have derived the impression that its essence lay in priestly rule, or whether this is in reality suggested in the Bible; while a more elastic conception must certainly be formed if justice is to be done to the teaching of the OT as a whole.

i. *The use of the term by Josephus.*—The term 'theocracy' was coined by Josephus on the model of others expressive of various kinds of political constitution, in order to explain to Gentile readers the distinctive characteristics of the national life of Israel. He uses it but once, and then with an apology. In *c. Ap.* ii. 16, after referring to differences between States in respect to the seat of power—a single sovereign, a few, the multitude—he proceeds: *ὁ δ' ἡμέτερος νομοθέτης εἰς μὲν τούτων οὐδοτιοῦν ἀπεῖδεν, ὡς δ' ἄν τις εἴποι βιασάμενος τὸν λόγον, θεοκρατίαν ἀπέδειξε τὸ πολίτευμα, θεῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸ κράτος ἀναθείς.* 'Our lawgiver had an eye to none of these; but, as one might say, using a strained expression, he set forth the national polity as a theocracy, referring the rule and might to God.' As Josephus introduced the term, it may be worth while to consider a little more fully what he intended to convey by it; and this may help us to clear our own minds. There is the more reason for doing so, because statements in regard to his meaning, which the present writer believes to be in different ways misleading, have been made by such writers as Stanley, *Jewish Church*, Lecture 18 *init.*, and Wellhausen, *Proleg. to Hist. of Israel*, Eng. tr. p. 411, 3rd German ed. i. p. 436.

In the sequel to the words just quoted, Josephus says, by way of explanation or expansion of them, that Moses led the Israelites to recognize God as the source both of the good things bestowed on all mankind, and of deliverances granted to themselves in their distresses in answer to their prayers; that to the whole people he imparted a knowledge of God such as at most a philosopher here and there among other nations had attained to; and that he gave them Divine laws and customs to mould and train their national character.—A broader or more unexceptionable statement as to the special relation of the true God to Israel as their ruler, and of their relation to Him as His subjects, it would be difficult to imagine.

In other places, however, Josephus describes the Mosaic constitution as an 'aristocracy,' connecting this with the view that it is also a theocracy, which he indicates without using the term. Thus in his version of Moses' address to the people at the close of his life,—in which he gives more prominence, so far as provision for government was concerned, to the judges who were to be appointed in all their gates, of whom Moses had spoken (Dt 16^{18} $1^{15f.}$; cf. *Ant.* IV. viii. 14), than to the priests,—he makes Moses say, 'An aristocracy is best, and the life in harmony therewith; let not desire for another polity take hold of you, but cherish this one, and having the laws as your masters, do all things according to them; for it suffices to have God for your ruler' (*Ant.* IV. viii. 17). Later on he explains Samuel's grief at the people's demand for a king by his hatred of kings and conviction that an aristocracy is Divine, and that it makes those happy who have it for their form of polity (*Ant.* VI. iii. 3). Once more, of the Return from Exile he writes that those who then settled in Jerusalem adopted 'an aristocratic constitution with an oligarchy, for,' he adds, 'the chief priests were at the head of affairs till the descendants of the Hasmonæan became kings' (*Ant.* XI. iv. 8). See, further, art. RELIGION OF ISRAEL, II. iii. 1.

It is to be observed that Josephus lays no stress on the 'holiness,' either official or personal, of the ruling class, as he would have done if he had held the view attributed to him by Wellhausen; and in the last passage cited he even distinguishes the 'oligarchy' of priests from that 'aristocracy' which he regards as so desirable. It appears that for him the *theocratic* character of the system lay, not in its formal institutions but in the fact that they were of a kind to throw much on the people themselves. There was no excessively eminent human personage to intercept the regards that should be turned on God alone. Men were to submit to the laws because they had received them from God, and to depend on His guidance and protection—which included, no doubt, the raising up of leaders for times of special need.

ii. We pass to the actual history of the belief in Jehovah's kingship over Israel. (*a*) *The connexion of the belief with Semitic religious ideas.*—This was one of those conceptions derived from the general stock of Semitic religious ideas, which in Israel came to be immeasurably refined and exalted. In the OT itself we have evidence that in other instances also the tribal or national god was regarded as the king of the tribe or nation. In early times it was the specific duty of the chieftain or king to lead in war, so that the notion of chieftainship or kingship is itself involved in the belief implied in the language of Jephthah (Jg 11^{24}) that the god fought for his people, and won and held the territories in which they dwelt (cf. 1 S 26^{19}, Ru $1^{14f.}$, and the phrase in Is 10^{10} 'the kingdoms of the idols'). For evidence from other sources, see W. R. Smith, *RS*^{1} 66 f.

(*b*) *The view attributed to Gideon and to Samuel that the establishment of an earthly kingship implied disloyalty to Jehovah.*—In two passages in OT the proposal to establish an earthly monarchy is treated as an infringement of Jehovah's rights, Jg 8^{23} and 1 S 8 with 12^{12}. It will be necessary that we should discuss briefly the historical value of these notices. And, first, a few words as to the documents.

There is a large amount of agreement among critics to the effect that in the Book of Judges the work may be traced of a compiler of the age of Deuteronomy, *i.e.* the latter period of the Jewish kingdom, who has provided a framework into which he has fitted narratives, and perhaps a collection of narratives, of an earlier age. Some touches, also, are assigned to a post-exilic editor. The question whether Gideon's refusal of the kingship is a trait introduced by one of the later hands will have to be considered in connexion with the similar view of human monarchy appearing in 1 Samuel. In the portion of that book which relates to the choice of Saul, two accounts are combined which give distinct, and in some respects differing, views of the transaction. That one in which the desire for a king is represented as an act of disloyalty to Jehovah is generally regarded as the later of the two. Wellhausen refers it, chiefly because of its attitude on this point, to the exilic or post-exilic time, when the monarchy had been overthrown and the government was in the hands of the chief priests (*Prolegomena*, Eng. tr. pp. 249, 253–6, and 3rd German ed. i. pp. 260, 265–8). The statement in regard to Gideon in Jg 8^{23} he necessarily supposes to have been introduced at the same period (*ib.* Eng. tr. p. 239, and 3rd Germ. ed. p. 249). Other competent critics, however, point out marked affinities between the document embodied in 1 Samuel, which is now in question, and E of the Pentateuch (Budde, *ZATW* p. 230 f.; Driver, *LOT*^{6} p. 177 f.); and in the connexion of this document with the Northern Kingdom is to be found, according to Budde, the true explanation of its low estimate of the monarchy (*ib.* pp. 235, 236). He accounts for the words of Gideon in like manner ('Richter' in *Kurzer Handcom. in loc.*, and *Einleit.* lix f.). If we must choose between these views, the latter is certainly the more reasonable. It is a pure figment of the imagination, and opposed to all the evidence which we possess, to suppose that, under the constitution established after the Exile, men learned to depreciate the monarchy. On the contrary, we know that the hope of its restoration was still cherished; and, although there was a period in which this hope died down, there is no sign that any other ideal was formed of a nature to exclude it. Indeed, if such had been the case, its revival, without leaving any trace of a struggle between it and other aspirations, would have been well-nigh impossible. There were, on the other hand, no sacred associations with any one of the successive dynasties in the Northern Kingdom, and prophets had been brought into far more frequent and sterner conflict with individual kings. It would be more conceivable that here religious men should have become convinced of an inherent incompatibility between human and Divine sovereignty. But evidence is wanting that such was the case. [In Hos 13^{10} no opposition to kingship on principle is implied. With regard to Hos 10^{9}, see G. A. Smith in *Expositor's Bible*, p. 288, n. 1.]

The admission that the narrative of Gideon's judgeship may not have been committed to writing till long after the events, and that the document used in 1 Samuel with which we are concerned may probably have been composed in the latter part of the 9th or even in the 8th cent. B.C. (on date of E, see Driver, *LOT*^{6} p. 123), does not make it unsuitable for us to ask whether the view respecting the institution of monarchy which is found in them may not be due to a sound tradition. That view does not seem to be out of harmony with the character of the early age to which the narratives refer, and with natural tendencies of the human mind. And its appearance merely in two isolated instances, which cannot be shown to have anything in common with the experience and feeling of better known periods of Israelite history, is sufficient to suggest that it is a survival. We do not indeed know of the existence outside of Israel of the same view. But it would surely be quite in accordance with the relations supposed to exist between the god and his worshippers (see W. R. Smith, *RS*, Lect. 2) that a tribe or group of tribes which adhered to its primitive organization, or want of organization, should insist that its god was its king, contrasting itself in this respect with neighbouring nations that had adopted monarchy; or even that the notion of the permanent chiefship or kingship of the god should have been evolved before that of permanent human kingship. And, when a movement arose to substitute a monarchy for the older and looser constitution of society, it would be natural that in some quarters it should meet with opposition from a spirit of conservatism, which would call religious beliefs to its aid. We shall, moreover, be justified in regarding the fact that we have an example of this in Israel, though not elsewhere, as due to a peculiar intensity of religious feeling and faithfulness to the God whom they acknowledged, by which not the whole people but individuals amongst them were already distinguished.

(*c*) *The Theocracy subsequent to the establishment of the Monarchy.*—But while there is reason to think that belief in Jehovah's kingship over Israel existed before the regular establishment of an earthly monarchy, and that it afforded a ground with some for objecting to this institution, the sense of the Divine sovereignty over Israel was not in the event impaired by this change of national polity. It is a mistake to speak of the transition to this new period as 'the close of the Theocracy' (so Stanley does, *Jewish Church*, Lect. 18 *init.*). The same work in which the document that describes resistance to the introduction of monarchy is embedded, has in its second book set forth Jehovah's covenant with David and his descendants in terms which virtually make the reigning prince of this house the earthly vicegerent and representative of the heavenly King, under whose control he still remains (2 S $7^{1\text{-}17}$). Some other passages, which show how the relation of the king to God was regarded, are 2 K 11^{17} $23^{3.\,4}$, Ps 89^{27}, Neh 13^{26}, and even as to the Northern Kingdom 1 K 14^{14}. In Dt $17^{14\text{-}20}$ we have 'the law of the kingdom' set forth in subjection to the principle of the Theocracy (cf. Driver, *LOT*^{6} p. 92). The remarkable expression in 2 Ch 13^{8} should also be particularly noticed:—'the kingdom of Jehovah in the hand of the sons of David'; the lateness of the work in which it occurs makes it the more important. The use of the title King for God belongs especially to the Prophets and Psalms. Some instances in which God is called King of Israel, or in which His being so is most directly implied, are of the times of the Monarchy or the first part of the Exile, and occur in writers to whom, beyond question, the Divine sanctions of the earthly kingdom were no unfamiliar thought (Zeph 3^{15}, Ps 48^{2} 89^{18} [AV and RVm], Is 33^{22}, Jer 8^{19}). Passages of a later date are Is 43^{15} 44^{6}. It is to be added that, where God is spoken of simply as King, or as King over all the earth, the special relation of Israel to God may be, and in some cases certainly is, present to the writer's mind, the thought being that Jehovah, who has made Zion His favoured seat, from His capital exercises a world-wide dominion (Zec $14^{9.\,16.\,17}$, Jer 10^{10} 48^{15} 51^{57}, Ps 95^{3} 98^{6} 145^{1}). Where individuals with special devotion address God as their King, it is impossible to say always whether they held that the privilege and the power to do so were consequences of their membership in the chosen people; but sometimes they seem to have recognized this (Ps 5^{2} 44^{4} 68^{24} 74^{12}).

In conclusion, we may say that if we are to be guided by OT thought and language, as assuredly we ought to be, in determining the meaning to be given to the term *theocracy*, it must be employed to designate, not any one of the forms of government under which the Israelites lived, but a great conviction. It will describe the faith that God exercised a special and effective rule over Israel by blessings, punishments, deliverances, by prophets, whom He sent to instruct them, and the visitations of His providence, throughout all the stages of their chequered history. And in that Kingdom of Heaven, of which our Lord spake so much, the Theocracy found its enlargement and fulfilment.

V. H. STANTON.

HEBREWS, GOSPEL ACCORDING TO THE.—

Introduction.
- i. Patristic and other evidence of existence.
  - 1. Jerome.
  - 2. Epiphanius.
  - 3. Eusebius (including Hegesippus).
  - 4. Clement of Alexandria, and Origen.
  - 5. Muratorian Canon (silent), Irenæus, Papias, Ignatius.
  - 6. Nicephorus, and a minuscule codex of 9th or 10th cent.
- ii. Extant fragments.
- iii. Theories of origin and character.

Literature.

Introduction.—Under the designation 'according to the Hebrews' several Church Fathers, from the 2nd to the 5th cent., speak of a Gospel which existed in their day, though to Greek-speaking Christians known but vaguely, if at all. Many of the statements made with regard to it are of ambiguous meaning, as if the writers themselves were but imperfectly acquainted with the subject; and hence it is little wonder if the most divergent theories have been held about it. Was the Gospel according to the Hebrews a particular book, or was it a type of tradition which was embodied in several different books? Did it exist in Greek as well as in a Semitic tongue? and was the Hebrew a translation from Greek, or the original? Was it a source of the canonical Gospels or derived from them, or quite independent of, and parallel to, them? In the absence of any certain answer to these questions, some of which may never be finally disposed of, the Gospel according to the Hebrews has been made to fill a place in connexion with each successive theory of the origin of the Gospels; some, as Lessing, and more recently Hilgenfeld, regarding it as the primary root of the whole of the Gospel literature; the Tübingen school seeing in it the earliest written expression of the Jewish-Christian position; while others hold that it was never important, and that, while it may have contained some true reminiscences, its tradition on the whole was secondary and derived. Recent discussions, however, by Hilgenfeld,[*] Zahn,[†] Handmann,[‡] Harnack,[§] and Nicholson,[‖] have rendered the subject less shadowy. While there is still much difference of opinion on special points, the Gospel according to the Hebrews is coming into view as it actually existed in the early centuries.

i. PATRISTIC AND OTHER EVIDENCE OF EXISTENCE.—1. More facts are to be learned on the subject from *Jerome* than from any other Father; and it is best to begin with what he tells us, referring afterwards to the statements before him and after him. What is here said about Jerome is based on the admirable discussion by Zahn, in which the passages are collected.

Jerome went twice to the East. He lived 374–379 a hermit life at Chalcis in Northern Syria, and in 385 he was at Antioch on his way to Palestine, to spend the rest of his life in the monastery he founded at Bethlehem. He was much in contact with Syrian Christians, who helped him to learn Hebrew, and told him many interesting things. In particular, he gathered from them much information as to the Gospel they used. This he describes by various phrases which at first sight seem somewhat inconsistent with each other. At one time he calls it 'the Hebrew Gospel'; at others, and most frequently, 'the Gospel according to the Hebrews' (*juxta* or *secundum Hebræos*). These words may be a description, not a title, and do not of themselves require us to think of a written work; they might refer to the Evangelical tradition current in the East, which might exist in more than one form. Jerome frequently says that the Nazarenes use this Gospel, or are in the habit of reading it. If the 'Nazarenes' of Jerome were a particular sect, their Gospel would be a particular book. But the name is more probably, in most of the passages where he uses it, a general one for the Jewish Christians of the East; so that the Gospel they used might have various forms. In one passage (*ad* Mt 12^{13}; No. 8[¶]) Jerome says the Nazarenes and the Ebionites used this Gospel. Here he must be held to be speaking very loosely. There were Ebionites who were, to the eye of the Churchman, heretics, and they had a Gospel of heretical tendency of which fragments are preserved, though not by Jerome. But the term 'Ebionite' was also used as a general designation of the Christians of Palestine who kept up a Jewish form of belief in Christ. It is not therefore to be inferred from this expression of Jerome that he identified the heretical Gospel of the Ebionites with that according to the Hebrews, which he does not elsewhere regard as heretical. More probably he is guilty of a confusion, and adds the Ebionites to the Nazarenes, though the two were identical: if this is so, his expression need not point to more than one book. But all doubts as to what he means by his 'Gospel according to the Hebrews' are set at rest by his other statements. In his *de Viris Illustribus* (ii. 3) of the year 392 he speaks of a book which existed at that day in the library at Cæsarea, which the martyr Pamphilus took such pains to form; and he says that the Nazarenes at Berœa (Aleppo) showed him the same work, and allowed him to copy it (No. 2). Here we come to another puzzle. In this passage he calls the book, of which he knew two copies, *ipsum Hebraicum*, 'the original Hebrew.' Now, he is speaking in this passage of the Gospel according to Matthew, so that he appears to think, like Cureton in later days, that what he had copied out was the original Hebrew of Matthew, of which the canonical First Gospel in Greek was a translation. In his commentary on Mt 12^{13} (the passage cited above) he says that the Gospel used by the Nazarenes and Ebionites was called by many 'the original of Matthew' (*Matthæi authenticum*). And in his work against the Pelagians he speaks of 'the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which is written in the Chaldæan and Syrian tongue [*i.e.* Aramaic, cf. Zahn, p. 659. It is Chaldaic as appearing in the OT, Syriac as a living language], but in Hebrew letters, which the Nazarenes use to this day; according to the Apostles, or, as many are of opinion, according to Matthew, which has a place in the library at Cæsarea (No. 3).' And this book, he tells us, he had translated into Greek and Latin. To these translations of his own he frequently refers. There can be no doubt that he made them; there is evidence, indeed, that they occasioned some little scandal in the Church, and were regarded as an indiscretion on his part, as if he had sought to add a fifth Gospel to the sacred four acknowledged by the Church.

There are many difficulties and confusions in Jerome's statements on this subject, but the following facts clearly appear from them:—1. The Christians of Syria used in the 4th cent. a Gospel in Aramaic, written in the square Hebrew character, and not identical with any of those in the Canon. 2. There was great uncertainty as to the origin of this work. Many held it to be the original work of the Apostle Matthew. Some identified it with the Gospel of the Twelve Apostles, the surviving fragments of which, not preserved by Jerome but by others, show it to have been a different work (see Harnack, *Chronologie*, ii. 627). Those who knew little about it could say that it was used by the heretical Ebionites as well as by the ordinary Oriental Christians. 3. It was unknown at this period in the West; Jerome knew of no Greek or Latin version of it; his designation of it 'according to the Hebrews' indicates its circle of readers; it was used by Hebrew-speaking Christians, not by others. 4. The identification with the Apostle Matthew shows that it resembled our First Gospel more than the others; yet Jerome knew that it was in many respects different from the canonical Matthew, else he need not have translated it.

2. From *Epiphanius*, Jerome's contemporary, who also spent part of his life in the East, we have various statements as to the Gospel used in Palestine, and on the whole a confirmation of the facts obtained from Jerome. It is from Epiphanius that we derive our fragments of the Gospel according to the Ebionites. He tells us that that Gospel began with John the Baptist, without any genealogy or story of the Infancy, and that the early Docetics,

---

[*] *NT extra Can. Rec.*, Fasc. 1. *Evangeliorum sec. Hebræos*, etc., 1884.

[†] *Geschichte des NT Kanons*, ii. 642–723.

[‡] *Texte und Untersuchungen*, v. 3.

[§] *Chronologie*, ii. 1, pp. 625–651.

[‖] *The Gospel according to the Hebrews*, 1879.

[¶] The numbering of the Fragments in this article is that of Preuschen's *Antilegomena*.

Cerinthus and Carpocrates, had used it. The fragments show an ascetic tendency, and in one of them there is an account of the baptism of the Lord quite different from that in the Gospel 'sec. Hebr.' Nicholson, however, prints them as part of the same book; for which he can allege the passage of Jerome given above, and also a statement of Epiphanius, who says that the Ebionites called this Gospel 'according to the Hebrews,' and that it was the Hebrew Matthew. The latter statement the extracts plainly disprove; and if we add to it the statement made by the same Father, that Tatian's *Diatessaron* was called by many 'according to Matthew,' we have some measure of the confusion which, in this Father's mind at least, rested on the whole subject. As to the Nazarenes, whom he treats as another set of heretics, but in his description of whom we may recognize the features of the ordinary Jewish Christian of the East who cherished the Law as well as the Gospel, Epiphanius says they have a 'very full Matthew in Hebrew.' This book, however, he has never seen; he cannot even tell whether or not it opened with a genealogy.

3. The work with which Jerome made such close acquaintance was known to Fathers of the two centuries before him; some of the extant fragments are found in their writings, and we find them considering how much authority is to be allowed to a Gospel which, though not recognized by the Church, was not suppressed, but in some quarters warmly cherished. *Eusebius*, who lived half a century before Jerome, and was much interested in the question of the books to be adopted by the Church, quotes several times 'the Gospel which has reached us in Hebrew characters,' or 'the Gospel which is with the Jews in the Hebrew language.' He does not speak of any translation of it into Greek, and we do not know how he got the Greek versions he gives us. In his famous list of the New Testament Scriptures (*HE* iii. 25) he gives 'sec. Hebr.' a place, not among the acknowledged books of the Church, but among the Antilegomena, the books which are accepted in some quarters of the Church but not generally, such as the Shepherd of Hermas, the Teaching of the Apostles, and, in the view of some, the Johannine Apocalypse. 'In this class,' he says, 'some count the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which is most used by those of the Hebrews who have accepted Christ' (ᾧ μάλιστα Ἑβραίων οἱ τὸν Χριστὸν παραδεξάμενοι χαίρουσιν). Harnack sees in these words an implied statement that there were Greek-speaking as well as Hebrew-speaking Christians who used this Gospel, and holds them to prove the existence in Eusebius' day of a Greek translation, which had disappeared when Jerome wrote. But the μάλιστα may be taken with ᾧ rather than with Ἑβραίων, and may indicate that the Christians of Syria clung to this Gospel more than to the *Diatessaron* or any other Syriac translation. Similarly, Eusebius says (iii. 27) that 'sec. Hebr.' was used by the better set of Ebionites, *i.e.* by the Christians of Syria who kept up their attachment to the Law, as their only Gospel: 'by the others they set small store.' Eusebius, then, respects the practice of the Jewish Christians in using a Gospel which had come down to them in their own tongue; but a work of such limited circulation could not be taken to belong to the accepted collection of the Church. He nowhere identifies it with the Hebrew of Matthew, though he does speak of that work, in which early tradition firmly believed, when he says (v.[10]) that Pantænus found in India the Gospel of Matthew in Hebrew, which had been carried there by the Apostle Bartholomew. What he knew of 'sec. Hebr.' is all in the direction of the difference of that work from Matthew, not of their similarity. In a statement about *Hegesippus*, who travelled from the East to Rome in the latter half of the 2nd cent., he tells us that that Father wrote a book of Memoirs, in which he gave extracts from the Gospel according to the Hebrews and the Syriac, translating them himself. Whatever may be the precise meaning of this, whether it credits Hegesippus with using two Gospels of Semitic language or only one, it shows Eusebius to have considered 'sec. Hebr.' to have been in the possession of the Christians of the East from a very early period.

4. Going back more than a century to *Clement* and *Origen*, with whom, as is well known, the Canon of Christian Scriptures was only emerging into definite form, we find 'sec. Hebr.' in the position of a well-known book, which, while it may not rank as Scripture,—yet in one passage of Clement (see below) it almost seems to do so,—is treated with respect, and regarded as a possible source of genuine information as to the Gospel narrative and teaching. Of Origen, Jerome tells us that he frequently used this Gospel; and there are three passages in the works of the great commentator in which he is seen to do so. He furnishes two of the extant fragments, introducing one of them (Jn 2^{12}) with the words: 'If any one gives credence to the Gospel according to the Hebrews, where the Saviour Himself says' (No. 5*a*), and saying of another (Mt 19^{16}), 'It is written in a certain Gospel which is called "according to the Hebrews," if at least any one choose to accept it *not in the way of authority, yet* (this phrase is thought by Zahn to be a gloss) for the bringing out of the question before us' (No. 11). Origen, then, who firmly believes that the Church had only four Gospels (*Hom. in Luc.* 1), knows of another to which some attach value, and he does not condemn that work as either heretical or absurd, but leaves it open to those who are so inclined to accept its statements, and regards them himself with great interest.

With regard to Origen's predecessor, Clement, we have the one fact that he twice quotes a saying from 'sec. Hebr.,' on one occasion (*Strom.* ii. 9. 45) introducing it with 'So also in the Gospel according to the Hebrews it is written' (No. 24); where the phrase 'it is written,' the ordinary formula for quotation from Scripture, is held by some to indicate that he regarded 'sec. Hebr.' in that light. But with Clement the Canon is not a very definite quantity; he names as Scripture a number of books which, according to Eusebius (vi. 14, 1), he does not seem to have held to belong to the NT. That Origen and Clement had 'sec. Hebr.' in a Greek translation is asserted by Harnack; but he does not succeed in accounting for the disappearance of such a version, if there was one, before the time of Jerome; and both Fathers were in a position to quote from a work in Aramaic.

5. It is not necessary to go further back. The *Muratorian Canon*, drawn up at Rome in the last quarter of the 2nd cent., does not name our Gospel. *Irenæus*, writing in the West some time after, knows that there are Christians, whom he calls Ebionites, who use only the Gospel of Matthew, and repudiate the Apostle Paul as an apostate from the Law. He shows no knowledge of the Gospel 'sec. Hebr.,' and his statement may be understood as a vague reflexion in the West of the fact that there were believers in Christ in the East who used only one Gospel and connected it, in the way we have seen, with the name of the Apostle Matthew. Of *Papias*, first author, so far as we can discern, of the statement that Matthew had written a Gospel-work in Hebrew, Eusebius tells us that he had the story of the woman accused to the Lord of many sins—a story which Eusebius says 'sec. Hebr.' also contained (No. 23). He does not say that Papias derived it from that source. Finally, it is a very

curious circumstance that *Ignatius*, in the early part of the 2nd cent., quotes the narrative in which the risen Christ summons His disciples to satisfy themselves that He is 'not a bodiless spirit' (No. 19). Eusebius, who knew our Gospel, declares that he does not know from what source Ignatius derived this; and to conclude, as Harnack does, that Ignatius knew 'sec. Hebr.,' seems scarcely necessary.

6. The history of our Gospel after Jerome translated it is soon told. In a Stichometry, or list of the books of Scripture with the number of lines in each, appended to a copy of the chronography of *Nicephorus*, Patriarch of Constantinople 806–813, the Gospel according to the Hebrews is named among the Antilegomena of the NT. It is in company here with the Apocalypse of John, the Apocalypse of Peter, and the Epistle of Barnabas. Good reasons have been given for thinking that the copy containing this list originated, not at Constantinople but at Jerusalem, and that the list was drawn up in Palestine. It may have been a century or two old when the MS was written; and thus we are given to know that though the Canon of the Church prevailed in Jerusalem as well as elsewhere, yet the work which had once been the only Gospel of the Christians of the East was still held in affection there, and read, if not in Church, yet privately. Its appearance on this list shows that it was in Greek when the list was made. And we may suppose that it was Jerome's translation which was thus half canonized. The Stichometry informs us how large a book our Gospel was, and how it compares in this respect with those of the Canon. 'Sec. Hebr.' had 2200 lines; it was longer than Mark, which had 2000, but shorter than Matthew, which had 2500.

The last fact of the external history of our Gospel is derived from *a minuscule codex of the First and Second canonical Gospels*, which dates from the 9th or 10th cent., and was brought by Tischendorf from the East to St. Petersburg. The Gospel according to Matthew is said in it to have been taken from old copies at Jerusalem. There are four marginal notes on Matthew, giving readings from τὸ Ἰουδαικόν; and one of these agrees with matter quoted by Jerome from the Gospel according to the Hebrews. We thus learn that that work was extant in Greek, and was a matter of interest in the East up to the time when this copy was made, and probably some time after. It is open to us to believe, with Zahn, that here also we are on the track of Jerome's Greek translation. From this point the Gospel according to the Hebrews is lost, and, till the book itself turns up in some corner in the East, we are left for our knowledge of it to the shadowy history which has been traced, and to what may be learned from the scanty fragments which are preserved.

ii. EXTANT FRAGMENTS.—The fragments are 24 in number. They are collected in a very convenient form in Preuschen's *Antilegomena* (Giessen, 1901), the passages in which they occur being also given; and also in Nestle's *Novi Testamenti Græci Supplementum* (Leipzig, 1896); also in Nicholson, Zahn, and Handmann. They are various in their nature—some being linguistic, stating a different word, phrase, or name which stood in our Gospel; while some give a piece of narrative of a different tenor from that in the canonical Gospels, or additional to what they supply. A few give isolated utterances of the Lord not found in our New Testament. The fragments show that the Gospel contained the baptism of Jesus by John, a piece which may be connected with either the Transfiguration or the Temptation, the Lord's Prayer, the story of the man with the withered hand, the confession of Peter, the piece about forgiving seven times, the interview with the rich young man, the triumphal entry, the impeachment of the Pharisees, the parable of the Talents, Peter's denial, Barabbas, a catastrophe in the temple at the crucifixion, two appearances of the risen Lord; to which is to be added the story of the woman accused of many sins. That the narrative proceeded after the same scheme as our Matthew cannot be proved or even shown to be probable; some narratives are fuller than in that Gospel, and some additional to it; yet the work was considerably shorter than Matthew. A Gospel for the use of Hebrews would probably contain a genealogy, though on this point Epiphanius confesses ignorance; it might also have a narrative of the Infancy, though the evidence on this point is not conclusive.

The linguistic variations have been thought by many scholars to show that 'sec. Hebr.' was a translation from Greek; but recent writers take a different view, and hold our Gospel to give valuable corrections of the Greek Gospels of the Church, and to show an earlier tradition. Thus its reading *Bethlehem Juda* is better than *Bethlehem of Judæa* in Matthew, pointing to the district, not the country; and when *Barabbas* is explained to mean 'the son of their Master' (Jerome; No. 16), we remember Origen's statement, that the name of this person was Jesus, and see that our Gospel may have been right in taking Barabbas, not as a name but as a title. Origen also says that the word is to be translated 'son of the teacher.' In the Lord's Prayer the fifth petition ran, 'Give us this day to-morrow's bread' (No. 7). Here it has been held that the Aramaic *mahar* was a translation of ἐπιούσιος, taken as derived from ἡ ἐπιοῦσα, 'the coming day.' But the converse is possible; ἐπιούσιος may be a translation of *mahar* (see Lightfoot, *Fresh Revision*, App. I. 195): in this prayer as originally given only very simple terms would be employed, which can scarcely be said of ἐπιούσιος if derived from οὐσία, and denoting 'necessary,' or (as Jerome) 'supersubstantial.' To-day's work is done among simple people for the bread of to-morrow, and the prayer in this form might accompany the work without implying the anxiety forbidden in Mt 6^{31}.

The narrative pieces are of extreme interest.

No. 3: '*Behold, the Lord's mother and brothers said to him, John the Baptist is baptizing for remission of sins; let us go and be baptized by him. But he said to them, What sin have I done that I should go and be baptized by him; unless perhaps what I have now said is ignorance?*' Here the title 'Lord' applied to Christ, and that of 'the Baptist,' belong to a time when the tradition was already formed; but the revelation of Christ's family circumstances at an early time, and the words He utters, appear such as could not have been invented. The absence of any consciousness of sin, and at the same time the attitude of humility, agree with all we know of His early life; but, as we see from Mk 10^{18} with its parallels, the tradition tended to discard His self-depreciation. Mt 3^{14} shows that reflexion early took place on the meaning of Jesus' baptism by John.

No. 4. The Baptism: '*It came to pass when the Lord had ascended out of the water, the whole fountain of the Holy Spirit came down and rested upon him, and said to him, My son, in all the prophets I was looking for thee, that thou shouldest come, and that I should rest in thee. For thou art my rest; thou art my firstborn son, who reignest to eternity.*' Here more distinctly than in any of the canonical Gospels the baptism is the act by which Jesus is made acquainted with His destiny to bring about the highest revelation of God. The dove is not mentioned; the Holy Spirit itself descends on

Him. The heavenly voice is that not of the Father but of the Spirit, afterwards spoken of as feminine, and is addressed as in Mark, not to the bystanders or to John but to Jesus Himself. The Spirit is to dwell with Him, not as in the prophets occasionally and provisionally, but in full and ultimate manner; He is firstborn of the Spirit, and is to have an endless reign. This passage also can scarcely be thought to be invented. It has the appearance, like the next extract, of a communication made by Jesus Himself to His intimate friends, and setting forth His experience, as does also that of the Temptation, in a symbolic narrative.

No. 5. The Flight to Mount Tabor: '*The Holy Spirit, my mother, took me just now by one of my hairs, and carried me away to the great Mount Tabor.*' This extract occurs 5 times in Origen and Jerome; it must have made a great impression. Jesus appears to be telling of an experience He has just had; it seems scarcely possible to connect it with either the Temptation or the Transfiguration, though early tradition held Tabor to be the scene of the latter: Jesus has been carried off, not as in the former by the devil, or as in the latter with any companions. The Holy Spirit, the Heb. word for which (רוּחַ) is usually feminine, has taken Him (cf. Ezk 8^3, Bel and the Dragon v.^{36}) for some communication which He alone is to hear.

No. 7. The man with the withered hand (Mt 12^{9-13}) is in this Gospel said to be a builder, and to entreat help in such words as these: '*I was a builder, seeking my living with my hands; I pray thee, Jesus, restore to me my health, that I may not basely beg my bread.*' The R.C. commentator Stapula states, when dealing with this story in Matthew, that the man with the withered hand made a strong appeal to Jesus' compassion; accepting this as a fact from Jerome citing this Gospel. The story reads awkwardly without this feature; in its absence the energy of Jesus appears to be called forth by His indignation against the Pharisees, or by the desire to establish the view that cures may be wrought on the Sabbath: neither alternative is very satisfactory.

The simple freedom which is apparent in these narratives meets us also in the Christophanies recorded in the Gospel. In one of them (No. 18) we are told how '*the Lord after handing over the linen cloth to the servant of the high priest* (the guard at the tomb is accordingly not Roman but Jewish), *went to James and appeared to him* (cf. 1 Co 15^7); *for James had sworn that he would eat no bread from the hour at which the Lord had drunk the cup* (of death), *till he should see him rising again from those who are asleep. . . . Bring, the Lord says, a table and bread.*' . . . And then it goes on: '*He took bread, and blessed, and brake it, and gave it to James the Just, and said to him: My brother, eat thy bread, for the Son of Man is risen from those who are asleep.*' Here, as in the former pieces, the embellishing touches of a later time are unmistakable, while the tradition itself has a look of originality, and is independent of our NT.

The narratives from the ministry also present surprising variations from those of our NT, as when we hear the Lord (No. 11) addressing the *second* rich man with the exhortation to part with his possessions, and showing him that he has not kept the Law, since there are people dying of hunger about his gates and no supplies are sent them out of his well-furnished house. The parable of the Talents (No. 14) had three types of service, not only two as in our NT, and the hard sentence was directed not to him who hid his lord's talent in the earth, but to the servant who had devoured his lord's substance with harlots and flute-players. It was not the veil of the temple that was rent at the Crucifixion, but the lintel (No. 17), a stone of immense size, that was broken in two; in which, however we may compare the two physical facts, we see at least a different symbolism.

We find, lastly, a number of sayings of the Lord not recorded in the canonical Gospels, but which are accepted by scholars as not unfit to stand with those formerly known to us. It is reckoned among the greatest crimes '*that one should have saddened the spirit of his brother*' (No. 20). '*Never be glad but when you have looked upon your brother in charity*' (No. 21). The following is more difficult: '*I will choose for myself the well-pleasing; the well-pleasing are those whom my Father in heaven gave me*' (No. 22; from a work of Eusebius in Syriac; the translation is disputed; cf. below, p. 346^a). Could this come from the same mouth which said, 'I came not to call the righteous, but sinners'? It speaks at least of a more Jewish colouring in this tradition. Yet the same Gospel contained the story of the woman accused to the Lord of many sins, which, whether parallel to Jn 8^{1-11} or to Lk 7^{36-50}, or a different story, must have had a lesson of compassion for human infirmity.

iii. THEORIES OF ORIGIN AND CHARACTER.—From these extracts, reminding him now of one of the Gospels of the NT and now of another, and in some cases appearing to add to what these Gospels give, the reader will readily see what questions are here suggested to scholarship. That 'sec. Hebr.' was a translation from Greek into Aramaic, drawing its information from the canonical Gospels, mostly, no doubt, from Matthew, but also from Luke, has now ceased to be believed. If, however, Matthew wrote a Gospel-work in Hebrew, as Papias declares and as early Christendom believed, our Gospel may be related to that Apostolic work. This is held by Hilgenfeld, Nicholson, and Zahn, in different ways. Hilgenfeld, as the principal opponent of the now prevailing view of the priority of Mark to Matthew, is naturally led to claim for 'sec. Hebr.,' which agreed on the whole with Matthew, but was more Jewish and less universalistic, a very early and independent position. He considers 'sec. Hebr.' to be the work of Matthew of which Papias speaks, and to be the earliest Gospel, from which the study of the Gospels must set out as its point of Archimedes. Nicholson, in a book full of learning and of interest, concludes that 'Matthew,' not necessarily the Apostle, wrote both 'sec. Hebr.' and canonical Matthew, the latter of which may have been translated from Aramaic, and was probably first produced. This would be another instance in the NT of an author who wrote two versions of his book, both of which got into circulation. Zahn considers that Matthew wrote, as Papias says, in Hebrew, and that 'sec. Hebr.' followed him, but was written in a broader and more popular style (as some of the fragments show), which caused the original Matthew to disappear before it. It follows that on points of language the non-canonical Gospel, being nearer Matthew's original than the canonical, is more correct, but that its tradition is derived from Matthew, and is to be regarded as secondary.

The present state of opinion as to the origin of the Synoptic Gospels is opposed to the views of these scholars, and none of them has found followers on this subject. If, as is now generally believed, the sources of Matthew, Mark, and Luke alike were Greek; and if Matthew, as appears to many to be capable of demonstration, composed his Gospel with Mark before him, and another work, also Greek, before him from which Luke also drew, then any Aramaic work Matthew used must have been subsidiary to his main sources. That canonical Matthew was originally composed in Greek, not translated, is not now questioned.

The position, accordingly, is that we know the Gospel tradition to have been put into Greek by A.D. 70, when attempts were made to construct out of it continuous Gospels for the use of Christians. These underwent various modifications, the textual critics assure us, after they were written, and tended to become always more dignified, more intelligible to men of all lands, and to part with any features they might have at first of too great naïveté and simplicity. But the tradition, though translated into Greek, continued to exist in its original Aramaic; and it is no matter of wonder if it was seen in course of time to be different in some respects from that of the Church, if it remained more Jewish, more particular, and in many instances more realistic and quaint. Zahn explains these features of 'sec. Hebr.' as due to the exuberance of a popular preacher, and therefore quite secondary; but they may also be explained as signs of an earlier stage of the tradition which, while the Church outgrew it, survived among 'the Hebrews.'

The date of the work Jerome translated cannot be fixed with any precision. Papias may not have known it, as Hilgenfeld thinks, nor Ignatius, as Harnack. Its anonymity, its primitive character, and the authority it afterwards enjoyed, point to a very early origin. It may have come into existence about the same time as the Synoptic Gospels, and in obedience to some at least of the same motives as led to their appearance.*

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works mentioned in the body of the above article, which are the most recent and important, the student may consult, for the history of the subject, Lessing's *Theol. Nachlass*, p. 45; the NT Introductions of Eichhorn, Hug, de Wette, Reuss, and Hilgenfeld; Weizsäcker's *Untersuchungen über die evangelische Geschichte*; Baur's and Holtzmann's works on the Gospels; Lipsius' art. 'Apocryphal Gospels' in Smith's *Dict. of Christian Biography*. The subject is discussed by Strauss and Keim in their works on the Life of Christ, while the most recent publication of this kind, Oscar Holtzmann's *Leben Jesu* (1901), treats 'sec. Hebr.' as a coordinate source with the Synoptic Gospels and weaves its statements into the narrative.

ALLAN MENZIES.

AGRAPHA.—

i. Name.
ii. Certain Sayings not to be included.
iii. Method and Results of criticism of the Agrapha.
iv. List of Agrapha.
  (*a*) 1–15: Agrapha from the NT or from some NT manuscripts.
  (*b*) 16–25: from Gospel according to the Hebrews;
    26: from Gospel according to the Egyptians.
  (*c*) 27–33: the Oxyrhynchus 'Logia.'
  (*d*) 34–46: from various ancient documents, Catholic and heretical.
  (*e*) 47–48: from the Mishna.
  (*f*) 49–66: from early Christian Writers.
  (*g*) Agrapha from very late sources.
  (*h*) Agrapha from Mohammedan sources (1–51).
Literature.

i. NAME.—The name *Agrapha* was first used in 1776 (J. G. Körner, *De sermonibus Christi ἀγράφοις*, Leipzig) for the Sayings purporting to come from Jesus Christ but transmitted to us outside of the canonical Gospels. The term was suggested by the idea that these Sayings are stray survivals from an unwritten tradition, orally preserved and running parallel with the written Gospels. It is now recognized that this description does not strictly apply to many Sayings which must be included in any collection of such material; but the name has proved convenient, and since the publication of Resch's elaborate monograph ('Agrapha: Aussercanonische Evangelienfragmente in möglichster Vollständigkeit zusammengestellt und untersucht,' in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, v. 4, 1889), has passed into general use.

ii. CERTAIN SAYINGS NOT TO BE INCLUDED.—In a collection of Agrapha it is, however, neither customary nor advisable to include all that falls under the definition just given. The long discourses ascribed to Jesus in such works as the *Didascalia*, or to the Risen Christ, as in the *Pistis Sophia*,* have no claim to authenticity, and are profitably studied only in their original context. The same is to be said of most of the comparatively few Sayings of Jesus found in the religious romances known as Apocryphal Gospels, whether Gnostic or Catholic, and in the Apocryphal Acts, as well as of the Letter of Christ to Abgar (Euseb. *HE* i. 13). And of some of the Sayings now usually and rightly included in the lists it must be said that if their full context were known it would probably at once appear that they were of this same sort, and were better omitted. Of a different character are the Sayings preserved from those uncanonical Gospels which were designed, like the canonical Gospels, to embody Evangelical tradition for serious public or private use. To this class of writings belong the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, together with the (far less valuable) *Gospel according to the Egyptians*, and the *Ebionite Gospel* (mainly based upon the canonical Gospels) known to Epiphanius. With these would be placed also the *Gospel according to Peter*; but the only fragment of it extant contains no Saying of Jesus excepting a peculiar form of the word from the cross of Mk 15^{34}, Mt 27^{46}.

It is also to be remarked that in nearly all the published collections of Agrapha a considerable number of Sayings will be actually found which for various reasons have no right to be included as independent Agrapha. (*a*) Some of these are obviously mere parallel forms or expansions or combinations of Sayings found in the canonical Gospels.

For instance—

> Ephr. Syr. *Testamentum* (*Opp. Græce*, ed. Assemani, vol. ii. p. 232), *τοῦ γὰρ ἀγαθοῦ διδασκάλου ἤκουσα ἐν τοῖς θείοις εὐαγγελίοις φήσαντος τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μαθηταῖς· μηδὲν ἐπὶ γῆς κτήσησθε*: 'For I heard the Good Teacher in the divine Gospels saying to his disciples, Get you nothing on earth.' Cf. Mt 6^{19} 10^9, Lk 12^{33}.

With regard to such cases, the process of alteration of some of the Sayings of Jesus to be seen within the Synoptic Gospels themselves, whether as shown by the parallel forms in the several Gospels, or by the variant readings of Greek MSS and the renderings of early Versions, should be a warning against assuming too easily the presence of an independent Saying. There is a strong presumption in favour of accounting for half-strange Sayings of Jesus from the universally current canonical Gospel tradition. But, in determining whether or not a Saying is to be regarded as an independent Agraphon, individual judgments will necessarily vary. For other Sayings which might be classed here, see below, 'List of Agrapha,' Nos. 38, 49.

(*b*) In other cases, by a mere slip a passage from Scripture has been wrongly ascribed to Jesus by an ancient writer. For instance—

> *Didascalia Apostolorum Syriace* (ed. Lagarde, p. 11, l. 12), 'For the Lord saith, Wrath destroyeth even wise men.' From Pr 15^1.—*De aleatoribus*, iii., 'Monet Dominus et dicit: Nolite contristare Spiritum Sanctum qui in vobis est, et nolite exstinguere lumen quod in vobis effulsit': 'The Lord also warneth

---

* Cf., further, on various points dealt with in this article, the following art. AGRAPHA.

* For certain Sayings found in the *Pistis Sophia*, which have a somewhat different character from the mass of that work, but are not included in the List of Agrapha given below, see Harnack, 'Über das gnostische Buch Pistis-Sophia' (*TU* vii. 2), 1891, p. 30 f.; Ropes, *Sprüche Jesu*, pp. 63 f., 117–119, 135 f., cf. p. 141.

and saith, Grieve not the Holy Spirit which is in you, and quench not the light which has shone in you.' From Eph 4^{30}, 1 Th 5^{19}.

(*c*) In another class of cases the ancient writer never intended to give the impression that he was quoting a Saying of Jesus, but has merely paraphrased in homiletical fashion Jesus' thought. Thus—

Hippolytus, *Demonstratio adv. Judæos*, vii., *ὅθεν λέγει· γενηθήτω, ὦ πάτερ, ὁ ναὸς αὐτῶν ἠρημωμένος*: 'Whence he says, Let their temple, Father, be desolate.' Here the context shows that the apparent quotation is meant simply as an explanatory paraphrase of Ps 69^{25}, of which the writer is giving a connected exposition.

Petrus Siculus, *Historia Manichæorum*, 34 (ed. Mai, *Nova Patr. Bibl.* iv. 2), *ἑταῖρε, οὐκ ἀδικῶ σε, ἀπέλαβες τὰ σὰ ἐν τῇ ζωῇ σου· νῦν ἆρον τὸ σὸν καὶ ὕπαγε*: 'Friend, I do thee no wrong, thou receivedst thy reward in thy lifetime; take up that which is thine and go thy way.' The context shows that this is an address to certain specific errorists, made up by combining Mt $20^{13f.}$ with Lk 16^{25}, and put by the author into the mouth of the Judge at the Last Assize.

(*d*) Other Sayings have occasionally been included through sheer mistake of some kind, as—

Epist. Barnabæ, iv. 9, 'Sicut dicit filius Dei, Resistamus omni iniquitati et odio habeamus eam': 'As the Son of God says, Let us resist all iniquity and hold it in hatred.' Here the Greek text (first published from Cod. ℵ in 1862) *ὡς πρέπει υἱοῖς θεοῦ ἀντιστῶμεν, κ.τ.λ.*, makes it apparent that *sicut dicit filius Dei* is a textual corruption of *sicut decet filios Dei.*

(*c*) Still another class of Sayings to be found in the lists owe their places only to the guess of some modern scholar trying to discover the source of an ancient quotation. Resch, especially, has in a number of cases been led by his theory about the origin of the whole body of Agrapha to assume without sufficient ground that a quotation of unknown origin is from the words of Jesus.

Examples of this will be found in his treatment of 1 Co 2^9, Eph 5^{14}, Ja 4^5, or such a case as the following:—

Clemens Alex. *Strom.* i. 8. 41 (Potter, 340), *οὗτοι οἱ τὰ κατάρτια κατασπῶντες καὶ μηθὲν ὑφαίνοντες, φησὶν ἡ γραφή*: 'These are they who ply their looms and weave nothing, saith the Scripture' (cf. Resch, *Agrapha*, p. 226 f.).

A more plausible suggestion is that Rev 16^{15} (Resch, *Agrapha*, p. 310; Ropes, *Spr. Jesu*, No. 145) is an Agraphon.

iii. METHOD AND RESULTS OF CRITICISM OF THE AGRAPHA.—The criticism of the Agrapha has first to determine the source or sources by which, independently of other sources known to us, the Saying in question has been preserved. The Agrapha were much copied by ancient writers from one another, and even an imposing array of attesting authorities is in most cases reducible to one. This genealogical criticism of the sources accomplished, the next question is whether the earliest authority for the Saying is of such date and character that he might reasonably have had access to trustworthy extra-canonical tradition. For Papias or Justin Martyr this will be admitted; for a writer of the 4th cent. it will not. Finally, a third question must be considered, viz. whether the Saying is conceivable in the mouth of Jesus, in view of what the canonical Gospels make known to us of His thought and spirit. On the answer to this question will depend the ultimate decision as to the probable genuineness of the Agraphon. But, even if a negative conclusion is here reached, the proof is not complete until a fair explanation of the actual rise of the Agraphon has been furnished.

The criticism of the Agrapha is in most cases more difficult and less satisfactory than that of the Sayings of Jesus contained in the Gospels, because the history of their preservation and early transmission is, as a rule, utterly obscure, and because of their isolated character, lacking, as they often do, all context. The setting of the canonical Sayings in a great body of material all of the same general character, touching on the same topics, and transmitted to us by the same process, is a factor of unspeakable significance and value in Gospel criticism.

For detailed criticism of the Agrapha the reader must be referred to the literature of the subject. Here only a general summary can be furnished.

(*a*) Of the following list of Agrapha, Nos. 1, 17, 19, 21, 34, 35, 38, 39, 42, 43, 44, 46, 48, 59, 60 are, for various reasons, certainly not genuine Sayings of Jesus.

(*b*) Of most of the others so positive a statement cannot be made, but to the present writer Nos. 2, 3, 5, 6, 9, 22, 28, 40, 41, 45, 50, 54, 56, 63, 64, 65, 66 seem decidedly to lack the marks of genuineness; while in favour of Nos. 7, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 23, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 36, 37, 49, 51, 52, 53, 61, 62 a better, though not a conclusive, case can be made out. Some of them may have concealed within them a genuine kernel.

(*c*) Nos. 4, 11, 13, 15, 24, 25, 47, 55, 57, 58 (distinguished by an asterisk) all seem with considerable probability to possess historical value. At the head in trustworthiness stands No. 13 (Ac 20^{35}), which possesses the same right to be accepted as any Saying in the Gospel of Luke. The others vary in the strength of their claim.

The fact that after all Christian literature has been thoroughly searched there can be found outside of the New Testament only a bare handful of Sayings of Jesus which can possibly be thought to convey trustworthy tradition of His words, is striking and important. Its significance is increased by the comparatively trifling intrinsic interest which attaches even to these few Agrapha. The cause of this state of things seems to be that the authors of the First and Third Gospels gathered up practically all that the Church in general possessed of traditions of the life and teaching of Jesus Christ. Any tradition embodied in the Fourth Gospel seems to have belonged to a comparatively small circle, if to more than one person. Living tradition may have persisted for a time in Palestine (possibly leaving a trace in the Gospel according to the Hebrews), but it was cut off by the destruction of Jerusalem and the withering of Jewish Christianity. The treasures that the earliest tradition had brought to the Gentile Churches were collected and arranged in our Synoptic Gospels; and the Evangelists did their work so well that only stray bits here and there, and these of but slight value, were left for the gleaners.

The Agrapha from Mohammedan sources are chiefly of merely curious interest.

iv. LIST OF AGRAPHA.—

[*Note*.—In the following list, numbers preceded by R. refer to the numbered Sayings in Ropes, *Sprüche Jesu*; numbers with Ag. to the 'Logia' enumerated in Resch, *Agrapha*; and with Ap. to the 'Apokrypha' given by Resch.]

(*a*) 1–15. *Agrapha from the NT or from some NT manuscripts.*—

1. (R. 113) Mt 6^{13} (TR), *ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. ἀμήν.*

2. Mt 17^{21} (TR), *τοῦτο δὲ τὸ γένος οὐκ ἐκπορεύεται εἰ μὴ ἐν προσευχῇ καὶ νηστείᾳ.*

3. (R. 114) Mt $17^{26f.}$ (*Arabic Diatessaron*; cf. Cod. 713^{syr}), 'Simon said unto him, From strangers. Jesus said unto him, Therefore the sons are free.

Simon saith unto him, Yea. Jesus said unto him, Give thou also unto them as if a stranger. And lest it should distress them, go thou to the sea, and cast a hook.'

*4. (R. 153) Mt 20^{28} (DΦ verss), *ὑμεῖς δὲ ζητεῖτε ἐκ μικροῦ αὐξῆσαι καὶ ἐκ μείζονος ἔλαττον εἶναι. εἰσερχόμενοι δὲ καὶ παρακληθέντες δειπνῆσαι μὴ ἀνακλίνεσθε εἰς τοὺς ἐξέχοντας τόπους, μήποτε ἐνδοξότερός σου ἐπέλθῃ, καὶ προσελθὼν ὁ δειπνοκλήτωρ εἴπῃ σοι· ἔτι κάτω χώρει, καὶ καταισχυνθήσῃ. ἐὰν δὲ ἀναπέσῃς εἰς τὸν ἥττονα τόπον καὶ ἐπέλθῃ σου ἥττων, ἐρεῖ σοι ὁ δειπνοκλήτωρ· σύναγε ἔτι ἄνω, καὶ ἔσται σοι τοῦτο χρήσιμον*: 'But ye seek from the small to increase, and from the greater to be less. But when ye come in, even by invitation, to a feast, sit not down in the distinguished places, lest one grander than thou arrive, and the giver of the feast come and say to thee, Go further down, and thou be ashamed. But if thou sit down in the meaner place, and one meaner than thou arrive, the giver of the feast will say to thee, Join [us] further up, and that shall be to thine advantage.'

5. (R. 115) Mk 9^{49} (TR), *καὶ πᾶσα θυσία ἁλὶ ἁλισθήσεται.*

6. (R. 116) Mk $16^{15\text{-}18}$ (TR), *καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· πορευθέντες εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἅπαντα κηρύξατε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει· ὁ πιστεύσας καὶ βαπτισθεὶς σωθήσεται, ὁ δὲ ἀπιστήσας κατακριθήσεται. σημεῖα δὲ τοῖς πιστεύσασιν ἀκολουθήσει ταῦτα, ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου δαιμόνια ἐκβαλοῦσιν, γλώσσαις λαλήσουσιν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ὄφεις ἀροῦσιν, κἂν θανάσιμόν τι πίωσιν οὐ μὴ αὐτοὺς βλάψῃ, ἐπὶ ἀρρώστους χεῖρας ἐπιθήσουσιν καὶ καλῶς ἕξουσιν.*

7. (R. 132; Ag. 27) Lk 6^4 (Cod. D), *τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ θεασάμενός τινα ἐργαζόμενον τῷ σαββάτῳ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἄνθρωπε, εἰ μὲν οἶδας τί ποιεῖς, μακάριος εἶ· εἰ δὲ μὴ οἶδας, ἐπικατάρατος καὶ παραβάτης εἶ τοῦ νόμου*: 'On the same day, seeing one working on the Sabbath, he said to him, Man, if thou knowest what thou doest, blessed art thou; but if thou knowest not, thou art accursed and a transgressor of the Law.'

8. (R. 136) Lk $9^{55\text{f.}}$ (TR), *καὶ εἶπεν· οὐκ οἴδατε οἵου πνεύματός ἐστε ὑμεῖς· ὁ γὰρ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἦλθε ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων ἀπολέσαι ἀλλὰ σῶσαι.*

9. Lk 11^2 (Greg. Nyss. *de Orat. Dom.* iii. p. 738), *ἐλθέτω τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμά σου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ καθαρισάτω ἡμᾶς*: 'Let thy Holy Spirit come upon us and cleanse us.'

10. (R. 137) Lk 23^{34} (TR), *ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἔλεγε· πάτερ, ἄφες αὐτοῖς· οὐ γὰρ οἴδασι τί ποιοῦσι.*

*11. (R. 146; Resch, p. 341) Jn 7^{53}–8^{11} (TR), *Pericope Adulteræ.*

12. (R. 138) Ac 1^5 11^{16}, *Ἰωάνης μὲν ἐβάπτισεν ὕδατι, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐν πνεύματι βαπτισθήσεσθε ἁγίῳ οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς ταύτας ἡμέρας.*

*13. (R. 141; Ag. 12) Ac 20^{35}, *μνημονεύειν τε τῶν λόγων τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ ὅτι αὐτὸς εἶπεν· μακάριόν ἐστιν μᾶλλον διδόναι ἢ λαμβάνειν.*

14. (R. 139) 1 Co $11^{24\text{f.}}$, *τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. τοῦτο ποιεῖτε ὁσάκις ἐὰν πίνητε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.*

*15. (R. 154) 1 Th $4^{15\text{-}17}$, *τοῦτο γὰρ ὑμῖν λέγομεν ἐν λόγῳ κυρίου, ὅτι ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες οἱ περιλειπόμενοι εἰς τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ κυρίου οὐ μὴ φθάσωμεν τοὺς κοιμηθέντας· ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος ἐν κελεύσματι, ἐν φωνῇ ἀρχαγγέλου καὶ ἐν σάλπιγγι θεοῦ, καταβήσεται ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ, καὶ οἱ νεκροὶ ἐν Χριστῷ ἀναστήσονται πρῶτον, ἔπειτα ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες οἱ περιλειπόμενοι ἅμα σὺν αὐτοῖς ἁρπαγησόμεθα ἐν νεφέλαις εἰς ἀπάντησιν τοῦ κυρίου εἰς ἀέρα. καὶ οὕτως πάντοτε σὺν κυρίῳ ἐσόμεθα.*

(*b*) 16–25. *From Gospel according to the Hebrews.*—26. *From Gospel according to the Egyptians.*

16. (R. 134; Ap. 11) Clemens Alex. *Strom.* ii. 9. 45 (Potter, 453), *ἦ κἀν τῷ καθ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγελίῳ, ὁ θαυμάσας βασιλεύσει, γέγραπται, καὶ ὁ βασιλεύσας ἀναπαύσεται*; v. 14. 96 (Potter, 704), *ἴσον γὰρ τούτοις ἐκεῖνα δύναται· οὐ παύσεται ὁ ζητῶν ἕως ἂν εὕρῃ, εὑρὼν δὲ θαμβηθήσεται, θαμβηθεὶς δὲ βασιλεύσει, βασιλεύσας δὲ ἐπαναπαύσεται*: 'For those words have the same meaning with these others, He that seeketh shall not stop until he find, and when he hath found he shall wonder, and when he hath wondered he shall reign, and when he hath reigned he shall rest.'

17. (R. 93; Ap. 14) Origen, *in Joann.* tom. ii. 6 (cf. *in Jerem. hom.* xv. 4), *ἐὰν δὲ προσίεταί τις τὸ καθ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγέλιον, ἔνθα αὐτὸς ὁ σωτήρ φησιν· ἄρτι ἔλαβέ με ἡ μήτηρ μου τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐν μιᾷ τῶν τριχῶν μου καὶ ἀπήνεγκέ με εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ μέγα Θαβώρ*: 'And if any one goes to the Gospel according to the Hebrews, there the Saviour himself saith: Just now my mother the Holy Spirit took me by one of my hairs and carried me off to the great mountain Tabor.'

18. (R. 150; Ap. 17) Origen, *in Matt.* tom. xv. 14 (*vetus interpretatio*), 'Scriptum est in evangelio quodam, quod dicitur secundum Hebræos, si tamen placet alicui suscipere illud non ad auctoritatem sed ad manifestationem propositæ quæstionis: Dixit, inquit, ad eum alter divitum: Magister, quid bonum faciens vivam? Dixit ei: Homo, leges et prophetas fac. Respondit ad eum: Feci. Dixit ei: Vade, vende omnia quæ possides et divide pauperibus et veni, sequere me. Cœpit autem dives scalpere caput suum et non placuit ei. Et dixit ad eum Dominus: Quomodo dicis, legem feci et prophetas, quoniam scriptum est in lege, Diliges proximum tuum sicut te ipsum; et ecce multi fratres tui, filii Abrahæ, amicti sunt stercore morientes præ fame, et domus tua plena est multis bonis, et non egreditur omnino aliquid ex ea ad eos. Et conversus dixit Simoni discipulo suo sedenti apud se: Simon, fili Joannæ, facilius est camelum intrare per foramen acus quam divitem in regnum cœlorum': 'It is written in a certain Gospel, the so-called Gospel according to the Hebrews, if any one likes to take it up not as having any authority but to shed light on the matter in hand: The other, it says, of the rich men said unto him, Master, by doing what good thing shall I have life? He said to him, Man, do the law and the prophets. He answered unto him, I have. He said to him, Go, sell all that thou hast, and distribute to the poor, and come, follow me. But the rich man began to scratch his head, and it pleased him not. And the Lord said unto him, How sayest thou, I have done the law and the prophets, since it is written in the law, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself; and behold, many brethren of thine, sons of Abraham, are clad in filth, dying of hunger, and thy house is full of good things, and nothing at all goes out from it to them. And he turned and said to Simon his disciple, who was sitting by him: Simon, son of John, it is easier for a camel to enter through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven.'

19. (R. 95; Ap. 18) Eusebius, *Theophania*, xxii., *τὸ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἧκον Ἑβραϊκοῖς χαρακτῆρσιν εὐαγγέλιον τὴν ἀπειλὴν οὐ κατὰ τοῦ ἀποκρύψαντος ἐπῆγεν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τοῦ ἀσώτως ἐζηκότος· τρεῖς γὰρ δούλους περιεῖχε, τὸν μὲν καταφαγόντα τὴν ὕπαρξιν τοῦ δεσπότου μετὰ πορνῶν καὶ αὐλητρίδων, τὸν δὲ πολλαπλασιάσαντα τὴν ἐργασίαν, τὸν δὲ κατακρύψαντα τὸ τάλαντον· εἶτα τὸν μὲν ἀποδεχθῆναι, τὸν δὲ μεμφθῆναι μόνον, τὸν δὲ συγκλεισθῆναι δεσμωτηρίῳ*: 'The Gospel which has come down to us in Hebrew characters gave the threat as made not against him who hid [his talent], but against him who lived riotously; for [the parable] told of three servants, one who devoured his lord's substance with harlots and flute-girls, one who gained profit many fold, and one who hid his talent; and how in the issue one was accepted, one merely blamed, and one shut up in prison.'

20. (R. 151; Ap. 21*b*) Eusebius, *Theophania Syr.*

(ed. S. Lee), iv. 12, pp. 233–34, 235, ܐܓܒܐ ܠܝ [ܗܢܘܢ] ܫܦܝܪܐ. ܫܦܝܪܐ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܝܗܒ ܠܝ ܐܒܝ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ: ‘[The cause, therefore, of the divisions of the soul, that comes to pass in houses, he himself taught, as we have found in a place in the Gospel existing among the Hebrews in the Hebrew language, in which it is said], I will select to myself the good, those good ones whom my Father in heaven has given me.’

21. (R. 98*a*; Ap. 30) Jerome, *adv. Pelag.* iii. 2, ‘Et in eodem volumine (*sc.* evangelio iuxta Hebræos): Si peccaverit, inquit, frater tuus in verbo et satis tibi fecerit, septies in die suscipe eum. Dixit illi Simon discipulus eius: Septies in die? Respondit Dominus et dixit ei: Etiam ego dico tibi, usque septuagies septies; etenim in prophetis quoque, postquam uncti sunt spiritu sancto, inventus est sermo peccati’: ‘And in the same volume it says, If thy brother sin in word and give thee satisfaction, receive him seven times in the day. Simon, his disciple, said to him, Seven times in the day? The Lord answered and said to him, Yea, I say unto thee, until seventy times seven; for with the prophets also, after they were anointed with the Holy Spirit, there was found sinful speech.’

See also Scholion in Cod. 566^{evv}, Mt 18^{22} *τὸ Ἰουδαϊκὸν ἑξῆς ἔχει μετὰ τὸ ἑβδομηκοντάκις ἑπτά· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς προφήταις μετὰ τὸ χρισθῆναι αὐτοὺς ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ εὑρίσκετο ἐν αὐτοῖς λόγος ἁμαρτίας.*

22. (R. 105; Ap. 50) Jerome, *de Viris Illustribus*, ii., ‘Evangelium quoque quod appellatur secundum Hebræos et a me nuper in Græcum Latinumque sermonem translatum est, quo et Origenes sæpe utitur, post resurrectionem Salvatoris refert: Dominus autem cum dedisset sindonem servo sacerdotis ivit ad Iacobum et apparuit ei. Iuraverat enim Iacobus se non comesturum panem ab illa hora qua biberat calicem Domini, donec videret eum resurgentem a dormientibus.

‘Rursusque post paululum: Afferte, ait Dominus, mensam et panem. Statimque additur: Tulit panem et benedixit ac fregit et dedit Iacobo Iusto et dixit ei: Frater mi, comede panem tuum, quia resurrexit filius hominis a dormientibus.’

‘Also the so-called Gospel according to the Hebrews, which was recently translated by me into Greek and Latin, which Origen, too, often uses, relates after the resurrection of the Saviour: But when the Lord had given the linen cloth to the priest's servant, he went to James and appeared to him. For James had taken an oath that he would not eat bread from that hour in which he had drunk the cup of the Lord, until he should see him rising from them that sleep.

‘And again, a little further on: Bring me, saith the Lord, a table and bread. And there follows immediately: He took the bread, and blessed, and brake, and gave to James the Just, and said to him, My brother, eat thy bread, inasmuch as the Son of Man hath risen from them that sleep.’

23. (R. 133; Ap. 2) Jerome, *adv. Pelag.* iii. 2, ‘In evangelio iuxta Hebræos . . . narrat historia: Ecce mater Domini et fratres eius dicebant ei: Ioannes Baptista baptizat in remissionem peccatorum; eamus et baptizemur ab eo. Dixit autem eis: Quid peccavi, ut vadam et baptizer ab eo? nisi forte hoc ipsum, quod dixi, ignorantia est’: ‘In the Gospel according to the Hebrews . . . is the following story: Behold, the Lord's mother and his brethren were saying to him: John the Baptist baptizes unto the remission of sins; let us go and be baptized by him. But he said unto them: What sin have I done, that I should go and be baptized by him? unless perchance this very thing which I have said is an ignorance [*i.e.* sin].’

*24. (R. 147; Ap. 7) Jerome, *in Ezech.* 18^7, ‘In evangelio quod iuxta Hebræos Nazaræi legere consueverunt inter maxima ponitur crimina, qui fratris sui spiritum contristaverit’: ‘In the Gospel which the Nazarenes are accustomed to read, that according to the Hebrews, there is put among the greatest crimes, he who shall have grieved the spirit of his brother.’

*25. (R. 148; Ap. 8) Jerome, *in Ephes.* $5^{31\text{f.}}$, ‘In Hebraico quoque evangelio legimus Dominum ad discipulos loquentem: Et numquam, inquit, læti sitis, nisi quum fratrem vestrum videritis in caritate’: ‘In the Hebrew Gospel, too, we read of the Lord saying to the disciples, And never, said he, rejoice, except when you have looked upon your brother in love.’

26. (R. 135; Ag. 30, Ap. 16) 2 Clem. Rom. xii. 2, *ἐπερωτηθεὶς γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος ὑπό τινος, πότε ἥξει αὐτοῦ ἡ βασιλεία, εἶπεν· ὅταν ἔσται τὰ δύο ἕν, καὶ τὸ ἔξω ὡς τὸ ἔσω, καὶ τὸ ἄρσεν μετὰ τῆς θηλείας, οὔτε ἄρσεν οὔτε θῆλυ*: ‘For the Lord himself, having been asked by some one when his kingdom should come, said, When the two shall be one, and the outer as the inner, and the male with the female, neither male nor female.’

Clemens Alexandrinus: (1) *Strom.* iii. 6. 45 (Potter, 532); cf. iii. 9. 64 (Potter, 540), and *Exc. ex Theodoto*, § 67, *τῇ Σαλώμῃ ὁ κύριος πυνθανομένῃ, μέχρι πότε θάνατος ἰσχύσει, οὐχ ὡς κακοῦ τοῦ βίου ὄντος καὶ τῆς κτίσεως πονηρᾶς, μέχρις ἄν, εἶπεν, ὑμεῖς αἱ γυναῖκες τίκτετε*: ‘When Salome asked how long death should have power, the Lord (not meaning that life is evil and the creation bad) said, As long as you women bear.’

(2) *Strom.* iii. 9. 63 (Potter, 539 f.), *οἱ δὲ ἀντιτασσόμενοι τῇ κτίσει τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τῆς εὐφήμου ἐγκρατείας κἀκεῖνα λέγουσι τὰ πρὸς Σαλώμην εἰρημένα, ὧν πρότερον ἐμνήσθημεν· φέρεται δέ, οἶμαι, ἐν τῷ κατ' Αἰγυπτίους εὐαγγελίῳ. φασὶ γὰρ ὅτι αὐτὸς εἶπεν ὁ σωτήρ· ἦλθον καταλῦσαι τὰ ἔργα τῆς θηλείας, θηλείας μὲν τῆς ἐπιθυμίας, ἔργα δὲ γέννησιν καὶ φθοράν*: ‘And those who oppose the creation of God through shameful abstinence allege also those words spoken to Salome whereof we made mention above. And they are contained, I think, in the Gospel according to the Egyptians. For they say that the Saviour himself said, I came to destroy the works of the female,—the female being lust, and the works birth and corruption.’

(3) *Strom.* iii. 9. 66 (Potter, 541), *τί δὲ οὐχὶ καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς τῶν πρὸς Σαλώμην εἰρημένων ἐπιφέρουσιν οἱ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν εὐαγγελικῷ στοιχήσαντες κανόνι; φαμένης γὰρ αὐτῆς· καλῶς οὖν ἐποίησα μὴ τεκοῦσα, ὡς οὐ δεόντως τῆς γενέσεως παραλαμβανομένης, ἀμείβεται λέγων ὁ κύριος· πᾶσαν φάγε βοτάνην, τὴν δὲ πικρίαν ἔχουσαν μὴ φάγῃς*: ‘And why do not they who walk any way rather than by the gospel rule of truth adduce the rest also of the words spoken to Salome? For when she said, Therefore have I done well in that I have not brought forth, as if it were not fitting to accept motherhood, the Lord replies, saying, Eat every herb, but that which hath bitterness eat not.’

(4) *Strom.* iii. 13. 92 (Potter, 553), *διὰ τοῦτό τοι ὁ Κασσιανός φησι· πυνθανομένης τῆς Σαλώμης, πότε γνωσθήσεται (lege γενήσεται) τὰ περὶ ὧν ἤρετο, ἔφη ὁ κύριος· ὅταν τὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης ἔνδυμα πατήσητε καὶ ὅταν γένηται τὰ δύο ἕν, καὶ τὸ ἄρρεν μετὰ τῆς θηλείας, οὔτε ἄρρεν οὔτε θῆλυ*: ‘Therefore Cassian says: When Salome inquired when those things should be concerning which she asked, the Lord said, When ye trample on the garment of shame, and when the two shall be one, and the male with the female, neither male nor female.’

(*c*) 27–33. *The Oxyrhynchus ‘Logia.’*—

[*Logion* 1, *καὶ τότε διαβλέψεις ἐκβαλεῖν τὸ κάρφος τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου*, is part of Lk 6^{42}].

27. *Logion* 2, λέγει Ἰησοῦς· *ἐὰν μὴ νηστεύσητε τὸν κόσμον οὐ μὴ εὕρητε τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ· καὶ ἐὰν μὴ σαββατίσητε τὸ σάββατον οὐκ ὄψεσθε τὸν πατέρα*: ‘Jesus saith, Except ye fast to the world, ye shall in no wise find the kingdom of God; and except ye make the sabbath a real sabbath, ye shall not see the Father.’

28. *Logion* 3, λέγει Ἰησοῦς· *ἔ[σ]την ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ ἐν σαρκὶ ὤφθην αὐτοῖς, καὶ εὗρον πάντας μεθύοντας καὶ οὐδένα εὗρον διψῶντα ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ πονεῖ ἡ ψυχή μου ἐπὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι τυφλοί εἰσιν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῶ[ν] καὶ οὐ βλέ[πουσιν]*: ‘Jesus saith, I stood in the midst of the world, and in the flesh was I seen of them, and I found all men drunken, and none found I athirst among them, and my soul grieveth over the sons of men, because they are blind in their heart, and see not.’

29. *Logion* 4 . . . *[τ]ὴν πτωχείαν*: ‘. . . poverty.’

30. *Logion* 5, *[λέγ]ει [Ἰησοῦς· ὅπ]ου ἐὰν ὦσιν [β, οὐκ] ε[ἰσὶν ἄ]θεοι, καὶ [ὅ]που ε[ἷς] ἐστιν μόνος, [λέ]γω ἐγώ εἰμι μετ’ αὐτ[οῦ]· ἔγει[ρ]ον τὸν λίθον κακεῖ εὑρήσεις με, σχίσον τὸ ξύλον κἀγὼ ἐκεῖ εἰμι*: ‘Jesus saith, Wherever there are two, they are not without God; and wherever there is one alone, I say, I am with him. Raise the stone and there shalt thou find me; cleave the wood and there am I.’

31. *Logion* 6, λέγει Ἰησοῦς· *οὐκ ἔστιν δεκτὸς προφήτης ἐν τῇ πατρίδι αὐτ[ο]ῦ οὐδὲ ἰατρὸς ποιεῖ θεραπείας εἰς τοὺς γινώσκοντας αὐτόν*: ‘Jesus saith, A prophet is not acceptable in his own country, neither doth a physician work cures upon them that know him.’

32. *Logion* 7, λέγει Ἰησοῦς· *πόλις οἰκοδομημένη ἐπ’ ἄκρον [ὄ]ρους ὑψηλοῦ καὶ ἐστηριγμένη οὔτε πε[σ]εῖν δύναται οὔτε κρυ[β]ῆναι*: ‘Jesus saith, A city built upon the top of a high hill and stablished, can neither fall nor be hid.’

33. *Logion* 8, λέγει Ἰησοῦς· *ἀκούεις [ε]ἰς τὸ ἓν ὠτίον σου, τὸ* . . .: ‘Jesus saith, Thou hearest with one ear . . .’

(*d*) 34–46. *From various ancient documents, Catholic and heretical.*—

34 (R. 96; Ap. 21*c*) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 6. 48 (Potter, 764), *αὐτίκα ἐν τῷ Πέτρου Κηρύγματι ὁ κύριός φησι πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν· ἐξελεξάμην ὑμᾶς δώδεκα μαθητὰς κρίνας ἀξίους ἐμοῦ—οὓς ὁ κύριος ἠθέλησεν—καὶ ἀποστόλους πιστοὺς ἡγησάμενος εἶναι, πέμπων ἐπὶ τὸν κόσμον εὐαγγελίσασθαι τοὺς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀνθρώπους γινώσκειν ὅτι εἷς θεός ἐστιν, διὰ τῆς [τοῦ χριστοῦ] πίστεως ἐμῆς δηλοῦντας τὰ μέλλοντα, ὅπως οἱ ἀκούσαντες καὶ πιστεύσαντες σωθῶσιν, οἱ δὲ μὴ πιστεύσαντες ἀκούσαντες μαρτυρήσωσιν, οὐκ ἔχοντες ἀπολογίαν εἰπεῖν· οὐκ ἠκούσαμεν*: ‘Straightway, in the Preaching of Peter, after the resurrection the Lord says to the disciples, I chose you twelve disciples, having judged you worthy of me (those whom the Lord wished), and having accounted you to be faithful apostles, sending you into the world to preach, that the men on the earth should know that God is one; and through faith in me to show what is to be, in order that they who hear and believe may be saved; but those who believe not, having heard, may bear witness, having no excuse for saying, We did not hear.’

35. (R. 106; Ap. 51) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 5. 43 (Potter, 762), *διὰ τοῦτό φησιν ὁ Πέτρος εἰρηκέναι τὸν κύριον τοῖς ἀποστόλοις· ἐὰν μὲν οὖν τις θελήσῃ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ μετανοήσας διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματός μου πιστεύειν ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν, ἀφεθήσονται αὐτῷ αἱ ἁμαρτίαι. μετὰ δώδεκα ἔτη ἐξέλθετε εἰς τὸν κόσμον μή τις εἴπῃ· οὐκ ἠκούσαμεν*: ‘Therefore Peter says that the Lord said to the apostles, If then any one of Israel wishes to repent and believe through my name on God, his sins shall be forgiven him. After twelve years go forth into the world, lest any one say, We did not hear.’

36. (R. 130; Ag. 15) *Apostolic Church-Order*, xxvi. (Hilgenfeld, *NT extra Canonem*^{2}, iv. p. 118), *προέλεγε γὰρ ἡμῖν, ὅτε ἐδίδασκεν, ὅτι τὸ ἀσθενὲς διὰ τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ σωθήσεται*: ‘For he said to us before, when he was teaching, That which is weak shall be saved through that which is strong.’

37. (R. 131; Ag. 26) *Didascalia Syr.* ii. 8 (ed. Lagarde, p. 14), *λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή· ἀνὴρ ἀδόκιμος ἀπείραστος*: ‘For the Scripture saith, A man is unapproved if he be untempted.’

Tertullian, *de Bapt.* xx., ‘Vigilate et orate, inquit, ne incidatis in tentationem. Et ideo credo tentati sunt, quoniam obdormierunt, ut apprehensum Dominum destituerint, et qui cum eo perstiterit et gladio sit usus, ter etiam negaverit. Nam et præcesserat dictum: Neminem intentatum regna cœlestia consecuturum’: ‘Watch and pray, he saith, that ye enter not into temptation. And so I think they were tempted, because they fell asleep, so that they failed the Lord after his arrest; and he who continued with him and used the sword even denied him three times. For the saying had also preceded, that no one untempted should attain to the heavenly realms.’

38. (R. 101; Ap. 45) *Hom. Clem.* iii. 53, *ἔτι μὴν ἔλεγεν· ἐγώ εἰμι περὶ οὗ Μωϋσῆς προεφήτευσεν εἰπών· προφήτην ἐγερεῖ ὑμῖν κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν ὥσπερ καὶ ἐμέ· αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε κατὰ πάντα. ὃς ἂν δὲ μὴ ἀκούσῃ τοῦ προφήτου ἐκείνου, ἀποθανεῖται*: ‘Moreover, he said: I am he concerning whom Moses prophesied, saying, A prophet shall the Lord our God raise up for you from your brethren like unto me; hear him in all things; and whoever shall not hear that prophet, shall die.’

39. (R. 86; Ag. 11) *Hom. Clem.* x. 3, *θεοῦ τοῦ τὸν οὐρανὸν κτίσαντος καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ πάντα ἐν αὐτοῖς πεποιηκότος, ὡς ἀληθὴς εἴρηκεν ἡμῖν προφήτης*: ‘God having created the heaven and the earth, and made all things therein, as the true Prophet hath told us.’

40. (R. 7; Ag. 13) *Hom. Clem.* xii. 29, *ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας προφήτης ἔφη· τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐλθεῖν δεῖ, μακάριος δέ, φησί, δι’ οὗ ἔρχεται· ὁμοίως καὶ τὰ κακὰ ἀνάγκη ἐλθεῖν, οὐαὶ δὲ δι’ οὗ ἔρχεται*: ‘The Prophet of truth said, Good things must come, but blessed, saith he, is he through whom they come; in like manner, It must needs be also that evils come, but woe to him through whom they come.’

41. (R. 89; Ag. 22) *Const. Apost.* viii. 12, *ὁσάκις γὰρ ἂν ἐσθίητε τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο πίνητε, τὸν θάνατον τὸν ἐμὸν καταγγέλλετε ἄχρις ἂν ἔλθω*: ‘For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do show my death until I come.’

42. (R. 52; Ap. 21*a*) Epiphan. *Hær.* xxx. 13, *ἐν τῷ γοῦν παρ’ αὐτοῖς εὐαγγελίῳ κατὰ Ματθαῖον ὀνομαζομένῳ, οὐχ ὅλῳ δὲ πληρεστάτῳ, ἀλλὰ νενοθευμένῳ καὶ ἠκρωτηριασμένῳ (Ἑβραϊκὸν δὲ τοῦτο καλοῦσιν) ἐμφέρεται ὅτι ἐγένετό τις ἀνὴρ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦς, καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς ἐτῶν τριάκοντα, ὃς ἐξελέξατο ἡμᾶς. καὶ ἐλθὼν εἰς Καφαρναοὺμ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν Σίμωνος τοῦ ἐπικληθέντος Πέτρου, καὶ ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ εἶπε· παρερχόμενος παρὰ τὴν λίμνην Τιβεριάδος ἐξελεξάμην Ἰωάννην καὶ Ἰάκωβον, υἱοὺς Ζεβεδαίου, καὶ Σίμωνα καὶ Ἀνδρέαν καὶ <Φίλιππον καὶ Βαρθολομαῖον καὶ Θωμᾶν καὶ Ἰάκωβον τὸν τοῦ Ἀλφαίου καὶ> Θαδδαῖον καὶ Σίμωνα τὸν Ζηλωτὴν καὶ Ἰούδαν τὸν Ἰσκαριώτην καὶ σὲ τὸν Ματθαῖον καθεζόμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ τελωνίου ἐκάλεσα, καὶ ἠκολούθησάς μοι. ὑμᾶς οὖν βούλομαι εἶναι δεκαδύο ἀποστόλους εἰς μαρτύριον τοῦ Ἰσραήλ*: ‘In their Gospel, called “according to Matthew,” though not fully complete, but falsified and mutilated (and they call it “the Hebrew”), is contained the following: There came a certain man, by name Jesus, and he was about thirty years old, who chose us. And when he had come to Capernaum he came into the house of Simon, surnamed Peter, and he opened his mouth and said, As I passed by the lake of Tiberias I chose John and James, sons of Zebedee, and Simon and Andrew and

<Philip and Bartholomew and Thomas and James the son of Alphæus and> Thaddæus and Simon the Zealot, and Judas Iscariot, and I called thee Matthew, sitting at the receipt of custom, and thou didst follow me. You therefore I wish to be twelve apostles for a witness to Israel.'

43. (R. 92; Ap. 6) Epiphan. *Hær.* xxx. 16, *ὡς τὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς* (*sc.* *τοῖς Ἐβιωναίοις*) *εὐαγγέλιον καλούμενον περιέχει, ὅτι ἦλθον καταλῦσαι τὰς θυσίας, καὶ ἐὰν μὴ παύσησθε τοῦ θύειν, οὐ παύσεται ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἡ ὀργή*: 'As their [the Ebionites'] so-called Gospel runs: I came to destroy the sacrifices, and except ye cease from sacrificing, wrath shall not cease from you.'

44. (R. 94; Ap. 15) Hippolytus, *Philosoph.* v. 7, *περὶ ἧς διαρρήδην ἐν τῷ κατὰ Θωμᾶν ἐπιγραφομένῳ εὐαγγελίῳ παραδιδόασι* [*sc.* *οἱ Ναασσηνοί*] *λέγοντες οὕτως· ἐμὲ ὁ ζητῶν εὑρήσει ἐν παιδίοις ἀπὸ ἐτῶν ἑπτά· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐν τῳ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῳ αἰῶνι κρυβόμενος φανεροῦμαι*: 'Concerning which in the Gospel inscribed "according to Thomas" they [the Naassenes] have expressly a tradition as follows: He that seeketh me shall find me in children from seven years old onwards, for there I am manifested, though hidden in the fourteenth age.'

45. *Acta Thomæ*, vi. (M. R. James, *Apocrypha Anecdota*, Second Series), *οὕτως γὰρ ἐδιδάχθημεν παρὰ τοῦ σωτῆρος λέγοντος· ὁ λυτρούμενος ψυχὰς ἀπὸ τῶν εἰδώλων, οὗτος ἔσται μέγας ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου*: 'For thus were we taught by the Saviour, who said, Whoso redeemeth souls from idols, he shall be great in my kingdom.'

46. (R. 100; Ap. 44) *Acta Philippi*, xxxiv. (Tisch. *Acta apost. apocr.*), *εἶπεν γάρ μοι ὁ κύριος· ἐὰν μὴ ποιήσητε ὑμῶν τὰ κάτω εἰς τὰ ἄνω καὶ τὰ ἀριστερὰ εἰς τὰ δεξιά, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθητε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν μου*: 'For the Lord said to me, Except ye make the lower into the upper and the left into the right, ye shall not enter into my kingdom.'

(*e*) 47–48. *Agrapha from the Mishna.*—

*47. (R. 152) *Aboda Zara* 16*b*, 17*a*, 'The Rabbis have the following tradition: When Rabbi Eliezer was once imprisoned for heresy (*minuth, i.e.* inclination to the forbidden Christian religion), he was brought before the (Roman) court to be judged. The judge said to him, Does such a mature man as thou occupy himself with such vain things? Eliezer replied, The Judge is just to me. The judge thought that Eliezer was speaking of him; in fact he referred to his Father in heaven. Then the judge said, Because I am held by thee to be just, thou art acquitted. When Eliezer came home, his disciples came to comfort him, but he would accept no comfort. Then R. 'Aḳiba said to him, Permit me to say to thee something of that which thou hast taught me. He answered, Say on. Then R. 'Aḳiba said, Perhaps thou hast at some time heard a heresy which pleased thee, because of which thou wast now about to be imprisoned for heresy. Eliezer replied, 'Aḳiba, thou remindest me. I was once walking in the upper street of Sepphoris; there I met one of the disciples of Jesus of Nazareth, named Jacob of Kephar Sekhanya, who said to me, In your law it reads: Thou shalt not bring the hire of an harlot into the house of thy God (Dt 23^{18}); is it lawful that from such gifts one should have a draught-house built for the high priest? I knew not what to answer him to this. Then he said to me, Thus taught me Jesus of Nazareth: Of the hire of an harlot hath she gathered them, and to the hire of an harlot shall they return (Mic 1^{7}); from filth it came, to the place of filth shall it go. This explanation pleased me, and therefore have I been arrested for heresy, because I have transgressed the word of Scripture: Remove thy way far from her (Pr 5^{8}), *i.e.* from heresy.'

48. (R. 117) *Shabbath* 116*a. b*, 'Imma Shalom, the wife of R. Eliezer and sister of Rabban Gamaliel (II.), had a philosopher as a neighbour, who had the reputation of never accepting a bribe. They wished to make him ridiculous. So Imma brought him a golden lampstand, came before him, and said, I wish to be given my share of the family estate. The philosopher answered them, Then have thy share. But Gamaliel said to him, We have the law: Where there is a son, the daughter shall not inherit. The philosopher said, Since the day when you were driven from your country, the law of Moses has been done away, and the Gospel has been given, in which it reads: Son and daughter shall inherit together. The next day Gamaliel brought to the philosopher a Libyan ass. Then the philosopher said to them, I have looked at the end of the Gospel; for it says: I, the Gospel, am not come to do away with the law of Moses, but I am come to add to the law of Moses. It stands written in the law of Moses: Where there is a son, the daughter shall not inherit. Then Imma said to him, May your light shine like the lampstand! But Rabban Gamaliel said, The ass is come, and has overturned the lampstand.'

(*f*) 49–66. *Agrapha from early Christian Writers.*—

49. (R. 2; Ag. 2) Clem. Rom. xiii. 1 f., *μάλιστα μεμνημένοι τῶν λόγων τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, οὓς ἐλάλησεν διδάσκων ἐπιείκειαν καὶ μακροθυμίαν· οὕτως γὰρ εἶπεν·*

ἐλεᾶτε, ἵνα ἐλεηθῆτε·
ἀφίετε, ἵνα ἀφεθῇ ὑμῖν·
ὡς ποιεῖτε, οὕτω ποιηθήσεται ὑμῖν·
ὡς δίδοτε, οὕτως δοθήσεται ὑμῖν·
ὡς κρίνετε, οὕτως κριθήσεσθε·
ὡς χρηστεύεσθε, οὕτως χρηστευθήσεται ὑμῖν·
ᾧ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε, ἐν αὐτῷ μετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν.

'Most of all remembering the words of the Lord Jesus which he spake, teaching forbearance and long-suffering; for thus he spake: Have mercy, that ye may receive mercy; forgive, that it may be forgiven to you. As ye do, so shall it be done to you. As ye give, so shall it be given unto you. As ye judge, so shall ye be judged. As ye show kindness, so shall kindness be showed unto you. With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured withal to you.'

50. (R. 57; Ap. 28) 2 Clem. Rom. iv. 5, *διὰ τοῦτο, ταῦτα ὑμῶν πρασσόντων, εἶπεν ὁ κύριος· ἐὰν ἦτε μετ' ἐμοῦ συνηγμένοι ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ μου καὶ μὴ ποιῆτε τὰς ἐντολάς μου, ἀποβαλῶ ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐρῶ ὑμῖν· ὑπάγετε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, οὐκ οἶδα ὑμᾶς πόθεν ἐστέ, ἐργάται ἀνομίας*: 'For this cause, if ye do these things, the Lord said, Though ye be gathered together with me in my bosom, and do not my commandments, I will cast you away, and will say unto you, Depart from me, I know you not whence ye are, ye workers of iniquity.'

51. (R. 149; Ap. 10) 2 Clem. Rom. v. 2–4, *λέγει γὰρ ὁ κύριος· ἔσεσθε ὡς ἀρνία ἐν μέσῳ λύκων. ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Πέτρος αὐτῷ λέγει· ἐὰν οὖν διασπαράξωσιν οἱ λύκοι τὰ ἀρνία; εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ Πέτρῳ· μὴ φοβείσθωσαν τὰ ἀρνία τοὺς λύκους μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτά· καὶ ὑμεῖς μὴ φοβεῖσθε τοὺς ἀποκτέννοντας ὑμᾶς καὶ μηδὲν ὑμῖν δυναμένους ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ φοβεῖσθε τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν ὑμᾶς ἔχοντα ἐξουσίαν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, τοῦ βαλεῖν εἰς γέενναν πυρός*: 'For the Lord saith, Ye shall be as lambs in the midst of wolves. But Peter answering said unto him, What, then, if the wolves should tear the lambs? Jesus said unto Peter, Let not the lambs fear the wolves after they are dead; and ye also, fear ye not them that kill you and are not able to do anything to you; but fear him that, after ye are dead, hath power over soul and body, to cast them into the Gehenna of fire.'

52. (R. 5; Ag. 7) 2 Clem. Rom. viii. 5, *λέγει γὰρ ὁ κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ· εἰ τὸ μικρὸν οὐκ ἐτηρήσατε,*

τὸ μέγα τίς ὑμῖν δώσει; λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι ὁ πιστὸς ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ καὶ ἐν πολλῷ πιστός ἐστιν: 'For the Lord saith in the Gospel, If ye kept not that which is little, who shall give unto you that which is great? For I say unto you that he who is faithful in the least, is faithful also in much.'

53. (R. 110; Ap. 95) Irenæus, v. 33. 3 f., 'Quemadmodum presbyteri meminerunt, qui Ioannem discipulum Domini viderunt, audisse se ab eo, quemadmodum de temporibus illis docebat Dominus et dicebat: Venient dies in quibus vineæ nascentur singulæ decem millia palmitum habentes, et in uno palmite dena millia brachiorum, et in uno vero palmite (*lege* brachio) dena millia flagellorum, et in unoquoque flagello dena millia botruum, et in unoquoque botro dena millia acinorum, et unumquodque acinum expressum dabit vigintiquinque metretas vini. Et cum eorum apprehenderit aliquis sanctorum botrum, alius clamabit: Botrus ego melior sum, me sume, per me Dominum benedic. Similiter et granum tritici decem millia spicarum generaturum, et unamquamque spicam habituram decem millia granorum, et unumquodque granum quinque bilibres similæ claræ mundæ: et reliqua autem poma et semina et herbam secundum congruentiam iis consequentem: et omnia animalia iis cibis utentia, quæ a terra accipiuntur, pacifica et consentanea invicem fieri, subiecta hominibus cum omni subiectione. Hæc autem et Papias, Ioannis auditor, Polycarpi autem contubernalis, vetus homo, per scripturam testimonium perhibet in quarto librorum suorum: sunt enim illi quinque libri conscripti.

'Et adiecit dicens: Hæc autem credibilia sunt credentibus. Et Iuda, inquit, proditore non credente et interrogante: Quomodo ergo tales genituræ a Domino perficientur? dixisse Dominum: Videbunt qui venient in illa.'

'As the elders, who saw John the disciple of the Lord, relate that they had heard from him how the Lord used to teach concerning those times, and to say: The days will come, in which vines shall grow, each having ten thousand shoots, and on one shoot ten thousand branches, and on one branch again ten thousand twigs, and on each twig ten thousand clusters, and in each cluster ten thousand grapes, and each grape when pressed shall yield five-and-twenty measures of wine. And when any of the saints shall have taken hold of one of their clusters, another shall cry, I am a better cluster; take me, bless the Lord through me. Likewise, also, that a grain of wheat shall produce ten thousand heads, and every head shall have ten thousand grains, and every grain ten pounds of fine flour, bright and clean; and the other fruits, seeds, and the grass shall produce in similar proportions; and all the animals, using these fruits which are products of the soil, shall become in their turn peaceable and harmonious, obedient to man in all subjection. These things Papias, who was a hearer of John and a companion of Polycarp, an ancient worthy, witnesseth in writing in the fourth of his books, for there are five books composed by him.

'And he added, saying, But these things are credible to them that believe. And when Judas the traitor did not believe, and asked, How shall such growths be accomplished by the Lord? he relates that the Lord said, They shall see, who shall come to these (times).'

Hippolytus, *Comm. in Danielem*, lib. iv. (ed. Bratke, p. 44), *τοῦ οὖν κυρίου διηγουμένου τοῖς μαθηταῖς περὶ τῆς μελλούσης τῶν ἁγίων βασιλείας ὡς εἴη ἔνδοξος καὶ θαυμαστή, καταπλαγεὶς ὁ Ἰούδας ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις ἔφη· καὶ τίς ἄρα ὄψεται ταῦτα; ὁ δὲ κύριος ἔφη· ταῦτα ὄψονται οἱ ἄξιοι γινόμενοι*: 'So when the Lord told the disciples about the coming kingdom of the saints, how it was glorious and marvellous, Judas, amazed at what was spoken, said, And who then shall see these things? And the Lord replied, These things shall they see who become worthy.'

54. (R. 88; Ag. 21) Justin Martyr, *Dial.* xxxv., *εἶπε γάρ· πολλοὶ ἐλεύσονται ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου, ἔξωθεν ἐνδεδυμένοι δέρματα προβάτων, ἔσωθεν δέ εἰσι λύκοι ἅρπαγες· καί· ἔσονται σχίσματα καὶ αἱρέσεις*: 'For he said, Many shall come in my name, clad without in sheepskins, but within they are ravening wolves; and, There shall be schisms and heresies.' Cf. *Didascalia Syr.* vi. 5 (ed. Lagarde, p. 99, l. 9).

*55. (R. 142; Ag. 39) Justin Martyr, *Dial.* xlvii., *διὸ καὶ ὁ ἡμέτερος κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς εἶπεν· ἐν οἷς ἂν ὑμᾶς καταλάβω, ἐν τούτοις καὶ κρινῶ*: 'Wherefore also our Lord Jesus Christ said, In whatsoever things I apprehend you, in those I shall judge you.'

56. (R. 91; Ag. 51) Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 15, *εἶπε δὲ οὕτως· οὐκ ἦλθον καλέσαι δικαίους, ἀλλ' ἁμαρτωλοὺς εἰς μετάνοιαν· θέλει γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ ὁ οὐράνιος τὴν μετάνοιαν τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ ἢ τὴν κόλασιν αὐτοῦ*: 'And he said this, I came not to call righteous but sinners to repentance; for the heavenly Father desireth the sinner's repentance rather than his punishment.'

*57. (R. 143; Ag. 41) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 24. 158 (Potter, 416), *αἰτεῖσθε γάρ, φησί, τὰ μεγάλα, καὶ τὰ μικρὰ ὑμῖν προστεθήσεται.*

Origen, *de Orat.* ii., *τὸ μὲν ὃ δεῖ· αἰτεῖτε τὰ μεγάλα, καὶ τὰ μικρὰ ὑμῖν προστεθήσεται, καί· αἰτεῖτε τὰ ἐπουράνια, καὶ τὰ ἐπίγεια ὑμῖν προστεθήσεται*: 'That which is needful: Ask for the great things, and the small shall be added to you; and, Ask for the heavenly things, and the earthly shall be added to you.'

*58. (R. 144; Ag. 43) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 28. 177 (Potter, 425), *εἰκότως ἄρα καὶ ἡ γραφή, τοιούτους τινὰς ἡμᾶς διαλεκτικοὺς οὕτως ἐθέλουσα γενέσθαι, παραινεῖ· γίνεσθε δὲ δόκιμοι τραπεζῖται, τὰ μὲν ἀποδοκιμάζοντες, τὸ δὲ καλὸν κατέχοντες*: 'Rightly, therefore, the Scripture also, in its desire to make us such dialecticians, exhorts us, Be approved money-changers, disapproving some things, but holding fast that which is good.'

Cf. Orig. *in Joh.* tom. xix. (*τηρούντων τὴν ἐντολὴν Ἰησοῦ λέγουσαν· δόκιμοι τραπεζῖται γίνεσθε*); Apelles *ap.* Epiphan. *Hær.* xliv. 2; *Didascalia Syr.* ii. 36 (ed. Lagarde, p. 42); *Pistis Sophia*, p. 353 [Lat. p. 220]; *Hom. Clem.* ii. 51.

59. (R. 87; Ag. 17) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 10. 64 (Potter, 684), *λέγει γὰρ ὁ προφήτης· παραβολὴν κυρίου τίς νοήσει εἰ μὴ σοφὸς καὶ ἐπιστήμων καὶ ἀγαπῶν τὸν κύριον αὐτοῦ; ἐπὶ ὀλίγων ἐστὶ ταῦτα χωρῆσαι. οὐ γὰρ φθονῶν, φησί, παρήγγειλεν ὁ κύριος ἔν τινι εὐαγγελίῳ· μυστήριον ἐμὸν ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς τοῦ οἴκου μου*: 'For the Prophet saith, Who shall know the parable of the Lord except the wise and understanding and that loveth his Lord? It belongeth to a few only to receive these things. For not grudgingly, he saith, did the Lord declare in a certain Gospel, My mystery is for me and for the sons of my house.'

60. (R. 107; Ap. 53) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 15. 97 (Potter, 555), *πάλιν ὁ κύριός φησιν· ὁ γήμας μὴ ἐκβαλλέτω καὶ ὁ μὴ γήμας μὴ γαμείτω· ὁ κατὰ πρόθεσιν εὐνουχίας ὁμολογήσας μὴ γῆμαι ἄγαμος διαμενέτω*: 'Again the Lord saith, Let him that is married not put away, and let him that is unmarried marry not: let him that with purpose of celibacy hath promised not to marry remain unmarried.'

61. (R. 129; Ag. 8) Clem. Alex. *Excerpta ex Theodoto*, ii. (Potter, 957), *διὰ τοῦτο λέγει ὁ σωτήρ· σώζου σὺ καὶ ἡ ψυχή σου*: 'Therefore the Saviour saith, Be saved, thou and thy soul.'

62. (R. 128; Ag. 5) Origen, *Hom. in Ieremiam*, xx. 3, 'Legi alicubi quasi Salvatore dicente, et quæro sive quis personam figuravit Salvatoris, sive in memoriam adduxit, an verum sit hoc quod dictum est. Ait autem ipse Salvator: Qui iuxta me est, iuxta ignem est; qui longe est a me, longe est a regno': 'I have read somewhere what pur-

ports to be an utterance of the Saviour, and I query (equally if some one put it into the mouth of the Saviour, or if some one remembered it) whether that is true which is said. But the Saviour himself saith, He who is near me is near the fire; he who is far from me is far from the kingdom.'

63. (R. 90; Ag. 36*b*) *de montibus Sina et Sion*, xiii., 'Ipso (*sc.* Domino) nos instruente et monente in epistula Johannis discipuli sui ad populum: Ita me in vobis videte, quomodo quis vestrum se videt in aquam aut in speculum': 'He himself instructing and warning us in the Epistle of John his disciple to the people: Ye see me in yourselves, as one of you sees himself in water or mirror.'

64. (R. 85; Ag. 3) Epiphan. *Hær.* lxxx. 5, *ἄξιος γὰρ ὁ ἐργάτης τοῦ μισθοῦ αὐτοῦ· καί· ἀρκετὸν τῷ ἐργαζομένῳ ἡ τροφὴ αὐτοῦ*: 'For the labourer is worthy of his hire; and, Sufficient for the labourer is his maintenance.'

65. (R. 125) Augustine, *Contra adversarium legis et prophetarum*, ii. 4. 14, 'Sed apostolis, inquit, Dominus noster interrogantibus de Iudæorum prophetis quid sentiri deberet, qui de adventu eius aliquid cecinisse in præteritum putabantur, commotus talia eos etiam nunc sentire, respondit: Dimisistis vivum qui ante vos est et de mortuis fabulamini. Quid mirum (quandoquidem hoc testimonium de scripturis nescio quibus apocryphis protulit) si de prophetis Dei talia confinxerunt hæretici, qui easdem litteras non accipiunt?' 'But (he says) when the apostles asked our Lord what ought to be thought about the prophets of the Jews, who were believed formerly to have prophesied his coming, he, angry that they even now had such thoughts, answered, You have sent away the living who is before you, and prate about dead men. What wonder, seeing he has brought out this quotation from some apocryphal scriptures, if heretics who do not accept the same writings, have invented such things about the prophets of God?'

66. (R. 97; Ap. 24) Ephr. Syr. *Evang. conc. expos.* (ed. Mösinger, p. 203), 'Quod autem turbatus est consonat cum eo, quod dixit: Quamdiu vobiscum ero et vobiscum loquar? et alio loco: Tædet me de generatione ista. Probaverunt me, ait, decies, hi autem vicies et decies decies': 'Now that he was distressed agrees with what he said, How long shall I be with you and speak with you? and in another place, I am weary of this generation. They proved me, he said, ten times, but these twenty times and ten times ten times.'

(*g*) For examples of unauthentic Agrapha from very late sources, see Ropes, *Sprüche Jesu*, pp. 111, 116, 120, 121.

(*h*) *Agrapha from Mohammedan sources.*—The following 48 Agrapha from Mohammedan sources were published by Prof. D. S. Margoliouth in the *Expository Times*, Nov., Dec. 1893, Jan. 1894, pp. 59, 107, 177 f.

1. Castalani, *Commentary on Bukhari*, i. 163, 'Jesus asked Gabriel when the hour (*i.e.* the day of judgment) was to come? Gabriel answered, He whom thou askest knows no better than he who asks.'

2. Jaḳut's *Geographical Lexicon*, i. 1, 'Jesus said, The world is a place of transition, full of examples; be pilgrims therein, and take warning by the traces of those that have gone before.'

3. Baidawi, *Commentary on the Ḳoran*, p. 71, ed. Constantinop., 'Jesus said, Be in the midst, yet walk on one side.'

4. Zamakhshari, *Commentary on the Ḳoran*, p. 986, 'In the sermons of Jesus, son of Mary, it is written, Beware how ye sit with sinners.'

5. *El-Mustatraf*, etc., i. p. 20, 'Jesus said, I have treated the leprous and the blind, and have cured them; but when I have treated the fool, I have failed to cure him.'

6. *El-Hadaik El-Wardiyyah*, i. p. 27, 'God revealed unto Jesus, Command the children of Israel that they enter not my house save with pure hearts, and humble eyes, and clean hands; for I will not answer any one of them against whom any has a complaint.'

The following are from El-Ghazzali, *Revival of the Religious Sciences*:—

7. i. 8, 'Jesus said, Whoso knows and does and teaches, shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven.'

8. i. 26, 'Jesus said, Trees are many, yet not all of them bear fruit; and fruits are many, yet not all of them are fit for food; and sciences are many, but not all of them are profitable.'

9. i. 30, 'Jesus said, Commit not wisdom to those who are not meet for it, lest ye harm it; and withhold it not from them that are meet for it, lest ye harm them. Be like a gentle physician, who puts the remedy on the diseased spot.' According to another version: 'Whoso commits wisdom to them that are not meet for it, is a fool; and whoso withholds it from them that are meet for it, is an evildoer. Wisdom has rights, and rightful owners; and give each his due.'

10. i. 49, 'Jesus said, Evil disciples are like a rock that has fallen at the mouth of a brook; it does not drink the water, neither does it let the water flow to the fields. And they are like the conduit of a *latrina* which is plastered outside, and foul inside; or like graves, the outside of which is decorated, while within are dead men's bones.'

11. i. 50, 'Jesus said, How can he be a disciple who, when his journey is unto the next world, makes for the things of this world? How can he be a disciple who seeks for words in order to communicate by them, not to act according to them?'

12. i. 52, 'God said unto Jesus, Exhort thyself, and if thou hast profited by the exhortation, then exhort others; otherwise be ashamed before me.'

13. i. 177, 'Jesus said, If a man send away a beggar empty from his house, the angels will not visit that house for seven nights.'

14. i. 247, *Prayer of Jesus*—'O God, I am this morning unable to ward off what I would not, or to obtain what I would. The power is in another's hands. I am bound by my works, and there is none so poor that is poorer than I. O God, make not mine enemy to rejoice over me, nor my friend to grieve over me; make not my trouble to be in the matter of my faith; make not the world my chief care; and give not the power over me to him who will not pity me.'

15. ii. 119, 'God revealed to Jesus, Though thou shouldst worship with the devotion of the inhabitants of the heaven and the earth, but hadst not love in God and hate in God, it would avail thee nothing.'

16. ii. 119, 'Jesus said, Make yourselves beloved of God by hating the evil-doers. Bring yourselves nearer to God by removing far from them; and seek God's favour by their displeasure. They said, O Spirit of God, then with whom shall we converse? Then He said, Converse with those whose presence will remind you of God, whose words will increase your works, and whose works will make you desire the next world.'

17. ii. 134, 'Jesus said to the apostles, How would you do if you saw your brother sleeping, and the wind had lifted up his garment? They said, We should cover him up. He said, Nay, ye would uncover him. They said, God forbid! Who would do this? He said, One of you who hears a word concerning his brother, and adds to it, and relates it with additions.'

18. ii. 154, 'They say that there was no form of address Jesus loved better to hear than "Poor man."'

19. ii. 168, 'When Jesus was asked, How art thou this morning? he would answer, Unable to forestall what I hope, or to put off what I fear, bound by my works, with all my good in another's hand. There is no poor man poorer than I.'

20. iii. 25, 'Satan, the accursed, appeared to Jesus, and said unto him, Say, there is no God but God. He said, It is a true saying, but I will not say it at thy invitation.'

21. iii. 28, 'When Jesus was born, the demons came to Satan, and said, The idols have been overturned. He said, This is a mere accident that has occurred; keep still. Then he flew till he had gone over both hemispheres, and found nothing. After that he found Jesus the son of Mary already born, with the angels surrounding him. He returned to the demons, and said, A prophet was born yesterday; no woman ever conceived or bare a child without my presence save this one. Hope not, therefore, that the idols will be worshipped after this night, so attack mankind through haste and thoughtlessness.'

22. iii. 28, 'Jesus lay down one day with his head upon a stone. Satan, passing by, said, O Jesus, thou art fond of this world. So he took the stone and cast it from under his head, saying, This be thine together with the world.'

23. iii. 52, 'Jesus was asked, Who taught thee? He answered, No one taught me. I saw that the ignorance of the fool was a shame, and I avoided it.'

24. iii. 52, 'Jesus said, Blessed is he who abandons a present pleasure for the sake of a promised (reward) which is absent and unseen.'

25. iii. 65, 'Jesus said, O company of apostles, make hungry your livers, and bare your bodies; perhaps then your hearts may see God.'

26. iii. 67, 'It is related how Jesus remained sixty days addressing his Lord, without eating. Then the thought of bread came into his mind, and his communion was interrupted, and he saw a loaf set before him. Then he sat down and wept over the loss of his communion, when he beheld an old man close to him. Jesus said unto him, God bless thee, thou saint of God! Pray to God for me, for I was in an ecstasy when the thought of bread entered my mind, and the ecstasy was interrupted. The old man said, O God, if thou knowest that the thought of bread came into my mind since I knew thee, then forgive me not. Nay, when it was before me, I would eat it without thought or reflexion.'

27. iii. 81, 'Jesus said, Beware of glances; for they plant passion in the heart, and that is a sufficient temptation.'

28. iii. 87, 'Jesus was asked by some men to guide them to some course whereby they might enter Paradise. He said, Speak not at all. They said, We cannot do this. He said, Then only say what is good.'

29. iii. 87, 'Jesus said, Devotion is of ten parts. Nine of them consist in silence, and one in solitude.'

30. iii. 92, 'Jesus said, Whosoever lies much, loses his beauty; and whosoever wrangles with others, loses his honour; and whosoever is much troubled, sickens in his body; and whosoever is evilly disposed, tortures himself.'

31. iii. 94, 'Jesus, passing by a swine, said to it, Go in peace. They said, O Spirit of God, sayest thou so to a swine? He answered, I would not accustom my tongue to evil.'

32. iii. 107, 'Jesus said, One of the greatest of sins in God's eyes is that a man should say God knows what he knows not.'

33. iii. 108, 'Malik, son of Dinar, said, Jesus one day walked with his apostles, and they passed by the carcass of a dog. The apostles said, How foul is the smell of this dog! But Jesus said, How white are its teeth!'

34. iii. 134, 'Christ passed by certain of the Jews, who spake evil to him; but he spake good to them in return. It was said to him, Verily these speak ill unto thee, and dost thou speak good? He said, Each gives out of his store.'

35. iii. 151, 'Jesus said, Take not the world for your lord, lest it take you for its slaves. Lay up your treasure with Him who will not waste it,' etc.

36. iii. 151, 'Jesus said, Ye company of apostles, verily I have overthrown the world upon her face for you; raise her not up after me. It is a mark of the foulness of this world that God is disobeyed therein, and that the future world cannot be attained save by abandonment of this; pass then through this world, and linger not there; and know that the root of every sin is love of the world. Often does the pleasure of an hour bestow on him that enjoys it long pain.'

37. iii. 151, 'He said again, I have laid the world low for you, and ye are seated upon its back. Let not kings and women dispute with you the possession of it. Dispute not the world with kings, for they will not offer you what you have abandoned and their world; but guard against women by fasting and prayer.'

38. iii. 151, 'He said again, The world seeks and is sought. If a man seeks the next world, this world seeks him till he obtain therein his full sustenance; but if a man seeks this world, the next world seeks him till death comes and takes him by the throat.'

39. iii. 152, 'Jesus said, The love of this world and of the next cannot agree in a believer's heart, even as fire and water cannot agree in a single vessel.'

40. iii. 153, 'Jesus being asked, Why dost thou not take a house to shelter thee? said, The rags of those that were before us are good enough for us.'

41. iii. 153, 'It is recorded that one day Jesus was sore troubled by the rain and thunder and lightning, and began to seek a shelter. His eye fell upon a tent hard by; but when he came there, finding a woman inside, he turned away from it. Then he noticed a cave in a mountain; but when he came thither, there was a lion there. Laying his hand upon the lion, he said, My God, Thou hast given each thing a resting-place, but to me thou has given none! Then God revealed to him, Thy resting-place is in the abode of my mercy: that I may wed thee on the day of judgment . . . and make thy bridal feast four thousand years, of which each day is like a lifetime in this present world; and that I may command a herald to proclaim, Where are they that fast in this world? Come to the bridal feast of Jesus, who fasted in this world!'

42. iii. 153, 'Jesus said, Woe unto him who hath this world, seeing that he must die and leave it, and all that is in it! It deceives him, yet he trusts in it; he relies upon it, and it betrays him. Woe unto them that are deceived! When they shall be shown what they loathe, and shall be abandoned by what they love; and shall be overtaken by that wherewith they are threatened! Woe unto him whose care is the world, and whose work is sin; seeing that one day he shall be disgraced by his sin.'

43. iii. 153, 'Jesus said, Who is it that builds upon the waves of the sea? Such is the world; take it not for your resting-place.'

44. iii. 153, 'Some said to Jesus, Teach us some doctrine for which God will love us. Jesus said, Hate the world, and God will love you.'

45. iii. 154, 'Jesus said, Ye company of apostles, be satisfied with a humble portion in this world, so your faith be whole; even as the people of this world are satisfied with a humble portion in faith, so this world be secured to them.'

46. iii. 154, 'Jesus said, O thou that seekest this world to do charity, to abandon it were more charitable.'

47. iii. 159, 'Jesus used to say, My condiment is hunger, my inner garment fear, and my outer garment wool. I warm myself in winter in the sun; my candle is the moon; my mounts are my feet; my food and dainties are the fruits of the earth; neither at eventide nor in the morning have I aught in my possession, yet no one on earth is richer than I.'

48. iii. 161, 'The world was revealed unto Jesus in the form of an old woman with broken teeth, with all sorts of ornaments upon her. He said to her, How many husbands hast thou had? She said, I cannot count them. He said, Hast thou survived them all, or did they all divorce thee? She said, Nay, I have slain them all. Jesus said, Woe unto thy remaining husbands! Why do they not take warning by thy former husbands? Thou hast destroyed them one after another, and yet they are not on their guard against thee.'

The following two Sayings are quoted by Levinus Warnerus, in notes to his *Centuria proverbiorum Persicorum*, Lugd. Batav. 1644, p. 30 f. (see Fabricius, *Cod. apocr. NT*, iii. p. 394 f.):—

49. 'Jesus, son of Mary (to whom be peace), said, Whoso craves wealth is like a man who drinks sea-water; the more he drinks, the more he increases his thirst, and he ceases not to drink until he perishes.'

50. 'Jesus, son of Mary, said to John, son of Zacharias, If any one in speaking of thee says the truth, praise God; if he utters a lie, praise God still more, for thereby shall thy treasure be increased in the list of thy works, and that without any labour of thine, that is, his good works are carried to thy list.'

Finally, we have the following Saying:—

51. *Koran*, Sur. 5 *fin.*, 'Remember, when the apostles said, O Jesus, Son of Mary, is thy Lord able to cause a table to descend unto us from heaven? he answered, Fear God, if ye be true believers. They said, We desire to eat thereof, and that our hearts may rest at ease; and that we may know that thou hast told us the truth; and that we may be witnesses thereof. Jesus, the son of Mary, said, O God our Lord, cause a table to descend unto us from heaven, that the day of its descent may become a festival-day unto us, unto the first of us, and unto the last of us; and a sign from thee; and do thou provide food for us, for thou art the best provider. God said, Verily I will cause it to descend unto you; but whoever among you shall disbelieve hereafter, I will surely punish him with a punishment wherewith I will not punish any other creature.'

LITERATURE.—Much of the material relating to the Agrapha was collected by the older editors of Patristic texts. Especially the notes of Cotelier (*Patres apostolici*^{2}, Antwerp, 1698; *Ecclesiæ Græcæ monumenta*, Paris, 1677–86) have been quarries of erudition for later workers. In recent years important contributions have been made by Anger (*Synopsis Evangeliorum*, Leipzig, 1852); Hilgenfeld (*NT extra Canonem Receptum*^{2}, Leipzig, 1884); and Zahn (*Gesch. d. neutest. Kanons*, 1888–92), as well as by the writers who have discussed the fragments of the Gospel according to the Hebrews (notably Nicholson, Handmann, Zahn). Collections of Agrapha have been frequently made since those of Grabe (in his *Spicilegium*, Oxford, 1698) and Fabricius (in his *Codex apocr. NT*, Hamburg, 1703). See, among others, R. Hofmann, *Leben Jesu nach den Apokryphen*, 1851; Westcott, *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, Appendix C, 1860, ^{8}1894; J. T. Dodd, *Sayings Ascribed to Our Lord*, Oxford, 1874; Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, vol. i., 1882, pp. 162–7; Nestle, *NT supplementum*, Leipzig, 1896, pp. 89–92; Preuschen, *Antilegomena*, 1901, pp. 43–47, 138 f.; J. de Q. Donehoo, *Apocryphal and Legendary Life of Christ*, 1903. Resch brings together a vast amount of material relating to the whole subject, and uses the Agrapha as a leading argument for his theory (founded on that of B. Weiss) of the origin of the Synoptic Gospels. He holds to an original Gospel, called in ancient times τὰ λόγια, and composed in Hebrew by Matthew shortly after the death of Christ. This document is supposed to have been the main source of the three Synoptic Gospels (its matter constituting four-fifths of Matthew, three-fourths of Luke, and two-thirds of Mark), to have been used by St. Paul and St. John, and to have been known for many centuries to the writers of the Church. From it are derived the Agrapha, and to varying translations of it are due not only the variations of the Synoptic Evangelists, but also many of the countless textual variants in the Gospels, especially those of the 'Western Text,' as preserved both in MSS and in Patristic quotations. A reconstruction of the 'Logia' is attempted in Resch, *Die Logia Jesu nach dem griechischen und hebräischen Text wiederhergestellt*, 1898; see also his 'Aussercanonische Paralleltexte zu den Evangelien' (*TU* x. 1–5), 1893–96.

Resch's contention that 75 Agrapha are probably genuine Sayings of Jesus would, if accepted, furnish some reason for supposing a single common source of such material. In fact, however, most of Resch's Agrapha do not commend themselves to other scholars as probably genuine; and his solution of the Synoptic Problem has been generally rejected. See J. H. Ropes, 'Die Sprüche Jesu die in den kanonischen Evangelien nicht überliefert sind: eine kritische Bearbeitung des von D. Alfred Resch gesammelten Materials' (*TU* xiv. 2), 1896. For criticism of Resch's views, see also Jülicher in *ThLZ*, 1890, col. 321–330; *Church Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1890, pp. 1–21; Knowling, *Witness of the Epistles*, 1892; Rahlfs in *ThLZ*, 1893, col. 377 f.; C. C. Torrey in *AJTh*, Oct. 1899, pp. 698–703.

Blomfield Jackson (*Twenty-five Agrapha, annotated*, London, S.P.C.K., 1900) offers sensible and interesting discussions, with some fresh illustrative material. More complete notices of literature in Resch, *Agrapha*, and Ropes, *Sprüche Jesu*.

On the Oxyrhynchus 'Sayings of Our Lord,' see the *editio princeps*, Grenfell and Hunt, ΛΟΓΙΑ ΙΗϹΟΥ, *Sayings of Our Lord*, London, 1897; Lock and Sanday, *Two Lectures on the 'Sayings of Jesus,'* Oxford, 1897 (with full bibliography); Grenfell and Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, pt. i., 1898, pp. 1–3.

On the Sayings from the Talmud, see Laible, *Jesus Christus im Thalmud*, 1891 [Eng. tr. by Streane, 1893]; and Literature given in Ropes, *Sprüche Jesu*, pp. 115, 151.

On the Sayings of Jesus in Mohammedan writers, see J. A. Fabricius, *Codex apocr. NT*, iii., Hamburg, 1719, pp. 394–7; Jeremiah Jones, *New and Full Method of Settling the Canonical Authority of the NT*, i., Oxford, 1798, pp. 451–71; R. Hofmann, *Leben Jesu nach d. Apokryphen*, 1851, pp. 327–9; D. S. Margoliouth in *Expository Times*, vol. v. pp. 59, 107, 177 f., Nov., Dec. 1893, Jan. 1894; W. Lock in *Expositor*, 4th ser. vol. ix. pp. 97–99, 1894.

J. H. ROPES.

PAPYRI.—The manner in which papyrus was used as writing-material in the ancient world, the dates of its adoption and abandonment, and the countries in which it was employed, have been described in vol. iv. of this Dictionary (art. WRITING). The object of the present article is to show what actual writings on papyrus, bearing upon the study of the Bible, have come down to us, and what kind of information is to be derived from them.

i. THE DISCOVERIES OF PAPYRI.—The first papyrus rolls to be brought to light were the product of the excavations on the site of Herculaneum in the middle of the 18th century. In 1752 a small room was discovered, which proved to be a library; and on the shelves round its walls were found several hundreds of rolls, calcined to the semblance of cinders by the eruption of Vesuvius, which buried the town in A.D. 79. These, however, when patiently unrolled and deciphered, were found to contain philosophical treatises of the Epicurean school, and do not concern us here. All other papyri that have hitherto come to light are derived from Egypt, where alone the conditions of soil and climate are such as to admit of the preservation of so perishable a material. The date of the first discovery of papyri in Egypt is 1778, when a collection of rolls was discovered by fellaheen, probably in the Fayum; but, since no purchaser was immediately forthcoming, all were destroyed but one, now in the Museum at Naples, containing a list of labourers in the reign of Commodus. For a century after this date discoveries were merely sporadic, though some important literary papyri were among the fruits of them.

The first find upon a large scale was made in 1877, on the site of the city of Arsinoë, in the Fayum, from which several thousand papyri (nearly all fragmentary) were derived, most of which are now at Vienna. With this event the modern period of papyrus discovery begins, and the quarter of a century that has elapsed since that date has witnessed an ever-increasing flood of papyri, partly due to the systematic searches of European explorers, and partly to the irregular zeal of the natives. The principal localities from which papyri have been drawn are the Fayum, a detached province lying to the west of the Nile in Central Egypt, and the neighbourhoods of the towns of Oxyrhynchus, Hermopolis, Heracleopolis, and Thebes. They are found in the rubbish-heaps of buried towns or villages, in the cartonnage of mummy-cases of the Ptolemaic period (in which layers of papyrus, covered with plaster, took the place of wood), and in cemeteries; one remarkable discovery (by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt, on the site of the ancient Tebtunis) being that of a cemetery of crocodiles, in which the animals were found wrapped in rolls of papyrus, while other rolls had been stuffed inside them. There are now tens, or even hundreds, of thousands of papyri (the majority, no doubt, being mere fragments) in the possession of the museums and learned societies of Europe, many of which have not yet been unrolled or deciphered. Some of these are literary works, relics of the books which once circulated among the educated classes, native or foreign, of Egypt; but the vast majority consists of non-literary documents, including official and commercial papers of all descriptions (census-rolls, tax-registers, receipts, petitions, sales, leases, loans, etc.), as well as private letters and accounts. It is from these that some of the most instructive materials for our present purpose are obtained.

ii. EGYPTIAN PAPYRI.—The papyri of which we have chiefly to speak are Greek, belonging to the period after the conquest of Egypt by Alexander and the establishment of the Ptolemaic dynasty. But in addition to these some mention must be made of papyri in the ancient Egyptian language, which precede the Greek period or coincide with the earlier part of it; and in the later Egyptian language, commonly known as Coptic, which coincide with the latter part of the Greek period and continue after the practical disappearance of Greek. Ancient Egyptian papyri have only an indirect bearing upon the study of the Bible. Concurrently with the monuments of stone, they give us records of the history of Egypt, with which that of the Hebrews is in contact in so many places; while many of them contain copies of the Book of the Dead, the principal document of the Egyptian religion, with which the Israelites may possibly have become acquainted to some extent through their intercourse with their neighbours. These are written in *hieroglyphics*, the earliest form of writing practised in Egypt. Two other forms were successively developed from it—the *hieratic* and the *demotic*. Hieratic papyri are relatively scarce, and contain nothing to our purpose; demotic are very difficult to translate, and are mostly of the nature of business documents or stories. One document of the latter class, written about the end of the 1st cent., has been held to show certain resemblances to the narrative of the Nativity of our Lord; but the resemblance is, in truth, very slight and unessential (Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, 1900, pp. 43, 44). On the whole, therefore, the later Egyptian papyri contain little that concerns the biblical student as such.

iii. HEBREW PAPYRI.—If papyrus was used in Palestine at all as writing material (see art. WRITING, *l.c.* § ii.), no specimens of it could be expected to survive in that country; and even in Alexandria, where the colony of learned Jews no doubt possessed copies of the Hebrew Scriptures on papyrus, the soil is too damp to admit of their preservation. Consequently it is not surprising that, up to a very recent date, no Hebrew papyrus was known to exist. The first publication (containing fragments of prayers and business documents, from papyri in the Berlin Museum) was made by Steinschneider in 1879; but these are not earlier than the 7th century. Portions of a liturgical papyrus-codex, assigned to the 9th cent., are in the Cambridge University Library, and there are a few fragments at Oxford and Vienna. Far earlier and more valuable than these is a fragment acquired in 1902 by Mr. W. L. Nash, and by him presented to the Cambridge University Library. It is assigned on palæographical grounds to the 2nd cent. after Christ, though the materials for comparison (consisting mainly of inscriptions) are very scanty. It contains the Ten Commandments and the commencement of the *Shema'* (Dt $6^{4ff.}$), in a text differing markedly from the Massoretic. The Decalogue is in a form nearer to Dt 5^{6-21} than to Ex 20^{1-17}. The Sixth and Seventh Commandments are transposed, as in Cod. B and in Lk 18^{20}. The *Shema'* immediately follows the Decalogue, but has the introductory words, 'These are the statutes and the judgments which Moses commanded the children of Israel, when they came out of the land of Egypt,' which appear in the LXX (and OL). So far as it goes, therefore, this interesting fragment tends to support the theory that the LXX not infrequently represents a genuine pre-Massoretic Hebrew text. (S. A. Cook, *PSBA* xxv. 34, 1903).

iv. GREEK PAPYRI.—Up to the present time, out of all the great mass of Greek papyri which have been brought to light, not many have any direct bearing on the Bible text or history. Nevertheless, all lists speedily become antiquated by the publication of fresh discoveries. The following list is believed to be complete up to June 1903:—

A. *Biblical texts**—

1. Gn 1^{1-5}, in versions of LXX and Aquila. 4th cent. Amherst Pap. 3*c* (Grenfell and Hunt, *Amherst Papyri*, pt. i.).
2. Gn 14^{7}; probably a quotation in a theological treatise, since the text on the *verso*, in the same hand, is not biblical. 3rd cent. Brit. Mus. Pap. 212.
3. Ex $19^{1.\,2.\,5.\,6}$, Dt 32^{3-10}. 6th cent. Amherst Papp. 191, 192 (*op. cit.* pt. ii.).

3*a*. 2 S 15^{36}–16^{1}. 4th cent. Strassburg Pap. 911. *Archiv. f. Papyrusforschung*, ii. 227.

4. Job $1^{21.\,22}$ 2^{3}. 7th cent. Amherst Pap. 4 (*ib.* pt. i.).
5. Ps 5^{6-12}. 5th or 6th cent. Amherst Pap. 5.
6. Ps 10 $(11)^{2}$–18 $(19)^{6}$ 20 $(21)^{14}$–34 $(35)^{6}$. 7th cent. Brit. Mus. Pap. 37 (Tischendorf, *Mon. Sac. Ined.*, Nov. Coll. i. 217).
7. Ps 11 $(12)^{7}$–14 $(15)^{4}$. Late 3rd cent. Brit. Mus. Pap. 230 (Kenyon, *Facsimiles of Biblical MSS.*, pl. 1).
8. Ps 39 $(40)^{16}$–40 $(41)^{4}$. Berlin Museum (Blass, *Zeitschr. f. äg. Sprache*, 1881).
9. Ps 107 $(108)^{13}$ 108 $(109)^{1.\,2.\,12.\,13}$ 118 $(119)^{115-122.\,127-135}$ 135 $(136)^{19-28}$ 136 $(137)^{1.\,6-8}$ 137 $(138)^{1-3}$ 138 $(139)^{20-26}$ 139 $(140)^{1-6.\,10-14}$ 140 $(141)^{1-4}$, with several additional small fragments. 7th cent. or later. Amherst Papp. 6, 200 (Grenfell and Hunt, *op. cit.* pts. i. and ii.).

---

* In addition to the papyri here enumerated, there are several biblical fragments in the Rainer collection at Vienna and the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, as to which no precise details have yet been published.

10. Ca 1^{6-9}. 7th or 8th cent. Bodl. MS. Gr. Bibl. g. 1 (P) (Grenfell, *Greek Papyri*, i. 7).
11. Is $38^{3-5.\ 13-16}$. 3rd cent. Rainer Pap. 8024 (*Führer durch die Ausstellung*, 1894, No. 536).
12. Ezk 5^{12}–6^{3}, with Hexaplaric symbols. 3rd cent. Bodl. MS. Gr. Bibl. d. 4 (P) (Grenfell, *Greek Papyri*, i. 5).
13. Zec 4–Mal 4. 7th cent. (?) Heidelberg University Library (Specimen facs. in *Times*, Sept. 7, 1892; to be edited by Deissmann).
14. Mt $1^{1-9.\ 12.\ 14-20}$. 3rd cent. Pennsylvania Univ. Library (Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, i. 2).
15. Lk 1^{74-80} 5^{3-8} 5^{30}–6^{4}. 4th cent. Paris, Bibl. Nat. (Scheil, *Mém. de la Miss. arch. française au Caire*, ix.).
16. Lk 7^{36-43} 10^{38-42}. 6th cent. Rainer Pap. 8021 (*Führer*, No. 539).
17. Jn $1^{23-31.\ 33-41}$ $20^{11-17.\ 19-25}$. 3rd cent. Brit. Mus. Pap. 782 (Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxy. Pap.* ii. 208).
18. Ro 1^{1-7}. 4th cent. Harvard University Library (*ib.* ii. 209).
19. 1 Co 1^{17-20} 6^{13-18} $7^{3.\ 4.\ 10-14}$. 5th cent. Uspensky Collection at Kiew.
20. 1 Co 1^{25-27} 2^{6-8} $3^{8-10.\ 20}$. 5th cent. St. Catherine's, Sinai (Harris, *Biblical Fragments from Mt. Sinai*, No. 14).
21. 2 Th 1^{1}–2^{2}. 4th or 5th cent. Berlin Museum P. 5013.
22. He 1^{1}. 3rd or 4th cent. Amherst Pap. 3*b* (Grenfell and Hunt, *Amherst Papyri*, pt. i.).

B. *Extra-canonical writings—*

23. Fragment from narrative of St. Peter's denial, consisting of parts of seven lines. 3rd cent. (?) Rainer Pap. (Bickell, *Mitth. Erzh. Rainer*, i. 52).
24. Logia Jesu; one leaf, containing seven sayings of our Lord, with remains of an eighth. The first (imperfect) agrees, so far as it goes, with Lk 6^{42}; part of the sixth is nearly identical with Lk 4^{24}; the seventh is an expansion of Mt 5^{14}; the rest are new. Found at Oxyrhynchus. 3rd cent. Bodl. MS. Gr. th. e. 7 (P) (Grenfell and Hunt, *Sayings of our Lord*).
25. The Ascension of Isaiah, ch. 2. § 4–4. § 4; the only extant MS of any part of the work in the original Greek. 5th or 6th cent. Amherst Pap. 1 (Grenfell and Hunt, *Amherst Papyri*, pt. i.).

C. *Theological works—*

26. Philo, *τίς ὁ τῶν θείων κληρονόμος* and *περὶ γενέσεως Ἀβέλ*. 3rd cent. Formerly at Gizeh, now in the Louvre (Scheil, *Mém. de la Miss. arch. française au Caire*, tom. ix.).
27. Hermas, *Pastor*, *Sim.* ii. 7–10, iv. 2–5. 3rd cent. Berl. Mus. Pap. 5513 (Diels and Harnack, *Sitzungsb. d. Berl. Akad.* 1891).
28. Hermas, *Pastor*, *Vis.* i. 2–3, 12–13; *Mand.* xii. 1; *Sim.* ix. 2, 12, 17, 30; the last fragment contains a portion of the text hitherto known only in translations. 6th cent. Amherst Pap. 190 (Grenfell and Hunt).
29. Tract on prophecy, including quotation from Hermas, *Mand.* xi. 9. Harnack suggests that it may be part of the work of Melito *περὶ προφητείας*. 3rd–4th cent. Oxyrhynchus Pap. 5 (Grenfell and Hunt).
30. Fragment on the higher and lower soul; according to Harnack, from a Gnostic work of the Valentinian school. 3rd–4th cent. Oxyrhynchus Pap. 4 (*ib.*).
31. Theological fragment of uncertain character. 3rd cent. Oxy. Pap. 210 (*ib.*).
32. Early Christian hymn, in irregular metre. 4th cent. Amherst Pap. 2 (Grenfell and Hunt).

32*a*. Admonitions, perhaps *logia*, very fragmentary. 4th cent. Strassburg Pap. 1017. *Archiv. f. Papyrusforschung*, ii. 217.

33. Basil, *Epp.* v. 77 E, vi. 79 B, ccxciii. 432 B, cl. 239 C, ii. 72 A. 5th cent. (?) Berlin Museum (*Philologus*, 1884).
34. Gregory of Nyssa, *Life of Moses*; extracts. 5th cent. Berlin Museum (Blass, *Zeitschr. f. äg. Sprache*, 1880).
35. Cyril of Alexandria, *de Adoratione*, p. 242 E–250 D, 286 B. 6th or 7th cent. In private hands (Bernard, *Royal Irish Acad.* xxix. pt. 18).
36. Prayer to our Lord for deliverance from sickness and evil spirits, including elements of a creed; regarded by its first editor as drawn from the Gospel of the Egyptians, but without adequate grounds. 4th–5th cent. Gizeh Pap. 10263 (Jacoby, *Ein neues Evangelienfragment*, Strassburg, 1900).
37. Fragments of lives of SS. Abraham and Theodora. Louvre Papp. 1704–8 *bis* (Wessely, *Wiener Studien*, 1889).

38–44. Unidentified fragments of theological works. 5th–7th cent. Amherst Papp. 194–199, 201 (Grenfell and Hunt).

45–48. Ditto. 6th–7th cent. Brit. Mus. Papp. cxiii. 12*a–c*, 13 (Kenyon, *Catal. of Greek Papyri*, vol. i.).

49–51. Ditto. 6th–7th cent. Brit. Mus. Papp. 455, 462, 464 (*ib.* vol. ii.).

52. Ditto. 6th cent. (?) Brit. Mus. Pap. 873 (*Catal. of Additions to Dept. of MSS in British Museum*, 1894–99).
53. Hymn or incantation in Christian terms. 7th cent. (?) Brit. Mus. Pap. 1029 *verso* (unpubl.).
54. Prayer. 7th cent. Brit. Mus. Pap. 1176 (unpubl.).
55. Unidentified theological fragment. Berlin Museum. (Blass, *Zeitschr. f. äg. Sprache*, 1881).
56. Liturgical fragments, apparently choir slips. 7th–8th cent. Amherst Pap. 9 (Grenfell and Hunt).
57. Fragments of a Hebrew-Greek *Onomasticon Sacrum*. Heidelberg University Library (Deissmann, *Encycl. Biblica*, iii. 3560).

D. *Documents illustrative of Church history—*

58–60. Reports of appeals by Jews heard by the Roman emperors (Claudius and Trajan). Berl. Pap. 7118 (*Gr. Urk.* 511), Paris Pap. 68 + Brit. Mus. Pap. 1, Berl. Pap. 8111 (*Gr. Urk.* 341). See Wilcken, *Hermes*, xxx. 485 ff.; Bauer, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, i. 29, who compares these documents to the early Christian *Acta martyrum*.

61, 62. *Libelli*, or certificates of conformity to the State religion, issued by magistrates during the Decian persecution, A.D. 250. Berl. Pap. 7297 (*Gr. Urk.* 287) and Rainer Pap. (Krebs, *Sitzungsb. d. k. Akad. zu Berlin*, 1803, No. 48; Wessely, *Anzeiger d. k. k. Akad. in Wien*, 3rd Jan. 1894).

63. Letter from a Church dignitary in Rome to a Christian community in the Fayum, containing references to Maximus (bishop

of Alexandria, A.D. 264–282) and his successor Theonas. Amherst Pap. 3*a* (Grenfell and Hunt, *Amherst Papyri*, pt. i.; Harnack, *Sitzungsb. d. Berl. Akad.*, Nov. 1, 1900).

64. Letter from the presbyter Psenosiris to the presbyter Apollo with regard to a woman sent to the Great Oasis by the prefect of Egypt (perhaps a Christian banished during the persecution of Diocletian). Brit. Mus. Pap. 713 (Grenfell and Hunt, *Greek Papyri*, ii. p. 115; Deissmann, *The Epistle of Psenosiris*).
65. Inventory of furniture of a Christian church in the village of Ibion (in the Fayum). 5th–6th cent. Bodl. MS. Gr. th. d. 2 (P) (Grenfell and Hunt, *op. cit.* p. 160).
66. Festal letter from a Patriarch of Alexandria to his clergy. Probably A.D. 577. Brit. Mus. Pap. 729 (*ib.* p. 163).
67. Rescript from the emperors Theodosius II. and Valentinian III. to Apion, bishop of Syene and Elephantine, in reply to his petition for protection. Reference is made to churches on the island of Philæ. A.D. 425–450. Leyden Pap. Z (Wilcken, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, i. 396 ff.).
68. Christian amulet, including the Lord's Prayer. 6th cent. Papyrus found at Heracleopolis in 1899, but since burnt (*ib.* p. 429 ff., where references are given to other amulets).

v. **VALUE OF THE PAPYRI.**—The direct value to biblical science of the papyri above enumerated can be briefly estimated. The earlier biblical fragments (those of the 4th cent. or earlier) are too few and too small to be of much textual importance; but so far as they go their evidence in the NT supports the now dominant textual theory associated with the names of Westcott and Hort. They range themselves with the Codices ℵB and their allies, thus supporting not merely the type of text which WH have shown to be earlier than the Textus Receptus, but that particular form of it (WH's 'Neutral') which there is good reason to associate with Egypt. In the OT nearly all the papyrus fragments yet discovered are later than the great vellum uncials, and throw no new light on the textual problems of the LXX; but No. 12 is noticeable as containing a Hexaplaric text, with the earliest extant specimens of the symbols used by Origen. Outside the range of the canonical books, the Vienna fragment (No. 23) is too small to admit of any secure deductions; but the 'Logia' papyrus is exceptionally interesting, though there is no evidence to establish either the immediate source of its contents or the amount of authenticity which can be allowed to them. The 'Ascension of Isaiah' MS is also of considerable value as the only extant witness to the Greek text of the work; and the same may be said, to a less degree, of the Hermas fragments (No. 28). The other theological papyri do not amount to very much.

The greater part, however, of the value of the papyri lies in another direction, and arises from the light which they throw on the circumstances under which the LXX and the NT were written and circulated in the earlier ages. Occasionally they provide us with direct evidences of early Christianity, as in the case of Nos. 61–63 in the foregoing list; but the indirect evidence is greater, both in bulk and in importance. In the Greek papyri of the Ptolemaic period we have a mass of documents, literary and non-literary, written in the very country in which the LXX was produced and at the very same time, and showing us both how books were written at that time and what manner of Greek was spoken by the foreign residents in Egypt. Similarly, in the papyri of the early Roman period, from the 1st to the 4th cent., we have examples of books, letters, and business documents contemporary with the writers of the NT books, and illustrating the methods of book production and book circulation before the adoption of vellum and the date of the great vellum uncials which are the foundation of our textual knowledge. The results can be indicated only in outline within the limits of this article.

(*a*) *Linguistic.*—Previous to the great discoveries of papyri, it was usual to treat biblical Greek as a thing apart, due to a combination of Hebrew influences with the common Greek dialect, which operated only in Hellenistic (Jewish-Greek) circles. There is, no doubt, a considerable amount of truth in this view. Hebrew idioms naturally influenced the translators of the LXX, and acquaintance with the LXX naturally affected the style of the writers of the NT; but it is a view which requires modification. The papyri show us the dialect of Greek Egypt in many forms,—the language of the Government official, of the educated private person, of the dwellers in the temples, of the peasantry in the villages; and in many of them, which cannot be suspected of being subject to Jewish influences, we find words and phrases previously known only in the LXX or the NT. Thus the 'instrumental' use of the preposition ἐν by St. Paul in 1 Co 4^{21} (ἐν ῥάβδῳ ἔλθω πρὸς ὑμᾶς) has habitually been regarded as a Hebraism; yet an exact parallel to it occurs in a group of petitions from a village in the Fayum (Tebtunis Papp. 16^{14} 41^{5} 45^{17} 46^{15} $47^{11.12}$ 48^{19} Μαρρείους σὺν ἄλλοις πλείοσι ἐν μαχαίραις παραγινομένου, ἐπελθὼν Λύκος σὺν ἄλλοις ἐν ὅπλοις, κ.τ.λ.). Another papyrus from the same neighbourhood (50^{12}) contains the expression ἐπιβαλὼν συνέχωσεν, in the sense 'he *turned to** and blocked up' (a canal), which may be compared with the obscure use of the same participle in Mk 14^{72} καὶ ἐπιβαλὼν ἔκλαιεν. Prof. A. Deissmann, who, if not the first to notice this topic of interest in the papyri, was the first to develop it at length, has given the following list of words occurring in the LXX or NT, the use of which is elucidated or confirmed by the papyri:—

ἀγγαρεύω, ἀδελφός (of members of religious communities), ἄδολος, ἀθέτησις, ἀκατάγνωστος, ἀμετανόητος, ἀναφάλαντος, ἀντιλήμπτωρ, ἀντίλημψις, ἀπέχω, ἄρκετος, ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ, ἀσπάζομαι, ἄφεσις (ὑδάτων), γῆ ἐν ἀφέσει (but here D.'s explanation cannot be accepted, the phrase meaning land not held directly of the king), βαστάζω, βεβαίωσις, γένημα, γογγύζω, γραμματεύς, γράφω (γέγραπται), διάδοχος, διακούω, διῶρυξ, δοκίμιος, ἐάν (=ἄν), εἰ μήν, ἐλαιών, εἰς (=dat. commodi), ἐνταφιαστής, ἔντευξις, ἐνώπιον, ἐργοδιωκτής, ἐρωτᾶν (=request), ἔσθησις, εὐίλατος, θεμέλιον, καθαρὸς ἀπό, κατάκριμα, κυριακός, λειτουργία, λικμάω, λίψ (=west, which is normal in the papyri), λογεία, μετὰ καί (or σὺν καὶ), μικρός (=iunior), νεόφυτος, νόμος (=nome, the territorial division of Egypt), ὄνομα (in such phrases as ἔντευξις εἰς τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ὄνομα), ὀφειλή, ὀψώνιον, παράδεισος, παρεπίδημος, πάρεσις, παστοφόριον, περιδέξιον, περίστασις, περιτέμνεσθαι (but D.'s interpretation of ἄσημος as=ἀπεριτέμνητος is untenable), ἀπὸ πέρυσι, πῆχυς (genitive πηχῶν), ποτισμός, πρᾶγμα ἔχειν, πράκτωρ, πρεσβύτερος (designating an official), πρόθεσις (ἄρτων), προφήτης, πυρράκης, σιτομέτριον, σκευοφύλαξ, σμαράγδινος, σουδάριον, συγγενής (as court-title), συμβούλιον, συνέχω, σφραγίζω, σφυρίς, σῶμα (=slave), τήρησις, υἱὸς θεοῦ (used as title of Augustus), ὑποζύγιον (=ass), ὑποπόδιον, φίλος (as court-title), χάραγμα, χειρόγραφον, χωρίζομαι.

In addition to the light thus thrown on the vocabulary of the Greek Bible, the papyri furnish evidence with regard to the orthography and the grammatical forms in use in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt; but on these topics it is impossible to say much until the work of classifying the materials provided by the papyri has proceeded further than is at present the case. A beginning of the application of the material to biblical study has been made by A. Thumb (*Die sprachgeschichtliche Stellung des biblischen Griechisch*).

---

* ἐπιβαλών might also be taken to mean 'heaping up (earth)'; but the construction without an object would be strange, and the expression somewhat tautological, since συνέχωσεν alone would give the same sense.

(*b*) *Historical.*—On the historical side, the papyri provide a mass of information with regard to the usages, official and private, of Egypt under Ptolemaic and Roman rule, which from time to time throws light on the biblical narrative. We have letters with which to compare those which St. Paul wrote to his fellow-Christians; some of them recalling, by the number of salutations with which they conclude, the terminations of the Epistles to the Romans or Colossians (*e.g.* Brit. Mus. Pap. 404); others, in which a large autograph signature closes a letter written by a scribe, illustrating St. Paul's expressions in Gal 6^{11} (*e.g.* Brit. Mus. Papp. 311, 413). We have official, legal, and business formulæ in large numbers, including, for example, reports from one magistrate to another, similar to that sent by Claudius Lysias to Felix (Ac 23^{26-30}, where it may be observed that the doubtful word of salutation, ἔρρωσο, in v.^{30}, which is omitted by the best MSS, is decisively condemned by Egyptian usage, which admitted the use of this phrase only in letters addressed to an inferior). We have records of trials before magistrates, including brief summaries of the speeches of counsel, which recall the report of the speech of Tertullus in Ac $24^{2\text{ff.}}$. The double name of St. Paul (Σαῦλος ὁ καὶ Παῦλος) ceases to be remarkable or to cause any difficulty, when we find in the Egyptian census-lists scores of such double names, showing that it was customary for the natives of Oriental provinces to assume a Greek or Roman name in addition to that which they had among their own people (*e.g.* Ἡρώδης ὁ καὶ Πετενεφρῆς, Ἰσίδωρος ὁ καὶ Πανᾶς, κ.τ.λ.). The same census-records throw an interesting light on the census of Quirinius recorded in Lk 2^2. They prove that a census was held every 14 years in Egypt under Roman rule, at least as far back as A.D. 20; while at the same time all the extant indications tend to show that this system did not exist under the Ptolemies. It is natural, therefore, to regard these facts as having some bearing on the statement in Luke; but the only attempt to work out the problem in detail is that of Prof. W. M. Ramsay (*Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* 1898, p. 131 ff.). A.D. 5–6 (the Egyptian year beginning on Aug. 29), the date of the unquestioned governorship of Quirinius, is one of the census-years: B.C. 10–9, the natural date for the immediately preceding census, is too early for the Nativity; but Ramsay argues that the special circumstances of Judæa under Herod's rule would account for the census having been held a few years later in that province—probably in B.C. 6. Complete evidence on the subject is not yet forthcoming; but the instance is suggestive of the way in which the papyri may elucidate the chronology of the NT.*

(*c*) *Textual.*—Yet another branch of biblical study which is illustrated by the papyri is that of the history of the text. They furnish us with numberless examples of Greek writing of the period in which the LXX and NT were produced, and enable us to realize the conditions under which books circulated in the early ages of the Christian Church; and thereby they suggest a natural explanation of the genesis, at a very early date, of the divergent types of text which we find already established by the time that our most ancient vellum codices were written. This topic has, however, been already dealt with (see art. WRITING in vol. iv. pp. 951, 952), and need not be reconsidered here.

vi. COPTIC PAPYRI.*—The importance of the Coptic versions of the Bible for the purposes of textual criticism is well known (see vol. i. p. 672); but, as in the case of Greek MSS, the majority of the Coptic biblical MSS are on vellum. Only one Bohairic papyrus (a number of small fragments of a Psalter of the 10th cent., divided between the British Museum and the Rylands Library) is in existence; all the rest are in the Sahidic or Middle Egyptian dialects. With one or two notable exceptions, to be named below, the biblical papyri hitherto discovered are small and unimportant fragments. On the other hand, Coptic papyri have proved unexpectedly valuable in respect of apocryphal writings (some orthodox and others heretical) which were hitherto unknown, or known only by name and in a few quotations; while they also include a considerable number of Patristic texts and a very large quantity of documents bearing upon monastic and ecclesiastical life in Upper Egypt. Catalogues of these papyri are, however, still almost wholly wanting, so that no complete lists can be given: the following are the most notable individual MSS of which the existence has yet been notified:—

1. Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 5000; a large and complete codex, containing the entire Psalter in the Sahidic dialect. Prob. 7th cent. Edited by E. A. W. Budge (*The earliest known Coptic Psalter*, London, 1898). Its text agrees markedly with that of the largest Greek papyrus Psalter (No. 6, above).

2. Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 5984; part of a very large codex, containing considerable portions of the Sapiential books (Prov., Eccles., Song, Wisdom, Sirach), with one small fragment of Job, in Sahidic. Portions of the Song, Wisdom, and Sirach are wholly new, and in the other books the text sometimes differs from that published. Prob. 7th cent. Described in the forthcoming catalogue of Coptic MSS in the British Museum, by Mr. W. E. Crum.

3. Sixteen leaves (apparently out of an original 32) of a papyrus book at Cairo, containing a narrative of the Resurrection and conversations between our Lord and the disciples. It appears to purport to be a document issued by the Apostles to the Church in general, for its information. It is orthodox in teaching, and directed against the early Gnostics, Cerinthus (MS Κόρινθος) and Simon being mentioned by name. The MS may be assigned to the 4th or 5th cent., the work itself to the first half of the 2nd cent. Described by C. Schmidt (*Sitzungsb. d. Berl. Akad.* 1895, p. 705 ff.), but not yet published.

4. Papyrus at Heidelberg, containing the *Acta Pauli* in Sahidic, and showing that (1) the Acts of Paul and Thecla, (2) the apocryphal correspondence between Paul and the Corinthians, (3) the *Martyrium Pauli*, all hitherto generally regarded as independent works (but cf. opinions quoted by Harnack, *Altchrist. Litteratur*, i. 128 ff.), are really parts of this early and popular romance, which for a time circulated with the canonical books. Prob. 7th cent. Described by C. Schmidt (*Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, vii. 217 ff., 1897), but not yet published.

5. Twenty-two leaves of a book, partly at Berlin and partly at Paris, in Akhmimic dialect, containing (*a*) an anonymous vision of Heaven and Hell, imperfect at the beginning and perhaps at

---

* They may also assist Patristic chronology; *e.g.* Justin's *Apology* is fixed to a point shortly after A.D. 150 by the mention of the prefect Munatius Felix in Brit. Mus. Pap. 358.

* For information with regard to this section the present writer is much indebted to Mr. W. E. Crum.

the end; (*b*) prophecies of the history of the world and the coming of Antichrist and Messiah, entitled 'Apocalypse of Elias.' A Sahidic papyrus at Paris contains six leaves of the latter work, coinciding with and supplementing the Akhmimic MS, together with one leaf of the Apocalypse of Zephaniah. The Akh. MS is assigned to the 4th-5th cent., the Sah. to the 5th (the published facsimiles would perhaps rather suggest the 4th cent. for the former and the end of the 5th for the latter). Published by Steindorff (*Texte u. Unters.*, N. F. ii. 3*a*, 1899).

6. Papyrus at Strassburg, containing two mutilated leaves of an apocryphal Gospel in Sahidic, which, however, there is no reason to identify (with the editor) with the Gospel according to the Egyptians. The narrative appears to relate to the period between the Resurrection and the Ascension. The papyrus is of the 5th-6th cent., but there seems no reason to place the composition of the Gospel earlier than the 3rd cent. Published by A. Jacoby (*Ein neues Evangelienfragment*, Strassburg, 1900).

7. Papyrus at Turin, containing the *Gesta Pilati* or Gospel of Nicodemus in Sahidic, of which Greek and Latin texts are already extant. Published by F. Rossi (*I Papiri Copti del Muséo Egizio di Torino*, 1887).

8. Papyrus at Berlin, containing (*a*) the *Evangelium Mariæ* (also called the *Apokryphon Johannis*), (*b*) Σοφία Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, (*c*) Πρᾶξις Πέτρου, in Sahidic. Prob. 5th cent. The *Evangelium Mariæ* is quoted (without title) by Irenæus (i. 29) as a Gnostic work, and is consequently earlier than *circ.* 185. This discovery is especially interesting as enabling us to test the accuracy with which Irenæus represents his opponents' views. Described by C. Schmidt (*Sitzungsb. d. Berl. Akad.* 1896, p. 839 ff.); the Πρᾶξις Πέτρου has recently been published by him (*Texte u. Unters.*, N. F. ix. 1, 1902), but the other treatises have not yet appeared.

9. Bruce Gnostic Papyrus, at Oxford, containing (*a*) the two 'books of Jeu,' a work akin to the *Pistis Sophia*, but earlier in date, belonging probably to the first half of the 3rd cent.; (*b*) an unnamed work, somewhat earlier still, being assigned by Schmidt to the end of the 2nd cent. Both are in Sahidic dialect. According to Schmidt, the first belongs to the Severian type of Gnosticism; the second to the kindred, but not identical, Sethite-Archontican type. Edited by C. Schmidt (*TU*, Bd. viii. 1892).

10. Papyrus at St. Petersburg, containing fragments of apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, viz. the Acts of Bartholomew, Philip, and Andrew and Matthew, in Akhmimic. Edited by O. von Lemm (*Bull. de l'Acad. Imp. des Sciences de St. Petersburg*, nouv. sér. 1, No. 4, 1890).

11. Papyrus at Leyden, containing (*a*) a magical prayer and exorcism attributed to St. Gregory; (*b*) the correspondence of Christ and Abgar, in Sahidic. Edited by Pleyte and Boeser (*Manuscrits Coptes du Musée d'Antiquités à Leide*, 1897, p. 441 ff.).

12. Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 5001, a large and complete codex of 174 leaves, containing ten Patristic homilies, in Sahidic. Described in Crum's catalogue of Coptic MSS in the British Museum.

13. Brit. Mus. Pap. 36, containing the Canons of Athanasius, in Sahidic. Described by Crum, *op. cit.*, and to be edited by him shortly in the publications of the Text and Translation Society.

14. Papyrus at Turin, containing the Life of Athanasius and records of the Council of Nicæa. Edited by F. Rossi (*I Papiri Copti*, 1884).

15. Legends of saints, homilies, etc., in papyri, at Turin, edited by Rossi, *op. cit.* (1885-1892).

The numerous papyri (mostly small) containing letters and other documents which illustrate ecclesiastical life in Egypt, fall outside the scope of this article.

LITERATURE.—Kenyon, *Palæography of Greek Papyri*, 1899, ch. i.; the annual *Archæological Reports* of the Egypt Exploration Fund, including sections on ancient, Græco-Roman, and Christian Egypt (from 1893); P. Viereck, 'Bericht über die ältere Papyruslitteratur' [before 1877] and 'Die Papyruslitteratur von den 70er Jahren bis 1898' (in *Jahresb. ü. d. Fortschritte d. class. Altertumswissenschaft*, vols. 98 and 102); Seymour de Ricci, 'Bulletin Papyrologique' in the *Revue des Études Grecques* (intermittently from 1901); *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, edited by Wilcken (from 1900); Deissmann, *Bibelstudien* (1895) and *Neue Bibelstudien* (1897), with Eng. tr. of both series by A. Grieve (*Bible Studies*, 1901); Moulton, 'Grammatical Notes from the Papyri,' in *Classical Review*, xv. 31, 434, *Expositor*, Apr. 1901 and Feb. 1903; the principal publications of papyri (Egypt Exploration Fund, British Museum, Berlin Museum, Rainer collection at Vienna, Lord Amherst's collection, etc.); and works cited in the course of this article.

F. G. KENYON.

WAGES.—The usual OT term for 'wages' is שָׂכָר *sākhār*; less frequently the cognate מַשְׂכֹּרֶת *maskōreth*, and פְּעֻלָּה *pĕʿullah*. אֶתְנַן *'ethnan* is the reward paid to a prostitute. As wages are the price paid or the reward given for labour, מְחִיר *mĕḥîr*, 'price,' may sometimes* be translated 'wages' or 'hire'; and conversely the terms for 'wages' are sometimes translated 'reward.'† The usual NT term is *μισθός*, *misthos*. The term *ὀψώνιον*, *opsōnion*, is translated 'wages' in Lk 3^{14} (of soldiers), Ro 6^{23} ('the wages of sin is death'), and 2 Co 11^{8}. According to Sanday-Headlam on Ro 6^{23}, *ὀψώνιον* '=(1) "provision-money, ration-money, or the rations in kind given to troops"; (2) in a more general sense, "wages."' It is used in the Apocrypha of wages paid to soldiers.‡

(*A*) OLD TESTAMENT.—There are only a few references to wages in the Old Testament, because in Israel, as in the ancient world generally, most work was done either by members of the family or by slaves. We may, however, take 'wages' in a broad sense as the price of labour without regard to the status of the labourer. From this point of view we may consider wages as paid to five classes: (i.) the farmer and his family living chiefly on the actual produce of their work; (ii.) relations outside the family in its narrow modern sense; (iii.) slaves; (iv.) priests, soldiers, hired labourers, etc., giving all their time to a master; (v.) craftsmen, smiths, carpenters, etc., working for different customers. It may be as well to say at once that the available data are extremely meagre, so that only general statements are possible.

i. *A farming family* living chiefly by its own labour on its own land depended for the return for its labour on its industry, the fertility of the land, and the stage of development of agriculture. These, of course, varied: for the general condition of things, see AGRICULTURE (in vol. i.), PALESTINE (in vol. iii.), etc. But the accounts which we have of the families of Saul and of Jesse of Bethlehem suggest that in earlier times the yeomen-farmers, as we should call them, obtained a good return for their labour. The prophets of the 8th cent. (Is 3^{14} 5^{8} 10^{32}, Am 2^{6-8} $3^{9.\ 10}$ $5^{11.\ 12}$) and the Book of Nehemiah (ch. 5) show that towards the close of the monarchy, and after the Return, the small farmers were burdened with various charges,§ taxes, usury, etc., and hardly made a livelihood.

ii. *Remuneration of dependents.*—There were often associated with the actual family, more distant relations and other dependents. These shared the work and the life of the family, probably, as a rule, on no fixed terms, but receiving, as we should say, board and lodging; living 'as one of the family,' but often with inferior comfort and less consideration. Thus the 'poor relation' would be provided for; and 'the poor within thy gates and the Levite,' who are so often commended to the charity of the pious Israelite (Ex 23^{11}, Dt $12^{18.19}$ 14^{26-29} $15^{7.8}$), would no doubt be expected to render some service to their benefactors. Thus Moses kept the flocks of his father-in-law Jethro (Ex 3^{1}); and Jacob, at the beginning of his sojourn with Laban, rendered similar service for board and lodging (Gn 29^{15}). The sequel (cf. § iv.) shows that dependents might also become hired servants at fixed wages.

---

* *e.g.* Mic 3^{11}.

† *e.g.* Ru 2^{12}.

‡ 1 Mac 3^{28} 14^{32}, and (apparently) 1 Es 4^{56}.

§ This is rather an inference for the period of the close of the monarchy.

iii. *Remuneration of slaves.*—Their remuneration, like that of the previous class, consisted of 'all found,' and varied according to the circumstances, character, and goodwill of the master. We should gather that the slaves were well treated, as is commonly the case in the East. See also art. SERVANT in vol. iv.

iv. *Wages of hirelings in continual employment.*—The class of whom we read most are the priests; their wages in earlier times consisted of a share of the sacrifices, and of freewill offerings. Probably, as a rule, either a priest had land as a family inheritance, or the sanctuary held land. Some priests received a stipend from the owners of a private or tribal sanctuary. Moses' grandson was hired by Micah of Ephraim to be priest of his sanctuary for a yearly salary of 10 pieces of silver (shekels), a suit of clothes, and his board and lodging (Jg $17^{10.12}$). No doubt this was fairly liberal; yet when the Danites invited him to go with them 'he was pleased' (*Polychrome Bible*), probably expecting a larger income. Thus he became priest of the sanctuary of the northern Danites at Dan. The Priestly Code has very large ideas as to the proper revenues of priests and Levites, but these were never fully realized; see art. PRIESTS AND LEVITES (in vol. iv.), § 8 f, § 10 b.

In early times there were no professional soldiers; probably the leader or the king may have made some contribution of provisions or arms to the levy engaged in actual warfare. The chief wage of the soldier was plunder. The bodyguard, the foreign mercenaries, and the forces of horsemen and chariots must have received some regular pay and have been provided with fodder and stabling, board and lodging (1 K 4^{26-28}). In 2 Ch 25^{6} Amaziah hires 100,000 mercenaries for 100 talents of silver; the hiring would be for a single campaign, which might perhaps last a month. The wages of a successful soldier would be augmented by royal gifts, as in the case of David (1 S 17^{25}), and grants of land. Thus we read in 1 S $8^{14f.}$ 'The king will take your fields, and vineyards, and oliveyards, even the best of them, and will give them to his servants. And he will take the tenth of your grain, and of your vineyards, and give to his officers, and to his servants.'

Little is said about the pay of other classes of hirelings. Jacob purchased a wife by seven years' service (Gn 29^{18}), and of course had 'all found' during the period; afterwards he was paid by a portion of the increase of the flock ($30^{31ff.}$); but we do not know the normal price of wives; it probably depended on the eagerness of the would-be son-in-law.

The hireling is not referred to in the JE legislation (Ten Commandments, Book of the Covenant, etc.), so that, apparently, work for wages was rare in early times. It increased with the growth of civilization. The hirelings were sufficiently numerous to be the subject of ordinances in the later codes, Dt 24^{14}, Lv 22^{10} (H), Ex 12^{45} (P). The payment of wages would be increased by the attempt of the Priestly Code (Lv 25^{39-55}) to minimize slavery amongst the Jews. The hireling seems to have been at the mercy of his employers as to the amount of his wages, and even as to getting them paid at all. Laban changed Jacob's wages ten times (Gn 31^{7}). Both the Prophets and the Law intervene on behalf of the wage-earner (Dt 24^{14}, Jer 22^{13}, Mal 3^{5}); he was to be paid promptly, usually, as it seems, at the end of each day (Dt 24^{15}, Lv 19^{13}, Job 7^{2}), but Lv 25^{53} refers to a 'servant hired year by year.' The hireling was considered inferior in industry to a slave, of whom it is said in Dt 15^{18} 'to the double of the hire of a hireling hath he served thee.' In the earlier periods of Israelite history, when almost every family had its own land, it would be the exceptionally poor 'ne'er-do-well' who was on bad terms with his kin, or the foreigner, that hired himself into service. Dt 24^{14} speaks of the hireling as 'poor and needy . . . of thy brethren or of thy strangers.' Naturally the connexion of the hireling with the family was less close than that of the slave; he has no share in the family *sacra*; he may not eat the passover (Ex 12^{45} [P]); nor may the hired servant of a priest eat the holy food (Lv 22^{10}). When we consider these facts, together with the control of the labour market by the employer, and the full advantage which the latter took of the situation, we may be sure that the usual rate of wages afforded only a bare subsistence to the free labourer. The description of the miserable condition of the working classes in Job 24^{1-12} will refer to hired servants. In the case of the *corvée*, or compulsory service for public works, no wages were paid beyond food and lodging. The *corvée* was used by Solomon to build the temple (1 K 5^{13} 12^{4}), and doubtless by other kings and nobles (Jer 22^{13}).

v. *Wages for occasional pieces of work.*—Prophets, priests, judges, etc., received payment under different names for the occasional services rendered by them to their clients (Mic 3^{11}). These payments or fees were variously known as gifts, shares of victims (cf. above), or even bribes. The gifts or bribes varied with the importance of the occasion, the wealth of the giver, and the standing of the recipient. Saul considered that Samuel would accept a quarter of a shekel as a sufficient fee for information about his lost asses (1 S 9^{8}). Jeroboam's wife going to Ahijah, disguised as an ordinary woman, took him 'ten loaves, and cracknels, and a cruse of honey' (1 K 14^{3}). But the princes who consulted Joseph (Gn $41^{41f.}$), Balaam (Nu 22^{17}), and Daniel (Dn 2^{6} 5^{16}), made them munificent offers of wealth, power, and honour.

There are references to various kinds of craftsmen who must have worked 'by the job' so to speak, especially to smiths and carpenters, but we are not told how they were paid. Judah's payment of a kid to Tamar (Gn 38^{17}) may be mentioned here.

Code of Hammurabi.—This code, which is dated about B.C. 2285–2242 (Johns), includes provisions as to the fees to be paid to doctors and builders; and as to the wages of boatmen, reapers, threshers, shepherds, labourers, brickmakers, tailors, stonecutters, and carpenters; and as to the hire of oxen, cows, waggons, and boats. If a doctor performs for a noble a successful operation for a wound or an abscess in the eye, he receives ten shekels of silver; if for a poor man, five; if for a slave, two. But if the noble dies or loses his eye, the doctor's hands are cut off; in the case of a slave, the doctor replaces him if he dies; pays half his price if he loses his eye. For minor operations, the doctor receives five, three, or two shekels, according to the rank of his patient. A cow- or sheep-doctor receives one-sixth of a shekel of silver for a cure, and pays the owner a quarter of the animal's value if it dies. A builder is to be paid in proportion to the size of the house; and if it collapses through faulty construction and the owner is killed, the builder is to be put to death; if other damage is caused, suitable compensation is to be paid.

Oxen, boatmen, reapers, threshers, and shepherds were hired for the year; the hire for the ox being 4 *gur* * of corn, of a boatman or thresher 6, of a reaper or shepherd 8.

There were also hirings by the *day*, as follows: (*a*) reckoned in *ka* * of corn; for threshing, ox 20, ass 10, calf 1; oxen, waggon, and driver, 180; or waggon, 40; (*b*) reckoned in *še* † of silver; boat, 3; carpenter, 4; tailor, brickmaker, or stonecutter, 5; labourer, for first five months of the year, 6; for the last seven months, 5. A freight boat to carry 60 *gur* of corn could be hired for one-sixth of a shekel a day.

---

* Worth, according to Johns, a shekel of silver *per gur*.

In this code many regulations are laid down as to slaves; little is said as to their treatment or the provision made for their maintenance, but we may conclude that they were treated with the comparative humanity and consideration usually accorded to them in the ancient East. For instance, the code implies that a master would be willing to pay two shekels, or the equivalent of three months' wages to a shepherd, for the cure of a slave. Moreover, if a slave married a free woman, the children were free.

It will be noticed that wages, as in mediæval codes, are fixed by law. We may surmise, from the analogy of the Middle Ages, that these regulations were made in the interests of the employers; and that, practically, the rates fixed were a minimum, and that higher wages were often paid.

(*B*) THE APOCRYPHA AND THE NEW TESTAMENT.—The references to wages in the Apocrypha and the New Testament are still comparatively few, and do not suggest that any very important changes had taken place.

i. The *farmers*, etc., profited by the order maintained by the Roman government and the Herods, but probably this advantage was more than counterbalanced by the weight of taxation and the fraudulent extortions of the publicans.

ii. *Dependents*, poor relations, etc., probably were very much in the same position as of old.

iii. *Slaves* were still well treated in the East, and fairly well when serving in the households of Greeks or even Romans, but the provision made for slaves working in factories or on large farms, or manning ships, was often scanty and sordid. Cf. art. SERVANT in vol. iv.

iv. *Wages paid for continuous service.*—In To 5^{14} the angel Raphael, professing himself to be a member of a distinguished Jewish family akin to Tobit, is hired by the latter as travelling companion to his son, and subsequently sent to collect a large debt; so that hired servants were sometimes placed in positions of trust. Raphael's wages were to be a drachma a day and 'all found,' with the promise of a bonus at the end of the engagement if he gave satisfaction. Similarly, the labourers in the vineyard (Mt 20) received a *denarion* or denarius, whose value 'was the same as that of' the drachma 'in ordinary transactions' (art. MONEY in vol. iii. p. 428^{b}). The shekel contained rather more silver than a half-crown, and the denarius about ⅘ as much silver as a shilling; probably, too, the labourers received food. The mere statement of the weight of silver, however, tells us nothing as to real wages; and to a large extent our data rather serve to fix the value of silver than the real wages of labour. If we may reckon the price of wheat in NT times at from 16s. to £1 a quarter, a denarius or drachma, about 9½d. a day, with food, would be very roughly equivalent to the present wages of a London charwoman, about 2s. a day with food, wheat being about 29s. a quarter.

We are told ‡ that before the time of Julius Cæsar a foot-soldier was paid ⅓ of a denarius a day, a centurion ⅔, a horse-soldier a denarius; that these wages were doubled by Julius Cæsar, and further increased by Augustus, and again by Domitian. The Prætorian guards received double pay.

There are various references to the payment of wages and the services of wage-earners. Sir 7^{20} speaks of the 'hireling who giveth thee his life' (marg. 'soul'). On the other hand, we are bidden (Sir 37^{11}) not 'to take counsel . . . with a hireling in thy house about finishing his work.' It was still necessary (Sir 34^{22}, and later still Ja 5^{4}) to denounce those who kept back the wages of their hired servants. Mercenary soldiers appear in 1 Mac 6^{29}.

In Mk 1^{20} Zebedee has a paid crew (*μισθωτοί*) for his fishing-boat; and hired servants (*μίσθιοι*) appear in the parables of the Prodigal Son (Lk 15$^{17.\ 19}$) and of the Labourers in the Vineyard (Mt 20$^{1.\ 2}$). The former implies that the household of a wealthy man included several hired servants; and the latter, that there was a class of free labourers who were, as in the Old Testament, hired and paid by the day. So, too, the reaper receives wages (Jn 4^{36}, Ja 5^{4}). The service of the 'hireling' or free labourer is still lightly esteemed: 'the hireling . . . fleeth because he is an hireling, and careth not for the sheep' (Jn 10^{13}); and the Apostles style themselves and their fellow-Christians the 'slaves' (*δοῦλοι*), never the 'hired servants,' of Christ. The preachers of the gospel receive wages, 'hire' (*μισθός*), from men whom they serve (Lk 10^{7}, 2 Co 11^{8}, 1 Ti 5^{18}). God is said to give 'hire' or wages (Mt 5^{12} 20^{8}, He 11^{6} etc.); on the other hand, there are 'the wages (*ὀψώνια*) of sin' (Ro 6^{23}) and 'the wages (*μισθοί*) of unrighteousness' (2 P 2^{15} etc.).

Mt 5^{41} 'whosoever shall impress thee to go one mile' implies the existence of the *corvée* or exaction of forced labour.

v. *The wages of occasional service.*—The Apocrypha and the New Testament give us no definite information as to the payment for pieces of work done by smiths, carpenters, etc.

LITERATURE.—Ewald, *Antiquities of Israel*, pp. 185, 217 f.; Nowack, *Lehrbuch der Heb. Arch.* i. pp. 221–250; Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* pp. 204–223; W. H. Bennett, 'Economic Conditions of the Hebrew Monarchy (Labour),' in *Thinker*, April 1893; C. H. W. Johns, *The Oldest Code of Laws in the World* (*Code of Ḥammurabi*), 1903.

W. H. BENNETT.

SHIPS AND BOATS.—Under the designation 'ships' are included in the Bible vessels of all sizes, from the sea-going ships whose Phœnician crews 'did their business in great waters' (Ps 107^{23}), and traded for kings Solomon and Hiram (1 K 9$^{26.\ 27.\ 28}$) from the head of the Gulf of 'Aḳabah in the Red Sea to OPHIR in the Indian or Arabian Sea, down to the mere fishing-boats of the Sea of Tiberias (Jn 6^{1} 21^{1}; called Sea of Galilee in Mt 4^{18}, Mk 7^{31}, Jn 6^{1}; and Lake of Gennesaret in Lk 5^{1}), such as that in which our Lord was awakened from sleep during a storm and rebuked the wind and sea and reproached His timid disciples for their want of faith (Lk 8$^{22-25}$). 'Boats' are mentioned in the AV only twice. The term is applied once to what were, apparently, lake fishing-craft (Jn 6$^{22.\ 23}$ *πλοιάριον*). It is used again, in the story of St. Paul's voyage and shipwreck, of the boat (*σκάφη*) of a sea-going ship which was hoisted up on account of bad weather after being towed astern during the first part of the voyage (Ac 27^{16}). This boat was afterwards lowered again by the crew of the ship, but cut adrift by the soldiers on St. Paul's advice (vv.$^{30.\ 32}$).*

A. SHIPS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.—It seems proper to make mention here, as belonging to the category of 'ships,' although denominated an 'ark' (תֵּבָה), of the huge three-decked vessel said to have been built by Noah under Divine direction (Gn 6$^{14.\ 15.\ 16}$), and apparently without mast, sail, or any means of steering or propulsion. It was to be of gopher wood (an unknown timber), and was intended as a means of saving Noah and his family, and such animals as were necessary for the perpetuation of the species, from destruction by water. If we assume the form of the ark to be conceived as that of an ordinary ship, we have no historical mention of its dimensions as given in Gn 6^{15} being exceeded until the construction of the *Great Eastern* steamship, built at Millwall by Brunel in 1858, with accommodation for 4000 passengers, and with a capacity of 24,000 tons, which is slightly in excess of the apparent size of the ark. See, further, art. FLOOD in vol. ii. p. 16. The earliest Scripture mention of ships properly so called (אֳנִיֹּת) is in Gn 49^{13}, where Zebulun is spoken of in the Blessing of Jacob as a haven for them. The next is in Nu 24^{24}, where the Balaam oracles speak of ships from the coast of KITTIM as taking part in the destruction of Assyria. These latter would be ships of war as distinguished from commercial ones. Merchant ships are mentioned in 1 K 9^{26} (cf. 10^{22} 'a navy of TARSHISH'); and in Ps 107$^{23-30}$ is given the heart-stirring description of a sailor's life in a sea-going ship. In Pr 31^{14} the foresight of the thrifty housewife forms the point of comparison between her and the merchant ships which bring goods from afar. In Pr 30^{19} 'the way of a ship in the midst of the sea' is mentioned as one of the four things which were too wonderful for the writer. The absence of chart and compass, with the sun and stars only for a guide to the Phœnician mariner, and these often, as in St. Paul's voyage (Ac 27^{20}), invisible, made the art of navigation a mystery known only to those who, like these experts, were gifted with the hereditary instinct of their profession. Moreover, the pressure of the wind on the sails from a direction opposed to the ship's course, nevertheless urging her through the water on the way she would go, seems almost as wonderful as that the disposition of the muscles and feathers of an eagle should enable it to soar to invisible heights, or swoop to the earth in a moment without apparent motion of its wings, or that the slippery serpent should glide rapidly over a smooth rock without any external means of locomotion. In 1 K 9^{26} (|| 2 Ch 8$^{17f.}$) and 10^{22} (|| 2 Ch 9^{21}) we have the account of the building of Solomon's merchant ships at 'Eẓion-geber at the head of the Gulf of 'Aḳabah, and the furnishing of them with experienced Phœnician pilots by Hiram king of Tyre, the friend of Solomon's father, David; and of their voyage to Ophir and back with 420 talents of gold (equal to £2,583,000). The last of the above passages has a notice of the triennial visit of Solomon's and Hiram's ships 'to Tarshish,'[*] bringing back gold and silver (the latter being considered so plentiful as to be regarded of no account), ivory, apes, and peacocks. These were genuine sea-going ships, and the whole of the above references, except those from Genesis and Numbers, relate to the same century and to the 40 years of Solomon's reign (*c.* 970–930 B.C.), when Tyre was at the height of its prosperity, and Shashank (Shishak) I., of the 22nd dynasty, or his immediate predecessor, was the ruling Pharaoh of Egypt. Unfortunately, the Phœnicians have not left us either literature or sculptures from which we can form an idea of the kind of ships used on these voyages; nor have we any Assyrian representations of them until two centuries later in the time of Hezekiah and Sennacherib, when all the sea trade of the Assyrians was in the hands of the Phœnicians, who had also absorbed that of the Egyptians (Herodot. i. 1). A century later still Ezekiel (27$^{5-8}$) speaks of the royal merchant ships of Tyre, which traded with Syria and various Mediterranean ports and to the far East, as having planks of fir and masts of cedar, whilst the oars were of oak of Bashan, and the benches of the rowers of ivory inlaid in wood from the isles of Kittim, the sails of fine embroidered linen, their crews from Ẓidon and Arvad, and their pilots from Tyre. But this description, although no doubt applicable to the royal yachts, may be considered to some extent poetical as applied to commercial ships.

---

* 300 *ka*=1 *gur* (Johns).

† 180 *še*=1 shekel (Johns).

‡ Ramsay's *Roman Antiquities*, p. 391.

* A 'ferry-boat' is perhaps mentioned in 2 S 19^{18}, if the MT וְעָבְרָה הָעֲבָרָה is correct, although such a meaning of עֲבָרָה is not found elsewhere. But prob. Wellhausen (followed by Driver, *et al.*) is right in reading וַיַּעַבְרוּ ה׳, 'and they crossed over the ford.' This is implicitly supported by the LXX καὶ ἐλειτούργησαν τὴν λειτουργίαν (*i.e.*, by confusion of ד and ר, וַיַּעַבְדוּ הָעֲבֹדָה, the reading adopted by Budde in *SBOT*).

The question of the much disputed situation of the port of Ophir to which Solomon's ships traded from 'Eẓion-geber in the Gulf of 'Aḳabah, bringing back gold, ivory, almug trees, and peacocks (1 K 9^{28} 10^{22}), belongs to another section of this Dictionary (see art. OPHIR in vol. iii.); but the length of time occupied in the voyage, inferred from the interval of three years (1 K 10^{22}) between the arrivals of the ships at 'Eẓion-geber, indicates a great distance, such as Central or Southern Africa, or the island of Ceylon, where peacocks still abound. Such voyages would necessitate the ships being laid up in some safe port between the months of May and October, during the bad weather and heavy sea which accompany the S.W. monsoon, as is the case at the present day with the Indian and Arab trading vessels which annually frequent the port of Berbereh opposite to Aden.[*]

Although we have no contemporary representations of Phœnician sea-going ships of Solomon's time, we have drawings of Egyptian ones to refer to of a much more ancient date, and of a type after which we may suppose the ships of the early Phœnicians and those of Hiram and Solomon to have been constructed. These drawings, no doubt, give us a faithful picture of the ships, their crews, and their merchandise from a general point of view; but they are more or less conventional, and the technical errors in our own marine historical pictures point to the necessity of not relying too much upon accuracy of nautical detail, as the drawings may have been made by artists who did not take part in the expeditions and were not seamen. Unfortunately, also, many important details are missing from the models of ancient ships in the museums. The Egyptian ships were for the most part unloaded at a port in the Red Sea, and their cargoes transferred overland to Koptos on the Nile.

The first Red Sea voyage of which we have any knowledge is mentioned in an inscription at Wady Gassûs, near Kosseir, in the Valley of Hammamât, on the road from Koptos to the Red Sea. This commemorates the expedition sent by Pharaoh Sankh-Ka-Ra of the 11th (a Theban) dynasty to the 'Land of Puânit' (or Punt), the site of which is as much disputed as that of Ophir or Tarshish, and is considered by M. Edouard Naville to be but a 'vague geographical designation.' See, further, art. PUT in vol. iv. p. 176 f. The destination of the expedition was evidently, however, somewhere in Tropical Africa, and was in all probability in the vicinity of the present Somaliland on the east coast, where there existed an *entrepôt* for the ivory, frankincense, myrrh, gold dust, and ostrich feathers, and for the ostrich eggs so much prized by the Egyptians of those days. This first expedition to Punt must have taken place, according to Brugsch, 250 years after the founding of Tyre, if Herodotus (ii. 44) was correctly informed by the Tyrians, *i.e.* about 1500 years before the time of Solomon, and 500 years before the birth of Abraham; but, according to Mariette, even earlier than this. We have no account of this expedition, nor any sculptures showing the kind of ships employed on it.

---

[*] The Chronicler here confuses a 'ship of Tarshish' (*i.e.* a large vessel fitted to go long voyages) with a ship going *to Tarshish*. Wherever the latter port was, whether (as most believe) identical with Tartessus in Spain, or Tarsus, or some district in Greece or Italy, it could not have been reached by a vessel sailing from 'Eẓion-geber unless by circumnavigating [on every ground a most unlikely supposition] the continent of Africa.

[*] Findlay's *Directory for the Navigation of the Indian Ocean*, 1870, p. 559.

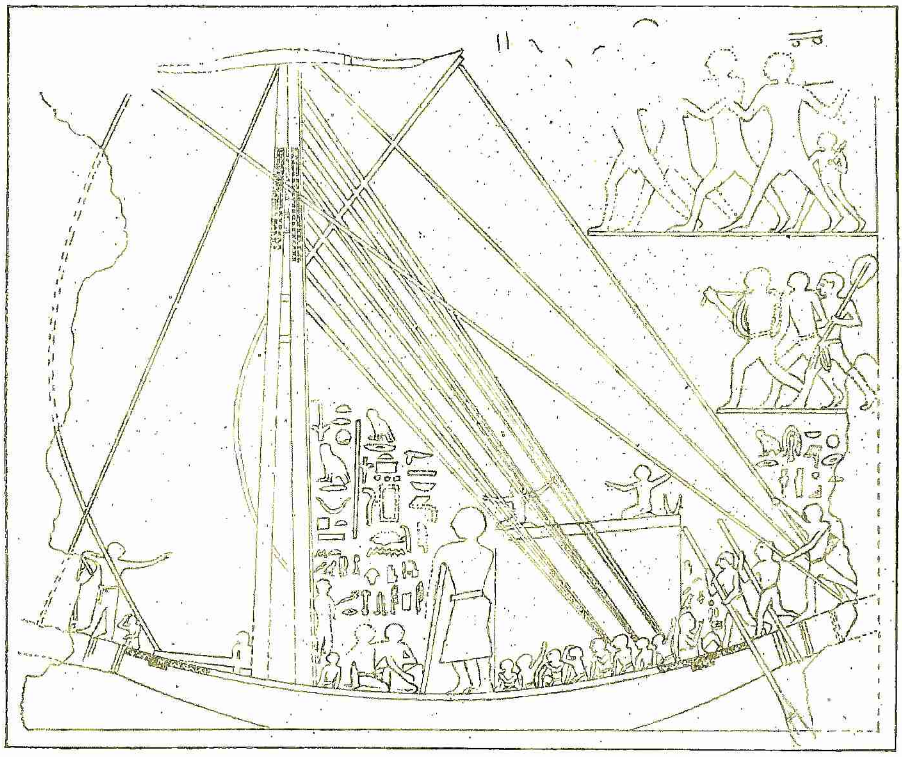

1. DESHÂSHEH (MIDDLE EGYPT). W. WALL, N. HALF. TOMB OF ANTA, B.C. 3600. SAILING SHIP WITH ANTA STANDING BY THE CABIN.

The next important Red Sea expedition mentioned on the monuments was sent during the 18th dynasty, also to the Land of Punt, in the reign of queen Hatsepsu I., sister of Thothmes II. (during the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt); the sculptures on the walls of Deir el-Bahri, near the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes, fully illustrate this important event, including the ships used (see Flinders Petrie, *History of Egypt*, ii. 82 ff.). The place of departure by the overland route from the Nile to the Red Sea, on the outward voyage, as well as the port of reshipment of the goods brought by the expedition on its return by the same route, was doubtless the ancient Koptos (now Qoft), as in the earlier expedition before mentioned; the Red Sea port of embarkation and disembarkation being Tua or Œnnun, known later as Philoteras (after it had been so renamed by the Ptolemies), and now as Old Kosseir, not far from the modern port of that name in lat. 26° 7′ N., and distant from Koptos about 100 miles. As regards the African port depicted in the sculptures as the object of the expedition, and called the Land of Punt, there is some doubt. But for the African ebony (*Dalbergia melanoxylon*, G.P.R., so much in request for temple furniture in Egypt) and other trees which are represented as growing near the place of landing,* the land-locked port of Berbereh already spoken of, which has always been a great mart for the products of the interior, might be intended; and even these trees may have been artistically introduced to indicate a part of these products.

Although the Children of Israel must, at the time of queen Hatsepsu's expedition, have been at the height of their prosperity in the land of Goshen (Gn $47^{14.\ 27}$, Ex 1^{7}), which they had inhabited for more than a century, it is probable that, as their occupation was that of shepherds and cattle-dealers located in the midst of the Delta, they would see and know but little of what was going on so far south of them as Koptos and Thebes, and absolutely nothing of the sea-going ships of which the expedition was composed. Consequently, no knowledge of the building or handling of ships or boats was carried away with them from Egypt at the time of the Exodus; and the forty years of subsequent wandering in the wilderness would have sufficed to ensure the obliteration from their memories of any such knowledge had it been acquired.

It was not until the reign of Solomon that the Israelites commenced to build ships (1 K 9^{26}), an art which, through the friendship of Hiram king of Tyre for David and his son (2 S 5^{11} ‖ 1 Ch 14^{1} and 1 K 5^{1}), they learned from the Phœnicians, who supplied the pilots and mariners for these ships (1 K 9^{27}). Whether the Phœnicians brought their knowledge of shipbuilding with them from Western Arabia at the time of their early migration (Herod. i. 1, vii. 89) or learnt it from the Egyptians, is a mystery. Boatbuilding was certainly a very ancient art in Egypt, as in the tomb of Ti at Sakâra (5th dynasty, *c.* 3680–1500—3660 B.C. [Petrie]) it is represented in the wall sculptures in all its details.

The merchant ships of queen Hatsepsu's expedition to the Land of Punt, as delineated on the walls of the temple of Deir el-Bahri,* are long vessels curved upwards at each extreme, as we see the Phœnician triremes of the 7th cent. B.C. depicted on the Assyrian monuments, but without their figureheads; the stern is recurved towards the bow like the uplifted trunk of an elephant, and ends in a trumpet mouth—the conventional representation of the papyrus plant—a form adopted also by the Phœnicians and Assyrians; there is also a raised forecastle and poop. The mast, instead of being of the more ancient 'sheerlegs' form (as we see it in fig. 1 on the walls of the tomb of Anta at Deshâsheh, 5th dynasty, *c.* B.C. 3600), consists of a single spar, placed a little forward of the centre of the ship, and is kept in its place by 'shrouds' and a 'stay'; whilst additional support, when the sail is set, is given by a pair of very stout 'jeers,' or halliards, attached to each side of the 'bunt,' or middle of the 'yard,' and secured to the gunwale of the vessel. The sail is of the square form and secured to two yards, the lower of which is as long as the ship herself, but the upper one is a good deal shorter. Each yard is in two pieces, 'fished' together in the middle of its length by means of cordage, the centre of the lower yard being securely lashed to the mast near the level of the gunwale. This lower yard is supported by numerous 'lifts' [*] at uniform intervals (apparently about seven in number on each side), which are 'rove' through 'sheaves' or 'snatches' placed one above the other at the head of the mast, so that one rope answers for a lift on both sides of the yard. These lifts are so tightened as to give to the yard the form of a bow curving upwards at each extremity. The head of the sail is attached, in accordance with modern usage, to the upper yard, which can be hoisted to the masthead when the sail is set, or lowered so as to lie on the lower yard or remain aloft with the sail 'brailed up' at pleasure. This upper yard has a single lift on each side, attached half-way between the mast and the yardarm. The 'foot' of the sail is attached to the lower yard at intervals when the sail is set, but quite detached from it when the sail is furled. The 'braces' of the upper yard (not always represented in the drawings) are single ropes attached to the upper yard at the same spot as the lifts, and lead thence to the deck or gunwale; they were usually under the control of the helmsman, as we see them on the walls of the tomb of Anta at Deshâsheh. There are 15 oarsmen, seated on either side of the ships, all engaged in rowing (not pushing the oars), although the sails are set (pl. lxxiii.), and only one man plies each of the 30 oars—a universal rule in ancient ships. The distance between the rowers in a fore and aft direction is, apparently, about 4 ft., but possibly only 2 cubits, as we see in Greek and Roman ships of later date. A noticeable arrangement for strengthening these sea-going ships is a tightly stretched and very stout cable secured to the bow and stern in the centre of the ship, inside, passing high over the heads of the rowers, and supported on strong wooden props with forked heads. This is doubtless to afford support to the weakest or curved portion of the ship at her two ends, neither of which is water-borne—a very necessary precaution under such conditions when a vessel is straining in a heavy sea. Assuming the distance between the rowers to be 4 ft., the space between the foremost oar and the extremity of the bow is about 18 ft. in length, so that the total length of the ships appears to have been 102 ft., of which a length of about 58 ft. only is water-borne, the remainder being the curves of the bow and stern. A row of port-holes, corresponding in number to the oars, is indicated on the side of the ships below the gunwale. These were probably intended for a second tier of oars, as we see in the Phœnician and Assyrian triremes of the 7th and 8th cents. B.C. The ships are steered, not 'by a single rudder passing through the keel,' as in the more modern arrangement described by Herodotus (ii. 96), but by two very stout paddles, one on each quarter, having simple broad blades without the remarkable letter D form of the Phœnician ones represented on the Assyrian monuments in the time of Sennacherib, but having long 'looms' or handles, which first pass through 'strops,' or loops of rope, placed on the gunwale midway between the upper end of the stern-curve and the point where the stern first touches the water; immediately above these strops, at a vertical height of about 4 ft., the upper portion of the looms rests on the summit of a post fixed to the gunwale close to the strop; here is placed a crutch or notch in which the loom revolves by means of a tiller fixed to its upper portion and curving downwards to the hand of the helmsman below. The ordinary mode of steering was precisely as by the modern rudder, the normal position of the blades of the paddles being nearly vertical and 'fore and aft.' We see the same arrangement of tiller in the papyrus sail-boats painted on the tomb of the priestess of Mera at Deshâsheh,[*] a few miles south of the Fayum (not to be confounded with the tomb of Mera at Sakârah, belonging also to the 5th dynasty), nearly 2000 years before queen Hatsepsu's time. A stout stirrup of rope is attached to the upper part of the post on which the loom rests, and hangs over the outside of the ship, apparently for the helmsman to put one of his feet in whilst he placed the other against the outside of

---

* These trees are not now found near the seashore.

* *Egyp. Expl. Fund*, pt. iii. vol. 15, pl. lxxii., lxviii., lxxiv., lxxv.; Petrie, *l.c.* p. 84. Cf. figs. 3 and 4 on p. 364.

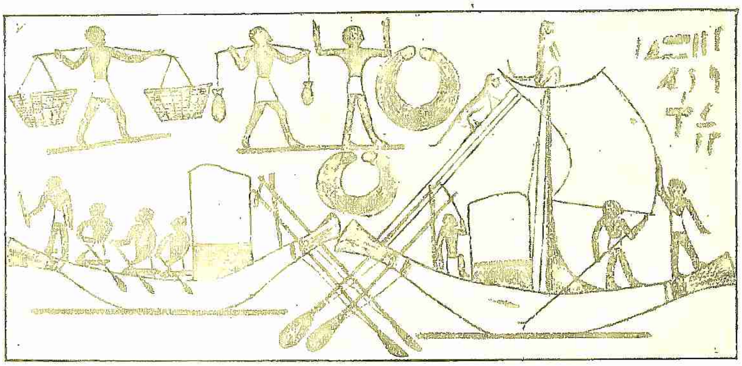

2. DESHÂSHEH (MIDDLE EGYPT). COFFIN OF MERA, B.C. 3500. BOAT CONVEYING OFFERINGS TO THE TOMB.

---

[*] Precisely as shown in the model of an Indian ship in the Indian Institute Museum at Oxford.

[*] *Egyp. Expl. Fund*, vol. 15, pl. xxvii. See above, fig. 2.

the ship in order to obtain leverage in working the paddle on special occasions when the loom must have been previously lifted out of the crutch; but the stirrup may also have been used to support the rudder-paddle when not in use, or when it was 'triced up.' Occasionally ships had only one rudder-paddle, as shown in tomb paintings and in the model of the Scandinavian ship lately found at Christiania, to be seen in the Pitt-Rivers Collection at Oxford, which rudder-paddle being on the starboard side explains the derivation of this word from 'steer-board.' Other tomb paintings show as many as three rudder-paddles on one side. Four-oared boats, without masts or sails, are also represented in the Deir el-Bahri paintings of queen Hatsepsu's expedition as bringing off goods to the ships, and these have only one paddle-rudder, which is shipped in a crutch in the centre of the stern, but with the same stirrup as shown in the ships.

There is no visible *anchor* of any kind on board the ships, nor any arrangement for using one; but the pilot on the forecastle has a long pole in his hand with which he is sounding the depth of the water. The only anchor used in those early days was a heavy weight, generally a large stone or a basket full of smaller ones. No anchor, properly so called, is represented in any Egyptian sculpture or painting. The hooked anchor (ἄγκυρα) is first mentioned by the poet Pindar (I. v. 18) in the 5th cent. B.C.; it was without flukes. Homer always uses the word εὐναί, meaning a stone anchor; and Ephorus, the historian of the 4th cent. B.C. (Strabo, vii. 3), attributed the invention of the two-armed anchor to Anacharsis, a Scythian prince of the 6th cent. B.C. In the time of Herodotus (ii. 96) the merchant ships of the Egyptians on the Nile, when sailing down stream, used a heavy stone attached to a rope from the stern as a drag to keep their heads straight, in conjunction with a raft of tamarisk floating on the water, attached to the bow, so as to be acted on by the current which pulled the ship down stream, whilst the stone held her back, as is still the practice on the river Euphrates;* but there is no mention of the use of a bow anchor, whether of stone or any other material.

The form of the Egyptian ships admitted of their lying at anchor as easily by the stern as by the head, and, paddles which could be lifted out of the water being used instead of rudders, there was no fear of the latter being broken by the sea, as was the case when the modern rudder, hung on 'gudgeons' by means of 'pintles,' was substituted in later times. The advantage of anchoring by the stern in narrow waters or when suddenly shoaling water at night, as in the case of St. Paul's ship off the island of Melita (Ac $27^{28.\,29}$), where the rudder-paddles were triced up clear of the water, is obvious. But this vessel had means of anchoring by the bows if desired (v.^{30}), and no doubt the Egyptian ships also; large stones, wooden tubes, or sacks filled with lead or other heavy weights being used as anchors.

The *masts* of queen Hatsepsu's ships were probably derived, like the Egyptian ships in the time of Herodotus (ii. 96), and even at the present day, from the gum-arabic tree of Nubia (*Acacia nilotica*, Delile), known to modern Arabs as the *sont*, a corruption of the ancient Egypt name *shant*, which is as old as the 4th dynasty, or of one of the many varieties of this tree in that region. The equally common *seyâl*, or 'ash' of the ancient Egyptians (*Acacia seyâl*, Delile), which Canon Tristram supposes to be the 'shittim' wood of the Bible (Ex 25. 26. 37. 38), is scarcely more than a variety of the *sont*, and, like it, is frequently mentioned in the hieroglyphs, and is of the same antiquity.

The ships of Solomon built at 'Ezion-geber (1 K 9^{26}) were probably of the fir and cedar supplied by Hiram (1 K $5^{8.\,9.\,10}$), which do not grow in Egypt or Nubia, although much imported for use in Egyptian temples from the 5th dynasty downwards. No mention, however, is made in the Bible of the material used in shipbuilding. According to Onesecritus, chief pilot to Alexander the Great (Pliny, vi. 24), the ships which traded in the 5th cent. B.C. between Taprobane (Ceylon) and the country of the Prasians (Calcutta) during four months of the year, the voyage lasting 20 days, were rigged like the Nile boats, and were built of papyrus stems as we see them in process of construction depicted 3000 years earlier on the walls of the tomb of Anta at Deshâsheh; but these were only coasting vessels. The Egyptian merchant vessels in the time of Herodotus are described by him (ii. 96) as being built without ribs, the planks, 2 cubits in length, being arranged 'like bricks' (*i.e.* probably the planking was double, the middle of the outer plank overlaying the two ends of the inner one), and joined together by long 'tree-nails'; the planks were caulked with stems of 'byblus' (*Papyrus antiquorum*, L.), the sails being made of the same material, which seems incredible; but whether of flax or byblus, the 'cloths' of the sails were placed horizontally instead of vertically as now. The ropes of Egyptian ships continued to be made of byblus (Herod. vii. 25, 34) or of palm fibre as late as the 27th or Persian dynasty (B.C. 480), and, according to the same authority (Herod. ii. 96), the sails also,—whilst those of the Phœnicians were made of flax. But it is doubtful if the Nile boats, described by Herodotus, were really sea-going vessels like those of queen Hatsepsu and Solomon, though they carried many thousand talents (more than 100 tons) of cargo; and, as the making of linen cloth was an Egyptian speciality, it was probably used for the sails of sea-going ships by them as well as by Solomon and Hiram, who imported it from Egypt (Ezk 27).

At Deir el-Bahri * we see the queen's ships being laden in a port of the Land of Punt after the same fashion as we may suppose those of Solomon to have taken in their cargoes at Ophir, by means of porters and 'gang-boards' connecting the ships with the shore. The cargo, which is being carried and stowed on the deck by the crew, consists of sacks of frankincense of various kinds (especially that called 'anti'), gold dust, ebony, elephants' tusks, gum, ostrich eggs and feathers. Live apes are climbing about the rigging as we see them in the boat depicted on the tomb of Mera at Deshâsheh 2000 years earlier—an indication probably of the fauna of the Land of Punt, which includes the giraffe, peculiar to tropical Africa.

We may safely assume that Solomon's Mediterranean ships were similar to those built by him at 'Ezion-geber, on the Phœnician model, and that the latter, again, resembled those of queen Hatsepsu, although with possibly some modifications of no great importance. There seems, also, no reason to suppose that the ships built at 'Ezion-geber by Jehoshaphat king of Judah a century later (1 K 22^{48}), or the passenger ship in which Jonah embarked at Joppa some thirty years later for Tarshish (Jon 1^{3}), and in which the vain use of the oars in the ships to endeavour to make the land is so graphically described, belonged to a different type.

Ships of war.—The Egyptian sailors or boatmen formed, according to Herodotus (ii. 164), one of the seven classes into which the population of the country was divided, the office of pilot or steersman ranking above all other grades. Probably those belonging to merchant ships formed a superior subdivision of these. We may take it for granted that the Phœnicians and Tyrians followed the same practice in the time of Solomon as with certain modifications the Greeks did in later times. The crews of war ships seem to have been placed in a separate category with the soldiers, who, from constant practice at the oar on the Nile, were themselves expert galleymen. Whether any of these latter were on board queen Hatsepsu's or Solomon's ships we are not told; but, although these were both commercial expeditions, it is probable that the ships were prepared to fight if need be. That men-of-war were specially fitted out by the Egyptians for fighting purposes in the Arabian Gulf we know from Herodotus (ii. 102) and Diodorus (i. 55), who both mention the fleet of 'long vessels' built expressly for war (called by them *ua*) to the number of 400, whilst the transports were called *usch* (broad), and the galleys *mensch*;* and the employment of such vessels on the expeditions of the Pharaohs to Ethiopia was frequent, the officers who commanded them being mentioned on the monuments, and the title of 'chief *or* captain of the king's ships' being not uncommon. A sea fight is represented at Thebes, in which the Egyptian soldiers in military dress are seen rowing. In the men-of-war of the 4th and 5th dynasties slingers are stationed in a 'top' or cage at the masthead. During the engagement the sail was 'brailed' up, and there was apparently no lower yard to the square sail as we see in the ships of queen Hatsepsu of a later date. According to Wilkinson (iii. 204), ramming was used in the attack; but the ships had no beak for this purpose as in Roman days, a lion's, ram's, or other animal's head covered with metal taking its place.

---

* Chesney, vol. ii. p. 640.

* *Egyp. Expl. Fund*, pt. iii. vol. 15, pl. lxxiv. See figs. on p. 364.

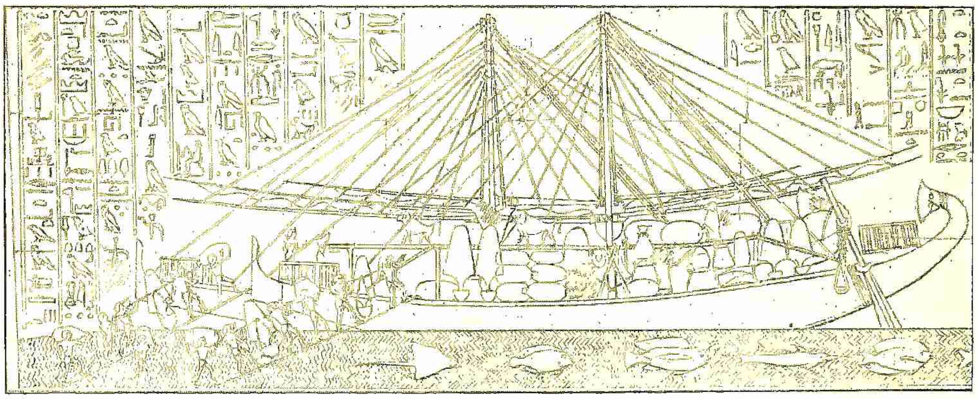

3. TEMPLE OF DEIR EL-BAHRI. MIDDLE COLONNADE. SOUTH WALL. QUEEN HATSEPSU'S EXPEDITION TO PUNT, B.C. 1500.
LOADING EGYPTIAN SHIPS AT PUNT.

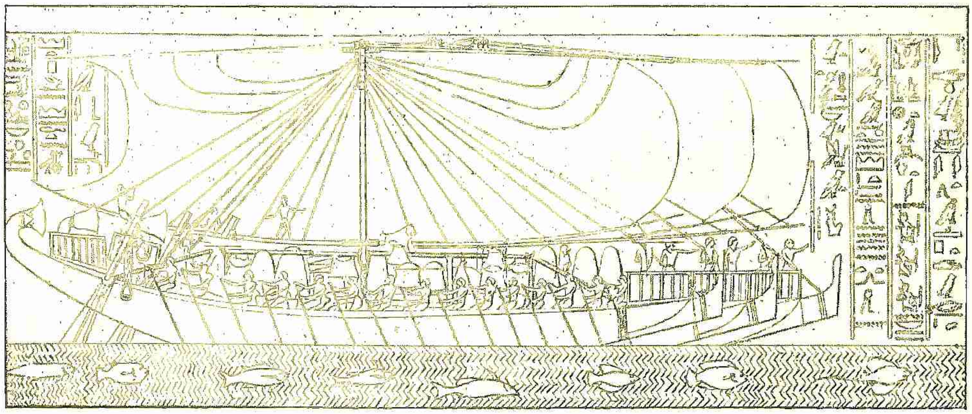

4. MIDDLE COLONNADE. SOUTH WALL. LADEN EGYPTIAN SHIPS LEAVING PUNT.

There seems to be little doubt that the Egyptian men-of-war also took part in the Mediterranean in the transport of troops and in sea fights during the reign of the Ramses Pharaohs against the ships of various nations inhabiting the littoral, as they did in the time of Pharaoh-necho (Herod. ii. 159); their victories over combined forces of Dardanians, Teucrians, Mysians, and, apparently, over Pelasgians, Daunians, Oscans, and Sicilians, being recorded on the monuments.

Of the *Phœnician* war vessels which were contemporaneous we have no knowledge; and it is to the Assyrian monuments of a later date that we are indebted for pictorial representations of them in a very crude way. During the three invasions of Syria and Phœnicia by Shalmaneser IV. in the reigns of Hezekiah king of Judah and Hoshea king of Israel (B.C. 726–721, 2 K $18^{9.10}$), Josephus tells us, on the authority of Menander (342–291 B.C.), that the Assyrian monarch, in order to quell a revolt in the island of Tyre, made use of 60 Phœnician galleys with 800 men to row them, but was utterly defeated by the Tyrians with 12 ships, which took 500 prisoners.*

---

* Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.*, vol. i. p. 274.

Sennacherib, who had sent the Rabshakeh to Hezekiah to reproach the living God (2 K $19^{20.34}$), and demand the surrender of Jerusalem the second time within three years, took, a few years later, his Phœnician shipwrights across Mesopotamia to the Tigris and built a fleet of his own, with which he made a successful raid on the Chaldæan settlement in Susiana at the north end of the Gulf of Persia. It is these Phœnician *cataphract* triremes, with two tiers of oars, and having beaks, masts, and sails, that we see represented in the sculptures of Kouyunjik.† In Sargon's sculptures the Phœnician vessels of this time have 4 or 5 oarsmen on each side, but in Sennacherib's they have 8, 9, or 11, and also two steersmen. It was not until Sennacherib's time that the Assyrians began to build war vessels, which even then were only imitations of Phœnician ones. These trireme war galleys were what is called *aphract*, *i.e.* the upper tier of rowers were unprotected and exposed to view. The apertures for the oars are like those in queen Hatsepsu's ships, no oars being shown in them in the drawings in either case. The beak is somewhat like the snout of a fish; the shields of the soldiers are seen suspended inside the bulwarks, they themselves being partly visible; the pilot is in the bow, and the steersman aft, with part of the crew standing near the mast, the two steering-paddles having blades in the form of the letter D, which is perhaps only conventional.

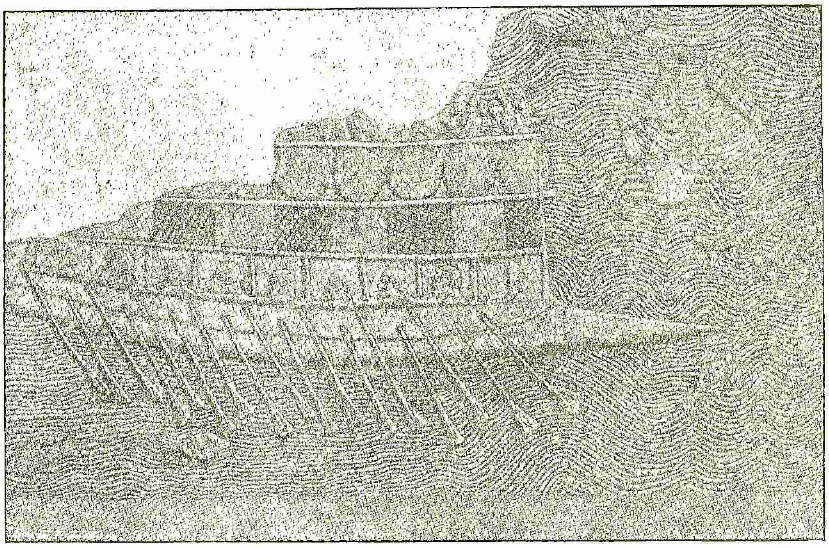

5. WAR GALLEY IN THE SERVICE OF SENNACHERIB, KING OF ASSYRIA.

The war ships of Kittim (Dn 11^{30}), which were to conquer Antiochus Epiphanes, are Roman vessels. In 2 Mac 4^{20} we have the first mention of galleys (τριήραι).

B. NEW TESTAMENT SHIPS AND BOATS.—An account of Greek and Roman ships of war (νῆες μακραί, *naves longæ*), of which ample details are given by Boeckh,‡ Graser,§ Guhl and Koner,‖ and Torr,¶ seems to be out of place here, as, apart from the fishing and passenger vessels on the Sea of Galilee, in which our Lord embarked (described in the AV as 'ships' [except in Jn $6^{22.23}$, where it has 'boats'], and in the RV as 'boats' [Mt 4^{22} $14^{22.24.32.33}$, Mk $6^{32.45.47.51.54}$, Lk $5^{2.3.7.11}$ $8^{22.37}$, Jn $6^{17.19.22.23.24}$]), the interest in ships mentioned in the NT centres in the voyage of St. Paul from Cæsarea to Puteoli, about 60 A.D. During this voyage he and his fellow-traveller, St. Luke the physician, experienced what seems to have been his fourth shipwreck (2 Co 11^{25}). The account of this voyage is remarkable for accuracy and conciseness in the use of nautical terms, though wanting in the descriptive details which a professional seaman would have added. In the *Onomasticon* of Julius Pollux of Naucratis in the Egyptian Delta, written about a century and a half later, we have a collection of Greek nautical terms, containing most of those used in St. Luke's description of the voyage. Of the ship of Adramyttium, a seaport of Mysia (which had then been for half a century part of the Roman province of Asia Minor), in which they embarked at Cæsarea, no details are given; but the two Alexandrian corn-ships in which the voyage was completed from Myra (Ac $27^{6.7.8}$), a port of Lycia, to Fair Havens in Crete, and to the island of Melita (28^{1}), and thence to Syracuse, Rhegium, and Puteoli ($28^{11.12.13}$), were evidently of large size, if the reading in both AV and RV of 276 as the number of persons on board, including the crew, besides a cargo of wheat, is correct.* This number was not extraordinary, as Josephus tells us that only a few years later he himself was wrecked on a voyage from Palestine to Puteoli in a ship having about 600 persons on board.

For the type of these ships we can refer to contemporary paintings found at Herculaneum and Pompeii which 'afford valuable details, and have the advantage of synchronizing perfectly with the voyage of St. Paul, the catastrophe to which they owe their preservation having happened less than twenty years after his shipwreck.'† The term πλοῖον used by St. Luke throughout his account of this voyage, except in Ac 27^{41}, when ναῦς is used, was a common one for a merchant ship in general, but does not point to any one in particular of the many kinds of sea-going ships (*phaseli, corbitæ, cybææ*, etc.), of the 'round' or merchant class (στρογγύλη ναῦς, *navis oneraria*) in use at that time; but the fact of the wrecked vessel being a corn-ship of Alexandria suffices. Lucian (2nd cent. A.D.) in one of his dialogues* gives an account of one of the great merchant ships employed in carrying corn from Egypt to Italy about 150 A.D. Her length was 180 ft., and breadth 45 ft., the depth from upper deck to keel being 43½ ft. Such a ship would carry a burthen of 10,000 talents or *amphoræ*, equal to 250 tons. But ships of much larger capacity were built for special purposes, such as the one described by Pliny as having, about twenty years before St. Paul's voyage, taken the Vatican obelisk, by order of the emperor Caligula, from Egypt to Rome, together with four blocks of stone to form its pedestal, the whole weighing nearly 500 tons, in addition to 1000 tons of lentils in the hold as a bed for the obelisk to rest on. The mast of this ship, which Pliny describes as the most wonderful vessel ever seen afloat, was a single fir spar, and required four men with extended arms to encircle it. This event occurred within Pliny's own knowledge as a youth of seventeen; but if he is correct as to the size of the ship, that of the mast is almost incredible, unless he was in error as to its not being a built one.† Julius Cæsar tells us that these ships carried movable three-storeyed turrets on the upper deck for defensive purposes.‡

---

* Rawlinson, *Anc. Monarch.* vol. ii. pp. 405, 449.

† Layard's *Nineveh*, 1st series, p. 71, etc.; and pl. in Rawlinson, *Anc. Monarch.* vol. ii. p. 176.

‡ *Urkunden über das Seewesen des Attischen Staates*, etc., 1840.

§ *De veterum re navali.*

‖ *The Life of the Greeks and Romans*, 3rd ed. pp. 253–264.

¶ *Ancient Ships*, 1894.

* WH and others read 'about (ὡς) 76.'

† J. Smith, *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, 4th ed. 1880, p. 182.

According to Lucian's description, the ship had both bow and stern curved upwards like those of the ancient Egyptian and earliest Greek ships, the ends terminating in a gilded *cheniscus*, one of which was in the form of the head and neck of a swan, and the other either similar or a 'figurehead.' Somewhere between the stem and stern was a statue of the presiding deity of the State or port of origin of the ship. On each bow was painted a large eye, or a figure illustrative of her name.

From a painting still to be seen in a tomb at Pompeii, and another found at Herculaneum,§ we know that such ships had projecting galleries at bow and stern, with bulwarks of open rails, and that the upper ends of the two paddle-rudders (πηδάλια, *gubernacula*) passed through holes in the ship, as described by Herodotus, instead of being externally attached to rope straps on the gunwale as in the Egyptian vessels and in the Scandinavian one already spoken of, and were often connected together by a rope attached to the tillers stretched across the ship, called χαλινός, which kept the two paddle-blades parallel to one another;‖ but this, from St. Luke's account of the shipwreck, must have been done in such a way as not to prevent the rudders from being triced up clear of the water in case of anchoring by the stern. We also see in the Herculaneum painting a portion of one of the ship's cabins described by Lucian. There are also depicted what are, apparently, cable arrangements for anchoring by the stern, though no anchor is visible. She has two masts with 'square' yards and sails, as we see represented on the coins of the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D.; and this seems to have been the normal number, though occasionally there were three at this period; but only one mast is shown in the Pompeii ship. The masts were supported by 'shrouds' placed abreast of and abaft the mast, with 'stays' to support it from the bow as now. These as well as the 'running rigging' were made of hide, flax, or hemp, or, probably in many cases, a combination of them and papyrus.

The ships of this—the merchant—class were built almost exclusively of fir or pine, as also the masts and yards, the latter (κεραῖαι or *antennæ*) being in two pieces 'fished' together like those of both ancient and modern Egyptian vessels. The sails at this period were almost universally made of flax as now; the 'bolt rope' surrounding them being of hide. One of the sails is called ἀρτέμων by St. Luke (Ac 27^{40}), and, although this word is not found in Julius Pollux or in any other ancient or mediæval Greek author, a mast and sail, each termed *artemon*, are mentioned by the Romans, Lucilius, Labeo, and Seneca, almost contemporaneously with St. Paul's shipwreck, as being, apparently, inferior in importance or magnitude to the principal mast and sail of a ship; they are represented on an Alexandrian coin of A.D. 67* as a sort of bowsprit and spritsail, and again on a Roman coin of A.D. 186 in the Museum at Avignon as a foremast and square foresail.† The word *artemon* is translated in the AV 'mainsail,' but in the RV 'foresail'; and there can be little doubt but that the latter is the more correct term as applied to the sail hoisted when the ship was purposely run aground. The word is still in use in the French marine as the name of the mizen or sternmost mast, and the sails on it; whilst the term *misaine* is applied to the foremast and its sails. The word *artemon* is now obsolete in the Italian language, but in the 16th cent. it was applied at Venice to the largest sail of a ship, which appears then to have been the foresail; and, possibly, the ignorance of this fact, as suggested by Smith, may have led the AV translators into error.‡

The sails were triced up to the yards by numerous 'brails' (καλώδια) when it was desired to reduce or take them in, and these were worked by the crew from the deck below; the yards were also furnished with 'lifts' and 'braces' for trimming the sails. The anchors (ἄγκυρα), which were suspended as now, one on each bow from 'catheads' (ἐπωτίδες), were made of lead, iron, or wood coated with lead, and of the modern form, as on the coins of Pæstum we see the stock and flukes or palms and ring duly represented; besides the 'bower' anchors there were others, four of which were let go at the stern of St. Paul's ship when shoaling water (Ac $27^{29, 30}$), whilst a pretence was made by the crew of also laying out the bower anchors by boat.

Oars (κώπη, *remus*) are not mentioned as being used on board; and as these were often absent from large merchant vessels, or only sufficient in number to be used as 'sweeps' during a calm, this was probably the case here. Such vessels had movable 'topmasts,' to the summit of which was hoisted the upper corner of the triangular sail, called in Latin *supparum*. It is to the lowering down to the deck of these topmasts that the expression (Ac 27^{17}) 'strake sail' in the AV and 'lowered the gear' in the RV probably refers; to 'strike' a topmast is the proper nautical term in use at the present day. Seneca tells us that Alexandrian wheat-ships,§ on arrival at Puteoli, alone had the privilege of keeping their topsails up, all others being obliged to lower them down on entering the bay. The phrase ἀντοφθαλμεῖν τῷ ἀνέμῳ (Ac 27^{15}), translated in the AV 'bear up into the wind,' and in the RV 'face the wind,' would be, in nautical language, 'beat up against the wind.' To 'bear up' is the sea phrase for doing exactly the reverse of what is expressed in the AV, and means to put a ship before the wind. Captain Sturmy[*] in describing a naval sea fight says, 'Bear up before the wind that we may give him our starboard broadside,' and again, 'He bears up before the wind to stop his leaks'; ἀντοφθαλμεῖν, as a nautical expression, may have reference to the eyes painted on each bow of ships in general; the term 'eyes of the ship' is still in general use as a sea term for the inside part of her which lies nearest to the stem. The rope cables (σχοινία, ἀγκύρια, *ancoralia* or *funes ancorales*) which passed, as now, through holes on each side of the bow, were of from 6 in. to 4½ in. in diameter, equal to from 13½ in. to 18 in. modern hemp cables, and were 'hove in' by a capstan (στροφεῖον) to weigh the anchor. Chain cables were then used only by ships of war, and, in so far as the English Navy is concerned, were not introduced till the beginning of the 19th century.

---

* πλοῖον ἢ Εὐχαί.

† Pliny, *HN* xvi. 76 and xxxiv. 14.

‡ *de Bello Gallico*, iii. 14; *de Bello Civili*, i. 26.

§ *Antichità di Ercolano*, tom. ii. pl. xiv. cit. J. Smith, *V. and S. of St. Paul*, p. 206.

‖ Guhl and Koner, *Life of the Greeks and Romans*, fig. 291, p. 257.

* Torr, *Ancient Ships*, pl. vi. 27.

† *Ib.* pl. vi. 28.

‡ Smith, *V. and S. of St. Paul*, pp. 192–200.

§ *Epist.* 77, cit. Smith, *V. and S. of St. Paul*, p. 157.

The terms 'helps' and 'undergirding' (Ac 27^{17} βοήθειαι, ὑποζωννύντες) refer to the modes in use of strengthening an old or weak ship in bad weather by bracing the two curved ends of the ship, which were not water-borne, together by means of a stout rope or cable passing along the outside of the ship longitudinally, and generally below the water-line, several times; or by passing it under the keel and round the hull in a direction transverse to its length, and probably sometimes by a combination of both these methods. 'Undergirding' is a literal translation of the Greek nautical term for the operation of passing the above ropes or cables (ὑποζώματα) around or under a ship; but it has never been an English sea term, although the process of transverse undergirding has occasionally been resorted to by our sailing ships when dangerously overstrained, and was then termed 'frapping' the ship.[†] The internal longitudinal rope support of the ancient Egyptian ships seems to have been still in use in Roman ships to some extent under the name of *tormentum*,[‡] probably from the two or four parts of rope of which it consisted being tightened, as required, by means of a piece of wood inserted between them and twisted round; the transverse external support was termed *mitra*. The longitudinal support became unnecessary when the length of the ends of the ship not water-borne became greatly diminished and the amount of deck increased; with improved shipbuilding the long curves disappeared. All Greek and Roman ships of war of the rank of triremes and upwards seem to have had the *hypozomata* permanently fixed in their places on board to enable them to better withstand the shock of ramming, and were also supplied with extra ones as part of their stores; but, in the case of merchant vessels (φορταγωγαί) such as St. Paul's ship, these 'helps' were probably improvised out of their ordinary gear. The term σκευή, translated 'tackling' (AV and RV Ac 27^{19}), which the crew (and passengers [AV]) threw overboard with their own hands on the third day of the gale, probably refers to the spare stores of various kinds which followed some heavier undescribed weights (v.^{18}), and it was only as a last resort that the cargo of wheat (v.^{38}) (on which the commercial success of the voyage depended, and which was in charge of the 'supercargo' (ναύκληρος, v.^{11}), to whose ill advice and that of the sailing-master (κυβερνήτης) St. Paul attributed their mishap) was 'jettisoned' in order to so lighten the ship, that, when the cables were slipped (v.^{40}) and the foresail hoisted, she might run high up on the beach they had selected (v.^{39}).

From the depth of water in which soundings were taken (Ac 27^{28}), viz. in 20 and 15 fathoms, it is evident that a sounding-lead attached to a line (καταπειρατηρία, *catapirates*) was used, as we see it on a bas-relief in the British Museum, suspended from the volute of the bow,[*] and probably 'armed' with grease at its lower end to determine the nature of the bottom, as in the time of Herodotus (ii. 5) and Lucilius.[†] The anchoring by the stern when rapidly shoaling water at night (Ac 27^{29}) was good seamanship, and, in a vessel shaped alike at both ends, offered no practical difficulties, the rudder-paddles being afterwards triced up clear of the water. The ship carried at least one boat (σκάφη), like all others of her class, for general purposes, such as laying out anchors (v.^{30}), communicating with the shore or with other ships; and this boat was towed astern in charge of one of the crew,[‡] in accordance with usual practice in fine weather, being either hoisted up to 'davits' outside the ship, or hoisted on board altogether, for greater security (v.^{16}), when bad weather came on.

The ship in which St. Paul embarked from the island of Melita seems to have been of the same type as the wrecked one, but we have the additional detail given of her 'sign' (παράσημον, *insigne*) (28^{11}), indicating her name Διόσκουροι, translated 'Castor and Pollux' in the AV and 'The Twin Brothers' in the RV. Whether the *parasemon* was, in this case, a painting on either side of the stem denoting the *fratres Helenæ*, sons of Jupiter, who were then specially venerated as the patrons of sailors,[§] like St. George and St. Nicholas in modern days, or whether they formed her 'figurehead,' we do not know; but both modes of indicating a ship's name, and, occasionally, a combination of the two, were in vogue at that time in Roman ships. That these ships were capable of 'working to windward' like modern sailing ships there can be no manner of doubt, although, possibly, not lying so close to the wind as within 5 or 6 points of the compass; but the quotation from Pliny (*HN* ii. 48) does not refer to 'beating,' and merely states that ships with the same wind sail in opposite directions according to the 'tack' they are on, and often meet one another, which can obviously be done with the wind fair or abeam.[‖] The modern nautical term corresponding to the Greek περιελθόντες κατηντήσαμεν εἰς Ῥήγιον (Ac 28^{13}), translated in the AV 'we fetched a compass and came to Rhegium' (RV 'made a circuit'),[¶] would be 'we beat up to Rhegium,' the only course open to her in making for that port from Syracuse with a northerly wind, which is clearly indicated by her waiting there a day for a change of wind to the south. That these ships were fast sailers we know from contemporary statements of ancient authors, and especially from Pliny, who, in speaking of the marvellous utility of the flax plant, of which sails were made, in reducing the time occupied in a voyage from Egypt to Italy, instances a voyage recently made from the Straits of Messina to Alexandria, by two Roman prefects, E. Galerius and Balbillus, in 7 and 6 days respectively; and another voyage from Puteoli to Alexandria by Valerius Marianus, a Roman senator, 'lenissimo flatu,' in 9 days.[**] St. Paul's voyage from Rhegium to Puteoli (180 miles) was effected in 2 days (but see art. ROADS AND TRAVEL (IN NT), p. 379).

Of the fishing and passenger boats on the Sea of Galilee (Lake of Tiberias), which were evidently very numerous in our Lord's time, we have no description.

---

[*] *The Compleat Mariner*, bk. i. p. 20, A.D. 1669.
[†] Isidore Hisp. *Op.* Fol. Par. 1601.
[‡] Hor. *Carm.* i.-xiv. 6, 7.

[*] Guhl and Koner, *Life of the Greeks and Romans*, fig. 294, p. 259.
[†] Torr, *Ancient Ships*, p. 101.
[‡] *Ib.* p. 103.
[§] Hor. *Carm.* i. 3.
[‖] Smith, *DB*^{2}, art. 'Ships and Boats.'
[¶] WH (following B$\aleph^1$) read περιελόντες, 'cast loose.
[**] *HN* xix. 1.

LITERATURE.—Champollion and Rosellini, *Monuments de l'Égypte*; August Boeckh, *Urkunden über das Seewesen des Attischen Staates*; B. Glaser, *Über das Seewesen des alten Ægypten*; M. Jal, *Archéologie Navale*; F. Steinitz, *The Ship, its Origin and Progress*; Carl R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ægypten und Ethiopien*; Dümichen, *Die Flotte einer Egyptischen Königin*; A. H. Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, and *Nineveh and its Remains*; Cecil Torr, *Ancient Ships*; James Smith, *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*; Wilkinson, *The Ancient Egyptians*; Canon G. Rawlinson, *The Seven Ancient Monarchies*; *Egypt. Exploration Fund*, Tomb of Pateri at el-Kab, Deshâsheh (tomb of Anta and Mera), Deir el-Bahri (Punt Expedition); G. Maspero, *The Dawn of Civilization*; E. Guhl and W. Koner, *The Life of the Greeks and Romans*; Canney, art. 'Ship' in *Encycl. Biblica*. R. M. BLOMFIELD.

ROADS AND TRAVEL (IN OT).—

- I. ROADS.
  - i. Position and conformation of Palestine.
  - ii. Hebrew terms for 'road.' Metaphorical usages.
  - iii. Various kinds of roads.
  - iv. The roads of the OT.
    - 1. Roads connecting Palestine with other countries: (*a*) Arabia, (*b*) Egypt, (*c*) Syria, Assyria and Babylonia.
    - 2. Roads in Palestine: in (*a*) Judæa, (*b*) Samaria, (*c*) Galilee, (*d*) the Jordan Valley (including the fords), (*e*) on the east of the Jordan.
- II. TRAVEL.
  - i. Motives for travelling: (*a*) attendance at religious festivals, etc., (*b*) commerce, (*c*) political relations, (*d*) ill-health, (*e*) war. Travelling hampered for Jews by the Sabbath law.
  - ii. Modes of travel: on foot, riding (asses, mules, camels, horses), chariots, ox-waggons, caravans.
  - iii. Provision for the wants of travellers. Inns a late institution. *Khans*. Oriental hospitality.
  - Literature.

I. *ROADS.*—i. POSITION AND CONFORMATION OF PALESTINE.—The land inhabited by the Israelites seemed from its position to have been predestined to form a meeting-point in the world's lines of communication. On the western side its situation brought it into connexion with the Mediterranean coasts; on the south-west the country was closely bound to Egypt, that land of ancient civilization; on the south to Arabia, which was traversed by richly laden caravans; while on the north there were approaches from the coast by the *Merj 'Ayyûn* ('the entering in of Hamath,' Nu 34^8, Jos 13^5, and often), and by the S.E. side of Antilibanus, to the cultured lands beyond, and further to the great empires of the Euphrates. It was only on the east that an insurmountable barrier to communication was presented by the cheerless desert.

For the Israelites themselves, however, these advantages of situation had not the significance that might have been expected. The seacoast with its harbours, some of which were poor enough, was (apart from the period referred to in Gn 49^{13}) in the hands of the Phœnicians and the Philistines, to whom thus belonged the important points at which the caravans coming from Damascus or Arabia unloaded their goods for further transport by sea. Consequently the Israelites, when they sought to take a share in international commerce, found themselves compelled to make the distant port of 'Ezion-geber the starting-point of their shipping trade. It was not till the latest period of Jewish history that they got Joppa into their hands, a possession afterwards supplemented by the harbour of Cæsarea, which had been repaired by Herod.

The ancient caravan road connecting Damascus with Arabia, the modern Pilgrim Road, ran along the eastern side of the territory of the Israelites, and thus was of no service to them. In like manner the important caravan road from Gaza to Arabia touched only a small and thinly peopled tract of their country. On the other hand, the great caravan road connecting Damascus with the middle part of the Mediterranean coast and with Egypt ran right through the territory of Israel, and offered its people a variety of advantages, which they did not fail to utilize when the State reached under Solomon the culminating point of its culture.

In the interior of the country the extensive stretch of mountains, interrupted by steep descents, presented a serious obstacle to communication. Any one who has made journeys in Palestine knows from experience how travelling is a course of up hill and down, and how at every turn declivities have to be passed which it is a severe task for one's horse to mount or to descend. For the most part, one has to ride at a walking pace; it is but rarely that valleys are encountered with a level surface where horses can gallop for any long stretch. Besides, the tract on the western side of the Jordan is separated from that on the eastern side by the deep depression of that river. In the dry season, it is true, communication between the two parts of the country is kept up by numerous fords, but during the rainy season these are for the most part impassable; while, on the other hand, the winding and impetuous course of the stream makes it impossible to use it as a waterway between north and south. The only exception in this respect is the broad expanse of the Lake of Gennesareth, offering great advantages to the dwellers upon its shores.

Nevertheless, the gradually developed high civilization of the Israelites led to the difficulties of communication being overcome as far as was practicable, and there arose, as the Old Testament shows, a network of roads covering all the inhabited parts of the country. From this point of view, the monarchical period, from the reign of Solomon onwards, must have been of special significance; but, on the other hand, the difference between the earlier and later periods must not be exaggerated. The country to which the Israelites came as settlers already possessed a certain measure of civilization. The Tel el-Amarna letters, which in so many respects have enlarged our knowledge of the pre-Israelite history of Canaan, mention, amongst other things, caravans which the Egyptian vassal-princes in Canaan were in the way of sending under escort to Egypt.[*] This points to the existence of routes of communication. We gather also from the Song of Deborah that in the period of the Judges there were roads with a brisk traffic in the Northern kingdom, for the condition of things that had supervened owing to the weakness of the Israelites is described in these terms: 'The highways were unoccupied, and the travellers walked through byways' (Jg 5^6).[†]

ii. HEBREW TERMS FOR 'ROAD.'—The usual Hebrew word for 'road' is דֶּרֶךְ (*derekh*), which, from its etymology, probably means 'ground trodden upon.' Side by side with it we have the word מְסִלָּה (*mĕsillāh*), which occurs also in the Inscription of Mesha, and whose radical meaning is undoubtedly that of a road which has been constructed by the filling up of hollows, and which is kept up by artificial methods. More poetical is the employment in Hebrew of the word אֹרַח (*'ōraḥ*), which, on the other hand, is the usual term in Aramaic. Likewise more poetical are נָתִיב (*nāthîbh*) or נְתִיבָה (*nĕthîbhāh*) and (common in Aramaic and Arabic) שְׁבִיל (*shĕbhîl*). A narrow road shut in on both sides was called מִשְׁעוֹל (*mish'ōl*, Nu 22^{24} only); the road that ran right through a valley or led over a stream was מַעֲבָר (*ma'ăbhār*) or מַעְבָּרָה (*ma'bārāh*); the steep road up a declivity, מַעֲלֶה (*ma'ăleh*), or, down it, מוֹרָד (*môrād*).

In the *figurative* language of the OT the notion

---

[*] Cf. Nos. 180, 189, 242, 256 in Winckler's edition [Petrie, Nos. 254, 231, 42, 41].

[†] That there were much frequented roads also in the southern portion of the land is evident from the narrative of Gn 38, where the *ḳĕdēshah* takes her seat by the wayside to be seen by passers-by.

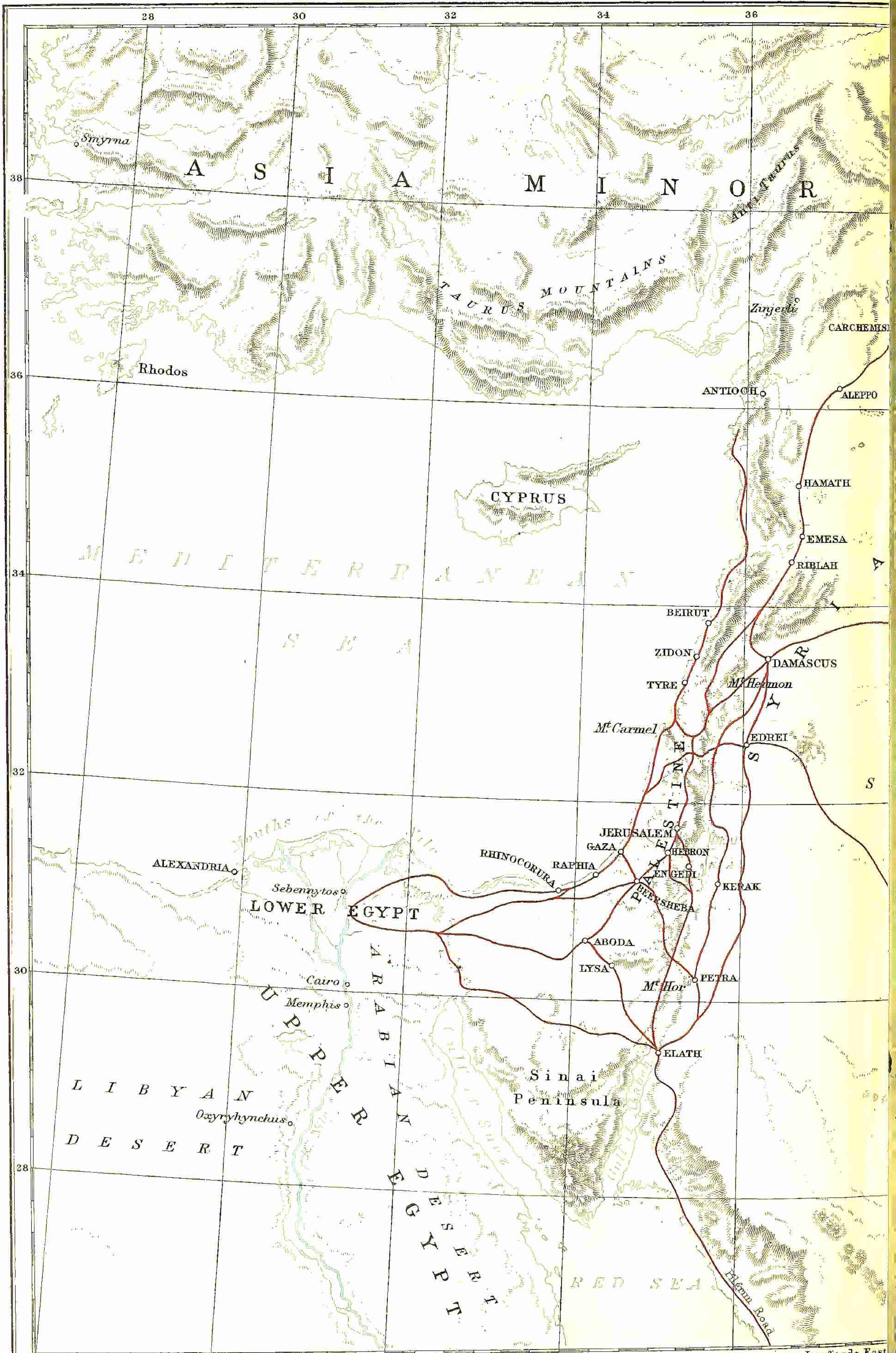
28
30
32
34
36
Smyrna
38
A S I A M I N O R
Anti-Taurus
TAURUS MOUNTAINS
Zugeda
CARCHEMIS
Rhodos
36
ANTIOCH
ALEPPO
HAMATH
CYPRUS
EMESA
RIBLAH
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
34
BEIRUT
ZIDON
DAMASCUS
TYRE
Mt Hermon
SYRIA
Mt Carmel
EDREI
PALESTINE
32
JERUSALEM
GAZA
HEBRON
RHINOCORURA
RAPHIA
EN GEDI
KERAK
BEERSHEBA
ALEXANDRIA
Mouths of the Nile
Sebennytos
LOWER EGYPT
ABODA
LYSA
30
Cairo
Memphis
PETRA
Mt Hor
UPPER EGYPT
ARABIAN DESERT
ELATH
Sinai Peninsula
LIBYAN DESERT
Oxyrhynchus
Gulf of Suez
28
RED SEA
Pilgrim Road
Longitude East

Engraved & Printed by

COPYRIGHT

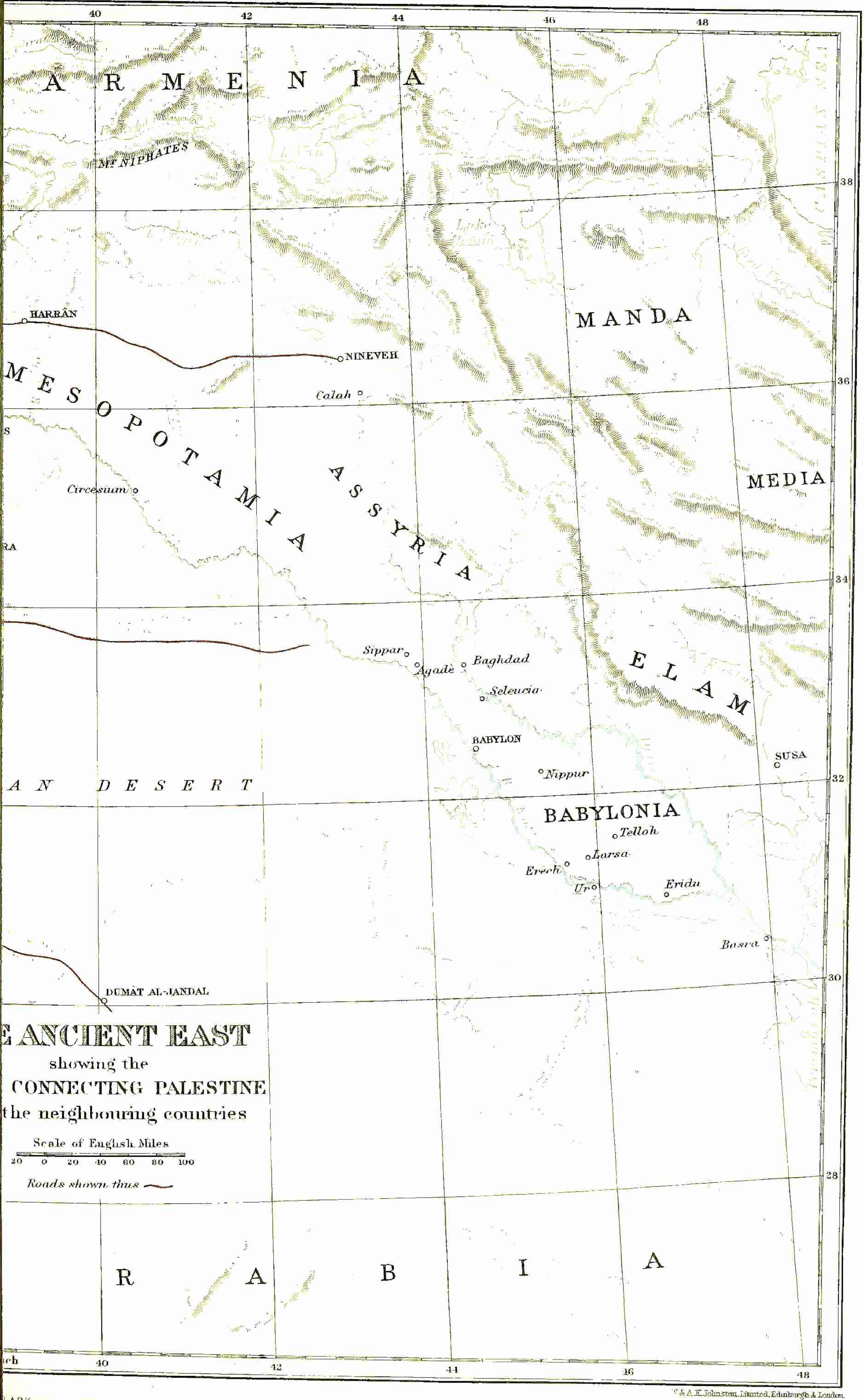

E ANCIENT EAST

showing the

CONNECTING PALESTINE

the neighbouring countries

40
42
44
46
48
A R M E N I A
Mt NIPHATES
38
HARRÂN
NINEVEH
M E S O P O T A M I A
Calah
36
MANDA
A S S Y R I A
Circesium
MEDIA
34
Sippar
Agade
Baghdad
Seleucia
E L A M
BABYLON
SUSA
Nippur
A N D E S E R T
32
BABYLONIA
Telloh
Larsa
Erech
Ur
Eridu
Basra
30
DUMAT AL-JANDAL
Scale of English Miles
20 0 20 40 60 80 100
Roads shown thus
28
R A B I A
40
42
44
46
48

W. & A. K. Johnston, Limited, Edinburgh & London

of 'road' or 'way' plays a prominent part, a circumstance probably connected not with the increase of communication but with recollections of the nomadic pre-historic period of Israel's history. In the desert the discovery of the right path is often a question of life, for the wanderer who fails to find a well of water or who stumbles upon an enemy's quarters speedily falls a prey to death. In this way the language of the OT is to be understood when it speaks of a way to life and one to death (Pr 6^{23} 10^{17} 12^{28} 14^{12} 21^{16}, Jer 21^{8}), or of a way that perishes (Ps 1^{6}), or that is shut up (Job 19^{8}). When God means to destroy a nation He closes up its way with a wall * or with thorns (Hos $2^{6\,(8)}$). His law teaches Israel the right way, from which, however, the people constantly wander (Jer 3^{13}, cf. Is 2^{3}). He who follows the example of another walks in his ways (1 K 15^{26} and often). Illustrations of similar usages might be multiplied indefinitely. The same figurative mode of expression prevails also in the Ḳoran, whose first hearers must have been familiar with the importance of path-finding to the Bedawîn.

iii. VARIOUS KINDS OF ROADS.—In many passages of the OT the word 'way' or 'road' undoubtedly stands for a simple bridle-path. It is the latter that is the initial stage in the process whereby men and beasts tread the same ground year after year. Thus the very old Pilgrim Road from Damascus to Arabia consists merely of a number of parallel tracks without any artificial construction, and recalls the passages in the ancient Arab poets where such roads are compared to striped cloths from S. Arabia. On the hills of Palestine the hard limestone soil forms a firm foundation for the roads, which for long stretches require nothing more in the way of construction, and present no inconvenience to the traveller except at spots where the winter rains have washed down accumulations of stones. The existence of artificially formed roads is not necessarily implied in the passages where chariots or waggons are spoken of. According to the OT, the great plain between the hills of Samaria and Galilee was the proper home of chariots of war, which could move here with ease (Jg 4^{2}, cf. 2 K 9^{20}). But besides this we hear also of vehicles traversing the hill-country proper—*e.g.* Gn 45^{27} (from Ḥebron to Egypt), 1 S 6 (from 'Eḳron by way of Beth-shemesh to Kiriath-jearim), 2 S 6 (from Kiriath-jearim) to Jerusalem), 2 S 15^{1}, 1 K 1^{5}, Is 22^{18}, Jer 17^{25} (from and to Jerusalem), 1 K 12^{18} (from Shechem to Jerusalem), 1 K $22^{22\text{ff.}}$ (from Ramoth-gilead to Samaria), 2 K $7^{14\text{f.}}$ (from Samaria to the Jordan), 2 K $5^{9.\,20\text{ff.}}$ (from Damascus to Samaria), 2 K $10^{15\text{f.}}$ (from Jezreel to Samaria, cf. $9^{27\text{ff.}}$). With reference to Gn 45^{27} Robinson (*BRP*² i. 214 f.) declares that the road from Ḥebron to the south cannot possibly have been traversed by waggons, and hence he assumes that they must have made a circuit by the *Wādy el-Khălîl*. In like manner he asserts that the road between Ḥebron and Jerusalem must have been impracticable for anything on wheels. But in that case the OT could not have spoken at all of vehicles travelling from and to Jerusalem, for none of the roads leading to the capital are a whit better than the Ḥebron road. Nor can it well be doubted that the chariots which Absalom collected in connexion with his projected rebellion (2 S 15^{1}) were procured at Ḥebron. As a matter of fact, there is no ground for Robinson's remark if one keeps in mind that the light two-wheeled chariots of war and the clumsy ox-waggons (1 S 6) could travel not only on perfectly primitive roads, but even along unbeaten ground.* Of course the progress under such conditions was often very slow, and the journey was attended with inconveniences and dangers such as are expressly alluded to in 2 S 6^{6}.

But, although a number of the roads mentioned in the Bible are nothing more than primitive natural tracks, it is a well established fact, on the other hand, that the Israelites had also artificially constructed roads. It is a circumstance of special importance from this point of view that the Moabite king Mesha records in his Inscription (l. 26) how he caused the road along the Arnon to be constructed (עשתי מסלה). For it may be inferred that what was done by this prince would also be done by the Israelite monarchs of the same period. A testimony in favour of this may be found in the very word מְסִלָּה (*mĕṣillāh*) noticed above. It is also expressly said in Dt 19^{3} that the roads leading to the three Cities of Refuge are to be kept in good repair (הכין). In Sir 21^{10} the writer says figuratively, 'The way of sinners is made smooth with stones.' Contrariwise, Job (30^{13}) speaks of a tearing up or destroying (נתס) of the road, which likewise presupposes one that has been artificially formed. The expression 'the king's highway' (דֶּרֶךְ הַמֶּלֶךְ) used for the great trunk-road of the country (Nu 20^{17}, cf. v.^{19} מְסִלָּה) appears to point to the fact that it was especially the kings who saw to the repairing of the roads, a procedure which was natural even on military grounds.† We are not, of course, to think of such roads as possessing any special excellence; they were probably similar in character to the 'Sultan's roads' as these existed in Palestine down to recent years. Accordingly, when kings went upon a journey, people were sent out to prepare the roads, for instance by removing loose stones from the surface (cf. Is 40^{3} 57^{14} 62^{10}, and Diod. Sic. ii. 13). It is also related by Josephus that Vespasian took workmen along with his army, whose duty it was to remove inequalities in the roads, and to cut down any bushes that might be in the way.‡ On the other hand, it is improbable that the Israelites built any *bridges*, as there is no word in the OT (nor even 2 Mac 12^{13}) which can be proved to mean 'bridge,' and none of the existing remains of ancient bridges over the Jordan are earlier than the Roman period. Any one who wanted to cross the Jordan had to avail himself of the *fords*, unless he followed the example of Jonathan the Maccabee (1 Mac 9^{48}) and swam over.§ In desert regions a '*waymark*' (צִיּוּן *ẓîyyûn*, or תַּמְרוּר *tamrûr*) was set up for the guidance of travellers (Jer 31^{21}), a practice which is also mentioned frequently by the ancient Arab poets. But *milestones* were first introduced by the Romans; the Israelites reckoned distances by the number of days' journey (Gn 30^{36} 31^{23}, 1 K 19^{4}, 2 K 3^{9}), and appear in general to have had no measure for long stretches of road.‖

iv. THE ROADS OF THE OT.—The mention in the OT of the then existing roads is naturally of a somewhat incidental character, and is influenced exclusively by regard to the scenes of the history that is being narrated. Nevertheless, it is worth while to enumerate the most important of these roads, since we thus obtain at all events a view of the condition of things at the time. They were supplemented by the later Roman roads, which as a rule followed the old lines of communication (cf. the following article).*

---

* The method of blocking a road by means of a wall (גָּדֵר) formed of loose stones is described by Guthe in *Mitteil. u. Nachrichten des deutschen Pal. Vereins*, 1896, p. 9.

* Cf. *e.g.* the illustrations in W. Max Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, 301, 366.

† But when Josephus (*Ant.* VIII. vii. 4) records that Solomon caused the roads leading to Jerusalem to be paved with black stone, it is certain that he attributes to this monarch the work of a later age. A stone pavement is mentioned in the OT in 2 K 16^{17}, Ezk 40^{17}, Neh 3^{8} (?), 2 Ch 7^{3}, cf. Aristeas, 38.

‡ *BJ* III. vi. 2. Cf. vii. 3, where it is recorded how Vespasian, when he had determined to besiege Jotapata, first despatched workmen in the direction of the city to level the mountain road, which was difficult for foot-passengers to traverse and wholly impracticable for horsemen. Josephus adds that in four days they succeeded in making a wide military road.

§ On the other hand, it may be assumed that the Phœnicians understood how to build some kind of bridge, for the deep Liṭāny gorge which is crossed by the undeniably ancient road between Ẓidon and the *Merj 'Ayyûn* cannot be passed in any other way (cf. Robinson, *BRP* iii. 50).

‖ Whether the word כִּבְרָה (*kibhrah*, Gn 35^{16} 48^{7}, 2 K 5^{19}) really stands for a larger measure of length, is very uncertain.

1. We shall first examine *the roads that connected Palestine with the surrounding countries.*—(*a*) From *Arabia* it was possible to reach Palestine by a variety of roads. One led in a straight line from Elath, by way of Lysa (*Wādy Lussan*), to Gaza.† At Aboda (*'Abde*) it met the road coming from Ḥebron by Beersheba and Elusa. The portion of this road lying between Lysa and Elath is probably to be identified with 'the way to the *Yam Ṣuph*' mentioned in Nu 14^{25} 21^{4}, Dt 1^{40} 2^{1}. Another road ran up from Elath to the north through the 'Arabah depression. The traveller who made choice of it in order to reach Judah, might either make his way to Ḥebron by the ancient Ascent of 'Aḳrabbim ; or he might journey through the 'Arabah as far as the south end of the Dead Sea and thence gain the hills and reach Ḥebron by way of *Zuwêre et-Taḥta* and *el-Fôḳâ* ; or he might pursue his way along the west side of the Dead Sea and make use of the ascent at Engedi (see below). These roads must have been under the control of the Israelites at the time when Solomon opened the sea trade from 'Eẓion-geber. Close by the watershed a road parts from the 'Arabah route and goes down to the metropolis, Petra. This city, however, may be reached also by a direct road over the high land. From Petra a main road leads by *eṭ-Ṭafila* to Kerak in Moab. This may perhaps be identified with 'the king's highway' of Nu 20^{17}. But it is extremely doubtful whether it is the same that is referred to in the parallel narrative, Dt 2^{8}, for here the road from Elath to Ma'ân and thence (coinciding with the great Pilgrim Road) to the east side of Moab suits much better. The Pilgrim Road itself, which leads on further by Edre'i and Muzêrîb (probably the ancient Ashtaroth-ḳarnaim) to Damascus, marks an old established and very important connexion between Syria and Arabia, and also opens up, by means of various branches running westwards, a further connexion between Arabia and Palestine. At Edre'i it takes up a road coming from Dumah (*Dumât al-Jandal*). The oasis of Tema mentioned in the OT (Job 6^{19}, Is 21^{14}) may be reached both from Dumah and from the southern continuation of the Pilgrim Road. Along these roads travelled not only peaceful caravans, but also the Bedawîn tribes upon the occasion of their forays upon the civilized districts east of the Jordan, or their plundering campaigns to the west of that river.

(*b*) Palestine was connected with *Egypt* by two roads. One of these ('the way of the land of the Philistines,' Ex 13^{17}) ran along the shore of the Mediterranean, and is probably identical with the present caravan road which leads past *Ḳanṭarat el-Khazne.*‡ By this road Sargon advanced against the Egyptians, and defeated them at Raphia ; and Necho doubtless availed himself of it when he set out to march through Palestine (2 K 23^{29}). At a later period Titus made his way from Egypt to Judæa along this road, his halting-places being Ostrakine, Rhinocorura, Raphia, Gaza, Ascalon, Jamnia, Joppa, and Cæsarea.* The other road is called in the OT 'the way to Shur' (Gn 16^{7}, 1 S 15^{7}). The researches of F. W. Holland have shown that it deviated from the caravan road from Beersheba, and ran north from *Jebel Yelek*, then by *Jebel Mughara*, and finally over undulating ground to *Isma'îlîya.*† See, further, art. SHUR in vol. iv.

(*c*) On the northern frontier of Palestine there were three entrances to the country. These marked the connexion not only with *Syria* but also with the Euphrates lands, *Assyria and Babylonia,* for any direct communication with the latter through the waterless Syrian desert was difficult. We shall look first at the points of entrance, and then at the routes which converged upon them.

The first entrance is the road along the Mediterranean coast, leading from Beirut by Ẓidon to Tyre and on to the south. Somewhat to the north of Beirut it was blocked by a rocky projection at the *Nahr el-Kalb,* but even in pre-Israelite times this obstacle had been overcome, for among the figures cut on the rocky wall, at the spot where the course of the road is hewn past the rock, is that of Ramses II.—a circumstance which throws an interesting light upon the conditions of communication in these early times.—The second entrance was the *Merj 'Ayyûn,* into which debouched the road leading from Riblah (2 K 23^{33} $25^{6.\ 20f.}$) through the valley between Lebanon and Antilibanus.—The third starting-point was Damascus, from which several roads led to the west and the south. One ran along the foot of Hermon to Dan, whence the traveller could reach Ẓidon, Tyre, and Galilee (see below). Another ran in a S.W. direction past *el-Ḳunêtra* in Golan, and struck the Jordan at the spot where afterwards the Bridge of Jacob's Daughters was built. We shall presently describe more fully how from this point it traversed Western Galilee and led by one branch to Acco and by another to the Plain of Jezreel. By means of its further continuation along the Mediterranean coast it formed the principal connexion between Damascus, with its hinterland, and Egypt. In the Middle Ages it was called *Via Maris,* and there is a strong probability that it is to be identified with the road that bears the corresponding name דֶּרֶךְ הַיָּם (*derekh hayyām,* 'way of the sea') in Is 9^{1}.‡ Besides this there was still another road from Damascus through the trans-Jordanic territory, which crossed the Jordan at Bethshean, and thence led to the Plain of Jezreel or into the hill-country of Samaria.

Having now learned what were the points of entrance to North Palestine, we must notice briefly the roads leading thence to Syria and the Euphrates lands, for the Israelites had not infrequently the misfortune to see armies advancing against them along these roads, or had themselves to tread them as deported captives. The oldest principal line of communication between North Palestine and the Euphrates lands contrived to avoid the desert by a long circuitous route through Syria, passing Riblah (2 K 23^{33} $25^{6.\ 20f.}$), Ḥamath, Emesa, and Aleppo, and along the Upper Euphrates till in the fertile Belikh Valley it reached the city of Ḥarrân, where the roads from Armenia and Babylonia met. This was probably the route chosen, for instance, by Pharaoh-necho (2 K 23^{29}), who was met by Nebuchadrezzar at Carchemish. It was doubtless along the same road that the Assyrian kings advanced on their expeditions of conquest.* From Ḥarrân a road led direct to Nineveh, while Babylonia could be reached through the Mesopotamian Plain. At a later period Thapsacus was a favourite crossing-place. It was here, for example, that the younger Cyrus and Alexander the Great crossed the Euphrates. This brought one nearer to the desert on the west of the river, but it was still possible to keep on the edge of the cultured land. In the Roman period, on the other hand, a much frequented route was the shorter road from Damascus by way of Palmyra and a number of water stations in the desert to the spot where the Chaboras joins the Euphrates.† It is possible, however, that in much earlier times this desert rōad had a predecessor. H. Winckler ‡ seeks to show that as early as the 14th cent. B.C. the Babylonian king Kadašman-ḫarba, finding the old road through N. Mesopotamia closed against him by the extension of the sway of Assyria, caused water stations to be established in the desert, in order that he might have a direct road from Babylon to Damascus after his conquest of the Suti who lived in this desert. The circumstance that Palmyra is first mentioned towards the close of the pre-Christian period is of course no argument against this view, for a water station may very well have existed there prior to the building of the famous city. Which of these roads was followed by the exiles on their way back from Babylon cannot be determined with certainty. The descriptions in Is 40$^{1ff.}$ 43$^{14f.}$ 49$^{9ff.}$ presuppose that a desert has to be traversed by the returning company. We may also recall the circumstance that those who accompanied Zerubbabel took with them, according to Ezr 2^{66}, not only horses and mules and asses, but 435 camels, and that those who returned with Ezra were exposed to danger from 'liers in wait' (Ezr 8^{31}). But this will suit equally well a journey through the mostly unpeopled N. Mesopotamia, and does not point of necessity to a course through the desert proper. According to Berosus (*ap.* Jos. *c. Apion.* i. 19), Nebuchadrezzar, after he had cleared Syria of the Egyptian troops, being informed of his father's death set off for Babylon by forced marches through the desert. At the same time he left instructions with his generals to conduct the Jewish, Phœnician, and other prisoners of war, along with the baggage of the army, thither. In this latter instance, evidently, the way round about the desert was to be followed.

---

* Of maps to be consulted on what follows, we should recommend, in addition to the two accompanying ones and large English ones of the *PEF*, the special maps of the *ZDPV*, vols. iii. and xix. Cf. also Bartholomew-Smith's *Map of Palestine* (Edin., T. & T. Clark, 1901).

† Regarding the stations of the Peutinger Table, cf. Buhl, *Gesch. der Edomiter*, p. 18.

‡ Cf. Brugsch, *Deutsche Revue*, ix. 350 ff.

* Jos. *BJ* IV. xi. 5. Regarding the ancient Egyptian fortresses on this road, see W. Max Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, 134.

† *Proceedings of Royal Geog. Soc.* xxii. 455 f.; Trumbull, *Kadesh Barnea*, 349 f. ; Guthe, *ZDPV* viii. 217.

‡ Schumacher, *PEFSt*, 1889, p. 78 f.; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 426 f.

2. *Roads in Palestine.*—(*a*) When we turn to *Judæa*, we are best informed as to the roads leading from Jerusalem. The ancient main road from the capital to the Maritime Plain led past Gibeon and Beth-ḥoron, from which there was a steep ascent to the plain (cf. *e.g.* Jos 10^{10}, 2 S 2^{24} 13^{34} [LXX] 20^{12}, Ac 23$^{23.\,31}$; Jos. *BJ* II. xii. 2, xix. 8). The present road from Jerusalem to Jaffa or Lydda is first mentioned a few times by Eusebius.§ From the Philistine Plain various passes led into the mountains and to the capital.* From Ashdod the main road led through the *Wādy es-Sunṭ*, called in earlier times the Vale of Elah (cf. the narrative of 1 S 17$^{1ff.}$). From 'Eḳron a road ran to Beth-shemesh in the *Wādy es-Ṣurâr* further to the north. Hither the kine brought the ark of Jahweh, and thence it was afterwards conveyed to Ḳiriath-jearim and finally to Jerusalem (1 S 6, 2 S 6).—Towards the south Jerusalem was connected by an ancient road with Ḥebron and beyond it with Beersheba (cf. *e.g.* 2 S 15^{9} 16^{15}, 1 K 19^{3}). By this road Lysias, according to 1 Mac 4$^{29ff.}$, attempted to reach the capital, but was completely routed by Judas at Beth-ẓur. It was presumably this road also that was chosen when a journey was undertaken from Judæa to Edom. The ancient highroad, before it was modernized a few years ago, bore every trace of having been always the main route between Jerusalem and the south; it was carried in a straight line, and was in many places artificially constructed, and that apparently from early times. Like the generality of such roads, it presented not a few difficulties, leading as it did over steep hills, and being covered at not a few spots with large stones.† An hour's journey south of Jerusalem a road strikes off from it, which brings one in 13 minutes to Bethlehem (cf. Jg 19$^{1ff.}$). — From Jerusalem to En-gedi there was also a much frequented road. It is mentioned in 2 Ch 20. As the הַצִּיץ (*Haẓẓîẓ*) of v.^{16} is no doubt to be identified with the modern *Wādy Haṣâṣâ*, the ancient road followed exactly the same course as the later Roman road. A part of this road is probably in view also in 1 S 24$^{2f.}$, whereas the road named in the parallel narrative (26^{3}) should more likely be found in that between En-gedi and Ḥebron, if, that is to say, the hill Ḥachîlah is rightly identified with *Ḍahr el-Kôlâ*. From En-gedi one can proceed further to the southern shore of the Dead Sea and to Edom.—The ancient main road between Jerusalem and Jericho (Lk 10^{30}) probably coincided with the Roman road.‡ It ran, according to 2 S 15^{23} [LXX] 16^{5}, over the Mount of Olives and then by the city of Baḥurim. Its further course, which may be presumed to have been the same as that of the later road (before it was modernized), led through the waterless and sun-scorched desert to *Tal'at ed-Dâm*, a name which probably points back to the old 'Ascent of *Adummim*' by which the low ground is reached (Jos 15^{7} 18^{17}). This was the usual road taken by pilgrims coming from the east of the Jordan. The latter, as a rule, included also Galilæans who desired to avoid the road through Samaria. There was another, but a longer, road from the capital to the N.W. shore of the Dead Sea and Jericho. It first follows the lower Ḳidron Valley by Mar-saba; then passes the *Munṭar* hill, and crossing the small plain of *Buḳa'* finally arrives through beautiful scenery at the low ground. It was probably by this road that king Zedekiah fled from Jerusalem to the Jordan (2 K 25$^{4f.}$, Jer 39^{4}).—The present main road from Jerusalem to the north, which at some spots is very bad and uncomfortable, meets us in the narrative of Jg 19^{13}, where the Levite, turning aside from Jerusalem, proposed to pass the night at Gibeah or Ramah.§ Its northern continuation, which ran past Gophna, is mentioned in *Onom.*^{2} 300. 94. It is the same road which is called in Jg 20^{31} the way from Bethel to Gibeah. By this road Titus moved on

---

* Shalmaneser II. describes (H. Winckler, *Keilinschr. Textbuch*, 2) how, when the Euphrates was in high flood, he crossed the river on vessels constructed from sheeps' skins, and defeated the king of Carchemish and others.

† M. v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum persischen Golf*, i. 331.

‡ *Altorient. Forschungen*, i. 146; *Die politische Entwickelung Babyloniens und Assyriens*, 14. The active intercourse between Babylon and Palestine-Egypt by means alike of royal messengers and traders is witnessed to by the Tel el-Amarna letters, *e.g.* Winckler, Nos. 10, 11 [Petrie, Nos. 22, 124].

§ *Onom.*^{2} 109. 27, 271. 40, 233. 83. If the NT Emmaus should be identical with *Kolôniye*, the way to it would coincide with the beginning of the Jaffa road; but if Emmaus is *el-Kubêbe*, the reference in Lk 24^{13} will be to the road to this village by way of *Nabi Samwîl*. If Ḳiriath-jearim be rightly identified with *Ḳaryet el-'Ineb*, it was by the eastern portion of the present Jaffa road that the ark travelled from this city to Jerusalem (1 S 6).

* Josephus (*BJ* III. ii. 3) says that these passes were occupied by the Romans when the Jews projected an attack on Ascalon. On the ancient roads from Jerusalem to *'Artûf*, see *ZDPV* x. 134 f.

† Robinson, *BRP*^{2} i. 214 f.

‡ Cf. v. Kasteren, *ZDPV* xiii. 95 ff.

§ Ramah is the modern *er-Râm*; Gibeah in all probability is *Tulêl el-Fûl*, somewhat to the south of it.

Jerusalem, for he passed the night at Gophna, then at *Gabath-Saul*, *i.e.* Gibeah, and came finally to Scopus, from which he descried Jerusalem with its magnificent temple.* On the other hand, Isaiah ($10^{28\text{ff.}}$) makes the Assyrian conqueror advance against Jerusalem by another road further to the north-east—a circumstance which at least suggests that in olden times armies coming from the north approached Jerusalem by this road, and not by the one first named. As a matter of fact, the two roads unite further to the north, but it is strange all the same that considerable armies should have preferred the very difficult passage by the *Suweinîṭ* gorge (cf. 1 S 14^4). The road named by the prophet, which can be reached either by way of 'Anathoth or by the present road to the south of *Tulêl el-Fûl*, runs past *Ḥizma* and *Geba'* to the *Suweinîṭ* gorge, north of which Michmash is reached. At all events Michmash was, as 1 S 13^{18} shows, an important meeting-point, from which roads ran in all directions. Towards the south one could go to 'Ai and 'Ophrah. A road running west connected Michmash with Beth-ḥoron and the Maritime Plain. And, lastly, there was a fourth road going in a south-eastern direction to the Valley of Ẓeboim, by which we should no doubt understand the great *Wādy el-Ḳelt*, from the northern edge of which an ancient road leads down to Jericho.† It is very probable that it was this route that the Israelites followed when they moved into the country to the west of the Jordan; so that here again we have to do with a road of extreme historical interest.‡ Since there is a direct course from Michmash to 'Ai, everything is in favour of the latter city having been the first to be attacked by the Israelites; and by the same road they could always retire upon their fixed camp in the Jordan Valley (cf. Jos 9^6).

(*b*) The continuation of the road leaving Jerusalem for the north leads to *Samaria*, namely by way of Bethel to Shechem (cf. Jg. 21^{19}, a passage which shows that the ancient road, like the modern one, ran to the west of Shiloh).§ The scene of Jos $4^{5\text{ff.}}$ is the spot where this road bends to the west and leads into the Vale of Shechem. The different roads leading from Shechem are referred to generally in Jg 9^{25}, and in v.^{37} there is special mention of the way that came from 'the Soothsayers' Oak.' But several of these roads were of special importance, and the scanty allusions to them in the OT must be explained on the ground that detailed narratives are so seldom connected with this district. As the well-watered and fertile *Wādy Sha'îr*, running west from Shechem, opens a connexion with the Maritime Plain, so does the *Wādy el-Fâri'a*, which runs east, provide an approach from the Jordan Valley. Neither of these roads is mentioned in the OT, except in the narrative of Jacob's immigration (Gn $33^{17\text{f.}}$); but in later times we read of Vespasian coming from Emmaus and descending by way of Shechem to Koreæ, *i.e.* the beautiful oasis *Ḳurâwa* at the mouth of the *Wādy el-Fâri'a*.‖ The story of Abimelech's march from Shechem to Thebeẓ (Jg 9^{50}) introduces us to another main road leading out from Shechem, namely that which runs in a north-eastern direction by way of *Tûbâṣ* to Bethshean, and thus connects Shechem with the trans-Jordanic region and Damascus.—Lastly, there is a road to the north, running from Shechem to *Jenîn*, where opens one of the approaches that lead from the Plain of Jezreel into the hills of Samaria. Here we are at the starting-point of the great road which led from the Plain and from Galilee past Shechem to Jerusalem and to the south of the country.* Hence we find king Aḥaziah of Judah at this spot when he sought to flee to his home before Jehu—an attempt, however, which failed because his wounds compelled him to hasten to *Megiddo*, westward from Jenîn (2 K $9^{27\text{f.}}$). At Jenîn we encounter also those Galilæans who in their pilgrimage to the temple passed through Samaria (cf. the story of the murder of Galilæans perpetrated here by the Samaritans, Jos. *Ant.* XX. vi. 1; *BJ* II. xii. 3). Special importance attached to this Jenîn road for the further reason that it formed the approach from the north to the capital, Samaria, the great *Jenîn-Shechem* road throwing off two side-roads to *Sebastiyeh*. One of these branches off at the beautifully situated village of *Jebna*, the other at the more southerly *Beit Imrîm*.† Here then we have the route followed, for instance, by Jehu when he drove from Jezreel to Samaria (2 K $10^{12\text{ff.}}$), and probably also by an enemy advancing from the Jordan against the capital ($7^{14\text{f.}}$).

In addition to the two roads already mentioned which gave access from the north to the hill-country of Samaria by way of *Bethshean* and *Jenîn*, there were a number of other passes at the choice of travellers coming from the Plain of Jezreel. The most important of these is the road leading by *Lejjûn* (probably the ancient Megiddo) over the hills in a S.W. direction to the Judæan and Philistine Maritime Plain; for this is the continuation of the above-mentioned great caravan road (the *Via Maris*) connecting Damascus with Egypt. This road was traversed not only by patient caravan camels, but by many great armies—*e.g.* by the Assyrians when marching against Egypt; by Necho's troops on his march to the Euphrates, which king Josiah made a vain attempt to stop at Megiddo (2 K 23^{29}); by Cambyses in his Egyptian campaign, etc. It was presumably followed also by the Aramæan kings of Damascus, when they extended their military expeditions to the Philistine Maritime Plain (2 K 12^{18} 13^{22} [LXX]).‡—But besides this main route there was another caravan road to the southern Maritime Plain, which was preferred by those who crossed the Jordan at Bethshean. It is described by Robinson (*BRP* iii. 158 f.) as running west from *Jenîn* into the hill-country and touching the Plain of Dothan between *Ḳefr Ḳud* and *Ja'bud*. Its great antiquity is shown by Gn 37^{25}, where a caravan travelling from Gilead to Egypt passes Dothan.—Finally, it was possible for one coming from the northern part of the country to reach the Judæan Maritime Plain by keeping right along the seashore, for an artificially widened passage led by the foot of Carmel; but this route was chosen only by those who from their start in the north had followed the way by the coast.

(*c*) Among the roads in *Galilee* we have first to deal with that part of the *Via Maris* which touched this district. After passing the Bridge of Jacob's Daughters, the road ascends to *Khan Jubb Yusuf*, from which it runs to the N.W. shore of the Lake of Gennesareth at *Khan Minyeh.*[*] Thence it runs up through the Vale of el-Ḥammâm to *Khan et-Tujjâr*, and reaches the Plain of Jezreel in the neighbourhood of Tabor. At *Karn Ḥaṭṭîn* it throws off a branch in a westerly direction to Acco. —Of the remaining roads in Galilee, which, owing to the dense population of this part of the country, must have been very numerous, we may notice the following. The cities which Tiglath-pileser conquered in succession (2 K 15^{29}) lay on the road from *Kedesh* to the *Merj 'Ayyûn.*[†] But the main road from the *Merj 'Ayyûn* to the south probably kept closer by the Jordan, till it finally united with the *Via Maris.* From *Âbil* (the ancient Abel beth-Maacah) a road ran westwards to Tyre; it connected the latter city with Damascus. On the western side of the Galilæan hills the protuberance known as the Ladder of Tyre (*Scala Tyriorum*) presented an awkward obstacle to communication. Nevertheless, the Phœnicians succeeded in making this difficult point passable even for chariots, as is proved by the ancient marks of wheels; and so we hear of various armies moving from Syria along the seacoast.[‡] What roads are referred to in the narrative of 1 K 17^{9} and Mt 15^{21} cannot be determined with certainty owing to the brevity of the descriptions.

---

* Jos. *BJ* v. ii. 1 ff. From Gibeah a road led to Gibeon, if Budde's very attractive emendation in Jg 20^{31} is correct. In any case such a road exists, and in all probability it was followed by the legion which came from Emmaus to join Titus at Gibeah.

† The name *Wādy Abu Ḍabâ'*, recalling the name *Ẓĕbō'îm*, is still attached to a branch of the *Wādy el-Ḳelt*.

‡ Cf. G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 264.

§ In Dt 11^{30} it is usual to discover a reference to the main road which passes to the east of Shechem, but perhaps Steuernagel is right in questioning the correctness of the text in this passage.

‖ Jos. *BJ* IV. viii. 1.

* In Jth 4^7 the high priest writes to the inhabitants of Bethulia, directing them to seize the mountain passes because by them was the way to Judæa, and it was easy to hinder an approach, as the pass was narrow, with space for two men at most. It is plain that the author has in view here the narrow valley of *Jibleam*, behind Jenîn.

† Robinson, *BRP*^{2} ii. 311. Samaria is connected with Shechem by a road which turns off to the right from the *Wādy Sha'îr*.

‡ On the ground of these passages, Wellhausen (*Comp. d. Hex.* 254) identifies the Aphek mentioned in 1 K $20^{26.\ 30}$, 2 K 13^{17}, with the Aphek of the Maritime Plain, on the situation of which cf. especially G. A. Smith, *HGHL*^{4} 675.

(*d*) In the *Jordan Valley* an ancient road on the western side of the river supplies the connexion between north and south. On the west shore of the Lake of Gennesareth, where the bordering hills leave only a somewhat narrow strand clear, this road connected the numerous villages that were found here in ancient times. From the crossing-place at Bethshean it was followed by Pompey in his campaign against Aristobulus.[§] Along its northern portion, between the Lakes of Gennesareth and Ḥûleh, Jonathan marched (1 Mac 11^{67}).[‖]

The Jordan, as already remarked, possesses a considerable number of *fords*. The most southern of these is called *el-Ḥenu*; next comes the ford at the pilgrims' bathing-place; and, further up the river, that at the road from Jericho to *es-Salt*, where the crossing is now made by a bridge. At one or other of these points we must seek the ford of *Pĕsîlîm* (Jg 3^{26} [see art. QUARRY in vol. iv.], cf. 2 S 19^{16}). At the next principal entrance to the hill-country, namely the *Wâdy el-Fâri'a* coming from Shechem, we encounter the ford *ed-Dâmiye*, likewise with a bridge, which by the way stands at present on dry ground, the river having hollowed a new bed for itself.[¶] This much frequented crossing to the central part of the trans-Jordanic district meets us in the OT under the name *Adam* (Jos 3^{16}, and probably also 1 K 7^{46}, where Moore happily suggests reading 'the ford (*ma'abhrath*) Adam'). Further north is the most important crossing-place, the ford *'Abâra* at Bethshean, which was that chosen, for example, by Judas on his return march from the east of the Jordan (1 Mac 5^{52}), and by Pompey in his above-mentioned campaign. The importance of this spot is readily intelligible in view of the fact above noted, that a whole series of great caravan roads from east and west converge upon it.—There are yet other two crossing-places further up the river —one by the bridge *el-Mujâmi*, ½ hour south of the mouth of the Jarmuk; the other immediately south of the exit of the Jordan from the Lake of Gennesareth, a point (*Bâb el-Tumm*) where some traces of an ancient bridge remain. The ford last named had special importance for such of the dwellers on the shore of the Lake as did not avail themselves of boats. Between the Lake of Gennesareth and that of Ḥûleh is the Bridge of Jacob's Daughters, at the spot where the old caravan road, already referred to more than once, crosses the Jordan.[*]—Lastly, in the northern Jordan Valley there is a road from Galilee to *Dân*, where the different sources of the Jordan have to be crossed, a task now accomplished for the most part by bridges. In the OT this road is alluded to in such passages as Jg 18^{7}.

(*e*) About the roads on *the east side of the Jordan* the Bible gives us little information. On the other hand, the Roman roads give a good picture of the later routes of communication, and from these we may draw backward inferences as to the earlier roads. The way from *Maḥanaim* to the Jordan Valley (2 S 2^{29} 4^{7}) probably ran through the *Wâdy 'Ajlûn.* Nothing can be said about the road mentioned in 2 K 10^{16} until the site of Ramoth-gilead has been determined. Coming down to a later time, the route followed by Judas Maccabæus after his conquests in the districts to the west of the Ḥauran range can be fixed with tolerable certainty. *Ephron* (1 Mac 5^{46}) is in all probability identical with *Gephrun* (Polyb. v. lxx. 12), a name which is recalled by that of the deep *Wâdy Ghafr*, in which the city will thus have lain which Judas had to pass through.[†] Josephus speaks incidentally of the roads which led from the city of *Julias* to *Gamala* (the modern *Jamli* (?)) and *Seleucia* (now *Selûḳiye*).[‡] We have already spoken of the road from Damascus to the Bridge of Jacob's Daughters.

II. *TRAVEL.*—i. MOTIVES FOR TRAVELLING.—Journeys were undertaken only on a very small scale by the Israelites after they had exchanged the shifting nomadic stage of existence for a settled life; for the inconveniences and dangers attached to travelling were many and the advantages few. Any one who left his home and family gave up, according to the ancient Oriental conception, the best part of his human rights, and became a *gêr* (see art. GER in vol. ii.), whose welfare and whose life were entirely at the mercy of those with whom he sojourned. This was, above all, the case if he lived in a foreign land, where, as David expresses it (1 S 26^{19}), he had to serve other gods. The traveller was frequently exposed to the risk of being plundered and maltreated on the way.[§] In the desert he was threatened with all the perils characteristic of such places (Is 30^{6}, Jer 2^{6} etc.). On the sea his life was in constant danger (Jon 1^{4}, Ps $107^{23\text{ff.}}$, Enoch 101^{4}).[‖] Journeys for pleasure in our sense of the term were thus quite unknown to the Israelites. Nor do we find any who undertook travels for purposes of research, moved by a scientific interest, like Herodotus or Ibn Batûta; although they enjoyed listening to the tales of those who had visited foreign parts (cf. Job 21^{29}). The Israelite who travelled had a definite and practical aim in view. Such aims might of course be purely accidental and individual, as, for instance, when one did not dare or wish to remain at home, like Jacob, or the Levite who was dissatisfied with his abode at Bethlehem-judah (Jg 17$^{7ff.}$); or when one had to go in pursuit of runaway slaves or a fugitive wife (1 K 2$^{39f.}$, Jg 19$^{1ff.}$); or when a prophet was commanded to betake himself for concealment to another country (1 K 17), etc. But, in addition to such casual instances, there were regularly recurring occasions which necessitated the facing of the hardships of a journey.

---

[*] In this neighbourhood, in the time of Christ, was the customs boundary (Mt 9^{9}).

[†] Janôaḥ may be sought most fittingly in *Hunîa.*

[‡] Jos. *Ant.* XIV. xv. 11; *BJ* I. xiii. 1, III. ii. 4; *Vita*, 74.

[§] Jos. *Ant.* XIV. iii. 4.

[‖] It continues its course to the north as the great road leading over the Litâny river to Zidon.

[¶] A photograph of this bridge will be found in the *Mitteilungen und Nachrichten des deutschen Pal. Vereins*, 1899, p. 34.

[*] Cf. the picture of the bridge in *ZDPV* xiii. 74.

[†] Cf. Schumacher, *Northern Ajlûn*, 179, 181; Buhl, *Studien zur Topogr. d. nördl. Ostjordanlandes*, 17 f.

[‡] Jos. *Vita*, 71.

[§] Cf., for different periods, Jg 9^{25}, Hos 6^{9}, Jer 3^{2}, Ezr 8^{22}, Pr 23^{28}, Lk 10^{30}; Jos. *Ant.* XIV. xv. 5, XX. vi. 1.

[‖] Cf. the diverting poem in Nöldeke's *Delectus carminum arab.*, Carmen 62, in which a Bedawî describes the terrors that had beset him on his passage by sea.

(*a*) In part these occasions were connected with *religious observances.* Even in earlier times the Israelites were accustomed to assemble for the great festivals at certain of the more important sanctuaries (1 S 1^{3}, Ex 34$^{23f.}$); and when, after the Deuteronomic reformation, the temple at Jerusalem was recognized as the only legitimate sanctuary, these festival pilgrimages received a strong impulse, and became a main element in the life of an Israelite. From all parts of Palestine, and afterwards from all quarters of the then world (see art. DIASPORA in the present volume), Jews poured into Jerusalem, which, on the occasion of these festivals, was a seething mass of humanity. Those who had most acquaintance with the dangers of such a journey were the Galilæan Jews, who had to pass through the hostile territory of the Samaritans (Jos. *Ant.* XX. vi. 1). On this account many of them preferred to take the roundabout way by the east of the Jordan, where they were liable to no such misadventures.*—It must be remembered, moreover, that in early days men often visited a sanctuary for the purpose of obtaining oracles or receiving instruction on a point of ritual (Gn 25^{22}, 2 K 1^{2}, 1 S 3^{20} 9^{6}, Zec 7^{3}).

(*b*) Further, the increasing Jewish *commerce* supplied many with a motive for travelling. In the earlier period it was mostly foreigners that travelled through the land and carried on trade with its inhabitants (cf. the story of Joseph, Gn 37$^{28ff.}$, Ex 21^{8}, Dt 14^{21}, and the term *ṣōḥēr* used for the trader by whose standard money was weighed, Gn 23^{16}, 2 K 1$^{2.5}$). But as early as the monarchical period and still more in the later post-exilic times the Israelites began to take an active part in both home and international trade, and this involved frequent journeys in their own land as well as to foreign parts. The trade in horses carried on by Solomon led his buyers to the neighbouring States (1 K 10$^{28f.}$), while the shipping trade from 'Eẓion-geber inaugurated by him gave the Israelites an acquaintance with travelling by sea. Israelitish merchants established factories in foreign cities, as at Damascus, where Ahab was able to obtain State permission for his subjects to erect dwellings in a certain quarter of the city (1 K 20^{34}). In the later post-exilic period Jewish commerce made a great advance, particularly after the Jews came into possession of some seaports on the Mediterranean; and it was all the easier for them to undertake trading journeys, because they could count with certainty on meeting with countrymen of their own in all foreign trading towns. The wife of an Israelite now knew that it meant a distant journey when her husband on setting out took the money-bag with him (Pr 31^{14}).

(*c*) A third motive for travelling was supplied by the *political and diplomatic relations* into which the Israelites entered with other peoples. A nation that was in vassalage to another required to send men to hand over the tribute (Jg 3$^{15ff.}$). The later kings of Israel had often to go in person to a foreign court to pay homage to their powerful suzerain (2 K 16^{10}, Jer 51^{59}). But more especially attempts to arrange political alliances led to a constant coming and going of ambassadors (Is 30$^{2ff.}$ 31^{1}; and on the other side 14^{32} 18. 39, Jer 27^{3}).—Journeys of an involuntary character are seen in the deportation of conquered peoples, a fate which befell the Israelites more than once. But there were also occasions when one voluntarily left his home to find safety in a foreign land (Jer 43). A happier condition was that of the travelling companies which by the grace of their sovereign were permitted to return to their homes (Ezr 1. 8). Moreover, the sojourn of a portion of the people of Israel in the Diaspora gave occasion for frequent journeys between the foreign land and the home country, as we see from Jer 29^{3}, Zec 6^{10}, Neh 2$^{5ff.}$ 13$^{6ff.}$.

(*d*) A special motive for undertaking a journey was *ill-health*, which led to the visiting of foreign places in the hope of a cure (cf. 2 K 5). This habit finds illustration particularly in later times, when the various hot springs in the Jordan Valley were much frequented.*

(*e*) Lastly, *wars* of conquest and plunder may in a certain sense be reckoned among the motives to travel, which brought great multitudes of men to foreign lands.

Travelling on the part of Jews was beset by a peculiar difficulty in the shape of the Sabbath law, after so strict an observance of it had been introduced that on the Sabbath day and on those festival days on which sabbatical rest was enjoined it was unlawful to walk more than a fixed number of paces. Thus Josephus (*Ant.* XIII. viii. 4) mentions incidentally that the Syrian king, Antiochus Sidetes, out of consideration for Hyrcanus who accompanied him, remained for two days by the river Lycus, on account of a Jewish festival being then in progress. On the other hand, the Law accommodated itself to the needs of travellers in so far as it permitted those who were on a journey in the month of Nisan to celebrate the Passover in the following month (Nu 9$^{10f.}$).

ii. MODES OF TRAVEL.—Those who were not particularly well-to-do, especially if they were young, strong men, went for the most part *on foot* (Gn 28, Jos 9^{13}, 1 K 19$^{4ff.}$, Is 52^{7}, and the Gospel narratives). Hence the first attention shown to an arriving guest was to wash his feet (Gn 18^{4}, Jg 19^{21}). Women and elderly well-to-do men *rode upon asses*, which also carried the baggage (Jg 19^{3}, 1 S 25^{20}, 2 S 17^{23}, 1 K 2^{40}, 2 K 4^{24}, Lk 10^{34}); people of high rank also used *mules* (2 S 13^{29}, 1 K 1^{38}). *Camels* were less frequently employed, and only when the journey led through the desert (Gn 24). *Horses*, on the other hand, were used only in war, being either ridden or harnessed to the chariots. The *chariots* mentioned in the OT are, as a rule, chariots of war, but they were used by kings also in journeying from one part of the country to another (1 K 12^{18}, 2 K 10^{16}; and the story of Naaman in 2 K 5, where, however, we have to do with a foreigner). In 1 S 6^{7} we meet with an *ox-waggon* as a vehicle of transport; and in the case of the waggons sent from Egypt to convey the old men, the women, and the children, we should probably think also of similarly simple vehicles (Gn 45^{19}). From a later period we have the story of the Ethiopian chamberlain (here again a foreigner) driving in a chariot (Ac 8$^{27ff.}$). Josephus (*Ant.* XIX. viii. 1) speaks of a larger kind of chariot (ἀπήνη), in which Agrippa, accompanied by other kings, drove out to meet the Roman prætor.† In Ca 3^{9} we read of a sedan chair or palanquin (אַפִּרְיוֹן, *φορεῖον*) being used by people of high rank.

---

* Special risks naturally attended those travelling companies that carried with them large sums of money, as, for instance, in connexion with the transmission of the poll-tax of the Babylonian Jews. Hence these companies included many thousand persons (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. ix. 1).

* Cf. Dechent, 'Heilbäder u. Badeleben in Palästina' in *ZDPV* vii. 173 ff.

† When Josephus (*Ant.* VIII. vii. 3-4) relates how Solomon often drove out to his gardens at Etham, he is simply adding a picturesque touch of his own.

On account of the attendant risks, one did not care to go on a long journey alone,* but had at least one companion, who received a daily wage and, if the journey terminated happily, a present besides (To $5^{15f.}$). When Nehemiah travelled from the Persian court to Jerusalem, he carried with him letters from the king to the governors of the various provinces commanding them to grant him free passage and an armed escort (Neh $2^{7ff.}$). The favourite method was to combine into large companies (*caravans*, originally a Persian word), which were accompanied by armed men (cf. Ezr 8^{22}). Such caravans, travelling under military protection, are referred to in the Tel el-Amarna letters (see above, p. 368^{b}). In the wilderness they were conducted by the Bedawîn tribes, *e.g.* the Dedanites (Is 21^{13}). When unknown regions had to be traversed, a guide acquainted with the roads had to be procured (Nu 10^{31}), or parties were sent in advance to make inquiry about the way and about the cities that had to be passed (Dt 1^{22}). The deadly danger of a caravan when the water of which it has come in search is found dried up, is portrayed with poetic beauty in Job 6^{18}.

iii. PROVISION FOR THE WANTS OF TRAVELLERS.—For the *comfort* and the *refreshment* of travellers very little provision was made. In the wilderness the inhabitants of the oases might, as described in Is 21^{14}, meet the exhausted caravans with water and bread; but, in the main and as a matter of course, a traveller through the desert had to provide for himself by bringing the necessaries of life with him (Gn 21^{14}). But the same was the case even in travelling through inhabited regions. The Levite of Jg 19 takes with him fodder and straw for the asses as well as bread and wine (v.^{19})'; and a similar course is followed by the Gibeonites when they seek to give themselves the appearance of having come from far (Jos 9). In Nu $20^{17ff.}$ we read of a great company binding itself, as it passed through a country, to keep to the highway, to touch nothing in the vineyards or the fields, and to pay for the water drunk by man and beast.

Of *inns* in the proper sense of the term we do not hear till NT times (Lk $10^{34f.}$); and the very circumstance that the Greek word *πανδοχεῖον* there employed was adopted by the Jews as פּנדוק, proves that the whole institution was a new and foreign appearance.† In earlier times there may have been establishments at least somewhat akin to the modern *khans*—large empty buildings surrounding a courtyard, in which travellers can pass the night, but where the necessaries of life are not sold.‡ Some have thought to find the corresponding word in Hebrew in the גֵּרוּת (*gērûth*) of Jer 41^{17}; but the real meaning of this word is very uncertain, and even the text is doubtful, for Josephus (*Ant.* X. ix. 5) read the word גדרות ('hurdles,' 'sheep-pens'). Likewise the word מָלוֹן (*mālôn*) has to be considered; for, even if in some passages it appears to mean simply the place where one takes up his quarters at night, the sense of *khan* fits very well passages like Gn 42^{27} 43^{21}, Jer 9^{2}. The king was attended on his journeys by a שַׂר מְנוּחָה (*sar mĕnûḥah*, lit. 'captain of the resting-place,' RV 'chief chamberlain,' RVm 'quarter-master'), whose duty was to look after night quarters for the royal party (Jer 51^{59}).

In general, then, in early times the traveller, unless he carried his victuals with him and preferred, like Jacob, to sleep in the open air, had to fall back on the hospitality of the inhabitants of the place; but this he could do with confidence, for in all ages *hospitality* has been one of the most beautiful virtues of the Oriental. Although it is not expressly enjoined in the Law,* narratives like Gn $18^{1ff.}$ 24^{31}, Ex 2^{20} show how highly it was esteemed; and Job, in the passage where he casts a backward glance on his former life in order to prove his integrity, says, amongst other things, 'The stranger did not lodge in the street, but I opened my doors to the traveller' (31^{32}). Passages like Jg 19^{15} indicate how severe was the judgment passed on those who suffered the traveller to pass the night outside; while the story related in Gn 19 and that in Jg 19 are meant to show the enormity of the offence of offering violence to the defenceless guest. The deed of Jael alone is praised (Jg $5^{25ff.}$), although, according to ancient Semitic notions, her guest ought to have been specially sacred to her, because he had drunk from her milk-bowl. But in this instance duty to a guest is regarded as overshadowed by duty to one's country.

When one reached a city at nightfall he took up his position on the open space before the gate, and waited to see if any one would invite him in (Jg $19^{15ff.}$). In like manner a traveller in the country took his stand before the tent or the house into which he desired to be invited (Gn 18^{2}). When the guest entered, his feet were washed, and a meal was prepared for him. In the latter instance, a wish to honour him was marked, as still happens regularly in the East at the present day, by the killing of an animal from the herd (Gn 18^{7}, 2 S 12^{4}). At his departure he was expected to eat heartily to strengthen him for his further journey (Jg 19^{5}, cf. 1 S 28^{22}). To take payment from a guest was contrary to good manners, and hence it is a perfectly genuine touch that Josephus adds to the narrative of Gn 24, when he makes Rebekah decline Eliezer's offer to pay for his entertainment by telling him not to think they were parsimonious people (*Ant.* I. xvi. 2). In later times hospitality specially flourished among the Essenes, who, according to Josephus (*BJ* II. viii. 4), took nothing with them on a journey, as everything belonging to their co-religionists was at their command. There was even an official appointed in every city, whose duty it was to provide travelling Essenes with clothing and all other necessaries. An instance of a permanent guest-friendship is supplied by the story of Elisha and the wealthy lady of Shunem (2 K $4^{8ff.}$). In later times, under Roman and Greek influence, this practice was greatly extended. Thus we hear for instance of guest-friends in Jotapata, whose death was bewailed at Jerusalem, after the little fortress was taken by the Romans;† cf. also Ac 10^{6} 21^{16}. That a guest's lot, however, was not always a happy one, and that he was exposed to many disagreeable experiences, is noted by that always acute and dispassionate observer, Ben Sira (Sir $29^{21ff.}$).

LITERATURE.—Riehm, *HWB*², artt. 'Reisen' and 'Wege'; G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, *passim*; F. Buhl, *Geographie des alten Palästina*, 125–131; H. Guthe, *Kurzes Bibelwörterbuch*, art. 'Wege.'

FRANTS BUHL.

ROADS AND TRAVEL (IN NT).‡—I. *ROUTES BY LAND AND BY SEA.*—i. ROME THE CENTRE OF THE EMPIRE.—The system of communication in the world of the first century after Christ was dominated and determined by one single motive, viz. to seek direct connexion with Rome, the capital and centre of the Empire and of the world. Within the bounds of the Empire, the principle of Roman Republican government had originally been to connect every subject, country, and district as closely as possible with Rome, and to keep them as much as possible disconnected from one another, so that each should look to Rome as the centre of all its interests, its trade, its finance, and its aspirations, and regard all other subjects as rivals and competitors for the favour of the governing city. Though the ideal and the ultimate aim of the Imperial government was different, and did not tend to make Rome the governor of subjects, but rather to educate and elevate the subjects to equality with Rome by a slow but steady process, yet in the first century the older idea still was practically effective to a large extent, and governed the system of communication. Hence the first point is to examine how each province of the Empire communicated with Rome.

---

* R. Meir, in an epigram, called the solitary traveller a 'son of death' (W. Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, ii. 17).

† Cf., on the further travels of this word, S. Krauss, *Griech. u. Latein. Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch, u. Targum*, ii. 428. In the form *Funduk* it still occurs as the name of a village in southern Samaria, the *Fondeḳa* of the Talmud (Neubauer, *Géog. du Talmud*, 172).

‡ According to Herodotus (v. 52), there were such caravanserais (*καταλύσεις*) on the roads in the Persian empire.

* The Deuteronomic law regarding duties to the *gēr* (Dt 1^{16} $24^{14.17}$ etc.) belongs to a different category.

† Jos. *BJ* III. ix. 5. Several of the stories in the *midrāshîm* have to do with Jewish guest-friends in different lands.

‡ See Table of Contents, p. 402.

Along the great arteries that led to Rome all new ideas and movements of thought and religious impulses naturally moved, without any definite purpose on the part of the originators, even perhaps in spite of their intentions in some cases. It was, as a rule, an easier and more rapid process for a new idea to spread from a distant province to Rome than to spread from that province to its neighbour, if the neighbour did not lie on the road to Rome, or was not connected with the first province by some old bond of intimacy. Hence the fact, for example, that Christianity spread very early to Rome constitutes no proof, and does not even afford a presumption, that there was any purpose or intention of carrying it thither. Such conscious, deliberate purpose can be proved only by some clear evidence of its existence, and especially by deliberate statement on the part of those who entertained the purpose.

For example, we know that the purpose of visiting Rome was distinctly expressed by St. Paul (Ac 19^{21}) several years before he was able to carry it into effect; and we can infer from the general character of his action that the purpose was in his mind, latent or perhaps expressed orally, long before the date at which he first mentions it in his extant letters. But even at that time Rome contained already a body of Christians, and St. Paul's aim was twofold—partly to extend the limits and affect the character of the Church in Rome, 'to impart unto you some spiritual gift,' and 'that I might have some fruit in you also, even as in the rest of the Gentiles' (Ro $1^{11.13}$); but still more to use Rome as a basis from which to affect the West, especially Spain, 'to be brought on my way thitherward by you' (Ro 15^{24}). Just because Rome was the centre and meeting-place of all roads, it lay on the way for any traveller or missionary going from Syria to the West: he could not go direct, but must tranship in Rome.

When one keeps this principle clearly in mind, the interpretation of Clem. Rom. i. 5 becomes evident and certain. Clement says of St. Paul that 'after he had preached in the East and in the West, he won the noble renown which was the reward of his faith, having taught righteousness unto the whole world, and having reached the furthest bounds of the West.' If Clement had caught the least spark of the Pauline and the Roman spirit and thought, he could not have called Rome (as some modern scholars maintain that he did) * 'the goal of the West' or 'his limit towards the West,' *τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως*; and Lightfoot has rightly expressed the general Roman point of view in that age, which looked on Rome as the centre of empire, not as its limit, nor as belonging to the Western part of the Empire.

ii. SEASONS AND ROUTES OPEN FOR TRAVELLING. — The route of communication was not always the same throughout the whole year. When the crossing of any considerable stretch of sea formed an essential part of a line of communication, the route in question was closed almost completely during a considerable part of the year. The times were stated by the ancients themselves as follows:—The sea was closed from 10 November to 10 March; but perfectly safe navigation was only between 26 May and 14 September,* while there were two doubtful periods 11 Mar.–26 May, and 15 Sept.–10 Nov., when merchants might risk sailing, but fleets of war vessels were loath to do so.

It is not the case that the closure was absolute. In case of necessity or urgency a voyage was at times attempted in the season when navigation was closed. Julius Cæsar's army crossed from Brundisium to Epirus during Nov. 49,† and Pompey's army had crossed similarly in Jan. 49.‡

Again, Claudius proposed great inducements to traders who carried corn to Italy during the winter, guaranteeing a certain rate of profit, and insuring them against loss of their vessels by storm. His proposal probably applied chiefly to the short voyages from Sardinia and Africa, in which it was possible to watch an opportunity for a less dangerous voyage even in the stormy season; but, in the long voyage from Alexandria, such waiting upon opportunities would be a much more serious matter. See Suet. *Claud.* 18.

When Flaccus was recalled from the government of Egypt, early in October A.D. 38, he sailed immediately, and had much stormy weather at sea; but Philo (*in Flac.* 13–15) gives no information as to the route. Shortly afterwards Philo and four other envoys sailed from Alexandria, in urgent need, to present a petition to Caligula: their route also is not recorded, and the length of their voyage is uncertain; but they were in Rome in the spring of A.D. 39, and had an audience there of the Emperor; and Philo refers in feeling terms to their troubles on the sea.§ In both cases we need not doubt that the ships sailed along the coast, according to the opportunities of getting on from point to point.

But only the exigencies of government service, or of urgent religious and national duty (and to the ancients national duty was necessarily a matter of religion, for patriotism was a religious idea), would cause such winter voyages. Doubtless, Philo and the other four envoys had to pay largely to induce any ship to sail after 11 November. In ordinary circumstances the regular course was to lay up at the beginning of winter and wait for spring. Thus Horace speaks (*Od.* iii. 7. 5) of Gyges as returning from Bithynia, but detained at Oricum in Epirus until spring returned and the Adriatic was open; and of another Roman sailor waiting (probably in Syria, *Od.* iv. 5. 9)[*] till spring returned and he could cross the Carpathian Sea (the sea near Rhodes).

---

* It is, of course, necessary for those who believe that St. Paul was put to death at the conclusion of the two years' imprisonment in which he wrote Colossians and Philemon, to force this unnatural meaning on the plain words of Clement—words which no person at that time could have misunderstood. Only aloofness from the spirit of the first century makes it possible to doubt as to the meaning.

* *Secura navigatio*, Vegetius, iv. 39, v. 9; *statos œstivis flatibus dies et certa maris*, Tacitus, *Hist.* iv. 81.

† Nominally, Jan. 48 in the unreformed old calendar (which was 67 days wrong in B.C. 47).

‡ Nominally, March A.D. 49. When the old calendar differed by two months from the true calendar, obviously the rules could not be calculated by the days of the existing calendar, but by the stars.

§ They sailed *μέσου χειμῶνος*; but this phrase cannot be pressed to mean about the winter solstice: it might mean only 'in full winter,' as distinguished from Flaccus' departure *ἀρχομένου χειμῶνος* in October. The Jewish envoys had every reason to hurry after him in order to present their case to Caligula. Moreover, they sailed at no great interval after Agrippa had visited Alexandria in July or early August 38 (Philo, *in Flac.* 16, *de Leg.* 28). Their voyage probably began not later than November, perhaps already in October.

This dread of storms and dislike to travel in winter was not confined to voyages by sea. Even on land there are many proofs that, where mountain ranges or high plateaus had to be crossed, as in going across Asia Minor, ordinary persons avoided winter travelling and waited till spring. Basil of Cæsarea, who speaks in *Epist.* 20 of a 'continuous stream of travellers' on a great route, such as that which led from Cæsarea to Athens, says that in a severe winter 'all the roads were blocked till Easter' (*Epist.* 198), and that 'the road to Rome is wholly impracticable in winter' (*Epist.* 215). His meeting with the Bishop of Iconium must be fixed 'at a season suitable for travelling' (*Epist.* 191); yet the road between Cæsarea and Iconium is wholly on the level, and crosses no pass or elevated ground. Even a mild winter 'was quite sufficient to keep him from travelling while it lasted' (*Epist.* 27). A modern traveller or missionary would traverse the roads of the plateau at any time;[†] but for ancient travellers there was a close time, during which travelling was almost entirely suspended, and no journeys were planned or thought of, except by professional travellers (Basil, *Ep.* 198). Vegetius (iv. 39) mentions that land travel was stopped as completely as sea travel between 10 Nov. and 10 March.

The reason lay, not simply in the snow,—although Basil speaks in *Epist.* 48 of 'such a heavy fall of snow that we have been buried, houses and all, beneath it,'—but quite as much in the spring rains and the extremely cold winds of early winter, which are very trying, though not likely to keep an active traveller indoors. The Taurus is in some places, however, impassable in winter except with considerable personal danger: see, *e.g.*, the account given by Prof. Sterrett in the *Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor*, p. 80. In time of heavy rain the surface of the plateau becomes, in most places, a sea of mud, though perhaps the principal Roman roads may have been well enough built in the time of St. Paul to rise above that sea.

This is a factor of considerable importance in determining the chronology of St. Paul's journeys. The broad and lofty ridge of Mount Taurus is for the most part really dangerous to cross in winter, owing to the deep snow obliterating the roads. The roads leading from Perga direct towards Ephesus, and from Tarsus through the Cilician Gates towards Lycaonia and the north and west generally, cross a lower summit height, and are actually traversable by well equipped or determined travellers through most part of the winter, except during any temporary block caused by snowstorms. But we must estimate the time of year when St. Paul would be likely to cross Taurus (Ac 13^{14} 14^{24} 16^{1} 18^{23}) according to the customs of the period.

To estimate this factor rightly, we should know the precise limits of the close season in popular usage. This is difficult. For example, towards the end of May 1882 snow was lying in all these uplands. In the crossing of the Cilician Gates during the early part of June 1902 there was a thunderstorm, accompanied by severe cold and heavy rain, almost every day. During the season when such weather was fairly probable, we can hardly believe that it was customary or usual for ordinary persons among the ancients to arrange their journeys. Basil, as quoted above, may be taken as a fair specimen of ancient views.

It is true that even in ancient times Cicero crossed Taurus by the Cilician Gates in November 51 and April 50 B.C.[*] Antigonus vainly tried to cross Taurus from Cilicia in B.C. 314, but lost many soldiers owing to the snow. His second attempt at a more favourable opportunity succeeded (Diodor. xix. 69. 2).

To take another example from later history, in the autumn of A.D. 803 the Emperor Nicephorus broke the peace, thinking that he could do so safely at that late season with the winter at hand. Nicephorus relied on the customary closed time, when the march of an army was impossible. But he was taken unawares[†] by the Caliph Harun er-Rashid, who crossed Taurus in the winter season before the end of the year (the Mohammedan year ended about 20 December in A.D. 803). Harun did not consider himself bound by the ordinary custom, and he must have passed the Cilician Gates about November or early December.[‡]

The question, however, in such a matter is not what is possible, but what is customary. Just as it was possible to cross the sea during the closed season, so it was possible to traverse the Cilician Gates in the winter by taking a favourable opportunity, and yet the winter was a closed season, when ordinary people would not attempt to cross. The ordinary traveller had not the equipment of a Roman governor, like Cicero, nor was he like such a general as Antigonus, anxious to surprise an enemy, and willing to risk the lives of his soldiers in the attempt. Yet even Antigonus must wait a favourable opportunity.

Although the exact limits of the travelling season must remain uncertain, yet probably the ordinary custom of the sea ruled also on land. If there was any difference, it would naturally be that on land the closed season began and ended a little later than on sea. All travel across the mountains was avoided between the latter part of November and the latter part of March; and ordinary travellers, not forced by official duties, but free to choose their own time, would avoid the crossing between October (an extremely wet month on the plateau) and May.

iii. VARIATIONS IN THE ROUTES AT DIFFERENT SEASONS.—Where a long sea passage was involved, it does not follow that the route from the province to Rome was the same as the return from Rome to the province. The winds which favoured the voyage from Rome might prohibit the return voyage, or *vice versâ*. We shall see one such case below: in summer the winds favoured a quick voyage from Italy to Alexandria, but seriously hindered the return voyage. In general, the path from Rome to the East followed a different line from the path which led from the East to Rome; and an envoy from the East would go to Rome by one path and return by another.

Both these causes contributed to complicate the communications between the province of Syria (including Palestine) and Rome. There were four lines of communication: (1) by sea to or from Puteoli on the Gulf of Naples, and by land between Puteoli and Rome; (2) by sea to Corinth, and thence to Brundisium, and by land between Brundisium and Rome; (3) by land to Ephesus, thence by sea to Corinth, etc., as in the preceding route; (4) the land route across Asia Minor, and, after crossing to Europe, along the Egnatian Way to Dyrrachium, and thence across the Adriatic Sea to Brundisium.

---

[*] Lycia or Cilicia are also possible.

[†] Ramsay, *Impressions of Turkey*, p. 222, and *Quarterly Review*, vol. clxxxvi. No. 372, p. 430 f.

[*] In the incorrect calendar current at that time (which varied sixty-seven days from the true calendar in B.C. 47) he started north from Tarsus on 5 January, and reached Tarsus on his return journey on 5 June. But, according to the true calendar, he evidently avoided the most snowy season in Taurus.

[†] Weil, *Gesch. der Khalifen*, ii. p. 159.

[‡] The other road, by Germanicia, which the Arabs often employed, seems never to have been used by Harun, and would be more unsuitable for a winter expedition.

The first-named was the great route, preferred by trade and by travellers who desired to make a rapid journey eastward from Italy. It was closely connected with the Egyptian communication with Rome; and in fact it was the splendid and regular service of ships between Alexandria and Puteoli that made this route so important and so rapid. We shall therefore describe the Alexandrian service at this point. The Syrian service connected itself with the Alexandrian as it best could, and used the latter as much as possible. The excellence of the Alexandrian service was due to the fact that Egypt was the mainstay of the Imperial corn supply for feeding the gigantic city of Rome. When one considers the vast population of Rome (probably not very much under a million), the smallness of the Italian harvest (for Italy was naturally far more productive of wine, oil, and fruits than of grain; and Italian wheat could no longer be grown at a profit in competition with sea-borne grain), and the fact that scarcity in Rome meant discontent, mutiny, and probably revolution after the murder of the Emperor who had let the corn supply fail, it becomes obvious that the maintenance of a steady and trustworthy service between Rome and the principal corn-producing countries was an Imperial concern of the very first importance. With the defective means of commerce and transport then available, private enterprise was quite incapable of feeding the great population of Rome; the corn supply was a most important department of the Imperial administration; and, in particular, the long transport from Egypt was mainly performed by a fleet in the Imperial service. Transport from the other chief producing countries—Sicily, Sardinia, and Africa—was easier, and private enterprise had probably greater scope there; but the Egyptian corn was the greatest source of supply for Rome.

Of course it is not to be supposed that there was no private trade between Puteoli and Egypt; on the contrary, there was doubtless a good deal. But the corn trade seems to have been an Imperial business, carried in Imperial ships (III. § ix.). Egypt was kept far more closely under the immediate Imperial administration than any other part of the Empire, and practically the whole supply available for exportation was marked for the Roman service and managed by the Emperor's own private representatives. No great Roman nobles were allowed even to set foot in Egypt, except on rare occasions by special permission. The land of Egypt was managed as a sort of great private appanage of the reigning Emperor. In a few cases we read of corn from Alexandria being brought to other cities of the Empire; but this was in case of famine, and must have required the special grace of the Emperor, to relieve the distressed population of one of his towns.

iv. VOYAGE FROM ROME TO EGYPT DIRECT AND THENCE TO PALESTINE.—Communication from Puteoli to Alexandria was maintained direct across sea. The prevalent summer wind in the east Mediterranean waters was westerly; and the ships ran in a direct course from the south of Italy to the Egyptian coast, keeping at the outset well out south from the Italian coast, in order to avoid the land winds and to get into the steady Mediterranean currents of air.

The pilots or sailing-masters had acquired great skill in these long voyages, and could make their harbour with almost unerring accuracy: they are compared by Philo to skilful charioteers driving their teams of horses. Such a service required also careful study of the seasons and the winds. Experience showed that there were seasons when the winds could be reckoned upon with confidence, and others when the long voyage was unsafe or impossible. The important period to notice is that of the Etesian winds; and it is doubtful whether the direct voyage was hazarded (as a rule) except when they were blowing. In the year A.D. 38, when Agrippa was eager to go quickly from Rome to occupy his kingdom in northern Palestine, he was advised to wait for the Etesian winds, and then sail direct to Alexandria and thence cross to Palestine. He reached Alexandria in a few days,[*] arriving apparently early in August. This passage of Philo (*in Flac.* 5) is extremely important for the system of communication with Syria and Egypt.

In the open Mediterranean Sea and the Levant the Etesian winds are said to have blown from the north-west steadily for forty days after 20 July (or thirty days from 1 August); and at this season it was difficult for news from the East to reach Rome (Tac. *Hist.* ii. 98); and the Etesian winds prevented a voyage from Alexandria to Italy (Cæsar, *de Bell. Civ.* iii. 107),[†] or from Rhodes to Athens (Cicero, *ad Att.* vi. 7). They began to blow each day towards noon, but never earlier in the morning. There is much difference among the ancients as to the direction and duration of the Etesian winds; but the diversity is due doubtless to the facts that (1) they vary in different seas, (2) any regularly recurring time of fairly steady wind was Etesian (*i.e.* annual).

The statements as to the Etesian winds drawn from the ancient writers (see the quotations in Facciolati and Forcellini's *Lexicon*) are entirely confirmed by modern meteorological experience, except that 'the north-west winds prevail in the summer months' generally, and not exclusively during the forty days from July 20. These winds prevail in that season 'throughout the whole of the Mediterranean, but mostly in the eastern half.' In fact it is probable that, to the sailors of the Alexandrian Roman fleets, the Etesian winds meant simply the summer winds, and roughly corresponded to the period of open sea from the end of May to the middle of September. The statements restricting the number of days during which the winds blow are probably taken from Greek writers who were speaking more of the Ægean Sea.[‡]

But Agrippa had to wait some little time for a ship. The delay is explained by Philo as due to waiting on the winds; but in all probability this is not quite a complete account. It was necessary also to wait until a fleet of ships was ready. Single vessels did not venture on the long sea course.

The reason why the long voyage was made by a whole fleet in company was, doubtless, safety. One ship could aid another. There is, of course, a good deal of exaggeration in Philo's account of the certainty with which the ships reached their goal. A single ship could not be certain of making directly the harbour of Alexandria after being six or eight days out of sight of land; and might easily miss Egypt altogether and sight Cyrene on the one hand or Syria on the other. But with a large fleet sailing with a widely extended front, the ships keeping within signalling distance of one another, the experience of one would guide the others; when the ship on the extreme right came in sight of the Cyrenaic or Egyptian coast, it would signal accordingly, and the news would spread to the extreme left immediately; or if, on the other hand, after having run far enough, the ship on the right had not sighted any land, or that on the left of the fleet had sighted Crete,[*] this would show that all had taken too northerly a course; and sailing directions would be signalled over the whole fleet.

---

[*] The expression ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις must not be pressed too closely; it is opposed to the long coasting passage (see p. 379^{b}), and probably indicates a period of 15 to 20 days: see below.

[†] Here the Etesian winds are spoken of as blowing in early October; but this is due to the disorder of the Roman calendar. Cæsar reached Alexandria on 3 Oct.; but this date was really equivalent to late July or early August.

[‡] See the excellent discussion, with quotations from modern experience at sea, in James Smith, *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, pp. 64, 76 ff.

Similarly, the westward-going vessels tried to sail in a body, as we see from Seneca, *Epist. Mor.* 77, 1. But exceptions occurred on this route, if vessels were belated and obliged to make the voyage alone (as in Ac 27^{6} 28^{11}).

It is not to be supposed that all the corn vessels sailed in one single fleet at the same time. There could not possibly be facilities for loading nearly all the vessels simultaneously; and it would have been an absurdly wasteful method for the first to wait until the last were loaded. Beyond a doubt, there must have been several successive companies, which sailed together: when a certain number were ready they would start. Moreover, it is known that even single corn ships were occasionally engaged on a voyage, as we have seen in the preceding paragraph. A dedicatory inscription, erected by the master of a corn ship which was evidently wintering in the harbour of Phœnix, is quoted by James Smith (*Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, p. 261; also in *CIL* iii. 3).

It cannot be supposed that a passage on government vessels was allowed to every one, any more than that the Imperial postal service by land was open to every one. In the latter case it is known that no one could use the Imperial service without a *diploma* signed by the Emperor (who made a rule of entrusting a certain number of *diplomata* to governors of provinces, which the governors gave to persons travelling on public service, and to some others in exceptional circumstances).[†] But, naturally, officers on government service, like the centurion in Ac 27^{9-11}, took advantage of an Imperial corn ship with full authority; and it is evident from the language of Ac 27^{11} that in such a case the centurion was in supreme command of the vessel as the highest officer of the Imperial service on board, and, after consulting with the sailing-master and the captain and with any other persons whom he chose, settled how far the ship was to go and when it was to be laid up for the winter (*St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 324).

As regards the time which news from Rome took to reach Egypt, a much exaggerated idea of the speed of communication has been propagated by Friedländer (*Sittengeschichte Roms*, ii. p. 31), and has been incautiously quoted from him as the foundation of their argument by many modern scholars.[‡] This distinguished scholar infers from Pliny and Diodorus that ships frequently sailed from the Sea of Azoff to Alexandria in fourteen days, and from Rhodes to Alexandria in four; and that on a fortunate voyage a ship could reach Marseilles in twenty days from Alexandria, and Alexandria in seven days from Utica or in nine days from Puteoli (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xix. 1; Diodor. iii. 34: see also below, § vi.).

These, if correctly recorded, must have been quite exceptional voyages, and cannot be used as examples of ordinary life.

But when Agrippa sailed from Puteoli, as above described, in A.D. 38 (probably in July, possibly as early as June),[*] he reached Alexandria in a few days (*ὀλίγαις ὕστερον ἡμέραις*, Philo, *in Flac.* 5), before any news of his elevation had reached the East. This seems to imply a very short voyage; but Philo is of course speaking comparatively, and we need not suppose that he means less than ten days, but rather even a little more than ten. Still this seems to be a case in which the time from Rome to Alexandria can hardly have exceeded twenty days. With this as a standard, it must be inferred that in the open season it would be a tedious and unfortunate voyage which failed to bring passengers and news from Rome to Alexandria under twenty-five days.

The speed with which the news of a grave Imperial event like the death or accession of an Emperor reached the provinces would be the test of extremest ordinary speed. There can be no doubt both that such news would be carried by quick special messengers faster than ordinary travellers would go, and that the State messengers would travel at a fairly uniform speed (except so far as winds or storms favoured or prevented them). Yet the statistics collected by Wilcken (*Griech. Ostraka*, i. p. 799 ff.) vary in a very perplexing way. But this variation is more in appearance than in reality. Setting aside mere examples of the ignorance in small villages or remote towns of events at Rome,[†] we find that probably sixty to sixty-five days was an ordinary period for news of such great events to penetrate from Rome to Egypt. A good example is afforded at the accession of Pertinax (1 Jan. A.D. 193): the prefect of Egypt issued at Alexandria instructions with regard to the celebration of that important event (*ἐπὶ τῇ εὐτυχεστάτῃ βασιλ(ε)ίᾳ*).[‡] It cannot be supposed that any time was lost in such a case. The instructions are dated 6 March, and the news is not likely to have been then more than a day old. At that season, therefore, in the slowest and most difficult time for travelling, the news travelled from Rome to Alexandria in sixty-four days. The route by which messages of this kind were transmitted will be considered hereafter: see below, §§ ix. xii.

But, on the other hand, there are cases of much more rapid transmission; as, for example, the accession of Galba was known officially in Alexandria within twenty-seven days.[§] This speed, however, was due to the fact that Galba was proclaimed on 9 June, and at that season news would come by the direct sea route from Puteoli to Egypt, whereas the clearest examples of news of such events taking about sixty days to arrive in Egypt belong to the winter or spring. We have seen that the direct sea route to Alexandria was hardly ventured upon except between 27 May and 15 September.

v. VOYAGE FROM ALEXANDRIA TO ROME.—The voyage from Alexandria to Rome was a much more difficult and tedious matter than the voyage from Rome to Alexandria, owing to the prevalence during summer of westerly winds in the

---

[*] This must have been common, for the lofty Cretan mountains are visible far out at sea; probably it may have been the usual intention to get bearings by sighting Crete.

[†] Pliny apologized to Trajan for permitting his own wife to use the public service with a *diploma* in a case of pressing haste.

[‡] So, for example, von Rohden in Pauly-Wissowa (*Realencycl.* i. 2, p. 2621), and against him Wilcken (*Griech. Ostraka*, i. p. 799).

[*] Ships ready to sail from Puteoli in June must doubtless have started from Alexandria in the previous year (like St. Paul's ships); those which started from Alexandria at the very beginning of the open season would not be able to sail from Puteoli till the end of July. See below, § vi.

[†] Mere carelessness must also be allowed for in remote places: thus Nero's death was matter of current knowledge in Elephantine within fifty-seven days; and yet on the fifty-eighth day a document was dated in Thebes by his reign (though Thebes must have received the news before Elephantine). Again, in (villages of the city) Arsinoë the accession of Pertinax (1 January) was currently known on 19 May, but ignored on 2 June: it was known in the Fayum before 1 April. Wilcken (*loc. cit.*) also gives examples of an Emperor ignored in common documents five or even eight months after his accession.

[‡] *Berl. Gr. Urkunden*, No. 646, Wilcken, *l.c.* p. 802.

[§] There is no evidence as to the exact time occupied in transmission, except that it was less than twenty-seven days (Wilcken, *loc. cit.*; *CIG* 4957).

Mediterranean. The ships had to help themselves by the uncertain and fitful breezes on the coasts. Now it was unsafe to keep too southerly a course owing to the great quicksands, Syrtes, on the African coast: even if the winds permitted, ships could not venture from Alexandria on a course which would keep them near the Cyrenaic shore lest the wind might shift round towards the north and drive them too far south (Ac 27^{17}). They were compelled to take a northerly course, keeping as much to the west of north as the wind would allow. Thus they might fetch the Lycian coast, or, in very favourable circumstances, possibly ships might even make the Rhodian or Cretan coast; but it may be regarded as absolutely certain that they could never attempt a course across sea from the Egyptian coast direct to Italy or Sicily. Rather they would make for the south-east end of Crete—at the best—though with the prevailing west or north-west winds such a course could rarely have been sailed. In ordinary circumstances, the usual aim of ships from Alexandria undoubtedly was to reach the Lycian coast, keeping west of Cape Akamas in Cyprus; but sometimes they made too much leeway, and failed to clear the western point of Cyprus. In the former case the harbour of Myra was, apparently, the usual point to which ships ran (Ac 21^{2}). In the latter case ships seem to have run for the Syrian coast, perhaps because the south coast of Cyprus was dangerous from its shallow and harbourless character. Examples of voyages northwards from Alexandria are given below: on the voyage south from Rhodes to Alexandria, see p. 382^{b}.

After reaching some point on the south coast of Asia Minor the westward-bound ship was obliged to work along the coast from point to point, taking advantage of the land breezes. Dion Chrysostom in his second Oration at Tarsus speaks of the fitful and uncertain character of those breezes, comparing to them the policy of a city governed for brief periods by a succession of magistrates.* Not a moment could safely be lost in taking advantage of such a breeze, lest it should fall again, or change its direction, before the ship got past the promontory ahead. The progress along the coast in this part of the voyage was necessarily slow, and sometimes exceedingly tedious. St. Paul's ship took fifteen days from Cæsarea to Myra (Ac 27^{5} [Western text]).

This part of the voyage frequently ended with the harbour of Rhodes. Vespasian touched at Rhodes on his voyage from Alexandria to Rome in A.D. 70.† So did Philotimus on his way from Cæsar in the East to Cicero at Brundisium in July, B.C. 47 (see footnote on p. 387^{a}). Herod the Great sailed in winter from Alexandria by the Pamphylian coast and Rhodes to Rome by way of Brundisium in B.C. 40, and in B.C. 14 touched at Rhodes on his voyage from Cæsarea to the Black Sea,‡ as did St. Paul when making the reverse voyage (Ac 21^{1}).

Gregory of Nazianzus in the 4th cent. sailed from Alexandria to Greece, keeping under (*i.e.* south and west of) Cyprus, and reached Rhodes apparently on the twentieth day (*Carm. de vita sua*, 128 ff.; *de rebus suis*, 312; *Or.* xviii. 31).

The ship on which St. Paul sailed for Rome is not stated to have touched at Rhodes, and the expression that it came over against Cnidus (Ac 27^{7}) suggests that it kept north of Rhodes as if intending to cross among the Cyclades to Malea. Lucian's *Ship*, also, sailed north of Rhodes.

After reaching the south-western extremity of Asia Minor the ships ran down to the eastern promontory of Crete, Salmone, and proceeded to work along its south coast in the same way as before (Ac $27^{7.\,13}$). This was the safe course, in preference to the north side of Crete, because there, if a north wind came sweeping down the Ægean, the ship would be in danger of being driven on the coast, which has few harbours.* On the south coast there was not the same danger of running ashore, partly because the harbours were more numerous, and still more because the south winds in this sea are much more gentle, as a rule, than the north winds.†

Only one piece of evidence (see below) known to the present writer describes the voyage between Crete and the Italian coast. But the course of such a voyage is indubitable: the ships would take an opportunity of running for the south point of Cythera, and thence off Zakynthos and across the mouth of the Adriatic to the south coast of Italy, usually to Hydruntum (*Itin. Mar.* p. 489). They would not shrink from running direct to Italy if the wind at any moment were from the north. An ancient fleet could safely run from Cythera or Zakynthos for the wide angle between Italy and Sicily; the ships on the wings would guide the whole fleet by signal.

The evidence of Lucian in the beginning of his dialogue, *Navigium*, is clear: the corn ships in ordinary course sailed across from the south-west of Crete to sight Cythera;‡ but they sometimes missed their course under the influence of southerly winds and got into the Ægean Sea.

There is not in the Ægean or the Adriatic the same prevalence of westerly winds in summer as in the Levant and the open stretch of the Mediterranean. Northerly and southerly winds are more characteristic of those seas; and therefore this part of the voyage would in general be much more easily accomplished than the preceding part. Hence in a favourable voyage the runs from Alexandria to Myra, and from Crete to Rhegium and thence to Puteoli, would not be slow; but, even at the best, a considerable time would necessarily be spent on the coasting voyage from Myra to the west end of Crete.

It is noteworthy that this wide stretch of sea between Crete and Italy, being affected by the prevalent winds of the Adriatic, was called by the sailors Adria (Ac 27^{27}). We note also that westward-bound ships kept well to the north in this part of the sea to catch the Adriatic winds, while eastward-bound ships must have kept more to the south in order to profit by the general Mediterranean current of air setting for the Syrian coasts and the hot deserts behind them (see § iv).

On the other hand, in unfavourable times, if the ship failed to clear Akamas, or did not get suitable winds west of Crete, all three parts of the voyage might be tedious. The scene in which Lucian's dialogue, *Navigium*, is laid is most probably taken from a real event. The ship failed to clear the point of Akamas on the seventh day from Alexandria, and, after being driven to Ẓidon, and on the tenth day from Ẓidon § reaching the Chelidonian Islands (east of Myra), it met a storm, narrowly escaped sinking, and thereafter had a run of bad luck south of Crete, and was finally driven by southerly winds into the Ægean, and had to put into the Piræus after a voyage of 70 days.

---

* ὥσπερ οἱ τοῖς ἀπογείοις, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν γνόφων πνεύμασι πλέοντες, xxxiv. 36, p. 424. He had probably experienced these winds on the voyage back from Alexandria.

† Josephus, *BJ* VII. ii. 1; Suet. *Vesp.* 7; Dion Cass. lxvi. 9; Zonaras, xi. 17. He landed at Brundisium.

‡ Josephus, *Ant.* XIV. xiv. 2 f.; *BJ* I. xiv. 3; *Ant.* XVI. ii. 2.

* δυσλίμενος (Eust.), which does not mean (as some scholars have understood) that there was no harbour on the north coast, but only that they were too few.

† It is different in the Adriatic, where, as Horace (*Od.* i. 3. 15) says, the south wind is the *arbiter*.

‡ ἔδει τὴν Κρήτην δεξιὰν λαβόντας, ὑπὲρ τὸν Μαλέα πλεύσαντας, ἤδη (*i.e.* before the seventieth day from Alexandria) εἶναι ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ. A glance at the map shows with perfect certainty how this must be interpreted.

§ The exact course is mentioned: the ship sailed through the Aulon or channel between Cyprus and the Cilician-Pamphylian coast, the same course as St. Paul's ship took. That course was necessarily and invariably followed by westward-bound ships from the Syrian harbours.

vi. TIME BETWEEN ALEXANDRIA AND ROME.—From this voyage, as described by Lucian, combined with the statement in Ac 27^{5}, that St. Paul's ship reached Myra on the fifteenth day from Cæsarea, we can state with very considerable accuracy the fair time to Myra from Alexandria as nine days, and from Zidon as twelve to thirteen. Now two days was ample time from the Straits of Messina to Puteoli (Ac 28^{13}), when the wind favoured; and ten to twelve days must be allowed from Crete to the Straits. This leaves thirteen to eighteen days for the coasting voyage from Myra to the west extremity of Crete, in the passage described in the next paragraph as a favourable one. Gregory of Nazianzus took twenty days to Rhodes (say ten to Myra, and ten from Myra to Rhodes); this is a little slower.

Examples of the average length of passage from Alexandria to Rome are difficult to get, as most of those which are mentioned are exceptional and tedious voyages. But the following may be taken as probably a fair average voyage in the best season. No. 27 of the Berlin Greek Papyri is a letter written from Rome on 2 August, towards the end of the 2nd cent., by a sailor or officer on an Alexandrian ship. He mentions that he 'came to land' on 30 June, finished unloading on 12 July (perhaps in Puteoli),* and reached Rome on 19 July. Now the ship cannot be supposed to have left Alexandria long before 26 May, for the statement of Vegetius about the period when the sea was fully open was almost certainly inspired by the rules for the Alexandrian corn ships. If the ship in question sailed in the first fleet it would probably be ready to start on the first day of open sea, and the voyage would have occupied thirty-six days. But, further, the ships would probably be ready to take advantage of a favourable opportunity some days before the 26th, for it cannot be supposed that the day was fixed with absolute precision (Ac 28^{11}). The voyage in this case, therefore, may be taken as lasting probably about forty days; and we must understand that it was a favourable passage. In this argument we have assumed that the ship arrived as one of a fleet and not as a single stray ship; but it may fairly be assumed that stray ships came in at unusual times, very early or late, and that a ship reaching Puteoli on 30 June was sailing in the ordinary course. Probably this was near the ordinary time for the first fleet of the year to arrive, as described by Seneca (*Epist. Mor.* 77, 1), in a year when the voyage was very good. As a rule, vessels with a heavy cargo like corn did not unload at Puteoli, but went on thence to Ostia, whereas valuable cargo was discharged at Puteoli and carried to Rome by land.

On the other hand, Lucian, in the passage quoted above, says that the ship which he describes, at the time when it was forced to put into the Piræus by stress of weather on the seventieth day from Alexandria, ought in ordinary course to have been already in its harbour in Italy if it had not been driven astray into the Ægean Sea.† This seems to imply that the voyage to Italy just mentioned was an unusually quick one. Had forty days been about the usual length, Lucian would naturally have said that his *Ship* should have been already *for a long time* in an Italian harbour on the seventieth day.

Accordingly, we conclude that, when not detained unduly, fifty days was a more common length of passage from Alexandria to Rome. It would be roughly divided thus—

6 days to Akamas in Cyprus.
3 ,, ,, Myra.
10 ,, ,, Rhodes (Gregory's time).
15 ,, ,, west end of Crete.
13 ,, ,, the Straits.
1 day in the Straits.
2 days to Puteoli.

When a ship was delayed beyond sixty or seventy days the passage would begin to be considered an unfortunate one; but no anxiety would be felt, for it must often have been the case that ships were carried far from their course,* and detained even till the following year. Phœnix, in the south-west of Crete, was evidently a common harbour for laggard ships to spend the winter in (Ac 27^{12}; also p. 379^{a}): it was convenient as being near to the west end of the island, so that ships could there be on the outlook for promise of a fair passage across the wide sea to Cythera and Italy.

There can hardly be any doubt (though no proof formally exists or could be expected) that the remarkably early Christianization of Crete was due to the ships from Alexandria and Syria having occasionally to winter there. Such a result was natural when crew and passengers were doomed to remain for some months in harbour. On the other hand, the many voyages along the coasts of Pamphylia and Lycia appear to have produced little or no effect, for those provinces seem to have been less affected by Christianity in the early centuries than any other part of Asia Minor. The reason, doubtless, was that passengers in ships on the coasting voyage could never count on an hour's delay. The fitful land winds might change or begin or end at any time, and the passenger was bound to the ship.† Only those who have had the experience can realize how absolutely prohibitive this uncertainty is as regards any intercourse with the country along which the coasting voyage leads. Pamphylia or Lycia could not be Christianized in the same way as Crete, but only by deliberate and intentional missionary effort such as that of Ac 12^{13}.

vii. VOYAGES TO ASIA, THE ÆGEAN AND EUXINE SEAS, PALESTINE AND EGYPT.—During the rest of the year, except the open season, the voyage to Egypt was made by way of the coasts of Asia Minor and Syria—the same route that war vessels would take even in the very height of summer. Caligula intended to sail by that course, *viâ* Brundisium, when he thought of going to Egypt. This was the more luxurious though the slower route, as he could rest quietly on land every night (Philo, *de Leg.* 33, cf. *in Flac.* 5).

Smaller vessels or ships of war never ventured on such long sea courses as were needed in the voyages hitherto described, but kept closer to the shore. Only the large, heavily-built merchant vessels were suited for such a voyage (Philo, *de Leg.* 33); they alone had sufficient spread of canvas, or strength of build, or storage room, to go a long voyage and remain out of sight of land for a number of days. The war ships were slighter in construction, moved in a more agile way, and were not dependent on the wind or able to make such use of the wind, for they trusted chiefly to oars.

---

* If we assume that he started as soon as unloading was finished, Puteoli would be certain. The Berlin editor gives μηδὲν ἀναπολελύσθαι: read μηδέναν ἀπολ., 'that none of the corn-traders has got leave to depart.'

† It would appear probable that this ship, which sighted Akamas on the seventh day from Alexandria, was on the extreme right of the fleet. It would signal the others, but was itself too far east to be able to clear the promontory.

* Lucian's *Ship* carried to the Piræus; two to Malta, Ac 28$^{1, 11}$.

† Cf. Dion Chrysostom as quoted on p. 380^{a}, note *.

The voyages made by the south coast of Asia Minor are naturally similar in many respects to voyages between Rome and the ports of the Ægean Sea or the Euxine. These also may therefore be suitably noticed at this point. Puteoli was the chief harbour of this trade in the Roman Republican times and the first century after Christ. When Delos was the great centre and market of the Ægean, before the massacre of Roman traders by Mithridates in B.C. 88, Puteoli was called Lesser Delos.* When Delos was destroyed, no other harbour of the Ægean was heir to its greatness, and Puteoli became more important than ever. It was crowded with traders and settlers from all the Eastern lands and harbours. These brought their religion with them; and Puteolanian inscriptions reveal a mingled, strange picture of foreign deities, cults, and societies and traders (see the interesting article by M. Dubois on 'Cultes et Dieux à Pouzzoles' in *Mélanges d'Histoire et d'Archéologie*, 1902, p. 23).

From Puteoli thus started, and to it came in, a vast body of trade. After the completion of the great works by which Trajan improved the harbour, Portus Augusti, at the mouth of the Tiber, which Claudius had planned and in part made, that port supplanted Puteoli to a considerable extent as the emporium of the Eastern trade. But in New Testament times it claimed most of that trade, though some part (especially the heaviest goods) always went direct to Ostia without breaking bulk at Puteoli.

All ships trading between one or other of these harbours and any part of the East passed through the Straits of Messina. Beyond that, there were the three lines—one keeping well south to seek Alexandria, one keeping as near the line to Cythera as was possible, but often tending northwards towards Zacynthos. The ships from and to the Ægean kept north of Cythera, rounding Cape Malea. Trading vessels coming from Egypt and Syria kept south of Cythera: as to those which were going to Egypt or Syria, it is probable that they kept north of Cythera and through among the Cyclades: such at least was Jerome's course—see the end of this section. Doubtless, war vessels and small trading ships always kept north of Cythera, and crept on from harbour to harbour and island to island. Thus a very large number of vessels must constantly have been passing and repassing through the southern Greek waters.

There can be no doubt that all, or almost all, heavy merchandise travelled by this route between Rome and the Ægean or Black Sea harbours. The alternative route by Corinth required transhipment and transportation across the Isthmus of Corinth, which would have seriously added to the cost of freight. In earlier times, when Cape Malea was an object of dread to sailors in small ships, the trouble of the Isthmus crossing might be incurred in carrying goods, but the Roman merchant ships seem to have lost the old dread: on a gravestone at Hierapolis in Phrygia we read that a certain Zeuxis had rounded Cape Malea seventy-two times. Though Nero revived the old scheme of a ship canal through the Isthmus, he was probably impelled more by the tradition than by any real apprehension felt in his own time; and the canal would not produce any great saving in hours of voyage except to ships from (and to) the Adriatic, or Epirus, or Acarnania. These facts, or the disturbed state of the Empire soon after, caused the scheme to be abandoned; and there was no good reason to bring about its resumption by a later Emperor, though Herodes Atticus talked about it.

Ephesus was the great harbour of the Asian produce, though Smyrna vied with it; and other harbours also were used, such as Miletus, Caunos, etc. But most ships seem to have put in at Ephesus, even though bound to other ports; and it became a custom for the Roman governors of Asia to land first there. This custom was finally recognized and made compulsory by a formal enactment of the Emperor Antoninus Pius. The enactment probably sprang from some complaint on the part of the great rival cities, Smyrna and Pergamus; and the Imperial rescript marked and confirmed the recognition (perhaps originating from Hadrian) of Ephesus as the capital of Asia. Ephesus was *de facto* the capital of the province long before it was formally recognized as such by the Imperial law.*

Passengers, also, as well as goods went sometimes by this route to the Asian coast. Pliny the younger went in this way in August A.D. 111 to Ephesus, and experienced contrary winds. There he changed ship, and went on northwards in small coasting vessels to his Bithynian province.

Trade with the Black Sea harbours followed the same route as far as Ephesus, and then went on through the Hellespont and the Thracian Bosporus. At Ephesus it met the line of ships trading between the north Ægean or Euxine harbours and Syria or Egypt. This latter line of ships was now far less important than it had been under the Greek kings in the last centuries B.C., when Canon Hicks thinks it safe to assert that daily ships ran on the line.† The causes stated above prevented such trade on any great scale between the provinces of the Empire. Still there was an appreciable trade, and Diodorus (iii. 34) gives a statement of the length of voyage from the Sea of Azoff to Crete and Egypt (which, as we saw reason to think, conveys a very exaggerated idea of the swiftness of the voyage).‡

From this passage of Diodorus it is clear that the long over-sea voyage to Alexandria was made direct from Rhodes: with a westerly or northwesterly wind that was the natural line, and not any longer than the run from the Lycian coast. With a west wind the ancient ships could hardly have reached Alexandria from Lycia on a direct course; now the object was to make Alexandria on a straight run. Thus we see that there were three long lines common in the Levant voyages: (1) from Rhodes to Alexandria; (2) from Alexandria past Akamas towards Myra, though the latter part of this voyage could not have been made on a straight course; (3) from Myra or Patara to one of the Syrian harbours, as in Ac 21.

It is impossible that ancient ships ordinarily sailed from the Sea of Azoff to Crete in ten days. A voyage from Crete to Alexandria in four days is more credible, because ships could often have a continuous run with a steady breeze, and a lucky voyage might reach Alexandria in four days. But there is a great variety inevitable in the former part of the voyage—changes of direction, changes of wind, passing from sea to sea, and through the long narrow passages of the Bosporus and Dardanelles. Finally, the statement that ten days was the time from Alexandria up the Nile to Ethiopia is entirely inconsistent with the tendency of all the evidence that Wilcken has collected as to the length of time needed for even great Imperial events to become known in Upper Egypt (even though in many cases the indifference and carelessness of the peasants may account for their ignorance).

In an admirable excursus to his posthumously published Commentary on First Peter, Dr. Hort traces the course of the messenger who carried that letter from Rome to a harbour on the south coast of the Black Sea: he considers that Sinope was the harbour, but Amastris seems more probable. Sinope was no longer so important a harbour under the Romans as it had been in older times: Amastris surpassed it, and bore the title Metropolis Ponti. Moreover, if the messenger had landed at Sinope, he would naturally have visited Cappadocia before Galatia, whereas Dr. Hort has rightly argued that the strange order of enumeration of the provinces is due to the order of the messenger's journey. He landed at Amastris, visited Pontus first, then passed through North Galatia to Cæsarea and perhaps Tyana, and thence through South Galatia to Asia, and finally reached Bithynia.

---

* Paulus ex Festo, xi. p. 91, *s.v.* 'Minorem Delum,' quoting the phrase from Lucilius, *Sat.* iii. 94 (Lachmann).

* See vol. iii. art. PERGAMUS, p. 751^a.

† See Paton and Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos*, p. xxxiii.

‡ Diodorus is more probably speaking of ships in his own time than quoting from some Greek account of older voyages.

It may be added to Dr. Hort's examination of the facts, that the journey in its eastern part probably corresponds to the actual order in which Christianity spread; that is to say, the new religion was carried by ship to the Bithynian and Pontic harbours, and thence spread south into the northern and north-eastern regions of the province Galatia, including inner Pontus* and the north of Cappadocia. Thus we find that this new thought and teaching, 'floating free on the currents of communication across the Empire,' spread first directly along the great tracks that led to Rome, as every free and natural movement of thought necessarily did owing to the circumstances of that period, and from that centre was redirected to the outlying parts of the Empire. As Christianity spread from Syria and Cilicia through the Cilician Gates, it did not radiate out west and north and north-east, but passed along the great route that led by Ephesus, Corinth, and the sea-way, or by Troas and Philippi and the overland way, to Italy.

It is extremely difficult to get even an approximate idea of the time required on these courses between Rome and the various eastern provinces. There was no rule possible in this case, such as we could determine roughly in the direct Alexandrian passages, and as we shall be able to determine more accurately in the overland postal route (see § ix.). The ships generally were merchant vessels, liable to minor variations in their course according to the conditions of the carrying trade, and sometimes waiting in harbours for some time to unload or take in fresh cargo, as in Ac 20. Thus their voyages were evidently slow, as a rule. Probably they were generally much smaller than the Alexandrian ships, and some would not venture to do more than make short runs from harbour to harbour or point to point, in the ancient Greek fashion: the last class of vessels had more reason to dread Malea than the better built traders. Even war vessels, which were comparatively independent of winds, evidently required much longer time for the eastern voyage than the large Alexandrian trading vessels.

Statistics as to the time which despatches during the Republican period, or private letters under the Empire, required to reach a distant destination on this course, are of little value as indications of the rate of travel: there was no regular postal service, and the letter-carriers were liable to many delays and interruptions. Hence the recorded facts vary widely. Friedländer (p. 31) quotes two cases of letters from Syria addressed to Cicero in Rome: one, dated 31 Dec., took over a hundred days in delivery; the other, dated 7 May, hardly over fifty:* presumably the latter was carried straight through, while the other was carried by a messenger who was detained on the way. The slow letter was sent during the worst season of the year, the quick letter during the best; but in the case of land travelling (if either went in that way), the season ought not to make any serious difference. Both were sent by men of high standing, who could command all the resources of the State for quick transmission; but the period was disturbed, and the machinery of government was dislocated and liable to stoppages. The quick letter travelled at much the same rate as the Imperial postal service organized by Augustus (see below, § ix.), taking only a few days more than Imperial despatches probably required. The slow letter perhaps went by ship.

A business letter written in Puteoli on 23 July, A.D. 174, was delivered in Tyre a hundred and seven days later,† though it was sent in the most favourable season for sailing. This letter would not be transmitted by the Imperial service, but by private agents, travelling doubtless by ship. It could hardly have been sent by one of the large ships running direct to Alexandria, but was more probably sent on a trading vessel which went by Cape Malea and the Asian coast, and probably spent time in various harbours. St. Jerome sailed in August from Portus Augusti, by Malea, through the Cyclades, by the Asian coasts and Cyprus to Syrian Antioch, whence he went on to Jerusalem, which he reached in winter;‡ this voyage was made along the same route by which the letter to Tyre travelled, but seems to have been quicker.

With similar variation in speed, letters from Rome in Cicero's time reached Athens—in one case arriving on 14 October in twenty-one days, in another case in forty-six days during July and August:§ the former is mentioned as showing great activity on the part of the messenger; the latter, though so slow, came in the most settled season of the year.

viii. OVERLAND ROUTE AND IMPERIAL POST-ROAD FROM ROME TO THE EAST.—While passengers to and from Egypt or Syria seem frequently to have travelled along the coasts of Asia Minor and Crete, it is not probable that the Imperial despatches and news went regularly by that route, which was uncertain and (at least during a considerable part of the year) liable to great variation in time. The fast sea passage (see § iii.) was of course preferred during the open season; but it may be regarded as probable that during the rest of the year the Imperial service to the eastern provinces was conducted by the overland route through Macedonia and Thrace. Only in this way could that regularity of communication which was important for administrative purposes be attained. For those purposes reasonable certainty as to when instructions would be received was in many cases even more important than the chance of the messages being delivered more quickly; and, where speed was important, it was always possible to send a special messenger in addition by the route which offered the chance of more rapid delivery. Hence even Syria and Egypt probably communicated regularly with Rome by the overland route during the stormy and the doubtful seasons of the year.

Hudemann (*Geschichte des röm. Postwesens*, p. 163 f.) and other writers have rightly maintained that ships were used only as a subsidiary and occasional method of communication for Imperial purposes, and not as a regular and permanent part of the postal system, at least under the early Empire; but under Hadrian a procurator (*procurator pugillationis et ad naves vagas*) was stationed at Ostia (or Portus Augusti), possibly to regulate the transmission of despatches by occasional or special ships (*CIL* xiv. 2045).[*]

---

* See the article PONTUS in vol. iv., where emphasis is laid on the important, but often neglected, distinction between Provincia Pontus on the coast (which was united with Bithynia) and *mediterraneus* Pontus (a kingdom at first, in Prov. Galatia till about 106, thereafter in Prov. Cappadocia).

* Cicero, *ad Fam*. xii. 10. 2 (false number in Friedländer, p. 31, note), *ad Att*. xiv. 9.

† The case is quoted by Friedländer from Mommsen in *Ber. d. Sächs. Gesellsch.* 1850, ii. p. 61, to which the present writer has not had access.

‡ Hieron. c. *Rufin*. iii. 22, ed. Vallars. ii. 51.

§ Cicero, *ad Fam*. xvi. 21. 1; xiv. 5. 1. See also § xii. 5.

Moreover, the overland route was the shorter for many provinces, even in the open season, and had therefore to be maintained in full efficiency throughout the year. Hence it must have been the main route for administrative purposes; and every other route, even the short sea route in summer, was merely subsidiary and additional to the great way for the Imperial couriers.

An incidental proof of the preference of land to sea travel for Imperial communication is furnished by two of Pliny's despatches to Trajan. He mentions (*Ep.* 63) that a courier came to him at Nicæa from the king of Bosporus (Pantikapæum on the European side of the entrance to the Sea of Azoff); but it is also implied there and in *Ep.* 67 that the embassy from Bosporus on its way to Rome would pass through Bithynia, and be obliged in courtesy to pay a call on him as governor in passing. The official way, then, was not to sail from the Crimea to the Hellespont or to Byzantium, but to take ship to Amastris or Sinope, the shortest sea passage, and then travel by land. The purely land route from the Crimea through South Russia round the north-western coasts of the Black Sea was not open to the Roman service, because it led through foreign territory.

The regular course for the couriers carrying despatches from Rome was along the Appian Way to Brundisium. Then they crossed from Brundisium to Dyrrachium or Aulona, and thence went by the Via Egnatia to Thessalonica and Philippi and its harbour Neapolis. The direct and apparently easy route along the coast to Neapolis was avoided by the Roman road (as the Itineraries are agreed): the road turned away from the crossing of the Hebrus at Amphipolis (Ac 16) inland to Philippi, the great Roman *colonia*, before seeking the harbour; but there was, doubtless, always a path in local use from Amphipolis direct to Neapolis.

Very little evidence exists as to the exact route beyond Neapolis. The way to Syria under the later Empire was by Byzantium, Nicomedia, and Ancyra; but it is certain that that route was not in use so early as New Testament times, for the roads of the provinces Galatia and Cappadocia seem not to have been constructed until the end of Vespasian's reign; and Cappadocia was not even properly organized as a province until about A.D. 74. Previously, viz. from A.D. 17 to 74, it had been a procuratorial province, which implied that it was governed not after the fully developed Roman system (which permitted a considerable degree of autonomy or home rule in internal matters), but after the native fashion and on monarchical lines by a procurator who represented the Emperor. The procurator represented the native king, whose rule had been deliberately chosen by the people, when the Romans had offered them their liberty and autonomy in B.C. 95 (Strab. p. 540): when the last king proved incapable, and the province was still unfit for real Roman provincial organization, a procurator was sent in place of the king, who gradually raised the country to the Roman level. After A.D. 74 Roman roads began to spread over the combined provinces of Galatia—Cappadocia (united under one governor, but as a double, not a single uniform homogeneous province). Thus there gradually grew up a great through route from the Bosporus opposite Byzantium by Juliopolis to Ancyra, Archelais-Colonia and Tyana, and the Cilician Gates, joining the older line of the Overland Route and also that of the Central Route[*] to the Gates at Colonia Faustiniana or Faustinopolis, which was founded by Marcus Aurelius beside the old native village of Halala (the Byzantine Loulon), 23 miles S.S.W. from Tyana, and named after his wife, who died there. That new through route, the 'Pilgrims' Route,' is described by the present writer in *Hist. Geogr. of Asia Minor*, p. 240 ff., and more fully in sections in the *Geograph. Journal*, 1903, and by Anderson in *Journ. of Hell. Stud.* 1899, p. 53 ff.

It is therefore highly probable that messengers for Syria and Egypt during the first and early second centuries went by the same route as messengers to Asia.[†] They sailed from Neapolis, the port of Philippi, to Alexandria Troas (Ac 16^{10} 20^{6}). Galen, it is true, sailed (from Troas) to Thessalonica; but he implies that this was an unusual course, taken for the special purpose of visiting Lemnos (*Op.* ed. Kühn, xii. 171).[‡] Those who preferred to avoid even this short voyage seem to have crossed the Hellespont at Lampsacus and thence followed the route given in the Antonine Itinerary, p. 334, by Ilium to Troas.

In general, travellers from the East would prefer the less fatiguing route by Corinth (§ x.); but there would always be many travellers from the northern provinces on the overland road, and in winter it was the only route that was always open. Hence Aristides, when he travelled to Rome in the winter (probably of A.D. 143-144), went by that road. He describes the hardships of the journey—the rain, the frozen Hebrus, the snow, the wretched inns, the sullenness and ill-will of the barbarous natives; he lay long sick in Edessa; and thus, although for a time he went as fast as the Imperial post, he finally reached Rome on the hundredth day from his own home (which probably is to be understood as Hadrianoutheræ in Mysia, though Pergamus or Smyrna are also possible).[§]

From Lampsacus or Troas the way for Syrian couriers doubtless went by Pergamus (still the capital of Asia in the 1st cent.), Philadelphia, and on through the Cilician Gates to Tarsus, Antioch, Palestine, and Egypt. The way from Philadelphia to the Gates is described more fully below, § xi.

An important and typical route deserves fuller discussion. In the reign of Trajan, Ignatius was conducted to Rome from Syrian Antioch by land through many cities (the only one mentioned by name being Philadelphia) to Smyrna,[‖] thence he went (probably on shipboard) to Troas and Neapolis for Philippi, and then went along the Egnatian Way, and so on to Rome. There is one unusual feature in this journey, viz. the detour to Smyrna. Presumably, some special duty required the escort to go to Smyrna; possibly prisoners under sentence were to be taken from thence; but the exact reason must remain uncertain. The ordinary course for such a party would have been

---

[*] Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, ii.^{3} p. 1030 (approved by O. Hirschfeld), denies this, and understands that the procurator's duty was to register the ships as they singly entered the harbour. Accepting this, however, we must observe that such registration was necessary for the postal service, and might naturally be combined with it.

[*] See below, § x.

[†] A new route came into use before A.D. 193: see § xii.

[‡] Returning from Rome to Asia, he again wished to visit Lemnos; but this time he took ship from Neapolis for Thasos, and thence to Lemnos.

[§] *Or.* 24, p. 305 (i. 481 f., ed. Diudorf).

[‖] Friedländer, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms*, p. 30, mentions only the absurd account of the *Acta* (Antiochian), that Ignatius went by sea from Seleucia to Smyrna, and says that this ignorant statement, whether true or invented, is at least the work of one thoroughly acquainted with the way. On the contrary, it proceeds from one who mixes up and confuses quite inconsistent routes and methods of travel, as is shown in the sequel.

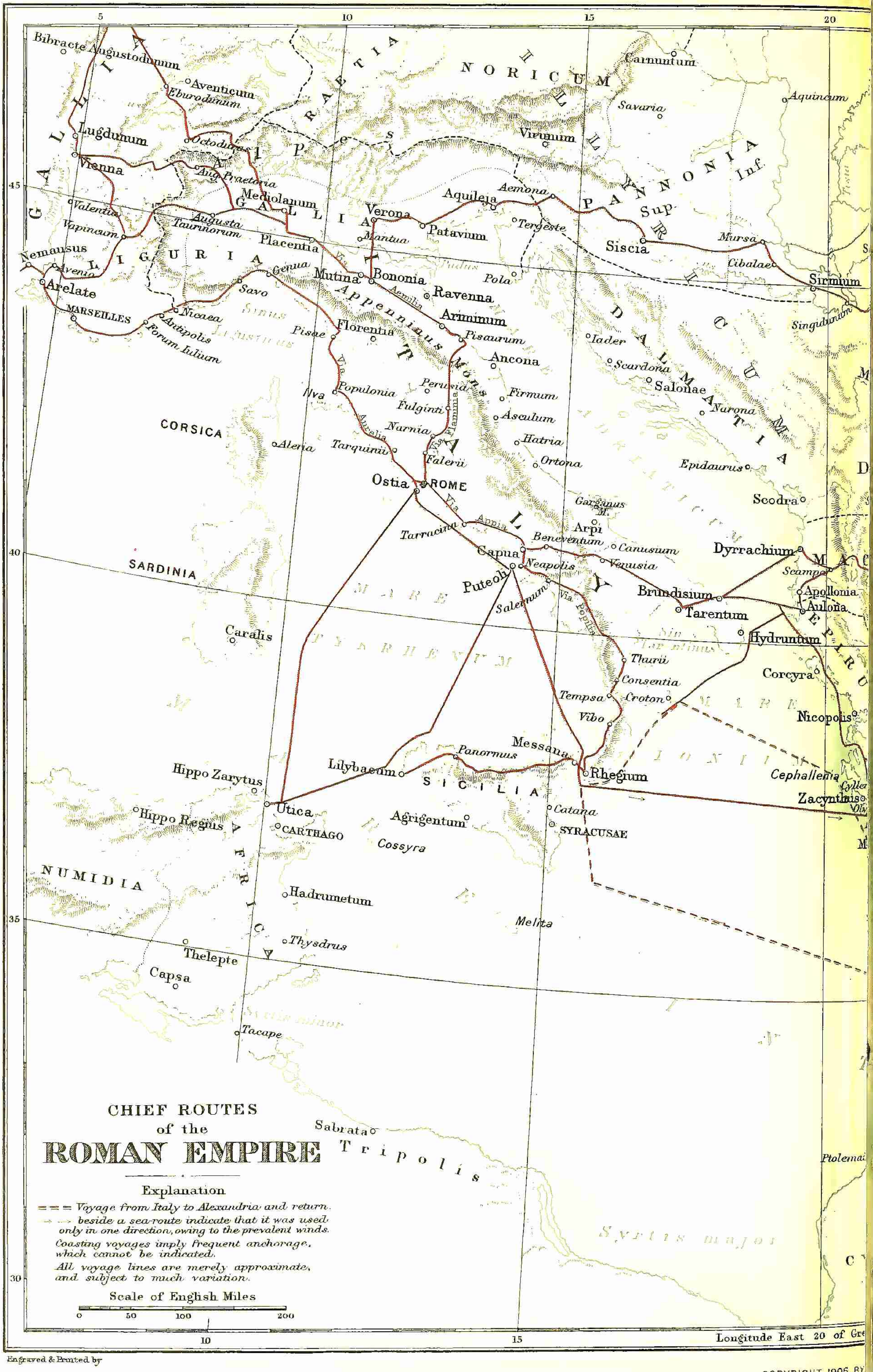

CHIEF ROUTES of the ROMAN EMPIRE

Explanation

= = = *Voyage from Italy to Alexandria and return.*

→ → *beside a sea-route indicate that it was used only in one direction, owing to the prevalent winds.*

Coasting voyages imply frequent anchorage, which cannot be indicated.

All voyage lines are merely approximate, and subject to much variation.

Scale of English Miles

0
50
100
200
5
10
15
20
45
40
35
30
Longitude East 20 of Gre
GALLIA
Bibracte
Augustodunum
Aventicum
Eburodunum
Lugdunum
Octodurus
Vienna
Aug. Praetoria
Valentia
Vapincum
Augusta Taurinorum
Mediolanum
GALLIA
Placentia
Nemausus
Avenio
Arelate
LIGURIA
Genua
Savo
MARSEILLES
Nicaea
Antipolis
Forum Iulium
Sinus Ligusticus
RAETIA
NORICUM
Alpes
Carnuntum
Savaria
Aquincum
Virunum
ILLYRICUM
PANNONIA Inf.
PANNONIA Sup.
Aemona
Aquileia
Tergeste
Verona
Patavium
Mantua
Siscia
Mursa
Cibalae
Sirmium
Singidunum
Tisia
Padus
Via Aemilia
Mutina
Bononia
Ravenna
Ariminum
Pola
Pisaurum
Appenninus Mons
Pisae
Florentia
Ancona
Iader
Scardona
Salonae
DALMATIA
Narona
Via Aurelia
Populonia
Perusia
Firmum
Ilva
Fulginii
Asculum
Via Flaminia
CORSICA
Narnia
Hatria
Aleria
Tarquinii
Falerii
Ortona
Epidaurus
Ostia
ROME
Scodra
Garganus M.
ITALIA
Via Appia
Arpi
Tarracina
Beneventum
Canusium
Dyrrachium
Capua
Venusia
Scampa
MACEDONIA
SARDINIA
Neapolis
Puteoli
Brundisium
Apollonia
Salernum
Via Popilia
Tarentum
Aulona
MARE TYRRHENUM
Sin. Tarentinus
Hydruntum
EPIRUS
Caralis
Thurii
Consentia
Corcyra
Tempsa
Croton
MARE IONIUM
Vibo
Nicopolis
Messana
Panormus
Rhegium
Cephallenia
Lilybaeum
SICILIA
Zacynthus
Olympia
Hippo Zarytus
Utica
Catana
Agrigentum
Hippo Regius
CARTHAGO
SYRACUSAE
Cossyra
AFRICA
NUMIDIA
Hadrumetum
Melita
Thysdrus
Thelepte
Capsa
Syrtis minor
Tacape
Sabrata
Tripolis
Syrtis major
Ptolemais

Engraved & Printed by

COPYRIGHT, 1906, BY

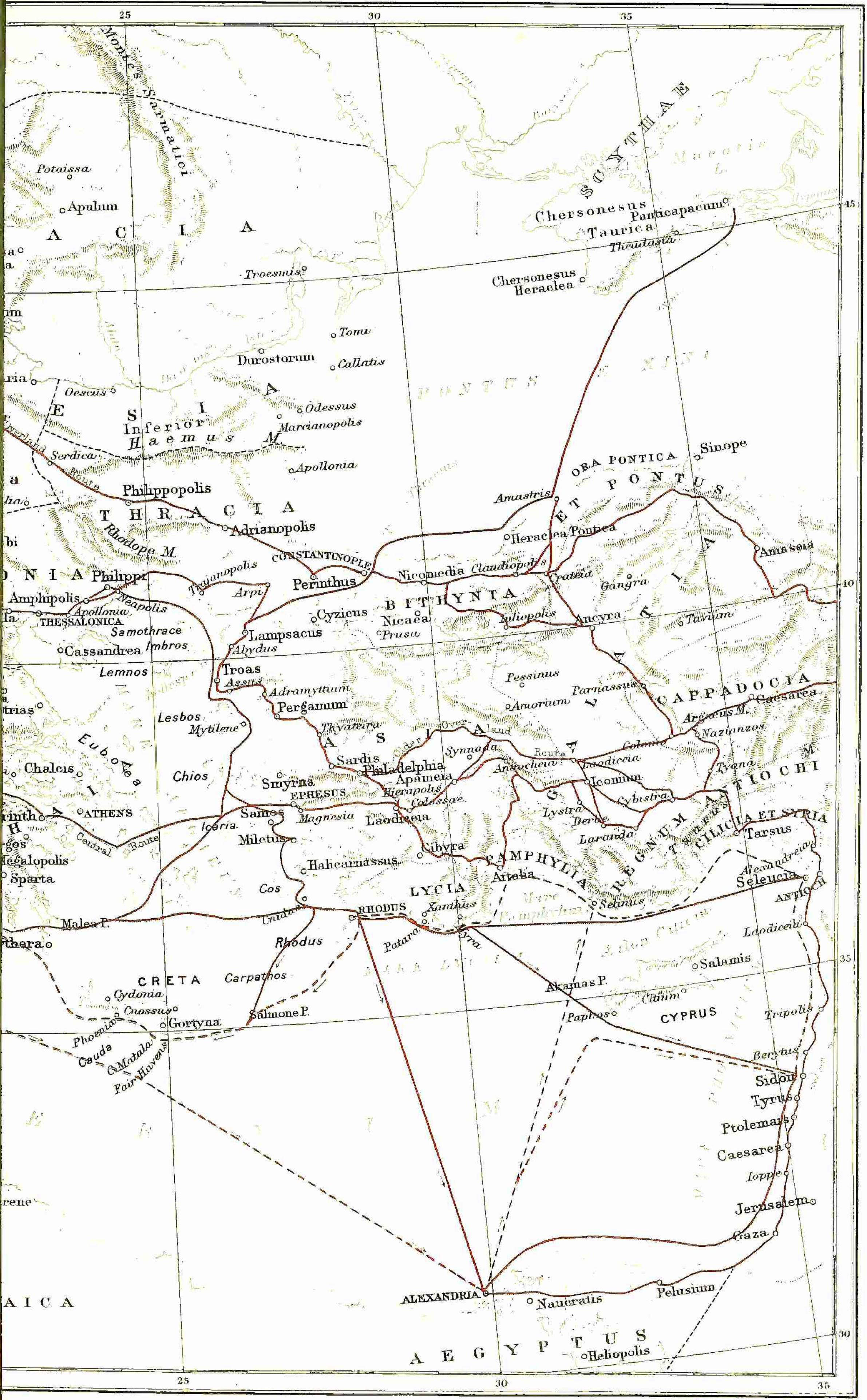
25
30
35
Montes Sarmatici
SCYTHAE
Maeotis L.
Potaissa
Apulum
ACIA
Chersonesus Taurica
Panticapaeum
Theudosia
45
Troesmis
Chersonesus Heraclea
Tomi
Durostorum
Callatis
Oescus
PONTUS EUXINUS
MESIA Inferior
Odessus
Marcianopolis
Haemus M.
Serdica
Overland Route
Apollonia
Philippopolis
THRACIA
Rhodope M.
Adrianopolis
CONSTANTINOPLE
ORA PONTICA
Sinope
ET PONTUS
Amastris
Heraclea Pontica
Amaseia
Claudiopolis
Crateia
Gangra
Nicomedia
Perinthus
Trajanopolis
Philippi
Neapolis
Amphipolis
Apollonia
THESSALONICA
Samothrace
Imbros
Arpi
Lampsacus
Abydus
Cyzicus
Nicaea
Prusa
BITHYNIA
Juliopolis
Ancyra
GALATIA
Tavium
40
Cassandrea
Lemnos
Troas
Assus
Adramyttium
Pergamum
Pessinus
Parnassus
CAPPADOCIA
Caesarea
Amorium
Argaeus M.
Nazianzos
Lesbos
Mytilene
Thyateira
ASIA
Over-land Route
Older Route
Synnada
Colonia
Euboea
Chalcis
Chios
Sardis
Philadelphia
Smyrna
Apameia
Antiocheia
Laodiceia
Iconium
Tyana
ANTIOCHI
EPHESUS
Hierapolis
Colossae
Cybistra
ATHENS
Samos
Magnesia
Laodiceia
Lystra
Derbe
REGNUM
Taurus M.
CILICIA ET SYRIA
Tarsus
Icaria
Miletus
Central Route
Cibyra
Laranda
Argos
Megalopolis
Sparta
Halicarnassus
PAMPHYLIA
Attalia
Alexandreia
Seleucia
ANTIOCH
Cos
LYCIA
Xanthus
Mare Pamphylium
Selinus
Malea P.
Cnidus
RHODUS
Patara
Myra
Laodiceia
Cythera
Rhodus
Aulon Cilicius
Salamis
35
CRETA
Carpathos
Akamas P.
Cydonia
Cnossus
Citium
Salmone P.
Paphos
CYPRUS
Tripolis
Phoenix
Gortyna
Cauda
C. Matala
Fair Havens
Berytus
Sidon
Tyrus
Ptolemais
Caesarea
Ioppe
Jerusalem
Gaza
Cyrene
ALEXANDRIA
Naucratis
Pelusium
AICA
AEGYPTUS
Heliopolis
30
25
30
35

W & A. K. Johnston Limited, Edinburgh & London

to report to the governor at Pergamus; but special orders must have been sent to alter the usual course. From Smyrna the natural course would be to sail to Troas and Philippi; and it is certain that Ignatius passed through both of those towns, and that he sailed from Troas to Philippi.

If we could assume that the convoy travelled by the Great Highway, through Philomelium, Julia, Apamea, and Laodicea, it would be necessary to suppose that the call to Smyrna was received at Philadelphia. Had the orders to visit Smyrna been known at Laodicea, the natural course would have taken the party through Tralles and Ephesus. But it may be regarded as most probable that the Roman officer followed the direct path west from Julia straight through Prymnessus and near Acmonia to Philadelphia and Pergamus, and that the convoy, travelling by this ordinary route, was called away to Smyrna from Philadelphia. This establishes a probability that the path Julia-Prymnessus-Philadelphia was the usual one for Imperial business under the early Empire. That path was an important Roman road in the early Empire, and less important later (see *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, ii. p. 588 f.).

The reason why the officer who conducted Ignatius (with other prisoners) preferred the land road to the direct voyage from the Syrian coast, did not lie in the season of the year. Friedländer says the voyage from Seleucia to Smyrna was made in late autumn or winter; but, as we saw, there was no such voyage, and indeed that voyage could hardly have been made in winter: he is wrong also as to the period, for Ignatius was at Smyrna on 23 August, and is therefore likely to have started from Antioch in early July.[*] According to the *Acta*, he entered Rome and was martyred on the feast of the *Sigillaria*, 20 Dec., which would point to a later start; but no statement in the *Acta* as to the journey carries the smallest weight; and that authority must be disregarded except when confirmed by other evidence, especially that of the letters themselves. Better authorities[†] give 17 October as the day of his martyrdom and presumably of his entry into Rome, for those two days were wrongly identified by the hagiographers: see p. 386.

We must therefore suppose that the land road was followed because it was the ordinary official route for government messages and parties; and that for Imperial administration and communication ships were used only occasionally as opportunity offered: that conclusion was stated on general grounds at the beginning of this section, and is confirmed by the circumstances of this special case. A similar conclusion is distinctly suggested by Ac $27^{2.6}$ 28^{11}: it is evident that, but for the accidental meeting with a convenient Alexandrian corn ship at Myra, the centurion would have conducted St. Paul and the rest of his convoy to Smyrna, Troas, Neapolis, and so on by the same route as Ignatius travelled from Smyrna.

When Ephesus became the regular seat of government of the province Asia, the ordinary course for such a party would perhaps have been by Julia, Apamea, Laodicea, Tralles, and Magnesia to Ephesus, to report themselves there to the governor; but, as we have seen, it was probably not before the time of Hadrian that Ephesus became the official capital, as it had long been the practical and commercial capital of the province. Now by that time the road-system across Asia Minor was greatly developed: the roads of Galatia and Cappadocia were built on a great scale under the Flavian dynasty, when the administration of central and eastern Asia Minor was remodelled in A.D. 74. It is possible that under that dynasty the government couriers from Rome to Syria began to travel by Byzantium, Nicomedia, Juliopolis, Ancyra, Tyana, and the Cilician Gates, though the route followed by Ignatius's guards would suggest that the older and longer route through the province Asia was retained in ordinary use as late as Trajan's time. But during the 2nd cent. (before A.D. 192, see below, § xii.) the Bithynian route or 'Pilgrims' Road' was made official and ordinary. Already in A.D. 112 Juliopolis was an important point on a Roman route (Pliny, *Epist.* 77).

According to the *Acta*, Ignatius took ship at Dyrrachium and sailed through the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian Seas to Portus Augusti, the new harbour completed by Trajan at the mouth of the Tiber: he desired to land at Puteoli, but strong wind would not permit. There can be little doubt that this voyage, like that from Seleucia to Smyrna, is a pure invention: the short passage to Brundisium would be preferred as the natural and ordinary conclusion of the march along the Egnatian Way.

The truth is, as Hilgenfeld has seen (though Lightfoot[*] argues against him), that the writer of the *Acta*, who possessed no authority except the letters (of which he made very little use), and who had extremely little knowledge of roads and geography, tried to model the journey on St. Paul's so far as the few facts known to him permitted. He took the journey to Seleucia from Ac 13^4: there he made the martyr embark for Smyrna, *i.e.* on board a ship 'to sail by the coasts of Asia' (Ac 27^2), and afterwards on another which sailed close to Puteoli (Ac 28^{13}), but was blown past it to the great harbour (which the writer had heard of in his own time, but which had probably not been completed when Ignatius died). He speaks as if Ignatius exercised as much authority on this ship as St. Paul did on his (Ac 27^9), which is evidently absurd. The brethren come forth from Rome to greet the martyr, as they did to welcome St. Paul (Ac 28^{15}). Everything is fanciful and invented; and all is the invention of a person who had only rather vague ideas of the journey.

The distances by land on this route may be roughly estimated as follows, according to the Itineraries:—

Rome to Brundisium . . .	360 miles
Brundisium to Dyrrachium or Aulona	2 days
Dyrrachium or Aulona to Neapolis	381 miles
Neapolis to Troas . . .	about 3 days
Troas to Antioch by Philadelphia and Julia	880 miles
Troas to Antioch by Laodicea .	930 ,,
Antioch to Cæsarea . . .	365 ,,
Cæsarea to Alexandria . . .	435 ,,
Total: Rome to Alexandria by Neapolis, Troas, and Julia, 5 days and	2420 ,,
Rome to Alexandria by Neapolis, Troas, and Laodicea . 5 days and	2470 ,,
Dyrrachium or Aulona to Callipolis	630 miles
Callipolis to Lampsacus . . .	2 hours
Lampsacus to Troas . . .	60 miles
Total: Rome to Alexandria by Lampsacus . . 2 days and 2730 or	2780 ,,
Dyrrachium or Aulona to Constantinople	750 ,,
Constantinople by Ancyra to Antioch	750 ,,
Total: Rome to Alexandria by Ancyra . . . 2 days and	2660 ,,

ix. Duration of Journeys on the Post-road between Rome and the East.—The time required to travel by the overland route requires a much more complicated investigation than is the case with the sea routes; the time would vary within very wide limits, according to the taste and character and equipment and physical powers of the individual traveller; as a rule, the government couriers went most rapidly; ordinary travellers in carriages came next to them, and sometimes equalled them; travellers on foot were of course much slower, and travelled shorter daily stages. But on the whole we shall find reason to think that current views, which are all founded on Friedländer, exaggerate the speed of travelling, and neglect the practical facts which restrict the rate over a long journey; the eminent authority just named takes exceptional cases (which are mentioned because they were exceptional, whereas the ordinary cases are not recorded, just because they were ordinary and familiar) as examples of the regular practice.

---

[*] See the calculation of time for the journey as given in the following section.

[†] The earliest are Chrysostom and the early Syrian Martyrology. See Lightfoot, *Ignatius and Polycarp*, ii. p. 416 f.

[*] *Ignatius and Polycarp*, ii. p. 389.

(*a*) Travellers on foot seem to have accomplished about 16 or 20 Roman miles per day. This estimate of 20, as stated in the present writer's *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 65, was founded on experience and observation in the country. It is confirmed by a fragmentary itinerary of a journey through the Cilician Gates, dating from the 1st cent., in which the daily stages vary from 18 to 22 Roman miles,* and by the principle of Roman law (mentioned by Friedländer, p. 25) that the number of days' grace allowed by the prætor to parties at a distance was reckoned at the rate of one day for each 20 miles. The estimate may seem short, but a consideration of the distances, *mutationes* and *mansiones*, on the Bordeaux Pilgrim's Itinerary would suggest that the average daily stage was even shorter, viz. 16 to 18 Roman miles;† and this shorter estimate is in accordance with the following unbiassed testimony. Sir H. Johnston, in the *Nineteenth Century*, 1902, pp. 728, 729, speaking of the rate of travel on foot, suited for the presumably hardy and strong African workmen going to the Transvaal mines, says: 'It should be laid down as an absolute rule that not more than 15 miles [*i.e.* 16 or 17 Roman miles] are to be accomplished in one day.'

It may therefore be confidently assumed that the ordinary rate for a long journey on foot was about 17 Roman miles per day. At this rate the distance from Antioch to Rome would be completed by the party in which Ignatius travelled in about ninety-five days continuously: eighty-six being spent in walking, seven on shipboard between Smyrna and Neapolis,‡ and two between Dyrrachium and Brundisium. To this some days must be added for detention in Smyrna and Troas, where evidently some halt was made, and there may possibly have been some other such stops by the way, especially in Tarsus, for the officer in command to report to the Roman governor of Cilicia,—say, about 104 days from start to finish.

Now of this total the journey to Smyrna would require forty-four, to which we may add two for delay in Tarsus and elsewhere, and four for the interval spent in Smyrna before the letter to the Romans was written (evidently on the eve of departure); and, as that letter was written on 24 August, the party must have started from Antioch about 6 July, and arrived in Rome about 17 October, on which day he reached Rome according to the oldest authorities (properly interpreted): see p. 385[a]. By this rough yet not inaccurate reckoning we are forced to the conclusion that Ignatius is likely to have reached Rome about the day mentioned in the oldest tradition; and it seems not improbable that this day was correctly remembered in tradition, with the probably incorrect addition that he was put to death on the same day that he arrived.

But it is more natural and probable that the execution was postponed until some great festival, when, amid the sports of the amphitheatre, Ignatius formed one of the crowd of criminals collected from all parts of the Empire, who were made to struggle with, or die unresistingly before, the starved wild beasts. The later hagiography delighted to represent the Roman government as intent on and wholly absorbed in the punishment of the martyr, and as hurrying him to death the moment he reached Rome; whereas, in reality, no official in Rome thought or cared about the one individual amidst a crowd of criminals reserved to make the next Roman holiday.

The journey of Ignatius may serve as a fair example of numberless similar journeys made by martyrs to Rome to meet the same kind of death for the amusement of a populace, which was in this way kept in good humour by the Imperial policy. There seems to be nothing exceptional or unusual about this journey. Ignatius was treated somewhat harshly by the soldiers who guarded him and the other prisoners; but naturally the guards were severe with the criminals, whom they were bound to watch, and for whose safe custody they were responsible (Ac 27[42]).

(*b*) Travellers driving along the road may probably be taken as going ordinarily at the rate of 4 Roman miles an hour. That is the rate which the writer calculated for the journey of Aristides from Smyrna to Pergamus,* and the minute details which Aristides gives make it possible to attain approximate certainty as to the rate. Ordinary travellers were weighted by luggage, and would not go faster than the heavy waggon on which it was carried. But where they wished, they were able to travel at the faster rate of the Imperial post: see below.

The regular day's journey for this class of travellers was perhaps only 25 Roman miles—half as long again as the foot traveller's ordinary journey (faster travellers went double distance, a few quadruple: see below). Twenty-five miles was the average distance between the *mansiones* on the roads; and, as Friedländer points out (p. 19), the distance between Bethlehem and Alexandria (which is about 400 Roman miles) was reckoned to be sixteen days' journey (*mansiones*).† Between each two *mansiones* the rule seems to have been that there should be two *mutationes*, though we have not a complete list for any road, for even the Bordeaux Itinerary omits some.

The roads, therefore, appear to have been divided into stages of about $8\frac{1}{3}$ Roman miles in length. The length of the stages was, undoubtedly, closely related to the average daily distances in ordinary travelling.

(*c*) The rate at which the Imperial couriers travelled is difficult to estimate with any exactness. Chambalu (*de magistratibus Flaviorum*, p. 8) supposes that they travelled at the rate of 160 Roman miles per day; and Friedländer (p. 23) quotes this estimate with apparent approval. But such a rate is entirely inconsistent with the long interval which (as we have seen) elapsed before events at Rome of great importance in the Imperial family became known in Egypt. If the couriers travelled at that rate, important events in Rome, like the proclamation of an Emperor, ought to have been known at Alexandria within twenty days at all seasons of the year; but news seems to have taken three or four times as long, except when it could be carried by ship direct from Italy. We have seen in § iv. a clear case: the accession of Pertinax on 1 January had just become known (probably on the preceding day) to the prefect of Egypt in Alexandria on 6 March A.D. 193, implying a period of sixty-four days spent on the journey.

---

* The passage is discussed in the Appendix to a paper on 'Tarsus, Cilicia, and the Cilician Gates' in the *Geographical Journal*, 1903.

† Double the unit of distance, $8\frac{1}{3}$ Roman miles, while the traveller in carriage or waggon went three units, as is shown below. No Itinerary gives a complete list of the stages or units.

‡ Allowance for waiting on winds must be made (see Pliny, *Epist.* 15, 17, who travelled at nearly the same season, Aug. or Sept. A.D. 111); otherwise five days would be an ample allowance.

* *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1881, p. 49.

† Sulpicius Severus, *Dial.* i. 4. So twenty-five *mansiones* from Edessa to Jerusalem (*S. Silviæ Aq. Peregrin.* 47); the distance by Antioch is not much under 625 miles.

This may seem to imply a very slow rate of travel for government couriers; and even if we suppose that the prefect in early March A.D. 193 was absent from Alexandria, and had to be summoned, the delay cannot have been more than a day or two. Had the governor been far from Alexandria, he would not have waited till he returned there before issuing his edict. Neglect or delay in celebrating the accession would have been disloyal, and, in the Roman sense, impious. Moreover, another well-attested interval confirms this case. News of the death of Gaius Cæsar at Limyra on the coast of Lycia on 21 February A.D. 4 reached Pisa on 2 April.[*] If we allow that it reached Rome four days earlier, this would give thirty-six days from Limyra to Rome. News of this tragic event of Imperial importance would not linger on the way; and there seems no reason to think that it would be concealed on arriving in Rome. Doubtless, public mourning was ordered instantly by Augustus.

Moreover, for a long journey such a rate of travelling was sufficiently fatiguing. The couriers, undoubtedly, were soldiers;[†] only to them could such an important service be entrusted; and doubtless picked men alone were employed. The service must have been planned with a view to be consistent with what can judiciously be expected from good soldiers as a permanent duty. It would appear that a courier carried through to its destination the despatches with which he was entrusted, and that these were not passed from hand to hand. The latter method would have given greater possibility of speed, but the former was more safe and useful. Hence, for example, Tacitus (*Hist.* ii. 73) mentions that the couriers (*speculatores*) from Syria and Palestine gladdened Vitellius by describing how the Eastern legions had taken the oath to him. See Suet. *Aug.* 42.

Chambalu and Friedländer have been misled by some exceptional cases of rapid travelling. A great effort can be made for a few days; but the steady all-the-year-round rate of travelling for the couriers must be estimated on a very different scale. We are not told how many horses were killed in those exceptional rides. We have laid down as the ruling principle of the government courier-service that regularity and certainty were more prized than mere speed; the government desired to know confidently at what date it could be reckoned that instructions would be received and put in effect. The headlong speed of modern government messages had no analogy in ordinary Roman practice, though exceptional characters, like Julius Cæsar and some others, knew the value of speed in critical circumstances, and risked everything to attain it.

The postal service across Asia Minor before the railways were opened may be taken as a fair example of the probable rate per hour: horses were changed frequently; no halts were made except at government offices in the great cities; and the rate of riding was about 5 Roman miles per hour.[*] Friedländer (p. 22) rightly estimates that the Imperial post travelled at this rate, though he considers that military couriers travelled at exactly double the rate—10 miles per hour (*loc. cit.* p. 24).[†]

Aristides, on the journey to Rome by the Egnatian Way in A.D. 144, as above described, says he travelled as fast as the Imperial couriers; and this we may confidently take as 5 Roman miles per hour. Similarly, before the railways were opened in Asia Minor, private travellers often rode with the post when they desired to make a rapid journey.

The rate per day of the couriers depends on the number of hours they rode. As to this no certain estimate is possible; but it seems probable that double the ordinary traveller's journey was the distance required daily of the couriers. A faster rate seems inconsistent with the length of time which Imperial news took to reach distant places.

We conclude, then, that 50 Roman miles per day was the post rate for the Imperial couriers. At this rate about fifty-four days would be needed for despatches from Rome to Alexandria, forty-six to Cæsarea (the capital of Palestine), thirty-nine to Syrian Antioch, twenty-four to Byzantium, and seven to Brundisium. But, further, no allowance need be made for halts at the great administrative centres—Cæsarea, Antioch, Ancyra, and Nicomedia (or the Asian capital when that route was followed). The Turkish post used to halt to allow provincial governors to send on despatches to the more distant provinces, and some time must be allowed for preliminary consideration of the despatches which the courier had brought; Imperial couriers, however, carried their despatches, as a rule, from Rome to their destination, waiting for nothing by the way.

But, even if the Imperial couriers may sometimes have made such halts by the way, it is entirely improbable that the news of the death of an Emperor and the accession of his successor would be allowed to linger in such a fashion. Couriers would in such a case surely go straight on to their own destination. They would carry official intimations to the governor of each province, and it was the duty of the governor to circulate the news by special edict. Doubtless, a special courier started from Rome for each different province, and the Alexandrian message was carried direct without any serious halt by the way. Hence it can hardly be supposed that the news of the accession of Pertinax, which took sixty-three or sixty-four days to reach Alexandria, travelled by this route, unless we allowed for a long detention by stress of weather at Brundisium. But in § xii. we shall see that the news in that case probably travelled by a different route.

As we have seen, hurried travellers went as rapidly as the government couriers. Aristides mentions that he did so; and Friedländer (p. 24) quotes the following cases, which all evidently imply journeys of 50 miles per day:—

Tarraco to Bilbilis .	224	miles	—fifth day.
Mutina to Rome .	310	,,	—sixth day.
Rome to Puteoli .	141	,,	—third day.[‡]

---

[*] Orelli, *Del. Inscr. Latin*, No. 643. Philotimus took 36 days (July 9–Aug. 14) from Rhodes to Brundisium (Cic. *ad Att.* xi. 23; *ad Fam.* xiv. 24; *pro Ligar.* 7).

[†] They were called *speculatores*: a certain number were attached to each legion. The *speculatores* of the Prætorian guard were closely attached to the Emperor's person, and formed a sort of bodyguard, ready for confidential service at any time. They were, of course, selected men.

[*] The rate for ordinary travellers on horseback on a long journey is 3¾ or 4 Roman miles per hour; but one finds it quite easy to keep up with the post for a short time, as the writer knows from experience.

[†] It is not clear why he distinguishes the post rate from that of military couriers. The post was carried by military couriers.

[‡] Martial (x. 104) says that the fifth carriage will perhaps bring his correspondent from Tarraco to Bilbilis: he evidently

Still more rapid journeys are mentioned. Julius Cæsar is said to have travelled for eight days from the Rhone to Rome at the rate of 100 miles per day. Couriers carrying urgent news sometimes rode for several days in succession at the rate of 150 miles per day. Friedländer gives 160, but the facts seem to point rather to 150, or six *mansiones*. Icelus carried the news of Nero's death to Galba in seven days or a little less (Plut. *Galb.* 7), presumably going to Tarraco by ship in four days, and thence over 300 miles by land. But such journeys were only performed in stress and need, and afford no standard for ordinary life.

The relation of all these varying rates to the fundamental 25 miles is manifest.

We have made a much more modest estimate of Roman rates of travel than Friedländer. He estimates the foot-traveller's daily journey at 26 or 27 Roman miles, that of the ordinary traveller by carriage at 40 to 50 miles, and that of the courier anywhere from 130 to 160 miles. We regard all these rates as exceptional, and as true even then only for short distances.

The rates which we have found reason to accept as customary may seem slow, but they are probably quite as great as is consistent with the climate and the character of the people. Travel was performed chiefly in the summer season, and there is no doubt that the day's journey began early in the morning, and that a stop was made by noon, after six hours (25 miles); while, in the case of ordinary travellers who were not in a hurry, it is probable that no second journey was begun after the heat of the day was passed.[*] Couriers and rapid travellers did one stage before noon and a second in the evening, each of five hours, 25 miles. As has been pointed out in art. TYRANNUS in vol. iv. p. 822^b, ordinary people regarded the day's work in summer as finished by the fifth hour, one hour before noon, though active, energetic persons still kept up the older Roman strenuous custom of a distinctly longer day.

Practical experience will show that walking 16 miles or driving 25 miles day after day without intermission, in the hot season, is quite sufficient for the strength of the ordinary man, and that only men of more than average strength and endurance can stand a long course of riding 50 miles per day. We have quoted the testimony of experience as to the rate of walking journeys; and as to carriage travelling, the following may be quoted from a *Times* telegram from the Transvaal about a journey performed in a carriage, with all the careful equipment that can now be commanded, in January 1903: 'Mr. Chamberlain's journey to-day amply testified to his physical strength and powers of endurance. The thirty miles constitute a formidable trek . . . and the sun proved very trying.' On the other hand, in the wet season or the winter a long course of travelling is even more fatiguing, from other reasons. During that period very few travellers except government couriers and carriers of goods would be on the road.

The question might be raised whether during the most temperate months of the year a quicker rate of travelling was required of the post couriers. The evidence at our disposal does not permit a certain reply; but it is most probable that the rate was uniform for the whole year. Every season offers, or may offer, its own special hindrances to rapid travel; and it would be necessary either to have one uniform rate, or to estimate the proper rate for each journey separately according to the weather and circumstances, which would be absurd.

x. THE CENTRAL ROUTE BETWEEN ROME AND THE EAST.—The routes which we have described were those by which goods were sent, and which were, as a rule, employed by travellers contemplating a steady, continuous journey, without halts. Travellers along the land route were indeed able to stop when they pleased, or when it was necessary to do so; but as a rule they undertook the journey for the sake of reaching Italy, and not with any thought of staying in the little civilized and rather inhospitable regions through which the Egnatian Way led. Thessalonica, Philippi, and a few other towns on that part of the road were doubtless much like the ordinary second or third rate cities of the Grecized countries east of the Ægean Sea; but west of Thessalonica the traveller passed into half-barbarous lands, where there was no temptation to stop, though occasionally (as was the case with Aristides through sickness, see p. 384) a halt was unavoidable. On the sea route there was, as we have seen, rarely any opportunity of stopping (except in Crete during a winter detention).

But the route most favoured by those travellers who intended to make halts by the way, whether for business or for pleasure, passed across the Isthmus of Corinth and through Ephesus, the two great business and commercial centres of the Ægean world. This was in many respects the greatest and most typical road to the East, most patronized by tourists and travellers, and by far the most important in the history of early Christianity; for along that road, incomparably more than by any other, travelled and intermingled the thoughts, the inventions, the intercommunication, of the busiest parts of the ancient world. Thus, as we have seen, the sea routes carried Christianity direct to Rome, and did not affect the lands and cities by the way except Crete. The overland route, also, was not very important in the diffusion of Christianity. Philippi and Thessalonica, two early centres of the new religion, were Christianized almost, as it might seem, accidentally, and hardly anything is known with regard to any important development along the road, nor did those two cities play any leading part in early Christian history. But Ephesus and Corinth are critical points in that history, and continued to be centres of activity and development for many centuries.

The great stages on this road were Cæsarea, Syrian Antioch, Tarsus, Cybistra,[*] Derbe, Iconium, Pisidian Antioch, Apamea, Laodicea, Ephesus, and Corinth or Athens. Each of these was a knot where the roads of a whole district met, and where its trade and intercommunication and education found a centre.

Thus this great artery was the channel in which the life-blood of the Empire mainly flowed. It was not the route along which goods mostly moved, but it was the route of those who directed trade, as well as of thoughts and inventions. Along this road it was St. Paul's early idea to move towards Rome. In his second journey, Ephesus attracted him as the city 'in which the East looked out on the West,' *i.e.* on Rome;[†] but he was diverted by Divine impulse to Philippi. Again, the last missionary idea which he had in mind before his final imprisonment and condemnation was to winter in Nicopolis (Tit 3^{12}), a point on

---

thinks of five days as the post-distance. The distance is 214 miles in the Antonine Itinerary; but Friedländer gives 224. From Mutina to Rome he gives 317: the Antonine has 313, but even this seems too great (Cic. *ad Fam.* xi. 6. 1; Philost. *Apoll. Tyan.* vii. 41).

[*] Even in the Republican period it was not thought idle to be ready for the principal meal (after work and exercise and bath were all finished) full four hours before sunset.

[*] There was a more direct road from Cybistra by Hyde, Savatra, Laodicea Katakekaumene, Philomelium, and Julia, to Apamea (p. 390); but it did not lead through the great cities, and the list of names shows that it did not play such an important part in early Christian life as the longer road.

[†] See Hort, *Lectures on Ephesians*, p. 813.

the coasting voyage between Corinth and Brundisium.

The route involved a good deal of variety, change of transport and method in travelling. It was partly a sea route, partly a land road. From Syria to Ephesus it was usually a land road (though it was free to the traveller to vary it by using the sea for this part of the journey). Between Ephesus and Corinth the communication was by sea; and again between Corinth and the coast of Italy. Though a land road was possible for a great part of the way in this latter stretch, it was rarely or never employed except for purely local communication, since it traversed barren, mountainous, and sparsely populated, almost barbarous lands, and there were on it no great cities or centres of thought and trade. But the sea way touched several important centres before it reached Italy.

Either of two sea ways to Italy was open from Corinth. Probably the more common was along the coast of Acarnania and Epirus, by Nicopolis, to Brundisium, as described in part in the *Itinerarium Maritimum*, p. 488, and thence by the Appian Way, the 'Queen of Roads,' through Tarentum, Venusia, Beneventum, and Capua to Rome.

But Ostia or Puteoli was sometimes substituted for Brundisium as the Italian harbour in this route. Ælius Aristides travelled by this way from Rome to Miletus and Smyrna, starting in September A.D. 145. Friedländer (p. 28 f.) thinks he reached Miletus in fourteen days from Rome; but this is certainly erroneous, and the interpretation of Aristides's words must be incorrect. Masson reckons the fourteen days from Corinth to Miletus, which is much more probable. This would be a very slow and tedious passage, but not improbable, if winds were unfavourable. Friedländer supposes that Aristides sailed in thirty-six hours from Sicily to Cephallenia, which is incredible;* the steamers of the Messageries Maritimes would take nearly that time for the crossing. The distinguished German scholar has made the mistake of ignoring the halt which (as we have already pointed out) probably took place at Corinth, and perhaps at islands in the Ægean Sea as well as at Miletus. Finally, Aristides says that he did not reach Smyrna until winter had begun, which implies a journey of nearly two months, if not more; for he seems to mean that the bad weather of winter had begun, and it is rare for such weather to begin before the middle of December or even later.

In truth, it is vain to think of reckoning the average time required on this journey. It was not made continuously. Its importance and character arise from the fact that travellers frequented it with the intention of staying at various points on its course, seeing and talking and learning and teaching and transacting private or public business.

These statements should not be taken as involving an assertion that no one ever travelled without halts by this route: there are no universal rules in human conduct. But continuous unhalting travel was not the intention of this route; and even when halts are not actually mentioned, it cannot be assumed in any case without careful consideration that no halts were made. The two great breaks and changes, at Corinth and at Ephesus, required new arrangements at those places, thus caused at least some short delay, and easily led to considerable halts. The traveller from Rome landed at Lechæum, on the Corinthian Gulf, and had to find a new vessel at Cenchreæ for his eastern passage. He naturally waited for some time at so famous a city as Corinth while making the new arrangements. The *diolkos*, or portage of vessels across the Isthmus, could be used only for very small vessels, and cannot be reckoned as a factor in the ordinary travelling system.

This tendency, at a break between voyages, as at Corinth, or at a change from land to sea travel or *vice versâ*, to make a halt which might last for days, is illustrated in St. Paul's journey from Philippi to Jerusalem (Ac 20. 21). Philippi was so near Neapolis that no detention at the harbour need be expected. But at Troas there seems to have been a change of ship with detention of seven days; and at Cæsarea the change to land travelling was accompanied by a detention of some days and the preparation for a journey by road (see below, p. 398^{b}). On the other hand, the transhipments at Patara and at Myra (Ac 21^{1} 27^{5}) seem to have entailed no delay, as in each case the change of ship appears to have been unpremeditated, and due to the opportunity that presented itself of a larger and more convenient sea-going ship. The change at Troas from land to seafaring made it a good centre and starting-point for mission-work, 'a door opened' (2 Co 2^{12}).

This discontinuous character of travel on the Central Route to the East shows very clearly—what has been already stated, p. 382, on other grounds—that there was no serious need for a ship canal at Corinth under the Roman Empire, and little prospect of such a canal being any more remunerative than the modern canal is. It would have been disadvantageous to Corinth under the conditions of the Roman Empire that there should be continuous unbroken navigation past its gates. The scheme of Nero and of Herodes Atticus was an archaistic fancy, and not a sound practical scheme resting on a solid commercial basis.

Again, owing to the character of this route, the cities on it grew steadily in importance. Travellers did not pass through them as mere hostelries and stations for a night: they were visitors who stayed for a time, taught and learned, transacted business or performed political and social duties. Corinth, in particular, is mentioned as profiting by these opportunities. It was the half-way house between Italy and Asia. Hence Gaius of Corinth was 'the host of the whole Church' (Ro 16^{23}), and Corinthian hospitality is mentioned several times by Clement of Rome in his letter.*

We have described this route only as an Imperial highway, neglecting its local character and noticing only the great stages. It will be described more fully among the inter-provincial routes in the following section.

xi. INTER-PROVINCIAL ROUTES IN THE EAST.—These were, as has been said in § i., only of subordinate consequence in the Imperial time. But, of all inter-provincial routes in the Roman Empire, those in the East were the most frequented and important. The older Greek trade between the Levant and Ægean harbours had not been entirely destroyed; and many hundreds, doubtless, of small vessels were constantly plying along all those coasts from Egypt or even Cyrene round to Corinth. Travellers were always able to find readily a ship to carry them in either direction along the coast. They might not always find one to do exactly what they desired: the first ship might not be going as far as the harbour which they aimed at, and they might have to tranship (Ac 21^{2}): their ship might omit to visit a harbour where they would have liked to stop, or it might stay several days in a harbour where they had no wish to remain (Ac 20^{16}).* They would have to accommodate themselves to the course of the ship, and remain close to it even when it was lying at anchor, except when it went into harbour to load or unload, or when it was laid up for the winter (§ vi.).

---

* Aristides, *Or.* 24, p. 305 (ed. Dindorf, vol. i. p. 481). Eastward-bound ships made for Cyllene in Elis, six days from Sicily (Philost. *Apoll. Tyan.* viii. 15. 1; Paus. vi. 26. 3). Friedländer quotes Apollonius's voyage (vii. 10. 1), five days, Corinth to Puteoli; but common men needed longer time.

* Under CORINTH, vol. i. p. 480^{b}, the *Corinthiaca* of Dion Chrysostom, *Or.* 37, is erroneously referred to: the passage intended is in his *Isthmiaca*, *Or.* 8, pp. 138–139, which speaks of the Greek period, but is true also of the Roman.

There were also ships plying between the Euxine harbours and those of the Ægean and the Levant. Diodorus gives the time for vessels between the Sea of Azoff and Alexandria (see § iv.): such a vessel would run down to Amastris or Sinope, then coast to Rhodes, and thence run direct to Alexandria, if Egypt were its destination; or to Myra, and thence west of Akamas to the Syrian coast, if such were its aim.†

The land roads connecting the provinces of Asia Minor were fairly developed, because in many cases the same roads that led to Rome also connected the different provinces with one another: Asia Minor is a bridge stretching from east to west, from Asia to Europe; and the roads that passed across it westward, besides leading to Rome, traversed several provinces and connected their most important cities.

1. The great Trade Route by which the products of Cappadocia were carried to Ephesus was also the direct path from Cappadocia to Rome, and those products were carried to Ephesus as the harbour for the trade with the West: the Trade Route had been developed under the Greek kings, and became even more important under the Roman Empire. It is not to be supposed that all Cappadocian trade with Rome passed through Ephesus. All heavy merchandise would inevitably follow the natural law of seeking the nearest harbour, viz. Tarsus for southern Cappadocia and Amisus for northern Cappadocia. It is noteworthy that the single Cappadocian product which is expressly mentioned as carried to Ephesus by land—red earth used for colouring—would be in small bulk and of light weight (Strabo, p. 623). The Trade Route, which went from Ephesus by Laodicea, Apamea, Julia, Laodicea Katakekaumene to Cæsarea, is fully described in the *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, chs. iii. iv.

In the east of Cappadocia the old Trade Route was in the time of Trajan, or perhaps already under Vespasian, merged in the military road system for the defence of the Euphrates frontier.‡

2. The Syrian Route coincided with the Trade Route from Ephesus through Tralles, Laodicea, Colossæ, Apamea, etc., as far as Laodicea Katakekaumene. From that city the most direct path kept away along the north edge of the low range of hills called now Boz-Dagh, by Savatra to Hiera Hyde and Kybistra. But general intercourse avoided this path and turned south to Iconium, Derbe, Laranda, and Kybistra.

We may call this route the Syrian, as the Gates through which it issued from Laodicea on the Lycus were called the Syrian Gates.§ It was identical with the Eastern section of the Central Route of the Empire, § x., and coincided in part with the Overland Route, § viii.

An alternative for part of the way kept eastward from Apamea through Apollonia and Pisidian Antioch, Neapolis, and Pappa to Iconium, where it rejoined the other. This is the line that plays most part in the NT. More important cities lay along it; in practice it seems to have been the most important way.

A modification of this alternative route, made under the Emperor Augustus, was of some importance for a time. That Emperor founded a series of six military *coloniæ*, with Pisidian Antioch as the centre, to control the barely conquered tribes of the northern Taurus (*i.e.* Isauria and Pisidia). These six *coloniæ* were connected by a series of military roads, each of which was called *Via Sebaste*, the Augustan Way.* The road coming from Apamea coincided between Apollonia and Antioch with the Augustan Way coming from the western *coloniæ*; and again south of Antioch it coincided for a long distance with the Augustan Way that leads to Lystra.

This Augustan Way is mentioned in the *Acts of Paul and Thekla* as τὴν βασιλικὴν ὁδὸν τὴν εἰς Λύστραν φέρουσαν: starting from Antioch it coincided with the other road to a point about 24 miles from Iconium (west of the village Kizil-Euren), where it probably turned south to Lystra: in the story of Thekla, Onesiphorus went out to this point on the Basilike or Augustan Way and waited till Paul should pass.† This line had more importance in a military and official point of view than in practical life.

Another alternative to part of the Syrian Route ran between Ephesus and Pisidian Antioch; it traversed the higher Phrygian lands,‡ and was useful only for travellers on foot or on horseback. It kept nearly in an easterly line from the one city to the other, ascending the Cayster valley, crossing the high and hilly region where the Cogamis rises, and through which the Mæander breaks in a deep cañon, going through Seiblia and Metropolis, and again crossing a ridge of mountains to reach Antioch. It is mentioned Ac 19^{1}.

3. An important route led from the harbours of the Propontis and Bosporus, and from Nicomedia and Nicæa, almost due east through Bithynia, Paphlagonia, and Pontus, keeping nearly parallel to the Black Sea coast. It traversed the long valley of the Amnias in Paphlagonia—a valley which is divided both from the sea and from the Central Plateau by two parallel mountain ridges. Many of the campaigns in the history of the Pontic and Bithynian kings were fought along this valley. The road must have played a considerable part in the development of society and religion in those northern provinces under the Roman Empire; but hardly anything is known on the subject owing to the almost entire loss of evidence.

4. Another very important road from the Propontis and Bosporus harbours and from Nicomedia, ran south through Nicæa to Dorylaion. There was a road-knot at Dorylaion: here met many ways: from Smyrna and Philadelphia on the south-west: from Synnada and the south: from Iconium and Lycaonia: from the Cilician Gates and Cilicia: from Ancyra and the East. The last mentioned way was afterwards the great Byzantine military road, which is very fully described in the *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, ch. G. The other roads that radiated from Dorylaion also became far more important in later times, when

---

* The view taken by many scholars, that St. Paul and the delegates chartered a vessel for their own voyage, is probably incorrect. See *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 295.

† Diodorus, iii. 34.

‡ On these eastern roads, see Anderson in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1897, p. 22 ff.

§ *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, i. p. 35.

* In *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 64, the name is given not quite correctly as the 'Royal Way': the Greek term was βασιλικὴ ὁδός, which might be rendered rightly so in English: but the Latin name, recently discovered on three milestones, proves that βασιλικὴ here is to be understood as 'belonging to the Emperor,' who was called Βασιλεύς in purer Greek, Σεβαστός in technical and common Greek.

† The line of the Basilike, as given in the map attached to *St. Paul the Traveller*, requires to be corrected near Lystra by recent discoveries: the difference does not affect the argument or any other opinions in the book.

‡ *i.e.* High or Central Phrygia, see vol. iii. pp. 865^{a}, 867^{a}.

Nicomedia first, and Constantinople afterwards, were successively capitals of the Roman world, and when the roads that connected the various districts of Asia Minor with the capitals acquired immensely greater consequence. But of them all only the road from Smyrna to Dorylaion was of considerable importance in Roman times, as it connected Bithynia with the two leading cities of Asia—Smyrna and Ephesus. It passed through Philadelphia, and coincided for a long distance with the road Philadelphia–Julia (see above, § viii.).

The road from the south to Dorylaion was evidently the one along which St. Paul travelled when he had been forbidden to preach in Asia (Ac 16[6]). He turned away north towards Bithynia, intending to preach in the great Greek cities of that province, Nicæa and Nicomedia. But when he came nearer the frontier, probably at Dorylaion, he was forbidden to enter that province; and he then turned towards the west, keeping near the frontier, perhaps in the hope that he might be permitted to enter at another point. He was, however, impelled onwards towards the sea, until at last he came out on the Ægean coast at Troas. A possible memory of this journey is preserved in local tradition near the spot where he must have crossed the river.[*]

5. A road of considerable importance in Roman times connected Perga, the capital of Pamphylia, with Ephesus and the Asian cities. It crosses the Taurus at a low elevation, and comes down on the Lycus valley: there is no difficulty in the path, which is marked out by nature. According to some recent theories, St. Paul was thinking of making his way to Ephesus already on his first journey from Perga (Ac 13[14]); but if Ephesus had been his aim, he would have taken the easy, natural, and frequented road which trade and intercourse ordinarily followed. Instead of doing so, he crossed Taurus by a very difficult path, which can never at any time have been of any importance, and which had no object except to permit occasional communication between the districts of Perga and of Pisidian Antioch: it seems beyond doubt that a person who went by this way as far as Antioch had as his aim simply to reach that city.

xii. OTHER ROUTES.—Of the many other important roads of the Empire, few played any part in the early history of Christianity, at least so far as the New Testament is concerned.

1. The road round the north of the Adriatic Sea, from Rome by the Flaminian Way, about 210 miles, to Ariminum, and thence through Ravenna, Altinum (by ship), and Aquileia, led to Mœsia, Dacia, and the regions of the Middle and Lower Danube generally, and on to Thrace and Constantinople.

This road was of growing importance in later times, as the countries through which it passed increased in civilization. It was of little importance in NT times, and was valueless as a through route for communication with the East because it traversed the still purely barbarian country of Thrace, which was formed into a procuratorial province[†] by Claudius in B.C. 46. Only under Trajan was Thrace constituted as a fully organized province of the Empire. From that time onwards the route which we are describing possessed some considerable importance, not merely as a connexion with many great and improving provinces, but also as an alternative, purely overland road, ultimately the Imperial post-road, to the East.

This route crossed the delta of the Padus by ship from Ravenna to Altinum; but the purely land road went round by Bononia (Bologna) along the Æmilian Way, then north to Verona, and east to Aquileia. By the latter way the distances were (according to the Itineraries)—

Rome to Verona 370, and to Aquileia 520 miles
Thence to Sirmium (Lower Pannonia) 400 ,,
,, ,, Sardica (Thrace) . . 311 ,,
,, ,, Constantinople . . 349 ,,
Total: Rome to Constantinople . 1580 ,,
Rome to Alexandria . . . 3130 ,,
Courier's time, Rome to Alexandria . . . . 63 days
Rome to Cæsarea in Palestine . 2680 miles
Courier's time, Rome to Cæsarea . 54 days

But if we suppose that a courier went direct from Ariminum by Ravenna, thence by ship to Altinum, and thence riding to Aquileia,[*] and that he took even one or two days on ship and other two days for the land journey to Aquileia, 95 miles, he would save two or three days.

These results seem to show clearly that this was the road by which the news of the accession of Pertinax travelled from Rome to Alexandria: the messenger, starting on 1 Jan. A.D. 193, arrived only about the sixty-third or sixty-fourth day in Alexandria. If so, it would follow that this route was established as the regular official path to the East before the end of the 2nd cent., and after the time of Trajan.

The reason for the change of route was doubtless twofold. The northerly route was far the most important: it passed through many great military centres and the capitals of several provinces, while it communicated with the capitals of several others which lay off the line of the road. Moreover, the long and sometimes stormy crossing of the Adriatic Sea was avoided by the northern route, which necessitated no voyage except the short and always easy passage of the Bosporus. Thus we can imagine that the northern road developed more and more at the expense of the road through Brundisium. It may be asked whether the latter road would not be kept in use during the more temperate seasons of the year, even if the sea-crossing was avoided in the most stormy months. That may have been so: for the accession of Pertinax, the most conclusive case known to us, falls in January, the stormiest month of the year. But it is perhaps more probable that when the northern route was established it superseded the other: it was for many reasons convenient to have permanent and unvarying conditions of travel: moreover, at least during the decay that characterized the administration of the 3rd cent., it is unlikely that more than one route was maintained permanently with a full working postal establishment.

2. The country of the Upper Danube, Rhætia, etc., was approached by the Augustan Way over the Brenner Pass (*viâ* Claudia Augusta).

3. Gaul and its adjuncts and tyrants, the two provinces of the Rhine frontier, Lower and Upper Germany, were approached by several roads: (*a*) The Flaminian Way to Ariminum, and the Æmilian Way to Placentia, continued to Milan and the Alps, and across the Cottian Alps (Mont Genevre) to Arles (Arelate), or the Graian Alps (Little St. Bernard) to Vienna, Lugdunum, and Augusta Remorum (Rheims). The distance from Rome to the Rhone was not much short of 800 Roman miles, and was said to have been traversed by Julius Cæsar in eight days. The distance to Rheims is given as 1170 miles in the Antonine Itinerary, by a very circuitous route.

(*b*) The Aurelian Way led along the coast of Italy, Liguria, and Gaul to Massilia (Marseilles) and Arelate.

(*c*) The Cassian or the Clodian Way led to Florence, and thence it joined the Aurelian Way or else went across the Apennines to join the Æmilian Way at Bononia. This route had only local importance, and was then merged in the preceding.

---

[*] See MYSIA, vol. iii.

[†] See above, p. 384[a].

[*] *Anton. Itiner.* p. 126.

4. Spain, which St. Paul hoped to visit from Rome (Ro 15^{24}), might be reached either by sea to Tarraco, or by the roads to South Gaul, which were continued across the Rhone through Narbo and over the eastern end of the Pyrenees to Tarraco, and thence by the Via Claudia Augusta to Valentia, Cordova, and Cadiz. News of the battle of Munda (not far from Cordova) is said to have been brought to Rome in thirty-five days, which is at the rate of about 50 miles a day; while Julius Cæsar reached Rome from Obulco (35 miles from Cordova) within twenty-seven days. The distance from Cordova to Rome was about 1700 miles.

5. The route to Britain went on from Lugdunum by the valley of the Saone (Arar), by Soissons and Rheims to Amiens and Boulogne, where the channel was crossed to Rutupiæ (Richborough). The distance from Rome to Bononia was about 1250 miles by the shortest route through Helvetia. Letters from Britain reached Cicero in twenty-three, or twenty-seven, or twenty-nine days:[*] there can be little doubt that all were carried by special military couriers, who came bearing Cæsar's despatches.

6. Africa was reached either by sea from Ostia or Portus, or by land and sea combined. The direct voyage in very favourable circumstances was made in three days; but this can only have been a rare and exceptional passage. Pliny's statement, that Africa could be reached on the second day, must be set aside as very doubtful. The land route followed the Appian Way to Capua, and thence the Popilian Way, keeping near the coast, to Rhegium, about 450 miles from Rome; thereafter it traversed Sicily from Messana to Lilybæum, and crossed the narrow seas to Africa. The total land journey was about 650 miles. A letter from Africa reached Rome in one case in twenty-two days:[†] doubtless it travelled either by the land route or by a coasting voyage.

II. *THE GENERAL EQUIPMENT OF THE ROMAN ROAD SYSTEM.*—i. MAINTENANCE, REPAIRS, AND SAFETY.—While the maintenance of the great roads in Italy was entrusted to special officials of prætorian or even of consular rank,[‡] the care of the roads in the provinces was part of the duty of the provincial governors. At important points, and especially at knots in the road system, permanent military guards in special guard-houses were stationed. These *stationes* were charged not merely with the care of the roads, but still more with the keeping of them safe from robbers or brigands, and in general with the safety of the public in the region around. In the more important *stationes*, at least, the commander was a centurion *regionarius*. A soldier in such a *statio* was called *stationarius*.[§] On the subject, see O. Hirschfeld in *Berl. Sitzungsber.* 1891, p. 864 f.; Mommsen, *Strafrecht*, p. 307 ff., esp. p. 312; Domaszewski, *Röm. Mittheil. Instit.* 1902, p. 330 ff.

Thus the charge of the roads was closely connected with the maintenance of peace and order in the districts served by the roads; and there grew up in the later time a tendency to name some districts of Italy according to the great road which connected them with Rome.

But, in spite of these attempts to keep the peace along the roads, there was a considerable amount of insecurity. The inscriptions often mention guards or travellers slain by robbers.[*] Juvenal speaks of the brigands of the Campanian roads, who when actively pursued in their usual haunts find it the safest course to take refuge in Rome itself (*Sat.* iii. 305 f.). The case described in Lk 10^{30} was no uncommon one. St. Paul's 'perils of robbers' (2 Co 11^{26}) were very real: it was especially in journeys through mountainous districts, where roads were not carefully guarded, that he had experienced those dangers, as Ac $13^{14.51}$ 14^{24} 16^{8}; but there was sometimes danger on the most frequented roads. Poorer travellers were those who suffered most, as was natural; the rich had large trains: important persons were granted an escort in some cases, *e.g.* Lucian was escorted by two soldiers through Cappadocia (*Alex.* 55).

The Roman roads were probably at their best during the 1st cent., after Augustus had put an end to war and disorder. In the troublous period at the close of Nero's reign, disorder crept in again; and it is doubtful if the Flavian rule ever succeeded in repressing it so completely as Augustus had done. Thus St. Paul travelled in the best and safest period, and yet the roads even then were in some places far from safe (though probably this was only in exceptional parts). In the decay of the Empire and the general relaxation of order during civil wars and during the growing weakness of administration in the 3rd cent., travelling was much less secure. On the whole subject see Friedländer, p. 46 ff.; O. Hirschfeld, 'die Sicherheitspolizei im röm. Reich' (*Berl. Sitzungsber.* 1891, p. 845 ff.), 'die aegypt. Polizei der röm. Kaiserzeit' (*ib.* 1892, p. 815 ff.).

The Roman roads only traversed properly organized provinces, and not either foreign countries or territory not yet administered on thorough Roman principles, such as Cappadocia. That province occupied a peculiar position in the Roman Empire, as we have described it above, § viii. In the Pauline time, therefore, there was no Roman road leading across it from Ancyra to the Cilician Gates. That road could not have been made before A.D. 74, when Vespasian made Cappadocia into a fully organized province.

There was one remarkable exception to this general rule. The road from Derbe to Tarsus led almost entirely through non-Roman territory (governed in St. Paul's time by Antiochus IV.). Yet that road had been necessary for Roman communication with the province Cilicia ever since that province was organized in B.C. 104. The precise authority which Rome exercised along the road, and the relation between Roman and regal power over it, are wholly obscure. It was impossible to leave a road, along which Roman officials and couriers were frequently obliged to travel in the exercise of their duties, entirely under non-Roman authority; and yet it seems practically certain that Rome did not exercise authority over the cities on the course of the road before the time of Vespasian. It is in accordance with this anomalous position of affairs that no reference is made in Acts to that part of the road: it is wholly dropped out of sight, and the author speaks as if St. Paul passed directly from Cilicia into the Roman territory of Galatia at Derbe. St. Paul and his historian were thoroughly penetrated by the Roman spirit, and simply ignored non-Roman, *i.e.* non-provincial, territory.

ii. CONSTRUCTION, MEASUREMENTS, MILESTONES.—As to the construction of the Roman roads, it is unnecessary to speak here. The manner and measure varied greatly; and in the East it is not probable that the roads were built on the same massive scale as the Appian Way. Ten feet seems to have been a common breadth. The road through the long pass over Taurus, which leads from Tarsus to Tyana and to Kybistra, and which was built in a very costly and grand style, was 10 feet broad; but this breadth was required to be entirely serviceable; and where the road was cut through solid rock, the distance left between the rock walls seems to have been always fully 13 or 14 feet. The road across Taurus from Laranda to Olba and Korykos seems to have been narrower: it remains in a fairly complete condition about one to five miles from Korykos. But, again, some miles south of Ancyra, near Gorbeous, the Pilgrims' Route seems to have been very much broader.

---

[*] Cicero, *ad Q. frat.* iii. 1. 13; 17. 25; *ad Att.* iv. 17. 3.

[†] Cicero, *ad Fam.* xii. 25. 1.

[‡] Curators of the greatest roads, sometimes *consulares*.

[§] The name *statio* was used widely in military service; but *stationarius* was practically restricted to *stationes* for police duty and public safety, and the use of the word belongs to a later period than the NT.

[*] *CIL* ii. 2968, 3479, iii. 2399, 2544; *Cities and Bish. of Phr.* i. p. 328, No. 133; Sterrett, *Epigr. Journey*, No. 156; Boissier, *Inscr. de Lyon*, 478, iv. etc.

Milestones are frequently found in groups of three or four, new stones having been erected when repairs were made. But the later Emperors, especially those of the 4th cent., were usually satisfied with the substitution of their names for those of some earlier Emperors on an old milestone: this may be classed along with many other examples of slovenliness and carelessness during the degradation of the Empire. After the 4th century hardly any milestones are known—one of many proofs that the Byzantine government had greatly degenerated from the thoroughness of method that characterized the Roman Empire.

iii. INNS AND ENTERTAINMENT.—Inns, taverns, and places of refreshment certainly existed in numbers along the great roads. Little is known about them, and the little that is known gives no favourable picture of them. Aristides complains of their half-ruinous condition, with leaky ceilings and general discomfort and disagreeable conduct on the part of the owners, on the road from Neapolis to Dyrrachium. His account suggests that he found the inns on this road poorer than those to which he was accustomed in Asia. To judge from all that is mentioned,—though one must not press too closely the complaint of travellers,—in the less civilized countries they were, as a rule, dirty, ill kept, and badly managed by churlish and ignorant hosts.[*] Hence wealthier travellers carried their own equipment, and the hospitality of private houses was much sought after.

On the other hand, in the Eastern provinces inns seem to have been much superior and far more numerous: competition raised the standard of equipment (as Plutarch says, *de vit. Pud.* 8, p. 532), and the art of innkeeping was very ancient in the province of Asia.[†] Epictetus, who originated from Hierapolis in the Lycus valley, speaks of the traveller being tempted to linger long in a splendid hotel.[‡] The *Panhormus* which is mentioned near the summit of the road above the narrow pass of the Cilician Gates, must have been at least a large establishment, though probably more of the nature of a khan (in which only room, but no furniture,[§] was supplied) than of a hotel; but at least there can be no doubt that food was supplied, whereas in modern khans nothing but coffee can be procured by the traveller. The present reason for this defect, viz. want of capital or of trading instinct, did not exist in Roman times; but it is mentioned in earlier Greek times, when the land was poorer (Plutarch, *Apophth. Lacon. var.* 44).

The fact that Aristides, travelling in Asia between Smyrna and Pergamus,[*] went to an inn before going to a friend's house, which Friedländer rightly notes, may serve as an indication of the superior character of inns in that province, though it must be remembered that he was travelling by night (*Or.* 27, p. 347 ff.). His discontent with the inns in Macedonia on the Egnatian Way shows probably that he was used to better accommodation in Asia (see above, § viii.).

Imperial officials, judges, soldiers on the march, and even municipal magistrates,[†] had the right to free quarters in the towns through which they passed. They were billeted on residents (though physicians and teachers of grammar, philosophy, and rhetoric were exempted by Vespasian). The behaviour of many of those who enjoyed the right of free quarters was rude and oppressive; and Plutarch (*Cat.* 12), in describing the modest and courteous behaviour of the younger Cato in this respect, shows by contrast what was done by others. Towns might avoid the burden by erecting a public house of entertainment,[‡] as is stated in the inscription published by Waddington, *Inscr. de la Syrie*, No. 2524, on which see the remarks of Domaszewski in *Mittheil. des Instit. Röm.* 1902, p. 333. Such oppressive conduct was frequent, in spite of all attempts to repress it.[§] Trajan wrote about it to Pliny (*Epist.* 77). Provincial governors were charged by the general *mandata* of the Emperor to prevent it.[‖]

Inns, taverns, or houses of better class for the entertainment of high officials (*prætoria*) were often erected by municipalities: see *CIL* iii. 6123. Friedländer, p. 41, quotes Man in *Bull. d. Instit.* 1882, p. 116 (but it may be a private *hospitium* or inn).

In one respect, however, the ancient inns were almost universally bad. They were little removed in character from houses of ill-fame; and such are sure (like their owners) to degenerate in general character. The profession of innkeepers was dishonourable, and their infamous character is often noted in Roman laws.[¶]

The story of the birth of St. Theodore of Sykea bears witness to an equally depraved condition of things in the 6th cent. after Christ; and in the Middle Ages the pilgrims to Jerusalem saw no improvement, and found that a decent stranger, if his ship were lying in harbour, would be wise to return to it at night rather than stay in an inn. In ancient writers allusion is often made to the way in which hosts and hostesses tried to induce travellers to enter their inns, also to their cheating and shamelessness. Finally, hostesses were often said to practise witchcraft.

The bad character of the inns imparts new meaning and stronger emphasis to the repeated and emphatic references made in early Christian literature to the duty of hospitality.[**] It was not necessary to recommend this virtue because it was neglected in the society of that period, as, *e.g.*, purity and various other virtues are urgently pressed on the attention of the early Christians, because ordinary society lacked them and cared not for them. On the contrary, hospitality was in all probability generally and regularly practised in pagan society. Nor was hospitality recommended merely on the general ground that it is a good thing: the advice and exhortations in early Christian literature are always given with a clear reference to the actual position and failings and interests of the people concerned. The reason for recommending it lies in the needs of the Christian travellers: they ought not to be left to the corrupt and nauseous surroundings of the inns kept by persons of the worst class in existing society. Gaius of Corinth, that meeting-place of nations, was remembered by Paul as the host of himself and of the whole Church (Ro 16^{23}).

---

[*] Sidonius Apoll. *Epist.* viii. 11. 3; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* ix. 154, xvi. 158; Script. Hist. Aug. *Hadr.* 16; Plutarch, *de San. Præc.* 16, p. 130; Dioscor. *de Ven.* ii. præf., ed. Sprengel, ii. p. 5. All are quoted by Friedländer. See above, p. 384.

[†] On its antiquity, the writer's *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, ii. p. 416 n., may be consulted.

[‡] *Diss.* ii. 23. 36.

[§] Not much furnishing, of course, is needed, or would be comfortable, in warm countries.

[*] This journey is very fully discussed in *Journ. of Hell. Stud.* 1881, p. 48 ff.

[†] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ix. 26, *Epist.* ix. 33. 10.

[‡] Pliny, *Epist.* viii. 8. 6.

[§] It was called *διασεισμός*, *διασείειν*, Lk 3^{14} (addressed to the soldiers on duty at an Imperial estate, probably near Jericho, who in later times would have been called *stationarii*, see Domaszewski, *loc. cit.*); *CIL* iii. 12336, 14191; *Pap. Oxyrynch.* ii. 240, 284, 285.

[‖] *CIL* iii. 14191 (Appia in Phrygia), 12336 (Skaptopara in Thrace).

[¶] Ulpian, *Dig.* iii. 2. 4. 2; xxiii. 2. 43. 1 and 9; *Cod.* iv. 56. 3; Tertullian, *de Fuga in Persecut.* 13; see also Marquardt, *Privatl.* p. 471, n. 5.

[**] See, *e.g.*, Ro 12^{13}, 1 Ti 3^{2}, Tit 1^{8}, 1 P 4^{9}, He 13^{2}; Clem. Rom. *ad Cor.* i. 10-12. 35.

The reference in Lk 10^{35} opens up the question of the expense of inns. The Samaritan there pays two denarii, about two francs, for the expense incurred at an inn for two persons for one night; he can hardly have intended this to cover part of any future expense, as the wounded person needed further care; for he promised to pay any expenditure beyond that amount, and it is not clear that there was any surplus after paying the night's expenses. The pay of a private in the Roman legions during the 1st cent. was a little over half a denarius per day, of a prætorian apparently two denarii; but the soldiers were discontented and mutinied, claiming a full denarius of daily pay (Tacitus, *Annals*, i. 17 and 26). Perhaps the action of the Samaritan was only a liberal payment of the bill already incurred, with a promise to pay any further expenses.

iv. CUSTOMS, ROAD-TAXES OR TOLLS, AND FRONTIER DUTIES.—Among the incidents of travel, custom-house examinations did not fail. Personal effects were free from duty; but merchandise of every kind was liable to a duty, sometimes by tariff, generally *ad valorem*, at the frontier of each of the provinces. Duties collected from travellers to pay for the maintenance of roads may be summed up along with the customs duties: there is not enough of evidence about them, but their existence seems certain.

Attempts to defraud the customs officers were numerous and varied: *mille artibus circumscribimur*, says the advocate of the customs officials in Quintilian, *Declam.* 341. The result necessarily was greater strictness on the part of the officers: the law gave them the right of searching the luggage and the person of all travellers (except that personal search of matrons was forbidden):[*] they sometimes disturbed and turned over personal luggage in the search for contraband articles.[†]

Officials, soldiers, and certain distinguished persons, by special favour of the Emperor, travelled duty-free, and safe from such troublesome examination (ἀτέλεια).

The customs duties (*portoria*) formed a most important item in the revenues of the Roman State, and their regular and complete exaction was a matter of the utmost moment.[‡] They were levied at the frontier stations in the nearest cities, which all bore the title *portus*, λιμήν, whether they were maritime towns or frontier towns on the great land roads. Hence, *e.g.*, Derbe, which was a frontier town of the province Galatia, is called λιμήν by Stephanus Byzantinus.[§]

Only in the case of the province Achaia was there an exception perhaps made. Dessau (*Hermes*, xix. p. 532) expresses the opinion that the Romans exacted no customs duties in that province during the Imperial period, and thinks that Athens collected customs in the harbour of Piræus for its own benefit at that time, according to an inscription of Piræus (published in *Philologus*, 1870, vol. xxix. p. 694). If he is right, there were no customs duties in the great harbour of Corinth (except in so far as that city was permitted to charge for its own advantage); and this freedom would greatly encourage the passage of intercourse through the city.

The duties payable at the frontier varied widely in amount. In Sicily, in all the provinces of Illyricum,[*] perhaps in Africa, the charge was five per cent. all round, in Gaul and in Asia two and a half per cent. In Syria it was levied by tariff (πινάκιον), varying for different wares and products, and reckoned according to a formal statement or invoice (*professio*, ἀπογραφή): the tariff system is known to have existed at the great Euphrates-bridge, Zeugma, and at Palmyra,[†] and may therefore be supposed general for the whole of Syria.

v. THE TELONAI IN THE GOSPELS.—With regard to the tax-gatherers, or 'publicans,' τελῶναι, mentioned in the Gospels, there are some incorrect views which have obtained practically universal acceptance in books relating to the NT. (1) The *telonai* are usually described by modern authorities as if they were identical with, or agents of, the *publicani*—those great financial corporations which in the Republican period had farmed the revenues of entire provinces: in fact, the current translation, 'publicans,' bears witness to the almost universal acceptance of this mistake. (2) The *telonai* are also described by modern writers generally as being collectors of customs duties, and it is regularly pointed out that Capernaum and Jericho were near the frontier[‡] (Lk 5^{27} $19^{1.2}$, Mk 2^{14} etc.). But it is impossible to suppose that mere custom-house officers on the frontiers could be either so numerous or the object of such bitter and fanatical hatred as were those *telonai*. To see the falseness of the current view, and the true nature of the *telonai*, it is necessary to recapitulate briefly the history of the recent Roman practice in Palestine, and we accept the views stated by Rostowzew.[§]

In B.C. 57 Gabinius reorganized Judæa. He did not (as many authorities have supposed) make it a part of Syria or treat it as a province: this is proved with great probability by Unger.[‖] Gabinius introduced a partial autonomy, dividing Palestine into five parts, each with a capital city and an aristocratic *synhedrion* to administer the government. But a direct tax, *stipendium*, instituted by Pompey in B.C. 63, was paid by each part.[*] For taxation Palestine was treated along with Syria, the collection of the taxes in both being contracted for by one society of *publicani*. The *publicani* made their arrangements with the five *synhedria*, and the five capitals formed so many centres of administration and collection of the *stipendium* for and by the *publicani*.

---

[*] See the case of the lady who hid 400 pearls in her bosom, Quintilian, *Declam.* 359.

[†] References in Friedländer, p. 46, n. 1.

[‡] 'The frontier duties (*portoria*) formed the principal part of the State revenue' (Rostowzew, 'Gesch. der Staatspacht in der röm. Kaiserzeit,' *Philol. Suppl.* ix. p. 409).

[§] See DERBE, vol. i. p. 595; GALATIA, ii. p. 87^a; LYCAONIA, iii. p. 175^b. This important fact about Derbe remains entirely disregarded by writers on the subject; and λιμήν is commonly altered to λίμνη.

[*] The character of the Illyrian system during the first century is unknown. From the time of Hadrian onwards the eight provinces Rhætia, Noricum, two of Pannonia, two of Mœsia, Dacia, Dalmatia, were organized for this purpose as a single governmental district, though dues were levied at the frontier of each district, as in Africa dues were levied probably at the frontiers of the four districts into which the province was divided (Rostowzew, pp. 393, 402): *quattuor publica prov. Africæ* was the full title of the African customs.

[†] Fronto, *Princ. Hist.* 209 (Naber); Philostr. *Vit. Apoll. Tyan.* i. 18: on Palmyra, see the important inscr. of A.D. 137, Dessau, *Hermes*, xix. 486 ff., 526 ff.; Rostowzew, p. 405 (Reckendorf, *Zft. d. d. morgenl. Gesellsch.* 1888, p. 370 ff., gives both Greek and Aramaic texts). Schürer, *Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes*^{3}, i. p. 475, wrongly supposes that Palmyra collected the tax for its own benefit, following Dessau, *loc. cit.*; Rostowzew shows that it acted on behalf of the fiscus, and was assisted or watched by Imperial officials.

[‡] It is, however, by no means clear that Capernaum was the frontier city on the road, though it was not far from the frontier. Jericho was at the frontier between procuratorial Judæa and Herod Antipas's Peræa. Rostowzew (p. 481) makes some not quite accurate geographical statements on this point.

[§] 'Gesch. der Staatspacht,' u.s.w., p. 475 ff.

[‖] See his paper on Josephus IV. in *Sitzungsber. Bayer. Akad.* 1897, i. 189 ff.; Rostowzew, p. 476.

Julius Cæsar restored the single government with the capital and centre at Jerusalem (Mommsen, *Provinces*, ii. p. 175). With this was united a remodelling of the regulations regarding the *stipendium*. The tax, at first, had to be paid in Zidon (as the central office of the company of *publicani*, doubtless);[†] but, after a year or two had elapsed, the control of the *publicani* was abolished, so far as concerned Palestine, and the ethnarch was made solely responsible for the levying of the tax and the payment of it to the Roman government.[‡] The autonomy of Judæa was thus restored very completely, except for the payment of a *stipendium*, but the tax was collected by the ruler of the nation in native fashion. Hence the census of Syria (according to Lk 2^1), which began in B.C. 8, was probably conducted by Herod over Palestine according to the Jewish tribal divisions (Ramsay, *Was Christ Born in Bethlehem?* ch. viii.).

This financial system lasted till A.D. 6, when Quirinius, in his second governorship of Syria, made Judæa a province, and subordinated it to Syria. It is quite obvious that the system of *publicani* was not then reintroduced. The census which Quirinius made shows that the Roman State retained the tax under its own control; whereas the previous *census* between 8 and 6 B.C. had evidently been made in Palestine according to native methods, because the taxation was levied by such methods.

Perhaps collection of taxes by the Roman State was now introduced, and the division of Judæa into eleven *toparchiai* must have probably been intended to facilitate this: these had their *metropoleis* and *komai*, and were probably not divided into *poleis* on the Greek system.

Many taxes were paid in the province Judæa—a heavy poll-tax, customs duties payable at the frontiers, road-tax on those who used the roads, land-tax, and many others.[§] The system was probably much the same as in the Seleucid times.

The so-called 'publicans,' τελῶναι in NT, were the agents in collecting these taxes. It is obvious that these 'publicans' have no connexion with or relation to the old *publicani* of the Roman Republic. Those old *publicani* had been financiers on a vast scale, who farmed the taxes of an entire province, paid a lump sum to the Roman State, collected the taxes by their own staff of agents, and made large profits out of the revenue which they collected. Their staff was a highly trained band of clerks and agents, consisting chiefly of their slaves and freedmen, who were familiar with the work of tax-collecting, ready to be employed in any province farmed by the financial company, almost always foreigners and not natives of the province where they were stationed. But the *telonai* of the NT were Jews, who prayed in the temple, and with whom Jesus and His disciples sat at meat. They were contractors or farmers on a small scale: they arranged for the collecting of one tax in one town or small district. Their precise relation to the Roman government and their method of remuneration is not attested, but Rostowzew regards it as practically certain that they did not pay down a lump sum by contract and retain all that they could collect over that amount, and he suggests that they perhaps may have been paid through a percentage on the amount collected.

Hence the *telonai* in a town were very numerous (Lk 5^{27-30}, Mk $2^{16.17}$, Lk $19^{1ff.}$, Mt $9^{9ff.}$). Each had his own office, where he sat, where he collected his own special tax alone or with others, for associations or companies of *telonai* sometimes united to make the contract. Those *telonai* were persons of some property, as is quite distinctly implied in the Gospels (cf. also Josephus, *BJ* II. 14. 4 [Niese, § 287]). They were permitted by law to collect only a certain fixed duty according to law or tariff, though there were many instances in which they illegally collected more than the proper amount; see Lk $3^{12.13}$. They had no right of exacting arrears, but could merely denounce and accuse defaulters before the officers of the State (*συκοφαντεῖν*, Lk 19^8; Rostowzew, p. 343 f.): their powers, therefore, fell far short of those exercised by the old Republican *publicani* and their agents. These *telonai* were evidently all natives of the country; and the fiscal system was practically the same as in Roman Egypt, a slightly modified continuation by Augustus of the Hellenistic system, which utilized the native population as collectors.

The change which Julius Cæsar in B.C. 47–44 introduced, and which Augustus in A.D. 6 confirmed, in abolishing the sway of the *publicani* in Judæa,[*] was only part of the general change introduced gradually in the Empire. The exactions and tyranny of the *publicani* had been the greatest evil of Republican Roman government in the provinces. The Emperors gradually increased the activity of the government, narrowly watched the conduct of the *publicani*, reduced their gains, collected the new Imperial taxes (such as that on inheritances) without their aid, and finally abolished them entirely, as Rostowzew has shown with admirable skill in the dissertation from which we have so frequently quoted. The collection of customs duties (*portoria*) was the sphere in which the *publicani* had persisted longest, because in that department, through their immense staffs of trained agents, they had a great advantage; but even there they were superseded, at latest in the 2nd cent., in Judæa already by the arrangements of Julius Cæsar. The Imperial government rarely substituted direct collection by its own officials and staff; sometimes it employed the cities, *e.g.* Palmyra, as above pointed out, but generally it used a large staff of small farmers of revenue, who collected each one tax in a small district, and who were carefully superintended by Imperial officials, to whom they had to refer all doubtful cases.

In the Republican period the *publicani* had been, of course, subject to the jurisdiction of the proconsul or other governor of the province. But their situation, subject to the governor of a year, —who had no knowledge from his previous training of the facts and methods of tax-collecting, and was therefore quite unable to understand the real character of many of the complicated questions connected with the vast business-organization, whose correct working he was supposed to keep an eye upon,—was very different from the situation of the contractors under the Empire, who were watched over by an Imperial procurator, trained to the duty, selected by the Emperor, as a rule, on account of his familiarity with the duty, remaining for years in the same office, and commanding all the collected information that was stored up in the Imperial bureau. It was necessary under the Empire for the contractors to be very much more careful, when the regular methods of overseeing had gradually established fixed and minute rules of procedure, than under the Republican régime when there were only vague and general principles laid down as to the conduct of the collectors, and it was rarely difficult, and usually extremely easy, to hoodwink even a just and strict governor. The *publicani* of the Republic had been the masters, tyrants, and scourges of the provinces, able to seize, torture, and ill-treat as they pleased any provincial whom they declared to be in arrears—permitted by the governors of provinces (who were almost all ignorant and either feeble or corrupt) to exact what they wanted in any way they pleased—gaining great wealth with little or no responsibility in practice. The tax-contractors (*telonai*) of the Imperial time, or even the *publicani* where they continued in that period to exist, were far more closely and efficiently superseded: the amount which they could collect legally was much better known through the tariff: the *telonai* had not such a direct interest (though they had some interest) in collecting too much, and had no power to collect arrears at all, but could merely denounce the defaulter to the proper Imperial officials. It is probably the case that, if a *telones* failed to prove his case against a defaulter, he had to forfeit a penalty (possibly fourfold the sum claimed, for Zacchæus's obscure and unexplained statement in Lk 19^8 was perhaps founded on legal usage).[*]

---

[*] This *stipendium*, an unusual kind of tax in the Roman State, was probably imitated from the Seleucid custom in Syria.

[†] This, of course, implies that the tax in Palestine was collected, not by agents of the *publicani* but by the government of the land of Judæa, which in turn paid it to the *publicani*. This avoided the worst evils.

[‡] Mommsen and others suppose that Judæa was freed from the tax by Cæsar, and that the edicts on the subject (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* XIV. v. 6) refer only to Joppa. Niese in *Hermes*, xi. 435, and Viereck, *Sermo Græcus*, p. 100, show that the text of Josephus must not be tampered with (as Mommsen has to do). Appian mentions Herod among the kings who paid tribute.

[§] Goldschmid, 'Les Impots et Droits de Douane en Judée sous les Rom.' (*Rev. d. Ét. Juives*, 1897, p. 192 ff.); also Ruggiero, *Diz. Epigraph.* iii. p. 126; Wilcken, *Griech. Ostraka*, i. 247.

[*] Schürer does not admit this, *Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes*^{3}, i. p. 478; and sets aside Wieseler, *Beitr. z. richt. Würdigung d. Evangelien*, 1869, p. 78 f., who had seen rightly.

The *telonai* collected taxes paid in money, not tithes or other dues paid in kind. The Jews regarded it as a fundamental principle of their religion that they should pay no money except to the temple and the priests. But the *telonai*, exacting the many various kinds of taxes, intruded unpleasantly into the life of the people at every turn, and were a constant reminder of their subjection. Moreover, the fact that they were Jews, who made themselves the agents of the oppressor, and acquired money by exacting it from their own brethren, made them even more despised than if they had been Romans or slaves of Romans, like the agents of the old *publicani*.

So far as we can judge from the Gospels, the method of tax-collecting was, generally speaking, the same in the procuratorial province of Palestine and in Herod Antipas's kingdom of Galilee and Peræa. Small contractors for a single tax in a district performed the work of collecting both in the province and in the kingdom. The superintendence of these contractors lay with the supreme taxing authority. In the province the authority was, of course, the Imperial government. In the kingdom the authority is not quite certain. While it is possible that Antipas was permitted to collect the taxes for the Romans in his kingdom, as his father Herod had done, it seems more probable that he was not so honourably treated as Herod the Great had been, and that Roman officials supervised the *telonai* in his kingdom as in the province.

III. *MEANS AND POPULARITY OF TRAVEL.*—i. TRAVEL AS PICTURED IN THE CLASSICAL LITERATURE.—To judge from many expressions used by the leading men of letters and philosophic moralists in classical times, travelling might seem not to have been popular. Those writers often speak as if travelling, especially by sea, were confined to traders who risked their life to make money, and as if the dangers were so great that none but the reckless and greedy would incur them; and the opinion is often expressed, especially by poets, that to adventure oneself on the sea is an impious and unnatural act. The well-known words of Horace (*Od.* i. 3) are typical of that point of view.

But that point of view was traditional among the poets; it had been handed down from the time when travelling was much more dangerous and difficult, when ships were small in size and fewer in number, when seamanship and method were inferior, when few roads had been built, and travel even by land was uncertain. Moreover, seafaring and land travel were hostile to the contentment, discipline, and quiet orderly spirit which Greek poetry and thought loved to dwell on and to recommend: they tended to encourage the spirit of disorder, rebellion against authority, self-confidence and self-assertiveness, the *ναυτικὴ ἀναρχία*, stigmatized by Euripides in the *Hecuba.* In Roman literature the Greek models and the old Greek sentiments were looked up to and imitated as sacred and final; and those expressions of the Roman writers, like the Corinthian Canal and the dread of Cape Malea,[*] were a proof of their bondage to their Greek masters in thought.

When we look deeper, we find underneath and behind those superficial sentiments very different views expressed by the writers who wrote in closer contact with the real facts of the Imperial world. Writers like Philo and Pliny in the 1st cent., Appian, Plutarch, Epictetus, Aristides in the 2nd cent., are full of admiration of the Imperial peace and its fruits: the sea was covered with ships interchanging the products of different regions of the earth, wealth was vastly increased, comfort and well-being improved, hill and valley covered with the dwellings of an increasing population: wars and pirates and robbers had been put an end to, travel was free and safe, all men could journey where they wished, the most remote and lonely countries were opened up by roads and bridges: such is the picture of the Roman world which those writers place before us.[†]

It is the simple truth that travelling, whether for business or for pleasure, was contemplated and performed under the Empire with an indifference, confidence, and, above all, certainty, which were unknown in after centuries until the introduction of steamers and the consequent increase in ease and sureness of communication.

ii. TRAVEL IN THE CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.—The impression given by the early Christian writings is in perfect agreement with the language of those writers who spoke from actual contact with the life of the time, and did not merely imitate older models and utter afresh old sentiments. Probably the feature in those Christian writings, which causes most surprise at first to the traveller familiar with those countries in modern times, is the easy confidence with which extensive plans of travel were formed and announced and executed by the early Christians. In Ac 16[1ff.] a journey by land and sea through parts of Syria, Cilicia, a corner of Cappadocia, Lycaonia, Phrygia, Mysia, the Troad, Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece is described, and no suggestion is made that this long journey was unusual or strange, except that the somewhat heightened tone of the narrative in 16[7-9] corresponds to the rather perplexingly rapid changes of scene and successive frustrations of St. Paul's intentions. But those who are most intimately acquainted with those countries know best how serious an undertaking it would be at the present time to repeat that journey, how many accidents might occur in it, and how much care and thought would be advisable before one entered on so extensive a programme.

---

[*] *ἐσυκοφάντησα* in that passage is commonly misunderstood and mistranslated: it does not mean 'exacted': the passage means 'if I have accused any defaulter before the government and had him condemned to pay up arrears.' It is possible that, in mentioning this detail, Zacchæus was replying to the unspoken accusation of unfair conduct levelled at all his class, and that he meant 'as to this accusation, my reply is that when I have made an unfair claim for arrears, I forfeit as a penalty four times the sum claimed: this makes it practically impossible for us to act so unfairly and extortionately as we are accused of doing.' But the first part of his statement would still remain as obscure as it is on the ordinary interpretations.

[*] See above, pp. 382, 389.

[†] Friedländer quotes Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium*, 7 and 21, pp. 552, 566; Plut. *de fort Rom.* 2; Appian, *Præf.* 6; Epict. *Diss.* iii. 13. 9; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* xiv. 2, xxvii. 2 f.; Aristides, *Or.* ix *εἰς βασιλέα*, p. 66 (Dind. i. p. 111).

Again, in 18[21] St. Paul touched at Ephesus in the ordinary course of the pilgrim-ship which was conveying him and many other Jews to Jerusalem for the Passover. When he was asked to remain, he excused himself, but promised to return as he came back from Jerusalem by a long land journey through Syria, Cilicia, Lycaonia, and Phrygia: that extensive journey seems to be regarded by speaker and hearers as quite an ordinary excursion. In Ro 15[24], when writing from Corinth, St. Paul sketches out a comprehensive plan. He is eager to visit Rome: first he must go to Jerusalem, but thereafter he is bent on visiting Spain, and his course will naturally lead him through Rome, so that he will, without intruding himself on them, have the opportunity of seeing and affecting the Romans and their Church on his way. Throughout mediæval times nothing like this off-hand way of sketching out extensive plans was natural or intelligible: there were then, indeed, some great travellers, but those travellers knew how uncertain their journeys were, and they would hardly have expressed such rapid plans as a matter of serious business, because they were aware that any plans would be frequently liable to interruption, and that nothing could be calculated on as reasonably certain: they entered on long journeys, but regarded them as open to modification or even frustration: in indicating their plans they knew that they would be regarded by others as attempting something great and strange. But St. Paul's methods and language seem to show clearly that such journeys as he contemplated were looked on as quite natural and usual by those to whom he spoke or wrote. He could go off from Greece or Macedonia to Palestine and reckon with practical certainty on being in Jerusalem in time for a feast day not far distant: 'I must by all means keep this feast that cometh in Jerusalem; but I will return again unto you, if God will' (Ac 18[21] AV). The last condition is added, not as indicating uncertainty, but in the usual spirit of Eastern religion, which forbids a resolve about the future, however simple and sure, to be declared without the express recognition of Divine authority—like the Mohammedan 'inshallah,' which never fails when the most ordinary resolution about the morrow is stated.

iii. TRAVEL CONFINED TO THE ROMAN EMPIRE.—One of the main causes for that certainty and confidence in travel lay in the unification of the Empire and the profound peace and security established by the Emperors over all the Mediterranean world. Travellers were everywhere in their own country. Travel in foreign countries was never common among the ancients. Although many considerable journeys in foreign and barbarous lands had been made, they were adventurous and exceptional, and stand on quite a different platform from the easy, sure journeys which we are describing as characteristic of the early Imperial period. The Roman traveller travelled in the Roman world; but that world was now so extensive that his journeys could be made on a much greater scale. Moreover, war was no longer to be dreaded; only civil war was now possible, since a foreign army could not be thought of within the Roman bounds; and when St. Paul was travelling, civil war had long ceased to be considered as a possible contingency (though it broke out shortly after his death). Again, Augustus had exterminated piracy by sea and brigandage by land, as Epictetus said; and though, as we have seen, the statement can only be accepted with certain limitations, it was fairly correct during a vigorous period of provincial government (such as that between A.D. 47 and 61, during which most of St. Paul's travelling was performed), and in the thoroughly organized parts of the Empire.

When St. Paul confined his work and his immediate plans so entirely to the Roman world, he was not merely acting in the spirit of his time, which he had unconsciously assimilated during his childhood as a Roman Tarsian, but he was guided by the practical possibilities of communication and travel at the time. The 'door' was open wide in the one direction, in the other it was closed. That the Scythian was ultimately to be included in the universal Church, was of course part of his ideal; but that lay further away and beyond the sphere of immediate work, and, moreover, the prevalent idea in the Roman world doubtless was that the Roman rule and Empire was steadily growing wider and taking in more and more of the alien world. New provinces were continually being added during St. Paul's lifetime. A little more than twenty years after his death, Dion Chrysostom was wandering among Scythians and Getæ through South Russia and Hungary from the mouth of the Borysthenes to the Upper Danube, and soon afterwards a new province of Dacia was formed on the north of the Danube.

iv. CLASSES OF TRAVELLERS, AND MOTIVES FOR TRAVELLING.—In the NT we find a large number and a great variety of travellers: Lydia, the 'Lydian woman' from Thyatira, dealing in turkey-red stuffs at Philippi:* Luke, the doctor, at Troas: Aquila, the Pontic tent-maker, with his wife at Rome and Corinth and Ephesus, and back at Rome again: Bar-Jesus, the Jewish magician at Paphos: Paul, taken in many cities for a lecturer on ethics and philosophy wandering in search of fame and a situation: Apollos coming to Ephesus probably in the same way: the agents of Chloe travelling between Ephesus and Corinth, probably for business purposes (*Expositor*, February 1900, p. 104): the centurion conducting a body of prisoners to Rome: besides these, many travellers for Church purposes, like the deputation in Ac 20 and 21, Titus at Corinth, Timothy and Silas sent to Macedonia, and so on.

There was a similar variety of travellers in the ordinary society of the Roman world. Then, as now, there was a tendency in the people to crowd into the cities: farming and country life were found to be hard and not very profitable. Officials and messengers were continually travelling backwards and forwards between Rome and the various provinces, or from province to province, as they were transferred from one to another: centurions and soldiers in charge of prisoners, a few occasionally for trial who were Romans, most mere criminals intended for the *venationes* (like Paul the Roman citizen and the criminals who were conducted along with him, Ac 27): many recruits, of whom at least

---

* See LYDIA (country) in vol. iii., and THYATIRA in vol. iv.

20,000 annually were needed for the armies, those of the west being filled up from the western provinces in general, those of the east from the eastern (though Hadrian changed that Augustan system, and arranged a series of territorial armies with local recruiting, which would diminish the number of travelling recruits). Embassies from the cities to Rome, or to provincial governors, are known from inscriptions to have been very common, *e.g.* Byzantium sent every year two complimentary embassies, one to the Emperor in Rome and one to the governor of Mœsia, until Trajan ordered the city to content itself with letters. Travelling for purposes of education, pleasure, or health kept thousands on the roads. Vast crowds flocked to the great festivals of Greece and Italy: Dion Chrysostom's account of the Isthmian festival is doubtless founded on what he had seen, though it is placed in the time of Diogenes.* Students flocked to the great universities, Athens, Alexandria, Rome, etc. Strabo mentions it as a peculiarity of Tarsus that no students came to it from abroad, but its lecture-rooms were crowded with native students, though some of the young Tarsians went abroad to study. Curative springs and the famous medical schools which were often attached to great religious centres (such as the temple of Men Carou, near Laodicea, of Asklepios at Pergamus, etc.) attracted large numbers of patients, often from great distances: thus we saw above that Spanish invalids visited Vicarello in Tuscany for centuries. Voyages were made for the sake of health: Gallio did so twice at least—once when he was governor of Achaia, another time long after from Rome to Alexandria (see *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 261: these two voyages are often confused): we believe that St. Paul made a similar journey to the high country of Pisidian Antioch (Ac 13[14]). Tourists for the mere pleasure of sightseeing were numerous, and Pliny expresses his wonder that Italian people went away in numbers to see foreign scenery and remained ignorant of the wonders and beauties of their own country (*Epist.* viii. 20).

Again, there was a great deal of emigration in search of employment. This led chiefly to the great cities, and, above all, to Rome. In the great city men of all nations were found; and the Syrian Orontes, as Juvenal (*Sat.* iii. 62) says, emptied itself into the Tiber. But in every city visitors or strangers resident for business purposes were common: they came as traders, actors, and artists, physicians, magicians, and quacks, teachers of grammar, philosophy, and rhetoric, and so on. The inscriptions of every province offer numerous examples.

Formal geographical accounts of the products, resources, cities, and monuments of various countries in the Roman world were in existence. Strabo's *Geography*, written about A.D. 19, and Pausanias's elaborate account of all that was worth seeing in Greece (written in the 2nd cent.), were the outcome of a great many previous works of similar kind.

v. ROAD MAPS, GUIDE-BOOKS, AND STATISTICS.—Maps of the roads, lists of halting-places and distances both by land and by sea journeys, and other means whereby intending travellers could plan out and reckon their route, were evidently common. A fragment of an account, indicated day by day, of a journey through the Cilician Gates, has been found in Rome;† and it is quite probable that such an itinerary on papyrus could be purchased in Tarsus in the time of St. Paul. Many such itineraries in more or less complete form have been preserved, belonging mostly to a later time. But similar ones were at the disposal of the geographers such as Strabo (B.C. 64–A.D. 19), whose account even of countries which he had not seen is accurate to a degree otherwise impossible of attainment. Four silver vases have been found at Vicarello in Etruria, shaped like milestones, and inscribed with the full itinerary from Cadiz to Rome. They belong to different periods, and represent therefore a long-continued custom: they can hardly be explained otherwise than as dedications made at the famous baths of Vicarello by Spaniards, who in gratitude left a memorial of themselves and their journey as a votive offering to the Divine healing power at the baths.

vi. MEANS OF LOCOMOTION IN JOURNEYS BY LAND.—The land journeys mentioned in the NT seem to have been for the most part performed on foot. There is one evident exception. In Ac 21[15. 16] a journey of 68 Roman miles is described from Cæsarea to Jerusalem. That long distance was traversed in two days: that this was the duration of the journey is shown clearly in the Western text, which mentions that the travellers rested for the night in a village at the house of Mnason and went on to Jerusalem the next day, while the Cæsarean disciples returned home. Though this meaning is not so clearly evident in the accepted text of Ac 21[16], it appears on closer consideration to lie in it also: v.[15], they set about the journey to Jerusalem (*imperfect* tense): v.[16], they lodged with Mnason, to whose house the Cæsarean disciples conducted them: v.[17] they reached Jerusalem and were welcomed (see *Expositor*, March 1895, p. 214 ff.).* It is clearly irreconcilable with the results which we have attained, that a miscellaneous body of travellers from various cities of Greece and Asia Minor, who must have had some personal luggage with them, could perform a journey of 68 miles in two days on foot without horse or carriage.

Now, in 21[15] the preparation for this journey is described: the writer at the beginning of the land stage of the long journey felt it necessary to explain that some preparations were made. The word used is *ἐπισκευασάμενοι*,† which Chrysostom renders 'we took what was needed for the land journey' (*τὰ πρὸς τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν λαβόντες*). There must lie in this some allusion to the horses or vehicles for the journey; and it is not impossible that *ὑποζύγια* or *ζῷα* is to be understood with *τά* in Chrysostom's explanation. But, however that may be, equipment and preparation obviously imply means of conveyance. In the case of persons who simply rose up and walked to Jerusalem, there would have been no room or need, in this extremely concise narrative, for describing their preparations. The narrative, therefore, makes it clear that there was some amount of luggage to be carried to Jerusalem, and that horses or carriages had to be employed. Now *ἐπισκευάσαι ἵππον* means 'to saddle or to load a horse,'‡ and it seems quite possible in Greek to take the middle voice as meaning 'we got ready or saddled horses for our use.'§ Both horses and carriages could undoubtedly be hired for journeys in such a city as Cæsarea (see Friedländer, p. 20 ff.).

vii. SHIPS AND SHIPPING ARRANGEMENTS.—Little that could be said on this point has any bearing on the NT.

The art of shipbuilding had been so greatly improved that vessels of very considerable size were constructed. Lucian's *Navigium* describes an Alexandrian corn vessel towards the end of the 2nd cent. as 120 cubits, or 180 feet, in length; from which James Smith (*Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*^{3}, p. 182 ff.) calculates the tonnage as between 1100 and 1200, a much more sober estimate than some scholars reach. Josephus (*Vit.* 3) sailed for Rome in a ship which carried 600 passengers, St. Paul in one carrying 276.*

---

* *Isthmiaca*, Or. 8. By a slip his *Corinthiaca* is quoted in its stead in the art. on 'Corinth' in vol. i. p. 479.

† *CIL* vi. 5076; *Hist. Geogr. of Asia Minor*, p. 68; see art. on 'Tarsus and the great Taurus Pass' in *Geogr. Journal*, 1903.

* We regard the Western text here as a skilful and correct commentary on the briefer reading, but not as the original Lukan language.

† *ἀποσκευασαμενοι* in a few MSS can hardly be correct.

‡ Aristot. *Oecon.* ii. 24; Xen. *Hell.* v. 3. 1; Pollux, x. 14.

§ Grotius (as Professor Knowling mentions) understood it as *sarcinas iumentis imponere.* See also *Expositor*, March 1895, p. 216 f.

In shape and in rigging, however, there had not been much improvement on the more ancient and primitive vessels. There was still a great deal of unnecessary and useless length in the high bow and stern, which stood far out above the water; so that there was a great difference between the length of that part of the keel which was immersed and the total length of the ship. The ship was sailed mainly by one large sail on the single mast: hence it was always difficult to shorten sail and to adapt the ship to a wind as it grew stronger. Moreover, the leverage of the single huge sail on a single mast exercised a tremendous disruptive power on the hull of the vessel: hence ancient vessels encountered much greater danger in the open sea than modern sailing vessels have to face, and were often sunk owing to the timbers being wrenched asunder by the straining of the mast, and the ship being thus made leaky and unfit to keep out the water; whereas modern sailing vessels are usually safe in the open sea and more in danger near shore.

In addition to the great sail† other sails were also used, though apparently only as subsidiary; and they were not employed in every ship. There was sometimes a topsail (*supparum*) above the great sail. Moreover, there were one or more small storm-sails, which could be substituted for the great sail when the wind was too strong: some such subsidiary sails were an absolute necessity in a ship which had to go on a voyage far from home.

There were also small sails—one or more on the bow, and one behind the great sail towards the stern. These seem all to have been only occasionally used as supplementary. In Ac 27^{40} the *artemon* was set to work the disabled ship. A single sail, set to work a large ship, must have been either rigged on the great mast, or set further forward. If the mast was still fit to be used, the former would be more probable; but some analogous cases point to the *artemon* being rather a foresail, set on the bow, where a small mast was often placed (as is shown in several works of ancient art). The case mentioned by Juvenal (*Sat.* xii. 69), where a ship disabled by a storm manages to make its way into harbour by the sail on the prow, the only remaining one, which the scholiast explains as the *artemon*, must in this obscure subject be regarded as the strongest piece of evidence available.‡

Ships of war were more lightly built, for the sake of rapid manœuvring, and were as a general rule impelled partly at least by oars. Hence they were independent of the winds to a great degree. But, owing to the slightness of their build, they could not venture on long over-sea voyages: moreover, they had not storage room for the equipment needed for such voyages. See above, I. § vii. p. 381.

viii. PASSENGER SHIPS.—The ships of which travellers availed themselves were doubtless as a rule trading ships, whose movements were determined mainly by considerations of freight and lading, not of passengers; in other words, the ships made money mainly from the freight, and not from the passengers' fares. Hence regular services at stated intervals for the convenience mainly of passengers probably did not exist. Travellers embarked in a vessel that happened to be going in their direction, and were dependent on the chances of the trade; and, as we have seen above, this often affected the arrangement of their journey.

There must, however, have been certain exceptions. The large numbers of persons who visited the great religious festivals and games must have required special vessels where a sea had to be crossed; and just as special steamers now run from Smyrna and Athens for the festival of the Panagia of Tino, so in ancient times the people of the Ionian race were conveyed to the great national reunion in the festival of Apollo of Delos, whose place the Panagia has taken. In some cases, where presence at the festival was a national duty, the city probably sent the people at State expense. But in many cases, and especially in later times, when national ties were weakened, and the festivals were visited chiefly from motives of curiosity, artistic and athletic interest, or enjoyment, the ships were run from commercial motives, and the owners profited by the fares of passengers.

One case of this class is of great importance as affecting the NT. Thousands of Jews of the Diaspora were able to go up to the Passover at Jerusalem only by ship: the land journey from distant cities would have been too tedious and slow. It may, *e.g.*, be regarded as certain that all Jews who went up to the Passover from the western, the northern, and even the eastern coasts of the Ægean, travelled on board ship; and that ships were run for their special benefit in order to make money from the passengers. Such pilgrim-ships would run for the special purpose of the festival, and would lose no time by the way from stopping for other purposes. Thus it would be safe to start from such a port as Corinth or Ephesus much later than would be prudent on an ordinary trading vessel, liable to stop for days in harbours on the way to load or unload. The time of absence from home and business required for the journey was thus much shortened.

The position of Jews in the Diaspora was affected in various ways by the pilgrim-ships. On the one hand, those ships immensely facilitated communication, and made it possible for far larger numbers of Jews to go up to the Feast: thus they strengthened the national feeling and sense of unity, which so marvellously resisted the dissociating influence of distance and of difference between the Diaspora and the Palestinian Jews in language, customs, and education. On the other hand, they offered opportunities for oppressing and annoying the Jews in every harbour that the ship had to enter: mere strictness in enforcing harbour regulations might cause delay, and this could be best avoided by bribery: greed or positive ill-will might prolong the detention so as to endanger the purpose of the voyage or compel the payment of large sums: the mere fact of a great number of Jews being collected in one ship gave opportunity for many acts of injustice and malevolence. Hence it is easy to see why numerous edicts of kings and Roman officials and Emperors in favour of the Jews reiterate the provision for unimpeded liberty to journey to Jerusalem.

---

* Some scholars say that the ship Dioscuri, which wintered at Malta, took on board the whole 276 (Ac 28^{11}); but this is not stated in the text, though it may possibly be true: if the Dioscuri could take on board 276 passengers beyond its own complement—even crowded in for a short voyage of a few days—it must have been a very large vessel.

† It is advisable to avoid the name 'mainsail,' which is a technical term with a different connotation in modern ships.

‡ *Quod superaverat unum, velo prora suo.* The scholiast says *artemone solo velificaverunt.* It is possible that he was only making an inference from Acts or some other similar passage; but such a mere possibility cannot be considered to counterbalance the probability in his favour or to invalidate his evidence.

The right understanding of Ac $20^{1ff.}$ is influenced by this fact. St. Paul was on the point of sailing from Corinth to Palestine: he was going to be for ten days or more in the company and the power of a body of Jews, including the most zealous and, in some cases, fanatical among them. The situation was at the best a dangerous one. It became known that some of the Jews were openly stating their intention of using this favourable opportunity to get rid of their enemy: murder on shore was too dangerous, but murder at sea on a ship where all except a few sailors were Jews * might be easily carried out in such a way as to defy investigation and probably even to escape notice: the loss of one pilgrim in a crowd might probably never even be observed. It was therefore resolved that St. Paul must avoid this obvious and serious danger. He was quite ready and resolute to adventure himself in Jerusalem, where the danger was equally great. But there in the great city at the Feast his death, if it came, would be a public protest in favour of truth and freedom: on shipboard it would be unknown and useless, so far as these high ends were concerned. Moreover, he was in charge of a considerable sum of money contributed at Corinth (see next paragraph), and was responsible for its safe delivery at Jerusalem. It was, however, impossible by that time to reach Jerusalem for the Feast by any ordinary vessel; and therefore St. Paul sailed for Philippi and spent the Passover there.

Presumably, the delegates who were to accompany him to Jerusalem carrying the voluntary contributions of the Pauline Churches (just as among the Jews then 'men of noble birth are entrusted with the conveyance to Jerusalem' of the accumulated annual dues paid by the Jews in the Diaspora) † had arranged to meet him at Ephesus. On the new arrangement the Asian delegates came on to Troas to meet him and the Macedonian delegates (Ac 20^{4}). The party was dependent now on the chances of trading vessels, and therefore the start was made from Philippi as soon as the Passover and the Days of Unleavened Bread were ended. There was no detention at Neapolis, which is not even mentioned. Owing to the great importance of the passage between Neapolis and Troas, as we have seen, vessels of one kind or another must have been constantly, probably daily, available there. At Troas, however, there was a detention of seven days; and then there seems to have been a choice of vessels—one going round the west and south coast of Asia Minor, making a short stay of three or four days at Miletus, but otherwise only the ordinary nightly halts of coasting vessels; the other intending to put in at Ephesus and make a considerable stay there for some purpose connected with her freight. In these circumstances Paul, though desirous of seeing the Church of Ephesus, chose the ship that sailed past that city, because he was desirous of reaching Jerusalem in time for the Feast of Pentecost, and did not wish to run any risk of being too late (Ac 20^{16}). Some commentators suggest that he was also unwilling to go to Ephesus, from fear lest trouble might arise there, as on his previous residence; but when a perfectly sufficient reason is stated in our authority, it seems unjustifiable to add another reason.‡ This case is a very instructive example of what might happen in voyages made by common travellers.

ix. Imperial Transport Ships.—We have, above, spoken about the Alexandrian corn ships as belonging to the Imperial service. In the strictest point of view that is not quite accurate. Those ships were not government vessels, like men-of-war. They belonged to private owners, or rather great trading companies, who contracted in open market with the Imperial government * for the conveyance of the corn. As in the collection of taxes, the government found it easier to give out the work to contract than to organize for itself the enormous machinery in men and equipment needed for that great service. But, on the other hand, those ships were exclusively used for the Alexandrian service (as other companies contracted for other special services and purposes); † the companies received certain subventions from the State (including a free gift of all the wood needed for building), and immunities for all members from various public burdens; and thus they were bound in a great degree to the State service, and became almost part of the State equipment. Gradually it was found advisable in the public interest to bind them more closely, until at last they became hereditary servants of the State for that duty, and unable to free themselves from the service, which descended from father to son, and which was remunerated by percentage ‡ at a rate fixed by law, and no longer given out at contract. See Marquardt, *Röm. Privatalt.* ii. 405 ff.

x. Correspondence.—Communication by letter had been common from remote antiquity. The familiar use of writing leads to correspondence between absent friends as inevitably as the possession of articulate speech produces conversation and discussion. Now it is becoming more certain and evident through the progress of discovery that writing was widely and familiarly used from an extremely early period. There was, of course, a very marked line of distinction, in ancient society, between the educated section of the population, which could read and write, and the uneducated, which could not; and the distinction did not at all correspond to the distinction between free and slave; on the contrary, many of the slaves in households of the educated class were specially highly and carefully educated, when their abilities were such that education would make them more useful to their masters.

With the great development of travel and communication in the Roman Imperial period, it might have been expected that communication by letter should have been greatly developed and increased. It is, however, extremely doubtful if that was the case.

The weakest side of the Imperial system always was its comparative carelessness of the intellectual and spiritual well-being of the population. To feed and to amuse ('panem et Circenses') nearly summed up its ideal of treatment for the masses. Real education, which the Greek cities admired and aimed at, grew weaker and poorer as the Empire grew older. The fact that in the purely barbarian provinces, such as Pannonia, Mœsia, etc., the introduction of the Roman civilization and government caused an educated class to grow up, should not be allowed to conceal the real fact that the educated class was not enlarged proportionately over the whole Empire.

And, similarly, epistolary correspondence was probably not much, if at all, increased in those

---

* Such ships may probably have been owned and perhaps in part manned by Jews; though the existence of Jewish sailors is not much attested at that time.

† As Philo, *de Mon.* ii. 3 (ii. 24, Mangey), says. The passage is quoted by Prof. Schürer in the art. Diaspora, above, § v.

‡ Moreover, it is quite unnatural to suppose that in the great city of Ephesus the return of a single Jew for a week or so must necessarily be observed.

* *Ad hastam locamus ut nobis ex transmarinis provinciis advehatur frumentum* (Columella, *de Re Rust.* 1, *pr.* 20).

† Special ships were built for the transport of the immense blocks and monolithic columns of coloured marble: the nature of the transport required that, and Pliny mentions that *naves marmorum causa fiunt* (*Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 2).

‡ In the 4th cent. the rate was 4 per cent. of the cargo, and an *aureus* for every thousand bushels.

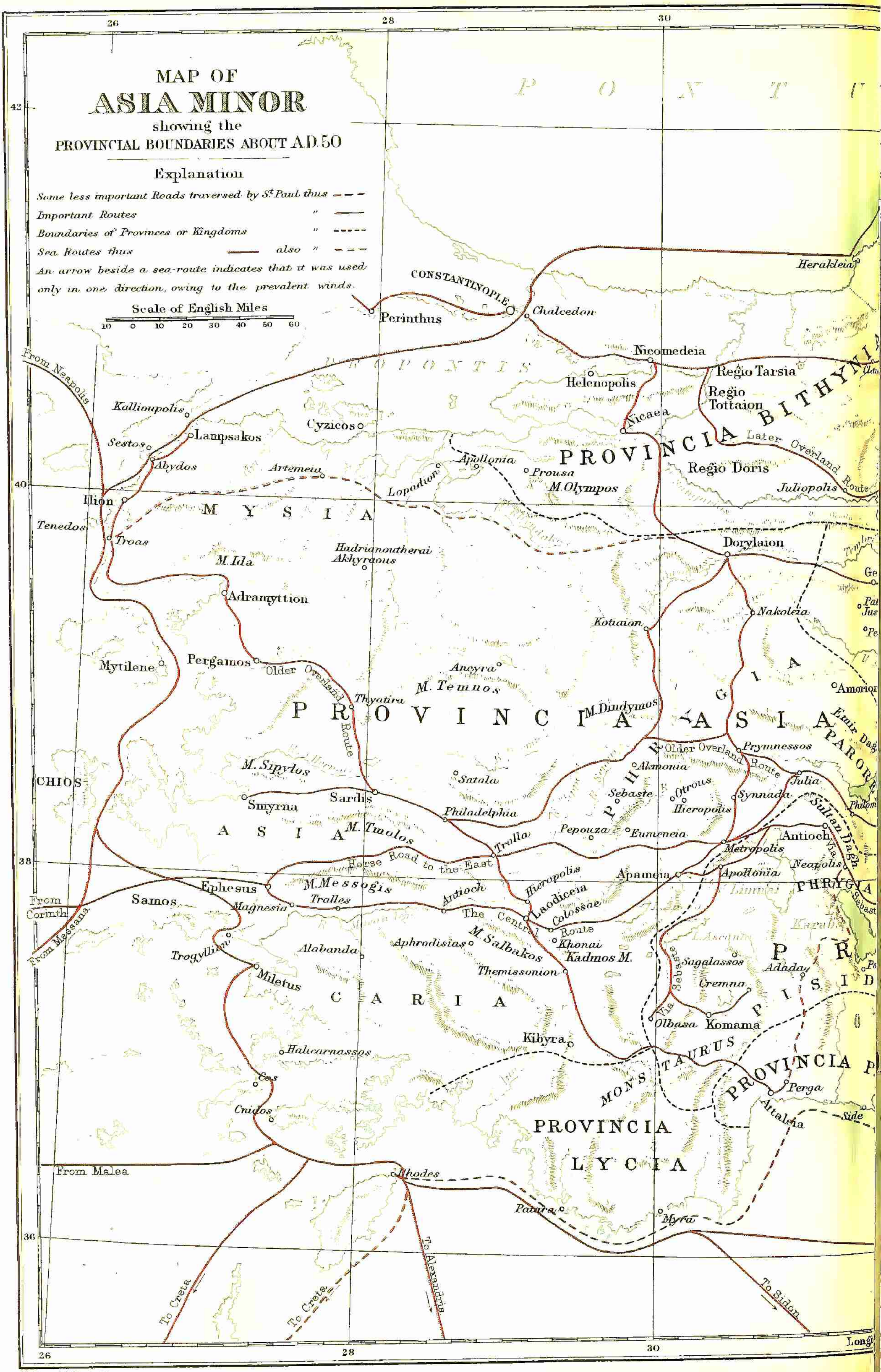

MAP OF
ASIA MINOR
showing the
PROVINCIAL BOUNDARIES ABOUT A.D. 50

Explanation

Some less important Roads traversed by St. Paul thus - - -
Important Routes " ———
Boundaries of Provinces or Kingdoms " - - - -
Sea Routes thus ——— *also* " - - -
An arrow beside a sea-route indicates that it was used only in one direction, owing to the prevalent winds.

Scale of English Miles

10 0 10 20 30 40 50 60
26
28
30
42
40
38
36
P O N T U
CONSTANTINOPLE
Chalcedon
Perinthus
Herakleia
P R O P O N T I S
Nicomedeia
Helenopolis
Regio Tarsia
Regio Tottaion
Nicaea
PROVINCIA BITHYNIA
Later Overland Route
Regio Doris
Juliopolis
From Neapolis
Kallioupolis
Lampsakos
Cyzicos
Sestos
Abydos
Artemeia
Apollonia
Lopadion
Prousa
M. Olympos
Ilion
Tenedos
Troas
M Y S I A
Hadrianoutherai
Akhyraous
M. Ida
Adramyttion
Dorylaion
Kotiaion
Nakoleia
Mytilene
Pergamos
Older Overland Route
Ancyra
M. Temnos
Thyatira
P R O V I N C I A A S I A
M. Dindymos
P H R Y G I A
Amorion
Older Overland Route
Prymnessos
Akmonia
Sebaste
Otrous
Hieropolis
Synnada
Julia
Emir Dag
P A R O R
Sultan Dagh
Philom
M. Sipylos
Satala
CHIOS
Smyrna
Sardis
Philadelphia
A S I A
M. Tmolos
Tralla
Pepouza
Eumeneia
Metropolis
Antioch
Via
Neapolis
Horse Road to the East
Ephesus
M. Messogis
Hierapolis
Laodiceia
Colossae
Apameia
Apollonia
PHRYGIA
Limnai
From Corinth
Samos
Magnesia
Tralles
Antioch
The Central Route
Khonai
Kadmos M.
L. Ascania
Karalis
From Messana
Trogyllion
Alabanda
Aphrodisias
M. Salbakos
Themissonion
Via Sebaste
Sagalassos
Adada
P I S I D
Miletus
C A R I A
Cremna
Olbasa
Komama
Kibyra
MONS TAURUS
Halicarnassos
PROVINCIA P
Perga
Cos
Cnidos
Attaleia
Side
PROVINCIA LYCIA
From Malea
Rhodes
Patara
Myra
To Creta
To Creta
To Alexandria
To Sidon
Long

Engraved & Printed by

COPYRIGHT

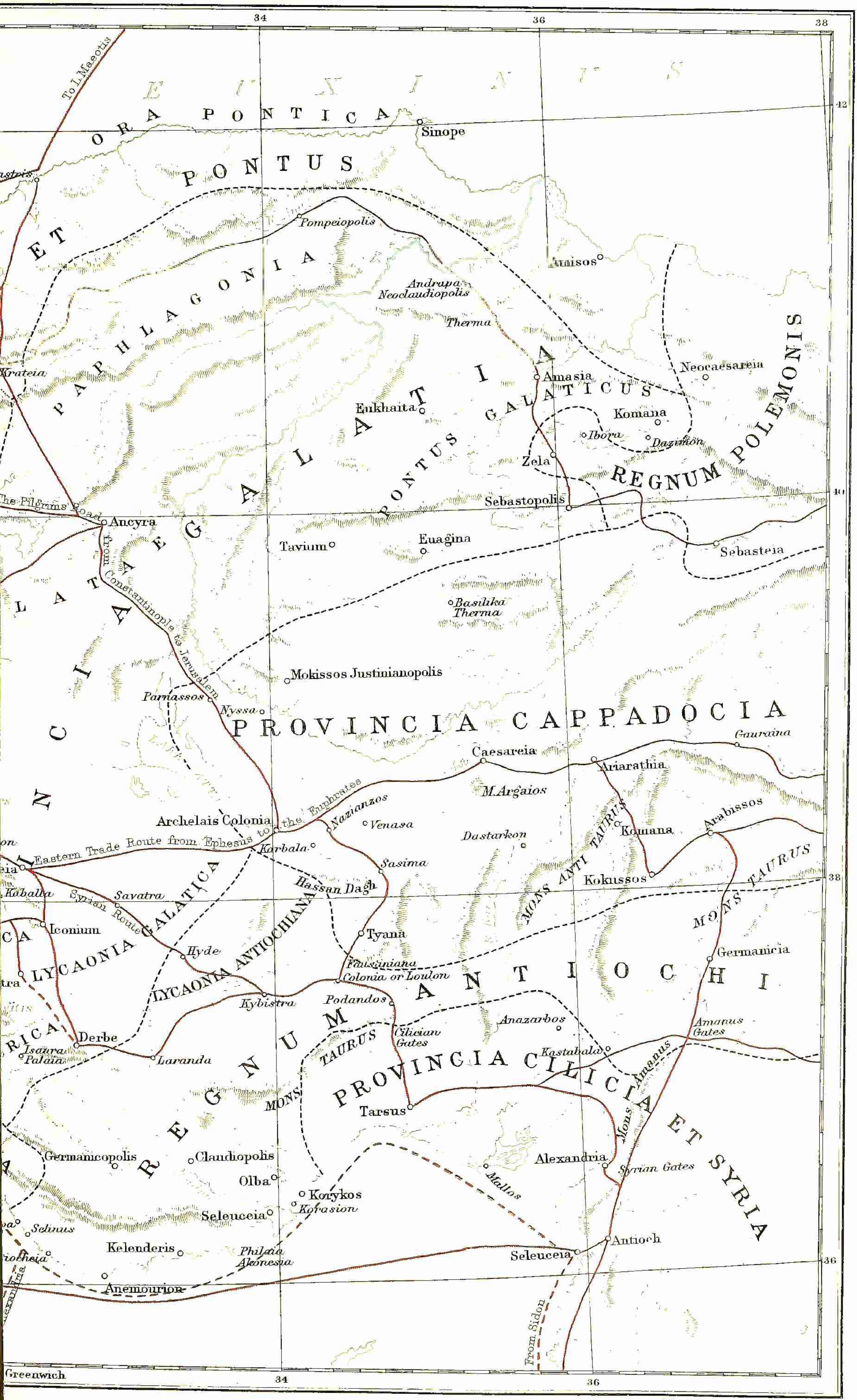
34
36
38
42
40
38
36
E U X I N U S
ORA PONTICA
Sinope
PONTUS
ET
To L. Maeotis
astris
Pompeiopolis
PAPHLAGONIA
Amisos
Andrapa
Neoclaudiopolis
Therma
Krateia
GALATIA
Amasia
PONTUS GALATICUS
Neocaesareia
REGNUM POLEMONIS
Eukhaita
Komana
Ibora
Dazimon
Zela
Sebastopolis
The Pilgrims' Road
Ancyra
from Constantinople to Jerusalem
Tavium
Euagina
Sebasteia
Basilika Therma
PROVINCIA
Mokissos Justinianopolis
Parnassos
Nyssa
PROVINCIA CAPPADOCIA
Gauraina
Caesareia
Ariarathia
M. Argaios
Archelais Colonia
Eastern Trade Route from Ephesus to the Euphrates
Nazianzos
Venasa
Dastarkon
Komana
Arabissos
MONS ANTI TAURUS
Karbala
Sasima
Kokussos
MONS TAURUS
Hassan Dagh
Kaballa
Savatra
Syrian Route
GALATICA
Iconium
Tyana
LYCAONIA
Hyde
LYCAONIA ANTIOCHIANA
Faustiniana
Colonia or Loulon
Germanicia
ANTIOCHI
tra
Kybistra
Podandos
REGNUM
Anazarbos
Amanus Gates
Cilician Gates
RICA
Derbe
Isaura Palaia
Laranda
MONS TAURUS
Kastabala
PROVINCIA CILICIA ET SYRIA
Mons Amanus
Tarsus
Germanicopolis
Claudiopolis
Alexandria
Olba
Syrian Gates
Mallos
Korykos
Korasion
Seleuceia
Selinus
Kelenderis
Philaia
Akonesia
Seleuceia
Antioch
iotheia
Anemourion
Alexandria
From Sidon
Greenwich

W. & A. K. Johnston, Limited, Edinburgh & London.

RK

parts of the Empire where civilization and education had existed before the Roman conquest. The Imperial government made no attempt at, and never even seems to have thought about, carrying the correspondence of private persons, or facilitating such communication between them. The post, as we have seen, was absolutely confined to Imperial and strictly official needs. Private letters could be sent only by special messengers, or by the hands of friends or acquaintances, or by some other chance opportunity. Such opportunities were, it is true, more numerous when the number of travellers was greater; but this led to no permanent development of the idea. Such statistics as are preserved seem to show that the transmission of private letters continued slow, irregular, and uncertain: see p. 383.

It is probably true that a larger number of private letters has been preserved of the Imperial period than of an earlier time; but this is due to the naturally more nearly complete destruction of the memorials of the older period in the longer lapse of time, especially inasmuch as private letters were written for the most part on perishable materials, which survive nowhere and in no climate except in Egypt.

Only in one respect was there any real development of epistolary communication between private individuals under the Roman Empire; and this development was not so much in the frequency of letter-writing as in the purpose and character of letters written by private individuals. The Christians developed the letter into new forms, applied it to new uses, and placed it on a much higher plane than it had ever before stood upon. In their hands communication by letter became one of the most important, if not the most important, of all agencies for consolidating and maintaining the sense of unity among the scattered members of the one universal Church. The scattered congregations had for centuries no real unifying and directing centre of life: Jerusalem had been in some degree such a centre at first; but whether or not it could otherwise have maintained that authoritative position, all chance of its continuing to be the head and centre of the universal Church disappeared with its siege and capture by Titus and the changes that were forced on by that event; and no other city took, or could take, its place for several centuries. The unity of the separate and equal congregations was kept alive by travel and by correspondence. By such means the congregations expressed their mutual affection and sympathy and sense of brotherhood, asked counsel of one another, gave advice with loving freedom and plain speaking to one another, imparted mutual comfort and encouragement, and generally expressed their sense of their common life. Thus arose a new category of Epistles.

Deissmann, following older scholars, has rightly and clearly distinguished the two older categories, the true letter—written by friend to friend or to friends, springing from the momentary occasion, intended only for the eye of the person or persons to whom it is addressed—and the literary epistle—written with an eye to the public, and studied with careful literary art. But he has erred in trying to reduce all the letters of the NT to one or other of these categories. Though he shows some vague sense of the insufficiency of the two older categories, yet he has not seen with sufficient clearness, nor stated with sufficient precision, that in the new conditions a new category had been developed—the general letter addressed to a whole class of persons or to the entire Church of Christ. Letters of this class are true letters, in the sense that they spring from the heart of the writer and speak direct to the heart of the readers; that they rise out of the actual situation in which the writer conceives the readers to be placed; that they express the writer's keen and living sympathy with and participation in the fortunes of the whole class of persons addressed; that they are not affected by any thought of publication for a wider public than the persons immediately addressed. On the other hand, the letters of this class express general principles of life and conduct, religion and ethics, applicable to a wider range of circumstances than those which have called forth the special letter; and the letters appeal as emphatically and intimately to all Christians in all time as they did to those addressed in the first instance. Such letters have a certain analogy to the edicts and rescripts by which Roman law grew, documents arising out of special circumstances but treating them on general principles. As expressing general truths and universal principles, those letters must have been the result of long and careful thought, though the final expression was often hasty and called forth by some special occasion. This more studied character differentiates them from the mere hasty unstudied expression of personal affection and interest.*

Those general letters of the Christians express and embody the growth in the law of the Church and in its common life and constitution. They originated in the circumstances of the Church. The letter of the Council at Jerusalem (Ac 15^{23-29}) arose out of a special occasion, and was the reply to a question addressed from Syria to the central Church and its leaders; the reply was addressed to the Churches of the province of Syria and Cilicia, headed by the Church of the capital of that province; but it was forthwith treated as applicable equally to other Christians, and was communicated as authoritative by Paul and Silas to the Churches of the province Galatia (Ac 16^4).

The peculiar relation of headship and fatherhood in which St. Paul stood to the Churches which he had founded, developed still further this category of letters, as is well shown in the article on EPISTLES, vol. i. p. 730. A still further development towards general philosophico-legal statement of religious dogma is apparent on the one hand in Romans, addressed to a Church which he had not founded, and on the other hand in the Pastoral Epistles, addressed to friends and pupils of his own, partly in their capacity of personal friends,—such portions of the letters being of the most intimate, incidental, and unstudied character,—but far more in their official capacity as heads and overseers of a group of Churches—such parts of the letters being really intended more for the guidance of the congregations than of the nominal addressees, and being, undoubtedly, to a considerable extent merely confirmatory of the directions and instructions already given to the congregations by Timothy and Titus. The double character of these Epistles is a strong proof of their authenticity. Such a mixture of character could only spring from the intimate friend and leader, whose interest in the work which his two subordinates are doing is at times lost in the personal relation.

The Catholic Epistles represent a further stage of this development. First Peter is addressed to a very wide yet carefully defined body of Churches in view of a serious trial to which they are about to be exposed. Second Peter, James, and First John are quite indefinite in their address to all Christians. But all of them are separated by a broad and deep division from the literary epistle written for the public eye: they are informed and inspired with the intense personal affection which the writers felt for every individual of the thousands whom they addressed. A serious study of all the NT and early Christian Epistles from this point of view is much needed, and would bring out in strong relief their real, human, individual and authentic character. The seven letters to the seven Churches contained in Rev 1–3 are full of touches special to the individual Churches, many of which have hardly been observed in modern times, but which show close personal knowledge of the cities on the part of the writer; and yet they are written on a uniform plan, which gives them a certain literary type to a degree and of a kind differing from any of the other letters. They stand by themselves, written in the inspiration of one single occasion, which expressed itself suitably to the individual circumstances of each of the seven Churches, yet conformed to certain general lines.

---

* See EPISTLE, vol. i. p. 730; Deissmann, *Bible Studies* (an improved edition of his *Bibelstudien* and *Neue Bibelstudien*), also his article on 'Epistolary Literature' in *Encycl. Bibl.* ii. p. 1323.

This remarkable development, in which law, statesmanship, ethics, and religion meet in and transform the simple letter, was the work of St. Paul more than of any other. But it was not due to him alone, nor initiated by him. It began before him and continued after him. It sprang from the nature of the Church and the circumstances of the time. The Church was Imperial, the Kingdom of God, and its leaders felt that their letters expressed the will of God. They issued their truly Imperial rescripts: 'it seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us' is a bold and regal expression in the first Christian letter.

Christian letters in the next two or three centuries were often inspired by something of the same spirit. Congregation spoke boldly and authoritatively to congregation, as each was moved by the Spirit to write: the letter partook of the nature of an Imperial rescript, yet it was merely the expression of the intense interest taken by equal in equal, and brother in brother. The whole series of such letters is indicative of the strong interest of all individuals in the government of the entire body; and they form one of the loftiest and noblest embodiments of a high tone of feeling common to a very large number of ordinary, commonplace, undistinguished human beings.

Such a development of the letter in that widely scattered body of the Church was possible only through the greatly increased facilities for travel and intercourse. The Church showed its marvellous intuition and governing capacity by seizing this opportunity. In this, as in many other ways, it made itself really a rival to the Imperial administration. It did, and did better, what the Imperial policy was trying to do.

The bishop, as the representative of the congregation in its relations to other congregations, was charged with the maintenance of correspondence, just as he was charged above other members with the exercise of hospitality to Christian visitors. The letter which he wrote might be regarded either as emanating from the congregation or as his personal letter. The letter of Clement to the Corinthians is expressed as really the letter of the Roman Church to the Corinthian Church. It is the present writer's belief that the Epistle to the Hebrews was the letter of the Church in Cæsarea, and mainly of Philip as leader of that Church.

In the absence of a proper postal system, special messengers had to be found to carry these letters. These messengers may be assumed to have been, from the beginning, always Christians: such were Epaphroditus, Tychicus, Titus, Phœbe, and many others.

Dr. Hort, in the Appendix to his posthumous Commentary on First Peter, has shown that such a messenger carried that Epistle from Rome to the Churches of Asia Minor, sailing to Amastris, where he landed and went across Pontus into North Galatia, Cappadocia, South Galatia, Asia, and finally Bithynia.

LITERATURE.—Friedländer, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte der röm. Kaiserzeit*, ii.^{5} ch. i., is excellent, though we have found ourselves obliged often to differ from his views. Miss Caroline Skeel has published a useful little work, *Travel in the First Century*. Most useful and fundamental is Parthey and Pinder's edition of the *Itineraria*. Compare Bergier, *Histoire des grands Chemins de l'Empire rom.*; Berger, *Die Heerstrassen des röm. Reichs*. On the Imperial Post, see Hudemann, *Geschichte des röm. Postwesens*; Rittershain, *Die Reichspost der röm. Kaiser*, Berlin, 1880; de Rothschild, *Histoire de la Poste aux Lettres*, Paris, 1873; Hirschfeld, *Röm. Verwaltungsgeschichte*, p. 98 ff.; Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, i. p. 558 ff.; Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht*, ii.^{2} p. 987 ff., ii.^{3} p. 1029 ff.; Stephan, *Das Verkehrswesen im Alterthum*, is quoted by Friedländer from Raumer's *Histor. Taschenb.* 1868, p. 120. Cf. Breusing, *Die Nautik der Alten*, 1886; Vars, *L'Art Nautique*, 1887. Many other books are incidentally referred to in the preceding pages.

TABLE OF CONTENTS OF ABOVE ARTICLE.

I. *ROUTES BY LAND AND BY SEA.*
  - i. Rome the centre of the Empire, p. 375 f.
  - ii. Seasons and routes open for travelling, p. 376 f.
  - iii. Variations in the routes at different seasons, p. 377 f.
  - iv. Voyage from Rome to Egypt direct, and thence to Palestine, p. 378 f.
  - v. Voyage from Alexandria to Rome, p. 379 ff.
  - vi. Time between Alexandria and Rome, p. 381.
  - vii. Voyages to Asia, the Ægean and Euxine Seas, Palestine, and Egypt, p. 381 ff.
  - viii. Overland route and Imperial post-road from Rome to the East, p. 383 ff.
  - ix. Duration of journeys on the post-road between Rome and the East, p. 385 ff.
    - (*a*) Rate of foot-travelling, p. 386.
    - (*b*) Rate of driving, p. 386^b.
    - (*c*) Rate of Imperial couriers, p. 386^b f.
  - x. Central route between Rome and the East, p. 383 f.
  - xi. Inter-provincial routes in the East, p. 389^b—
    - 1. The Trade route, p. 390.
    - 2. The 'Syrian' route, p. 390.
    - 3. From the Propontis and Bosporus, and from Nicomedia and Nicæa, through Bithynia, Paphlagonia, and Pontus, p. 390^b.
    - 4. From the Bosporus and Nicomedia, *viâ* Nicæa, to Dorylaion and the south-west, p. 390^b f.
    - 5. From Perga in Pamphylia to Ephesus, etc., p. 391.
  - xii. Other routes—
    - 1. From Rome, *viâ* Ariminum and Aquileia, to Thrace and Constantinople, p. 391.
    - 2. From Rome to the Upper Danube, p. 391^b.
    - 3. From Rome to Gaul and Lower and Upper Germany, p. 391^b f.
    - 4. From Rome to Spain, p. 392^a.
    - 5. From Rome to Britain, p. 392^a.
    - 6. From Rome to Africa, p. 392^a.

II. *THE GENERAL EQUIPMENT OF THE ROMAN ROAD SYSTEM.*
  - i. Maintenance, repairs, and safety, p. 392.
  - ii. Construction, measurements, milestones, p. 392^b f.
  - iii. Inns and entertainment, p. 393 f.
  - iv. Customs, road-taxes or tolls, and frontier duties, p. 394 ff.
  - v. The *telonai* in the Gospels.

III. *MEANS AND POPULARITY OF TRAVEL.*
  - i. Travel as pictured in the Classical literature, p. 396^b.
  - ii. Travel in the Christian literature, p. 396^b f.
  - iii. Travel confined to the Roman Empire, p. 397.
  - iv. Classes of travellers and motives for travelling, p. 397^b f.
  - v. Road maps, guide-books, and statistics, p. 398.
  - vi. Means of locomotion in journeys by land, p. 398^b.
  - vii. Ships and shipping arrangements, p. 398^b f.
  - viii. Passenger ships, p. 399^b f.
  - ix. Imperial transport ships, p. 400^b f.
  - x. Correspondence, p. 400^b ff.

Literature.

W. M. RAMSAY.

CONTINENTAL VERSIONS.—

i. French.
ii. Italian.
iii. Spanish.
iv. Portuguese.
v. German.
vi. Dutch.
vii. Danish (and Norwegian).
viii. Swedish.
ix. Hungarian.
x. Bohemian.
xi. Polish.
xii. Russian.
xiii. Modern Greek.

i. FRENCH VERSIONS.—The earliest reference to the *lingua Romana rustica*, in connexion with France, comes to us in the 7th cent., when Mummolinus was elected bishop of Noyon because he could speak both German and Romance; but the oldest written French is found in detached words written in the 8th cent. as glosses on a Latin Bible, inserted to explain the meaning of the Latin words. These are the well-known Reichenau and Cassel glosses. The 9th cent. gives us, in the Strassburg oaths of 842, the first continuous French. Earlier in the same century, in 813, it had been ordered at the Synod of Tours that the Latin homilies were to be translated *in linguam Romanam rusticam aut Theotiscam*. This does not, however, imply more than an oral translation; but it is significant of the widening breach between the language of the common people and the Latin of the clergy—a breach which had no doubt been widened unnaturally by Charlemagne's efforts to prevent the deterioration of written Latin. By the next century, the 10th, we find the great broad division appearing, into the *langue d'oïl* of the centre and north of France, and the *langue d'oc* of the south. By the end of the 11th cent. the first of these was marked off into at least four dialects: Norman in the N.W. (and in England), Picard in the N.E., Burgundian in the east, and French in the Île de France. This last gradually became supreme as the literary dialect, owing to the widening political supremacy of the lords of France, with Paris as their capital, and by the 14th cent. its supremacy was complete. In the south, the *langue d'oc* attained its chief literary importance in the 12th and 13th cents., and after the defeat of the south in the Albigensian war in 1272 it was supplanted for literary purposes by the northern French, on which, however, it exercised a considerable influence.

1. The earliest MSS of a French version of any part of the Bible which have come down to us belong to the 12th century. These contain the Psalter, the Books of Kings, the Apocalypse, and five chapters of St. John's Gospel. All but the last are, in the earliest MSS, in the Norman dialect; the last is in Provençal, and was probably copied at Limoges.

(*a*) Two MSS of the Psalter, the so-called Eadwin Psalter in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, and a Paris MS of the 12th or 13th cent. (*Fonds lat.* 8846), translate Jerome's *Psalterium Hebraicum*, *i.e.* his rendering of the Psalter from the Hebrew. In the Cambridge MS, which was written by Eadwin at or near Canterbury about 1120, the French is an interlinear gloss written over the Hebrew in a triple Psalter. The Paris MS, which contains only Ps 1–98^6, has a Latin text which probably represents a revision made in Normandy at Bec under Lanfranc's influence. These Psalters were edited by Michel at Paris in 1876. Besides the *Psalterium Hebraicum* of Jerome, his *Psalterium Gallicum*, or Latin translation based on the Hexaplar text, was used as the version which underlies another group of early French Psalters. The most important MS of this group is that written at Montebourg in Normandy before the year 1200. This is now in the Bodleian Library (MS Bodl. Douce 320), and was edited by Michel at Oxford in 1860. It is written in the Norman dialect. Several other MSS belonging to this family are known, three of which are connected with England, viz. a Cotton MS (Brit. Mus. Nero C. iv.) of the end of the 12th cent. written at Shaftesbury; an Arundel MS 230 of the same date with an English calendar; and a 14th cent. MS also in the British Museum (MS Harl. 1770) from Kirkham in Yorkshire. In the Arundel MS the interlinear French gloss is put word for word over the corresponding Latin. Two other MSS of this family are Bibl. Nat. *Fonds lat.* 768, of the early 13th cent., and a Munich MS 16 of the 14th century. This version of the Psalter, of which the Arundel MS is perhaps the most ancient representative, and of which Berger mentions nearly a hundred MSS, was the basis of all the French translations of the Psalter down to the edition of Olivetan. Between this and the version based on Jerome's Hebrew Psalter there is 'no difference of glossary or of grammar.' The underlying Latin is of course different, but the French in both is the Norman dialect, resembling that of the Oxford MS of the *Chanson de Roland* of the latter half of the 12th century.

(*b*) The version of the Books of Kings is found in several MSS, the most important and the oldest of which is a Mazarin MS 70 of about the year 1170. Another MS mentioned by Berger is in the Arsenal Library at Paris, No. 5211, and to these P. Meyer (*Romania*, xvii. 126) adds Bibl. Nat. 6447, and in the same library *Nouv. acq. fr.* 1404. The version is not literal, but has many glosses, and is in parts versified. It is a translation of a text of the Vulgate not unlike the revision of Alcuin, written in Anglo-Norman, and not, as Leroux de Lincy thought, in the dialect of the Île de France.

(*c*) The Apocalypse is preserved in 'pure Norman of the 12th cent.' in an early 13th cent. MS (Bibl. Nat. *fr.* 403); in a slightly different version in Bibl. Nat. MS *fr.* 13096 (A.D. 1313); and in the dialect of the Île de France in Bibl. Nat. MS 1036. The version, originally one and the same, has been reproduced in more than eighty MSS and in various dialects. There is also an early 13th cent. version of 1 and 2 Mac., of which there have been several editions, in a dialect which has been the subject of much controversy.

(*d*) The five chapters of St. John are found in a MS dating from the end of the 12th cent. in the British Museum (MS Harl. 2928), and are the earliest representative of the Bible in the dialect of southern France.

2. About the same date we meet with several references to the existence of partial translations of the Bible in the south and east of France in connexion with the Waldenses, or followers of Peter Waldus of Lyons, and the natives of the Vaud. Thus Walter Mapes, who was himself present at the Lateran Council of 1179, tells how certain Waldenses *librum domino papæ præsentaverunt lingua conscriptum Gallica in quo textus et glossa psalterii plurimorumque legis utriusque librorum continebatur*. Again, Stephen of Bourbon, writing soon after 1225, says that a man named Waldus, a native of Lyons, arranged with two priests to translate the Gospels for him, and that besides this they also translated 'several books of the Bible.' Again, a Bull of Innocent III., dated 12th July 1199, refers to the translation into French of the Gospels, St. Paul, the Psalter, the *moralia* on Job, and other books, and bids the bishop and Chapter of Metz make inquiries about them. The *moralia* Leroux de Lincy edited with the Books of Kings from a late 12th cent. MS (Bibl. Nat. *fr.* 24764) in a dialect which he thought to be Burgundian, but which P. Meyer says belongs to the neighbourhood of Liège. The MSS connected with Provence and Vaud have been made the subject of two monographs by Berger in *Romania*, xviii. 353 ff. and xix. 506 ff. The MSS themselves belong to a later date than the references just mentioned, but probably the version goes back to the religious movements in the 12th and early 13th centuries—movements of which an important feature was a study of the Bible; and the text they contain has close affinities with one which circulated in the districts mentioned, in the 13th century. Amongst the Latin MSS of the Bible we find a group with a peculiar mixed text, quite local in its distribution, containing only the NT, and

marked by curious divisions of the text. They 'present a recension quite peculiar, which cannot be confounded with any other family of text, and which can confidently be called Languedoc.' It is important to remember that these Latin MSS belong to the beginning of the 13th century. Now, the earliest of the Provençal MSS is in the library at Lyons, and is dated by P. Meyer in the third quarter of the 13th century. This translation is based on the local Latin text just mentioned (as in the long interpolation found in a few Latin MSS at Mt 20^{28}), and that a glossed text in which the Latin was written above the Provençal. Another Provençal MS (Bibl. Nat. MS *fr.* 2425) is not earlier than the beginning of the 14th cent., and Meyer regards the version as not much older, while its linguistic peculiarities indicate an origin in the south or south-east of Provence. The translation is more free than that found in the Lyons MS, but is not independent of that MS, with which it agrees in some misreadings or misrenderings of the Latin. The two MSS exhibit 'the greatest differences, and striking resemblances.' Thus, in St. Mark the texts differ widely, in St. John the resemblances and differences are both great; on the other hand, in the Epistle of St. James and those of St. Paul the text seems to be the same. A third MS (Bibl. Nat. MS *fr.* 6261) of the Provençal belongs to the 15th century. The version is 'free, often abridged, sometimes paraphrased or accompanied by glosses.' The Latin text on which the translation rests is 'that which was in use throughout France from the 9th to the middle of the 13th cent.,' and there is hardly any trace of the local Languedoc readings already mentioned. There are other indications that the translation is earlier than the end, and perhaps than the middle, of the 13th century. In *Romania*, xviii. 430, Meyer mentions another fragment of the 14th cent. containing the same translation, on the whole, as that found in the MS just mentioned—a translation independent of that in the first two MSS, and bearing marks of having its origin among the sect of the Cathari. Another Provençal MS of the 15th cent. (Bibl. Nat. MS *fr.* 2426) contains the historical books of the OT. This translation was made not from the Latin, but from the French. Berger thus sums up (*Romania*, xix. 559–561) the history of the Provençal Bible: 'The first Provençal translation comes to us from Limoges. It consists of five chapters of St. John. The MS which contains it was copied in the 12th cent., perhaps in the Abbey of St. Martial. There is no reason to think that it is a fragment of a more complete translation, for it is a liturgical section. About one hundred years after, in the south of Languedoc, and very probably in the department of Aude, an interlinear version of the NT was made over the text then used in that district. This version, preserved for us in the Lyons MS, was the official translation of the Cathari, and undoubtedly exercised a great influence in the south. It is difficult to believe that the Vaud version and the second Provençal version (MS *fr.* 2425) have not been, to some extent, influenced by it. . . . Finally, in the 15th cent., beyond a doubt, the Provençal Bible was completed by a translation of the historical books of the OT. . . . This new sacred history was not derived from the Latin, but from a French compilation, a composite work due to several translators.'

3. Another group of MSS contains a text certainly used by the inhabitants of the Vaud, but there is nothing at all to prove that the translation was their work. Five of these MSS have been carefully examined by Berger. The oldest is the Carpentras MS, No. 22, in the Municipal Library, which dates from the 14th cent., and contains, besides the NT, the Sapiential books. Another MS closely allied to the preceding is a Dublin MS, dated 1522, which 'would seem to be a reproduction of the MS of Carpentras,' only that it contains eight chapters of Ecclesiasticus not found in the latter. Two other MSS, one at Grenoble and another at Cambridge, are closely related. The first is particularly interesting because of a liturgical point, implying a connexion with Bohemia; and both have a curious translation of the latter part of the Acts derived from an Italian version. The last MS of this family, at Zürich, belongs to the 16th cent., and has been influenced by the text of Erasmus.

Of the relation of this group to the Provençal, Berger writes (*Romania*, xviii. 405) that 'it is not possible to give a decided answer. There are innumerable differences of all kinds between the two families, and the most important perhaps is that their Latin text is not absolutely the same. . . . It is not impossible that the relation of the Vaud and Provençal texts may be thus explained. After the first edition [*i.e.* of the Provençal text], represented by the Lyons MS, a redaction of the interlinear Provençal text might have been made into more modern language, and one which the translator believed to be more in accord with the Latin. Into this work variants of every kind, even of the Latin text; might have found their way.'

Of the OT, the only part which has found a place in these MSS is that which includes the Sapiential books, and that probably has a different origin from the NT. The version is based on the Latin, corresponding exactly with the revision made at Paris at the beginning of the 13th cent., and 'contains none of the peculiarities of the southern texts of the end of the 13th cent., of which the Vaud NT seems to be the translation.'

4. All these translations with which we have so far been engaged were local and partial; but the same century which gave birth to the translations of Provence and Vaud also saw the origin of the first complete French Bible. This dates from some time after the year 1226, the time to which Roger Bacon assigns the Paris revision of the Vulgate, the chapter divisions of which (as found in MSS Bibl. Nat. *lat.* 15185, 15467) are adopted by the French Bible. An inferior date is fixed by the second Dominican revision of the Vulgate made by Hugh of St. Cher about 1250. The limits of time within which this complete French Bible was made are therefore fixed pretty narrowly. The translation was made at Paris 'by several translators working under the same guidance and using several Latin MSS, of which the chief was a copy of the Bible, corrected by the University.' The character of the translations varies widely in the different parts of the Bible. Some books, for example Genesis, are glossed throughout; in the rest of the Pentateuch there are no glosses, in other books there are few. The translation also varies very much in merit in respect of style and accuracy. There are many resemblances between the Gospels and the Prophets. The translation of the Acts and Catholic Epistles is poor; on the other hand, that of St. Paul's Epistles, especially the Epistle to the Romans, is very good. Some MSS give two versions of the Epistle to Titus. All these things indicate that the work was not that of one translator, but of many.

Of the entire Bible we have only one perfect MS (Bibl. Nat. *fr.* 6 and 7), which dates from the end of the 14th century. Another MS in the same library (*fr.* 899) is a good deal older, dating from about 1250; but several books are not found in it, and it is mutilated at the beginning and end, for it begins with Gn 2^{14} and ends with 1 P 2^{21}. Of the first part of the Bible we have three MSS of the 13th and 14th cents., viz. Arsenal MS 5056, Brit. Mus. Harleian 616, and Cambridge MS Ee. 3. 52. Of the second part of the Bible we have very many MSS. Amongst the oldest and most important of these, all of them belonging to the 13th cent., are Mazarin 684, Bibl. Nat. *fr.* 398, Brussels MS A. 211, Bibl. Nat. *fr.* 12581. It is not, however, easy to distinguish between MSS of the second part of the French Bible and MSS of the second volume, the so-called *Bible Historiale* (which incorporated bodily the Bible text), unless the MSS are older than the date of the *Bible Historiale.* This work was a translation into French of the *Historia Scholastica,* composed by Peter Comestor about 1179. It was a *résumé* of Bible history, incorporating many legends and a good deal of secular history. The French translation, or edition, was made by Guiars des Moulins, of Aire, in the N.E. of France, at the end of the 13th cent. He dealt very freely with the original, sometimes abridging, sometimes inserting, extracts of Bible text. The *Bible Historiale Complétée*—of which the oldest MS (A.D. 1312) is Brit. Mus. i. A. xx.—is the name given to Guiars' work when accompanied by a translation of the actual text of the Bible. The smallest copies do not contain the text of Chron., Ezra, Neh., Job. Some add Job, while the so-called *Grandes Bibles Historiales* give the complete text of Chron., Ezra, and Nehemiah. The popularity rapidly attained by the work of Guiars des Moulins secured a wide circulation for the French translation of the Bible of which it incorporated so much.

5. In the 14th cent. there are only three translations which require to be noticed—

(*a*) The first is an Anglo-Norman version made in England, which never had any influence in France. The earliest MS (Bibl. Nat. *fr.* 1) ends with He 13, and belongs to the first half of the 14th century. A second MS (Brit. Mus. i. C. iii.) dates from the 15th cent., and contains from Genesis to Tobit. The translation is not a good one.

(*b*) The second translation belonging to this period is the so-called Bible of king John, at whose command the work was begun by John of Sy in the diocese of Rheims. It is found in a MS (Bibl. Nat. *fr.* 15397) of the year 1355. Berger describes it as an 'excellent revision of the Anglo-Norman Bible,' giving a text independent of the 13th cent. translation.

(*c*) Thirdly, we have to notice the incomplete version made by Raoul de Presles. This is the 'Bible of Charles V.,' a revised text of which, containing the whole OT, is found in MS Bibl. Nat. *fr.* 158, a 14th cent. MS.

6. The 15th cent. is 'the age of MSS retouched, and of the beginning of printed texts.' The earliest printed text is that which appeared in Lyons in 1477 or 1478 with the names of Jullien Macho and Peter Farget as editors. It reproduces the text of the 13th cent. Bible, but is an edition of no importance. Much more important is the edition printed by Verard (with no date on the title-page), at dates variously given as 1487 and 1496. This contains a text very much like that in MS *fr.* 159, and embodies a revision made by John de Rely, confessor of Charles VIII.

7. With the beginning of the 16th cent. we come to the important work of le Fèvre d'Étaples, which appeared between 1523 and 1530. The NT was published by Simon de Colines at Paris in 1523, and often reprinted later. The completed Bible appeared at Antwerp in 1530. The OT is largely a new translation from the Vulgate, and the glosses of the *Bible Historiale* for the most part disappear from the French Bible for the first time. But, save where J. de Rely had given the paraphrase of the *Bible Historiale,* and not the Bible text, le Fèvre only 'revised' his predecessor's work, comparing it with the Latin. The translation is described as 'painfully literal,' but the marginal notes with which it was accompanied were thought to savour of Protestantism, and in 1546 the book was put on the Index, and many copies were destroyed. A few years later a revision of the Antwerp Bible was undertaken by two Louvain divines in the interests of Roman Catholicism, and appeared in 1550. Very few changes from le Fèvre's version were made, but the translation was authorized and frequently revised (in 1608, 1621, 1647) and reprinted.

8. The translation of Olivetan of Noyon in Picardy marks an epoch in the history of the French Bible. This, the first French Protestant version, was published in 1535 at Serrières near to Neufchatel, and is sometimes called the Bible of Serrières. It was frequently republished with numerous revisions in the successive editions. The work of Olivetan has been the subject of several articles by Reuss in the *Revue de Théologie* (series iii. vols. 3 and 4), in which his relation to preceding workers is carefully examined in detail. His chief contribution was in the translation of the OT. This is, according to the estimate of Reuss, not only a work of erudition and merit, but a real *chef d'œuvre.* He had the Antwerp Bible before him, but generally the changes are so numerous that it would be hard to prove his use of it. There is no doubt that we have in the OT a new translation in which he sought faithfully to reproduce the original. Simon asserts that Olivetan had little or no Greek or Hebrew knowledge, and Pétavel that he was really dependent on Pagninus' Latin version of the Hebrew; but Graf says his marginal notes show that he does not follow Pagninus slavishly, but himself consulted and studied the Hebrew. In the Psalter, Olivetan translated from the Hebrew, whereas le Fèvre's version, in the Antwerp Bible, was based, like nearly all the mediæval French Psalters, on the Gallican Psalter of Jerome, which, as we have seen, represented a Hexaplar text. In the Apocrypha (*Revue de Théologie,* iii. 4. 14) he did not himself make a new translation, but 'confined himself to reproducing, with very slight and superficial corrections, the translation printed at Antwerp.' The marginal notes show the amount of work he himself did, sometimes explaining the Hebrew, in other places substituting one French word for another. These notes show that the Greek has been used in some cases, while elsewhere it has been quite neglected. The NT is substantially the same as that printed in the 1523 edition of le Fèvre, but there are changes probably due to the use of the fourth edition of Erasmus (1527), in which the Greek text, a Latin translation of it, and the Vulgate are placed side by side. That he has carefully used the Greek is seen by the care with which he marks the words in le Fèvre's version which are not in the Greek. These he prints in small type. Reuss regards his work, judged by the standard of that time, as indicating an 'erudition really prodigious.' It has been often asserted that Calvin collaborated with Olivetan in this work, but there is no proof of any association with Olivetan in the original translation, or in any revision before 1545. Before this latter date many editions had appeared,—including an anonymous one under the name of Belisem de Belimakom (*i.e.* 'no name from nowhere'),—and many changes had been made.

The first really important revision was that published at Geneva in 1588, which checked for a while the changes which had been introduced from time to time into Olivetan's version, and it is important not because of the changes made by the Geneva revisers, but because the edition became official.

Of the Geneva translation there were very many editions in the 17th and 18th cents. which had a wide circulation. The work of Martin (NT in 1696, Bible in 1707) and Roques' revision of it (1736) are comparatively unimportant.

A more complete and important revision of Olivetan's work was carried out by Osterwald, who published a Bible at Amsterdam in 1724. This was followed in 1744 by a much more thorough revision, which regarded mainly the French idiom and the exegetical views of the time. It is clearer than Martin, and bears the marks of careful work, but as a translation is heavy in style. Another Geneva edition of some importance appeared in 1802–1805, and in 1822 a revised edition of Osterwald was published by the Bible Societies of Lausanne and Neufchatel, which in turn was revised more than once later. In 1834 a committee was formed at Paris to make a good translation, and they proposed 'to combine Martin and Osterwald, keeping the exactness of the one and the clearness of the other.' As a result, a NT was published in 1842 at the expense of the S.P.C.K., and this was followed by the OT in 1849. But the Bible of Osterwald was still the most popular, and feeling was so strong that in 1863 a disruption of the Bible Societies in France was the result, the majority wishing to circulate other texts, while a minority was anxious to adhere to Osterwald.

9. Leaving, at this point, the history of Olivetan's version, we must go back chronologically to mention the French translation made by Castalion of Geneva, on which he had been at work since 1544, and which he published in 1555. This translation was made, not from his Latin version published in 1551, but from the Hebrew and Greek. His chief aim was to produce a work intelligible to the common people; and to effect his object he did not hesitate, if necessary, to coin a word. The style is brief, nervous, and often effective, but the expressions chosen are sometimes undignified. While its language was strongly censured by some when it appeared, as by Henry Stephen and the Genevan professors, it has been more highly valued by later Protestants as 'the first translation truly French and truly modern.'

10. It is not necessary to delay over the many Catholic versions of the 17th cent., connected with the names of Corbin (1643), Marolles (1649, etc.), Amelote (1666), Bouhours (1697), which were all based, more or less, on the Vulgate, and are chiefly interesting as showing the existence of a need among the French Catholics.

The only one of lasting importance is the work of the Port Royalists, which is associated with the names of Antony and Louis Isaac le Maistre. The last named is better known as de Sacy. The translation of the NT from the Vulgate was begun by Antony le Maistre before 1657, and revised and completed by Louis le Maistre, who used the original Greek. The whole was revised by Arnauld and others, with the help of the ancient Versions and Patristic commentaries. The translation was finally authorized, and the NT appeared at Mons in 1667. The OT translation was the work of de Sacy himself during his imprisonment in the Bastille; but the publication was authorized only if notes were added to the translation. This was done, and the result was that the publication begun in 1672 was only completed in 30 volumes, the last of which appeared in 1695. 'The translation made from the Vulgate is not always literal enough: it pays more attention to clearness and elegance than to faithfulness. Of all the French versions, it is the purest from the point of view of the language, and the best written.' It has been often reprinted with and without notes, and during the last century it was circulated even by the Bible Societies.

11. Numberless translations of the whole or part of the Bible have been published both by Roman Catholics and Protestants during the last century, which need not detain us. It is only necessary in conclusion to notice the translation of the NT published by Oltramare in 1872 and that of the OT by Segond in 1874. These were combined in an edition published by the French Bible Society in 1882. Segond completed his translation of the whole Bible by publishing a NT in 1880, which, though not so good as Oltramare's version of the NT, has been circulated widely by the English and French Bible Societies. In 1900 the French Bible Society again published the OT of Segond, and the NT version of Oltramare.

LITERATURE.—S. Berger, *La Bible Française au moyen age*, Paris, 1884, 'Les Bibles Provençals,' etc., in *Romania*, vols. xviii. and xix.; E. Mangenot, art. 'Françaises Versions de la Bible' in Vigouroux's *Dictionnaire de la Bible*; le Long, *Bibliotheca Sacra*; E. Reuss, numerous articles in the Strassburg *Revue de Théologie*; Douen, *Histoire de la Société Biblique Protestante*; Herzog, *RE*^{3} iii. 127 ff.

ii. ITALIAN VERSIONS.—1. None of the MSS of the Italian Bible which have survived probably belong to an earlier date than the 14th cent.; but the evidence they afford as to the text from which they are derived enables us to refer the origin of the translation to the middle or second half of the preceding century. It is not likely that the whole Bible was translated as early as this. That part is earlier than the 14th cent. is clear from the differences between the text of the Italian version and the Latin texts of the 14th and 15th cents., and its frequent agreement (*e.g.* at Ex 34^{28}, Nu 3^{45}) with the peculiar local readings of earlier Latin MSS circulating in Northern Italy. An early date is also indicated by other evidence furnished by some of the MSS. Thus the order of the books, and the divisions of the text found in two Paris MSS, and another at Siena, agree with those of Latin MSS prior to the 13th century. Other facts preclude the obvious suggestion that the resemblance is due to the use of the early Latin MSS by a 14th cent. translator. The beginnings of the version are to be traced to the 'religious and literary influence of France,' and it has many points in common with the early French MSS, more particularly those connected with Provence and the valleys of the Vaud. These resemblances occur throughout the whole Bible. Thus the Italian Psalter is in close agreement with one of the earliest French Psalters. Of the Gospels, again, M. Berger writes: 'The Italian Gospels stand in so close a relationship to the different Provençal texts that we have to look to each of them in turn for parallels to the peculiarities of our version.'* The Provençal text to which the Italian is related is an early form of that text. The same is true of the rest of the Italian version of the NT, but there are indications that it belongs to a somewhat later date. One of the most striking illustrations of the relationship between the Italian and Provençal texts is to be found in Jn 1^1, where 'In the beginning was the Word' is rendered by the Italian version 'In the beginning was the Son of God.' This is found also in Provençal MSS, and other versions connected with them. Another parallel between the Italian and Provençal is found in the famous passage 1 Jn $5^{7.8}$.

Probably in Italy, as elsewhere, only single books or sections of the Bible were first translated; and those the books most in use for devotional purposes, or for edification, such as the Gospels, the Psalms, and the Sapiential books of the OT, and more particularly the Book of Proverbs. Thus the earliest MS of the version which is assigned doubtfully to the 13th cent., a MS in the library of St. Mark at Venice (Cl. i. *ital.* 80), is a translation only of the Gospels and Epistles of the Sundays according to the Roman year. Other MSS of the Gospels consist of extracts, making a harmony of the Four Gospels, beginning sometimes with one, sometimes with another, this harmony being often paraphrastic. Others give a complete text of the Gospels; and of these complete MSS Berger enumerates six of the 14th and 15th centuries.

---

* *Romania*, xxiii. 386. In this article the late M. Berger gives a very careful account of the early Italian Bible, and many facts have been taken from it.

2. To those parts of the Bible which have been mentioned, translations of the rest were subsequently added, the OT being for the most part the latest to be dealt with. The completion of the translation was probably the work of the Dominicans of the 14th cent.; but complete Bibles, owing to their expense, were rare. As elsewhere, the historical books of the OT were at first paraphrased rather than translated, on the plan of the *Historia Scholastica* or the French *Bible Historiale*, modelled on it. In this form we find a good deal of the OT in a Siena MS (I. v. 5) of the 14th century. Another Siena MS (F. iii. 4) is 'our best MS' of the OT, the whole of which it contains. This last MS dates from the 14th or 15th cent., and is interesting for the old order in which the books of the Bible are found, and the old system of divisions of the text. Other noteworthy MSS are two belonging to the Riccardi Library in Florence, one of which (MS 1250) is a 15th cent. MS of the whole NT; the other (MS 1252) is a 14th cent. MS of the second half of the Bible from Ecclesiasticus to Revelation. The first half of the Bible, Genesis to Ps 14, is found in a Laurentian MS (Ashb. 1102) of the year 1466; while a Paris MS (*ital.* 3 and 4) of the year 1472 contains the second and third volumes of a Bible, beginning with Ezra. The only complete MS of the whole Bible which has come down to us is also in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (MS, *ital.* 1 and 2). This dates from the end of the 15th cent., and with the other Paris MS came from the library of the kings of Naples, and no doubt represents a version made there.

3. The MSS, in which the version is contained either wholly or in part, have many of them been carefully examined with a view to the evidence which they afford in regard to its general character and history. This may be summarized as follows. The language is, as a rule, the Tuscan dialect as spoken at Florence in the 14th cent.; but in some cases, *e.g.* in the Psalter contained in the St. Mark MS, *ital.* 57, the influence of the Venetian dialect is evident, and the MS of the Gospels (MS, *ital.* i. 3) in the same library is in pure Venetian. The text found in both these MSS, as might be expected, represents a different underlying text from that found in the majority of MSS.

In the Pentateuch the MSS as a rule present one and the same version; but one MS (Riccard. 1655), containing Genesis only, preserves a text quite different from that of the other MSS, such as Siena MS, F. iii. 4. In the historical books we have two versions—one more incorrect, abounding in glosses and paraphrase, and therefore probably the earlier, found in the Siena MS (I. v. 5); the other more literal and exact (Siena MS, F. iii. 4, Paris, Bibl. Nat. *ital.* 3). In the Psalter we find many variants in the comparatively large number of MSS, but these really represent only one original version. In the Book of Proverbs, one of the earliest books to be translated, there are almost as many versions as there are MSS. Of the Book of Judith there are two versions—the one free, the other literal. For the rest of the OT, though there are many variants, yet these do not indicate more than one translation.

Passing to the NT, we find that most of the MSS of the Gospels go back to one and the same version. An exception must be made in respect of the Venetian text (Marc. MS, *ital.* i. 3) already mentioned, which stands alone. The MSS of the Acts vary in the glosses which they insert; and Minocchi traces three redactions of the version, but these are not independent. The translator's name is given in a prologue found in some MSS as Domenico Cavalca, a Dominican of Pisa, who died in 1342. A curious fact mentioned by Berger (*l.c.* pp. 391, 392) is that this version has been used in two MSS connected with the Vaud, and is the source of an otherwise untraced rendering of Ac 16 onwards, found in those MSS. The process of Italian indebtedness to France has here been reversed. In St. Paul's Epistles there is only one version, though it has passed through more than one redaction. The version found in Riccard. 1252 seems at first sight to be independent; but there are expressions, which it has in common with other MSS, which point the other way. In the Catholic Epistles we find, as elsewhere, two translations—the one incorrect and glossed, the other literal. Most MSS of the Apocalypse contain the same text, but one (Riccard. 1349) is quite independent, and is related to the Provençal texts. The most striking and sufficient proof of this is the rendering of the words 'one like unto the son of Man' by 'one like the son of the Virgin,' a rendering found in several versions connected with the south of France.

In regard to the text of the version, Berger (*l.c.* p. 417) sums up as follows: 'We cannot affirm that it was translated entire by one single person, or by the same group of translators. . . . As for the NT, it appears to have come entirely from one pen, and that the pen of a man who knew the Provençal language perfectly, and who had the Provençal Testament under his eye or in his memory. Many readings of the Latin which the translator adopts are those which were current at the beginning of the 13th cent. in Languedoc. Sometimes the Italian text is not a translation of the Latin text, but of the Provençal or Vaud version.'

4. The name of one translator, Cavalca, has been already mentioned, but probably all he did was to revise an older text resembling those of southern France. Another name connected with the old Italian version as a translator is that of John of Tavelli, born in 1386, and afterwards bishop of Ferrara, who is said to have translated the version printed at Venice. An old Life of him ascribes a translation to him, but is indefinite as to the extent of the supposed translation; and the statement as to the Venice edition is disproved by the fact that the printed version is contained in 14th cent. MSS, while John of Tavelli was then too young to have done the work ascribed to him. The early versions have also been assigned to James of Voragine, Passavanti, and others. Passavanti is himself excluded by the way in which he speaks of the versions which existed in his time, and the mention of his and other names is probably due to the wish to assign the version to persons well known in connexion with the formation of early Italian prose.

5. Of course, in connexion with the Reformation movement, several translations came into existence. The earliest is associated with the name of A. Brucioli, one of those who championed Florentine liberty, and suffered for so doing. His translation was begun in 1528, and the NT was first

published by Giunti at Venice in 1530. This was followed by the Psalms in 1531, and the whole Bible in 1532. This complete translation (and also translations of the separate books) was frequently reprinted. On his title-page Brucioli claims that the version was made from the Hebrew and the Greek. He probably knew Hebrew; but Simon has proved that no great knowledge of Hebrew is shown, and the author very probably relied on Pagninus' Latin version for the OT, and that of Erasmus for the NT. His commentaries betray Protestant ideas, and his work was condemned and put on Paul IV.'s Index of 1559, and after this it practically ceased to be reprinted. In 1538 a Dominican of some repute, named Marmochino, issued a translation which was in reality only a redaction of Brucioli's work, bringing it more into conformity with the Vulgate. The 16th cent. produced many other translations of separate books, with and without commentaries, but none are of any special interest.

6. The most important translation, which is still the official Bible of Italian Protestants, circulated by the British and Foreign Bible Society, is that of J. Diodati, who was born at Lucca in 1576, and died in 1649. Diodati was a very good scholar, and when only twenty-one was appointed by Beza professor of Hebrew at Geneva. His work is described as remarkable from the point of view of literature and of scientific accuracy. As a rule he keeps close to the Vulgate, except in the Psalter, where the Vulgate follows the LXX. An edition of the whole Bible was published at Geneva in 1607. The NT was published separately at Geneva in 1608 and at Amsterdam in 1665. An edition with commentaries appeared in 1641. A carefully revised edition was published by the London *Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* in 1854.

7. Of Catholic translations there were fewer in this country than elsewhere. The prohibition, by Pope Pius IV. in 1564, of the reading of the Bible in the vulgar tongue was not removed till 1757, when Benedict XIV. gave a qualified permission, and so for two centuries the Catholics had no need of a translation. The only one which need be mentioned is that of Martini, archbishop of Florence, published in 1776 at Turin, and circulated by the British and Foreign Bible Society in editions of the NT (1813) and of the OT (1821).

8. In conclusion, it is necessary to speak briefly of the earliest editions of the Italian Bible. One of these was printed by Wendelin at Venice in August 1471, and bears on its title-page as the name of the translator Nicolo di Malherbi. Berger says of it that 'the text in general differs much from that of the MSS'; but it is really not a new translation, but the old version with a few changes, chiefly dialectical, from the Tuscan of the MSS to Venetian. Of the frequent later editions of Malherbi's translation, one—that of 1490—is noteworthy if, as Carini says, the designs for its ornamentation were the work of Bellini and Botticelli. Another edition, which followed immediately in October of the same year, is that published by Jenson, the text of which was based partly on that of the MSS, partly, as in the NT and Psalter, on that of Malherbi's edition. The explanation of this is that the printing was begun simultaneously at different points. Berger says of it (*l.c.* p. 364) that it is 'faithful to the MSS, and those as a rule the best'; but the value of the edition is enormously depreciated by the fact of its being in large measure a reproduction of Malherbi's work. It had become a bibliographical rarity, for it was not in great demand, and was reprinted with a valuable introduction by Negroni in 1882–1887 in ten volumes.

LITERATURE.—S. Berger, 'La Bible Italienne au moyen age' in *Romania*, 1894, p. 358 ff. (with bibliography, and list of MSS appended); S. Minocchi, art. 'Italiennes Versions de la Bible' in Vigouroux's *Dict. de la Bible*; Negroni, *La Bibbia volgare*; Carini, *Le Versioni della Bibbia in volgare italiano*; le Long, *Bibliotheca Sacra.*

iii. SPANISH VERSIONS.—1. The history of the Bible in Spain begins with Priscillian and Lucinius of Bætica, the correspondent of Jerome (*Epp.* lxxi. and lxxv.); and four centuries later the school of sacred palæography at Seville and afterwards at Toledo, from which came the *Codex Toletanus* and *Codex Cavensis*, might well detain us. The importance of the Visigothic text of the Vulgate, and the influence of Theodulf and the Latin Bible of Spain beyond the border of that country, are other interesting subjects closely connected with the Spanish Bible.

2. But our immediate object is to trace the history of the Bible in the Spanish language. To this there is no allusion before the 13th cent., when John I., king of Arragon, passed a royal decree in 1233 at Tarragona, that no one, clergy or laity, was to keep in his house any translation into the vulgar tongue of the OT or NT. This prohibition implies the existence of such a translation. A few years later, however, the reign of Alphonse X., surnamed 'the Wise' (1252–1284), marks a period of literary activity, especially in regard to the translation of ancient writings into Spanish. Among other works he is said to have ordered a translation of Jerome's text of the Bible. One of the most important productions of this reign was the commencement, at any rate, of a *Historia General* very similar in character to the *Bible Historiale* (see above, p. 405^a), but in its original form probably more general, and containing less of the Bible text than the French work. The *Historia* was divided into five parts, the first of which corresponded roughly to the Pentateuch; the second covered from the death of Moses to the death of David; the third the Psalter, Sapiential books, and some of the Prophets; of the fourth we do not know the contents; the fifth contained some of the Prophets, the Apocryphal books, and a large part of the NT. It is probable that the first two parts alone go back to the time of Alphonse X., and that in Spain, as elsewhere, the earliest form of the composition had comparatively little of the actual text of the Bible, though a good deal of it was paraphrased. Of this work we have many MSS of the 14th and 15th cents., some with, some without, the text of the Bible. It is impossible, however, to define precisely the date and origin of the Bible text contained in the work, the later MSS of which in Spain as in France no doubt gradually incorporated more and more of the *ipsissima verba* of the Bible. Comparatively little, if any, can be assigned to the date of Alphonse X.

3. One almost unique feature in the history of the Spanish version of the Bible, as compared with those made in other countries, is the large proportion of early translations made from the Hebrew text, the work of Jewish Rabbis. The history of these, and of the translations made from the Latin, has to be recovered from an examination of the text of MSS contained in the Escurial and elsewhere, and from such other information as these MSS give in the way of prefaces, notes, etc. Much has been done in this direction by Eguren in the work mentioned at the end of this section, and by Berger in a detailed comparison of the text of the MSS in two articles in *Romania* for 1899, where a full description of a number of MSS and a bibliography will be found.

Among the important MSS which contain translations from the Hebrew may be mentioned two in the Escurial, I. j. 8 and I. j. 6. The first of these is a 15th cent. MS, which contains a large part of the first half of the Bible, including the Psalter. This version of the Psalter is said, in a note prefixed to it, to be the work of Herman, a German, and to be made from the Hebrew. Now a man of this name, known as a translator of Aristotle, is connected with Toledo about the year 1240. There is no reason, then, to doubt that the Psalter was translated about that time by Herman. He probably used the *Psalt. Heb.* of Jerome, and so we find *ṣelah* (in Ps 51 [Eng. and Heb. 52]^5) rendered by 'always'; but the translation shows an independent knowledge of Hebrew, as at Ps 41^2 and 41^7. The second MS mentioned above is assigned to the 14th cent., and contains the second half of the Bible. The Spanish used is that of the early 14th cent., and there are many points of resemblance, in respect of the text divisions, summaries, etc., between this MS and the Codex Toletanus, the Bible of Theodulf, and the Visigothic text—a resemblance which points to an early date for the translation. There are various other MSS containing versions from the Hebrew, *e.g.* Escur. Bibl. MS 4, and a bilingual (Lat. and Spanish) MS belonging to the Royal Hist. Library at Madrid, which begins with the Major Prophets and ends with 2 Maccabees. The best known of these translations is the so-called Bible of the Duke of Alba, the MS of which is now in the Liria Palace at Madrid. This is described by Berger as an 'unrivalled monument of Spanish art and science,' 'an enterprise unrivalled in the Middle Ages.' The work was ordered in 1422 by Louis de Guzman, master of the order of Calatrava, who paid more than £3000 for it. The translation was carried out between 1422 and 1430 by Rabbi Moses Arragel (*i.e.* 'the Expert') of Maqueda, near Toledo. It was not a new translation, but a revision of older texts.

Of versions made from the Latin Vulgate may be mentioned—(1) the Bible of Quiroga (Escur. MS 4), given by Cardinal Quiroga to Philip II. In this the order of the books is that of the Vulgate; and the Apocryphal books, not in the Hebrew, are translated; (2) a translation made for Alphonse V., king of Arragon (1416–1458). This MS contains the books from Proverbs to the Apocalypse; (3) a translation made by Martin de Lucena (about 1450) of the Gospels and St. Paul's Epistles contained in Escur. MS 11, a MS now lost; (4) a translation (in Escur. MS 7) of the books from Lv 7–2 Kings.

4. The earliest printed edition of any part of the Spanish Bible is that of the Pentateuch printed at Venice in 1497, which was the work of Spanish Jews exiled from their native country. By far the most important and the best known of the early Spanish Bibles is the so-called *Bible of Ferrara,* which contains the whole OT except Lamentations, and was the work of two Portuguese Jews, Duarte Pinel and Jerome de Vargas. It is not really a new translation, but only an editing of the old revision made with reference to the Hebrew. The translation, we are told, leaves much to be desired in respect of elegance and correctness, and is often inexact and full of Hebraisms. Some corrections were made in later editions, of which there have been very many between 1611 and the present day, published in many cases at Amsterdam. Besides the Bible of Ferrara, there have been many Jewish versions of the whole or parts of the OT: thus Plaine mentions three editions of the Pentateuch at Amsterdam, six versions of the Psalter (between 1625 and 1720), a translation of the Song of Songs, of the 'First Prophets,' of the Hagiographa, and of Isaiah and Jeremiah.

5. Translations made by Catholics in the 16th, 17th, and early 18th centuries are comparatively unimportant. The Council of Trent prohibited the reading of the Bible in the vulgar tongue, and one of the rules of the Inquisition was stringent in the same direction. It was not till 1757 that Benedict XIV. permitted the reading of the Bible in the language of the country under certain conditions; and fifteen years later, in 1782, the Spanish Inquisition gave similar permission. Moreover, in the 16th cent. at any rate the bulk of the Catholic theology of Spain was written not in Spanish but in Latin. For the most part, therefore, the efforts of Catholics in regard to Bible translation were confined to those parts of it which had a place in the liturgy, and several of these attempts were never printed. Of the Gospels, four complete or partial translations are recorded. The first is a translation of the liturgical Gospels and Epistles by Montesiro, which was printed at Madrid in 1512; the second is an anonymous translation of the four Gospels, contained in MS Escur. I. j. 9, but never printed, which is not dated, but is later than the Complutensian Bible of 1514–1517 which it uses; the third is a translation by a Benedictine, John de Robles, made in 1550 which is found in MS Escur. H. i. 4, but was never printed; the last is a translation of St. Matthew and St. Luke by Siguenza. Of the Psalms there were several translations, including one by Villa, a Benedictine of Montserrat, which was afterwards put on the Index; another by Cornelius Snoi, published at Amsterdam in 1553. The Sapiential books also found many translators, including the famous Louis of Léon, an Augustinian who translated the Book of Job. There was also a version of the Apocalypse by Gregory Lopez, which was published after his death.

6. More important were the Protestant translations. The earliest of these was the version of the Psalter by Juan de Valdes, a Lutheran, the MS of which is at Vienna. This was not published till 1880. To the same translator belongs the version of Romans and 1 Corinthians, printed at Venice in 1536 and 1557. The first published Spanish NT was the work of Francis of Enzinas, printed at Antwerp in 1543, and reprinted many times later. Another version, regarded by some as a model of Castilian style, was the translation of the NT from the Greek, and the Psalter from the Hebrew, the work of Juan Perez of Pineda, who fled to Geneva to escape the Inquisition. The first published edition of the whole Bible is the *Biblia del Oso,* so called from the bear which appeared as the frontispiece. This was the work of Cassiodore de Reina, a distinguished Hellenist, and occupied twelve years. The OT portion was probably little more than a translation of the Latin version of Pagninus. It is regarded as a satisfactory translation, and was published at Basle in 1567–1569. The edition by Cyprian de Valera (Amsterdam, 1602) was practically only a revision of the work of Cassiodore.

7. In the period after 1782, when the Inquisition revoked the prohibition against reading the Bible in the vulgar tongue, a number of Catholic translations appeared of the Psalms, Sapiential books, and Gospels. Only two of these Catholic versions are important. The first is the work of Philip Scio, afterwards bishop of Segovia, and was published at Valencia in 1791–1793. A second edition was published at Madrid in 1795–1797. This translation is based on the Vulgate, and is on the whole 'correct and elegant, though sometimes lacking in clearness and exactness, and more often in warmth and life.' As the first complete version by a Spanish Catholic it was received with enthusiasm, and went through many editions. But the

need of a translation based on the Hebrew and Greek began to be felt, and in 1807 Charles IV. ordered such a one. This was the work of Felix Torres y Amat, afterwards bishop of Astorga, and was published 1823–1825. Though very successful and often reprinted, it did not supplant the translation of Scio, of which numerous editions still appear. There are no recent Protestant translations. The copies circulated in large numbers by the British and Foreign Bible Society are practically only reprints of the early Protestant translations of Enzinas, Cassiodore de Reina, and Cyprian de Valera already mentioned, and of the later Catholic versions of Scio and Torres Amat.

8. Besides the Castilian versions of the Bible of which we have hitherto spoken, the translation into Catalan, the language of Catalonia, also demands attention in connexion with the history of the Bible in Spain. Both by language and by political ties the district of Catalonia was in the early Middle Ages closely connected with southern France, and we are not surprised therefore to find a close resemblance between the Catalan version and those of France. According to Berger (*Romania*, xix. 523), the version 'is not older than the 14th cent., and was made in all probability by a native of Catalonia, educated at the University of Paris.' Its dependence on the French version is shown by the way in which it reproduces the most characteristic glosses of the French Bible.

The oldest MS of the version is a Marmoutier MS of the NT now at Paris (Bibl. Nat. *Fonds esp.* 486) of the 14th century. We have also later MSS —(1) Bibl. Nat. *Fonds esp.* 2–4; (2) Bibl. Nat. *Fonds esp.* 5; (3) Brit. Mus. Egerton 1526, all of the 15th cent., and all containing the same portions of the Bible,—which enable us to trace the history of the text to some extent. These later MSS preserve the same general text as that contained in the 14th cent. MS, but the glosses of the French Bible have been removed. 'The foundation of the version is the same: the phrases of the 15th cent. MSS from end to end are modelled on those of the 14th, and a number of characteristic expressions attest the original identity of the translation.' Of MSS of the Psalter in this language Berger mentions ten, and in them he distinguishes three independent versions. One is found in Bibl. Nat. *Fonds esp.* 5, another is contained in Bibl. Nat. *Fonds esp.* 2, and Egerton 1526, and a third in Bibl. Nat. *Fonds fr.* 2434. The first, like the other Catalan Psalters, is based on the Gallican Psalter; the second seems to rest on the Hebrew Psalter, but this is really not the case; the third represents the most ancient form of the text, and this last is based on a French version, for 'all the peculiarities of the Catalan text are explained by the French, and several are only explained by it.' The Sapiential books show evidence of the use of French and Latin as bases for translation. In the Book of Proverbs both French and Latin influences are clear, in Wisdom there is no evidence of French, in Sirach the two alternate. There is a similar want of uniformity in regard to the Prophets. The translation of Isaiah is made from the Vulgate, but shows French influence. In Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel there is no trace of such influence. Nor is the underlying Latin text the same; for, while Isaiah and Daniel rest on the ordinary Paris text of the 13th cent., there is no sign in Jeremiah and Ezekiel of the characteristic readings of that text. Of the Gospels we have three Catalan versions—one very inexact and paraphrased, the others literal. Two of these have many points of resemblance to the Provençal, by the help of which they were made, viz. those contained in the Marmoutier MS and Bibl. Nat. *Fonds esp.* 2; the third contained in a Barcelona MS does not appear to have anything in common with the Provençal text. In regard to St. Paul's Epistles, there is 'no doubt but that the Catalan Bible of the 15th cent. is dependent on that of the 14th, and the latter on the Bible in the language of France' (*langue d'oil*). The Apocalypse was based not on the French, but on the Vulgate; but in the middle of this translation made from the Latin we find reminiscences of the French. Berger sums up as follows in regard to the NT: 'I conclude by saying that the Catalan version of the NT was made at the latest in the 14th cent. in some places from a French text, in others from a Latin text very similar to those in use at Paris. The writer probably incorporated into his work an earlier translation of the Gospels.'

The names of two translators are met with in writings on this version. The one is Boniface Ferrer, to whom is ascribed the translation printed near Valencia in 1477–1478; but, while the version belongs to the 14th cent., Ferrer lived in the 15th. A more important name is that of Sabruguera, a Dominican of the beginning of the 14th century. He studied at Paris about the year 1307, and this would agree with the character of the version, as indicated by the MSS. Further than this, one MS attributes to him a version of the Psalter.

The only early edition is that just referred to; but nothing of it remains except four pages of one copy now in the monastery of Porta Cæli, near Valencia. A note on one of these pages preserves the name of Ferrer as the translator, and tells us the translation was made by him, with the assistance of other scholars, from the Latin. During last century, by the efforts of the British and Foreign Bible Society, a version of the NT in Catalan was made and circulated. The first edition was printed in London in 1832, and later it was reprinted in London and Barcelona.

LITERATURE.—S. Berger, 'Nouvelles recherches sur les Bibles Provençales et Catalanes' in *Romania*, xix. 505 ff., 'Les Bibles Castillanes,' etc., *ib.* xxviij. 360 ff., 508 ff. (with a bibliography and list of MSS, etc.); Éguren, *Memoria descriptiva de los Codices notables*, etc., Madrid, 1859; Plaine, art. 'Espagnoles Versions de la Bible' in Vigouroux's *Dictionnaire de la Bible*; Borrow, *The Bible in Spain*; Mayor, *Spain, Portugal, and the Bible.*

iv. PORTUGUESE VERSIONS.—1. A 14th cent. MS in the Escurial (O. j. 1) contains a Portuguese translation of the first part of the *Historia General* of Alphonse (see p. 408^{b}), which of course had a Scripture basis. This translation may have been made by order of king Denis (1279–1325), the grandson of Alphonse, but it does not give the literal text of the Bible. In the same century we are told that king John I. (1385–1433) had a translation made by distinguished scholars of the Gospels, Acts, and St. Paul, but nothing more is known of it. His granddaughter Philippa, who died in 1497, is said to have had a translation made from French into Portuguese of the Gospels and Epistles of the Church year, and the MS of such a translation now exists at Lisbon.

2. A 15th cent. catalogue of the library of king D. Duarte (1433–1438) mentions among the books a translation of Genesis, another of the Gospels and Acts, another of the Books of Solomon. From this we may infer that before the date of his death a Portuguese version of these books existed.

3. In the same century we hear of the compilation of a Life of Christ preserved in a MS of the monastery of Alcobaça; and a paraphrase of the Acts, mixed with a good deal of legend, is found in another MS of the same monastery. We also know from the writings of D. Manuel of Cenaculo, bishop of Beia from 1770–1802, that twenty years

before he wrote there was in existence a paraphrastic translation made in the 15th cent. by a Portuguese acquainted with Hebrew. Of this he gives a specimen from the beginning of the Book of Genesis, which shows that the translation kept fairly close to the text of the Bible. There was also in a MS of Alcobaça, which has since been lost, a less literal translation, or rather summary, of OT history. Some extracts of this which have been preserved are said to be written in language of the 14th cent., more archaic than the passage quoted by Cenaculo.

Most of the statements mentioned here are incapable of being tested by the evidence of MSS containing the version, but there is nothing improbable about them, and they imply that the Portuguese translation dates from the 14th cent., that at first only some parts of the Bible were translated, and those the parts most likely to be in use, and that the translation was made from the Spanish and the French, and no doubt also from the Latin.

4. It is not till the end of the 17th cent. that we meet with the first printed Portuguese Bible. This was a translation made by a native of Lisbon, John Ferreira d'Almeida, who went out to the East as a Roman Catholic missionary, and afterwards became a Protestant. He began with the NT, which, after being revised, was printed at Amsterdam in 1681; and a second edition appeared in 1712. Almeida's work, completed only as far as Ezekiel, was continued by others, and gradually the whole Bible was published, the last part to appear being the Major Prophets, which was printed in 1751. Almeida's version was not very popular, partly because it was antiquated in style, and partly, perhaps, from prejudice on account of his change of religion.

5. In 1784 a Catholic translation by Anton Pereira de Figueiredo was published at Lisbon. This work, with notes, in twenty-three volumes, was based on the Vulgate, but does not follow it slavishly, and sometimes departs from it in favour of the Greek. A revised edition was begun some years later, but not completed till 1819.

Both of these translations have been circulated in Portugal by the British and Foreign Bible Society, but not in very large numbers.

LITERATURE.—S. Berger in *Romania*, xxviii. p. 543, where a full bibliography will be found.

v. GERMAN VERSIONS.—1. The oldest fragment of the Bible in German is to be found in a MS, twenty-three leaves of which are at Vienna (MS N. ccxxxiii.) and two at Hannover. These leaves, recovered from the bindings of other MSS, come from a MS of the 8th cent. which belonged to the Bavarian monastery of Monsee, and they preserve fragments of a Latin and German translation of St. Matthew, the first of which begins at 8^{33} and the last ends with 28^{20}. The ending of the Gospel is followed by a Latin subscription, from which it is clear that only this Gospel was translated. The translation is unexpectedly good. The Latin is closely but not slavishly followed, and there are few mistakes due to misunderstanding the Latin. The German is clear, and 'it was the aim of the translator to give not only correct but good German,' in a dialect which is 'a Bavarian redaction of a Frankish or Alsatian original.' There is an edition of this very early and interesting MS by Massmann (Vienna, 1841), and more recently by Hench (Strassburg, 1890).

2. The next documentary evidence bearing on the Old German Bible is a translation of Tatian's Harmony of the Gospels, contained in a St. Gall MS (No. 56) of the second half of the 9th cent., in which the Latin and German are given in parallel columns. The Latin version rests on that of the Fulda MS of the 6th cent., and this is closely followed by the German, in an East Frankish dialect. The translation is not, as Sievers supposed, the work of a number of men, but of one, who perhaps received assistance from others, and may perhaps have used already existing translations of the separate Gospels made by different translators. The style of translation is not so vigorous as that of the Monsee St. Matthew, but it is clear, and runs easily. In one section there are peculiarities, best explained by supposing that there was a defect in the MS copied, which was supplied from another source.

3. We must leave on one side, as not properly belonging to our subject, such sacred poems, embodying a good deal of the Bible narrative, as the *Krist* of Otfrid and the *Heliand* by an unknown author. Both these belong to the middle or second half of the 9th century.

4. To the 10th or early 11th cent. belongs the work of Notker Labeo (d. 1022), a monk of St. Gall, who translated and commented on Job and the Psalter. His work on Job has been lost. That on the Psalter is contained in its entirety only in one MS (No. 21) at St. Gall, but fragments of different MSS of it are to be found at Munich, Basle, Maihingen, and elsewhere. The method adopted is to give each verse of the Psalms in the shortest possible sentences, first in Latin and then in German. This is followed by commentary or paraphrase. Above the Latin words an interlinear German rendering is given in the St. Gall MS; but this is later than Notker, and is not contained in the fragments in other libraries. Probably Notker's work was intended not for reading in the services, but for students in the monastery.

5. A little later than Notker is to be placed the work of Williram, abbot of Ebersberg in Bavaria (d. 1085), who translated and commented on the Song of Songs. Of this work many MSS survive, showing its popularity. The Latin text of the Vulgate is written in the middle of the page; on the left of this comes a Latin paraphrase in leonine hexameters, and on the right an explanation in German appended to little sections of the text in German, which are of varying length. The German translation is generally very free, often too free, but the style is good and almost ideal. 'Such a true translation was only possible because Williram loses himself in his text, and has sought to reproduce it even to the smallest details. Williram has absorbed the Song of Songs into his very being, and from his being it has welled out in purest German.'

6. The next fragments of Bible text are some portions of the four Gospels recovered from the bindings of volumes at Vienna (now Suppl. 2559) and Munich (now c.g.m. 5250) attributed by Walther (p. 456) to the 12th century. These are clearly copied from a MS belonging to an older, perhaps a much older, date. The sections are marked for liturgical use, both in the Latin and the German, and the 'use' points to the diocese of Constance, perhaps to St. Gall. The aim of the translator has been to give a 'flowing and popular' German version; and in this, in spite of an imperfect knowledge of Latin, he has succeeded. It is possible, but cannot be certainly proved, that the version was made for reading at church services.

7. To the 12th cent. belongs a MS of the Psalter now at Munich (*Cod. Germ.* 17), which came from the monastery at Windberg, and is dated 1187. With this may be discussed another MS of the Psalter belonging to the same century, now at Vienna (MS 2682). Both these are Latin Psalters with interlinear German versions. In the Wind-

berg Psalter the Latin is represented sometimes by more than one synonym, and a fuller explanation given in the margin; the German is often omitted, or given only in part, possibly, as Walther suggests, because the scribe could not read the German he was copying. The synonyms were probably added later, possibly from a MS like the Vienna Psalter. The translation in this last Psalter is less exact than that in the Windberg Psalter.

8. To the next century Walther ascribes a Zürich MS (Stadtbibl. C. 55. 713) of the Gospels, which, like a later MS of the same family at Basle (A. iv. 44), shows signs of being copied from an earlier MS, in which corrections had been made, for two German words are often given for one Latin. Walther notices the effective and impressive character of the translation.

9. The beginning of the 14th cent. marks, according to Walther, an epoch in the history of the German Bible, and MSS begin to multiply. We need not therefore pursue beyond that date the history of separate MSS of the whole or part of the Bible. The multiplication of MSS is explained by the desire of the Christians in Germany to have translations of the Bible to which they might appeal in regard to matters of doctrine and practice, as the authority of the Pope was weakened by the events of the early 14th century. The result was that a number of independent translations were made, often very inexact and inadequate.

Walther enumerates altogether 203 MSS, beginning with those which have been mentioned, and going down to the 16th century. Of these, 10 contain the whole German Bible; 6 others were originally, but are no longer, complete Bibles; 5 contain the OT and 8 the NT. Of the whole number no fewer than 128 belong to the 15th century.

In connexion with all these MSS it is only possible to summarize the results as given in Walther's exhaustive work on the German Bible of the Middle Ages, and to mention one or two MSS of special interest or importance. The most important of the MSS, to which no reference has yet been made, if importance is to be measured by the amount of controversy of which it has been the occasion, is the so-called *Codex Teplensis*. It is so called because it is to be found in the library of the Præmonstratensians at Tepl in Bohemia. The controversy, of which it is the centre, is the relation, if any, between the German translation and the work of the Waldenses. On the one hand, Haupt maintained that the pre-Lutheran German Bible, with which this MS generally agrees, had a Waldensian origin; and, on the other hand, Jostes denied that there was any sufficient evidence of this. In this discussion many other scholars besides the two already named took part. The *Codex Teplensis* contains, among other things, a longish treatise on the '7 stücke dez heiligen christlichen Gelauben' (seven articles of the holy Christian faith) appended to a short discussion on the '7 heilikheit der kirchen' (*i.e.* the sacraments), and it is their inclusion which suggests to Haupt the Waldensian origin of the MS; and, as the text of this MS agrees with that of the first printed German Bibles, he goes on to infer the connexion of the German Bible with the Waldenses. Walther (*l.c.* pp. 193, 194) says: 'As a result of the controversy between Haupt and Jostes we may recognize that only the treatise at the end of the MS, and that very probably, originated among the Waldenses, while the other additions may have come as well from a Waldensian as from a Catholic. At the same time, it is by no means certain that the man who inserted the last piece was aware of its heretical origin, or was himself a Waldensian.' Other evidence is afforded by marks in the margin drawing attention to certain passages of doctrinal importance. But these marks do not all imply the same doctrinal views on the part of the person who added them. Some are Catholic, others Waldensian, and all in the same hand. These marks therefore only prove, according to Walther, that the MS was used and marked by one of the Waldenses.

Another MS which deserves attention is the splendid Bible in six volumes at Vienna (MS N. 2759-64) called the 'Wenzel Bible' after king Wenzel. It contains the greater part of the OT, and was the work of Martin Rotlev between 1389 and 1400. The importance of the MS lies not so much in the text as in the elaborate illustrations. Some of these are found in other MSS, and their origin and purpose are not always clear.

A third MS to be noticed is the so-called Florian Psalter, a trilingual version, in Latin, Polish, and German, chiefly interesting in connexion with the early history of the Polish Bible. This is also a sumptuous volume so far as illustrations are concerned, but for some reason or other they were never completed.

Among early groups of MSS one of the most interesting is that which contains a translation of the Psalter made by Henry of Mügeln about 1350. The oldest representative of this family is a MS of the Cistercian monastery of Rein near Gradwein, but the version is found in 18 other MSS. The MSS give a continuous translation with a Latin text on the margin and a gloss derived largely from Nicholas of Lyra. Of the translation represented by this group Walther writes (p. 718): 'His work on the Psalter cannot be brought into line with the other German Psalters, for his chief purpose is to provide a popular work, and he has succeeded in his object.'

Another group of MSS of the Psalter is one which goes back either to the original Hebrew text or to Jerome's *Psalterium Hebraicum*. As preserved in the MSS the text has been corrected by the help of the Vulgate.

10. From the MSS we pass to the early printed editions of the German Bible. Of these Walther enumerates as belonging to the period from 1466, the date of the earliest, to 1521, eighteen editions of the complete German Bible—fourteen in High German and four in Low German—besides thirty-four of Psalters or other separate books of the Bible. The four earliest bear no indication of the date or place of publication, and their order of precedence has been very carefully examined by Walther. The result of his investigation is to vary the order as previously given by Hain. Walther has proved that the earliest Bible is that printed by Mentel at Strassburg. In a note at the end of the copy in the Munich Library it is stated that 'this book was bought on the 27th of June 1466 for 12 gulden'; and a note at the end of a copy at Stuttgart says that it was printed in 1466. The second edition of the Bible is that of Eggestein, also printed at Strassburg. On the strength of a note in the Stuttgart copy, which says that it was printed in 1462, Eggestein's used to be regarded as the earliest German printed Bible. Walther shows that it is later than Mentel's edition, on which it is based, and that it dates from about 1470, as a note in the Gotha copy implies. The third, dependent on Eggestein, is Pflanzmann's Augsburg edition of about 1473. The fourth, also an Augsburg edition by Zainer, is a revision of Eggestein, for 'they have many most striking misprints in common.' This is assigned to about 1473, and is to be regarded as earlier than the Swiss edition, printed probably at Basle, which used to be put fourth. Of this Swiss

edition one copy only, at Göttingen, out of the thirty-two known to us, bears a date, 1474. On Zainer's edition of 1473 the Swiss edition and three other Augsburg editions, printed by Zainer (1477) and Sorg (1477 and 1480), depend. The next edition, published by Koburger at Nuremberg in 1483, professes to be and is 'a revision made with great diligence,' his corrections being possibly derived from those in the Cologne Low German Bible, with which Koburger's edition has many illustrations and other points in common. The last five editions of the complete High German Bible which preceded Luther are dependent on that of Koburger. They were published, one at Strassburg (1485) by Grüninger, and four at Augsburg—two by Schönsperger in 1487 and 1490, and two by Otmar in 1507 and 1518. Walther thus sums up the result of his exhaustive investigation of the early printed Bibles: 'Our conclusion from the comparison of these Bibles is that they all belong to the same family of translations, but that the Bible first published by John Mentel at Strassburg in 1466 was revised about 1473 by G. Zainer at Augsburg, and that this new and revised edition received at the hands of A. Koburger at Nuremberg, and afterwards in the two last Bibles of the Middle Ages, a further slight correction.'

The text represented by this succession of printed Bibles is found also in various Psalters printed at various dates and in various places between 1473 and 1498, and also in an edition of the Apocalypse (1498) and of Job (1488). Besides printed editions of this recension of text, Walther enumerates fourteen MSS in which it is found, nine of which, however, are copies of a printed Bible, as is evident from the misprints which they reproduce, while a tenth also depends on a printed text. Two of the other MSS (at Wolfenbüttel and Nuremberg) are MSS of the early part or middle of the 15th century. That at Nuremberg contains only Joshua, Judges, and Ruth, but is interesting on account of the reasons given by the translator—John Rellach of Resom, in the diocese of Constance—for undertaking the work of translation. The other two are MSS of the NT—the one at Freiburg in Saxony; the other, already mentioned, at Tepl in Bohemia. These are 14th cent. MSS, having many points of resemblance, but neither is a copy of the other. From a careful examination Walther concludes that Mentel's Bible represents the text of this family in a purer and more original form than these, the oldest MSS which contain it. This text, based of course on the Latin, shows many points of agreement with old MSS of the *Itala*, and in the NT many points of agreement with the Greek against the Latin, but only in cases where the Greek has a reading not contained in the Vulgate; for if the Vulgate has a fuller reading than the Greek, the Vulgate is followed. The question to be decided is whether the German translator himself enriched his text by using several MSS of the Vulgate, or used a MS of the Vulgate which itself contained the additions which he has translated. Walther decides in favour of the second alternative, and finds such a MS in a Latin MS at Wernigerode, which has 37 of the 45 additions common to the first Bible and the Freiburg and Tepl MSS; and many, but by no means all, of these are found also in the Provençal version connected with the Waldenses. But the resemblances are not, as we have seen above (see p. 412^a), sufficient in number or distinctive enough to prove a Waldensian origin of the earliest German printed Bibles.

11. The work of Luther marks an epoch in the history of the German Bible. His labours in translation began with some of the Psalms, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, sections of the Gospels and the Epistles, all clearly intended for the edification of the unlearned.

The idea of making a complete translation of the Bible dates from 1521, but it was thirteen years later before the work was carried out in its entirety. The first part to appear was the NT, the translation of which was done at the Wartburg. This was the so-called *Septemberbibel*, so called because it appeared in September 1522, at Wittenberg, but without any date or the name of the publisher on its title-page. Of this a photographic facsimile appeared in 1883 on the four hundredth anniversary of Luther's birthday. The first edition was followed by a second in the same year 1522, and by 1580 more than seventy editions of the NT had appeared.

The translation of the OT was a more difficult task, to which Luther then turned. He tells us that in the translation of Job days were sometimes spent over a few verses, and the erasures in the MS of his work, now in the Royal Library at Berlin, are sufficient evidence of the trouble which he took. The OT translation was published in parts, beginning with the Pentateuch, which appeared in 1523. The historical Books and Hagiographa were followed in 1532 by a complete translation of the Prophets, and in 1534 by the Apocrypha, and so 'in a relatively short time the most epoch-making work of modern times came to light.' For the translation Luther was himself responsible, though he consulted numerous friends. Though he is not wholly independent of the work done by his predecessors, some of whose mistakes he reproduces, he was not by any means dependent on them. Both in the OT and NT he translates from the original text, using in the OT the Brescia edition of 1494, and in the NT Erasmus' edition of 1519, which he follows, for instance, in the curious reading *ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐμαῖς* at Rev 2^{13}. He had also the assistance of the LXX, Vulgate, and the *Glossa ordinaria*. The object Luther set before himself was not to produce a literal translation, but one which should be clear and intelligible to the people; and in this he was successful, largely because he was a thorough German, fully conscious of the needs of the people, and in sympathy with them. The result was that this translation had an incalculable effect on the development of the German language and literature, leading to the predominance of one dialect throughout the country. Outside the limits of Germany it was the basis of the versions used in Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Holland.

His work had no sooner appeared than it was the subject of much criticism, which came chiefly from the Roman Catholics. The earliest critic was Emser, who in 1523 published a volume, in which he called attention to the many mistakes and doctrinal errors contained in the work of Luther. Emser's work was the precursor of many others, and it is no doubt possible to point to mistakes due to a defective knowledge of Hebrew or Greek. But the best testimony to Luther's work is the permanent hold it has had on the German nation, as shown by the innumerable editions through which it has passed. Some of these are interesting because of the changes of different kinds which they introduced in many cases with the object of supporting special doctrinal views. Others had a linguistic purpose. More modern and familiar words and constructions were introduced in place of those which had become obsolete. One of these revised editions, which obtained a very large circulation, is that of 1703, of which the Canstein Bible Institute at Halle has since 1717 circulated, according to Nestle, more than five million copies.

12. Such was the position which Luther's translation occupied in Germany, that while it was generally admitted that revisions and corrections were necessary, many of the attempts in this direction roused great opposition; and while some would have been content with merely removing words which were obsolete or of uncertain meaning, others were in favour of a more thorough revision. Finally, a commission, representative of various theological views, was appointed, charged to make the minimum of necessary corrections, and the first result of their labours was the NT, published at Halle in 1867; and finally in 1883 appeared at Halle, 'The Bible, or the complete Scriptures of the Old and New Testament according to the German translation of D. Martin Luther. First impression of the Bible revised by order of the Eisenach German Protestant Church Congress.' This is the so-called *Probe-Bibel* or Proof-Bible. Two years were allowed for criticism, and then the final revision of the Proof-Bible began, during which numerous opinions and reports were sent in. In January 1890 the great final conference of all who had taken part in the theological and linguistic revision was begun at Halle, and at last in the beginning of 1892 the revised edition was issued by the Canstein Bible Press at Halle. This completed the work begun as long ago as 1855, when Pastor Mönckeburg of Hamburg made an appeal to the Bible Societies to unite in preparing a uniform text. It was inevitable that the result should be freely and variously criticised, and the amount of literature produced has been large. The defects are due not so much to the revisers as to the limitations set in regard to the amount of change they were to make, which were fixed before the work was begun.

13. The rapid and widespread popularity obtained by Luther's translation, when it first appeared, made other attempts in the same field rare, and the only important edition in the 16th cent. is the Zürich Bible of 1530, which followed the publication of the Prophets and Apocrypha in the preceding year. The translation was for the most part that of Luther, only unimportant linguistic changes being introduced. The only portion of the Bible of which a new translation was made was the Hagiographa, including Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Songs; and this was not satisfactory, especially on the linguistic side. A later edition of 1548 is said to be based on a comparison with the Hebrew, but the changes are not important. This edition of 1548 became itself in turn the basis of later revisions. Of such later revisions the most important is that of Breitinger, who published a NT in 1629, which introduced many changes, and aimed at extreme literalness. An attempt to secure a thorough revision aroused such opposition that it led to no result. It was not till the 19th century that any satisfactory or effective revision took place, and, as a consequence of these revisions, Nestle says that 'its dialectical character has now disappeared, and in respect of accuracy it may be compared with the best: it certainly has not come from one mould, and the effort after exactness has frequently led to bombastic language and lack of clearness.' In 1858 a commission was appointed in Switzerland to revise the work again, and in 1893 a NT and Psalter appeared, in which account has been taken of the results of scientific criticism of the Greek text.

14. Another Protestant translation of importance is that of J. Piscator, first published at Herborn in 1602, and afterwards in use at Bern and elsewhere. Nestle describes it as a weak translation, abounding in Latinisms, which indicate a use of the Latin versions of Junius and Tremellius. Mention should also be made of the Socinian version of Crell and Stegman (Rackau, 1630) and another by the Socinian Felbinger which was published at Amsterdam in 1660. Another translation, which had leanings to mysticism, was the Berlenburg Bible (1726–1742), based partly on Luther's version, partly on the Zürich Bible. Other versions, such as the Wertheim Bible of 1735, were rationalistic in tendency, and explained away the supernatural. The same object was kept in view in Bahrdt's translation of *The latest revelations of God* (Riga, 1773). Of 19th cent. translations those of de Wette (1809–1814) and Bunsen (1858–1869) are the most important. The first mentioned combined scholarly exactness with happiness in expression, the second aimed at being popular and easily understood by the masses.

15. The German translations made in the interests of Roman Catholics have not been very numerous or very important. The earliest is a translation of the NT by Beringer, published at Spires in 1526. This was almost a reprint of Luther's version. In the next year Emser, who has been mentioned as one of Luther's first critics, published a NT at Dresden, which also differs very little from Luther's save that glosses have been added in places, and the text of the Vulgate in some instances preferred. Emser's version has been many times reprinted. A few years later, in 1534, Dietenburger, a Dominican, printed a Bible at Mainz. In his translation he followed Luther in the OT, though he sometimes adopted the Vulgate rendering. The Apocrypha is a reproduction of the translation of Leo the Jew made for the Zürich Bible. The NT closely follows Emser's version. The version of J. Eck, Luther's famous antagonist (Ingolstadt, 1537), was in the NT only a reproduction of Emser, but in the OT the pre-Lutheran translation was followed as a rule. It does not seem to have been successful, and Nestle says of it that the 'German is beneath criticism.' In the 17th cent. the only Catholic version of importance is that of Ulenberg, based on the Sixtine edition of the Vulgate. This was published at Cologne (1630), and afterwards, as revised by the theologians of Mainz (Cologne, 1662), was known as the Catholic Bible. In the 18th cent. several translations appeared, that of Erhard (Augsburg, 1722) being perhaps the most often reprinted. At the end of the century appeared the work of Braun (Augsburg, 1788–1805) in thirteen volumes. This was afterwards revised by Allioli (1830). These and other Roman Catholic versions kept the Vulgate mostly in view, but a free rendering of the Greek of the NT was made by Brentano (1790). His translation of the OT from the Hebrew he did not complete himself, but his work was continued by others. The 19th cent. Roman Catholic versions are, like the earlier ones, based on the Vulgate, though the Hebrew and Greek texts are not neglected. The version of Kistemaker (1825) was the Roman Catholic version which was adopted by the British and Foreign Bible Society.

LITERATURE.—W. Walther, *Die deutsche Bibelübersetzung des Mittelalters*, Brunswick, 1889; Nestle in Herzog's *RE*^{3} iii. 61ff., where a full bibliography is given; Vigouroux, art. 'Allemandes Versions' in *Dictionnaire de la Bible*.

vi. DUTCH VERSIONS.—1. The earliest translation of the substance of any part of the Bible into Dutch is to be found in metrical versions of the Biblical narrative; but these do not represent *literal* translations of the text of Scripture.

2. Of literal translations of the whole or of parts of the Bible, Isaac le Long in his *Boekzaal der nederduitsche Bybels* enumerates twenty-four MSS; and to these Walther, in his work on the German translation (see p. 721 ff.), has added others. The

oldest MS, according to Walther, is a Vienna MS in two volumes (MSS 2771-2), which he assigns to the second half of the 14th century. Among other early MSS are a MS at Paris of the historical books of the OT, two MSS in the Bodleian Library, one (dated 1472) of the Gospels, and another of the Acts, St. Paul, and the Apocalypse. All these contain a version made from the Latin, probably about 1300, by a Fleming, for the benefit of those unlearned in that language. Such a translation, according to the unnamed translator, was desirable in spite of 'the opinion of many clergy that the mysteries of the Bible should be kept from the ordinary man.' To the translation are added explanations based mainly on the *Historia Scholastica* of Peter Comestor; but these are distinguished from the text by being written in a different character. Moreover, some parts which it was thought undesirable to popularize (*e.g.* Dt $22^{13ff.}$) are left out, and for these the reader is referred to the original Latin. The first edition of this translation, but without the Psalms and New Testament, was printed at Delft in 1477.

3. It was inevitable that Luther's version should be translated very soon into Dutch, in spite of the opposition of the Inquisition and the edicts of Charles V., and an edition appeared at Antwerp in 1522, for which so much of this version as was available was used. In 1525 and 1526 other editions appeared of the New Testament at Basle, and in 1525 the whole Old Testament was published at Antwerp in four small volumes, the Pentateuch and Psalms being based on Luther, the rest on the Delft Bible. The first complete Bible was printed at Antwerp by Jacob van Liesveldt, and in the second edition of 1532 Luther's version of the Prophets was adopted as a basis. Several editions followed before 1546, when the printer was condemned and put to death for unorthodox statements in the notes. Liesveldt's Bible was revised by Vorsterman with the help of the Complutensian Polyglott.

4. It was only to be expected that efforts should be made by the Roman Catholics to secure a translation for their own needs. Editions of the New Testament appeared in 1527 and in later years, a Latin-Dutch version in 1539, and finally in 1548 editions of the whole Bible were published at Cologne and at Louvain. The first was the work of a Carmelite, the second of a Canon of Louvain, Nicholas von Wingh. This last, which contained a vigorous preface dealing with the mistakes of Protestant Bibles, was approved by the Theological Faculty at Louvain, and published with the sanction of Charles V. It has passed through many editions, was revised in 1599 after the Vulgate of 1592, and issued by the Plantin press at Antwerp, and has been many times reprinted. A later revision of this version dates from 1717, and is the work of Ægidius Wit, a Ghent divine. This is in the idiom of Flanders and Brabant, and follows the Vulgate, though in certain parts the original texts have been used. In 1820 permission was given to circulate a translation without note or comment for the benefit of Roman Catholics, and the edition of 1599—the so-called Moerentorf Bible—was reprinted at Brussels in 1821, and to its circulation the British and Foreign Bible Society contributed.

5. Amongst the various sects various translations circulated, each after a time preferring its own. Thus the *Lutherans*, who had used Liesveldt's Bible, in 1558 adopted one based on a Magdeburg edition, and the 1558 edition was many times revised and reprinted. The *Memnonites* used an edition of the Bible published by Viestkens in 1560, and of the New Testament published in 1562. A few years earlier the *Reformed Churches* acquired a translation printed at Emden in 1556. This was the work of Jan Gheylliart. In the earlier half of the Bible, down to and including Job, he used the text of Liesveldt, revised by the help of the Zürich edition of 1548-9; the rest of the Bible was a translation of this Zürich text. A separate edition of the New Testament was published in 1556, and this was many times revised. A few years later, in 1562, a translation based on Luther's version was adopted, the so-called *Deux Æs* or *Eulenspiegel* Bible. The *Remonstrants* for a long time used the version made by order of the States General, and first published in 1637. This sect was opposed to the views of those who took part in the translation just mentioned, but after careful examination they were so satisfied as to its accuracy that they adopted it, and have used the Old Testament ever since. A version of the New Testament was made for their use by Christian Hartsoeker, an Arminian minister; but, although it professes to be a new translation, it follows in the main the version hitherto used.

6. The first attempt to revise the existing Dutch version by use of the original texts seems to have been made by W. Baudartius of Zütphen, who in 1614 produced such a revised text, with the help of various scholars and earlier editions. Any such individual or private attempts were dwarfed by the combined effort in the same direction made by the States General, which resulted in the edition of 1637, to which reference has been already made. The necessity of procuring an improved version based on the original texts was generally recognized some time before any steps were taken to deal with the need. In 1594 the States General determined on undertaking such a work, and entrusted it in the first instance to Philip Marnix. The matter was discussed at several sittings of the Synod of Dort in 1618-9, but it was not till ten years later that the work was begun by six translators and eight revisers for the Old Testament and the same number for the New, the scholars being selected by the Synod, and paid by the States General. The translation was finished in 1632, and the revision in 1635. The first edition was printed in 1636, and published at Leyden in the following year. In the next thirty years many editions appeared at different places, and with slight revisions and changes in orthography (such as the unsuccessful revision contained in the edition of Henry Cats of 1834) it has been adopted up to the present day.

7. About the middle of last century (1848) an attempt was made to combine the various Protestant sects in the work of revision, and members of various theological faculties were entrusted with the task; but jealousy and distrust prevented a successful completion of the plan, and when the New Testament was ready in 1866 it was not welcomed. The work on the Old Testament, after an abrupt cessation, was resumed in 1884, and its publication at Leyden began in 1897.

8. The only modern translation not based on the edition of 1637 which need be mentioned is that of Professor Van der Palm of Leyden, published in 1825. This enjoyed great popularity during the thirty years after its publication, but was never adopted in churches.

LITERATURE.—Isaac le Long, *Boekzaal der nederduitsche Bybels*, 1732; Bagster, *Bible of Every Land*; Nestle, *Urtext und Uebersetzungen*, p. 179 ff., and literature there mentioned.

vii. DANISH (AND NORWEGIAN) VERSIONS.—1. The earliest translation of the Bible into Danish is found in a 15th cent. MS now at Copenhagen. This contains the OT as far as 2 Kings, and is based on the Vulgate, which it follows very closely. The MS has been edited by Molbech at Copenhagen in 1828. The version belongs to the 15th or possibly the 14th century. This appears to be the only MS containing any large section of the Bible which has survived of the many which, according to the statement of Hvitfeldt (died 1609) in his Danish Chronicle, were to be found in the monastic libraries in his time. Of the Psalter there are several MSS of about the same date, and fragments of Biblical translations are also to be met with.

2. At the time of the Reformation, Denmark was the earliest of the Scandinavian kingdoms to possess a complete version of its own in the vernacular. The king, Christian II., entrusted the work of translation to his secretary, John Michaelis,—or Hans Mikkelsen,—who had heard Luther at Wittenberg. The NT appeared at Leipzig in 1524, and was reprinted at Antwerp in 1529. The translation of the Gospels was based on the Latin version of Erasmus, and the rest of the NT follows very closely Luther's German translation. The language into which Mikkelsen translated was not pure Danish, but a mixture of Danish and Swedish, and the work was not very well received.

3. In 1528 two Danish versions of the Psalter appeared. The one, based on the Hebrew, in which the Latin and German were also used, was the work of Wormord, a Dutchman, and was published at Rostock, but had no great success. The other was the work of C. Pedersen (1480–1554), a man 'who had the same importance for Danish literature that Luther had for German.' This version was based on the Hebrew text and Jerome, and was printed at Antwerp, and afterwards reprinted at Copenhagen. In 1529 he published an edition of the NT which he based on Michaelis' translation, but used also 'the help of the best available theologians,' *i.e.* Luther and Erasmus. Two years later another edition appeared at Antwerp, and also a version of the Psalter. In 1535 Tausen published at Magdeburg a translation of the Pentateuch, in which Luther's version, the Hebrew, and Vulgate were used. In 1539 a translation of the Book of Judges by Tidemann, based on the Vulgate and Luther, appeared at Copenhagen, and two years later the same translator issued a version of Wisdom and Sirach.

4. The year 1550 marks an epoch as the date of the appearance of the first complete Bible. This was the work of the Theological Faculty at Copenhagen, and among the collaborators Pedersen took a prominent place. The work was done by command of Christian III., who ordered Luther's version to be followed as closely as the Danish would allow. An edition of 3000 copies was published, and in 1589 a second edition followed, in which the archaisms of the first were removed.

5. The first translation based on the original languages was the work of Resen, bishop of Zealand, who, not finding the editions of 1550 and 1589 literal enough, undertook a revision, which was completed in 1607, the NT appearing two years earlier. This work of Resen was not very successful owing to its indifference to Danish idiom, and another edition of the older version appeared at Copenhagen in 1633, with slight changes. This is known as the Bible of Christian IV.

6. Resen's translation was revised by Swaning, bishop of Zealand, and others in 1647, and of this revision very many copies were circulated by the College of Missions, founded in 1714. Later it was adopted by the British and Foreign Bible Society, and with only slight changes it is the version which circulates generally at the present day. During last century revised editions of the NT (1819) and OT (1824) were published under the superintendence of Bishop Munter. Another revision of the whole Bible appeared in 1872, under the superintendence of Bishops Martensen and Hermansen.

7. The Bible used in Denmark was current also in Norway till the separation of the two countries in 1814. An important revision of the 1647 Bible was begun in 1842, and the work was carried on over many years. The translation of the OT as finally approved did not appear till 1890. Of the NT a new translation was made by Bishop Bugge, and revised by other scholars.

LITERATURE.—Bruun, *Biblioteca Danica*; le Long, *Bibliotheca Sacra*; Herzog, *RE*^{3} iii. 146 ff.

viii. SWEDISH VERSIONS.—1. The earliest reference to the Bible in Sweden is connected with the name of St. Bridget at the beginning of the 14th century. She is said to have had a translation of the Bible made for her. About the same time a great Bible in Swedish is mentioned in the will of king Magnus Smek, which may have been the same as that mentioned as made for St. Bridget, and probably was not a complete Bible, but an exposition of the Pentateuch made by Bridget's confessor Matthias, which was no doubt to have been continued in the other books. Towards the end of the next century the Books of Joshua and Judges were translated by Nils Ragnvaldson, and a little later Budde translated Judith, Esther, Ruth, and the Books of Maccabees. A version of the Apocalypse of about the same date also survives. No other parts of the Bible are known to have been translated. All those which have been mentioned are based on the Vulgate.

2. In 1523 Sweden separated from Denmark, and, in order to secure linguistic as well as political independence, Gustav Vasa commanded a translation to be undertaken. Two translations were ordered—one in the interests of the Church of Rome, for which Vasa had recourse to the archbishop of Upsala; the other, based on Luther's version, which was the work of Laurence Andreas, afterwards chancellor. Of the first, no part was ever printed. Of the second, the NT was published at Stockholm in 1526, and many times reprinted since. A few years later (in 1536) the Psalter and Sapiential books were translated, and in 1541 the first Swedish version of the whole Bible appeared at Upsala, the OT being translated from Luther's Bible of 1534 by Laurence Petri and others, and the NT being the translation of Andreas already mentioned. This is substantially the Bible in use at the present day. At the beginning of the 17th cent. a committee was appointed to collate various editions of Luther with the object of producing an improved Swedish version. The results were known as the *Observationes Strengnenses*—so called from Petri, bishop of Strengnäs; but the edition for which the notes were made did not appear till 1617, when it was printed at Stockholm. It was practically a reprint of the 1541 Bible with certain additions, and corrections of typographical errors. Several subsequent editions were issued, some of them with deviations from the text of the original. At the beginning of the 18th century a revision was ordered by Charles XII., and entrusted to Benzel, bishop of Strengnäs. Very few alterations from the 1617 text were admitted, and the work was published at Stockholm in 1703. During the 18th century many editions appeared; but, owing to their cost, the circulation was not large till the Swedish and British and Foreign Bible Societies took up the work. They worked together for some time, but the connexion between them was severed by a difference of opinion as to the inclusion or exclusion of the Apocrypha. The current translation of the NT appeared in 1882, and was slightly revised next year, and approved.

LITERATURE.—Herzog, *RE*^{3} iii. 146 ff.; Bagster, *The Bible of Every Land*, 1851 ff.

ix. HUNGARIAN VERSIONS.—1. The introduction of Christianity into Hungary towards the end of the 10th cent. was soon followed by sermons in the vernacular, but Latin still remained the language of the Court. The earliest specimens of Hungarian which have survived are a funeral oration in a 13th cent. MS, and another fragment of the 14th cent. on the virginity of Mary. The Hussite movement had some effect on Hungary, and some parts of the Bible were translated into Hungarian; but the inroads of the Turks checked any development in this direction. The earliest translation of which we have any remains dates from the beginning of the 15th cent., and was the work of two Franciscan monks, Thomas and Valentine, who, under stress of persecution, fled from Bohemia into Hungary. Fragments of their work survive in a Vienna MS (No. 47), which contains part of the OT; in a Munich MS, dated 1466, which contains the Gospels; and in a MS, belonging to the bishop of Stuhlweissenburg, containing the Psalms, Canticles, and Gospels. The Vienna and Munich MSS were published by Dobrentei in 1838–1842. The translation, which is based on the Vulgate, is described as terse and exact.

2. To the beginning of the 15th cent. is to be assigned a translation by Ladislaus Batori (d. *circa* 1456). Many fragments of this version, including Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, and NT, are said by Schwicker to survive in the library at Gran. A MS of the year 1519 contains a Hungarian version, perhaps the one by Ladislaus, complete. An almost complete translation of the Psalms is also to be found in a MS of 1522.

3. The beginning of the 16th cent. was a time of great literary activity in Hungary. The earliest printing-press in Hungary was established at Ofen in 1473, and many others followed in the 16th century. The earliest Hungarian book to be printed was Komjati's translation of St. Paul's Epistles. This was followed by a translation of the Acts, the work of the same scholar, which was based on the Vulgate. This was printed at Cracow in 1533. The next translation to appear was one of the Gospels by G. Pesti, also based on the Vulgate, but a successful rendering, more free and independent than that of Komjati. More important was the translation of the NT by John Sylvester (Erdösi), who had been a pupil of Melanchthon at Wittenberg, and was commended by him as a man rich in knowledge and wisdom. This scholarly but rather high-flown translation was printed at Uj-Sziget, the first Hungarian Protestant printing-press, in 1541, and afterwards at Vienna in 1574. A few years later (1551–1562) appeared a careful translation of the OT and NT, based on the Hebrew, by Kaspar Heltai, also, like Sylvester, a pupil of Melanchthon. Other translations followed; but none is of any importance till we come to that of Kaspar Karolyi, the most important Protestant translation. This was based on the Hebrew and Greek, the Vulgate and other translations being also used. It was first printed in 1589–1590 at Visoly near to Gönz, and is known as the Visoly Bible. It was revised in 1608 by Albert Molnar of Szencz, and has passed through many editions, and is still in use.

4. In the beginning of the 17th cent. we have a Roman Catholic translation, based on the Vulgate. This was the work of a Jesuit, George Kaldi, and is a vigorous and faithful version. It was published at Vienna in 1625; a second edition followed in 1732, and it is still in use among the Roman Catholics. About the middle of the century a revision was undertaken by Count Stephen Bethlen D'Iktar, who established a printing-press for the purpose at Waradin. The work of printing was but half finished when the town was taken and burnt by the Turks in 1660, and nearly half of the whole edition was destroyed.

5. During this century the use of the Hungarian language spread, though Latin was also used, and there was a great increase in the number of printed books. At the same time, even as late as 1682, we meet with complaints as to the scarcity of books, for the supply had apparently not kept pace with the demand. Towards the end of the century a complete Protestant translation of the Bible was undertaken by Georg Csipkes of Komorn, who had been a student of Hebrew under Leusden at Utrecht. This was based on the original languages, and finished in 1675. Owing to various political and religious obstacles the publication was delayed, and it was not till 1715 that arrangements were made with Vitringa at Leyden for the production of an edition of 4000 copies. A large number of these were burnt before delivery, by the intervention of the Jesuits.

6. The 18th cent. saw a great decline in the interest taken in the Hungarian language and literature; but copies of the Bible were difficult to procure, and costly. Steps were therefore taken to collect funds for reprinting Karolyi's translation, and this was done five times at Utrecht. Three editions also appeared at Basle.

7. At the beginning of the 19th cent. the British and Foreign Bible Society interested itself in the circulation of Bibles in Hungary as elsewhere, and for a time printed them in Hungary itself, because their introduction from outside was forbidden. From 1852 till 1867 no agents of the Society were allowed in the country; but with the accession of the emperor Francis Joseph, in 1867, permission to circulate copies of the Bible was again given. In 1886, on the initiative of a Hungarian scholar, and with the help of the British and Foreign Bible Society, a revision of the old text was undertaken, and the archaisms of Karolyi were removed without interfering with the general vigour of his translation. After many delays the first part, the Hexateuch, appeared in 1896. A revision of Karolyi's NT had previously been published in 1878 at Budapest. In the interests of Roman Catholics, a revision of Kaldi's translation was entrusted by the archbishop of Erlau to his secretary Béla Tárkányi, who, after nine years' work, completed a translation with notes, the first edition of which was published at Erlau in 1862–1865, and a second edition appeared in 1892. Balogh in his account of the version in Herzog's *RE*^{3} (iii. p. 118) sums up by saying that, between 1541 and 1871, 78 editions of the Hungarian Protestant Bible, and only 8 of the Roman Catholic Bible, appeared.

LITERATURE.—Herzog, *RE*^{3} iii. 115 ff.; Schwicker, *Geschichte der Ungarischen Litteratur*; art. 'Hongroises Versions' in Vigouroux's *Dictionnaire de la Bible*.

x. BOHEMIAN VERSIONS.—1. The oldest MSS of a Bohemian version of Scripture belong to the 14th century. There can be little doubt that the translation of some parts of the Bible was made considerably earlier, possibly as early as the 10th or 11th century, for the Eastern Slavs had many versions by that time (see vol. iv. p. 863 f. 'Slavonic Version'), and the Western Slavs, to whom the Bohemians belong, would be sure to follow the Eastern branch before long, and certainly had a Slavonic liturgy very early. No MSS, however, have reached us, for the fragments of a Bohemian version of St. John's Gospel, assigned to the 10th cent., are probably a forgery of Hanka.

2. Here, as elsewhere, the Psalter was one of the first books to be translated, and we have several early MSS of it, two of which are assigned to the 14th century. These are the Wittenberg Psalter, edited by Gebauer, which contains a Latin Psalter and an interlinear Bohemian version, and the rather later Clementine Psalter in the University Library

at Prague. In all, four different early translations of the Psalter have been distinguished by Gebauer. Besides the Psalter, other books of the OT were translated in or before the 14th cent., including Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Daniel. The earliest parts of the NT to be translated were the parts used in Church services, and so it is not surprising that traces of Slavonic influence due to the use of a Slavonic liturgy should have been found in the Bohemian version. The translation was no doubt made from the Vulgate; but Vondrak, who has carefully examined the text with reference to any evidence of Slavonic influences, writes: 'It is true they took a Latin text for basis, but the translator, or rather "glosser," had also a Church Slavonic text before him.' Traces of similar influence Vondrak also finds in the Psalter. On the other hand, Dobrofsky maintains that there is not the slightest trace of Slavonic influence.

3. Besides translations of the parts of the Gospels used in Church services, complete Gospels in Bohemian were also extant in the 14th century. Wyclif mentions that Anne of Luxemburg, wife of Richard II., had a Gospel *in lingua triplici exaratum scilicet in lingua Bohemica, Teutonica, et Latina*, about the year 1380. To a slightly later date belong the MSS at Dresden (*c.* 1400), Leitmeritz (*c.* 1411), and Olmutz (1417). The text of these MSS is, according to Leskien, a 'conglomeration of the already extant older translations of single books of the Bible made by different persons at different times in different recensions.'

The important point is that the text of all these MSS is older than the time of Hus. He 'did almost as much for his native tongue as Luther for German. He corrected the translation of the Bible, rearranged the Bohemian alphabet, and fixed the orthography.' This revision had some reference to the Vulgate as the underlying text, but was directed mainly to removing obsolete words and expressions. During the interval which separated the death of Hus in 1415 from the first printed Bohemian Bible in 1488, many revisions of the text took place, and many MSS of this period, both of the whole Bible and of the NT, are mentioned by Dobrofsky, all dependent on the Vulgate. Some of these are only copies of other MSS, while others contain independent translations.

4. In 1487 the first printing-press was established at Prague, and next year appeared the first edition of the Bohemian Bible, interesting as 'the first instance on record of the application of the newly invented art of printing to the multiplication of the Scriptures in a living tongue.' On this first edition, with only slight alterations and corrections, many later editions are based. The edition of the NT which appeared in 1518 is interesting as the first work of the 'United Brethren' carried out by order of Lucas of Prague. But this and subsequent revisions were relatively unimportant when compared with the so-called 'Kralitz *or* Brothers' Bible,' published in six volumes at Kralitz in Moravia (1579–1593). This work is described as 'an eternal monument of the beauty of the Bohemian language,' for which the United Brethren did so much. The work was superintended by John Blahoslav, 'the first profound student of the Bohemian language,' who himself translated the NT from the Greek (1564). In the translation of the OT thirteen scholars besides Blahoslav took part. The Hebrew text of the Antwerp Polyglott was used as a basis, but previous Bohemian versions are also quoted.

5. The disastrous battle of the White Mountain in 1620 was followed by the crushing out of the Bohemian nationality. 'Books in the Chekh language were hunted up in all quarters and burned. The Jesuits were very active in these labours: one especially, Andrew Konias, probably the greatest book-burner whom the world has ever seen, boasted that he had been instrumental in destroying 60,000 volumes.' Owing to the proscription of the national language in 1621, and the activity of the Jesuits just mentioned, the circulation of the Bohemian version languished. But a demand on the part of Roman Catholics led to the publication of the so-called 'Wenzel Bible,' edited by Jesuits (1677–1715). The text of the Venice edition of 1506 was used as a basis, but the Brothers' Bible was also used. Another Catholic edition, which is a revision of the Wenzel Bible, was the work of Durich and Prochaska (1778–1780), and this in turn was again revised by Prochaska, the NT appearing in 1786 and the whole Bible in 1804. In 1808 Palkovitch published a reprint of the text of the Kralitz Bible, with a list of words which had become obsolete, and this was circulated later by means of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

Literature.—Dobrofsky, *Geschichte der Böhm. Sprache*; Vondrak, *Die Spuren der altkirchenslavischen Evangelienübersetzung in der altböhmischen Literatur*; Morfill, *Slavonic Literature*; numerous articles in the *Archiv für Slavische Philologie* [see especially Supplementband, pp. 145, 146] and in the *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 1897; Leskien in Herzog, *RE*^{3} iii. 161 ff.

xi. Polish Versions.—1. The earliest specimen of the Polish language which has survived is the well-known Florian Psalter, so called because it was discovered at the monastery of St. Florian near to Linz in Austria. This MS (St. Florian iii. 206) is trilingual, richly illuminated, in two columns. The versions represented are Latin, Polish, and German, a verse in Latin being followed first by a Polish and then by a German rendering of the same verse. It is uncertain whether the letter M and the arms of Anjou found in the MS signify that it belonged to Margaret the first wife of Louis king of Hungary and Poland, and daughter of Charles IV., or refer to Mary the sister of the Polish queen Hedwig of Anjou, and daughter of king Louis. In either case the date would be about the same, viz. the middle of the 14th century. It is asserted by Leciejewski that it is a copy of a much older text, and the version may well be referred to the 13th cent., to the end of which Macieowski assigns a version of Ps 50. The St. Florian Psalter shows a very close adherence to the Latin, and also a use of the Bohemian version. It is sometimes called the Psalter of queen Margaret, and has been carefully edited by Nehring.

2. Another important MS is the so-called Bible of queen Sophia, now in the library at Saros Patak in Hungary. According to a 16th cent. statement it was written for Sophia, the fourth wife of Jagello, about the year 1455. Other authorities date it a century earlier. This MS was edited by Malecki in 1872. It is perhaps copied from a complete Polish Bible, but is itself very incomplete, containing only the earlier books of the OT (according to Morfill, the whole Pentateuch; according to Leskien, Genesis only), Joshua, Ruth, Kings (and, according to Leskien, also Chronicles), and fragments of other books of the OT. The writing of five different scribes is traceable in the MS. The translation it contains is based on the Bohemian version, with occasional reference to the Vulgate.

3. Various other Polish translations were made after the beginning of the 16th cent., 'the classical age of Polish literature,' as it has been called. The first was a translation of the NT, the work of a Lutheran, Seklucyan, a competent Greek scholar, whose translation was 'made from the Greek, with the use of the Latin and other versions.' This was printed at Königsberg in 1551. The first

version of the whole Bible was published at Cracow ten years later. This, the 'Old Cracow' Bible, was intended for Roman Catholic use; but the Pope refused to sanction it, because of the use made in it of the Bohemian Bible. The next important edition is the so-called Radzivil or Brest Bible, published at Brest for the Calvinists in 1563, at the expense of Prince Nicholas Radzivil. The son of this prince, who was a Roman Catholic, on his father's death bought up and burnt all copies of this translation. This version claimed to be based on the original texts, Hebrew and Greek, but was regarded as Socinian in places. It did not, however, satisfy this sect, for whom a version was made by Budny in 1570 'from Hebrew, Greek, and Latin,' and this was reprinted, with certain changes, in 1572. Another Socinian translation appeared in 1577.

4. Another important translation made from the original language was that published at Dantzig in 1632, and afterwards reprinted. A large number of copies of this edition were bought up and burnt by the Jesuits. At the beginning of the 19th cent. the text of the Dantzig Bible was adopted by the Berlin Bible Society for the edition circulated by that Society.

5. Of Catholic translations the first to be noticed is the Leopolita Bible, the translation of John of Lemberg, based on the Vulgate, and published in 1561. But the most important of the Catholic versions is that made by Jacob Wuyck, and published at Cracow in 1599. This was based on the Vulgate; but use was made by the translator of the original text, and also of previously existing Polish translations. It was sanctioned by Pope Clement VIII., and has been often reprinted. At the beginning of the 19th cent. the text of this edition was used by the St. Petersburg Bible Society in 1813, and it has since been reprinted and widely circulated.

LITERATURE.—Herzog, *RE*³ iii. 165 ff.; numerous articles in the *Archiv für Slavische Philologie*; Morfill, *Slavonic Literature*.

xii. RUSSIAN VERSIONS.—The early history of the Bible in Russia is dealt with, in regard to its origin, and the MSS in which the version is preserved, in vol. iv. p. 863 f. In the present article the history may be taken up with the first edition of the Bible, and continued to the present day.

1. The first Russian book was an *Apostol* (the name given to the MS or volume which contained the Acts, Cath. Epp., and St. Paul's Epistles), printed at Moscow in 1564. The innovation of printing was not well received, and the printers, Theodorof and Mstislavetz, had to flee from Moscow into Lithuania. Here editions of the Gospels (1569), the Apostol (1574), and, finally (1581), of the whole Bible appeared.

This last is the famous Ostrog Bible, so called from the place at which it was printed, the first complete printed Bible in Slavonic. For this work, brought out under the auspices of Constantine, prince of Ostrog, various MSS of the Slavonic were used; the Slavonic text was compared with the Greek, and sometimes with the Latin; modern expressions were substituted for those which were obsolete, and therefore often unintelligible; and errors were corrected. Another work—the Bible of Skorina, (Prague, 1517–1525)—emphasized the growing need of a translation into the ordinary language of the time, and a few years later Gregory's version of the Gospels (1556–1561) marks the first definite beginning of a translation into Russian, as distinguished from Old Slavonic. The printing-press was re-established at Moscow by Ivan the Terrible (1533–1584), but the prejudice against introducing corrections caused the perpetuation of the mistakes found in the Slavonic MSS. At last the agitation for, at any rate, necessary reforms became powerful enough to be effectual. In this agitation the famous Nicon, who became patriarch of Russia in 1652, took a prominent part. Scholars were summoned to Moscow, and in 1653 Greek MSS were brought from Mt. Athos. This revision was the beginning of dissent in Russia, for many adhered to the use of the unrevised books. In face of the opposition, progress was slow, and it was not till 1674 that a revision of the Slavonic Bible according to the Greek text was ordered, and begun under the superintendence of Epiphanius Slavenetzki. In 1683 a translation of the Psalter into Russian by Pheersof appeared.

2. The age of Peter the Great marked an epoch in the history of the Bible, as in other things. He revised the alphabet, removing some letters and introducing the character with which the reader of modern Russian is familiar, but the Old Slavonic remained in use for ecclesiastical purposes. In 1712 a revision of the text was ordered by Peter the Great, but the printing of this revised edition was delayed by his death. His successor, Catherine, continued the support given by her predecessor; but it was not till Elizabeth's reign that anything effective was done, owing to the persistent opposition to the work of revision. In 1744 Elizabeth ordered the Synod to proceed with the work, and finally in 1751 appeared the so-called Bible of Elizabeth. With very few changes this is the Bible in ordinary use in Russia at the present time, the text of the second edition of Elizabeth's Bible (1756) being the one adopted.

3. The reign of Alexander I. (1801–1825) marks the next event of importance in connexion with the Bible, viz. the establishment of the Russian Bible Society. This was in the first instance due to the energy of John Paterson, an agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and with the warm support of the emperor the first depôt of the Russian Bible Society was opened at St. Petersburg in 1813. In 1818 the first edition of the Gospels in Slavonic and Russian was printed, in 1822 an edition of the NT followed, and a beginning was made on the OT, a Psalter appearing in the same year. But the work of the Society was to be shortlived. It met with opposition from rationalists on the one hand and conservative Bible students on the other, and fell into disfavour also with the emperor on the suggestion that there was about it somewhat of the nature of a secret political society. It 1824 the work of translation was discontinued, and the existing copies burnt; and two years later the Society was finally dissolved by the emperor Nicholas, after having during its short existence translated parts of the Bible into fourteen new languages, and circulated nearly a million copies of the Bible or some parts of it in twenty-six different languages or dialects.

4. But the demand for Russian Bibles continued to be keenly felt; and Philaret, the famous bishop of Moscow, made attempts, but without much success, to prosecute the work of translation. The first attempt to translate the OT from the Hebrew original into Russian was made by Pavski, professor of Hebrew at the Academy of St. Petersburg; but this work was not for general use. Similar work was being done by Macarius, and his translation was submitted to the Holy Synod, with a representation as to the urgent need of completing the Russian translation. At last the Synod was moved to action, and in 1860 the translation of the Gospels appeared, followed, in 1862, by the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse. The first part of the OT to be published was the Pentateuch in 1868, but the whole work was only com-

pleted in 1875, nearly twenty years after the passing of the original resolution of the Synod in 1857. This was the first translation approved by the Czar and the Synod, and is in ordinary use. A translation of the OT made from the Hebrew into Russian by the British and Foreign Bible Society (London, 1875) was not allowed to circulate, but the same Society was allowed to print the translation made by the Synod, and to circulate it without the Apocrypha of the Greek and Latin Bibles translated by the Synod.

LITERATURE.—This is for the most part in Russian. See Scrivener's *Introduction*, ii. 157 ff.; art. by the present writer in the *Church Quarterly Review*, October 1895 [from which the above facts are summarized], and the Literature there referred to; Nestle, *Urtext*, etc., 211 ff.; Kean, *The Bible in Russia*.

xiii. MODERN GREEK VERSIONS.—1. The earliest translation into modern Greek dates from 1547, when the Pentateuch, the five 'Rolls,' and the other parts of the OT read in the Jewish services were translated from the Hebrew, and printed at Constantinople, in three columns which contained the Spanish, modern Greek, and the Targum of Onkelos. All three columns were printed in Hebrew characters; but the edition had no widespread circulation, and had a literary rather than a religious value.

2. The first really important translation was that of the New Testament made by Maximus Callipoli. This was printed at Geneva in 1638 at the expense of the Government of the United Provinces, and contains an introductory preface by Cyril Lucar, patriarch of Constantinople, who had studied at Geneva. This translation, in the Greek of the 17th cent., follows closely the original text; and of the edition of 1500 copies many were by permission distributed in the East.

3. The translation of Maximus was reprinted in 1703 in London at the expense of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, after having been revised by Seraphim; and after further correction by Anastasius and Kollettis an edition was published at Halle in 1710 at the queen of Prussia's expense.

In Greece the favourable reception originally given to Maximus' work was modified later, on the ground that it was made in a dialect, and therefore not generally intelligible. The real underlying ground of opposition was distrust of Protestant influence. Whatever the cause, the circulation of Seraphim's work was forbidden by the patriarch Gabriel, as that of Maximus had been earlier.

The influence of the British and Foreign Bible Society at the beginning of the 19th cent. made the matter of a modern Greek version again prominent. In 1810 Maximus' translation of the New Testament was reprinted, and several editions were circulated before 1830, the necessary permission having been obtained from the patriarch Cyril in 1814.

4. But the need of revision was recognized, and accordingly in 1819 the archimandrite Hilarion was entrusted with the work, the ultimate responsibility for the revision being undertaken by the learned archbishop Constantius of Sinai. Certain difficulties arose as to the inclusion of the OT Apocrypha, for Hilarion's version of the Old Testament was made from the Septuagint. Ultimately it was decided by the British and Foreign Bible Society that the translation of the Old Testament should be made from the Hebrew, and the headquarters of the work were established at Corfu. Here two English scholars, with a knowledge of Hebrew, and with the help of other scholars, including two learned Greeks, Bambas and Tipaldo, began the work, using not only the Hebrew, but the French translation of Martin, the Italian of Diodati, the Septuagint, Vulgate, and other versions. Parts of the Old Testament (*e.g.* the Psalms) were printed and circulated as they were finished, and by 1836 the whole Old Testament was completed. The New Testament translation of Hilarion was also revised by Bambas, and an edition appeared in 1848. This 'revision is considered so correct and idiomatic that it has now completely superseded that of Hilarion.'

As once before, so again, a reaction set in against Western influences, and Biblical translations were forbidden in the Orthodox Church. But, in spite of this, the British and Foreign Bible Society continued to print translations into modern Greek.*

LITERATURE.—Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique*, 1885–1895; Bagster, *Bible of Every Land*; Nestle, *Urtext*, etc. p. 178 ff.; *Bible Society Reporter* for Jan. and May 1902.

LL. J. M. BEBB.

APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS.—

i. Definition.
ii. Origin.
iii. Value.
iv. Reception and influence.
v. Classification.
Literature.

i. DEFINITION.—The history of the word 'Apocrypha' accounts for its various uses, and its etymology explains its diverse meanings (see art. APOCRYPHA in vol. i. p. 112). 'Apocryphal' was a title of honour when it was applied to writings which were *hidden* on account of the unique value of their contents; their secret doctrines imparted to them a special authority (*auctoritas secreta*). But 'apocryphal' was a term of reproach when it was applied to writings which were *hidden* on account of the heterodoxy of their contents; their heretical teaching rendered them specially harmful. An approximation of the two opposite senses of 'apocryphal' may, however, be traced; for the secrecy which was originally a claim to peculiar regard soon became a mark of inferiority, owing to the suspicion which rests on books of hidden origin. From these differences in the application of the word it is not difficult to understand how it came to pass that Gospels which were held in high esteem, as, *e.g.*, by Gnostic sects, were condemned by the Christian Church and declared to be unworthy of a place in the Canon, notwithstanding that for some of them Apostolic authorship was claimed; it is also not difficult to understand how Gospels, which were not condemned for their false teaching, were excluded from the Canon because of their inferiority to the writings of the four Evangelists. Hence 'apocryphal,' which in the early Fathers means *heretical*, acquired the sense of *uncanonical*, which it now most frequently bears.

Under the heading of 'Apocryphal Gospels' it is customary to include all extra-canonical writings which claim to be Gospels, whether they are rivals of or supplements to the canonical Gospels, whether they are dependent on or independent of the writings of the four Evangelists, whether the tradition they embody has the appearance of being authentic or is manifestly fictitious. But when the term 'apocryphal' has this wider denotation, it has a narrower connotation. To Jerome this extension of the meaning of the word is generally ascribed, for he applies it to those Jewish writings which had a place in the LXX Greek version of the OT but were not included in the twenty-two books of the Hebrew Canon (*Prologus Galeatus*: '*Quidquid extra hos est, inter* ἀπόκρυφα *esse ponendum*'). Nevertheless, Jerome held that some of the OT apocryphal books might be read 'for the edification of the people, not for confirming the authority of Church dogmas' (*Prol. to Books of Solomon*); his description of these non-canonical books as apocryphal does not therefore imply that he condemned them as false and worthless. This must be borne in mind when 'apocryphal' is defined as *uncanonical* in its application to Gospels. Apocryphal Gospels are uncanonical Gospels; but all uncanonical Gospels are not necessarily apocryphal in the bad meaning which adheres to the word. A Gospel may be neither spurious nor heretical, though it is apocryphal; it may be based upon a genuine tradition, though it is uncanonical.

---

* These were sanctioned on condition that the ancient Greek text was printed in parallel columns with the modern Greek version. But in 1901 ecclesiastical and patriotic prejudices were roused by a modern version or 'paraphrase,' circulated at the expense of queen Olga, and, in consequence, the circulation of any Greek version except the ancient Greek text has been denounced by the Synod and prohibited by the Government.

ii. ORIGIN.—The resemblances and the variations in the Synoptic Gospels furnish a problem which requires for its solution either an oral tradition which gradually became as stereotyped as though it had been written, or documentary sources modified by oral traditions. Most critics recognize elements of truth in the oral as well as in the documentary theory of the origin of the Gospels. Those who adopt the documentary hypothesis allow for the influence of traditions current in the Church, though not committed to writing. The problem presented by the apocryphal Gospels is to determine how far their additions to the narratives of the four Evangelists are derived from authentic sources, also to decide how far the fictitious accretions are due to fraudulent intentions or the heretical tendencies of the respective writers. The external evidence for the existence of an apocryphal Gospel must be weighed together with the evidence derived from a careful study of its contents before any judgment can be pronounced as to its origin. But no pre-judgment of the issue in any particular case is involved in the statement of some general considerations which must guide every such inquiry. The author of *Supernatural Religion* thinks that 'apologetic critics' are prejudiced by 'canonical glamour'; but there may be an unreasonable bias against as well as a reasonable presumption in favour of the canonical Gospels. The reverence they enjoyed for centuries is a significant fact, and is not satisfactorily accounted for by the statement that they were 'more fortunate' than the Gospels which were never included in the Canon of Scripture (*The Gospel according to Peter*, p. 132). The claim of an uncanonical Gospel to represent an early form of the Christian tradition cannot be dismissed on *a priori* grounds, nor can it be admitted without the most thorough investigation. The author may have derived the narratives of unrecorded incidents in the life of Jesus, or the reports of His unwritten sayings, from sources unknown to the four Evangelists. Jesus did 'many other things' (Jn 21^{25}) than those which the canonical Gospels relate; before St. Luke wrote the Third Gospel many had 'taken in hand to draw up' similar, if less complete, narratives (Lk 1^{1}). Moreover, the manufacture of fanciful traditions is not always to be ascribed to the zeal of heretics, but sometimes to an eager desire to satisfy—without critical discrimination between the nucleus of fact and the embellishments of fiction—curiosity in regard to those periods in our Lord's life about which the four Evangelists tell us nothing. Pseudo-Matthew had persuaded himself that the motive which impelled him to write was love for Christ (*Liber de infantia Mariæ*: '*amor ergo Christi est, cui satisfecimus*'). But before any apocryphal Gospel is assumed to contain an earlier and purer form of the Evangelic tradition it must be examined in the light of indisputable evidence that writers of Gnostic tendencies (cf. Epiph. *Hær.* xxvi. 8, 12) published fictitious and pseudepigraphic works to support their peculiar tenets, claiming that their works imparted knowledge, secretly handed down to them, of the things hidden by Jesus from the multitude to whom He spoke in riddles which none but His most favoured disciples understood. Origen (*c.* 240) says: 'There are some believers exactly like drunken people who treat with violence their own body, for they falsify and alter the text of the Gospels three or four times, in order that they may evade its remonstrances' (*contra Celsum*, ii. 27. See Harnack, *Chron.* i. 590).

The variations in the texts of such apocryphal Gospels as are extant in different recensions cannot, in the judgment of Tischendorf, be explained as unintentional alterations; often the sense of a passage is completely altered, these Gospels being treated with a freedom which is inconceivable on the supposition that they were held in as high esteem as the canonical Gospels (*de Evv. Apocr. origine et usu*, p. 121: '*Fraudis apocrypha* (*evangelia*) *convincuntur ex mira qua laborant textus ambiguitate, a qua immensum canonica differunt, quamquam et ipsa haud exigua lectionum varietate premuntur*'). The authors of the apocryphal Gospels, whether they were influenced by dogmatic motives or by a desire to satisfy curiosity, adopted, as Hofmann points out, similar methods of composition. In both classes of writings there are some stories which are pure inventions, but there are others in which a *causa media* may be discovered. Sometimes elaborate narratives are developed out of a mere allusion in the canonical Gospels, sometimes words of Jesus are transformed into deeds, sometimes a slavishly literal fulfilment of an OT prophecy is recorded, and sometimes Jesus is represented as working marvels closely resembling and frequently surpassing OT miracles (Herzog, *PRE*^{3} i. 655).

iii. VALUE.—The revival of interest in the apocryphal writings of the NT is due partly to the discovery of new documents, and partly to the attraction exerted upon the minds of many scholars by the fascinating and complex problem of the literary origin of the Gospels. Amongst the questions upon which light is sought are the following: Do these uncanonical Gospels impart any additional knowledge of the words and works of the Lord Jesus? In this respect it is generally agreed that their value is slight. Do they help to establish any theory of the origin of the Gospels? In this respect their value differs greatly: until more complete and more accurate texts of some of these Gospels are accessible it is impossible to express any positive judgment in regard to their relation to the canonical Gospels. It may, however, be said that the theory of a common oral tradition deserves more careful consideration than it has received from some modern critics, whose arguments are valid only on the assumption that priority to the canonical Gospels and direct dependence on them are the only possible alternatives.

The apocryphal Gospels contain information which is of considerable value to the student of the manners and customs of the Jews in early Christian times. It is true that their statements are sometimes in flagrant contradiction to history; but it is, as a rule, not difficult to discover the dogmatic bias which led to a perversion of the facts. When no such motive is discernible, and the details given violate neither psychological nor historical probability, the writer's source may be an authentic tradition. For example, the setting of some of the fabulous stories of our Lord's childhood has an interest for the antiquarian who regards the fantastic miracles as quite incredible. It is also probable that, in the near future, these Gospels will prove of even greater value to historians as they strive to disperse the gloom which still hangs over the first two centuries of the Christian era,—the period when heretical tendencies appeared within the Church, and heretical sects were formed outside it. In the controversy which has arisen on this question there has been on the one side a tendency to forget that in the 4th cent. opinions might be regarded as heterodox which were not so regarded in the 2nd cent.; but on the other side there has been a tendency to claim the sanction of the early Church for later forms of asceticism and Gnosticism, on the insufficient ground that some of these Gospels which originated in heretical circles found some favour amongst Christians. Von Dobschütz, who has studied these writings from this point of view, has called attention to facts which have an important bearing on the discussion, as, *e.g.*, that the adherents of Gnosticism who claimed to belong to the Christian Church, and sought to propagate their peculiar views within its borders, did not of their own accord leave the Church,—it was the Church that excluded them; also that the Docetic type of Christianity current in Egypt at the end of the 1st and at the beginning of the 2nd cent. was at a very early date discredited as heretical, though it long continued to dominate Christian thought as expressed in Christian art (*Theol. Lit.-Zeitung*, 1903, No. 12).

In this article the contents of the various apocryphal Gospels are given, sometimes in full, but always in sufficient detail to enable the reader to judge of their worth. This course has been taken in the belief that first-hand acquaintance with these writings establishes, by contrast, the unique value of the canonical Gospels, and furnishes the most conclusive refutation of the theories which seek to lift these extravagant stories to the same level as the narratives of the four Evangelists. To pass from the NT to these apocryphal Gospels, in so far as they embody independent traditions, involves a complete change of psychological climate. The wisdom of Westcott's words is confirmed by recent research: 'The completeness of the antithesis which these spurious stories offer to the Divine record appears at once—if we may be allowed for a moment to compare light with darkness—in relation to the treatment of the three great elements of the Gospel history—Miracles, Parables, and Prophecy, the lessons of power, of nature, and of providence. In the apocryphal miracles we find no worthy conception of the laws of providential interference; they are wrought to supply personal wants, or to gratify private feelings, and often are positively immoral. Nor, again, is there any spiritual element in their working. . . . The apocryphal Gospels are also entirely without parables; they exhibit no sense of those deeper relations between nature and man—between corruption and sin—which are so frequently declared in the Synoptic Gospels. . . . Yet more, they do not recognize the office of Prophecy. History in them becomes a mere collection of traditions, and is regarded neither as the fulfilment of the past nor as the type of the future' (*Introd. to Study of the Gospels*, Appendix D).

iv. Reception and influence.—In tracing the influence of these writings no question arises, as in regard to the OT Apocrypha, of their reception by any section of the Church as canonical or deutero-canonical books. In the 2nd cent. four Gospels, and only four, were recognized. There is also ample evidence, as will hereafter be manifest, that most of the apocryphal Gospels have always been condemned by orthodox Christians. A few, however, had an extensive and early circulation amongst Christians in the East: for example, the Protevangelium of James was read in churches in the 4th cent., and was translated into the Syriac, Arabic, and Coptic languages. Details of such usage will be given in the notes on the several Gospels; but in general it may be said that these writings were condemned by the Western Church until the Middle Ages, when a sufficient period of time had elapsed for their origin to be forgotten. Pseudo-Chrysostom (*c.* 600) is said to have made use of the apocryphal Gospels of the Childhood of Jesus, and from the 10th cent. onwards they formed the material for legendary poems and miracle-plays, whilst some of their traditions were embodied in paintings and other works of art. The first of a series of Latin poems by Hroswitha (d. 968), a Saxon nun, is based on the fictitious accounts given in these Gospels of the perpetual virginity of Mary. Vincent of Beauvais, a Dominican, did much to popularize these apocryphal stories by including many of them in his *Speculum Majus* (*c.* 1250); the third part of this work, the *Speculum Historiale*, contains twelve chapters from the Gospel of pseudo-Matthew, and several from the Gospel of the Nativity of Mary. In the 14th cent. the *Speculum Historiale* was translated into French and other European languages. In his *Speculum Sanctorum* de Voragine (d. 1298) made use of almost the whole of the Gospel of the Nativity of Mary, and of a few chapters from the Gospel of pseudo-Matthew. This work, better known as the *Legenda Aurea*, and the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent were amongst the earliest printed books in the 15th cent.; they are the chief sources from which many popular Roman Catholic compilations of these stories are derived. Yet Vincent put the Gospels he made use of into the category of 'doubtful' writings; and amongst Roman Catholic divines who have denounced them as unauthoritative, Tappenhorn mentions Alcuin (d. 804), St. Bernard of Clairvaux (d. 1153), and Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274). As recently as 1884, Pope Leo XIII. reaffirmed the judgment of the learned Pope Benedict XIV., which declares the Protevangelium of James and other works on the Nativity of Mary to be 'impure sources of tradition' (*de Festis B.M.V.* lib. ii. cap. 9: '*Cum plures scribere voluerint, ex turbidis fontibus, quæ tradiderunt, hausisse videntur*'). Tappenhorn, whose work is published with episcopal authority, laments that these fictions are often accepted as embodying 'ancient and pious traditions.' 'The veil which the Holy Spirit in the Gospels has drawn over the birth and early life of the Mother of God, we ought not to try to remove by means of untrustworthy, apocryphal narratives' (*Ausserbiblische Nachrichten*, p. 18 f.).

Some of the fables of these Gospels are found in the Ḳoran, as, *e.g.*, the vow of Mary's mother to consecrate her virgin daughter to the temple-service, the feeding of Mary by an angel, the use of rods to discover by lot a guardian for Mary, the making by the boy Jesus of twelve sparrows out of clay, etc. Kessäus, the famous commentator on the Ḳoran, refers in his notes to more of these stories (cf. Forbes Robinson, *Coptic Apocr. Gospels* in 'Texts and Studies,' IV. ii.; 1896).

v. Classification.—There is an article on the Gospel of Nicodemus in vol. iii. p. 544 ff., and an account of the Gospel of Marcion in art. Luke (Gospel of), *ib.* p. 168 f. Separate articles on the Gospel according to the Hebrews (see above, p. 338 ff.), and on the Gospel of Tatian (see art. Diatessaron, below, p. 451 ff.), appear in the present volume. In the present article the most important of the apocryphal Gospels, other than those above mentioned, will be treated in the following order:—

A. Gospels (or fragments of Gospels) which, in the opinion of some critics, embody an early tradition, and rival the canonical Gospels. In regard to the date, character, and tendencies of these

Gospels there has, however, been much controversy; they are known as—

1. Gospel according to the Egyptians.
2. Gospel according to Peter.
3. Fayûm Gospel Fragment.

B. Gospels which claim to fill up the gaps in our knowledge of the parents of Jesus, or of His infancy and childhood, viz.—

1. Protevangelium of James, including the Latin recensions known as—
    - (*a*) Gospel of pseudo-Matthew,
    - (*b*) Gospel of the Nativity of Mary.
2. Gospel according to Thomas.
3. Arabic Gospel of the Childhood.
4. Arabic History of Joseph the Carpenter.
5. The Departure of Mary (*Transitus Mariæ*).

C. Gospels whose heretical origin is universally acknowledged, viz.—

1. Gospel of the Twelve Apostles.
2. Gospel according to Philip.
3. Gospel according to Matthias.
4. Gospel according to Basilides.

D. Gospels of which almost nothing is known except their name. These will be mentioned in alphabetical order, and, as far as possible, described.

LITERATURE.—In 1552 Bibliander's edition of the 'Protevangelium Jacobi' appeared; this work is also the only Gospel in the earliest collection of NT Apocrypha: *Apocrypha, h.e. narrationes de Christo, Maria, Joseph, cognatione et familia Christi, extra Biblia*, etc., 1564, added by M. Neander Soraviensis to his *Catechesis Mart. Lutheri parva.* Fabricius published the first critical edition in 1703: *Codex apocryphus NT*; this work is the basis of Jones' *A New and Full Method of settling the Canonical Authority of the NT*, and of Birch's *Auctarium cod. apocr. NT Fabriciani.* In 1832 Thilo's *Codex Apocryphus NT* appeared with valuable Prolegomena; this work is the basis of Borberg's *Bibliothek der NT Apokryphen*, and of Brunet's *Les évangiles apocryphes.* A new impetus to the study of these writings was imparted by the publication of the results of Tischendorf's learned researches: *Evangelia Apocrypha*, 1853, 2nd ed. 1876; this standard edition was preceded by Tischendorf's prize essay: *de Evang. Apocr. origine et usu*, 1851; in the same author's *Wann wurden unsere Evangelien verfasst?* there is a chapter on 'Apocr. Literatur.' Hilgenfeld's *NT extra canonem receptum*, 4th ed. 1884, contains, in the section entitled 'Librorum Deperditorum Fragmenta,' learned notes on some of these Gospels.

In recent years elaborate investigations of the apocryphal Gospels have been published. Invaluable to all students are those found in Harnack's *Altchristliche Litteraturgeschichte* and Zahn's *Geschichte des NT Kanons.* Holtzmann's *Einleitung in das NT*, 3rd ed. 1892, contains an appendix on the 'NT Apocrypha.' Admirable introductions to these Gospels, with complete translations of their contents, are given in *Die Apokryphen des Neuen Testaments*—a comprehensive work shortly to be published under the editorship of Dr. Hennecke, who, with Prof. A. Meyer, has contributed the greater part of the section on the apocryphal Gospels.

Preuschen's *Antilegomena: Die Reste der ausserkanonischen Evangelien und urchristlichen Ueberlieferungen*, presents a critically edited text of the extant fragments of these writings. The Syriac Versions are brought within the student's reach by Wright's *Contributions to the Apocryphal Literature of the NT*, and his articles in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, 1865; the Coptic Versions by Forbes Robinson's *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels.*

Other works are: Hofmann, *Leben Jesu nach den Apokryphen*, 1851; Kleuker, *Ueber die Apokryphen des NT*; Tappehorn, *Ausserbiblische Nachrichten* (a Roman Catholic work); Pons, *Recherches sur les apocryphes du nouveau Test.*; Nicholas, *Études sur les Évangiles Apocryphes*; Variot, *Les évangiles apocryphes* (a Roman Catholic work); Barnes, *Canonical and Uncanonical Gospels*; Baring-Gould, *Lost and Hostile Gospels*; Ellicott, 'On the Apocr. Gospels' in *Cambridge Essays*, 1856; Krüger, 'The Apocr. Gospels' in Gillett's translation of *Early Christian Literature*; Cruttwell, 'Early Apocr. Literature' in *A Literary History of Early Christianity*; Westcott, 'On some of the Apocryphal Gospels' in *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, Appendix D; Salmon, 'Apocryphal and Heretical Gospels' in *Introduction to the NT*, lect. xi.; Orr, *NT Apocryphal Writings*, with brief and scholarly notes—a volume of the 'Temple Bible'; Hone's 'catchpenny' *Apocr. New Testament* is sufficiently described by Orr as 'critically worthless.' Excellent English translations are given in Walker's *Apocryphal Gospels, Acts and Revelations* (Ante-Nicene Christian Library); vol. ix., an extra volume of the series, contains 'the Gospel of Peter.'

Important and lengthy articles on these Gospels are contributed by Hofmann to vol. i. of *PRE*^{3}; by Lipsius to vol. ii. of the *Dict. of Christ. Biography*; shorter articles by James to vol. i. of the *Encycl. Biblica*, and by Charles to vol. xxv. of the *Encycl. Britannica.* Hofmann's article has the most complete Bibliography.

A. 1. *EGYPTIANS, GOSPEL ACCORDING TO THE.*—

- i. Meaning of the title.
- ii. Evidence of existence.
    1. Clement of Alexandria.
    2. Origen (Jerome, Ambrose).
    3. Hippolytus and Epiphanius.
    4. The so-called Second Epistle of Clement of Rome.
    5. Hypothetical sources.
- iii. Contents.
- iv. Origin and character. Place and date. Literature.

i. MEANING OF THE TITLE.—In the title which Clement of Alexandria first applies to this Gospel—*τὸ κατ' Αἰγυπτίους εὐαγγέλιον*—the preposition *κατά* cannot have the same meaning as in the titles of the canonical and other Gospels, where it is used with a proper name in the singular. The reference is not to authorship, but to the region in which the Gospel found acceptance, or to the circle from which it sprang. It is improbable that the Gospel was written in the Egyptian, *i.e.* the Coptic language; Clement of Alexandria quotes from it, but there is no evidence either that he made use of a translation or that he had learnt Coptic during his residence in Egypt. On account of the resemblance of the title to that of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, Harnack (*Chronologie*, i. 612 f.) suggests that one Gospel circulated amongst the Jewish Christians residing in Egypt, and the other Gospel amongst the Christians who were natives of Egypt; it is also a possible inference that the Gospel was not called *καθ' Ἕλληνας*, because Christianity had more adherents amongst the native Egyptians than amongst the Greek residents in Egypt. But there is insufficient foundation for Harnack's argument, when he maintains that the title—the Gospel of the Egyptians, or the Egyptian Gospel—signifies that this was the only Gospel known to these Egyptian Christians. 'If, in the same circles, the Gospels according to Matthew, Mark, etc., had been read with equal or even higher authority, it would have been impossible in those circles to describe this Gospel as *the* Gospel of the Egyptians.' Harnack's conclusion rests upon his statement that the name was given to the Gospel by Egyptian writers, *i.e.* by Clement of Alexandria and Origen; he acknowledges that if non-Egyptian Fathers had thus described this Gospel, 'we might, nay we must, have believed that because the Gospel came from Egypt it was called the Egyptian Gospel, just as the Palestinian Gospel was called *τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καθ'* Ἑβραίους, or Ἑβραϊκόν, or Ἰουδαϊκόν.' But although Origen was a native of Alexandria, Clement was an Athenian. Zahn (*Geschichte*, ii. 630) can find no intimation in the writings of Clement and Origen that they regarded themselves as *Αἰγύπτιοι*; his explanation of the title, therefore, is that whilst the Church at Alexandria kept to the canonical Gospels, this non-canonical Gospel had considerable popularity in the provinces of Egypt during the 2nd century. This conclusion is a probable inference from the scanty facts; moreover, it is in accord with the history of the Church in Egypt during the 3rd and 4th cents., when the provincial Churches diverged in their theology from the teaching of the Alexandrian Fathers.

ii. EVIDENCE OF EXISTENCE.—1. The Gospel according to the Egyptians is first mentioned (175–200) by *Clement of Alexandria.* After quoting a passage which Julius Cassianus (*c.* 170) ascribes to 'the Lord,' Clement adds: 'We have not this saying in the four Gospels that have been handed down to us, but in the Gospel *κατ' Αἰγυπτίους* (*Strom.* iii. 13, 92). The Gospel is not described as a heretical writing, but it is regarded as outside the class to which the four Gospels belong (*τοῖς παραδεδομένοις ἡμῖν τέτταρσιν εὐαγγελίοις*).

2. *Origen* in his Commentary on Lk 1^1 (*c.* 220]

gives the unknown authors of *τὸ κατ' Αἰγυπτίους εὐαγγέλιον* the first place in his list of those who 'took in hand to draw up a narrative of Gospel occurrences.' With these writers who took the matter in hand he contrasts the four Evangelists who wrote as they were moved by the Holy Spirit (*ἐξ ἁγίου κινούμενος πνεύματος*). Latin translations of Origen's notes on this passage are given by *Jerome* and by *Ambrose*; both place the Gospel in the class of heretical writings. Jerome's words are: '*Ecclesia quatuor habet evangelia, hæreses plurima, e quibus quoddam scribitur "secundum Ægyptios."*' (Cf. Zahn, *Geschichte*, ii. 625). After naming other apocryphal Gospels, Jerome says '*et alia plura legimus*': these words are not in the extant Greek text; but as it bears elsewhere signs of abbreviation, and as Ambrose in his independent version essentially agrees with Jerome, the Latin is probably a correct rendering of Origen's words. Harnack and Zahn conclude that Origen had this Gospel in his hands; hence we may, with some degree of confidence, accept his judgment as to the character of a work which he had himself read.

3. This Gospel was known by name to two other authors. *Hippolytus* (155–235) quotes from a Naassene work a passage which treats of the constitution of the human soul, and says (*Philos.* v. 7) that this Gnostic sect found support for their fantastic theories *ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ κατ' Αἰγυπτίους εὐαγγελίῳ*. Of the Naassenes little is known. Lightfoot (*Biblical Essays*, 1893, pp. 408, 411–418) sought to prove that the *ἑτεροδιδασκαλοῦντες* of the Pastoral Epistles closely resembled them; but Hofmann, B. Weiss, and Hort (*Judaistic Christianity*, 1894, pp. 130–146) have shown that this view does not meet the requirements of strict exegesis. The Naassenes were not Jewish legalists, but Gnostics 'in whose syncretistic system there were Jewish elements' (cf. Zahn, *Einleitung*, i. 476).—*Epiphanius* (377) states that the Sabellians appealed to this Gospel in support of their doctrine; he does not give a quotation from it, but says that it represents 'the Saviour' as teaching His disciples that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are the same (*τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι πατέρα, τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι υἱόν, τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι ἅγιον πνεῦμα*); he also asserts that the heresy was derived from apocryphal sources, especially from 'the Egyptian Gospel' (*ἐξ ἀποκρύφων τινῶν, μάλιστα ἀπὸ τοῦ καλουμένου Αἰγυπτίου εὐαγγελίου*). The slight change in the title (*Αἰγύπτιον εὐαγγέλιον*) renders still more probable the view taken above of its meaning; Epiphanius (*Hær.* xxx. 13) also speaks of a Hebrew Gospel (Ἑβραϊκόν), and the natural explanation yields good sense in both cases: the Gospels would fitly be so described which were used respectively by the Egyptians and by the Hebrews.

4. *The so-called Second Epistle of Clement of Rome.*—Of writings which are supposed to contain quotations from this Gospel, although it is not named, the most important is the 'Ancient Homily,' which from the 5th cent. was known as the Second Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians (130–140). Pseudo-Clement—unlike the genuine Clement, whose Scripture references are almost exclusively to the OT—makes many allusions to the Evangelic history, using both the canonical Gospels and apocryphal narratives. In one passage there are verbal agreements with the Gospel according to the Egyptians: 'For the Lord himself, being asked by a certain person when his kingdom would come, said, *When the two shall be one, and the outside as the inside, and the male with the female neither male nor female*' (2 Clem. xii.). Lightfoot concludes (*Apost. Fathers*, pt. i. vol. ii. p. 238) that 'our pseudo-Clement would seem to have employed this apocryphal Gospel as a principal authority for the sayings of our Lord. Harnack is quite certain that he did, but the evidence does not warrant a positive statement; there are differences as well as agreements in the two forms in which the saying is quoted (cf. iii. below). The two versions may therefore be derived from a common source, either oral or written, the purer form of the saying being found in pseudo-Clement. Zahn and Resch oppose the identification of the source as strongly as Hilgenfeld and Harnack assert it; Harnack assigns three other quotations in the Homily to this Gospel (*Chron.* i. 618). Ropes says that it is impossible to express a confident opinion (*Die Sprüche Jesu*, pp. 132, 146).

5. In recent criticism there has been manifested a tendency to refer back to this Gospel sayings of our Lord and narratives of events found in other fragmentary sources. Harnack favours the theory that the *Logia* in the Oxyrhynchus Fragment were taken from this Gospel (cf. *Expositor*, 5th series, vi. 411); Sanday does not adopt this view, but is of opinion that 'they may well have had their birth in proximity to it' (*Crit. Rev.* viii. 140); Armitage Robinson says: 'I am not at present prepared to say that the newly discovered sayings are excerpts from the Gospel according to the Egyptians. I must content myself with the statement that such a view is not improbable' (*Expositor*, 5th series, vi. 421). It is a mere conjecture that the *Fayûm Fragment* (Mk 14^{26-30} abbreviated, with v.^{28} omitted) is an extract from this Gospel. Harnack (*Chron.* i. 590) suggests the Gospel according to the Hebrews as an alternative source, whilst Zahn regards the verses as the fragment of a homily (*Geschichte*, ii. 789 f.). Völter (*Petrusevangelium oder Ægypterevangelium?*) holds that the Gospel of Peter is identical with this Gospel, in which, however, he is compelled to acknowledge the presence of interpolations. The reasoning has failed to convince scholars who have made a special study of the Gospel of Peter (cf. *Crit. Rev.* v. 299). Other conjectures, as, *e.g.*, that this Gospel is related to the *Didache* and to Tatian's *Diatessaron*, are mentioned by Harnack, but he does not deem it needful to discuss them. On the general question, it may be said that it is hazardous to treat one Gospel, whether canonical or apocryphal, as dependent on another, because similar reports of our Lord's words or deeds are found in both; they may be independent of each other, but dependent on a common source, oral or written.

iii. CONTENTS.—The passages from this Gospel quoted by Clement of Alexandria are taken from the discourse of Jesus with Salome. (For the Greek text, see Harnack, *Geschichte*, i. 13; Preuschen, *Antilegomena*, p. 2 f.). To Salome's question, 'How long shall Death reign?' Jesus replies, 'So long as ye women give birth; for I came to destroy the works of the female.' Salome says, 'Then should I have done well, if I had borne no children?' and the Lord makes answer, 'Eat every herb, but the bitter one eat not.' [Salome's words are *καλῶς οὖν ἐποίησα μὴ τεκοῦσα*; Lightfoot proposes 'an easy change of reading' (*ἂν ἐποίησα*) to avoid the contradiction to the canonical narratives implied in the rendering 'then I did well that I bare not.' But, as Zahn points out, this rendering would require *οὐ* in place of *μή*; all difficulty is removed by adopting Harnack's note of interrogation]. To a further question of Salome, 'When shall these things be known?' the Lord replies, 'When ye tread underfoot the garment of shame, and when the two become one, and the male with the female neither male nor female.' (Cf. ii. 4 above for pseudo-Clement's version of this saying).

Another extract from this Gospel is given by

Hippolytus in his refutation of the Naassene heresy (*Philos.* v. 7): 'They affirm that the soul is very difficult to discover, and hard to understand; for it does not remain in the same figure or the same form invariably, or in one passive condition, that either one could express it by a sign or comprehend it substantially. But they have these varied changes [of the soul] set down in the Gospel inscribed "according to the Egyptians."'

Epiphanius (*Hær.* lxii. 2) states that this Gospel was a chief source of Sabellian heterodoxy; but, although he asserts that in it many such things are ascribed to the Saviour 'with a mystical significance' (μυστηριωδῶς), he mentions only one: 'the same [person] is Father, the same is Son, the same is Holy Spirit.'

In Harnack's judgment, three more passages found in the homily of pseudo-Clement (*Ep.* c. 4, c. 5, c. 8) are quotations from this Gospel, viz.: 'The Lord said, Though ye be gathered together with me in my bosom and do not my commandments, I will cast you away, and will say unto you, Depart from me, I know you not whence ye are, ye workers of iniquity.' (Cf. Lk 13^{27}, Mt 7^{23}). 'For the Lord saith, Ye shall be as lambs in the midst of wolves. But Peter answered and said unto him, What then, if the wolves should tear the lambs? Jesus said unto Peter, Let not the lambs fear the wolves after they are dead; and ye also, fear ye not them that kill you and are not able to do anything to you; but fear him that after ye are dead hath power over soul and body, to cast them into the gehenna of fire.' (Cf. Lk 10^{3}, Mt 10^{28}, and Lk $12^{4.5}$). 'For the Lord saith in the Gospel, If ye kept not that which is little, who shall give unto you that which is great? For I say unto you that he which is faithful in the least, is faithful also in much.' (Cf. Lk 16^{10}, Mt $25^{21.23}$).

iv. ORIGIN AND CHARACTER.—There is great divergence of opinion in regard to the character of this Gospel. All are agreed that it circulated amongst various heretical sects or schools; but was it, therefore, a heretical Gospel as regards its origin? or was it, as Harnack believes, 'part of the *original* Evangelic literature in the strict sense of the word?'

The facts of which any satisfactory solution of the problem must take account are these: 1. Clement of Alexandria's statements (*Strom.* iii. 9, 13, 91) that the Gospel was used (*a*) by Cassian, the Gnostic leader (ὁ τῆς δοκήσεως ἀρχηγός) of the Encratites who were ascetics and condemned marriage, and (*b*) by Theodotus, the Egyptian pupil of the Gnostic Valentinus. 2. Hippolytus asserts that the Naassenes, who were also Gnostics, quoted it in support of their speculations about the soul of man. 3. Epiphanius says that the Sabellians found passages in it which taught a modalistic doctrine of the Trinity. 4. Clement of Alexandria classes it apart from 'the four Gospels.' 5. Origen puts it at the head of the list of heretical Gospels.—Is Origen's judgment confirmed by the extant fragments of this Gospel? To this question Lipsius (*Dict. Christ. Biog.* ii. 712) replies: 'The Gospel was a product of pantheistic gnosis'; unquestionably, it contains traces of the teaching that the true gnosis imparts 'insight into the unsubstantial character of all the distinctions which prevail among, and separate one from another, the things of this visible world'; it reflects also the practical as well as the mystical aspect of Gnosticism, for the Encratite prohibition of marriage was the natural consequence of insight into the vanity of the distinctions of sex. Some amount of Encratism is recognized by Harnack, but he contends that it is not present to such an extent as to justify those who describe the Gospel as heretical and Gnostic. He is right in maintaining that the ascetic tendency of some of the sayings has been exaggerated, and in urging that the entire Gospel may have contained material derived from purer sources than the fragments known to us. But to establish the non-heretical character of this Gospel more conclusive evidence is required than its use by pseudo-Clement, which, as we have seen, cannot be regarded as a certainty. The least convincing part of Harnack's investigation is that in which the inference that this Gospel bears the Synoptic stamp, and is closely akin to Matthew and Luke, is made to rest upon the insufficiently attested assertion that it was used by pseudo-Clement. 'It contained nothing heretical,—if it had, the Church at Rome in 170 would certainly not have read it' (*Chron.* i. 619). But if pseudo-Clement drew from the same source as this Gospel, the phenomena of the text would be satisfactorily explained, especially the expanded and less credible form given in this Gospel to the words of Jesus. Moreover, this solution of the problem is quite consistent with Harnack's view that this Gospel is not dependent on the Synoptics, but 'derives from the sources of the Synoptics.' The strongest argument adduced to prove that this Gospel must have contained much orthodox teaching, is based upon the fact that Clement of Alexandria held it in good esteem and gave a different, if mystical, interpretation to those passages which the Encratites quoted in support of their ascetic practices. The most probable conclusion which the evidence now available warrants is that the Gospel according to the Egyptians is a Gnostic writing derived, it may be, from a good source; but if its unknown author had access to material as valuable as that of which the Evangelists made use, he treated it more freely, and both added to and modified the Evangelic tradition.

In regard to the *place* where this Gospel was written, Zahn suggests Antioch; Harnack prefers Egypt. Its *date* cannot be later than the middle of the 2nd cent., probably about 140. Harnack, however, holds that the *terminus ad quem* is 130.

LITERATURE.—Emmerich, *de Evang. sec. Ebræos, Ægypt.* etc., 1807; Schneckenburger, *Ueber das Evang. der Ægypt.* 1834; Hennecke in *Die Apokryphen des NT.* See also Hilgenfeld, Harnack, Zahn, in *opp. citt.*, and cf. Resch, *Ausserkanonische Paralleltexte zu den Evangelien*, 1894, p. 28.

A. 2. *PETER, GOSPEL ACCORDING TO.*—

i. Evidence of existence prior to its discovery.
    1. Serapion.
    2. Origen.
    3. Eusebius, etc.
    4. Some doubtful testimony.
ii. Contents of recently discovered Fragment.
iii. Relation to the canonical Gospels.
iv. Alleged use by early writers.
v. Character and tendencies.
vi. Date and place of origin.
    Literature.

i. EVIDENCE OF EXISTENCE PRIOR TO ITS DISCOVERY.—1. The earliest evidence of the existence of this Gospel is found in a letter of *Serapion*, who became bishop of Antioch *c.* 190. Eusebius mentions amongst the memorials of his 'literary industry' a work composed 'on the so-called Gospel of Peter,' and gives the following extract from it (*HE* vi. 12 [McGiffert's translation, p. 258]): 'For we, brethren, receive both Peter and the other apostles as Christ; but we reject intelligently the writings falsely ascribed to them, knowing that such were not handed down to us. When I visited you, I supposed that all of you held the true faith, and as I had not read the Gospel which they put forward under the name of Peter, I said, "If this is the only thing which occasions dispute among you, let it be read." But now, having learned from what has been told me that their mind was involved in some heresy, I will hasten to come to you again. . . . For having obtained this Gospel from others who had studied it diligently, namely, from the successors of those who first used it, whom we call Docetæ (for most of their opinions are connected with the teaching of that school), we have been able to read it through, and we find many things in accordance with the true doctrine of the Saviour, but some things added to that doctrine, which we have pointed out for you further on.'

2. *Origen*, writing *c.* 246, not only mentions this Gospel, but also shows some knowledge of its contents. 'Some say, basing it on a tradition in the Gospel according to Peter, as it is entitled, or the Book of James, that the brethren of Jesus were sons of Joseph by a former wife, whom he married before Mary' (*Com. on Mt.* bk. x. 17 [Ante-Nicene Christian Library, p. 424]). Eusebius tells us (*HE* vi. 21) that Origen was summoned to Antioch by Mammæa, the mother of the emperor Alexander Severus, and 'a most pious woman,' though it is not said that she was a Christian. From Serapion's statements about this Gospel it is evident that it was not widely circulated; but if Origen saw it during his visit to Antioch (probably 218), his uncertainty in regard to a particular passage is only what might be expected, and does not detract from the value of his testimony to its general character.*

3. Besides quoting Serapion's estimate of this Gospel, *Eusebius* (*c.* 324) refers to it twice (*HE* iii. 3, 25). 'The so-called Acts of Peter, however, and the Gospel which bears his name, and the Preaching, and the Apocalypse, as they are called, we know have not been universally accepted, because no ecclesiastical writer, ancient or modern, has made use of testimonies drawn from them.' In his chapter on the Canon of Holy Scripture, Eusebius classifies the books into *Homologoumena* or 'accepted,' *Antilegomena* or 'disputed,' *νόθοι* or 'spurious,' *i.e.* orthodox but not canonical. After enumerating the writings which are placed under these several heads, he adds: 'We have felt compelled to give this catalogue in order that we might be able to know both these works and those that are cited by the heretics under the name of the apostles, including, for instance, such books as the Gospels of Peter, of Thomas, of Matthias, or of any others besides them, and the Acts of Andrew and John and the other apostles, which no one belonging to the succession of ecclesiastical writers has deemed worthy of mention in his writings.'

The statement of Jerome (*de Vir. Illust.* 1) that this Gospel is a heretical work, also the condemnation pronounced upon it in the so-called 'Gelasian decretal' ('*evangelium nomine Petri apostoli apocryphum*'), are in agreement with, and possibly are based on, the judgment of Eusebius.†

4. Historical critics of different schools regard the testimony of *Theodoret* (*c.* 450) as untrustworthy. He says that this Gospel was used by the Nazarenes, of whom, however, he knows nothing except that they 'honour Christ as a righteous man' (*Hær. fab.* ii. 2). Zahn points out in detail the marks of confusion in Theodoret's references to the Jewish Christian sects (*Geschichte*, ii. 743); Harnack inserts a note of interrogation, and attaches no more value to this than to most of 'this historian's remarkable statements' (*Chron.* i. 623); Hofmann thinks that Theodoret meant the Gospel according to the Hebrews (*PRE* ^{3} i. 663).

There has been much discussion in regard to the meaning of a phrase in *Justin Martyr's* (*c.* 150) *Dialogue with Trypho.* Some have thought that this Gospel is referred to as the 'Memoirs of Peter' in the passage: 'And when it is said that he changed the name of one of the apostles to Peter; and when it is written in the Memoirs of him (*ἀπομνημονεύματα αὐτοῦ*) that this so happened, etc.' The difficult problem of the relation to this Gospel of Justin Martyr's quotations cannot be discussed until its contents have been given; but it is important that the discussion should not be biassed by the assumption that 'the name "Memoirs" cannot with any degree of propriety be applied to our canonical Gospels,' as the author of *Supernatural Religion* asserts (*The Gospel according to Peter*, p. 22). It may be granted that the *αὐτοῦ* is more naturally interpreted as referring to Peter and not to Jesus; but the judgment of such an expert as Lipsius (*Dict. Christ. Biography*, ii. 712) must not be forgotten: 'In the passage in question the right reading is most probably not *ἀπομνημονεύματα αὐτοῦ* (*i.e.* of Peter mentioned just before), but *ἀπομν. αὐτῶν* (*i.e.* *τῶν ἀποστόλων* as elsewhere).' But if, contrary to his invariable practice, Justin here attaches a name to the Evangelistic writings, it is by no means certain that he speaks of this apocryphal Gospel as the 'Memoirs of Peter.' He may refer to the Second Gospel, for many ancient authorities support the testimony of Origen: 'The Gospel published by Mark may be called Peter's, whose interpreter Mark was' (*adv. Marcion.* iv. 5), and in Mk 3^{17} there is a record of the fact mentioned by Justin: 'Simon he surnamed Peter.'

ii. CONTENTS OF RECENTLY DISCOVERED FRAGMENT.—In 1892 M. Bouriant published the manuscript known as 'the Akhmim Fragment'; it contains portions of the Gospel of Peter, of the Apocalypse of Peter, of the Book of Enoch, and of the Acts of St. Julian. This parchment manuscript and a papyrus collection of mathematical problems were discovered by the French Archæological Mission during the winter of 1886–87 in the tomb of a monk at Akhmim, the ancient Panopolis, in Upper Egypt. A heliographic reproduction of the manuscript greatly assisted palæographists to determine the true text, in regard to which scholars are now generally agreed. The parchment codex is assigned to a date between the 8th and the 12th century. The following translation by Dr. J. Armitage Robinson was carefully revised by him in accordance with the photographic facsimile (Ante-Nicene Christian Library, vol. ix. p. 7 f.):—

1. But of the Jews none washed his hands, neither Herod nor any one of his judges. And when they had refused to wash them, Pilate rose up. And then Herod the king commandeth that the Lord be taken, saying to them, What things soever I commanded you to do unto him, do.

2. And there was standing there Joseph the friend of Pilate and of the Lord; and, knowing that they were about to crucify him, he came to Pilate and asked the body of the Lord for burial. And Pilate sent to Herod and asked his body. And Herod said, Brother Pilate, even if no one had asked for him, we purposed to bury him, especially as the Sabbath draweth on; for it is written in the Law that the sun set not upon one that hath been put to death.

3. And he delivered him to the people on the day before the unleavened bread, their feast. And they took the Lord and pushed him as they ran, and said, Let us drag away the Son of God, having obtained power over him. And they clothed him with purple, and set him on the seat of judgment, saying, Judge righteously, O king of Israel. And one of them brought a crown of thorns and put it on the head of the Lord. And others stood and spat in his eyes, and others smote his cheeks; others pricked him with a reed; and some scourged him, saying, With this honour let us honour the Son of God.

4. And they brought two malefactors, and they crucified the Lord between them. But he held his peace, as though having no pain. And when they had raised the cross, they wrote the title, This is the king of Israel. And having set his garments before him they parted them among them, and cast lots for them. And one of those malefactors reproached them, saying, We for the evils that we have done have suffered thus, but this

---

* For other traces of the use of this Gospel by Origen, see J. O. F. Murray's article in the *Expositor* (4th series, vii. 55 f.).

† Other writers who were probably acquainted with the Petrine Gospel are the author of the *Didascalia* and *Apostolical Constitutions* (cf. Harnack, *Bruchstücke*, p. 41 f.), and *Cyril of Jerusalem* (cf. Swete, 'The Akhmim Fragment,' in his edition of the Gospel of Peter, xxx ff.).

man, who hath become the Saviour of men, what wrong hath he done to you? And they, being angered at him, commanded that his legs should not be broken, that he might die in torment.

5. And it was noon, and darkness came over all Judæa: and they were troubled and distressed lest the sun had set whilst he was yet alive: [for] it is written for them, that the sun set not on him that hath been put to death. And one of them said, Give him to drink gall with vinegar. And they mixed and gave him to drink, and fulfilled all things, and accomplished their sins against their own head. And many went about with lamps, supposing that it was night, and fell down. And the Lord cried out, saying, My power, my power, thou hast forsaken me. And when he had said it, he was taken up. And in that hour the vail of the temple of Jerusalem was rent in twain.

6. And then they drew out the nails from the hands of the Lord, and laid him upon the earth, and the whole earth quaked, and great fear arose. Then the sun shone, and it was found the ninth hour; and the Jews rejoiced, and gave his body to Joseph that he might bury it, since he had seen what good things he had done. And he took the Lord, and washed him, and rolled him in a linen cloth, and brought him into his own tomb, which was called the garden of Joseph.

7. Then the Jews and the elders and the priests, perceiving what evil they had done to themselves, began to lament and to say, Woe for our sins; the judgment hath drawn nigh, and the end of Jerusalem. And I with my companions was grieved; and being wounded in mind we hid ourselves: for we were being sought for by them as malefactors, and as wishing to set fire to the temple. And upon all these things we fasted and sat mourning and weeping night and day until the Sabbath.

8. But the scribes and Pharisees and elders being gathered together one with another, when they heard that all the people murmured and beat their breasts, saying, If by his death these most mighty signs have come to pass, see how righteous he is —the elders were afraid, and came to Pilate, beseeching him and saying, Give us soldiers that we may guard his sepulchre for three days, lest his disciples come and steal him away, and the people suppose that he has risen from the dead and do us evil. And Pilate gave them Petronius the centurion with soldiers to guard the tomb. And with them came elders and scribes to the sepulchre, and having rolled a great stone together with the centurion and the soldiers, they all together who were there set it at the door of the sepulchre; and they affixed seven seals, and they pitched a tent there and guarded it. And early in the morning as the Sabbath was drawing on, there came a multitude from Jerusalem and the region round about that they might see the sepulchre that was sealed.

9. And in the night in which the Lord's day was drawing on, as the soldiers kept guard two by two in a watch, there was a great voice in the heaven, and they saw the heavens opened, and two men descend from thence with great light and approach the tomb. And that stone which was put at the door rolled of itself and made way in part; and the tomb was opened, and both the young men entered in.

10. When therefore those soldiers saw it, they awakened the centurion and the elders; for they too were hard by, keeping guard. And, as they declared what things they had seen, again they see three men come forth from the tomb, and two of them supporting one, and a cross following them: and of the two the head reached unto the heavens, but the head of him that was led by them overpassed the heavens. And they heard a voice from the heavens saying, Thou hast preached to them that sleep. And a response was heard from the cross, Yea.

11. They therefore considered one with another whether to go away and show these things to Pilate. And while they yet thought thereon, the heavens again are seen to open, and a certain man to descend and enter into the sepulchre. When the centurion and they that were with him saw these things, they hastened in the night to Pilate, leaving the tomb which they were watching, and declared all things which they had seen, being greatly distressed, and saying, Truly he was the Son of God. Pilate answered and said, I am pure from the blood of the Son of God: but it was ye who determined this. Then they all drew near and besought him and entreated him to command the centurion and the soldiers to say nothing of the things which they had seen: For it is better, say they, for us to be guilty of the greatest sin before God, and not to fall into the hands of the people of the Jews and to be stoned. Pilate therefore commanded the centurion and the soldiers to say nothing.

12. And at dawn upon the Lord's day Mary Magdalen, a disciple of the Lord, fearing because of the Jews, since they were burning with wrath, had not done at the Lord's sepulchre the things which women are wont to do for those that die, and for those that are beloved by them—she took her friends with her, and came to the sepulchre where he was laid. And they feared lest the Jews should see them, and they said, Although on that day on which he was crucified we could not weep and lament, yet now let us do these things at his sepulchre. But who shall roll away for us the stone that was laid at the door of the sepulchre, that we may enter in and sit by him and do the things that are due? For the stone was great, and we fear lest some one see us. And if we cannot, yet if we but set at the door the things which we bring for a memorial of him, we will weep and lament, until we come unto our home.

13. And they went and found the tomb opened, and coming near they looked in there; and they see there a certain young man sitting in the midst of the tomb, beautiful and clothed in a robe exceeding bright; who said to them, Wherefore are ye come? Whom seek ye? Him that was crucified? He is risen and gone. But if ye believe not, look in and see the place where he lay, that he is not [here]; for he is risen and gone thither, whence he was sent. Then the women feared and fled.

14. Now it was the last day of the unleavened bread, and many were going forth, returning to their homes, as the feast was ended. But we, the twelve disciples of the Lord, wept and were grieved; and each one, being grieved for that which was come to pass, departed to his home. But I Simon Peter and Andrew my brother took our nets and went to the sea; and there was with us Levi the son of Alphæus, whom the Lord . . .

iii. Relation to the canonical Gospels.—A careful study of the contents of this Gospel reveals many close resemblances to, and some striking divergences from, the canonical Gospels. The author of *Supernatural Religion* endeavours to prove that it is not dependent on them, and describes those who differ from him on this question as 'apologetic critics' (*op. cit.* 107 f.). But Harnack's judgment is that acquaintance with Mark is 'proved or almost proved,' on the other hand acquaintance with John is 'not proved'; in regard to Matthew and Luke he is uncertain whether their points of agreement with this Gospel show that its author made use of their narratives, or of the same sources as the Evangelists (*Bruchstücke*, p. 32 f.). Zahn holds that 'the only sources from which the Gospel of Peter has drawn its materials are our four Gospels,' and shows that there is close agreement with each Gospel as well in forms of expression as in subject-matter. He accounts for the divergences by allowing time for the development of variations in the text of the canonical Gospels (*Das Evangelium des Petrus*, p. 47). But, whilst the evidence available may suffice to establish the probability of dependence upon the four Gospels as a source, it is not sufficient to prove that they were the only source. The subject is exhaustively treated in the introduction to Swete's edition of this Gospel ('The Akhmîm Fragment,' xiii ff.). The Petrine Passion-history 'exceeds by about one-fourth the average length of the four canonical narratives,' and this notwithstanding many significant omissions; the result of a verbal comparison reveals coincidences which, in Swete's judgment, prove that the use of the First and Second Gospels by the author of the Petrine Fragment is 'scarcely doubtful'; that there is a 'strong presumption' in favour of his use of the Third Gospel; and that traces of verbal indebtedness to the Fourth Gospel are fainter, though it is 'at least probable that he had access' to it. From the nature of the case absolute proof is not attainable, but the solution of this complex problem, to which the investigations of many scholars point, is that the Petrine Gospel is later than the canonical Gospels; that its author was acquainted with them; that his sources are treated with great freedom, many of the changes being due to his recasting of the Gospel history in the form of a personal narrative; and that possibly he had access to other sources, which may have included, as Harnack rightly says, some good traditions (*Chron.* i. 624).

iv. Alleged use by early writers.—Traces of the Petrine Gospel have been diligently sought in the works of authors who wrote before the date at which it is known to have been in circulation. The author of *Supernatural Religion* argues for the probability that *Tatian* possessed this Gospel, but reveals an apologetic interest in the establishment of a conclusion which might 'lead to the opinion that Tatian's *Harmony* was not composed out of four Gospels, but out of five' (*op. cit.* p. 41). It is, however, an indisputable fact that there are signs of harmonizing in this Fragment: to refute the argument that Tatian used it by proving that its author used Tatian is impossible, but in all probability a Harmony, such as the *Diatessaron*, was known to him. This is Swete's view, though he does not think that the Petrine writer was 'limited to the use of the Diatessaron' (*op. cit.* xxiv.). Dr. Rendel Harris, in his 'Popular Account' of the Gospel, clearly states the facts, but reserves his final judgment.

There is much more to be said in favour of the view that *Justin Martyr* (*c.* 150) was acquainted with the Petrine Gospel, as a comparison of the following passages with the Fragment will show. 'The Spirit of prophecy foretold . . . *the conspiracy* which was formed against Christ by Herod, the king of the Jews, and *the Jews* themselves, and Pilate who was your governor among them, with his *soldiers*' (*Apol.* i. 40). 'And, as the prophet spoke, they tormented him, and *set him on the judgment-seat, and said, Judge us*' (*Apol.* i. 35). 'Those who crucified him parted his garments among themselves, *each casting lots for what he chose to have*, and receiving according to the decision of the lot' (*Dialogue with Trypho*, 97). The words and sentences in *italics* are the most important parallels to the Petrine Gospel in Justin's writings, and the most striking of these is the statement that Jesus, not Pilate (cf. Jn 19^{13}), sat on the judgment-seat. But Justin's account bears a closer resemblance to John's than to the longer narrative in the Petrine Fragment; if there be dependence, Justin's seems to be primary. This conclusion is confirmed by a fact to which Dr. Salmon calls attention, viz., that Justin — who, *ex hypothesi*, believed this Gospel to be Peter's, and therefore a document of paramount authority—'in every case where the account in this Gospel differs from that in the canonical, and where we have the means of judging which Justin prefers, follows the latter without hesitation' (*Introd. to NT*, Appendix, p. 587).

The Epistle of Barnabas (vii. 3-5) resembles this Gospel in representing Jesus as drinking gall mingled with vinegar, and in its description of the fasting and mourning that followed the Crucifixion. Dr. Swete thinks that it may 'not improbably have come into the hands of the party from which the Petrine Gospel emanated.' He is also of opinion that the resemblances between the *Sibylline Oracles* (bk. 8) and the Petrine Fragment are 'for the most part superficial.'

v. CHARACTER AND TENDENCIES. — Serapion, who first mentions 'the so-called Gospel of Peter,' states that it was used by the Docetæ; after reading it through, he pronounced it orthodox in general, but condemned it on account of its heterodox additions. Is this judgment as to the character and tendencies of the Petrine Gospel sustained by the knowledge gained of its contents from the discovery of the Akhmim Fragment?

Docetism in the 2nd cent. had various forms. Ignatius combated a Docetic heresy which Lightfoot describes as 'Judaic,' for it combined a denial of the reality of Christ's passion with a tendency towards Judaizing. But the author of the Petrine Fragment does not doubt that Christ had a true body, and he manifests an anti-Judaic spirit in his endeavour to fasten on the Jews the responsibility for the crucifixion of Jesus. Irenæus describes an Ophite system, which more nearly resembles the teaching of this Gospel; but Swete points out that, according to that system, the Christ withdrew from Jesus before the Crucifixion, whereas the Petrine Gospel 'regards the higher nature of the Lord as remaining with Him on the Cross up to the moment of His death' (*op. cit.* xxxix. f.). Hippolytus (*Philos.* viii. 8, x. 12) refers to a Gnostic sect, which bore the name of *Docetæ*, although they taught that Christ was born of the Virgin Mary, and had a true body. On the ground that Serapion could not have spoken so favourably of a work which denied the reality of Christ's body, McGiffert identifies the *Docetæ*, who used the Petrine Gospel, with this Gnostic sect, whose speculations added to true doctrine (Eusebius, *Church History* [McGiffert's tr.], p. 258, n. 8). There are, however, points of contact between the Petrine Fragment and the comments of Valentinian writers who accepted the facts of the Gospel history, but made it the vehicle of Gnostic teaching. Dr. Swete inclines to the belief that the Petrine writer, though not himself a Valentinian, 'felt the influence of the Valentinian school.' It is not necessary to decide between the claims of these different types of Gnostic Docetism to see that a writer of either of these schools would be likely to produce just such a Gospel as Serapion describes. Moreover, his judgment as to its character and tendency is fully sustained by the contents of the Akhmim Fragment, which has many features in common with the canonical Gospels, and yet has many additions to the Evangelic tradition, some being obviously unorthodox. The amplifications of the Gospel history, which clearly reveal a Docetic purpose, are: the statement that the Lord was silent on the Cross 'as though having no pain' (sec. 4); the cry, 'My power, my power, thou hast forsaken me,' followed by the description of His death as an ἀνάληψις: 'and when he had said it, he was taken up' (sec. 5). The conclusion arrived at implies that Eusebius too severely condemns this Gospel; it compares favourably with the other Gospels assigned by him to the 'heretical' category, though it is not free from Docetic tendencies which characterized some forms of early Gnosticism.

vi. DATE AND PLACE OF ORIGIN.—From Serapion's evidence the *terminus ad quem* for the date of this Gospel cannot be placed later than A.D. 170. The fixing of the *terminus a quo* depends upon the decision arrived at in the foregoing discussions. Critics who, like Harnack, hold that Justin used the Gospel, assign its composition to the beginning of the 2nd century. The opposite conclusion implies A.D. 130-150 as the probable date; in Swete's opinion, it cannot be placed earlier than A.D. 150. There is no evidence of the circulation of this Gospel in the West; a probable inference from the places of residence of the writers who were familiar with it is that it was a Syrian Gospel.

LITERATURE.—Bouriant, *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéol. française au Caire*, ix. 1 (1892); Stülcken in *Die Apocryphen des NT*; Harnack, *Texte u. Unters.* ix. 2; Zahn, *Das Petrusevangelium*; Völter, *Petrusevangelium oder Ægypterevangelium?*; also editions by von Gebhardt, Kunze, Lods, A. Sabatier, von Schubert. English editions by Rutherford in extra vol. of Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Robinson and James, Swete, Rendel Harris, and the author of *Supernatural Religion*; also Macpherson's translation of von Schubert's work —a useful edition with synoptical tables and critical apparatus. There are important articles by Baljon in *Theol. Studien*, 1894, 1 ff.; Funk in *Theol. Quartalschr.* 1893, 278 ff.; Hilgenfeld in *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.* 1893, 220 ff.; von Soden in *Zeitschr. f. Theol. u. Kirche*, 1893, 52 ff.; Stanton in *Journal of Theol. Studies*, Oct. 1900; Murray in *Expositor*, 4th series, vol. vii.; Macpherson in *Crit. Rev.* v. 296.

A. 3. *FAYÛM GOSPEL FRAGMENT.*—

i. Discovery.
ii. Contents.
iii. Theories of origin. Date.
Literature.

i. DISCOVERY.—Fayûm is a province of Egypt about 50 miles south of Cairo. It has become famous within the last 25 years owing to the discovery at Medinet, its capital, and elsewhere, of a large quantity of papyri in Latin, Greek, Coptic, and other languages. In 1882 the Austrian Archduke Rainer bought a mass of documents which are now in the Imperial Museum at Vienna. In this valuable collection a small and mutilated fragment of a Gospel was found. The honour of deciphering and restoring the true text belongs to Dr. Bickell, Roman Catholic Professor of Christian Archæology in the University of Innsbruck. In the *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* (1885, iii. 498 ff.), Bickell published the Fragment, and his judgment in regard to its antiquity and value. Since then his conclusions have been subjected to keen criticism by many scholars. The principal contributions to the discussion have been made by Harnack and Zahn; the result of their critical investigations is given below. An instructive account of the Fayûm papyri in general, and of this Fragment in particular, was published by Professor Stokes of Dublin in the *Expositor* (3rd series, i. 334, ii. 132, vii. 449).

ii. CONTENTS.—The Greek text of the Fragment, as finally restored by Bickell, is as follows: *Μετὰ δὲ τὸ φαγεῖν ὡς ἐξ ἔθους, πάντες ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ σκανδαλισθήσεσθε κατὰ τὸ γραφέν· πατάξω τὸν ποιμένα καὶ τὰ πρόβατα διασκορπισθήσονται. Εἰπόντος τοῦ Πέτρου· καὶ εἰ πάντες οὐκ ἐγώ. ἔφη αὐτῷ· ὁ ἀλεκτρυὼν δὶς κοκκύξει καὶ σὺ πρῶτον τρὶς ἀπαρνήσῃ με.*

Certainty in regard to some details of the reconstruction cannot be attained. At first Bickell read *ὡς ἐξῆγον*, the letters being here obscure. Zahn (*Geschichte des NT Canons*, ii. 785) prints what he regards as the most probable text in a way which shows at a glance the mutilations at the end of the lines—

> . . . *ὑμνησάντων δὲ αὐτῶν*
> *μετὰ τὸ φ]αγεῖν ὡς ἐξ ἔθους, πά[λιν εἶπε·*
> *ταύτῃ] τῇ νυκτὶ σκανδαλισ[θήσεσθε*
> *κατὰ] τὸ γραφέν· "πατάξω τὸν [ποιμένα, καὶ*
> *τὰ] πρόβατα διασκορπισθήσ[εται." εἰπόν-*
> *τος δέ το]ῦ Πετ. "καὶ εἰ πάντες, οὐκ ἐγώ,"*
> *ἔφη· "πρὶν] ὁ ἀλεκτρυὼν δὶς κοκ[κύξει σή-*
> *μερον, σὺ τρὶς με ἀ]παρν[ήσῃ"* . . .

According to Zahn's reconstructed text, the contents of the Fragment are: 'Now when they had sung a hymn, after eating according to custom, he said again: This night ye shall be offended according to the Scripture, "I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered." When Peter said: Even though all, yet not I, he said: Before the cock shall crow twice this day, thou shalt deny me thrice.'

iii. THEORIES OF ORIGIN.—The passages in the canonical Gospels which correspond to the contents of the Fayûm Fragment are Mt 26^{30-34}, Mk 14^{26-30}, the resemblances to Mark being more close. The words used for 'cock' and 'crow' (lit. 'cry cuckoo') are not found in the NT. In Bickell's judgment these few verses are a genuine relic of early Evangelic tradition, and the Fragment is part of such a document as Luke mentions in the preface to his Gospel. Harnack inclines to Bickell's view, though he admits that the words may be a free quotation from Mark rather than a part of the original material used by the Synoptic writers ('Das Evangelienfragment von Fajjum' in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, v. 4). The use of different words for 'cock' and 'crow' does not disprove the latter theory, but tends rather to confirm it. The Fragment has *ἀλεκτρυών* for *ἀλέκτωρ*, and *κοκκύζειν* for *φωνεῖν*. *ἀλεκτρυών* is the more usual word in classic prose; *κοκκύζειν* is more expressive than the colourless *φωνεῖν*. 'It is most probable that the words used in the canonical Gospels are more original, and that a preacher substituted in one case a more elegant, and in the other case a more significant expression' (Zahn, *op. cit.* ii. 787). Hort favoured the view that the passage is an extract from the Synoptic Gospels, and uttered a timely warning against hasty deductions from one scanty fragment (*Times*, 25th June 1885). Other conjectural explanations of its origin are that it is a quotation from the Gospel according to the Hebrews, or the Gospel according to the Egyptians (Harnack), and that it is a Gnostic recension of the canonical Gospels (Stokes).

The style of writing and the methods of contraction employed in this Fragment furnish, in the judgment of eminent palæographists, a strong argument for fixing the *date* of its composition in the 3rd century.

LITERATURE.—This has been sufficiently indicated in the body of the above section of the article.

B. 1. *JAMES, PROTEVANGELIUM OF.*—

i. Title.
ii. Evidence of existence.
  1. Fourth century writers.
  2. Origen.
  3. Possible traces of anonymous use.
iii. Summary of contents. Variations in *pseudo-Matthew* and *Nativity of Mary*.
iv. Character and tendencies.
v. Relation to Latin recensions—
  1. Gospel of *pseudo-Matthew*.
  2. Gospel of the *Nativity of Mary*.
vi. Date.
Literature.

i. TITLE.—This work claims to have been written by James the Just, in Jerusalem, but its author does not describe it as a Gospel. Its title in the manuscripts is 'The History of James concerning the Birth of Mary.' Early writers do not refer to it as *εὐαγγέλιον*, but describe it as *διήγησις, λόγος ἱστορικός, ἱστορία* or *γέννησις Μαρίας*. The name of *Protevangelium* was probably given to it by Oriental Christians; it is not known to have existed before the 16th cent., when the Latin version of Postellus and the Greek version (*πρωτευαγγέλιον*) of Michael Neander appeared.

ii. EVIDENCE OF EXISTENCE.—1. The Protevangelium, in its present form, was known to 4th cent. Fathers. *Epiphanius* (*c.* 376) made use of it (*Hær.* lxxix. 5, lxxviii. 7); Harnack (*Chron.* i. 601) finds reference to it in *Gregory of Nyssa* (*Orat. in diem Natal. Christi*, iii. 346), *Eustathius*, and the *Excerpta Barbari.*

2. If this work had been known in early times as 'the Gospel of James' the evidence of *Origen* (*c.* 246 A.D.) would have been less trustworthy. There is, however, little doubt that he refers to it as 'the Book of James' (*ἡ βίβλος Ἰακώβου*) in a passage where he distinguishes its title from that of 'the Gospel according to Peter,' and yet refers to both writings as common sources of the tradition that our Lord's brethren were 'sons of Joseph by a former wife, whom he married before Mary.' Origen adds: 'Now those who say so wish to preserve the honour of Mary in virginity to the end' (*in Matt.* tom. x. 17); this comment is an accurate description of the purpose of the Protevangelium.

3. *Possible traces of anonymous use.*—Points of contact between this work and other writings have been found. *Peter of Alexandria* (d. 311) in all probability derived from it his account of the death of Zacharias (Routh, *Rell. Sac.* iv. 44). *Clement of Alexandria* (*c.* 200 A.D.) may have learnt from it the story of the attestation of Mary's virginity after the birth of her son, but the indefinite words 'some say' may refer to oral tradition (*Strom.* vii. 16). *Justin Martyr* (*c.* 140 A.D.) has several remarkable 'concordances' with the Protevangelium. Both combine (*Apol.* 33) the angel's message to Mary (Lk 1^{32}) with his words to Joseph (Mt 1^{21}); both state (*Dial.* 78) that our Lord was born in a cave; both speak (*Apol.* 33) of Mary's overshadowing by 'the power of God'; both attach importance (*Dial.* 100) to the Davidic descent of Mary; both assert that 'Mary received joy,' though Justin (*Dial.* 100) connects the words *καὶ χαρὰν λαβοῦσα Μαρία* with the angelic salutation, whilst in the Protevangelium the same words are associated with the priest's benediction. Zahn regards the dependence of Justin on this Gospel as proved. But the more exact resemblances would

be satisfactorily explained if both writers made use of a common tradition; and the variation in the context of the statement about Mary's joy points, in the judgment of many scholars, to the use by Justin of an older text of the Protevangelium. On the whole, the evidence cannot be said to prove that he used this Gospel in its present form.

iii. SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.—[Two Latin Gospels of the Childhood—*pseudo-Matthew* and the *Nativity of Mary*—either depend on the Protevangelium, or on the sources used by its author. In so far as the contents of these Latin Gospels are parallel to its narrative, the chief variations will be noted; they furnish important data for the solution of the problem of the mutual relations of these Gospels].

1. On a great festival, Joachim, an exceedingly rich man, brings double offerings to the temple; they are rejected because he is childless. In his grief he retires to the desert and fasts forty days, prayer being his food and drink. 2. Anna, the wife of Joachim, being reproached by Judith her maid-servant, prays to God under a laurel, and asks that to her, as to Sarah, a child may be given. 3. Beholding a sparrow's nest in the laurel, Anna laments that she is not like the fowls of the heaven, which are 'productive before thee, O Lord.' 4. An angel of the Lord announces to Anna that her prayer is heard; she vows that her child shall be a gift to God. Another angel bids Joachim return home; he obeys, and takes with him flocks for an offering. Anna and Joachim meet at the gate.

In *pseudo-Mat.* 3 the angel bids Anna meet her husband at the Golden Gate; in *Nat. Mary* 4 the angel bids Joachim meet his wife at the Golden Gate. Cf. Ac 3^2.

5. On the following day Joachim brings his offering to the temple and goes down to his house 'justified.' In course of time a daughter is born to Anna and Joachim; Anna calls the child Mary.

In *Nat. Mary* 5 the name Mary is given at the command of the angel.

6. When the child is six months old, Anna sets her on the ground 'to try whether she can stand, and she walks seven steps'; Anna vows that Mary shall not walk on this earth until she has been taken to the temple of the Lord. When Mary is a year old, Joachim makes a great feast; the chief priests bless the child, and Anna sings a song to the Lord. 7. When Mary is three years old, her parents take her to the temple in fulfilment of their vow. After the high priest has blessed her, he 'sets her down upon the third step of the altar'; she 'dances with her feet, and all the house of Israel love her.'

In *pseudo-Mat.* 4 the child is put down before the doors of the temple, and 'goes up the fifteen steps so swiftly, that she does not look back at all.' In *Nat. Mary* 6 the virgin of the Lord goes up all the steps without help 'in such a manner that you would think she had already attained full age.' The Lord 'by the indication of this miracle' foreshowed the greatness of 'his virgin.'

8. Mary dwells in the temple 'as if she were a dove,' and is fed by the hand of an angel. When she is twelve years old, Zacharias the high priest summons the widowers in order that the Lord may signify whose wife Mary is to be.

Pseudo-Mat. 6 adds many marvels, as, *e.g.*, the angels often speak to Mary and most diligently obey her; sick people who touch her go home cured. Both in *pseudo-Mat.* and *Nat. Mary* the age of Mary is fourteen when she refuses to be given in marriage, and announces her resolve to be a virgin to God.

9. Joseph, throwing away his axe, obeys the summons; the widowers present their rods to the high priest in the temple. A dove comes out of Joseph's rod and rests upon his head—the sign that he is chosen to keep the virgin of the Lord. 10. When Joseph refuses, saying, 'I have children, and I am an old man,' the priest warns him of the guilt of disobedience. Joseph therefore takes Mary from the temple to his home.

In *pseudo-Mat.* 8 the tribe of Judah is chosen by lot; then every man of that tribe, 'who has no wife,' takes his rod to the temple. The high priest does not at first bring Joseph's rod out of the Holy of Holies 'because he was an old man.' Joseph asks: 'Why do you hand over to me this infant, who is younger than my grandsons?' In *Nat. Mary* 8 Joseph withholds his rod; God is consulted a second time, and Joseph is found out; also Joseph's rod produces a flower on which the Spirit descends in the form of a dove (cf. Is $11^{1.2}$).

11. The angel of the Lord announces to Mary at the well the coming upon her of the power of the Lord.

In *pseudo-Mat.* 9 the angel appears to Mary in her chamber, while she is working at the purple for the veil of the temple.

12. Mary visits Elisabeth, who greets her as 'the mother of my Lord.' 13. Mary returns home after her three months' visit to Elisabeth; Joseph reproaches her, and with weeping she maintains her innocence. 14. The angel of the Lord appears to Joseph. 15. Annas the scribe accuses Joseph of stealthily marrying Mary; the officers bring her with Joseph to the tribunal. 16. Joseph and Mary drink the water of the ordeal and remain unhurt.

Pseudo-Mat. 10–12 describes with even less restraint the incidents recorded in chs. 13–16. In *Nat. Mary* 9 the words of the angel to Mary are much expanded; from one addition it would seem that when this apocryphal book was written the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was unknown: 'that which shall be born of thee shall alone be holy, because it alone, being conceived and born without sin, shall be called the Son of God.'

17. Joseph takes Mary and his sons to be enrolled in Bethlehem. In Mary's face sometimes there is laughter and sometimes sorrow; she explains to Joseph, 'I see two peoples with my eyes; the one lamenting, and the other rejoicing.'

Pseudo-Mat. 13 adds 'she saw the people of the Jews weeping, because they have departed from their God; and the people of the Gentiles rejoicing, because they have been made near to the Lord.' But cf. Gn 25^{23} or Lk 2^{34}.

18. Joseph leaves Mary in a cave in charge of his two sons, whilst he seeks a woman to minister to her needs. The sky is astonished and the birds keep still. 19. When the woman enters the cave a great light shines, but it gradually decreases until the infant's birth. 20. The woman tells Salome of the strange event; Salome demands proof. Her hand is made to burn with fire as a punishment for her unbelief, but is restored when she touches the infant. 21. The Magi are led by the star to the cave, and present their gifts. 22. Herod sends murderers to kill the children from two years old and under. Mary puts her child into an ox-stall. A mountain is cleft to receive Elisabeth and John.

Pseudo-Mat. adds many details. The star is 'larger than any that had been seen since the beginning of the world.' The ox and the ass 'incessantly adore him,' fulfilling the word of Habakkuk the prophet: 'Between two animals thou shalt be made manifest' (Hab 3^2 LXX ἐν μέσῳ δύο ζῴων γνωσθήσῃ, by slight change in Hebrew text: שְׁנַיִם חַיִּים for שָׁנִים חַיֵּיהוּ).

23. Zacharias is murdered, because he cannot tell the officers of Herod where his son is. 24. A priest hears a voice saying, 'Zacharias is murdered'; the body of Zacharias is not found, but his blood is turned into stone. Simeon is chosen in his place. 25. The author says that he withdrew into the wilderness, because of the commotion that arose about the death of Herod. Doxology.

iv. CHARACTER AND TENDENCIES.—From the summary of contents given above, it will be seen that chs. 1–17 of the Protevangelium are occupied with the story of Mary—her birth and childhood, her life in the temple, and her betrothal to Joseph. In chs. 18–20 the style of the narrative is changed, the direct form is assumed: 'I, Joseph, was walking,' etc. The writer, laying aside all reserve, enlarges upon the marvel of the birth of Jesus, and upon the perpetual virginity of Mary. The remaining portion of this work (chs. 21–25) consists of (*a*) the account of the visit of the Magi, which closely follows the narrative of the canonical Matthew; and (*b*) the story of the marvellous escape of John from Herod's massacre, and of the murder of his father Zacharias.

The extravagances of chs. 18–20, the Gnostic tendencies of the narrative, and the abrupt introduction of Joseph as the speaker, are sufficient reasons for regarding this section of the Gospel as derived from an independent source. Harnack calls this section *Apocryphum Josephi.* Some light has been cast upon chs. 22–24, which Harnack calls *Apocryphum Zachariæ*, by the researches of Berendts (*Studien über Zacharias-Apokryphen*, 1895); he holds that the Protevangelium does not contain these legends in their oldest form. Confirmation of this theory is found in the fact that Origen (*in Matt.* tract. 25), who was acquainted with the Book of James, gives a very different account of the martyrdom of Zacharias; his account may have come from an independent source, but the recognition of this possibility renders no less probable the suggestion of Harnack (*Chron.* i. 601) that the *βίβλος Ἰακώβου* to which Origen refers is essentially identical with chs. 1–17 of the Protevangelium. The evidence of Origen, therefore, like the evidence of Justin, yields no proof of the existence of this Gospel in its present form; he becomes, however, the oldest witness for the *γέννησις Μαρίας*, the story of the Nativity of Mary.

The result of the foregoing analysis is to show that in all probability the Protevangelium is a composite work. The facts do not warrant the inference that its author had three separate documents before him of which he made free use, adding his own embellishments; they point rather in the direction of the conclusion at which Lipsius (*Dict. Christ. Biog.* ii. 703) arrives by a different course of reasoning. The author's acquaintance with Jewish customs is manifest to every reader; but, as Lipsius points out, such incidents as the refusal of Joachim and his sacrifice, the bringing up of Mary in the temple, and the drinking by Joseph of the water of the ordeal, are quite contrary to Jewish ideas and usages; moreover, there are traces of Gnostic speculation, especially in the *Apocryphum Josephi* and the *Apocryphum Zachariæ.* 'This curious admixture of intimate knowledge and gross ignorance of Jewish thought and custom compels us to assume and distinguish between an original Jewish-Christian writing and a Gnostic recast of it.' *

v. RELATION TO LATIN RECENSIONS. — 1. *The Gospel of pseudo-Matthew.* This Gospel claims to be Jerome's translation into Latin of what the holy Evangelist Matthew wrote in Hebrew and 'set at the head of his Gospel.' It gives, with variations such as are noted above, the same narrative as the Protevangelium; but, instead of ending with the martyrdom of Zacharias, it describes (chs. 18–24) the flight into Egypt, and enlarges upon the marvels of the journey—*e.g.* the adoration of the infant Jesus by dragons, lions, and panthers; the bending of a palm-tree at His word, in order that His mother may gather its fruit; the shortening of the way, so that in one day they accomplish what would otherwise have taken thirty days; the prostration of the idols when Mary with her child enters the Egyptian temple. The rest of this Gospel, in what Tischendorf regards as its complete form (*Evang. apocr.* 51–112), gives the story of the boyhood of Jesus in a form even more extravagant than the Gospel according to Thomas, an account of which is given below. There is little doubt that, in so far as this Gospel is parallel with the narrative of the Protevangelium, it is independently derived from the same sources. It alone records the special series of miracles wrought in Egypt and on the way thither; in the narratives which it has in common with the Protevangelium there is a marked development of the marvellous nature of the incidents; the growing exaltation of Mary is also very apparent.

2. *The Gospel of the Nativity of Mary.*—This short Latin Gospel, entitled the *Evangelium de Nativitate Mariæ*, covers the same ground as the early part of the Gospel of *pseudo-Matthew*; its last words describe the birth of Jesus at Bethlehem. It is found amongst the works of Jerome, and has every appearance of being an orthodox revision of the Latin Gospel of *pseudo-Matthew.*

vi. DATE.—According to the view taken above of the composite character of this Gospel, the original Jewish-Christian work dates from the middle of the 2nd century. The Protevangelium in its present form embodies the result of a Gnostic recast, and cannot be earlier than the latter part of the 3rd century. To the 4th cent. or perhaps the 5th must be assigned the Gospel of *pseudo-Matthew*, of which the Gospel of the *Nativity of Mary* is a later redaction.

LITERATURE.—In 1552 Bibliander's Latin edition was published, Postellus having prepared the text from a Greek MS. In 1840 Suckow issued a separate edition, *ex. cod. MS Venetiano.* See A. Meyer in *Die Apokr. des NT*, p. 47; also Neander Sor., Thilo, Tischendorf, Harnack, Zahn, Borberg, Wright, Orr, in *opp. citt.* Translation by A. Walker in Ante-Nicene Christian Library, also by Conybeare from an Armenian MS in *Amer. Journ. of Theol.* i. 1897, p. 424 ff. Articles by Hilgenfeld in *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.* xii. p. 339 f., xiv. p. 87 note; Conrady, *Die Quellen der kanonischen Kindheitsgeschichten*, and in *SK* lxii. p. 728 ff.

B. 2. *THOMAS, GOSPEL ACCORDING TO.*—

- i. Evidence of early writers.
    - 1. Hippolytus.
    - 2. Origen, Eusebius, etc.
- ii. Present form.
- iii. Summary of contents.
- iv. Character and tendencies.
- v. Date.

Literature.

i. EVIDENCE OF EARLY WRITERS.—1. A Gospel *κατὰ Θωμᾶν* was, according to *Hippolytus* (155–235), in use among the Naassenes. A passage, in which they found support for their teaching in regard to the 'nature of the inward man' (*φύσιν . . . τὴν ἐντὸς ἀνθρώπου*), is quoted from the Gospel: 'He who seeks me shall find me in children from seven years old; for there will I, who am hidden in the fourteenth æon, be manifest' (*Ἐμὲ ὁ ζητῶν εὑρήσει ἐν παιδίοις ἀπὸ ἐτῶν ἑπτά· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ιδ′ αἰῶνι κρυβόμενος φανεροῦμαι*).

2. *Origen* (*c.* 246) mentions this Gospel (*Hom. i. in Luc.*), and *Eusebius* (*c.* 324) places it with the Petrine Gospel amongst the 'heretical' writings (*HE* iii. 25). *Cyril of Jerusalem* (d. 386) states that the Manichæans wrote it (*Catech.* iv. 36), and in a later passage of the same work traces its origin to 'one of the three base disciples of Moses' (vi. 31). Later writers refer to the high esteem in which it was held by the Manichæans.

ii. PRESENT FORM.—A Gospel, entitled 'Thomas the Israelite philosopher's Account of the Infancy of the Lord' (*Θωμᾶ Ἰσραηλίτου φιλοσόφου ῥητὰ εἰς τὰ παιδικὰ τοῦ Κυρίου*), is extant in two Greek recensions, also in a Latin and in a Syriac version. Tischendorf gives the longer Greek recension

---

* The secondary character of this Gospel, in so far as it can be compared with the narratives of Matthew and Luke, is recognized by critics of various schools, notwithstanding the attempt of Conrady to show that the Evangelists borrowed from it (*Die Quellen der kanonischen Kindheitsgeschichte Jesus*). 'It would have been a literary miracle if the opening chapters of St. Matthew and St. Luke, with their lifelike touches and tender humanities, had been derived from a work teeming with superstitious trivialities' (Dr. T. Nicol in *Critical Review*, xii. 35).

(*Evang. apocr.* pp. 140–157), the shorter Greek recension (pp. 158–163), and the Latin version, which Harnack describes as a compilation, with striking resemblances to the apocryphal Gospel of Matthew (pp. 164–180). The Syriac version (Wright, *Apoc. Lit. NT*, p. 6 f.) is a somewhat abbreviated form of the longer Greek recension. (For English translations of the two Greek and the Latin versions, see Walker's *Apocr. Gospels*, p. 78 ff.; and for a detailed account of the variations in the several texts, see Lipsius' article in *Dict. Christ. Biog.* ii. 704). None of these four recensions contains the Naassene quotation from this Gospel which is given by Hippolytus. Does he refer to a different Gospel, or to an original Gospel of which the longest extant version contains only fragments? The attempt to answer these questions must be deferred until the outline of the contents of these four recensions has been given. But one important piece of evidence is here in place. *Nicephorus* (d. 599) mentions this Gospel in his *Stichometry*, and states that it contained 1300 *stichoi*. Therefore, inasmuch as the longest extant recension does not contain half of that number of *stichoi*, it is possible, though not certain, that the copy known to Nicephorus contained the passage quoted by Hippolytus.

iii. SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.—The narratives contained in this Gospel of the Childhood of Jesus consist of (*a*) stories of His superhuman knowledge, (*b*) stories of His superhuman power. The different versions frequently disagree, as well in their statements in regard to the scenes of the miracles and the names of the chief actors, as in the form of the narratives and in the arrangement of the various incidents. The following summary is based on the longer Greek recension:—

(*a*) To his teacher, Zacchæus, the child Jesus repeats the letters of the alphabet, 'from the Alpha even to the Omega, clearly and with great exactness'; He questions His teacher about the first letter, and convicts him of ignorance of the nature of Alpha, and therefore of inability to teach others the Beta. 'Thou hypocrite! first, if thou knowest, teach the A, and then we shall believe thee about the B. . . . And in the hearing of many the child says to Zacchæus: 'Hear, O teacher, the order of the first letter' [the old Phœnician A was written 𐤀 or ∀], 'and notice here how it has lines, and a middle stroke crossing those which thou seest common; (lines) brought together; the highest part supporting them, and again bringing them under one head; with three points [of intersection]; of the same kind; principal and subordinate; of equal length. Thou hast the lines of the A.' The amazement of Zacchæus, as he listens to this allegorizing, is thus expressed: 'That child does not belong to this earth. . . . What great thing he is, either god or angel, or what I am to say, I know not.' The shorter Greek recension represents Jesus as saying: 'I know more than you, for I am before the ages. . . When you see my cross, then will ye believe that I speak the truth.' When Joseph takes the child to another master, who tries 'to flatter him into learning his letters,' Jesus immediately reads a book that lies on the desk, and by the Holy Spirit teaches the Law to those that are standing round. The account of the child's visit to the temple with His parents follows closely the narrative of Luke (2^{41-52}). It describes Him as 'sitting in the midst of the teachers, both hearing the law and asking them questions,' but adds: 'And they were all attending to him, and wondering that he, being a child, was shutting the mouths of the elders and teachers of the people, explaining the main points of the law, and the parables of the prophets.'

(*b*) Some of the miracles ascribed to the child Jesus are works of beneficence, but others are deeds of vengeance. When five years old He makes twelve sparrows out of clay, and as soon as He claps His hands they fly away. At the same age He raises to life a child killed by a fall; and also a young man who, whilst splitting wood, cut the sole of his foot in two, and died from loss of blood. 'And he said to the young man, Rise up now, split the wood, and remember me.' When six years old He breaks a pitcher, but fills His cloak with water and carries it to His mother; He stretches a short piece of wood, and makes it equal to the longer piece. At the same age He cures His brother James, who was dying from the effects of the bite of a viper; He also performs two more miracles of raising from the dead. But His miracles of vengeance make such an impression that the parents of a boy whom Jesus has killed say to Joseph: 'Since thou hast such a child, it is impossible for thee to live with us in the village; or else teach him to bless, and not to curse, for he is killing our children.' The son of Annas the scribe is 'dried up' at His word; a boy who runs up against Him is struck dead; one of His teachers incurs His wrath, and at His curse swoons and falls to the ground; His accusers are smitten with blindness, and dare not provoke Him to anger lest His rebuke should maim them.

iv. CHARACTER AND TENDENCIES.—To the evidence of Hippolytus that this Gospel was known to the Naassenes, and of Cyril of Jerusalem, who regards it as a Manichæan work, should probably be added the witness of Irenæus (*c.* 190) to its use amongst the Marcosians, a Gnostic sect, whose leader boasted that he had improved upon his master, Valentinus. It is true that Irenæus does not name the 'spurious writing'; but he accuses the Marcosians of pulling to pieces 'the dispensations of God, in themselves so striking, by means of Alpha and Beta,' and of bringing forward 'that false and wicked story' that the Lord said to His teacher: 'Do thou first tell me what Alpha is, and then I will tell thee what Beta is.' 'This they expound as meaning that he alone knew the Unknown, which he revealed under its type, Alpha' (*Hær.* I. xx. 1; cf. xvi. 3). The value of this passage consists in its testimony to a second-century Gnostic interpretation of an incident which is recorded in the extant Gospel according to Thomas. Harnack (*Chron.* i. 594) assigns to this apocryphal Gospel, in its original form, a saying of Jesus, which Irenæus charges the Marcosians with misinterpreting: 'I have often desired to have one of these words, and I had no one who could utter it' (*Hær.* I. xx. 2). The saying may, however, be a loose quotation from the canonical Gospels (Lk 10^{24}; cf. Lk 19^{42}).

The question asked above may now be answered. If one sect of Gnostics found in the contents of this Gospel—not to assume that the Gospel itself was in their hands—support for their speculations, the Syrian Gnostics (Naassenes) may have used the same Gospel, though the passage quoted in Hippolytus is not found in the extant fragments. The saying (see § i.), whatever be its true meaning, is clearly a Gnostic interpretation of some of our Lord's sayings about childhood, with Gnostic accretions (cf. Mt 7^8 18^5). Ropes (*Die Sprüche Jesu*, p. 100) expounds it as signifying that only when a child attains to full intelligence can the image of Christ be manifested in it. The saying is not so entirely out of harmony with this Gospel of the Childhood as to compel the ascription of it to an unknown Gospel of Thomas. The undoubted difference between this saying and the fabulous contents of the Gospel that has been preserved would be explained if the Gospel quoted in Hippolytus was revised by an anti-Gnostic editor and abbreviated in accordance with his views. Such an anti-Gnostic would be a heretic in the judgment of writers like Origen, for in the canonical Gospels the child Jesus works no miracles. It is probable, as Lipsius suggests, that this Gospel originated in an attempt 'to enlist the miraculous stories of the Childhood on the Catholic side. . . . The child Jesus [it might be argued] must certainly have worked some miracles in order to rebuke the Gnostic error, which made the Christ to descend upon Him for the first time at His baptism' (*Dict. Christ. Biog.* ii. 704).

v. DATE.—Zahn holds that this Gospel was one of the sources used by Justin Martyr (*c.* 140), who says (*Dial.* 88) that Jesus 'was in the habit of working as a carpenter when among men, making ploughs and yokes' (ἄροτρα καὶ ζυγά); there is a verbal coincidence with this Gospel which describes Joseph as a carpenter who 'made ploughs and yokes.' But Justin, who was a native of Palestine, would scarcely require a written source for this tradition, nor is he likely to have used a heretical Gospel as an authority. Justin cannot, therefore, be quoted to prove the existence of this Gospel in the first half of the second century; a legitimate inference from the evidence already given is that in its original form it was written *c.* 160-180. But Harnack does well to add that it is impossible to say certainly how much of the Gospel in its present form was derived from the longer work. There may, of course, be interpolations in the abbreviated versions of this Gospel.

LITERATURE.—Cotelerius published a fragment from a Paris MS of the 15th cent. in his notes to the *Const. Apost.* vi. 17; also Mingarelli a larger portion: *Nuova raccolta d'opuscoli scientifici*, tom. xii., Venet. 764, pp. 73-155. See A. Meyer in *Die Apokr. des NT*, p. 63; Conrady in *SK*, 1903, Heft 3; also Thilo, Tischendorf, Wright, Borberg, Harnack, Zahn, Orr, in *opp. citt.*

B. 3. *CHILDHOOD, ARABIC GOSPEL OF THE.*—

i. Sources.
ii. Contents.
iii. Characteristics. Date.
Literature.

i. SOURCES.—This Gospel is entitled in Tischendorf's corrected Latin version (*Evang. Apocr.* pp. 181-209), *Evangelium Infantiæ Salvatoris Arabicum.* The Arabic text is a translation from the Syriac. The work is a compilation. The author refers to 'the book of Joseph, the high priest' (c. 1), to 'the Gospel of the Infancy,' and to 'the perfect Gospel' (c. 25), and concludes: 'Here endeth the whole Gospel of the Infancy, with the aid of God Most High, according to what we have found in the original.' For the first part of this Gospel (1-25) the compiler claims the authority of Joseph Caiaphas, whose book Lipsius (*Dict. Christ. Biog.* ii. 705) identifies with 'the Gnostic work made use of in the Protevangelium, and which bore the name of Joseph (not Caiaphas, of course, but the husband of Mary)'; the earlier portions of his narrative are to a large extent parallel to the Protevangelium and to the Gospel of *pseudo-Matthew*; but he also draws largely on 'the perfect Gospel,' though he records 'very many miracles' of the Lord Jesus which are not found either in it or in less 'complete' Gospels of the Infancy. In the second part (26-55) his chief source is the Gospel according to Thomas.

ii. CONTENTS.—This Gospel begins by quoting a word of Jesus spoken, when He was lying in His cradle, to Mary His mother: 'I am Jesus, the Son of God, the Logos, whom thou hast brought forth.' Miracles are narrated for which no parallel can be found either in the canonical Gospels or in the apocryphal writings, as, *e.g.*, the Lady Mary gives to the kings from the East one of her child's swaddling-bands, which 'the fire was not able to burn or destroy' (8); a demoniac boy, the son of an Egyptian priest, is healed by putting upon his head a newly washed garment of the Lord Christ (11); the water in which Mary washes Jesus cleanses from leprosy (17); by witchcraft a youth has been transformed into a mule; Mary puts Jesus on the mule's back and asks Him to exert His mighty power, whereupon the animal 'became a young man, free from every defect' (21); the Holy Family fall into the hands of two robbers, Titus and Dumachus; Titus bribes Dumachus to let them go free, and Jesus tells His mother that in thirty years 'these two robbers will be raised upon the cross along with me, Titus on my right hand and Dumachus on my left; and after that day Titus shall go before me into Paradise' (23); at the age of twelve, Jesus discourses in the temple to astronomers on the heavenly bodies, 'their course, direct and retrograde, the twenty-fourths and sixtieths of twenty-fourths, and other things beyond the reach of reason' (51); also to a philosopher 'skilled in treating of natural science' He explains 'physics and metaphysics, hyperphysics and hypophysics . . . and other things beyond the reach of any created intellect' (52); 'from this day' (*i.e.* from His twelfth year) 'he began to hide his miracles and mysteries and secrets, and to give attention to the law, until he completed his thirtieth year' (54).

iii. CHARACTERISTICS.—The extracts given from this Gospel prove that its author not only drew largely from his sources, canonical and apocryphal, but also allowed his imagination free play, with the result that his work is a strange conglomerate of authentic Evangelic tradition and the most fantastic legends. In one respect alone does it compare favourably with the apocryphal Gospels it most closely resembles; from its fabulous stories there is an absence of miracles of vengeance such as are found in the Gospel according to Thomas and the Gospel of *pseudo-Matthew.* There are many traces of the influence of Gnosticism in this Gospel, but it also contains a clear recognition of the humanity of Jesus: the mother of a dying boy who is healed by 'the smell of the clothes of the Lord Jesus Christ' says to Mary: 'Now I know that the power of God dwelleth in thee, so that thy Son heals those that partake of the same nature with himself' (30). The central section of this work has been aptly described as 'thoroughly Oriental in its character, reminding one of the tales of the *Arabian Nights,* or of the episodes in the *Golden Ass* of Apuleius' (Walker, *Apocr. Gospels,* x.).

No definite *date* for the composition of this Gospel can be fixed. Lipsius is content to say that it was compiled 'comparatively late, but probably earlier than the Mahometan times.'

LITERATURE.—In 1697 Henricus Sike published an Arabic text with Latin translation: *Ev. Inf. vel Liber apocryphus de Infantia Salvatoris.* See Fabricius, Jones, Schmid, Thilo, Tischendorf, in *opp. citt.*

B. 4. *JOSEPH THE CARPENTER, ARABIC HISTORY OF.*—

i. Sources.
ii. Contents.
iii. Characteristics. Date.
Literature.

i. SOURCES.—This Gospel is entitled in Tischendorf's Latin version (*Evang. Apocr.* pp. 122-139), *Historia Josephi Fabri Lignarii*; his edition takes note of variations in the Sahidic and Memphitic dialects of the Coptic, from which language the Arabic text was a recension. The author relates briefly the life of Joseph, and at greater length his death and burial; he also represents Jesus as uttering lengthy and rhapsodical lamentations. For the greater part of his narrative there is no parallel in other writings, but in the sections which describe the choice of Joseph to be the guardian of Mary, his betrothal to her, Herod's search for the children, and the flight into Egypt, the author is in close agreement with the Protevangelium. If he used it as a source, he omitted the portents which it describes as accompanying these events; it is more probable, however, that his source was the earlier Jewish-Christian tradition, for the rest of his work does not suggest that Gnostic embellishments would have been distasteful to him. There are more distinct traces of his dependence upon the Gospel according to Thomas in the account given of Joseph's perplexity and the words of the angel (17); Lipsius (*Dict. Christ. Biog.* ii. 706) adds that in the Coptic recension 'the use made of the Gospel of Thomas is still more evident.'

ii. CONTENTS.—In the introduction to this history the author states that it was related by our Lord to His disciples on the Mount of Olives. The speaker throughout is Jesus, who says of His mother: 'I chose her of my own will, with the concurrence of my Father, and the counsel of the Holy Spirit. And I was made flesh of her, by a mystery which transcends the grasp of created reason' (5), a mystery which 'no creature can penetrate or understand, except myself, and my Father, and the Holy Spirit, *constituting one essence with myself*' (14).* Joseph before his death asks Jesus for pardon (17); Jesus sees Death and Gehenna approaching: 'accordingly I drove back Death and all the host of servants which accompanied him' (21); when Joseph died, 'he had fulfilled a hundred and eleven years; never did a tooth in his mouth hurt him, nor was his eyesight rendered less sharp' (29); of Joseph's body Jesus says: 'Not a single limb of it shall be broken, nor shall any hair of thy head be changed. Nothing of thy body shall perish, O my father Joseph, but it will remain entire and uncorrupted even until the banquet of the thousand years' (26).

iii. CHARACTERISTICS.—The motive of this history is revealed in words spoken by the Apostles to Jesus: 'Thou hast ordered us to go into all the world and preach the holy gospel; and thou hast said: Relate to them the death of my father Joseph, and celebrate to him with annual solemnity a festival and sacred day. And whosoever shall take anything away from this narrative, or add anything to it, commits sin' (30). There is another reference to the day of Joseph's commemoration (26); the work is doubtless, as Lipsius suggests, 'a festal lection for St. Joseph's day.'

The words of Jesus to Mary, 'Thou, O my virgin mother, must look for the same end of life as other mortals,' point to a *date* of composition earlier than the 5th cent., when the Assumption of Mary was taught. Tischendorf decides for the 4th century.

LITERATURE.—In 1722 Wallin published an Arabic text with Latin translation. See Tischendorf, Hofmann, in *opp. citt.*

B. 5. *MARY, THE DEPARTURE OF.*—

i. Versions.
ii. Summary of contents.
iii. Characteristics. Date.
Literature.

i. VERSIONS.—Tischendorf published in his *Apocalypses Apocryphæ* the Greek text of a work sometimes described as the *Evangelium Joannis*; its full title is, *The Account of St. John the Theologian of the Falling Asleep of the Holy Mother of God.* Two Latin versions are printed by Tischendorf, and the writing is generally known as the *Transitus Mariæ* or *The Departure of Mary.* Wright has edited three recensions of a Syriac text. Arabic, Sahidic, and Ethiopic versions are also extant. Lipsius finds the nearest approximation to the original text in the Greek and in the Syriac versions known as B and C. Syriac B was edited by Wright (*Journal of Sacred Literature*, 1865), and Syriac C is published in his *Contributions to the Apocr. Lit. of the NT*, pp. 24–41. Walker's translation of the Greek text is used in the following section ('Ante-Nicene Christian Library,' *Apocryphal Gospels*, etc. p. 504 ff.).

ii. SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.—'The all-holy glorious mother of God and ever-virgin Mary' goes to 'the holy tomb of our Lord' to burn incense and to pray. She is invisible to the guards. Gabriel informs her that her request is granted: 'thou having left the world, shalt go to the heavenly places to thy Son, into the true and everlasting life.'

Mary and her three virgins return to holy Bethlehem; in answer to her prayers the Apostles are summoned to her deathbed. John is 'snatched up by a cloud from Ephesus' and assures Mary that her 'holy and precious body will by no means see corruption.' By a whirlwind the Holy Spirit brings 'Peter from Rome, Paul from Tiberias, Thomas from Hither India, James from Jerusalem.' The Apostles who have fallen asleep are raised from their tombs, but the Holy Spirit says: 'Do not think that it is now the resurrection; but on this account you have risen out of your tombs, that you may go to give greeting to the honour and wonder-working of the mother of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, because the day of her departure is at hand, of her going up into the heavens.'

Mary, sitting up in bed, asks the Apostles to tell her how they had been summoned. John says, 'I was going in to the holy altar in Ephesus to perform Divine service'; Mark says, 'I was finishing the canon of the third [day] in the city of Alexandria'; Matthew says, 'I was in a boat and overtaken by a storm, the sea raging with its waves; on a sudden a cloud of light overshadowing a stormy billow, changed it to a calm, and having snatched me up, set me down beside you.' Similar experiences are narrated by the other Apostles.

Marvels accompany Mary's departure: the sun and the moon suddenly appear about the house; all who are 'under disease and sickness' are cured, if they touch 'the outside of the wall of the house' where Mary was lying. The Jews, 'boiling with rage,' say to the Procurator, 'The nation of the Jews has been ruined by this woman; chase her from Bethlehem and the province of Jerusalem.' The Procurator refuses, but yields to importunity and 'sends a tribune of soldiers against the Apostles to Bethlehem.' The Apostles leave the house 'carrying the bed of the Lady, the mother of God'; they are 'lifted up by a cloud' and transported to 'the house of the Lady' in Jerusalem. The priests and the people 'being the more moved with hatred' take the wood and fire, 'wishing to burn the house where the Lord's mother was living with the Apostles'; but many Jews are burnt up by 'a power of fire suddenly coming forth from within by means of an angel.'

The Holy Spirit reminds the Apostles that 'on the Lord's day' Gabriel made the Annunciation to the Virgin; 'on the Lord's day' the Saviour was born; 'on the Lord's day' the children of Jerusalem welcomed Him with palm-branches and Hosannas; 'on the Lord's day' He rose from the dead; and 'on the Lord's day' He will come to judgment. 'On the Lord's day' Christ comes with a host of angels and says to His mother, 'Thy precious body will be transferred to Paradise.' Mary kisses and adores the right hand of the Lord; she beseeches Him as 'God, the King of the

---

* The words in italics are omitted in the Coptic version.

Ages, the only-begotten of the Father,' to bestow His aid 'upon every man calling upon, or praying to, or naming the name of, thine handmaid.' The Lord replies, 'Every soul that calls upon thy name shall not be ashamed, but shall find mercy, and comfort, and support, and confidence, both in the world that now is, and in that which is to come, in the presence of my Father in the heavens.'

Whilst the Apostles sing a hymn, and the powers of the heavens respond with Alleluia, the blameless soul of Mary departs. When Jephonias puts his hands upon the couch on which her holy body lies, 'an angel of the Lord by invisible power, with a sword of fire, cut off his two hands from his shoulders, and made them hang about the couch, lifted up in the air.' At the word of Peter the hands are 'fixed on again.'

Different accounts are given of the transference of Mary's 'spotless and precious body' to Paradise. One describes the translation as taking place after the body had lain for three days in Gethsemane in a new tomb; another represents 'twelve clouds of light' as snatching up the Apostles with the couch and 'the body of our Lady' into Paradise; and another narrates the miraculous resuscitation of the Virgin's body. 'Anna, the mother of the Lady,' is one of the heavenly choir that sing the Alleluia and adore 'the holy relics of the mother of the Lord.'

iii. CHARACTERISTICS AND DATE.—Although, as Lipsius points out (*Dict. Christ. Biog.* ii. 707), 'a comparison of the various texts proves that the original narrative was now abbreviated and now enlarged in manifold ways with all manner of foreign additions and strange ornaments,' yet, in all the various forms in which this work is extant, the *Departure of Mary* (*κοίμησις τῆς Μαρίας*, *Transitus Mariæ*) contains many evidences of a desire to furnish Apostolic sanction for Mary-worship of an advanced type. Traces of the *Protevangelium Jacobi* and of Gnostic apocryphal writings are found in some texts, but the narrative common to all versions is undoubtedly 'a Catholicizing recast of an heretical work.' Such phrases as 'the holy altar,' 'the canon of the third day,' *i.e.* a part of the Church service consisting of nine odes, 'cast incense and pray,' are internal evidence of a Catholic development of ecclesiastical ritual. Lipsius says: 'The Catholic recast plainly belongs to a time when the worship of the Virgin is already flourishing, *i.e.* at the earliest, the close of the 4th, and most probably the beginning of the 5th century.' Proof of the wide circulation of this work is afforded by the number of extant versions of it; in Catholic circles it has had great influence. Orr and Wright quote with well-merited approval the judgment of Ewald: 'This book has become from the first the firm foundation for all the unhappy adoration of Mary, and for a hundred superstitious things, which have intruded with less and less resistance into the Churches, and have contributed so much to the degeneration and to the crippling of all better Christianity.'

LITERATURE.—Cureton's *Ancient Syriac Documents*, p. 110; Enger published the Arabic text in 1854 (*Joannis apostoli de Transitu Beatæ Mariæ Virginis liber*); Zoega gives some particulars of the Sahidic version in the *Catal. Codd. Copt. Borjianorum*. See Tischendorf, Wright, in *opp. citt.*; also Orr's Introduction and Notes (*NT Apocr. Writings*).

C. 1. *TWELVE APOSTLES, GOSPEL OF THE.*—

i. Evidence of existence:—
    1. Not identical with the Gospel according to the Hebrews.
    2. Identical with the heretical Gospel of the Ebionites.
ii. Contents of fragments preserved by Epiphanius.
iii. Character and tendencies. Date.
Literature.

i. EVIDENCE OF EXISTENCE.—1. A Gospel entitled *τὸ ἐπιγεγραμμένον τῶν δώδεκα εὐαγγέλιον* (Jerome: 'juxta XII apostolos' and 'Evang. XII apostolorum') is placed by *Origen* (*c.* 230) amongst the heretical Gospels (*Hom. 1 in Lucam*). But Origen esteemed highly 'the Gospel according to the Hebrews,' which Jerome (417) confuses with 'the Gospel according to the Apostles' (*adv. Pelag.* iii. 2). Of modern scholars who accept Jerome's identification of the two Gospels, the most distinguished are Resch (*Agrapha*, p. 327) and Lipsius (*Dict. Christ. Biog.* ii. 710 f.). Zahn (*Geschichte des NT Kanons*, ii. 662, 724) and Harnack (*Chronologie*, i. 629) discuss the question in detail, and agree in the conclusion that Jerome misunderstood Origen, from whom all his information about this Gospel was derived (see art. HEBREWS [GOSPEL ACCORDING TO THE] above, p. 338 ff.). Lipsius considerably modifies his acceptance of Jerome's statement by his confession: 'One thing is certain, that at various times and in different circles it took very different shapes'; he frankly recognizes the existence of 'contradictory phenomena,' and suggests that the Gospel known to these Fathers was 'a recast of an older original' (*op. cit.* ii. 711).

2. By those who regard this Gospel as an independent work it is often called 'The Gospel of the Ebionites.' In their view the Ebionites who composed and used it were not Jewish Christians who observed the Mosaic law, though to them the name was first given (Orig. *adv. Cels.* ii. 1); they were the heretical sect of Ebionites, more correctly described as Elkesaites, and characterized by 'an abhorrence of sacrifice and by an objection to the use of flesh meat' (cf. Salmon, *Introd. to NT*, p. 159 f.). Owing to the ambiguity in the meaning of 'Ebionites,' conflicting interpretations are given to the statement of Jerome (398) that the Gospel, of which he speaks indifferently as 'according to the Hebrews' or 'according to the Apostles,' was used 'by the Nazarenes and by the Ebionites' (*Comm. in Matt.* 12^{13}). If he means orthodox Jewish Christians, he is 'guilty of a confusion, and adds the Ebionites to the Nazarenes, though the two were identical' (Menzies, above, p. 339^{b}); if, however, he means Elkesaites, his original mistake in identifying two different Gospels may account for his mentioning together the two parties by whom the two Gospels were respectively used.

Epiphanius (377) was acquainted with a Gospel which the Ebionites called 'the Gospel according to Matthew, not entire and perfectly complete, but falsified and mutilated (*οὐχ ὅλῳ δὲ πληρεστάτῳ, ἀλλὰ νενοθευμένῳ καὶ ἠκρωτηριασμένῳ*), which they call the Hebrew Gospel' (*Hær.* xxx. 13). The last sentence has no weight, for Epiphanius also says that Tatian's *Diatessaron* was called the Hebrew Gospel (*op. cit.* xlvi. 2); the value of his statement consists in its correct description of the Gospel of the Twelve Apostles, of which he alone has preserved fragments, neither lengthy nor numerous, but sufficiently extensive to prove that the author of this Gospel used Matthew's narratives or his source, mutilating it, and falsifying it by additions which have an Elkesaite tinge.

ii. CONTENTS.—The extant fragments of this Gospel are found in one of the writings of Epiphanius (*Hær.* xxx. 13-16, 22). Zahn gives the Greek text (*Geschichte des NT Kanons*, ii. 725) of all the passages that in his judgment are quotations. (Cf. Preuschen, *Antilegomena*, 9 ff.; also Westcott, *Introd. to Study of Gospels*, 465 ff.).—

1. 'The beginning of their Gospel is this: It came to pass in the days of Herod, king of Judæa (in the high priesthood of Caiaphas), that a man called John came baptizing with a baptism of repentance in the river Jordan, who was said to be

of the race of Aaron the priest, a son of Zacharias and Elisabeth; and all went out to him' (cf. Mt 3^1, Lk 1^{13}).

2. 'There arose a man called Jesus, and he was about thirty years old, who chose us. And when he came to Capernaum he entered the house of Simon who was surnamed Peter, and opened his mouth and said: As I passed along the Lake of Tiberias I chose John and James, sons of Zebedee, and Simon and Andrew and Thaddæus and Simon Zelotes and Judas Iscariot; and thee Matthew I called as thou wast sitting at the receipt of custom, and thou followedst me. Therefore, I wish you to be twelve Apostles, for a testimony unto Israel' (cf. Mt $4^{12f.\ 18ff.}$ $9^{9f.}$, Lk 3^{23}).

3. 'And John arose baptizing; and Pharisees went out to him and were baptized, and all Jerusalem. And John had raiment of camels' hair, and a girdle of skin about his loins; and his food (the Gospel says) was wild honey, the taste of which was the taste of manna, like a honey cake steeped in oil' (cf. Mt $3^{7ff.}$).

4. 'When the people were baptized, Jesus also came and was baptized by John. And as he came up from the water, the heavens were opened, and he saw the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove, which came down and came upon him. And a voice came from heaven, saying: Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I am well pleased. And again: To-day have I begotten thee. And immediately a great light shone round about the place; and John, when he saw it (the Gospel narrates), says to him: Who art thou, Lord? And again a voice came from heaven to him [John]: This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. And then (the Gospel says) John fell down before him and said: I beseech thee, Lord, do thou baptize me. But he forbade him, saying, Suffer it, for thus it is becoming that all be fulfilled' (cf. Mt $3^{13ff.}$).

5. 'I came to put an end to sacrifices, and unless ye cease from sacrificing, [God's] anger will not cease from you.'

6. = Mt 12^{47-50}; the last verse reads: 'They who do the will of my Father are my brethren and mother and sisters.'

7. 'Have I earnestly desired to eat this flesh, the Passover, with you?' (cf. Lk 22^{15}).

Westcott adds—

8. 'They say, according to their absurd argument: It is sufficient for the disciple to be as his Master' (cf. Mt 10^{25}).

iii. CHARACTER AND TENDENCIES.—The foregoing extracts furnish the material upon which any judgment as to the characteristics of this Gospel must be based. Its verbal agreements with the canonical Gospels are evident; references to parallel passages in the Synoptics might have been multiplied. Zahn inclines to the view that its author made use of all four Gospels (*Geschichte des NT Kanons*, ii. 732 f.), though he grants that dependence on the Fourth is doubtful. The use of the Johannine designation 'Lake of Tiberias' is noted, and the unique position of John at the head of the list of the Apostles. The most striking parallels with Luke occur in extracts 1 and 7. It is certain that the writer had access either to the Synoptic Gospels or to their sources; but it is also evident that he has altered the meaning of some passages and made additions to others. His heretical tendencies appear in 5, which gives expression to the Elkesaite abhorrence of sacrifices; in 7, which disparages the Passover by adding the word 'flesh' and by turning our Lord's statement into a question to which a negative answer is implied. The vegetarian practices of the sect account for the omission in 3 of 'locusts' from the Baptist's food; the comment of Epiphanius on this passage is instructive, and his play on words shows that he was using a Greek and not a Hebrew text of Matthew: 'that they may convert the word of truth into a lie, and put *honey-cakes* (ἐγκρίδας) for *locusts*' (ἀκρίδας). It is plain from 1 that this Gospel had no narrative of the birth of Jesus and no genealogy; but these omissions may not have any significance, for the story of the virgin-birth was accepted by some Gnostic Ebionites, and the resemblance to Mk 1^1 is obvious. The account of the baptism of Jesus should be compared with the corresponding narrative in the Gospel according to the Hebrews (Nos. 3 and 4. See HEBREWS [GOSPEL ACCORDING TO], above, p. 341^b); the different traditions embodied in the two Gospels supply a strong argument for their distinctness. This section also shows that the author did not always make skilful use of his sources; the statement that Jesus forbade John is irrelevant, and inconsistent with the context. Only eight Apostles are mentioned in 2, but the emphatic reference to 'the Twelve' in the immediate context imparts probability to the suggestion that the omission of four names is due rather to a scribe's error than to the author's carelessness.

The examination of the contents of the extant fragments of this Gospel yields slight evidence for its dependence upon the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and brings to light differences in the parallel narratives which point to the use of different sources. The facts have a satisfactory explanation, if the Gospel is a distinct work compiled to some extent from good material by an author who did not scruple to modify the Evangelic tradition, and to introduce spurious details in order to adapt his work to the principles and practices of a heretical Ebionite sect. The inconsistencies presented by the extant passages of this Gospel are so marked as to lead Westcott to contemplate the possibility that the information of Epiphanius may have been 'derived from different sources'; but he does not exclude the alternative and, on the whole, more probable view that the incongruous elements 'had been incorporated in the Gospel in the time of Epiphanius' (*Introd. to Study of Gospels*, p. 466).*

Zahn assigns an early *date* to this Gospel (170), but his argument is not convincing. He supposes Clement of Alexandria (*c.* 190) to refer to it when he says that 'the Lord announced in some Gospel or other: My mystery is for me and for the sons of my house' (*Strom.* v. 10, 64). The ultimate source of this saying is the LXX rendering of Is 24^{16}; but in what apocryphal Gospel Clement found his version of the passage it is hazardous to affirm. This Gospel was known to Origen, and it reflects a Gnostic form of Ebionite teaching; the latter part of the 2nd or the early part of the 3rd cent. is the probable date of its composition.

LITERATURE.—A. Meyer in *Die Apokryphen des NT*, p. 24. See Hilgenfeld, Harnack, Zahn, Westcott, in *opp. citt.*

C. 2. *PHILIP, GOSPEL ACCORDING TO.*—

i. Evidence of existence.
ii. Contents of extant Fragment.
iii. Characteristics. Date.

i. EVIDENCE OF EXISTENCE.—The Coptic-Gnostic work known as *Pistis Sophia* testifies to the existence, in the second half of the 3rd cent., of a Gospel ascribed to Philip. This Apostle is represented as having written in a book the mysteries which the risen Lord revealed to His disciples: '*Et quum Jesus finisset dicere hæc verba, exsiliens Philippus stetit, deposuit librum, qui in sua manu, iste γὰρ est, qui scribit res omnes, quas Jesus dixit et quas fecit omnes*' (see Harnack, *Christliche Urlitteratur*, i. 14, where the whole passage is quoted). *Epiphanius* (377) knew that the Gnostic heretics, against whom he wrote, used a Gospel which bore Philip's name (εἰς ὄνομα Φιλίππου τοῦ ἁγίου μαθητοῦ εὐαγγέλιον πεπλασμένον). He quotes from it the passage given below. *Leontius of Byzantium* (d. 543) states that the Manichæans had composed a Gospel of Philip; but that he is referring to the work known to Epiphanius cannot be affirmed (*de Sectis*, iii. 1).

ii. CONTENTS OF EXTANT FRAGMENT.—The passage quoted by Epiphanius (*Hær.* xxvi. 13) from this Gospel is thus translated by Lipsius (*Dict. Christ. Biog.* ii. 716): 'The Lord revealed to me what the soul ought to say when she mounts to heaven, and what answer she should give to the higher powers: "I have known myself and gathered myself together, and begotten no children for the Archon of this world, but have torn up his roots, and gathered the scattered members; and I know thee and who thou art! for I also am descended from the upper world."'

---

* The quotations given by Epiphanius from this Gospel have been compared by J. Rendel Harris with the contents of a Syriac MS edited by him. In his judgment the Syriac work is an extract from an adaptation of an earlier lost Gospel, and not a version of the Gnostic Gospel of the Twelve Apostles (*The Gospel of the Twelve Apostles*, etc., edited from the Syriac MS, Camb. 1900).

iii. CHARACTERISTICS.—The Fragment has a few points of contact with the Fourth Gospel, but the resemblances are too slight to prove dependence (cf. Jn 11^{52} 8^{23}). The ascetic and Gnostic tendencies of the work are both manifested in the single sentence, 'I have begotten no children for the Archon of this world.' Lipsius notes that this brief extract also dwells on a favourite theme of Gnostic writings, viz. 'The prayers of the departing soul as she passes through the various heavens' (*op. cit.* 716).

Zahn (*Geschichte des NT Kanons*, ii. 767) thinks it probable that Clement of Alexandria (*c.* 190) had the authority of this Gospel for his assertion that it was Philip to whom our Lord said, 'Leave the dead to bury their own dead,' etc. (Lk 9^{60}). Whence Clement derived this tradition cannot now be determined, but the conjecture cannot be accepted as evidence for an early *date*. Harnack decides for the end of the 2nd or the first half of the 3rd cent., and bases his argument on the nature of the Gnosticism which the extant Fragments of this Gospel reflect.

C. 3. *MATTHIAS, GOSPEL ACCORDING TO.*—

i. Evidence of existence.
ii. Conjectural identifications.
iii. Supposed contents.
iv. Origin and date.

i. EVIDENCE OF EXISTENCE.—*Origen* (*c.* 246) mentions a Gospel κατὰ Ματθίαν (*Hom.* 1 *in Luc.*), and *Eusebius* (*c.* 324) places it, together with the Gospels according to Peter and to Thomas, in his list of 'heretical' writings (*HE* iii. 25). The name of this Gospel is also found in later lists of apocryphal works, but no writer who uses this title gives any quotation from the Gospel.

ii. CONJECTURAL IDENTIFICATIONS.—*Hippolytus* (155–235) states that the Basilidians appealed to 'secret discourses' which had been communicated to them by Matthias, who had been privileged to receive private instructions from our Lord: 'φασὶν εἰρηκέναι Ματθίαν αὐτοῖς λόγους ἀποκρύφους, οὓς ἤκουσε παρὰ τοῦ σωτῆρος κατ' ἰδίαν διδαχθεὶς' (*Philos.* vii. 20). If from other sources the contents of this Gospel were known, it might be possible to identify it with these ἀπόκρυφοι λόγοι, but the reference is not of necessity to a 'writing' (Lipsius, *Dict. Christ. Biog.* ii. 716); and it would be satisfactorily explained if the Gospel of Basilides, mentioned by Origen (*tract.* 26 *in Matt.* 33, 34), claimed for the teaching of his school the authority of Matthias. The name of one who was not chosen to be an Apostle during the life of Jesus would naturally suggest itself to a Gnostic writer who knew that the only way to trace his doctrine to our Lord was to invent the fiction of secret teaching given to an Apostle in the interval between the resurrection and the ascension.

Clement of Alexandria (175–200) quotes three passages from the 'Traditions of Matthias' (Παραδόσεις Ματθίου). The three quotations given below are respectively introduced by the following formulæ: 'Matthias exhorting in the "Traditions" says'; 'They say that Matthias also taught thus'; 'They say in the "Traditions" that Matthias, the Apostle, constantly said.' Clement refers to the work known as the 'Traditions of Matthias' with respect. In the first passage he mentions it between Plato's *Theætetus* and the Gospel to the Hebrews; in the second passage he quotes its teaching immediately after a reference to our Lord's saying about the impossibility of serving 'two masters,' these being, in his view, 'pleasure and God.' Lipsius and Zahn identify this work with the Gospel according to Matthias mentioned by Origen. Lipsius allows that the identification is a conjecture; Zahn enters into a detailed argument in support of the suggestion (*Geschichte des NT Kanons*, ii. 751 ff.). But Harnack's refutation of this theory is powerful and convincing. In the earlier part of his work (*Christliche Urlitteratur*, i. 18) he speaks with qualified approval of Zahn's arguments in favour of identification, and assigns to them a measure of probability; but his more mature judgment is that they are inconclusive (*Chron.* ii. 597). In the work known to Clement the speaker is not our Lord, but Matthias. Neither this fact nor the title 'Traditions' is favourable to the hypothesis that it was in reality a Gospel. Some of Zahn's reasoning is based upon conjectural emendations of the text; but, unless these subjective alterations are accepted, the authorities he quotes refer not to Matthias but to Matthew.

iii. SUPPOSED CONTENTS.—The passages quoted by Clement of Alexandria from the 'Traditions of Matthias' are given here because they have an interest of their own apart from their relation to the Gospel according to Matthias, of which it is probable that we know nothing but the name.

'Wonder at the things present, for that is the first step towards a knowledge of the things beyond' (*Strom.* ii. 9).

'The flesh must be fought and evil entreated, and its unbridled lust must in no wise be yielded to; but the soul must grow through faith and knowledge' (*Strom.* iii. 4).

'If the neighbour of an elect person sin, the elect one sinned. For if he had conducted himself as the word enjoins, his neighbour would have so reverenced his manner of life as not to sin' (*Strom.* vii. 13).

iv. ORIGIN AND DATE.—In accordance with the views already expressed, nothing can be said of the 'Gospel according to Matthias,' except that it was known to Origen in the early part of the 3rd century. The 'Traditions of Matthias' was quoted with respect by a Christian Father towards the close of the 2nd cent., and it appears to have been highly esteemed by Gnostics on account of its ascetic teaching, though in the extant fragments there is nothing extravagant. Harnack finds in the phrase 'as the word enjoins' (ὡς ὁ λόγος ὑπαγορεύει) the stamp of Greek philosophy; but this is by no means certain.

C. 4. *BASILIDES, GOSPEL ACCORDING TO.*—

i. Evidence of existence.
ii. Character and contents. Date.

i. EVIDENCE OF EXISTENCE.—*Origen* (*c.* 246) is the oldest and probably the sole authority for the statement that Basilides (*c.* 133), the founder of a Gnostic school in Egypt, 'had even the audacity (ἐτόλμησε) to write a Gospel κατὰ Βασιλίδην' (*Hom. in Luc.* 1). Later writers who express a similar judgment, but can scarcely be quoted as independent witnesses, are *Ambrose* (*Exp. in Luc.* 1) and *Jerome*, who includes a 'Gospel of Basilides' in his list of Apocryphal Gospels (*Præf. in Matt.*).

ii. CHARACTER AND CONTENTS.—More is known of Basilides' *Exegetica*, a commentary on 'the Gospel,' than of the Gospel which he is said to have written. Agrippa Castor, to whom Eusebius (*HE* iv. 7) refers as a 'most renowned writer,' who 'exposed the error' of Basilides, says that he 'wrote twenty-four books upon the Gospel' (εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον βιβλία). A more specific title (Ἐξηγητικὰ εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον) is given to this work by Clement of Alexandria (175–200), who quotes from the twenty-third book (*Strom.* iv. 12) a passage which treats of the relation of sin to suffering and martyrdom. Lipsius thinks that Basilides is endeavouring to base his Gnostic teaching on an exposition of Lk $21^{12ff.}$; but Zahn suggests Jn 9^{1-3}, to which the resemblances are closer (*Geschichte des NT Kanons*, i. 767; cf. McGiffert, *Eusebius*, p. 179, n. 12).

Another fragment from 'the thirteenth book of the treatises (*tractàtuum*) of Basilides' is preserved in the *Acta disputationis Archelai et Manetis*, c. 55 (see Galland, *Bibl. Patr.* iii. 608). This passage contains an exposition of the parable of Dives and Lazarus (Lk 16). Zahn traces to the *Exegetica* the Basilidian teaching about marriage in Clement (*Strom.* iii. 1), where the reference is clearly to Mt $19^{11.12}$. It is reasonable to assume that the 'Treatises' and 'Expositions' of Basilides are different titles for the same work. In regard to the number of the canonical Gospels upon which the *Exegetica* were based nothing can be positively asserted; but it is known that the schools of Valentinus and Basilides used the Gospels on which the extracts from this work are based. The *Exegetica* almost certainly includes John as well as Luke, probably Matthew also.

In regard to the relation of 'the Gospel' to the *Exegetica* different opinions are held. McGiffert (*op. cit.*) suggests that 'Origen mistook the *Exegetica* for a Gospel'; but it is necessary neither to ascribe this confusion to him, nor to suppose that he inferred the existence of an apocryphal Gospel from the variations from the text of the canonical Gospels in the passages upon which he comments. There is evidence that the followers of Basilides made use of the 'Traditions of Matthias' (Hippol. *Philos.* vii. 20), and that he claimed to have received instruction from 'Glaucias, the interpreter of Peter.' Herein may be found the explanation of his departures from the Evangelic tradition. There is nothing inherently improbable in the hypothesis, which seems best to account for all the facts, that in the interests of Gnostic doctrine Basilides wrote a Gospel and afterwards a commentary on it. His Gospel may be described, with Zahn, as 'a kind of Harmony'; but the sources from which his narrative was derived appear to have been used with considerable freedom.

The *date* of this Gospel and of the *Exegetica* is probably 130–140, the period when Basilides appeared as the founder of a sect.

D. Of the following Apocryphal Gospels little is known but their name. Use has been made of Hofmann's list, derived from Fabricius (in *PRE*^{3} i. 661)—

1. *ANDREW, GOSPEL OF.*—Possibly identical with the Gnostic 'Acts of Andrew' (περίοδοι 'Ανδρέου). Augustine refers to apocryphal writings of Andrew (*c. Adversar. Leg. et Prophet.* 20). See Lipsius, *Die apokr. Apostelgeschichte*, i. 543 f.

2. *APELLES, GOSPEL OF.*—Probably a mutilated version of a canonical Gospel by a disciple of Marcion. According to Epiphanius (*Hær.* xliv. 2) this work is the source of the familiar unwritten saying of our Lord: 'Become approved money-changers' (γίνεσθε δόκιμοι τραπεζῖται); see AGRAPHA, above, p. 349^b. Cf. Harnack, *De Apellis gnosi monarchia*, 1874, p. 75.

3. *BARNABAS, GOSPEL OF.*—Mentioned in the Gelasian Decree, but nothing is known of its contents unless fragments of it have been preserved in the Mohammedan Gospel of Barnabas. See White's *Bampton Lectures*, 1784, and Axon's article in *Journal of Theol. Studies*, April 1902, p. 441.

4. *BARTHOLOMEW, GOSPEL OF.*—Mentioned in the Gelasian Decree, and by Jerome (*Præf. in Matt.*), in surroundings which suggest that it was a Gnostic work. There is no sufficient reason for identifying this Gospel with the Hebrew Gospel according to Matthew, which Bartholomew is said to have taken to India (Eusebius, *HE* v. 10).

5. *CERINTHUS, GOSPEL OF.*—Mentioned by Epiphanius (*Hær.* li. 7). Hofmann thinks that this work was a mutilated version of the Gospel according to Matthew, similar to that which the Carpocratians used.

6. *EVE, GOSPEL OF.*—Mentioned by Epiphanius as in use among the Borborites, an Ophite sect of Gnostics (*Hær.* xxvi. 2 ff.). Harnack is doubtful if it can properly be called a Gospel. Lipsius describes it as a 'Gnostic doctrinal treatise, though presented, it may be, in an historical form' (*Dict. Christ. Biog.* ii. 717). Preuschen prints the extracts quoted by Epiphanius as a fragment of an Ophite Gospel (*Antilegomena*, p. 80). Jesus is represented as saying in a voice of thunder: 'I am thou, and thou art I, and wherever thou art there am I, and in all things I am sown. And from whencesoever thou gatherest me, in gathering me thou gatherest thyself' (cf. Ropes, *Die Sprüche Jesu*, p. 56).

7. *JUDAS ISCARIOT, GOSPEL OF.*—According to the testimony of Irenæus (*adv. Hær.* i. 31), Epiphanius (*Hær.* xxxviii. 1), and Theodoret (*Hæret. Fab.* i. 15), this work was in use among the Cainites, a Gnostic sect. Lipsius says that it represents Judas's betrayal as 'a meritorious action, and the traitor himself as the perfect Gnostic who destroyed the dominion of the Demiurge by bringing about the crucifixion of our Lord.'

8. *THADDÆUS, GOSPEL OF.*—Mentioned in some MSS of the Gelasian Decree, but nothing is certainly known of its contents. The name of the author may be intended for the Apostle, or for one of the Seventy who, according to tradition, was sent to king Abgar (see art. THADDÆUS in vol. iv. p. 741 f.).

9. *VALENTINUS, GOSPEL OF.*—Mentioned by Tertullian (*de Præscript. Hæret.* c. 49), and usually identified with the 'Gospel of Truth' (*Evangelium Veritatis*) on the authority of Irenæus (*adv. Hær.* iii. 11), who says (1) that the 'Gospel of Truth' was used by the Valentinians, and (2) that it departed entirely from the canonical Gospels. Zahn holds that the two Gospels were probably separate works (*Geschichte des NT Kanons*, i. 748).

J. G. TASKER.

DIDACHE.—

Discovery in modern times.
- A. THE PRIMAL DIDACHE.
  - i. The Didache of our MS.
    - (*a*) Title.
    - (*b*) Contents and structure.
  - ii. Materials for comparative criticism.
    - (*a*) Textual witnesses: (1) primary, (2) secondary.
    - (*b*) Historical *testimonia*.
    - (*c*) Conclusions.
  - iii. Genesis of the Didache.
    - (*a*) Genesis of the *Two Ways*.
    - (*b*) The witness of *Barnabas*; date of this witness.
    - (*c*) Origin of the fuller Didache.
    - (*d*) Its exact contents.
  - iv. Church conditions implied in the Didache.
  - v. Date.
- B. TRANSFORMATIONS UNDERGONE BY THE DIDACHE.
- C. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DIDACHE FOR EARLY CHRISTIANITY.

Literature.

Discovery in modern times.—The publication in 1883 of the early Christian manual popularly known as the *Didache* marks an epoch in the study of primitive Christianity. One might compare it to the rediscovery of the genuine Ignatian Epistles in the 17th century. But the comparison would do scant justice to its real significance, which lies in the way in which the *Didache* bears on a wide range of early writings, and on phenomena in them which it causes to stand out in new and clearer light. It is needful, then, to do more than consider the actual contents of our MS, written in 1056 by 'Leo, notary and sinner,' and discovered about 1875 in the library of the Jerusalem monastery in Phanar, the Greek quarter of Constantinople, by Philotheus Bryennios, a scholarly Greek ecclesiastic. One must also try to estimate the various literary and historical relations of the original work which the MS brings to our knowledge, and of which it remains the prime representative. In this MS, doubtless Palestinian in origin, it occupies 203 lines, of 53 letters on an average; so that it is about the size of St. Paul's letter to the Galatians. But in all probability the original work, with which we are mainly concerned, was slightly shorter. Accordingly, our inquiries will fall under three main heads, viz., (A) The primal Didache: its contents, genesis, date; (B) the transformations which it underwent in various circles; (C) its significance in the history of Christianity.

A. *THE PRIMAL DIDACHE.*—i. THE DIDACHE OF OUR MS.—(*a*) *Title.*—Of the two titles in the MS, 'Teaching of the XII Apostles' and 'Teaching of the Lord through the XII Apostles to the Gentiles,' it seems natural to regard the latter as the more original. One can hardly imagine the fuller and more individual title being added between the commoner one and the text proper. It is unlikely, however, that either of them belonged to the earliest form of the 'Teaching,' corresponding roughly to chaps. i.-vi. of our MS. This body of precepts touching the *Two Ways* may perhaps, in its oral stage, have had some descriptive title, such as 'the Way of the Teaching'* (see ταύτης τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς διδαχῆς in vi. 1), or 'the Way'; or it may have been known simply as 'the Teaching' (see ἄλλην διδαχήν in xi. 2, cf. vi. 1; cf. Barn. xvi. 9 αἱ ἐντολαὶ τῆς διδαχῆς, also xviii. 1), or 'Teaching of the Lord' (perhaps preserved in our second title, Διδαχὴ Κυρίου, κ.τ.λ., cf. ἐντολαὶ Κυρίου, iv. 12 f.), the God of Israel (see παρεκτὸς θεοῦ, vi. 1). This would accord both with the contents of the original *Two Ways* and with the phrasing in Ac 13^{12} ἐκπληττόμενος ἐπὶ τῇ διδαχῇ τοῦ Κυρίου, where reference has just been made to τὰς ὁδοὺς τοῦ Κυρίου τὰς εὐθείας (Hos 14^{10}). Here 'Teaching' has the objective sense of 'Doctrine.'

As Dr. C. Taylor† says, 'the primitive Church had, instead of a New Testament, a body of teaching, which was at first, from the nature of the case, wholly unwritten. To this St. Paul alludes when he lays down that a bishop must be blameless, "holding to the faithful word which is according to *The Teaching*" (Tit 1^{9}). Justin Martyr again expressly refers to it, speaking of Christ as attested "by the words of *The Teaching*, and the prophecies to Him ward" (*Dial.* 35). This teaching would sometimes be spoken of as the Lord's, and after a while as the Apostles' (2 Jn ^{9}, Ac 2^{42}), just as the Jews spoke of a Torah absolutely, and of a Torah of Moses, and of the Lord.' Certainly the way in which St. Paul refers to the 'type of teaching' (in relation to 'sin, unto death,' and 'obedience, unto righteousness') unto which the Roman Christians were 'committed' (Ro $6^{16f.}$), and which forbade the causing of division (διχοστασία, 16^{17}, cf. Did. iv. 3 οὐ ποιήσεις σχίσμα), is very suggestive of a recognized form of 'Teaching' to converts, on lines similar to those of our *Two Ways*. Still full proof is lacking that it was so styled.

Nor can we be sure of the title under which the Teaching was first written down. 'Teaching of the Apostles' (cf. Ac 2^{42}) is likely enough, especially if this was, as it appears, the earliest form in which it was known in Egypt. But, even were this more certain than it is, it would not necessarily be the original Palestinian form, which might be simply 'The Teaching' (like *Didascalia*, the title of a later Palestinian work suggested by our Didache). Still, the varied character of the witness to 'Teaching of the Apostles' rather supports this as the primitive title of the written *Two Ways*. Thus the Lat. version, the purest form of the *Two Ways* apart from our MS, has as its rubric *de doctrina Apostolorum*; so also Eusebius (*HE* iii. 25 τῶν ἀποστόλων αἱ λεγομέναι διδαχαί, which Rufinus renders *Doctrina quæ dicitur Apostolorum*), Athanasius (*Festal Epistles*, 39, διδαχὴ καλουμένη τῶν ἀπ.), and Nicephorus (διδαχὴ ἀποστόλων).

It looks, then, as if there were two distinct lines of transmission in the history of the *Two Ways*, of which the Latin and our MS are the types—a result borne out by textual criticism. The question of their mutual relations will be dealt with later on. Only, we may here observe that the phrase 'XII Apostles' is no less primitive than 'the Apostles' pure and simple. Thus in that part of the *Ascension of Isaiah* which represents a time prior to A.D. 100, it is 'the Twelve Apostles of the Beloved' who plant the Church (iv. 3); and it is 'the preaching (προφητεία) of his Twelve Apostles' that is forsaken by the mass of 'disciples' 'on the eve of His approach' (iii. 21). Hence the idea of 'the Lord's teaching through the Twelve Apostles to the Gentiles' is quite in keeping with an early date for the recension so described, especially if it belong to Palestine. And as it does not claim for its contents that they are the very words of the Apostles (cf. 'my child' in iii. 1-iv. 1), there is nothing pseudonymous about the work. It represents current teaching and usage at a time when it was natural to assume that these did but express the mind of 'the Lord'—which to the compiler of our Didache doubtless means, as in several other places (viii. 2, ix. 5, εἰς ὄνομα Κυρίου, xi. 2, 4, 8, xv. 4, xvi. 1, 7 f.), the glorified Christ.

(*b*) *Contents and structure.*—As it stands in our MS, the Didache has real organic unity. A natural development of thought is traceable throughout (save perhaps in one section near the beginning), as will appear from the following summary.

There are Two Ways in this world, one of Life and one of Death—so radically different are they. The Way of Life consists of love, (1) to God our Maker, (2) to one's neighbour as to oneself: this involves refraining from doing to another what one would not have done to oneself.

'Now of these words the Teaching is as follows':—

The Evangelical precepts which follow in our MS exemplify the thought of positive love to man, flowing from love to God. But the latter idea, the first element in the Great Commandment, is not formally developed. It is regarded as fulfilled in relation to man as God's image, whether in the fuller way represented by our MS, or up to the level of the negative form of the Golden Rule, which practically replaces the positive in the exposition or 'teaching' of the Way of Life in its original form (see below).

Then comes a section dealing with practical love to one's fellow in the spirit of the Sermon on the Mount, in which forgiveness of wrong and the relief of physical need by one's own goods are emphasized. In the latter case a warning to the recipient is appended, as to his final accountability to God, if he take save when in want; likewise he who has whereof to give is bidden to make sure that he finds a fit recipient.

---

* Cf. 2 P 2^{2} ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ἀληθείας (τῆς δικαιοσύνης, 2^{21}); and Ac 9^{2} $19^{9.23}$ 'the Way,' 18^{25} 'the Way of the Lord,' 22^{4} 'this Way,' 24^{14} 'the Way which they call heresy,' 24^{22} εἰδὼς τὰ περὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ.

† *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles: Two Lectures*, p. 112.

The exposition of the negative form of the Golden Rule opens (ch. ii.) with the words, 'Now the second precept of the Teaching (is).' It consists of an expansion of the second table of the Decalogue, beginning, after Jewish usage, with 'Thou shalt not kill'; but it also inserts the Third Commandment against perjury, in close connexion with false witness. The expansion in question is in terms of vices to which paganism was specially addicted.

The incidence of pagan failings explains the reversal of the order as to homicide and adultery found in the Latin version. This change confirms the view that its text represents Alexandria rather than Palestine; Dt $5^{17f.}$ LXX, cf. *JQR* xv. 309 ff.

No mention is made of the Sabbath or of honour to parents. The former seems to be omitted intentionally; the latter may be taken for granted, or may be omitted because pagan parents *must* be disobeyed. Abstinence from idolatry is naturally assumed: thus in iii. 4, vi. 3, things are forbidden as leading to or implying idolatry. This section ends with what is its keynote—prohibition of all evil purpose or feeling against another. Indeed it goes further: 'Thou shalt not hate any man; but some thou shalt rebuke, and for some thou shalt pray, and some thou shalt love above thine own life.'

The next section (ch. iii.), which has a unity of its own as regards its first five or six precepts at any rate (indicated by the recurrence of 'my child'), passes to the subtler sort of sins, which lead on to the grosser kind already dealt with. It makes the moral ideal more searching and exhaustive. In Jewish phrase, 'it fences the Law': 'My child, flee from every evil, and from everything like unto it.' Its Jewish colour is very evident; and the cardinal sins to which others lead are homicide, adultery, idolatry, theft, blasphemy. In contrast to the haughty and self-assertive temper, to which the last of these is traced, there follows a series of exhortations to humility of spirit and conduct which have a more specifically Christian ring; and the section ends with an exhortation meekly to accept the dispensations of Providence as good (which may once have followed the last of the more Jewish precepts, in an oral body of *catechesis* for proselytes to Judaism).

An easy transition to the last class of duties (ch. iv.), those of life in the religious community and family in particular, is presented by the inculcation of reverential docility towards 'him who speaks the word of God'; 'for where the lordship is spoken, there is the Lord' (a truly Jewish maxim). And here follow precepts on consorting with 'the saints'; on the avoidance of disunion, partiality in judgment, a doubtful mind; on selfishness and beneficence—the latter marked by a cheerful spirit, in view of Divine recompense and of the brethren's fellowship in the greater goods of immortality; on parental discipline and the mutual relations of master and bond-servant (2–11). The whole ends with the summary precepts:[*] 'Thou shalt hate all hypocrisy and whatsoever is not pleasing to the Lord. Thou shalt not abandon the Lord's precepts, but shalt keep what thou didst receive, neither adding nor taking away. In meeting thou shalt openly confess thy transgressions (cf. Ja 5^{16}), and shalt not come to thy prayer with a bad conscience. This is the Way of Life.'

The Way of Death (ch. v.) is simply the opposite of all this, and takes the form of a List of Vices (§ 1 follows the order of chs. ii.–iii.), a common topic both in classical and Jewish literature.

In Judaism, indeed, there seems to have existed something like a standing list, to judge from the many points of contact between this list and those in the NT (*e.g.* Mk $7^{21f.}$, Ro $1^{29ff.}$, 1 Co $5^{10ff.}$, 2 Co 12^{20}, Gal $5^{19\cdot 21}$, Col 3^{5}, 1 Ti $1^{9f.}$, 2 Ti $3^{2ff.}$), on the one hand, and the traditional Confession of Sins in the Synagogue (*Vidui*), taken along with Wis $14^{22ff.}$, the Slavonic Enoch $10^{4f.}$, and Test. XII Patriarchs (Reuben 3, Levi 17), on the other: cf. *Clem. Hom.* i. 18, xi. 27, *Recogn.* iv. 36. Note the Jewish alphabetic number 22 in § 1: see Rendel Harris, *Teaching*, 82 ff.

Instruction in the 'Two Ways' ends (ch. vi.) in our MS with warning against deviation from 'this way of (the) Teaching' as deviation from God's truth. To which are added two postscripts: 'If, then, thou art able to bear the whole yoke of the Lord, thou shalt be perfect: but if thou art not able, what thou canst, that do. But touching food (βρῶσις), bear what thou art able; yet of that (food) which hath been offered to idols beware exceedingly; for it is a service of dead gods.'[*] The significance of these will be dealt with in the sequel.

Such was the Teaching[†] which should ring in the ears of the Gentile convert as he took upon himself the vows of Christian baptism. Of this, in a simple[‡] form, the manual now goes on to speak (ch. vii.). And as it refers to fasting as an accompaniment of baptism, it passes naturally to the stated Christian Fasts and Prayers (ch. viii.),—in each case as contrasted with those of 'the hypocrites' (*i.e.* unbelieving Jews). Next comes a description of the special Eucharistic prayers preceding and following the actual eating of the Church's sacred meal (lit. 'being filled'). A striking feature of both groups of prayers is their reference to the fulfilment of the feast, and of its imagery, in the consummated state of the Church in the kingdom of God. It is added, however, that the liturgical forms here given (chs. ix. x.) are not to bind 'prophets' in Eucharistic prayer.

At this point the manual pauses once more, to call attention to all that has gone before (ταῦτα πάντα τὰ προειρημένα) as the norm of true teaching on the matters in question, and the test of such as are to be received as teachers. 'If the teacher himself turn and teach another teaching to the undoing (of this), hear him not; but if to the increase of righteousness and knowledge of the Lord, receive him as the Lord' (xi. 2). And so we are led naturally to a description of the ministry of the Word, which is of the 'prophetic' or heaven-sent type. 'Apostles,' or divinely prompted missionaries,[§] are described quite briefly, as being rather exceptional visitants. They are first named in conjunction with the prophets,[‖] as persons provided for by 'the rule of the gospel' (κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου); and then follow one or two rough and ready rules for their treatment, as they pass through existing churches on the way to their mission-fields (cf. 3 Jn $^{5\text{-}8}$). 'Prophets' occupy more space, probably as being a subject of more practical interest for those addressed. The need of tests, as between genuine and spurious claimants to the high authority and functions conceded to him who had the spirit of prophecy (a prime mark of the Messianic age, Ac $2^{17f.}$), was becoming acutely felt. But the simplicity of the tests here supplied—those of character merely, where the recognized phenomena of 'speaking in Spirit' were present—shows that the age of 'enthusiasm' is still far from over (cf. Jude $^{12.\ 19}$, 2 P $2^{1f.\ 13}$). As these two types of itinerant ministry are to be received according to certain rules, so the ordinary Christian stranger needs handling with prudence, including cases in which he wishes to settle among his new friends (ch. xii.). This in turn suggests the case in which even a prophet desires to settle in one community. His support is provided for by the principle that 'the labourer is worthy of his meat'; and this applies also to 'teachers,' a less spontaneous and more local type of the inspired ministry.* But it is the prophets, above all, who answer to the highest ministry under the OT; 'they are your chief priests' (esp. as offering the sacrifice of prayer at the Eucharist, x. 7, xiv. 1-3); and accordingly, to them, in the first instance, fall the first-fruits of various kinds (those specified are mainly country produce). Failing a prophet, first-fruits go to the poor (ch. xiii.).

---

[*] Probably part of the original framework of Jewish oral *catechesis*; cf. the re-emergence of 'my son' in the Latin version, which may here preserve an original touch.

[*] Wis 13^{10} 'But wretched they, and in dead (things) their hopes: for that they called "gods" the works of men's hands.'

[†] Compare the 'foundation of repentance from dead works and of faith towards God' in He 6^{1}, with its own further διδαχή attached.

[‡] Simpler originally than what now stands in Did. vii. 2–4; see below, iii. (*d*) *ad fin.*

[§] By this time called 'evangelists' in most regions outside Palestine; cf. Eph 4^{11}, 2 Ti 4^{5}, Ac 21^{8} (written for non-Palestinian readers), Euseb. *HE* iii. 37; yet see Rev 2^{2}.

[‖] An unworthy 'apostle' is called a 'pseudo-prophet' (xi. 5)

After this excursus on matters of Discipline in relation to brethren coming to the community from outside,—suggested, it seems, by the mention of prophets in connexion with the Eucharistic Meal,—the compiler turns again to the chief features of internal church order, and so to the Eucharist, the stated Breaking of Bread on the Lord's day,† to lay down the conditions of its 'pure' observance (ch. xiv.). This depends on prior confession of trespasses (cf. iv. 14) between those uniting in the sacred 'sacrifice' of praise in prayer. None may partake while out of harmony with his fellow;‡ so shall their sacrifice of prayer§ be that pointed to by Mal $1^{11.\ 14}$. The thought of the Church's gathering on the Lord's day leads to mention of the local ministry, 'bishops' and 'deacons,' as those who, in a sense, share the sacred ministry (λειτουργία) primarily belonging to the ministers of the Word, prophets and teachers. Hence they are not to be looked down upon because their own special functions are of a humbler order, but are to rank as associates of their more gifted colleagues in the honour of the ministry (xv. 1, 2). With this apology for the administrative ministry, elected by the local community itself (and now assuming greater importance than in the past), the compiler returns to the thought of fraternal discipline, already alluded to in connexion with the Eucharist. He uses terms which imply that it was a matter of the Church itself, and not only of its bishops and deacons, and enjoins that it be dealt with 'as ye have it in the Gospel' (cf. Mt $18^{11ff.}$). This same Gospel standard ‖ is to regulate their supplications (εὐχάς) and alms and all their actions (xv. 3, 4).

Finally, let them 'watch' in the interests of their 'life,' to be ready when the Lord comes. The last days may be very near, marked by abundance of pseudo-prophets and corrupters (already on the horizon, xi. 2) and by degeneration of the sheep. Then, as lawlessness increases, hatred shall go the length of persecution and treachery among the brethren, until there shall appear the world-deceiver as God's Son, with signs and wonders, and run a course of temporary triumph. Thus mankind shall be tested, and even many believers shall fail: 'but those who shall endure in their faith shall be saved by the curse* itself.' And then shall appear the signs of the truth: first, the sign of outspreading (the Crucified with outspread arms) in heaven;† next, the sign of a trumpet's voice; and third, resurrection of the dead—not of all, however, but, as it was said, 'the Lord shall come and all the saints with Him.' 'Then shall the world see the Lord coming upon the clouds of heaven.'

ii. MATERIALS FOR COMPARATIVE CRITICISM.—In view of this summary most will agree with Harnack (Herzog's *PRE*^{3} i. 713) when he says: 'Even if we knew nothing of the document from separate tradition, were aware of no later recensions of it, and were not in a position to supply its sources, we should—apart from some passages in the first chapter, which, in any case, raise the suspicion of being later additions—have to acquiesce in the assumption of the integrity of the writing.' Perhaps this is to overlook one or two secondary features in chs. vii.-xvi., particularly ch. vii.; but, broadly speaking, it is true. When, however, we turn to the traces of the work in the ancient Church, and to certain related documents that have reached us, perplexities and complications arise on every hand. These we must now examine, yet without ignoring the unity in style and language, as well as in feeling, which marks our Didache as a whole.

(*a*) *Textual witnesses:* (1) Primary—

(*α*) A = *Apostolical Constitutions*, vii. 1-32. This embodies the whole of the Didache, almost as found in our MS—the *Two Ways* largely *verbatim* (1-21), the rest with more reserve; but throughout occur large additions meant to suit the taste of certain circles of Syrian Christians in the latter half of the 4th century. Its special value lies at once in the relative completeness of its use of our Didache, and in the fact that it belongs, broadly speaking, to the same region.

It opens with the reference made by 'the lawgiver Moses' to choice between the Ways of Life and Death (Dt 30^{19}), and having cited the words of 'the Lord Jesus,' 'No man can serve two masters,' continues: 'As in duty bound (ἀναγκαίως), we also, following the Teacher (διδασκάλῳ), Christ, . . . say that "Two Ways there are,"' etc. This rather points to knowledge of Διδαχὴ Κυρίου in the title, just as the opening of the *Apost. Const.* as a whole, πᾶσι τοῖς ἐξ ἐθνῶν πιστεύσασιν, points to τοῖς ἔθνεσιν. As to the *Twelve* Apostles, this is found in the title of the *Didascalia* (see below), the basis of *Apost. Const.* i.-vi., which runs: 'The Didascalia, or the Catholic Teaching of the Twelve Apostles and holy disciples of our Saviour.'

(*β*) B = *Epistle of Barnabas*. In chs. xviii.-xx. it quotes the bulk of the *Two Ways* as found in Did. i.-v., but in a very different order and with some textual variation (partly due to freedom of citation, partly, perhaps, also to original textual differences). There are slight echoes of the *Two Ways* in other parts of the Epistle, as also a rather close parallel in iv. 9, 10 to Did. xvi. 2. The great value of the Epistle of Barnabas is that it supplies an early date (see below, iii. (*b*)) in the literary history of the Didache.

(*γ*) CO = *Apostolic Church Ordinances*, 1-14. This compilation of about A.D. 300‡ does for the Egyptian Church what *Apost. Const.* vii. does for the Syrian; it works up the local recension of the Didache into a form more accordant with current sentiment. This work (which exists in Greek, Coptic, and Syriac) is our chief witness for the textual transmission of the *Two Ways* in Egypt; for there is no proof that the Epistle of Barnabas was written in Alexandria, rather than to it. Thus it is by the aid of CO that we are able to recognize the next document as a witness to the Egyptian type of text. But CO has one or two features due to the Epistle of Barnabas also.

---

* Ja 3^1 'Become not many of you teachers, my brethren'; cf. Ac 13^1, 1 Co 12^{28}, Eph 4^{11}, 1 Ti $5^{17f.}$, 2 P 2^1, Barn. i. 8, iv. 9.

† Κυριακὴ κυρίου, perhaps as replacing the σάββατον κυρίου of the OT; cf. ch. viii., where new fast-days are prescribed.

‡ 'Transgression between man and his fellow the Day of Atonement does not expiate, until his fellow be reconciled' (Mishna, *Yômā*, viii. 9; cf. Mt $5^{23f.}$, Ja 5^{16}).

§ So the citation of this passage in *de Aleatoribus*, iv., has 'ne inquinetur et impediatur *oratio* vestra'; cf. Tert. *Apol.* 30, *adv. Marc.* iv. 1.

‖ Cf. Mt $5^{23f.}\ 6^{5ff.}$, Mk 11^{25}, for the conditions of true supplications (with an implied vow, εὐχάς), and Mt 6^{1-4} for alms.

* For the idea of salvation through suffering, for Messiah's people as well as for Messiah, see Barn. viii. 6: 'In his kingdom there shall be evil and foul days, in the which we shall be saved: for he who suffers pain in the flesh is healed through the foulness of the hyssop'; cf. vii. 11 and Rev 1^9.

† Mt 24^{30} 'the sign of the Son of Man in heaven' (so *Apost. Const.* vii. 32).

‡ The shorter recension found in Cod. Ottob. and two other MSS (see T. Schermann, *Eine Elfapostelmoral*, München, 1903) may be rather earlier.

(δ) L=The Latin version. Until recently this was known only in a fragment (Cod. Mellicensis), ending with Did. ii. 6^a. But in 1900 it was published by J. Schlecht from a complete 11th cent. MS, now at Munich, and extending to vi. 1, after which come two or three concluding paragraphs peculiar to itself (see below). This version probably belongs to the 4th cent. (cf. Schlecht, *Die Apostellehre in der Liturgie der Kathol. Kirche*, 67 f.), and its value is great in two directions. It tends to confirm the idea that the original *Didache* consisted of the *Two Ways* and nothing more; and it is a most important textual witness in conjunction with CO and Barnabas. As to L and what of CO answers to it, we may say in general that they represent the same type of text at different stages of deviation from its primal form. On the whole L is further from our MS, and this not only because of such liberties as are natural to a translator. Sometimes it or its Greek original omitted and transposed,* and sometimes adopted additional touches from Barnabas and Hermas, at least in the opening paragraph.

'Viæ duæ sunt in sæculo, vitæ et mortis, *lucis et tenebrarum. In his constituti sunt angeli* duo, unus æquitatis, alter iniquitatis.' Here the words in italics echo Barn. xviii., *ἡ τε τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ ἡ τοῦ σκότους . . . ἐφ' ἧς μὲν γὰρ εἰσι τεταγμένοι φωταγωγοὶ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐφ' ἧς δὲ ἄγγελοι τοῦ Σατανᾶ.* L's deviation from B in describing the angels is due to Hermas, *Mandates*, vi. 2. 1, *δύο εἰσὶν ἄγγελοι μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, εἷς τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ εἷς τῆς πονηρίας.* In view of this, one must assign to Hermas, *Mand.* ii. 4, the addition to iv. 8 (rather mangled at the end) of '*Omnibus enim dominus dare vult de donis suis.*'

As to its ending, L has special features which deserve attention. It runs as follows :—

(1) '*Abstine te, fili, ab istis omnibus, et vide ne quis te ab hac doctrina avocet, et si minus extra disciplinam doceberis.* (2) *Hæc in consulendo si cotidie feceris, prope eris vivo deo; quod si non feceris, longe eris a veritate.* (3) *Hæc omnia tibi in animo pone et non deciperis de spe tua* [*sed per hæc sancta certamina pervenies ad coronam per Dominum Jesum Christum regnantem et dominantem cum Deo Patre et Spiritu Sancto in sæcula sæculorum.* Amen].'

Here we may safely set aside the words in brackets as late, and probably due to the translator. But it is otherwise with the rest. As to 1, the fact that the injunction to avoid the things of the Way of Death is separated from immediate connexion with that section, is probably a mistake; while '*doctrina*' is secondary as compared with *ὁδοῦ τῆς διδαχῆς*, and '*extra disciplinam*' as compared with *παρεκτὸς θεοῦ*. On the other hand, L seems to preserve the more original form in '*abstine te, fili,*' the plural of our Didache being an adaptation to its fresh setting in the larger work. In 2 we may at present set aside '*in consulendo*' as ambiguous (yet see below, iii. (*b*)). But the simple religious phrase '*prope eris vivo deo*' looks at once primitive and Jewish in type; and the thought occurs that it is equivalent to 'thou shalt be a true proselyte.'† So Philo speaks of the proselyte as 'deserting to God' or 'to the Truth' (cf. Did. v. 2^a), which corresponds exactly to the terms of L's antithesis. If this view be correct, L probably preserves the original form of Jewish-Christian 'Teaching' to converts, while Did. vi. 2, 3 represents the fresh form given to this clause by the author of the fuller Didache, in terms of current Palestinian conditions at the time when he wrote. In this light, 3^a, with its reference to the believer's Hope, may also be original,* corresponding in function to the eschatological reference in Did. xvi.

(ε) Sch=The *Life of Schnudi*, an Egyptian monk of the Thebaid, who died about A.D. 451. Here we have in an Arabic version (ed. Iselin, *Texte und Unters.* XIII. i.) the bulk of the *Two Ways, i.e.* i.–iv. 8 (so CO) and traces of v., vi. 1.

(2) Secondary witnesses: containing textual evidence of a fragmentary or uncertain nature, like that of the *Sibylline Oracles.* The parallels in these, as in most of the writings here named, will be found in J. Rendel Harris' *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.*—

Ignatius, *Smyr.* xiii. 1, *Magn.* iv.—Did. xvi. 2. *Preaching* and *Apoc. of Peter* (ed. M. R. James, 82). Hermas (*Mand.* ii. etc.)—our Didache. 2 Clement—apparently our Didache (xiii. 4, xvi. 4, Did. i. 3, 5; xvii. 3 f., Did. xvi. 1 f.). *Apol. of Aristides*, ch. xv. Justin—our Didache (Taylor, *Expositor*, III. vi. 359 ff.). Theophilus, *ad Autol.* ii. 34 *fin.* Irenæus—Did. i. 1, 5, xiv. 3; see below. Tertullian, *adv. Marc.* iv. 1—Did. xiv. 3, iv. 14. Clement of Alexandria—explicitly iii. 5 (calling it 'Scripture'), implicitly i. 5, iii. 2, ix. 2. Hippolytus, *Philosoph.* ix. 23—implicitly ii. 7; cf. i. 3. Origen†—implicitly ix. 2. Pseudo-Cyprian, *de Aleatoribus* (ch. iv.; Did. xiv. 2, xv. 3)—explicitly. Clementine Homilies. Pseudo-Clement, *de Virginibus. Didascalia* (Syriac and Latin). Lactantius and Commodian—echoes of *Two Ways* only. Athanasius, *Syntagma Doctrinæ*—clear traces of i.–vi., less clear of xii., xiii.; *de Virginitate*—quotes or paraphrases, ix., x.; *Fragment περὶ ψευδοπροφητῶν*, cf. xi., xii. Pseudo-Athanasius, *Fides Nicæna* and *Didascalia cccxviii. patrum*, two recensions of the *Syntagma*, in which the Did. is freely used. Serapion (of Thmuis, in the Delta), in his Prayer-Book, *c.* 350 A.D., quotes from ix. 4. Optatus, *de Schismate Donatist.* i. 21, quotes iv. 3^a. Augustine cites Did. i. 5 *fin.* (see below, iii. (*d*)). *Canons of Basil* (Egyptian, 5th cent.) uses the *Two Ways.* Severinus, *Doctrina de Sapientia*—explicitly (*Two Ways*, and perhaps more). *Benedicti Regula*, iv. (*Two Ways*). John Climacus (*c.* 580)—implicitly i. 4, 5. Dorotheus of Palestine (*c.* 590)—implicitly iii. 1, 10. Boniface of Mainz, *Admonitio (S. Petri) sive prædicatio S. Bonifatii*, appears to know more than the *Two Ways.*

(*b*) *Historical testimonia*—

[Irenæus. The authenticity of the Pfaffian Fragment is too dubious to warrant citation of its *δευτέραι τῶν ἀποστόλων διατάξεις*].

Pseudo-Cyprian, *de Aleatoribus*, iv., 'Et in *Doctrinis apostolorum*: Si quis frater delinquit in ecclesia et non paret legi, hic nec colligatur donec pœnitentiam agat, et non recipiatur ne inquinetur et impediatur oratio vestra' (Did. xiv. 2, xv. 3).

Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 25, *Ἐν τοῖς νόθοις* (here =non-canonical books) *κατατετάχθω καὶ τῶν Παύλου πράξεων ἡ γραφὴ ὅ τε λεγόμενος Ποιμὴν καὶ ἡ Ἀποκάλυψις Πέτρου καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἡ φερομένη Βαρνάβα ἐπιστολὴ καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων αἱ λεγόμεναι Διδαχαί*—where Rufinus has *Doctrina quæ dicitur apostolorum* (so the Syriac).

Athanasius, *Festal Epistles*, 39, *ἐστὶ καὶ ἕτερα βιβλία τούτων ἔξωθεν, οὐ κανονιζόμενα μὲν τετυπωμένα δὲ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἀναγινώσκεσθαι τοῖς ἄρτι προσερχο-*

---

* Cases of omission or compression occur in iii. 3, 4^a, 8^a, iv. 13^a, 14^a, v. *fin.* (*πανθαμάρτητοι*); of transposition, in ii. 2, 3, where a different ethical emphasis is in view (CO is nearer our MS); of slight insertion, as i. 1, 'in sæculo'; ii. 2, 'deum *æternum*'; iii. 7, '*sanctam* terram'; iii. 9, 'nec honorabis te apud homines'; iv. 3, 'sciens quod tu judicaberis' (after 'judica juste').

† See art. PROSELYTE in present work, vol. iv. p. 134^a; cf. *Apoc. Bar.* 41^3 'who have forsaken vanity and fled for refuge beneath thy wings.'

* The 'Teaching' as known to Barn. xxi. 1 seems to have had some such closing exhortations.

† Origen's quotation of what occurs in Did. iii. 10 is probably from Barnabas, which he has just cited. So the echo of the same passage in Dionysius of Alexandria may also be indirect.

μένοις καὶ βουλομένοις κατηχεῖσθαι τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας λόγον· Σοφία Σολομῶντος καὶ Σοφία Σιρὰχ καὶ Ἐσθὴρ καὶ Ἰουδὶθ καὶ Τωβίας **καὶ Διδαχὴ καλουμένη** *τῶν* **ἀποστόλων** *καὶ ὁ Ποιμήν.*

Optatus, *l.c.*, 'Et in capitibus mandatorum, *Non facies scisma*' (Did. iv. 3^a).

Rufinus, *Comm. in Symb. Apost.* 38, 'In Novo vero Testamento libellus qui dicitur Pastoris sive Hermæ, [et is] qui appellatur *Duæ Viæ vel Judicium secundum Petrum.* Quæ omnia legi quidem in ecclesiis voluerunt, non tamen proferri ad auctoritatem ex his fidei confirmandam.' These are 'Ecclesiastical,' not 'Canonical' books. But they are not 'Apocryphal,' or such as were not to be read in church. This distinction should be borne in mind in considering the following, and especially the silence of Western lists of canonical and other books, like that of Codex Claromontanus and the *Decretum Gelasii.*[*]

Nicephorus, *Stichometry* (using list of sæc. v.–vi.).
καὶ ὅσαι τῆς νέας ἀντιλέγονται·
Ἀποκάλυψις Ἰωάννου στιχ. 1400
,, Πέτρου ,, 300
Βαρνάβα ἐπιστολή ,, 1360

. . . .

ὅσα τῆς νέας διαθήκης ἀπόκρυφα·
Περίοδος Παύλου
,, Πέτρου
,, Ἰωάννου
,, Θωμᾶ
Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Θωμᾶν
Διδαχὴ ἀποστόλων στίχ. 200

. . . . .

Catalogue of the Sixty Books.
καὶ ὅσα ἀπόκρυφα·
(OT apocryphal books, mostly not in LXX)
Ἰακώβου ἱστορία
Πέτρου ἀποκάλυψις
Περίοδοι καὶ Διδαχαὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων
Βαρνάβα ἐπιστολή
Παύλου πρᾶξις

. . . .

The importance of this entry, which recurs in a list in Cod. Barocc. 206, is that the analogy of the *περίοδοι* of Apostles (seen from Nicephorus' list to include separate works) points to more than one work known as *Διδαχὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων*; and this in turn casts back light on Eusebius' phrase. On the other hand, the Syriac and Latin versions of Eusebius suggest that only one work of the name was generally known in Syria and Italy respectively, towards the end of the 4th century.

(*c*) *Conclusions.*—The impressions conveyed by this body of evidence may now be stated. (1) Knowledge of the *Two Ways* (=Did. i.–vi.) is far more general than that of the full Didache. (2) But in this matter a broad distinction long existed between Palestine, or Syria, and other centres of Christianity. In the former, the two seem to stand on much the same level down to Eusebius, though after his day one of them tended to fall out of use. This was probably the fuller form, now superseded by the *Didascalia* and *Apost. Const.* (3) Elsewhere the bulk of the rules in the full Didache seem never to have suited existing usage, or at least speedily fell out of touch therewith. Hence it is mainly the Eucharistic parts[†] which have left traces on the literature of the 2nd and 3rd cents., both in Egypt and in the West. Yet several Egyptian witnesses of the 4th and 5th cents. show various adaptations of phrases occurring in Did. xi.–xiii. Similar phenomena also crop up later in the West, possibly through use of such secondary sources. (4) In any case the *Διδαχὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων* meant to Athanasius, if not already to Clement, the shorter work, which was adapted to the instruction of catechumens. It was a book for general Christian edification, like *Wisdom* or the *Shepherd*; whereas the fuller work was known only to scholars, and by them used in an historical sense and as largely out of date. In the West, at least in Italy, to judge from Rufinus' words (compared with his Athanasian model), we gather that even the *Two Ways* had been given a local or Petrine setting. (5) All this tells against the view (*e.g.* of Funk) that the *Two Ways* as a distinct work was secondary, having been separated from the larger Didache for catechetical purposes. But it favours the theory that the full Didache reached Alexandria, from Palestine, only after the primitive Didache had become firmly established there. (6) Finally, there is no proof that the full Didache ever existed in Latin.

iii. GENESIS OF THE DIDACHE.—(*a*) *Genesis of the 'Two Ways.'*—Setting aside the theory that the full Didache (with or without i. 3^b–ii. 1) was prior to the *Two Ways* as a separate work,—which seems as little supported by internal[*] as by external evidence,—we must start from a closer consideration of the *Two Ways* as the nucleus of the whole. In substance it is clearly of Jewish origin. This is proved both by its structure and by its constant parallels with purely Jewish literature, and particularly with Rabbinic sources. This was first demonstrated by Dr. C. Taylor, and is reaffirmed, even to excess, by a Jewish scholar like Dr. Kohler.

Kohler's collection of Jewish parallels (*The Jewish Encyclopædia*, vol. iv., art. 'Didache') to the idea of 'two ways,' etc., is full and valuable. But he outruns the evidence when he assumes that the 'Jewish manual' (which he hastily infers to have existed) had matter bearing on love to God which the Christian redactor omitted. His *obiter dicta*, that 'the whole book has fallen into disorder,' and that 'the whole first part of the "Didache," dealing with monotheism, was tampered with by the Christian editor,' are baseless conjectures.

Specially Jewish is the section in which the path to the graver sins is fenced by warnings against the lighter ones (iii. 1 ff.), each such warning being prefaced with 'My son.' Probably this section was borrowed from a self-contained unit of Jewish teaching for Gentile proselytes (including iv. 1). Of such instruction, which was sure to take more or less fixed shape on the lines of the Decalogue,[†] we have a good deal of indirect evidence (cf. Ro $2^{19ff.}$). And it is obvious that the first efforts of Jewish Christians, like the Hellenist missionaries of Acts, to instruct their Gentile converts, would naturally proceed on the existing lines. Hence we can well conceive the genesis of the Jewish-Christian *Two Ways* out of the oral *catechesis* of missionary Judaism. But there is no evidence that there was ever a purely Jewish *Two Ways* in writing, or even that all the elements in our *Two Ways* ever before existed as a unity. Indeed, some of its precepts were probably the creation of the new and gentler Christian spirit—a spirit well represented by the positive form of the 'Golden

---

[*] As the Didache is not among 'Apocrypha,' it may have been one of the *Opuscula atque tractatus orthodoxorum patrum* not specified, to which perhaps the Epistle of Barnabas also belonged.

[†] Possibly the early prevalence of the use of Wednesday and Friday as fast-days, and of the three Jewish stated hours of prayer, also implies the influence of Did. viii. Again, Justin's *ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ*, touching the president's Eucharistic prayer, may echo Did. x. *fin.* *ὅσα θέλουσιν.*

[*] Unless the *Two Ways* had lain before the compiler of the Didache, he would hardly have written 'my child' in iii. 1–iv. 1, his own tendency being shown in the 'children' at the end of the Way of Death, and the plurals throughout chs. vii.–xvi. Nor can we imagine i. 3^b–ii. 1, vi. 2–3, being *omitted* by any one compiling a manual for catechumens subsequent to the date of the full Didache.

[†] Kohler (*l.c.*) points out that such emphasis on the Decalogue, especially in the Diaspora, was probably greater before Christian disparagement of the other Mosaic laws, as temporary usages, made Judaism more guarded in the matter.

Rule,' in contrast to the negative. In the original framework of the *Two Ways*, this negative form, 'according to the traditional Jewish * interpretation' (Kohler), practically cancels the larger spirit of the words of Lv 19^{18}; so that on it the exegesis or 'teaching' proceeds. This defect was soon felt by the Christian consciousness, and was rectified in the fuller Didache.

Of course it is impossible to assign an upper limit to the date in the history of Christianity, when something like the *Two Ways* began to be used in the preparation of raw Gentile converts for baptism. But, in the endeavour to trace its earliest written form and to assign a rough date to it, the *Epistle of Barnabas* is our primary authority.

(*b*) *The witness of 'Barnabas.'*—Its witness, indeed, is ambiguous, and has been read in opposite ways by different scholars. One thing is certain, namely, that Barnabas did not know Did. i. 3^{b}–ii. 2; else it would not have failed to echo these more Evangelical precepts. But the evidence, as we shall see, is rather against the fuller Didache ever having existed without them, and to this extent against Barnabas' use of it in any form. The affinity of thought between iv. 9 f. and Did. xvi. 2 does not prove the opposite; † both may be independent expressions of sentiments current in the same region and period (cf. He 10^{23-25}). But, confining the issue at present to the most primitive Didache, does Barnabas presuppose a written or only an oral *Two Ways*? Probably the former.

The striking verbal agreement with the very phrasing of the *Two Ways* (as found in Didache, CO, and L), conjoined with great freedom of treatment,—involving changes in thought, as well as insertions and omissions,—all this points to use of a document rather than to quotation from a familiar stereotyped tradition. For an author would be less inclined to upset the order and wrest the sense of a body of teaching which he had learned by long use.

In the case of Barnabas, moreover, the use of such a fixed tradition is the less likely in view of the writer's sense of superiority to the religious ideal embodied in the 'Teaching,' which he aims at adapting to a higher level of spirituality. He finds it a form of instruction for would-be Christians in the rudimentary principles of the new Way of Life: he turns it into a vehicle for imparting ethical 'insight' (*gnosis*) even to mature Christians, to whom he is ever saying, 'Let us become spiritual' (iv. 11). That is not the way a man treats the catechism of his own church,‡ a formulary engraven *verbatim* on his memory by constant use. It is rather the way of one who, finding a terse and time-honoured body of precepts current in a community of somewhat different traditions from his own, seizes on it from the outside, as it were, and adapts it with sovereign freedom to the edification of his own spiritual kith and kin. This, of course, involves a special view as to the genesis of Barnabas—a theory which takes its personal references seriously, and sees in its author a more or less itinerant teacher (cf. Did. xiii. 2). Yet it is a theory which also emerges naturally out of due analysis of that author's handling of the *Two Ways*.

Provisionally, then, we assume that Barnabas presupposes a written *Two Ways*, perhaps known simply as 'The Teaching' (cf. αἱ ἐντολαὶ τῆς διδαχῆς, xvi. 9) or 'Doctrine of the Lord'; but that this was only in the hands of certain church teachers, or was written down for the first time at his request and for his benefit. Thus the question of a written form at this stage is of very slight moment in the place where our author wrote his Epistle. In any case, it is probable that it was about the date of Barnabas that the *Two Ways*, after an oral career of some duration, passed into written form. It may be that in this form it speedily followed the Epistle itself to Alexandria, possibly to satisfy a demand for fuller knowledge of it created by the latter. Thus would begin the Egyptian line of tradition, which is best represented by the Latin version, and in which it seems always to have been known as 'Teaching of the Apostles.'

As to the contents of the 'Teaching' as known to Barnabas, there is good evidence that it embraced the bulk of Did. i.–v. (*i.e.* except i. 3^{b}–ii. 1, missing also from L, CO, Sch, etc.). The highly Jewish 'fencing of the Law' in iii. 1-6 would not commend itself to Barnabas, any more than the related iv. 1, which he modifies in a bold way (ὡς κόρην τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ for ὡς κύριον). But did he know ch. vi.? If so, in what form?

Immediately after the Way of Death in Barnabas we read: 'It is good, therefore, having learnt the ordinances (δικαιώματα) of the Lord, as many as have been written, to walk in them. For he that doeth them shall be glorified in the kingdom of God: he that chooseth those others (ἐκεῖνα) shall perish together with his works. For this cause is resurrection, for this cause recompense. . . . Near (is) the day wherein all things shall perish along with the Evil One. Near (is) the Lord and his reward. Again and again I entreat you: to each other (ἑαυτῶν) be good lawgivers; to each other (ἑαυτῶν) continue faithful counsellors (σύμβουλοι); take away from among you all unreality (ὑπόκρισιν).' This is certainly nearer to the line of thought in the Lat. than to our Did. vi. 2, 3. Nor should one overlook the parallelism between the ἑαυτῶν μένετε σύμβουλοι and L's '*in consulendo.*' But if Barnabas implies L's ending, what mean the points of contact which exist between Did. vi. 2 and Barnabas? Probably a common atmosphere (see below (*d*)).

But what date must we assign to Barnabas? As this is a crucial matter for our Didache, which was probably rather later, reason must be shown for fixing on the reign of Vespasian, in spite of much critical opinion to the contrary.

It is a mistake in method to rely mainly on the apparent reference in ch. xvi. to a rebuilding of the Jewish temple by the Romans as imminent. For such an expectation is quite as likely to have arisen in certain circles under Vespasian, soon after the staggering catastrophe of A.D. 70, as later under Hadrian. This being so, the dating in terms of Roman emperors, apocalyptically indicated in ch. iv., is really far more secure, when due note is taken of the very peculiar situation presupposed.

'And I saw the fourth beast to be wicked and strong, and more intractable than all the beasts of the earth; and how there arose from him ten horns, and from these a little horn, an excrescence (παραφυάδιον); and how that it abased at one stroke (ὑφ᾽ ἕν) three of the great horns.' Now when it is noted that the text of Dn $7^{7ff.}$, which is here explicitly cited, does not furnish the most distinctive phrases in this description (for which Barnabas' Greek is here given), we are sure that they contain at once its emphasis and the key to its author's meaning. Keeping this in mind, we perceive that the reign of Vespasian alone suits the conditions. He and his two sons were, for a student of apocalyptic on the look-out for striking phenomena rather than for strict Roman theory, 'three' conjoint heads of the empire, which might be smitten down 'at one stroke.' The stroke was to be delivered by Nero, reappearing as Antichrist, himself an 'offshoot' of the series of emperors, to which he had once belonged. In this solution Lightfoot and

---

* In view, however, of the fact that the maxim ὃ σὺ μισεῖς ἑτέρῳ μὴ ποιήσῃς is attributed to Cleobulus (one of the Seven Sages of Greece), and that this form is close to that found in To 4^{15} (ὃ μισεῖς μηδενὶ ποιήσῃς) and in Philo (ἅ τις παθεῖν ἐχθαίρει μὴ ποιεῖν αὐτόν), one is led to suspect that this form was first adopted by the Diaspora as a maxim already current among those they wished to convert (cf. Hillel's use of it). This assumption would account for its interpolation in the 'Western' text of Ac 15^{20-29}, and in a somewhat different form.

† The evidence of literary dependence, on the one side or the other, is weakened when we restore the text of Barnabas to its original form, by allowing for the reflex influence of the Didache on the Sinaitic MS (cf. Harris, 55 f.).

‡ This goes against the *Two Ways* being already in use in Egypt. Indeed, if Barnabas is addressed to Alexandria, the way in which the author cites and quotes *verbatim* this Teaching' excludes such an hypothesis.

Ramsay agree;[*] and it is hard to see why any should hesitate to accept it in some form, *e.g.* in Ramsay's, which includes Julius among the 'ten kings,' and excludes Otho and Vitellius as unlikely to count as emperors in Vespasian's day.[†] It is strange that any one should think that Nerva satisfies the unique situation hinted at by Barnabas, touching which he might well say to his contemporary readers, 'Understand, then, ye ought.' Further, it is natural to suppose that the coincidence between the political situation and Daniel would be noticed while the new conditions were still fresh in men's thoughts, that is, early in Vespasian's reign. Hence a date as early even as A.D. 71 is more likely than one towards the end of Vespasian's reign, especially as it would be before the Flavian rule was felt to be firmly established that the idea of Nero's return to overthrow the Flavians (like the shortlived emperors of 68–69) would most readily occur.

(*c*) *Origin of the fuller Didache.*—Assuming, then, that about A.D. 70, or soon after, the 'Teaching' of the *Two Ways* was already current in definite form in one or more of the Greek-speaking regions of Palestine (*e.g.* the Maritime Plain), how are we to imagine it growing into our Didache by the addition of the ecclesiastical sections (vii.–xv.) and the eschatological conclusion (xvi.), as well as the parts of ch. i. absent from other witnesses to the *Two Ways*? In the period following immediately on A.D. 70 there still existed in Palestine a strong sense that all sacred usages of the local Ecclesia rested upon the teaching of its Apostolic founders, particularly the Twelve. But it was also felt, with some dismay, that the personal influence of these authoritative exponents of the Gospel was yearly becoming less and less. Infirmity or death was rapidly removing those of them who had not already gone to other fields of work. How, then, was their influence to be preserved unimpaired, especially among Gentile believers, over whom it must from the first have been least assured, and who were most liable to change under outside influences, which would be at their maximum on the sea-board? Sooner or later the plan would suggest itself of putting into written circulation those usages which were held to be Apostolic, for the sake both of fixity and wider diffusion. Such a method was quite in keeping with Hellenistic habits, especially when influence on non-Jews was sought. Hence it was in every way natural that the first public catechism of the Christian life and of ordered Church fellowship should be addressed 'to the Gentiles.' It was equally natural that it should be issued by its Hellenistic author or authors as 'Teaching of the Twelve Apostles,' who were to all Palestinian Christians essentially *the* authorities as to their Lord's mind and will.[‡] Finally, what more natural than to adopt an existing body of precepts like the *Two Ways*, already held to embody Apostolic teaching on the duty of the Gentile turned Christian, and to enlarge the scope of the title 'Teaching'—even at the risk of making it cover rather more than it would suggest[§] to a Greek at any rate? As the enlargement of contents consisted mainly in the addition of matter distinctively Christian in character, the Teaching or Doctrine was now referred, no longer to 'the Lord' God, but to 'the Lord' Christ, the special source of His Apostles' teaching. Thus would arise the title 'Teaching of the Lord, through the Twelve Apostles, to the Gentiles.'

(*d*) *Its exact contents.*—But while, no doubt, this enlarged Didache from the first contained the bulk of chs. vii.–xvi., did it contain all or any of the precepts now found in Did. i. 3^b–ii. 1?

(1) Did. i. 3^b–ii. 1 reads as follows:—

> i. 3: 'Bless them that curse you, and pray for your enemies, but fast for them that persecute you. For what thank is there, if ye love them that love you? Do not even the Gentiles the same? But love ye them that hate you, and ye shall not have an enemy.
>
> 4: 'Abstain (thou) from fleshly and bodily lusts. If any one give thee a blow on the right cheek, turn to him the other also, and thou shalt be perfect. If any one compel thee to go with him one mile, go with him twain. If any one take away thy cloak, give him thy coat also. If any one take from thee what is thine, ask it not back, for neither canst thou.
>
> 5: 'Give to every one that asketh of thee, and ask not back; for to all the Father wills that gifts be given from his own bounties. Blessed is he that giveth according to the commandment; for he is guiltless. Woe to him that taketh; for if, indeed, any one having need taketh, he shall be guiltless; but he that hath not need shall give account wherefore he took anything and for what purpose; and being put in restraint, shall be examined concerning his conduct, and shall not come out thence till he have paid the last farthing. Yea, too, concerning this very matter it hath been said, Let thine alms sweat into thine hands, till thou have learnt to whom to give.
>
> ii. 1: 'And the second commandment of the teaching is'—

The problem is a delicate one, and the evidence is earlier and fuller for i. 5 than for i. 3, 4. Thus we have nothing in Hermas parallel to i. 3^b–4, as *Mand.* ii. 4–6 is parallel to i. 5; and the same holds also for Clement of Alexandria, if not for Irenæus.[*] Moreover, the phrase κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν (i. 5) occurs twice in xiv. 5, 7; so that it seems characteristic of the original compiler of the full work. Again, it is only what we should have expected if the mind which added vii.–xvi. should find something wanting in an exposition of love to God and one's fellow which began with illustration of the negative form of the latter, without a word on its positive aspect. And when we look at the contents of the precepts for which we suppose him responsible, we find the one in which κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν occurs to accord excellently with what we read in ix. 3. For there God's gifts of food and drink to mankind at large are referred to, and a verb (ἐχαρίσω) is used which contains the special notion expressed by the word for 'gifts' (χαρίσματα) in our passage.

The closing paragraph of ch. i. is of such importance, both for the date of our Didache and for its use in later times, as to merit special notice. 'But yet touching this topic, too, it hath been said, Let thy alms go on sweating into thine hands until thou perceive to whom to give' (ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τούτου δὲ[δὴ] εἴρηται, Ἱδρωτάτω ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη σου εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου, μέχρις ἂν γνῷς τίνι δῷς). The sense of this is doubtful. On the whole, it seems best to regard it as qualifying the idea of indiscriminate giving suggested in the foregoing paragraph, which simply puts the *onus* on the person who asks and receives under false pretences. Here it is to be observed, as Dr. C. Taylor has shown,[†] that the limitation is not so much of what has been actually said (viz. that every one *who asks* is to receive, without question), as of what might hastily be inferred from it, viz. that there is no place for restraint and discrimination in giving. There is, in fact, the case where a man is ready to volunteer alms; and then he is right to hold his hand, and let the means of giving (gained by one's sweat) go on gathering it in, until a fit recipient be found. But, whatever its meaning may be, this saying touched a very living question in ancient and mediæval

---

[*] Lightfoot, *Clement*, ii. 503 ff.; Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, 307–309.

[†] This is clearly true of Vitellius, but not equally so of Otho, who was dead before Vespasian became a candidate for the purple. Accordingly, the present writer prefers to reckon from Augustus and to exclude Vitellius only (so Eusebius, *HE* iii. 5. 1, who may here reflect the view of contemporary writings). It is probable that St. John's Apocalypse also reckoned from Augustus, in its similar passage, 17^{9-11}: see edition in the 'Century Bible,' 53 ff.

[‡] Here one may observe that vi. 3 represents the spirit of the *concordat* of Ac $15^{20.28f.}$, now seemingly applied with larger liberty for the individual conscience.

[§] Note the tendency to modify it as time goes on, whether into *Doctrinæ* (*de Aleatoribus*, iv.) or Διδασκαλια, the title of a work which was meant to supersede our Didache, at least as regards its ecclesiastical parts.

[*] The relations of Hermas and Clement to our Didache are discussed below (p. 446^a). As to Irenæus, the fragment (No. 10, ed. Harvey, ii. 477), ἐν ῳ ἂν τις δύναιτο (*var. lec.* δύναται) εὖ ποιεῖν τοῖς (*var. lec.* τοὺς) πλησίον καὶ οὐ (*var. lec.* μὴ) ποιεῖ, ἀλλότριος τῆς ἀγάπης (τοῦ) κυρίου νομισθήσεται, may well be an echo of Did. i. 5, read in its context as the fulfilment of the twofold law of love in i. 2.

[†] In an exhaustive discussion in *The Journal of Philology*. xix. 184 ff. See also the passage from John Climacus, below.

Christian ethics,[*] and so attracted a good deal of subsequent attention and comment. If, then, we may infer that the passage in the Did. is the fountainhead of this maxim in the Fathers and schoolmen, it proves that to some of them at least our Did. was known, down to the 5th cent. and later, and that in the West[†] as well as the East. It is true that at first sight the maxim, as introduced with εἴρηται, might seem to come rather from some OT Scripture, especially as Augustine cites it with '*et alio loco Scriptura dicit: Sudet*,' etc. But the nearest known OT passage is the ἐὰν εὖ ποιῇς, γνῶθι τίνι ποιεῖς of Sir 12^1; while, had a nearer been known to Augustine and others, they would somewhere have given us more than the former's *alio loco*. Hence we may conclude that Sir 12^1 is in fact the ultimate basis of the εἴρηται in the Didache, but that its phrasing of the maxim is in terms of some current (? Rabbinic) paraphrase of it (cf. ἐρρέθη in Mt $5^{33.\ 43}$).

This is so far confirmed by a passage in Nicetas' catena on Mt 5^{42}: 'We should do alms, yet with judgment and to the worthy, that we may *find a recompense from the Most High*.'[‡] In the words in italics there is a clear echo of Sir 12^2, so that what precedes is probably based on 12^1. Thus this passage in Sirach seems to have been the *locus classicus* for the idea of giving μετὰ κρίσεως καὶ τοῖς ἀξίοις,—to use Nicetas' words; and the more concrete saying under discussion was perhaps a current form of it.[§] Whether this maxim was already in the Didache as known to Clement of Alex. is an open question. But if we find him expressing the sentiment in immediate conjunction with the thought with which it is connected in the Didache, there is a presumption that he knew that work to contain it. Now this happens in his *Quis dives salvus*.[‖] May it not be, too, that the 'libellus ab apostolis' known by Origen to contain 'Beatus est qui etiam jejunat pro eo ut alat pauperes,' was our Didache expanded in i. 5?

We have yet to consider the relations of Hermas and the *Didascalia* to our Didache i. 5 as a whole. The *Didascalia* (as reconstructed from the Syriac and the Verona Latin fragment) has the following in bk. iv. 2, 3: 'Truly blessed is he who is able to help himself, and so avoid pressing on the place of (relief belonging to) the orphan, the stranger, and the widow. This grace, moreover, is of God. *But woe to those who have and hypocritically take, or who take when able to help themselves.* But every one who takes shall give account to the Lord God in the judgment-day, wherefore he took. . . . *He who has and takes hypocritically, or through laziness*, instead of working and so helping himself and others, *shall incur judgment* with God. . . . He, then, who gives simply (ἁπλῶς) to all, gives well, as far as he is concerned ('sicut est illi'), and is guiltless ('innocens' = ἀθῷος). He, too, who takes because of affliction (θλιβόμενος) . . . takes well, and shall be glorified by God in life eternal.' Here the words in italics seem simply to make more explicit the middle clauses of Did. i. 5, viz. 'Woe to him that takes; for if indeed any one having need takes, he shall be guiltless (ἀθῷος); but he that hath not need, shall give satisfaction (δώσει δίκην) why and wherefore he took.' As to the rest of the quotation, it seems to echo our Didache[¶] in its antithesis ἀληθῶς μακάριος, οὐαὶ . . . λαμβάνουσιν, which is parallel to Did. alone.[**] On the other hand, Hermas is the probable source of the other matter. For its form follows closely the phrasing of Hermas, *Mand.* ii. 5 f., *e.g.* οἱ μὲν γὰρ λαμβάνοντες θλιβόμενοι . . . ὁ οὖν διδοὺς (ἁπλῶς thrice in the immediate context, besides πᾶσιν ὑστερουμένοις δίδου ἁπλῶς above) ἀθῷός ἐστιν . . . ἔνδοξος παρὰ τῷ θεῷ . . . ὁ οὖν οὕτως ἁπλῶς διακονῶν, τῷ θεῷ ζήσεται. Further, the idea of the pious labour and merit of the recipient, in praying for the donor, may well come from *Sim.* ii. 6, 7, just as the idea of the needy as God's altar, here and elsewhere (ii. 26, iii. 6, 7, 14) in the *Didascalia*, goes back to Polycarp, *ad Phil.* iv. 3.

As to the relative priority of our Didache and Hermas, the case seems here as clearly in favour of the former as elsewhere.[*] But if so, it is probable that Hermas' repeated μὴ διστάζων (διακρίνων) τίνι δῷς ἢ τίνι μὴ δῷς is a protest against the μέχρις ἂν γνῷς τίνι δῷς of Did., and that consequently Ἱδρωτάτω, etc., stood in the Didache as known to Hermas, and is, in fact, perhaps echoed in ἐκ τῶν κόπων σου . . . δίδου. It seems, indeed, that Hermas' protest is twofold. He protests, first, against trying to distinguish the good and bad; it is enough that they be needy; that, he says, is God's own principle (cf. Mt 5^{45}). Then he goes further, and protests against trying to distinguish between real and apparent need; that, he says, is the receiver's look-out. But whatever Hermas may or may not have in mind, Did. i. 5 *fin.*, in writing ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τούτου δὴ εἴρηται, probably means to apply what follows only to the need of distinguishing real from feigned need: so *Apost. Const.* iii. 4, χρὴ γὰρ εὖ ποιεῖν πάντας ἀνθρώπους, μὴ φιλοκρινοῦντας τοῦτον ὅστις ἢ ἢ ἐκεῖνον· ὁ γὰρ κύριός φησι, Παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου· δῆλον δὲ ὡς τῷ χρῄζοντι κατ' ἀλήθειαν.

But we can hardly imagine the 'Teaching' proper, at any stage, to have opened abruptly with a section on giving; and, in fact, we observe in what immediately precedes in our MS that the phrase καὶ ἔσῃ τέλειος has its parallel in vi. 2. Nor is the parallel merely verbal. The idea of the phrase is probably the same in both cases, and belongs to the same mode of thought as meets us in Ja 1^{25} 2^{12} 3^2, touching a νόμος ἐλευθερίας and a τέλειος ἀνήρ in relation to it (cf. Mt 5^{48} 19^{21}).

The feeling that though a certain perfection of self-mastery was the Christian ideal, it could not be insisted upon for all in practice, seems to have been rather general among the second generation of Christians, when as yet even the most exacting Gospel precepts were taken seriously by all as the law of their new life. It meets us not only in Did. i. 4, vi. 2, 3, but also in Barnabas, and that in a way which does not point to dependence of the one on the other. In Did. vi. 2, 3 it takes this form: 'If, indeed, thou canst bear the whole yoke of the Lord, thou shalt be perfect; but if thou canst not, what thou canst, that do. But touching food, bear what thou canst; but of that offered to idols greatly beware, for it is worship of dead gods.' In Barnabas we read of 'the new law of our Lord Jesus Christ—without yoke of constraint as it is' (ii. 6); and of the spiritual, not ritual, obedience which belongs to it. On the other hand, we have in his *Two Ways* the exhortation, 'as much as thou canst thou shalt be pure (ἁγνεύσεις) in the interests of thy soul,' following on a specially exacting precept as to control of the tongue (xix. 8, cf. Ja 3^2 for the tongue as test of the 'perfect man'). This breathes the same spirit as speaks in Barn. iv. 11, 'Let us be spiritual, let us be a temple perfect to the Lord; as much as is in us, let us practise the fear of God; let us strive to guard his precepts.' Thus Barnabas has the same idea as Did. vi. 2, the meaning of which he helps to fix; but he puts it in his own way, without showing trace of Did. vi. 2 any more than of Did. i. 4.

Thus the author of our Didache intends his qualifying paragraph in vi. 2 to refer to the 'teaching' already given in i.–v.; and his recognition that 'the yoke of the Lord' includes what might overtax the moral power of some, becomes more natural if we suppose that he had in mind high counsels like those in i. 4, 5,[†] which he had himself introduced.

So far there seems good reason for holding that the full Didache originally embraced the precepts in Did. i. 4, 5. But was that all, and did it open, fitly enough, with the general precept, 'Abstain thou from bodily lusts'?

Ἀπέχου τῶν σαρκικῶν καὶ σωματικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν. Here there may be dependence on 1 P 2^{11}; but more probably σαρκικῶν is an interpolation from 1 P 2^{11}, to explain the less biblical σωματικῶν, which the *Apost. Const.* changes into κοσμικῶν. Cf. 4 Mac 1^{32} τῶν δὲ ἐπιθυμιῶν αἱ μέν εἰσιν ψυχικαί, αἱ δὲ σωματικαί. The present writer cannot think (with Ropes, *Die Sprüche Jesu*, 40) that this maxim is to be viewed 'as an abstract reproduction of such passages as Mt $5^{27\mathrm{ff.}}$'. It goes too closely with what follows. The best parallel is Hermas, *Mand.* xii., where all virtues are referred to ἡ ἐπιθυμία ἡ ἀγαθή (ὁ γὰρ φόβος τοῦ θεοῦ κατοικεῖ ἐν τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ τῇ ἀγαθῇ, 2, 4), and all vices to ἡ ἐπιθυμία ἡ πονηρά (Ἀπέχεσθαι οὖν δεῖ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν τῶν πονηρῶν, ἵνα ἀποσχόμενοι ζήσητε τῷ θεῷ, 2, 2). Cf. *Mand.* viii., with its maxim, ἡ

---

[*] Dr. Taylor is too ready to take the sense put upon the maxim by Augustine and later writers, specially in the West, as fixing its meaning in the Didache. Its original context in the Didache requires that the stress fall on the μέχρις ἂν γνῷς τίνι δῷς, *i.e.* the arrest of the impulse to give; while in Augustine, Cassiodorus, and Bernard, at any rate, the emphasis is on the *justum* which they insert ('*donec invenias justum cui eam tradas*').

[†] Here the divergences in text are against all being dependent on Augustine.

[‡] The exact parallel to *Apost. Const.* iv. 3 which follows in Nicetas, with Κλεμ. in the margin, is, in fact, derived from that work, Clement of Rome being its supposititious author. Its attribution to Clem. Alex. is due to a mere guess of Corderius, the first editor of Nicetas' catena, as is shown by F. X. Funk, *Kirchengesch. Abhandlungen*, ii. 126 f.

[§] Compare the Rabbinic saying, 'He that receiveth alms without needing the same, shall come to want before he dies' (*Kĕthûbôth*, 68*a*).

[‖] Ch. xxxi. *ad fin.*, where he says that the principle in Mt $10^{41\mathrm{f.}}$, as to making friends by the worldly Mammon, is even more divine than παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου, since it teaches one not to wait to be asked, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἀναζητεῖν ὅστις ἄξιος εὖ παθεῖν. That he has Did. i. 5 in mind, is suggested by his adding θεοῦ γὰρ ὄντως ἡ τοιαύτη φιλοδωρία to παντὶ, κ.τ.λ., as Did. adds, πᾶσι γὰρ θέλει δίδοσθαι ὁ πατὴρ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χαρισμάτων.

[¶] The *Didascalia* is certainly dependent on our Didache elsewhere (cf. Holzhey, *Die Abhängigkeit des syr. Didaskalia von der Didache*, München, 1898).

[**] The nearest known parallel is the sentiment in Ac 20^{35}, which the interpolated *Apost. Const.* iv. 3, actually substitutes here, in the form ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ κύριος μακάριον εἶπεν εἶναι τὸν διδόντα ἤπερ τὸν λαμβάνοντα.

---

[*] Dr. Taylor's paper in the *Journal of Philology*, xviii. 297 ff., almost amounts to demonstration on both issues.

[†] Cf. John Climacus (sæc. vi.) εὐσεβῶν μὲν τὸ αἰτοῦντι διδόναι, εὐσεβέστερον δὲ καὶ τῷ μὴ αἰτοῦντι· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἴροντος μὴ ἀπαιτεῖν, δυναμένους μάλιστα, τάχα τῶν ἀπαθῶν καὶ μόνων ἴδιον καθέστηκεν. This passage suggests that εἰ has fallen out from the phrase οὐδὲ γὰρ δύνασαι at the end of i. 4. 'Nay, not even if thou art able' would make good sense after 'Ask not back' thine own.

ἐγκράτεια διπλῆ ἐστίν· ἐπί τινων γὰρ δεῖ ἐγκρατεύεσθαι, ἐπί τινων δὲ οὐ δεῖ . . . ἐγκρατευσαι οὖν ἀπὸ πονηρίας πάσης, ἐργαζόμενος τὸ ἀγαθόν: so 2 *Clem.* xvi. 3, μὴ ἀντιπαρελκώμεθα ἀπὸ τῶν κοσμικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν.

No doubt this has reference to what follows,—repression of the instincts to 'hit back' and to hold fast one's possessions. For such instincts spring largely from bodily impulse, while unresentfulness (ἀνεξικακία, cf. Justin, *Apol.* i. 16) is a victory of spirit over body, a supreme form of self-control (σωφροσύνη or ἐγκράτεια). Yet, admitting this connexion, would the 'Teaching' or exposition of the fundamental commands in Did. i. 2 be likely to begin with unresentfulness, rather than with what we find in i. 3, as also in Lk $6^{27f.}$? It is hard to decide. The very fact that i. 2 does precede might make the compiler pass at once to the most concrete and practical examples of the spirit of love, viz. unresentfulness and active charity, rather than dwell further on the feeling of love [*] and its secret acts of prayer and fasting. Again, it is rather strange that in i. 3 (and there alone) the plural 'Bless ye,' etc., appears at the head of precepts purporting to be addressed to the individual catechumen. For it is not as though at this time the *ipsissima verba* of the Lord's precepts were felt to be too sacred to be adapted to the context in which they were cited. Yet such arguments seem weaker than those pointing to i. 3 as originally part of our Didache. For, first, our Didache really has in mind not the single convert, but Christians in general, as comes out in its 'May ye, children, be delivered from all these' (at the end of the Evil Way). Next, the clauses, '*fast* for those who persecute you,' 'and ye shall not have an enemy,' are not found in our Gospels; and the latter at least seems to have influenced Justin Martyr both in his *Dialogue* and *Apology*. Indeed, Justin practically follows i. 3 as a whole, where it deviates from our Gospels.

Apol. i. 15, εὔχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑμῶν καὶ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς καὶ εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμῖν καὶ εὔχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς. The sentiment καὶ οὐχ ἕξετε ἐχθρόν is traced in *Apol.* i. 14, *Dial.* 254 B, as also in *Clem. Hom.* xii. 32, by Dr. C. Taylor (*Expositor*, 3rd series, vi. 364 f., where Justin's relation to the Did. is examined). To which may be added *Apol. of Aristides*, 15, τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας αὐτοὺς παρακαλοῦσι καὶ προσφιλεῖς αὐτοὺς ἑαυτοῖς ποιοῦσιν. Nor does it seem mere accident that *Mand.* ii., which begins Hermas' exposition of the faith and fear of God, in enjoining childlike ἁπλότης and ἀκακία first specifies abstinence from καταλαλια (καὶ εὐθηνίαν πάντοτε ἕξεις μετὰ πάντων), and then deals with the duty of giving (ἁπλῶς).

To sum up. The fuller Didache seems, from the first, to have contained all, or very nearly all,[†] of ch. i. as it stands in our MS. Its title was the second and longer one of our MS, under which it was perhaps known to Hermas, whose Twelve Mandates (ἐντολαί), artificially drawn out to that number, seem suggested by those of the Twelve Apostles. Again, they and their teaching 'to the Gentiles' may be alluded to in the Twelve nations [‡] who inhabit the world, and to whom 'the Son of God was heralded by the Apostles.' Justin Martyr also shows himself familiar with the exact idea of this title, when he writes of τοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔθνους ἀνθρώπων διὰ τῆς παρὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ διδαχῆς πεισθέντας καὶ παραιτησαμένους τὰ παλαιὰ ἐν οἷς πλανώμενοι ἀνεστράφησαν ἔθη (*Apol.* i. 53, cf. ii. 2, τὰ καλὰ ἑαυτῷ συνεπιστάμενος διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδαχήν, τὸ διδασκάλιον τῆς θείας ἀρετῆς ὡμολόγησεν). And, indeed, it may well be that the very form in which Justin, in common with the *Kerygma Petri*, Hermas, 2 Clement, and the *Apology of Aristides*, conceives Christianity, viz. as revealed 'teaching' on virtue and vice, owes much to the influence on the first half of the second century of the Christianity set forth in the Διδαχὴ κυρίου διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τοῖς ἔθνεσιν. This would help to explain the degree to which 'moralism,' with its notions of the Divine ἐντολαί and μισθὸς δικαιοσύνης, colours that literature. Certainly the title of our book suits the attitude of orthodox circles in the closing years of the first century, when Papias was on the look-out for those who related τὰς παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου τῇ πίστει δεδομένας (ἐντολάς), as witnessed by personal 'disciples of the Lord' (Euseb. *HE* iii. 39).

(2) As to chs. vii.-xvi., it is usually assumed that they are homogeneous, and contain nothing alien to the original Didache in its enlarged form. But this is hardly accurate; and though the accretions are wonderfully few and slight, when we remember the nature of the Didache and the drastic handling to which in other forms it has been subjected (see below, B. 'Transformations,' etc.), it is the more worth while referring to them, that they furnish the sole excuse for a paradoxical theory that our Didache 'did not exist as a book before the 4th century.' [*] Besides a number of mistaken or inconclusive criteria of lateness,[†] the treatment of Baptism in ch. vii. is rightly appealed to as unprimitive. It is true that Affusion has here nothing to do with '*clinic* baptism' (as Dr. Bigg supposes), and therefore is not in itself a mark of late date. But the change of address, from the plural of the community to the singular of the officiating minister, suggests a later hand; and the suspicion is borne out by the *Apost. Const.* (in what it has and has not), as well as by the unusual concern for detail—the casuistry of baptism, so to speak—which marks these clauses. They find their fullest parallel in the *Clementine Homilies* (ix. 19, xi. 26, iii. 73, xiii. 9, 11), and may belong to about the same period. This applies to vii. 2, 3, and to the end of vii. 4. But the injunction to the baptizer and baptized to fast beforehand, and to any others who can to join them in this, is probably original (cf. Justin, *Apol.* i. 61, ἡμῶν συνευχομένων καὶ συννηστευόντων αὐτοῖς). Other minor secondary features are the form of the Doxology in ix. 4, which the quotation in Athan. *de Virg.* (with the parallel passage in the *Apost. Const.*) shows once to have been, as elsewhere in the Didache, σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα; and the possible insertion of ix. 5^b καὶ γὰρ περὶ τούτου εἴρηκεν ὁ κύριος, Μὴ δῶτε τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς κυσί. In this latter case the formula of citation εἴρηκεν ὁ κύριος is certainly not unprimitive; but the idea (the ἅγια ἁγίοις of later liturgies) is not found connected with Mt 7^6 before Clement (*Strom.* II. ii. 7) and Tertullian (*de Præsc.* xli.). Further, it duplicates what appears in more primitive form in x. 6^b, εἴ τις ἅγιός, ἐρχέσθω· εἴ τις οὐκ ἔστι, μετανοείτω; and the more elaborate parallel in *Apost. Const.*, which has the like

---

[*] Like *Test. Issachar*, 5, ἀγαπᾶτε κύριον καὶ τὸν πλησίον, πένητα καὶ ἀσθενῆ ἐλεᾶτε (the practical result of ἁπλότης to God and man).

[†] Observe the similar Evangelical matter in ch. xvi., which is generally admitted to have been part of the fuller Didache from the first. Yet while we find early traces of Ἱδρωτάτω, etc., *e.g.* in Hermas (see above, p. 446^b), it is otherwise with the penalty of the deceitful receiver; moreover, the connexion between Ἱδρωτάτω, etc. and what precedes would gain by its omission. But if an interpolation, it must be early, as it is not assimilated to our Gospels.

[‡] *Sim.* ix. 17. 1: so Dr. Taylor, *Journ. of Phil.* xviii. 298. Yet Hermas may rather have the spiritual analogue of the Twelve tribes of Israel in view (cf. Mt 19^{28}). It is noteworthy that in *Mand.* xii. 3. 2 we read συνετέλεσεν οὖν τὰς ἐντολὰς τὰς δώδεκα, and then follows a rebuke of the suggestion that these ἐντολαί are too hard for man to keep. It looks as if Did. vi. 2 were being abused in the practice of some. On the other hand, the νηστεία τελεία of *Sim.* v. 3. 6 transforms the τελειότης of Did. i. 4, vi. 2, into 'merit.'

[*] Dr. C. Bigg, *Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles* (S.P.C.K. 1898).

[†] Some simply turn into proofs of *very* early date, *e.g.* the following: 'At what date would it be thought lawful to publish the Lord's Prayer and a collection of Eucharistic prayers in a book of this description?' This seems to the present writer to tell rather heavily against the relatively late dates of Harnack and others, and in favour of a first century date.

thought without citing the words of Mt 7^6, shows how apt such an idea was to creep into the text. Finally, in xii. 5, the striking word 'Christmonger' (*Χριστέμπορος*, in contrast to *Χριστιανός* at the end of xii. 4) may be suspected of being late in origin. Certainly its use elsewhere is late, beginning perhaps with pseudo-Clement (*Epist. de Virg.* I. x. 4, xi. 4, xiii. 5) and Athanasius (*de Pseudo-proph.*, echoing Did.); nor does *Apost. Const.* make use of it, or indeed of xii. 2–5 as a whole. This, however, cannot do more than render the early date of xii. 5 or even xii. 2–5 rather less certain than that of the work as a whole. With such reservations, then, the original contents of the fuller Didache (probably as Hermas knew it) were practically those of our MS.

iv. CHURCH CONDITIONS IMPLIED IN THE DIDACHE.—This subject will be discussed more fully under C. Enough here to indicate certain features bearing on origin and date. Thus the degree to which its Christianity is still expressed in forms determined by Judaism, while yet its attitude to unbelieving Judaism ('the hypocrites') is one of bitter hostility, seems a highly primitive trait. It has more in common with the Epistle of James than with any other Christian document; only, the judgment which James felt near at hand has fallen, and has left Judaism as a whole still impenitent—apostate in the eyes of our author. Yet even he is swayed by Jewish sentiment in matters such as dietary restrictions (vi. 3), where inherited instinct would naturally leave a preference, even when Gentiles were concerned. And so vi. 3 shows a qualified survival of the compromise laid down in Ac 15^{20}, with a clear distinction between different elements in it: 'Now touching food, bear what thou canst; but of food offered to idols greatly beware, for it is worship of dead gods.' Observe, too, the natural, allusive way in which it is said: 'All first-fruits . . . thou shalt take and give as the first-fruits to the prophets; for they are your chief priests. . . . Take the first-fruits and give according to the commandment' (xiii. 3, 5, 7). It is the age of transition, when the old forms of Palestinian Judaism are being adapted to the new religion of the Spirit, of which the prophet is the type.

But it is in the Eucharistic forms that this primitive continuity of thought and feeling is most apparent. We are still in the atmosphere of 'the breaking of bread' as it appears in Acts. The ideal implied in the Didache might (with the substitution of second-hand for first-hand Apostolic teaching) be summed up in the words of Ac 2^{42} 'They were keeping steadfastly to the teaching of the Apostles and to the communion—the breaking of bread and the prayers.' 'The breaking of bread' in Thanksgiving (Eucharist) is still viewed as 'the expressive act by which the unity of the many, as partakers of the one Divine sustenance, is signified' (Hort, *Christian Ecclesia*, 44): and here we have samples of 'the prayers' in which the thanksgiving was expressed. When we examine these prayers, they are seen to be transformed Jewish *Bĕrākhôth* over food; only, the parallel between the bodily and spiritual food reappears in a yet more impressive form, and the looking forward to the restitution of the Davidic Kingdom (here alluded to in 'the Holy Vine of David Thy servant'), with the festal joy of a united and blessed Israel, receives a nobler Messianic meaning. Indeed, the more the parallel with Ac 2^{42-47} is studied, the more the identity of spirit comes out; and a conviction arises that the writings belong to nearly the same epoch [*] (cf. the *προφῆται καὶ διδάσκαλοι* of Ac 13^1 with Did. xiii. 1, 2, xv. 2). Particularly is this so, when we observe the agreement of Didache and Luke's Gospel (on either text) with respect to the order of the Cup and the Bread. For, however we may explain the liturgical usage here revealed, it is hard to believe that it would be thus enjoined, without a sign of embarrassment, once the Gospel of Matthew, with its opposite order in the story of the Last Supper, had become generally known in Palestine. Such a consideration tends to exclude the notion that the Didache means our Matthew in those cases where it cites 'the Gospel' (viii. 2, xi. 3, xv. 3, 4)—a view otherwise unlikely, owing to the fact that it also quotes Evangelical phrases found only in Luke. Add to this the nature of the ministry, especially the central significance of the prophet and the absence of any one presiding administrative official; the absence of any trace of public persecution, of any fixed creed, any conscious theological tendency, or any special heresy to be guarded against; and, finally, the type of its eschatology—and the general effect is that of a stage in primitive Christianity not later than the close of the 1st century.

J. Réville, *Les Origines de l'Épiscopat*, 260 f., well says: 'Certainly the compiler of the *Didache*, like all genuine Christians from the beginning, has a very lively sense of the unity of the Christian Society. But this unity is all spiritual and mystical: it does not yet manifest itself in any ecclesiastical organism. . . . The veritable organs of the essential unity of the Church are still the apostles and, above all, the itinerant prophets, all those who go from city to city, from village to village, to be the witnesses of one and the same evangelic tradition and the interpreters of one and the same Christian inspiration. Precautions have already to be taken concerning them, lest they abuse their position; but there is as yet no thought of subordinating them to any ecclesiastical authorities. The sovereignty of the Spirit is still undisputed, and knows no other control than that of the conscience of the faithful.'

v. DATE.—In trying to reach a yet more exact date, we are hampered by ignorance of the relative rate of development in different countries, especially as it happens that primitive features were likely to linger longest in Palestine, to which internal evidence points directly. Accordingly it is rash to say of Palestine, that after a given decade such a manual would no longer be in correspondence with its environment. Still it does seem possible to show that certain decades are more probable than others, even in Palestine. Nor is documentary evidence here quite so wanting as is often supposed, if we may take Dr. R. H. Charles' views on the *Ascension of Isaiah* as substantially correct. He shows that the striking Christian section (iii. 13^b–iv. 18)—which he gives reasons for believing to have belonged originally to a larger 'Testament of Hezekiah' (known to Cedrenus)—reflects conditions as they existed within the lifetime of the last of those who had seen their Lord in the flesh (iv. 13), *i.e.* not later than A.D. 100. Further, the Hebraic cast of the style and the circle of ideas in this section point strongly to Palestine, or at least Syria, as the region to which its descriptions apply most directly. Here, then, are data for testing the state of things implied in the Didache by criteria belonging to a similar local type of Christianity. The following quotations exhibit the main points of contact. After an account of the first advent of 'the Beloved' (*i.e.* Messiah as God's *παῖς*, as in Did. ix. x.; see Mt 12^{18}, citing Is $42^{1ff.}$) and 'the discipling of the Twelve' (*ἡ τῶν δώδεκα μαθητεία*), we read—

'He will send forth his disciples, and they shall disciple all the nations and every tongue unto the resurrection of the Beloved . . . and his ascension into the seventh heaven, whence he came: and many who believe in him will speak in the Holy Spirit. . . . And on the eve of his approach, his disciples will let go the preaching (*προφητείαν*) of his Twelve Apostles, and their faith and love and their purity (*ἁγνείαν*):

---

[*] The present writer assigns the Lukan writings, like Barn., to Vespasian's reign.

and there will be many factions on the eve of his approach. And there will be in those days many desiring to rule, though void of wisdom: and there will be many lawless elders and shepherds unjust towards their sheep, which shall be ravaged for want of pure shepherds. . . . And there will be much slander and vainglory . . . and the Holy Spirit will depart from the many: and there will not be in those days many prophets speaking sure things, but only one here and there in divers places, by reason of the Spirit of error and of fornication and vainglory and love of money, which shall be in those who will be called servants of that One and in those who will receive him. And there will be great hatred in the shepherds and elders towards each other.[*] For there will be much jealousy in the last days, for each will speak what is pleasing in his own eyes: and they will let go utterly the prophecies of the prophets who were before me (Isaiah): and these very visions they will treat as void, in order that they may utter the impulses of their own heart' (iii. 13–31).

Next follows a description of the descent of Beliar 'in the likeness of a man, a king, lawless, a matricide, one who himself—the king—will persecute the plant which the Twelve Apostles of the Beloved shall plant; and of the Twelve, one shall be delivered into his hands.' This Nero-Antichrist is then pictured as emulating the superhuman powers of the Messiah—

'He will act and speak like the Beloved, and will say, "I am God, and before me there has been none." . . . And the greater part of those who shall have been associated together in order to receive (=wait for) the Beloved, he will turn aside after him. . . . And he will set up his image before him in every city. . . . And many believers and saints, having seen him for whom they were hoping,' namely, Jesus the Christ, 'and those also who became believers in him—of these few in those days will be left as his servants, while they flee from solitude to solitude, awaiting the coming of the Beloved' (iv. 2–13).

It is true that one must not forget that in all this we are listening to an apocalyptist—one who as such is apt to dwell on the darker hues of days which he regards as the 'darkest hour before the dawn,' familiar to all apocalyptic. Yet allowing for this, as also for some phrases and clauses which may be due to the final redactor of the *Ascension*, the impression remains that the degree to which deterioration has invaded the communities specially in the writer's mind, particularly the degree to which 'the prophet' is already discredited,—not to speak of the greater relative prominence of the local 'pastors' and 'elders,'—that all this implies a state of things at least as late in the development of the Syrian or Palestinian[†] Churches as what meets us in the Didache. Surely such a picture of defection from the 'love and purity' of Messiah's 'Twelve Apostles' presents a wide contrast to the life among Christians as contemplated by the compiler of the Didache, and tells somewhat against a later date. In particular, the absence of explicit warning against possible faults in the local leaders, like those of the 'elders' and 'shepherds' cited above, deserves notice. Instead of this, the only hint of actual faults within the brotherhood is the injunction to 'reprove one another, not in wrath, but in peace,' and to visit with temporary spiritual ostracism the brother who offends against his fellow (xv. 3). In any case the attitude and mode of thought evidenced in the *Ascension*, in its reference to 'the preaching of his Twelve Apostles' as the norm of faith and conduct, to which Christians in the last days were like to prove unfaithful, furnishes a close parallel to the idea of the 'Teaching of the Lord, through the Twelve Apostles, to the Gentiles.' Thus it is natural to regard these two writings as almost contemporary attempts to extend the influence of the traditions going back to 'the Twelve Apostles.' Only, the author of the Didache did not see such difficulties in the way as were patent to the eye of the apocalyptist, writing further, perhaps, from the original centres of Apostolic activity, yet seemingly before A.D. 100. Accordingly, as to date, it seems best to say with confidence,[*] 'before rather than after A.D. 100,' and with diffidence, 'A.D. 80–90 is the most likely decade known to us.'

The following weighty passage from Dr. C. Taylor's *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, p. 118, deserves quotation on several grounds:—

'Everything which goes to confirm its Jewish character has a bearing on the question of its date. If it is derived immediately from Jewish sources, it must either have emanated from a mere sect, which long preserved its Hebraic peculiarities, or it must have come down to us from the primitive age in which Christianity had but just separated itself from the parent stock of Judaism. The former alternative must be rejected, if at an early date we find it quoted with profound respect beyond the pale of Judaism; and we are thus finally led to regard it, in whatever may be its original form, as a genuine fragment of the earliest tradition of the Church.'

B. *TRANSFORMATIONS UNDERGONE BY THE DIDACHE*.—These have already been indicated in the section on 'Materials for comparative criticism.' But a few illustrations may here be given of the spirit prompting such efforts to adjust a primitive church-manual to developing 'Catholic' ideals. For they show at once the reluctance of the revisers to break altogether with this venerable monument of the first age of the Church, and the radical change in Christian ideals represented by the Catholicism of the 4th century. The only section in the Egyptian 'Apostolic Church Order' at all parallel to the ecclesiastical element in the Didache runs as follows (§ 12), the significant changes[†] being in italics—

Thomas said: 'Child, him that speaketh to thee the Word of God *and becometh to thee part-cause* (παραίτιον) *of life, and giveth thee the seal in the Lord*, thou shalt love as the apple of thine eye (=Barn. xix. 9); and thou shalt remember him night and day, thou shalt honour him as the Lord. . . . And thou shalt seek out *his* face daily and *the rest of* the saints. . . . *Thou shalt honour him as much as thou art able, from thy sweat and from the toil of thy hands*. For if the Lord deigned to give thee at his hands "spiritual food and drink and life eternal," thou oughtest much more to offer the corruptible and temporal food' (cf. Did. iv. 1, 2, xiii., xv. 2, x. 3, iv. 8b).

Here regard for the minister of Sacraments is added to that for those who minister the Word in any form.

Similar tendencies are seen in *Apost. Const.* vii.

Thus Did. vii. 1 appears as: 'But touching baptism, *O bishop or presbyter, . . . so shalt thou* baptize *as the Lord enjoined on us, saying'* (then follows Mt 28$^{19. 20a}$). '*And thou shalt anoint, in the first place, with holy oil; next, thou shalt baptize with water; and, last of all, thou shalt seal with ointment*' (μύρῳ).

So with the Eucharistic prayers in Did. ix. x.; while Did. xv. 1, 2 is transformed so as to read—

'But ordain (προχειρίσασθε) bishops worthy of the Lord, *and presbyters* and deacons, men *prudent, just*, meek, etc. . . . , *dutiful* (ὁσίους), *impartial, able to teach the word of piety, orthodox in the doctrines of the Lord* (ὀρθοτομοῦντας ἐν τοῖς τοῦ κυρίου δογμασιν). But do ye honour these *as fathers, as lords, as benefactors, as causes of well-being.*'

Besides these extant recensions of the Didache, in which the idea of 'Teaching of the Apostles' is turned into a pious fiction,—notably in the Egyptian 'Church Order,' which makes the several Apostles speak *seriatim*,—we hear from Rufinus of the *Duæ Viæ* or *Judicium Petri*, possibly the *Two Ways* in a setting adjusted to the taste of the Roman Church. Finally, there is some ground for supposing that an abbreviated edition of the full Didache, omitting archaic parts such as those touching Apostles and Prophets, was current in certain circles in the East. This would be antecedently probable, as an alternative method of preserving an ancient book in current use; and is the most natural explanation of the size of the Didache as known to Nicephorus or his (?Palestinian) source of *c.* 500 A.D., viz. about two-thirds of our MS. Another possibility is that this Didache was the fuller form of the *Two Ways* in *Apost. Const.* vii. (used in the ascetic maxims printed in *Oriens Christ.*, 1901, 49 ff.).

---

[*] So the Ethiopic, the Greek here being lost.

[†] There was probably enough common consciousness throughout the regions in question to warrant the argument as stated in the text.

[*] With the widest and most varied *consensus* of scholars, cf. A. Ehrhard, *Altchrist. Litteratur und ihre Erforschung von 1884–1900*, p. 63. A weighty addition is the name of J. Réville, *Origines de l'Episcopat*, 234–261.

[†] In the shorter form of Cod. Ottob. (see p. 441b note) such changes are fewer.

C. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DIDACHE FOR EARLY CHRISTIANITY.—The historical value of the Didache is (*a*) direct, as it casts light on the first century of Christianity; (*b*) indirect, as it shows, by its wide and long-continued circulation, how such primitive ideas and usages continued to find a certain recognition after they had, on the whole, been forced into the background, or totally suppressed by the characteristic forms of Catholicism.

Under (*a*) the gain lies not so much in the way of new facts, as in the fresh light cast upon things already witnessed to by our existing documents, though in a manner too implicit to attract attention or win general assent as to their meaning. This is notably the case with the primary ministry of the Apostolic and sub-Apostolic ages—an unordained and largely an unlocalized ministry of the Word, including functions closely connected therewith, such as Eucharistic prayer—the ministry of Apostles, Prophets, and Teachers in the Spirit. Lightfoot, for instance, had already anticipated much of the truth as regards these; yet only for the few who could 'read between the lines' of our existing texts in the face of misleading traditions. With the aid of the Didache the blindest can, if they will, perceive the distinction in kind between the higher ministries of the Spirit and the ministries resting on gifts of a humbler but most necessary order, such as Bishops (Pastors) and Deacons. But there are other points almost equally important, even where less obvious. Such are (1) the congregational character of primitive Discipline, resting on the collective responsibility of all for each (xiv. xv. 3), side by side [*] with the existence of executive officers for this and other purposes (xv. 1, 2), whose appointment is attributed solely to the local community; (2) the Eucharist as still of the nature of a sacred meal of religious communion, in which, in some regions at least, the blessing of the Cup preceded that of the Broken Bread (ix. x., so Lk $22^{17\text{ff.}}$, cf. 1 Co 10^{16}); (3) the semi-Jewish nature of the two fixed Fast-days and three hours of Prayer, which passed into Christian use as suggested by, and in rivalry with, the practices of unbelieving Judaism (viii.); and (4) the idea of Christian Baptism as involving vows of renunciation of the Way of Death and self-surrender to the Way of Life.

In the last respect, as also touching the nature of the primitive Eucharist, the Didache illumines and is illumined by Pliny's report to Trajan about Christians in Pontus-Bithynia. Their early morning worship on the 'stated day' included a binding of themselves by solemn vow (*sacramento* is Pliny's word) 'not to any crime, but against the commission of thefts, robberies, adulteries, the breach of faith, the repudiation of a deposit when called upon.' This surely means that the moral vows taken at baptism were then renewed, and that such vows were more explicit than we had realized prior to the discovery of the Didache. Of course the usages in this matter may not have been exactly the same in Palestine and Bithynia. But the idea of an explicit moral covenant, as part of the new allegiance,[†] is common not only to these two, but also to many early Christian witnesses, such as Ignatius, Hermas, Justin, Tertullian, Origen;[*] to the *abrenuntiatio diaboli*, as found in the 'Canons of Hippolytus' onwards; and to the whole series of addresses to candidates for baptism or to the newly baptized, which extends well into the Middle Ages. Thus the very *Homiliarium* in which our Latin 'Doctrina Apostolorum' is preserved, comes next to an 'Admonitio S. Petri sive prædicatio sancti Bonifatii ep. de abrenuntiatione in baptismate.' Then, again, the Bithynian habit of meeting later on in the day 'to take food, but ordinary and harmless food,' confirms the Didache's picture of the Eucharist as one aspect of a religious meal, which could also be termed a 'love-feast,' as seemingly by Ignatius.[†]

There exists, indeed, a tendency in certain circles to discount the significance of our document in these and other respects—especially its 'dogmatic poverty'—on the plea that it is not representative of primitive Christianity, but only of some isolated and exceptional type of community, remote from the main stream of the Church's life. This is both unproved and improbable as regards Palestinian Christianity, which is the one type really in question. On the contrary, the Didache is in full accord with the piety of the Epistle of James and of those who furnished the author of Acts with the materials for his picture of Judæan Christianity; while it helps us to conceive the form of faith in which the readers of the Epistle to the Hebrews had been reared, and from which they tended to fall back into mere Judaism. The question, then, arises: Are we to regard ordinary Palestinian Christianity, during the Apostolic and sub-Apostolic ages, as 'representative' or normal as far as it went? Or are we to discount it as Ebionite, Judaic, or non-Apostolic, because it does not show certain features familiar to us from the Epistles of Paul (which form the bulk of our evidence) and those which, whether influenced by him or not, are hardly typical of the Palestinian Church (the Petrine Epistles, the Epistle to the Hebrews, where it represents its author rather than its readers, and the Johannine Epistles)? This issue is seldom faced. Yet on its answer largely depends our estimate of the Didache.

(*b*) But the case against the 'hole and corner' theory of the Didache goes much further. One can appeal to the history of its reception by the Church at large. To use Dr. C. Taylor's words once more, 'If at an early date we find it quoted with profound respect beyond the pale of Judaism,' we must regard it 'as a genuine fragment of the earliest tradition of the Church.' If it be rejoined that this applies more to the *Two Ways* than to the full Didache, the lesson is the same, namely, that the estimate of the ante-Nicene Church, particularly in the second century, was surprisingly appreciative of what some to-day find hardly Christian at all.[‡] But when we consider the record set out above in A. ii., we are struck by the high prestige of the full Didache for more than two centuries. Only this can explain the way in which it is used, and even cited, as in *de Aleatoribus*. So with the influence it exerts on far later works, whether as their basis in one degree or another (*Didascalia* and *Apost. Const.*, Athanasius and pseudo-Athan.), or as an archaic writing of such repute as to call for an equivalent * more in keeping with current ecclesiastical usages (*Apostolic Church Order*). Its very rivals witness to its lasting acceptance. If it be not representative of sub-Apostolic Christianity, it is hard to see by what objective criteria any of the 'Apostolic Fathers' is to gain that credit.

---

[*] Compare the picture of conjoint discipline of this sort, as late as the 3rd and 4th cents., reflected in *Apost. Const.* ii. 47, and its basis in the *Didascalia.*

[†] Justin, *Apol.* i. 61, describes candidates for baptism as those 'who are convinced . . . that these things which are taught by us . . . are true, and who promise that they are able thus to conduct their life.'

[*] Ignatius, *ad Eph.* xiv. 2 οἱ ἐπαγγελλόμενοι Χριστοῦ εἶναι, δι᾿ ὧν πράσσουσιν ὀφθήσονται; Hermas, *Mand.* vi. 2, καλόν ἐστι τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἀκολουθεῖν, τῷ δὲ ἀγγέλῳ τῆς πονηρίας ἀποτάξασθαι; Justin, *Apol.* i. 65, τὸν πεπεισμένον καὶ συγκατατεθειμένον; Tertullian, *de Corona*, 3, 'contestamur nos renuntiare diabolo et pompæ et angelis ejus'; 11, 'Credimusne humanum sacramentum divino superduci licere et in alium Dominum respondere post Christum'? See also Origen, *contra Celsum*, iii. 51, 53; cf. the Elkesaite protestation of future holiness, in Hippolytus, *Philosoph.* ix. 15, which may well reflect something of normal baptismal usage.

[†] *Ad Smyrn.* viii., οὐκ ἐξόν ἐστιν χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου οὔτε βαπτίζειν οὔτε ἀγάπην ποιεῖν; on which see Lightfoot's remarks.

[‡] The justice of this complaint may well be doubted by those who recall the working faith of Francis of Assisi, and how much there is in common between its emphasis and that of the Didache. Of course the Passion of Christ forms a great point of contrast; but in the early Palestinian Church as a whole

LITERATURE.—Of the enormous literature connected with the Didache, full accounts will be found in the following: Schaff, *The Oldest Church Manual*, New York (3rd ed. 1889), containing a *catalogue raisonné* of books and articles down to March 1889; A. Ehrhard, *Die Altchristliche Litteratur und ihre Erforschung von 1884–1900*, Erste Abteilung, Freiburg im. Br. 1900, where, besides a full list of publications, an estimate of their general outcome is given by this liberal R. C. scholar.

Typical editions.—Bryennios, Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων, Constantinople, 1883; Harnack, in *Texte u. Untersuch.* II. i. ii. (including O. von Gebhardt's 'Anhang' on a Latin fragment); Hilgenfeld, *NT extra canonem*, etc. (Leipzig); Wünsche (Leipzig); Hitchcock and Brown (New York); S. Orris and others (New York); de Romestin (Oxford: the most handy edition, with the related texts and a good list of minor literature during 1884); I. Prins, Leiden—all in 1884. P. Sabatier (Paris, 1885) lays just emphasis on the eschatological attitude of the piety reflected in the Didache, but draws a hasty inference from this and other early features in assigning it to 'the middle of the first century'; Schaff (as above), 1885, 1886, 1889; R. Majocchi (Milan, 1885, Modena, 1887, 1893); Spence (London, 1885); C. Taylor (Cambridge, see below), 1886; Harnack, *Die Apostellehre u. die jüdischen beiden Wege*, Leipzig, 1886 (inspired by Taylor's work) and 1896; Funk, *Doctrina duodecim apost.*, Tübingen, 1887 (with full Prolegomena and the related documents); Rendel Harris, London and Baltimore (with photographic facsimile of the MS; the most beautiful of all editions, and also among the most valuable, giving parallel texts and *testimonia* at length, and a number of suggestive elucidations, esp. from Jewish sources), 1887; J. Heron, *The Church of the Sub-Apostolic Age*, etc., London, 1888; E. Jacquier, Paris (with full bibliography), and J. M. Minasi, Rome, 1891; E. von Renesse, Giessen, 1897; C. Bigg in 'Early Church Classics,' 1898 (S.P.C.K., London); Funk, *Patres Apostolici*, i., 1901.

Latin Version.—At the close of 1900 appeared the full Latin text of the *Two Ways*, ed. Joseph Schlecht, Friburgi Brisgoviæ, sumptibus Herder, MCM (a handy edition of 24 pp., the Greek and Latin standing side by side); and more fully, with photographic reproduction of the Freisingen MS (now in Munich), in *Die Apostellehre in der Liturgie der Kathol. Kirche*, Freiburg, 1901. Of the Latin version, Harnack has a preliminary estimate in *Theol. Litztg.* 1900, 638–640, and Ladeuze in the *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique*, ii. 97–103; while E. Hennecke rests much on it in his article in the *ZNTW* ii. 58 ff., on the *Grundschrift* of the Didache and its recensions. [The text of *Two Ways* exists in two lines of transmission, viz. Δ (known to Hermas) =Lat. Did. and late Egyptian witnesses; and Δ′=Barn. and *Apost. Church Order*. But this classification of texts is less likely than that into 'Syrian' and 'Egyptian' respectively].

Typical discussions.—Harnack, *Theol. Litztg.* 1884; Funk and Krawutzcky in *Theol. Quart.* (Tübingen), 1884; Duchesne, *Bulletin Critique*, 1884; G. Bonet-Maury, *La Doctrine des douze apôtres* (Paris; dates it after 160); Caspari, *Luthersk Ugeskrift*, Nos. 24, 25; Lightfoot at Church Congress, 1884=*Expositor*, 1885, pp. 6–10, cf. *S. Ignatius*, i. 739, *Philippians* (1890), p. 349; Massebieau, *Revue de l'Hist. des Religions*, Sept.-Oct. 1884; Zahn, *Forschungen zur Gesch. des NT Kanons*, iii. 278–319; Holtzmann, 'Die Did. u. ihre Nebenformen' in *Jahrb. f. prot. Theol.* 1885, pp. 154–166 (regards Did. and Barn. as co-ordinate recensions of an earlier *Two Ways* or *Judicium Petri*); Langen in Sybel's *Hist. Zeitsch.* 1885, 193–214; Lechler, *Das Apost. u. Nachapost. Zeitalter*, Leipzig, 1885, pp. 553–593. Warfield and McGiffert in *Andover Review* and *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1885, 1886; C. F. Arnold in *Z. f. Kirchenrecht*, 1885; and Bratke in *Jahrb. f. prot. Theol.* 1886,—all contribute to a genealogical theory of the related documents and types of text. C. Taylor, *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, with Illustrations from the Talmud*, Cambridge, 1886 (epoch-making as regards the Jewish character of the *Two Ways*), also in *Expositor* and *Journal of Philology*, as cited in the text; A. Chiappelli, *Studii di antica letteratura cristiana*, Turin, 1887, pp. 21–148; Wohlenberg, *Die Lehre . . . in ihrem Verhältniss zum NT Schrifttum*, Erlangen, 1888; Harnack, *Gesch. der altchr. Lit.* i. 86–92 (1893), ii. (*Chronologie*, 1897) 428 ff., in Herzog's *PRE*³ (1896), i. 711–730; N. Biesenthal, *Die urchristl. Kirche . . . nach der Did.* (Progr.), Insterburg, 1893; P. Savi, *La dottrina degli apostoli*, 1893; J. Réville, *Origines de l'Episcopat*, pp. 234–261, Paris, 1894; L. Iselin, 'Eine bisher unbekannte Version des ersten Teiles der "Apostellehre"' (*Texte u. Unters.* XIII. i.), 1895; O. Moe, *Die Apostellehre u. der Dekalog im Unterricht der alten Kirche*, Gütersloh, 1896; C. Holzhey, *Die Abhängigkeit der Syrischen Didaskalia von der Didache*, München, 1898; Funk, *Kirchengesch. Abhandlungen*, ii. 108–141, Paderborn, 1899 (on basis of earlier articles in *Theol. Quartalschrift*; valuable); A. Ehrhard, *op. cit.* 1900, 37–68 (an admirable summary); E. Hennecke, *l.c.* 1901; J. Schlecht, *op. cit.* 1901 (good summary of results, esp. as bearing on the Lat.); O. Bardenhewer, *Gesch. der Altkirch. Lit.* i. (1902) 76–86; K. Kohler in *Jewish Encyclopædia*, iv. 585 ff., London, 1903; P. Drews in *NT Apokryphen*, Tübingen, 1904, p. 182 ff.

J. VERNON BARTLET.

DIATESSARON.—

i. Author and Date.
ii. Title, Language, and later History.
  (*a*) Testimony of Greek writers.
  (*b*) Testimony of Syriac writers.
iii. Non-Syriac versions of the Diatessaron.
  (*a*) The Armenian version of St. Ephraem's commentary on the Diatessaron.
  (*b*) Codex Fuldensis.
  (*c*) The Arabic version.
iv. Relation of the Diatessaron to the Old Syriac.
  Literature.

i. AUTHOR AND DATE.—The Diatessaron, or Harmony of the four Gospels, was most probably compiled by Tatian, the disciple of Justin Martyr, towards the end of the 2nd cent. A.D., not long after the year 172 or 173, when Tatian returned from Rome to his native land of Mesopotamia. The scanty information that we possess regarding the early history of the author of this famous work is mainly derived from his no less celebrated *Oratio ad Græcos* (Λόγος πρὸς Ἕλληνας), a work which was probably composed soon after his conversion to Christianity. He is described by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iii. 81), Epiphanius (*Hær.* 46. 1), and Theodoret (*Hær. Fab.* i. 20) as a Syrian; and this statement as to his nationality agrees with his own mention of the fact that he was born 'in the land of the Assyrians' (*Oratio*, 42, γεννηθεὶς μὲν ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων γῇ). We may infer from his own writings that he was a man of good birth and position, and, as such, not without the temptation to embark on a military or political career; but his mind was early attracted to that pursuit of learning to which he devoted the greater part of his life. He spent many years in visiting the various schools, and in studying the different tenets, of heathen philosophy, and finally settled down in Rome, where, presumably through the influence of Justin, he embraced Christianity. Like the latter, he suffered persecution at the hands of Crescens; but it seems probable that he remained in Rome as a teacher some years after the martyrdom of Justin, in A.D. 165, among his pupils being Rhodon of Asia Minor. It was, no doubt, during this latter portion of his residence in Rome that Tatian developed that curious mixture of heterodox views with which his name is associated by later writers, and which, while causing him to be branded as a heretic, also necessitated his departure from Rome. Thus he undoubtedly advocated, like the Encratites, a rigid asceticism, condemning marriage and the use of wine and animal food; he also followed Marcion in distinguishing the Demiurge from the God of the New Testament, while he held a Gnostic theory of æons similar to that of Valentinus: his denial of the salvability of Adam alone marks a more original departure from the orthodox teaching of the Church. In view of the statements as to Tatian's heretical opinions made by Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebius, etc., his heterodoxy can hardly be disputed; yet it is noticeable that Eusebius is the first to definitely associate him with any heretical party (see below, § ii. *a*). The date of Tatian's departure from Rome for the

---

this was lost sight of in the rays of 'the glory' about to be revealed.

* In the Syriac version this is actually called 'Third Book of Clement: *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*,' which may be its original title. Possibly, too, the idea of the Syrian 'Testament (Διαθήκη) of the Lord' owes its name and some of its contents to the Didache.

East may be placed with tolerable certainty about A.D. 172–173.[*] How long he survived after his return to Mesopotamia is unknown; but it was there, probably at Edessa, that he composed for the Syrian Church that Harmony of the four Gospels which has rendered his name so famous.

Before leaving the personal history of Tatian we may note that no suspicion of heresy seems to have attached to his name in the Syrian Church — a fact which is most easily explicable on the supposition that, amid the primitive conditions of his native Church, Tatian had neither the occasion nor the inclination to air those views which had procured him so much disfavour at Rome. After his bitter experiences in the latter city, it was only natural that he should turn his attention towards a new field of activity such as that afforded by the compilation of his Harmony, rather than to the dissemination of his peculiar views. The plan of reproducing the fourfold history of the Gospels in the form of one simple connected narrative was no doubt a bold one, but the underlying motive was probably the desire to present his less cultivated countrymen with the story of the Gospel in a form which should at once preserve all that was essential in the narratives of the four Evangelists, while omitting all that might seem calculated to perplex and confuse.

ii. TITLE, LANGUAGE, AND LATER HISTORY.—The full title given by Tatian to his Harmony of the Gospels appears to have been 'The Gospel of Jesus Christ by means of the four [Gospels or Evangelists]' (ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܕܝܛܣܪܘܢ = Εὐαγγέλιον Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων), but the work was generally known and cited by the shorter title *Diatessaron* (ܕܝܛܣܪܘܢ; the forms ܕܝܐܛܣܪܘܢ and ܕܝܐܬܛܣܪܘܢ also occur). In addition to this Greek title, however, the Harmony also received the genuine Syriac name *Evangelion da-Mĕḥallĕṭē* (ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܚ̈ܠܛܐ), or 'Gospel of the Mixed,' to distinguish it from the fourfold form of the Gospels, the *Evangelion da-Mĕpharrĕshē* (ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܦܪ̈ܫܐ), or 'Gospel of the Separated (ones).'

The Greek title has been used, among others, as an argument in favour of the view that the Harmony was originally composed in that language; but no stress can be laid on this fact, since Greek titles, and especially Greek technical terms,[†] were largely employed by Syriac writers. Moreover, the balance of evidence seems to support the view that the Diatessaron was an original Syriac work, though no final opinion on the subject can be expressed until we have determined the question of its relation to the Old Syriac version (see below, § iv.). There can, however, be no doubt that, whether originally composed in Greek or Syriac, the work was intended for use in the Syriac Church, and was widely circulated in a Syriac form at an early date. Further, there is no direct evidence of the existence of a Greek original, and the scanty and indefinite nature of the information supplied by the Greek writers seems to show that the (Syriac) work was known to the Greek Church by name only.

(*a*) *Greek writers.*—The first notice of the Diatessaron occurs in Eusebius (*HE* iv. 36), who states that Tatian, whom he wrongly describes as the former leader of the Encratites, 'composed a sort of connexion and compilation, I know not how, of the Gospels, and called it the Diatessaron. This work is current in some quarters (with some persons) even to the present day.'[*] The work is also briefly mentioned by Epiphanius (*Hær.* 46. 1), who says: 'The Diatessaron Gospel is said to have been composed by him (Tatian). It is called by some the Gospel according to the Hebrews.'[†] Apart from these two writers no mention[‡] is made of the Diatessaron by either Greek or Latin writers until the 6th cent. (see below, § iii. *b*); and the silence of such writers as Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Jerome, or Augustine is explicable only on the supposition that the work was exclusively a Syriac one, and, as such, unknown to the Greek Church.

Before passing on to the evidence afforded by Syriac writers, we may note two points arising out of the above notices which tend to confirm the impression made by the silence of the Greek Fathers. The first is the omission of the clause 'I know not how' (οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως) in the Syriac translation (4th cent.) of Eusebius' *History*.[§] The explanation of this fact given by Hjelt[‖] is no doubt correct, viz. that the translator purposely suppressed the clause as irrelevant, since Tatian's work was well known both to himself and to his Syriac readers. Equally interesting is the translator's insertion of the words 'now this is the (*Evangelion*) *da-Mĕḥallĕṭē*' (Gospel of the Mixed) after the word 'Diatessaron,' which shows that the Syriac title of the Harmony was already current in the 4th century. The second point is connected with the confusion that existed, according to Epiphanius, in the minds of some with regard to the Diatessaron and the Gospel according to the Hebrews. As Zahn (*Forsch.* i. 25) has pointed out, the confusion admits of a tolerably easy solution on the supposition that the Diatessaron was a Syriac work. When the existence of another Gospel, written in the same or a nearly allied dialect, among the half-heretical Nazareans, *i.e.* in almost the same district, became known, it was not unnatural to suppose that the two were either closely allied or even identical. Such a mistake, however, could have arisen only amongst people who were either ignorant of Aramaic, or who possessed no knowledge of the works in question save at second hand.

(*b*) *Syriac writers.*—In contrast to the comparative ignorance displayed on this subject by Greek authorities, the statements made by Syriac writers concerning the Diatessaron, and the evidence of its use in the Syrian Church, are both clear and decisive. The earliest testimony is contained in the *Doctrine of Addai*, a work which, in its present form, is variously dated by critics from the middle of the 3rd cent. (Zahn) to the beginning of the 5th cent. (von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, p. 158 f.). But, though the form in which we now possess this text may not be earlier than A.D. 400, its contents are clearly based on very early tradition, and we may therefore safely follow Zahn (*Forsch.* i. 90 f.) in regarding it as a trustworthy witness to the practice of the Edessene Church during the 3rd century. The crucial passage states that 'much people gathered together day by day, and came to the prayer of the (Divine) service and to (the reading of) the Old Testament and the

---

[*] Zahn, *Forschungen*, i. p. 282 f.

[†] Cf. Χρονικόν, Ἐκκλησιαστική, Τετραευαγγέλιον, etc. Baethgen objects that these were used also as titles in Greek, and, as such, were taken over into Syriac, while *Diatessaron* is a Greek musical *terminus technicus*, and does not occur elsewhere in Syriac (*Evangelienfragmente*, p. 89; cf. Zahn, *Forsch.* i. pp. 104 f., 239 f.).

[*] ὁ μέντοι γε πρότερος αὐτῶν ἀρχηγὸς ὁ Τατιανὸς συνάφειάν τινα καὶ συναγωγὴν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως τῶν εὐαγγελίων συνθεὶς τὸ διατεσσάρων τοῦτο προσωνόμασεν, ὁ καὶ παρά τισιν εἰσέτι νῦν φέρεται.

[†] λέγεται δὲ τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων εὐαγγέλιον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγεννῆσθαι ὅπερ κατὰ Ἑβραίους τινὲς καλοῦσι.

[‡] On the obscure scholion to Mt 27^{48} contained in Cod. 72, see Zahn, *Forschungen*, i. 26 f.

[§] ed. Wright and M'Lean, Cambridge, 1898, p. 243.

[‖] *Die altsyrische Evangelienübersetzung und Tatians Diatessaron*, p. 24 note.

New, (namely) the Diatessaron, and believed in the resurrection of the dead.'[*] Of a similar nature is the command given to his presbyters in Addai's parting speech:[†] 'The Law and the Prophets and the Gospel, wherein ye read every day before the people; and the Epistles of Paul which Simon Kephas sent us from the city of Rome; and the Acts of the Twelve Apostles, which John the son of Zebedee sent us from Ephesus: these writings (or Scriptures) shall ye read in the churches of Christ, and besides them nothing else shall ye read.' These two passages clearly show that the terms 'Diatessaron' and 'Gospel' were interchangeable, and also that the version of the Syriac Gospels adopted by the Edessene Church for use in Divine service was that which had been composed by Tatian. Internal evidence, again, shows that Aphraates, the bishop of the convent of St. Matthew near Mosul, made use of the same version, though the Gospel quotations in his *Homilies* (written between 336 and 345 A.D.) are not taken exclusively from Tatian's work. The most striking proof, however, of the widespread use of the Diatessaron in the Syrian Church during the 4th cent., and of the high repute in which it stood, is the fact that it forms the basis of the commentary on the Gospels written by the famous Ephraem Syrus (d. 373 A.D.; see below, § iii. *a*). It is noteworthy also that the Gospel quotations which are to be found in his genuine works appear to be also taken from the Harmony.[‡]

The beginning of the 5th cent. forms a decisive point in the history of the Syriac versions of the New Testament, inasmuch as it marks the introduction of a new version, which was destined to supersede all its predecessors. It was during the episcopate of Rabbūla, bishop of Edessa (A.D. 411–435), and under his direction that a revision of the existing Syriac translation of the NT was set on foot, with a view to bringing it more into conformity with the current Greek text. According to his biography[§] (written soon after his death) Rabbūla 'translated by the wisdom of God which was in him the New Testament from Greek into Syriac, because of its variations, exactly as it was.' To quote Mr. Burkitt,[‖] 'It is only the belief, the erroneous belief, that the Peshiṭta NT was proved to be older than Rabbūla through the attestation given to it by St. Ephraem, which has hitherto prevented scholars from recognizing in these words a description of the making and publication of the Syriac Vulgate' or the Peshiṭta. But in order to establish the new revised version on a firm basis it was necessary to suppress all earlier translations. With a view, therefore, to securing this end, Rabbūla commanded his priests and deacons 'to take care that in all the churches there should be an *Evangelion da-Mĕpharrĕshē*, and that it should be read.' The object of this canon was clearly to establish the new version at the expense of the Diatessaron.[¶] How successful it was is shown by the fact that henceforth the Peshiṭta reigned alone as the accepted ecclesiastical text, while the Diatessaron almost entirely disappeared. An interesting notice of the thoroughness with which the crusade against Tatian's Harmony was carried out has been preserved in the writings of Theodoret, bishop of Cyrrhus (A.D. 423–457). In his treatise on heresies (*Hær. Fab.* i. 20) he states that Tatian 'composed the Gospel, which is called Diatessaron, cutting out all the genealogies and all such passages as show the Lord to have been born of the seed of David after the flesh. Now this work was used not only by those who belonged to his own sect, but also by those who follow the Apostolic doctrine, since they did not perceive the mischief of the composition, but used it in all simplicity on account of its brevity. And I myself found more than 200 such copies held in honour in the churches in our parts, and, having collected them all, I put them away, substituting the Gospels of the four Evangelists.'

Nevertheless, the vigorous measures adopted by Rabbūla and Theodoret failed to bring about the complete rejection of the Diatessaron. For, though Tatian's Harmony appears to have been effectually excluded from public worship in the Syrian Church, the evidence of later writers shows that the work was still in existence as late as the Middle Ages. Hjelt[*] suggests very plausibly that either the growing antagonism between the Monophysites (or Jacobites) and the Nestorians reacted on Church praxis, and caused the latter to retain the Gospels in the form to which they had been accustomed, or else that, for the same cause, the ecclesiastical reforms of Rabbūla met with no acceptance among the Syrians of the East. This theory is certainly an attractive one, and explains many of the phenomena connected with the later history of the Diatessaron; but the evidence at our disposal, while amply proving that Tatian's work was well known to and held in high esteem by the Nestorians down to the 14th cent., is scarcely sufficient to justify his further contention that it was retained by them in the services of the Church till that period. A more probable explanation of its continued existence is to be found in its connexion with the name of Ephraem. Ephraem's commentary on the Diatessaron was not only, as we shall see later, translated into Armenian, but also exercised a marked influence on the works of later (Syriac) NT commentators—an eloquent proof of the esteem in which that writer's work was held; and it can hardly be doubted that its association with the name of the great Syriac Father contributed very largely to the preservation of Tatian's work among the Syrians themselves. Some confirmation of this view is afforded by the way in which the later references to Tatian and his work, which are not confined to Nestorian writers but include several Jacobite authors, are closely connected with St. Ephraem's commentary.

Of the later Syriac writers who either refer to or quote from the Diatessaron (or Ephraem's commentary upon it), the first and most important is Ishoʻdad of Merv, the Nestorian bishop of Ḥadītha (or Ḥedhatta), who flourished about A.D. 850.[†] In his commentary on the NT we find the following statement in the Prologue to St. Mark: 'Matthew and John belonged to the Twelve, but Mark and Luke to the Seventy; but Tatianus the disciple of Justin, the philosopher and martyr, made a selection from the four Evangelists and combined (or mixed ܚܠܛ) and put together a Gospel and called it (the) Diatessaron, that is "of the Mixed" (*da-Mĕḥallĕṭē*); and concerning the divinity of Christ he did not write. And on this (Gospel)

---

[*] ed. Phillips, p. 36, l. 15 f.

[†] Phillips, p. 46, l. 8 f.

[‡] Burkitt, *Texts and Studies*, vol. vii. p. 56.

[§] Overbeck, *S. Ephraemi Syri, Rabulæ, etc., opera selecta*, p. 172.

[‖] *Op. cit.* p. 57.

[¶] Overbeck, *op. cit.* p. 220. The term *Evangelion da-Mĕpharrĕshē* must here denote, not the Old Syriac version (which was also so called), but rather any MS of the four Gospels, as opposed to the *Evangelion da-Mĕḥallĕṭē* or Diatessaron.

[*] *Op. cit.* p. 29.

[†] For a full discussion of his commentary on the NT as contained in the Cambridge MS, Add. 1973, and of the passages bearing on Ephraem's commentary and the Diatessaron, see R. Harris, *Fragments of the Commentary of Ephraem Syrus upon the Diatessaron*, London, 1895, p. 10 f. Attention was first called to the importance of Ishoʻdad's work in this connexion by the American scholars, Dr. Hall and Professor Gottheil, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vols. xi. and xii.

Mar Ephraem commented.' Hjelt (*op. cit.* p. 30 f.) argues with some force that the position of Tatian immediately after the four Evangelists, and the manner in which he is mentioned, seem to show that Isho'dad regarded his testimony as of equal value with that of the Evangelists; and this impression is confirmed by an examination of those passages in his commentary in which the Diatessaron is definitely cited, viz. Mt 1^{20b} $3^{4.\ 13f.}$ 21^{1}, Ac 1^{13}. It is noteworthy that Isho'dad avoids the error into which so many of his successors have fallen, and draws a clear distinction between the Diatessaron of Tatian and that of Ammonius. Thus, in discussing the words 'as it is written in the prophet Isaiah' (Mk 1^{2}), he says,* 'others (say): in the book of the Diatessaron which was composed in Alexandria, he (Mark) says "in the prophets" instead of "as it is written in Isaiah."'

The Jacobite bishop Moses bar-Kepha (d. A.D. 903), who was almost a contemporary of Isho'dad, also wrote a commentary on the NT in which there are clear traces of acquaintance with Ephraem's commentary, and apparently with an even earlier work (Harris, pp. 10, 18, 24, 85). He further makes direct mention of the Diatessaron in two passages in which he is discussing the canons of Eusebius. The whole passage runs as follows: 'Which shows who collected the four books of the Evangelists and set them in order in one book. And some people, indeed, say that Eusebius of Cæsarea, when he saw that Julianus (*sic!* for Ammonius) of Alexandria made the Gospel of the Diatessaron, *i.e.* "by means of Four," and changed the sequence of things [Hjelt: of the verses] in the Gospels, and that Tatian also the Greek, the heretic leader, made a Gospel which is called Tasaron (*sic!*), and he too changed the sequence of things; he, Eusebius, took care and collected the four books of the four Evangelists and set them in order and placed them in one book, and preserved the body of their compositions [Hjelt: the integrity of the text of the narratives of the Evangelists] as it was without taking anything from them or adding anything to them, and made certain Canons on account of their harmony one with another.'† Here we see that Bar-Kepha distinguishes the two Diatessarons, though apparently he only knew Tatian's work through the medium of Ephraem's commentary. The absence of any direct quotations from the Diatessaron as well as the epithets which he applies to Tatian may be due, as Hjelt suggests, to strong anti-Nestorian feeling.

The two lexicographers Isho' bar-'Ali (d. 873) and Bar-Bahlul (who flourished about the middle of the 10th cent.) both refer to the Diatessaron. The former defines the word 'Diatessaron' (for which he gives a variant *Diaqutrun*) as 'the Gospel of the Diatessaron, which Tatian made, the Mixed,' and adds that the author omitted both the human and the Divine genealogies of our Lord, and is on this account accursed, namely, Tatian: the latter statement is, however, not found in all MSS, and may be regarded as a later gloss. In Bar-Bahlul's lexicon the Diatessaron is defined (Hjelt, p. 48) as 'the collective Gospel which (was composed) from the four Evangelists': to this is added, 'This was composed in Alexandria, which the bishop Tatianus has written.' The latter sentence is, however, wanting in other MSS, and by its very form betrays its secondary character. It is interesting to find that Bar-Bahlul quotes the Diatessaron by its Syriac name *Evangelion da-Mĕḥallĕṭē*, while he cites the reading '*Jesus* Barabbas' (Mt 27^{17}), which is found in the Sinaitic palimpsest, as occurring in the *Evangelion da-Mĕpharrĕshē*.

The evidence of our next witness, Jacob bar-Ṣalibi, the Jacobite bishop of Amida (d. 1171 A.D.) is largely based upon that of his predecessors. Thus in his NT Commentary he reproduces with but slight variations the statement of Isho'dad in connexion with the opening verses of St. Mark. He omits, however, the sentence 'and concerning the divinity of Christ he has not written,' but adds the remark 'now the commencement of the same was: In the beginning was the Word.' In like manner he follows Bar-Kepha in his statement concerning Eusebius and his canons (see above), though in another passage in his prologue to the Gospels (Harris, p. 28) he makes the extraordinary statement that Tatian and Ammonius were unable to bring the Gospel accounts of the Resurrection into harmony, and therefore desisted from the attempt.* Probably Zahn† is right in supposing that Bar-Ṣalibi has here confused Ammonius with Eusebius, and has assigned to the latter the rôle of Elias of Salamia (of whom he speaks elsewhere): for the fact that the canons of Eusebius stopped at Mk 16^{8} was apparently treated by him as excluding the narrative of the Resurrection, while he ascribes the correction of this supposed error to Eusebius instead of to Elias. In any case it seems tolerably certain that Bar-Ṣalibi can hardly be treated as an independent witness to the existence of the Diatessaron, even though we reject the statement with regard to the Diatessaron which occurs in his commentary at Mk 1^{2}.‡

The statements of Bar-Hebræus (d. 1286 A.D.) in like manner appear to be mainly borrowed from the works of earlier writers, especially Bar-Ṣalibi. He follows the latter in reproducing Isho'dad's notice concerning Tatian with the same omission and insertion, but by a strange misunderstanding of his author applies the language of Eusebius with regard to the Diatessaron of Ammonius to Tatian's work.

Even at the end of the 13th cent. we still find striking evidence of the continued existence of the Diatessaron. The NT commentary of the celebrated 'Abd-isho' (Ebedjesu) bar-Berika (d. 1318), metropolitan of Nisibis and Armenia, has not been preserved, but in the preface to his *Nomocanon*§ he describes Tatian's Harmony as the example of completeness and trustworthiness which he has endeavoured to imitate. The description is as follows: 'Tatian the philosopher having comprehended the meaning of the words of the Evangelists and grasped the plan of their Divine narrative, composed one admirable Gospel out of the Four. This is what he called the Diatessaron, in which he preserved with all care the accurate order of the sayings and deeds of the Saviour without having added a single word of his own.' From this notice it seems clear that 'Abd-isho' was well acquainted with the Diatessaron and its contents, even though he elsewhere‖ confuses its author with Ammonius. The evidence of these later Syriac writers, at least from the 12th cent. onwards, is no doubt somewhat discounted by the fact that they appear to have mainly derived their information from the works of their predecessors; but the secondary nature of their evidence is more than outweighed by the additional testimony furnished by the following translations of the Diatessaron.

---

* We have here followed the text of the Berlin MS as given by Hjelt (p. 35 note). For the text of the Cambridge MS, which seems less original, see Harris (p. 15); the latter refers the quotation '(as) it is written in Isaiah' to Tatian's reading at Mt 3^{4}.

† Harris, *op. cit.* p. 21.

* The passage runs as follows: 'Eusebius of Cæsarea took pains to compose the canons of the Gospel—and this, indeed, is known from his letter to Carpianus—and pointed out by their means the agreement of the Evangelists. Ammonius and Tatian had written a Gospel, the Diatessaron, *i.e.* of the Four, as we have said above, and when they came to the history of the resurrection, and saw that it varied, they gave up their works. But Eusebius took pains to make these canons and to point out in the same the agreement of the Evangelists' (Hjelt, p. 43).

† *Theol. Littbl.* 1896.

‡ 'Others (say): in the book of the Diatessaron, which was composed in Alexandria, which the bishop Tatianus has written,' *i.e.* the same gloss that appears in the lexicon of Bar-Bahlul.

§ Mai, *Script. Vet. Nova Coll.* x. 191.

‖ Assemani, *Bibl. Or.* iii. 12.

iii. NON-SYRIAC VERSIONS OF THE DIATESSARON.—The above sketch of the history of the Diatessaron proves beyond question: (1) That this form of the Gospels was very widely, if not exclusively, used in the Syrian Church during the 3rd and 4th cents.; and (2) that the work continued to be known and read by Syriac writers down to the beginning of the 14th century. But the evidence of the existence and influence of Tatian's Harmony is, as we have pointed out, not confined to the quotations and references of Syriac commentators; for though the Syriac Diatessaron has unfortunately not been preserved to us, yet we possess both Latin and Arabic translations of Tatian's work, together with an Armenian version of St. Ephraem's commentary upon it. These versions in themselves furnish incontrovertible proof of the great esteem in which the Harmony was held, and in that respect form a most important addition to the evidence set forth above; but their chief value lies in the fact that by their means we are enabled to obtain some conception, not only of the order and arrangement of Tatian's work, but also of its actual text.

(*a*) *The Armenian version of St. Ephraem's commentary on the Diatessaron.*—It has been already suggested that St. Ephraem's commentary on the Diatessaron contributed in no slight measure to the preservation of the latter work. For the honour and esteem in which that writer and his works were held by the Syrian Church naturally extended to his Gospel commentary, and ensured the survival of Tatian's work at least in that form. We may even go further, and assume that the example set by so prominent a writer as Ephraem exercised a considerable influence on his successors, who were thus led to study—and so to preserve—a work which otherwise seemed destined to disappear. But, whatever its influence in the past, it is undoubtedly true that in modern times the publication of a Latin translation of the Armenian version of this commentary has been the means of once more arousing the interest of scholars in the Diatessaron, and of rescuing it from that oblivion to which it had been so long assigned. The Armenian version of the commentary first appeared in the edition of St. Ephraem's works issued in four volumes by the Mechitarist Fathers of St. Lazzaro in 1836. A Latin translation of the commentary was prepared by J. B. Aucher, one of the editors, as early as 1841, but was not published. The work was finally made accessible to scholars by Prof. Moesinger, who in 1876 published Aucher's translation, which he had revised and corrected by the aid of another MS, under the title: *Evangelii Concordantis Expositio facta a Sancto Ephraemo Doctore Syro.* Both the MSS on which this translation is based date from the year 1195, but the version itself is assigned to the 5th cent. (Moesinger, p. xi). That the Armenian version was made from the Syriac commentary of St. Ephraem seems to be fully established,[*] and we are therefore justified in treating the work as genuine.

Among the first to recognize the great importance of Moesinger's translation was Professor Zahn, to whom, indeed, all NT scholars are largely indebted for a knowledge, not only of a considerable part of the Diatessaron itself but also of a large number of facts bearing on its history and character. Those portions of the text which the author was able to restore with the aid of the new translation (and also of the *Homilies* of Aphraates) were incorporated in the first volume of his *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons und der altkirchlichen Literatur* (Erlangen, 1881). In this work Zahn further gave a full and complete account of all that was then known of the Diatessaron and its author, and, to a large extent, solved the many complicated and difficult questions which are connected with its origin and history. The main interest of the volume, however, centres in his brilliant restoration of the text, and in the evidence which he has adduced in support of his reconstruction. We therefore append a brief description of the methods employed by Zahn in recovering the lost text.

The task of reproducing the order and arrangement of the Diatessaron, as Zahn discovered, was materially lightened by the character and form of Ephraem's commentary. For the latter consists of a series of lectures or discourses, which are largely homiletic both in form and substance, and appear to have been delivered orally. Moreover, each discourse was apparently preceded by the reading of the Gospel section which formed the subject of discussion; and though, unfortunately, the text of the section was not included in the commentary, the discourse itself affords sufficient evidence for identifying the passage of Scripture thus commented on. In reconstructing the text itself Zahn had to fall back upon the Gospel quotations contained in the commentary as translated by Moesinger,[*] and in the *Homilies* of Aphraates.[†]

The Gospel quotations that occur in the Latin translation of Ephraem's commentary naturally form the basis of the text. Those quotations,[‡] however, which occur—chiefly by way of illustration—out of their context, *i.e.* in other discourses than the one to which they belong, are inserted in square brackets, as also the quotations from Aphraates, the latter being given, for the sake of clearness, in German instead of Latin. Further, all quotations, whether in Ephraem's commentary or in the *Homilies* of Aphraates, which are not given literally, but freely reproduced, are printed in italic type; and, lastly, all Zahn's own additions, *e.g.* references, etc., are enclosed in round brackets. In the voluminous notes appended to each section Zahn has compared the Curetonian and Peshiṭta versions, and, in many cases, also the Harklean; while in the more important passages reference is made to the Greek MSS (ℵ, B and D) and to the Itala MSS.

It is no slight tribute to the skill and ingenuity of Zahn to say that he has by these means succeeded in restoring not only the broad general features of the Diatessaron, but also, to a relatively large extent, its actual text. The former we are able to control by means of the Latin (Codex Fuldensis) and Arabic translations of the Diatessaron, which confirm in the most striking manner the accuracy of Zahn's deductions; but these versions, unfortunately (see below) afford but little assistance in restoring the actual text.

Enough, however, of the original Diatessaron has in this way been restored to enable us to make out both the object of the author and the methods which he followed. It is clear that the object of the Harmony was not to detract from, or impair, the authority of the four canonical Gospels, which undoubtedly form the basis of Tatian's work, but rather to put together a single connected account of the life of our Lord, which should contain all that was essential in the narratives of the Gospels. It was thus a popular rather than a learned work, and was designed to obviate those difficulties to which the fourfold form of the Gospels was only too apt to give rise. But, though the author was fully convinced of the genuineness of his sources, he did not adopt, as Zahn puts it, a 'superstitious attitude' towards them. He rightly perceived that divergent accounts did not necessarily imply more than a single occurrence of the same incident, and acted accordingly; while in cases of actual discrepancy or contradiction he boldly followed one authority to the exclusion of the others. Thus he followed St. Mark's (10^{46}) narrative of the healing of *one* blind man *after* leaving Jericho, in preference to that of St. Matthew ($20^{29.30}$), who speaks of *two* blind men, and to that of St. Luke (18^{35}), who places the miracle *before* the entry into Jericho. In this respect he appears to treat all four Evangelists as of equal authority; but, in the main, his scheme of our Lord's public ministry, which extends over three Passovers,* is based on the Fourth Gospel. In detail, however, the latter is treated with the same freedom as the Synoptists. Thus the purification of the temple (Jn 2^{14-22}) and the discourse with Nicodemus (3^{1-21}) are transferred to the Feast of the Dedication at Jerusalem in the last winter of our Lord's life. The following example will perhaps give a better illustration, not only of the boldness with which Tatian treated his sources, but also of the keen insight and judgment displayed by Zahn in tracing out and determining the principles which appear to have guided him:—We find in the Harmony that Jn 6^{1-21} (§ 34. Feeding of the 5000 just before the second Passover) precedes Jn 4^{4-42} (§ 38. Discourse with the woman of Samaria) and Jn 5 (§ 40. Visit to Jerusalem and cure at the Pool of Bethesda), the two latter being separated by § 39 (the healing of the leper, Mt 8^{2-4}, Mk 1^{40-45}, Lk 5^{12-14}). But § 38 (Jn $4^{4f.}$), which forms part of a journey from Judæa to Samaria, seems to be inconsistent with the preceding sections (14–37), which (with the exception of § 25) describe the Galilæan ministry. A further difficulty is presented by the isolated position of § 39, which is the only incident belonging to the Galilæan ministry which, presumably, stands in its proper position between the journey to Galilee (Jn 4^{4-43}) and the visit to Jerusalem (5^1). The correct explanation is, no doubt, that offered by Zahn, who points out that Tatian has reversed the order of St. John, and assigned the two days' sojourn at Samaria (Jn 4^{4-42}, § 38) to a journey *from* Galilee to Jerusalem. Tatian's procedure is bold, but it involves no alteration of Jn 4^{4-42}, since these verses include nothing which requires that the sojourn in Samaria should form part of a journey from Judæa to Galilee. The remaining verses of ch. 4, it is true, clearly point to such a journey, but they form no part of § 38. For vv.$^{1-3}$ had already been given in § 13; of vv.$^{43-46}$ Tatian had only utilized v.^{44} in § 32, while it is doubtful if v.^{43} ever formed part of the Harmony: according to Zahn, vv.$^{46b-54}$ also were omitted by Tatian, their place being taken by § 39.† It naturally follows from this alteration of Tatian that the scene of § 39 is transferred from Galilee to Judæa. This second change, however, is certainly an improvement from the point of view of the history, for Mt 8^4, Mk 1^{44}, Lk 5^{14} appear to presuppose easy access to the temple and its priestly ritual. The complete chronological scheme underlying the Diatessaron, which has thus been restored, is as follows:—

---

[*] Zahn, *Forsch.* i. 46 f.; J. Hamlyn Hill, *A Dissertation on the Gospel Commentary of S. Ephraem the Syrian*, Edinburgh, 1896.

[*] A more accurate English translation from the Armenian MSS by Canon Armitage Robinson is given in Appendix x. to Dr. Hamlyn Hill's *The Earliest Life of Christ ever compiled from the Four Gospels, being the Diatessaron of Tatian*, etc.; and in the same writer's *Dissertation*, p. 75 f.

[†] Cf. Baethgen, *Evangelienfragmente*, p. 62 f., who points out that, though Aphraates knew and used the Diatessaron, his Gospel quotations are not taken exclusively from that work.

[‡] The doubt expressed by Zahn as to whether these quotations were taken from the Diatessaron or from the Peshiṭta has now been dispelled once and for all. Since the publication of Mr. Burkitt's work on *S. Ephraem's Quotations from the Gospel*, it may be regarded as certain that Ephraem did not use the Peshiṭta.

		Sections
1.	The Logos, Incarnation and Childhood of our Lord	1–7
2.	The first Manifestation	8–12
3.	The beginning of His public ministry. First Passover (Jn 2^{13}) . . .	13
4.	Jesus in Galilee	14–37
5.	Journey through Samaria. Second Passover (Jn 5)	38–40
6.	Sojourn in Galilee	41–51
7.	Visit to Jerusalem. Feast of Tabernacles (Jn $7^{2f.}$)	52
8.	Journey to (Peræa or) Galilee and back	53–58
9.	Feast of the Dedication in Jerusalem .	59–71
10.	Raising of Lazarus. Sojourn in Ephraim and return to Bethany . .	72, 73
11.	From the Triumphal Entry to the Institution of the Lord's Supper . .	74–89
12.	Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension .	90–100

(*b*) *Codex Fuldensis.*—That the Latin Harmony of the Gospels discovered by Victor, bishop of Capua, about the year A.D. 545, and ascribed by him, on the authority of the statements contained in Eusebius (*HE* iv. 36), to Tatian* does actually represent the Diatessaron, may now be regarded as proved.† A comparison of the two documents clearly demonstrates that they are closely allied, and that, at least as regards the *order*, they are, with few exceptions, in remarkable agreement. This agreement, unfortunately, does not extend to the text, for the copy of the Latin Harmony which Victor inserted (in place of the four Gospels) at the head of his edition of the New Testament is not so much a translation, whether of the original Syriac or of an intermediate Greek version, as a transference of the language of the original text into the language of the Latin Gospels as revised by Jerome. In other words, the form exhibited by the Latin Harmony of the Codex Fuldensis is that of the Diatessaron, the text is that of the Vulgate. We cannot, however, follow Hemphill‡ in attributing the form of the Latin text to Victor or to the scribe working under his direction. Such a supposition is inconsistent with Victor's own introductory remarks,§ which convey no hint of such a laborious task, and is directly excluded by an examination of the descriptive capitulation prefixed to the Harmony. For though the latter frequently disagrees with the enumeration of the chapters as given in the text, and was clearly, therefore, composed before the Harmony had assumed its present form, it has been preserved unchanged by the copyist. The following instances of this disagreement, taken from the commencement of the Harmony, are the more interesting as they serve in a large measure to explain the opposition with which Victor's identification of the Harmony was for so long received. The table of chapters commences: Præfatio I. *In principio verbum, deus apud deum, per quem facta sunt omnia.* From this heading we see that the Harmony commenced with Jn 1^{1-5}, and that Lk 1^{1-4}, which now precedes it in the Harmony, formed no part of the original work. In the same way we can explain the presence of the genealogies of the Lord, which, as we know, were omitted in Tatian's Diatessaron. The capitulation runs: V. *de generationem* (sic!) *vel nativitate Christi.* Here the word *generatio* is clearly identical with *nativitas*, and does not refer to the genealogies (Mt 1^{1-16}, Lk 3^{34-38}, Mt 1^{17}) but to Mt $1^{18f.}$ (*Christi autem generatio sic erat*), which is given in the Codex at the beginning of ch. 5. Thus we see that the Latin Harmony originally commenced with Jn 1^1, and did not contain the genealogies, the omission of which is so characteristic of Tatian's work.

---

* Cf. § iii. *c*. According to the Arabic version, no account of the first Passover is given by Tatian; this, however, does not affect the length of our Lord's ministry.

† These verses, however, occur both in the Latin and the Arabic translations, though in different contexts.

* 'Ex historia quoque ejus comperi, quod Tatianus, vir eruditissimus et orator illius temporis clarus, unum ex quatuor compaginaverit evangelium cui titulum diapente composuit.' (*Codex Fuldensis*, ed. E. Ranke, 1868, p. 1 f.). The origin of the curious title 'Diapente' (διὰ πέντε) for 'Diatessaron' has long perplexed the minds of scholars. It is not found either in the original Greek of Eusebius or in the Latin (of Rufinus) and Syriac translations of that work. Further, it is expressly excluded by Victor's statement that the Harmony was compiled from the *four* Gospels (the numeral is also inserted in the translation of Rufinus). Zahn (*Forsch.* i. 2 f.) is probably right in regarding it as a *lapsus calami* either of Victor or of his scribe.

† H. Wace, *Expositor*, 1881, 2, p. 128 f.; Zahn, *Forsch.* i. pp. 1–5, 298 f.

‡ *The Diatessaron of Tatian*, p. xxiv.

§ Cf. Zahn, *Forsch.* i. p. 3 f.

The elimination of these later additions to the Latin Harmony undoubtedly removes two of the strongest objections that were urged against the identification of Victor's discovery with the Diatessaron. There still remains, however, the question of the language, since, in the opinion of many scholars, the Latin translation can have been made only through the medium of a Greek version, whether that of the original Diatessaron or of a translation made from the Syriac. But the evidence which we have examined affords no support, or rather is entirely opposed, to the theory of an original Greek Diatessaron, while the researches of Zahn (*Forsch.* i. 311 f.) have shown conclusively that the supposed need of a Greek intermediary translation lacks historical support. Thus a contemporary of Victor, the African Junilius, who was *Quæstor sacri palatii* at Constantinople about A.D. 545–552, made a Latin translation (*Instituta regularia divinæ legis*) of an introduction to the Scriptures, composed by the Syrian Nestorian Paul, a pupil and teacher of the school of Nisibis, and sent it to Primasius, bishop of Adrumetum.[*] Even at an earlier date Cassiodorus and the Roman bishop Agapetus (d. 536 A.D.) conceived the idea of founding a theological school at Rome on the model of those at Nisibis and Alexandria. Still more important is the testimony of Gennadius of Massilia, who wrote a continuation of Jerome's *de Viris Illustribus.* In the first chapter of this work (written about A.D. 495) he discusses at some length the *Homilies* of Aphraates, whom he identified with Jacob of Nisibis, and explains Jerome's silence with regard to this writer on the ground that his works had not been translated; for the works of the few Syriac writers which are included in Jerome's category were, by his own testimony, known to him only through Greek translations. Gennadius mentions further a Syriac chronicle of Jacob of Nisibis, the writings of two of Ephraem's pupils, and also those of Isaac of Antioch. It would seem, therefore, that the ignorance of Syriac, which prevailed among Western writers at the time of Jerome, had largely disappeared during the interval between the date of the latter and that of Victor of Capua. Probably, as Zahn suggests, this change was chiefly brought about by the Syriac monks who settled in Sinai, Palestine, Egypt, and Constantinople, and there came into contact with Western scholars. Hence it is by no means improbable that some Latin scholar in the 5th or at the beginning of the 6th cent. should have compiled that Latin form of the Syriac Diatessaron which has been preserved to us in the Codex Fuldensis.

It is obvious from what has been said above that the Codex Fuldensis can add nothing to our knowledge of the text of the Diatessaron. It is, however, an important witness to the general structure and arrangement of its Syriac original, though even in that respect it seems to have suffered from revision. Its chief value for our purpose consists, as we shall see, in the fact that it supplies us with the means of controlling the far more trustworthy evidence of the Arabic version.

(*c*) *The Arabic Version.*—This version was first published by A. Ciasca, one of the guild of scriptors at the Vatican Library, under the title: '*The Diatessaron which Tatian compiled from the Four Gospels* (in Arabic), *seu Tatiani Evangeliorum Harmoniæ Arabice. Nunc primum ex duplici codice edidit et translatione Latina, donavit P. Augustinus Ciasca*, etc., Romæ, 1888.' Of the two MSS which form the basis of this edition, one (Cod. Vat. Arab. xiv.) had been brought from the East by Joseph Assemani as early as A.D. 1719, and had been definitely described by its discoverer as 'Tatiani Diatessaron seu quatuor Evangelia in unum redacta' (*Bibl. Or.* i. 619). A statement to the same effect contained in the colophon[*] was also quoted by Stephen Assemani; nevertheless the MS was left unnoticed, except by Zahn, until the publication of Ciasca's *De Tatiani Diatessaron Arabica Versione*[†] in 1883. In this essay Ciasca gave a full description of the MS which, like Assemani, he assigned to the 12th century. He further defended the statement of the colophon, despite the fact that the Arabic Harmony commenced with Mk 1^1 (instead of Jn 1^1), and contained the genealogies according to Matthew and Luke. His conjecture that these additions were a later interpolation was substantially confirmed by a comparison with the second MS, which shortly afterwards came into his hands. This MS was presented to the Museo Borgiano in 1886 by the Copt, Galim dos Galî. It is probably to be assigned to the 14th century. It displays a less correct orthography than the Vatican MS, but presents the text in a more original form. Both the introductory notice and the colophon describe the work as the Diatessaron. It clearly begins with Jn 1^1, Mk 1^1 forming a sort of title, while the genealogies are not included in the text, but have been inserted before the colophon. For his Arabic text Ciasca has mostly followed the Vatican MS, but there are a number of passages in which he has adopted the readings of the later MS; the variants are in every case added in the footnotes. The usefulness of the Latin translation is a good deal impaired by Ciasca's attempt to adapt it to the style and character of the Clementine Vulgate; apart from this fact, it also contains too many inaccuracies to be of much critical value. This translation has been followed by Dr. Hemphill in his English edition of the Diatessaron (1888), and forms the basis of another English translation, which has been compared throughout with the original Arabic, published by Dr. Hamlyn Hill in *The Earliest Life of Christ.* A more literal and entirely independent English rendering of the Arabic has also been published by the Rev. Hope W. Hogg.[‡]

An interesting statement as to the origin of the Arabic translation has been preserved both in the introductory notice and in the colophon[§] of the

---

[*] Kihn, *Theodor von Mopsuestia und Junilius Africanus.*

[*] 'In fine fol. 123 hæc a librariis adnotata reperies: Explicit auxilio Dei Sacrosanctum Evangelium quod ex quatuor Evangeliis collegit Tatianus, quodque Diatessaron vulgo dicitur. Et laus Deo' (Mai, *Script. Vet. Nova Coll.* iv. 2. 14).

[†] Pitra, *Analecta Sacra*, iv. 465–487.

[‡] *Ante-Nicene Christian Library:* Additional Volume. 1897.

[§] These are given in full by Hjelt, *op. cit.* p. 63 n., together with a discussion of the difficulties presented at the commencement of the Harmony by the various readings of the two MSS. Hjelt adopts the view (cf. Zahn, *Gesch.* ii. 538) that the material common to both MSS is probably the remains of an original title which perhaps ran as follows: 'The Gospel of Jesus Christ, Borgian MS, according to which it was made by the 'excellent and learned priest' Abu'l Faraj 'Abdullah ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib. The colophon adds further that the Syriac exemplar was written by 'Isa (MS wrongly Gubasi) ibn 'Ali al-Mutaṭabbib, the pupil of Ḥonain ibn-Isḥaḳ. By means of these notices, the correctness of which we have no reason to doubt, we are able to fix the date both of the Arabic translation and of its Syriac original. Ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib was a well-known writer of the 11th cent. (d. 1043), who commented on the writings of Aristotle, Galen, and Hippocrates, translated the Gospels of SS. Matthew and John from Syriac into Arabic, and also wrote an Arabic commentary on the Gospels. The scribe who was responsible for the Syriac exemplar is most probably none other than the famous lexicographer Jesus bar-'Ali (see above, § ii. *b*), who flourished in the latter half of the 9th cent. (his teacher Ḥonain died in A.D. 873). Thus the date of the Syriac MS used by the translator of the Borgian MS is the latter half of the 9th cent., and that of the Arabic translation itself the first half of the 11th century.

It is disappointing to find that, though the Arabic translation has preserved the outward form and characteristics of Tatian's Harmony, and in that respect is a most important witness to the order and arrangement of the Diatessaron, the text which it exhibits has throughout been accommodated to that of the Peshiṭta, and is therefore of no value for restoring the original Syriac version. The data at our command are perhaps insufficient for determining whether this accommodation had already been effected in the Syriac exemplar which was used by the Arabic translator, or is to be assigned to the latter himself. Zahn [*] maintains that the translator entirely recast the Syriac in accordance with the existing Arabic versions of the Gospels, and that the history of the Arabic Harmony thus presents a close analogy to that of the Latin (Codex Fuldensis). In support of this view he urges that, when once the Diatessaron had been banished from the public worship of the Church, it would soon cease to have an interest for any but the learned, and the latter would have no motive in introducing any alterations. As evidence of such learned interest in the Diatessaron he points to the marginal references, attached to both the Arabic MSS and presupposed by the introductory notice in the Borgian MS, by which the source of each passage was indicated: these, presumably, already existed in the Syriac copy of the 9th cent., since the writer of the notice is silent on the subject; and they naturally formed no part of the original Diatessaron. It seems, however, more probable that the later type of text preserved in the Arabic version reflects the result of a process of revision by which the *Syriac* Diatessaron had been gradually brought nearer and nearer to the authoritative text of the Peshiṭta. For the Arabic, unlike the Latin Harmony, shows evident signs of its Syriac origin; and this fact alone makes it difficult to imagine that its text was entirely recast in a similar manner to that of the Codex Fuldensis. Moreover, it is not only, as Zahn admits, a faithful witness to the order and arrangement of the Diatessaron as a whole, but also reproduces in many cases the finer details which determine the internal composition of the individual sections. These arguments would naturally receive strong confirmation if we could follow Hjelt in his theory—which is undoubtedly supported by the fact of this 11th cent. Arabic translation—that the Diatessaron was retained in church use by the Nestorians down to the Middle Ages. For, had such been the case, the accepted text of the Peshiṭta could not have failed in course of time to exercise a marked influence on the older text. Hjelt's further suggestion, that the reference in the colophon of the Borgian MS to the work of 'Isa ibn 'Ali al-Mutaṭabbib, *i.e.* Jesus bar-Ali, possibly contains a hint as to the authorship of that final revision of the Syriac Diatessaron, which is embodied in the Arabic version, can only be described as an ingenious conjecture. But, whatever its genesis, it is clear that the Arabic translation possesses far greater value for restoring the original work of Tatian, more especially in relation to its internal structure, than the Latin Harmony of Victor. Moreover, since a comparison with the quotations of Ephraem and Aphraates attests its trustworthiness in those parts for which the Syriac writers are available, we should be justified in admitting its evidence, even where the latter are silent. In such cases, however, some doubt would naturally exist, and it is therefore in this connexion that the importance of the sister Latin version is most apparent. For if, as can be shown, the Codex Fuldensis is in entire agreement with the Arabic version in passages which are otherwise attested by Syriac evidence, we may infer that their agreement elsewhere is also due to the fact that both have preserved the original form of the Diatessaron. This is the more certain, as the Arabic translation of the 11th cent. cannot be dependent on the Latin version of Victor in the 6th cent., while the theory of a common source for both is excluded by a comparison of their variations from the original.[*]

The testimony of the Arabic Harmony has naturally enabled Zahn to supplement his former work to a very considerable extent, while at the same time confirming in the most striking manner his reconstruction of the Diatessaron. In one respect only is a correction necessary in the chronological scheme (see above), viz. the omission of the first Passover (Jn 2^{13})[†]: otherwise the changes involved are confined to a few cases in which the order of the individual sections varies in the Arabic version.[‡] Of these the majority are accepted by Zahn when the order of the Arabic Harmony is confirmed by that of the Codex Fuldensis.[§]

iv. RELATION OF THE DIATESSARON TO THE OLD SYRIAC.—The term 'Old Syriac' is here used to denote that early form of the Syriac Gospels which existed alongside of the Diatessaron down to the beginning of the 5th cent., but which was then revised in conformity with the Greek by Rabbūla, with the result that the new version, the Peshiṭta, speedily became the accepted ecclesiastical text.[‖] We have already seen (§ ii. *b*) that this version, with its separate Gospels, was frequently described as *Evangelion da-Mĕpharrĕshē* (Gospel of the Separated [ones]), to distinguish it from the Diatessaron or *Ev. da-Mĕḥallĕṭē* (Gospel of the Mixed). Of this version we now possess two codices, viz. that called the Curetonian Syriac (Sc), a Nitrian MS of about the middle of the 5th cent., which was published by Cureton in 1858, and the Sinai palimpsest (Ss), dating from the beginning of the 5th cent., which was edited by the late Prof. Bensly, J. Rendel Harris, and F. C. Burkitt in

---

viz. the Diatessaron.' In the Syriac exemplar, used by the Arabic translator, the original title was probably obscured by the substitution of 'the Son of God' (Mk 1^1) for 'viz. the Diatessaron,' while later still the insertion of another marginal gloss from Mk 1^1 (*ex Marco dic: Initium*) caused even further confusion.

[*] *Gesch.* ii. p. 530 f.

[*] Zahn, *Gesch.* ii. 535 f.

[†] *Forsch.* i. 250.

[‡] Hamlyn Hill, *Earliest Life of Christ*, App. ix.

[§] In two cases at least it would seem that Zahn has insisted too rigidly on the absolute agreement of the Arabic and Latin versions; see Hjelt, *op. cit.* p. 70 f.

[‖] For a fuller account, see an article by the present writer in *The Church Quarterly Review*, April 1903, pp. 143-171.

1893. The two codices agree so closely—though they also display some important textual variations—that they may be suitably described as two recensions of one and the same translation. Of the two texts Ss is decidedly the purer, and may be regarded as a faithful witness to the text of the 2nd cent.; Sc, on the other hand, probably represents a later recension of the 3rd century. The question that naturally arises from a consideration of these two MSS of the Old Syriac is that of their relation to the Harmony of Tatian, which also involves the further question of the relation of the Old Syriac to the Diatessaron.

As the result of his exhaustive investigations in connexion with the Diatessaron, Zahn concluded that Tatian had based his Harmony on the text of the Old Syriac, which must have been made about the middle of the 2nd cent.; but had also made use of a Greek text of a similar type to that of the Codex Bezæ and of the oldest Itala MSS. This conclusion was, in reality, based on two misconceptions. For from a comparison of the text of Sc with that of the Diatessaron (T), Zahn argued that the former had influenced, and was therefore prior to, the latter; but, since he also identified Sc with the Old Syriac, the two errors did not affect the correctness of his main contention, that the Old Syriac was prior to T. The real relation of T to Sc was first established by F. Baethgen,[*] who, as Zahn admits, has shown conclusively that T clearly influenced, and was therefore prior to, Sc. The arguments adduced by Baethgen are, briefly: (1) the presence of an extraordinarily large number of harmonistic readings in Sc, which must be derived from the Harmony; (2) the numerous cases of abridgment which are to be explained in a similar way; (3) the specifically 'Alexandrine' readings, which point to a later date than the 2nd cent.; (4) the great freedom of rendering, which frequently lapses into paraphrase, and may be recognized as due to Tatian; (5) the dogmatic character of Sc.

(1) Even if we exclude those cases in which a harmonistic reading is attested by either a single Greek MS or one of the old translations, or a Patristic quotation, Baethgen has shown that there still remain some 150 cases in which Sc stands alone, except for the frequent agreement of T. This is the more remarkable, since such mixed texts are necessarily confined to passages for which there is a parallel account; while Zahn's restoration of the text of T, of which Baethgen makes use, is of a very fragmentary nature.

(2) It is of the very essence of a Harmony such as that compiled by Tatian that it should omit not only those incidents and sayings which are repeated by one or more of the Evangelists, but also many of the small clauses and words which, without affecting the sense, serve to characterize the narrative. But, though these omissions might naturally be expected to be restored in a translation of the four separate Gospels, nearly a half of the (roughly) 270 readings which are peculiar to Sc (excluding the harmonistic readings) belong to this category of abridgment or omission: hence we may infer that Sc has made use of the shorter text of T wherever such a course does not affect either the meaning or the context.

(3) As the result of an exhaustive examination, Baethgen pronounces the text of Sc to be of a decidedly 'Western' type, as is shown by its affinity with D, in part also with ℵ and some minuscules (especially 69), and, lastly, with the 'African' text of the Old Latin. But Sc also displays traces of 'Alexandrine' influence, which seems, in fact, to be due to Origen. Hence the translation must certainly be assigned to a later date than that of the Diatessaron, and cannot be earlier than the 3rd century.

(4) In his discussion on the method of the translator of Sc, Baethgen (pp. 13-23) classifies the various expedients adopted in order to reproduce the sense of the Greek text. But similar examples occur with even greater frequency in T; and though naturally some of the latter's more striking translations are no longer to be found in Sc, yet the two so often agree that the dependence of the one on the other can hardly be denied (cf. Baethgen, p. 87). In view, therefore, of the priority of T which has been already established, it is highly probable that in this respect also Sc is dependent on the Diatessaron.

(5) It is, however, especially with regard to its 'dogmatic' character that Sc betrays the influence of Tatian. Clear traces of the latter's anti-Jewish or universalistic views appear to be preserved in Mt 1^{21} (*mundum* for τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ), Jn 6^{70} (πάντας for τοὺς δώδεκα), 7^{51} (the omission of ἡμῶν after ὁ νόμος).[*] The omission of the possessive pronoun with 'Father' in Mt 6^{15} 10^{32}, Lk 2^{49}, Jn 6^{32} 14^{21} is also, according to Baethgen, to be ascribed to a similar point of view. Further, Tatian's Encratite views seem to be reflected in those renderings of Sc which are clearly due to a desire to establish the perpetual virginity of the mother of our Lord. This is especially noticeable in Mt $1^{18\text{-}25}$.

The above arguments do not all possess the same evidential value, but the cumulative evidence which they supply is more than sufficient to justify Baethgen's conclusion as to the relative dates of Sc and T. It by no means follows, however, that the evidence which was conclusive in the case of Sc necessarily applies to its archetype, viz. the Old Syriac: hence Baethgen's further conclusion, that the Diatessaron was the earliest form of the Syriac Gospels, cannot be accepted without additional proof. In this connexion the discovery of the Sinai palimpsest is of the greatest importance. For if it can be shown that this codex agrees with Sc in exhibiting the same traces of T's influence, we can only infer that this agreement goes back to their common source, *i.e.* the Old Syriac, and that the latter is therefore posterior to Tatian's Harmony. That such is actually the case is maintained, among others, by Zahn and Nestle; but, in view of the arguments brought forward by Burkitt[†] and Hjelt,[‡] the contrary opinion seems to be the more probable. For a comparison of the text of Ss with that of Sc shows that those peculiar features of the text which clearly pointed, in the case of the latter, to the influence of T, are by no means so strongly marked, if not entirely wanting, in the former. This divergence of text is especially noticeable in respect to the harmonistic and 'dogmatic' readings which undoubtedly form the main support of Baethgen's arguments as to the relation of Sc to T. With regard to the former, Burkitt notes that sixteen,[§] or more than one-third, of the forty-three examples (quoted by Baethgen), where Sc stands alone (or with the Diatessaron), are not shared in Ss. Hence it is clear that, though Ss undoubtedly contains a large number of mixed readings, these by no means form such a distinctive feature of its text as they do in the case of Sc, and need not therefore be ascribed to the same cause. Their presence is more than sufficiently accounted for, whether we assign it to the well-known tendency of scribes to harmonize parallel passages unconsciously, or to the actual influence of the Diatessaron, which, as we have seen, was the accepted text of the Syriac Church during the 3rd and 4th centuries. In respect of their 'dogmatic' character, the difference between the two codices is even more strongly marked, since Ss exhibits no traces of Tatian's influence. A striking illustration of this fact is furnished by an examination of the two texts in the crucial passage, Mt 1^{18-25}: v.^{19} Ss *her husband*—Sc omits; v.^{20} Ss *thy wife*—Sc *thy betrothed*; v.^{21} Ss *and thou shalt call*—Sc (*his name*) *shall be called*; v.^{24} Ss *his wife*—Sc *Mary*; v.^{25} Ss *and she bore him a son, and* HE *called his name Jesus*—Sc *and he lived with her purely, until she brought forth the son, and* SHE *called his name Jesus.* (In this rendering of οὐκ ἐγίνωσκεν αὐτήν [omitted by Ss] Sc follows Tatian). But it is obvious that the lack of agreement between Ss and Sc on these points, which formed the basis of Baethgen's argument for the priority of T to Sc, materially weakens the case for the similar relation between T and Ss, since the other points of contact are not decisive in themselves and may have arisen equally well from the dependence of T on Ss.

---

[*] *Evangelienfragmente*, Leipzig, 1885.

[*] To these we may add Mt 10^{23} (the omission of τοῦ Ἰσραήλ).

[†] *Guardian*, Oct. 31, 1894.

[‡] *Op. cit.* p. 107 f.

[§] Hjelt, *op. cit.* p. 108 n., corrects this to fifteen, and points out that in four of these passages Ss is defective.

Moreover, we are not without positive proofs of the priority of the Old Syriac (as represented by Ss). The most important of these is the omission in Ss of the last twelve verses of St. Mark, which, as Burkitt has pointed out, can only be a Greek variant, and must represent, therefore, the original form of the Old Syriac. But we know that Tatian included Mk 16^{9-20} in his Harmony: hence its omission by Ss clearly points to the priority of the latter. Other omissions which point to the same conclusion are those of Mk 15^{28}, Lk $22^{43.44}$ (the Bloody Sweat) and 23^{34} (the Prayer on the Cross), all of which are given in the Diatessaron.

Similar evidence is also afforded by the curious mistranslations of Ss which occur in Mt 22^{16}, Mk 7^{26} 10^{50}, Lk 4^{29}. In Mt 22^{16} τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ (Sc τοῦ Ἰησοῦ) for αὐτῶν (Sc τῶν Φαρισαίων); in Mk 7^{26} Ss renders *from the border of Tyre in Phœnicia*, clearly identifying the Συρο in Συροφοινίκισσα with Tyre (צור); in Mk 10^{50} ἀποβαλών is misread as ἀπολαβών; in Lk 4^{29} its rendering presupposes ὥστε κατακρεμάσαι αὐτόν instead of ὥστε κατακρημνίσαι αὐτόν.* To these we should probably add Mt 5^{4}, Lk 2^{25}, where Aphraates renders παρακληθήσονται and παράκλησις according to the ordinary meaning of the verb, viz. *to pray*. Aphraates, as we know, made use of the separated Gospels, and has probably done so in the present case; for Tatian, who was well acquainted with Greek, would hardly have fallen into such an error. Ss, it is true, translates παράκλησις correctly in Lk 6^{24}, but makes a similar misrendering in Lk 2^{25}; possibly, as Hjelt suggests, Ss does not represent the original text of the Old Syriac either in Lk 6^{24} or in Mt 5^{4}.

But, apart from these omissions and mistranslations, which clearly attest the independence, and therefore the priority, of Ss, a comparison of the two texts shows no less clearly that 'in those cases in which they differ from one another, the former, as a rule, presents a form of text which appears to be the older and more original' (Hjelt, p. 155), while in many cases the rendering of T seems to be directly based on that of Ss, or of one similar to it. Space forbids a complete discussion of all the divergences of the two texts, but the following instance will afford sufficient illustration of this statement.

We have already seen from a comparison of the texts of Ss and Sc in Mt 1^{18-25} that the former gives a plain unbiassed rendering of the passage, which is in marked contrast to that of Sc. But the variants of Sc in this passage reflect, to a large extent, that desire to emphasize the virginity of our Lord's mother, which is even more apparent in the Diatessaron—*e.g.* in the rendering (v.^{18}) *antequam data est viro* for πρὶν ἢ συνελθεῖν, the omission of αὐτῆς, v.^{19}; the rendering *in sanctitate habitabat cum ea* for οὐκ ἐγίνωσκεν, v.^{25}, and the transposition of v.^{25} and ^{24b}. Possibly the clearest indication of the priority of Ss to T is given by v.^{19}, in which the rendering of T and (Sc) obviously presupposes that of Ss. Other passages which point to T's immediate dependence on Ss, or on a text similar to it, are Mt 10^{23} 14^{32}, Lk 1^{13}, Jn $3^{34b\ 35a}$. In Mt 10^{23} Ss renders *civitatem* by ܩܪܝܐ; while in Lk 10^{10}, which is here combined with the Matthew passage, the more usual ܡܕܝܢܬܐ is found. This difference of rendering, however, is preserved by T, who uses the latter word for *civitatem* in the introductory sentence which he has incorporated from Lk 10, but renders the πόλεις of Mat. by ܩܪ̈ܝܐ. In Mt 14^{32} he translates ἐκόπασεν by two synonyms, the one (ܫܟܟ) being taken from Matthew, and the other (ܫܠܝ) from the parallel Mk 6^{51}. The dependence of T is no less clear in Lk 1^{13}, where Ss renders διότι εἰσηκούσθη ἡ δέησίς σου quite freely by 'For, behold, God has hearkened to the voice of thy prayer'; for, though he has restored the passive construction of the Greek, he has also retained the addition of Ss in the form 'exaudita est deprecatio tua ante *Deum*.' Jn $3^{34f.}$ offers a number of interesting Syriac variants;* but of these the rendering of T (οὐ γὰρ ἐκ μέτρου δίδωσι [τὸ πνεῦμα ὁ πατὴρ]† τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ ἀγαπᾷ δὲ αὐτόν) seems to be based on that of Ss (οὐ γὰρ ἐκ μέτρου δίδωσιν ὁ θεὸς ὁ πατήρ, ἀγαπᾷ δὲ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ), the order of which he has slightly varied. Other passages in which Ss has preserved the more original reading are: Mt 4^{6} (for βάλε σεαυτὸν κάτω), $5^{4f.}$ (the order of the second and third Beatitudes), 10^{6} (for πρὸς τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἀπολωλότα τοῦ οἰκοῦ Ἰσραήλ), 16^{13} 17^{20} (for διὰ τὴν ἀπιστίαν ὑμῶν), 18^{20} 21^{28-31} (Ss here presents a 'Western' text), Mk 7^{11} 9^{23}, Lk 2^{14} (the rendering of εὐδοκία), 6^{40} 17^{21} (ἐντὸς ὑμῶν), Jn 2^{19} (omission of τοῦτον after τὸν ναόν), 4^{19} (omission of ἡ γυνή), $6^{33.39}$ $11^{1.25}$ (omission of καὶ ἡ ζωή).

In consideration of these facts we are justified in ignoring a large number of those passages which were formerly brought forward by Zahn‡ in support of his theory of the priority of T to Ss. For, though the majority of these attest the close affinity of the two texts, they do not of themselves furnish any evidence as to the origin of this affinity, *i.e.* as to the priority of T or Ss. Zahn's view, however, finds its main support in those traces of harmonistic readings which he discovered in Ss, which he naturally ascribed to the influence of T. Briefly, Zahn's theory was as follows: Ss and Sc are undoubtedly closely related, and may be described as two recensions of a single version. Their variations, in which Sc, as a rule, agrees with the Peshitta, are for the most part of a grammatical, lexical, and stylistic character; in others the agreement of Sc and P against Ss can be explained only by the supposition that the free, or less accurate, translation of Ss was altered in Sc and P, and brought into closer conformity with the Greek text. But Sc has also been shown to have much in common with T: hence it was natural to expect that Ss and T should be closely allied. The conclusion arrived at by Zahn, after an examination of the text of Ss, was that the latter was even more closely allied to T than Sc. The instances cited by Zahn in proof of his contention for the priority of T have been carefully examined by Hjelt,* who has shown that in the majority of cases the alleged dependence of Ss on T rests on insufficient evidence. A few traces of harmonization, it is true, are to be found in Ss, but these are probably to be ascribed to later interpolation.

---

* Tatian apparently inferred that our Lord was actually cast over the cliff, but was miraculously preserved from harm (Moesinger, pp. 130 f., 212; Hamlyn Hill, *Dissertation*, p. 93).

* See Burkitt, *S. Ephraem's Quotations from the Gospel*, p. 50 f.; Zahn, *Forsch.* i. p. 129.

† So Aphraates, 123; Moesinger, 105, omits these words.

‡ *Theol. Littbl.* 1895, Nos. 1, 2, 3.

Our examination, therefore, of the relation of the Diatessaron to the two codices of the Old Syriac version leads to the following conclusions as to the history of Tatian's Harmony. The two texts are closely related to each other, but a comparison of the two shows clearly that the Old Syriac is the earlier version: hence the latter must have been in existence before A.D. 172. At this date Tatian compiled his Diatessaron, or Harmony of the four Gospels, in Syriac from the older version, which it quickly superseded, revising it with the help of a 'Western' copy of the Greek text, and introducing a number of arbitrary changes in accordance with his theological views. Down to the end of the 4th cent. the Diatessaron was universally accepted by the Syriac Church, the extent of its influence being reflected in the later recension of the Old Syriac version represented by Sc. In A.D. 411 the Old Syriac version was revised, in conformity with the current Greek text, under the auspices of Rabbūla, who forcibly removed the Diatessaron from church use in order to make room for his new version, viz. the Peshiṭta. As the result of Rabbūla's action, the Diatessaron practically disappeared from the knowledge of the Syrian Church, the references to it in later writers being mainly connected with the better known commentary of St. Ephraem. All interest, however, in Tatian's work did not cease with its banishment as a service-book, for about the beginning of the 6th cent. it was translated, or rather transferred, into Latin by an unknown author. This translation, as preserved by Victor of Capua in the Codex Fuldensis, probably formed the basis of the German version made *c.* 820–830 A.D., and this again was utilized by the author of the Old Saxon poem known as *Heliand*. The last stage of the history of the Diatessaron was not reached until the 11th cent., when it was once more rescued from obscurity, this time in the form of an Arabic translation.

LITERATURE.—(1) General:—C. A. Credner, *Beiträge zur Einleitung in die bibl. Schriften*, 1832, p. 437 ff., *Gesch. der neutest. Kanons* (herausg. von G. Volkmar), 1860, p. 17 ff.; H. A. Daniel, *Tatianus der Apologet*, 1837; C. A. Semisch, *Tatiani Diatessaron*, 1856; Th. Zahn, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutest. Kanons*, i. (1881, 'Tatian's Diatessaron'), ii. 286 ff. (1883), iv. 225–246 (1891, 'Der Text des von A. Ciasca herausgegebenen arabischen Diatessarons von Dr. Ernst Sellin'), *Geschichte des Kanons* (1888), i. 369 ff. (cf. Harnack, *Das Neue Testament um das Jahr 200*, p. 90 ff.), ii. 530–556, art. 'Zur Geschichte von Tatian's Diatessaron im Abendland' in *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 1894, pp. 85–120, art. 'Evangelienharmonie' in *PRE*^{3} v. 653 ff. (1898); A. Hjelt, *Die altsyrische Evangelienübersetzung und Tatian's Diatessaron*, Leipzig, 1901 (=Zahn, *Forschungen*, vii. 1, 1903); Fr. Baethgen, *Evangelienfragmente*, Leipzig, 1885; J. Rendel Harris, *The Diatessaron of Tatian*, Cambridge, 1890, *Contemporary Review*, Aug. 1895, pp. 271–278 (a reply to W. R. Cassels' article in *Nineteenth Century*, April 1895, p. 665 ff.), *Fragments of the Commentary of Ephraem Syrus upon the Diatessaron*, London, 1895; Isaac H. Hall and Professor Gottheil, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xi. 11, pp. 153–155 (1891), xii. 1, pp. 68–71 (1892); Goussen, *Studia Theologica*, Fasc. 1 (1895); J. B. Lightfoot, *Essays on Supernatural Religion*, pp. 272–288; H. Wace, *Expositor*, 1881, 1882; Westcott, *History of the Canon*^{7}, pp. 325–333; Fuller, art. in *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, ii. p. 140 ff.; Holzhey, *Der neuentdeckte Codex Sinaiticus untersucht*, München, 1896; Bewer, *The History of the NT Canon in the Syrian Church*, Chicago, 1900; F. C. Burkitt, *S. Ephraem's Quotations from the Gospel* (=*Texts and Studies*, vii. 2), Cambridge, 1901; art. in *Church Quarterly Review*, April 1903, pp. 143–171.

(2) Texts.—A. Ciasca, 'De Tatiani Diatessaron arabica versione' (in S. P. Pitra's *Analecta sacra spicilegio Solesmensi parata*, Paris, iv. pp. xxviii ff., 466 ff., 1883), *Tatiani evangeliorum harmoniæ arabice*, Romæ, 1888; Hemphill, *The Diatessaron of Tatian*, Dublin and London, 1888; J. Hamlyn Hill, *The Earliest Life of Christ, being the Diatessaron of Tatian*, Edinburgh, 1894, *A Dissertation on the Gospel Commentary of S. Ephraem the Syrian*, Edinburgh, 1896; Hope W. Hogg, 'The Diatessaron of Tatian' in *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, Add. vol., Edinburgh, 1897; G. Moesinger, *Evangelii Concordantis Expositio; in Latinum translata*, etc., Venice, 1876 (Professor A. Robinson's more accurate English translation of the Gospel quotations occurring in the Commentary is given in Appendix x. of Hill's *Earliest Life*, and in his *Dissertation*, pp. 75–119); E. Ranke, *Codex Fuldensis: Novum Testamentum latine interprete Hieronymo ex manuscripto Victoris Capuani*, Marburg and Leipzig, 1868.

JOHN F. STENNING.

JOSEPHUS.—

i. Life.
ii. Works.
    1. *The Jewish War.* Sources and contents.
    2. *The Antiquities.* Contents and sources. Character of Josephus as a historian.
    3. The *Life.*
    4. The *contra Apionem.*
    Projected works. Works attributed to Josephus.
iii. The Bible of Josephus, and his treatment of the Biblical narrative.
    1. Text.
    2. Canon of OT.
    3. Additions to Biblical narrative, mainly derived from Rabbinic tradition.
    4. Omissions from apologetic motives.
    5. Rationalistic explanations of the miraculous.
    6. Prophecies in the OT.
iv. Relation of Josephus to Philo and Alexandrian Judaism.
v. The alleged witness of Josephus to Christ.
vi. Style.
vii. Editions and Translations.
Literature.

i. LIFE.—Josephus, son of Matthias the priest, as he would be described by his countrymen,—or Flavius Josephus, to give him the name which he adopted out of gratitude for the benefits conferred on him by the Flavian emperors,—was born in the first year of the emperor Caligula, A.D. 37 or 38 (*Vita*, 5;* cf. *Ant.* XX. 267, where he identifies the thirteenth year of Domitian's reign with the fifty-sixth of his own life). He was of priestly descent, his father's line having been one of the noblest families, as he tells us, in the first of the twenty-four priestly courses; while on his mother's side he was connected with the royal Hasmonæan house (*Vita*, 2). So precocious was he in his studies, that at the age of fourteen, if we may believe him, his advice on questions concerning the Law was sought by the chief priests and principal citizens of Jerusalem. At the age of sixteen he determined to make trial of the three sects of his nation,—Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes,—and finally spent three years in the desert with one Banus, a hermit, who appears to have carried the ascetic practices of the last-named sect to an extreme. He returned to Jerusalem in his nineteenth year, and from that time adhered to the Pharisaic party, whose doctrines have left their mark on many of his pages. At the age of twenty-six, about the year A.D. 63, he went to Rome to plead the cause of certain priests who had been imprisoned by Felix and sent to Italy to be tried by the emperor. On this voyage, Josephus, like St. Paul a few years earlier, suffered shipwreck, but was picked up with some of his companions by a ship of Cyrene and brought safely to Puteoli. There he fell in with Aliturus, a Jewish actor in favour at court. Through the influence of this man with Poppæa, the shameless mistress and afterwards wife of Nero, who coquetted with Judaism [Josephus' remark, θεοσεβὴς γὰρ ἦν, *Ant.* XX. 195, implies that she was a proselyte], he obtained the release of the priests, and returned to Palestine laden with presents. The visit of Josephus to Rome nearly synchronizes with the period of St. Paul's imprisonment in that city; but the earlier dates now generally assigned to the latter portion of the Apostle's life * force us to the conclusion that he had already been liberated, and that his liberation cannot have been in any way connected, as Edersheim conjectured, with the mission of Josephus. Whether or no the Jewish priest became acquainted at this time with the life and work of the Apostle it is impossible to say: he has at all events maintained the same silence with regard to him with which he passes over all that concerns the history of the early Christian Church.

---

* *Op. cit.* pp. 113–130; see also *Ch. Quarterly*, April 1903, pp. 167–170.

* For the sake of brevity we have used the sections into which Niese has divided the text. These are also given in brackets in the other principal critical edition—that of Naber.

His brief visit to Italy seems to have impressed Josephus with a sense of the invincible power of Rome; and on his return to Judæa, where he found his countrymen ready for revolt, and everything pointing towards the immediate outbreak of war, he at first tried to pacify the war party, but in vain (*Vita*, 17). After the defeat of Cestius Gallus, the governor of Syria, in the defiles near Beth-horon, towards the end of A.D. 66, he realized that the irrevocable step had been taken. Josephus, then barely thirty years old, was appointed to the important post of the command of Galilee (*BJ* II. 568; *Vita*, 28). Apparently, his connexion with the priestly party obtained for him this office, as, in spite of his frequent assertions of his skill and strategy, he does not seem to have possessed many of the qualities necessary to a successful general. He found Galilee in a divided state: Sepphoris and Gamala were disposed to favour the Romans, Tiberias and Gischala were unwilling to submit to the commands of the newly-sent general. His first steps were to fortify the principal places, to reform the army after the Roman model by appointing a number of subordinate officers (*BJ* II. 577), and to appoint a council consisting of seventy of the principal Galilæans, who were to try cases, and would at the same time be hostages for the fidelity of the district (*Vita*, 79). But his efforts to enforce discipline and to secure the allegiance of the Galilæans were unavailing. He found many opponents, the most formidable being John of Gischala, who afterwards played so important a part in the siege of Jerusalem; and the spring of A.D. 67 was chiefly spent in civil war and in avoiding plots against his life. He was suspected, perhaps not without justice, of harbouring designs of betraying the country to Rome. At length John sent to the capital, accusing Josephus of setting himself up as a tyrant, and prevailed on the high priest Ananus and the principal men of the city to recall him from the command (*BJ* II. 627; *Vita*, 189). An embassy under the command of four leading men was accordingly sent to supersede Josephus. He, however, refused to accept the order, and succeeded in obtaining letters from Jerusalem by which he was reinstated (*Vita*, 309). Meanwhile Vespasian, who had been commissioned by Nero to conduct the war, was advancing from Antioch upon Galilee. Gadara was quickly taken, and Josephus, who at the first onset was half inclined to surrender, and wrote to Jerusalem for instructions on the subject (*BJ* III. 137), at length threw himself into Jotapata, and resolved to stand a siege.

Of this siege Josephus has given us a detailed account in the third book of the *Jewish War*, with much encomium upon his own skill, although he does not conceal the fact that at one period he meditated quitting his post and saving himself by flight. At length a deserter betrayed the fact to the Romans that the sentinels could no longer keep awake through the night, and advised them to make an attack in the early morning. This advice was acted on, and the place was taken after a siege of forty-seven days, on the 1st of the month Panemos (July A.D. 67). Josephus with forty others concealed himself in an underground cavern, where he was discovered by the Romans. He was ready to surrender himself, but was prevented by his comrades, who insisted on his sharing their fate, and dying either by their hands or his own. Josephus, by some stratagem, prevailed on them to draw lots as to the order in which they should put each other to death, and managed ['whether we must attribute it to chance or to Divine Providence' are his words] to be reserved till the last with another, whom without difficulty he persuaded to seek liberty along with himself. Being brought before Vespasian, he posed as a prophet, and foretold the elevation of the general and his son Titus to the empire, and was kept a prisoner, although treated with consideration. The prophecy of Josephus has been repeated by Roman historians—Suetonius (*Vesp.* 5) and Dio Cassius (lxvi. 1). Rabbinical tradition ascribes a similar prophecy with reference to Titus to Rabbi Jochanan ben Saccai, and both emperors are said to have been informed of the destiny awaiting them by heathen oracles (Tac. *Hist.* ii. 78, the priest Basilides at Mount Carmel to Vespasian; Suetonius, *Vesp.* 5, *Titus*, 5). Both Tacitus and Suetonius tell us that there was a widespread belief that at that time men coming from the East would become masters of the world (Tac. *Hist.* v. 13; Suet. *Vesp.* 4). Josephus could not but be aware of this belief, and might with no great shrewdness be able to read the signs of the times in the growing dissatisfaction with Nero's rule, which came to a climax in the following year.

By the end of A.D. 67 the whole of Northern Palestine was in the hands of the Romans. Only Jerusalem, where a bloody civil war was raging, remained to be taken. But its capture was delayed by the events of A.D. 68, which drew the attention of the generals to the West. News came first of the death of Nero, which took place in June, and then, in rapid succession, of the accession of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius. In July A.D. 69 Vespasian's legions took the law into their own hands, and proclaimed him emperor. One of his first acts as emperor was to liberate Josephus, whose prophecy had now come true; his chains, so the historian tells us, were, at Titus' suggestion, not merely loosed, but struck off, to indicate that he had been unjustly kept in bonds (*BJ* IV. 622). He now accompanied the emperor to Alexandria, and from there was sent back with Titus to take part in the siege of Jerusalem (*Vita*, 416). It is not the place here to describe the course of that memorable siege, which the historian has narrated in the fifth and sixth books of the *Jewish War*. The services of Josephus as interpreter and intercessor were more than once requisitioned by Titus (*BJ* V. 361, VI. 96); on one occasion he was hit by a stone, and barely escaped capture and death at the hands of his countrymen (*BJ* V. 541). He was, he tells us, at this time between two fires; for, while bitterly hated by the Jews, he was suspected by the Romans of treachery whenever they met with a reverse (*Vita*, 416). After the capture of the city and the destruction of the temple he was offered by Titus the choice of what he would from the ruins, but was content with requesting a copy of the Scriptures and the life of his brother and fifty friends. Subsequently he obtained the release of about a hundred and ninety of his friends, and was granted an estate outside Jerusalem (*Vita*, 422). He sailed with Titus to Rome, and witnessed the gorgeous triumphal procession of the two emperors, of which he has left us a description (*BJ* VII. 123 ff.). And now the erstwhile Jewish priest and patriot settled down to a life of ease as a *littérateur*. He was given apartments by Vespasian in the house which the latter had occupied before he became emperor, and honoured with the Roman citizenship and a pension (*Vita*, 423): he was thus among the first to be placed on the 'civil list' which was instituted by that emperor (Suet. *Vesp.* 18: 'Primus e fisco Latinis Græcisque rhetoribus annua centena constituit'). He was also awarded a further grant of land in Judæa. But the hatred of his countrymen still pursued him, and his security was from time to time endangered by their accusations. He mentions one Jonathan in particular, the leader of a Jewish revolt in Cyrene, who accused him of complicity in his designs; Vespasian, however, befriended Josephus, and had Jonathan put to death (*BJ* VII. 437; *Vita*, 424). Under Titus and Domitian he continued to receive the same honourable treatment; the latter emperor exempted his estate in Judæa from taxation. We know nothing as to the date of his death, except that he must have lived into the 2nd cent., since he wrote the *Life* after the death of Agrippa II. (*Vita*, 359), who died in the third year of Trajan's reign, A.D. 100 (Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Cod. 33).

---

* The close of the Acts is placed early in A.D. 59 by Harnack, in 61 by Turner, 62 by Ramsay, and 63 by Lightfoot (see art. CHRONOLOGY OF NT in vol. i. p. 424).

The accuracy of the statement of Photius has, however, been called in question, and Niese (*Hist. Zeitschrift*, Bd. lxxvi. 193 ff.), identifying Epaphroditus, the patron of the historian, with the freedman of Nero, has conjectured that Josephus was involved in the ruin of his patron (Suet. *Dom.* 14), falling a victim to the suspicions of Domitian about A.D. 95.

Eusebius tells us that Josephus was honoured with a statue at Rome, and that his works were placed in the public library (*HE* iii. 9). He was married at least four times (*BJ* V. 419; *Vita*, 414, 415, 427): for his family connexions, see Schürer, *GJV*³ i. 77 [*HJP* I. i. 81].

ii. WORKS.—In the leisure which he enjoyed at Rome, Josephus composed the four works which, owing, no doubt, to the high esteem in which they were held by early Christian writers, have come down to us entire, namely, the *Jewish War*, the *Antiquities*, the *Life*, and the treatise *Against Apion*; nor is there sufficient ground for believing that he wrote any others.

1. *The Jewish War.*—This is the oldest of Josephus' works, having been written during the latter half of the reign of Vespasian (A.D. 69-79). That it was written late in this reign is shown by the fact that it had been preceded by other accounts of the war (*BJ*, *ad init.*), and also by the mention of the completion of the building of the temple of Pax (*BJ* VII. 158), which, according to Dio Cassius (lxvi. 15), was dedicated in A.D. 75. It was composed, in the first place, in the writer's native tongue, that is to say Aramaic, for the benefit of the Semitic peoples of inland Syria (τοῖς ἄνω βαρβάροις, *BJ* I. 3), and was afterwards rendered into Greek for the use of readers throughout the Roman empire. The original writing has not been preserved; probably it was a much shorter work than the Greek, and did not contain the two introductory books and the closing book of the *BJ*. For the translation, which shows no traces of its Aramaic parentage, and must have been practically a new work, Josephus employed certain *collaborateurs* (χρησάμενός τισι πρὸς τὴν Ἑλληνίδα φωνὴν συνεργοῖς, *c. Ap.* i. 50). Copies were presented to Vespasian and Titus, and to many Romans who had taken part in the war, and *sold* to Herod Agrippa II. and other learned men among his countrymen, all of whom, Josephus asserts, attested the accuracy of his work (*c. Ap.* i. 51 f.). Titus himself affixed his *imprimatur*, and Agrippa wrote as many as sixty-two letters in its support (*Vita*, 363 ff.). From two of these, which are quoted, it appears that the work was issued in parts, for Agrippa asks for the rest to be sent to him, while he offers to supplement the information of the writer at their next meeting (*ib.*).

This is undoubtedly a careful piece of work. The writer held the important post of commander of the forces in Galilee at the opening of the war, and throughout the siege of Jerusalem was in attendance in the Roman army. A great part of his account of the war must have been written from notes made during the events which he describes; though he must also, especially in the opening books, have had access to literary materials. He realized the magnitude and importance of the crisis [his exordium appears to be in imitation of the opening sentences of Thucydides with regard to the Peloponnesian War], and shows a high degree of literary skill in his dramatic presentation of the narrative. His chief defects may be said to be a tendency to exaggeration, especially in the matter of numbers,* and the bias which he shows, writing as he does under Imperial supervision, in extolling the achievements and the clemency of the Roman generals. Thus his account of the desire of Titus to spare the temple (*BJ* VI. 124, 236 ff.) runs counter to that of Sulpicius Severus, probably derived from Tacitus, according to which the general gave his sanction to its destruction ['At contra alii et Titus ipse evertendum in primis templum censebant,' *Chron.* ii. 30]. His representation of the Zealots as the only persons to blame for the obstinacy with which the siege was prolonged and the miseries endured, is probably an exaggeration, due to his personal antagonism to his old enemy in Galilee, John of Gischala. The rhetorical speeches which are put into the mouths of the principal actors, here and in the *Antiquities*, are a device which he shares in common with most ancient historians.

Contents.—Book I. gives a rapid sketch of Jewish history from the capture of Jerusalem by Antiochus Epiphanes to the death of Herod. Book II. carries on the history from the accession of Archelaus to the defeat of Cestius Gallus near Beth-horon, and the Jewish preparations for the war. Book III. describes the coming of Vespasian and Titus, the siege of Jotapata, and the war in Galilee. Book IV. contains the final scenes of the Galilæan campaign, the factions in Jerusalem, and the advance of Vespasian upon the city, from which he is called away to Rome on being elected emperor by his army. Book V. contains a description of the city and the temple, the investment by Titus, and the capture of the first and second walls. Book VI. describes the horrors of the famine and the taking of the castle of Antonia, which is rapidly followed by the burning of the temple and the capture and destruction of the city. Book VII. narrates the return of Titus to Rome, the triumph of the generals, and the capture of Machærus and Masada, the last strongholds of the most obstinate Jewish belligerents.

Sources.—The summary in Books I. and II. of the events from Judas Maccabæus to the outbreak of the war seems to be extracted from some Universal History, which contained occasional reference to Jewish history. It is most probable that this source was the great work of Nicolaus of Damascus. A comparison of this part of the work with the corresponding portion of the *Antiquities*, where the description is far more detailed, although there is occasionally *verbatim* agreement between the two works, forms an interesting study.

---

* Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 13) gives the total number of the besieged as 600,000. According to Jos. (*BJ* v. 569) that was the number of the dead among the poorer classes alone, whose bodies were thrown out at the gates.

2. *The Antiquities.*—In this comprehensive work Josephus undertook to give a history of his nation from the creation of the world to the outbreak of the Jewish War. He tells us that he had such a work in mind when engaged on his earlier history, of the labour which it cost him, and how, after many misgivings and interruptions, it was only through the encouragement of his patron Epaphroditus that he was instigated to complete it (*Ant.* I. 6 ff.). This Epaphroditus, to whom he dedicated not only the *Antiquities* but also the *Life* and the *contra Apionem,* has often been identified with the freedman and secretary of Nero; but as the latter was put to death by Domitian (Suet. *Dom.* 14), and the *Life* at all events was written after the death of that emperor, this view is untenable. Schürer considers that the patron of Josephus should rather be identified with the grammarian of the name who, according to Suidas, lived in Rome under the emperors from Nero to Nerva, and collected a large library; the name, however, was not an uncommon one. The *opus magnum* was at length completed in the thirteenth year of Domitian and in the fifty-sixth of the life of the historian (A.D. 93–94, *Ant.* XX. 267). The division into twenty books was the writer's own (*ib.*), and in that arrangement as well as in the title (Ἰουδαϊκὴ Ἀρχαιολογία) he seems to have taken for his model the great historical work of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, entitled Ῥωμαϊκὴ Ἀρχαιολογία.

Contents.—In Books I.–X. the narrative closely follows the Biblical account down to the Babylonian captivity. Book XI. embraces the period from the return under Cyrus to Alexander the Great: XII. continues the narrative from the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus (B.C. 280) to the death of Judas Maccabæus (B.C. 161): XIII. gives the history of the Hasmonæan house to the death of Alexandra (B.C. 67): XIV. the history of the brothers Aristobulus II. and Hyrcanus, the coming of Pompey, and the accession of Herod to the throne of Judæa (B.C. 37): XV., XVI., and the first half of XVII. describe Herod's reign (B.C. 37–4): the rest of XVII. the reign of Archelaus (B.C. 4 to 6 A.D.): XVIII. contains a collection of notices with regard to Quirinius, Pilate, Tiberius, Herod Agrippa I., and the disturbances caused by the order of Gaius to erect his statue in the temple: the greater part of XIX. is occupied with the events leading up to the assassination of Gaius and the accession of Claudius (A.D. 41): the remainder of XIX. and XX. give a summary history of events to the outbreak of the Jewish War in A.D. 66.

Sources.—For the first ten books the principal source was the LXX text of the Bible, with occasional recourse to the Hebrew. This was supplemented by various legends, derived in part from Rabbinic tradition: for these and for the general treatment of the Biblical narrative the reader is referred to the next section of this article. But the Biblical narrative was further supported by quotations from secular historians and documents other than Biblical. Allusion is made to Berosus (I. 93, 107, 158, X. 20, 34, 219), Nicolaus of Damascus (I. 94 with other writers, 108 with others, 159 with others, VII. 101), the *Sibylline Oracles* (I. 118), Alexander Polyhistor (I. 240), for the annals of Tyre to Menander (VIII. 144, 324, IX. 283) and Dius (VIII. 147) and the original Tyrian archives (VIII. 55), also to Herodotus (VIII. 157, 253, 260, X. 20), Megasthenes, Diocles, and Philostratus (X. 227 f.). In the case of the lists of authorities cited in I. 94, 107 f., 158 f. (cf. the list in *c. Ap.* ii. 84) it should be noted that Nicolaus is quoted last, and it is probable that the other names are simply taken over from that author, of whom Josephus made considerable use in writing his *Antiquities.* It is thus not necessary to assume a first-hand acquaintance with all the authors mentioned: a parade of Greek authorities tended to impress the Greek readers for whom the history was written. Freudenthal (*Hellenistische Studien,* 'Alexander Polyhistor,' 1875) has shown that Josephus was also acquainted with the Hellenistic versions of the Biblical narrative made in the 2nd cent. B.C. by Demetrius and Artapanus; but his knowledge of these was probably indirect, being derived from the extracts made by Alexander Polyhistor or others.

The account of the return from the Captivity is taken from the Greek 1 Esdras, a slight use being made of the canonical Books of Ezra and Nehemiah. This is followed by the story of Esther, also taken from the LXX, with the additions peculiar to that version.

The determination of the sources used for the post-Biblical period is a more difficult matter, and in recent times has given rise to considerable discussion. For the next two and a half centuries of Jewish history Josephus has little or no information; the interval from Nehemiah to Antiochus Epiphanes (B.C. 175) is bridged over by some legends with regard to Alexander (end of Book XI.), a long extract from the Letter of Aristeas, and a story of the mission of Joseph, the nephew of Onias the high priest, to Ptolemy Euergetes (Book XII.). The account of the persecution of the Jews by Antiochus Epiphanes and the history of the Maccabees to the death of Jonathan (B.C. 175–143), is taken from the First Book of Maccabees. There can be no doubt that Josephus used the Greek version of that book, and not, as has been maintained, the lost Hebrew original; but the almost complete neglect of the last chapters of that book raises a doubt whether they were contained in Josephus' copy. Some use has been made of Polybius, who is quoted in XII. 135 and 358. For the later history of the Hasmonæan houses after the point where the narrative of Polybius ended (B.C. 146), Josephus appears to have been without any special Jewish authorities, and to have derived his information from the sections dealing with the Jews in Universal Histories by Greek writers. His principal sources at this point were the lost history of Strabo and the voluminous work (extending to 144 books) of Nicolaus of Damascus, the friend of Herod the Great. From Books XIII. to XVI. of the *Antiquities* references to these two writers are frequent. Nicolaus is quoted in XII. 127, XIII. 250, 347, XIV. 9, 68, 104, XVI. 183 ff.; Strabo in XIII. 286, 319 (344 Timagenes, probably from Strabo, cf. 319), 347, XIV. 35, 68, 104, 111, 114 ff., 138, XV. 10.* It has, however, been maintained by some recent critics that these two authors have not been used except in the above-named passages, and that the narrative is mainly based on some authority who remains nameless. Niese (*Hermes,* xi. [1876] pp. 466–488) has pointed out that some of the quotations from Strabo are inserted out of place in the history (XIV. 35, 138 f.): emphasis is also laid on the *καί* with which the quotations from historians are introduced, as though they were merely intended to corroborate an account derived from other sources. These arguments have, however, been sufficiently answered by Schürer. He has traced the use of Strabo even where he is not named. The misplacing of some of the Strabo extracts is explained by the fact that Nicolaus was at those points the main authority. Traces of the style of Nicolaus, as seen in the extant fragments of his work, may

* Livy is once named (xiv. 68), but it is not likely that Josephus made any use of his history.

also be found, in the opinion of this writer, in this portion of the *Antiquities*.

There remains one argument to be considered which has been adduced in favour of this theory of an anonymous source. Destinon (*Die Quellen des F. Josephus*, 1882) was the first to call special attention to the use of the phrase *καθὼς δεδηλώκαμεν* (*καθὼς δεδήλωται*) in several instances where the references cannot be verified in the extant works of Josephus. The phrase is employed at the end of sections dealing with the history of the Seleucid dynasty, or, more generally, with the affairs of Syria and Parthia, where the writer reverts to Jewish history proper. Since there is no trace of any separate work on Syrian history by Josephus, Destinon maintained that these references were taken over bodily by him from his source. Further, as the phrase forms a link between the non-Jewish and the Jewish portions, the anonymous writer, from whom Josephus copied it, must, it is urged, have already combined Jewish and heathen materials. Josephus, according to Destinon, in this part of his work, found his history already made for him, and his only task was to insert occasional references to other historians such as Strabo and Nicolaus. The Syrian sections with the phrase in question are interspersed throughout the part which is based on 1 Maccabees; and Josephus, it is alleged, did not use that book at first hand, but found it incorporated in the anonymous work. This theory, which at first sight appears highly improbable, cannot be lightly dismissed. Such careless copying of authorities is not without parallels in ancient history; and the explanation of these references forms an interesting problem on which the last word has not yet been said. The facts are as follows:—(1) The first instance of the phrase occurs in *Ant.* VII. 393, *καθὼς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δεδηλώκαμεν* [Hyrcanus opens David's tomb and bribes Antiochus Eusebes with the treasures concealed there]. This might be a reference to the parallel account in *BJ* I. 61; but references in *Ant.* to *BJ* are usually more precise (*Ant.* XIII. 73, 173, XVIII. 11), and the allusion to one of the Seleucids is to be noted. (2) In *Ant.* XI. 305, *καθὼς ἐν ἄλλοις δεδήλωται* [Philip and Alexander], the reference may be, as elsewhere where the passive is used, to Greek historians generally. (3) In Books XII. and XIII. the personal *δεδηλώκαμεν* and the impersonal *δεδήλωται* are used interchangeably with some variation of readings in the MSS, and the reference is usually to the Seleucids (XII. 244, 390, XIII. 36, 61, 108, 119, 186, 253, 271, 347, 371, 372). (4) In Book XIV. the impersonal *δεδήλωται* is always used, and in two instances the phrase becomes 'as has been shown *by* others' (XIV. 122 *ὑπ' ἄλλων*, 301 *παρ' ἄλλοις*). The last instance, also with *δεδήλωται*, is XVIII. 54 [the death of Germanicus in A.D. 19]. The reference in these cases is nearly always to Parthian affairs, and, but for the use of the personal *δεδηλώκαμεν* in Book XIII., there would be no question that Josephus is here directing his readers for fuller information to Greek historians at large. (5) A comparison between *BJ* and *Ant.* in the following cases is specially interesting:—

BJ I. 179 [death of Crassus] *περὶ ὧν οὐ νῦν καιρὸς λέγειν.*	*Ant.* XIV. 119 [the same] *ὡς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δεδήλωται.*
BJ I. 182 [Parthian war of Cassius] *περὶ ὧν ἐν ἑτέροις ἐροῦμεν.*	*Ant.* XIV. 122 [the same] *ὡς καὶ ὑπ' αλλων δεδήλωται.*

In the earlier work a promise is made of a further description 'elsewhere': in the latter work the reader is referred to other writers. There can be no doubt that Josephus used the same authority or authorities when writing the parallel portions in *BJ* and *Ant.*, and it looks as if the common source at this point had some such phrase as *καθὼς ἐν ἄλλοις δεδηλώκαμεν*, which Josephus has retained with various slight modifications. On the other hand, it might be said that he did contemplate a work on Eastern history which still remained unwritten in A.D. 93 (the date of *Ant.*); that he had his own earlier work before him as well as the common source when writing *Ant.*; and that he has simply repeated himself, altering the phrase in view of his failure to carry out the projected Syrian history. But the former explanation appears to be the simpler of the two.

The following general observations may be made with regard to the phenomena. (*a*) The explanation that naturally suggests itself is that Josephus wrote a work on the Seleucids and Syrian history. The only external evidence in favour of this is a rather vague statement in Jerome (Com. on Is 11, *ad init.*: 'intelligant me non omnium probare fidem . . . sed ad distinctionem Josephi Porphyriique dixisse, qui de hac quæstione plurima disputarunt'), which implies that Josephus had written on the seventy weeks of Daniel. Such a work would of course have dealt with the Seleucid dynasty. But there is no allusion to it elsewhere; and Jerome, who quotes the interpretations of numerous writers on the seventy weeks in his Com. on Daniel, does not mention it again. Josephus himself in *Ant.* X., where he treats of Daniel, is quite silent on the subject, although his vanity must have led him to mention such a literary undertaking.

(*b*) The objections to Destinon's theory are that Josephus is elsewhere generally accurate in the matter of references: the formulas of reference used in the verifiable references are not unlike that used in the unverifiable cases: the first person, undoubtedly meaning Josephus, is used in close proximity to *καθὼς δεδηλώκαμεν* (*Ant.* XIII. 347): Josephus does not give the impression of being such a careless compiler as this theory would require us to assume. (*c*) If the phrase has been borrowed from a source, it is simpler, with Schürer, to identify this source with Nicolaus, in whose Universal History one or more books would probably be devoted to the history of the Seleucids, rather than, with Destinon, to invent an anonymous writer. (*d*) If we reject altogether the theory that the phrase is taken over from an earlier source, we may, with Drüner (*Untersuchungen über Josephus*, Marburg, 1896), suppose that Josephus refers to a preliminary work (*Vorarbeit*) to the *Antiquities*, which was never given to the world, in which he briefly sketched the history of the Seleucids. Niese (*Hist. Zeitschrift*, Bd. lxxvi.) regards the phrase merely as 'a convenient and euphonious formula for breaking off the narrative'; but this leaves unexplained its almost complete limitation to Syrian history.

For the history of Herod the Great, which occupies the greater part of four books (XIV. 158–XVII. 192), there can be little doubt that the principal source was Nicolaus of Damascus, from whom also, apparently, was derived the much briefer account in the *BJ*. Josephus, however, does not accept all his statements without question, and more than once censures him for the partiality which he shows to that monarch (XIV. 9, XVI. 183 ff.). He appears to have had access also to some document in which an unfavourable view was taken of the king. Mention is once made of the 'Memoirs of king Herod' (*τὰ ὑπομνήματα τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡρώδου*, XV. 174); but it is doubtful whether Josephus used these at first hand. A difference in the arrangement of subject-matter is to be noted in the two accounts of Herod. In *BJ* the external history of the reign is first given, ending with an account of Herod's buildings (to I. 430); and then, as a pendant to the picture of the patent prosperity (*αἱ ὕπαιθροι εὐπραγίαι*), is added the tragic story of the domestic dissensions. In *Ant.* this division is abandoned, and the events follow one another in chronological order.

After the death of Herod, when we should especially value any details which might throw light on the Gospel narrative, the history becomes meagre, expanding again into greater fulness when the reign of Agrippa I. is reached. With regard to him, Josephus would be able to obtain full information from his son Agrippa II., who had already offered his assistance in the composition of the *BJ* (*Vita*, 366); and for the events leading up to the war he could draw on his own recollections. The most striking feature in the latter part of the *Ant.* is the disproportionate length at which the somewhat irrelevant story of the assassination of Gaius and the accession of Claudius is given: it occupies the greater part of Book XIX. This must be derived from some contemporary source, and is of primary importance for the Roman historian. Mommsen (who is followed by Schemann) has suggested that this source was the history of Cluvius Rufus, who was present in the theatre at the time when Gaius came to his end, and of whom a remark is quoted by Josephus (*Ant.* XIX. 91 f.); but we do not know that Cluvius' work embraced more than the reign of Nero and the events of A.D. 69.

Throughout his history Josephus is careful to note the succession of the high priests; and at the close (XX. 224–251) he gives an enumeration of them, from Aaron to the destruction of Jerusalem, with some divergences from the earlier notices. (Destinon has laid stress on these divergences as pointing to the use of different sources). For this part of his work he must have had access to the priestly records, which, as he tells us, were kept with such strict exactitude (*c. Ap.* i. 36).

Of great value for the historian are the decrees, mainly concerning exemptions granted to Jews, which Josephus has grouped together at various points in the narrative (XIII. 260 ff., XIV. 149 ff., 185–267, 306 ff., XVI. 162–173). Of their genuineness there can be no doubt; whence Josephus obtained them is doubtful. He refers in two passages to the archives in the Capitol at Rome (XIV. 188, 266); but it is improbable that the decrees concerning the Jews of Asia Minor were preserved there. Niese (*Hermes*, xi. [1876] 466 ff.) has conjectured from *Ant.* XVI. 48, where Nicolaus, defending the Jews of Asia, appeals to similar decrees, that a collection of them had already been made in his Universal History, from which Josephus has borrowed them; Schürer (*GJV*^{3} i. 86, note) has shown, however, that this will not account for all the documents quoted by Josephus.

As to the *character* of Josephus *as a historian*, very various estimates have been held, from that of Jerome, who extolled him as a 'Græcus Livius' (*Ep.* 22), to that of some modern critics, who have accused him of subjectivity and gross misrepresentation. The *apologetic* nature of the history is evident on the face of it. Its object is to represent the maligned Jewish nation in the best light to Greek readers. This has occasioned the suppression of some of the darker incidents in the Biblical story. But, granted this, there remains no very serious charge to be laid against the historian. His work is, on the whole, a skilful compilation, its value naturally varying with that of the authorities consulted, while the criticisms passed upon Nicolaus (XIV. 9, 183) show that these were used with discrimination. Attractiveness is one main object. To this end the narrative is diversified by legendary additions culled from all sources. Nor, it must be admitted, does the historian, with a view to greater picturesqueness, refrain from adding minor details of his own invention with regard to the strength of contending armies, names of localities, and the like (see Drüner, *Untersuch. über Josephus*, Marburg, 1896, p. 39 ff.). He, however, professes in several passages to have a high ideal of a historian's duty (*e.g. Ant.* XIV. 1 ff., XX. 154 ff.; *c. Ap.* i. 24 ff.); and, speaking generally, one must grant that, so far as it is possible to test him, he reaches a level of accuracy that gives him a high place among the historians of antiquity, setting aside those of the very foremost rank, while in extent and comprehensiveness he is far in advance of any of his predecessors in the same field.

[For the sources of the *Antiquities*, see especially Bloch, *Die Quellen des Flav. Josephus*, Leipzig, 1879; Destinon, *Die Quellen des F. Josephus*, Kiel, 1882; with the reviews of Schürer in *Theolog. Literaturzeit.* 1879, col. 567 ff.; 1882, col. 388 ff.].

3. The so-called *Life* (Ἰωσήπου βίος) is appended in the MSS to the *Antiquities*, and was certainly composed by Josephus as a sequel to that work, although it appears to be separated in time from the larger work by an interval of at least six or seven years. That it was planned as a sequel is shown by the promise at the end of the *Ant.* (XX. 266) of a brief account as to the author's family and life; by the fact that the *Life* begins without any prefatory remarks, being linked on to the *Ant.* by the particle δέ, and closes with a dedication of the whole work of the *Antiquities* (τὴν πᾶσαν τῆς ἀρχαιολογίας ἀναγραφήν) to Epaphroditus, who had been named in the exordium of *Ant.* (*Vita*, 430; *Ant.* I. 8); and by the fact that a passage from the *Life* is cited as from the *Ant.* by Eusebius (*HE* iii. 10). On the other hand, the *Antiquities* contains a formal conclusion of its own (XX. 267 f.), and was completed in the thirteenth year of Domitian (A.D. 93–94, *ib.*), while the *Life* implies that Agrippa II. was already dead (359 f.); and we learn from Photius (*Bibl.*, Cod. 33) that his death took place in the third year of Trajan (A.D. 100). The probability is that the autobiography was an afterthought, which was appended to later copies of the *Antiquities*, in which the sentence containing the promise of the Life (*Ant.* XX. 266) was then inserted for the first time. The immediate occasion for the production of the *Life* was the appearance of a rival history of the Jewish War by Justus of Tiberias, in which the writer accused Josephus of being the real cause of the outbreak of the war with Rome (*Vita*, 340). Justus had written his history twenty years before, but, according to Josephus, had kept it back until the chief actors in the war were dead, when there was nobody to convict him of inaccuracy (360). The appearance of Justus' work, with its damaging criticisms, was likely to endanger the secure position which Josephus had won for himself at Rome, and the earlier historian of the war felt bound to defend himself. The *Life*, then, by no means answers to its name. It is not a complete autobiography, but simply an apologetic statement as to the actions of Josephus as commander in Galilee before the outbreak of the war, to which have been added a few details as to the earlier and later events of his life, by way of prologue and epilogue. The defence which Josephus makes against Justus is an extremely lame one. He has to admit the part which he took in organizing the forces of the country against Rome, while endeavouring to show that he was not in favour of the war. It is an obviously one-sided statement, marked by excessive self-laudation, and the brochure must be pronounced to be the least satisfactory of the historian's works.

4. *Against Apion*, a work in two books.—The title, by which it is ordinarily known, is neither a

suitable one, since Apion is not mentioned until the second book is reached, nor original. It occurs first in Jerome. The older designations, both of which may be original, are *Περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχαιότητος* (Eus. *HE* iii. 9) and *Πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας* (Porphyry, *de Abstin.* iv. 11). It was undertaken as a reply to criticisms on the *Antiquities*, and a refutation of current attacks upon, and groundless prejudices against, the Jewish nation. It gives an interesting glimpse of the anti-Semitism of the first century. The writer begins by disproving the extreme antiquity claimed for the Greeks, and contrasts the discrepancies found in their writings with the carefully preserved and unanimous records of the Jews. He accounts for the silence of Greek writers with regard to Jewish history. He then proceeds to quote evidence for the antiquity of his nation from Egyptian, Phœnician, Chaldæan, and Greek sources. He passes next to a refutation of the malignant and often absurd accusations brought against his country by Manetho, Chæremon, Lysimachus, Apollonius Molo, and, the greatest offender of all, Apion. The object of Josephus' most biting satire enjoyed a considerable reputation as a grammarian and interpreter of Homer, but, from all accounts, he must have been a man of inordinate vanity, and a loquacious charlatan; the nickname of 'cymbalum mundi,' given him by Tiberius, corroborates the impression which we derive from Josephus; he is best known as the leader of the Alexandrian embassy to Caligula in A.D. 38, which brought accusations against the Jewish residents in that city, and was opposed by the counter-embassy of the Alexandrian Jews, headed by Philo. Josephus concludes his work with an able and eloquent defence of the Jewish lawgiver and his code, and contrasts his conception of God with the immoral ideas about the gods current among the Greeks. The book is, in short, an apology for Judaism, carefully planned and well worked out. The satire directed against Apion and the rest is pointed and lively, though sometimes, as in the allusion to Apion's death (ii. 143), it exceeds the bounds of good taste. The treatise gives us a higher idea than that we should form from his other works of the writer's literary skill, and of his genuine patriotism and zeal for his country's religion. A special value attaches to it from the numerous quotations from authors whose works are lost. It must have been written after A.D. 93 (the date of the *Antiquities*), but whether before or after the *Life* is uncertain.

PROJECTED WORKS.—At the close of the *Antiquities*, Josephus, after promising a brief autobiography, the *Life* which we possess, announces his intention, God willing, of writing two future works: (1) A summary of the Jewish War and the subsequent history of his nation down to the thirteenth year of Domitian; and (2) a work in four books 'on the opinions held by us Jews concerning God and His Being, and concerning the Laws, why some actions are permitted to us by them and others are forbidden.'* Neither of these works has come down to us, and there is no reason to suppose that either was carried out. But the work 'On Customs and Causes,' *Περὶ ἐθῶν καὶ αἰτιῶν* [*Περὶ ἐθῶν καὶ νόμων* or *ἡ αἰτιολογία* are other names which he suggests for it], appears, from the mention of the four books, to have been already mapped out in his mind, and was possibly begun. The project had been formed perhaps even at the time when the *Jewish War* was written (*BJ* v. 237), and there are frequent allusions to it in the earlier books of the *Antiquities*. The treatise was to contain, *e.g.*, an explanation why the first day is spoken of as 'day one' (*Ant.* I. 29; cf. Philo, *de Opif. Mundi*, 9, *διὰ τὴν τοῦ νοητοῦ κόσμου μόνωσιν μοναδικὴν ἔχοντος φύσιν*); the reasons for the dress worn by the high priest (*BJ* v. 237), for the practice of circumcision (*Ant.* I. 192, 214), for the changing of the shewbread every sabbath (*Ant.* III. 143), for the various sacrifices (*Ant.* III. 257), for the distinction between clean and unclean meats (*Ant.* III. 259); and a general rationale of Jewish laws and customs (*Ant.* IV. 198). It is to be regretted that this project remained, apparently, unfulfilled. Such a work would probably have preserved a considerable amount of valuable traditional lore, and put beyond a doubt the question whether Josephus was acquainted with the writings of Philo. At any rate, a comparison between the allegorical treatment of Scripture by the two writers would have been interesting.

WORKS ATTRIBUTED TO JOSEPHUS.—The so-called *Fourth Book of Maccabees*, or *Περὶ αὐτοκράτορος Λογισμοῦ*, was attributed to Josephus by Eusebius (*HE* iii. 10) and other Patristic writers. This rhetorical exercise has some points in common with Josephus; but that he was the author of it is disproved by the fact that it appears as an anonymous work in many MSS, by differences of style, and by the fact that it is based on 2 Maccabees, a book of which Josephus shows no knowledge in the *Antiquities*. The work, *Περὶ τοῦ παντός* [*Περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς αἰτίας*, or *Περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς οὐσίας*], ascribed by Photius (*Bibl.*, Cod. 48) to Josephus, is of Christian origin, and its author is almost certainly Hippolytus. On the alleged work of Josephus on the Seleucid dynasty, see above, p. 465^{b}.

iii. THE BIBLE OF JOSEPHUS AND HIS TREATMENT OF THE BIBLICAL NARRATIVE.—1. *Text.*—In the Preface to the *Antiquities*, Josephus professes that his account is based directly on the Hebrew writings, implying that he has translated them himself for his Greek readers (*Ant.* I. 5, *ἐκ τῶν Ἑβραϊκῶν μεθηρμηνευμένην γραμμάτων*; cf. X. 218, where his task is declared to be not to explain the difficulties of Scripture, but merely *μεταφράζειν τὰς Ἑβραίων βίβλους εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶτταν*). In reality this is not the case. The Bible of which he has made use throughout his work is, beyond a doubt, the collection of Greek translations commonly known as the Septuagint. The language of that version is constantly to be traced beneath the historian's paraphrase: passages occur which are peculiar to the Greek version, and probably never found a place in the Hebrew (*e.g.* the vapid answer of David to Goliath's question, 'Am I a dog?' *Οὐχί, ἀλλ' ἢ χείρω κυνός*, 1 S 17^{43} [*Ant.* VI. 186]; cf. also *Ant.* VII. 173 with 2 S 13^{21}, *Ant.* VII. 190 with 2 S 14^{27}, *Ant.* VIII. 17 with 1 K 2^{37} *καὶ ὥρκισεν κ.τ.λ.*). The writer's dependence on the Septuagint is most clearly seen in the use which he makes of 1 Esdras (including the story of the three pages, for which there is no Hebrew equivalent) and of the LXX additions to Esther. There can be no doubt that he has also used the Greek version of the First Book of Maccabees, not the lost Hebrew original.

As to the type of Greek text which he has followed, Mez (*Die Bibel des Josephus*, 1895) has made a special study of the subject for the historical books from Joshua to the end of the Books of Kings. He has examined the proper names of Josephus and the positive statements which deviate either from the MT or from the LXX. The conclusions to which he comes are as follows: (1) The text of Cod. B is never followed by Josephus where there is a diversity of reading. This statement is essentially, but not absolutely, correct: for instance, the answer of David to Goliath, mentioned above (1 S 17^{43}), occurs in B but is absent from A, the Lucianic text, and the Hebrew.

---

* It is unnecessary to suppose that Josephus contemplated two distinct works—one on the Being of God, and one on the Laws.

(2) In Joshua, Josephus follows the Hebrew closely. (3) In the Books of Samuel he diverges from the MT and Codd. A and B, and agrees with the Lucianic text, whose errors he follows and whose language he sometimes misunderstands. (4) In Judges, Mez does not arrive at any definite decision.[*] Speaking generally, we may say that the LXX text of Josephus agrees most closely with the Lucianic text or that contained in Cod. A. The present writer tested the text of the Greek Bible of Josephus for 1 Esdras, and found that it almost invariably sides with the A text as against the B text (see vol. i. p. 762 f.). In 1 Maccabees, where B is wanting, Josephus sides with ℵ as against A.[†]

Whether, and how far, Josephus used the Hebrew along with the Greek text has not yet, it seems, been ascertained with sufficient accuracy. There can hardly be a doubt that a man of his antecedents and education would be almost as well acquainted with Hebrew as with the Aramaic spoken in his day; but the indications that he made any use of the copy of the Hebrew Scriptures which he rescued from the ruins of Jerusalem (*Vita*, 418) are very slight. Practically, the only hint which he gives of a knowledge of Hebrew, and the only criterion which he offers us for testing the extent of his knowledge, is to be found in the etymological explanations which he appends to the Hebrew proper names throughout the narrative; many of these explanations, however, where they are not easily deducible from Scripture, are probably taken from contemporary *Midrashim*; while occasionally, as in the explanation of the names Μωυσῆς (*Ant.* II. 228) and Ἱεροσόλυμα (*BJ* VI. 438), he accommodates himself to his Greek readers, and accepts incorrect, or at best extremely doubtful, etymologies. See, on the whole subject, Siegfried, 'Die Hebräischen Worterklärungen des Josephus' (*ZATW*, 1883, pp. 32–52).

2. *Canon of OT.*—Josephus, as we have seen, in writing his *Antiquities*, draws freely upon Greek books, such as 1 Esdras and 1 Maccabees, which were never regarded as canonical; and no hint is given that the information derived from them is less trustworthy than that contained in the canonical books. In the opening of his work, using rhetorical language, he declares that 'the holy writings contain the history of five thousand years' (I. 13; cf. XX. 259 ff.). But that he was aware of the distinction between canonical and uncanonical books is made plain by a well-known passage in the *contra Apionem*, which is of primary importance for the history of the OT Canon, and must be quoted in full. Contrasting the reliability of Greek and Hebrew records, he says (*c. Ap.* i. 37 ff.): 'The writing [of the Scriptural records] was not within the power of all alike: nor is there any inherent discrepancy in what is written. It fell to the prophets alone to learn the events of the highest and most remote antiquity in virtue of the direct inspiration of God, and to record clearly the events of their own time just as they happened. It therefore naturally, or rather necessarily, follows that *we* do not possess ten thousand discordant and conflicting books. No; we have but two-and-twenty books, which contain the record of all time, and are justly credited.[‡] And of these, five are those of Moses, containing the laws and the tradition from the origin of man up to the death of Moses: this period is little short of three thousand years. And from the death of Moses until that of Artaxerxes,[*] the successor of Xerxes on the throne of Persia, the prophets who succeeded Moses recorded the events of their time in thirteen books. The remaining four contain hymns to God and counsels for the life of men. But from Artaxerxes until our own time records of all things have been kept, but they have not been considered worthy of equal credit with the records of previous times, because there has not been the (same) uninterrupted succession of the prophets.' He goes on to say that, although so long a time has elapsed since the Scriptures were written, no one has ventured to add to them, or to remove or alter anything; and that all Jews from their birth instinctively regard them as the teaching of God, and are ready, if need be, to die on their behalf.

In this statement the following points are noticeable. (*a*) In the time of Josephus there was a canon of Scripture which had long been recognized. The test of the canonicity of a book was its antiquity. The mention of Artaxerxes, who in Josephus (*Ant.* XI. 184) and the LXX represents the Ahasuerus of the Book of Esther, must have special reference to that book. Nothing later than its reputed date was regarded as canonical. The 22 books of Josephus are generally taken to be: (1) the 5 books of the Pentateuch; (2) Joshua, Judges + Ruth, 1 and 2 Sam., 1 and 2 Kings, 1 and 2 Chron., Ezra and Neh., Esther, Job, Daniel, Isaiah, Jeremiah + Lamentations, Ezekiel, the 12 Minor Prophets (13 in all); (3) Psalms and Song of Songs ('the hymns'), Proverbs and Ecclesiastes ('the practical precepts').—(*b*) There is a tripartite division of Scripture, but not the ordinary Jewish division of Law, Prophets, Hagiographa. The second group of historical-prophetical books has in Josephus been increased by a number of books which the Rabbis placed among the Hagiographa. The Rabbinical arrangement is not chronological, nor based on the subject-matter, but is the result of the gradual growth of the Canon, and an indication of three stages in its development. In Josephus, on the other hand, the arrangement is one of subject-matter. Such an arrangement had already been attempted in the Greek Bible of which Josephus made use; but the exact division into groups of 5, 13, and 4 books is not met with elsewhere. It was natural that Josephus, writing for Greeks on the historical records of his nation, should place together all the historical or quasi-historical books.—(*c*) The number of books is given as 22, not, according to the commoner Jewish enumeration, as 24. Josephus is the only *Jewish* writer who gives the former number, but it recurs in the Christian Fathers such as Origen (on the authority of Hebrew tradition, *ap.* Eus. *HE* vi. 25) and Jerome (Preface to Books of Sam. and Kings); the latter writer gives 5 books of Moses, 8 of Prophets, 9 of Hagiographa, and alludes to the other enumeration of 24 books (see Ryle, *Canon of OT*, 221). The number 22 was arrived at by joining Ruth to Judges, and Lam. to Jeremiah; and a fanciful explanation was found for it in the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet (Origen, Jerome, etc.). It is curious that this explanation is confined to Christian writers; it seems to be of Alexandrian origin. The number 24 appears to be the older, but the relation between the two numbers is still obscure. The idea of equalizing the number of books with the number of Hebrew letters need not have produced the division into 22 books; it may have been a later play of the imagination (Buhl), possibly the invention of Origen, who is the first to note it. In view of the parallels in

---

[*] It is to be noted that in this book Josephus transposes chapters 19–21 (the events leading up to the almost complete extermination of the tribe of Benjamin), placing them at the beginning of his account of the Judges.

[†] The Hellenized forms of Hebrew proper names employed by Josephus are given in Dr. Redpath's Supplement to the *Septuagint Concordance* (Fasc. i., Oxford, 1900).

[‡] The word θεῖα ('which are with justice believed to be divine') is an addition of Eusebius, *HE* iii. 10.

[*] Or, according to another reading, 'until Artaxerxes.'

Origen and Jerome there can be no doubt that the number 22 in Josephus was arrived at by treating Ruth and Lam. as parts of Judges and Jeremiah. There is no ground for Grätz's inference, that Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs had not been received into the Canon when Josephus wrote. See, further, Ryle, *Canon of OT*, 158–166, and the works of Buhl and Wildeboer on the OT Canon; also art. OT CANON in vol. iii. p. 607 f.

In a passage where allusion is made to the writings of Jeremiah and Ezekiel (*Ant.* x. 79) there is an enigmatical statement that Ezekiel was the first to write *two books* concerning the destruction of Jerusalem and the Captivity. Two explanations have been suggested for the *two* books: (1) The prophecy of Ezekiel may have been divided into two parts, chs. 1–39 and 40–48. But the latter portion contains no reference to the Exile. (2) The second book has been supposed to be an apocryphal work, from which are taken certain quotations made by Clem. Alex. and others which are not to be traced in the canonical Ezekiel (Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepig.* i. 1117). Both explanations leave unexplained the statement that Ezekiel wrote first, *i.e.* before Jeremiah. Eichhorn and Bertholdt have taken the words to refer to Jeremiah, and a division of his prophecy into two parts. See *Journ. Theol. Stud.* iv. p. 258 f.

3. *Additions to the Biblical narrative, mainly derived from Rabbinic tradition.*—Josephus has, with a view to rendering the Biblical narrative more attractive to his Greek readers, diversified and amplified it by a large number of additions. These additions may be divided into: (1) those derived from Rabbinic tradition, (2) those derived from Alexandrian and Hellenistic writers on Jewish history, (3) those which are the invention of the historian himself. It is not, however, always easy to distinguish between these three classes, and the attempt to do so has not been made in the present article. Additions for which Rabbinic parallels have been traced are indicated by an asterisk. For a fuller treatment of the relation of Josephus to Rabbinism, the reader is referred to the article of Edersheim in the *Dict. of Christian Biography*, and to the works of Bloch (*Die Quellen*) and others.† Edersheim, whose profound study of Rabbinic literature gives his opinion great weight, concludes that Josephus' knowledge of tradition was, like his acquaintance with Hebrew, not more than superficial.

We may begin by grouping together those additions and explanations which consist in the identification of places or persons, or in inferences deduced from bringing different passages of the OT into connexion. Among these may be named *the identification of the rivers of Paradise, Pishon = Ganges, Ḥiddeḳel = Tigris (so LXX) = Διγλάθ (*Ant.* I. 38 f.); *it was Nimrod, the builder of cities (Gn 10^{11}), who counselled the building of the Tower of Babel, to revenge himself upon God for the Flood (*Ant.* I. 113 ff.); Dan was the name of one of the springs of Jor-dan (*Ant.* I. 177); Abraham's descendants by Ḳeṭurah occupied Troglodytis (*Ant.* I. 239, II. 213, where Gn 25^6 merely names 'the east country'); *the daughter of Pharaoh who adopted Moses was named Thermuthis (*Ant.* II. 224; *Book of Jubilees* 'Tharmuth'); the injunctions in Nu 19 about the red heifer and the cleansing of one who touched a dead body are brought into connexion with the death of Miriam in Nu 20 (*Ant.* IV. 78 ff.); Mount Hor is identified with Petra (*Ant.* IV. 82); the mother of Abimelech was named Drumah (*Ant.* V. 233; unnamed in Jg 8^{31}; the name is probably taken from that of her residence, Arumah, Jg 9^{41}); the name of Jephthaḥ's burying-place was Sebee in Gilead (*Ant.* V. 270; Jg 12^7 'one of the cities of Gilead'; Josephus may have had another reading, see Mez, *Die Bibel des Jos.* 16); Saul's uncle (1 S 10^{14}) was Abner (*Ant.* VI. 58; cf. 1 S 14^{51});† the mention of Joab cutting off the water-supply of the Ammonites (*Ant.* VII. 159) has apparently arisen out of the name, 'the city of waters,' by which Rabbah is called in 2 S 12^{27}; the queen of Sheba appears as the queen of Egypt and Ethiopia (*Ant.* VIII. 165); the prophet who prophesied against the altar of Jeroboam (1 K 13^1) is named Ἰάδων (*Ant.* VIII. 231: has this arisen from ἰδού in the LXX, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ?); an anonymous prophet in 1 K 20 $(21)^{35}$ who foretold the death of Aḥab is identified with Micaiah (*Ant.* VIII. 389; cf. 403 and 1 K 22^8); and the 'certain man who drew his bow at a venture' and gave Aḥab his death-wound is called Ἄμανος (*Ant.* VIII. 414; ? = Naaman); *the 'certain woman of the wives of the sons of the prophets,' who was persecuted by her creditors (2 K 4^1), was the widow of Obadiah, who had borrowed money to support the prophets at the time of the famine (*Ant.* IX. 47); Tarshish, to which Jonah was sailing, is identified with Tarsus in Cilicia, and the prophet is said to have been cast up by the whale in the Euxine Sea (*Ant.* IX. 208, 213).

Some of the most striking among other legendary additions are the following: *Before the Fall all living creatures spoke a common language (*Ant.* I. 41), and the serpent for his malignity was punished by the loss of speech and feet (*Ant.* I. 50; so *Jubilees*, iii. 28, 'and on that day was closed the mouth of all beasts . . . for they had all spoken one with another with one lip and with one tongue'; see Charles' note; also the Targum of pseudo-Jonathan, 'upon thy belly shalt thou go, and thy feet shall be cut off'). Adam had daughters as well as sons (*Ant.* I. 52; *Jub.* iv. 1). Cain averted the punishment of death by a propitiatory sacrifice, and was banished with his wife and lived a life of luxury (*Ant.* I. 58 ff.). *The descendants of Seth invented astronomy, and left a record of their discoveries on two pillars of brick and stone, that they might not be lost to mankind in the flood or the fire which Adam had predicted (*Ant.* I. 69 ff.; cf. *Jub.* viii. 3, Cainan after the Flood finds an inscription which had been carved on the rock by the Watchers concerning the heavenly bodies). In *Ant.* I. 118 the Sibyl is quoted for the statement that the winds were employed by the gods to overthrow the Tower of Babel (cf. *Orac. Sibyll.* iii. 101 ff.). Abraham's knowledge of astronomy leads him to believe in one God (*Ant.* I. 155 ff.); in Egypt, God by an insurrection punishes Pharaoh for taking Sarah; while Abraham consorts with the most learned of the Egyptians, and teaches them mathematics and astronomy (*Ant.* I. 164 ff.). Potiphar's wife selects for her temptation of Joseph the occasion of a public festival, from which she begs to be excused on the plea of illness (*Ant.* II. 45). The interpretation of Pharaoh's dreams was shown him in his sleep, but forgotten by him (*Ant.* II. 75). *The birth of Moses was foretold to Pharaoh by a ἱερογραμματεύς, and to his father Amram by God (*Ant.* II. 205, 217); his mother was granted an easy deliverance, and so the birth escaped detection (*Ant.* II. 218). Moses' height and beauty (*Ant.* II. 224) were a common topic in tradition (cf. Ac 7^{20}). *Josephus tells a story of how the child was brought to Pharaoh, and how, when the king playfully placed his diadem on his head, the child cast it away and trampled on it; and how the ἱερογραμματεύς detected that this was he whose birth he had predicted (*Ant.* II. 232 ff.; cf. the tragedian Ezekiel, *ap.* Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 440). But the most noticeable addition to the history of Moses is the account of his * Ethiopian campaign (*Ant.* II. 238–253). The Egyptians, whose country had long been ravaged by the Ethiopians, at God's advice appoint Moses as their general. He, after ridding the country of the serpents which infested the line of march, gained a complete victory over the enemy, with the help of Tharbis, the daughter of the Ethiopian king, whom he marries. This account should be compared with that of Artapanus (in Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 432c), who is probably the ultimate source from whom many of the Moses legends are derived by Josephus. In Artapanus, king Chenephres envies Moses, and sends him against the Ethiopians, hoping that he will be killed. The war lasts ten years; Moses ultimately gains the affection of the Ethiopians, and teaches them to practise circumcision. The Rabbinical accounts (see Edersheim, *Dict. Christ. Biog.* iii. 456) are rather different, representing Moses as fighting on the side of the Ethiopians. The story in its various forms has, no doubt, grown out of the reference to 'the Cushite woman' whom Moses married (Nu 12^{1}). Murmurs against Moses are magnified into attempts to stone him (*Ant.* II. 327, III. 12; with III. 307 cf. Nu 14^{10}). The prohibition to priests to marry innkeepers (*Ant.* III. 276, cf. Lv 21^{7}) is to be explained, as Edersheim suggests, by the fact that, in the story of Rahab, Josephus, in common with the Targum, translates זוֹנָה (harlot) by 'innkeeper.' * Balaam is said to have counselled Balaḳ to entice the Israelites by the beauty of the women of Midian, and so to draw them away from their religion (this does not occur in the narrative in Nu 24–25, but a hint of it is given later in Nu 31^{16}). He foretells slight disasters to Israel to be followed by renewed prosperity (*Ant.* IV. 128 ff.). As to Moses' end, we are told that he was accompanied to Mount Abarim by 'the senate,' Eleazar, and Joshua; the senate was then dismissed, and, while the prophet was still conversing with Eleazar and Joshua, a cloud covered him and he disappeared in a ravine. He described his own death in Scripture, for fear that it should be said that he had been translated to God (*Ant.* IV. 324 ff.).

---

† The present writer has not had access to the works of Duschak (*Josephus und die Tradition*, Vienna, 1864), Tachauer (*Das Verhältniss des F. Jos. zur Bibel und zur Tradition*, Erlangen, 1871), and others named by Schürer.

† The scene of a battle between the Philistines and Israelites, unnamed in the OT (1 S 28^1), is given as Ῥεγάν (*Ant.* VI. 325). This, however, as Mez has suggested, may be a corruption of φάραγγα.

For additional *legal ordinances*, we may note the injunction that the evidence of women and slaves is not to be accepted (*Ant.* IV. 219); the forty stripes allowed by Dt 25^{3} become, in accordance with the later Rabbinical practice, 'forty stripes save one' (*Ant.* IV. 238, 248; cf. Targ. Jerus. i.; 2 Co 11^{24}); mention is made of the *seven* judges (*Ant.* IV. 214, 287); * the sexes are not to exchange dress, *especially in battle* (*Ant.* IV. 301; cf. Dt 22^{5}; Bloch refers to *Nāẓîr 59a*); the extraordinary statement that the Jews were not allowed to blaspheme the gods of other nations, or to rob their temples (*Ant.* IV. 207; *c. Ap.* ii. 237), seems to rest on the LXX of Ex 22^{28} *θεοὺς οὐ κακολογήσεις* (where the Targums render אֱלֹהִים by 'the judges').

Among additions to and comments upon the Scripture narrative in books outside the Pentateuch, may be mentioned details with regard to Manoaḥ and his wife—how they used constantly to visit the suburb (*τὸ προάστειον*) to pray for children, and of Manoaḥ's jealousy of the angel who had visited his wife (*Ant.* V. 276 ff.). Solomon's judgment is that both children should be divided, which excites the mockery of the people (*Ant.* VIII. 31 f.); the exorcisms which Solomon invented were still in use and efficacious in Josephus' time (*Ant.* VIII. 45 ff.); his road-making is described (*Ant.* VIII. 187); his first deviation from virtue was in making images of oxen and lions (*Ant.* VIII. 195; cf. 1 K 7^{25} 10^{19}). In the siege of Samaria doves' dung was bought *in place of salt* (*Ant.* IX. 62). Zedeḳiah disbelieved the prophecies of Jeremiah and Ezekiel because of their apparent discrepancy with regard to himself (*Ant.* X. 106). A description is given of a wonderful palace which Daniel built at Ecbatana, which was used as a mausoleum for the kings of Media, Persia, and Parthia (*Ant.* X. 246).

4. *Omissions from apologetic motives.*—Josephus, wishing to present the history of his nation in the best light, passes over in silence some of the less creditable incidents. We may note the omission of the selling of Esau's birthright, the story of Judah and Tamar (Gn 38), the killing of the Egyptian by Moses, the worship of the golden calf, the breaking of the first tables of the Law by Moses, the story of Micah (Jg 17. 18). The suppression of such incidents as these appears certainly to be due to apologetic motives, although other omissions may be the result of necessary compression; it must be admitted that some of the darker incidents in the picture are faithfully portrayed, though excuses are sometimes offered, as in the account of the slaughter of the Amaleḳites (*Ant.* VI. 136). It is rarely that Josephus condemns an action outright, as he does in the case of the sacrifice of Jephthaḥ's daughter (*Ant.* V. 266). The most striking omission of all is that of any reference to a Messiah. The words of the LORD God to the serpent, 'It shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel,' occasion no allusion to a future deliverer. Jacob's blessing is entirely omitted, nor do Balaam's prophecies call forth any hint of a Messiah. If Josephus held any such belief, he at all events felt that the doctrine would have no interest for his readers, or perhaps we should rather say that he studiously avoided a topic to which, in the circumstances of his time, it would have been dangerous to allude.

5. *Rationalistic explanations of the miraculous.*—Out of regard to the incredulity of his heathen readers, Josephus frequently suggests that miracles recorded in the history may have been due to natural causes, or he apologizes for mentioning them with the plea that he is only faithfully following the Biblical account. The readiness with which he has recourse to such explanations must, however, raise a doubt as to his own belief in miracles. Thus he appeals in support of his account of the crossing of the Red Sea, which, he says, happened *εἴτε κατὰ βούλησιν θεοῦ εἴτε κατὰ ταὐτόματον*, to the similar incident of the retreat of the Pamphylian Sea before Alexander the Great, adding, 'let every one think as he pleases as to these things' (*Ant.* II. 347 f.). The Biblical account of the healing of the bitter waters of Marah readily lent itself to a rationalistic explanation (*Ant.* III. 7 f.); cf. the account of the healing of the fountain by Elisha in *BJ* IV. 462 ff. (*πολλὰ προσχειρουργήσας ἐξ ἐπιστήμης*). The historian notes that quails are abundant in the Arabian Gulf, and that manna is still found in the region (*Ant.* III. 25, 31). As to the wonders of Sinai, every one is entitled to his own opinion, but the story must be told as it is given in the Sacred Books (*Ant.* III. 381). When Elisha procured water for the three kings in the wilderness, he was enabled to do so by rain having fallen some distance away in Edom (*Ant.* IX. 37, cf. 2 K 3^{17} 'neither shall ye *see* rain'). The story of Jonah and the whale is given 'as I found it recorded' (*Ant.* IX. 213 f.). The same detachment from the narrative appears in the accounts of the deliverance of Daniel and his comrades from the fiery furnace (*Ant.* X. 214, *φασί*), and of Nebuchadnezzar's madness (*Ant.* X. 218: Josephus only undertook to translate the Hebrew books). A famine in the time of Herod was due either to God's wrath or to natural causes (*Ant.* XV. 299). Sometimes a rationalistic explanation of the miraculous is put into the mouth of a participant in the actions described. Thus the Philistines attribute the

sufferings brought upon them by the presence of the ark to natural causes (*Ant.* VI. 9); the old prophet gives Jeroboam a rationalistic explanation of the rending of the altar and the withering of the king's hand (*Ant.* VIII. 244); Elijah on Carmel bids the people approach to see that he did not conceal fire among the wood (*Ant.* VIII. 340); Daniel's enemies asserted that the lions left him unharmed because they had had their fill of food (*Ant.* X. 260).

6. *Prophecies in the OT.*—Josephus is careful to note the fulfilment of prophecy, and especially to reconcile apparent discrepancies in the predictions of different prophets. From the fulfilment of many of the prophecies of Balaam, even within the memory of the historian, one may conjecture that the remainder also will come true (*Ant.* IV. 125). Zedeḳiah, son of Chenaanah, is made to quote the prophecy of Elijah, that Aḥab's blood was to be spilt in the field of Naboth, as contradicting the prediction of Micaiah that the king was to fall in battle against Ramoth-gilead, at a distance of three days' journey from Samaria. The historian notes the accomplishment of both predictions (*Ant.* VIII. 407 f., 418). Zedeḳiah, king of Judah, disbelieved the prophecies of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, because the former declared that he would be carried a prisoner to Babylon, while the latter said that he would not see Babylon. The statements were reconciled, as Josephus notes, in the putting out of the king's eyes (*Ant.* X. 106 f., 141). The fulfilment of the prophecies of Daniel affords a refutation of the opinions of the Epicureans (*Ant.* X. 277 ff.); he differed from other prophets in fixing a definite time, and in being a prophet of good things, and therefore enjoying popularity (*Ant.* X. 267). The spoliation of the temple by Antiochus Epiphanes was in accordance with a prophecy of Daniel (*Ant.* XII. 232), the building of the temple of Onias with a prophecy of Isaiah (*Ant.* XIII. 64; *BJ* VII. 432). In one instance Josephus refuses to reveal the meaning of a passage in Daniel, which he probably took to refer to the destruction of the Roman empire (*Ant.* X. 210). He holds that the gift of prophecy did not entirely fail in post-Biblical times. It was possessed by John Hyrcanus (*Ant.* XIII. 299), Judas an Essene (XIII. 311), Pollio (XV. 4), by Josephus himself (*BJ* III. 399), and others.

iv. RELATION OF JOSEPHUS TO PHILO AND ALEXANDRIAN JUDAISM.—Josephus only once mentions Philo, in a brief notice of the embassy to Caligula, which was led by the philosopher to oppose the counter-embassy of Apion (*Ant.* XVIII. 257 ff.). He there speaks of him in the highest terms as *ἀνὴρ τὰ πάντα ἔνδοξος . . . καὶ φιλοσοφίας οὐκ ἄπειρος.* It is impossible to say whether Josephus was acquainted with the detailed account of that embassy which Philo has left us in his *Legatio ad Gaium*, or how far he was acquainted with the other writings of the Alexandrian philosopher. Had he accomplished his projected work on the *Being of God* and the *Meaning of the Laws*, we should be in a better position to estimate the extent of the influence which Philo exercised upon him. Indications, however, are not wanting in the early books of the *Antiquities* of an apparently direct dependence upon Philo's writings. The following are the principal parallels which have been noted:—(1) The Preface to the *Antiquities* and the opening of the *de Opificio Mundi* show a striking agreement in the sequence of ideas. Both works raise the question why the Mosaic code is preceded by an account of the Creation. Josephus expects that his readers will wonder how it comes to pass that his work, of which the main purpose is to record laws and historical events, has so large an element of 'physiology' (*ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον φυσιολογίας κεκοινώνηκεν*). He explains that Moses, differing in this respect from other legislators, whose codes begin with contracts and the rights of man, considered it necessary, before laying down his code, first to elevate men's minds by setting the highest of all examples before them and inducing them to contemplate the nature and actions of God, especially as exhibited in the creation of the world (*Ant.* I. 18 ff.). Philo begins his work with a similar contrast between the procedure of Moses and that of other legislators. Moses did not commence by laying down commands and prohibitions, but gave as his exordium a most marvellous account of the Creation, in order to show the harmony existing between the world and the Law, and that the law-abiding man is a true citizen of the world. The unanimity of the Law and the universe is also expressed by Josephus (*Ant.* I. 24, *πάντα γὰρ τῇ τῶν ὅλων φύσει σύμφωνον ἔχει τὴν διάθεσιν*). Josephus (I. 15, 22) and Philo both refer to the mythical stories which disfigure the codes of other legislators. (2) In the same context, Josephus, quite in accordance with Philo's doctrine, admits that there is an *allegorical meaning in Scripture* as well as a literal (I. 24, *τὰ μὲν αἰνιττομένου τοῦ νομοθέτου δεξιῶς, τὰ δ' ἀλληγοροῦντος μετὰ σεμνότητος, ὅσα δ' ἐξ εὐθείας λέγεσθαι συνέφερε, ταῦτα ῥητῶς ἐμφανίζοντος*). It is not often that Josephus in the *Antiquities* resorts to such allegorical explanation [that was reserved for the projected *αἰτιολογία*]; but there is one striking instance, where the tabernacle and its furniture and the various articles in the dress of the high priest are explained as symbolical of the universe and its parts (*Ant.* III. 179–187). This is quite in the style of Philo, who gives a similar interpretation of the materials used for the woven hangings for the tabernacle and the high priest's apparel, in the *de Vita Mosis*, iii. 6, 12. The details of the explanation are not absolutely identical in the two writers, but for the general idea Josephus is not improbably directly dependent upon Philo. (3) In *Ant.* I. 29 an explanation of the use of *μία* for *πρώτη* in Gn 1^5 is promised in the *αἰτιολογία*. For Philo's explanation, see *de Opific. Mundi*, 9. (4) Some of the explanations of Hebrew proper names are identical in the two writers: these, however, may go back to an earlier tradition. (5) Some expressions with regard to the nature of God have the ring of Philo, or at least of Alexandria. See *c. Ap.* ii. 167 (*ἀγένητον καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀίδιον χρόνον ἀναλλοίωτον . . . δυνάμει μὲν ἡμῖν γνώριμον, ὁποῖος δὲ κατ' οὐσίαν ἐστὶν ἄγνωστον*); *Ant.* VI. 230 (*τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον ὃν πολὺν ὁρᾷς καὶ πανταχοῦ κεχυμένον*), X. 142, 278; *c. Ap.* ii. 284 (*ὁ θεὸς διὰ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου πεφοίτηκεν*). The four cardinal virtues of Greek philosophy are traced by Josephus, as by Philo, in the Mosaic code (*c. Ap.* ii. 170; cf. Wis 8^7, with Deane's note). But the indications which Gfrörer (*Philo*, 1831, ii. 356–367) has found in Josephus of the Logos doctrine of Philo—in the account of the three angels who visited Abraham, the burning bush, and the pillar of fire—are fanciful and far from convincing. See Siegfried, *Philo von Alexandria*, 1875, pp. 278–281.

v. THE ALLEGED WITNESS OF JOSEPHUS TO CHRIST.—The passage on which so much has been written occurs in *Ant.* XVIII. 63 f. [iii. 3], and runs as follows: 'Now about this time lived Jesus, a wise man, if indeed one should call him a man. For he was a doer of marvellous works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure; and many of the Jews and many also of the Greeks did he win over to himself: this was the Christ. And when, on the indictment of the principal men among us, Pilate had sentenced him to the cross, those who loved him at the first ceased not [to do so]; for he appeared to them on the third day again alive, as the Divine prophets had declared these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him. And even now the race (*τὸ φῦλον*) of Christians, which takes its name from him, is not extinct.' The passage stood in the text of Josephus in the 4th cent., as Eusebius quotes it (*HE* i. 11; *Dem. Ev.* iii. 3. 105 f., ed. Gaisford), and from that time down to the 16th cent. its genuineness was undoubted. Its existence contributed largely to the high esteem in which Josephus was held by the Fathers. During the last 300 years a vast amount of literature has been written on the question of its authenticity. Very few critics at the present day accept the passage as it stands as from the pen of Josephus; but there is a division of opinion as to whether the whole is an interpolation, or whether Josephus did make a brief statement about Jesus Christ, which was afterwards augmented by a Christian hand.

(1) As to the *external* evidence, it is true that the passage occurs in all the MSS. But this is of comparatively little weight, as none of the Greek MSS containing Book XVIII. of the *Antiquities* is older than the 11th century. The old Latin version carries us much further back, to the time of Cassiodorus (beginning of the 6th cent.), and the quotation in Eusebius attests the existence of the passage still earlier, in the 4th century. On the other hand, it is practically certain that Origen in the preceding century did not find it in his text of Josephus. For, while he is aware of the passage in Josephus concerning James, the Lord's brother, he says: 'The wonder is that though he did not admit our Jesus to be Christ, he none the less gave his witness to so much righteousness in James' (*Comm. in Matt.* x. 17); elsewhere Origen, collecting all the indirect evidence for Christianity which he can find in Josephus, is silent on the above passage, and again states that Josephus 'disbelieved in Jesus as Christ' (*c. Celsum*, i. 47). This is a case where the negative evidence practically amounts to a positive proof that the passage was unknown.

(2) The *internal* evidence is decisive against the genuineness of the passage as it stands. The *style* affords no certain clue: it is not markedly different from that of Josephus in this part of his work: it may be granted that the interpolator has done his work with some skill. But the *contents* are not such as Josephus could have written. He is elsewhere, as was seen, silent on the subject of a Messiah. The sentence 'this *was* the Christ' (*ἦν*, not *ἐνομίζετο*) can have come only from a Christian pen, and it is certain that Josephus was not a Christian. The same may be said of the phrases 'if one should call him a man,' 'the truth,' and the statement about the appearance on the third day. Zahn has adduced an interesting parallel to the first of these phrases and the following words 'for he was a doer,' etc., from a Christian work, the *Acta Pilati* (quoted in Schürer). The passage is *out of place*, and breaks the sequence of the narrative. It is interposed between an account of the disturbances in Judæa caused by Pilate's disregard of Jewish scruples (55–62), and an account of scandals connected with the worshippers of Isis and the banishment of Jews from Rome (65–84). The opening of XVIII. 65, 'And about the same time another calamity disturbed the Jews,' connects that section directly with the section about Pilate. The mention of Pilate has of course led to the insertion of the passage at this point. The fact that the passage interrupts the sequence of the narrative is an argument for its spuriousness as a whole. Moreover, as Schürer has pointed out, a careful analysis of the section, eliminating all that must be of Christian origin, leaves practically nothing behind. The theory of *partial* interpolation is unsatisfactory.

Two other passages have to be taken into account in the discussion: (*a*) that concerning the death of 'John surnamed the Baptist' (*Ant.* XVIII. 116–119), who is described as a good man who bade the Jews practise virtue and be baptized, and who was put to death by Herod because he feared that John's influence over the people might lead to a rebellion; (*b*) that concerning the death of James, 'the brother of Jesus who was called Christ,' whom Ananus the high priest caused to be stoned (*Ant.* XX. 200 f.). Origen refers to both these passages. There is no reason why the former should not be accepted as genuine. The style is distinctly that of Josephus [*N.B.* the form *ἁμαρτάς* in xviii. 117]. The historian could refer to the preaching and baptism of John without giving offence to his Roman readers; he could not without personal risk allude to Messianic expectations at a time when the spirit of the Jewish revolt against Rome, the strength of which lay in those expectations, had not been completely quelled. The language of the second passage is not inconsistent with its authenticity. There is a marked difference between the words 'who was called Christ' and 'he was the Christ.' But since Origen, in referring to the passage (*c. Celsum*, i. 47), says that Josephus attributed the outbreak of the war to the putting to death of James (a statement which does not occur in our text), there is good reason to believe that here, too, there has been interpolation. This has taken various forms, one of which is that given by Origen.

We conclude, then, that the passage about Christ was introduced into the text by a Christian reader towards the end of the 3rd cent., between the time of Origen and that of Eusebius. For the literature and an admirable discussion of the question, see Schürer, *GJV*^{3} i. 544–549 (to which the present writer is largely indebted). For the passage about James, see i. 581 ff. of the same work.

vi. STYLE.—A few remarks may not be out of place with regard to the style of the historian, upon which there can be no doubt that he spent considerable pains. He tells us as much in *Ant.* XX. 263; and, while he justly claims to have acquired a certain skill in the grammar, he confesses that long usage of his national language had prevented his mastering the Greek pronunciation (*τὴν προφοράν*). Elsewhere, he tells us that his chief aims are accuracy and beauty of style (*τὸ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας κάλλος*), so far as this is attainable by the choice of words and their arrangement, and the use of other ornaments of speech (*Ant.* XIV. 2). His fastidiousness in this direction may be illustrated by the way in which, while using the LXX, he regularly replaces certain words used by the translators by others of a more literary character. Thus he uses *ἐσθής* for LXX *ἱμάτιον* (*-ισμός*), *ἐμπιμπράναι* for *ἐμπυρίζειν*, *κατόπιν* for *κατόπισθεν*, *νεανίσκος* for *παιδάριον*, *πέμπειν* for *ἀποστέλλειν*, *ὑπαντᾷν* for *συναντᾷν*, *ὑποστρέφειν* for *ἐπιστρέφειν*. Similarly, he has taken the trouble to re-shape most of the sentences in the Letter of Aristeas, while retaining a good deal of the language. His Greek is almost entirely free from Hebraisms; the use of *προστίθεσθαι* (like Heb. יסף) is the only certain instance which Schmidt discovers (*de Flav. Jos. Elocutione*, p. 516). He tells us that, in writing the *Jewish War*, he employed *collaborateurs* to assist him with the Greek (*c. Ap.* i. 50, *χρησάμενός τισι πρὸς τὴν Ἑλληνίδα φωνὴν συνεργοῖς*), and no doubt he had similar assistance in writing the *Antiquities.* It would be interesting to know how far their work extended. Naturally, variations in the style and vocabulary occur, partly due to the different sources on which he draws, partly perhaps to the advice of different *συνεργοί*.

The most marked instance of change of style occurs in three of the later books of the *Antiquities* (XVII. XVIII. XIX.). Among the most striking of the phrases and uses peculiar to or characteristic of these three books, the following may be noted: a large use of the neuter participle (pres. aor. pf. fut.) with article as an abstract noun [*e.g.* XVII. 1, *τὸ μὴ ἐπικοινωνῆσον*; 171, *ἐν ἐλπίδι τοῦ ἀνασφαλοῦντος* 'of recovery': a list is given in Schmidt, *op. cit.* 361–368: the use is Thucydidean]; a more frequent use of the optative [Schmidt notes that the conjunctive is absent from Book XVII.]; the use of *εἰ* with inf. in *oratio obliqua*, of the Attic termination *-ατο* for *-ντο* (Thucydidean), of *ὁπόσος* where *ὅσος* is used in the earlier books, of *ὁστισοῦν* (*παρ' ὁντινοῦν, οὕστινας=πάντας*), and the phrases *ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος, μηδὲν εἰς ἀναβολάς* (cf. Thucydides), and, combined, *μηδὲν εἰς ἀν. ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος*. The departure in these books from the ordinary practice of the writer extends to the orthography. Whereas elsewhere Josephus, according to the MSS, almost invariably writes the Attic *ττ*, in these books *σσ* is the rule, and *ττ* is almost unrepresented; it begins to recur towards the end of Book XIX., and in XX. the two spellings occur in almost equal proportions. It must be added that in these books the imitation of Thucydidean words and phrases is more marked; the writer has tried to reproduce the difficult style and involved periods of his model, with the result that he has often made his meaning very obscure, and the text has suffered much corruption. The subject-matter in this portion of the work is less carefully arranged, and there is not a single reference to authorities. Schmidt (*op. cit.* p. 368) has suggested that the peculiarities of this section are due to the use of Nicolaus of Damascus. But the remaining fragments of Nicolaus do not contain the usages in question; traces of his style may rather be found in the books preceding XVII. The use of a single authority for this long section is out of the question, and the difference of style is probably to be accounted for by the employment of another *συνεργός* and amanuensis. It is not unlikely that the work was laid by for some time when the end of Book XVI. was reached.

An interesting study has been made by Drüner (*Untersuchungen über Josephus*, Marburg, 1896, pp. 1–34) of the use made by Josephus of Thucydides as a model. The imitation is considerable in the earlier books of the *Antiquities*: from Book VI. to XII., and in XX., it is non-existent or very slight: in XIII.–XVI. it gradually increases, and reaches its climax in XVII.–XIX. It is not confined to the diction. The narrative of incidents in the history of the Israelites has been heightened by touches from the account of the siege of Platæa and the Sicilian expedition (cf. *Ant.* IV. 55 with Thuc. ii. 77, and *Ant.* IV. 91 f. with Thuc. vii. 83 f.). The Sicilian expedition especially has roused the Jewish historian to imitation. (See also Kennedy, *Sources of NT Greek*, 56 f.; J. A. Ernesti, *Observationes Philologico-criticæ*, etc., Leipzig, 1795). The style of Josephus has also been influenced, though in a less degree, by a study of Herodotus (Schmidt, *op. cit.* 509 f.).

Niese (*Hist. Zeitschrift*, Bd. lxxvi. 207) remarks on the language of the *Jewish War* that it is 'precious' (*gewählt*), and rich in poetical and rare words. 'It is not the simple speech of the Atticists, but approximates to the overladen fulness of the Asiatic oratory.' He finds the style of the *Antiquities* simpler and the poetical colouring almost wanting. The same care, according to Niese, is not spent in the *Antiquities* on the avoidance of hiatus; in both works, however, the crasis of article and noun (*e.g. τἀδελφοῦ, τἀσφαλοῦς, θοιμάτιον*, *BJ* ii. 148) appears to be the rule.

vii. EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS.—All previous editions of Josephus have been supplanted by the great critical edition of B. Niese in 7 volumes, containing a full critical apparatus and introductions on the relations of the MSS (Berlin, 1887–1895). Niese's only fault seems to have been a too great reliance on a single class of MSS, with the result that the true text is often to be looked for in the apparatus rather than in the text. In the manual edition of Niese, without critical apparatus (1888–1895), some corrections of the errors of the MSS have been introduced. On the basis of Niese's work, Naber has constructed a recension of his own (6 vols., Teubner, 1888–1896). Niese's edition is indispensable to the student, but that of Naber will also be found useful as supplementing and, to some extent, improving on the work of Niese.

Each of the works of Josephus has its own separate MS tradition: the MSS of the two halves of the *Antiquities* (I.–X., XI.–XX.) also have their own separate histories. For this history, and for the early versions of Josephus, it will be sufficient to refer the reader to the introductions to Niese's volumes and to Schürer, *GJV*^{3} i. 95–99. With regard to the old Latin versions it need only be stated here that we have: (1) a version of the *Antiquities* and the *contra Apionem* undertaken at the instance of Cassiodorus (*de Institutione Div. Lit.* 17) in the 6th cent.; (2) a version of the *Jewish War* commonly attributed to Rufinus; (3) a very free Latin version of the *Jewish War*, which goes by the name of Hegesippus, a corruption of the name Josephus. The seven books are here compressed into five. The original is abbreviated, freely altered, and sometimes expanded: it has the appearance of being rather a new work than a translation. It goes back to the time of Ambrose of Milan, to whose pen it has sometimes, although probably incorrectly, been attributed.—Of the *Life* alone no Latin version exists.—There is a Syriac version of Book VI. of the *War*.

Of English translations the most serviceable, as containing the complete works, is that of Whiston, revised by Shilleto (London, 1889–1890), but the revision has been somewhat carelessly executed, and the translation is not always to be relied on. An English version of the *War* and the *Life* by Traill (London, 1862) is reported to be more reliable.

LITERATURE.—The literature on Josephus is immense. For a conspectus of the more recent works, the reader must be referred to the very full bibliography given by Schürer, *op. cit.* i. 100–106, to whose work the present writer is very greatly indebted. References will there be found to treatises on many interesting points, such as the chronology and geography of Josephus, which have not been touched on in the present article.

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

NUMBERS, HOURS, YEARS, AND DATES.*—

- i. Numbers and Counting. Difficulty of fixing precise meaning of expressions.
  - 1. The 'three days' between our Lord's death and resurrection.
  - 2. The 'three years' and 'fourteen years' of Gal 1^{18} and 2^{1}.
  - 3. The 'fourteen years' of 2 Co 12^{2}.
  - 4. The 'seven days' of Ac 20^{6}.
  - 5. The 'twelve days' of Ac 24^{41}.
- ii. Hours of the Day.
  - 1. Varying senses of the terms 'hour' and 'day.'
  - 2. 'Hours' in the NT. The discrepancy between Mk 15^{25} and Jn 19^{14}.
- iii. Years and Dates.
  - 1. Dating by the years of kings and emperors. The 'fifteenth year of Tiberius' in Lk 3^{1}.

---

* Cf. artt. CHRONOLOGY OF THE OT and CHRONOLOGY OF THE NT in vol. i. Most of the points dealt with in the present article concern the NT alone, although some of the principles laid down, particularly in the first part of § iii., will be found to apply equally to the OT.

2. Dating by periodically elected magistrates.
3. Dating by priests or other officials.
4. Devices of historians for indicating important dates.
5. Character of the dating in the NT.
6. Dating by counting from a fixed era (Seleucid, Actian, etc.).
7. The Beginning of the Year in current use.
    (*a*) According to Roman custom, year began 1 January.
    (*b*) In Asia Minor and N. Syria, year began about autumn equinox.
    (*c*) In Southern Syria, year began about spring equinox.

Literature.

i. NUMBERS AND COUNTING.—Important results sometimes turn on the precise meaning of such expressions as 'six days afterwards,' or 'on the sixth day afterwards,' and 'he was ten years old,' or 'when he was in his tenth year.' There is a tendency in English to differentiate between expressions containing the cardinal and the ordinal numbers, so that 'the tenth year of his age' refers to the interval between nine and ten, while 'ten years old' means that the person in question has lived ten years and something more. Sometimes, again, we find that, when the expression 'six days later' is used, the intention is not to reckon the day from which the period is counted as one of the six, whereas, when the expression 'on the sixth day after' is employed, the intention is to reckon the starting-point as one of the six (as, *e.g.*, 'the sixth year after' 1901 is 1906, but the phrase 'six years after' 1901 means 1907). Generally speaking, in Greek, Roman, and Græco-Roman usage there was no such difference between the expressions with cardinal and with ordinal numbers; but both classes of expression were used and understood as we in English tend to interpret the ordinal form. The older and popular expression in English also did not, as a rule, recognize such a difference: *e.g* the idiomatic expression 'this day eight days' means the same day in the following week (the interval, *e.g.*, from Tuesday to the following Tuesday), and 'fifteen days' is still sometimes used to denote an interval of a clear fortnight. The following examples of ancient usage may be cited:—

Cicero (*ad Fam.* iv. 6. 1) says that Æmilius Paullus, the conqueror of Macedonia, lost two sons within seven days. Livy (xlv. 40) tells the story in more detail, that the younger son died five days before, and the elder three days after, his triumph over Macedonia was celebrated. Some scholars have remarked on the discrepancy between these statements. But there is no discrepancy when the numbers are counted according to the ancient fashion. If the triumph was celebrated, say, on the 14th day of the month, then, as Livy says, the younger son died on the 10th and the elder on the 16th; and, as Cicero says, the 16th is the seventh day after that on which the first son died.

Galba adopted Piso on 10 January A.D. 69. Then followed four complete days of sovereignty; and on 15 January Piso, in a speech to the soldiers, spoke of the day as the sixth since his adoption (Tacitus, *Hist.* i. 18 and 28).

There are some exceptions to this usage; but probably all could be explained as arising out of the special circumstances. Thus Tacitus elsewhere speaks of Piso's reign as lasting four days (*Hist.* i. 19 and 48). According to our reckoning, it lasted five clear days, from 10 to 15 January; but there were only four unbroken days of sovereignty.

The general rule that has just been stated must be applied in interpreting the numerical statements in the NT.—

1. The three days between the Saviour's death and resurrection are part of Friday (viz. the few hours that remained before sunset), the whole twenty-four hours from sunset on Friday to sunset on Saturday, and the few hours between sunset on Saturday and the early hour of the resurrection before sunrise on Sunday.

2. The three years and the fourteen years in Gal 1^{18} 2^{1} must be counted in the same way, the first and the last year in each period being only fractions of a year. Here the reckoning is complicated by the uncertainty as to how St. Paul counted the years. Was he thinking of years of his own age; or years reckoned from the day of his conversion as prominent in his mind at the moment; or years according to the common Asia Minor and N. Syrian reckoning, with New Year in the autumn; or years according to the S. Syrian style, with New Year in the spring (like the Jewish sacred year); or years according to the Roman style, with New Year on 1 January? (see § iii. 7).

The first two of these suppositions may be at once set aside as inconsistent with the ancient custom of thought and expression: years were counted by St. Paul as beginning and ending according to the current usage, and any part of the current year, however small, was counted as one year. It would be as unreasonable to consider that he counted the years as beginning and ending according to his birthday or his conversion day as it would be to consider that he counted days as beginning and ending according to the hour of either of those events. But the real difficulty lies in determining what system of years was ordinarily used by St. Paul in thinking and counting: in other words, what day was New Year's day in his estimation.

The present writer is not aware of any argument justifying an absolute and confident answer to this question. But the general impression made by the facts stated in § iii. 7 is that St. Paul counted according to the N. Syrian system, with the year beginning about the autumn equinox. This gives the general rule (stated only as probable, not as certain), that, in reckoning the number of years that had elapsed since any event, St. Paul counted the second year as beginning to run about the next autumn equinox: thus the interval between the event and the ensuing autumn equinox, however short, was reckoned as a year, and so with the interval separating the point down to which he counts from the last preceding autumn equinox.

According to this rule, the conversion of St. Paul (assuming, for the moment, the traditional day, 19 January, to be correct) and his first visit to Jerusalem (which he says took place three years after his conversion) might have occurred in two successive years of the Christian era. In his way of counting, the first year would be at an end about 23 Sept. or 1 Oct., after the conversion, the second year would end in the autumn of the following year, and any event in Oct. or later of that year would be in the third year. Thus, if the conversion were in January A.D. 31, the first visit to Jerusalem might have occurred in Oct.-Dec. A.D. 32, or in the first nine months of A.D. 33. On the other hand, if St. Paul was thinking of Roman years, the first visit could not be earlier than Jan. of 33, and might be as late as Dec. of 33. Thus a difference of nearly a whole year might be caused by the slight difference between those two methods of reckoning.

3. The statement in 2 Co 12^{2} is also interesting. Fourteen years before writing, St. Paul had enjoyed the greatest vision, and the closest communion with the Divine nature, that had ever been granted him. There is probably little doubt in the mind of almost all scholars that these words were written during late summer or early autumn, about six months before the last journey to Jerusalem began. On the scheme of chronology which is followed in this article, this would be about Aug.

or Sept. A.D. 56; and the year in which the vision took place would be, on the Asia Minor and N. Syrian system, the year ending in autumn A.D. 43, on the S. Syrian system the year ending in spring A.D. 44, on the Roman system A.D. 43 (see § iii. 7).

4. In Ac 20^{6} it is said that the deputation going to Jerusalem tarried seven days at Troas. As they sailed away from Troas on Monday morning, they must have arrived there on the preceding Tuesday before sunset. The journey from Philippi to Troas occupied five days, and therefore began on the Friday preceding. The five days' journey, doubtless, included one day's travel on Friday to Neapolis,[*] on Saturday they sailed for Troas, and, after a slow voyage (Ac 16^{11}), they arrived probably early on Tuesday. These dates may be regarded as practically certain. Now it seems also practically certain that St. Paul started as soon as the days of Unleavened Bread were ended, for he was eager to be in Jerusalem in time for the Feast of Pentecost. In order to reach Jerusalem he was dependent on the uncertain chance of ships;[†] he had already been in Philippi for some time, and there was no special need for him to prolong his stay for a single day after the Feast was ended. Every consideration shows that he was bound to delay only for the festival season in Philippi, and to start immediately after. That is certainly the plain intention of the writer of Acts.

The long detention in Troas, waiting for a passage towards Syria, and the second shorter detention in Miletus, show how uncertain was the course of a ship, and prove that St. Paul could not afford to spend any time in Philippi after the feast was ended. On the other hand, when he had reached Cæsarea, and had only a land journey along a good road, on which the rate and time could be reckoned with confidence, he was able to wait several days, and go up to Jerusalem just before Pentecost.

Thus we reach the conclusion that, in the year in which St. Paul went up to Jerusalem, Passover began on a Thursday at sunset, and the days of Unleavened Bread came to an end on the following Thursday at sunset. From this it has been inferred (Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 289) that the journey was made in the year A.D. 57; and the discussions which have taken place on the point seem to the present writer only to have established this result more clearly.[‡]

5. There is much difficulty in St. Paul's words, Ac 24^{11} 'It is not more than twelve days since I went up to worship at Jerusalem.' The reckoning seems to show that it was a little more than twelve days. St. Paul reached Jerusalem after a journey, presumably after sunset, so that, though it was only next morning that he called on St. James, yet in the reckoning both events fall in the first day. Then we seem, at first sight, to have the following list of days and events:—

1st day. Arrival after sunset; visit to St. James next morning.
2nd ,, First day of Purification, Ac 21^{26}.
3rd ,, Second ,, ,,
4th ,, Third ,, ,,
5th ,, Fourth ,, ,,
6th day. Fifth day of Purification.
7th ,, Sixth ,, ,,
8th ,, Seventh ,, ,,[*] , Ac 21^{27}; riot; St. Paul's speech.
9th ,, Council, Ac 22^{30}.
10th ,, Dream by night, 23^{11}.
Conspiracy, 23^{12}.
Journey to Antipatris begins before sunset, 23^{31}.
11th ,, Journey to Antipatris continues by night.
Arrival in Cæsarea before sunset, $23^{32f.}$.
12th ,, Detention in Cæsarea, 2nd day, 24^{1}.
13th ,, ,, ,, ,, 3rd ,,
14th ,, ,, ,, ,, 4th ,,
15th ,, ,, ,, ,, 5th ,, : trial.

This list seems to show that fifteen days at the least had elapsed between St. Paul's arrival in Jerusalem and the day when he declared that not more than twelve days had passed since he went up to Jerusalem.

The explanation probably lies in Ac 21^{27} 'when the seven days (of purification) were about to be completed.'[†] In the above list this is understood as implying that the seventh day had arrived; but it may, perhaps, be taken as merely implying 'the seven days of purification were more than half finished, and the men were now coming near the end of the period.'[‡] This seems quite consistent with the fifth day, and in that case St. Paul would be speaking on the thirteenth day since his entry into Jerusalem; and we may understand the peculiar expression 'not more than twelve days' as meaning 'the thirteenth day is not yet completed and past': this form of expression shows distinct analogy with the case quoted above from Tacitus (*Hist.* i. 19 and 48).

ii. HOURS OF THE DAY.—1. 'Hour' (*ὥρα*, *hora*) is a word used in a considerable variety of senses in the NT. The Latin *hora* was borrowed from the Greek (*ὥρα*), and was to a great extent determined in usage by the origin. The Greek word *ὥρα* meant, in a very wide and general sense, a distinguishable period of time, a division of time marked off by a beginning and an end, however vaguely the bounds might be indicated. Thus *ὥρα* meant, in the most general way, a measurable or estimable lapse of time; and this sense of the word never entirely disappeared, and is found in the NT, *e.g.* Mk 6^{35} (twice), where it is rendered 'day' in both AV and RV; Mk 11^{11}, 2 Co 7^{8}, where it is rendered 'season' in AV and RV. The *ὧραι τῆς νυκτός* and *τῆς ἡμέρας* in Xenophon, *Mem.* iv. 3. 4, are not the 'hours' of night and of day, but the great 'periods,' the watches of night and the forenoon and afternoon of day.

The most characteristic division of time indicated by *ὥρα* in early time was the season of the year; and the mythological *Horai* were personifications of the Seasons. The use of the word in the sense of a division of the day, something approximating to an hour in the modern usage, hardly begins much before the end of the 4th cent. B.C. in the extant literature; but this quickly became the most common and widespread meaning of the word; and from some time, probably early in the 3rd cent. B.C. onwards, the Greek word in that sense was adopted in Latin. The division, which was probably of Babylonian origin

---

[*] No long detention is to be expected at Neapolis, where, doubtless, ships were to be found sailing for Troas every day (see above, p. 400, also pp. 384, 389); but still a certain amount of time must have been lost there.

[†] There were no pilgrim-ships (such as might have been got before Passover) sailing direct; and, even after a ship was found, its voyage might be broken at harbours on the way; see above, p. 400.

[‡] Divergent views are stated by Mr. Turner, above, vol. i. p. 420, by Prof. Bacon in *Expositor* (1898, i. 123; 1899, ii. 351, 412; 1900, ii. 1). The latter argues on the false assumption that the strict and narrow Judaic practice of the later reaction against Roman and Christian science obtained also in the early years of the Imperial period.

[*] Assuming for the moment that the riot broke out on the last day of Purification; but we shall see below that it probably occurred on the fifth day.

[†] The rendering 'almost completed' in AV and RV is too strong for the Greek *ἔμελλον συντελεῖσθαι*.

[‡] The Bezan text *συντελουμένης δὲ τῆς ἑβδόμης ἡμέρας*, which is inconsistent with our rendering, is evidently a later alteration to secure a more precise and definite sense than the true Lukan text.

(Herod. ii. 109), was according to the duodecimal system; and from an early time in the history of this usage traces occur both of a popular division of the period of light from sunrise to sunset (the natural day) into twelve parts or ὧραι, and of a scientific division of the double period of light and darkness from sunrise to sunrise, or from sunset to sunset (the civil or legal day), into twenty-four (twice twelve) parts.

Hours of the latter class, one twenty-fourth part of the fixed and unvarying period, a revolution of the earth round its axis, were of absolutely fixed and unvarying length; but the words *hora*, ὥρα, were rarely employed by the ancients in that sense: it was only astronomers that sometimes spoke of these ὧραι ἰσημεριναί, *horæ æquinoctiales*, as they were called. In ordinary usage among the ancients, these words *hora*, ὥρα, had a different meaning, which arose out of the only means of measuring hours known and used in ordinary life by the ancients, the sun-dial. The dial, originally a very simple instrument among the Greeks, was improved, until it afforded a means of dividing the time between sunrise and sunset into twelve equal parts or hours. These hours were equal in length to each other during the same day, but varied in length from day to day. The earliest systematic use of this division into twelve hours among the Greeks is said to have been made during the 4th century before Christ.

While hours of this new kind were in common and popular use, the astronomers found it necessary for their purposes to use the equinoctial or sidereal hours of unvarying length, which they calculated by means of *clepsydræ* or water-clocks.

There often occur in the NT examples of a system of numbering the hours of the day. The third, the sixth, and the ninth hour, as the main divisions between the four quarters of the day, occur very often. 'From the fifth to the tenth hour' Ac 19^9 (according to the Bezan text) is a note of the hours of lecturing in a public hall of quite unusual and even unique character in the NT; 'the eleventh hour' (Mt 20^9) is proverbial of the approaching end of an allotted time. St. John uses the numbers with exceptional accuracy: 'the tenth hour,' 1^{40}; 'the seventh hour' (in a medical observation), 4^{52}.

The precise meaning of these expressions in certain cases has been the subject of some doubt among NT commentators; but there is absolutely no uncertainty as to the meaning in ancient pagan usage, and the doubts expressed as regards the interpretation in a few passages of Christian writings are unnecessary. A certain amount of obscurity is introduced into the subject by the use of the word 'day' in two different senses: the period of light from about sunrise to sunset is called the natural day as distinguished from the period of darkness or night; a day and a night together constitute the period of the legal or civil Day. In the following remarks we distinguish these two senses by the convention that 'day' means the period of light as distinguished from the night (*Lichttag* in German), and that 'Day' means the legal period of a day and a night.

According to our own ordinary modern system of counting time, the legal Day is divided into 24 hours, and the hour is an unvarying and absolute duration of time; while the length of the day and the night are continually changing within certain limits (according to latitude), the day containing more hours and the night fewer at midsummer, and conversely at midwinter, while at the spring and the autumn equinox day and night are equal, and contain each 12 hours.

There are only the scantiest traces of such a meaning for the word 'hour' in ancient times, and it never occurs in popular usage, though it seems to have been known to astronomers from a very early time. The length of the ordinary ancient 'hour' varied continually from day to day throughout the year. The day, the period between sunrise and sunset, was divided into twelve equal parts called 'hours' (Jn 11^9). The division was marked by the progress of the shadow from line to line on the sun-dial; and the progress was more widely published in houses of a more pretentious character by some such device as the blowing of a trumpet. In Trimalchio's house (Petronius, p. 26)* the trumpeter was an established institution; and in the old German Imperial city of Goslar the same ancient custom was maintained by the public authorities down almost to the present time: not many years ago, and perhaps still, the trumpeter in Goslar sounded every quarter of an hour, for the division of time is carried out more minutely in modern than in ancient times.

There is hardly any trace in popular Græco-Roman usage of any definite division of time shorter than the hour: *horæ momento*, 'in the motion of an hour,' *i.e.* the time that the shadow on the dial takes to creep from one line to the next, was a customary phrase for a brief interval (Horace, *Sat.* i. 1. 16). Hence the word 'hour' is often used in the NT to indicate a point of time, where the more emphatic expression of modern language would require some such term as 'instant' or 'moment,' *e.g.* Mt 8^{13} 9^{22}, Mk 14^{41}, Lk $12^{39.\ 40}$, Jn 17^1. But this usage may really be much more emphatic than it appears at first sight. The Latin word *hora* certainly, and perhaps also the Greek ὥρα, are often used in the sense, not of the period that the shadow takes to creep from line to line on the dial, but of the brief moment in which the shadow crosses the line. Bilfinger has conclusively proved, contrary to the opinion of almost all other scholars, that the latter was the more frequent sense of the terms in Latin, *hora prima*, *hora secunda*: these generally indicated, not the whole time which the shadow required to move from the starting-point at sunrise to the first line, and from the first to the second line, but the moment† when the shadow reached the first or the second line. Hence *hora sexta* is frequently found, and almost always has the precise and exact sense 'at the point of noon.'

But Bilfinger tries to push too far the view which he champions. There are certainly some cases in which *hora prima* means the whole period from sunrise to the moment when the shadow on the dial reaches the first division. In truth, the ancients were far from being so accurate as modern people are; and probably many of them were hardly conscious of any difference between these two meanings, and used the term *hora prima* so loosely that they could hardly have specified which of the two meanings they had in mind. We ought not to try to make them out more accurate than they really were. Their vagueness in estimating the divisions of time must be allowed for. They had never been used to measure time so accurately or so minutely as we do. They had no division shorter than the hour; and they talked of the hours very loosely, making use chiefly of the prominent divisions—first, third, sixth, ninth, and twelfth hours. The third hour meant little more than 'during the forenoon'; and if an ordinary person, speaking of the third hour, were criticised and told that he should have said the sixth hour, he would probably have regarded the correction as too slight to be worth making, just as a Turkish peasant would at the present day. Modern peoples are so habituated to minute and

* Cf. also Martial, viii. 67, x. 48; Juvenal, *Sat.* x. 215 f.

† Bilfinger, *Der bürgerliche Tag.*

accurate divisions of time, and to precise punctuality, that their thought and language have acquired a precision which is wanting in the ancient writers,[*] and which we must not try to force on them by strained interpretation.

An example of the double meaning of the term 'hour' is seen if Mt 20^9 be compared with Plutarch, *Crass.* 17. In the former passage 'the eleventh hour' is used metaphorically to indicate the last point of time, the last line and hour of the dial, before the allotted time, viz. the day, comes to an end, and the opportunity is lost for ever. In the latter passage 'the twelfth hour' is used to convey the same proverbial sense, as being the last period, which ends when the sun sets. St. Matthew thinks of the moment when the shadow crosses the last dividing line; Plutarch thinks of the interval that elapses between that moment and the sunset. The influence of Roman usage is here seen: dials and divisions of time seem to have been more familiar in the Roman time, and with greater familiarity came the use of *hora* to indicate the point of time when the shadow crosses the line.

When *hora prima* or *secunda* indicates a point of time, it means the moment when the shadow reaches the line at the end of the first or of the second hour after sunrise; and so on. Hence, in this usage, *hora prima* corresponds in logical sense, though not in time, to our expression 'one o'clock.'

The length of the hour varied, therefore, according to the length of the day: it was about 75 minutes long at midsummer, and hardly more than 45 at midwinter, while at the equinox it was exactly 60 minutes, like the hour in our modern custom. This sense of the word 'hour' as a period of time is found in such passages as Ac 19^{34} 5^7,[†] Lk 22^{59}, Mt 20^{12} 26^{40}, Mk 14^{37}. In popular language the varying length of the hour is alluded to in such expressions as *hora æstiva.* In both Greek and Roman times the conception of an hour as an unvarying period of time, the twenty-fourth part of the civil or legal Day, occasionally appears in books of a more scientific character, but never in popular literature or common life.

The division of the hour into 60 minutes is said to be of Babylonian origin, and may have had an existence in scientific thought and astronomical calculations; but such a minute division played no part in popular life, never affected popular thought, and was not expressed by any word in popular language. The hour was the shortest division of time known to ordinary people, as has been stated above.

In ordinary usage the night was divided, not into hours but into four watches, the second of which ended at midnight. The dial gave no means of dividing the night into hours; and the length of hours of the day could not, except with much trouble and careful adjustment (such as only men of science would be able to give), be applied to the night by such methods of measuring as the *clepsydra* or water-clock, because the night hours grew shorter as the day hours grew longer, and coincided with them in length only at the equinox. But, by analogy from the expression *hora sexta* for 'noon,' midnight was often called *hora sexta noctis* (Ulpian in *Digest.* xli. 3. 7; compare xl. 1. 1, xxviii. 1. 5; Aulus Gellius, iii. 2. 11). The Greek corresponding expression is not found in the NT (probably not anywhere in strictly Greek literature), but the similar expression 'at the third hour of night,' implying the end of the first watch, occurs in Ac 23^{23}.[*] In Ac 16^{33} 'the same hour of the night,' the meaning is 'instant' or 'point of time,' as in the expressions described above.

It is accordingly involved in the very idea and origin of the hours in common usage that they begin from sunrise, and that the first hour ended when the shadow reached the first dividing line on the dial; and so on. These hours are parts of the natural day, the *Lichttag*, and cannot be counted except as beginning with the day. The hours, as parts of the civil Day, were a totally different conception, which, as we have seen, never affected or entered into popular usage and popular thought. Is it possible that those equinoctial hours might have been counted as beginning from the point when the Day was considered to begin (though only in scientific work)? We ask, then, when the Day was considered as beginning.

The legal or civil Day, comprising a complete period of day and night, was regarded as beginning from various points in the East and in the West. The Roman usage was the same as our modern usage: the Day was reckoned as the period from one midnight, *hora sexta noctis*, to the next. In the Jewish and the Greek usage the Day was reckoned from sunset to sunset; and it is in accordance with its Eastern origin and its early development amid Greek surroundings that the Church always reckoned the ecclesiastical Day as beginning at sunset. Bilfinger, indeed, maintains that both Greeks and Romans (except in matters of Roman law) counted the Day as beginning at daylight, either sunrise or roughly at dawn; but Unger has conclusively refuted his arguments on this point (see his article on 'Tagesanfang' in *Philologus*, 1892, pp. 14 ff., 212 ff.), allowing only that there was a Macedonian usage (traceable at Pergamos and other places where the Macedonian calendar was used), according to which the Day was counted to begin from sunrise. It may, however, be doubted whether those seeming cases of counting the Day from sunrise may not have been simply caused by the ordinary popular custom of counting the hours of the day as beginning with the light. But however that may be, it is certain that no example has ever been quoted from the ancient writers in which the hours were counted as beginning from midnight. Though the Roman legal Day began at midnight, yet the hours of the day were counted only as beginning from sunrise; and the hours of the night (in the rare cases in which hours of the night were spoken of) only from sunset. In popular usage probably no night-hours were spoken of except the third, sixth, and perhaps the ninth, as the beginnings of the second, third, and fourth watches; and those expressions were used, not because there was any device in ordinary use for dividing the night into twelve hours, but simply by analogy from the three main customary divisions of the day.

2. There has been among some NT scholars a certain degree of hesitation about accepting as absolutely and invariably true the principle that hours were counted only as beginning from sunrise; and some attempt has been made to show that the hours of the day were sometimes counted after a different fashion. This hesitation has been caused by the apparent discrepancy between Jn 19^{14} and Mk 15^{25}. In the former passage it is said that the trial of Jesus was concluded and the judgment on the point of being pronounced '*about* the sixth hour,' and some more time was needed (but prob-

---

[*] The looseness shown by St. Luke in regard to time is noted in *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 18, etc.

[†] In Ac 5^7 ὡρῶν τριῶν διάστημα must mean 'the period of three hours'; it can hardly be, according to the usage described in the following paragraph, the interval that separates a line on the dial from the third following line, because that would give a space of only two hours, according to the ancient way of counting the starting-point as the first. Lk 22^{59} must be interpreted on the same analogy.

[*] It is sometimes said that the Greeks had only three watches, the Romans four. This is an error arising from misinterpretation of Pollux, i. 70. See Mr. Macan's note on Herodotus, ix. 5, in his forthcoming edition.

ably not long) to conduct Jesus to the place of execution and raise Him on the cross, so that the Crucifixion could hardly have been consummated before 12 noon. No other estimate is given by St. John of the lapse of time on that day, but towards sunset it was found that Jesus was dead already, though the other two sufferers were still living; thereafter the body was taken away by Joseph and Nicodemus for burial, apparently just before the day was ended, perhaps about 5.30 or 5.45 p.m.

In the latter passage, Mk 15^{25}, it is stated that the Crucifixion was consummated 'at the third hour,' *i.e.* 9 a.m. (modern time), and that at the sixth hour darkness began and lasted till the ninth hour, when Jesus died: about the beginning of evening, very soon after 6 p.m. (modern time, *i.e.* sunset), Joseph took away the body for burial.

It has been suggested (and the view is advocated by some high authorities) that St. John counted the hours as beginning from midnight, so that according to him judgment was pronounced on Jesus about 6 a.m. (modern time); then after an interval of three hours followed the Crucifixion, and afterwards darkness began (according to the Synoptics) at noon. By this device all is shown to be in perfect harmony. It is urged that the difference in the way of counting the hours was due to the fact that St. John wrote in Ephesus, and counted in this one case according to the fashion of Asia Minor as being familiar to the public for which he wrote. An example of this supposed Asia Minor custom is sought in the martyrdom of Polycarp at the eighth hour. It is maintained that exhibitions of wild beasts, and executions by exposure to the beasts, ordinarily took place before noon (which is true),* and that therefore the eighth hour can only have been 8 a.m. (modern time).

It is needless to discuss fully the case of Polycarp; † the facts show beyond doubt that his case was exceptional, and that he did not suffer until after noon. He was arrested near sunset at a villa at some distance from Smyrna (to which he had retired after leaving his first refuge in a villa near the city) on a Friday, officers having been sent to arrest him in compliance with the shouts of the crowded audience at the conclusion of the *venatio* in the stadium at Smyrna on that day. He was permitted to pray for two hours after arrest; 'when the hour for departure arrived' (that is, evidently, early on Saturday morning) he was conducted to Smyrna; he was introduced for trial before the proconsul after the games in the stadium were concluded, because he could hardly have reached the city before the games began, and they would not be interrupted to allow the trial to proceed. It is clear that the games were over for the day when the trial was held, for Philip the Asiarch (who favoured Polycarp) declared that he could not reopen them in order to comply with the demand of the crowd that Polycarp should be exposed to the beasts. The games, of course, lasted more than one day; but it may be regarded as practically certain that they would not be continued after the fifth hour.‡ The interval between that hour and the eighth was occupied with the trial (for the forms of Roman law, even in a hurried trial, required some time) and the preparation for the execution; and the Jews, who could hardly have been present at the games on a Sabbath of especial sanctity, but who came in numbers to the trial, showed themselves active in procuring materials to burn Polycarp. Other examples of martyrdoms which took place in the afternoon are those of Zenobius and Zenobia at Aigeai in Cilicia on a Friday at the ninth hour (*Acta Sanct.* 31 Oct. p. 263), and of Pionius at Smyrna at the tenth hour (*Acta Pionii*).

In those exceptional cases the hour was remembered; but in ordinary cases the execution took place early in the day, commonly forming a part of the exhibitions or *venationes*.

Thus the one example that has been most confidently quoted to prove the existence of a peculiar way of numbering the hours in Asia Minor turns out to be an example of the ordinary custom. In truth, the idea that in Asia Minor people counted the hours from midnight is even more improbable than it would be in other countries; for, as has been shown above, there are many instances of even the civil Day, as well as the natural day, being reckoned there to begin with sunrise. Moreover, why should St. John in that one case count his hours from midnight? It is certain and admitted that elsewhere he counts them from sunrise.

The more closely the subject is examined, the more clear does it become that the numbering of the hours in popular usage always started from the beginning of the natural day. While the other kind of hours, the equinoctial, were sometimes used in scientific calculations, there is no appearance that they were numbered. The very idea of numbering the hours is a matter of practical convenience in everyday life, and has no scientific character.

It must be recognized that there is an absolute —and perhaps intentional and deliberate—difference between St. John and the Synoptists: the latter declare that the Crucifixion took place about three hours earlier in the day than the former admits. With regard to this difference there arise several questions bearing on the subject of this article: Which Evangelist shows himself most attentive and observant of details of time? what is the cause of the error which must exist on one side or on the other? what is its importance? with whom does it lie?

There can be no doubt that St. John is more careful about recording points and details of time. The two disciples of the Baptist went to the place where Jesus was, 'about the tenth hour' (1^{39}). Why does the historian record such a minute and in itself valueless detail? Obviously, he was naturally attentive to details of time, and that one remained in his memory because he had seen and known. 'About the sixth hour' Jesus sat down on the well of Jacob to rest (4^{6}). The official's son became free from the fever 'at the seventh hour' (4^{52}). In these cases there is no intrinsic importance (as there is in the case of the Crucifixion) to make the time of day memorable. The time when they occurred is stated, because the narrator remembered the details from personal knowledge; and only a person attentive to time-notes would have remembered what was the hour at which each event occurred.

While the question which authority is right cannot be discussed without a far wider estimate of facts and characteristics than belongs to the present article, yet the inference from the above-stated facts is in favour of St. John's superior trustworthiness in any statement of time; and the long interval of three hours which the Synoptists place between the consummation of the Crucifixion and the beginning of the darkness seems improbable.

The cause of the difference in this matter lies probably or certainly in the want of attention to the lapse of time on one side or the other. St. John shows himself distinctly more attentive, through a certain personal character, whereas most of the simple country people to whom the Synoptic tradition must go back are very unlikely to have paid any attention to an exact estimate of the passage of time, and may quite probably have erred in their recollection of the time. The reason for the difference lies simply in that inaccuracy in estimating and measuring the lapse of time which is observable in the thought and language of the ancients. The difference in opinion is not due to correct memory being obscured in the lapse of time; it dates from the event, and would be found in accounts written at the time, if witnesses of various character had been then ordered to state their impressions in writing.

---

* See the full discussion in Friedländer's *Röm. Sittengesch.* iii. p. 391 (349); also Martial, viii. 67. 4, v. 65. 8.

† It is discussed at length in the *Expositor*, 4th Ser. [1893], vol. vii. p. 220 ff.

‡ See *Expositor*, *loc. cit.*, and the article TYRANNUS, vol. iv. p. 822^{b}. Martial says: *ad quintam varios extendit Roma labores.*

As to the degree of importance to be attached to the contradiction between the witnesses, it is evident from the general considerations already stated that there is no importance in such a difference of recollection. Three events occurred successively during the day: the memory of most of the witnesses marked the sequence by recording that they occurred respectively at the third, the sixth, and the ninth hour, the only three divisions which the popular mind was used to note. But those three divisions were by most people used vaguely and roughly, without any accurate estimate of the precise hour indicated on the dial; and so it was in this case. The people who assigned the time of the Crucifixion as the third hour would have probably been much surprised if any one had in their presence used their testimony to pin down the event to an exact hour. Their thought and mind were not trained to such accuracy, they saw no importance in being accurate, and they were from habit not capable of even attempting to be accurate in respect of the lapse of time. The sixth hour, as being midday, was better marked than any other; but even in regard to it we must allow considerable latitude when ordinary persons speak of it. St. John alone in the NT stands out as habitually careful and accurate in this respect. The distiuction between him and the other NT writers on this point is like the difference between Romans and Greeks. The Greeks made little use of the hours, and spoke little about them. The Romans used the hours in all departments of life, regulated their business and private life by them, and spoke frequently about them. St. John stood on the Roman plane.

iii. YEARS AND DATES.—A convenient and practically useful system of chronology was developed only very slowly in the ancient world.

1. *Dating by the years of kings and emperors.*—In countries governed by monarchs, the custom of dating by the years of the current reign was natural and widespread. Such a system was of course confined almost absolutely to the limits of the monarchy. Beyond those limits it could hardly be used, or understood, or verified. Even within those limits it had many practical disadvantages for historical purposes. For instance, a considerable amount of trouble was often needed to discover the meaning and value of dates in past time; as amongst ourselves it would not be obvious, without some trouble, what interval elapsed between the fifteenth year of George III. and the third year of Victoria. The difficulties of this method are of course not so serious in contemporary dating: while a sovereign is reigning, the years of his reign, from whatever day it began, would be familiar to all the people, but after his death hardly any one remembers the exact limits of his reign.

The difficulty is increased by the fact that a king reigns not for an exact number of years, but for a period that must be reckoned by years, months, and days. If his first year is counted as running from the day of his accession, his last year is a broken one; and his successor's reign has to be counted as beginning from a different date. Thus a literal reckoning by the exact years of each king's reign becomes chronologically so complicated as to be extremely unwieldy and practically impossible.

Some modification was therefore commonly introduced for chronological purposes in this method of reckoning. The years of each king's reign were counted according to the current and recognized system of years, and not according to the day when the reign began: either the first year of the monarch was reckoned as ending with the last day of the current year (so that this nominal first year of his reign might last in reality only a few days or months), or the last year of the former monarch was counted as running up to the end of the year in which he died, and the first year of the new monarch was counted as beginning only with the first day of the local year next after he ascended the throne, or some other device of that kind was adopted in order to facilitate chronological reckoning.

Thus either the first year of Queen Victoria would have to be reckoned as ending on 31 Dec. 1837, and her sixty-fifth year would be running at the time of her death in the beginning of 1901: but in that case the rest of the year 1901 would be reckoned by subsequent chronologists as the first year of Edward VII., and in historical chronology 1837 would be called as a whole the first of Victoria and 1901 the first of Edward VII.: or else the whole of 1837 would have to be reckoned to William IV., 1838 would be the first year of Victoria, and 1901 would be her sixty-fourth, and would, as a whole, be reckoned as the last year of her reign. Whenever possible, it is desirable to investigate each writer's practice from his own writings. But, of the two alternative methods which have just been stated, the former was, on the whole, the more frequent and ordinary rule, and the one which must, in cases of doubt, be supposed to have been followed, as most likely to have been the practice of the writer in question.

On the other hand, in dating by years of the emperors, it is obvious that in Egypt the latter method was often practised, and many persons continued to date documents by the emperor who had been in office at the beginning of the year, even though his successor had already been in power for many months; see above, p. 379^b (where many of the cases alluded to are probably due, not entirely to ignorance, but to the idea that the whole current local year should be reckoned to the emperor in whose name it had begun).

Practical convenience dictated the rule, and it may be regarded as universally observed that when ordinary persons spoke of a series of years they meant, and were understood by every one to mean, the current years of the country or State to which they belonged, and not years reckoned from some arbitrary epoch, such as the birth of an individual or the accession of a sovereign. Thus, in Egypt, the universal way of counting the years of the Roman emperors is known to have been according to the Egyptian year beginning on 1 Thoth (30 August). Similarly, we may be sure that in Syria people counted in ordinary usage according to the current local year (on which see § iii. 7).

There was no fixed and universal rule among chronologists regulating their practice in this respect; and the custom of each ancient writer should as far as possible be determined separately from a special study of his method. Many errors have been made by modern writers owing to misinterpretation of chronological statements according to Imperial years. For example, in the reign of Claudius, the dates (so important for NT chronology) of the great famine (Ac 12¹) and of the edict expelling the Jews from Rome (Ac 18²) have been assigned to the fourth and ninth years of his reign. Now Claudius began to reign on 25 Jan. A.D. 41, and many writers have forthwith assumed that his fourth year ran from 25 Jan. 44 to 24 Jan. 45, and his ninth from 25 Jan. 49 to 24 Jan. 50. But that assumption is certainly wrong. We must first ask who is the authority responsible for the date, and what was his way of counting Claudius' years. Did he follow the Roman official reckoning of years of the reign, or did he follow any of the chronologists' methods? The authority is Orosius; and it is clear that he followed the method which reckoned A.D. 41 as the last year of Caligula and 42 as the first year of Claudius.[*] Hence his authority (such as it is) places the great famine in A.D. 45, and the edict expelling the Jews from Rome in A.D. 50. Ultimately, the value of his evidence depends entirely on the older authority or authorities on whom he was dependent: that is a topic that has to be treated by a careful comparative study of his account of the period as a whole. What concerns us here is that it is wrong to quote his evidence in favour of placing those events in A.D. 44 and 49.

It lies outside of the limits of this article to investigate the practice of the more scientific chronologists, which was not absolutely uniform. But so much is certain: the modern fashion of counting a sovereign's years from the day of his predecessor's death and his own accession was not followed by chronologists or historians in ancient times; and the reason lies in the hopeless cumbrousness of that method of reckoning. Such 'dynastic' years, as they may be termed, were hardly thought of or reckoned by the ancients. Current years, according to local usage, alone were taken into account.

The official Roman practice in reckoning the years of an emperor's reign varied. It was certainly not determined by scientific considerations of chronological convenience, and probably depended greatly on the choice or caprice of individual emperors. In general, the only part of the official description or titles of the reigning emperor that gave a clue to the length of his reign was the number of times that he had held the tribunician authority,[†] which was apparently chosen by Augustus as the characteristic feature and the fundamental element in his tenure of authority. The real foundation of his power, of course, lay in his command of the legions. That, however, was too harsh and repellent a feature; and in B.C. 23, after years of hesitation, during which he governed as triumvir by extraordinary appointment (for periods of five years, beginning from B.C. 42), or as consul by annual election (B.C. 31–23), he finally preferred to have the tribunician authority as Champion of the Commons conferred on him; and henceforth in his formal list of titles the number of years during which he had held that office was stated as being equivalent to the years of his reign. The custom was continued by subsequent emperors.

Most of the emperors of the 1st cent. reckoned their years of tribunician authority from the day on which it had first been conferred on them, and disregarded the day on which their predecessor died, and on which their reign practically began. The theory was that their legal authority began when the people conferred on them tribunician and other powers, and thus made them Champion of the Commons, with the powers to make their championship effective. The later view, which makes dynastic succession the criterion, did not rule in the Roman practice of the 1st cent. and even later; and there is absolutely no justification for the common modern view, that the years of an emperor were counted in that century from the day of his predecessor's death.

According to this official Roman view—

The years of Augustus began 27 June.
,, ,, Tiberius ,, ,,
,, ,, Caligula ,, 18 March.
,, ,, Claudius ,, 25 January.
,, ,, Nero ,, 13 October (till A.D. 60).
,, ,, Vespasian ,, 1 July.
,, ,, Titus ,, ,,
,, ,, Domitian ,, 13 September.

Nero's and Domitian's days coincided with those of their predecessor's death. Claudius' day was one day later than Caligula's death, Caligula's was two days later than Tiberius' death, and the other four had no connexion whatsoever with their predecessor's death.

Nero, in A.D. 60, introduced a new way of counting his own reign, and made the change retrospective. His seventh year had begun on 13 October in that year, but he ordered that his eighth year should begin on 10 December A.D. 60 (for the old Republican rule was that the Tribunes of the Commons entered office always on 10 December). Hence he was officially in the fifteenth year of his reign when he died on 9 June A.D. 68 (though according to our modern way of counting, by which many scholars interpret the chronological statements of the ancients, his fourteenth year was then still unfinished). But this way of counting the years of the reign from 10 December was not imitated by any of the 1st cent. emperors except Nerva and Trajan from the year 97 onwards, and could not have had any possible influence on NT usage.

2. From this follows a conclusion extremely important for NT chronology. There is no justification in Roman official usage for the view that when St. Luke (3¹) mentioned the fifteenth year of Tiberius he was counting from the death of Augustus on 19 August A.D. 14, and meant the 12 months that began on 19 Aug. A.D. 28. We have previously seen that neither ordinary contemporary usage, nor the more scientific usage of chronologists, permits such an interpretation.[*] We must therefore conclude that, whatever St. Luke may have meant, he certainly did not mean the year 19 August A.D. 28 to 18 August A.D. 29. Yet the majority of modern writers assume as self-evident that that interpretation (which is founded only on modern custom and prejudice) must be what St. Luke had in mind. The question now is what bearing the special subject of this article has on the interpretation of that important date.

It may be regarded as practically certain that the custom of dating by the years of the reigning Roman emperor originated, not in Rome but in the Eastern provinces; and hence such dates are to be interpreted by Eastern, not by Roman, usage.

---

[*] This is pointed out by the present writer in *St. Paul the Traveller* (pp. 68, 254), where it is explained as due to a faulty reckoning of the years of Claudius; but in *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?* p. 223, the right explanation is given that Orosius (or the older writer from whom he borrowed) reckoned intentionally after that fashion. We need not ask what was the New Year's Day in Orosius' reckoning: it was certainly late in our year, *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 68.

[†] This number is always stated in the title (except in the abbreviated titles on coins): *trib. pot.* alone means the first year of the authority of the emperor in question. The consulships and the imperatorial salutations were also expressed numerically in his title; but the number gave no clue to the length of his reign. For example, the eleventh consulship of Augustus was in B.C. 23, but he continued to be called 'Consul XI.' till B.C. 5, when his twelfth consulship began.

[*] They would consider that his reign began on 19 August, but that his first year ended at the conclusion of the current local year (which in many places would be on 22 or 30 September).

The Roman fashion of dating by consuls persisted in Rome far through the Imperial time; and so, *e.g.*, the *Annals* of Tacitus are arranged in strictly annalistic order, year by year, according to consuls, and not by years of the emperors. The prevalent method of counting in the Eastern provinces was a mixture of the dynastic method with the reckoning according to local years: as a general rule, the years of each emperor were counted according to the current local years, but his reign was considered to begin at the death of his predecessor. According to that method the fifteenth year of Tiberius would be the year beginning in spring A.D. 28, or in autumn A.D. 27, according as the local year began in spring or in autumn.* There were, however, some exceptions to this rule about the beginning of the reign, caused chiefly by collegiate government. Thus, in Egypt, the reign of Commodus, who had been colleague of his father, M. Aurelius, for some years, was counted continuously with his father's, as if there had been an unbroken rule from A.D. 161 to 192. Now, there were in the 1st cent. two emperors—Tiberius and Titus—who reigned for a time as colleagues of their predecessors. In their strictly official style, both counted their years of tribunician authority from a point long anterior to their predecessors' death. But Tiberius' tribunician authority was interrupted and remained in abeyance for a good many years, hence it was impossible to count the years of his reign from the first of his tribunician authority. There was, however, a second occasion when he was assumed as colleague of his predecessor with power over all the armies in all the provinces. This was a few days or weeks before 16 January A.D. 12, when, on his return from Pannonia, he celebrated his triumph. Before his arrival, probably at the meeting held in ordinary course on 1 January, the Senate had conferred on him those great powers; and it has been suggested with much plausibility that St. Luke (3^1) considered his reign as beginning from that day, when he became colleague of Augustus, so far as the provinces and all provincial administration were concerned. If, as many hold on other grounds to be probable, St. Luke was writing under Titus, who counted his years from his collegiate appointment, there would be an Imperial contemporary analogy prompting the historian to this way of counting Tiberius' years.

One must take into account that, in the case both of Tiberius and of Augustus, it was extremely difficult to tell from what date their power ought to be counted as beginning. In both cases there were several different dates which might, with almost equal plausibility, be taken as the commencement of their reigns, while Roman custom (as we have seen) forbade that either reign should be counted as beginning from the death of the preceding ruler, the day which modern custom prefers.

It is therefore impossible to arrive, on the ground of custom or etiquette, at any sure conclusion about the sense that should be attached to the date in Lk 3^1; and the meaning can be determined only by the general chronology of the life of Christ, which is not within the scope of this article. In this place there is only one further remark to make. St. Luke counted according to current years: but what, in his case, are to be understood as current years? He was certainly influenced in various ways by Roman feeling, but it seems highly improbable that he would count according to the Roman year; and there are absolutely no other facts mentioned in his writings to show with certainty what was his custom in respect of chronological reckoning. He was, however, Greek, and it seems improbable that he used any kind of year other than the Macedonian, Anatolian, and North Syrian, beginning at or near the autumn equinox. If we may start from this strong presumption, the fifteenth year of Tiberius began in autumn A.D. 25 or A.D. 27 (in the latter case year 1 of Tiberius would last only from 19 Aug. to 22 or 30 Sept. A.D. 14).

The passage is encumbered by another difficulty. The call of John the Baptist took place in that fifteenth year; but what relation does the call bear to the baptizing of Jesus, or, in other words, how long had John's preaching lasted before Jesus came to be baptized? It seems probable that the call of John and the coming of Jesus are to be placed within that fifteenth year, for otherwise the dating, which is here stated in such careful detail, would be valueless. But when an ancient historian specifies a date so elaborately as St. Luke does in this case, his object (as we shall see*) is to fix chronologically a critical event according to which the rest of the history is to be grouped.

Moreover, the narrative distinctly gives the impression that Jesus was one of John's early hearers. The baptism of Jesus in the Jordan belongs probably to the late winter season, as Lewin has shown;† and the call of John then must have taken place in the late autumn immediately preceding. The ancient customs of reckoning seem to leave only two possibilities: Jesus was baptized by John either in the beginning of A.D. 26 or in the beginning of A.D. 28, according as Tiberius' reign is counted as beginning from his collegiate power or dynastically from the death of Augustus.

2. *Dating by periodically elected magistrates.*—Far more difficult than the date according to the years of monarchs was the custom of dating by eponymous magistrates, which was introduced by the proud self-consciousness of Greek city life. No means existed of determining the interval between two events, for example, dated respectively in the archonship of Euclid and the archonship of Pythodorus, except to consult a list of archons and find out the number of names between them. Except in Athens, it would be extremely difficult to find a list of Athenian archons; even in Athens it would not always be easy to find such a list.

Almost every city in Greece made it a point of honour to date by its own magistrates. Thus the difficulty of this system was so much increased that in the majority of cases such dates are useless, and convey no chronological information. When we remember that in many towns those magistrates held office for only part of a year, the cumbrousness and absurdity of this pompous method of dating can be understood.

Only in the case of the *Roman* eponymous magistrates, the consuls, is a nearly complete list preserved; and the power of Rome spread the custom of dating by consuls far beyond the limits of the city. Consular dating was practised frequently even under the empire. It was complicated by the fact that the consuls who began their office on 1 January did not always remain in office throughout the year, and especially it became common under the empire that several pairs of consuls, the original and the later *suffecti*, held office in succession during each year. The old Roman rule, that the date should be given according to the existing consuls, whether or no they had come into office on 1 January, was in force until the latter part of the 1st cent.; but at that time it began to be allowed that the whole year should be specified by the names of the pair of consuls who entered on office on 1 January; and gradually the superior convenience of this practice established it as the rule.

---

* It will be argued in the sequel that the local year probably began at or soon after the autumn equinox.

* See below, 4.

† *Fasti Sacri*, p. 177: a slight change is needed to accommodate the reasoning to the difference of year in that admirable book. Though we disagree with its conclusions, it is by far the most useful work on the subject, on account of the care, fairness, completeness, and ingenuity with which it collects the evidence bearing on every single separate point.

No dates in the NT are expressed by the consuls, but in early Christian times such dates were sometimes used. Thus they found their way into Eusebius and other important later authorities for the early history of Christianity; and often very important questions relating to early Christian chronology turn on this system of dating. The list of consuls entering office on 1 January is almost complete; but nothing like a complete list of consuls *suffecti* can as yet be recovered.

3. *Dating by priests or other officials.*—This was originally a mere variety of the system of dating by monarchs; for in many of the great religious centres the priest at an early period was a dynast or priest-king, who ruled over the people of the god as his representative and the interpreter of his will. In later times, when in general the priest had sunk to a much humbler level, the old custom still continued. Under the Roman Empire the governor of a province was often mentioned to specify a date: the Roman governor exercised the supreme power, and was in a sense a monarch for the time of his office, and, in fact, where a monarchy was formed into a province (for example, Asia, Bithynia, Cappadocia, etc.), the first governor succeeded the last king. In the Imperatorial provinces, such as Syria or Palestine, in which the governor regularly remained in office for several successive years, this way of dating was of small use without specification of the number of years of office (which was very rarely made, as it attributed too much of the monarchic character to the governor, and would be likely to offend the emperor); in the Senatorial provinces, where the governor by an almost invariable rule remained only one year, it was more useful.

4. *Devices of historians for indicating important dates.*—To lessen in some degree the difficulties entailed by such complicated and narrowly restricted systems of chronology, it was an occasional practice for historians to indicate the time of an event by several different ways of reckoning, when they wished to mark a date carefully, and to make their chronology readily intelligible to different classes of persons. Thus Thucydides (ii. 2) indicates an important date by the Athenian archon, the Lacedæmonian ephor, and the forty-eighth year of the priestess Chrysis in Argos, and by the fifteenth year of the Thirty Years' Peace. As a rule this was done, even by the most careful, only for some one or two critical events in their narrative. For the rest of the narrative they generally contented themselves with indicating the beginning and end of the single years more or less carefully, making the critical event a means of connecting the narrative as a whole with other departments and periods of history.

According to that traditional practice among historians, St. Luke dates the call of John the Baptist very elaborately, not merely by the fifteenth year of Tiberius, but also by the Roman procurator of Palestine, by the high priests (whom he seems to consider joint-priests), and by the tetrarchs of Galilee, of the Ituræo-Trachonitic land, and of Abilene. It is remarkable that he does not name the Roman governor of Syria, when he mentions the unimportant tetrarch of the small Syrian territory of Abilene; the governor of Syria was not brought into any relation with the subject of his narrative, but neither was the tetrarch of Abilene. It is also remarkable that he numbers the year only of Tiberius and not of any of the tetrarchs.

We must understand that this elaborate dating is intended to connect the whole book with general history, as was the usage of other ancient writers. There is no other purpose served by the carefully stated synchronisms. Now, the call of John the Baptist is of importance in the book only as leading up to the baptism of Jesus by John; and we therefore must understand that the dating is related to the baptism as well as to the call of John. If some vague, indefinite interval elapsed between the call and the baptism, the careful dating would be absolutely valueless for the book, whereas we have been forced to the view that such careful dating was used only for a critical point in the chronological sequence of the narrative.

5. *Character of the dating in the NT.*—Of the small number of dates which are given in the NT, most are specified according to the reigns of sovereigns; but a very few are expressed by officials or priests. Generally they are stated in the vague Greek fashion, 'when Quirinius was governor of Syria,' or 'in the high priesthood of Annas and Caiaphas'; and on this analogy, even when monarchs are concerned, 'in the days of Herod the king,' or 'Herod being tetrarch of Galilee' (Mt 2^{1}, Lk 1^{5} 2^{2} $3^{1.2}$). The solitary exact date in the NT is the year of Tiberius, already discussed. This looseness as regards time seems more marked, when it is observed that almost all those scanty indications of dating are found in St. Luke: only one allusion that aids in providing a historical setting for the narrative is given by any other writer (Mt 2^{1}). The few allusions to contemporary history that occur in the other writers are forced on them by their story; St. Luke alone makes intentionally chronological statements.

This chronological weakness is not a peculiarity special to the NT, but is characteristic of many ancient writers, even those whose purpose was more specially historical than was the case with the early Christians, among whom St. Luke alone seems to have had any thought of historical surroundings to his narrative. The chronological relations of ancient narratives are often so insufficiently marked that modern students are perplexed to arrange the events described in them according to the strict chronological order which present-day requirements demand. In Tacitus' biography of Agricola, the author obviously avoided chronological statements as out of keeping with fine literary quality. Only in the conclusion (ch. 44) he gives the exact years of the birth and death of Agricola according to the Roman consular method of dating. In the body of the work no date is given; but, by the allusions to contemporaries with or under whom Agricola served, and by our knowledge of the principles applicable to the Roman official career and of the legal intervals between the several offices, it is possible to arrange the chronology of Agricola very precisely: but much of the chronology is fixed by external evidence, and the biography alone would not be enough. If the history of the Eastern provinces in the NT period were well known, many of the chronological difficulties of the NT would disappear, and the references to the two kings, Herod Agrippa, to Sergius Paulus, Festus, Philip the tetrarch, etc., would be points chronologically fixed by external evidence, assuring the NT history that lies around them. If, on the other hand, the history of Rome and the rules of Roman official life in the time of Agricola were as obscure as the state of Palestine in NT times, if the dates of Suetonius Paulinus and M. Silanus were as uncertain as those of Pilate and Festus, of Aretas and Sergius Paulus, if the date of Galba and the consulship of Collega and

Priscus were the subject of as much controversy as the chief events in the reigns of the Herods, then the life of Agricola would offer many chronological problems; but with all its advantages and all modern research it has given rise to a good deal of chronological discussion, and a few of the dates are still uncertain.

6. *Dating by counting from a fixed era* (*Seleucid, Actian, etc.*).—The more rational and practically useful system of chronology, by counting the years from a conventionally fixed and generally accepted era, has not affected the NT; but dates according to such an era are found in the Books of Maccabees, where it is called 'the year of the kingdom of the Greeks' (1 Mac 1^{10}). This name was applied to the era widely used in the central or Syrian part, rarely in the western or Asia Minor part, of the Seleucid Empire. It was fixed according to some uncertain event in the end of B.C. 312 or the early part of B.C. 311.

The rule in regard to all eras of this kind was not that the critical event on which the chronology depended was made the starting-point of the years of the era, but that the current local year in which that critical event occurred was counted the first year. Hence the year 1 of the era might last only a few days or weeks; and that was the case, for example, with the Actian era. In almost all lands where we know of that era being used, the current local years began at or about the autumn equinox (either on 23 September or on 1 October). Now, the battle of Actium was fought on 2 September in B.C. 31; and therefore the year 2 of the Actian era began at the following New Year, which was either on 23 September or on 1 October, according to the way of counting in different localities.

This rule, which is accepted by almost all recent writers on chronology, is disregarded once or twice in the excellent article on CHRONOLOGY OF THE NT in vol. i. p. 403, and therefore ought to be stated more emphatically here. It is proved definitely for the Actian era in the present writer's *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 441,[*] and has been illustrated and proved in other eras by various writers: see, *e.g.*, Th. Reinach, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1902, p. 1 f. (who quotes the rule from the place just cited).

The rule has to be applied to the Seleucid era. M. Clermont-Ganneau has pointed out that, whereas in Syria generally that era was counted according to the Macedonian years, beginning from 1 October, in Damascus it was counted according to the local years, which began at the spring equinox.[†] He considers that the first year of the Seleucid era lasted in Syria generally from 1 October 312 to 30 September 311 B.C., and in Damascus from 23 March 312 to 22 March 311 B.C. But it is highly probable, though not as yet definitely proved, that wherever in the Syrian regions a different kind of year was in use (*e.g.* in Tyre, where the year began on 18 April, as Niese[‡] has shown), the Seleucid era was counted accordingly.

A careful study, according to modern principles, of this era in its various forms (*e.g.* in Babylon, where it is said that the year 1 ran from 1 Oct. 311 to 30 Sept. 310 B.C.) is much needed, and would prove extremely useful; but that lies beyond the proper limits of the present article.[§]

There is an extraordinary variety of eras of this class. The idea seems to have been struck out in the effort which Greek civilization made, after Alexander the Great's time, to suit itself to the Asiatic dominions which it had conquered. The practical needs of governing greatly modified the character and outward expression of the Greek spirit; and the use of this kind of chronology was nearly confined to Macedonia and the subject lands of Western Asia. But the proud self-consciousness characteristic of the Greek cities reacted on this custom, and it was made a point of honour for each district and State and city to adopt an era of its own and count therefrom, instead of agreeing in the use of some common era. No ancient era, however, was used so widely or so long as the Seleucid, which continued to be employed for more than a thousand years, until the Arab conquest of Syria destroyed the Græco-Asiatic civilization in that country.

To those who regard St. Luke as a Syrian of Antioch, it must seem strange that he did not employ this familiar Syrian era in his careful datings in 3^1. But to those who regard him as connected with Macedonia as well as with Antioch, his Greek character and feeling will sufficiently account for his employing a method of dating which is more akin to the style of Greek reckoning.

7. *The Beginning of the Year in current use.*—Local variation as to the day on which the year began was a most fruitful cause of chronological difficulties. The varieties were extremely numerous and perplexing; but of them all only a few have any bearing on NT questions.

(*a*) Roman custom made the consular year and the official year generally begin on 1 January. On careful examination, no probability can be found that those writers in the NT who speak about the lapse of any number of years counted them according to the Roman system. Still less chance is there that the Roman tribunician year, beginning on 10 December, had any influence on the NT. It is true that a few emperors[*] counted their reigns according to tribunician years, so that their first year ended on 9 December, and the second year began on 10 December, following their accession. But that could have no effect on NT usage.

(*b*) In Asia Minor and North Syria a year beginning about the autumn equinox was very widely used. It might, with great probability, be argued that men like St. Luke and St. Paul, brought up in lands where a year of that kind was certainly or probably in ordinary use, would naturally count according to it. That must be admitted as reasonable; and there seems to be no weighty consideration against it.

(*c*) In various regions of Southern Syria a year beginning at or near the spring equinox was in use: the years of Damascus (from 23 March) and of Tyre (from 18 April) have been referred to above (6). The Jewish sacred year began also about the spring equinox; but it was a lunar year, and therefore was not likely to be used for chronological purposes, for which the irregularity of lunar years made it unsuitable.

With that one exception, all the years which have been alluded to in this article are to be understood as solar years. They had all been transformed from an original lunar character to suit the Julian year, though keeping their New Year's Day at various different seasons.

LITERATURE.—On hours: besides the special articles in the treatises and Dictionaries of Antiquities (esp. M. Ardaillon, 'Horologium' in Daremberg-Saglio), see Billinger, *Die Zeitmessung der antiken Völker*, *Der bürgerliche Tag*, and *Die antiken Stundenangaben*; Unger, *Zeitrechnung der Griechen und Römer*, 1892; and Kaestner, *de Aeris*, 1890.

On chronology: the elaborate article 'Aera' by Kubitschek in Pauly-Wissowa should be consulted; and Lewin, *Fasti Sacri*, should always be at hand. The discussion of numerous eras by the recent numismatists, especially M. Imhoof Blumer and M. Theod. Reinach, are highly instructive. The present writer has treated some of the principles in *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i. p. 201 ff.; *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?* chs. v.–x.

---

[*] The reckoning was stated independently by M. Imhoof Blumer in *Griechische Münzen*, p. 33 (357), *Zft. f. Numism.* xx. p. 257: cf. Kaestner, *de Aeris*, p. 41 f.

[†] *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, i. pp. 9 f., 72 f.

[‡] Niese in *Hermes*, 1893, p. 208 ff.: cf. *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?* p. 222.

[§] The need is clearly shown by the meagre and uncertain account given of this era in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, *s.v.* 'Aera.'

[*] Nero (after 60), Nerva (in 97), and Trajan (as mentioned above, p. 480^b).

W. M. RAMSAY.

GREEK PATRISTIC COMMENTARIES ON THE PAULINE EPISTLES.—

The subject will be dealt with in this article under the following heads:—

i. The original bulk of the literature, p. 484.
ii. Catenæ and compilers of the later period, p. 485.
iii. Patristic commentators on St. Paul, p. 489.
iv. Summary of MS material for ii. and iii., p. 521.
v. Patristic editors of St. Paul, p. 524.
Index, p. 529.

i. THE ORIGINAL BULK OF THE LITERATURE.—There is a sense in which nearly the whole of the writings of the early Christian Fathers may be said, and truly said, to be expositions of Holy Scripture. The controversy with the Jews turned on the interpretation of the Old Testament, the controversy with Valentinus and Marcion on the interpretation of the New: the theologians who dealt with these topics, which filled so large a space of the horizon of the Church in the 2nd and 3rd cents., like the theologians who dealt with the equally pressing danger of Arianism in the 4th, were all contributing their share to the explanation of the Prophetic and Apostolic writings. A book like the *adversus Hæreses* of Irenæus contains a mass of exegetical material; and few tasks in the domain of early Christian literature would be better worth doing than the collection and coordination of the fragmentary comments on passages of the NT which are scattered up and down the writings of the period anterior to the development of formal exegesis.

All this, and much more, would form part of a complete history of Patristic exegesis; but, since such a history cannot be written in these pages, it has seemed wisest to attempt only a limited and experimental treatment of one corner of the vast field, and to confine the scope of the present article to such Patristic writings as stand in direct connexion with the Pauline epistles.* Books which range over the whole of Scripture are therefore in the main excluded; and this affects two important departments of ancient Biblical literature: collections of Scripture proofs, of which the most famous instance is the *Testimonia* of St. Cyprian; and discussions of Scripture difficulties, such as the 'Mixed Questions' of Acacius (the successor of Eusebius at Cæsarea), or the *Quæstiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti* of Ambrosiaster. It is not, indeed, easy to draw a quite consistent line of demarcation: it has seemed worth while to note the occasional use of the great dogmatic theologians of the 4th cent. in the Catenæ (p. 498^{b}, below), and a place has been found in the list for one or two writings—such as the letters of Isidore of Pelusium, and the Euthalian 'edition' of the epistles (pp. 512^{b}, 524^{b})—which perhaps cannot strictly be ranked as exegesis of St. Paul.

More serious objection might be taken to the absence of any notice of Latin commentaries (except in so far as they are translated from the Greek); and no doubt Ambrosiaster, Jerome, and Pelagius would have formed a natural pendant to Origen, Chrysostom, and Theodore. Yet, after all, it remains true that the lines of exegetical development were laid down in the East; the rival systems of allegorical and literal interpretation had been elaborated, the one at Alexandria, the other at Antioch, and both schools had produced expositions of the Epistles in imposing bulk, before a single Pauline commentary had seen the light in the Latin West. It may be hoped, therefore, that even in this inchoate form the following conspectus may prove of service to those who would know, with more detail than has hitherto been easily accessible, what was the measure of the devotion of the early Christian centuries to the special study of St. Paul.

No general or systematic list of the early Greek commentators on 'the Apostle' * as a whole, comparable to the Latin list of Cassiodorus, *Inst. Div. Litt.* 8, has survived. But in partial explanation of this fact it must be borne in mind that the continuous and uniform exposition of the whole series of the 13 or 14 epistles was unknown, or at any rate infrequent, in primitive times. The first extant commentary on the Epistles as a whole is that of the Latin Ambrosiaster (*c.* 375 A.D.); and though some of those commentators whose work is lost—such, *e.g.*, as Theodore of Heraclea—may have anticipated him, they can neither have been many in number nor much anterior in time. The work of the earliest interpreters of St. Paul was done, as a rule, on single epistles, or if on more than one, as in the case of Origen, yet still independently on the different epistles and unsystematically. Our estimate of the total mass of early exposition must be formed on such generalizations as can be drawn from the chance enumeration, by St. Jerome, of the books that were accessible about the end of the 4th cent. on three or four particular epistles.

(1) 1 Corinthians.—Jerome, *Ep.* xlix. 3 *ad Pammachium* [A.D. 393; Vallarsi, i. 233]: 'Origenes, Dionysius, Pierius, Eusebius Cæsariensis, Didymus, Apollinaris, latissime hanc epistolam interpretati sunt . . . revolve omnium quos supra memoravi commentarios et ecclesiarum bibliothecis fruere.' In *Ep.* cxix. 2–6 *ad Minervium et Alexandrum* [A.D. 406; i. 794] he quotes on 1 Co 15^{51} the views of four commentators, Theodore of Heraclea, Diodore of Tarsus, Apollinaris, and Didymus, besides the 'Mixed Questions' of Acacius of Cæsarea.

(2) Galatians.—Jerome, *Præf. ad Comm. in Gal.* [between A.D. 386 and 392; Vallarsi, vii. 369: repeated in *Ep.* cxii., i. 733]: 'Aggrediar opus intentatum ante me linguæ nostræ scriptoribus, et a græcis quoque ipsis vix paucis ut rei poscebat dignitas usurpatum: non quod ignorem G. Marium Victorinum, qui Romæ me puero rhetoricam docuit, edidisse commentarios in apostolum . . . Origenis commentarios sum secutus: scripsit enim ille vir in epistolam Pauli ad Galatas quinque proprie volumina, et decimum Stromatum suorum librum commatico super explanatione eius sermone complevit; tractatus quoque varios et excerpta, quæ vel sola possint sufficere, composuit. prætermitto Didymum videntem meum, et Laodicenum

---

* In order further to limit the ground, the Epistle to the Hebrews has been excluded from detailed or special treatment; though, as nearly all the writers who will be enumerated accepted it without difficulty as a genuine work of St. Paul, some summary reference to it has occasionally been made.

* Ὁ ἀπόστολος is the regular phrase for the *corpus* of Pauline epistles, and dates back to the end of the 2nd century. If Eusebius (*HE* v. 27) tells us that Heraclitus (about A.D. 200) wrote εἰς τὸν Ἀπόστολον, the form of the title may perhaps be the historian's and not the commentator's; but in two other places (*HE* v. 17, 18), the phrase occurs in actual quotations from anti-Montanist writers of the same period: δεῖν γὰρ εἶναι τὸ προφητικὸν χάρισμα ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ μέχρι τῆς τελείας παρουσίας ὁ Ἀπόστολος ἀξιοῖ (Anonymus), and Θεμίσων . . . μιμούμενος τὸν ἀπόστολον καθολικήν τινα συνταξάμενος ἐπιστολήν (Apollonius). So Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* vii. 14: τό τε Εὐαγγέλιον καὶ ὁ Ἀπόστολος. So, too, the Latin Irenæus, *Hær.* IV. xxvii. 4: 'Domino quidem dicente [Lk 18^{7}] . . . et Apostolo in ea quæ est ad Thessalonicenses epistola ista prædicante,' and often elsewhere, especially in Book V.: in two cases the Greek also is extant—V. ix. 3, where it, too, has Ἀπόστολος; and V. ii. 3, where the *Sacra Parallela* give ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος for 'beatus Apostolus'; but there can be no question that in such cases the Latin is our best guide. Doubtless, the use of the phrase goes back further still into the 2nd century.

de ecclesia nuper egressum,* et Alexandrum veterem hæreticum, Eusebium quoque Emisenum, et Theodorum Heracleoten, qui et ipsi nonnullos super hac re commentariolos [*v.l.* commentarios] reliquerunt . . . legi hæc omnia.' Again, in *Ep.* cxii. *ad Augustinum* [A.D. 404; i. 734], § 6: 'Primus Origenes in decimo Stromateon libro, ubi epistolam Pauli ad Galatas interpretatur, et ceteri deinceps interpretes . . . quid dicam de Ioanne, qui dudum in pontificali gradu Constantinopolitanam rexit ecclesiam, et proprie super hoc capitulo latissimum exaravit librum, in quo Origenis et veterum sententiam est secutus?'

(3) Ephesians.—Jerome, *Præf. ad Comm. in Eph.* [same date as *Comm. in Gal.*; Vallarsi, vii. 543]: 'Sciatis Origenem tria volumina in hanc epistolam conscripsisse, quem et nos ex parte secuti sumus, Apollinarium etiam et Didymum quosdam commentariolos edidisse, e quibus . . . pauca decerpsimus.'

(4) 1 Thessalonians.—Jerome, *Ep.* cxix. (*ut sup.*) 8–10, discussing 1 Th 4^{15-17}, gives quotations from two commentators, Origen and Diodore, and alludes to two others, Theodore [of Heraclea] and Apollinaris.

The simple fact that of twenty or more Greek treatises on one or other of these four epistles which Jerome had (or had had) in his hands only one has survived to our day other than in Catena fragments, shows more eloquently than any argument could do the wealth and variety of the lost exegetical literature of the 3rd and 4th centuries. And if we further reflect that some of these twenty treatises would not, but for their casual mention by Jerome, have even been known by us to have existed at all, we shall realize what an imperfect picture the catalogue which we now proceed to draw up must give us of the labour which the 'age of the Fathers' devoted to the study of Holy Scripture.

ii. CATENÆ AND COMPILERS OF THE LATER PERIOD. — Before proceeding to speak of the Patristic commentaries separately, it will be convenient to say something of those more general and miscellaneous collections of later date which are often the only source from which we can now recover any fragments of the older writers. The subject of Catenæ was till quite lately an almost unexplored one; and no great advance can be made in the study of them until more of the material that exists abundantly in MSS has made its way into print. With regard to the Pauline epistles in particular, we need to know with more precision than is now attainable what material exists anterior to the two great compilers of the end of the 11th cent., Theophylact of Bulgaria and Euthymius Zigabenus. The scope of the brief sketch which now follows is limited to an enumeration of the matter in this department that has been either published or at least described in print: but something more will be said later on (see pp. 521–524) about the manuscript material.

1. The first Catena printed on the epistles is that known by the name of **Oecumenius**, published at Verona in 1532 under the following title: *Ἐξηγήσεις παλαιαὶ καὶ λίαν ὠφέλιμοι βραχυλογίαν τε καὶ σαφήνειαν τοῦ λόγου ἔχουσαι θαυμαστὴν ἐκ διαφόρων τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ὑπομνημάτων ὑπ᾽ Οἰκουμενίου καὶ Ἀρέθα συλλεχθεῖσαι εἰς τὰς τῆς νέας διαθήκης πραγματείας τάσδε· τοῦ μὲν Οἰκουμενίου εἰς τὰς Πράξεις τῶν Ἀποστόλων, εἰς τὰς ἑπτὰ Καθολικὰς λεγομένας ἐπιστολάς, εἰς τὰς Παύλου πάσας· τοῦ δὲ Ἀρέθα εἰς τὴν Ἰωάννου Ἀποκάλυψιν.* The edition appeared under the same auspices as the slightly earlier (1529) edition of Chrysostom on the Epistles (see below, p. 505^{a}); the patron, who bore the expenses of both editor and printers, was the illustrious Gian Matteo Giberti, bishop of Verona; the scholar entrusted with the work was Bernardino Donato; the type (and finer Greek type has never been produced) was set up 'apud Stephanum et fratres Sabios.' The whole contents of the volume were drawn from a single MS, presented to the bishop by John Lascaris, 'miro librarii artificio sumptuque descriptum apprimeque vetustum';* for the Epistles this MS gave in the text a continuous exposition as though by a single author, in the margin the names of the authors from whom the text was drawn: but use was also made of other MSS of a different class, which gave the quotations separately in the text, each under the name of its author. The work was attributed (quite rightly) to Oecumenius, on the ground that his name appears in the margin attached to the final comment on the Colossian epistle: *ἐκ τοῦ ἀντιγράφου μὴ εὑρὼν καλῶς τὰς παραγραφὰς τοῦ μακαρίου Ἰωάννου τῆς πρὸς Κολοσσαεῖς ἐπιστολῆς, συνέγραψα αὐτὰς ὅπως ἠδυνάμην· ἐὰν οὖν εὑρεθῇ τι ἐν αὐταῖς ἢ κοῦφον ἢ ἐπιλήψιμον, ἴστω ὁ ἀναγινώσκων ἐμὸν εἶναι τὸ τοιοῦτον πταῖσμα.*† The editor concluded, on the strength of the one MS which was known to him, that the main and anonymous portion of the work is taken from Chrysostom, not indeed word for word,—for when that is done the name 'John' or 'Chrysostom' appears like any other in the margin,—but with much abbreviation and omission; that where Oecumenius takes an individual line he puts his own name in the margin, so that the reader may not be deceived as to the authority claimed for it; that the rest depends on various ancient authors, whose names are likewise given in the margin, and of whom Photius is far and away the most frequently cited. Theodoret—for the sign Θεοδωρ. refers to him and not to Theodore of Mopsuestia—comes next, and after him Severian, Cyril of Alexandria, and Gennadius. But the important point to bear in mind is that the sum-total of the rest of the quotations bears only an infinitesimal proportion to the bulk of the matter supplied by Chrysostom, Photius, and Oecumenius himself; in the nine epistles from Ephesians to Philemon there are only thirteen marginal references outside these three writers. This disproportion would, no doubt, be modified, though it is impossible to say how seriously, if we could estimate to what extent either Oecumenius in his original compilation, or the scribes who copied him down to the exemplar of John Lascaris, fell short of exactitude in inserting or reproducing the marginal ascriptions of authorship; for all such information as has accrued to us about Oecumenian MSS (see below, p. 488) points to the conclusion that the 'anonymous' portion of the printed text ought to suffer at least some reduction in favour of the rest.

It should also be noted that the printed text of Oecumenius prefixes to the exegesis a good deal of 'Euthalian' matter: (i.) *Διήγησις περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Παύλου, Εὐθαλίου διακόνου πρόλογος*: (ii.) *ἀποδημίαι Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου*: (iii.) *μαρτύριον Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου*: (iv.) *ὑπόθεσις τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιστολῆς*, [*inc. ταύτην ἐπιστέλλει*]: (v.) *κεφάλαια τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιστολῆς*, [*inc. α´ εὐαγγελικὴ διδασκαλία*]: (vi.) *σχόλιον πρὶν ἐπιδημῆσαι Παῦλον* . . .; similar matter to Nos. iv.–vi. is given with the other Pauline epistles. See below, on Euthalius, pp. 526, 527.

The edition of Donatus was repeated—without alteration of the Greek, so far as appears, but with the addition of the preface and Latin version of Joannes Hentenius, A.D. 1545*—in the edition of F. Morel, Paris 'sumptibus Cl. Sonnii,' 1631; and the edition of Morel is incorporated in Migne's *Patrologia Græca*, vols. 118, 119. Thus we are still using Oecumenius on the authority of the MS of John Lascaris, modified, as Donatus' preface tells us, by other (apparently non-Oecumenian) MSS.

---

* He means, of course, Apollinaris of Laodicea.

* Perhaps identical with Paris gr. 219 (=Medic. Reg. 1886), sæc. xi., a copy of Oecumenius-Arethas which certainly at one time belonged to John Lascaris.

† So, too, on Eph 4^{16} the name Oecumenius is attached in the margin to the sentence *ὅρα τί κἀγὼ ἐνόμισα· οὔτε γὰρ ἐχώρησα τὰ τοῦ μακαρίου* [*sc.* Chrysostom] *νοῆσαι* of the text.

Who Oecumenius was—beyond the fact that he is said to have been bishop of Tricca in Thessaly—we do not know; as to his date, if the editions were right in making him use Photius (on which, however, see below, p. 488), he must be later than the middle of the 9th: but, if once the name Photius is removed, no obstacle remains to a much earlier period. See, further, p. 523.

2. Next of the great compilers to Oecumenius, both in order of history and in order of publication, comes **Theophylact**, archbishop of Bulgaria *c.* 1075 A.D. His commentary on the Pauline epistles was first published at London in 1636 as a posthumous work of Dr. Augustine Lindsell, bishop of Hereford, who died at the end of 1634. From the preface, addressed by T. Baily to archbishop Laud, it appears that the commentaries were copied out from a 'codex vetustus' of the earl of Arundel, and that the copy was compared with two Oxford MSS;† at Lindsell's death the edition was almost complete. The Greek text is accompanied by a Latin translation, based on that of Philippus Montanus, Antwerp, 1564.

As vol. ii. of a complete issue of the writings of Theophylact, the commentary on the Epistles was reprinted at Venice in 1755; the Greek was simply repeated from the edition—'satis nitidam et accuratam,' as the new preface calls it—of Lindsell, some 'manifest errors' only of the Latin being removed. The Venetian editor's contribution to the criticism of the text is, in fact, confined to the list on pp. 771–776 of readings from a Venice MS—presumably codex 32 of Zanetti's catalogue, sæc. xiv.—from which list, as he informs us with obvious satisfaction, he excluded everything (i.) that was manifestly wrong, (ii.) that injured either the style or the sense, (iii.) that the London edition had already noted as read in the Oxford MSS. No wonder that, though the variants were 'satis multæ,' he succeeded in reducing them 'ad mediocrem numerum'! Yet he tells us enough to show that the differences even among the MSS hitherto known are very considerable; the comments in one are now longer, now shorter, than in the rest; while at other times, though the general sense is the same, the language varies so much that the result is practically 'expositiones diversæ.' The most considerable merit of the Venice edition lies in its two indexes, Greek and Latin. The whole is reprinted in Migne, *Patrol. Gr.* vol. 124.

According to Ehrhard (in Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*², 1897, p. 134), Theophylact shows a certain independence in the commentary on the Pauline epistles, and in particular cites many more names of earlier Fathers than in his commentaries on other books of the Bible—Clement of Alexandria, Methodius, Basil and the two Gregorys, Cyril of Alexandria, pseudo-Dionysius; but even here the majority of the explanations are quoted anonymously. Chrysostom is of course still the chief stand-by of the commentary: in his case, Theophylact even takes into consideration the *variæ lectiones* of the Scripture text (*bei dem er sogar die abweichenden Lesarten des Schrifttextes berücksichtigt*). Ehrhard is an authority from whom, speaking ordinarily, there is no appeal; but the present writer has been unable to find in either of the editions the references to the Fathers by name of which Ehrhard speaks.

3. The third of the great compilers, **Euthymius Zigabenus**, author of the *Panoplia Dogmatica*, was a younger contemporary of Theophylact, and flourished under the emperor Alexius Comnenus, *c.* 1100 A.D. C. F. Matthæi, the first editor of the original Greek of Euthymius' commentary on the Gospels, had found at Munich a MS of Euthymius on Romans and 1 Corinthians. But it is a Greek scholar, Nicolas Kalogeras, late archbishop of Patras, to whom the publication of the commentary on the Pauline epistles is due (Athens, 1887, 2 vols.). Kalogeras' preface, pp. 61–64, gives an interesting account of his search after a complete MS, which he found at last in MS gr. 6 (sæc. xiv.) of the Casatensian Library at Rome. The title of the commentary runs, according to the MS: Ἑρμηνεία τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τοῦ μεγάλου ἀποστόλου Παύλου φιλοπόνως ἐρανισθεῖσα, μάλιστα μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξηγήσεως τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ διαφόρων ἄλλων πατέρων, συνεισενεγκόντος τινὰ καὶ τοῦ ταύτην ἐρανισαμένου τοῦ Ζιγαβηνοῦ Εὐθυμίου μοναχοῦ. Besides Chrysostom, the chief sources used are said to be Basil and Gregory Nazianzen; but the citations are all made anonymously.* The agreement with Theophylact is often exact and verbal (Ehrhard in Krumbacher, pp. 84, 134). The order of the Pauline epistles in the MS is Romans, 1 and 2 Cor., Gal., Eph., Col., Philem., 1 and 2 Thess., Phil., Heb., 1 and 2 Tim., Titus.

4. **Nicetas of Serrae**, deacon of St. Sophia and afterwards archbishop of Heraclea, was another younger contemporary of Theophylact, and author of well-known Catenæ upon some of the Gospels and on the Epistle to the Hebrews. His claim to be regarded as author also of a Catena on the Pauline epistles rests on the evidence of the title of a single Florence MS, Laur. ix. 10, sæc. xii.: Ἐξήγησις τοῦ μακαριωτάτου μητροπολίτου [Νικήτα] Ἡρακλείας εἰς τὰς ἐπιστολὰς τοῦ ἁγίου Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου: the name Νικήτα is not even by the original scribe, though he was presumably the person meant. A specimen of this MS, extending over chapters 1–8 of 1 Corinthians, was published in vol. v. of Jo. Lamius' *Deliciæ eruditorum* (Florence, A.D. 1738). It contains passages labelled with the name of Oecumenius, and on comparison with the printed text of the latter it is plain that the relation between the two Catenæ of 'Oecumenius' and 'Nicetas' is exceedingly close—so close that it is obvious to conjecture that the title of the Florence MS is a mere scribe's figment, and that the MS itself simply represents one of the numerous subdivisions of the 'Oecumenian' tradition. Still, the texts do not run quite on all fours with one another: as a rule, Lamius' text is only an abbreviated and corrupted form of the printed Oecumenius, but every now and then comes a section which is peculiar to the 'Nicetas' text; and, until more has been done for a critical edition of Oecumenius, it is hardly possible to be certain that the Florence MS may not, after all, embody a recension by Nicetas of the Oecumenian Catena.†

---

* Hentenius also rendered into Latin the commentary of Euthymius Zigabenus on the Gospels, 1544.

† The Arundel MS was the present British Museum Arundelianus 534, sæc. xiv., and the two Oxford MSS were Barocci 146, sæc. xv. (the Barocci MSS came in 1629), and Miscell. 20, sæc. xiv. (this MS is in the 1620 catalogue, and probably was given in 1604 by Winwood). Lindsell's *apparatus criticus* is confined to (i.) a considerable number of brief variants in the margin, to which the symbol γρ(άφον) is prefixed: (ii.) notice of a few more substantial divergences in which the two Oxford MSS agree against the Arundel, pp. 1033–1041.

* Except in the commentary on the Catholic epistles, vol. ii. pp. 473–664, which, however, is probably not by Euthymius.

† Dr. J. Sickenberger, 'Die Lukaskatene des Niketas von Heraklea' (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, N.F. vii. 4, A.D. 1902), p. 21, complicates the question still further by calling attention to the somewhat parallel title of a Paris Catena (MS. gr. 228, sæc. xiii. fol. 12): Ἑρμηνεία ἐκ τῶν ἑρμηνειῶν τοῦ Βουλγαρίας [*sc.* Theophylact] ὡς ἐν συνόψει εἰς τὰς ιδʹ ἐπιστολὰς τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Παύλου ἐρανισθεῖσα παρὰ Νικήτα τοῦ Σαιτωνοπούλου. But at pres

5. Besides the three compilers, Oecumenius, Theophylact, and Euthymius, we have also in print the Catena on the Pauline epistles which Dr. **J. A. Cramer**, principal of New Inn Hall, published at Oxford between 1841 and 1844; it must, however, be remembered that Cramer's Catena, unlike the books hitherto mentioned, is not homogeneous, but is drawn from different MS sources for the different epistles. The volume on Romans, published last of all the epistles in 1844, is sufficiently described below in connexion with the list of Karo and Lietzmann (*d* and *e*, p. 488^{b}), with Origen (p. 492), and with Dionysius of Alexandria (p. 497^{a}). The volume on 1 and 2 Corinthians (A.D. 1841) is itself not uniform; the Catena on the First Epistle, drawn from MS Paris gr. 227, sæc. xvi., is of high value, and contains, for instance, over 80 references to Origen (see again, for this MS, Karo and Lietzmann, *e*, p. 488^{b}); while that on the Second, of which Paris gr. 223, sæc. xi., was the source, does not differ widely from Oecumenius; two Bodleian MSS, Auct. T. i. 7, sæc. xi., and Roe 16, sæc. x., supplied some material (collected at the end of the volume) for the correction of the Oecumenian printed text.[*] The third volume (A.D. 1842) and the greater part of the fourth (A.D. 1843) consist of a Catena on the epistles from Galatians to Hebrews inclusive, taken from Paris coislin gr. 204, sæc. x.; while the remainder of vol. iv. is made up of a second Catena (Nicetas') on Hebrews, from Paris gr. 238, sæc. xiii. Portions of these Catenæ are, at least in their present and printed form, anonymous; some of the shorter epistles have only a colophon appended to them, indicating in a general way their sources—Chrysostom, Severian, Theodore of Mopsuestia (see below on Severian, p. 507^{b}); but, on the whole, Cramer's volumes present a marked contrast to the other printed texts above enumerated in the vastly larger number of cases where the Patristic authorities are expressly cited, and his convenient indexes to each volume make it fairly easy to derive such a general conclusion as is embodied in the following table. The names are arranged in the order in which they are dealt with in this article, that is to say, in rough chronological order. Chrysostom occurs everywhere (except, strange to say, in the first of the two Catenæ on Romans), and is therefore not named. Authors named only once or twice are omitted. The Epistle to the Hebrews is left out of account:—

Origen: quoted frequently on Rom., 1 Cor., Ephesians.
Eusebius of Emesa: occasionally on Galatians.
Apollinaris: occasionally on Romans.
Diodore: occasionally on Romans.
Severian: occasionally on all the Epistles (most frequently, perhaps, on 1 Cor.) except 2 Corinthians.
Theodore of Mopsuestia: on all the Epistles except 2 Cor., most frequently on Rom. and 1 Corinthians.
Isidore: occasionally on Romans.
Cyril of Alexandria: frequently on Rom. and 1 Corinthians.
Theodoret: very frequently on Rom., frequently on 1 Cor., occasionally on 2 Corinthians.
Gennadius: frequently on Romans.
Theodore the Monk: occasionally on Romans.
Oecumenius: occasionally in the 2nd Catena on Rom., also on 1 Cor., 2 Cor., and Galatians.
Photius: occasionally on Rom., frequently on 1 Corinthians.

6. About the same period that Cramer was working at the Catenæ in the libraries of Oxford and Paris, cardinal **Angelo Mai** was making the study of Catenæ at the Vatican one of the most productive forms of his marvellous literary fecundity; but, whereas Cramer published his Catenæ as they stood, Mai selected from his sources and separated whatever belonged to now one, now another, of the ancient writers whose remains he was rescuing from oblivion. The *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio* (10 vols. 1825-1838) contains nothing, beyond minute fragments, of any Greek exegesis on St. Paul, though of the Latin it contains the commentaries of Victorinus Afer (vol. iii.) and the prologue to those of Claudius of Turin (vol. vii.). The *Spicilegium Romanum* (10 vols., 1829-1844) contains, of Latin material, the same Claudius on Philemon, and the 'canons' of Priscillian on St. Paul, both in vol. ix.; and in vol. iv. pp. 499-573 the Catena remains of Theodore of Mopsuestia on the Romans, from MS Vat. gr. 762.[*] Lastly, the *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca* (7 vols., 1844-1854; the 8th volume is Mai's, but was published after his death by Cozza-Luzi, 1871; the 9th volume is Cozza-Luzi's own) contains, besides fragments—(*a*) in vol. iii. part 1, pp. 1-127, extracts from Cyril of Alexandria on Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, from a Vatican MS,[†] and on Hebrews from a Milan MS, Amb. E. 63 inf.; (*b*) in vol. iv. part 3, pp. 114-146, extracts from Didymus on 2 Corinthians from the same Vatican MS; (*c*) in vol. vii. part 1, pp. 407, 408, a few quotations from Theodore of Mopsuestia on 2 Corinthians, again from the same MS, Vat. gr. 762. Mai's material for 2 Corinthians was a welcome addition to our knowledge, that being the one epistle on which Cramer had found no Catena that was not nearly related to the printed Oecumenius; on the other hand, most of his work on Rom. and 1 Cor. is anticipated (though probably with a less pure form of text) in the Catenæ which Cramer had published just before him.

It will not need pointing out to the reader who has followed the above account of the printed Catenæ, that many questions suggest themselves to which only a fuller examination of the still unpublished MS material can supply the answer. We have at the end of the 11th cent. two compilers, Theophylact and Euthymius Zigabenus, whose works on the Epistles are in print; but these works are, unless reinforced by other sources, useless for our purpose, since they systematically avoid naming the writers whose comments they incorporate. We have at an earlier date—but how much earlier is one of the questions that demand solution—one other compiler whose person is known, Oecumenius; and he adopts an intermediate method between the Catenæ and the compilers, since he sometimes gives his authorities, and leaves it apparently to be understood that the vastly preponderant portion of his work, which is anonymous, is abstracted and abbreviated from Chrysostom. But behind the compilers, as Cramer and Mai sufficiently show us, lies an older and more valuable group of writings, to which the name *Catena* properly belongs: these consist properly of named quotations, and the catenist's work is confined to the choice of his authorities and the selection of passages from them. The limited range of names in some of these Catenæ suggests a very early date, and the beginnings of the system may be sought at Antioch even as far back as the middle of the 5th century. In particular,

---

ent there seems nothing to show that the Florence Catena and the Paris Catena are the same thing: dependence on Theophylact is not suggested by Lamius' text of the Florence MS.

[*] Similar notes from the same MSS are appended also to vol. iii. (Gal.-2 Thess.).

[*] The number of the MS is not given *ad loc.*, but in *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, vii. 407.

[†] The description of Mai (p. vii) is 'codex Vaticanus valde pretiosus, sæculi ferme xii.': it is, in fact, the same MS from which he drew his Theodore on Romans and his Didymus on 2 Corinthians, Vatic. gr. 762, which is now attributed to sæc. x.

the inclusion in the Catenæ of material from authors such as Origen and Apollinaris, Diodore and the two Theodores (of Heraclea and of Mopsuestia), remarkable as it is under any circumstances, would be tenfold more difficult to account for if it had originated after the middle of the 6th century. In days when Greek Churchmen, though they fought stoutly enough for dogmatic truth, had not yet enclosed themselves within the narrow ramparts of Byzantine orthodoxy, St. Cyril of Alexandria could lay down the rule (*Epistola ad Eulogium presbyterum*) that not all the writings of heretics are heretical: *οὐ πάντα ὅσα λέγουσιν οἱ αἱρετικοὶ φεύγειν καὶ παραιτεῖσθαι χρή, πολλὰ γὰρ ὁμολογοῦσιν ὧν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁμολογοῦμεν.* Whether or no they definitely sheltered themselves under the authority of St. Cyril's *dictum*, it was in this spirit that the first catenists went to work; the precedent must have been set in the relatively untrammelled freedom of the days before Justinian; and all through the Byzantine middle age an occasional scribe found himself (doubtless much to his surprise) reproducing on equal terms, in this one form of literature, the words of those ancient writers whom he most approved and of those whom he most reprobated.

The Catenæ, then, have a special and unique value as preserving, however imperfectly, no small mass of the work of authors on whose writings, as a whole, a ban was set by later generations; and the study of Catenæ is therefore an indispensable preliminary to intelligent acquaintance with the development of Patristic exegesis. Unfortunately, even the few texts that are printed, such as Oecumenius and Cramer, fall far below the standard required in a modern edition. It would have seemed, therefore, in any case, essential to supplement this introductory section by attempting to give some idea of the Catenæ MSS contained in the libraries of Europe, especially of such as are earlier than the end of the 11th cent.; and this task is greatly facilitated since the appearance in 1902 of a work now to be described, which constitutes a very important addition to our knowledge of the subject.

7. In the *Nachrichten von der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* for 1902 (*philologisch-historische Klasse*, Heft i. pp. 1–66, iii. pp. 299–350, v. pp. 559–620), G. Karo and J. Lietzmann* published a classified list of Greek Catena MSS on both Old and New Testaments. Although in the total mass the Pauline epistles hold but a subordinate position, occupying only 13 pages (pp. 597–610) against 46, for instance, for the Psalms and 33 for the Gospels, yet eight different forms of Catenæ on them—besides that of Nicetas on the Hebrews—are distinguished and separately described; a summary account of all matter hitherto printed is prefixed, of which occasional use has already been made in the preceding portion of this article. Under each of the eight Catenæ some one passage is selected,—for the six which contain Romans the passage is Ro $7^{8ff.}$,—and the *incipit* and *explicit* are given of every comment on the passage or on any part of it: in this way additional MSS could without difficulty be assigned their proper place in the classification. The reasons for the order in which Karo and Lietzmann arrange their eight Catenæ are not easy to see, and a different order will here be adopted, a reference to the corresponding place in their account being given at the end of each section.

(*a*) A very large majority of the MSS described, 37 out of 49, give the Catena of Oecumenius; but a new test is supplied for grouping Oecumenian MSS, according as they do or do not contain citations from Photius. Thus for Ro $7^{8ff.}$ the extreme in one direction is represented by three MSS which give four passages from Photius by name; two or three others give the Photius passages, but without name and with minor transpositions; and one gives them in the margin only. All the rest, though they differ among themselves by omissions and transpositions, agree in containing no Photius; and ten of them agree further in giving the same 12 scholia on these verses in the same order. It would seem, therefore, to be certain that the Photius element is alien to the original Oecumenius, and that MSS in which the Photius element is present, whether with or without name, can be set aside as representing a later recension—a recension, however, already current in the 10th cent., to which two of its MSS belong. Among the 'Photius' MSS that group is, no doubt, the more ancient which gives the Photius passages under their author's name, since names are much more likely to have been omitted by the progressive carelessness of scribes than inserted by the accurate research of scholars. Tried by these tests, the printed Oecumenius comes out but badly; the four Photius passages are all present, but only one of them by name, and none of them in quite the same place as in the other MSS. On the other hand, the amount of agreement in detail between several of the earliest of the non-Photian MSS appears to be so considerable that a revised edition of Oecumenius, based on these alone, ought not to involve excessive labour in comparison with the advantage to be expected from it. [Karo-Lietzmann, vi. pp. 604–609: see below, p. 523].

(*b*) Of non-Oecumenian Catenæ only one covers the whole of St. Paul, and that one is represented only by a single MS, Paris gr. 216, sæc. x.; the scholia appear to be very brief, and to represent the same relatively late stage of the Catena tradition as Oecumenius, in not attaching to every citation the author's name. Nothing of this Catena is as yet published. [K. L. ix. pp. 610, 595].

The remaining Catenæ are all partial; and it may be convenient to mention first those which are in print. Two of them, with portions of a third, are contained in Cramer; Mai published from a completer MS further extracts of the third; the other three are still unprinted.

(*c*) Cramer's Catena for Galatians-Hebrews is drawn from a unique MS, Paris coislin 204, sæc. x. It is noteworthy on the one hand for the number of epistles which it covers, and on the other for its entire immunity from later accretions; it is almost, if not quite, the only Catena in which the name of Oecumenius does not occur. [K. L. iv. p. 602: see further below, p. 521^b].

(*d*) Cramer's second Catena on Romans (7^7–end) is drawn from Munich gr. 412, sæc. xiii.; and as this MS (apart from two late copies of itself) is again the only known representative of its Catena, we have no means as yet of supplementing Cramer's edition. [K. L. ii. p. 601].

(*e*) Cramer's other Catena on Romans (chapters 1–8) is derived from a late Bodleian MS, Auct. E. ii. 20. Inexact statements have been made about this MS (see further in the fourth section of this article, p. 522^a), but it is at any rate now clear that both this MS and the Paris MS gr. 227, which supplied Cramer's Catena on 1 Corinthians, are descendants* of the Vatican MS gr. 762, sæc. x., from which Mai extracted citations of Didymus, Theodore, and Cyril; and whereas the copies only contain Ro 1–8 and 1 Cor. respectively, the original covers the whole of the three epistles, Romans, 1 Corinthians, and 2 Corinthians. No known Catena has so wide a range of early sources; but side by side with primitive elements occurs the name of Photius. [K. L. i. pp. 598–601].

---

* Lietzmann had already, in 1897, published a pamphlet, *Catenen: Mitteilungen über ihre Geschichte und handschriftliche Ueberlieferung* (Freiburg i. B.: 85 pp.), which, however, contains no special material for the Epistles.

* The Paris Corinthians MS appears to be simply a transcript, the Bodleian Romans MS to be to some extent an abbreviation of the corresponding parts of the Vatican MS.

(*f*) How far the unpublished Catena on 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, and Ephesians, contained in Vatic. gr. 692, sæc. xii., is independent of those already described, it is not easy to say: among the names frequently quoted is that of Oecumenius, but we find also Origen, Theodore, Cyril, Severus (*i.e.* Severian?), and on 2 Cor. Di(dymus?). [K. L. iii. p. 601: see below, p. 522^{a}].

(*g*) The apparently imperfect Catena of a Vienna MS (gr. 166 [46], sæc. xiii.) on Ro 1^{1}–1 Co 1^{12} cites no fewer than 24 authors; but a considerable proportion of these are comparatively late—Anastasius, John Climax, John of Damascus, Maximus, Oecumenius, Photius, Symeon Logothetes. A distinguishing feature of this collection is that it discriminates to some extent between the sources of its information. Chrysostom, Theodoret, and Gennadius are cited *ἐκ τοῦ ὕφους*, 'from the text,' *i.e.* direct from their respective commentaries; while among those cited as *σχο'* or *ἐκ τοῦ σχο'*, *i.e.* from Catenæ, are Origen, Acacius, Severian, Theodore, Oecumenius, Euthalius, Photius. One source was presumably the Photian recension of Oecumenius; but it would seem that another and much more ancient Catena must also have been employed. [K. L. vii. p. 609].

(*h*) The last Catena is one on Romans and 1 Corinthians in Vatic. gr. 1270, sæc. xii. It appears to bear some relation to Oecumenius, but to contain less matter, and, apparently, to name its authorities—John (Chrysostom), Severian, Theodoret—more frequently. Perhaps it will be found valuable for identifying new matter from Severian on these two epistles. [K. L. viii. p. 610].

Lest attention should be unduly distracted from the main purpose of this article, further details about some of the more important MSS of Karo and Lietzmann's lists, as well as some notice of one or two which do not appear there at all, are relegated to a later point (p. 521). These preliminary pages are meant only to serve for introduction to the catalogue of commentators which follows, and for the better understanding of the process by which their works, or what remains of them, have to be rescued and reconstructed.

iii. PATRISTIC COMMENTATORS ON ST. PAUL.—

1. **Marcion.**—Whether the *Antitheses* of Marcion, which certainly contained what amounted to some sort of theological commentary on his Gospel, contained also similar expositions of his 'Apostolicon,'[*] is uncertain, though perhaps probable. We have no such definite statement for the Epistles as Tertullian has given in regard to the Gospel:[†] the evidence in the affirmative consists primarily of references in Jerome's commentaries on the Galatians and Ephesians—taken, no doubt, from Origen's books on the same epistles—which seem to point in this direction. Thus (*a*) on Gal 3^{13} (Vallarsi, vii. 434): '*Christus nos redemit de maledicto legis, factus pro nobis maledictum*; subrepit in hoc loco Marcion, de potestate creatoris, quem sanguinarium crudelem infamat et vindicem [*v.l.* iudicem], asserens nos redemptos esse per Christum, qui alterius boni dei filius sit.'—(*b*) On Gal 6^{6} (p. 523): '*Communicet autem is qui catechizatur verbum ei qui se catechizat in omnibus bonis;* Marcion hunc locum ita interpretatus est ut putaret fideles et catechumenos simul orare debere, et magistrum communicare in oratione discipulis, illo vel maxime elatus quod sequatur *in omnibus bonis* . . cetera quæ sequuntur cum eius expositione non congruunt.'—(*e*) On Eph $5^{31f.}$ (p. 659): '*Propter hoc relinquet homo patrem et matrem, et erunt duo in carne una: sacramentum hoc magnum est, ego autem dico in Christo et in Ecclesia* . . . interrogemus Marcionem qua consequentia locum istum, qui de Veteri usurpatus est Instrumento, in Christum et in Ecclesiam interpretari queat, cum iuxta illum scriptura vetus omnino non pertineat ad Christum.' Of Marcion's exegesis we can at any rate say that, unlike the interpretations of the Valentinian school, it was not allegorist, or rather that it was diametrically opposed to allegory; but the main interest with which he wrote was, no doubt, theological rather than directly exegetical.

2. A commentator on St. Paul is perhaps referred to by Origen on Eph 1^{13} (Cramer's *Catena in Eph.* p. 119; *Journal of Theological Studies*, iii. 242), where, commenting on the grammatically superfluous repetition of *ἐν ᾧ* (*ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ ἐν ᾧ . . . ἐν ᾧ*), he explains its presence by the 'saying of one of those who were before us, that, from his great love to Jesus, Paul continually, and as it might seem redundantly, makes mention of Him': *ἔλεγε δή τις τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν ἀπὸ τῆς πολλῆς περὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀγάπης τὸν Παῦλον συνεχέστατα αὐτοῦ μεμνῆσθαι καὶ ὡσπερεὶ παρελκόντως.* The reference is, no doubt, not necessarily to technical exposition; yet the words most naturally suggest a homilist or commentator who was examining the details of the Apostle's style, and attention is therefore called to them in this place. It is tempting to identify this 'predecessor' with **Pantænus.** The testimony, indeed, of Jerome (*de Viris Illustribus*, 36), that many commentaries by Pantænus were extant when he wrote, is possibly nothing but an amplification of the vaguer words of Eusebius, *HE* v. 10, *διὰ συγγραμμάτων τοὺς τῶν θείων δογμάτων θησαυροὺς ὑπομνηματιζόμενος.* Still, Eusebius himself seems to imply that Pantænus did write commentaries (though he says nothing about their surviving to his time), and these would naturally have been accessible to Origen; but whether they included expositions of St. Paul, there is nothing to show.[*]

3. **Heraclitus.**—Eusebius in his *Hist. Eccl.* (v. 27), just after he has brought matters down to the death of the emperor Commodus and the succession of Pertinax (A.D. 192–193), mentions at the head of a number of books belonging to about that time, which he had himself read, the writings of Heraclitus on 'the Apostle' (*τὰ Ἡρακλείτου εἰς τὸν Ἀπόστολον*). Nothing is known of these commentaries or of their author; possibly he may be identical with the expositor alluded to by Origen. Nor have we any means of knowing whether Eusebius' dating was based on adequate grounds.

4. **Alexander 'the ancient heretic.'**—Among the works on the Epistle to the Galatians which Jerome had consulted before he wrote his own commentary (see p. 484^{b}, above) was one by Alexander, 'veterem hæreticum.' Apparently, the only known Alexander with whom we could identify the commentator is the Valentinian whom Tertullian combats in his *de carne Christi* (after A.D. 200), 16, 17. But there is nothing in Tertullian's words that suggests any connexion of his Alexander with St. Paul, and the name was one of the commonest. At the same time, just as the Valentinian Heracleon was the earliest commentator on St. John, the Valentinian Alexander may have been one of the first commentators on St. Paul.

---

[*] *i.e.* his revised text of ten epistles of St. Paul, excluding the Pastoral epistles.

[†] Tert. *adv. Marcionem*, iv. 1.

[*] A still more probable source is perhaps the *Hypotyposes* of Clement of Alexandria, which ought to have been mentioned in the text at this place; the missing section will be found below, p. 520.

5. Origen.—The most important and most prolific of early exegetes of St. Paul was Origen, although even he did not write any uniform exposition of the Pauline epistles as a whole; it was not, as has been said (p. 484^b), till a century later that any complete commentary on 'the Apostle' was published. The list of his works preserved to us in Jerome's *Ep.* xxxiii. *ad Paulam* (see Harnack-Preuschen,[*] *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur*, i. 334; E. Klostermann gave an improved text in *Sitzungsberichte der k. preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1897, p. 855) shows that the bulk of his exegetical writings on St. Paul must have exceeded that of any subsequent expositor in the Patristic period: the following commentaries and homilies are there enumerated:—

Romans: commentary in 15 books.
2 Corinthians: 11 homilies.
Galatians: commentary in 15 books; 7 homilies.
Ephesians: commentary in 3 books.
Philippians: commentary in 1 book.
Colossians: commentary in 2 books.
1 Thessalonians: commentary in 3 books; 2 homilies.[†]
2 Thessalonians: commentary in 1 book [not in Preuschen's text].
Titus: commentary in 1 book; 1 homily.
Philemon: commentary in 1 book.
Hebrews: 18 homilies.

The only epistles left unrepresented in this catalogue are 1 Corinthians and 1 and 2 Timothy; yet, strangely enough, Jerome himself with regard to 1 Corinthians bears witness, as we have seen, to the fact that Origen was among those who 'latissime hanc epistolam interpretati sunt.' And the list is altogether silent as to the third department of Origen's exegetical labours on the Bible, that of *scholia* or 'notes,' though reference will be found below to these in connexion with Rom., 1 Cor., and Galatians. The explanation of the discrepancy appears to be that the list in Jerome, *Ep.* xxxiii., is simply transcribed from the list given by Eusebius in his Life of Pamphilus, and therefore represents the collection as known to Eusebius. Jerome himself, while he knew books of Origen's that were not in the list, may very probably not have known many books that were in it. But the range of knowledge of either Eusebius or Jerome, partial and mutually exclusive though it be, contrasts painfully with the scattered débris which are all that time and theological animosity have spared to us of the vast labours which the father of Christian exegesis devoted to St. Paul. Much of his matter, indeed, remains accessible to us in the pages of later expositors, particularly of St. Jerome; but the direct tradition of his work, apart from fragments, is practically limited to a Latin version of the commentary on Romans, and to Catenæ notes on Romans, 1 Corinthians, and Ephesians.

Of the chronology of Origen's writings on St. Paul there is not much to be said. The *Stromateis*, of which the third book appears to have contained notes on Romans, the fourth on 1 Corinthians, and the tenth on Galatians (see below, pp. 492–493), were written at Alexandria, *i.e.* before 231, under the emperor Alexander Severus, *i.e.* after 222 (Eus. *HE* vi. 24). The commentary on Romans is mentioned in that on St. Matthew, and the commentary on 1 Thessalonians in the *contra Celsum* (see below, pp. 490^b, 496^a): the commentary on St. Matthew and the *contra Celsum* were, however, almost Origen's latest works, so that in neither case does the information carry us very far. On the other hand, the homilies on 1 Corinthians had been written before the homilies on St. Luke (p. 492^b, below), and these latter are placed immediately after the departure of Origen from Alexandria. But it may be taken as probable that nearly all of his formal exegesis of the Epistles by way of commentaries and homilies belongs to the later or Cæsarean period of his life, A.D. 231–250.

The best account of the various editions of Origen's works is that given in bishop Westcott's article in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, iv. 140–142. No single Greek treatise was printed before the 17th cent.; of the Latin works of Origen collected editions appeared in 1512 (Jacques Merlin, Paris, 4 vols.; reprinted at Venice in 1516, at Paris in 1519, 1522, 1530) and 1536 (Erasmus, Basle, 2 vols.; reprinted with some additions in 1571). The first collected edition of Greek works was that of Peter Daniel Huet, afterwards bishop of Avranches, *Origenis in sacras scripturas commentaria quæcumque græce reperiri potuerunt*, 2 vols., Rouen, 1668 (reprinted at Paris 1679, at Cologne 1685): neither Latin works nor Catena fragments were included. Latin and Greek were first brought together in the great Benedictine edition of de la Rue, *Origenis opera omnia quæ græce vel latine tantum extant et eius nomine circumferuntur*, 4 vols., Paris, 1733–1759; the last volume, edited by Charles Vincent de la Rue after the death of his uncle, Charles de la Rue, is that which specially concerns us: from this edition all quotations in this article are taken. Migne, *Patrol. Gr.*, vols. 11–17 (Pauline epistles in vol. 14, cc. 837–1310), is a reprint, with a few additions, of de la Rue. Lommatzsch, 25 vols. (epistles in vols. 5–7), Berlin, 1831–1848, has the merit of handy size. The new Berlin edition of Origen has as yet only published St. John of all the NT commentaries. Editions of separate portions will be noticed under the epistle to which they belong.

(i.) *Romans.*

The commentary[*] in 15 books (Cassiodorus, *Inst. Div. Litt.* 8, has 'viginti'; but xx easily grows out of xv) is mainly known to us through the Latin version which Rufinus of Aquileia towards the end of his life made at the request of his 'brother,' the deacon Heraclius—after his translation of Origen *in Gen.*, *in Exod.*, *in Levit.*, *in Jos.*, *in Jud.*, *in Ps.* xxxvi., xxxvii., xxxviii., but before his translation of the Clementine *Recognitions* and of Origen *in Num.* (see his 'peroratio in explanationem Origenis super ep. Pauli ad Rom.,' de la Rue, iv. 688); probably, therefore, about A.D. 405. The 'preface' and the 'peroration' to this version raise important questions both about the state of the text of Origen's writings at the end of the 4th cent., and about the methods adopted by Rufinus in editing his exemplar for Latin readers.

(*a*) The incompleteness of the Greek text: 'Super omnes autem difficultates est quod interpolati sunt ipsi libri; desunt enim fere apud omnium bibliothecas (incertum sane quo casu) aliquanta ex ipso corpore volumina, et hæc adimplere atque in latino opere integram consequentiam dare non est mei ingenii sed . . . muneris fortasse divini' (*Præf. in explanationem*, etc., iv. 458). Preuschen in Harnack, *Altchr. Litteratur* i. 373, makes this into a double statement of incompleteness and interpolation; and if that were so, we should have to compare Rufinus' earlier treatise, *de adulteratione librorum Origenis* (A.D. 397: de la Rue, iv., Appendix, p. 48), where, on the strength of parallel cases in the writings of other Fathers, and of a complaint by Origen himself in a particular instance, he maintained the theory of a wholesale falsification of the Origen literature by heretics. Jerome had no difficulty in proving (*adv. Ruf.* ii. 19) that the generalization was quite unreasonable. As a matter of fact, the Apollinarians are the only heretics against whom the charge of deliberate and systematic falsification of documents can be sustained, and they would certainly not have selected Origen for their authority; moreover, even if Origen's dogmatic writings had been manipulated, there is not the least reason to think that his exegesis would have been exposed to similar treatment. But, in truth, Rufinus, as the connecting particle *enim* shows, is not making two statements, but one: *interpolare* is 'to alter,' 'to corrupt,' not necessarily by interpolation: in this case the 'interpolation' consists simply in the imperfection of the booksellers' copies, and Rufinus himself appears to realize that that may have been merely accidental. The fact itself is interesting enough, and agrees curiously well with the evidence of the Athos MS (Laura, 184, B. 64) of the Epistles, which von der Goltz [*] has shown to contain not only a genuine Origen text of St. Paul, but some important Origen *marginalia*, among them the starting-points of the separate *τόμοι* of the commentary on Romans: for it is noted that tomes 11 and 14 were not extant (*οὐ φέρεται*). But as the Latin version gives a continuous commentary extending over the whole epistle—although arranged in 10 books in place of the original 15 [†]—we are bound to suppose that Rufinus had succeeded in securing a completer copy, so that the 'interpolation' has hardly affected the form in which the commentary has reached us.

---

[*] It may be stated here once for all that the section on Origen is due to Dr. Preuschen.

[†] The 2 homilies may possibly belong to the Second Epistle: the list only says 'in epistolam ad Thessalonicenses.'

[*] The commentary on Romans was written before that on St. Matthew; cf. tom. xvii. *in Matt.* § 32 (de la Rue, iii. 831), referring to Ro 7^1: *εἴρηται δὲ πλείονα ἡμῖν . . . διηγουμένοις τὸ χωρίον τὸ τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιστολῆς ἐν τοῖς εἰς αὐτὴν ἐξηγητικοῖς.*

(*b*) But, even if Rufinus possessed a complete Greek text, his own words reveal that he did not produce, or aim at producing, a complete Latin translation. Heraclius had begged him, he says, 'ut omne hoc xv voluminum corpus, quod græcus sermo ad quadraginta fere aut eo amplius millia versuum produxit, abbreviem et ad media, si fieri potest, spatia coarctem.' And if the figures are correct, it would seem to follow that this process of abbreviation was faithfully carried through; for whereas a translation ordinarily covers somewhat more space than its original, the translation of Rufinus occupies only 230 pages or about 25,000 half-lines (there being two columns to the page), while the 40,000 'verses' of Origen, at the normal rate of 16 syllables to the verse, would come to fully half as much again. The few passages preserved in the original Greek (see below) offer, of course, an obvious means of testing in individual instances the relation of the version to its exemplar.

Rufinus' translation of the commentary on the Romans was (as the list of extant MSS in Preuschen-Harnack, p. 400, amply demonstrates) by far the best known specimen in the West of Origen's work on the New Testament. While the East was piling up its anathemas, and Justinian was aspersing the name and memory of Origen in the vain hope of reconciling the Nestorians, the West, as represented in the Gelasian decree *de libris recipiendis*, approved of all such works of his as 'the blessed Jerome does not repudiate,' contenting itself with the rejection of 'the rest and their author.' Thus, to render unassailable Rufinus' translation of Origen on the Romans, nothing more was necessary than to make the substitution of the name 'Jerome' for the name 'Rufinus' in title, preface, and peroration; and this is what actually happened in the later MSS, and in the earlier editions before Erasmus.[*] The earliest extant MS of any part of the translation is a Lyons MS, cod. 483 (413); it contains, roughly speaking, the first five books (but without the beginning of Book I., and therefore without the translator's prologue and name), and is one of the oldest known specimens of the so-called semi-uncial writing—Delisle calls it 6th cent., but, in view of its habitual use of '$\overline{\text{dom}}$' for every case of *dominus*, and of the declension '$\overline{\text{is}}$,' '$\overline{\text{iu}}$,' '$\overline{\text{im}}$,' for *Iesus*, the present writer would prefer to call it 5th, so that it is perhaps the most ancient monument of Patristic exegesis that has come down to our times. Next in age would come a fragment (ascribed to about 700 A.D.) in a Monte Cassino MS, cod. 150, of which the first 64 pages contain our commentary, as far as 2^{16}, including the prologue and name of Rufinus.[†]

Of the two fragments from Origen's commentary on the Romans, preserved in Rufinus' version of Pamphilus' *Apologia pro Origene* (de la Rue, iv., Appendix, pp. 25, 33), the second does not appear at all in Rufinus' version of the commentary itself (cf. de la Rue, iv. 466); the first appears only in an abbreviated and independent form (iv. 465).

The following authorities have preserved passages from, or references to, the original Greek of the commentary on Romans.

a. The *Philocalia* of Basil and Gregory (ed. Robinson, Cambridge, 1893) contains two passages: ch. XXV. *ὅτι ὁ ἐκ προγνώσεως ἀφορισμὸς οὐκ ἀναιρεῖ τὸ αὐτεξούσιον. ἐκ τοῦ α′ τόμου τῶν εἰς τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐξηγητικῶν, εἰς τὸ Ἀφωρισμένος εἰς εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ* (Ro 1^{1}; Robinson, pp. 226–231): and ch. ix. *τίς ὁ λόγος τοῦ τὴν θείαν γραφὴν κατὰ διάφορα σημαινόμενα τῷ αὐτῷ ὀνόματι κεχρῆσθαι πολλάκις καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ. ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους· τόμος ἔννατος, εἰς τὸ Τί οὖν; ὁ νόμος ἁμαρτία;* (Ro 7^{7}; Robinson, pp. 54–58).

β. St. Basil, *de Spiritu sancto*, 73 (ed. C. F. H. Johnston, Oxford, 1892, p. 144): [Origen] *ἐν τοῖς εἰς τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιστολὴν ἐξηγητικοῖς, Αἱ ἱεραί, φησί, δυνάμεις χωρητικαὶ τοῦ Μονογενοῦς καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος θεότητος.*

γ. St. Jerome, *Ep.* xxxvi. *ad Damasum* (A.D. 384; Vallarsi, i. 159), quotes no actual words: 'Origenes in quarto Pauli ad Romanos *ἐξηγήσεων* [*v.l. ἐξηγητικῶν*] tomo de circumcisione magnifice disputavit.'

δ. Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* vii. 32 (ed. Bright, p. 316): *καὶ Ὠριγένης δὲ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τόμῳ τῶν εἰς τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἐπιστολὴν ἑρμηνεύων πῶς Θεοτόκος λέγεται πλατέως ἐξήτασε.*

ε. The Athos MS, whose discovery by von der Goltz has already been mentioned just above, embodies, as far as the Pauline epistles are concerned, an attempt at a critical edition according to the text used by Origen. The 10th cent. scholar to whom we owe the existing MS derived his text for the most part from an *ἀντίγραφον παλαιότατον*, 'a very ancient copy,' representing a similar attempt on the part of an earlier (probably much earlier) scholar, the accuracy of which the later scholar tells us he verified by the help of such commentaries or homilies of Origen on 'the Apostle' as were accessible to him. With regard, however, to the Roman epistle—possibly because this epistle, standing at the head of the older MS, had suffered more than the rest in legibility—he copied his text not from the 'ancient copy,' but directly from the *lemmata* (*i.e.* the sections of text prefixed to corresponding sections of exposition) in his own MS of Origen's commentary on that epistle; but as the 11th and 14th tomes of the commentary—roughly speaking, chapters 9 and 13, 14—were wanting in that MS, he was there thrown back on the 'ancient copy,' helped out, where it was specially difficult to read, by the further testimony to Origen's text of the Romans contained in the notes on difficult passages in the third book of his *Stromateis*.[*] So far, we are dealing with the text only of the Origen commentary; but the Athos MS preserves also a few marginal citations from the commentary itself, and would have preserved more had not some Greek monk later on, after the fashion of his kind, set himself to erase with care anything that follows the name of the arch-heretic. It may be hoped that chemical reagents will yet prove victorious over the monastic scalpel: meanwhile von der Goltz has printed such matter as has escaped. The notes do not come to much; but they are valuable as showing how late some of the writings of Origen survived in the original Greek, and with what devoted care they were still studied—perhaps in the circle of archbishop Arethas of Cæsarea. Origen is cited in two cases (Ro 3^{16} 11^{8}) as being unable to identify the sources of quotations in St. Paul, but for the most part (as doubtless also in the notes that have perished) to establish some question of reading. In 1^{7} both *lemma* and exposition omitted the words *ἐν Ῥώμῃ*; in 5^{17} the *lemma* had *λαβόντες*, but the exposition *λαμβάνοντες*; in 8^{24} the 'ancient copy' had *ὃ γὰρ βλέπει τίς ἐλπίζει*, the text of the Athos MS has *ὃ γὰρ βλέπει τίς καὶ ἐλπίζει* with *ὑπομένει* in the margin, so that it would seem that the reading of the 'ancient copy' was (exceptionally) given a place in the text, and that taken from the commentary relegated on this occasion to the margin; in 15^{14} both *lemma* and exposition apparently read *καὶ αὐτοὶ μεστοί*. On 1 Jn 4^{3} it is noted that that verse is quoted by Origen in tom. *η′* on the Romans with the reading *ὃ λύει τὸν Ἰησοῦν*; similarly, 2 Co 12^{19} is said *ad loc.* to be adduced in tom. *ϛ′* on the Romans in the form *ἐνώπιον τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἐναντίον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ λαλοῦμεν*.

---

[*] 'Eine textkritische Arbeit des zehnten bezw. sechsten Jahrhunderts, herausgegeben nach einem Kodex des Athosklosters Lawra, von E. von der Goltz' (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, Neue Folge, ii. 4, Leipzig, 1899). See further below, p. 491^{b}.

[†] The contents of the separate books of the Latin are as follows:—Book I.=Ro 1^{1}–2^{1}; II.=2^{2}–3^{4}; III.=3^{5}–3^{31}; IV.=4^{1}–5^{11}; V.=5^{12}–6^{11}; VI.=6^{12}–8^{13}; VII.=8^{14}–9^{33}; VIII.=10^{1}–11^{36}; IX.=12^{1}–14^{15}; X.=14^{16}–16^{27}. The tomes of the original Greek, as recovered by von der Goltz from the Athos MS, began as follows: tom. α′ 1^{1}; tom. β′ 1^{8}; tom. γ′ 1^{26}; tom. δ′ 2^{12}; tom. ε′ 3^{5}; tom. ϛ′ 4^{1}; tom. ζ′ 5^{8}; tom. η′ 5^{17}; tom. θ′ 6^{16}; tom. ι′ 8^{9}; tom. ια′ (ὃς οὐ φέρεται) 9^{1}; tom. ιβ′ is not marked; tom. ιγ′ 11^{13}; tom. ιδ′ (ὃς οὐ φέρεται) 12^{16}; tom. ιε′ 14^{10}.

[*] The *editio princeps* of the Latin commentary, under the title 'Hieronymo interprete,' was printed at Venice in 1506.

[†] The rest of this MS consists of an earlier (6th cent.) copy of the commentary of Ambrosiaster

ζ. Cramer's Catena on the Romans (Oxford, 1844) consists of two Catenæ, both imperfect. Of these, the first, taken from a Bodleian MS, Auct. E. ii. 20, covers Ro 1^{1}–9^{1}, and makes considerable use of Origen in more than 50 quotations,[†] belonging to the following verses: Ro $1^{1.\ 10.\ 11}$ $2^{8\text{-}9.\ 16.\ 27}$ $3^{2.\ 4.\ 10\text{-}12.\ 13\text{-}18.\ 19\text{-}20.\ 21.\ 25.\ 27.\ 28.\ 30.\ 31}$ $4^{3.\ 4.\ 7\text{-}8.\ 11.\ 12\ (?).\ 15.\ 16a.\ 16b.\ 17.\ 16.\ 18.\ 23\text{-}24}$ 5^{6} $6^{5.\ 9b.\ 12.\ 11\text{-}14.\ 19\text{-}20.\ 21.\ 22.\ 23}$ $7^{1.\ 6.\ 7.\ 8.\ 9.\ 13.\ 14.\ 15.\ 23.\ 24}$ $8^{3.\ 5\text{-}7.\ 24\text{-}25.\ 26a.\ 26b.\ 33.\ 37.\ 35\text{-}39}$. It will be seen that for considerable sections of these chapters—3^{10}–4^{25} 6^{12}–8^{7} $8^{24\text{-}39}$—an almost continuous exposition could be restored from this Catena. Unfortunately, we do not yet know how far Vatic. gr. 762, which appears to be a direct ancestor of the Bodleian MS (see above, *c*, p. 488^{b}), would supply additional Origen matter for the later chapters of the epistle, or a corrected Origen text for the earlier ones.

η. Cramer's second Catena, Munich cod. gr. 23 (now 412), sæc. xiii., extends from Ro 7^{7} to the end of the epistle (thus overlapping the Bodleian Catena for Ro 7^{7}–9^{1}), but contains very few passages from Origen: Ro $7^{9.\ 11\text{-}12.\ 14.\ 23}$ $8^{5\text{-}7.\ 33.\ 38\text{-}39}$ 12^{20} seem to exhaust the list. Besides these, it quotes on 8^{30} a long passage *ἐκ τῆς Φιλοκαλίας τοῦ Ὠριγένους* (ed. Robinson, 226. 12–15; 227. 15–229. 29), which is really part of Origen's comment on 1^{1}; on 9^{21} the still longer extract *ἐκ τῆς Ἐκλογῆς τοῦ Ὠριγένους* (Cramer, p. 340) is not from the commentary on the Romans, but from the *de Principiis*, and the brief paragraph *Ὠριγένους ἐκ τῶν Ἐκλογῶν* (Cramer, p. 349) has the same source (Robinson, p. xxx). Since all these references came not directly from Origen, but from the *Philocalia*,[*] we should be prepared to expect that the eight other quotations are similarly derived from some mediate source; and if we compare them with the Oxford Catena —seven out of the eight belong to the portion of the epistle, 7^{7}–9^{1}, common to the two Catenæ—we shall find that, with the exception of the short passage on $7^{11\text{-}12}$ (Cr. 179. 13–18), all are already contained in the Oxford Catena. If we further consider that the last eight chapters are only represented by a single Origen quotation in the Munich Catena, it will scarcely seem over-bold to conjecture that the latter Catena drew its Origen, not of course from our actual Oxford MS, but from some similar MS, which was equally limited, whether by the original design or by accidental loss, to the first half of the epistle. The practical point of this conclusion, if correct, would be to reassure us that the loss of the earlier part of the Munich Catena has not seriously diminished our store of new matter from Origen.

It only remains to test by the evidence of the Greek texts, fragmentary though they are, the relation of Rufinus to his original. It has already been calculated that more than a third of the Greek must have been omitted to bring the Latin within its present compass; and Dr. Robinson says of the passages preserved in the *Philocalia* (p. xxxix) that in the translation they 'are so abbreviated that without the explanation of Rufinus we could scarcely have believed that they were intended to represent the corresponding sections in the *Philocalia* at all.' With regard also to the Latin text of St. Paul as given in Rufinus, bishop Westcott points out (*Dict. Chr. Biogr.* iv. 116*a*) that it makes no attempt to represent the Greek of Origen, but is rather an Old Latin text pure and simple—presumably, one may suppose, that of Aquileia.

Scholia on Romans.—The third book of Origen's *Stromateis*, or *Stromata*,[†] appears to have contained brief notes or 'scholia' on the Roman epistle, as the fourth book did on 1 Corinthians and the tenth book certainly on Galatians: see below, p. 493^{a}. It is quoted in the Athos MS (von der Goltz, pp. 58, 59) for the readings of Ro $9^{20.\ 23}$.

(ii.) *1 Corinthians.*

The list of Eusebius-Jerome makes no mention of any work of Origen on 1 Corinthians; but Jerome mentions him as one of those who had commented on the epistle 'at great length,' and Cramer's Catena (Oxford, 1841; taken from MS Paris gr. 227, sæc. xvi.) gives an even larger mass of quotations from Origen than the same editor's first Catena on Romans does for that epistle. The number, in fact, is over 80, and they are in this case—with the exception of a single allusion by Origen himself, *Hom.* xvii. *in Luc.* (de la Rue, iii. 953), 'Memini cum interpretarer illud quod ad Corinthios scribitur *Ecclesiæ Dei*

---

[*] On Origen's *Stromateis* see also pp. 490^{a}, 492^{b}, 493^{a}.

[†] The list in Cramer's index should be supplemented by the following references: 22. 23; 73. 18; 74. 1; 105. 9.

[*] For which, however, they give a text independent of, and in some points better than, the extant *Philocalia* MSS; see Robinson, p. xxxi.

[†] The proper Greek name was no doubt Στρωματεῖς, 'bags for bedclothes,' 'carpet bags,' and so 'receptacles for miscellaneous odds and ends': Στρώματα would be the bedclothes themselves, and the form *Stromata*, whether in connexion with Clement or with Origen, seems to be found only in Jerome, and to be due probably to the difficulty of declining the word *stromateus* in Latin. See Hort and Mayor, *Clement of Alexandria*, pp. xi, xii.

quæ est Corinthi cum omnibus qui invocant eum [1 Co 1^{2}] dixisse me diversitatem *ecclesiæ* et *eorum qui invocant nomen Domini*'[*]—the only authority of any sort for the book from which they are extracted. That this was not in the form of commentary but of homilies is shown (as Westcott points out) by the phrases used on 3^{1} *περὶ ὧν καὶ πρώην ἐλέγομεν* (Cramer, 51. 6), and on 6^{9} *παρακαλοῦμεν οὖν καὶ ὑμᾶς, ὦ παῖδες* (Cramer, 107. 19).[†] The following is a list of the passages commented on: 1 Co $1^{2a.\ 2b.\ 4.\ 7.\ 4\text{-}8.\ 9.\ 10.\ 11\text{-}12.\ 17a.\ 17b\ (bis).\ 18.\ 20a.\ 20b.\ 19\text{-}21.\ 22\text{-}25.\ 26.\ 27.\ 19\text{-}21,\ 26\text{-}31.\ 30}$–$2^{2}$ $2^{3.\ 6.\ 7\text{-}8.\ 9\text{-}10a.\ 9b\text{-}10.\ 11\text{-}15.\ 13\text{-}15}$ $3^{1\text{-}3a.\ 3b\text{-}4.\ 6.\ 9\text{-}12.\ 16\text{-}20.\ 21\text{-}23}$ $4^{1\text{-}5a.\ 5.\ 6\text{-}7.\ 7\text{-}8.\ 9\text{-}10.\ 15\text{-}18.\ 19b\text{-}20.\ 21}$–$5^{2}$ $5^{3\text{-}5.\ 7\text{-}8.\ 9\text{-}13}$ $6^{[2\text{-}3.]\ 4\text{-}9a.\ 9b\text{-}10.\ 12.\ 13a.\ 13b\text{-}14.\ 15a.\ 18.\ 19\text{-}20a}$ $7^{1\text{-}4.\ 5b.\ 5a\text{-}7.\ 8\text{-}12a.\ 12b\text{-}14a.\ 18\text{-}24.\ 25\text{-}28a}$ $9^{7\text{-}9a.\ 9b\text{-}11.\ 16\text{-}18.\ 19\text{-}22.\ 23.\ 24a}$ $10^{1\text{-}5.\ 6}$ $12^{[2.]\ 3a.\ 10.\ 28.\ 31.\ 34}$ $13^{1\text{-}2.\ 3.\ 4\text{-}5.\ 8b\text{-}11.\ 12}$ $14^{31.\ 34\text{-}35.\ 36.\ 37.\ 38}$ $15^{2.\ 12.\ 20\text{-}22.\ 36\text{-}37.\ 42\text{-}44}$ $16^{10\text{-}12.\ 13\text{-}14}$. The Vatican MS gr. 762, from which Cramer's Paris MS was copied, will probably not yield any fresh matter, but perhaps an improved text.

The Athos MS contains traces of erasure opposite 1 Co 2^{6} 3^{10} 4^{16} 6^{1} 7^{1} 10^{1} 11^{1} 12^{1} 13^{1} 14^{1} $15^{1.\ 58}$, which may possibly have marked the beginning of homilies. But however this may be, it preserves also clear indications that the fourth book of the *Stromateis* contained notes on this epistle; *ἐν τῷ δ' τῶν Στρωματέων* is appealed to for the readings of $7^{31.\ 34}$ $9^{20.\ 21}$ and 10^{9}, and in each case several lines of the 'exposition' are quoted in support of the appeal. There can be little doubt that in the similar quotation on 6^{14} (*ἐξήγειρεν* for *ἐξεγερεῖ*) we ought also to read not, with von der Goltz, *ἐν τῷ α' τῶν Στρωματέων*, but *ἐν τῷ δ'* (Δ for ᴧ).

(iii.) *2 Corinthians.*

The list mentions 11 homilies; but nothing is otherwise known of them, and published Catenæ on this epistle contain nothing from Origen: even Vatic. gr. 762, which is unpublished, can hardly contain any Origen, or cardinal Mai might have been expected to have put it before the world. Preuschen ingeniously proposes to read 'in ep. ad Cor. i.' (instead of ii.) in the list, and to identify these homilies with those from which the Catena on 1 Cor. is drawn. Yet the Origen quotations in that Catena are so full that it may be questioned whether so small a number of homilies as 11 could have provided so much matter. And though the *marginalia* in the Athos MS are scanty for this epistle, there is a long gloss on $1^{17\text{-}19}$ of which the first words have escaped erasure, *οὕτως καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξηγεῖται λέγων* . . . : and this is enough to make highly probable the employment of a definite exposition, whether commentary, homilies, or notes.

(iv.) *Galatians.*

The list mentions a commentary in 15 books and 7 homilies: Jerome, in the preface to his commentary on the epistle (see above, p. 484^{b}), enumerates 5 'volumes' (of commentary), several 'tractatus' (= homilies), and 'excerpts' (*i.e. scholia* or notes); and tells us also that the tenth book of Origen's *Stromateis* was devoted to a brief explanation of this epistle.

With regard to the *Stromateis*, one passage on the Galatians is extant: Jerome *in Gal.* lib. iii. (Vallarsi, vii. 494–496) gives us a literal version of the explanation of Gal $5^{13\text{-}23}$: 'hunc locum, quia valde obscurus est, de decimo Stromatum libro transferri placuit ad verbum'; and further on (vii. 505): 'in eo loco ubi supra de decimo Origenis Stromate verbum transtulimus ad verbum.' As eleven verses are covered in two columns and a half of Jerome's Latin, the exposition may justly be called, in comparison with the ordinary standard of Origen's work, 'brief.'

For the commentary the Athos MS has happily preserved the starting-point of each tome—tom. $\alpha'=1^{1}$; tom. $\beta'=2^{3}$; tom. $\gamma'=3^{5}$; tom. $\delta'=4^{6}$; tom. $\epsilon'=5^{6}$—thus establishing the number given in Jerome's commentary against that of the list: beyond these numbers it has preserved nothing to our purpose. But two quotations, perhaps three, are embedded in Rufinus' version of Pamphilus' *Apologia pro Origene* (de la Rue, iv., Appendix, p. 35): (i.) 'Responsio ad tertiam criminationem: Quod non purus homo sed divinæ naturæ sit Christus. De primo libro epistolæ ad Galatas [on Gal 1^{1}] . . . (ii.) Hæc in initio epistolæ dicens, in sequentibus libri ipsius similia adiecit [on Gal $1^{11.\ 12}$] . . . (iii.) Responsio ad quartam criminationem: Adversum eos qui dicunt eum per allegorias adimere omnia quæ a Salvatore scripta sunt corporaliter facta. Ex eodem lib. in epist. ad Galatas': but these last words are only in the margin, and if they do not rest on MS authority, no conclusive ground remains for connecting this lengthy and important passage with the Galatian commentary in particular among all the works of Origen. Conversely, the comment on Gal 3^{19} in the 'Responsio ad quintam criminationem,' which in the editions is entitled 'in tertio libro epistolæ ad Colossenses,' ought perhaps to read, 'in tertio libro epistolæ ad Galatas.'

Cramer's Catena on the Galatian epistle, taken from Paris coislin 204, contains no quotations ascribed by name to Origen; but as the quotations are nearly all anonymous, it is at least possible that Origen is among the writers of whom use is made, and it might be worth while to compare the Catena with the commentary of Jerome, in order to see if there is matter common to the two. For it is certain, both from Jerome's own words in the preface to his commentary and from the parallel case of the Epistle to the Ephesians—where the recovery of a good deal of Origen's Greek has made comparison possible between the two writers—that a very large proportion of the exhaustive commentary of Jerome is drawn directly from Origen.

(v.) *Ephesians.*

Both the list and Jerome (*Præf. ad Comm. in Eph.*) mention a commentary in 3 books (and nothing else) on this epistle. Although it has not come down to us in any continuous form, either in the original or in a translation,[*] yet enough survives in the Greek of Cramer's Catena and the Latin of Jerome's commentary to render feasible at least a partial reconstruction.

a. Cramer's Catena (Oxford, 1842), taken from Paris coislin 204, sæc. x., contains some 40 quotations from Origen, many of them of considerable length, but disfigured by the appalling blunders which, here as elsewhere, have to be set in the balance against the gratitude due to the only scholar who, during the whole 19th cent., effected any substantial addition to the printed texts of New Testament Catenæ. In this instance, however, a beginning has at last been made of a revision of the Cramer texts. In the *Journal of Theological Studies* for the year 1902 (iii. 233–244, 398–420, 554–576), the Rev. J. A. F. Gregg, of Christ's College, Cambridge, published from a fresh collation of the MS a continuous text of all the Origen fragments, equipped with full apparatus both of the Scripture references and of the parallels in Jerome. With the text re-collated, the punctuation revised, and the more obvious corruptions removed by the help of emendations from various English scholars, we can now for the first time read a substantial portion of a work by Origen on St. Paul in its original language and in an intelligible form. No doubt, the catenist has at many points contented himself with selections, and has abbreviated the superabundant material of the commentary; but the only considerable passages which are wholly unrepresented are Eph 2^{7-11} $3^{4-11.\,19b}$–4^{2} 4^{8-10} 5^{25-33} (with the exception of two short notes on vv.^{27} and ^{31}) 6^{4-8}.

---

[*] The interpretation alluded to is preserved, though in a corrupt and perhaps incomplete form, in the Catena, Cr. 7. 9–17: *e.g. σπεύσωμεν οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ 'ἐπικαλεῖσθαι' . . . ἀναβῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν 'ἐκκλησίαν' τὴν ἄσπιλον καὶ ἄμωμον.*

[†] Yet it is just possible that the catenist was drawing on more than one work of Origen on the epistle, for on several occasions he seems to quote two different comments of Origen on the same passage.

[*] Preuschen in Harnack, *Altchr. Litteratur*, i. 375, goes beyond the facts in stating that Jerome actually translated the book. All the passages he adduces refer to the use Jerome made of Origen in his own commentary.

β. The Athos MS contains at the end of the text of Ephesians a note to the effect that ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς τὴν πρὸς Ἐφεσίους φερομένων ἐξηγητικῶν τόμων ἀντανεγνωσον ἡ ἐπιστολή. The *vox nihili* ἀντανεγνωσον is, as von der Goltz points out, clearly a misreading of an uncial ἀντανεγνώσθη (ON for ΘΗ). The 'very ancient copy' (see above, p. 491^{b}) had itself, therefore, been verified with the *lemmata* in Origen's commentary. The commencement of τόμος α′ at 1^{1} is marked; unfortunately, no corresponding marks seem to have been preserved for tom. β′ and tom. γ′.* In what remains of the marginal notes the 'exposition' is only mentioned twice: on 3^{18} as reading βάθος καὶ ὕψος (cf. *Journal of Theol. Studies*, iii. 411), where the *lemma* gave ὕψος καὶ βάθος: and on 2^{21} as μίαν λέγουσα τὴν οἰκοδομήν with the article, where the *lemma* gave πᾶσα οἰκοδομή without the article (*JThSt*, iii. 407; Robinson, *Ep. to the Ephesians*, p. 297).

γ. That Jerome's commentary in 3 books on the Ephesian epistle (published between 386 and 392) follows Origen with extreme fidelity is established by several convergent lines of testimony. We have his own preface, where, out of the three predecessors whose work he used, he distinguishes Origen, as the one whom he in some degree followed, from Apollinaris and Didymus, of whom he had only made occasional use: 'ex parte secuti sumus . . . pauca decerpsimus.' We have the Catena quotations; for—if the fragments extant for Eph 1 may be taken as a specimen of the whole—nearly three-fourths of the Catena Greek is represented by translation or paraphrase in Jerome's Latin. We have, lastly, the documents of the controversy between Jerome and Rufinus. Their mutual polemics centred round the allegation of Jerome's change of attitude towards Origen; and this in turn was argued out over the Ephesian commentary. In fact, in Jerome, *Ep.* lxxxiv. *ad Pammachium* [A.D. 400], § 2; Rufinus, *Apologia*, i. 22–43, ii. 2, 42; Jerome, *adv. Rufinum*, i. 16, 21-29, iii. 11, 13, we have a series of statements and replies which throw an interesting sidelight both on the writings of Origen and on the methods of Jerome. We must be careful to remember that it was Rufinus' cue to show that Jerome expressed or implied approval of all the matter he took over from Origen; just as it was Jerome's cue to show that he borrowed from other writers than Origen, that he often placed two divergent interpretations in simple juxtaposition, that in these cases he could not be supposed to be expressing agreement with both, and that therefore the same negative attitude on his part ought to be assumed even in cases where he gives the view of Origen only.

Jerome had claimed that his commentaries on Ecclesiastes and on the Epistle to the Ephesians would prove that he had always gone counter to the doctrines of Origen. Rufinus tests his allegation with reference to the Ephesian commentary, and adduces seventeen passages one after another as proving that Jerome, on several of the very points which he now charged against Origen and his followers as heresies, had used the words of Origen without in any way dissociating himself from them; indeed, while Origen had put forward his speculations cautiously and warily and with hesitation, his imitator had repeated them with curtness and decision 'as though the angel were speaking by Daniel, or Christ by St. Paul' (*Apol.* i. 43, ii. 42).

(*a*) *Unum esse corpus totius creaturæ rationabilis, id est angelorum et animarum.* Rufinus, *Apol.* i. 36–38, quotes from Jerome's comments on Eph 1^{22} $2^{15.\,17}$ (Vallarsi, vii. 568 C, 'potest ita responderi . . . purgasse perhibetur'; 569 D, 'non solum hominum . . . ecclesia intelligi potest'; 582 B, 'et hæc quidem iuxta vulgatam interpretationem . . . drachmis quæ salvæ fuerant copulaverit'; 582 D, 'quod autem ait, Ut duo conderet in semetipso . . . habitaturus est in novo mundo'): the Church includes angels and heavenly powers, and the Saviour's cross has cleansed them, and joined together things in earth and things in heaven, the near and the far, so that man will receive in the end the form of the angels.

(*b*) *De diabolo atque angelis refugis.* Rufinus, i. 34, quotes Jerome on Eph 2^{7} (vii. 576 A, 'quod nos qui quondam lege tenebamur . . . iuxta sedentium voluntatem incipient gubernari'): the rebellious principalities and powers will begin to be ruled according to the will of Christ and the saints who shall sit above them.

(*c*) *De animæ statu.* Rufinus, i. 25–30, 36, quotes Jerome on Eph $1^{4.\,5.\,11-12.\,17}$ (vii. 548 C, 'alius vero qui Deum iustum conatur ostendere . . . antequam humiliarer ego peccavi, et his similia'; 551 C, 'invadunt itaque in hoc loco occasionem . . . nisi causæ præcesserint quæ iustitiam Dei probent'; 558 C, 'si *speravimus* tantum dixisset *in Christo* et non præmisisset *ante* . . . benedicti sumus in cælestibus'; 563 C, 'quod vero ait *In agnitione eius* . . . et cetera his similia'): God's predestination of some to holiness—not to say also the inequality of human conditions—would conflict with God's justice, if we did not think of antecedent causes, known to God alone, which would supply the justification; and Scripture hints at a previous abode of the soul, which is contrasted with its present place of pilgrimage.

(*d*) *Quod animæ in corpore hoc vinctæ velut in carcere teneantur.* Rufinus, i. 37, 38, 40, quotes Jerome on Eph $2^{3.\,10}$ 3^{1} 6^{20} (vii. 573 B, 'nos vero dicimus . . . apposita sit ad malitiam'; 577 D, 'et diligenter observa quia . . . factura primum locum tenet, deinde plasmatio'; 587 B, 'quia in pluribus locis lectum est vinculum animæ corpus . . . per eum prædicatio compleatur'; 682 B, 'alius vero propter corpus humilitatis . . . spiritus Dei habitat in vobis'): the body of our humiliation, the body of death, fashioned later than the soul, is a 'chain' and 'prison' to the soul, and true knowledge is possible only to him who has put off his chain and been delivered from his prison.

With these passages may be combined the quotation in Rufinus, i. 22, from Jerome on Eph $5^{28.\,29}$ (vii. 659 A, 'foveamus igitur . . . quod nobis in cælestibus repromissum est'): women will become men, bodies will become souls, for we shall be like the angels.

(*e*) *De restitutione omnium.* Rufinus, i. 35, 39, 41, 42, quotes Jerome on Eph 1^{21} 2^{15-18} $4^{4.\,16}$ (vii. 566 C, 'si autem sunt principatus et potestates . . . et dominatione fiat'; 583 B, 'instaurationem novi hominis tunc plene perfecteque complendam . . . fiat voluntas tua sicut in cælo et in terra'; 608 E, 'quæritur quomodo una spes . . . et isti in nobis unum sint'; 618 C–620 A, 'in fine rerum cum Deum facie videre . . . in cælesti Jerusalem, quam in

---

* Both Jerome's commentary and Cramer's Catena are divided into 3 books; the former at Eph 3^{1} 4^{31}, the latter at 2^{11} 4^{31}. One or other of them is probably following Origen, whose Book iii. may therefore be fixed at 4^{31}.

alio loco apostolus matrem sanctorum vocat'): not only in the present but in the future life there will be rising and falling, but in the end there will be a renewal of humanity, a restitution of all things, a perfect unity of all rational creation in common faith and common recognition of the Son of God, in the one hope of our calling, in the one body, in the perfect man.

(*f*) *Veritatem et perfectiorem doctrinam non esse omnibus publicandam.* Rufinus, ii. 2, quotes Jerome on Eph 4^{25} (vii. 627 E, 'propter quod Paulus ipse perfectus . . . in thalamum sponsi et penum regis inducat'): every man is to speak truth, but only to his neighbour—that is, to his neighbour in faith and virtue; to others he must shroud himself, as God does, in darkness and mystery.

It is not necessary to enter into the details of Jerome's answer to the individual charges. The controversy was so far simply *ad hominem* that Rufinus has to blame Jerome for Origenist statements which Rufinus, as an Origenizer, can hardly have considered seriously heretical; while Jerome has from time to time to make what defence he can for the Origenist colouring of a commentary written some ten years earlier, and certainly not reconcilable with the rigidity of his later views. What is valuable for the present purpose is simply Jerome's statement and defence of his methods as a translator and commentator.

'I,' writes Jerome,* 'in my commentaries, whether on the Ephesian epistle or elsewhere, have unfolded both my own opinion and that of others, making clear what is heretical and what is catholic. For this is the practice of commentators and of any one who has to explain things: they pursue their exposition through diverse theories, and set down the opinion of others as well as their own. And this is done not only by the interpreters of Holy Scripture, but by the commentators on secular literature, both Latin and Greek.' In the particular book under examination he had in the preface acknowledged obligations to three earlier commentators; but of these Origen differed from Apollinaris, Apollinaris from Didymus: if, then, he set down more than one opinion on the same passage, was he to be supposed to accept them both or all?† In two of the instances urged by Rufinus he had given three views anonymously, in simple juxtaposition: the first was in either case his own, the next that of Origen, the third that of Apollinaris.‡ Even if he had erred through modesty in not more definitely distinguishing his own from his predecessors' explanations, he could hardly be held responsible for all three at a time. In others of the inculpated passages he had not obscurely hinted at his own disagreement by such introductory phrases as 'alius qui conatur ostendere' and 'iuxta hæresim aliam,' or such summaries as 'quod ita intellectum et adversum eum facit.'§ But the one thing which, amid all the difficulties of translation, he had studiously set himself to avoid, was the habit, so dear to Rufinus, of doctoring Origen for Western readers. He himself either rendered the actual words,—*e.g.* 'ponamus tamen ipsa verba quæ in Origenis libro tertio continentur,'‖—or, where the exposition was a very lengthy one, reduced it to reasonable compass, yet without omitting anything either of the argument or of the illustrations.¶

To sum up: both the Paris Catena and the commentary of Jerome contain an amount of Origenian matter which must form no inconsiderable proportion of the whole of Origen's commentary on this epistle. Both, however, habitually abbreviate, so that, except in such rare cases as Jerome's *obiter dictum* in *c. Ruf.* i. 28, where, as was noted just above, he repeats from his commentary a passage of twenty-five lines (on Eph $5^{28, 29}$) as a literal rendering from Origen, we can only then be sure of possessing the whole fulness of the original when our two authorities exactly agree. With regard to Jerome, there is of course the further question, how much of his matter to which parallels in the Catena are wanting can be ascribed to Origen. All the evidence we have tends to the conclusion that his own contributions and his requisitions on others of his predecessors put together do not equal his debt to Origen. The data of the controversy with Rufinus enable us happily to identify as taken from Origen a group of passages which, as they express with more than usual distinctness speculations afterwards accounted heretical, were of all the least likely to be preserved in a Catena.* Yet great as are Jerome's services in this matter of faithful representation, no one can compare the Greek and Latin where they run parallel without realizing how the very virtues of Jerome's writings—the limpid flow of words, the easy sequence, the direct straightforwardness of meaning—cause him to be, as perhaps every Latin translator must be, an inadequate interpreter of the more technical language of the great Greek theologian, of his more subtle thought, of his tentative and hesitating style, of his half-seen glimpses into mysteries that lie behind and beyond the letter.

(vi.) *Philippians.*

The list mentions a commentary in one book. Cramer's Catena on this epistle, as on the Galatians, is for the most part anonymous; but any extended use of Origen appears to be excluded by the colophon which names John (Chrysostom), Severian, and Theodore as its sources. The Athos MS contains two interesting *marginalia*: at the end of ch. 3 it notes ἕως ὧδε ἡ ἐξήγησις—*i.e.* Origen's commentary did not extend to the 4th chapter, which is personal rather than doctrinal; at 3^{14} εἰς τὸ βραβεῖον τῆς ἄνω κλήσεως τοῦ θεοῦ it records that 'in expounding these words he adds that some copies read ἀνεγκλησίας τοῦ θεοῦ'; and, as in another part of the same note it mis-writes this variant as ἀνενέγκαι θυσίας τοῦ θεοῦ, it would appear that here (as in the Ephesians) a note has been taken over from the 'ancient copy,' whose faded uncial writing has again given rise to error.

(vii.) *Colossians.*

The list mentions a commentary in 2 books; but we ought to read 'iii' for 'ii,' since the Athos MS marks not only τόμος β′ at 2^{17}, but τόμος γ′ at 3^{16}. The same MS notes at 4^{12} that the third tome ended there, the last words expounded being ἵνα σταθῆτε τέλειοι: so that in this, as in the previous epistle, the purely personal matter was left without comment by Origen. Of the contents of the exposition we only learn from the MS, that, in dealing with the words in 4^{11} οἱ ὄντες ἐκ περιτομῆς, 'he' (αὐτός, 'the master') 'developed wondrously the theme of the different senses of circumcision in the Scripture.' The only other extant reference to this commentary is in Rufinus' translation of Pamphilus' *Apologia pro Origene* (de la Rue, iv., App. p. 37), under the head 'Responsio ad quintam criminationem. Quod unus est Christus filius Dei: In tertio libro epistolæ ad Colossenses.' But the passage which follows under this title is an explanation of Gal 3^{19} *διαταγεὶς δι' ἀγγέλων ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου*; and it is impossible not to suspect that we should rather read 'in the third book of the epistle to the Galatians.' Cramer's Catena offers no help; its sources are again Chrysostom, Severian, and Theodore of Mopsuestia.

---

* *contra Rufinum*, iii. 11.

† *Ib.* iii. 13.

‡ *Ib.* i. 24, 25.

§ *Ib.* i. 22, 26.

‖ *Ib.* i. 28=Vallarsi, vii. 658 D-659 A: 'dicamus illam carnem . . . in cælestibus repromissum est.' It is interesting to note that this commentary on Eph $5^{28, 29}$ is absent from Cramer's Catena; the catenist avoids just what Jerome found interesting.

¶ *Ib.* i. 22: 'latissimam Origenis disputationem brevi sermone comprehenderim . . . nihil ab eo dictum prætermiserim . . . posui ergo omnia, licet brevius, quæ in græco reperi'; i. 26, 'latissimam Origenis expositionem, et eosdem sensus per diversa verba volventem, brevi sermone constrinximus, nihil exemplis et assertionibus illius auferentes.'

* Of all the passages alleged by Rufinus and catalogued above, only one, and that perhaps the shortest and least important, is preserved in full in the Catena (Jerome, 573 B=Cramer, p. 137). In one other case, the note on ἐπίγνωσις (563 C =Cramer, p. 130), part of the passage occurs in the Catena, but without the definite allusion to the pre-existence of souls. (The pages of Cramer are marked in Mr. Gregg's edition in *JThSt*).

(viii.) *1 Thessalonians.*

The list gives a commentary in 3 books and 2 homilies. Both Origen himself and Jerome refer to the commentary. Origen, *contra Celsum* [A.D. 249], ii. 65, after quoting 1 Th 4^{13-15}, adds: *τὴν δὲ φανεῖσαν ἡμῖν εἰς τοὺς τόπους διήγησιν ἐξεθέμεθα ἐν οἷς ὑπηγορεύσαμεν ἐξηγητικοῖς τῆς πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς προτέρας ἐπιστολῆς* (de la Rue, i. 437); Jerome, *Ep.* cxix. *ad Minervium et Alexandrum*, 9 [A.D. 406: Vallarsi, i. 803], introduces a long comment of Origen's on 1 Th 4^{15-17}, extending over nearly two columns, with the words 'Origenes in tertio volumine *ἐξηγητικῶν* epistolæ Pauli ad Thessalonicenses primæ, post multa quæ vario prudentique sermone disseruit, hæc intulit.' This is the only known quotation; the Athos MS has preserved no Origen *marginalia* on the epistle; but Cramer's Catena, as on the Galatians, is mostly anonymous, and may conceal Origen matter.

(ix.) *2 Thessalonians.*

The list—not in the older form, repeated by Preuschen-Harnack, but as printed from further MSS by E. Klostermann in the Berlin *Sitzungsberichte der k. preussischen Akad. der Wissenschaften*, 1897, p. 855—names a commentary in one book. The Athos MS several times refers to the 'exposition'—in three cases, $2^{14.17}$ 3^{10}, for the readings it implies, on 2^{16} as establishing Origen's orthodoxy, *ἐξηγούμενος τοῦτο τὸ ῥητὸν σαφῶς μίαν τῆς Τριάδος λέγει ἐνέργειαν.* Nothing is otherwise known of it.

(x.) *Philemon.*

The list mentions a commentary in one book: but Greek authority almost wholly fails us. The Athos MS only notes on v.^{12} that 'he too does not mention the word *προσλαβοῦ*'—presumably in his commentary. Cramer's Catena is again drawn from Chrysostom, Severian, and Theodore of Mopsuestia. Latin writers, however, again to some extent supply the defect. (*a*) Rufinus-Pamphilus, *Apologia pro Origene* (de la Rue, iv., App. p. 38), 'Responsio ad sextam criminationem. Quod ea quæ in scripturis referuntur etiam secundum litteram gesta sint,' cites under the heading 'de epistola Pauli apostoli ad Philemonem' a passage taken from the comment on v.^{5}, concerning faith in the Lord Jesus and 'in all the saints,' which Origen interprets as meaning belief in the Old Testament histories. (*β*) Rufinus, *Apologia*, i. 40 (Vallarsi, ii. 625), quotes as Origen's an allegorical interpretation of v.^{23} 'Epaphras my fellow-captive,' 'quod capti pariter et vincti in vallem hanc deducti sunt lacrimarum.' The passage quoted comes from Jerome's commentary on Philemon (Vallarsi, vii. 763), and strengthens the conclusion that Jerome in this, as in his other expository labours on St. Paul, wrote with the commentaries of Origen before him. It is true that in the preface to this particular commentary, unlike those to the Galatian and Ephesian epistles, he makes no mention of the debt due to his predecessors. But this may have been either because it seemed unnecessary to repeat information he was giving in the more or less contemporary commentaries on the two longer epistles, or perhaps because in the case of the Epistle to Philemon, which had so often been either rejected or passed over, he had had fewer predecessors, and so there was not the same need as elsewhere to distinguish the different writers to whom he lay under obligation. But that at least he made extensive use of Origen all the indications converge to show. The comment on v.^{5}, translated in Rufinus-Pamphilus, occurs in an independent and abbreviated version also in Jerome (vii. 752).

(xi.) *Titus.*

There is no evidence to show that Origen wrote anything on either of the epistles to Timothy, but for the epistle to Titus the list names a commentary in one book, and also a single homily. Of the latter nothing is known. For the former we have one reference in a Greek writer, several quotations in Rufinus-Pamphilus, and St. Jerome's commentary. (*a*) In an interesting little 6th cent. tract of questions put to a Palestinian abbot, Barsanuphius (Gallandi, xi. 592; Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 86, c. 891), the questioner — the whole interest lies rather in the questions than in the answers—mentions having found the doctrine of the pre-existence of souls in Origen, Didymus, and Evagrius; and yet Origen himself asserts *ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ ἐξηγητικῷ τῆς πρὸς Τίτον ἐπιστολῆς μὴ εἶναι τῶν ἀποστόλων μηδὲ τῆς ἐκκλησίας παράδοσιν τὸ πρεσβυτέραν εἶναι τὴν ψυχὴν τῆς τοῦ σώματος κατασκευῆς, ὡς αἱρετικὸν χαρακτηρίζων τὸν ταῦτα λέγοντα.* The assertion would be a strange one in the mouth of Origen. The explanation, as will appear in a moment, lies in the form of the passage alluded to, which is happily preserved in Rufinus. (*β*) Rufinus-Pamphilus, *Apologia pro Origene*, c. i. (de la Rue, iv., App. 21–23), quotes three passages (which are connected together by the phrases, 'post hæc paucis quibusdam per medium insertis adiecit' and 'post pauca addidit hæc') 'ex eo libro quem in epistolam Pauli apostoli ad Titum scripsit,' on the passage 'a man that is an heretic' (Tit 3^{10}). The whole contains a valuable catalogue of the opinions which to Origen seemed to deserve the name of heresy. Again in c. ix. (*ib.* 43), 'Responsio ad octavam criminationem. De anima,' two further brief quotations are given from the same context, where Origen raises the question whether those who treat on matters not contained in the Rule of the Church—such as the origin of souls—ought to be treated as heretics, even if their opinion seems new and strange. It is clear that this is the passage referred to by the monastic questioner of Barsanuphius, and clear, too, that Origen, though his indirect manner of approaching the point may have deceived the monk, is really urging that, between what is of faith and what is heresy, there is a middle ground of debatable matter on such subjects as the pre-existence of souls. (*γ*) With regard to the relation of Jerome's commentary on this epistle to Origen's, what was said of the Epistle to Philemon holds here. Here, too, the long comment on Tit 3^{10}, quoted by Rufinus from Origen, has been reproduced by Jerome; but on this occasion in a form so abbreviated as to deprive it of all its interest (Vallarsi, vii. 736).

In accordance with the plan of this article, the Epistle to the Hebrews is not separately dealt with: but those who wish for further details may refer to Preuschen-Harnack, p. 376.

[Dionysius of Alexandria].—The impulse to Biblical studies given by the teaching and example of Origen showed itself long after his death in the schools of Alexandria and Cæsarea. The next three writers to be mentioned were all noted Origenists. St. Dionysius the Great of Alexandria—head of the catechetical school, perhaps from A.D. 233, and afterwards, A.D. 247–265, bishop—is hardly represented at all in extant documents except by fragments of his numerous letters. But if, like his contemporary St. Cyprian, his primary importance lay in the influence which by means of his correspondence he exercised in the current ecclesiastical affairs both of his own province and of the Church at large, yet, like Cyprian, his literary activity was in no sense confined to this single channel. As a commentator he is known to have written on the Book of Ecclesiastes: but the case for regarding him as an expositor of particular books of the New Testament rests in several instances on single quotations, which (even if correctly ascribed to him rather than to some other Dionysius) may have come from other sources than a formal commentary or series of homilies. For the Pauline epistles the evidence seems somewhat stronger at first sight, seeing that Jerome, *Ep.* xlix. 3, includes him in the list of those who had interpreted 'very fully' the First Epistle to the Corinthians. Yet 'latissime' is certainly meant to apply to the half-dozen authors enumerated taken together, rather than to each individual; and even though there is no suggestion in Jerome's language of any limitation to the particular portion of the epistle (the 7th chapter) in reference to which their names are cited, it must not be overlooked that, of the six commentators named here, only two recur in the parallel list for 1 Co 15^{51} given in *Ep.* cxix. Is there, then, any trace elsewhere of Dionysius' work as a commentator on St. Paul? For if this allusion in Jerome stands quite alone, it will easily admit of a less stringent interpretation: a discussion on marriage, with express treatment of St. Paul's language on the subject, might easily have had a place in one of the lost letters. If, on the other hand, there are independent grounds for including Dionysius among the early commentators on any other epistle, the case for taking Jerome's statement literally will be immensely strengthened. And such evidence appears to be offered in the statement—quoted by Harnack, *Altchr. Litt.* i. 423, from Christopher Wolf, *Anecdota Græca*, iv. (Hamburg, 1724) p. 62—that Dionysius of Alexandria was largely used in a Catena on the Romans: 'illius mentio frequens est in Catena MS in epist. ad Romanos, quam B. Reiserus memorat in Catalogo MSS, p. 9.' The reference is to Antonius Reiser, *Index manuscriptorum bibliothecæ Augustanæ* (A.D. 1675), 'Cod. 23: Catena in epistolam D. Pauli ad Romanos viginti et quinque patrum græcorum, videlicet Acacii, Athanasii, Basilii Magni, Cæsarii, Chrysostomi, Clementis, Cyrilli, Damasceni, Didymi, Diodori, Carterii,[*] Dionysii Alexandrini, Dionysii Areopagitæ, Euthalii, Gennadii, Gregorii Theologi, Isidori, Maximi, Methodii, Nysseni, Oecumenii, Origenis, Photii, Severiani, Theodoreti, Theophili.' The Augsburg MSS passed during the course of the 18th cent. into the library of Munich, and the same MS is catalogued as græc. 412 in Ignatius Hardt, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum bibliothecæ regiæ Bavaricæ*, iv. (Munich, 1810) p. 269. Hardt notes that Reiser was in error in including the names of Athanasius and Carterius, and in omitting those of Theodore of Mopsuestia and of Apollinaris. It will be noted that neither catalogue says anything of a 'frequent' mention of Dionysius, or for that matter of any other writer; and in fact the Catena is nothing more nor less than the second of those printed by Cramer. Dionysius of Alexandria is there mentioned once only, and the quotation is one of exactly nine words: *τὸ δὲ Πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ ἀντὶ τοῦ Οἱ πλειόνες κεῖται* (p. 418; Ro 11^{26}). The positive evidence is therefore reduced again to Jerome, and Jerome's words do not justify us in regarding Dionysius as a formal commentator on St. Paul.

[Pierius].—Another head of the catechetical school of Alexandria, towards the end of the 3rd cent., was Pierius. The evidence for connecting him with the study of St. Paul is again Jerome's list of commentators on 1 Co 7,—with this distinction, that Pierius' words are actually cited (*Ep.* xlix. 3; Vallarsi, i. 233): 'Pierius, cum sensum Apostoli ventilaret atque edisseret, et proposuisset illud exponere *Volo autem omnes esse sicut meipsum* [1 Co 7^{7}], adiecit *ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Παῦλος ἀντικρὺς ἀγαμίαν κηρύσσει.*' As in the case of Dionysius, so in that of Pierius, there is no other evidence for a Pauline commentary than this reference in Jerome; Jerome's second list on 1 Co 15^{51} omits his name also; and since we have independent grounds for knowing (1) that Pierius commented at length on the opening of the Book of Hosea; (2) that the comment in question took the form of a homily or homilies at Easter, *i.e.* during the Easter eve vigil; (3) that in the first of his 'Paschal treatises' (*ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν εἰς τὸ πάσχα*) he strongly asserted that St. Paul had had a wife, but separated from her and dedicated her to God in the Church (Jerome, *de Vir. Ill.* 76; Philip of Side, fragments; Photius, cod. 119),—Harnack concludes, not without reason, that St. Jerome's citation is taken from this same treatise on the opening of Hosea, a passage which would offer an obvious opportunity for reference to 1 Co 7.

[Eusebius of Cæsarea].—From Alexandria we pass to the second centre of the influence of Origen—the school and church of Palestinian Cæsarea. Among the extraordinarily diverse writings of its bishop Eusebius (*c.* 270–340 A.D.) were certainly included commentaries, and those not exclusively on the Old Testament. But once more the evidence for ranking him with the expositors of St. Paul rests on the first of Jerome's two lists for the 1st Corinthian epistle, supported this time by a single quotation in Cramer's Catena (pp. 75, 477; 1 Co $4^{4.5}$). That, somewhere in the vast array of the works of Eusebius, Jerome should have found a discussion of 1 Co 7, and the catenist an explanation of a single passage in another chapter, seems much more probable than that a commentary by so well-known a writer should have left no other trace behind. If conjecture may be allowed, it would seem not unlikely that, as Pierius appears to have treated of 1 Co 7 in connexion with the Book of Hosea, and as Jerome in the preface to his commentary on Hosea places in immediate juxtaposition with the homily of Pierius a discussion by Eusebius in the (lost) 18th book of the *Demonstratio Evangelica*, the latter was also the occasion of Eusebius' exposition of the marriage teaching of St. Paul.

6. Theodore of Heraclea (commentaries on all the Epistles?)—

The results in the case of Dionysius, Pierius, and Eusebius have been almost wholly negative. Nothing more has been established than that somewhere or other in their writings they found occasion to expound one or two passages from 'the Apostle.' Of continuous commentaries or homilies, even on a single epistle, there is no real trace. But for Theodore, bishop of Heraclea-Perinthus in Thrace (from before 341 till between 355 and 358), the evidence is conclusive that, however little can be recovered of his work, he did publish commentaries on several, probably on all, of St. Paul's epistles. In Theodore we first come in contact with the great school of Antiochene interpreters. He is said to have been a pupil of the first founder of that school, Lucian the martyr; and all that we know of his method shows that he worked on Antiochene rather than on Alexandrine lines. No interpreter of St. Paul in the first half of the 4th cent. could in his matter be wholly independent of Origen; but in his clear and literalist style of comment Theodore was not the follower of Origen so much as the predecessor of Chrysostom and Theodoret.

---

[*] Carterius was the colleague of Diodore in the school of theology which Chrysostom and Theodore of Mopsuestia attended: as he is not known to have written any exegetical works, and as, further, his name occurs in Reiser's list out of its alphabetical order, it is tempting to take Carterii as a genitive depending on 'Diodori,' so that Diodorus Carterii would be parallel to Eusebius Pamphili.

Theodore was perhaps the first commentator whose work was devoted mainly to the New Testament. Jerome (*de Vir. Ill.* 90) tells us that under the emperor Constantius he published commentaries on St. Matthew and St. John and on 'the Apostle,' distinguished by historical feeling and by clearness and elegance of style. Theodoret (*HE* ii. 3) speaks of his 'remarkable learning' and of his 'interpretation of the Divine Gospels' in immediate connexion with, and apparently as accounting for, his influence over the emperor. Yet, in spite of these testimonies to his importance, no single fragment of his work on St. Paul appears to have come down to us in the original. His merits as an expositor were unable to weigh down the balance against his faults as a theologian. Though he belonged to the more moderate section of the party, he was undoubtedly an Arian; and the whole of the Arian literature of the 4th cent. has perished, with such minute exceptions, that it requires some effort both of will and of imagination to reconstruct the vast stores of learning in chronicle, history, and commentary, which shared the fate of more strictly dogmatic writings.

The epistles on which we know for certain from St. Jerome's references that Theodore commented are 1 Thessalonians (*Ep.* cxix. § 8: Vallarsi, i. 802), 1 Corinthians (*ib.* § 2: i. 794), and Galatians (*Præf. ad Comm.*: vii. 369). For the latter epistle the reference is general; with regard to 1 Th 4^{15-17} we are told that Theodore's view agreed with that of Diodore, which is given at length (see below under No. 12); only in the third case—on 1 Co 15^{51-53}—are we given an actual version of an exposition contained in Theodore's 'commentarioli.' The diminutive form implies (what the Catena fragments on the Gospels amply bear out) that Theodore's comments were brief and succinct. The passage translated is for the most part a paraphrase, in clear and straightforward language, of the text, helped out by the parallel verses in 1 Th 4. It is to be noted that Theodore gives the Syrian reading, 'omnes quidem non dormiemus, omnes autem immutabimur,' without notice of any variant; from which it may perhaps be concluded that he was not interested in textual questions.

7. Eusebius of Emesa (on the Galatians).—Born at Edessa, Eusebius studied in succession at the chief centres of Christian learning in the East—at Edessa, at Cæsarea, at Alexandria, and at Antioch. But it was with Antioch, and with its successive Arian bishops, that his connexion was specially close. It was from Antioch that he was sent to the bishopric of Emesa or Hemesa in Syria, which he occupied till his death; and it was at Antioch that he was buried. The years of his episcopate roughly coincided with Theodore's: he did not become bishop till after 339, and he died under Constantius, *i.e.* not later than 360. Like Theodore, he was a leader of the Arian party, and like him a trusted adviser of the Arian emperor. Like Theodore, again, whom he immediately follows in Jerome's list of 'illustrious men' (*de Vir. Ill.* 91), he wrote largely on the New Testament—'ad Galatas libri decem, et in Evangelia homiliæ breves sed plurimæ'—with the same historical method, and with similar elegance of style.* Eusebius, however, was the more popular and rhetorical, and, if we may judge from the 'ten books' which he devoted to one of St. Paul's shorter epistles, the more diffuse writer of the two.

Jerome names Eusebius again in the preface to his commentary on Galatians (vii. 369), but nowhere quotes from him by name. Cramer's Catena on the Galatians—in other words, MS Paris coislin 204—includes a few, for the most part very brief, citations: on Gal $1^{1. 2. 4. 11}$ $2^{9. 18. 20}$ 3^{23} $4^{4-7. 12. 14. 20}$ 6^{13}. Two points are noticeable about these fragments. In the first place, the predicate 'of Emesa' is found only on two occasions out of thirteen, though there does not seem any real reason to doubt that Cramer is right in attributing all Eusebius references to Eusebius of Emesa. In the second place, nine quotations out of the thirteen are introduced anonymously in the text with the phrase ἄλλος (ἕτερος) φησίν, the name Eusebius being supplied in the margin: but again there is no ground for doubting the correctness of the information. The annotator shows first-hand knowledge of particular interpretations of Eusebius on pp. 31, 90; and the only question is whether some of the anonymous quotations which have no marginal ascription of authorship may not likewise belong to our Eusebius.

That the catenist should have so far relaxed the rigidity of Greek orthodoxy as to make even this tentative and semi-anonymous use of an Arian commentator, is perhaps another indication of his early date: see above, p. 488^{a}.

8. Asterius the Arian (on the Romans).—The literary activity of this celebrated Arian philosopher, theologian, and exegete—of whom the *Dictionary of Christian Biography* contains no mention—is placed by Jerome (*de Vir. Ill.* 94) within the limits of the reign of Constantius;* but his history goes back to the great persecution, and he was a personal disciple of Lucian's. A Cappadocian by birth, an Antiochene by training, he was one of those to whom the Arian movement in its earliest stages owed most. No one did more than Asterius the layman to give it its philosophical basis, its theological terminology, and its literary expression. In the field of exegesis Jerome records that his labours included commentaries on the Epistle to the Romans and on the Gospels: but he tells us nothing about these books which would involve a first-hand acquaintance with them; and what he does say, namely, that they were assiduously studied in Arian circles, when taken in connexion with the complete absence of citations from them in the Catenæ, perhaps suggests that the Arian animus was more marked in his exegesis than in that of Theodore of Heraclea and Eusebius of Emesa.

[Athanasius, Basil of Cæsarea, Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa].—That citations from the great Fathers of the 4th cent., whose writings served as the authoritative standard of Greek dogmatic theology, should be found scattered here and there throughout the Catenæ, is only what we should expect. The references to Athanasius, indeed, in Cramer's four volumes on the Pauline epistles amount—excluding, here as elsewhere, the Epistle to the Hebrews—to no more than two. Those to Basil, outside the Roman epistle, are also only two: for the Roman epistle they are fairly numerous. The few quotations from Gregory Nazianzen occur also mainly, those from Gregory of Nyssa exclusively, in the Catena on the same epistle. It will be remembered that Cramer's sources are for the Roman epistle a Bodleian Catena and a Munich Catena (see above, p. 487^a): for each of the Corinthian epistles a separate Paris MS: for the other ten epistles a continuous Catena in a single Paris MS, coislin 204. Of these, the second or Munich Catena on the Romans (7^7-end) is responsible for all but nine of the whole number of quotations from these four Fathers on the Pauline epistles: and this fact alone is enough to create some presumption that none of them had written on any of the other epistles, since commentaries of such distinguished authorship could hardly have escaped the notice of a catenist; and even a commentary on the Romans, had there been such a one, must have played its part in the Bodleian as well as in the Munich Catena. Further, many of the citations from these particular Fathers are introduced not only with the name of their author, but of the book from which they are taken. Thus for Athanasius: 1 Co 7 (Cramer, *in Epp. ad Cor.* 478 [*]= Benedictine edition, ii. 1272=Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 27 c. 1403), *τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου ἐν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ σεμνοῦ γάμου.* For Basil: in the Munich Catena on Romans, *ἐκ τῶν Ἀσκητικῶν* (eight passages), *ἐκ τῶν Ἀντιρρητικῶν* (three), *ἐκ τοῦ Ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν αἴτιος τῶν κακῶν ὁ Θεός* (two), *ἐκ τοῦ Εἰς τὸν λβ′, εἰς τὸν λγ′, εἰς τὸν μδ′, ψαλμόν* (one each), *ἐκ τοῦ Περὶ εὐχαριστίας λόγου* (one): on Col 1^{15} *ἐν τοῖς κατ᾽ Εὐνομίου λόγοις* (two). For Gregory Naz.: Munich Catena on Romans, *ἐκ τοῦ Ἡττημένου* (one), *ἐκ τοῦ Περὶ υἱοῦ β′ λόγου* (one), *ἐκ τῶν Περὶ φιλοπτωχίας* (two): on Col 1^{15} *ἐν τῷ Περὶ υἱοῦ δευτέρῳ λόγῳ*: on Eph 1^{17} *ἐν τῷ Περὶ υἱοῦ λόγῳ.* For Gregory Nyssen: Munich Catena on Romans, *ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Εὐνομίου β′ λόγου, ἐν τῷ τέλει τοῦ κατὰ Εὐνομίου ἑβδόμου λόγου.* Such passages as still remain unaccounted for show themselves on examination to be derived from sources still extant: thus the rest of the Basil quotations in the Munich Catena on Romans can mostly be traced to the *adversus Eunomium* and the apparently spurious *Homilia de Spiritu sancto.* Of Catenæ other than Cramer's, Karo and Lietzmann's lists (see pp. 488–489, above, *a* and *g*) show an occasional use, but no more, of the great dogmatic writers. Thus Oecumenius gives one quotation from Athanasius, three from Basil (one of them *ἐκ τῆς Πρὸς Σωζοπολίτας ἐπιστολῆς*), one from Gregory Nazianzen *εἰς τὸν β′ Περὶ υἱοῦ λόγον*, two from Gregory Nyssen. The Vienna Catena on Romans has none from Athanasius, but four from each of the Gregorys, and nearly 20 from Basil, the sources being generally given in the case of Basil and Gregory Nyssen. Thus for Basil: *Ἀσκητικῶν* (five passages), *Ἑξαημέρου, Εἰς τὸν λγ′ ψαλμόν, Εἰς τὸ Πάτερ ἡμῶν, Περὶ φθόνου, Ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν αἴτιος κακῶν ὁ Θεός, ἐν τῷ Πρὸς Ἀμφιλόχιον κέ, Εἰς τὸ μαρτύριον Ἰουλίττας, ἐν λακιζ* (?) *ὁμιλ.* (all one each); for Greg. Nyss. *Εἰς τὸ Πάτερ ἡμῶν β′ ὁμιλίας* and *πρὸς Εὐνόμιον λο.* Some of these references are probably identical with references noted above from Cramer: in any case the general result is the same. There is no reason whatever to suppose that any of these Fathers wrote a commentary on any part of St. Paul.[†]

---

* Jerome speaks of his 'eloquence' again in contrasting him with Diodore of Tarsus (*de Vir. Ill.* 119).

* If Asterius of Scythopolis, philosopher and commentator on the Psalms (Jerome, *Epp.* lxx. 4, cxii. 20: Vallarsi, i. 427, 747), were identical with our Asterius the Arian, also a philosopher and also a commentator on the Psalms (Jerome, *de Vir. Ill.* 94), we should have a further proof that Jerome placed him after Eusebius of Cæsarea and Theodore of Heraclea. But, even if the identification were more probable than it is, Jerome's chronology is not infallible.

9. Didymus of Alexandria (commentaries on 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians).—

By far the most striking figure among the heads of the catechetical school of Alexandria in the 4th cent. is the blind presbyter Didymus. Born about the end of the first decade of the century, he became head of the school under Athanasius, was still living when Jerome wrote his catalogue of 'illustrious men' in 392, and only died, according to the *Lausiac History* of Palladius, about the year 399. In spite of total loss of sight in early childhood, he mastered all the secular and sacred science of the time, and poured out the wealth of his knowledge, 'night and day,' for the benefit of visitors and correspondents, among whom were numbered Antony, Jerome and Rufinus, Palladius and Isidore. His special strength lay in the exegesis of Holy Scripture. It was with the object of learning his views on points of doubt ranging over the whole Bible that Jerome visited him in 386. Palladius tells us that he dictated explanations of the whole of Scripture. Jerome, *de Vir. Ill.* 109, after enumerating some ten works, nearly all of them exegetical, adds that there were countless others, 'quæ digerere proprii indicis est'; and, in fact, besides the commentaries there mentioned on St. Matthew and St. John, we know from Cassiodorus that he wrote on the Catholic epistles, and from Jerome himself that he commented on the 1st Corinthian, Galatian, and Ephesian epistles (*Epp.* xlix. 3, cxix. 2 [Vallarsi, i. 233, 794], *Præf. ad Comm. in Gal.* [*ib.* vii. 369], *Præf. ad Comm. in Eph.* [*ib.* vii. 543]). The volumes of Cramer's Catena on the Pauline epistles contain only a single citation from Didymus, on Ro 7^{20}. But Mai in his *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, iv. (1847) part 3, 115–146, published from a Vatican Catena [*] more than fifty excerpts upon 2 Corinthians: many of these are of considerable length, and at several places they form so continuous an exposition that there can be no doubt whatever they were taken from a commentary.[†] Thus the question naturally arises whether the commentaries on these four epistles were independent of one another, like Origen's, or were parts of a complete and homogeneous Pauline commentary. It is not in itself decisive that Jerome speaks of the *commentarioli* of Didymus on the Ephesian epistle,[‡] while he includes him among those who had interpreted 'latissime' the First Epistle to Corinth. Yet neither the long explanation which Jerome translates from Didymus on 1 Co 15^{51-53} (*Ep.* cxix. 5: i. 795 D–798 A), nor yet the Mai fragments on 2 Corinthians, seem quite to suit the diminutive applied to the commentary on Ephesians. And since Didymus was in almost all respects a close follower of Origen,—with regard to his exegesis Jerome mentions this expressly in introducing the fragment on 1 Cor., 'non pedibus sed verbis in Origenis transiens sententiam,'—the evidence as a whole appears to be best satisfied if we suppose that he also imitated Origen in treating the different epistles separately and not always on a uniform scale. In that case there will be no reason left for postulating lost commentaries by this author on the remaining nine epistles. He may easily have written on more than the four of which we have definite information, but it is not necessary to suppose that he wrote on all; and which of the others, if any, he expounded besides 1 and 2 Cor., Gal., and Eph., we shall be able to say only if further and fuller knowledge comes to our assistance.[*]

---

[*] Cramer gives only the introductory words; the Benedictines give a passage of some ten lines.

[†] A tract by Gregory of Nyssa on 1 Co 15^{28} 'Then shall the Son also himself . . .,' is printed in vol. i. pp. 838–853 of the Paris 1615 edition. Its genuineness has been contested, perhaps without reason.

[*] Cardinal Mai gave no sort of indication of the number of the MS: but (*a*) he noted the folio on which each Didymus citation is found—the first is on fol. 340, the last on fol. 411; (*b*) he mentioned that he had already printed some Cyril of Alexandria from the same MS. It is, in fact, the already often cited MS, Vat. gr. 762.

[†] The verses at which the different excerpts begin are as follows: 2 Co $1^{1.2.3.6.7.11.12.13.15.23}$ $2^{3.10.12.15.17}$ $3^{1.4.7.17}$ $4^{4.5.7.8.11.13}$ $5^{1.2.13.14.16.17.21}$ $6^{3.7.10.11.14}$ $7^{2.6.12.13}$ $8^{13.20.22}$ $10^{1.3.17}$ $11^{1.7.12.13.21}$ $12^{2.7.19}$ 13^{11}.

[‡] In the case of the Galatian epistle the MSS of Jerome (*Præf. ad Comm. in Gal.*: Vallarsi, vii. 369) appear to vary between 'commentarii' and 'commentarioli.'

10. Apollinaris (or Apollinarius)[†] the younger of Laodicea (commentaries on all the Epistles?).—

The problem in the case of Apollinaris is not unlike that for Didymus, but the balance of evidence inclines perhaps the other way. It is certain that he commented on five of the Pauline epistles, and it seems likely that he commented on all. St. Jerome mentions him among those who interpreted 'latissime' the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians, and among the authors of 'commentarii' or 'commentarioli' on the Galatian and Ephesian epistles. On 1 Co 15^{51} he notes that Apollinaris' exposition agreed in substance though not in language with that of Theodore of Heraclea, and on 1 Th 4^{15} that Theodore, Apollinaris, and Diodore all adopted the same interpretation (Vallarsi, i. 233, 795, 802; vii. 369, 543). Thus on every epistle where Jerome has occasion to refer to older commentators, he includes Apollinaris among them; while in the *de Viris Illustribus*, 104, he speaks of him as 'in sanctas scripturas innumerabilia scribens volumina.' The Catenæ enable us to add yet another epistle; for Cramer's Bodleian Catena on the Romans contains 36 citations from Apollinaris, of which 21 belong to the first two chapters, and are therefore sufficiently numerous to imply a continuous exposition. It would not then appear to be rash to suppose that Apollinaris, like the writers of the school of Antioch with which he stood geographically in such close contact, commented on the whole of St. Paul. That the Catenæ for most of the Epistles do not quote from him is sufficiently accounted for by his equivocal reputation as a theologian. Apollinarianism was the special *bête noire* of the 5th cent. Antiochenes, and Apollinaris was so far in a worse position than either Origen or Theodore of Mopsuestia, as he may be said to have died out of communion with the Church, though apparently still in possession of his bishopric. That Jerome on the other hand, in spite of his heresy, used him extensively and spoke of him with respect,—he calls him nothing worse than 'the Laodicene who lately left the Church,'—is due partly to his admiration for a man who had been a powerful champion of Catholic Christianity against Arianism and paganism, partly also to the loyalty he always retained (and it is one of the most pleasing features of Jerome's character) for his old teachers.[‡] Of the residuum of Jerome's commentary on the Ephesians, after the Origen matter has been subtracted, much certainly came from Apollinaris. In the cases which he discusses in detail (cf. p. 495^a, above), wherever he had given three interpretations, the first was his own, the second that of Origen, the third that of Apollinaris. And though the amount which can at the present stage of our knowledge be definitely recovered out of St. Jerome's writings for Apollinaris is small,[§] yet Jerome's evidence is singularly clear in respect to his general character and relationships as an exegete. On the Ephesians Apollinaris habitually differed, according to Jerome's express statement (p. 495^a, above), from Origen on the one side, as on the other from Didymus; while in his exposition of the two passages from the Corinthian and Thessalonian epistles, discussed by Jerome in *Ep.* cxix., he agreed with Theodore of Heraclea against Origen and Didymus in the one case, in the other with Diodore and with Theodore again against Origen. His exegetical position was therefore influenced more by his geographical connexion with the city of Antioch than by his opposition to the teaching of its school in the sphere of theology. Among Antiochene expositors there is no one whose loss, if we may judge by the fragments that remain, we have more reason to deplore. The Catena quotations on St. Matthew's Gospel are often very striking, and betray a singularly original and independent mind. Of the few on St. Paul, that on Ro 1^1 in Cramer may serve as an example: *κεχωρισμένος καὶ* ἀφωριϲμένοϲ εἰϲ *τὸν εὐαγγελισμόν, ὡς ὁ νόμος ἀφόρισμα καὶ ἀφαίρεμα λέγει τὸ χωριζόμενον τῶν θυμάτων θεῷ καὶ ἱερεῦσιν.*

11. Eunomius the Anomœan (commentary on Romans).—

Eunomius, disciple of Aetius, and his successor in the leadership of the Anomœan or extreme Arian party, was believed by Jerome, when he was writing his 'Catalogue of Illustrious Men' in 392, to be still alive (ch. 120), but is last heard of in history some years before that date. A prolific writer on theological questions, he drew forth answers from the principal theologians of his day—Apollinaris, Didymus, Basil of Cæsarea, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Gregory of Nyssa. His contribution to exegesis was a commentary in seven tomes on the Epistle to the Romans, known to us only through the criticism of Socrates (*HE* iv. 7), who speaks of him as 'ignorant of the Holy Scriptures, and unable to understand them, but copious in language and given to tautology': his commentary on the Romans was an illustration of his defects as a writer and thinker, for, verbose as it was, it never really grasped the meaning (*σκόπος*) of the epistle: many words and few ideas would be found in all his writings alike. No fragments of the commentary are extant, and it is possible to conjecture its method of exegesis only from the geographical and historical conditions of the writer's career. Eunomius was by birth a Cappadocian; was educated at Constantinople and, under Aetius, at Alexandria; accompanied his master to Antioch in 358; and was intruded bishop of Cyzicus in 360. Although he did not long retain the bishopric, he appears to have lived, with intervals of exile, in or near Constantinople for some twenty years, till he was finally banished to his native Cappadocia about 383. All the probabilities point to his exegesis being rather Antiochene than Alexandrine; but a more direct influence than that of the Antiochene school in general will, no doubt, have been the commentary of his Arian predecessor Asterius on the same epistle [No. 8, above, p. 498^b].

12. Diodore of Tarsus (commentaries on all the Epistles?).—

If Eunomius can be spoken of only loosely as an Antiochene exegete, there is no doubt that in Diodore we have a representative of the Antiochene school in its strictest sense; and indeed, both for his own writings, and as the teacher of its two most illustrious members, Chrysostom and Theodore of Mopsuestia, he may rightly be called its second and greater founder. Diodore was born at Antioch, perhaps *circa* 325-330, and, with the exception of a time spent in study at the university of Athens, lived wholly at Antioch until his elevation to the bishopric of Tarsus in A.D. 379. For twenty-five or thirty years before that date, as layman, as monk, and finally as priest and head of the theological school, Diodore was standard-bearer of the Catholic cause in the capital of the East; and, important as was the see of Tarsus, Jerome (*de Vir. Illust.* 119) is no doubt right in saying that his greatest fame was as a mere presbyter of Antioch. When Jerome wrote, he was apparently still living; but he must have died soon after, for a new bishop signs for Tarsus at a Council in 394. If Jerome tells us that Diodore was an imitator of Eusebius of Emesa, and that, though he followed his ideas, he could not rival his eloquence owing to his ignorance of secular literature, we must remember that Jerome would be bitterly, if naturally, prejudiced against him as the real author of the consecration of Flavian to the Antiochene episcopate after the death of Meletius in 381. The West refused communion to the party of Flavian; and Jerome, for all his profound interest in Greek Christian learning, was a thorough-going Western in matters of party controversy. Of the 'many' books of Diodore, not enough has perhaps survived to test the soundness of the criticism;* but whatever amount of truth it may have had, we cannot but regret the almost total loss of the exegetical writings of one who holds so important a place in the history and development of Christian exegesis. Photius (cod. 223) appears to have known him only through his book 'on Fate'; and though he praises the clearness of Diodore's language, he seems to imply that the book did not show any corresponding clearness of thought. From Socrates (*HE* vi. 3, followed by Sozomen, *HE* viii. 2) we learn that Diodore's fame was that of an exegete, and an exegete of the literalist school: 'he wrote many books, attending to the letter only of the Divine Scriptures, declining to find recondite senses in them' (τὰς θεωρίας αὐτῶν ἐκτρεπόμενος).

---

[*] It is worth noting that Didymus is not included among the commentators on 1 Thessalonians whom Jerome enumerates in *Ep.* cxix. 8-10.

[†] According to Zahn, *Forschungen*, v. 99 ff., the correct form is Apollinaris in Latin, Ἀπολινάριος in Greek. But Jerome seems most often to write Apollinarius.

[‡] Jerome, *Ep.* lxxxiv. 3 (A.D. 400): 'Apollinarium Laodicenum Antiochiæ frequenter audivi et colui; et cum me in sanctis scripturis erudiret, numquam illius contentiosum [super sensu] dogma suscepi.'

[§] Two passages, however, can be identified by the help of Jerome, c. *Rufinum*, i. 24, 25: (*a*) 'in tertia [expositione] quid Apollinarius simpliciter explanaret' = *Comm. in Eph.* ii. 7 (Vallarsi, vii. 576 D-577 A), 'alius vero . . . dici potest': (*b*) 'in tertia quid Apollinarius contra illius [*sc.* Origenis] vadens dogmata sentiret' = *Comm. in Eph.* iii. 1 (vii. 587 B), 'licet quidam . . . carnis acceperit.'

According to Leontius of Byzantium, Diodore commented on the whole of Scripture. In the list given by Suidas, and derived by him apparently from the Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἱστορία of Theodorus Lector, commentaries on many books of the Old Testament are mentioned by name, and, of the New, 'On the Four Gospels,' 'On the Acts of the Apostles,' 'On the Epistle of John the Evangelist'; besides a treatise on the principles of exegesis, 'What is the difference between θεωρία and ἀλληγορία?' It is curious that, while there is no notice of any commentary on the Pauline epistles in this list of Suidas, Jerome mentions such commentaries specifically, 'extant eius in Apostolum commentarii'; indeed, as he mentions no other work of Diodore's by name, but dismisses the rest under the general description 'et multa alia,' it may fairly be inferred that he attached particular importance to them. Whether these 'commentaries on the Apostle' extended to all the Pauline epistles is not certain, though Jerome's language and the analogy of other Antiochene commentaries perhaps suggest it. Jerome himself (*Ep.* cxix., A.D. 406: see pp. 484, 485 above) includes Diodore among the commentators on 1 Corinthians, and quotes in full his exposition of 1 Th 4^{15-17}: that he omits to name him in the prefaces to his commentaries on Galatians and Ephesians (before 392 A.D.) may only mean that Diodore's commentaries had not at that time come into his hands. Of Cramer's Catenæ only those on the Roman epistle cite him—the Bodleian Catena on the earlier half of the epistle 32 times, the Munich Catena on the later half only thrice (10^5 $11^{12.32}$). Even in the Bodleian Catena the comments are not scattered evenly over the eight chapters, but begin only at 5^{15}, being fairly constant from that point as far as 8^{21}; the references are $5^{15.16.18.20}$ $6^{1.5.12.19.23}$ $7^{1.5.7.9.13.14.15.18.21.23.24}$ $8^{1.2.3.9.15.16.19.21}$.* A reference to previous expositors should be noted (Cramer, 48. 22), ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν . . . ᾠήθησαν.

The exegesis of Diodore is concise, clear, intelligent; but an Antiochene expositor — and Diodore's theology in respect of the doctrine of grace does not appear to be substantially different from his pupil Theodore's†—was perhaps hardly qualified to sound in these particular chapters the full depth of the Apostle's thought. With one exception the catenist's citations from Diodore are short, but a passage of six pages (108. 4–114. 12), which ranges over the whole of Ro 7^5–8^2, follows on the name of Diodore; and there seems no valid reason for denying it to him. It would, therefore, form the natural starting-point for further investigation into the exegetical principles and methods in which Chrysostom and Theodore were trained, and from which, in opposite directions, they developed.

13. Chrysostom (commentary on the Galatians; homilies on the rest of the Epistles).—

John, surnamed *Chrysostom*,—born at Antioch about 347, ordained priest there in 386, consecrated bishop of Constantinople early in 398, driven into final exile in 404,—is the earliest of the Greek Fathers whose exposition of all the Pauline epistles has come down to us. With the single exception of the Galatians, which is represented by a continuous commentary (and even this was perhaps prepared for oral delivery, see below on that epistle, p. 503ᵃ), the method of treatment is, in every case, by a series of homilies actually preached in church. The benefit of his hearers, says the patriarch Photius at the close of an interesting criticism of the most illustrious of his predecessors (codd. 172-174), was the one great object of Chrysostom, in comparison with which all else was neglected; and he accounts in this way for the absence in the *Homilies* of any attempt to penetrate into the 'deeper' sense (τὰ βαθύτερα, ἡ βαθυτέρα θεωρία). And while it is certainly true that Chrysostom was in full agreement (fuller than Photius would perhaps have liked to admit) with the exegetical principles of Diodore, his master, and Theodore, his friend,—witness, for instance, his general introduction on the chronology of the Epistles, which he defends on the ground that συντελεῖ ἡμῖν πρὸς τὰ ζητούμενα οὐ μικρὸν ὁ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν χρόνος (*Hom. in ep. Rom.*, ed. Field, p. 4),—it is also true that the warm moral interest and direct purpose of edification animating the *Homilies* raises him above the arid intellectualism which was the danger of the literalist school of Antioch. To each homily is appended, at the end of the exposition proper, an 'ethical' application of the lessons to be learnt from the passage expounded; and this is sometimes given the separate heading ἠθικόν in the MSS. Of the homiletic expositors of 'the Apostle,' St. Chrysostom ranks as indubitably the greatest, and subsequent commentators and compilers bear testimony to his popularity as an exegete by the extensive use they make of his work; indeed his *Homilies*, shorn of the 'ethical' or directly hortatory passages, form the groundwork of most of the extant Catenæ on the Epistles.

In what manner and by what methods the *Homilies* of Chrysostom were preserved for posterity there is little direct evidence to show. Writing at Constantinople a generation after his death, the historian Socrates excuses himself from entering into detail on the characteristics of the *Homilies*, or from attempting to explain their popularity, by the remark that any one who wished to gain an idea of their brilliance and attractiveness had only to turn to their published form. He appears to distinguish between two classes of homilies—those that were published by Chrysostom himself, and those that were simply taken down, as he preached, by shorthand writers (*οἵ τε ἐκδοθέντες παρ' αὐτοῦ λόγοι καὶ οἱ λέγοντος αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν ὀξυγράφων ἐκληφθέντες*, *HE* vi. 4). The distinction thus made is borne out by such evidence, both external and internal, as we possess. On the one hand, the finished character of the homilies, for instance, on Romans seems certainly to imply that the preacher had himself prepared them for publication; and with this corresponds the fact that references (intended to excuse the preacher from dwelling on topics which he had already elaborated elsewhere) are more than once made to previous discourses as still accessible in book shape, *e.g.* to the homilies on St. John and to the homilies on the change of name from Saul to Paul (*Hom.* vii. *in 1 Cor.*, *Comm. in Gal.*: both passages are quoted in full below, pp. 502^b, 503). On the other hand, the less polished style of some other series of Chrysostom's homilies, such as those on Philemon, has suggested that in them we have only the report at second hand of unprepared addresses; while those on Hebrews are known to have been first published after his death from notes taken by the presbyter Constantine.

---

* Harnack's attribution to Diodore of a group of four treatises that pass under the name of Justin Martyr ('Diodor von Tarsus' in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, N. F. vi. 4, 1901) has not yet secured general assent.

* The comments on 8^{24} 9^3 ascribed to Diodore in Cramer, pp. 142, 162, are said to belong to Theodore (see Swete, *Theodore of Mopsuestia*, p. lxxiii n.).

† *e.g.* on Ro 5^{16}: 'the sin of Adam was one, but . . . condemned τοὺς πολλούς, because they imitated Adam,' reading μιμήσασθαι for μισήσασθαι (Cramer, 49. 33).

The manuscripts (and Socrates, as cited in the previous paragraph) give to the *Homilies* the title *λόγοι*; and this must be taken as their correct name, at least in the form in which they were prepared for publication. Photius, however, while admitting that he found them—he is speaking particularly of the homilies on Genesis—circulating under that title, urges that, as they consist throughout of direct addresses to an audience, they are really not *λόγοι* but *ὁμιλίαι* (cod. 172: *ὡς παρόντας ὁρῶν τοὺς ἀκροατάς, οὕτω πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀποτείνεται καὶ ἐρωτᾷ καὶ ἀποκρίνεται καὶ ὑπισχνεῖται*).

Photius also bears witness to the high place among all the writings of St. Chrysostom which is due to the homilies on the Pauline epistles, taken as a whole, and at the same time draws a distinction, which develops rather than contradicts that suggested by Socrates, between different series among them: *πανταχοῦ γὰρ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ τὸ καθαρὸν καὶ λαμπρὸν καὶ εὐκρινὲς μετὰ τοῦ ἡδέος τεχνουργῶν, τούτοις τε ἐνταῦθα* [*sc.* in his interpretations of 'the Apostle' and of 'the Psalter'] *μάλιστα διαπρέπει καὶ τῇ τῶν παραδειγμάτων εὐπορίᾳ καὶ τῇ τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων ἀφθονίᾳ καὶ (εἴ που δέοι) καὶ δεινότητι· καὶ ἁπλῶς ἔν τε λέξει καὶ συνθήκῃ καὶ μεθόδῳ καὶ νοήμασι καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ* [*v.l.* *ὅλῃ*] *κατασκευῇ ἄριστα τάσδε τὰς συγγραφὰς ὑπεστήσατο. ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν εἰς τὸν Ἀπόστολον ἔστιν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐπιγνῶναι, ποῖαι τε αὐτῶν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ διατρίβοντι ἐξεπονήθησαν, αἳ καὶ μᾶλλον διηκρίβωνται, καὶ ποῖαι ἀρχιερατεύοντι ἐποιήθησαν . . . εἴ τις τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀρετὴν τοῦ λόγου θαυμάζων, σχολάζοντα αὐτὸν μᾶλλον ἀλλ' οὐ πράγμασι κοινοῖς ἐνστρεφόμενον ταύτας φαίη ἐξεργάσασθαι.*

In proceeding, therefore, to say something separately with regard to each set of homilies on the Pauline epistles, we shall rely not only on indications of place and time, but, where such precise data fail us, on the more general characteristics of careful preparation and literary finish.[*] But if evidence of this sort on the whole suggests Antioch, we shall, on the other hand, not too hastily conclude that an authoritative and apparently episcopal tone necessarily points to Constantinople; for Tillemont has collected references to such language in homilies indubitably Antiochene, and supposes that Flavian, on ordaining Chrysostom priest, entrusted him with a large share of his own episcopal authority (*Mémoires*, vol. xi. 'Saint Jean Chrysostome,' article xiii.).

(i.) *Romans.*—33 homilies; in the earlier editions arranged as 32, the first homily being treated separately as the 'argument' (so similarly for the Philippians). In this series Chrysostom perhaps reaches the zenith of his achievements as an expositor: in them more than anywhere else throughout his writings—such is the judgment of Isidore of Pelusium, himself no mean critic—'did John, the wisest of men, pour out the full treasures of his wisdom'; and he pays him the highest compliment in the power of any critic when he goes on to assert that 'if the divine Paul had received the gift of Attic language so as to be his own expositor, his exposition would have coincided with that of Chrysostom, *οὕτω καὶ ἐνθυμήμασι καὶ κάλλει καὶ κυριολεξίᾳ κεκόσμηται ἡ ἑρμηνεία* (*ad Isidorum diaconum*, *Epp.* lib. v. 32). If, then, the rule of Photius holds good, these homilies must belong to the Antiochene period; and in favour of this view may be quoted a passage in *Hom.* ix. [viii.] p. 508 B,[*] *οἶδα ὅτι ὑπὸ τὸν σηκόν ἐσμεν τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν ποιμένα*, and possibly another in *Hom.* xxxi. [xxx.] p. 743 C, *μετὰ τοσοῦτον χρόνον εἰσιόντες ἔνθα ἔμεινε Παῦλος, ἔνθα ἐδέθη, ἔνθα συνεκάθισε καὶ διελέχθη, πτερούμεθα καὶ πρὸς τὴν μνήμην ἐκείνην ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων παραπεμπόμεθα.* Tillemont, indeed, reserves judgment on the ground that in the phrases used at the end of *Hom.* xxx. [xxix.] the preacher ranks himself among *ποιμένες* and *ἄρχοντες*; but these words hardly appear to go beyond others which Tillemont himself, as above mentioned, had noted as belonging to Antioch. A series of comments on Ro 5^{12}–6^{3} taken from *Hom.* xi. [x.] are cited, together with other passages from St. Chrysostom, by Augustine (*contra Julianum*, I. vi. 27), in order to rebut the force of Julian's appeal to Chrysostom's authority in the Pelagian controversy. Yet how far Chrysostom was in reality removed from the standpoint of Augustine may be illustrated by his explanation of Ro 8^{28} (*τοῖς κατὰ πρόθεσιν κλητοῖς οὖσιν*), where, in order to emphasize man's contributory share in his own salvation, he erroneously interprets the *πρόθεσις* as man's and not God's (*οὐχ ἡ κλῆσις μόνον ἀλλὰ ἡ πρόθεσις τῶν καλουμένων τὴν σωτηρίαν εἰργάσατο*, p. 595 B; quoted by R. Simon, *Hist. Crit. des Commentateurs du NT*, p. 174).

(ii.) *1 Corinthians.*—44 homilies; also ranked among Chrysostom's best work. The evidence of place is here unusually important, since it covers not only these homilies but others as well. In *Hom.* xxi. p. 188 E, Chrysostom urges that niggardliness in almsgiving was especially inexcusable at Antioch (*καὶ ταῦτα ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, ἐν ᾗ πρῶτον ἐχρημάτισαν Χριστιανοί . . . ἐν ᾗ πολὺς ὁ τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκόμα καρπός*); in *Hom.* xxvii. p. 242 C he cites Mt 18^{7} and says he has already explained the passage at length, when dealing with the Gospel (*ταῦτα μὲν εὐρύτερον ἐν αὐτῷ γενόμενοι τῷ χωρίῳ διελέχθημεν*); and similarly in *Hom.* vii. p. 53 A he refers to his exposition of the Gospels for fuller treatment of Jn 7^{28} 8^{19} (*ἀλλὰ τίς ὁ τρόπος τῆς ἀναγνώσεως ταύτης καὶ τίς ἐκείνης, ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις ἤδη εἴρηται· καὶ ὥστε μὴ συνεχῶς τὸ αὐτὸ στρέφειν, ἐκεῖ παραπέμπομεν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας*). The homilies on

---

[*] Savile, Tillemont, Montfaucon, have all dealt with this subject; but the most complete and convenient discussion will be found in Field's Preface to his edition of St. Chrysostom on the Hebrews, pp. xi–xvi. For an account of the editions of St. Chrysostom's *Homilies*, see below, pp. 505^a–507^a.

[*] References to the *Homilies* are given in the paging of the Benedictine edition, because this numeration is also to be found in the outer margins of Field's pages.

1 Corinthians were therefore delivered at Antioch, but probably towards the end of St. Chrysostom's residence there.

(iii.) *2 Corinthians.*—26 homilies. A reference to Constantinople appears in *Hom.* xxvi. p. 625 C: before the tombs of the tentmaker and the fisherman at Rome the very emperor humbles himself to ask their intercession; and so, too, at Constantinople, Constantius conceived he could pay his father no higher honour than to bury him 'in the antechamber of the fisherman'—that is, at the porch of the church which contained relics of the Apostles. Savile, although he rated the style of these homilies above the average, yet thought himself forced by this passage to place them at Constantinople; but Tillemont, Montfaucon, and Field rightly deduce from it just the opposite conclusion. Two citations from these homilies were made in the Second Council of Nicæa (A.D. 787), the sixth session of which consisted of the reading of an elaborate refutation of the 'decree' of the Iconoclastic Council of 754. The latter had appealed to St. Paul's words in 2 Co 5^{7} 'by faith, not by sight,' and 5^{16} 'even though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet know we him so no more'; and in answer to that appeal expositions of these texts are given from Cyril of Alexandria (see below, p. 515^{a}) and from Chrysostom. *Ἰωάννης ὁ ὑπὲρ χρυσίον καὶ λίθον τίμιον διδασκαλίαν κεκτημένος* is quoted for both verses,—Mansi, xiii. 288, 289 [Labbe-Coleti, viii. 1122, 1123]=*Hom.* xi. p. 514 C, *Hom.* x. p. 508 C,—and the quotations are of sufficient length (twenty-five and six lines respectively in Field's text) to be of some value for testing the character of the MS tradition.*

(iv.) *Galatians.*—A continuous commentary without break of any sort, for the chapters into which it is divided by the earlier editors are in no way represented in the MSS. This continuity necessarily carries with it the absence of the 'ethical' sections which in the other epistles form the close of each homily; but, curiously enough, the use of the second person, which would seem to be as alien to a commentary as it is characteristic of a homily, occasionally recurs, *e.g.* in the passage 673 E quoted just below, or in the comment on Gal 2^{14}, p. 688 D: *μηδὲ αὕτη ὑμᾶς θορυβείτω ἡ λέξις.* Either, then, the commentary was composed for ultimately homiletic purposes, or it may be that the direct speech of Chrysostom the preacher flowed naturally from the pen of Chrysostom the writer. Perhaps because of this uniqueness as a commentary among so many homilies, critics have differed much in their estimate of the literary value of this work; Savile and Tillemont rank it high enough to be allotted to Antioch, and the latter adds that the 'book' on the change of name from Saul to Paul, referred to in this commentary (p. 673 D E), consists of homilies that were certainly preached at Antioch (ed. Bened. iii. 98–140), and was therefore more likely to be accessible to Antiochenes than to Constantinopolitans: *ἵνα μὴ τοῦ κατεπείγοντος ἀποστὰς μακρότερον ποιήσω τὸν λόγον . . . καὶ ἡμῖν δὲ εἴρηταί τις ὑπὲρ τούτων λόγος ὅτε περὶ τῆς μεταθέσεως αὐτοῦ τῆς προσηγορίας πρὸς ὑμᾶς διελεγόμεθα . . . εἰ δὲ ἐπιλέλησθε, ἐντυχόντες ἐκείνῳ τῷ βιβλίῳ πάντα εἴσεσθε ταῦτα.* A brief citation from 'John Chrysostom,' *ἐκ τοῦ ὑπομνήματος τῆς πρὸς Γαλάτας ἐπιστολῆς*, is preserved in Photius' account (cod. 229, part 3) of a work by Ephraem, patriarch of Antioch A.D. 527–545, in defence of the Council of Chalcedon; but the words themselves—*ὅτι, φησί, τὸ λέγειν σαρκὶ παθεῖν τὸν θεὸν λόγον φρόνημα τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐστίν, ὥσπερ καὶ βλάσφημον καὶ ἀποβλητὸν τὸ κηρύττειν αὐτὸν παθεῖν τῇ φύσει τῆς θεότητος*—appear to be neither akin to Chrysostom's normal theological style nor identified in his Galatian commentary.

(v.) *Ephesians.*—24 homilies. Allotted by Savile, on account of their unfinished style, to Constantinople, but by Tillemont and Montfaucon, on the ground of historical indications, to Antioch. Tillemont points to the impassioned appeal against schisms in the Church at the end of *Hom.* xi. (after the exposition of Eph 4^{4-16}) p. 86 ff., which naturally connects itself with the Eustathian separatists at Antioch; Montfaucon to various laudatory references to the monastic inhabitants of the neighbouring hills,—*Hom.* vi. p. 44 A, *Hom.* xiii. p. 44 E; cf. *Hom.* xxi. p. 162 D,—whereas at Constantinople the monks were not dwellers in hills, and are mentioned rather with blame than praise. If further argument is needed, it may be found in the mention without definition, as of a saint well known to the audience, of Babylas, martyr-bishop of Antioch under Decius (*ὁ μακάριος μάρτυς Βαβύλας*, *Hom.* ix. p. 70 C).

Citations from or references to these homilies are made (1) by Theodoret, *Dialogus II.* '*Inconfusus,*' ed. Schultze, IV. i. p. 158, *ἐκ τῆς ἑρμηνείας τῆς πρὸς Ἐφεσίους ἐπιστολῆς*: (*a*) *Hom.* i. p. 7 D, *κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν . . . γέγονεν*: (*b*) *Hom.* iii. p. 20 D, *περὶ τούτου φησὶν Ὁ θεὸς τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὐ περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου*: (*c*) *Hom.* iv. p. 26 F, *καὶ ὄντας ἡμᾶς . . . περὶ τοῦ κατὰ σάρκα πάντα εἴρηται**—(2) by Ephraem of Antioch (see just above) in Photius cod. 229 for the use of *ὁ ἄνθρωπος* with the article of the human nature of Christ (*ὁ Χρυσόστομος ἐν τῇ ἑρμηνείᾳ τῆς πρὸς Ἐφεσίους ἐπιστολῆς τρίτης ὁμιλίας*): the whole passage 18 E–19 C is more or less in point, but the specific reference is perhaps to 20 D, *τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἰς μέγα ὑψηλότητος ἀνήγαγε*—(3) by Facundus of Hermiana in the middle of the 6th cent., *pro Defensione Trium Capitulorum*, xi. 5 (ed. Sirmond, p. 486; Gallandi, *Bibl. Vet. Patrum*, xi. 788), 'beatus Ioannes . . . in commento epistolæ ad Ephesios libro tertio,' translating into Latin (*a*) *Hom.* iii. pp. 18 F–19 A, *ἐννόησον ὅσον . . . τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου οὐδαμῶς*, and (*b*) *Hom.* iii. p. 20 C D, *δύο γὰρ τὰ μέγιστα . . . οὐ περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου.*†

(vi.) *Philippians.*—16 homilies; in the earlier editions 15, because the first homily was separately treated as the 'argument' (so also in Romans). This is the first set of homilies which the majority of critics place at Constantinople, on the ground partly of general negligence of style, partly of language that is supposed to be definitely episcopal in the 'ethical' part of *Hom.* x. [ix.], p. 268 F onwards, where the preacher rebukes his congregation for their grudging support of the clergy.[*] Yet even for this epistle grave doubt must be felt in presence of a passage indicated by Tillemont, *Hom.* xvi. [xv.] p. 318 C D, where Chrysostom, enumerating the drawbacks to earthly royalty, ends his dark catalogue of misfortunes with the catastrophe in which Valens perished, while 'he that now rules, ever since he put on the diadem, has lived among labours, dangers, despondencies, calamities, conspiracies.' Chrysostom was a bold preacher; but even in Chrysostom's mouth such language is more natural at a distance from the court. And it is not easy to see why the argument should leap from Valens to Arcadius without any hint at the critical fortunes of the intermediate reign of Theodosius (A.D. 379–395); yet if Theodosius is meant by ὁ νῦν κρατῶν, the homilies again belong to the Antiochene period. In a Catena from the Fathers contained in Book i. of Leontius of Byzantium, *contra Nestorianos et Eutychianos*,[†] are included passages from Chrysostom's *Hom. in 1 Tim.* (see just below) and *in Phil.*—the latter passage is from *Hom.* vii. [vi.] p. 235 B, μορφὴν δούλου ἔλαβε . . . ἡ μορφὴ τοῦ θεοῦ.

---

* Comparison of the two texts reveals the following variants:—(1) Field, p. 128, l. 7, *καὶ πάλιν τούτου αὐτοῦ* (sc. of being no longer *κατὰ σάρκα*) *ἀρχηγὸν τὸν Χριστὸν ὄντα δείκνυσι*: Conc. Nic. *καὶ πάλιν τοῦ αὐτοῦ· Ἀρχηγὸν τὸν Χριστὸν ὄντα δείκνυσι*, as if a second quotation from Chrysostom began at *Ἀρχηγόν*. (2) Field, l. 15, *ἀλλὰ νῦν οὐκέτι*: Conc. Nic. *ἀλλὰ νῦν οὐκέτι γινώσκομεν. ὅτι εἰ καὶ παθητὸν ἐγνώκαμεν τὸν Χριστόν, ἀλλὰ νῦν οὐκέτι.* Here the Council is clearly right, and the MSS have omitted a line through *homœoteleuton*. (3) Field, ll. 15, 17, *ἡμῶν μὲν . . . Χριστοῦ δέ*: Conc. Nic. *ἐπὶ ἡμῶν μὲν . . . ἐπὶ δὲ Χριστοῦ*, probably wrongly. (4) Field, l. 22 [Jn 14^{30}], *οὐκ ἔχει οὐδέν*: Conc. Nic. *εὑρήσει οὐδέν*. Both readings have good support; but the latter is less likely to be the posterior insertion into Chrysostom's text, and is therefore probably genuine. (5) Field, l. 24, *τὸ ἐκτὸς σαρκὸς εἶναι*: Conc. Nic. omits *σαρκός*, perhaps accidentally. (6) Field, p. 120, l. 29, *ἵνα μήδεις*: Conc. Nic. *ἵνα μήτις*. (7) Field, l. 29, *εἴπῃ, ἀκούων ὅτι ἐκδημοῦμεν*; Conc. Nic. *εἴπῃ, τί οὖν; λέγοντός σου ἐνδημοῦντες ἐν τῷ σώματι ἐκδημοῦμεν.* It is difficult here to decide. (8) Field, l. 31, *τοῦτο*: Conc. Nic. omits. (9) Field, l. 33, *ἐν ἐσόπτρῳ καὶ ἐν αἰνίγματι*: Conc. Nic., less pointedly, completes the quotation by prefixing *ἄρτι βλέπομεν* and subjoining *τότε δὲ πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον*.

* Theodoret's polemical quotations, at least from early writers, are not to be relied on; it is therefore all the more important to note that his differences from Field's text are relatively slight. In one case (p. 7 D, *ὡς ἂν τις εἴποι* for *ὡς ἂν* [*τις*] *ἔχοι*) he supports Cramer's Catena against all the direct MS tradition. Did he use the Catena?

† Facundus entirely supports Field in his return to the text of the Verona edition against Savile and the Benedictines; *e.g.* 20 D he reads 'in sanguine eius salvavit'=*τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ ἔσωσεν* (Field, Veron., and 3 MSS, against omission by the rest) and 'præter hoc'=*χωρὶς τούτου*, with the same authorities, where the rest omit *χωρίς*.

(vii.) *Colossians.*—12 homilies. For the first time the indications are decisive in favour of Constantinople. Not only is the style considered to be below the average of the other epistles, but the preacher is quite certainly a bishop; in *Hom.* iii. p. 349 D–F he sits ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου τούτου, to him belongs τὸ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἀξίωμα. *Hom.* vii. contains two illustrations drawn from current or recent events: p. 374 F, 'the man who but yesterday was exalted in the tribunal, who had heralds to proclaim aloud his dignity and crowds of attendants hustling a way for him in the forum,' who to-day is living deprived of all this pomp and station, can only be the minister Eutropius between his fall at the beginning, and his death at the close, of A.D. 399; p. 375 E, 'my own city (ἡ πόλις ἡ ἡμετέρα) gave offence to a previous monarch, and he ordered it to be destroyed to the uttermost, inhabitants and buildings alike . . . but when our neighbours of the city on the coast interceded on our behalf, our citizens went about saying that that intervention was a worse humiliation than the destruction of the city would have been'—St. Chrysostom, in fact, is giving his audience at Constantinople the story of the experiences of 'his own' city of Antioch after the 'statues' riot of A.D. 387. It may be noted that the 2nd and 3rd homilies were preached on successive days: p. 338 A, σήμερον ἀναβαλλομένους αὔριον τοῦτο προθεῖναι δεῖ: 343 B, τήμερον ἀποδοῦναι ἀναγκαῖον τὸ ὄφλημα ὅπερ χθὲς ἀνεβαλόμην. Perhaps the days were Saturday and Sunday.

(viii.) (ix.) *1 Thessalonians.*—11 homilies; *2 Thessalonians.*—5 homilies. Both sets of homilies appear to be episcopal utterances, and were therefore preached at Constantinople: cf. 1 Thess. *Hom.* x. p. 495 C, κἂν . . . τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπαγάγω ἢ τῆς κοινῆς εὐχῆς ἀπείρξω: *Hom.* xi. p. 504 E, ὑπεύθυνος ἐγενόμην τῆς ἁπάντων ὑμῶν προστασίας: 2 Thess. *Hom.* iv. p. 533 E, ἀλλά, φησίν . . . σὺ ἀξιοῖς τὸν λαὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἡγουμένου παρακαλεῖν, p. 535 E, ἡμεῖς δήμου τοσούτου προεστῶτες, cf. p. 536 B C.

(x.) (xi.) *1 Timothy.*—18 homilies; *2 Timothy.*—10 homilies. The supposed inferiority of the style of these homilies led Savile to attribute them, according to Photius' canon, to the Constantinopolitan period. Montfaucon, however, while admitting that on none of the Epistles is it so difficult to decide as on these, considers that the unstinted eulogy of monks in *Hom. in 1 Tim.* xiv., and the absence of any indication of episcopal position in dealing with the qualifications for the ministry laid down by St. Paul (contrast the passages quoted above on 1 and 2 Thess.), point on the whole to Antioch. The homilies on 1 Timothy are named by Ephraem of Antioch and Leontius of Byzantium; Ephraem (*ap.* Photius, cod. 229), appealing this time to the teaching of the Fathers on the Unity of Christ's Person, includes ὁ Χρυσόστομος τὴν πρὸς Τιμόθεον πρώτην ἑρμηνεύων ἐπιστολήν: Leontius (see just above on Philippians) cites from *Hom. in 1 Tim.* vii. p. 586 B, ἐπειδὴ γὰρ δύο φύσεων . . . οὕτω καὶ θεὸς ἦν.

(xii.) *Titus.*—6 homilies. The principle laid down above, that caution must be exercised in interpreting passages which at first sight seem to imply episcopal oversight on the part of the preacher, receives abundant justification in these homilies. For whereas on the one hand *Hom.* i. p. 735 B speaks of the πατρικὴ διάνοια which forbids treating any one τῶν ἀρχομένων other than gently 'however much trouble he give us,' on the other hand *Hom.* iii. p. 746 C contains an indisputable reference to Christian attendance at non-Christian sanctuaries at Antioch. 'What must we say of those who keep the same fasts as they do, who observe sabbaths, who go off to places dedicated to their worship, such as the spot at Daphne, the so-called cave of Matrona?'[*]

(xiii.) *Philemon.*—3 homilies. These homilies appear to present no features suggestive of either Antioch or Constantinople. The majority of critics suppose that the relatively unfinished style is decisive, according to Photius' canon, for Constantinople; Venables (*Dict. Chr. Biogr.* i. 533*b*) even speaks of them as perhaps 'extemporaneous addresses taken down by others.' Yet such is the uncertainty of this sort of criterion that Montfaucon can assert that 'parem diligentiam et accurationem alibi in scriptis eius vix reperias.'

No Latin translation of any part of Chrysostom on St. Paul was known to Cassiodorus when he wrote his summary account of extant commentaries, *de Institutione Divinarum Litterarum*, ch. 8; but he possessed a complete set of them in the original Greek, which, as he says, could be translated if wanted—if, that is to say, the Latin commentaries which his library could manage to procure should turn out insufficient. 'Commemoratas tamen epistolas a Ioanne Chrysostomo expositas Attico sermone, in suprascripto octavo armario dereliqui, ubi sunt græci codices congregati: ut si latina non potuerint latiora commenta procurari, de istis subinde transferatur quod plenissimam poterit præstare notitiam.' Two things are here worth notice. In the first place, Chrysostom was, for the Latins, *the* Greek commentator *par excellence*: if Cassiodorus knew of the existence of any others, they were at any rate not in his hands. In the second place, the quality which distinguished Chrysostom in Cassiodorus' eyes from all the Latins was his fulness: there he was in the library, ready to be translated if no Latin commentary of equal 'latitude' should come into the hands of the monks of Vivarium.

---

[*] The most definite words of all, πατὴρ εἰμί (p. 272 D), do not, however, appear in Field's text.

[†] According to F. Loofs' masterly discussion of this important but obscure writer (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, iii. 1, A.D. 1887), the treatise *contra Nest. et Eutych.* was published between 529 and 544. Leontius is not mentioned in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*. These passages from Chrysostom are in the Latin version of H. Canisius, *Lectiones Antiquæ* (re-edited by J. Basnage, *Thesaurus Monumentorum*, i., Antwerp, A.D. 1725, p. 554), and in the Greek of the important Bodleian MS of Leontius, cod. Laudianus gr. 92 B, foll. 55*b*, 56*a*: but they are omitted (with many others) in Migne's edition, vol. 86, c. 1309, 'minuendi voluminis gratia.'

[*] One would naturally suppose that allusions to the well-known name of the Antiochene Daphne implied heathen worship: but the fasts and sabbaths are, of course, Jewish, and from *Hom. adv. Iudæos* i. (ed. Bened. i. 595 D) it appears that there was a Jewish synagogue at Daphne, besides that in Antioch: καὶ τοῦτο οὐ περὶ τῆς ἐνταῦθα λέγω συναγωγῆς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἐν Δάφνῃ, πονηρότερον γὰρ ἐκεῖ τὸ βάραθρον ὃ δὴ καλοῦσι Ματρώνης . . . ἐμοὶ καὶ τὸ Ματρώνης καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ὁμοίως ἐστὶ βέβηλον.

That the *Homilies* should have been early translated into Syriac is only what we should expect; and the evidence of the catalogue of Syriac MSS in the British Museum fully confirms such expectations. The material falls naturally into the three classes of (*a*) translations at full length; (*b*) abridgments extending over several or all of the Epistles; (*c*) fragmentary quotations.

(*a*) Translations. *Romans:* MS dccxlv.[*] (Brit. Mus. Add. 17164) is for the most part a palimpsest of a 6th or 7th century MS of the homilies on Romans. *1 Corinthians:* MS dlxxxix. (Add. 14563), sæc. vii.–viii., *Hom.* xx.–xxxiii.; MS dxc. (Add. 12160), A.D. 584, *Hom.* xxxiv.–xliv. *2 Corinthians:* MS dxci. (Add. 14564), sæc. vi.–vii., complete save for a few *lacunæ*; MS dxcii. (Add. 12180), sæc. vi.–vii., complete. *Ephesians:* MS dxciii. (Add. 14565), sæc. vi.–vii., complete. *Philippians, Philemon:* MS dxciv. (Add. 14566), sæc. vi., fragments. *Colossians, Titus:* MS dxcv. (Add. 14566, part 2), sæc. vi.–vii., considerable portions. *1 and 2 Thessalonians:* MS dxcvi. (Add. 17152), A.D. 594, complete.[†]—In this group of MSS all the Epistles are represented except Galatians and 1 and 2 Timothy.

(*b*) Whereas the MSS of translations in full of the *Homilies* range from 550 to 750 A.D., those of abridgments and extracts—in which all or most of the Epistles are treated in a single MS—belong to the later centuries; and this is probably not an accidental distinction, but is a parallel phenomenon to the supersession of commentaries by Catenæ in general.—MS dccxiv. (Add. 14683), foll. 1–141, sæc. x.: parts 3 and 4 (with two great *lacunæ*) of a commentary on the Pauline epistles abridged from Chrysostom, containing Galatians [Gal 6^{12}–end, Eph., Ph $1^{1\text{-}11}$ lost], Philippians, Colossians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians [1 and 2 Tim., Philem., He 1–10^{7} lost], He 10^{8}–end; on fol. 140*b* is a complete list of the number of Chrysostom's homilies on each epistle.—MS dccclii. (Add. 12168), foll. 166–233, sæc. viii.–ix.: Pauline epistles, with extracts throughout from Chrysostom; Colossians comes at the end between Titus and Hebrews.—MS dcccliii. (Add. 12144), foll. 123–176, A.D. 1081: Catena on all the Epistles, principally, but in this case not exclusively, from Chrysostom.

(*c*) The fragmentary quotations are far too many to enumerate here, and must be sought for in the catalogue itself, and in Wright's invaluable index to it. Often, of course, the motive for the choice of the passages is the dogmatic interest: thus MS dccclvii. (Add. 12155), sæc. viii., consists largely of *testimonia* collected from the Fathers with a view to the refutation of various heretics; and citations, or groups of citations, from Chrysostom on the Epistles occur on no fewer than twelve occasions, representing on one or other occasion each set of his *Homilies*.

It remains to give an account of the principal editions of the Greek text, and of the manuscript authority on which they are based.

The *editio princeps* of the original Greek text of Chrysostom on St. Paul is the Veronensis, a superb piece of typography in four folio parts,[‡] published at Verona 'per Stephanum et fratres a Sabio' in 1529; the patron, according to the preface addressed to pope Clement VII. by Donatus of Verona, was Gibertus, bishop of the see.[*] Part i. contains the homilies on the Romans (foll. 1–132) and Ephesians (133–204); part ii. the two Thessalonian epistles (foll. 1–33, 34–47), Colossians (48–86), 1 Corinthians (87–255); part iii. the Second Epistle to the Corinthians (1–93), Titus (93–108), Hebrews (109–205), Philippians (205–249); part iv. the two Epistles to Timothy (1–42, 42–70), Philemon (71–78), and Galatians (78–107). The Greek is given without any Latin translation. The homilies on all epistles except 1 and 2 Thess., Col., and 1 Cor. are divided each into two parts, the more strictly homiletic portion at the end being separated off with the title *ἠθικόν*. The general title of the homily and its running headline is *λόγος α′*, *λόγος β′*, and so on. Even the commentary on Galatians has the running title *λόγος α′* throughout; but, being a commentary and not homilies, it has of course no 'ethical' section. The text of the whole edition is taken apparently from a single manuscript, identified by Heyse (see below on the Oxford edition) with the Venice MS, Marcianus 103, sæc. xi. The unusual order in which the Epistles occur in the edition is no doubt faithfully reproduced from the order of the MS: as each series of homilies circulated from the first independently, and were rarely brought together into a single MS, there was no fixed rule to follow, and the sequence in the Venice MS may be assumed to be accidental. The Verona edition is, apart from the matter of punctuation, warmly praised by Savile; its faults were due to the imperfect condition of the 'half-eaten' MS on which it was based. Indeed it is now clear that, as regards the *type* of text used, succeeding editors (until we come to Field) progressively deteriorated from the standard of the *editio princeps* rather than improved upon it.

In 1603 an unimportant edition appeared at Heidelberg 'in bibliopolio Commeliniano,' which claimed to restore to its integrity the mutilated Greek of the Verona edition by the help of MSS at Heidelberg and Augsburg; but the character of the edition is far from corresponding to the promise of the title-page.

A very different work soon followed. In Sir Henry Savile's great edition of the complete works of Chrysostom (Eton, 1612) the Pauline epistles are to be found in vols. iii. and iv.—in vol. iii. Romans to Ephesians, in vol. iv. Philippians to Philemon. Information about the MSS used must, however, be sought in vol. viii. (the concluding volume) col. 225 ff. The groundwork of Savile's text throughout was the Verona edition, but he modified it by the help, on each epistle, of some one MS from the libraries of France and Germany. For the Romans he used a codex 'Regius' of Paris—apparently Paris gr. 731, sæc. xi.; for 1 Cor. a MS of New College, Oxford—no doubt cod. lxxvii. sæc. xii. ineunt.; for 2 Cor. a Paris 'Medicean' MS; for Gal. a Paris 'Regius' MS; for Eph. an Augsburg MS—presumably Munich gr. 353, sæc. x.; for Phil. a Vienna MS and the copy of a Vatican MS—perhaps Vatic. gr. 551, sæc. x.; for the remaining seven epistles also an Augsburg MS—perhaps Munich gr. 377, sæc. x. For the Roman epistle he further gives in an Appendix, vol. viii. cc. 981–988, a collation again of an Augsburg MS—apparently Munich gr. 457, sæc. xi. A large number of suggestions and emendations are also printed in the margin of the texts. By using more than one manuscript, and still more by drawing on his own critical ingenuity and that of other scholars, Savile was able to make in many ways a very substantial contribution to the improvement of the text of St. Chrysostom; but the *type* of text represented by his new MSS was inferior for the most part to the type represented by the Venice MS employed for the Verona edition.

---

[*] The roman numerals are those of Wright's catalogue.

[†] The homilies on 2 Thessalonians are reckoned not as five homilies, but as an introduction and four homilies; compare the arrangement for Romans and Philippians in the earlier editions of the Greek (above, pp. 502^{b}, 503^{b}).

[‡] That is, it is *paged* with four separate paginations, but there is only one colophon, and no copy that the present writer has seen is *bound* in four volumes. Possibly it was issued in sheets only, and bound in volumes at each purchaser's discretion.

[*] Compare the account of the Verona Oecumenius, p. 485, above.

A new edition was published at Paris in 1636 by the king's printer, C. Morel, of which volumes iv.-vi. contain the homilies on the Epistles. Morel's edition does not pretend to do more than follow Savile's Greek text, incorporating at the same time Latin translations revised by the Jesuit Fronton du Duc.

The Benedictine edition of St. Chrysostom was the latest of the vast labours carried through by dom Bernard Montfaucon. Vol. ix. (A.D. 1731) contains the homilies on Romans; vol. x. (A.D. 1732) contains 1 and 2 Cor., Gal.; vol. xi. (A.D. 1734) the remaining epistles. According to the convenient custom of Benedictine editors, a Latin translation faces on each page the Greek text; but the latter is generally judged to be inferior to the text of Savile. The manuscripts used were exclusively Parisian: on Romans [the numbers of the modern catalogue of M. Omont are substituted, where identification is possible, for those of Montfaucon] MSS Paris gr. 732, sæc. xi., and 734, sæc. xiii.; on 1 Cor. MS gr. 738, sæc. x.; on 2 Cor. MS coislin 74, sæc. x.; on Galatians none; on Eph. MSS coislin 74 (as on 2 Cor.), coislin 75, sæc. xi., gr. 1017, sæc. x.; on Phil. apparently MSS coislin 75 and gr. 1017 (as on Eph.); on Col. MSS gr. 1017 (as on Eph.), gr. 731, sæc. xi., gr. 743, sæc. xi.; on 1 Thess. apparently gr. 743 (as on Col.), gr. 1017 (as on Eph.), and one other; on 2 Thess. gr. 743 (as on Col.), and a second 'Colb. 616,' which may perhaps be gr. 744, sæc. ix.; on 1 Tim. 'Colb. 616' (as on 2 Thess.) and gr. 743 (as on Col.); on 2 Tim. nothing is said; on Titus gr. 745 (imperfect), sæc. xii., and 744 (fragmentary), sæc. ix.; on Philemon gr. 745 (as on Tit.) Montfaucon does not appear to have made exhaustive use even of the early MSS of the Paris Library; the reissue of the Benedictine edition, Paris, 1834–1840, takes account of several additional MSS: *e.g.* for Romans gr. 731, sæc. xi.; for 1 Cor. gr. 739, sæc. xi., and 740, sæc. xi.; for 2 Cor. gr. 741, sæc. xv.; for Gal. gr. 675, sæc. xi., and 1017 (imperfect), sæc. x.

Meanwhile, before the appearance of the second Benedictine edition, attention had been called to the importance of Chrysostom's *Homilies* for the history of the text of St. Paul, by C. F. Matthæi, whose critical edition of the New Testament appeared at Riga towards the close of the 18th cent.: part vi. (Romans, Titus, Philemon) in 1782, part vii. (1 and 2 Corinthians) in 1783, part viii. (Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians) in 1784, part x. (Hebrews, Colossians) also in 1784, part ix. (1 and 2 Thessalonians, 1 and 2 Timothy, together with a 'Præfatio in omnes D. Pauli epistolas') in 1785. Matthæi was professor at Moscow, and his MSS of the *Homilies* were exclusively drawn from the library of the Holy Synod in that city—many or most of them had come originally from Mount Athos: a list of them may be inserted here.

Mosq. xcvii. = Matthæi (vi. 262) 3, A.D. 917: Romans.
,, c. = (vi. 264) 8, sæc. x.-xi.: Romans.
,, ci. = (vii. 277) 1, A.D. 993: Hebrews, Colossians.
,, cii. = (vii. 275) 9, sæc. x.-xi.: 2 Cor., 1 Timothy.
,, ciii. = (vi. 275) σ or 6, sæc. x.-xi.: 2 Cor., Titus.
,, civ. = (vii. 274) 7, sæc. ix.: 1 Corinthians.
,, cv. = (vii. 274) 2, A.D. 990: 1 Corinthians.
,, cvi. = (vii. 276) 4, sæc. xi.: Philippians, Hebrews.
,, cvii. = (vii. 279) 5, sæc. x.: Hebrews.
Mosq. cviii. = (vi. 275) β, sæc. x.-xi.: Eph., Philippians, Philemon.
,, cix. = (vi. 276) a, sæc. ix.-x.: 1 Tim., 2 Tim., Philemon, 1 Thess., 2 Thessalonians.

In the 'Præfatio' above referred to—a singularly perverse piece of writing—Matthæi explains his reasons for devoting such special attention to the MSS of Chrysostom's *Homilies*. To Chrysostom, he maintains, are largely due the difficulties which beset the attempt to reconstruct the original text of St. Paul. Partly through his copying Origen—the loss of whose commentaries Matthæi professes to regret only because he would like to apportion the amount which Chrysostom borrowed from him,—partly through his own carelessness and inexactness of quotation, the text of the Epistles as used in his *Homilies* was seriously depraved; while, owing to the popularity he enjoyed, the text thus depraved, copied by John of Damascus, Theophylact, and others, reacted upon the current manuscripts of the New Testament. Thus, in order to grasp the whole extent of the corrupting influence of the Greek Fathers upon our existing MSS, it is necessary to identify the Chrysostom reading of each disputed passage in turn; for whatever else is right, that is sure to be wrong. But this identification must rest not on the editions of Savile or Montfaucon,—since neither used enough codices, nor followed those they used,—but on a fresh and thorough examination of a larger number of MSS.

Matthæi's own work on the Chrysostom MSS was naturally limited to collation of the text of the Epistles as embedded in the *Homilies*: but a complete edition on a wider basis of MS authority, as demanded by him, was in fact produced for the Oxford Library of the Fathers by the Rev. F. Field, better known perhaps as the editor of the *Hexapla*. Collations were supplied—in Italy by Theodor Heyse, at Munich by J. G. Krabinger, at Paris and Vienna by other scholars. Among the MSS employed for the first time—and many of those that older editors had used were re-collated for the new edition—were (1) for *Romans:* Paris gr. 1016 A, sæc. xi.; Vatic. gr. 550, sæc. x.; Venice Marcianus 98, sæc. xi., and 564, sæc. xi.; Vienna Lambec. cxli. (*Hom.* i.-xxix.) 'antiquus.'* (2) For *1 Corinthians:* Paris gr. 683 (imperfect), sæc. xii., and suppl. 226 (*Hom.* xxi.-xxxiii.), sæc. ix.; Munich gr. 373 (beginning in *Hom.* iv.: 'omnium præstantissimus'), sæc. x.; Venice Marcianus 99, sæc. x., and Append. 77, sæc. xii.—the two latter only partially collated. (3) For *2 Corinthians:* Paris gr. 742 (contains only the 'ethical' or homiletic portions), sæc. xiii.; Vienna Lambec. cxxxv. 'antiquus,' cxxxvi. 'pervetustus,' and cxxxvii. 'pervetustus.' (4) For *Galatians:* Paris gr. 725, sæc. xii.; Munich gr. 373 (as for 1 Cor.); Vienna Lambec. cxxxv. (as for 2 Cor.), and cxl. 'antiquus'; and an unidentified Venice MS. (5) For *Ephesians:* Munich gr. 353, sæc. x.; Vienna Lambec. cxxxvii. (as for 2 Cor.: only used in part), and cxxxviii., sæc. xi.; Florence Laurent. plut. viii. 2, sæc. xi.; Vatic. 551, sæc. x. (6) For *Philippians:* Mus. Brit. Burney 48, sæc. xiv., and Vienna Lambec. cxl. (as for Gal.). (7) For *Colossians:* Mus. Brit. Burney 48 (as for Phil.); Vienna Lambec. cxxxix. 'pervetustus,' and cxl. (as for Gal. Phil.). (8, 9) For *1 and 2 Thessalonians:* Mus. Brit. Burney 48 (as for Phil. Col.); Florence Laurent. plut. viii. 2 (as for Eph.). (10, 11) For *1 and 2 Timothy:* Mus. Brit. Burney 48 (as for Phil. Col. Thess.). For *1 Tim. only:* Florence Laurent. plut. viii. 2 (as for Eph. Thess.). (12) For *Titus:* Burney 48 again, and Munich gr. 353 (as for Eph.). (13) For

---

* These adjectives of Lambecius' catalogue must be taken for what they are worth.

Philemon: again Burney 48.—Besides these, the Catenæ published by Cramer are mentioned for every epistle except 2 Cor.; the first of the two Catenæ on Romans contained practically no Chrysostom, but in every other case the Catena texts are stated to be of great value, and sometimes to preserve the true text against all the MSS of the *Homilies* themselves. These latter MSS are divided by Field into two classes—the first containing a purer and more original text, the second the recension of some later scholar. Since the first is represented more or less by the Verona edition, the second by Savile,—Montfaucon's is set aside as being critically of less importance than either,—Field's text represents to a large extent a return to the *editio princeps.* How well justified he was in doing this may be seen from the note to the quotations by Facundus of Hermiana from *Hom. in Eph.* iii. (p. 503^{b}, above); just as his dependence on Cramer's Catena against the direct MS tradition is in another case supported similarly by Theodoret (*ib.*). In fact, Field's is the only edition which can be called in any real sense critical; and although the number of MSS used might perhaps with advantage be increased and more use might be made of the Syriac, it is not likely that the work of this eminent scholar will for a long time to come be superseded.

Field's volumes appeared in the following order: 2 Corinthians, 1845; 1 Corinthians, 1847; Romans, 1849; Galatians, Ephesians, 1852; Philippians, Colossians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, 1855; 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus, Philemon, 1861; Hebrews (with indexes to the whole), 1862.

About the same time with the Greek edition, and under the same auspices, an English translation of the *Homilies* was undertaken at Oxford as part of the large series of translations in the 'Library of Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church.' In 1839 appeared in two parts the homilies on 1 Corinthians, translated by H. K. Cornish and J. Medley (from the Benedictine text, but modified from Savile); in 1840 those on Galatians, translated anonymously, and on Ephesians, translated by W. J. Copeland; in 1841 the homilies on Romans by J. B. Morris (from Savile's text, modified by the new collations of MSS); in 1843 a volume containing Philippians by W. C. Cotton (from Savile), Colossians by J. Ashworth, and 1 and 2 Thessalonians by J. Tweed (all these from the reissue of the Benedictine text, compared with Savile); in the same year another volume containing 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus, Philemon, also by J. Tweed (from the new Benedictine text, with Savile, and occasionally with material from collations); and in 1848 the homilies on 2 Corinthians by J. Ashworth and J. F. Christie (from Field's text, which, as above mentioned, had been published as early as 1845).

14. Severianus of Gabala (commentaries or homilies on all the Epistles?).—

Severianus, bishop of Gabala, on the Syrian coast south of Antioch, is principally known to us as one of the main instruments of St. Chrysostom's misfortunes. It was common knowledge that Chrysostom's fame as a preacher was the cause of his selection to the episcopate of Constantinople, and therefore other Syrian bishops who had acquired a local reputation in the pulpit were moved to follow in his footsteps, and, neglecting their flocks, to transfer their oratorical gifts to a more comprehensive sphere. Antiochus of Ptolemais and Severian of Gabala came in this way to reside in the capital; and whether or no they were moved by jealousy of the bishop's preaching powers, they soon showed themselves two of the most persistent and unscrupulous of his enemies. History has not cared to tell us more of them: they are visible on the stage for a moment in the light which radiates round the personality of St. Chrysostom, and when that light is withdrawn they pass on into darkness again. Nor in the case of Antiochus do any literary remains survive to enable us to judge how far his friends were justified in bestowing on him the rival appellation of the 'Golden Mouth'; even Gennadius, *de Viris Illustribus*, 20,[*] knew only a single one of his homilies. Severian was perhaps the more eminent preacher of the two, and certainly the more considerable exegete: Gennadius (*op. cit.* 21) describes him as 'in divinis scripturis eruditus et in homiliis declamator admirabilis,' and had read his exposition on the Galatians. The evidence of the Catenæ points to his having written on at least several others of St. Paul's epistles: Oecumenius quotes him on Romans, 1 Corinthians, 2 Thessalonians;[†] Cramer gives several quotations from him in each of his two Catenæ on Romans, many in that on 1 Corinthians, several again on Galatians, Thessalonians, and the Pastoral epistles, while for the four epistles of the Roman captivity the colophons at the end of the Catenæ summarize their sources, and in each case Severian is named among them. Ephesians: *Τῶν εἰς τὴν πρὸς Ἐφεσίους ἐπιστολὴν Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἐξηγητικῶν ἐκλογῶν τόμος ἀπὸ φωνῆς Ὠριγένους, τοῦ μακαρίου Ἰωάννου, Σευηριανοῦ, Θεοδώρου.* Philippians: *Τῶν εἰς τὴν πρὸς Φιλιππησίους ἐπιστολὴν ἐξηγητικῶν ἐκλογῶν τόμος α′ τοῦ μακαρίου Ἰωάννου ΙΩ. Σευηριανοῦ Σ. Θεοδώρου Θ.* Colossians: *Αἱ ἐκλογαὶ τῆς ἑρμηνείας τῆς παρούσης ἐπιστολῆς ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ πλάτος ὑπομνήματος τοῦ σοφοῦ καὶ οἰκουμενικοῦ διδασκάλου Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τῆς βασιλίδος πόλεως καὶ Σευηριανοῦ τοῦ Γαβάλης καὶ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Μοψουεστίας· ἔχει καὶ μίαν χρῆσιν τοῦ μακαρίου Κυρίλλου.* Philemon: *Τῶν εἰς τὴν πρὸς Φιλήμονα ἐπιστολὴν ἐξηγητικῶν ἐκλογῶν τόμος α′. ἡ ἑρμηνεία τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τοῦ μακαρίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου, Σευηριανοῦ, Θεοδώρου Μοψουεστίας.* It is clear that the statements of these colophons imply something more than the occasional use which could be made of miscellaneous homilies and the like: they are satisfied only by supposing that Severian had formally written on these epistles.[‡] The same thing follows for 1 Corinthians from the extensive quotations from him, 90 in number, in Cramer's Catena. Add to this the express testimony of Gennadius for the Galatians, and we have six epistles which Severian can be proved to have expounded—whether in commentaries, or like Chrysostom in homilies, has not so far been established. As Severian is further represented on each of the remaining epistles (to a greater or less degree) in Cramer's Catena, the deduction is a probable one, that, like his other contemporaries of the Antiochene school, his exposition covered the whole range of the Pauline epistles.[§]

Severian is, as we should expect, a commentator of the literalist or historical type. An interesting testimony to his reputation as a preacher outside the limits of the influence of either Constantinople or Antioch, is the fact that in the Coptic Church his *Homilies* are prescribed as lessons in Holy Week, together with those of Athanasius, Chrysostom, Shenoute the Copt, and Severus of Antioch the Monophysite.

---

[*] Gennadius, a presbyter of Marseilles, published about A.D. 495 a supplement to the *de Viris Illustribus* of St. Jerome, enumerating exactly one hundred writers for the century that had elapsed between the original work and the continuation.

[†] One of the Catenæ in Karo and Lietzmann's list, Vat. gr. 1270, sæc. xii., Romans and 1 Corinthians (p. 489^{a}, above, *h*), appears to be related to Oecumenius but to name its authorities more frequently; and may possibly prove useful for identifying further quotations from Severian for these two epistles.

[‡] As the contributions of both Chrysostom and Theodore for these four epistles can be identified,—in the case of Chrysostom from his *Homilies*, in the case of Theodore from the Latin version (see below, p. 510^{b}),—it ought to prove possible, by a process of exclusion, to put together the residue that belongs to Severian; but the attempt has not yet been made.

[§] Venables, in *Dict. Christ. Biogr.* iv. 626*b*, speaks of the possibility that quotations given as from Severian may really belong to Severus, the great Monophysite patriarch of Antioch in the early 6th century. But he was not apparently acquainted with the decisive testimony of Cramer's Catena; nor is Severus, active writer as he was, known to have commented formally on any of the Pauline epistles. See further below, p. 522^{a}.

15. **Theodore of Mopsuestia** (commentaries on all the Epistles).—

1. *THE POSITION OF THEODORE IN HISTORY AMONG SYRIANS, GREEKS, LATINS.*—Theodore—called sometimes of Antioch, where he was born about 350, but more often of Mopsuestia, of which he became bishop in 392—was pupil of Diodore, friend of Chrysostom, and after the latter's death the most influential teacher, whether as theologian or as exegete, within the Eastern Church. Intellectually the greatest of the Antiochene writers, Theodore's greatness was seriously qualified by the defect of one-sidedness: in exegesis he represented the extreme of the reaction against the allegorizers, minimizing or explaining away the Messianic element in the Old Testament; in Christology he dwelt on the ethical value of the human example of Christ so exclusively as almost to make 'the Master' (ὁ δεσπότης Χριστός) a different Person from the indwelling Word. In both aspects Theodore's thought may not unfairly be called rationalizing; and yet there is both in his theology and in his exegesis an important element of truth, such as specially needed emphasis in his day and perhaps also in ours. He died at the end of 428, 'taken away from the evil to come,' just as the theological tendency which he represented and fostered was coming to a head in the Nestorian controversy.

Naturally, Theodore became one of the great saints and doctors of the Nestorian communion. Throughout the long centuries of its prosperity he was to it, *par excellence*, 'the Interpreter': most, if not all, of his commentaries on Holy Scripture were translated into Syriac, and were read in that language for at least 1000 years. Yet, so far, only the commentary on St. John has been in this way recovered: we owe the greater part of our extant Syriac literature to the Monophysite monastery of Nitria in Egypt, and consequently writers of the school of Theodore are but scantily represented in it.

Naturally, again, in proportion as Theodore became an authority among the Nestorians, he became an object of suspicion within the Church. In the first generation, indeed, after the Council of Ephesus in 431, the 'Churches of Syria and Cilicia' remained faithful to the memory of their great teacher: 'we believe as Theodore believed, long live the faith of Theodore.' The Council itself, though in one of its later sessions it had condemned the use of a creed which appears in fact to have been Theodore's, neither on that occasion mentioned his name nor took any other opportunity of aspersing his memory. Cyril of Alexandria did not conceal his own conviction that Theodore and Diodore 'had borne down full sail upon the glory of Christ,' and were the true parents of Nestorianism; he collected and answered a series of propositions taken from their writings; but happily for the peace of the re-united Churches, and in spite of pressure from his more extreme adherents, he declined to commit himself to the fatal policy of *post mortem* anathemas. For a century, therefore, after Theodore's death it remained possible for orthodox Christians of the 'East' to study the Biblical writings of 'the Interpreter' without being calumniated as fautors of heresy: and it is at least not improbable that it was within this period that the Catenæ in which most use is made of him were originally compiled. But the stubborn and protracted resistance which the Chalcedonian definition encountered in so many quarters, caused the centre of gravity in matters theological to shift further and further from the standpoint of the older Antiochene school; while the sensitive orthodoxy which was engendered by the struggle made it easier for each party to procure the condemnation of the extreme wing on the opposite side than to protect the extreme wing on its own. When Justinian anathematized Theodore to please the Monophysites (as he had already anathematized Origen to please the Nestorians), he failed, indeed, to reconcile the separatists, but he might at least claim that his policy had incurred no serious resentment among Greek churchmen. The accusation of Nestorianizing tendencies, repeated under a series of Monophysite emperors, had already driven the orthodox section of the school of Antioch to sacrifice Theodore; and if we may believe the evidence produced in 550 at a council at Mopsuestia,—held, it is true, under pressure from Justinian,—the name of Theodore had been erased from the diptychs of that Church, and the name of Cyril substituted, as far back at any rate as the end of the 5th century.

For the Eastern empire the action of Justinian and his councils was final: the Chalcedonian party in the Greek Church had enough to do to maintain their own orthodoxy and that of the Fourth Council without taking under their protection the favourite teacher of the Nestorians; Theodore's writings, Biblical as well as theological, were placed under a tacit ban, and circulated only, so far as they circulated at all, in fragmentary and emasculated form in the Catenæ. But the Latins were less trammelled by fear of emperors or Monophysites; the resistance, indeed, of pope Vigilius was after a time overcome, but the Churches of Africa and North-eastern Italy broke off communion (and the latter body maintained their separation for over a century) from men who had dared to anathematize not only the opinions, but the name, of one who had 'departed this life in the peace of the Church and the praise of the Fathers.' Justinian employed force; the opposition resorted to the pen. Rusticus, the pope's nephew and deacon, published an improved Latin version of the Acts of Chalcedon. The *Breviarium* of Liberatus, archdeacon of Carthage, and the *pro Defensione Trium Capitulorum* of another African, Facundus, bishop of Hermiana, state the contemporary case against the condemnation, Facundus especially giving us valuable particulars in regard to Theodore's life and writings. Junilius, an African official at Constantinople, introduced Theodore's principles of exegesis to the West under the title *Instituta regularia Divinæ Legis*; while it was probably about the same time, and perhaps also in Africa, that the commentaries of Theodore on the lesser Pauline epistles were translated into Latin and so preserved for the use of future generations. But the controversy of the Three Chapters died out at last, and the same silence about the person and history of Theodore as already prevailed among the Greeks overspread the Western Church also.

2. *GENERAL ESTIMATE OF THEODORE'S STYLE (AS GIVEN BY PHOTIUS).*—Before all first-hand knowledge of Theodore's works had quite disappeared, the patriarch Photius, in the 9th cent., placed on record the only criticism we possess of 'the Interpreter's' literary style. The three books which came into Photius' hands were (*a*) the 25 or 28 books ὑπὲρ Βασιλείου κατὰ Εὐνομίου, cod. 4, with which in cod. 6 Photius compares and contrasts the treatise, bearing the same title, by Gregory of Nyssa; (*β*) the commentary in 7 tomes

on Genesis, cod. 38; (γ) the 5 books Πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας φύσει καὶ οὐ γνώμῃ πταίειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, cod. **177**. According to his custom, Photius supplements his account of each work with a summary judgment of the merits or defects both of its style and of its subject-matter; and, by combining the three notices, we may form a fair general idea of the impression made by Theodore's writings on a competent and not wholly unsympathetic reader. Strong in power of thought and in his handling of Scripture, Theodore's weak points, according to Photius, are obscurity and prolixity. His style (*φράσις*) cannot be called lucid (*σαφής*)—although his vocabulary is simple enough—still less brilliant (*λαμπρός*); it is, in fact, ungraceful and unpleasing (*ἄχαρις καὶ ἀηδής*). Its obscurity is due to long-winded periods (*σχοινοτενέσι περιόδοις*); to the accumulation of parentheses (*παρεμβολαῖς ἀλλεπαλλήλοις*), which distract the mind from the subject; to fondness for oblique cases and participial constructions (*ταῖς τῶν ὀνομάτων πλαγίαις καὶ ταῖς μετοχικαῖς λέξεσι*); to continual and inartistic tautology, in which the repetitions are more circumstantial than the original statements (*τὰς ἐπαναλήψεις πλέον τῶν διηγήσεων ταῖς περιστάσεσι μεμεστῶσθαι*). On the other hand, Theodore's writings are packed close with thought and argument (*ταῖς διανοίαις καὶ τοῖς ἐπιχειρήμασι λίαν πυκνός*); in fertility and in massiveness of proof (*τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων καὶ τὸ γόνιμον*) he is as much superior to Gregory of Nyssa as he is his inferior in beauty, brilliancy, and charm (*κάλλει τε καὶ λαμπρότητι καὶ τῷ ἡδυτάτῳ*). Whatever his other faults, the continuous labour he spent on Holy Scripture (*φιλοπονώτερον διατεθῆναι*), and his wealth of apposite citations from it (*ταῖς γραφικαῖς ἄριστα πλουτῶν μαρτυρίαις*), deserve full recognition. As an exegete, he avoided allegory as far as possible, and interpreted historically.

The criticisms passed by Photius upon Theodore's style and method would perhaps apply less seriously to exegesis than to some other departments of literature. A wide acquaintance with Scripture, an unwearied devotion to its study, when combined with unusual powers of thought, albeit not of expression, are no contemptible equipment for 'the Interpreter' of St. Paul.

3. *HISTORY OF THEODORE'S COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLES.*—(i.) *The first complete list.*—The fullest information about Theodore's commentaries, and the first quite definite statement that he expounded the whole series of Pauline epistles, come to us from the great catalogue of Syriac writers drawn up for the Nestorians by their metropolitan Ebed-jesu (died A.D. 1318), and printed in vol. iii. pp. 1–362 of J. S. Assemani's *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana* (Rome, A.D. 1725: for Theodore, see pp. 30–35, ch. xix.). The bulk of Theodore's works, Ebed-jesu begins by telling us, amounted to 150 times that of the Prophets: as they were arranged in 41 [it is possible that we ought to read 51] 'divisions' or 'parts,' each part must have been thrice the size of the sixteen Prophets put together. Of these parts, the commentaries on the Old Testament appear to have occupied 18; St. Matthew, St. Luke, St. John, and the Acts, one each; and the Pauline epistles 5. The latter are enumerated as follows (Assemani gives, in parallel columns, the Syriac text and a literal translation into Latin):—

> 'epistolam quoque ad Romanos ad Eusebium exposuit.
> binas ad Corinthios epistolas tomis duobus dilucidavit et illustravit rogatu Theodori.
> Eustratius postulavit expositionem quattuor epistolarum quas sum commemoraturus: epistolæ ad Galatas et ad Ephesios et ad Philippenses et ad Colossenses.
> binas autem ad Thessalonicenses Iacobo efflagitante exposuit.
> epistolam ad Timotheum utramque explicavit ad Petrum.
> Cyrino etiam deprecante exposuit epistolam ad Titum et ad Philemonem.
> item epistolam ad Hebræos ad eundem Cyrinum dilucidavit.
> quinque autem tomis finem imposuit commentariis suis in totum Apostolum.'

If we may assume, as appears probable, that the words *pelga* ('division') and *penqiata* (*πίναξ*, 'volume') are, for the purpose of the catalogue, identical,—Assemani translates both by 'tomus'—then, of the five parts into which the commentary on St. Paul was distributed, the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd must have contained respectively Romans, 1 Corinthians, and 2 Corinthians; the 4th, Galatians—Colossians, with perhaps 1 and 2 Thessalonians; the 5th, the Pastoral Epistles, Philemon, and Hebrews. This, however, was probably no more than a mere library arrangement of the Syriac volumes: what takes us back nearer to the original composition of the commentaries is the grouping according to their various addressees—Eusebius, Theodore, Eustratius, James, Peter, Cyrinus. Theodore's exposition of St. Paul was therefore not a book carried through continuously and published as a single whole, but a series of at least six parts, which, so far, may or may not have belonged to the same period of his long literary activity, and may or may not have been written after the same method and on the same scale. Like Chrysostom's homilies on the Epistles, Theodore's commentaries must have been too bulky to be compressed within a single binding; and they must therefore have circulated separately or in groups, with the result that one writer would naturally have acquaintance only with some of them, another only with others; exactly as the evidence now to be described shows to have been the case.

(ii.) *Earliest isolated references.*—Ebed-jesu bears witness to the knowledge of Theodore's commentaries on the epistles, and the position held by them, among the Nestorians of the Middle Ages: we have now to turn back to the earlier but more fragmentary references which can be picked out from the controversial writings of the reign of Justinian.

a. The first specific mention of any of Theodore's commentaries on the Epistles is in Leontius of Byzantium, *contra Nestorianos et Eutychianos*, between 529 and 544 (see above, p. 504^{a}). To each of the three books into which that work is divided a Catena is appended of *χρήσεις* or *pièces justificatives*, those of Book iii. being taken from Theodore, Diodore, and Paul of Samosata. Mai (*Script. Vet. Nov. Coll.* vi. 299–312) has printed the Theodore passages, with the prologue to them: Leontius there complains bitterly that Theodore's followers were so carefully on their guard against committing any of his writings to the uninitiated, that his own selections had been perforce restricted to the single work *περὶ* (he intentionally miscalls it *κατὰ*) *τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως*. From the exegetical books he consequently quotes nothing beyond a single passage on the Psalms; but he gives a list of those which were known to him by name, and compounds for ignorance of their contents by ingeniously vituperative mis-statements of their titles. In this list he includes (besides the books on Genesis, Job, Psalms, St. Matthew, St. John, St. Luke) 'the false interpretation' (*τὴν παρεξήγησιν*) of the Epistles to the Hebrews, Corinthians, and Galatians.

β. The Acts of the Council of Constantinople in 553, which anathematized Theodore, are extant in

Latin. The 32nd of the series of quotations from his works, which were read at the fourth 'collatio' or session, is taken 'ex commento epistolæ ad Hebræos' (Labbe-Coleti, *Concilia*, vi. 55; Mansi, *Concilia*, ix. 216); Theodore there deduces from Ac 10^{38a} and Ps 44 (45)^{8} that the unction or Messiahship of Jesus was a 'reward.' The *Constitutum ad Imperatorem* of pope Vigilius in the same year examines the Council's quotations one by one, and condemns, under the same heading 'ex commento epistolæ ad Hebræos,' the passage just mentioned (Labbe-Coleti, v. 1336; Mansi, ix. 82): the Latin of the quotation is identical (save for transcriptional errors) in the Acts and in the *Constitutum*, so that probably an official Latin version was ordered by the Council and supplied to the pope. A later pope, Pelagius II., writing to the bishops of Istria in 585,[*] quotes (from one or other of the above sources) the same passage under the same title (Labbe-Coleti, vi. 269; Mansi, ix. 443).

γ. Facundus of Hermiana (iii. 6; ed. Sirmond, p. 127) quotes in defence of Theodore a passage on Ro 1^{8} 'in commento epistolæ ad Romanos,' as showing that he admitted both Messianic prophecy and the unity of Person in the two natures: 'et prophetas de domino Christo locutos et ipsum dominum Christum hominem confitetur et Deum.'

(iii.) *Printed collections of fragments on the epistles from Catenæ.*—α. The first considerable contribution was that of Mai's *Spicilegium Romanum*, iv. (1840) pp. 499–573, consisting of passages from a Vatican Catena on Romans: the number of the MS is not there given, but it is supplied in *Nov. Patr. Bibl.* vii. 407 as Vat. gr. 762 (on which see Karo and Lietzmann's list of Catenæ above, p. 488, *e*). In his *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, vii. (1854) 1, pp. 407-408, Mai adds (i.) one more fragment from the same MS on Ro 1^{8}; (ii.) 14 or 15 fragments from the same MS on 2 Cor.; (iii.) two small fragments from Vat. gr. 765 (sæc. x.) on Gal $3^{3.22}$—which, however, as Lightfoot (*Galatians*^{5}, p. 229 n.) points out, really belong to Theodoret.

β. Between the earlier and the later publication of Mai, Cramer was issuing the successive volumes of his Catenæ on the Epistles, and thereby adding largely to our stock of fragments from Theodore. The first or Bodleian Catena on Romans (chs. 1–8) contains 54 quotations from Theodore; but since this Catena is beyond doubt descended, directly or indirectly, from the Vatican Catena on which Mai had already drawn (see above, p. 488^{b}), no real addition to our knowledge was thereby made. The second or Munich Catena on Romans contains no more than 10 pieces from Theodore, and those quite brief, so that it, too, hardly comes into account. But for 1 Corinthians [the Catena is taken from Paris gr. 227] there are 58 passages from Theodore; and in the same way the Catena on the lesser epistles from Galatians to Philemon [taken from Paris coislin 204] supplied Cramer with no inconsiderable number (see just below, in connexion with the Latin version of the commentary on those epistles).

γ. Of A. F. V. von Wegnern's *Theodori Antiocheni Mopsuestiæ episcopi quæ supersunt omnia*, only the first part, embracing the commentary on the Minor Prophets (Berlin, 1834), ever appeared. But in 1847 the scattered fragments of Theodore's work on the New Testament, as they had appeared in Mai's *Spicilegium* and Cramer's Catena, were put together and arranged in order by O. F. Fritzsche, *Theodori episcopi Mopsuesteni in Novum Testamentum commentariorum quæ reperiri potuerunt* (Zürich). Of this useful volume, pp. 45–107 belong to Romans (Facundus' fragment, and the Catena fragments of Mai and Cramer combined); pp. 108–119 to 1 Cor. (Cramer, with corrections); p. 120 to 2 Cor. (one fragment on 6^{6} from Cramer; Mai's *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, vii., had not then been published); pp. 121–172 to Galatians–Hebrews (Cramer, with corrections). Fritzsche detected some cases of incorrect attribution to Theodore made by either Cramer's copyist or his MS; but he did not examine the MSS himself, and he worked without the help of the criterion now put into our hands by the discovery of the Latin version. Of his preface, the most interesting part is the disquisition on the unknown writer 'Theodorus monachus.' Cramer's Munich Catena on Romans assigns to this author 39 pieces, but Theodore of Mopsuestia (on the authority of Mai's Vatican Catena) claims 16 out of the 39, and Diodore (on the authority of Cramer's Bodleian Catena) 4, while 2 are Theodoret's. Among historical personages known as 'Theodore the Monk,' the easiest to identify with the exegete of the Catenæ would be, Fritzsche thinks, the Severianist monk Theodore of Alexandria at the beginning of the 6th cent.; but the result of Fritzsche's analysis of the 39 fragments on Romans points rather in the direction of some unknown compiler of the Antiochene school (see below, p. 519^{a}).

δ. The edition of Theodore in Migne's *Patrologia Græca*, tom. 66, is, so far as concerns the Pauline epistles (cc. 787 – 968), reprinted direct from Fritzsche, with the addition of a Latin translation and of the fragments from Mai's *Nov. Patr. Bibl.* vii.[*]

(iv.) *The Latin version of the commentaries on Galatians–Philemon.* — More important for our knowledge of Theodore than even the discoveries of Mai and Cramer was the identification of a Latin version of the commentary on the ten shorter epistles. The Benedictine editors of St. Ambrose noticed that, of two sister MSS of an exposition of St. Paul belonging to the great library of the abbey of Corbie, near Amiens, the first contained on Romans and on 1 and 2 Corinthians the well-known commentary of Ambrosiaster, the second contained on the remaining epistles (Hebrews not being included) a commentary wholly unknown to them save that Rabanus Maurus had obviously made large use of it (*Ambrosii Opera*, ii., Paris, 1690, App. p. 21).[†] The next scholar to concern himself with the Corbie commentary (which meanwhile, since the time of the Revolution, had become Nos. 87 and 88 in the public library at Amiens) was another Benedictine, dom, afterwards cardinal, J. B. Pitra. Pitra saw that the unknown commentary was a genuine and unadulterated survival from the Patristic period, far older than the 9th cent.—the date both of Rabanus and of the Corbie MS; and believing that he had found the true author in the person of St. Hilary of Poitiers, he published in 1852, under that Father's name, the full commentary on Galatians, Ephesians, and Philemon, with brief notes on the rest (*Spicilegium Solesmense*, Paris, i. pp. xxvi–xxxv, 49–159). But a comparison of Pitra's text with Cramer's lately published Catena on the same epistles revealed the fact that in the Greek fragments which bore the name of Theodore was to be found the equivalent, so far as they went, of the

---

[*] The letter was really written by Pelagius' deacon, Gregory, afterwards pope Gregory the Great.

[*] E. Sachau's *Theodori Mopsuesteni fragmenta Syriaca e codicibus Musei Britannici Nitriacis* (Leipzig, 1869) appears to contain nothing from any of the commentaries on the Epistles.

[†] Besides Rabanus (who, however, for Gal. and Eph. used the real Ambrosiaster, and only began his use of the unknown authority with Philippians), we can now add Amalarius, *de Ecclesiasticis Officiis* (Philippians and 1 Timothy), and archbishop Lanfranc's commentary on St. Paul (Galatians to Philemon), as well as an isolated reference on Galatians in the *Collectanea* of Sedulius Scotus; see Swete's *Theodore*, pp. xlvi–li, and vol. ii. p. 346.

Latin of the Corbie MS; and the only possible conclusion was that in the latter we possessed a complete version of Theodore's commentary on these epistles. The comparison was made, and the conclusion drawn, by J. L. Jacobi in 1854 (*Deutsche Zeitschrift für christliche Wissenschaft und christliches Leben*), and, independently, by Dr. Hort in 1859 (*Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology*, iv. 302-308). Dr. Hort afterwards discovered a second and slightly earlier MS in Brit. Mus. Harley 3063, from Cusa on the Moselle; and an edition of the Latin version, with a re-collation of Cramer's Greek fragments for the ten epistles covered by it, was published in 1880 by Dr. H. B. Swete (*Theodore of Mopsuestia on the minor Epistles of St. Paul: Theodori Mopsuesteni in epistolas B. Pauli commentarii*, 2 vols., Cambridge)—a book of the rare kind for which praise is superfluous.

The Latin supplies us on the one hand with some sort of representation of Theodore's meaning over long pages where the Greek entirely fails us, and on the other with a test for the verification of what really in the Catena belongs to Theodore. It is satisfactory to find that the net result has been to add to the number of fragments admitted as genuine by Fritzsche; for whereas only seven of his passages have to be struck out, there are nearly 40 others in the Catena of which Theodore had wrongly been deprived (Swete, p. xvii, n. 3 and 4). That the catenist can now be shown to have often abridged and occasionally paraphrased his author (Swete, p. xxxv), is no more than the parallel experience of other writers in the Catenæ might have led us to expect.

The translator may be credited on the whole with faithfulness and conscientiousness; but neither his knowledge of Greek (at any rate of Theodore's Greek) nor his command of his own tongue was sufficient to produce what could be called, from a literary point of view, a successful version. As to his date, it is natural to bring the attempt to introduce Theodore to Western readers into connexion with the circle of Facundus and Junilius, and to place him conjecturally at or soon after the middle of the 6th cent.; and the conjecture is in harmony with the evidence of his Biblical text, which (when it is not simply a literal rendering of Theodore's) displays sometimes reminiscences of the Vulgate, but more often reminiscences of the Old Latin (see, for fuller details on all these points, Swete, pp. xxxv-lviii). It is a less easy question to answer, whether his translation included also the longer epistles. The evidence of Rabanus Maurus suggests that there were MSS which gave Ambrosiaster for Rom.-Ephesians, Theodore for the rest; the existing MSS with Lanfranc (and, presumably, Sedulius) make the change from Ambrosiaster to Theodore between 2 Cor. and Gal.; possibly, therefore, it may be argued, other MSS may have existed which supplanted Ambrosiaster by Theodore at a still earlier point or even from the beginning. Yet we have seen (p. 509^{b}) that Theodore's Greek commentaries on the epistles did not circulate in a single volume; and in the absence of definite indications to the contrary it is safest to suppose that the translator had access to only a portion of them, and that the whole of his work has now been recovered. As an imperfect commentary, there was an obvious reason for completing it by borrowing the missing epistles from some other commentary, such as Ambrosiaster's; and the accident that the missing epistles happened to be the first in the series explains also how it was that the name already attached to them came to be attached to the rest of the series as well, so that Carolingian scribes and scholars read Theodore of Mopsuestia under the pseudonym of Ambrose of Milan.

(v.) *Order and date of Theodore's commentaries on the Epistles.*—Of the order in which Theodore commented on the different epistles of St. Paul he gives several indications by cross-references from one commentary to another (Swete, p. lxiii).—(α) *Galatians after Romans:* on Gal 3^{23} (Swete, i. p. 51, l. 6) he refers to Ro 11^{32}: 'si nostram decurrere voluerit interpretationem in qua latius id explicasse videmur.'—(β) *Galatians after Hebrews:* on Gal 4^{24} (i. 76, l. 10) he says, 'in epistola illa quæ ad Hebræos est interpretantes ostendimus evidentius.'*—(γ) *Galatians after several (?) other epistles:* on Gal 2^{4} (i. 16, l. 20) he alludes to previous notes on many passages, 'multis enim in locis coniunctiones a beato Paulo non cum debita sequentia positas esse ostendimus.'—(δ) *Ephesians after Galatians:* on Eph 1^{4} (i. 123, l. 4) he refers to his comment on Gal 3^{23}: 'dixi ['dixit' MSS, wrongly] namque et in epistola Galatarum.'—(ε) *Colossians after Philippians:* on Col 1^{17} (i. 272, l. 12) he refers to Ph 2^{6-8}: 'hoc enim ostendimus ['ostendemus' MSS, but the confusion of i and e is very common] fecisse apostolum et Philippensibus scribentem.'—(ζ) *1 Timothy after Philippians:* on 1 Ti 3^{8} (ii. 118, l. 13) he refers to Ph 1^{1}: *καὶ τοῦτο ἐπεσημηνάμεθα καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Φιλιππησίους.*—(η) *1 Timothy after most of the other Epistles:* on 1 Ti $1^{3.4}$ (ii. 71, l. 12) he mentions 'interpretationem nostram quam propemodum per omnes epistolas explicasse videmur.'—(θ) *Titus after 1 Timothy:* on Tit 1^{6} (ii. 237, l. 20) he refers to 1 Ti 3^{2}: 'dictum est nobis hoc idem latius in illa epistola quam ad Timotheum inprimis dudum scripseramus.'

Thus, with the exception that Hebrews came somewhere near the beginning of the list, Theodore appears, so far as we can judge, to have written on the Epistles in the order of our New Testament Canon. But both the separate dedications of the different groups recorded by Ebed-jesu (p. 509, above), and the interval between the commentary on Titus and that on 1 Timothy 'quam dudum scripseramus,'† suggest that the whole exposition may have been spread over some considerable number of years. The work on at least the later Epistles was posterior to the work on the Gospels: on Col 1^{17} (i. 273, l. 5) he refers to the explanation of Jn 5, 'si interpretationem nostram decurrere voluerit in illam partem evangelii Iohannis'; on 1 Ti 1^{4} (ii. 74, ll. 2-6) to the explanation of the genealogies, 'interpretationem nostram . . . quam de evangeliis expressisse visi sumus'; and on 1 Ti 3^{16} (ii. 137, l. 14) to his exegesis of the Epistles and Gospels as a whole, 'sicut non solum in apostolica interpretatione id ostendimus, sed et in evangeliorum interpretatione identidem id demonstravimus.'

Seeing that Theodore's prolonged span of exegetical activity extended over the whole of the last quarter of the 4th cent. and of the first quarter of the 5th, the conclusion so far reached with regard to the date or dates of his commentaries on the Epistles is not very precise. One line of argument, however, still remains to be examined which may bear upon the chronology, namely, the relation of his commentaries to those of other more or less contemporary exegetes.‡

---

* Note that the Epistle to the Hebrews comes next *before* Galatians in the Sahidic version (Scrivener, *Introd. to the Criticism of the NT*^{4}, i. 57, ii. 138): next *after* Galatians in the system of chapters running through the Pauline epistles in the margin of B (*op. cit.* i. 56, 57).

† Yet 'dudum' may only represent ἤδη, as perhaps in Swete, i. 112, l. 2.

‡ Dr. Swete (p. lxi) emphasizes in this connexion the use apparently made by Theodore of the Euthalian 'chapters' as indicating a date after A.D. 396. Some attempt will be made later on in this article (see p. 524) to deal in outline with the intricate questions that centre round the name of Euthalius.

Ancient commentators were accustomed to study and copy earlier models, and were studied and copied by later imitators in their turn. Theodore, though he was of too independent a mind to copy his predecessors as much as others did, probably studied them quite as much, to judge from the frequency with which he records the views of 'certain people' and expresses disagreement with them. To Origen's system of exegesis he, of course, stood in fundamental opposition. The material is hardly sufficient to enable us to estimate the extent of his undoubted debt to Diodore; and even if it should be proved that he used also Chrysostom and Severian — both of them more nearly his contemporaries than was Diodore — yet even their expositions might have been in his hands before the year 400 A.D. Of his successors, Theodoret can be shown to have exploited him freely (below, p. 517^a); but Theodoret probably wrote after Theodore's death, and furnishes us therefore with no new *terminus ad quem.* But between Diodore and Chrysostom on the one hand, and Theodoret on the other, there is yet one other commentator whose evidence is crucial for the chronology of Theodore. The date of Pelagius' Latin exposition of St. Paul falls within the years 401-409, and since his points of contact with Theodore appear to be unambiguous (Swete, pp. lxxiv-lxxvi), we get a new *terminus ad quem* or *a quo* for the latter, according as we make his share in the common matter original or derivative. The question can be fully answered only when the true text of Pelagius has been restored from a comparison of the various recensions in which he has come down to us.[*] Dr. Swete inclines to the view that Theodore borrowed from Pelagius; but it would be unusual to find a Greek writer using a Latin authority, and in two at least of the parallels (Gal 3^{20}, 2 Ti 2^{20}), while Theodore states his own view and no other, Pelagius prefixes to the view that coincides with Theodore the formula 'ut quidam putant.'[†] If then Pelagius drew on Theodore, and that for the later as well as the earlier Epistles, it would follow that Theodore's exposition of St. Paul was completed very early in the 5th century: nor does there seem to be anything which seriously conflicts with such a conclusion.

4. *THEODORE AS A COMMENTATOR ON ST. PAUL.*[‡] — Theodore is the typical Antiochene exegete, not in the sense that he serves as a standard for judging other commentators of the school, or as a mean from which in one direction or another they diverge, but in the sense that the literal and historical method of interpretation, which (with whatever qualifications) is distinctive of them all, is in him carried out to its most rigorous extreme. The present age is impatient of any form of allegorizing, and so is inclined to sympathize with Theodore; and yet it might be well to recollect that it was Origen's allegorical interpretation of the early chapters of Genesis which, as much as anything else, aroused the opposition of the Antiochenes, and that Theodore's literalist principles committed him to the acceptance of the story of Jonah as a record of actual historical fact. No doubt, Messianic applications of the Old Testament had often led to exegesis that was arbitrary in the extreme, and Theodore voices the reaction of common-sense; no doubt also it can be urged, with show of truth, that at least in the New Testament there is no place for allegory, and that Theodore's position is here inexpugnable. And he would be a singularly unfair critic who failed to recognize and appreciate the services of Theodore's severely logical mind in expounding the often difficult connexion and concatenation of the Apostle's thought; in this direction probably no ancient expositor either attempted or achieved as much; and for that alone, if all other merits were refused them, these commentaries of his would possess a real and permanent value. But it is also just this relentless sense of logic which from another side sets a fatal limitation on Theodore's powers of exegesis; for he approaches the study of the Epistles, unconsciously no doubt to himself, with the expectation of finding in them, not merely a theological system as complete as his own, but the particular system at which he had himself arrived. St. Paul's thoughts do not always consent to be labelled and put in their proper place as parts of an organized and coherent body of doctrine; and so far as they do admit of it, it is not quite on Theodore's lines. The contrast between ἡ πάρουσα and ἡ μέλλουσα κατάστασις, which dominates Theodore's whole scheme of the universe, is a fruitful one, but it does not exhaust, and in part it does not even correspond to, the theology of St. Paul. To Theodore the 'present condition' and 'future condition' are indeed those of sin and sinlessness, but they are also those of death and immortality, of change and changelessness; and it is on this aspect of the contrast that Theodore's optimistic thought habitually dwells. Redemption tends to be predominantly the restoration of the gift of immortality, moral lapse a weakness of our mortal condition, Christ our human example in the successful struggle with it. It would be rash to say that there is no room for Theodore's conceptions in the wide cycle of Christian theology; but they are not the characteristic conceptions of St. Paul, and so far Theodore could not be his ideal 'Interpreter.'

16. Isidore of Pelusium (letters on detailed points of exegesis).—

With Isidore a new chapter opens: we are on the threshold of the era when Greek exegesis ceases to be strictly original, and begins to reproduce what seemed most worthy of preservation in the great writers of the past; and however great the loss in vigour and freshness which this change entailed, it carried with it at least the compensating advantage of expanded sympathies. Allegorical and literalist systems could each claim the sanction of illustrious names: neither could be wholly rejected by those who wished to walk in the footsteps of the 'Fathers.' St. Isidore is the earliest expositor in whose case geographical position is not the decisive factor in determining exegetical affinities. His nationality and all the external circumstances of his life connected him exclusively with Alexandria, while his literary studies and his ecclesiastical hero-worship tended rather to make him a follower of the great homilist of Antioch. The interest which attaches to him in these respects is sufficient excuse for finding a place in this article for a writer whose exegetical remains consist only of answers to correspondents about difficulties in the explanation of detached passages of the Sacred Text.

Isidore, as his name suggests, was an Egyptian; and his whole career, so far as we know, was spent in Egypt. Of Alexandrine family (according to Ephraem of Antioch, in Photius cod. 228), and, to judge from his extensive learning, of Alexandrine training, he early embraced the monastic life and commenced the prolonged residence at Pelusium, the frontier-city between Egypt and Palestine, which has given him the title that distinguishes him from his namesake of Seville. From Pelusium he carried on, during a period of which different critics extend the limits as far back as 395 and as far on as 450, the vast correspondence on which his fame mainly rests. It is enough for the present purpose to say that Isidore, when writing to Cyril of Alexandria during and after the Council of Ephesus in 431, employs towards the archbishop a familiarity and even authority of tone which imply either advanced age or long-established reputation.

---

[*] With the appearance of H. Zimmer's book *Pelagius in Irland* (Berlin, 1901), all previous discussions of the subject of Pelagius' commentary, and of the related commentaries of pseudo-Jerome and pseudo-Primasius (cf. Swete, p. xlv), were at once superseded; see a review of Zimmer by the present writer in *Journal of Theological Studies* (October 1902), iv. 132-141.

[†] Of course a common source for Theodore and Pelagius—in that case probably Diodore—is conceivable; but Theodore's work is the more likely to have reached the West.

[‡] See Swete, pp. lxv-lxxi, lxxix-lxxxvii, and Kihn, *Theodor von Mopsuestia und Junilius Africanus als Exegeten* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1880). The first 200 pages of Dr. Kihn's admirable monograph are devoted to Theodore and his Biblical exegesis: unfortunately, he wrote before the publication of Dr. Swete's edition, and pays little or no attention to the commentaries on St. Paul.

The dogmatic interest was a much stronger one than the exegetical in the generations which succeeded Isidore; and it appears probable that his letters owe their survival as a collection to the use made of them in the Monophysite controversy. Whether or no he survived till the outbreak under Dioscorus of the secular struggle, Isidore was sufficiently Antiochene, in theology as well as exegesis, to have spoken with no uncertain sound about the truth of Christ's manhood: *Θεοῦ πάθος οὐ λέγεται, Χριστοῦ γὰρ τὸ πάθος γέγονε, σαρκωθέντος δηλονότι Θεοῦ καὶ τῇ προσλήψει τῆς σαρκὸς τὸ πάθος ὑπομείναντος* (*Ep.* i. 124); *ἐκ φύσεων δυοῖν ὁ εἷς ὑπάρχων υἱός* (*Ep.* i. 323, to Cyril); *ἐν ἑκατέραις ταῖς φύσεσιν εἷς ὑπάρχει υἱὸς Θεοῦ* (*Ep.* i. 405). Consequently we find the writers on the Chalcedonian side, Ephraem of Antioch, Leontius of Byzantium, Facundus of Hermiana, appealing to his authority; while the great Monophysite writer Severus attempts (according to Stephen Gobar, in Photius cod. 232) to turn the edge of the appeal by accusing Isidore of Origenism. The principal stronghold at Constantinople of the Chalcedonians was the monastery of the *Acœmetæ* or 'Sleepless ones'; and it was the Acœmetæ who, somewhere in the century 450-550 A.D., collected and published an edition of 2000 of Isidore's letters. Facundus apparently quotes from this collection; and nearly fifty letters were excerpted from it and translated into Latin (together with a very numerous series of documents bearing on the Nestorian controversy) by a scholar of the time of Justinian, whose work is preserved to us in two MSS of the 12th cent., Casinensis 2 and Vaticanus 1319.

From the same collection of 2000 letters, and from no other source, all our Greek MSS are derived. The oldest of them (Grotta Ferrata B α I), written in 985, and never yet employed for the printed texts, contains 1600 letters, numbered from 1 to 600, and from 1001 to 2000; another at Paris (gr. 832, of the 13th cent.) contains the first 1213 letters; while two 16th cent. MSS at the Vatican (Vat. gr. 649-650 and Vat. Ottob. gr. 341-383) contain the whole 2000, numbered through continuously from the first to the last. One or two more give some portion of the collection in its proper order; but a much larger number give groups of letters selected out of the rest because of their connexion with some particular topic. Thus Bodl. Laud. gr. 42, sæc. xii., contains thirty-eight letters on the Psalter, arranged in the order of the Psalms with which they deal, though to each letter is still prefixed its proper number in the continuous series. Within this class one MS distinguishes itself from the rest, both for the large bulk of letters which it contains and for the influence which it has exercised upon the printed texts,—Venice Marcianus 126, sæc. xiv.: of its 1148 letters, the first division, 484 in number, are concerned exclusively with the exegesis of different parts of Scripture.[*]

Unfortunately, the history of the printed texts became entangled at an early point with this other or indirect line of the manuscript tradition. The *editio princeps*, prepared by the abbé Jacques Billi, and published posthumously at Paris in 1585, was taken, indeed, from the Paris MS above mentioned, and consisted therefore of the first 1213 letters of the original collection. These were divided by the editor, it is not clear on what grounds, into three books, the first comprising 500, the second 300, and the third the remaining 413; but, apart from this division into books, the letters then printed were printed in the exact order in which the Acœmetæ had arranged them. To the next editor, Rittershusius, or rather to the MS on which he relied, is due the confusion which still prevails in the printed texts of Isidore. He used a Munich copy of the Venice MS, and found in it as many as 230 letters which had not appeared in Billi's edition; his own edition, published at Heidelberg in 1605, repeated Billi's three books, and added to them a fourth, consisting of the 230 new letters, thus raising the total number to 1443. As we have seen that the interest of the scholar (whoever he was) who put together the collection of the Venice MS was in the first place exegetical, it is not surprising that the fourth book should contain a specially large proportion of strictly exegetical letters, or that the editor who finally completed the printed collection, the Jesuit A. Schott, though he was able to add 569 new letters from the Vatican Library, added few of the more strictly exegetical sort. Schott published his 569 letters as a fifth book[†] (without reprinting the earlier books), first in Greek alone, Antwerp 1623; next in a Latin version only, Rome 1624; and finally in both Greek and Latin, Frankfort 1629. The four books of Billi-Rittershusius and the fifth book of Schott were combined in the Paris edition of Morel, 1638; and this edition (which has Greek text and Latin translation throughout) has never been superseded, though the imperfections of its text are only less glaring than its faults of typography and defective indexes. Something was done for the improvement of the text in the publication by P. Possinus, Rome 1670, of collations made from Roman MSS, under the direction of cardinal Barberini, some thirty years earlier; and these notes of Possinus are incorporated at the foot of the page in Migne's reprint of Morel's text (*Patr. Gr.* 78). Four dissertations by German, French, Swedish, and Italian scholars respectively — Niemayer, (Halle, 1825; reprinted in Migne), E. L. A. Bouvy (Nîmes, 1884), V. Lundström (in *Eranos*, vol. ii. [Upsala, 1897] p. 68), and N. Capo in *Studi di filologia classica*, ix. (Florence, 1901)—have each contributed something to our knowledge of the MSS of Isidore; but a new edition remains one of the *desiderata* of Patristic literature.[‡]

Among the letters of Isidore which deal with the study of Holy Scripture in general may be mentioned *Epp.* i. 369; iv. 91, 140, 208, 221; v. 281, 293, 318. More nearly approaching the subject of exegesis are the letters on linguistic topics, such as that on the use of *μήποτε* in Scripture (ii. 270), or those on Scripture synonyms [Trench, *Synonyms of*

---

[*] There is some reason to think that Isidore's letters may have been translated into Syriac: two British Museum MSS (cod. dccccxxvii. = Add. 14731, sæc. xi., and cod. xlix. of Rose and Forshall's catalogue, sæc. xiii.) contain selections from his correspondence.

[†] The total number of letters thus became 2012; but Rittershusius had printed in his fourth book several that were really already in Billi, and in the same way Schott's fifth book contained several that had appeared in Rittershusius.

[‡] Fuller details about the history, MSS, and editions of the collection of Isidore's letters will be found in a paper by the present writer, *Journal of Theological Studies*, 1904.

the New Testament, pp. xiv–xvi, does not seem to know of them] (iii. 92; iv. 130; v. 128, 203, 286, 337, 338, 411). Far more numerous are the letters which are exegetical in the strictest sense, as explaining passages in which Isidore's correspondents had appealed to him for help.

The prominent place which belongs here to the Pauline epistles may be explained naturally enough on the ground of their inherent difficulties; but it also corresponds to the special veneration which Isidore displays towards the Apostle. He never tires of drawing on the resources of his vocabulary for fresh phrases with which to do him honour: St. Paul is *ὁ θεσπέσιος Παῦλος, τὸ σκεῦος τῆς ἐκλογῆς, ὁ τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ νοημάτων ταμίας, ὁ γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν ῥυθμίσας, ὁ βαρβάροις φιλοσοφεῖν ἀναπείσας* (ii. 124); *ὁ κορυφαῖος* [*τῶν νομίμως τὸν παρόντα βίον διαθλησάντων*] (iii. 207); *ὁ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων ἀκριβῶς βασανίσας τὴν φύσιν* (iii. 351; cf. v. 74); *ὁ ἐξ Ἰουδαικῆς ἐπάλξεως εὐαγγελικὸν μηχάνημα γεγονώς* (v. 197); and see especially iv. 80 (on St. Paul as the *σκεῦος ἐκλογῆς*, and on miracles) and v. 299 (on the reasons for our veneration of St. Paul, and on the contrast between him and those who claim to be his successors).

The following is a list of the letters, some eighty in number, which are directed exclusively or primarily to the interpretation of passages in the Pauline Epistles:—

	Epp.		*Epp.*
Ro 1^{22}	ii. 213; iii. 350; iv. 194.	1 Co 9^{27}	iii. 265; v. 144.
1^{28}	iv. 59.	10^{12}	iv. 14.
1^{32}	iv. 60 (cf. v. 74).	10^{27}	iv. 68.
2^{10}	iv. 61.	12^{27}	iv. 103.
3^{25}	iv. 100.	13^{11}	i. 443, 444.
$6^{12.\ 23}$	iv. 52.	13^{12}	ii. 56.
7^{8}	iv. 62.	14^{20}	i. 442.
8^{8}	i. 477.	15^{29}	i. 221.
8^{18}	iv. 63.	15^{31}	iii. 399.
8^{28}	iv. 13, 51.	15^{56}	iv. 52.
$9^{1\text{-}3}$	ii. 58.	2 Co 4^{7}	ii. 4, 5.
11^{8}	iv. 101.	5^{13}	iii. 266.
12^{1}	iii. 75.	5^{16}	iv. 46.
12^{18}	iii. 284, 285; iv. 36, 37, 120, 220.	12^{9}	i. 428; iii. 182.
12^{20}	iv. 11.	13^{7}	iv. 7.
13^{1}	ii. 216.	Gal 1^{8}	iii. 165.
$13^{3.\ 7}$	iv. 12, 102.	3^{15}	ii. 196.
13^{7}	iv. 16.	Eph 2^{15}	iii. 53.
13^{13}	i. 456.	4^{26}	ii. 189, 239.
1 Co 1^{20}	i. 429.	4^{31}	i. 328.
2^{2}	iv. 150.	Ph 1^{29}	iv. 104.
2^{14}	iv. 81, 127.	2^{3}	iv. 22.
$3^{1.\ 2}$	i. 445.	2^{6}	i. 139.
3^{8}	v. 82.	3^{19}	iii. 186, 187, 188.
3^{18}	iv. 6.	Col 1^{15}	iii. 31.
4^{5}	iv. 94.	2^{9}	iv. 166.
6^{7}	iv. 95.	2^{15}	iv. 108.
6^{10}	iv. 42.	1 Ti 3^{1}	iii. 216; iv. 219.
6^{18}	iv. 129.	3^{16}	ii. 192.
7^{29}	i. 413.	4^{3}	iv. 112.
9^{5}	iii. 176.	5^{8}	ii. 124.
$9^{20.\ 21}$	ii. 138.	Tit 1^{16}	ii. 64; iv. 85.*

None of the printed Catenæ on the Epistles have made any extended use of this large body of letters. Isidore is quoted once in Cramer's Bodleian Catena on Romans: 7^{8}=*Ep.* iv. 62; eleven times in his Munich Catena on Romans: 7^{8} as before; 8^{8}=i. 477; 8^{28}=iv. 51; $9^{1\text{-}3}$=ii. 58; 11^{8}=iv. 101; 12^{1}=iii. 75; 12^{18}=iv. 220; 12^{20}=iv. 11; 13^{1}=ii. 216; 13^{7}=iv. 16; 13^{13}=i. 456; and twice in his Catena on 1 Corinthians: 6^{18}=iv. 129, and $9^{20.\ 21}$=ii. 138. Among Karo and Lietzmann's Catenæ, No. vii. (on Romans) quotes, we are told, *Epp.* 1245, 1244, 1323, 1337; but these letters belong exactly to that part of the collection where it is not at present possible to bring the old numeration into comparison with the printed text—no doubt they are all to be found in Book iv.

Isidore as an independent interpreter has a terseness and directness of his own: but perhaps the reason why he is not more often quoted in the Catenæ is that his explanations are sometimes only echoes of those of Chrysostom; compare, for instance, the comment on Ro 12^{18} in *Ep.* iii. 284 with the parallel passage in the latter's *Homilies.* Isidore's panegyric on Chrysostom's whole exposition of the Romans has been mentioned above (p. 502^b^); and elsewhere he cites the letter of Libanius to Chrysostom as illustrating *τὴν τοῦ ἀοιδίμου Ἰωάννου* [*sc.* Chrysostom] *γλῶτταν καὶ τὸ κάλλος τῶν νοημάτων καὶ τὴν πυκνότητα τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων* (ii. 42). Nor was admiration for his writings divorced in Isidore's mind from admiration for his life and character: Chrysostom is called by him (in reference to his *de Sacerdotio*) *ὁ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπορρήτων ὑποφήτης, ὁ τῆς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐκκλησίας καὶ πάσης ὀφθαλμός* (i. 156): in the cause of Chrysostom he can speak plainly about one patriarch of Alexandria, or plead boldly with another; Egypt, he says, by making use of Theophilus *τὸν λιθομανῆ καὶ χρυσολάτρην, τὸν θεοφιλῆ καὶ θεολόγον κατεπολέμησεν ἄνθρωπον* (i. 152), and he writes to Cyril, in the interests of peace and reconciliation, a letter that is universally understood to allude to the restoration of St. Chrysostom's name to the diptychs (i. 370).

Thus, just as in doctrine he represents a reaction in Egypt from the extremer type of Egyptian theology, so too in exegesis Isidore, Egyptian and Alexandrine though he was, modified the allegorical traditions of Alexandrine exegesis under the influences of Chrysostom's writings. He takes up a middle position between those who interpreted the whole of the Old Testament directly of Christ, and those who refused so to interpret any of it: *ἐγὼ δὲ ἀναγκαίως φημὶ ἀμφότερα γεγενῆσθαι, τό τε μὴ πάντα λελέχθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ μὴ παντελῶς τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν σεσιγῆσθαι* (ii. 195). He will not refuse to allow some place to allegorical interpretations, and he gently rebukes a correspondent who had asked for a purely literalist explanation of some provisions of the Mosaic legislation: *τοὺς τὰς θεωρίας ὑποφαίνοντας καὶ τὸ γράμμα εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα μεταρυθμίζοντας οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως αἰτιασάμενος, καίτοι πολλάκις ὠφέλιμά τινα τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις λέγοντας, αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα ἑρμηνευθῆναί σοι λιπαρῶς παρεκάλεσας* (ii. 81). Even in matters belonging to the New Testament, allegorical interpretations can be found in Isidore; but to what a subordinate position, at least in dealing with the Pauline epistles, he relegates the allegorical sense, may be illustrated from *Ep.* iv. 129, where, in enumerating many possible explanations of the precise meaning of 1 Co 6^{18} *εἰς τὸ ἴδιον σῶμα ἁμαρτάνει*, he has recourse to allegorizing as a ninth alternative only: *εἰ δὲ καὶ τραπῆναι ἡμᾶς βούλει εἰς τὴν τῆς ἀλληγορίας ὁδόν, ἐνάτη ἔστω ἡ λεχθησομένη.*

17. Cyril of Alexandria (commentaries on Romans, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians).—

Cyril, the great opponent of Nestorianism, was archbishop of Alexandria from 412 till his death in 444. Nothing is known as to the date of his birth. His relations to Isidore of Pelusium seem to have been those of a younger to an older man, but he was of sufficiently mature years in 403 to be present, in the train of his uncle and predecessor Theophilus, at the Council of the Oak which condemned Chrysostom. The overpowering dogmatic interest of Cyril's career and writings has naturally tended to obscure the interest of his exegetical work; yet the bulk even of what is preserved of the latter class is far more considerable than that of the former, and the original discrepancy must have been greater still. Too much stress need not be laid on the statement of Cassiodorus, in the preface to his *Inst. Div. Litt.*, that Cyril was one of those who had expounded in the Greek language the Divine Scriptures of the Old and New Testament 'ab ipso principio usque ad finem'; for not only Clement of Alexandria (of whose *Hypotyposes* it was more or less true, see below, p. 520^b), but Chrysostom, Gregory, and Basil, are included under the same heading, and there is every reason to suppose it inexact in the case of the latter writers. But out of the seven volumes which make up the only complete edition of Cyril's works—that of Aubert (Paris, 1638)—four consist wholly of exegetical matter; and yet this edition contained nothing on the New Testament except the portions which have survived of the commentary on St. John. For two centuries after Aubert little more was done; but the last seventy years have witnessed the recovery of a Syriac version of the commentary on St. Luke, and of considerable fragments in the original Greek of commentaries on St. Matthew and on some of the Pauline epistles.

---

* For completeness' sake, references to the Hebrews may here be added: He 1^{3}=*Epp.* iii. 68; 2^{15}=iv. 146; 4^{8}=iv. 147, v. 91; 4^{13}=i. 94; 9^{17}=iv. 113; 10^{28}=iv. 168; 12^{7}=iii. 184; 12^{16}=i. 320; 12^{17}=iv. 26; 13^{4}=iv. 192.

That Cyril had commented on the Epistle to the Hebrews there was a good deal of ancient evidence, in Theodoret, Leontius, Facundus, and others, to show; but for the epistles of St. Paul, properly speaking, the only direct witness that was in print until within the last sixty or seventy years appears to have been a solitary quotation (itself perhaps taken from a Catena) in the Acts of the Second Council of Nicæa in 787 (Mansi, xiii. 289). The 'definition' of the Iconoclastic Council of 754 had appealed to 2 Co $5^{16.17}$, and the answer of the orthodox appeals, among other interpreters, to Cyril: *καὶ Κύριλλος δὲ ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ὁ ὑπέρμαχος τῆς εἰλικρινοῦς ἡμῶν πίστεως σαφηνίζων ἡμῖν τὸ αὐτὸ ῥητὸν οὕτως διερμηνεύει· Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος ὁ μονογενὴς τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγος* (there follows a passage of some 18 lines).*

Cramer's Catenæ on the Epistles to the Corinthians (A.D. 1841) and Romans (A.D. 1844) first supplied sufficient material to prove the existence of continuous commentaries; for his Catena on 1 Corinthians contained sixty quotations from Cyril, his Bodleian Catena forty-four quotations for Ro 1-8, and his Munich Catena about seventy for Ro 7-16. Similar proof for 2 Corinthians (the epistle cited in the Second Nicene Council) was not long delayed, for the 3rd volume of Mai's *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*—the title-page of which bears the date 1845, though the year 1849 is mentioned in the preface—published from the Vatican Catena, MS gr. 762, a whole series of Cyrilline excerpts on Romans (pp. 1-47), 1 Corinthians (pp. 48-82), and 2 Corinthians (pp. 83-103), together with one fragment apiece from other sources for Galatians and Colossians; a Latin translation follows in part 2 of the same volume, pp. 1-67. For the first two epistles Mai had been largely anticipated by Cramer, since two of the latter's MSS (that on 1 Cor. and the Bodleian Catena on Romans) were descendants, collateral or direct, of Mai's Vatican MS; but for the latter chapters of Romans Mai's matter was partly, and for 2 Corinthians it was wholly, new.

A commencement of a comprehensive reissue of Cyril's works was made by the late P. E. Pusey, and the following portions had appeared when the work was prematurely cut short by his death in 1880: the commentary on the Minor Prophets (2 vols., Oxford, 1868), the commentary on St. John (3 vols., 1872), and two volumes of dogmatic treatises (1875, 1877). Happily for our present purpose, the third volume of the commentary on St. John was extended to include the remains of the commentaries on St. Paul: Romans (pp. 173-248), 1 Corinthians (pp. 249-319), 2 Corinthians (pp. 320-361, as well as Hebrews, pp. 362-440). This edition entirely supersedes those of Cramer (whose two MSS on the Romans were re-collated) and Mai; for it combines their material with additional fragments on the two Corinthian epistles from an early Catena in the monastery of Pantocrator on Mount Athos (see below, p. 522^b),* and with a few new fragments on Ro 1 (Pusey, pp. 173-175) drawn from a Vienna Catena (Karo and Lietzmann's No. vii.: see above, p. 489^a). Several important changes are also made in this edition in the matter of passages incorrectly ascribed to St. Cyril.†

From the Athos Catena the division of Cyril's commentaries on the two Corinthian epistles into *τόμοι* and *λόγοι* can to some extent be reconstructed, though it must of course be remembered that these 'tomes' and 'chapters' do not necessarily begin at the verses where they happen to be quoted. The following indications are supplied: 1 Co 6^{18} *ἐκ τοῦ γ′ τόμου*, 7^{21} *ἐκ τοῦ δ′* [MS ᴀ for Δ] *τόμου*, 10^1 *τόμος δ′ λόγος γ′*, 11^3 *τόμος δ′ λόγος δ′*, 12^3 *τόμος ϵ′ λόγος α′*, 14^2 *τόμος ϵ′ λόγος β′*, 14^{10} *τόμος ϵ′ λόγος γ′* [MS inverts the two numbers], 15^1 *τόμος ϵ′* [MS omits *ϵ′*] *λόγος δ′*, 15^{35} *ἐκ τοῦ ζ′ τόμου*. And for 2 Corinthians: 1^1 *τόμος α′ λόγος α′*, 1^{18} *τόμος α′ λόγος β′*, 3^4 *τόμος β′ λόγος α′*, 4^7 *τόμος γ′ λόγος α′*, 4^{16} *τόμος γ′ λόγος β′*, 5^5 *τόμος δ′ λόγος α′*. The Syriac fragments catalogued in the next paragraph testify, wherever they give details, to a similar arrangement: on 1 Co 15^{20} the 'fifth tome' is quoted, and on 15^{42} the 'seventh tome'; on 2 Co 5^3 the 'third tome,' and on 13^3 the 'fourth tome.'

The Greek evidence of which an account has so far been given would by itself create a strong presumption that Cyril had not commented on any but the longer epistles of St. Paul; for the diligence of Cramer, Mai, and Pusey, between them, has found nothing on the shorter epistles save two or three citations on Galatians and Colossians. But isolated citations from Fathers of great theological repute are presumably taken, as was shown on p. 498 above, from their dogmatic writings. Thus the Vienna Catena just referred to cites Cyril for the Epistle to the Romans, not only *ἐκ τοῦ ὕφους*,—'from the text of the commentary,' or perhaps we should best represent the words by translating them '*ad loc.*,'—but also from the *κατὰ Λουκᾶν*, from the *Θησαυρός*, from the *πρὸς Ἑρμίαν*, from the *Περὶ τῆς ἐν Πνεύματι λατρείας*, Book vi., and from the *κατὰ Ἰουλιανοῦ*. The *μία χρῆσις* in Cramer's Catena on Colossians (pp. 305, 340: see above, p. 507^b) is from the *Θησαυρός*,‡ and the two cited from a MS of Oecumenius on the same epistle (*op. cit.* p. 411) are from the *Περὶ τῆς ἐν Πνεύματι λατρείας*. And this conclusion is reinforced by the testimony of the Syriac manuscripts, where there is no trace of any commentary (apart from Hebrews) save those on the Roman and Corinthian epistles, though Cyril was of course an author much used in the Monophysite circles from which this Syriac literature comes to us. Even the commentary on Romans was but sparsely known: from the two Corinthian epistles the quotations are more numerous, as the following list of British Museum MSS will show:—

---

* The printed Oecumenius contained six quotations by name from Cyril on Romans, three on 1 Corinthians, one on 2 Corinthians, two on Galatians; but these might conceivably have been all culled out of his dogmatic writings.

* Unfortunately, a fresh element of confusion is introduced by the fact that the quotations from Vat. 762 and the Athos MS, though they tally in sense, rarely tally in words: the former appears to contain more Scripture citations, the latter more technical theology.

† Thus about a dozen of the passages quoted in the Munich Catena on Romans are identified as belonging to other writings of St. Cyril (the *ad Hermiam* and the *Thesaurus*), and three or four to other writers altogether—Chrysostom, Theodoret, Photius.

‡ The citation on p. 320 of Cramer headed *Κυρίλλου* belongs really to the *Homilies* of Chrysostom, *ad loc.*

Severus of Antioch against Julian: MS dcxc. (Add. 12158), A.D. 588, quotes Cyril on 1 Cor., foll. 11*a*, 26*b*; on 2 Cor., fol. 119*b*.
Monophysitc treatise: MS dccxcviii. (Add. 14535), sæc. ix. ineunt.: on 1 Cor., fol. 3*a*.
Catcnæ patrum (the last of the six exegetical, the rest doctrinal)—
  MS dccclvi. (Add. 14529), sæc. vii.–viii.: on (1 ?) Cor., fol. 20*a*.
  MS dccclvii. (Add. 12155), sæc. viii.: on 1 Cor., fol. 125*a*; on 'the epistles to the Corinthians,' foll. 63*a*, 68*b*.
  MS dccclviii. (Add. 14532), sæc. viii.: on 2 Cor., foll. 37*b*, 48*b*.
  MS. dcccclix. (Add. 14533), sæc. viii.–ix.: on 1 Cor., fol. 103*b*; on 2 Cor., foll. 53*a*, 59*b*.
  MS dccclxiii. (Add. 14538), sæc. x.: on 1 Cor., fol. 23*a*.
  MS dcccliii. (Add. 12144), A.D. 1081; on Rom., 1 Cor., 2 Cor.

No external data appear to exist which would enable us to date the commentaries on the three epistles. According to Bardenhewer (*Patrologie*^{2}, p. 321), the commentary on St. John is later than the outbreak of the Nestorian struggle, but earlier than the other NT commentaries. His ground for the latter statement appears to be that these commentaries represent a progressive advance in the direction of emphasis on the literal sense, which contrasts strongly with the book, for instance, on Worship in Spirit and Truth, where the Pentateuch is allegorically explained. It is, no doubt, true that we do find a mixture and combination of elements in the exegesis of the Epistles: for instance, in explaining Ro 8^{28} τοῖς κατὰ πρόθεσιν κλητοῖς, Cyril explains that one would not err in saying that some are called κατὰ πρόθεσιν τήν τε τοῦ κεκληκότος καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν. But it would seem premature to draw from these features any definite conclusion as to date; and there are not wanting, in the history of the Catenæ (see below, p. 522^{b}), indications which suggest that the commentaries of Cyril passed into circulation at no inconsiderable interval before those of Theodoret.

18. **Theodoret of Cyrrhus** (commentaries on all the Epistles).—

Theodoret, the younger contemporary of Cyril and typical representative of the orthodox Antiochene theology as Cyril of the orthodox Alexandrine, was born at Antioch in the latter part of the 4th cent., and became bishop of Cyrrhus in eastern Syria about A.D. 423: he died not many years after the Council of Chalcedon in 451. Like Cyril too, although his fame rests primarily on the share he took in the dogmatic controversies of his day, his own literary activity (to judge at least by those works of his which have been preserved) was more largely exegetical than either doctrinal or ecclesiastical or historical or apologetic, though his *Dialogues*, his *Letters*, his *Church History*, and his *Cure for Pagan Affections*, survive to show us what a many-sided theologian he was. Of the four volumes of Sirmond's edition (Paris, 1642), vols. i. and ii. are taken up with OT exegesis, and the first half of vol. iii. with the commentary on the Pauline epistles:[*] of the ten volumes (5 tomes, each in two parts) of J. L. Schulze's edition (Halle, 1769–1774), the first four are OT, the fifth (tom. iii. part 1) is our Pauline commentary (the editing of which was in fact done for Schulze by J. A. Noesselt), while the last two contain little more than dissertations and indexes.

The editions of Sirmond, to which Garnier added a supplementary volume in 1684, and of Schulze-Noesselt, which incorporates the material of both Sirmond and Garnier, have remained—with the exception of Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, vols. 80–84 (Pauline epistles in vol. 82, cc. 35–878)—the only collected editions of the works of Theodoret. But for his commentary on St. Paul the Oxford Library of the Fathers made a real advance towards a critical edition, though the standard reached may not have been so high as in Field's sister edition of Chrysostom (p. 506^{b}, above). Mr. Charles Marriott of Oriel College, to whom the task was entrusted, was, of all the Oxford Tractarians, perhaps the most deeply versed in Patristic scholarship. At the moment of the too early breakdown of his health, the first volume, containing Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, and Galatians, had already been issued (1852)[*]; the second and concluding volume was nearly complete, but the usual delays that attend posthumous publication prevented its appearing till 1870. A brief account of the editions of the text, and of the MSS used in them, is prefixed to the first volume. Sirmond appears to have used only one MS, but gives no details by which it can be identified. Noesselt used two: an 'Augustanus' which he called A—this is no other than the familiar Munich Catena on Ro 7^{7}–16—and a 'Bavaricus,' B, no doubt identical with Munich gr. 18, sæc. xvi.[†] Marriott took over Noesselt's material and his symbols A and B, but his main reliance was on two Paris MSS, coislin 82, sæc. xi. (C), and gr. 217, sæc. x. (D). By the help of the latter MS, brought from Constantinople to the Royal Library after Sirmond's day, a *lacuna* in the commentary on Galatians (2^{6-14}, pp. 336. 14–339. 20) was for the first time filled up. Marriott made use also of the printed Oecumenius, and of such of Cramer's Catenæ as contained material from Theodoret. Unfortunately, he restricted within very narrow limits the improvements he allowed himself to make upon Noesselt's text; nor was it easy to build up definitive results out of MSS so few in number as those he employed.

Unlike Chrysostom, and apparently unlike Theodore, Theodoret expounded the whole of the fourteen epistles on one scale and in a single work, to which is prefixed a common preface (προθεωρία) and a common title ([τοῦ μακαρίου] Θεοδωρήτου ἐπισκόπου Κύρου ἑρμηνεία τῶν ιδʹ ἐπιστολῶν τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Παύλου). To this difference in method and system between Theodoret and his predecessors corresponds a difference in the bulk of their respective expositions; for whereas Chrysostom's *Homilies* on St. Paul fill seven fairly thick octavo volumes, Theodoret's are all comprised within two quite thin ones. When Theodoret wrote, the reaction was probably already in full swing against what must have seemed the long-windedness of the older commentators—Origen, Chrysostom, even Theodore. There was a real gap to fill with an exposition of the literal sense, that should be less discursive and homiletic than Chrysostom's, less ambitiously conceived than Theodore's; and it could hardly have been filled better than by the commentary of Theodoret. In two succinct phrases he has sketched his plan and its limits: τὰς ἀφορμὰς ἐκ τῶν μακαρίων συλλέξω πατέρων· συντομίας δὲ ὅτι μάλιστα φροντιῶ.

An earlier passage in the preface indicates that the 'blessed Fathers' whom Theodoret especially followed were two in number: he might well, he says, be indicted for shameless audacity in setting his own hand to the 'interpretation of the Apostle,' μετὰ τὸν δεῖνα καὶ τὸν δεῖνα τοὺς τῆς οἰκουμένης φωστῆρας. That he is there referring to Chrysostom and Theodore is beyond question. It has been long recognized of his commentary 'que ce ne soit qu'un abrégé de Saint Chrysostome' (Simon, *Hist. Crit. des Commentateurs du NT*, p. 314): and, now that part of Theodore's work has been recovered, Simon's further divination, 'Je ne doute point qu'il n'ait aussi consulté les commentaires de Théodore de Mopsueste,' is abundantly verified; though at the same time it is to be remembered that Theodoret avoids carefully the less orthodox speculations of his predecessor, and indeed seldom, if ever, verbally reproduces him (Swete, *Theodore*, p. lxxvi). When, then, it is admitted that Theodoret's commentary, 'for appreciation, terseness of expression, and good sense, is perhaps unsurpassed,' and that 'if the absence of faults were a just standard of merit, it would deserve the first place' (Lightfoot, *Galatians*^{5}, p. 230), all and more than all is conceded which Theodoret would have wished to claim.

---

[*] Though this was the *editio princeps* of the original Greek of Theodoret on St. Paul, a Latin version by Gentianus Hervetus had been published as far back as 1552.

[*] Although Migne's edition was not published till 1864, it does not seem to have taken any account of this volume.

[†] This MS is not improbably a direct copy of a Venice MS of Theodoret on St. Paul, Marcianus 36, sæc. x.

To what period of Theodoret's life the commentary on St. Paul belongs, is a question which four cross-references to it in his own writings enable us to answer within comparatively narrow limits.

a. *Ep.* 1 is addressed to an (unfortunately) unnamed correspondent, to whom Theodoret had sent τὴν εἰς τὸν θεῖον Ἀπόστολον συγγραφεῖσαν βίβλον, and who had read it through and returned it without any expression of opinion about it. It would seem that the letter, if it did not even precede, must have immediately followed the publication of the commentary; but there is nothing whatever to fix its date.

β. In *Quæst.* 1 *in Leviticum* Theodoret gives a brief summary of some of his writings, mentioning those 'against the Greeks,' 'against Heresies,' 'against the Magi,' the 'interpretation of the Prophets,' and the 'notes on the Apostolic epistles,' τῶν ἀποστολικῶν ἐπιστολῶν ὑπομνήματα. Of these *Quæstiones* on the Octateuch we know that they were earlier than the *Quæstiones* on the Books of Kings; but as they are not mentioned in the next two lists, it is probable that they are themselves posterior to A.D. 440.

γ, *δ*. In two parallel and not far from contemporary letters (*Epp.* 82 *ad Eusebium Ancyranum* and 113 *ad Leonem ep. Romæ*, A.D. 448–449), Theodoret, under the stress of the early years of the Monophysite controversy, is appealing for assistance alike to East and West; and in both letters he reviews a number of his earlier works—books written 'either before the Synod of Ephesus, or at any rate not less than twelve years ago,' 'twenty years or eighteen years or fifteen years or twelve years ago'—as guarantees that the orthodox doctrine he now professed was no new thing with him. To Eusebius he says: 'I expounded all the Prophets, and the Psalter, and the Apostle; and I wrote long ago against Arians and Macedonians and Apollinaris and Marcion; and I composed a μυστικὴ βίβλος, and another on Providence, and yet another against the questions of the Magi, and the Life of the Saints, and many other books as well.' The list given to Leo is the same in substance, though different in order and in detail: 'I wrote against Arians and Eunomians; against Jews and Greeks; against the Magi in Persia; on Universal Providence; on Theology and the Divine ἐνανθρώπησις: I interpreted, by the grace of God, both the Apostolic writings (τὰ ἀποστολικὰ συγγράμματα) and the Prophetic oracles.'

In both these bare estimates of the writings of a single decade the commentary on St. Paul finds a place, and it would be unreasonable to reject the evidence that thus fixes it between A.D. 429 and 438. But the internal characteristics of the commentary enable us to go a step further and reduce this interval by some years. For Theodoret closes his comment on Col 2^9 (ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικεῖ πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος σωματικῶς) with the words θεὸς γάρ ἐστι καὶ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ τὸ ὁρώμενον τοῦτο πᾶσαν ἔχει ἡνωμένην τοῦ μονογενοῦς τὴν θεότητα, and he would hardly have thus expressed himself, until the progress of the Nestorian controversy had led the more moderate Antiochenes about A.D. 432 to adopt the terminology of the ἕνωσις as a definite guarantee of their orthodoxy.

19. Gennadius of Constantinople (commentaries on all the Epistles).—

Gennadius, patriarch of Constantinople from 458 till 471 A.D., was not only a supporter of the Council of Chalcedon and an opponent of the Monophysites, but had even in earlier life—during the interval between the Council of Ephesus in 431 and the Reunion in 433—written against the Twelve Articles of St. Cyril. Facundus, to whom we owe this information (*pro Defens. Trium. Capit.* ii. 4, ed. Sirmond, pp. 76–81), renders into Latin some specimens of Gennadius' controversial style (such as 'quales Cyrilli Aegyptii et quantas blasphemias incurri . . . anathematizaturus est te Deus, paries dealbate'), in order to contrast the censures meted out, for no stronger language about Cyril, to Theodoret and Ibas with the immunity enjoyed by 'sanctus Gennadius,' 'beatæ memoriæ Gennadius.' The theological tendencies of Gennadius being thus obviously Antiochene, it is natural to conclude that his affinities as an exegete would be of the same type; and it was in the domain of exegesis rather than of dogmatic theology that his special interests lay. Such at least is the impression left on us by the account of him in Gennadius of Marseilles, *de Viris Ill.* 90: 'Gennadius Constantinopolitanæ ecclesiæ episcopus, vir lingua nitidus et ingenio acer, tam dives ex lectione antiquorum fuit ut Danielem prophetam ex integro ad verbum commentatus exponeret; homilias etiam multas composuit.' The expression 'ex integro ad verbum' seems to imply that Gennadius found something to say on every word of his text; in any case, what was regarded as his most marked characteristic was his 'reading of the ancients,' that is, apparently, his knowledge of the works of earlier commentators. Gennadius in fact, like Isidore and Theodoret, belongs to the generation of exegetes intermediate between the more original writers on the one hand and mere catenists on the other,—to those who, either out of the whole bulk of existing commentaries, or from the one or two predecessors to whom they specially attached themselves, selected and abbreviated material which they combined in varying degrees with what was properly their own.

The published remains of Gennadius have been collected in Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 85, cc. 1611–1734; the department of exegesis is represented chiefly by Catena fragments on Genesis and on St. Paul. For the latter, Migne's only Greek sources were; (i.) the Catena of Oecumenius, which, in the printed text, ascribes to Gennadius five passages on Romans, four on 1 Corinthians, one on 2 Corinthians, two on Galatians, one on 2 Thessalonians; (ii.) the Catenæ of Cramer, of which the Bodleian Catena on Romans has 57 Gennadius citations, the Munich Catena on Romans 64 citations,* the Catena on 1 Corinthians two citations. Another

---

* Since the two Catenæ overlap for Ro 7^7–9^1, some of these citations occur twice over, and the total is therefore considerably less than the sum of 57+64. It is curious that no citations from Gennadius occur before Ro 5^{12}.

Catena can now be added to the list of those which use Gennadius, Karo and Lietzmann's No. vii. (*g* on p. 489^{a}, above), which appears to draw on him both directly and indirectly, *i.e.* both from the text of his commentary (ἐκ τοῦ ὕφους) and from earlier Catenæ. Since this Catena is also on the Romans (it breaks off at 1 Co 1^{12}), the mass of Gennadius material on that one epistle is so large compared with the mere fragments that have come down to us on the other twelve, that the question may arise whether, after all, Gennadius commented formally on any other epistle than the Romans. But there is more than one reason which makes any such suspicion untenable.

In the first place, the longer epistles are very much better represented in the known Catenæ than the shorter ones; and, so far as printed material enables us to judge, the range of authors employed is decidedly larger on the Roman even than on the Corinthian epistles. No doubt, the explanation of this may lie partly in the fact that more commentaries were actually accessible on the Romans than on the rest; we have seen, for instance, that the two Arian writers, Asterius and Eunomius, commented on that epistle only (pp. 498^{b}, 500^{b}): but it may also well be that among the original compilers, of whose labours our existing Catena MSS are the ultimate result, were some who started working at the first of the Epistles on a scale and with a thoroughness which were never equalled by the scholars who dealt, then or later, with the rest. For the seven epistles, Philippians–Philemon, no Catena material (besides Oecumenius) has yet been described other than the unique MS, Paris coislin gr. 204, printed by Cramer; and that Catena, since no name is cited in it later than Theodore of Mopsuestia, may actually have been put together in the first half of the 5th cent., before the commentaries of Gennadius, or even of Theodoret, had passed into circulation. In face, then, of the quotations in Oecumenius, few and scattered though they be, the absence of Gennadius material on these epistles in other sources might probably be discounted.

In the second place, we have definite external evidence which would outweigh the argument from silence, even if that were stronger than it is. The *Chronicle* of Marcellinus (a 6th century continuation, with special interest in Constantinople, of the *Chronicle* of Jerome), as printed in the earlier editions, concludes a notice of Gennadius, under the year 470, with the words 'et Pauli epistolas omnes exposuit.' It is true that these words are rejected by Mommsen (*Mon. Germ. Hist.*, *Chronica Minora*, ii. 56) as not part of the original Marcellinus; but they are found in the Bodleian MS of Marcellinus, written about A.D. 600, and they belong, therefore, at least to a very early recension. The correctness of the information is of course quite independent of the authorship of Marcellinus, and there is no reason at all for doubting it.

Gennadius, then, commented on all the Epistles. But it still remains true that our knowledge of his commentaries is practically confined to what Cramer's two Catenæ on the Romans have preserved for us; and to Cramer's volume we must turn if we are to get to closer quarters with the exegesis of Gennadius. The two characteristics which we have learnt so far to associate with him are Antiochene sympathies and wide reading in the literature of exegesis; and the Catena fragments bear ample testimony to both of them.

(*a*) The commentator's erudition is apparent. The quotation of Aquila's rendering of Is 8^{14} κατὰ τὴν ἔκδοσιν τοῦ Ἀκύλου . . . Αὐτὸς φόβημα ὑμῶν καὶ αὐτὸς θρόησις ὑμῶν καὶ ἔσται εἰς ἁγίασμα καὶ εἰς λίθον προσκόμματος καὶ εἰς πέτραν σκανδάλου, in illustration of Ro 9^{32} (Cramer, 367. 9–21), must be one of the latest instances of the use of the unauthorized Greek versions of the OT. And the references to previous expositors are quite unusually numerous, though unfortunately all anonymous; Ro 8^{34} (Cramer, 152. 2) οὐ γάρ, ὥς τινες ᾠήθησαν . . . : Ro 8^{37} (289. 31) τὸ ὙΠΕΡΝΙΚῶΜΕΝ οὕτως ἀπέδωκέ τις; Ro $9^{2.\,3}$ (161. 24) αὕτη μὲν οὖν ἡ τῆς προεκτεθείσης πίστεως* ἀκριβὴς ἑρμηνεία· κωλύει δὲ οὐδὲν καὶ τὴν δόξασαν ἑτέροις εἰπεῖν (where there can be no doubt that the 'others' are right and Gennadius wrong). In the middle of one long exposition of an earlier commentator's view (on Ro $9^{19ff.}$)—extending from 349. 30, ἕτερος δὲ τοῦτο οὕτως ἑρμήνευσεν, as far as 351. 1, ταῦτα πρὸς τοῦτο . . . ἀντειπών, ἑρμηνεύει λοιπὸν καὶ τῶν προτεθεισῶν ῥήσεων τὸν σκοπόν—occur the words ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὃ τινῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος τεθαύμακα, τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς σε, φίλτατέ μοι Πέτρε, βούλομαι διελθεῖν: and this address to 'dear Peter' is therefore not Gennadius' own, but is taken over with the rest of the passage from his source. What the source was, it would be interesting to know; the turn of the phrase suggests perhaps rather a letter than a formal commentary.

(*b*) In several directions the fragments betray the Antiochene temper of Gennadius' commentaries. He uses, if not so frequently as Theodore and Theodoret, the title ὁ δεσπότης Χριστός (Cramer, 63. 35; 410. 21; 478. 34). He speaks of the καινὴ κατάστασις (43. 15), and dwells with special emphasis on ζωή, ἀθανασία, ἀπάθεια (*e.g.* 50. 33; 56. 29; 60. 2; 117. 11; 118. 32; 146. 25). In commenting on Ro 8^{3} his Christology expresses itself in language which contrasts strongly with the more guarded and accurate phraseology of Diodore (Cramer, 124. 3–11) on the same passage: 123. 13, τὸν γὰρ υἱὸν πέμψας τὸν ἑαυτοῦ, σάρκα τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμῖν ἔχοντα παθητήν τε καὶ ἁμαρτεῖν ἐπιδεχομένην· ὉΜΟΊΩΜΑ γὰρ ϹΑΡΚῸϹ ἉΜΑΡΤΊΑϹ τὴν ἐνδεχομένην ἁμαρτῆσαι σάρκα φησίν, ὡς καὶ τὸ ἘΝ ὉΜΟΙΏΜΑΤΙ ἈΝΘΡΏΠΟΥ ΓΕΝΌΜΕΝΟϹ ἀντὶ τοῦ Γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος. So in the treatment of the problems raised in the Pelagian controversy: on Ro 5^{12} ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἥμαρτον, πάντες is equivalent, he writes (43. 1–11), to οἱ πολλοί, since, though it is true that all have died, it is not true that all have sinned; infants, for instance, οἱ οὔτε πράξεως οὔτε διακριτικῆς προαιρέσεως ὄντες ἐντός, πῶς ἂν εἶεν ὑπεύθυνοι πλημμελήματι;

As we should therefore expect, Gennadius shows himself to be no allegorizer, and devotes himself to the literal meaning. Special mention may be made of his notes on the 'idioms' of Scripture: Ro 7^{11} (93. 23=176. 7), on personifications κατὰ τὸ τῆς θείας ἔθος γραφῆς of abstractions such as Sin or Righteousness: Ro 7^{14} πεπραμένος (100. 13=186. 1), on the use of metaphors, according to the ἰδίωμα γραφικόν, without the introductory ὡς: Ro 8^{20} ἡ κτίσις (139. 8–19), on personifications of inanimate creatures: Ro $15^{5.\,6}$ ὁ δὲ θεός . . . τὸν θεὸν (499. 18–25), on repetition of the name of the subject (τὸν θεόν instead of αὐτόν) as an ἰδίωμα τῆς γραφῆς. Interesting specimens of an exegesis which is rather clear than deep may be found on the following passages: Ro 9^{1} (159. 4–162. 16), a summary of the Jewish position and of St. Paul's attitude towards it: Ro 13^{1} (458. 3–22), how the overflow of new life and power in the spiritual charismata of the primitive Church created a danger which called out the Apostle's exhortation to civil obedience and orderliness: Ro 14^{15-17} (482. 12–25), on the simplicity and effectiveness of every detail in the style of these verses.

With Isidore and Cyril, Theodoret and Gennadius, we have reached the close of the golden age of Greek exegesis. Of the three names that still remain for cursory notice, the first two, Theodore the Monk and John of Damascus, appear to have confined themselves exclusively to the task of compilation from previous commentators, while the third, the patriarch Photius, stands at the very limit of the Patristic period; and all three might perhaps have found a more appropriate place at an earlier point in this article (p. 485).

---

* So Cramer: Dr. Sanday suggests ῥήσεως.

20. Theodore the Monk (commentary on Romans?).—

In Cramer's Munich Catena on Ro 7^7–16 nearly forty citations are given under the name of an otherwise unknown exegete, *Θεοδώρου Μοναχοῦ*: and mention was made above (p. 510^b) of Fritzsche's analysis of these passages, from which it appeared that many of them are found elsewhere ascribed to Diodore, Theodore, or Theodoret. So large a proportion, indeed, recur as Theodore's (16 out of 39), that the doubt inevitably rises whether the *Θεοδώρου Μοναχοῦ* of the Munich catenist may not, after all, have been a misunderstanding of *Θεοδώρου Μο(ψουεστίας)*; but, tempting at first sight as this explanation is, it breaks down when confronted with the facts. It does not account for the Diodore passages;* of the fourteen citations from Theodore the Monk in that part of the epistle (Ro 7^7–9^1) which is covered also by the Bodleian Catena, four, indeed, reappear in the latter under the authorship of Theodore of Mopsuestia, but two, and parts of two more, under the authorship of Diodore.† And it is inconsistent with the introductory phrases under which Theodore the Monk ushers in his borrowed matter, for these betray at once the compiler's hand: thus Cramer, 175. 7, *τινὲς δέ φασι* (what follows is from Theod. Mops.): 248. 4 *ἕτερος δὲ ἀπεφήνατο* (from the same writer): 328. 25 and 379. 6, *ἔφη τις*: 417. 25, *ἔφη δέ τις περὶ τούτων καὶ οὕτως*. Less stress can be laid on the use of *ἤ*, *ἢ τάχα*, *ἢ καὶ οὕτως*, since nearly all commentators from time to time give alternative interpretations; but their relative frequency in Theodore the Monk serves to bear out the conclusion that the Munich catenist has stumbled somehow upon an unknown compiler, the staple of whose material was derived from writers of the Antiochene school, and principally, it would seem, from Diodore and Theodore. The anonymous form of his quotations, *τις*, *τινές*, *ἕτερος*, may be accidental, or it may conceal the desire to recommend the subject-matter of the two great expositors, who had fallen under the odium of Nestorian heresy, in quarters where suspicion might be awakened by the express mention of their names. There is nothing to show when the Monk lived; but the data on the whole point to the 6th century.

21. John of Damascus (commentary on all the Epistles).—

St. John Damascene belongs to the time—he was born about 685 and died about 760 A.D.—when Greek theology, though it had still to produce Theodore of Studium, was approaching the close of its creative era; and it was his unique work to sum up the results of previous thinkers in that domain and to combine them in a great constructive system. But theology cannot be divorced from New Testament exegesis, and systematic theology moved therefore on parallel lines with Catena compilations: in the West the author of the *Summa* was the author also of the *Catena Aurea*; and in the case of John of Damascus, side by side with the systematic treatise *On the Faith* may be set the commentary on the Pauline epistles which will be found in le Quien's edition of his works (Paris, 1712, vol. ii., pp. 1–274) or in Migne's reprint (*Patr. Gr.* 95, cc. 439–1034).

The very title of this work, as le Quien prints it, shows at once that John aims at nothing further than the selection of what is best and most authoritative in the exegesis of the past: *ἐκ τῆς καθόλου ἑρμηνείας Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου ἐκλογαὶ ἐν ἐπιτομῇ ἐκλεγεῖσαι παρὰ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ*. But the sources of the commentary are not, le Quien points out, confined in fact exclusively to Chrysostom. Although on the longer epistles John follows him closely, the case, it is said, is different with the shorter ones; attention is called to the note on Col 2^9, where, in the technical language of the Nestorian controversy, a merely 'relative' (*σχετικός* or *συναπτικός*) indwelling of the Word in Christ is expressly rejected: in the commentary on the epistles to the Ephesians, Colossians, Philippians, and Thessalonians, le Quien could find no trace at all of the use of Chrysostom, and according to the same authority the commentaries both of Cyril (to judge by the parallels in the Oecumenian Catena) and of Theodoret are exploited by John. An obvious objection to le Quien's view as thus stated is that we have seen reason to conclude (p. 515) that it was on the longer epistles only that Cyril wrote;* and a further analysis of John's commentary is all the more desirable, because it may probably be found to have exercised a dominant influence on later compilations such as those of Photius and Theophylact.

For this purpose, however, a new edition of the commentary would appear to be essential; le Quien based his text on an ancient but imperfect MS (Paris gr. 702 [=Reg. 2331], foll. 252–434, sæc. x.), and warns us in his preface 'codicem multis passim mendis scatere mutilumque esse, ut sensus sæpe impervius sit et obscurus.' But he had heard also of a MS at Patmos; and No. 61 (*ξα'*) of Sakkellion's new catalogue of the Patmos library (Athens, 1890) contains, in fact, the commentary of John. In its present condition this MS, which is attributed to the beginning of the 10th cent., has lost most of the commentary on Romans, and Sakkellion was therefore unable to fix the authorship; but the portions of the text which he prints, such as the argument for 1 Corinthians and the opening words of the commentary on the same epistle, are amply sufficient for the identification. In the Patmos MS, then, together with a re-collation of the Paris MS, material for the revision of the text is ready to hand.

It is interesting to note that, according to le Quien, the *lemmata* prefixed to the exposition give a text of the epistles which is not that used by St. Chrysostom—another reason for a new and completer edition.

22. Photius of Constantinople (commentaries on all the Epistles?).—

In the person of Photius (A.D. 820–891), statesman, ecclesiastic, scholar, exegete, the illustrious line of Greek writers on St. Paul that began with Origen finds a fitting close; and indeed his many-sided qualities and multifarious learning bring him, intellectually if not morally, into comparison rather with Origen than with any intermediate commentator. Considering the position of authority which Photius has enjoyed in the Byzantine Church, it is a little strange that his exposition of the Pauline epistles has neither been discovered in any direct MS tradition, nor yet extracted from the Catenæ and separately collected either in the volumes of Migne (*Patr. Gr.* 101–104) or in the Greek edition of Photius' works at present in process of issue. Yet the material is abundant, and could easily be worked, as the following conspectus will show.

---

* Theodoret appears to come into the question only through the mistake of Cramer's index; the last three passages there ascribed to Theodorus Monachus are given in the text as *Θεοδωρήτου*.

† *Diodore*: Cramer, 188. 19=105. 4; 199. 19=114. 16; 212. 30 =120. 17; 226. 29=128. 21. *Theodore*: Cramer, 175. 7=94. 6; 202. 22=116. 10; 239. 32=131. 6; 248. 6=135. 30 and 137. 19.

* If John could be shown to have used Cyril through the medium of the Oecumenian Catena, this would constitute a further proof of the early date which recent discoveries (see p. 523, below) have vindicated for Oecumenius.

(*a*) A later recension of the Oecumenian Catena (see p. 488^{b}, above) distinguishes itself from the original work exactly by a large use of Photius; in Karo and Lietzmann's specimen (Ro $7^{8ff.}$) four passages are taken from Photius as against twelve from all other writers. The principal MSS known to give this recension are: at Milan, Ambros. D 541 inf., sæc. x.; at Rome, Vat. Palat. gr. 204, sæc. x.; at Venice, Marcianus 33, sæc. xi. In these MSS the Photius passages are incorporated in the text: other methods of grafting the new matter on to the Oecumenian stock are illustrated (i.) by Paris coislin 27, sæc. x., where the Photius passages are inserted in the margin by the second hand; and (ii.) by Oxford Magd. Coll. gr. 7, sæc. xi. ineunt. (containing, however, only Romans and 1 and 2 Corinthians),[*] which adds at the end of each epistle *τὰ λείποντα*, that is to say, a large number of quotations from Photius and a small number from Gennadius.

(*b*) Though these Oecumenian MSS would be the principal means of the reconstruction of the commentaries of Photius, yet for the longer epistles considerable assistance would be given by other Catenæ. The Catena of Vat. gr. 762, so far as we can restore it from Cramer's texts, should contain something from Photius on Romans, and a good deal on 1 Corinthians. Cramer's Munich Catena on Ro 7^{7}–16 has about 25 quotations from him. Karo and Lietzmann's Vienna Catena (*g* on p. 489, above) cites him 'sæpius,' but apparently from an earlier Catena rather than direct from the text of his commentary, and perhaps only through the Photian recension of Oecumenius.

Since Photius' literary activity falls in the second half of the 9th cent., and five out of the Catena MSS just enumerated belong to the 10th or 11th cent., there is a fair presumption that his text could be restored from them with tolerable correctness; and the attempt would be worth the making. But it is not possible to say, without further analysis of the quotations from him than has yet been undertaken, whether the result would contribute—in the measure in which an edition of John of Damascus, for instance, ought to contribute—to our knowledge of that exegetical tradition of the earlier centuries which it is the purpose of this article to illustrate.

23. *ADDENDUM* (to p. 489^{b}, above). **Clement of Alexandria** (notes on all the Epistles?).—

The series of commentators on the Pauline epistles should have included the name of Clement; for the express evidence of Photius makes certain, what is indeed already implied by Eusebius, that the lost Ὑποτυπώσεις or *Outlines* included notes on the Epistles.[†] Eusebius tells us (*HE* vi. 14, § 1) that 'in the *Hypotyposes* Clement gave concise accounts (*ἐπιτετμημένας πεποίηται διηγήσεις*) of the whole of canonical Scripture, including such doubtful books as Jude and the other Catholic epistles and Barnabas and the so-called Apocalypse of Peter'; and he adds some few details about Clement's treatment of the Epistle to the Hebrews and of the Gospels. Photius testifies more clearly (cod. 109) to the exegetical side of the work: of the three writings of Clement, presbyter of Alexandria, *Hypotyposes*, *Stromateus* (*sic*), and *Pædagogus*, the *Hypotyposes* 'contain discussions on selected verses (*διαλαμβάνουσι περὶ ῥητῶν τινῶν*) up and down both Testaments, in the form of a summary exposition and interpretation' (*ὧν καὶ κεφαλαιωδῶς ὡς δῆθεν ἐξήγησίν τε καὶ ἑρμηνείαν ποιεῖται*). Photius proceeds to criticise the theology of the *Hypotyposes* from the standpoint of Byzantine orthodoxy, and concludes thus: 'All these things he attempts to establish from phrases found here and there in Scripture; and there are countless other follies and blasphemies committed either by Clement himself or by some one who has usurped his name. This blasphemous nonsense occupies eight volumes: the author continually repeats himself, and distorts his texts (*παράγει τὰ ῥητά*) promiscuously and indiscriminately like a lunatic. Speaking roughly, the general scheme of the work consists of explanations (*ὁ δὲ ὅλος σκοπὸς ὡσανεὶ ἑρμηνεῖαι τυγχάνουσι*) of Genesis, Exodus, the Psalms, the epistles of Saint Paul, the Catholic epistles, and Ecclesiastes.'[*]

Though both Eusebius and Photius have something to say about the *Hypotyposes*, neither of them has preserved much of its actual words: it is to a Western scholar that we owe the only considerable portion which survives. We have already seen (in connexion with Cyril of Alexandria, p. 515^{a}) that Cassiodorus named Clement—no doubt with reference to the *Hypotyposes*—at the head of those Greek commentators who had explained the whole of both Testaments: and when he comes to deal with the Catholic epistles (*Inst. Div. Litt.* 8) he tells us that Clement 'quædam Attico sermone declaravit' about 1 Peter, 1 and 2 John, and James; that in expounding them he said many things that were acute, but a few that were over-hasty; and that therefore he himself had arranged for the commentary to be rendered into Latin in such a way that Clement's teaching, strained free of some small causes of offence, might be fearlessly absorbed. About the identity of this translation with the extant *Adumbrationes Clementis Alexandrini in epistolas canonicas*—although the four epistles actually expounded there are 1 Peter, 1 and 2 John, and (not James but) Jude—there can be as little real doubt as about the intended equivalence of *Adumbrationes* to Ὑποτυπώσεις.

Zahn's text of these *Adumbrationes* covers only fourteen pages in all; and though it must be borne in mind that Cassiodorus ordered the omission of certain passages of the original, it would seem that Photius was abundantly justified in speaking of the exegesis as 'summary' and 'select' (*κεφαλαιωδῶς, ῥητά τινα*). A commentary which ranged over the whole Bible in eight 'books' must needs have been of the nature of an epitome. In fact it becomes clear that, side by side with the tradition of lengthy and detailed exposition, which had its rise among the Gnostics (Basilides, as we know, devoted twenty-four books of *Exegetica* to 'the Gospel') and was taken up and developed in the commentaries of Origen, another and very different method, modelled possibly on Papias' 'Exposition of the Sayings of the Lord,' can claim an equal or almost equal antiquity. Origen himself was no stranger to the system of interpretation by 'scholia' or notes: see above, in connexion with the Roman, Corinthian, and Galatian epistles, pp. 492, 493. Among early commentaries on the canonical Gospels, that of Victorinus on St. Matthew is described by Cassiodorus in the phrase 'de quo [*sc* Matthæo] et Victorinus . . . nonnulla disseruit' (*Inst. Div. Litt.* 7): nor does the work of Hippolytus on the same Gospel appear to have contained anything like a continuous exposition.[†]

---

[*] The second half of the Magdalen College MS is in the Cambridge University Library, Ff i. 30; and the arrangement of it is the same.

[†] On this subject the indispensable monograph is Th. Zahn's *Forschungen zur Geschichte des NTlichen Kanons und der altkirchlichen Literatur*, iii.: 'Supplementum Clementinum,' pp. 64–103, 130–156.

[*] Not Ecclesiasticus: see Zahn, p. 66, n. 1.

[†] See a paper by the present writer, 'An Exegetical Fragment of the Third Century,' in *JThS* v. 218–241 (especially pp. 225–227), Jan. 1904.

Twelve comments on passages in the Pauline epistles are directly cited from the *Hypotyposes* (Zahn, *op. cit.* pp. 66–77; Preuschen in Harnack, *Altchr. Litteratur* 303–305): eleven of these occur in the Catena of Oecumenius, and one in the *Pratum Spirituale* of John Moschus (died A.D. 620). The formula of quotation in the latter case is Κλήμης ὁ Στρωματεὺς ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ τόμῳ τῶν Ὑποτυπώσεων. . . τὸ ἀποστολικὸν ῥητὸν ἐξηγούμενος τὸ λέγον εὐχαριστῶ κ.τ.λ. (1 Co 1^{14}). The references in Oecumenius are not merely marginal ascriptions of authorship, such as are given to other authors in this Catena, but are part of the text itself, and in every case but one are appended and not prefixed to the quotation: οὕτως ὁ Κλήμης ἐν τετάρτῳ[*] [once ἐν δ′], ἐν πέμπτῳ, ἐν ἑβδόμῳ [once ἐν ζ′] Ὑποτυπώσεων. It is natural to conclude from this that Oecumenius drew direct from Clement himself rather than through the agency of a Catena.

Five different epistles are represented in Oecumenius' quotations: 1 Corinthians (11^{10} διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους), 2 Corinthians (5^{16} 6$^{11.\,12}$), Galatians (5^{24}), 1 Timothy (2^{6} καιροῖς ἰδίοις, 3^{16} ὤφθη ἀγγέλοις, 5^{8} τῶν ἰδίων καὶ μάλιστα οἰκείων, 5^{10} εἰ ἁγίων πόδας ἔνιψε, 5^{21} χωρὶς προκρίματος, 6^{13} τοῦ μαρτυρήσαντος ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου), and 2 Timothy (2^{2} διὰ πολλῶν μαρτύρων). The comments on both Corinthian epistles are quoted from the 4th book; that on Galatians from the 5th book; those on 1 and 2 Timothy from the 7th book. Zahn points out (pp. 150, 156) that Clement, like the Muratorian Canon, appears to have drawn a marked line between the epistles to Churches, which he expounded in the 4th and 5th books of the *Hypotyposes*, and the personal epistles, which are dealt with in the 7th, the Pauline series being interrupted in the intermediate book by notes on the Acts and perhaps also on the Gospels.

To these twelve passages from Oecumenius and Moschus it is possible that several more should be added from other Catenæ. Neither Zahn nor Preuschen seems to mention the fact that Cramer's Munich Catena on Romans contains three citations (on Ro 8^{39} 10$^{2.\,3}$ 10^{5}), and his Catena on 1 Corinthians two citations (on 1 Co 1^{20} 1^{21}), under the heading Κλήμεντος; while the Catena of Vat. gr. 692, so Dr. Mercati informs the present writer, contains at least five. It is probable that some of these came from the *Hypotyposes.*

As the example of the Latin *Adumbrationes* would lead us to expect, these comments of Clement on St. Paul are brief—for the most part very brief. The exegesis is of course predominantly allegorical. The ἄγγελοι of 1 Co 11^{10} are 'righteous and virtuous men': according to one interpretation (not, however, finally accepted) of Gal 5^{24}, Christians are the σὰρξ Χριστοῦ, and the whole verse means 'there is no law against such as have crucified the flesh of Christ,' *i.e.* their own body: in 2 Ti 2^{2} the πολλοὶ μάρτυρες are the Law and the Prophets, cited regularly by the Apostle as 'witnesses' to the contents of his preaching. But the *Hypotyposes* also—in this again resembling the work of Papias—adduce traditions of Apostolic history in explanation of the sacred text: such matter was hardly to the purpose of catenists, but Eusebius has preserved a few bearing on other NT books, and the solitary quotation in John Moschus is of this character. Clement, he tells us, in expounding 1 Co 1^{14}, 'relates that Christ is said to have baptized Peter only, Peter to have baptized Andrew, Andrew to have baptized John and James, and they the rest.'

iv. SUMMARY OF UNPUBLISHED OR INADEQUATELY PUBLISHED MS MATERIAL.—The aim of the present section is to point out the lines along which it is likely that the labours of the next generation of scholars could be most profitably directed, with a view to our further knowledge of the Patristic writings enumerated in this article. The material groups itself naturally under four headings: A. Anonymous Catenæ; B. Catenæ of known authorship; C. Original commentators as preserved in the Catenæ; D. Commentators whose text is preserved independently of Catenæ. Thus three of the four headings of the section are concerned, directly or indirectly, with Catenæ; and that fact is enough of itself to foreshadow the predominant part which will belong in the immediate future to this branch of research. To a large extent the following paragraphs will do no more than focus the results of preceding sections, and bring into one comprehensive scheme the isolated points that have already been indicated at various stages of the inquiry: but fuller details will be given here than was possible above about the more important Catena MSS; and, in a few cases where for one reason or another there had been no previous opportunity for introducing it, the matter is entirely new (see A 4 and 5, p. 522^{b}, and B 1, p. 523^{a}).

A. *Anonymous Catenæ.*—

1. The most ancient of the Pauline Catenæ, to judge by the limitation of its sources, is the Paris MS, coislin 204, sæc. x. (311 folios), from which Cramer published his Catena on the eleven epistles, Galatians-Hebrews (Karo and Lietzmann's No. iv.). The Fathers regularly cited are Origen (on the Ephesians), Eusebius of Emesa (on the Galatians), and, throughout, John Chrysostom, Severian, and Theodore of Mopsuestia: while Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, and Cyril are quoted once each on the Colossians. Putting aside the Epistle to the Hebrews—the Catena on which may perhaps have had a separate origin and history—there is nothing later than the first half of the 5th century, and, if we except the one passage from Cyril, nothing later than the first years of that century. Cramer employed a 'scriba Parisiensis' to copy out the MS for him, and expresses in his preface the fear that the copyist 'non semper codicis lectionem vere repræsentaverit.' How well justified his fears were, the re-collation of the Origen comments on Ephesians for Mr. Gregg's edition in *JThS* iii. (1902) abundantly demonstrated. The Theodore, too, was re-collated for Dr. Swete's edition; but for the remaining Fathers, and especially for Severian, Cramer's edition is still our only authority, and for critical purposes it is quite valueless. See, for previous references to this Catena, pp. 487^{a} (Cramer); 488^{b} (Karo-Lietzmann); 493^{b}, 494^{a}, 495^{b}, 496^{a} (Origen); 498^{b} (Eusebius of Emesa); 499^{a} (Basil and Greg. Naz. on Col 1^{15}); 507^{b} (Severian); 510$^{a\text{-}b}$, 511^{a} (Theodore of Mopsuestia); 515^{b} (Cyril); 518^{a} (absence of Theodoret and Gennadius).

2. Next perhaps in antiquity of origin, and not inferior in the importance of its contents, comes the Vatican Catena, gr. 762, sæc. x., an enormous MS of 411 folios; the Catena for Romans commencing on fol. 1*a*, that for 1 Corinthians on fol. 218*a*, and for 2 Corinthians on fol. 340*a*.[*] The handwriting is very fine: the blank spaces left, *e.g.*, on foll. 343, 350, show that the exemplar of that part at any rate of the MS could no longer be deciphered, and was probably, therefore, already an old MS when it was being copied in the 10th century.

---

[*] The comment on 1 Co 11^{10} is in the printed text of Oecumenius given as ἐν τρίτῳ; but Zahn points out that the Bodleian MS, Auct. T. i. 7, cited on p. 465 of Cramer's Catena on the Corinthian epistles, reads ἐν τετάρτῳ, and this is doubtless right.

[*] For many new details about the Vatican Catenæ, and for an important reference in the case of Oecumenius, the writer is indebted to the unwearied kindness of his friend Dr. Mercati, of the Vatican Library.

In Karo-Lietzmann it is No. i. ; their list of the authors cited is divided, according to their custom, into two classes : the first (at least 10 citations apiece) includes Apollinaris, Cyril, Didymus, Diodore, Gennadius, John Chrysostom, Oecumenius, Origen, Photius, Severus of Antioch,* Severian, Theodore, Theodoret ; the second consists of Acacius of Cæsarea (4 times on Romans), Basil (3 times on Romans), Clement (twice on 1 Corinthians), Dionysius the Areopagite (once on 1 Corinthians), Gregory Nyssen (once each on Romans and 1 Corinthians), Isidore (5 times), Methodius (once on 1 Corinthians), Theodulus chorepiscopus (once on Romans). This account is, however, not quite exhaustive, and omits, for instance, a *scholion* on fol. 403*b*, written in smaller characters but by the original scribe, under the heading Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπισκόπου Νικαίας. Alexander of Nicæa lived in the first half of the 10th cent., and may conceivably have been the editor of the Catena in its present form. Both Oecumenius and Photius are laid under contribution : the passages taken from the latter are considerable both in number and length. Where both of them are cited together, Oecumenius always comes first.

Of the two late MSS of parts of this Catena which alone were at Cramer's disposal—Paris gr. 227 and Bodl. Auct. E. ii. 20 (=Miscell. gr. 48)—the latter, on the ground of its rather curious history, may claim a few words here.

MS Bodl. Auct. E. ii. 20, containing in a 16th century hand a Catena on Ro 1^1–9^1, was presented to the Library in 1659 by S. Cromleholme, master of St. Paul's School in London ; at an earlier date, in 1601, it had been given to Dr. G. Ryves, warden of New College, by John Lloyd (Johannes Luidus), rector of Writtle in Essex. Lloyd's inscription on the fly-leaf is headed 'Ex manubiis Gaditanis,' indicating that the MS was part of the spoils of the Earl of Essex's Spanish expedition in 1596 ; but whether it was taken in the sack of Cadiz itself, or formed part of the library of bishop Osorio of Algarve, which is known to have fallen into Essex's hands on the homeward journey,† cannot be said for certain. At the end of the text on the last leaf is the word λείπει ; and on the following guard-leaf, in different ink but perhaps in the same handwriting as the body of the MS, are epitaphs by John Lascaris (see above, p. 485^b) on himself and on his wife Catherine. These two epitaphs were actually inscribed on Lascaris' tomb in the church of S. Agata dei Goti at Rome ; and since, in the MS, they are separated by a floriated cross, such as one might expect on a tombstone, it looks as if they had been actually copied *in situ*. If so, the presumption is strong that the MS itself was written in Rome, and that Vat. gr. 762 was its direct exemplar.

See above, for these MSS, pp. 487 (Cramer and Mai) ; 488^b (Karo-Lietzmann) ; 492, 493^a (Origen) ; 499^b (Didymus) ; 501^a (Diodore) ; 510 (Theodore of Mopsuestia) ; $514^{a,b}$ (Isidore) ; 515^a (Cyril) ; 517^b (Gennadius) ; 520^a (Photius) ; 521^a (Clement).

3. More importance than the brief account in Karo-Lietzmann (No. iii., *op. cit.* p. 601) would suggest seems to attach to the Catena on the Corinthian, Galatian, and Ephesian epistles contained in Vat. gr. 692, foll. 1–93. These scholars attribute the MS to the 12th cent., and name Cyril, John Chrysostom, Oecumenius, Origen, Severus, Theodoret, Theodore, and (on 2 Corinthians) 'Δι,' as the writers more frequently cited ; Clement, Gennadius, Isidore, and Gregory Nyssen as cited respectively three times, twice, twice, and once. But the date should be moved back to sæc. x.-xi. ; the names of Nicolas, Methodius, Basil, Eusebius, Photius should be added to the list of Fathers cited ; from Clement of Alexandria not three only, but at least five quotations are made ; Di(dymus) is very common on 2 Corinthians ; Severian is once named in full (fol. 59*a*), and the substitution of this Father's name for Karo and Lietzmann's Sev(erus), proposed on p. 489^a above, is thus amply justified. On many occasions the catenist compares expressly the views of different authors—*e.g.* Clement, Eusebius of Cæsarea, Gregory Nazianzen, Chrysostom, Severian, Theodoret, Cyril—and sometimes adds to his authors' names precise references to their books. On comparing this Catena with the last, Vat. gr. 762, for the Corinthian epistles, it results that the quotations common to both are briefer in 692 than in 762 : and this is what the relative bulk of the two MSS would lead us to expect.

See above, pp. 489^a (Karo-Lietzmann) ; 507^b (Severian) ; 521^a (Clement) ; too little was known of this Catena for full use to be made of it in the foregoing pages.

4. The most important addition that has to be made to Karo-Lietzmann's list of Pauline Catenæ is a MS that has once been mentioned above (p. 515^b), in connexion with Pusey's edition of Cyril of Alexandria—Athos Pantocrator cod. 28. According to the catalogue of Sp. Lambros (i. 95), the MS is of the 9th cent., and contains the (Acts and) Pauline epistles, the names most frequently cited being Isidore of Pelusium, John Chrysostom, Severian, Diodore of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Apollinaris. Photographs of eleven pages of this MS, covering 1 Co 7^{34}–11^{11}, were taken by Prof. Kirsopp Lake, and are now in the Bodleian (MS gr. th. f. 8) : the principal authors in these pages are Chrysostom, Severian, Cyril, and Theodore of Mopsuestia. The absence of Theodoret is noticeable ; and as all the eight writers known to be used in the Catena are earlier than Theodoret, it is possible that its origin goes back to the period anterior to the publication of his commentary. If that is so, it ranks with our earliest Catenæ ; but a serious drawback to its value is that the evidence of its Cyril texts (see above, note on p. 515^b) seems to suggest that the catenist may have not only abbreviated but otherwise re-cast the passages he extracted from his sources.

5. Patmos σξγ′ (=No. 263, p. 127 of Sakkellion's catalogue), sæc. x., is described as containing, on foll. 1–119, not a continuous commentary, but a series of notes on the Acts and some of the Catholic and Pauline epistles (2 Cor., Eph., Phil., Col., 1 and 2 Thess., 1 and 2 Tim., Titus), with an unusually extensive range of authorities : Athanasius, Ambrose, Anastasius of Antioch, Apollinaris, Archelaus the bishop, Basil, Cæsarius, Cyril of Alexandria and of Jerusalem, Eusebius, Gennadius, Gregory Nazianzen and Nyssen, Hyp(atius ?), Irenæus, [Isidore] the Pelusiote, John Chrysostom, John [Damascene], Josephus, Leontius the Monk, Maximus the Monk, Methodius of Patara, Origen, Severian, Theodore, Theodoret. From the specimens given in the catalogue it would seem that the quotations are, for the most part, so brief as to promise little in the way of profitable result.

Of other anonymous Catenæ, the editing of Cramer's Munich Catena on Romans appears to be a much better piece of work than that of his Paris Catena on the shorter epistles : to Karo-Lietzmann's account of their No. vii. Catena, from Vienna, the present writer has nothing to add : of their No. viii. something will be said below, at the end of the account of Oecumenius, p. 524^a.

---

* If this is correct, and not really a confusion with Severian, the last note on p. 507^b above should be modified. But, in the case of the Catena next to be mentioned, Karo and Lietzmann have wrongly expanded Σευ into Severus instead of Severian.

† Of the many books which came by gift from Essex to the Bodleian in A.D. 1600 a considerable number were printed in Spain and Portugal.

B. *Catenæ of known authorship.*—

1. Those who have followed down to this point the argument of the present article will have gathered that the origin of the Catenæ in general is to be looked for in a more remote age than it has been customary to ascribe to them. In particular, the Catena of Oecumenius (see pp. 485, 486^{a}, 488^{b}) is to be placed not, as hitherto, after the time of Photius, but before it. Recent investigations tend still further to accelerate this backward movement, and make it probable that the true date of Oecumenius is about 600 A.D.

In a 12th cent. MS at Messina, cod. S. Salvatoris 99, a complete commentary on the Apocalypse under the name of Oecumenius has been lately found by a German scholar, Fr. Diekamp of Münster (see a paper by him in *Sitzungsberichte der k. preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Berlin, 1901, pp. 1046–1056); and the internal evidence of the commentary is sufficient to establish roughly both the date and the theological standpoint of the writer. The comment on 1^{1} *ἐν τάχει* states that ‘a period of more than 500 years had elapsed’ since the date of St. John's vision. The Christology is Cyrilline or even Severianist rather than Chalcedonian: *ἓν πρόσωπον καὶ μίαν ὑπόστασιν καὶ μίαν ἐνέργειαν* is the nearest approach to a formulated doctrine of the Incarnation. The writer was therefore, if not actually a Monophysite, at any rate one of those who still sought for a common ground with Monophysitism.

Diekamp somewhat hastily concludes that his discovery is fatal to the genuineness of the Oecumenian Catena on St. Paul, in which he would see only the work of a later compiler excerpting Oecumenius in precisely the same way as he excerpted other ancient authorities. But neither of his reasons will stand examination.

α. ‘Photius is used in the Oecumenian Catena; but Photius lived in the 9th cent., and the real Oecumenius cannot therefore have quoted him.’ But it has been shown above (p. 488^{b}), following Karo-Lietzmann, that it is not the original Oecumenius, but a later recension only, which makes use of Photius.

β. ‘Oecumenius’ work on the Apocalypse is a commentary, not a Catena; but the so-called Oecumenius on St. Paul is a Catena, not a commentary.’ The argument is specious rather than sound. For, in the first place, Oecumenius on St. Paul is not quite a Catena on the ordinary model: see p. 485^{b} above. In the second place, Diekamp sufficiently answers himself when he shows that Oecumenius is the earliest of the Greek commentators on the Apocalypse: if there were no commentators before him, it is difficult to see how he could have compiled a Catena. Of the two other ancient Greek commentators known to us, Arethas of Cappadocian Cæsarea wrote about A.D. 900, Andrew considerably earlier. That Arethas is found by Diekamp to make use of both Oecumenius and Andrew, is only what we should expect of a scholar as profoundly versed as Arethas in Patristic learning (cf. p. 492^{a}, above); but Diekamp also makes it clear, first that Andrew and Oecumenius are not independent of one another, and secondly that it was Andrew who used Oecumenius, and not *vice versâ*. In his comments on 4^{5} 6^{1} 9$^{5.\,15}$ Andrew introduces the explanations of *τινὲς* or *τις τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν*; and in every case the explanation so introduced is found in Oecumenius. Especially cogent is the case of *μῆνας πέντε* in 9^{5}, because there Oecumenius, after balancing the ‘apocatastasis’ doctrine of the Origenist Evagrius with the more rigid eschatology of other writers, compromises on a doctrine of punishment which should be eternal indeed in duration, but after the ‘five months’ modified in intensity (*ὑφειμένως*). When, then, we find Andrew quoting with the formula *τινὲς ἔφησαν* the very conclusion at which Oecumenius had painfully arrived by way of compromise, it would be unreasonable to doubt that Oecumenius is the source on which Andrew draws.

But if Oecumenius on the Apocalypse quotes no predecessors for the simple reason that he had no predecessors to quote, he does as a matter of fact approach the method of Oecumenius on St. Paul by not infrequent references to the Fathers generally. Cyril is quoted four times; Gregory Nazianzen and Eusebius, twice each; Aquila, Josephus, Clement (the *Stromateis*), Gregory Nyssen, and Evagrius, once each. The commentator on the Apocalypse and the commentator on St. Paul are equally versed in Patristic literature, and employ it equally in the measure appropriate to the two works. It may be added that, while the former is, as has been seen, rather Cyrilline than Chalcedonian in the expression of his Christology, the latter too appears to have worked on anti-Nestorian lines; for the Catena on St. Paul never once cites Theodore of Mopsuestia, and, considering the number of names adduced in it, this omission can hardly be accidental. On internal evidence, therefore, there is no reason at all to question their identity.

The external evidence to the commentary of Oecumenius on the Apocalypse is confined to a single quotation in a Syriac *Catena Patrum* of the 7th cent. (Brit. Mus. Add. 17214 = Wright cod. dccclv., fol. 72*b*). In this MS, which is a collection of explanations of Bible passages, the principal authority employed is Severus of Antioch, and Theodore of Mopsuestia is cited as ‘Theodore the heretic’: its Monophysite leanings are therefore clear, and we are not surprised to find that Oecumenius, in the phrase with which the quotation from him is introduced, is brought into close connexion with Severus: ‘Of Oecumenius, a diligent man, and one who is very orthodox, as the letters of the patriarch Mar Severus which are written to him show: From the sixth book of those composed by him about the Revelation of John the Evangelist.’ If the Syriac writer is correct, Oecumenius the commentator on the Apocalypse was a favoured correspondent of the great Monophysite, and must therefore have been of mature age before the death of Severus, *circa* A.D. 540: so that the internal evidence of the commentary, both as to date and as to the theological affinities of its author, would be carried somewhat further by the Syriac catenist. But among all the extant correspondence of Severus the only person bearing the name of Oecumenius is a Count to whom Severus addressed two dogmatic letters before A.D. 512: and it is probable, therefore, that the Syriac writer has blundered in identifying the commentator with the correspondent, for the interval of ‘more than 500 years’ since the vision of the Apocalypse is inconsistent with anything earlier than the second half of the 6th century. At the same time, the fact that the mistake could be made suggests that the commentary was not quite a new thing when the Syriac MS was written. We shall hardly err in placing the commentary on the Apocalypse about 600, and the Catena on St. Paul within the limits 560–640.

Of the original non-Photian form of the Oecumenian Catena on St. Paul the following MSS in Karo-Lietzmann's list (*op. cit.* p. 605) are attributed to the 10th century:

i. Paris coislin 95, foll. 348.
ii. Vatic. gr. 766, foll. 249.
iii. Oxford Bodl. Roe 16, foll. 255.
iv. Venice Marcianus 546, foll. 59–205 (but foll. 134–173, Gal 3^{21}–1 Ti 4^{10}, are a later insertion).

v. Milan Ambros. C 295 inf., foll. 190.
vi. Florence Laurent. plut. x. 6, foll. 286.
vii. Paris gr. 224, foll. 1–222 (contains also the Apocalypse).
viii. Paris coislin 224, foll. 151–328 (contains also Acts, Cath. Epp., Apoc.).
ix. Vatic. gr. 1430, foll. 267.
x. Vatic. Palat. gr. 10, foll. 268.
xi. Athens 100, foll. 377 (1 Co 15^{29}–He 11^{37}).

Of these eleven MSS the first five are, so far as can be gathered, homogeneous in the matter which they contain. No data are given about the last two; the remaining four, Nos. vi.–ix. (save that No. viii. perhaps contains only excerpts), while agreeing with the first five for all the anonymous citations in Oecumenius, differ from them with regard to the (in number much fewer) named citations, which they either transpose or, more rarely, omit. Both classes of MSS give the anonymous citations in one and the same continuous series marked by Greek numerals; and the choice appears to lie between the hypothesis that the named citations, though they entered into the Catena long before the Photian matter, are yet no part of the original Oecumenius, and the more probable hypothesis that in the original form of the Catena the named citations were separated in some way from the continuous series of the anonymous citations,—perhaps by being written in the margin,—and so were exposed, in the course of the propagation of the text, to special danger of either transposition or omission.

Another Catena, Vatic. gr. 1270, which is treated as an independent Catena in Karo-Lietzmann's scheme (*op. cit.* No. viii. p. 610), should perhaps, as was suggested on p. 489^a, above, be treated as belonging to the Oecumenian group. This MS, which was written in southern Italy about A.D. 1100, contains the Acts and Catholic epistles, and on foll. 79–164 a Catena on Romans and 1 Corinthians. From Karo-Lietzmann it would not be possible to deduce more than that the names of Chrysostom, Severian, and Theodoret were found in it; but Acacius, Cyril, Gennadius, and Oecumenius also occur, and once at least Basil *ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς Σωζόπολιν ἐπιστολῆς* (*sic*). It is significant that a similar reference to this last appears in Oecumenius; see above, p. 499^a.

2. On the need for a new edition of the commentary on the Pauline epistles by John of Damascus, and on some of the MS material for it, enough has already been said on p. 519^b.

3. Cod. Vatic. gr. 1650, A.D. 1037, is a commentary on the Pauline epistles written by Nicolas, archbishop of Reggio in Calabria. Ehrhard (in Krumbacher's *Geschichte der byzantinische Litteratur*^{2}, p. 133), who mentions the MS, gives no details of its contents, so that it is impossible to say whether it contains ancient elements.

C. *Original authorities as preserved in the Catenæ.*—

It is obvious that not much can be done under this head until the Catenæ themselves are made accessible in trustworthy texts; and how far that is from being the case at the present date it has been the business of the preceding paragraphs to demonstrate. But, as soon as this preliminary work has sufficiently advanced, it would be the turn of definitive collected editions of the more important writers. Since the Catenæ are mainly on the longer epistles (see especially p. 518^a above), the results to be anticipated from this line of research will be, in the case of the majority of writers, most marked on the Roman, or on the Roman and Corinthian, epistles.

Origen.—The work has already been done tentatively for the Ephesians (pp. 493–495, above); but it still remains to be done for the Romans, and for the First at any rate of the Corinthian epistles (pp. 492, 493^a).

Didymus: p. 499.—It does not seem likely that much can be restored for any other epistle than 2 Corinthians; but Mai's text (from Vat. gr. 762) will need re-editing, and the Didymus material of Vat. gr. 692 (see pp. 489^a, 522) will need to be tested, though it may turn out to be not independent of the other MS.

Diodore: p. 501.—The evidence here rests wholly on Vat. 762, and a separate edition might probably wait for Harnack's promised undertaking of a 'Corpus operum Diodori' (see his 'Diodor von Tarsus,' *Texte und Untersuchungen*, N. F. vi. 4, 1901, p. 68).

Severian: p. 507.—Severian is perhaps the author for whom most is to be expected from a careful cross-examination of the Catenæ: on the Romans (unless Oecumenius should here come to the rescue) less has been preserved from him than from several other writers; but for 1 Corinthians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Philemon, and probably for the other shorter epistles as well, a rich harvest should be yielded.

Theodore of Mopsuestia.—For the shorter epistles the work has been done by Dr. Swete (p. 511^a): for the longer epistles the texts of Mai and Cramer (p. 510^a) would need revision, and for Theodore, as for Didymus, the Catena of Vat. 692 may or may not add new matter.

Cyril: p. 515.—The only source from which any additions to Pusey's collection could be hoped for would be a re-edited Oecumenius.

Gennadius: p. 518^a.—Oecumenius and the various Catenæ on Romans ought between them to add something, though perhaps it may not be much, to the fragments put together by Migne.

Photius: p. 520^a.—Here again a separate edition, for which the Photian recension of Oecumenius would supply the main material, is an imperative and probably a not really difficult task.

D. *Authors preserved independently of Catenæ.*—

In this department, as was to be expected, more work has already been done; but something still remains to do. The commentaries of Chrysostom (p. 506^b) and Theodoret (p. 516^b), and the Latin version of Theodore (p. 511^a), have been adequately edited by English scholars: Rufinus' version of Origen on the Romans is to be expected in the Berlin series of the Ante-Nicene Fathers: with regard to the letters of Isidore of Pelusium, the need for a new and better edition, and the material which would make such an edition feasible, were pointed out with sufficient emphasis on p. 513. And besides the many Fathers who expounded the Epistles there were some also who edited them. It will be seen in the course of the next (and concluding) section that patient investigation may hope ultimately to restore, with approximate correctness, the text and apparatus of these early editions of St. Paul.

V. PATRISTIC EDITORS OF THE PAULINE EPISTLES.—**Evagrius** and **Euthalius.**—The name Euthalius conjures up more questions than with the information at our disposal it is possible to answer. Of late a revolution in Euthalian criticism has been made every few years; and though material is accumulating rapidly, the time has not yet come for the last word to be said. But no estimate of Patristic labours on St. Paul would be adequate which did not try to give some account of the earliest attempts to produce what would now be called an edition, with Introduction and Prolegomena, of the sacred text.

(*a*) 'Euthalian matter' is a convenient term, of which use has already been made (p. 485^b) in this article, denoting a whole literature of documents, 'prologues, *argumenta*, *programmata*, lists of OT citations, lists of chapters, colophons, and scraps of all kinds,' found in part or in full in many Greek MSS of the Acts and Epistles, and first published with any approach to completeness by L. A. Zacagni, *Collectanea monumentorum veterum ecclesiæ Græcæ ac Latinæ quæ hactenus in Vaticana bibliotheca delituerunt* (Rome, 1698), pp. liv-lxxvii, 401-708. It falls into two parts—an edition of the Pauline epistles, and a subsequent edition of the Acts and Catholic epistles with which we are here concerned only in so far as it may throw light on its author's previous work on St. Paul. To each of the two editions is prefixed a prologue; and these prologues in some MSS are anonymous, and in others bear the name of *Εὐθαλίου διακόνου* or *Εὐθαλίου ἐπισκόπου Σούλκης*. According to Zacagni, the proper title of the Pauline prologue is 'Euthalius the deacon,' and of the other prologue 'Euthalius bishop of Sulca,' the author having been raised to the episcopate in the interval between the composition of his two works. Zacagni printed the fullest collection of texts accessible to him; and though he was not prepared to claim the authorship of Euthalius for all his documents, he certainly attributed the great mass of them to him. On the strength of a note of time attached in some MSS to one of his Euthalian documents, the *Martyrium Pauli*, he fixed the date of the edition of the Pauline epistles at A.D. 458.

(*b*) For nearly two centuries no serious advance was made upon Zacagni's statement of the problem. The credit of the first contribution of new material belongs to a paper by Dr. A. Ehrhard in the *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 1891, vol. viii. pp. 385-411. Ehrhard called attention to the occurrence of the name Evagrius in two MSS which contain Euthalian material: (i.) codex H of the Pauline epistles, a fragmentary MS of the 6th cent., written in *στίχοι* or sense lines,—'per cola et commata,' to use the more technical term,—the colophon of which is written in the first person, and in clearly 'Euthalian' language, by a certain Evagrius;* (ii.) codex Neapolitanus II. a 7 of the Acts and Epistles (in Gregory's notation =Ac. 83=Paul. 93), a later but completer MS, comprising much Euthalian matter without the name of Euthalius, together with the Evagrius colophon as in cod. H. No one had ever been able to identify Euthalius the deacon or Euthalius the bishop of Sulca with any known historical personage; and Ehrhard proposed to eject him altogether, and to substitute instead the name Evagrius. By moving back the date of the Pauline apparatus from Zacagni's 458 (a secondary date found in only a few MSS of the *Martyrium Pauli*) to 396 (a date found in all of them without exception), he brought the work of his Evagrius within the limits of the lifetime of the well-known Origenist writer, Evagrius Ponticus, who died in Egypt about 399.

(*c*) Dr. J. Armitage Robinson's *Euthaliana* ('Cambridge Texts and Studies,' iii. 3, A.D. 1895) was principally directed to the analysis of Zacagni's Euthalian collection, with a view of discriminating the original matter from that which had accrued at later stages. Accepting Dr. Ehrhard's connexion of the *Martyrium Pauli* with the year 396 and with the name Evagrius, Dr. Robinson maintained that the *Martyrium* is itself a secondary document, dependent on the Euthalian prologue to the Pauline epistles; and he argued back to an original Euthalius, to whom is due the prologue and whatever in the Euthalian collection is covered by the sketch which the prologue gives of its author's proposed edition. The table of Old Testament quotations, the table of chapter-divisions, and the arrangement of the text by sense lines, constitute the sum, according to Dr. Robinson, of all that we can safely attribute (in addition to the prologue) to the pen of Euthalius himself. The date of Euthalius would then fall somewhere between the date of the *Chronicle* of Eusebius (which is cited in the prologue) and the date of the *Martyrium Pauli*. Dr. Robinson's tentative results have been superseded by the discovery next to be mentioned; but the value of his method is independent of it and unaffected by it.

(*d*) The first part (1902), which alone has yet appeared, of H. v. Soden's elaborate but far from lucid textual Introduction to the NT, *Die Schriften des NT in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte*, has settled once for all, not indeed the whole problem of Euthalian criticism (as the author seems to suppose), but the vexed questions of Euthalius' place and date. In his discussion on Euthalius (pp. 637-682), von Soden prints from an Athos codex (Laura 149, sæc. xi. foll. 1-4) a 'confession of Euthalius, bishop of Sulca, concerning the orthodox faith.' The document belongs to the days of the Monothelite controversy, after pope Martin's Lateran Council (A.D. 649), and after the death of Maximus Confessor 'of blessed memory' (A.D. 662), but presumably, since no mention is made of it, before the Sixth Council (A.D. 680). Latin theologians—Ambrose, Augustine, Leo—are cited in this Greek confession of faith on equal terms with Athanasius and Cyril; the mention of the 'Holy Catholic and Apostolic great church of Rome' is given precedence over the mention of the 'four Holy and Œcumenical Synods'; and Western origin is made quite certain, if further proof were needed, when the writer attributes his attack on Maximus, of which he is now making public retractation, to the instigation of John the 'exceptor' or official of the 'duchy,' *ὁ ἐκσκέπτωρ τῆς δουκιανῆς ἀρχῆς*, for the term 'ducatus' or duchy points to the Western provinces of the Byzantine empire. Thus there can be no doubt that the see of Euthalius is, after all, the only known city bearing a name anything like Sulca—that is to say, Sulci in Sardinia. The difficulty which was naturally felt in making a Greek writer bishop in Sardinia in the 4th or 5th cent. vanishes when we transfer him to the 7th, a period when even Rome, through the closeness of its renewed relations with Constantinople, became for the time half-Greek again.*

What is the effect of von Soden's discovery upon the Euthalian question? Its main result is naturally to enhance the importance of Ehrhard's Evagrian discoveries, since Evagrius, even if he was not the person who in 396 put together the *Martyrium Pauli*, is mentioned in the 6th cent. codex H, and is consequently earlier than Euthalius. Dr. Armitage Robinson aimed at rescuing out of the Euthalian congeries such documents as he thought could be attributed to Euthalius himself rather than to his successors, Evagrius or others: our present aim must be the exact converse of this, namely, to discriminate what can be attributed to Evagrius or other predecessors before Euthalius set his hand to the collection. With this view we proceed, firstly, to draw up a list of the Pauline documents contained in Zacagni's edition, and, secondly, to enumerate the sources earlier than the 7th cent. which include any of this Euthalian matter, since so much at least must be earlier than Euthalius himself.

---

* The name has been erased, but there appears to be now no doubt at all as to the original reading.

* It is perhaps worth while in this connexion to call attention to the Laudian MS of the Acts, which we know to have been in Sardinia at some date before 735. The third correcting hand, which is attributed to the 7th cent., added in the margin a series of chapter-divisions which appear to be either those of Euthalius' edition or at least closely related to them.

1. *COMPLETE LIST OF EUTHALIAN DOCUMENTS* (with reference to the pages of Zacagni's edition).

(i.) p. 515: *πρόλογος προτασσόμενος τῶν ιδ' ἐπιστολῶν Παύλου.* A sketch of firstly the life, secondly the writings, thirdly the chronology of St. Paul: the latter is summarized, says the writer, from the Χρονικοὶ Κανόνες of Eusebius Pamphili, though in fact the *History* of the same author appears to be as largely employed. At the end of the second section of this prologue, the analysis of the Epistles, some indication is given of what the reader may expect to find in the sequel: *τὰ μὲν κατ' ἐπιτομὴν παρ' ἡμῶν εἰρήσθω περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον· καθ ἑκάστην δὲ συντόμως ἐπιστολὴν ἐν τοῖς ἑξῆς προτάξομεν τὴν τῶν κεφαλαίων ἔκθεσιν ἑνὶ τῶν σοφωτάτων τινὶ καὶ φιλοχρίστων πατέρων ἡμῶν πεπονημένην· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀναγνώσεων ἀκριβεστάτην τομήν, τήν τε [v.l. δὲ] τῶν θείων μαρτυριῶν εὐαπόδεκτον εὕρεσιν ἡμεῖς τεχνολογήσαντες ἀνεκεφαλαιωσάμεθα ἐπιπορευόμενοι τῇ τῆς ὑφῆς ἀναγνώσει· ἐκθησόμεθα δ' οὖν ταύτην εὐθὺς μετὰ τόνδε τὸν πρόλογον.* That is to say, immediately after the prologue should come a convenient and summary conspectus of the quotations in the Epistles; while to each several epistle would be prefixed a list of its chapters, taken over from an earlier Father. What the 'exact division of the *ἀναγνώσεις*' means, whether it was taken over from the earlier Father or, like the list of quotations, was an original work, and in the latter case whether it too came immediately after the prologue, are more difficult questions, the consideration of which must for the moment be postponed.

(ii.) p. 535: *μαρτύριον Παύλου.* A brief statement of the Apostle's martyrdom at Rome, important as containing a note that the interval since the martyrdom was 330 years 'down to the present consulship, Arcadius IV. Honorius III.,' *i.e.* A.D. 396. One particular class of the MSS contains also the further note that 63 years had elapsed between the last mentioned consulship and 'this present consulship, Leo Augustus I.,' *i.e.* A.D. 458. In view both of the statements in the prologue (see just above) and of the order of the documents, *e.g.*, in the Naples MS (see p. 528^{b}, below), it is doubtful whether the *Martyrium* is in its proper place here —unless, indeed, it is to be treated (as perhaps it should be) as a mere appendix to the prologue.

(iii.) p. 537: *ἀνακεφαλαίωσις τῶν ἀναγνώσεων καὶ ὧν ἔχουσι κεφαλαίων καὶ μαρτυριῶν καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ ἀποστόλου καὶ ὅσων ἑκάστη τούτων στίχων τυγχάνει.* A summary of the 'lections' for each epistle of the Apostle; and how many chapters, how many quotations, how many verses each 'lection' contains. In this case there is no doubt that the *ἀνάγνωσις* or lection is a division of an epistle, containing several *κεφάλαια* or chapters. The *στίχος* is presumably the measured line of 16 syllables, equivalent to a hexameter verse.* Thus the Epistle to the Romans contained 5 lections, 19 chapters, 48 quotations, 820 verses. It may be added that the number of *στίχοι* is noted not only for the actual text of the Epistles, but for several of the accompanying documents,—for instance, the prologue is reckoned at 300 *στίχοι*, the *Martyrium* (not including the second date) at 16 *στίχοι*,† the summary with which we are now concerned at 60 *στίχοι*,—and it may be conjectured that their presence or absence is a criterion which distinguishes one stratum from another in the 'Euthalian' collection.

(iv.) p. 542: *πρόγραμμα.* Introduction (of 7 *στίχοι*) to No. v. (summary table of Scripture quotations), explaining the use of black and red numerals in the following table [this will be best understood from a concrete case; see the next paragraph]: every red numeral would be found repeated in the margin of the text itself; the series of both red and black numerals would begin afresh for each epistle.

(v.) p. 542: *ἀνακεφαλαίωσις θείων μαρτυριῶν* (78 *στίχοι*). Carrying out the rules just given, the table begins as follows: 'In the Epistle to the Romans xlviii. [quotations]; Genesis vi., namely, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13; Exodus iii., namely, 15, 16, 40,' and so on, meaning that the six quotations from Genesis are the 6th, 8th, 9th, 11th, 12th, and 13th in order among the 48 OT quotations in Romans. The numbers here represented in *roman* numerals would be black letters in the Greek, those in *arabic* numerals would be red, and the same red letters would be found opposite to the quotations in the body of the text: thus in the margin of Ro 4^{3} *ἐπίστευσεν δὲ Ἀβραὰμ τῷ θεῷ, κ.τ.λ.*, we should expect *ϛ'* *Γενέσεως*, and of Ro 4^{17} *πατέρα πολλῶν ἐθνῶν τέθεικά σε*, we should expect *η'* *Γενέσεως* (the numeral in each case in red), meaning that the quotations came from Genesis, and were respectively the sixth and eighth OT quotations made in the epistle.

(vi.) p. 546. List of the places from which the Epistles were written (12 *στίχοι*).

(vii.) p. 547. List of the names associated with St. Paul's in the headings to the Epistles (12 *στίχοι*).

(viii.) p. 548: *πρόγραμμα* (not reckoned by *στίχοι*). Introduction to No. ix. (second or fuller table of Scripture quotations), explaining that all St. Paul's quotations would be found written in full, with the name of the book from which each was taken, and with two numbers, red and black respectively: the red signified the place in the series of quotations contained *in* that particular epistle,—a fresh reckoning in red beginning with each epistle,— while the numeration in black was continuous throughout the Epistles, and signified the number in the series of quotations taken *from* that particular book of the OT. The same red number (but not the black) recurred in the margin of the text at the point where the quotation was made.

(ix.) p. 549: *ἀνακεφαλαίωσις θείων μαρτυριῶν* (not reckoned by *στίχοι*). To illustrate the above rule, let us turn to the table for 1 Corinthians, and we should find it begin somewhat thus: Α' *Ἡσαΐου προφήτου* ΙΕ' *ἀπολῶ τὴν σοφίαν τῶν σοφῶν καὶ τὴν σύνεσιν τῶν συνετῶν ἀθετήσω*, where the Α' would be in red, signifying the first quotation in 1 Corinthians, and the ΙΕ' in black, signifying the fifteenth quotation from Isaiah, fourteen having been marked already in Romans.* Now it seems obvious that (viii.) (ix.) are not additional to, but a substitution for, the other table of Scripture quotations described above (iv.) (v.): the title is the same, *πρόγραμμα· ἀνακεφαλαίωσις θείων μαρτυριῶν*: the use of the red numbers in the summaries and in the margin of the text is the same, but the use of the black numbers is different and inconsistent: the *στίχοι* are reckoned for the first table, but not for the second. Either table is useful taken by itself, but the table of No. ix. gives more information than that of No. v.: its black numeration being continuous throughout the Epistles, it enables the reader to see at a glance the total amount of use which St. Paul's writings make of any particular OT book. Which of the two is the table promised in the prologue, is a question we need not yet finally answer; but we shall hardly be wrong in supposing that they represent different strata in the development of the collection, and the natural hypothesis to start from will be that the fuller and more elaborate one is the later.

---

* See, further, for the meaning of *στίχος*, p. 527^{b}, below.

† But in the case of the prologue and the *Martyrium* the *στίχοι* are not given in all of Zacagni's MSS.

* Zacagni inserts a third numeration, which he admits is not in the MSS; he has misunderstood, as Robinson (*Euthaliana*, p. 19) points out, the language of the *πρόγραμμα*.

(x.) p. 569. List of the 14 epistles of St. Paul; probably connected with what follows.

(xi.) p. 570. ‘Why the epistles of Paul are called 14?’ This is taken from the same source as the next piece.

(xii.) p. 570: *ὑπόθεσις πρώτης πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιστολῆς* (*incipit ταύτην ἐπιστέλλει ἀπὸ Κορίνθου, explicit τελειοῖ τὴν ἐπιστολήν*). This and the preceding come, as Matthæi and von Dobschütz have pointed out, from the pseudo-Athanasian *Synopsis sacræ scripturæ*. But now that Euthalius is transferred to the 7th cent., there is no reason why matter which ‘Euthalian’ MSS have borrowed from the *Synopsis* should not have been borrowed by Euthalius himself. These pieces cannot have belonged to the collection in its original, or what we may without prejudice call the Evagrian, form: that they came to it through Euthalius himself is probable enough, but is one of the many things that cannot be decisively asserted until we have more knowledge of the MSS. None of the last three pieces are reckoned by *στίχοι*.

(xiii.) p. 573: *ἔκθεσις κεφαλαίων καθολικῶν καθ’ ἑκάστην ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ Ἀποστόλου, ἐχόντων τινῶν καὶ μερικὰς ὑποδιαιρέσεις τὰς διὰ τοῦ κινναβάρεως.* ‘List of all the chapters in each epistle of the Apostle, some chapters having also subdivisions; and such subdivisions are marked in red.’ Nothing follows this title in Zacagni’s edition; and it is on the whole probable that nothing was meant to follow, but that the title serves as a general introduction to the chapter-lists which precede each individual epistle. That for the Romans immediately follows.

(xiv.) p. 573: *κεφάλαια τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιστολῆς ιθ′* (37 *στίχοι*). In the list which follows, one chapter, the 17th, has subdivisions: in other epistles—their *κεφάλαια* (together with the pseudo-Athanasian *argumenta*) are given later on in Zacagni—subdivisions are rather more frequent. There can be no doubt that these chapter-lists correspond exactly with the scheme outlined under No. xiii.

(xv.) p. 576: *variæ lectiones* to the Epistles.—What ought to have appeared here is the text of the Epistles as contained in the Euthalian MSS: but, in order no doubt to save space, Zacagni only collated them with J. Morin’s Paris NT (A.D. 1628). This list of various readings does not concern us, save in so far as we may note that every 50th *στίχος* is marked in the margin (Ro 1^{24} *στίχοι ν′*, 2^{14} *στίχοι ρ′*, and so on), and that each epistle has a subscription signifying (*a*) its place of writing —cf. No. vi. above,—and (*b*) the number of *στίχοι* contained in it;[*] generally also (*c*) its bearer. Thus for 1 Corinthians, *Πρὸς Κορινθίους α′ ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Φιλίππων διὰ Στεφανᾶ καὶ Φορτουνάτου καὶ Ἀχαϊκοῦ καὶ Τιμοθέου· στίχοι ωό* (870): for Titus, *Πρὸς Τῖτον τῆς Κρητῶν ἐκκλησίας πρῶτον ἐπίσκοπον χειροτονηθέντα ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Νικοπόλεως τῆς Μακεδονίας· στίχοι ρζ′* (107).

2. *SOURCES EARLIER THAN THE SEVENTH CENTURY WHICH INCLUDE ANY EUTHALIAN MATTER.*—To show how much of all this matter is earlier than Euthalius we have the direct evidence of the fragmentary 6th century MS of the Pauline epistles known as H, reinforced up to a certain point by the Naples codex, and the less direct evidence of various Syriac MSS of the Epistles written between 400 and 625 A.D., as well as the dates contained in the *Martyrium Pauli*.

(*a*) Codex H was once a complete MS of the epistles of St. Paul, and belonged apparently before the end of the 10th cent. to the monastery of Athanasius on Mount Athos, where it was taken to pieces, and the leaves, or many of them, were employed in the binding of other MSS. The leaves thus distributed accompanied of course the MSS with which they had been incorporated, and are now dispersed throughout Europe: of the 41 leaves known to exist, 8 are still at Athos, 22 are at Paris, 2 at Turin, and the remaining 9 in various Russian libraries. Portions of nine epistles are preserved, the only ones unrepresented being Romans, Ephesians, Philippians, 2 Thessalonians, Philemon. The signatures *μϛ′* and *μθ′* (46 and 49) have been deciphered at He 12^{12} and 1 Ti 6^{11} respectively: from which it may be reckoned that each gathering contained nearly three pages of Westcott and Hort’s smaller edition; and that, as the whole matter down to He 12^{12} occupies about 122 pages in that edition, while 46 gatherings would be equivalent to 130 pages, the MS must have originally contained enough in the way of additional or prefatory matter, other than *κεφάλαια*,[*] to account for the balance between the two figures. A complete transcription of all the 41 leaves was published in 1889 by M. Henri Omont (*Notices et Extraits*, xxxiii. 1); Dr. Robinson in his *Euthaliana*, pp. 48–69, added parts of 16 more pages, which he restored from the ‘set-off’ or traces which these pages, before they were lost, had left of their text on the pages that were originally next to them. From these two sources, combined with Dr. Ehrhard’s paper, it results that codex H is distinguished by the following characteristics:—

α. The manuscript is written in ‘sense lines.’ At a time when manuscripts were written without anything like a developed system of punctuation, some imitation of the arrangement that already existed for the poetical books of the OT was one obvious means of filling the gap; the end of each *στίχος*, or ‘verse,’ was made to correspond to some sort of break in the sense, and, so far, was more or less equivalent to a comma. But as the original *στίχος* was the hexameter line, and this always remained the standard by which in ordinary cases the size of books or chapters was calculated, the sense *στίχος* naturally aimed at something like the same average length, and was therefore often a good deal shorter than the modern interval between comma and comma. Conversely, it was much longer than the actual line of a MS written, as so many uncial MSS were written, in narrow columns. In codex H itself (to judge from Dr. Robinson’s transcriptions) the line in the literal sense never contains more than 21 letters, and the *στίχος*—which is distinguished by beginning further out to the left than the lines in the middle of a *στίχος* do—covers one, two, three, or sometimes even four, lines: the average is a little over two lines, and apparently about 37 letters.

β. To each epistle of which the commencement is extant is prefixed a table of *κεφάλαια*: the whole of that for 1 Timothy (*α′–ιη′*), and part of those for Galatians (*ι′–ιβ′*), Hebrews (*ζ′–ια′*), and Titus (*β′–ϛ′*), are preserved. In two instances, chapters *ζ′* and *θ′* of Hebrews, subdivisions are also marked, *α′ β′ γ′* in the first case, *β′* only in the second: these subdivisions are marked in red (Robinson, p. 66). Thus we have here substantial equivalence between codex H and Zacagni, Nos. xiii., xiv.

γ. At Col 2^1 and 3^5 the letters *ϛ′* and *θ′*, at 2 Ti 2^4 and 2^8[†] the letters *γ′* and *δ′*, at Tit 2^2 the letter *γ′*, are legible in the margin, indicating the commencement in the text of the chapters marked by the corresponding numbers in the list. It does not appear that Zacagni’s apparatus anywhere definitely promises that the chapters should be marked in the body of the text; but the analogy of the procedure with regard to the OT citations demands it; and the fact that Zacagni, in his Latin translations of the chapter-tables, inserts throughout the references to our own chapters and verses, seems to show that his MSS do actually mark the commencements in question.

---

[*] The following is the Euthalian stichometry for the text of the Epistles, as collected out of Zacagni: Romans, 920; 1 Corinthians, 870; 2 Corinthians, 690; Galatians, 293; Ephesians, 312; Philippians, 208; Colossians, 208; 1 Thessalonians, 193; 2 Thessalonians, 106; Hebrews, 703; 1 Timothy, 230; 2 Timothy, 172; Titus, 107 [but codex H gives 97]; Philemon, 47.

[*] The *κεφάλαια* are included in the reckoning just made, since the three gatherings on which that reckoning is based contain the *κεφάλαια* for 1 Timothy, reckoned at 22 *στίχοι*.

[†] See the supplementary notes to M. Omont’s transcript in Robinson, p. 68.

δ. The OT quotations in the text are noted in the margin, and are clearly intended to be numbered through for each epistle. Thus at 1 Co 10^{26} we have ια′ ψαλμ. κγ′ (*i.e.* Ps 23, eleventh quotation in the epistle), and at He 2^{12} θ′ ψαλμ. κα′, 2^{13} ι′ Ἠσαΐου, 2^{16} ια′ Ἠσαΐου (*i.e.* Ps 21 supplies the ninth, Isaiah the tenth and eleventh quotations for the epistle); if at He $1^{5.6.7.8}$ we have only Βασιλ., Δευτερονομ., ψαλμ., ψαλμ. μδ′, this shows that the system is not systematically carried out, and confirms what other indications suggest, namely, that codex H is not an original, but a copy, and not always an accurate copy. To which of Zacagni's two tables of OT quotations—Nos. iv., v., or Nos. viii., ix.—these marginal annotations correspond, there is so far nothing to decide.

ε. The number of στίχοι is noted at the end of each chapter-table, and at the end of the text of each epistle. Thus the κεφάλαια for 1 Timothy are 22 στίχοι, for Titus 8; the text of Hebrews contains 703, that of Titus 97. That every 50th στίχος was also noted in the margin our authorities do not apparently say; but the Naples codex (see immediately below) proves that Evagrius included that method in his system, and codex H is through its subscription connected clearly enough with Evagrius. In the case of the chapter-tables, as also of all documents such as the prologue, the *Martyrium*, and the like, there can be no doubt that the στίχος was the line of hexameter length (reckoned equivalent to 16 syllables or 36 letters): but it is possible that for the text of the epistles, arranged as it was in sense στίχοι, these latter were themselves taken as the basis of calculation. The practical difference would not be great, for we have seen (p. 527^{b}, above) that the sense στίχος in codex H averaged about 37 letters.

ζ. The subscriptions to the individual epistles contain, besides the number of στίχοι, similar historical data to those given in Zacagni. Thus for Titus: Παύλου ἀποστόλου ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Τῖτον τῆς Κρητῶν ἐκκλησίας πρῶτον ἐπίσκοπον χειροτονηθέντα ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Νικοπόλεως τῆς Μακεδονίας, as in Zacagni (p. 527^{a}, above).

η. The subscription to the whole MS records that 'I [Evagrius *] wrote for public use this volume of Paul the Apostle in στίχοι to the best of my ability, with a view to making reading easier for our brethren . . . and the book was compared with the copy at Cæsarea in the library, written by the hand of the holy Pamphilus.'

(*b*) We have seen that codex H, to judge from its size, must in all probability have contained prefatory matter before the text and κεφάλαια of the Epistles; and some light is thrown upon this question of the apparatus of Evagrian MSS by the only other MS yet known which contains Evagrius' name, Naples II. a 7; though, as the MS is of later date than Euthalius, it must not be too hastily assumed that all its contents are Evagrian rather than Euthalian. Unfortunately, our knowledge of the details of its text is not yet complete; but the old Naples catalogue of 1826 (*Codices græci MSS regiæ bibliothecæ Borbonici descripti atque illustrati a Salvatore Cyrillo*, pp. 13–24) enumerates the following contents:—Fol. 1, prologue of Euthalius to the Acts, but without his name; fol. 3, second prologue to the Acts πάλαι καὶ προπάλαι . . . πεποίηται ταύτην—this has now been published in the *American Journal of Theology* (ii. [1898] 353–387) by Dr. E. von Dobschütz, who assigns it, apparently on good grounds, to Theodore of Mopsuestia's commentary; fol. 7, list of chapters, and summary of OT citations, in Acts; fol. 11, text of Acts; fol. 41, [Euthalian] prologue to the Catholic epistles; fol. 42, *argumenta*, lists of chapters, and text of the Catholic epistles; fol. 56, [Euthalian] prologue to the Pauline epistles, followed by the summary of lections (Zacagni, Nos. i. and iii.); fol. 66, *argumenta*, lists of chapters (Zacagni, Nos. xii. and xiv.), and text of the Pauline epistles, followed by the *Martyrium Pauli* (Zacagni, No. ii.) and the note Εὐάγριος ἔγραψα (as in codex H, save that the *Navigatio Pauli*, ἑκατόνταρχος . . . ἀνηνέχθησαν, is intercalated into the middle of it); fol. 122, the opening chapters of the Apocalypse. Thus the name Euthalius seems not to appear anywhere in the MS, while the name Evagrius appears in the note which concludes the Pauline matter. But we further learn from other sources (see Robinson, p. 6) that yet a second note contains the name Evagrius, namely, that which is appended to the summary of lections: in Zacagni, p. 541, this is in the first person, but anonymous; in the Naples MS it runs, 'I, Evagrius, have distinguished the lections, and have made an accurate stichometry for the whole book of the Apostle by marking every 50th στίχος, and have set out the chapters of each lection and the citations contained in it, and also the number of στίχοι in the lection.'

Thus the testimony of the Naples MS, late as it is, definitely vindicates for Evagrius, and therefore for the pre-Euthalian edition of St. Paul, something more than codex H in its mutilated condition was able to do, namely Zacagni's No. iii. Putting the evidence of the two MSS together, we see that before the year 600—and if we are right in treating codex H as already a rather corrupt exemplar of the edition, we might say before the year 500—a certain Evagrius published an edition of the Pauline epistles, with the text arranged 'colometrically' in sense lines; with OT references marked in the margin, and numbered through for each epistle; with an elaborate arrangement of chapters and subdivisions of chapters in black and red; with calculation of the stichometry, not only of the text itself of the Epistles (guaranteed by a mark at every 50th στίχος), but even of the editor's chapter headings; with a subscription to each epistle giving geographical and personal information; and, finally, with some prefatory matter, including at least a continuous table of 'lections' for the whole series of Epistles, in which the number of chapters, citations, and στίχοι contained in each lection was separately enumerated.

(*c*) In attempting to fix with more precision the date of the edition of Evagrius, the evidence of the early Syriac MSS of the Pauline epistles will have to be taken into account. Wright's British Museum catalogue comprises several MSS anterior to the time of Euthalius, and three or four of them may possibly contain Euthalian matter. Cod. cxxxiii. (Add. 14476), sæc. v.–vi., divides Romans into 21 sections by Greek letters, and has a further mark, found occasionally throughout the Epistles, consisting of a single Syriac letter; but no details are given which would make it possible to say whether or no these are Euthalian (Evagrian) chapters. Cod. cxxxiv. (Add. 14480), sæc. v.–vi., has the same place-colophons as Evagrius,—including 1 Corinthians 'from Philippi of Macedonia,' and 1 Timothy 'from Laodicea,'—and also a reckoning of the στίχοι for each epistle. In cod. cxxxviii. (Add. 14477), sæc. vi.–vii., the colophons give not only the place of writing and the number of στίχοι, but also in each case the bearers of the epistle;* and for 2 Timothy, Titus, and Philemon the same personal details as in Zacagni's text (and therefore in the case of Titus, see p. 528^{b}, above, the same as in codex H). On the other hand, the stichometry of these MSS does not appear to coincide with that of Euthalius. Finally, cod. cxli. (Add. 14478), A.D. 622, has marginal notes, indicating the sources of the Apostle's quotations, which would seem to be of 'Euthalian' (Evagrian) origin. Further investigation of this line of inquiry, which promises to be not without fruit, must be left to Syriac scholars; but even without Syriac evidence there is ground enough on the Greek side to push back the Evagrian nucleus of the Euthalian edition into the 5th century.

---

* As restored by Ehrhard, see above, p. 525^{a}.

(*d*) This being so, the witness of the *Martyrium Pauli* to a precise dating at the end of the 4th cent. acquires enhanced importance. It has been seen that that document (Zacagni's No. ii.) is dated by its writer in 396, while one branch of the MS tradition adds the supplementary date of a redactor in 458. The document is so brief that it hardly seems likely to have been borrowed, rather than composed, for the edition of the Epistles; and if it was composed for it, the whole Evagrian edition is naturally brought into immediate connexion with that year. But, again, an Evagrius who was writing in 396 could surely be no other than the well-known theologian and writer who was trained by Basil and his brother Gregory, who, after varied experiences in Cappadocia, Constantinople, and Jerusalem, sought refuge among the ascetics of Nitria and Scetis, where he numbered Rufinus and Palladius among his pupils, and where he poured out book after book, for the benefit of his fellow ascetics, till his death in 398 or 399. One phrase in the Evagrian colophon of codex H, *τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀδελφῶν*, suggests that the writer was living the monastic life, and so far would bear out the hypothesis; but it remains a hypothesis still, and nothing is more necessary in threading our way through the mazes of the Euthalian labyrinth than to keep clear the distinction between hypothesis and ascertained fact. The value of such a hypothesis at this stage is rather to suggest lines of inquiry, and to give point and direction to the further investigation of manuscripts which must precede final judgment.

We have now enough material at our disposal to turn back to the list of Zacagni's Euthalian matter (p. 526^{a}), and to distinguish roughly how much of it is Evagrian, or, at any rate, pre-Euthalian. The true authorship of the first piece, the prologue, is the most difficult, as well as the most important, problem left for discussion, and cannot be settled off-hand. But for the rest a rapid summary will suffice. No. ii. is dated at 396 (458) A.D., and is therefore pre-Euthalian, whether or no it is Evagrian. No. iii. is vindicated for Evagrius by the Naples MS. Nos. iv. and v. go together, as do Nos. viii. and ix.: these two pairs of documents are alternative to one another, and therefore of different authorship; the probabilities are that the one pair is Evagrian, the other Euthalian, and, if so, the simpler method and briefer statement of Nos. iv. and v. indicate the earlier editor. Nos. vi. and vii. may be Evagrian, but are in any case less important. Nos. viii and ix. are probably, as has just been said, Euthalius' development of Nos. iv. and v. Nos. x., xi., xii. are not Evagrian, and indeed are inconsistent with Evagrius: their source is in the pseudo-Athanasian synopsis: but if we regard Euthalius as a compiler, there is no reason why it should not have been he who engrafted upon the Evagrian stock material borrowed from pseudo-Athanasius. Nos. xiii. and xiv. are again Evagrian, and so is the apparatus to the text in No. xv.

The time has perhaps hardly come for expressing even a hypothetical view about the authorship of the prologue. If it proceeds from Euthalius, then the 'Father' from whom the system of chapter divisions was taken over (p. 526^{a}, above) was no doubt Evagrius; if Evagrius himself wrote in these terms, the Father to whom he acknowledged himself indebted may well have been Pamphilus. If Euthalius was the author, then the *ἀναγνώσεων τομαί* will probably mean the colometrical arrangement of the text, since that is the sense of the parallel passages in the prologue to Acts; but if Evagrius, then the words most naturally refer to the arrangement by lections, summarized in Zacagni's No. iii., which, as we have seen, was certainly part of Evagrius' work. One would naturally prefer the alternative which would connect the prologue with the earlier Evagrian edition; but it is not impossible that it may prove to be of composite origin—an Evagrian nucleus worked up and developed by Euthalius.

Here, again, little advance can be made without more knowledge of MSS, and it is certainly strange that no attempt has been made to produce a more critical edition than Zacagni's of the Euthalian apparatus. This inquiry may therefore be fitly brought to a close by a tentative and doubtless very imperfect enumeration of early Euthalian MSS—

(1) *Oecumenian MSS with Euthalian apparatus* (see above, p. 485^{b})—
- Milan Ambros. C 295 inf., sæc. x.
- Paris coislin 27, sæc. x.; coislin 28, A.D. 1056; coislin 30, sæc. xi.; coislin 224, sæc. xi.; gr. 219, sæc. xi.; gr. 223, sæc. xi.; gr. 224, sæc. x.
- Patmos ιε', sæc. xi.
- Venice Marcianus 34, sæc. xi.

(2) *Non-Oecumenian MSS with Euthalian apparatus*—
- Basle AN iii. 11, sæc. xi.; AN iv. 2, sæc. x.
- London Brit. Mus. 28816, A.D. 1111.
- Naples II a 7, sæc. xi.?; II a 8, sæc. x.–xi.
- Oxford Christ Church Wake 12, sæc. xi.; Wake 38, sæc. xi.
- Paris arm. 9 (Græco-Armenian), sæc. xi.; gr. 105 (fragmentary), sæc. x.
- Rome Vatic. gr. 363, sæc. xi.; gr. 1650 (Zacagni's Cryptoferratensis), A.D. 1037; gr. 1761 (Zacagni's Lollinianus), sæc. xi.; Vat. Urbin. gr. 3, sæc. xi.; Vat. Reg. gr. 29, sæc. xi.; Vat. Reg. gr. 179 (Zacagni's Regio-Alexandrinus), sæc. xi.

---

* Zacagni's text omits the bearers for Gal., 1 Thess., 2 Thess., 1 Tim., 2 Tim., Titus.

INDEX OF THE WRITERS, ETC., DEALT WITH ABOVE.

Acacius of Cæsarea, $484^{a.\ b}$, 489^{a}, 497^{a}, 522^{a}, 524^{a}.
Acœmetæ, $513^{a.\ b}$.
Aetius, 500^{b}.
Alexander, 'the ancient heretic,' 485^{a}, 489^{b}.*
Alexander of Nicæa, 522^{a}.
Alexandrine school. See Clement, Origen, Didymus, Isidore, Cyril.
Allegory: in relation to Origen, 495^{a}, 496^{a}; Diodore, 501^{a}; Chrysostom, 501^{b}; Theodore, 509^{a}; Isidore, 514^{b}; Cyril, 516^{a}; Clement, 521^{a}.
Amalarius, 510^{b}.
Ambrose of Milan, 510^{b}, 511^{b}, 522^{b}, 525^{b}.
Ambrosiaster, $484^{a.\ b}$, 491^{b}, 510^{b}, 511^{a}.
Anastasius, 489^{a}, 522^{b}.
Andrew, $523^{a.\ b}$.
Antiochene school, 484^{b}, 497^{b}, $500^{a.\ b}$, 501^{a}, $508^{a.\ b}$, $512^{a.\ b}$, 513^{a}, 516^{a}, 517^{b}, 518^{b}, 519^{a}. See Theodore of Heraclea, Eusebius of Emesa, Apollinaris, Eunomius, Diodore, John Chrysostom, Severian, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Isidore, Theodoret, Gennadius, Theodore the Monk.
Antiochus of Ptolemais, $507^{a.\ b}$.
Apollinarianism, 491^{a}, 500^{a},
Apollinaris of Laodicea, 484^{b}, 485^{a}, 487^{a}, 488^{a}, 494^{a}, 495^{a}, 497^{a}, $500^{a.\ b}$, $522^{a.\ b}$.
Apollonius, 484^{b}.

---

* Clarendon figures indicate that the passage referred to is devoted *wholly* to the subject in question.

Aquila, 518^{a}, 523^{b}.
Archelaus the bishop, 522^{b}.
Arethas of Cæsarea, 485$^{a.b}$, 492^{a}, 523^{a}.
Arianism, 498$^{a.b}$, 500$^{a.b}$.
Asterius, 498^{b}, 518^{a}.
Athanasius, 497^{a}, **498^{b}–499^{a}**, 508^{a}, 522^{b}, 525^{b}.
Athanasius, pseudo-, 527^{a}, 529^{a}.
Augustine, 502^{b}, 525^{b}.
Barsanuphius, 496^{b}.
Basil, 486$^{a.b}$, 491^{b}, 497^{a}, **498^{b}–499^{a}**, 500^{b}, 515^{a}, 521^{b}, 522$^{a.b}$, 524^{a}, 529^{a}.
Basilides, 520^{b}.
Cæsarius, 497^{a}, 522^{b}.
Carterius, 497^{a}.
Cassiodorus, 484^{b}, 490^{b}, 499^{b}, 504^{b}, 515^{a}, 520^{b}.
Catenæ, origin, history, characteristics of, 485^{a}, 487^{b}–489^{a}, 495^{b}, 498^{b}, 499^{a}, 500^{a}, 515^{b}, 518^{a}, 521^{b}–524^{a}.
Chrysostom, John, 484^{a}, 485$^{a.b}$, 486$^{a.b}$, 487$^{a.b}$, 489^{a}, 495^{b}, 496^{a}, 497^{a}, 498^{a}, 500^{b}, **501^{b}–507^{a}**, 507^{b}, 508^{a}, 509^{b}, 512$^{a.b}$, 514^{b}, 515$^{a.b}$, 516^{b}, 517^{a}, 519^{b}, 521^{b}, 522$^{a.b}$, 524$^{a.b}$.
Claudius of Turin, 487^{b}.
Clement of Alexandria, 484^{b}, 486^{a}, 489^{b}, 492^{b}, 497^{a}, 515^{a}, **520^{a}–521^{a}**, 522$^{a.b}$, 523^{b}.
Council of Chalcedon (451 A.D.) 503^{b}, 513^{a}, 516^{a}, 517^{b}, 523^{a}.
  „ Constantinople (553 A.D.) 509^{b}, 510^{a}.
  „ Constantinople (680 A.D.) 525^{b}.
  „ Ephesus (431 A.D.) 508^{a}, 513^{a}, 517$^{a.b}$.
  „ Lateran (649 A.D.) 525^{b}.
  „ Mopsuestia (550 A.D.) 508^{b}.
  „ Nicæa (787 A.D.) 503^{a}, 515^{a}.
  „ the Oak (403 A.D.) 514^{b}.
  „ Tarsus (394 A.D.) 501^{a}.
Cyprian, 484^{a}, 497^{a}.
Cyril of Alexandria, 485^{b}, 486^{a}, 487$^{a.b}$, 488$^{a.b}$, 489^{a}, 497^{a}, 503^{a}, 508^{a}, 513^{a}, **514^{b}–516^{a}**, 517^{b}, 518^{b}, 519^{b}, 520^{b}, 521^{b}, 522$^{a.b}$, 523$^{a.b}$, 524$^{a.b}$, 525^{b}.
Cyril of Jerusalem, 522^{b}.
Didymus of Alexandria, 484^{b}, 485^{a}, 487^{b}, 488^{b}, 489^{a}, 494^{a}, 495^{a}, 496^{b}, 497^{a}, **499^{a}–500^{a}**, 500^{b}, 522$^{a.b}$, 524^{b}.
Diodore of Tarsus, 484^{b}, 485^{a}, 487^{a}, 488^{a}, 497^{a}, 498^{a}, 500^{a}, **500^{b}–501^{b}**, 508^{a}, 509^{b}, 510^{b}, 512^{a}, 518^{b}, 519^{a}, 522$^{a.b}$, 524^{b}.
Dionysius of Alexandria, 484^{b}, 487^{a}, **496^{b}–497^{b}**.
Dionysius the Areopagite, 486^{a}, 497^{a}, 522^{a}.
Ebed-jesu, 509$^{a.b}$, 511^{b}.
Ephraem of Antioch, 503^{b}, 504^{b}, 513^{a}.
Eunomius of Cyzicus, 500^{b}, 518^{a}.
Eusebius of Ancyra, 517^{a}.
Eusebius of Cæsarea, 484^{b}, 490^{a}, 492^{b}, 497^{a}, **497^{b}**, 522^{b}, 523^{b}, 525^{b}, 526^{a} : *Hist. Eccl.*, 484^{b}, 489^{b}, 520$^{a.b}$, 521^{a}, 526^{a}.
Eusebius of Emesa, 485^{a}, 487^{a}, 498$^{a.b}$, 501^{a}, 521^{b}.
Euthalius of Sulca, 484^{a}, 485^{b}, 489^{a}, 497^{a}, 511^{b}, **524^{b}–529^{b}**.
Euthymius Zigabenus, 485^{a}, 486^{a}, **486^{b}**, 487$^{a.b}$.
Evagrius, 496^{b}, 523$^{a.b}$, **524^{b}–529^{b}**.
Facundus of Hermiana, 503^{b}, 507^{a}, 508^{b}, 510$^{a.b}$, 511^{a}, 513^{a}, 515^{a}, 517^{b}.
Gennadius of Constantinople, 485^{b}, 487^{a}, 489^{a}, 497^{a}, **517^{b}–519^{a}**, 520^{a}, 521^{b}, 522$^{a.b}$, 524$^{a.b}$.
Gennadius of Marseilles, 507^{b}, 517^{b}.
Gregory Nazianzen, 486$^{a.b}$, 491^{b}, 497^{a}, **498^{b}–499^{a}**, 500^{b}, 515^{a}, 521^{b}, 522^{b}, 523^{b}.
Gregory Nyssen, 486^{a}, 497^{a}, **498^{b}–499^{a}**, 500^{b}, 508^{b}, 509^{a}, 522$^{a.b}$, 523^{b}, 529^{a}.
Gregory I., pope, 510^{a}.
Heracleon, 489^{b}.
Heraclitus, 484^{b}, **489^{b}**.
Hilary of Poitiers, 510^{b}.
Hippolytus, 520^{b}.
Hypatius, 522^{b}.
Ibas of Edessa, 517^{b}.
Irenæus, 484$^{a.b}$, 522^{b}.
Isidore of Pelusium, 484^{a}, 487^{a}, 497^{a}, 499^{b}, 502^{b}, **512^{b}–514^{b}**, 517^{b}, 518^{b}, 522$^{a.b}$, 524^{b}.
Jerome : on 1 Corinthians, **484^{b}**, 490^{a}, 492^{b}, 497$^{a.b}$, 498^{a}, 499^{b}, 500$^{a.b}$, 501^{a} ; on Galatians, **484^{b}–485^{a}**, 489$^{a.b}$, 493$^{a.b}$, 498$^{a.b}$, 499^{b}, 500^{a} ; on Ephesians, **485^{a}**, 489^{b}, 493^{b}–495^{b}, 499^{b}, 500^{a} ; on 1 Thessalonians, **485^{a}**, 496^{a}, 498^{a}, 500$^{a.b}$, 501^{a} ; on Titus, 496^{b} ; on Philemon, 496$^{a.b}$; *contra Rufinum*, 491^{a}, 494^{a}, 495$^{a.b}$, 500^{a}, ; *de Viris Illustribus*, 489^{b}, 497^{b}, 498$^{a.b}$, 499^{b}, 500$^{a.b}$, 501^{a} ; other reff., 484^{a}, 490^{a}, 491^{b}, 492^{b}, 494^{a}, 497^{b}, 498^{b}, 500^{a}, 518^{a}.
Jerome, pseudo-, 512^{a}.
John. See Chrysostom.
John Climax, 489^{a}.
John Damascene, 489^{a}, 497^{a}, 506^{b}, 518^{b}, **519$^{a.b}$**, 520^{a}, 522^{b}, 524^{a}.
John the 'exceptor,' 525^{b}.
John Moschus, 521^{a}.
Josephus, 522^{b}, 523^{b}.
Julian of Eclanum, 502^{b}.
Junilius, 508^{b}, 511^{a}, 512^{a}.
Justinian, 488^{a}, 491^{a}, 508^{b}, 513^{a}.
Lanfranc of Canterbury, 510^{b}, 511^{a}
Latin, see Translations into.
Leo I., pope, 517^{a}, 525^{b}.
Leontius of Byzantium, 501^{a}, 504^{a}, 509^{b}, 513^{a}, 515^{a}, 522^{b}.
Libanius, 514^{b}.
Liberatus of Carthage, 508^{b}.
Lucian of Antioch, 498^{a}.
Marcellinus the Chronicler, 518^{a}.
Marcion, 484^{a}, **489$^{a.b}$**.
Martin I., pope, 525^{b}.
Maximus Confessor, 489^{a}, 497^{a}, 522^{b}, 525^{b}.
Methodius of Patara, 486^{a}, 497^{a}, 522$^{a.b}$.
Monophysitism, 508$^{a.b}$, 513^{a}, 517$^{a.b}$, 523$^{a.b}$.
Muratorian Canon, 521^{a}.
Nestorianism, 508$^{a.b}$, 509^{a}, 513^{a}, **516^{a}**, 517^{b}, 519^{a}.
Nicetas of Serræ, **486^{b}**, 487^{a}, 488^{a}.
Nicolas, 522^{b}.
Nicolas of Reggio, 524^{a}.
Oecumenius, **485^{a}–486^{a}**, 486^{b}, 487$^{a.b}$, **488$^{a.b}$**, 489^{a}, 497^{a}, 499^{a}, 507^{b} 515^{a}, 516^{b}, 517^{b}, 518^{a}, 519^{b}, 520^{a}, 521$^{a.b}$, 522$^{a.b}$, **523^{a}–524^{a}** 524^{b}.
Origen, 484$^{a.b}$, 485^{a}, 487^{a}, 488^{a}, 489$^{a.b}$, **490^{a}–496^{b}**, 497$^{a.b}$, 498^{a} 499^{b}, 500$^{a.b}$, 512^{a}, 513^{a}, 516^{b}, 519^{b}, 520^{b}, 521^{b}, 522$^{a.b}$, 524$^{a.b}$.
Palladius, 499^{b}, 529^{a}.
Pamphilus, 490^{a}, 491^{b}, 493^{b}, 496$^{a.b}$, 528^{a}, 529^{b}.
Pantænus, **489^{b}**.
Papias, 520^{b}, 521^{a}.
Parallela Sacra, 484^{b}.
Paul of Samosata, 509^{b}.
Pelagianism, 518^{b}.
Pelagius, 484^{a}, 512^{a}.
Pelagius II., pope, 510^{a}.
Philip of Side, 497^{b}.
Photius : *Myriobiblon*, 497^{b}, 501$^{a.b}$, 502$^{a.b}$, 503^{b}, 504^{b}, 508^{b}, 509^{a}, 513^{a}, 520$^{a.b}$; Commentary on St. Paul, 485^{b}, 487^{a}, 488^{b}, 489^{a}, 497^{a}, 515^{b}, 519^{a}, **519^{b}–520^{a}**, 522$^{a.b}$, 523^{a}, 524$^{a.b}$.
Pierius, 484^{b}, **497^{b}**.
Primasius, pseudo-, 512^{a}.
Priscillian, 487^{b}.
Rabanus Maurus, 510^{b}, 511^{a}.
Rufinus of Aquileia, 490^{b}–491^{b}, 493^{b}, 494^{a}–495^{b}, 496$^{a.b}$, 499^{b}, 524^{b}, 529^{a}.
Rusticus, 508^{b}.
Sedulius Scotus, 510^{b}, 511^{a}.
Severian of Gabala, 485^{b}, 487^{a}, 489^{a}, 495^{b}, 496^{a}, 497^{a}, **507^{a}–508^{a}**, 512^{a}, 521^{b}, 522$^{a.b}$, 524$^{a.b}$.
Severus of Antioch, 489^{a}, 507^{b}, 508^{a}, 513^{a}, 516^{a}, 522$^{a.b}$, 523$^{a.b}$.
Shenoute the Copt, 508^{a}.
Socrates, 491^{b}, 500^{b}, 501$^{a.b}$, 502^{a}.
Sozomen, 501^{a}.
Stephen Gobar, 513^{a}.
Suidas, 501^{a}.
Symeon Logothetes, 489^{a}.
Syriac, see Translations into.
Tertullian, 489$^{a.b}$.
Theodore of Alexandria, 510^{b}.
Theodore of Heraclea, 484^{b}, 485^{a}, 488^{a}, **497^{b}–498^{a}**, 498^{b}, 500$^{a.b}$.
Theodore of Mopsuestia, 484^{a}, 485^{b}, 487$^{a.b}$, 488$^{a.b}$, 489^{a}, 495^{b} 496^{a}, 497^{a}, 500$^{a.b}$, 501^{b}, 507^{b}, **508^{a}–512^{b}**, 516^{b}, 517^{a}, 518$^{a.b}$, 519^{a}, 521^{b}, 522$^{a.b}$, 523^{b}, 524^{b}, 528^{b}.
Theodore the Monk, 487^{a}, 510^{b}, 518^{b}, **519^{a}**.
Theodore the Reader, 501^{a}.
Theodoret, 485^{b}, 487^{a}, 489^{a}, 497^{a}, 498^{a}, 503^{b}, 507^{a}, 510^{b}, 512^{a}, 515$^{a.b}$, **516^{a}–517^{b}**, 518$^{a.b}$, 519$^{a.b}$, 521^{b}, 522$^{a.b}$, 524$^{a.b}$.
Theodulus chorepiscopus, 522^{a}.
Theophilus of Alexandria, 497^{a}, **514^{b}**.
Theophylact, 485^{a}, **486$^{a.b}$**, 487$^{a.b}$, 506^{b}, 519^{b}.
Translations into Latin : [Rufinus] Origen on Romans, 490^{b}–491^{b} ; Pamphilus, *Apologia pro Origene*, 491^{b}, 493^{b}, 496$^{a.b}$: [Jerome] passages from Origen on Galatians, 492^{a} ; on Ephesians, 494^{a}–495^{b} ; on 1 Thessalonians, 496^{a} ; on Philemon, 496$^{a.b}$; from Theodore of Heraclea on 1 Corinthians, 498^{a} ; from Didymus on 1 Corinthians, 499^{b} ; from Apollinaris on Ephesians, 500^{a} ; from Diodore on 1 Thessalonians, 501^{a} : [Facundus] passage from Theodore of Mopsuestia on Romans, 510^{a} : [anonymous] Theodore of Mopsuestia on Galatians-Philemon, 508^{b}, 510^{b}–511^{b} : [Cassiodorus] Clement of Alexandria on the Catholic epistles, 520^{b}.
Translations into Syriac : Chrysostom, 505^{a} ; Theodore of Mopsuestia, 508^{a}, 509$^{a.b}$; letters of Isidore, 513^{b} ; Cyril, 515$^{a.b}$, 516^{a} ; passage from Oecumenius, 523^{b} ; 'Euthalian' apparatus to Pauline epistles, 528^{b}.
Valentinians, 484^{a}, 489^{b}.
Victorinus Afer, 484^{b}, 487^{b}
Victorinus of Pettau, 500^{b}.
Vigilius, pope, 508^{b}, 510^{a}.

LITERATURE.—Books dealing only with individual writers have been mentioned in the text of the article, and are not named again here. Those of wider scope may be classified as (1) books on Patristic literature in general, and (2) books on Patristic exegesis in particular.

(1) For the ante-Nicene writers : Harnack's *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius : Erster Theil, Die Ueberlieferung und der Bestand* (2 vols. Leipzig, 1893) is of course invaluable ; the parts which touch most nearly the subject-matter of this article fell to the share of Harnack's assistant, Dr. E. Preuschen of Darmstadt. Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography* (4 vols. London, 1877–1887) has been of much service, though it is marred by some curious omissions and inequalities, and is often weakest just on the critical and bibliographical side ; but the general level is high, and the articles on Origen and Theodore of Mopsuestia raise it higher still. Dr. O. Bardenhewer's *Patrologie* (ed. 2, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1901) is a most useful book : the reissue in a greatly enlarged form has not, unfortunately for the present purpose, advanced as yet beyond the second volume and the Council of Nicæa. Tillemont's *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles* (Paris, 1693–1712), two hundred years old as it is, has never been superseded for the post-Nicene period, and is still for many purposes the best authority.

(2) For the history of Patristic exegesis there is little to enumerate. The present writer is acquainted with nothing in English that goes further than the brief account appended by bishop Lightfoot to his commentary on the Galatians (ed. 5, pp. 227–236): in this, as in every contribution of Lightfoot's to Patristic studies, new ground was broken, but the material is more abundant now than when he wrote. Much more abundant, therefore, is it than it was when Richard Simon, priest of the Oratory and founder of the science of Biblical Criticism, gave to the world his *Histoire critique des principaux commentateurs du Nouveau Testament* (of which about half is devoted to the Patristic commentators, Greek and Latin), Rotterdam, 1693: nor is its age quite the only drawback to its usefulness, since its obvious interest in the Jansenist controversies of its day perhaps detracts something from its critical value. Yet it remains, and always must remain, worthy to be named with Tillemont's *Mémoires* as one of the noblest fruits of the rich harvest of French Patristic scholarship in the age of Louis the Great, and the present article owes not a little to its inspiration.

[Among the friends who have assisted him, the present writer renders his grateful thanks to Dr. Sanday, who has found time to read through the whole of the proofs; to Mr. E. W. Brooks, who has kindly verified several points in regard to Syriac MSS in the British Museum; and to the Rev. C. Jenkins, who has undertaken most of the thankless task of verifying references. He must make, however, further and special mention of his indebtedness to Dr. G. Mercati of the Vatican Library, to whom he owes not only more information about Vatican Catenæ than has yet appeared in print, but also a reference to the discovery of Oecumenius' commentary on the Apocalypse, which has an important bearing on the date of the Oecumenian Catena on St. Paul. The printing of the article had advanced too far for the new information about Oecumenius to be incorporated at its proper place; and to the same cause is due the insertion, on pp. 520, 521, of the section on Clement of Alexandria, it having been omitted by the writer's oversight on p. 489. For these and for any other unevennesses it is hoped that indulgence may be claimed in view of the difficulties attaching to labour in a field where the ground has been left so long untilled].

C. H. Turner.

CONCORDANCES.—When the minute verbal comparison of one passage of Holy Scripture with another was felt to play a necessary part in arriving at the proportion of faith, and, in later times, at a proper critical treatment of the text, and especially when the Bible was treated more as a whole than as a collection of books of varying dates and composition, the need for more or less exhaustive Concordances was immediately felt, and it was not long before attempts were made to provide for the need. This was rendered the more easy by the printing of the text divided into verses as well as chapters. Alphabetical lists of words occurring in the sacred books were drawn up, as well as lists of the passages in which they occurred, with the salient words of the context, such as are given in Cruden's *Concordance* to the AV. These lists of words varied in their degree of completeness; but no Concordance can reasonably be expected to contain every quotation of every word; *e.g.* in an English Concordance such words as 'and,' 'the,' etc., are omitted. The interest taken in this accumulation of evidence about the occurrence of words and phrases is testified to by the fact that, for instance, in the case of Concordances to the LXX there are not only several which have been published, but there is certainly one unprinted in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin,* by Dr. Ambrose Aungier, Chancellor of St. Patrick's Cathedral. There is also in existence a MS Hebrew Concordance by Elias Levita, compiled in the 16th century.

For the purposes of the present volume it will be useful to supply a list of Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and English Concordances to the Bible, giving the titles of those now most constantly in use, and of some of the earliest ones that seem to have been published.

i. Hebrew.—*Concordantiæ sacrorum bibliorum Hebraicorum* . . . auctore Mario de Calasio (Rome, 1621) [this was based on Isaac Nathan's earlier work, which was first published at Venice in 1564, more than a hundred years after its compilation]; Fuerst, *Librorum Sacrorum Veteris Testamenti Concordantiæ Hebraicæ atque Chaldaicæ* (Leipzig, 1840); Davidson, *Concordance of the Hebrew and Chaldaic Scriptures* (Bagster: London, 1876); Mandelkern, *Veteris Testamenti Concordantiæ Hebraicæ atque Chaldaicæ* (Leipzig, 1896). A smaller edition of the last work, without quotations, was published at Leipzig in 1897.

ii. Greek.—(1) *Septuagint.*—*Concordantiæ Veteris Testamenti Græcæ Hebræis vocibus respondentes* . . . auctore C. Kirchero (Frankfort, 1607); Trommius, *Concordantiæ Græcæ versionis . . . LXX Interpretum* (Amsterdam); *Handy Concordance of the Septuagint*, without quotations (Bagster, 1887). All these are now more or less superseded by Hatch and Redpath's *Concordance to the Septuagint, and other Greek Versions of the OT* (Clarendon Press, 1892–1897), with its two supplemental fasciculi, of which one, containing the proper names, is already published, and the second is on the eve of publication.

(2) *New Testament.*—*Novi Testamenti Concordantiæ Græcæ* . . . (Basle, 1546); Bruder, *Concordance* (2nd ed., Leipzig, 1853); Moulton and Geden, *Concordance to the Greek Testament*, according to the Texts of Westcott and Hort, Tischendorf and the English Revisers (Edinburgh, 1897).

iii. Latin.—The Concordance of Hugo de Sancto Caro (1244; revised 1290); *Concordantie maiores biblie tam dictionū declinabiliū quam indeclinabilium* [by Sebastian Brant] (Basle, 1496); Dutripon, *Concordantiæ Bibliorum Sacrorum Vulgatæ Editionis* (Paris, 1838); Cooraert, *Concordantiæ librorum Veteris et Novi Testamenti . . . juxta Vulgatam Editionem* (Bruges, 1892).

iv. English.—*A Concordance, that is to say, a work wherein by the order of the letters of the A. B. C. ye maie redely finde any word conteigned in the whole Bible* . . . [by J. Marbeck] [London] 1550; Cruden, *A Complete Concordance to the Holy Scriptures* (1st ed.), London, 1738. Upon this almost all later Concordances have been more or less based; T. Taylor, *A New Concordance to the Holy Scriptures* (1st ed., York, 1782); Eadie, *A New and Complete Concordance to the Holy Scriptures*, on the basis of Cruden's (1st ed., Glasgow, 1840); R. Young, *Analytical Concordance to the Bible . . . containing every word in alphabetical order, arranged under its Hebrew or Greek original* (Edinburgh, 1879 [–84]); Strong, *The Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible, together with a comparative Concordance of the AV and RV* (Hodder & Stoughton: London, 1894). In the *Comprehensive Concordance to the Holy Scriptures* (London, 1895) is to be found a 'Bibliography of Concordances,' by Dr. M. C. Hazard.

A *Concordance to the NT in English* was published by T. Gybson [London] in 1535. *A Complete Concordance to the Revised Version of the NT* . . . by J. A. Thoms, was issued by the S.P.C.K. (London) in 1884.

For a fuller account of Hebrew Concordances, see art. 'Concordance' in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, to which the present writer is indebted for certain statements in this article. For further details concerning Greek Concordances, see *Expositor*, 5th series, vol. iii. (1896) p. 72; and for an account of Cruden and his labours, see the article 'Cruden' in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Henry A. Redpath.

RELIGION OF BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA.—

Introduction, p. 532^{a}.
- i. The Sources. Indirect testimony of ancient writers now superseded by that of the monuments, p. 532^{b}.
- ii. Early History of Babylonia and Assyria.
  - 1. A plurality of rival city-States in early times, p. 533^{a}.
  - 2. Union of northern and southern Babylonia by Ḫammurabi into one empire, with Babylon as centre, p. 534^{a}.
  - 3. Kassite and other dynasties, p. 534^{b}.

---

* See *Expositor*, 5th series, vol. iii. (1896) p. 72.

4. Rise of Assyria, p. 534^{b}.
5. Marduk the patron deity of Babylon and head of the Babylonian pantheon, p. 534^{b}.
6. Similar position of Ashur in the Assyrian pantheon, p. 535^{a}.

iii. RELATION OF THE CULTURE AND RELIGION OF ASSYRIA TO THOSE OF BABYLONIA. Assurbanipal's library, 535^{a}.

iv. ORIGIN OF BABYLONIAN CULTURE. The Sumerian question, p. 535^{b}.

v. THE BABYLONO-ASSYRIAN PANTHEON.
Introduction, p. 536^{b}.
A. *THE CHIEF DEITIES.*
1. Anu, Bel, and Ea, p. 538^{a}.
2. Ishtar, p. 540^{b}.
3. Sin, p. 541^{b}.
4. Shamash, Ninib, Nergal, p. 542^{b}.
5. Adad, p. 544^{b}.
6. Marduk, p. 545^{a}.
7. Nebo, p. 545^{b}.
8. Girru-Nusku, p. 546^{a}.
9. Ashur, p. 546^{b}.
B. *MINOR DEITIES.*
Lugal-banda, Nin-sun, Nin-mar, Nidaba, Ka-di, Bau, Dumu-zi, Shid, Nin-agid-khadu, Nin-dara, Ishum, Gal-alim, Dun-shagga, Dumu-zi-zuab, p. 547^{b} ff.
C. *COMBINED INVOCATION OF DEITIES.*
1. Inscriptions on boundary stones, p. 549^{a}.
2. The alleged Babylonian 'monotheism,' p. 550^{a}.

vi. THE RELIGIOUS LITERATURE OF BABYLONIA.
1. Early origin of the Religious Literature, p. 550^{b}.
2. Large part played in Babylonian religion by demons, p. 551^{a}.
3. Incantation rituals, p. 551^{b}. The 'Maḳlu' series, p. 552^{b}.
4. Omens and oracles, p. 556^{a}.
5. Prayers and hymns, p. 563^{b}.
6. Penitential Psalms, p. 566^{a}.
7. The Babylonian Cosmology, p. 567^{a}.
8. Life after death: story of (i.) Adapa, p. 573^{a}, (ii.) Nergal and Eresh-kigal, p. 574^{b}, (iii.) Ishtar's descent to the under world, p. 575^{a}.

vii. TEMPLES AND CULT, p. 577^{a}.
Summary and General Estimate, p. 581^{b}.
Literature, p. 583^{a}.

At the outset of an account of the religion of Babylonia and Assyria one is impressed by the circumstance that, with the single exception of the religion of the ancient Hebrews, there is no one of the religions of antiquity known to us that enables us to trace more satisfactorily the growth of religious ideas among a people, from a crude polytheism based on nature worship and accompanied by primitive rites, to a striking approach towards a monotheistic conception of the Universe, with a highly complicated priestly organization, and an elaborated theological system. There is also no other ancient religion—not even that of Egypt—which may lay claim to having exercised so large a measure of influence over surrounding nations, shaping as it did the myths and legends of the Hebrews, Phœnicians, and Greeks alike, showing its traces also in the religion of Egypt, and contributing in various ways to the systems of religious thought produced in the ancient East and West. Hardly less remarkable is the antiquity of the religion of Babylonia and Assyria, which became an important factor in the religious history of mankind as early at least as the third millennium B.C., and practically finished its rôle before Hebrew monotheism asserted itself.

These considerations fully justify the efforts put forth by the past two generations of scholars and continued by the present generation in the task of recovering for science the long-lost and forgotten sources for the study of this religion. And while we are not yet in a position to follow in detail the history of the movement, in connexion with the general culture that took its rise in the Euphrates Valley and subsequently spread northwards to the district more properly known as Assyria, more than enough material is forthcoming to furnish the basis for a satisfactory account of the pantheon, of the doctrines and rites, and of the literary productions that are an outcome of the spirit pervading the religion itself. More than this, we can with measurable certainty distinguish between certain periods in the history of the religion, and can indicate political and intellectual factors that contributed to the gradual transformation of certain doctrines, while in a general way the literary process involved in the production of rituals, epics, myths, and legends can now be determined.

i. THE SOURCES.—Until the middle of the 19th cent. our sources for the religion of Babylonia and Assyria were a few scattered notices in a number of classical and other authors, notably Herodotus, Eusebius, and Syncellus, and in the compilation of the Jewish Rabbis known as the Talmud, and some incidental though valuable allusions in the historical and prophetical portions of the Old Testament. Through the excavations so successfully conducted by French, English, American, and German explorers in the mounds scattered along the banks of the Tigris and in the Euphrates Valley,[*] since the year 1842, these notices and allusions have been relegated to the rank of secondary sources, and, instead, we have now, as primary sources, the unearthed temples and palaces of Babylonia and Assyria, with their statues, furnishings, and inscriptions, and, above all, the abundant literary archives found in the mounds. The royal library, more particularly, collected by king Assurbanipal (668–625 B.C.) in his palace at Nineveh and unearthed by Layard and Rassam (1849–1854),[†] contained thousands of tablets with contents of a directly religious character—incantations, omens, myths, legends, hymns, prayers, and entire rituals, while the affiliation existing in Babylonia and Assyria between religion on the one hand, and astronomy, medicine, and even law, on the other, also renders other portions of the library, which ranges over numerous branches of literary activity, valuable as sources for the study of the Babylono-Assyrian religion. The library at Nineveh, though dating—at least for the greater part—from the days of Assurbanipal, represents a considerably older literature; for, as the king frequently informs us in the subscriptions of the tablets, the collection was formed by having copies made through his scribes from originals that existed in Babylonian archives. This statement carries with it the important corollary that Assurbanipal's library represents the remains of a literature produced not in Assyria but in Babylonia; and, in confirmation of this, many tablets have been found in the course of excavations in mounds in Babylonia proper, which are either duplicates of those in the Nineveh collection, or supplement them. The character of the writing, apart from other evidence, on some of these Babylonian 'originals' would justify us in carrying the literary activity of the scribes of the south back to about two millenniums before the days of Assurbanipal, while the discovery[‡] of extensive literary archives in connexion with the American excavations at Nippur, the tablets of which are all said to be earlier than the third millennium before our era, warrants an even earlier date for the beginnings of Babylonian literature.

---

[*] See the bibliographical references attached to articles ASSYRIA and BABYLONIA in vol. i., to which must now be added (1) Rogers' *History of Babylonia and Assyria* (New York and London, 1900), which contains (vol. i. pp. 1–253) the best detailed account of the excavations; (2) Hilprecht's *Explorations in Bible Lands* (Phila. 1903), pp. 3–577, supplementing Rogers in some particulars, and containing a full though severely criticised account of the excavations at Nippur; and (3) the *Mittheilungen der Deutschen Orient. Gesellschaft* (1898 to date), furnishing regular reports of the German excavations in and around the city of Babylon, which are to be extended also to other mounds in Babylonia and Assyria.

[†] For an account of this library, see, *e.g.*, Kaulen, *Assyrien und Babylonien* (5th ed., Freiburg, 1899, ch. vii.); Menant, *La Bibliothèque du Palais de Ninive* (Paris, 1880); and, above all, Bezold's invaluable catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection (London, 1889–99, 5 vols.).

[‡] See Hilprecht's *Explorations in Bible Lands* (Philadelphia and Edinburgh, 1903), pp. 511–532.

Roughly speaking, all the more important literary productions in Assurbanipal's library were in existence before the year 2000 B.C., while many are no doubt considerably older.

In the south, where the religious literature grew up in connexion with the activity of the Babylonian temples, the latter formed the natural depositories for these collections, just as in the temples, as the courts of justice and as the centres of astronomical and medical science, the official legal archives and the extensive scientific collections were kept. It is characteristic of the general relationship of Assyria to Babylonian culture that the Assyrian monarch was not only obliged to import his literature from the south, but in doing so made the palace the depository for this foreign product instead of the temple. The zeal which animated him in sending his scribes to ransack the libraries of the south was neither literary nor religious, but due to a political and in part also to a personal ambition to emphasize, by a transfer thither of the culture of the south, the complete ascendency of Assyria as the dominant power, and as the legatee of the civilization that arose in Babylonia. Along with this civilization, the religion of the south was also carried to the north; and while, in so far as the pantheon is concerned, the Assyrians manifested a certain originality, and while the northern scribes also made contributions to the religious literature, in all but minor details the views and doctrines embodied in these productions are identical with those developed in the theological and religious centres of the south. Thus for all practical purposes the religion of Assyria may be regarded as identical with that of Babylonia. This identity extends to the cult, which naturally presented variations in each centre of both the south and the north, but which was everywhere based upon the same conceptions of the relationship between man and the higher Powers, and reflected the same general religious doctrines.

ii. EARLY HISTORY OF BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA.—As a preliminary to an understanding of the religion of Babylonia and Assyria, it is essential to have clearly before us the general course taken by the history of these two countries.

1. The striking feature in the earliest period to which we can trace it, is the frequent change in the position of the political centres. We see the Euphrates Valley at this time divided into a varying number of States or principalities, at rivalry with one another, now the one, now the other exercising a certain supremacy over the whole district, without, however, bringing it into real subjection; while, on the other hand, for indefinite periods several of these States occupy an equal position of importance and prominence side by side, and even enter into compacts with one another. The various States centre each around a city, and the growth of the State is essentially the extension of that city. The political importance thus given to the leading towns of ancient Babylonia is further enhanced by the religious significance which is in close union with their political advance; for the deity presiding over a place shares, in accordance with the general view prevailing in antiquity, the fortunes of his subjects. The god, the place of his worship, and his worshippers, are in inseparable contact.

This state of affairs can now be traced back, thanks chiefly to the results of the excavations at Telloh and Nippur, to about 3500 B.C., though it should be added that the chronology beyond 2500 B.C. is still quite uncertain. Hence we can only deal in round numbers for the earlier periods, and indeed, according to some scholars, we are not justified in passing much beyond 3000 B.C. for the date of the earliest inscriptions as yet found.* In this earliest period known to us we find Eridu, Shirpurla (or Sirgulla), Ur, Gishban, Nippur, Erech, Larsa, and Isin (or Nisin) among the cities of southern Babylonia occupying a prominent position. In the northern portion, again, lay Kish, Cuthah, Agade, Sippar, and, youngest of all, Babylon. From the testimony of the inscriptions no certain conclusions can be drawn as to the relative age of these centres, for naturally the oldest written document presupposes a long anterior political history as well as a history of civilization, during which period an important rôle may have been played by cities that had disappeared from the horizon before monumental evidence begins; while others that appear to occupy an inferior position may have enjoyed a high degree of supremacy at a time for which no material is as yet at our disposal. Thus we have every reason to believe that a town **Eridu**, which lay on the Persian Gulf, must at one time have had control over a considerable section of southern Babylonia, since the cult of the patron deity of that place—the god Ea—survives all the vicissitudes of political fortunes. Down to the latest period of the Babylonian religion, Ea retains in the pantheon a place that is unique and almost inexplicable, except on the supposition that the political importance of the place gave the god his impregnable position. Similarly, while there are other cities in the oldest period that appear to be politically more powerful than **Nippur**, the chief god of the latter yields to none in the honours accorded to him. He is not only invoked by the rulers of other centres, but becomes known as Bel, 'the lord' *par excellence*; and, long after Nippur has passed into the background of Babylonian history, the old Bel retains his place as the second member in a triad that summed up for Babylonian theologians the quintessence of Divine control of the Universe in the largest sense. Unless totally different conditions prevailed in the period which is still beyond our ken, from those which characterize the relationship between political position and religious supremacy during the entire period for which we now have direct sources at our command, a political predominance of Nippur must likewise have preceded the fame and rank acquired by its patron deity.

The precise order of supremacy exercised by the various political centres has not yet been determined with that degree of certainty which would enable one to speak with perfect definiteness. It is still a matter of doubt whether the seat of the oldest Babylonian ruler at present known to us, En-shag-kush-anna, was Erech or Shirpurla, though the probabilities are in favour of the latter. The few brief inscriptions that we have from him were found at Nippur, and give expression to the king's homage to En-lil or Bel, while his title 'lord of Kengi' points to control over a large district—perhaps the whole of southern Babylonia. The most serious rival to En-shag-kush-anna was the ruler of **Kish** in northern Babylonia, and it would appear that not long after the days of En-shag-kush-anna Shirpurla enters upon a period of dependency upon Kish; its rulers no longer call themselves kings, but *patesis*, *i.e.* 'governors.' With some interruptions, during which the former conditions are for a time restored, this state of things continues until Kish is obliged to yield its supremacy in turn to other places, first to a centre **Gishban**, situated not far from Shirpurla—one of whose rulers, Lugalzaggisi, calls himself 'king of the world,' and claims sovereignty from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean. The glory of Gishban, however, appears to have been of short duration, and we next hear of the kings of **Agade**, to the north of Kish, extending their rule far into the south, and including in their domain both Nippur and Shirpurla in the south. The most famous of these rulers of Agade were Sargon and his son Naram-Sin, the fame of whose exploits, involving military expeditions to the distant West, survived to a late period, and, becoming enveloped in myth, gave to Sargon more particularly a semi-legendary character.

---

* See Winckler in Helmolt's *History of the World* (1903), vol. iii. pp. 8–10.

Of the oldest history of **Erech** we as yet know little. The names of a few of her rulers whose date falls about or before 3000 B.C. are known, and some of their exploits, which show that this centre succeeded in maintaining its independence, without, however, attaining, within the period for which material is available, to a position of supremacy, except possibly for a short time. On the other hand, the prominence belonging to the chief goddess of the place, Nanâ, who retains an independent position down to the latest Assyrian period (despite the general tendency in both Babylonia and Assyria to consolidate the various goddesses worshipped at different centres in one great goddess, who becomes known as Ishtar), is again an important testimony to the part that Erech as a centre must have played in the political life of southern Babylonia at an early period—perhaps earlier even, as in the case of Eridu and Nippur, than the date of our oldest sources.

Much more satisfactory is our knowledge of another important centre of southern Babylonia, **Ur**, whose existence can also be traced back to about 3000 B.C. Its kings about this time secured control over Shirpurla. While the kingdom of Ur, with a frequent change of dynasties, maintains itself down to *c.* 2600 B.C., it was obliged at times to yield in rank to other cities—at one period to **Isin**, probably to the north of Erech—some of whose rulers (*c.* 2700-2500 B.C.) claim control over Ur, Nippur, Eridu, and Erech, and later to a centre, **Larsa**, which, for a short time at least (*c.* 2300 B.C.), succeeds in bringing the kingdom of Ur under its immediate control.

2. A new era of Babylonian history opens with the rise of a dynasty in the city of **Babylon itself**, of which until *c.* 2300 B.C. we hear nothing at all. Its position in the north is significant as pointing to the gradual shifting of the real centre of the entire Euphrates district in this direction. The sixth member of this dynasty, Ḫammurabi (*c.* 2250 B.C.), succeeded in accomplishing the great task of uniting northern and southern Babylonia under one sovereignty, and it is only from his time onwards that we can properly speak of a Babylonian empire. True, efforts were made from time to time by the southern districts—comprised under the term *Chaldæa*—to secure their independence, and the New Babylonian empire, which represents the last, and in some respects the greatest, effort of the Euphrates Valley to rise to a position as a world-empire, was founded by Chaldæans ; but, amidst all the vicissitudes of the seventeen centuries following Ḫammurabi, Babylon maintains its position as the capital of the country, while the old centres, Eridu, Nippur, Ur, Erech, Larsa, Sippar, retain their importance as religious centres merely, or, as in the case of Shirpurla, Kish, Gishban, Agade, and Isin, disappear from the foreground of history entirely. We are able to distinguish a large number of dynasties ruling with Babylon as a centre from *c.* 2400 to 539 B.C. Not all of these, however, are of Babylonian origin. Indeed, the very first dynasty to which the position of Babylon as the permanent centre of the Euphrates Valley is due, represents a foreign invasion of the country from the interior or the western coast of Arabia, and marks the triumph of a migratory movement from this direction that had probably been going on for some time before the *dénouement* is reached under Ḫammurabi, *c.* 2250 B.C. The successors of Ḫammurabi maintain their supremacy till *c.* 2100 B.C., when they are forced to yield to invaders who appear to have come likewise from the south.

3. About 400 years later, foreigners from the east, who call themselves Kassites, obtain possession of the Babylonian throne, and maintain their supremacy for a period of 576 years (*c.* 1730 to *c.* 1150 B.C.) ; and, although the Kassite rulers manifest particular devotion to Nippur and its deity, Babylon still remains the political centre and the seat of government. At last the Kassites are driven out, and native Babylonians, hailing, as it would seem, from the ancient centre of Isin, mount the throne.

4. From this time onwards internal disturbances and the pressure from the north (where meanwhile a powerful kingdom had established itself, with its centre alternately at Ashur, Calah, and finally Nineveh) are the two factors that determine the changes that the south undergoes in its rulers. About the middle of the 13th cent. the relationship with Assyria,—as this northern kingdom was called,—which had at first been on the whole of a peaceable character, became hostile, and it was soon apparent that the more vigorous northern kingdom seriously threatened the older culture of the south. The steady advance of the Assyrian power, despite periods of retrogression, goes *pari passu* with the decline of Babylonia, until at the close of the 12th cent. an Assyrian ruler, Tiglath-pileser I., reduces Babylonia for a time to the rank of an Assyrian vassal, though it is significant that southern Babylonia or Chaldæa does not come under Assyrian sway. On the contrary, this latter district—divided once more into a number of States, loosely united to one another—maintains a large measure of independence, and at most is forced to pay tribute to Assyria during certain periods. On the whole, however, the political star of the south sinks behind the horizon, and only as the glory of Assyria herself is eclipsed by temporary discomfitures to her military ambitions or by internal dissensions, does Babylonia regain a portion of her former rank. If, despite this general condition of dependence upon the north, Babylonia at least enjoyed the privilege of having native rulers on the throne—with some exceptional periods, when it became a prey to invaders from the south or east, or when the Assyrian kings forced their choice (some favourite general, or their sons or brothers) upon the Babylonians, or in some cases themselves assumed the reins of government,—this was due, in the first instance, to the intellectual and commercial superiority of the south, which could not be set aside by mere force of arms ; and, secondly, to the respect inspired by the religious sanctuaries of the south, to which the Assyrians were as fervently attached as the Babylonians, if for no other reason than because of the disasters that they dreaded in case of any offence offered to the great gods of the south,—whose position had in the course of millenniums become independent of the political kaleidoscope.

5. The union of the Babylonian States had definitely secured for the patron deity of the city of Babylon—the god **Marduk**—his position as the head of the pantheon ; and, though attempts were made at times to set Marduk aside in favour of some other god,—Nebo, the god of Borsippa (opposite Babylon), or the old Bel of Nippur, or Shamash, the sun-god of Sippar,—they did not succeed in doing more than temporarily eclipsing the glory of Marduk, who on the whole maintained his position down to the fall of the New Babylonian empire. It is signifi-

cant that, when Cyrus entered Babylon in triumph in the autumn of B.C. 539, the first act of the conqueror was to pay his devotion to Marduk, as whose deputy he claims to act. This commanding position of Marduk in the pantheon is the most notable feature, from the religious point of view, of the period following upon Ḫammurabi. It opens a new era in the religious history of Babylonia, and forms a convenient dividing line between the oldest and the second period in this history. That it was brought about through a political act, is an illustration of the close relationship in Babylonia and Assyria between political and religious conditions, upon which we have dwelt. With Marduk as the head of the pantheon, it was necessary to regulate the position of the other gods of the great religious centres towards him. The older attempts of the theologians to systematize the pantheon had to be re-shaped in accordance with the state of affairs created by the acknowledgment of Babylon as the centre of government for the entire Euphrates Valley. The old myths and legends, which even before Ḫammurabi's days had been reduced to writing, were re-shaped so as to accord to Marduk the glory and rank due to him. Older gods, of whom stories were related, had to make way for Marduk, and this was done even at the risk of interfering with the original meaning of the myths.

The subsequent degradation of Babylonia to a position of greater or lesser dependence upon Assyria did not affect the position of Marduk, or the theological system based upon it. The kings of Assyria, when they came to Babylon, paid their homage to Marduk; they made no effort to put their chief deity—Ashur—in Marduk's place, and at most ventured to place the former by the side of the latter in their invocations; and, when the New Babylonian empire was founded by Chaldæans, the rulers, though the two most important representatives of them bore names compounded with the god Nebo (Nabopolassar, Nebuchadreẓẓar), vied with their predecessors in manifestations of devotion to the great Marduk. The new city of Babylon reared by them was essentially Marduk's metropolis.

6. Turning to the north, we encounter the same close bearing of the political development upon the cult. The rulers of Assyria, the earliest of whom known to us may be placed *c.* 1800 B.C., set out as *patesis* or 'governors' of the city of Ashur, situated on the Tigris; and it is the god of this place—likewise known as Ashur—who advances in rank with the progress of Assyrian arms. But, while Marduk remains attached to the place where his cult originated, Ashur follows the shifting of the capital of Assyria; and, whether the seat of government is at Calah or at Nineveh, it is Ashur who continues in the new capital his abode, as well as his guidance of the kings and of their armies. Parallel, therefore, to the supremacy of Marduk in the south, we have Ashur standing at the head of the pantheon in the north, from the earliest period to which Assyrian history can be traced back[*] down to the fall of Nineveh in 606 B.C.; and just as in the south the position of the other gods is regulated with reference to Marduk, so in the north the priests of Ashur engage in a work of systematization which results in establishing a court of deities grouped around Ashur as their king and leader.

iii. RELATION OF THE CULTURE AND RELIGION OF ASSYRIA TO THOSE OF BABYLONIA.—It will have become clear from the above sketch, that, corresponding to the greater age of Babylonia as compared with Assyria, it was in the south that culture was first developed, and from the south was carried to the north. As a matter of fact, despite some contributions to architecture, art, science, and literature made by the Assyrians, the civilization of Assyria is a direct importation from Babylonia, and continues to bear the impress of its southern origin. The temples and palaces of Assyria were modelled upon those in Babylonia, with the important exception, however, that stone was far more liberally employed as a building material in place of clay—which remained the standard material in the south. In sculptural decorations and in statues, more originality was displayed by the Assyrians than in their building constructions, and, as a great military power, it was natural that Assyria should likewise have developed her own methods of attack and defence; but, in all that pertains to the cult and to general religious doctrines, the originality of the Assyrians manifests itself only in the adaptation to their own conditions, of the modes of worship, of the ritual, and of the theology that were the outcome of the activity of a long series of generations of priests serving in the temples of the great religious centres of the south. When Assurbanipal, probably in imitation of an earlier example, resolved to collect a library in his palace, he was obliged to send his scribes to the temples of the south, in the archives of which the literary productions of the past—epics, myths, legends, collections of omens, rituals and magical incantations, hymns and prayers, as well as medical and astronomical compilations—were kept; and it does not appear that either his scribes or those of earlier days added much to this literary legacy, though, naturally, the Assyrian temples had their own rituals, prayers, and oracles specially adapted to Assyrian political and social conditions.

The relationship between the religion of Babylonia and that of Assyria thus resolves itself into an adoption of doctrines, cult, and rites of the south by the north, with such modifications as were called for by the different conditions prevailing in the north, and which led, in the case of the pantheon, to the assignment to Ashur of the place and rank occupied in the south by Marduk after the union of the States of the Euphrates Valley in the days of Ḫammurabi. We might also express this relationship in terms of a general extension northward of the religion of Babylonia, as a part of the culture that originated in the Euphrates Valley.

iv. ORIGIN OF BABYLONIAN CULTURE.—A question that suggests itself at this point, and which must be considered before we advance to a consideration of some of the details of the religion of Babylonia and Assyria, involves the problem as to the origin of Babylonian culture. At the earliest period to which we can now trace back Babylonian history we already find this culture in an advanced state, and it is safe to assume that its beginnings must be placed as early at least as 4000 B.C.—and it may turn out to be even considerably older. Scholarship is still divided on the question whether the culture is of Semitic or non-Semitic origin. The majority of scholars hold that the earliest settlers in the Valley were non-Semites, to whom the beginnings of the culture, including the invention and development of the earliest script—an essentially hieroglyphic system—are to be attributed. To this people the name **Sumerian** (or Sumero-Akkadian) is given, and it is held that the Semites—the Babylonians in the later sense—upon entering the land from the south, adopted this culture, developed it still further, and adapted the script to the expression of ideas in their own Semitic tongue. This view, however, is opposed by a small but powerful minority, led by the distinguished Prof. Joseph Halévy of Paris, which contends for the Semitic origin of the entire Babylonian culture, including, therefore, the script. The controversy which has raged for many years cannot be regarded as definitely settled,* nor is it likely to be until ethnology is in a position to reinforce or to controvert the arguments drawn by either side from the evidence of language and archæology. Meanwhile, it may be said that while, on the one hand, it seems tolerably certain that the Euphrates Valley, admirably adapted as a meeting-ground for races of various origin, actually contained in early times a population of a mixed character; on the other hand, it is no less clear that the traits of the culture, including the religion, are essentially the same in the latest days as in the earliest of which we have cognizance. The gods in the earliest texts are the same as those found in the latest; nor do the methods of invoking them, or the conceptions formed of them, undergo any other changes than those due to natural development. Nowhere is there a *violent* break with the past, but only, and at the most, a gradual transition. If, therefore, the later culture is to be regarded as Semitic,—and on this point there is general agreement,—there is no substantial reason for denying this predicate to the earliest. Such a consideration naturally does not solve the question of origins, for it may properly be argued that the non-Semitic stratum was so thoroughly absorbed by the Semites at the period to which our material for the study of Babylonia belongs, as to obscure the original features. With this admission, those who occupy an intermediate position between the opposing camps are for the present content, since it justifies the contention that the Babylonian culture, so far as known to us, is of one cast, and that therefore, in a treatment of the Religion of Babylonia and Assyria it is neither necessary nor justifiable to separate Semitic from supposedly non-Semitic features. If, therefore, there is a non-Semitic stratum to the culture which we encounter in the earliest period of Babylonian history, it belongs to a period which is, for the present at least, beyond our historical ken, and as little affects our views as to the general Semitic character of the Babylono-Assyrian religion in its earliest and latest manifestations, as the probably non-Grecian elements existing in Greek culture affect the essential unity of what we have been taught to regard as Greek religion.

---

[*] The existence of a city and district, *A-usar*, identical with Ashur, which represents a later designation of the god as well as of the city and of the district, can now be traced back to the days of Ḫammurabi. See Scheil, 'Code de Hammourabi,' col. iv. 55-64 (*Délégation en Perse*, *Mémoires*, iv. [*Textes Élamites-Sémitiques*, ii.]).

Moreover, the possibility of a non-Semitic stratum to Babylonian culture must not be confused with the question as to the existence of traces of a Sumerian language in the Babylonian script and literature. Granting the existence of such a language as Sumerian, the position to which the advocates of the Sumerian theory are led in order to account for the continued use of the 'Sumerian' method of writing thousands of years after a far more suitable one had been evolved by the Semitic or Semitized Babylonians, justifies an attitude of reserve towards the far-reaching conclusions that have been drawn from the supposed non-Semitic origin of the script employed by the Babylonians; and the fact that these conclusions are brought forward in a spirit of consistency, derived by logical processes from a certain starting-point, only accentuates the difficulty of accepting the correctness of that starting-point. Besides, the advocates of the Sumerian theory have not yet fulfilled the obligation which obviously rests upon them of defining the character of the Sumerian language in a manner acceptable to philologists, and of indicating its position in the group of languages to which it belongs.*

Under these circumstances, the attitude of reserve is still further justified on the part of those who are content to wait for 'more light' before committing themselves to a position which involves such far-reaching consequences as the acceptance of the Sumerian theory in its *present* form carries with it. Without, therefore, encroaching upon doubtful territory, we are entitled in the treatment of our theme to assume a continued development of a religion which is to be regarded in its earliest form as Semitic, provided it be admitted that in its latest form it may be given this title.

The sketch furnished at the outset of this article as to the general development of the Babylono-Assyrian religion, so far as the relationship between religion and the political history of the two countries is concerned, suggests a threefold division in the History of the Religion: the first extending from the earliest period known to us (*c.* 3500 B.C.) to the union of the Babylonian States under Ḫammurabi (*c.* 2250 B.C.); the second embracing the period down to the rise of the New Babylonian or Chaldæan empire under Nabopolassar (625 B.C.); the third covering the short existence of this empire down to the taking of Babylon by Cyrus in 539 B.C. The Assyrian religion, in so far as it entails a separate treatment, falls within the second period, although it extends into the third—from *c.* 1800 B.C. down to the fall of Nineveh, 606 B.C. A sharp separation is marked only between the first and second divisions, though the third division likewise shows traits of a special character.—The further division of the general subject into (*a*) the Pantheon, (*b*) the Religious Literature, and (*c*) the Cultus, results from the character of the material at our disposal for the study of the Babylono-Assyrian religion, which consists chiefly, as already intimated, of (1) the numerous historical and votive inscriptions of the rulers; (2) the extensive literary productions of Babylonia (as preserved chiefly in the copies of the royal library unearthed at Nineveh†); and (3) in the archæological results—still rather meagre—of the excavations of Babylonian and Assyrian sanctuaries.

v. THE BABYLONO-ASSYRIAN PANTHEON.—The religion of Babylonia in the earliest form known to us may be defined as a combination of local cults with animistic conceptions of the powers of nature, with which man was either brought into immediate contact, or which affected his aims and his welfare. Each centre had its special patron deity, and this deity—in most cases conceived as masculine—was brought into association with some natural phenomenon. The two powers most commonly chosen were the sun and the moon, and by the side of these we find streams and stones personified as gods. The independence of the States and, in still earlier days, no doubt, of the towns of the Euphrates Valley, is sufficient to account for the fact that there should thus arise a considerable number of sun- and moon-deities, and it was only as a result of political development that in time a sun-god worshipped in the most important centre came to be the sun-god *par excellence*, and, in the theological system, was regarded as having absorbed the attributes and prerogatives of his former associates or rivals. This process of concentration was not necessarily carried out with consistency; and when, as happened, two centres acquired equal significance and sanctity, the worship of the sun-god or of the moon-god was maintained in both, or a compromise was effected by distinguishing between the varying action of the sun at the different seasons of the year or in the division of the day, so that, in the developed theological system, we have one sun-deity particularly singled out as the sun of spring or of morning, and another as the midsummer or noonday sun. The former, as the conqueror of the winter storms, would be pictured as a beneficent element, a youthful hero displaying his strength; the latter, as bringing discomfort, drought, and disease, would be invested with violence and destructive force—a grim warrior in the thick of battle.

---

* It will be sufficient to refer for details of this controversy to Weissbach's monograph, *Die Sumerische Frage* (Leipzig, 1898), admirable as a summary, but which leaves the question pretty much where it was.

* The view formerly held, that the Sumerian belongs to the Ural-Altaic group, has been emphatically set aside by Prof. O. Donner—an eminent authority on this group—in an appendix to Haupt's monograph, *Die Akkadische Sprache* (Berlin, 1881). It should also be stated that, since the appearance of Haupt's monograph, little has been done towards elucidating the character of the so-called Sumerian (or Sumero-Akkadian) speech. See Winckler's remarkable confession: 'All attempts to establish an affinity with any language of the ancient world, even with the various languages of the neighbouring nations or of those still living, must be abandoned' (in Helmolt's *History of the World* (1903), vol. iii. p. 5).

† The recent discovery by J. H. Haynes of an extensive literary archive at Nippur, justifies the hope that at no distant day we may be able to study the religious literature to a large extent from 'originals' instead of from the copies prepared by the scribes of Assurbanipal. See Hilprecht's account of the Nippur library in *Explorations in Bible Lands in the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 509-532.

Such a division of functions, effected as a compromise between rival sun-deities, was the work of the priests and theologians rather than a popular process, and the example adduced will suffice for the present to illustrate the importance of what may be called the theoretical factor in the development of the Babylonian religion. One of the main problems involved in considering the functions and traits of any particular deity is thus to distinguish between original elements and such as have been imposed upon him (or her) by the attempts at systematization that begin at an early period, and that lead to the rise of various schools of theological thought, of which traces are revealed in a careful study of the religious literature. At times, naturally, it is not an easy task to differentiate the popular conceptions connected with a deity from those unfolded in the schools. So, when two gods are viewed as father and son—like Ea and Marduk—or as father and daughter—like Sin (the moon-god) and Ishtar—or as master and servant—like Shamash (the sun-god) and Ishum, or Marduk and Nusku (the fire-god)—the process involved is not the same in all. Such relationships, likewise, are expressive of compromises effected between rival deities; but in some instances, as in the case of Ea and Marduk, popular thought is involved in specifying the relationship between the two as that of father and son. In general, however, the traces of relationship between various gods indicate the absorption in some way or another by one god of the attributes of his former rivals, and may be regarded as the work of the schools in their endeavour to weave the manifold threads of the pantheon into a single pattern. While, therefore, in the development of the pantheon there may be noted a general tendency to reduce the number of deities by the recognition of those only who had acquired a relatively superior position, and which had its outcome in the Assyrian pantheon in fixing the number of really active deities at about eleven, the numerous local deities, ranging to hundreds, do not entirely disappear. They survive in invocations and incantations, the efficacy of which is supposed to be increased by the *number* of deities invoked: and also in proper names—particularly in Babylonia—where conservative influences, emanating from the popular phases of the religion, have freer play.

Turning by way of illustration to the historical and votive inscriptions of the oldest period, one cannot help being impressed by the circumstance that, while the number of deities that may be regarded as belonging to the really active pantheon is not extraordinarily large—between twenty and thirty,—if we add to these the deities paraded by rulers on occasions when they wish to emphasize the extent of their sway, or when they desire to assure themselves of the protection and favour of as large a number of Divine forces as possible, the number is more than doubled. If, again, we take into account deities entering as elements into proper names occurring in inscriptions belonging to this period, the list reaches close to one hundred. So in a text dating from the days of Manishtusu, a king of Kish, who appears to be as early as any ruler of southern Babylonia as yet known to us,* we encounter about fifty names of deities which enter as elements into the four hundred and more names of individuals enumerated. Comparing this list with the deities introduced into the historical and votive inscriptions, it will be found that, while the five or six most prominent gods of the period are represented,—notably Sin, Ea, Ishtar, En-lil, or Bel,—by far the larger majority are such as are not found in these inscriptions at all. This may be due in part to the still limited historical material that we possess for this earliest period; and it is also true that a number of the gods in this text of Manishtusu, which was found at Susa, are foreign deities—notably such as were worshipped in Elam. But, making due allowance for the possible increase of the active Babylonian pantheon of the oldest period by further discoveries, it is still safe to assume that most of the gods that appear as elements of proper names in the text in question belong to a different category, and will not, with some possible exceptions, be encountered in historical inscriptions proper. It seems certain that the deities whom we thus encounter in proper names are the old local gods, who naturally survive in the designations of individuals hailing from places where their cult was carried on; and it is equally natural that the rulers in their inscriptions should ignore all these local deities, except such as had acquired a superior rank, rendering them worthy to be invoked by a powerful chief.

If we now turn to the incantation texts, of which several series are known, we encounter the same preponderance in the number of deities invoked, over those that play a part in the active pantheon, as revealed by the historical inscriptions of any period. To be sure, our copies of these incantation series are very late; but it is quite safe to assume, as already pointed out, that the originals belong to the second millennium before our era, if not to the third; and the circumstance that many of the deities enumerated are to be found in proper names of the *earliest* period, is an evidence of the antiquity of the substantial elements of the texts themselves. In the 'Shurpu' series, as published by Prof. Zimmern, about 150 deities are introduced, as compared with 20 or 30 in historical texts of the first period; and not only are a number of these identical with those occurring in proper names of Manishtusu's obelisk, but, what is more, even the foreign gods in this text have also found their place in the incantations. These incantation rituals continue in use during the Assyrian period, when 11 great gods constitute practically the entire pantheon, and this makes the contrast to the conditions revealed by these rituals all the more striking. The explanation is again to be sought in the distinction between purely local cults and the gods who, in consequence of political and other factors, rise to a superior position. The conservatism attaching to religious texts, added to the natural desire in the case of incantations to appeal to as large a number of gods as possible, in the hope that one or the other will grant the desired help or relief, leads to the retention of the old local deities; and this is done without reference to the selective process that has led to singling out a small number only of these deities as powers of first-rate importance.

---

* See the evidence on the basis of which Scheil (*Textes Élamites-Sémitiques*, i. p. 2) places this ruler before 4500 B.C.—a date which scholars like Winckler would now reduce by about one thousand years.

In proper names, accordingly, and in incantation rituals, there are revealed to us some of the popular phases of the Babylono-Assyrian religion, and, as elsewhere, these phases stand in a certain contrast to the attempts at systematization of the pantheon which are naturally the work of the priests and of the theologians. We are thus prepared, in the historical and votive inscriptions of the earliest period and of the succeeding ones, to distinguish, on the one hand, deities of merely local significance, and those added from the desire to parade a long list of protecting powers; and, on the other hand, the really active pantheon, produced by a process of selection due in part to the natural prominence acquired by certain gods and by certain sanctuaries over others, and in part due to the attempts at systematization of the pantheon, begun by the priests in their capacity as theologians at an early period, and continued as political and social circumstances demanded.

In time this systematization reacts on the popular beliefs, and modifies them considerably; but, for all that, the popular religion always lags more or less behind the 'official' form as revealed in the scientific literature, such as the astronomical and astrological texts, and in the official inscriptions of the rulers, which were naturally produced under the prevailing theological influences. It would be idle to discuss to which of these two phases of the religion the preference is to be given. Both must be studied if we would penetrate to the core of the religion, and in the case of the pantheon it is obvious that due consideration of its systematization by the priests must be our guide in an endeavour to obtain a clear view of its extent and of its general character.

(A) *THE CHIEF DEITIES.*—1. **Anu, Bel, and Ea.**—Perhaps the most striking feature of the theological system devised by the priests is the doctrine which places at the head of the pantheon a triad consisting of the god of heaven, the god of earth and of the atmosphere above the earth, and a god of the watery element. These three gods, corresponding to the three divisions of the Universe, thus cover the sum and substance of Divine government; and it is hardly necessary to advance further arguments for the view that such a triad does not represent a popular belief, but is the outcome of theological speculation. Of the three gods,—Anu representing heaven, Bel the earth, and Ea the water,—Bel and Ea we know were originally deities of a local character, whose worship was centred in a well-defined locality. Bel, written ideographically *En-lil*, was the chief god of Nippur in northern Babylonia, and the prominence at one time of Nippur is illustrated by the title *Bel*, *i.e.* 'lord,' which became the common designation of En-lil. Ea belongs to the extreme south of Babylonia, whose worship was originally centred in Eridu, an exceedingly old settlement that at one time lay at the mouth of the Persian Gulf. The name 'En-lil' merely describes the god as a powerful demon; but from other sources we know that he was conceived also as an atmospheric deity, who manifested himself in storms and other violent disturbances of nature. Ea, on the other hand, was a water spirit; and one can readily understand how the character of the large body of water—the Persian Gulf, which was sacred to him, and which led directly to the shoreless ocean—should have led to making Ea the symbol of the watery element in general. As for Anu, while we find even as late as the 12th cent. B.C. that his cult was specifically associated with a definite centre,[*] the process which resulted in making him the personification of heaven in general, appears to have been a purely scholastic one, and independent of any traits that may originally have been ascribed to him. His worship in the south was never carried on at any of the large political or religious centres, and, whatever local associations he may have had, disappeared as early at least as the 4th millennium before our era, when we already find Anu generally written without the usual sign before deities, and designated simply as the 'heavenly' or 'exalted' one.[†] One is inclined, in view of this great antiquity of the symbolization of Anu, to regard the name, together with the conceptions associated with it, as due to scholastic speculation, and to suppose that the association of a god Anu with any particular locality is of later origin, due to the reaction of theoretical speculation in practical forms of belief.

However this may be, the parcelling out of Divine manifestations among a triad representing heaven, earth, and water, belongs distinctly to a theological system—is part and parcel of a *Weltanschauung* which could have arisen only in the schools, and which from the schools may have made its way to the people. The important feature of the triad is the symbolization underlying it: the choice of Bel and Ea to symbolize earth and water is secondary, as is the choice of Anu to symbolize heaven, whatever the origin of the name may have been. The Bel of the triad has in reality nothing but the name in common with the chief god of Nippur, and, similarly, when Ea of the triad was invoked there could have been only a remote association in the minds of the Babylonians with the water deity of Eridu. Still, such is the force of old conceptions that even the theologians could not entirely keep the double character thus resulting for Bel and Ea apart, and, accordingly, in the earliest occurrence of the triad dating from the days of Gudea[‡] (*c.* 3000 B.C.) we have Nin-kharsag, the consort of Bel or En-lil, inserted between the latter and Ea. *Nin-kharsag*[§] is a title of Belit as the wife of the chief god of Nippur, and the insertion of the name in connexion with the triad shows that the Babylonian scribes could not free themselves from the association of Bel with his original home at Nippur. In later periods this is rarely done, and it is interesting to compare the arrangement of the triad in Gudea's inscription with the one on a boundary stone from the 11th cent., where the goddess corresponding to the old Nin-kharsag, Belit, appears as *Nin-makh*, 'the great lady'—dissociated from the Belit of Nippur—and assigned a place behind Ea. Between these two dates we have the inscription of Agumkakrime (*c.* 1650 B.C.), in which we find at the beginning the usual order Anu, Bel, Ea, whereas towards the close there is associated with each one of the three a consort, thus furnishing the series Anu and Antum, Bel and Belit, Ea and Damkina. Of these consorts, Belit and Damkina represent the wives of the Bel of Nippur and Ea of Eridu respectively, whereas Antum is an artificial figure introduced into the pantheon under the influence of the doctrine which assigned to every male god a female companion. One must therefore pass down to a comparatively late period, before, in the invocation of the triad, all traces of the old association of Bel and Ea with local cults disappear, and in a certain sense the process was never entirely and consistently completed.

---

[*] Dêr—in southern Babylonia, Rawl. v. 55, col. i. 14.

[†] *An*='heaven' + the phonetic complement *na*. This is the usual form; but various others occur, *e.g.* *An* with the determinative for 'god,' and the phonetic writings *An-nu-um* with and without the determinative for 'god.' See Radau, *Creation Story of Genesis*, 17, note 2.

[‡] Inscription B, col. viii. 45–48.

[§] Signifying 'lady of the mountain.'

The assigning of the local deity of Nippur to a position in the triad served to maintain his cult long after Nippur had lost its political supremacy. His temple at Nippur, known as *E-kur*, 'the mountain house,' became a place of pilgrimage to which worshippers came from all sides. In a measure this was the case with the sanctuaries in all or in most of the places that once formed political centres, but there were certain features connected with the Bel cult of Nippur that lent to it an air of uniqueness. Invoked in one of the earliest inscriptions known to us, that of En-shag-kush-annu[*] (*c.* 3500 B.C.), En-lil, at this time already designated as 'king of the lands,' maintains his position as the head of the pantheon even in the case of a ruler like Lugalzaggisi, king of Erech (*c.* 3500 B.C.), whose capital is not at Nippur.[†] We do not encounter the triad at this early period, and it is all the more significant therefore to find the god of Nippur occupying a position which is not affected by the political status of the centre in which he was worshipped. Such a condition is an important step on the road towards the differentiation between the local storm-god and his symbolization as one of the three elements of the universe.[†] Even in those inscriptions of the first period of Babylonian history in which En-lil does not occupy the first place, as for example in the list found in an inscription of E-anna-tum,[‡] and in one of Gudea,[§] his supremacy is still implied, for the preference given in these inscriptions to a god Nin-girsu, who is mentioned before En-lil, is simply due to the fact that the inscriptions in question are dedicated to Nin-girsu as the chief deity of the centre to which the rulers in question belong. Similarly, the rulers of other centres, like Agade, Ur, and Kish, present offerings and pay devotion to the Bel of Nippur; and it is not until the union of the Euphrates States under a dynasty which established its capital in the city of Babylon (*c.* 2300 B.C.) that we encounter an attempt to dethrone En-lil from his pre-eminent position, in favour of the chief deity of the city of Babylon, Marduk. The political union naturally brought in its wake the assignment of Marduk to a position at the head of the pantheon, and this was emphasized by transferring to Marduk the title *Bel* or 'lord,' and the old legends and traditions were likewise transformed under the influence of the priests of Babylon with a view of securing for the 'Bel' of Babylon the functions and deeds that properly belong to the 'Bel' of Nippur. The attempt, however, was not altogether successful, and, when in the 18th cent. B.C. the control of Babylonia passed into the hands of a people coming from Elam to the east, and known as the Kassites, the cult of Bel of Nippur enjoyed a renaissance.[‖]

There are good reasons for believing that the Kassites made a deliberate effort to reinstate En-lil as the head of the pantheon. For five centuries the Kassites held sway; and, though at the end of this period the reaction begins, in the list of gods found in inscriptions of this period Marduk receives his place immediately behind the triad,[*] though not invariably so.[†]

The rise of a serious rival to Babylonia in the north, where shortly after the end of Kassite rule in the south the Assyrians acquired sufficient strength to threaten the independence of Babylonia, again leads to a shifting in the ranks of the gods. In the presence of a common foe, the union between the States in the south becomes closer, and this condition finds expression in a more loyal attachment to the patron deity of Babylon—Marduk,—who in virtue of this fact henceforward holds undisturbed sway as the head of the pantheon. No more attempts are made to shake his position by playing off other gods against him. His supremacy becomes so secure that it is not endangered by the devotion shown by the rulers of Babylonia to the cults of other gods, either in Babylon itself or in any one of the religious centres of the south. The temple of Bel of Nippur continued to be a goal of pilgrimage down to the latest days of the Babylonian empire, and the series of sacred edifices there were an object of care to Assyrian kings as well as to Babylonian rulers; but the reverence paid to Bel was merely that due to the local deity, who had, in consequence of the earlier phases of the development of the Babylonian religion, acquired a greater prominence than the other gods. At the same time, the position of Bel in the triad served as a factor in maintaining this reverence, and formed in a measure the justification for it, in the minds of those who had separated their conception of Bel almost entirely from his originally local limitations.

We know as yet too little of the earliest history of Eridu—the original seat of the Ea cult—to determine the course of development that led to Ea's being singled out from among other water gods that were worshipped in early days, to become the general symbol of the watery element in the distribution of the Universe among three chief deities or power. Analogy might suggest that Eridu,[‡] at the time that it still lay directly at the head of the Persian Gulf, was once an important political centre like Nippur, and that its patron deity rose into prominence in connexion with the political fortunes of the place. There is, however, no evidence to justify the claim that Eridu ever occupied such a position; and, since our knowledge of the early history of Babylonia now goes back to a remote period, we ought at least to have encountered some traces of a once dominating State in the Euphrates Valley with Eridu as a centre. Such notices as we have in the old Babylonian inscriptions almost all point to the *religious*[§] but not to the political significance of the place, and illustrate the devotion of the rulers to En-ki or Ea, who is called the king of Eridu.[‖] In the religious literature, likewise, Eridu appears chiefly as a religious centre, though, culture and religious prominence proceeding hand in hand in ancient Babylonia, Eridu was no doubt one of the *oldest* of the cities of the south. To a late day the tradition survived which attributed the beginnings of culture to the instruction furnished to mankind by the water deity * who personified the Persian Gulf; and since, as a matter of fact, the course of civilization in the Euphrates Valley is from south to north, we may conclude that the prominence in culture as well as the antiquity of Eridu were the factors which led to the sanctity of the place, and, along with this sanctity, to the prominent position attained by the chief god of the place, so that his worship spread far beyond its original confines.

---

[*] Hilprecht, *Old Babyl. Inscr.* i. 2, Nos. 90, 91.

[†] Hilprecht, *ib.* No. 87, col. i. 1.

[‡] Gudea, galet A, col. i. 6.

[§] Inscription D, col. i. 3.

[‖] See the votive inscriptions of Kassite kings published by Hilprecht (*Old Babylonian Inscriptions*, i., Nos. 28-82), which with few exceptions are dedicated to En-lil or his consort Nin-lil or Belit. In the 'boundary' inscriptions dating from this period (see *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, iv. pp. 56-63), it is also significant that Marduk is mentioned after Shamash, and even the god Adad in one instance is given the preference over him.

[*] So in the inscription of the days of Marduknadinakhe (*c.* 1100), Rawlinson, iii. 43, col. iii. 31.

[†] *e.g.* Rawlinson, iii. 41, col. ii. 25, Marduk occupies the fourth place after the triad, being preceded by Sin, Shamash, and Ishtar.

[‡] Now represented by the mound *Abu-Shahrein*, situated at some distance from the mouth of the Euphrates.

[§] Bur-Sin of the Isin dynasty, *e.g.* (*c.* 2500 B.C.), refers to the oracle-tree at Eridu (Hilprecht, *Old Babylonian Inscriptions*, i. 1, No. 19, 5), and among the titles of Ur-Ninib of the same dynasty we find one which designates him (*ib.* No. 18, 6-7) as 'fulfilling the commands of Eridu.'

[‖] Inscription of Entemena (Thureau-Dangin in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, ii. p. 148, col. iv. 5-7).

There is no god who in certain portions of the religious literature of Babylonia—notably in the numerous incantation texts—plays a greater rôle than Ea. He is apt to be appealed to, first of all; and, where other deities fail, Ea by his superior wisdom, which is his most characteristic feature, is certain to succeed in discovering the cause of the disease that troubles a man, and in effecting a cure. He is essentially the god of mankind, who loves the children of men, who originally taught them wisdom, and who, according to at least one cosmological system current in Babylonia, was the creator of mankind. This prominence of Ea in portions of the religious literature suggests, indeed, that the compositions themselves originated at Eridu; and there is distinct evidence for this in the transformation which many of the incantation texts clearly underwent in order to adapt them to the standards of the priesthood of Babylon, which was naturally jealous of anything that seemed to affect the pre-eminence of Marduk. Just as the titles and attributes as well as the prerogatives of the old Bel of Nippur were transferred to Marduk, so the latter also assumed the rôle of Ea; but he is represented as doing this with the full consent of Ea, who became in the theological system of the Babylonian priesthood the father of Marduk, proud of the achievements of his son, and rejoicing in the latter's supremacy. Marduk's name is either associated in the religious texts with that of Ea, so that both are represented as performing in concert acts that were originally attributed to Ea alone; or Ea is depicted as asking his son to act for him. This re-editing and adaptation of the ancient literary productions of the Euphrates Valley thus furnishes a valuable aid in tracing the gradual development of a theological system. A reconciliation between the claims of Ea and Marduk, respectively, having thus been brought about, the cult of Ea could be carried on without endangering the position of Marduk, and a sanctuary to Ea was erected in the sacred area around Marduk's own temple in the city of Babylon.

Anu is practically entirely freed from local associations, and is viewed as a god for the gods rather than for men—a deity who exercises a general supervision over all the gods. In a sense, the conception of Anu represents the highest point reached in the spiritualization of the Babylonian religion. He is the 'lofty god,' and it is significant that as early as the days of Ḫammurabi † he is in fact designated simply *ilu* 'god.' At no subsequent period, either in Babylonian or Assyrian history, do we find a closer approach to a monotheistic belief than in this early conception of Anu, although it must be borne in mind that the actual step of regarding one god as embodying the essence of all others was not taken in Ḫammurabi's days, nor was it taken in later days despite certain appearances to the contrary.‡ While not entering to the same extent as did Bel and Ea into the popular religion, yet the conception of Anu as an outcome of the best speculative thought in Babylonia is a most important feature of the Babylonian religion, and must not be lost sight of in an estimate of the best that this religion stood for.

It will thus be seen that each one of the three gods embraced in the doctrine of the triad has his peculiar origin, and retains his peculiar place outside of the rank accorded to him in the triad itself. The local cult of Bel of Nippur proceeds undisturbed by the admission of Bel to the second place in the triad, while the transfer of Bel's attributes to Marduk marks the concession made to the new order of things which eventually gave the patron god of the city of Babylon his undisputed rank at the head of the active pantheon. Lastly, Ea, rising to a place of importance through the sacred associations connected with the old city of Eridu, is stripped of local limitations to a much greater extent than is the case with Bel, and outside of his rank as a third member of the triad is worshipped and appealed to throughout Babylonia as the god of humanity *par excellence*, whose chief trait is wisdom, and one of whose chief functions consists in his power of healing disease and of relieving suffering in general.

2. **Ishtar.**—We have already had occasion to point out that with the gods of the triad their consorts are occasionally associated, and that, even when this is not the case, the consort of En-lil or Bel, under the form of *Nin-kharsag*, appears occasionally as a fourth member associated with Anu, Bel, Ea. The association of consorts with the three gods is due merely to the influence of the general belief, which is a part both of the popular religion and of the system devised by the priests, according to which every male deity was supposed to have a partner—who, however, is generally merely his pale reflexion. The case is different, however, in the association of Nin-kharsag with the triad. Although bearing a name signifying 'lady of the mountain,' which belongs to the consort of En-lil, the chief god of Nippur, and whose chief sanctuary was known as *E-kur*, 'mountain-house,' the fact that this name is subsequently replaced by a more general one, *Nin-makh*, which has the force of 'great lady,' and is generally added as a fourth member of the triad after Ea, is sufficient to show that we are dealing here, not with the associate of a male deity, but with some more general principle recognized by the priests at least as a factor in the workings and divisions of the Universe. That factor may in a general way be defined as the life-producing power manifested in the world, without which heaven, earth, and water would be a desolate waste. The influence of this doctrine, which appears to have been formulated as early at least as the third millennium, leads to the phenomenon which, next to the constitution of the triad at the head of the pantheon, is the most characteristic feature of the Babylonian doctrine of the gods, according to which, from a certain time onwards, only *one* goddess occupying an independent position is recognized. The general name by which the goddess comes to be known is *Ishtar*. She is the great mother to whom vegetation, as well as fertility in the animal world, is due, and she is naturally viewed also as the mother of mankind. That in the triad she is designated as *Nin-kharsag*, may possibly point to the formulation of the doctrine at a time when the Bel cult of Nippur was still in the ascendency, and when naturally the consort of this god—who was called Belit, 'lady' *par excellence*, as En-lil was called Bel—had the distinction of representing the life-giving principle assigned to her. However this may be, the choice of the later and specific

---

* Called Oannes by Berosus in his account of this tradition (Cory, *Ancient Fragments* (2nd ed.), p. 57).

† 'Code de Hammourabi,' col. i. 45, etc. (ed. Scheil, *Textes Élamites-Sémitiques*, ii. p. 16).

‡ See below, p. 550^a, and Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 203, note 1.

designation *Ishtar*, as the name of the great goddess, is due to influences emanating again from the city of Babylon, for it is there that down to the latest days we find *Nin-makh* used as one of the designations of the chief goddess.*

That the name *Ishtar*—conveying in all probability the force of 'leading,' 'overseeing,' from a stem *aśâru*—also originated in the city of Babylon, cannot be definitely stated, but seems likely. The phonetic writing appears for the first time in the inscriptions of Ḫammurabi,† and it would be natural for the priests of Babylon to use the name of a goddess who was worshipped in the capital by the side of Marduk as the designation of the general life-producing power. That, at all events, they were anxious to regard the associate of Marduk as identical with Ishtar, follows from the etymology they proposed for the name of this consort, whose real name *Sarpanitum* (or *Sarpanit*), *i.e.*, probably, the 'shining one,' they converted into *Zêr-bânîtum*, 'the seed-producing' goddess.

Whatever the origin of Ishtar may have been, and wherever the cult of this goddess may originally have been centred, she gradually absorbs the rôles and the names of the other goddesses who as consorts of gods in important religious centres had acquired a certain, though restricted, importance. Thus at Erech, in the extreme south, there flourished the cult of a goddess known as *Nanâ*, who appears to have been conceived as a deity of a violent character, punishing severely those who disobey her—a war-goddess rather than a mother of life, but who in later texts is identified with Ishtar. Again, at another ancient centre, Shirpurla, we find the cult of a goddess *Ninâ*, who is regarded as the sister of the chief god of the place, Nin-girsu, and whose special function appears to have been the interpretation of dreams. She is called the great divining queen of the gods, and it is to her that Gudea, one of the most famous rulers of the place (*c.* 3000 B.C.), goes to ascertain the meaning of a dream which disturbs him.‡ Ishtar absorbs the rôle of both Nanâ and Ninâ, and hence, side by side with her character as the mother of all life, she is portrayed already in the inscriptions of Ḫammurabi as the great war-goddess who stands by the king's side in the midst of the fray, and to whose aid every victory is in a measure due. This phase of the character of the goddess is naturally emphasized even more prominently among a people like the Assyrians, whose thoughts and activities were so largely occupied with military pursuits, and among whom all gods take on a warlike and fierce character. While the conception of Ishtar as the great mother of mankind is also found among the Assyrians, the kings of the north more frequently speak of her as the companion of the chief god Ashur, and as co-operating with the latter to lead the Assyrian armies to victory. She is pictured as armed with bow and arrow, and it is likewise she who, like Ninâ, furnishes oracles and appears in dreams to encourage her favourites—the kings—by reassuring messages. Again, a goddess *Anunit*, who, as the name indicates, stood in some relationship to Anu, the god of heaven, becomes a form of Ishtar; and in the same way Ishtar absorbs the rôle of other of the chief goddesses of the religious and political centres of the ancient Babylonian cities, such as *Bau*, originally the consort of Nin-girsu, the chief deity of Shirpurla, who at one time acquired an independent position of great prominence.

The extent to which this process of concentration was carried is illustrated by the common use of the term *ishtar*, particularly in religious texts, in the sense of 'goddess'; and from it a plural *ishtarâte* is formed, with the signification 'goddesses.' While, therefore, the other goddesses who are merely the consorts of male deities—their pale reflexions—continue to preserve their identity, they are in reality merely so many Ishtars, with this distinction, however, that the name Ishtar as that of a specific deity is confined to the associate of the chief god—Marduk in the south and Ashur in the north.

A certain vagueness in the use of the name Ishtar, to be observed especially in Assyrian historical texts, followed from the attempt to concentrate the attributes of all the important goddesses—important by virtue of the part once played by the centres in which as consorts of male deities they were worshipped—in a single personage. Ishtar is not really the wife of Ashur, who indeed is essentially a god standing by himself without wife or offspring; but as the chief goddess she takes her place by the side of Ashur, just as she does by the side of Marduk, and hence she is addressed occasionally in terms which might be taken as representing the relationship of a wife to her husband. In the south, again, owing to Marduk's absorption of the rôle of the old Bel of Nippur, Ishtar naturally becomes the *Bêlit* of Babylonia, though Belit was originally the consort of the Nippurian Bel; and, in so far as she takes on the traits of the older Belit, she is associated with Marduk in the relationship of consort to the chief male deity. Yet the amalgamation is not complete until a relatively late period, and Marduk continues to have as a special consort *Sarpanit*, who is generally distinguished, albeit not sharply, from Ishtar. Confusing as this double character of Ishtar, as the one great mother-goddess, the source of life, and as the consort of the head of the pantheon, may appear to us, it probably occasioned no difficulty to the Babylonian theologians, to whom Ishtar was essentially the goddess of life and vegetation; nor to the Assyrian priests, among whom she took on the rôle of the great war-goddess, who in company with Ashur led the armies of the kings to victory.

3. **Sin.**—Next to the triad and the great mother-goddess, the worship of the two great orbs of light—the moon and the sun—is a feature of the Babylonian religion that clings to it from the earliest period of which we have any record, down to the latest. It is impossible to say definitely that the cult of the one is older than the other, but the greater prominence which, so far as the evidence goes, was enjoyed by the moon cult in the earliest forms of Semitic culture, justifies the preference given to it in the order of treatment. In a general way it may be said that the moon cult is coexistent with the nomadic grade of culture, while sun worship corresponds more to the frame of mind and to the conditions prevailing among a people that has reached the agricultural stage. This generalization, though open to the objections that attach to all generalizations, is nevertheless of value, provided it be not pushed to the extreme of denying the possibility of sun worship in the pre-agricultural period of the Semites. The movements of nomads in Arabia—the home *par excellence* of the Semites—taking place for a great part of the year at night, the moon naturally served as an important guide. The more regular changes in the orb of night and the briefer period in which these regular changes run their course, constituted further features that helped to emphasize the im-

---

* The temple erected in Babylon in honour of this goddess has recently been excavated by the German expedition. See *Mittheilungen der Deutschen Orient. Gesellschaft*, Nos. 4 and 5; and also Delitzsch, *Im Lande des einstigen Paradieses*, pp. 38, 39.

† See King, *Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, i., No. 34, 6. 9. 15. and 23, *ish-ta-ra-a-tim* already used in the general sense of 'goddesses.'

‡ See Thureau-Dangin's article, 'Le Songe de Goudéa' (*Comptes rendus de l'Académie d'Inscriptions*, 1901, pp. 112-128).

portance of the moon as a medium for the calculation of time. However this may be, two of the oldest religious centres in Babylonia were seats of moon worship—Ur and Ḫarran (or Ḫaran),—and the sanctuaries at both places retained their popularity until the days of the New Babylonian empire. Assyrian rulers vied with those in the south in paying homage to the god worshipped in these centres.

The common name given to the moon-god is *Sin.* The meaning and etymology of this name are not yet clear; but there were numerous epithets by which he was known. Among these is one *Nannar,* which, signifying 'the one who gives light' or 'place of light,'* appears to have been used at one time as a genuine name and not merely as an epithet. Possibly Nannar is even an older name than Sin, which appears to have originated at Ḫarran. Besides the two places named, there were, no doubt, other places in Babylonia where the moon cult flourished, and it was merely the religious prominence of Ur and Ḫarran that lent to their association with the moon-god a special significance. The moon-god is ordinarily designated ideographically *En-zu,* which describes him as the 'lord of wisdom,' and this attribute is perhaps the most important of the conceptions connected with him. This designation appears in one of the earliest inscriptions known to us. Lugalzaggisi† enumerates En-zu among the gods serving as his protectors, and from the sequence it is evident that this ruler has in mind the moon-god of the city of Ur. The cultivation of the science of astronomy by the Babylonian priests served to emphasize the association of wisdom with the moon, as the overseer of the starry heavens; and, since the motive predominating in the development of this science was the belief in the influence of the position and movements of the stars upon the fate of the individual, the wisdom of Sin was to a large extent coextensive with the giving of oracles and the interpretation of omens. Hence the prominence accorded to Sin in the omen literature. It is he who sends dreams. He is addressed as the lord of decisions, the god who gives counsel; and if in later times it is Shamash—the sun-god—rather than Sin who appears as the god of oracles, this is due to the greater prominence which Shamash acquired in the agricultural stage of culture, and which led to the relegating of Sin to a secondary position. Sin's traits as the illuminator likewise continue to be dwelt upon both in historical texts and in the hymns composed in his honour; and, with the tendency to lay stress on the ethical phase of the natures of the gods, the light diffused by Sin becomes a symbol of his function in revealing to men the snares that are laid for them in the dark. As a protection against the workings of the mischievous spirits who ply their trade generally at night, the appeal is frequently made in the incantations to the moon-god; but here, again, there are other tendencies at work in the Babylonian religion that prevent the fullest development of the traits of wisdom and of protection ascribed to Sin. In the later periods the element of wisdom is so prominently associated with another god—Ea, who through various causes becomes the god of humanity *par excellence*—as to set the moon cult almost aside, while the greater attachment felt towards the sun by an agricultural population, added to the much more powerful character of the sun's light, leads not only to Shamash becoming an oracle god in the place of Sin, but exalts the sun-god to the position of chief protector of mankind against injustice, the god who far above any other reveals wrongdoing and brings wickedness to light. Sin, in short, while his cult remains prominent, loses his touch, as it were, with his worshippers. The personal element is moved into the background. As he no longer entered into the daily life of a population that became agricultural and then commercial, the later hymns to him do not breathe that spirit of genuine attachment which characterizes the addresses to such gods as Shamash, Ea, and Marduk. He retains his supreme position among the gods; but, calm and cold as his light, he is not the deity to whom the people turn in their distress, and it was due chiefly to the reverence in which such ancient centres as Ur and Ḫarran were held by virtue of their great antiquity that he continued to be a member of a second great triad, consisting of Sin, Ishtar, and the sun-god.

4. **Shamash, Ninib, Nergal.**—We have indicated the main reason for the steadily growing popularity of the sun cult, which is a feature of the development both of the popular religion and of the system of theology established by the influence of the priests. While the worship of the sun-god, as one of the great powers of nature, is no doubt much earlier among all nations than the period when the agricultural stage was reached, it is among agricultural communities that such a cult acquires a popularity corresponding to the importance of the sun in the life of the people. Hence the phenomenon, which at first sight may seem strange, that the majority of the local gods worshipped in the cities of ancient Babylonia are solar deities. Besides the two chief centres of sun worship—Sippar in northern Babylonia and Larsa in the southern portion—the patron deity of Shirpurla (known as *Nin-girsu*) is a solar deity; a god *Nergal,* worshipped in another important centre—Cuthah—is likewise a sun-god; similarly, *Za-mal-mal,* who belongs to an important city—Kish; while Marduk, originally merely the god of the city of Babylon, but destined, with the growing dignity of the city as the capital of the united Babylonian States, to become the official head of the pantheon, is also distinctly a solar god.

Besides these, we have a host of other deities belonging to cities and towns of minor importance that are distinctly solar in character. With that same tendency towards the systematization of beliefs which led to the concentration of the goddesses of the more important centres in the person of a single goddess Ishtar, so in the course of time these various local sun-gods came to be looked upon as so many forms or manifestations of the one great orb, though the tendency never went so far as to concentrate all the solar deities into a single one. By the side of a god, symbolical of the sun in general, and who receives the name of Shamash, the official Babylonian pantheon continues to recognize two other solar deities—one whose name is provisionally read *Ninib,* and the other *Nergal*—exclusive of Marduk, who, although a sun-god, also acquires, as already intimated, a unique position. The real reason for the continued independent existence of Ninib and Nergal is, no doubt, to be sought again in the political and religious significance of the centres in which they were worshipped. That centre was, in the case of Nergal, the city of Cuthah, which is first referred to in an inscription of king Dungi of Ur (*c.* 2800 B.C.). As for Ninib, indications point to his identity with Nin-girsu, the chief god of Shirpurla, the capital of one of the oldest Babylonian States; though the origin of the writing *Nin-ib* and its precise relationship to the form *Nin-girsu* are as yet unknown to us. In the systematized Babylonian theology, however, the distinction between Shamash, Ninib, and

---

* So Lehmann, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie,* xvi. p. 405.

† Hilprecht, *Old Bab. Inscriptions,* i. 2, No. 87, col. i. 21–22.

Nergal was interpreted in such a manner, that, while Shamash was regarded as the sun-god *par excellence* and in general, Ninib was looked upon as the personification of the morning and spring sun, and Nergal as the sun of noon and of the summer season.[*] This differentiation was suggested by the two aspects which the sun as a great power of nature presents in a climate like that of Babylonia. It is, on the one hand, a beneficent power which, in the spring, drives away the rain and storms, and restores the life and vegetation of nature; and, on the other hand, it is a destructive power which, during the hot season, by its too fierce and burning rays, brings about disease and suffering, and even causes ruin to the crops.

Confining ourselves for the moment to the personification of the sun in general, the name *Shamash*, having perhaps the force of 'servitor,' appears to go back to the very early period when the moon cult still enjoyed a supremacy over that of the sun. And if it be borne in mind that, both in the earlier and in the later inscriptions of Babylonia and Assyria,[†] the moon-god is, almost without exception, accorded the preference over Shamash in an enumeration of the pantheon, the conclusion appears to be warranted that the 'service' implied in the name had reference originally to the subservient relationship in which Shamash stood to Sin. We have, however, also had occasion to note the causes that led to the later predominance of the sun cult over that of the moon, at least in the popular phase of the religion, and the influence of this phase is to be seen in the absorption on the part of Shamash of attributes that once belonged to Sin.

The chief centres of the Babylonian Shamash cult were, as already indicated, Sippar and Larsa, both of them cities whose foundation reaches back to a high antiquity. Of the two, Larsa appears to have been politically the more important, whereas Sippar acquired greater religious sanctity, from which we may perhaps conclude that it was the older of the two. That there is some historical connexion between the two places, is indicated by the identity of the name borne by the chief temple in both Sippar and Larsa, viz. *E-barra* (or *E-babbara*), signifying 'resplendent house.' In the further development of the conceptions connected with Shamash it is important to note the introduction of ethical ideas. Represented ideographically as 'the god of day,' he is worshipped not merely as the symbol of light and as the beneficent power that drives away the winter storms and clothes the earth with verdure, but as the god who, among mankind, as in nature, brings about order and stability. As his light illumines all dark places, so he is regarded as the one who can drive evil, which was pictured as 'darkness,' out of the body of man. Shamash is therefore frequently appealed to in the incantation texts as the god who can provide healing, who can secure release from sufferings by driving away the demons and evil spirits. The symbolical rites prescribed in these texts to be carried out in connexion with the pronouncing of certain formulæ are generally to be performed at daybreak, when the rule of Shamash begins. But not only evil in the form of disease or bewitchment can be removed by Shamash, it is he likewise who brings hidden crimes to light, and it is he who punishes the evil-doer. His light thus becomes a symbol also of justice, and perhaps the most frequent epithet by which he is addressed both in hymns and in historical texts is that of 'judge of heaven and earth.' He is pictured as sitting on a throne in a court of justice, receiving the petitions of those who have been injured, and rendering a just verdict. It is significant that Ḥammurabi (*c.* 2250 B.C.) places at the head of his famous Code of laws[*] a picture of Shamash, and in the body of the text the god is frequently introduced as the one who inspired Ḥammurabi with the project of gathering together the laws of the country for the purpose of ensuring justice and security to all the inhabitants of the land. Among the titles that the king bestows on himself he takes special pride in designating himself the 'king of righteousness,' which is precisely the rôle in which Shamash himself appears in the religious literature.

By the side of Shamash we not only find his consort *Â* frequently referred to, but a group of minor deities (or spirits), who form, as it were, the court of the god. A god *Bunene* is pictured as his chariot driver, and *Kettu* ('Right') and *Mesharu* ('Justice') as his children who are in his service. It is likely that *Bunene* was originally the name of the sun-god in some locality, who was overshadowed by the great Shamash, and therefore accorded a place as an attendant; while *Kettu* and *Mesharu* are clearly designations of the sun-god as the lord of justice, that have been personified as independent beings.

Ninib.—As the sun-god associated more specifically with the spring and morning, it is natural to find Ninib regarded as essentially an agricultural deity, who presides over the fields, and who is appealed to, not merely to ensure fertility, but to protect the boundaries of the fields against unlawful invasion or wilful interference. A feature of Ninib which stands in close connexion with his position as an agricultural deity, is his absorption of the rôle of numerous other gods, who, originally local patrons of the fields, are viewed as merely so many manifestations of Ninib. Thus we find *Nin-gish-zida*, *Nin-shakh*, *Za-mal-mal*, *Dun-pa-uddu*, *Zizanu*, *Shedu*, all once worshipped as independent gods, assimilated to Ninib in accordance with the same tendency that led to a concentration of all the independent goddesses in the great Ishtar, and which led to making Shamash of Larsa and Sippar the representative of the sun-god in general, thus gradually obscuring the numerous local sun cults that must once have flourished. There is, however, another side to Ninib, due to his having been the chief deity in an important political centre — probably Shirpurla. As the patron of rulers whose position was due to their force of arms, Ninib (or Nin-girsu[†]) was naturally also a god of war, who appeared in the midst of the fray as a warrior fully armed. In hymns composed in his honour, Ninib is very frequently addressed as the god of battle, whose strength is irresistible, and who leads the armies of the king to victory.

This violent character of the god also leads to his being invoked by the Assyrian rulers as the one who, with Nergal, presides over the sports—hunting of lions, bulls, and stags—to which the Assyrians were devoted. Indeed, some of the Assyrian kings, notably Ashurnaṣirpal (B.C. 885–860),[‡] are so devoted to Ninib that he becomes the god of war *par excellence*, and they fairly exhaust their vocabulary in extolling him as the strong and powerful hero who overthrows all opponents, whose victory is assured, who holds the sceptre in his hands; the lord of lords, who drives along like a raging storm. There is but little trace, in such a description, of the solar deity, though phrases are interspersed here and there which show the solar origin of the god in question. It is natural that among the warlike Assyrians, where all the gods assume a fierce and more violent aspect, this side of the deity should have been particularly emphasized; whereas, among the Babylonians, it is, on the whole, as an agricultural god that Ninib retains his position in the pantheon down to the latest period.*

---

[*] See Jensen (*Kosmologie*, p. 457 f.), to whom the indication of this distinction is due, and whose views are more plausible than the opinion of Winckler (*Geschichte Israels*, ii. p. 79), who is inclined to look upon Ninib as the symbol of the summer season.

[†] An exception appears in the inscription of Lugalzaggisi (Hilprecht, *Old Bab. Inscr.* i. 2, No. 87, col. i. 20); but see the note on p. 67 of the present writer's *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens.*

[*] English translation by Johns under the title, *The Oldest Code of Laws in the World* (Edinburgh, 1903).

[†] See above, p. 542^{b}.

[‡] See Rawlinson, i. 17, col. i. 1-17; Ninib as god of hunting with Nergal, Rawlinson, i. 28, col. i. 1.

The consort of Ninib is *Gula*, also designated as *Nin-karrak*, who, besides being very frequently associated with him, especially in the invocation of the gods at the close of the boundary inscriptions, appears in the magic tests chiefly as the 'great physician' who provides healing for the sick.

Nergal.—As the symbol of the great power of nature in its destructive phase, Nergal is consistently regarded as a violent deity, who alternately appears as a war-god and as a god of pestilence and fevers, dealing out death and suffering on every side. Dissociated from his originally local limitations as the god of Cuthah, he absorbs the rôle of other gods, who, likewise solar deities of the more violent type, were viewed as hostile to man. Such a figure was *Ira* (or *Gira*);† another was *Ishum*, more specifically a god of fire; a third was *Namtar*, the plague-god *par excellence*; though, instead of being directly identified with Nergal, the latter is regarded as his servitor, in which rôle Ira, also, appears at times.

We have seen that Nergal is also associated with Ninib as the god of war; but the most important function assigned to Nergal in the systematized pantheon is as the chief of the gods who preside over the world of the dead. The Babylonian priests, in further development of the current popular views in regard to the condition of the dead in the nether world (upon which we shall dwell in a subsequent section), set up two pantheons—one for the living, and one for the dead. In the course of time the differentiation between the two became so marked that it was commonly held that the gods, whom we have hitherto been considering, exercised control over the living only, who upon death passed out of their supervision. The dangers from hostile gods and demons, however, did not cease with the approach of death, and it was necessary to secure protection from the spirits that infested the graves, and that followed the dead to their abode in the subterranean cave in which they were popularly supposed to be housed. Such protection could be gained only by an appeal to deities more powerful than the demons; but the gods so addressed were quite different from those who protected the living. Nergal, as the god of fevers and pestilence—a prototype of the angel of death—was appropriately selected as the chief of this nether world pantheon. At his side was a consort, *Eresh-kigal* or *Allatu*. She is a kind of counterpart to Ishtar, and, originally ruling independently in the lower world, is represented as accepting Nergal as her mate.

Grouped around Nergal and Eresh-kigal are a series of gods forming the court of the Divine pair, who, besides doing their bidding, determine with them the condition of the dead. Besides Eresh-kigal, we encounter a consort, *Laz*, given to Nergal in his position as a member of the pantheon of the living; and just as Nergal belongs to both pantheons, so there are other deities, like *Nin-gish-zida*, whom we encounter in the pantheon both of the upper and of the lower regions. Remembering that this latter pantheon represents largely a doctrine of the schools, we need not be surprised to find gods who belong to both pantheons; and, though there is no direct evidence for the fact, it seems likely that, as among the Greeks, most of the gods of the lower world were regarded as having their sojourn in that region for a part of the year only. In short, the popular element in this doctrine of a lower world pantheon is represented by the nature myth, which symbolizes the change of seasons by transferring the abodes of certain gods—more particularly gods of vegetation and of life in general—to the nether world during the season of rain and storms, when Nature herself seems to have succumbed to the powerful Nergal and his consort.

5. **Adad.**—Shamash, Ninib, and Nergal, as we have seen, symbolize the sun in general, and in its twofold aspects as a beneficial and a harmful power. But, besides the destruction brought about by the fierce rays of the summer sun, Babylonia and Assyria suffered from the even greater havoc wrought by the rainstorms, accompanied by destructive winds, during the wintry season, which lasted for almost six months. The god who, in the systematized pantheon, personifies these winter storms is Adad, who was also known, in Assyria at least, as *Ramman*, *i.e.* 'the thunderer.' He bears some resemblance to the old Bel of Nippur, who, as the god of the earth and of the atmosphere immediately above it, has also the traits of a storm-god.

Besides Adad and Ramman, there are various other names by which the god is known (apart from numerous epithets), such as *Martu*, *Mer*, and *Bur*, which may be taken as indications that he likewise, just as Ishtar, Ninib, and Shamash, has absorbed the rôles of other local deities who personified the wind and storm. On seals and in sculptured scenes he is depicted as armed with the thunderbolt and lightning; and, since many of the myths of Babylonia deal with the conflict of the powers of nature, Adad is rarely absent in them, being generally, indeed, assigned a prominent rôle. But even the destructive winter rains and storms have their favourable aspects, since they are essential to the fructification of the earth; hence Adad is viewed also as a god who brings blessings to the fields. It was essential, therefore, to propitiate him in order to secure oneself against his too great violence, which would result in havoc instead of blessing. His curse was particularly powerful; and, accordingly, at the close of their inscriptions, Babylonian and Assyrian rulers alike are found invoking Adad to bring famine and devastation upon their enemies by a failure of the crops. Instead of bringing forth plants, he can cause weeds and thistles to spring up. Woe, therefore, to him whom Adad desires to punish! The ethical element is also introduced into the conceptions concerning Adad, and he is very often associated with Shamash as the god who punishes the wrong-doer and secures justice for one who has been injured. Shamash and Adad appear, indeed, so frequently in hymns and in oracles as 'the lords of justice,' the Divine judges, that one is justified in interpreting this association in terms of a doctrine forming part of the Babylonian theology, according to which the specifically beneficial and specifically violent manifestations of nature were combined to give expression to the view that good and evil, blessings and curses, are dealt out on the basis of justice.

---

* A temple to Ninib, dating from the days of the New Babylonian period, has been unearthed by the German expedition at Babylon (*Mittheil. d. Deutschen Orient. Ges.*, No. 10).

† The former reading, *Dibbarra*, is to be abandoned. Although the correct reading is still uncertain, the probabilities are in favour of *Ira*, which is adopted by Zimmern, *Keilinschriften u. d. Alte Testament*, p. 587.

The consort of Adad is *Shala*, who, however, is merely a pale reflexion of the male deity, and plays no independent part whatsoever. She is not even as frequently mentioned by the side of Adad as are the consorts of some of the other gods.

6. **Marduk.**—The political supremacy acquired by the city of Babylon *c.* 2250 B.C., and maintained with some interruptions, notably during the Kassite rule (*c.* 1730 to 1150 B.C.), when the attempt was made to reinstate Bel of Nippur as the head of the pantheon, brought about such important changes in the old Babylonian pantheon that one is tempted to divide the Babylonian religion into two periods—the one prior to the supremacy of Babylon, the other after this supremacy had been secured. With Babylon as the capital of the united States of the Euphrates Valley, the advance of the local deity, Marduk, to a position at the head of the pantheon naturally followed. Originally a solar deity, and symbolizing more specifically, like Ninib, the sun of the spring solstice, which triumphs over the storms of the winter season, Marduk becomes 'the lord' *par excellence*; and this supreme position is emphasized by his actually assuming the dignity and name of *Bel*—hitherto the designation of the chief deity of Nippur. Such a change involved a general shifting in the relationship of the gods of the old Babylonian pantheon to one another, with the result that under the influence of the priests of Babylon an entirely new theological system was evolved. Ancient myths were transformed so as to accord to Marduk the place due to him. Important acts, such as the regulation of the order of the Universe and the creation of mankind—hitherto ascribed to Bel of Nippur, to Ea of Eridu, or to a goddess Aruru—were transferred to Marduk. The incantation rituals were to a large extent altered with a view to establishing the position of Marduk as the ultimate source of healing, of protection, and of all blessings. The gods were represented as forming a court around their chief, hailing Marduk as their leader, and paying him homage. The hymns composed in his honour and the prayers addressed to him by the rulers embody sentiments that might be regarded as an index of a decided advance towards a monotheistic conception of the Universe, and unquestionably the steady growth of the Marduk cult had its outcome in giving to the Babylonian religion a far more spiritual character than it had hitherto acquired. While the cults of En-lil at Nippur, of Sin at Ur and Ḥarran, of Shamash at Sippar and Larsa, and of Ea at Eridu, were maintained, and these places continued to be regarded as religious centres of the first rank, the temple of Marduk at Babylon, known as *E-sagila*, *i.e.* 'the lofty house,' became the central sanctuary of the land, and around the sacred area in which it stood chapels and sanctuaries were erected, as formerly at Nippur, to all the chief gods, who could thus be worshipped in one place. True, certain concessions were made to the traditions of the past, such as making Ea the father of Marduk; but the dependence of Marduk upon Ea involved in such a relationship was cancelled by the readiness and zeal with which Ea acknowledged the superiority of his son.

The Babylonian creation story in the final form in which it has come down to us may be taken as the typical illustration of the transformation of doctrines brought about through Marduk's advance to the head of the pantheon. Several old nature myths have been combined in this story to form a great 'Marduk' epic—a grand pæan sung in his honour. The overthrow of Tiamat, the monster symbolical of the chaos that rules during the rainy season, was probably accomplished by Marduk, as the sun-god who drives away the storms. But there are evidences in the tale of the existence of a far more powerful being, *Apsu* ('the deep'), who has been conquered by Ea; and it was the latter, no doubt, to whom, in one form of the story, the creation of mankind was ascribed. So in other versions, originating in different centres, we find other gods invested with this distinction. But all rivals fall into the background by the side of Marduk, to whom everything is attributed; and the gods themselves bestow fifty glorious names upon him—and thus transfer their own attributes and powers to the chief god of the city of Babylon.[*] They resign, as it were, in his favour. Hence the interesting phenomenon that the originally solar character of the deity crops out only in the ideographic method of writing his name as 'child of the day,'[†] and in incidental references; whereas the side that is most strongly emphasized is his headship of the pantheon, concentrating in his person all the attributes and powers distributed among the gods.

His consort is generally *Sarpanit*—a name signifying originally the 'shining one,' but interpreted as though compounded of *zêr* 'seed' and *bânitu* 'producing,' so as to admit of identifying her with the mother-goddess Ishtar. This is actually done in hymns,[‡] though the process is not, as a rule, completely carried out. Sarpanit appears merely as an associate of the powerful Marduk, sharing in his glory without materially contributing to it.

7. **Nebo.**—Opposite Babylon lay a city, Borsippa, which there are good reasons for believing to have been older than Babylon itself. Such a supposition best accounts for the fact that the god of the place, Nebo, holds a prominent position in the pantheon by the side of Marduk. True, Borsippa becomes, in course of time, merely a suburb of Babylon, and this dependence finds expression in making Nebo the son of Marduk; but, on the other hand, on the great festival of Marduk, which was the New Year's Day, Nebo takes a part; and even Marduk pays homage to Nebo, his son, by accompanying the image of the latter part of the way back to the sanctuary at Borsippa, after the formal visit of the son to his father. Moreover, there is one attribute assigned to Nebo which signals him out even from Marduk. He is the representative of wisdom; and to him the art of writing is ascribed even by the priests of Babylon, who in their astronomical reports do not hesitate to mention Nebo before Marduk—a custom that was adopted by the Assyrian scholars. In this respect he bears an affinity to Ea; and, like the latter, he appears to have been originally a water deity—perhaps the god who had his seat in the Euphrates river, as Ea was supposed to dwell in the Persian Gulf.

There is, clearly, some connexion between the Ea and Nebo cults, though its precise nature is still unknown to us. Nebo appears under the form *Dumu-zi-zuab*, which designates him as a son of the 'deep,' here used for Ea. Berosus is in accord with the evidence derived from the Babylonian literature in representing Ea—whose name appears in Syncellus' extract from Berosus as *Oannes*[§]—as the god who instructs mankind in various arts, including writing. Ea retains to the latest period the general attribute of wisdom, besides being regarded as the general protector of mankind; but the specific trait of being the god of writing is transferred to Nebo, though this is done to a much more decided extent by the Assyrian scribes than by the Babylonians. One is inclined to conjecture that the northward course of culture, which led to the founding of the city Borsippa and to the establishment of an important school there, with a more special cultivation of astronomy than elsewhere, led to the investing of Nebo with Ea's attributes; and, as the intellectual centre shifted from Eridu to Borsippa, Nebo assumes, in a measure, the rôle formerly assigned to Ea, without, however, overshadowing the latter. The priests of Babylon seek to effect a compromise between the present and the past, by making Marduk the son of Ea, while Nebo in turn becomes the son of Marduk, so that the ultimate source of wisdom under this system is still the god of Eridu, even though his activity is transferred in such large measure to Marduk and Nebo. It is a feature of an established priesthood that it never breaks entirely with the past, and in the systematized Babylonian pantheon the honour of Ea is protected by making him a member of the great triad, whereas the real head of the pantheon is Marduk, to whom Nebo is given as a kind of messenger, entrusted with carrying out his dictates. In Assyria, where the connexion with the remote past was less keenly felt, this process is still further developed, and the Nebo cult is laid hold of as an offset to the predominance of Marduk, who was felt to be a rival to the patron god of Assyria —Ashur, naturally placed at the head of the pantheon by the Assyrian priests. Hence some of the Assyrian rulers, while not altogether ignoring Marduk, preferred to manifest their homage to the gods of the south by the glorification of Nebo. They erected sanctuaries to this god in their capital, and proclaimed their confidence in him. Assurbanipal, in collecting the literature produced in the south, ascribes the inspiration of this policy to Nebo and his consort Tashmit (or Tashmitum), who, as he tells us in the subscription frequently attached to the copies, 'opened his ears' and instructed him to make the wisdom of ancient times accessible to his subjects. As originally a water god, Nebo is also an agricultural deity, who opens the subterranean sources and irrigates the fields. In religious as well as in historical texts he is invoked as the one who causes the corn to grow. His consort, generally termed *Tashmit*, but also known as *Nanâ*, plays an independent part. The name Nanâ, properly belonging to the chief goddess of Erech, indicates that this consort was regarded merely as a form of Ishtar—at least in the later periods—while Tashmit is a purely artificial creation. The name signifies 'revelation'; and *Tashmit* appears to have been originally merely a designation of Nebo himself, who is, in fact, spoken of as *ilu tashmêti*, *i.e.* 'god of revelation.' Under the influence of the doctrine which assumed that every god must have a female consort, Tashmit became the associate of the god of Borsippa.

---

[*] See King, *Seven Tablets of Creation*, i. pp. 94–111.

[†] Delitzsch, *Beiträge zur Assyr.* ii. 623.

[‡] *e.g.* Craig, *Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts*, i., No. 1, lines 12–25.

[§] Cory's *Ancient Fragments*, p. 57.

8. **Girru-Nusku.**—Another phase of solar worship in Babylonia is represented by the conception of a deity symbolizing the element of fire. In the Babylonian pantheon this fire-god commonly bears the name of *Girru* * (formerly read *Gibil*), whereas in Assyria he is generally known as *Nusku*.† Though decidedly to be classed among the great gods of the pantheon, Girru plays a rôle in the incantation texts rather than in the historical inscriptions of Babylonia and Assyria. He is invoked in the incantation rituals compiled as a means of driving away the demons and evil spirits; and this is due to the prominence held by fire in the ritual. Images of the demons—in wood, wax, and other materials—were made, and burned to the accompaniment of incantations; and, as the images were consumed, it was believed that the demons themselves were destroyed. Night being a favourite time for the exorcizing rites, Nusku was brought into association with the moon-god; although the fire symbolized by Nusku is, without much question, the heat of the sun. On the other hand, the possibility of differentiating Nusku from Girru is furnished by the relationship which the former is made to bear to Nebo. Like Nebo, Nusku is called 'the bearer of the brilliant sceptre' and the 'wise god'; and, when ideographically written, the god is designated as 'the one wielding the sceptre and the stylus.' Girru, on the other hand, is brought into connexion with Anu, the god of heaven, and with Ea, the god of the deep,—with Anu by virtue of the belief which identified fire with the heat of the sun, with Ea because of the part that fire plays in the development of civilization, and particularly of the arts, of which Ea is the patron. While, therefore, in both instances the fire which they symbolize is associated with wisdom, in the case of Nusku this wisdom is specialized, as it were, while Girru is accorded more general and less definite traits. The ethical phases are also somewhat more emphasized in the case of Girru, though, as the conqueror of demons, both Nusku and Girru become forces that are hostile to wrong-doing and crime. While in this way we may still in a measure follow the process which led to the amalgamation of two fire-deities who once had an existence independent of one another, and belonged probably to two different localities, in the religious literature this process of amalgamation is complete. Nusku is viewed as the messenger of Marduk, who carries the words of Marduk to his father Ea, while Girru acts in a similar capacity in association with Marduk and Ea.

9. **Ashur.**—The dependency of Assyria upon Babylonian culture extends into the domain of religious doctrines and rites. The contributions of the Assyrian *literati* to the religious literature preserved in the brick library of Assurbanipal were limited in number and of a minor character. They represented the adaptation of Babylonian models to conditions prevailing in Assyria, rather than original contributions; and, similarly, in the rites observed in the temples of Assyria we have Babylonian rituals modified so far as was needed, and still further elaborated. It is natural, therefore, to find the Assyrian pantheon practically identical in character with the one produced in the south. To be sure, local cults continued to exist in large numbers both in Babylonia and Assyria; but the movement which, as a result of various factors, led to the singling out among the large number of local cults of the group of deities set forth above, who formed what may be called the active pantheon of Babylonia, was extended to Assyria. There we meet with the doctrine of the triad, involving the recognition of three great powers controlling the Universe, as well as with the singling out of the forces of nature such as Sin, Shamash, Ninib, Nergal, Adad, Nusku, who, together with Ishtar, the symbol of fertility and vegetation, constitute the great gods invoked by the Assyrian kings in their official inscriptions. That less attention was paid to Marduk in Assyria than in Babylonia, is not surprising; for, although recognized as the head of the Babylonian pantheon, to Assyrian rulers Marduk was also the patron deity of the city of Babylon, which was the natural rival of the centre chosen as the seat of Assyrian rule. It was chiefly when the Assyrian

---

* See Zimmern, *Keilinschriften u. das Alte Testament*, p. 417.

† With various by-forms like *Nashukh*, *Nashku*, etc. See Johns, *An Assyrian Doomsday Book* pp. 12–14.

kings wished to emphasize their control over the affairs of Babylonia that they invoked the name of Marduk; and even in such a case they preferred the name of En-lil or Bel, which, though adopted as the designation of Marduk, disguised the close association of the god with the city of Babylon. In like manner, the consort of Marduk is generally called Nin-lil or Belit in the Assyrian inscriptions, instead of Sarpanit. There was less objection to paying homage to Nebo, and indeed there are indications that the Assyrian rulers at various periods endeavoured to play off Nebo against Marduk. It can hardly be accidental that one ruler Adad-nirari III. (812–783 B.C.) should go so far as to declare that Nebo is the only god whom mankind should trust; and one feels likewise that when Assurbanipal attributes his inspiration to collect the remains of Babylonian literature to Nebo and Tashmit, he is aiming a blow at the rival Marduk in thus implying that the wisdom of Babylonia is the work of the god of Borsippa and not of the god of Babylon.

Instead of Marduk, indeed, the Assyrians recognized as the practical head of their pantheon the deity who presided over the fortunes of the ancient city on the Tigris, known in earlier times as A-usar, and later on as Ashur; and the circumstance that in the north a powerful State developed by the extension of a city (precisely as in the south the Babylonian empire represented merely the extension of the city of Babylon) made it obligatory to assign to the god of A-usar the same position which was accorded in the south to the god of Babylon. We thus obtain one figure in the Assyrian pantheon who represents an original contribution, and who embodies, as it were, the genius of Assyria. That the Assyrians, in thus raising the god of A-usar to a position at the head of the pantheon, had in mind the creation of a rival to Marduk, is shown not only in their avoidance of the latter, as just pointed out, but in the choice of the name *Ashur*, a modification of *Ashir*,[*] which with the force of 'overseer' or 'protector' is one of the titles given to Marduk.[†] The assonance between *A-usar*, the name of the oldest capital of Assyria, and *Ashur*, helped to bring about the introduction of Ashur as the name of the patron deity of the place, and from the god the name was extended to the city and to the country; so that *A-usar* disappears almost completely, and we find in Assyrian inscriptions *Ashur* applied to the god, to the city, and to the country or district of Assyria alike and without distinction. The god Ashur becomes so thoroughly identified with the country of Assyria that the change of the capital from Ashur to Calah, and later to Nineveh, in no way affects the position of this deity, who sums up, as it were, the power and spirit of the Assyrian empire. The local deity of A-usar appears to have been originally regarded as a sun-god; but this phase is entirely obscured by the warlike traits given to Ashur in consequence of the prowess displayed by the Assyrian armies. War was the natural element of the Assyrians, who in this respect present a contrast to their more peacefully inclined cousins in the south; and to such an extent was this the case, that almost all the gods of the Assyrian pantheon take on a warlike aspect, becoming, as it were, minor Ashurs by the side of the great and chief god of war. It is Ashur who, surrounded by the other gods acting as his guards and attendants, leads the Assyrian armies to victory. Instead of erecting statues to him, the Assyrians represented him by a standard surrounded by a winged disc, to which a picture of a warrior in the act of discharging an arrow was attached. This standard was carried into the camp, and the god was literally present in the thick of battle, guiding and encouraging his favourites — the kings and their generals. To Ashur, accordingly, all victories were ascribed; and so secure was his position that it was possible for Assyrian kings to recognize by the side of Ashur a special patron god—one choosing Nebo, another Ninib, a third Shamash—on whom they could shower honours and glorifying epithets without arousing the suspicion of disloyalty to the head of the Assyrian pantheon.

There was another aspect of Ashur which makes him the most characteristic figure in the Assyrian religion. He was not brought into direct association with any other god. Marduk, despite his position at the head of the Babylonian pantheon, had to yield to certain prerogatives possessed by Ea, as whose son therefore he was depicted. In turn he became the father of Nebo. Ashur, on the other hand, is childless, and acknowledges no other god as his father. What is even more noteworthy, although Ishtar is frequently named by the side of Ashur she is not his wife, and there is, in fact, no female reflexion or consort assigned to Ashur such as we find in the case of all other deities. He rules without a rival, and he stands virtually alone. Indeed, we gain the impression at times of his being the only god recognized by the Assyrians as exerting a real influence over his subjects. He reminds us in some respects of the national deity of the Hebrews, Jahweh, who without consort or offspring brooks no other god by His side. And just as in Babylonia the spiritualizing process, which accompanies the development of every religion, leads to the establishment of the doctrine of a *triad* of gods standing far above the gods of the active pantheon, so in Assyria this process has its outcome in the conception of a single deity who presides over the fate of the country, who marks the genius of the empire established by the Assyrian kings, and who seems to suffice for all the needs of his subjects. This unique position of Ashur was first recognized by Sayce,[*] who goes so far as to express the opinion that, under other circumstances, there might have developed as spiritualistic a faith as marked the growth in Israel of Jahweh from a national to a universal deity. However this may be, the conception of Ashur as expressed in the annals of Assyrian kings and in the hymns composed in his honour, represents the closest approach to a monotheistic conception of the Universe, despite certain well-marked limitations, to be found in the religion of ancient Mesopotamia.

(B) *MINOR DEITIES.*—Besides the chief deities to whom in a general sketch we must largely confine ourselves, the historical texts, the religious literature, and proper names, reveal the existence of a large number of gods that may in a general way be included under the term 'minor.' To a large extent, the cult of these deities is of a purely local character; and it is natural to find the names of these numerous local gods surviving in the thousands of proper names that we encounter in the legal and commercial documents from the age of Sargon I. to the end of the New Babylonian empire. In the historical texts, on the other hand, gods of merely local significance are introduced only in special instances, and generally when the rulers wish to parade their own prominence by invoking as large a number of gods as possible, who are represented as combining to shower their favours on their royal minions. Similarly, in the religious literature, and more particularly in incantations, the natural desire to secure the assistance of as many deities as possible in the struggle against evil demons and the mischief wrought by sorcerers would lead to the introduction of many other gods besides those recognized in the official pantheon as belonging to the first rank. We have already had occasion to refer to some of these minor gods and goddesses, whose rôles were gradually absorbed by some important god to whom they bore a resemblance. Thus we have seen that solar cults centring around Nin-gish-zida, Ningirsu, Nin-shakh, Za-mal-mal, and others, are all represented in the official pantheon by Ninib. This, however, does not prevent the survival of these solar deities to a late period in proper names and in incantations. Again, as we have seen, Nanâ the goddess of Erech, Ninâ associated with a quarter of Shirpurla known as Ninâ, and Anunit connected with Agade, became in the course of time merely names of the great Ishtar, though surviving likewise in the religious literature in myths and legends, as well as in incantations.

---

[*] In one of the oldest of Assyrian inscriptions — that of Irishum (*c.* 1730 B.C.)—the god of A-usar is called *Ashir*. See Meissner, *Assyriologische Studien*, i. p. 17.

[†] *e.g.* Rawlinson, iv.^{2} 57, obv. 32; Delitzsch, *Weltschöpfungsepos*, p. 155; K 2107, obv. 2. For the full proof of the views here advanced, see an article by the present writer, 'The god Ashur,' in the 24th vol. of the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, pp 282–311.

[*] Hibbert Lectures on *The Religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians*, p. 129; also Gifford Lectures on *The Religions of Egypt and Babylonia*, p. 346.

Among other gods who in the old Babylonian texts still enjoy an independent existence are **Lugal-banda**, signifying 'mighty king,' and his consort **Nin-sun**, 'the destructive lady,' who were worshipped in Erech. The latter may be identical with Nanâ; the former is a solar deity of the violent type, and is absorbed by Nergal.—A distinctively local goddess is **Nin-mar**, the 'lady of Mar,' whose seat of worship lay in or near the Persian Gulf; and the name of her temple, *Ishgutur*, *i.e.* 'the court for all peoples,' testifies to the prominence given to her at one time by her worshippers.—A goddess of the agricultural type is **Nidaba**, invoked by several of the old Babylonian rulers, and her name survives to the days of Assurbanipal as a synonym of fertility.—Again, we encounter in the inscriptions of rulers, so far removed from one another as Gudea on the one side (*c.* 3000 B.C.) and Sennacherib on the other (B.C. 705–681), a god **Ka-di** (probably an ideographic designation), who appears to have been the patron of Dur-ilu, a town situated near the Elamitic frontier.

The consort of Nin-girsu, known as **Bau**, is one of the most prominent goddesses in the old Babylonian pantheon. She would have been included in the official pantheon as one of the great deities, but for the absorption of the rôle of Nin-girsu by Ninib, which led to the substitution of Gula for Bau. As Nin-girsu is more particularly connected with Girsu, one of the quarters of Shirpurla, so Bau belongs to another quarter of the town (or district) known as *Uru-azagga*, 'the glorious city,' where her temple stood. As the 'mother of Shirpurla' and 'the chief daughter of Anu,' she is pictured as presiding over the fates of her subjects. It is she who grants success to the labours of the tillers of the soil. The rulers of Shirpurla ascribe to Bau the power and glory that they command; and one of the oldest of the Babylonian festivals, *Zag-muk*, celebrated as the New Year's Day, was instituted in her honour. In the oldest period Bau already absorbs the rôle of another goddess Ga-tum-dug, from whom, however, she is still distinguished in the inscriptions of Gudea.

A god of the solar type, **Dumu-zi**, 'child of life,' appears in various of the inscriptions of the Old Babylonian period; and, besides continuing to play an important rôle in the eschatology of the Babylonians, survives in the name of the fourth Babylonian month.[*]

Owing to the peculiarity that in the Old Babylonian inscriptions and in the religious literature the names of the deities are written ideographically, we cannot be certain in all cases whether an ideographic form actually represents a new deity or is merely a designation of one already encountered; but the enumeration of lists of gods frequently attached by the rulers either at the beginning or at the end of their inscriptions, enables us to gather in a general way the extent of the pantheon in the various periods of Babylonian history; and the study of these lists justifies the distinction which we have emphasized between the period before Ḫammurabi and the period subsequent to this ruler, when, as we have seen, a shifting of the pantheon took place, and a new direction was given to the development of a theological system by the prominence assigned to Marduk as the chief god of the capital of the Babylonian empire. Two of the oldest lists are furnished by Lugalzaggisi, whose date may be as early as 3500 B.C., though according to other scholars we are not justified in going much beyond 3200 B.C., and by Gudea (*c.* 3000 B.C.). Lugalzaggisi[†] invokes the following ten deities: En-lil (Bel), Anu, Nidaba, Ea, Shamash, Sin, Innanna (or Ishtar), Nin-kharsag (or Belit), **Shid**, and **Nin-agid-khadu.** We have had occasion to refer to all of these except the two last named, who are both goddesses, and of whom nothing more can be said than that they belong to the immediate pantheon of Erech, and are probably purely local deities. Gudea's largest list[‡] embraces eighteen deities: Anu, En-lil, Nin-kharsag, Ea, Sin, Nin-girsu, Ninâ, Nin-dara, Gatum-dug, Bau, Innanna (or Ishtar), Shamash, Ishum, Gal-alim, Dun-shagga, Nin-mar, Dumu-zi-zuab, and Nin-gish-zida. Of those not as yet referred to, namely **Nin-dara, Ishum, Gal-alim, Dun-shagga,** and **Dumu-zi-zuab,** it is sufficient to remark that they are all deities of a purely local character. The first named is a solar deity, whose rôle appears to have been absorbed by Nin-girsu. The same appears to have been the case with Gal-alim and Dun-shagga. Ishum is merely another designation of the fire-god Girru, while Dumu-zi-zuab, *i.e.* 'child of life of the deep,' is a water deity, associated with Borsippa, and apparently merely an older designation of the god Nebo, though in later times identified with Marduk.

Altogether, we encounter about thirty distinct deities in the historical and votive inscriptions of the rulers before Ḫammurabi; but that this number is far from exhausting the minor deities worshipped by the side of those holding the front rank as the greater gods, is demonstrated by the circumstance that the names of more than fifty gods entering as elements into proper names occur in one of the oldest Babylonian inscriptions, that of Manishtusu,[§] whose date is certainly before 3000 B.C., and perhaps as early as 3500 B.C.[‖] Some of the gods thus utilized in the formation of proper names are of foreign origin—Elamitic and Kassitic; but abstracting these, we still obtain quite an addition to those directly invoked in the inscriptions of this period. The number is still further increased by a study of the proper names in legal and commercial documents of the Ḫammurabi period, which furnishes more than seventy distinct deities;[*] and, when we turn to incantation texts and add the gods who are there invoked, the total ranges considerably over one hundred.

---

[*] *i.e. Tammuz*, according to the Hebrew form of the name of the month.

[†] Hilprecht, *Old Babylonian Inscriptions*, i. 2, No. 87, col. i. 1–35.

[‡] Inscription B, col. viii. and ix. (de Sarzec, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pls. 16–19).

[§] Published by Scheil in *Textes Élamites-Sémitiques*, i. pp. 6–39.

[‖] Scheil places this ruler at 4500 B.C., which is, however, too early a date. See above, p. 537^{b}.

But even in this way we cannot be certain of obtaining even an approximate estimate of the minor deities worshipped in Babylonia and Assyria; and in view of the fact that our material is still scanty compared with the enormous extent of the Babylonian literature, taken together with the circumstance that almost every new publication of texts brings new gods to our notice, it is easier to err by too low than by too high an estimate.

More important, however, than the attempt to estimate the number of gods once worshipped in Babylonia, is the recognition of the distinction to be drawn in a study of the religion of Babylonia and Assyria between the popular phases of the religion as represented chiefly by the very numerous local cults, and the endeavours of the priests and theologians to systematize the current beliefs. The outcome of these endeavours was the distribution of the forces working in the Universe among a comparatively restricted number of deities, representing on the one hand the gods and goddesses worshipped in the chief religious centres of the Euphrates Valley and of Assyria, and, on the other, symbolizing the chief phenomena and great powers of nature—the whole being arranged according to certain guiding principles.

(C) *THE COMBINED INVOCATION OF DEITIES.*—To see these principles at their best, we must turn to the combined invocation of deities to be found in the inscriptions of the period subsequent to the days of Ḫammurabi. 1. For Babylonia, our best sources are the so-called boundary stones, which guarantee certain rights to owners of lands. These inscriptions almost invariably conclude with invoking the curse of the gods of the pantheon upon any who attempt to set aside these rights or to deface or destroy the monumental records on which they are inscribed. A sufficient number of such boundary stones—from the 14th to the 8th cents. B.C.—have now been found to enable us to draw definite conclusions.[†] The number of deities called upon varies from twelve to nineteen. The list usually begins with the triad Anu, Bel, and Ea, to which at times a female representative —Nin-makh or Nin-kharsag—is added; followed by the second group, consisting of Sin, Shamash, and Adad, or these three with Ishtar; followed by Ninib and Gula,—the latter also under the form Nin-karrak,—who, as the gods presiding over boundaries and boundary rights, are never wanting; but here the agreement among the monuments of this character ends. On many, but not on all, we find Marduk and Nebo. Occasionally Marduk occupies the first place, which of right belongs to him, but, inasmuch as many of these documents date from the Kassite period, when, as will be remembered, the attempt was made to reinstate Bel of Nippur in the rank formerly occupied by him, Marduk is more frequently placed after the second group of deities. Nergal is generally included, and also a serpent-god, Sir, who, besides being named, is invariably depicted among the symbols of the gods, which, in most cases, are attached to the inscription.[‡] Girru and Nusku appear only in one instance, while the two chief Kassite deities, Shukamuna and Shumalia, corresponding to the Babylonian Ninib and Ishtar, are added on several of the monuments dating from the Kassite period. Lastly, a series of local gods —Za-mal-mal, the chief god of Kish, and Dun-pa-uddu (both absorbed by Ninib), Pap-nigin-garra (merely again another form of Ninib) and his consort Belit-ekalli ('lady of the palace,' which is another designation of Gula), Shubu and Belit of Akkad (described along with Sin as the gods of a district, Bit-khabban), and, finally, the goddesses Nanâ, Ishkhara, and Anunit (absorbed by the great Ishtar)—are in several instances introduced, as well as Sarpanit, the consort of Marduk, who in one instance, on an Assyrian boundary stone of Marduk-baliddin's days (721-709 B.C.), appears as Erua.[*] In all, therefore, we have only about twenty-five distinct deities introduced on some twenty of these monuments, or, abstracting the two Kassite deities, we find the Babylonian pantheon restricted to about twenty-three.

Of course it must be borne in mind again that in some cases the place where the monument is erected leads to the introduction of specifically local deities, who are designated as such; and, since it is a matter of chance *which* local deities are invoked in this way, we ought properly to remove these from the total. Similarly, a god like Sir is introduced by virtue of the character of the monuments in question. There remain the following thirteen, who may be regarded as constituting the official pantheon during the second period of Babylonian history: the triad Anu, Bel, and Ea; the group Sin, Shamash, Adad, and Ishtar; the pairs Ninib and Gula, and Marduk and Nebo respectively; Nergal and Girru-Nusku. If we add to these the consorts who play an active part in the religious life, Belit and Damkina, the consorts of Bel and Ea respectively; Nin-gal, Â, and Shala, the consorts of Sin, Shamash, and Adad respectively; Sarpanit and Tashmit for Marduk and Nebo,—we have a total of twenty gods.

The general tendency to be observed in the invocation of deities on the boundary stones, as we pass from one century to another, is to reduce the number introduced; and this tendency is in accord with the general course taken by the development of the theological system as devised by the priests. In the days of the Assyrian empire the tendency becomes even more marked. So Assurbanipal (B.C. 668-626), who is fond of calling upon all the great gods, never extends the list beyond eleven, as follows: Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Bel (by whom he means Marduk), Nebo, the two Ishtars (the Ishtar of Nineveh and the Ishtar of Arbela), Ninib, Nergal, and Nusku. To these the triad, although less prominently dwelt upon in Assyrian inscriptions, is to be added, which again gives us fourteen: in adding the consorts of Bel, Ea, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Marduk, Nebo, and Ninib, we have twenty-two deities, the addition of two to the Babylonian pantheon being formed by the second Ishtar and by Ashur. In the New Babylonian period, so far as the testimony of the inscriptions goes, the actual cult is confined chiefly to Marduk, Nebo, Sin, Shamash, and Ishtar; and though kings like Nebuchadreẓẓar pride themselves upon erecting chapels and sanctuaries to many other deities, including some whose cult they appear to have revived, still these five deities receive such a large share of attention as to make the others quite subsidiary during the Assyrian period likewise, though in the earlier part of this period the cult of Anu is still prominent, and quite a number of other gods are occasionally introduced besides those that appear in Assurbanipal's ordinary list.[†]

---

[*] See Ranke's monograph, *Die Personennamen in den Urkunden der Hammurabidynastie* (München, 1902).

[†] See Peiser's collection of them in Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iv. pp. 56-104; and Scheil, *Textes Élamites-Sémitiques*, i. and ii.

[‡] On the meaning of these symbols, see Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 191, 192.

[*] Delitzsch in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, ii. p. 265 (col. v. 41-42).

[†] See, *e.g.*, two inscriptions of Sennacherib (Meissner-Rost, *Bauinschriften Sanheribs*, pp. 99-102), where we find lists of

The actual cult, nevertheless, centres so largely around Ashur, Ishtar, Sin, Shamash, Adad, and Nebo (to which number, perhaps, Marduk might be added), that these constitute for all practical purposes the active pantheon during the greater part of the existence of the Assyrian empire.

2. To what extent local cults continued to flourish during the second and third Babylonian periods, and in the Assyrian period, it is quite impossible to say. No doubt, the little sanctuaries scattered throughout the country retained some of their popularity, though even places removed from the great centres of religious life could hardly have escaped the influence of the system that was developed, and that identified the various moon-deities as forms of one and the same god, and similarly distinguished only a limited number of distinct solar deities, so that many of the old local deities would represent in the later periods a survival largely in name. On the other hand, the process of concentration did not extend further than above indicated. The active pantheon was limited to five or six deities; and though occasionally Ashur is celebrated in terms which might lead one to suppose that he was recognized as the only god actually controlling the fate of mankind; and though there are indications in the religious literature and even texts * which point to Marduk's having been represented as having the qualities of all the other great gods,—Ninib, Nergal, Bel, Sin, Shamash, and Adad,—we must not be misled by such phenomena into supposing that the conception which regarded the Universe as the emanation of a single Power or Spirit ever obtained a decided foothold in the Euphrates Valley. It may be that to a few choice minds this view presented itself, but there are no traces of it either in the historical inscriptions of any period or in the religious literature, which are sufficiently definite to warrant us in assuming this to have been the case. At all events, the view never entered to any degree—even the slightest—into the religious life of the people or of the priests; and it is the religious life as *actually* lived that forms the only safe criterion, when dealing with an ancient civilization, for determining the beliefs and doctrines that prevailed. The testimony of the entire Babylonian literature, as of the historical texts of Babylonia and Assyria, is unmistakable in this respect.

We may indeed distinguish, as we have endeavoured to do, several periods in the development of the religious doctrines. We observe clearly the tendency to concentrate the cult on a selection of the numerous deities once worshipped, and we can trace the leading principles which led to the belief in a triad standing above all the gods, and to a group of deities, varying from about thirty in the oldest period to some twenty at a later time, subsidiary to this triad; and we may furthermore note the tendency to reduce the active pantheon to a still smaller number of deities, who absorb the largest share of attention to such an extent as to obscure the others almost completely: but here the process ends. Ashur in Assyria reminds one of the national Jahweh; and Marduk in Babylonia is given certain attributes which are associated by Hebrew writers with Jahweh at the time that the latter is on the verge of becoming more than the god of a single people; but neither Ashur nor Marduk was ever conceived as a deity who brooks no others by his side, as a *logical* consequence of a belief that there can be only one Power presiding over the Universe, from whom all things emanate. That idea transcends the spiritual horizon of ancient Babylonia and Assyria, and was left to another people to evolve.

vi. THE RELIGIOUS LITERATURE OF BABYLONIA.—Corresponding to the long period covered by the history of Babylonia and Assyria, an exceedingly extensive and varied literature was produced in the Euphrates Valley, a great portion of which is distinctively religious in character, while the parts that cannot be so designated yet contain traces of the influence exerted both by the popular religion and by the theologians who systematized the popular doctrines. In Babylonia, perhaps more than in any other centre of ancient culture, religion was the mainspring of the intellectual activity that was developed. Not only are the religious divisions of the Babylonian literature its oldest constituents, but they represent likewise the most valuable contribution of Babylonia to posterity; and, apart from the value of this literature as a means of penetrating still closer to the core of the Babylono-Assyrian religion, it contains much that is worthy of notice, and some of its productions can be matched in ancient times only by some of the finest writings contained in the Old Testament.

1. To what age the origin of this literature is to be traced is a question that in the present state of our knowledge cannot be answered. While, as already indicated, the bulk of our knowledge of the ancient Babylonian literature—using this word in the stricter sense—is gained from the tablets in the library of Assurbanipal, these represent merely the copies made in the 7th cent. from the originals that existed in the temple archives of the south; and a sufficient number of these originals have now been found to warrant full confidence in the assertion of Assurbanipal, that he actually sent his scribes to the temples in the old religious centres of Babylonia, for the purpose of having copies made. The script in some of these originals, and above all the dating of a number of them, leave no substantial doubt that at the time of Ḫammurabi (*c.* 2250 B.C.) a considerable literature had been produced, and, what is more, such notable productions as the great epic of a hero named Gilgamesh * were already in existence, though perhaps this epic had not yet the form in which it has come down to us in the tablets of Assurbanipal's library. Again, the character of some of the oldest Babylonian inscriptions, and more particularly the diction of the prayers embodied in them, confirm the general impression that the age of Ḫammurabi represents the culmination of the first period of Babylonian literature, which may thus be safely dated beyond 2500 B.C., and probably will be found to extend to a date close to 3000 B.C. Still, it is advisable to bear in mind that we are as yet without sufficient data to speak with any degree of positiveness as to the beginnings or the early phases of Babylonian literature. We do know, however, that this literature, as was to be expected, is largely religious; and if we exclude the historical and votive inscriptions, which can scarcely be called literature, in its beginnings this literature is *entirely* religious. It centres around the ancient temples; and since the priests attached to the temples remained for

---

eighteen and twenty-five deities respectively; among them some like Gaga, Azag-shud, that occur again only in the religious literature; also the list of twelve and eleven deities respectively in inscriptions of Esarhaddon, dealing with building operations in Babylonia (Meissner-Rost in *Beiträge z. Assyr.* iii. pp. 228 and 260).

* *e.g.* the text just published by T. G. Pinches, *Transactions of the Victoria Institute*, xxvii. (1896) p. 8, which has recently been used by Frdr. Delitzsch as a proof of his thesis that monotheistic beliefs were developed in Babylonia. See Johns' translation of Delitzsch's two lectures, *Babel and Bible* (London, 1903), pp. 75 and 144.

* See, *e.g.*, the fragment of a Deluge narrative (published by Scheil in *Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Phil. et Arch. Egypt. et Assyr.* xx. pp. 55-59; consult also Meissner, *Ein altbabylonisches Fragment des Gilgamos-Epos* (Berlin, 1902).

all times not only the scribes, but the authors of all literary productions, and the exponents of the entire intellectual life, the literature never lost its association with the religion. Again, we are safe in assuming that this oldest religious literature arose from utilitarian motives, or at all events pursued the practical purpose of providing a suitable ritual, that had stood the test of experience in effectually securing the desired ends. It is therefore to the cult that we must look for the key to an understanding of the Babylonian literature in its largest extent, and particularly in its oldest portions.

2. It is not necessary for the purpose of this sketch to determine how far the old Babylonian religion was based on animistic conceptions, or what other features entered into it, since we are unable to trace it further back than the literary evidence, the very existence of which betokens a comparatively advanced stage of thought — certainly a stage far removed from a primitive state of religion. It is sufficient to recognize that the gods, however the belief in them arose, were approached mainly for two purposes — to secure the fulfilment of certain requests or hopes, and to ward off actual or threatened misfortunes. These purposes cover alike the occasions when the ordinary individual saw fit to approach the god, and those when the rulers sought out the ancient shrines; and, whatever the cause that prompted the approach, the favourable answer was dependent upon a single factor—the disposition of the god or gods invoked. But the gods, though each was all-powerful within the jurisdiction assigned to him or to her, were not supposed to control all occurrences in the life of the individual. Their protection extended only—except when specially appealed to—to a general surveillance of the affairs of the individual. The smaller mishaps and accidents incident to daily life were ascribed to the mischievous influence of a lower order of beings, whom, for want of a better name, we may designate demons or evil spirits. The current views with regard to such beings do not appear at any time to have been very definite, and it is therefore difficult to gather from the religious literature any adequate description of them. The demons were supposed to lurk everywhere. They could make themselves invisible, and indeed they generally acted in so mysterious a manner that their presence was perceived only when the consequences of their activity became manifest. They assumed at times the forms of animals, and the strange movements of serpents—their sudden appearance as though coming up out of the ground, and their gliding away as noiselessly as they came — led to a preference being given to this species of animal life, as the mould in which demons took up their being; but, besides serpents, we also have demons in the shape of birds, and in sculptured representations the demons are sometimes given a human shape with grotesque features or with heads of fantastic animals of terror-inspiring aspect.* At no time was one safe from the attacks of evil spirits, who lurked in the streets, and who could pass through walls, chinks, and crevices into the house. Some were supposed to inhabit groves, others had their hiding-places in fields or in ruins. The tops of the mountains, the rivers and seas, and the wilderness, were alike infested with them. To these demons all manner of evil was ascribed: a fall, a headache, a quarrel, an explosion of temper, were all due to them, as well as the more serious diseases to which mankind is heir; and it was generally believed in these cases that some evil spirit had taken up its abode in the body of the afflicted individual, and was causing the pain or the wasting away from fever or the decay of a diseased organ.

3. Incantation rituals. — Against the demons appeal was made to the gods, and, through the medium of priests acting as exorcizers, an endeavour was made to get rid of their pernicious influence, or to drive them forcibly out of the body. The power thus vested in the hands of the priests lay in the use of the proper words which would serve as a check on the actions of the demons, accompanied by certain symbolical rites, such as ablution and purification, which would complete the work of overpowering the hostile powers. Prayer thus takes its rise in Babylonia as the utterance of certain appeals to the gods; and it is natural to find in the earlier stages of religious thought as much and perhaps more stress laid upon the words so used as on the motive which prompted the direct appeal to the intervention of the gods. To the body of the people the favourable response to the appeal was at all times directly associated with the words employed, and up to a certain stage in the development of the religious beliefs this view was, no doubt, shared by the priests. As a consequence, the greatest possible importance was attached to the use of the proper words or formulas in seeking relief from the baneful spirits; and, when the exorcizing priests failed in their task, the failure was consistently ascribed to the use of a wrong or unfortunate formula that was not applicable to the case in question. There thus arose in the temple service, on the basis of actual experience, fixed formulas varying for different emergencies, the efficiency of which had been tested by a sufficiently large number of instances to warrant complete confidence in them. These formulas, handed down from one generation to another, were given a permanent form so as to ensure their preservation; and it was a further natural step to collect these formulas into a series of greater or shorter extent that could properly be designated as 'incantation rituals.' Quite a number of such series have been found among the tablets of Assurbanipal's library, and the names given to them are themselves indicative of the ideas underlying the collection. Thus we have a series which embraced at least sixteen tablets, each one of which bore a number designating it as a part of a ritual known as 'the Evil Demons.' Another series, consisting of at least nine tablets, was called the 'Head-sickness,'* because a goodly portion of it was devoted to formulas for ridding individuals of various diseases that had their seat in the head, and were due to some demon that had taken up its abode in the human body. Again, two series bear the names 'Maḳlu' and 'Shurpu' respectively, both terms having the sense of 'burning,' and owing their designation to the prominence assigned in them to the burning of effigies of the demons or of the witches who controlled the demons, as a means of getting rid of their baneful influence. Corresponding to the distribution of functions among the gods, the attempt was made to specialize the powers of the demons, though it is doubtful whether this process of differentiation was ever fully carried out. Thus there was a female demon, or rather a class, called *Labartu*, supposed to be specially dangerous to children and their mothers; and we have an incantation series which was known as 'Labartu,'† and which was entirely taken up with formulas and directions against this special class of evil spirits.

---

* See, *e.g.*, the illustration in Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia* (1903), vol. i. pl. 2.

* These two series are published in *Cuneif. Texts from Tablets in the British Museum*, parts xvi. and xvii., and interpreted by Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, vols. i. and ii.

† See Myhrman, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, xvi. pp. 141-200.

These rituals thus form a distinct division of the religious literature, and we are probably justified in assuming that they represent the oldest division. In regard to their composition—more particularly as to time and place—we are dependent for the present on internal evidence alone, and that often of an unsatisfactory nature. The fact that the god Ea, as the protector of humanity, plays a prominent part in many of the series, taken in connexion with the sanctity that continued from the earliest to the latest days to be attached to Eridu, the seat of Ea worship, points to the temple of Eridu as one of the centres in which incantation rituals were compiled; and, on the other hand, the association of Marduk with Ea, introduced in some of the Ea rituals in a manner which betrays the intention of Marduk's priests to give their favourite a share in the privilege of driving off the evil spirits, is conclusive evidence that the older texts were subject to revision subsequent to the period when Marduk was recognized as standing at the head of the pantheon. Considerations such as these suggest that the rituals were subject to growth and modification. The priests in one religious centre would have no hesitation in embodying in their ritual formulas that had originated and that had been tested in another; but, in doing so, they would be led to introduce such modifications as were required to bring the latter into accord with other portions of the special ritual of the temple in question, and to combine them with formulas of their own. Even a superficial examination of the rituals reveals their composite character; and, upon closer investigation, it is possible to separate in many instances the older from the more recent parts. The mixture of primitive thought with utterances that belong to a much more advanced stage of religious belief is, in fact, a trait that marks all the rituals hitherto brought to light. The conservative instinct led to the retention of what is oldest in these texts, while the impressive hymns and the often strikingly beautiful prayers inserted amidst a jumble of incantation formulas, represent the attempt to give to the old beliefs a more spiritual interpretation.

Before entering upon a description of one of these rituals, which may serve as an example of this division of the religious literature of Babylonia, there is one feature connected with them that yet remains to be considered. Correlative to the belief in the power of the priest to exorcize the evil demons, we find among the Babylonians the belief in the power of certain individuals over the demons, with a view to bringing individuals under their influence; and, as among other nations, this power was more commonly ascribed to women than to men, though we find the belief in sorcerers prevalent as well as the belief in witches. The dividing line between the demons and spirits on the one hand and the witches and sorcerers on the other becomes at times faint; so that it would appear that the latter were also regarded as demons, and not merely as those who had control over them. Still, in general, it is possible to keep the two classes apart, except that, in course of time, the view which supposes the demons to be working at the instigation of the witches and sorcerers rather than independently becomes more marked. In the rituals themselves, however, both phases of the belief in question are found, now the one, now the other being more prominent; and, similarly, in the appeals to the gods, the petitioner sometimes asks relief from those who have bewitched him, as well as from the demons who have independently brought him into their power. Of the two phases, it is more natural to give the preference in point of primitiveness to the independent power of the demons, who, being naturally hostile to man, would feel prompted to make their attack whenever the opportunity offered. The strange and weird impression made by individuals of deformed stature, like dwarfs, or with unusual features, unusually large or unusually small eyes, or otherwise presenting a grotesque appearance, would prompt the conclusion that such persons possessed unusual powers and were capable of working mischief. Evil being associated with demons, it was a logical conclusion that these strange individuals were in league with the demons, or were actually evil spirits that had assumed human shape. Consistency in anything connected with popular beliefs is never to be expected, and hence we find in the rituals a constant vacillation between the attributing of accidents, misfortunes, and disease to the direct activity of witches and sorcerers, and the tracing back of the ills to which human flesh is heir, to the demons acting independently or at the instigation of certain individuals who exercised a direct or indirect control over them. In this respect, therefore, the incantation texts likewise betray their composite character; and, corresponding to the older and later components in the formulas prescribed for the various cases involved, we have the mixture of exorcizing rites aimed at witches and sorcerers, with such as are clearly employed against the demons and evil spirits directly.

The symbolical rites prescribed in connexion with the recital of the formulas, to which we have already referred, similarly presuppose both phases of demonic possession; but some are more applicable to witches and sorcerers than to the demons. Thus a very common practice prescribed in the texts was to make an image of the witch or sorcerer of wax, honey, clay, pitch, or of metal, and to burn such images, while pronouncing the sacred formulas. As the image was thus being consumed, the witch or sorcerer was supposed to suffer the tortures of the fire, and to be gradually annihilated. Instead of burning the image, the plan was sometimes to throw it into the water, or to bury it in the ground; and the symbolical rite being supposed to have an effect on the witch, her evil influence was thus disposed of. Again, one of the favourite means resorted to by a witch in order to secure a hold on her victim was the tying of knots—each fresh knot thus tied, to the accompaniment of a powerful formula, representing symbolically the binding of the unfortunate victim. Hence the exorcizing priest would, by a species of 'sympathetic magic,' endeavour to undo the evil by taking a knotted rope and untying the knots one by one, pronouncing at the same time the counter formulas, and in this way seek to bring about the relief of the sufferer. But images of the demons were also made, and similar ceremonies gone through with them; so that, in connexion with the rites likewise, the dividing line between demons and witches is not always kept in view.

Taking up now a series known as the 'Maḳlu,'* a brief analysis will show the method followed in the grouping of the formulas. It deals almost exclusively with methods for ridding oneself of the influence of witches and sorcerers, and derives its name, 'Burning,' from the prominent part played by the symbolical burning of the images of the witches. The opening incantation is an appeal of a general character to the gods, put into the mouth of the afflicted individual—

> 'Arise, ye great gods, hear my complaint;
> Grant me justice, take cognizance of my condition.'

---

* Published by Tallqvist, *Die Assyrische Beschwörungsserie Maqlû* (Leipzig, 1895).

Not knowing whether the bewitchment is due to a sorcerer or a sorceress, the victim has made an image of each, and then, referring more particularly to the witch, he exclaims—

'May she die! Let me live!'

Cleansing potions concocted of various herbs are drunk by the victim, who hopes in this way to become 'as pure as water,' 'resplendent as fire.' As a specimen of a genuine incantation formula the following may serve—

'Earth, earth, earth!
Gilgamesh[*] is the master of your witchcraft;
What ye have done, I know;
What I do, you know not;
All the mischief wrought by my sorcerers is destroyed,
dissolved—is gone.'

What is here expressed as a fact is intended as a hope to be realized after the accomplishment of the incantation rites. A variety of symbolical rites are then prescribed, such as depositing the image of the witch in a boat placed on the waters, and surrounded by an enclosure so as to prevent her escape; while, in connexion with the burning of the images, hymns, at times most impressive in diction, are addressed to the fire-god Nusku or Girru. The purpose of thus furnishing a variety of rites is to afford a chance to the exorcizer to select the one appropriate to the case with which he is asked to deal. No fewer than ten different kinds of material are prescribed for the making of the images—wax, earth, bronze, honey, clay, pitch, sesame flour, pitch with clay, and two varieties of wood.[†] For each material a special incantation is prescribed, though the formulas do not differ very materially from one another. The thought, both in the mind of the exorcizer in prescribing and of the victim in carrying out the burning rite, is clearly brought out in the words uttered as the images are consumed—

'On this day, arise[‡] to my judgment;
Suppress the mischief, overpower the evil.
As these images tremble, dissolve, and melt away,
So may the sorcerer and sorceress tremble, dissolve, and
melt away.'

Just as the images of the sorcerer and the sorceress were made to be burnt in certain prescribed cases, so, in others, images of the demons were destroyed in a similar manner. An incantation in connexion with such a rite furnishes the names of the chief classes of demons—

'I raise the torch, their images I burn—
Of the *utukku*, the *shedu*, the *rabisu*, the *ekimmu*,
The *labartu*, the *labasu*, the *akhkhazu*.
Of the *lilu*, *lilitu*, and *ardat lili*,
And of every evil that seizes hold of men.
Tremble, melt away and disappear!
May your smoke rise to heaven!
May Shamash destroy your limbs!
May the son of Ea,[§] the chief exorcizer, restrain
your strength!'

Of these demons the two first appear to have been of a general character, both terms conveying the idea of strength. *Rabisu*, signifying 'the one who lies in wait,' is a demon who springs upon his victim unawares; *ekimmu*, also used to describe the 'ghost' of a man, represents the class of demons that infest the graves. *Labartu* is the demon who is particularly dangerous to women and children; of *labasu*, 'the one who throws down,' and *akhkhazu*, 'the seizer,' we only know that they have the power of securing their victims under their control; while *lilu* ('night'), *lilitu* (feminine form of *lilu*), and *ardat lili* ('maid of night') are mischievous spirits who ply their trade at night under cover of darkness.

In regard to all these names, the remark applies that they represent general classes of demons rather than individual spirits, and that (excluding *shedu*) the first six named, moreover, are sometimes used to designate demons in general. Similarly, two other designations that frequently occur in the incantation texts—*alu*, signifying probably 'the strong one,' and *gallu*, 'the great one'—are used, though not always, in a very general way. This indicates that, if at one time a differentiation was attempted, that period was succeeded by one in which the various designations for demons represented, in the case of those most frequently used, merely the different forms of activity represented by the demons, and in the case of others the time and the various ways in which they attack and secure control of their victims.

Somewhat different is the use of the term *shedu*, which is applied both to a hostile demon and to the protecting spirit who stands by man's side and helps him in his endeavour to thwart the attack of the demons, or to rid himself of them. The latter use is the more usual, and in this sense the term is generally associated with *lamassu*, which likewise represents a protecting power. The two, *shedu and lamassu*, were symbolized by fantastic creatures—one with the features of a lion, the other with those of a bull—placed as guardians at the entrances of palace gates and doors. This symbolization, however, which is an outcome probably of the idea of strength connected with the demons, and recalled by the lion and the bull, appears to have belonged to a comparatively late period, for in the days of Ḫammurabi[*] we still find *lamassu* used to designate the chief protecting deity of a place. It is only, therefore, as the differentiation between god and spirit becomes sharply defined, that *lamassu*—represented ideographically by two signs with the force of 'strong god'—is confined in its application to a protecting and favourably inclined spirit or demon, while the double sense in which *shedu*, also embodying the idea of 'strength,' is used, testifies to the currency of the earlier conception whereby the demons were viewed as either favourable or unfavourable.

Corresponding to the tendency to differentiate gods from spirits, the view seems to have arisen that in general the gods were favourably inclined, or could be made so, by propitiation, appeals, and gifts; whereas the demons, as a rule, were hostile, and could be overcome only with the help of the gods. The *shedu* and *lamassu* were the exceptions, and could therefore be appealed to in the struggle against the hostile forces equally with the gods. Accordingly, we frequently find the hope expressed in the incantations that the bad demons may be driven out of the body, and that the *shedu* and *lamassu* may enter into the head or into the limbs of the unfortunate victim in place of the *utukku*, *gallu*, *alu*, etc., as the case may be.

Continuing our analysis of the 'Maḳlu' series, the third tablet is concerned largely with descriptions of the witches who, possessing the same power as the demons, have the additional quality of being able to select their victims, whereas the demons stumble upon them, as it were, and strike whomsoever they happen to encounter. The witches—and the same applies also to the male sorcerers—appear to have acted not only on their own initiative but when engaged by others to cast their spells on individuals against whom they harboured a grudge for some reason or other. In this connexion it is interesting to note that the laws of Ḫammurabi, in order to safeguard this means of punishing an enemy, provide that, if a spell be unjustly cast upon a man, the one who induced the bewitchment shall be put to death.[*] The descriptions of the witches in the third tablet of the 'Maḳlu' series form an integral part of the incantations. Thus we read at the beginning of this tablet—

---

[*] The semi-mythical hero whose deeds are celebrated in the Gilgamesh epic, upon which we shall touch later on.

[†] One of them cedar; the other, called *binu*, has not been identified.

[‡] The address is 'to the fire-god'

[§] *i.e.* Marduk.

[*] 'Code de Hammourabi' (ed. Scheil), obv. col. iv. 56.

> 'The witch who goes about through the streets,
> Enters into houses,
> Glides into courts,
> Treads the open places,
> Turning forwards and backwards,
> Plants herself in the streets and retraces her steps,[†]
> Interposes herself on the highway,
> Robs the good man of his strength,[‡]
> Robs the good maid of her fruit.[§]
> At her sight, desire seizes him:
> She sees the man, and robs him of his strength;
> She sees the maid, and robs her of her fruit.
> With her witchcraft she barricaded the way;
> With her spittle she blocked the road.
> The witch saw me, and pursued me.'

But the sorceress is not always visible to her victim. She can work in silence and be unknown; and it would appear, indeed, that the invisible and unknown witch represents the more potent form of bewitchment. Hence the incantation is at times couched in the form of a question—

> 'Who art thou, witch,
> Who carries the word of my misfortune in her heart,
> Whose tongue brings about my destruction,
> Through whose lips I am poisoned,
> In whose footsteps death follows?
> O witch, I seize thy mouth, I seize thy tongue,
> I seize thy piercing eyes,
> I seize thy restless feet,
> I seize thy active knees,
> I seize thy outstretched hands,
> I tie thy hands behind thee.
> May Sin [‖] give thee a fatal blow!
> May he cast thee into an abyss of water and fire!
> O witch, like the setting of this seal ring,
> May thy face glow and become pale!' [¶]

The witch has endless means at her disposal for securing control of the selected victim. Her spittle is poisonous, and can torture one on whom it falls or whoever treads on it; the words that she utters have a mystic power; and her eye is deadly, and can spellbind one on whom its glance is thrown. Ever active, moving about on the lookout for her victim, her hands can seize him at any time. Hence the victim, whether already caught, or in danger of falling into the witch's hands, is told to prepare an image of the sorceress, whoever she may be; and, suiting the action to the word, binds fast the mouth, tongue, lips, limbs, and hands of the image, and then casts the helpless figure into the fire; and, not satisfied with this, drowns it in water.

In other incantations in this tablet the witch is pictured as being imprisoned in a pit, and then drowned by having water poured over her; and, again, she is placed on a small ship and given over to the mercy of the elements. In all such cases we are justified in assuming that there was some symbolical act suited to the words, carried out in the hope that the symbol, fortified by the proper formulas, will be converted into a reality.

More common, however, appears to have been the burning of the images; and, in connexion therewith, we encounter a considerable number of addresses appropriately directed to the fire-god, Girru-Nusku, some of which merit the designation of hymns, embodying an imagery and conceptions that appear to transcend the intellectual horizon of belief in the efficacy of sacred formulas. As a specimen—and this is perhaps the finest of this series of addresses—we may choose the one with which the second tablet of the series opens—

> 'O Nusku, great god, chief of the great gods,
> Guardian of the offerings of all the *Igigi*,[*]
> Founder of cities, restorer of sanctuaries;
> Brilliant day, whose command is supreme;
> Messenger of Anu,[†] obedient to the decrees of Bel;
> Mighty in battle, whose attack is powerful.
> Nusku, glowing, overthrower of enemies,
> Without thee no sacrificial feast is held in E-kur;[‡]
> Without thee Shamash the judge does not execute
> any judgment.'

Fire being an element common to heaven—as shown by the lightning—and to earth, the god Nusku is appropriately figured as the messenger of the god of heaven, and as obedient to the dictates of Bel, who here represents the god of earth. The presence of fire in the sanctuaries, and its use in the sanctification of the sacrifices brought by the worshippers, suggest the references in the second and eighth lines of this hymn, while its power as an indispensable factor in all forms of civilization and its destructive force in war emphasize two other phases of the god's nature. Up to this point we appear to have before us a hymn composed in honour of Nusku that might appropriately have been sung in connexion with a sacrificial ritual in a temple erected in honour of the god in question. The following lines, however, reveal the real purpose of the invocation. The victim, about to burn the images of the evil powers that have brought about his misfortune, is represented as saying—

> 'I, thy servant *So and So*,[§] son of *So and So*,
> Whose god is *So and So*,[‖] whose goddess is *So and So*,
> I turn to thee, I seek thee, I raise my hands, I prostrate
> myself before thee:
> Burn my sorcerer and my witch;
> May the life of my sorcerer and my witch be taken hold
> of and destroyed!
> Let me live that I may praise thee, and in humility
> extol thee.'

The images, as has already been pointed out, were made of various materials, and the second tablet of the 'Maḳlu' series contains no fewer than eight Nusku hymns, introduced as preludes to the formulas prescribed for the burning of the images of the sorcerers and witches. We are to assume, of course, that the officiating priest selects the one appropriate to the occasion and to the material employed for the making of the image, and gives the necessary instructions to the worshipper in regard to the ceremonies to be performed in connexion with the exorcizing rites. But the witch and the sorcerer also have recourse to making images of their proposed victims, and have the power of transferring to the individual the symbolical tortures and miseries that they inflict upon his counterpart. The fourth tablet of the series is largely taken up with a description of the various manipulations to which the witches submit the images as a means of adding to the tortures of those whom the images represent. To symbolize their victims and thus bring about their death, the witches place the images in coffins and bury them, or immure them, or conceal them under the thresholds of houses—both representing primitive modes of burial,—or they are thrown into wells, or placed on bridges where they would be exposed to being trampled upon, and more of the like. As a counter move, the same treatment was prescribed for the images of the witches, to which, likewise, poisonous plants would be symbolically administered in order to counteract the poison that the witches had, in some way, introduced into the bodies of their victims; and the attempt, it would seem, was also made to find the hidden images made of the victims, and thus to release the unfortunate ones from the ills with which they were afflicted. An incantation at the beginning of the fifth tablet, to be used in connexion with such rites, reads—

---

[*] Paragraph 1 of the 'Code de Hammourabi' (ed. Scheil), obv. col. v. 26–32, Johns' translation, *The Oldest Code of Laws in the World*, p. 1.

[†] *i.e.* moves in all directions, and passes to and fro.

[‡] A reference apparently to sexual vigour.

[§] *i.e.* prevents conception, or brings about a miscarriage.

[‖] *i.e.* the moon-god.

[¶] *i.e.* 'May thy face glow with the heat of the fire like the metallic setting of a stone seal cylinder, and then lose its colour—like the heated metal when thrown into the water.'

[*] A designation for the throng of heavenly deities or spirits.

[†] The god of heaven.

[‡] Name of the temple of Bel in Nippur, which, however, has become a generic designation for a sanctuary, and also for the earth in general.

[§] Here the name of the victim is to be inserted.

[‖] Here the victim names the special patron god and goddess, whom each individual is supposed to possess. See Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 194 f.

'The witch and the sorceress—
She sits in the shadow of the wall,
Sits and brings about my bewitchment, makes my images.[*]
I will send thee *khaltappan* plant and sesame,
To break up thy charm, to make thy words return to thee;[†]
The bewitchment prepared by thee,—may it be for thee!
The images that thou hast made,—may they represent thee!
The water that thou hast concealed,[‡]—may it be for thee!
May thy incantation not come nigh, may thy words have no effect!
By command of Ea, Shamash, Marduk, and the great mistress of the gods.'[§]

This fifth tablet illustrates also the faintness of the demarcation between witch and demon, to which attention has already been directed,[||] for almost imperceptibly the incantations pass from denunciations of the witches to imprecations hurled against the demons. The last incantation of the tablet, applicable to the demons, furnishes a characteristic example of a direct formula intended to drive the demons out of a man's body—

'Away, away, far away, far away!
For shame, for shame, fly away, fly away!
Round about face, go away, far away!
Out of my body, away!
Out of my body, far away!
Out of my body, for shame!
Out of my body, fly away!
Out of my body, round about face!
Out of my body, go away!
Into my body do not return!
To my body draw not nigh!
To my body do not approach!
Into my body do not force your way!
My body torture not!
By Shamash, the mighty, be forsworn!
By Ea, the lord of everything, be forsworn!
By Marduk, the chief exorcizer of the gods, be forsworn!
From the fire-god, who consumes you, be forsworn!
From my body may you be restrained!'

The sixth tablet of the series is taken up with a series of addresses directed against the witches, and appeals to the fire-god, which furnish some further interesting portrayals of the partly hidden and wholly mischievous workings of the witches, without, however, adding anything of material value to our conception of these beings.

In the seventh tablet we pass from incantations used in connexion with the burning of images and with other treatment accorded to them, to the use of oil and water as means of purification. A reference in one of these incantations to the waters of Eridu, the old city sacred to Ea, at the head of the Persian Gulf, is a valuable indication of the place at which this part of the 'Maḳlu' ritual originated; and in general, when waters of purification are referred to in the incantation texts, the two chief streams of Babylonia—the Euphrates and the Tigris—both of which had a sacred character, are introduced or implied, though the conception of purification has, in the course of time, widened so as to include the efficacy of water in general as a symbol of purification. It will be sufficient to reproduce one of these incantations, which may serve as a specimen of their general character—

'I have washed my hands, cleansed my body,
With the pure waters of a source which arises in Eridu;
Whatever is evil, whatever is not good,
That is lodged in my body, in my flesh, in my limbs,—
The evil arising from bad dreams, omens, and unfavourable portents,
The evil of unfavourable omens for city and country,
. . . .
Which I see by day,
Trample on in the street, cast aside,—
The evil *shedu*, the evil *utukku*;
Sickness, Pestilence, Fever,
Distress, Pain, Complaint, Weakness, Groaning,
Woe and Ache, severe bodily affliction,
Terror and extreme Misery, etc. etc.'

—all manner of distress, it is hoped, may be effectually removed by the purifying power of the sacred element.

The addition of such incantations, in which water plays the chief part of the ritual, points to the composite character of the 'Maḳlu' series, which, from dealing exclusively with the burning of images and with appeals to the fire-god, is thus enlarged into a general incantation ritual, to serve as a guide for the exorcizing priest in picking out such portions as are applicable to the case brought before him. Further light is thrown on the principles underlying the combination of incantations into a fixed and elaborate ritual by the eighth and last tablet of the series, which furnishes a summary of all the incantations contained in the previous seven, by repeating their opening words or lines in uninterrupted succession. One is tempted to conjecture that this arrangement, which is also found at the close of another incantation series,[*] was intended to serve the purposes of an index or table of contents, to enable the officiating functionary of the temple to obtain a rapid survey of the incantations comprised in the ritual, and then to turn to those chosen by him. However this may be, the 'Maḳlu' series, like the various other ones that have been put together from the tablets of Assurbanipal's library,[†] clearly points to an elaborate process of composition and editing of the hundreds of formulas produced in the course of time for the purpose of relieving those attacked by the demons, or bewitched by the sorcerers and sorceresses.

Besides the incantation series in the proper sense, the priests also compiled for their own use handbooks to serve as guides in the performance of incantation rites, in which specific directions of all kinds are given, detailing the manner in which the images of protecting spirits are to be grouped around the couch on which the man stricken with disease lies, so as to guard him against further harm from the demons; what sacrifices are to be offered in connexion with the recital of the incantations, where they are to be offered, what prayers or formulas should be spoken in connexion with these sacrifices, and more of the like. In the subdivision of priestly functions which followed with the growth of the temples of Babylonia and Assyria, a special class of priests arose, known as the *âshipu*,[‡] into whose hands the carrying out of exorcizing rites was entrusted; just as another class, known as the *bârû*, took charge of the omen rituals. Indeed we are justified in concluding from the elaborate character of the incantation texts and the incantation rituals, that, throughout the duration of the Babylono-Assyrian religion, the beliefs upon which the incantations rested, and the ceremonies connected with the incantations, continued to exercise a strong hold on the people, and constituted, in fact, one of the main factors of the religion itself, viewed from the side of religious practice.

---

[*] *i.e.* images of me.
[†] *i.e.* lose their power.
[‡] *i.e.* gathered for the purpose of pouring over the image.
[§] *i.e.* Nin-makh or Ishtar.
[||] See p. 552^a.

[*] The 'Labartu' series. See Myhrman, *Zeitschrift für Assyr.* xvi. p. 190 f.

[†] No fewer than six distinct series are now known, distinguished by the following names:—1. Maḳlu, edited by Knudtzon; 2. Shurpu, 'Burning,' ed. by Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Babylonischen Religion*, i., Leipzig, 1896; 3. Labartu, ed. by Myhrman, *Ztschr. für Assyr.* xvi. 141-200; 4. Utukku limnuti, 'Evil Demons,' published in *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*, part xvi. with supplements in part xvii., London, 1903; 5. Ti'u, 'Head sickness'; and 6. Ashakku marsu, '*Ashakku* sickness.' The two last named are published in *Cuneiform Texts*, part xvii. The last three are transliterated and translated by Thompson in *Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, vols. i. and ii. (London, 1903).

[‡] Cf. the equivalent Hebrew term *'ashshāp* (Dn 1^{20} 2^{2}).

4. Omens and oracles.—Inseparably linked to the beliefs on which the incantation texts and rituals rest, is a second branch of the religious literature of the Babylonians and Assyrians. While, as we have seen, the view gradually arose which attributed the small ills and minor worries and misfortunes of existence to the mischievous workings of evilly disposed demons, whereas the gods were regarded as, on the whole, favourably inclined, it was the gods with whom the control of the fate of the individual, as of the nation, in the final instance rested. To the gods, therefore, the appeal was made for relief from the sufferings caused by demons or witches; and it was of vital importance, even when the skies seemed serene, to retain the favour and goodwill of the gods, so as to be sure of their assistance when clouds appeared on the horizon. Moreover, the faith in the goodness of the gods was not so strong as to engender a feeling of absolute security in their worshippers. On the contrary, it was felt that their favour could easily be turned into hostility, and their favourable disposition towards man did not prevent them from manifesting their displeasure at any slight provocation. Failure to bring the proper homage, entering upon an important undertaking without assuring oneself of the support of the deity, or without making certain that it was begun at the proper moment, or even choosing the wrong formulas in an incantation ritual,—these and other errors might be fraught with disastrous consequences. Again, even after the incantation rites had been performed, the prayers recited, the sacrifices brought, the symbolical ceremonies carried out, it was necessary to know whether the hoped-for relief would be forthcoming.

To keep the gods favourably disposed, and to determine if possible what help they would grant, were two goals that the worshipper in Babylonia and Assyria was ever compelled to hold before him. Preventive measures were therefore called for, as well as remedial efforts. Punctiliousness in carrying out prescribed rites was an important element in such measures, but by no means the only one; it was equally important to ascertain in some direct way the will of the gods and their future intentions. If happily one could forestall the future, then all fears might be dissipated, and, at all events, one would not be overwhelmed by an unexpected check to one's endeavours. Naturally, the occasions when, through the mediation of the priests, oracles were sought, were chiefly such as concerned the general weal. The individual came in for his share, but that share, judging from the specimens of the oracle literature that have been preserved, was a small one in comparison with the part played by matters of public concern. Most notable among these specimens is a group of prayers addressed to the sun-god,* dating from the reigns of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal. They have reference to expeditions undertaken against a group of nations to the north-east of Assyria known as the Kashtariti, who at various times, abetted by other tribes and peoples settled in their vicinity, appear to have given the Assyrians considerable trouble. The interesting feature of these prayers is the pattern according to which they are arranged—a pattern which points to the development of a fixed ritual prescribed for such occasions. Each prayer may be subdivided into five parts, consisting (1) of a question or a series of questions addressed to the sun-god; (2) an appeal to the god not to manifest anger, and to forgive errors unwittingly committed in the sacrificial rites that accompany the appeal; (3) a repetition of the question or questions, generally in a some what varying form; (4) a second appeal; and, finally, (5) an examination of the omens to be derived from the inspection of the sacrificed animals.

As in the case of the incantation rituals, the greatest possible care had to be observed in the performance of details. The, sacrificial animal—generally a lamb—had to be guarded against all impurities. It must be physically sound, and before passing on to the inspection of the organs—upon the position, proportions, and character of which, together with any possible peculiarities, much depended—the priest was obliged to exercise almost innumerable precautions against interference with a trustworthy interpretation. He had to don the proper dress, guard himself against any kind of impurity; he had to assume the right position in making the inspection, which itself had to proceed in a certain order; he had to speak the proper words, and much more of the like. In the questions that he asks, likewise, all contingencies are to be taken into consideration, and the ritual indicates all the various marks and symptoms that should be sought for in the organs of the sacrificial animal. A few extracts from one of these prayers will serve as an illustration of the general character of these oracles. The priest, who throughout the ritual acts as mediator, addresses the sun-god—

> 'O Sbamash, great lord, as I ask thee, do thou in thy mercy answer me.
>
> 'From this day, the 3rd day of this month of Iyyar (the 2nd month), to the 11th day of the month of Ab (the 5th month) of this year, a period of one hundred days and one hundred nights is the prescribed term for the oracular inquiry.'

The request is thus specified—for an oracle that should indicate what is to take place during the coming 100 days. The question itself, always unfolded in a most elaborate manner, concludes in one case as follows:—

> 'The capture of that city Kishassu, through any enemy whatsoever within the specified period—is it definitely ordained by thy great and divine will, O Shamash? Will it actually come to pass?'

The phrases used to prevent any interference with the correct and proper inspection of the animal are generally as follows:—

> 'Prevent anything unclean from defiling the place of inspection. Prevent the lamb of thy divinity which is to be inspected from being imperfect and unfit.
>
> 'Guard him who takes hold of the body of the lamb, who is clothed in the proper sacrificial dress, from having eaten, drunk, or handled anything unclean. Make his hand firm; guard the diviner, thy servant, from speaking a word hastily.'

After the inspection has been made and all the various points noted, the priest prays—

> 'By virtue of this sacrificial lamb, arise and grant true mercy, favourable conditions of the parts of the animal; may a declaration favourable and beneficial be ordained by thy great divinity; grant that this may come to pass! To thy great divinity, O Shamash, great lord, may it be pleasing, and may an oracle be sent as an answer!'

Following the same general model, a large number of questions regarding the outcome of military movements on the part of the Assyrian rulers are propounded through the priest, who, in his capacity as diviner, bears the specific designation of *bârû*.* Subjects of a more personal character, connected with the royal household, are likewise introduced. So in one instance an oracle is sought of Shamash to determine whether Nikâ, the mother of Esarhaddon, will recover from a sickness from which she is suffering;[*] and again, before giving his daughter in marriage to a foreigner, Bartatua, the king of Ishkuza,[†] Esarhaddon inquires whether he is to be trusted, 'whether he will fulfil the promises that he has made, and execute the decrees of the Assyrian king in good faith.' Another interesting illustration is furnished by an inquiry on the occasion when the same king proposes to associate his son with him in the affairs of government[‡]:—

---

* Published by J. A. Knudtzon, *Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott* (Leipzig, 1893).

* *i.e.* 'the seer,' from *barû*, 'to see.'

> 'O Shamash, great lord, as I ask thee, do thou in good faith answer me. Esarhaddon, the king of Assyria, may his purpose be pleasing and meet with success! Siniddinapal his son, whose name is written on this tablet and placed before thy great divinity, is it pleasing to thy great divinity, that he should enter into the government,[§] is it acceptable in thine eyes? Thy great divinity knows it. Is the entry of Siniddinapal the son of Esarhaddon, whose name is written on this tablet by command of thy great divinity, is it ordained and fixed, O Shamash, great lord! Will it actually come to pass?'

In the oracle texts of the class published by Knudtzon the answers to the questions are not given, the purpose of the texts being to furnish and preserve the rituals observed for the occasions referred to, so that these might serve as models for future days, just as these rituals, no doubt, followed models that had been preserved from earlier days, reverting, in all probability, to the usages developed in the temples of Shamash in Babylonia. Other texts, however, furnish the answers. So we have a series of eight oracles delivered to the same Esarhaddon by the goddess Ishtar of Arbela.[‖] An interesting feature of these oracles is that, in most cases, the medium of communication is a priestess, which recalls the prominent part played by women as sorceresses in incantation texts. The female soothsayer forms the natural complement to the priestess; it is the attachment to the service of a deity that changes the priestess from a messenger of evil into one who can fathom the Divine intention. But both functions rest on the belief in the mysterious power of women—a belief which is widespread among ancient nations, and survives among people who are still in the primitive stage of culture. A reassuring message given to the king by a priestess Baya, a native of Arbela, and uttered by her in the name of Ishtar and Nebo, reads as follows:[¶]—

> 'Fear not, Esarhaddon, I, the Lord,[**] speak to thee. The beams of thy heart I strengthen as thy mother who gave thee life. Sixty[††] great gods are with me, drawn up to protect thee. The god Sin is on thy right side, Shamash on thy left. Sixty great gods are round about thee, drawn up in battle array in the centre of the citadel. On men do not rely. Lift up thine eyes and look to me. I am Ishtar of Arbela, who has made Ashur gracious to thee. Thy weakness I will change to strength. Fear not! Glorify me! Is not the enemy subdued who has been handed over to thee? I proclaim it aloud. The future I will make glorious, as [I did] the past. I am Nebo, the lord of the writing tablet. Glorify me!'

Of a more definite character is a message sent to Esarhaddon from Ashur, who is, like Nebo and Ishtar, represented as addressing the king directly[‡‡]:—

> 'As for those enemies that plot against thee, that force thee to march out, since thou didst open thy mouth [saying], "I implore Ashur!" I have heard thy cry. Out of the great gate of heaven I proclaim it aloud. Surely I will hasten to let fire devour them. Thou shalt stand among them. Before thee I shall appear. Into the mountains I shall bring them to rain down upon them stones of destruction. Thy foes I shall cut down, filling the river with their blood. Let them behold and glorify me, for Ashur the lord of gods am I.'

Accompanying this message are instructions to pour out precious oil, and to offer sacrifices with sweet-smelling incense. The oil and the sacrifices at the delivery of an oracle may properly be regarded as prompted by the desire to retain the favour of the gods, and as a manifestation of grateful homage; but oil and the offering of animals also play an important part in securing the oracle itself. In the series of prayers addressed to the sun-god, of which we have above given a brief account, there are included indications of the features in the animals, the position of the organs, special marks and peculiarities to which the attention of the officiating priests is directed. These indications are of primal significance, for on the results of the inspection the answer to the questions depended. One is probably safe in asserting that no oracle was furnished without the interpretation of omens, so that, even when no reference to omens is expressly made, we may feel certain that it is implied. Indeed the study and interpretation of omens appear to have formed in Babylonia and Assyria the basis of oracular utterances. In the prayers in question the priest is instructed to observe whether there is a slit at the nape of the neck on the left side, whether there is some peculiarity at the bottom of the bladder on the left side, whether the viscera are sound. The size of the limbs and organs of the animal were likewise of importance; and indeed there is no feature of any special character that could be overlooked, before, as a result of the most careful study, the priest was in a position to reveal from the various omens the intention of the gods. A special significance appears to have been attached to the *liver*, due, apparently, to an association of ideas—found among many nations of antiquity—between the liver and the general disposition and character. Among the tablets in the British Museum[*] there is an interesting diagram of the liver of a sheep, divided off into small sections, with explanatory notes, to serve as a guide for the priests in their inspection.

Not only the omens derived from sacrifices, but the appearance, position, number, and size of the bubbles formed by oil poured into a goblet or bowl of water, constituted a means of determining the will or purpose of the gods. Here was a phase of the 'oracle' ritual that lent itself to an almost more detailed development than even the inspection of sacrificial animals. There were innumerable possibilities to be considered, and we are fortunate in possessing some texts[†] which furnish the proof of the care expended in taking all imaginable contingencies into consideration. From these texts, which served as handbooks to the *bârû* priests, it appears that, according as the oil bubbles appeared to the left or the right side of the goblet or bowl, separated into smaller bubbles or united into larger ones, it portended good or evil. The size and also the colour of the oil bubbles had a significance, as well as the action of the bubbles after their appearance on the surface. In short, an elaborate science of divination grew up in the course of time in Babylonia and Assyria, which embraced many more elements than the inspection of sacrificial animals, and the action of oil when mixed with water.

Before turning to some of these other phases of the science, it is necessary to point out here the natural extension of oracles and omens from public affairs of the State, and from the semi-public interests of royalty to the affairs of the individual. The fact that, in such a large portion of the oracle and omen literature, the national welfare and conditions affecting the political situation form the subject, must not mislead us into underestimating the share that the individual had in benefiting from the prerogatives enjoyed by the priests as the mediators between the gods and their worshippers. The preponderance of public affairs over the concerns of the individual which appears in these texts, is due in part to the circumstance that most of them were drawn up at the instigation of the rulers, and in part to the natural desire of the priests to provide, first of all, for proper guides in carrying out the demands made upon them by their royal masters. The example of Assurbanipal in ordering his scribes to provide him with copies of the literary productions of the country, was probably merely a continuation of a much older custom of Babylonian rulers in ordering the rituals required for the various purposes of official exigencies, and for the various occasions of the year, to be perpetuated in writing. Furthermore, the welfare of the country was a natural preliminary condition to the happiness of the individual; for, unless the gods showed a favourable attitude towards the country as a whole, it was not to be assumed that the individual could hope for Divine favour. Next to the attitude of the gods towards the State, their goodwill towards the ruler was of primary importance, partly because of the close identification of the career of the ruler with the State, partly because of the continued strength of the belief that the ruler stood nearer to the gods than the ordinary individual, and that upon his conduct and upon the consequent disposition of the gods towards him a large share of the national welfare depended.[*] Hence even such an event as illness or misfortune in the royal family was of public significance, for it portended, or at all events might portend, that some deity was angry with the ruler himself, and had thus manifested his displeasure. The ordinary individual could hardly hope for consideration in approaching a deity who had plainly shown his ill-humour towards the most important personage in the land.

---

[*] See the text in Knudtzon, *ib.* No. 101.

[†] A district to the north-east of Assyria. See Knudtzon, No. 29.

[‡] Knudtzon, No. 107.

[§] Literally, *bît ridûti*, *i.e.* 'house of government.'

[‖] Rawl. iv. pl. 61. See the translations of Banks, *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, xiv. 272 f., which, however, require correction at many points.

[¶] Rawlinson, iv. 61; obv. col. ii. 16–39.

[**] *i.e.* Nebo.

[††] The number 'sixty' is chosen as representative of all the gods, so that the phrase is equivalent to 'the entire pantheon.'

[‡‡] Strong, *Beiträge z. Assyriologie*, ii. 628.

[*] *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc., in the British Museum*, pt. vi. pl. 1 (Bu. 89-4-28, 238). See Boissier, (*a*) 'Note sur un monument babylonien se rapportant à l'extispicine' (Geneva, 1899); and (*b*) 'Note sur un nouveau document babylonien se rapportant à l'extispicine' (Geneva, 1901).

[†] *Cuneiform Texts*, etc., pt. iii. pl. 2–4, and pt. v. pl. 4–7. See Hunger, *Becherwahrsagung bei den Babyloniern* (Leipzig, 1903).

But such conditions represented, after all, the exceptional state of affairs. Unless the country was engaged in warfare, or unless some accident had befallen a member of the royal family, the supposition was that the gods were inclined to listen to petitions or to assist the individual in his appeals for help or advice; at all events, it was safe to make the attempt to approach the Divine throne through the mediation of the priest. Again, if some god had shown his anger by punishing an individual with sickness or by overwhelming him with disaster, it was perfectly reasonable to make the attempt to regain his goodwill, 'to set the deity's heart at rest,' as the religious phraseology expressed it.

The extension of the order of ideas which enabled the priests to ascertain the intention of the gods when affairs of State or of the royal household were in question, resulted in the preparation of more or less elaborate handbooks covering the interpretation of all unusual phenomena, whether occurring in the heavens or on earth. Eclipses, disturbances in the usual order of natural events, the movements of the moon and sun, as well as of the planets and stars, and the appearance of the clouds, represent some of the main incidents to which the attention of the priests was directed for the purpose of determining their bearing on the general welfare, as well as on the fate of individuals. Coming to such terrestrial phenomena as enter more particularly into the life of the individual, we find that dreams, for instance, or unusual signs in the case of newborn children,—abnormally large or abnormally small features, monstrosities of all kinds,—were regarded as revealing the intentions of the deities, or were looked upon as portents of future events. The movements of certain animals,—more particularly of dogs,—the flight of birds, the appearance of snakes or of certain insects in the highways or in houses, as well as monstrosities among animals, were fraught with meaning, and, in general, it may be said that every incident that had any unusual feature connected with it called for an interpretation. In this way the omen literature representing the record of past experience, and embodying the wisdom of the past in the interpretation of signs of all kinds, assumed in the course of time enormous dimensions—so large that it is quite difficult to obtain an accurate survey of the field covered by the omen texts. For the purposes of this sketch, however, it will be sufficient to characterize briefly some of the chief classes of this branch of the religious literature of Babylonia and Assyria.

Taking as our first illustration *unusual occurrences in the movements of the heavenly bodies*, it is natural to find special significance attached to *eclipses* of the sun and moon; and it is also obvious that such occasions were interpreted as having a bearing chiefly on public affairs or on the fate of the royal household, because of the close relations between the gods and earthly rulers—their representatives, in a measure—to which reference has already been made. Calendars were drawn up with indications of what the obscuring of the sun or moon, through eclipses or through the movements of clouds, on any particular day of the month portended. Arranged in the order of the months, the days of the month are entered on which, according to past experience, eclipses occurred, and also those on which, according to calculation, they might occur, and then the interpretation is set forth for each of the days enumerated. Interchanging with the references to actual eclipses, a record is also made of what the concealment of the sun behind clouds on certain days portended. Selecting from a long text of this nature, covering many tablets, the section devoted to the month of Tishri, the 7th month, we find the following entries[*] recorded :—

> 'If on the 1st day of the month of Tishri the sun is obscured, king against king will declare war.
> If on the 9th day, Adad[†] will raise his cry.
> If on the 11th day, a disaster will occur, the king of Mar dies.
> If on the 13th day, the king of Akkad[‡] dies, and, in the case of an eclipse, [the same fate] is portended for the king of Akkad.
> If on the 14th day there is an eclipse of the sun, there will be destructive rains, and the king of Amurru dies.
> If on the 15th day, the wealth of the sea perishes.[§]
> If on the 16th day, there will be food in plenty in the land, the canals will be full, or [it portends that] the *abkallu* will burst forth.[‖]
> If on the 18th day, then will be peace for the king; Bel in the country [will proclaim ?] an oracle regarding the land of the enemy.
> If on the 20th day, the country will be diminished, the throne of Elam will be overthrown.

---

[*] On the position of the king as standing closer to the gods, and as originally viewed as the representative or even incarnation of a deity, see Frazer, *The Golden Bough*², i. 142 ff., 232, etc.

[*] Craig, *Astrological-Astronomical Texts*, pl. 25, obv. 1-17.

[†] Adad is the god of storms. The phrase is therefore to be taken as an indication that storms will sweep the land.

[‡] *i.e.* Babylonia.

[§] An expression which apparently refers to the destruction of animal life in the waters.

[‖] *Abkallu* is a title of a high officer. The sense of this prediction is obscure.

> If on the 21st day, the obscuration portends destruction to the country.
> If on the 28th day, Bel will cause destruction; the king of that land during that year will overrun the country or [it portends that] the king will be safe.
> If on the 29th day, in that year the king will die, the country will suffer misfortune. . . .
> If on the 30th day, the king will have a long reign . . . there will be food in plenty in the land.
> If from the 1st to the 30th day the sun is obscured, the gods will overwhelm the whole country [with disaster].
> If the day is dark, but the planets Dilbar[*] and Dapinu[†] are seen together, city, king, and people will be safe, canals will be full of water.
> If, contrary to calculation, the sun is obscured, the king will be in distress . . .
> If in the month of Tishri the sun is obscured, the king dies, the country will witness disaster or [it portends] joy.'

Obscure as some of the predictions are—due in part to the defective nature of the text—their general character is quite clear. The references to specific personages like the king of Amurru, of Elam, of Akkad, may be taken as indications that at some time or another the death of a ruler in one of these countries took place on the day in question, or that some disaster overtook him. This occurrence would then naturally be made the basis for determining the inauspicious character of the day. We are not therefore to suppose that the death of a particular ruler of the countries named is intended to be predicted; but, from the circumstance that a ruler died on that day in the past, the obscuration of the sun on such a day portends a misfortune for the country, or possibly for the ruler in question. Bearing in mind that these omen calendars are intended to serve as guides for the priests, one can also understand the contradictory notes recorded for one and the same day. Such statements must obviously be interpreted as embodying observations of various events that at some time in the past took place.

It is, accordingly, for the officiating priest to determine by additional resources—such, *e.g.*, as the inspection of sacrificial animals, or an oil and water test, or the like—whether the favourable or unfavourable omen is to be depended upon. That, in general, the disappearance of the sun owing to heavy clouds, or an actual eclipse, portends some evil, is a conclusion suggested by the natural association of ideas between darkness and misfortune. Hence, at the close of the preceding and of the following omens dealing with the other months, it is stated as a general conclusion that an obscuration of the sun portends evil to the king, being a prediction of his death, and also indicating disaster to the country. But the text adds the possible alternative that on certain days and under certain conditions the phenomenon indicates 'joy'—*i.e.* is to be regarded as a favourable omen. Here, again, when the indications for such days, based on past experience, are either favourable or unfavourable, it lies with the priest to determine by other means at his disposal which of the alternatives will be likely to occur.

The omens derived from the second great heavenly body—the moon—were in some respects of even greater importance, because of the more definite character of its movements; or, as we ought perhaps to put it, because of the greater ease with which these movements could be followed. Completing its course as it does in 29 or 30 days, the most obvious point to which the attention of observers would be directed would be the appearance of the new moon as the period marking the beginning of a new course. In the second place, note would be taken on what day—whether 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, or 16th day—the *sun* was to be seen together with the *moon*; for upon this phenomenon, as was ascertained by experience, depended the day at the end of the month when the moon and the sun would again be in conjunction. Again, the varying appearance of the moon's horns, the character of the halo around the moon, and naturally such more extraordinary occurrences as the lunar eclipse, would serve as a basis for lunar omenology. Our knowledge of these omens is derived chiefly from reports from court astrologers to their royal masters.[*] These reports are at times brief, consisting of only a few lines, as, *e.g.*, the following connected with the appearance of the new moon on the 1st day of the calculated lunar month—that is, when the preceding month had its full 30 days[†]—

> 'If the moon is seen on the 1st day, [it portends that] the country will be favoured with tranquillity.[‡] If the day according to its calculation is long, it portends a reign of long days.' [Report from Bulluṭu].

The same omen is furnished in the reports of quite a number of other astrologers that have been preserved to us, but in some cases further specifications are given. So in one report there is added that in the case of the months Nisan and Tishri—the 1st and 7th months—if the moon is full at the regular time, there will be good crops, and the king will be supreme.[§] Somewhat different is a report from an astrologer Nebo-shum-ishkun, who announces[‖]—

> 'If the moon appears covered with a headband,[¶] the king will be supreme. If the moon is seen on the first day, the day being, in accordance with calculation, long, it portends a long rule. The month will have 30 days in full. If the moon appears on the first day, it is favourable to Akkad (*i.e.* Babylonia), unfavourable for Elam or Amurru. If this happens in the month of Ab, then for Akkad it portends something favourable to the king, my lord.'

Coming to reports that furnish omens according to the day on which the moon and sun are seen together, the following may serve as a specimen:[**]—

> 'If the moon appears out of season,[††] traffic will be small; on the 12th day the moon was seen with the sun. If, contrary to calculation, the moon and sun are seen together, a powerful enemy will come to the land. The king of Akkad will defeat his enemy. On the 12th day the moon with the sun was seen. If the moon is seen on the 12th day, it portends evil for Akkad, good for Elam and Amurru, but is an unfavourable omen for Akkad.'

Comparing these two classes of reports, the guiding principle in both is apparent. A full month of 30 days suggests by association of ideas—fulness, plenty, and general success, while a premature conjunction of the sun with the moon, indicative of a curtailment of the moon's course, as against the calculated lunar month, portends shortness of crops, diminution of traffic, and loss of dominion. In accordance with this, the appearance of the moon and sun together on the 13th and on the 16th day of the month portends unfavourable events, while on the 14th and 15th days the indications, varying somewhat according to the months, are, on the whole, favourable. That the various reports do not always agree, and that even in one and the same report alternatives are offered, or an intentional ambiguity appears, are features that point to differences in the methods adopted by the astrologers, or to the natural differences in experience which enter so largely into the judgment of the foretellers of events. An evidence of the high antiquity of the custom of deriving omens from lunar phenomena is to be seen in the persistent use of the geographical terms so constantly recurring in the texts. Akkad is retained as the old designation of Babylonia; Amurru, later the designation of Northern Syria, is used, as in very ancient historical texts, for the West in general; while Elam, in a similar manner, is applied to the East in general. These same geographical designations occur in connexion with those most significant of all heavenly phenomena—the eclipses of the moon and sun; and it may be regarded as a noteworthy indication of the advance made in the interpretation of such phenomena, that under certain circumstances an eclipse which must have been startling to primitive nations, as a necessary omen of evil, might portend peace and prosperity. In a report from an astrologer,[*] the various sections of the moon are made to correspond to the chief districts—the right side being Akkad or Babylonia, the left Elam, the top Amurru, and the bottom Subartu; and according to the direction in which the shadow passes off from the moon is the eclipse to be interpreted. The moon drawing off from the shadow in a south-westerly direction portends evil for Elam and Amurru, while, if the eastern and northern parts are not affected by the eclipse but remain bright—the eclipse being therefore a partial one—it is a good sign for Subartu[†] and Akkad. In another report[‡] we encounter the following more specific indications:—

---

[*] Venus or Ishtar.

[†] Jupiter or Marduk.

[*] A large collection of these reports has been published and interpreted by R. C. Thompson in *The Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon* (2 vols., London, 1900).

[†] Thompson, No. 1.

[‡] Lit. 'closing of month'—*i.e.* silence, as Thompson renders the phrase; but it is to be understood in the sense of absence of disturbances, external or internal.

[§] *asharidutu illak*, 'will proceed to supremacy'—apparently an idiomatic expression, to indicate that he will be successful in his endeavours. See Thompson, No. 9.

[‖] Thompson, No. 17.

[¶] *Agu*—also used to indicate the full moon, but here intended to designate some shadow on the moon.

[**] Thompson, No. 119.

[††] At an unexpected time, or contrary to calculations.

> 'When an eclipse happens during the morning watch[§] and is complete (?), it portends corpses,[‖] and the ruler will also die. When an eclipse takes place in the morning watch and lasts through that watch, and a north wind comes, the sick in Akkad will recover. When an eclipse begins in the first section and remains in the second (*i.e.* is partial), it portends disaster for Elam. Guti[¶] will not approach Akkad. If the eclipse begins at the first section and the second remains bright (*i.e.* even more partial), it portends that disaster will overtake Elam but not reach Akkad. If the eclipse takes place and stands on the second side, it portends mercy to the country. If the moon is obscured in the month of Siwan,[**] Adad will inundate (the land) at the end of the year; if there is an eclipse in the month of Siwan, there will be a flood, and the product of the waters will be carried to the land.[††] If an eclipse happens at the morning watch during the month of Siwan, it portends disaster to the temples of the land, and Shamash will be hostile.[‡‡] If an eclipse takes place in Siwan on the 14th day, the king will complete the year and then die, and his son will strive for the rulership and seize the throne, and there will be hostility and corpses. If an eclipse happens in Siwan at any time from the 1st to the 30th day, it is an eclipse that portends something to the king of Akkad. There will be a general flood, and Adad will inundate the product of the land, and disaster will overtake a large army. . . . If an eclipse happens in Siwan out of the calculated time, the king of legions will die, and Adad will inundate; a flood will come, Adad will diminish the product of the land, and the leader of the army will encounter disaster.'

In general, as will be seen, the eclipse, by a natural association of ideas, reinforced by the survival of the primitive sense of terror at the startling phenomenon of the moon passing into a shadow, was generally regarded as an evil omen, and it was merely a question which quarter of the world was to be affected. The frequency of inundations in a land like the Euphrates Valley made it safe to hazard a prediction of an overflow of the Tigris and Euphrates; and a single coincidence of an eclipse in the spring, with particularly heavy floods during the rainy season, would be sufficient to establish in the minds of the people a connexion between the two events. Indeed, so unusual an occurrence as an eclipse would necessarily prompt a closer attention to events—such as poor crops, or the death of a king, or even a military expedition with its inevitable result of greater or lesser loss of life—that at other times would be taken for granted as perfectly normal occurrences, or, if not normal, at least not of an extraordinary character.

The principles underlying the omens derived from other conditions observed in connexion with the moon are of the same general character—natural association of ideas and conclusions drawn from past events coincident with the conditions in question. Thus, in an interesting series of reports regarding the significance of a halo around the moon, a favourable or unfavourable interpretation depends upon the character of the halo, whether bright or dark—the latter being regarded in general as an indication of rain—or whether the halo was continuous or interrupted, and what planets or stars were to be seen within the halo. One of these reports,[*] which begins with the omen to be derived from the conjunction of the moon and sun on the 16th day, passes on to halo omens, and furnishes the following data:—

> 'If the moon has a halo, and the sun[†] stands within the halo of the moon, throughout the land one will speak justice, the father with his son will speak justice, the hosts will be successful. If the moon has a halo, and Mars stands within it, there will be destruction of cattle throughout the land, the planting of dates will not prosper, or it portends that Amurru will be diminished. If the moon has a halo, and two stars stand within the moon's halo, it portends a long rule. If Mars and a planet stand facing each other [within it], it portends an attack on Elam. If Mars passes out (?) of the halo, the king of Elam will die.'

It thus appears that Mars, which bears a name (*Mushtabarru mutânu*, *i.e.* 'portending death') that suggests ill-luck, is an unfavourable planet, whereas the 'sun' planet, Saturn, carries with it associations of good fortune and prosperity. The presence of Mars with another planet suggests a conflict; while Mars leaving the halo, again by a natural association of ideas transfers the ill-omen to Elam, the hated rival of Babylonia. Likewise, from omens derived from observation of the movements of the planets, we learn that this distinction between favourable and unfavourable planets is maintained, though there are circumstances under which a favourable planet like Marduk-Jupiter may become a portender of evil, while Nergal-Mars may under certain conditions change his forbidding aspect to one of good fortune. Thus, when Marduk-Jupiter appears at the beginning of the year, it portends a good crop of corn;[‡] whereas, if the moon casts his shadow on Marduk,[§] it means that a king will die in that year, or that an eclipse of the sun or moon will take place, and a 'great king'[‖] will die; and, again, it is interesting to observe the combination of favourable with unfavourable omens in the approach of a planet like Jupiter towards Mars, or in their position towards each other. We learn[¶] that when Marduk stands in front of Nergal there will be prosperous crops, but also that it portends a slaughter of men. The approach of Nergal to Marduk means devastation, death among cattle, or that the king of Akkad will die in that year; but at the same time it indicates plentiful crops. The evil suggested by Nergal is therefore compensated in a measure by the favourable indications associated under most circumstances with Marduk. Again, though the omens connected with Nergal-Mars are on the whole unfavourable, there are notable exceptions; as, *e.g.*, when a report[*] tells us that if Mars is visible in the month of Elul—the 6th month—the crops of the land will be plentiful, and everything in the land will be prosperous; but, on the other hand, if Nergal approaches the moon, the god Sin will cause evil to descend upon the land;[†] and in this report the 'unlucky' character associated with Mars compensates the generally favourable nature of the portents in the case of other stars being seen near the moon. After this omen with reference to Nergal and Sin, the report continues—

---

[*] Thompson, No. 268.

[†] Here used apparently for Assyria.

[‡] Thompson, No. 271.

[§] The night and day were ordinarily divided into three watches of four hours each. See Delitzsch, *Zeitschr. für Assyr.* vol. iv. pp. 284-287.

[‖] *i.e.* many will die.

[¶] A country to the north-east of Babylonia. The omen means that Babylonia need not fear an attack from this region.

[**] The third month.

[††] *i.e.* the country will be so deeply inundated that the fish will swim about in all directions.

[‡‡] *i.e.* there will be failure of crops.

[*] Thompson, No. 99. See the general remarks on the halo of the moon, in the Introduction, vol. ii. pp. xxiv-xxvi.

[†] By sun is here meant the 'sun star' or the planet Saturn, as the text, No. 176, rev. 3-4, specifically states.

[‡] Thompson, No. 184. [§] *Ib.* No. 192.

[‖] The 'great king' in these reports means apparently the king of Babylonia, or perhaps also Assyria; whereas 'a king' means a ruler of some smaller country.

[¶] Thompson, No. 195.

> 'If any [other] planet stands on the left horn of the moon, the king will be powerful; or if a star appears in front of the moon on the left side, the king will also be powerful. If a star stands behind the moon on the left side, the king of Akkad will be powerful. If the star Dilgan (*i.e.* Virgo) stands at the left horn, the crops in Akkad will be plentiful; or if Dilgan stands above the moon, the crops will be plentiful.'

The report continues in this way with a further series of omens derived from stars appearing on the left side, which, while portending evil because of the association between 'left' and 'unlucky,' yet are in so far favourable as the evil—loss of territory, or floods—is predicted for an enemy and his land, and not for the king of Assyria, to whom the report is furnished.

Wind and thunderstorms as well as earthquakes are included within the scope of the natural phenomena on which the astrologers of Babylonia and Assyria render reports to their royal masters. In regard to both wind and thunderstorms, the season of the year is naturally the prime factor in the decision whether the omen is to be interpreted as favourable or unfavourable. The storms and rains forming in a land like Mesopotamia a natural season, upon which the fertility of the soil is dependent, are, in fact, under ordinary circumstances regarded as signs of the favour of the gods; and we may well suppose that the Babylonians, like the ancient Hebrews, included in their ritual, at the approach of the rainy season, prayers that the gods might send the rains and also the storms—since the former never came without the latter—over the land. In accordance with this view, a storm is ordinarily an omen of prosperity; and it is only when the excessive severity of the rains causes a flood, or when the rain comes at the wrong time—in the spring instead of in the autumn and winter—that the omen is naturally unfavourable. A report from Asharidu, the servant of the king, reads[‡]—

> 'If a rainstorm comes over the land, crops will flourish, prices will be steady. If a rainstorm continues in the land, there will be an increase of royal power. If a rainstorm bursts forth in Shebet,[§] there will be a Kassite eclipse.[‖]

A storm still later in the season, in Adar[¶] (12th month), when the rains ordinarily have ceased, portends blighted crops; and as with rainstorms, so, up to a certain point in regard to thunderstorms, the season of the year determines whether the omen is to be regarded as favourable or unfavourable. But apparently a new factor enters into consideration here, for the voice of the god Adad himself is heard in the thunder; and it is this voice that the astrologers are called upon to interpret. In consequence, as the priests were guided necessarily by observation of events that in the past had followed upon the sound of thunder at a particular season of the year or time of the day, the reports manifest a greater degree of inconsistency than in the interpretation of omens from rainstorms, where normal conditions constituted a firm basis for calculations. Thus, in the case of several reports dealing with omens in regard to thunder in the month of Ab—the 5th month—one[*] informs us that the crops will be plentiful, while another[†] declares that the omen portends evil. A distinction is made between thunder accompanied by rain and thunder in a cloudless sky. The report says[‡]—

> 'If Adad sends forth his voice in the month of Ab, on a dark day, with rain and lightning, waters will be poured forth in the canals. If on a cloudless day Adad roars, there will be distress or famine in the land.'

Or again[§]—

> 'If it lightens on a cloudless day, Adad will cause a flood.'

The association between a thunderstorm and a rainstorm out of season suggests the portent that[‖]—

> 'If, in Tishri,[¶] Adad sends forth his voice, there will be hostility in the land. If it rains in the month of Tishri, there will be disaster to the sick and to cattle, and disaster to the enemy.'

An earthquake naturally always portends some disaster, and the omens derived from this phenomenon appear in general to have reference to a national calamity. The trembling of the earth suggests invasion and ruin. We are told[**]—

> 'If the earth quakes all day, it portends destruction of the land; if it quakes continually, (?) there will be an invasion of the land.'

And again[††]—

> 'If in the month of Tishri the earth quakes, the country will rebel against the king; if the earth quakes during the night, the land will incur disaster or devastation.'

At the same time the evil omen is at times compensated by the assurance that the misfortune will not affect the crops, for we are told[††]—

> 'If the earth quakes in Tishri, the crops will be plentiful, though it portends hostility in the land.'

We have seen that in the case of various phenomena of the heavens and of nature, which form the basis of the official reports of the astrologers, the omens deal chiefly with three subjects—war, crops, and internal disturbances in the country—while the affairs of the individual play no part whatsoever. But besides these phenomena there is an almost infinite number of occurrences in the life of mankind that by their more or less unusual character call for an explanation; and in the explanation offered the individual is involved, even if not exclusively so. Monstrosities among human beings and animals, peculiar actions of animals, extraordinary occurrences in one's life, or even ordinary ones, like dreams, constitute some of the phenomena, to the study of which the priests were likewise obliged to devote themselves in order to answer inquiries as to their meaning. In the interpretations offered we may observe again the application of practically the same principles which guided the astrologers in their reports as to the meaning of phenomena in the heavens—association of ideas, and conclusions derived from observation and experience. For purposes of illustration, it will be sufficient to give some examples from what we may call birth portents, of which the tablets furnish a very large number.[‡‡] In this division, even so common an occurrence as the birth of twins, merely because it deviates from normal conditions, is subjected to an interpretation, and we are told [*]—

---

[*] Thompson, No. 233. [†] *Ib.* No. 234. [‡] *Ib.* No. 250.

[§] *i.e.* the 11th month, towards the spring, when the severe storms ought to be over.

[‖] An eclipse portending some evil for the country north-east of Babylonia.

[¶] *e.g.* Thompson, No. 252.

[*] Thompson, No. 256*d.* [†] *Ib.* No. 257.

[‡] *Ib.* No. 257, lines 1–5. [§] *Ib.* No. 256*d.*

[‖] *Ib.* No. 260. [¶] The 7th month.

[**] Thompson, No. 263*d.* [††] *Ib.* No. 265*c.*

[‡‡] See Bezold's Catalogue, etc., vol. v. Index, *sub* 'Omens.' p. 2181.

'If a woman gives birth to twins, one male and the other female, it is an unfavourable omen. The land is in favour, but the house [†] will be reduced.'

Here we have an example of a purely individual portent; but it is noticeable that the moment any unusual signs are observed in the case of the twins, they are interpreted as having a bearing on public affairs, though at times the family in which the occurrence has taken place is also involved. In accordance with this principle we are told that—

'If a woman gives birth to twins and both are brought forth alive, but neither of them have right hands, the produce of the land will be consumed by the enemy. . . . If a woman gives birth to twins and both are brought forth alive, but the right foot of one is missing, an enemy will for one year cause disturbances in the country.'

A monstrosity as such, however, does not portend evil, and distinctions are drawn, again based largely on association of ideas.

Thus, in the case of newborn babes with heads that suggest the features of certain animals, a lion's or a swine's head represents favourable omens, while a dog's or a bird's or a serpent's head portends some disaster to the country [‡]—

'If a woman gives birth to a child with a lion's head,[§] a powerful king will rule in the land. If a woman gives birth to a child with a dog's head, the city (where the child is born) will be in distress, and evil will be in the country. If a woman gives birth to a child with a swine's head, offspring and wealth will increase in that house. If a woman gives birth to a child with a bird's head, the land will be destroyed. If a woman gives birth to a child with a serpent's head, there will be famine in the land.'

The monstrosities taken up in this same series of tablets include such phenomena as a babe with two heads, or two mouths, or a double pair of eyes, or with misplaced eyes, or peculiarly shaped ears, or with an organ or a limb missing, and much more of the like. If among human beings monstrosities have a bearing on the public and general weal, it is natural to find this principle adopted in the case of monstrosities occurring among animals. The anomalies introduced are almost endless. Among the examples we find the following: [‖]—

'If five young ones are born in the flock, one with a bull's head, one with a lion's head, one with a dog's head, one with a sheep's head, one with a swine's head, there will be a series of devastations in the land.

. . . .

If in the flock young ones are born with five legs, it is a sign of distress for the country. The house of the man will perish, and his stalls will be swept away. If the young ones have six legs, the population will decrease, and devastation come over the land. . . . If the young one has its ears at its neck, the ruler will be without judgment.[¶] If a young one has its ears below the neck, the strength of the land will be weakened. If the young one has no right ear, the rule of the king will come to an end, his palace will be uprooted, and the population of the city will be swept away; the king will be devoid of judgment, the produce of the country will be small, the enemy will cut off the supply of water. If the young one has no left ear, the deity will hear the king's prayer, the king will capture his enemy's land, and the enemy's palace will be destroyed. The enemy will be deprived of judgment, the produce of the enemy's land will be taken away, and everything will be captured. If the right ear of the young one falls off, the stall [**] will be destroyed. If the left ear of the young one falls off, the stall will be increased, the stall of the enemy will be destroyed.'

In this enumeration it will be observed that a defect in regard to a 'right' limb or organ portends evil to the owner or the country, or both, while the defect in a 'left' limb or organ is an omen of disaster to the enemy, but not to the owner or his country—a reversal, though a perfectly logical one, of the usual association of ideas with reference to 'right' and 'left.' It is because 'right' is generally a good omen that the absence of a 'right' ear portends evil, whereas a defect in regard to a 'left' ear represents a bad sign for the 'other party.' The specific character of the omens may be taken as evidence that the tablets were drawn up on the basis of answers given in the past to inquiries made at a time when the monstrosities, or the unusual phenomena in question, actually occurred; though it also seems likely that these actual answers were supplemented by indications, furnished in accordance with the principle underlying the science of omen interpretation, in order to cover future and possible contingencies. The tablets themselves thus assume, in contradistinction to the astrological reports above discussed, the character of handbooks, and therefore resemble the incantation texts and rituals. Each large temple would be supplied with such a handbook, and it would be the natural endeavour of the priests of each generation to make additions to it, so as to be in a position to answer readily any question that might be put. As there were special omen collections for oxen, sheep, swine, colts, birds, insects, and the like, one can readily see how, in this way, the collections would in the course of time assume exceedingly large dimensions.[*]

It will also be clear that such collections could never be absolutely complete. Cases would arise not thought of or not provided for, and it would then devolve upon the priests to work out new decisions that might be depended upon as trustworthy. Besides monstrosities among animals, the actions of certain animals—dogs, oxen, ravens, and certain insects, etc.—were invested with significance; and the task of the priests would be increased by the endeavour to explain what it meant if one encountered a yellow, white, black, or speckled dog on the street; or if a dog entered a palace or temple or an ordinary house; or if a raven flew into a man's house; and even so trivial an occurrence as the dropping of a bit of meat into a man's house by a raven was regarded as fraught with some meaning. A tablet informs us that [†]—

'If a yellow dog enters a palace, it is a sign of an ominous fate for the palace. If a speckled dog enters the palace, the palace will secure peace from the enemy. If a dog enters the palace and some one kills him, the peace of the palace will be disturbed. If a dog enters a palace and crouches on a couch, no one will live in that palace in peace. If a dog enters a palace and crouches on the throne, the palace will encounter an ominous fate. If a dog enters a palace and lies on a bowl, the palace will secure peace from the enemy.'

As with dogs, so the appearance of locusts in a house was regarded as an omen of ill-luck; but here, again, distinctions were drawn according to the colour of the locusts, whether black, yellow, white, brown, or speckled. In short, these handbooks of omen interpretation endeavoured, though of course in vain, to cover all possible occurrences that in any way might arouse the attention of those who were directly or indirectly involved; and the task of the priests, constantly consulted as to the meaning of the purely trivial incidents which form a large proportion of the cases introduced, was no easy one. On the other hand, it was precisely their supposed power of being able to interpret 'signs,' and thus to aid the inquirers in preparing for the event prognosticated, and perhaps to forestall it, that enabled the priests to retain a firm hold on the people. It was of the utmost importance, therefore, for the priests to cultivate the science of omen interpretation, as representing, with the endeavour to free the subjects of the gods from ills and troubles, the practical side of the prevailing religion; just as the doctrines represented the theoretical phase, and the cult the natural outcome of the desire to do homage to the gods, in order to retain the goodwill of the powers in whose hands the welfare of the country, the success of the rulers, and the fate of the individual lay. The large space occupied by the omen texts in the religious literature that was produced in Babylonia and Assyria, is a valuable testimony to the strength and persistence of the belief that the intention of the gods was revealed in the movements of the sun, moon, and planets, and the phenomena of heaven in general, or in the unusual happenings in nature, and in abnormal events among men and animals, as well as in all manner of incidents arousing special attention or calling for comment of whatever kind.

---

[*] Boissier, *Documents Assyriens relatifs aux présages*, p. 110 f.

[†] Wherein the child is born.

[‡] Boissier, p. 11.

[§] *i.e.* like a lion. The preposition 'like' is sometimes added, though generally omitted.

[‖] Boissier, pp. 132, 143 f., 169, etc.

[¶] Will become insane (?).

[**] *i.e.* the herd.

[*] The most complete collection as yet published, from which the above examples are taken, is that of Boissier, *Documents Assyriens relatifs aux présages*, Paris, 1894.

[†] Boissier, p. 104.

Before leaving this large subject, the importance of which for an understanding of the religion of Babylonia and Assyria justifies the rather elaborate treatment accorded to it here, it is necessary to consider briefly one more of its phases, which, because of its direct bearing on the fate of the individual, is of considerable importance. The mystery of *sleep*, with its most characteristic manifestation, the *dream*, profoundly impressed people in a primitive stage of culture, and continued to do so long after they had cast aside many of the beliefs belonging to the first attempts at the development of civilization. One could control, at least in large measure, one's thoughts and fancies while awake, but what one saw and heard while asleep appeared to be manifestations directly brought to one's attention through outside forces. The gods, who showed their power in storms and earthquakes, who made themselves heard in thunder, and who spoke indirectly to men by signs written in the heavens, gave a direct message in the dreams that they sent to those lying in the embrace of sleep. Every dream represented such a direct message; and, whether we turn to early Babylonian rulers like Gudea (*c.* 3000 B.C.), who receives instructions through a dream to build the temple E-ninnu to his favourite god Ninib,* or to a late Assyrian king like Assurbanipal, who is encouraged to go forth to battle by a vision at night of Ishtar clothed in battle array,† we find throughout the duration of the Babylonian-Assyrian religion the same profound significance attached to dreams.

Hence, in addition to the moon, sun, planet, and star portents, and handbooks for guidance in interpreting 'birth' and 'animal' portents, manuals were prepared that might serve the priests in interpreting for anxious inquirers the meaning of the visions that they saw during the hours of sleep. While here, again, the endeavour might be made to provide for all contingencies, the task would be even more hopeless than in the case of handbooks for 'birth' portents, and the priests would have to be content to collect as many instances as possible of dreams and the interpretations vouchsafed in the past, and to regard these as typical instances which might serve as guides for the new dreams that would constantly be brought to their notice. A careful study of these collections will enable us to understand the principles which in general controlled the interpretations; and, even though in many instances we shall fail to understand the basis for the interpretations, we gain the conviction that the dream interpreter proceeded in some methodical way, and did not follow caprice, or allow himself to be led by happy guesses. Thus, in the case of animals appearing to one in dreams, we note that certain animals portend misfortune, while others represent a favourable omen. A dog portends sorrow, a lion success, a goat indicates the death of a son, a stag the death of a daughter, a jackal Divine favour, a fish power, and so on. One can also see the natural association of ideas which suggested that a mountain appearing in a dream was an indication of unrivalled strength, and that salt meant protection; while, on the other hand, the connexion between a date and distress is less conspicuous; but what appears arbitrary to us may properly be attributed to our ignorance of the ideas that the Babylonians and Assyrians associated with the objects in question, and furthermore one must bear in mind that association of ideas formed only one factor in the science of dream interpretation. Past experience of the supposed connexion between some occurrence and a dream formed a second factor; and besides these two there must have been a variety of considerations that served as guides in the development of this science. Over and above this, no doubt, a certain scope was allowed to the judgment of the individual priest, who was obliged, however, to exercise due precaution to make sure that his judgment was based upon solid ground, derived from his experience, and from his study of the manuals that were produced in connexion with the temple organization. To a far greater degree than in the case of other branches of the omen literature which we have considered, the dreams of an individual had a bearing on his own fate. It was a message meant primarily for him; and only when he to whom the gods communicated their purpose was also the occupant of the throne or belonged to the royal household, did the dream assume a wide significance, involving the general welfare. The dream portents thus bring us still closer to the circle of the direct and personal influence exerted by the prevailing religion upon worshippers in their private capacity.

5. **Prayers and hymns.**—Recourse to incantations and omens, we have seen, was perfectly compatible with the development of advanced conceptions regarding the chief gods recognized in the systematized pantheon; and the prominent part played by incantation rituals and by omen collections in religious practice down to the latest days in no way hindered the growth of other branches of religious literature in Babylonia, and the extension of these branches to Assyria. The belief that the ills and misfortunes of life were due to the mischievous influence of demons and spirits, either acting independently or at the instigation of those who had the power to control their actions, was too deeply ingrained in the flesh and blood of the people to be seriously affected by the view that the gods, so much more powerful than demons or witches, were on the whole favourably inclined towards mankind, and inflicted punishment upon them only for sufficient cause, chief among which, to be sure, was the neglect of proper homage and devotion to them. The theological system devised by the schools was forced to take cognizance of the popular beliefs, and indeed strengthened them by thus emphasizing the contrast that existed between gods and demons.

As a consequence, higher speculations regarding the manner of the Divine government of the Universe could be introduced into the incantations themselves, without seriously affecting the much more primitive conceptions on which the incantations rested. The 'Maḳlu' series furnishes examples of compositions worthy of the term 'hymns,' which were introduced as preludes to the recital of a jumble of formulas, the power of which rested in the combination of words employed; and throughout the other series known to us similar compositions addressed to various deities are scattered. Nor did the belief, also deeply ingrained, that the study of heavenly phenomena offered an opportunity of ascertaining the intention of the gods, check the religious development which ascribed ethical motives and considerations of right and wrong to the gods in their dealings with their subjects. It might be that, through the movements of the stars, or the birth of monstrosities among mankind or animals, or through a dream, the Divine anger against the country, the ruler, or the individual, was revealed, yet it was generally possible by prayer and by sacrifice to alter the Divine will, and to avert the threatened catastrophe by securing the goodwill of the angry god, or even by fortifying oneself through the protection of one's special Divine protector against some hostile power, just as one could invoke a god against the mischievous devices of a demon or a witch. Nay, even when the blow fell upon one, the hope of averting its full force still remained. Oppressed by the fear of demons lurking everywhere, by the dread of witches and sorcerers who prepared their attacks in secret, and hampered by the multitudinous occurrences that were so full of significance, the outlook for the individual would indeed have been hopeless but for the outlet afforded, through prayers and hymns, for a direct appeal to the Divine powers, irrespective of what the stars declared or what the demons purposed. The prayers and hymns thus reveal the brighter side of the religion of Babylonia and Assyria, as well as its more spiritual phase and its higher aspirations. They tell us of the hopes that filled the breasts of the worshippers, enabling them to overcome the gloom that must have resulted from reflecting on the dangers that beset them at every turn, and the evils that were constantly staring them in the face. Even though a great majority of this class of compositions that have been preserved for us are royal prayers and hymns, placed in the mouth of royal personages or having reference to public events, the spirit embodied in them reflects the popular conceptions formed of the gods, and in a large measure at least they embody aspirations and hopes shared by the people at large.

---

* See Thureau-Dangin's essay, 'Le Songe de Goudéa' (*Comptes rendus de l'Académie d'Inscriptions*, 1900, pp. 112–122.

† See Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. ii. p. 251.

For the study of the prayers and hymns we have, besides the tablets in the library of Assurbanipal, the votive and historical inscriptions of the rulers of Babylonia and Assyria, in which prayers are frequently introduced. Such prayers, embodying requests for a long life, a prosperous rule, victory over enemies, and abundant offspring, are more frequently encountered in the inscriptions of the rulers of the south than in those of the north. The Assyrian rulers contented themselves with an invocation addressed to some god, or to the chief gods of the pantheon, at the beginning of their inscriptions, and with curses and threats hurled at those who should destroy or deface their monuments; but the historical inscriptions of Assyria furnish us also with some specimens of genuine prayers.

Taking up, first, the prayers introduced in the inscriptions of Babylonian rulers, one of the best examples, though not in the form of a direct address, is to be found in the inscription of Lugalzaggisi (*c.* 3500 B.C.). The king, after ascribing his success to the help of the gods, and more especially to Bel of Nippur, closes with a fervent appeal to Bel[*]—

> 'En-lil, king of the lords, my beloved father; may he grant me long life, and the land peace and tranquillity! May he cause the army to flourish, and guard the sanctuaries! May he regard the land with favour, and grant mercy to its inhabitants; and may I continue to rule as a powerful leader!'

Another southern ruler, Gudea (*c.* 3000 B.C.), wishing to assure himself of the support of Bau in his undertakings, addresses her as follows:—

'O my queen, lofty daughter of Anu,[*]
Who furnishes proper counsel, and holds the first rank among the gods.
Thou who grantest life to the land.

. . . .

Thou art the queen, the mother, who has founded Shirpurla.
The nation upon which thou lookest in mercy prospers.
Long life is vouchsafed to the hero on whom thou dost look with favour.
I have no mother—thou art my mother.
I have no father—thou art my father.'

The finest specimens of royal prayers, however, are to be found in the inscriptions of rulers of the New Babylonian period—Nabopolassar, Nebuchadrezzar, and Nabonidus.[†] Singling out those of Nebuchadrezzar as those possessing greater interest than the others, the prayer addressed to Marduk by the king upon his ascending the throne[‡] may serve as a third example of this branch of religious literature—

> 'O eternal ruler, lord of everything, grant that the name of the king whom thou lovest, whose name thou hast proclaimed, may flourish, as seems pleasing to thee. Lead him in the right path. I am the prince who obeys thee, the creature of thy hand. Thou hast created me, and hast entrusted to me sovereignty over mankind. According to thy mercy, O lord, which thou bestowest upon all, may thy supreme rule be merciful! The fear of thy divinity implant in my heart! Grant me what seems good to thee, for thou art the one who hast given me my life.'

The prayer emphasizes in impressive diction the dignity which the ruler attaches to his royal post, and lays stress upon the responsibilities it involves rather than upon its pomp and glory. Hence the tone of humility which pervades the composition, and which is surprising in a ruler whom we have been accustomed to regard as representing the acme of mortal pride and arrogance. Still more impressive is the expressed hope and purpose to rule according to the dictates of justice and equity, embodied in a dedication prayer on the completion of the temple at Sippar in honour of Shamash, the Divine judge and oracle-god *par excellence*[§]—

> 'Shamash, great lord, on entering joyfully thy glorious temple E-barra, look with favour on my precious handiwork. May thy lips proclaim mercy for me! Through thy righteous order may I have abundant offspring! Long life and a firm throne grant me! May my rule[‖] be extended to eternity, with a righteous sceptre and beneficent authority. With a legitimate staff of authority bringing salvation to men adorn my kingdom for ever. With strong weapons protect my troops at the call of battle! O Shamash, through judicial decision and through dreams answer me aright. By thy lofty, unchangeable decree may my sharp weapons proceed to overthrow the weapons of the enemies!'

The repetition of such expressions as 'justice,' 'right,' 'legitimate,' is an interesting illustration of the emphasis which this king, contrary again to the current view, laid upon exalted principles in carrying out his policy, and of the high sense of duty by which he was swayed.

The occurrence in historical inscriptions of hymns giving expression to such worthy sentiments, furnishes the proof that the compositions found in the library of Assurbanipal are not to be regarded as literary exercises indicative of the intellectual ambitions cherished by the priests attached to the various temples, but as part of the ritual employed in obtaining oracles, in offering sacrifices, and in praying for relief from sufferings and from the attacks of demons, witches, and sorcerers, or for averting impending disaster.

---

[*] Hilprecht, *Old Babylonian Inscriptions*, i. 2, No. 87, col. i. 13–36.

[*] Cylinder B (ed. Price), col. ii. 27–iii. 4.

[†] For a translation of practically all the prayers in the Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions, see Jastrow's *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 394–418.

[‡] Rawlinson, i. 53, col. i. 55–ii. 1.

[§] Ball, *Proceedings of Society of Bibl. Archæology*, xi. p. 127, col. ii. 32–iii. 30.

[‖] *i.e.* my dynasty.

Although a large number of the hymns and prayers in this library—most of them, unfortunately, mere fragments—still await publication,* yet enough are at our disposal to enable us to judge of the general character of this division of the religious literature of Babylonia and Assyria. All the great gods, Marduk, Ishtar, Sarpanit, Tashmit, Shamash, Sin, Adad, Ninib, Nergal, as well as Ea, Bel of Nippur, and Ashur, are represented in the library by hymns of a more or less extensive character. On the whole, the traits assigned to the gods in those hymns are the same as we encounter in the votive and historical inscriptions, though frequently the devotion of the composers leads them to address some favourite god in terms which might lead one to believe that this god embodied all the traits possessed by his fellow-deities,—a phenomenon that finds an interesting parallel in the hymns of the Rigveda, where so often the god addressed has heaped upon him the attributes of all the gods.

Taking up hymns to the heads of the southern and the northern pantheon respectively, Marduk and Ashur, it will be interesting to compare, by an example, the spirit in which each is appealed to. One of the Marduk hymns reads as follows: †—

> 'O strong, exalted strength of the city of ‡ . . .
> Supreme ruler, offspring of Ea,
> Marduk, mighty one, chief of E-turra, §
> Lord of E-sagila, the strength of Babylon, lover of E-zida;
> Preserver of life, prince of E-makhtila, restorer of life,
> Protector of the land, taking care of distant peoples.
> Mighty sovereign over all sanctuaries,
> Thy name is ever good in the mouth of men,
> O Marduk, great lord . . .
> By thy exalted command let me live in tranquillity,
> Let me behold thy divinity!
> What I purpose may I secure!
> Place justice in my mouth,
> Implant mercy in my heart.
> May my god ‖ stand at my right side,
> May my goddess stand on my left side,
> May the god granting salvation stand firm at my side,
> To be propitious, to hearken, and to be favourable!
> Let the word that I speak be favourable as I speak it.
> O Marduk, mighty ruler, command life, command my life!
> Before thee have I most humbly bowed myself.
> May Bel be thy light, Ea rejoice thee!
> May the gods of the universe pay homage to thee!
> May the great gods do what is pleasing to thee!'

While this hymn evidently forms part of an incantation text, or was originally composed as an incantation, yet it serves as a good example of the general character of the Babylonian hymns, and illustrates the current conceptions of Marduk as strong and mighty on the one hand, but also, on the other, as one who is inclined to listen to the appeals of sufferers, and from whom they may expect to receive new life.

Hymns to Ashur are not numerous, and the best specimen that has been found ¶ is of interest chiefly as showing how completely the *literati* of Assyria are under the influence of the intellectual life unfolded in Babylonia. The hymn in question is made up of phrases that can be matched in Babylonian hymns addressed to various gods, and only incidentally are the traits that distinguish the war-god of Assyria introduced. It begins as follows:—

> 'Mighty chief of the gods, omniscient;
> Honoured, exalted lord of gods, fixer of destinies.
> Ashur, mighty lord, omniscient;
> Honoured, exalted lord of gods, fixer of destinies.
> . . . Ashur, powerful chief of the gods, lord of countries.
> [Let me proclaim] his greatness, celebrate his glory.
> Ashur, let me glorify his being, exalt his name;
> Dwelling in E-kharsag-gal-kur-kur-ra,* let me celebrate his glory.
> [His strength] let me recall, his courage commemorate;
> Dwelling in E-sherra, Ashur fixer of destinies.
> . . . .
> Forever let me exalt his power,
> Mightily wise leader of the gods, illustrious.
> Creator of Shamash, maker of mountains;
> Creator of the gods, progenitor of Ishtar.
> . . . .
> . . . illustrious whose name is revered,
> . . . Ashur whose command is extended,
> [Firm?] like mountains whose base is not seen,
> [Brilliant?] as the writing of the heavens,† of unlimited extent.
> Let his name be celebrated, his command that stands firm.'

The frequent repetitions indicate that each two lines were to be sung or recited by a leader and a chorus respectively—an arrangement that we come across frequently in these compositions.

Decidedly superior in form, more particularly in tone, are the hymns to Shamash; and this may be accounted for through the influence of the conceptions of law and justice associated from early days with the sun-god. It is an image of Shamash that Hammurabi attaches as the headpiece to his famous Code,‡ as the symbol of the principles of justice on which he claims to base his ordinances. In almost all the Shamash hymns that we possess, whether forming part of incantations or representing independent compositions, this phase of his character as the protector of the oppressed, the liberator of those who dwell in gloom and darkness, and the destroyer of the wicked, is strongly emphasized. Taking, for example, a hymn intended for the morning service, Shamash is addressed as follows: §—

> 'O lord, illuminator of darkness, who reveals the face [of heaven?] . . .
> Merciful god, who lifts up the lowly, protects the weak.
> To thy light all the great gods look up.
> All the Annunaki look up to thee.
> All mankind thou guidest like a single being.
> Expectantly with raised head they look up to the sunlight.
> When thou dost appear, they rejoice and exult.
> Thou art the light for the most distant ends of the heavens,
> The standard for the wide earth.
> The multitudes look up to thee with joy.'

The ethical traits of the god are even more effectively brought out in a section of one of the finest of the Shamash hymns, which is too long to be quoted in full ‖—

> 'Who plans evil—his horn then thou dost destroy,
> Who in fixing boundaries annuls rights.
> The unjust judge thou restraineth with force.
> Who accepts a bribe, who does not judge justly—on him thou imposest sin.
> But he who does not accept a bribe, who has a care for the oppressed,
> To him Shamash is gracious, his life he prolongs.
> The judge who renders a just decision
> Shall end in a palace, the place of princes shall be his dwelling.
> . . . .
> The seed of those who act unjustly shall not flourish.
> What their mouth declares in thy presence wilt thou destroy; what they purpose thou wilt annul.
> Thou knowest their transgressions; the declaration of the wicked thou dost cast aside.
> Every one wherever he may be is in thy care.
> Thou directest their judgments, the imprisoned dost thou liberate.

---

* See the Index, *sub* 'Hymns' and 'Prayers,' of Bezold's Catalogue of the Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection, vol. v.

† King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*, No. 9.

‡ The name of the city is, according to King, Ashur, and the traces point to this reading. But if this be correct, then we must perforce assume that Assurbanipal's scribe intentionally substituted the capital of the northern kingdom for Babylon or some other southern town.

§ Temple at Eridu.

‖ The special protecting god and goddess of the individual are meant.

¶ Craig, *Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts*, i. pl. 32-37.

* 'Great mountain of countries'—name of temple to Ashur.

† A frequent expression designating the stars.

‡ See the illustration in Scheil, *Textes Élamites-Sémitiques*, ii., frontispiece.

§ Rawlinson, iv.2 19, No. 2.

‖ See C. D. Gray, *Shamash Religious Texts* (Chicago, 1901), pp. 17-19.

Thou hearest, O Shamash, petition, prayer, and appeal,
Humility, prostration, petitioning, and reverence.
With loud voice the unfortunate one cries to thee.
The weak, the exhausted, the oppressed, the lowly,
Mother, wife, maid, appeal to thee.
The one removed from his family, the one dwelling afar from his city.
The peasant when he gathers in his harvest appeals to thee.'

In this way the hymn proceeds to enumerate the various classes of society—the merchant, the hunter, the shepherd, the learned; and the various conditions under which the appeal for help or recognition of assistance is addressed to the great sun-god.

6. **Penitential Psalms.**—There is only one other subdivision of the religious literature of Babylonia and Assyria in which a still higher ethical and spiritual level is reached, in a series of compositions, also known to us chiefly from the library of Assurbanipal, in which the central idea is the consciousness of guilt, and in which, in connexion with a confession of sins, the fervent appeal is made to some god or goddess, or to the gods in general, for forgiveness. To these compositions, of which a considerable number have been published, and which appear to have been collected into a series, like the Incantation texts and the somewhat similar collection of the Prayers, the name 'Penitential Psalms'[*] has been given by scholars because of the striking resemblance in the general tone, and to a certain extent even in phraseology, to certain of the Biblical Psalms in which confession of sins and shortcomings constitutes the keynote. In a general way, of course, these 'Penitential Psalms' belong to the division of 'Hymns and Prayers'[†] which so often touch upon the question of guilt and sin; and it is often difficult to determine whether a composition, in which glorification of a deity's power, the appeal to his or her assistance, and the consciousness of sin are about equally distributed, is to be placed in the special category of 'Penitential Psalms.' Bearing in mind that sharp divisions do not exist here any more than between prayers and incantations, appeals or formulas, let us pass on to some specimens which will illustrate the general character of these compositions. The adaptation of these 'Psalms' for the ritual is indicated by the alternating utterances of the penitent and the priest acting as mediator between the worshipper and his deity.

As an example of the penitent's appeal—in this case to the goddess Ishtar—the following may serve:[‡]—

'I, thy servant, full of sighs, call upon thee.
The fervent prayer of him who has sinned dost thou accept.
If thou lookest upon a man, that man lives,
O powerful mistress of all mankind,
Merciful one to whom it is good to turn, who accepts sighs.'

The priest thereupon strengthens the appeal of the penitent—

'Since his god and his goddess[§] are angry with him, he calls upon thee.
[Turn thy face towards] him, take hold of his hand.'

The penitent—

'Besides thee, there is no guiding deity.
Look in mercy on me, accept my supplication,
Proclaim pacification, and let thy liver be appeased.
How long, O my mistress, till thy countenance be turned towards me?
Like doves I lament, I am satiated with sighs.'

The priest again appeals on behalf of the sinner—

'With distress and pain, his spirit is full of sighs;
Tears he weeps, [he pours forth] laments.'

Perhaps the finest specimen of these Penitential Psalms is one that has quite recently been published by Mr. L. W. King, and is likewise addressed to Ishtar.[*] Consisting of 106 lines with eight additional lines, containing ceremonial instructions, it is too long to quote in its entirety. It is pieced together, indeed, from three distinct hymns,[†] and the first two of these hymns may again be subdivided into two sections, namely the invocation, with the epithets of the goddess, followed by the appeal for appeasement of the goddess's anger. In the first hymn Ishtar is glorified under the names of *Irnina* [‡] and of *Gushea*, representing goddesses, whose attributes and rôle the 'great goddess' has absorbed. It begins as follows:—

'I pray to thee, lady of ladies, goddess of goddesses,
Ishtar, queen of all peoples, guide of mankind.
Irnini,[‡] exalted art thou, lady of the Igigi;
Mighty and sovereign art thou, supreme is thy name,
The light of heaven and earth, valiant daughter of Sin art thou;
Bearer of weapons, arrayed for battle,
Controlling all laws, clothed with the crown of sovereignty.
O lady, exalted is thy rank, supreme over all the gods!
Thou causest lamentation, thou createst hostility among friendly brothers,
Thou givest strength.
Strong art thou, lady of victory, who dost overthrow those who oppose me.'

Addressing her as Gushea,[§] the petitioner exclaims—

'Sacred chambers, shrines, temples, and sanctuaries look to thee.
Where is thy name not (pronounced)? Where is thy decree not (obeyed)?
Where are thine images not made? Where are thy sanctuaries not founded?
Where art thou not great? Where art thou not supreme?'

In the second hymn the appeal begins—

'O goddess of men, O goddess of women, whose way none can fathom!
Where thou lookest in mercy, the dead revives, the sick is healed;
The afflicted one is redeemed who looks on thy countenance.
I, in humiliation and sorrow, thy servant racked with pain, call on thee.
Look upon me, my lady, hear my supplication;
Look in mercy on me, hear my prayer;
Announce my release,[‖] and let thy liver be appeased,—
The release of my suffering body, which is full of distress and pain;
The release of my sick heart, full of tears and sorrow;
The release of my suffering entrails, full of distress and pain;
The release of my troubled house, shaken with grief;
The release of my liver,[¶] which is satiated with tears and sorrow.'

In the third hymn the penitent inquires—

'What have I done, O my god and my goddess?
As though I did not reverence my god and my goddess, am I treated.
Sickness, disease,[**] ruin, and destruction have overwhelmed me;
Misfortune, turning away of countenance, and fulness of anger are my lot;

---

[*] See Reisner, *Sumerisch-Babylonische Hymnen* (Berlin, 1896), Introduction. In 1885 Zimmern published nine Penitential Psalms with full commentary, under the title *Babylonische Busspsalmen*. Further specimens are to be found in Craig, *Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts* (Leipzig, 1895–1897), and a particularly fine one is given in King's *Seven Creation Tablets*, vol. i. pp. 222–237. See also Zimmern, *Keilinschriften und Bibel*, pp. 35–38, for a German version.

[†] See the Introduction to King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*, p. xv f.

[‡] Rawlinson, iv. ^{2} 29^{a}, No. 5; Zimmern, *Busspsalmen*, No. 1.

[§] The special protecting god and goddess of the individual are meant. See above, p. 554^{b}.

[*] King, *Creation Tablets*, i. 222–237 (transliteration and translation, ii. pl. 75–84 (text).

[†] (*a*) lines 1–34, (*b*) 35–50, (*c*) 51–106.

[‡] In the incantation texts, *e.g.*, 'Labartu' series (Myhrman, *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.* xvi. p. 154), Ishtar is addressed as *Irnina.*

[§] The name also occurs in incantation rituals, *e.g.* Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Bab. Religion*, p. 130 (l. 73).

[‖] The word used here and in the following, *akhula*(*ia*), signifying literally 'how long yet,' has become a conventional expression for the hoped-for release from suffering.

[¶] *i.e.* spirit.

[**] Lit. 'head disease'—here a general term for lingering illness.

> Anger, indignation, the fury of gods and men.
> I behold, O my lady, days of affliction, months of distress, and years of misfortune;
> I behold, O my mistress, slaughter, turmoil, and rebellion;
> Death and misery have made an end of me.'

Ishtar is his only hope, and to her accordingly he prays—

> 'Dissolve my sin, my iniquity, my transgression and sin.
> Forgive my transgression, accept my supplication.
>
> . . . .
>
> Guide my steps that I may walk gloriously among men.
> Command, and at thy command may the angry god be appeased!
> And may the angry goddess turn towards me!
> May the dark smoking brazier flame up again!
> My extinguished torch be relit!'

There are sufficient signs in this beautiful composition to indicate a royal personage as the one who thus pours out his soul before the Divine throne; and the same is the case in most of the other 'Penitential Psalms' that have been preserved. While this is due in large measure to the circumstance that the rulers could more readily have their supplications committed to writing, their position, as those upon whose relationship to the gods the general welfare of the country depended, is also to be taken into consideration to explain why the priests were zealous in giving a permanent form to the proper phrases and expressions to be used in times of general distress ascribed to the displeasure of some god or goddess with him in whose hands the affairs of State lay. Despite the advanced religious sentiments expressed in those prayers for forgiveness, they still rest upon the primitive belief that the ruler must have in some way provoked the anger of some deity—through insufficient reverence, or by an unintentional disobedience to his dictates. Hence the appeal was accompanied with rites of an expiatory character; and it seems a sharp descent from a lofty eminence when we find attached to this fervent supplication to Ishtar, directions for symbolical purification by sprinkling water on a green bough, for a fire-offering and a libation, and for a recital of the prayer three times 'without looking behind,' [*]—precisely as we find such directions in incantation texts proper. The link between the incantations and the hymns, despite the differences in religious conceptions, is illustrated by the retention of the term *shiptu*, *i.e.* 'incantation,' even to designate the finest and purest appeals for Divine grace and mercy. The 'Penitential Psalms'—the flowering of the religious spirit of Babylonia and Assyria—form no exception; and the hymn to Ishtar, of which extracts have been furnished, is designated both at the beginning and in the colophon as '*shiptu*.'

The continuity of the development of religious thought in the Euphrates Valley is thus preserved, and finds an expression even in its literature. The 'new' sprout is grafted on to the 'old' branch, and is nurtured by the same roots; but the example of the rulers in publicly acknowledging their dependence upon the gods was made all the more impressive by the bond thus maintained between the higher flights of religious spirit and the primitive rites, which, in the minds of the masses, must have continued to represent the essence of the religion itself.

7. The Babylonian Cosmology.—It is natural to find in a country which developed such a remarkable culture as that of Babylonia and Assyria, that the popular and more or less crude speculations regarding the beginnings of things should in the course of time have yielded to more consistent and systematic cosmological theories. Corresponding to the efforts of the priests attached to the temples in the great religious centres of Babylonia to systematize the pantheon, which, through the political supremacy acquired by the city of Babylon, led to making Marduk, the god of Babylon, the central figure of the Babylonian theology, we have a literary and intellectual process which had its outcome in the production of a poem or epic [*] of Creation, in which the chief rôle is assigned to this same god, Marduk. As constituting one of the main sources for our knowledge of Babylonian and Assyrian cosmology, it will be desirable to present an outline of this production, so far as the portions of it found in Assurbanipal's library and in New Babylonian copies from Babylonian temple archives enable us to do so. Although, since the discovery of the first fragments of the composition by George Smith in 1875, large portions of it have come to light, due chiefly to the activity and scholarship of Budge and King of the British Museum, even in the latest and most complete publication [†] there are many gaps which often seriously interfere with a satisfactory interpretation. We can also see in the composition itself evidences of considerable editing before it received its definite shape. Thus, while the poem embodies distinct traces of purely popular speculations and fancies which form, indeed, the basis upon which the main conceptions rest, an interpretation has been put upon these speculations and fancies that places them upon a much higher level of thought. What is, perhaps, even more significant, is the evidence which the composition affords of having been originally an 'epic' celebrating the deeds of En-lil or Bel—the god of Nippur—in his capacity as the creator, or, to speak more accurately, as the establisher of order and law in the Universe. We are thus led to Nippur as the source of the main features found in the composition, and it is furthermore safe to conclude that in connexion with the literary activity centring around the great temple E-kur, the seat of the worship of Bel, a Creation poem or epic arose which was remodelled by the priests of Marduk's temple E-sagila at Babylon. The rôle of Bel is transferred to Marduk, and additions were made to the old tale, partly intended to justify and illustrate this transfer, and in part prompted by the desire to glorify the chief god of Babylon, and to interpret old traditions in a manner in accordance with the theological system perfected in Babylon, and which became the dominant school of thought in the Euphrates Valley as well as in Assyria, albeit with certain modifications introduced by the Assyrian priests. The assigning of the chief rôle in the establishment of the Universe to En-lil or Bel, of course, reflects the attachment of the priests, and in a measure also of the populace of Nippur, to their own favourite deity; but from indications in the Creation poem itself, as well as from other sources, we know that traditions were also current in Babylonia which assigned the same rôle to Ea. Such a tradition would naturally arise in the ancient city of Eridu, the main and oldest seat of Ea worship; and there are reasons for believing that in other religious centres Ishtar and, perhaps also, Anu were accorded the distinction of having brought the Universe into existence. At all events, it is certain that the Creation story which we are about to analyze represents one only of several versions produced in the Euphrates Valley; and, in extracting from it the cosmological theories upon which it rests, we must make due allowance for those features which reflect the attitude of a specific body of priests or a special school of thought towards a favourite deity.

---

[*] The same direction is given, *e.g.*, in the 'Labartu' series (Myhrman, *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.* xvi. 160), and forms a parallel to similar directions among the Greeks in the case of offerings to Hecate, with whom Labartu has much in common, as Myhrman, *l.c.* p. 151 f., points out.

[*] Our justification for speaking of this Babylonian Creation story as a 'poem' rests upon the character of the composition itself, which is distinctly poetical in its form. See King, *Creation Tablets*, i. pp. cxxii–cxxiii, and more fully Delitzsch, *Das Babylonische Weltschöpfungsepos* (Leipzig, 1896), pp. 60–68, and the references to the opinions of Budge, Zimmern, and Gunkel; it partakes of the character of an epic by virtue of the prominence assigned in it to a single personage, Marduk, whose glorification constitutes the main purpose of the composition in its present form.

[†] *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc., in the British Museum*, pt. xiii. (1901), with a volume of supplementary texts and transliterations and translations of all the fragments known, by L. W. King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation; or the Babylonian and Assyrian Legends concerning the Creation of the World and of Mankind* (2 vols., London, 1902).

Bearing in mind that in its present form the most complete Babylonian Creation story known to us has assumed the character of a pæan in honour of the chief god Marduk, we find that it consisted of seven tablets, and contained, according to King's calculation, about one thousand lines.[*] The story itself, known from its opening words as the *Enuma elish* or 'When above' series, may be divided into six sections, representing the chief steps in the establishment of the Universe: (1) the conflict of Apsu and Mummu with the gods, ending with the overthrow of Apsu and the capture of Mummu, brought about largely through the instrumentality of Ea; (2) the revolt of Tiamat and her consort Kingu and their followers against the gods, and the discomfiture of the rebellious host by Marduk, who is sent against Tiamat by Anshar with the approval of the gods; (3) the establishment of the order of the Universe, involving the spreading of an expanse underneath the heavens, the creation of the earth, the establishment of the planets and stars in their courses and place, and the regular change of seasons and of day and night, through the determination of the movements of the moon, and of her relationship to the sun; (4) the creation of man by Marduk; (5) the glorification of Marduk by the gods and mankind, ending with the entrusting to him of the 'tablets of fate' and the assignment to him of fifty 'glorious' names; the whole concluding with (6) an epilogue embodying good counsel to men, with instructions to recall the deeds of Marduk, and to pay proper homage to him.

The composite character of the story in its present form is revealed by the introduction, at the beginning, of two conflicts which both symbolize the same process. *Apsu*, signifying the 'deep,' is a symbol of primeval chaos, figured as a time when the waters covered everything, and were filled with monstrous beings subject to no laws. By the side of Apsu are two other beings—*Mummu*, an obscure word, but also conveying the general idea of chaos and confusion, and *Tiamat*, which, equivalent to the Hebrew word *tĕhôm* (תְּהוֹם), occurring in the Creation story of Gn 1, likewise embodies the idea of 'the great deep.' That all three beings are identified with the primeval waters, follows from the description furnished by the opening lines of the poem, where 'their waters' are spoken of as being 'mingled together.' The three terms thus prove to be practically synonymous, and the most probable explanation of the existence of all three terms is that they represent the 'survival' of varying traditions current in regard to the primeval chaos, which have been combined in the tale that became the standard account of how the Universe, with its laws and phenomena, came into being.[†] A factor that may also have been at work in leading to the retention of three terms for the primeval chaos is the desire to find, in primeval times, a triad corresponding to Anu, Bel, and Ea, who, in the later system of Babylonian theology, represent the quintessence of Divine control of the several divisions of the Universe. But however we are to account for the introduction of Apsu and Mummu by the side of Tiamat, the fact is clear that these beings, symbolizing the chaotic watery mass, were regarded as the original elements, the existence of which not only precedes that of heaven and earth, but which flourished before the gods were born. This theory is set forth at the beginning of the story—

> 'When above, the heavens were not named;[*]
> Below, the dry land did not bear a name.[*]
> Apsu, the primeval,[†] their progenitor,
> Mummu [and] Tiamat,[‡] the mother of all of them,
> Their waters were mingled together.
> No field was marked off, no marsh was to be seen
> When none of the gods had yet been produced.
> No name was called, no fate decreed.
> Then the gods were created in the midst [of heaven?]
> Lakhmu and Lakhamu were produced.
> Time went by. . . .
> Anshar and Kishar were created [over them?]
> Days passed and there came forth . . .
> Anu their son. . . .'

In these lines the attempt is made to furnish a description of the time when 'nothing' was, with the inevitable result of such attempts, whether made in ancient times or in our own days, of involving us in a hopeless tangle of contradiction and obscurity. It is a gratuitous task to pick out the weak points in this endeavour to solve the hopeless but fascinating puzzle of beginnings; and it will be more useful to endeavour to grasp the theories embodied in it. The language is frequently obscure, due to the desire of the narrator to avoid definite terms that would be misleading by their very definiteness. He avoids the common word for earth, which is *irṣitum*, but uses instead a rare term, *ammatum*, with the purpose, as it would seem, of conveying the idea of a measured-out expanse of dry land. To convey more vividly the conception that nothing grew in the primeval waters, it is added that 'fields were not marked off, and no marsh was seen'—expressions suggested by the appearance of the land in the Euphrates Valley, where fields were marked off by boundary stones, and vegetation often appeared where, during the rainy season, there was nought but water. The narrative wishes to emphasize the fact that, in the primeval days, there was water but no vegetation. The grammatical construction warrants and justifies the conclusion that the narrator places at the beginning of things—before the existence of heaven and earth or the gods—the three beings symbolized by Apsu, Mummu, and Tiamat, even though the conception of the second being has already become so obscure that no further specification of it is attempted. Another illustration of the obscurity unavoidable in any attempt to picture primeval chaos is to be seen in the expressions 'their progenitor' and 'the mother of all of them.' The narrator anticipates the conception subsequently set forth, that both Apsu and Tiamat are surrounded by a brood of monsters, and he clearly has these beings in mind when speaking of 'their generator' and 'the mother of all of them.' The eighth line, with equal vagueness, dwells upon the fact that no name was called and no fate decided, to picture the time when nothing had as yet been created, since there were no gods. The first part of the line seems to be a reference to the animal world in general, the second part a more particular reference to man, whose fate is decreed by the gods. In a general way it is stated that the gods were created, though it is not said by whom, or how many there were. Along with the gods two beings, Lakhmu and Lakhamu, are specified as having been called into being;[*] and since, in the course of the narrative, they appear on the side of Tiamat, they are evidently introduced as types or symbols of the host of monsters in the wake of Apsu and Tiamat. It is difficult to know how the statement, that after the lapse of time the gods Anshar and Kishar were 'created,' is to be reconciled with the assertion in line 9, unless indeed we may fall back upon the hypothesis of a composite production, after the manner of the 'doublets' so frequently found in the composition of two versions of a story in the OT narratives. At all events, the Divine pair, Anshar and Kishar, represent, in the opinion of the Babylonian theologians, the oldest gods, from whom, indeed, by a doctrine closely akin to emanation, ten pairs of gods are descended.[†] These pairs are, with one exception, gods who do not play any part whatsoever in the active pantheon as we find it in the historical periods of Babylonia and Assyria; and since, furthermore, neither Anshar nor Kishar, the 'parents,' belong to the active pantheon, it is evident that, by the side of the gods actually worshipped and brought together into a system by the Babylonian theologians, we have a purely 'theoretical' pantheon devised in accordance with the theological speculations of the Babylonian schools of thought. Anshar, signifying the 'heavenly' (or upper) Universe (or 'totality'), and Kishar the earthly (or lower) Universe (or 'totality'), sum up the Divine power in control of all things; and one can follow the logical process which made them the progenitors of the various special powers into which this control was divided. In the Babylonian Creation story, as it lies before us, only two such special powers are introduced—Anu and Ea, the latter under the form Nudimmud; but since Anu and Ea represent two of the three personages constituting the triad which, according to a school of thought that became at one time the prevailing one, comprised the control of the Universe,[‡] it is reasonable to suppose that in an older version the third figure, Bel, was also included. The omission of Bel, who in the narrative is identified with Marduk, is again an evidence of the transformation which the old traditions and speculations underwent in order to make them conform to the main purpose for which the entire tradition is preserved—the glorification of the favourite Marduk.

---

[*] King says 'some nine hundred and ninety-four lines' (*Seven Tablets of Creation*, vol. i. pp. iv, xxv). Almost exactly one half of it is complete; and if we add to this the incomplete lines, we have recovered up to the present almost three-fourths of the text.

[†] *Tohu* and *bohu*, mentioned in Gn 1^2 in connexion with *tĕhôm*, are perhaps to be regarded as a faint trace of the primeval triad, Apsu, Mummu, and Tiamat.

[*] *i.e.* called into being.

[†] *Rishtu*, literally 'first,' which is added to distinguish this Apsu from the ordinary use of the word as 'the watery deep,' which actually occurs in Tablet iv. line 142.

[‡] It has been customary to regard *Mummu* here as an epithet of Tiamat in the sense of 'chaos,' 'raging,' and the like; but, since Mummu occurs in Tablet i. lines 30 and 31 as the 'messenger' of Apsu, it is clear that a separate personage is also intended in the opening lines. The omission of the conjunction is no objection, for the conjunction is omitted also between Apsu and Tiamat.

Anu, the god of heaven, and Nudimmud or Ea, who is described as without a rival in wisdom and strength, are the commanding figures in the conflict that now arises between the gods, as the representatives of order, and Apsu, Mummu, and Tiamat, as the representatives of chaos and chaotic anarchy, though the fragmentary state of the first tablet does not permit us to grasp clearly the part that Anu plays by the side of Ea, who is the principal contestant. The gods, it appears, were unable for a long time to secure control of the three beings symbolical of primeval chaos. The latter, not content with a passive resistance, plot an attack upon the representatives of order. Apsu calls upon his 'messenger' Mummu for aid, and together they go to Tiamat to consult with her in regard to a plan for the destruction, or at all events for the crushing, of the independent spirit of the gods. From new fragments quite recently found[*] it is now certain that at this point of the narrative the gods are regarded as the offspring of Apsu and Tiamat. We may therefore, in view of this, venture to proceed a step further, and look upon Apsu and Tiamat as the 'male' and 'female' elements respectively of the primeval chaos, through whom not only Mummu and the brood of monsters, but also the gods, are produced. This, indeed, is implied, although not distinctly mentioned, in the opening lines of the first tablet above quoted. The Babylonian theologians would thus, with commendable consistency, trace both classes of beings—the monsters who form the army of Apsu and Tiamat as well as the 'great gods'—to primeval chaos. It is the gods, therefore, who organize a revolt against their progenitors, the purpose of which is to put an end to the chaos and confusion for which Apsu and Tiamat stand. Apsu presents his complaint against the gods to Tiamat. In rage he exclaims—

> 'By day I have no rest, at night I cannot lie down,
> I will surely destroy their course, surely overthrow them.'

Tiamat shares Apsu's anger—

> 'She plotted evil in her heart.[†]
> What shall we do? Let us indeed destroy.'

The text at this point becomes defective; but so much is clear that Ea, described as the 'one who knows everything,' takes up the conflict on behalf of the gods, and that Anu is in some way associated with him. It is also probable, though not certain, that the weapon with which Ea overcomes Apsu and his followers is the 'pure incantation,' which, presumably, he hurls against them. Such a procedure would be in perfect accord with the current conceptions about Ea, who is essentially a god acting by the power of the word.[‡] At all events, Apsu is overthrown and Mummu is captured.

Thus ends the first episode in the symbolical conflict between chaos and order; and the second, which, as has been suggested, is merely a 'doublet,' or second version, is at once introduced.

Evidently, the version which assigned the conquest of Apsu and Mummu to Ea was the one which assigned to this god the distinction of having established the laws of the Universe. We may call it the 'Eridu' version of Creation; but, naturally, only so much of it could be introduced as would not interfere with Marduk's prerogatives. After the recital of Apsu's defeat, the 'Eridu' version disappears, and the 'Nippur' version, transformed by the substitution of Marduk for Bel into a 'Babylon' version, is taken up.

Tiamat, whose part in the Ea-Apsu conflict is not clearly defined, is represented as depressed; but her courage is revived by a deity called the 'bright god,' who is probably to be identified with Kingu,[§] appointed by Tiamat to be the leader of her hosts, and who occupies a position by the side of Tiamat somewhat similar to that of Mummu by the side of Apsu. Kingu urges Tiamat on to the fray, and encourages her to entrust the war of vengeance to be waged against the gods to her host of monsters, who, accordingly—

---

[*] The verbal form used (so also in line 7) of the creation of the gods is *shupû*, which conveys the idea of coming forth and streaming forth.

[†] See the lists in Rawlinson, ii. 54, Nos. 3 and 4; and iii. 69, No. 1, obv.; and Radau's valuable commentary, 'Bel, the Christ of Ancient Times' (*Monist*, vol. xiv. 81–87).

[‡] See above, p. 538.

[*] See King's *Seven Tablets of Creation*, i. pp. 183–184, settling the reading at the end of line 34 of the first tablet, 'the gods, their sons.'

[†] Literally, 'stomach.' See the restoration of these lines in King, vol. i. p. 184.

[‡] Ea, it will be recalled, was one of the chief gods invoked in the incantation series, many of which originated at his seat of worship, Eridu. A special incantation known as the *Shipat Eridu*, 'Eridu incantation,' is frequently referred to, *e.g.* *Cuneiform Texts*, xvi. pl. 21, 205; 22, 250, etc.

[§] See King, *Creation Tablets*, i. p. 14, n. 1.

'Banded themselves together, advancing at the side of Tiamat;
Mighty in planning mischief night and day without respite,
They prepared for war, fuming and raging,
Uniting forces and preparing for the fray.'

Besides supplying her followers with invincible weapons, Tiamat gives birth to monster serpents, described in the following terms:—

'With sharp teeth and merciless fangs,
Their bodies filled with poison instead of blood;
Terrible dragons, clothed with terror,
Decked out with awful splendour, of lofty stature;
Whoever saw them was overcome with terror.
Their bodies rose up, and no one could resist their attack.
She[*] set up vipers and monster serpents and Lakhmu,
Hurricanes (?), raging hounds, scorpion-men,
Mighty tempests, fish-men, and rams,
Bearing merciless weapons, fearless in battle,
Mighty were her commands, irresistible.
In this fashion eleven huge monsters she made.
Since among the gods, her offspring, he had encouraged her,
She raised Kingu among them to power,
To march in front of the host, to lead the forces,
To seize the standard, to advance to the attack,
To direct the battle, to regulate the fight.'

Tiamat still claims control over the gods, and, in investing Kingu with supreme power, declares—

'I have uttered thy incantation. In the assembly of the gods have I raised thee to power;
The dominion over all the gods have I entrusted to him.
Be thou exalted, my chosen consort art thou.'

To further emphasize her control, she hands Kingu the 'tablets of fate' to be hung on his breast. The meaning of the elaborate description of the monsters and monstrosities forming the army of Tiamat is quite clear — it is to emphasize the reign of terror and confusion which preceded the control of the Universe by the gods. Tiamat, the symbol of chaos, can give birth only to creatures of terror and destruction, to monstrous dragons, and to the hybrid beings, half men and half animals, with which, probably, popular fancy conceived the Universe to have been populated in primeval days, and of which the sculptured representations of human-headed lions and bulls with enormous wings—placed as guardians against evil spirits at the entrances to palaces and temples—represent the survival in historical times. Nor is it difficult to see how this picture of chaos, which agrees substantially with the account of Berosus,[†] arose. The climatic conditions prevailing in ancient Babylonia suggest the obvious explanation based on the long season of rains and storms, when the elements of nature seem to be set loose without control, when wind and rain sweep over the land, everywhere causing inundations, which, before the perfection of the canal system, must have regularly placed entire districts of the Valley under water for a period each year. This annual chaos would be regarded as typical of a permanent condition before the great gods, identified with the powers of nature—the sun and moon—and associated with the starry firmament, introduced the orderly process of events, of which the regular movements of sun, moon, and planets, and the fixed position of the other stars, were the natural symbols. The subsequent course of the narrative bears out this interpretation, and shows that the Babylonian cosmology rests upon the principle of the substitution of order and law for chaos and lawlessness. The thought of a *creatio ex nihilo* lay beyond the mental horizon of the Babylonian and Assyrian theologians; and it is to be observed that even in the Biblical account, where the Universe, with all it contains, is conceived as coming into existence by the decree of one supreme Power, the chaos, represented by 'darkness resting upon the deep,' is regarded as a real substance. In short, ancient man no less than his modern successor was unable to conceive of a *real* beginning of things, and it is merely a question as to where the boundary line representing the limitation of human logic or of human fancy is to be placed. Beyond that border line we pass into the domain of faith, or of mystic speculation.

The second and third tablets of the Creation story are taken up with the preparation and preliminary stages of the great conflict about to ensue between Tiamat and the gods. The connecting link between this conflict and the previous one between Apsu and Ea is revealed at the beginning of the second tablet, where it is said that Tiamat formulated her evil plans in order to avenge the discomfiture of Apsu. Ea, who, it will be recalled, appears in the first conflict as the 'one who knows everything,' is also in the second conflict the god through whom the gods learn of the designs of Tiamat. He comes to Anshar, 'the father who begat him,' and says—

'Our mother, Tiamat, is full of hate towards us;
With gathered forces she hath waxed furious,—
All the gods have turned to her,
Even those whom ye created[*] are at her side;
Banded together they advance at the side of Tiamat,
Mighty in planning mischief night and day without respite.'

It would appear, therefore, that not merely the offspring of Tiamat, but also some of those beings sprung from the gods, are on the side of 'chaos.' Ea, unfortunately, does not specify which gods he has in mind, but we may perhaps assume that the Babylonian theologians thought of such forces as Adad,[†] the god of storms *par excellence*; Nergal and Namtar, associated with destruction and pestilence, who must have been conceived as, apparently at least, abetting the cause of Tiamat.

Anshar appeals in turn to his sons, Ea and Anu, to lead the attack against Tiamat. The details of Ea's endeavours to either conquer or pacify Tiamat are, unfortunately, missing;[‡] but from a subsequent reference[§] it follows that Ea was 'afraid,' and obliged to 'turn back'; nor is Anu more successful. He is sent out by Anshar, in the hope that Tiamat may be appeased by hearing the 'word' of Anshar—

'Go and stand before Tiamat,
That her liver may be appeased, her heart pacified;
But if she will not hearken to thy word,
Then speak to her our word, that she may be appeased.'

But as Anu approaches, Tiamat growls,[||] and the god also turns back in terror. The third son is now appealed to by his father Anshar; and as one of many indications that by this son was originally meant the third member, Bel, of the triad Ea, Anu, and Bel, it is to be noted that he is referred to as *be-lum*, *i.e.* 'the lord,'[¶] though subsequently the identification with Marduk is made without reservation by the writing *Amar-ud*,[**] the ordinary designation of the chief god of Babylon. Bel turns out to be the real conqueror of Tiamat, and the introduction, therefore, of Ea and Anu is made partly with the intent to glorify the chief god of Nippur at the expense of his two companions, and partly as a consequence of the endeavour to combine in the story other existing versions, and to reconcile these various versions with one another. The Ea-Apsu conflict points clearly to the existence of an 'Eridu' version, which celebrated Ea as the creator of man and establisher of the laws of the Universe. In another centre Anu was accorded the distinction; and, when Nippur rose to political and religious supremacy, Bel was invested with the rôle of the conqueror of chaos. Our narrative, therefore, represents the 'Nippur' version; but, by the transfer of the title of Bel to Marduk, it was transformed into the 'Babylon' version, and there the process stopped, though we have traces, as already pointed out, of a distinctively 'Assyrian' version,* in which, by an identification of Anshar with Ashur, the chief god of the Assyrian pantheon, the step is taken which makes Anshar-Ashur the real creator. However, the version which, owing to the long-continued supremacy of Babylon as the centre of the empire, became the dominant—we might almost say 'orthodox'—one, was the narrative with which we are concerned. Anshar kisses Bel-Marduk, and thus dispels his fear. While still implying that Bel-Marduk is to pacify Tiamat by his pure incantation, as Ea overcame Apsu, this reference is merely introduced in order to show that Bel-Marduk possesses all the powers that may be ascribed to any other god. In reality, Bel-Marduk is a warrior, and Anshar also addresses him as such, urging him to proceed and 'trample the neck of Tiamat under foot.' Bel-Marduk accepts the challenge, but in a speech to Anshar, the lord of gods, who determines the destiny of the great gods, imposes the condition that, if he succeeds, he is to supplant Anshar as the chief of the gods—

---

[*] Tiamat.

[†] In Eusebius, *Chronicle* (ed. Schoene), vol. i. pp. 14, 15. See Zimmern, *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, pp. 488-490.

[*] The plural is used because the address is evidently to Anshar and his consort Kishar, although only the former is specifically mentioned.

[†] Adad occurs, and apparently as one of the abettors of Tiamat, in a fragment (*Cuneiform Texts*, xiii. pl. 24, K 3445+Rm. 396, rev. v. 1) which represents a specifically 'Assyrian' version of Creation. See Zimmern, *l.c.* p. 496.

[‡] The second tablet is very defective, though large portions may be restored through comparison with the third.

[§] Tablet iii. 54. That Nudimmud or Ea was sent out first and Anu second, despite the fact that in the third tablet the order is reversed, has been shown by King, *Creation Tablets*, i. p. 188, n. 1.

[||] See King, *ib.* i. p. 12, n. 2.

[¶] Tablet ii. 113, 131.

[**] *e.g.* Tablet iii. 55, 113, 138, and *passim* in Tablet iv., and in the Epilogue, Tablet vii. 139, though, l. 129, he is called *En-lil* (or *Bēl*) *ilāni*, Marduk.

'If I, your avenger,
Bind Tiamat and save your life,
Call an assembly, declare the pre-eminence of my fate.
In Upshukkinaku † gather together in joy,
Let my utterance, like yours, decree fates.
May whatever I do remain unalterable!
May my orders be unchangeable and irrevocable!'

In speeches like these the purpose of the priests of Nippur and Babylon to justify the position accorded in their system to Bel-Marduk as the decreer of fates is revealed.

The third tablet is taken up with the summoning of the gods by Gaga, the messenger of Anshar, in order to procure their consent to the condition exacted by Bel-Marduk. The vagueness and contradictions resulting from the attempt to combine in the narrative conflicting traditions are illustrated by the position accorded in this tablet to Lakhmu and Lakhamu as leaders of the hosts of gods sometimes referred to as Igigi, and again as Annunaki, though in the perfected theological system the former embody the group of 'heavenly' gods, while the Annunaki represent the group of 'earthly' or rather subterranean gods.‡ Elsewhere in the narrative Lakhamu is introduced along with the monsters who constitute the followers of Tiamat.§ The gods obey the summons, enter into the presence of Anshar, and sit down to a feast, in the course of which, as the narrative states, they fill themselves with wine, and then formally do homage to Bel-Marduk. The fourth tablet begins—

'They fitted out for him a lordly chamber,
Before his fathers to reign supreme.
Thou art the honoured one among the great gods.
Thy fate is unrivalled, thy utterance—supreme.*
O Marduk! thou art the honoured one among the great gods;
Thy fate is unrivalled, thy utterance—supreme.*
From this day onward, thy order shall be irrevocable.
Lifting up and abasing shall be in thy hand;
Thy utterance is fixed, thy command unalterable.
None among the gods shall transgress thy boundary.
. . . .
O Marduk, thou art our avenger.
We give thee sovereignty over the entire Universe.
Thou shalt preside in the assembly, thy word is supreme.
May thy weapon never become blunt; may it strike down thy foe!
O lord, spare the life of him who trusts in thee,
And pour out the life of the god who seized hold of evil.'

As a token of the power assigned to him, Marduk is asked to make a garment disappear and appear again by the mere force residing in his word—again an intimation that Marduk, like Ea, rules by the power of the word. Sceptre, throne, and ring are bestowed on him as symbols of royalty, and he is given the invincible weapon that strikes down the foe. They salute him, 'Marduk is king,' and encourage him for the attack—

'Go and cut off the life of Tiamat.
Let the wind carry her blood into secret places.'

An interesting description follows of the manner in which the god proceeds to equip himself for the fray. Bow, quiver, spear, and club are his weapons. He places the lightning in front of him, and fills his body with flaming fire. From his 'father Anu' he receives a net wherewith to entrap Tiamat. The four winds he assigns to their stations, so as to intercept the escape of Tiamat. Evil winds, tempests, and hurricanes are created by him—in all, seven kinds of winds—that follow behind his 'storm' chariot, on which, drawn by four swift and ferocious horses, he now mounts, brandishing the thunderbolt.

The picture thus drawn of the god making straight for Tiamat is most impressive, and admirably served the purpose of illustrating the terror which Bel-Marduk was supposed to inspire. The picture evidently fits an atmospheric 'storm' god, such as was the old En-lil of Nippur, but is hardly suitable for Marduk, who is distinctly a solar deity, though the transfer of Bel's rôle to Marduk appeared to be justified by the consideration that it is the sun which eventually triumphs over the storms of the rainy season, which, as we have seen, suggested the conceptions formed of Tiamat.

Kingu, the leader of the host of Tiamat, is utterly dumbfounded at the sight of the terrible Bel. His mental and physical paralysis is effectively portrayed, and his followers fall back in terror. Tiamat alone is not dismayed, and, enraged at the challenge—'Stand! I and thou, let us join battle'—which he utters, boldly meets Marduk. The narrative proceeds—

'When Tiamat heard those words,
She became like one possessed, bereft of reason.
Tiamat shrieked with piercing cries,
She trembled and shook to her very foundations.
She pronounced an incantation, she uttered her spell,
And the gods of the battle took to their weapons.
Then Tiamat and Marduk, the leader of the gods, stood up,
They advanced to the fray, drew nigh to the fight.
The lord spread out his net and caught her,
The evil wind behind him he let loose in her face.
As Tiamat opened her mouth to its full extent,
He drove in the evil wind before she closed her lips.
The mighty winds filled her stomach,
Her heart failed her, and she opened wide her mouth;

---

* See above, p. 567b; and, further, King, *Creation Tablets*, pp. 197-200, and the authorities there referred to.

† The sacred chamber in which the gods assemble, originally localized in Bel's temple E-kur in Nippur, and afterwards transferred to Marduk's temple E-sagila in Babylon.

‡ See Zimmern, *Keilinschriften u. d. Alte Testament*, p. 451 ff.

§ Tablet ii. 27, and parallel passages, iii. 31, 89.

* Literally, *Anu*.

> He seized the spear and pierced her stomach,
> He cut through her organs and slit open her heart.
> He bound her and cut off her life.
> He cast down her carcass and stood upon it.'

The followers of Tiamat, dismayed at the overthrow of their leader, take to flight; but Bel-Marduk surrounds them, and captures them all in the net. He takes from Kingu the 'tablets of fate' and hangs them around his own breast—thus establishing his prerogative as the decreer of destinies for all future times.

At this point the composite character of the narrative is again revealed, for Marduk is represented as returning to Tiamat to stand upon her, to smash her skull, and to drive her blood, carried away by the north wind to secret places, out of her body. It is evident that various traditions existed as to what Bel-Marduk did with Tiamat.

The close of the fourth tablet directs the current of the narrative into a new channel, and introduces us to Bel-Marduk as the creator of heaven, and as the establisher of law and order in the Universe. Out of one half of the carcass of Tiamat, flattened out by him 'like a flat fish,' he makes a covering for the heaven—a kind of door provided with a bolt—and with a watchman to stand guard against the pouring forth of the waters from above. Corresponding to the watchman placed over the waters of heaven, Nudimmud or Ea is assigned to the centre of 'Apsu'—here no longer used as 'chaos,' but as the watery deep, which is conceived as a structure, the limits of which are fixed by Bel-Marduk. Corresponding to this 'subterranean' mansion, a similar structure, which he calls E-sharra, is built in heaven, and Anu, Bel, and Ea are assigned to their respective districts.

The narrative thus leads us to the astrological system perfected by the Babylonian priests, and standing in close relation to their cosmology. According to this system, which rests on the identification of the gods with the sun, moon, and stars, the heavens constitute a structure provided for the gods. The regularity of the movements of the sun and moon and the course of the planets within defined limits, were accounted for by the theory which assigned to some god the distinction of having established the fixed order of events in the upper firmament. It is natural to suppose that Anshar should have been the one to do so; but, since he relinquishes his authority to Bel-Marduk, the latter is accorded the distinction; and, since Marduk is identified with the sun, a further change had to be introduced into the narrative by omitting all references to the creation of the sun. More important, however, than the assumption in the present form of the narrative, that it is the sun-god Marduk who creates the heavens and assigns to the gods their positions and functions, is the system itself, which is revealed at the close of the fourth tablet, and further developed at the beginning of the fifth tablet. The triad, Anu, Bel, and Ea, in this astrological system are not the old local deities who bear that name from the centres in which they were worshipped, nor do they sum up the control of the Universe, but they are simply certain sections of the ecliptic chosen as guides for determining the position and courses of the stars and planets respectively, Anu being the middle strip of the ecliptic, Bel the northern section, and Ea a star in the southern section.* With these as guiding points, the positions are assigned for the great gods; and the identification of the latter with the stars being specifically set forth, the seven *lumashi* stars or constellations of the zodiac are specially referred to, by means of which the divisions of the year are determined. At each end of the great structure E-sharra gates are placed, through which the sun passes in and out on his daily march across the expanse; and to the moon-god the control of the night is entrusted, by means of which the days are to be calculated. Further details as to the manner in which this calculation is to be made are given, so that incidentally the basis of the Babylonian calendar is furnished as another feature of the cosmology. Indeed, the entire theology enters into the narrative of the creation—(*a*) the systematized pantheon; (*b*) the astrological system upon which was built up the science of determining the intentions of the gods by observing their movements as represented in the planets and stars with which they were identified; (*c*) the lunar calendar.

Unfortunately, that part of the work of creation which would be of special interest to us—the formation of the earth, with its vegetation—is lacking, though it was, in all probability, contained in the fifth tablet, which, like the second, is very defective. Whether this part of creation was also attributed to Bel-Marduk alone, or to the gods in common, must for the present remain an open question. We have a fragmentary tablet* in which, incidental to a story assigning a prominent rôle to a god Nin-igi-azag, a reference is introduced to the creation of 'living creatures,' 'cattle of the field,' 'beasts of the field, creatures of the city,' which are described as having been produced by the gods in their assembly; but this may represent another version, whereas in the Creation narrative under discussion Marduk probably appeared as the creator of the earth,† just as in the sixth tablet the creation of man is assigned to him. The reason given for the creation of man is that the gods desired worshippers; and this view is ascribed in the narrative to none other than Marduk himself, who, in an address to Ea, says—

> 'My blood will I take, and bone ‡ . .
> I will set up man, that man . . .
> I will create man to inhabit [the earth],
> To establish the service of the gods, and that shrines [may be built].'

From the 'blood' of Marduk himself man is thus formed—a remarkable doctrine, which illustrates the high position accorded to man in the theological system of Babylonia. The introduction of Ea as a kind of associate to Marduk is, again, a trace of the composite character of the narrative, and points to a version in which the creation of man was assigned to Ea, who, in the Babylonian pantheon, is the god of mankind *par excellence*. From certain allusions in Marduk's address to Ea, and from Ea's reply, it would appear that the creation of man was opposed by the gods, who perhaps feared his power; and it is likely, though by no means certain, that, after creating man, Marduk gave him instructions,§ detailing religious and moral obligations.

The seventh tablet is taken up entirely with the glorification of Marduk by the gods and by mankind. First, the gods are represented as hailing him in their assembly as the avenger of their wrongs, and they bestow upon him fifty glorious names, enumerated in detail, emphasizing his power, his functions as the giver of life, the creator of vegetation, as the source of plenty; his righteousness, his mercy, his wisdom, his power in removing evil, and more of the like. Mankind is called upon to join in paying homage to Marduk as the one who ordained the courses for the stars of heaven, shepherding the gods like a flock of sheep, as the conqueror of Tiamat, and as the creator of heaven and earth. Father Bel is represented as transferring to Marduk his own title, 'lord of the worlds,' and Ea declares that Marduk's name shall henceforth be Ea, as his own name. The epilogue to the narrative is an impressive appeal to the wise and the intelligent to ponder on Marduk's deeds, the memory of which the father should hand down to his son. All should rejoice in Marduk, from whom fertility and prosperity emanate, whose word is unchangeable, whose anger is irresistible, but who is merciful and compassionate to the repentant sinner.

---

* See Mahler, 'Die Wege des Anu, Bel, und Ea' (*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, vol. vi. No. 4 (pp. 155-160)).

* *Cuneiform Texts*, xiii. pl. 34; see King, *Creation Tablets*, i. pp. 122-125.

† See the reference, Tablet vii. 115, 'he (*i.e.* Marduk) created heaven and fashioned the earth.'

‡ King, *l.c.* i. p. 87, suggests the restoration, 'I will fashion.'

§ King has shown (*l.c.* i. p. 202 ff.) that the fragment which was supposed to contain the address does not belong to the series; but the possibility that Marduk gave some instructions to man must nevertheless be admitted.

There is little that need be added by way of comment to this analysis of this main narrative of Creation which has come down to us, and which may be taken as representing the matured cosmological theories of the Babylonians—the combination of primitive popular traditions with the scholastic astrological system, and the whole interpreted in accord with the theological doctrines developed in the schools of Babylonia. This main narrative, moreover, preserves traces of varying versions of Creation which were once current, but which differed chiefly in ascribing the work of creation to different deities, representing the gods worshipped in the various centres of religion in the Euphrates Valley. The principle underlying these versions, of which, outside of the traces in the main narrative, a number of fragments have been found,[*] is everywhere, so far as can be ascertained, the same—the overthrow of powers representing chaos and disorder by those standing for law and order. In place of a genuine theory of beginnings, the Babylonian and Assyrian cosmology thus furnishes a theory of emanation and of the evolution from chaos to order. Chaos is a primeval element, from which the gods emanate; the gods in turn produce gods, and, after the conquest of chaos, the laws of the Universe which the gods are forced to obey are imposed by the conquering god. The formation of 'deep' and the 'heavens' are the two chief factors in this work, to which, as a third factor, is added the earth proper, on which man is placed in order that he may pay the proper homage to the gods, and, above all, to Marduk.

8. Life after death.—Besides the Incantation texts, the Oracles, Omens, and Portents, the Hymns and Prayers, and the various versions of the Creation and unfolding of the Universe, we have quite a number of myths and legends in the literature of the Babylonians that bear more or less directly on the religion.

Among these, mention may be made (*a*) of a story of the ravages committed by a deity, Ira,[†] who is identified in the later literature with Nergal, the raging power of the summer solstice; (*b*) a series of myths, in which the solar deity, Ninib, plays the chief rôle;[‡] (*c*) stories of the storm-bird, Zu,[§] detailing an attempt of this bird, which symbolizes the clouds, to take away from En-lil or Bel, the conqueror of Tiamat, the 'tablets of fate,' which Bel himself had snatched away from Kingu, the chief of Tiamat's army. Zu succeeds, and flies away with the 'tablets of fate' to the mountains. As in the Creation story Anshar calls upon Anu, Ea, and Bel in turn to pacify Tiamat, so Anu, the god of heaven, calls upon Adad the storm-god, Ishtar, Bara, and Nin-igi-azag (Ea?), to pursue Zu; but they are kept back through fear, and it is left for Marduk[*] to recapture the tablets, though it is likely that, in the present form of the narrative, Marduk takes the place of some other deity—possibly Shamash—to whom, as the conqueror of the storms, the feat appears to have been originally ascribed. (*d*) We have a story of a king of Cuthah,[†] narrating how the gods had delivered him and his land from monsters which remind us of those in the army of Tiamat.

Interesting as it would be to give an analysis of these and other tales,[‡] we must pass them by, and take up three myths,[§] which all touch upon one of the most important phases in every religion—the views held of life after death. These three myths are, (i.) the story of Adapa, (ii.) the story of Nergal and Eresh-kigal, and (iii.) the story of the Descent of Ishtar to the world of the dead.

(i.) The purpose of the story of Adapa appears to be to offer an explanation of how man, although the offspring of the gods,—Bel-Marduk, it will be recalled, forms him of his own blood,—does not share the distinguishing trait of the gods—immortality. The story belongs to the 'Ea' cycle of myths, and points to Eridu as its source. Ea appears here as the god of humanity, the protector, and, one is inclined to add, the creator of man. The principal personage, a semi-Divine being, Adapa, is a son of Ea, distinguished, like the latter, by wisdom, and serving as a kind of priest at the Eridu sanctuary, which he provides with 'bread and water.' One day, while fishing in the waters of Eridu, *i.e.* the Persian Gulf, his ship is seized by the south wind and sunk in the waters. In his rage Adapa breaks the wings of the south wind, so that for seven days it is unable to blow across the land. News of this occurrence reaches the gods, whose dwelling is placed in heaven, and Anu, the chief god, orders Adapa to be brought before him. Ea intervenes, and gives his favourite, Adapa, instructions how to conduct himself before Anu. In order to arouse the sympathy of the two watchmen at the gate of heaven, Tammuz and Gish-zida, he is to put on a mourning garb, and, in reply to the question as to the meaning of this garb, he is to state that the mourning is for two gods of the earth who have disappeared. Tammuz and Gish-zida, who will know that they are meant, will then intercede in Adapa's behalf before Anu. But Ea, furthermore, warns Adapa not to touch the food that Anu will place before him, nor to drink the water that will be offered—

---

[*] Thus we have (*a*) a version of the Tiamat myth, in which Marduk's name does not appear, but only that of Bel (King, *l.c.* i. p. 116 ff.); (*b*) a version in which the goddess Aruru is associated with Marduk in the creation of man and of animals and of vegetation, and in which the order of creation appears to be quite different from that found in the main narrative (King, *l.c.* 130 ff.). Moreover, from references to the conflict with Tiamat, and to other incidents of the cosmology introduced in incantations, astrological texts, hymns, legends, and myths, we see the numerous variations in details which marked the versions that were current.

[†] For the reading, see Zimmern, *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, p. 587; for a recent translation, see Jensen, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vi. 1, pp. 57–73.

[‡] See Hrozny, *Sumerisch-babylonische Mythen von dem Gotte Ninrag (Ninib)*, Berlin, 1903.

[§] Jensen, *l.c.* 47–57.

[*] In addition to the evidence for this view presented in the present writer's *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 537 ff., see the passage in Craig's *Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts*, i. 29, obv. 15, where Marduk is referred to as the smiter of Zu.

[†] The latest translation by King, *Seven Tablets of Creation*, i. 140–155.

[‡] A full analysis and discussion of these and other myths and legends will be found in the 24th chapter of the present writer's *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* (Giessen, 1904). The story of Etana (Jensen, *l.c.* 100–115), of Ea and Atarkhasis (Jensen, *l.c.* 274–291), and portions of the Gilgamesh epic (Jensen, *l.c.* 116–273; Jeremias, *Izdubar-Nimrod*, Leipzig, 1891; and Zimmern, *l.c.* 566–582), also have a bearing on the religious beliefs and conceptions, though of a more indirect character than the other three referred to in the text.

[§] For the transliteration and German translation with commentary, see Jensen, *Keilinschriftl. Bibliothek*, vi. 1, pp. 92–101, 74–79, and 80–91 respectively; also Zimmern, *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, pp. 520–527, 583–584, and 561–564; and for the text, E. J. Harper, 'Babylonische Legenden von Etana, Zu, Adapa, and Dihbarra' in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, ii. 390–521, and the references further on.

> 'When thou steppest before Anu, they will offer thee food of death; do not eat! They will offer thee waters of death; do not drink! They will offer thee a garment; put it on! They will offer thee oil; anoint thyself! Carry out strictly the orders that I have given thee, cling to what I have commanded thee!'

It is evident from this speech, that Ea, who had given his favourite wisdom, but had not bestowed on him eternal life, presumably because it was not in his power, anticipates that Anu will punish Adapa with death; but the unexpected happened. At first Anu shows himself merciless, but the intercession of Tammuz and Gish-zida prompts him to reconsider his decision, and, instead of offering Adapa the food and water of death, he places before him the food and water of life—

> 'Fetch for him food of life, that he may eat thereof. They brought him food of life, but he did not eat. They brought him water of life, but he did not drink. They brought him a garment; he put it on. They brought him oil; he anointed himself therewith.'

Adapa, it will be observed, strictly carries out Ea's orders, and thus forfeits the boon of immortality, which was placed within his reach. The story presents parallels and contrasts with the Biblical story of the Fall. Adam's loss of immortality is due to *disobedience*; but in his case an *intentional* deception is practised on him by an evil spirit in the guise of a serpent, as against the unintentional deception of Adapa by Ea. It is evident that the story of Adapa is based on the common nature myth of the change of seasons, portrayed as a conflict between the storms of the rainy season and the vegetation symbolized by Adapa, who stands in some direct connexion with the solar deity, Marduk, the son of Ea. The story reflects the religious doctrine, developed in Babylonia, that man, though of Divine origin, does not share in the Divine trait of immortality, but the reference to the food and water of life may be taken as an indication that a contrary doctrine must also have had its advocates; and this view is confirmed by allusions to a 'life' plant and to 'life' waters in historical inscriptions and in literary productions. Marduk is addressed as the one who bestows this 'life' plant;[*] and if a king like Esarhaddon expresses the hope that his rule may be as beneficial as the 'life' plant,[†] it is evident that the conception of the existence of such a plant must have been a current one. So, again, whatever the purpose that Gilgamesh, the hero of the great Babylonian epic, has in mind in seeking for a plant bearing the remarkable name 'restorer of youth to old age,'[‡] the incident would be unintelligible if it did not rest on the view that 'life' was a gift that could be given to man by the will of the gods, and that the life meant was not merely a limited existence but life without end. The same conclusion may be drawn from the occurrence of the phrase 'water of life' in the religious literature. In the story of Ishtar's descent to the lower world she is sprinkled with the 'waters of life' before she ascends to earth again,[§] and on the idea that water is a symbol of life is based an entire series of rites practised in the Babylonian temples.[‖]

The doctrine, thus combined in the story of Adapa with an old nature myth, furnishes the proof of the deep interest which the problem of death awakened in the Babylonian schools. Along with the development of a systematized pantheon we find the attempt made to give some definite shape to the views regarding man's fate after death has touched his body. The mystery of death was deepened in the mind of primitive man by the difficulty of conceiving that life could come to an end; and the daily phenomenon of the awakening from sleep—which must have appeared to him as temporary death—strengthened in him the conviction that life does *not* come to an end, or perhaps it would be more correct to say, made it more difficult for him to persuade himself that death was equivalent to an annihilation of life. The problem that thus presented itself was how to reconcile the evident extinction of earthly activity in the case of death with the conviction or the instinct that life as such cannot come to an end. There thus arose, as a result of primitive and popular speculation on the mysterious theme, the idea that, corresponding to the surface of the earth as the scene of man's activity while life was in his body, there was an abode in which those whose earthly careers were over continued to enjoy the privilege of the spark of life. The prevailing custom of earth-burial, at least within the period for which historical documents are at our disposal, suggested, as a further natural conclusion, that the abode in question was situated below the surface of the earth. At this point, however, popular speculation appears to have stopped, and the theologians of the Euphrates Valley stepped in to develop the conception further, and to bring it into accord with the theological system devised by them. The sharp division between life and death led them to select out of the company of gods and goddesses a number that seemed fitted to be placed in control of the dead. A nether world pantheon thus, gradually, arose by the side of the group of great gods whose concern was with the living.

(ii.) A nature myth found among the Tel el-Amarna tablets,[*] based upon the phenomenon of the change of seasons, has been made the medium for giving expression to some of the doctrines of the priests regarding this pantheon for the dead. It appears from the story, that originally a goddess known as Eresh-kigal, signifying the 'lady of the nether world,' was placed at the head of this pantheon. Pictured as the sister of the gods, she is supposed to have her abode in the interior of the earth, and is the counterpart of the great goddess Ishtar, who, it will be recalled, is the great mother-goddess, the symbol of vegetation and fertility on the earth. The gods are represented as gathered together at a banquet, and they send a message to their sister Eresh-kigal, asking her, inasmuch as she cannot come up to the gods, whose seat, according to the astro-theology of the priests, is in heaven, at least to send a messenger to fetch some of the food for her. Eresh-kigal sends Namtar, the god of pestilence, who is welcomed by all the gods except Nergal. This god fails to pay proper respect to Eresh-kigal's messenger, and accordingly, on the demand of the 'lady of the lower world,' Nergal is handed over to her to receive the punishment of death. At this juncture Ea steps in, and reassures Nergal by giving him a bodyguard of fourteen demons, who will aid him in his encounter with Eresh-kigal. To judge from the names of these demons—Burning, Fever, Abyss, etc.—they seem to symbolize misfortunes, ills, and accidents, that bring death in their wake. Accompanied by these demons, Nergal comes to the gates of the nether world. His presence is announced to his 'sister' Eresh-kigal. Placing his fourteen attendants at the various gates, he advances to Eresh-kigal, who is seated on her throne, seizes her, and pulls her to the ground. She appeals for mercy—

---

[*] Craig, *Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts*, i. 59 (K 8961, 5).

[†] Meissner-Rost in *Beiträge zur Assyr.* iii. 255 (col. viii. 10–13).

[‡] Tablet xi. l. 298. See Jensen, *Keilinschriftl. Bibliothek*, vi. 1, p. 252.

[§] See below, p. 576^a.

[‖] See Zimmern's article, 'Lebensbrot u. Lebenswasser im Babylonischen und in der Bibel' in *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft*, ii. 165–177.

[*] Published by Bezold, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum* (London, 1892), p. 141 (No. 82), and Winckler-Abel, *Thontafelfund von El-Amarna* (Berlin, 1889), pp. 164, 165. See Jensen, *Keilinschriftl. Bibl.* vi. 1, pp. 74–79.

> 'Do not kill me, my brother. Let me speak to thee.'

Nergal, on hearing her, releases her. She weeps and cries—

> 'Thou shalt be my husband, and I will be thy wife;
> Kingship over the wide earth I will bestow on thee;
> The tablet of wisdom I will place in thy hand.
> Thou shalt be lord; I will be lady.'

When Nergal heard these words, he took hold of her, kissed her, and wiped away her tears. The tablet, badly preserved at various points, breaks off with the beginning of Nergal's conciliatory reply. Whatever else the story may be intended to illustrate, it aims to account for the fact that at the head of the pantheon of the lower world stand two deities, Nergal and Eresh-kigal. The character of Nergal as the fierce and destructive power of the summer and the midday sun[*] made him the appropriate personage for this position, and, in accordance with the general principle pervading the theological system of Babylonia, it was proper that a male deity and not a goddess should be the supreme ruler. On the other hand, the story points to the existence of an earlier view—perhaps of popular origin—according to which a goddess occupies this position. The suggestion has already been thrown out, that Eresh-kigal, 'the lady of the nether world,' is the counterpart of Ishtar, 'the lady of the earth' as she is frequently termed. An element in the myth embodied in the story is therefore the view found among many nations, that the earth-goddess, during the period when vegetation ceases, has descended into the bowels of the earth—either voluntarily or carried off by force. At the time, however, that the myth received a definite literary form, the differentiation between the two Ishtars or the two aspects of the great goddess had taken place, and Eresh-kigal has become an independent figure, whose place is permanently fixed in the region below the surface of the earth.

(iii.) A more definite view of this region is furnished in another tale—likewise based on a myth symbolical of the change from the summer to the winter season, which incidentally strengthens the view here proposed that there were originally two forms of Ishtar, corresponding to the different aspects presented by the earth during the period of vegetation and during the equally long period of the year when nature seems to have perished. At the same time, the story, like that of Nergal and Eresh-kigal, already assumes the existence of an independent goddess ruling in the nether world, while antedating the association of a male deity at her side. Although the closing lines of the story, which probably indicated some occasion for which the composition was written, are very obscure, one of the purposes of the tale appears to have been to suggest the possibility of an escape from the region of the dead under certain conditions not easy of fulfilment. The more direct value of the story for us, however, lies in the picture it draws of the conditions prevailing in the place where the dead were supposed to be gathered together—a picture embodying in part popular conceptions, and in part the further elaboration of these conceptions by the theologians of Babylonia. The story opens as follows:[†]—

> 'To the land without return, the earth . . .
> Ishtar, the daughter of Sin directed her mind.[*]
> The daughter of Sin directed her mind,[*]
> To the dark house, the dwelling of Irkalla,
> To the house whence those who enter do not return,
> To the road from which there is no path leading back,
> To the house in which those who enter are deprived of light,
> Where dust is their nourishment, clay their food.
> They do not see light, they dwell in darkness,
> Clothed like a bird, with wings as a covering;
> On door and lock dust has settled.'

Ishtar arrives at the gate of the land without return, and demands admission of the watchman, threatening to break the threshold and the doors and lock, and to bring up the dead and restore them to life unless her request is granted. Ishtar's hostile spirit indicates that she has in mind an attack upon Eresh-kigal, very much of the same order which prompts Nergal to seek admission to the lady of the lower world. Both stories accordingly illustrate the hostility existing between the upper and the lower pantheon; but it may be questioned whether in an earlier form of the story this hostility was introduced. From subsequent references it would rather appear that Ishtar is forced to descend into the nether world, to dwell there for a certain time; but with the introduction of Eresh-kigal as an independent figure permanently in control of the lower world the old myth underwent a transformation, and Ishtar is now represented as planning an invasion of the region presided over by Eresh-kigal. The latter regards the visit in this light, for, when the presence of Ishtar at the gate is announced, she is both enraged and grieved. The departure of Ishtar from the upper world inaugurates a season of lamentation for the dead, and Eresh-kigal resents the presence in her realm of Ishtar, who will arouse the dead to a realization of their sad fate—

> 'What has prompted her, what has induced her spirit?
> Should I indeed sit with her,
> Eat clay instead of food, drink water instead of wine?
> Should I weep over the husbands who left their wives?
> Over the women who were snatched away from the embrace of their consorts?
> Over the young taken before their time should I weep?'

A motive had to be found for the hostile attitude of the two sisters towards each other. In the case of Ishtar, it is anger with Eresh-kigal, who now controls those who once belonged to her as the mother of mankind. Ishtar loves mankind, and in another tale—that of the Deluge—she is portrayed as actually weeping over the destruction of her offspring. Popular fancy, reinforced by theological speculation, accordingly pictured Ishtar as proceeding to the lower world once a year, in order to sit with the dead, share their food, and weep over their inexorable fate. Hence her violent hatred of Eresh-kigal. The watchman is ordered to admit the goddess, and to treat her according to the existing laws. That the story has been transformed by the introduction of new motives rendered necessary by the differentiation of Ishtar from Eresh-kigal, is shown by the welcome which the watchman gives Ishtar, and which is in glaring contradiction to the threats which Ishtar has uttered—

> 'Enter, my lady, Cuthah[†] greets thee,
> The palace of the land without return rejoices at thy presence.'

As she passes through the seven gates of the nether world the various articles of her apparel are taken away. At the first gate her crown is removed, at the second her earrings, at the third her necklace, at the fourth her breastplate, at the fifth her studded girdle, at the sixth the ornaments on her hands and feet, and at the seventh, finally, her loincloth, so that, when she enters the presence of Eresh-kigal, she is quite naked.

---

[*] See above, p. 543^{b}.

[†] The latest edition of the text is to be found in *Cuneiform Texts from Tablets in the British Museum*, etc., xv. pl. 45–47, corresponding to Rawlinson, iv.^{2} pl. 31; recent translations by Jensen, *Keilinschriftl. Bibl.* vi. 1, pp. 80–91; and Jeremias in Roscher's *Lexikon der griech- und römischen Mythologie*, article 'Nergal.' See also Zimmern, *Keilinschriften u. d. Alte Testament*, pp. 561–563.

[*] Literally, 'placed her ear.'

[†] The name of an important centre in southern Babylonia which was the seat of Nergal worship, and hence becomes a poetical designation for the nether world.

The symbolical significance of this gradual stripping of the goddess is quite evident; it marks the gradual decay of vegetation at the approach of the rainy and winter season, and incidentally may have furnished the priests with a doctrinal explanation why the images of Ishtar, which the people placed in the temples as votive offerings, frequently portrayed her as naked.*

The naked Ishtar, thus forced to obey laws not of her making, is clearly a different figure from the one portrayed at the opening of the story, intent upon forcing an entrance to Eresh-kigal with some evil intent. To adapt the old myth to the later conception, Ishtar is described as rushing towards Eresh-kigal, but, without a struggle, is overpowered by Namtar, who, at the command of the lady of the nether world, smites Ishtar with sixty diseases affecting all her organs and limbs. The symbolism of the original myth is once more apparent in the description of what followed upon the imprisonment—for such it is—of Ishtar in 'the palace of the land without return.'

'When the lady Ishtar had descended to the land without return,
The bull no longer mounted the cow, the ass did not mount the she-ass,
The man did not go to the maid to lie with her.'

These lines evidently describe in naïve language the cessation of fertility on earth with the departure of the great mother-goddess. The gods, also, bewail the departure of Ishtar from their midst, and plan for her release from the nether world. Sin and Ea are appealed to, and Ea creates a mysterious being, Asushu-namir, whose name, signifying 'his going forth is brilliant,' points to a solar deity—perhaps the god of the spring sun—who brings back vegetation and fertility to nature. Asushu-namir forces his entrance into the nether world despite the opposition of Eresh-kigal, who is enraged also at this new intruder. He besprinkles Ishtar with the water of life and takes her with him. At each gate the articles taken away from her at her entrance are restored to her, until she emerges in all her glory. The story closes with references, which are not altogether clear, to a festival in honour of Tammuz, a solar deity, symbolizing the spring, who is designated as the youthful lover of Ishtar.

We see, then, that we are to distinguish in the story the following elements—(1) the old nature myth symbolical of the change of seasons, representing Ishtar as forced at a certain season of the year to leave the earth, followed by her release in the spring; (2) the combination of this myth with the later view, representing Eresh-kigal as an independent goddess, permanently established as ruler in the nether world; leading to (3) the hostility between the two goddesses. It will be observed that references to two festivals celebrated in Babylonia have been introduced into the story—a lamentation at the time of Ishtar's descent, and a rejoicing on her return. Further, the story has been made the medium for illustrating the current views regarding the abode of the dead, and the hope at least is suggested that, through the gods, a release from the control of Eresh-kigal is possible. Beyond this, however, the theologians did not venture to go, and such epithets as 'restorer of the dead,' occasionally given to certain gods, have reference to the power of the gods to save the desperately ill—those apparently already in the power of the gods of the nether world—from the dark abode; but they do not imply a real resurrection of the dead.

On the whole, the description given of 'the land without return,' at the opening of the story we have just considered, represents the prevailing doctrines in both Babylonia and Assyria. The name given to the abode of the dead is commonly *Aralû*, and the references to it in the religious literature show that it was pictured as a large dark cavern in the interior of the earth, with the entrance from the west, within which was situated the palace of Eresh-kigal. The approach to the great cavern is by means of a stream which must be crossed by the dead. Once in the great cavern, the dead are under the control of Nergal and Eresh-kigal, and around this pair we find a group of deities and demons who act as messengers and attendants, and constitute the pantheon of the nether world, which is almost as extensive in its scope as that which controls the world of the living. How far, according to the popular view, the dead were endowed with consciousness of their sad state, it is difficult to say. If the references to dust and earth as the food of the dead are more than poetical metaphors, they must have been conceived as being at least conscious of their misery; while references both in the historical and religious literature to libations and food-offerings for the dead and to the curse resulting from leaving the dead unburied, or from exposing them, after burial, to the sunlight, show that the dead were supposed to require the care and forethought of the survivors.* In this respect, a passage at the close of the Gilgamesh epic—perhaps the most notable literary achievement of Babylonia—is of significance. Eabani, housed in Aralû, appears to Gilgamesh at his solicitation, and reveals to him some of the secrets of the life in the dark abode †—

'He rests on a couch,
Drinking pure water,
Who died in battle, as you and I have seen.‡
His father and mother support his head,
His wife with him. . . .
But he whose body is thrown in the field,
As you and I have seen,
The leavings of the pot, remains of food,
What is thrown into the street, he eats.'

According to this passage, a distinction was made between the fate of those who died an honourable death, and by implication were properly taken care of, and those who were not accorded a fitting burial. Still, even the fate of those who were suitably provided for, to whom food and libation-offerings were regularly made, was sad enough; and Gilgamesh, in a lament over his dead friend Eabani, portrays with striking vividness the gloomy existence of those who are gathered together in Aralû.§ They lie there, inactive, deprived of the pleasures that this world offers, shorn of their strength and powers—prisoners without hope of release. Sadness is thus the prevailing note when the thoughts of the living turn to the fate in store for mankind after life has fled from the body. Only occasionally do we find the expression of a faint belief that all is not dark and gloomy for the dead, that at least some favoured individuals enjoy a better fortune. At one time the view appeared to have been held that the kings after their death were accorded a place among the gods.‖ Statues of the rulers were placed in the temples and accorded Divine honours, and even temples were erected bearing their names. But though this view may have had a strong hold upon the masses at one time, in connexion with the belief that the rulers, as standing close to the gods, were in some way descended from them, it soon lost its hold, and we learn little about it after the days of Ḥammurabi.

---

* See, *e.g.*, the illustrations in Peters' *Nippur*, ii. p. 379, pl. ii.; Scheil, *Une Saison de Fouilles à Sippar* (Cairo, 1902), p. 81.

* See the collection of passages in A. Jeremias, *Die Babylonisch-Assyrischen Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode* (Leipzig, 1887), pp. 46–58.

† Tablet xii. col. vi. (ed. Haupt, *Beiträge z. Assyr.* i. p. 65). See Jensen, *Keilins. Bibl.* vi. 1, pp. 264, 265.

‡ *i.e.* as every one knows.

§ Tablet xii. col. i. (ed. Haupt, *Beit. z. Assyr.* i. p. 57).

‖ See the collection of references in Radau, *Early Babylonian History*, pp. 307–317.

In the Gilgamesh epic, likewise, which want of space forbids us to treat at length,[*] there is a most important hint of an escape from the ordinary fate of mortals through the intercession of the gods. Gilgamesh, in the course of his wanderings, comes to Ut-napishtim[†] to seek release from the disease with which he has been smitten. Although a mortal, Ut-napishtim is placed with the gods, after Bel, the instigator of a flood which has destroyed mankind, has become reconciled, through the intervention of Ea—the god of humanity—to the preservation of Ut-napishtim and his family from the general destruction. There are also some further references,[‡] though all more or less obscure, which admit of an interpretation pointing to the possibility of a renewal of real life after death. But these, while foreshadowing the rise of a doctrine of resurrection as taken up by later Judaism and by Christianity, do not counterbalance the gloomy view of Aralû, which seems to have remained for all times the prevailing one. Had this not been the case, we should not have found, as late as the days of Nebuchadreẓẓar II., pictorial representations of the life after death, which could have aroused only feelings of terror and fear on the part of those who beheld them.[§]

vii. TEMPLES AND CULT.—The existence of numerous temples, particularly in Babylonia, but also, though to a lesser degree, in Assyria, may be taken as an index of the firm hold which the religion we have been describing had upon the people. The political centres during the various periods of Babylono-Assyrian history are also the religious centres, and the rulers of Babylonia and Assyria vie with one another in manifesting their devotion to the gods, by rebuilding, restoring, enlarging, and beautifying the sacred edifices. These temples, unaffected by the political vicissitudes of the cities in which they stood, gained in sanctity as the years and centuries rolled on. Whether we turn to some of the oldest rulers known to us, like Naram-Sin and Gudea, or to the members of the New Babylonian dynasty, one of their chief concerns was the care of the temples. Gudea tells us in great detail of a dream which was sent to him, and which is interpreted as the order of Ninib to build his temple E-ninnu at Shirpurla.[‖] At the close of Babylonian history we find Nebuchadreẓẓar II. invariably adding to his titles 'the beautifier of E-sagila and E-zida,' the sacred edifices of Babylon and Borsippa respectively. Considerably over one hundred temples and sanctuaries are mentioned in the native and historical inscriptions known to us; and if we add to these the several hundred incidentally mentioned in the religious literature, in the commercial tablets, and those occurring as elements in proper names, and in lists or syllabaries, it becomes evident that the Euphrates Valley was fairly studded with edifices of one kind or another dedicated to the gods and goddesses of the pantheon.

The names of these temples are both interesting and instructive, as reflecting the ideals and hopes by which their builders were swayed. Marduk's main edifice at Babylon is called *E-sagila*, 'the lofty house'; the temple of Nebo at Borsippa is *E-zida*, 'the true *or* legitimate house'; the temple of the sun-god at Sippar and Larsa is appropriately called *E-barra*, 'the brilliant house'; and in the same spirit the temple of the moon-god at Ur was designated as *E-gish-shir-gal*, 'house of the great luminary'; while his sanctuary at Ḥarran was called *E-khul-khul*, 'the house of joys.' Bel's sanctuary at Nippur was known as *E-kur*, 'the mountain house'; Ishtar's temple at Erech as *E-anna*, 'house of heaven' or 'lofty house,' her sanctuary in Nineveh as *E-mash-mash*, signifying probably 'house of oracles'; a sanctuary of Ninkharsag is known as *E-gal-makh*, 'the great palace.' Other names are *E-kharsag-kurkura*, 'the house of the mountain of all lands'; *E-kharsag-ella*, 'house of the shining mountain'; *E-dim-anna*, 'the house of heavenly construction'; *E-nun-makh*, 'house of the great lord'; *E-nin-makh*, 'house of the great lady'; *E-tila*, 'house of life,' and so on, *ad infinitum*. In the case of these names, it is to be observed that some of them designate a temple by an attribute or descriptive epithet of the god to whom it is dedicated, like *E-barra*, 'house of splendour,' for Shamash, or *E-nin-makh*, 'house of the great lady,' for Ishtar; others are expressive of a hope or ideal, as 'house of life,' or 'legitimate house.' Many of the names embody the idea of great height, as of a mountain. To this category belong not only those which contain the word 'mountain' as one of their parts, but such as convey the idea of reaching up to heaven. Such names are more than mere metaphors. They furnish, indeed, the keynote to the explanation of what is the most characteristic feature of sacred edifices in Babylonia. Besides the temple proper, in which the worshippers assembled, and in which there was an inner chamber for the reception of the sacred image of the god, every temple in an important centre had attached to it a tower, consisting of three to seven storeys, provided either with a sloping ascent leading around each storey till the top was reached, or having a staircase from one storey to another. The winding ascent described by Herodotus (i. 181) appears to have been the more characteristic form, and suggests a mountain road; while the main purpose served by these towers, namely, to erect something that would be impressive by its height, points likewise in the direction of their being, in fact, imitations of mountain peaks. To such towers the name *zikḳurat*, signifying a 'high' place or edifice, was given. If it were certain that the *zikḳurat* represented the oldest type of the Babylonian sanctuary, important conclusions might be drawn as to the origin of the race that laid the foundations of Babylonian culture. The proof, however, for such a view is not forthcoming, and all therefore that can be said is that the idea of erecting a sacred edifice in imitation of a mountain must have been introduced by some group which, before settling in the flat Euphrates Valley (which is absolutely devoid of hills, and where not even stone is found to serve as building material), must have lived in a mountainous country. One naturally thinks of Arabia, whence we know there was a steady stream of migration into the Euphrates Valley; and if it be borne in mind that among the ancient Arabs mountain tops were regarded as sacred, and that down to a very late date the favourite sanctuaries of the Semite population of Palestine and Syria were on eminences, we may perhaps go a step further, and regard the *ziḳḳurat* as a distinctively Semitic product—an attempt on the part of the Semitic settlers in the Euphrates Valley to reproduce, by heaping up masses of clay (the only building material available), the mountain peaks, on the top of which they supposed their gods to dwell, and which their priests, acting as mediators, ascended when they wished to obtain an oracle or to secure aid from their gods.

---

[*] A full discussion of the various divisions of the epic, with an interpretation of its religious features, will be found in the 23rd chapter of the present writer's *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* (1905).

[†] The reading now adopted for the name of the hero of the Flood. See Zimmern, *Keilinschriften u. d. Alte Testament*, p. 545, n. 2.

[‡] See Jensen, *Keilinschriftliche Bibl.* vi. 1, p. 480; Zimmern, *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, i. pp. 638–639; Delitzsch, *Babel und Bibel* (Erster Vortrag), p. 38 ff.

[§] See the illustration in *Mittheilungen d. Deutschen Orient. Gesellsch.* No. 9; Weissbach, *Babylonische Miscellen*. p. 42; and a similar tablet in Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, vol. i. 350–351.

[‖] Cylinder A, col. i.–vii. See Thureau-Dangin, 'Le Songe de Goudéa' (*Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1901, pp. 112–128).

The *ziḳḳurats*, like the temples proper, have their names. These names, while frequently embodying the view that the *ziḳḳurats* were intended to be built in imitation of mountains, are also of interest because of their testimony to the cosmological doctrines taught in the schools of Babylonian theology. Thus the *ziḳḳurat* at Nippur bore the name *E-dur-an-ki*, 'the link of heaven and earth,' a name originally suggested by the ambition of the builders to raise the tower to a great height, but with which speculations were connected associating the *ziḳḳurat* with the great mountain of the world where the gods dwell, which reaches from the confines of Apsu—'the deep,' as the seat of Ea—to the domain of Anu, 'the god of heaven.' The seven storeys, of which some of the most notable *ziḳḳurats*—as, *e.g.*, those in Babylon, Borsippa, and Erech—consisted, were associated with the seven zones into which the earth was divided by the Babylonians, or with the seven planets. Accordingly, the *ziḳḳurat* of Borsippa was called *E-ur-imin-an-ki*, 'house of the seven planets (literally 'governors') of heaven and earth,' while that at Erech was *E-gipar-ur*, 'house of seven zones.' Similarly, *E-temen-an-ki*, 'the foundation stone of heaven and earth,' the name of Marduk's *ziḳḳurat* at Babylon, conveys a cosmological conception of a more specific character, while *E-pa*, 'the summit house,' the name of the *ziḳḳurat* at Shirpurla, embodies merely the idea of great height, and *E-gubba-an-ki*, 'the point of heaven and earth,' the name of a *ziḳḳurat* in Dilbat, combines again the original idea of great height with speculations regarding 'the mountain of the world.'

If, now, we find temples, pure and simple, bearing names connected with the idea of mountain heights, it is evident that such nomenclature is dependent upon the names given to the *ziḳḳurats*, and that, even though temples may be as old in the Euphrates Valley as *ziḳḳurats*, it is the *ziḳḳurat* which acquires predominant significance as the characteristic sanctuary. Whether every sanctuary contained at the top a shrine where the image of the god was placed—as described by Herodotus—is a question that cannot be answered definitely. If there was an ascent leading to the top, it is natural to conclude that the ascent was made, and that some symbol of sanctity was to be found there. But the evidence is overwhelming, that in later times it was to the temples—the large structures with courts and halls for worshippers—that the people repaired, while the *ziḳḳurat* survived as a religious symbol,—rather than as the active expression of the desire for communion with the gods. The interesting suggestion has recently been thrown out,[*] that around the base of the *ziḳḳurats* the Babylonians were accustomed to bury their dead. But it could only have been the privileged few, as in the case of the 'pyramid' burials of Egypt, to whom such a sacred site was assigned as their last resting-place; and the custom could only have arisen at a time when the original purpose of the *ziḳḳurats* was obscured by the greater and more active prominence assumed by the temples.

As yet the excavations conducted in Babylonia and Assyria have not succeeded in furnishing us with definite material for determining more than the general character of the Babylonian temples. In the case of large centres such as Nippur, Sippar, Babylon, and Nineveh, there developed an entire sacred area, or quarter, which took its name from the chief edifice. So at Nippur, *E-kur* is not merely the name for the temple of Bel or En-lil, but for a large quarter of the city, in which stood sanctuaries and chapels erected to various gods and goddesses. At Nippur and at Babylon all the great gods and goddesses were thus represented, forming, as it were, the court gathered around the chief deity. The sacred area of E-kur at Nippur is estimated to have covered eight acres, and that of E-sagila at Babylon, at which excavations are now being conducted, was probably much greater. Near the *ziḳḳurat* stood the sanctuary of the chief god, surrounded by a large court, and, if one may draw a general conclusion from two small Assyrian temples excavated by Layard at Nimrod,[*] the main features of the temple proper were a long hall leading into a small room, and the 'holy of holies,' known as the *papakhu* or *parakku*, in which stood the image of the god or goddess, as the case might be. Into this sacred chamber none but the priests, or a worshipper accompanied by a priest, were permitted to enter.[†] In front of the image stood the altar to the god; but it is likely that in the larger room, as well as in the open court around the sanctuary, altars were also placed for the regular and ordinary sacrifices, the penetration into the 'holy of holies' being restricted to special occasions, and probably also to privileged individuals, besides the priests, and absolutely forbidden to the general masses. At Nippur two large divisions appear to have existed within the sacred area—one devoted perhaps to the chapels and sanctuaries of the deities (according to a tablet, no fewer than 24[‡]) that were worshipped in Nippur; the other reserved for the *ziḳḳurat*, the temple of Bel proper, and possibly for the dwellings of the priests, the temple treasury, and the like.

Apart from this feature of the temples of Babylonia and Assyria in the large centres, which made them gathering-places for the worship of other deities besides the one to whom the entire area was sacred, the position of the priests as judges and scribes led to the extension of the temple area for other than strictly religious purposes. Not only were the courts of justice established within the sacred place, but commercial agreements were drawn up there in the presence of priests acting as scribes; and all transactions involving money matters, such as marriage-settlements, registering of wills, agreements between landlord and tenant, sale of slaves, houses, fields and crops, building contracts, hiring of ships, workmen, and the like, came before the priests, in whose presence, likewise, all legal disputes and lawsuits were adjudicated. Within the temple area the legal archives of the country were kept, and the public treasury was under the control of the representatives of religion. More than this, the temple organizations acquired large holdings of lands and property, and themselves engaged in commercial transactions on a large scale. The legal archives, found in such centres as Sippar, Shirpurla, and Nippur, reveal indeed an astonishing activity of the temples in this direction. Large bodies of labourers were indentured to the temples, and slaves were owned or controlled by the priests acting as the accredited agents of some temple organization. These labourers and slaves were in turn hired out by the temples; banks were established in connexion with the temples, and hundreds of tablets have been found recording sums lent on interest, accounts of the temple in disposing of crops, in renting fields, selling and buying cattle, and dealing with all the branches of barter and exchange in which lay merchants were engaged.* Such a state of affairs aided materially, not only in promoting the importance of the temples, but in maintaining the influence of the priests, to whose more specifically religious functions we now turn.

---

[*] Hilprecht, *Explorations in Bible Lands*, p. 465 f.

[*] *Discoveries among the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon* (London, 1857), plan 2.

[†] For a pictorial representation of a king being led into the presence of the sun-god by a priest, see Bezold, *Nineveh und Babylon* (Leipzig 1903), p. 87. On seal-cylinders similar scenes are frequently depicted.

[‡] Hilprecht, *l.c.* 480.

The political growth of both Babylonia and Assyria contributed directly towards making the religious position of the priests more secure. Military enterprises were never undertaken without consulting the wish of the gods by means of omens and oracles. In like manner, the masses, imitating the example of their royal masters, repaired to the temples before setting out on a journey, or before building a house, or in order to secure relief from suffering, to avert impending disaster, or to seek for the interpretation of all strange and unusual occurrences. From being originally the guardians of small shrines and sanctuaries, erected as the dwelling-places of the gods represented by images placed in the most sacred part of the edifice, the priests thus became, and continued to be, the guides, physicians, and counsellors of the king and of his subjects.

The general term for 'priest' was *shangû*, the meaning of which is not certain,† but with the growth of the temples into large establishments a differentiation of priestly functions took place, and we can distinguish three chief classes: *bârû*, 'soothsayer *or* omen priest'; *âshipu*, 'exorcizer'; and *zammaru*, 'singer.' Each of these classes was probably further subdivided so as to provide for continuous attendance at the shrines. The special duties pertaining to each class are clearly indicated by their names, the *bârû* being the priest versed in the interpretation of omens, the *âshipu* the one by whom the demons and witches were exorcized, and the *zammaru* the designation for the body of priests who conducted the service proper at festivals and in connexion with the sacrifices. But besides these three general classes there must have been others to whom the other functions carried on by the priests were assigned. Such designations for 'priest,' as *munambû* = 'wailer,' *lallaru* = 'howler,' indicate that 'dirge-singers' formed a special subdivision, who chanted the lamentations for the dead.

The instruction of aspirants to the temple service was another important function. This led to the institution of schools, and the numerous tablets for exercise and practice, found in Assurbanipal's library, and in other collections of which fragments are now known to us, introduce us to the methods perfected in these schools. Beginning with the simple acquirements of reading and writing, the exercises led step by step to acquaintance with astrological, medical, and judicial lore, as well as to initiation into the interpretation of omens, methods of divination and exorcizing, sacrificial details, the ritual to be observed on various occasions, and knowledge of the doctrines taught by the theologians.*

While as yet we know little of the details of the organization of the priesthood at the great temples, beyond the fact of its general divisions, and the existence of a 'high-priest' who exercised a measure of authority over all, it is interesting to note that, as among the Hebrews, certain qualifications were required on the part of those who wished to devote themselves to the priesthood. They had to be sound in mind and body, and well proportioned. The leper was excluded, as well as any one who had a bodily defect: a mutilated limb, defective eyesight, or even the lack of a full set of teeth, appears to have been sufficient to exclude one from the priesthood.† The chief classes among the priests formed a kind of guild composed of certain families. To this guild none but members of these families were admitted; but such restrictions do not seem to have applied to the large body of attendants who performed the menial duties in the great temples, or who were engaged in connexion with their business affairs.

A feature of the Babylonian priesthood which calls for some mention is the presence of women in the priestly service. Gudea refers to 'wailing women' in one of his inscriptions. We have had occasion to refer to oracles furnished by women,‡ and in historical and votive inscriptions of various periods women attached to the service of some god or other are not infrequently mentioned. While such priestesses are by no means limited to temples dedicated to goddesses, Shamash priestesses being particularly prominent, it would appear that as devotees to the service of the great goddess Ishtar in her temples in the south, as at Erech, Agade, and Babylon, as well as in the north, at Nineveh and Arbela, they retained positions of influence throughout all periods, though the general observation may be made, that this position is more prominent in the earlier than in the later periods. The names for 'priestesses' were: *Ḳadishtu*, 'holy one'; *kharimtu*, which embodies a similar idea of being 'set aside'; *shamkhatu*, 'pleasure maiden'; and *kizritu*, the meaning of which is not known.§ Priestesses appear also to have been employed in connexion with certain mysterious rites practised in the temples, to symbolize the fertility for which the goddess Ishtar stood, though it should be added that no references have as yet been found in the religious literature to justify Herodotus' statement (i. 199) that obscene rites formed part of the regular Ishtar cult.

Abundant as is the material now at our disposal for a study of the religious rites and ceremonies observed in Babylonia and Assyria, it is not sufficient to enable us to reconstruct in detail the ritual observed in the temples in connexion with the offering of sacrifices, the seeking of oracles, the interpretation of omens, and the homage to the gods on festive occasions. All that we can do at present is, by piecing together the references to the cult scattered through the historical literature, and by combining these references with data furnished by the religious texts, to present a general picture of the different phases of the cult carried on at the temples of Babylonia and Assyria.

As in other religions of antiquity which had reached an advanced stage of organization, sacrifices, both of animals and of vegetable products, played the most prominent part in the official cult. Gudea, in one of his inscriptions,[*] furnishes us with a long list of offerings made by him. These include oxen, sheep, goats, lambs, fish, birds (*e.g.* eagles, doves, etc.), and such products as dates, milk, and greens. From other sources we may add gazelles, wine, butter, honey, garlic, corn, herbs, oil, spices, and incense. The list itself shows that the conception of sacrifice had advanced from mere homage to the gods to providing an income for the needs of the temple service. While there are some traces in the Babylonian religion pointing to the existence, at one time, of the conception of sacrifice as a meal to be shared by the worshipper with his deity,[†] this stage had long been passed before the days of Gudea (*c.* 3000 B.C.). The organization of the priesthood, with the various functions of the priests above set forth, necessitated a system that might secure to the temples a regular income; and the frequent references to tithes in the tablets forming part of the temple archives, and even to monthly tributes, indicate a fixed system of taxes levied upon the people. The sacrifice, which invariably accompanies the act of consulting the priest for any particular purpose, falls likewise within the category of an assessment for the service rendered, and not a merely voluntary offering or a ritualistic observance, though such an observance is also a factor involved. The pure homage to the gods, by virtue of this development of the cult, was reserved largely for the priests, who, on their part, offered a daily sacrifice, as well as on stated occasions during the year, to ensure the goodwill of the gods in whose service they were. We have indeed reason to believe that, in the large temples, sacrifices of animals were brought twice every day —in the morning and in the evening; but in the case of these sacrifices, likewise, only certain portions were consumed on the altar, while the rest belonged to the priests.

---

* See Peiser's account of the financial side of the temple establishments, in the Introduction to his *Babylonische Verträge des Berliner Museums* (Berlin 1890), pp. xvii–xxix.

† Zimmern's suggestion (*Keilinschriften u. d. Alte Test.* p. 590, note 7) of 'the *raging* or *howling* one' is not plausible. More probable is Jensen's view (*Zeitschr. f. Assyr.* vii. 174) that it is a compound of *ša naḳî*, 'the one over the sacrifice'; but this theory also involves difficulties of a grammatical character.

* See an article by the present writer, 'The Textbook Literature of the Babylonians' (*Biblical World*, 1897, pp. 248–268, and chap. 3 of Scheil's *Une Saison de Fouilles à Sippar*.

† See Zimmern's Introduction to part ii. of his *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Babylonischen Religion*, p. 87.

‡ See above, p. 557ᵃ.

§ *Ḳadishtu* is of frequent occurrence; *kizritu* occurs as early as the days of Ḫammurabi (King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Ḫammurabi*, vol. i. No. 34); while the three last named in the list are found in the Gilgamesh epic (Tablet vi. ll. 184, 185).

Besides the tithes and the regular sacrifices, there were frequent occasions—as after a victory, or at the rebuilding of a sacred edifice, or the reinstitution of a temple cult, which, for some reason, had suffered interruption—when the rulers bestowed liberal gifts, or pledged themselves to a regular offering of animals, produce of the fields, garments, ornaments, and the like,—all of which helped to swell the income of the temples. Gifts of various kinds, and votive tablets of precious stone or of precious metals, are also frequently referred to as having been presented to the temples by State officials, and by individuals in their private capacity, so that the element of personal homage to the gods did not entirely disappear in the ever-increasing share taken by the official cult in the performance of religious rites.

There were also certain occasions of the year when the people repaired to the temples to join in the homage to be rendered to the gods. Indeed the religious calendars drawn up by the Babylonian priests[‡] show that in the course of time every day of the year was invested with some significance; but, in addition to this, there were certain months and certain days set aside for special homage to some god or goddess. Thus the sixth and eleventh months — Elul and Shebat — appear to have been sacred to Ninib.[§] This same sixth month was observed as a sacred period in honour of Ishtar. At the temple to Shamash in Sippar we learn of six days in the year[*]—the 7th day of Nisan (first month), 10th of Iyyar (second month), 3rd of Elul (sixth month), 7th of Tishri (seventh month), 15th of Arakhshamna (eighth month), and the 15th of Adar (twelfth month)— that were invested with a special significance. There are two festivals, however, that appear to have been particularly prominent from the oldest period down to the latest days — the New Year's festival, celebrated for a period of eleven days during the month of Nisan, which fell in the spring; and the festival of Tammuz, which occurred in the fourth month.

The New Year's Day, known as *Zagmuk*, is referred to in the inscriptions of Gudea, and is there declared to be in honour of the solar deity Nin-girsu and of his consort Bau, who occupies at this time, in the district controlled by Gudea, the position which afterwards was reserved for Ishtar. The spring, as the period when nature awakens to fresh life, when fertility, interrupted by the long season of rain and storms, once more manifests its power, would naturally be associated with a solar deity and with the mother-goddess; but when, at a subsequent period, Marduk was advanced to a position at the head of the pantheon, the honours of the New Year's celebration were transferred to him. The festival season in the month of Nisan was known as *Akîtu*, whereas the term *Zagmuk* proper is applicable only to the first day. Gifts to Bau marked the day in Gudea's time, whereas, in the days of Marduk's supremacy, a formal procession of the gods, headed by Marduk, along the sacred street of Babylon,[†] was one of the chief features. In accordance with the views developed in the schools of Babylon, Marduk was supposed to hold an assembly of the chief gods extending from the 8th to the 11th day of the sacred month, for the purpose of deciding the fate of individuals during the coming year. In this way a more distinctively religious character was given to an occasion which was originally an agricultural festival, marking the beginning of seed-time in the spring.

Likewise of popular origin was the festival of Tammuz, the youthful consort of Ishtar, who is slain by the goddess. The death of Tammuz symbolizes the approaching end of the summer season. Ishtar, though the producer of fertility, cannot maintain it beyond a certain period, and the change of seasons was popularly interpreted as due to the cruelty of the goddess, who deceives the youthful Tammuz—a solar deity, symbolizing more particularly the sun-god of spring-time—and, after gaining his love, destroys his life. Tammuz disappears in the fourth month of the year, and in his place comes Nergal, the violent and raging summer sun, which consumes everything with his fiercely burning rays, and in whose wake follow disease and pestilence. To this festival a more distinctively religious turn was likewise given by the Babylonian theologians, through making it a kind of 'All Souls' Day' for the commemoration of the dead. Dirges were sung by the wailing women, to the accompaniment of musical instruments, and offerings were made to the dead. This Tammuz festival appears to have been common to several branches of the Semites, though its spread and continuance throughout the Semitic world may have been due directly to Babylonian influences. The Tammuz cult was maintained till a late day by the Phœnicians, among whom the youthful god was known as *Adonis*; and there is an interesting reference in Ezekiel (8^{14}), showing that the Hebrews also continued to observe the Tammuz festival, just as the Greek population of Asia Minor yielded to Semitic influences, and incorporated the Babylonian nature myth with their own mythology.

---

[*] Inscription G, cols. iii.-vi. (de Sarzec, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pl. 13.

[†] See W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites* (2nd ed. London, 1894), Lectures vi.-ix.

[‡] See, *e.g.*, Rawlinson, iv.^{2} pl. 32, 33; v. pl. 48, 49.

[§] Rawlinson, i. 23, col. ii. 134.

[*] Rawlinson, v. 61, col. v. 51-vi. 8.

[†] Now excavated by the German expedition. See *Mittheilungen der Deutschen Orient. Gesellschaft*, No. 6.

The frequent references to the sense of guilt, and the emphasis laid upon a penitent spirit, both in the Incantation texts and Hymns, and more particularly in that subdivision of the religious literature known as the Penitential Psalms,* show that the Babylono-Assyrian religion must have had its sombre aspects; and at times the impression is left, that constant fear of the gods and of the demons and evil spirits overshadowed confidence in the goodwill and favour of the superior powers. The chief festival of the year after the supremacy of Babylon as the capital of the country—the *Akîtu*—was of a decidedly serious character; and in a religious calendar,† setting forth in detail the specific character of each day, whether unfavourable or favourable, the unfavourable days on the whole predominate. All the festivals of the Babylonians and Assyrians, so far as our knowledge goes, partake, to a greater or less extent, of the nature of 'penitential' occasions, appropriate for securing, by the manifestation of a contrite spirit and by expiatory rites, the favour of the gods. Even in the joyful words of the hymns sung on these occasions in honour of the gods there is an undertone of sadness, occasioned by the dread lest at any moment the gods may change their favour into wrath.

In keeping with this general character of the religion, we find that, at least in two months—the 6th and 8th—of the year, no fewer than five days in each‡—the 7th, 14th, 19th, 21st, and 28th—were set aside as 'evil days,' on which priests and rulers had to observe special precautions in order not to provoke the gods to anger. The priest was not to furnish oracles on those days, the physician (likewise a priest) was not to attempt a cure, while the ruler was not to put on his festive robes, nor to mount his chariot, nor to eat food prepared by fire, nor to announce any official decisions. Such days appear to have been known as 'days of pacification,'§ a designation expressing the hope of the worshippers rather than the real character of the occasions; and, while it is not certain that the term *shabattu* (or *shapattu*) was also applied to these days, it seems likely that this was the case.‖ At all events, we know that the Babylonians used the term *shabattu* to designate a 'day of pacification'; and there are good reasons for believing that the Sabbath of the Hebrews, which must stand in some relationship to the Babylonian rite, originally had a sombre and penitential character, and that it subsequently underwent a total transformation by making the *shabattu* in the literal sense 'a day of rest' for God, and then, in imitation of the Divine example, for mankind also.

Whether these same five days were observed in the other months of the Babylonian calendar, is again a question that cannot be answered definitely. It seems, likely, however, that such was the case, and, if not those days, there were at all events some days in each month that were designated as 'evil ones.'

Both for joyous and for sombre occasions sacrifices were enjoined, coupled with prayers, but the details as to the specific kind of sacrifices chosen for the various occasions are still unknown to us. Accompanying the sacrifice of animals there were libations and incense-offerings; and, from the numerous terms found in Babylonian conveying the idea of sacrifices of one kind or another, it is evident that there were a variety of classes of sacrifice which must have corresponded, in a general way, to the subdivisions enumerated in the religious codes of the Hebrews.*

Summary and General Estimate.—If we judge the Babylono-Assyrian religion from the point of view of the general character of the civilizations developed in ancient times, it may fairly be said that, with one exception, it represents on its best side the high-water mark of ancient thought. That exception is the Hebrew religion, which, by reason of the supreme emphasis which, as a consequence of the teachings of the pre-exilic and exilic prophets, was laid upon the ethical conception of the Divine government of the Universe, took an entirely unique direction. The religious literature produced in Babylonia transcends in variety, extent, and depth that which arose in Babylonia's great rival—Egypt. The influence of this literature may be measured by the traces of Babylonian conceptions, Babylonian myths, and Babylonian customs and rites to be found in the pages of the Old Testament. For, while a protest must be entered on purely scientific grounds against endeavours to carry back specifically Jewish ideas and institutions to Babylonian prototypes, merely because of resemblances that may in part be accidental; yet the general thesis may be maintained, that an understanding of the Hebrew religion is impossible without a constant consideration of the religion and culture that were developed in the Euphrates Valley. The stories in Genesis embodying traditions of the creation of the world and of the early fortunes of mankind, contain fragments of Babylonian myths, the specifically Hebrew contribution consisting in the interpretations put upon traditions which, largely through Babylonian influence, became current throughout the Semitic world, and from the Semites spread to other nations. Again, in the Hebrew codes, both as regards the purely legal portions and those sections dealing with religious ritual, Babylonian methods of legal procedure and the ritual developed in the Babylonian temples must be taken into consideration as determining factors.† And when we come to New Testament times we have not yet passed beyond the sphere of Babylonian influence,‡ though here likewise caution must be exercised lest we vitiate the results of a legitimate comparative method by straining it beyond proper bounds.

We have seen throughout this article that a distinction must be made between popular conceptions and the attempts of the priests to systematize these conceptions, leading to the establishment of a more or less fixed body of doctrines regarding the relationship of the gods to one another and to their worshippers. As a result of the influence exerted by the theologians upon popular beliefs, the local cults, both in the large centres and in the smaller places, gradually lost their distinctive character; and the numerous gods, who once enjoyed an independent and individual character, came to be regarded as aspects or forms or specific manifestations of one or another of the limited number of great gods, who as a whole represent the deities worshipped in sanctuaries which for political or other reasons acquired great prominence. A movement of this kind led to the identification of practically all the goddesses (except those who were merely the consorts of male gods) as forms of one great goddess, Ishtar. This process likewise gave rise to a large number of names, all representing some phase of the solar deity, and paved the way for the grouping of those great gods as a kind of court around one who was regarded as presiding over the assembly. At an early period, lying as yet beyond our ken, Ea, the chief deity of Eridu, appears to have occupied this position. Within historic times, we know that En-lil or Bel, the 'lord' of Nippur, enjoyed this distinction at a time when his centre of worship was also the seat of a powerful succession of rulers, who controlled a large portion of the Euphrates Valley. From En-lil this supremacy appears to have been passed on to Ninib, but after the union of the Babylonian States, and the transfer of the political centre to the city of Babylon, the local deity Marduk usurped the place once occupied by Ea and Bel, and retained it, despite sporadic attempts to restore the old Bel to power, until the end of the New Babylonian empire.

---

* See above, p. 566.

† Rawlinson, v. pl. 48 and 49.

‡ Rawlinson, iv.^{2} pl. 32–33*.

§ Lit. 'days of rest for the heart.'

‖ See the recent discussion of the question by Zimmern, *Keilinschriften u. das Alte Test.* pp. 592–594.

* See, especially, Lv 1–7.

† For a sober and careful discussion of Babylonian influences in the legal portions of the Pentateuchal codes, S. A. Cook's *The Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi* (London, 1903) is to be especially recommended.

‡ See, in connexion with this subject, an article by Gunkel, entitled 'Religio-Historical Interpretation of the New Testament' in the *Monist* for April 1903, also the same writer's *Schöpfung und Chaos* (Göttingen, 1895), pp. 379–398; Zimmern, *Keilinschriften u. d. Alte Testament*, especially pp. 377–395, and the same author's *Keilinschriften und Bibel* (Leipzig, 1903).

More important, however, for its influence upon the development of religious thought than the question which deity was to be regarded as the head, was the establishment, among the masses, of the view that *one* particular deity deserved to be regarded as superior to the rest; and it is reasonable to suppose that in the course of time such a view would lead to considering Marduk as concentrating in his person the powers and attributes possessed by the members of his court. In Assyria, less influenced by persistent traditions than Babylonia, this view gave to the chief of the northern pantheon, Ashur, a position entirely unique; and, even to a larger degree than Marduk in the south, Ashur was regarded as the one god with whom practically the fate of the country and of individuals rested. Had the Babylonian and Assyrian theologians been able to conceive of the head of the pantheon as a distinctively ethical power, governing the Universe by laws based upon justice and profound distinctions of right,—nay, as the very source of righteousness and of the moral order of the Universe,—Ashur or Marduk might have developed, as did the national Jahweh of the Hebrews, into the one universal Power. That step, however, was not taken either in Babylonia or in Assyria. The limitation of the religious thought of the leaders and of the masses is marked by the circumstance that, while the attributes of the chief gods are concentrated in one, who thus becomes stronger, more powerful than the others, he is not invested with any traits of a more spiritual character. Ashur, indeed, becomes nothing more than a great war-lord of irresistible force, who protects his lands and subjects, but whose mercy and interest are not extended to nations that do not come within his sphere. Marduk, again, though showing milder traits, remains merely the greatest among the gods of Babylonia, and gradually disappears as his great sanctuary E-sagila crumbles to pieces. The God of the Hebrew prophets alone survives the decline and destruction of His central seat of worship.

But, while these limitations in the Babylono-Assyrian conception of Divine government are to be recognized, it must not be supposed that ethical traits were entirely wanting in the views formed of the gods, and more particularly of Marduk and Ashur. A great civilization can be produced only by a people imbued with an ethical as well as an intellectual spirit. It is no accidental circumstance that Ḫammurabi, the founder of the Babylonian empire in the full sense of the term, was also the one to gather the laws of the country into a great Code,[*] and he bases his claim to the gratitude of posterity upon his desire to diffuse righteousness throughout his land. This Code itself, dating from *c.* 2250 B.C., is the most striking evidence of the ethical soundness and moral aspirations of the Babylonians; and, if it be borne in mind that the predecessors of Ḫammurabi also emphasize their ambition to promote the happiness of their subjects, it will be apparent that we cannot form too high an estimate of the ethical spirit pervading the population of the Euphrates Valley from the earliest historical period known to us.

Taking Ḫammurabi's Code as a basis, it is important to observe that it provides for the rights of women as well as of men, that throughout it seeks to protect the weak against the tyranny of the strong, that it not only provides for punishment of crimes according to certain principles of equity (even though these are different from those which a modern nation would adopt), but takes into consideration the motives that prompt to acts in themselves illegal. Thus illegal claims are punished with a fine, but, if it can be proved that the claimant had the intention to defraud, a severer punishment, and, as a general rule, the death penalty, was imposed. The rights of the father over his wife and children, and of the master over his slave, are so regulated as to prevent tyranny and cruelty. The *lex talionis* is applied with a logical severity which does not stop short at apparently absurd conclusions,—as when it is provided that a physician, who instead of curing brings about the death of a patient or the loss of an organ, is held responsible for the result, and punished according to the position occupied by the victim of his lack of skill. The thousands of commercial and legal tablets found in the archives of Babylonian and Assyrian temples, and dating from the days of Sargon and Gudea down to the era of the Greek occupation, prove that the provisions of the legal codes, of which that of Ḫammurabi is only one instance of several that were compiled, were also carried out. Those tablets show the great care exercised in drawing up agreements between parties, and the endeavours of the judges to decide disputed cases brought before them by a careful sifting of the evidence and by strict standards of equity. In the religious literature, likewise, stress is laid upon right conduct as a preliminary to securing the favour and help of the gods, and the 'Penitential Psalms' furnish a further proof, if such were needed, of the intensity of the sense and consciousness of guilt.

Even among the Assyrians, despite the martial spirit shown by their kings and the cruelties practised by them in their incessant warfare, the ethical spirit was not lacking. Such kings as Sargon, Sennacherib, and Assurbanipal, who stand forth as the exponents of Assyria's ambition to extend her dominion by force of arms over distant lands, pride themselves upon having instituted righteous enactments, and claim to be the establishers of law, order, and justice; and, while the desire for self-glorification may have been one of the factors prompting Assurbanipal to gather within his palace walls copies of the literary productions of the south, the fact that he did this for the benefit of his subjects, as he expressly tells us,

[*] See art. CODE OF ḪAMMURABI in present vol. p. 584 ff.; and cf. Scheil, *Textes Élamites-Sémitiques*, ii. (Paris, 1902), with French translation: also in a revised edition, *La Loi de Hammourabi* (Paris, 1903); F. Mari, *Il Codice di Hammurabi e la Bibbia* (Rome, 1903); G. Cohn, *Die Gesetze Hammurabis* (Zürich, 1903); J. Jeremias, *Moses und Hammurabi* (Leipzig, 1903); Johns, *The Oldest Code of Laws in the World* (Edinburgh, 1903); R. F. Harper, *The Code of Ḫammurabi* (autograph text, transliteration, translation, glossary, etc.), 1904; and the German translations of Winckler, Peiser, and Müller, as well as Cook's discussion of the Code above referred to.

indicates that there were other factors at work of a higher order.

The Code of Ḥammurabi has its decided limitations. Many of its provisions are cruel, bordering almost upon barbarous viciousness. But it must be borne in mind that even the more humanitarian Pentateuchal codes are not free from enactments which, from the modern point of view, are reprehensible, as, *e.g.*, the putting to death of the woman suspected of witchcraft. Again, in the provisions made by the courts for the settlement of disputes, methods are followed which do not commend themselves to us. But, down to a late period in European countries, debtors had but little mercy shown them when brought into court, and miscarriages of justice occur frequently in our own day. Moreover, it can hardly be urged, in view of the elaborate and ever-growing provisions made by modern legislative bodies against all manner of crimes, frauds, and encroachments on the rights of others, that the necessity for regulating all legal and commercial transactions by formal contracts—which is a characteristic feature of Babylonian and Assyrian civilization—points to the laxity of the moral sense in these ancient centres.

On the whole, it will be found that the Babylono-Assyrian religion exercised a wholesome influence upon the people, who at all times showed a marked devotion to their gods. It is perfectly true that the practices of the cult were, down to the latest days, linked to beliefs of a crude and primitive character, of which the Incantation texts and the Omen literature represent the natural outcome; but the speculations of the theologians, and the cosmological and astrological system perfected by them, must be taken as an evidence of the higher possibilities of the religion. Religious practices in all religions are apt to lag behind doctrines and speculations, and the test by which a religion should be tried is not so much what it was or even what it is, as what it aimed to be, or under more favourable circumstances might have become. Applying this test, the religion of Babylonia and Assyria stands out among ancient religions as the one that approaches nearest to that phase from which there eventually came forth three of the most important Faiths of mankind—Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.

LITERATURE.—1. *GENERAL WORKS.*—The writer begs to explain that in mentioning his own work, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (Boston, 1898), first, he does so because it happens to be the only complete treatise on the subject that has as yet appeared. A German edition of this work, entirely revised, to a very large extent rewritten, and with copious additions and new translations of the religious literature, is now in course of publication under the title *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* (J. Ricker, Giessen). Up to the present (March 1904), six parts have been issued, and the work will be completed in about eleven parts, with an extra portfolio of appropriate illustrations. Professor Sayce's two works, *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians* (Hibbert Lectures, London, 1887), and *The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia* (Gifford Lectures; Edinburgh, 1902), while containing many interesting suggestions, do not aim at covering the entire field. The former work, moreover, is now antiquated to a large extent, and the latter is concerned more with a speculative elucidation of the 'conception of the Divine' among the Babylonians than with the details of the religion. Among shorter sketches, those of C. P. Tiele, 'Die Religion in Babylonien und Assyrien' [being pages 127–216 of part i. of his *Geschichte der Religion im Alterthum* (Gotha, 1895), translated from the Dutch edition (Amsterdam, 1893)], and Friedrich Jeremias, 'Die Babylonier und Assyrier' in Chantepie de la Saussaye's *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte* (2nd ed. Freiburg i. B. 1897), vol. i. pp. 163–221, are to be specially commended. Of a later date, and therefore replacing these earlier sketches to a certain extent, are L. W. King's little volume on *Babylonian Religion and Mythology* (London, 1899), and Domenico Bassi, *Mitologia Babilonese-Assira* (Milan, 1899). Alfred Jeremias' articles on the various gods of the Babylono-Assyrian Pantheon (Marduk, Ninib, Nergal, Ea (Oannes), Nusku, etc.) in Roscher's *Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie* are also to be highly recommended.

2. *RELIGIOUS TEXTS.*—Besides the collections of religious texts in the publications of the British Museum, more particularly in the fourth volume of *A Selection from the Miscellaneous Inscriptions of Western Asia*, ed. by H. C. Rawlinson (2nd ed. London, 1891), and in parts 13 to 17 (last issued) of *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc. in the British Museum*, under the general editorship of E. A. Wallis Budge (London, 1901–1903), and the invaluable Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum by Carl Bezold, 5 vols. (London, 1889–1899), the following publications merit special mention:—H. Zimmern, *Babylonische Busspsalmen* (Leipzig, 1885), same author's *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Babylonischen Religion: (a) Beschwörungstafeln Shurpu, (b) Ritualtafeln für den Wahrsager, Beschwörer, und Sänger* (Leipzig, 1901; texts with translation and commentary); K. L. Tallqvist, *Die Assyrische Beschwörungsserie Maqlû* (Leipzig, 1895); J. A. Knudtzon, *Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott für Staat und königliches Haus aus der Zeit Asarhaddons und Assurbanipals* (2 vols. Leipzig, 1893); J. A. Craig, *Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts* (2 vols. Leipzig, 1895–1897), of which transliterations and translations into French are furnished by François Martin, *Textes Religieux Assyriens et Babyloniens* (two publications, (*a*) Paris, 1900, (*b*) Paris, 1903, both under the same title—the former covering vol. ii., the latter vol. i., of Craig's texts); Geo. Reisner, *Sumerisch-Babylonische Hymnen nach Thontafeln Griechischer Zeit* (Berlin, 1896); L. W. King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery* (London, 1896); R. C. Thompson, *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia* (2 vols. London, 1903–1904), translations of incantation series in parts 16 and 17 of *Cuneiform Texts*, etc.; C. Fossey, *La Magie Assyrienne* (Paris, 1902), embodying translations of the greater portion of the fourth volume of the Rawlinson series above referred to, and other texts; A. Boissier, *Documents Assyriens relatifs aux présages* (Paris, 1894–1897, in course of publication); J. A. Craig, *Astrological-Astronomical Texts* (Leipzig, 1899); Ch. Virolleaud, *L'Astrologie Chaldéene* (Paris, 1903, in course of publication); R. C. Thompson, *The Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon* (2 vols. London, 1900).

3. *COSMOLOGY, LEGENDS, ETC.*—L. W. King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation, or the Babylonian and Assyrian Legends concerning the Creation of the World and of Mankind* (2 vols. London, 1902), latest and best translation based on the most complete collection of fragments of the various versions; translations of the Creation story, and of all the important legends, and of the Gilgamesh epic, are given in P. Jensen's 'Mythen und Epen' (Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. vi. 1st part, Berlin, 1900; 2nd part not yet published). Of fundamental importance is the same author's *Kosmologie der Babylonier: Studien und Materialen* (Strassburg, 1890), which marked the beginning of the systematic study of Babylonian cosmology. Cf. Friedrich Delitzsch, *Das Babylonische Weltschöpfungsepos* (Leipzig, 1896); Paul Haupt, *Das Babylonische Nimrodepos* (2 vols. Leipzig, 1891); Edward T. Harper, 'Die Babylonische Legenden von Etana, Zu, Adapa, und Dibbarra' in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, Bd. ii. pp. 390–521. See also the translations of selected texts (including Creation story, legends, etc.) in *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature*, ed. by R. F. Harper (New York, 1901), pp. 282–444.

4. *LIFE AFTER DEATH.*—Besides the chapters in the general works on the Babylono-Assyrian religion, cf. Alfred Jeremias, *Die Babylonisch-Assyrischen Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode* (Leipzig, 1887, 2nd ed. announced); and the same author's 'Hölle und Paradies bei den Babyloniern' (*Der Alte Orient*, i. 3, Leipzig, 1900; 2nd ed. 1903).

5. *GENERAL CHARACTER AND BEARINGS ON THE OLD TESTAMENT.*—Out of the mass of literature on the subject, the following are intended to represent merely a selection that will serve as an introduction to the main phases of the subject and of the problems involved:—Schrader's *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* ^{2}, 1883 [English translation by O. C. Whitehouse, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, London, 1885–1888], is still of value as a collection of material, though superseded for the Creation story by King's work above referred to; the 3rd ed. of Schrader's work (Berlin, 1902–1903), by Hugo Winckler and H. Zimmern, is an entirely new work—the first part embodying Winckler's views of the bearings of Babylonian records on the Geography of Palestine and History of the Hebrews, which are based on theories and speculations that remain to be tested; the second part being a most careful and valuable survey of the material for the study of the Babylonian religion by H. Zimmern, with constant reference to the certain and possible bearings both on the Old and the New Testament. See also Zimmern's 'Babylonische und Biblische Urgeschichte' (*Der Alte Orient*, ii.^{2} Leipzig, 3rd ed. 1903) [also in English translation, *The Babylonian and the Hebrew Genesis*, London, 1901]. In connexion with Professor Fried. Delitzsch's two lectures on *Babel und Bibel*, Leipzig, 1902–1903 [English translation by C. H. W. Johns, *Babel and Bible*, Edinburgh, 1903], cf. the monographs of Bezold, *Die Babylonisch-Assyrischen Keilinschriften und ihre Bedeutung für das Alte Testament* (Tübingen, 1904); Zimmern, *Keilinschriften und Bibel* (Berlin, 1903); C. F. Lehmann, *Babyloniens Kulturmission einst und jetzt* (Leipzig, 1903); Alfred Jeremias, *Im Kampfe um Babel und Bibel* (4th ed. Leipzig, 1903). For the Literature on the Excavations conducted in Babylonia and Assyria, and for general and special works on the History and general Culture, see the articles ASSYRIA and BABYLONIA in vol. i. of this Dictionary; to the references there given should now be added: R. W. Rogers, *History of Babylonia and Assyria* (New York, 1901), the most complete as yet published; the shorter history of Geo. S. Goodspeed, *History of Babylonia and Assyria* (New York, 1902); and Winckler's sketch in vol. iii. of Helmolt's *History of the World* [English translation, New York, 1902]. For a general

account of the Babylono-Assyrian culture, Bezold's admirably written and profusely illustrated work, *Ninive und Babylon* (2nd ed. Leipzig, 1903), is to be highly recommended as superseding Kaulen's *Assyrien und Babylonien*, the 5th edition of which (Freiburg, 1899) is not brought down to date, and is therefore of little use; while, for the general Babylono-Assyrian Literature, Teloni's manual, *Letteratura Assira* (Milan, 1903), may be mentioned as the latest survey of the field.

MORRIS JASTROW, Jr.

CODE OF ḪAMMURABI.—

- I. HISTORY AND ANALYSIS.
  - i. *DISCOVERY OF THE CODE.*
  - ii. *LITERATURE CALLED FORTH BY THE DISCOVERY.*
    - 1. *Editio princeps* of the Code.
    - 2. Versions and notices.
  - iii. *IMPORTANCE OF THE INSCRIPTION.*
  - iv. *ḪAMMURABI'S LIFE AND REIGN.*
    - 1. The sources.
    - 2. Ḫammurabi's genealogy.
    - 3. „ nationality.
    - 4. „ name.
    - 5. „ date, and the date of the monument. Is Ḫammurabi the Amraphel of Gn 14?
    - 6. Principal events of Ḫammurabi's reign.
    - 7. Ḫammurabi's letters.
    - 8. Character of Ḫammurabi, and view of the monarchy disclosed in the Code and the letters.
    - 9. Extent of Ḫammurabi's empire.
  - v. *SOCIAL GRADES RECOGNIZED IN THE CODE.*
    - 1. The aristocrat.
    - 2. The commoner.
    - 3. The slave.
  - vi. *CLASS LEGISLATION A FEATURE OF THE CODE.*
    - 1. Feudal landowners: (*a*) 'levy-masters,' (*b*) 'constables,' (*c*) 'renters.'
    - 2. Votaries.
    - 3. Palace warders.
    - 4. Beer-sellers.
    - 5. Doctors, veterinary surgeons, branders.
    - 6. Builders and boatmen.
  - vii. *AGRICULTURE.*
    - 1. Systems of land tenure.
    - 2. Agricultural loans.
    - 3. Irrigation.
    - 4. Wages and hire.
    - 5. Flocks and herds.
  - viii. *SHIPPING, AND TRADE AND COMMERCE.*
    - 1. The shipping trade.
    - 2. Commerce.
    - 3. Interest.
    - 4. Debt and distraint.
    - 5. Sales.
    - 6. Hire.
  - ix. *THE TEMPLE.*
  - x. *JUSTICE.*
    - 1. Procedure.
    - 2. Judges.
    - 3. Witnesses.
    - 4. Parties.
    - 5. Penalties.
    - 6. Crimes and misdemeanours.
  - xi. *MARRIAGE, AND FAMILY LIFE.*
    - 1. Marriage a contract. Rights and responsibilities of parties.
    - 2. Divorce.
    - 3. Monogamy presupposed in the Code.
    - 4. Votaries allowed to marry.
    - 5. Bars to marriage.
    - 6. Concubinage.
    - 7. Case of a free woman marrying a slave.
    - 8. Case of a girl vowed to a temple.
    - 9. Parents and children.
    - 10. Adoption.
    - 11. Law of inheritance.
- II. THE CODE *in extenso*.
- III. COMPARISON OF THE CODE OF ḪAMMURABI WITH THE EARLIEST HEBREW LEGISLATION.
  - i. *THE QUESTION STATED, AND THE DATA AVAILABLE FOR ANSWERING IT.*
    - 1. What is involved in influence.
    - 2. Source of material.
    - 3. Alternative views of likeness.
    - 4. Common material: (*a*) customs, (*b*) enactments.
    - 5. 'Babylonian' influence progressive.
    - 6. Parallels in method of codification.
    - 7. Casuistic style.
    - 8. Adaptation.
    - 9. Primitive features in Hebrew law.
    - 10. Philological divergence not decisive.
    - 11. Order of clauses.
    - 12. Suggestions of conscious change: (*a*) selection, (*b*) revision, (*c*) amendment.
    - 13. Similarity to other ancient codes.
  - ii. *VIEWS AS TO CHARACTER OF CONNEXION.*

I. HISTORY AND ANALYSIS.

i. *DISCOVERY OF THE CODE.*—This body of ancient laws was first recovered to modern scholarship by the discovery, in December 1901 and January 1902, of three enormous fragments of a block of black diorite, which, when fitted together, formed a stele 2·25 metres high and tapering from 1·90 to 1·65 metres. At the upper end of the front side was a sculptured bas-relief representing the king Ḫammurabi receiving his Code of Laws from the seated sun-god Shamash. The discovery was made by J. de Morgan at the Acropolis of Susa, the ancient Persepolis, once capital of an independent Elamite monarchy.

This bas-relief measures ·65 metres in height and ·60 metres across. Immediately below it commences the longest Semitic inscription in cuneiform hitherto discovered. It is arranged in parallel columns, but each column is written belt-wise across the curved surface of the stele. Hence a reader must have turned his head on one side—to the left—to read the inscription. On the front side there are sixteen of these columns preserved. There were once five more, of which scarcely a trace is preserved, the inscription having been chiselled out and the stone repolished. On the reverse, twenty-eight columns are completely preserved, with one or two breaks due to the surface being destroyed. The whole inscription may therefore be estimated to have contained forty-nine columns, four thousand lines, and about eight thousand words.

ii. *LITERATURE CALLED FORTH BY THE DISCOVERY.*—1. The inscription is most beautifully cut in the well-known style characteristic of the Ḫammurabi period. Careful rubbings or 'squeezes' were taken and sent to France. V. Scheil, with remarkable promptitude, published the text by photogravure in the fourth volume of the *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse* (Leroux, Paris), under the direction of the French Minister of Public Instruction. This *editio princeps* was accompanied by an excellent transliteration into Roman characters, a good first translation, with a few useful footnotes, and a recapitulation of the legal enactments. This superb volume, in quarto, appeared in October 1902.

2. It at once attracted attention. In October the present writer gave a full account of it in a paper read before the Cambridge Theological Society, an abstract of which appeared in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, January 1903. In November, H. Winckler published an independent version in German under the title of *Die Gesetze Hammurabis, Königs von Babylon um 2250 v. Chr.: Das älteste Gesetzbuch der Welt* (Hinrichs, Leipzig; second edition in March, third in November, 1903). This was in some respects an improvement on Scheil's translation, and was accompanied by some ingenious footnotes. About the same time R. Dareste gave a full account of the Code, comparing it with other ancient codes, in the *Journal des Savants* for October and November. In December the *New York Independent* began a series of articles by W. H. Ward, called 'The most ancient Civil Code' (December 11, 18, January 8, 15, 22). This closely followed Winckler's translation, but introduced some parallels from the laws of Moses. In February the present writer published a translation which aimed at being as literal as possible. This was accompanied by an exhaustive index, and appeared as the *Oldest Code of Laws in the World* (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh). In March appeared an article entitled 'The recently discovered Civil Code of Hammurabi,' by C. F. Kent, in the *Biblical World*. This gave a very readable account of the whole subject, and pointed out many Mosaic parallels. The translation followed Winckler. In August, F. Mari issued an Italian translation, *Il Codice di Hammurabi e la Bibbia* (Desclée & Co., Rome). In November,

D. H. Müller gave, in the *X Jahresbericht der Israelitisch-Theologischen Lehranstalt in Wien*, a very full account of the Code under the title 'Die Gesetze Hammurabis und die mosaische Gesetzgebung' (A. Holder, Vienna). This is specially noticeable for a beautiful Hebrew rendering, as well as an improved transcription and German translation. It has a very full commentary. About the same time appeared the first volume of *Hammurabi's Gesetz*, by J. Kohler and F. E. Peiser (Pfeiffer, Leipzig). It contains a new translation, juristic version, and some good explanatory matter.

A number of books have been devoted to the comparison of this Code with other ancient legislations: S. Oettli, *Das Gesetz Hammurabis und die Thora Israels* (Deichert, Leipzig); J. Jeremias, *Moses und Hammurabi* (Hinrichs, Leipzig [first edition in March, second in November, 1903]); R. Dareste, 'Le Code Babylonien d'Hammourabi' (*Nouvelle Revue Historique de droit français et étranger*, xxvii. p. 5 f., Larose, Paris); C. Stooss, 'Das babylonische Strafrecht Hammurabis' (*Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Strafrecht*, xvi. p. 1 ff.); G. Cohn, *Die Gesetze Hammurabis*, a Rectorial address (Füssli, Zürich); H. Grimme, *Das Gesetz Chammurabis und Moses* (Bachem, Cologne); Père Lagrange, 'Le code de Hammourabi' (*Revue Biblique*, xii. p. 27, Lecoffre, Paris); S. A. Cook, *The Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi* (A. & C. Black, London); W. St. C. Boscawen, *First of Empires* (Harper, London). Besides these, there have been a large number of reviews and notices. Most of the books just cited refer to other literature on cognate subjects. The comparisons with the Bible which they suggest will be given in square brackets at the end of the corresponding sections of the Code (below, p. 599^{b} ff.).

iii. *IMPORTANCE OF THE INSCRIPTION.*—At Susa, where the monument was actually found, the French explorers have of late years been conducting a very scientific examination of the remains of the oldest strata. They have given to the world, along with many records of the native Elamite monarchs, a number of splendid monuments of Babylonian kings. These had been transported from Babylonia as trophies of conquest, as is shown by the fact that sundry specimens have had parts of their inscriptions erased, and replaced by the name and titles of some Elamite ruler. We can hardly doubt that this was to have been done in the space left vacant by the erased five columns of this stele, but the inscription was never cut in. Hence we do not know for certain when this monument was carried to Susa. That it was meant to be set up in Sippara is clear from the words *E-barra šuati*, 'this E-barra,' the name of the temple of Shamash at Sippara (line 76, rev. col. xxviii.).

The value of the inscription is enormously enhanced by its being the original autograph. Copies existed. There was found with it at Susa a large fragment of a duplicate. The scribes of Assurbanipal, king of Assyria (B.C. 668–626), made copies of it, or one of its duplicates, dividing the text into possibly fifteen books. They called the series, in their edition, *dinâni (ša) Ḫammurabi*, either 'the judgments of Ḫammurabi,' or perhaps 'the image of Ḫammurabi.' A number of fragments of this Assyrian edition, preserved in the British Museum, were copied and edited, with attempted translation and notes, by B. Meissner, under the title 'Altbabylonische Gesetze' (*Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, iii. pp. 493–523). A fragment or two had been already published, noticed under the title 'Code d'Asourbanipal.' But Meissner, who had edited a large number of contracts of the time of Ḫammurabi in his 'Das altbabylonische Privatrecht' (*Assyriolog. Bibliothek*, xi.), recognized forms of expression, measures of capacity and area, which showed that the Assyrian scribes had copied from some ancient document of that period. Frdr. Delitzsch, in his article 'Zur juristischen Litteratur Babyloniens' (*Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, iv. pp. 78–87), again went over Meissner's texts, and, giving an improved translation, definitely named them the 'Code Ḫammurabi.' This deduction was amply verified in a few months by the discovery at Susa. The Assyrian copies are wonderfully faithful, and the few variants which occur in them may be due to their having been copied, not from this stele but from a contemporary duplicate. The credit of recognizing these copies in Meissner's edition is due to Professor Scheil, who also pointed out that they actually restore parts of the erased five columns. T. G. Pinches, in a paper entitled 'Ḫammurabi's Code of Laws' (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1902, p. 301 ff.), showed the existence of a further fragment, published in *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc., in the British Museum* (xiii. pls. 46, 47). H. Winckler, in a review of Scheil's edition (in the *Orientalische Litteraturzeitung*, January 1903), gives a long examination of these Assyrian copies. It is to be hoped that further fragments may now be recognized and published.

Not only did the Assyrian lawyers study this great Code, but the later Babylonians did the same. F. E. Peiser, in his *Jurisprudentiæ Babylonicæ quæ supersunt* (Cöthen, 1890), published the text of a number of fragments of late Babylonian copies preserved in the Berlin Museum (V.A.Th. 991, 1036). From these we learn that the scribes had edited the Code in a series of books, or tablets, under the title *Nînu ilu ṣîrum*, which are the first words of the Susa stele. As the seventh book ended with Scheil's § 154, we may fairly assume that this edition was in twelve books. It was the habit of the Assyrian and Babylonian scribes to write commentaries on the works they studied. Now that the text of the Code is known, we may expect that commentaries, like those published by L. W. King in his edition of the Creation Tablets, will be found and published.

The monument not only contains the Code, but Ḫammurabi devoted some seven hundred lines to a prologue and epilogue, which narrated his glory and that of the gods whom he worshipped, and blessed those who should respect his inscription, while they cursed the future vandals who should injure or deface it. This part of the inscription is either conventionally phrased or very difficult, and many editors have done wisely in ignoring it altogether. There are, however, several noteworthy points about these portions of the inscription which help to fix our views as to its date. We may first sketch briefly what is known as to the king's life and reign. Much fresh information has come to light since the article BABYLONIA (in vol. i.) was written.

iv. *ḪAMMURABI'S LIFE AND REIGN.*—1. The fresh sources for Ḫammurabi's reign are chiefly the *Letters and Inscriptions of Ḫammurabi*, published by L. W. King in three magnificent volumes (Luzac, London, 1898–1900). They consist of fifty-five letters written by Ḫammurabi to his vassal Sin-idinnam of Larsa; ten of his great inscriptions, besides a multitude of other letters and inscriptions relating to the other kings of his Dynasty. Most important of all is the Chronicle of the Kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon (pp. 212–252). In the *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc., in the British Museum* (vols. ii. iv. vi. viii.) were also published a large number of contracts, lists, and letters from the same period. They were copied by T. G. Pinches. Professor Scheil, in various numbers of the *Recueil de Travaux*, and more fully in *Une Saison de Fouilles à Sippar* (Cairo, 1902), has added many more contemporary documents (quoted as S). Dr. Pinches published a few in his *Babylonian Tablets in the possession of Sir H. Peck, Bart.* (London, 1888). Strassmaier had published a large collection of tablets, found by W. K. Loftus at Tell Sifr, in the *Verhandlungen des V internationalen Orientalisten Congresses* (Berlin, 1882) (quoted as B). Dr. Meissner in his 'Das altbabylonische Privatrecht' published the text of many more, chiefly from the collection brought home by E. A. W. Budge, and registered in the British Museum as Bu. 88-5-12 (quoted here as B^1), and the collection of J. Simon in the Berlin Museum (quoted as V.A.Th. The collection made by Dr. Budge, registered in the British Museum as Bu. 91-5-9, is quoted as B^2). Dr. E. Lindl in his article 'Die Datenliste der ersten Dynastie von Babylon' (*Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, iv. pp. 338–402), Dr. G. Nagel in 'Die Briefe Hammurabi's an Sinidinnam' (*Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, iv. pp. 434–483), with remarks by Professor Delitzsch (pp. 483–500), Dr. Mary W. Montgomery's *Briefe aus der Zeit des babylonischen Königs Ḫammurabi* (A. Pries, Leipzig), Dr. S. Daiches, *Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden aus der Zeit der Ḫammurabi-Dynastie* (Hinrichs, Leipzig), all deal with the same period.

Important studies of the proper names of this period have been made by Hommel in *Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, and Ranke in *Die Personennamen in den Urkunden der Ḫammurabidynastie* (Franz, Munich, 1902). Other literature is quoted in these works. T. G. Pinches' *Old Testament in the light of the Historical Records of Assyria and Babylonia* (S.P.C.K., London) is a mine of information for the period. The second edition has a fresh translation of the Code.

It will be seen from the above that we are exceptionally well informed about the times of the First Dynasty of Babylon. These very numerous documents illustrate by actual practical examples the working of Ḫammurabi's laws. They furnish innumerable parallels for the rare words and expressions.

2. According to the Babylonian King-Lists A and B (see Rogers, *Hist. Bab. Assyr.* p. 312 f.), Ḫammurabi was the sixth king of the First Dynasty of Babylon, being son of Sin-muballiṭ, grandson of Apil-Sin, great-grandson of Zabum, who was son of Suma-lailu and grandson (?) of Sumu-abi, founder of the Dynasty. In the Susa inscription (col. iv. ll. 68–70) the king names himself 'Ḫammurabi, son of Sin-muballiṭ, descendant of Sumu-lailu.' There can therefore be no possible doubt as to his identity. His son Samsu-iluna calls Sumu-lailu the 'fifth father of my father' (King, iii. p. 205). A later king (King, iii. p. 208), Ammiditana, calls himself 'descendant of Sumu-lailu,' so that it seems as if the family traced back descent only as far as Sumu-lailu. The King-Lists also do not say that Sumu-lailu was son of the founder Sumu-abi.

3. The nationality of the First Dynasty has been much discussed, and is of considerable importance in determining the origin of the Code itself; as, if the Dynasty was foreign, the Code may reflect non-Babylonian influence. There is no doubt that the names of the kings, except Apil-Sin and Sin-muballiṭ, are not of the usual Babylonian type; though Jensen (*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, x. p. 342) maintains that they are. They, and other names of this period, exhibit many peculiarities: such as *Samsu* instead of the usual Babylonian *Šamaš*; the enigmatic *Sumu* perhaps for *Šumu*; imperfects like *iamlik* in place of the Babylonian *imlik*; strange words like *zaduga*, *ditana*, *ammi* (if not a Divine name), *zimri*, besides strange gods like Elali, Wadd, 'Anat. But scholars are greatly divided as to the nationality indicated by such names. Hommel, Sayce, A. Jeremias, and Ranke favour Arabian, especially in its old forms as preserved in Minæan and Sabæan inscriptions. Winckler and Delitzsch call these names West Semitic or North Semitic, as belonging to the group of Canaanite dialects—Phœnician, Moabite, Hebrew, Aramæan. S. A. Cook, after reviewing opinions, wisely says that we know too little of the earlier history of the languages of Arabia and Canaan. We may content ourselves with saying that these people were a freshly arrived Semitic race who retained, in Babylonia, names and words which they brought from a former home. In the 7th cent. B.C. the Ḫarran census (*Assyriologische Bibliothek*, xvii.) shows many of these peculiarities in names borne by the serfs under Assyrian rule. They may, then, belong to a race recently transplanted by Assyrian conquests, or, if indigenous, may point to a nationality descended from those who raised the First Dynasty to empire. So far as cuneiform sources go, we find most affinity with the names of Canaanites in the time of the Tel el-Amarna tablets. But this distinctly foreign influence appears not only in names. The Code shows it in such words as *šittin* for 'two-thirds.'

4. The name Ḫammurabi has long been well known. In vol. i. of Rawlinson's *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, 1861 (p. 4, Nos. 1, 2, 3), three inscriptions of his were published. Inscriptions in the Louvre were given by Oppert in 1863 in his *Expédition scientifique en Mesopotamie.* The Babylonian scribes of a later period regarded the name as foreign, for they drew up a list of the names of the kings who reigned 'after the Flood,' with their explanations of those names. Some of the names are Sumerian, or Kassite; but among them is Ḫammurabi, whose name is translated *Kimtarapaštum.* Another is Ammizaduga, whose name is translated *Kimtum-kittum.* Hence they regarded *ḫammu* as the same word as *ammi*, and equivalent to *kimtu*, 'family.' The variants of Ḫammurabi's name, such as Ammi-rabi, Ammurapi (late Assyrian), Ḫammum-rabi, etc., show that they were partly right (King, iii. p. lxv, note 4). But it is doubtful if they were right in rendering it *kimtum.* *Ammu* or *Ḫammu* may well be the name of a god. In compounds like Sumu-ḫammu, Jasdi-ḫammu, Zimri-ḫammu, it can hardly mean 'family,' unless this was deified. The element *rabi* is so very common in Babylonian that we can hardly be wrong in rendering it 'is great.' The name is like Sin-rabi, Šamaš-rabi, and may well mean 'Ammu is great.' The adjective *rapaštu*, applied to the feminine *kimtu*, is 'wide' or 'great' also; and in that the old grammarians were right.

5. The date to be assigned to the First Dynasty of Babylon has been much disputed. The King-Lists, if taken in their integrity, would put the beginning of the Dynasty at B.C. 2454, and Ḫammurabi's accession at B.C. 2342. But many doubts attach to these figures. Nabonidus puts Ḫammurabi seven hundred years before Burnaburiash, who cannot be much before B.C. 1400. Rost reduces the length of the Kassite Dynasty by a hundred and eighty years, and so places the beginning of the Dynasty in B.C. 2232, which agrees with Berosus as explained by Peiser, and with Simplicius on one reading. The whole question is well discussed by Rogers in his *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, ch. xii.; but no definite result can be expected from present materials. Even the lengths of the reigns are in doubt now.

The Babylonians at this period gave each year a name. The year-name recorded some prominent event—the building of a shrine, or an expedition, for example. Now the Chronicles published by King give the year-names for the reigns of the kings, and assign forty-three years to Ḫammurabi, while the King-Lists give him fifty-five. The difference may be accounted for by the proved fact that the same year had sometimes two separate names. The King-Lists may have counted all year-names, and so have made the reigns too long. But this is not always the case: thus, in the King-List, Samsu-iluna has only thirty-five years, while the Chronicle gives him thirty-eight. Here, again, we must await further evidence.

But we can place the monument approximately in the reign. For, when we recall what we know from various sources, we find that Rim-Sin was reigning in Larsa till the 30th year of Ḫammurabi's reign. Then Ḫammurabi defeated Elam and overthrew Rim-Sin. The following year he conquered Iamutbal, a province of Elam. Now, Ḫammurabi boasts in the prologue (col. ii. ll. 32–36) that he had 'avenged Larsa and renovated Ebabbar,' the temple of Shamash there. This he could hardly have done while Rim-Sin was still ruling. We may therefore date the stele after the thirtieth year of his reign.

Of some interest is the usually received identification of Ḫammurabi with the Amraphel of Gn 14. With this is bound up the question whether Arioch of Ellasar is Rim-Sin of Larsa. For this view, which has the support of most Assyriologists, see especially Pinches (*Old Testament*, etc., ch. vi.); on the other side, see King (i. pp. xxv f., xlix f.). An ingenious method of disposing of the superfluous final *l* in Amraphel has been suggested by Hüsing, who would join it to the next word, and read, 'And it came to pass in the days of Amraph, as Arioch king of Ellasar was over Shinar, that Chedorlaomer,' etc. But Arioch is nearly as difficult, and the whole incident is quite inconsistent, unless the configuration of the country has entirely changed since. The same uncertainties remain as to date on both chronologies.

6. The Chronicle gives us the following skeleton outline of the events of this reign, being the list of year-names. (1) *The year in which Ḫammurabi became king.* (2) *The year in which Ḫammurabi established the heart of the land in righteousness.* This has been taken to refer to the initiation of legal reforms; but the same formula is used of Sumu-lailu (B^2 2177 A), and may only mean religious reform. The Code was probably not promulgated this year. (3) *The year in which the throne of Nannar was made.* Nannar was god of Erech, but this throne was made in Babylon. We cannot, therefore, conclude that Ḫammurabi was already ruler in Erech. (4) *The year in which the wall of Malgâ was destroyed.* Ḫammurabi also destroyed the fortress of Maer in this year. Malgâ is probably not the same place as the frequently named Malgia, which was close to Sippara. Maer was an important shipping town. Weissbach thinks both were on the Euphrates, near its junction with the Ḫabur (*Babylonische Miscellen*, p. 13). These fortresses were later repaired. The date of the fifth year is not preserved, but some god's temple was probably restored. The sixth year is noted for the restoration of some fortress. Some event at Isin marked the seventh year. (8) *The year in which . . . on the bank of the canal Nuḫuš-niši.* The meaning of the name is 'the abundance of the people.' An inscription in the Louvre is devoted to the record of the completion of this canal. Ḫammurabi built on the banks of it a lofty fortress, which he called after his father, Dûr-Sin-muballiṭ-abim-walidia, and the gap in the Chronicle here may have contained the name of this fortress. (9) *The year in which the canal Ḫammurabi was dug.* It is not clear whether this canal or the one called Tišid-Bêl was meant here. The latter ran from the Euphrates to Sippar. This event may have been used only to date Sippar documents. (10) *The year in which the . . . inhabitants of Malgi.* This probably refers to a reinstatement of the people, on the restoration, of Malgâ and Maer. Some event connected with a city dated the next year. (12) *The year in which the throne of Ṣarpanitum was made.* This goddess was the consort of Marduk. The date of the next year is not made out clearly. (14) *The year in which the throne of Ištar of Babylon was made.* (15) *The year in which the seven images were made.* (16) *The year in which the throne of Nabû was made.* Next year another image was made; the year following, something for Bêl. The next year something was said about 'the mountain'?. (20) *The year in which the throne of Adad was made.* (21) *The year in which the wall of Bazu was made.* The city *Bazu* was close to Sippara, and not far from Kish. Next year perhaps a canal was cut or an image of Ḫammurabi set up. Then something seems to have been done at Sippara. Then something was done for Bêl. (25) *The year in which the wall of Sippara was made.* It was the foundation that was laid this year, and it was 'the great wall,' probably an outer circle. The next year records a great flood. Then a great temple was built. (28) *The year in which the temple E-NAM-ḪE was built.* This was the temple called 'the house of abundance,' the temple of Adad at Babylon. (29) *The year in which the image of the goddess Šala was made.* Šala was the consort of Adad. (30) *The year in which the army of Elam was defeated.* (31) *The year in which the land of Iamutbal was annexed.* A fuller form of this date is, '*The year of Ḫammurabi the king, in which with the help of Anu and Bêl he established his good fortune, and his hand cast to the earth the land of Iamutbal and Rim-Sin the king.*' A further conquest is recorded for the next year, perhaps of the land Dupliaš. (33) *The year in which the canal of Ḫammurabi . . .* This may refer to the completion of the work begun in the ninth year, or to a new canal whose name is not preserved. (34) *The year in which for Anu, Ištar, and Nanâ (the temple E-TUR-KALAMA was restored).* This date is restored from contemporary documents. The next year perhaps the great wall named Kara-Šamaš was built. The dates of the next two years are lost. (38) *The year in which the city of Dupliaš was destroyed by flood.* This date is restored from contemporary documents. An alternative date for this year is, *The year of Ḫammurabi the king in which the people of Turukku, Kakmum, and Subê. . . .* Whether they were destroyed by flood or conquered does not appear. The dates of the next five years are lost, but the Chronicle gives the total length of the reign as forty-three years. We know several other year-names for this reign, but are not able to place them yet. *The year in which Ibik-Adad captured the city of Rabiḳu.* Another date refers to the building of the walls of Rabiḳu and Kâr-Šamaš. The latter was built on the banks of the Tigris. *The year of Ḫammurabi the king in which the goddess Tašmêtum made favourable her word. The year of Ḫammurabi the king in which the temple E-ME-TE-UR-SAG was restored and the temple IGI-E-NIR-KIDUR-MAH was built for Zamama and Ninni, and its summit made high like the heavens.* (For further details, see King and Lindl).

7. This sketch we may fill out by the details

given in letters and contracts. There the king appears as an energetic benevolent ruler, who kept the chief business of importance under his own direction. Most of his letters are addressed to one Sin-idinnam, who, if not a vassal king of Larsa, was the governor of that city. If he was set in the place of Rim-Sin, who was independent king of Larsa for the first thirty years of Ḫammurabi's reign, we may suppose all these letters dated after that event. But, in any case, it is unlikely that Ḫammurabi could give such minute orders to Sin-idinnam as long as Rim-Sin reigned there. We find that Sin-idinnam exercised authority also over Erech and Ur. At one time Sin-idinnam had a military command, for the king ordered him to send certain Elamite goddesses, who had been captured, under escort to Babylon; and when the same goddesses were sent back to their temples, under the escort of Inuḫsamar and his troops, Sin-idinnam was told to attack the Elamites first, lest it might seem to be a confession of weakness. The earliest known reference to Assyria occurs in these letters, when 240 men of the 'King's company' are said to have left Assyria. The Code also names Ashur, the city, and Nineveh (col. iv. ll. 55–63); but last among the list of subject-towns. The name of the god Ašur already occurs in the reign of Sin-muballiṭ (B^1 3, B^1 14).

8. The king's piety and care for the worship of the gods appear not only in the prologue to the Code, where he boasts of having built, restored, or adorned the temples of the chief cities of the empire, but also in the above list of year-names. Further, in his letters we find him directing the collection of temple revenues and superintending their shepherds and herdsmen. He postponed the hearing of a trial because one of the parties was on duty at a festival in Ur. He controlled the calendar, sending Sin-idinnam notice that the month now beginning was to be a second Elul. He is, however, careful to add that this must not be taken as an excuse for postponing payments for a month.

The king also gave directions as to the canals. We have seen that he constructed several. In one letter he orders the dwellers on the banks of a certain canal to clear it out. In another case a canal was so badly dredged that ships could not come to Erech. Ḫammurabi orders the work to be done 'in three days.' Even the Euphrates (?) stream had to be cleared.

But it is in the administration of justice that this king is seen in the most favourable light. Apparently, he was accessible to all. Bribery he dealt with promptly; he enforced a merchant's claim for a debt against a city governor; he sent instructions as to how cases were to be treated. Against money-lenders he was severe, and several letters deal with loans or debts. He orders the parties concerned to be sent to Babylon, and gives instructions for their being guarded.

The collection of revenue, the due care of the royal flocks and herds, the audit of accounts, the regulation of food supplies, shipping and other transport, labour on public works, and the proper exemptions from duty, are all frequently dealt with in the letters. For fuller details and the parallels from other reigns of the First Dynasty, see King's *Letters of Ḫammurabi.*

The period of Ḫammurabi's Dynasty was one of great literary activity. Many of the tablets in Assurbanipal's library are ascribed to this period by their characteristic forms of expression; but no works are definitely ascribed by the documents themselves to this king. Still, the view is general among Assyriologists that this period produced most of the masterpieces which later generations chiefly reproduced.

The picture of monarchy which these sources and the Code reveal is by no means unpleasing. Like all Oriental despotisms, it is ideally a strong, energetic, benevolent monarchy. In the words of Ḫammurabi, he was indeed 'a father of his people' (col. xxv. 21 f.) and 'the sun of Babylon' (col. v. 4). His Code amply justifies his boast, if it was carried out. That is rendered probable by the host of contemporary documents, not only for his reign, but for those of his predecessors and successors. So far as they refer to the class of cases considered in the Code, they confirm its working. Of course a large number of cases, especially criminal cases, were not the subject of written records. We have no records of trials for murder, rape, incest, or the like grievous wrongs. But we have not only contracts of marriage, partnership, loans and commissions, and other commercial business, but also a number of legal decisions. These mostly relate to property disputes, but a few touch crime as well. So far as they go, they prove that the Code was literally carried out. Further, they show that it was no new invention, but codified the customary law of the country.

The king was a *quasi*-Divine person. This is shown not only by the invocation of his name along with those of the gods in solemn oaths, but by such names as *Ḫammurabi-ilu*, 'Ḫammurabi is god'; *Ḫammurabi-šamšî*, 'Ḫammurabi is my sun.' Men swore by 'Šamaš, Aia (his consort), and Ḫammurabi the king,' as also by the name of Marduk or of Rim-Sin, other gods or other kings. See a list of these oaths in Kohler-Peiser, i. p. 107 f. The king was often accorded the title *i-lu* as a prefix to his name. This custom continued in use until late in the Kassite Dynasty. In the prologue to the Code (col. ii. 48), Ḫammurabi calls himself the 'Divine shelter,' *i-lu ṣululu*, of his land, (col. iii. 16) the 'Divine king of the city,' *i-lu šar ali*, (col. v. 4) the 'Divine sun' of Babylon, *i-lu Šamšu.*

As one consequence of this sacred majesty of the king, he does not directly appear as party to any commercial or business transaction. This was not so in early times. In one of the oldest monuments of Babylonia which we possess, the stele of Maništusu, king of Kish (*Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*, tom. ii. p. 1 ff.), we find the king buying lands, like any other person, to make up an estate for his son Mesalim, afterwards king of Kish also. But in all later times the rule holds good. The king's stewards, shepherds, and other officials buy and sell, obviously for their master, but his name does not come into the transaction.

9. The extent of Ḫammurabi's empire can be gathered only partly from the Code. He names in the prologue the cities of Babylon, Sippara, Nippur, Dûrilu, Eridu, Ur, Larsa, Erech, Isin, Kish, Cuthah, Borsippa, Dilbat, Shirpurla, Ḫallab, Karkar, Maškan-šabri, Malkâ, Agade, Ashur, Nineveh, but only as having done benefits to the temples there. The list covers all Assyria and Babylonia. He is called king of Martu in an inscription set up in his honour, and that is usually taken to mean the Westland or Palestine (King, *Letters*, iii. p. 195 f.).

v. *SOCIAL GRADES RECOGNIZED IN THE CODE.*—The Code recognizes three grades of society: the *amêlu*, the *muškênu*, and the *ardu*.

1. The first grade were the men of gentle birth, men of family, and very likely were largely of the same race as the royal family. Winckler has compared them with the *amêlu* of the Tel el-Amarna tablets, where it is still a distinct title, and with early Arabic *'ûlû, ulai* (*Altorientalische Forschungen*, ii. p. 313). The king himself seems to be addressed by the title *amêlu ša Marduk liballiṭsu*, 'the *amêlu* to whom may Marduk grant life.' He

thus held the position of the First Gentleman of Babylonia. In many passages *amêlu* is distinctly equivalent to 'officer.' By courtesy it was extended, like our 'Sir' or 'Esquire,' to mark every person of position not otherwise titled. Even in the Code it is usually applied to all free citizens, when no distinction from the *muškênu* is necessary. It is also used as a determinative before names of trades and occupations. Thus the potter, the tailor, the stone-cutter, carpenter, builder, and other artisans, who are paid a daily wage but may have belonged to old trade guilds, are *amêlê*; but not the doctor, the veterinary surgeon, or the brander. In some cases this may be accidental, but must be remembered in case further evidence should come to light. He was an officer when performing military service. His residence appears to be called an *êkallu*, which is best rendered 'mansion'; the usual rendering 'palace' is apt to suggest the royal residence. It seems probable that every town contained one or more such 'mansions.' They are named in contracts as being built for persons who were certainly not kings (B^2 333, B^2 381). Consequently the slave of the 'palace' is not necessarily a royal slave (§§ 175–176).

2. The *muškênu*, whose name passed into Hebrew as מִסְכֵּן (*miskēn*), Ital. *meschino*, *meschinello*, Portug. *mesquinho*, French *mesquin*, etc., occupies a lower rank. His penalties are less, but so are his compensations for injury. He is specially legislated for (§§ 8, 140, 198, 201, 204, 208, 211, 216, 219, 222). The rendering of the name is difficult. The translation 'poor man' is not very good. For he was no pauper, certainly not a beggar. He had slaves (§ 15) and goods. Müller calls him an *Armenstiftler*; but there is no evidence of his receiving any pension. Kohler and Peiser give *Ministerial*; but there is no evidence of his having any special association with the court, or any special duties. The name itself may be taken to mean a 'subject,' originally 'suppliant.' We take it he was a 'commoner,' one of the *plebs*, perhaps of the conquered race. At any rate he was free, but apparently subject to the *corvée*, perhaps obliged to serve in the ranks of the army. We find that his offering in the temple was allowed to be less than others (Meissner, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Babylonischen Religion*, p. 176 f.). In Assyrian times the Babylonians complained that they were being treated as *muškênu*, not so much 'poor men,' but subject to indignities. In the Tel el-Amarna tablets Amenophis quotes the letter of Kadašman-Bêl to him, inquiring after his daughter Ṣuḫarti. The Babylonian king says the Egyptian had his sister to wife; but no messenger of his had ever been able to see the princess, or know whether she was alive or dead. A certain lady they had seen, but *mindi martu išten muškênu*, 'whether she was the daughter of some *muškênu*,' they could not tell. In omen tablets it is a curse that a man *muškênûtu allak*, 'should come to poverty' (Bezold, *Catalogue*, p. 1566).

3. The slave (*ardu*) was treated very much as a chattel. He could be sold or pledged (§§ 118, 147); damage done to him had to be paid for, but the compensation went to his master (§§ 213, 214, 219, 220). A repudiation of servitude on his part was punished by mutilation (§ 282). The master is not said to have power of life and death; indeed his power seems expressly limited to mutilation. The slave could acquire wealth, and act in business as a free man, but his master had to be cognizant of his transactions. If he was living in his master's house he could not buy or sell, except by power of attorney, or written licence from his master (§ 7). But many slaves married and had homes of their own. Then the master acted as patron, and recovered their debts for them. A slave who married one of his master's slave girls was able to acquire wealth, but his master was his sole heir, and his children were slaves. On the other hand, a slave, at any rate if in the service of a 'great house,' or of a *muškênu*, could marry a free woman. In that case the children were free (§ 175), and the free woman's marriage portion remained hers, for her children, on her husband's death (§ 176). The property which the pair acquired after marriage was divided into two equal portions: the master, as his slave's heir, took one half, the wife and children the other half. A slave could buy his freedom with his savings. This must have been a free bargain between slave and master. The former had to choose between freedom and poverty on one side, and service and comfort on the other. The master accepted a present gain in lieu of a deferred reversion of the slave's property. The Code does not notice this point.

A female slave could become her master's concubine. Her children were free (§§ 170–171); and so was she, at her master's death. If her master chose he could acknowledge her children, and then they inherited equally with the children of his free wife; but these had first choice in the sharing of his property (§ 170). If she was the property of a free woman who was married, the slave girl might be given by her mistress to her husband to bear him children (§ 144). Her mistress retained the right to punish presumption and insolence by degradation to full slavery again; but the slave girl, if she had borne children to her master, could not be sold. At his death she was free (§§ 146, 147).

The slave was not always contented with his lot. He might run away. His captor was bound to bring him back to his master, and was then rewarded by statute with a payment of two shekels (§ 17). But if the captor kept him in his own house, and did not give him up on demand, he was punished with death (§ 19). So was any one who enticed a slave away from his master (§ 15). The slave seems to have had liberty to go about freely in the city where his master lived, but not to leave the city without his master's consent (§ 15). A slave usually had his owner's name, or some mark by which he could be recognized, branded or tattooed on his arm. If a captured fugitive slave would not name his owner, he had to be taken to the 'palace' or governor's residence, and there put to the question, and so restored to the owner (§ 18). We find from the letters that the officers over the levy claimed, for the *corvée*, unowned slaves (B^3 419). The tattooing of the slave's mark was the business of the *gallabu*, who could also render it irrecognizable again. To do this without the consent of the owner, rendered the *gallabu* liable to have his hands cut off (§ 226). If he had been deceived into doing this by some one who was judged to have designs on that slave, the *gallabu* could swear to his innocence and be let off; but the fraudulent holder of the slave was treated as a slave stealer, and put to death (§ 227). To 'mark' a man was equivalent to reducing him to slavery. This might be done to a rebellious child by the Sumerian laws. Also it might be inflicted on a man for slander (§ 127), or on a rebellious or insolent slave (§ 146). A fugitive slave might be put in chains by his master. Harbouring a fugitive was punished with death (§ 16).

The slaves were probably recruited principally from captives taken in war. We see that certain persons might be bought abroad and brought back by merchants. These would, no doubt, be offered for sale as slaves. But, if they were natives of Babylonia, their relatives, their town temple, or, in the last resort, the State, would ransom them (§ 32). If they had been slaves before, in Babylonia, it seems that they had to be set at liberty on being brought back (§ 280). But the Code may only mean that they returned to their former condition. Foreigners, once slaves in Babylonia, captured thence in war, bought abroad by a merchant and again offered for sale by him in Babylonia, if recognized by a former master, might be re-bought by him at the price the merchant gave for them abroad (§ 281). The Code apparently aims at excluding a profit on the transaction, but leaves the price to be settled by the merchant's oath as to the money paid by him.

There is no trace in the Code, or contemporary documents, of serfs, or *glebæ adscripti*, such as were so common in Assyria and the district about Ḫarran in the 7th cent. B.C. (see 'Ḫarran census,' *Assyriologische Bibliothek*, xvii.). The serf seems to have held his lands by inheritance, and had property of his own. The class was largely recruited from slaves and town artisans. A serf's father is usually named. He was sold with the land, and subject apparently to military service. Many captives taken in war were settled as serfs, and the Assyrian kings usually assigned lands to the transported peoples.

The slave proper usually appears as fatherless; but a number of cases occur at all periods, when parents sell their children. Free men might be sold for debt, or reduced to slavery as punishment for crime. In the latter case they probably became public slaves. Slaves were subject to the *corvée*, as king's servants. Even female slaves owed service to the State—usually work, such as weaving or spinning. It was of great importance to a buyer of a slave whether this duty had been discharged, and he often demanded a guarantee that it was no longer due. It probably was confined to a number of years—six seems likely in the case of the Ḫarran serfs. A great many slaves were skilled workmen; they were often apprenticed to learn a trade. But in early times the trades were in the hands of free men.

Slaves might be adopted as children by free men and women, usually to care for the old age of one whose own family had already grown up and left the home. Such adopted children became free, and usually inherited their adoptive parents' property. Further details on the status of slaves, especially in later times, will be found in Meissner, *de Servitute*, Pries, Leipzig; and S. A. Cook, *The Laws of Moses*, etc., ch. vii.

The value of a slave varied much with age, accomplishments, sex, etc. The Code avoids the question by awarding 'slave for slave' (§§ 219, 231), 'half his price' (§§ 199, 220). A maidservant was worth twenty shekels of silver (§ 214), her unborn babe two shekels (§ 213). In contemporary documents a male slave sold for as little as six shekels or as much as twenty. A female slave might fetch as little as four and a half, or, with a babe, as much as ninety-four shekels.

The reward for restoring a fugitive to his master (§ 17), or for curing a slave (§§ 217, 223), was two shekels of silver, evidently calculated as one-tenth of the ordinary value. This value of twenty shekels remained constant as the average to the times of the Second Babylonian Empire.

vi. *CLASS LEGISLATION A FEATURE OF THE CODE.*—A distinctive feature of the Code is its class legislation. Not only are the aristocrat, the commoner, and the slave treated separately, but the Code legislates separately for certain classes of the community.

1. The first class are feudal landowners. They hold lands of the crown by service. Their names, *rîd ṣâbê* and *bâ’iru*, are difficult to translate, because we have no modern officials whose functions exactly correspond to theirs. (*a*) For the first we propose 'levy-master.' The 'levy-master' was over the *corvée*. He had to make up the local quota for the army, or for forced labour. On the former side he might answer to the field-cornet, commandant, pressgang officer, *Feldwebel*, *Stattvertreter*; and, on the other, to the ganger on public works. He may have had other duties, such as the maintenance of local order, but these chiefly appear in the letters of the time (see King's *Letters of Ḫammurabi*, under '*ridû*,' iii. p. 290). To their gangs were condemned fugitive slaves, if unclaimed (B^2 419).

The king in various letters orders the exemption of temple bakers, royal shepherds or herdsmen, and *patêsis* from the *ilku*, or 'duty,' of these officers. Further, it is certain that on some occasions this duty was military service, on others public works. It is not, however, clear that we have always a class exemption.

The Code fixes their status very clearly in some respects. They might be sent on 'the king's way,' perhaps a term for a military expedition, but probably including any royal business. It was a capital offence not to go. To send a hired substitute involved death, and the substitute took over the appointment (§ 26). For a magistrate to allow such personation was punished by death also (§ 33). If such an officer was captured abroad, and there was bought by a Babylonian slave-dealer, he had, on his return, to be ransomed from his own means, failing that, by the temple treasury of his town, failing that, by the State (§ 32). But his holding could not be sold for the purpose. It consisted of land, house, garden, and stock given him by the king, as well as a salary, and could not be sold, pledged, or exchanged (§ 34). The penalty for its alienation was that it had to be returned, and the buyer, lender, or exchanger lost what he had given for it. The officer could not be oppressed by the governor, neither robbed, defrauded of salary, let out on hire, nor wronged in court, on pain of death (§ 34). The officer could not leave his holding to his wife or daughter, nor any part of it (§ 38). He had, of course, full power over his own acquired property (§ 39). He could name his son as *locum tenens* in his absence, if capable of discharging the duties of his office, which therefore were not solely military. If his son could not take the duty, being a child, one-third of the estate was sequestered to the child's mother for his maintenance, and a *locum tenens* put in by royal authority. To secure the estate from dilapidation, the *locum tenens* acquired a prescriptive right to it, if the absentee was away three years or more. This held good only if the absentee had been a neglectful holder. In any case, one year's absence did not invalidate his claim to resume it on his return.

(*b*) In nearly every case the *bâ’iru* is associated with this officer. The term means simply 'catcher,' and is used of fishermen and hunters alike. In contemporary documents it seems always to be used of fishermen. Perhaps they, too, were a privileged class, as being necessary to the provision of food for the palace. It appears that they had their special fisheries reserved in each district, and were not allowed to poach on other fisheries (King, *Letters*, p. 121 f.). But it is not quite clear that the *bâ’iru*, or 'catcher,' may not have been, like the old 'catchpole,' a sort of constable. He could, like the 'levy-master,' be sent 'on the king's way,' might be captured abroad, held the same sort of estate, could make the same arrangements as to his son's taking his duty. He is not expressly exempted from the governor's oppressions, but surely was not meant to be at his mercy. This rather goes to prove that *bâ’iru* is almost a synonym for *rîd ṣâbê*.

(*c*) So far as inalienability of holding was concerned, the *nâš bilti*, or 'payer of tribute,' was in the same position as the *rîd ṣâbê* and the *bâ'iru*. It seems, therefore, that land was held of the crown, as in other Oriental countries—notably Morocco now—on two forms of tenure. One carried an obligation to personal service, the other only a rent or tribute. Both were thus inalienable, but might be hereditary. Land could also be held by others, who might alienate: votaries, merchants, and foreign residents are named (§ 40); but the duty, whatever it was, went with the land, and must be discharged by the buyer. Some land was freehold (*zakû*); and it is expressly laid down as a special privilege that the estates of a Marduk votary were thus exempt from the 'duty.' There is no express mention of tithe, but that probably grew out of the 'duty.'

2. The votary was also the subject of special legislation. She might be devoted to the service of a god (Šamaš and Marduk are named in the Code; Sin, Anunit, and others elsewhere) by her parents; or she might herself elect to become a votary. She thus became a 'bride' of the god, and might be dowered by her father as for marriage (§ 178). Her father could give her complete power over her property, or not. In any case, she had the life interest in it (§ 179). If not absolutely at her own disposal,—on her father's death, her brethren, who had the reversion of it, might assume possession and maintain her. If they did not do this to her satisfaction, she had the power to appoint a steward, who would administer it as she wished. In any such case it reverted at her death, unless her father had granted her the disposal of it by a special deed of gift. If he gave her no allowance of this sort, she did not forfeit her rights as a daughter in his estate, but came in for one-third of a son's share at his death (§ 180). To all appearances, the votary was vowed to perpetual virginity; but she might marry, and give her husband a maid to bear him children (§ 146). If she broke her vow and had children, they were not recognized as in her power; they could be adopted by any one without her having power to claim them back (§ 193). From contemporary documents we find that votaries often adopted children, mostly other votaries, doubtless to care for their old age. Normally, the votaries lived in a convent (§ 110), or common home, called 'the bride chamber.' It was a very large establishment, and is often named as a neighbour in sales of lands. If they did not live there, they were expected to be staid in their behaviour. They might not open a beer-shop, nor enter one, on pain of being burned (§ 110). They were highly respected. No one might slander them, on pain of being branded on the forehead (§ 127). We read of Iltâni, daughter of king Ammizaduga, as a votary (V.A.Th. 630). They had a common scribe (B^2 2175 A) and a 'lady superior' (B^1 61). The votary of Marduk had special treatment, as was natural for a king who had made Babylon the capital of his empire, and Marduk supreme, even over Šamaš in Sippara. She was, even if not dowered by her father, able to claim one-third of a son's share in his property at his death, and had full testamentary powers over it. She had no 'duty' to discharge (§ 182). We continually meet with votaries in contemporary documents, chiefly devoted to Šamaš. They were clearly a wealthy body, and carry on business freely. They agree with brothers about their estates, put in stewards, leave property, and carry on ordinary contracts. Many marry. Nowhere in the Code or elsewhere is there any trace of the evil reputation which Greek writers assign to these ladies, and the translations which make them prostitutes, or unchaste, are not to be accepted. Greek influence may later have corrupted their morals.

3. Men were also vowed to the service of a god, but the Code does not refer to them. The rather obscure *manzâz pâni*, who 'stood in the presence' of the king, were naturally celibates. Their wives could not be tolerated in the palace. Their children, if they had any, were treated as homeless (§ 192), and could be adopted by any one without the father's consent. There is no ground for assuming any vicious habits on their part, as the term included some of the highest officials of the State.

4. Special professions were also legislated for. The beer-shop was usually kept by women. Even as late as the Second Babylonian Empire we find a master setting up a female slave in a wine-shop. The price of beer was not to be dearer than corn, measure for measure (§ 108). Corn was legal tender, and silver was not to be demanded by the great weight. The beer-seller had to give information of all treasonable conspiracy she overheard in her shop (§ 109). She was severely dealt with: if she broke these rules, death was the penalty. There is no hint that her house was a brothel, though later custom suggests it.

5. The doctor does not seem to hold a high profession. He is not an *amêlu*. The fee for a successful operation, involving surgery (removal of a cataract with the bronze lancet is probably meant), is fixed and graded according to the position of the patient (§§ 215–217). An unsuccessful operation is penalized by loss of the hands, reparation, or a fine (§§ 218–220). A cure of an injured limb, or a rupture (?), is similarly treated (§§ 221–223). The veterinary surgeon is likewise dealt with (§§ 224, 225). The brander, who may also be a barber, and perhaps a shearer, naturally follows a surgeon. His special treatment concerns his attempting to efface a slave's tattooed mark. If he did this wittingly, he lost his hands. If he was deceived, he could get free on oath of innocence, but the procurer suffered death (§§ 226, 227).

6. Builders are treated much the same. The builder's fee is fixed according to the size of the house. His bad workmanship is punished if it leads to damage. He has to make good all loss, and repair at his own expense; and, further, suffer the same damage in his own person as he has brought on the house-owner (§§ 228–233). The boatman gets a fixed fee according to the size of the boat he builds. Damage due to bad workmanship appearing within a year's time has to be made good, or the boat replaced (§§ 234, 235). A boatman had to make good a boat lost through his carelessness, if hired to navigate it. He was responsible for the freight, if any. If he sank a boat, but raised it again, he paid half value. His hire was fixed (§§ 236–239).

vii. *AGRICULTURE.*—1. Land was already private property, subject to its duty to the State. An impost was levied upon the crop, and was clearly proportional to its amount (*miksu*). How men came into possession of waste or unreclaimed land, which might be expected to be common, does not appear. The reclamation may have constituted a title. At any rate, the Code contemplates land being given to a farmer to reclaim (§ 44), and the contracts show the practice to have been common (B^1 186, etc.). The unreclaimed land was usually taken along with arable land (double in amount), and without rent for a time. Then, say in the fourth year, fixed rent was expected from all—that from the virgin soil being threefold the ordinary. The landlord further made an allowance of provisions towards the farmer's keep. The penalty fixed by the Code for neglect to reclaim is that the farmer should leave it in good tilth, and pay a fair rent (§ 44). Ordinary arable land was let, usually at fixed rents, so much corn per acre, six *GUR* per *GAN* being very usual. A deposit was expected, and it was ordinary debt not to pay the rent. The Code only enacts that, if the rent had been paid, no rebate could be claimed if a storm destroyed the crop afterwards (§ 45). But if the rent was not paid, or if the land was let on the share-profit system, the damage done by storm was borne by landlord and tenant equally, or in proportion to their shares (§ 46). This system of produce-rent, or share-profit, was very common, the landlord taking half the crop, or two-thirds, according to agreement. In such a case the tenant's neglect to do the proper work prejudiced the landlord as well as himself; in this case the Code enacts that he shall pay an average rent, 'like his neighbours,' or 'like right and left of him' (§ 42, B^2 1031). He had to leave it in proper tilth. An important measure of precaution, often stipulated for in the contracts (B^2 361, 460), especially when the field lay some way from the town, was the erection of a farmer's cottage on the field. He had to be present, as an old work on agriculture, often compared to Hesiod's *Works and Days*, tells us, 'to scare the birds, capture antelopes or wild goats, collect locusts.' The landlord might have a cottage already there, and charge for it, stipulating that it be vacated with the field; or he might stipulate that the tenant should put it up, and leave it at the end of the lease. The Code contemplates the neglect to put up this cottage, and the tenant subletting the field, probably to one who lived nearer. The landlord could not object, if he had his proper rent at harvest, and if his field was duly cultivated by some one (§ 47).

An important form of tenure was the *metayer* system, where the landlord found seed, implements, and oxen, besides paying a wage to the farmer. Here the farmer might embezzle the seed, or the provender, for which the Code enacts that his hands be cut off (§ 253). He might take the corn and starve the oxen (it was furnished partly for their food), for which he must restore from what he planted (§ 254). He might hire out the oxen to another, stealing their provender and not producing a crop, for which he had to pay a heavy fine, sixty *GUR* per *GAN* (§ 255). If he could not pay, he was to be torn to pieces by the oxen on the field (§ 256).

Gardens or plantations were usually let, if already planted, at a rent of two-thirds produce, as fixed by the Code (§ 64). Neglect which would diminish the crop was guarded against by enacting that an average yield should be returned (§ 65). Land was given to be planted as a garden, the owner often stipulating as to what plants he wished for. The terms were that the gardener paid no rent for four years, and in the fifth year he and his landlord divided the land equally (§ 60). If he left part uncultivated, that was reckoned in his share (§ 61). If he had failed to carry out his work, he was bound to do so before giving it up, and further fined an average year's rent for the time he held it, if it was corn land (§ 62), or ten *GUR* of corn per *GAN* for each year, if it had been unreclaimed land (§ 63).

2. The Babylonian landowner was often in want of ready money despite his magnificent harvests, which often yielded a hundredfold. He had to employ extra labourers to get in his harvest, find seed at seedtime, and was liable to destructive floods. If he had borrowed money and a storm destroyed his crops, he might post-date the bond, and not pay interest on the loan that year (§ 48). He frequently pledged his field to a money-lender; but, whatever the terms of his offer, the Code enacted that he should always reap the crop himself, and from the produce pay off the loan, and the expenses of the lender, if he had to find a cultivator (§§ 49, 50). Speculation in 'futures' was forbidden to the money-lender. Further, this man could not demand money; corn or produce was legal tender in satisfaction of such loans (§ 51). It was a practice with money-lenders to stipulate for the return of a loan in the exact form in which it was borrowed. If the cultivator put in by the creditor does not produce a crop, as the owner had left the care of the field to the creditor, he must bear the loss; he can claim no rebate on that account (§ 52). Hence it was dangerous to mortgage for more than an average crop. Gardens or plantations were also protected from money-lenders' speculations in the same way (§ X). The owner, whatever his offer, must take the crop himself, and whatever is over and above his debt and interest is his. He was protected in other ways. No one could distrain upon a working ox, except under fine of one-third of a mina of silver (§ 241). The ox was not only used for ploughing, it was constantly employed to work the watering machines, which sometimes required as many as eight oxen. It was also needed for threshing.

3. Babylonian culture was dependent upon water supply. On the one side, floods were frequent, and had to be provided against by an elaborate system of ditches and canals; on the other, the summer heat turned all herbage to dust, unless watered. One chief claim to the gratitude of posterity on the part of kings and priests was the furnishing of new canals. Once made, these were expected to be kept in order by the riparian landowners. The work of repairs, dredging, and cleaning was always considerable, from the floods, silt, and rapid growth of water vegetation. Ḫammurabi's letters often deal with the needs of the canals (King, *Letters*, pp. 15, 16, 18, 64, lxiv f., xxxvi f.).

The ordinary repair of the bank was the duty of the man whose field adjoined it. If he neglected to strengthen it, a burst was likely. He was responsible for the damage done to the neighbours' crops (§ 53). He and all his possessions could be sold to pay the damage (§ 54). He had the right to open a runnel to water his field; but, if he left it running and swamped his neighbours' crops, he had to compensate (§ 55) according to the extent of the damage (§ 56). The theft of a watering machine, probably that consisting of a pole and bucket, was penalized by five shekels of silver. The bucket alone, or a harrow, was protected from theft by a fine of three shekels (§§ 259, 260).

4. Considerable attention is paid by the Code to fixing wages, or hire. The harvester had to be paid eight *GUR* of corn per year (§ 257). An ordinary labourer was paid six *ŠE* of silver per day for the first five months, five *ŠE* for the remaining seven (§ 273). This would be about twelve *GUR* of corn per year. A working ox could be hired for four *GUR* of corn per year (§ 242), a milch cow for three *GUR* (§ 243). An ox for threshing fetched twenty *ḲA* of corn per day, an ass ten *ḲA*, a calf 1 *ḲA* (§§ 268–270). A waggon, with its driver and oxen, cost one hundred and eighty *ḲA* of corn per day (§ 271). As the waggon alone cost forty *ḲA* (§ 272), and two oxen another forty *ḲA* (§ 268), we may take it that a man cost one hundred *ḲA* per day for carting. A cart might be hired for ten *ḲA* a day (S 572). An ox-driver had six *GUR* of corn per year as wages (§ 258).

The care of the hired animals was strictly guarded. A lion might kill ox or ass, and the owner had to bear the loss (§ 244). But neglect or ill-treatment had to be paid for (§§ 245, 246). Partial injury was assessed (§§ 247, 248). The hand of God was the owner's loss (§ 249). The responsibility for a savage bull was decided. If the animal suddenly got out of hand and killed a man, it was treated as an accident (§ 250). But if the animal was known to be vicious and his owner took no means to prevent his doing harm, the owner had to pay blood money (§§ 251, 252). The price of a three year old ox was twenty shekels (B^2 448).

5. Vast herds and flocks were owned. Hundreds of sheep are named as under the care of one man. The king had occasion to call as many as forty-seven shepherds to account at one time (King, iii. p. 70). The sheep had to be taken some distance to pasture. The shepherd gave a receipt for the animals entrusted to him, and was bound to return them with reasonable increase in the amount by breeding. He was allowed to use a certain number for his keep and that of his underlings. He had to face perils from wild beasts and robbers. The Sutî nomads were specially feared. We find a Sutu hired to protect the flocks from his clansmen (B^1 532). The shepherd or herdsman was paid eight *GUR* of corn per year (§ 261). He had to restore ox for ox, sheep for sheep (§ 263). He had to see that the flock did not waste or prove unprofitable, or else make good the deficiency (§ 264). Wilful embezzlement was to be repaid tenfold (§ 265). Loss by the hand of God or wild beasts was the owner's loss (§ 266). But carelessness was to be made good (§ 267). When the sheep were taken out or brought home, they had to traverse the meadows, and must be kept from eating the growing crops. To let his flock eat the corn in a field without consent of the owner of the field, was punished by a fine of twenty *GUR* of corn per *GAN*. This was when the crop was green and the owner might expect the corn to recover and bear a crop (§ 57). It was worse if the crop was nearly ripe and the sheep had already reached the common fold within the city, where they were fed on corn by the shepherd. If he then allowed them to stray in a standing field of corn, he had to take entire responsibility for the field, and make what he could of it, but had to pay sixty *GUR* of corn per *GAN* (§ 58).

viii. *SHIPPING, AND TRADE AND COMMERCE.*—1. The shipping trade was considerable. We are not altogether in a position to say what the ships were like at this time, but freight boats of sixty *GUR* capacity were common, and one of seventy-five *GUR* is named (King, *Letters*, iii. p. 67). On the canals, at least, they seem to have been propelled with poles, which were also used to fasten them. They were numerous; as many as twenty-five together were anchored at the quay of Šamaš, in Sippara, at one time (S 160). At all times there is evidence of considerable activity in commerce and fishing along these waterways. (For later times, see Meissner and Knudtzon, *Vienna Oriental Journal*, iv. p. 129 f.; Pinches, *Sir H. Peck's Tablets*, p. 82 f.). The temple ships are named in § 8. The same word was used for boatbuilder and boatman. If he had completed (literally 'caulked,' 'closed') a ship of sixty *GUR* for a man, he was entitled to two shekels of silver as a fee; the owner probably found the materials (§ 234). He had to give a year's guarantee with it, replacing it with a sound ship if it showed faults within that time (§ 235). The boatman who navigated the ship was paid six *GUR* of corn per year (§ 239). The hired boatman was responsible for the care of the ship, restoring ship for ship if lost (§ 236); also for the cargo, if lost by his carelessness (§ 237). But if he refloated a ship he had sunk, and it was sound, he only paid half value (§ 238). A ship which ran down another at anchor was held responsible for the damage (§ 240). The hire of a passenger or fast boat was two and a half *ŠE* of silver per day (§ 276), that of a freight ship of sixty *GUR*, a sixth of a shekel of silver per day (§ 277), twelve times as much.

2. A great deal of business was done by ship, or caravan, with foreign countries. The Code contemplates captives in war carried away from Babylonia being bought abroad by slave-dealers and brought back (§§ 132, 280, 281). Slaves might be sold and transported abroad by merchants (§ 118). We read of a free man who had been sold as a slave to Dupliaš, perhaps for debt (B^2 419). The Code legislates for the case of consignments of gold, silver, jewels, or portable treasures sent by a man resident abroad. The carrier was bound to deliver, or pay fivefold (§ 112). In this period Carchemish wares were already to be found in Babylonian homes (B^1 19).

Business was done on the *Commenda* system, as later in Islam. The principal, called 'merchant' in the Code, entrusted money or goods to his agent, who gave a receipt for them, and went off to seek a market. On his return he had to repay his commission and give a fair profit, or share with his principal. This profit was agreed on as a matter of free contract. If he was unlucky in his transactions, he yet had to pay cent. per cent. as profit (§ 101). But the merchant might merely speculate and not bargain for profit on a fixed scale. The agent must at least return the capital (§ 102). The trader has his risks. In the Tel el-Amarna period we find the king complaining of caravans being robbed (*KIB* v. p. 25). The Code contemplates this, and allows the agent to clear his liability by oath that the enemy robbed him (§ 103). All was to be done by written contract (§ 104); money or goods not sealed for could not be claimed in the reckoning (§ 105). Disputes were punished. False claims on the part of the agent were to be repaid threefold, on the part of the principal sixfold (§§ 106, 107). The contemporary documents abound with cases of partnership. The usual method was for each partner to take back his capital and interest, and then the partners divided the profit equally. The common stock was divided into two classes—property 'in town' and property 'on the road.' The reckoning was made yearly, unless the absent agent was detained beyond the year. It took the form of a dissolution of partnership; all the common stock was inventoried and a settlement made, usually in the temple, upon oath, and each party entered into compact not to dispute the settlement. The partnership might then be renewed.

Warehousing and deposit were frequently resorted to. It had to be a matter of written contract, the goods being deposited before witnesses, otherwise no claim for return could be made. The warehouseman took all responsibility. If he denied the deposit, he had to repay double (§§ 122–125). The storage of corn is specially dealt with; the warehouseman took all responsibility, even for loss by theft from his store. If he falsified his liability, he had to pay double (§ 120). He charged a fee of one-sixtieth per year (§ 121). It was common to hire a granary. The granary was protected from a distraint (§ 113). False claims on a warehouseman had to be repaid twofold (§ 126). We have noted the shipping business and the beer-shop above.

3. There is much said of interest on money. We miss any regulation in the Code on the point, save that interest had to be returned with borrowed money (§§ 49, 50, 100, X). It was usually about 40 per cent. or 33⅓ per cent. on corn loans. In the lapse of time it grew less—25 per cent. in Assyria, 20 per cent. in the Second Babylonian Empire. But there was never any fixed rate, it was matter of free contract. Loans of corn at seedtime are very frequent; a poor man was then often without corn. They were usually repaid at harvest without interest; but interest was set down to be paid if

the loan was kept longer. Loans were also frequent at harvest time to pay the harvesters. With pledges of crops we have already dealt under 'Agriculture.' A debtor could pay in corn, or sesame, according to the royal standard exchange value (§§ 51, 111). At harvest time, when corn was dearest and drink most needed, the beer-seller sold cheap (§ 108), otherwise she might not make drink cheaper than corn. The creditor could not refuse to take goods in liquidation of a debt (§ 88). Debt might be discharged by a written order to a third party to pay (B^2 315).

4. Debt might lead to distraint. The debtor could 'name' a surety or *mancipium,* who had to enter the creditor's house and there work off the debt. But the hostage was protected from blows or starvation; he was still the debtor's property, and the creditor must restore him, if a free man, wife, or child, of debtor, at the end of three years (§§ 115–117). A hostage slave might be sold if the creditor wished to leave the city (§ 118). But if the slave was a maid who had borne her master children, he was bound to redeem her (§ 119). As a creditor was bound to accept goods in payment, it is clear these distraints were a last resource. They could not be made on the creditor's own responsibility. If he distrains upon the debtor's corn without the debtor's consent, he has to pay back what he takes and lose all claim for his debt (§ 113). If he distrains without having a debt owing him, he pays a fine of one-third of a mina (§ 114). He might not distrain a working ox (§ 241), under the same penalty. In fact, 'self-help' is forbidden; the debtor must name 'his' hostage.

The hostage was an antichretic pledge. We find many examples of this in later times. Land and crops might be pledged, as above. Goods were also pledged, or assigned in lieu of debt. As a summary proceeding we may note that, if a man incurred a public debt and could not pay, he was sold with all his goods, and the claimants shared the proceeds (§ 54).

5. The Code does not deal with sale, which was a matter of free contract, except to forbid the sale of benefices (§ 35), or to allow sale of estate subject to territorial liability. Sales of all sorts of property, especially estate, are very common in contemporary documents. The prices varied, of course, according to circumstances, and there is nothing remarkable about them, as a rule. But the transfer of ownership appears to have been made by the handing over of a stake or rod. There were certain rights of pre-emption or redemption on the part of the seller's family. They could even buy back sold property. In Assyrian times the district governors, city magistrates, captains of the seller's 'hundred,' creditors with a mortgage on the property, had similar rights. The sale is always professedly made outright. No credit was given. The buyer might, however, borrow money to pay, even of the seller, and execute a bond for the debt, or pledge the property back to the seller for it. Slave sales are especially frequent. The buyer could, however, return his purchase, if disease showed itself in a month (later, 100 days), and female slaves were often bought on trial for one to three days. An undisclosed defect in the slave, or a claim upon him for State service not discharged, might be grounds for demanding back his price at any time (§§ 278, 279). The seller usually gave a guarantee against these contingencies, as also against vices, like a tendency to run away. In the case of other purchases, such as houses, stipulations were made that all was in good order, the door and the lock sound, beams and sills in position, etc., and all breaches made good.

Exchanges were often made, and the balance of value, if any, paid in money. These were free contracts. The Code refers to the practice (§ 41).

6. Hire is frequent. We have noticed estates and workmen. Houses were often hired. The term was generally for one year, but eight and even ten years are named. The usual stipulations as to sound condition are made. Further, the tenant binds himself to leave the house in good repair, and to vacate it at the end of the lease. Rent, of course, varies much. It is reckoned by the area occupied by the house, from one-third to two shekels per *SAR*. A *SAR* of house costs two shekels to build (§ 228). Rent was usually paid in advance, half-yearly. The lost part of the Code dealt with house leases, ordering that if a landlord turned out his tenant before the lease was out he should compensate him; but we do not know to what extent (§ Y). Many other buildings are named as hired, especially granaries.

ix. *THE TEMPLE.*—It is curious that the Code has so little to say of the temple. It was a very powerful factor in the life of the period. It possessed large estates, from which a constant revenue was derived. These were mostly endowments given by former kings, estates held on payment of certain dues. The temples and the administration of their revenues, herds and flocks, were a source of constant care to the king. Ḫammurabi's letters abound with references to them. There is no need to suppose that he derived any direct benefit from them. He had his own vast estates and property as well. The temples maintained a very large number of persons, wholly or in part. Many folk had the right of so many days' service there and the accruing profits. One of the most curious sorts of property consisted in these rights to so many days a year in a temple. The rights were hereditary, and could not be alienated; but were freely bought and sold, or pledged, subject to the reversions. The Code protects temple property (§§ 6, 8), putting it on a level with that of the 'palace.' The temple had its duties. It was bound to ransom its townsman, when captured in war (§ 32). To it men often went for loans, though at Ḫammurabi's time most of the money-lending was in the hands of so-called 'merchants.' These seem usually to have been foreigners. Later, most of the money-lending, at any rate when without interest, was done by the temple.

x. *JUSTICE.*—1. The temple was also the chief scene of justice. Here men went to take their oath, at the gate of the temple or before the censer. The object in dispute was taken there and resigned into the hands of the god, who was held to do judgment and restore it to the rightful owner. The judges were not necessarily priests, nor were they necessarily scribes. But the body of 'ancients,' who usually served as witnesses, and also assessors to the judge, were usually found there. Very little is expressly stated as to the procedure in the law courts. But we know that the pleas were conducted by the parties in person. They had to be put in writing. The judge 'saw' them, and, if there was a case, fixed a day for hearing. Then the parties had to bring their witnesses. The judge gave his decision, and it was embodied in an agreement to which both parties consented and swore to observe. This document was drawn up by the scribe and sealed by judge, witnesses, and parties concerned. It seems that in cases concerning money or goods a single judge might sit; the heavier cases were taken before a bench of judges. The first five sections of the Code deal with the process. The first two sections are peculiarly difficult. It seems that a man might accuse another of plotting his death, perhaps by magic spells; if he could prove this, the offender was put to death (§ 1).

But the sense of several words is doubtful, and we do not know either the nature of the spell, or the kind of evidence required. In the second case, the plaintiff appears to demand the ordeal from the defendant, throwing on him the burden of proof that he is not a wizard. The ordeal by water, in other cases known to us, demanded that the guilty should swim and the innocent sink, but be saved in time. This may be the meaning here also. In either case the guilty one was put to death, and his opponent took his estates. In the next two sections we have false witness dealt with. If it endangered the life of the accused, the penalty was death (§ 3). If it involved corn or money, the false witness had to bear the same injury as he sought to bring on the accused (§ 4). By 'slander' in the first case may be meant 'treason,' or such offence against the State as was capital. At any rate, it is the 'crime alleged.'

2. The judge is not very often named in the Code. If he had given a judgment and completed the business, it was irrevocable by him. He could not retry the case. Appeal to a higher court was allowed. If he retried the case, or altered his judgment, he was deposed from office, and had to repay twelvefold what he had given as the penalty of the case (§ 5). He had to examine into the depositions (§ 9), fix a time, within six months, for production of witnesses (§ 13), be present at the execution of sentences (§ 127), reconcile father and son (§ 168), inventory the property of a widow's children on her remarriage (§ 174), decide family quarrels (§ 172). But his presence and decision are elsewhere implied, and, from the numerous legal decisions preserved to us, we conclude that he was constantly employed.

He had a local jurisdiction. Suitors might be referred from one court to another, or summoned to a higher court. He was a professional man, keeping his title even when not acting in a judicial capacity. Most higher officials of the State act as judges on occasion, and cases were often referred on appeal to the king. No priest ever appears as holding the office; but that may be because 'judge' was the higher title. We often find several judges together on the bench, and the highest official in rank doubtless was 'chief judge' on that occasion. But there was an office of Chief Justice. There is no evidence that the judge had any fee. The king's judges are referred to, but it is not certain that the king appointed all. Certainly, the office was hereditary in some cases.

3. Witnesses played an important part in the law courts. The term applied to them, *šîbu*, really means 'grey-headed,' and they were probably, therefore, the elders of the city. As such, they were expected to know the rights of the case as well as its facts. But the term gradually extended its area. Those who know (*mûdu*) were not necessarily old, and they are called *šîbi* (§ 9). We may distinguish three classes of witnesses who all bear the same name: (i.) the 'elders,' who appear as assessors with the judge, and form a sort of jury; (ii.) the 'deponents' in a court, who were put on oath, and whose false evidence is penalized (§§ 1–4); (iii.) the attesting witnesses to a document. In the case of legal decisions these included the whole of (i.), but also interested persons; in ordinary contracts, relatives of the principal parties, neighbours whose estates adjoined, and often persons who seem to have been regularly available at the court. In later times this class were called the *mukinnê*, or 'confirmers.' The parties, especially the plaintiff, were often called upon to 'justify' their plea. This was done by witness. Cases had to be adjourned for the production of witnesses (§ 13). Purchase from a minor (§ 7), deposit (§ 122), and even sale (§ 9), were invalid without witnesses.

4. The plaintiff pleaded his own case. There were no professional advocates. As a rule, in disputes the parties agreed to submit the case to judges, and together 'captured' a judge, who gave them a decision. They mutually swore not to reopen the case. Many cases were, so to speak, settled out of court. The parties mutually agreed, got an agreement drawn up by a scribe, and swore to observe it. There is no mention of a judge in such cases, but the oath was taken in the temple.

5. The death penalty may be regarded as simple or specific. In most cases it is enacted in the words 'he shall be killed' (*iddak*). In these cases we are quite in the dark as to how it was inflicted, or what was its nature. It may be noted that the penalty is permissive, not imperative. The verb is imperfect, the 'shall' of the version is future. That this was the case, is seen by the fact that a clause was introduced in one case allowing the husband to pardon his wife and the king to reprieve his servant (§ 129). In another case death is only in default of multiple restitution (§ 8). We read of other cases where the plaintiff accepted a composition. In fact, the Code marks the transition from the period when blood-revenge ruled. There is no trace of this left. The Code, however, does not refer to deliberate murder at all. Whether, in that case, the avenger's right was too strong to be denied, or whether the law of retaliation was too well known, we cannot say. The Code does not regard the crime as one against the State, but against the individual, and he or his representatives plead for revenge rather than punishment. The Code, however, regulates this and assigns its bounds.

The unspecified death penalty is enacted against a man who alleges witchcraft, and so puts another in danger of death (§ 1) without justification: for endangering life by false witness in a capital suit (§ 3); for entry and theft from mansion or temple (§ 6); for kidnapping a free-born child (§ 14); for housebreaking (§ 21); for highway robbery (§ 22); for rape of a betrothed maiden living at home (§ 130); for building a house so badly as to bring about the death of its owner (§ 229); for striking a gentlewoman with child and causing her death (§ 209); certain forms of theft, taking on deposit or buying from a domestic inferior, without power of attorney on his part, or in secret (§ 7); receiving stolen goods (§ 6); appropriation of things found (§ 9); selling same (§ 10); vexatious claim of property (§ 11); procuring flight of slave (§ 15); harbouring fugitive slave (§ 16) or fugitive militiaman (§ 16); holding captured slave (§ 19); getting slave's brand erased (§ 227); neglect of duty on part of privileged classes, as a beer-seller who did not procure arrest of seditious brawlers (§ 109); evasion of service or substitution of hireling on part of levy-master or catchpole (§ 26),—were all punished in this way.

Death with specified accessories, or manner, is enacted thus: *burning*—for theft at a conflagration (§ 25); for votary, opening or entering beershop for drink (§ 110); for incest with mother (§ 157; cf. Gn 38^{24}, Lv 20^{14} 21^{9}, Jos 7^{15}); *drowning*—for selling beer too cheap (§ 109); adultery (§ 129); being a bad wife (§ 143); incest with daughter-in-law (§ 155); deserting husband's house in his enforced absence, if provided with maintenance (§ 133); *impalement*—for procuring husband's death (§ 153, cf. Est 7^{9}); *dismemberment*—for fraud uncompensated under the *metayer* system (§ 256). These special forms either make the punishment peculiarly appropriate to the deed, or perhaps embody ancient custom. The penalty in § 21 may perhaps imply that a man who tunnelled through the wall (built of sun-dried bricks) into his neighbour's house might be killed 'on the spot,' and buried in the tunnel he had made; or it may mean that he could be buried in the opening from which his tunnel started, in his own house, assuming him to be a neighbour, and so desecrate that house for ever. In the case of an adulterous pair, the Code enacts that they shall be 'bound' (together?) and drowned (§ 129). A man who committed incest with his daughter-in-law was to be 'bound,' and she was to be drowned (§ 155). Some think there is an error in the text, but it is possible that 'bound' really means 'strangled.' It is very unlikely that the man would be only 'bound.' The ordeal by water, to which a man accused of witchcraft, or a woman suspected by her husband of infidelity, had to submit, was likely to end in death (§§ 2, 132).

The working of § 2, which describes the ordeal, has been misunderstood. It is well known that a wizard or witch ought to float. The Code shows that if the river 'conquers' him he is guilty; while, if he is saved, he is innocent. It is difficult to see how 'conquering' can mean 'rejecting.' Hence this ordeal is not in harmony with the ordinary ideas of witchcraft.

Mutilation as a penalty comes into the Code in two ways. First, as a mere retaliation for a mutilation. Eye for eye (§ 196), tooth for tooth (§ 198), limb for limb (§ 197), are examples. Second, the mutilation is the punishment of the offending member. A surgeon who, through want of skill or care, causes the death of a patient under operation, has his hands cut off (§ 218). So has a brander who erases a slave's brand (§ 226), or a son who strikes his father (§ 195). A wet-nurse, for substituting a changeling for the child committed to her charge, has her breasts cut off (§ 194). An ungrateful adopted son, who spies out the disgraceful origin of his existence, has his eye torn out (§ 193). A slave who repudiates his master's authority, or smites a gentleman on the cheek, has his ear—the organ of hearing and understanding, therefore of obedience—cut off (§§ 282, 205). An adopted child who used his tongue to repudiate his adoptive parents, had it cut out (§ 192). A man who used his hands to steal instead of to work, had them cut off (§ 253).

Scourging is only once named — sixty strokes with a cow-hide whip, laid on in the assembly, for smiting the cheek of a superior (§ 202). Branding on the forehead was the punishment for slander of a votary or married woman (§ 127). It is disputed whether this may not mean cutting off the forelock, as the mark of a freeman. But it is expressed by the same verb as is used to denote the putting of a slave mark on a presumptuous slave girl (§ 146). This mark was usually on the arm, and was visible (B^2 419), and it could be eradicated by a brander. In later times we know that slaves had their owner's name on their arms. This points to a tattoo. The sentence was, evidently, equivalent to degradation to slavery. The levy-masters claimed all slaves who were not owned privately (B^2 419). Hence the sentence meant 'hard labour for life.' These slaves were clothed and fed at the public expense, but had no wages.

Banishment from the city was the penalty of incest with a daughter (§ 154). Disinheritance was rather a family affair than a punishment. Confiscation does not occur. When a man takes the house of one who has bewitched him or falsely accuses him of witchcraft (§ 2), he is merely compensated for vexatious disturbance. Failure to attend to a holding, benefice of an office, led to forfeiture of office and the benefice (§ 30). Certain unrighteous actions led to forfeiture: thus, if a man bought part of a benefice from an official, he had to return his purchase and forfeit the price (§ 37). The same penalty fell upon one who bought the property of wards in chancery (§ 177). If a man exchanged with an official part of his benefice, he had to restore it and lose his exchanged property (§ 41). If he lent corn and helped himself to his debtor's crop without the debtor's consent, he had to restore what he took, and lost all claim to repayment (§ 113).

Simple restitution occurs only when the holder came by the property innocently, as having bought property which the seller had no right to sell (§ 9). This is compensated for by the seller also returning the price.

Multiple restoration is very common. Fraudulent claim is punished by paying double. A warehouseman who falsifies the amount entrusted to him (§ 120), a receiver of deposit who denies it (§ 124), a man who takes presents from a suitor for his daughter and does not allow him to marry her (§§ 160, 161), pays double. The agent who did not succeed in business repaid the capital double (§ 101). If he cheated his principal, he paid threefold (§ 106); if the principal cheated his agent, he paid sixfold (§ 107). An innocent purchaser of goods illegally sold, having to give them up, could extract fivefold from the estate of the seller, if deceased (§ 12). A carrier who misappropriated goods entrusted to him to forward paid fivefold (§ 112). A judge who altered his judgment paid twelvefold what his sentence awarded (§ 5). A gentleman who stole from temple or mansion had to pay thirtyfold, a plebeian tenfold, or be put to death (§ 8).

Some of the penalties for breach of contract in agricultural matters have been misunderstood. They depend upon an estimate of average yield. The errors are due to misunderstanding of the scale of measures of area. G. Reisner long ago showed (*Sitzungsberichte der Berlin Akademie*, 1896, p. 417 f.) that the *GAN* contained 1800 *SAR*, the *SAR* had 60 *G̅I̅N̅*. Further, the *SAR* was equivalent in area to a square, each side being one *GAR-(DU)*, while the *GAR* was 12 *U* long. Taking the *U* to be a cubit, this gives the *SAR* to be about 18 feet square. The area of a house was usually about 1 *SAR* (§ 228), and we find even as little as $\frac{1}{3}$rd *SAR* in contemporary documents. Now, the average rent of corn land was 6 to 8 *GUR* per *GAN*; of freshly opened land about 18 *GUR* per *GAN*. The penalty in § 44 would be not heavy at 10 *GUR* per *GAN*. Kohler, Müller, Peiser, Winckler, Boscawen, and Pinches follow Scheil in making the penalty 10 *GUR* per 10 *GAN*, or 1 *GUR* per *GAN*—an absurdly small amount. Besides, if that was meant, why did not the scribe write '1 *GUR* per *GAN*'? So (in §§ 56, 57, 58, 63) they all make the penalty $\frac{1}{10}$th of the right amount. Further, in estimating other fines or wages it is well to remember that the *GUR* contained 300 *ḲA*, the *ḲA* had 60 *GIN*, and the *GIN* 180 *ŠE*. This *ŠE* must not be confounded with the *ŠE* of silver, of which 180 also went to the *GIN* or shekel, and 60 shekels to the mina. The *GUR* of corn was, from the time of Maništusu down to the 5th cent. B.C., reckoned as worth 1 shekel of silver. Of course the price of corn varied in times of scarcity or plenty, and even during the year.

We are nowhere told how the sentence of the law was executed. Perhaps the judge and the elders carried it out; perhaps the whole adult population had a hand in it. At any rate, the deposition of a judge and the scourging of one who assaulted his superior in rank were carried out 'in the assembly' (*ina puḫri*; §§ 5, 202). In contemporary documents the judges are said to 'assemble' the city (*daiane alum ipḫur*; B 74). The beer-seller was supposed to be able to hale brawlers and seditious persons to the palace

(§ 109). The highway robber might be arrested (§ 22). These references suppose a sort of police, perhaps the *bâ'iru* above.

6. We may now turn to the crimes or misdemeanours considered in the Code. Theft was held to be the unlawful possession of property. The worst kind was that which involved entry—it may be styled burglary. There is no need to suppose that sacrilege was involved, for it was hardly less sacrilegious to steal the property of a temple from the open field (§ 6). Receiving was as bad as stealing (§ 6). The 'goods' referred to are any portable furniture, and are not confined to 'treasure.' Theft in the open is less guilty as less deliberate (§ 8). A minor, or a slave, had of course great opportunity to steal. To assist by buying of such, or receiving from such, was very heinous (§ 7). But such were often empowered by deed to act for the householder; the Code insists on such power being duly witnessed. If a man found property anywhere, he took possession of it at great peril. If the loser recognized it in his possession, he might be condemned as a thief (§ 9). He could not sell it; if that were proved against him, he would have to restore the price and suffer as a thief. The only thing to do was to make known his discovery as widely as possible, and restore it to its owner. If he did this with a runaway slave whom he caught in the open field, he was entitled to a reward of about one-tenth of the restored property (§ 17). In this he would be guided by the slave's brand, and the slave himself might name his master. If not, he must take the slave to the palace, there to be examined, and so restored to his owner. To harbour a runaway or keep a recaptured fugitive for his own service, was treated as theft (§§ 16, 19). Kidnapping, or inducing a slave to leave his master's service, was theft (§§ 14, 15). Theft at a fire was peculiarly heinous as a breach of good faith (§ 25). Brigandage, or highway robbery, was a capital offence (§ 22).

Some offences against property were assessed at a fair value, and simple or multiple restitution enacted (§§ 57–59). Minor thefts were fined (§§ 259, 260).

It is evident that offences against the rights of property were most severely repressed, perhaps on account of their frequency; cf. Gn 31^{32} 44^{9}.

Offences against the person were graded, according to the rank of the injured person relatively to the offender. Murder is not expressly dealt with; but that the penalty was death, may be assumed from the treatment of manslaughter in a quarrel (§ 206 f.). Here, if there was no malice, a payment of the doctor covered any wound, and death resulting involved a fine only. If a pregnant woman was struck and abortion caused, the child's life was estimated at a fine on a graduated scale. If the woman died, the compensation was also graduated according to the woman's rank (§§ 209–214). A rash or careless operation was penalized according to the rank of the sufferer (§§ 218–220).

Assaults are treated much the same way. To strike a parent was very heinous (§ 195). Injuries by one gentleman to another were punished by retaliation (§§ 196, 197),—to a poor man by fines (§§ 198–201), to a slave by lower fines (§ 199). To strike a superior on the cheek involved scourging (§ 202); an equal, a fine (§§ 203, 204). A slave who struck a superior on the cheek was mutilated (§ 205).

Offences against morality were mostly capital: adultery (§ 129); rape of a daughter-in-law (§ 130); bad conduct on a wife's part (§ 143); procuring a husband's death (§ 153); incest (§§ 154–158). However, seduction of a betrothed virgin involved only a fine (§ 155), and incest with a mother-in-law, outlawry (§ 158).

Desertion of a wife dissolved marriage (§ 136); persistent worthlessness of a wife justified divorce (§ 141); mutual aversion also (§ 142). Persistent unfilial conduct justified disinheritance (§ 169). Ingratitude on the part of adopted sons was punished according to the status of the son, apart from his adoption (§§ 192, 193). Presumption on the part of a maid against her mistress earned degradation to slavery (§ 146). A maid was not necessarily a slave.

The principle of retaliation was extended to the intention of a crime. To put a man in danger of a damage was punished by the infliction of that damage on the offender. This elucidates several points. To accuse a man wrongfully of witchcraft (black magic?) put the accused in danger of death, for it was punished by death (§ 1). Similarly, to accuse a man of magical arts subjected him to the risk of death (§ 2), and, if not proved by the result of ordeal, was punished by death. It is clear that the Code did not mean to let a witch live.

False witness was brought under this principle. If it imperilled life, it was punished by death (§ 3); if it endangered property, it was punished by equivalent loss (§ 4). False claim to property, involving peril of life to accused, was capital (§ 5).

Slander against a respectable woman (§ 127) was punished by degradation to slavery. Overreaching (§ 126), unjustifiable distraint (§§ 114, 241), fraudulent claim, undisclosed defects of sale (§ 278), were fined. 'Self-help' was forbidden, even when most reasonable (§§ 49, 113).

Breach of contract had to be made good (§§ 42, 43, 62, 65, 125), and was further often penalized (§§ 44, 124). Evasion or falsification was strictly forbidden (§ 52). Denial of deposit (§ 124); substitution of a changeling (§ 194); breach of trust (§§ 253–256); neglect of entrusted flocks or herds (§§ 263–267); bad workmanship in building a house or ship (§§ 229, 235); neglect of hired animals (§ 45 ff.),—were all penalized.

Neglect of duty was severely punished, due regard being had to the degree of responsibility of the offender. Levy-masters, constables, beer-sellers, governors, magistrates, were severely punished for breach of duty. Riparian owners were held responsible for repairs to canals and for all damage due to neglect. Neglect of reasonable precautions was penalized (§§ 251, 252).

Oppression, bribery, misappropriation of public property, were capital offences in governors and magistrates (§§ 33, 34). Cruelty to or neglect of a hostage for debt was punished (§ 116).

All disputed cases were left at the decision of the king, or decided according to statutory tariffs (§ 51). All contracts were to be duly drawn up and attested, or were invalid (§§ 105, 122).

Extenuating circumstances were admitted in some cases. A woman left without provision by her husband might remarry (§ 134). A man who could not hold the slave he had caught was free (§ 20). Desertion excused bigamy (§ 136). Bearing children to her master, so far excused a maid's insolence to her mistress that she could not be sold as a slave (§ 146). Refloating a ship partly excused sinking it (§ 238). Deception excused a brander's illegally rebranding a slave (§ 227).

Accident, the stroke of God, a thunderstorm, the attack of wild beasts, robbery by the enemy (§§ 45, 48, 103, 244, 249, 266), relieved a man of responsibility for damage to trust, or debt. A sudden charge on the part of an ox did not involve his owner (§ 250). The natural death in a creditor's employ of a hostage for debt did not render the creditor liable (§ 115). But a depositary was liable for damage done to goods deposited with him, even if he could not help it, because he was under contract, and charged a fee for safe keeping

(§§ 120, 125). Want of malice excused manslaughter, partly (§ 207).

Suspicion of evil was not enough. The Code continually insists that the criminal must be caught in the act. If accused of harbouring a slave, the slave must be seized in his possession (§ 19). The adulterer, ravisher, etc. (§§ 129, 130, 131), must be caught in the act.

An injured party could condone the offence in some cases. A man might save the life of an adulterous wife (§ 129).

xi. *MARRIAGE, AND FAMILY LIFE.* — 1. The laws dealing with the family are very numerous. For the most part, the Code keeps them together. The foundation of the family is marriage. This was a contract, first on the part of the parents of the man and wife who seem to have arranged marriages quite young. The Code, however, treats the man as a free suitor; he comes himself to the house of the bride's father and brings him presents. The maid does not seem to be free. Her father gives her in marriage, accepts or rejects the suitor. Women who had been married, or were seduced, were free to marry the man of their choice (§§ 137, 156, 172).

Besides the presents, the suitor gave a bride-price (*terḫatu*) to the father of the bride (*marḫitu*). This was usually a mina of silver (§ 139), though we find much less in contemporary documents: one shekel, four, five, or ten shekels. These irregularities may be due to special circumstances; but even a princess, daughter of Ammiditana (B^1 193), had only four shekels given for her. It might not be given at all. The father often gave this to the bride. If a suitor now retreated, he had to relinquish the presents and bride-price paid. If the father refused the girl to the suitor, he had to return double what he had received (§§ 159, 160). If the marriage was childless, the *terḫatu* had to be returned to the husband on the wife's death, if it had not been returned before (§ 163; cf. Gn 24^{22} $29^{18f.}$ 31^{15} 34^{12}, Ex 22^{16}, Dt 22^{29}, 1 S 18^{25}).

The wife brought a dowry with her, the marriage portion (*šeriḳtu*), her share of her father's property. Though she brought this into her husband's house, it was tied to her for life. It had to be returned to her family, by her husband, if she died childless, but he might deduct the amount of the bride-price given by him, if this had not been paid back to him (§ 164). The *šeriḳtu* therefore was normally larger than the *terḫatu*. We have several contemporary lists of these dowries. They included gold, silver, jewels, garments, household furniture, slaves even, if not also estates (B^1 10, B^1 33, B^1 163). If her husband died before her, though his property might be divided up, she retained her *šeriḳtu* (§§ 171, 172); and, after her death, it fell to be divided among her children (§§ 162, 167, 173, 174). If she had no children, it went back to her father's house (§§ 163, 164). Even if she were divorced, she kept her *šeriḳtu* (§§ 137, 138, 142, 149). She of course forfeited it if she were an adulteress, or reduced to slavery for misconduct (§§ 141, 143; cf. Gn 16^2 $24^{59.61}$ $29^{24.29}$, Jos 15^{18}, Jg 1^{14}).

If the marriage was dissolved without her fault, she took a child's share when her husband's property was divided. If she had children, the father had to allow her the usufruct of his estates till the children were grown up (§ 137). She was free to marry again when the children were grown up, and apparently not till her husband was dead. If she had no children when the marriage was dissolved, she got back her marriage portion and either her *terḫatu*, or divorce price (*uzûbu*), of one mina, if her husband was a gentleman; or a third of a mina if he was a 'poor man' (§§ 138–140). When the husband died and she had a family, she had a right to a son's share (§ 172), unless her husband had given her a settlement (*nudunnû*) by deed of gift in his lifetime. She might have power given her to leave this as she liked among her sons, but not outside her husband's children. Her family could not disturb her possession of these benefits as long as she lived and remained a widow; but, if she remarried, she gave them up to her family, to whom they came at her death (§ 172). She had a right to live in her husband's house, and the family could not turn her out.

The married pair formed a unit. Each was responsible for the debts of the other, even prenuptial debts. This shows that they were not always children when married, and that unmarried women could contract debt. The Code allowed a woman to get her husband to give her a bond that she should not be held responsible for his prenuptial debts, in which case his creditors could not touch her (§ 151). But it enacted that this should also exempt him from responsibility for her prenuptial debts. Further, it enacted that both together should be responsible for all debts contracted after marriage. This was a heavy responsibility for the wife. For she could be assigned by her husband to work off his debts as a *mancipium* (§ 117). Her contracting debt was one of the offences which might lead to divorce, or even death (§ 141 f.).

Marriage was a contract. There had to be a marriage deed drawn up, sealed, and witnessed. Without such *riksati*, 'bonds' or 'marriage lines,' a woman was not a wife (§ 128). The marriage deed might contain some peculiar stipulations. Thus a man married a sister of his first wife, on condition that she was to be his wife, but wait on her sister, care for her, and carry her stool when she went to the temple of Marduk (B^1 21, B^2 2176 A). The children were to be reckoned children of the first wife, probably to inherit her property. Two contracts were drawn up—one between the husband and wife, one between the sisters. If the wife repudiated her husband, she was to be branded and sold as a slave. If the husband repudiated her, he was to pay her a mina of silver. In another case, a man marries a wife on condition that she treat his mother as mistress of the house, or be branded and sold for a slave. The mother then contracts to leave all her property to the pair, if they keep her as long as she lives (B^2 707).

2. Divorce was allowed. The husband had it in his power to divorce his wife with the words, 'Thou art not my wife'; but he could not do so without a cause. He had to return what she brought with her, and either pay her a compensation or forfeit the bride-price he paid for her (§§ 137, 138; cf. Dt 24^1 $22^{19.29}$, Hos 2^4, Mt 5^{31} 19^7). She retained custody of the children until they were of age, and he had to make them and her an allowance. But, if the wife had so misconducted herself as to merit divorce, she lost her property, or the husband could degrade her to slavery. In the former case she was homeless, unless her family would take her back, and also penniless. In the latter case she had at least home, food, and clothing. If the wife sought the divorce herself, she could get it if she could prove cruelty (§ 142). She then took her marriage portion and went back to her family, but forfeited her bride-price. On the other hand, if in this case the fault was on her side, she lost her life (§ 143). The wife who was childless could not oppose her husband's taking a concubine, unless she chose to give him a maid to bear him children. If she was seized with incurable disease, her husband could not divorce her on that ground, but might marry again (§ 148). He was bound to let her stay in his house, and to maintain her as long as she lived (§ 148). But she was not bound to stay; she might

take back her marriage portion and go back to her father's house (§ 149). Desertion on the man's part dissolved marriage (§ 136); but mere absence did not, if the wife was provided for (§§ 133, 134). Otherwise, she might remarry to get maintenance, but she was then bound to return to her husband if he came back (§ 135).

3. It is clear that the Babylonian was a monogamist: he could have only one proper wife. But he could have a concubine, if his wife were childless (§ 145). The children by a concubine were legitimate, the concubine a real wife. He could not put her away except on the same terms as the first wife (§ 137).

4. It was not forbidden to votaries to marry (§§ 144–146). As the contemporary documents show, they frequently did so. But it was evidently contemplated that they would not have children.

5. Bars to marriage are enacted: when a comrade slanders a suitor so that he is rejected, he may not marry the girl himself (§ 137); when a widow has young children, she may not marry except by the judge's permission (§ 177). This was granted only when the first husband's goods had been inventoried, and given in trust for the children to the widow and her new husband.

6. Connexion with a maid was not marriage. But the children were free, and so was the maid at her master's death. He could acknowledge the children as his (§ 170); then they shared equally with the other children. A maid given by her mistress to her master to bear him children was still in the power of her mistress, who could degrade her to slavery again for insolence; but, if she had fulfilled her function, she could not be sold.

7. Special cases arose when a free woman married a slave. The wife kept her marriage portion, if any; and she, with her children, had a right to half what her husband left (§ 176).

8. A girl might be vowed to a temple. In this case she became the bride of a god, and, as such, might have a marriage portion given her. Of this she had the enjoyment for life. But her brothers had the reversion of it on her death. She could alienate nothing from it. If she did not receive this marriage portion from her father, she had the right to receive one-third of a son's share at his death (§§ 180–182). The votaries of Marduk had, further, the free disposal of their property at death, and exemption from duty (§ 182). The ladies might hand over their property at once to their brothers to administer and maintain them, or they could appoint a steward to do so.

Sons were also vowed to temples (B^2 2183, 2480).

9. The father had power over his children. He could pledge or sell them for his debts (§ 119). He sought wives for his sons, and provided them with a proper bride-price. This was so important a duty, that, if he had not performed it for all his children before his death, the brethren at the division of the property, at his death, had to set aside a bride-price for the unmarried sons, and get them married. The father gave his daughters in marriage. After his death the mother took his place. She usually acted in concert with the grown-up children. In default of both parents, the elder brother acted.

Children were often hired out by their parents to work. It seems that, as long as a son lived in his father's house, the father had a right to his work or earnings.

Sonship could be dissolved; but only on grave grounds. The judge had to consent, and was bound to try to reconcile the father first. Only on a repetition of the offence was disinheritance allowed (§§ 168, 169).

10. Adoption was very common. An adopted son was as difficult to disinherit as a real son. The adoption was usually made by contract; the father gave the son a 'deed of sonship' (*duppu aplûtišu*). This might lay down conditions. The most usual was that the adopted son should care for and maintain his adoptive father as long as he should live. Mothers often adopted daughters, to be cared for by them. The other members of the family were consenting parties. The arrangement disturbed their succession to their parents' property; but if married they might prefer, and even procure, this means of providing for old people.

Adoption could be rescinded for faults on either side. When an adopted child failed to keep his contract (§ 186), when the adopting parent did not treat the adopted child properly (§§ 189, 190), or when the adoptive parent chose to dissolve the contract (§ 191), it could be done. In the contracts, the right to break the bond was sometimes expressly reserved to both parties (B 27). Sometimes the right to dissolve the relation was reserved to the parents alone (B^1 210). Sometimes it was laid down that, if they did that, they must give the child a son's share of the estate (B^1 54).

In such cases we may regard the adopted child as a scion of a good family, whose real parents consented and saw after their child's interests. Such a consent was needed (§ 186). When a man adopted a foundling, or his own children by a maid, no one could make a stipulation (§§ 170, 185, 187). But, even when the real parents were alive, the adopted child might be severely punished for attempting to repudiate his adoptive parents. Usually he was to be made a slave, branded, and sold. The Code prescribes mutilation as punishment in specially ungrateful cases (§§ 192, 193). It is not unlikely that in these cases the real parents stipulated that they should not be known. We find that votaries often adopted daughters, and, whenever a child of a votary is named, this may be the explanation. Slaves were adopted (B^1 322, V.A.Th. 847).

11. Sons inherited equally. Adopted sons were usually heirs to a residuary portion. A married and portioned daughter had no share. But if she was not portioned she had a share like a son (§ 180), but only a life interest in it. The brothers might give her a portion after her father's death (§ 184). When there were children of two mothers by the same father, they all shared equally in the father's property (§ 167); but each family shared only their own mother's portion.

On sharing, if there was an unmarried son, a bride-price had to be reserved for him over and above his share (§ 166). A girl's share was her *šeriḳtu*, or marriage portion. If she had had that, she had no other share; if not, she had it now. A father's free gift to a favourite son did not come into the division, nor was his share less on that account (§ 165). Daughters, of course, inherited in default of sons. The widow took one son's share (§ 171) and her own property. The contemporary documents often show divisions of inheritance, or lawsuits about them.

II. The Code.

§ 1. If a man has accused a man and laid (a charge of ?) death [a deadly spell ?] upon him and has not justified it, he that accused him shall* be put to death.

§ 2. If a man has laid (a charge of ?) sorcery upon a man and has not justified it, he upon whom the sorcery is laid shall go to the holy river, he shall plunge into the holy river, and if the holy river overcome him, he who accused him shall take to himself his house. If the holy river has made out that man to be innocent and has saved him, he who accused him shall be put to death. He who plunged into the holy river shall take to himself the house of him who wove the spell upon him. [Ex 22^{18}, Dt 18^{10}, Jer 27^{9}].

---

* 'Shall' is future. In many cases it could be rendered 'may. It fixes the extreme penalty.

§ 3. If a man in a case (pending judgment), as witness to slander has lied and has not justified the word that he has spoken, if that case be a capital suit, that man shall be put to death. [Dt $19^{16f.}$].

§ 4. If as witness to corn or money he has lied, he shall himself bear the sentence of that case. [Ex 23^{8}, Dt 16^{19}].

§ 5. If a judge has judged a judgment, decided a decision, granted a sealed sentence, and afterwards has altered his judgment, they shall call that judge to account for the alteration of the judgment that he judged, and he shall pay twelvefold the penalty which was in the said judgment. Further, in the assembly they shall expel him from his judgment seat, and he shall not return and with the judges at a judgment he shall not take his seat.

§ 6. If a man has stolen the goods of temple or palace, that man shall be put to death. Further, he who has received the stolen thing from his hand shall be put to death. [Gn 31^{32}, Jos $7^{1f.}$].

§ 7. If a man has bought silver, gold, manservant or maidservant, ox or sheep or ass or anything whatever its name, from the hand of a man's son, or of a man's slave, without witness or power of attorney, or has received the same on deposit, that man has acted the thief, he shall be put to death. [Gn 23^{10-18}, Ru $4^{2f.}$].

§ 8. If a man has stolen ox or sheep or ass or pig or ship, whether from the temple or the palace, he shall pay thirtyfold. If from a poor man, he shall render tenfold. If the thief has not wherewith to pay, he shall be put to death. [Gn 44^{9}, Ex 21^{37} $22^{1f.\,9}$, 2 S 12^{6}].

§ 9. If a man who has lost something of his has seized something of his that was lost in the hand of a man, (while) the man in whose hand the lost thing has been seized has said, 'A giver gave it me,' or 'I bought it before witnesses'; and further, the owner of the thing that was lost has said, 'Verily, I will bring witnesses that know my lost property'; (if) the buyer has brought the giver who gave it him, or the witnesses before whom he bought it, and the owner of the lost property has brought the witnesses who know his lost property, the judge shall see their depositions, the witnesses before whom the purchase was made, and the witnesses knowing the lost property shall say out before God what they know; and if the giver has acted the thief he shall be put to death, the owner of the lost property shall take his lost property, the buyer shall take the money he paid from the house of the giver. ['to give' is often = 'to sell.']. [Ex 22^{7-9}, Lv 6^{3}].

§ 10. If the buyer has not brought the giver who gave it him or the witnesses before whom he bought, and the owner of the lost property has brought the witnesses knowing his lost property, the (professed) buyer has acted the thief, he shall be put to death. The owner of the lost property shall take his lost property.

§ 11. If the owner of the lost property has not brought witnesses knowing his lost property, he has slandered, he has stirred up strife, he shall be put to death. [Dt $19^{16f.}$].

§ 12. If the seller has betaken himself to his fate (is dead), the buyer shall take from the house of the seller fivefold as the penalty of that case.

§ 13. If that man has not his witnesses near, the judge shall set him a fixed time, up to six months, and if within six months he has not brought in his witnesses, that man has slandered, he himself shall bear the penalty of that case.

§ 14. If a man has stolen the young son of a freeman, he shall be put to death. [Ex 21^{16}, Dt 24^{7}].

§ 15. If a man has caused either a palace slave or palace maid, or a slave of a poor man or a poor man's maid, to go out of the gate, he shall be put to death.

§ 16. If a man has harboured in his house a manservant or a maidservant, fugitive from the palace, or from a poor man, and has not produced them at the demand of the commandant, that householder shall be put to death. [Dt $23^{15f.}$, 1 S 30^{15}].

§ 17. If a man has captured either a manservant or a maidservant, a fugitive, in the open country and has driven him back to his master, the owner of the slave shall pay him two shekels of silver. [Gn $16^{7f.}$, Dt 23^{16}, 1 K 2^{39}].

§ 18. If that slave will not name his owner, he shall drive him to the palace, and one shall inquire into his past, and cause him to return to his owner.

§ 19. If he confine that slave in his house, and afterwards the slave has been seized in his hand, that man shall be put to death.

§ 20. If the slave has fled from the hand of his captor, that man shall swear by the name of God to the owner of the slave, and shall go free. [Ex 22^{1-3}, Jer 2^{32}, Mt $6^{19f.}$].

§ 21. If a man has broken into a house one shall kill him before the breach, and bury him in it (?).

§ 22. If a man has carried on brigandage and has been captured, that man shall be put to death.

§ 23. If the brigand has not been caught, the man who has been despoiled shall recount before God what he has lost, and the city and governor in whose land and district the brigandage took place shall render back to him whatever of his was lost. [Dt $21^{1f.}$].

§ 24. If it was life, the city and governor shall pay one mina of silver to his people. [Dt $21^{1f.}$].

§ 25. If in a man's house a fire has been kindled, and a man who has come to extinguish the fire has lifted up his eyes to the property of the owner of the house, and has taken the property of the owner of the house, that man shall be thrown into that fire.

§ 26. If either a ganger or a constable, whose going on an errand of the king has been ordered, has not gone, or has hired a hireling and sent him in place of himself, that ganger or constable shall be put to death, his hireling shall take to himself his house. ['ganger' = 'levy-master'].

§ 27. If a ganger or a constable has been assigned to the fortresses of the king, and after him one has given his field and his garden to another who has carried on his duty, if he has returned and regained his city, his field and his garden shall be returned to him, and he shall carry on his duty himself.

§ 28. If when a ganger or a constable has been assigned to the fortresses of the king, his son be able to carry on the duty, one shall give him field and garden, and he shall carry on his father's duty.

§ 29. If his son is young, and is not able to carry on his father's duty, one-third of the field and garden shall be given to his mother, and his mother shall bring him up.

§ 30. If a ganger or a constable has neglected his field, his garden, and his house, from the beginning of his duty, and has caused it to be waste, and another after him has taken his field, his garden, and his house, and has gone about his duty for three years, if he has returned and regained his city, and would cultivate his field, his garden, and his house, one shall not give them to him; he who has taken them and carried on his duty shall carry it on.

§ 31. If it is one year only and he had let it go waste, and he has returned, one shall give him his field, his garden, and his house, and he himself shall carry on his duty.

§ 32. If a ganger or a constable has been assigned on an errand of the king's, and a merchant has ransomed him and caused him to regain his city, if in his house there is means for his ransom, he shall ransom himself; if in his house there is no means for his ransom, he shall be ransomed from the temple of his city; if in the temple of his city there is not means for his ransom, the palace shall ransom him. His field, his garden, and his house shall not be given for his ransom.

§ 33. If either a governor or a magistrate has taken to himself the men of the levy, or has accepted and sent on the king's errand a hired substitute, that governor or magistrate shall be put to death.

§ 34. If either a governor or a magistrate has taken to himself the property of a ganger, has plundered a ganger, has given a ganger on hire, has defrauded a ganger in a judgment by high-handedness, has taken to himself the gift the king has given the ganger, that governor or magistrate shall be put to death. [Lk 12^{58}].

§ 35. If a man has bought the cattle or sheep which the king has given to the ganger, at the hand of the ganger, he shall be deprived of his money.

§ 36. The field, garden, and house of a ganger, or constable, or a tributary, one shall not give for money.

§ 37. If a man has bought the field, garden, or house of a ganger, a constable, or a tributary, his tablet shall be broken, and he shall be deprived of his money. The field, garden, or house he shall return to its owner.

§ 38. The ganger, constable, or tributary shall not write off to his wife or his daughter, from the field, garden, or house of his benefice. Further, he shall not assign it for his debt.

§ 39. From the field, garden, and house which he has bought and acquired he may write off to his wife or his daughter, and give for his debt. [Ezk 46^{18}].

§ 40. A votary, merchant, or foreign sojourner may sell his field, his garden, or his house; the buyer shall carry on the duty of the field, garden, or house which he has bought.

§ 41. If a man has bartered for the field, garden, or house of a ganger, constable, or tributary, and has given exchanges, the ganger, constable, or tributary shall return to his field, garden, or house, and further shall keep the exchanges given him.

§ 42. If a man has taken a field to cultivate and has not caused the corn to grow in the field and has not done the entrusted work on the field, they shall call him to account and he shall give a crop like its neighbour to the owner of the field.

§ 43. If he has not cultivated the field and has left it to itself, he shall give corn like its neighbour to the owner of the field. Further, the field he left he shall break up with hoes, and shall harrow it and return to the owner of the field.

§ 44. If a man has taken on hire an unreclaimed field for three years to open out, and has left it aside, has not opened the field, in the fourth year he shall break it up with hoes, he shall hoe it, and harrow it, and return to the owner of the field. Further, he shall measure out ten *GUR* of corn per *GAN*.

§ 45. If a man has given his field for produce to a cultivator, and has received the produce of his field, and afterwards a thunderstorm has ravaged the field or carried away the produce, the loss is the cultivator's.

§ 46. If he has not received the produce of his field, or has given the field either for one-half or for one-third of the corn that is in the field, the cultivator and the owner of the field shall share according to the tenour of their contract. [Gn 47^{24}].

§ 47. If the cultivator, because in the former year he did not set up his dwelling, has assigned the field to cultivation, the owner of the field shall not interfere; he shall wait (?); his field has been cultivated, and at harvest time he shall take corn according to his bonds.

§ 48. If a man has a debt upon him and a thunderstorm ravaged his field or carried away the produce, or if the corn has not grown through lack of water, in that year he shall not return corn to the creditor, he shall alter (lit. moisten, so as to rewrite) his tablet. Further, he shall not give interest for that year.

§ 49. If a man has borrowed money from a merchant and has given to the merchant a field planted with corn or sesame, and said to him, 'Cultivate the field, reap and take for thyself the corn and sesame which there shall be,' if the cultivator has caused corn or sesame to grow in the field, at the time of harvest the owner of the field, forsooth, shall take the corn or sesame which is in the field, and shall give to the merchant corn for the money which he took from the merchant and for its interest and for the dwelling of the cultivator.

§ 50. If the field was cultivated or the field of sesame was cultivated when he gave it, the owner of the field, forsooth, shall take the corn or sesame which is in the field and shall return the money and its interest to the merchant.

§ 51. If he has not money to return, he shall give to the merchant the sesame, according to its market price, for the money and its interest which he took from the merchant, according to the standard fixed by the king.

§ 52. If the cultivator has not caused corn or sesame to grow in the field, his bonds shall not be altered.

§ 53. If a man has neglected to strengthen his bank of the canal, has not strengthened his bank, a breach has opened out itself in his bank, and the waters have carried away the meadow, the man in whose bank the breach has been opened shall render back the corn which he has caused to be lost.

§ 54. If he is not able to render back the corn, one shall give him and his goods for money, and the people of the meadow whose corn the water has carried away shall share it. [Ex 22^{3}, Lv $25^{39f.}$].

§ 55. If a man has opened his runnel to water and has neglected it, and the waters have carried away the field of his neighbour, he shall pay corn like his neighbour.

§ 56. If a man has opened the waters, and the waters have carried away the plants of the field of his neighbour, he shall pay ten *GUR* of corn per *GAN*.

§ 57. If a shepherd has caused the sheep to feed on the green corn, has not come to an agreement with the owner of the field, without the consent of the owner of the field has made the sheep feed off the field, the owner shall reap his fields, the shepherd who without consent of the owner of the field has fed off the field with sheep shall give over and above twenty *GUR* of corn per *GAN* to the owner of the field. [Ex $22^{4f.}$].

§ 58. If from the time that the sheep have gone up from the meadow, and the whole flock has passed through the gate, the shepherd has laid his sheep on the field and has caused the sheep to feed off the field, the shepherd who has made them feed off the field shall keep it, and at harvest time he shall measure out sixty *GUR* of corn per *GAN* to the owner of the field.

§ 59. If a man without the consent of the owner of the orchard has cut down a tree in a man's orchard, he shall pay half a mina of silver. [2 K 3^{25}].

§ 60. If a man has given a field to a gardener to plant a garden, and the gardener has planted the garden, four years he shall rear the garden, in the fifth year the owner of the garden and the gardener shall share equally. The owner of the garden shall cut off his share and take it. [Lv 19^{23-25}].

§ 61. If the gardener has not included all the field in the planting, has left a waste place, one shall set him the waste place in his share.

§ 62. If he has not planted the field which has been given him as a garden; if it was corn land, the gardener shall measure out to the owner of the field produce of the field, like its neighbour, for the years that are neglected. Further, he shall do the prescribed work on the field and return to the owner of the field.

§ 63. If the field was unreclaimed land, he shall do the prescribed work on the field and return it to the owner of the field. Further, he shall measure out ten *GUR* of corn per *GAN* for each year.

§ 64. If a man has given his garden to a gardener to farm, the gardener as long as he holds the garden shall give to the owner of the garden two-thirds from the produce of the garden, and he himself shall take one-third.

§ 65. If the gardener does not farm the garden and has diminished the yield, he shall measure out the yield of the garden like its neighbour.

> Here five columns of the monument have been erased, only the commencing characters of column xvii. being visible. The subjects of this last part included the further enactments concerning the rights and duties of gardeners, the whole of the regulations concerning houses let to tenants, and the relationships of the merchant to his agents, which continue on the obverse of the monument. Scheil estimates the lost portion at 35 sections, and, following him, we recommence with—

§ 100. . . . the interests of the money, as much as he took, he shall write down, and when he has numbered his days he shall answer the merchant.

§ 101. If where he has gone he has not seen prosperity, the agent shall double the money he took and shall give to the merchant.

§ 102. If a merchant has given to the agent money as a favour, and where he has gone he has seen loss, the full amount of money he shall return to the merchant.

§ 103. If while he goes on his journey the enemy has made him quit whatever he was carrying, the agent shall swear by the name of God and shall go free.

§ 104. If the merchant has given to the agent corn, wool, oil, or any sort of goods, to traffic with, the agent shall write down the price and hand over to the merchant; the agent shall take a sealed memorandum of the price which he shall give to the merchant.

§ 105. If an agent has forgotten and has not taken a sealed memorandum of the money he has given to the merchant, money that is not sealed for he shall not put in his accounts.

§ 106. If an agent has taken money from a merchant, and has disputed with his merchant, that merchant shall put the agent to account before God and witnesses concerning the money taken, and the agent shall give to the merchant threefold the money he has taken.

§ 107. If a merchant has wronged an agent and the agent has returned to his merchant whatever the merchant gave him, but the merchant has disputed with the agent as to what the agent gave him, that agent shall put the merchant to account before God and witnesses, and the merchant because he disputed the agent shall give to the agent sixfold whatever he has taken.

§ 108. If a wine merchant has not received corn as the price of drink, has received silver by the great stone, further has made the price of drink less than the price of corn, that wine merchant one shall put to account and throw her into the water. [Jos $2^{1f.}$].

§ 109. If a wine merchant has collected a riotous assembly in her house, and has not seized those rioters and driven them to the palace, that wine merchant shall be put to death.

§ 110. If a votary, a lady, who is not living in the convent, has opened a wine-shop or has entered a wine-shop for drink, one shall burn that woman. [Gn 38^{24}, Lv 21^{9}].

§ 111. If a wine merchant has given sixty *ḲA* of best beer at harvest time for thirst, she shall take fifty *ḲA* of corn.

§ 112. If a man stays away on a journey and has given silver, gold, precious stones, or portable treasures to a man, has caused him to take them for transport, and that man has not given whatever was given for transport, where he has transported it, but has taken it for himself, the owner of the transported object shall put that man to account concerning whatever he had to transport and gave not, and that man shall give to the owner of the transported object fivefold whatever was given him. [Ex $22^{7f.}$, Lv 6^{2-5}].

§ 113. If a man has corn or money upon a man, and without consent of the owner of the corn has taken corn from the heap or from the store, one shall call that man to account for taking of the corn without consent of the owner of the corn from the heap or from the store, and he shall return the corn as much as he has taken. Further, he shall lose all that he gave whatever it be. [Dt 24^{18}].

§ 114. If a man has not corn or money upon a man but levies a distraint, for every single distraint he shall pay one-third of a mina.

§ 115. If a man has corn or money upon a man and has levied a distraint, and the distress in the house of his distrainer dies a natural death, no case lies.

§ 116. If the distress has died in the house of his distrainer, of blows or of want, the owner of his distress shall put his merchant to account, and if he be the son of a freeman (that has died), one shall kill his son; if the slave of a freeman, he shall pay one-third of a mina of silver. Further, he shall lose all that he gave whatever it be. [Mt $18^{28f.}$].

§ 117. If a debt has seized a man and he has given his wife, his son, or his daughter for the money, or has handed them over to work off the debt; for three years they shall work in the house of their buyer or exploiter, in the fourth year he shall set them at liberty. [Gn 31^{41} 47^{19}, Ex $21^{2.7}$, Lv $25^{39f.}$, Dt $15^{12.14.18}$, 1 S 22^{2}, 2 K 4^{1}, Neh $5^{5f.}$, Is 16^{14} 21^{16} 50^{1}, Jer 34^{8}, Am $2^{6.8}$, Mt 5^{25} $18^{28f.}$, Lk 12^{58}].

§ 118. If he has handed over a manservant or a maidservant to work off a debt and the merchant shall go further and sell them for money, no one can object.

§ 119. If a debt has seized a man and he has handed over for the money a maidservant who has borne him children, the money the merchant paid him the owner of the maid shall repay, and he shall ransom his maid.

§ 120. If a man has heaped up his corn in a heap in the house of a man, and in the granary a disaster has taken place, or the owner of the house has opened the granary and taken the corn, or has disputed as to the total amount of the corn that was heaped up in his house, the owner of the corn shall estimate his corn before God, the owner of the house shall double the corn which he took and shall give to the owner of the corn. [Ex 22^{6-11}].

§ 121. If a man has heaped up corn in the house of a man, he shall give as the price of storage five *ḴA* of corn per *GUR* of corn per year.

§ 122. If a man shall give silver, gold, or anything whatever to a man on deposit, all whatever he shall give he shall show to witnesses and fix bonds and shall give on deposit. [Ex $22^{7f.}$].

§ 123. If without witness and bonds he has given on deposit, and where he has deposited they keep disputing him, no case lies.

§ 124. If a man has given silver, gold, or anything whatever to a man on deposit before witnesses and he has disputed with him, one shall call that man to account, and whatever he has disputed he shall make up and shall give double.

§ 125. If a man has given anything of his on deposit, and where he gave it, either by housebreaking or by rebellion, something of his has been lost, along with something of the owner of the house who has defaulted, all that was given him on deposit and he has lost he shall make good and render to the owner of the goods. The owner of the house shall seek out whatever of his is lost and take it from the thief. [Ex 22^{7}].

§ 126. If a man has lost nothing of his, but has said that something of his is lost, has estimated his loss; since nothing of his is lost, his loss he shall estimate before God, and whatever he has claimed he shall double and shall give as his loss.

§ 127. If a man has caused the finger to be pointed against a votary or a man's wife and has not justified himself, that man they shall throw down before the judge and brand his forehead.

§ 128. If a man has married a wife and has not laid down her bonds, that woman is no wife.

§ 129. If the wife of a man has been caught in lying with another male, one shall bind (strangle?) them and throw them into the waters. If the owner of the wife would save his wife, the king may also save his servant. [Gn 38^{24}, Lv 20^{10}, Dt 22^{22-27}].

§ 130. If a man has forced the wife of a man who has not known the male and is dwelling in the house of her father, and has lain in her bosom and one has caught him, that man shall be put to death; the woman herself shall go free. [Ex 22^{16}, Dt $22^{23f.}$].

§ 131. If the wife of a man has been accused by her husband, and she has not been caught in lying with another male, she shall swear by God and shall return to her house.

§ 132. If a wife of a man on account of another male has had the finger pointed at her and has not been caught in lying with another male, for her husband's sake she shall plunge into the holy river. [Nu $5^{12f.}$].

§ 133. If a man has been taken captive and in his house there is maintenance, but his wife has gone out from her house and entered into the house of another; because that woman has not guarded her body and has entered into the house of another, one shall call that woman to account and throw her into the waters.

§ 134. If a man has been taken captive and in his house there is no maintenance, and his wife has entered into the house of another, that woman has no blame.

§ 135. If a man has been taken captive and in his house there is no maintenance before her, his wife has entered into the house of another and has borne children, afterwards her husband has returned and regained his city, that woman shall return to her bridegroom. The children shall go after their father.

§ 136. If a man has left his city and fled, and after his departure his wife has entered the house of another, if that man shall return and seize his wife; because he hated his city and fled, the wife of the truant shall not return to her husband.

§ 137. If a man has set his face to put away his concubine who has borne him children or his wife who has granted him children, to that woman he shall return her marriage portion. Further, he shall give her the usufruct of field, garden, and goods, and she shall bring up her children. From the time that her children are grown up, from whatever is given to her children, they shall give her a share like that of one son and she shall marry the husband of her choice.

§ 138. If a man has put away his bride who has not borne him children, he shall give her money as much as her bride-price. Further, he shall pay her the marriage portion which she brought from her father's house, and shall put her away. [Dt 24^{1}, Mal 2^{16}].

§ 139. If there was no bride-price he shall give one mina of silver for a divorce.

§ 140. If he is a poor man he shall give her one-third of a mina of silver.

§ 141. If the wife of a man who is living in the house of her husband has set her face to go out and has acted the fool, has wasted her house, has belittled her husband, one shall call her to account, and if her husband has said, 'I put her away,' he shall put her away and she shall go her way, he shall not give her anything for her divorce. If her husband has said, 'I will not put her away,' and her husband shall marry another woman, that woman as a maidservant shall dwell in the house of her husband.

§ 142. If a woman hates her husband and has said, 'Thou shalt not possess me,' one shall inquire into her past as to what is her lack, and if she has been economical and has no vice, while her husband has gone out and greatly belittled her, that woman has no blame, she shall take her marriage portion and go off to her father's house.

§ 143. If she has not been economical but a goer about, has wasted her house, has belittled her husband, one shall throw that woman into the waters.

§ 144. If a man has espoused a votary and that votary has given a maid to her husband and has brought up children, but that man has set his face to take a concubine, one shall not countenance that man, he shall not take a concubine. [Gn $16^{1f.}$ $21^{10f.}$ $30^{3f.\,9f.}$].

§ 145. If a man has espoused a votary and she has not granted him children and he has set his face to take a concubine, that man shall take a concubine, he shall cause her to enter into his house. That concubine shall not put herself on an equality with the wife.

§ 146. If a man has espoused a votary and she has given a maid to her husband and the maid has borne children, and afterwards that maid has made herself equal with her mistress; because she has borne children her mistress shall not sell her for money, she shall put a mark upon her and count her among the maidservants. [Gn $16^{4f.}$ 21^{10}, Dt 21^{14}, 1 S $1^{1f.}$].

§ 147. If she has not borne children her mistress may sell her for money.

§ 148. If a man has married a wife and a sickness has seized her, and he has set his face to marry a second wife, he may marry her, but his wife whom the sickness has seized he shall not put away, in the home she shall dwell, and as long as she lives he shall sustain her.

§ 149. If that woman is not content to dwell in the house of her husband, he shall pay her her marriage portion which she brought from her father's house and she shall go off.

§ 150. If a man has presented to his wife field, garden, house, or goods, has left her a sealed deed, after her husband's death her children shall not dispute with her. The mother shall give after her to the child whom she loves. To brothers she shall not give.

§ 151. If a woman, who is dwelling in the house of a man, has bound her husband that she shall not be seized on account of a creditor of her husband's, has got a deed granted her; if that man before he married that woman had a debt upon him, his creditor shall not seize his wife. Further, if that woman before she entered the man's house had a debt upon her, her creditor shall not seize her husband.

§ 152. If from the time that that woman entered into the house of the man a debt has come upon them, both together they shall answer the merchant.

§ 153. If a man's wife on account of another male has caused her husband to be killed, that woman shall be impaled. [Dt 21^{21-23}].

§ 154. If a man has known his daughter, that man one shall expel from the city.

§ 155. If a man has betrothed a bride to his son and his son has known her, and he afterwards has lain in her bosom and one has caught him, that man one shall bind (strangle?) and cast her into the waters. [Gn $24^{4f.}$].

§ 156. If a man has betrothed a bride to his son and his son has not known her, and he has lain in her bosom, he shall pay her half a mina of silver. Further, he shall pay to her whatever she brought from her father's house, and she shall marry the husband of her choice. [Ex 22^{16}, Lv 20^{12}, Dt 22^{28}].

§ 157. If a man, after his father's death, has lain in the bosom of his mother, one shall burn them both together. [Lv 20^{14}].

§ 158. If a man, after his father's death, has been caught in the bosom of his head wife who has borne children, that man shall be cut off from his father's house. [Lv 20^{11}, Dt 22^{30}].

§ 159. If a man, who has brought in a present to the house of his (prospective) father-in-law, has given a bride-price, has looked upon another woman, and has said to his father-in-law, 'Thy daughter I will not marry,' the father of the girl shall take to himself all that he brought him. [Gn $24^{53f.}$ 31^{15}].

§ 160. If a man has brought in a present to the house of his father-in-law, has given a bride-price, and the father of the girl has said, 'My daughter I will not give thee,' he shall return double everything that he brought him.

§ 161. If a man has brought in a present to the house of his father-in-law, has given a bride-price, and a comrade of his has slandered him, (so that) his father-in-law has said to the claimant of the wife, 'My daughter thou shalt not espouse,' he shall return double all that he brought him. Further, his comrade shall not marry his wife.

§ 162. If a man has married a wife and she has borne him children and that woman has gone to her fate, her father shall have no claim on her marriage portion, her marriage portion is her children's forsooth. [Gn 31^{16}].

§ 163. If a man has married a wife and she has not granted him children, (and) that woman has gone to her fate, if his father-in-law has returned him the bride-price that that man brought to the house of his father-in-law, her husband shall have no claim on the marriage portion of that woman, her marriage portion belongs to the house of her father forsooth.

§ 164. If his father-in-law has not returned to him the bride-price, he shall deduct all her bride-price from her marriage portion and shall return her marriage portion to the house of her father.

§ 165. If a man has apportioned to his son, the first in his eyes, field, garden, and house, has written him a sealed deed, after the father has gone to his fate, when the brothers divide, the present his father gave him he shall take and over and above he shall share equally in the goods of the father's house. [Gn 24^{36} 25^{5} $27^{29.37}$ 48^{22}, Lk 15^{31}].

§ 166. If a man has taken wives for the sons whom he has possessed, but has not taken a wife for his young son, after the father has gone to his fate, when the brothers divide, from the goods of the father's house to their young brother who has not taken a wife, beside his share, they shall assign him money as a bride-price and shall cause him to take a wife.

§ 167. If a man has taken a wife and she has borne him sons, (and) that woman has gone to her fate, (and) after her he has taken to himself another woman and she has borne children, after the father has gone to his fate, the children shall not share according to their mothers, they shall take the marriage portions of their mothers and shall share the goods of their father's house equally. [Gn 31^{16}].

§ 168. If a man has set his face to cut off his son, has said to the judge, 'I will cut off my son,' the judge shall inquire into his reasons, and if the son has not committed a heavy crime which cuts off from sonship, the father shall not cut off his son from sonship. [Dt $21^{18f.}$].

§ 169. If he has committed against his father a heavy crime which cuts off from sonship, for the first time the judge shall reconcile them; if he has committed a heavy crime for the second time, the father shall cut off his son from sonship. [Dt 21^{21}].

§ 170. If there be a man, whose wife has borne him sons, and his maidservant has borne him sons, (and) the father in his lifetime has said to the sons which the maidservant has borne him 'my sons,' has numbered them with the sons of his wife, after the father has gone to his fate, the sons of the wife and the sons of the maidservant shall share equally in the goods of the father's house; the sons that are sons of the wife at the sharing shall choose and take. [Gn $16^{15.23.26}$ 21^{10} 25^{6}, Jg 11^{27}].

§ 171. However, if the father in his lifetime, to the sons which the maidservant bore him has not said 'my sons,' after the father has gone to his fate, the sons of the maid shall not share with the sons of the wife in the goods of the father's house. One shall assign the maidservant and her sons freedom, the sons of the wife shall have no claim on the sons of the maidservant for service. The wife shall take her marriage portion and the settlement which her husband gave her and wrote in a deed for her and shall dwell in the dwelling of her husband; as long as she lives she shall enjoy it, for money she shall not give it, after her it is her sons' forsooth. [Gn 27^{37} 31^{16}, Ex $21^{10f.}$, Dt $21^{16f.}$].

§ 172. If her husband did not give her a settlement, one shall pay her her marriage portion, and from the goods of her husband's house she shall take a share like one son. If her sons worry her to leave the house, the judge shall inquire into her wishes and shall lay the blame on the sons; that woman shall not go out of her husband's house. If that woman has set her face to leave, the settlement which her husband gave her she shall leave to her sons, the marriage portion from her father's house she shall take and she shall marry the husband of her choice. [Ex 21^{3}].

§ 173. If that woman where she has entered shall have borne children to her later husband, after that woman has died, the former and later sons shall share her marriage portion.

§ 174. If she has not borne children to her later husband, the sons of her bridegroom shall take her marriage portion.

§ 175. If either a slave of the palace or a slave of a poor man has taken to wife the daughter of a gentleman and she has borne sons, the owner of the slave shall have no claim on the sons of the daughter of a gentleman for service. [2 K 22^{12}, Jer 38^{7} 39^{16}].

§ 176. However, if a slave of the palace or a slave of a poor man has taken to wife the daughter of a gentleman, and, when he married her, with a marriage portion from her father's house she entered into the house of the slave of the palace, or of the slave of the poor man, and from that time they started to keep house and acquired property, after either the slave of the palace or the slave of the poor man has gone to his fate, the daughter of the gentleman shall take her marriage portion, and whatever her husband and she had acquired from the time they started one shall divide in two parts, and the owner of the slave shall take one-half, the gentleman's daughter shall take one-half for her children. If the gentleman's daughter had no marriage portion, whatever her husband and she from the time they started have acquired one shall divide into two parts and the owner of the slave shall take half, the gentleman's daughter shall take half for her sons.

§ 177. If a widow whose children are young has set her face to enter into the house of another, without consent of a judge she shall not enter. When she enters into the house of another, the judge shall inquire into what is left of her former husband's house, and he shall entrust the house of her former husband to her later husband and that woman and cause them to receive a deed. They shall keep the house and rear the little ones. Not a utensil shall they give for money. The buyer that has bought a utensil of a widow's sons shall lose his money and shall return the property to its owners.

§ 178. If a lady, a votary, or a vowed woman whose father has granted her a marriage portion, has written her a deed, in the deed that he has written her has not, however, written for her 'after her wherever is good to her to give,' has not permitted her full choice, after the father has gone to his fate, her brothers shall take her field and her garden and according to the value of her share shall give her corn, oil, and wool, and shall content her heart. If her brothers have not given her corn, oil, and wool according to the value of her share, and have not contented her heart, she shall give her field or her garden to a cultivator, whoever pleases her, and her cultivator shall maintain her. The field, garden, or whatever her father has given her she shall enjoy as long as she lives, she shall not give it for money, she shall not answer with it to another. Her sonship is her brothers' forsooth. [Hos $2^{5f.}$].

§ 179. If a lady, a votary, or a vowed woman whose father has granted her a marriage portion, has written her a deed, in the deed he wrote her has written for her 'after her wherever is good to her to give,' has allowed to her all her choice, after the father has gone to his fate, after her she shall give wherever is good to her, her brothers have no claim on her.

§ 180. If a father to his daughter, a votary, bride, or vowed woman, has not granted a marriage portion, after the father has gone to his fate, she shall take in the goods of the father's house a share like one son, as long as she lives she shall enjoy it, after her it is her brothers' forsooth.

§ 181. If a father has vowed to God a votary, hierodule, or virgin, and has not granted her a marriage portion, after the father has gone to his fate, she shall take in the goods of the father's house one-third of a son's share and shall enjoy it as long as she lives, after her it is her brothers' forsooth.

§ 182. If a father, to his daughter, a votary of Marduk of Babylon, has not granted a marriage portion, has not written her a deed, after the father has gone to his fate, she shall share with her brothers in the goods of the father's house, one-third of a son's share, and shall pay no tax. A votary of Marduk, after her, shall give wherever it is good to her.

§ 183. If a father to his daughter by a concubine, has granted her a marriage portion, has given her to a husband, has written her a deed, after the father has gone to his fate, she shall not share in the goods of the father's house. [Gn 25^{6}, Jg 11^{2}].

§ 184. If a man to his daughter by a concubine has not granted a marriage portion, has not given her to a husband, after the father has gone to his fate, her brothers, according to the capacity of the father's house, shall grant her a marriage portion and shall give her to a husband. [Gn 25^{6}, Dt $21^{15\text{-}17}$].

§ 185. If a man has taken a young child 'from his waters' to sonship and has reared him up, no one has any claim against that nursling. [Gn 48^{5}].

§ 186. If a man has taken a young child to sonship, and when he took him his father and mother rebelled, that nursling shall return to his father's house.

§ 187. The son of a *NER-SE-GA*, a palace warder, or the son of a vowed woman no one has any claim upon.

§ 188. If an artisan has taken a son to bring up and has caused him to learn his handicraft, no one has any claim.

§ 189. If he has not caused him to learn his handicraft, that nursling shall return to his father's house.

§ 190. If a man has not numbered with his sons the child whom he took to his sonship and brought up, that nursling shall return to his father's house.

§ 191. If a man, after he has taken a young child to his sonship and brought him up, has made a house for himself and acquired children and has set his face to cut off the nursling, that child shall not go his way, the father that brought him up shall give to him from his goods one-third of his sonship and he shall go off; from field, garden, and house he shall not give him.

§ 192. If a son of a palace warder or of a vowed woman to the father that brought him up and the mother that brought him up has said, 'Thou art not my father, thou art not my mother,' one shall cut out his tongue.

§ 193. If a son of a palace warder or of a vowed woman has known his father's house, and has hated the father that brought him up or the mother that brought him up, and has gone off to the house of his father, one shall tear out his eye. [Pr 30^{17}].

§ 194. If a man has given his son to a wet-nurse, (and) that son has died in the hand of the wet-nurse, (and) the wet-nurse without consent of his father and his mother has procured another child, one shall call her to account, and because without consent of his father and his mother she has procured another child, one shall cut off her breasts.

§ 195. If a man has struck his father, one shall cut off his hands. [Ex $21^{15.17}$, Lv 20^{9}, Dt 21^{18} 25^{12}, Pr 30^{17}].

§ 196. If a man has caused the loss of a gentleman's eye, one shall cause his eye to be lost. [Ex $21^{24f.}$, Lv $24^{19f.}$, Dt 19^{21}, Mt 5^{38}].

§ 197. If he has shattered a gentleman's limb, one shall shatter his limb.

§ 198. If he has caused a poor man to lose his eye or shattered a poor man's limb, he shall pay one mina of silver.

§ 199. If he has caused the loss of the eye of a gentleman's servant or has shattered the limb of a gentleman's servant, he shall pay half his price. [Ex $21^{26f.}$].

§ 200. If a man has made the tooth of a man that is his equal to fall out, one shall make his tooth fall out. [Ex 21^{24}].

§ 201. If he has made the tooth of a poor man to fall out, he shall pay one-third of a mina of silver.

§ 202. If a man has struck the cheek of a man who is his superior, he shall be struck in the assembly with sixty strokes of a cow-hide whip.

§ 203. If a man of gentle birth has struck the cheek of a man of gentle birth who is his equal, he shall pay one mina of silver. [Lv $24^{17.\,21}$].

§ 204. If a poor man has struck the cheek of a poor man, he shall pay ten shekels of silver.

§ 205. If a gentleman's servant has struck the cheek of a freeman, one shall cut off his ear.

§ 206. If a man has struck a man in a quarrel and has caused him a wound, that man shall swear, 'I did not strike him knowingly,' and shall answer for the doctor. [Ex $21^{18f.}$, Nu $35^{16f.}$, Dt $19^{4f.}$].

§ 207. If he has died of his blows, he shall swear, and if he be of gentle birth he shall pay half a mina of silver. [Ex 21^{20}].

§ 208. If he be the son of a poor man, he shall pay one-third of a mina of silver.

§ 209. If a man has struck a gentleman's daughter and caused her to drop what is in her womb, he shall pay ten shekels of silver for what was in her womb. [Ex $21^{22.\,27}$].

§ 210. If that woman has died, one shall put to death his daughter. [Ex 21^{23}, Dt 24^{16}].

§ 211. If through his blows he has caused the daughter of a poor man to drop that which is in her womb, he shall pay five shekels of silver.

§ 212. If that woman has died, he shall pay half a mina of silver.

§ 213. If he has struck a gentleman's maid-servant and caused her to drop that which is in her womb, he shall pay two shekels of silver. [Ex 21^{20}].

§ 214. If that maid-servant has died, he shall pay one-third of a mina of silver. [Ex 21^{22}].

§ 215. If a doctor has treated a gentleman for a severe wound with a bronze lancet and has cured the man, or has removed a cataract of the eye for a gentleman with the bronze lancet and has cured the eye of the gentleman, he shall take ten shekels of silver.

§ 216. If he (the patient) be the son of a poor man, he shall take five shekels of silver.

§ 217. If he be a gentleman's servant, the master of the servant shall give two shekels of silver to the doctor.

§ 218. If the doctor has treated a gentleman for a severe wound with a lancet of bronze and has caused the gentleman to die, or has removed a cataract of the eye for a gentleman with the bronze lancet and has caused the loss of the gentleman's eye, one shall cut off his hands.

§ 219. If a doctor has treated the severe wound of a slave of a poor man with a bronze lancet and has caused his death, he shall render slave for slave. [Ex 21^{22}].

§ 220. If he has removed a cataract with a bronze lancet and has made him lose his eye, he shall pay in money half his price.

§ 221. If a doctor has cured the shattered limb of a gentleman, or has cured a diseased bowel, the patient shall give five shekels of silver to the doctor.

§ 222. If he is the son of a poor man, he shall give three shekels of silver.

§ 223. If a gentleman's servant, the master of the slave shall give two shekels of silver to the doctor.

§ 224. If a cow doctor or an ass doctor has treated a cow or an ass for a severe wound and cured it, the owner of the cow or ass shall give one-sixth of a shekel of silver to the doctor as his fee.

§ 225. If he has treated a cow or an ass for a severe wound and has caused it to die, he shall give a quarter of its price to the owner of the ox or ass. [Lv 21^{6}].

§ 226. If a brander without consent of the owner of the slave has made a slave's mark irrecognizable, one shall cut off the hands of that brander.

§ 227. If a man has deceived the brander, and has caused him to make a slave's mark irrecognizable, that man one shall kill him and bury him in his house; the brander shall swear, 'Not knowing I branded him,' and shall go free.

§ 228. If a builder has built a house for a man and has completed it, he shall give him as his fee two shekels of silver per *SAR* of house.

§ 229. If a builder has built a house for a man and has not made strong his work and the house he built has fallen and he has caused the death of the owner of the house, that builder shall be put to death.

§ 230. If he has caused the son of the owner of the house to die, one shall put to death the son of that builder. [Dt 24^{16}].

§ 231. If he has caused the slave of the owner of the house to die, he shall give slave for slave to the owner of the house.

§ 232. If he has caused the loss of goods, he shall render back whatever he has caused the loss of. Further, because he did not make strong the house he built and it fell, from his own goods he shall rebuild the house that fell.

§ 233. If a builder has built a house for a man and has not jointed his work and the wall has fallen, that builder at his own cost shall make good that wall.

§ 234. If a boatman has completed a ship of sixty *GUR* for a man, he shall give him two shekels of silver for his fee.

§ 235. If a boatman has completed a ship for a man and has not made his work trustworthy, and in that same year that he built that ship it has suffered an injury, the boatman shall exchange that ship or shall make it strong at his own expense and shall give a strong ship to the owner of the ship.

§ 236. If a man has given his ship to a boatman on hire, and the boatman has been careless, has grounded the ship, or has caused it to be lost, the boatman shall render ship for ship to the owner.

§ 237. If a man has hired a boatman and ship, and with corn, wool, oil, dates, or whatever it be as freight, has freighted her, (and) that boatman has been careless and grounded the ship, or has caused what is in her to be lost, the boatman shall render back the ship which he has grounded and whatever in her he has caused to be lost.

§ 238. If a boatman has grounded the ship of a man and has refloated her, he shall give money to half her price.

§ 239. If a man has hired a boatman, he shall give him six *GUR* of corn per year.

§ 240. If a ship that is going forward has struck a ship at anchor and has sunk her, the owner of the ship that has been sunk shall recount before God whatever he has lost in his ship, and that of the ship going forward which sunk the ship at anchor shall render to him his ship and whatever of his was lost.

§ 241. If a man has taken an ox on distraint, he shall pay one-third of a mina of silver. [Ex 22^{25}, Dt $24^{6.17}$].

§ 242. If a man has hired a working ox for one year, he shall pay four *GUR* of corn as its hire. [Ex 22^{14}].

§ 243. If a milch cow, he shall give three *GUR* of corn to its owner. [Gn 31^{39}, Ex 22^{13}].

§ 244. If a man has hired an ox or ass, and a lion has killed it in the open field, that loss is for its owner forsooth.

§ 245. If a man has hired an ox and through neglect or by blows has caused it to die, ox for ox to the owner of the ox he shall render. [Ex 22^{10-15}, Lv $24^{15.21}$].

§ 246. If a man has hired an ox and has crushed its foot or has cut its nape, ox for ox to the owner of the ox he shall render. [Ex 22^{10-15}].

§ 247. If a man has hired an ox and has caused it to lose its eye, he shall pay half its price to the owner of the ox. [Ex 22^{10-15}].

§ 248. If a man has hired an ox and has broken its horn, cut off its tail, or pierced its nostrils, he shall pay a quarter of its price. [Ex 22^{10-15}].

§ 249. If a man has hired an ox and God has struck it and it has died, the man who has hired the ox shall swear before God and shall go free. [Ex $22^{10f.}$].

§ 250. If a savage bull in his charge has gored a man and caused him to die, that case has no remedy. [Ex 21^{28}].

§ 251. If the ox has pushed a man, by pushing has made known his vice, and he has not blunted his horn, has not shut up his ox, and that ox has gored a man of gentle birth and caused him to die, he shall pay half a mina of silver. [Ex 21^{29}].

§ 252. If a gentleman's servant, he shall pay one-third of a mina of silver. [Ex 21^{32}].

§ 253. If a man has hired a man to reside in his field and has furnished him implements, has entrusted him oxen and furnished harness for them for cultivating the field, if that man has stolen the seed or provender and they have been seized in his hands, one shall cut off his hands.

§ 254. If he has taken the implements, starved the oxen, from the seed which he has hoed he shall restore.

§ 255. If he has hired out the man's oxen or has stolen the seed and has not caused it to grow in the field, one shall call that man to account and he shall measure out sixty *GUR* of corn per *GAN* of land.

§ 256. If he is not able to pay his compensation, one shall cause him to be torn in pieces by the oxen on that field.

§ 257. If a man has hired a harvester, he shall give him eight *GUR* of corn per year.

§ 258. If a man has hired an ox-driver, he shall give him six *GUR* of corn per year.

§ 259. If a man has stolen a watering machine from the meadow, he shall give five shekels of silver to the owner of the watering machine.

§ 260. If he has stolen a watering bucket or a harrow, he shall pay three shekels of silver.

§ 261. If a man has hired a herdsman for the cows or a shepherd for the sheep, he shall give him eight *GUR* of corn per year.

§ 262. If a man, ox, or sheep to [this section is defaced]. [Ex 22^{1}].

§ 263. If he has caused an ox or sheep which was given him to be lost, ox for ox, sheep for sheep, he shall render to their owner. [Lv $24^{18.21}$].

§ 264. If a herdsman who has had cows or sheep given him to shepherd, has received his hire, whatever was agreed, and his heart has been contented, yet has diminished the cows, diminished the sheep, lessened the offspring, he shall give offspring and produce according to the tenour of his bonds.

§ 265. If a shepherd to whom cows and sheep have been given him to breed, has falsified and changed their price, or has sold them, one shall call him to account, and he shall render cows and sheep to their owner tenfold what he has stolen.

§ 266. If in a sheepfold a stroke of God has taken place or a lion has killed, the shepherd shall purge himself before God, and the owner of the fold shall face the accident to the fold. [Ex $22^{10f.}$, Jn 10^{12}].

§ 267. If a shepherd has been careless and in a sheepfold caused a loss to take place, the shepherd shall make good the fault of the loss which he has caused to be in the fold and shall pay cows or sheep and shall give to their owner.

§ 268. If a man has hired an ox for threshing, twenty *ḲA* of corn is its hire.

§ 269. If he has hired an ass for threshing, ten *ḲA* of corn is its hire.

§ 270. If he has hired a calf (goat?) for threshing, one *ḲA* of corn is its hire.

§ 271. If a man has hired oxen, a waggon, and its driver, he shall give one hundred and eighty *ḲA* of corn per day.

§ 272. If a man has hired a waggon by itself, he shall give forty *ḲA* of corn per day.

§ 273. If a man has hired a labourer, from the beginning of the year till the fifth month, he shall give six *ŠE* of silver per day; from the sixth month to the end of the year he shall give five *ŠE* of silver per day.

§ 274. If a man shall hire an artisan—

(*a*) the hire of a . . .	five *ŠE* of silver
(*b*) the hire of a brickmaker	five *ŠE* of silver
(*c*) the hire of a tailor . .	five *ŠE* of silver
(*d*) the hire of a stone-cutter	. *ŠE* of silver
(*e*) the hire of a	. *ŠE* of silver
(*f*) the hire of a	. *ŠE* of silver
(*g*) the hire of a carpenter	four *ŠE* of silver
(*h*) the hire of a . . .	four *ŠE* of silver
(*i*) the hire of a	. *ŠE* of silver
(*j*) the hire of a builder .	. *ŠE* of silver

per day he shall give.

§ 275. If a man has hired a (boat?) per day, her hire is three *ŠE* of silver.

§ 276. If a man has hired a fast ship, he shall give two and a half *ŠE* of silver per day as her hire.

§ 277. If a man has hired a ship of sixty *GUR*, he shall give one-sixth of a shekel of silver per day as her hire.

§ 278. If a man has bought a manservant or a maidservant, and he has not fulfilled his month and the *bennu* sickness has fallen upon him, he shall return him to the seller, and the buyer shall take the money he paid.

§ 279. If a man has bought a manservant or a maidservant and has a complaint, his seller shall answer the complaint.

§ 280. If a man has bought in a foreign land the manservant or the maidservant of a man, when he has come into the land and the owner of the manservant or the maidservant has recognized his manservant or his maidservant, if the manservant or maidservant are natives, without price he shall grant them their former condition. [Ex 21^{8}].

§ 281. If they are natives of another land the buyer shall tell out before God the money he paid, and the owner of the manservant or the maidservant shall give to the merchant the money he paid, and shall recover his manservant or his maidservant.

§ 282. If a slave has said to his master, 'Thou art not my master,' as his slave one shall call him to account and his master shall cut off his ear.

The judgments of righteousness which Ḫammurabi the mighty king confirmed and caused the land to take a sure guidance and a gracious rule.

[There are three sections of the Code which have been recovered to us from the fragments of the copies made by Assyrian scribes. They were once to be found in the five columns which are now erased from the stele. They may be given here, for the sake of completeness.—

§ X. If a man has borrowed of a merchant and has assigned him a plantation of dates and said, 'Take the dates that are in my plantation for thy money,' the merchant shall not consent. The owner of the plantation shall take the dates that are in the plantation and he shall answer to the merchant for the loan and its interest according to the tenour of his bond. The dates that are over, which are produced in the plantation, the owner of the plantation shall take for himself.

§ Y. If a house tenant has paid the year's rent for the house in full to the landlord, but the landlord has ordered the tenant to go out before the time is up, the landlord because he has ordered the tenant to leave before his time is up, shall give back . . . of the rent.

§ Z. If a man has to pay, in money or corn, but has not the money or corn to pay with, but has goods, he shall give to the merchant whatever he has, before witnesses. The merchant shall not object, he shall receive it].

III. Comparison of the Code with early Hebrew Legislation.

The comparison of such a Code with the Mosaic Laws is not one to be dismissed in a few paragraphs. Its obvious likenesses are not more remarkable than the contrasts which exist. The whole question of common origin may depend on how these are regarded. In some cases a conscious deviation is as strong proof of influence as an agreement.

i. *THE QUESTION STATED, AND THE DATA AVAILABLE FOR ANSWERING IT.*—1. We may begin by stating, as concisely as may be, what we understand by the influence of the Code of Ḫammurabi on Mosaic legislation. There need be no discussion as to whether Moses knew cuneiform. Such a proposition could be maintained only by insisting, firstly, on the literal truth of the statement that Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians (Ac 7^{22}); secondly, that such learning must have included cuneiform. The latter proposition is not very safe. The evidence of the Tel el-Amarna tablets can only establish the existence of some scribes at the courts of Amenophis III. and IV. who could read and write Babylonian. The current opinion of critics does not ascribe much of the Hebrew Law to Moses. So his personality may be set aside.

Nor do we need to discuss exactly how far Babylonian influence had modified the life of the inhabitants of Palestine before the incursion of the Hebrews. Some men doubt whether that incursion did not find a widely spread Hebrew population already in possession. Whoever was in Palestine then, of whatever nationality, there is evidence that the chief rulers of the settled districts wrote in Babylonian to the kings of Egypt, and, presumably, also to the kings of Mitanni, Assyria, and Babylonia. Whether they used any other form of writing besides cuneiform we do not know. They did use words which were not pure Babylonian, but are at least Semitic, if not Hebrew. These words they glossed by a more or less accurate Babylonian. That the whole population of Palestine was Semitic or Hebrew, or read Babylonian literature at that time, are not propositions that we need trouble about. All that we need is that the people who drew up the Hebrew legislation, whenever that was done, should have embodied the laws observed in Palestine at their own date, and that those laws should have there remained unchanged from the time when they were the same as were to be found in Babylonia at the time when Ḫammurabi codified them. Indirect influence is then proved.

2. The laws may have once been common to all the Semitic races, or to the populations they displaced or overran. The greater part of the common ideas of the two legislations may be due to this source. It may not even be Semitic at all, only human, such as man, anywhere and everywhere, under similar conditions would and did agree upon. Such a common stock, including many most striking things, is no proof of Babylonian influence, either upon the Hebrews or upon the inhabitants of Palestine before the Exodus. Thus the principle of retaliation, the making a punishment as far as possible an exact reproduction of the injury, was a primitive view. It might well be Sumerian in Babylonia, and pre-Israelitish in Palestine. It omits the consideration that such a punishment only gratifies revenge, does not benefit either the offender or the injured. It is characteristic of very inadequate justice. Now, in the Code we find that already a system of compensation to the injured was growing up. But the aristocracy, the *amêlî*, would not accept money for their bodily injuries, they insisted upon the primitive 'eye for eye, tooth for tooth, limb for limb' (§§ 196, 200, 197), and so did the Hebrews (Ex 21^{24}, etc.). If this had been a peculiar or abnormal form of carrying out the principle, we might argue for a racial connexion between the Babylonian aristocrats of Ḫammurabi's time and the Hebrews. This has been done on the ground of linguistic affinities. But there is no reason to doubt that if retaliation, pure and simple, were the rule anywhere, it would be expressed in this way. All we can say is, that, whether from pride, conservatism, or racial peculiarity, the aristocrat of Babylon clung to the primitive method of punishing bodily injuries. The acceptance by the commoner, or *muškênu*, of compensation may well point to a different race and a subject position. It would be interesting if we could show that the conquered races in Palestine used to accept compensation in a similar way.

Whatever view be taken of the similarities between the legislations, the greatest difficulty in asserting Babylonian influence is that the Israelitish law as we know it is a composite affair, of uncertain date, and combining new with old in a most perplexing manner. If we could be satisfied that the Mosaic Laws still existed in their original order, or that any one stratum of them had preserved its original features, we might better institute a comparison.

3. As it is, if any law should turn out to be very like the Babylonian, in wording or idea, it is open to say that it was foisted in after the Captivity, when the Jews had become acquainted with that law in Babylonia itself. On the other hand, it is open to say that Abraham became acquainted with it in Ur of the Chaldees, and its memory never died out. Others may maintain that it only embodies a common Semitic idea, which is thus proved to have the widest extent in place and time. Each of these views will continue to have its advocates, and there is no evidence to decide between them. To speak of Babylonian influence is not so to decide.

4. It may be well to set out first the material which seems to be equally conclusive for all views. (*a*) The following common practices or ideas are pointed out by S. A. Cook. The appeal to the decision of God, the resort to the gate of the city as a place of justice, the declaration on oath before God, the oath for purgation, warnings

against injustice, bribery, false witness, the need of witness for proof, are all common to the judicial systems of Ḫammurabi and Moses. In both, the woman was in the hand of her husband, who was her *bêl* or *baʿal*; marriage was arranged by parents, or relatives, on both sides, the girl's consent not being asked. A purchase price was paid for the wife (*terḫatu*, Heb. *mōhar*), returned in her dowry, and other marriage customs are similar. The customs as to divorce, concubines, and maidservants are in thorough harmony, allowing for the greater explicitness on one side or the other.

(*b*) The punishment for false witness, that the false witness should suffer what he had put the accused in danger of suffering, is the same in both (§§ 3, 4; Dt 19[19]). The punishments of slander (§ 127; Lv 19[16], Dt 22[13-21]), and accusation of infidelity, though unlike in details, both recognize the nature of the offence. Ordeal was the purgation for suspected wives (§ 132; Nu 5[11-31]). The regulations as to the shepherd's responsibility for his flock are similar (§ 266; Ex 22[10f.]). The eating of the fruit of newly planted land is deferred to the fifth year (§ 60; Lv 19[23f.]). Kidnapping was a capital offence in both legislations (§ 14; Ex 21[16]). Both contemplate the extirpation of wizards (§§ 1, 2; Ex 22[18]). Assaults upon a woman, leading to miscarriage and death (§§ 209–214), are similar to Ex 21[22f.], but with characteristic variations.

5. Supposing that there had been a knowledge of the Babylonian law and custom in Palestine, we should not expect that it would be adopted at once into the Code of Israel. The treatment of the slave in Dt 24[7] or Dt 23[16] is certainly a contrast to Ḫammurabi's law forbidding the harbouring of a slave (§ 17), and ordering his restoration to his owner. But we are not without indication that such was the custom, at any rate, among the Amaleḳites (1 S 30[15]). The older law in Palestine may not have been so considerate. Nor is it all pure humanity, later. Fugitive slaves from other lands may not have been an unwelcome addition to the population. The sentimental reason that Israel had once been a slave was in accordance with current ideas.

6. There is a close parallelism between the laws of deposit in §§ 124–126 and those in Ex 22[6-11] [Heb.]. Further, there is a striking similarity in the treatment of the three parties in Ex 22 and the three in §§ 9–11. We may here note a parallelism of method, which may once have characterized a great deal that did not survive in either code. Both make selections, sometimes fuller, sometimes less full, one than the other. We could suppose that in a common source both the cases of illegal holding or sale of lost property, or of treasure trove, and the fraudulent retention or loss by theft, of deposit, were treated exactly alike, viz. that the fraudulent person should restore twofold. Ḫammurabi leaves the full treatment as a norm in §§ 9–11, and later condenses his source, for deposit, assuming the method. The Exodus legislator gives a full abstract in Ex 22[6-11], and a condensed form in Ex 22[1]. The procedure in the cases differs, but only as a common source so treated might be expected to differ, under different social organizations.

7. Of considerable importance is it to notice that these ancient codes do not lay down general principles, but select cases which exemplify them. Thus, while Ḫammurabi (§§ 57, 58) takes only the cases where a shepherd feeds his flock off a field of corn, and Ex 22[5] deals with a field or vineyard, we may be sure that Ḫammurabi's Code would have been interpreted by the judges as applying to vineyards as well, if they came in question.*

8. In Exodus the transition to damage by fire is natural. In Babylonia, damage by careless management of water was more characteristic. It might have come next, only the order of ideas led to its being put first, as § 56. Here the differences of legislation are quite such as any legislator might introduce if he were using a foreign code as a source. The votary was forbidden to open a wine-shop (§ 110). At first sight there is nothing at all like this in the Hebrew legislation. But Lv 21[9] forbids the daughter of a priest to commit folly in Israel, on pain of being burnt. Josephus understands that to mean 'open a wine-shop.' The penalty is the same in both codes. It may well have been that one law was adapted from the other. So while a hostage for debt was freed after six years' service in Israel, but after only three in Babylonia, it has to be excused on the ground that such had already served a *double* term (Dt 15[18]). The custom was clearly to release at the end of three years—a custom which seemed hard to the recently settled Israelite; and so concession was made to his prejudices, fixing it at six years instead. Thus we may account for the absence of other humane laws in Hebrew codes. They were too advanced to adopt, unmodified. The fact, then, that more of the Babylonian Code does not find parallels in the Hebrew, even when its regulations would be quite acceptable, may be due to the fact that custom had already adopted them. Law is needed, not to enact custom, but to modify it. It may legalize it, but usually seeks either to unify varieties or to sanction growing changes, and so to decide between competing views of right. Ḫammurabi saw no cause to promulgate any law about murder; the Hebrew codes leave some other things unsettled. Some of these may have been settled by Ḫammurabi or his forerunners, and already been in force in Canaan. In many other cases we may plausibly argue that the legislations show a common source, treated differently in adoption.

9. The absence of law courts, the persistent blood-revenge,—though subjected to a series of regulations,—the severer treatment of some offences, the milder treatment of others, are held to be strong proofs of a more primitive state of civilization in Israel. The differences from the Code of Ḫammurabi are therefore important to notice. The treatment of theft is less severe in Hebrew than in Babylonian law, except perhaps in the case of the nocturnal burglar (§ 21; Ex 22[2]). The severer penalty against a son who struck his father (§ 195; Ex 21[15]), which Hebrew law also enacted for cursing parents (Ex 21[17] etc.), the treatment of the rebellious son (Dt 21[18-21]), are traces of a more primitive state. The rights of the firstborn, so marked in Hebrew, show no trace in the Code. They were earlier in Babylonia. The Code was much more favourable to widows than early Israelite custom; but the later law (in Israel) is more considerate. In Babylonia daughters had rights of inheritance, which appear only late in Israel. The position of the slave is quite distinct. The laws as to hired animals show no resemblance. The penalty for allowing a vicious ox to gore a man was death in the Hebrew Code, but a fine in Babylonia (§§ 251, 252; Ex 21[28f.]).

10. Of course, whole groups of laws in the Code concern matters which were purely Babylonian. The position of the feudal tenants, levy-masters, etc., and the regulations relating to shipping, caravans, the laws for the builders, doctors, surgeons, branders, artisans, etc., cannot be expected to reappear even in a copied legislation.

The names of the articles in use are often alike in Hebrew and Babylonian, but the technical terms differ. This would be very important, as showing an independent growth of similar institutions, but for one consideration. There is no ground to suppose that on either side the terms compared were the only terms in use. Thus, while the Babylonian verb 'to marry' is *aḫâzu*, and the Hebrew *lāḳaḥ*, the Assyrian is *liḳû*. The Hebrew *'ēraś*, 'to betroth,' has a parallel in Babylonian *ērīšu*, 'bridegroom.' The itinerant trader, *šamallū*, was explained by *ša nâš mašak ša abni*, 'he who carries the bag (*kîsu*) of weights'; compare the Hebrew *kîṣ* and *'ăbānîm*. In the directions as to the inquiry into the conduct of the alleged idolaters (Dt 13[14] and 17[4]) the same verb is used, *kûn*, as in the Code, for establishing an accusation, *uktin*; the *kussū daianuti* of § 5 is the *kiṣṣē dîn* of Pr 20[8]; the phrase 'to cause the finger to be pointed at' as a technical term for 'slander' is paralleled by Is 58[9] 'the putting forth of the finger.' The list of linguistic parallels could, doubtless, be much extended. There was, however, no reason why a Hebrew legislator, even if a copy of the Code lay before him in cuneiform, should transliterate its words. He might equally well translate them into his own language.

---

* The vine was rare, if not quite unknown, in Babylonia.

11. Of much more importance, as a proof of dependence, would be the preservation of the order of ideas, especially where this is not due merely to their logical sequence. Of such a transfer of arrangement we can hardly expect to find much trace. Whatever trace can be found is therefore all the more significant. A comparison of the order of the Book of the Covenant (vol. iii. p. 67) shows as much difference as likeness in the order. Yet who can say that the present order does not exhibit rearrangement and interpolation? For example, in ii. (*l.c.* p. 67[b]), why are § 7 and § 9 separated by § 8?

12. Some things are very suggestive of a deliberate change. The Code has a slanderer thrown down before the judge and branded. In Dt 25[2] we get directions for scourging. The judge shall cause him to lie down and be beaten before his face. The 'certain number' of stripes in Israel was not to exceed forty; Ḫammurabi ordered sixty for some cases. We are told that scourging was a late introduction into Israel. This may be true of the bastinado, but there seems no reason to regard scourging as a late form of punishment. It is curious that Dt 25[11], which may be a parallel to §§ 202-205, should come so close to the mention of scourging in Dt 25[2. 3], separated from it by clauses which seem to have no possible connexion with either. If v.[11] followed v.[3] in the source, that would seem to have been a distinct reminiscence of §§ 202-205. Authorities differ as to the sense of *lêtu*, usually 'strength'; some take it to mean 'head,' but the *genitalia* may be meant: compare *littûtu*, 'progeny.'

(*a*) A case that must have occurred to the mind of both lawgivers, though not perhaps very practical, was what should be done if a man had intercourse with mother and daughter, or a woman with father and son. The case where the daughter was his own child, or the son her own son, was especially bad. Now Ḫammurabi takes one case in § 157, and enacts that, if a man has intercourse with his own mother, both shall be burned. He does not touch the case of a woman and her mother with the same man. In Lv 20[14] that is taken as the test case, and both are to be burned. The Mosaic Law does not touch Ḫammurabi's case. It may well be that the actual text of the Code was known to the later legislator; and either to show the further application of the same principle, or because the former case was now so well known as to need no further legislation, he takes the new example. One can hardly suppose that in one society the one crime was known and the other unknown, while the reverse held in the other society. In both Codes the penalty for this sort of thing was burning. That is awarded only once again in either Code, and there also for what may well be the same crime in both, described in different terms. Of course we may refer both back to a common Semitic primitive law; but a younger lawgiver would naturally prefer to select a different example if he could. Taken in this way, we can arrange a very remarkable parallel, due to Müller—

ḪAMMURABI.	LEVITICUS 20.
Man with daughter-in-law (§ 155).	Man with daughter-in-law (v.[12]).
Man with father's wife (§ 158).	Man with father's wife (v.[11]).
Man and son with one woman (§ 157).	Mother and daughter with one man (v.[14]).

(*b*) Again, we may note that Ḫammurabi (§ 210) ordains that if a man caused the death of a pregnant woman by his blows, then not he, but his daughter, should be put to death. Now this is retaliation pure and simple, and can only be meant as a limit to which the compensation might be pushed by a revengeful father. The accused might have no daughter at all; he might have several. The old discussions as to the relative value to the accused and accuser of the damage inflicted by exact retaliation must come up. Now Ex 21[23] solves this question by the phrase 'soul for soul.' That may be the result of reflexion on this very crude law. It is a convenient phrase for laying down, that as a woman's life was worth less than that of a man, the compensation exacted must not exceed the damage done.

(*c*) Further, when we read in Lv 24[22] that there shall be one law for 'foreigner and native' set at the end of a passage which otherwise literally repeats §§ 196-201, where careful distinction of rank is made in awarding penalties, one may well be tempted to suspect a reminiscence. That differences of treatment should be expressly excluded, surely points to knowledge that they existed somewhere. Where else was this than in the Code? The common Semitic source hardly had these gradations. That cattle are included in Lv 24[18. 21] may be due to a desire to get together all that fell under the same rule.

13. It is not a little instructive to notice that the Code of Ḫammurabi shows marked similarities to other ancient codes. Professor Müller has worked out a number of striking parallels with the Roman XII Tables. Professor Cohn compared the Laws of the West Goths. Incidental comparisons with the Laws of Manu are noted by Mr. Cook. The Code receives illustration from a variety of other sources in the books named above for the bibliography. Whether a knowledge of this Code can really have spread to Rome and India, depends upon the results of much further research than has yet been made.

ii. *VIEWS AS TO THE CHARACTER OF THE CONNEXION.*—Opinions are divided as to the reality of the connexion between the Code of Ḫammurabi and Mosaic legislation. The positive view has been well stated thus: 'The Babylonian and Mosaic Codes are conceived in the same literary form; they contain a considerable number of practically identical laws; they present not a few cases of actual verbal agreement, and both are designed for the regulation of a civilized community. The parallels are too close to be explained upon a somewhat vague theory of common tradition. . . . It has been shown that, in Palestine, Israel learned and appropriated the ancient Babylonian myths. Why should they not learn Babylonian law as well? . . . The foundation of the Babylonian law was the Code of Ḫammurabi, and thus the enactments of the old Babylonian king, formulated about B.C. 2250, passed more than a thousand years later into the Book of the Covenant, and so became the heritage of Israel and the world' (Professor C. Johnston, *Johns Hopkins University Circular*, June 1903).

Mr. Cook minimizes the extent to which Palestine was permeated by the other elements of Babylonian culture. The discovery of cuneiform tablets at Taanach by Professor Sellin may now be added to the evidence of the Tel el-Amarna letters. Documentary evidence may any day be found of the existence in Palestine of all sorts of Babylonian literature. That will not of itself prove that the Hebrew legislators read the Code in cuneiform. What is needed is proof from the Hebrew monuments of such similarities as can be explained only by a knowledge of the Code as we now know it. There is small likelihood of such a proof being found. For no one can suppose that any one of the documents into which the Hebrew law is resolved on critical grounds was put forward at any period as a complete code. We have fragments of several codes at different dates, but not one that can really be trusted for a comparison. Such fragments as are left are very valuable as showing what was at one time considered to be law in Israel, but after the composition they have undergone it is impossible to say whether they really are ancient or not. The words 'primitive' and 'ancient' are not synonymous in the history of law. Nor is it quite clear that 'savage' penalties are always more primitive. The Hebrew law treats unfilial conduct more severely than Ḫammurabi does. This is not a proof of age, nor of primitive ideas, for the normal Arabs show little trace of parental authority. The intrusion of priestly power into the law courts, while definitely dated as late, is a recrudescence under changed conditions of a state of things from which Ḫammurabi shows an emancipation nearly complete. If any signs of a Babylonian influence can be made out anywhere now, the presumption is that it was once enormously powerful. For the whole history of Israel appears to consist in reformation, a readjusting of old material in faith and practice to new conditions. The old Babylonian stuff must have taken a most powerful root to survive at all. Professor D. H. Müller has done great service in pointing out the significance of any traces of similarity of order which can be found. Professor Kohler insists on the presence or absence of the theocratic idea as a test of primitive stages. The Indian law is purely theocratic, making no distinction between right and morality. The Israelite laws vary; some are theocratic, and the prohibitive commands ancient in type. Ḫammurabi's Code is very modern, almost purely legal. This puts it on a level with the Gortyn Laws and the XII Tables, while it is even more advanced than they are. In Israel the religious idea received its highest development in pre-Christian times, and that dominated law, morals, and history alike. In Babylonia law reached its highest development, and largely in independence of religion. The common life was Semitic, the likenesses are due to racial affinity. The social order was widely different. There can be no question of actual borrowing, at any rate until post-exilic times.

This view leaves out of consideration the evident fact that the Code of Ḫammurabi does not reflect the result of any continuous evolution of law in a homogeneous and progressive people, but an adaptation of widely distinct systems. An aristocracy which clung to primitive ideas, presumably a recent infusion of a wilder Semitic race, amalgamated with a long settled, even if mixed and already partly Semitic, people. Some of its laws may be a recrudescence of primitive views already long modified among the Babylonians. The advent of the First Dynasty of Babylon had a close parallel in the settlement of Israel in Palestine. May not the settled population there have been in much the same stage of civilization as the native Babylonians, with local variations? May not the more primitive stamp of the Israelite laws as we have them be due to the greater predominance of the newcomers? Then the common features would be of two separate origins: one, the civilization that had once been common to Babylonia and Palestine, juristically the more advanced; the other, a system common to the two Semitic peoples, who in Babylonia conquered the land, founded the First Dynasty, formed the new aristocracy, or in Palestine conquered the land and are known to us as Israel. This would furnish the politically dominant, characteristically Semitic, primitive features. Which of the two systems should impose itself on the other, depended in either land on the relative power of the invaders and the invaded. This would be largely conditioned by the suitability of the competing races to the conditions of the country. In Babylonia the larger settled population, the necessary conditions of life, made the invaders rather become absorbed in the people they politically ruled. In Palestine the conditions worked in the opposite direction. Whether by greater preponderance of numbers, or less modifying power in their new environment, the invaders to a greater extent imposed themselves on the previous inhabitants. We need not speak of borrowing as an act on the part of the Israelite legislators. What they preserved of existing law was already centuries before influenced by Babylonia. What they imposed as their national contribution was common property with the legislators who imposed part of it on Babylonian law. That these did not make Babylonian law as primitive as the Book of the Covenant, was due to their more complete absorption by the settled civilization. Ḫammurabi's Code crystallized the law at a later stage of the process than did the Book of the Covenant. The process was more rapid there. Hence also the greater stability of his work. It lasted practically unchanged some fifteen hundred years. The subsequent developments in Israel show perpetual progress. The progress was on totally different lines, till Israel came once more in contact with Babylonian culture. Then it had made contributions of its own, some of which it modified, some it emphasized as a result of the contrast.

We may say that the Israelite legislation shows strong traces of Babylonian influence, and yet not destroy the independence of its origin. We cannot suppose that the author of any code set to work to draw up a comprehensive scheme of law. Each built upon the already prevailing custom. His attention would be directed chiefly to what was not matter of uniform treatment. The most characteristically Babylonian things in the current custom of the day in Israel may be just those which are not legislated for. The new legislation did not require to touch what was so firmly established. Other things of Babylonian origin may have been abrogated by the new laws—it would not be necessary to say what they had been, but merely by stating the new law to say they should be no longer. That any Israelite code shows marked differences from the Code of Ḫammurabi is enough to show an independent origin. The absence of any difference would show complete dependence. The coexisting likenesses and differences argue for an independent recension of ancient custom deeply influenced by Babylonian law. The actual Code of Ḫammurabi is a witness to what that influence might accomplish. It cannot be held to be a creative source. The Code may only be itself a proof of the same influences. These may be called Semitic in preference to Babylonian. But that view calls for overwhelming proof that there was any source of civilization powerful enough to have this influence on both Israel and Babylonia. The presumption that Babylonia had a prominent influence on Palestine long before Israelite codes were drawn up, is one that grows stronger as time goes on.

C. H. W. JOHNS.

RELIGION OF ISRAEL.*—*Introduction.*—The origin of the religion of Israel is treated in greater or less detail by all the four sources—or, more correctly, strata of sources—of which the present Pentateuch is made up: the Jahwistic stratum (which originated between 900 and 700 B.C.), the Elohistic (between 750 and 650), the Deuteronomistic (650–550), and the Priestly (550–400). Their respective statements exhibit numerous differences, and even discrepancies. But on *one* point they are in absolute agreement: namely, that the founding of the religion of Israel was the work of Moses, of the tribe of Levi; that it took place in connexion with the leading of the people out of Egypt; and that it consisted pre-eminently in the proclamation of Jahweh as the national God of Israel. The strength and the uniformity of this tradition leave no doubt of its correctness, however much the details of the process may be the proper subject of criticism.

We are thus entitled to commence the history of the religion of Israel with Moses. It is another question whether we can also attain to any certainty regarding the religion of Israel, or, perhaps more correctly, of the Israelitish tribes in pre-Mosaic times. This question could at once be answered in the affirmative, if it were possible to regard the whole contents of the Book of Genesis as history in the strict sense of the term. According to this account, the self-revelation of the one true God began at the very outset, *i.e.* with the first human being created, and was then reproduced from generation to generation—always, indeed, only through the instrumentality of the firstborn of each family—until, finally, in the families of the three patriarchs proper, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, it developed into a religion which is hardly distinguished in any way from the future religion of the nation of Israel as this is presented to us in the earlier traditions. Abel and Cain already bring offerings to Jahweh—the one, of the firstlings of the flock and of their fat; the other, of the fruits of the field (Gn $4^{3ff.}$). Noaḥ sacrifices to Jahweh upon an altar burnt-offerings of all clean beasts and all clean birds (8^{20}). In like manner we hear not infrequently of the patriarchs building altars and offering sacrifices, as well as of their calling upon Jahweh, especially at those spots where He had appeared to them, or which were hallowed by previous appearances of God (12^{7} 13^{18} 22^{9} 26^{25} 35^{7}). Further, the erection of monumental stones or pillars (*maẓẓēbôth*, $28^{18ff.}$ 33^{20} [where for *mizbēaḥ* 'altar' we should certainly read *maẓẓēbāh* 'pillar'] $35^{14.\,20}$) corresponds to a custom which was practised even by Moses (Ex 24^{4}), and came only at the end of the pre-exilic period to be prohibited as heathenish. When, again, Rebeḳah goes to consult Jahweh, and actually obtains an oracle from Him (Gn $25^{22f.}$), this manifestly implies not only the existence of a sanctuary of Jahweh, but also the presence of priests or other mediums of the oracle. In short, the cult of Jahweh as practised by the people of Israel after their conquest of Canaan is presented to us as simply the continuation of the worship already rendered by the patriarchs to the same God, and, indeed, almost in every instance at the same sanctuaries. Israel, in other words, simply entered by the conquest of the land into the heritage of which they had been assured long ago by the promises of Jahweh to the patriarchs, and, above all, by the solemnly ratified 'covenant' of God with Abraham (Gn 15).

It must be confessed, however, that a proper critical examination of the religious history of Israel has shown incontrovertibly that the above view of the primeval and the patriarchal religion became possible only by carrying back unreservedly to the centuries prior to Moses, up to the very commencement of all, the conceptions and the conditions of the Jahweh religion as these present themselves somewhere about the 9th cent. B.C. The picture thus drawn of the early history is therefore an extremely valuable authority *for the period from which it emanates*; but for the pre-Mosaic period we can make use of it only with the utmost caution and with strict observance of complicated critical principles. We then discover that in various traditions found in Genesis as well as in those of many other books of the Bible a recollection has been preserved of the pre-Mosaic religious stage of Israel. It is true that this recollection is not infrequently so faint and so unintelligible to the narrators themselves that they take no offence at it, nay, believe it to be in perfect accord with the religion of Jahweh. In such instances the correct interpretation of the tradition may be confirmed or even discovered in two ways: (1) from other traces of the same tradition in the OT, even outside Genesis; (2) from the analogies found in other, especially Semitic, religions,* which will be found not infrequently to supply a surprising amount of information about ritual customs which are strange, and which were no longer understood by Israel itself. There is a repetition here of a phenomenon whose occurrence may be noted almost all over the world: namely, the tendency of religious usages to maintain themselves with the greatest tenacity even after they have come, in consequence of altered religious conceptions, to lose all real meaning. Their retention is generally justified by giving them some new interpretation which renders them tolerable to the new religion (so, for instance, with circumcision in Israel), or they may continue to be practised simply through force of habit, without any attempt at explanation at all. The latter principle may be found to hold good, for instance, of all or at least the majority of mourning usages. In all probability, the whole of these had their root in religious motives; but that this was understood we cannot assume except in those instances in which they were expressly prohibited by the Jahweh religion. For the most part they represent simply petrified custom, whose original meaning it is often very difficult to determine. At all events, the *symbolical* interpretations (for instance, that of the rending of the garments as an expression of utter indifference to one's outward appearance, or even as a symbol of the rending of the heart with grief), which we meet with frequently even in Christian exegesis and theology, are foredoomed to rejection.

---

* See 'Table of Contents' at end of article, p. 732 ff.

* On the subject of Semitic religion we possess such extremely valuable contributions as J. Wellhausen's *Reste arabischen Heidentums* (Berlin, 1887; 2nd ed. 1897), and W. Robertson Smith's *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* (London, 1889; 2nd ed. 1894; Germ. tr. by R. Stübe, Freiburg i. B. 1899). Much valuable material is contained also in B. Stade's *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, Berlin, 1887 (Buch 7: 'Israels Glaube und Sitte in vorprophetischer Zeit'), Bd. i. p. 358 ff. Cf. also Ch. Piepenbring, 'La religion primitive des Hébreux' (*Rev. de l'Hist. des Religions*, 1889, pp. 171–202); and C. G. Montefiore, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by the Religion of the ancient Hebrews*, London, 1892.

I. Traces of a pre-Mosaic Religion of Israel.

Before we attempt now to collect the possible traces of a pre-Mosaic religion of Israel, there are two points that we must emphasize very strongly: (1) that in almost every instance we have here to deal with hypotheses and not with facts, so that our task will be in reality to determine the greater or smaller degree of probability attaching to any hypothesis; (2) that everything which survived in Israel merely as a custom that was *not understood*, may claim an interest from the point of view of Archæology and the History of Religion in general, but has, strictly speaking, none so far as the Religion and Theology of the Bible are concerned. It appears to us that the effect is simply to lead one astray as to the correct understanding of the religion of Israel, when certain recent descriptions leave the reader in doubt whether all kinds of primeval customs were not practised in Israel with full consciousness of their original signification, and, when introduced into the framework of the Jahweh religion, so continued down to the latest times. The truth is that anything which was recognized by the Jahweh religion as of heathen origin, and whose meaning was understood by it, was declared unclean and accordingly prohibited absolutely, as, for instance, necromancy. Any one who notwithstanding addicted himself to such practices, set himself deliberately in opposition to the requirements of his religion. The fact that this happened again and again gives us no more right to saddle the religion of Israel with these derelictions than we have to hold Christianity responsible for all the heathen superstition which still continues to prevail even in Christian nations.

i. *CONCEPTION OF THE DEITY, ETC.*—The most important question which has to be dealt with by any one who undertakes to give an account of a particular stage of religion is that relating to *the nature of the god or gods recognized.*

1. Amongst the lowest forms of religious veneration, the more recent authorities on Comparative Religion reckon not only the common Fetishism (which elevates an arbitrarily chosen object to the rank of its gods, and again, it may be, deposes it), but also the so-called Totemism.* The following may suffice by way of definition of this widely diffused phenomenon. In the vocabulary of modern Comparative Religion the term *totem*† stands for some natural object—generally an animal—with which a tribe considers itself to have blood relationship, and which accordingly in the person of all its representatives is treated by the tribe with the utmost consideration and indulgence, or may actually receive Divine worship. Such Totemism may be recognized most frequently in the name by which the particular tribe is designated, although it may happen, indeed, that names long in existence come only subsequently to have a totemistic sense attached to them.

In searching for indications that Totemism once prevailed in Israel, we must leave out of consideration *one* practice, namely the worship of Jahweh in the form of a molten bull, as practised in the Northern kingdom from the time of Jeroboam I. onwards (1 K 12^{28}). It is probable that, in this, Jeroboam simply revived a form of the Jahweh cult that had been long familiar; but it was beyond doubt of Canaanite origin, and had nothing to do with Totemism. The molten bull is nothing but a symbol of the strength and creative power of Jahweh, who in the earliest times—as far back as we can trace the matter—was never thought of as appearing on earth except in human form.

On the other hand, among the names of Israelitish tribes there are a few which, upon certain conditions, might testify that Totemism once prevailed: for instance SIMEON (שִׁמְעוֹן *Shim'ôn*), *if* this name, like the Arabic *sim'u*, stands for a hybrid of wolf and hyæna; LEAH, *if* this = 'wild cow'; and LEVI, *if* this is really a gentilic name from *Leah*; and, finally, RACHEL (=*rāḥēl*, 'ewe'). With reference to the two female names in this list, it is true also that it must first be proved that wives in the patriarchal narratives always stand for certain weaker tribes which became amalgamated with other stronger ones into a single whole. It is clear that here we have many difficulties in the way, and at most we can speak only of the possibility that Totemism once prevailed in particular tribes. Nor are we carried much further by another argument, to which it has been sought to attach the strongest evidential value. We refer to the so-called 'food taboos,' by which the flesh of certain animals is to be scrupulously avoided as unclean. It sounds very plausible, no doubt, to interpret this as meaning that each tribe regarded it as strictly forbidden to kill and eat the totem animal with which it believed itself to have blood affinity. When smaller tribes became amalgamated with larger, and when these finally combined to form one nation, the totems of all the different clans would be recognized by the whole body, and the eating of them avoided, and the Jahweh religion would sanction and retain this practice, only altering the motive for it. At the totemistic stage these animals were forbidden because they were *holy*; the Jahweh religion, on the other hand, declared them, as relics of a foreign cultus, *unclean.* Now, in reply to this it may be remarked that certainly the long list of unclean animals enumerated in Lv $11^{4\text{ff.}}$ and Dt $14^{3\text{ff.}}$ cannot possibly be all explained on the ground of a previous Totemism. On the contrary, it is quite clear in these passages that the prohibition of certain animals which were expressly regarded as unclean was afterwards extended to the whole class which exhibited the same characteristics. Thus originated that *system* of food taboos in virtue of which uncleanness attached to all four-footed animals which do not chew the cud and have not completely divided hoofs, and to all water-animals which have not fins and scales, as well as to all four-legged winged creatures. It is vain to seek to explain this supplementary schematizing by religious motives, as if, for instance, all creatures to which any imperfection attaches had been forbidden as food. All that it is correct to hold is that in very ancient times the eating of *particular* animals was disallowed on religious grounds. But it is quite another question whether these grounds were connected with Totemism. It is quite possible that when such customs arose the determining factors were wholly different forms of superstition, such in particular as some form of belief in demons (see below). In this way the impulse would be given less by religious veneration than by simple fear. Upon the whole we must conclude once more that, while it is certainly possible that Totemism once prevailed in Israel, its prevalence cannot be proved; and, above all, we must hold that the religion of Israel as it presents itself in the OT has not retained the very slightest recollection of such a state of things.

---

* Out of the copious literature on this question the following may be noted as of importance for our present purpose: W. Robertson Smith, 'Animal Worship and Animal Tribes among the Arabs and in the Old Testament' in *Journal of Philology*, ix. (1880), cf. the same writer's *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*^{2} (1903), p. 217 ff.); J. G. Frazer, *Totemism*, Edinburgh, 1887; Jos. Jacobs, 'Are there Totem-clans in the Old Testament?' in *Archæol. Review*, iii. (1889) 3, p. 145 ff.; F. V. Zapletal, *Der Totemismus und die Religion Israels*, Freiburg i. B. 1901 [denies any existence of Totemism in Israel]; S. A. Cook, 'Israel and Totemism' in *JQR*. xiv. No. 55; L. Germain Lévy, 'Du totémisme chez les Hébreux' in *REJ* xliv. (1902), No. 89, p. 13 ff. [likewise with wholly negative results].

† This term, borrowed from the Ojibway Indians of N. America and brought into vogue especially by Lubbock, denotes originally the family or tribe itself.

2. It is different with another of the preliminary steps towards real religion which is still more widely illustrated amongst primitive peoples, namely **Animism.** In its pure form this is the belief in the activity of the spirits of recently deceased relatives. From the nature of the case, however, it is not always possible here to draw the lines sharply. Even those who have been long dead may appear to their surviving relatives in bodily form in dreams. Hence the animistic belief produces the conviction that the spirit of the dead man either still lingers in the neighbourhood, or may temporarily leave the place of sojourn of the dead (called by the Hebrews probably even in pre-Mosaic times *Shĕ'ōl*; see below). On the other hand, the appearances that present themselves in dreams are not confined to actual relatives; hence Animism readily includes all the members of the tribe, or creates a still wider realm. But it is always of the essence of original Animism that the activity of the spirits of the dead is thought of as ill-disposed, and even harmful, so that the survivors' interest is to keep them at as far a distance as possible, and to omit nothing that will conduce to the satisfying of their legitimate wishes, which have respect, above all, to the proper treatment and burial of the corpse.

It is evident that Animism of this kind cannot, strictly speaking, yet be called religion, but is at most only a preliminary step towards it. For it wants the element of *veneration* of powers regarded as superhuman. This comes to associate itself with Animism only when the latter concentrates its interest especially upon the spirits of ancestors, and passes into a formal veneration for them, when, in short, it becomes **Ancestor Worship.**[*]

With reference to the pre-Mosaic religion of Israel, the question is generally raised in the form whether in the later religion traces are demonstrable of a former Animism *and* Ancestor Worship. At present it is the fashion to pronounce unhesitatingly in favour of the presence of both these elements. But in the opinion of the present writer, while there are undoubted traces that Animism once prevailed, the alleged indications of Ancestor Worship are all exposed to more or less serious objections.

As might have been expected, the traces of Animism are most marked in connexion with certain *mourning customs.* Not that *all* mourning customs can be explained, as has been attempted, from one and the same point of view; on the contrary, they clearly belong to different grades of religious thought, and some of them have hitherto defied all efforts at interpretation. Most of them, however, may be most simply explained as due to the naïve attempt, by means of a variety of bodily alterations (*e.g.* the cropping or shaving of the head and beard, the wounding of the body by bloody incisions, etc., the covering of the face, or at least of the hair on the upper lip), to render oneself *unrecognizable* by the spirit of the dead, and thus to escape its malign influence. Also the rending of the garments, like the going barefoot and other partial uncoverings of the person, is in all probability simply a relic of an entire laying aside of one's clothes; only that absolute nakedness already in very early times assumed the mitigated form of putting on sackcloth, which was originally a coarse cloth thrown around the loins. Such a complete alteration of the outward appearance seemed best fitted to deceive the spirit of the dead, and to divert its attention from the survivors. But the same purpose was already served by going about in a filthy condition, by neglecting all attention to the hair, and by sprinkling oneself with ashes; or, on the other hand, by sitting on the ground, in dust and ashes if possible—in the place, in short, where one does not usually sit, and hence is not likely to be looked for.

Part of these mourning practices were retained without scruple even within the pale of the Jahweh religion—a proof that their original intention was no longer understood. Others, like the cutting of a bald spot on the head, the disfiguring of the beard, and the wounding of the person, were strictly forbidden by the later legislation (Lv 19^{28} 21^{5}). The circumstance that the Jahweh religion regarded all contact with a dead body, nay, even the proximity of one (Nu 19^{14}), as defiling, is sufficiently explained by the consciousness that at least part of the mourning and burial customs had their root in another religion. At the same time, however, it is noteworthy that the Law itself still retains a manifest trace of animistic beliefs when it enacts (Nu 19^{15}) that any open vessel without a cover fastened with a string is defiled by the proximity of a dead body. Here we have evidently the reminiscence of a very ancient practice whereby it was sought to prevent the spirit of the dead from taking up its quarters in the house—the practice, namely, before or at the moment of a death, of carefully closing all open vessels that happened to be in the neighbourhood.

The question whether Animism underwent in pre-Mosaic Israel, as in some other instances, the further development into Ancestor Worship, cannot be decided by such peremptory declarations as that Animism, in virtue of an inward necessity and hence *always,* is coupled with Ancestor Worship. Not theories but only facts must decide here; and it is simply not true that, thanks to invariable laws of evolution, the process of development has always, and in the case of all peoples, been from Animism to Ancestor Worship, and from the latter to Polytheism, and finally to Monotheism. Let us proceed now to examine the facts which have been held to prove that Ancestor Worship once prevailed among the Israelites.

Here, again, the principal rôle is played by *mourning customs.* Almost everything in this department is held to have the intention of declaring the mourner to be the slave of the deified ancestor. So, for instance, with the uncovering of the person,[*] the putting on of sackcloth as what was once the servile garb, and every other act by which expression is given to a humiliation of the person; and, finally, even the wounding of oneself by bodily incisions as a rite of dedication to the spirit of the dead. But these explanations of the mourning customs appear to us far less natural than the above proposal to trace them back to an effort to render oneself unrecognizable by the spirit.

---

[*] Of the very extensive literature on Animism and Ancestor Worship (in addition to the works of Stade and W. R. Smith cited in note on p. 612^{b}), the following may be noted: F. Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode nach den Vorstellungen des alten Israel u. des Judenthums*, Giessen, 1892; J. Frey, *Tod, Seelenglaube und Seelenkult im alten Israel*, Leipzig, 1898 [denies spirit-worship, and explains mourning customs as due to fear of death or of its author]; K. Grüneisen, *Der Ahnenkultus und die Urreligion Israels*, Halle, 1899 [finds indubitable traces of Animism in the OT, but none that are positively convincing of Ancestor Worship; explains (with Frazer) mourning customs in great measure as *averruncatio*; cf. also the instructive review of Grüneisen's book by Wellhausen in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1900, No. 20]; J. C. Matthes, 'Rouw en doodenvereering in Israël' in *Theol. Tijdschr.* 1900, pp. 97 ff., 193 ff. [especially directed against Frey's (see above) rejection of Ancestor Worship], also 'De doodenvereering bij Israël,' *ib.* 1901, p. 320 ff. [against Grüneisen].

[*] According to Büchler (art. 'Das Entblössen der Schulter und des Armes als Zeichen der Trauer' in *ZATW*, 1901, p. 81 ff.), by the practice in question the mourner submits himself to the dead, and declares himself his subject, by showing himself prepared to perform the hardest tasks on his behalf. The forced character of this explanation strikes one at once.

A stronger argument would be found in the custom of *funeral repasts*, if it were really beyond doubt that we have to do here with a sacrificial meal in honour of the dead. But the few passages to which appeal is made in this connexion prove no such thing. That 'mourning bread' (Hos 9^{4}) is unclean is sufficiently explained by the circumstance that it is eaten by one who is defiled by a dead body. This is all that appears to be spoken of in Dt 26^{14}, and not the use of bread for a sacrificial offering to the dead. The latter might, indeed, seem to be alluded to in the addition 'nor have I given thereof for the dead.' But a funeral repast may very readily bear a different sense from one in honour of a now deified ancestor. It may be an expression of a determination to maintain with the deceased the same fellowship in worship that subsisted when he was alive, this purpose being indicated by holding a repast once more in presence of the corpse. Still more probable appears to us to be the other explanation, according to which the special object is to provide the spirit of the dead with what it requires during its journey to the realm of death. The same purpose (and not that of a sacrificial gift proper) might be served also by the placing of food on or in the grave, if it is this and not the use of bread at the funeral repast that is alluded to in Dt 26^{14}. In the case of Jer 16^{7}, again, it is only by perfectly arbitrary alteration of the text that the passage can be converted into a testimony to sacrificial meals in honour of the dead. All that the prophet really says is that, after the coming of the Divine judgment, no one will seek to force men to take food to strengthen themselves, or to drink of the 'cup of consolation,' and thus bring the mourning fast to an end. As we see from 2 S 3^{35} 12^{17}, it was the custom to employ pressure of this kind; but in this whole matter we have nothing to do with Ancestor Worship, especially as there is no question of ancestors in connexion with the mourning fasts in either of these two passages any more than in 1 S 31^{13} or 2 S 1^{12}.

A further evidence that Ancestor Worship once prevailed in Israel has been discovered in the great importance attached to the mention of *tombs*. This, we are told, is explicable only on the ground that these graves were places of worship. Now it is a fact that the patriarchs' place of burial in a cave at Ḥebron is repeatedly mentioned. Abraham purchased it as a hereditary tomb from the Ḥittites (Gn $23^{3ff.}$); and he himself (25^{9}) as well as Isaac (35^{29}) and Jacob (cf. $49^{29ff.}$, according to which it was the resting-place also of Rebeḳah and Leah, and $50^{12f.}$) were buried there. But all these passages (as well as in all probability the mention of the burial-place of Aaron in Dt 10^{6}) belong to the so-called Priests' Code, which cannot surely be supposed in mentioning them to have had any thought of Ancestor Worship, but only to have intended to establish the title of the Israelites, when they returned from Egypt, to a portion of the soil of Canaan. According to the Jahwistic narrative, also, Jacob desires to be buried with his fathers ($47^{29f.}$); but here it is not Ḥebron but Gōren-hā'āṭād, on the east side of Jordan ($50^{10ff.}$), that is the burial-place. Besides, among the earlier sources E mentions the tomb of Deborah, Rebeḳah's nurse (35^{8}), and J or E that of Rachel ($35^{19ff.}$) and of Miriam, the sister of Moses (Nu 20^{1}). But there is not a word anywhere of any of these tombs being a place of worship. For to attempt to discover such an allusion in the *maẓẓēbāh* set up on Rachel's tomb (Gn 35^{20}) is to forget the fact that Ancestor Worship was paid only to *male* ancestors, rarely, if ever, to the mother of the tribe, not to speak of the impossibility of supposing the practice of Ancestor Worship at the tomb of the *nurse* of Rebeḳah. The object of the *maẓẓēbāh* on Rachel's grave must accordingly have been originally something other than to mark it as a place of worship.

Finally, on the theory we are discussing, it must strike us as very surprising that of all the sons of Jacob who, as ancestors of the various tribes, had the strongest claim to veneration, it is Joseph alone whose place of burial is mentioned (Jos 24^{32}; cf. also Gn 50^{25}, Ex 13^{19} [all E]). Now we do not mean to suggest any doubt that the tomb of Joseph at Shechem, that of Joshua at Timnath-seraḥ (Jos 24^{30}), and no less those of Gideon (Jg 8^{32}), Jephthah (12^{7}), Samson (16^{31}), and the so-called 'minor judges' ($10^{2.5}$ $12^{10.12.15}$), may have had the reputation of 'heroes' graves,' although we hear nothing of any cult being practised at them. But, even if Hero Worship could be proved, this would not necessarily be equivalent to Ancestor Worship. Even 1 S 20^{29}, where the practice of an (? annual) family sacrifice is presupposed, does not justify the conclusion that it was offered to ancestors.

Of all the argnments in favour of the former prevalence of Ancestor Worship, the most plausible is that based upon the injunction of the so-called *levirate marriage* (Dt $25^{5ff.}$). The original aim of this practice is held to have been to provide the childless deceased with a successor and thus with a cult, since the want of the latter was counted a serious misfortune. The custom in question is already presupposed in Gn $38^{8ff.}$, where indeed it appears as unconditionally binding, whereas in Dt $25^{7ff.}$ it has more the character of a simply moral obligation on the part of the surviving brother. But, even if levirate marriage had actually a connexion with Ancestor Worship, the Deuteronomist is certainly unconscious of this, and hence there is also little probability in the supposition that Lv 18^{16} 20^{21}, in prohibiting marriage with a brother's wife, meant to raise a protest against Ancestor Worship.

A certain evidence of Ancestor Worship has been supposed to lie in 2 S 18^{18}. This, however, is a mistake. For the meaning of the words there is not 'I have no son to invoke my name with veneration in the cult of the dead,' but simply 'I have no son to keep my name in remembrance,' as would be the case if there were any one who was called 'So and So, the son of Absalom.' In default of a son, the *maẓẓēbāh* must keep his name from being forgotten. Hence we are unable in this instance to discover the slightest trace of Ancestor Worship.

From 1 S 28^{13}, again, where the spirit of Samuel called up by the witch is called an *'ĕlōhîm*, *i.e.* a superhuman being, the most that can be inferred is that the spirits of the dead were one and all included in the category of *'ĕlōhîm* or *bĕnê 'ĕlōhîm*; there is no proof here of a worship of the dead, not to speak of a worship of ancestors.

To sum up the results of this whole discussion. If Ancestor Worship ever prevailed in the pre-Mosaic period—and it is psychologically quite conceivable that respect for the dead bodies and the tombs of parents inspired at least tendencies to a kind of Ancestor Worship,—no consciousness of this survived to historical times, and the whole question, as was remarked before, has at best an interest from the point of view of Archæology but not of Biblical Theology.

3. Real worship, however, was rendered by Israel in the pre-Mosaic period to the many numina (*'ēlim* [sing. *'ēl*, 'deity,' 'god']), which were believed to be the inhabitants and possessors of certain places, and which were venerated as such. These make their appearance most frequently in

connexion with trees, stones, and springs, which thereby assume a sacred character. Whether there ever was a time when a local *numen* of this kind (answering to the *dryads, oreads, hyads* of the Greeks) was believed to be connected with every tree, is a question that cannot be decided.* We should probably, however, find a trace of *numina loci* in every instance where, in spite of what was for Jahwism a matter of course, namely, the identification of the *numen* with Jahweh, the original sacredness of the particular tree, etc., has survived. This comes out most distinctly in Gn $28^{11ff.}$ (E, except vv.$^{13-16}$), where Jacob sets up the *stone*, by which he had lain and had a remarkable dream, as a *mazzēbāh* and anoints it with oil, vowing at the same time that upon his return he will make this *mazzēbāh* a *bēth-'ēl* or 'god's house.' As a matter of fact, after his return and the erection of an altar, he calls the place *'Ēl-bēth-'ēl*, 'God of Bethel' (35^7 [also E]). It is plain that the anointing with oil (28^{18}) was intended originally for the deity connected with the stone, and that the object of the whole narrative is to give a sanctity in the sense of Jahwism to the time-hallowed *mazzēbāh* of Bethel. A similar instance of Jahwism superseding an ancient view-point that had been taken over from the pre-Mosaic period, is present perhaps also in Jos 24^{26} (E), where the setting up of the sacred stone under the oak in the sanctuary of Jahweh is attributed to Joshua, whereas, according to Gn 12^6, the sacred tree was in existence as early as the arrival of Abraham, appearing as 'the soothsayer's (*Mōreh*) terebinth'; that is to say, in all probability it was a spot where the *numen* connected with the tree gave oracles through a priest or prophet. But the sacred stone probably stood from the first in connexion with the tree, to which circumstance, no doubt, the designation of the latter as 'terebinth of the *mazzēbāh*' [read in Jg 9^6 *mazzēbāh* for *muzzāb*] is due. Pre-Jahwistic in all probability is also the sacred stone-circle near the Jordan at Jericho, from which a frequently named sanctuary (*hag-Gilgāl*, 'the [stone] circle') derives its name. According to Jos 4^{2-8} and v.$^{20ff.}$ these stones, twelve in number after the number of the tribes, were set up by Joshua at Gilgal in memory of the miraculous passage through the dry bed of the Jordan; according to v.^{9} (J), on the other hand, they were erected in the midst of the river itself. Both statements are manifestly attempts to give to the originally heathen character of this stone-circle a stamp that would be unobjectionable to Jahwism.—An ancient sanctuary is, doubtless, to be discovered also in 'the serpent's stone' (*'eben haz-zōḥeleth*) beside 'the fuller's spring' (*'Ên-rōgēl*) to the south of Jerusalem, for in 1 K 1^9 it serves as a place of sacrifice.—Of other sacred stones we hear nothing, there being no mention even of meteoric stones, although these played their part elsewhere on Semitic soil. The notion that the sacred Ark (see below, p. 628^b) contained meteoric stones, rests upon pure conjecture. On the employment of *mazzēbôth* in the cult of Jahweh, see below, p. 620.

Amongst sacred *trees* we have already made mention of 'the soothsayer's terebinth' at Shechem, which is in all probability identical with the terebinth under which, according to Gn 35^4 (E), Jacob buried the foreign idols, as well as with 'the augurs' *or* prognosticators' (*Mĕ'ônĕnîm*) terebinth' of Jg 9^{37}. To the same category belongs the 'terebinth of Mamre' at Ḥebron, which is constantly brought into connexion with Abraham (Gn 13^{18} 14^{13} 18^1. The circumstance that in all these passages we find the plural, 'terebinths of Mamre,' is due to a correction made in dogmatic interests, namely, to get rid of the single sacred tree: this is clear from 18^4 as well as from the LXX, which has uniformly the singular). We may compare, further, the tamarisk of Abraham at Beersheba (Gn 21^{33}); 'the oak of weeping' (*'allōn-Bāchūth*) named after Deborah at Bethel (35^8); the palm of the female judge Deborah, between Ramah and Bethel (Jg 4^5); the terebinth at Ophrah, beside which the angel of Jahweh appeared to Gideon (6^{11}); the pomegranate (1 S 14^2), and the tamarisk on the height of Gibeah (22^6), under which Saul executed judgment; and, finally, the tamarisk [in 1 Ch 10^{12} 'terebinth'] at Jabesh, beneath which the bones of Saul and his sons were interred.

In all the above instances we have to do presumably with trees which, as the abode of local *numina*, were already sacred to the Canaanites, and which for the same reason were so regarded by the Israelites as well, only that the process early began of bringing them into relation to the patriarchs, and thus to the cult of Jahweh, thereby removing all ground of offence connected with them. Nearly all of them now make their appearance as hallowed by the building of altars to Jahweh and by His worship in proximity to them. It is quite true that in the beliefs of the people the old conception of a special *'ēl* of the particular tree may have maintained itself tenaciously, even if without a clear consciousness, till far into the monarchical period.—Of the trees and tree-stumps or poles (*'ăshērîm*), which till towards the end of the pre-exilic period were reckoned amongst the necessary apparatus of a place for the worship of Jahweh, we shall have to speak later on (see p. 620).

Finally, in regard to sacred *springs*, we must first of all infer from the analogy of Semitism elsewhere, that in primitive times the most important, if not all, springs were regarded as the abode of a local *numen*. Express testimony to the sacredness of particular springs—whether on their own account or owing to a sanctuary erected near them—is forthcoming, indeed, in only a few instances. Thus, according to Gn 14^7, Ḳadesh (*i.e.* 'sanctuary') in the desert was known also as *'Ên-mishpāṭ*, 'spring of judgment.' This name might indeed have been bestowed upon it in allusion to the judicial decisions given by Moses at Ḳadesh during the wilderness wanderings, but it may also point, above all, to the presence of an oracle in the sanctuary by the sacred spring. In Gn 16^{14} the (assuredly long established) sacredness of the spring *Laḥai-roi* in the desert is traced back to an appearance of Jahweh to Hagar; and in $21^{29ff.}$ that of the spring at *Beersheba* to a compact by oath between Abraham and Abimelech. Adonijah, according to 1 K 1^9, holds a sacrificial meal at 'the serpent's stone' (see above) beside 'the fuller's spring' (the modern Job's Well); and v.^{38} tells how Solomon was anointed king at Giḥon (the modern Virgin's Spring). The latter circumstance would be inexplicable unless a high degree of sanctity attached to Giḥon.

The above described preliminary step towards a religion, which consisted in the belief in numerous *'ēlîm*, and probably also in the presenting of offerings to them, has been designated **Polydemonism,** as distinguished from Polytheism. No exception need be taken to the name, provided it be understood that in this instance 'demon' stands for a Divine being of an inferior order and not simply for an evil spirit.

4. It is another question when we ask whether traces are to be discovered in Israel of a once prevailing **Polytheism** alongside of the traces of

---

* That this was the case with *'ēlāh* and *'ēlōn*, 'terebinth,' might be certainly assumed if these Hebrew names were really connected with *'ēl*, 'deity,' and did not rather mean 'the *strong* tree.'

Polydemonism. This question is generally answered in the negative by the adherents of the Ancestor Worship hypothesis. They tell us that Jahwism, with its toleration of the worship of *one* God only, had the effect of suddenly interrupting the natural transition from the Ancestor Worship of the family to Hero Worship as the cult of the progenitors of the tribe, and finally to Polytheism as the cult of tribal heroes exalted to Divine rank or of what were once merely local *numina.* Others, however, discover traces of actual gods, and thus of a once prevailing Polytheism in Israel.*

In dealing with this question we leave entirely out of account the numerous attempts to trace all the Scripture characters in primeval and patriarchal times to astral myths, or at all events to explain the majority of them (notably Abraham and Sarah, but also Isaac and Jacob, and, from the primeval period, at least the wives and the sons of Lamech [Gn $4^{19ff.}$], as well as Samson in the period of the Judges) as depotentiated forms of what once were gods. We fail to see in any of these attempts anything more than unprovable fancies. As little can we consent to regard the use of the plural form *'Elōhîm* for 'God' as a relic of former Polytheism; it is much more likely that it is a so-called *pluralis majestatis.* At the very most it might be asked whether, perhaps, in certain tribal and personal names we have not a shortened form of originally theophorous names. Thus it has been proposed to find in *Gad* (Gn 30^{11}, Is 65^{11}) a god of Fortune, and in *Asher* (Gn 30^{13}) the male counterpart to the goddess Asherah. But, even supposing that *Gad* were shortened for *'Obēd Gad,* 'worshipper of Gad,' or some similar form, the name of this mixed tribe (sprung from a concubine of Jacob) would prove nothing as to a specifically Israelitish god of Fortune. Moreover, if such an idea had been conveyed by the name, it is hardly likely that it would have been borne by a prophet of Jahweh living in the time of David (1 S 22^{5} *et al.*). And as to *Asher* there is no trace elsewhere of a *god* of this name, while the explanation of the name as 'the happy one' is perfectly satisfactory. On the other hand, *'Anāth* in Jg 3^{31} 5^{6} should decidedly be regarded as abbreviated from *'Obēd 'Anāth,* 'worshipper of (the Canaanite goddess) 'Anāth.' But no one can prove that Shamgar the son of 'Anāth is rightly spoken of in the redactory gloss of Jg 3^{31} as an Israelite. The name is there evidently borrowed from 5^{6}, where, according to Moore (*Journal of American Oriental Society,* XIX. ii. p. 159 f.), he is meant to be taken as the father of Sisera. In the opinion of the present writer, no weight at all can be attached to the somewhat numerous names from the periods of the Judges and the monarchy, compounded with *Ba'al,* 'lord,' or *Melekh,* 'king.' For in the most of these it is simply Jahweh Himself that is meant by *Ba'al* or *Melekh.* So it is, for instance, with *Jerubba'al* (*i.e.* 'he who contends for Ba'al,' notwithstanding the opposite interpretation of the name in Jg 6^{32}); *'Eshba'al,* 'man of Ba'al,' the son of Saul (1 Ch 8^{33} 9^{39}); *Meribba'al,* 'man of Ba'al,' the son of Jonathan (8^{34} 9^{40}); *Be'eliada',* 'Ba'al knoweth,' the son of David (14^{7}). The preservation of the original form of the last three names only in Chronicles, *-ba'al* having its place taken in Samuel by *-bōsheth,* 'shame' (2 S $2^{8.10}$ *et al.,* 4^{4} *et al.*; except that 2 S 5^{16} substitutes *'Eliada',* 'El knoweth,' for *Be'eliada'*), proves simply the eagerness of later generations to eliminate as far as possible the hated name of Ba'al, as is already enjoined in Hos 2^{18}. But, granting that in certain names from that period it is actually the *heathen* Ba'al or Melekh that is meant, this would be simply an evidence of Israelitish *idolatry* due to foreign influences. That Israel had at all times tendencies to such idolatry has not as yet been disputed; but this cannot, of course, be counted amongst the relics of a once prevalent *Israelitish* Polytheism.

Further, if it should be objected that the OT tradition itself quite unambiguously attributes to the people in primitive times the worship of heathen gods, we reply that this is so, but that the passages in question are much in need of closer examination. Gn $31^{30ff.}$ drops out of consideration. If Rachel stole the god (in v.$^{34f.}$ called *tĕrāphîm*) of her father Laban, this would at the most be an indication that the Teraphim cult was introduced from the Aramæan sphere, for Laban is regarded by the narrator as an Aramæan. We shall see afterwards, however, that upon *Hebrew* soil the Teraphim cannot have had the significance of a foreign god.—On the other hand, in Jos $24^{2.15}$ (E) it is really assumed that the forefathers of the Israelites on the other side of the Euphrates (*i.e.* before the time of Abraham) as well as in Egypt (v.^{14}) served 'other gods.' That does not mean that from the first they had their own specifically Israelitish gods, but that they abandoned themselves to the worship of the foreign gods in whose country and sphere they sojourned. In this matter the narrator simply follows the theory to which even David gives drastic expression (1 S 26^{19}) when he speaks of expulsion from Jahweh's own land as amounting to a compulsion to serve foreign gods.—But Am 5^{26} cannot, in view of the whole context, be understood as alluding to idolatry on the part of Israel during the period of the wilderness wanderings, but only as containing a threat of something to come.—In Ezk $20^{7f.24}$ Israel is charged with having defiled itself with the idols of *Egypt,* and with refusing to abandon these even in the wilderness. Thus we have here again to do with *foreign* gods, and not with a native Israelitish Polytheism.

Finally, the possibility might remain that in certain beings of 'demon' order, occasionally mentioned, a reminiscence has survived of actual gods that were once worshipped. In favour of this view might be urged the analogy of other monotheistic religions, in which the gods of past heathen times are not straightway declared to be mere figments of the imagination, but (at least in the beliefs of the people) are degraded to 'demons' or spook forms. Thus lived on the once mighty gods of Greece among the early Christians; and so did the Arab tribal gods even after the conquest of Islam, just as the ancient German gods still survive in various superstitions that prevail amongst Christianized Germanic peoples. As a matter of fact, we find in some late passages of Scripture what may be pronounced certain, or at least very probable, examples of this depotentiating of former popular gods: *e.g.* Dt 32^{17}, where they are spoken of as *shēdîm,* 'demons,' to which at one time sacrifices were offered (cf. also Ps 106^{37}, where the once existing practice of offering children is thought of as having these 'demons' for its object); 2 Ch 11^{15}, where by the term שְׂעִרִים (*sĕ'îrîm,* 'goats' or 'goatlike forms'), the Chronicler evidently understands, above all, the heathen popular gods, for whom Jeroboam I. is said to have appointed priests. But in all these instances we have to do expressly with idolatrous worship of foreign gods, and not with relics of an Israelitish Polytheism. And when in Lv 17^{7} it is forbidden to offer the usual sacrifices any more to the *sĕ'îrîm,* what comes here once more to the front is the belief in local *numina,* field spirits, with which there was an unwillingness, in spite of the uncontested sole legitimacy of the Jahweh cult, to break completely, seeing that these beings could so readily injure man. But these field spirits are not, properly speaking, ‘gods’ any more than the spirits that make their abode in sacred trees and stones. Elsewhere, too, the *sĕʿîrîm* are nothing more than ‘demon’ forms, akin to the fauns and satyrs of classic mythology. In Is 13^{21} they perform their dances in the destroyed palaces of Babylon, in 34^{14} they hold their gatherings amongst the ruins of Edom.

---

* Cf. the thorough discussion of all the controverted questions dealt with in what follows, in Baethgen's *Beiträge zur semit. Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1888), p. 131 ff.

Like the *sĕʿîrîm*, *Lilith* (*i.e.* ‘the nightly one’), who, according to Is 34^{14}, dwells in the ruined palaces of Edom, belongs in all probability to the category of monstrosities to which the popular belief gave birth. The same is the case with the *Alûḳāh* of Pr 30^{15}, the mention of whose two daughters is sufficient to show that it is not the common leech that is meant, but that the name, like the Arabic *ʿAlûḳ* or *ʿAulaḳ*, stands for a blood-sucking ‘demon.’ In another connexion we shall come upon still further remnants of a belief in and fear of ‘demons.’[*] *ʿAzāzēl*, again, to whom on the Great Day of Atonement the goat laden with the sins of the people was sent forth (Lv $16^{8.\,10.\,21\text{ff.}}$), is evidently an unclean ‘demon’ who inhabits the desert. At the same time it is very questionable whether this figure can be regarded as a survival from the pre-Mosaic belief in ‘demons,’ and was not rather first borrowed from a foreign source during the Exile. — Of the *Cherubim* and *Seraphim* we shall not speak till later on, because these, although certainly a product of non-Israelite soil, attained to something of an independent significance in Jahwism. The *Saṭan*, on the contrary, viewed as an individual, is not met with till the post-exilic period.

ii. *FORMS OF WORSHIP, AND OTHER RITES AND USAGES.*—The essential character of every ancient religion reveals itself pre-eminently in the *worship* it offers to the Deity. That such worship formed an element also in the pre-Mosaic stage of the religion of Israel is to be assumed, and various traces of it survived for long even in the cultus of Jahweh. These are recognizable by their great resemblance to, or even complete identity with, the ritual usages of the heathen Semites. As in the case of mourning customs, the original meaning, it is true, is often difficult to recognize, or the features of the custom have been so toned down or completely transformed as to make identification impossible.

1. By far the most important ritual transaction in the primitive stage of religion is sacrifice. To the later Israelitish conceptions this appeared almost exclusively from the point of view of a *gift*, and, above all, as an offering of food to the Deity; even fat and blood are expressly named in Ezk $44^{7.\,15}$ as food of Jahweh. It cannot be doubted that this aspect of the matter was not wholly wanting even in the pre-Mosaic period, and that offerings of fruit in particular were presented to the local *numina*, by being deposited within the sacred precincts (as was done afterwards with the shewbread), or being thrown into the sacred wells. Also the ordinary burnt-offering, which was *all* assigned to the Deity (hence called also *kālîl*, ‘whole-offering’), can scarcely be regarded otherwise than as an offering of food, *i.e.* as a gift. But, on the other hand, it is impossible to explain all sacrificial rites from this point of view. The extraordinary importance which is manifestly attributed to the blood of the sacrificial victim carries us forward to another idea, namely, that of the *sacramental communion* established between the god and his worshippers through their common eating of the (*eo ipso* sacred) body of the sacrificial victim. And, since from the earliest times the blood is regarded as pre-eminently the seat of the life, the sacramental communion was undoubtedly reached in the most primitive stage by drinking the sacrificial blood, the same blood as was assigned in some way (it might be by smearing the image or the altar, or by pouring out the blood within the sacred precincts) to the Deity. A clear trace of this notion—although in a form that has been very much toned down—has survived in Ex $24^{5\text{ff.}}$. When we read here of Moses sprinkling the altar with one portion of the blood and the people with the other, and thus sealing the covenant between Jahweh and the people, the main feature of the rite is the common share in the blood which establishes a communion, and which is hence called by Moses ‘the blood of the covenant.’

It could not have been long till the advance of culture gave rise to repugnance to the drinking of blood. Hence arose naturally a partition of the sacred food; the portion of the Deity being the blood along with the fat (the latter in all probability on account of the facility with which it could be made over to the Deity by letting it go up in smoke), the portion of the worshippers being the flesh. The sacramental communion, however, finds expression in late as well as in early times in the consumption of the sacrificial meal at a sacred spot, in eating and drinking ‘before Jahweh’ (in early times, no doubt, in the actual presence of the image). That the flesh even in these so-called meal-offerings bore a sacred character, is evident from the circumstance that the mingling of sacred and common food in the body was sought to be avoided by fasting previous to the sacrificial meal. The record of this undoubtedly very ancient practice has come down to us only in connexion with war (Jg 20^{26}, 1 S 7^{6}) and mourning (1 S 31^{13}, 2 S 3^{35} [the case is different in 12^{16}]). The strict command to avoid the use of blood for food, which was afterwards extended to the case of animals that could not be offered in sacrifice, may have been originally due not simply to the fact that the blood was reserved for the Deity, but also to the fear of absorbing a second soul along with the blood, the seat of life.

It cannot be determined whether, in addition to what were afterwards the usual victims, other animals were used for sacrifice by the tribes of Israel in pre-Mosaic times. On the other hand, it may be asserted with confidence that in special cases *human sacrifice* was practised in order to propitiate the Deity or gain His favour.[*] This is witnessed to by the persistency with which, down to the 7th cent. B.C., the sacrifice of the first-born is regarded as the highest act of service, in spite of the clear protest uttered against this notion in Gn 22 (E). The teaching of the latter narrative plainly is that Jahweh is satisfied with the disposition which is prepared to offer to Him one's dearest, and that He has appointed the substitutionary offering of an animal in place of the actual sacrifice of a child. Nevertheless, Ahaz (2 K 16^{3}, very probably during the straits to which he was reduced by the attack of the allied Aramæans and Ephraimites) and Manasseh (21^{6}) both caused a son to pass through the fire; and in Mic 6^{7b} the question is evidently submitted to very serious consideration whether the sacrifice of the firstborn is not to be offered as the surest expiation of guilt.

---

[*] Cf. E. Ferrière, *Paganisme des Hébreux jusqu' à la captivité de Babylone*, Paris, 1884; C. H. Toy, ‘Evil Spirits in the Bible’ in *JBL* ix. pt. i. p. 17 ff.; J. van der Veen, ‘Daemonologie van het Judaisme’ in *Theol. Studiën*, 1890, p. 301 ff. There is the closest connexion between the belief in ‘demons’ (as also, indeed, the worship of local *numina*) and the great majority of the manifold forms of magic and soothsaying. Much of the latter may have been first taken over by Israel on Canaanite soil, but not a little must have belonged to the pre-Mosaic stage. Cf. on this point the classical article of W. R. Smith, ‘On the Forms of Divination and Magic enumerated in Deut. xviii. 10 f.’ in *Journal of Philology*, xiii. p. 273 ff., and xiv. p. 113 ff.; also T. W. Davies, *Magic, Divination, and Demonology among the Hebrews and their Neighbours*, etc., London, 1898 (also as Dissertation, Leipzig, 1901).

[*] Cf. on this point the exhaustive discussion of A. Kamphausen, *Das Verhältniss des Menschenopfers zur israelit. Religion*, Bonn, 1896.

From passages like Dt 12^{31}, 2 K 17^{17} 23^{10}, Ezk 16$^{20f.}$ 20^{31} 23$^{37ff.}$ (on Jer 19^{5} see below) it would appear as if these burnt-offerings of human victims were presented not to Jahweh, but to Melekh (LXX Moloch), *i.e.* 'king [of heaven]' as a heathen god. Apart, however, from Gn 22, this is expressly opposed by Jg 11$^{30f. 36}$, according to which Jephthah, in terms of his vow, sacrificed his daughter to *Jahweh.* In 2 K 3^{27} we read of how Mesha, king of Moab, offered his firstborn, naturally to Chemosh, the god of the land; but the now mutilated close of the narrative plainly shows that the writer was firmly convinced of the efficacy of such an offering, and would no doubt have expected that a similar sacrifice to Jahweh on Israelitish soil would be equally efficacious. Jer 7^{31} 19^{5} [delete in the latter the gloss 'as burnt-offerings to Baal,' which is wanting in the LXX] 32^{35} plainly show that the sacrifice of children was popularly supposed to be well-pleasing to Jahweh. And even Ezekiel, to whom such offerings, like every other form of cultus in pre-exilic times, appear as simple idolatry, reckons the sacrifice of all the firstborn among the statutes 'that were not good' (20$^{25f.}$), which Jahweh Himself gave to the people as a punishment for their backsliding. This strange assertion is in all probability to be understood as meaning that the command to offer the firstlings of cattle gave rise to the erroneous notion that human sacrifice was well-pleasing to God.

If human sacrifices were, in the nature of things, burnt-offerings or whole-offerings, thus constituting pre-eminently valuable *gifts*, yet in the earliest times the use made of the blood must have held an important place in the same connexion. And, seeing that in the case of the offering of children the blood in question was closely related to that of the offerer, this species of sacrifice also must unquestionably be regarded from the point of view of the establishing of a sacramental communion between the offerer and the Deity.

A somewhat different character belongs, on the other hand, to other two rites, which are certainly also pre-Mosaic, namely the ratifying of a covenant by cutting one or more animals in pieces, so that the contracting parties might pass between the pieces laid opposite one another; and the *ḥērem* or ban.

In Gn 15$^{9ff. 17}$ (J), in the case of the 'covenant' of Jahweh with Abraham, the first named of these rites is enjoined and performed by God alone; but here we have to do not with a covenant in the ordinary human sense, but with a *religious* '*bĕrîth*,' whose essence lies in the Divine institution, demand, and promise. God accommodates Himself here to human custom by passing between the pieces of the dismembered animal, just as in Jer 34$^{18f.}$ the contracting parties pass between the parts of the calf cut in twain. The whole transaction in so far resembles a sacrificial one, as the kinds of animals enumerated in Gn 15^{9}, as well as the calf of Jer 34^{18}, all belong to the class usually employed for sacrifice; nor is it impossible that the blood of these animals was in some way utilized as sacrificial blood. The kernel of the rite is manifestly the invoking of a curse upon oneself in case of a breach of the obligation undertaken.* This is clearly alluded to in 1 S 11^{7} (as well as in the incident of Jg 19^{29}, which must be interpreted in the same way), only that the curse invoked must have originally concerned not the cattle, but the person of the man who was false to his obligation.

The ban (Heb. חֵרֶם)* was, without doubt, originally a war custom, and consists in the devoting† (even before the actual battle, Nu 21^{2}, Jos 6^{17}, 1 S 15$^{3ff.}$) of the enemy and all their belongings to destruction—in Israel, in the post-Mosaic period, naturally in honour of Jahweh as the God of war. Schwally rightly denies that the *ḥērem* has the character of an offering or present. To 'ban' means to give over to destruction; the religious element is found in the complete renunciation of any profit from the victory, and this renunciation is an expression of gratitude for the fact that the war-God has delivered the enemy, who is His enemy also, and all his substance into the hands of the conqueror. The earliest practice appears to have required the massacre of everything living, whether man or beast, and the burning or destroying in some other way of houses and property; cf. Jos 6$^{21. 24}$ (after the capture of Jericho) 8$^{24ff. 28}$ 10^{28}, 1 S 15$^{8ff.}$ (where the sparing of the best of the cattle for a future offering, and the failure to put to death the Amalekite king Agag, are held up by Samuel as a transgression on the part of Saul) 22^{19} (although in this instance the expression *ḥērem* is not employed); so in Mic 4^{13} in an eschatological prophecy the 'devoting' of all the substance of the peoples that besiege Jerusalem is announced. The original rigour of the *ḥērem* appears in a somewhat milder form in Dt 2$^{34f.}$ 3$^{6f.}$, Jos 8$^{2. 27}$ 11^{14}, where human beings, indeed, are all to be put to death, but the cattle and other possessions of the enemy are to fall as spoil to the Israelites. According to Dt 20$^{16ff.}$ the ban is to be enforced with unsparing severity in the case of Canaanite cities, whereas, according to v.$^{13ff.}$, in far distant non-Canaanite cities only the males are to be slaughtered; the women and children, the cattle and other property, are to be regarded as spoil. This rule is followed in the case of the Midianites, according to Nu 31$^{7ff.}$, but Moses afterwards (v.$^{17f.}$) demands the slaughter also of all the female prisoners except those that were still virgins. A further mitigation of the practice is found, finally, in the possibility of making some of the prisoners slaves of the sanctuary; cf. Jos 9^{23} and the *Nĕthînîm* or 'given ones' amongst the *personnel* of the post-exilic temple.

The *ḥērem*, as a solemn devoting to destruction, might, however, include in its scope even Israelites, and not only individuals but communities. Thus Dt 13$^{16ff.}$ requires the putting to death of *all* the inhabitants of any Israelitish city that fell into idolatry, and the burning of *all* their property as 'a whole-offering to Jahweh.'‡ According to Jg 20^{48} all the members of the tribe of Benjamin were slaughtered and their cities burned on account of the outrage at Gibeah; according to 21$^{10ff.}$ the ban was executed on all the inhabitants of Jabesh-gilead with the exception of 400 virgins who were urgently required. That the man who stole anything of what had been 'devoted' came himself under the ban, because he had broken the 'taboo' caused by the *ḥērem*, is shown by the case of Achan (Jos $7^{1\text{ff.}}$). The 'holy indignation of Jahweh,' which burns at first against the whole people (v.$^{12\text{ff.}}$), is appeased only when Achan is stoned to death (v.^{26}). Nor is it easy to understand 1 S 14^{45} except to mean that the curse resting upon Jonathan (cf. v.^{24}), in which he had involved himself by disregard of Saul's prohibition, as of a kind of *ḥērem*, was removed by drawing lots for and putting to death a substitute. In 2 S $21^{3\text{ff.}}$ Israel is delivered from the consequences of the curse of the Gibeonites by the giving up and putting to death of seven members of the family of Saul, whose action was responsible for the curse.

---

* F. Schwally (*Semit. Kriegsaltertümer*, Heft 1, 'Der heilige Krieg im alten Israel,' Leipzig, 1901, p. 54) well describes the action of Saul in 1 S 11^{7} as a 'Schwur- oder Bundesritus'; the dismembered bodies have in all the instances above cited the significance of an 'Eidopfer,' to which numerous analogies are found in other religions as well.

* Cf. Schwally, *l.c.* p. 29 ff.

† In Jer 12^{3} the expression 'dedicate (lit. hallow) them for the day of slaughter' answers exactly to the elsewhere employed 'ban.'

‡ In view of what has been said above, this cannot be taken to mean that the destruction in consequence of the *ḥērem* actually represents a whole- or burnt-offering, but that it has this force *comparatively*, being as well-pleasing as a burnt-offering. Schwally very appropriately refers to the statement of Mesha on the Moabite Stone, l. 11 f.: 'and I slew all the people of the city, a pleasing spectacle for Chemosh and for Moab.' In the same way is explained why the touching of the 'devoted' thing roused the anger of the Deity (Jos 7^{26}).

A unique character belongs to the case supposed in Lv $27^{28\text{ff.}}$, that an Israelite might 'devote' any possession of his, including human beings (slaves or captives taken in war?) and cattle. Everything so 'devoted' is most holy to Jahweh: if human beings, they must be put to death.

The circumstance that in the earliest times there is no trace of drink-offerings of wine, is explicable very simply on the ground that these were possible only after Israel had become used to vine-culture in Canaan. On the other hand, the libations of water mentioned as prayer-offerings before battle (1 S 7^{6}, cf. also 2 S $23^{15\text{ff.}}$) are in all probability a survival from a time when water (in the desert) was considered an article of value. Extraordinary occasions such as war (see below) led to a revival of the primitive ritual practice.

Regarding the usual sacrificial transaction we have information in the very word for altar, namely *mizbēaḥ*, *i.e.* 'place of slaughter.' This shows that the victims, as is presupposed also in Gn 22^{9}, were slain upon the altar itself. The *horns* of the altar, which afterwards played a rôle in connexion with the application of the blood (Lv 4^{7} *et al.*) and the function of the altar as an asylum (1 K $1^{50\text{f.}}$ 2^{28}), should in all probability be traced back to the custom of spreading the skin of the victim, horns and all, over the altar. This custom can be proved also in the case of heathen cults, and is thus presumably older than Jahwism. Apart from other considerations, the latter supposition is favoured by the circumstance that in the earliest times altars were composed either of large flat stones (Jg 6^{20} 13^{19}, 1 S 6^{14} $14^{33\text{ff.}}$) or of piles of turf or unhewn stones (Ex $20^{24\text{f.}}$). The introduction of *artificial* horns would follow after altars came to be constructed of different materials. The explanation of the horns as symbols of strength in connexion with the worship of Jahweh as a bull-God could thus, in any case, have been introduced only at a later period. The circumstance that the number of horns required by the Priests' Code (Ex 27^{2}, cf. Ezk $43^{15.\,20}$), which no doubt embodies here a long-established usage, is four (one on each corner of the altar), proves nothing against the view that the horns were originally only two in number.

2. The *essentials of a place of worship* in the earliest times probably always included a *mazzēbāh* (מַצֵּבָה) and a sacred tree, or, in default of the latter, a sacred tree-stump or pole. It is true that Ex 23^{24} 34^{13} and Dt 7^{5} 12^{3} convey the impression that in Israel the *mazzēbāh* was first introduced in imitation of Canaanite modes of worship; but such a notion is contradicted by the prevailing belief (see above, p. 616^{a}) that the *mazzēbāh* was the abode of the *numen loci*. This belief had its origin as far back as the period of Polydemonism, and Jahwism retained it to this extent, that even in this religion the *mazzēbāh* was viewed as the symbol and pledge of the nearness of Jahweh. It is thus all the more readily comprehensible that down even to the late monarchical period no offence was taken at the *mazzēbāh*. In Gn $31^{45.\,51\text{f.}}$ the *mazzēbāh* serves as a witness of the agreement between Jacob and Laban. Moses himself erects at Sinai not only an altar to Jahweh but twelve *mazzēbôth*, 'according to the number of the tribes of Israel' (Ex 24^{4}). These stones cannot possibly have possessed for this narrator the same significance as the sacred stone of Bethel had for the narrator of Gn $28^{17\text{f.}}$. The two brazen pillars at the entrance to Solomon's temple (1 K $7^{15\text{ff.}}$) should also, no doubt, be regarded as representing a form of *mazzēbāh*. According to 2 K $12^{10\,(9)}$ [read, with the LXX, 'by the *mazzēbāh*' instead of 'by the altar'] a *mazzēbāh* stood in the forecourt of the temple; in Hos 3^{4} the *mazzēbāh* is taken for granted as part of the *materia sacra* of the regular worship of Jahweh; and in Is 19^{19} the *mazzēbāh* spoken of is not an obelisk, but a stone which serves along with the altar to mark a spot consecrated to the worship of Jahweh. We are told in 2 K 18^{4} that the *mazzēbôth* had already been destroyed by Ḥezekiah, but this should probably be set down as an antedating of the cultus reform of Josiah (2 K 23^{14}); for the first [unless Mic $5^{12\,(13)}$ is as early as the time of Manasseh] prohibition of the *mazzēbāh* appears in Deuteronomy (16^{22}; cf. also Jer 2^{27} [if the mockery of the prophet has for its objects *'ăshērîm* (see below) and *mazzēbôth*] and Lv 26^{1}). As with the worship on high places, the erecting of *'ăshērîm* and *mazzēbôth* by the kings prior to Josiah is imputed to them as a fault by the Deuteronomistic redactors of the Book of Kings (1 K 14^{23}, 2 K 17^{10}).

Like the *mazzēbāh*, the *'ăshērāh* (אֲשֵׁרָה, plur. אֲשֵׁרִים), *i.e.* the sacred tree-stump or pole, must also be reckoned among the survivals of the pre-Jahwistic cultus, although it likewise held its place for centuries unopposed beside the altars of Jahweh (as in Jg $6^{25\text{ff.}}$ it appears beside an altar of Baal). It is, without doubt, a substitute for the sacred tree (see above), which was not available everywhere (especially, for instance, in the case of hastily erected altars in the desert). But, as the regular sanctuaries on the high places would always have green trees in their neighbourhood, there was less occasion for the mention of the *'ăshērîm* [in 1 K 14^{23} and 2 K 17^{10} they are a superfluity, due probably to the eagerness of the Deuteronomist to condemn alike the trees and the *'ăshērîm*]. That the *'ăshērāh* said to have been cut down by Hezekiah (2 K 18^{4}) and restored by Manasseh (21^{3}) stood in the temple down to the time of Josiah, is shown by its removal and burning in the Ḳidron Valley (2 K 23^{6}). In like manner an *'ăshērāh* (according to 1 K 16^{33}, first set up by Aḥab) stood in Samaria (2 K 13^{6}; cf. also 1 K 14^{15}, 2 K 17^{16}). The command to cut down (Ex 34^{13}, Dt 7^{5}) or to burn (Dt 12^{3}) heathen *'ăshērîm* implies at the same time, of course, a repudiation of their use in Israel. They are expressly forbidden in Dt 16^{21} (cf. also Mic $5^{13\,(12)}$, where it is predicted that they are to be plucked up; Jer 17^{2}, Is 27^{9}, and the late addition to Is 17^{8}). With the exception perhaps of Mic 5^{13}, none of these passages goes further back than the time of Josiah. There is, of course, a complete distinction between the *'ăshērāh* as the sacred pole, and the *goddess* Asherah, whose existence appears to be now placed beyond doubt by the Tel el-Amarna letters. Her worship (1 K 15^{13}, 2 K 21^{7} 23^{4}) wears the aspect of pure idolatry, and hence does not come under the category of the religion of Israel.

The use of other figures besides the *mazzēbāh* and the *'ăshērāh* to represent the nearness of the Deity cannot be proved, to say the least of it, for the pre-Mosaic period. In favour of such a view may be urged the tenacity with which the Jahweh cultus clung for a very long period to the use of images of Jahweh; and it is not impossible that in these the form of the *'ēlîm* that were once worshipped had been handed down. On the other hand, the notion cannot be admitted that any but images of Jahweh were ever tolerated within the pale of the Jahweh worship. This must hold good also of the *Tĕrāphîm*, even if these were originally derived from the realm of heathendom; and the whole question must accordingly be left for discussion in connexion with the pre-Prophetic cultus of Israel.

3. But, again, the worship of Jahweh retained a number of *ritual practices* which may be held with all the more certainty to have been derived from the pre-Mosaic period, since they one and all have their analogues in the practices of the heathen Semites. This category includes *walking barefoot in sacred places* (Ex 3^{5}, Jos 5^{15}; even the going barefoot in token of mourning, 2 S 15^{30}, Is 20$^{2\text{ff.}}$, like other forms of uncovering, has to be looked at, as explained above, from the religious point of view); *washing the person and the clothes* (Ex 19^{10} and often) *before approaching the presence of the Deity* (cf. the changing of the clothes, Gn 35^{2}). When we find in the Priests' Code constant injunctions to wash the person and the clothes in order to recover lost Levitical purity, no doubt the primary intention of these is that outward physical purity is to be the symbol and representation of inward. But, all the same, there is here a relic of those conceptions which led to the attempt, by means of external cleansing, to escape direct injury from demons or even from an angry god. And if in Ex 28^{43} and Lv 6$^{4\,(10)}$ 16^{23} the priests are enjoined to wear their official garments only when they are conducting Divine service, the older passage, Ezk 44^{19}, shows that there was a further intention in this than simply to guard against a profanation of the holy garments. The danger was rather that by touching these garments the people would be 'hallowed,' *i.e.* become forfeit to the sanctuary, and thus require a ransom to be paid for them. Here, again, we make acquaintance with the primitive notion that all close contact with the Deity or with anything consecrated to Him was, if not fatal, at least dangerous. But amongst forms of close contact was included the act of *looking upon*; hence the covering of the head in presence of the Deity, as is done by Moses in Ex 3^{6} and Elijah in 1 K 19^{13}. The same idea, that the beholding of the Deity is fatal, meets us in Gn 16^{13} 32^{30}, Ex 19^{21} 33^{20}. In all these instances it is true it is Jahweh that is in question, but it may be regarded as certain that the idea is an inheritance from the pre-Jahwistic era.

4. Of *priests* in pre-Jahwistic times no recollection has been preserved. In any case there was no need of their services for offering sacrifice, seeing that this office could be performed equally well, even in the worship of Jahweh, by any head of a household. The more menial services were discharged, as still continued to be the case under Moses (Ex 24^{5}), by the young men. On the other hand, designations like 'Oracle-terebinth' (see above, p. 616^{a}) point to the existence of Oracle priests at particular sanctuaries, just as Gn 25^{22} naïvely assumes the existence of a Jahweh-oracle in the time of Rebekah.

5. There are various passages from which (in combination with the hypothesis of Ancestor Worship) the inference has been drawn that at first only the family or the tribe was regarded as the *sacral body*. Thus in Ex 21^{6} the slave who does not wish to go free is to be pinned by the ear to the doorpost 'before God,' and thus incorporated with the sacral body belonging to this God. The Passover ceremony (see below) likewise assumes the family to be the sacral body. In 1 S 20^{6} we read of an annual offering by the family of David; but this does not prevent David's being at the same time missed at a sacrificial meal (for in ancient times this character belongs to all eating of the flesh of an animal that was lawful for sacrifice) at the New Moon; and there were many other occasions when the sacral fellowship could not possibly be confined to a family or even to a tribe. Thus in war, which from the ancient Semitic point of view always came under the category of religious transactions, it is evident that all comrades in arms formed *one* sacral fellowship, whose members collectively 'hallow the war,' *i.e.* consecrate themselves for battle by abstinence from sexual intercourse (cf. 1 S 21^{5}, where David pretends to be on military duty; 2 S 11^{11}), as well as by inaugural offerings (1 S 7^{9} 13^{12}, where the sacrifices are intended to propitiate Jahweh), just as in Ex 19^{15} the people prepare themselves by continence for drawing near to God. Also the prescriptions of Dt 20$^{5-7}$ 23$^{10-14}$, so strange to our notions, are explicable as survivals from a time when certain bodily functions, and in particular sexual relations, were believed to involve danger from demons.*

6. Whether in pre-Mosaic times there was a sacrificial cultus practised at *fixed, frequently recurring periods*, cannot be determined. An observance of the Sabbath is extremely improbable, although its sacred character is carried back in Gn 2^{3} (P) to the very beginning of the world. More conceivable—and here again combined with the fear of demonic influences—is it that there should have been a celebration of the New Moon, seeing that there are the clearest traces of this (see below, p. 662^{a}) till far down in the monarchical period, without any recognizable connexion with Jahwism. As to the later annual festivals, it is self-evident that those which depend upon agriculture and vine-growing cannot be taken into account for the nomad period of Israel's history; they are one and all of Canaanite origin. On the other hand, the ancient tradition clearly assumes that the Passover festival (of course with its original significance, and quite independent of the Feast of Unleavened Bread) was already kept in pre-Mosaic times. When Moses and Aaron (Ex 5^{3}) make the demand of Pharaoh, 'Let us go three days' journey into the wilderness, to offer sacrifice to Jahweh, our God,' and repeat this demand before each plague (7^{16} 8^{1} etc.), it is assumed that they wish to celebrate in the wilderness a long-established sacrificial festival. For Moses (8^{26}) assigns as motive for going outside the land of Egypt that they are accustomed to offer sacrifices that are an abomination to the Egyptians, and in 10^{9} he says expressly, 'We have to keep *the* feast of Jahweh.' Again in 12^{21} (J) the direction runs, 'Kill *the* Passover.' Here, too, accordingly, it is assumed (as even in 12^{11} [P] 'It is a Passover for Jahweh') as something that has been long familiar,—in opposition to the directions of v.$^{22\text{ff.}}$, which make the ritual to have first taken its

---

* Cf. the very instructive remarks of Schwally in the above-cited 'Der heilige Krieg im alten Israel,' esp. p. 45 ff., on the hallowing of war (Jos 3^{5}, Mic 3^{5}, Jer 6^{4} *et al.*) also by anointing the shield (2 S 1^{21}) and consecrating the weapons (Jer 22^{7}), as well as by burnt-offerings which in the earliest times represented also the most solemn form of guilt-offering (1 S 7^{9} 13$^{9.\,12}$). Again, the allowing of the hair to grow long (if Jg 5^{2} is to be rendered 'with long streaming locks,' etc. [see Moore, *ad loc.*], and if this implies a general warlike custom) marked the warrior as *nāzîr* or 'consecrated.' Schwally appears to the present writer to go too far when (p. 74 ff.) he discovers the peril to the newly married man in the circumstance that by taking part in war he was guilty of turning aside to another cultus. The explanation rather commends itself that by such conduct he would expose himself to the curses of his wife, or that the consecration of a new house appeared indispensable for the expulsion of hostile demons.

rise upon the occasion of the Exodus, and to the derivation of the name *peṣaḥ* (פֶּסַח) from *pāsaḥ* 'to pass over.' This explanation of the word from the sparing action of Jahweh in passing by the houses of the Israelites when He smote the firstborn of the Egyptians (so Ex 12^{27}), cannot be reconciled with the circumstance that in the oldest usage of language *peṣaḥ* appears to stand for the so-called Paschal lamb or (Dt 16^{2}) other animals used for the sacrifice (cf. the expressions 'kill *or* burn *or* eat the Passover'). This fact shatters also the derivation of the name from *pāṣaḥ*, 'to limp' * (cf. the limping of the prophets of Baal around the altar, 1 K 18^{26}, and the limping—undoubtedly a custom derived from very early times—of the Mecca pilgrims around the sacred stone of the Ka'aba), although in itself it is favoured by the analogy of *ḥāgag*, prop. 'to dance *or* circle round,' then 'to celebrate a festival.' Even if the attempt to fix the etymology of the word must be given up, there are still sufficient starting-points to enable us to get at the original character of the Passover. † Ex 34^{19} shows that in the month Abib, in which the Exodus fell, the firstlings of cattle, or, more strictly, the first male offspring of sheep and cows, were offered. According to 5^{3} these sacrifices are to be offered in the wilderness, lest Jahweh visit the people with pestilence or the sword. That is to say, they are guilt- or propitiatory-offerings. But quite the same is the character of the Paschal meal, however later theological motives may have transformed its original meaning, or the Priests' Code have entirely given up its sacrificial character. ‡ The eating of the Paschal lamb (whether originally one of the firstlings used for this purpose, while the rest were sacrificed as burnt- or whole-offerings, or no) is, beyond question, a sacrificial meal celebrated by the family as the sacral body; for the flesh is holy, and none of it is to be left till the morning, while the blood is to be smeared on the lintel and the doorposts to guard those within from pestilence. From the later point of view this part of the ritual amounts to nothing more than a memorial of a former deliverance from a particular danger. But originally, as is shown by numerous primitive heathen analogies, it was sought by an annual smearing with blood to protect house and herd from demonic influences, in particular from the plague or other diseases.

The *Maẓẓôth* festival, which immediately followed the Passover, might be brought into close connexion with the latter, only if, with Beer (*Theol. Ltztg.* 1901, col. 588), following Holzinger, we could see in the *maẓẓôth* simply a memorial of the nomad period, during which Israel in Bedawîn fashion ate unleavened bread. When the nomad life was given up (Gn 4^{14}), the *maẓẓôth*, on Beer's theory, became 'bread of affliction' (Dt 16^{3}). The view that the *maẓẓôth* represented the bread baked from the new corn (and thus implied an agrarian festival) is held to be contradicted, especially by their use in connexion with sacrifices all the year through, and no less by their being used as common food. The only objection to Beer's explanation is the difficulty of supposing that the memory of an obsolete manner of life was solemnly celebrated by a return to it, and that for a period of six days. Moreover, the agrarian character of the spring festival appears to be assured by Dt 16^{9} and by the presentation of the so-called wave-sheaf (Lv $23^{10ff.}$).

The festal character of the *Sheep-shearing* is still witnessed to by 1 S $25^{11ff.}$ and 2 S $13^{23ff.}$ (cf. also Gn 31^{19} $38^{12f.}$). It is, however, quite intelligible that this festival, so important for nomads, afterwards fell more into the background as compared with the agrarian festivals that were celebrated in common.

7. As to the *course of procedure* at a festival we have information in Ex 32^{6} which no doubt applies also to the pre-Mosaic period: sacrifice, sacrificial meals, amusements (chiefly, in all probability, dancing). Many a practice, which afterwards aroused the righteous indignation of the prophets, may have had its roots in the ritual customs of pre-Mosaic times instead of being derived from the evil example of the Canaanites.

8. A religious character belongs, finally, to other two customs whose origin in like manner goes, without doubt, back to the pre-Mosaic era: circumcision and blood-revenge.

Circumcision.* — All attempts to explain this practice as due to purely sanitary considerations are now rightly regarded as exploded. As little weight can be attached to such explanations as that it is a milder symbolic form of the once prevalent sacrifice of children, or of self-emasculation in honour of a deity. On the contrary, circumcision has, amongst numerous (including Semitic) tribes, an evident connexion with a boy's reaching puberty; it is the sign of maturity, and thus of full admittance to the number of capable warriors of the tribe. But, since it has at the same time a religious meaning (for *'ārēl* 'uncircumcised' is equivalent to '[religiously] unclean,' and hence a strongly disparaging word), it can be viewed only as an act of consecration for the benefit of a tribal god or some particular demon. It thus serves at once as a tribal mark † and as a defence against the harmful influence of other demons. Even for Jahwism circumcision is primarily a sign that a man belongs to the people and the worship of Jahweh, although the specifically theological interpretation of it as a sign of the covenant (Gn $17^{10ff.}$) belongs only to the latest stage (P).

The oldest tradition as to the origin of child circumcision meets us in Ex $4^{24ff.}$ (J). In this now mutilated passage it is implied that Moses aroused the indignation of the Deity (here of course already Jahweh) because at the time of his marriage with Ẓipporah he was not circumcised as religious custom required (cf. also Gn $34^{22ff.}$ [J]). Ẓipporah rescues him from the attack of Jahweh by circumcising her son with a (sharp) stone (cf. also the stone knives of Jos 5^3, a proof of the high antiquity of the practice), and touching the *pudenda* of Moses with the severed (and still bleeding) foreskin, while she exclaims, 'Thou art to me a bridegroom of blood.' This can mean only that she transfers the efficacy of the child's circumcision symbolically to the husband, and declares him to be what he ought to have been at marriage, namely a bridegroom consecrated by the blood of circumcision, and thus safe from the anger of the tribal god. Whether, perhaps in very early times, the blood shed in circumcision was employed in any other sacral transaction, is a question that must be left unsettled.

---

* Toy ('The Meaning of Pesach,' in *JBL*, 1898, p. 178 ff.) thinks otherwise, holding that the *peṣaḥ* was originally a ritual dance, accompanied by the sacrifice of a lamb, and that it was only afterwards that the name was transferred to the sacrifice.

† Cf. on the most recent explanations of the term (including its comparison with the Assyr. *pašāḫu*, 'calm oneself,' so that *peṣaḥ* would = 'calming *or* appeasing [the anger of the Deity])' Riedel in *ZATW*, 1900, p. 319 ff. He holds *peṣaḥ* to be the Egyp. *pōseḫ*, 'harvest.' Schäfer, again (*Das Passah-Mazzoth-Fest nach seinem Ursprunge, seiner Bedeutung, und seiner innerpentateuchischen Entwickelung*, Gütersloh, 1900), holds the Passover to have been a purificatory offering of very early origin, common to all the Semites, and designed to appease the Deity. At the same time he denies tbe pre-Mosaic origin of the OT Passover, declaring it to have been, along with its pendant the *Maẓẓôth* feast (which was meant to recall the baste of the Exodus), from first to last a historic-theocratic festival. His argument is manifestly under the spell of tradition.

‡ The view tbat the Passover and the offering of firstlings were not originally connected (so Volz in *Theol. Ltztg.* 1901, col. 635 f.) appears to the present writer to be at least incapable of demonstration.

* Cf., on this subject, H. Ploss, 'Geschichtliches und Ethnologisches über Knabenbeschneidung' in *Deutsches Archiv für Geschichte der Medicin und medicinischen Geographie*, viii. 3, p. 312 ff.; P. Lafargue, 'La circoncision, sa signification sociale et religieuse' in *Bulletins de la soc. d'Anthropologie de Paris*, ser. iii. tome x. 3, p. 420 ff.; P. C. Remondino, *History of Circumcision from the Earliest Times to the Present*, Philadelphia, 1891; A. Glassberg, *Die Beschneidung*, etc., Berlin, 1896; S. Kohn, *Die Geschichte der Beschneidung bei den Juden von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart*, Frankfurt a. M., 1902 (Hebrew).

† As such, it appears to go back to a time when the men still went naked; cf. Gunkel, 'Ueber die Beschneidung im AT' in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, ii. 1, p. 13 ff. (against Reitzenstein, *Zwei religionsgeschichtliche Fragen*, Strassburg, 1901, according to whom Israel borrowed circumcision from the priestly aristocracy of Egypt, whereas Gunkel holds correctly that *all* Egyptians were circumcised).

Another account of the origin of circumcision is found in the original text of Jos $5^{2ff.}$, namely v.^{2} without the harmonistic additions 'again' and 'the second time,' and vv.$^{3.8.9}$. We are told that Joshua circumcised the Israelites with stone knives at the Hill of Foreskins, and that the place was hence called *Gilgal, i.e.* 'rolling away' of the reproach which arose from the impurity of the uncircumcised condition, and which called forth the contempt of the Egyptians. As Stade (*ZATW*, 1886, p. 132 ff.) has shown, we have here an etymological legend intended to explain the name Gilgal; in reality the 'Hill of Foreskins' derived its name from the circumstance that there, beside the ancient sanctuary of Gilgal, was the common place of circumcision for the neighbouring (Benjamite) youths, and that their foreskins were buried in that hill.

When, finally, the Priests' Code (Gn $17^{10ff.}$) makes the introduction of circumcision as a sign of the covenant rest upon a command of God to Abraham, an explanation is thus offered of the circumstance that all Abraham's descendants—the Arabs, Edomites, Moabites, and Ammonites—were circumcised (a condition of things that applied also, it is true, to the Egyptians and the Phœnicians, although not to the Philistines).

Blood-revenge.—That this custom, which is assumed in Gn $4^{14.23ff.}$ as already existing amongst the earliest generations of men, actually took its rise in the pre-Mosaic period, is proved by its wide diffusion also among the heathen Semites and elsewhere. The originally religious character of the practice is supported, apart from other considerations, by the extraordinary tenacity with which it maintained itself—a tenacity which would be scarcely conceivable without religious motives. It is true that the precise bond of connexion is not now discoverable. In view of the above-discussed narrative, 2 S $21^{1ff.}$ (cf. esp. v.^{9} 'before Jahweh'), it would appear as if the putting of the murderer to death was originally regarded as a sacrifice by which the anger of the tribal god was appeased. According to the earliest notions, this anger is due less to moral causes (as came afterwards to be the established view, cf. *e.g.* Gn 9^6) than to the damage sustained by the god through the loss of a life belonging to him; and, as the members of the tribe, in the first instance the family, are responsible for preserving the lives that are the property of the god, blood-guiltiness attaches to them until the guilt is atoned for by the death of the murderer. The original absence of an ethical viewpoint is evident from the simple fact that no distinction is made between murder and unintentional manslaughter; even in Dt $4^{41ff.}$ (a probable addition by P) and Nu $35^{22ff.}$ the right of blood-revenge in the latter case is still ideally recognized, although care is taken to make this right ineffective by providing an asylum for the manslayer in one of the Cities of Refuge. Jahwism was thus able to give a milder form to this deeply-rooted custom, but not to abolish it entirely. From the narrative of 2 S $14^{6ff.}$ (which is fictitious, indeed, but no doubt reflects the conditions of real life), where 'the whole family' demands that the fratricide be given up, we learn that occasionally the execution of blood-revenge might be prevented by the intervention of the king. At the same time, the language of the woman of Teḳoa (v.^{9}) contains the suggestion that by such intervention the king might bring guilt upon himself. Here, again, we see the mechanical way in which the matter was viewed by primitive rigid custom.

Summary.—Looking back now on the results which we have reached by examination of the pre-Mosaic period of the religion of Israel, we have been able in not a few instances to point to phenomena which contain the germ of similar appearances on the soil of Jahwism, and which are of the utmost importance for the understanding of the latter.

In the first place, as to the *notion of God* which prevailed in that period, it is only in a very restricted sense that we can speak of such a notion at all. The principal constituent of the yet rudimentary religious sense was fear of the constantly threatening but always incalculable influence of demonic powers. These powers are of very varied kinds, and it would be vain to try to reduce them to any system, or to assume that any reflexions regarding their nature and treatment passed through the minds of men in the state of nature that then prevailed. Men believed in them upon the ground of custom inherited from birth, and acted towards them according to the ancient sacred usage followed by all members of the family and the tribe. These 'demons' are partly spirits of the dead, and, above all, the spirits of the nearest kin of the family. Besides measures adopted to keep them off or to avert injury at their hands, there were acts prompted by dutiful affection towards them, but we have no perfectly clear traces that Animism in the narrower sense had already developed into Ancestor Worship.—A very important rôle is played, again, by all the local *numina* (*'ēlîm*), whose presence appears as attached to sacred trees, stones, and springs. They are not identical with the latter in such a sense that we could speak here of a deification of nature, but they are locally so inseparable from these objects that they can be found and worshipped only at the particular spots in question.—This 'Polydemonism' advances a stage when such a *numen loci* comes to be regarded as the tutelary god of a family or clan, or even of a whole tribe. In place of simple gifts of homage or for propitiation, rites are now introduced whose object is to witness or to establish a close connexion, nay a blood relationship, with the Deity. Even if *Totemism* cannot be proved to have once prevailed among the tribes of Israel, yet we certainly meet with a conception of sacrifice which regards sacramental communion between the Deity and the offerer as the principal feature—a communion which is established by their jointly partaking of the sacrificial blood (afterwards by the god receiving the blood and the fat, while the offerer has the flesh for his portion).

As to the manifold other rites and usages (mourning customs, the *ḥērem* and other warlike practices, human sacrifice, circumcision, celebration of festivals), the original motive has not always been discoverable with certainty; but in most instances the connexion with Animism or some other form of belief in demons is clear enough.

iii. *MORAL CONDITIONS.*—Not without interest, finally, is the question, What were the *moral con-*

ditions which Moses found amongst the Israelitish tribes of his time? It was long the fashion (especially as the result of Schiller's essay on 'Die Sendung Mose's') to represent the contemporaries of Moses as utterly uncivilized and at the same time—upon the ground of an Egyptian narrative handed down by Josephus (*c. Apion.* i. 26)—as a people quite permeated with leprosy. All the brighter was the halo of glory about the name of Moses, who was believed to have so quickly transformed this half-brutalized horde into a religious community that stood so high, both intellectually and morally. As a matter of fact, however, the moral conditions in Israel must have been quite the same as we still find existing among the genuine Bedawîn at the present day. There is no such thing as acting upon conscious moral principles; and hence there is no thought of *morality* properly so called, but *custom* exercises a powerful influence, which no one can disregard with impunity. 'No such thing is wont to be done in Israel' (2 S 13^{12}, cf. also Gn 20^{9} 29^{26} 34^{7}),—this is the strongest condemnation of an act of wrong-doing. Custom allows even a married man the freest intercourse with concubines and female slaves, but it guards most strictly the honour of the virgin and the married woman; custom demands, unconditionally, the execution of blood-revenge, but (at least for a time) subordinates even this duty to the sacredness of a guest's rights; custom requires honesty and uprightness towards one's fellow-tribesmen, but has no scruple about allowing deceit and cheating to be practised on a stranger.—As in social life, so also in matters of cultus it is custom that is the ruling factor. Fear to violate custom, fear of the consequences of such violation—in particular, dread of ceremonial uncleanness,—all this is deeply ingrained; but of 'sin,' in the moral sense attached by us to the term, it is impossible to speak.

The condition of things above described was not all at once changed by the proclamation of Jahwism. The force of custom asserted itself even in retaining practices which could never be reconciled with any true morality, just as Islam has succeeded only to a very limited extent in transforming the character of the genuine Bedawîn. Nevertheless, it will be found that, at the very commencement of the religion of Israel, the fruitful germs must have been sown from which—although only very gradually, and at first only among a few—conscious morality sprang up. Without such a germinating power Israel's triumph over the undoubtedly superior culture of the Canaanites would be inconceivable.

II. FOUNDING OF THE RELIGION OF ISRAEL (JAHWISM) BY MOSES AT SINAI.

Regarding the work of Moses, and especially regarding the extent and content of the laws promulgated by him, we have very varied accounts in the different sources of the Pentateuch. But there are certain points which they all take for granted as firmly established by tradition: namely, that Moses, of the tribe of Levi, was the first to proclaim Jahweh as the God of the *whole* people of Israel, and as their Deliverer from the bondage of Egypt; that at Sinai he brought about the conclusion of a 'covenant' (see below) between Jahweh and Israel; that he at least laid the foundation of the judicial and ceremonial ordinances in Israel, and that he left behind him more or less copious notes on all this.

The supposition that the Pentateuch still contains passages from Moses' own hand is not to be unconditionally set aside. But its scientific proof is now absolutely impossible. Hence the only question can be, Is the correctness of the above propositions, which we noted as fixed elements of tradition, demonstrable by backward inferences from later historical facts? Our answer is that to a large extent—all hypercriticism notwithstanding—this proof is possible, and that especially in regard to the main points. Amongst the latter we include—

i. *THE PERSON OF MOSES AS THE FOUNDER OF THE JAHWEH RELIGION.*—1. All attempts to relegate the person of Moses to the realm of myth have quite properly been abandoned. It is another question how far the traditions concerning him rest on pure legend. As points that are quite beyond suspicion may be noted: his descent from the tribe of Levi; his name *Mosheh* (prob. = Egyp. *mesu* 'son,' possibly combined originally with the name of a god); his flight to Sinai on account of a homicide, and his marriage with a Midianite priest's daughter, Ẓipporah, who became the mother of two sons; his return to Egypt, and deliverance of the Israelite serfs from Pharaoh; further, his strife with his brother Aaron (whose historicity has been denied on insufficient grounds) and his sister Miriam on account of a Cushite woman; and, finally, his prolonged sojourn in Ḳadesh, and his death on the east side of Jordan. All these data are derived from the early sources, and their invention is either inconceivable or at least extremely improbable. On the other hand, the legend of his birth and exposure may have been woven about the (linguistically impossible) interpretation of his name in Ex 2^{10}; the names of his parents, Amram and Jochebed, are first known to the Priests' Code. The assumption that he was 'instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians' (Ac 7^{22}) is connected, of course, with his being brought up by Pharaoh's daughter, but it finds no real support in Ex 2^{10}. In any case there is no justification for finding in Moses' acquaintance with Egyptian mysteries the explanation not only of his intellectual superiority to his fellow-countrymen, but even of the Divine name *Jahweh* and of certain institutions (for example, the sacred Ark) connected with worship, if not, indeed, of the whole activity of Moses as a founder of religion.* Such borrowing on his part is not only incapable of proof, it is extremely improbable; for it is not the way of one ancient people to adopt the gods of another, or even elements of their cultus, at a time when it sees this other people and its gods overcome by another god. Whether Moses was moved to his work by other influences, such as that of the Ḳenites about Mt. Sinai, will have to be afterwards considered. The ancient tradition of Israel knows of nothing except that he was directly called by Jahweh at Sinai, and, in spite of his refusal at first, sent to deliver his people. The work of Moses is thus traced to Divine revelation. *How* this produced its effect on the mind of Moses, remains a secret to us as much as in all similar cases when God reveals Himself to His chosen instruments. But the *fact* is not on that account any the less certain to us, for it is witnessed to by its results. However many of the features of that Pandemonism which was common to the Semites may have continued to adhere to the religion of Israel after the time of Moses, it exhibits, even as early as the period of the Judges, features which raise it far above the popular religions of the neighbouring peoples, and which can be explained only as due to the continued influence of a highly endowed spiritual personality.

---

* So esp. Schiller in his brilliant essay, 'Die Sendung Mose's (first published in Heft 10 of *Thalia*). We leave quite out of account the fables cited by Josephus (*c. Apion.* i. 26, 28) from Manetho's *Egyptiaca* about the identity of Moses with the priest Osarsiph of Heliopolis.

It is true that elsewhere we frequently meet in history with similar instances where a far-reaching influence is very palpable, and yet we do not feel compelled on that account to postulate a special Divine revelation. But in the case of Moses it is the peculiar character of the new ideas promulgated by him that forbids us to derive these from his own reflexions or to ascribe them to shrewd calculations for selfish ends. Upon the foundation laid by him there has arisen in the course of three thousand years the building which includes also the Christian nations. But the laying of a foundation like this is beyond a man's power; the capacity must have been given him by God. And on this very account the importance of the personality of Moses can hardly be exaggerated. Such is the conviction of the Deuteronomistic author of Dt 34^{10} when he remarks: 'There hath not arisen a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses, whom the LORD knew face to face.'

2. It is true, indeed, that it has been felt to be very surprising that in the Old Testament, and especially in the Prophets, the references to Moses are so few in number and so late in date. Apart from the interpolation added in Hos $12^{14\,(13)}$ ('By a prophet the LORD brought Israel up out of Egypt, and by a prophet was he preserved'), we find allusions to Moses and Aaron as the deliverers of the people in Mic 6^4 (along with Miriam; although, it is true, the attributing of this passage to Micah is strongly contested), 1 S $12^{6.8}$ (in a Deuteronomistic address), Ps 105^{26} 106^{16}. Moses alone as leader of the people is referred to in Is 63^{12}, Ps 106^{32}; the power of his intercession with God is mentioned in Ps 106^{23} and Jer 15^1. The last-cited passage shows clearly in what light the importance of Moses appeared even to a Jeremiah, and that it is thus evidently a mere accident that he is not more frequently mentioned elsewhere.

It might appear even more strange that Moses as *the founder of a religion* appears to be practically unknown to the Prophets and the Psalms (apart from Ps 99^6, where Moses and Aaron are called 'priests,' and 103^7). But over against this must be set the fact that throughout the OT *all* the various legislations (except, of course, that contained in the vision of Ezekiel, chs. 40–48) are said to have been introduced, and in part even written down, by him. This would be quite unintelligible unless there had been an indelible recollection which demanded his recognition as the real author of religious traditions and institutions, so that later codifications could obtain authority only if they were carried back to his weighty name. If any one feels compelled to call this last course of procedure by the name of *forgery* (and therefore to repudiate it with indignation), he is radically mistaken as to the notions that prevailed in ancient Israel with respect to literary property. So far from being looked upon as forgery, it was regarded as a sacred duty to give as Moses' own words anything that had to be promulgated for the good of the people in continuation of his work and in the sense and spirit of his laws (for instance, and very specially, the legislation of Deuteronomy). The idea of forgery, however natural it may be to *us*, is quite out of the question here.

ii. *JAHWEH PROCLAIMED BY MOSES AS THE GOD OF ISRAEL.*[*] — 1. All the sources of the Pentateuch are at one in pointing out as the fundamental act of Moses his proclamation of Jahweh as the God of Israel, *i.e.* as the God who means certainly to deliver Israel from the slavery of Egypt, and who on that account has sole claim to the worship and obedience of this people. But this proclamation did not imply that Jahweh is to be regarded as the only God that has any real existence; such 'absolute monotheism' was undoubtedly as yet far below the horizon even of Moses as well as of all his contemporaries. Jahweh is one God among many, although mightier and more terrible than the rest. Upon the whole, however, there is not much consideration of what is His relation to other gods. The main thing from the very first is to know no other god besides Him, to worship none but this One whose name is Jahweh. The demand of Moses is thus not for real or absolute monotheism, but for '*henotheism*,' *i.e.* the recognition of only *one* God, or '*monolatry*,' the worship of one alone. But the more distinctly 'Jahweh' makes its appearance as a personal name (quite like 'Zeus,' 'Poseidon,' etc.), the more naturally does the question arise, Whence did Moses derive this name and proclaim it as that of Israel's God?[*]

2. The most natural course is to seek to explain the name 'Jahweh' (יהוה) from itself, that is, from the etymology underlying the form of the word. This seems all the more proper, because in at least one of the sources of the Pentateuch (E) we meet with an actual interpretation of the name (Ex $3^{13\text{ff.}}$). When Moses asks what name he is to give to the people as that of his Divine sender, God replies: '(Say) the I AM THAT I AM (or, again, the 'I AM') hath sent me unto you.' Here 'Jahweh' is plainly understood as the 3rd pers. sing. Imperf. of the old verb *hāwāh* 'to be.' But in Hebrew the Imperfect is the mood of continuance as well as of ever renewed activity. Upon this interpretation 'Jahweh' denotes at once the *Eternal* (the form in which modern Jews reproduce the name) and the One who ever remains the same, the *Constant*.

Against this explanation, however, the strongest objections have been brought. From the time of Ewald it has been set down as a mere attempt at an artificial interpretation of an ancient name whose meaning had been long forgotten. But the root-idea of this name, we are told, just because it is so ancient, must have been a *material* one, and cannot have been derived from abstract reflexion and metaphysical speculation. But this last objection, while it would apply to explanations which make *Jahweh*='the truly Existing' or 'the absolute Being,' etc., do not apply (or at least not to the same extent) to the simple view of the name as that of the Eternal and Constant, the God whose living activity is always in exercise. Besides, the rejection of the interpretation offered in Ex 3^{15} involves the conclusion that even the early sources of the Pentateuch were in error as to the true meaning of the most important and most sacred Divine name in Israel. But can it be supposed that at the time of E (*c.* 750 B.C.) the living apprehension of the genius of the Hebrew language was no longer adequate to interpret correctly a name like 'Jahweh'? We cannot help thinking that this question has been answered in the affirmative far too hastily by those who follow the prevailing current of opinion on this subject. And we are only strengthened in our conviction when we note the extremely varied interpretations which have been proposed as substitutes for that adopted in Ex 3^{15}.[*] These fall into two categories according as they start likewise from the verb *hāwāh* in the sense of 'to be,' or assume another meaning for this verb.

---

[*] Cf. Hunnius, *Natur und Charakter Jahwehs nach den vordeuteronomischen Quellen der Bücher Genesis-Könige*, Strassburg, 1902.

[*] We take it for granted that our readers are aware that the form 'Jehovah,' which has the appearance of being handed down by tradition in the OT, is based upon a Christian misunderstanding, the vowels of the word *'Ădōnai* 'Lord' being taken (first in the year A.D. 1518) to be the real vowels of the Divine name, whereas they were attached by the Jews to the consonants *JHWH* (which are alone original) in order to warn the reader to avoid the actual pronunciation of the word and to substitute *'Ădōnai* for it. This treatment of the name 'Jahweh' as 'unutterable' sprang from an exaggerated dread of transgressing the commandment in Ex 20^7. The traces of this aversion to the utterance of the name can be carried back to about B.C. 300, although its utterance was for long after that regarded as allowable in the sacred domain, *e.g.* in the mouth of priests pronouncing the benediction. Neither in the Septuagint (whether in the Canonical or in the Apocryphal books) nor in the whole of the NT is the name 'Jahweh' once used; it is always ὁ Κύριος 'the Lord.'

Of the four possible ways of pronouncing the consonants *JHWH* (the so-called Tetragrammaton), namely, *Jahweh* or *Jahăweh*, *Jahwāh*, or *Jahăwāh*, the form *Jahweh* has rightly come to be prevailingly accepted. The following considerations tell in its favour: (1) that, according to Epiphanius (*Hær.* I. iii. 20), a Jewish-Christian sect (according to Theodoret [*Quæst. 15 in Ex.*], the Samaritans) pronounced the name 'Ιαβέ; (2) that in Jewish-Samaritan poems the end-vowel of *JHWH* rhymes with *é*, not *ā*; (3) that the shortening of the Divine name to *Jĕhō* [*Jō*] and *Jāhū* in personal names like *Jĕhōnāthan* [*Jonathan*] and *Jĕshaʿjāhū* [*Isaiah*] are linguistically explicable only by assuming as the basal form *Jahweh*. See, further, art. JEHOVAH in vol. ii.

(*a*) The first of these two schools of interpreters takes 'Jahweh' to be the Imperfect of the Hiphil or Causative conjugation, and thus obtains the meaning 'He who causes to be,' 'the Creator.' But, apart from the circumstance that early Semitic languages want the Causative of the verb *hāwāh*, the idea of 'the Creator' is precisely what is quite foreign to the name 'Jahweh' as we find it employed. No doubt, in later times, after the triumph of absolute monotheism, Jahweh is naturally brought into connexion with the work of creation. But at first He has to do almost exclusively with the deeds and fortunes of the people of Israel. This flows from His nature as a national God, and it is plain that it was in this latter capacity and not as the Creator that Moses at first proclaimed Him.—Absolutely to be rejected is the theory of an interchange of sound between *hāyāh* (*hāwāh*) and *ḥāyāh* 'to live,' so that *Jahweh* (here again Causative) would be = 'He who gives life,' 'He who produces true (spiritual) life.' However attractive this interpretation may be for its contents, it is shattered by the laws of the interchange of sound. These laws forbid an exchange between *h* and *ḥ* at the *beginning* of a word.

(*b*) Among the explanations which start from a different meaning of the root *hāwāh*, special favour has been accorded to that which finds it in *hāwāh* 'to fall' (so esp. de Lagarde and Stade). Upon this view *Jahweh* may be explained either as = 'the falling One'; *i.e.* the name originally stood for a meteoric stone that fell from heaven and was hence the object of worship (a so-called *βαιτύλιον*; see below, in the discussion of the sacred Ark, p. 628); or, again Causative, as = 'He who fells *or* causes to fall (by lightning),' *i.e.* as the storm-God. This last explanation would seem to be favoured at least by a number of features which from the first appear to be bound up with the representation of Jahweh. It is, above all, as a God of the desert that Jahweh appears, for Moses is in the first instance to lead the people into the wilderness, there to serve God by offering sacrifice (Ex 3^{18} 5^{3} *et al.*). But it is in the desert that the most imposing effects are produced by storm; hence the natural abode of the storm-God is a desert range like Sinai with frequent lightning playing about its peaks. It may be added that thunder and lightning and storm-clouds play a prominent part not only at Jahweh's appearances in connexion with the giving of the Law at Sinai (Ex $19^{16\text{-}19}$ 20^{18} *et al.*), but upon the occasion of almost all the later theophanies, whether these present themselves as historical events (*e.g.* Jg $5^{4f.}$, 1 K $19^{11ff.}$), or as prophetic visions (*e.g.* Is $30^{27f.}$, Mic $1^{3f.}$, Nah $1^{3ff.}$, Hab $3^{3ff.}$), or merely as poetical descriptions (Ps $18^{8ff.}$ $77^{18ff.}$ $97^{2ff.}$). But these arguments are not sufficient to prove that Jahweh was originally thought of as the storm-God *only*. In all ages thunder and lightning have been regarded as the special accompaniments and principal marks of Divine majesty and glory, and nothing is more natural than that these should have been associated also with the God of Israel, especially upon occasions when He appeared for extraordinary ends, whether to fight with and chastise His people's enemies, or solemnly to conclude a covenant with the people themselves.

Upon the whole, then, the above attempts to find another explanation of the name 'Jahweh' than that offered in Ex 3^{15} must be regarded as doubtful. And the same remark also applies, in the judgment of the present writer, to the explanation of Wellhausen, who falls back upon the onomatopoetic root *hāwāh* 'to breathe,' and thus makes *Jahweh* = 'the Breather' (which comes again in the end to the same thing as the storm-God).

3. But, even if the attempt to arrive by the way of etymology at the original conception underlying the name 'Jahweh' must be abandoned, there may be another possibility, namely, to assign the *home* of the God proclaimed by Moses. Moses fled from Egypt to Sinai, where he became son-in-law to the *priest* of a Midianite (according to another, more specialized, tradition, a Ḳenite) tribe. There the God who dwelt enthroned on Sinai appeared to him and called him to be His instrument. Thither he led the rescued tribes of Israel, and there the will of the God of Sinai was solemnly announced to them and the covenant with Him concluded. What does all this mean, it is asked, but that Moses made acquaintance at Sinai with Jahweh, the god of the Ḳenites, and proclaimed him thenceforward as the God of Israel? As a matter of fact, Jahweh would thus have been a foreign god so far as Israel was concerned, and it is nothing but a naïve anachronism when the Jahwistic source employs the name 'Jahweh' even in its narrative of the Creation (Gn $2^{4ff.}$), and represents the worship of God under this name as beginning as early as the time of Enosh, the grandson of Adam.

This 'Ḳenite hypothesis,' since the example was set by Stade, has found favour with many, and it cannot be denied that it contains much that is worthy of notice. It appears to be supported, above all, by the circumstance that Sinai (evidently identical with the Ḥoreb of other sources)[*] is regarded as the proper dwelling-place of Jahweh not only at the time of the Exodus, but till far into the monarchical period (cf. Jg 5^{5}, and the passages dependent upon it, namely Dt $33^{2f.}$, Hab 3^{3}, Ps $68^{9\,(8)}$; and esp. 1 K 19^{8}, where Elijah journeys to Ḥoreb to obtain an oracle from his God). But this was possible only on the ground of a general conviction of the people that He was enthroned there prior to the call of Moses. Then, again, very great stress is laid upon the narrative of Ex 18,[†] which is interpreted as describing the admittance of Israel to the Jahweh cult of the Ḳenites. Jethro rejoices (v.$^{9ff.}$) in the evidences of power displayed by *his* god, Jahweh, on behalf of Israel; he finds an evidence therein that this god of his is mightier than all gods;

---

[*] We purposely leave out of account the latest attempts to discover the name 'Jahweh' (as presumably introduced into Babylonia by Canaanites) in very ancient cuneiform texts (so, *e.g.*, Frdr. Delitzsch in his much discussed lecture *Babel und Bibel*, Leipzig, 1902, p. 46 f.), because the reading as well as the interpretation of the names in question still form the subject of controversy amongst Assyriologists.

[*] We here leave out of account, of course, the controversy as to whether in the *oldest* tradition Sinai and Ḥoreb were already identified, as well as the question where the Sinai or Ḥoreb of our present narratives is to be found. See art. SINAI in vol. iv.

[†] So esp. Budde, *Die Religion des Volkes Israel*, Giessen, 1900, p. 17 ff.

whereupon he organizes a sacrificial meal in honour of him, and admits Aaron and all the nobles of Israel to take part in it. In other words, he, the Ḳenite priest, opens for them at Sinai, the dwelling-place of his god, an approach to the cult of the latter. And this is the very reason why the religion of Israel became, according to Budde,[*] an ethical one, because it was a religion adopted by choice and not a nature religion.

Now we do not mean to deny the *possibility* of such an order of events. Yet there is no lack of weighty considerations of an opposite kind. It is true, indeed, that the argument that Sinai is the proper dwelling-place of Jahweh is not weakened by the circumstance of His presence with the people in Egypt and during the Exodus (as also afterwards in the wilderness), since passing appearances for special ends are not inconsistent with the possession of a fixed abode. But might not Sinai (or Ḥoreb) have been for long the 'mount of God' also to certain Israelitish tribes, as appears to be implied in Ex 4^{27}? This supposition would be all the more plausible if it is true, as many have recently come to hold, that the whole of the tribes of Israel did not undergo serfdom in Egypt, but that part of them led the life of nomads in the neighbourhood of Sinai, and had long continued to worship the god that was established there. The work of Moses would thus have consisted in proclaiming and securing recognition for the special god of certain tribes as the God of the whole nation. These are, indeed, mere conjectures, but they tally with a circumstance which appears to us to be far too readily ignored by the defenders of the Ḳenite hypothesis: this, namely, that even in the oldest sources of the Pentateuch it is always implied that Jahweh was not proclaimed to Israel as an absolutely new and therefore unknown god.

We have already remarked that the Jahwist uses the name 'Jahweh' from the first, and regards it as known and honoured by the ancestors of Moses and his contemporaries. On the other hand, E (Ex $3^{13ff.}$) and P ($6^{2ff.}$) assume that it was first revealed to Moses and through him to the people. At the same time it is not at all the idea of these sources that the God Himself was unknown to the people. We are not thinking of the frequent designation of Jahweh as the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (Ex $3^{6.\,15f.}$ 4^5), for such allusions to the God of the patriarchs might quite conceivably have been in every instance inserted in order afterwards to give to the Canaanite places of worship, supposed to have been taken over from the patriarchs, a legitimate standing as sanctuaries of the same God. But even the assumption of interpolation of this kind would not destroy the fact that even the early sources of the Pentateuch see in Jahweh the God of the ancestors of Israel. At the very first mention of Him (Ex 3^6) He is called 'the God of thy (Moses') father'; He has seen the oppression of *His people* in Egypt, and means now to deliver them (v.$^{7ff.}$); face to face with Pharaoh the appeal of Moses is to be to 'the God of the Hebrews' (v.^{18}, cf. also 5^3 7^{16} $9^{1.\,13}$ 10^3). Even if the term 'Hebrews' here be an anachronism, in none of the passages cited is it implied that Jahweh first became 'the God of the Hebrews' after the call of Moses; on the contrary, He has long held this position. If, all the same, Moses is regarded as the *founder* of the Jahweh religion, this can be understood only in the sense that the god of one or more tribes, or perhaps the god of one particular family, was proclaimed by him as the God of the whole body. Jahweh would thus not have been an absolutely strange and new god, but one whose power and help had already been experienced by part of the confederated tribes; whereas, on the other hand, the proclamation of the yet untried god of the Ḳenites could hardly have met with such rapid acceptance. Beyond this we can fall back only upon conjectures. It will always remain the most plausible supposition that Jahweh had a connexion with Moses' own tribe, the tribe of Levi. This hypothesis has at least as good a claim as that which makes Him the god of the Rachel-tribes.

As to the argument in support of the Ḳenite hypothesis drawn from Ex 18, we are at one with its defenders in holding that there we have a testimony to the community of worship of the Israelites and the Ḳenites. But this is quite different from 'the admittance of the Israelites to the Jahweh cult of the Ḳenites' (see above, p. 626^b f.). The community of worship of Israel and the Ḳenites was a fact; Ex 18 recounts its historical origin; but the question of the origin of Jahwism among the two peoples is not considered. The circumstance that it is Jethro who organizes the sacrificial meal is sufficiently accounted for by his residence on the spot, which imposes upon him the duty of showing hospitality to the strangers.

4. The beliefs cherished by Moses and his contemporaries regarding the mental and moral character of Jahweh will form the subject of discussion presently (see p. 629 ff.). But we must here say a word about the conceptions of His *bodily* personality. For there are quite a number of the strongest testimonies which place it beyond doubt that a bodily—and indeed a *human*—form was then and for centuries afterwards attributed to Him; and, even if in Ex 20^4 and Dt 5^8 the making of any figure representing Jahweh was forbidden, this would not amount to an absolute denial that He possessed the bodily form of a man. But in any case the making of images of Jahweh was regarded as unobjectionable till about the 8th cent. B.C., although in all probability a distinction was drawn between the images carved in wood and stone, which had come down from very early times, and molten images of metal. The latter were undoubtedly of Canaanitish origin, and hence were prohibited in the worship of Jahweh (Ex 34^{17}; this certainly ancient passage has nothing to say against carved images).[*] And, although narratives like Gn $3^{8f.}$ and the older form of Gn 18 had not their origin till the settlement in Canaan, the human form of Jahweh is assumed by them as so much a matter of course that it is impossible to see here anything but the reflexion of a very widely diffused notion. Again, the numerous ascriptions of human organs (eyes, ears, nose, hands, feet, etc.) to Jahweh may have been in the latest times regarded as conscious anthropomorphisms, *i.e.* shifts to which language is reduced when it would describe the action of a purely spiritual personality; but at first they were certainly meant as the literal expression of the prevailing conception of the *bodily* personality of Jahweh.[†]

5. It is quite true that no notice has been preserved in the early sources of the Pentateuch of images of Jahweh in human form in the time of Moses; the mention even of the *ephod* (Jg $8^{26f.}$

---

[*] *Op. cit.* p. 31.

[*] Ed. König in his art. 'Die Bildlosigkeit des legitimen Jahwehcultus' (*Ztschr. f. kirchl. Wissenschaft und kirchl. Leben*, 1886, Heft 5, 6; also publ. separately under the title *Beiträge zum positiven Aufbau der Religionsgeschichte Israels*, i., Leipzig, 1886) denies that images of Jahweh were at any period allowed in His legitimate worship; but this is opposed to facts, as has been shown above and will be further demonstrated presently.

[†] It is another question whether the *theologumenon* of the 'Angel of Jahweh' as a passing appearance of Jahweh is to be placed so early as the Mosaic period. This and other forms of manifestation of Jahweh (face, name, glory) will be discussed by us in connexion with the framework of Jahwism as we find it at the close of the time of the Judges and the commencement of the monarchical period. See p. 633 ff.

$17^{4f.}$ $18^{14. 17f. 20}$, 1 S 21^{9} etc.), which is most probably to be regarded as an image of Jahweh, does not occur till the following period. On the other hand, in 2 K 18^{4} there is the strange piece of information that Ḥezeḳiah broke in pieces a brazen serpent which was made by Moses, and to which up till then incense had been burnt by the Israelites, who called it *Nĕḥushtān* (*i.e.* 'the brazen one'). The language plainly implies the paying of Divine honours in the form of sacrifice. Was the *Nĕḥushtān*, then, an image of Jahweh? This is scarcely conceivable, and finds no analogy elsewhere. If, on the other hand, it represented some demon, how could its construction have been traced back to Moses, and how could it have received Divine worship down to the time of Ḥezeḳiah? The enigma is not solved by pointing to Nu $21^{8f.}$, for there can be little doubt that in this passage we have simply a later attempt to account for (and justify) the presence of the well-known brazen serpent in Jerusalem. It is most probable that the deriving of this idol from Moses is to be set down to some misunderstanding of the popular belief. See, further, art. NEHUSHTAN in vol. iii.

6. There are, however, the clearest traces of another visible representation of Jahweh, which goes back to the time of Moses—in connexion with the history of the sacred Ark. The ancient and original designation of this object is 'the Ark of Jahweh' or 'the Ark of God.' The Deuteronomistic writers are the first who know of the Ark as the receptacle of the two stone tables of the Law which Moses received from God at Ḥoreb; and on this account they call it 'the Ark with the Law of Jahweh' (Dt $10^{1ff.}$ 31^{26}, 1 K 8^{9}).* Wherever this designation occurs in ancient narratives (*e.g.* 1 S 4^{3-5}, but not vv.$^{11. 17. 19. 22}$), *bĕrîth* is a later addition by Deuteronomistic hands; it is still unknown to the LXX in the passages cited.

Seeing that both the early sources of the Pentateuch in their account of the wilderness journeyings give prominence to the Ark as a most sacred object, they must have somewhere given an account of its origin. And indeed this narrative, which has now (on account of its proximity to the entirely different account given by P in Ex $25^{10ff.}$) dropped out, must have stood before Ex $33^{7ff.}$. Here we are told all at once about *the* tent which Moses regularly pitched before the camp and called 'the Tent of Meeting.' This is the same name as is applied (in a different sense, indeed) by the Priests' Code to the tent in which the sacred Ark was lodged. Prior to Ex 33^{7}, then, it must have been told how Moses used the ornaments stripped off by the people at Ḥoreb (v.^{6}) for the construction of the Ark and the tent that sheltered it, the Ark (as must be inferred from v.^{5}) being intended as a substitute for the personal presence of Jahweh, which would have been fatal to so stiff-necked a people.

How this substitute for Jahweh's own presence is to be understood comes out unmistakably in two very ancient verses preserved in Nu $10^{35f.}$ (prob. J). There we read: 'When the ark [which, according to v.^{33}, went before the people to search out a camping-place for them] set forward, Moses said—

> Rise up, Jahweh, and let thine enemies be scattered;
> And let thine adversaries flee before thee!

And when it rested, he said—

> Return, Jahweh, to the myriads of the thousands of Israel!'

Jahweh and the Ark, that is to say, appear here as practically identical. Not as though this wooden chest represented Jahweh. But His presence appeared inseparably connected with the Ark; wherever it was seen there Jahweh was, and showed Himself active. This notion has frequent and express testimony borne to it down to the time of Solomon. In Nu $14^{42ff.}$ Israel's defeat by the Amalekites is explained by the absence of the Ark. According to 1 S 3^{3} the youthful Samuel slept in the temple of Jahweh at Shiloh where the Ark of God was, and this is used to account for the revelation given him by Jahweh at night. When the sons of Eli bring the Ark of Jahweh to the camp, 'that it may come among us and save us out of the hands of our enemies' (1 S 4^{3}), the Philistines —quite in the spirit of the Hebrew narrator— exclaim, 'God is come into their camp . . . Who will deliver us out of the hand of this mighty God?' etc. (v.$^{7f.}$). With the Ark the 'glory,' *i.e.* the presence of Jahweh, is departed from Israel (v.^{22}). And, even when the Ark is captured, the Dagon of the Philistines falls upon his face before Jahweh the more powerful God present in it, and tumbles down as if dead when he is set up in his place again (1 S $5^{1ff.}$). The Ark of Jahweh brings pestilence upon the other cities of the Philistines (v.$^{9ff.}$) Nay, even the Israelites of Beth-shemesh look with fatal results upon the Ark when it is sent back by the Philistines ($6^{19f.}$), so that the survivors exclaim, 'Who is able to stand before Jahweh, this exalted God?' And when David went to bring up to Jerusalem 'the ark of God which is called by the name of Jahweh of hosts' (2 S $6^{1ff.}$), we read that he and all the house of Israel danced 'before Jahweh' (v.^{5}, cf. also vv.$^{14. 16. 21}$), but that Uzzah was struck dead on the spot by Jahweh for having, with the best of intentions, laid hold of the swaying Ark to steady it (v.^{6}).

It need hardly be remarked that all the above statements would be meaningless if the Ark had been simply the receptacle of the tables of the Law, and not a symbol and pledge of the presence of Jahweh. With all the more force does the question urge itself upon us, What can account for so high a place being assigned to the Ark? Unfortunately, we are here again thrown back upon mere conjectures. The most probable explanation, however, appears to be that the Ark of Israel, like the sacred arks of other religions,* contained stones—in point of fact, one or more meteoric stones (βαιτύλια); but it can hardly be supposed to have had in it a stone image of the Deity.† But, again, there are numerous indications that the Ark primarily represented Jahweh as *the war-God*. On the one hand, there is the fact that down to the time of David the Ark (cf. 2 S $7^{2.6}$) was as a rule kept in a tent, the natural place of abode in war [even in the temple at Shiloh it may have stood in a tent, as, according to 2 S 6^{17}, it did in the citadel of David]; and, on the other hand, the fact that in the historical books it is brought with remarkable frequency into connexion with the name *Jahweh Zĕbā'ôth*, the designation of the war-God (see the following section, p. 636 f.). Moreover, we have direct evidence of this sense being attributed to the Ark in Nu $10^{35f.}$ (see above, p. 628^{a}) $14^{42ff.}$ (see above, p. 628^{b}), Jos $6^{6ff.}$ (where the Ark brings about the downfall of the walls of Jericho), 1 S $4^{3ff.}$ (see above, p. 628^{b}), 2 S 11^{11} (where the Ark has its place in the camp at Rabbath-ammon) 15^{24} (where the priests imagine that the presence of the Ark will ensure victory over Absalom).

---

* The usual translation 'Ark of the Covenant' fails to recognize that *bĕrîth* here cannot mean 'covenant,' but only the *Law* on which the covenant was based. Instead of *bĕrîth* the Priests' Code uses *'ēdûth* 'testimony' in the same sense (Ex $25^{16f.}$ and often).

* Cf. Schwally, *Semit. Kriegsaltertümer*, i. p. 9 ff.

† From the copious recent literature on the Ark we select the following as deserving of special notice: F. Seyring, 'Der alttest. Sprachgebrauch in betreff des Namens der sogen. "Bundeslade"' (*ZATW* xi. [1891] 114 ff.); L. Couard, 'Die religiös-nationale Bedeutung der Lade Jahwes (*ib.* xii. [1892] 53 ff.). According to the latter, the Ark contained stone fetishes in which Jahweh was believed to be present, whence the Ark and its contents were in the earliest times identified with Jahweh Himself. Kraetzschmar, again (*Die Bundesvorstellung im AT*, Marburg, 1896, p. 208 ff.), thinks that the Ark most likely contained the stones used in forming the alliance of the Rachel-tribes; while Budde ('Bücher Sam.' [in *Kurzer Hdcom.*] p. 31) makes these stones to have been taken from Sinai as a representation of this abode of Jahweh. W. Reichel (*Ueber vorhellenische Göttercult*e, Vienna, 1897, p. 23 ff.) explains the Ark as a portable throne of Jahweh—a view opposed by Budde (*Expository Times*, ix. [1898] 398 f.) but strongly reaffirmed by Meinhold (*Die Lade Jahwehs*, Tübingen and Leipzig, 1900; cf. also the 'Nachtrag' to this in *SK*, 1901, p. 593 ff.). Meinhold holds that the Ark was originally the moving rocky throne of the god enthroned on Sinai, and that the charge of this one pre-Canaanite common sanctuary of the Hebrews became hereditary in the family of Moses. The view of Meinhold appears to be favoured by the circumstance that once (Jer 3^{17}) the whole of Jerusalem takes the place of the Ark as the throne of Jahweh; while even the Priests' Code appears (*e.g.* in Nu 7^{89}) to look upon the lid of the Ark as Jahweh's seat, from which He reveals Himself to Moses. But all this does not refute the argument reasserted by Budde (*ZATW*, 1901, p. 193 ff.), that the Heb. word *'ārōn* means nothing but a *box* or *chest*, and that

It cannot be decided with certainty whether the Ark was from the first the sacred shrine of *all* the tribes, or only (so Stade, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, i. 458) the war *palladium* of the Josephites or the Josephite tribe of Ephraim [in 1 S 1 ff. we meet with it as giving its character to the tribal sanctuary of Shiloh]. Its original connexion with *all* the tribes is favoured, however, not only by its construction being attributed to Moses—a tradition which it is very difficult to set aside—but by the narrative of 1 S 4, and very specially by the evident importance which David attaches to the introduction of the Ark into his newly captured residence, Jerusalem (2 S 6). Had the Ark been the *palladium* of an alien tribe, would he not have been afraid of giving them the most serious offence by appropriating it? On the other hand, if the Ark was well known to have been the representative of the God of Israel in the 'wars of Jahweh,' it was pre-eminently suited to be established at the residence of the monarch as the symbol of the now closely united tribes.

It may be as well to note here once for all what is necessary regarding the subsequent fortunes of the Ark. After its transference to the dark inner sanctuary of Solomon's temple (1 K $8^{4.6ff.}$) there is no mention of its ever again leaving this place, down to the destruction of the temple in B.C. 586. [In Ps $24^{7ff.}$, then, where the doors of the temple are already addressed as 'primeval gates,' there must be preserved an allusion to the war-God *Jahweh Zĕbā'ôth*, v.^{10}, returning in the company of the Ark from a campaign]. That the Ark even in Solomon's temple continued for a long time to be regarded as representing the presence of Jahweh, is shown not only by the ancient verses contained in 1 K 8^{12}, which can refer only to the place of the Ark in the dark inner sanctuary of the temple, but by the Ark's being placed under the wings of two huge cherub forms (1 K $8^{6f.}$). Here, as elsewhere, the cherubim denote the near presence of Deity. But, as the conception of God came to be increasingly spiritualized in the Prophetic period, it became impossible to hold to the ancient, grossly material view of the Ark. In place of an actual representation of the presence of Jahweh it came to be a mere symbol of His presence. Nay, in the Deuteronomistic statements on the subject we see the Ark almost robbed of any special significance of its own. As the receptacle of the tables of the Law it is only a means to an end, and its place might have been taken equally well by any other vessel; for its only claim to veneration and sanctity rests upon its contents. The question may now be asked, Are we to assume that at some time or other the old stone fetishes, of which people were now ashamed, were really displaced by stone tables with a copy of the Decalogue? This would be conceivable only if we could assume that there was a periodical opening of the Ark: for instance, upon the occasion of a particular festival. But even Dt 31^{26} speaks merely of a depositing of the Book of the Law *beside* the Ark. Or, again, do the Deuteronomistic statements involve the recollection that, at any rate, stones were originally kept in the Ark? This is a question we cannot answer.

On the other hand, the closest attention is due to the circumstance that in the theories of the Priests' Code so important a rôle is assigned to the Ark both as a centre of revelation (Ex 25^{22}, Lv 16^{2}, Nu 7^{89}) and in connexion with the process of sacrifice (Lv $16^{14ff.}$), although even according to this source (Ex $25^{16.21}$) the Ark is, properly speaking, nothing more than the receptacle of the 'testimony,' which means the tables of the Law. But, as in so many other instances, even the Priests' Code cannot shake off entirely the old conception of the Ark. It is no longer, indeed, identical with Jahweh, but it is a very holy centre of revelations from Him. This is still indicated by the cherub forms, only that these no longer stand, as in Solomon's temple, on each side of the Ark, but, made of pure gold, are placed (Ex $25^{17ff.}$) on the ends of the lid (the *kappōreth*). Here, according to Lev $16^{14f.}$, the blood of the most important guilt-offerings of the whole year had to be sprinkled in order to bring Jahweh as near as possible.

These statements and requirements of the Priests' Code are all the more surprising, as there can be no doubt that the Ark perished in the destruction of the temple in B.C. 586.* This agrees with the circumstance that Ezekiel, in his sketch of the new order of the theocracy, has no mention of the Ark, and the Holy of Holies of the second temple was, according to unimpeachable Jewish tradition, completely empty. Hence those expressions in the Priests' Code which take the Ark for granted must have emanated from priestly circles which looked upon its restoration as necessary, *but did not succeed in carrying out this aim.* To the eagerness with which at one time the restoration or non-restoration of the Ark was discussed we have an instructive witness in Jer 3^{16} (which is a later insertion in the Book of Jeremiah). Here we have the heart's desire of a man of the prophetic spirit; and it is to the effect that, when the exiles are brought home again and tended by shepherds after God's own heart, when Jerusalem has become a place of true worship even for the heathen, there shall be no need of an *outward* sign of the presence of Jahweh, and thus no need even of the Ark.

iii. *THE ESSENTIAL CHARACTER OF JAHWISM AS THE RELIGION OF ISRAEL.*—1. Ever since Josephus† defined the constitution of Israel as a

---

such a name would not have been given to a *throne*. Even Reichel's further exposition of his hypothesis (in *Theologische Arbeiten aus dem wissenschaftlichen Rheinischen Predigerverein*, Tübingen, 1902, p. 28 ff.) has made no difference on this point. On the other hand, the strict defence of the Deuteronomistic tradition by Lotz (*Die Bundeslade*, Erlangen and Leipzig, 1901 [from the 'Festschrift' for the 80th birthday of the Prince Regent of Bavaria]) is a piece of wasted labour.

* No importance attaches, of course, to the statements of 2 Mac $2^{5ff.}$ about Jeremiah's concealing of the Tabernacle (!), the Ark, and the Altar of Incense in a cave of Mt. Nebo.

† c. *Apion*. ii. 16 [Niese, *Fl. Josephi Opera*, v. p. 75, § 164 f.]: 'Some entrusted the government of the State to a single person, others to a few, others to the whole body of the people; whereas our lawgiver turned his thoughts to none of those methods, but, if we might use a somewhat bold expression, drew up a political constitution in the form of a *theocracy*, assigning the rule and power to God.' The whole manner of expression adopted by Josephus shows that in using the word 'theocracy' he is conscious of having coined a *new* term. See also art. THEOCRACY, above, p. 337.

'**theocracy**,' or 'rule by God,' this term has been repeated over and over, and its use has been extended even to the political and religious system introduced by Moses. As a 'theocracy' the religion founded by him has been represented as distinguished from all others; that is to say, the constitution was so arranged that all the organs of government were without any independent powers, and had simply to announce and to execute the will of God as declared by priests and prophets or reduced to writing as a code of Laws. This ideal was illustrated by the action of Gideon when (Jg $8^{22f.}$) he refused the monarchical dignity for himself and his son on the ground that 'Jahweh shall rule over you.' On the other hand, according to the view represented in 1 S $8^{10.\ 17ff.}$ and ch. 12, the people wickedly ignored the idea of the theocracy when they demanded a king from Samuel: 'It is not *thee* that they have rejected,' says God to Samuel (1 S 8^{7}), 'but they have rejected *me*, that I should no longer be king over them.' Is there not here a perfectly serious claim put forward on behalf of the theocracy, and is not this form of government put forward as the only legitimate one? That is so. But this does not represent the view taken in the earlier monarchical period,—which sees in the monarchy a beneficent institution for the deliverance of the people (1 S 9^{16}),—but that of the later centuries, after people had had unhappy experiences of the monarchy, and especially after they had come to lay upon it the blame for the religious and moral degeneration of the nation, even for the destruction of the State. But for the time of Moses the conception 'theocracy' cannot be taken account of, for the sufficient reason that at that time it is impossible to speak of any *constitution* at all as in existence. All through the period of the Judges, and in part even under Saul, the tribes lived each their own life; it was at most only for the settling of processes of law that they needed a kind of supreme authority, and this latter function was discharged by the heads of clans and families—of course not, however, upon the basis of written laws, but of usage and custom. It is true that common pressure by foes had at times the effect of bringing about a coalition, not perhaps of all, but of a number of tribes; but even then human leaders could not be dispensed with. That in all this an important rôle was played by religion we shall see presently (see p. 635^{b} f.). But for a 'theocracy' in the form defined by Josephus there is no room here. Scope was found for it only when, after the loss of political independence, national interests receded into the background and the interests of the cultus assumed on that account all the more prominence. So it was in the programme for the future sketched by Ezekiel (chs. 40–48), where the partition of the soil of the country is moulded upon the sacredness of the temple and its surroundings, and where the 'prince' (*nâsî*; not 'king') has scarcely any more important duty than to make careful provision for the public sacrifices. The complete realization of the 'theocracy' was next undertaken by the Priests' Code. Here everything, even civil and criminal law, is looked at from the *religious* standpoint. The outward sway is in the hands of the foreigner, but what is left of the ancient national life presents itself in the form of a priestly State; the insignia of royalty—diadem and purple—are now assigned to the spiritual head, the high priest.

In carrying back the theocracy to Moses, Josephus has accordingly been guilty of a glaring anachronism. But those go to the opposite extreme who admit that Moses proclaimed Jahweh as the God of Israel, but deny anything beyond this, and cast doubt in particular upon any fundamental act of his which could be spoken of as a real founding of the religion of Israel. Everything of this kind related in the middle books of the Pentateuch is regarded by them at best as a late theological misunderstanding of something quite different, but most frequently as pure invention in the interests of religious ideas which had not their development till centuries afterwards. Here, again, we shall do well first of all to look at the tradition itself.

2. In all the Pentateuchal sources, without exception, there is a uniform tradition to the effect that the central place amongst the incidents at Sinai is occupied by the concluding of a *bĕrîth* (בְּרִית, commonly rendered '**covenant**'). What this means may be readily learned from a brief examination of the usage of the word *bĕrîth*. After the thoroughgoing investigations of J. P. Valeton * and R. Kraetzschmar,† there can be no doubt that *bĕrîth* belongs primarily to the secular vocabulary, and means 'cutting in pieces,' namely, of one or more sacrificial victims (cf. Gn $15^{9ff.}$, where God, according to the narrative of the Jahwist in v.^{17}, accommodates Himself to this practice; and Jer $34^{18f.}$), that the parties to an agreement might pass between the pieces and invoke upon themselves the fate of the animals in the event of their being guilty of a breach of their oath. For every *bĕrîth* consisted partly of an oath which defined the obligation taken upon oneself, partly of a curse invoked on oneself as the penalty of violating this oath.‡

The religious is naturally distinguished from the secular use of the word *bĕrîth* by the fact that God cannot be thought of in the same way as a man who enters into an agreement or covenant with other men, the two parties having exactly the same standing, with their mutual rights and obligations strictly defined. Hence the religious *bĕrîth* always stands primarily for a Divine order or arrangement § which takes its rise without the co-operation of man or, to be more precise, of the people of Israel, and yet is unconditionally binding upon the latter. The duties of the people have, it is true, promises—that is, so to speak, a self-pledging of Himself by God—corresponding to them, and thus there exists so far a mutual relationship. But, however the statements contained in the different sources of the Pentateuch may vary in laying stress now upon the Divine promises and now upon the duties resting on men, it is always the will and determination of God that accounts for the origin and the character of the *bĕrîth*. Hence the usual rendering of *bĕrîth*, namely 'covenant,' ought to be avoided as incorrect and misleading.

It has already been remarked that *all* the sources of the Pentateuch assume that at Sinai a *bĕrîth* in the sense just described was solemnly enacted by God, and that henceforward it was upon this *bĕrîth* that the intimate relation between Jahweh, as the God of Israel, and His people was based. According to the Jahwist, the sacramental communion was established by sprinkling with blood both the altar and the people, the 'book of laws of the covenant' [this is the meaning here of *bĕrîth*] being read by Moses to the people between these two acts (Ex 24^{4-8}). In v.$^{9ff.}$ there comes next an account [probably by E] of a meal[*] partaken of by the representatives of the people before God. This meal can be understood only as a sacrificial one, such as, for instance, we read of again in the case of Jacob and Laban (Gn 31^{54}) after their compact at Mount Gilead. So also the Deuteronomist and the Priests' Code speak very frequently of the *bĕrîth* which God through Moses gave to the people at Ḥoreb (or Sinai). Even if they do not refer expressly to a covenantal ceremony, they certainly presuppose what is related in the older sources. It is an established fact for them that there was a solemn proclamation of the Divine will by God to Moses, and through him to the people.

---

* 'Bedeutung und Stellung des Wortes *bĕrîth* im Priestercodex' (*ZATW* xii. 1 ff.); 'in den jahwistischen und deuteronomistischen Stücken des Hexateuchs sowie in den verwandten historischen Büchern' (*ib.* 224 ff.); 'bei den Propheten und in den Ketubim' (*ib.* xiii. 245 ff.).

† *Die Bundesvorstellung im Alten Testament*, Marburg, 1896.

‡ Akin to this are the certainly ancient forms in which a curse is conditionally invoked, namely, by sending round pieces of a corpse (Jg 19^{29}) or of some sacrificial animal (1 S 11^{7}). In every instance these pieces have the significance of an 'oath-offering.' The formula 'so shall it be done to his cattle' in the latter passage is in all probability a toning down of an original 'so shall it be done to *him*.' Whether the blood of the animals in question was used for the performance of sacred rites on the occasion of concluding a *bĕrîth* (as, for instance, among the Arabs it is sprinkled on seven stones), is doubtful; it is expressly witnessed to only in Ex 24^{8}.

§ The LXX gives proper expression to this condition of things by rendering the Heb. *bĕrîth* not by συνθήκη ('agreement,' 'covenant'), but by διαθήκη ('arrangement').

Is all this now to be set down as fiction—a carrying back of much later theological conceptions and terminology to a time for which no real tradition was any longer extant? This is a view to which the present writer cannot assent, having regard to either external or internal evidence.

Under the head of *external* evidence we must reckon not only the strength and unanimity of the tradition, which it would need the very strongest reasons to set aside, but also the narrative of Ex $24^{4ff.}$. The deviation here from the traditional rites at sacrifices and covenants, which meet us elsewhere, testifies at least to the high antiquity of the record.

But, even if the attempt to prove its historicity should have to be abandoned, there remain weighty *internal* reasons for holding that it is impossible to set aside as pure fiction the assumption of a *bĕrîth* at Sinai as a historical incident.

It was undoubtedly with very heterogeneous elements that Moses had to set to work in accomplishing his mission. The familiar genealogy of the tribes of Israel makes an emphatic—no doubt, historically justified—distinction between tribes of full and of half blood, the latter being represented as descended from female slaves (Bilhah and Zilpah, Gn $30^{5ff.}$). Moreover, Ex 12^{38} (cf. also Nu 11^4) speaks of a non-Israelite 'mixed multitude' which attached itself to Israel at the Exodus. Yet Moses must have succeeded in imparting a certain unity to all these diverse elements, in controlling them by his will, and in planting amongst them a variety of fruitful germs of religious and legal ordinances. And although even after the immigration into Canaan it is still far from possible (see above, p. 630^a) to speak of an Israelitish *State*, yet a historical document of the first rank, like the Song of Deborah, shows how in the beginning of the period of the Judges the majority of the tribes were permeated with a strong feeling of their unity under the leadership of the God of Israel. Particularly worthy of notice is the express manner in which war (which, as was pointed out above [p. 621^b], even in the pre-Mosaic stage of religion had the closest connexion with the cultus) is now placed in relation to Jahwism. After the defeat of the Amaleḳites, Moses is commanded to write down a formula expressive of the Divine curse on Amaleḳ (Ex $17^{14ff.}$ [E]). Thereupon he erects an altar and calls it *Jahweh-niṣṣî* ('Jahweh is my banner'), 'for Jahweh hath war with the Amaleḳites to all generations.' Primarily, then, this war is not the affair of the people but of their God. The battles which led to the conquest of Canaan (Nu 21^{14}), like those which had still to be fought by David in the struggle which freed the land from the yoke of the Philistines (1 S 18^{17} 25^{28}), are included under the title 'wars of Jahweh.' See vol. iv. p. 896^b.

Would all this be conceivable if the proclamation of Jahweh as the God of Israel—the founding of the Jahweh religion—had taken place, so to speak, fortuitously, by the incidental passing of the name 'Jahweh' from mouth to mouth? Instead of anything of this kind, we get the strongest impression that the further development of the religion of Israel during the period of the Judges and of the monarchy was the result of some occurrence of a fundamental kind of whose solemnity and binding force and character the whole nation retained a lively recollection. And this occurrence can have been nothing but the solemn proclaiming of the God *who had just manifested Himself in wondrous wise as the Helper and Deliverer of the people* upon a definite occasion, and in the binding of the people to do His will and to worship Him alone. Every one of the numerous allusions (whether in the Pentateuchal sources, the Prophets, or the Psalms) to the mighty acts of Jahweh at the Exodus, how with a strong hand and a stretched-out arm He brought the hosts of Israel out of the house of bondage, held back the waves of the Red Sea from Israel but plunged the chariots and the horsemen of Pharaoh into the waters,—every one of these allusions is at the same time an allusion to the days of Sinai, when for the first time these mighty acts of Jahweh were brought to the consciousness of the people in their true greatness, and extolled accordingly, and made the occasion of a solemn confession of Jahweh as the God of Israel and a solemn binding of the people to do His will.[*]

The foregoing observations have at the same time furnished the answer to the question as to the essential character of *Jahwism* as a name for the special relation between Jahweh and Israel. If we had to do with nothing more than the mutual relations between a particular god and a particular people, we should be standing simply upon the soil of a national religion such as prevailed amongst heathen peoples as well. Moab is called 'the people of Chemosh' (Nu 21^{29}) just as Israel is 'the people of Jahweh'; Moab likewise felt itself bound to the worship of this its national god, and expected powerful aid from Chemosh in return, particularly in matters of war. And if such aid was not rendered, this was ascribed not to inadequate power on the part of the god, but to the fact that 'Chemosh was angry with his land' (Mesha's inscription, l. 5 f.). The presuppositions appear thus to be precisely the same in Moab as in Israel. And yet is it possible to conceive of a Moabite reflecting on the origin of the worship of Chemosh or tracing it back to a *bĕrîth* between that god and the Moabites? On the contrary, none of them dreamt of anything but that the special relation between god and people had subsisted from the first, nor did any one doubt that between the two there was a blood relationship in virtue of which the god would as a matter of course take the part of his people, without any necessary regard to ethical considerations. He upon whom, according to primitive Semitic notions, the duty of blood-revenge lay, did not first inquire whether the bloody expiation was justifiable on moral grounds as well. Blood demands blood: this principle held good for the god as much as for every individual among the people.

---

[*] It cannot, indeed, be denied that it is hard to think of 74 people sitting down to a meal on the top of the mountain, and that all difficulty is removed if we accept the suggestion of Riedel (*SK*, 1903, p. 161 ff.), that וַיִּשְׁתּוּ ('and they drank') is corrupted from וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲווּ ('and they cast themselves down'), and that וַיֹּאכְלוּ ('and they ate') was interpolated after וַיִּשְׁתּוּ had found its way into the text.

[*] Cf., on the above, the admirable discussion by F. Giesebrecht in *Die Geschichtlichkeit des Sinaibundes*, Königsberg, 1900; on 'Jahweh's relation to the people of Israel according to the ancient Israelitish conception' in general, see Sellin in the *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 1894, pp. 316 ff., 376 ff. [also published separately under the title *Beiträge zur israel. und jüdischen Religionsgeschichte*, Heft 1, Leipzig, 1896]; Wildeboer, *Jahvedienst en Volksreligie in Israël*, Groningen, 1898 [German tr., Freiburg, 1899].

From all this it is clear that from the very first there was a far-reaching difference between the national religion of Israel and other national religions. At its very foundation the religion of Israel made a notable advance beyond the naïve, purely naturalistic basis which we have just noted in the religion of Moab. *It was not Israel that first chose Jahweh, but Jahweh that chose Israel.* Their mutual relation does not therefore rest upon blood relationship,—such a notion is sufficiently contradicted by the circumstance that at the time of the Exodus a community of the same blood, or a nation, was not yet in existence,—but upon the free determination of a mighty God. This determination, however, was no arbitrary one; it sprang from the fundamental attributes of this God, namely righteousness and mercy. He saw the misery of the people as they pined under cruel and yet wholly undeserved oppression, and was filled with compassion for them; He determined to deliver them, and with a strong hand He carried this purpose to a victorious issue. The religious ideas which flow from this did not first originate, as some in recent times never weary of asserting, as a product of the 'ethical monotheism' of the prophets; they already lay to hand for the Israel of Mosaic times. Righteousness and mercy are essentially moral qualities. If *they* were the motive for the choice and the deliverance of Israel, the religion derived from them bore from the first an ethical stamp in quite a different sense from anything that had ever been conceivable in a purely national religion. It is thoroughly appropriate that the Deuteronomist * in a number of passages should urge *gratitude* as the leading motive for love to God and obedience to His commandments. But this, again, is no naturalistic but a specifically ethical motive, and, as such, could be appreciated even by the contemporaries of Moses. —And, finally, it was self-evident that the God who in His very choice and deliverance of Israel had exhibited moral attributes, would require from the people the same qualities on which His relation to them was based. Hence we are quite entitled to claim—not ethical monotheism in the strict sense of the term, but—*ethical henotheism* for the time of Moses.

And so at last the way in which this God fulfils His promise, putting the mighty host of Egypt to shame before a petty people of shepherds, gave occasion for the triumphant question: 'Who is like thee, O Jahweh, among the gods; who is like thee, glorious in loftiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders?' But this power of His is not thought of as mere brute force arbitrarily exercised, but once more as serving moral ends. In this lies the pledge of its final triumph over all unrighteousness and impiety, whether within or outside the people of Israel. It may be that this idea was not yet realized with perfect clearness in the time of Moses, that all its consequences were not yet deduced. But in germ it was already there as certainly as faith in the power of right, or desire that it should always prevail, is implanted by nature in the hearts of men in general. The religion of Israel was able from the first to supply nourishment to this faith as no other national religion could. Those who deny this, and who recognize everywhere simply development in a straight line from crude or at least naïve naturalism to more and more purified moral conceptions, quite overlook the circumstance that their contention is opposed by demonstrably historical facts. Epoch-making religious ideas generally come upon the scene in full strength and purity; it is only in course of further development that these products of religious creative genius, or, better, of Divine impulse, are corrupted and disfigured by the intrusion of vulgar human ideas and selfish interests. Such was the fate of the religion of Jesus Christ in the Roman Church with its popes and monks; and the same thing happened to many of the great fundamental ideas of the Reformation at the hands of Protestant scholasticism. And we are quite safe to assume something of the same kind in the process of the development of Jahwism. The great fundamental ideas upon which its institution rests were often forced into the background during the wandering period of the people's history and in the time of endless struggles for national existence under the Judges. Besides, as was pointed out already (see p. 615 f.), these ideas still continued for long to be supplemented by powerful remnants of the Polydemonism common to the Semites. But they did not die out for all this, and, when in the 8th cent. B.C. they were put forward by Amos and others with the greatest clearness and precision and urged upon the conscience of the people, these prophets had a perfect right to claim that they were making no new and unheard-of demands, but only proclaiming what from Sinai downwards had been recognized as a fact: 'A God of right is Jahweh; blessed are all they that wait on him' (Is 30^{18}).

We insist, then, upon a *bĕrîth* between Jahweh and the people of Israel as the starting-point of Jahwism, and at the same time as the source of its peculiar character. This of itself sets aside the view recently maintained * that there was actually a *bĕrîth* concluded at Sinai—not, however, between Jahweh and Israel, but between the various Israelitish tribes. It was only the later theologians, we are told, that misunderstood this, or arbitrarily transformed its meaning to suit their purposes. This hypothesis might perhaps be sufficient to account for the coalition of heterogeneous elements so as to form a nation. But it is wholly inadequate to explain how it came about that their common religion imparted to this new confederation a wholly peculiar stamp, so that this people of nomads afterwards completely absorbed the advanced civilization of Canaan, instead of being subdued by it.

iv. *THE STAMP OF JAHWISM ON OUTWARD ORDINANCES IN THE TIME OF MOSES.*—By 'outward ordinances' we understand not only usages connected with worship in the widest sense, but also the form given by religion to the life of the people in all its aspects. As to both these points, the materials for arriving at a certain conclusion are very meagre, since no account can be taken of the elaborate priestly and ritual enactments of the Priests' Code, which are merely the theories of later centuries.

1. Even the question whether Moses instituted

---

* So also Ezk $16^{5\text{ff.}}$ in a striking comparison.

* For instance by Schwally, who writes (*Semit. Kriegsaltertümer*, i. p. 2): 'Probably some Israelitish tribes entered into a covenant relation with Midian, in connexion with which the national god of the more powerful of the contracting parties was called to watch over the oath.' Afterwards, however, we are told (p. 3): 'The actual course of things faded gradually from men's memory, and the notion could establish itself that at Sinai what was concluded was not a covenant between Israel and Midian under the protection of Jahweh, but simply a covenant of Jahweh with His chosen people.'—Different, again, is the judgment of Eerdmans (in *Theol. Tijdschrift*, xxxvii. p. 19 ff.). According to him, the *bĕrîth* at Sinai consisted in the union of a number of nomadic clans into a tribal confederation, accompanied by the invoking of Jahweh as the god to whom part of those tribes considered that they owed their deliverance from Egypt.

a *priestly order* at all is one which cannot be answered offhand from the early sources. He himself exercises priestly functions on the occasion of the concluding of the *bĕrîth* (Ex $24^{4ff.}$), and as a medium of oracles in the Tent of Meeting ($33^{7ff.}$). This is in harmony with the general presupposition that the founder and mediator of the Sinai religion was the prototype of both of what were afterwards the most important organs of this religion—the priests and the prophets (cf., for the latter, Dt 18^{18} 34^{10} and Hos $12^{14(13)}$). Indeed it is only thus that the habit can be explained of tracing back to his personality *all* codifications of law, even those affecting the ritual. But the early sources know nothing of Moses having further entrusted to his brother Aaron alone the discharge of priestly functions.* Aaron is indeed called in Ex 4^{14} 'the Levite,' which means in all probability 'the priest' (for, so far as the *tribe* was concerned, Moses was also a 'Levite'), but it is extremely questionable whether this designation really emanates from an early source. In any case, nothing is there related of him except that he served Moses as speaker in dealing with the people and with Pharaoh (Ex $4^{14ff.\ 27.\ 30}$ $5^{1ff.}$ etc.), and that he supported him during the battle with the Amalekites ($17^{12ff.}$). Even in connexion with the idolatrous worship of the golden calf (Ex $32^{1ff.}$) there is no mention of priestly functions or prerogatives belonging to Aaron. On the contrary, the assistants of Moses at the covenantal sacrifices of Ex 24^{5} are simply young men of the children of Israel, while the guardian of the Tent of Meeting is the *Ephraimite* Joshua (Ex 33^{11}), who frequently appears elsewhere also as servant and attendant of Moses.

Leaving Aaron, then, out of the question, we have still, indeed, one passage from E (Ex 32^{29}) in which, although the text in its present form is plainly mutilated, it is related that Moses awarded the priesthood to *the tribe of Levi* in recognition of their fidelity on the occasion of a revolt of the people. But, seeing that in the same chapter we have a parallel narrative to quite a different effect from the pen of the Jahwist, it is impossible to say whether in Ex 32^{29} we have a strictly historical narrative or merely an attempt to supply a historical explanation of the origin of the Levitical priesthood.

The story of the covenantal sacrifices (Ex $24^{4ff.}$) quite gives the impression that Moses simply followed long-established usage. And this will be true to the condition of things then as well as during the whole of the subsequent period. Not legal prescriptions, but old familiar custom, decided the practice followed in matters affecting the cultus. Even in the monarchical period priests were still unneeded for the offering of sacrifice; the same usage as had been followed for other gods or 'demons' was equally capable of application to the cult of Jahweh. This does not forbid us to hold that certain ceremonial enactments emanated from Moses, and were orally handed down under his name. But what was their precise character we are unable to decide, any more than the question whether he is to be regarded as the originator of a particular form of oracular communication. At all events, it is worthy of note that in Am 5^{25} (perhaps also Jer 7^{22}) the existence of the practice of sacrifice during the wilderness wanderings is flatly denied. This passage can hardly be explained, with Marti (*Gesch. der israel. Religion*^{4}, p. 71), to mean that, while sacrifices to Jahweh were abandoned, those were perhaps offered which were peculiar to families and clans, but were not meant for the God of the whole body. Marti urges that the different tribes and clans might have retained their tribal and household gods without seeing in this any repudiation of the claims of Jahweh. But, while it is not impossible that a syncretism of this kind still continued to prevail for a considerable time, it must always have appeared to the chosen representatives of Jahwism as a culpable abuse.

2. As to religious *festivals*, the only one that can be taken into account for the Mosaic period is the Passover (see above, p. 621^{b} f.). The other principal festivals, in the form in which we make their acquaintance in OT tradition, point by their agrarian character to a Canaanite origin.

3. As in the cultus of the Mosaic age, so also in the *social life* of Israel the controlling factor was not a body of definite prescriptions, but the power of custom—custom, it is true, upon which from the first an ever-increasing influence was exerted by the religious uniqueness of Jahwism. When any shameful act was condemned by the formula 'It is not wont so to be done' (Gn 34^{7}, 2 S 13^{12}), there was assuredly in the background the thought 'because it is unworthy of Israel and their God, because it is an abomination in the sight of Jahweh which He will not let go unpunished.' Here again the possibility must be recognized that Moses himself, in the course of his long-continued judicial activity (cf., on this point, the very instructive narrative of Ex $18^{13ff.}$ [E]), especially at Ḳadesh or 'Ên-mishpaṭ, laid the foundation of many usages both in civil and criminal law, nay, that not a few of the enactments afterwards codified in the Book of the Covenant go back directly to him. But in this matter, again, we are without any precise knowledge of details.

4. There is *one* question, however, which we cannot pass by in silence. If none of the rest of the legal contents of the Pentateuch can be with certainty traced back to Moses, must not at least some form of the Decalogue be attributed to him —having regard to the strength and the unanimity of the tradition which require this assumption?

Now, the 'unanimity' of the tradition must be left out of the question so long as it is still disputed whether in addition to the two Elohistic [E] or, according to others, Deuteronomistic recensions of the Decalogue in Ex 20 and Dt 5, we have not a Jahwistic one in Ex 34^{14-26}.* The greater antiquity of the latter appears to be supported by the fact that it contains almost exclusively ceremonial, not yet ethical enactments; these last, it is alleged, could not have originated in *this* form except as a deposit of the Prophetic current of ideas. But this Jahwistic Decalogue is perhaps nothing more than an appearance. If the Jahwist had essentially the same Decalogue as the Elohist, the redactor could not possibly, after it had been given in Ex 20, have introduced it once more in Ex 34, and so he filled up the consequent gap with ceremonial prescriptions which can be recognized at the first glance as parallels to the laws of the Book of the Covenant. Hence the question still remains whether some form of *the* Decalogue may not be traced back to Moses.

That this form was extremely brief and concise may be at once assumed. This conclusion is favoured even by the very striking difference in extent between the two tables of the Law: the first (namely the five Commandments, according to the method of reckoning adopted by the Reformed Churches, down to and including that of respect to parents) containing 146 words, the second only 26. Accordingly, the whole of the reasons assigned for obedience in the first five Commandments may be pronounced later additions. In this way two very considerable difficulties are removed in a very simple fashion. These are (1) the great difference in regard to the motives urged for obedience to the Sabbath-command, and (2) the Deuteronomistic colouring which, as we have seen, has led many to ascribe the whole to the 7th century. For this colouring does not affect the brief enunciations, but, above all, the motives assigned.

---

* According to Stade and others, the figure of Aaron is utterly unknown to the older stratum of J.

* This, as is well known, was already maintained by Goethe in his essay 'Das Zweitafelgesetz' (1773), and is held at present by the majority of critics. Regarding the Decalogue of Ex 20 and Dt 5, the view has come to prevail, thanks to Kuenen, Stade, Cornill, etc., that it belonged to the Judæan recension of the Elohist [E^{2}]; so also Staerk (*Das Deuteronomium*, Leipzig, 1894), who maintains, further, that the Decalogue of E^{1} is dispersed throughout the so-called Book of the Covenant. On the other hand, according to Meisner (*Der Dekalog*, Halle, 1893) and Baentsch ('Exodus u. Leviticus' in Nowack's *Hdkom.*, Göttingen, 1900), the present form of the Decalogue emanates from the Deuteronomic pen (D), and was only subsequently transferred from Deuteronomy to Ex 20. Likewise Marti (*Gesch. der israel. Religion*^{4}, p. 174) holds that the Decalogue was 'in any case drawn up in the 7th cent., perhaps in the circles influenced by Isaiah.'

But it may still be asked, Does not so fully-developed an ethical system underlie even the Commandments themselves that one must hesitate to give the Decalogue its place at the head of the whole development? We should allow full weight to this objection if the standpoint of the Ten Commandments were beyond doubt and exclusively an ethical one. That this is the case, appears self-evident to *us* who from our infancy are taught and accustomed to apply a purely ethical standard, and to discover in the Commandments a guide to true piety and morality. But it is not difficult to show that originally it was not the question of morals but of regard to *rights* that occupied the foreground.[*] *All* the Commandments may readily be subsumed under the prohibition: '*Thou shalt not do violence to* (1) what belongs to God (His sole right to worship, His superiority to any earthly form, His name, His day [as the type of all His other 'holy ordinances'], His representatives); (2) what belongs to thy neighbour (his life [as his most precious possession], his wife [as next in preciousness], his goods and chattels, his honour).' It is only in the last of the Commandments that another point of view makes its appearance, namely, in the prohibition to touch even in thought the property of one's neighbour. Thus the climax is reached of the ascending scale which presents itself in the arrangement of the Commandments of the second table—in the advance from sins of act to sins of word, and finally to sins of thought. The correctness of the view which emphasizes the non-ethical aspect of the Decalogue is specially evident in connexion with the prohibition of adultery. The object is not to keep the youth or the married man from immorality in general, as our catechisms are wont to explain the matter,[†] but to ward off attack from one of the most important of a neighbour's rights of property. It is only in this sense that the notion of adultery is known to the ancient Hebrew mind; while, on the other hand, no limits are placed upon a married man's sexual intercourse with female slaves. In like manner, the seduction or violation of a virgin was plainly regarded in the earliest times more as a damage to one's rights (notably, for instance, in the way of lowering the selling price of a daughter) than as a moral transgression.

In view of all this there would be no valid reason for refusing to attribute to Moses himself a primitive concise form of the Decalogue, were it not for the formidable difficulty presented by *the prohibition of the use of images*. Down to the 8th cent. no one appears to be acquainted with so categorical a command that images of Jahweh are not to be made. Are we to hold that originally another commandment stood in the place of this one, or that Moses promulgated not ten but seven Commandments? The latter position has recently been maintained by Eerdmans.[*] He refers the command against images to the 7th cent., but seven of the commands of the Decalogue to the time of Moses, the first of these being 'I, Jahweh, am your God.' We are largely in accord with Eerdmans when he discovers no such affinity between the Decalogue and the great Prophets that it *must* be regarded as a product of the current of ideas initiated by them; we are at one with him also in holding that the different commands and prohibitions have not an absolute but only a relative scope. In this last respect, however, he goes too far when he maintains that the *only* obligations meant to be enjoined (*e.g.* in the matter of the prohibition of killing) are towards fellow-countrymen, and when he transforms the 'coveting' of the tenth Commandment into appropriating of ownerless property, alleging that in the OT it is only the act and not the disposition that constitutes sin. It has been rightly urged by Wildeboer[†] against Eerdmans that in this way the deeper moral sense of the Decalogue is degraded, and the whole reduced to a mere scheme ministering to the utilitarian necessities of the common life of Bedawîn.

The result of the above discussion is that the Mosaic origin of some rudimentary form of the Decalogue (apart from the command against images) does not appear to be absolutely excluded, but that here again we must be content to refrain from pronouncing a more definite judgment. In any case, the religious and moral significance and the germinal power—we might almost say the power of expansion—of the ideas of the Decalogue are not lessened if we must place it, not at the first beginnings but in the later stages of development of the religion of Israel. Even then, in view of its aims, and above all in view of its structure, which in the first table shows an advance from the general and more spiritual to the more concrete and external duties, while in the second table the opposite course is followed, it remains a religious document which has a good title to be regarded, even by the Christian Church at the present day, as a kind of *Magna Charta* for the guidance of the religious life.

III. The Religion of Israel in Canaan during the pre-Prophetic Period.[‡]

i. *The Sources.*—For the periods with which we have hitherto been dealing we have had to content ourselves with backward inferences from later sources, but now we have at our command records of considerable compass, which enable us to take a reliable glance at the religious and moral conditions of the period of the judges and of the early monarchy. The circumstance is immaterial that the records in question, apart from the very ancient Song of Deborah, did not assume their present form till a considerable time after the events (somewhere from about the 10th to the middle of the 8th cent. B.C.). For, in the first place, all the evidence is in favour of the supposition that during the whole of this period the moral and religious viewpoint was a fixed one; and, secondly, the date when the traditions were finally committed to writing must not be confounded with the date when the oral tradition became fixed. Thus the conditions underlying the patriarchal narratives as presented by the Jahwist cannot be brought down at latest beyond the time of Saul, even although the main part of the Jahwistic *written* source was not composed till about B.C. 850. The same remark applies to the so-called hero-narratives of the Book of Judges, which occupy themselves with the six 'great judges' (Ehud, Deborah, Baraḳ, Gideon, Jephthaḥ, Samson), and to the same category with which belong also the very ancient and important narratives contained in Jg 9 and in the Appendix, chs. 17–21 (although it is true that chs. 19–21 have been subjected to a very late revision). All these written sources—after various more recent components have been sifted out—give us a true picture of the conditions that prevailed during the period prior to the advent of written prophecy.

---

[*] Noteworthy indications pointing to this view are already supplied by A. Menzies (*Sermons on the Ten Commandments*, London, 1888), according to whom the Decalogue belongs to the age of the Prophets, and contains the fundamental principles of social life.

[†] So, *e.g.*, Luther: 'Wir sollen Gott fürchten und lieben, dass wir keusch und züchtig leben in Worten und Werken, und ein jeglicher sein Gemahl liebe und ehre' ('We are to fear and love God by living chaste and modest in words and deeds, and every man is to love and honour his wife').

[*] 'Oorsprong en beteekenis van de tien woorden' (in *Theol. Tijdschrift*, xxxvii. p. 18 ff.).

[†] 'De Dekalog' (in *Theol. Studiën*, 1903, p. 109 ff.).

[‡] Cf. Ch. Piepenbring, 'La religion des Hébreux à l'époque des juges' in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, t. xxvii. 1; F. Seyring, *Die altisrael. Religion in den 'Heldengeschichten' des Richterbuchs*, Hamburg, 1892; C. H. Toy, 'The pre-Prophetic Religion of Israel' in *New World*, 1896, p. 123 ff.

As a source of the first rank must be reckoned the ancient biography of Saul and David, which, now interwoven with many later—notably even Deuteronomistic—elements, is incorporated in the Books of Samuel. But what we have said is true in quite a special sense of the so-called 'Jerusalem source' in 2 S 9–20, which reveals so intimate an acquaintance with the course of events, and shows at the same time so delicate a psychological estimate of David, that in all probability it should be placed as early as the time of Solomon. So also the older components of the biography of Solomon in 1 K 1–11 contain a great variety of valuable material. And finally, from the earliest of the writing prophets, Amos and Hosea, important backward inferences may be drawn as to the conceptions that prevailed before their day.

ii. *THE CONCEPTION OF GOD.*—1. That even in this period we can speak at most of henotheism (see above, p. 625^{b} f.) but not of absolute monotheism, would be sufficiently proved by the constant inclination of the people to Baal worship (on which see below, § iii.). This tendency assumes, of course, a belief in the existence of Baal (or the baals). If it should be contended that this belief ought to be treated as a delusion, not shared by the proper representatives of Jahwism, but at all times strenuously combated by them, this contention would be opposed to a number of clear statements. What was combated at all times was the *worship* of Baal and of other gods, but not the belief in their existence. When in Jg 11^{24} Jephthaḥ bids his messengers say to the king of the Ammonites, 'Wilt not thou possess that which Chemosh * thy god giveth thee to possess?' he only gives expression to a notion which was self-evident to his contemporaries and to the narrator. A similar notion underlies the language of 1 S 26^{19}, where David regards banishment from the ancestral domain of Jahweh as necessitating the worship of other gods. The idea of a national god involves that the sphere of influence as well as the sphere of worship of the particular god extends only to the land of his people. Outside this other gods rule, and the man who has been driven within their sphere does well to accommodate himself to their service.

It is true that the worship of a god upon foreign soil is not absolutely excluded. According to 1 K 11^{7} Solomon erected upon the Mount of Olives a place of sacrifice for Chemosh, the god of the Moabites.* The narrative in its present form sees in this (v.$^{1\text{ff.}}$) a lapse on the part of Solomon into idolatry, into which he was seduced by his heathen wives. But, in all probability, what is in view here is—what to the original narrator was quite an unobjectionable procedure—the erection by Solomon of a sanctuary for a Moabite wife, where even in the land of Judah she might render worship to her ancestral god. Such a desire on her part would appear to Solomon quite fair and reasonable, without its ever entering his mind to take part himself in this cult. Moreover, such an aberration on the part of the builder of a splendid temple for the God of the land would be absolutely inconceivable. In this connexion it may be remarked that there is scarcely room for doubt that even then a method had been discovered whereby the worship of a national god upon foreign soil was rendered possible. Earth was brought from *his* land to the foreign country, in order thus to be able to offer sacrifice to him on his own soil. Thus Naaman the Syrian (2 K 5^{17}) asks from Elisha two mules' burden of (Israelitish) earth, because he is resolved henceforward to offer neither burnt-offering nor sacrifice to any other god but to Jahweh alone. It is quite clear that Naaman's idea was quite in harmony with the belief of the Israelitish narrator. But, on the other hand, the conviction that the power of a national god in his own land is irresistible when it has been properly invoked, has very drastic testimony borne to it in 2 K 3^{27}. The 'fierce anger' which comes upon Israel after Mesha has sacrificed his firstborn son upon the wall (thus in the view of the besiegers) is the anger of the god of the land, Chemosh, who after such an offering cannot remain inactive, but drives the enemy out of his country. It is possible for *us* to explain this result very naturally on the ground that the besiegers lost all courage through fear of the supposed anger of Chemosh; but this is by no means the view of the narrator and his contemporaries.

2. But if, in view of all this, the question for this whole period is not whether Jahweh, the God of Israel, is the only God, the question arises all the more, what special significance He had for His people. As we have already (p. 631^{b} f.) pointed out, the full meaning of the fundamental propositions, 'Jahweh is the God of Israel, and Israel is the people of Jahweh,' always comes out when we have to deal with action on the part of a number of the tribes, if not the whole of them.

(*a*) This is the case almost exclusively in *war*. There the name of Jahweh is the connecting link which brings the otherwise heterogeneous elements into the closest union with one another, inspires them with enthusiasm, and leads them to victory. He is the *war-God*, Jahweh, whose commander-in-chief appears to Joshua in Gilgal (Jos $5^{13\text{ff.}}$); † who, represented by the sacred Ark (see above, p. 628 f.), causes the walls of Jericho to fall down (Jos 6); and after the battle of Gibeon rains great stones upon the fleeing Canaanites (10^{11}). With peculiar energy the joyful confidence in Jahweh as the real leader in battle meets us in the Song of Deborah. The whole Song is meant, above all, to celebrate the praises of Jahweh (Jg $5^{2\text{f. } 9. \ 11}$), who left His dwelling-place on Sinai to hasten by Mt. Seir to the battlefield. He was the true leader in the fight, for the inhabitants of Meroz are cursed 'because they came not to the help of Jahweh, to the help of Jahweh among the heroes' (v.^{23}); on the other hand, 'from heaven fought the stars, in their courses they fought against Sisera' (v.^{20}). It is specially worth noting with what force expression is given also in other passages in the Song to the thought that on such an occasion it is the unconditional duty of the different tribes to take the field with Jahweh against the common foe. Hence the panegyric on the valiant tribes which showed their willingness for this service (vv.$^{13-15.\ 18}$); and, on the other hand, the bitter scorn poured upon the dilatory ones (vv.$^{15b-17}$). And the concluding verse once more lays the strongest emphasis upon the fact that the enemies of Israel are on that very account the enemies of Jahweh, but that glory and happiness attend on those who choose Him—

---

* Probably, by a confusion, for *Milcom*, for everywhere else Chemosh appears as the god of the *Moabites*.

* This statement alone probably belongs to the original text; the rest here, as in 2 K 23^{13}, is Deuteronomistic or still later expansion. The LXX has in part a different text.

† The narrative now breaks off in the middle of a sentence. The close may have been deliberately suppressed because it contained a different explanation of the name 'Gilgal' from that given shortly before in 5^{9}.

> 'So must all thine enemies perish, O Jahweh:
> But those that love him are as the rising of the sun in
> his strength.'

The belief in a personal presence of Jahweh in decisive battles does not present itself, however, merely in highly strung poetry like the Song of Deborah. Apart from passages according to which He accompanies Israel into battle in the train of the Ark (see above, p. 628 f.), David still declares, after his first decisive victory over the Philistines: 'Jahweh hath broken mine enemies before me as waters break through (the dam),' 2 S 5^{20}; and before the second battle he receives from Jahweh this oracle: 'When thou hearest the noise of marching in the tops of the *baka* trees, set out; for then is Jahweh gone forth to make a slaughter in the camp of the Philistines' (v.^{24}).

Even if many usages which Israel practised in war, and which gave to war the appearance of an uninterrupted exercise of a religious function, date from the times of Polydemonism, and were originally evoked by regard to the 'demons' (see above, p. 621^{b}), there is manifestly no longer any consciousness of this in the period with which we are now dealing. Israel's wars are the 'wars of Jahweh' (Nu 21^{14}). The acts of consecration and the restraints to which warriors submit themselves have regard to Jahweh. Very instructive from this point of view is the very ancient narrative of 1 S $21^{4ff.}$. The priest is prepared to give the sacred bread (the so-called shewbread) to David only in case his pretended followers have kept themselves from women. David professes that it is so, and that his company set out with sacred 'vessels' (*i.e.*, probably, clothes and weapons). David thus puts aside the fear that he and his companions are wanting in the purity required *towards Jahweh.* It was to Him then expressly that the consecration of the warrior was due. Even in Deuteronomy ($23^{9\ (10)\ ff.}$) the prescriptions about maintaining cleanliness in the camp, which in all probability have a Polydemonist motive, are in v.$^{14.\ (15)}$ based simply on the ground that 'Jahweh thy God walketh in the midst of thy camp to deliver thee and to give up thine enemies before thee; therefore shall thy camp be holy.'

(*b*) Again, as regards the frequent mention of the execution of the 'ban' (cf. above, p. 619^{b} f.), we find all through this period no other supposition than that the devoting of human beings and of spoil is purely for the honour of Jahweh. So in Jos 6^{24} $7^{11ff.\ 23}$, and especially 1 S 15^{33} where Samuel in the sequel executed the 'ban' upon the Amalekite king Agag by hewing him to pieces 'before Jahweh' (as one devoted to Jahweh) in Gilgal.

(*c*) The circumstance that during this period the character of Jahweh as the war-God is so prominent a feature in the conception of God, explains why now, for the first time, we make acquaintance with a designation of Jahweh which, beyond doubt, is originally connected with this side of His character, namely *Jahweh Ẓĕbā'ôth* (צְבָאוֹת). That *Ẓĕbā'ôth* is the plural of *ẓābā*, 'host,' and thus signifies 'hosts' or 'armies,' is generally admitted. It is equally recognized that '*Jahweh Ẓĕbā'ôth*' is simply an abbreviation for the complete formula '*Jahweh 'Ĕlōhê Ẓĕbā'ôth*,' or, with the article, '*Jahweh 'Ĕlōhê haẓ-Ẓĕbā'ôth*,* *i.e.* '**Jahweh, the God of Hosts.**'† But now, what species of hosts is meant? Or, to be more accurate, let us ask, What was *originally* meant? For there is the strongest initial probability that this name of God assumed in the usage of the Prophets a more comprehensive sense than originally belonged to it. The controversy now turns upon the question whether the primary reference in the 'hosts' is to hosts of 'demons,'‡ or to the heavenly hosts (*i.e.* the angels),§ or, finally, to the earthly hosts of Israel.‖

(*α*) It is probable enough, in the light of what has been formerly said, that even in the post-Mosaic period an important rôle was more or less consciously attributed to the 'demons' in war as well as elsewhere. But that, after the adoption of Jahwism, Jahweh should have been treated simply as the leader of the 'demons,' and that the title 'Jahweh of Hosts' in this sense should have been employed even by the prophets without scruple, nay, even by preference, is inconceivable. For genuine Jahwism occupies a position of natural opposition to the faith in 'demons,' and hence we have nowhere any certain trace of such a *quasi*-official recognition of the latter as would be implied if the explanation we are examining were correct.

(*β*) On the other hand, a number of witnesses, some of them ancient, can be called in favour of the conception of an angelic host surrounding Jahweh. In this category we must not, indeed, include passages like 1 K 22^{19}. For 'the whole host of heaven' which the prophet Micaiah beheld on the right and the left of Jahweh is no more a war host than is 'the host of the height' in the very late passage Is 24^{21}. But in Gn $32^{3\ (2)}$ (E) the angels of God are probably thought of as belonging to a camp of war; the 'leader of Jahweh's host' in Jos $5^{13f.}$ can only mean the leader of a host of angels; and the horses and chariots of fire round about Elisha (2 K 6^{17}) are plainly driven by warrior angels.

(*γ*) All this, however, does not weaken the force of the circumstance that the plural *ẓĕbā'ôth*, in all the 26 passages where it occurs outside the Divine title, never stands for the host of heaven,¶ but always for the earthly battalions of Israel (Ex 7^{4} $12^{17.\ 41}$ etc., down to the late Ps $44^{10\ (9)}$ 'Thou goest not forth with our armies'); and it would surely be strange if *ẓĕbā'ôth* had a different meaning only in the collocation '*Jahweh Ẓĕbā'ôth.*'

---

* Cf., on the different collocations of the word in the Divine name (including its reproductions in the LXX), the exhaustive synopsis of Löhr in his *Untersuchungen zum Buch Amos* (Giessen, 1901), p. 37 ff.

† Such a shortening must be assumed even if the fuller formula, as Löhr holds, took its rise only a short time before the Exile (upon the analogy of 'Jahweh, the God of Israel').

‡ So already Wellhausen ('Skizzen und Vorarbeiten,' v. 77) and recently again Schwally ('Der heilige Krieg im alten Israel,' p. 5), only that the latter will have it that the special reference is to the 'demons' of war (the 'wild host which rages in war along with Jahweh').

§ So most, following the example of Ewald (*Die Lehre der Bibel von Gott*, ii. 339), who supposed the new name to have been once proclaimed by a great prophet upon the battlefield after a sudden victory had been gained. The same interpretation has been recently upheld afresh by Borchert in *SK*, 1896, p. 619 ff.

‖ So already J. G. Herder (in *Geist der hebräischen Poesie*) and others; then, after the view which refers the expression to the hosts of angels had long been the prevailing one, E. Schrader in *Jahrbücher für prot. Theologie*, 1875, p. 316 ff.; and, recently, esp. Kautzsch in art. 'Ẓebaoth' in *PRE* ^{2} xvii. p. 423 ff., and in *ZATW*, 1886, p. 17 ff.

¶ This, on the contrary, is everywhere represented by the singular *ẓābā*; even in Ps 103^{21} and 148^{2} the plural form is demonstrably due to error.

But why—as Delitzsch asked years ago [*]—is it that the Divine name *Jahweh Ẓĕbā’ôth* is not found in the very period when we should most naturally look for it, namely, at the time of the Exodus and of the conflicts with the Canaanites? Instead of this, the title first meets us in 1 S 1^3 as an appellation of the God who dwells in Shiloh! Now, it is quite true that the complete absence of the name in the Hexateuch and the Book of Judges would be very surprising. But Klostermann (*Geschichte Israels*, p. 76) has made it in the highest degree probable that the name *Jahweh Ẓĕbā’ôth* was, at least in the case of the Hexateuch, removed from the text by the hand of a late redactor (perhaps from the fear of its being misunderstood in the sense of the prohibited star-worship). Thus in Jos $3^{11.\,13}$, in place of the strange expression ‘the ark with the law of the Lord of the whole earth,’ surely there must have stood originally the usual formula ‘the ark of Jahweh of Hosts’; and in 6^{17} the LXX (*Κυρίῳ σαβαώθ*) expressly witnesses to the reading *Jahweh Ẓĕbā’ôth*.

Another objection to our interpretation is raised by Borchert, who argues that all the passages in which *ẓĕbā’ôth* means the hosts of Israel belong to the latest elements in the Canon (20 of them to the latest source of the Pentateuch), and, moreover, that they speak, not of military hosts but of multitudes of people in general. But the latter assertion (even apart from 1 K 2^5, where *ẓib’ôth* in the present Deuteronom. narrative belongs in all probability to an earlier source) is not to the point. For the latest source of the Pentateuch always thinks of the people as a military body, whether on the march or in camp, ranged in fixed order about the sanctuary (cf. especially Nu 2). And the circumstance that in the older linguistic usage the earthly army (like the heavenly, Jos 5^{14}) is designated *ẓābā* in the singular, does not prevent the conclusion that the plural likewise served originally as a designation of *earthly* hosts. This view finds a very strong support in 1 S 17^{45}. When David there says to the Philistine giant, ‘I come in the name of Jahweh of Hosts, the God of the armies of Israel,’ he plainly intends by the latter addition to give his heathen opponent an authentic interpretation of the name *Jahweh Ẓĕbā’ôth*, which, without this, must have remained unintelligible to him.

But, if we abide accordingly by the interpretation of the title as referring to the hosts of Israel who are to put their trust in battle in Jahweh (as in Jg 5^{23}, 2 S $5^{20.\,24}$) as their true leader and champion, an additional remark requires to be made. *Jahweh Ẓĕbā’ôth* is originally the war-God *as represented by the sacred Ark.*[†] That the ark itself was a warlike shrine was shown above (p. 628 f.). But now, when we find that, of the 11 passages in the Books of Samuel where the title *Jahweh Ẓĕbā’ôth* occurs, no fewer than 5 stand in a direct or indirect relation to the sacred Ark, this cannot be accidental. Cf. 1 S $1^{3.\,11}$ *Jahweh Ẓĕbā’ôth* at Shiloh, where the Ark was then located; 4^4 ‘the ark of *Jahweh Ẓĕbā’ôth*.’ But one of the strongest evidences may be found in 2 S 6^2. It is true that the *original* text of this passage has suffered corruption, as is shown by the different form in the parallel 1 Ch 13^6.[‡] But to strike out the *whole* sentence after *Ẓĕbā’ôth* is quite an unjustifiably violent procedure. Rather may we conclude that here in any case it was stated that ‘over the ark the name of Jahweh of Hosts was named,’ *i.e.* that the Ark stood in the closest relation to Jahweh as *the war-God*, being the representation and the pledge of His presence. And when, in 2 S 6^{18}, David blesses the people in the name of Jahweh of Hosts, this is the solemn termination of all the arrangements for the conveying of the sacred Ark to Zion, which had thus for their objective Jahweh of Hosts, the war-God. Again, in Ps 24^{10}, the designation of God as ‘Jahweh of Hosts’ (|| v.^{8}, where He is called a mighty one and a war-hero) is most simply explained by supposing that in this Psalm-fragment the subject is the return of the Ark to the temple from a campaign.

(*δ*) While convinced that the above is the true interpretation of *Jahweh Ẓĕbā’ôth* as an original appellation of the war-God represented by the sacred Ark, we do not mean to deny that another conception gradually established itself in the linguistic usage, to such an extent that in many passages the original conception appears to be quite forgotten. This is shown even by the statistics of the employment of the expression. Of the 278 passages in which *Jahweh Ẓĕbā’ôth* (so 234 times) or another combination with *Ẓĕbā’ôth* occur, there are 19 in the Historical books (11 in Samuel, 5 in Kings, but only in the mouth of prophets; 3 in Chronicles in parallels to Samuel); 15 in the Psalms (in the first book only Ps 24^{10}; 14 in the second and third books); while all the other instances are in the Prophetical books. Even if amongst the last named there are a few which *might* point to *Jahweh Ẓĕbā’ôth* as the war-God, such an interpretation is quite impossible in the vast majority of instances. On the contrary, the addition *Ẓĕbā’ôth* has plainly attached to it the notion of the *supramundane* power and glory of Jahweh. It is manifestly so in those passages in which this Divine name stands in parallelism with the notion of the ‘holiness,’ *i.e.* (in accordance with the Prophetic use of the term) the absolutely exalted being of Jahweh, as in Is $5^{16.\,24}$ 6^3. How this change of signification is to be understood is not possible to say with certainty. Only so much is clear, that, after the permanent establishment of the Ark in the mysterious darkness of the *adytum* of the temple, its former connexion with the war-God, *Jahweh Ẓĕbā’ôth*, must have vanished from the popular consciousness, and that in place of this the awe-inspiring majesty of this God must have come into the foreground. It remains, however, the most plausible supposition that now the hosts of angels and perhaps also (at least in later times) of stars came involuntarily to be substituted for the earthly hosts, so that, finally, the idea of Ruler of the Universe connected itself *per se* with the title *Jahweh Ẓĕbā’ôth*. In this way we could explain most simply the surprising circumstance that there is no instance of the occurrence of *Jahweh Ẓĕbā’ôth* in the Book of Ezekiel, although it is met with very frequently in Jeremiah and immediately after the Exile. Ezekiel may have purposely avoided it because it was capable of being misinterpreted as a justification of star-worship.

3. Another weighty question connected with the conception of the Deity is this: Are there to be discovered, even in the pre-Prophetic period, tendencies towards overcoming the initial crass conception of the bodily form of God, or, in other words, a disposition to free the Divine being from the realm of the visible and sensible, and thus to spiritualize it? Now, it is an undeniable fact that the clothing of Jahweh with a body is a practice that still extends into this period. This is proved by the Jahwistic passages Gn $3^{8\text{ff.}}$ and

---

[*] In Rudelbach's *Zeitschrift für die gesammte lutherische Theologie und Kirche*, 1874, p. 217 ff.

[†] This connexion was already suggested by Vuilleumier (art. ‘Le nom de Dieu Jahvéh-çebaoth’ in *Revue de Théol. et de Philos.*, April 1877, p. 302); it was established in detail by Kautzsch (*loc. cit.* above, p. 636^b note ||).

[‡] On the difficulties presented by the present text, and the numerous attempts that have been made to emend it, cf. Giesebrecht, *Die alttest. Schätzung des Gottesnamens* (Königsberg, 1901), p. 132 ff.

18$^{1ff.}$ * Nevertheless, the answer to the above question must be a decided affirmative, and there are even various methods of distinguishing between the transcendent, unapproachable, real being of Jahweh and the passing appearances which do not completely exhaust His being.

(*a*) To this category certainly belongs the *mal'akh Jahweh* or '**angel of Jahweh**' † in the original sense of that term. This sense could never have been mistaken if men had not obstinately persisted in demanding that this *theologumenon* should have the same sense throughout the whole of the Old Testament—a course to which they were driven on the ground of a mechanical doctrine of inspiration. Since, now, in certain late passages the 'angel of Jahweh' is undoubtedly, as a creature angel, clearly distinguished from Jahweh, it was thought that he could be also so distinguished in all the earlier passages.‡ In reality the 'angel of Jahweh' is originally a *form of appearance* of Jahweh Himself, 'a temporary descent of the latter to visibility,' distinguishable from Himself only in so far as it does not represent the full and complete majesty of His being. The circumstance, which has been felt to be very strange, that the expression 'angel of Jahweh' is not infrequently suddenly exchanged for the simple 'Jahweh,' is very simply explained. The designation 'angel of Jahweh' is necessary wherever he comes (particularly in conversation) into direct contact with men, whereas the simple 'Jahweh' is sufficient when God is to be thought of as if by Himself, separate from men or at least unseen by them. Although in some passages this condition of things is obscured by touches of the redactor's hand, there are others where it is readily recognizable.§ So in Jg 5^{23} 'Curse Meroz, said the angel of Jahweh [addressing Israel], because they came not to the help of [the invisibly present] Jahweh.' In like manner, in Gn 16$^{7ff.}$ the God who speaks to Hagar is always called *mal'akh Jahweh,* whereas, according to v.^{11}, Jahweh Himself has heard her affliction, this being a function for which He did not require a personal meeting with her. In any case, it is quite in the spirit of the narrator when in v.^{13} Hagar discovers in Him who has spoken with her Jahweh Himself. Again, in Gn 21$^{17ff.}$ (the Elohistic parallel to the Jahwistic narrative of ch. 16) it is *God* that hears the voice of the lad, but the *angel of God* that calls to Hagar out of heaven, etc. And if in v.^{19} it is *God* that opens her eyes, so that she sees the well of water, this required no *personal, mechanical* operation. On the contrary, it might be accomplished by an act of the Divine will working from afar, and this is plainly the meaning of the narrator. But it is to be observed how here in E a marked spiritualizing of the ancient *theologumenon* has already taken place. In J the angel of Jahweh evidently meets Hagar at the well personally and in human form; in E, on the other hand, he calls to her 'from heaven.' The thought of a human body pertaining to Jahweh is thus, if not exactly dropped, forced into the background. The same is true of Gn 22^{11} [where *mal'akh Jahweh,* occurring in what is otherwise an uninterrupted Elohistic narrative, can be only a variant for *mal'akh 'Ĕlōhîm,* due to a redactor, and occasioned perhaps by the redactory addition in v.^{15}, which also speaks of the angel of Jahweh]. In Gn 31^{11} (E) the angel of God calls to Jacob 'in a dream,' so that here too any allusion to direct personal intercourse is avoided. But the angel of Jahweh expressly identifies himself with the God of Bethel. In this instance, then, there is no possibility of denying a self-revelation of Jahweh in the form of the angel. In the story of Jacob's wrestling (32$^{25ff.}$) only a 'man' is spoken of; but the latter appears to be thought of also as *mal'akh Jahweh,* for he blesses Jacob, who declares (v.^{31}), 'God have I seen face to face, and yet have escaped with my life.'—We encounter the *mal'akh Jahweh* again in Ex 3^{2}. Here he *appears* to Moses as a flame of fire, and thus comes into the realm of the visible. Hence it must be due to a redactor that in v.^{4b}, the Elohistic addition to the Jahwistic v.^{4a} ('Jahweh saw'—analogous to Gn 21^{17} 'Jahweh heard'), it is God Himself and not the angel of God that calls to Moses from the bush. By the way, in the whole of the further transaction (v.$^{6ff.}$) there is not the slightest whisper of doubt that it is God Himself and not some messenger of God that speaks.

In precisely the same way as in Gn 16 and 21 may be explained the remarkable interchange of 'Jahweh' or 'God' and 'angel of Jahweh' in Nu 22$^{22-35}$. The latter opposes the progress of Balaam (vv.$^{22.24.26}$); he is seen by the ass (vv.$^{23.25.27}$), and at last by Balaam himself (v.^{31}); it is *he* that speaks to Balaam (vv.$^{32.35}$), and the latter replies to him (v.^{34}). On the other hand, 'Jahweh' gives the ass the faculty of speech (v.^{28}); He opens the eyes of Balaam (v.^{30}, cf. the precisely similar case in Gn 21^{19})—both examples of far-working effects of the power of Jahweh.

In Jg 6$^{11ff.}$, again, we have, according to v.^{14}, a personal manifestation of Jahweh. This is called *mal'akh Jahweh* everywhere except in vv.$^{14.16.23}$; but even in vv.$^{14.16}$ the LXX read *mal'akh Jahweh,* and no doubt this was the original reading, and not an intentional change introduced for the sake of harmony with the text elsewhere. Finally, in Jg 13$^{3ff.}$ the angel of Jahweh, whom the parents of Samson took at first for a man of God, is intended to be an appearance of Jahweh Himself, as is shown not only by v.^{18}, but quite expressly by v.$^{22f.}$. The last passage to which we may claim to appeal in this connexion is Hos 12$^{4f.}$ 'Jacob contended with God, he contended against a Divine manifestation (*mal'akh*),' etc. The prophet evidently avoids naming Jahweh Himself, but his meaning is clearly the same as is intended in the passage which underlies his reference (see above). Other witnesses to this sense of the expression *mal'akh Jahweh* are to be found in the statements, summary as they are, of Gn 48^{16} (E), Jg 2$^{1.4}$, 2 K 1$^{3.15}$, and in the mention of the angel of God (in E parallel with the pillar of cloud in J) in Ex 14^{19}. On Mal 3^{1} see below.

It is intelligible how, as the conception of God grew more profound, the above described pale manifestation, although only temporary and not exhausting the complete being of Jahweh, must have given offence to the religious sense. But this offence was not summarily removed by transforming the *mal'akh Jahweh* into a created angel; on the contrary, men still held fast to a representation of Jahweh, although with a stronger emphasis laid upon the distinction between this and Jahweh Himself. Under this head fall certain passages in which it is sometimes hard to say whether we are still to think of a *mal'akh Jahweh* in the form described above, or simply of a created angel. So in Ex $23^{20\mathrm{ff.}}$ 'Truly I will send my[*] angel before thee, to keep thee by the way, and to bring thee into the place which I have prepared. Take ye heed of him, and hearken unto his voice; be not rebellious against him, for he will not forgive your transgression; *for my name is in him.*' This last expression means nothing else than 'for he is a representation of my being' (see below, p. 640^{b} f.), and is not to be weakened, with Ewald and others, as if it meant only that the angel represents God as the ambassador does the king, and has power to speak in His name; on the contrary, he is himself essentially Divine. We shall presently see, however, that the 'name' of God is not *so* directly identical with God as could be said of the *mal'akh Jahweh.* In the same sense as we have just established for 23^{20} we are to understand also 32^{34} and 33^{2} [read again, with Luc., '*my* angel']. For in $33^{3.\,5}$ it is said of God Himself that He cannot go up in the midst of the Israelites, for He should have to destroy such a stiff-necked people. Perhaps we ought, finally, to include in this category the passages where David is compared to *the* angel of God (2 S $14^{17.\,20}$ 19^{28}; on the other hand, 1 S 29^{9} has 'like *an* angel of God'). The expression is too general to permit of a certain interpretation. But, seeing that the woman of Teḳoa would hardly have ventured to treat David's wisdom as equal to the wisdom of God Himself, it is not unlikely that we are here also to think of a representation of Jahweh which is not absolutely identical with Him. On the other hand, 'the angel of Jahweh' in 2 S 24^{16} is a creature angel, for Jahweh commands him to leave off his work of destruction. The case is similar in 1 K 19^{7} (cf. v.^{5}) and 2 K 19^{35} (Is 37^{36}). Finally, in Ps $34^{8\,(7)}$ $35^{5\mathrm{f.}}$ we have perhaps simply the idea of a guardian angel (appointed by God).

---

* In Gn 18$^{1ff.}$ there are now, indeed, as has been shown by Kraetzschmar (*ZATW*, 1897, p. 81 ff.), two recensions of the same narrative combined. According to the earlier of these, Jahweh Himself appears, accompanied by two angels; according to the later (the 'plural source') three angels are sent by Jahweh, who Himself abides in heaven (cf. esp. 19^{24}).

† The E source of the Pentateuch remains even here true to its principle of avoiding the name 'Jahweh,' and says (but in quite the same sense) *mal'akh 'Ĕlōhîm* (Gn 21^{17}) or *mal'akh hā-'Ĕlōhîm,* 'angel of God' (Gn 31^{11}, Ex 14^{19}).

‡ The monographs on the *mal'akh Jahweh* from this standpoint have, of course, now ceased to possess interest. The correct view is represented especially by Kosters (art. 'De mal'ach Jahve' in *Theol. Tijdschrift,* 1875, p. 367 ff.). Only, he goes too far in seeking to explain *all* appearances of angels (even in the plural, as Gn 28^{12} 32$^{2(1)}$) in pre-exilic passages as self-manifestations of God.

§ This frequent interchange of 'Jahweh' and '*mal'akh Jahweh*' shatters the (at first sight very plausible) theory that the motion of the '*angel* of Jahweh' is the necessary consequence of Jahweh *Himself* being supposed to have His dwelling-place at Sinai. Enthroned there, He might be supposed incapable of appearing elsewhere at the same time. But this is a false assumption. On the contrary, where the angel of Jahweh appears, there is Jahweh also active, but it is only His form of manifestation that is *visible* and *audible.*

The *theologumenon* of the 'angel of Jahweh' is wholly wanting in the pre-exilic prophets; and in Zec $1^{11\mathrm{ff.}}$ $3^{1.\,5\mathrm{ff.}}$, where it reappears after a long interval, there can be no doubt as to the creaturely character of this 'angel of Jahweh.' For he prays to Jahweh, and Jahweh answers him in comforting words. He delivers the Divine commission (1^{14}); he is met by 'another angel' ($2^{7\,(3)}$); and again in 3^{2} [where, in view of v.^{1}, read 'and the angel of Jahweh said'] he is once more expressly distinguished from Jahweh. In the considerably later passage, Zec 12^{8}, 'the angel of Jahweh' stands in parallelism with *'Ĕlōhîm*; but the latter term is here manifestly not simply the equivalent of *Jahweh,* but stands for 'a supramundane, Divine being'; so that even here 'the angel of Jahweh' is kept quite distinct from Jahweh Himself. One might rather be tempted to think of a self-revelation of Jahweh in the 'angel of the covenant' of Mal 3^{1}, seeing that he is named immediately after 'the Lord,' *i.e.* Jahweh. In reality, however, he is coupled with Jahweh only as His attendant and instrument, and thus at the same time distinguished from Him.

(*b*) Closely akin to the 'angel of Jahweh,' in its original sense, we have sometimes the '**face** (פָּנִים *pānîm*[†]) **of Jahweh,**' *i.e.* simply Jahweh Himself as personally present, although (like the *mal'akh Jahweh*) in a form of manifestation which does not exhaust His full being. Unfortunately, the principal passage which treats of this *theologumenon,* namely Ex 33, has not been preserved entire, and hence its interpretation is difficult. In the text (v.$^{3\mathrm{ff.}}$), which is a combination of various sources and strata of sources, God declares that He cannot [personally] go up in the midst of the people, else He should have to consume them. Israel is much disturbed at this announcement; but at God's command the people put off their ornaments, while He announces His intention of considering how He may provide a substitute for His personal presence. After v.^{6} there must have been (from the pen of E) an account of the constructing of the tent and the sacred Ark from the ornaments of the people, for the existence of the tent is all at once assumed in v.^{7}. The Ark, in fact, which represents Jahweh, is the substitute for His personal presence. When, now, in J's parallel (v.$^{12\mathrm{ff.}}$) God, in answer to Moses' question whom He means to send with the people, replies (v.^{14}), 'My face shall go [with you],' this cannot, in flat opposition to E, mean 'I in my own person.' That is to say, J, as well as E, must have had in view something secondary, some *partial* representation of the full being of Jahweh, whether he, too, thought of the sacred Ark, or the self-manifestation of God in the form of the *mal'akh Jahweh* was before his mind's eye. It is to Ex 33^{14}, beyond doubt, that allusion is made in Dt 4^{37} and Is 63^{9}. In the latter passage the present text speaks of 'the angel of his face (*pānîm*).' That would mean the angel in whom His *pānîm*, the manifestation of His presence, was found. But we should certainly read, with the LXX, 'No messenger or angel [read צִיר וּמַלְאָךְ], but his face, saved them.' Here, plainly, *pānîm*, as the proper manifestation of Jahweh, is opposed to messengers and angels, who are quite distinct from Him. Yet even the author of Is 63^{9} cannot have regarded the *pānîm* of Jahweh as absolutely identical with Him, else he would surely have said simply 'Jahweh, *he* saved them,' and not 'his face saved them.' In three other passages the *pānîm* of Jahweh denotes His appearing to execute judgment upon the foes of Israel (Ps $21^{10\,(9)}$), or upon Israel itself (Ps $80^{17\,(16)}$, La 4^{16} 'The angry glance of Jahweh hath scattered them').

(*c*) To the category of forms of Divine manifestation belongs, further, the '**glory** (כָּבוֹד *kābôd*) **of Jahweh.**'[*] It is true that no perfectly certain evidence can be adduced of the currency of this *theologumenon* as early as the pre-Prophetic period. For in the very ancient passage, 1 S 4^{22}, *kābôd* appears to be a designation of Jahweh who dwells in the sacred Ark, and hence belongs to quite a different category from the *kābôd* in all other pre-exilic passages. In the latter the *kābôd* is the manifestation-form in which Jahweh on solemn occasions shows Himself to Israel; it stands, above all, for the *brightness* which streams from the cloud surrounding Him. It may be that here, too, there was originally a connexion with the thought of the storm-God who appears in dark lightning-flashing clouds (so, probably, still in Ex 33^{18} and Dt $5^{21\,(23)}$), but the *kābôd* may exhibit itself apart from storms (so especially in 1 K 8^{11} ‖ 2 Ch 7^{1}, where the *kābôd* of Jahweh in the form of a [bright] cloud fills the newly built temple). On the other hand, in Is 6^{3} (and so also in Nu $14^{21f.}$, Hab 2^{14}, and often in the Psalms, *e.g.* $19^{2\,(1)}$ 72^{19}) *kābôd* appears to stand in a much wider sense for the manifestations of the Divine majesty and omnipotence which are displayed in all parts of the earth.

---

[*] The Massoretic text has '*an* angel' (as in Nu 20^{16}); but doubtless we should read, with the Samaritan text and Lucian's recension of the LXX, '*my* angel' (*mal'ākhi*). Cf. even the MT of v.^{23} 'For *mine* angel shall go before thee,' etc.; and Gn $24^{7.\,40}$, where we already read, 'He shall send *his* angel before thee.'

[†] A remarkable light is thrown upon this peculiar designation by the circumstance that in Carthaginian inscriptions the goddess Tanit very frequently receives the honorific title 'Face of Baal' (*pĕnê Ba'al*), *i.e.* personal (as it were, incarnate) representation of the Deity in general.

[*] A very thorough examination of the history of this notion will be found in von Gall's *Die Herrlichkeit Gottes: eine biblisch-theologische Untersuchung ausgedehnt über das Alte Testament, die Targume, Apokryphen, Apokalypsen und das Neue Testament*, Giessen, 1900.

Quite a different sense attaches to the *kābôd* of Jahweh in Ezekiel as well as in Is 40–66 and in the so-called Priests' Code. Here it is plainly the form itself in which Jahweh becomes visible, and not simply the temporarily assumed veiling of His real being. This *kābôd* shines like *ḥashmal* [*] (Ezk $1^{27f.}$); it rises from its place with a noise like that of a great earthquake (3^{12}), leaves the cherubim-chariot, and approaches the threshold of the temple, so that the temple is filled with the cloud [which veils the *kābôd*], and the fore-court with the brightness of the *kābôd* of Jahweh (9^{3} 10^{4}). Then, once more mounting the chariot ($10^{18f.}$, cf. also 3^{23} 8^{4}), it leaves the city and fixes its abode on the Mount of Olives during the period of judgment and desecration ($11^{22f.}$). Thence, when the day of deliverance dawns, it returns by the east door to the temple, and the latter as well as the whole land shines anew in its reflexion.

The same conception of the *kābôd* as a figure shooting out rays afar is found, although in a somewhat different form, in the Messianic glimpses of Is 40–66. According to 40^{5} it is to show itself as soon as the preparations for the return of the exiles are undertaken; here, in all probability, it is thought of as the guide at the head of the returning band. On the other hand, in $60^{1f.}$ the *kābôd* of Jahweh streams *over them* (thus apparently in heaven); in 59^{19} (‖ the 'name of Jahweh,' see below), again, and in $66^{18f.}$ *kābôd* may stand, as in Is 6^{3} etc., for the glorifying of the majesty and omnipotence of Jahweh, which is visible to the whole world.

The conception of the *kābôd* of Jahweh present in Ezk 1–11 and in ch. 43 recurs quite clearly in the Priests' Code, naturally without the connected notion of the cherubim-chariot. It is enthroned upon Sinai, enveloped in the cloud; but to the eyes of Israel it presents itself as devouring fire (Ex $24^{16f.}$; cf. also Lv $9^{23f.}$, Nu 14^{10} 16^{19} $20^{6.\,8}$). In Ex $40^{34f.}$ and Nu 17^{7} [16^{42}] the cloud appears, as it were, as the herald and signal of the *kābôd* of Jahweh which appears immediately after it, and fills the Tent of Meeting. Cf. also the discussion of the 'Glory of Jahweh' in vol. ii. p. 184 ff.

All the *theologumena* we have just described are attempts to bridge the gulf between the real being of Jahweh, which eludes human sight and comprehension, and the realm of the visible, which is alone accessible and intelligible to man. One perceives the inadequacy of all comparisons, and yet these cannot be dispensed with so long as the human mind cannot conceive of *personal* action and influence proceeding except from a bodily form (this bodily form, moreover, being always primarily human). Hence it marks a considerable advance on the old notion of the *mal'akh Jahweh* when in the *theologumena* of the *pānîm* and the *kābôd* of Jahweh the thought of a human form is kept as much as possible in the background. Even if Ezekiel ($1^{26f.}$) still ventures—in a supplementary sort of fashion—on a comparison of the *kābôd* of Jahweh with the human form ('a likeness as the appearance of a man,' v.^{26}; 'from that which appeared as his loins,' v.^{27}), in Deutero-Isaiah and the Priests' Code there is no allusion whatever to the form of a man. The only images that are considered worthy to represent the supramundane and mysterious being of God are fire (which is, as it were, the least material element) and the more than earthly brightness which proceeds from it, and which is rendered tolerable to the human eye only by an enveloping cloud.

(*d*) We have still, however, in this connexion, to speak of a *theologumenon*, which likewise aims at distinguishing between the immanent Jahweh and His manifestations and acts, avoiding at the same time all introduction of a bodily form. We refer to the remarkable expressions regarding the **'name of Jahweh.'** [*] The modern mind finds it hard to realize the profound meaning which a person's name possessed in the eyes of men, including the Israelites, in ancient times. Giesebrecht (*l.c.* p. 94) rightly defines a name as meaning, according to the ancient conception, 'a something parallel to the man, relatively independent of its bearer, but of great importance for his weal or his woe, a something which at once describes and influences its bearer.' He supports this definition (*ib.* p. 68 ff.) by very numerous and striking testimonies, derived from the conceptions of other peoples and religions. But what is true of a human name is true also, *mutatis mutandis*, of the Divine name. To know it is of vital importance, for this is the condition of being able to use it in invocation; and invocation has, according to primitive notions, a real efficacy, giving to the invoking party a kind of power over the name invoked, so that he can compel its aid. This explains why, in heathen cults, the name of a particular god was studiously kept secret, lest it might be abused through being invoked by an improper party.[†]

Now it is self-evident that in the OT, in the numerous passages, particularly in the Prophets and the Psalms, where the 'name of Jahweh' is introduced in various connexions, such crass and superstitious notions as underlie heathen magical formulas are entirely absent. The conception of God found in the Prophets (including Deuteronomy, as the specifically Prophetical law-book) and the Psalms permits of no other view than that all those manifold expressions are used from a thoroughly purified religious and ethical standpoint. But, on the other hand, Giesebrecht is certainly right in declaring the (almost universally) current explanation of these expressions to be inadequate, and, in attributing to the 'name of Jahweh,' in at least a great number of instances, a far deeper meaning. Most are content to explain the 'name' as the expression of the character, the connotation of the Divine attributes, in so far as these have become known to the Israelites, or have manifested themselves for their protection or deliverance. In point of fact, a number of frequently employed expressions are more or less satisfactorily explained in this way (*e.g.* when we read of proclaiming, praising, celebrating, glorying in, the name of God); there are even others where the name appears to be intended only in the sense familiar to *us*—as a combination of particular sounds (so in all connexions where a pronouncing of the Divine name is spoken of, such as calling upon, profaning, blaspheming the name, or putting it [in blessing] upon any one, Nu 6^{27}, Ps 129^{8}). But there remains a very large number of passages in which these two methods of interpretation, so far from being satisfactory, yield no sense at all—passages in which the name, in short, appears to be identical with the person of God. This applies where such expressions as 'fear,' 'love,' 'honour,' 'confess,' 'trust in,' 'wait for,' are prefixed to the name of God. That a manifestation-form of Jahweh as *present to help* is here thought of, is evident from such instances as Ps $20^{2\,(1)}$ ('the name of the God of Jacob defend thee!') $44^{6\,(5)}$ ('through thy name we tread down our foes,' cf. $118^{10\text{-}12}$) $54^{3\,(1)}$ ('help me, O God, through thy name,' cf. 124^{8}), Pr 18^{10} ('a strong tower is the name of Jahweh').*

---

[*] According to the LXX and the Vulgate, this word (חַשְׁמַל) stands for *electron*, that is, an amalgam of gold and silver.

[*] Cf. Giesebrecht's monograph, *Die alttest. Schätzung des Gottesnamens und ihre religionsgeschichtliche Grundlage* (Königsberg, 1901), which is at once thorough-going, and opens up a number of new points of view.

[†] A trace of this notion may be discovered with certainty in Gn 32^{30} and Jg 13^{18}. In both passages the manifestation of Jahweh (for such is originally meant) declines to give its name, thus escaping, as it were, any further annoyance. It may be, again, that in the Decalogue the commandment not to take Jahweh's name 'in vain' meant originally that men were not to compel action on the part of the sacred name by invoking it. So, too, Am 6^{10} is best explained, with Giesebrecht (p. 128), as expressing a dread of provoking the fiercely enraged Deity still further by uttering His name (cf. also 8^{3}). Consideration is due, finally, to the remark of Giesebrecht (*Friede für Babel und Bibel*, Königsberg, 1903, p. 41), that the abstract notion *'ēl*, 'deity,' is employed so frequently in personal names because, like the terms expressing relationship, this served as a protection to the Divine name, which might not be uttered. Cf. the numerous examples of such name-taboos collected from all quarters by Giesebrecht, *l.c.* p. 38, note 1; see also Frazer, *Golden Bough*^{2}, i. 403 ff.

With the magical and at the same time irresistible efficacy of the solemnly invoked Divine name is plainly connected the firm belief in the terrible power of the *curse*. Thus Abimelech succumbs to the curse of Jotham (Jg $9^{20.\,57b}$); Micah escapes the effects of his mother's curse by prompt restitution of the money he had stolen from her; and his mother at once removes the curse by pronouncing a formula of blessing, in which the name of Jahweh is invoked (Jg $17^{1ff.}$); the curse of Elisha 'in the name of Jahweh' brings summary destruction upon forty-two children (2 K 2^{24}).

If in the above passages the 'name' is really a personified 'power placed *side by side with* the proper person of Jahweh' (Giesebrecht, *l.c.* p. 66), this throws a clear light not only upon the above (p. 639^{a}) cited passage Ex 23^{21} ('My name is in him'), but also upon the expressions just noticed, such as 'call upon, praise, thank, the name of Jahweh.' They refer not to the name 'Jahweh' as the pronunciation of certain sounds, but to the 'power' which has become hypostatized in it; otherwise, passages like Ps $54^{8\,(6)\,\text{f.}}$ ('I will declare to the praise of thy name, Jahweh, that it is good, that it hath delivered me out of all trouble') would be quite unintelligible.

All the more intelligible, on the other hand, become the very numerous passages which speak of a localizing of the name at particular sanctuaries, notably at the temple in Jerusalem. Favourite forms of expression with Deuteronomy and with the Deuteronomic redactors of the Historical books are, that Jahweh 'causes' His name 'to dwell' in the temple, or 'sets' it in the place chosen by Him, or that 'a house is built for his name,' so that now He is to dwell for ever at Jerusalem (2 K 23^{27}, 2 Ch 33^{4}). It might be supposed that this application of the 'name of Jahweh' took its rise in the age of Deuteronomy, perhaps because the purified Prophetical conception of God urgently demanded such a distinction between the unapproachable, immanent Jahweh and His earthly forms of manifestation. But that this was not so is shown by Ex 20^{24}, which stands at the very head of the Book of the Covenant: 'In every spot [more exactly, 'at every place of worship'] where I will cause my name to be remembered [*i.e.* simply, 'where I will cause my "name" to be honoured as a manifestation of my being localized there'], will I come to thee and bless thee.' We are thus entitled not only to regard the *theologumenon* of the 'name of Jahweh' as one of the most significant attempts at distinguishing between the real essential being of Jahweh and His more or less perfect manifestation-forms—analogous to the angel, the face, and the glory, of Jahweh—but to carry it back even to the pre-Prophetic period of the religion of Israel. Nay, in this very period the belief in a *magical* efficacy of the name must have played a more important rôle than later, when men, while laying emphasis upon the 'name' in expressions that had become quite current, had no longer any clear consciousness of its once deeper signification.

4. All the above-described attempts to distinguish between the real being of Jahweh and His forms of manifestation * did not prevent men from seeking, even during this period, to realize a concrete presence of the God of Israel by having recourse to **images of Jahweh.** A proof of this lies in the circumstance that presenting oneself at the sanctuary is spoken of as 'beholding the face of Jahweh.' † Although this expression may have come afterwards to be employed in quite a weakened sense (as, for instance, in Is 1^{12}), it certainly referred *originally* (like the extremely frequent 'before Jahweh') to looking upon the image of the Deity. Exactly in the same way the expression 'stroke the face of Jahweh *or* of God,' which had at first a literal sense, was afterwards weakened to the general meaning of 'propitiate God *or* beg His favour.' As images of God we must reckon not only the very ancient *peṣel* (פֶּסֶל) or carved image and the bull-figures (prohibited in Judah), but also the *'ēphôd* and the *tĕrāphîm.*

(*a*) The *peṣel* was a Divine figure, originally carved from wood or hewn in stone, for the most part probably in the form of a man, or at least with a human head. At first distinguished from the molten image (מַסֵּכָה *maṣṣēkhāh*), the word comes at last to be used also of the latter (Is 40^{19} 44^{10}, etc.). Of course, for our present purpose, we leave out of account all those passages in which *peṣel* [*pĕṣîlîm*, with the same meaning, serves as plural] stands for the image of a heathen god (Nah 1^{14} *et al.*). There are many passages, however, in which *peṣel* means an image of Jahweh; and such a carved image appears to have been for long regarded as unobjectionable, whereas the molten image (probably with allusion to Israel's bull worship) is already prohibited in the Jahwistic section of which Ex 34^{17} forms a part. Even if the prohibition of the *peṣel* in the Decalogue (Ex $20^{4\text{f.}}$, Dt 5^{8}) extends to images of Jahweh, this would be simply a proof that the Decalogue (or at least the prohibition of images) originated later than J—a conclusion which is favoured by the circumstance that there were also other species (see below) of images of Jahweh which, till far into the monarchical period, continued to be reverenced without opposition, or at least to be employed as a means of obtaining Divine oracles. No doubt, it is an image of Jahweh that we are to understand by the *peṣel* ‡ of Micah (Jg $17^{3\text{f.}}$), seeing that it was procured with a sum of money that had been dedicated to Jahweh. The original narrative is not intended to convey any censure of Micah's action, but simply to give an account of the origin of the cult of the Jahweh-image at Dan (cf. $18^{30\text{f.}}$).

(*b*) The *'ēphôd* (אֵפוֹד) appears exclusively as an image of Jahweh, and more than once is clearly connected with the obtaining of oracles. The word means primarily 'something *thrown over*' (as applied to a garment it answers to the German *Überwurf* or *Überzug*); coupled with *bad*, 'linen,' it stands for the 'waistcoat' (see vol. i. p. 725^{a}) worn by the priests or by people in general on ritual occasions (1 S 2^{18} worn by the youthful Samuel, 2 S 6^{14} by David before the sacred Ark). In the Priests' Code, finally, the *'ēphôd* (without *bad*) is the ornamental 'waistcoat' of the high priest, in which is the pocket with the sacred lots, the Urim and Thummim (Ex 25^{7}, and esp. $28^{4ff.}$). The attempt made, on the ground of these passages, to explain *'ēphôd* in every instance as = 'waistcoat' or the like, and thus to get over the mention of an image of God, is shattered by a number of ancient passages, about whose true meaning no doubt can arise. When Gideon, according to Jg $8^{26f.}$, expended 1700 shekels of gold on the making of an *'ēphôd*, and 'set' [it is the same word, הִצִּיג, that is used elsewhere of the erecting of *maẓẓēbôth* or monuments] it in Ophrah, it cannot be a 'waistcoat' that is in view; on the contrary, the writer means to record to the credit of Gideon how, out of the spoil, he had an image of Jahweh constructed. The redactor of the Book of Judges, it is true, views his conduct differently (v.^{27b}): 'All Israel went a whoring after it,' *i.e.* practised idolatry with it. But this very expression clearly indicates that the redactor, too, thinks of the *'ēphôd* as a Divine image, only that to him such an image is absolutely forbidden, under any circumstances, by the principles of the Deuteronomic legislation. Again, in Jg 17^{5} the *'ēphôd*, being parallel to the *peṣel* of the other recension of the narrative (see above, p. 641^{b}, note ‡), is nothing other than an image of Jahweh. The same holds good of 1 S $21^{10\,(9)}$, where everything becomes clear if we think of the sword of Goliath, wrapped in a garment 'behind the ephod,' as hanging upon the wall behind the image of Jahweh standing on a pedestal in the apse of the sanctuary. In like manner the *'ēphôd* of 1 S 2^{28} $14^{3.\,18}$ [here correcting the text by the LXX] $23^{6.\,9}$ 30^{7} is the *portable* image of Jahweh, which the priest brings forward at the command of Saul or of David, because it was required for the obtaining of an oracle from Jahweh. It is nowhere indicated that the *'ēphôd* itself contained any mechanism for casting lots. On the contrary, the lots would appear simply to have been cast in presence of the image, and thus as it were before the face of Jahweh, and the result was accordingly regarded as having His sanction. That such an employment of the image of Jahweh was still viewed as quite unobjectionable, is shown by Hos 3^{4}, where the prophet simply means that Israel (in exile) will have to dispense with all the requisites for a normal political and religious life, including *'ēphôd* and *tĕrāphîm.*

---

* The most striking instance of this usage would be found in Is 30^{27} ('The name of Jahweh cometh from afar, glowing is his anger,' etc.), if the text has come down to us correct.

* Among these may also be included in a certain sense the 'spirit of Jahweh *or* of God'; on which see below, pp. 653, 656^{b} f.

† It is simply a correction made in dogmatic interests (in view of Ex 33^{30}), when already in the LXX, and consequently in the MT, by means of a pointing which is linguistically hardly conceivable, the beholding of the face of God is transformed into an 'appearing before the face of God.' In Ex 34^{23} and Dt 16^{16} (and hence also Ex 23^{17}, where the Samaritan text still offers correctly the accusative sign אֶת־ instead of אֶל־) read יִרְאֶה ('let him behold') for יֵרָאֶה ('let him appear'); and in Ex 34^{24}, Dt 31^{11}, Is 1^{12} read לִרְאוֹת ('to behold') for לֵרָאוֹת ('to appear'). Even in Ex 23^{15} 34^{20}, where the passive יֵרָאוּ (in the sense of 'my face shall not be seen') might be possible, we should probably read the active יִרְאוּ ('they shall behold').

‡ The 'molten image' named along with the *peṣel* is, in all probability, a mistaken addition, and so is the *tĕrāphîm* coupled with the *'ēphôd* in v.^{5} (in the other recension of the narrative). In $18^{30\text{f.}}$ only *a peṣel* is spoken of.

Now, it may naturally be asked how the Divine image and the priestly 'waistcoat' could be designated by one and the same name.* The view that *'ēphôd* stands properly for the gold or silver overlaying or casing of an image of wood, clay, or even brass, can appeal for support to Is 30^{22}, where the certainly equivalent feminine form *'ăphuddāh* stands parallel with *ẓippûi*, the metal casing of carved images. Yet it is a question whether *'ēphôd* did not primarily denote simply the garment used to clothe the Divine image (cf. Jer 10^{9}, Ezk 16^{18}). From this, as the most precious part and that which most struck the eye, the whole image might soon come to take its name. If we might assume that this ephod already had attached to it a pocket with the sacred lots, this would explain very simply how in the Priests' Code (Ex $28^{6ff.}$) the objectionable *'ēphôd* could be wholly ignored as an image of the Deity, but retained without prejudice in the form of a garment with the oracle-pocket.*

(*c*) Not only the *'ēphôd* but also the *tĕrāphîm* (תְּרָפִים) should doubtless be understood as images of the Deity—for the most part (see below), images of Jahweh. With the exception of 2 K 23^{24} and Zec 10^{2}, the word *tĕrāphîm*, in spite of the plural form, should probably be everywhere (quite certainly so in 1 S $19^{13.\,16}$) taken as the designation of only *one* image; that is to say, it is an example of the so-called *pluralis majestatis*, as happens frequently with such words as *'ădōnîm*, *bĕ'ālîm*, and usually *'ĕlōhîm*. The etymology is still quite obscure. The connexion with the *rĕphā'îm*, or shades, favoured by many, is extremely improbable. All that is clear is that the *tĕrāphîm* is related to the *'ēphôd* in the same way as the image of a household god is to the more official image set up in a 'god's house' and attended to by a priest. That the *tĕrāphîm* is not necessarily an image of Jahweh is proved by the case of the *tĕrāphîm* stolen by Rachel from Laban (Gn $31^{19.\,34f.}$), which the latter calls 'my god' (vv.$^{30.\,32}$); and by Ezk $21^{26\,(21)}$, where the king of Babylon consults the *tĕrāphîm* at the crossing of the roads. In all other passages it is quite *possible* to understand *tĕrāphîm* to mean an image of Jahweh. So [probably, indeed, by a later and mistaken expansion], along with the *'ēphôd*, in Jg 17^{5} $18^{14.\,17f.\,20}$, 1 S $19^{13.\,16}$ (which passages speak plainly in favour of a human-like form), and Hos 3^{4} (again coupled with the *'ēphôd*; see above). The circumstance that in 1 S 15^{23}, 2 K 23^{24}, and Zec 10^{2} (where the *tĕrāphîm* appear just as in Ezk 21^{26}, as giving oracles) the possession and use of a *tĕrāphîm* is branded as a species of idolatry, proves nothing against its character as an image of Jahweh. From the Prophetic point of view, which is that represented in all the above passages, there is little difference between *images* of Jahweh and images of actual *idols*. The hypothesis that the *tĕrāphîm* represented a survival of images of ancestors or stood for former tribal and family gods, would indeed suit well their character as household gods, but lacks all probability. Apart from the fact that no certain evidence can be adduced in favour of the prevalence of Ancestor Worship in Israel (see above, p. 614 ff.), it is hard to suppose that in the house of so zealous a Jahweh-worshipper as David there should have been found any image but one of Jahweh. Of the existence of the latter kind of image we have proof, above all, in Ex 21^{6}. There we read that the slave who has no desire to go free in the seventh year is to be pinned by the ear to the doorpost before [the image of] God, which is evidently assumed as set up by the entrance. In view of the whole spirit and standpoint of the Book of the Covenant, this can refer only to an image of Jahweh as the witness of this symbolical transaction.† In like manner 'God' in $22^{7\,(8)}$

---

* Th. U. Foote, in what is in itself a very thorough and ingenious monograph, *The Ephod: its Form and Use* (Baltimore, 1902), denies that there is any distinction between *'ēphôd* and *'ēphôd bad*. The latter expression, since בַּד in the sense of 'linen' is unproved, he explains as = ''ēphôd partis [virilis],' and the *'ēphôd* itself as the container of the sacred lots, a kind of pocket which may have been developed from the primitive loin-cloth. Foote arrives at this result (although he himself recognizes *images* in the *tĕrāphîm* so often associated with the *'ēphôd*) by a quite artificial and untenable exegesis of Jg 8^{27}, 1 S 21^{10}, and other passages. Moreover, if the *'ēphôd* was nothing but a pocket for the sacred lots, whence its sharp condemnation in Jg 8^{27b}, and the bold alteration of the text in 1 S 14^{18}, where, in place of the objectionable *'ēphôd* [so still the LXX], the Ark—wholly impossible here—is inserted in the MT? The *only* explanation of this is that even at a very late date the true meaning of the *'ēphôd* in those passages was still well known, and on that account gave offence.

* Mention should be made here of the suggestion of Schwally (*Semit. Kriegsaltertümer*, i. 15) that the priest, when giving oracles, himself put on the *'ēphôd*, the clothing of the idol, that the knowledge of the god might thus be transmitted to him.

† That *'ĕlōhîm* in this passage cannot be understood, according to the usual interpretation, as meaning 'judges' (as representatives of God), is proved by Dt 15^{17}, where, in the otherwise

might also be understood of a *tĕrāphîm*; but there, as well as in v.$^{8\,(9)}$, the reference is more likely to a Divine image in a public sanctuary.

From the above we conclude, then, that the *'ēphôd* and (at least from the monarchical period) the *tĕrāphîm* as well were images of Jahweh, which as such were regarded as quite unobjectionable in the pre-Prophetic period, nay, even as late as Hosea (3^4), until at last they were involved in the same condemnation as images of idols proper (cf. below, p. 679^b ff.).

(*d*) Finally, the *golden bulls* set up by Jeroboam at Bethel and Dan were intended as images of Jahweh, and not as heathen images. It might appear otherwise from the language of the Chronicler (2 Ch 13^8 *et al.*), but the truth was still quite evident to the Deuteronomic redactor of the Books of Kings (cf. 1 K 12$^{28f.}$). In like manner the narrative of Ex 32$^{1ff.}$, which belongs to the older sources of the Pentateuch, is quite aware that Aaron meant to represent Jahweh by the golden calf which had brought Israel out of Egypt, for he makes him in v.^{5} proclaim a feast to Jahweh. But even here the giving of this form to Jahweh is looked upon as a grievous offence on the part of Aaron; and the Deuteronomist is never weary in the Books of Kings of denouncing this cult as 'the sin of Jeroboam,' and of discovering in it one of the principal causes of the downfall of the Northern kingdom (cf. especially 2 K 17$^{21ff.}$).

The question whether in the pre-Prophetic period all those different kinds of images were actually identified with Jahweh, and were thus venerated as *fetishes*, cannot be answered right off by a Yes or a No. The plurality of images (so in particular also the *two* official bull-figures at Bethel and Dan) would naturally lead of itself to a distinguishing between Jahweh enthroned in heaven or upon Sinai and His numerous pictorial representations. But only too frequently, at least amongst the lower orders, there would be a tendency to fall into the error of confounding the Deity with His image, just as in the Roman Catholic Church distinctions are made by the people between different images of the Mother of God in regard to their miraculous virtues, although all these images are meant to represent one and the same person. The reproach so frequently addressed by the pre-exilic Prophets to their contemporaries, that they 'bowed down to the work of their hands,' must have been no less applicable in the pre-Prophetic period. Half unconsciously men changed, like the heathen (Ro 1^{23}), the glory of the immortal God into the image of perishable men and beasts.

5. Before closing our discussion of the conception of God, it may be fitting here to touch briefly upon the few passages that speak of *angels* as intermediate beings betwixt God and man, and of certain *half-mythological figures* which had already taken their place in Jahwism in the pre-Prophetic period.*

(*a*) The belief in supramundane and at the same time almost independent powers shows itself in the most surprising fashion in Gn 6$^{1-4}$, a passage with a strong mythological colouring, which belongs to the older stratum of J. The *bĕnê 'ĕlōhîm* [lit. 'sons of the gods,' but really a designation of those who belong to the category of *'ĕlōhîm* or *numina* (just as *bĕnê nĕbî'îm* does not mean 'sons of the prophets,' but members of the guild of *nĕbî'îm*)] appear here, if not as full-blooded popular gods in the sense of polytheism, yet as standing outside the realm of Jahwism as a kind of demigods. In all probability the original text meant simply to record that from their union with the daughters of men there sprang up on earth a hybrid race similar to the Titans and giants of Greek mythology. But it must be added that Gn 6$^{1ff.}$ is the only passage of this kind. The *bĕnê 'ĕlōhîm* are mentioned elsewhere only in Job 1^6 2^1 38^7, where they are simply angelic beings in the service and train of God.

A more frequent designation of these intermediate beings is *mal'ākh*, 'messenger,' 'angel.' Of course we here leave out of account the above (p. 638 f.) described *theologumenon* of the 'angel of Jahweh *or* of God.' To the category of creature angels serving or surrounding Jahweh may have belonged, according to the pre-Prophetic popular belief, the 'men' who accompany Jahweh on His visit to Abraham [in Gn 19$^{1.\,15}$, after parting from Jahweh, they are first called 'angels'] and are entertained by the latter.* So also the guardian-angel sent by Jahweh in Gn 24$^{7.\,40}$, Nu 20^{16} (although in these passages the idea of the *mal'akh Jahweh* is not remote), and 1 K 19^5; further, the angels of Gn 28^{12} (E) whom Jacob in a dream sees ascending and descending a ladder (namely, in order to facilitate communication between heaven and earth at Bethel, a principal centre of revelation [the mention of the ladder in this passage shows that angels are still thought of as unwinged]); and the troop of angels of God (Gn 32$^{3\,(2)}$ [E]) whose appearance led Jacob to give the city of *Maḥanaim* ('camp') its name. In the very doubtful text, Dt 33^2, the 'holy myriads' may probably refer originally to the attendants of God at theophanies. In addition to these few passages from the Pentateuch there are in the older strata of the Historical books: Jos 5^{13} (J ?), where the leader of the [heavenly] army of Jahweh meets Joshua; and 2 K 6^{17}, where the fiery horses and chariots are to be thought of as driven by angels. The 'destroying angel' of 2 S 24^{16}, who at the command of Jahweh smites the people with pestilence, is evidently thought of, not as a professional 'executioner angel,' but as one appointed by God to carry out His judgment in this particular instance. In 1 K 22^{19}, again, in the vision of the prophet Micaiah the whole host of heaven on the right and the left of Jahweh represents a celestial deliberative assembly. Quite a peculiar position is occupied here by 'the spirit,' who, in the light of the whole context, can be only the personified spirit of prophecy. Nothing is said in any of these passages about the moral quality of the angels, for even in Dt 33^2 [if the text be correct] 'holiness' refers not to their moral perfection, but only to their exaltation above this world and their belonging to God. So also the comparison of David to an angel of God (1 S 29^9) has in view only the trust and reverence due to angels.—Our whole survey shows, however, that in early Israel statements about angels play only a subordinate part, and belong rather to the popular beliefs than to Jahwism proper. It is to be noted, moreover, that the most characteristic expressions are connected either with a dream (Gn 28^{12}) or a vision (1 K 22^{19}, 2 K 6^{17} may also be included in this category).

(*b*) To the realm of angels belong, beyond doubt, the *sĕrāphîm* (שְׂרָפִים). Although mentioned only in

---

almost identical text, the reference to *'ĕlōhîm* is omitted. The Deuteronomist, in fact, quite correctly understood the reference to be to an image of Jahweh, and suppressed it on that account. Again, in Ex 22$^{8.\,27\,(9.\,28)}$ and 1 S 2^{25} *'ĕlōhîm* has no other sense than that of 'Deity.'

* Cf. Kosters, art. 'Het onstaan en de entwikkeling der angelologie onder Israel' in *Theol. Tijdschr.* 1876, pp. 34 ff., 113 ff.; A. Aeberhard, art. 'Gottes Umgebung nach den vorexilischen Schriften' in *Schweizer Theol. Zeitschrift*, 1902, p. 193 ff.

* According to the oldest form of this narrative, as comes out plainly in 18$^{1.\,3.\,10\text{-}15}$, Jahweh alone appears to Abraham. Offence is naturally taken at this by a later recension, which is now skilfully interwoven with the earlier one, and which introduces three men or angels in place of Jahweh.

the vision of Isaiah (6^2), they appear there as well-known beings, so that the belief in them may certainly be assumed for the pre-Prophetic period. Furnished with six wings, they offer around God's throne antiphonal praise in the Trisagion; one of them purges the lips of the prophet, and announces to him the forgiveness of his sins. They are thus, in fact, intelligent beings, angels. Of the numerous explanations of the name, the only one that can be taken in earnest is that which traces it back to the singular *sārāph*. This word means properly 'serpent' (Nu 21^8, Dt 8^{15}), and the seraphim must accordingly have been originally serpent-formed creatures — embodiments, indeed, of the serpent-like lightning-flashes that play around Jahweh. But, in the case of the seraphim of Isaiah, the six wings may be regarded as all that has survived of this somewhat mythological form. Moreover (probably long before the time of Isaiah), they have assumed human form, as is evident not only from the song of praise (v.^{3}), which would be inconceivable in a serpent's mouth, but from the hand (v.^{6}) and the speech of the *sārāph* (v.^{7}). It may be noted, finally, that here again in Is 6 it is a vision that is recorded.

(*c*) Even more clearly than the seraphim, the *cherubim* (*kĕrûbîm*, כְּרֻבִים or כְּרוּבִים, sing. *kĕrûb*) belong originally to the realm of mythology.[*] The etymology of the word is still disputed. According to some, *kĕrûb* is from the same root (Sanskrit *gribh*, 'grip') as the Greek γρύψ, 'griffin'; according to others, it is due to a transposition of the consonants of *rĕkûb*, 'chariot' (cf. Ps 104^3), from the root *rākab*, 'ride' or 'drive' (see below). The most probable derivation would be from the Assyr. *kurūbu* (plur. *kurūbi*), 'great,' 'strong,' if it could be proved with certainty that the winged bull-colossi with human heads, found at the entrance of Assyrian palaces, bore the name *kurūbi*.

All the various references to the cherubim have this in common, that they always imply the nearness of God, or at least indicate a sacred spot. But there are evidently two quite distinct underlying conceptions, which were only at a late period combined into one [hence even the name *kĕrûb* might have a double etymology]. According to Ps 18^{11} (cf. also Is 19^1) the cherub is a pale form of the wind-driven storm-cloud which serves Jahweh as His chariot [or which, originally, He rides as a horse?].[†] The other sense of the word *kĕrûb* is that of a guardian of sacred spots. To this category belong the cherubim of Gn 3^{24}, who, after the expulsion of our first parents, guard the entrance to the Garden of Eden [*i.e.* according to the original intention of the narrative, the dwelling-place of God]; and also the huge cherub forms, carved in olive wood, which Solomon set up in the temple to the right and the left of the sacred Ark, in such a way that with their outstretched wings they filled the whole space (1 K $6^{23ff.}$ $8^{6f.}$). So also the carved figures of cherubim on the walls and doors (1 K $6^{29.\,32.\,35}$) and vessels ($7^{29.\,36}$) of the temple indicate the near presence of God. Hence they appear also in the visionary temple of Ezekiel (Ezk $41^{18ff.}$), as well as in the sanctuary which the Priests' Code assumes for the period of the wilderness wanderings. In the latter they present themselves, partly as worked on the curtains and the veil (Ex $26^{1.\,31}$), partly as two golden figures, with their faces turned towards each other, placed on the lid of the sacred Ark ($25^{18ff.}$; cf. preced. col., note †).

It is hard to say what *form* we ought to attribute to the cherubim with which we are dealing. In Ex 25^{20} they have only *one* face each, whereas in Ezk $41^{18ff.}$ each has a man's and also a lion's face. Still more complicated is the description of them in the first vision of Ezekiel ($1^{5ff.}$). Here each of the four cherubim has four faces (a man's, a lion's, an ox's, and an eagle's) and four wings, besides human hands. Besides this, they are, according to 10^{12}, quite covered with eyes, symbols of the Divine omniscience. That they are creatures endowed with reason might be inferred at least from 10^7, if the cherub there belongs to the original text; but not from 3^{12}, where for בָּרוּךְ we should read בְּרוּם ('when the glory of Jahweh lifted itself up'). A comparison of all the above data leads to the conclusion that the cherub was indeed thought of all along as a hybrid being, but originally as probably composed of only *two* different bodies.[*] At the same time it can hardly be doubted that the Biblical cherubim are of Babylono-Assyrian origin, although they need not have been first borrowed in the age of Solomon. But it is impossible to decide whether the ordinary cherub form corresponded to the Assyrian winged bulls or lions with a human head or the human forms with a bird's head. All that appears to be certain is that the complicated cherub forms in Ezk 1 and 10 (with all their additions) owed their initiation to the imagination of this prophet, only that he has perhaps united in one what the popular belief attributed to a number of hybrid beings. The most important point to notice is that Ezekiel, in his description, is the first to unite the conception of a griffin form with the other in which we found a pale form of the storm-cloud as the bearer of Jahweh. For the cherubim of Ezekiel, as is plain from $1^{22.\,26ff.}$ 9^3 (where the whole appearance is included in the singular 'cherub') $10^{4.\,18f.}$, are the bearers of the crystal plane on which the throne of Jahweh rests; by means of the wheels, which are inseparable from them, they move the chariot-throne of Jahweh. Of quite a different kind is the cherub of Ezk $28^{13ff.}$, who, all covered with precious stones, walks upon the sacred mount of the gods amongst stones of fire. Here a direct borrowing from a *mythologumenon* of the East, as well as a partial affinity with Gn 3^{24}, is unmistakable. It should be remarked, however, that this cherub serves only the purpose of comparison (with the king of Tyre), while the cherubim of chapters 1 and 10 belong simply to a vision, and those of the temple and the tabernacle are merely symbolical ornaments. Hence they can in no case be reckoned amongst the necessary elements of Jahwism.

iii. *SYNCRETISM BETWEEN JAHWEH AND THE CANAANITE BAAL. DEFEAT OF BAAL THROUGH JAHWEH'S BEING FINALLY LOCALIZED IN*

---

[*] Cf., for the special literature, Kosters, art. 'De Cherubim' in *Theol. Tijdschr.* 1879, p. 445 ff.; Triebs, *Veteris Testamenti de Cherubim doctrina*, Berlin, 1888; J. Nikel, *Die Lehre des AT über die Cherubim und Seraphim* [Würzburg dissertation; full of dogmatic prejudices], Breslau, 1890; J. Petersen, *Cherubim*, Gütersloh, 1898 [account of the various interpretations from the time of Luther downwards].

[†] Instead of *one* cherub, a number of cherubim appear in 1 S 4^4, 2 S 6^2, 2 K 19^{15} as bearers of God or of the Divine throne. Of these passages the last cited can scarcely have any other meaning, especially as there Ḥezeḳiah prays for a judicial intervention of Jahweh against Assyria, and thus, as it were, for an appearance of Jahweh. In a similar connexion 'He that sitteth upon the cherubim' is still mentioned in such late passages as Ps $80^{2\,(1)}$ 99^1. On the other hand, it is scarcely to be doubted that in 1 S 4^4 and in 2 S 6^2 the same expression is due to a subsequent interpolation, and is intended of the golden cherubim upon the lid of the sacred Ark, which are first mentioned in the Priests' Code (Ex $25^{18ff.}$). According to the latter (Nu 7^{89}), Jahweh speaks to Moses from this lid, 'from between the two cherubim,' *i.e.* He has His proper dwelling-place there. The above interpolation was very natural ou the part of a late redactor of 1 S 4^4 and 2 S 6^2, because in both these passages there is express mention of Jahweh's relation to the sacred Ark. It is impossible that any of the above passages can refer to the two great cherubim which Solomon (see text above) set up beside the sacred Ark.

[*] This conclusion is favoured also by the circumstance that they are compared by Philo and Josephus with the sphinxes.

CANAAN AND COMING TO BE CONCEIVED OF AS GOD OF HEAVEN.—1. Israel on entering Canaan found itself in presence of a pretty highly civilized people, which had long ago adopted the settled form of life, was skilled in agriculture, gardening, and vine-culture, and in consequence enjoyed great material prosperity. Nothing was more natural than that Israel should seek to compete with the Canaanites in the above-named industries. True, the transition from the purely nomadic to the agricultural state was accomplished but slowly. The patriarchal narratives, which may be regarded as a faithful picture of the conditions that prevailed during the earlier part of the period of the Judges, still exhibit a mingling of the settled with the nomadic life; and even in the so-called Book of the Covenant (Ex 21–23) the pasturing of flocks evidently still plays an important rôle along with the cultivating of the soil. The necessity of learning the finer arts of field- and vine-culture from the Canaanites—and that in constant association with them—would of itself suffice to explain numerous Canaanite influences upon the conduct and the habits of thought of the Israelites. But there are other two very powerful factors that come into view in this connexion.

(*a*) In the first place, the land into which Israel penetrated had belonged from times remote to another god who, in various forms, was worshipped at the different sanctuaries of the country, and whose rights as owner no one at first dreamt of contesting. To Israel, as to every other people of those days, it was self-evident that every nation and country had its own god. The latter may indeed be temporarily overcome by the more powerful god (or gods) of a foreign nation, but his existence is not therewith ended. The thought, however, of a defeat of Baal (or the baals) of Canaan could not take its rise among the Israelites so long as they were able only with difficulty (as is shown by Jg 1^{5} $18^{1\mathrm{ff.}}$ etc.) to maintain their position in the land *side by side with* the Canaanites. In view of all this, it was *per se* self-evident that Baal, the god of the land, was to be regarded as the bestower of the fruits of the land, and was entitled to thanks accordingly. (*b*) But, in the second place, according to the conceptions of antiquity, agriculture itself was viewed as a branch of the cult of the god of the land, or at least as part of the religious customs and usages which are traced back to him, and on that account are observed and handed down with superstitious care. This view finds an instructive exposition in Is $28^{23\mathrm{ff.}}$.

When we take all the above considerations into account, the conclusion we inevitably draw is that it was almost impossible that Israel should escape being involved in the cult of Baal if it desired to maintain its existence on *his* soil, in the midst of *his* people, who were ill affected towards Israel. The only question is whether this way of looking at the matter was—at least for a length of time—shared by all classes of the people without exception, or whether, at least amongst the intellectual and religious leaders there were those who even then put forward in downright earnest the supreme plea of the Sinai religion: 'Jahweh—and Jahweh alone—is the God of Israel.' We may infer that there were, judging from the energy with which the struggle against Baal was afterwards undertaken, and which implies a continuous maintenance of exclusive Jahwism. There are, however, no *direct* testimonies to a struggle maintained at every period with the worship of Baal. It might perhaps be supposed that a distinction should be drawn between the Canaanite Baal, who was quite early superseded, and of whom there is no further trace even in the *ancient* records of the opening monarchical period, and the Tyrian Baal imported by Jezebel and Athaliah, against whom a violent storm of opposition at once arose. But this would be to disregard a very trustworthy witness, whose testimony is to quite a different effect, namely Hos $2^{7\,(5)\,\mathrm{ff.}}$. When the prophet here reproaches his countrymen with going after their lovers [the baals], who were supposed to have bestowed upon them bread and water, wool and flax, oil and 'drinks' (v.$^{14\,(12)}$ vines and fig-trees), he is thinking not of times long gone by, nor of the cult of the Tyrian Baal, but of an ineradicable delusion of the people which can be traced down to the time of Hosea—that is, till the closing days of the Northern kingdom: 'she knoweth not that it is *I* [Jahweh] who have bestowed upon her the corn and the must and the oil, and have given her silver and gold in abundance—upon Baal hath she expended it' (Hos $2^{10\,(8)}$). It may be that the complaint of Hosea applied in a much larger measure to the kingdom of Israel than to that of Judah. But, in any case, it furnishes a very notable testimony to the tenacity with which the belief in Baal as the god of the land and the dispenser of its fruits persisted amongst a portion of the people.*

2. From all the above considerations it follows that the picture which the Deuteronomic redactor of the Book of Judges (cf. esp. $2^{11\mathrm{ff.}}$) sketches of the religious conditions of the period of the Judges is not true to the historical reality. To him—from the standpoint of the 7th or 6th cent. B.C.—no other view is possible except that any inclination to the cult of other gods is at the same time complete apostasy from Jahweh, the God of the fathers (Jg 2^{11}). It is the anger of Jahweh, occasioned by their conduct, and the oppression at the hands of their foes to which He gives them over, that (according to this view) first bring Israel to reflexion and a return to Jahweh. But the truth is that in these early times men considered it quite an intelligible position that, on the one hand, they should hold fast to Jahweh in all matters affecting the people as a whole (so, for instance, especially in war; cf. above, p. 636^{a}); while, on the other hand, they did not break with Baal, the god of the land and the bestower of fruits, but rendered to him the thanks and the offerings that were his due. Such conduct is not to be viewed as pure idolatry, and still less as polytheism; it is simply a species of syncretism which aims at satisfying, each in its own way, all the varieties of religious needs. In like manner, among the Arabs, long after the victory of Islam, the local cult of the pre-Islamic gods persisted, partly in the popular usages (forbidden by Islam), partly in some usages incorporated with Islam itself.

3. In the long run, however, this double cult of quite heterogeneous gods became impossible: one or other must yield. And, as a matter of fact, by aid of the ancient sources we can still trace pretty accurately the long process which led to the complete conquest and suppression of the

---

* Surviving traces of this notion are discovered by Schwally (*Semit. Kriegsaltertümer*, i. 81 ff.) in such legal prescriptions as that newly planted fruit trees were to be left untouched for three years, but in the fourth year their fruits were to be dedicated to Jahweh (Lv $19^{23\mathrm{ff.}}$; cf. Dt 20^{6}, where a similar rule is supposed to hold of vineyards); that a field was not to be reaped to its very edges (Lv $19^{9\mathrm{ff.}}$); that a forgotten sheaf was not to be fetched from the field, and that in general all gleaning was to be dispensed with (Dt $24^{19\mathrm{ff.}}$). In all these usages it is supposed that there was an intention of propitiating the 'demons' and baals (cf. what was said above, p. 617^{b} f., about the sacrifices offered to the *sĕ'îrîm*). But here again, as elsewhere, it is very questionable whether Deuteronomy (not to speak of Leviticus) has still any consciousness of *this* meaning of customs inherited from olden times; at all events, the ancient custom is now grounded *only* on considerations of humanity (the care of widows, orphans, and *gērîm*).

baals by Jahweh, at least so far as the better portion of the people were concerned.

(*a*) One of the most essential factors in achieving this result was unquestionably *the localizing of Jahweh in Canaan*, especially at certain primeval and much frequented sanctuaries. Such a localizing process was by no means a matter of course from the most ancient point of view. True, even from the earliest times we hear of appearances of Jahweh on Canaanite soil in the form of the *mal'akh Jahweh* (see above, p. 638 ff.). But the latter came and went without its being possible to speak of any fixed dwelling-place. The sacred Ark, again, guaranteed, nay represented (cf. above, p. 628 f., the presence of Jahweh. But the Ark was, above all, the shrine of *Jahweh Ẓĕbā'ôth*, the war-God, who had nothing to do with the cultivating of the soil or the training of vines. The proper seat of Jahweh continued to be, as before, Sinai. It is from there that Jahweh comes to aid the tribes of Israel in their struggle with Sisera (Jg 5^{4}). We may perhaps leave out of account Dt $33^{2f.}$, Hab 3^{3}, and Ps 68^{8} as merely poetical reminiscences of Jg 5^{4}, while Dt 33^{16} ('the dweller in the bush') suffers from uncertainty of interpretation. But there is still left 1 K $19^{8ff.}$ as a positive proof that in the time of Elijah the seat of Jahweh was found at 'Ḥoreb the mount of God.'

But it cannot be pronounced that the above was the only way of looking at the matter that prevailed in the time of the Judges, not to speak of the monarchical period. The gradual subjugation of the Canaanites, which was completed by the entire subjection of their surviving representatives by Solomon, and the signal proof of the might of Jahweh afforded by David's victories, naturally involved a lowering of the prestige of Baal more and more—nay, in many places its complete annihilation. To this was added the erecting of new sanctuaries, dedicated to Jahweh exclusively: like that of Gideon at Ophrah (Jg 6^{24} 8^{27}), the temple for the sacred Ark at Shiloh, then the tent for it in the city of David, and, above all, the temple of Solomon, which no doubt surpassed in splendour and in art all the hitherto existing sanctuaries of Canaan (with the possible exception of the Phœnician ones). All these spots, where Jahweh alone was venerated, could not fail to familiarize men's minds with the notion of His personal dwelling in Canaan. And thus it was only the last step towards the complete localizing of Him there, when even the former Canaanite sacred places, which, as such, had long given an advantage to the Baal worship, were expressly brought into relation with Jahweh. Jahweh thus becomes simply identified with Baal, steps into possession of all the property and functions of the latter. This could be done all the more readily that Baal is not, like Jahweh, a real proper name, but an appellative = 'lord' or 'owner,' so that it could serve equally well as a designation of Jahweh.

The surest evidence that Jahweh thus took the place of Baal is to be found in the employment of *Baal* in the composition of Israelitish personal names (possibly also in a number of place-names [so certainly in 2 S 5^{20}]) as quite the equivalent in meaning of *Jahweh*.* Thus we find *Jerubba'al* (the real name of Gideon), *Eshba'al*, *Meriba'al* (descendants of Saul), *Be'eliada'* (one of David's sons); cf. also 1 Ch 12^{5} *Be'eliah*, 'Jah[weh] is Baal.'

With the transference of the cult of Jahweh to the spots where Baal worship had been practised is certainly connected a circumstance which by itself appears very strange to us, but which finds its analogies in all popular religions which have images of gods (or even of saints). The Canaanite Baal was originally *one* particular god; but, as his images became localized in different lands and sanctuaries, he was correspondingly broken up as it were into different deities. This is proved by the numerous discriminating appellations, where the name of a place is added to that of Baal (*e.g.* *Baal-Peor*, *Baal-Ḥermon*, etc.), or where we have some other distinguishing mark (*e.g.* *Baal-bĕrîth*, 'Baal of the covenant'; *Baal-zĕbūb*, 'the fly-Baal,' etc.). So also Milcom the god of the Ammonites, Chemosh the god of the Moabites, and Melḳart the city-god of Tyre, are manifestly examples of such localizing of the *one* Canaanite Baal. It is thus intelligible that in Jg 2^{11} 3^{7} 10^{6} etc., and even in Hos $2^{15.19\,(13.17)}$ 11^{2}, a worship of 'the baals' is spoken of. But the same differentiating process was applied also to Jahweh when He (or His images) stepped into the place of Baal, or had even new places of worship assigned to Him. The proof of this is supplied once more by the special names given to particular altars or places of worship of Jahweh; this special name serving to distinguish, as it were, the local God of *this* place from other local gods. The Jahweh who was worshipped at the sacred tamarisk of Beersheba (Gn 21^{33}) is called *Jahweh 'Ēl 'ôlām* ('the God of primeval time'? or 'the eternal God'?); He who appears to Jacob at Luz is called *'Ēl Bēthēl*, 'the God of Bethel' (31^{13} 35^{7}); the altar erected by Jacob at Shechem is called *'Ēl 'Ĕlōhê Israel*, 'El, God of Israel' (33^{20}); that which Jerubbaal built at Ophrah receives the name *Jahweh shālôm*, 'Jahweh is safety' (Jg 6^{24}). When, finally, Absalom declares (2 S $15^{7f.}$) that he must go to Ḥebron to discharge a vow to Jahweh, he evidently means to distinguish the Jahweh of Ḥebron from the Jahweh of Jerusalem. Presumably, a sacrifice offered at the far older place of worship at Ḥebron was believed to have greater efficacy than one presented at the more recent sanctuary at Jerusalem.

The whole process of localizing Jahweh in Canaan, and the consequent destruction of the syncretism between Jahweh and Baal, presents itself to us as already accomplished in the patriarchal narratives of Gn 12 ff. These have not a word to say about any places of worship of Baal in the land; *all* the future Israelitish sanctuaries are already consecrated by the patriarchs (for the most part in consequence of manifestations of Jahweh) by the building of altars (Gn $12^{7.8}$ 13^{18} 26^{25} 33^{20}) or the planting of a sacred tree (21^{33}). In two instances (12^{6} $28^{11ff.}$), indeed, there can still be clearly detected a recollection that the sacredness of these spots dates really from an earlier, Canaanite, period; but for Israel it dates from the occasion when Jahweh came upon the scene as the *numen loci*, and manifested Himself to Israel's ancestors.

(*b*) In all this we have not as yet mentioned one prime factor which explains very simply the permanent triumph of Jahweh over Baal in the capacity of the latter as god of the land—namely, the introduction of the conception of Jahweh as a God enthroned *in heaven*. This implies of itself the idea of His supramundane elevation, not only above all earthly powers, but above all local divinities. From heaven Jahweh looks down and directs the actions and fortunes of men, or at least, in the first instance, of His people; from heaven He sends or withholds rain and dew and all the associated blessings of the soil; but from heaven also He rains down fire and brimstone upon Sodom and Gomorrah (Gn 19^{24}), and thus shows Himself to be the almighty supramundane Lord over all the elements.

---

* Later generations were so unable to comprehend this that (probably with reference to Hos $2^{17f.}$) for *Baal* they substituted either *El*, 'God' (so in the family of David, 2 S 5^{16}, 1 Ch 3^{8} *Eliada'* for *Be'eliada'* of 1 Ch 14^{7}), or *bōsheth*, 'shame.' So, in the family of Saul, *Eshba'al*, 'man of Baal' [so still in 1 Ch 8^{33} 9^{39}], becomes *Ishbosheth* [2 S $2^{8ff.}$]; *Mĕriba'al*, 'man of Baal' [so still in 1 Ch 9^{40}, whereas in 1 Ch 8^{34} the objection is removed by the form *Mĕribba'al*, 'opponent of Baal'], becomes *Mephibosheth*, (?) 'despiser of Baal' [2 S 4^{4} $9^{6ff.}$ 21^{8}]. On the other hand, *Jerubba'al* (prob. = 'he who contends for the lord' [*i.e.* Jahweh]) was retained unchanged, with the same signification as *Israel* [the very artificial interpretation in Jg $6^{25ff.}$ takes it as a surname afterwards given to Gideon, whereas the probability is rather that it is the latter name itself that should be regarded as a surname], Jg 7^{1} $8^{29.35}$ $9^{1ff.}$; but cf. also 2 S 11^{21}, where we have the form *Jerubbesheth* for Jerubbosheth. The LXX retains *Baal* in the text, but means this to be read *αἰσχύνη* (= *bōsheth*, 'shame'). In no other way can we explain the presence of the feminine article in *τῇ Βάαλ* of Ro 11^{4} (= 1 K 19^{18}).

According to the view just presented, this conception of Jahweh did not make its way all at once, and still less did it penetrate the *whole body* of the people; side by side with it there continued to prevail for long an ill-defined mingling of the notions which localized Jahweh at Sinai (see above, p. 626^{b}) or at Canaanite places of worship. But, on the other hand, traces of the conception of Jahweh as a God of heaven can be discovered comparatively early. We must not allow ourselves to be misled by passages where a different view appears to be presented, simply because the narrative form of the myth is adopted. In Gn 3^{8}, for instance, the Garden of Eden is still God's dwelling-place, but, according to the same source (J), Jahweh comes down from heaven [the context permits of no other meaning] to see the Tower of Babel ($11^{5.7}$). He sends down destruction from heaven from Jahweh (19^{24}, see above); He is called 'the God of heaven' (24^{7}, v.^{3} 'the God of heaven and earth'). In the E source the idea of Jahweh as the God of heaven has so completely gained the ascendency that even the *mal'akh 'Ĕlōhîm* (cf. above, p. 638 ff.) calls from heaven (21^{17} 22^{11}, where 'Jahweh' instead of 'Elohim' is due to the redactor who inserted vv.$^{15-18}$). In 28^{12} (E) the ladder upon which the angels ascend and descend establishes the connexion between earth and heaven, the dwelling-place of God. Hence Jacob (v.^{17}) calls the place at once the house of God (corresponding to the earlier conception) and the gate of heaven.

4. The above assertion, that the cult of Baal was gradually superseded through the localizing of Jahweh at the Canaanite sanctuaries and the growing conception of Him as the God of heaven, appears at first to be violently contradicted by the circumstance that even in the reign of Ahab of Israel (*i.e.* in the first half of the 9th cent. B.C.) the worship of Baal comes upon the scene once more, and in such force that we almost receive the impression that Jahwism had then to engage in a life-and-death struggle, and was brought to the verge of extinction. Elijah complains (1 K 19^{14}) that the altars of Jahweh had been thrown down and His prophets put to death, that he himself alone was left, and that they sought his life to destroy it. But apart from the answer of God (v.^{18}), that the number of those who had remained loyal to Jahweh amounted to 7000, there are other points on which our judgment must be considerably modified with respect to the degree and the universality of the apostasy from Jahweh, particularly so far as Ahab is concerned (1 K $16^{30\text{ff.}}$). The names of Ahab's children (Ahaziah, Joram, 'Athaliah) are one and all compounds with the name of Jahweh. The fact that he built for his Tyrian consort Jezebel a Baal temple and altar at Samaria may be explained in the same way as Solomon's building of a Chemosh sanctuary upon the Mount of Olives (see above, p. 635). The bloody persecution of the prophets of Jahweh is expressly (1 K 18^{4} 19^{2}) laid to the charge of Jezebel alone; it is at *her* table that the 450 prophets of Baal * eat (18^{19}). Ahab chides Elijah as the author of a famine, but he does not seek his life. On the contrary, he did sincere penance ($21^{27\text{ff.}}$) when Jahweh's decree of rejection on account of the judicial murder of Naboth had been announced to him by Elijah. From 1 K $22^{6\text{ff.}}$ (the closing period of Ahab's reign) it is evident that a very large number of Jahweh's prophets as well as Micaiah ben-Imlah had been left unmolested. Noteworthy, further, is the judgment of Ahab put in the mouth of Jehu in 2 K 10^{18}. All this, indeed, does not imply that Ahab was not seriously blameworthy in conniving too much at the conduct of his unscrupulous wife, but the principal guilt plainly lies at the door of Jezebel.

All the more on that account we must ask what was the real aim of Jezebel's conduct. In view of the complaint of Elijah (19^{14}) about the throwing down of Jahweh's altars, it looks as if she sought to destroy the cult of Jahweh root and branch and to put that of Baal in its place—in short, to introduce a change of religion. But this appears impossible in face of the attitude of Ahab to Elijah (see above), and especially in view of 2 K 10^{23}. In the latter passage (in the last days of Jezebel) the presence of a very large number of Jahweh worshippers is assumed alongside of the worshippers of Baal, otherwise Jehu would have had to extirpate not only the dynasty but almost the whole nation. According to v.^{21}, however, the worshippers of Baal throughout the whole land were not more than could be assembled by Jehu in the temple of Baal at Samaria. Hence the bloody persecution of the prophets of Jahweh is doubtless to be explained on the ground that they, with Elijah at their head, offered the most violent opposition not only to the according to Baal of equal rights with Jahweh, but even to the introduction and spread of his cult at all. Their acting in this way is an evidence that, at least on the part of thinking representatives of Jahwism, the syncretism that formerly prevailed had been completely overcome, and that their conscience had been sufficiently quickened to apprehend the full meaning of the principle, 'Jahweh alone is the God of Israel.' And they rightly recognized, in *that* form in which syncretism was sought to be revived by Jezebel, a doubly serious danger. Now it was no longer a question of long-established local divinities, in whose place Jahweh could be put without difficulty, but of a foreign god—the same god who had made Tyre the proud mistress of the seas, and the possessor of dazzling wealth. The danger that thus threatened was not simply that Jahweh would be held in less esteem, but that He would be absolutely rejected as weak in comparison with *this* Baal. Jezebel herself doubtless wished devoutly for this consummation, and many a one, to gain her favour, or in dread of her wrath, may have displayed such an excess of zeal for Baal as to have gone the length of tearing down altars of Jahweh (1 K 18^{30} 19^{14}). We shall have to show presently that Jehu's destruction of the work of Jezebel was actuated, if not exclusively, yet mainly by religious motives.

If Jezebel's zeal for the Tyrian Baal occasioned a serious danger and led to a bitter conflict in the Northern kingdom, the cult of Baal is only a quickly passing episode in the kingdom of Judah. From 2 K 11 we do not at all derive the impression that 'Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel, after her attempt to extirpate the Davidic dynasty, took any measures to prevent the continuance of the worship of Jahweh in Solomon's temple. On the contrary, the high priest Joiada is so notable a personage that he has no difficulty in enlisting the royal bodyguard in a conspiracy against ʽAthaliah. It is only at the close of the narrative (v.^{18}) that we first learn that there was then, even in Jerusalem, a temple of Baal under the charge of a priest named Mattan. The zeal with which 'all the people of the land' tear down this temple, destroy Baal's altars and images, and slay the priest, proves how hateful to the Judahites was the cult imported by ʽAthaliah.

---

* The 400 prophets of the *'ăshērāh* named along with them are a later (perhaps in allusion to the Deuteronom. note in 16^{30}) addition to the text, as is plain from v.^{40}, where they could not possibly have failed to be mentioned.

iv. *THE ORGANS OF GENUINE JAHWISM: PRIESTS, PROPHETS, NAZIRITES AND RECHABITES, 'JUDGES' AND KINGS.*—In the foregoing section the conflict between Jahweh and Baal is described as primarily one of different religious ideas and needs. As a matter of fact, the latter may gather such strength that they lay hold of wide circles of people and make them their half-unconscious instruments. But this excludes the existence neither of regular, official representatives of particular religious interests, nor the appointment of extraordinary instruments called and equipped by God. Examples of both these are found in considerable numbers in Israel in the period prior to the rise of written prophecy. The official character belongs to priests and kings; the extraordinary mission is represented by the various species of prophets, in which category may be included also the Nazirites and Rechabites, and in a certain sense even the so-called 'judges.'

1. Priests.—1. We have already (p. 633^{a}) pointed out how few and uncertain are the traditions of the Mosaic period regarding the founding of the Jahweh priesthood.[*] Even in the period with which we are now dealing, the stream of tradition is a tiny one. This is simply explained on the ground that priests were not required for the most important transaction of the cultus, namely sacrifice, but only for bearing the sacred Ark (so, according to J and E, Jos $3^{3ff.}$ $4^{9ff.}$ $6^{6ff.}$),[†] for taking charge of a 'God's house,' *i.e.* the container of an image of Jahweh, and for consulting the sacred lot, which was connected in some way with this image. In the whole Book of Judges there is no mention of priests except in the first appendix (chs. 17 and 18); but that narrative, when rightly interpreted, is extremely instructive in regard to the conditions prevailing under the Judges. The Ephraimite Micah constructs a 'God's house' containing a Divine image [on the plurality of images, which owe their origin to the welding together of two parallel accounts and to a process of glossing, see above, p. 641^{b}], and appoints one of his sons to be priest. But when a young Levite, *i.e.* a member of the tribe of Levi, who has hitherto sojourned in Bethlehem-judah as a *gēr*, passes by, he engages him, for a yearly salary of ten shekels of silver and the cost of food and clothing, to serve as 'father' and priest; and he now feels sure that Jahweh will bless him because he has a Levite for priest. The very designation of a young man as 'father' (17^{10} 18^{19}) shows that this honorific title (used especially, no doubt, as a mode of address) was regularly given to priests as it was, according to 2 K 2^{12} 6^{21} 13^{14}, to prophets. A counterpart to this is found in Jg 5^{7}, where Deborah is called a 'mother in Israel.'

We see from the above, that, even for attending to a 'God's house' and an oracle-image, a Levite was not indispensable, but that particular value was attached to him when his services could be obtained. For, as a descendant of the tribe of Moses, he was supposed, on the ground of the family tradition, to have the best acquaintance with ritual affairs, and, above all, with the method of obtaining oracles. And Micah had all the more ground for this assumption, seeing that his Levite, as we first learn from 18^{30}, was a son of Gershom and a grandson of Moses,[*] named Jonathan. Thus there was a priesthood known then, which traced its origin direct to Moses, and there is no reason to doubt the historicity of the statement (18^{30}) that in particular the priests of the oracle-image at Dan, which evidently stood in high repute down to B.C. 734, sprang from the family of the above-named Jonathan, and thus of Moses. The circumstance that the image, along with the priest, was originally stolen by the Danites ($18^{14ff.}$), would certainly not damage its character in the least, from the naïve point of view of these early times.

2. It is not till the end of the period of the Judges that we encounter once more a priesthood in Israel, in the person of Eli, with his sons Ḥophni and Phineḥas, in attendance on the sacred Ark at Shiloh (1 S $1^{3.\ 9ff.}$ $2^{12ff.}$ $4^{4ff.}$). According to the Deuteronomic addition, $2^{27ff.}$, Eli and his sons are the descendants of a priestly family to whom, in Egypt, Jahweh had already entrusted all fire-offerings of the Israelites. By this is meant, of course, the priestly tribe of Levi, the 'chosen of all the tribes' (v.^{28}). The earlier accounts of Eli and his family say nothing of their having belonged to Levi, and the indifference of the ancient sources to any such connexion is shown by the frank statement about the priestly functions discharged by the young Samuel, who was of the tribe of *Ephraim* (1 S 2^{18} $3^{1ff.}$, according to which he slept beside the Ark). The Deuteronom. prediction put in the mouth of an unnamed man of God ($2^{27ff.}$) contains what might be called a programme of the subsequent history of the priesthood, the meaning of which is perfectly transparent to us. The destruction of the house of Eli with the sword (v.^{33}) refers to Saul's massacre of the priests of Nob ($22^{18ff.}$).[†] The transference of the sanctuary to Nob (without the Ark, which had been carried off by the Philistines, and was ultimately stationed at Ḳiriath-jearim, 4^{11} 5^{1}–7^{1}) was, without doubt, due to the destruction of the Shiloh temple by the Philistines (cf. Jer $7^{12ff.}$), Aḥimelech the son of Aḥiṭub, who, in Saul's time, officiated there as priest (1 S $21^{2ff.}$

---

[*] Cf. Baudissin's art. PRIESTS AND LEVITES in vol. iv. p. 67 ff., and the same author's *Geschichte des alttest. Priesterthums*, Leipzig, 1889. Unfortunately, this exhaustive monograph is not uninfluenced by the author's untenable hypothesis that the source P originated as early as the 7th cent. B.C., much about the same time as Deuteronomy.

[†] Everywhere in these passages only 'the priests' are spoken of except on the first mention of them in 3^{3}, where, in harmony with the usage of Deuteronomy, we have the addition 'the Levites,' the two designations combined being = 'the Levitical priests.' The glossator meant to leave no possibility of doubt that even then the only priests that could be held legitimate were those sprung from Levi.

[*] The subsequent correction of *Moses* to *Manasseh* by a superlinear *n* was due simply to a desire to save Moses the shame of having a descendant who held an illegitimate (because not derived from Aaron) priesthood, and, in addition, practised the worship of images. In the estimation of the original narrator, both these things were quite justifiable and praiseworthy.

[†] If 85 men 'who wore the linen ephod' (*i.e.* officiating priests) were slain by Doeg, this is a surprisingly large number. At Shiloh only three priests are mentioned; at Jerusalem under David, only two (apart from David's sons, 2 S 8^{18}, and 'Ira the Jairite, 20^{26}), as was the case also under Solomon, according to the original text of 1 K $4^{2\cdot 5}$ (Azariah the son of Ẓadoḳ, and Zabud the son of Nathan). It is true that *hak-kōhēn* denotes 'the priest' κατ' ἐξοχήν, in olden times the chief priest (as is still the case in 2 K $11^{9ff.}$, Is 8^{2}, and 2 K $22^{4ff.}$ where Ḥilḳiah first becomes 'high priest,' thanks to a later redactor), so that the existence of other priests along with the above named is by no means excluded (cf. *e.g.* 2 K $12^{5ff.}$). But, while a considerable number is supposable in the case of the splendid temple of Solomon, it is not so with the more modest sanctuaries of the early monarchical period. Now, it is a possibility that in 1 S 22^{18} the number 85 may originally have stood for the whole of Aḥimelech's descendants and relations (cf. v.^{19}). But, seeing that the LXX gives 305 (Luc. 350) in place of 85, it is evident that the number was a later insertion, based upon diverse guesses. Is it accident that 85 is the numerical value of the consonants of '*kōhănê* [Jahweh]' in v.^{17}?

etc.), was, according to 1 S 14^{3}, a grandson of Eli. The sole survivor of the massacre at Nob was Abiathar the son of Aḥimelech (1 S 2^{33} 22^{20}), who fled with the *'ēphôd* (see above) to David. The 'trustworthy priest,' however, for whom Jahweh, according to 2^{35}, is to build an enduring house, *i.e.* to whom He is to give an unbroken line of successors who shall go out and in continually before the anointed of Jahweh—the king—is Ẓadoḳ, who already, in the time of David, had been priest along with Abiathar (2 S $15^{24.\,29}$ etc.). Under Solomon he continued alone in office when the curse on the house of Eli was fulfilled in the deposition of Abiathar (1 K 2^{27}). It is not stated that Ẓadoḳ was of Levitical descent; even the name of his father is not given.* Nevertheless, the prediction of the 'enduring house' was fulfilled. Towards the end of the pre-exilic period *all* priests at Jerusalem passed for 'sons of Ẓadoḳ,' and in the programme for the future sketched by Ezekiel ($44^{15\text{ff.}}$) it is to them alone out of all the existing 'priests of Levi' that the priestly prerogatives are accorded. Deuteronomy had at least left open the possibility that the priests of the high places might discharge priestly functions at Jerusalem after the concentration of the cultus in the temple there. We see, however, from 1 S 2^{36} that it was difficult for them to obtain this privilege. The man of God there predicts to Eli that his descendants (*i.e.* the priests of the high places in the time of Josiah and down to B.C. 586) would have to humble themselves very low before Ẓadoḳ (*i.e.* the legitimate priestly family at Jerusalem) and to beg from them the necessary maintenance.

3. Let us now ask,—and this is the main question,—What was the spiritual and religious significance of the priesthood during the whole period prior to the advent of written prophecy? Unfortunately, here again we have to rest content with very meagre sources of information. Essentially, all that we learn is that the priests guarded the Ark, and, if necessary, carried it. Moreover, it is no inferior priests or *Levites* † in the sense of P that carry it, but the priests proper, as is plain from 2 S $15^{24.\,29}$ (and even from 1 S 4^{4}). But there is specially frequent mention of a function of the priests which consisted in guarding or carrying and consulting the *'ēphôd* (see above): 1 S 14^{3} $21^{10\,(9)}$ 22^{15} [according to the LXX, also v.^{18}] 23^{9} [where David asks Abiathar to produce the *'ēphôd* which he (v.^{6}) had brought with him from Nob] 30^{7} [where, however, it is David himself that consults Jahweh]. Further, in 1 S 14^{18}, we are to read, with the LXX, 'the *'ēphôd'* instead of 'the ark,' and then 'for he bore then the *'ēphôd,'* etc.‡ There is no mention of any participation of the priests in the offering of sacrifice. Even at the head sanctuary at Shiloh all that is presupposed in 1 S $2^{11\text{ff.}}$ is at most an ordinance hallowed by custom in connexion with the handing over of the sacrificial dues to the priests; the heinous sin of the sons of Eli consisted, not in their transgressing the requirements of a written law (such as that of P), but in treating with contempt the ancient hallowed sacrificial customs, and demanding their portion before the fat had been burned to Jahweh (v.^{16}). But it is not clear whether the presenting of the fat was an act that could be performed by priests alone. And even if statements like those of 1 S $13^{9\text{f.}}$, 2 S $6^{13.\,17\text{f.}}$, 1 K 3^{4} etc., might readily be interpreted as meaning that the kings offered sacrifice through the medium of the priests, on the other hand there are passages, such as 2 S 6^{18} and 1 K 8^{14}, which show that in ancient times even a ritual act like blessing (which in Dt 10^{8} [probably from P] is reserved for the priests) could be performed without offence by the kings.

Of what, according to the statements of the prophets, was the most important official duty of the priests, namely, the giving of *tōrāh* or 'direction' in ritual and legal questions (even without the employment of the sacred lot), we do not hear till towards the close of our period, in the so-called Blessing of Moses (see below, p. 650^{a}). For the earlier period it is significant that in the whole of the so-called Book of the Covenant, although it deals for the most part with questions of law, priests are not mentioned at all. This does not, indeed, prove that the above function was wholly wanting to them. When a fitting occasion arose, in the case of Eli we find indeed a kind of pastoral office discharged: 1 S $1^{9\text{-}18.\,26\text{ff.}}$ 2^{20} (towards Ḥannah and Elḳana) $2^{22\text{ff.}}$ (towards his own sons); but even this bears no specifically priestly character.

As to other, especially political, influence exercised by the priests, it was to all appearance small throughout this whole period. This admits of a simple explanation on the ground that there were as yet no priestly *guilds* to give support to the individual. As we saw above, connexion with the tribe of Levi was not as yet a condition of attaining the dignity of priest. The Deuteronomic redactor of the Books of Kings is the first to reckon it a sin on the part of Jeroboam that he appointed all and sundry, who were not descended from the tribe of Levi, to be priests of the high places (1 K 12^{31} $13^{33\text{b}}$). How little advantage, however, even the Levitical priests had over the others, is sufficiently plain from the story of the wayfaring Levite, Jonathan (Jg $17^{7\text{ff.}}$), and in quite a special way from Gn 49^{7}. Here (probably as late as the time of David) a curse is pronounced on the *tribe* of Levi, without any allusion to the prerogatives attributed and actually continued to that tribe owing to its connexion with Moses (cf. above, p. 648^{b}). This shows clearly that these very prerogatives were, at least in the time of the poetical author of Gn 49^{7}, very lightly esteemed. The tribe of Levi was accounted accursed; only a portion of its members, who had had the good fortune (Jg 17^{8}), discharged priestly functions. But even in this instance the Levite with his family occupied an isolated position at some sanctuary, and enjoyed no special consideration there. But the same was the case also with the priests who were not of Levitical descent. It is true that as early as the end of the period of the Judges and the opening of the monarchical period we meet with a tendency towards a hereditary, settled, and therefore more respected, priesthood, in the family of Eli. The prestige he enjoyed is explicable, above all, from the circumstance that he attended to the sacred Ark in the temple at Shiloh, the sanctuary most highly esteemed by the people. His descendants continued to live upon this reputation, as we find them doing under Saul at Nob, evidently the principal sanctuary after the destruction of Shiloh (1 S 22^{19} 'the city of the priests'), and as Abiathar did at the court of David.

With all this, however, there is no word of any sovereignty exercised by the priests alongside that of the king. Aḥimelech assumes the attitude of an inferior towards even the subject of Saul (1 S 21^{2}), and most unreservedly towards Saul himself ($22^{12\text{ff.}}$). The bodyguard of Saul hesitate, it is true, to slaughter the priests of Jahweh (v.^{17}), plainly because the bloody command of the king appeared to them so unjust and monstrous; but no one interposed in defence of the priests when they and their families fell victims to the blind fury of the king, using as its instrument Doeg the Edomite. The sole survivor, Abiathar, was indeed taken by David under his protection (v.^{23}), but only as a servant whom he could order about as he pleased; and the same position was held by Abiathar under David when the latter became king. In 2 S 8^{17} $20^{25\text{f.}}$, 1 K $4^{1.5}$, the priests are named amongst the principal officials in Judah, mostly, however, *after* these, or at least after a portion of them. The circumstance that the punishment inflicted by Solomon upon Abiathar for his participation in Adonijah's attempt was only banishment, was due not to his peculiar standing, but simply to the services he had personally rendered to David. It is quite intelligible that the settled priesthood at so splendid a sanctuary as Solomon's temple should have been the first to attain to wealth and higher culture, and on that account to great consideration, that at an early period these priests came even to form a species of temple aristocracy, united in a close society, and allied themselves in marriage with the most powerful families, even up to the royal house.* All the same, the chief priests are nothing but officials of the king, and the circumstances are quite exceptional that determine Joiada the priest (2 K $11^{4\text{ff.}}$) to play a great political part in the conspiracy against ʻAthaliah. Moreover, his action was in favour of the only legitimate heir of the Davidic dynasty, and thus in the service of the same. But the regard which king Jehoash owed him in return did not prevent that monarch from showing towards him and the priests ($12^{7\text{ff.}}$) not merely annoyance but distrust, when he deprived them of the free control of the temple dues and handed this over to the Secretary of State.

---

* It is true that in 2 S 8^{17} (1 Ch 18^{16} $24^{6.\,31}$) Ẓadoḳ is called 'the son of Aḥiṭub.' But the MT here has certainly been corrected in dogmatic interests, with the object of inserting Ẓadoḳ in a genealogy and, at the same time, of setting aside Abiathar (in contradiction to 2 S 15^{24} etc.) in advance. With Wellhausen and others we should read 'Ẓadoḳ and Abiathar, the son of Aḥimelech, the son of Aḥiṭub.'

† The mention of these in 1 S 6^{15}, 2 S 15^{24} (but not v.^{29}), and 1 K 8^{4} (contradicting v.^{3}), is due to a late interpolation.

‡ It is doubtful, on the other hand, whether, with Thenius and others, we should substitute 'the *'ēphôd'* for 'the ark' also in 1 K 2^{26}.

We cannot wonder that in the Northern kingdom, where a central sanctuary was wanting, it took far longer than in Judah to form reputable and, in a certain measure, politically powerful priestly societies. But that this point was reached is testified to us by the saying regarding Levi in the (Ephraimite) Blessing of Moses, Dt $33^{8\text{ff.}}$ (probably dating from the time of Jeroboam II. or not much earlier). The interpretation of some expressions is not, indeed, without difficulty. According to Wellhausen and others, v.^{9} alludes to those who, renouncing their tribe and their family, have attached themselves to a guild of Levites. But probably we should rather find an allusion to the narrative of Ex 32^{29} (cf. above, p. 633^{a}), where the priesthood is assigned to the tribe of Levi as a recompense for the courageous way in which it stood up for Jahweh. With this accords the circumstance that the whole saying is spoken of Levi as of a *tribe* standing on the same footing as Benjamin, Joseph, etc. Here, then, the belonging to Levi is already a condition of priesthood, although this, of course, does not exclude isolated instances of members of other tribes (particularly, it may be presumed, those who had married the daughters of priests) obtaining the office. The whole saying betrays in lofty language a legitimate pride in the importance and the power of the priesthood, and an assured confidence (v.^{11b}) that Jahweh will annihilate its foes, of whom there is no lack. Amongst its official functions the first place is still held by the manipulating of the sacred lot (Urim and Thummim), but in addition to this (v.^{10}) the priests teach the people the statutes and the *tōrāh* of Jahweh and attend to the sacrificial service.

Just as in the above passage the priests sprung from Levi appear as zealous upholders of the service of Jahweh, so it may have been true of the Jahweh priesthood in general in the Northern kingdom that its members were entitled to be counted among the organs of genuine Jahwism. It is surprising, indeed, that in the struggle against the Tyrian Baal we never hear of the priests, but only of the prophets, being persecuted for their fidelity to Jahweh. But, on the other hand, nowhere during this period are the priests reproached as favouring the service of Baal. An express reference, however, to priestly zeal for Jahweh is found nowhere but in the case of Eli. The latter feels it a grievous scandal that his sons give occasion to evil reports among 'the people of Jahweh'; he dreads the heavy judgment of Jahweh which tolerates no opposition; he submits most humbly to the sentence of rejection (1 S 3^{18} 'it is Jahweh, let him do what seemeth good to him'). And during the battle with the Philistines he trembles, above all, for the Ark of Jahweh (4^{13}); and it is when he hears that *it* is taken that he sinks down and dies (v.^{18}). In like manner, the last thought of the dying wife of Phineḥas is grief at the carrying away of the Ark, for 'the glory is departed from Israel' (v.^{21}). All these are features which may lay claim to being historical. They prove that Jahwism, amidst all amalgamation with relics of ancient Semitic nature religions, was even then a power which struck deep into the life and thought of its adherents, and was capable of awakening in them genuine piety.

2. **Prophets.**—1. By far the most prominent place among the organs of genuine Jahwism is occupied by the prophets.* It is usual in this connexion, to bring together quite heterogeneous phenomena, and to couple the representatives of heathen Semitic mantic and sorcery with the genuine Hebrew prophetism which stood in the service of Jahwism. It cannot be denied that in the traditions of ancient Israel traces even of the former category are to be found, and such as plainly appear not to be inconsistent, in the mind of the narrators, with genuine Jahwism. This was rendered possible when the moving force was no longer found in demonic powers, but in Jahweh Himself. Thanks to the gifts with which Jahweh endows him, Moses surpasses the achievements of the Egyptian magicians (Ex $4^{2\text{ff.}}$ $7^{8\text{ff.}}$), making at the same time frequent use of his staff as of a magician's wand (Ex 7^{20} 9^{23} $17^{5.\,8\text{ff.}}$, Nu $20^{7\text{ff.}}$). The same efficacy that is attributed to the stretching forth of Moses' staff is produced by the spear stretched forth by Joshua (Jos $8^{18.\,26}$); it procures victory for Israel and the complete destruction of the inhabitants of Ai. Even in 2 K $13^{15\text{ff.}}$ a relic has been rightly discovered of the belief in divining by arrows.† It is not merely a symbolical action when king Joash, with his hands covered by the hands of Elisha, shoots an arrow in the direction of the Syrians, and then, at the prophet's command, smites with the arrows upon the ground. These actions are rather a curse, ex-

---

* Thus, according to the certainly historical note in 2 Ch 22^{11}, Jehosheba, a sister of king Aḥaziah, was wife of the chief priest Joiada. Except for this, even 2 K 11^{3} would be unintelligible.

* Of monographs on Israelitish prophetism in general [see § IV. for the Literature on the writing prophets] we would note specially: A. Knobel, *Der Prophetismus der Hebräer*, 2 Theile, Breslau, 1837 [antiquated in many respects, but a thoroughgoing work, and one that is still useful]; A. Kuenen, *De profeten en de profetie onder Israel*, 2 vols., Leiden, 1875 [Eng. tr., London, 1877]; C. H. Cornill, *Der Israelitische Prophetismus: in 5 Vorträgen für gebildete Laien geschildert*, Strassburg, 1894 u. ö; R. Kraetzschmar, *Prophet und Seher im alten Israel*, Tübingen, 1901; cf. also A. B. Davidson's article PROPHECY AND PROPHETS in vol. iv., and his posthumous work, *Old Testament Prophecy*, Edinburgh, 1903.

† So Schwally, *Semit. Kriegsaltertümer*, i. 22.

pressed by deeds, which cannot fail to accomplish its purpose on the Syrians. Balaam, to whom (Nu 22^{6}) the magical power of effectually blessing or cursing an entire nation is attributed, appears, nevertheless, in the whole passage (Nu 22-24) as a genuine prophet of Jahweh. All these are instances of the survival of a primitive system of magic, which, however, it was found possible to reconcile with Jahwism. So, according to Gn $44^{5.\,15}$, Joseph practised the so-called *hydromancy*, a method of divining by means of a liquid in a bowl; and in Nu $17^{16\,(1)\,\text{ff.}}$ we have simply a peculiar form of *rhabdomancy*, or divining by means of a number of rods. Other forms of magic, such as *necromancy*, the art of the *mĕʿōnĕnîm*,* etc., were at all times regarded by the representatives of genuine Jahwism as illegitimate.† But all the zeal of the prophets did not avail to prevent sorcery and divining from continuing in vogue down to the Exile and even beyond it, as outgrowths of superstition for which the Jahweh religion can no more be held responsible than can Christianity for the countless forms of superstition which continue to hold sway within its pale down to the present day.

The prophetism which is called up to us by names like Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, etc., has its roots in two altogether different phenomena, which finally became one, and consequently both received the same designation. On the one hand, there are the 'seers' of ancient times, on the other the ecstatic figures of the *nĕbîʾîm.* The latter name became in the 8th cent. the collective title for the proper prophets of Jahweh; hence it is usual—although less appropriate—to render the word *nĕbîʾîm*, when it occurs in the time of Samuel and Saul, by 'prophets.'

2. The 'seer' (רֹאֶה *rōʾeh*, or חֹזֶה *ḥōzeh*) derives his name, not from *foreseeing* the future, although this is not, upon occasion, outside his rôle, but because, with spiritual eye opened for him by his God, he sees what is hidden, and is able to announce it. A condition of ecstasy is not necessary for this,—we never hear of such, for instance, in the case of Samuel,—but it may be connected with the act of vision. Thus Balaam, who is nowhere, indeed, called 'seer' or 'prophet,' but who belongs all the same to this category, speaks of himself as a man 'whose [outward] eye is closed,‡ who heareth the words of God, who seeth visions of the Almighty, sunk down and with unveiled eye' (Nu $24^{3\text{f.}\,15\text{f.}}$). In the case of all in this period who are entitled to be regarded as 'seers' there is an unmistakable connexion with mantic and sorcery, and that in the belief not only of the people but of the ancient narrator. We have spoken of Moses as an expert in magic. True, he is never called 'seer,' while the name 'prophet' (in its later sense) is first given to him in Deuteronomy (18^{15} 34^{10}). The earlier view (Nu 12^{6} [prob. E]) distinguishes him, as one with whom God speaks face to face, from prophets elsewhere, to whom God reveals Himself by visions and dreams. The people of Israel must, however, in all ages have seen in Moses not only the 'man of God,' the powerful instrument of Jahweh in the establishing of the covenant at Sinai, the leader filled with the spirit of Jahweh (Nu $11^{17.\,25}$), but also the '*seer*' acquainted with the future. This is plain from the circumstance that two notable predictions of the future are put in his mouth: the Blessing of Moses, Dt 33 (see above, p. 650^{a}), although in v.^{4} it speaks of him in the third person; and the much later Song, Dt 32, although in v.^{7} it looks back to the time of Moses as the days of old, and in v.$^{13\text{ff.}}$ describes the experiences of Israel in Palestine as historical facts that belong to a far distant past.

In the case of Balaam a mantic element emerges in so far as, while he repeatedly insists that he can speak only what Jahweh gives him to say (Nu $22^{8.\,18\text{ff.}\,35.\,38}$), he yet has recourse to external measures ($23^{1\text{ff.}}$), and actually goes out for a vision, *i.e.* a revelation of Jahweh by outward signs ($23^{3\text{f.}}$ [where in v.^{4} after the word 'Balaam' a more precise statement about the kind of revelation has in all probability dropped out] $^{13\text{ff.}\,27\text{ff.}}$), until, finally, ($24^{1\text{ff.}}$) he abandons the rôle of soothsayer, and utters his oracles simply at the impulse of the Divine spirit.

In the time of the Judges we should doubtless assign Deborah to the same category. She is called in Jg 4^{4} 'a prophetess,' *i.e.*, in this instance, a woman capable of magical possession by the spirit of Jahweh, and able when in this condition to pronounce judicial decisions (v.^{5}). The really original account of her may, however, be expected to have survived in the Song of Deborah, although the attributing of this song to herself (in spite of her being addressed in v.^{12}) may be based on an erroneous interpretation of v.^{7} (where we ought to render 'till thou didst arise,' etc.). She is called in v.^{7} 'a mother in Israel.' This implies the possession of the dignity of a highly esteemed priestess (cf. above on Jg 17^{10} 18^{19}), who watches over the welfare of the people, and can in times of oppression indicate beforehand the way of escape and the successful issue ($4^{6\text{ff.}}$). But, above all, it is true of her that (like the God-inspired battle maidens of Germanic antiquity) she can bewitch the people by her song, and inflame their courage to the highest degree. That the whole activity of Deborah is only in the spirit and service of Jahweh, is manifestly presupposed throughout its description. She rouses the wretchedly broken-up tribes to the consciousness that they form one body as the people of Jahweh, and inspires them with courage to fight, and confidence in the war-God who hastens from Sinai to their help.

Still more, however, does this rôle of an organ of Jahweh—nay, of a deliverer of the people from sore straits—belong to the man who for the first time expressly receives the honourable name of 'seer' (1 S $9^{11.\,18.\,19}$). In 9^{9} a prefatory gloss explains that in ancient times those who are now called 'prophets' (*nĕbîʾîm*) were called 'seers.' According to the narrative of 1 S $1^{11.\,27\text{f.}}$ $2^{18\text{ff.}}$ $3^{1\text{ff.}}$ (which is somewhat later than 1 S 9-10^{16}), Samuel was even before his birth dedicated to Jahweh; at a tender age he was brought to Shiloh to enter upon Jahweh's service, and there also he was honoured with a nocturnal revelation from Jahweh. We thus meet here with the same combination of the functions of priest (cf. also 9^{13}) and seer (or prophet in the later sense of the term) as in the case of Moses. It may be noted, however, that the different sources present quite different pictures of Samuel. According to the later ones (1 S 7. 8. $10^{17\text{ff.}}$ 12. $13^{8\text{ff.}}$ 15) he is the last 'judge,' which means here not only temporary leader in a struggle, as in the 'hero-stories' of the Book of Judges, but simply 'ruler,' one who wants only the title in order to be king. He recalls the people from idolatry ($7^{3\text{ff.}}$), and procures for them, by prayer and sacrifice (v.$^{8\text{ff.}}$), lasting victory over the Philistines. In his old age he appoints his sons to be judges, lays before Jahweh the people's demand for a king (8$^{1ff.}$), calls together an assembly of the people at Miẓpah, where Saul is chosen by lot out of all the tribes of Israel as king. This does not, however, prevent Samuel from continuing to act as before as the real ruler. He dismisses the people (10^{25}); on the occasion of another popular assembly, at the urgent request of the people he promises his powerful intercession, and that he will instruct them in the good and right way (12$^{19.\ 23ff.}$). But, above all, in the rejection of Saul (13$^{8ff.}$; far milder is his conduct in 15$^{10ff.}$, a passage of a highly prophetic strain) he appears to display a caprice and a lust for rule which have long caused this passage to be regarded as containing the original type of hierarchical demands in opposition to the secular power.

---

* That is, either 'cloud-gazers' (weather makers?) or those who deliver their oracles in a *nasal* or *murmuring* tone. In general, necromancers and other sorcerers have attributed to them a *whispering*, *chirping*, *sighing*, or *murmuring*.

† The *locus classicus* for the various forms of sorcery is Dt $18^{10\text{ff.}}$, which is admirably expounded by W. Robertson Smith in his art. 'On the Forms of Divination and Magic enumerated in Deut. xviii. 10 f.' in *Journ. of Philol.* xiii. 273 ff., xiv. 113 ff. Cf. also T. Witton Davies, *Magic, Divination, and Demonology among the Hebrews and their Neighbours*, London, 1898.

‡ This meaning of the word is, indeed, uncertain; others prefer to interpret 'whose [spiritual] eye is opened.'

A very different picture of Samuel is sketched for us in the far older source, 1 S 9–10^{16}. As he searches for the lost asses of his father, Saul with his servant passes by the house of Samuel. The servant draws Saul's attention to the presence of the 'man of God' in this city, 9^{6} 'The man is famous; all that he says comes to pass. Perhaps he may tell us the way by which we have come' [*not* 'the way we should go.' The servant means first to test Samuel's knowledge of their previous journey, and, if that proves correct, his further counsel may be trusted]. Their only difficulty is about the customary present to the man of God, for their bread is exhausted. Luckily, however, the servant has a quarter shekel, and this they propose to give him. Samuel brilliantly justifies their confidence in him. He knows that the asses are already found (v.^{20}). But he knows also something quite different regarding the high destiny of Saul, secretly anoints him king next morning, and gives him exact details of three experiences he is to have the same day; and all these turn out as he has said.

The high antiquity of this narrative as compared with that of the more recent sources strikes one at the first glance. The circumstance that the seer is applied to for information even in such secular and everyday matters as is the case here, betrays a very early date; and still more the circumstance that some bread or a quarter shekel should be considered sufficient remuneration for him. We see very clearly, further, that this function of seer is combined with mantic. Even the later source, no doubt, attributes to Samuel extraordinary powers, as when (12$^{17f.}$) in the time of the wheat harvest (and therefore contrary to the usual course of nature) he can cause Jahweh to send thunder and rain. Still this magical power of prayer is something different from the magical knowledge of the past and the future of which we are told in 9^{20} and 10$^{2ff.}$.

If we were to be guided merely by appearances, we should have to conclude that in ch. 9, in the most glaring opposition to the later record, Samuel is represented as a personage of purely local importance, a something betwixt seer and priest, such as was probably to be found then in every country town of Israel. For Saul himself knows nothing of him, but needs to have his attention drawn to him by his servant. It can easily be shown, however, that such an impression is due to an illusion purposely created by the narrator in order to heighten the dramatic effect of his description. But all the while even he makes no concealment of the fact that Samuel is in quite a special manner the confidant and the instrument of Jahweh. The day before Saul's arrival Jahweh has already (9$^{15ff.}$) announced him to Samuel as His chosen deliverer of His people, and Samuel feels himself thus authorized to anoint Saul in the name of Jahweh to be prince over His people Israel. This last act, in particular, implies a very high sense of the importance of the man and his relation to Jahweh. Then, again, Saul's cousin (10$^{14ff.}$), at the mention of Samuel, who is evidently named here as a well-known personage, is at once curious to know what he said, which shows that Saul must have known him as well, so that a merely local importance of the man in his own place of abode is out of the question. Rather must we still admit that in the later narrative a correct estimate is given, not indeed of the political rôle of the seer, but of his high spiritual and religious importance. The latter he evidently possessed as the maintainer and protector of pure Jahwism against all attempts to seduce the people to idolatry or at least to syncretism. But pure Jahwism was in those days synonymous with patriotism, for it was only from their own national God that the people could look for deliverance from the cruel oppression of the Philistines. And so he was honoured by later generations not only as the man of action, who, to carry out the strict command of Jahweh, hewed the Amaleḳite king Agag to pieces with his own hand 'before Jahweh' (1 S 15$^{32f.}$, an undoubtedly good historical narrative), but also as the man powerful in prayer, whose intercession for his people can be compared for efficacy to that of Moses (Jer 15^{1}).*

The last † who in the early sources receives the designation 'seer' (*ḥôzeh*) is Gad, 'the prophet (*nābî'*), the seer of David' (2 S 24^{11}). This is manifestly to be understood as meaning, on the one hand, that Gad is to be reckoned among the prophets (in the later sense; and so we find him giving counsel to David, 1 S 22^{5}, and conveying to him an oracle from Jahweh, 2 S 24$^{11ff.}$); and, on the other hand, that Gad filled the special office of 'seer' to David. In the latter capacity he would probably obtain oracles in the traditional fashion by mantic machinery. It is not difficult to understand why later generations, to whom this kind of official seership had a heathen smack about it, preferred to ignore it and to put in its place a prophetic activity, which appeared to them far more intelligible and—in the case of a David—far more fitting. For this very reason, however, 'the seer of David' may be considered to be an older and more correct designation of Gad than 'the prophet.'

3. We have learned from the above discussion that the seers and 'men of God' of ancient times —Moses, Deborah, Gad (partly)—received even at an early date the further designation of נָבִיא *nābî'*,‡

---

* It was customary at one time to infer from 1 S 19$^{18ff.}$ that Samuel, especially in his capacity of head of a guild of prophets at Ramah, developed an activity which wrought in favour of the theocracy, and probably promoted also the growth of religious literature. But, apart from the fact that these *nĕbî'îm* (see below) are not to be offhand identified with the 'prophets' in the later sense of the term, there are the strongest objections to the historical character of this whole passage. The manifest contradiction with 15^{35a} is alone sufficient to show that in 19$^{18ff.}$ we have to do with a very late *midrāsh*, after the manner of 16$^{1ff.}$.

† We leave out of account the circumstance that the Chronicler is acquainted with a 'seer' named Je'do (2 Ch 9^{29}) or 'Iddo (12^{15}) in the reigns of Solomon, Rehoboam, and Abijah, whereas in 13^{22} he is called 'prophet'; and with a 'seer' Jehu in the reign of Jehoshaphaṭ (19^{2}). When, again, the Chronicler gives the name of 'seer' even to the music masters of David, namely Asaph (2 Ch 29^{30}), Heman (1 Ch 25^{5}), Jeduthun (2 Ch 35^{15}), he follows a usage of language unknown elsewhere.

‡ Here we may give all that is most essential regarding the etymology and the history of the usage of this term. The root *nābā'* has not survived in Hebrew, for the verbal forms *nibbā'* and *hithnabbē'* ('to show oneself a *nābî'*') are derived from the substantive *nābî'*. But the Arabic and the cognate Heb. roots *nābaḥ* ('bark') and *nāba'* ('bubble forth') show that *nābā'* means originally *to throw out* words or particular sounds *with violence*, as happens in mantic rapture or holy frenzy. (On the corresponding Assyr. root='to carry off,' 'to tear away violently' [carried away by a supernatural power], cf. J. Bewer, *Amer. Journ. of Semit. Lang. and Lit.* xviii. 2, p. 120). Hence the howling dervishes of Islam have been rightly compared with the *nĕbî'îm* of ancient Israel. *Nābî'* then denotes [actively] properly one who professionally [this is implied in the

'prophet' (or *nĕbî'āh*, 'prophetess'). This, however, may safely be pronounced an anachronism. In earlier times, down at least to the middle of the 9th cent. and even later, *nābî'* (plur. *nĕbî'îm*) meant something so different that this name could not have been given to Moses or Samuel. Hence, it may be added, the rendering of *nĕbî'îm* in the time of Samuel by 'prophets' is misleading, and had better be avoided. The descriptions contained in 1 S $10^{5\text{f}.\,10\text{f}.}$, taken along with the etymology of the word, show that we have to do with bands of enthusiasts, of whom the spirit of God has laid hold with overpowering force, and who, stimulated by loud music to greater frenzy, readily carry along others to participate in their conduct. This last feature is prominent not only in 1 S $10^{6.\,10}$, but in the late *midrāsh* $19^{18\text{ff}.}$, and it reflects truly the character of such phenomena, as does also the statement that Saul stripped off his clothes, and lay naked for a day and a night in holy frenzy.*

Analogous phenomena are reported alike from the ancient religions, from the Christian Middle Ages, and from the sphere of heathen peoples at the present day; and it would be complete perversity to set them all down simply to deceit and hypocritical pretensions. The only question that arises for us is: What is the special significance of this phenomenon upon ancient Hebrew soil, and how far has it a *religious* significance in the realm of Jahwism? Unfortunately, owing to the scanty traditions at our disposal, we must here have recourse to pure conjectures. These, however, are such as may claim a high degree of probability. In the first place, it will not admit of doubt that these *nĕbî'îm* were originally a Canaanite growth, and were adopted by the Hebrews from that quarter. This conclusion is favoured by the fact that the other forms of mantic, possession, and sorcery, also took their rise in all probability upon Canaanite soil. But the 'spirit of God,' which, according to the word of Samuel, passes from the *nĕbî'îm* at Gibeah to Saul, is expressly called in 1 S 10^{6} 'the spirit of Jahweh,' and nothing else could be thought of in view of the whole context. The moving cause, again, that led to whole companies being inflamed by the spirit of Jahweh to holy frenzy was doubtless the sore straits of the time, the heavy yoke of the Philistine domination. It can hardly be an accident that Saul (10^{5}) is seized with holy frenzy at the very spot where the pillar (נְצִיב), or, according to another interpretation, the administrator of the Philistines, was located. As in the Middle Ages the ravages of the plague gave rise to troops of flagellants, so, in the period of which we are speaking, subjection to a people hated and esteemed unclean produced a condition of great excitement, and led to frequent gatherings of those who were seized with a violent desire to procure the intervention of the national God of Israel, who was regarded, above all, as the war-God. This purpose was served chiefly by the ecstatic cries from which the *nĕbî'îm* originally derived their name. Hence Schwally (*Semit. Kriegsaltertümer*, i. 110) may be right in assigning a warlike origin to the whole appearance of these *nĕbî'îm* (as well as the Nazirites; see below). We are reminded how, in the case of Samson, his being seized with the spirit of Jahweh is repeatedly connected with acts of vengeance on the Philistines (Jg 14^{19} $15^{14\text{ff}.}$). In a certain sense, then, these *nĕbî'îm* may be regarded as organs of Jahweh; but they belonged to quite a different species, and followed a different calling from the so called organs of Jahweh of later times.

4. Notwithstanding, there was not wanting even at the court of David some representation of genuine prophetism in the later sense of the term. Apart from Gad, who announced to David a coming punishment at the hands of Jahweh (2 S $24^{11\text{ff}.}$), we meet with a representative of it in the remarkable personality of Nathan. Nowhere, indeed, do we read of his special endowment with the spirit of Jahweh. After David's sin in the matter of Uriah, we read in 2 S 12^{1} simply: 'And Jahweh sent Nathan to David.' But the combination of skill and courage in the way in which Nathan awakens the conscience of the king and pronounces the judgment of Jahweh upon him, and then follows this up by announcing the forgiveness of his sin, reminds us of the way in which Isaiah afterwards faced Ahaz (Is 7) and Ḥezeḳiah (39). It is nowhere stated that Nathan held any official position, and the usual comparison with a court preacher has no support in the early source. The rôle, not quite free from danger, which he plays in 1 K 1 in the palace intrigue, in favour of Solomon and against Adonijah, is sufficiently explained by the position he had held as the tutor of Solomon (2 S 12^{25}). Besides, it may be questioned (as in the case of Gad) whether the title *nābî'* as applied to Nathan is as early as the time of David (which would contradict 1 S 9^{9}, where this signification of the word is plainly reserved for a much later date), or whether it is due to a readily intelligible expansion at a redactor's hand. In 7^{2} it may belong to the Deuteronomic revision of the older narrative. Strangely enough, however, it is wanting in 12^{1} in the MT on the occasion of the *first* mention of his name in the early source, and throughout the whole of this narrative. In 1 K 1 the title is almost always attached to the name, yet there are certain indications* that make it at least possible that its presence is due to a late insertion. If it is original, we must conclude that it stands for an official position, that indeed of a 'seer' like Gad, and in the interposition of Nathan in 2 S 12 we should have to see an unusual evidence of that position.

The same difficulty recurs in the case of Aḥijah of Shiloh (1 K $11^{29\text{ff}.}$ $14^{2.\,18}$, but not 15^{29}). Aḥijah's symbolical action in tearing his mantle to pieces and giving ten of these to Jeroboam, as well as his conduct towards Jeroboam's wife and his utterances in the name of Jahweh, place him quite in line with the Jahweh prophets of the 8th cent.; but the question remains whether the title *nābî'* is not to be set down to the account of the Deuteronom. recension, in which the original story about Aḥijah is unquestionably now presented to us. The same remark applies to Jehu, the son

---

formation of the word] gives utterance to ecstatic cries, or exhibits other tokens of holy frenzy. True, this original sense of the word became more and more weakened. Even the *nĕbî'îm* of the time of Elijah and Elisha (see above) have already become only pale reflexions of the *nĕbî'îm* of Samuel's day. But when *nābî'* had been fully adopted as the honorific appellation of the true prophets of Jahweh (so already in Am 2^{11}, Is 8^{3} [where the wife of Isaiah is called by himself, in conformity with his official name, 'the prophetess']), the recollection of its original meaning was all the more forgotten. Otherwise, Abraham could not have been in Gn 20^{7} (E) called a *nābî'*, to whom one could look for effectual intercession. Nay, in Ps 105^{15} the same title is given to the patriarchs in general, with their families. Evidently, all that still attaches to the word here is the notion of confidants and favourites of God.

* A trace of the bearing of these *nĕbî'îm* has very probably survived down to a late date in the verb הִטִּיף *hiṭṭîph*, 'prophesy,' which means primarily 'to let drop,' *sc.* slaver, as is usual with epileptics and madmen.

* In v.^{10} the MT but not Luc. has the addition. In v.^{34} the LXX has certainly preserved the original text ('and anoint him,' etc., without any subjects following); in the MT there has been inserted from v.^{39} first 'Zadoḳ the priest' (hence 'shall [sing.] anoint him,' etc.), and then, further, 'Nathan the prophet.' In v.^{45} Luc. still betrays the original text 'and there anointed [sing.] him the priest Zadoḳ'; yet here too, as we see in MT and LXX (both 'and there anointed' [plur.] etc.), there was inserted after 'Zadoḳ,' although this in contradiction of v.^{34}, 'Nathan the prophet.'

of Ḥanani, who announced an oracle of Jahweh against Baasha, king of Israel (1 K $16^{1ff.}$).

But, even if in all the above instances *nābî'* should be an anachronism, the important fact remains that at no period were there wanting in Israel suitable organs for giving expression at the Divine command to the pleasure and, in a remarkable degree, the displeasure of Jahweh. We are reminded of the old naïve seership of a Samuel, when the wife of Jeroboam I. goes to consult Aḥijah about the illness of her son, and proposes to recompense him with ten loaves and cakes and a jar of honey (1 K 14^{3}). But, just as Samuel was informed beforehand of the coming of Saul (1 S 9^{15}), the approach of Jeroboam's wife is made known to the blind Aḥijah. This serves also to authenticate him as an instrument of Jahweh; and the importance of his message to the whole Northern kingdom raises him (and Jehu) far above a 'seer' of the olden time, and gives him the appearance of a worthy forerunner of the true Jahweh prophets.

5. Of ecstatics such as meet us in 1 S $10^{5ff.}$ $19^{18ff.}$ we have encountered none since the time of Samuel; of 'seers' in the ancient sense only a few names have come under our notice. All the more is our interest aroused by the manifold and strong evidences of the presence of prophetism in the Northern kingdom in the 9th cent., from the time of Aḥab (*c.* 876 ff.) down to the death of Elisha under king Joash (2 K $13^{14ff.}$). For the copious stream of tradition regarding this period we are indebted to the circumstance that the compiler of the present Books of Kings has largely incorporated in his work the special (written) accounts of Elijah and Elisha, the so-called 'Mirror of the Prophets' (1 K 17–19. 21^{1-20a} 27–29, 2 K 2–8^{15} 9^{1-13} 13^{14-21}). It is true that even here we must be on our guard against understanding the narrative absolutely from the standpoint of a later age. Elijah and Elisha, like the *nĕbî'îm* who surround them, are not to be summarily identified with the Jahweh prophets of the following century. These *nĕbî'îm*, on the contrary, remind us in many respects of the *nĕbî'îm* of the time of Saul, except that their zeal for Jahweh is directed against a different foe.

(*a*) To begin with Elijah, it is noteworthy here once more that in the original text he is only once reckoned amongst the *nĕbî'îm*, namely in 1 K 18^{22}, in words put into his own mouth, but in a context where no other designation was possible. In 18^{36}, on the other hand, the original text, according to the LXX, was simply, 'And Elijah called to heaven and said,' etc. Now, it is surely no accident that the narrator himself avoids giving the name *nābî'* to Elijah, who, in spite of some cognate features (see below), is not to be placed on the same platform as the *nĕbî'îm* of his *entourage*, but holds a higher place than they. The widow of Zarephath (1 K $17^{18.24}$) calls him (as the servant of Saul does Samuel in 1 S $9^{6ff.}$) a 'man of God' in whose mouth is the true word of Jahweh.[*]

The circumstance that the imposing figure of Elijah the Tishbite now (1 K 17^{1}) steps quite abruptly upon the stage, may be due to the compiler of the present Books of Kings having suppressed something that went before. But elsewhere, too, the sudden appearances and disappearances of Elijah are remarkable (cf. 1 K $18^{7ff.}$ and 2 K 2^{16}). The very commencement of his activity exhibits him as quite an extraordinary personality. He does not announce it as a message from Jahweh that the next years shall see neither dew nor rain till he shall intimate the contrary, but swears by Jahweh, in whose service he is, that it shall be so. This conveys the impression that Jahweh has given him full powers over the forces of nature. Yet he himself (v.^{14}) ascribes the miracle of the widow's cruse of oil to the command of Jahweh, and the return of the rain to His sending it. By his prayers he wins back from Jahweh the newly deceased son of the widow (v.$^{17ff.}$), and shows himself, finally, at Jahweh's command, to Aḥab ($18^{1ff.}$). Now at last, when we make acquaintance with 'Obadiah, Aḥab's *major-domo* ($18^{2ff.}$), we learn what has been the real cause of the years of drought. These are manifestly traced to Jezebel's bloody persecution of the *nĕbî'îm* because they had opposed the spread of the cult of the Tyrian Baal (see above, p. 647^{b}). 'Obadiah himself, in harmony with his name, a true 'worshipper of Jahweh,' had hid a hundred *nĕbî'îm* by fifties in a cave, and supplied them with food—a proof this of the bloody earnestness of the persecution. 'Obadiah shows such deference to Elijah (v.$^{7ff.}$) that the impression of the latter as a magical personality is once more left upon us. Elijah, however, exhibits himself in his true greatness in his meeting with Aḥab on the occasion of the Divine judgment at Carmel ($18^{19ff.}$), for which he compels the king to make the necessary preparations. There he stands alone, over against the 450 *nĕbî'îm* of Baal.[*] His words to the people (v.^{21}) show that his aim is, at any cost, to put an end to the prevailing syncretism between Jahweh and Baal. The ridicule which he pours (v.^{27}) upon the vain efforts of the prophets of Baal goes essentially beyond the sphere of mere henotheism, and is equivalent to a complete denial, not only of the power but of the very existence of Baal. And, when Jahweh by a heightened (v.$^{34f.}$) miraculous display has brilliantly evinced His claim to be the true God, Elijah is content with no half measures. The complete reversal of the sentiments of the people leads them to consent, at his command, to slaughter the 450 prophets of Baal at the Ḳishon.

In the appendix to this narrative ($18^{41ff.}$) we meet with several features which again remove Elijah from the purely spiritual sphere and set him—even physically—in a kind of magical light. He hears in advance the rushing of the rain. The whole of the strange attitude he assumes in v.^{42} can scarcely be otherwise explained than as a performance (rain-charming?) borrowed from the sphere of magic. But in v.^{46} the 'hand of Jahweh' (*i.e.*, in view of the linguistic usage elsewhere, an ecstatic condition produced by Jahweh) is expressly called in to account for Elijah's running before Aḥab's chariot from Carmel to Jezreel (at least a five hours' journey). To the same category belongs the statement of 19^{5-8}, that, in the strength of the food brought him by an angel, he was able to travel 40 days and 40 nights till he came to Ḥoreb, the mount of God.

It may be noted that even ch. 19 is still dominated by the *one* great idea at the root of Elijah's ministry, namely, his struggle on behalf of Jahweh against Baal. His complaint to Jahweh (v.^{14}) relates to the fruitlessness of his zeal for Jahweh, the throwing down of His altars and the slaying of His prophets. In Jahweh's reply (v.$^{15ff.}$) it is well worthy of note that Elijah receives commissions —the anointing of Ḥazael to be king of Syria, and Jehu to be king of Israel—which involve his taking part in a political upheaval, nay, in a rebellion against the regularly constituted ruler. The further 'Histories of the Prophets' know nothing of any executing of the latter commission by Elijah; at most it might be conjectured from

---

[*] 2 K $1^{9f.13}$, where likewise Elijah is called 'man of God,' is a late *midrāsh*. Again, 1 K 20^{28}, where one of the *nĕbî'îm* (cf. v.^{22}) is spoken of as a 'man of God,' does not belong to the 'Histories of the Prophets.'

[*] On the 400 prophets of the *'ăshērāh* afterwards introduced into v.^{19}, see above, p. 647^{b}, note.

2 K $8^{12f.}$ and $9^{1ff.}$ that he handed over to Elisha those commissions which it was impracticable for himself to carry out. All that he attended to personally was the call of Elisha (1 K $19^{19f.}$) by casting his mantle over him. This might be interpreted as simply a symbolical transaction—an investiture with the prophetic office by means of what had become even then the usual official garb of the prophets, the mantle [of hair]. In reality, however, a feature of the ancient mantic once more presents itself here. As we see from 2 K $2^{8.\ 13ff.}$, miraculous virtues belong to this mantle: through its possession Elisha becomes heir also of the spirit of Elijah. It is in the light of this that we must understand 1 K 19^{19}. The mantle of Elijah, cast upon Elisha, exerts a magical power over him, compelling him to attach himself to Elijah.

The ministry of Elijah finds a fitting conclusion in the courageous front he offers to Aḥab on account of the judicial murder of Naboth (1 K $21^{17ff.}$). As Nathan had once done to David, and Aḥijah to the wife of Jeroboam I., so here Elijah comes forward, at Jahweh's command, as the embodied conscience of the theocracy to face the king. And so overwhelming is the power of his word, that Aḥab, although at first defiant (v.^{20}), ends by submitting as a humble penitent.

To sum up the results of our investigation, we gather, on the one hand, that the tradition regarding Elijah has not remained uninfluenced by legend; and, on the other hand, that prophetism even in his person still exhibits a connexion with various survivals of the most ancient conceptions—nay, even with magic. All this is said quite apart from his altogether extraordinary end—his translation to heaven in a fiery chariot with fiery horses. Whether this story (2 K 2) belongs to the original Elijah-narratives, or whether it has not rather displaced an older narrative of his end, is open to dispute. But, in any case, it is strong evidence of the estimate formed of the imposing figure of Elijah by his countrymen. Even if the legend of Elijah's translation be connected with the honorific appellation 'Israel's chariot and horsemen' (2 K 2^{12}; used also of Elisha in 13^{14}), *i.e.* equal in importance to, or taking the place of, chariots and horsemen to Israel, it remains true that such a legend could have taken its rise only about one whose activity could not be thought of but as enduring, and whose fellowship with his God was known to have been so close that its interruption seemed inconceivable. Viewed in this way, even the legend becomes a witness of the first rank to the fact that, in the times of greatest peril to the continuance of Jahwism, the God of Israel did not lack chosen vessels for His service—figures such as one would look for in vain in the whole realm of heathen religions.

(*b*) Elijah's servant and successor Elisha, who fell heir not only to his mantle but (according to 2 K $2^{9ff.}$) to a double portion of his spirit, is notably inferior in significance to him. This is partly explained by the circumstance that, after the bloody extirpation of the worship of Baal by Jehu, whose revolt against Jehoram was instigated by Elisha himself (2 K $9^{1ff.}$), there was no longer much occasion for vigorous activity in the *religious* sphere. Elisha's last interview with Joash ($13^{14ff.}$) shows clearly the high consideration which he received from the dynasty of Jehu. But even in the passages which record incidents in the reign of Jehoram, though Elisha expresses his strong disapproval of this king ($3^{13f.}$; 6^{32} probably has to do still with Aḥab), we never (except in $9^{1ff.}$) hear of his bearding the monarch after the manner of Elijah. In the forefront of the Elisha-narratives stands the sore oppression of Israel by the Syrians, and here Elisha interposes actively more than once. By the way, these Elisha-narratives, when compared with those regarding Elijah, which are not indeed without *lacunæ*, but are far more of a unity, exhibit a somewhat motley mixture of separate anecdotes, as these were supplied by the varying popular tradition. It is a vain effort to seek for a chronological thread running through them. (The unnamed king of $6^{21ff.}$ evidently belongs to the dynasty of Jehu, whereas the 'son of a murderer' of v.^{32} is in all probability Aḥab). Some narratives may be plainly recognized as imitations of the stories about Elijah (so certainly 2 K $4^{2ff.}$ compared with 1 K $17^{14ff.}$, and 2 K $4^{32ff.}$ compared with 1 K $17^{19ff.}$), and thereby betray at the same time the secondary character of the whole figure of Elisha in comparison with that of Elijah. There prevails in the Elisha-narratives an unmistakable tendency to lay special emphasis not only on his wonder-working power, but also on his high prestige and the inviolability of his person (2 K $2^{23f.}$). A recommendation from him is of great weight with the king and the commander-in-chief (2 K 4^{13}); the king readily follows his counsel and yields to his demand ($6^{21ff.}$ $13^{15ff.}$), and is anxious to hear from Elisha's servant Geḥazi of the great deeds of his master (8^{4}). The fame of Elisha extends far beyond the borders of the Northern kingdom. Jehoshaphaṭ of Judah knows that the word of God is to be found with him (3^{12}). The Syrian king Benhadad has scarcely heard of his arrival in Damascus ($8^{7ff.}$) when he sends Ḥazael to consult him about the issue of his sickness; and Ḥazael takes with him 40 camels' burden of the precious things of Damascus as a present for Elisha. Elsewhere (5^{16}) the absolute disinterestedness of the prophet is emphasized, as are his magnanimity and mildness in $6^{22ff.}$.

In regard to the activity of Elisha it is noteworthy that, while he is called by preference (28 times) 'man of God,' he also appears in the Elisha-narratives as *nābî'*, and that in the later sense of the term. So in 1 K 19^{16}, where Elijah is directed to anoint[*] him to be a *nābî*; 2 K $3^{11ff.}$, where Jehoshaphaṭ recognizes him as a true prophet, through whom Jahweh may be consulted; cf. also 5^{8}, where Elisha classes himself amongst the *nĕbî'îm*. In the mouth of others he is called without qualification 'the prophet' (5^{3} 9^{1}), receiving this title even from heathen speakers (5^{13} 6^{12}).

The methods by which Elisha works are partly the usual ones, which are recorded also of Samuel and Elijah—namely, the proclaiming of a word that has come to him from Jahweh (2 K $3^{16ff.}$ 4^{43} 7^{1}), and prayer (4^{33} $6^{17f.}$). Along with these, however, we meet in his case again with a variety of features which have been already described in speaking of Elijah, and which recall the ecstatic conditions and magical methods of the ancient *nĕbî'îm*. He needs the services of a harper if 'the hand of Jahweh' (see above, on 1 K 18^{46}) is to come upon him. Quite peculiar to him is the gift which we nowadays call telepathic sight and hearing (2 K 5^{26} $6^{12.\ 32}$ 7^{2} 8^{13}; cf. also $6^{16ff.}$, where Elisha and, at his prayer, his servant also see the heavenly horses and fiery chariots on the mountain). But with special frequency miraculous acts are attributed to him. Even if stories like the purifying of the spring at Jericho by using salt ($2^{19ff.}$), the making of bitter fruits palatable through meal ($4^{38ff.}$), or the causing of the axe to spring to the surface of the water (6^{6}) are not meant to be taken as recording miracles, but merely prove what a fondness there was for handing down the memory even of less important incidents of his life, there remain a number of others which, to say the least, place him alongside of Elijah. The wonder wrought on the widow's cruse of oil (2 K $4^{2\text{ff.}}$) exhibits a heightened form as compared with the general promise of 1 K $17^{14\text{ff.}}$; and the same is the case with the raising from the dead recorded in 2 K $4^{29\text{ff.}}$, seeing that a much longer time had elapsed since the death than in 1 K $17^{19\text{ff.}}$. At the same time 2 K $4^{29\text{ff.}}$ expressly teaches that magical weapons are not efficacious in every hand: in vain Geḥazi lays the staff of Elisha upon the face of the dead—it is only the prayer and the personal *physical* influence of the man of God that can call back to life. The fulfilment of Elisha's promise to the Shunammite (4^{16}) and of that to Naaman the leper (in the latter instance the promise being carried by a messenger) might also be attributed to the intercession of the prophet. In reality, however, the narrative may be intended to be understood to mean that the promise of the prophet is as certain to be inevitably fulfilled as was his curse ($2^{23\text{f.}}$). In $6^{18.\,20}$ it is the prayer of Elisha that strikes the Syrians blind and restores them to sight; and in both these cases (as already in 6^{17}) the efficacy of the prayer is instantaneous. The feeding of 100 men with 20 barley loaves ($4^{42\text{ff.}}$) is the counterpart of the miracle of the widow's oil-cruse; the transferring of the leprosy of Naaman to Geḥazi (5^{27}) corresponds to the instantaneous effect of the curse in 2^{24}.

---

[*] Since we never hear elsewhere of prophets being anointed, and as it is not even performed by Elijah in this instance (cf. v.^{19}), 'anoint' must here be used in the weakened sense of 'install.'

All this may be regarded as furnishing sufficient evidence that even Elisha is still closely allied to the *nĕbî’îm* in the old sense, but at the same time also that, like Elijah, he is distinguished from them, and forms along with him a connecting link between the old seers and the prophets proper. That his political activity, too, as exercised in the interest of pure Jahwism, was no slight one, would be sufficiently evidenced even by $9^{1\text{ff.}}$, and it is not without reason that he too received from king Joash the honourable appellation of 'chariot and horsemen of Israel.' Regarding what was perhaps his most important activity, the direction of the guilds of *nĕbî’îm*, we shall have to speak below.

(*c*) But we have still to notice one Israelitish prophet who in the reign of Aḥab holds as peculiar a place as Elijah himself, namely Micaiah ben-Imlah, the subject of the narrative of 1 K $22^{8\text{ff.}}$. Aḥab cannot endure him, because it is his wont always to prophesy evil to him. Jehoshaphaṭ deprecates Aḥab's remark; evidently he sees, in the very fact that Micaiah is mostly a prophet of ill, the evidence of true inspiration, whereas the unbroken harmony with which the numerous other prophets promise good fortune had awakened his distrust. In fact, Micaiah will speak only what Jahweh bids him (v.^{14}). It is thus the intention of Jahweh that he, like the others, should at first hold out deceitful promises (v.^{15}). Aḥab, however, sees through this conduct, and Micaiah, when the king presses him, delivers Jahweh's message of woe, explaining at the same time, by relating his remarkable vision, why all the rest of the prophets had become victims of the 'lying spirit': Jahweh Himself has ordered it to be so. The circumstance that Micaiah himself does not share their fate, but is informed in his vision as to the real course of Jahweh's purpose, shows sufficiently the height at which he stands above the ordinary *nĕbî’îm*; and his threat against Aḥab finds speedy realization at Ramoth-gilead. Hence we may say that Micaiah ben-Imlah is the first who bears all the marks of the true prophet of Jahweh, without anything to remind us of a connexion with the *nĕbî’îm* in the old sense.

6. With the *nĕbî’îm* of the latter class, as these belong to the time of Elijah and Elisha, we have still to occupy our attention here. Their affinity with the *nĕbî’îm* of the time of Saul consists, above all, in the circumstance that, like the latter, they make their appearance in whole groups—nay, in guilds. This is implied by the very designation so frequently applied to them—*bĕnê han-nĕbî’îm* (lit. 'sons of the prophets'). This does not mean 'pupils *or* disciples of the prophets,' but 'those who belong to the prophetic order'* (or, at times, evidently to prophetie guilds; so, *e.g.*, in 2 K $2^{3.\,5.\,7.\,15}$ $4^{1.\,38}$ 6^{1}), and in so far they are the same as the simple *nĕbî’îm* (1 K $18^{4.\,13}$ 20^{41} $22^{6\text{-}13.\,22\text{f.}}$). An individual is called *nābî’* (1 K $20^{13.\,22.\,38}$) or 'one of the *bĕnê han-nĕbî’îm*' (v.^{35}). The existence of a guild is pointed to also in 20^{41}. This passage can be understood to mean only that the prophet there spoken of put the covering above his eyes to conceal a tattooing or some other characteristic mark † by which the *nĕbî’îm* in general were recognized as belonging to the service of Jahweh.

There are a number of passages which indicate that groups of these *nĕbî’îm* lived together: so at Bethel (2 K 2^{3}) and at Jericho (v.^{5}; 4^{38} 'in Gilgal'). Such a settlement is pointed to plainly by the story about an enlargement of a building ($6^{1\text{ff.}}$). That Elisha lived with them is nowhere said; even 4^{38} implies no more than that once, when on a visit to Gilgal, he set about providing a meal for them. But it is very noteworthy that we twice (4^{38} and 6^{1}) meet with an expression which supplies us with unexpected information regarding the nature of these guilds: 'they *sit before* Elisha.' This means not simply that they group themselves around him or rejoice in his company, but that (after the manner of the NT expression 'to sit at the feet of some one') they sit before him as disciples before the master or pupils before the teacher. It is true that even here the current term 'schools of the prophets' is justified only to a very limited extent. For, in the first place, according to 4^{1} there are amongst the *bĕnê han-nĕbî’îm* even married men; and, secondly, they already exercise to a large extent (see below) a public activity. Nor do we read anywhere of any founding of these 'schools' by Elijah or Elisha. Still it appears to admit of no doubt that in 4^{38} and 6^{1} we have to do with occasional instruction of the members by Elisha, or with didactic conversations with them; nay, even the idea of their occupying themselves with religious literature is not a far-fetched one, although there is no direct allusion to it. That the relation between them and Elisha was that of disciples to a master, is favoured by the affection and reverence so evidently shown by the *nĕbî’îm* in addressing him as 'man of God.'

It might appear from the majority of the Elisha-narratives as if the *nĕbî’îm*, with him at their head, led a life wholly retired and devoted to the worship of Jahweh; but there are other passages which testify to a public activity, and that—in harmony with the main postulate of genuine prophetism—at the impulse of the spirit of Jahweh. In 1 K 20^{35} one of the *bĕnê han-nĕbî’îm* asks his companion, *by the direction of Jahweh*, to wound him; and, when he refuses, he tells him that for disobedience to the command of Jahweh he shall be torn by a lion. His message to Aḥab, again, he announces as a word from Jahweh (v.^{42}), and so already in vv.$^{13.\,28}$ [where this prophet is even called a 'man of God']. And in $22^{5\text{ff.}}$ the spirit of Jahweh is expressly spoken of in connexion with the *nĕbîʼîm*. The same Ẓedeḳiah, the son of Chenaanah, who in 1 K 22^{11} supports his promise to Aḥab by the symbol of iron horns, asks (v.^{24}) Micaiah in anger: 'In what way is the spirit of Jahweh passed from me to speak with thee?' He cannot believe that he has now become the victim of a lying spirit when he knew himself formerly to be inspired by the true spirit of Jahweh. So also in 2 K $2^{3.5}$ the question of the *bĕnê han-nĕbîʼîm* to Elisha is to be understood as meaning that they too have had it revealed to them by the spirit that the translation of Elijah is impending.

---

* Cf. above, p. 643, regarding an analogous expression, *bĕnê hā-’ĕlōhîm*.

† So Kraetzschmar, *Prophet und Seher im alten Israel*, p. 9.

Like the true Jahweh prophets, these *nĕbîʼîm* sometimes answer inquiries (1 K $22^{5ff.}$); at other times, acting on their own initiative, they proclaim the word of Jahweh in the public interest ($20^{13f.\ 28.\ 39ff.}$). In this connexion we are struck with their great numbers. 'Obadiah rescues 100 of them from the fury of Jezebel; some 400 are assembled by Aḥab (22^{6}); more than 50 live together at Gilgal (2 K $2^{7.\ 16}$). These numbers are surely evidence of the intensity of the excitement and the zeal for the God of Israel when His worship appeared to be endangered by Baal (to whom, in 1 K 18^{19}, so many as 450 *nĕbîʼîm* are attributed).

Now, it has been argued that none of the passages which speak of any public activity on the part of the *nĕbîʼîm* belong to the Elijah- and Elisha-narratives, but to the very valuable ancient 'Aḥab-source' (1 K 20. 22). The latter, it is pointed out, knows nothing of guilds of *nĕbîʼîm* or of their being directed by Elijah or Elisha, as, conversely, the Elisha-narratives know nothing of a public activity on the part of their *bĕnê han-nĕbîʼîm*. The difference between the two sources must at once be acknowledged. But their accounts are not mutually exclusive, although their historical viewpoint is different, and the period involved in the Elisha-narratives is somewhat later than the other. A very notable evidence of the continuance of the old view of the *nĕbîʼîm* is found in 2 K 9^{11}. The officers of Jehu roundly call Elisha's messenger, who in v.^{1} is expressly reckoned among the *bĕnê han-nĕbîʼîm*, a 'mad enthusiast' (מְשֻׁגָּע). This implies that there was expected of him, and certainly not of him alone but also of his comrades, an ecstatic condition, and even utterances due to a kind of possession; which shows that, in spite of the milder character of the later *nĕbîʼîm*, there were still occasional outbursts of their old nature, as we make its acquaintance in 1 S $10^{5ff.}$ and $19^{19ff.}$.

7. A final trace of the old notion of the prophetic spirit as a mysterious agency which hurries a whole crowd along is found in the narrative of Nu $11^{17.\ 25ff.}$. The latter belongs in all probability to the E source, and hence falls within the period with which we are dealing, namely, prior to the rise of written prophecy. A portion of the spirit of Jahweh, which rests upon Moses, suffices to throw 70 of the elders of Israel into a condition of rapture. Two who remained behind in the camp, Eldad and Medad, are seized even *there* by the spirit of Jahweh because they also are marked out as amongst those destined to share in the leadership of the people (cf. v.^{17}). This endowment with the spirit for more secular ends is indeed foreign to the oldest point of view; but, on the other hand, the seizure of whole groups by the spirit of Jahweh finds its only analogy in the old *nĕbîʼîm*, so that we could not deal with this case except by way of appendix to our account of the latter.

3. **Nazirites.**—1. Amongst those who served as express organs of genuine Jahwism we must, further, include the Nazirites. The name (נָזִיר) is generally explained to mean 'the consecrated one.' But

it is questionable if the verbal forms to which appeal is made in favour of this sense are not derived from the substantive *nāzîr*, and this again from *nēzer*, the [consecrated] head-ornament (frequently used of a diadem, but also of the unshorn hair of the head). In that case *nāzîr* would denote originally one whose head is graced with unshorn hair—a view which is supported by the circumstance that in Lv $25^{5.\ 11}$ the unpruned vine, which is still decked with its full quota of leaves, is likewise called *nāzîr*. All the same, we do not mean to deny that the notion of 'consecrated' one came, at an early period, to be connected with *nāzîr*; so especially in the collocation 'a *nāzîr* of God,' Jg $13^{5.\ 7}$ 16^{17}.

2. The few OT passages which inform us as to the Nazirate are all at one as to its being a condition of consecration to God which shows itself in submitting to certain restrictions. Three of these are specified: the leaving of the hair of the head unshorn, abstinence from wine and intoxicating drink, and the avoiding of defilement by a corpse. It is questionable, however, whether these restrictions were always in force at the same time, and especially is there doubt as to the relation between the obligation for life and the obligation for a fixed period. We must first, therefore, examine the various statements separately.

3. The only historical instance of a Nazirite is Samson. As to Samuel, who is also usually included among the Nazirites, all that is said in 1 S 1^{11} is that his mother vowed before his birth to give him over to Jahweh for life, and that no razor was to come upon his head. But his not being shorn did not suffice to constitute him a Nazirite; according to Ezk 44^{20} this was no unusual practice with priests, and it may have meant no more in the case of Samuel; at all events, he is never called a Nazirite.

The Nazirate of Samson is spoken of in Jg 13^{4-14} and, indirectly, in $16^{17ff.}$. According to ch. 13 he was, even before his birth, expressly marked out by the angel of Jahweh as 'consecrated to God.' At the same time his mother is bound over—evidently prior to, and during, pregnancy—to abstain from wine * and intoxicating drink, and from unclean food; while no razor is to come upon the head of her child, who, from his mother's womb down to the day of his death, is to be consecrated to God. Now, it is surely very surprising that the obligation to abstain from wine and what is unclean is imposed, not upon the son, for whom such abstinence would have been equally possible, but upon the mother. Everywhere else it is taken for granted that the Nazirite himself abstains from wine. Hence we are forced to the conclusion that the abstinence from wine enjoined upon the mother in vv.$^{4.\ 7.\ 13f.}$ was afterwards † inserted by some one who could not conceive of a Nazirate without any such prohibition. Seeing that, in the story of Samson (ch. 14 f.; cf. esp. $14^{10.\ 12.\ 17}$) the practice of the hero himself gave no countenance to such a theory, recourse was had to the expedient adopted in ch. 13.

Accordingly, the Nazirate of Samson is based exclusively upon his unshorn hair, and, as a matter of fact, the greatest stress is laid upon the latter in $16^{17ff.}$. His enormous strength is bound up with his hair remaining inviolate, and that simply because the presence of Jahweh is, in some mysterious way, connected with the hair. After the seven locks have been cut off his head, he becomes weaker and weaker (v.^{19}); he strives in vain to free

* In v.^{14} the prohibition is extended to 'all that comes from the vine' (as in Nu 6^{4}); but this is probably a later addition, as is indicated even by its position, *before* the main prohibition.

† That it is so in v.^{4} is clear from the fact that in v.^{5a} the closing words of v.^{3} are repeated.

himself, 'for he knew not that Jahweh was departed from him' (v.^{20}). On the other hand, when his hair had grown again, he recovered the strength for his last achievement in the destruction of the Philistines.

All this shows that the Nazirate of Samson is a condition in which he is under the influence of the spirit of Jahweh, and that this condition is connected with the hair of his head being unshorn. The spirit appears, indeed, to be often latent, breaking into action only on special occasions (cf. Jg 13^{25}). Violently seized by the spirit of Jahweh, he tears asunder the lion (14^{6}), slaughters 30 Philistines at Ashkelon (v.^{19}), bursts his bonds and kills 1000 Philistines with the jawbone of an ass (15$^{14ff.}$). It is therefore, above all, displays of strength against the foes of his people for which the spirit of Jahweh endows him, and his Nazirate recalls certain phenomena that present themselves elsewhere, in which we have to do with vows and forms of abstinence for warlike ends.* An analogy is presented, in particular, by the Arab warriors, who vow to leave the hair of their head unshorn during the whole period of a war of revenge, and to make a fire-offering of it after revenge has been achieved. The only difference would be that in the case of Samson it was no vow for a fixed period, but a 'perpetual warlike consecration' (Schwally). For his proposal to enter into friendly relations with the Philistines by marriage (14$^{1ff.}$) is expressly traced (v.^{4}) to a providential dispensation of Jahweh, 'because he sought an occasion [for hostilities] against the Philistines.' This, his life-work, is pointed to from the first (v.^{5b}). As a matter of fact, all that is related of him in ch. 15 resolves itself into a series of single combats with the Philistines. We have already noted that in this warlike Nazirate no regard is paid to abstinence from wine. And it is sufficiently evident from 14$^{8f.}$ that there can be as little question of avoiding unclean food.

4. We receive quite a different impression of the Nazirites from Am 2$^{11f.}$ 'And I raised up of your sons for prophets, and of your young men for Nazirites. . . . But ye gave the Nazirites wine to drink, and commanded the prophets, saying, Prophesy not.' Here it is evident that the Nazirate is based essentially upon the prohibition of wine, and it is not easy to hold that the prohibition of cutting the hair is passed over simply because it is taken for granted. We must conclude rather that in Amos we have to do with a different form of Nazirate, which reminds us strongly of the vow of the Rechabites (see below). Regarding the nature and aim of this Nazirate, we must indeed have recourse to pure conjecture. Only this much is clear from the words of Amos—since he places the Nazirites in parallelism with the prophets—that the Nazirate is a condition approved by Jahweh and consecrated to His service. To induce the Nazirite to break his vow to abstain from wine is as great a religious enormity as to prevent the prophet from delivering the message with which Jahweh has charged him. Further, the Nazirate here spoken of is probably thought of as life-long, as is the case with the prophetic office which appears in parallelism with it. As to the purpose, however, for which Nazirites were raised up we are quite in the dark. May it be that here again we are to think of unwearied service of Jahweh in war against the foes of His people (as, for instance, the Aramæans)? Or, was the abstaining from wine meant (as in the case of the Rechabites) to be a silent protest against the seductive products of the culture of Baal's land, and thus, at the same time, a standing allusion to Jahweh as the God of Israel? In any case, we must assume that the Nazirite, prior to and during the time of Amos, had certain positive services to render in order to justify his title of 'one consecrated to God.'

5. In connexion with these scanty testimonies to a historical Nazirate we must look also at the legal Nazirate of Nu 6. The oldest part* of this code (vv.$^{2-8}$) requires, in the case of every man or woman who desires to pay the vow of a *nāzîr*, that there shall be, for the whole period of duration of the vow, a strict abstinence from wine and everything that comes from the vine, as well as a careful guarding against defilement by a corpse—even that of one's nearest relation. But, in addition to this, the Nazirite must, during the period of his vow, leave the hair of his head unshorn, for in this, above all, according to v.^{7}, is represented the consecration to his God. The difference between this Nazirate and that which meets us in history is at once apparent. The characteristics encountered separately in Jg 13 and Am 2^{11} are here combined, and a new requirement is added, namely, that of avoiding defilement by a corpse. Another new and very surprising feature is the extending of the Nazirate to women, whereas elsewhere the only place allowed to women in the cultus appears to be participation in the sacrificial meals. But in every instance we have to do only with a temporary vow, not (as in the case of Samson and probably also Am 2^{11}) with a life-long obligation.

About the significance of the Nazirate, so far as the Priests' Code is concerned, we are not left in doubt. The only other class that are commanded to avoid defilement by a corpse are the priests. But an exception is allowed, even in their case (Lv 21^{2}), when it is the corpse of their nearest blood relation. On the other hand the prohibition is absolute for the high priest (v.^{11}). Now, when the same demand is made on the Nazirites, a kind of enhanced priestly dignity is accorded them, a lay priesthood, indeed, and one without official functions (which would be *per se* inconceivable in the case of a woman), but yet allied to the actual priesthood as a condition of high consecration to God. In all probability, the Priests' Code has in this way discovered the desired expedient whereby the ancestral and highly esteemed institution of the Nazirate, which, as life-long, had no proper place in the priestly State, might yet be conserved and worthily incorporated among the institutions of the post-exilic theocracy. As always happens in such instances, everything is stripped off in this process which could possibly be regarded as a survival of ancient naturalistic or even heathen notions. The unshorn hair is no longer, as in the case of Samson, the medium of mysterious powers and a pledge of the immediate nearness of Jahweh. Rather is it inviolable because it forms part of the body which, as a whole, is consecrated to God, and the hair is a principal sign of this consecration. Again, the prohibition of wine, which, as we found above, had quite a peculiar significance for the ancient Nazirite, is probably, in Nu 6, to be thought of as finding its motive in the similar prohibition laid upon priests during the exercise of their official functions (Lv 10^{9}).

Somewhat later than Nu 6$^{2-8}$ are the prescriptions in vv.$^{13-21}$ regarding the release of a Nazirite after the expiry of the period of his consecration. In addition to various animal offerings he has to take his hair, which has been cut off before the door of the sanctuary, and cast it into the fire which is under the peace-offering. This enactment is not, however, to lead us to see in the hair-offering the kernel and purpose of the Nazirate as a whole (as if, for instance, it were a symbolical offering of the body in the form of the representative offering of a part of it). It is quite possible that the hair-offering elsewhere, especially on Semitic soil, has an independent significance of this kind. But it has certainly no such significance in Nu 6[13ff.]. Rather is the burning in the fire of the altar the simplest way of getting rid of what had once been consecrated to God, and hence could not be treated as a common thing. Similarly, the parts of the sin-offering victim which cannot be presented on the altar are required (Ex 29[14], Lv 4[11f. 21] 6[23]) to be burned elsewhere. The burning of the Nazirite's hair *in* the altar-fire may be a feature corresponding to the ancient usage, which was retained by the Priests' Code without the hair having on that account a sacrificial character conferred upon it. The latest component in Nu 6 is undoubtedly vv.[9-12], containing prescriptions for the case of a Nazirite who has been rendered Levitically unclean by a death occurring suddenly beside him. In that event the consecrated hair is to be cut off, and, after certain guilt-offerings have been presented, the period of consecration is to begin *de novo*.

---

* Cf., on this subject, above all, W. R. Smith, *RS*^{2} 333 f., and Schwally, *Semit. Kriegsaltertümer*, i. 101 ff.

* Cf., for the above analysis, Wurster in *ZATW* iv. (1884) p. 126.

4. Rechabites.—We have already called attention to the close affinity subsisting between the prohibition of wine to the Nazirites and the corresponding vow of the Rechabites.* But, even apart from this, the latter must be dealt with here, because their founding as a religious sect falls, at latest, in the time of Jehoram the son of Ahab, *i.e.* before B.C. 842.

1. We read in 2 K 10[15f.] that the usurper Jehu, while driving along the road from Jezreel to Samaria, met Jonadab the son [or descendant of the family] of Rechab, and gave him his hand in token of his regard, and took him up into his chariot that he might enjoy the spectacle of Jehu's zeal for Jahweh. From this summary notice we can only suppose that Jonadab was an influential man upon whose adherence Jehu must have laid weight, and that he was inspired with the same zeal for Jahweh as Jehu himself.

2. Fortunately, a much later passage, Jer 35, has preserved for us more exact details regarding the significance of this Jonadab. During the reign of Jehoiaḳim, after the Chaldæans had moved into Judah (*i.e.* in B.C. 602 or shortly thereafter), Jeremiah is directed by Jahweh to bring the guild of the Rechabites into a chamber of the temple and to set wine before them. But the Rechabites [whose names one and all end with *Jah* (Jahweh)] flatly refuse to drink wine, and appeal to the prohibition of their ancestor Jonadab the son of Rechab, who had enjoined them not only to abstain from the use of wine, but to neglect the building of houses and every species of agriculture. They had always remained true to this prohibition, and only the invasion of Nebuchadreẓẓar had compelled them to take refuge in Jerusalem. Thereupon Jeremiah reproaches the Judahites, pointing out how this example of fidelity to a human command puts to shame those who are constantly disobedient to their God. To the Rechabites, on the other hand, he announces as a recompense that they shall never want descendants in the service of Jahweh.

3. This last expression shows that their manner of life amounts to a kind of service of Jahweh. For it is a protest against the whole system of culture connected with the settled mode of life, with the tilling of the soil, and, above all, with vine-culture. The life of the nomads in the steppes knew nothing of all this; it was exclusively devoted to the service of Jahweh, the God of the desert, who manifested Himself, above all, in storm and in battle, against the foes of His people. But, since Israel had forsaken their tents and appropriated all the benefits of Canaanite culture, they had fallen a prey to the seductive influences which accompanied these, including not only luxury and intemperance, but even idolatry. The only way of escape from this lay in a resolute return to the pre-Canaanite manner, a renunciation of the false benefits of culture. And it cannot be doubted that this return was coupled at the same time with the rigid observance of the oldest ritual usages in the service of Jahweh, although, unfortunately, no information on this point has come down to us. In any case, this oldest type of anchoritism, on the part of a whole tribe, from religious motives, is something very peculiar, and demanding of appraisement: these Rechabites have as good a claim to be reckoned organs of genuine Jahwism as the *nĕbî'îm*. The explanation of the circumstance that it was *this* particular family that felt called on to protest against the cultivating of the fruit-land is perhaps to be found in 1 Ch 2[55], where Ḥammath, the [tribal] father of the house of Rechab, is reckoned among the Ḳenites. The latter are, according to Jg 4[11], the descendants of Ḥobab, the father-in-law of Moses. The Ḳenites who attached themselves to Israel at the Exodus (Jg 1[16]) continued even at a later period to live a nomadic life, partly in the Plain of Jezreel (Jg 5[24]), partly in the extreme south of the country among the Amaleḳites (1 S 15[6]). The action of Jonadab may thus have consisted in recalling to the ancient nomad life that portion of his tribe which had adopted settled habits. True, before accepting this explanation it must first be proved that by the 'house of Rechab' in 1 Ch 2[55] is meant exactly the same family as in Jer 35[2]. According to Neh 3[14] one Malchijah the son of Rechab helped to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem. This seems to prove the continued existence of the guild in post-exilic times. But how can this Malchijah be called at the same time 'the ruler of the district of Beth-haccherem,' if he adhered to the tent-life enjoined by Jonadab?

5. 'Judges' and kings.—If we include, finally, the 'judges' and kings of ancient Israel among the organs of genuine Jahwism, this is justifiable not only on the ground that all of them (down at least to David) were expressly chosen and called by Jahweh to be leaders and saviours of the people, but, above all, because they too were filled with the 'spirit of Jahweh' as a mysterious agency, and thereby were fitted for the performance of extraordinary deeds.

1. It is true that P is the first to tell us that Joshua, as a man in whom the spirit is, is consecrated by Moses to be his successor, by the laying on of his hands (Nu 27[18f.]). On the other hand, the early 'hero-narratives' (and not merely the author of the present scheme to which the book is adjusted, *e.g.* 3[10]) in the Book of Judges are already aware that the spirit of Jahweh was powerfully at work in those heroes: so in Gideon (6[34]), Jephthah (11[29]), and frequently Samson (see above, p. 657[b] f.).

2. In the case of the kings, however, the spirit is imparted by means of *anointing*.* This is expressly recorded for Saul (1 S 10[1]), David (2 S 2[4]; the story of the anointing of David by Samuel in 1 S 16[13] is a late *midrāsh*), Solomon (by Ẓadoḳ, 1 K 1[39]), and Jehu (2 K 9[6]). From the passage last cited, as well as from 1 S 10[1], it is evident that the anointing consisted of no mere smearing process, but of a pouring of oil upon the head. Of all the manifold interpretations of this symbolical action, that one has most in its favour which starts from the oil-libation. This, too, consisted in *pouring oil over* (*e.g.* the stone of Bethel, Gn 28[18] 31[13]), and

---

* Cf. L. Gautier's art. 'À propos des Récabites' in *Liberté Chrétienne*, 15th June 1901.

* Cf. on this subject Weinel's art. 'Mashaḥ [salben] und seine Derivate' in *ZATW* xviii. (1898) p. 1 ff.

imparted to the anointed object the character of something consecrated and sacrosanct. Both these features come out clearly in connexion with the anointing of kings. As one consecrated to Jahweh the king is called frequently 'my anointed,' or 'his [Jahweh's] anointed,' or even 'the anointed of Jahweh,' *i.e.* one who by anointing has been in a special manner assigned or consecrated to Him. On that very account the king is sacred, and hence it is a heinous sin 'to put forth one's hand on the anointed of Jahweh' (1 S $26^{9.\,11.\,23}$ of Saul, 2 S $19^{22\,(21)}$ of David). A consecration rite, analogous to the oil-libation, is favoured, further, by the circumstance that the anointing is performed with 'holy' (*i.e.* used in the cultus for other purposes as well) oil; cf. *e.g.* Ps $89^{21\,(20)}$, with reference to David. Zadok in 1 K 1^{39} takes not *a* but *the* oil-horn (filled with holy oil) out of the tent (of the sacred Ark) for the anointing of Solomon; and in 2 K 9^{1} Elisha hands over a vessel of oil to the prophet who is to anoint Jehu, so that here again the use of any ordinary vessel appears to be excluded. In P, finally, the anointing of the sacred fittings and utensils (Ex $30^{26\text{ff.}}$) is plainly an act of consecration, while in the case of the priests the terms 'anoint' and 'consecrate' frequently appear in parallelism (Lv $8^{10\text{f.}}$ *et al.*).

The efficacy of the anointing of kings is not, however, exhausted by the notions of consecration and the imparting of a sacrosanct character. The spirit of Jahweh is also communicated. This is plain already from the story of the anointing of Saul. Directly after it had been performed, Samuel announced to Saul (1 S $10^{5\text{ff.}}$) that, when he should meet with the *nĕbî'îm* at Gibeah, the spirit of Jahweh would come upon him, and he would be changed into another man. And, when this comes to pass, it is not merely that Saul is infected by the example of the *nĕbî'îm*; for the spirit of Jahweh has been in him ever since his anointing,[*] and only waits for an external occasion to reveal itself. In 11^{6} the occasion is different, but the effect is the same. The melancholy of Saul is attributed in 16^{14} to the spirit of Jahweh (which had been imparted to him at his anointing) having departed from him, and an 'evil spirit'—likewise proceeding from Jahweh—having come in its place to trouble him.

In favour of the great antiquity of anointing, and its having been taken over by Israel from the Canaanites, is its mention in the Tel el-Amarna letters.[†] But it is a question whether on the soil of Jahwism it did not assume another, deeper religious significance. It is true that even here the efficacy of the oil is still thought of as not merely symbolical, but direct and physical—nay, as establishing a sacramental fellowship between the Deity to whom the holy oil is consecrated and the man who is anointed with it.[‡] This view of the matter may have been borrowed from the Canaanites, but a specifically Israelitish origin may be confidently claimed for the connecting of the anointing with the bestowal of the spirit of Jahweh. This answers best to the idea of the spirit of Jahweh as the principle which shows its creative activity on all sides, and which gives birth to special powers—an idea whose many-sided development and application we owe undoubtedly to Jahwism alone.

3. It is clear that such a conception and religious estimate of the anointing of the king could not have taken root unless—at least at the outset—the monarchy had been considered a blessing, a gracious gift of Jahweh.[*] And this is, in point of fact, the standpoint of the early sources. Even if the 'shout of a king' in Nu 23^{21} should be referred rather to Jahweh than to the earthly king, there is still left the weighty testimony of 1 S $9^{15\text{f.}}$. According to this passage, Jahweh Himself commanded Samuel to anoint Saul: 'he shall deliver my people from the power of the Philistines, for I have looked upon the oppression of my people, since their cry for help has reached me.' A long course of unhappy experiences of the monarchy must have intervened before this conception could be expelled by the wholly different one which meets us in the later source (1 S 8. $10^{17\text{ff.}}$ 12). Here the earthly kingship is regarded as implying a denial of Jahweh, the true King—a falling away from the principle once laid down, according to Jg $8^{22\text{f.}}$, by Gideon. It was said to have been with the utmost reluctance that Samuel at last yielded to the people's improper demand for a king. He did so at Jahweh's command, but not without warning the people that one day they would cry out in vain because of the king whom they had themselves chosen. The early conception knew of no such scruples. It was Jahweh Himself, according to it, that designed the monarchy; true, it was He also that brought about the unhappy disruption of the kingdom. For it was in His name that the prophet Aḥijah of Shiloh foretold to Jeroboam I. the breaking off of the ten Northern tribes from Judah. Aḥijah, as an Ephraimite, naturally represents here the standpoint which afterwards prevailed in the Northern kingdom: the real heir of the kingdom of David and Solomon is the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, which accordingly even retained the collective name 'Israel.' It is Judah that has broken off from *it*; hence the prayer in the Ephraimitic Blessing of Moses (Dt 33^{7}): 'Hear, O Jahweh, the cry of Judah, and bring him back to his people.' On the other hand, the Judahite view of the disruption of the kingdom is presented to us in Is 7^{17}: it was a misfortune, a time of sorest distress for Judah, 'when Ephraim *departed from* Judah.'

At the close of this survey of the organs of genuine Jahwism we have still to refer to a circumstance which establishes an essential difference between the religion of Israel—even at this stage—and the other popular religions so closely allied to it in many respects. Apart from the priests, of whose anointing and consequent filling with the spirit no evidence can be adduced for the pre-exilic period, all other organs of Jahweh are fitted for the exercise of their office by the inward working of His spirit. Such a working on seers and prophets, throwing them into an ecstatic condition, is known to heathenism as well. But it does not know *that* working of the spirit of God which impels the 'man of God' to present himself before kings unsummoned, and by sharp condemnation of their sins to obtain satisfaction for outraged justice and morality. In this way Nathan and Elijah become forerunners of the prophets proper, and, long before the day of the latter, prove that Jahweh is always and for all members of His people an absolutely moral Being. To recognize this truth and to impress it on all is the main task of those whom the spirit of Jahweh has constituted His organs. Once more we have to ask:

---

[*] The author of the *midrāsh* in $16^{1\text{ff.}}$ understands this rightly when in v.^{13} he makes the spirit of Jahweh come upon David 'from that day forward.'

[†] Cf. H. Winckler, *Die Thontafeln von Tell-el-Amarna*, Berlin, 1896, p. 99 (Letter 37 of Ramman-nirari to the Pharaoh), line 4: 'Behold, when Manaḫbi(r)ia, king of Egypt . . . installed my grandfather in Nuhašši as king, and poured oil upon his head,' etc.

[‡] Weinel, *l.c.* p. 54: 'When the priest at the holy place pours consecrated oil on the king's head, he conveys the material and character of holiness to him, and makes him a participator in Jahweh's superior life.'

[*] Cf. J. Boehmer, *Gottesgedanken in Israels Königtum*, Gütersloh, 1902; K. Budde, *Die Schätzung des Königtums im AT*, Marburg, 1903.

Is anything like this even remotely conceivable in the religion of a Chemosh or a Milcom?

v. *CULTUS AND MANNERS.*—1. In the matter of the cultus, some changes from the state of things in the preceding period must have been introduced in consequence of the above-mentioned taking over of the ancient Canaanite sanctuaries. The places of worship (or, what is the same thing for this period, places of sacrifice) are **high places** בָּמוֹת *bāmôth*),* that is, primarily, the hills and rising grounds in the neighbourhood of the particular localities (so, *e.g.*, 1 S 9^{13} 10^{5}), but afterwards standing also for places of sacrifice upon mountains, such as the Mount of Olives, Mt. Carmel, Mt. Tabor, all of which are mentioned upon occasion as places of worship. Hence the Syrians speak (1 K 20^{23}) of Jahweh as 'a god of the mountains,' who can be combated with success only on the low ground (cf. also Gn 22^{14}, if the correct rendering there is 'Upon the mountain Jahweh appears'). It was evidently a pre-Canaanite custom to complete the apparatus of a place of worship by providing, in addition to the altar, a *maẓẓēbāh* and an *'ăshērāh* or sacred pole (see above, p. 620). Since the *maẓẓēbāh* was a pledge of the presence of the Deity, a *bēth 'ĕlōhîm* or shrine containing a Divine image was not indispensable. Such 'high place temples' appear, it is true, more frequently in later writers in the catalogue of Israel's sins (1 K 13^{32}, 2 K $17^{29.\ 32}$ 23^{19}), but in olden times (as the medium for obtaining oracles) they are mentioned even apart from any connexion with 'heights.' In 1 S 9^{22}, again, we read of a *lishkāh*, that is, a room at the place of sacrifice, in which the sacrificial meal was eaten. A further evidence that *bāmāh* might stand also for the sanctuary erected on the height is found in the frequent mention (1 K 11^{7} 14^{23} etc.) of building as well as (2 K 23^{8}) pulling down the *bāmôth*. The last-cited passage shows, moreover, that a *bāmāh* might stand on quite a small (artificial) height, else *bāmôth* at the entrance of the door of Joshua the governor of the city could not be spoken of. On the other hand, 2 K 23^{15} shows that the *bāmāh* is not identical with the altar. The latter, as we see from Ex $20^{24ff.}$, might be built either of earth (*i.e.*, probably, sods) or of stones; but the latter, to avoid desecration, must not be dressed with iron tools. It was likewise forbidden to ascend the altar by steps, to prevent indecent exposure of one's person. Both these regulations are plainly intended by way of protest against innovations that had crept in, and in favour of the ancient simple ritual usages, which were as yet quite uninfluenced by art and higher culture. It may be added that Ex $20^{24ff.}$ is irrefutable evidence that the author of the Book of the Covenant knew nothing of the requirement of *one* central sanctuary.†

2. The central feature of the cultus continued to be *sacrifice*. The original significance of the latter (cf. above, p. 618), as the sacral communion of the offerers with the Deity and with one another, still finds its only expression during this period in the form of the common sacrificial meals,‡ of which we have instructive instances in 1 S $1^{4ff.}$ and $9^{12ff.}$. According to the latter passage, the guests at the meal number about 30 persons, specially invited; and, before they begin to eat, a blessing is pronounced (something after the manner of our saying of grace) by Samuel (v.^{13}). According to 1 S $2^{13f.}$, the offerer himself killed the victim and boiled its flesh; but even the portion for the priests could not be taken till the portion of Jahweh, namely the fat, had been burned [on the altar]. There is no mention in this passage of a sprinkling of blood on the altar, but this is no doubt taken for granted; at all events, the eating of the flesh *with* the blood is regarded in 1 S $14^{32f.}$ as a heinous offence.

Like the fat and blood of the meal-offering, the burnt-offering or whole-offering also falls completely under the category of a cheering *gift*, the presenting of food. This comes out very clearly in the offering which Gideon presents to the angel of Jahweh (Jg $6^{18ff.}$). He calls it by the ancient name applied to every species of offering—מִנְחָה, 'gift' (cf. Gn $4^{3ff.}$). It consists of a kid of the goats and unleavened cakes of an ephah [about 8 gals.] of meal. The [boiled] flesh is put by Gideon in a basket, and the broth in a pot. Then, at the angel's bidding, he lays the flesh and the cakes upon a stone [which, as in 1 S 14^{33}, takes the place of the altar] and pours the broth over them. The meal is now ready, and is consumed by the fire that comes out of the rock. In like manner, Manoaḥ (Jg 13^{19}) offers to the angel of Jahweh a kid of the goats, with the proper accompaniments, upon the rock [in v.^{20} it is called 'altar'], as a burnt-offering (v.^{23}). Both offerings—that of Gideon and that of Manoaḥ—would have been inconceivable to the ritual of P, and for that very reason they may be supposed to represent the sacrificial usages of the narrator's own time. It may be added that for the whole of this period burnt-offerings were the exception, although upon quite special occasions they might be presented in great numbers. Thus Solomon, at his accession, offered (1 K 3^{4}) upon the 'great high place' at Gibeon 1000 burnt-offerings; and, at the dedication of the temple (8^{64}), found it necessary to consecrate the middle portion of the forecourt [as a place of sacrifice], because the altar was unable to contain all the burnt-offerings and the fat of the meal-offerings.

During this period there is no mention of other species of offerings * (apart from the fruit-offerings, which were presented at all periods [Ex 23^{19}], amongst which must be included the regularly renewed 'shewbread' of the sanctuary [1 S $21^{5.\ 7}$]) As is shown by Gn 8^{20}, the burnt-offering serves also as a thank-offering, just as in 1 S 7^{9} (in the form of a sucking lamb) it is an offering with a propitiatory and intercessory aim. The same character belongs to the burnt-offerings presented by Saul (1 S $13^{9f.}$ along with peace-offerings) as inaugural offerings before commencing his campaign against the Philistines, and David's offering at the threshing-floor of Araunah (2 S $24^{22ff.}$). On the other hand, more general names are used to designate propitiatory offerings (1 S 3^{14} slaughter-offering and *minḥah*, 26^{19} *minḥah*). Regarding human sacrifices during this period, see above, p. 618^{b} f.; on the significance still retained throughout the whole period by the sacred Ark, see p. 628 ff.; and on the institution of the 'ban,' see p. 619^{b}.

---

* Cf. Piepenbring, art. 'Histoire des lieux de culte et du sacerdoce en Israel' in *Revue de l'Hist. des Religions*, Juill.-Août, 1891; v. Gall, *Altisrael. Cultstätten*, Giessen, 1898 [where 106 names are discussed].

† The obvious contradiction with the Deuteronomic legislation is sought to be removed in the MT of Ex 20^{24} by the reading בְּכָל־הַמָּקוֹם ('in the whole place'), as if here too *one* central sanctuary were spoken of. But the whole context requires בְּכָל־מָקוֹם ('in every place'), and this was still read by the LXX (*ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ*).

‡ These are called sometimes simply זְבָחִים, *i.e.* 'slaughter-offerings' intended to be eaten (Ex 18^{12}, 2 S 15^{12} *et al.*), or שְׁלָמִים (Ex 20^{24}, 1 S 11^{15} *et al.*), but also, using the complete expression, *zĕbāḥîm shĕlāmîm*, *i.e.* 'slaughter-offerings in the form of *shĕlāmîm*-offerings' (Ex 24^{5} *et al.*). The meaning of the latter term [sing. *shélem*, Am 5^{22} only] is still disputed. The choice lies between 'peace [=safety]-offering,' *i.e.* in testimony of the peaceful relation with the Deity, and 'recompense- *or* thank-offering.'

* In 1 S 6^{3} אָשָׁם is not a guilt-offering in P's sense, and in 2 K $12^{17\,(16)}$ it is not guilt- and sin-offerings in the proper sense that are spoken of, but money contributions which bear the names אָשָׁם and חַטָּאת.

3. There are extremely few notices of *festivals*—a proof that even in this sphere custom rather than legal prescription was the ruling principle. (*a*) It cannot, indeed, be doubted that even the oldest form of the Decalogue contained a command to rest on the **Sabbath** (cf. also Ex 34^{21}, in the so-called Jahwistic Decalogue), but it is noteworthy that in the Book of the Covenant (Ex 23^{12}, cf. also Dt 5^{12}) it is enforced, not with religious but with humanitarian motives, such as care for the refreshing of cattle and ass, slave and *gēr*. In the same source (23$^{10f.}$) we find already an approach to the keeping of a Sabbatical year: every seven years the fields, the vineyards, and oliveyards are to lie fallow—evidently, however, not all at the same time, but each in its turn—that the [spontaneous] produce may be for the benefit of the poor and the beasts of the field. It will be observed that here again the motive is humanitarian, not religious.

(*b*) Along with the Sabbath a special festal significance belongs to the **New Moon** (and that far beyond our period). From 1 S 20$^{5ff. 24ff.}$ we see that the New Moon festivities even lasted for two days, being made the occasion of a common [sacrificial] meal, and at the same time that it was a favourite practice to present the year's offerings of whole families at the New Moon. In 2 K 4^{23}, again, it is assumed that the Sabbaths and New Moons (when riding-animals were available) were readily utilized for undertaking journeys to consult a 'man of God.' Further, Am 8^{5} shows that on Sabbaths and at New Moons there was a cessation, not only from field work but also from trade and the ordinary business of life.

(*c*) For the three regular annual festivals—apart, perhaps, from the Harvest festival—we have no real testimony for this period except the legal prescriptions in the Book of the Covenant (Ex 23$^{14ff.}$) and the almost identical text of Ex 34$^{18ff.}$. According to these, all males are to appear three times a year before Jahweh (*i.e.* at some sanctuary) with gifts. (*α*) The first of these is the **Feast of Unleavened Bread** (*Maẓẓôth*), which is to be held for seven days in the month Abib, the month when the grain passes into the ear. Here, then, the *Peṣaḥ* day is included in the *Maẓẓôth* festival (cf., on the original significance of each of these, above, p. 622^{a}); but the prescription of 34$^{19f.}$ regarding the presenting of the firstlings of cattle shows that in this code there must have been at one time mention of the *Peṣaḥ* as well.* The emphasis laid upon the month Abib as the month of the Exodus from Egypt is the first approach to a theocratic motive, *i.e.* one derived from the religious history of the people.—(*β*) The second occasion is the **Feast of Weeks** (*i.e.*, as follows from Dt 16^{9}, seven weeks after the beginning of the [barley] harvest), as the feast of firstfruits of the wheat harvest.—(*γ*) Thirdly, there is the **Feast of Harvest**, of the fruit and vintage, at the close of the year.

The Feast of Weeks and that of Harvest, as being purely harvest-thanksgiving festivals, were not possible till after Israel's entrance into Canaan. A trace of their having been borrowed from the Canaanites is found in Jg 9^{27}, where the vintage festival, under the name *hillûlîm* ('jubilant rejoicing') is celebrated by the [heathen] Shechemites. For Israel itself the Feast of Harvest is the only one for which we have historical testimony (Jg 21$^{19ff.}$, where it is celebrated by the maidens of Shiloh with dances in the vineyards; and in all probability also 1 S 1^{3}). Hence it is often called simply *the* Feast, and that not only in early passages like Jg 21^{19} and 1 K 8$^{2. 65 (?)}$, but even as late as Ezk 45^{25}.

There is as yet no fixed date for the festivals (apart from the general assignment of the spring festival to the month Abib).* People were guided, as is natural in the case of harvest festivals, by considerations of weather and climate, and in consequence held the feasts at different dates in different places. This view is supported by the frequently recurring expression 'proclaim a feast,' *i.e.* invite to the keeping of it by intimating its date. The self-evident terms of Sabbath and New Moon needed no such intimation.

That the festivals in ancient times were, without exception, occasions of rejoicing is shown by a great many expressions: to celebrate a festival and to rejoice before Jahweh are practically identical notions. The suspicion of Eli (1 S 1^{13}) and the stern denunciation of Isaiah (Is 28$^{7f.}$) prove that the sacrificial meals which (along with the dances, Ex 32^{6}, Jg 21^{21}; the religious dance, with musical accompaniment, of 2 S 6^{5} belongs to a different category) formed the culminating point of the festival, readily led to excesses. It was a still worse feature that immoral ritual practices were taken over from the Canaanites. In Hos 4$^{13f.}$ fornication and adultery are evidently connected with the sacrificial meals at the high place cult under every green tree; and Am 2^{7} (like Hos 4^{14}) refers to the evil of the קְדֵשׁוֹת *ḳĕdēshôth*, or 'sacred [girls],' who, in accordance with a widespread practice of the heathen Semites, prostituted themselves in honour of the Deity. No less frequent is the mention of male *hierodouloi* (*ḳĕdēshîm*). It cannot, unfortunately, be denied that, in spite of the energetic protests of the prophets and the prohibitions of the Law, the notion that such practices were reconcilable even with Jahwism must have been pretty widely prevalent in Israel. It is indeed mentioned to the honour of king Asa (in 1 K 15^{12}) that he expelled the *ḳĕdēshîm* (whose presence is witnessed to as early as the reign of Rehoboam, 1 K 14^{24}) from Judah; yet not only do we hear of remnants of them under Jehoshaphaṭ (1 K 22^{46}), but it is recorded of Josiah that (in the year B.C. 623) he broke down the houses of the *ḳĕdēshîm* which were situated by the temple of Jahweh (2 K 23^{7}). The latter statement permits of no other explanation than that this abuse was connected with the cult of Jahweh. The prohibition contained in Dt 23$^{18 (17)}$ might, if need be, be referred to *ḳĕdēshîm* and *ḳĕdēshôth* in the service of a heathen deity, but v.$^{19 (18)}$ shows clearly that it was nothing uncommon to bring the earnings of these male [here called 'dog'] and female *hierodouloi* as a votive offering into the temple of Jahweh. This would, however, be quite inconsistent if we were intended to think of them as in the service of another god.

4. Outside the cultus proper stands communion with the Deity by seeking and obtaining *oracles*. We have repeatedly spoken already (*e.g.* p. 641 ff.) of the connexion of Divine images such as the *'ēphôd* and *tĕrāphîm* with the consulting of oracles. It is a question whether there was even then an inseparable connexion between the *'ēphôd* and the **Urim and Thummim** (such as in Ex 28^{30}, where the latter have their place in the oracle-pocket attached to the ephoḍ of the high priest). The meaning of the names *'ûrîm* and *tummîm* (אוּרִים וְתֻמִּים) is as much disputed as the nature of the lots for which they stand. All that is

---

* There is a further interpolated mention of the *Peṣaḥ* in Ex 34^{25}, in the direction that the Peṣaḥ offering is not to be kept till the following morning. It is not clear, however, whether this refers to the flesh of the Paschal lamb.

* In 1 K 12^{32} Jeroboam I. is charged with having instituted a feast on the 15th day of the 8th month after the manner of the feast in Judah, but it is disputed whether this means that at that time the Feast of Harvest was celebrated even in Judah in the 8th month (instead of the 7th, as was the later practice). The fixing upon the 15th day (as in P) may be due simply to the author of this note about Jeroboam.

certain is that even in early times *'ûrîm* and *tummîm* represented the sacred lot, which was handled only by priests: Dt 33^{8}, 1 S $14^{36.\,41}$ 28^{6} [where *'ûrîm* is no doubt merely an abbreviation for the complete expression *'ûrîm wĕthummîm*, as in Nu 27^{21} (P)]. The suggestion that *'ûrîm* expressed an affirmative (especially as to where guilt lay), *tummîm* a negative, answer to a question, is favoured by 1 S 14^{41}, where, in place of the corrupt MT, we are to read with the LXX: 'If this guilt be in me or my son Jonathan . . . let *'ûrîm* appear, but if it be in thy people Israel, let *tummîm* appear.' As to the nature of these lots, we should probably think of small stones (cf. *gôrāl*, 'lot'; but properly, as the Arabic shows, 'pebble,' 'small stone'), which were shaken in an urn till one 'came out' (Jos $19^{1ff.}$).

If an oracle was to be obtained, the applicant must be on good terms with the Deity. To one who is under the weight of guilt unatoned for, the oracle is silent. This happens even if it is not himself that has incurred the guilt (so in 1 S $14^{37f.}$, where Saul obtains no response because of the offence of Jonathan; and 28^{6}, where Saul consulted Jahweh, but He answered him not, by dreams, nor by *'ûrîm*, nor by prophets). The man to whom guilt attaches is to all intents and purposes unclean, and, as such, is *ipso facto* excluded from any approach to God or handling of objects consecrated to Him. How far these prescriptions as to cleanness were carried (even without a written law), we see from the casual notice of 1 S 20^{26}, according to which a state of uncleanness excluded from participation in the sacrificial meal at the New Moon; and from $21^{5ff.}$, where abstinence from sexual intercourse is the condition of being allowed to eat sacred bread.* How deeply such considerations, enforced by religious usage, had impressed themselves on the daily life, could find no better illustration than that usage of language whereby the male population is divided into those who are admissible to, and those who are excluded from, the cultus,† the mention of both serving to express the totality (1 K 14^{10} 21^{21}, 2 K 9^{8} 14^{26}, Dt 32^{36}).

5. In regard to the morality of this period, we must refer once more to what was said above (pp. 624^{a}, 633) as to the power of *custom* in the earliest times. But, if it had to be assumed even there that custom was not altogether unconnected with religion, this holds in increased measure of the period preceding that of the writing prophets. It is very significant that in 2 S 12^{14} Nathan, after he has acted as the mouthpiece of the outraged popular conscience in calling David to account for his crime, discovers the special guilt of the king in the circumstance that by his action he has shown contempt for Jahweh.‡ This requires the death of Bathsheba's child as an atonement, although David has already been assured of the forgiveness of his sin.

We have all the less right to judge of the general condition of morality from isolated deeds wrought in passion, seeing that these were almost always condemned by contemporary opinion. The outrage wrought by Amnon on Tamar (2 S 13) is to be viewed as an instance of rape rather than of incest. Tamar herself contemplates the possibility (v.^{13}) of being given by the king to Amnon as his wife, although she is his half-sister; while in Gn 20^{12} it appears to be no way repugnant to E that Abraham's wife should be his half-sister Sarah. But Amnon's act was avenged by his murder by Absalom, who must have considered it a heinous offence. He thus carried out a species of blood-revenge, but, at the same time, exceeded the bounds prescribed by custom (just as Joab did when he treacherously murdered Abner, 2 S $3^{27ff.}$), and had to expiate this by a lengthened term of banishment.

6. The truest reflexion of the manners and morals of our period is preserved, without doubt, in the stories of the patriarchs in Gn 12–50. In these figures we have a twofold presentation of types that are thoroughly true to life—in Abraham a kind of ideal of ancient Israelitish piety, in Jacob the empirical phenomenon of the ancient Israelite, with his virtues, but also with his shady side.* We may leave it an open question whether the Abraham-narratives in their present form were not developed a good deal later than those about Jacob-Israel, the type of the character of the people with the same name. In any case, both fall within the period with which we are dealing. Of both types it is pre-eminently true that their conduct is by no means actuated simply by custom, but quite expressly also by religious motives.

The whole life of Abraham, as related in both the ancient Pentateuchal sources, is viewed as a continued trial of his faith and obedience. With faith in the promise of Jahweh he leaves his fatherland and sets out for the unknown country afar; he acquiesces in the expulsion of Ishmael, and even shows himself willing to sacrifice his late-born only son. The latter narrative (Gn 22), even if it is based upon some cult-legend,† is, in its present form (cf. v.^{1}), the record of the last and severest trial of his faith to which Abraham was subjected by God. The brilliant manner in which he sustained the test is reckoned to him (v.^{12}) a proof of true fear of God. It is very remarkable that already in 15^{6} it is not an act, but simply trustful confidence in Jahweh that is counted to Abraham for 'righteousness,' *i.e.* a display of genuine piety. The Apostle Paul (Ro $4^{1ff.}$) is perfectly entitled to find here the proof that the righteousness of Abraham is grounded, even in Genesis, in quite an evangelical fashion, upon no merit of works.

As in the case of Abraham, so in that of Jacob, in spite of his wholly different character, there are not wanting marks of that humility and resignation by which true piety and fear of God are characterized. So in the grand confession of Gn $32^{11\,(10)}$ (J): 'I am not worthy of all the mercies and all the faithfulness which thou hast shown unto thy servant'; the expression of resignation in 43^{14}, and the beautiful thanksgiving of $48^{11.\,15f.}$. A counterpart is presented by the expression of profoundest resignation put in the mouth of David in 2 S $15^{26f.}$ and $16^{11f.}$. Again, what a high level of moral appreciation of the actions and fortunes of men is found in the words of Joseph (Gn 50^{20}), in which he, as it were, sums up his own and his father's fortunes: 'Ye, indeed, meant evil against me, but God has turned it to good, to . . . save much people alive.' To recognize that God makes even the sins of men serve His purposes, without thereby lessening in the least their moral responsibility, is the only solution that is worthy and satisfying, from the point of view of religion, of the seeming contradiction between the universal activity of God and the moral freedom of man; and it is not the smallest of the evidences of a Divine factor in the religion of Israel, that even at so early a period it had discovered this solution.

---

* Cf. J. C. Matthes, art. 'De begrippen rein en onrein in het OT' in *Theol. Tijdschr.* xxxiii. 293 ff. [these are, according to him, 'cultus notions,' an answer to the question, How am I fit to serve Jahweh?].

† This interpretation of עָצוּר וְעָזוּב (lit. 'restrained and left free'), which is that of W. Robertson Smith (*RS*^{2} 456: 'he who is under taboo and he who is free'), is to be preferred absolutely to the interpretations formerly current (such as 'bond and free,' or 'minors and of age,' or 'tribesmen and of no family' [for which A. S. Jahuda contends with much learning in the *Ztschr. f. Assyr.* 1902, p. 240 ff.]). Cf. especially the expression used of Doeg '*nĕ'ẓār* before Jahweh,' *i.e.* 'restrained' [as it were, in confinement], 1 S $21^{8\,(7)}$. So in all probability *'ăẓārāh*, 'a festal gathering' (Am 5^{21} *et al.*), means originally 'a state of being bound,' namely, by the obligation to certain forms of abstinence.

‡ So we should read with Lucian. The MT inserts 'the enemies [of Jahweh]' before 'Jahweh,' and the (linguistically objectionable) interpretation is usually offered: 'because thou hast given the enemies of Jahweh occasion to blaspheme.'

* We may leave Isaac out of account here, since, in comparison with Abraham and Jacob, he plays almost throughout a passive rôle.

† According to Gunkel (Com. on Genesis) it is the cult-legend of the place of sacrifice at Jeruel, and is intended simply to explain how the former practice of child sacrifice had been superseded by the offering only of rams.

Other features that are honourable to Abraham, such as his ready hospitality (Gn $18^{1\text{ff.}}$; cf. its still more striking exhibition by Lot, $19^{1\text{ff.}}$), may be best put down to the credit of custom. On the other hand, we are certainly true to the intention of the narrator if we ascribe to religious principle his peaceable attitude and disinterestedness (Gn $13^{7\text{ff.}}$), as well as his unwearied intercession even for the wicked inhabitants of Sodom ($18^{23\text{ff.}}$).

7. All the above evidences of a high moral standpoint in the patriarchal narratives appear to be little in harmony with the serious moral defects and transgressions which are recorded without a word of censure. Abraham lies (Gn 12^{13} 20^{2}; so also Isaac, 26^{7}) in passing off his wife as his sister; Jacob artfully deceives his twin-brother Esau in order to obtain the blessing of the firstborn, and his uncle Laban in the matter of the increase of his herds. Does this not justify the conclusion that God has two standards of measurement; that the Israelite in dealing with the foreigner, the chosen of God in dealing with the rejected, may go any length without its being counted to him a sin?

(*a*) If the above question is to be correctly answered, two things must be taken into account. Firstly, as a matter of fact, it is one of the principles of ancient ethics, from which even Israel freed itself only with difficulty and slowly, that towards a stranger the same moral obligations do not hold that apply in dealing with a fellow-countryman. In particular, cunning and deceit in the former case are not liable to the same condemnation as in the latter. They appear rather in the light of a duty of self-defence, especially as one has to look for nothing but damage and defrauding at the hands of a stranger, whenever he has the power to inflict harm. But, again, the idea of the national god involves (at least for the older naïve conception) his taking the part of his own people against the foreigner, and protecting them without scruple not only in their rights, but wherever their interests are concerned. So Jahweh acts in relation to Pharaoh (12^{17}), and, according to 20^{17}, towards Abimelech.

Secondly, however, and closely connected with the above, what we have really to do with, at least in the Jacob-narratives, are not the actions and experiences of individuals, but the relations of one people to another, namely, of Israel towards the Edomites (Esau) on the one hand, and the Aramæans (Laban) on the other. The Esau-narratives are the naïve deposit of the reflexions of very early times as to why the brother who was notoriously the firstborn, *i.e.* who attained to a settled life and to importance sooner than Israel, was yet surpassed by the younger. From the Aramæans, again, Israel had from olden times experienced so much hostility that we can readily understand how the cheating of the greedy Aramæan by Jacob should have been regarded as quite right and proper, and the exercise of this right have formed the subject of unmitigated rejoicing.

(*b*) Notwithstanding all this, however, we must still ask the final question, Is it really the case that the above-cited instances of morally objectionable actions are recorded without a word of censure or disapproval? First, then, it may be observed that in this matter the E source, in opposition to or at least deviating to some extent from J, repeatedly offers a narrative in which the cause of offence, if not wholly removed, is made as slight as possible. This is a proof that at least towards the end of our period a finer moral sensitiveness had come in to sit in judgment on those ancient narratives. Sarah is, according to E, really Abraham's sister on the father's side (Gn 20^{12}), so that Abraham is cleared of the charge of lying. It is only with great reluctance, and not till he has received the express command of God, that Abraham consents to the expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael ($21^{11\text{f.}}$ [E]; contrast 16^{6} [J]). In the transactions of Laban and Jacob, it is not the latter, but Laban alone, that is guilty of deceit and violent dealing ($31^{4\text{ff.}}$).* Reuben advises, indeed, that Joseph be cast into the empty cistern, but it is with the intention of delivering him. Joseph's brothers did not sell him (as J records), but he was stolen out of the cistern by a passing company of Midianites ($37^{22.\ 23\text{b}-24.\ 28\text{a}\ \text{c}.\ 29\text{f}.}$ $40^{15\text{a}}$).

(*c*) But there is yet another fact to be taken into account. It has been rightly noticed that it is the peculiarity of a particular form of narration in the legendary history to avoid passing any direct judgment upon the transactions described, but to allow this judgment to be expressed indirectly by one of the parties concerned. Thus Abimelech in Gn $20^{9\text{f.}}$ (E) severely condemns the conduct of Abraham, and in $26^{9\text{f.}}$ (J) that of Isaac. In 27^{12} Jacob himself declares that by imposing upon his father he will exhibit himself in the light of one who mocks at sacred things, and who thus deserves a curse and not a blessing.

8. But, in addition to the narratives belonging to this period, the oldest codification of legal ordinances, the so-called Book of the Covenant, also contains notable evidences of a moral disposition, which could have grown up only upon the soil of a considerably elevated religious system. True reverence for parents regards it as an offence worthy of death to strike or to curse them (Ex $21^{15.\ 17}$). In dispensing justice the strictest rectitude and impartiality are to be observed ($23^{1\text{f}.\ 6\text{f}.}$). Mildness and pity are due to the poor ($22^{25\text{a}.\ 26\text{f}.}$), protection from harsh treatment and violence to the *gēr* (22^{21} 23^{9}) and even to the slave ($21^{20.\ 26\text{f}.}$); the latter is even to be let go free if his master have struck out a tooth. The Sabbath is to be pre-eminently a day of rest for cattle, menials, and *gērîm* (employed as hirelings). As to the command in $23^{4\text{f}.}$ to take back to an enemy his ox or ass when they have strayed, and to help him to raise up an ass that has sunk under its burden, this does not, indeed, as yet amount to the Christian command of love to one's enemy, but it is a first step towards it. For it demands a subduing of carnal hatred and malice, a self-denial of which the natural man and natural ethics know nothing, but which is required by that God who watches the conduct of His people and seeks to redress every species of wrong and oppression. For, evidently, it is not only of the poor that the saying (22^{27}) holds good: 'When he crieth unto me, I will hear him; for I am pitiful.'

Since the discovery of the diorite block with the code of the Babylonian king Ḫammurabi (see art. CODE OF ḪAMMURABI in present volume, p. 584 ff.), many hands have been busy seeking to demonstrate not only the considerable priority (*c.* 2300 B.C.) of this law-book to the oldest codification of laws in Israel, but even its higher standing in all matters of justice and social order. We readily admit that the laws of Ḥammurabi imply much more complicated conditions of society than the enactments of the Book of the Covenant, which are intended for a simple race of peasants, and that, consequently, the juridical technique of Ḥammurabi may frequently exhibit a higher level. A fair estimate of the two codes is reached, however, not by comparing the matter which they have in common, but by looking at the sayings where the Book of the Covenant has the advantage over the Babylonian code. But these are the sayings to which we have already adverted, regarding the poor, *gērîm*, slaves, and enemies, and for parallels to them we may search the 282 paragraphs of Ḥammurabi in vain, because such are impossible on the soil of natural religion.

---

* It was quite a perverse attempt that was made by the older harmonizers to remove the contradiction between $31^{4\text{ff.}}$ [E] and $30^{37\text{ff.}}$ [J] by assuming that in $31^{4\text{ff.}}$ Jacob tells a false story to his wives. The fact is that we have here E's account of things, which is meant to be taken seriously, and which completely clears Jacob of blame.

vi. *ANTHROPOLOGY AND THEORY OF THE UNIVERSE* (*WELTANSCHAUUNG*).—Under this twofold heading we propose to treat of everything which, according to modern views, constitutes the scientific standpoint of a period, but which to ancient, and especially to Israelitish, notions is so closely connected with religion that it cannot be passed over in a history of religion. This means that we are concerned, on the one hand, with the anthropological or psychological notions of this period, including conceptions of the state after death; and, on the other hand, with the ideas that were cherished as to the origin and purpose of the universe, the relation of man to the brute world, the opening period of the world's history, and the future goal towards which the present course of things is moving. As elsewhere, the notions about all these things meet us, not in didactic statements but in the guise of narrative (so, especially, in the J portions of Gn 1-11), or in casual notices. The latter almost always take for granted that the notions in question are universally known, and hence refrain from fuller explanation or description. Unfortunately, this leads to our being left in the dark on many an important question.

1. The drawing of a distinction between two main constituents of the human *personality*—one bodily and one spiritual—must have set in as soon as men came to realize the fundamental difference between a living and a dead body. (*a*) The corporeal being, at least immediately after death, was quite the same as before. What had been the seat of the life which had now taken flight? The readiest reply was: the *breath*. Observation shows that, when the last breath has been drawn, the life disappears; while, conversely, the revivification of one that is dead is accomplished through the breath returning into him (1 K $17^{21f.}$).* Alongside of this we encounter another conception, which is also deeply rooted, namely, that the seat of life is to be found in the *blood*. It is true that express statements to this effect do not occur till much later (Dt 12^{23}, Lv 17^{11}); but the very ancient prohibition to eat blood (1 S $14^{32ff.}$) must have been due in ancient Israel, as elsewhere on heathen Semitic soil, chiefly to the fear of absorbing another life along with the blood. Under special circumstances, indeed (as, for instance, at the sacrificial meals of brotherhoods in pre-Mosaic times; cf. above, p. 618^b), this result might be desired; but in the realm of Jahwism, as far back as we can trace the evidence, such a practice was excluded. It may be added that the conception of the blood as the seat of life must have rested on the observation that, as the blood pours from a wound, the powers of life sensibly diminish, and at last disappear entirely—an observation which could always be made afresh when animals were slaughtered. We shall have to speak afterwards of the importance for the theory of sacrifice which this view of the blood came to assume in the latest period of Israel's history.

(*b*) For the period with which we are dealing, another question seemed more important, namely, that as to the *origin* of the breath of life, upon whose presence or absence the life or death of the body depends. The answer which the Old Testament gives to this question, and which forms the basis of OT psychology, is connected most intimately with the religion of Jahwism, or, to be more precise, with its notion of God. But our discussion of this point must be preceded by a remark of a general character. Almost all the accounts of so-called Biblical Psychology * are vitiated by the introduction of dogmatic prejudices, and the attempt to read into Scripture a finished system of one's own, instead of closely studying the usage of language. Especially unfortunate has been the attempt to discover in both Testaments exactly the same point of view, whereas the psychology of the OT has for its basis a dichotomy, that of the NT for the most part a trichotomy.

Keeping now to the exact terms of the fundamental and principal passage, Gn 2^7, we learn from this, in the form of narrative, that Jahweh at first formed a man [proleptically for 'a human body'] from clods [not 'dust'] of the field, and then breathed into his nostrils breath of life, so that man became a living being. In view of this, there can be no doubt that Gn 2^7 assumes a dichotomy in man's personality. As far as concerns his bodily substance, man is earth, and must accordingly return at death to the earth (3^{19}). But his breath of life emanates directly from an inbreathing of that of God, and ceases at the man's death, when God calls back this His spirit of life to Himself. We must not, however, think of the 'return of the spirit to God who gave it' (Ec 12^7) after the manner of the Christian hope of immortality, as if it meant a passing of the individual spirit to be with God, but only as a reabsorption in the creative Divine spirit which pervades the whole Universe. We should even be reminded here of the pantheistic doctrine of the world-soul, were it not that any such thought is excluded by the OT conception of God which lays such emphasis on His living *personality*.

---

* The clearest evidence of the identification of breath and life is found in the circumstance that in Hebrew, as in other languages (cf. Sansk. *ātman*='breath,' 'spirit,' 'soul'; Gr. πνεῦμα, orig.='breath,' 'blowing'; Lat. *animus* and *anima*, *spiritus*), the notions of 'breath,' 'wind,' 'soul,' 'spirit' are expressed by one and the same word. Thus רוּחַ is at once the name of the wind which dries up the waters of the Flood (Gn 8^1), and of the Divine breath of life which, at the Creation, hovers over the waters (1^2), and of the breath of life within man. In like manner it is true of the Heb. נֶפֶשׁ that it may designate at one time the breath, at another the spirit of life within man, the soul and its functions (*e.g.* longing or eager desire for something); but it may also stand simply for life itself, and, finally, even for the living being or (in the case of men) the person; nay, by a loose kind of usage, it may mean even 'the person of one who is dead,' or, without the genitive, a 'corpse' (Lv 19^{28} 22^4 *et al.*). It is, of course, a glaring error, but a deeply rooted one, to give to *nephesh*, in all these manifold senses, the one uniform rendering 'soul.'

* Of the special works on the subject, Beck's *Umriss der biblischen Seelenlehre* (Stuttgart, 1843, 3rd ed. 1871) is based partly on Roos' *Fundamenta Psychologiæ ex Sacra Scriptura collecta*, 1769 [Germ. tr. 1857, under title *Grundzüge der Seelenlehre aus der heiligen Schrift*]. Wörner in his *Bibl. Anthropologie* (Stuttgart, 1887) builds largely upon Beck. Franz Delitzsch's *System der bibl. Psychologie* (Leipzig, 1855, 2nd ed. 1861) is not without a certain mixture of theosophy. More impartial are the accounts of Wendt, *Die Begriffe Fleisch und Geist im biblischen Sprachgebrauch* (Gotha, 1878), and Westphal, *Chair et esprit* (Toulouse, 1885). J. Köberle's *Natur und Geist nach der Auffassung des AT: eine Untersuchung zur historischen Psychologie* (Munich, 1901) is a very thorough and valuable discussion of all questions relating to the conception of the external world and the life of the human soul, the attributing of a soul to nature, mythology, and the notion of the spiritual, together with the influence of religion upon all this.

(*c*) Not only human but also animal life in general depends upon the possession of the Divine breath of life. Passages like Ps $104^{29f.}$ and Job $34^{14f.}$ leave no doubt on this point: Jahweh is a 'God of the living spirits of all flesh' (Nu 16^{22} 27^{16}). Accordingly, the question presses itself upon our attention: What, then, is the precise difference which under all circumstances must be assumed to exist between man and beast? It is not in the manner of their origin that the difference lies, at least according to J. While P (Gn $1^{20ff.}$) makes water-animals and birds spring into being at the simple *fiat* of the Creator, and land-animals proceed from the earth, J (2^{19}) records a forming process exactly as in the case of man (v.^{7}), that is to say, an individual creation of the animals. In the case of the latter, however, he makes no mention of an animating by the inbreathing of the Divine breath of life, and in this alone—even if we must assume here the result of reflexion on this question—the distinction between man and beast may be seen: man received the breath of life immediately from God, and on that account he has a far more direct share in the Divine being and life than the animal, in whose case nothing more than a general animating (of the whole species) is assumed. By the theory that the man first formed was directly animated by God, expression was given to the perception which—although without a clearly defined philosophic terminology—had evidently established itself at an early date, that man alone possesses individuality, and is therefore a being capable of individual communion with God, whereas the animal always represents only an example of its species.—J, however, gives expression in another way to the notion of the inferiority of the animal world to man when (Gn $2^{19f.}$) he quite unambiguously describes animals as having been created on man's account and named by him, with the result, however, that there could be found among them none corresponding to man, and thus suitable to be a 'help' to him.

(*d*) From God's direct animating of the first created human being we are not, however, to infer that the same thing is presupposed for each particular human individual. The OT has been wrongly burdened with this so-called 'Creationism,' which supposes God to create a special soul for every newly begotten body, and to unite it about the 40th day with the embryo. On the contrary, the OT from first to last is based upon 'Traducianism': he who begets the body implants at the same time the germ of the life or the soul. Otherwise, the view would be impossible by which the OT is unquestionably dominated, that through the process of generation even moral weakness, the inclination to sin, passes as an inheritance from parents to children. This is not 'original sin' in the sense in which it is mostly taught in Protestant confessions, namely, as implying the imputing of the guilt of Adam to all his posterity, but original sin in the more general sense, according to which that term is applied to the strong and almost irresistible inclination to sin, which appears to be inseparably bound up with human nature as such, and consequently looks as if it were the result of descent from parents of like disposition. Thus it is intelligible why allusions to this hereditary sinful disposition are introduced for the most part as furnishing a motive for the forgiveness of sin. In view of the fact that 'the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth' (Gn 8^{21}), God cannot apply the strictest standard of judgment. In addition to Ps $51^{7(5)}$ ('Behold, in guilt was I born, and in sin did my mother conceive me'), the *locus classicus* for this doctrine of the *natal* quality of sin, we have to take specially into account for the same purpose Job 14^{4} ('How could a clean come from an unclean? Not one.') 15^{14} $25^{4ff.}$—late passages, but manifestly intending to express nothing more than is meant already by J in Gn 8^{21}.

In the last-cited passages from Job the question is put, 'How can one born of woman be pure [before God]?': this shows how the connexion between descent and sinfulness was more precisely thought of. The latter as moral weakness is the natural result of the *physical* weakness of the body. Man is in the narrower sense the offspring of woman, the weaker vessel and the one more exposed to physical hardships. From her, man inherits moral as well as physical (Job 14^{1}) weakness.

(*e*) In view of all this, it might have seemed natural that the material substratum of human personality, the *flesh* or the *body* [the Heb. בָּשָׂר may stand for either], should be regarded as the seat of sin, just as the NT σάρξ undeniably has this collateral notion attached to it. But, in spite of appearances such as arise from Gn 6^{3}, it is wrong to conclude that such a view was held. It is true that the flesh or the body, in consequence of its origin from the earth, is a type of the decaying and transitory (cf. the characteristic contrast in Is 31^{3} 'Their [the Egyptians'] horses are flesh, and not spirit'), and this thought attaches itself almost always to the very frequent expression 'all flesh' (*i.e.* either all men or all earthly living creatures). But the truth that the flesh, although an occasion also of moral weakness, is not thought of as *per se* sinful and therefore unclean, is unmistakably implied in the circumstance that in sacrifice it was used as a gift to God, and such a gift could never have been in itself *unclean*.

(*f*) The habit already mentioned of putting upon the OT a trichotomous view of human personality was due almost entirely to a false conception of the *nephesh* (נֶפֶשׁ commonly tr. 'soul'), and of its relation to the *rûaḥ* (רוּחַ commonly tr. 'spirit'). This distinction between soul and spirit naturally caused the actually existing dichotomy of body (or flesh) and spirit of life to be missed. The real state of things is as follows. As long as the Divine breath of life is outside man, it can never be called *nephesh* but only *rûaḥ* (more completely *rûaḥ ḥayyîm*, *i.e.* 'spirit *or* breath of life,' in which sense we find also *nishmath ḥayyîm* used [*e.g.* Gn 2^{7}]). On the other hand, the breath of life which has entered man's body and manifests its presence there may be called either *rûaḥ* or *nephesh*. The two alternate in poetical parallelism in such a way that the same functions are attributed at one time to the *nephesh* and at another to the *rûaḥ*. This, indeed, has not prevented its coming about that in certain expressions usage has established only one of the terms, or has at least secured a preference for it. Further, it may be noted that both very frequently stand in parallelism with לֵב ('heart,' 'disposition,' also 'understanding *or* insight,' the heart and not the head being with the Hebrews the seat of intellect). But in no case should that use of *nephesh*, whereby it stands for particular functions of the soul or even for a complex of these, be confused with its signification of 'person *or* living being' (and even 'corpse'; cf. above, p. 665^{a} n.). In this latter sense *nephesh* could never have its place taken by *rûaḥ* or *lêbh*.

The religious significance of the anthropological views represented by the above-described dichotomy is at once apparent. Everything which in any way can be recognized as spirit and life is brought into direct relation to God, and has its origin in Him, and Him *alone*. The Pauline saying, 'In him we live, and move, and have our being' (Ac 17^{28}), corresponds exactly to the postulates of OT psychology. The latter proceeds so consistently in its derivation of *all* human thought and will and action, that it speaks not only of a 'spirit' (*rûaḥ, i.e.* in this instance the same as 'principle,' 'disposition,' or even 'capability for') of wisdom, knowledge, and fear of God (Is 11^2), or of skill in art and expertness (Ex 28^3), but even of a spirit of jealousy (Nu 5^{14}), of dizziness (Is 19^{14}), of deep sleep (29^{10}), etc. Moreover, this spirit is frequently (so in the two passages from Isaiah) spoken of as directly sent by Jahweh. He causes an 'evil spirit,' *i.e.* a spirit of discord, to come between Abimelech and the Shechemites (Jg 9^{23}), and in like manner lets an 'evil spirit,' *i.e.* a spirit of melancholy or of insanity, take possession of Saul after the departure of the spirit of Jahweh (1 S 16^{14}).* In this theorem of the universal activity of the spirit, and indeed of the spirit emanating directly from God, we have one of the strongest evidences of the living character and dignity of the ancient Israelitish conception of God. The latter did not take its rise as a result of the preaching of the prophets. The prophets, on the contrary, found it ready to their hand, made large use of it, and, wherever necessary, deepened it and cleared it of excrescences.

The question as to the nature and the components of man's personality was one that could not fail to engage the attention of ancient thought in other quarters as well. Along with the observations which point to its answer, it always forced itself afresh to the front, and in particular exercised an influence even upon the formation of speech. But nowhere did the attempts to solve the problem stand in so close a relation to religion as was the case in Israel.

2. It is otherwise with those questions belonging to the realm of psychology which relate to *the destiny of man*, the goal of the development of humanity or of one particular people. Questions of this kind presuppose a greater advance of thought, and, above all, a rich historical experience. Reflexions on his destiny are quite beyond man in a state of nature; and, even where a commencement has been made with political and social order, he holds to empirical results, without inquiring after the *Whence* and the *Why*. To belong to a particular people with particular settlements and under the protection of a particular national god, is as much a matter of course to him as to have an occupation by which he procures a livelihood. But what is remote from the reflexion of the individual already occupied the popular mind collectively in primeval times, and led to those profound speculations which meet us to-day in the form of the myth, *i.e.* the clothing of speculative thoughts in history. The people of Israel are no more strangers to such myths than are other nations, and in this particular they have conformed to the course which we may observe in the case of *all* ancient peoples: they have taken over from prehistoric times a store of myths and legends, to which they have then given a particular development on their own soil, subjecting them in part to transformation. The manner in which this has been done gives the most valuable indications as to the inmost character of the popular mind. And here we come face to face with the fact that in this point Israel holds a unique position. The myths taken over from foreign heathen soil have been so transformed and filled with truly religious contents that they have become for all time a part of the revealed religion of Israel. For we cannot consent to regard such a transformation as if it were merely the accidental result of the inward impulse which drives men to religious and philosophical speculation, but as a fruit of the spirit of God working in Israel as the people of revelation. And the circumstance that the spirit of God resorted to this clothing of the profoundest religious thoughts in the form of childlike naïve narratives, appears to us so far from being a cause of offence that we see in this accommodation to the human understanding an evidence of superior Divine pædagogic and wisdom. (*a*) This remark applies in a very special manner to that myth which first concerns us here, namely, the story of *Paradise* and the *Fall* (Gn 2 and 3); for this is intended to answer the question as to man's original destiny and the reasons for his actual condition now. While the derivation of the Biblical story of the Fall from a Babylonian source* is as yet unproved, in spite of numerous attempts to establish it, its connexion with the parallel narrative in the Zend religion does not admit of any doubt. That the latter, moreover, is not a later corruption of what, according to the orthodox conception, is the strictly historical narrative of the Bible, is evident from the simple fact that the dualistic basis (*i.e.* the opposition, essential to the Zend religion, between a good and an evil deity) manifestly played a ruling part in the original narrative. The Hebrew narrator, whose conception of God left no room for this dualism, has got rid of it only by the difficult expedient of making the serpent (which in the Zend religion is the embodiment of the evil deity) a creature of God, like all the rest of the animals. In this way, indeed, the question remains unanswered how this creature of God comes to step out of the ranks of the rest and to assume a hostile attitude towards the Creator.

We shall make no attempt here at an analysis of the narrative as a masterly, unsurpassed account of the origin of sin. We remark only that we cannot, with many moderns, find its deepest meaning exhausted by setting it down as a description of how sin comes into being in the case of *every* individual, or of how man *rose* from a condition of primitive rudeness and unconsciousness to conscious freedom and culture. On the contrary, Christian dogmatics was and is quite within its right in discovering in Gn 2. 3 an account of a Fall, *i.e.* of the origin of sin and the consequent woes of the world. Man's original state, according to the Divine will, was one of undisturbed fellowship with God, who also had *His* dwelling-place within the sphere of man's abode, the Garden of Eden. The root of sin is pride, which wilfully seeks to go beyond the bounds prescribed by God, and produces disregard of His clear prohibition. But the fruits of disobedience are the loss of the former intimate communion with God, expulsion from His home, a life of endless toil and trouble, and at last death in place of the eternal duration of life that was formerly open to him. This myth has been called a lament over the loss of Paradise, and has been set in parallelism with the Greek myth of the Golden Age. There is justification for both these ways of looking at it. But with all this the main point must not be overlooked, namely, the emphasis which is laid in the Biblical record on the fateful significance of sin and its worst consequence—exclusion from the Garden of Eden, *i.e.* from communion with God. Here we have not only—as happens elsewhere so frequently in myths—forebodings, but actual perceptions of a profound religious character, to which cognate myths of other nations present no parallel.

---

* From the standpoint of trichotomy this would have to be expressed something to the effect that reason forsook him, while the functions of the 'soul' continued unimpaired. But the point is that no such distinction between *rûaḥ* and *nephesh* is known to the Hebrew mind.

* There appears to be no doubt that the conception of Paradise with its four rivers is borrowed from Eastern (? Babylonian) myths, and that the description of the rivers (Gn 2^{10-14}) is a later insertion in the early narrative. With regard to this insertion [not to the whole myth] Stade may be right in holding (art. 'Der Mythos vom Paradies, Gn 2. 3, und die Zeit seiner Einwanderung in Israel' in *ZATW*, 1903, p. 172 ff.) that it was not adopted prior to the middle of the 8th cent. B.C. The description of Paradise possesses religious interest only in so far as it serves as a preparation for the story of the Fall (see below): for our present purpose everything else may be left out of account.

(*b*) We remarked above that questions as to the nature and destiny of man are far below the horizon of individual reflexion in the primeval history of a people, and arise only when a higher stage of development has been reached. One exception, however, must be made. This relates to the question, *What befalls man at last after the death of the body?* Hitherto we have only touched lightly upon this question, in speaking of possible survivals of Animism in the pre-Mosaic religion of Israel. We there (see above, p. 614^a) found that the belief in the existence of shades or 'spirits of the dead' must have found strong and peculiar support in the appearances of the dead in dreams. But here we have to do with the whole circle of conceptions that centre about Shĕ'ōl [*] or the under world, the place of assembly of the dead. The reason why we have not discussed these earlier is simply because it is not till the period with which we are dealing that the mention of Shĕ'ōl is demonstrable, and because we have no sure ground for attributing the Shĕ'ōl-belief to the Mosaic, not to speak of the pre-Mosaic, period. There is nothing impossible in the supposition that it was found as early as that, but the view is equally open to us that this whole circle of conceptions was first encountered by Israel upon Canaanitish soil and thence taken over by them. Support for this view might be found in the circumstance that necromancy, which stands in the closest connexion with the Shĕ'ōl-belief, also came under the notice of the Israelites for the first time, to all appearance, in Canaan. This does not prevent our tracing its origin in the last resort to Babylon.[†]

Now, it cannot be proved that the Babylonian influence first made itself felt, as is so often asserted at present, in the time of Solomon. On the contrary, the earliest notices of Shĕ'ōl (Gn 37^{35} 42^{38} [in almost identical terms in $44^{29.31}$], Nu $16^{30.33}$, all probably J) certainly leave the impression that we have here to do with a conception universally familiar, and hence requiring no more precise description. From the early passages nothing more can be gathered than that Shĕ'ōl is thought of as a subterranean space, for one 'goes down' to it. Yet it cannot be doubted that the other two constant characteristics of Shĕ'ōl—the thick darkness which prevails there, and the impossibility of returning thence—were connected from the first with its conception.[‡] But detailed descriptions belong one and all to later times, even to the latest of all,[§] and it is difficult to say whether (as, for example, in the bold picture of Is $14^{9ff.}$, or the approach to a distinguishing of a Tartarus within the under world in Ezk 32^{23}, Is 14^{15}, also (?) Hos 13^{14}) they are to be set down to the account of foreign influence or of independent poetic imagination. The decision between these two possibilities is all the harder because of the way in which the conception of Shĕ'ōl is constantly mixed up with pictures derived from the rest of the grave. But this does not justify the view that by Shĕ'ōl—at least originally—nothing more was meant than the grave. No doubt, the idea of a place of assembly of the dead would derive ever fresh nourishment from the contemplation of the roomy cave-tomb in which perhaps a whole tribe of contemporaries were buried.[*] It was all too natural to think of those who had been united in life as still holding converse with one another there. But passages like Gn 37^{35} exclude the thought of any fellowship in the grave.

The question, what part of the man goes after death into Shĕ'ōl, cannot be answered from the standpoint of the dichotomy of the OT, which has been already described. For the body is laid in the grave and falls a prey to corruption. The breath of life returns to God, and with its separation from the body the man ceases to be a *nephesh* or living being. In spite of all this, it is everywhere taken for granted that at death an indefinable somewhat of the personality descends to Shĕ'ōl, and there—not exactly *lives* on, but—*vegetates* on. This can be explained only by assuming that the old conception of Shĕ'ōl had already taken firm root when that view of man's nature originated which subsequently became the prevailing one, and which was irreconcilable with this conception. The dichotomous theory plainly belongs to Jahwism, while the other conception is a relic of pre-Jahwistic or ex-Jahwistic influences, and is nearly allied to the Greek belief in *manes*. At a man's death a kind of image or outline of the whole personality detaches itself from the corpse. It wants blood, and hence it is without real life (which has its seat in the blood), it is invisible,—save when it appears in dreams or is called up by necromancy,—and it is for ever chained to Shĕ'ōl. It cannot be proved that the condition and appearance of the shades were thought of as exactly the same as those of the man at the moment of death, and that it was on this account that there was such a dread of mutilations of the body. The mention of Samuel's mantle in 1 S 28^{14}

---

[*] Regarding the etymology of שְׁאוֹל, it may suffice here to remark that it is impossible to accept either the derivation from the root *shā'al*, 'ask,' 'demand' (as the place that claims all living for itself), or that from *shā'al* with the assumed meaning of 'to be hollow' (so that *Shĕ'ōl* would be the 'hollow' or 'cavern'). Rather is it from a root *shl*, which includes the notions of *wide gaping* and *deep sinking*. Hence the idea underlying the Heb. *Shĕ'ōl* is that of a subterranean cavity. This does not exclude the supposition that the form *Shĕ'ōl* in this sense is due to the Hebraizing of a foreign word—according to Zimmern (*ap.* Beer, 'Der biblische Hades,' p. 15), of the Bab. *shil[l]ām*, 'west'; cf. Enoch 22^1, where also Shĕ'ōl is situated in the West.

[†] On the undeniable points of contact between the Babylonian and the Israelitish Shĕ'ōl-belief, cf. especially A. Jeremias, *Die bab.-assyr. Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode* (Leipzig, 1887), and *Hölle und Paradies bei den Babyloniern*^{2} (Leipzig, 1903).

[‡] We here leave out of account the calling up of spirits of the dead by necromancers, which was an article of the popular faith, but outside the pale of Jahwism.

[§] Of the very copious literature on this subject we note specially: F. Böttcher, *De inferis rebusque post mortem futuris ex Hebræorum et Græcorum opinionibus*, vol. i. [embracing only the Heb. part; no more appeared], Dresden, 1846 (although in many respects antiquated, still of value as a commentary upon the relevant passages); B. Stade, *Über die alttest. Vorstellungen vom Zustand nach dem Tode* (Leipzig, 1877); A. Bertholet, *Die israel. Vorstellungen vom Zustande nach dem Tode* (Freiburg, 1899); R. H. Charles, *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, in Judaism, and in Christianity: or Hebrew, Jewish, and Christian Eschatology* (London, 1899); L. Aubert, art. 'La vie après la mort chez les Israélites' in *Rev. de Théol. et Philos.* 1902, p. 140 ff.; G. Beer, art. 'Der biblische Hades' in *Theol. Abhandlungen zu Ehren H. J. Holtzmanns* (Tübingen, 1902). Cf. also the works of Schwally, Frey, Grüneisen, Matthes, cited above (p. 614^a, note), in speaking of the controversy as to Animism and Ancestor Worship.

[*] This is undoubtedly the origin of the pretty frequent expression 'gathered to his fathers' (also 'to his people *or* to his fellow-tribesmen') or 'go to *or* be laid with his fathers' (Gn 25^8 35^{29} $49^{29.33}$, Dt 32^{50}, Jg 2^{10}, 1 K 2^{10}). But the employment of this formula in the case of Abraham, Moses, and Aaron, as well as David, shows that it was used also in a wider sense, namely, of going to Shĕ'ōl. The importance attached to the mingling of one's bones with those of relations (2 S $21^{13ff.}$) is sufficiently explained by the fact that this seemed the most honourable and at the same time the safest form of obsequies. On the other hand, the denial of sepulture was regarded as a great misfortune (cf. 2 S 21^{10}, Jer 22^{19}, and the frequent threat to give bodies to be eaten by wild beasts and birds). No doubt (as among the Greeks), there was a fear that the spirit of the unburied dead would roam about without rest instead of entering Shĕ'ōl.

shows, however, that the shades were thought of *in general* after the fashion in which their originals had been accustomed to appear on earth.

According to what is at present the prevailing opinion, the old conception of Shĕ'ōl survived down to the last in the express designation of the shadowy being as *nephesh.* If so, we should have to assume for this word not only the senses described above (namely, the spirit of life specialized in a human body, and hence='life,' and also 'person' or 'living being'), but a third wholly different meaning.* Very strong support appears to be given to this by the circumstance that even in late passages we hear expressly of a going down of the *nephesh* into Shĕ'ōl or of its sojourn there, or, finally, of its rescue from Shĕ'ōl (Ps 16^{10} $30^{4\,(3)}$ $49^{16\,(15)}$ 86^{13} $89^{49\,(48)}$, Pr 23^{14}; cf. also Ps 94^{17}, where instead of *Shĕ'ōl* we have the poetic *dûmāh,* 'silence'). But in all these passages *nephesh* may quite well be understood as equivalent to 'life' or (as happens frequently elsewhere) simply a circumlocution for the personal pronoun ('my soul' being='I' or 'me'). Thus in Ps 16^{10} the meaning is 'Thou wilt not give over my life (*or* me) to Shĕ'ōl,' *i.e.* 'Thou wilt not suffer me to die.' Ps $30^{4\,(3)}$ must, on Schwally's theory, mean: 'Thou causedst the phantom image of my person, which was already in Shĕ'ōl, to come up from it again.' But the speaker had not actually died, his life *only seemed* already a prey to Shĕ'ōl, but obtained a timely rescue from it. If the defenders of *nephesh mēth* or the bare *nephesh* as equivalent to 'soul of the dead' should appeal in support of it to the contrasted expression *nephesh ḥayyāh,* 'living soul' (Gn 2^{7} *et al.*), they would overlook the fact that *nephesh mēth* or (abbreviated) *nephesh* in the passages in question stands for neither more nor less than 'corpse'; and this, by the *touching* of which uncleanness is occasioned, is surely something quite different from the invisible phantom image of the living personality which goes straight to Shĕ'ōl. *Nephesh mēth* in the sense of 'corpse' is based simply upon the very frequent (cf. *e.g.* Lv 2^{1} 'if *any one* offereth to Jahweh,' etc., 5^{2} 7^{18} etc.) weakening of the meaning 'person' to the notion of 'some one'; and *nephesh ḥayyāh,* 'living being,' is not opposed to another form of being of the *nephesh,* but is a pleonasm intended to lay greater stress upon the main idea (cf. our own expression 'a living personality,' which would not suggest to any one the contrast of 'a dead personality'). An argument against Schwally's contention lies in the very circumstance that nowhere is the plural of *nephesh* used for *manes,* as we should then have certainly expected. From the time of the Exile (probably for the first time in Is 14^{9}) they are called *rĕphā'îm, i.e.* probably 'flaccid ones,' but never *nĕphāshôth.*

For the truth mentioned above, that the whole conception of Shĕ'ōl lies outside genuine Jahwism, and was at all times a part, indeed, of the popular faith, but not of religion proper, there is evidence not only in the stern rejection of necromancy (as the appendage of another, heathen, religion), but, above all, in the denial of *any* relation between the inhabitants of Shĕ'ōl and the objects and arrangements of the upper world —in particular, those of the theocracy. Only the living are members of the latter, and have a share in its blessings; at death every connecting link with it is broken. In Shĕ'ōl there is no more giving of thanks or praise to God (Ps $6^{6\,(5)}$ $30^{10\,(9)}$ 115^{17}, Is $38^{18\text{ff.}}$)—nay, God Himself does not remember the shades any more, or work wonders for those that dwell in 'the land of forgetfulness' (Ps $88^{6.\ 11\text{f.}}$). The fortunes of their children do not concern them (Job 14^{21} 21^{21}), 'for there is no work nor device nor knowledge nor wisdom in Shĕ'ōl, whither thou goest' (Ec 9^{10}).* There is no contradiction between all this and the way in which, according to Pr 15^{11} and Job 26^{6}, the omniscience, nay, according to Ps 139^{8}, even the omnipresence of God, is extended even to Shĕ'ōl. This is the necessary consequence of the highest stage of the conception of God; but even here a direct relation of God to the inhabitants of Shĕ'ōl is not asserted.

In spite of its very loose connexion with genuine Jahwism, the conception of Shĕ'ōl—like the Hades-belief of the Greeks and all the cognate phenomena in other religions—contains an important religious feature. The tenacity with which it maintains itself all through the centuries, notwithstanding its irreconcilability with the prevailing anthropological presuppositions (see above), is a strong testimony to the fact that man's natural way of thinking revolts at the notion of a complete annihilation of the living personality, even if it has to content itself with a sorry substitute for a real continuation of life. Even in this there are fruitful germs of a later doctrine of immortality, and we shall afterwards see that these were not wanting also in the soil of Jahwism.

3. To the realm of notions which we have included in the title of the present section under the general term *Weltanschauung,* belong, in the first place, those relating to *the origin of the world.* (*a*) Unfortunately, our only source of information on this point for the present period is the Jahwistic record contained in Gn $2^{4\text{ff.}}$. It is very probable, however, that only a part of this (the story of the creation of men and animals) has been preserved; while the introduction, which also must surely have contained some more detailed account of the creation of heaven and earth,† has now been dropped, perhaps on account of its deviations from the immediately preceding cosmogony of P. But, even granting that J would have contented himself with a summary mention (in v.$^{4\text{b}}$) of the creation of the world by Jahweh, his narrative, with all its naïveness, remains a worthy and valuable counterpart to the preceding cosmogony. Like the latter, it avoids all intermixture of a mythological character—in particular, all thought of an evolution such as is usually bound up inseparably with the cosmogonies of ancient religions. Jahweh is always exalted above matter, sharply distinguished from it, and ruling over it. As in the case of every truly religious *Weltanschauung,* our

---

* So esp. Schwally, *Leben nach dem Tode,* p. 7 ff. (founding upon *nephesh mēth* of Lv 21^{11} and Nu 6^{6}, which Schwally renders by 'Totenseele'), also in *Archiv für Relig.-Wissensch.* iv. 2, p. 181 ff.; Willy Staerk, art. 'Nephesh ḥajjā und nephesh mêt' in *SK,* 1903, p. 156 f. ('The *nephesh* does not die, but changes its form of existence').

* It may be that this conception of Shĕ'ōl first arose in the later period, which was influenced by Prophetism (so Charles, *Critical History,* etc., see above, p. 668^{b}, note §), whereas at an earlier time an influence of the spirits of the dead upon the upper world was held to be possible. True, we have no other evidence for the latter assumption than the existence of the practice of necromancy so peremptorily forbidden (cf. Is 8^{19}) by the prophets. The further assumption of Charles, that the earlier conception grew out of Ancestor Worship, cannot, to say the least of it, be proved in face of what we have said already (p. 614 ff.). The same remark applies to Beer's theory ('Der biblische Hades,' p. 3 ff.), that the Shĕ'ōl-belief is a survival of the cult of subterranean gods and demons.

† When Stade (*ZATW,* 1903, p. 178) argues that the belief in Jahweh as the Creator could have taken its rise only as a result of the preaching of the prophets, this is certainly correct in so far as the idea of the creation and control of the *Universe* is concerned. For this idea is essentially irreconcilable with the recognition of foreign national gods, and becomes possible for the first time on the basis of a consistent monotheism. But this does not exclude naïve ideas about a creative activity on the part of the national god (*e.g.* a creation of man), as is shown by numerous analogies in popular and nature religions. Perhaps the very naïveness of the Jahwistic cosmogony supplied a motive for its suppression. Cf. the remarks of Gunkel in *Schöpfung und Chaos* (Göttingen, 1895, p. 159). He considers that, in early days, people, in speaking of the creation of 'the heavens and the earth,' probably thought primarily of the land of Canaan and the skies of Canaan.

record is thoroughly anthropocentric; and man is not only (as in Gn 1) the goal and crown of creation, but to such a degree is he its central point that the world of animals is created solely on his account, with the result that in no way do they come up to his dignity and exalted position. It requires a second, wondrous new creation to provide man with the 'help' who is bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh. God Himself brings her to him; so that upon His appointment rests that fellowship against which even the strongest ties of blood are not to prevail. If we note, further, that it is only upon the basis of monogamy that this whole description attains to its full meaning, all the more must we pronounce that we have here a view of the nature and the mystery of marriage as beautiful and worthy as could be conceived of. Here, again, the religion of Israel exercised a powerful influence on its estimate of earthly relationships and duties.

(*b*) If an underlying Babylonian source for Gn 2 can be proved only in part, and not at all for ch. 3 as yet, it is different with other components of the Hebrew primitive history. In these a far-reaching Babylonian influence has been assumed, and the traces of this have been sought almost everywhere in the OT down to the latest times. But it has become more and more evident that a strong scepticism is justified in face of the excessive zeal of the 'Panbabylonists.'* We are not, indeed, to be held as calling in question the possibility of an extensive influence of Babylonian culture and religious ideas upon Canaan. The cuneiform letters discovered in 1887 at Tel el-Amarna in Egypt, which were addressed about B.C. 1400 from the Euphrates lands to two Pharaohs, prove the existence of a very active intercourse between Babylon and Egypt *viâ* Canaan, and it is possible (though not strictly proved) that even then a footing had been gained in Canaan by the ancient Babylonian mythology, which was subsequently taken over by the Israelites when they entered the Promised Land. A great influx of Babylonian ideas has been claimed also for the time of world-wide intercourse in the reign of Solomon, not to speak of the numerous occasions of direct contact with Assyria from the middle of the 9th cent. B.C. downwards. Still the only instance where the dependence of the Biblical narrative upon a Babylonian archetype is absolutely unquestionable is (*a*) the story of the Deluge. And even here the dependence shows itself rather in subordinate points (like the repeated sending out of birds), and not in the main point—the cause of the judgment of the Flood. In the Biblical record this is always traced to moral causes: the Flood comes as a well-merited punishment on the wholly degenerate race of man; Noah only, on account of his righteousness, finds favour in God's sight. The mythological background, which presents itself sometimes in a very offensive way in the Babylonian narrative, wholly disappears in Genesis. Over against men responsible for their actions stands the righteous and almighty God alone.

(*β*) Of late, special emphasis has been laid on what are supposed to be a number of OT allusions to the Babylonian story of Creation, or, more precisely, to the victorious struggle of the god Marduk with the ocean, personified as a woman, Tiāmat (*i.e.*, as appellative, 'sea'), and the monsters that assist her. A large part of Gunkel's able and ingenious work (*Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit: eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung über Gn 1 und Apoc. Joh. 12*, Göttingen, 1895) is devoted to an attempt to discover numerous traces of this myth in the OT. He rightly repels the objection that Gn 1 now forms a part of the latest Pentateuchal source, P. This circumstance does not exclude the possibility that this cosmogony, which in its present form is accommodated to the very highest conception of God, may be based upon a far older form of the myth. The points of contact between Gn 1 and the Tiāmat-myth are, however, few and uncertain. The Heb. *tĕhōm* (תְּהוֹם), over which darkness hangs (v.^{2}), is, it is true, the masculine corresponding to the Bab. *tiāmat*; but there is nothing to suggest any other meaning than the simple 'sea' or 'ocean.' As little can it be proved that the large water-animals of v.^{21} are originally of a mythological cast.

But the recollection of the conflict of Marduk with the dragon is supposed to be preserved, above all, in certain mythological names—*Rahab*, *Leviathan*, *Behemoth*. The fact that all * the passages where these occur are very late (Ezekiel, Deutero-Isaiah, Job, late Psalms) might not count for much. It would be quite intelligible if the ancient *mythologumena* were again dragged to the light and utilized for poetical ends, when once the triumph of absolute monotheism appeared to have removed all danger of their being misunderstood or misapplied. A stronger objection is, that a considerable number of the alleged allusions can be referred only by very artificial methods to the conflict with Tiāmat. How, for instance, if the kernel of the Tiāmat-myth consists in the killing and *cutting in pieces* of Tiāmat, can the serpent at the bottom of the sea, which Jahweh commands to bite (Am 9^3), possibly be Tiāmat? Of the *Rahab* passages, Is 51^9, Ps $89^{10f.}$, Job $26^{12f.}$ and 9^{13} ('Rahab's helpers') should in all probability be referred to the defeat of Tiāmat, only that the conqueror is naturally not Marduk, but Jahweh. In Ps 87^4 Rahab is a symbolical name of Egypt, while in Ps $40^{5\,(4)}$ the plural *rĕhābîm* is a designation of the false gods, but surely not in the sense of 'dragons of chaos.' Of the *Leviathan* passages, Ps $74^{13f.}$ should perhaps be interpreted mythologically. On the other hand, in Ps 104^{26} there is absolutely no necessity for such an interpretation. In Is 27^1 Leviathan the fleeing serpent, and Leviathan the coiled serpent, coupled with the dragon in the sea (Egypt), are again nothing but symbolical designations of two world-powers. In Job 3^8 it is much more natural to interpret Leviathan as a monster in the heavens which threatens to swallow up the sun. The poetical author of Job $40^{25ff.}$ ($41^{1ff.}$) certainly means by Leviathan nothing but the crocodile. And his *Behemoth* ($40^{15ff.}$) stands in the same way simply for the hippopotamus. As little are we compelled to explain Job 7^{12}, Ps $44^{20\,(19)}$, Jer $51^{34.\,36.\,42}$ as allusions to the Tiāmat-myth; and even in Ezk $29^{3ff.}$ and $32^{2ff.}$ there is, at most, only a general comparison of the Pharaoh to a bound monster. In all the passages, finally, where Gunkel sees an allusion to the binding of the primeval ocean (Ps $104^{6f.}$, Job $38^{8ff.}$, Pr $8^{22ff.}$, Jer 5^{22} 31^{35}, Ps 33^7 $65^{8\,(7)}$), all that the present writer can discover is a reference to the omnipotence of Jahweh, who commands even the waves of the sea, but nowhere any allusion to a conflict with the ocean as a mythological monster.

---

* Amongst these the first place belongs to Frdr. Delitzsch, in view of his first two Berlin lectures on *Babel und Bibel* (Leipzig, 1902 and 1903), which have given birth to a violent controversy and an interminable literature. We content ourselves here with naming two of the most recent writings which treat soberly of the points in dispute: Zimmern, *Biblische und Babylonische Urgeschichte*^{3}, Leipzig, 1903 [cf. also his *Keilinschriften und Bibel*, Berlin, 1903]; and Gunkel, *Israel und Babylonien: der Einfluss Babyloniens auf die israelitische Religion*, Göttingen, 1903.

* At most we should have to except only the serpent of Am 9^3 (see above) and Rahab of Is 30^7 (as a designation of Egypt). But not only is the authenticity of the last passage disputed, but the correctness of its text is very doubtful, and, finally, *rahab* may here be quite well an appellative 'raging' 'blustering'). Cf. vol. iv. p. 195^a.

But, even if all the passages cited by Gunkel were coloured by such allusions, they would be still quite without relevancy as affecting our estimate of the religion of Israel for the period we are considering. For, apart from the fact that, in the few passages that are certainly entitled to be considered, Jahweh expressly takes the place of Marduk (*i.e.* there has been a complete transplanting of the myth to the soil of Jahwism), we must, further, note with emphasis that in every instance we have to do with the utilizing of those mythological reminiscences *in poetry*. Now, the freedom of which the Hebrew poets availed themselves in this matter is as far from supplying a standard whereby to judge of their religious beliefs as the mention of Scylla and Charybdis by a modern writer would be a fair test of his beliefs.

(γ) Finally, the attempts that have been made to give a mythological sense to the vessels of Solomon's temple appear to us to have failed completely: *e.g.* the supposition that the so-called brazen sea (1 K $7^{23\text{ff.}}$) represents the *tĕhōm* or primeval ocean, or that the oxen are symbols of Marduk.[*] On this question the present writer must express his full accord with Stade, who (*ZATW*, 1903, p. 179) sees in these vessels no evidence that at that time the myths possibly attached to them had been adopted by the Israelites, or that they were even known to them. 'It was not a religious need, but the needs of kingly pomp, that led to the introduction of a foreign institution into the temple. The Phœnician artist, who was called in to execute the work, wrought according to the fashions of style with which he was familiar, and turned out a product which could be transferred from a Phœnician temple to the temple of Jahweh.'

From all sides, then, it may be considered as established that the extent of Babylonian influence upon the religion of Israel—at least for the pre-exilic period—has been considerably overestimated. Examples of dependence and of allusions are not to be denied. But upon the soil of revelation the foreign material undergoes such transformation, and appears in such a new light, when viewed from an immeasurably higher moral and religious standpoint, that the question has not unreasonably been asked whether, in many passages, we should speak, not of dependence and imitation, but rather of a polemical intention towards the alleged source.

The further question, whether to this period religious *expectations as to the future* (connected with the *theologumenon* of the 'Day of the Lord') should be attributed, will have to be discussed in the following section.

IV. The period of the Writing Prophets, down to the Exile.

i. *The Sources.*—As sources for this period, which embraces some 180 years, we have to take account not only of the Prophetical writings, but also of portions of the Pentateuch and of the Historical literature. Thus in the Pentateuch there are the later and latest strata of J and E, and the Book of Deuteronomy; in the Historical books we have the prophetically influenced sections of Judges and Samuel (such as 1 S 1. 2^{11-26} 3. 8. 10^{17-24} 15), but, above all, the first Deuteronomic redaction of the Books of Kings (*c.* 600 B.C.). For our present purposes we can practically leave out of account the circumstance that the exact chronological position of the particular passages referred to is still the subject of much controversy. For there is practically complete agreement that they are dependent upon the preaching of the pre-exilic writing prophets, and that is the only point that concerns us. Besides, the whole of the historical literature of this period exhibits such a uniformity of ideas that the questions of analysis of sources and precise dating possess only a subordinate importance. For this reason we may leave open the complicated questions connected with the origin of Deuteronomy, namely, whether the law-book introduced by Josiah in 621 is to be regarded as the original Deuteronomy or was compiled from older codifications. So far as the description of the process of development of the OT religion is concerned, the present Book of Deuteronomy may quite properly be treated as a unity.

On the other hand, no little difficulty attaches to the questions of literary criticism affecting the main sources, namely, the Prophetical writings themselves. Here even the most cautious and conservative of critics have been compelled by the latest investigations to make such concessions as would have been considered impossible twenty years ago. Of course this is not the place to describe exhaustively either the process of literary criticism which has led to this, or the results of this criticism. But it may be as well to indicate clearly the general viewpoints which have forced themselves upon investigators in ever-growing measure, and without which a just judgment and a correct employment of the Prophetical writings are impossible.

There are two facts which must be kept steadily in view, because they suffice to explain all the phenomena in the Prophetical literature. (*a*) In the first place, it is, throughout, a *religious* literature; it does not profess to give anything, and we must accordingly not look to it for anything, that goes beyond religious purposes. (*b*) Secondly, Israel, to which we owe the Prophetical writings in their present form, had as yet no idea of what we call 'literary property.'[*] The question was not in what terms a prophet of Jahweh had spoken in former times, but whether those terms were still fitted to fulfil the religious purpose which he once meant to serve. If this did not appear to be the case, it was regarded as not only perfectly right, but as a sacred *duty*, to modify the original form of expression, to give a milder turn to what was too harsh and no longer applicable to a differently constituted age, to expand and state more clearly what was too concise or obscure, to introduce matter that was wanting in the original but indispensable for a later age. To this last category should be assigned a good part of the material on which at one time great stress—and that rightly—was laid, namely, so-called Messianic prophecy. When the threatenings of punishment uttered by the pre-exilic prophets had been fulfilled, when the people languished in exile, or after the Return dragged on a miserable existence under the oppression of the hostile world-power, it could not but seem a piece of cruelty to let words of threatening be the sole or even the predominating feature in the Prophetic oracles, at a time when the people were filled with burning zeal to secure by painful fulfilment of the Law that great change in their lot which had long been promised. We can understand how, under such circumstances, consolation and promise had an ever larger place given them within the framework of the traditional Prophetical writings — nay, how, for instance, the Book of Isaiah could come to assume the form of an anthology of Prophetical oracles and be even understood and read by the people as such — oracles which in all probability embrace a period of well-nigh 500 years. In saying this we do not mean to give our assent to what an illegitimate hypercriticism has exalted to a principle, that no word of comfort or of promise is to be allowed to the pre-exilic prophets. But we do mean to claim a perfect right to test fully the authenticity of the various Prophetical words. It is surely not the outcome of a frivolous and unbelieving spirit to seek an answer to the question whether Micah ($4^{10\text{ff.}}$) could have predicted in one and the same breath the carrying captive of Jerusalem to Babylon, and (v.^{11}) the miraculous deliverance of the city out of the power of its besiegers. Here sober criticism has a readily available resource, namely, to assign the prediction of the destruction of many peoples before the walls of Jerusalem to a much later date then the 8th cent. B.C. In cases where this resource is not available, such criticism will readily waive any decision. Fortunately, there remains enough that is certain and unassailable to enable us to understand and to depict the ways of God in Hebrew prophetism.

---

[*] So Kittel in his Com. on Kings (in Nowack's *Hdkom.*, Göttingen, 1900, p. 64), following Kosters (*Theol. Tijdschr.* 1879, p. 445 ff.). According to Gunkel (*l.c.* p. 153, cf. also 164 f.), the 12 oxen must rather have stood in some relation to the 12 signs of the zodiac.

[*] Cf. what was said above (p. 625^{a}) on the custom of tracing back all the legislation to Moses.

ii. *NAME AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE WRITING PROPHETS.*[*] — 1. In speaking of the *nĕbî'îm* (p. 650 ff.) we avoided as far as possible the name 'prophets,' so as not to obliterate the deep-seated distinction between them and the Jahweh prophets properly so called, the succession of whom begins with Amos. We found it necessary, indeed, to recognize even those *nĕbî'îm* who clustered about Elijah and Elisha, and especially the last named themselves, as organs of Jahweh, in whom 'the spirit of Jahweh' worked as a mysterious agency, and who could accordingly be rightly called 'men of God.' But on closer examination we discover such characteristic differences between the two kinds of prophets that we cannot, for instance, place even an Elijah upon the same footing as Amos.

The writing prophets[†] are essentially connected with the ancient seers (*rō'îm*), as is expressly testified in 1 S 9^{9} 'Those who are now called "prophets" (*nĕbî'îm*) were called in former times "seers."' The old names (*rō'îm* and *ḥōzîm*) in an honourable sense appear elsewhere only in Is 30^{10}; for in Mic 3^{7} the 'seers' (coupled with 'soothsayers') mean false prophets; in Is 29^{10} 'the prophets' and 'the seers' are wrong explanatory glosses; and, finally, in Am 7^{12} the term 'seer' (*ḥōzeh*), with which Amaẓiah the priest addresses Amos, has a flavour of contempt about it. But the reply of Amos (v.^{14}) must not be misunderstood, as if he absolutely repudiated any claim to be a 'prophet' (*nābî'*), because the word *nābî'* had questionable associations to him coming down from those *nĕbî'îm* of the time of Saul and of Ahab. This is quite impossible simply on the ground of Am 2^{11} and 3^{7}, where Amos himself speaks of the *nĕbî'îm* in the most honourable sense. Moreover, we read in 7^{15} that God charged him to 'go as a prophet' to His people Israel. The meaning of Amos in 7^{14} can only be, then, that he disclaims being a *professional* prophet, in the sense familiar to Amaẓiah, or a member of a prophetic guild. On the contrary, the call to be a prophet surprised him in the midst of occupations of a wholly different kind: Jahweh took him from the herd.[*]

2. Here we have already a very essential difference between the prophets of early times and the writing prophets. The latter are conscious of an express call, at a definite moment, by Jahweh to their office. We have not an actual account of this in the case of all of them; but its preciseness in the case of five justifies our assuming that from the time of Amos onwards a similar call was experienced by all true prophets of Jahweh. We have already spoken of *Amos*' own witness to his call. According to Hos 1^{2}, the commencement of *Hosea's* prophetic ministry was contemporaneous with his recognition that Jahweh intended even the prophet's unhappy experiences in his married life to be a reflexion of Israel's relation to Himself. *Isaiah* records a vision he had in the year that king Uzziah died, when the Divine commission was given him to drive the people by his message into ever-increasing obduracy. Attempts have been made to explain this vision—the only one in Isaiah—as simply the literary garb invented for inward reflexions and conflicts, so that the prophet's own determination would take the place of an express Divine call. But all such attempts are shattered by the earnest terms of the narrative, which will not permit us to think but of a real occurrence. The very same is the impression we receive from *Jeremiah's* record of his call in the 13th year of Josiah. Quite remarkable here is the emphasis laid (1^{5}) on the choice and consecration of Jeremiah to the prophetic office even before his birth. How could any one invent a thing of this kind and proclaim it as a word addressed to him by God? But as little could he have added the supplementary invention that he tried to evade the Divine commission (v.^{7}) by pleading want of skill in speaking, and youth. Rather must we see here again an experience the prophet once had, which left an ineffaceable impression upon his memory. In the case of *Ezekiel*, his exact dating of his first vision ($1^{1\text{f.}}$) by year, month, and day, is the pledge that he too is conscious that his call to be a prophet ($2^{3\text{ff.}}$) was a definite occurrence.

As it is not in man's power of his own initiative to effect the call to be a prophet, or to complete it by his own determination, so, on the other hand, he has no power to evade it. Nay, as even the boldest will tremble involuntarily when the roar of a lion is heard in the neighbourhood, so the man to whom the word of Jahweh has come *must* prophesy (Am 3^{8}). The most striking testimony to this is found in Jer $20^{7\text{ff.}}$. With an impatience bordering close on blasphemy, the prophet here reproaches Jahweh with having enticed him (by the call to be a prophet) and prevailed upon him, so that he has become a laughing-stock and an object of ridicule. But, he goes on, 'when I thought, I will not make mention of him nor speak any more in his name, then there was in mine heart as it were a burning fire shut up in my bones, I wearied myself with holding out, but I was unable.' It would be no easy task to weaken the convincing power and force of *this* testimony to the unique character of Hebrew prophetism, by pointing to any analogous phenomena elsewhere.

---

[*] Of the very extensive literature on the characteristics of prophetism and the theology of the writing prophets, we note, in addition to the works cited on p. 650^{b} n., the following: B. Duhm, *Die Theologie der Propheten*, Bonn, 1875 [a work which already occupies the standpoint of the Reuss-Graf hypothesis, although on questions of literary criticism the author is still pretty conservative]; Ed. König, *Der Offenbarungsbegriff des AT*, Leipzig, 1882, 2 vols. [mainly an analysis of the self-consciousness of the prophets and of their leading statements based upon this, regarding (1) their miraculous powers, call, and endowment with the Spirit of God; (2) the manifestation and speaking of God as the source of the revealed message, König maintaining that in this matter the prophets see and hear with the bodily senses; (3) the fact that it is not their own heart that is the source of the prophets' predictions]; A. Kuenen, *De profeten en de profetie onder Israël: Histor.-dogmat. Studie*, 2 vols., Leiden, 1875 [Eng. tr. under title 'Prophets and Prophecy in Israel,' London, 1877]; W. Robertson Smith, *The Prophets of Israel and their place in History, to the close of the 8th cent. B.C.*, Edinburgh, 1882 [2nd ed., 1895, with Introduction and Additional Notes by T. K. Cheyne]; J. Darmesteter, *Les prophètes d'Israël*, Paris, 1892; A. F. Kirkpatrick, *The Doctrine of the Prophets* (Warburtonian Lectures for 1886–1890), London, 1892; P. Schwartzkopff, *Die prophetische Offenbarung nach Wesen, Inhalt und Grenzen*, Giessen, 1896; F. Giesebrecht, *Grundlinien für die Berufsbegabung der alttest. Propheten* (in 'Greifswalder Studien zu Ehren H. Cremers,' Gütersloh, 1895, pp. 37–81); Leitner, *Die prophetische Inspiration* (in Bardenhewer's 'Biblische Studien' [Rom. Catholic]), Freiburg i. B., 1896; Ed. König, *Das Berufungsbewusstsein der alttest. Propheten*, Barmen, 1900.

[†] The emphasis we lay on the word *writing* in this title is not intended to deny that there were true prophets of Jahweh in Israel besides these (cf. what was said above, p. 656^{a}, about Micaiah ben-Imlah, and what is said in Jer $26^{20\text{ff.}}$ of Uriah ben-Shemaiah); but we can judge only of those about whose messages we have written evidence.

[*] The meaning of Amos becomes still clearer if, with Riedel (*SK*, 1903, p. 163 f.), we render 'I *was* no prophet,' etc.

3. A characteristic of the *nĕbîʼîm* in the old sense was a condition of **ecstasy**, occasionally rising to rapture and holy frenzy; and the first of these, namely ecstasy, we find witnessed to also in the case of the writing prophets. For, even apart from the vision, which likewise implies a condition of trance, there is repeated mention of 'the hand of Jahweh' being strong upon the prophet (Is 8^{11}, Ezk 3^{14}), or coming upon him (Ezk 1^{3} 3^{22} 37^{1} 40^{1}), or falling upon him (8^{1}), or being over him (33^{22}, here with the more precise note that it was 'at evening'), and on account of which he sits solitary (Jer 15^{17}). In all these passages 'the hand' is an expression for the Divine influence which lays irresistible hold upon the prophet, being almost the equivalent of 'the spirit of Jahweh,' which likewise 'falls' upon the prophet (Ezk 11^{5}), and imparts to him special revelations from God. In the case of Ezekiel, the effect of the hand of Jahweh is almost always to induce a vision. Nevertheless, there is plainly a considerable difference between this kind of ecstasy and that of the ancient *nĕbîʼîm*. It is true that under all forms the extraordinary influence of the spirit of God presents an unfathomable mystery. But on the part of the writing prophets we find no trace of their being plunged by this influence into a condition of *amentia* or unconscious rapture. They always retain a clear consciousness and a distinct recollection of what they saw in spirit and of what was said to them.* Otherwise it would be impossible for them to describe the vision or to announce the word of God that came to them in their ecstasy.

4. Now, it is quite true that in opposition to this it has been maintained (so, in great detail, by A. Klostermann in *SK*, 1877, p. 391 ff., and again recently by Duhm in his Commentary on Isaiah, p. 129) that, at least in the case of Ezekiel, by the prophet's own confession, cataleptic conditions, namely, temporary loss of the power of motion and speech, must be assumed, although this morbid condition did not exclude an exact recollection of the hallucinations of sight and hearing that were experienced during the catalepsy. In point of fact, Ezekiel tells us that, after his vision of the cherubim-chariot, he went *in bitterness* (מַר) in the heat of his spirit, and that he then sat stunned with astonishment (מַשְׁמִים) in the midst of his people for seven days (3$^{14f.}$). He speaks, further (v.$^{26f.}$), of a dumbness which God sends upon him, which can indeed be interrupted when it is the Divine will that he make prophetic announcements, but whose entire removal does not take place till the evening before the news comes of the capture of Jerusalem. All these phenomena agree remarkably with those observed in cataleptics. Duhm is inclined to reckon especially the vision in 8^{1}–11^{24} among the cases 'in which the body lies seemingly dead and the phantom (that has left it) represents the Ego.' On the other hand, Zechariah, with his 'angel that spake with me,' is included by Duhm among the instances 'in which consciousness remains in the body, and the phantom that comes forth is apparently unconscious.' But however much the assumption of cataleptic conditions on the part of Ezekiel may have in its favour, this does not yet amount to evidence of a relapse to the old form of mantic. Above all, there are two points not to be overlooked. In the first place, Ezekiel represents his bitterness of spirit and stunned condition, those alleged cataleptic phenomena (3$^{14f.}$), as the *result* of the vision of the cherubim-chariot; whereas he describes the vision itself with a preciseness which does not look like that of a man whose mental balance has been disturbed. Secondly, before and after the story of his being carried to Jerusalem (8$^{1ff.}$) and the lengthy account of his visions there, he says not a word about cataleptic conditions, and we have no right simply on the ground of 3$^{14f.}$ to postulate them here also. But, above all, the whole nature and contents of the great vision in chapters 40–48 are very hard to reconcile with any notion of a morbid condition on the part of the prophet. Everything here breathes such an air of deliberation and purpose that only a small share in the inception of this lengthy programme for the future can be set down to the account of vision (see below, p. 676^{b}). Again, as to the 'double consciousness' of Zechariah, it is really only in 4^{1} that there is any indication of an abnormal condition of the prophet; and this is very far from justifying the assumption of actual cataleptic conditions. For, when we read that the angel who talked with him reawakened him as a man that is wakened out of his sleep, this means merely that the prophet, exhausted by the preceding visions, had fallen into a kind of sleep, and had now to be made capable of experiencing a new vision. But here, again, in the case of Zechariah, it will be found that his night-visions in their present form are to be in large measure set down to the account of the *littérateur* and not of the visionary.

5. Taking everything into account, the **vision** did not, upon the whole, play such a large rôle in prophetism as there has been a disposition to attribute to it. As for the classical examples, so to speak, of visions which we find on the part of Amos, Isaiah, and Jeremiah, the descriptions are almost all extremely meagre; nay, in some instances they contain nothing more than names of objects with which the utterance of religious truths and exhortations is connected. The more detailed the description (as, for instance, in Ezk 1$^{4ff.}$), the more it contains not only framework and motive but exhibits deliberate purpose, the more is it deficient in specifically religious contents. In every instance the word spoken in the course of the vision or for the purpose of explaining it, is by far the most important part of the revelation communicated to the prophet.

6. Finally, it must be pronounced a gross exaggeration to think of *all* the activity of the prophets as carried on under ecstatic conditions. When a prophet begins his message with the expression 'Thus saith the LORD' (כֹּה אָמַר יהוה), or introduces into his address the very frequent

---

* This simple fact refutes the ancient orthodox theories, such as that which goes back to Philo, that human reason left the prophet, to make room for the Divine spirit. Equally futile are all attempts to reduce the prophets to mere instruments of the Divine spirit, *devoid of will*, and comparable to a flute in the hand of the player or a pen in the hand of the scribe. Such attempts suffer shipwreck on the rock of what is an undeniable fact, that the individuality of the different prophets is very clearly revealed in their style and their manner of speech. Isaiah writes quite differently from Jeremiah, and the latter, again, quite differently from Ezekiel. Of course all this does not exclude the possibility of a heightening of the natural gifts and powers of the prophets by the influence of the Divine spirit. Such a process is evident, for instance, in the manner of speech of the herdsman Amos, which is as forcible as it is clear. Jerome's opinion regarding the 'rustic style' of Amos must be pronounced quite unproved and incorrect.

'word of the LORD' (נְאֻם יהוה), he means to claim that he does not speak a message of his own creation, like the false prophets: Jahweh must have spoken to him before he can proclaim the word of Jahweh. But this does not imply that the inspiration from Jahweh must in every instance be connected with the throwing of the prophet into the ecstatic condition. It may, further, be asked whether for every particular message of the prophets there was needed a special inspiration from Jahweh, or whether we should not rather hold that they always spoke in the power of the spirit of God, which was imparted to them at their call. The answer is, that both these possibilities are witnessed to in the Prophetical writings. (*a*) In the story of the call of Isaiah ($6^{\text{9ff.}}$), as well as in that of Jeremiah ($1^{\text{9ff.}}$) and of Ezekiel ($2^{\text{3ff.}}$ and $3^{\text{17ff.}}$), we hear of a general commission from God to these prophets, a kind of programme of their ministry, to which at all times they are to give heed in word and act.

(*b*) But, on the other hand, we possess also some notable evidences that the word of Jahweh may in a particular instance be at first withheld, and only communicated after a while.—(*α*) Thus the prophet Ḥabaḳḳuḳ can at first give no reply to the complaint which he has to make to Jahweh (in chapter 1). Nay, he resolves to take his stand upon his watch-tower * to look out and to learn what Jahweh has to say to him, and what reply He will make to his grievance. And, in fact, Jahweh answers him at once, and even commands him to write down the revelation he receives.

But there are two testimonies of Jeremiah which point still more clearly in the same direction.—(*β*) When the false prophet, Ḥananiah of Gibeon, in the presence of Jeremiah proclaims to priests and people as a word from Jahweh (Jer $28^{\text{1ff.}}$) that the yoke of Nebuchadrezzar is about to be broken, and the temple-vessels carried away under Jehoiakim to be brought back from Babylon, Jeremiah gives his Amen to this. He expresses, indeed, his suspicion at the suddenness of the change from the predictions of woe uttered by the old prophets to the opposite. But he allows Ḥananiah to take from his neck and break the yoke which he had worn for some time as a threatening allusion to the yoke of the Chaldæans. Straightway Jeremiah takes his departure. But soon thereafter the command comes to him from God to announce to Ḥananiah that Jahweh would put an iron yoke in place of the wooden one broken by him, and would bring all nations under the yoke of Nebuchadrezzar. Ḥananiah himself was further to be told that as a false prophet he was doomed to die the same year. And so it fell out in the seventh month of that year. In this whole transaction it is highly noteworthy that Jeremiah at first considers it possible that Ḥananiah has spoken a true message from Jahweh, because he himself has received none to a contrary effect, but that afterwards he has no hesitation in opposing his subsequent communication from Jahweh to Ḥananiah's lying word. Here, again, all notion of mere imagination or invention on the part of the prophet is absolutely excluded. What he speaks is based upon real, direct inspiration.

(*γ*) The other testimony, which is no less characteristic, is found in Jer $42^{\text{1ff.}}$. The remnant of the people, which had fled from Miẓpah after the murder of Gedaliah, beg the prophet to give them a message from Jahweh to indicate the right course for them to pursue, and assure him that, whatever be the instructions, they will carry them out. Jeremiah promises that he will pray to Jahweh for a message, and that he will not keep back a single word of it when he receives it. But ten days elapse before the Divine word comes to him, forbidding absolutely the migration to Egypt, and commanding the people to remain in their own land. The charges of falsehood and treachery which the spokesmen of the people then prefer against the prophet are such as no one will have any difficulty in attributing to the blind zeal of infatuated men. But it would be equally unjust to regard those ten days as simply a period of delay which the prophet took for calm consideration, and with a view to the allaying of excited feelings. Here, too, we must believe him when he tells us that he could not announce a 'word of Jahweh' until it had been given him.

7. In all that we have said hitherto in the way of characterizing the writing prophets, we have not, however, yet mentioned the most essential feature. This we find in the *subjects* of prophetic announcement, which are exclusively the affairs of the theocracy, not to say the kingdom of God in the wide sense of that expression. The prophecies are addressed to the whole body of the people, whether in Israel or Judah,—or at least relate to them; and in every instance the contents are exclusively moral and religious. The few exceptions, where a prophecy is addressed to individuals, are only apparent. When Isaiah (7^{11}) invites king Aḥaz to ask a sign from Jahweh, he is speaking to the man who had the control of, and the responsibility for, the fortunes of the people at a critical period. And when the same prophet (Is $22^{\text{15ff.}}$) announces to the king's *major-domo* his deposition and banishment, and the appointment of Eliaḳim in his place, the whole context shows that Shebna had brought this punishment upon himself by the harm he had done the theocracy, and by his oppression of the people; whereas it was to be expected of Eliaḳim, the servant of Jahweh, that he would be 'a father to the house of Judah.' In the same way, of course, we must interpret the minatory prophecies of Jeremiah addressed to individuals: for instance, that to Pashḥur ($20^{\text{3ff.}}$), whose ill-treatment of the prophet had proved him to be a rebel against Jahweh Himself; that to Ḥananiah ($28^{\text{13ff.}}$; see above); that to Shemaiah ($29^{\text{24ff.}}$); and, not less, the numerous prophetic addresses to various kings of Judah ($21^{\text{3ff.}}$ $22^{\text{1ff. 10ff.}}$ $27^{\text{12ff.}}$ $38^{\text{14ff.}}$). Again, the very frequent words of threatening uttered against whole classes, the nobles and judges of the people, the priests or the (false) prophets, have in view the members of these, not as individuals but as the holders of important offices, on whose conduct the weal and the woe of the whole body depend. The true prophet of Jahweh, on the other hand, holds an office only in so far as he is called *by God* to a definite activity, never for State reasons or by a king's commission. Accordingly, nothing could argue greater perversity than to represent Isaiah, when he announced to Shebna his deposition ($22^{\text{15ff.}}$), as acting in an official capacity and by the king's directions—something after the fashion of a court preacher!

8. It is quite in harmony with the position of the

---

* The much discussed passage, Is $21^{\text{6ff.}}$, belongs (if we adopt the present text) to a different category. We leave it an open question whether this oracle belongs to Isaiah (dating from *c.* 710 B.C.), or whether it should not rather be placed about the year 540. In v.^{6} Jahweh bids the prophet set a watcher, who is to mount the tower and tell what he sees. This is generally explained as an embodiment of the fact that the prophet, under the influence of the Divine spirit, distinguishes in himself, as it were, two personalities. According to Duhm (Com. on Isaiah, p. 129), 'the meaning of the command is that the prophet is to yield himself to catalepsy (cf. above, p. 673^{b}) and let loose from himself the angel, who, untrammelled by the bodily senses, can perceive supra-sensual things.' But it is hardly open to question that the present text of v.^{6} is due to a misunderstanding of the Massorah, and ought, with Buhl (*ZATW*, 1888, p. 157 ff.) and Stade (*ib.* p. 165 ff.), to be emended so as to read as a command of Jahweh to the prophet to mount the tower. Thus the catalepsy alleged by Duhm falls away of itself, and Is 21^{6} becomes a simple parallel to Hab 2^{1}.

prophets in the service of Jahweh that they perform their ministry without any claim to fee or reward—differing thus from the ancient seers, who received gifts in return for the answers they gave to inquirers (1 S $9^{7f.}$, 1 K 14^{3}). According to Mic 3^{11}, it is a sign of the false prophets that they divine for money—conduct which is pronounced equally disgraceful with that of judges who take gifts to give decisions, or of priests who impart *tôrāh* for a fee.

9. Once more, as to the numerous oracles and addresses spoken against *foreign peoples*: these fall in large measure within the sphere of prophetic activity, for the simple reason that their motive is the hostile attitude of these nations to the theocracy. They denounce the judgment of Jahweh upon those who in their blindness have abused His commission to chastise and have cruelly destroyed (Is $10^{5ff.}$); or who, like the Edomites, in Jerusalem's 'evil day,' exhibited a savage joy, and did their best to humiliate and destroy Judah (Ob $^{10ff.}$). But even where such motives are not present, or at least not recognizable by us, the oracles against foreign nations occupy a high place in the prophetic addresses. For they are all testimonies that it is recognized that Jahweh alone, with almighty hand, guides the fortunes of the nations, near and remote; that He alone can reward and punish; and that He does both according to the unalterable standard of right and righteousness. It is no more the merely national god, who concerns himself about the course of the world only when his own people are assailed by another, and then—such was the popular belief—takes their part blindly; but One who avenges even the outrage perpetrated by the Moabites on the bones of the king of Edom (Am 2^{1}). And thus it may well be said that in these very oracles against the nations clear and forcible expression is given to the universalism of the prophetic conception of God, the omnipotence, wisdom, and righteousness of Jahweh. There is nothing in them to invalidate the judgment expressed a little ago, that the activity of the writing prophets is always concerned with the interests and aims of the theocracy, the ways of God with the latter, and that the contents of their prophecies are uniformly of a moral and religious nature.

10. From this follows another result, which is not least in importance, namely, that the minatory prediction, however categorically it may be expressed, has always only a *conditional character*. Even Amos, whose denunciation of judgment sounds so irrevocable that he actually strikes up the funeral dirge (*ḳînāh*) over Israel (5^{1}), does not abandon all hope, for immediately thereafter he utters the exhortation: 'Seek Jahweh, that ye may live' (vv.$^{4.6}$); 'Yea, if ye hate the evil and love the good, it may be that Jahweh, the God of Hosts, will be gracious unto the remnant of Joseph' (v.^{15}). Isaiah, again, although expressly called ($6^{10f.}$) to harden the people still more by his preaching of repentance, predicts ($1^{25ff.}$) the coming of a time when Jerusalem shall once more be called a city of righteousness, a faithful city, after a portion of her inhabitants have been brought by purifying judgment to repentance. Similarly, in 38^{3} Isaiah, by the instruction of Jahweh, announces to king Ḥezekiah his speedy end, but immediately thereafter tells him that, owing to his prayer and tears, his life is to be prolonged for fifteen years. Jeremiah announces as a message from Jahweh (26^{3}) that the threatenings uttered against city and temple may perhaps have the effect of leading the people to hearken and turn from their ways, in which case Jahweh will repent Him of the evil which He thought to bring upon them because of the evil of their doings. In short, the prophetic word is not a *decretum absolutum*, which must work itself out after the manner of a blind natural force, an inexorable fate; it pursues moral aims; it is designed to bring about knowledge and repentance. Hence it is subject to recall, according to the conduct of the party threatened; just as the potter can transform the marred vessel as he pleases (Jer $18^{1ff.}$). For Jahweh has no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but in his turning from his evil way, that he may live (Ezk 18^{23}). It was to emphasize this truth, and that even as extended to the heathen, that the little Book of Jonah was composed in the post-exilic period.

iii. *THE FORMS OF DIVINE REVELATION TO THE PROPHETS.*—1. The simplest form of communication from God to the prophets is the *word* which comes to them, and which is very frequently the equivalent of 'revelation.' According to Jer 18^{18} it was a current saying of the time that *tôrāh* ('direction') could never be lacking to the priest, nor 'counsel' to the wise, nor the 'word' to the prophet. That the prophet, in virtue of his call, could speak in the name of Jahweh, without having in *every* instance received an extraordinary revelation, we have already (p. 674^{a}) pointed out. On the other hand, the exact dating of particular Divine messages (particularly in Ezekiel, Haggai, and Zechariah, but occasionally also in Jeremiah) is an evidence that the prophet could be quite conscious of having received a special revelation.

The same is witnessed to by the expression (Is 22^{14}, cf. 5^{9}) 'Jahweh revealed himself in my ears,' *i.e.* called to me audibly. It has been argued by Ed. König that a hearing with the *bodily* ear is what is thought of in this phrase; but that it is not so, is shown by the fact that elsewhere the Divine word is said to be *seen* by the prophet. But this seeing is with the eye of the spirit, like the beholding of the prophetic visions. Both kinds of seeing are designated by the same word in Hebrew (חָזוֹן *ḥāzôn*; cf., for instance, the expression 'Vision of Isaiah,' placed as a collective title at the head of the present Book of Isaiah). This is explicable only on the supposition that the boundary between the two—especially in early times—was a fluid one: even the receiving of a Divine message might readily be coupled with ecstatic visionary conditions.

2. Still we are entitled to speak of *visions* proper, *i.e.* of the beholding of concrete pictures and incidents, of which the prophet afterwards gives an account, and, if necessary, an interpretation. It is noteworthy that *this* seeing is almost everywhere (cf. Am $7^{1.4.7}$ 8^{1} 9^{1}, Is 6^{1}, Jer $1^{11.13}$, Ezk 1^{1}, Zec 1^{8} 2^{1} etc.) expressed by the verb רָאָה (*rā'āh*), which usually stands for bodily vision. Here, again, it cannot be inferred from this that we have to do with an unveiling of the invisible world to the bodily eye of the prophet, but rather that he with the spiritual eye beholds real pictures and incidents as at other times he does with the bodily eye. Of all the analogies which have been adduced to make the mystery of this kind of seeing (namely, the prophetic vision in the narrower sense) intelligible, that which deserves most attention is the largely attested 'artistic intuition.' In the latter, a work of art, which has been planned and perhaps long considered, may all at once present itself to the mind's eye of the artist in unthought-of finish and beauty, and that so clearly that he is able henceforth to retain it in his memory and carry it into execution. But, even with such an analogy as this, we must not overlook the considerable differences in kind between the two, artistic and prophetic inspiration,

and, above all, the difference in their subject-matter.

But, further, the visions present themselves to us in such multiplicity that we can readily understand how attempts have been made to distinguish between genuine vision and the purely literary garb given to prophetic ideas—not to speak of the attempt to reduce *all* visions to a mere literary device. To refute the latter notion, it is necessary only to point to (*a*) the single vision recorded by Isaiah (in ch. 6). It is inconceivable that he should have invented this incident, to which his solemn call to the prophetic office is attached, merely in order to present in this form certain thoughts of his own about the nature and the prospects of his prophetic calling. For any such purpose the labour spent on the description would be too great, and everything favours the assumption that the prophet on this *one* occasion actually beheld the supra-earthly pictures which he describes, experienced the atoning influence (v.^{7}), and heard the Divine commission given him. And, in truth, the pictures are of sublime simplicity, while the succession of the incidents is clear and impressive (just as in the vision of Micaiah ben-Imlah, 1 K $22^{19ff.}$)—both indications of a real inward experience.

(*b*) It is much more difficult to gain a harmonious conception of the first two visions of Amos ($7^{1ff.}$). In the third of them (v.$^{7ff.}$) it is to one object alone, the plumbline, that the Divine oracle attaches itself; while the object of the fourth, the basket of harvest fruits, serves merely as a symbol of the harvest which is to be sent to the people. The fifth vision ($9^{1ff.}$) is the first to offer, although described with extreme brevity, an analogy to that of Isaiah. But, in the opinion of the present writer, it is possible to regard the others also, in spite of their peculiarities, as something more than merely the literary garb of prophetic ideas. This latter device makes its appearance only after the prophetic vision has had a considerable history, and the public ministry of the prophets has had to yield more and more to the activity of the pen. Moreover, the testimony to visions on the part of *pre-exilic* prophets is confined, apart from those of Amos and Isaiah, to those recounted in Jer $1^{11.\,13}$. In both of the last two a single object (an almond-tree and a seething-pot) seen by the prophet furnishes the motive (and that in connexion with the immediately subsequent call of the prophet) for a prophetic announcement.

(*c*) In Ezekiel, on the other hand, the vision makes its appearance in a highly detailed and somewhat complicated form. As in the case of Isaiah and Jeremiah, the first vision (Ezk $1^{1ff.}$) ushers in the call of the prophet. Ezekiel relates at the outset how, after the heavens were opened (*i.e.* after he had received the faculty of beholding even the supra-earthly), he saw visions produced by God. Yet it is not from heaven, but from the north, that the theophany comes, in a storm-driven fiery cloud. This conceals the very minutely described cherubim (see above, p. 644^{b}), and it is only at the close (v.$^{26ff.}$) that we learn that they bear the platform on which the throne of God stands, with God seated upon it. The merely allusive way in which the prophet speaks of the form of Him who is thus enthroned is in accordance with the reverential reserve which we note also in Ex 24^{10} and Is 6^{1}. But the extraordinary circumstantiality of the preceding description, notwithstanding which it is impossible to form a clear conception of the objects, justifies the conclusion —not that the prophet simply coined the vision (whose exact date is given) but—that literary skill played a very considerable part in his description of it. The same remark applies to the explanation attached ($2^{9ff.}$) to his eating of the book-roll which was inscribed with sighs and lamentations. Of course the eating of the roll, which is a materializing of the purely spiritual inspiration thought of elsewhere, likewise belongs to the realm of vision, for it is not till $3^{12ff.}$ that the prophet hears behind him the noise of the cherubim-chariot which bears away again 'the glory' of Jahweh. On the appended description ($3^{14f.}$) of the physical condition of the prophet, cf. above, p. 673. When the same theophany recurs in $3^{22ff.}$ the prophet contents himself with a simple mention of it. On the other hand, there is a very detailed account ($8^{1ff.}$) of the idolatrous horrors which he saw in the precincts of the temple, when he was carried by the spirit to Jerusalem. Then follow, in the same locality, the visions (chs. 9–11) which present to his view the destruction of the city and the temple, together with the threatening address to the heads of the people. From this point the vision does not recur till ch. 37—the reanimating of the dead bones, which symbolize Israel dead, as it were, in the Exile. Here, as in chs. 8–11, there is no reason to doubt that the prophet really saw what he asserts; but the individual descriptions and, in quite a special sense, the detailed interpretations and practical applications must certainly be once more set down to the account of a literary performance. The same is true in quite a peculiar measure of the great vision in the last part of the book (chs. 40–48), where the prophet sketches the future form of the temple and its cultus and of the land. Here the details are so multiplied and involved that it has been plausibly suggested that the prophet worked out his description with the aid of maps and plans. It is evident that the matter which could suggest such a method does not belong to the contents of the vision. Elsewhere the transition from the sphere of the vision to that of literature is betrayed by the elaborate justification of prescriptions which are to come into force only in the future; so, especially, the new regulation about the priesthood ($44^{9ff.}$), and the distribution of the tribes (ch. 48). These prescriptions and much else are fitted into the framework of the vision only by being put in the mouth of the prophet's guide (cf. $40^{3f.}$), or even of Jahweh Himself.

(*d*) The latest* accounts of visions proper lie before us in the eight night-visions of Zechariah (1^{8}–6^{8}). We have already (p. 673^{b}) pointed out that, apart from 4^{1}, there are no indications pointing to a cataleptic condition of the prophet when he had these visions. Hence it appeared to us quite improbable that 'the angel who talked with me' ($1^{9.\,13}$ 2^{3} etc.) is to be referred, with Duhm, to the seemingly double consciousness of a cataleptic. Rather might we perhaps say, with Baudissin (*Einleitung in die Bücher des AT*, Leipzig, 1901, p. 565): 'The introduction of this medium (the so-called *angelus interpres*) between God and the prophet changes the character of OT prophecy, which was based upon the notion that the prophet was *directly* filled with the Divine spirit.' This already implies that in these night-visions the great bulk of the matter is to be attributed to the prophet's own imagination and literary activity. On several occasions (so, quite especially, in $1^{14ff.}$ $2^{10ff.}$) the description of the vision passes over into the usual tone of prophetic address.

iv. *The Forms of the Prophetic Message.*—1. Amongst the various ways in which the prophets communicated the revelations they received, by far the most important place, at least in the early period, is taken once more by the *word* or the prophetic address, whether in the form of a brief oracle or of a somewhat longer, clearly connected discourse. But it is only with reservations that the view can be maintained that the extant oracles and discourses of the earlier prophets are practically, without exception, to be regarded as the (subsequent) written record of what were originally actual spoken addresses. To be sure, in every instance where the prophet himself gives place and time, and names ear-witnesses of his discourse (as, for instance, in Is $7^{1ff.}$), we must find the record of an actual address. But even such a case as this does not exclude the use of much freedom in regard to the form and the dimensions of what is committed to writing.

---

* The visions of Daniel, which really belong to a different category—that of apocalyptic—will be dealt with later on (see p. 714).

Here, once more, we have to keep in mind what holds good of the whole of the literature of the OT, namely, that it aims not at a diplomatically exact record of words and actions, but at exercising a religious influence, and hence that the prophet, when he became an author, must have reserved to himself full liberty as to the method by which he was to achieve this result. But, above all, must this liberty be postulated where it was not till years had elapsed that a prophet reproduced from memory a long series of addresses and dictated these to an amanuensis, as we are told Jeremiah did after twenty-three years of prophetic activity (Jer $36^{1ff.}$). In such a procedure it would be impossible for the earlier addresses to escape being influenced in a variety of ways by the later experiences and views of their author. And, when the roll written by Baruch was burned by king Jehoiaķim, the greatest freedom was used once more in reproducing it: 'Then took Jeremiah another roll, and gave it to Baruch the scribe, the son of Neriah; who wrote therein from the mouth of Jeremiah all the words of the book which Jehoiaķim king of Judah had burned in the fire; *and there were added besides unto them many like words*' (Jer 36^{32}). But there are also other Prophetical books, like that of Amos, whose very dating (1^{1} 'two years before the earthquake') shows it to have been composed later than the events, and no less those of Hosea and Isaiah, which bear such evident traces of the subsequent reduction to writing and of the polishing and expansion of the supposed spoken address, that it is scarcely possible anywhere to maintain the absolute identity of the address and its report. In saying this we are leaving entirely out of account the fact that in the end the Prophetical writings were subjected almost, without exception, to editing by other hands—a process which introduced changes not only in their dimensions, but in many instances even in their language. It is useless to seek to deny this. On the other hand, however, it is perverse to see in this a destroying of the character of revelation and of the high value in general which belongs to the word of the prophets. Whatever may have suffered from all those influences which are unavoidable in the course of human tradition, the genuine Divine word retains amidst it all a power and a majesty which even at the present day do not miss their effect.

2. The prophetic address occasionally avails itself, with a view to heightening the effect, of the *forms of poetical art*, such as the parable (Is $5^{1ff.}$ $28^{23ff.}$; even the 'riddle' [חִידָה, *ḥîdāh*] of Ezk $17^{1ff.}$ is there designated at the same time 'comparison,' 'parable' [מָשָׁל *māshāl*]), or plays upon words (*e.g.* Mic $1^{10ff.}$); nay, in the pre-exilic period, and repeatedly even in later times, it passes into poetic rhythms.[*] We must be content, however, with merely alluding to this, for it lies outside the scope of an article dealing with the history of religion.

3. Full notice must be taken, however, of the *symbolical actions* whereby the prophets gave, as it were, a concrete form to the truths they proclaimed. We meet with an example of this even in very early times, when Ahijah of Shiloh (1 K $11^{30f.}$) rent his new mantle into twelve pieces and gave Jeroboam ten of these. Here the interpretation follows straight upon the action, whereas in 1 K 22^{11} the latter comes after the prophetic oracle. With the writing prophets the state of things is the same with symbolical actions as with the vision. At first rare and simple, these actions occur in Ezekiel in considerable numbers, and at times in so complicated a form as to justify the question whether they are meant to be thought of as actually performed, and not simply as the literary garb given to prophetic ideas. In Amos, Hosea, Micah there are no examples.

(*a*) In Isaiah, as there is only one vision, so there is only one symbolical action (ch. 20). The prophet is to go about for three years naked (*i.e.* without his upper garment) and barefooted, and thus to furnish an impressive emblem of the condition of the Egyptians and Ethiopians going into captivity. But this action of his serves also, as v.^{5} shows, a practical purpose of extreme importance, namely, to keep Judah from foolishly revolting from Assyria, through trust in the delusive aid of the Egyptians and the Ethiopians. The symbolical action then appears here in the direct service of the Divine guidance of the people by means of the prophet, and hence (like all the symbolical actions we meet with in the writing prophets) is directly commanded by God.

(*b*) After Is 20 the next instances of symbolical actions occur in the life of Jeremiah. In Jer 13 the prophet is told to buy a linen girdle, and first to put it upon his loins and then to hide it in a hole of a rock by the water.[*] The consequent destruction of the girdle is to symbolize the inevitable destruction of Judah and Jerusalem. With a like aim he goes to Topheth ($19^{1ff.}$), the place of child-sacrifice, and before the eyes of many witnesses breaks an earthen pitcher—an action whose significance is heightened by the scene where it takes place. According to $27^{1ff.}$, Jeremiah, in order to symbolize the necessity for Judah's submitting patiently to the yoke of Nebuchadrezzar, places bands and yoke-bars upon his own neck (cf. also $28^{10.\,13}$). It is noteworthy that the explanation of this symbolical action, along with a corresponding warning, is sent also to the kings of the surrounding peoples—a strong proof that the prophet felt that he spoke on behalf of the God who rules over all. It is a very crass misconception that sees here an unbecoming interference with foreign politics, or even an evidence that the prophet acted thus because he was in the pay of the Chaldæans. Finally, our present category includes in a certain sense also $43^{8ff.}$, where the prophet, by Jahweh's instructions, buries great stones in the clay-ground in front of the palace of the Pharaoh at Taḥpanḥes, as a testimony to the fact that Nebuchadrezzar would one day set up his throne over these stones, to execute grim judgment upon Egypt.

---

[*] Thus, for instance, the so-called *ķînāh* or 'mourning measure' (discovered by Ley and Budde), *i.e.* the bringing together of a longer and a shorter verse-member (generally 3 and 2 'rises'), plays a much larger rôle in the prophetical writings than used to be supposed; cf. *e.g.* Am $5^{2f.}$, Is $1^{2ff.}$ $2^{5ff.}$ $13^{2ff.}$ $14^{4ff.}$ $16^{2ff.}$ $22^{1b\text{-}4}$ $37^{22ff.}$ $47^{1ff.}$ $52^{7ff.}$ $57^{1ff.}$ $60^{10ff.}$, Jer $9^{20f.}$ $15^{8f.}$, Ezk $19^{1bff.}$ etc. Cf. art. POETRY in vol. iv.

[*] If by *Pĕrāth* (פְּרָת) of v.$^{4ff.}$ the river Euphrates must be understood, there is no alternative but to regard the account of the whole transaction as simply a literary device, or even (with Duhm in his Commentary on Jeremiah, p. 119) as the free invention of a late redactor. For Jeremiah cannot possibly have undertaken the long journey to the Euphrates twice over, merely to establish the fact that a linen girdle is ruined by damp. But now L. Gautier (cf. *Bote aus Zion*, July 1894, p. 62 f.) points to an *'Ain* ('fountain') *Fara* in the neighbourhood of Anathoth, the home of the prophet. Assuming this to be meant by *Pĕrāth*, all difficulty disappears (cf. *Enc. Bibl.* ii. 1429).

The above instances, however, exhaust the symbolical actions of Jeremiah; for his purchase, by Divine command, of a field, while he was in prison (32$^{7\text{ff.}}$), is a legal transaction, whose symbolical sense, as we learn from v.$^{25\text{f.}}$, was not evident to the prophet himself till afterwards. Moreover, all the above enumerated symbolical actions are as simple as they are impressive; they are easy to interpret and easy to remember.

(*c*) Much more circumstantial is even (*a*) the first of the emblematical transactions required of Ezekiel (4$^{1\text{ff.}}$). He is to draw upon a tile a plan of Jerusalem, to set in array various siege appliances, nay even whole armies, against the city, and, finally, to place an iron pan between himself (as God's representative) and the city. Still the direction to give the house of Israel a 'sign' in this way was quite capable of execution, whatever room there may be for difference of opinion as to the method by which the prophet depicted the besieging armies.—(*β*) But it is different with the case contemplated in 4$^{4\text{ff.}}$. Here Ezekiel is to lie upon one side, bound with cords to prevent his turning over on his other side, and first to bear for 190 * days the guilt of Israel, and then for other 40 days the guilt of Judah—these numbers corresponding to the number of years, respectively, of the captivity of the two kingdoms. No appeal to the prophet's alleged tendency to catalepsy will suffice to make a literal fulfilment of this command conceivable: for this reason, apart from any other, that such a prolonging of the symbolical transaction over nearly eight months would have tended to rob it of effect, or at least would have been quite unnecessary for the purpose in view. We must therefore assume that the symbolical action was indeed actually carried on by the prophet for a time, but that its prolongation to 190+40 days is merely part of his subsequent explanation of it.—It is only upon this assumption, again, that (*γ*) the prescription (4$^{9\text{ff.}}$) as to the stinted use of unclean food by the prophet while he was bound as above described,† can be conceived as capable of being obeyed. A daily allowance of 20 shekels [about 5 oz. avoir.] weight of the composite bread prescribed would scarcely have sufficed to support life for 230 (not to speak of 430) days. —(*δ*) Very graphic and impressive, on the other hand, is the fourth sign (5$^{1\text{ff.}}$). The prophet, having cut the hair of his head and beard, burns a third of the hair, smites about another third with a sword, scatters the other third to the winds, and finally burns some of the hairs that have been concealed in the skirt of his mantle—all this as a sign of the fate that was reserved for the people of Judah. Even if the use of a balance (v.^{1}) to apportion the hair suggests the somewhat mechanical fondness of Ezekiel for exact measures and numbers, the whole transaction is well fitted to make the most lasting impression; and one can well imagine the eager attention with which the onlookers watched the prophet at work, and listened to the explanations that followed.—(*ε*) No less impressive is the fashion in which he is told (12$^{1\text{ff.}}$) to give the people an emblematic representation of the cheerless departure into exile. He is to bring out his baggage by day in their sight, and in the evening is to make his way, with his face concealed, through a hole cut in the wall of the house.—(*ζ*) Again, 12$^{17\text{ff.}}$ is certainly to be understood in the sense that the prophet, as he eats and drinks, is to exhibit all the signs of terror, in order to portray to those about him the fear and horror of the besieged in Jerusalem.—(*η*) In 24$^{15\text{ff.}}$ the symbolism consists in the neglect of the mourning customs enjoined by usage.* The prophet himself testifies how much the curiosity of his countrymen was excited by this very strange neglect. All the more impressive on that account must have been the explanation he gave of it.

All the symbolical actions of Ezekiel as yet described had but one purpose: to exhibit the certainty and the terrors of the Divine judgment upon Judah. In opposition to these there is at least one action, of a very simple kind, whose interpretation issues in *a comforting promise*. We refer to the two staves, inscribed with the names of Judah and Joseph, which were to be joined together in one in the hand of the prophet, as a sign that the two separated and apparently ruined kingdoms of Israel were to be restored and united in the old home under *one* king.

The threatenings, which the previous symbolical actions of the prophet served to emphasize, were literally fulfilled; but the restoration, in spite of the very definite terms of Ezk 37$^{19\text{ff.}}$, included only Judah—an undeniable proof of the 'conditional' character of prophecy. The firm conviction of the prophet that at a given moment he was giving utterance to a genuine message from God, does not exclude the possibility of God's ways afterwards taking a different turn.

(*d*) Something similar applies to the solitary instance of a symbolical action (if this designation can be applied to it at all) in the post-exilic period, namely, the making of a costly crown † from the gifts sent by the Babylonian Jews (Zec 6$^{10\text{ff.}}$). If it is the case that in v.^{11} the coronation of Zerubbabel is enjoined, the symbolical action consists in the anticipation and therewith the pre-announcement of a very important event. But it is the last action of its kind—a clear proof that Jahweh prophecy of the fashion inaugurated by Amos had come to an end. Along with a vivid consciousness of being the immediate recipients of a Divine revelation there disappears also any motive for seeking by accompanying action to give an impressive concrete form to the contents of the revelation.

v. *THE CONTENTS OF THE PROPHETIC MESSAGE.*—1. *The conception of God.*—To the writing prophets, as to the men of earlier days, Jahweh is primarily the God of Israel. To emphasize this was laid upon the prophets as their principal duty: to preach repentance to the people, to hold up to them their ingratitude towards the Creator of their national existence, their Deliverer from Egyptian bondage, their constant Benefactor for so many centuries. But, with all this, Jahweh is no longer simply the God of Israel in the old sense of the national God, whose sphere of power ends, strictly speaking, at the boundaries of His land. On the contrary, we note on the part of all the writing prophets a strong, and almost everywhere successful, effort to burst the barriers of the old particularist conception of God, and to lay prominent emphasis on the unconditioned superiority of Jahweh to every form of restriction by space or time, and especially to every restriction of His sphere of power. The old representation of the national God is still at work in so far as the manifestations of His omnipotence, in the world of nature as well as in dealing with the heathen world, are almost always connected with His purposes towards His people. Yet there are not wanting approaches to a *Weltanschauung* which brings even the heathen nations, and that on their own account, within the scope of the Divine rule of the world and plan of salvation.

---

* So, with most moderns, we should read (following the LXX) in place of 390. From the beginning of the exile of Israel to that of Judah there are reckoned in round numbers 150 years [in reality they amount to only about 130, or, counting from 734, to 142], which are followed by 40 years of joint exile. Nothing can be made of the number 390.

† That in v.^{9} the '390 [LXX '190'] days' are an erroneous gloss, is evident from the simple fact that, in view of v.$^{5\text{f.}}$, it should be '430 [230] days.'

* The procedure described in v.$^{3\text{ff.}}$ is expressly stated (v.$^{3\text{a}}$) to be a 'parable' and not a symbolical action.

† The present text of Zec 6$^{11\text{ff.}}$ is undoubtedly corrupt, but its correct restoration is still a matter of dispute. On the ground of the plural 'crowns,' Ewald suggested as the original: 'Place [them] upon the head of Zerubbabel and Joshua,' etc. But the singular verb (תִּהְיֶה) in v.^{14} shows incontrovertibly that only *one* crown was in view—that, namely, of the Messianic king. In this way Joshua disappears from v.^{11}, having been first introduced when, under the post-exilic theocracy, the high priest was actually at the head of the State. The question now is whether v.^{11} read, 'and place it upon the head of Zerubbabel' [this is favoured by 'to *him*' of v.^{12}], or whether v.$^{11\text{b}}$ is to be struck out altogether [and then 'to *them*' to be read in v.$^{12\text{a}}$]. In any case, in view of 4^{9}, the crown is to be thought of as destined for Zerubbabel, even if the actual crowning is reserved for a later occasion, with a view to which the crown is directed (v.^{14}) to be laid up in the temple.

(*a*) In seeking to establish these propositions in more detail, we may look first at what is said of the *Person of God.* It was an unavoidable necessity that even in this period the analogy of the *human* personality should still be used to give a clear, nay even an intelligible, idea of the nature and working of the Divine personality. Even we, who stand on Christian ground, must have recourse to the same analogy if we wish to set up the concept of a living, energetically active, Personality. Hence even the prophets resort not infrequently to anthropomorphisms and anthropopathisms, which, in early times (cf. above, p. 627^{b}) owed their origin to the naïve belief in Jahweh's possession of a human bodily form. But there is not a single trace that they continued to share that naïve belief. When Isaiah, in the vision which marked his call to the prophetic office (6^{1}), beholds Jahweh seated upon a throne high and lifted up, no doubt a human form is here thought of. But it must be remembered that this is a *vision*, a sight beheld with the spiritual eye of the prophet, and, moreover, he says nothing more about the figure on the throne than that it had a long flowing train. He does not thus go beyond the simple indication of a splendidly-clothed, majestically-enthroned, ruler.

We must by no means conclude from the above single instance of the localizing of Jahweh in the earthly temple [for nothing else can be thought of, in view of the 'house' of Is 6^{4} and the altar of v.^{6}], that during this period the notion was still retained that Jahweh dwelt in a grossly material fashion in the sanctuary. The temple, it is true, and Ẓion in general, is the spot where Jahweh manifests Himself: He has Himself founded it as a precious corner-stone of the theocracy (Is 28^{16}), as a refuge for the afflicted of His people (14^{32}); He roars from Ẓion, and causes His voice to be heard from Jerusalem (Am 1^{2}); He dwells on Ẓion (Is 8^{18}), where, in the form of the sacrificial hearth, he has His fire and His furnace (Is 31^{9}; cf. also $29^{1f.}$, where *'ărî'el* probably stands for 'hearth of God'). Hence, in praying, one readily turns towards the city and temple of Jahweh (1 K $8^{38.44.48}$, but cf. also v.^{22}). But numerous other passages leave no doubt that, notwithstanding all this, heaven was regarded as the proper dwelling-place of Jahweh, as had already been the case even in the preceding period (cf. above, p. 646^{b} f.). What dwells on Ẓion is not the Person of Jahweh in the most real sense, but a more or less secondary representation of this, such as His 'glory' (cf. above, p. 639^{b} f.) or His 'name' (cf. the references, especially those from Deuteronomy, p. 640^{b} f.). He Himself is enthroned in heaven. From there He spoke already to the people at Sinai (Ex 20^{22}, Dt 4^{36}); there is His holy dwelling-place (Is 31^{4}, Mic 1^{2} [where the 'holy palace' must, in the light of v.^{3}, be understood of heaven], Dt 26^{15}, 1 K 8^{30}); there He hears the prayers of His people (1 K $8^{32.34}$ etc.), when they spread forth their hands towards heaven (v.^{22}). But it comes to be strongly felt that this localizing of Jahweh in heaven, if taken literally, amounts to an unworthy limitation of His boundless being. Hence it is more than once stated emphatically that not only the heaven to its utmost heights, but also the earth with all that it contains, belongs to Him (Dt 10^{14}); that He alone is God in heaven above and on the earth below (Dt 4^{39}, Jos 2^{11}). Nay, in 1 K 8^{27}, in the prayer of Solomon at the consecration of the temple, it is positively declared that heaven to its utmost bounds cannot contain Him, not to speak of the earthly house which Solomon has built for Him. When, again, in Jer 23^{24} Jahweh asks, 'Do not I fill heaven and earth?', it is true that we must be careful not to give to this question anything of a pantheistic sense, for this would be in the sharpest conflict with the OT conception of God. But, on the other hand, the above question certainly contains a protest against the crass notion of Jahweh as the God of heaven, and at the same time shows an approximation to that conception which is so very difficult to the human mind—the conception of a purely spiritual being. A clear formula for the notion of pure spirituality, such as we find in Jn 4^{24}, was beyond the reach of the Old Testament. But when Isaiah (31^{3}) exclaims, 'The Egyptians are men, not God; and their horses are flesh, not spirit,' he manifestly contrasts man and perishing flesh with God, who is spirit. In like manner, the analogy of the human personality in the matter of the so-called anthropopathisms is denied; *e.g.* Nu 23^{19} (1 S 15^{29}), where it is declared that 'God is not a man that he should lie, nor a son of man that he should repent' (cf. also Hos 11^{9}).

The great advance in the spiritualizing of the notion of God shows itself clearly in two other points—

(*b*) The first of these is that nowhere in the pre-exilic prophets are *angels* * spoken of as beings mediating between God and man. For the seraphim in the vision of Isaiah (see above, p. 644^{a}), which might readily occur to one's mind, are really the retinue of Jahweh, not His messengers who are supposed to be at a distance from Him, and who perform His will. The latter notion is indeed contradictory of the idea of a living presence of God, and hence it is wanting in the prophets, however familiar they may be otherwise with the conception of angels.

(*c*) The other evidence of the spiritualizing of the notion of God is the unwearied polemic the prophets carry on against the *images* of Jahweh in both kingdoms. At one time it used to be assumed that this polemic was almost exclusively directed against the images of heathen gods, or, at most, against the golden bulls of the Northern kingdom, whose construction was viewed as a glaring violation of the Second Commandment in the Decalogue. But we found (see above, p. 641^{b}) that the making of images of Jahweh must have been regarded, down to the 8th cent., and that in the most widely separated circles, as quite unobjectionable, and hence there is the greatest difficulty in holding that the prohibition of images was an original feature of the Decalogue. In the Elijah- and Elisha-narratives there is not a trace of any polemic against the bull worship of the Northern kingdom. All the more marked is the fashion in which the indignation of the writing prophets is roused when that God who in His majesty is exalted above everything earthly is brought down to the sphere of the visible and transitory—a process which only too readily leads also to a dishonouring of Him.*

---

* On Hos $12^{4f.}$ as an allusion to a manifestation of *God*, see above, p. 638^{b}.

The answer to the question whether *Amos* had already opened the polemic against the images of Jahweh, depends upon how we interpret Am 8^{14}.† The 'sin of Samaria' may there refer to the golden bulls of Jeroboam I.; but the text is probably corrupt. As to *Hosea*, it cannot be proved from Hos 3^{4} that he expressly repudiated the ancestral representation of Jahweh in the form of the *'ēphôd* (see above, p. 641^{a}) or the *tĕrāphîm* (see above, p. 642^{b}), for his primary object in this passage is simply to affirm that Israel in exile will have to do without everything which at present it regards as indispensable. On the other hand, there are other passages which leave no doubt that, to the mind of Hosea, the Divine images of gold and silver, the work of men's hands, and the bull figures pre-eminently, were an abomination; cf. Hos 8^{4-6} (especially v.^{5} 'thy bull, O Samaria, stinketh') 10^{5} 13^{2} 14^{3}. The polemic of *Isaiah* against the אֱלִילִים (prob. originally 'gods,' but also the equivalent of 'nothings,' and hence to the prophets a welcome occasion for a play upon words) applies not only to the idols of the heathen (Is 10^{10} 19^{3}) and the gods whom they represented (19^{1}), but to the images of Jahweh ($2^{8.18.20}$ 10^{11}). Even the latter are only men's work, and on that account contemptible (2^{8} 17^{8} [in the latter passage the 'altars' are to be struck out as an incorrect gloss] where the Divine images are called 'the work of your hands'; in Jer 1^{16} 25^{6} 32^{30} 'the work of their own hands' may refer to images of Jahweh, but perhaps includes also, as it certainly does in 44^{8}, actual heathen idols). In Dt $4^{15f.}$ the representation of Jahweh by any figure is strictly forbidden, on the ground that Israel at Ḥoreb saw nothing of this kind; while in 27^{15} a curse is pronounced on the making of a carved or a molten image by the hands of an artist. Here, as in the Decalogue, the reference is to every species of Divine image, including those of Jahweh. The rigour of the Deuteronomist has all the less power to astonish us, seeing that he repudiates in express terms, not only the *'ăshērāh*, or sacred pole at places of sacrifice, but also (Dt 12^{3} 16^{22}) the *maẓẓēbāh*, which, in earlier times, were regarded as quite unobjectionable (see above, p. 620).

(*d*) What we have said about the character of Jahweh as God of heaven, and the sharp rejection of all pictorial representations of the Deity, may seem to have already answered another question, namely, as to the *solity* of Jahweh, as contrasted with the mere henotheism (see above, pp. 625^{b}, 635^{a}) of earlier times. Now, it must indeed be remarked that it is still customary to cite, as proofs of the absolute monotheism of the Prophetic period, a number of passages which in truth are intended only to emphasize Israel's obligation to reverence Jahweh alone, and which thus amount simply to henotheism.‡ Such are, for instance, the very frequent cautions in Deuteronomy against other gods; in none of the passages containing these is there any expression of opinion as to the reality or non-reality of these 'other gods.' Even the famous 'Hear, O Israel' of Dt 6^{4}, which the Jews and many Christian exegetes are wont to regard as the formulated fundamental confession of monotheism, signifies by itself no more than that Jahweh is the God of Israel, Jahweh alone,* and that hence the veneration of Israel is due to Him alone. The declaration is thus on a parallel with the First Commandment. Hos 13^{4}, again, says only that Israel knows (or should know) no other God, and has experienced no other deliverer than Jahweh. Moses testifies in Dt 3^{24}, as Solomon does in 1 K 8^{23}, that Jahweh the God of Israel has no other god like Him, either in heaven above or on earth below. But here the existence of other gods seems to be yet always assumed, precisely as in the question of Ex 15^{11} 'Who is like thee, O Jahweh, among the gods?'; or in the designation of Jahweh as 'God of gods' and 'Lord of lords' (Dt 10^{17}); or, finally, in the statement of the prophet: 'Before him (Jahweh) trembled the idols of Egypt' (Is 19^{1}).

There can, however, be no doubt that the passages last cited are to be set down simply to the account of poetic colouring or of an involuntary accommodation to the still subsisting popular conceptions. The real belief of the leading circles of thought is presented to us—at least in the later Deuteronom. stratum—in the confession: 'Jahweh is the [true] God' (Dt 7^{9}); 'Besides him there is none' ($4^{35.39}$, 1 K 8^{60}; cf. also Is 37^{16}, 2 K 19^{15}). But the same faith is held by the writing prophets, although it is never reduced to so precise a formula. Without it the conception of Jahweh as God of heaven could never have established itself in the shape above (p. 679) described. The God to whom 'belongeth the heaven to its utmost heights, the earth and all that is upon it' (Dt 10^{14}), cannot possibly share this sovereignty of His with another god. It might indeed appear surprising that the allusions to the creative power of Jahweh, in which afterwards His uniqueness as God of the whole world comes into the sharpest prominence, are so scanty in the pre-exilic prophets. For, apart from the oft recurring Divine name *Jahweh Ẓĕbā'ôth*, which, in the mind of the writing prophets (see above, p. 637^{b}), doubtless includes a confession of the supramundane power and glory of Jahweh, and leaving out of account occasional allusions to Jahweh as bestower of the rain (Am 4^{7}, Jer 5^{24} 14^{22}) and, conversely, as the author of drought and famine, all that we find is an express reference in Jer 27^{5} to Jahweh as the Creator of the earth, with man and beast, and an allusion (put in the mouth of Ḥezekiah in 2 K 19^{15}=Is 37^{16}) to Him as the Creator of the heaven and the earth.†

But the scantiness of these allusions should not excite our wonder. It is richly counterbalanced by the abundance of other passages which witness to the solity, or at least the incomparable omnipotence, of Jahweh in *the world of nations.* It was not the function of the prophets to solve cosmic or purely metaphysical problems, but to hold up to the eyes of their people the greatness of their responsibility and the dreadfulness of the God to whom they had to give account. Thus the judgments of God, present and future, supply a constant motive to portray Jahweh as the God who has at His command not only the resources and powers of the whole Universe, but, no less, the nations of the earth, when it is necessary to realize His purposes. When He commences a lawsuit with His people, heaven and earth have to listen in reverential silence (Is 1^{2}; cf. also Mic $6^{1f.}$, Hab 2^{20}); and, when He comes to execute judgment, the whole course of nature reels (Mic $1^{3ff.}$, Nah $1^{3ff.}$), and men hasten to hide themselves in terror of His majestic appearance (Is $2^{10.\,19.\,21}$). The mighty Assyria, with all its subject peoples, is like a lifeless instrument in His hands if He cares to employ it for the chastisement of Israel. He whistles for it from the end of the earth (Is 5^{26}), much as the shepherd whistles to his dog, and it comes hurrying up. And if, in its haughty conceit, Assyria fancies that it has accomplished by its own strength what it has done only as the chastising rod in Jahweh's hand (Is $10^{5ff.}$), it has to listen to the crushing question: 'Does the axe boast itself against him that heweth therewith, or does the saw magnify itself against him that worketh it?' (v.^{15}). Then by a fearful judgment is Assyria taught the truth of the all-superior might of Jahweh (vv.$^{16ff.\,25ff.}$). The rôle that Assyria plays in Isaiah is played in Jeremiah by 'all the families of the kingdoms of the north' (Jer 1^{15}). These are called by Jahweh to execute judgment upon Jerusalem; He has given all lands into the power of Nebuchadreẓẓar (Jer 27^{6}; cf. 28^{14}, Hab 1^{12}, also 2 K 15^{37}). Jahweh's judgments upon foreign nations are for the most part occasioned by their hostility to Israel (so Am $1^{3.\,9.\,11.\,13}$, Is $14^{24ff.}$ $17^{12ff.}$ $18^{3ff.}$, Nah $3^{5ff.}$, Hab 2^{16}). Yet passages are not wholly wanting which speak of an unlimited exercise of the Divine sway amongst the nations, even apart from any such motive. Jahweh punishes Moab for its outrage on the king of Edom (Am $2^{1ff.}$); it was Jahweh that brought the Philistines from Caphtor and the Aramæans from Ḳir (9^{7}). He stirs up the Egyptians against one another, and gives them over into the hand of a cruel lord (Is $19^{2.\,4}$); He produces in them a spirit of dizziness (v.^{14}). He has determined upon the destruction of Tyre, 'to stain the pride of all glory, to bring into contempt all the honourable of the earth' (23^{9}, cf. also v.^{11}). At His command, Jeremiah hands to all kings of the earth the intoxicating cup, and, whether they will or no, they *must* drink it (Jer $25^{15f.}$).

---

* We see from Hos 13^{2} that in Hosea's time it was still customary to kiss the bull-images, and thus to put them (like the images of Baal in Elijah's time, 1 K 19^{18}) on a footing of equality with the God whom they were meant to represent. Also the expression חִלָּה אֶת־פְּנֵי יהוה (Ex 32^{11}, 1 S 13^{12}, and often, in sense of 'propitiate Jahweh') originally means in all probability 'stroke the face of [the Divine image],' and points to a practice which must have been in vogue wherever images of Jahweh were worshipped.

† Am 2^{4}, with its allusion to the (Judæan) כְּזָבִים, lit. 'lies,' [='idols'], is generally recognized to be a later interpolation.

‡ On the controversy as to the beginning of absolute monotheism, the reader may consult: A. Kuenen, art. 'Jahweh and the other gods' in *Theol. Review*, July 1876; Baudissin, *Studien zur semit. Religionsgeschichte*, i., Leipzig, 1876 [Studie 2 'Die Anschauung des AT von den Göttern des Heidenthums']; Baethgen, *Beiträge zur semit. Religionsgeschichte: der Gott Israels und die Götter der Heiden*, Berlin, 1880 [cf. esp. pp. 131–152 'Israels Verhältniss zum Polytheismus']; Ed. König, *Beiträge zum positiven Aufbau der Religionsgeschichte Israels*, ii.: 'Der Monotheismus der legitimen Religion Israels,' Leipzig, 1889.

* This interpretation of the words is claimed, in our opinion rightly, on the ground of the accentuation. The prevailing explanation, on the other hand, yields the sense: 'Jahweh our God is *one* Jahweh' (*i.e.* not broken up into a number of local deities; cf. Zec 14^{9}). Even thus the question of the reality of the strange gods is still left quite out of account.

† So far as their contents are concerned, Am 4^{13} $5^{8f.}$ $9^{5f.}$ would also fall under this category; but these passages are now pretty generally regarded as late glosses. The same remark applies to Jer $10^{12f.}$ and 33^{25}, where we read of a covenant of Jahweh with the day and the night, and of His appointing of the ordinances of heaven and earth.

In view of all these testimonies to a lofty view of history and a conception of God which embraced the whole Universe, we can now see also the polemic against images in its true light. We perceive how to the prophets every attempt to give to this powerful, majestic God a petty visible form, must have been an abomination. But we understand also how, in the case of the heathen idols, they could recognize no reality except that of metal, wood, and stone. This is not yet (except perhaps in Hab $2^{18f.}$, Jer 2^{11} $16^{19f.}$, and in the later Deuteronom. stratum, Dt $28^{36.\,64}$) expressed so definitely as in the next period; but the above-described notion of God leaves no doubt that there is no room for real 'other gods' alongside of the one God who rules over the Universe and the world of men. A proof of this is found even in the numerous designations of the idols which lay stress either upon their repulsiveness or upon their utter nothingness (or unreality). Some at least of these designations are as early as the pre-exilic period. Evidently, there lies at the root of almost all of them the assumption that the gods whom they represent are nothing but vain imaginations of the heathen. To the first category, that of opprobrious epithets, belong the following terms: שִׁקּוּץ 'abomination' (Jer 4^{1} 7^{30}; and used repeatedly by the Deuteronom. redactors of the Books of Kings, 1 K 11^{5}, 2 K $23^{13.\,24}$), and, with the same sense, תּוֹעֵבוֹת (2 K 23^{13}); still later probably is גִּלּוּלִים, *i.e.* perhaps 'round blocks *or* dolls,' if not rather, 'excrements' (Dt $29^{16\,(17)}$ 'of wood and stone, of silver and gold,' 1 K 21^{26}, 2 K 17^{12}, and oft. in Ezekiel). To the second category, terms expressive of unreality, belong: הֶבֶל, lit. 'breath,' 'nothingness' (Jer 2^{5}, 1 K 16^{13}, 2 K 17^{15}; in plur. Jer 8^{19} 14^{22}); and שָׁוְא 'vain,' 'null' (Jer 18^{15}). Cf., finally, the threatening of Dt 4^{28} (that is to say, within the later framework of Deut.) that Israel in exile will have to serve gods which are the work of men's hands [and nothing more], wood and stone, which can neither see nor hear nor eat nor smell.

(*e*) If, by way of supplement to this, we further ask in traditional fashion how the being of Jahweh reveals itself in the prophets in the way of special *attributes*, we must from the very first renounce all idea of discovering any didactic abstract statements or purely scholastic definitions. Here, again, it holds good that the mission of the prophets was primarily to preach repentance to their people. Hence they exhibit to them their God in a light corresponding to changing needs, now as the terrible avenger of their apostasy, now as the long-suffering and merciful One. Nay, these qualities always make their appearance first in the special bearing of Jahweh in concrete instances. It was not till the days of the late-Jewish theology that it became possible to draw up a 'doctrine of the attributes,' upon the basis of a scholastic analysis of the living being and acting of Jahweh, which to the prophets had been the object of direct vision.

(*a*) Under the heading of 'attributes' it has from the first been usual to discuss, above all, the **holiness** * of God, and to follow the definition, borrowed from dogmatics, according to which God is called holy because He loves only good and hates evil. But we shall find that this definition, however it may answer to the NT conception of holiness, is true only in a very limited measure to the OT conception.

We might have spoken of the latter conception, even in dealing with the earlier periods, for the terms קָדוֹשׁ 'holy,' קֹדֶשׁ 'holiness,' and קִדֵּשׁ 'to declare holy,' 'to consecrate,' are, beyond doubt, very ancient. But they occur primarily—and that as marking an attribute especially of things, rarely of (human) persons—in a ritual connexion, and, as is a matter of course in the case of things, without any ethical connotation. Anything is called קָדוֹשׁ † which is withdrawn from profane possession and use, nay even from profane touch, and in place of this is destined for the possession and service of the Deity. Thus the name 'holy' is given naturally to all the ritual apparatus, all the rooms which serve as the dwelling-place or the spot of worship of Jahweh, all the sacrificial gifts intended for Him. But the same name is given also to such things as have, for some special reason, been forfeited, not indeed to the service of God, but so as to be His property and that of His sanctuary. Thus the censers of Korah and his company become 'holy' (Nu 17^3 [16^{37}]), and are accordingly to be employed to overlay the altar. In the same way, however, even a person by unauthorized touching of what is itself holy may 'become holy,' *i.e.* fall forfeit to the sanctuary, enter into a special relation to God: so, for instance, by touching the altar (Ex 29^{37}) or the sacred vessels (30^{29}, Hag 2^{12} etc.). In such an event, special offerings and atonements are needed in order to remove the condition of 'being holy,' which presses upon the individual as a danger. The danger lies in the fact that, while he is in this condition, every species of defilement, whether due to his own fault or no, may readily prove fatal to him.

---

* Cf. the very thorough discussion by Baudissin, 'Der Begriff der Heiligkeit im AT' (*Studien zur semit. Religionsgeschichte*, ii. pp. 1–142); R. Schröter, *Der Begriff der Heiligkeit im AT und NT*, Halle, 1892. See also art. HOLINESS (in OT) in vol. ii. of the present work.

† The etymology is disputed. There is still, however, most to be said in favour of tracing it to the root קדשׁ, in the sense of 'separate,' 'segregate.' At all events this answers admirably to the Hebrew usage, which is more than can be said of the proposal to trace it to the Heb. חָדָשׁ 'new,' and hence 'pure,' 'bright,' 'sparkling' (cf. also Assyr. *kuddushu*, 'shining,' 'pure').

It cannot occasion us any surprise that *this* use of the concepts 'holy' and 'holiness' meets us most frequently in the latest stratum of the Pentateuch, the so-called Priests' Code, for the latter is concerned, above all, with ritual prescriptions. But in this matter it is plain that it simply follows a long-established usage of language, and that, too, even long after the notion of holiness had begun to assume a positive connotation.

At a very early period we already hear (1 S $21^{5\,(4)}$) not only of 'holy' bread (*i.e.* bread consecrated to God and hence withdrawn from profane use), but also (v.$^{6\,(5)}$) of holy 'vessels,' *i.e.* clothes and weapons. The 'holiness' is here manifestly produced by special rites such as were customary at the beginning of a campaign. This is proved by the expression 'hallow a war *or* a festival,' *i.e.* prepare oneself for the conflict or the celebration of the festival by performing certain acts of consecration. There are quite a number of passages which show that this consecration, apart from certain forms of abstinence, consisted mainly in the washing and cleansing of the person and the clothes. Thus 'holy' and 'hallow oneself' come to be almost synonymous with 'clean' and 'cleanse oneself' (cf., for example, 1 S 20^{26} where לֹא טָהוֹר 'not clean' stands for one who, in consequence of a nocturnal pollution, has been incapacitated for taking part in the sacrificial meal at the New Moon festival).

When the demand is made in Dt 7^6 14^2 that Israel shall be a holy people to Jahweh its God, because He has chosen it out of all peoples to be the people of His own possession, the notion of holiness is not here restricted merely to the point that Israel has been separated from the peoples and appropriated by Jahweh to be His property alone. In that case the notion of 'holiness' would be concerned merely with a relation (as in the case of the sacred bread), and would not imply any alteration in the quality of the persons or things dedicated to God.* In reality, however, the 'holy' people means one that carefully guards against any defilement that would make it incapable of being called the people of this very God and of taking part in His worship. But here, again, it is far from being the case that moral defilement is primarily in view. What incapacitates for participating in the cultus is physical or so-called 'Levitical' uncleanness. To this category belongs every kind of contact with persons or things belonging to the realm of idol worship, as well as the touching (even unwittingly and unintentionally) of a corpse, the partaking of unclean food (Dt 14^{21}), and other acts of the same kind. Even in the so-called 'Law of Holiness' (Lv 17–26, cf. also $11^{44\text{f.}}$), in spite of such general expressions as are found in 19^2 $20^{7\text{f.}}$, we have to do, not with a demand for absolute moral holiness, but with the same caution against every species of physical defilement. The circumstance that the latter may frequently include at the same time a religious offence is left at first out of view in applying the notions of clean or holy. Hence is to be explained the fact, which is so strange from *our* point of view, that outward, physical, and it may be even unwitting defilement involves guilt, and necessitates the same sacrifices and other means of atonement as actual moral defilement. This view, which characterizes the Priests' Code, presents itself to us most clearly in Ex 19^6, where the ideal goal of God's ways with Israel is set up as consisting in His making them a 'kingdom of priests,' a holy people, *i.e.* a people every member of which answers always to the conditions of perfect (Levitical) purity as these were binding at all times on the priests.

Still more marked is the filling of the concept 'holy' with moral contents, when it is transferred to God, and—what is very noteworthy—exclusively to the God of Israel. The earliest passage of this kind is probably 1 S 6^{20}, where the inhabitants of Bethshemesh, after the stroke which fell upon them for looking into the sacred Ark, ask in terror: 'Who can stand in presence of Jahweh, this holy God?' Here the word 'holy' manifestly contains the notion of terrible and unapproachable—nay, death-dealing; for there is a deep cleft between the imperishable being of the Deity and everything which is subject to decay and uncleanness. To say that Jahweh is a holy God means thus that He is *elevated* above all that is outside Him, that He holds a unique position over against all that is created. Hence it has been rightly said that the holiness of Jahweh is not a single attribute (such as 'moral perfection'), but a designation of His essential being, practically identical with the notion of being Divine (*Gottsein*). Hence Jahweh in Am 4^2 swears by His holiness, *i.e.*, as is seen from Gn 22^{16} and Jer 22^5, by Himself.

It may be added that expressions about the holiness of God are at first very rare. Ex 15^{11} ('Who is like thee, glorious in holiness, terrible in exploits, doing wonders?') should probably be assigned to the later Prophetical period. Jos 24^{19} ('Ye cannot serve Jahweh, for he is a holy God'), from the pen of E, emphasizes, like 1 S 6^{20}, the terrible and unapproachable nature of Jahweh. All that occurs in Amos, apart from 4^2 (see above), is the reference in 2^7 to the dishonouring of the *holy name* of Jahweh by shameless immorality. In Hos 11^9 ('For I am God, and not man; as holy I dwell among you') 'holy' means raised above human passion and hasty anger.

It is in Isaiah that the notion of the holiness of God first comes to be frequently mentioned and is most sharply defined. Already in the vision that marked his prophetic call, he hears the antiphonal song of the seraphim that surround the throne of Jahweh—

> 'Holy, holy, holy is Jahweh of Hosts,
> The whole earth is full of his glory.'

These two parallel members contain two statements, which supplement one another, about the inmost being of Jahweh. The first concerns the *immanent* being—that elevation above everything earthly or creaturely which belongs in the highest degree* to Jahweh; the second, again, the *transcendent* being—the glory that manifests itself over the whole earth (cf. above, p. 639^{b} f.). In so far, now, as absolute elevation above everything earthly includes, as a matter of course, superiority to all infirmity and sin, we may speak also of an ethical content of the notion of holiness. But even in Isaiah this does not yet make its appearance expressly or quite exclusively. The designation of Jahweh as 'the Holy One of Israel' (a favourite expression with Isaiah, 1^{4} 10^{20} 17^{7} etc.) implies that He is to be recognized and correspondingly venerated by Israel as the absolutely exalted and therefore terrible One, who is not to be provoked with impunity; for towards His despisers He shows Himself holy by His punitive justice (5^{16}).

---

* How far removed any such implication was in the oldest linguistic usage, is best shown by the designations קְדֵשִׁים and קְדֵשׁוֹת, given to those who prostituted themselves in honour of a deity (cf. above, p. 662^{b}). Here, of course, any thought of a religious-moral quality is out of the question.

* On the expression of the superlative by repetition of the adjective, see Gesenius, *Heb. Gram.*^{27} § 133 *k*.

The only pre-exilic prophet, besides Isaiah, who uses 'holy' as a predicate of Jahweh, is Ḥabakkuk (1^{12}). Here the ethical quality of the Divine holiness comes pretty clearly into the foreground. Immediately after the question, 'Art thou not from everlasting, Jahweh, my Holy One?' comes the statement, 'Thou art of purer eyes than to behold evil, and thou canst not look on perverseness' (v.^{13}).

We have already (p. 682^{a}) pointed out that the holiness of God, which is so often urged in the 'Law of Holiness' as a motive why Israel should be holy, is, above all, the contrast to all Levitical impurity. This priestly notion of holiness is thus markedly inferior in depth and significance to Isaiah's conception. But the latter did not on that account disappear from the language of religion. We meet with it frequently in the exilic and post-exilic prophets (especially Deutero-Isaiah), and no less in the Psalms. And we may say that it is *the* essential designation of the God of Israel, laying the greatest stress, as it does, on His uniqueness and incomparable character, before which all gods recognized elsewhere shrink into their nothingness. Holy things and persons (*i.e.* set apart for the exclusive service of a deity) are known to other religions as well; but the holiness of its God is known to Israel only through the revelation given to it. Thus the application of the notion of holiness to Jahweh includes, when rightly understood, a kind of monotheistic confession, a far-reaching testimony to the surpassing greatness of the religion of Israel.

Although, as was remarked above, the idea of moral perfection and aversion to evil was not the primary one attaching to the notion of holiness, it is by no means strange to the Prophetical conception of God. This idea comes to light in the absolute truthfulness and fidelity of Jahweh, as well as in the unconditional character of the moral demands made on Israel; but, above all, in the attitude of Jahweh to heathen nations, for He avenges outrage and injustice everywhere on earth, even although these have not (as in Am $1^{3.6.9.11}$) been inflicted on Israel. Thus He once punished Sodom and Gomorrah; thus, according to Am 2^{1}, will He chastise Moab for their sacrilegious treatment of the bones of the king of Edom. The prophet thus takes it as self-evident that there are moral principles which are binding upon all peoples, and on whose observance Jahweh, as an absolutely moral Being, and at the same time Ruler and Judge of all, keeps strict watch. But, above all, Israel itself must be taught that Jahweh is a God of right[*] (Is 30^{18}), and of right at any price. In another connexion we shall have to speak of how He causes it to triumph over wrong and sin, even if this involves the giving up and destruction of His own people. Here it may suffice to refer to one other illustration of how widely the genuine Prophetical judgment of things differs from that of the mass of the people of Israel. Jehu's extirpation of Baal worship in Israel was carried out with terrible bloodshed. The early narrative of 2 K 9. 10 evidently saw in this a laudable 'zeal for Jahweh' (10^{16}), and the Deuteronom. redactor, who on this point represents the general opinion of Israel in the supposed interest of the Jahweh religion, makes Jahweh Himself declare to Jehu (v.^{30}) that he has done what is well-pleasing in His eyes, and has treated the house of Ahab entirely after His mind. Quite different is the judgment of Hosea (1^{4}). To him it appears impossible that blood-guiltiness should not be called blood-guiltiness simply because it assumes the title of zeal for Jahweh. And so the prophet threatens that the blood-guiltiness of Jezreel shall be avenged on the house of Jehu, by the destruction of the kingdom of Israel and the shattering of her military power in the Plain of Jezreel.

(β) As was remarked above (p. 681^{b}), the conviction of the prophets regarding other attributes of God presents itself, not in express definitions, but rather (apart from certain Divine names)[*] in casual utterances about His activity and the occurrences which He brings about. Thus we have His absolute **omnipotence** (which is already, if only in a general way, presupposed in such early passages as Gn 18^{14}, Nu 11^{23}, 1 S 14^{6}), which shows itself in His unconditioned supremacy over all, even the mightiest, peoples of earth (see above, p. 681^{a}), but no less also in such remarkable passages as Is 7^{11}. The whole context of this last passage permits of no other view than that Isaiah holds with unshaken confidence, that whatever Ahaz may demand from Jahweh as a confirmatory sign, be it as great a wonder as it may, Jahweh will bring it to pass. So firm a belief is with difficulty conceivable by us, because our judgment is influenced by all the dogmatic considerations about the possibility and the limits of miracles as a 'violation of the laws of nature'—laws which, however, are imposed by God Himself. Such considerations, it is plain, never crossed the prophets' minds. Of 'miracles' in the sense familiar to us they know nothing. They are acquainted with extraordinary occurrences and actions (נִפְלָאוֹת) which transcend the ordinary course of things, but to them nothing is so extraordinary as to be beyond the sphere of Jahweh's power (Jer 32^{27}). This conviction is a self-evident result of their notion of God; the *idea* of the Divine omnipotence is a postulate of their faith long before language had coined a special term for this attribute. Such a term could be dispensed with all the more readily, seeing that allusions to the Divine omnipotence served not scholastic speculations, but prominent religious interests; they brought consolation to the godly, who could now unreservedly trust to the help of their God; they were meant to instil terror into the hearts of sinners, whom nothing could deliver from this God's mighty arm.

---

[*] We may take this opportunity of pointing out that the Hebrew words which are commonly rendered 'righteous' (צַדִּיק) and 'righteousness' (צֶדֶק, צְדָקָה) have originally a different sense from that of forensic justice. צֶדֶק or צְדָקָה denotes a way of acting or a condition corresponding to a standard (so quite clearly in מֹאזְנֵי צֶדֶק 'correct scales,' אַבְנֵי צֶדֶק 'correct weights'). When used of men, it is mostly = 'righteousness' (δικαιοσύνη), 'piety'; used of God, it denotes the attitude corresponding to the norm of the Divine being. But to this norm belong not only strict justice, but also God's covenant faithfulness, coupled with long-suffering and grace; and hence צְדָקָה (esp. in Is 40–66) is used not infrequently of that aspect of Jahweh's activity which has for its object the salvation of His people. See, further, Kautzsch, *Ueber die Derivate des Stammes ẓādaq im alttest. Sprachgebrauch*, Tübingen, 1881; G. Martin, *La notion de la justice de Dieu dans l'ancien Testament*, Montauban, 1892; G. Dalman, *Die richterliche Gerechtigkeit im AT*, Berlin, 1897; Bouwman, *Het begrip gerechtigheid in het Oude Testament*, Kampen, 1899.

[*] On the title *Jahweh Ẓĕbā'ôth* as used by the prophets in allusion to the supramundane power and glory of Jahweh, cf. above, pp. 637^{b} and 680^{b}. Cf., further, the designation of Jahweh as אֲבִיר יִשְׂרָאֵל 'the strong One of Israel' (Is 1^{24}); and as צוּר 'rock' (Is 17^{10} 30^{29}; elsewhere in the later passages, 26^{4} 44^{8}, Dt $32^{4.15.18.30.31.37}$, 1 S 2^{2}, 2 S $22^{3.32.47}$ 23^{3}, and 14 times in the Psalms; cf. Wiegand, 'Der Gottesname *ẓûr*,' etc. in *ZATW* x. [1890] 85 ff.; and art. ROCK in vol. iv. of the present work).

(γ, δ) Precisely similar remarks apply to the occasional allusions to the **omnipresence** and **omniscience** of God. That the first named of these could be regarded only with reference to the Divine activity (*i.e.* God's cognition and Providential care) and not of the Divine substance, has been already remarked; and for the OT conception of God this is self-evident, in so far as any approach to pantheistic notions would destroy, or at least greatly endanger, the idea of the living Personality, which forms the inmost kernel of the conception in question. But this does not prevent His care from always following His people, or, on the other hand, His eye from penetrating all darkness, so that there is no secret corner where the workers of iniquity can remain unseen by Jahweh (Jer 23^{24}). If in this last statement the idea of omnipresence already touches that of omniscience, still more is this the case with the declarations about Jahweh as One who can see into the most hidden depths of the human heart. He penetrates the secret plans of the Judæans with reference to an alliance with Egypt, however carefully they may seek in their folly to conceal these from Him (Is 29^{15}); He it is that searches the heart, tries the reins, to recompense every man according to his works, according to the fruit of his deeds (Jer 17^{10}). And this applies not only to Israel, but He alone knows the heart of *all* men. But the strongest evidence of the firmness of the belief in the omnipresence and omniscience of God, and at the same time the most significant fruit of this faith, is the conviction (already felt in the preceding period) that Jahweh hears, and for the most part also answers, the prayers of His people.[*] This conviction meets us everywhere in the Prophets, most markedly perhaps in Jeremiah's manifold communion in prayer with his God, but in every case as a conviction that is a matter of course. All the more on that account may it be reckoned among the evidences that the religion of Israel, at an early date and in quite a special way through the influence of the pre-exilic prophets, was filled with an imperious desire to burst the barriers of a merely national religion, and to pave the way to a worship of God in spirit and in truth, such as should satisfy the deepest longings of every individual soul that drew near to this God.

(ϵ) In view of the above-described strong emphasizing of the holiness of God as the absolute elevation and unapproachableness, nay the awfulness, of the Divine essence, and, in no less degree, owing to the circumstance that the preaching of repentance was the main task of the prophets, it is readily intelligible that expressions about the **love**, the **goodness**, and **mercy** of God should recede more into the background. The terms so frequently used of human love are transferred to God first by Hosea (3^{1} 11^{9}), more frequently by the Deuteronomist (4^{37} 7$^{8.13}$ 10^{15} 15^{16} 23^{5}, cf. 1 K 10^{9}), once also by Jeremiah (31^{3}). But, apart from Dt 10^{18} ('Jahweh loveth the *gēr*'), it is always God's love to the people of Israel that is spoken of; and, besides, the words used for 'love' (both noun and verb) have always attached to them the notion of choice, nay, of preference; the full unfolding of the idea of the Divine love is not yet reached. In like manner, the expressions for 'mercy,' 'grace,' 'compassion' are in later linguistic usage transferred to God, or at least somewhat frequently employed in making predications about Him. A collection of almost all the qualities of the love of God is brought together in Ex 34^{6} ('Jahweh, a God full of compassion and gracious, slow to anger, and plenteous in mercy and truth'), but this passage, too, is undoubtedly from the hand of a later redactor than the J *pericope* in which it is now inserted.

2. *The relation of Jahweh to Israel.*—That an intimate relation has subsisted from the first between Jahweh and Israel, is assumed in all the OT sources as a matter of course. They likewise hold that this relation is not based, as in the nature-religions, on some primeval and not to be explained condition of things, but upon a *bĕrîth* (cf. above, p. 630^{b}), or solemn transaction, at Sinai, whereby the nation becomes the 'peculiar people' of Jahweh, who by mighty acts has delivered it from the bondage of Egypt.

(a) Already in Ex 4^{22} J speaks of the position of Israel as that of a firstborn son. This, in spite of Jer 3^{19}, is not to be understood as if it meant to ascribe filial rights to all other peoples as well. The emphasis lies upon 'firstborn' in the sense that Israel alone possesses all the prerogatives which belong to the firstborn as the one who is loved and preferred before all others. These filial privileges, however, are predicated only of the people collectively, not of the individual Israelite. The latter, on the other hand, is a 'servant' of Jahweh (so in Nu 12$^{7f.}$, and repeatedly, of Moses; in Is 20^{3} of Isaiah; in Jer 7^{25} of the prophets). Even the OT, it is true, is acquainted with the notion of individual sonship, but only[*] in the person of the theocratic king (2 S 7^{14}, Ps 2^{7} 89^{27} [of David]), not yet in the NT sense of sonship for which all men are destined.

We meet with this same conception of the sonship of collective Israel not infrequently in the Prophetical period: Is 1^{2} 30$^{1.9}$, Dt 14^{1} (where 'children' ‖ 'people holy to Jahweh,' v.^{2}), Is 43^{6} (where sons and daughters are distinguished) 45^{11}.[†] The necessary reverse side of this is the idea of the *Fatherhood of God.* Disregarding here passages where 'father' stands mainly for the physical Creator of the people (Dt 32^{6}, Mal 2^{10}), the fatherly relation is once more one that is sustained towards the nation collectively: so Jer 3$^{4.19}$ 31^{9} (towards Ephraim as 'firstborn son'); cf. also Is 63^{16} (‖ 'redeemer'), Mal 1^{6}.

(b) The foundation of this close relation is *the election of Israel.* Israel has been chosen out of all nations to be the people of God's own possession, *i.e.* a highly prized and therefore carefully guarded and cherished piece of property. Thus Amos (3^{2}) says, 'You only have I known [*i.e.* made the object of my intimate knowledge and close care] of all the peoples of the earth,' from which, indeed, he draws the inference, so startling to the popular view of the matter, that for that very reason Jahweh will visit upon them all their offences. The idea of a choice [verb בָּחַר] of Israel from amongst the numerous nations makes its appearance first in the vocabulary of the Deuteronomist: Dt 4^{37} 7^{6} 10^{15} 14^{2}, 1 K 3^{8} 8^{53}; cf. also Ps 33^{12} 47$^{5\,(4)}$ 135^{4} etc., and numerous passages in Is 40–66. Quite a unique contrast is drawn in Dt 4^{20} between the choice of Israel and the fact that Jahweh has assigned to the other nations of the earth the stars as the object of their veneration.

The motive assigned for Israel's election is in 1 S 12^{22} the good pleasure of Jahweh, but repeatedly (so already in Hos 11^{1}, Dt 4^{37} 10^{15}) Jahweh's love to Israel (coupled in Dt 7^{8} with His oath to the patriarchs) is exhibited as the motive. A reason for this love itself is not stated. But the Book of Deuteronomy labours to impress it upon the people's minds that it was not on account of any greatness (Dt 7^7) or any special righteousness of theirs that they were so highly favoured of God. On the contrary, Israel was the smallest of peoples, and a stiff-necked people to boot. All the more, it is urged, is Israel bound to show heartfelt gratitude to God.

---

[*] Cf. Caldesaigues, *La prière dans la religion de Jéhovah*, etc., Cahors, 1899; Köberle, *Die Motive des Glaubens an die Gebetserhörung im AT*, Erlangen and Leipzig, 1901.

[*] In Ps 68$^{6\,(5)}$ ('father of the orphans') 'father,' as the parallelism shows, is figurative='protector,' 'provider'; cf. P. Bauer, 'Gott als Vater im AT' in *SK*, 1899, p. 483 ff.

[†] In Hos 11^{1} (MT 'out of Egypt I called my son') we should probably read, with LXX and Targ., 'his sons' (לְבָנָיו).

(*c*) In the closest connexion with the idea of Israel's election stands the *theologumenon* of the 'jealousy of Jahweh.' The Heb. word (קִנְאָה) appears to stand originally for angry zeal in general (Zeph 1^{18} 3^8, Dt $29^{19\,(20)}$, and very often in Ezekiel; cf. also קַנּוֹא 'jealous,' in Jos 24^{19} and Nah 1^2); more specially the zeal of God on behalf of Israel against the heathen, as manifested particularly in the exact fulfilment of His promises (Is 9^6, 2 K 19^{31}, and often in Ezekiel and Is 40–66). If קִנְאָה here already denotes God's jealous guarding of His honour, no less does the adjective קַנָּא import the 'jealous' God who vehemently asserts His sole right to the love and reverence of Israel, and hence tolerates no kind of idolatry: so in Ex 20^5 [Dt 5^9] 34^{14}, Dt 4^{24} 6^{15}, all of which passages are probably not earlier than the Deuteronom. stratum.

(*d*) Jahweh's special love to Israel, evinced in the choice of this people, shows itself, further, in the wise *guidance* and powerful *protection* He accorded them from the first and all through their history. This is a favourite theme of the prophets, and very specially of Deuteronomy, and it serves in almost every instance as a motive for strong denunciations of Israel's ingratitude. Thus Amos ($2^{9f.}$) holds up to the people the powerful aid given by Jahweh in the extirpating of the Canaanites, His deliverance of them from Egypt, and His 40 years leading of them in the wilderness. Hosea ($11^{3ff.}$) recalls how, in spite of their disloyalty, God taught Ephraim, like a child, to walk, took them in His arms, and bound them to Himself by cords of love. Isaiah (1^2) begins his great arraignment of Israel with the words: 'I have nourished and brought up children, but they have rebelled against me.' Micah ($6^{4f.}$), too, presses upon the people's notice the gracious acts of Jahweh after their deliverance from Egyptian bondage. In Jeremiah ($2^{2ff.}$), again, Jahweh Himself recalls the time of the wilderness wandering as the glorious bridal era of the people's history; and speaks of His marvellous guidance of them through the terrible wilderness (v.^{6}), and his settling of them in the fruitful land of Canaan. The transfigured light in which the initial stages of the national history appeared to a later age is witnessed to by the Deuteronom. speech of Joshua (Jos $23^{9f.}$). According to the latter, none could then stand against Israel: a single Israelite could chase a thousand foes, for Jahweh their God Himself fought for them. A glorious description of the blessings which Jahweh showered upon the people in the days of their youth is contained also in the (probably exilic) Song of Moses (Dt 32^{8-14}).

(*e*) Such numerous and important benefits received from Jahweh demand, as a matter of course, Israel's gratitude and obedience to their God. This leads us now to ask, *What does Jahweh, according to the teaching of the prophets, require of the people?* In the first place, naturally, there must be abstinence from every species of idolatry and of image worship, the images of Jahweh included. This inexhaustible theme of the warnings and reproaches of Deuteronomy, as it had been already with the great prophets of the 8th cent., will have to be more fully discussed below (see p. 689 f.). On the repudiation of the images of Jahweh, see above, p. 679^a.

(*a*) Here the primary question that concerns us is this. When the prophets repudiate an external cultus, to which even the cult of Jahweh, with its intermixture of heathen ritual customs, belongs, do they at least demand a purified, God-pleasing cultus? This question, if it is *sacrifice*, the proper centre of ancient worship, that is in view, is to be answered with a flat negative, and this negative—in spite of appearances to the contrary—is to be extended even to Deuteronomy. It is true that the latter law-book imperatively requires ($12^{5ff.}$ etc.) all kinds of sacrifice to be brought to the *one* sanctuary chosen by Jahweh, and the offerers are to eat and drink and rejoice there before Jahweh. But, apart from such general prescriptions as $12^{26f.}$, there is not a single trace of any importance being attached to the ritual at these sacrificial meals. All that the code is concerned about is that the latter, which are now ancestral, deeply-rooted practices, should be held at the *one* legitimate sanctuary * which Jahweh has chosen. Only thus is there any security that the cultus shall be so watched over that the relics of heathen ritual customs shall at length be combated successfully. Further, it is the case that Deuteronomy ($26^{1ff.}$)—no doubt, taking up a long-established custom—requires a basket of the firstfruits of the field to be handed to the priest. But it does not neglect to prescribe to the offerer (v.$^{5ff.}$) a prayer (the only prayer for public worship, besides that of v.$^{13ff.}$, in the whole Pentateuch!) which gives the true meaning and sets in a clear light the deeper significance of the outward gift as a grateful testimony to Jahweh as the bestower of the fruits in question. With regard to the so-called 'poor's tithe,' again, the most important question for Deuteronomy, as 26^{14} shows, is whether the gifts in question have been brought into connexion with practices which are to be regarded as a denial of the pure Jahweh-cult.

While Deuteronomy accommodates itself to prevailing customs, there are, on the other hand, sayings of the prophets proper which cannot be understood except as absolutely disclaiming any demand on God's part for sacrificial gifts—a proof, by the way, that these prophets, one and all, are as yet quite unacquainted with a law-book such as P, where sacrifice becomes a sacred duty. It is readily intelligible that for a long time there was a reluctance to admit this fact. Sacrifice appeared to form such an integral part of the religion of Israel that it was *a priori* declared to be impossible that the prophets could have carried on a polemic against it. And so it is a favourite subterfuge still to say that the prophets never polemize against the offerings *per se*, but only against offerings that are presented hypocritically, without repentance and a right disposition, with blood-stained hands; against the *opera operata* of the carnally-minded, half-heathen mass of the people. But such an interpretation is made possible only by doing violence to the clear language of the passages in question. When, in Am 5^{25}, Jahweh, after very warmly repudiating the offerings of Israel (v.$^{21ff.}$), asks, 'Did ye bring unto me sacrifices and offerings in the wilderness forty years?' He evidently expects the answer, No. And the practical application is equally self-evident: if Jahweh could do without their offerings then, He does not need them now. In like manner, it is perfectly futile to read out of Hos 6^6 anything else than a categorical rejection of sacrifice: 'For I have pleasure in mercy and not in sacrifice, in the knowledge of

---

* That this did not imply such a mechanically conceived concentration of the sacrificial cultus as if only the *one* altar of burnt-offering could serve as a legitimate place of sacrifice, is shown by 1 K 8^{64} (D), where we read that Solomon consecrated the whole of the middle court because the brazen altar was too small for the multitude of offerings at the dedication of the temple.

God and not in burnt-offerings!' * With regard to Is $1^{11\text{f.}}$ it has been maintained with some appearance of plausibility that the flat rejection there of offerings and festivals is intended to apply only to the false worship, which is coupled with a sinful disposition. But any one who reads the whole passage carefully must pronounce it impossible that the prophet, after the burning words (v.$^{16\text{f.}}$), in which he impresses upon his hearers what are the real demands of God, could still have left room for the exhortation: 'And then come and bring your offerings!' On the contrary, once they have cleansed themselves, once they have helped the widow and the orphan to their rights, *then* they have done what God asks of them, and there need be no word of sacrifice. The very same meaning attaches to the words of Micah (6^{6-8}). The people are still under the delusion that it may be possible by multiplying their offerings—in an extreme case by perhaps giving up even their firstborn son—to atone for their sin, and thus, as it were, compel the favour of Jahweh. But the prophet does not go on to answer the questions put by those who are so deluded. In this way he gives it to be clearly understood that they are questions that are not worth discussing. Instead he points them to the requirements of God which were made known to them long ago, and in which everything is comprehended that is well-pleasing to God—namely, to do justly, and to show love, and to walk humbly with their God. Alongside of this threefold command there is plainly no room for requiring any outward services. Much about the same time, if not somewhat later (for the *tĕrāphîm* are already reckoned among the apparatus of idolatry), we may place 1 S $15^{22\text{f.}}$. It is true that here obedience is only declared to be better than sacrifice, and disobedience put on the same level as idolatry. But the whole tone of the statement leaves no doubt that we are listening to the words of a narrator who has penetrated deeply into the thoughts of the true prophets of Jahweh, and who shares their conviction of the utter worthlessness of outward offerings.

A final testimony, and that of the strongest kind, to this judgment of the sacrificial cultus is found in Jeremiah. Already in $6^{20\text{f.}}$ the prophet combats the notion that Jahweh has any pleasure either in the incense of Saba and the costly cane from a distant land, or in the burnt-offerings and slain beasts of the people. Still his language here might be explained as amounting only to a rejection of sacrifice as a hypocritical *opus operatum*. But when, in 7^{21}, Jahweh says, 'Add your burnt-offerings unto your sacrifices, and eat ye flesh,' this can mean only that it is to Him a matter of pure indifference whether they themselves eat not only the sacrificial meals but the burnt-offerings (which, according to very ancient custom, had to be wholly consumed by fire). And when He goes on (v.^{22}) to say, 'For I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt [*i.e.* at the time when the foundation of the theocracy was laid], concerning burnt-offerings or sacrifices,' this is intended to show that it is a complete delusion to suppose that God requires any such offerings or makes His favour depend upon them. Not outward services, but *obedience* to His will is what He demands; in other words, a moral life, for this and nothing else is the meaning of the words (v.^{23}), 'Walk ye in all the way that I command you.'

This testimony of Jeremiah weighs all the more that he himself was a priest. His denial that God gave any commands as to sacrifice appeared so unheard of that men did not shrink from the most incredible exegetical operations in order to compel him to say something different from what he actually says. But no wresting of the text can alter the fact that Jeremiah is as little acquainted as the prophets before him with a law-book which issued in God's name statutes as to sacrifice. This does not mean that the Book of Deuteronomy was unknown to him. This book, however, as we saw a little ago, never sets itself to distinguish in principle the value and the necessity of sacrifice, but simply takes sacrifice for granted as a present fact, an old-established custom. And so the result of our whole inquiry is that no one has any right to depreciate the merit which belongs to the above-named prophets, of having discovered the ideal of true service of God in the worship of Him in spirit and in truth, without any outward ceremonies and performances.

We may anticipate a little by adding that this Prophetical conception was not so very quickly obliterated even in the post-exilic period, which is mostly thought of as the era of torpid, rigid legalism. Even Ps $40^{7\,(6)}$ roundly declares: 'Sacrifice and offering thou hast no delight in; ears hast thou opened [lit. digged] for me [namely, that I may hear and obey thy will]; burnt-offering and sin-offering thou requirest not.' In Ps $50^{8\text{ff.}}$ the writer repels as a piece of childish imagination, not to say ridicules, the notion that the flesh of bulls and the blood of goats are to be offered as food to God, the Lord of the whole world of beasts. Ps $51^{18\,(16)}$ insists once more that God does not desire sacrificial victims and has no pleasure in burnt-offerings, but with the very weighty addition (v.$^{19\,(17)}$) that the true sacrifices of God are a broken spirit, a broken and contrite heart. We may compare, finally, Ps $69^{31\,(30)\,\text{f.}}$, according to which Jahweh has more pleasure in grateful praise than in a young bullock with horns and hoofs.

We have not here to inquire how it was possible for these Psalms, with their very emphatic setting forth of the Prophetic view of sacrifice, to find their way into the 'song-book of the post-exilic congregation,' which was at all times profoundly penetrated with the notion of sacrifice as a sacred and quite indispensable duty. Was it that a forced interpretation was put upon the actual expressions so as to remove what was offensive to the later, priestly view of sacrifice? This would really appear to have been the case, in view of the present conclusion (v.$^{20\,(18)\,\text{f.}}$) of Ps 51. Here the Prophetical view expressed in v.$^{18\,(16)\,\text{f.}}$ has evidently *this* turn given to it: all this applies as long as Israel languishes under God's wrath; in this situation sacrifices are useless and displeasing to God. But once He has compassion again on Zion, and has built again the walls of Jerusalem,—a proof that the time of wrath is finally over, and the long-promised great restoration begun,—then once more will He take pleasure in right offerings, then shall bullocks be offered on His altar. The most recent commentators on the Psalms are in part disposed to regard this conclusion as original, and to find in it the simple solution of the problem how a Psalmist could have given utterance to such revolutionary sentiments. But the present writer agrees with Duhm in holding that it is quite impossible to remove the difficulty in *this* way.* It implies the doing of quite unseemly violence to the language of v.$^{19\,(17)}$. A saint, who had reached so thoroughly purified and truly evangelical a conception of the proper service of God as we find in that verse, could never have sunk to such an appreciation of external sacrificial worship as manifestly underlies v.$^{21\ (19)}$.

---

* The usual rendering, 'more than in burnt-offerings,' by which, after all, a recognition of sacrifice is introduced into the saying, would be in itself linguistically possible, but is absolutely excluded by the first half-verse; מֵעֹלוֹת means simply 'apart from (*or* to the exclusion of) burnt-offerings.'

* We are compelled to pronounce completely mistaken also the argument of Jacob (*ZATW* xvii. [1897] 265) and Matthes (*ib.* xxi. [1901] 73 ff.), according to which the meaning is that God asks for thank-offerings and votive offerings in preference to others (in which, however, He also takes pleasure, the teaching of the Psalms being uniformly favourable to sacrifice).

In view of all this, it cannot surprise us that, apart from sacrifice and from frequent denunciations of false worship, the Prophetical references to matters of the cultus are scanty, and are based, moreover, rather upon accommodation to the prevailing popular view than upon an independent appreciation of it. To the people, to be sure, it is a terrible threat that Jahweh is to put an end to all their festivals, new moons and sabbaths (Hos 2^{11}); that in exile they shall be without king and ruler, without altar * and *maẓẓēbāh*, ephod and *tĕrāphîm* (3^{4}); that there, in an unclean land, where no cult of Jahweh is possible, they shall have to eat unclean food, and be unable to present offerings of any kind ($9^{3ff.}$). But all that the prophet is concerned about is simply to threaten something that shall sound terrible to his hearers, not to express approval or disapproval of the cultus and its necessary apparatus. Elsewhere, too (Am 8^{5}, Is 29^{1} [Jer $17^{21ff.}$ is a later addition, probably from the time of Nehemiah]), it is only in a secondary way that the festivals, New Moons and Sabbaths, are mentioned. We have already explained the sense in which Deuteronomy commends the observance of the yearly festivals (ch. 16) and the use of the tenth for sacrificial meals ($14^{22ff.}$). Moreover, this book seizes every opportunity of substituting humanitarian for ritual motives, or at least of putting them alongside the latter: so, for instance, with the commandment to hallow the Sabbath ($5^{12ff.}$); the tithe every third year ($14^{28f.}$ $26^{12f.}$); the year of release ($15^{1ff.}$); and the letting go of a Hebrew slave in the seventh year ($15^{12ff.}$). And if Deuteronomy, as is only reasonable, requires the punctual fulfilment of vows once they have been taken (23^{21}), it does not omit to add that the man who forbears to vow is guilty of no sin (v.^{22}).

But the strongest evidence of the Prophetical spiritualizing of the old ritual customs is the turn now given to the very ancient and strictly observed requirement of *circumcision* (cf. above, p. 622^{b} f.), when in Jer 4^{4} (cf. also Dt 10^{16} 30^{6}) the removal of the foreskin of the *heart* is called for. We shall not be wrong in assuming that the prophet here passes a judgment on the value of external circumcision similar to what he passed in $7^{21ff.}$ on the value of sacrifice. To him it is a symbol of the purifying of the heart, which is what God requires above all, and without which it has neither use nor value.

(*β*) In all other instances as well as in those we have considered, the actual demands of the prophets are of a specifically *religious* and, above all, specifically *moral* nature. But the latter are in no way separated from the former. Nothing would be more perverse than to represent the prophets as preachers of a bare moral religion simply because in their writings the inculcating of justice, honesty, and mercy, in relation to one's neighbour, always plays a most important part. Behind all this is the implication that the determining motive for such conduct is to be the revealed will of the God of Israel and the reverent fear of His displeasure [in Deuteronomy (6^{5}) hearty love to God]. It is in harmony with this that, as in the First Commandment, the demand for veneration of Jahweh alone precedes all others. It is indirectly expressed in the numerous denunciations of idolatry, but has also positive utterance given to it frequently (cf. *e.g.* Am $5^{4.\ 6}$, Is $8^{12f.}$). The greatest zeal in this direction is displayed by Deuteronomy (cf. 4^{19}, the reasoned exhortation against star worship; but, above all, $12^{1ff.}$). Any enticing to idolatry, even if it emanate from prophets or from one's nearest relations, is regarded by this book ($13^{2ff.}$ $17^{2ff.}$) as nothing less than a capital crime; and the penalty is to be executed on the guilty party without pity, even if this should involve the destruction of a whole city with all its inhabitants and all their property ($13^{13ff.}$).

Real reverence for Jahweh shows itself, above all, in unreserved confidence in His wise disposal of events and His help in time of need (Is 7^{4}, and esp. v.^{9b} 'if ye trust not, ye shall not stand'; cf. also the *locus classicus* Jer $17^{5ff.}$). This is at the root of the unvarying policy which the true prophets of Jahweh commend to their countrymen in relation to the world-powers. After Aḥaz, against the earnest counsel of Isaiah, has called in the aid of the Assyrians and become their vassal, the prophet sees in this a Providential dispensation of Jahweh and a well-deserved punishment of Judah. And now what is required is to keep still under the salutary chastening rod (28^{12} 30^{15} ['In turning away (from the wild struggles of the others) consists your safety, in quietness and confidence is your strength']), until the hour has come for Jahweh to interpose and to display His power on the defiant Assyria itself ($10^{16ff.\ 24ff.\ 33f.}$ $18^{4ff.}$). Precisely the same standpoint is assumed by Jeremiah in reference to the Chaldæans. There is no resource for the nations subject to them (Jer $27^{2ff.}$), or for Ẓedeḳiah of Judah (v.$^{12ff.}$), but to put their neck under the yoke of Nebuchadreẓẓar (cf. also $38^{2f.\ 17ff.}$ $42^{10ff.}$). How little on this account Jeremiah despairs of the return of God's favour to the nation and their restoration, he proves by purchasing, although a prisoner, a field ($32^{6ff.}$), when already the embankments of the besiegers stretch up to the city.

The right knowledge of Jahweh issues likewise in due humility, such as love to one's neighbour (cf. the prophetic programme of true morality in Mic 6^{8}). The latter shows itself primarily in striving after justice at any price, especially when protection and care for oppressed widows and orphans are concerned: Am 5^{12}, Is $1^{17.\ 23}$ 10^{2}, Jer $7^{5ff.}$ 22^{3} (addressed to the king), Dt 10^{18} (coupled with the injunction to love the *gēr*) $24^{17ff.}$ 27^{19}. In general, the whole legislation of Deuteronomy is permeated with a spirit of the most genuine humanity, and thus constitutes, as it were, a deposit of the ethical system of the prophets. It evidently discovers the main value of the sacrificial meals, as well as of the three years' tithe, in the provision for the Levites, the poor, the widow, and the orphan (14^{29} and oft.); in face of an extremely powerful custom—that of blood-revenge—it provides for the deliverance of the unintentional manslayer ($19^{2ff.}$); it claims tender consideration for female prisoners of war ($21^{10ff.}$), and the less loved spouse (v.$^{15ff.}$), as well as for the poor when a pledge for a loan is taken from them ($24^{6.\ 10ff.}$). An escaped slave is not to be given up ($23^{16f.}$); a day-labourer is not to be oppressed, but to be paid his wages before sunset ($24^{14f.}$). Interest is to be taken only from foreigners, not from one's countrymen ($23^{20f.}$). The property of the latter is to be jealously safeguarded ($22^{1ff.}$); the danger of falling from a roof is to be averted by a railing (22^{8}).

But all this humanity and mildness in Deuteronomy goes hand in hand with an unbending strictness, not only against idolatry but against every form of lawlessness. The son who is hopelessly corrupt is, at the instance of his own parents, to be stoned to death ($21^{18ff.}$). In like manner, in the case of adultery (22^{22}), or of the seduction of a betrothed maiden within the city, the penalty of death is to be inflicted on both parties ($22^{23\text{ff.}}$). Seduction of a maiden who is not betrothed is punished by a money fine and the obligation to contract an indissoluble marriage with her (22^{28}). Shameless conduct on the part of a woman is avenged by her having her hand cut off ($25^{11\text{f.}}$). A newly married woman who proves to be not a virgin is to be stoned ($22^{20\text{f.}}$), while a false accusation on this score by the husband involves his paying of a considerable money fine and agreeing to hold his marriage with her indissoluble ($22^{13\text{ff.}}$). If a husband wishes to put away his wife 'because he has found some unseemly thing in her,' he is required to give her a bill of divorcement. To all appearance, dissolution of marriage was pretty frequent; it was only gradually that even the people of Israel shook itself free of the general Oriental conception of woman as a kind of chattel. Yet at least remarriage with a divorced wife who in the interval has been married to another man, is strictly forbidden as a defilement of the land ($24^{1\text{ff.}}$). Finally, a sort of compendium of the Deuteronomic ethics may be discovered also in the twelve curses of Dt $27^{15\text{ff.}}$.

---

* Since the LXX still retains 'altar' along with 'sacrifice' (*οὐδὲ οὔσης θυσίας οὐδὲ ὄντος θυσιαστηρίου*), we should probably read מִזְבֵּחַ for זֶבַח. 'Altar and *maẓẓēbāh*' forms a good collocation, not 'sacrifice and *maẓẓēbāh*.'

In all this, moreover, Deuteronomy implies that the demands put forward by it are not (with such exceptions as that relating to the concentration of the cultus) addressed to the people as something entirely new. Nay, Jahweh has from the first provided organs for the communication of His will, in the shape of priests and prophets. To the former of these the following functions are assigned in Deuteronomy: the decision of the more difficult law-cases ($17^{9\text{-}12}$ $19^{17\text{ff.}}$ 21^{5}); the service of Jahweh in the sanctuary, which gives them a means of livelihood in the absence of a tribal portion of the land ($18^{1\text{ff.}}$ $26^{3\text{f.}}$); the encouraging of warriors before battle ($20^{2\text{ff.}}$); and the supervision of leprosy ($24^{8\text{f.}}$). As regards the prophets, Deuteronomy finds itself involved in a certain measure of self-contradiction in so far as, upon the one hand, it emphasizes the pre-eminence, nay perfection, of the code it promulgates (4^{8} $30^{11\text{ff.}}$; cf. also Jos 1^{8}); while, on the other hand, it recognizes the importance of the Prophets, although these were, properly speaking, rendered superfluous by the written Law. This contradiction, however, is resolved by considering that Dt $18^{15\text{ff.}}$ has manifestly in view only one particular function of the prophets—not the announcement of the Divine will in general, but the prediction of the future. Prophecy is Jahweh's substitute for the soothsaying and prognosticating of other nations (v.^{14}). Jahweh Himself sees to it that this substitute is always * present; but the only proof that a prophet has really spoken in the name of Jahweh is the fulfilment of his prediction (v.^{21}).

Of the prophets proper, Jeremiah indeed commends the observance of 'the words of *this* law' ($11^{2\text{ff.}}$),† by which only Deuteronomy can be meant. But he can never have been of opinion that true Jahweh prophecy, the living word of Jahweh, which is as a fire, and like a hammer breaking the rock in pieces (23^{29}), is ever to be rendered superfluous by a written Law. Jahweh still acts as He has done since the choice of Israel, sending without intermission His servants, the prophets, to announce His will (7^{25} 25^{4} 26^{5} 29^{19}). And only this immediate *tōrāh* ('direction') of God offers a guarantee that it is a true Divine word—an assurance which cannot be unreservedly felt regarding a written Law. It is only in this way that we can explain the remarkable words of Jer 8^{8} 'How can ye say, We are wise, and the *tōrāh* (here = the [written] Law) of Jahweh is with us? Nay, the lying pen of the scribe hath worked so as to deceive.' * If this is not exactly a repudiation of the law-book discovered and introduced in Josiah's reign, it is at least an allusion to the dangers which beset a written code; and hence the latter can never take the place of the living word communicated through the prophets.

Amongst the earlier prophets, Hosea (8^{12}) assumes the existence of a multitude of written *tōrōth* † ('directions'); but the context of the passage shows that these cannot be regulations for the cultus, but only guides to a moral life. In Is 8^{16} the *tōrāh* that is to be laid up and sealed refers only to the immediately preceding predictions. Nowhere except in Jeremiah and Hosea do we find any allusion to a written Law. On the other hand, we encounter everywhere (cf. Am 2^{11}, Hos 6^{5}, Is $6^{1\text{ff.}}$ 8^{11}, Mic 3^{8}, Hab $2^{1\text{ff.}}$ etc.) the conviction of the Divine mission and the direct communion of the genuine Jahweh prophets with their God.

Since we have already (p. 672 ff.) discussed fully the nature and functions of these, we may here refer to other two points only. There is, first, the very definite way in which the prophets look for the fulfilment of their predictions (cf. esp. Is $8^{1\text{f.}}$ 30^{8}, Hab 2^{2}, where the prediction is still further strengthened by being committed to writing; but also Is $20^{1\text{ff.}}$, Jer 20^{6} 21^{7} $28^{16\text{f.}}$). The other point is that the natural feelings of the prophet may readily come into conflict with the message he is commanded by God to utter, whether it be that he has a transitory fit of doubt as to the justice of the principles that govern the course of the world (Jer $12^{1\text{ff.}}$), or that he despairs of any success to his mission ($15^{15\text{ff.}}$ $20^{7\text{ff.}}$), or that he is unable to suppress a feeling of profound compassion for the objects of his threatening (Is 22^{4}, Mic 1^{8}, Jer 4^{19} $8^{18\text{ff.}}$). In the end, however, the conviction always triumphs which Jeremiah (12^{1}) prefixes to his complaint and reproaches: 'Thou remainest in the right, O Jahweh, if I think to strive with thee.' Nay, in God's sight all human wisdom and strength and all riches are as nothing (Jer 9^{23}).

Amongst other organs of Jahweh, Amos once (2^{11}) mentions the Nazirites (see above, p. 658^{a}); but of the priests, apart from the honourable reference to the chief priest Uriah in Is 8^{2}, all that we hear from the prophets are vehement denunciations for neglect of duty. Almost as frequent are serious complaints against the kings. Not, indeed, that the old conception (cf. above, p. 660^{b}), which saw in the monarchy a blessing from Jahweh, and in the king as well as in the priests and prophets an organ of the theocracy, is wholly denied. It meets us clearly in the present (Deuteronom.) form of 2 S 7; but experience of the monarchy in general —particularly in the Northern kingdom—as this is very clearly reflected in the so-called 'law of the kingship' (Dt $17^{14\text{ff.}}$), must inevitably have led to a judgment almost entirely adverse.

(γ) There is still one question we must answer before passing from this division of our subject. Do the prophets consider that *perfect obedience* to the Divine will is possible, and do they measure each man's responsibility accordingly? The answer must be that the prophets know only too well the inborn sinfulness of man, which is connected with the weakness of the flesh. Even an Isaiah must lament (6^{5}) that he is a man of unclean lips and dwells in the midst of a people of unclean lips. Jeremiah (17^{9}, cf. also 13^{23}) pronounces that 'the heart is deceitful above all things and desperately sick: who can know it?' The Deuteronomist, again, makes Solomon declare (1 K 8^{46}) at the dedication of the temple: 'There is not a man that sins not.' But, in spite of this general condition of sinfulness, the prophets know of a relative righteousness, a piety which honestly endeavours to satisfy the Divine claims. What it still lacks, owing to error, haste, and weakness, is made up to it by the sparing, pardoning grace of God. In this connexion it is noteworthy that, in all the numerous expressions for the forgiveness of sins, stress is laid, not upon a complete destroying of sin (as in the Catholic sense, without which there could be no 'saints'), but only upon an overlooking of it or rendering it invisible, so that it no more provokes the judicial eye of God to punish it. No doubt, we have figurative language here, but language answering to the true evangelical view, according to which the man remains as before a poor sinner, but is *declared* by God in His grace to be righteous, and accordingly free from condemnation. Propitiation[*] consists in a 'covering' (and thus making invisible) of guilt; and, according to the Prophetic usage of language, it is God Himself that covers the sin (Is 6^{7}, Jer 18^{23} *et al.*). Other expressions for the forgiveness of sins are 'take away,' 'put aside,' 'let pass,' 'wash away,' 'wipe away,' 'heal'; God plunges sin into the depths of the sea (Mic 7^{19}), or casts it behind His back (Is 38^{17})—all with the same result, that sin is now withdrawn from His view. In all this it is assumed as a matter of course that true contrition and repentance are present, and these can make sins that are blood-red to be white as snow, and make the purple-red to be like wool (Is 1^{18}).

---

* The referring of 'the prophet' of v.^{15} and v.^{18} to a particular individual, namely the Messiah (on which the old dogmatic founded the *munus propheticum* of Christ), is at once seen to be mistaken, when one looks at v.^{20} and v.^{22}.

† In this connexion we should not omit to say that the strong objections taken by Duhm (in his Commentary on Jeremiah) to Jeremiah's authorship of this passage, rest on what is by no means an airy foundation.

* The usual interpretation, 'the lying pen of the scribe hath made deceit of it,' would require the reading עָשָׂהוּ instead of עָשָׂה.

† Instead of the sing. תּוֹרָתִי, by which the MT means to suggest the *one* Law of Moses, read the plur. תּוֹרֹתַי. Only thus does 'the countless number' spoken of bear any sense.—On the usage of the word תּוֹרָה, cf. J. Valeton, art. 'Beteekenis en gebruik van het woord Thorâ in het Oude Testament' in *Theol. Studiën*, 1891, p. 101 ff.

The proof that at least a *relative* righteousness is regarded by the prophets as attainable, is found, on the one hand, in allusions to such righteousness in past times (Is $1^{21f.\ 26}$); and, on the other hand, in the frequent promises attached to the honest fulfilment of the Divine will (Is 1^{19}, and with special frequency and emphasis in Deuteronomy [$7^{12ff.}$ $11^{13ff.}$, and, with the corresponding threatenings against disobedience, $28^{1ff.}$ $30^{1ff.}$]). The question how such a doctrine of retribution, according to which a man's lot corresponds exactly to his conduct, is in harmony with the experiences of real life, is not yet raised. Pious faith holds simply to the postulate which must always be maintained by any truly religious *Weltanschauung*, that genuine godliness must find its reward, ungodliness its punishment. This postulate appeared to be justified all the more as it was applied, above all, to the conduct and the lot of the people as a whole, and less to those of the individual. And if, according to D (for to this stratum belongs, no doubt, the expansion of the Decalogue in Ex $20^{5b.\ 6}$), a continued influence of guilt upon the children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren of the ungodly is taught, as conversely a continuance of the Divine favour, gained by godliness, till the thousandth generation, this is merely to affirm, in the sense of the Prophets, a truth which is frequently testified to elsewhere in Scripture and confirmed a thousand times over by experience. As the merits of David benefit the peoples for centuries long (1 K $11^{12f.\ 32}$ 15^{4}, 2 K 8^{19}), so, on the other hand, the sins of Manasseh inevitably bring about the destruction of the nation (Jer 15^{4}, 2 K 24^{3}). Deuteronomy, however, is far from inferring the false converse of this postulate that virtue is sure of reward, and wickedness of punishment; it does not assert, what was afterwards the popular opinion, that all human suffering is a consequence of sin, and that a very severe affliction must be due to a very heinous transgression. No less does the prophet Jeremiah ($31^{29f.}$) oppose the proverb (whose currency is witnessed to also by Ezk 18^{2}) with which it was then customary to ridicule the misunderstood retribution doctrine of Ex 20^{5b} 'The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge.' No, says the prophet, every man must pay the penalty of his own guilt (cf. also Dt 24^{16}); no one can shirk the moral responsibility that rests upon him, and in this lies the proof that the fulfilment of Jahweh's demands is thought of as practicable.

Under all circumstances, however, rewards and punishments are thought of as bestowed in this present life; of any expectation of a continued life after death or of a resurrection there is not a trace in pre-exilic prophecy. On the contrary, so far as its view of the conditions after death is concerned, the latter evidently still occupies the position of the old popular belief in Shĕ'ōl (cf. above, p. 668 f.), although mention of the latter is only rare and incidental (Am 9^{2}, Is 5^{14} 7^{11} $28^{15.\ 18}$, Hab 2^{5}). The national religion, with which the pre-exilic prophets have mainly to do, had its interest simply in the continuance and, if necessary, the restoration of the earthly theocracy. Questions of immortality and resurrection concern the individual. We shall therefore first make acquaintance with these at a time when, after the political downfall of the nation, the interests of the religious unit as opposed to the mass obtained more and more recognition.

3. *The relation of the nation to Jahweh.*—How far now does the people chosen by Jahweh answer to the picture we have just sketched of God's demands by the mouth of the prophets? It is a very sorry view that is opened up to us in almost all the writings of the pre-exilic prophets; and one has no right to assert that, after the manner of preachers of repentance in all ages, the conditions are painted too black in order that denunciations and warnings may have more effect. On the contrary, the principle which underlies all these descriptions is that the high privilege accorded to Israel involved an equally high responsibility, but that this was precisely what the people refused to see. They were only too ready to hear of the privilege, 'You only have I chosen of all the nations of the earth' (Am 3^{2}); but the conclusion, 'for that very reason I will visit upon you all your transgressions,' appeared to them incomprehensible. The words of Amos we have just quoted are addressed primarily to the inhabitants of the Northern kingdom, like the whole of Hosea's prophecies, and a variety of sayings elsewhere (*e.g.* Is $17^{3ff.}$ $28^{1ff.}$; cf. also Jer $31^{2ff.\ 15ff.}$, as well as the judgment expressed by D^{2} in 2 K 13^{5} $14^{26f.}$, and the whole viewpoint of $17^{7ff.}$). In point of fact, the prophets show no difference in their judgment of the two kingdoms, in so far as Ephraim, even after the disruption, is still counted the people of Jahweh, and is consequently under precisely the same responsibility, and exposed therefore to the same condemnation for its apostasy and wickedness.[*]

In the forefront of all the charges against Israel stand those which concern the root of all their perverse conduct; denunciations of idolatry proper, of false views of Jahweh and His will, and of the false service of Jahweh based thereupon.

---

[*] Cf., on this subject, art. PROPITIATION in vol. iv.

[*] Cf. the elaborate discussions of O. Procksch, *Geschichtsbetrachtung und geschichtliche Ueberlieferung bei den vorexilischen Propheten*, Leipzig, 1902.

(*a*) With reference to *idolatry*, we had occasion, in dealing with the preceding period (see above, p. 645), to show that what is in view is not a complete denial of Jahweh as the national God (not to speak of a denial of His existence), but simply an ineradicable attachment to a syncretism which will not break with Baal (or, more precisely, the baals, *i.e.* the various localized forms of Baal). This, which was the complaint of Elijah, is still heard with equal loudness from the lips of Hosea ($2^{7ff.}$), that is, about 25 years before the downfall of the kingdom. However unobjectionable such conduct might appear to the people, the prophet brands it as adultery (1^{2} $2^{4ff.}$ and often; cf. also Jer $3^{1ff.}$ 13^{27}). We leave it an open question whether the comparison between Jahweh's relation to Israel and a married or betrothed relation was introduced by Hosea in allusion, first of all, to the unfaithfulness of his own wife, in which he saw a reflexion of the unfaithfulness of Israel to Jahweh. In any case this picture fulfilled the prophet's purpose, to portray to the common understanding the conduct of Israel as something shameful and worthy of the most unreserved condemnation.

In the category of idolatry, Hosea (4^{12}) clearly includes also divining by means of small staves (the so-called rhabdomancy), as Isaiah (8^{19}) includes necromancy and in general every form of divination and magic (2^{6}, cf. also 2 K 23^{24}). The popular belief might imagine these things to be reconcilable with the worship of Jahweh. But, even apart from syncretism in the matter of the baals, there are not wanting allusions to idolatry in the proper sense: so, *e.g.*, Is 1^{29}, and very frequently in Jeremiah (1^{16} $2^{5ff.\,13.\,20ff.}$ 11^{13}). After the middle of the 7th cent. B.C. the denunciations are directed especially against the worship of the host of heaven (Zeph 1^{5}, Jer $7^{17ff.}$ 8^{2} 19^{13}; very characteristic are the words of the people in Jer $44^{17ff.}$; cf. also 2 K $23^{11f.}$), and against the sacrifice of children (Jer $7^{30f.}$ 19^{5}, 2 K 23^{10}). In this last case it is not indeed certain whether the מֶלֶךְ ('king'),[*] to whom these sacrifices were offered, is not meant to stand for a special form of Jahweh (cf. above, p. 646). A similar doubt arises, as we have already (p. 643^{a}) explained, regarding the Divine images (Is 2^{20}, etc.), where in many instances it may be images of Jahweh that are in view.

Amongst the denunciations of idolatry it was formerly the custom to include numerous sayings which are meant in reality for the perverted, unthinking worship of Jahweh, with its strong admixture of Canaanite ritual practices. The sacrificial meals were frequently the occasion of excess (cf. esp. Is $28^{7ff.}$) and immorality. Thus already Amos (2^{8}) complains: 'Beside every altar they stretch themselves on pledged garments, and drink penalty-wine[†] in the temple of their God.' According to Am $4^{4f.}$, seeming zeal for the cultus at Bethel and Gilgal is coupled with disgraceful acts. To Hosea ($4^{13f.}$) the sacrificial worship upon the high places, in the company of the *ḳĕdēshôth*, is no better than idolatry, and the offerings of the people are therefore valueless in the sight of Jahweh (5^{6}). They may have erected numerous altars [to Jahweh], but these have become to them only an occasion of sin (8^{11} 10^{1}, although the last passage might refer also to altars and *maẓẓēbôth* of Baal). On Isaiah's polemic against the multiplied but wholly useless *opera operata*, see above, p. 685^{b} f. The people draw near, indeed, to Jahweh with their mouth, and honour Him with their lips, but their heart is far from Him, and their fear of God nothing but a commandment of men which they have learned by rote (Is 29^{13}, Jer 12^{2}). Similar are the complaints of Micah and Jeremiah. But the strongest evidence of the radically perverted character of the cultus is found in the circumstance that such a shocking abuse as that of the presence of *ḳĕdēshîm* and *ḳĕdēshôth* (see above, p. 662^{b}) in connexion with the cult of Jahweh (for this must be our inference from Dt $23^{18f.}$ and 2 K 23^{7}) was able to maintain its hold down to the reform of the cultus by Josiah.

(*b*) Both the above aberrations, idolatry and the perverted worship of Jahweh, spring from a common source: a complete *failure to recognize the true character of Jahweh.* Only this can explain the people's gross ingratitude to Him who has been their Benefactor and Guardian from the earliest times (Is 1^{3} $5^{1ff.}$), and their false confidence in Jahweh as the national God, who, for the sake of His own credit, cannot finally abandon His people and temple to the heathen, but must at last overlook all their rebellions and sin (Jer 7^{10} *et al.*). Very often this misplaced confidence is ascribed to the seductive words of false prophets, who still preach safety even when all the terrors of judgment present themselves vividly to the eyes of the true prophets of Jahweh (Mic $3^{5.\,11b}$, Jer $5^{12.\,31}$ 7^{4} $14^{14f.}$ 23^{16-18} $27^{9.\,14ff.}$ $28^{1ff.}$ $29^{8f.\,21-23.\,31}$).

This false trust in Jahweh is far, however, from preventing distrust of His power and aid—a distrust which shows itself in an eager striving after self-help and in the attaching of value to self-chosen carnal expedients. This is one of the principal sources of complaint on the part of the prophets, whether the subject of their censure be the people's trust in resources of their own (battle-chariots and warriors, gold and treasures: Hos 10^{3b}, Is 2^{7} $22^{8ff.}$ 30^{16}, Mic $5^{9\,(10)}$); or alliances, now with Assyria, now with Egypt or with the neighbouring peoples as a defence against Assyria (Hos 5^{13} 7^{11} $8^{9f.}$ $12^{2\,(1)}$ $14^{4\,(3)}$, all referring to the Northern kingdom; Is 28^{14} $29^{15f.}$ $30^{1f.}$ $31^{1f.}$, of Judah's alliance with Egypt).

The want of real belief and confidence in God, which reveals itself in such conduct, reaches a climax in open renunciation of Jahweh and frivolous mockery of His prophets and of the Divine oracles announced by them (Am 2^{12}, Hos $9^{7f.}$, Is 1^{4} 5^{19} $11^{18ff.}$ 12^{6} $15^{10.\,15}$ 18^{18-23} $20^{7ff.}$ $22^{11ff.}$ $28^{9ff.}$ $30^{9ff.}$; Mic $2^{6.\,11}$, Jer 6^{10}). Is $22^{12ff.}$ in particular reminds us strongly of the 'sin against the Holy Ghost' (Mt $12^{31f.}$), which can never be forgiven.

(*c*) The character of the conception of God and the religious conditions find their natural reflexion in the *moral conditions* that prevailed in the nation. On this head we have endless complaints by the prophets, directed at times against the people as a whole, and at times against particular classes. Beginning with the latter, we find, at least in Hosea, no longer an echo of the ancient sentiment (cf. above, p. 660^{b}) about the monarchy as a blessing bestowed by Jahweh. There is no bond of union between these later kings of Israel, who made their way to the throne largely by rebellion or even assassination, and the kingship in the sense and spirit of the theocracy (Hos 8^{4} $13^{10f.}$).[*] Isaiah's opinion of Aḥaz is presumably contained in the statement of 3^{12}, and the downfall of Judah is ultimately traced to the iniquities of Manasseh (2 K $23^{26f.}$ 24^{2-4}). Numerous, and at times very vehement, are the complaints against the heads of the people (Is $3^{12ff.}$, Mic 3^{11} 7^{4}) as unfaithful shepherds (Jer $23^{1ff.}$); against the priests (Hos $4^{4ff.}$,

---

[*] Cf. B. D. Eerdmans, *Melekdienst en vereering van hemellichamen in Israëls assyr. Periode*, Leiden, 1892.

[†] *i.e.* wine which they have exacted in lieu of a money fine.

[*] If Hos $9^{9.\,15}$ 10^{9} really referred to the introduction of the monarchy, these passages (like 1 S $8^{6ff.}$ 12^{12}) would contain an absolute repudiation of it. But this interpretation is, to say the least of it, doubtful.

Mic 3^{11}, Zeph 3^{4}, Jer 2^{8} 5^{31} 6^{13}), and against the false prophets (Zeph 3^{4}, Jer 2^{8} 6^{13} $23^{\text{9ff. 21. 25ff. 30ff.}}$). No wonder that under such guidance all kinds of vices flourished luxuriantly. Abundance of outward possessions gives birth to arrogance (Am $6^{8.\ 13}$, Jer 13^{9}, Dt $8^{\text{12ff.}}$), luxury (Am $6^{\text{4ff.}}$), ostentation, especially on the part of women (Am 4^{1}, Is $3^{\text{16ff.}}$), and licentiousness (Am 2^{7b}). But it is, above all, the oppression of the poor and needy, the turning aside of justice in the case of widows and orphans, that provokes the bitterest complaints (Am $2^{\text{6. 7a}}$, Is 5^{23} $10^{\text{1ff.}}$, Mic 2^{2} $3^{\text{1f.}}$). Finally, not only are the people charged with particular vices and offences, but there is attributed to them such a perversion of all moral ideas (Is 5^{20}), such radical and general corruption, that any increase of it seems hardly possible. Hosea ($4^{\text{1ff.}}$) is already constrained to lament that there is no fidelity, no love, no knowledge of God in the land : 'they curse and lie, they murder and steal and commit adultery, and one bloody deed treads upon the heels of another.' Is $3^{\text{8f.}}$ refers to the shamelessness with which, in bold defiance of Jahweh, they proclaim their sins, like the Sodomites, without concealment. No less cheerless is the condemnatory verdict of Micah ($7^{\text{1ff.}}$; cf. esp. v.[4] 'The best of them is as a brier, the most upright is as a thorn hedge') and of Jeremiah ($5^{\text{1ff.}}$ $6^{13.\ 28}$ $9^{\text{1ff.}}$). Jeremiah declares the corruption to be so deeply rooted that the Ethiopian could more readily change his skin or the leopard his spots than the people their evil course of conduct (13^{23}). Deceit and treachery are so general that they find their way into the closest friendship and the most sacred family connexions, so that it has become a rule that 'a man's foes are they of his own household' (Mic $7^{\text{5f.}}$).

4. *The attitude of the Prophets to the corrupt moral condition of the people.*—In view of the conditions above described, it might have been expected that the efforts of the prophets would be primarily directed towards preaching repentance and amendment, so as, if possible, to snatch the people from destruction even at the eleventh hour. And so in point of fact it was. The assertion so often repeated at the present day, that the writing prophets before the Exile announced judgment only, without any alleviation or any prospect of at least a partial deliverance and restoration, is *ab initio* psychologically unintelligible. A prophet who had a perfectly definite expectation of the destruction of the State and *all* the members of the nation, must have regarded it as quite purposeless to proclaim unceasingly nothing but this destruction, especially if his words met with no credit. The most natural course for him would have been to abandon the multitude to their fate, and in the company of those like himself to bewail their obduracy and the ruin of his nation. Instead of this we find that all these prophets, in proclaiming the word of Jahweh, display a burning zeal which finds its only explanation in the aim which they always set before them in the discharge of this duty. They seek to rescue what is still capable of being rescued, to open the eyes of at least a portion of their infatuated countrymen, and to bring them within the small remnant which has been chosen by God to survive the judgment. And so we have the following stages in the prophetic message : a simple call to repentance, coupled with the indication of a still possible escape ; then the denunciation of judgment, so far as the godless majority of the people are concerned. This judgment assumes more and more of an inevitable aspect, and appears as a total destruction of the State and the hitherto existing nationality. But, notwithstanding all this, there is ever in the background the thought that for a portion of the people it will prove a purifying and not a destroying judgment. And across the terrors of the judgment there smiles an era of grace and Divine compassion, an era of renewal, when the remnant of the nation shall once more answer to the idea of a people of God, and reap the fruits of such a privilege. It is only natural that these various stages of the prophets' message should not be always found complete or in the same order. Special motives or differences in the audiences addressed might push sometimes one and sometimes another into the foreground, but none of the features above described will be found wanting, at least in the more considerable Prophetical writings. It must be admitted, indeed, that the difficulty of forming a conclusion is not seldom materially increased by what are undeniably later additions to the text (see above, p. 671^{b} f.). In the following survey we shall limit ourselves to the rejection only of such passages as are generally admitted not to be genuine, and will reserve for separate treatment the phenomenon of so-called 'Messianic prophecy.'

(*a*) The above-mentioned assertion that the threatening of final judgment constitutes the sole contents of pre-exilic Prophetic preaching has most to say for itself in the case of *Amos*. In his message not the faintest glimmer of consolation seems to shine in the dark night whose advent he proclaims. For not only must we leave out of account the present conclusion of the book ($9^{\text{8ff.}}$), but the repeated reference in the visions of $7^{\text{1ff.}}$ to the long-suffering of God, who at the intercession of the prophet may be brought to repent of the evil intended, is designed only to prepare for the moment when God's long-suffering has an end, and there is scope left only for the execution of judgment ($7^{\text{7ff.}}$). This accords also with the whole preceding message of Amos. He sees the judgment impending over the Northern kingdom in the form of a devastating horde of foreign enemies, whom none can escape either by strength or speed ($2^{\text{14ff.}}$ 3^{11} $4^{\text{2f.}}$ 5^{3} 7^{9} $9^{\text{1f.}}$; in 6^{14} there is a pretty clear allusion to the Assyrians as the hostile power). There is no contradiction between this and the threat of exile ($5^{5.\ 27}$ 6^{7} $7^{11.\ 17}$ 9^{4}) or even of a wasting pestilence (so, probably, 5^{16} $6^{\text{9f.}}$ $8^{3.\ 10}$). For pestilence and famine (8^{13}) step in of themselves after the ravages of the sword. In view of all this, it appears to follow that the funeral dirge,* which Amos (5^{1}) raises over the virgin of Israel, is the final word of his prophecy, especially as he has immediately before ($4^{\text{6ff.}}$) been pointing to the utter fruitlessness of previous judgments.

The 'Day of the LORD' is the term fixed for the execution of judgment. The prophet already alludes to it in 2^{6}, but a more detailed description of it is first found in $5^{\text{18ff.}}$. Here we learn that the expectation of the Day of Jahweh was already quite familiar to the hearers of the prophet, only that they manifestly attached to it quite a different sense from what he did. To them it is a day of Jahweh's vengeance on all the foes of His people, and hence a day of victory and glory for Israel—a day whose coming is heartily desired. To Amos, too, it is a day on which the justice of Jahweh is glorified, but—true to the principle expressed in 2^{3}—the claims of this justice are directed against His own people. Hence the prophet is constrained to pronounce a woe upon those who long for the coming of this day of terror: 'What shall the day of Jahweh bring to you? It is darkness, not light'; and it is wholly vain to seek to escape it. Indirect allusions to this day of Jahweh's judgment alike upon Israel and Judah and upon the heathen nations underlie all those passages where a prophetic message is introduced with the formula

---

* Even the rhythm of the two *stichoi* of 5^{1} is that of the so-called *ḳînāh*, or mourning refrain, with alternating longer and shorter verse-members. See art. POETRY in vol. iv. p. 5.

'upon that day.' Direct allusions are found, further, in Is $2^{12ff.}$ in the lengthy catalogue of all the objects that fall victims to that day which Jahweh has reserved, when all that is proud and lofty shall be brought low, when 'the loftiness of man shall be bowed down, and the haughtiness of men shall be brought low, and Jahweh alone shall be exalted on that day.' Finally, in Zeph $1^{7ff.}$ the Day of Jahweh, which is close at hand, is described under the figure of a great sacrificial feast, which Jahweh Himself has appointed, and for which He has sanctified His guests (*i.e.*, as in Is 13^{3}, the heathen nations who are to be the instruments of His vengeance). Jerusalem falls before their storming attack, and so (v.^{15}) 'that day is a day of wrath, a day of trouble and distress, a day of wasteness and desolation, a day of darkness and gloominess, a day of clouds and thick darkness, a day of the trumpet and alarm.'

Turning again to Amos after this digression, we have to keep in mind two points in connexion with his seemingly unconditional threatenings of judgment. In the first place, these threatenings, if we leave out of account the manifest gloss $2^{4f.}$, are directed exclusively against the Northern kingdom, and they were fulfilled on it practically to the letter. But all this time the 'people of God' continued to exist in Judah as heir of the historical recollections, and as possessor of the hopes of a better future. Secondly, it is not the case that all thought of the possibility of a timely repentance and consequent escape of Israel is wholly wanting in Amos. For do we not read in 5^{4} the exhortation, 'Seek me that ye may live,' and in v.^{14} 'Strive after the good and not the evil, that ye may live; for then will Jahweh the God of Hosts be with you, as ye have said. Hate the evil and love the good, and establish right in the gate: it may be that Jahweh the God of Hosts will be gracious unto the remnant of Joseph'? These last words suggest the question whether perhaps, after all, the closing part of the Book of Amos did not contain originally something of a consoling outlook for a remnant of the Northern kingdom, without prejudice to the condemnatory judgment passed on the mass of the people.

(*b*) Amos, at Jahweh's command, travelled from Judah to Bethel, and, when he had discharged his Divine commission, returned to his home. *Hosea*, on the other hand, was a citizen of the Northern kingdom, and hence could not but feel quite a personal interest, different from the herdsman of Teḳoa, in the Divine decree of condemnation on this kingdom. In fact we are face to face, on every page of Hosea, with the tragic lot of a man who is selected by God to proclaim to his own people and his native land the well-deserved and inevitable final catastrophe, and who, amidst all his acquiescence in the justice of the Divine judgment, is filled with bitter sorrow at their destruction. With him, too, the possibility of repentance and amendment on the part of the people before the judgment falls is not wholly excluded, as when he cries, in $10^{12f.}$ 'Sow in righteousness, and ye shall reap according to the measure of love; plough your fallow ground, for it is time to seek Jahweh, that he may come and teach you righteousness.' Still more express are the terms of this exhortation in $14^{2ff.}$, where, at the same time, a confession of sin is put in the mouth of the people, which straightway (v.$^{5ff.}$) calls forth a Divine promise of restoration. But this very fact shows that judgment is already executed, and that we are here listening to a later speaker, who believes that after wrath the time for pity is come again. Hosea himself looked for the outpouring of wrath as a thing of the future. Like Amos, he thinks of it as accomplished by means of a hostile invasion (1^{5} 5^{8}), which makes the land a desolation (5^{9} 10^{8}; also $2^{11ff.}$ should certainly be explained in the same sense), while the people themselves have to go into captivity to Egypt and Assyria (8^{13} $9^{3.\,6}$ 11^{5}). But, certain as all this is to happen, seeing that 'the iniquity of Ephraim is laid up and hidden [with God for future punishment],' 13^{12}, it is ultimately only a purifying, not a destroying, judgment that God purposes with him. For He is God and not man, that He should be hurried away by fury to destroy Ephraim entirely (11^{9}). On the contrary, He means, as Hosea has already explained in another connexion ($2^{16ff.}$), by the wasting of the land and the exile of the people to bring about a salutary change: 'The valley of trouble shall be to her a door of hope, so that she shall there [in exile] be again submissive as in the days of her youth, when she went forth out of Egypt.' Then shall the names of the baals ($2^{19.\,(16)ff.}$) be no more on the lips of the people; everything that can harm shall be destroyed, the old intimate relation with Jahweh returns again to the basis of right and justice, kindness and love; nor are outward blessings—corn, must, and oil—wanting to complete this happy state of things.

Strong objection has recently [*] been taken to the genuineness of this whole passage (Hos $2^{16ff.}$). It has been proposed to set it down as one of those later additions whereby for after-generations (especially in Judah) the cheerlessness of an unpitying series of denunciations of judgment was sought to be alleviated. Only in that case we must go further, and (with Marti) pronounce chapter 3 also a later addition. For so long as the wife of 3^{1} is held—and this still appears to us the only natural view—to be Gomer bath-Diblayim, taken back by Hosea in spite of her unfaithfulness, the conduct of the prophet teaches quite expressly that this very wife of his is a type of the nation which, in spite of all its ingratitude and all its unfaithfulness, is not to be cut off from the pitying and pardoning love of Jahweh.

(*c*) The case of *Isaiah*, once more, gives much plausibility to the assertion that the pre-exilic prophets were messengers only of woe. At his very call the Divine commission is given him ($6^{9ff.}$) to produce in the people by his preaching the extreme of hardening, so that all understanding and repentance, nay more, all escape, may be rendered impossible for them. But here, again, we have to remark that an entirely literal interpretation of this Divine saying is neither psychologically conceivable nor reconcilable with the actual ministry of Isaiah. It is true that the mass of the people is hopelessly marked for judgment: with this terrible conviction the prophet is profoundly inspired. But this does not prevent a small band of faithful ones from grouping themselves around the prophet—a band which, when the judgment comes, is to remain under the protection of its God. These are the 'disciples' (Is 8^{16}), among whom (or 'by whose help') the Divine revelation rejected by Aḥaz and the mass of the people is to be sealed; so, too, the 'sons' of v.^{18} should perhaps be understood, not of the prophet's sons literally but of these same disciples. But, at all events, Isaiah gave to one of his own sons the name *Shĕ'ār-jāshûb*, 'a remnant shall return,' and thereby gave expression to his hope that the coming judgment did not signify the destruction of all.[†] Again, Isaiah, after his unfavourable verdict on the value of the people's offerings, exhorts them thus (1^{16}): 'Wash you, make you clean. Put away your evil deeds out of sight. Learn to do good, strive after right. Set violent doers in the right way. Procure justice for the orphan, plead the cause of the widow.' These words surely indicate that he does not consider it an impossible supposition that at least some of his hearers may take his words to heart. Otherwise, there would be no meaning in his asserting immediately afterwards (v.$^{16\text{ff.}}$) the possibility of a complete forgiveness of sin, and in his giving the people the choice between obedience and blessing on the one side and stubbornness and destruction by the sword on the other. Even a man like Aḥaz has the words addressed to him (7^{9}), 'If ye believe not, ye shall not stand,' in which is implied, on the other hand, 'Whosoever believeth shall not be put to shame' (28^{16}). The judgment predicted then is, after all, a purifying one — a smelting process in which Jahweh Himself ($1^{25\text{ff.}}$) purges away all base metal, so that only the pure silver ('judges as of old and rulers as at the first') is left, while 'the rebellious and sinners shall be shattered one and all, and they that forsake Jahweh must perish.'

---

[*] Cf. esp. Marti, 'Dodekapropheton' (in *Kurzer Hdcom.*, Tübingen, 1903), p. 27 ff.

[†] On the 'holy seed' of 6^{13} see below, p. 696^{b}.

Like his predecessors, Isaiah thinks of the judgment as brought about by the destructive invasion of the then world-powers, Assyria ($5^{26\text{ff.}}$) and Egypt (the latter, however, only in 7^{18} and there coupled with Assyria). A complete devastation and desolation of the land is the result ($5^{5\text{f.}\,10}$ $6^{11\text{f.}}$ $7^{18\text{ff.}}$ $8^{6\text{ff.}\,21\text{f.}}$). All the men but a few perish in the conflict, until seven women press their suit upon *one* man, simply that they may escape the reproach of being unmarried (3^{25} 4^{1}; cf. also $5^{24\text{f.}}$). It is a question to what extent Isaiah contemplated the exile of the inhabitants of the land. As in the case of the Northern kingdom ($17^{4\text{ff.}}$), there appears, according to 5^{13} $6^{12\text{f.}}$ 10^{4} $30^{13\text{f.}\,17}$, to be in prospect for Judah as well a complete destruction of the people by sword and exile; and even the tenth, which at first escapes the judgment, is to be sifted once more. On the other hand, in $3^{1\text{ff.}}$ what is contemplated is the exile only of all the leaders of the people (as in v.^{24} it is the carrying away to slavery of the aristocratic ladies); among those that are left behind wild anarchy rages, and a war of one against another. The dignity of ruler becomes so cheap that no one cares for it. It is impossible to resist the impression that the prophet here beholds in spirit the conditions which, to a large extent, actually arose in Judah after the first deportation by the Chaldæans in 597.

But we have still to face the question, Did Isaiah at all times hold fast to these cheerless expectations, or is there not much in favour of the view that all the threatenings referred to belong to his first period (say down to the death of Aḥaz), whereas, under the righteous rule of the pious Ḥezeḳiah, he changed his tone, and, while still expecting a purifying judgment effected by the Assyrian invasion, felt assured of the deliverance of the city and the State at the moment of extreme peril, his idea being that the cruel sufferings and consequences of the war would suffice to appease the just anger of Jahweh, so that He could once more have compassion on His people before things came to the worst (10^{24})?

The possibility of such change is not to be *ab initio* called in question. The notion that Assyria in its overweening pride has far exceeded the Divine commission, and thought to destroy Judah instead of merely chastising it, is so marked in Isaiah (and that too, as would appear, pretty early) that it connects itself of necessity with the threat of a thorough chastisement of Assyria. Only the most pitiful hypercriticism can deny to Isaiah such passages as Is $10^{16\text{ff.}\,25\text{ff.}\,33\text{ff.}}$ $14^{24\text{ff.}}$ $17^{12\text{ff.}}$ $18^{5\text{f.}}$. As soon as this is recognized, there is equally little difficulty about accepting the oracle 37^{22-29}, and in that case the prophecy of Isaiah achieved in the destruction of Sennacherib's host ($37^{36\text{f.}}$) as brilliant a triumph as can be imagined. Thus was confirmed what Isaiah, in allusion to the successive actions of the husbandman ($28^{24\text{ff.}}$), emphasizes so strongly as a type of the conduct of the Divine wisdom: God's action is not like the working of a *blind* fate, but wisely accommodates itself to changing circumstances, times of severe chastisement being followed in turn by times of compassion and sparing grace. Nor is there any contradiction in the fact that, on the approach of the Assyrian peril after the death of Sargon (B.C. 705), Isaiah not only expressly condemns the arbitrary revolt of Ḥezeḳiah and the carnal measures adopted for defence, particularly the alliance with Egypt (29^{15} $30^{1\text{ff.}}$ $31^{1\text{ff.}}$), but predicts the futility of such enterprises (30^{3} $31^{2\text{f.}}$), the siege and the great anxiety of the city ($29^{1\text{ff.}}$), as well as the ravaging of the country (32^{9-13}). For the inevitable judgment upon the carnally secure and godless ($28^{13\text{f.}\,17\text{ff.}}$) does not exclude the deliverance of the humble and penitent (10^{24}), even if this is preceded by a time of sore trouble.

We must still ask, however, whether Isaiah meant thus to recall all his earlier threatenings of a far-reaching judgment, and especially of a deportation of almost the whole nation. In face of Divine utterances like that in $6^{11\text{f.}}$ (addressed to the prophet on the occasion of his call), such a complete transformation of his expectations as to the future must be pronounced impossible. The original pitiless threatenings of his opening ministry may have, even for himself, receded into the background amidst the excitement of Sennacherib's invasion, but he certainly did not on that account lose his conviction that the incidents of the year 701 formed merely an episode in the general plan of Jahweh, and meant nothing more than a postponement of the final judgment. And if the oracle of $22^{1\text{ff.}}$ should be assigned to the period *after* the retreat of the Assyrians, the prophet must have returned only too soon to his former extremely gloomy view of the future. What hopes he cherished, nevertheless, of a restoration *after* the judgment, we shall have to consider elsewhere (see p. 695^{b} f.).

(*d*) The question whether, in the case of *Micah*, the contemporary of Isaiah, the threatening of the total destruction not only of Samaria ($1^{6\text{f.}}$) but also of Jerusalem (3^{12}) was the final word of his prophecy, depends upon the other question, how much of Mic 4 ff. is from the pen of Micah himself. In any case we cannot regard as genuine such passages as $4^{11\text{ff.}}$, which anticipate a sudden deliverance of besieged Jerusalem; but it may be possible to reconcile 3^{12} with the prediction of exile and subsequent deliverance contained in $4^{9.\,10.\,14}$ [5^{1}] (on $5^{1\,(2)\,\text{ff.}}$ see below, p. 696^{a}) and $6^{13\text{ff.}}$.

(*e*) The greatest variety meets us, as might have been expected, in *Jeremiah's* expectations as to the future. He lived through the period not only of the decline but of the fall of the nation, with all the attendant terrors, and was a witness of all the vacillations between fear and hope, between unbelieving despair and foolish illusion — a witness, too, whose personal fortunes were very closely intertwined with all this. Considering the state of things, it is only natural that with this prophet, again, threatenings of judgment should occupy the foreground. Sword, famine, and pestilence are the means whereby Jahweh means to destroy the people ($14^{12.\,18}$ 24^{10} 29^{18}, and very often); the Chaldæan invasion introduces them into the land. The total destruction of the city (9^{10}), the deportation of all the inhabitants of Judah (9^{15} 13^{19} $14^{18\text{b}}$ 16^{13} 17^{4}; according to 25^{11}, the exile will last 70 years), are beheld by the prophet in spirit, and in addition—and here is a new element in the prediction—the boundless mockery and scorn of the heathen towards the people abandoned by their God (18^{16} 19^{8} 25$^{9. 18}$ 26^{6} 29^{18}).

But, in spite of all this, Jeremiah teaches his people (18$^{3ff.}$) that neither the threatenings nor the promises of God amount to a *decretum absolutum.** Nay, as the potter can remodel the marred vessel after his pleasure, God can change His threatenings and His promises into their opposite, according to the conduct of a people in each case. Accordingly, Jeremiah too regards his exhortations to repentance, at least for a time, as not absolutely hopeless. By Jahweh's command (7$^{1ff.}$ and, quite similarly, 26$^{2f.}$) he takes his stand at one of the gates of the temple, and declares to those who pass through what are the conditions on which they may have a permanent place in the land. But, as time went on, the certainty was more and more borne in upon the prophet's mind, that all calls to repentance would fall unheeded upon the ears of the hardened people, as in former times all Jahweh's chastisements had proved ineffectual (5^{3}). Judgment has become an irrevocable necessity. To this conviction Jeremiah gives forcible expression in a variety of ways. There is, for instance, the symbolical action of the breaking of an earthen pitcher before the eyes of the chiefs of the people (19$^{1ff.}$); and, no less telling, there is the repeated declaration that any intercession for the people has been forbidden him by God as wholly useless (7^{16} 11^{14} 14^{11}). Yea, although Moses and Samuel—the most powerful intercessors and deliverers of the people—should present themselves before God on their behalf, His determination to cast off the people would remain unshaken (15^{1}). But the strongest evidence of the prophet's perfect certainty as to the Divine resolution is afforded by 37$^{3ff.}$. When the Chaldæans were compelled temporarily to raise the siege of Jerusalem owing to the advance of Pharaoh-hophra, all Judah broke into a frenzy of joy and imagined itself to be already delivered from all straits and danger. Jeremiah alone did not suffer himself to be deceived for a moment, but answered the inquiries of king Ẓedeḳiah in the words: 'Though ye had smitten the whole army of the Chaldæans that fight against you, and there remained but a few wounded men among them, yet should they rise up every man in his tent and burn this city with fire.'

The course of events showed the prophet to be right: all his threatenings were fulfilled in the horrors of the long siege, the terrible famine, and the slaughter wrought by the sword of the enemy. But all these judgments are not the concluding stage in God's ways with Israel. Jeremiah already beholds in spirit the time when Jahweh shall have gathered the dispersed from all lands and brought them back to the sacred soil, to dwell there under the charge of faithful shepherds, and to have henceforward no cause for fear or alarm (Jer 23$^{3f.}$ 30$^{3. 18ff.}$ 32$^{37ff.}$). And when the wounds of Judah have thus been healed (30^{17}), their plunderers and oppressors fall in turn a prey to plunder and exile (v.^{16}). Moreover, the return of Divine favour extends to all the tribes of Israel, and thus includes also the exiles of the Northern kingdom: 31$^{1ff.}$ (cf. esp. vv.$^{5. 9. 18ff. 27}$). In regard to the Judahites, a distinction is drawn between those already deported in the year 597 and those that remained in the land with Ẓedeḳiah (24$^{1ff.}$). The former are like the good figs which Jeremiah saw in a vision; to them belong all the comforting promises of return and repatriation (v.$^{5ff.}$). But the others, who correspond to the bad figs, are to fall a prey to the sword, the famine, and the pestilence, besides the cruel mockery of all peoples of the earth.

5. *The so-called 'Messianic prophecy.'*—(*a*) So far as words are concerned, we have to deal here, properly speaking, only with such predictions as have for their subject the Messiah, the 'Anointed,'* *i.e.* the King of the house of David, who, after the purifying judgment is over, is to hold sway as an ideal ruler over the regenerate people. But it has long been customary to speak of 'Messianic prophecy' in a wider sense, to include such predictions as occupy themselves with the conditions of the Messianic era inaugurated by the Messiah. Nay, predictions are included which do not even mention the person of the Messiah at all, and of which it is even doubtful whether they look for any such personality. In what follows we purpose to deal also with those Messianic prophecies in the wider sense. But one reservation must be made. *Every* expectation of a restoration after the purifying judgment (as, for example, Is 1^{26}, Dt 30$^{3ff.}$) cannot be set down right off as a Messianic prediction.† On the contrary, it is essential to the latter that the transformation be brought about by an extraordinary interposition of Jahweh (for the most part accompanied also by violent natural phenomena), and, no less, that the new-created conditions represent not merely a copy of those that have been already experienced by the people (*e.g.* in the era of David and Solomon), but in some way transcend anything hitherto known. Apart from certain fundamental characteristics, the descriptions in question exhibit a very great variety. Moreover, the question has not infrequently to be asked how much the prophet means to be taken literally, and how much is to be set down simply to the account of poetical embellishments, and even of poetical hyperbole.

Owing to the extraordinary importance attached by the early Church to the OT predictions (which were viewed as much as possible in a magical light) about the Person and the Work of Christ, the literature on this subject has been all along very copious. We confine our attention here naturally to such works as have either actually advanced the knowledge of the subject, or exercised for a longer or a shorter period some considerable influence on the view taken of Messianic prophecy. The titles of the following works are arranged in three classes, and in chronological order; we leave out of account the relevant sections in works on Biblical Theology and articles in Dictionaries of the Bible.

I. The standpoint of the so-called mechanical theory of inspiration, or at least a specifically dogmatic point of view, is represented by: E. W. Hengstenberg, *Christologie des AT, und Commentar über die messianischen Weissagungen der Propheten*, Berlin, 1829–1835, 2nd ed. 1854–1857, 3 parts [according to Hengstenberg, the prophets always pronounce their oracles in the ecstatic condition, often without themselves understanding the contents and scope of their words, and, in virtue of Divine inspiration, thus anticipate the whole Christology of orthodox dogmatics]; Joh. Chr. von Hofmann, *Weissa-*

---

* Cf. above, p. 675^{a}.

* Cf., on the history and meaning of the anointing of persons, above, p. 695^{b} f. The term *Messias*, which is frequently used, is derived, as is well known, from the NT Μεσσίας or Μεσίας (so only in Jn 1^{41} and 4^{25}; elsewhere, as in the LXX, ὁ Χριστός [so for the most part in the Gospels] or Χριστός [so generally in St. Paul])—a form which itself springs *not* from the Hebrew מָשִׁיחַ (*māshîaḥ*), but from the Aramaic form מְשִׁיחָא (*mĕshîḥā*, the so-called *status emphaticus*, with the determinative ending ־ָא, which corresponds to the Hebrew article, so that the name = ὁ Χριστός). The written form Μεσσίας is after the same analogy as Γεσσούρ = גְּשׁוּר, or Ἰεσσηνά = יְשָׁנָה, and does not justify the assertion of de Lagarde (*Bildung der Nomina*, Göttingen, 1889, p. 93 ff.) that Μεσσίας cannot go back except to a form מִשִּׁיחַ (*mishshîaḥ* = Arab. *missîḥ*) whose meaning would be 'oft anointing.'

† In the same way, of course, *every* threatening against the nations hostile to Israel is not to be summarily assigned to the realm of Messianic prophecy. Such threatenings may spring simply from a general faith in the righteous conduct of Jahweh as the Ruler of the world (so Am 1$^{3ff.}$) or from special faith in the righteousness of the God of Israel, who chastises the overweening pride of the world-power employed by Him as the rod of chastening (so with Isaiah's threatenings against Assyria [see above, p. 693], Naḥum's against Nineveh, Ḥabaḳḳuḳ's [2$^{3ff.}$] against the Chaldæans). The case is different, to be sure, where the threatening stands in connexion with an allusion to the personal Messiah or other indubitable characteristics of Messianic prophecy.

gung und Erfüllung im AT und NT, Nördlingen, 1841–1844, 2 parts [attempts to prove that the time and all the details of fulfilment were already predesignated in the *facts* of the OT history of salvation, the *word* of prophecy simply accompanying the facts by way of supplement and confirmation. The types of Christ which were supposed to be embodied in the history were arrived at by an extremely artificial system of exegesis, without any regard to literary criticism].

II. A scientific but critically conservative standpoint is occupied by: C. v. Orelli, *Die alttest. Weissagung von der Vollendung des Gottesreiches in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwickelung dargestellt*, Wien, 1882, Eng. tr. 1885 [contains a number of specimens of translation and a commentary on the individual prophecies]; Ch. A. Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*, New York, 1886; Franz Delitzsch, *Messianische Weissagungen in geschichtlicher Folge*, Leipzig, 1890, Eng. tr. 1891.

III. The following represent a free critical standpoint: Ferd. Hitzig, *Vorlesungen über die biblische Theologie und* [forming an independent 2nd part] *die messianischen Weissagungen des AT, herausgegeben von Kneucker*, Karlsruhe, 1880; Ed. Riehm, *Die messianische Weissagung*, Gotha, 1875, 2nd ed. 1885, Eng. ed. 1900; V. H. Stanton, *The Jewish and the Christian Messiah*, Edinburgh, 1886 [successfully maintains that the Jewish Messianic expectation had not yet attained to the full contents of the Christian idea of the Messiah, which was based upon a deeper knowledge of His nature and functions]; H. Hackmann, *Die Zukunftserwartung des Jesaja*, Göttingen, 1893; P. Volz, *Die vorexilische Jahweprophetie und der Messias*, Göttingen, 1897 [seeks, by the aid of very bold literary criticism, to prove that the Messianic idea is foreign to the character of pre-exilic prophecy, and makes its first appearance in Ezekiel. Even there it is held to be not a derivative of the spirit of pre-exilic prophecy, which was pre-eminently a preaching of judgment and a call to repentance, but a concession by Ezekiel to the national and particularistic sentiments of the Jewish popular mind—in opposition to his ordinary viewpoint]; H. Hühn, *Die Messianischen Weissagungen des israelitischen und jüdischen Volks bis zu den Targumen*, Freiburg i. B., part i., 1898 [a concise but very able handling of the subject; part ii., Tübingen, 1900, deals with the OT citations and allusions that occur in the NT]; G. Nowack, *Die Zukunftshoffnungen Israels in der assyrischen Zeit*, Tübingen, 1902; A. B. Davidson, *Old Testament Prophecy*, Edinburgh, 1903 [a posthumous work edited by J. A. Paterson].

One of the principal difficulties in this connexion is occasioned by questions of literary criticism. The authenticity of those prophecies, especially the Isaianic ones, in which a personal Messiah is spoken of, has recently been powerfully assailed by Hackmann (see above), Cheyne, and others; and, although the last word may not have been spoken on all the sections in question, there is scarcely a single passage which does not labour under serious difficulties in regard either to its contents or its language.

(*b*) In view of what has been said, it is only under reserve that we commence our examination of strictly Messianic prophecies with—

(*a*) Is 7^{14}.—According to the presently prevailing opinion, indeed, this so-called Immanuel-prophecy would have to be left quite out of account in our discussion. The prophet, we are told, meant to say nothing more than that any boy born within a short time from then might receive from his mother the name 'God with us,' in allusion to the quickly following deliverance from the foes that were then threatening Judah. The 'sign' which Ahaz had disdained, and which the prophet now announces to him in the name of his God, is held to consist simply in the name 'Immanuel,' neither the person of the young woman (עַלְמָה) nor that of the boy being of any importance. We cannot help feeling, however, that this interpretation overlooks in its haste two serious objections. In the first place, is it possible that the confirmatory sign announced so solemnly by Isaiah should have consisted merely in affirming, by the name given to any boy, the deliverance of Judah? Would not the logic of this prophetical announcement simply come to this: 'The deliverance will take place as surely as it will take place'? Secondly, is it possible in Is 8^{8} to rest content with the explanation that the expression, 'thy land, O Immanuel,' is intended to refer to the home of that casual, purely *imaginary* boy, who may receive the name?

But if, in view of these difficulties, the ancient Messianic interpretation of Is 7^{14} is still entitled to serious regard, a number of concessions must be made. First of all, it must be admitted that the prophet expected the advent of the Messiah, not merely within the period of Assyrian world-empire but in the immediate future; and consequently that he was mistaken on this point. Secondly, his announcement of Immanuel as the Messiah and as the Deliverer is intelligible only on the assumption that he could confidently take it for granted that his hearers were familiar with the *theologumenon* of the Messiah. Otherwise, his mode of expression would be so obscure and enigmatic that scarcely any one could have understood him. Now, it is quite conceivable that an ancient Divine oracle regarding the perpetual duration of the Davidic dynasty, such as doubtless underlies the present recension of 2 S 7 (cf. especially v.^{14}), may have already become transformed in the popular belief into the expectation of *one* ideal ruler of David's family, and that this expectation always prevailed more powerfully when the nation saw itself menaced by any serious danger. The prophet could then without anything further count upon the intelligence of his hearers, if he simply alluded to that expectation. All this does not indeed answer the question how it comes to pass that the prophet never again recurs to this *theologumenon* of the Messiah, even in a case where (as amidst the sore distress caused by Assyria in the year 701) this procedure would have been most natural. Are we to hold with some that Isaiah afterwards abandoned his Messianic expectations and attributed to Jahweh alone all the functions of the Messiah; or even that, in the matter of his expectations as to the future, we must distinguish not two but three, or even four, periods?* Such a notion is contradicted by all that we are really able to learn of the personality of Isaiah. All the more weight, indeed, thus attaches to the circumstance that, subsequent to $8^{8.10}$, he never returns to the subject of Immanuel.

(*β*) Is 9^{1-6} and 11^{1-9}.—The same difficulty arises, of course, in estimating the two great, undoubtedly Messianic prophecies, Is 9^{1-6} and 11^{1-9} [the secondary character of $11^{10\text{ff.}}$ is now pretty generally acknowledged]. It is no objection to Isaiah's authorship that in 9^{1} the circumstances of the Exile appear to be presupposed, and that in 11^{1} the stock of David seems to be reduced to a mere stump. For it lay quite within the range of true Jahweh prophetism that Isaiah should be transported by the spirit of God into these very future conditions—a result which would not at all impair his connexion with the present. Again, as regards the further features of the prediction of $9^{1\text{ff.}}$, namely, the hope of a brilliant victory, whereby *Jahweh* breaks the yoke of the enemy (v.^{3}), the burning of all instruments of war (v.^{4}), the righteous and peaceful rule of the descendant of David (for such is certainly intended) over the kingdom of David restored to its old extent,—all these are expectations which an Isaiah may quite well have cherished. Nor is any stumbling-block occasioned by the names by which God (v.^{5}) calls the Messiah, provided one does not render אֵל גִּבּוֹר 'hero God,' but finds in it an epithet = 'god of a hero,' *i.e.* 'Godlike hero': an absolute predication of Godhead, even in the case of the Messiah, would be inconceivable in the OT.† But it *is* an undeniable difficulty that the announcement of the Messiah is conveyed by such enigmatic expressions as ‘a child’ or ‘a son’ without any more specific explanation—a manner of procedure which indeed reminds us of the purposely obscure manner of speech of the later prophecy, which is already on the point of passing into apocalyptic. The same cannot be said of $11^{1\text{ff.}}$. The fresh shoot from the stump of Jesse could not be misunderstood by any one, and as little could this be the case with the beautiful description of the righteous sway that he is to exercise in virtue of his extraordinary endowment with the spirit of Jahweh, with its many-sided influences. The whole prediction is indeed dominated by religious points of view, but the ideal picture of the theocracy is yet far from that of a priestly State under the dominion of a written law. On the contrary, the expectation in question moves quite within the sphere of ideas that strike us as perfectly natural to a prophet of the 8th cent., looking to the historical experiences of the past and to the conditions of his own time. Even the appended description (v.$^{6\text{ff.}}$) of the paradisaic peace that reigns among wild animals could be pronounced Utopian and derived from the later apocalyptic only if in v.^{9} the animals had attributed to them a share in the universal knowledge of God which marks the Messianic age. If this latter piece of (certainly unjustified) exegesis be rejected, all that remains is a highly poetical carrying out of the true Prophetical notion that even the external course of nature and the changes it undergoes stand in the closest connexion with the fortunes of the people of God, whether their fall or their rising again. In view of all this, it is quite intelligible that even so radical a critic as Duhm holds to the authenticity of $9^{1\text{-}6}$ and $11^{1\text{-}9}$; and we should readily subscribe unreservedly to this view, if the question were first answered how such express and strong expectations of a personal Messiah could possibly find no echo in the later oracles of Isaiah.

---

* Two periods (the first from 736–724) are assumed by Guthe (*Das Zukunftsbild des Jesaja*, Leipzig, 1885); a 'threefold picture of the future' by Giesebrecht (*Beiträge zur Jesajakritik*, Göttingen, 1890, p. 70 ff.); a fourfold one by Meinhold (*Studien zur israel. Religionsgeschichte*: i. 'Der heilige Rest,' Bonn, 1903).

† Rabbinical exegesis, as is well known, gets over the difficulty by taking the first three (or at least two) titles as subjects, Divine names in apposition with the 'He' of 'and He calls,' so that only the last title (or at most the last two) belongs to the Messiah.

(γ) Mic $5^{1\text{ff.}}$.—New difficulties are raised by the Messianic prophecy of Mic $5^{1\text{ff.}}$. These do not lie in the seemingly magical prediction that Bethlehem is to be the place from which the Messiah is to come forth. For (as in Is 11^{1}) all that is meant by this is plainly nothing more than that the Davidic dynasty must first be reduced to the pre-Davidic conditions before the Messiah can make His appearance. Again, the reference to the remote antiquity[*] from which the origin of the Messiah dates, would tell against Micah's authorship only if the allusion were to the time when David first came upon the scene and not rather to the primeval resolution of Jahweh to send the Messiah. But our difficulties do begin with v.^{2}. Are we to hold that Micah, with an eye upon the prophecy (which he interpreted in a Messianic sense) of his contemporary Isaiah (Is 7^{14}), used the peculiarly veiled expression ‘till the time when one who is to bear shall have brought forth’? When the hope is expressed of the return of the *residue* of his countrymen along with the Israelites (v.$^{3\text{b}}$), is not the return of a portion already presupposed (and thus not predicted)? And does not the announcement that the Messiah shall be great ‘even to the ends of the earth’ already recall the late *theologumenon* of the world-empire of Israel under the Messiah? All these are questions which still wait for a satisfying answer. But the main difficulty here, again, is that so sharply defined a Messianic expectation should apparently have passed again into oblivion both with Micah himself and with the prophets who succeeded him.

(δ) Jer $23^{5\text{ff.}}$.—In view of all that has been said, it might not be an impossible supposition that the real starting-point of the expectation of a personal Messiah is to be found in Jer $23^{5\text{ff.}}$, the prophecy of the ‘righteous shoot’ of David.[*] He is called the ‘righteous shoot’ because, unlike David's descendants in the time of Jeremiah, He will correspond to the ideal of a Davidic ruler. But the little that Jeremiah says about Him (that He will rule wisely and justly, that under Him Judah and Israel shall be saved and dwell secure) implies no very extraordinary fortunes or attributes of the subject of the prophecy; so that the question might almost be asked whether the concept of ‘Messiah’ is applicable at all to Jeremiah's ‘righteous shoot.’ Nor are we carried any further by the name given Him in v.^{6} ‘Jahweh is our righteousness,’ especially as it is exegetically uncertain whether this name is intended for the Messiah and not rather for the land and the people: in the late imitation of our passage in 33^{16} the same name is bestowed upon Jerusalem. But, even if Jeremiah means by the ‘righteous shoot’ the Messiah in the narrower sense, he by no means thinks of *a single* descendant of David who lives and reigns for ever. For already in v.^{4} he promises *shepherds* to feed the people when they are collected again, that is to say, he expects a succession of righteous descendants of David, as the author of Jer 33^{17} already understood him to do. This would not indeed exclude the supposition that the shoot of David who first arises and inaugurates the great revolution was thought of as the Messiah in the narrower sense; but a closer examination of the passage shows that the idea of the personal Messiah does not come so prominently forward as to be capable of being regarded as a landmark in the history of Messianic prophecy.

(*c*) The Messianic prophecies in the wider sense which are attributed to pre-exilic prophets, stand in urgent need of careful sifting. Many of them are encumbered with serious difficulties as to their authenticity, and hence had better be reserved for treatment at a later stage. Others are based upon the expectation of a *natural* course of things, and hence lack the marks of true Messianic prophecy mentioned above (p. 694^{b}). To this category belong—

(α) Is 7^{3}.—A certain expectation is here embodied in the name given by Isaiah to his son, *Shĕ'ār-jāshûb*, ‘a remnant[†] shall return.’ The underlying notion is that the impenitent mass of the people shall be involved in destruction on Jahweh's day of judgment, but that a small number of godly ones shall survive the judgment, and, under a regenerated political constitution, lead a life well-pleasing to God. So also the closing words of 6^{13} ‘and a holy seed shall be the stump [of the tenth that survives at the end of the first judgment],’[‡] may be understood to mean simply that the survivors are to form the stock of a population of Judah ‘consecrated’ to Jahweh, *i.e.* truly belonging to Him. The additional idea that their conversion and deliverance as well as the forming of the new political constitution are to be brought about by a miraculous interposition and extraordinary measures on the part of Jahweh, could be supplied from the above-noticed prophecies of a personal Messiah, only if the latter certainly emanated from Isaiah.

(β) Hos $2^{20\,(18).\ 23\,(21)\,\text{f.}}$.—Along with the promise of a community purified from sin and introduced into the closest fellowship with God we meet here with the promise of extraordinary outward blessings: protection from all harm from animals (as in Is 11$^{6ff.}$), and the so-called 'Messianic fertility'—a theme which, in the later eschatological prophecies, is treated with special predilection and in language of the strongest hyperbole.

---

[*] Dt 32^{7} shows that *this* is the meaning of יְמֵי עוֹלָם (not ‘days of eternity,’ as if what were spoken of were the eternal pre-existence of the Messiah).

[*] The authenticity of this prophecy appears to us (against Duhm in his Commentary on Jeremiah) to be absolutely proved by Zec 3^{8} and 6^{12}, where ‘Shoot’ (EV ‘Branch’) has already become (no doubt, on the authority of Jeremiah) a *nomen proprium* of the Messiah.

[†] On the ‘holy remnant’ see the above-cited studies of Meinhold (p. 695^{b} note *).

[‡] We do not forget that these words also [they are wanting in the LXX] are denied by many to Isaiah.

(γ) Zeph 3$^{11-13}$.—From the period prior to Jeremiah, at most Zeph 3$^{11-13}$ can be assigned to our present category. But even this passage speaks only of taking away the consciousness of guilt and preventing fresh guilt on the part of 'the humble and small people,' which, after the removal of the haughty ones, is to be left on the holy mountain, where henceforward it shall dwell in peace.

(δ) Jer 12$^{14ff.}$.—In Jeremiah we encounter, perhaps for the first time,[*] the notion—still indeed expressed in a very limited fashion—that the Gentiles are to be partakers of the blessings of the theocracy. In 12$^{14ff.}$ there is a promise that the heathen neighbours of Judah who have been carried captive shall be planted again, and shall flourish in the midst of Judah, provided they confess the name of Jahweh; otherwise, they are to be plucked up once more and completely destroyed. Beyond doubt, we must see in this oracle an approximation to the *theologumenon*, so important in after-times, of the conversion of the heathen and their reception into the kingdom of God—an expectation which witnesses to a profound insight into the Divine plan of salvation, and deserves more than any other the name of a truly Messianic hope of the future.

(ε) Jer 31$^{31-34}$.—We do not find that Jeremiah follows out the above notion elsewhere. But in its place he offers in 31$^{31-34}$ a prophecy regarding the condition of Judah after the purifying judgment, which goes far beyond the announcement of simple restoration and renewed prosperity. This is the famous prophecy of the 'new covenant' which Jahweh is yet to make with Israel [so that the long exiled Northern kingdom is included in the prophecy] and Judah. We pass over the fact that even in Jeremiah the word בְּרִית does not denote simply a 'covenant' or engagement entered into at will by two parties, and to be abandoned at pleasure, but, in accordance with the *religious* use of the term in the OT (cf. above, p. 630^{b}), stands for an ordinance emanating from God and binding unconditionally upon Israel. But this is not inconsistent with what is a fact, that here a wholly new conception of the בְּרִית makes its appearance in history. The prophet himself emphasizes this in the words: 'not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers in the day that I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt, which my covenant *they* broke.' And the continuation in v.^{33} teaches plainly wherein the deep-seated difference between the two forms of בְּרִית consists. In the first instance, it was outward ordinances [the prophet is thinking in all probability of the law-book introduced by Josiah in the year 621] that were laid upon the whole body of the people, which always confronted them as external, *dead* statutes, incapable of penetrating to the heart and conscience of the individual, and producing there an enduring spiritual life. This is now to be quite different: Jahweh will put His law within them and write it in their heart; and *upon this* shall henceforward be based the truth, 'Jahweh the God of Israel, Israel the people of Jahweh.' Then no longer shall any one need (v.^{34}) to be taught or exhorted to know Jahweh, for they shall all know Him from the least to the greatest, thanks to the enlightening that shall go forth from Him. For the latter they are prepared, moreover, by the guilt of their transgressions being removed, and their sins being no more remembered against them. True knowledge of God, as well as worship of Him in spirit and truth, can take root only in the soil of pure hearts.

The importance of this prophecy of Jeremiah's about the 'new covenant' cannot readily be exaggerated. It means nothing less than a distinct breaking with the conception of the religion of Israel as a merely national religion indissolubly connected with particular outward forms of the cultus, and, above all, with a particular land. The 'new covenant' can blossom and bear fruit wherever an Israelite looks up to his God with a grateful and trustful heart. In place of the general body of the people, which had hitherto constituted the 'subject of religion,' the individual [*] now comes forward with his claim to the most direct personal communion with his God. Thus the victory is finally won over those particularistic features, nay, features bordering upon nature-religion, which from early times had clung to the religion of Israel.

vi. *THE EXTERNAL COURSE OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE RELIGION OF ISRAEL DURING THE PERIOD OF PRE-EXILIC PROPHECY.*—1. After the disruption under Rehoboam, the two kingdoms went each its own way in matters of religion, and, as time went on, these ways always deviated more and more. Not indeed that there was no longer a consciousness of what was common to all the tribes—the *one* God and His former mighty acts. That the opposite was the case is shown by the almost complete identity of the conceptions and the institutions found in the two kingdoms. Image worship and the localizing of Jahweh at different sanctuaries had the same vogue in Israel as in Judah, and, if Judah repudiated the bull worship, it sacrificed, down to the time of Ḥezeḳiah, to a brazen serpent, even if the latter had not its place in the temple. Both kingdoms are reproached with over-zealous—only, indeed, external—practice of the sacrificial cult (Am 5$^{25ff.}$, Is 1$^{11ff.}$). In both kingdoms priests and prophets of Jahweh are at work. The high appreciation of Israel for her priests is sufficiently attested by the eulogistic language of Dt 33$^{8ff.}$, which shows that in their claims they were not a whit behind their brethren at Jerusalem. When, again, Jehoshaphat (1 K 22^{7}), dissatisfied with the bearing of the 400 prophets of Ahab, asks, 'Is there not yet a prophet of Jahweh here, whom we may consult?' he assumes that even in Israel there are genuine prophets of Jahweh, and his expectation is not disappointed. In short, Israel as well as Judah continues to be the people of Jahweh, and that in the estimation not merely of Hosea, who himself belonged to the Northern kingdom, but of Amos the Judahite (Am 7^{15}), and of all the later prophets. Otherwise, it would be unintelligible that the expectation of a return of Israel from exile and of its reunion with Judah under *one* king should have persisted so tenaciously, and that far beyond the time of Ezekiel, whose strong emphasizing of this expectation (37$^{15ff.}$) is strange enough when we take into account his sternly condemnatory judgment of Samaria in chs. 16 and 23.

---

[*] The authenticity of Is 18^{7}, and above all of 19$^{18ff.}$, is encumbered (like that of Is 2$^{2ff.}$ and Mic 4$^{1ff.}$) with difficulties too serious to allow of the placing of these passages prior to Jeremiah. It may be added that Jer 12$^{14ff.}$ is denied to Jeremiah by Stade and Duhm, but (with the exception of v.^{14b} β) is held by Giesebrecht (with whom the present writer agrees) to be authentic.

[*] It would of course be a gross exaggeration to deny any individualistic traits to the religion of Israel prior to the time of Jeremiah. Such an assertion would be contradicted by such notices of individual prayer as we find in 1 S 1$^{10ff.}$ etc. But, on the other hand, we are not entitled, with Sellin (*Beiträge zur israel. und jüd. Religionsgeschichte*: Heft 1, 'Jahwes Verhältnis zum israel. Volk und Individuum nach altisrael. Vorstellung,' Leipzig, 1896), to deny the profound difference between Jeremiah's position and that which was maintained prior to his time.

2. But, in spite of all this, it cannot be overlooked that a difference between the two kingdoms showed itself early and sank deep. The Northern kingdom had inherited, along with the name of Israel, the claim to represent the proper continuation of the Davidic-Solomonic empire—a claim which finds drastic expression in the words of king Joash in 2 K 14^{9}, as well as in Dt 33^{7}. In the political sphere it might be to a large extent justified: the strength of the whole nation was, above all, represented by Israel, whereas Judah—notwithstanding the silence of its historians—was in all probability a vassal of Israel, not only in the time of Jehoshaphat, but on other occasions as well. But in the religious sphere it was only in a very precarious sense that Israel could be called the heir of the ancient traditions. Everything indicates that the religious conceptions as well as the cultus of the Northern kingdom were far more strongly permeated with relics of the once prevailing nature-religion than was the case in Judah. The syncretism between Baal and Jahweh, which Hosea still found it necessary to denounce so sharply, proves how far removed the people were (only a generation before the fall of Samaria!) from a consistent henotheism, not to speak of a real monotheism. We find also in Amos and Hosea abundant indications of the extent to which the ritual customs in Israel were full of imitations of Canaanite practices.

But yet another element entered into the situation. Israel was drawn earlier than Judah into the vortex of the great world of politics, which turned mainly on the question of Assyria's supremacy in Western Asia and its designs upon Egypt. Now, the tendency of political experience was to produce, not indeed leanings towards the gods of the world-powers as the stronger, but—as could hardly happen otherwise from the standpoint of a purely national religion—an involuntarily depreciatory judgment of the power of the God of the land, as compared with the immense superiority of Assyria, and a consequent depreciation of this God himself. However much in the narrower sphere men might still look to Him for all kinds of blessing and aid, His power appeared inadequate to meet the needs of the people at large, struggling for their existence, and it was thought necessary to look around for other resources and allies. We understand now why Hosea displays such holy zeal, above all, against his people's wooing the favour sometimes of Assyria, sometimes of Egypt: such conduct amounted to a flat denial of the God of Israel, even to a species of blasphemy. And it is easy to comprehend that a religion and a cultus with such a notion of God could be no source of moral renewal to the life of the people. One dynasty after another fell a prey to assassination and the bloody strife of factions; terrible corruption prevailed among the heads of the people and the priests; and even among the lower classes the last relic of loyalty and trust, reverence for any kind of authority, not to speak of regard for the holy will of God, had disappeared. We hear no longer of 7000 who had not bowed the knee to Baal (which is now the same thing as reposing fleshly confidence in worldly resources). The rottenness to which the body of the nation had fallen a prey wrought its effects without intermission. In 722 Israel, after a protracted struggle of despair, fell before the conquering might of Sargon. The circumstance that the name of not a single leader has come down to us from the period of the fall of the kingdom can be explained only on the ground that the religious factor was completely overshadowed at this crisis in Israel's history. Had it been otherwise, the Judahite historical narrative, which still shows a religious interest in the remnant of the inhabitants of Samaria (2 K 17$^{24ff.}$), would surely have preserved for us one name.

3. As a matter of course, the fall of the Northern kingdom was bound to exercise a very powerful influence on the condition of things in Judah. The immediate result, indeed, was simply to strengthen the national religion. Samaria had fallen, Jerusalem remained. Consequently, it was felt, Jahweh had rejected the Northern kingdom, the apostate from Judah (Is 7^{17}), whereas Judah was now 'the people of Jahweh,' the continuation of the totality of Israel, and henceforward it, too, came readily to be called 'Israel.' But, above all, the course of events raised the prestige of the temple in the eyes of the people. Although primarily only the palace-sanctuary of Solomon, the possession of the temple must have served, after the disruption of the kingdom, to give a great advantage to Judah, so that Jeroboam I. descried in the halo that surrounded it a danger to the permanence of his monarchy (1 K 12^{27}). To the sacred Ark, which now stood in the temple in mysterious darkness, attached the most sacred recollections of the Heroic Age of the nation; while the proud building of Solomon, with its giant substructures, was associated with the most glorious recollections of the Golden Age of united Israel; and the Northern kingdom could only reflect with envy that it had no share left in this pride of the whole nation.

But was not this advantage of Judah, after all, only an outward, not to say a purely imaginary and unreal, one? And did not the prophets find it necessary, even in Judah, to complain bitterly of crass image worship, crude faith in *opera operata* in the cultus, disregard of justice, and carnal trust in outward politics? Such questions are justified, but equally justified is the assertion that in Judah things were different from what they were in Israel. In the first place, the continuity of the Davidic dynasty, the legitimate heir of the monarchy instituted by Jahweh Himself, was a powerful bulwark against political disorder. Once (2 K 14$^{15ff.}$), indeed, we hear of a conspiracy against king Amaẓiah, which issued in his murder, without, however, the continuance of the dynasty being thereby affected. The extirpation of the family of David by ʿAthaliah (2 K 11^{1}) is the work of a foreigner, but the latter is overthrown with all possible speed by the chief priest Jehoiada, in favour of a prince of David's line. Similarly, in 2 K 21$^{23f.}$ the murder of Amon is quickly expiated by the putting to death of his assassins and the placing of Josiah on the throne. If, owing to the prestige of the dynasty, even worthless kings like Aḥaz were tolerated, how much more must a distinct blessing have emanated from able and religiously well-disposed rulers like Amaẓiah, Uzziah, Jotham, and Ḥezekiah.

Again, the priesthood at the temple of Jerusalem must have ranked considerably higher than that at Bethel and Dan. Its hereditary character from early times, as well as the not infrequent marriages which there are various indications that it contracted with the royal family, gave it high standing and political influence; while the care of literary and, above all, of spiritual interests was, without doubt, almost exclusively in its hands.

4. In this way, by means of kings and priests, at least during certain considerable periods, all the conditions were present in Judah for implanting more deeply the ideas of the prophets concerning God and His true worship. And, what is the main point, despite the presence of many false prophets there were never wanting powerful repre-

sentatives of true Jahweh prophecy. It is true that outside the ranks of the writing prophets only a few isolated names have come down to us, but at least we have evidence in Is $8^{16\mathrm{ff.}}$ of the existence of a band of disciples gathered about Isaiah; and to these, as guardians and champions of the thoughts of the master, we must ascribe a far-reaching influence on future times. This passage conveys the distinct impression that Isaiah at that time, despairing of any improvement in religious conditions under an Aḥaz, resolved to retire completely into the inner circle of his disciples and give himself to esoteric teaching. It is accordingly not without reason that Robertson Smith[*] writes: 'The formation of this little community was a new thing in the history of religion. . . . It was the birth of a new era in the Old Testament religion, for it was the birth of the conception of the *Church*, the first step in the emancipation of spiritual religion from the forms of political life.' Still, even for Isaiah there was left in the times of Ḥezeḳiah occasion enough to make his influence felt in favour of a truly theocratic scheme of politics.

It is another question how far Isaiah succeeded in carrying through the Prophetic demands even in the matter of the cultus, and, above all, of the outward form in which the Jahweh religion expressed itself. According to the Deuteronomic narrative of 2 K 18^4, Ḥezeḳiah had already entirely abolished the worship on the high places, shattered the *maẓẓēbôth*, and cut down the *'ăshērāh* (*i.e.* here the sacred pole beside the altar); and it is usual to trace this 'cultus reform of Ḥezeḳiah' in a general way to the influence of Isaiah. But the following period knows nothing of such reforms by Ḥezeḳiah.[†] This is explained, indeed, by a late gloss in 2 K $21^{3\mathrm{ff.}}$ as due to the circumstance that Ḥezeḳiah's son, Manasseh, rebuilt the destroyed high places and set up a new *'ăshērāh.* But the whole description contained in 2 K 22 and 23 permits of no doubt that the state of things which was finally put an end to by Josiah's cultus reform had been for centuries regarded as quite unobjectionable, and had accordingly maintained itself without any opposition. Nay, as we see from 2 K 23^{13}, this held good even of the 'high places,' *i.e.* places of sacrifice, which Solomon once erected on the Mount of Olives for the convenience of his heathen wives.

But if in this respect the influence of Isaiah upon Ḥezeḳiah cannot be maintained, especially as nowhere in Isaiah do we hear a word against the high places or the *maẓẓēbôth*, such influence is very probable in another direction. We have seen that Isaiah, owing to his conception of God, felt himself called to a fiery polemic against the images of Jahweh. And so it was he, doubtless, that inspired Ḥezeḳiah's destruction of the brazen serpent made by Moses (2 K 18^4),[‡] and brought about—at least in circles favourably disposed to the teaching of the prophets—a general abandonment of images of Jahweh. This supposition is favoured especially by the circumstance that in after-times Jeremiah found occasion, indeed, to inveigh vigorously against heathen idols, but not, to all appearance, against images of Jahweh.

In what has been said above we do not mean to affirm that the idea of centralizing the cultus, which was first realized in 621 through the law-book of Ḥilḳiah, was wholly remote in the time of Isaiah, or altogether foreign to that prophet's own mind. Not that, after the fashion of the ancient national religion, he reposed a carnal confidence in the continuance of the temple, as a place which Jahweh could not under any circumstances give over to the enemies of His people. But the idea that Jahweh, or at least a form of manifestation of Jahweh, dwelt upon Ẓion, was familiar even to Isaiah. Even he sees in Ẓion—although in an infinitely deeper, spiritual sense—a bulwark of the theocracy (28^{16}), the dwelling-place and hearth of God (8^{18} $29^{1\mathrm{f.}}$ [if אֲרִיאֵל in the latter passage = 'hearth'] 31^9). This idea of the 'house of Jahweh' was, however, clearly opposed to the partitioning of Jahweh among a number of sanctuaries; and, if Isaiah himself did not yet press for a concentration of the cultus, this may have been simply because he attached no importance at all to the external cultus, especially in the then prevailing forms. On the other hand, they may be right who discover in Isaiah's band of disciples the forces we have to thank for the first preliminary steps towards the law-book of Deuteronomy.

Meanwhile, however, things had taken quite a different course. After the death of Sargon (705), Ḥezeḳiah, manifestly with the strong disapproval of Isaiah, had allowed himself to be drawn into the vortex of the rebellion of Western Asia against Sennacherib. It is not improbable that the king himself would have preferred to listen to the counsels of the prophet, but that he was not strong enough to withstand the veritably intoxicated war-party. Isaiah (cf. especially $30^{1\mathrm{ff.}}$ $31^{1\mathrm{ff.}}$) declared with the utmost frankness how the alliance with Egypt against Assyria, which was promoted at first secretly and then openly, was to be judged from Jahweh's point of view. But when the catastrophe had befallen, when the land was frightfully ravaged by the Assyrians, and (as we now know from the cuneiform inscriptions) over 200,000 of the inhabitants had been carried captive, Isaiah comes forward to announce that Jahweh intends, not the destruction but the deliverance of the sorely beset capital. Without doubt, this change of opinion on the part of the prophet was due, above all, to the perfidy with which Sennacherib, in spite of the submission of Ḥezeḳiah and the payment of an enormous tribute by Judah (2 K $18^{13\mathrm{ff.}}$), insisted upon the surrender of the city.

5. The incredible happened. The Assyrians were compelled by pestilence to beat a hasty retreat; Jerusalem saw itself saved in the course of a night. The prophetical insight of Isaiah had achieved a great triumph. But the practical application of these occurrences, which was made by popular opinion and, if not by Ḥezeḳiah himself, soon afterwards by his son Manasseh, was to the following effect. The deliverance was attributed, not to the God of the prophets, with His inexorable demands, but to the ancient national God of the land, Jahweh, who, from regard to His own honour, could never give over city and temple to the heathen, provided only that there was no lack of offerings — in extreme cases, even child-sacrifices—presented to Him. That this fancy as to the certain efficacy of child-sacrifice—a notion which was the offspring of a naturalistic conception of God—had not died out even in Judah, is proved by the unimpeachable note of 2 Ch 28^3 regarding the offering of his own sons by Aḥaz (in all probability in the year 735, during the stress of the Syro-Ephraimitic war). But what happened then as an isolated occurrence in the extremity of need, what was a relapse to a stage of religion that had been overcome through the prophets, became to all appearance the rule under Manasseh: the old naturalism revived, the whole life-work of

---

[*] *The Prophets of Israel*, Edinburgh, 1882, p. 274 f.

[†] The attempt of W. Erbt (*Die Sicherstellung des Monotheismus*, Göttingen, 1903), notwithstanding, to trace the concentration of the cultus to Ḥezeḳiah must be pronounced a failure.

[‡] The note on this subject cannot, like the rest of the narrative, be the work of the Deuteronomist, but must have been taken from the so-called Great Book of Kings used by him as a source.

an Isaiah and a Micah seemed to have been in vain. Regarding the varied and gross idolatry of Manasseh, all that we can learn is on the authority of a late addition (2 K 21^{3-6}) to the older narrative of the Deuteronomic writer. It is quite possible, however, that Manasseh did not shrink from an amalgamation of the cult of Jahweh with that of the host of heaven.* But the child-sacrifice with which he is charged, as well as the magic and sorcery and necromancy, and no less the *'ăshērāh* at which the Deuteronomic compiler takes such umbrage ($21^{7ff.}$), are certainly to be put down to the account, not of a disposition to idolatry but of a radically mistaken view of the kind of worship that was pleasing to God. When, again, the shedding of much innocent blood is attributed (v.^{16}) to him, this may refer to nothing more than outbreaks of hatred and cruelty in general. But we shall probably not be wrong in thinking, above all, of the blood of martyrs, of prophets, and prophets' disciples, who in holy indignation withstood the abominations that were creeping in, and who paid for their opposition with their life. As is well known, a tradition, which may be more than a pure legend, includes the aged Isaiah among the victims of the senseless fury of the king.

It is worthy of note that since the time of Micah, whose swan-song, full of the bitterest complaints, may be preserved in the fragment Mic 7^{1-6}, the voice of Jahweh prophecy had been, so far as we know, completely hushed. The oracle of Naḥum against Nineveh (dating probably about 660), lies, in view of its contents, outside our sphere of consideration; while the next prophet, Zephaniah (*c.* 630), already belongs to the time of Josiah. This *lacuna* of some 60 years in the succession of prophets is surely not to be explained on the ground that cowardly fear of man closed the mouths of those who were raised up by God. Rather may we say, it was only natural that, in view of the cheerless condition of public religion and the complete purposelessness of any opposition, religious zeal concentrated itself above all on literary work, in order to prepare in this way the dawn of better days. We should probably assign to this period not only the preliminary steps towards Ḥilḳiah's law-book (see above, p. 699^{b}), but in all probability also the combining of the early sources, J and E, of the Pentateuch—possibly also other fresh recensions of the earlier Historical books and Prophetical writings.

6. The language of Zeph 1 permits us to look far into the conditions that prevailed prior to Jeremiah's coming upon the scene. Zephaniah commences with the threat of an annihilating judgment, which is to sweep away man and beast. Judah and Jerusalem are to be affected by it because of their prevailing idolatry. But, alongside of the idolaters, Zephaniah ($1^{6.\,12}$) knows also of men who seek not after Jahweh because He can neither bestow happiness nor inflict harm. This conclusion is again characteristic of the standpoint of national religion; its adherents are completely mistaken as to the power of the God of Israel. Long experience has taught them that He is no match for the gods of the world-empires. It is not then by any means that they deny His existence, but they deny that there is any profit in serving Him. Of what use is a God who can render no help? The idea that the seeming inactivity of Jahweh is due to the fault of the people themselves is incomprehensible to them: 'they are settled upon their lees' (v.^{12}).

7. Jeremiah, who came upon the scene shortly after Zephaniah, had to combat first of all the carnal security with which the deluded people shut their eyes to the terrible seriousness of the situation. All signs of approaching ruin, all calls to repentance, were unheeded, thanks to the vain notion that, if it came to the worst, Jahweh *must* snatch the city and the temple out of the enemy's hands (cf., especially, $7^{4ff.\,8ff.}$). In this delusion they were constantly encouraged by false prophets, who sought to heal the hurt of the people hastily, saying, 'Peace, peace,' when there was no peace (8^{11}). From these circles naturally emanated afterwards the encouragement to a senseless resistance of the Chaldæans, contrary to the unceasing exhortation of Jeremiah to patient submission, as what was alone in conformity with the purpose of Jahweh.

But once more it seemed as if that indispensable change in the religious sentiments of the people, for which the prophets had wrought in vain, was to be accomplished from another quarter. The contents of the law-book found by Ḥilḳiah* had produced an immense impression, at least upon the pious king Josiah, and had led him to introduce this code, and, at a solemn gathering in the temple, to bind the whole people to observe it (2 K $23^{1ff.}$). The circumstance that before doing so he took counsel ($22^{12ff.}$), not with Jeremiah but with the prophetess Ḥuldah, can be explained only on the supposition that Jeremiah happened to be absent from Jerusalem at the time. For that Jeremiah himself placed great hopes on this law-book is evident from the fact that he still, about the year 605, utters very earnest exhortations to render obedience to it ($11^{1ff.}$). At a later period, indeed, the uselessness even of this last attempt appears to have become quite clear to him; for while he sharply denounces ($34^{12ff.}$), about the year 588, the neglect of a Deuteronomic command, he no longer mentions the law-book as a whole.

Ḥilḳiah's law-book did not fail at first of outward results. Apart from the rigid concentration of the whole of the cultus at Jerusalem,† it led to a radical cultus reform in general. One is astounded in reading 2 K $23^{4ff.}$ to learn what, up till now, had been possible in and around Jerusalem, under the eyes of so pious a king as Josiah. But it would be wrong to represent the improvement of outward conditions as the only aim of the law-book in question. We have already (p. 687 f.) seen that the whole of Deuteronomy is inspired with the spirit of true Jahweh prophecy, that the service of God and the moral conduct it requires are based upon truly religious motives, namely, the humble recognition of one's own unworthiness, love to God, and hearty gratitude for His inexhaustible benefits. Josiah himself may have been deeply impressed and permeated with these ideas. But the reform which he based upon them remained for the mass of the people simply a royal decree which showed its effects in a variety of external matters, but, so far as the inward disposition was concerned, left everything as before. Moreover, the new law-book produced one effect which can hardly have been intended by its authors, but which was inevitable all the same. The *written Law*, being apparently the exhaustive revelation of the Divine will, rendered the *living word* of the prophets really superfluous, in spite of the promise of Dt 18^{18}. The supreme authority now rests with the letter of the Law. It is by this standard that the Deuteronomic redactors of the Books of Kings judge the theocratic quality of the different kings (cf. also Dt 17^{18}). All that is really left to the prophets is the task of expounding and enforcing the Law.

---

* The altars for the whole host of heaven, mentioned in 2 K 21^{5}, are derived from 23^{12}, but in the latter passage it may very well be Jahweh altars that are meant. Are we to hold, with Budde, that Manasseh regarded the Assyrian star-gods as vassals of Jahweh?

* Regarding this law-book it must suffice here (cf. also above, p. 671^{b}) to remark that, although not wholly identical with our present Book of Deuteronomy, it must have had the closest affinity with the latter. Further, we have to confess ourselves convinced that the discovery of the book by Ḥilḳiah was really accidental (on the occasion of repairs on the temple) and not due to some collusion between Shaphan and Ḥilḳiah, with a view to imposing upon the king. The fruit of holy zeal in prophetical circles (see above, p. 699^{b}), the expression of a firm conviction that only by the centralizing of the cultus was deliverance still possible, the book may have been deposited in the temple in the time of Manasseh, in the hope of better days, and afterwards (perhaps on the death of the depositor) forgotten. Only thus is it explicable that 18 years of Josiah's reign had passed before it was discovered. What object could the authors of the alleged 'pious fraud' have had in waiting so long, when all the conditions were extremely favourable for its perpetration?

† The attempt of Fries (*Die Gesetzesschrift des Königs Josia*, Leipzig, 1903) to explain away the demand of Dt 12 for the concentration of the cultus is a complete failure.

The decisive proof that the effect of Josiah's reform was only an external one, is found in the treatment to which Jeremiah was constantly subjected on account of his calls to repentance and his threatenings of judgment ($20^{1ff.}$). The old dogma of the inviolability of the city and the temple still persisted unweakened in the popular imagination. The people, it is true, are on one occasion ($26^{1ff.}$) so overpowered by the greatness of the prophet that they shield him successfully from the fury of the priests and the false prophets, and even among the princes of Judah there were not wanting some that favoured Jeremiah ($36^{19.\ 25}$); but all this could not check the infatuation of his enemies. Among the latter we have to reckon, above all, king Jehoiaḳim. With mingled defiance and fear he burned ($36^{21ff.}$) the roll containing Jeremiah's messages from God, as if the final doom of Judah and Jerusalem could be averted by the destruction of the writing which announced it. And, even after a terrible warning had been furnished by the deportation (in 597) of Jehoiachin and the spiritual heads of the people, the activity of the false prophets continued ($28^{1ff.}$ $29^{1ff.}$). King Ẓedeḳiah vacillated continually between fear of the Divine word spoken by the prophet and of the threats of the war-party, until finally his dread of the latter gained the upper hand, and he abandoned the prophet to them ($38^{4ff.}$). If evidence were still wanting that the Judah of those days was ripe for judgment, it would be supplied by the circumstance that it was a foreigner, an Ethiopian, who rescued the great sufferer from an ignominious death. But even the last drop in Jeremiah's bitter cup was not to be spared him, namely, to see that even the terrible Divine judgment which overtook Jerusalem in 586 had remained without effect on the remnant of the people that was left in the land. In 597 they had refused to believe in the real seriousness of the Divine judgment, but after the murder of Gedaliah at Miẓpah they are seized with mad terror, for now they entertain no doubt that Jahweh has for ever forsaken the land and abandoned His people. In Egypt, to which, in spite of all the efforts of the prophet to dissuade them, they fled, taking him along with them, they commenced afresh the cult of the queen of heaven, and attributed all the disasters of recent times simply to the interruption of this cult (by the reforms of Josiah). No wonder that in the effrontery with which they proclaim these sentiments Jeremiah sees a self-condemnation which excluded all thought of repentance and forgiveness.

If, in spite of all his bitter disillusionings, Jeremiah still expected (see above, p. 697) the resettlement of the exiles in their native land, and the establishment of a 'new covenant,' based on the true knowledge of God, between God and Israel, this is a striking evidence of the unconquerable certainty with which he clung to the revelations of his God. He looked for the great transformation, consisting in a complete renewal of heart, to be yet wrought by God Himself ($31^{31ff.}$). His younger contemporary, Ezekiel, sees in a somewhat different light the further course of God's ways with Israel. He, too, is aware that the rebellious disposition of the people can be overcome only by a new heart and spirit bestowed by God; but the way to this leads, according to him, through a school of iron discipline, which accustoms the people to quite new forms of worship, and leads to the final triumph of the idea that for all Israel's acquirements and actions there is but one supreme standard and one final goal—God's holiness.

V. Ezekiel.

1. The great importance of Ezekiel for the further development of the religion of Israel, as we have sketched it at the close of the preceding section, could not be recognized until the dependence of the Priests' Code upon his programme for the future (Ezk 40–48) was placed beyond doubt. As long as it was held possible that he, the priest, occupied the leisure of the Exile in constructing fantastic variations on the priestly legislation which had already been long in existence, nothing could be made of his book, or at least of the closing parts of it. Nay, it was possible, as we see from the Talmud, even to dispute whether the Book of Ezekiel was entitled to a place at all in the canon of the Old Testament. But quite a different judgment has to be formed if Ezk 40–48 is to be regarded as a bold sketch of the future form of the State and the cultus. Then the 'priest in prophet's clothing' is all at once transformed into the pioneering genius, the real creator of Judaism in the narrower sense, the religion of the Law, which is the subsequent form of the religion of Israel. Not as if on that account the name of prophet is to be denied him altogether. On the contrary, we shall see immediately that in every particular he attaches himself to his predecessors—to Jeremiah in particular—and that he frequently assumes their ideas as self-evident. But with all this it remains true that, for the realizing of God's plans with Israel and of the demands and the promises of the earlier prophets, he looks to the establishment of a priestly State, whose chief aim shall be the conserving of the holiness of God. This last idea is Ezekiel's own, and through it he acquired an extraordinary influence on succeeding ages.

2. The truth that Ezekiel simply takes for granted the religious notions of his predecessors, holds good in quite a remarkable way of his *conception of God*. The zeal with which he constantly insists upon his two main themes—the guilt of the people and the way to its removal—scarcely gives him any occasion for specific declarations regarding the being and attributes of God. Indeed, if one were to judge merely by appearances, Ezekiel's detailed description of the glory (כָּבוֹד) of Jahweh as His sensible form of manifestation ($1^{26ff.}$ $43^{2f.}$, cf. above, p. 639^{b}f.), and of the temple as the place of God's throne and the place of the soles of His feet (43^{7}), might seem a return to long superseded material conceptions of the Godhead. But it is inconceivable that to Ezekiel the 'glory' of Jahweh which dwells in the temple should be wholly identical with His essential being. He himself inveighs (8^{12}) against the silly delusion of those who had been left in Judah, that 'Jahweh sees us not, Jahweh hath forsaken the land.' But, above all, it is noteworthy how Ezekiel handles the attitude of Jahweh to the heathen peoples hostile to Israel. Scarcely anywhere * do we find an indication of the reasons for this attitude, or a rejection of false notions,

---

* It is, in any case, one of the very isolated exceptions, when in 29^{16} it is put forward as one result of the judgment upon Egypt that this country shall be no more a source of confidence for Israel.

except the very frequently recurring formula, 'that they may know that I am Jahweh' (so four times over in the oracle against Edom in ch. 35). This is as much as to say, 'that My absolute omnipotence, My absolute sovereignty over all peoples of the earth, My inviolable holiness, may be brought to their consciousness.' Nay, in view of $36^{20ff.}$, it looks quite as if Jahweh's only reason for resolving upon the restoration of Israel was that their continuing in exile gave occasion for blasphemies on the part of the heathen, and the consequent dishonouring of His holy name.

3. The thought of the election of the people and of the benefits bestowed upon them by Jahweh appears only in the striking allegory contained in $16^{4ff.\ 10ff.}$, where there is clearly dependence upon the ideas of Deuteronomy, and the inference is silently implied of the immensity of the debt of gratitude which the Divine goodness imposes upon Israel. The ethical demands of Jahweh, collected in a sort of canon in Ezk $18^{5ff.}$ (cf. also $22^{6ff.}$), partly agree *verbatim* with those of the pre-exilic prophets, but are partly intermingled already with allusions to specifically religious or, more precisely, ritual obligations (regard to what is sacred to Jahweh, Sabbath observance, refraining from sacrifice upon the high places, etc.). In his view of the moral responsibility of the individual, Ezekiel attaches himself entirely to the teaching of Jeremiah. Like the latter (cf. Jer $31^{29f.}$), he opposes the delusion that Jahweh makes the children suffer innocently for the sins of the fathers ($18^{2ff.}$); on the contrary, 'he that sinneth, he shall die' (v.^{20}). But the general rule expressed in this last saying does not exclude the efficacy of timely repentance: Jahweh wills not the death of the sinner, but that he should turn and live (v.^{23} 33^{11}). Therefore He takes measures even for the warning of the ungodly by the prophets, and the latter are held fully responsible if they neglect this duty ($3^{17ff.}$ 33).

4. The rarity with which the above ideas are touched upon in Ezekiel is plainly owing to the circumstance that he feels himself in the first instance far more impelled to give strong expression to his holy indignation at the sins and the consequently enormous guilt of his people. Hence his Divine commission has for its very starting-point that he is sent to 'the apostate ones, the house of rebellion' ($2^{3.\ 5}$ $5^{5ff.}$ and often). And indeed it is always the same complaint that occupies the foreground in all his arraignments of the people, namely, that of gross apostasy from Jahweh—idolatry.

In order rightly to appreciate this charge, two things must be kept in view. (*a*) First of all, by idolatry Ezekiel understands not merely the actual worship of strange, heathen gods,[*] such as he once beheld ($8^{1ff.}$) in a vision, when he saw carried on in the temple at Jerusalem the worship of the 'image of jealousy' (? an *'ăshērāh*) and of all kinds of creeping things, the lamenting for Tammuz, and the adoration of the sun. He includes in the term the whole of the Jahweh cult, in so far as it is combined with the use of images of Jahweh and sacrificial worship on the so-called 'high places.'

The Book of Deuteronomy makes no secret that the abolition of the high place worship is an innovation, which must be carried out with a certain measure of forbearance. For it really amounted to counting every spot outside Jerusalem profane—an intolerable idea to the ancient way of thinking. Consequently, Deuteronomy had conceded to the former priests of the high places at least the right of officiating in the temple, and at the same time commended them as far as possible to kindness at the hands of the people. An absolute condemnation of the high place worship as a heinous sin was thus far from its intention, although it held that subsequent to the time of Solomon the confining of the cultus to the temple had become a universal obligation. Quite different is the judgment of Ezekiel. The occurrences of the year 597, by which he had suffered so much personally, and the days that followed, had revealed to him that the roots of the evil lay too deep to be removed by the reforms of Josiah. Not only from the time of Solomon, but from the very first the worship of Israel, even when it had Jahweh for its object, had been pure idolatry, masquerading first in Egyptian ($23^{3.\ 8}$)[*] and afterwards in Canaanite dress. The latter is what is referred to by the prophet at the commencement of his great arraignment of Jerusalem in ch. 16: 'Thy birth and thy nativity are of the land of the Canaanites; thy father was an Amorite, and thy mother a Hittite.' Ezekiel's intention here is not to teach anything new about the earliest history of Israel, but simply to characterize in the strongest fashion the heathenish form of its worship. This comes out not only in the two great indictments of chs. 16 and 23, but also elsewhere (cf. *e.g.* $44^{6ff.}$). The heathen character of this worship is shown to consist not only in specifically heathen practices connected with the cultus, such as excess and immorality at the sacrificial meals, but in the utter lack of fine feeling for what is holy and worthy of the Deity. No wonder that Ezekiel regarded the transferring of *this* cultus to *one* sanctuary as only a half measure, which must now be energetically superseded by a whole one. For, even after the reforms of Josiah, the sanctuary had been further 'defiled'; in particular, images of Jahweh appear to have been afterwards reintroduced and to have played an important rôle (5^{11} $6^{4ff.\ 13}$ 7^{20}).

(*b*) But, secondly, the charge of idolatry as adultery against Jahweh includes also courting the favour and aid of the heathen powers. This is clearly the case in $16^{26ff.}$, probably also in $23^{3.\ 8.\ 14f.\ 21}$; elsewhere it is sometimes doubtful whether actual apostasy to heathen gods, as the result of political intercourse, is not intended. To Ezekiel, indeed, *all* contact with the sphere of heathendom causes outward and inward defilement.

5. In the view of Ezekiel, both kingdoms (Samaria in 23^{4} under the name *'Ohŏlāh*='her [own] tent,' and Jerusalem under the name *'Ohŏlîbāh*='my tent is in her') are naturally in the same condemnation. Yet Judah's guilt is greater in so far as she has not only failed to take warning from the fate of Sodom and of Samaria, but has acted even more corruptly than these her sisters. Therefore the ill-fortune of the latter is to be reversed, that they may serve for the profound humiliation of Judah; for the latter has shown by her conduct, that, in comparison with herself, even Sodom and Samaria still deserved consideration ($16^{46ff.}$ 23^{11}).

6. The special charges made by Ezekiel (esp. $22^{6ff.}$) against Jerusalem are concerned, above all, with the perverting of justice and the committing of deeds of violence, and remind us strongly of the ever recurring complaints of the earlier prophets. The only strange feature is the emphatic mention of incest ($22^{10ff.}$), which it is impossible to understand in a figurative sense. Moreover, all classes share in the general corruption: the king (Zedekiah), who is to pay heavily for his perjury and

---

[*] There is no evidence for the view of Robertson Smith and Smend, that in Ezk 8 it is ancient Israelitish family or tribal gods that are in view.

[*] The picture of gross unchastity which the prophet draws in such realistic fashion in chs. 16 and 23 can only be intended, in accordance with a familiar usage of language, to stand for idolatry (a view which is confirmed by 20^{8}); and thus the suggestion is very natural that Ezekiel was led to the above judgment by referring Am 5^{26} to the Egyptian period of the people's history.

breach of treaty ($17^{12\text{ff.}}$); the princes, who are like wolves and worthless shepherds (22^{27} $34^{1\text{ff.}}$); the priests, who are forgetful of their duties (22^{26}); the lying prophets ($13^{1\text{ff.}}$ 22^{28}) and prophetesses ($13^{17\text{ff.}}$), who lull the people into false security.

All this guilt cries for vengeance. A feeling of pity for the perishing people is awakened, indeed, in the heart of Ezekiel by the view of the approaching terrible judgment, but the transgression is too great for pardon to be still possible (9^{8} 11^{13} and often). Even such examples of piety as Noah, Daniel, and Job could now effect nothing by their intercession; at most they would be able to save only themselves ($14^{14\text{ff.}}$). The judgments that now threaten are only the close of those that have long—always, indeed, in vain—been impending over Israel. Quite peculiar in this connexion is the prophet's doctrine that Jahweh has punished the Israelites for their apostasy by giving them commandments that were not good, as, for instance, the order for child-sacrifice. Only in this sense can the language of $20^{25\text{ff.}}$ be understood, even if the prophet in $16^{20\text{f.}}$ and 23^{39} speaks of these sacrifices as offered to idols. But it is almost inconceivable that Ezekiel should have represented child-sacrifice as instituted by Jahweh Himself for the purpose of destroying Israel. Perhaps he speaks of the command of Ex $22^{28\,(29)\,b}$ as 'not good' simply because it gave occasion to the delusion that God demanded not only the dedication but the actual sacrifice of the first-born.

Ezekiel foresees with perfect clearness the approach of the Chaldæans ($21^{27\text{ff.}}$), the siege of the city, with all its horrors ($4^{1\text{ff.}\ 16\text{f.}}$), as well as its burning to the ground (10^{2}). By symbolical actions he portrays the fate of the besieged, the fresh decimation of those who had apparently escaped ($5^{1\text{ff.}}$), and their departure to exile ($12^{3\text{ff.}}$). Sword, famine, and pestilence shall devour them without intermission; the land shall become a desolation and, along with its people, the subject of savage mockery by the heathen ($5^{14\text{ff.}}$ $33^{27\text{ff.}}$); the inhabitants themselves, carried into exile, shall have to eat unclean bread in the place of their captivity ($4^{9\text{ff.}}$).

7. But this casting off is not to be final. It would appear, indeed, from $21^{6\text{ff.}}$ as if the pious and the ungodly were alike to be overwhelmed by the judgment—a declaration to which Ezekiel evidently felt impelled for the time by the facts of the case; but at bottom the old Prophetic expectation abides, that a certain number, however few, shall escape sword and famine, wild beasts, and pestilence ($14^{21\text{ff.}}$). For Ezekiel beholds in spirit ($9^{4\text{ff.}}$) not only the fall of Jerusalem into the hands of the enemy, but also the mark put by the angel on the foreheads of those who are destined to escape. And, further, he sees in spirit ($37^{1\text{ff.}}$) the resurrection of the dead bones (*i.e.* the people sunk as it were into the grave in exile) by the breath of God, which awakens them to new life. Those who are brought back to the Holy Land shall henceforward, after the removal of all the former abominations, dwell there secure, and rejoice in rich blessings from Jahweh's hand ($11^{17\text{f.}}$ $28^{25\text{f.}}$ $34^{13\text{ff.}}$ $36^{8\text{f.}\ 33\text{ff.}}$ $39^{25\text{ff.}}$). For He remembers His former promises, forgives Jerusalem all her sins, and concludes with her an ever enduring covenant ($16^{60\text{ff.}}$ 37^{26}). He can no more hide His face from His people now that He has poured out His spirit upon them (39^{29}). And, as the result of this receiving of the spirit of God, it is promised that the old nature shall have its place taken by another spirit and a new heart,* that the stony heart shall be changed into a soft heart of flesh (11^{19} $36^{26\text{f.}}$).

8. In so far as its fulfilment necessitates an extraordinary interposition of God, the last mentioned promise may already be included in the category of Messianic prophecies (in the wider sense). Such prophecies, even in the narrower sense, are found in Ezekiel, although sparingly and with no special emphasis. Thus the tender sprout taken from the top of the tall cedar, and planted on a high and lofty mountain (the temple hill), where it grows to be a majestic cedar ($17^{22\text{ff.}}$), can stand only for the Messianic king of David's race, under whom Israel is to dwell secure. By his exaltation shall the heathen kingdoms ('all the trees of the field') learn to know the power of Jahweh. There is no mention here then of the exercise of world-empire by the Messianic king. So also in $21^{32.\ (27)}$ it is said only that the State shall lie low until *he* comes to whom it [*sc.* the rule] belongs and to whom Jahweh gives it. A descendant of David is first expressly promised by Ezekiel in $34^{23\text{f.}}$; but even there not as the champion and saviour of the people, but only as the faithful shepherd, who shall feed the flock after Jahweh Himself (v.$^{1\text{ff.}}$, clearly dependent on Jer $23^{1\text{ff.}}$) has intervened on behalf of His sheep and even zealously discharged the shepherd's office for them (v.$^{11\text{ff.}}$). It is only after this that He is to set over them a single shepherd, namely His servant David. That this does not mean king David *redivivus*, but, as in the case of the 'righteous shoot' of David in Jer 23^{5}, only one who rules in the spirit of David, is shown by the simple fact that he is not once called 'king'; on the contrary, it is said in v.^{24} 'I, Jahweh, will be their God, and my servant David shall be *prince* (נָשִׂיא) in the midst of them.' But, beyond this, nothing is predicated of him. It is Jahweh alone that concludes a covenant of peace with the people (v.$^{25\text{ff.}}$), confers upon them security from wild beasts, as well as from oppression and mockery by their enemies, and imparts rich fertility to the land. The same prediction occurs in $37^{22\text{ff.}}$ in connexion with the symbolic action whereby two staves (Judah and Joseph) are to be joined together in the hand of Ezekiel. Even the long fallen Northern kingdom is to be reunited with Judah so as to form *one* kingdom under *one* king. But once more it is Jahweh Himself (v.^{23}) who delivers and purifies them, that they may become again His people. Now, it is true that in $37^{22\text{ff.}}$, as compared with 34^{23}, there appears to be an advance in so far as $37^{24\text{f.}}$ declares not only 'and my servant David shall be *king* over them,' but (v.^{25}) 'my servant David shall rule over them *for ever*.' Can it be that the expectations of Ezekiel underwent such a transformation in the interval that he now looked for a king whose dominion should be unending? This is impossible, for it would completely contradict the rôle which the 'prince' (not the *king*) plays in the future programme of Ezk 40–48 (see below). But, even apart from that, in ch. 37 as in ch. 34 Jahweh appears so prominently as the real Ruler dwelling in His sanctuary in the midst of the people and exercising towards them the everlasting covenant of peace, that there is scarcely room left for the idea of the Messiah.

9. As elsewhere in the expectations of the prophets regarding the future, a pretty large space is occupied in Ezekiel with threatenings against foreign nations; nay, it would seem from $30^{2\text{f.}}$ as if the 'Day of the LORD,' which had been looked for from the time of Amos, was exclusively a day of judgment upon foreign peoples. The hostility of these peoples to Israel is also, it is true, specified as a ground of the Divine anger [thus we have the malicious joy and thirst for revenge of

---

* The call in 18^{31}, in a somewhat different connexion, 'Make you a new heart and a new spirit,' does not invalidate the truth that the bestowal of the new spirit can come from God only.

the Ammonites, 25^{3}; the Moabites, v.^{8}; the Edomites, v.^{12}, and again in ch. 35; the Philistines, 25^{15}; the Tyrians, 26^{2}]; but the main point of view always is that all the splendour and proud display of the heathen is to be brought low, 'in order that they may know that I am Jahweh' ($25^{7.\,11.\,17}$ etc.). Hence the longest and the severest threatenings are directed against the haughtiest and most powerful peoples: against Tyre (chs. 26–28), because she has declared herself to be the perfection of beauty (27^{3}), and her king has claimed even to be a god (28^{2}); against the Egyptians (chs. 29-32), because the Pharaoh has boasted, 'mine is the Nile, I have made it' (29^{3}). God is going to punish this arrogance as He formerly punished that of the Assyrian warriors, whose graves (as those of the most heinous offenders) are 'set in the uttermost parts of the pit' (32^{23}, where by the way there is the first approximation to a distinction between inhabitants of the under world, and thus to the doctrine of the pains of hell).

10. A peculiarity of the eschatology of Ezekiel is his expectation of a hostile storm of great masses of people, led by Gog the prince of the land of Magog, against the resettled land of Israel, that is to say, *after* the dawn of the Messianic age (ch. 38 f.). Here too the essential point of view is that stated in 38^{16} 'that the nations may know me when I shall show myself holy before their eyes' (cf. also 39^{7}). Neither here nor anywhere else in Ezekiel is there any hint that this knowledge is to lead further to these peoples attaching themselves to Jahweh and thus sharing in Israel's salvation. Gog is to fall upon the mountains of Israel; and so enormous shall be the number of his warriors, that for seven years on end their weapons shall serve for fuel, and seven years shall be required for the burying of their dead bodies.

When Ezekiel (38^{17}) appeals to the predictions of former prophets concerning Gog, it is impossible to say what utterances of theirs (provided they have come down to us at all) he may have had in view. But, in any case, his allusion to them is a proof that the pre-exilic prophecies had already become to him the object of reflexion. And this implies at the same time the consciousness that the old form of prophecy, as the product of a direct operation of the spirit of God, was practically extinct, and had essentially to be replaced by literary activity.

11. To this last domain belongs, beyond doubt, the whole section made up of chs. 40-48, which, as was pointed out above, proved of epoch-making importance for the form afterwards assumed by the religion of Israel, containing as it does a sketch of the new form to be given to the sanctuary and the cultus after the return of the people from exile.* Not that even in chs. 1–39 there are no hints at all pointing to this final aim of the Divine judgments, for we find such, for instance, in $20^{40\mathrm{f.}}$ and $37^{26.\,28}$. But in chs. 40–48 these interests—the reconstruction of the temple in all its details, the exact regulation of offerings and festivals, etc.—come so strongly into the foreground that everything else, *i.e.* all that does not belong to the cultus, looks like a mere appendage and scarcely worthy of mention.

(*a*) All the manifold and complicated regulations in chs. 40–48 have, strictly viewed, only *one* underlying idea—namely, the perfect representation and conservation of the holiness of God, in opposition to the endless detriment done to it in the pre-exilic period. This conservation, moreover, is to be effected by means of a great number of external institutions and ordinances. To be sure, these are at bottom only *symbolical* pictures of the Divine holiness and of the zeal directed towards its maintenance, but strict attention to them is absolutely indispensable instead of being (as the sacrifices were in the estimation of the earlier prophets) merely an expression, that might be dispensed with at need, of a pious frame of mind. Ezekiel is in fact the founder of *legal religion*, the Levitical system. It is, above all, characteristic of this standpoint that any wrong done to the holiness of God is estimated exclusively as an objective fact, without regard to the intention and motive of the author of the wrong. Unwitting Levitical defilement and knowing sin involve exactly the same degree of guilt.

(*b*) At the head of all the regulations in question naturally stand those about *holy ground*. The idea that now the whole land is sacred to Jahweh, finds its symbolical expression in the high degree of holiness which attaches not only to the temple, the dwelling-place of Jahweh, but to the whole quarter surrounding the temple, on the summit of the hill (43^{12}). For city and temple are henceforth to stand on a very lofty mountain (40^{2}), in token that they surpass in importance every other spot on earth. Any pollution of the sanctuary, such as was formerly occasioned by the close proximity of the royal graves to the temple (43^{7}), is now completely excluded. The holiness of the fore-court is constantly recalled by the keeping shut of the east door (44^{1}), by which Jahweh returned from the Mount of Olives to the sanctuary. But the whole of the sacred precincts, including the quarters of the priests and the Levites, is a *tĕrûmāh* of the land ($45^{1\mathrm{ff.}}$ $48^{8\mathrm{ff.}}$), a kind of oblation whereby all the rest of the land is likewise hallowed and made fit for use, as the fruits of the land are, through the rendering of the firstfruits to Jahweh. Directly adjoining the sacred precincts is the ground occupied by the city, and the land which appertains *ex officio* to the 'prince.' To the former of these a certain measure of holiness still belongs; in fact, according to 48^{35} (the closing word of the whole section), the city is to be called *Jahweh-shāmmāh*, 'Jahweh is there.' It belongs to no one tribe exclusively, but members of all the tribes are to people it (48^{19}).

(*c*) Suitably to its above significance, the city along with the sacred *tĕrûmāh* is the heart and almost the exact central point of the whole country; for to the north of it lie seven, and to the south five tribes, the latter—quite contrary to the former historical state of things—including even Issachar, Zebulun, and Gad. The district to the east of the Jordan had been probably for a long time too largely occupied by heathen for Ezekiel to count it as any longer belonging to the Holy Land. On the other hand, the strangers dwelling in the midst of Israel, who have begotten sons (*i.e.* who are permanently settled there), are to be on exactly the same footing as native-born Israelites, and are equally to receive a possession (47^{22}). The meaning of this at first sight strange prescription is simply that in the new State there can be only full-blooded members of the worshipping community, possessed of equal rights, but sharing also equal responsibilities.

(*d*) Finally, the idea that the land consecrated to Jahweh has His blessings showered upon it, finds very drastic expression in the prophecy of the temple spring ($47^{1\mathrm{ff.}}$), which, taking its rise under the temple itself, is at first a tiny rill, but after a course of 4000 cubits has already become a mighty river, which causes the numerous trees on its banks to bear foliage that is ever green and fruits that never fail, which makes the waters of the Dead Sea wholesome and teeming with fish. The explanation offered for all this is that 'because the water proceeds from the sanctuary' it has a magical efficacy (47^{12}).

(*e*) The degree to which even the most subtle prescriptions regarding points in the cultus are of importance in the eyes of Ezekiel, is shown by his regulations concerning the sacrificial tables ($40^{39\text{ff.}}$), the priests' cells ($42^{13\text{f.}}$), the sin-offering in connexion with the seven days' dedication of the altar ($43^{18\text{ff.}}$), the measures and weights to be used in the cultus ($45^{9\text{ff.}}$), the rules for festivals and sacrifices ($45^{18\text{ff.}}$; cf. also the complicated prescriptions as to the place and number of the sacrifices to be offered by the 'prince,' ch. 46). With reference to the festivals, it is noteworthy that, as is shown even by their exact dating, they have now lost their connexion with the course of nature [*sc.* as harvest festivals] and have become simply church festivals; for, apart from the prohibition of leaven at the time of the Passover, there is no mention of anything but the official offerings to be presented ($45^{21\text{ff.}}$). Very striking is the complete ignoring of the Feast of Weeks, which, on the ground of very ancient tradition, is retained even by P; and no less so is the fact that the two days of atonement, of which Ezekiel places one at the beginning of each half of the year ($45^{18\text{ff.}}$), do not represent days of humiliation on the part of the people, but contemplate an atonement for the sanctuary by means of external ceremonies 'on account of those who may have offended through error or ignorance.' The purifying of the temple building from Levitical defilement appears here as the main object to such a degree that the cleansing of the heart, which to the pre-exilic prophets was by far the most important matter, remains unmentioned.

---

* Cf. Bertholet, *Der Verfassungsentwurf des Ezechiel in seiner religionsgeschichtlichen Bedeutung*, Freiburg i. B., 1896.

(*f*) Much of what is ordained by Ezekiel may have been based upon ancient tradition, which was perhaps familiar to him in connexion with the exercise of his duties as *priest*. New, however, beyond doubt, and of great consequence is his distinction (40^{46} and esp. $44^{6\text{ff.}}$) between those priests of Levi who are also descendants of Ẓadoḳ (*i.e.* who belong to the hereditary priesthood established at Jerusalem), and those other priests of Levi who have ministered to the people in the times of error (*i.e.* the former priests of the high places). The priesthood in future is to pertain to the Ẓadoḳites alone. The other class are 'to bear the consequences of their guilt' ($44^{10\text{ff.}}$), and are condemned to discharge all the menial offices of the cultus which were formerly attended to by uncircumcised ones (slaves and prisoners of war). Ezekiel in this way first paved the way for that distinction between priests and Levites which is so familiar to us in P and the Chronicler, that we can hardly conceive of the cultus of Israel without it from the time of Sinai downwards, although, as a matter of fact, it is still quite unknown even to the Book of Deuteronomy.

(*g*) When we turn to the special rules for the priests ($44^{17\text{ff.}}$), it is again noteworthy that at the head of their official duties (v.^{23}) is the instruction of the people in the distinction between holy and common, clean and unclean; it is only after this that there is mention of their judicial functions.

(*h*) By the side of the priests the *nāsî* or 'prince' plays, as was remarked above, a somewhat colourless part. A head was necessary, and nothing was more natural than to form a connexion here with the historical tradition of many centuries, namely, the expectation of a political head belonging to the family of David. Surprise has been felt quite unnecessarily that Ezekiel does not assign to the priestly State a spiritual head—nay, that he is altogether silent about the 'high priest.' But in the pre-exilic period there had been no *high* priests at all, but at most at Jerusalem *chief* priests. The latter, moreover, were simply exalted officials of the king, and it may very well be that Ezekiel had good reasons for not wishing to see priestly officials of this kind reintroduced. It was quite outside the scope of his ideas that in the new Jerusalem the place of the national political head should be taken by a spiritual one—in fact, by a *high priest*. Ezekiel, then, retained a political head; but the latter is, strictly speaking, only the guarantor for the regular performance of the cultus. It is scarcely right to speak of a sovereign prince. If this *nāsî* has a tract of land assigned to him at the eastern and western ends of the *tĕrûmāh*, it is with the strangely distrustful remark added, 'that my princes may no more oppress my people, but give the land to the house of Israel according to their tribes' (45^{8} 46^{18}). The prince, indeed, receives a further *tĕrûmāh* from the people, levied on wheat, barley, oil, and sheep ($45^{13\text{ff.}}$); but in return he is to provide all the offerings for the congregation at the festivals, the new moons, and the Sabbaths, as well as the daily morning burnt-offering and meal-offering ($46^{13\text{ff.}}$). The one prerogative he enjoys is that of entering the vestibule of the east door (which is usually closed), that from its threshold he may behold the preparing of his sacrifices by the priests, and may stand there and pray (44^{3} 46^{2}). That Ezekiel does not think of this *nāsî* as the Messiah, is a fact that needs no proof.

(*i*) When we now ask, finally, What was Ezekiel's own view about the fulfilment of his programme for the future?, the answer must be to the following effect. A distinction must be drawn between expectations the fulfilment of which was in no man's power (such as the elevation of the temple hill, or the producing of the temple spring, or even the bringing back of the ten tribes), and expectations within the range of human effort. With these last Ezekiel was perfectly in earnest, and he was fully justified by the further course of events. In some instances, it is true, the force of ancient usage was stronger than the theory of the prophet, as, for example, in the case of the Feast of Weeks. Other prescriptions, such as the degrading of the former priests of the high places, evidently could be carried out only after severe conflicts and in a very much mitigated form. But, upon the whole, it remains true that we have now in P a rearrangement of the cultus approximating as nearly as possible to the prescriptions of Ezekiel. Particularly convincing is the evidence for this which is furnished by the parallels in P to the special rules for the priests contained in Ezk $44^{17\text{ff.}}$. To all appearance, the priestly circles—and that, too, at different centres—had already begun during the Exile to reduce the ideas of Ezekiel to a cultus law. The fruit of these labours—varied, yet all inspired with the same spirit—was the great priestly book of history and law, the introduction of which gave to post-exilic Judaism the final stamp which it bears, not only in New Testament times but down to the present day.

But here once more the truth is manifested that historical development is not always in a straight line. Right in the midst of the labours devoted to the codification of a priestly law in the spirit of Ezekiel we come once more upon a powerful exhibition of genuine Jahweh prophetism in the form of the so-called Deutero-Isaiah, to which we must next turn our attention.

VI. THE SO-CALLED DEUTERO-ISAIAH.

1. It may now be regarded as finally established that with Is 40 an entirely new book commences, which nowhere makes any claim to be the work of Isaiah. The compass of this so-called Deutero-Isaiah is still, however, the subject of controversy. According to the view that at one time generally prevailed, it embraced chs. 40–66. But more and

more confirmation has been discovered for the proposition already propounded by Eichhorn and reaffirmed by Kuenen, that a portion of these chapters can have been composed only at Jerusalem after the return from the Exile.* At first it was thought sufficient to separate off chs. 63–66 as a later addition, but finally it has become almost the general fashion to distinguish between chs. 40–55 as Deutero-Isaiah, and chs. 56–66 as Trito-Isaiah. The present writer is among those to whom this view commends itself as the correct one. It may be remarked that Is 40–66 is a striking proof that questions of authenticity have little bearing upon the value of the religious and ethical contents—or, in short, upon the character as revelation—of an OT writing. The full meaning of the glorious book made up of Is 40–55 could be first appreciated and established only by those who taught men to understand it historically from the last years before the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus (538 B.C.) and the return of a portion of the exiles as authorized by him.

2. The book of the 'Great Unknown' would have had significance enough for his contemporaries even if it had been nothing more than a book of consolation for the exiles, assuring them of the end of the captivity, return to the Holy Land, and a renewed dispensation of Jahweh's grace. But it contains infinitely more than this. From an elevated prophetical viewpoint, which is scarcely reached again in the OT period, it brings the whole preceding history of Israel as well as its whole future under the scheme of an original, all-wise, saving purpose of Jahweh, which has for its object the whole world of nations. The barriers of national religion are here completely burst, and the foundation laid for a universal religion, and all this without the old Prophetic ideas of the election and pre-eminence of Israel being given up. How these two apparently heterogeneous notions could be united, will have to be shown afterwards. The whole, solitary glory of Deutero-Isaiah we shall best appreciate if we compare it with Ezekiel or the nearly contemporaneous passages Dt $4^{19f.}$ and 32^{8}. In Ezekiel's future expectations there was no room for any share of the heathen in the salvation of Israel. In Dt $4^{19f.}$, again, the view is stated without any circumlocution that Jahweh has destined the heathen to serve the star-gods (*i.e.* practically condemned them to idolatry), whereas He has chosen Israel to be *His own* possession. Quite the same notion is expressed in Dt 32^{8} 'Jahweh fixed the bounds of the peoples according to the number of the gods' [בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים, LXX *ἀγγέλων θεοῦ*, MT wrongly בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל], *i.e.* He assigned to each of the (subordinate) gods a particular people, whereas He declared Israel to be His own heritage.

3. We have just described Deutero-Isaiah's fundamental notion of a Divine purpose of salvation, which is at present becoming plain—a purpose which includes all nations, and which at the same time solves all the enigmas of Israel's history. It is primarily under this notion that we must subsume all the declarations from which our prophet's very lofty *conception of God* may be gathered. An absolutely harmonious plan of the Universe implies the solity of God. Absolute monotheism here reaches its clearest and sharpest expression ($43^{10f.}$ $44^{6.\,8}$ $45^{5f.\,14.\,18}$). The continuous fulfilment of the plan presupposes His eternity (41^{4} 44^{6}), unchangeableness (41^{4} 43^{13}), and always equally full power ($40^{28ff.}$). God's omnipotence is proved, above all, by His creative work: He alone has stretched forth the heavens and formed the earth ($40^{12.\,22ff.\,28}$ 42^{5} 44^{24} $45^{12.\,18}$) in the fulness of His omnipotence and the strength of His might (40^{26}); it needed but His call, and these things were there (48^{13}). He is the maker of all families of men from the beginning (41^{4}), and controls by His sovereign omnipotence the fortunes even of the greatest ($40^{23f.}$)—nay, the nations are before Him only as a drop on [the side of] the bucket or a speck of dust on the balance ($40^{15ff.}$). How shall the individual ever contend with Him, the potsherd with the potter (45^{9})? As in the first Isaiah, so here God is frequently called 'the Holy One of Israel,' and that, in like manner, in the sense of His absolute elevation above everything creaturely and perishable, and hence, of course, above all stain and dishonour ($41^{14.\,16}$ $43^{3.\,14}$ etc.). The same attribute excludes absolutely any representation of God by images ($40^{18ff.}$), and, in general, our prophet cannot sufficiently emphasize the folly and senselessness of idol and image worship (cf. 41^{29}, and very specially the almost humorous description in $44^{9ff.}$ $46^{6f.}$). The holiness of God requires also that all His actings should have for their deepest motive the honour of His name ($48^{9.\,11}$). He will not give His honour to another, nor His glory to idols (42^{8}), as if *they* had accomplished what was His work alone.

4. The scanty references to the means whereby God accomplishes His world-plan and saving purpose, make mention, above all, of the *prophetic word*. This has irresistible power ($55^{10f.}$) and eternal validity (40^{8}). In the exact pre-announcement of the wonderful events that are passing (the mission of Cyrus and the impending deliverance of Israel), our prophet sees one of the strongest evidences of the solity and omnipotence of the God of Israel ($41^{25ff.}$ 42^{9} $43^{10ff.}$ $44^{7f.\,26f.}$ 45^{21} $46^{10f.}$ $48^{3ff.\,14ff.}$); the idols, which are things of nought, can neither explain the past nor predict the future ($41^{21ff.}$).

5. Deutero-Isaiah, like the pre-exilic prophets and the Book of Deuteronomy, traces the preferential treatment of Israel to its election ($41^{8f.}$); but this last is ascribed not simply to God's love for Israel, as might appear from $43^{3f.}$, but to the special purposes which Jahweh wills to accomplish for the benefit of the whole world, by the instrumentality of Israel, His servant (see below). On this account He has carried them all along from their mother's womb (46^{3}); and, when by their sins they provoked His just anger, He gave them, indeed, into the hands of their enemies ($42^{23ff.}$ 50^{1} 51^{17}); but it was not His intention that Babylon, the instrument of executing His vengeance, should show herself pitiless against Judah (47^{6}). All the more on that account God regards the old guilt of the people as atoned for—nay, as doubly expiated (40^{2} 51^{19}). All the same, the coming deliverance is nothing but the outcome of the free favour of God; it has been brought about neither by sacrifice nor any other merit on the part of Israel, which, on the contrary, has sinned from the time of its first father (Jacob) and deserved destruction in consequence ($43^{22ff.}$ $48^{1.\,4.\,8}$). But Jahweh blots out their transgressions as a cloud (44^{22}).

In view of all this, there is the less justification for Zion's discouragement, and her complaint that she is forsaken and forgotten by God (40^{27} 49^{14}). As little as a mother is forgetful of her sucking child has God forgotten the community of Israel (49^{15}). Nay, He is at once her creator and her husband, who can never cast off the wife of his youth ($54^{5ff.}$).

---

* The following have specially contributed to the elucidation of the controversy regarding Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah: Duhm, in his Commentary on Isaiah in the *Kurzer Hdcom.*, Göttingen, 1892, 2nd ed. 1902 [holds that Trito-Isaiah commences with ch. 56]; Cheyne, *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah*, London, 1895 [places 56^{1-8} 58. 59 under Artaxerxes II. or III.; 63^{7}–64^{12} about 350 B.C.; ch. 66 under Darius Ochus]; H. Gressmann, *Ueber die in Jes. cc. 56–66 vorausgesetzten zeitgeschichtlichen Verhältnisse*, Göttingen, 1899 [holds that chs. 56–66 are not a unity, but that they are all post-exilic and emanate from Judæa]; E. Littmann, *Ueber die Abfassungszeit des Tritojesaja*, Freiburg i. B., 1899 [Trito-Isaiah is held to embrace 56–63^{6} (except 59^{5-8} and perhaps 56^{1-8}) as well as chs. 65 and 66 (except $66^{23f.}$), and to emanate wholly from the period between 457 and 445, prior to the arrival of Nehemiah; on the other hand, $63^{7ff.}$ and 64 date from between 538 and 520].

6. The instrument employed by Jahweh for the deliverance of His people and the further accomplishment of His saving purpose, is *Cyrus*, of whom and of whose Divine mission the prophet speaks in such honourable terms that it has been suggested that he actually saw in him the Messiah promised by the earlier prophets. Jahweh Himself speaks of Cyrus as His 'shepherd' (44^{28}), nay as His 'anointed,' whom He has taken by the right hand that He may cast down peoples before him, whom for Israel's sake He has called by name ($45^{1ff.}$), for whom He will make all his ways plain ($45^{13f.}$), as the man of His counsel (46^{11}), whom He loves (48^{14}).

If the victorious career of Cyrus is to be *thus* interpreted, Israel has no more occasion for anxious fears, but may with full complacency look for the manifestation of the glory of Jahweh (40^{5} $41^{10ff.}$). God ensures to the exiles a secure return; He gathers them from all quarters ($43^{5ff.}$), and outdoes even His own former mighty acts when He brought His people forth from Egypt ($43^{16ff.}$). He fashions for them in the desert a road well constructed and free from danger (40^{3} 42^{16} 43^{2} $49^{10f.}$), makes abundant provision of water and noble trees ($41^{18f.}$ $43^{18ff.}$ 48^{21}), and Himself leads them like a loving shepherd (40^{11} 52^{12}). All nature accompanies these redemptive acts with a song of jubilation ($42^{10f.}$ 44^{23} 49^{13} 55^{12}). The returned exiles shall be as a bridal ornament to Zion, the seemingly forsaken and sorely troubled, who shall now be astonished at the multitude of her children, and scarcely find room for them all ($49^{18ff.}$ $54^{1ff.}$). For along with Jacob (Judah) shall return also 'those who have been preserved of Israel' ($49^{5f.}$). Jahweh, moreover, shall once more reign as king over Zion ($52^{7f.}$), and all His gracious promises to David, the witness of His glory and the ruler of nations, shall be fulfilled to the whole people, who also shall draw to them foreign peoples—nay, peoples as yet unknown to them ($55^{3ff.}$). All these other nations are brought to recognize that Jahweh has called Cyrus, and crowned him with victory, and to give the glory to the God of Israel ($41^{1ff.}$). As for Israel itself, the outpouring of the spirit of God, which seals the truth that every individual is His special property ($44^{3ff.}$), and makes them all true disciples of Jahweh (54^{13}), brings about a wondrous renewing of the nation's youth ($40^{29ff.}$). Moreover, the duration of this renewed 'covenant' is to be unlimited; the brief period of God's anger is to be followed by a time of eternal favour and blessing (45^{17} $54^{7ff.}$).

In the above orderly summary of the ideas of Deutero-Isaiah, which appear in the book itself, for the most part, in a scattered detached fashion, we have purposely passed over two statements, because they can in no way be brought into harmony with the other expectations of the prophet, and must accordingly be regarded as later additions—

(*a*) According to $41^{15f.}$, Israel is to become a new, sharp, many-toothed threshing-waggon, which goes so thoroughly to work that it crushes the very mountains and hills. This figure, of course, refers to the destruction of Israel's foes. Now, it is true that our prophet has a threat against Babylon ($47^{1ff.}$); she, the oppressor of Israel, has now in turn to take the 'intoxicating cup' which Jerusalem had formerly to drink ($51^{22f.}$). But there is no indication of anything except that Cyrus is to execute the judgment on Babylon, while the other peoples are called to share in Israel's salvation. Thus $41^{15f.}$ belongs to quite a different sphere of ideas—that, namely, of Ezk 38 f. and Mic $4^{11ff.}$.

(*b*) In $49^{22f.}$, instead of the return of the exiles through the wilderness under the leadership of Jahweh, we have a bringing of them back by the Gentiles acting under Jahweh's orders. It may be said that these two representations are not mutually exclusive. But in the statement that kings shall be the guardians of Israel and queens her nurses, nay, that they shall in humble obeisance lick the dust of her feet (49^{23}), we have the expression of expectations that belong, not to Deutero-Isaiah but to a considerably later phase of Judaism.

7. But all this does not exhaust the ideas contained in this unique book. The most wonderful thing in it is the idea of Israel as the 'Servant of Jahweh,' who, in accordance with His eternal purpose, which transcends all human comprehension, is destined to expiate, by his penal sufferings, not only Israel's own guilt, but also that of the heathen world, and then to exercise a great missionary vocation on the world of nations, that 'all ends of the earth may see the salvation of the God of Israel' (52^{10}).

Ever since Biblical study began, it has been felt to be a very difficult problem how the statements in which the Servant of Jahweh (עֶבֶד יהוה) is undoubtedly to be understood of the *people* of Israel ($41^{8f.}$ 42^{19} 43^{10} $44^{1f.\ 21}$ 45^{4} 48^{20}, cf. also the 'servants of Jahweh' in 54^{17}) are to be reconciled with those which, to all appearance, have an individual in view (thus in the so-called *'Ebed Jahweh Songs*: 42^{1-4} [according to others, 42^{1-7}], 49^{1-6}, 50^{4-9} [with v.^{10}], and 52^{13}–53^{12}). Countless are the attempts which have been made to solve the problem in question.

After Duhm, in his Commentary on Isaiah (Göttingen, 1892), assigned the *'Ebed-Jahweh-Lieder* to a different and later hand than that of Deutero-Isaiah, and hence pronounced them a subsequent addition to the latter, explaining them, at the same time, in the individual sense (as perhaps referring to Jeremiah), there sprang up a crop of similar hypotheses. The individual interpretation of the *'Ebed-Jahweh-Lieder* is supported also by J. Ley (*Historische Erklärung des 2 Teils des Jesaja*, Marburg, 1893; art. 'Die Bedeutung des Ebed-Jahweh,' etc., in *SK*, 1899, p. 163 ff.) and L. Laue (*Die Ebed-Jahweh-Lieder im 2 Teil des Jesaja*, Wittenberg, 1898; also in *SK*, 1904, Heft 3). Both see in the Servant of Jahweh 'the Messiah of the future,' as does also G. Füllkrug (*Der Gottesknecht des Deuterojesaja*, Göttingen, 1899), only that he believes the *Lieder* to have been composed by Deutero-Isaiah himself. E. Sellin (*Serubbabel*, Leipzig, 1898) identified the Servant with Zerubbabel, who, he contended, actually assumed the crown, and in consequence suffered a terrible martyrdom at the hands of the Persians. In his *Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der jüdischen Gemeinde*, i. (Leipzig, 1901), Sellin substitutes for Zerubbabel some other descendant of David. Kittel (*Zur Theologie des AT*, ii., Leipzig, 1898) finds at least in ch. 53 the crucified Zerubbabel. Bertholet (*Zu Jesaja 53*, Freiburg i. B., 1899) refers 53^{1-11} to the sufferings and death of the ninety year old scribe Eleazar (cf. 2 Mac $6^{18ff.}$). The composition of 52^{13}–53^{12} by a different poet from the rest of the *'Ebed-Jahweh-Lieder* (whose authorship by Deutero-Isaiah is likewise denied) is maintained also by Laue (see above) and Schian (*Die Ebed-Jahweh-Lieder in Jes. 40–66*, Halle, 1895). It was the merit of K. Budde (art. 'The so-called Ebed Yahweh Songs and the Meaning of the term *Servant of Jahweh* in Is 40–55' in *Amer. Journal of Theology*, 1899, iii. p. 499 ff. [in German, *Die sogenannten Ebed-Jahweh-Lieder und die Bedeutung des Knechtes Jahwehs in Jes. 40–55*, Giessen, 1900]) and K. Marti (*Das Buch Jesaja*, Tübingen, 1900) to recall the exegesis of these passages from the forest of hypotheses to a more sober consideration of facts. Their argument was strengthened on all sides by the very thorough discussion of F. Giesebrecht (*Der Knecht Jahwes des Deuterojesaja*, Königsberg, 1902), and it may be considered as henceforward a position that is not likely to be shattered, that even the so-called 'Ebed-Jahweh Songs are the work of Deutero-Isaiah, and that their subject is Israel, with its call to serve a missionary function to the Gentiles.

On the present occasion we must be content to say that, in the violent controversy which has raged since the year 1892, the explanation of the Servant of Jahweh as referring to the people appears to us to have retained the victory. Once the fondness of Hebrew poetry and prophecy for far-reaching personifications of collective notions, and especially of bodies of people, is grasped, and $53^{1ff.}$ rightly understood as spoken by the Gentiles, *all* the declarations about the Servant combine into one perfectly intelligible whole. The question seems to us quite an idle one, whether Deutero-Isaiah meant the Servant of Jahweh to be understood of the whole nation or only of the truly godly kernel of it, the 'spiritual Israel,' which fully answered the idea of a people of God. When the prophet has to speak of the election of Israel and its destined mission in the world's history, his words naturally refer to the whole body of the nation, for it was this that was the object of election and of manifold guidance in the course of its history. But it is equally natural that, in the passages which have in view the representative suffering of the Servant and his missionary function, not those should be thought of who perish in the purifying judgment, but only the truly pious kernel of the people, who seek God and have penitent hearts. Nay, it is not an impossible position that the Servant, as a portion of the people, namely, that which is specially penitent and afflicted, should be opposed to the general body (49^{5} 'Jahweh that formed me from the womb to be his servant, to bring Jacob again to him, and that Israel should be gathered unto him,' cf. also v.^{6}). But much more frequently and emphatically than this work on his fellow-countrymen is the missionary vocation exercised by the Servant towards the heathen world set forth. This is the central point of our prophet's whole world of ideas. It is only from this standpoint that the problem either of Israel's election or of her temporary rejection can be brought into harmony with the Divine plan of the world. The grievous sufferings of Israel were the indispensable condition of the salvation of the whole world.

That even the Gentiles are from the first destined to entrance into the kingdom of God, is shown by the Divine call ($45^{22\text{ff.}}$) to all the ends of the earth to turn to Him and let themselves be saved, as well as by God's oath that at last every knee shall bow to Him and every tongue swear by Him. But the instrument in proclaiming His salvation is His Servant, whom He has called from the mother's womb (*i.e.* from the beginning), that He may be glorified in him ($49^{1.\,3}$). God has put His spirit upon him (42^{1}), given him persuasive eloquence (49^{2}), the tongue of a proper disciple of Jahweh (50^{4}), that he may proclaim the true religion to the heathen (42^{1}), and thus become a light to the heathen (42^{6} 49^{6}), the founder of a covenant (בְּרִית) between God and men (42^{6} 49^{8}). And Israel is to await this call with all meekness and lowly submission ($42^{2\text{ff.}}$). True, there is not wanting a certain measure of preparedness of the heathen for the Servant's gospel of salvation. Already the isles wait for his instruction (42^{4})—nay, the nations must themselves recognize that Jahweh alone could have accomplished the mighty transformation wrought through Cyrus ($41^{1\text{ff.}}$). But the decisive influence is brought to bear, finally, by the great sufferings of the Servant, and the patience with which he has submitted to every species of ill-treatment and mockery (50^{6}). To their own extreme astonishment, the perception dawns upon many peoples and kings that the Servant of Jahweh—marred almost beyond recognition as a man, utterly despised, and maltreated to the uttermost—has, through his voluntary, patient sufferings, borne the punishment of others as a guilt-offering, atoned for their sins, and procured salvation for them ($52^{13\text{ff.}}$).

This idea of a vicarious penal suffering of Israel for the Gentile world, in order to bring salvation to the latter, is so extraordinary and unique that one can easily understand how it has called forth all kinds of explanations, and that ever and anon voices are still raised in support of the contention that the direct reference of this passage to the vicarious suffering of Christ (cf. 1 P $2^{22\text{ff.}}$) is the only one that meets the necessities of the case. And, as a matter of fact, the Church is entitled to see the complete fulfilment of this very remarkable prophecy only in the person of Christ. But nothing is taken from its significance in that direction through our interpreting the Servant of Jahweh, so far as the mind of the prophet was concerned, primarily of Israel. Only, we must be careful not to limit his meaning to the idea that the Gentiles, touched by the spectacle of the patience of Israel amidst all its sufferings, are moved to a ready acceptance of its message of salvation, and thus brought to adopt its religion; for the prophet expressly emphasizes the fact that the Servant of Jahweh has fulfilled his high calling by bearing the sins of many *and making intercession for the transgressors.* He speaks thus of a high-priestly intercession performed by Israel, in conjunction with its vicarious sufferings. In this way he gives his readers a view into the depths of the Divine counsel of salvation, such as is offered by scarcely any one of his fellow-prophets—a view of the truth that the seeming disturbance of God's saving purpose by man's sin, and the sufferings introduced in consequence, are really made to serve the end of realizing His saving purposes. But from the beginning all other purposes have been subordinated to *this* one: 'The heavens shall vanish away like smoke, and the earth shall fade like a garment . . . but my salvation shall be for ever' (51^{6}). Behind and above the temporary, perishing world there is another, which offers higher, eternal blessings. That the entrance to it should be open even to all the heathen, was a notion still beyond the horizon of any Israelitish mind of the time. But the prophet understood the word of his God: 'My thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways; but, as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts' ($55^{8\text{f.}}$).

VII. REMAINING EXILIC PROPHECIES, POST-EXILIC PROPHECY, AND THE BEGINNINGS OF APOCALYPTIC.

i. *THE SOURCES.*—To the time of the Exile may, further, be assigned with some confidence Is $21^{1\text{-}10}$ and 13^{1}–14^{23}, and perhaps also chs. 34 and 35, which are closely akin to Deutero-Isaiah. On the other hand, it is difficult to decide whether a portion of the later additions (noted below) to pre-exilic Prophets are as early as the Exile. At all events, this view is not sufficiently proved by the (very frequent) allusions to the gathering and bringing back of the exiles. For, apart from the fact that such expectations are more than once put into the mouth of the earlier prophets from the standpoint of fulfilment, and indeed for the purpose of softening their denunciations, the number of Jews living in all quarters of the Diaspora even after 537 and 458 was still very great, and the expectation of their return might hence become very readily an indispensable element in the hopes of the future.

To the earliest post-exilic period belong: Ḥaggai (520), Zechariah (520–518), and the Book of Malachi (probably before 458), as well as Ob $^{10\text{-}21}$ and the so-called Trito-Isaiah (Is 56–66, probably about 440). To the beginning of the 4th cent. we assign Joel and Jonah; towards the end of the 4th, if not in the 3rd or even the 2nd cent., we would place the so-called Apocalypse of Isaiah (Is 24–27) and Zec 9–14. Of the additions to the older prophets which cannot be more precisely dated, a not inconsiderable portion may come down to the 4th and even the 3rd cent. B.C. Passing over some isolated verses, we give the following as almost universally acknowledged later additions:—

Is $2^{2\text{-}4}$ (Mic $4^{1\text{-}4}$) $4^{2\text{-}6}$ $8^{9\text{f.}}$ $10^{20\text{-}23}$ 11^{10}–12^{6} 13^{1}–14^{23} (see above) 18^{7} (?) $19^{18\text{-}25}$ $21^{1\text{-}10}$ (see above) $23^{15\text{-}18}$ $29^{5.\,7\text{f.}\,17\text{-}24}$ $30^{18\text{-}26.\,27\text{-}33}$ (?) $31^{5\text{-}8}$ 32. 33. 34 f. (see above).

Jer $3^{14\text{-}18}$ $10^{1\text{-}16}$ $16^{18\text{-}21}$ $17^{19\text{-}27}$ $29^{16\text{-}20}$ $30^{10\text{f.}}$ $31^{10\text{-}14}$ (?) $31^{38\text{-}40}$ $32^{17\text{-}23}$ $33^{14\text{-}26}$ chs. 46–49 (?) 50^{1}–51^{58}.

Hos $2^{1\text{-}3}$ 3^{5} (?; in any case, the words 'and David their king') $14^{2\text{-}10}$ (?).

Am $9^{8\text{-}15}$.

Mic $4^{1\text{-}4.\,6\text{-}8.}$ (?) $^{11\text{-}13}$ $7^{7\text{-}20}$.

Hab 3.

Zeph $2^{4\text{-}15}$ $3^{14\text{-}20}$.

ii. *HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.*—Deutero-Isaiah's prophecy of the freeing of the people by Cyrus had been fulfilled in 538 after the conquest of Babylon. The edict of Cyrus granted permission to the exiles to return, and about 50,000, under the leadership of Zerubbabel and Joshua the priest, availed themselves of it. But the condition of things in the home so eagerly longed for did not answer the high-flown expectations of the returned exiles. The foreign domination still continued, and all energy was paralyzed by poverty and failure of crops, as well as by the hostility of the Jewish-heathen mixed population, which had gradually spread over the land during the Exile. Even if the cultus was resumed, immediately after the Return, by the re-erection of the altar of burnt-offering (Ezr $3^{2ff.}$), it was not till the year 520 that, thanks to the energetic stimulation of Ḥaggai and Zechariah, the work of building the temple was taken in hand in earnest, and finished in 516. Evidently, these prophets expected the dawn of the Messianic age after the building was finished, and at the same time saw in Zerubbabel the 'shoot of David' promised by Jeremiah (Hag $2^{6. 20ff.}$, Zec 3^{8} $6^{11f.}$, where in all probability there was originally mention only of a crowning of Zerubbabel). These hopes, too, were completely deceived. We possess, indeed, only very scanty traditions regarding the history of the post-exilic Jewish colony down to the time of Malachi (Ezr 4^{6-23}), but the Book of Malachi itself shows that the conditions had rather changed for the worse since 516. The offerings naturally suffered from the continued poverty of the people ($3^{8ff.}$), but no less from the unscrupulous character of the priests ($1^{6f.}$ $3^{3f.}$). The prophet also complains bitterly of the facile putting away of Jewish wives in order to contract new marriages with heathen women ($2^{10ff.}$). But the worst feature was the resigned, not to say despairing, disposition which had taken possession of the people. This showed itself in such blasphemous judgments as that 'Every one that doeth evil is well pleasing to Jahweh, and in such he hath his delight, or where is the God of judgment?' (2^{17}, and still more fully in $3^{14f.}$). One can readily conceive how to the priestly circles in the Diaspora, which had been for long following in the footsteps of Ezekiel in laying down new regulations for the cultus (see below, § VIII.), it might seem that the time had come for them to step in. But even Ezra, the leader of a second band of exiles (B.C. 458), soon had the conviction forced upon him that it was necessary first to attend to other tasks than the introducing of the priestly legislation he had brought with him from Babylon. His Draconic zeal in dissolving the numerous mixed marriages so increased the hostility of the heathen and Jewish families thereby affected, that they obtained from Artaxerxes I. full powers to destroy the walls and gates of Jerusalem, which had been scarcely yet completed by Ezra. How thoroughly this process was carried out does not indeed appear from the timid allusion in Ezr 4^{23}, but is clear enough from the documentary report of Nehemiah ($1^{3ff.}$ $2^{12ff.}$ $3^{1ff.}$). The arrival of the latter at Jerusalem (445) had for its main result the solemn introduction of the priestly law-book (Neh 8, probably extracted in large part from the Memoirs of Ezra). Of the high significance of this act we shall have to speak in the next section. That all these occurrences, moreover, found an echo in prophecy is *a priori* probable, and is confirmed especially by the contents of Trito-Isaiah. In this way the enigma in which Is 66 was formerly involved is very simply cleared up, when it is recognized that there we have to do with a polemic against the Samaritans, belonging to the time of Ezra-Neḥemiah. From the second visit of Nehemiah to Jerusalem (Neh $13^{4ff.}$) in 432 [according to others, not till 412] OT tradition is silent till we reach the commencement of the Maccabee wars, even if a considerable portion of the above-mentioned Prophetical literature may emanate from the intervening period.

iii. *CONCEPTION OF GOD, AND ETHICS.*—The whole of the exilic and post-exilic literature with which we have here to do, bears almost without exception a secondary character, and—apart from the further colouring given to the hopes for the future—lives entirely upon the ideas of the older prophets, or simply takes these for granted. This comes out clearly in regard to the *conception of God.* The reason why the statements in this sphere are so scanty is that there was nothing to add to the message of the pre-exilic prophets. Belief in the solity and supramundane character of Jahweh is the common possession of the whole of this period. The apparent localizing of Him on Sinai (Hab 3^{3}) can be regarded only as a poetical reminiscence of ancient descriptions, such as that of Jg 5^{4}. His omnipotence and omniscience are revealed in the creation of heaven and earth (Jer $10^{12ff.}$); to Him nothing is impossible (32^{17}). The mighty Babylon is simply a hammer in His hand ($51^{20ff.}$). He chose Israel because He loved it, whereas He hated Israel's twin brother Esau (Mal $1^{2f.}$); here there seems to be no attempt to trace the election to an ethical motive, as in Deutero-Isaiah. Jahweh shows Himself to be the father and saviour of Israel in a far deeper sense than Abraham or Jacob could claim to be (Is 63^{16} 64^{7}). But the old conception of the national God, Jahweh, who has His eye upon Israel alone, has no longer any room left for it. Jahweh is great beyond the realm of Israel, His name is feared among the nations as that of a great king (Mal $1^{5. 14}$, Jer 10^{7}); nay, the incense-offerings and pure gifts, which from the rising to the setting of the sun are offered by the Gentiles, have Him, strictly speaking, for their object (Mal 1^{11})—a remarkable witness to the far-reaching influence of Deutero-Isaiah's teaching! There is no longer any need for a polemic against the folly of image and idol worship; Is $57^{3ff.}$ is in all probability addressed to the half-heathen mixed population in and about Judah, and Jer $10^{1ff.}$ to the exiles who are endangered by their heathen environment.

The supramundane character of Jahweh is not impaired by the frequent emphasis laid upon His accompanying the exiles, or His dwelling upon Ẓion (see below); for in the latter instance what is in view is, as in the conception of God in the pre-exilic period, the indwelling of His 'glory' (*i.e.* a manifestation-form of His person), which is not absolutely identical with His full being. The 'angel of Jahweh,' in olden times (see above, p. 638^{a} ff.) a form of appearance of Jahweh Himself, is in Zec $1^{12ff.}$ (where he prays to Jahweh and is comforted by Him) clearly distinguished as a serving angel from Jahweh. In Zec 3^{1} 'the Satan' makes his appearance for the first time, not as a mere appellative='adversary' (as in Nu $22^{22. 32}$ [of the angel of Jahweh], 1 K $11^{14. 23}$ *et al.* [of enemies in war]), but as a definite angelic being, who comes forward as the accuser of Joshua the high priest; but this is no proof of the rise of a dualistic conception of God. The Satan, who by the way cannot have been newly introduced by Zechariah, but is presupposed by him as long familiar to his readers, manifestly belongs (as he still does in Job $1^{6f.}$) to the category of serving angels, only that, in his zeal as Jahweh's prosecutor, he goes too far. Rather may we find in Is $24^{21f.}$ an allusion to angelic feuds corresponding to those among the peoples of earth. But even in this very late *theologumenon*, with which we shall meet again when we come to speak of the Book of Daniel, the supremacy of Jahweh, who imprisons the rebellious ones, and only pardons them after a long interval, remains quite unaffected.

The consciousness that they lived in an age of *epigoni*, as compared with the creative times of prophecy, betrays itself clearly in the repressed tone of the post-exilic prophets, and their very frequent use of the formula 'thus saith Jahweh,' as well as in Zechariah's preference for the vision, the latter being no doubt in large measure simply to be regarded as a literary device. The same consciousness is manifested in the express appeals to earlier Prophetic oracles (Is 34^{16}, Jl 3^{5} [2^{32}]), and no less by the announcement of a messenger who is to prepare the way of Jahweh prior to the dawn of the day of judgment (Mal 3^{1}; in v.^{23} [4^{5}] the prophet Elijah is named as this forerunner). There were even yet required energetic instruments of God to bring about the great transformation. Finally, again, in Zec $13^{2ff.}$ the expectation is expressed that in the Messianic age the prophets and the unclean spirit shall be removed from the land, and that any one who yet ventures to come forward as a prophet shall be put to death by his own parents. Here, of course, it is false prophets that are in view, but the whole form of expression shows that it is not considered possible that any others shall then be found.

Like the conception of God, the *ethical demands* of the exilic and post-exilic prophets correspond exactly with those of their pre-exilic predecessors. At least in theory the justice of these demands is generally acknowledged, although the practice of the people still continues to supply occasion for bitter complaints (Is $56^{9ff.}$ $58^{1ff.}$ $59^{2ff.}$). As with Amos and Isaiah, the urgent call is to do right and justice and show pity to the poor, the widow, the orphan, and every class of afflicted ones (Zec $7^{10f.}$ $8^{16f.}$, Is 56^{1} $58^{6ff.}$, Mal $3^{5ff.}$ [this last passage denouncing, however, also sorcerers, adulterers, and perjurers]). Moreover, it cannot be contested that even in the early post-exilic period a mechanical theory of retribution shows itself—the notion of a direct succession of sin and punishment, right conduct and outward blessing (Zec $8^{12f.}$). Thus the scanty harvest is, according to Hag $1^{5f. 10f.}$, the direct penalty for the people's remissness in the work of rebuilding the temple; according to $2^{14ff.}$ all offerings presented before the temple is finished count as unclean, and consequently inefficacious, but after that event all the richer an era of blessing shall set in.

iv. *THE CULTUS.*—The few utterances about the cultus—we here leave out of account those that belong to the realm of eschatology—show again a certain falling away from the height of the true prophetical point of view (cf. above, p. 685^{a}). The law-book of Ḥilḳiah, although marked by the prophetic spirit, had at the same time laid down such definite rules for the cultus that it was inevitable that a tendency should arise to attach value to the merely external performance of these. In addition to this, Ezekiel's conceptions, with his total rejection of the past and his sketch of a radically new constitution of the cultus, must have permeated all Jewish circles to such an extent that long before the introduction of the Priests' Code there had been produced a positively painful attention to matters connected with the cultus. It is true that even yet evidences are not lacking of a truly prophetical appreciation of ritual services. The description of the proper kind of fasting contained in Is $58^{3bff.}$ might well have come from Isaiah ben-Amoẓ himself, while Joel's (2^{13}) call, 'Rend your heart and not your garments,' recalls Jeremiah's demand for a circumcision of the heart. Similarly, the ideal of the duties and the significance of the priesthood set up in Mal $2^{5ff.}$ must be pronounced a thoroughly worthy one. On the other hand, the way in which Ḥaggai and Zechariah make all blessing for Judah depend essentially upon the rebuilding of the temple (Hag $1^{4ff.}$, Zec $8^{9ff.}$), the emphasis laid upon outward observance of the Sabbath (Jer $17^{19ff.}$ [cf. especially the motive urged in v.^{25}], Is 56^{2}, 58^{13}), the extraordinary value attached to the regular food- and drink-offerings in the temple (Jl $1^{9. 13. 16}$ 2^{14}),—all this is hardly in accordance with the view of the cultus held by an Isaiah or a Jeremiah.

v. *ESCHATOLOGY.*—1. The edict of Cyrus had indeed brought freedom to a portion of the people, but had by no means introduced the great transformation of things contemplated by Deutero-Isaiah. On the contrary, the returned exiles had to struggle hard for their existence, and their lot could scarcely appear an enviable one to those who had remained behind in the land of their captivity. No wonder that men's minds turned with all the more longing to the future as that which should finally bring all their hopes to pass. With attention ever more tense they listened for the signs which were to herald a movement among the nations and the birth-pangs of the Messianic age. Zechariah, indeed, in the first of his night-visions learns ($1^{8ff.}$) from the heavenly horsemen, who have reconnoitred the earth, that the whole world is still at rest and quiet. But, when the angel reminds Jahweh that the seventy years of anger have elapsed, comforting words, with the promise of happiness, are spoken to him. Ḥaggai announces as a message from Jahweh that within a short time He will make the earth tremble and throw all peoples into commotion ($2^{6. 21f.}$). But even Trito-Isaiah has yet to complain (Is 59^{9}) that Israel has always hitherto waited in vain for light, and he begs the heavenly 'watchers,' whom Jahweh has placed over the walls of Jerusalem, to give themselves and Jahweh no rest until He has established and glorified Jerusalem ($62^{6f.}$).

2. The great transformation is brought about, according to the ancient expectation (see above, p. 691^{b}), by the '**Day of the LORD**,' the day of judgment alike upon the sinners in Judah and upon the nations hostile to Israel. Properly speaking, it is only Malachi ($3^{2ff.}$) that mentions the judgment upon Judah, when the angel of the covenant, like a refiner's fire and like fuller's lye, tries and purifies the Levites and the people; the 'great and dreadful day' (whose coming is preceded by the advent of Elijah to reconcile the fathers and the children, and so to avert the curse from the land, $4^{5f.}$ [Heb $3^{23f.}$]) devours in its fury all the proud and all the workers of wickedness (4^{1} [3^{19}]), whereas upon those that fear God the sun of righteousness shall arise, and they shall come forth unharmed and tread down the wicked ($4^{2f.}$ [$3^{20f.}$]). In Joel it looks at first as if in the devastating of the land by the locusts the precursors of the Day of Jahweh have appeared, 'a day of darkness and gloom, a day of clouds and thick darkness' for Judah (1^{15} $2^{1f.}$); but in $3^{1ff.}$ [$2^{28ff.}$] the outpouring of the spirit on Judah precedes the advent of the 'great and terrible day.' That is to say, the judgment of that day overtakes only the heathen. The latter ('all nations') are again the only subject of judgment in the Valley of Jehoshaphat (3[4]$^{1ff.}$), where Jahweh calls them to account 'for his people and his heritage Israel.' So in Is $13^{5ff.}$, although the avenging host is sent out by Jahweh to make the earth a desolation and to destroy the sinners upon it (v.^{9}), the Day of the LORD affects mainly Babylon. [In $34^{8ff.}$ it is a day of vengeance, a year of retribution for Zion against Edom; also in Ob $^{15ff.}$ all peoples, but especially Edom, are visited with vengeance on the Day of Jahweh. On the

other hand, in Zeph 2^{4-15} (a later addition to the threatening against Judah in vv.$^{1-3}$) the Day of Jahweh overtakes five different nations]. Finally, in Zec $14^{1\text{ff.}}$ the situation of Ezk 38 f. is implied, only that the onslaught of the heathen at first results in the capture and plunder of the city and the carrying captive of a portion of its inhabitants. But then Jahweh with all His holy ones [angels] fights from the Mount of Olives against those nations, while those who are destined for deliverance make their escape through a wide cleft in the same mount (v.$^{3\text{ff.}}$). For other features in this *fantastic* prophecy, which, after the fashion of the late eschatologies, mingles quite disparate elements, see below.

The ancient *theologumenon* of the interweaving of the world of nature with the fortunes of the people of God appears here also, in association with the Day of Jahweh, or in general as a mark of the Messianic last days, but in more striking forms. Thus we have allusions to strange, fear-compelling, natural phenomena such as the darkening of sun, moon, and stars (Is 13^{10}, Jl $2^{10.\,30\text{f.}}$ [$3^{3\text{f.}}$] 3 [4]^{15}, Zec $14^{6\text{f.}}$ [according to which, on the Day of Jahweh it shall be neither day nor night, but at eventide it shall be bright]); earthquakes (Is 13^{13} $24^{18\text{bff.}}$)—nay, the dissolving of the host of heaven along with the heavens themselves (Is 34^{4}). On the other hand, according to Is 30^{26}, when the Messianic age comes, the light of the moon is to equal that of the sun, and that of the sun to be multiplied sevenfold.

3. Apart even from the occasions when it is brought into connexion with the Day of Jahweh, the idea of vengeance upon the heathen nations occupies the forefront of expectations as to the future. Those nations in particular are specified which either aided to the best of their ability in the destruction of Jerusalem, or at least indulged in savage mockery and malicious jubilation over it. Among these the pre-eminence belongs to Edom (Is $34^{5\text{ff.}}$, Ob $^{10\text{ff.}}$, Jer $49^{7\text{ff.}}$, Jl 4 [3]^{19}; also Am $1^{11\text{f.}}$ was in all probability added after the Exile). Jer 48 is directed against Moab; Is $13^{2\text{ff.}}$, and the whole series of threatenings contained in Jer 50 f., against Babylon; Jer 46 against the Egyptians; ch. 47 against the Philistines; $49^{1\text{ff.}}$ against the Ammonites; Zeph $2^{4\text{ff.}}$, Jl 4 (3)$^{1\text{ff.}}$, Zec $9^{1\text{ff.}}$ against almost all the neighbours of Israel. But no less frequent are the threatenings which are directed against the nations in general, and which contemplate the laying waste and depopulating of the whole earth (Mic 7^{13}, Is $24^{1\text{ff.}}$)—nay, the trampling down of the nations by Jahweh Himself as one treads grapes (Is $63^{1\text{ff.}}$); or the burning of them to lime (Is 33^{12}). Zechariah in the second of his night-visions sees four horns ($1^{18\text{ff.}}$ [$2^{1\text{ff.}}$]), which represent the hostile powers in all four quarters of heaven that have scattered Judah; but he beholds at the same time four smiths that are to cut off the horns. In his eighth vision, again, he sees ($6^{1\text{ff.}}$) the war-chariots which drive out in all directions to execute the judgment. And the reason why Jahweh is sore displeased against the nations is because, when He was a little displeased (with Judah), 'they of themselves helped forward the affliction' (1^{15}). Here the old conception that Jahweh employed the heathen as His rod of chastisement for Israel is almost forgotten, and we hear only of the offence of the heathen. In Mic $7^{9\text{f.}}$, indeed, the guilt of Judah is freely admitted, but this confession is at the same time coupled with the hope of revenge. Cf. also Is $8^{9\text{f.}}$, Jer 10^{25} $25^{30\text{ff.}}$. Nevertheless, all these threatenings do not prevent very different expectations regarding the Gentile nations from being expressed elsewhere.

In all the passages discussed above, judgment upon the heathen is the condition of the gathering together and reuniting of Israel in the Holy Land. From all sides they are to stream; neither floods nor deserts can check them, for Jahweh Himself prepares the way for them and leads them (Is $35^{1\text{ff.}}$ $11^{11\text{ff.}}$). According to Is $27^{12\text{f.}}$, they are gathered by Jahweh one by one from all quarters, and follow the call of the great trumpet that summons them home; cf. also Jer $30^{10\text{f.}}$ $46^{27\text{f.}}$, Zec $10^{8\text{ff.}}$. In a way altogether unique the deliverance of the captives is connected in Zec $9^{11\text{ff.}}$ $10^{5\text{ff.}}$ with victorious conflicts of Judah and Ephraim with the Ionians, *i.e.* the Greek world-power. As in Ezk $37^{15\text{ff.}}$, the expectation is firmly established that the exiles of the Northern kingdom as well are to return (cf. Hos 2^{2}, Mic 2^{12}, Jer 3^{18} 50^{4}, Ob ^{18}); of envy and jealousy betwixt Judah and Ephraim no more is heard (Is 11^{12}).

A favourite expectation of the post-exilic period is evidently that the heathen themselves shall bring the exiles home, and thus play a very humiliating rôle. We already encountered this expectation in an addition to Deutero-Isaiah (Is $49^{22\text{ff.}}$, see above, p. 707^{a}, small type), cf. also Is $60^{4\text{b}}$ and v.$^{9\text{f.}}$. According to Is $66^{19\text{ff.}}$, certain of those who have escaped Jahweh's judgment upon the heathen are sent to the distant nations to bring reverently to Zion, as an offering to Jahweh, all yet banished Israelites. According to Is 60^{10}, foreigners shall then build their walls for the Judahites, and kings shall minister to them; according to v.^{14} (cf. also Mic $7^{16\text{f.}}$), the sons of their former oppressors shall pay them lowly homage. They themselves are to be as priests, *i.e.* free from all secular employment; for the foreigners shall be their shepherds, farmers, and vine-dressers (Is $61^{5\text{f.}}$). Of the same kind is the expectation expressed in Is $14^{1\text{bf.}}$, that the Israelites, after their arrival in the land of Jahweh, shall make slaves of the heathen that brought them home, and thus 'they shall take them captive whose captives they were, and they shall rule over their oppressors.' Elsewhere (Is $11^{14\text{f.}}$, Am 9^{12}, Ob $^{19\text{ff.}}$) the subjugation of the former vassals of the Davidic kingdom is thought of as the work of the already returned exiles. To quite a different order of thought belongs the expectation (connecting itself with Ezk 38 f.) that the mass of heathen peoples, gathered before the walls of Jerusalem, which they already look upon as a certain prey, shall be speedily destroyed through the sudden intervention of Jahweh (cf. Is $29^{5.\,7\text{f.}}$ $30^{27\text{ff.}}$ $33^{3\text{f.}\,23\text{b}}$, Mic $4^{11\text{ff.}}$, Zec $12^{2\text{ff.}}$ [where also the princes of Judah co-operate in the destruction of the nations] $14^{12\text{ff.}}$ [where the terrible punishment inflicted on the assailants, and the immense booty that falls to Judah, are described]); on the different expectation expressed in Zec $14^{2\text{ff.}}$, see preceding column. If we are right in assigning these passages to the post-exilic period, they can have in view only one coming final attack by the heathen peoples on Jerusalem. The frequent vacillation and obscurity of statement is due to their eschatological character, which can tolerate the close conjunction of heterogeneous elements.

4. If, in all the above expectations hostile to the heathen, we meet with a particularism which can be regarded only as a denial of the message of Deutero-Isaiah, there are, fortunately, not wanting numerous witnesses that his work had not been by any means in vain. Zec $2^{15\,(11)}$ foresees many peoples attaching themselves to Jahweh, that they may belong to His people and dwell in Judah. According to $8^{20\text{ff.}}$, many peoples and nations shall come to seek Jahweh and entreat His favour; ten men of different languages shall lay hold of the skirt of *one* Jew, that they may go with them of whom they have heard that God is with them. But a merely external attachment is not all. The whole of the heathen are to stream to the moun-

tain of Jahweh, there to receive instruction as to the manner of conduct He requires, and to submit to His judicial decisions; universal peace among the nations shall be the result (Is $2^{2ff.}$, Mic $4^{1ff.}$, Zeph 3^{9}, Is 60^{3}). In like manner, the feast of fat things which Jahweh, according to Is 25^{6}, will prepare on Ẓion for all peoples, must be understood as a sacrificial meal by which they are received into the fellowship of the people of God; v.^{7} declares how at the same time the covering shall be destroyed which has hitherto been cast over all peoples, and has kept them from the joyful fulfilment of the will of God which is known even to them. According to Is $56^{3ff.}$, not only foreigners but even eunuchs who have attached themselves to Jahweh and keep His Sabbaths, may present to Him in Ẓion sacrifices that shall be well-pleasing in His eyes, for His house shall be called 'an house of prayer for all nations' (v.^{7}).

But the victory over particularism reaches its culminating point in the remarkable prophecy of Is $19^{19ff.}$, which contemplates the conversion of the Egyptians and their joining with Assyria and Judah in a common worship of the true God. It may be that Assyria is here only a symbolical name (for Syria), and that the special circumstances of a late period (the 3rd, if not the 2nd, cent. B.C.) supplied the motive for this prophecy. But, in any case, it is an important witness that all the particularism of the later post-exilic period had not been able to quench the spirit of Deutero-Isaiah. The same remark applies to the Book of Jonah. The simple teaching of this much misunderstood, and therefore inadequately appreciated, little book, is that God in His mercy desires not the death of sinners, even among the heathen, but that they should turn and live; and, further, that it is within His power to effect such a turning, in opposition to all human expectation. Hence it only shows a carnal disposition and a low desire for revenge, if Judah, instead of rejoicing in the conversion of the heathen, is filled with fury because vengeance has not yet overtaken Nineveh (which here probably stands for Babylon). Thus understood—and the closing words of the narrative imperatively demand this interpretation—this little book, too, represents the highest elevation reached by the point of view characteristic of Deutero-Isaiah.

5. In what precedes we have brought together all the expectations concerning the heathen world. But the centre round which the expectations of this period revolve is always Israel, the 'heritage' of Jahweh (Is 19^{25}). It is for it, above all, that the joyful message is meant, which comforts the mourners of Ẓion (Is 61^{1}); on it is accomplished the wondrous transformation, nay the conversion of all conditions into their opposite (Is $29^{17ff.}$), and therewith the triumph of the patient and the poor among men (v.^{19}).

The principal guarantee for all blessings of the Messianic age is found—as in the earlier prophecies—in the restored personal presence of Jahweh, or, to be more precise, in the indwelling of His 'glory' (Zec $2^{4.\,6f.}$ 8^{3}, Is 4^{5} [where cloud and shining flame, after the purifying judgment is over, are meant to recall the fiery cloud in which Jahweh once accompanied Israel on the wilderness march]). With His appearing upon Ẓion, He enters at the same time on the kingly rule over Israel, and judicial authority over all nations (Is 2^{4} 33^{22} 24^{23}, Jer 10^{10}, Ob ^{21}, Zeph 3^{15}, Zec 14^{9}). Under His sway, the population (which in post-exilic times was long so small) is to multiply beyond measure (Zec 8^{5}, Hos 2^{1} [1^{10}]); the walls of Jerusalem must stretch far out (Mic 7^{11}, Jer $31^{38ff.}$), nay even be dispensed with altogether, on account of the multitude of men and cattle (Zec $2^{5ff.}$); for Jahweh Himself will be to them as a wall of fire (v.^{9}). Jerusalem is henceforward holy: foreigners shall no more pass through her (Jl 4 [3]^{17}), no oppressor shall again lord it over her, for Jahweh now with sleepless eye interposes Himself as the bulwark of His temple against all that comes and goes (Zec 9^{8}; cf. also Is 60^{18}). Nor is there any further need of the sun and the moon, for Jahweh is their unceasing light (Is $60^{19f.}$).

Corresponding to the glory of her king is the external glory, the renown and splendour of the new Jerusalem, and the happiness of her inhabitants. They are there as a boast and a praise among all the peoples of the earth (Zeph 3^{20}); all nations shall praise their country as a delightsome land (Mal 3^{12}), Jerusalem as the pride and joy of all future generations (Is 60^{15}). Ẓion, the city of the festivals, shall be like a secure habitation, subject to no change (Is 33^{20}; cf. also Am 9^{15}, Jl 4 [3]^{20}); Israel shall be like splendidly blossoming plants (Hos $14^{6\,(5)\,ff.}$, Is 27^{6}; according to many, also Is 4^{2}). One and all, the inhabitants shall enjoy a long duration of life (Zec 8^{4}, Is $65^{20.\,22}$), surrounded by blessings, including fertility (Is $30^{23ff.}$, Jer $31^{11\text{-}14}$, Am 9^{13}, Jl 4 (3)^{18}); for they are 'a family blessed by Jahweh' (Is 65^{23}). In the profoundest peace they pass their days (Mic 4^{4}, Is $60^{17bf.}$)—a peace which extends even to the wild animals (Is 65^{25}).

But the heathen, above all, have to contribute to the splendour of Jerusalem. All their wealth is to flow to that city as a token of homage to the temple (Hag 2^{7}, Is 11^{10} 18^{7} (?) 23^{18} $60^{5f.\,11}$), their flocks are to be available for the sacrifices (Is 60^{7}), and the glory of Lebanon for the beautifying of the sanctuary (v.^{13}). Thus then shall Israel 'suck the milk of the nations, and suck the breast of kings' (v.^{16}).

But it is not only upon endowment with the good things of earth that the happiness of the new Jerusalem shall rest. Prophecy does not forget higher, spiritual blessings, even if their limitation to Israel preponderates, showing here again a falling away from the height reached by Deutero-Isaiah's expectations. The most important point, because it is the prerequisite for all other blessing, is the complete atonement for all the past guilt of the people. From the way in which Zechariah in his fourth night-vision ($3^{1ff.}$) hears the Satan simply commanded to be silent when he charges the people in the person of the high priest Joshua with their old guilt, it might appear as if the past judgments had sufficed of themselves to constitute a full atonement. But this is not the meaning of the prophets. On the contrary, Jahweh (v.^{4}) must expressly forgive the people's sin. The clothing of the high priest in clean garments is a symbolical action, declaring him (and with him the people) justified, but of course with the implication of the presence of a penitent frame of mind, such as is well-pleasing to God. In reality it is the grace of God which brings about the atonement, as is expressly urged in Is $12^{1ff.}$ 33^{24} and, above all, Mic $7^{18ff.}$. Thus Israel becomes a people who are all righteous (Is 60^{21}), who are holy (Is 4^{3}) to Jahweh (*i.e.* consecrated to Him as an inalienable possession)—nay, Jerusalem is to bear the honorific appellation, 'Jahweh is our righteousness' (Jer 33^{16}). It is only occasionally that the religious and moral regeneration of the people is traced to the bestowal of the Divine spirit; cf. Is $32^{15ff.}$ 59^{21}, Zec 12^{10}, and especially Jl $3^{1ff.}$, although in this last passage the outpouring of God's spirit upon all branches of the people, even male and female slaves, refers mainly to the bestowal of the gift of prophecy. But the mental transformations described in Is 29^{24} $33^{5f.}$ are also, no doubt, thought of as due to the influence of the Divine spirit.

6. Amidst all this, however, it cannot be denied

that the 'legal' religion, for which the way was laid by Ezekiel, and which became an actual fact during the period with which we are dealing, casts its shadow even upon the expectations regarding the time of consummation. The very commanding part played by temple and cultus at present (see above, p. 710^{a}) is to be retained even in the Messianic future. It is true that embodiments of the Divine presence such as the sacred Ark shall then be readily dispensed with, because the whole of Jerusalem shall be called the throne of Jahweh (Jer $3^{16f.}$). But the temple hill, as the holiest and most important, shall tower above all others (Is 2^{2}, Mic 4^{1}), whereas, according to Zec 14^{10}, the whole of the rest of the country shall be changed into a plain. Ezekiel's prophecy (ch. 47) of the temple spring undergoes an advance in Zec 14^{8} in so far as the living waters, starting from Jerusalem, flow down to both seas, east and west, and thus fertilize the whole land. The importance attached, again, to the performance of the cultus is evidenced not only by the expectation of gifts of homage offered to the temple by the Gentiles (see above, p. 712^{b}), but also by passages like Jer $33^{18.\,21}$, in which the regular succession of Levitical priests is put on a level with the succession of the Davidic dynasty. According to Is 66^{21}, however, the priesthood is to be open also to the returned exiles (not, presumably, to the Gentiles who bring them home). The religious festivals present themselves in a specially important light. The former fast-days shall indeed be transformed into days of rejoicing (Zec $8^{18ff.}$), but at every New Moon and at every Sabbath all flesh (in Israel) shall come to worship at Jerusalem and—here we have a strange expectation, due probably to a later insertion—to look upon the corpses of the apostate ones, 'whose worm dieth not and whose fire is not quenched' (Is $66^{23f.}$; on this passage see p. 714^{a}). Zechariah ($14^{16ff.}$), on the other hand, looks at every Feast of Tabernacles for a pilgrimage of all nations to Jerusalem to pray before Jahweh and to join in the keeping of the festival: if any one neglects this, his land shall be punished with drought. The holiness belonging to the temple shall extend even to the bells of the horses in Jerusalem and the cooking-pots of the temple. It need not be pointed out that *this* notion of holiness cannot be explained from the usage of an Isaiah or a Deutero-Isaiah, but only from the mechanical and outward conception characteristic of the 'legal' religion.

7. We have purposely left out of account until now that branch of the expectations as to the future which, according to a still prevailing opinion, occupied the forefront of interest, namely, the hope of the appearing of the Messiah, the 'shoot of David,' predicted at the latest by Jeremiah (see above, p. 696^{b}). Really, however, it cannot be said that this aspect of prophecy plays a prominent part in our period, unless the very important oracles contained in Is 9^{1-6} and 11^{1-9}, as well as Mic $5^{1ff.}$ (cf. above, p. 696^{a}), are to be assigned to the post-exilic period. Leaving these passages out of account, we find a direct allusion to Jeremiah's ($23^{5ff.}$) 'shoot of David' in Jer $33^{14ff.}$ (where, however, vv.$^{17.\,21f.}$ show that it is not one particular ruler, but a continuous succession of rulers of David's line, that is thought of) and Zec 3^{8} 6^{12}.* Here 'Shoot' has already become a proper name, but one has no longer to look for his coming, since he is present in the person of Zerubbabel. All that is now needed is the revelation of his dignity as a signet-ring chosen by Jahweh (Hag 2^{23}), and his elevation to the throne of his fathers—an event which appears to be connected in Zec 6^{12} with the completion of the building of the temple. We have already (p. 678^{b}) pointed out that the crowning there enjoined had in the original text not Joshua but Zerubbabel for its object. It is perfectly intelligible that, after the shattering of the hopes reposed on Zerubbabel, the high priest should have taken his place (v.^{11}), especially as in the fifth of Zechariah's night-visions (4^{14}) he is already reckoned as one of the two 'anointed' ones who stand before the Lord of the whole earth.

In Is 11^{10}, which clearly looks back to v.^{1}, we hear of the 'shoot from the root of Jesse,' which is to be as an ensign to the nations (*i.e.* to indicate to them the way they are to go), who shall seek his favour and (by their gifts of homage, cf. above, p. 712^{b}) enhance the splendour of his residence. In the whole of the following description, however, he is not mentioned again.

The expectation of a king of David's family is found also, beyond doubt, in the beautiful prophecy of Zec $9^{9f.}$, although he is there called simply 'king.' Jerusalem is to rejoice over him who returns home as a conqueror over all enemies, but mounted upon the animal ridden in times of peace, in token that henceforward he is to rule as a peaceful prince to the ends of the earth. The idea of the world-empire of the Messiah appears here with its final stamp, and indeed in a form which goes far beyond all prophecies uttered hitherto, and to which there is no parallel except in passages like Ps 2^{8}.

Apart from the above prophecies, we meet only with quite general promises, such as that of the righteous rule of a king and his ministers (Is $32^{1f.}$), the choice of a common head over Judah and Israel at the advent of the Messianic age (Hos 2^{2} [1^{11}]); also the 'breaker' of Mic 2^{13} means the earthly leader, but the real king at the head of the returning people is Jahweh Himself), and the rearing up again of the fallen tabernacle of David (Am 9^{11}). The last-named expectation might, however, refer simply to the re-establishing of the residence and kingdom of David; while in Zec $12^{8.\,10}$ the 'house of David,' which (in the joy of victory) is to be like the angel of Jahweh, stands simply for the aristocracy of the nation. A closer examination of all these passages always yields the same result, namely, that during this period the person of the Messiah is either of only secondary importance, or, if this be not the case, the rôle it plays is far less religious than political.

8. Finally, we have still to mention some quite isolated expressions, which (like some even of those above mentioned) belong to the sphere of late apocalyptic expectations. We should hardly include in this category the promise of a new heaven and a new earth (Is 65^{17} 66^{22}). For, although this promise plainly attaches itself to Is 51^{6} (the annihilation of heaven and earth), Trito-Isaiah, as the whole context shows, is thinking rather of the complete transformation of all conditions than of an actual new creation of the Universe. On the other hand, Is 25^{8} contains an apocalyptic feature in the announcement that death shall be destroyed for ever,* as does also 26^{19} in the hope expressed of the resurrection of the godly dead. In the latter case the form of expression appears to the present writer to exclude a symbolical explanation of this resurrection as referring to the return from exile (as in Ezk $37^{11ff.}$). 'They that lie in the dust' are those actually buried; the mysterious dew descending from the starry region causes the earth to send forth the shades again. The definiteness with which the

---

* We leave out of account Is 4^{2}, because there 'shoot' or 'sprout' [better 'sprouting'] of Jahweh can only mean, in view of the parallelism, 'that which Jahweh causes to sprout.'

* We leave the question open whether this clause, which suits neither the rhythm nor the contents of the two following clauses, belonged from the first to Is 25^{8}.

resurrection hope is here put forward can cause us all the less surprise, seeing that the so-called Apocalypse of Isaiah (chs. 24–27) appears to belong to a period from which we possess other witnesses to this expectation (see below, on Dn 12[3]). Elsewhere, throughout this period we find everywhere assumed the old conception of Shĕ'ôl (see above, p. 668[a]), the place whence no return is possible. Only, it is questionable whether the description in Is 14[9ff.] of the conditions in the kingdom of the dead, after the analogy of the conditions that prevail in the upper world, is to be put to the account of bold poetical colouring or of a further development of the ancient and simpler conception. If the latter must be assumed, yet even in this passage (especially v.[15], cf. Ezk 32[23]) nothing more than an approach can be discovered to the doctrine of a separation between the good and the bad. On the enigmatic saying in Is 66[24] (probably a later addition), cf. above, p. 713[a]. It would have to be regarded as a clear approach to the doctrine of the pains of hell if there were here any reference to the under world at all, and not rather to the corpses of apostates lying before the walls of Jerusalem.

9. In what precedes we have already had to notice a variety of passages which pass beyond merely eschatological expectations into the sphere of apocalyptic, in so far as their language is purposely obscure and veiled, nay enigmatic in form, partly perhaps with the well-founded intention of rendering it unintelligible to outsiders. But apocalyptic proper meets us in the extant literature for the first time in the *Book of Daniel* (*c.* 165 B.C.). Since this book has found entrance into the OT canon, we cannot pass it over entirely in our present exposition. In reality, however, it belongs to the category of post-canonical (apocryphal and apocalyptical) literature, and hence we refer for details to the article DEVELOPMENT OF DOCTRINE IN THE APOCRYPHAL PERIOD (above, p. 272 ff.); cf. also P. Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie von Daniel bis Akiba*, Tübingen and Leipzig, 1903; W. Bousset, *Die jüdische Apokalyptik*, etc., Berlin, 1903; W. Baldensperger, *Die messianisch-apokalyptischen Hoffnungen des Judenthums*³, Strassburg, 1903.

The apocalyptic character of the Book of Daniel is already indicated by the command (8[26] 12[4. 9]) to Daniel to keep the revelations made to him secret, and to seal the book till the time of the end. But it is seen most clearly of all in the contents of chs. 2. 7. 10 ff. Throughout these chapters events are *predicted*, some of which had happened within the author's own experience, while others had long been things of the past: in chs. 2 and 7 the world-empires that succeeded the empire of Babylon, along with the ten kings of the fourth kingdom; in 10 ff. the conflicts of the Ptolemies and the Seleucids, with numberless details; and, most of all, the terrible danger to the religion of Israel threatened by Antiochus IV. Epiphanes (11[36ff.]). The purpose is everywhere the same: the author means to encourage his countrymen to unconquerable endurance amidst the severe persecution to which their faith and their fidelity to the Law were subjected. With this view he shows them, by the example of the young Daniel and his companions (1[8ff.]), the blessing of unqualified obedience to the laws about food; by the example of the three men in the fiery furnace (ch. 3), and by the example of Daniel in the lions' den (ch. 6), he exhibits how for courageous confessors of the God of Israel wondrous deliverance is wrought, while punishment inevitably overtakes the despisers of this God (3[22f.] 4[30ff.] 5[30] 6[25 (24)]). On the other side, the consolation he offers is based upon the prediction—veiled indeed in true apocalyptic fashion, yet on that account exact—of the end of the oppression. It is derived (ch. 9) from a mystical interpretation of Jeremiah's prophecy of a seventy years' period of rejection for Jerusalem, the years being explained as weeks of years. Even this instance of occupation with the long-canonized Sacred Writings, in order to discover a secret sense, is a characteristic mark of apocalyptic.

It would be doing the Book of Daniel serious injustice to deny it all claim to a truly religious tone, and to see in it merely an embodiment of rigid zeal for the Law. Even if the beautiful confession of sins contained in 9[4-19] should have to be regarded, with many moderns, as a later addition, yet in 8[19] and 11[36] there is the implication that the advent of the final age is still kept back by the continuance of God's well-merited anger against Israel. But elsewhere, it cannot be denied, the strict observance of the outward demands of the Law, especially those relating to the cultus, occupies the forefront of interest. To our apocalyptist what appears to be the principal misfortune in the religious persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes, is plainly the abolition of the regular morning and evening burnt-offering (8[11. 13] 11[31] [coupled in the latter passage with the defilement of the sanctuary by a heathen image]), while its reintroduction is the subject of exact calculation (8[13f.] 12[11f.]).[*]

Considering the date of origin of the Book of Daniel, it is a matter of course that its conception of God should occupy the level reached by the writing prophets. It is remarkable, however, that here already there should be such striking traces of the effort, which afterwards reached a climax in the Rabbinical theology, to jealously guard the person of God from all direct contact with the visible world. This explains the great multiplying of comparatively independent intermediate beings, who hold converse with the apocalyptist, in order to give him information (7[16ff.] 8[15ff.] 9[21ff.], where, for the first time, we meet with the name of an angel, Gabriel; 10[4ff.]); or whom he beholds otherwise in his visions, such as the countless myriads of 7[10] (cf. also 8[13f.] 12[5ff.], and the mention of guardian angels in 3[25] 6[23]). In the story of the madness of Nebuchadrezzar (4[10ff.]) it looks almost as if the rule of the world was left to the 'determination of the *watchers*' [certain superior angels] and the command of the 'holy ones'; it is not till v.[21 (24)] that we hear of a 'determination of the Highest.' No less do the struggles of the nations appear to be decided simply by angelic princes (שָׂרִים) as the guardians and champions of the various peoples;[†] cf. 10[4ff.], where probably we should see Gabriel in the fantastically described figure of the champion of Israel, who, with the aid of Michael,[‡] one of the chief princes (10[13. 21]; in 12[1] he is called 'the great prince who protects thy countrymen'), contends with the patron angels of the Persian empire and (v.[20]) of Greece.

The above-described tendency to keep the person of God at a distance appears to be quite contradicted by the description in 7[9ff.], where the 'ancient of days,' who takes his seat upon the throne to execute judgment, can be understood only of God. But apart from the fact that here we have to do with a mere vision, and that on the occasion in question personal action on the part of God was indispensable, the description is confined wholly to externals (clothing, hair of the head, dazzling throne, and myriads of attendant spirits), God is not once introduced as speaking. On the contrary, it appears as if the decision of the assessors of the court (v.[10b]) were pronounced on the ground of the 'books,' in which, presumably, the actions of the parties to be judged had been written down.

---

[*] In 12[11f.] there may be two later systems of reckoning, different from that of 8[14].

[†] Cf. what was said above (p. 709[b] f.) on Is 24[21f.].

[‡] Cf. the exhaustive monograph of W. Luecken, *Michael*, Göttingen, 1898.

This judgment evidently enters as a principal component into the eschatological expectations of the apocalyptist. And its result is not merely to cast down the heathen world-empire personified in the God-blaspheming Antiochus Epiphanes, but to bestow the world-dominion for ever on the 'saints of the Most High,' *i.e.* on the people of Israel ($7^{13f.\,21f.\,27}$; cf., by the way, even 2^{44}). In view of the express interpretation of the angel in 7^{27}, the figure who, *like* a man, comes with the clouds of heaven, can be understood only of Israel, and not of a personal Messiah, of whom, strangely enough, the book contains no hint. On the other hand, it is the Book of Daniel (12^{2}) that contains the first undoubted * reference to the resurrection. Even here, however, what is looked for is not a general resurrection of *all* the dead, but only a resurrection of *many*, including both the godly (to everlasting life) and the ungodly (to shame and everlasting abhorrence). The number of the first naturally includes Daniel himself (v.^{13}).

That this last offshoot of prophecy should now exhibit only faint traces of the true prophetic spirit, and should move rather on the lines of 'legal' religion, is only natural in view of the fact that the latter had held almost unlimited sway for nearly 300 years at the date when the Book of Daniel was composed.

In speaking of the Book of Daniel, and even in dealing with a not inconsiderable portion of post-exilic prophecy, we have been compelled to anticipate the order of the stages of development of the religion of Israel. Our next task will be to seek to realize more fully the nature of the 'Priests' Code.'

VIII. The Priests' Code (P).

i. *THE SOURCES.* — Regarding the numerous questions connected with the literary criticism of the stratum usually known as P, we must here be content with a few remarks. It is generally admitted that not only the present Pentateuch but also its latest stratum, namely P, must be viewed as the fruit of a somewhat lengthy literary process. Nevertheless, the spirit and the diction of this whole stratum exhibit such unity, that, from the point of view of the history of the religion of Israel, it is a matter of only subordinate interest to determine the component elements more exactly. Thus we do not dispute the possibility that the so-called Law of Holiness (H) may include some pre-exilic passages, but we regard by far the most of H as having originated within the priestly circles of the Exile, and that by way of carrying out the programme sketched by Ezekiel (chs. 40–48). The same remark applies to the priestly law-book, which, according to the express statement of Ezr 7^{25} (cf. also Neh $8^{1f.\,13}$), was first brought with him from Babylon by Ezra, and which, in view of Ezr $7^{12.\,21}$ ('the *writer* of the law of the God of heaven'), must at least have been edited by him. Whether this law-book of Ezra was identical with that recension which embodied the cultus laws in the form of a cultus history (cf. *e.g.* Lv $10^{1ff.}$, Nu $15^{32ff.}$), and included also the historical parts of Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, and Joshua, we leave an open question. Only, we have no doubt on this point, that Ezra's law-book was identical neither with the whole of the present Pentateuch nor with the whole of the present P stratum. For, in the one case, the occasional glaring differences between the laws in D and in P would have occasioned serious confusion; while, on the other supposition, it would be quite impossible to account for the very frequent repetitions (for instance, the duplicate versions of the ordinances regarding the building and furnishing of the Tent of Meeting, Ex 25-31 and 35-40), as well as the partial divergences of the components of certain groups (for instance, in the so-called sacrificial *tôrāh* of Lv 1-7). On the contrary, we can only conclude that the code of Ezra, which was originally *harmonious*, was subsequently enlarged by the products of other priestly schemes, and so finally (probably still within the 5th cent. B.C.) united with the older sources (J, E, D) into a single whole.

ii. *THE CONCEPTION OF GOD.*—1. P's conception of God can, properly speaking, be gathered only from the Creation narrative of Gn 1. For, as almost his whole interest is fixed on the preparation for and the establishment of the Israelitish theocracy, little occasion presents itself elsewhere for descanting on the being of God. But in the story of Creation (cf. above, p. 666) we encounter such a transcendence of God in relation to matter, in opposition to all pantheistic intermixing of the two, and to every theory of evolution, that we may here pass by the much debated question of the dependence of the narrator on the Babylonian or the Phœnician cosmogony.* At most, a mythological echo has survived in the allusion to a chaos (v.^{2}) and the hovering (scarcely 'brooding') of the creative spirit of God over the primeval ocean. But, even if v.^{2} should be urged in opposition to the assumption of a creation *ex nihilo*, there would still be left the making of light, of the firmament of heaven, and, above all, of the stars, which are evidently to be thought of not as formed from pre-existing material but as called immediately into being. The absolute omnipotence of the Creator results of itself from the fact that His word of command is all that is needed to bring things into being according to His pleasure; while His absolute wisdom is manifested in the progressive order of the creative work, culminating in man, the goal and the crown of creation; as well as by the testimony of the Creator Himself (v.^{31}) that all He had made was 'very good,' *i.e.* perfect.

2. This lofty conception of the living, personal, but at the same time purely spiritual, God—a product of perfected prophetism—shows itself elsewhere in P in his careful avoidance of all anthropomorphism. True, indeed, even he cannot entirely dispense with theophanies at specially important crises in the history of redemption; but he always contents himself with almost imperceptible allusions to the near presence of God (Gn 17^{22} 35^{13a}), or to the appearing of the 'glory of Jahweh' (see above, p. 639^{b}f.) in the cloud (Ex 16^{10}, Nu $9^{15ff.}$ 17^{7} [16^{42}]). This glory appears to the Israelites upon the top of Mount Sinai like devouring fire (Ex 24^{17}); its reflexion causes the skin of Moses' face to shine, so that he has to cover his countenance with a veil (Ex 34^{29}). But none of these passages venture on even a remote description of the being of God. Under these circumstances it is surely no accident, again, that in P we find no trace of intermediary beings between God and man, the sole medium of revelation being the word of God. Manifestly, the sending forth of angels, who had to be thought of all the same as wearing some bodily form, appeared to P as itself a degrading of the Divine sphere to the realm of the creaturely.

3. All the less can it be that, when man is said to have been created after the image of God and

---

* The above (p. 713^{b}) cited passage, Is 26^{19}, which, by the way, perhaps belongs to the same period as Daniel, is by not a few explained of the *political* resurrection of the people.

* The fullest treatment of these questions is by H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit* (Göttingen, 1894); and Frdr. Delitzsch, *Das babylonische Weltschöpfungsepos* (Leipzig, 1896).

in His likeness (Gn 1^{27}), there is any thought of a copying of the *bodily form* of God. Even if something of the kind may have been intended in the heathen source which is assumed by many to have been used by the narrator, he himself would have indignantly repelled any such conception. Man is the image of God in so far as he, in distinction from all other living creatures, belongs to the realm of rational and moral beings, whose supreme head is God Himself. The idea that this Divine image was lost by a fall into sin is quite unknown to P. On the contrary, he expressly notes (Gn 5^{3}) that it was transmitted by Adam, through the process of generation, to Seth (and his further posterity); and, even after the Flood, murder is declared to be an act worthy of punishment by death (9^{6}), because it amounts to a destroying of the Divine image.

A result of the position of pre-eminence held by man as the bearer of the Divine image is the dominion accorded him by God over the earth, and in particular over the world of animals (Gn 1^{28}). For the exercise of this dominion men are capacitated by becoming fruitful and multiplying in accordance with the so-called 'Creation-blessing.' At the same time, however, they are at first (v.^{29}) confined exclusively to a vegetable diet; permission to use animal food (but to the exclusion of eating blood) does not come till after the Flood (Gn 9$^{3ff.}$), *i.e.* it is simply a concession to the corruption that has now set in, a perversion of the condition originally designed by God. In His perfect creation slaughter could not have held sway from the first.

iii. *THE REGULATIONS OF THE THEOCRACY.*—1. That interest in the regulations of the theocracy by which the whole of P is dominated, makes itself felt already in the Creation narrative, in so far as the latter represents the Sabbath as blessed and hallowed from the beginning as the day on which God rested from His six days' work (Gn 2^{3}). The Flood is indeed, as in J, a judgment of God (6$^{11ff.}$) on a wholly corrupt humanity, but at the same time furnishes the occasion for concluding a *bĕrîth* (cf., on this so-called 'covenant,' above, p. 630^{b} f.) with the new race of men descended from Noaḥ. It consists in God's promise that mankind is in future to be safe from the recurrence of destruction by the waters of a flood, and in the binding of Noaḥ (and in him of all mankind) to abstain from eating blood and from murder. The covenantal sign confirmatory of the Divine promise is the rainbow (9$^{12ff.}$).

2. In the history of the patriarchs, which is dismissed by P in a few very brief notices, there emerges prominently once more the concluding of the *bĕrîth* with Abraham (Gn 17$^{1ff.}$). The Divine promise in this instance has reference to the bestowing upon the patriarch of a very numerous posterity, which shall include even kings, and to the assigning of the land of Canaan to Abraham's seed as a permanent possession. On the other hand, Abraham is bound to an upright walk before God and to the adoption of circumcision as the outward sign of this second 'covenant.' It is clear that circumcision, which, as a very ancient practice of many nations surrounding Israel, must originally have rested upon other grounds (cf. above, p. 622^{b} f.), is here brought under a specifically religious point of view. Since an uncircumcised person is 'unclean,' circumcision, as the taking away of a portion of the uncleanness, is a symbolical act of purifying. But this negative sense is supplemented by a positive one—an act of consecration. Circumcision is the rite whereby a child is received into the fellowship of the pure God-consecrated people, and it includes at the same time the obligation to conform to all the Divine ordinances that are binding on this body. All these features (purification, consecration, engagement) impart to circumcision, as viewed by P, a sacramental character, which suggests comparison with Christian Baptism. The circumstance that, according to v.^{12}, circumcision is to be performed also on every class of slaves, appears at the first glance very strange, in view of the particularism with which P elsewhere insists on the sole claim of Israel to the name of a people of God. But it seems to him even more important that no unclean one shall be tolerated in the company of the clean, and hence he resorts more readily to the expedient of requiring that even foreigners who have come into external fellowship with Israel shall be bound to the Law by circumcision, and be thereby constituted full citizens of the Divine commonwealth.

3. Except for his detailed account of the purchase of the burial-place at Ḥebron (Gn 23), upon which he evidently means to base a claim on the part of Abraham's posterity to the land of Canaan, P hastens rapidly over the history preliminary to the Sinai covenant, that he may dwell all the more fully on this third *bĕrîth*, whose duration is to be eternal, and whose sign is the Sabbath (Ex 31$^{13ff.}$). In the forefront stands (Ex 6$^{2ff.}$) the solemn revelation of the name 'Jahweh' to Moses. This name is expressly said to have been then first communicated, God having revealed Himself to the fathers only as *El-shaddai* ('God almighty'). No explanation of the name 'Jahweh' is given. Doubtless, the explanation which underlies Ex 3^{15} is assumed as long familiar. But here already the promises of Jahweh are enumerated, upon which the *bĕrîth* at Sinai is to be founded: the deliverance from the bondage of Egypt, whereby at the same time Israel's election as the people of God's own possession is sealed, and the settlement of them in Canaan in fulfilment of the sworn promise to the patriarchs that this land was to be given to their descendants for a perpetual possession. The obligations, again, to which the people have to submit themselves, in order to prove themselves worthy of these Divine blessings and of the name 'people of Jahweh,' are laid down in the numerous ordinances which form the kernel of the so-called 'Priests' Code.' The latter name is not meant to imply that this code is concerned only with prescriptions for the priests—by way of opposition, for instance, to Deuteronomy as a law-book for the people. On the contrary, the majority of the laws contained in it assume the form of communications which Moses by God's command imparts to the people. But, as all strictly ritual acts can be performed only by priests, and the laws have reference very largely to the cultus, the designation of the whole as the 'Priests' Code' is perfectly justified. The realm of civil and criminal jurisprudence,* which plays by no means an unessential part in the 'Book of the Covenant,' comes into consideration in P only where specifically religious interests are involved.

4. The fundamental notions on which the so-called *Ceremonial Law*, in dependence on the legislative programme of Ezekiel, is based, are extremely simple. They amount essentially to the one idea that in the domain of Israel, Jahweh's own people, everything without exception belongs, and is thus consecrated, to Him alone. This holds good accordingly of all space and time, and of all pro-

---

* On this side of the legislation, which we pass by here, the reader may compare the following: W. Nowack, *Die socialen Probleme in Israel*, Strassburg, 1892; E. Schall, *Die Staatsverfassung der Juden*, Leipzig, 1896; F. Buhl, *Die socialen Verhältnisse der Israeliten*, Berlin, 1899; G. Förster, *Das mosaische Strafrecht in seiner geschichtlichen Entwickelung*, Leipzig, 1900.

perty and life. The full logical consequence of this now would be, properly speaking, that man would have to renounce all use of what is God's sole property—nay, that all life would have to be brought to Him in sacrifice. But this would make the continued existence of the God-consecrated people impossible. Hence God has so ordained it in His law that only a portion of the property in question is to be exclusively hallowed to Him and thus withdrawn from profane use. This due (*tĕrûmāh*), levied upon the whole, gives symbolical expression to the confession that Jahweh is incontrovertibly Lord of everything. With this admission He is graciously satisfied; and by the sacred *tĕrûmāh* all the rest is also hallowed and its safe use procured for Israel. But all the heavier is the vengeance that overtakes him who omits the prescribed hallowing and rendering of a portion to Jahweh, or lays his hands on what has already been hallowed. It will be our object in the following survey to show what was the special portion of Jahweh under all the categories above referred to.

(*a*) *Holy places.*—Jahweh is sole Lord of all space. But He contents Himself with requiring that a limited space be marked off and declared absolutely sacred. This space is the place where His 'glory' dwells, and thus at the same time supplies the condition of approach to Him and of all kinds of ritual proceedings. (α) The latter became possible for the first time after the construction of the *one* legitimate sanctuary, in the form of the 'Tent of Meeting' (commonly called 'the tabernacle,' German *Stiftshütte*) at Sinai. Hence P nowhere speaks of the erecting of altars or the offering of sacrifices by the patriarchs, but the constitution of the sanctuary is the first and very minutely handled subject of the Sinaitic legislation (Ex $25^{1ff.}$ and $35^{4ff.}$). The concentration of the cultus at *one* legitimate sanctuary, which Deuteronomy ($12^{1ff.}$) put forward as a new demand and which it carried through not without difficulty, appears in P as something that is self-evident and needs not to be specially enjoined. Nor does P, like Deuteronomy, regard the unification of the cultus as coming into force only after the termination of the conquest of Canaan [or, to be more precise, after the building of Solomon's temple], but as a principle that was valid from the very first. The tent-sanctuary erected at Sinai is indeed, in view of its whole character, nothing but the Jerusalem temple projected back into the time of the wilderness journeyings; but there are two considerations that forbid our speaking, in this connexion, of P's account as pure fiction. In the first place, even the ancient tradition (Ex $33^{7ff.}$) knows of a 'Tent of Meeting,' only that the latter is not a place of worship but simply the seat of an oracle, and that it stands not in the midst of but outside the camp. Secondly, the tent-sanctuary of P belongs to the numerous theories which owe their form, not to an actual tradition but to a religious postulate. Things must have been *so* ordered, it was argued, if they were to harmonize with the (much later, but) absolutely authoritative theories. Thus a delicate symbolical idea comes to be transformed into tangible history. Any one who straightway pronounces this a falsifying of history, shows that he has no notion of the peculiar character of the whole genus of literature known as the *midrāsh* (for it is to *this* realm that we must assign all this embodying of religious ideas in history, within the Ceremonial Law). See, further, art. TABERNACLE in vol. iv.

The setting up of the sacred tent in the midst of the camp of Israel naturally implies that Jahweh means to take up His abode amidst His people, if not in His real person, yet with a representation of His being (cf. above, p. 639^{b} f., on the 'glory of Jahweh'). The special seat of His revealing presence, and consequently the most holy centre of the sacred spot, is the lid of the Ark of the Law in the dark *adytum* of the tent (Ex 25^{22}). Next to this 'Holy of Holies,' which, it would appear from Lv 16, could be entered only by the high priest, and even by him only on the Great Day of Atonement,* comes the 'Holy Place,' which only the priests, not the Levites, might enter. These two spaces are surrounded by the fore-court, in which the priests, with the assistance of the Levites, attend to the sacrificial cultus. Between the fore-court, again, and the tribes of Israel which—three on each side—surround the court, the Levites are encamped. In virtue of the consecration which they have undergone, they are fitted to serve as a bulwark to the people against the Divine holiness, which threatens with destruction everything unclean that comes near it (Nu 1^{53}).

(β) The idea of a *tĕrûmāh* of the land being due to Jahweh as an acknowledgment that one owes the whole to Him, finds a further expression in the command to set apart 13 priestly and 35 Levitical cities, each with a piece of pasture-land round about it (Nu 35, Jos 21). The circumstance that these cities and the pasturage pertaining to them are intended for the use of man, does not exclude the possibility of looking upon them as a due paid to Jahweh. For in other instances as well (*e.g.* the thigh in meal-offerings) the *tĕrûmāh* falls to the priests. This whole enactment, however, is intended simply to embody one of those theories spoken of above, without regard to the possibility of carrying it into practice. This is sufficiently proved by the single fact that the territory of the twelve tribes, in each of which, in proportion to their size, a certain number of cities are to be set apart (Nu 35^{8}), had long ceased to be under the control of the people, and that it cannot be proved that in the post-exilic period such a law was carried out even in the case of Judah, although priests and Levites may have fixed their abode by preference in those particular cities of Judah and Benjamin. In favour of the view that we are here dealing with a mere theory, there is, finally, the further circumstance that several of the cities enumerated were situated so near to one another that the pasture-lands attached to them (extending each to a distance of 2000 cubits from the city wall) would in many instances have overlapped. The late date, however, at which this theory was constructed is evident from the way in which the Priests' Code proper repeatedly (Nu $18^{20f.}$ 26^{62}) insists that the tribe of Levi is to be compensated by the offerings of the people for having *waived its claim* to a share of the land: Jahweh is its portion.

(γ) A final embodiment of the idea of Jahweh as the sole owner of the land is found in a portion of the regulations about the *Sabbatical year* and the so-called great *year of jubile* (Lv 25). It is true that even the Book of the Covenant prescribes (Ex $23^{10f.}$) that the land is to be allowed to lie fallow once in seven years, for the good of the poor and the beasts of the field. The motive there, however, is a humanitarian, not a theocratic, one; and, moreover, the rule is certainly not meant to apply to all cultivated land in one and the same year. Deuteronomy prescribes (ch. 15) only a remission of debts for the seventh year, again on humanitarian grounds. On the other hand, Lv $25^{3ff.}$ requires that every seven years *all* land shall enjoy absolute rest. There is no more word of humanitarian motives: the Sabbath of the land in the Sabbatical year denotes a consecration of the land just as the weekly Sabbath signifies the consecration of a specified shorter period of time. But this consecration implies once more the solemn acknowledgment that the people have received the land only on revocable lease from Jahweh, the sole feudal owner.

---

* The opening part of Lv 16 contains, indeed, primarily only regulations as to the precautions to be taken by Aaron to ensure his being able to enter the sanctuary without danger, and thus manifestly assumes the possibility of repeated entrances. This introductory passage was afterwards amalgamated with the ritual of the Day of Atonement. Nu 18^{7}, again, implies that *all* priests may officiate in the Holy of Holies.

We have the express testimony of the history of the Maccabæan wars to the fact that the prescriptions regarding the Sabbatical year were carried into practice. On the other hand, Jewish tradition itself admits that the so-called great year of jubile, which fell every fiftieth year (after the complete lapse of seven Sabbatical-year weeks), was only counted but not actually observed. As a matter of fact, the carrying out of the prescriptions of Lv 25^{13}, so far as this was possible at all, would have led to a total want of certainty as to all matters of property and a consequent paralyzing of economic relations. But the consistent theory of P's legislation is indifferent to questions of practicability, and even to such considerations as that the year of jubile immediately follows a Sabbatical year and thus implies a second fallow year. All this appears to P insignificant compared with the principle which here (v.^{23}) finds its most notable and clearest expression: the land (like every other possession), being the property of Jahweh, may not be sold. On the contrary, one man can sell to another only a certain number of harvests; the price is to be proportioned to the number of years which have yet to elapse before the next jubile year, when the property spontaneously falls back to the original usufructuary of it, the proper feudatory of Jahweh. It is significant that, according to v.$^{29ff.}$, the houses in a walled city do not pass back in the year of jubile into the hands of the seller. They are the handiwork of man, and, as such, do not belong to the feudal property of which Jahweh gives a lease. On the other hand, the houses in villages are, according to v.^{31}, a part of the landed property; hence they are redeemable at any time, and pass back in the year of jubile to their original owner.

(*b*) *Holy times.*—Jahweh is Lord also of all time. Hence the employing of time in any pursuit that brings profit amounts to an encroaching upon God's right of property. He permits, however, of such encroachment, upon condition that special portions of the whole time are set apart and 'hallowed,' *i.e.* withdrawn from profane use, as belonging to God. The essential point is thus abstention from work. It is only in a secondary way that P thinks of the spending of holy days in Divine worship or private meditation. On ordinary holy days it is only professional work that is forbidden (Lv $23^{7f. 21. 25}$ etc.), but on the Sabbath and the Great Day of Atonement it is work *of every kind* (vv.$^{3. 30}$). The standpoint of P comes out, above all, in the motives he assigns for the festivals. The original agrarian character of these (cf. above, p. 662 ff.) still survives—apart from the dedication of the firstling sheaf at the *Mazzôth* festival, Lv $23^{9ff.}$—only in the Feast of Weeks, as the occasion when the firstling loaves are presented. On the other hand, the Passover, as an independent festival, precedes the seven (formerly six) days of Unleavened Bread. Already instituted in Egypt (Ex $12^{1ff.}$), it is meant for all time, in grateful remembrance of the sparing of Israel the night before the Exodus, when God smote all the firstborn of the Egyptians. The manifestly primitive form of the celebration (the eating of the lamb in the houses, and the besprinkling of the doorposts with its blood) could be retained by P only through giving up the sacrificial character of the festival; for otherwise it could not have been celebrated except (as in Dt $16^{5f.}$) at the central sanctuary. In the case of the *Mazzôth* festival it is repeatedly emphasized that the strict prohibition of leaven was given at the very Exodus itself, thereby conferring upon this festival also the character of a theocratic memorial ordinance. With the Feast of Tabernacles (now an eight days' instead of a seven days' festival), which was originally the joyous feast of the fruit- and wine-gathering, the same result was reached by giving to the ancient custom of dwelling in booths during the festival the stamp of a memorial of the wilderness journeyings. This giving up of the original motive of the festivals, namely, the course of the various harvests, permits also of an exact dating of them. Thus the Passover falls on the evening of the 14th Nisan, *Mazzôth* extends from the 15th to the 21st of the first month, Tabernacles from the 15th to the 22nd of the seventh month, while the Feast of Weeks falls on the fiftieth day after the offering of the firstling sheaf, which was always to be presented the day after the Sabbath of the *Mazzôth*-week. Of new festivals we have: the Feast of Trumpets at the new moon of the seventh month [otherwise the New Moon, to which such importance was attached in early times, is signalized in P only by a multiplication of the official offerings], and the Great Day of Atonement on the 10th day of the same month. Once more it is significant that the latter festival, which is undoubtedly of very late origin, and whose motives are purely theocratic, should have become the most important and the holiest of all. By the way, it is only in the case of seven of these days (the 1st and 7th days of *Mazzôth*; the Feast of Weeks; the 1st, 10th, 15th, and 22nd days of the seventh month [but, according to Lv 23^{3}, also every Sabbath]) that a 'holy convocation' of the whole people is required at the sanctuary—a demand which is intelligible only if one thinks of the people as living in the neighbourhood of the sanctuary, as was actually the case during the first period after the Return from the Exile.

All the festivals hitherto enumerated recurred every year. But the underlying idea of all the festal seasons made its way to a further realization in the setting apart, as hallowed to God, of seasons within larger divisions of time. This led to the expansion of the idea of the Sabbath by the separation and hallowing of every seventh year as the close of a year-week, and of the fiftieth year after the termination of a cycle of seven year-weeks. The celebration of these is based upon a renunciation of the use of the soil. Since in this instance the theory of sacred *time* is in the closest contact with that of sacred *space*, we have already (p. 717^{b}) had to speak of the Sabbatical year and the great year of jubile.

(*c*) *The consecrated character of all members of the people; 'holy persons' in the narrower sense* (*Priests and Levites*).—(*a*) The fact that Jahweh by mighty acts 'redeemed' the people from the bondage of Egypt, constituted Israel the property of Jahweh alone (Lv $25^{42. 55}$); and henceforward it was to be a people consecrated to Him, and thus —in harmony with His superiority to every kind of stain—an absolutely pure people. This idea finds expression on the one hand in the purificatory act of circumcision, and on the other in the numerous regulations about cleanness (cf. especially Lv 11–15), which furnish instructions as to the precautions to be taken to avoid defilement, and as to the atoning acts necessary when Levitical purity has been lost. In so far as these acts consist of sacrificial transactions, we shall have to speak of them more fully below in connexion with the subject of sacrifice. But, besides these, we have to do here with the command to consecrate to God all the male firstborn (and therewith all the further offspring of the same womb), and, following out this idea, to redeem them by a prescribed performance from the condition of forfeiture to the Deity (Ex $13^{1.\,12\mathrm{ff.}}$, Nu 18^{16}). The same object is aimed at in the requirement of a poll-tax of half a shekel from every adult Israelite as a protective 'covering' of his life upon the occasion of the numbering of the people (Ex $30^{11\mathrm{ff.}}$). For this last is, as it were, an encroaching upon Jahweh's sphere of sovereignty; hence an express acknowledgment of His sole claim to the life of all persons is necessary, and this takes the form of a poll-tax (Heb. כֹּפֶר 'covering,' 'atonement'), which is of the same amount for all. A natural result of the same assumption is found, finally, in the injunction (Lv $25^{39\mathrm{ff.}}$) that Israelites, who from any cause have become bondmen, are not to be regarded and treated as real slaves, although in the Book of the Covenant (Ex $21^{1\mathrm{ff.}}$) and even in Deuteronomy ($15^{12\mathrm{ff.}}$) this is treated as quite possible. On the contrary, P demands that, as really the property of Jahweh, they are to rank only as hirelings or *tôshābhîm* (Lv 25^{40}), and in any case are to go free in the year of jubile.

(β) But, more clearly than in any way hitherto mentioned, the idea of a people consecrated to God finds expression in the *organization of the priesthood.* Properly speaking, all male Israelites ought to discharge priestly functions, and thereby testify their willing devotion to God. But for this an indispensable requisite is such a condition of purity as cannot possibly be maintained by every man amidst the duties of common life. Hence Jahweh has arranged for a permanent representation * of the people, in the form of the hereditary priesthood entrusted to Aaron and his sons. The restriction of the priesthood to the 'sons of Zadoḳ,' demanded by Ezekiel (see above, p. 705^{a}), was impossible for P for the reason that his whole legislation dates from Moses, and thus long before the time of Zadoḳ. At the same time, moreover, the deriving of the priesthood from Aaron made it possible to recognize the priestly rights of certain non-Zadoḳite families.† But, in the main, P's 'sons of Aaron' are just the Zadoḳites.

In order to be able to approach God and present Israel's offerings to Him without danger, the priests have to guard carefully against all defilement. In particular, they are not to incur defilement from any dead body (Lv $21^{1\mathrm{ff.}}$), except in unavoidable cases when the body was that of a parent, a brother, an unmarried sister, or one's own child. Any bodily defect serves of itself to exclude from priestly functions, for one thus affected would 'desecrate the sanctuaries of Jahweh' (v.^{23}). But the highest requirements in the matter of outward purity apply to the high priest, in whose person the idea of a personal representation of the holy people reaches its climax. He may not defile himself with *any* dead body, even that of father or mother, and is not to leave the sanctuary at all, that he may not (by contact with what is profane) 'desecrate the sanctuary of his God.' Moreover, his very clothing shows (Ex $28^{2\mathrm{ff.}}$) by various symbols that he represents not only the holiness of the priestly people but also their kingly dignity. He wears a robe of blue and red-purple, and a golden diadem inscribed 'Holy to Jahweh,' and upon his shoulder-piece and breastplate are the names of the twelve tribes engraved on precious stones. In short, in place of the pre-exilic chief priest, who is an official of the king, we have now the sovereign, hereditary high priest. At his death the claim of the avenger of blood upon the life of the manslayer lapses (Nu 35^{25}). This means simply that with the supreme head of the State ends the period of political life which began with his entry upon office. In like manner the anointing of the high priest, at least according to the theory which represents him alone as anointed (Ex 29^{7}; cf. Lv $4^{3.\,5.\,16}$ 8^{12} 'the anointed priest,' * Lv 21^{12} 'the consecration of the anointing oil of his God rests upon him') is undoubtedly thought of as a parallel to the anointing of the king. In the other theory, which makes all priests anointed, the thought is probably the ancient one (cf. above, p. 659^{b} f.) of an imparting of the spirit as the result of the anointing (Ex 40^{15}; on the other hand, in 29^{21} and 30^{30} the sprinkling of the priests' garments with anointing oil seems to be distinguished from the pouring of oil upon the head of Aaron in 29^{7}).

(γ) As to the *Levites*, it is a very general error to regard them as priests of a lower grade, the rank and file, as it were, of the 'priestly tribe' of Levi, from which the priests proper, with the high priest at their head, emerge as a special branch. But this is by no means the intention of P. The circumstance that it is from the tribe of Levi that the Levites are taken, is due to a Divine arrangement equally with the setting apart of the priests from Levi; it is not the consequence of the latter arrangement. On the contrary, the Levites are a selection *from the people* to represent them in connexion with the lower offices of the cultus. These offices ought to be discharged by the people themselves, or, to be more precise, by the firstborn who are consecrated to God. But here, again, the unavoidable absence of constant purity would have rendered such service impossible, seeing that the firstborn could not be kept from all contact with profane life. Hence, according to Nu $3^{40\mathrm{ff.}}$, each of the firstborn is to have his place taken by a Levite. Now, as there were only 22,000 Levites available, whereas the number of the firstborn was 22,273, the extra 273 of the latter had to be specially redeemed from their obligation by a further payment of five shekels each. In this requirement P's real view of the character of the Levites finds very clear expression. They are a 'gift' of the people to the priests (Nu 3^{9} etc.), to minister to the latter. According to Nu $8^{10\mathrm{ff.}}$, they are, like all 'wave-offerings,' assigned to Jahweh through laying on of hands (see below) by the Israelites; they are 'waved' [*i.e.*, probably, led hither and thither, in place of being waved backwards and forwards in the hands, like other sacrificial gifts] by Aaron before Jahweh, and then fall, like all heave- and wave-offerings, to the priests as their property. Their installation is not spoken of, as in the case of the priests, as a consecration, but as an atonement and a purifying (Nu $8^{5\mathrm{ff.}\,21}$). In view of all this, we cannot speak of any *priestly service* rendered by the Levites. Nay, according to Nu

---

* It needs no argument to show that the parallel it was once customary to draw between the OT and the Catholic conception of the priesthood is quite a mistaken one. According to the latter, the priest acts the part of God over against the people, and hence in God's name gives absolution and imparts blessing. On the other hand, in P the high priest is nothing more than a representative—highly exalted and dignified, indeed—of the God-consecrated people. He represents it before God in every regard (see below). Any (ritual) shortcoming on his part involves the whole people in guilt. As to the blessing of Jahweh, again, the high priest, like the other priests, cannot impart this of himself, but must supplicate it of God (cf. Nu $6^{23\mathrm{ff.}}$, and especially v.^{27}).

† These have their genealogy traced not to Eleazar but to Ithamar, another son of Aaron. It may be noted that only *one* head of a family is named in Ezr 8^{2} as a descendant of Ithamar, namely Daniel.

* The title so familiar to us, 'high (lit. 'great,' גָּדוֹל) priest,' appears in Lv 21^{10} in the form 'the priest who is greater than his brethren,' while in Ezr 7^{5} we have 'the priest [who is] the head.'

4^{15}, they are not to touch the sacred vessels upon pain of death, but to carry them only after they have been carefully covered up by the priests. It is true, however, that their superior condition of purity enables them to come nearer to the sanctuary than the profane multitude can do, and to serve as a bulwark to the latter against the destroying holiness of God (cf. above, p. 717).

(δ) We have already (p. 658^{b} f.) noted how even P recognizes also a kind of lay priesthood in the shape of the *Nazirate* undertaken for a fixed period of time.

(*d*) *The hallowed character of all property.*—This principle finds expression partly in the ancestral custom of offering the firstfruits of barley, must, and oil (Nu 18$^{12\mathrm{ff.}}$), and partly in a number of sacrificial transactions. Every due paid from the products of the soil signifies that one owes the whole to Jahweh, and it is only when He has received His portion that the rest is hallowed and given over freely to the use of man. Amongst the regular ritual dues is included also the tenth paid in early times to the king, only that it is no longer, as in Deuteronomy (14$^{22\mathrm{ff.}}$), eaten at the sanctuary and given every three years to the poor, but is assigned to the Levites as a recompense for the service which they render in the sanctuary as representatives of the people (Nu 18$^{21\mathrm{ff.}}$).

(α) But in P, as in the pre-Prophetic period, by far the most important place among gifts to God is held by the *sacrifices.* They, too, are in many instances the expression of the consciousness that man owes to God all blessings connected with his earthly possessions, and that he has solemnly to testify his gratitude for these. But this is not the only point of view. On the contrary, there were still at work here a number of motives, partly very ancient, whose presence in sacrificial transactions we have already had to note, although it is hard to say how far a consciousness of the original meaning of the ritual survives in the minds of the authors of P. The idea of the sacral communion (cf. above, p. 661 ff.) still continues to find expression in the employment of blood, as the most important part of all sacrificial transactions; and, indeed, the blood is brought always the nearer to God in proportion to the importance and holiness of the sacrifice. Thus the blood of the peace-offering and the burnt-offering is poured only round about the altar (Lv 1$^{5.11}$ 3^{2}); whereas of the blood of the sin-offering the priest has to sprinkle a portion before the curtain which separates the Holy Place from the Holy of Holies, to smear a portion on the horns of the altar of incense, and to pour the rest upon the ground beside the altar of burnt-offering (Lv 4$^{6\mathrm{f.}\,16\mathrm{f.}\,25}$). On the Great Day of Atonement the blood of the guilt-offering is actually brought by the high priest into the Holy of Holies, and sprinkled upon and before the lid of the sacred Ark (Lv 16$^{14\mathrm{ff.}}$). But even the idea of the offering of food still plays a part (although, no doubt, a less prominent one) in P, as is evident from such facts as that—apart of course from incense—it is only what may be eaten that is to be offered, and indeed—as befits the holiness of God—only clean and unblemished animals; that every sacrifice must be seasoned with salt (the meal-offering with oil); and, above all, that every complete sacrifice includes not only flesh but an additional dish in the form of a food-offering, and a portion of drink in the shape of a wine-libation.

But in all this we have not yet the answer to the most important question from the point of view of the history of religion, namely this: *Wherein consists, according to P, the efficacy of sacrifice?* Is it effectual simply *ex opere operato*, or do other, specifically religious, points of view come into consideration? The reply to this question depends upon a correct understanding of the force of the so-called *sĕmîkhāh* (סְמִיכָה) or laying on of hands, and of the significance of the blood in the sacrificial ritual.

In every species of bloody sacrifice the offerer has to take his stand before the door of the sanctuary and lay his hand upon the head of the victim (Lv 1^{4}, here of the burnt-offering, with the addition 'so shall it be accepted for him and procure atonement for him'; 3$^{2.8.13}$, of the peace-offering; 4$^{4.15.24.29}$, of the sin-offering). What is the meaning of this ceremony of hand-imposition, upon which manifestly great weight is laid in the sacrificial ritual? It was natural to think of a transference of guilt, especially as this is expressly witnessed to in Lv 16$^{21\mathrm{ff.}}$. There the high priest lays both hands on the head of the so-called 'scape-goat' (see art. AZAZEL in vol. i.), confesses over him all the transgressions of Israel, and then sends him away, laden with the people's guilt, into the wilderness. Beyond doubt, the laying on of hands in this instance denotes a transference of guilt, but the 'scape-goat' is no *sacrificial victim*, and hence the whole parallel is unsuitable as an aid to explaining the ritual of *sacrifice.* Besides, the laying on of hands is practised also with peace- or thank-offerings, which are not presented for atoning purposes, as well as in connexion with the consecration of the Levites (Nu 8^{10}). The latter ceremony, in particular, permits of no other explanation than that the laying on of hands is an act whereby a renunciation of personal possession and a giving over with a view to sacrifice [or, in the case of the Levites, with a view to perpetual service in the sanctuary] is accomplished. Hence the comparison with the *manumissio* of Roman law is quite appropriate.*

It is another question whether—quite apart from the meaning of the סְמִיכָה—there may not have been present, at least in the guilt-offering, the idea of a surrender of the life of the animal in place of the forfeited human life—in other words, the inflicting of a penalty upon the victim, and thereby accomplishing a *satisfactio vicaria.* This view has been maintained all the more positively, because in the New Testament the sacrificial death of Christ is undeniably at times looked at from this viewpoint. Further, in Lv 17^{11} it is expressly insisted that the seat of life is in the blood, and that God has ordained that blood be used at the altar to accomplish propitiation, for 'the blood atones through the life [contained in it].' Here, surely, it appears to be clearly declared that the life of the victim is a substitute for that of the sinner. But this conclusion is once more rendered impossible by the circumstance that then the sacrificial victim must have been regarded as laden with guilt and curse, and hence as unclean, whereas in reality it is treated as most holy and serves as holy food for the priests.

---

* Volz (art. 'Die Handauflegung beim Opfer' in *ZATW*, 1901, p. 93 ff.) protests against the idea of the *manumissio*, and refuses to separate the סְמִיכָה of sacrifice from that of blessing and of installation in office (Nu 27$^{18.23}$, Dt 34^{9}). What is in view, he holds, is the conveying of a substance from one party to another—in the case of the sin-offering, the conveying of sin, uncleanness, and curse to the sacrificial victim. But how then could the flesh of the sin-offering have been counted *most holy*, and been directed to be eaten by the priests in a holy place (Lv 6$^{18\mathrm{f.}}$)? Volz meets this objection by supposing that the sin-offering was meant originally not for Jahweh but for demons hostile to man, and that the סְמִיכָה was then transferred from the sin-offering to the other offerings as well. On the other hand, Matthes (art. 'Der Sühnegedanke bei den Sündopfern' in *ZATW*, 1903, p. 97 ff.) rightly contends, in opposition to Volz, for different kinds of hand-imposition. Bertholet's proposal (Com. on Lv 1^{4}) to start from Lv 24^{14} and to explain the סְמִיכָה of sacrifice as the 'establishing of a solidarity between offerer and offering,' comes in the end to the same thing as the *manumissio* interpretation, only that, according to Bertholet, the fundamental notion of the *communio* is meant here again to find expression.

In view of all this, in the mind of P there could be no other answer to the question as to the efficacy of sacrifice, but simply this: God has connected the accomplishment of atonement with the obedient discharge of the sacrificial prescriptions; whoever fulfils these and gets the priest to perform the atoning usages, is forgiven (Lv $4^{20.\ 26.\ 31.\ 35}$ and oft.). The ritual, especially the prescribed presenting of the blood, is accordingly the indispensable condition of atonement, but is not yet exactly synonymous with the latter. On the contrary, the forgiveness of sin flows from the grace of God exactly as in the Prophets, only that the latter regard the outward offering as a thing that may be dispensed with, provided the true penitent disposition is present, whereas, according to P, it is imperatively required that this disposition be accompanied by its outward manifestation in the shape of an offering. Even from the point of view of linguistic usage, the difference between the prophetical and the priestly view of atonement is characteristic. According to the prophets (cf. above, p. 689^{a}), God Himself covers the sin, *i.e.* He declares it invisible, so that the sinner is safe from the wrath of God, whereas, according to P, the *priest* covers the *person* of the sinner by means of presenting the blood [only in exceptional cases also through an unbloody offering, Lv $5^{11\text{ff.}}$], so as to shield him from the destroying holiness of God.

The circumstance that the process of atonement is primarily connected with the presenting of the blood, explains itself naturally as a powerful after-influence of primitive sacrificial usages, in which the sprinkling of the blood had a different signification. The latter is no longer in the mind of P; for even the view is untenable, that the blood, being the seat of life, is regarded as the most precious gift which man can offer. At most, we might hold that P has still the idea of a symbolical (not real) *satisfactio*, or, in other words, the notion that, through the offering of the life of the animal, *symbolical* expression is given to the acknowledgment that, strictly speaking, the sinner's own life is forfeit to God. But the main idea continues to be, as already noted, this: 'thou shalt procure atonement in this and in no other way, because God has so commanded it.'

(β) The technical questions connected with the sacrifices may here be passed by. Their various degrees of value come out clearly in the order in which they have to be offered in all cases where a number of different kinds of sacrifice are combined. (i.) The first place is always held by the *propitiatory* offerings, which include two species: the *sin-offering* (חַטָּאת) and the *guilt-offering* (אָשָׁם). The difference between the two is not very easy to determine from the descriptions contained in Lv 4 f. Both are presented even in the case of unintentional and even unconscious offences; but the guilt-offering (Lv $5^{15\text{ff.}}$) has very largely to do with occasions when one has unconsciously (vv.$^{15.\ 17}$) or consciously (v.$^{20\text{ff.}}$ [$6^{1\text{ff.}}$]) interfered with the property of another, whether God or one's neighbour. The guilt-offering (in the shape of a ram without blemish) is always coupled with restitution of what has been wrongly taken, with an additional fifth of its value. Of sin-offerings the holiest and most important are naturally those presented on the Great Day of Atonement (Lv 16), when the blood of the victims is brought by the high priest into the Holy of Holies, and thus into the immediate presence of the Divine form of manifestation whose seat is the sacred Ark. It is quite a unique feature that in this instance P introduces, along with the customary atoning medium of sacrifice, another, perhaps very ancient, form of propitiation, namely, the loading of the 'goat for 'Azazel' with the sins of the people by the high priest, and the sending of this goat away to 'Azazel into the wilderness. The interpretation of the name *'Azazel* is disputed; it may mean either 'the apostate' or 'the one who takes away [sin].' Only, there can be no doubt of this, that a personal being must be intended, for in v.$^{8\text{ff.}}$ he is expressly opposed to Jahweh; and it is equally clear that he is thought of as an unclean demon dwelling in the desert (or as the prince of the demons that dwell there?). The sending away of the goat to him is simply an act symbolical of the cleansing of the sacred God-consecrated soil from sin and guilt (cf. the precisely similar example of a symbolical removal of uncleanness in Lv 14^{53}); sin and guilt are sent off into the unclean wilderness to the demon with whose character they correspond. It would be quite wrong to discover in P's recognition of 'Azazel any tendency to dualistic conceptions. 'Azazel is not a power hostile to Jahweh, a power to be in any way compared with Him, but simply a demon, standing outside the theocracy, but none the less on that account subject to Jahweh, the almighty Creator and Ruler of the world (see, further, art. AZAZEL in vol. i.).

There is a widely diffused notion that P regards propitiatory offerings as effectual only in the case of unintentional or, at most, hastily committed sins. This view is based upon Nu $15^{22\text{ff.}}$, where in point of fact a distinction is expressly drawn between unwitting offences and those that are committed 'with a [defiant] high hand.' It is only for the first of these that the propitiatory usages have efficacy. The man who sins wilfully is guilty of blasphemy against Jahweh, and is to be cut off without pity (v.$^{30\text{f.}}$).

Such is indeed the theory of this passage (Nu $15^{22\text{ff.}}$), but it is impossible to regard it as the meaning of P everywhere.* How could it have failed to be seen that, if every wilful transgression was to be punished by cutting off the offender, the undeniably universal sinfulness of man would have speedily led to the extinction of the whole nation? But such a reflexion as this was unneeded. The offences enumerated in Lv $5^{20\text{ff.}}$ [Eng. $6^{1\text{ff.}}$] as calling for guilt-offerings (denial of a deposit, or of the finding of a lost article, perjury, extortion) surely do not belong to the category of unwitting or hastily committed sins. It may be added that the Psalms also furnish on almost every page evidence that even in the post-exilic theocracy the belief of the prophets in a grace of God which can take away even heinous guilt has not died out.

(ii.) A stage lower than the propitiatory offerings stands the *burnt-offering* (עֹלָה) or whole-offering (כָּלִיל). But, as wholly belonging to Jahweh, it retains a higher significance than the meal-offering. At one time presented also as a propitiatory offering, it has in P the significance of a general 'adoration offering,' a testimony to the normal relation between Jahweh and the people. Hence it has its place after the propitiatory offerings, since the latter are appointed for the purpose of removing any disturbance of the normal relation. But, even unpreceded by propitiatory offerings, the burnt-offering may be presented as a dutiful expression of absolute dependence on the covenant God, and of the consciousness of owing all blessings to Him. Thus we find it especially in the form of the so-called תָּמִיד or 'continual' offering, *i.e.* the offering every morning and evening of a yearling lamb, along with food-offering and drink-offering (Ex 29$^{38\text{ff.}}$, Nu 28$^{3\text{ff.}}$). On the Sabbath (v.$^{9\text{f.}}$) and still more at the New Moon (v.$^{11\text{ff.}}$) this regular offering undergoes material enlargement.

---

* The result of such an assumption would be that the notion of atonement (and forgiveness of sins) is not really taken into consideration at all by P. This conclusion is drawn by A. Ritschl (*Lehre von der Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, ii.^{3} [1889] 68 ff., 184 ff.), according to whom the 'covering' (*kappārā*) needed was not against the wrath of God on the sinner, but against the destroying majesty (holiness) of God, to which man, owing to his creaturely weakness, could not otherwise draw near. The procuring of the *kappārā* [Ritschl would prefer to see the term 'atonement' avoided here] is thus simply the condition of safely approaching God with an offering, and always implies the undisturbed continuance of the covenanted grace of God, without which no sacrifice is possible. But, quite apart from the oft-recurring (Lv $4^{20.\ 26}$ etc.) formula 'and he shall be forgiven [after the atoning acts have been performed],' the theory of Ritschl is shattered by the fact that the 'covering' of the man by the priest is, of course, only the later transformation given to the prophetic formula, according to which God covers the guilt. In both cases the point is that the *guilt* is to be declared powerless—in other words, it is an atoning act that is in view. Cf., further, on the whole question, A. Cave, *The Scriptural Doctrine of Sacrifice and Atonement*, Edinburgh, 1890; A. Schmoller, 'Das Wesen der Sühne in der alttest. Opferthora' (*SK*, 1891, p. 205 ff.). Stade's definition (*Geschichte Israels*, ii. 57), 'Atonement means reconsecration or restoring, by means of rites, a sacred character that has been lost,' while it is quite applicable to a great many cases, needs, in view of what is said above, to be enlarged.

(iii.) A third species of offering meets us in the *meal-offerings* (שְׁלָמִים Lv 3. 7$^{29\text{ff.}}$), of which the fat is burned, the blood sprinkled on the altar, the breast 'waved'[*] and given along with the right leg (as a so-called *tĕrûmāh*) to the priests, while the rest of the flesh is eaten by the offerers. A special branch of the *shĕlāmîm* is supplied by the 'thanksgiving offerings' of Lv 7$^{11\text{ff.}}$. But to P all *shĕlāmîm*-offerings are only offerings of the second rank, since they are not appropriated by Jahweh (*i.e.* the priests) alone, but are meant to be consumed also by the laity—in other words, are destined for profane use. The small value attached to the meal-offering by P as compared with the place it still holds in Deuteronomy (cf. above, p. 661) is explained by the completely changed conception of the cultus which had already been produced by the programme of Ezekiel (45$^{17.\,22}$ etc.). The private cultus that once prevailed, whose central point was the joyous sacrificial meal, has now been displaced by the official cult performed with scrupulous regularity by the priests[†] in the name (it might be without even the presence) of the theocratic community. It was quite in the spirit of the Priests' Code, that when the temple square was stormed by Pompey the priests continued unflinchingly the performance of their functions until they were cut down at the altar; and that during the siege by Titus the daily burnt-offering was continued morning and evening even after the city had long been brought to the extreme of famine.

We pass over all further prescriptions regarding festal offerings and freewill services, and content ourselves with noting the fact that *all* directions regarding holy places, times, persons, and actions have ever in view the *one* aim of realizing the idea of a God-consecrated people, the fact of its absolute dependence upon Him, and the necessity of ever renewed surrender to Him. It is quite possible that, in the working out of the system in detail, Babylonian[‡] influences may have co-operated; but in any case these are so incorporated with, nay even subordinated to, the theocratic fundamental ideas, that they are no longer felt to be a foreign element, hence requiring to be considered less from the standpoint of Biblical Theology than from that of the History of Religion in general.

5. On the other hand, we have still to answer another extremely important question, namely, as to the *ethical system* upon which P builds, and which he desires to see realized. What ideal of morality floats before his mental vision, and by what means does he aim at realizing it?

In dealing with these questions it is necessary at the very outset to repel a charge which, for reasons that are readily intelligible, is often brought against P, namely, that moral commands proper recede in his pages so far behind ritual ordinances that they seem to possess no importance at all. But we must not forget that P represents the close of a long development in the course of which the moral demands of the prophets, at least after the introduction of Deuteronomy, had long become flesh and blood in the case of the better portion of the people—certainly of all who accepted the future hope. It did not appear to P to be necessary to emphasize these demands afresh, seeing that in the form of the Decalogue they had long been a common possession of the people. Moreover, there is not wanting, at least in the Law of Holiness (Lv 19 and 20), a collection of a whole series of essentially moral commands, although these are for the most part amalgamated in a remarkable fashion with ritual prescriptions (cf. *e.g.* 19$^{5\text{ff.}\,19.\,21\text{f.}\,23\text{ff.}\,27\text{f.}}$), and the way in which humanitarian prescriptions, like those contained in 19$^{10\text{f.}\,13\text{f.}}$, are based upon the motive of the fear of God (see especially vv.$^{14.\,32}$) more than once vividly recalls Deuteronomy. The same remark applies to the exhortations to the strictest impartiality in judicial decisions (vv.$^{15.\,35}$), and to absolute honesty in business and uprightness of life (vv.$^{11.\,13\text{a}.\,36}$). Besides, v.$^{33\text{f.}}$ contains not only a prohibition against oppressing the *gēr*,[*] but a command to love him as oneself. On the other hand, however, it cannot be disputed that the concept 'neighbour' in vv.$^{16.\,18}$ is restricted solely to one's fellow-countrymen. Amongst other instances, this comes out clearly in the prohibition to treat Israelites as slaves: the heathen and even settlers in Israel may be purchased as slaves and bequeathed as such to one's children, but not so with Israelites (Lv 25$^{44\text{f.}}$). Everything of heathen origin is *eo ipso* unclean, and hence so far beneath Israel that the latter recognizes no consideration or equal rights as belonging to it. Deutero-Isaiah's thought of Israel as having a missionary function to discharge to the heathen appears to be completely forgotten.

But, if we cannot thus speak of moral duties towards non-Israelites (with such exceptions as the general prohibition of murder, Gn 9$^{5\text{f.}}$, and the above-mentioned kindly recommendation of the *gērîm*, Lv 19$^{33\text{f.}}$), it is true that otherwise the ethical system of the prophets may be regarded as binding for P. Only, in his estimation, the moral ideal is not exhausted in the fulfilment of specially *ethical* demands, but he places along with these, at least upon the same level, if not upon a higher one, regulations as to the cultus—nay, purely external, ritual requirements. Here, if anywhere, we see that P sets before him the realizing of the system sketched by Ezekiel. The aim to which every other interest must give way is the setting up of a pure God-consecrated people;

---

[*] This waving (lit. 'swinging') of the offering or part of it denotes, according to what is surely the right interpretation, a moving backwards and forwards in the hands, the priest making as if he would cast the offering into the altar flame, but ending by taking it back as food assigned by God to the priests. A different explanation is given by Philo (in a fragment of his treatise *de Victimis*, edited by Wendland in 1891), who holds that the waving of the offering consisted in holding it up towards heaven.

[†] According to the list of offerings in Nu 28 f., the number of *official* sacrifices amounts yearly to 115 young bullocks, 1100 lambs, 38 rams, and 32 goats, besides the food- and drink-offerings pertaining to them.

[‡] On this point cf. especially P. Haupt, 'The Origin of the Mosaic Ceremonial' in *John Hopkins University Circular*, xix. No. 145 (Baltimore, 1900), in which a Babylonian origin is claimed even for קָרְבָּן, תּוֹרָה, בְּרִית, and כִּפֶּר; and the same author's art. 'Babylonian Elements in the Levitic Ritual' in *Journ. of Bibl. Lit.* XIX. i. 55 ff.

[*] By the *gēr* here is evidently to be understood not a heathen but an Israelite of another tribe or family, or even a foreigner who has settled in Israel and become completely incorporated therewith; cf., on this controverted question, Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden*, Freiburg, 1896.

but this is achieved, not primarily, as in the view of the prophets, by circumcision of the heart, but by means of all the countless purifying and atoning acts prescribed by the Law for every conceivable case (cf. especially Lv 12 and 15). Neglect of these rules—even wholly unintentional and unconscious neglect—involves the same degree of culpability as a mortal sin does. The rigid consistency and outwardly mechanical character of this whole conception come out, above all, in the ritual of the Great Day of Atonement. The solemn propitiation made by Aaron with the goat of the people (Lv $16^{15ff.}$) is intended, properly speaking, not for the people themselves but (vv.$^{16.\ 20}$) for the inner sanctuary, the Tent of Meeting and the altar—in other words, for things without life. Atonement on behalf of these for all the ritual transgressions and omissions of the people thus appears as the most important feature in the ritual of the Great Day of Atonement.

It can occasion no surprise that very depreciatory judgments have often been passed on P alike for his exclusiveness towards foreigners and his placing of moral and physical (ritual) purity on precisely the same level. The gulf between the religion of the Prophets—above all, of Deutero-Isaiah—and that of the Priests' Code has been described as one that cannot be bridged. That there is, in fact, a deep gulf between the two, and that this shows itself in P in the shape of a falling away from the pure level reached by the Prophets, are truths that need be denied all the less, seeing that the teaching of Jesus certainly attached itself to the prophets, and would have the Law interpreted only in their sense and spirit. Yet, if we would do justice to P, there are two things that must not be forgotten. In the first place, even his system did not exclude the possibility of viewing the revelation of the Divine will as a guide to real inward piety and morality, and of thus finding in it a means of joy and edification.[*] Many passages in the Psalms (1^2 $19^{8ff.}$, and almost the whole of Ps 119) testify to this rejoicing of the heart in God's law. The period of *painful* attention to the observance of the Law first set in when the religion of Israel was seriously endangered by Antiochus Epiphanes. It was thought then that the anger of God could be appeased only by the strictest, most literal fulfilment of the Law, and the time of consummation be thus brought on. But the heavy burden of the Law was increased, above all, by the addition of the alleged oral tradition from Sinai downwards, the casuistry developed in Pharisaic circles, with its endless particular rules, which kept the Israelite who was loyal to the Law in momentary anxiety lest he had in any way incurred defilement and consequently heinous guilt.

But, secondly, it must not be forgotten that, in spite of its inferiority to the religion of the Prophets, the Law fulfilled an important mission in the course of the history of the religion of Israel as a whole. Experience had taught that the great mass of the people had proved themselves incapable of understanding and fruitfully assimilating the teaching of the prophets. Hence the latter had its place taken by another Divine pædagogic method—the discipline of the Law, with its ceaseless reminders of the immense distance between the holy God and the sinful uncleanness of everything creaturely, with its constant compelling of a lively sense of the need of forgiveness and atonement, and of the duty of a conscientious use of the prescribed means of propitiation. In short, the Law proved a *παιδαγωγὸς εἰς Χριστόν* (Gal 3^{24}) not only in the sense that it forced the recognition of the impossibility of attaining to righteousness before God by the works of the Law, but also that it was a school which taught absolute submission to the will of God and therewith sincere piety. And what an intensely religious life might be developed alongside of and under the rule of the Law, is witnessed by the last two groups of literature we have yet to consider: the religious Lyric and Elegiac poetry, and the remnants of the so-called *Ḥokhmāh* or Wisdom literature.

IX. THE RELIGIOUS LYRIC AND ELEGIAC POETRY (Books of Psalms and Lamentations).

If, in addition to the Prophets, only the Law had come down to us, a wholly inadequate, nay partially wrong, idea of the power exercised by the Prophetic religion would have been inevitable. But, fortunately, more than one literary product has survived, and amongst these the Psalms are, above all, fitted to guide us to a profounder judgment. In them is exhibited such a wonderful variety and intensity of the genuinely religious life, that our verdict must be that there is practically no trace to be detected of the serious danger that was called up by the complete equalizing of ritual obligations with specially moral duties, of physical with moral purity; nay, testimonies are not wanting to an express repudiation of sacrifice (see above, p. 686^b), *i.e.* of what is to P the most important element in the cultus.

The numerous critical questions connected with the Books of Psalms and Lamentations may here be entirely passed over (see article LAMENTATIONS in vol. iii., and PSALMS in vol. iv.). It may be that in the Psalms there still survive scattered relics of pre-exilic religious poetry, but in *that* form in which the book now lies before us it is a work of the post-exilic period[*] and may thus, in spite of all its variety of contents, be treated without hesitation as a harmonious whole, and a consistent witness to the faith and hopes of post-exilic Israel.

The question so much debated in recent times, who is to be regarded as the speaking subject ('*das betende Ich*') in the Psalms,[†] must undoubtedly, with Olshausen, Reuss, Cheyne, *et al.*, be answered very frequently in favour of the so-called *collective* subject, as against the almost uniformly *individual* interpretation of Ewald, Hupfeld, Duhm, *et al.* Reuss in particular has rightly argued that the endless complaints against cruel foes and persecutors can be felt to be intelligible and justified, nay even touching, only if they are referred not to private affairs, but to the straits ever the same to which the godly community is reduced by heathen oppressors and by renegades within the nation itself. It would, however, be altogether an unjustifiable exaggeration to seek to refer practically all the Psalms to a collective subject—the godly community. On the contrary, for the proper appreciation of the Psalter, it is of the very highest importance to note that 'individualism' in religion, for which the way was paved especially by Jeremiah, already has clear expression given to it in many ways in this very book.[*] The numerous witnesses to the pining and striving of individual suppliants after living communion with their God, and to the blessed assurance of this communion, will alone explain how the Psalter has been able to serve even down to the present day as the prayer-book even of Christian nations.

---

[*] Cf. Gunkel, *Ausgewählte Psalmen*, Göttingen, 1904, p. 22 ff.

[*] What appears to the present writer the most probable view of the case is as follows. The oldest collection, Ps 3–41, was already formed in the time of Ezra; then, say towards the close of the Persian period, a second collection, made up of further (alleged) Davidic psalms (51–71), songs of contemporaries of David (42–49. 50. 72. 73–83), and a supplementary collection (84–89). The third collection (90–150) can scarcely have originated before the founding of the Hasmonæan dynasty by Simon (B.C. 142 ff.). Psalms 1 and 2 were probably first prefixed by the final redactor of the whole Psalter, as a very appropriate prologue.

As to the Book of Lamentations, it may suffice to remark that the oldest components (chs. 2 and 4) are based upon quite fresh recollections of the destruction of Jerusalem in 587, whereas ch. 5 may belong to the 6th cent., ch. 1 to the 5th, but ch. 3 as late as the 3rd cent. B.C.

[†] On this controverted question, cf. R. Smend, art. 'Ueber das Ich der Psalmen' in *ZATW*, 1888, p. 49 ff. [where the idea of the collective subject is almost consistently carried through]; J. Z. Schuurmans Stekhoven, *ZATW*, 1889, p. 131 ff. [a partial modification of Smend's view]; G. Beer, *Individual- und Gemeindepsalmen*, Marburg, 1894; F. Coblenz, *Ueber das betende Ich in den Psalmen*, Frankfurt, 1897; H. Roy, *Die Volksgemeinde und die Gemeinde der Frommen im Psalter*, Gnadenfeld, 1897; D. Leimdörfer, *Das Psalter-ego in den Ich-Psalmen*, 1897; Engert, *Der betende Gerechte der Psalmen*, Würzburg, 1902. The last six of these insist with more or less emphasis that it is not the actual people that is to be looked on as the '*betende Ich*,' but only the godly portion, which pines under the oppression of the enemy and prays and hopes for deliverance. They point out, further, that (altogether apart from psalms which are absolutely individual in their reference) even the psalms which represent the community, although spoken in the name of the latter, were primarily the work of a particular individual.

1. *Conception of God.*—(*a*) As in exilic and post-exilic prophecy, the conception of God is seen in the Psalms occupying a height which could not be surpassed even on New Testament soil except in a few points. The solity of Jahweh (18^{32}), the impossibility of comparing Him with any other being, the utter nothingness of idols ($115^{4ff.}$), are to the psalmists axioms which need no proof. As Creator of the world ($24^{1ff.}$ $74^{16f.}$ 95^{4} $104^{2ff.}$, and often), and that by the simple word of His power ($33^{6.\,9}$), He is at the same time also the absolute Ruler of the whole ($33^{14f.}$ $46^{7.\,9ff.}$ $47^{2ff.}$ $65^{6ff.}$ 66^{7} 82^{8} 103^{19} 113^{4}). He glorifies Himself continually in inanimate nature ($8^{4f.}$ $19^{2ff.}$; in $29^{3ff.}$ by the majesty of His thunder); hence it is summoned, as well as living creatures, to praise Him ($148^{3ff.}$). Above all, wonderful appears His condescension to man, who by himself is so weak; He has constituted him only a little short of the nature of Divine beings ($8^{6ff.}$, with a manifest allusion to Gn $1^{27ff.}$). The care of God for His creatures is evidently not separated, after the manner of Christian dogmatics, from the work of creation and classed as a preserving and governing, or even thought of as a continued working of laws of nature once established; but consists in ever renewed, independent creative acts of an actively ruling God ($65^{10ff.}$ $104^{13ff.\,27f.}$ $145^{15f.}$ $147^{8f.}$).

(*b*) The solitary limitation of the being of God which in itself is absolutely without limits, which might be discovered, would be the frequent mention of His heavenly dwelling-place (11^{4} 14^{2} $20^{7(6)}$, and very often). But this form of spatial limitation could not be dispensed with by the conception of God, even at its highest reach, if it was to escape the danger of being dissipated into pantheism. The no less frequent allusions to Ẓion as God's abode and the starting-point of His action ($20^{3(2)}$ 50^{2} 68^{17} etc.) does not, as we have already had occasion to explain, contradict in the least the idea of the God of heaven. Heaven is His throne, Ẓion the place of His revealed presence, which is not identical with His most essential being. The magnificent description of the theophany in Ps $18^{8ff.}$, where God mounts the cherub and thus flies abroad, belongs to the domain of poetic licence, equally with His appearing from Sinai in 68^{18}.

(*c*) On the other hand, it might appear strange that we still meet in the Psalms with traces of a *theologumenon* with which we have already (above, p. 684^{b}) made acquaintance in Dt 4^{19} as well as in Dn 10 (see above, p. 714^{b}). We refer to the idea of under-gods (*bĕnê 'ĕlōhîm* or, shortly, *'ĕlōhîm* or *'ēlîm* 'gods'; even *bĕnê 'ĕlōhîm* does not mean 'sons of gods,' but 'those who belong to the category of *'ĕlōhîm*'), who, either independently, although commissioned by Jahweh, rule over the heathen peoples (so with the star-gods in Dt 4^{19} [*]), or under the ægis of Jahweh take their part as a kind of vassal kings in the government of the world. Only in this sense are we to explain not only the שָׂרִים or 'princes' of Dn 10, but also the אֵלִים [so read for the corrupt אֵלֶם] of Ps 58^{2} and the אֱלֹהִים of $82^{1.\,6}$ [v.^{6b} בְּנֵי עֶלְיוֹן 'sons of the highest']. In both passages the injustice and partiality of their rule are complained of,—alluding, of course, to the treatment of Israel by heathen peoples,—and in 82^{7} they are even threatened with death after the manner of man, by way of punishment for their conduct. This last passage shatters all possibility of explaining these אֱלֹהִים as human judges; to 'die like men' is possible only to those who in themselves are immortal. Now, even although it cannot be denied that in the whole conception of these under-gods we have a manifest after-effect of the belief in the reality of the former gods of the nations, yet the idea is so incorporated with and subordinated to Jahwism that it is impossible to regard it as a survival of the once prevailing Henotheism or even of a former Polytheism. The same complete welding of originally heathen *mythologumena* with Jahwism is met with also in $74^{13f.}$ and 104^{26}, with their allusions to the subduing of Leviathan; and in $89^{11(10)}$, with its crushing of Rahab.[†]

These same under-gods of Ps 58 and 82 are, beyond doubt, intended also by the אֱלֹהִים of 86^{8} 95^{3} 96^{4} $97^{7.\,9}$ 135^{5} 138^{1} and the בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים of 29^{1} and 89^{7}, over whom Jahweh is absolutely exalted. Distinguished from them, we have in $103^{20f.}$ 148^{2} the angels (מַלְאָכִים, lit. 'messengers'), who surround the throne of God offering praise, or, sent by Him, stand by the side of the godly to protect him (34^{8} $35^{5f.}$, both times 'the angel of Jahweh,' but certainly not now in the sense of a self-manifestation of Jahweh [cf. above, p. 639^{a}]; $91^{11ff.}$). The idea of a heavenly council includes also 'the holy ones' (*i.e.*, as elsewhere, those who stand in the closest relation to God, not those who are morally perfect) of Ps $89^{7f.}$. The angels, again, who bring misfortune (78^{49}), being sent *by God* to punish, are not morally wicked beings or even hostile to God, but are simply 'angels of evils' (מַלְאֲכֵי רָעִים), *i.e.* such as are sent by God to bring trouble upon sinners.

(*d*) The so-called *attributes of God*, or, to be more correct, the various sides on which His one being displays itself, are never with the Psalmists the subject of metaphysical speculation, but are always put forward only with a specifically religious interest—at one time for the warning, at another for the consolation, of the godly. The Eternity of God is the pledge that He can be a true refuge to His people ($90^{1f.\,4}$). His Omnipotence has proved itself alike in creation and in the directing of history (115^{3} 135^{6}). His Unchangeableness sets the nothingness of all created things in its true light: heaven and earth shall decay, and He shall change them like a garment, but He Himself remains unchangeably the same ($102^{26ff.}$). His Wisdom has manifested itself, above all, in the work of creation (104^{24}), but in other matters too the depth of His thoughts awakens wondering admiration ($92^{6(5)}$ $139^{17f.}$). His Omniscience extends to every action, however trifling, and every thought of man ($139^{1ff.}$)—a salutary warning to him; for even the most secret depth of the heart is open to Him ($7^{10(9)}$ $44^{22(21)}$). And when it is said in $139^{5f.}$ that He takes cognizance even of the embryo in the womb, and that the span of life and perhaps also the fortunes of the individual in question are written in His book, this is certainly to be understood not in the sense of a rigid predestination, but only as implying that absolutely nothing can evade the knowledge or thwart the will of God. Similarly, His Omnipresence ($139^{7\text{ff.}}$) is described not (pantheistically) as that of His substance, but of His knowledge and His power, in order to check at the outset all thought of escape from Him. His moral Perfection comes to view in His horror of sin ($5^{5\text{ff.}}$), His Righteousness in His attitude not only to His own people (7^{12} 11^{7} 33^{3} etc.) but to heathen nations as well (9^{8}). But, naturally, the largest space is occupied in the psalmists' descriptions by such attributes of God as His Love, by the praise of His inexhaustible Grace and Compassion, His Long-suffering and Truth (86^{15} $103^{8\text{ff.}}$ $36^{6.\,8}$). In His Goodness all His creatures may take comfort ($33^{6(5)}$ $145^{8\text{f.}}$); but, above all, He shows Himself 'the Father of the orphan and the Provider of the widow' ($68^{6\,(5)}$ 146^{9}). It is noteworthy that, apart from this application of the name 'Father,' the idea of the Fatherly love of God, which forms the central point of the NT conception of God, meets us only once more (Ps 103^{13}), and there only in the form of a comparison, not to speak of its being manifestly restricted to Israel—another of the evidences that the OT conception of God was capable of enlargement in one very important direction.

---

[*] Cf. the articles of Sellin on 'Das Subject der altisraelitischen Religion' in *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, iv. (1893) Heft 6, and v. (1895) Heft 4.

[*] The same idea is certainly present when we read of the fixing of the bounds of the peoples according to the number of the *bĕnê 'ĕlōhîm* (Dt 32^{8}, reading, with the LXX, בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים for the בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל of MT).

[†] Cf. above, p. 670^{b} f.

2. *Anthropology outside the sphere of Jahwism proper.*—In the judgments passed in the Book of Psalms on the purely human, we find, side by side with panegyrics on the lofty pre-eminence of man in his lordship over creation ($8^{4\text{ff.}}$, see above, p. 724^{a}), lamentations over the weakness and transitory nature of everything human ($33^{16\text{f.}}$ 62^{10} $103^{14\text{ff.}}$; 144^{4} 'Man is like a breath, his days are as a shadow that passeth away'). This lament applies to even the strongest ($146^{3\text{f.}}$). And when the life—all too short—comes to an end ($39^{5\text{ff.}}$ $90^{10.\,12}$), dark *Shĕ'ōl* (see above, p. 668 f.) awaits the departed, and cuts him off finally from all relation to the upper world, and above all from the blessings of the theocracy or the praise of God (6^{6} 30^{10} $88^{11\text{ff.}}$ 115^{17}). None can escape this fate (89^{49}). It is true that at times the sense of close fellowship with God (see below) reaches a height and a strength which seem to leave only a short step to the conviction that *true* fellowship with God must of necessity be enduring and extend beyond the present life;* but this step is never definitely taken. Only as a 'stranger and a sojourner' does man continue with God during his earthly walk ($39^{13\,(12)\,\text{f.}}$), at death the bond of connexion is severed for ever. In this matter, if anywhere, it is clear what a power and stimulus must have belonged to faith in the God of Israel, seeing that, even without the hope of immortality, it could produce fruits of such intense religiousness as we find in the Psalms (and Job). The question whether there are not really to be found in the Psalms traces of the hope of a continued existence, will have to be discussed when we come to speak of the eschatological expectations.

The physical weakness of man finds its analogue in his moral weakness. When in Ps $51^{7\,(5)}$ the latter is traced back to his generation and birth by sinful parents, this is not intended, of course, to mean that generation and birth are of themselves sinful. The whole statement amounts to a plea that God would judge leniently one who, as sprung from sinners, necessarily carries within him from the womb a sinful habit and sinful inclinations. It is only in the latter sense that the statement can be called a contribution to the doctrine of original sin. There is not the faintest reference to an imputation of Adam's guilt—the very kernel of the dogmatic doctrine of original sin.

3. *Nature and history of the Theocracy.*—The idea of an election of Israel to be God's own people is firmly held also by the Psalmists (33^{12} 74^{2} 135^{4}), and it cannot be doubted that here again this conviction carried with it the serious danger of national conceit and a mischievous disposition to look down on all other peoples—a danger which threatened to stifle completely the existence of those great thoughts of Deutero-Isaiah regarding a missionary vocation of Israel to all the heathen. It is true that this conceit was materially diminished by the honourable confession that Israel has almost always shown itself unworthy of the Divine choice and the great acts of Jahweh in connexion with the deliverance from Egyptian bondage ($77^{15\text{ff.}}$ $78^{4.\,11\text{ff.}}$ $106^{7\text{ff.}}$). It is the well-deserved anger of God that has given Israel over to the powerful oppression and the savage mockery of her enemies (La $2^{1\text{f.}\,21\text{f.}}$ 4^{11}, Ps $22^{7\text{ff.}}$, and numerous other passages). Israel heeded not the threatenings of Jahweh repeated from the days of old (La 2^{17}), but allowed herself to be deceived by false prophets and priests (La 2^{14} 4^{13}). But in spite of all this the Divine covenant is assured for ever (Ps 105^{8} 111^{9}); and thus to those who humbly submit themselves to Him the day must come when all the comforting promises of days gone by shall be fulfilled (La $3^{21\text{ff.}}$). The principal expectations attached to the theocracy of the future will come out in the section devoted to the Messianic hopes.

4. *The theocratic institutions.*—There are a great many passages in the Psalms, in which touching and powerful expression is given to high esteem for the temple as the place of Jahweh's gracious presence, and to longing after the beautiful service conducted there (5^{8} 26^{8} 27^{4} $43^{3\text{f.}}$ 65^{5} $84^{2\text{ff.}\,11}$ $116^{18\text{f.}}$ $122^{1\text{ff.}}$). But it would certainly be an error to discover the principal motive of this longing in joy in the cultus in the narrower sense, *i.e.* in the sacrificial performances. Against such a supposition there is not only the fact that mention of sacrifice is extremely rare (20^{4} 54^{8} $66^{13\text{ff.}}$; in 141^{2} it is only symbolical sacrifice that is in view), but it is well known that there are not wanting in the Psalms passages in which the necessity of sacrifice and its acceptableness to God are repudiated in the most unqualified terms, and not without a touch of sarcasm (40^{7} $50^{8\text{ff.}}$ 51^{18} 69^{32}; see more fully, above, p. 686^{b}). We must hold then that the piety of the psalmists occupies in general a higher level than that of the framers of the Priests' Code. Their joy in the beautiful service of the temple was evidently derived primarily from what appealed to the heart and the feelings: the festal processions, the prayers and benedictions of the priests, and, not last, it may be presumed, the temple music and singing (to which last the greatest care seems from all accounts to have been given). All this is supported by the circumstance that the (not very frequent) praise of the Law (1^{2} $19^{8\,(7)\,\text{ff.}}$) is probably everywhere intended for the specifically moral (so quite clearly in $19^{12\text{f.}}$) commands and not for the Ceremonial Law. Even the endless utterances—mostly of quite a general character—in Ps 119 as to the value and efficacy of the Divine commands show at times (so vv.$^{9.\,36.\,133}$) that what they have in view is the moral content of the Law.

5. *The character of the religion of the Psalms.*—If a *sine quâ non* of all true religion is a sincere

---

* Thus R. H. Charles (in the second chapter of his *Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, in Judaism, and in Christianity*, London and New York, 1899) discovers in Ps 49. 73, as well as in the Book of Job, approaches to an immortality doctrine—an individual eschatology which finally (according to ch. 3) combined with the popular eschatology to form the doctrine of the resurrection (cf. below, p. 728^{a} note; and the later article of Charles, 'The Rise and Development in Israel of Belief in a Future Life,' *Expositor*, Jan. 1903, p. 49 ff.).

confession of sin, then the religion of the psalmists has undoubtedly a firm basis. In addition to the ready admission of the general guilt of the people, of which we have already spoken, there are not a few testimonies to the impossibility of all attempts of one's own to attain to a righteousness which can bear to be tested by the eye of a holy God (38^{19} 51$^{3ff.}$ 130$^{1ff.}$ 143^{2}, La 1$^{5.8.14.18.22}$ 3$^{39ff.}$ 4^{6} 5^{16}), as well as evidences of a tenderness of conscience which feels concerned even about unconscious sins (Ps 19^{13} 90^{8}) and sins of youth (25^{7}), and prays God to forgive them. It is only rarely that we still meet with outbursts of self-righteousness, showing itself in a disposition to boast of one's minute observance of the Law (17^{5} 18$^{21ff.}$ 44$^{18ff.}$), and even to complain that God, notwithstanding all this, delays to help His people (44$^{10ff.}$). No less surprising, and quite opposed to the usual language of the Book of Lamentations, is the complaint of La 5^{7} 'The fathers sinned, and we bear their guilt.'

More than once we meet with an almost evangelical perception in what is said about the forgiveness of sin. The Apostle Paul was thoroughly justified (Ro 4$^{6ff.}$) in using Ps 32$^{1f.}$ as a Scripture proof that the blessedness of a conscience at peace with God is based not upon any merit of works, but upon the fact that God in His grace does not impute guilt (cf. also Ps 103$^{3ff.}$, esp. v.$^{8ff.}$).

To those, again, who are ever mindful of their constant need of fresh grace, who are 'of a broken heart and contrite spirit,' Jahweh is near (34^{19} 51^{19}), and creates in them—for an actual new creation is needed—a clean heart and a new, right spirit (51^{12}). He teaches them to recognize in God the highest, yea the only, good (16^{2}), the source of all true spiritual life and all real light (36^{10}); He awakens in them an inextinguishable longing for blessed peace in God and the closest fellowship with Him, and provides for the full satisfying of this longing. Sayings like those of 16$^{5.8f.}$ 42$^{2f.}$ 63^{2} 73$^{25f.}$ 143^{6}, and, above all, the noble words of 131$^{1f.}$, have found a perfect echo even in Christian hearts all through the centuries.

(*a*) A fruit of such fellowship with God is a life of *prayer* (supplication, thanksgiving and adoration) of inexhaustible variety and intimacy. Examples of this it is all the less necessary to quote, since the whole Psalter is *one* witness to this fact. A single remark may, however, be made. How petty and empty appear all those philosophical and theological discussions about prayer as an attempt to interfere with the unalterable predetermination of God, when compared with the grand simplicity and inward certainty of the praying psalmists! Their hearts have no room for such considerations. No doubt they, too, feel the manifold mysteries of the course of things in this world, and are plunged by them into doubt and unrest. Nor are they strangers to impatience, nay, at times, even displeasure, on account of the delay of Divine aid and the seeming silence of God in presence of violence and injustice. But in the end the certainty forces its way that the omnipotence, the wisdom, and the righteousness of God must triumph over all unreason and unrighteousness. And the conviction that prayer, the indispensable nourishment of the soul, is more precious than aught else (92$^{2ff.}$), and that God is ever near to them that call upon Him (145$^{18f.}$), is placed at last beyond the reach of doubt.

(*b*) A further fruit of this spiritual life in and with God shows itself in the disposition which recognizes all the actions and the whole lot of the godly to be absolutely dependent upon the wise and gracious will of God, and which is therefore prepared in all things to give the glory not to man but to God alone (115$^{1ff.}$), and to expect all things from His blessing alone (127$^{1f.}$). The Psalm passages, in which an inflexible confidence in the wise and loving guidance and protection of the godly finds touching and often typical expression (*e.g.* 3$^{4ff.}$ 5$^{12f.}$ 23^{4} 27^{1} 91$^{1ff.}$ 118$^{6ff.}$ 121$^{1ff.}$), have in all ages retained their place even in Christian hearts as forms of prayer which possess inexhaustible living power.

6. *Morality.*—After what we have had to say about the attitude of the Psalmists to the cultus, and about the character of their religion, we could not but expect that their moral disposition would show itself in a corresponding form. The testimonies to this can hardly be called numerous, if we leave out of account the endless complaints against the heathen and against faithless fellow-countrymen [the latter being for the most part referred to in the term רְשָׁעִים or 'ungodly']. The contents of these complaints point of themselves to the opposite as constituting what is right and moral. Of more importance, however, are the passages in which we find positively, as it were, set up an ideal of the life that is truly moral and well-pleasing to God. It is noteworthy in this connexion that in almost all these passages (15$^{1ff.}$ 24$^{3f.}$ 34$^{13f.}$ 101$^{1ff.}$; in a negative form in 50$^{16ff.}$) the strongest emphasis is laid upon those requirements, inattention to which had furnished the main occasion for the denunciations and complaints of the prophets: honesty and truthfulness, above all in judicial cases which might issue in endangering the rights of the poor and the weak.

A dark shadow is undeniably cast on this attractive picture by those outbursts of sometimes passionate longing for revenge that are found in the so-called 'imprecatory psalms' (41^{11} 58^{11} 109$^{7ff.}$, and esp. 137$^{8ff.}$; cf. also La 1$^{21f.}$ 3$^{64ff.}$ 4$^{21f.}$). The expedient of declaring that the objects of hatred and revengeful longing in these passages are not persons but the cause they represent, their hostility to God and His kingdom, is utterly untenable in view, for example, of Ps 137$^{8ff.}$. We have simply to acknowledge that there is not to be detected here the slightest breath of the spirit which inspires the words of Mt 5$^{44f.}$. And, however readily we may concede that such utterances are partly intelligible as the cry of distress of a people long enslaved and maltreated, and that on that account they are in a measure excusable, they still continue to be at the same time instructive witnesses to the fact that in the OT, side by side with the word of God, the disposition and the voice of the natural man may still be remarked.

7. *The doctrine of retribution.*—The problem ever raised afresh by experience, namely, how the actions and the fortunes of men are related to one another, had already, as we saw above (p. 689), engaged the attention of the later Prophets, and had led first to the conclusion that no one has to pay the penalty of another's guilt, but only his own. But in proportion as the place of the old popular religion, which had regard almost exclusively to the nation as a whole, had its place taken by an interest in the religious individual, the question always became a more burning one,—in view of the complete absence of any hope of a compensatory process in the world beyond,—how the sufferings of the godly and the prosperity of the wicked were to be reconciled with faith in a Divine, and thus absolutely righteous, rule of the world. At first the Psalmists, too, abide by the simple postulate, which appears to be imperatively required by the conception of God, and which the very first psalm states in the sharp antithesis, 'Happiness to the righteous, woe to the wicked!' The description of the happiness of the godly (23$^{1ff.}$ 92$^{13ff.}$ 112$^{1ff.}$ 128$^{1ff.}$) is presented in such beautiful pictures and with such definiteness that there appears to be no room left to raise the problem above referred to. But it was impossible

permanently to shut one's eyes to the glaring facts supplied by experience of real life. And so we find three psalms (the 37th, the 49th, and the 73rd; also the opening part of the 39th),* in which the problem of the prosperity of the ungodly is subjected to an examination which shows only too clearly how heavily this question pressed upon men's minds, and what a struggle was required to reach anything like a satisfying result. But this result is the same in all the three psalms named. The sufferings of the righteous and the prosperity of the wicked are both alike pronounced to be *always* only temporary, and hence to be merely a deceitful appearance. Soon and suddenly release comes to the one, shameful ruin to the other; and all the more are men to be warned not to fret on account of the prosperity of the wicked, instead of waiting calmly for God's judgment to fall.

Is this attempt at a theodicy to be called a satisfying one? We can only say that, while there is something extremely touching and edifying in the testimony of the author of Ps 37^{25} that up to his old age he had never seen the righteous forsaken or his seed begging bread, unfortunately every one is not in a position to testify to the same experience. On OT soil the solution of the problem was possible only in such a way as we find exhibited in the Book of Job. On this we shall have to speak below (p. 730^{b} f.).

8. *Messianic expectations.*—If it is the case, as is very frequently asserted, that the whole interest of the later post-exilic religion of Israel turns on the two great hinges of the Law and the Messianic hope, this assertion can be justified even in regard to the last point only to a very limited extent *from the Psalms.* Now that a sober exegesis has swept away a great number of supposed Messianic (or at least typically Messianic) psalms, there remain only three (if we leave out of account the brief promise of a victorious descendant of David, 132$^{17f.}$) in which the expectation of a *personal* Messiah cannot well be disputed—the 2nd, the 72nd, and the 110th. Ps 2 might have been called forth by the victory of a Maccabæan prince, which moved the writer to recognize in him the long promised Messiah. Any other interpretation (such, for instance, as to assume that we have here the hyperbole of flattery) would in any case be shattered by v.$^{8f.}$, which contemplates that the king addressed is to exercise absolutely unlimited sway *over the world.* The only question is whether a definite historical occurrence was needed to lead to the utterance of such a prophecy. The simplest view will always continue to be that the poet is transported in spirit to the birth-pangs of the Messianic era, and from this standpoint describes the course of things.—Similarly, in Ps 72 it follows from v.^{8} that we have to do with a purely future prophecy, a glance into the period when Jahweh has set up a king under whose powerful and just sway peace and abundant blessing are the lot of the people,—above all, of those hitherto oppressed, all poor and needy ones (vv.$^{4. 12ff.}$). From v.^{5} it would appear as if eternal rule were contemplated for this king personally; but, since in v.^{17} it is his *name* that has eternal continuance and eternal renown promised to it, we must think here, as elsewhere (cf. above, pp. 696^{b}, 713^{a}), of the permanence of the dynasty. It is not said that this ideal king is descended from David, but it may be presupposed all the same.—In Ps 110 we are compelled by v.^{4} to hold that the person is a military commander (v.^{3}) who has received not only priestly but also kingly dignity (cf. v.^{2} 'thy mighty sceptre'), and so can be compared with the priest-king Melchizedek of Gn 14$^{18ff.}$. All this is intelligible only if the subject addressed is a Maccabæan* priest-prince. That the writer believed the Messiah to have made his appearance in the person of this priest-prince can be inferred only from v.^{1} (the seat of honour beside Jahweh) and at all events from v.^{6} (provided that the judgment of the nations at the dawn of the Messianic age is what is meant): for the rest, it would be sufficient to understand the sovereign power and the career of victory as extending over only a smaller circle of peoples.

It is noteworthy that in all three psalms we hear only of the monarchical qualities of this ruler (in Ps 72 of monarchical virtues, in Ps 2 and 110 of warlike achievements), not of any spiritual activity on his part—again an evidence of how wide was the gulf between the picture of the Jewish Messiah and that of the actual Messiah of the New Testament.

But at certain times (especially those when Israel enjoyed outward prosperity, as happened, for instance, under the rule of the Ptolemies) or in certain circles the expectation of a personal Messiah fell quite out of sight. This is shown by certain passages in which (so also perhaps in Hab 3^{13}) *the nation* is expressly called 'the anointed' of Jahweh: Ps 28^{8} 84^{10} (but hardly 89$^{39. 52}$); in 105^{15} the patriarchs are spoken of as Jahweh's anointed ones. This usage could scarcely have established itself unless the thought of the 'anointed' in an individual sense had—at least at times—almost entirely faded away.

But the circumstance last alluded to by no means excludes the possibility that the expectation of a Messianic *time* always continued as a living and powerful force. It is the object of longing (Ps 14^{7}) and of confident hope. With the cry of jubilation, 'Jahweh reigneth' (47$^{9f.}$ 93$^{1f.}$ 97$^{1ff.}$ 99$^{1ff.}$),† the poet transports himself to the time when Jahweh has at last assumed kingly rule on Ẓion, and advances to execute judgment on Israel's foes, and showers upon Israel a superabundance of spiritual and temporal blessings.

As in the earlier Prophets, the heathen peoples play a prominent rôle again in the future expectations of the Psalmists. Only, it must be admitted at the outset that this rôle is almost uniformly accommodated to the particularistic assumptions which we have already encountered in the Psalms. The Messianic judgment is indeed, at the same time, what it is primarily to the earlier prophets, a purifying judgment for Israel itself, in which the ungodly perish (1^{5}; even in 7$^{7ff.}$ and 94$^{1ff.}$ Israel may be included); but, as a rule, it is meant for 'the peoples of the world' (96^{13} 98^{9}), and, amongst these, especially of course for the oppressors and enemies of Israel. The executing of the judgment is almost always looked for from Jahweh Himself. Only in 149$^{6ff.}$ does the poet formally revel in the thought that the godly in Israel are to execute with their own hand the long predicted judgment on the heathen and their kings.

Considering the frequency of allusions to the relation of the heathen to the Messianic kingdom, one might expect also some words which, in the spirit of Deutero-Isaiah, should recognize that the heathen have a part in the kingdom of God. But, apart from Ps 22$^{28ff.}$, where a conversion of the heathen to Jahweh is spoken of, no indubitable witness to such an expectation can be produced. For the very frequent calls to the heathen to praise Jahweh (47^{2} 66$^{1ff.}$ 67$^{3ff.}$ 68^{33} 97^{2} 98^{4} 100^{1}

---

* Cf. Couard, 'Die Behandlung und Lösung des Problems der Theodicee in den Psalmen 37. 39. 73' in *SK*, 1901, p. 110 ff.

* All doubt on this point would be dispelled if the acrostic discovered by G. Margoliouth in vv.$^{1-4}$ (ש in שֵׁב, מ in מַטֵּה, ע in עֻזְּךָ, נ in נִשְׁבַּע; the whole yielding the name שִׁמְעֹן) is a real one. In the year 141 B.C. Simon became, by a popular resolution, hereditary high priest and prince of the people.

† On this interpretation of the psalms in question, cf. B. Stade, 'Die messianische Hoffnung im Psalter' in *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, ii. (1892) 369 ff.

117^{1} $138^{4f.}$ 148^{11}) *may* quite well be understood in the sense of readily confessing the superior power of Jahweh and the consequent necessity of submitting themselves to serve Him. The same may be the meaning also of passages like 86^{9} $96^{7ff.}$ $102^{16.\,23}$, and certainly of $68^{30ff.}$ $72^{9ff.}$. The gifts brought to the temple by the kings of the heathen are simply the tribute offered by them in testimony of their subjection to the supreme God. In view of all this, it cannot be denied that here again we may mark a falling from the level of prophetism down to specifically Jewish particularism.

9. *The question of personal immortality.*—An old controverted question still remains to be dealt with: Are there to be found in the Psalter—in spite of what was said above about *Shĕʼōl*—passages in which expression is given to the hope of individual immortality? We here leave out of account passages like Ps 31^{6} or 49^{16}, which are put out of court by a correct exegesis [in Ps 31 all that is needed to do this is v.^{16}]. On the other hand, it deserves to be seriously considered whether $16^{10ff.}$ speaks only of preservation from sudden death and not rather from death altogether, namely, through living to see the Messianic time (cf., for this expectation expressed in Is 25^{8}, above, p. 713^{b}). And no less may it be considered whether in Ps 17^{15} we are not to think of an awakening in like manner to enter upon the enjoyment of the Messianic age (in the sense of Is 26^{19}). In that case we should have a parallel to the resurrection hope expressed in Dn 12^{2} (see above, p. 715^{a}).[*] But these two passages in the Psalms would thus stand so isolated, besides being of so doubtful interpretation, that we must be content, after all, to return on the question at issue a verdict of *non liquet*.

X. THE SO-CALLED ḤOKHMĀH (WISDOM) LITERATURE (Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes).

The earliest trace of the 'wise' as a separate professional class is found in Jer 18^{18}, where they are placed side by side with the priests and prophets as possessors of 'counsel,' *i.e.* ability to select the best course in particular cases. They also appear frequently as a separate class in Proverbs (1^{6} 13^{14} 22^{17} etc.; cf. also Ec 12^{11}), above all as teachers of youth (1^{4} 2^{1} 3^{1} $4^{1.\,10}$ etc.). This is quite compatible with the fact that they are likewise (in part, perhaps, exclusively) to be conceived as writers. And, since in the period to which the creations of the *Ḥokhmāh* (חָכְמָה) belong it is impossible to speak of authorship beyond the limits of the religion of the Law, the 'wise' ought in the main to be identified with the 'scribes'; only, they rather represent a particular side of the scribes' activity,—not the fixing of the letter of the Law, or instruction in its punctual observance (*e.g.* in matters of cultus),—but the useful application of the specifically ethical content of the Law and of Scripture generally—so far as Scripture existed—as the revelation of the will of God, which alone may determine human action. For 'wisdom,'[*] the unsurpassable worth of which is ceaselessly lauded in Proverbs, and the attainment of which at any cost is incessantly inculcated, is not the fruit of philosophic or religious speculation, or even an esoteric or secret doctrine; it is (as already in Jer 18^{18}, see above) ability for the right conduct of life, or, in one word, *the practical wisdom of life*. One who possesses wisdom is capable of rightly judging every situation in which he may find himself, and of taking the best way to master it. Thus what distinguishes the wise from fools is, as it were, the art of taking a wide view of things. Now, if we consider that the political situation of the people under heathen rulers, and the increasing, and in part wealthy and influential, Jewish Diaspora in heathen lands, made ever greater demands for a prudent attitude towards foreigners, we can understand how it is that the doctrine of wisdom shows traces here and there of a certain cosmopolitanism, at all events the inculcation of prudent judgment of, and attitude towards, the king and heathen rulers. The tendency of wisdom to run out into the practical prudence of life is shown, above all, in the multiplicity of its principles and aims. It is astonishing to mark what a number of questions relating to the prudent conduct of life are canvassed in Proverbs: occupation, profit, business in general, intercourse with superiors and inferiors and with different classes of men generally, one's attitude to rulers, and numberless others. How far the specifically religious interest gets justice alongside of the thoroughly predominant practical interest, is a question to be investigated when we come to discuss the individual books.

1. *Proverbs.*—(*a*) Like the Psalms, Proverbs ought also for our purposes to be treated as a literary unity, in spite of the variety, and, it may well be, the divergence in age, of its component parts.[†] Between the Prologue (chs. 1–9) and the collections of proverbs proper the difference is at most this, that in the first we find not only numerous connected arguments, but also—at least on one point—attempts at religious speculation; while in the 'Proverbs of Solomon' and the collections which follow we encounter almost everywhere isolated proverbs, antithetic in form (so from the very first, $10^{1\text{-}17}$), in the most motley mixture, and only very seldom in connected groups. Besides, it has long been recognized that the number of proverbs which can be viewed as real proverbs, current on the lips of the people, is small. The majority obviously belong to artificial poetry both in contents and form.[‡]

---

[*] Cf. the literature cited on p. 668^{a}, and add F. Schmidt, *Der Unsterblichkeits- und Auferstehungsglaube in der Bibel*, Brixen, 1902. We may take this opportunity of remarking that we do not consider that proof has been given of the influence of Parsism on the rise of the Jewish hope of the resurrection. Charles (in work cited on p. 725^{a} note) holds Mazdæan influences possible in Dn 12^{2}, but sees in Is 26^{19} a product of purely Jewish thought. But the distance from Is 26^{19} to Dn 12^{2} is easily bridged. Cf., further, on the question of Parsi influences: J. H. Moulton's art. ZOROASTRIANISM in vol. iv. of the present work; T. K. Cheyne, 'Possible Zoroastrian Influences on the Religion of Israel,' *Expos. Times*, Aug. 1891; E. Stave, *Ueber den Einfluss des Parsismus auf das Judentum*, Leipzig, 1898 [holds that the future expectations connected with this world emanated from Judaism, while those connected with the world beyond, particularly the (post-canonical) doctrine of a *general* resurrection, are traced to Parsism]; E. Böklen, *Die Verwandtschaft der jüdischchristlichen mit der parsischen Eschatologie*, 1902 [a careful collection of matter, the author's own intention being, above all, to provide material for arriving at a judgment; but his procedure in adducing Parsi parallels to OT passages is in not a few instances too artificial].

[*] Cf., for special literature on the *Ḥokhmāh*: T. K. Cheyne, *Job and Solomon, or the Wisdom of the Old Testament*, London, 1887 [an incisive critical, exegetical, and biblico-theological discussion of the Books of Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Sirach]; H. Zschokke, *Der dogmatisch-ethische Lehrgehalt der alttest. Weisheitsbücher*, Wien, 1889; W. T. Davison, *The Wisdom Literature of the Old Testament*, London, 1894; K. Benkenstein, *Der Begriff der Chokhma in d. Hagiographen d. AT*, Nordhausen, 1895.

[†] The superscription מִשְׁלֵי שְׁלֹמֹה, which was later prefixed also to the Prologue (1^{1}), indicates that 10^{1}–22^{16} was the basis of the collection. Whether in $10^{1ff.}$ there are present any relics of a collection of proverbs attributed to Solomon (cf. the trace of such a collection in 1 K 5^{12}) is a question on which we cannot even form an opinion; the present Book of Proverbs cannot have been put together before the post-exilic period. Two supplements were added to the original basis noted above (22^{17}–24^{22}), which are not attributed to Solomon. A second collection of 'Proverbs of Solomon' is given in 27^{1}–29^{27}, with three supplements—the words of Agur (ch. 30), the words of king Lemuel ($31^{1\text{-}9}$), and the acrostic eulogy of the virtuous woman ($31^{10\text{-}31}$). It was only as a last step (and not before the middle of the 4th cent. B.C.) that the Prologue can have been prefixed to the whole.

[‡] For special literature on Proverbs, cf. R. Pfeiffer, *Die religiös-sittliche Weltanschauung des Buches der Sprüche in*

(*b*) The approach to religious speculation, to which reference was made above, has to do with the personification of Wisdom in several passages of the Prologue. Here it is a question whether we have to do with a purely poetical manner of speech, or with a hypostatizing of Wisdom, that is, with the introducing of an intermediate being between God and matter. The descriptions in $1^{20f.}$ $8^{1ff.}$ and $9^{1ff.}$ can quite well be interpreted as purely poetical personifications, all the more that in $9^{13ff.}$ 'Madam Folly' is contrasted with Wisdom, and in this second case it is impossible to speak of hypostatization. The case, however, is different in $8^{22ff.}$. *The* Wisdom, whom Jahweh created of old as the first of His works, and set up of everlasting, who was there when He established the heavens, and *was by Him as a master-workman* 'daily his delight, rejoicing always before him, rejoicing in his habitable earth'—this Wisdom is no longer a merely poetical personification, but a being which has come forth from God, and works independently by His side, or, more accurately, with Him. And indeed we are probably not mistaken if we see in it a hypostatization of the creative ideas,—the passing into self-conscious personality of the system of archetypes, in accordance with which is determined the nature and measure of created things,—as it were, the fundamental principle of the Divine world-order. On this interpretation, a comparison with the 'Ideas' of Plato involuntarily suggests itself, but it is a further question whether we are to suppose that the influence of the Platonic philosophy was direct. Such a supposition is not absolutely necessary. On the other hand, it is hardly to be doubted that a causal connexion exists between the hypostatizing of Wisdom (Pr $8^{22ff.}$) and the Logos idea in the New Testament. This, however, is not the place to pursue this question further.

The interpretation of Pr $8^{22ff.}$ given above is considerably strengthened by Job $28^{1ff.}$. It is true, the hypostatization of Wisdom here is still in its rudimentary stage, and the passage is therefore certainly older than Pr $8^{22ff.}$. Job speaks at length ($28^{1-14.\,21f.}$) of the complete unattainability and (v.$^{15ff.}$) of the incomparable worth of Wisdom, until finally (v.$^{23ff.}$) he gives the explanation : *God* understandeth the way thereof, and He knoweth the place thereof. At the settling of the laws of nature (v.$^{25f.}$) 'then did he see it, and declared it; he established it, yea, and searched it out.' Obviously, Wisdom is here something other than the 'master-workman' of Pr 8; it is rather a secret talisman, endowed with wondrous powers, and accessible to God alone; but it is also equally obvious that it is closely connected with God's works of creation, and so here again is equivalent to a system of types for the individual creatures.

(*c*) As to the further contents of the Book of Proverbs, their dependence on the specifically religious presuppositions of their age, as these were formed above all by the doctrine of the prophets, and pre-eminently by their conception of God, is a fact which needs no demonstration. There is more ground for saying that the specifically religious background and atmosphere of Proverbs has been at times far too much depreciated by modern writers, in view of its eudæmonistic and even utilitarian standpoint. It is indeed undeniable that a prominence which is often startling is given to considerations of the outward success of good and bad actions. The reader has not seldom an impression as though offences and even gross sins were to be avoided, not because to commit them is to forfeit the grace of God, heap guilt upon oneself, and burden one's conscience, but because by such actions one may all too easily incur disgrace, danger, and loss. (Cf. *e.g.* 6^{29} and $^{32ff.}$, also $5^{15ff.}$ $24^{17ff.}$; and the warnings against wine, 20^{1} 21^{17} $23^{20f.}$ and $^{29ff.}$; for more general expressions, $3^{9f.}$ 4^{10} 22^{4}).*

In spite of this, however, it would be unjustifiable to regard Wisdom, in the form which it assumes in Proverbs, as *only* a means of attaining eudæmonistic ends—protection from everything that might disturb the quiet enjoyment of life. For not a few expressions reveal to us a far more intense religious life. Apart from 3^{9}, exhortations and warnings throughout are concerned with the precepts of morality proper, not with duties of the cultus; in 21^{3}, indeed, righteousness is declared better than sacrifice (quite in the spirit of Hos 6^{6}, etc.). The warning against adultery and profligacy ($6^{24ff.}$ $7^{1ff.}$) is grounded beforehand in 6^{23} by reference to the command of God, as is the case just as often with exhortations to righteousness, integrity, and compassion ($3^{27ff.}$ 14^{34} and very specially 14^{31} 17^{5} 19^{17} 28^{8}). But we can point further to altogether different evidences of a moral disposition based upon true piety. The fear of Jahweh, which according to $1^{7.\,29}$ 9^{10} is the beginning of wisdom (or, more accurately perhaps, the most important thing in wisdom)—though represented, conversely, in $2^{3ff.}$ as the fruit of wisdom—is not identical with slavish fear of Jahweh's punishment and the loss it brings, but with the knowledge that what is needed is the unconditional surrender of body and soul to Him (18^{10}) who knows the most secret places of the heart (15^{11} 17^{3} 24^{12}), who rules all things, even the doings of kings, by His will ($16^{9.\,33}$ $21^{1.\,31}$), and on whose blessing everything depends (10^{22}). The wise man knows that the corruption of sin is universal (20^{9}); he understands the healing chastisement of Jahweh, which comes precisely on him whom He loves (3^{12}), and is aware that nothing but penitent confession can deliver out of the distress of sin (28^{13}). He mistrusts his own understanding (3^{5} 28^{26}), and exercises himself at all times in humility (16^{19} 18^{12}) and contentment ($15^{16f.}$ 16^{8} 30^{8b}), as the best supports of the fear of God. If we add to this the estimate of woman and of marriage which is given in 17^{1} $31^{10ff.}$ (above all, in the noble saying of v.^{30}), the exhortation to compassion even towards animals (12^{10}), the warning against retaliation and vengeance (20^{22} 24^{29}), the exhortation to magnanimity towards a foe, which almost touches on love to enemies ($25^{21f.}$), and, finally, the reference to the love that covereth all transgressions (10^{12}),—we shall no longer doubt that the ethic of Proverbs stands in great measure on a far higher level than the catchword of eudæmonism and utilitarianism is willing to admit.

(*d*) As to the doctrine of retribution, we find Proverbs occupying exactly the same standpoint as the Psalmists (see above, p. 726^{b}), viz. founding on the postulate that virtue and ungodliness must receive on earth a precisely equivalent requital ($2^{21f.}$ 10^{25} $11^{21.\,31}$ $13^{9.\,21f.}$ 14^{11} 24^{20} etc.). Nowhere is there a trace to prove that the authors of Proverbs had felt the least difficulty in making this postulate. But that this very problem had exercised the devotees of *Ḥokhmāh* profoundly and persistently is shown by the book which must undoubtedly be described as the ripest fruit of this whole movement, as it is in general one of the sublimest monuments of the religion of Israel, and even of the pre-Christian literature of the world.

2. *The Book of Job.*—(*a*) Of the critical questions

---

ihrem inneren Zusammenhange dargestellt, München, 1896; O. Meusel, *Die Stellung der Sprüche Salomos in der israelitischen Litteratur und Religionsgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1900.

* To the same category of 'rules for life,' tinged with a utilitarian complexion, belongs the repeated and extremely insistent warning against becoming surety for others ($6^{1ff.}$ 17^{18} 20^{16} $22^{26f.}$), as also against sloth ($6^{6ff.}$ and frequently).

that gather round the Book of Job one only need be taken into account for our purposes—the question touching the genuineness of the speeches of Elihu (chs. 32-37), which break the connexion between ch. 31 and ch. 38 in an unintelligible fashion, and suddenly introduce a speaker who is quite unknown both to the Prologue and to the Epilogue of the poem. We shall have to state briefly at the close our reasons for holding his observations to be an incontestably later addition. The theory, at present well-nigh dominant (owing to the commentaries of Duhm and Budde), that in the Prologue and Epilogue we have an older popular writing, in which the author of the main part has inserted the speeches of Job, of his friends, and of Jahweh, is one to which the present writer is unable to subscribe, believing as he does that the Prologue and Epilogue were written by the same hand as the rest (though, of course, as Ezk $14^{14.\ 20}$ demands, in dependence on an old and familiar tradition).[*] As to the date of the book, not only its angelology, which presents similarities to that of Daniel, but also linguistic reasons, compel us to bring it down to the later post-exilic period. That its conception of God (especially in regard to the creation and government of the world, ch. 38 ff. and elsewhere) stands on the loftiest height of OT beliefs, needs no proof.[†] And as to its ethics, passages like $29^{12ff.}$, and, above all, $31^{1ff.}$, with their truly evangelical idea of morality, have hardly a parallel in the OT.

(*b*) As regards the angelology, the novel element lies less in the rôle played by the Satan ($1^{6ff.}$ $2^{1ff.}$) than in some other expressions. The Satan here is distinguishable from his counterpart in Zechariah (cf. above, p. 709^{b}) at most by this, that, while not yet the calumniator of the pious man, he still excites suspicion against him. He still belongs to the *běnê 'Ĕlōhîm*, who stand around Jahweh as His servants (1^{6} 2^{1}; in 38^{7} they are named alongside of the morning-stars, which are to be conceived as personified), and he is absolutely bound to the will of God. But there is plainly in him a strain of malice, a joy in the fall of the godly. So far we have here a further development of the idea of the Satan as found in Zec 3^{1}. 1 Ch 21^{1}—an instructive parallel to 2 S 24^{1}—is the first passage where the Satan has become a being dualistically hostile to God. The further expansion of the idea, as presupposed in NT, belongs to the department of the Apocrypha (cf., especially, Wis 2^{24}).

Peculiar to the Book of Job is the idea of interceding angels (5^{1} 33^{23}), as also that of angels of death (33^{22}). The description of the angels as holy (15^{15}) is no more here than elsewhere meant to emphasize their moral perfection, as is clear from this very passage, which (like 4^{18}) makes the angels subject to error and sin.

(*c*) In view of the ever renewed attempt to draw from $19^{25ff.}$ indications of the sudden flaming up of the hope of resurrection or immortality, emphasis must never cease to be laid on this fact; the view set forth in Job in regard to *Shĕ'ōl*—its cheerless darkness, the complete isolation of its inmates from the upper world, and the impossibility of return from it ($7^{9f.}$ $10^{21f.}$ $14^{10ff.\ 21f.}$ 16^{22} 21^{26} 30^{23})—is uniformly the same throughout the whole poem. With such an idea, however, the hope of immortality would be in insoluble contradiction. The expectation to which expression is given in Job $19^{25ff.}$, accordingly, relates to this life, and this is expressly confirmed by the clear reference back from 42^{5} to 19^{27}.

(*d*) The problem to the solution of which this sublime poem is devoted is simply, How is the suffering, nay the sore and hopeless suffering, of a notoriously good man compatible with the justice of God?; and, conversely, How is it compatible with the justice of God that notoriously godless men enjoy to the end of life an absolutely untroubled happiness? These became burning questions once men had learned to distinguish the weal and woe of the individual from that of the nation, and to face the actual facts of the individual life.

The poet brings the problem before us in the Prologue in the guise of historical facts. Job has witness to his exemplary piety from God Himself (1^{8} 2^{3}). And yet measureless woe has fallen upon him. Why? The reader is told in the Prologue:—the torture of Job rests on the permission extended by Jahweh to the Satan, with the object of proving that there does exist a piety which no temptation can cause to waver. The suffering of Job, accordingly, is in no way a manifestation of God's anger, but rather of His love; it is a martyrdom for the honour of God and human fidelity towards God. The fact that the reader is put in possession of accurate knowledge on this point from the first, and therefore can quietly watch the controversy as from a watchtower, is one of the poet's finest strokes of art. The other *dramatis personæ*, however, know nothing of this solution of the problem, and are therefore groping in the darkness. They carry on the controversy only as human judgment and knowledge best can.

Job, with heroic devotion, offers a steadfast resistance to the repeated assaults of evil, in spite of his being sorely tempted by his own wife. But the mute reproach which he perceives in the silence of his friends, together with his awful, excruciating, and hopeless malady, finally breaks down the courage of his faith. With the monologue in which he curses the day of his birth (ch. 3), he opens the threefold cycle of speeches and counter-speeches, in which the problem, instead of drawing nearer to solution, becomes ever more complicated. The standpoint of the friends is that of the old doctrine of retribution—that false inversion of the fact declared in Ex $20^{5f.}$, that the fear of God brings a blessing, while sin brings ruin. The friends deny the existence of any problem at all: all suffering is punishment; monstrous suffering is punishment for monstrous, and very specially for secret, guilt. The happiness of the ungodly, however, is never more than apparent, and is destined to sudden destruction.

Job does not in the least deny (14^{4} 19^{4}) his participation in the universality of human sin as affirmed by the friends (4^{17} 15^{14}). But he repudiates in the strongest way any such guilt as would even come near explaining his fate. On the other hand, he is never weary of pointing to the facts of actual life (cf., especially, $21^{7ff.}$ and $24^{1ff.}$), the infinite enigmas created by the hopeless suffering of the godly, and the untroubled happiness of the wicked. This does not lead him, it is true, to doubt the omnipotence of God ($9^{5ff.}$ $12^{13ff.}$ $26^{5ff.}$ 26^{14}), but he can recognize only its incalculable and destructive effects. He rejects, with justifiable indignation ($21^{19ff.}$), the expedient, which was plainly in high favour in his day, of saying that God lays up the punishment of the godless for their children. For this theory was in fact nothing but a desperate device, which overthrew the principle of the current doctrine of retribution — otherwise so eagerly defended—that each receives according to his deserts.

Still, his doubts regarding the justice of God (cf., especially, $9^{22ff.}$) are gradually overcome by his better faith. He begins to distinguish between

---

[*] Cf. on this point Karl Kautzsch, *Das sogenannte Volksbuch von Hiob und der Ursprung von Hiob 1. 2. 41*$^{7-17}$, Tübingen, 1900.

[†] Of the particular mythological allusions (3^{8} to the Leviathan, 9^{13} to the helpers of Rahab, 26^{12} to Rahab, 29^{18} to the phœnix) the same view must be taken as of those in the Psalms.

2 CORINTHIANS—*continued.*

5^{14} iv. 345.
5^{15-17} iv. 218.
5^{17} iv. 218^{b}.
5^{18} iii. 318.
$5^{18f.}$ iv. 205^{a}.
5^{19} i. 198^{a}.
5^{21} iii. 318^{b}.
6^{15} iv. 411^{a}.
6^{18} iv. 185^{a} (Woods).
$8^{10.\ 17}$ ii. 61^{a}.
8^{19} iii. 631^{b}.
9^{2} ii. 61^{a}.
10^{5} ii. 454^{a}.
10^{7} i. 498^{a}.
10^{16} iii. 124.
$11^{2f.}$ iv. 411^{a}.
11^{23} ii. 67^{b}.
11^{24} Ext. 103^{b}.
11^{26} Ext. 392^{b}.
11^{27} iii. 639^{b} (Hastings).
11^{32} i. 145^{a}, 416^{b}.
12^{1-9} iii. 700 f.
12^{2} Ext. 474^{b} (Ramsay).
12^{4} iii. 671^{a} (Salmond).
12^{7} iv. 410^{b}.
13^{1} iv. 186^{a} (Woods).
13^{5-7} iv. 228^{a}.
13^{14} i. 460^{a}, 498^{a}.

GALATIANS.

$1^{8f.}$ i. 535^{a}.
1^{10} Ext. 270^{b}.
1^{17-24} i. 31^{b}.
1^{18} i. 145^{a}, 424^{a}; Ext. 474^{b} (Ramsay).
$1^{18f.}$ i. 322^{a}.
1^{20} iii. 577^{a}.
2^{1} i. 421^{a}; Ext. 474^{b} (Ramsay).
$2^{1-10.\ 11f.}$ i. 31^{b}, 424^{a}; iii. 705 f.
2^{4} iii. 77^{a}.
2^{10} ii. 61^{a}.
$2^{11ff.}$ i. 423 (Turner); iii. 765^{a} n. (Chase).
2^{11-14} ii. 97 f.
2^{11-21} iii. 709 f.
2^{20} iv. 218, 435^{a}.
2^{21} ii. 71^{b}.
3 iv. 106.
3^{1} i. 285^{a}; ii. 92^{b}.
3^{8} iv. 185^{b} (Woods).
3^{10-13} i. 535^{a}.
3^{13} ii. 298^{b}.
3^{15} iv. 720^{b} (Massie).
$3^{15ff.}$ i. 41.
3^{16} iv. 429^{b} (Patrick).
3^{17} iii. 79^{b}.
3^{18} iv. 720^{b}.
$3^{19f.}$ iii. 318^{a} (Adeney).
$3^{23f.}$ iii. 79^{a} (Denney).
3^{24} iii. 72^{b}, 79^{a}; Ext. 723^{a} (Kautzsch).
$3^{24f.}$ iv. 419^{a}.
3^{28} iv. 936^{a}.

GALATIANS—*continued.*

4^{2} iv. 821.
4^{3-11} ii. 92^{b}.
4^{4} iii. 286^{b} n.
4^{5} i. 41; iv. 720^{b}.
4^{8} i. 683^{b}.
$4^{9f.}$ iii. 140^{a}.
4^{13} iii. 659^{a}.
4^{13-15} ii. 94^{b}; iii. 701^{a} (Findlay).
4^{21}–5^{1} i. 65^{b}; ii. 504^{b}.
4^{24} ii. 120^{b}.
4^{30} iv. 185^{b} (Woods).
5^{3} iv. 135^{a}.
5^{11} iii. 587^{a}.
5^{16} ii. 410^{a}.
5^{16-25} iv. 393^{b} (Bartlet).
5^{19-21} Ext. 440^{b}.
5^{20} iv. 605^{a}.
6^{11} iii. 45^{b}; Ext. 356^{a}.
6^{15} iv. 218^{b}.
6^{17} iii. 244 f.; iv. 426^{b}.

EPHESIANS.

1^{1-12} iv. 60^{a}.
$1^{4f.}$ ii. 53^{a}.
1^{5} i. 42^{a}.
$1^{9f.}$ iv. 231^{a}.
1^{11} iv. 61^{a}.
1^{23} iv. 1^{b} (Lock), 367^{b}.
2^{2} iv. 411^{a}, 991^{b} n.
2^{5} ii. 179^{b}.
$2^{5f.}$ iv. 234^{b}.
2^{10} iv. 60 f.
2^{17} iv. 99^{b}.
2^{19} ii. 156^{a}.
2^{20} i. 499^{b}; iv. 128^{a}.
3^{5} iv. 128^{a}.
3^{11} iv. 186^{a} (Woods).
3^{13} i. 529^{a}.
3^{18} ii. 475^{a}.
3^{19} ii. 457^{a}, 791^{b}.
$4^{3.\ 9}$ i. 682^{b}.
4^{6} iv. 61^{a}.
4^{8} ii. 173^{a} n.; iv. 185^{b} (Woods).
4^{10} ii. 791^{b}.
4^{11} Ext. 441^{a} n.
4^{13} ii. 457^{a}; iii. 659^{a}.
4^{14} iv. 553^{a}.
4^{22} i. 500^{a}.
5^{14} i. 692^{a}; iv. 186^{a}, 234^{b}.
5^{16} Ext. 151^{a}.
$5^{26f.}$ i. 327^{a}.
6^{12} iv. 410 f.
6^{18} iv. 498^{b}.
$6^{21f.}$ iv. 821^{b}.

PHILIPPIANS.

1^{1} iii. 843^{a}.
1^{13} iii. 841^{a}; iv. 33^{a}.
1^{17} iii. 841.
1^{20} i. 813^{a}.
$1^{21.\ 23}$ iii. 679^{a}.
1^{23} iv. 235^{b}.

PHILIPPIANS—*continued.*

1^{25} iv. 235^{b}.
2^{4-11} iii. 722^{b} (Findlay).
2^{5-11} ii. 463^{a}; iii. 843^{a}.
2^{6} Ext. 270^{a}.
2^{7} ii. 835^{a}.
2^{8} i. 853^{b}.
2^{17} iii. 377^{a}.
$2^{19f.}$ iii. 841^{b}.
3^{1-20} iii. 843^{b}.
3^{11} iii. 372^{a}; iv. 235^{b}.
3^{14} iii. 244^{a}, 381^{a} (Hastings).
$3^{20f.}$ iv. 235^{b}.
3^{21} iv. 867^{a} (Hastings).
4^{2} iii. 841 f.
4^{3} i. 794^{a}; iv. 645^{b}.
4^{4} Ext. 151^{a}.
4^{5} ii. 294^{b}; iii. 413^{b}.
4^{8} ii. 411^{b}; Ext. 151^{a}.
4^{22} i. 337^{a}.

COLOSSIANS.

1^{10} i. 63^{b}.
1^{13-15} iv. 577^{b} (Sanday).
1^{14-23} iii. 713^{b} (Findlay).
1^{15} iv. 577^{b}.
1^{15-20} ii. 463^{b}.
$1^{16f.}$ iii. 319^{a}.
1^{20} iii. 319^{a}; iv. 231^{a}.
1^{24} ii. 7^{b}; iv. 347^{a}.
2^{5} iii. 630^{a}.
2^{8-20} i. 682^{b}.
2^{8-23} ii. 187^{b}.
2^{9} ii. 221^{a}.
2^{15} i. 683^{b}; iv. 410^{b}.
$2^{16f.}$ iv. 322^{a}.
2^{23} iv. 923^{a}.
3^{5} iii. 483^{a} (Hastings); Ext. 440^{b}.
4^{5} ii. 294^{b}; iii. 413^{b}; Ext. 151^{a}.
4^{15} iii. 574^{b}.

1 THESSALONIANS.

2^{1-6} iv. 745^{b} (Lock).
2^{1-12} iv. 226^{b} (James), 748^{a}, 749^{a} (Lock).
2^{6} Ext. 270^{a}.
2^{16b} iv. 746^{a} (Lock).
4^{7} iii. 729^{b}.
4^{14-17} iii. 372^{a}.
4^{15} iv. 65^{b} (Hastings).
4^{16} iii. 729^{b}; iv. 234 f.
$4^{16ff.}$ iii. 678.
4^{17} iv. 746^{a} (Lock).
5^{8} i. 319^{a}; iv. 498^{b}.
5^{23} iii. 746^{a}; iv. 236^{b}.

2 THESSALONIANS.

1^{10} i. 39^{a}.
2 iii. 226^{b}, 708 f.
2^{1-12} iv. 749.
$2^{13f.}$ iv. 216^{b}.
2^{14} i. 508^{b}.
3^{8} iv. 807^{a}.

1 TIMOTHY.

1–6 (examined from point of view of Textual Criticism) Ext. 214 f. (Murray).
1^{1} iv. 770^{b}.
1^{4} ii. 141^{a}; Ext. 150.
1^{7} iii. 81^{b}.
$1^{9f.}$ Ext. 440^{b}.
1^{13} ii. 473.
1^{18} iii. 631^{b}.
$1^{19f.}$ ii. 440^{b}.
1^{20} iv. 31^{b}, 410^{b}.
2^{1} iv. 45^{a}.
2^{4} iv. 231^{a}.
2^{6} iv. 200.
2^{8} iv. 39^{a}.
2^{9} iv. 474.
$3^{2.12}$ iii. 268^{b} (Paterson).
3^{11} iv. 917^{b}, 936^{b}.
3^{13} i. 587^{a}; iv. 174^{a}.
3^{18} i. 517^{a}.
4^{1-4} iv. 771^{a}.
4^{3} iii. 81^{b}.
4^{7} iv. 770^{b}.
4^{10} iv. 231^{a}.
4^{14} iv. 64.
5^{7} ii. 179^{a}.
5^{14} iv. 773^{a}.
5^{18} iv. 917^{a}.
5^{17} iv. 691^{b}.
$5^{17f.}$ Ext. 441^{a} n.
5^{22} iii. 85^{b}, 631^{b}; iv. 32^{b}.
5^{23} iii. 325^{b} (Macalister).
5^{32} iii. 631^{b}.
6^{5} i. 611^{b}.
6^{20} iv. 771^{a}.

2 TIMOTHY.

1^{8} iii. 631^{b}.
1^{10} iv. 234^{b}.
1^{13} i. 517^{b}; ii. 58^{b}.
1^{18} iii. 623^{a} (Milligan).
2^{17} iii. 834^{a}.
$2^{17f.}$ ii. 440^{a}.
2^{18} iv. 234^{b}.
2^{19} iv. 513^{b}.
2^{26} Ext. 270^{a}.
3^{5} ii. 58^{b}.
3^{8} iv. 228^{a} (Sanday).
$3^{8f.}$ iii. 447^{a}.
$3^{6f.}$ iv. 409^{b} (Whitehouse).
3^{15} ii. 266^{a}.
3^{18} ii. 475^{b}.
4^{2} ii. 476^{a}.
4^{6} i. 203^{a}.
4^{10} ii. 89^{a}.
4^{13} iii. 674^{a} (Hastings); iv. 945^{b} (Kenyon).
4^{14} i. 60^{b}.
4^{17} iv. 293^{a}.

2 TIMOTHY—*continued.*

4^{20} iii. 369^{a}, 549^{a}.
4^{21} iv. 173^{a}.

TITUS.

1^{7} iv. 784^{a}.
1^{9} Ext. 439^{a}.
1^{12} iv. 2^{b} (Hastings), 188^{a} (Woods).
1^{16} iv. 228^{a}.
2^{10} iv. 231^{a}.
2^{13} iv. 785^{a}.
2^{14} iv. 200^{b}.
3^{4} iv. 785^{a}.
3^{5} iv. 217^{b}.
3^{8} i. 476^{a}.
3^{9} iii. 81^{b}.
3^{12} iii. 548^{b}.
3^{13} iv. 973^{b}.
3^{14} iv. 784^{a}.

PHILEMON.

v.^{19} iii. 832^{b}.
v.^{21} iii. 832^{b}.

HEBREWS.

1^{1} iv. 577.
$1^{1f.}$ ii. 457^{a}.
1^{1-3} iv. 577^{a} (Sanday).
1^{3} i. 813^{b}; ii. 329^{b}, 453^{a}; iv. 188^{b} (Woods), 489^{b} (Marshall).
1^{7} iv. 184^{b} (Woods).
1^{12} iii. 240^{a}.
2^{6-8} iv. 184^{b} (Woods).
2^{11} ii. 333.
2^{17} iv. 128^{a}.
3^{9} iv. 185^{a} (Woods).
$3^{10.17}$ ii. 265^{a}.
4^{1-11} iv. 230^{a} (Patrick), 322^{b} (Driver).
4^{9} iv. 322^{b}.
4^{12} iii. 132^{a} n.; iv. 182^{b}, 616^{a} n.
$4^{12f.}$ iv. 188^{a} (Woods).
4^{13} iii. 625^{b} (Hastings).
4^{16} iv. 99^{b}.
5^{4} iv. 98^{b}.
5^{10} i. 343^{b}.
6^{1} Ext. 440^{b} n.
6^{2} iii. 85^{a}.
6^{7} i. 335^{a}.
6^{8} iv. 228^{b} (Denney).
7^{3} iii. 335^{b} (Sayce).
7^{7} i. 63^{b}.
7^{19} iii. 81^{b}; iv. 98^{b}.
7^{25} iv. 99^{b} (Denney).
8^{10} iv. 185^{a} (Woods).
9^{4} i. 151^{a}.
9^{5} iv. 489^{b} (Marshall).
$9^{6ff.}$ i. 202^{b}.
$9^{11ff.}$ iv. 345^{b} (Paterson).
9^{12} iv. 200^{b}.
$9^{13f.}$ iv. 210^{a}.
9^{14} i. 474^{b}; ii. 333^{a}.

HEBREWS—*continued.*

9^{15-17} iv. 720^{b} (Massie).
9^{18} iv. 720^{b}.
$9^{16f.}$ Ext. 270^{b}.
9^{17} iii. 320^{a}.
9^{23} iii. 696^{b}.
9^{28} iv. 345^{b}.
10^{4-9} iv. 99^{a}.
10^{5} iv. 184^{b} (Woods).
$10^{5ff.}$ iii. 82.
$10^{5.9}$ iv. 345^{b} (Paterson).
$10^{8f.}$ iv. 345^{b}.
10^{10} iv. 345^{b}.
10^{13} i. 813^{a}.
10^{22} iv. 45^{a}.
10^{30} iv. 186^{a} (Woods).
$10^{37f.}$ iv. 184^{b}, 185^{b}.
11^{1} i. 798^{a}; Ext. 270^{b}.
11^{4} iv. 330^{b}.
11^{5} i. 705^{a}.
11^{8-11} i. 16^{b}.
11^{19} ii. 7^{a}.
11^{21} i. 262^{b}; iv. 184^{b} (Woods).
$11^{23ff.}$ iii. 447^{a}.
$11^{35f.}$ i. 524^{a}.
12^{2} iv. 102^{a}.
12^{18} ii. 297^{a}.
12^{23} ii. 141 f.
12^{28} ii. 222^{b}.
13^{9} iii. 583^{a}.
13^{10} iii. 150^{a} (Plummer).
13^{17} ii. 264^{a}.

JAMES.

1^{11} i. 853^{b}.
1^{12} iv. 555^{b}.
$1^{14f.}$ iv. 533^{b}.
1^{17} Ext. 271^{a}.
1^{18} iv. 216^{b} (Bartlet).
1^{19} iv. 188^{a} (Woods).
$1^{23ff.}$ iii. 397^{a}.
1^{24} ii. 194^{b}.
1^{25} Ext. 466^{b}.
1^{27} iii. 634^{a}.
2^{1} iv. 489^{b} (Marshall).
2^{2} iv. 426^{a}, 941^{a}.
$2^{2f.}$ iv. 195^{b} n.
2^{7} i. 385^{b} n.
2^{10} iv. 533 f.
2^{12} Ext. 446^{b}.
2^{14-26} ii. 546^{a}; iii. 82^{b}.
3^{2} Ext. 446^{b}.
3^{5} iii. 295^{b} (Hastings).
3^{12} iii. 616^{a}.
4^{5} iv. 186^{b} (Woods).
5^{9} ii. 266^{b}.
5^{11} ii. 661^{a}.
5^{12} iii. 577^{a}.
5^{13-18} iv. 45^{a}.
5^{14} iv. 22^{b}.
$5^{14f.}$ iv. 31 f. (Mason).
$5^{15ff.}$ iv. 534^{a}.
5^{16} i. 465^{b}; Ext. 441^{a} n.
5^{20} iv. 186^{a} (Woods).

1 PETER.

1^{1} iii. 782 f., 786^{a}, 792^{a} (Chase); iv. 17.
$1^{\text{1f.}}$ iii. 786^{b}.
1^{2} ii. 53^{b}; iii. 794^{b}.
1^{5} iii. 795^{a} n.
$1^{\text{6f.}}$ iii. 785^{a}.
1^{8} iii. 787^{b}.
$1^{\text{10ff.}}$ iv. 116^{a}.
1^{11} iii. 793^{b}.
$1^{\text{18f.}}$ iv. 200^{b}, 794^{a}.
1^{19} iii. 319^{a}.
1^{20} iii. 793^{b}.
1^{23} i. 311^{a}.
$2^{\text{1f. 13}}$ Ext. 441^{a}.
2^{2} iv. 538^{a}.
$2^{\text{6f.}}$ iv. 186^{a}.
$2^{10.\,25}$ iv. 783^{a} (Chase).
2^{11} Ext. 446^{b} n.
$2^{\text{13ff.}}$ iv. 785^{a}.
2^{19} ii. 264^{a}.
2^{24} iii. 319^{a}, 794^{a}.
3^{3} ii. 655^{b}.
3^{6} iv. 783^{a} (Chase).
$3^{\text{13f. 17}}$ iii. 785^{a}.
$3^{\text{14f.}}$ iv. 185^{b} (Woods).
$3^{\text{15f.}}$ iii. 785^{a}.
3^{18} iii. 319^{a}.
$3^{\text{18f.}}$ iii. 793^{b}.
3^{18-21} iv. 217^{b}.
3^{18-22} i. 754^{a}.
$3^{\text{19f.}}$ iii. 319^{a}, 795 (Chase).
3^{21} iv. 217; Ext. 176^{b}.
4^{6} i. 754^{a}; iii. 795 (Chase).
4^{7} iii. 785^{a}, 795^{a}.
$4^{\text{12f.}}$ iii. 785^{a}.
4^{14} iv. 489^{b} (Marshall).
4^{15} iii. 783, 785^{a} (Chase).
5^{1} iii. 787^{b}.
5^{5} iii. 787^{b}.
5^{9} iv. 784^{b} (Chase).
5^{12} iii. 790 f.
$5^{\text{12ff.}}$ iii. 786^{a}, 790^{a} (Chase).
5^{13} i. 213 f.; iii. 777^{b}.

2 PETER.

1^{3} iii. 797^{a}, 809^{a}.
1^{14} iii. 809^{b} (Chase).
1^{16} iii. 797^{a}.
$1^{\text{16ff.}}$ iii. 797^{a}, 809^{a}, 812^{b}.
1^{16-18} iv. 807^{b}.
1^{17} iv. 489^{b} (Marshall).
1^{20} ii. 477^{b}.
2^{2} Ext. 439^{a} n.
2^{3} ii. 1^{a}.
2^{4} iii. 797^{b}, 815^{b} n. (Chase).
2^{11} ii. 803^{a}; iii. 797^{b}.
2^{20} iii. 809^{b}.
$3^{\text{1f.}}$ iii. 799^{a}.
3^{2} iii. 811^{a} (Chase).
$3^{\text{3f.}}$ iii. 811^{b}.
3^{5} iii. 797^{b}.
$3^{\text{5ff.}}$ iv. 993^{b} (Moulton).
$3^{\text{15f.}}$ iii. 810^{a} (Chase).
3^{16} iii. 811^{b}.

1 JOHN.

1^{5} ii. 689 f. (Strong).
1^{7} iii. 320^{a}.
1^{9} iv. 284^{a}.
2^{1} iii. 667^{b} (Hastings).
2^{2} iii. 320^{a}; iv. 128^{a}.
2^{18} iii. 226^{b}.
2^{29} iv. 284^{a}.
3^{2} iv. 236^{b}.
3^{6} iv. 535^{b}.
3^{7} iv. 284^{a}.
3^{9} iv. 429^{b} (Patrick), 535^{b}.
4^{3} iii. 226^{b}.
$4^{8.\,16}$ ii. 689 f. (Strong).
4^{10} iv. 128^{a}.
$5^{\text{14f.}}$ iv. 45^{a}.
5^{18} i. 306^{a}; ii. 58^{a}; iv. 535^{b}.
5^{17} ii. 58^{a}.
5^{18} iv. 535^{b}.

2 JOHN.

v.^{1} ii. 740^{b} (Salmond); iii. 277^{b} (Adeney).
v.^{7} iii. 226^{b}.
v.^{4} Ext. 439^{a}.

3 JOHN.

vv.$^{3.\,5.\,8}$ Ext. 440^{b}.
v.^{13} iv. 947^{b}.

JUDE.

v.^{4} iii. 811^{b}.
v.$^{\text{8f.}}$ iii. 797^{b}.
v.^{9} ii. 803^{a}; iii. 362^{b} (Charles), 450^{a} (Burkitt).
vv.$^{12.\,19}$ Ext. 441^{a}.
v.^{14} i. 704 f.
v.^{16} i. 39^{a}.
v.$^{\text{22f.}}$ ii. 801^{a}.

REVELATION.

1^{1-3} iv. 251^{a} (Porter).
1^{4} i. 96^{a}; ii. 708^{b}, 991^{a}.
1^{6} iv. 187^{b}.
1^{9} iii. 693^{b}; Ext. 441^{a} n.
1^{12-20} iv. 255 (Porter).
1^{18} iv. 30^{b}.
1^{20} iv. 990^{a} (Moulton).
2^{2} Ext. 440^{b} n.
2^{5} i. 348^{b}.
$2^{6.\,15}$ iii. 547^{a}.
2^{7} iii. 671^{b} (Salmond).
2^{8-11} iv. 554 ff. (Ramsay).
$2^{\text{10f.}}$ iv. 555.
2^{13} iii. 750 ff. (Ramsay); iv. 259^{a} (Porter).
$2^{\text{14f.}}$ iii. 752^{a} (Ramsay).
2^{17} iii. 751^{b} (Ramsay); iv. 618^{b} (Patrick).
2^{18} iv. 759^{b}.
2^{18-29} iv. 758 ff. (Ramsay).
2^{20} ii. 656^{b} n.; iii. 82^{a}; iv. 259^{a}, 758 f.
2^{22} iv. 759^{a}.
3^{1-8} iv. 405^{a} (Ramsay).
3^{7} Ext. 172^{a}.

REVELATION—*continued.*

3^{7-13} iii. 831, 832^{a} (Ramsay).
3^{8} iii. 831.
3^{9} iii. 831^{b}.
3^{10} iii. 831^{b}.
3^{14} iii. 320^{a}.
$3^{\text{17f.}}$ iii. 44^{b}.
4^{4} iv. 64^{a}; Ext. 170^{b}.
4^{4-22} iv. 251^{b} (Porter).
4^{5} i. 96^{a}.
4^{8} iv. 425 f.
5^{6} i. 96^{a}.
5^{8} ii. 468^{b}; iv. 45^{b}; Ext. 173^{b}.
$6^{5.\,12}$ Ext. 170^{b}.
6^{6} iii. 432^{a}.
6^{10} iv. 45^{b}.
6^{13} ii. 30^{b}.
7^{3-8} iv. 426^{b} (Massie).
8^{2} iv. 991^{a}.
8^{3} iv. 45^{b}.
$8^{\text{3f.}}$ Ext. 173^{b}.
9^{1-11} iii. 159^{a}.
10 iv. 252^{a} (Porter).
11^{1-13} iv. 252^{a}.
11^{7} iii. 226^{b}.
11^{15}–22^{5} iv. 252^{b}.
12 iii. 226 f.; iv. 243^{b} (Porter), 256 f., 411^{a}.
12^{3} iv. 257^{b}.
12^{7} iii. 362^{b}.
12^{9} iii. 362^{b} (Charles).
12^{10} iv. 409^{b} (Whitehouse).
13 iii. 226 f.; iv. 257^{a}.
13^{3} iii. 518^{a} (Cowan); iv. 257^{b}.
13^{11} iii. 226 f.
$13^{\text{11ff.}}$ iv. 257 f.
13^{18} iii. 567^{a} (König).
14^{8} i. 213.
15^{2} iv. 425 f.
16^{16} ii. 304 f.
17 iii. 226 f.; iv. 258.
17^{6} i. 39^{a}.
17^{8} iv. 259 (Porter).
17^{9-11} Ext. 445^{a} n.
17^{10} iii. 518^{a} (Cowan).
$17^{\text{10f.}}$ iv. 258^{b} (Porter).
18 iv. 254 f. (Porter).
18^{2} ii. 61^{a}.
18^{20} iii. 765^{b} (Chase).
19^{11} iv. 254^{a} (Porter).
19^{18} iv. 751^{a} (Selbie).
20 iii. 371^{b}; iv. 236^{a}.
20^{4-6} iv. 236^{a}.
20^{8} iii. 212^{b}.
21^{1}–22^{5} iv. 255^{a} (Porter).
21^{3} iv. 489^{b} (Marshall).
21^{7} ii. 473^{a}.
21^{19} iv. 403^{a}.
$21^{\text{19f.}}$ iv. 619^{b} (Flinders Petrie).
21^{20} iv. 405 f.
22^{17} iv. 45^{b}.
22^{20} iv. 45^{b}.

C. APOCRYPHA.

1 ESDRAS.

2^{16} iv. 201^{b}, 224^{a}.
3–5^{6} i. 760 f.; iv. 978^{a}.
3^{8} iii. 882^{a}.
3^{14} i. 762^{a}.
4^{23} iii. 637^{a}.
4^{56} iii. 739^{b}.
5^{16} ii. 756^{a}.
8^{80} ii. 257^{a}.

2 ESDRAS.

1^{7} iii. 670^{a}.
3^{6} ii. 60^{b}.
3^{18} Ext. 268^{a}.
$3^{21ff.}$ Ext. 293^{a}.
4^{4} Ext. 293^{a}.
4^{15} Ext. 444^{a}.
4^{30} iv. 532^{a}.
4^{36} ii. 7^{a}.
$5^{4f.}$ iii. 227^{b}.
5^{7} iv. 559^{a}.
6^{4} i. 383^{a}.
7 iii. 116^{a}.
$7^{28f.}$ iii. 371^{a}.
7^{48} Ext. 293^{a}.
7^{49} Ext. 294^{b}.
$7^{102-112}$ iv. 42^{b}.
10^{25} ii. 182^{b}.
12^{32} iii. 354^{a}.
$12^{37f.}$ Ext. 56^{b} n.
$13^{3ff.}$ iv. 583^{b} (Driver).
13^{13} iii. 635^{b} (Hastings).
13^{44} ii. 23^{a}.
14^{44} iii. 598.
14^{44-46} iii. 607.
16^{21} ii. 228^{a}.

TOBIT.

1^{2} iv. 751^{a}.
1^{5} (LXX) i. 340^{b}.
1^{13} iv. 176^{b}.
1^{18-21} Ext. 69^{a}.
$1^{21f.}$ iv. 404^{b}.
2^{7} iv. 989^{b}.
3^{6} iv. 789^{a}.
3^{15} iv. 989^{b}.
3^{16} iv. 201^{a}, 489^{b}.
3^{17} iv. 989^{b}.
4^{11} iv. 789^{a}.
4^{12} iv. 789^{a}.
4^{15} iv. 789^{a}.
4^{17} iv. 989^{b}.
4^{19} iv. 42^{a}.
4^{20} ii. 75^{a}.
5^{14} Ext. 359^{a}.
$5^{15f.}$ Ext. 375^{a}.
5^{17} iv. 989^{b}.
5^{21} Ext. 287^{a}.
6 iv. 409^{a}.
6^{2} iv. 989^{b}.
$6^{4ff.}$ iii. 128^{b}.
6^{12} iv. 989^{b}.

TOBIT—*continued.*

6^{17} iv. 789^{b}.
8^{2} iii. 128^{b}.
8^{3} iv. 989^{b}.
11^{4} iv. 989^{b}.
11^{18} iii. 488^{a}.
12^{8} iv. 789^{b}.
$12^{8ff.}$ Ext. 277^{b}.
12^{9} Ext. 294^{b}.
$12^{12ff.}$ Ext. 286^{b}.
12^{12-15} iv. 201^{a}.
$12^{12.\ 15}$ iv. 45^{b}.
12^{15} iv. 989^{b}, 991^{a}.
12^{19} iv. 201^{b}.
14^{10} iii. 232^{b} (Selbie), 488^{a}.
14^{11} Ext. 294^{b}.

JUDITH.

$1^{5.\ 15}$ iv. 193^{b}.
1^{6} i. 375^{b}.
1^{9} iv. 498^{b}.
2^{23} iv. 201^{b}.
4^{4} iii. 11; iv. 354^{a}.
4^{7} Ext. 372^{b} n.
4^{10} iv. 327^{a}.
4^{11} Ext. 277^{b}.
8^{6} iv. 64^{a}, 320^{a}; Ext. 294^{b}.
9^{10} iv. 42^{a}.
$12^{7f.}$ iv. 42^{a}.
$16^{1ff.}$ iv. 37^{b}.
16^{7} iv. 780^{a}.
16^{11} Ext. 268^{b}.
16^{17} ii. 119^{b} n.; Ext. 296^{b}.

AD. ESTHER.

14^{3} i. 596^{a}.

WISDOM.

1^{7} Ext. 280^{a}.
2^{12} iii. 582^{b} (Hastings).
2^{12-20} Ext. 297^{a}.
2^{23} iv. 233^{a}.
$2^{23f.}$ Ext. 289^{b}
2^{24} iv. 409^{a}, 410^{b}.
$3^{1ff.}$ iv. 233^{a}.
4^{7} iv. 65^{b} (Hastings).
$7^{22ff.}$ Ext. 267^{a}.
7^{24} iii. 451^{a} (Hastings).
$7^{25ff.}$ Ext. 278^{b}.
8^{11} iv. 63^{b} (Marshall).
8^{20} iv. 233^{a}.
9^{15} Ext. 291^{b}, 295^{a}.
9^{17} Ext. 283^{a}.
10^{4} ii. 457^{b}.
10^{7} iii. 152^{b}.
11^{16} ii. 61^{a}.
12^{10} iv. 930^{a}.
12^{26} i. 544^{b}.
12^{27} ii. 266^{b}.
$13^{6ff.}$ Ext. 280^{a}.
13^{9} i. 58^{b}.
13^{10} Ext. 440^{b} n.
14^{10} iii. 35^{a} (Margoliouth).

WISDOM—*continued.*

14^{17} i. 508^{b}, 813^{b}; ii. 61^{a}.
$14^{22ff.}$ Ext. 440^{b}.
15^{9} i. 508^{b}.
16^{25} i. 853^{a}.
16^{28} iv. 65^{b} (Hastings).
17^{3} ii. 56^{a}.
17^{9} i. 858^{a}.
$18^{15f.}$ Ext. 283^{a}.
18^{25} iv. 410^{b}.
19^{4} Ext. 295^{a}.

SIRACH.

Prologue iii. 610^{a}.
$4^{30f.}$ ii. 65^{b}; iv. 507^{a} (Nestle).
4^{31} iv. 547 f.
5^{9b} iv. 548^{a}.
5^{11} iv. 548^{a}.
5^{13a} iv. 548^{a}.
5^{13b} iv. 548^{a}.
6^{2} Ext. 268^{b}.
$6^{11f.}$ Ext. 267^{a}.
6^{13} ii. 340^{a}.
7^{17} ii. 119^{b} n.
7^{23} iv. 549^{a} (Nestle).
7^{25} iv. 548^{a}, 549^{a}.
7^{26} iii. 120^{a}.
8^{19} iv. 509^{a}; Ext. 292^{b}.
9^{13} i. 618^{b}.
10^{25} ii. 266^{b}.
11^{30} iv. 548^{b} (Nestle), 682^{b}.
12^{1} Ext. 446^{a}.
12^{2} Ext. 446^{a}.
12^{6} Ext. 277^{a}.
12^{11} ii. 181^{a}; iii. 397^{a}.
$15^{11f.}$ Ext. 277^{a}, 293^{b}.
$17^{2.\ 8}$ Ext. 291^{b}.
17^{17} iv. 991^{b}; Ext. 287^{a}.
17^{30} iv. 233^{a}.
18^{17} ii. 257^{a}.
18^{29} i. 813^{b}.
19^{19} iv. 233^{a}.
19^{25} i. 813^{b}.
21^{10} Ext. 369^{b}.
21^{27} iv. 409^{a}.
22^{13} ii. 44^{b}.
22^{15} Ext. 267^{a}.
23^{14} ii. 55^{b}.
24 Ext. 282^{a}.
24^{14} Ext. 268^{b}.
24^{16} iv. 821^{a}.
24^{27} Ext. 269^{a}.
25^{17} iv. 548^{a} (Nestle).
25^{24} iv. 531^{b}; Ext. 292^{b}.
26^{22} iv. 800^{b} (Barnes).
26^{29} iv. 805^{a}.
28^{10} iii. 295^{a}.
$29^{21ff.}$ Ext. 375^{b}.
$31^{21f.}$ Ext. 280^{b}.
$35^{25ff.}$ iv. 467^{b}.
36^{4} i. 265^{b}.
37^{26} iv. 233^{a}.

SIRACH—*continued.*

$38^{1ff.}$ Ext. 55^{a}.
38^{2} iii. 321^{b}.
38^{15} iii. 321^{b} (Macalister).
38^{27} i. 508^{b}.
38^{34} iv. 42^{b}.
$39^{28ff.}$ Ext. 287^{a}.
40^{1} iv. 63^{b}.
40^{10} ii. 23^{b}.
40^{18} iv. 549^{a}.
40^{20} iv. 549^{a}.
42^{5} ii. 469^{b}.
42^{7} iv. 805^{a}.
42^{21} iv. 550^{a} (Nestle).
43^{27} iv. 550^{a}.
46^{12} iv. 233^{a}.
47^{17} iii. 610^{b}.
$48^{10f.}$ Ext. 296^{b}.
48^{11} iv. 233^{a}.
$48^{24f.}$ iii. 610^{b}.
49^{6} (cf. La 1^{1-4}) iii. 614^{a}.
49^{10} iv. 233^{a}.
$50^{1ff.}$ iv. 519^{b}.
$50^{16ff.}$ iv. 37^{b}.
50^{22-24} iv. 42^{b}.
51^{10} Ext. 267^{a}.
$51^{12c\,(9)}$ iv. 96^{a}.
51^{13-30} i. 25^{b}.
51^{19} i. 798^{b}.

BARUCH.

1^{4} iv. 627^{a}.
1^{7} ii. 660^{a}.
3^{4} iv. 42^{a}.
3^{23} iii. 349^{b}.
$3^{35ff.}$ Ext. 278^{a}.
$4^{4ff.}$ Ext. 303^{b}.
$4^{7.\,35}$ iv. 409^{a}.
$4^{36ff.}$ iv. 162^{b} (James).

EP. JEREMY.

v.^{72} iii. 243^{b}.

SUSANNA.

vv.$^{1-4}$ iv. 631^{a}.

SUSANNA—*continued.*

v.$^{54f.}$ iv. 632^{a}.
v.$^{58f.}$ iv. 632^{a}.

PR. MANASSES.

v.^{3} iii. 233^{b}.

1 MACCABEES.

1^{10} iv. 306^{b}; Ext. 483^{a}.
1^{13} ii. 61^{a}.
1^{29} Ext. 48^{a}.
1^{54} i. 12^{a}, 106^{a}.
2^{1} iv. 93^{b}, 96^{a}.
2^{57} Ext. 296^{b}.
$3^{22f.}$ iii. 178^{b}.
3^{48} Ext. 269^{a}.
4^{46} Ext. 296^{b}.
4^{54} iii. 137^{a}.
4^{55} iv. 37^{b}.
5^{42} iii. 277^{b}.
5^{45} Ext. 46^{b}.
5^{46} Ext. 373^{b}.
5^{52} Ext. 373^{a}.
5^{66} iii. 244^{a}.
6^{39} ii. 182^{b}.
6^{51} i. 560^{b}.
6^{62} Ext. 269^{a}.
7^{8} ii. 23^{a}.
7^{16} iv. 148^{b}.
8^{1-16} iv. 306^{b}.
9^{11} ii. 55^{a}.
9^{27} Ext. 276^{a}.
9^{50} iii. 820^{b}.
10^{33} ii. 67^{a}.
10^{43} iii. 110^{b}.
11^{67} Ext. 373^{a}.
12^{1-23} iii. 184^{b} n.
13^{28} iv. 178^{b}.
14^{5} iv. 805^{b}.
14^{24} iv. 136^{b}; Ext. 97^{b}.
14^{28} iv. 404^{b}, 643^{b}.
14^{29} iv. 96^{a}.
14^{41} Ext. 296^{b}.
$14^{41ff.}$ Ext. 48^{a}.
$15^{5f.}$ iii. 424^{b}.

1 MACCABEES—*continued.*

15^{15-24} Ext. 93^{a}, 97^{b}.
$15^{16ff.}$ iii. 159^{b}; iv. 136^{b}.
15^{23} iv. 269^{a}.
15^{41} iii. 637^{a}.

2 MACCABEES.

$1^{13.\,15}$ iii. 485^{a}.
1^{18-36} iii. 512 f.
2^{13} iv. 148^{b}.
2^{18} Ext. 296^{b}.
4^{4} iii. 342^{a}; Ext. 268^{a}.
4^{9} i. 853^{b}.
4^{21} i. 499^{b}.
4^{27} iii. 630^{a} (Hastings).
4^{30} iii. 223 f.
4^{34} iii. 623^{b}.
4^{48} ii. 26^{b}.
5^{6} ii. 164^{a}.
6^{1} ii. 161^{a}.
6^{2} ii. 825^{b}, 307^{b}; iii. 620^{a}.
6^{7} i. 607^{b}.
7^{9} ii. 74^{a}; iv. 233^{a}.
7^{14} Ext. 292^{a}.
7^{36} Ext. 268^{a}.
$8^{9f.}$ iv. 466^{b}.
8^{20} Ext. 268^{b}.
10^{3} ii. 15^{b}.
10^{11} iii. 178^{b} n.
$11^{1ff.}$ iii. 178^{b} n.
11^{14} iv. 233^{a}.
11^{34-38} iii. 236^{a}.
11^{36} iv. 233^{a}.
11^{46} iv. 233^{a}.
12^{13} ii. 156^{a}; Ext. 369^{b}.
12^{35} iv. 754^{b}.
12^{40-45} iv. 42^{a}.
$12^{42ff.}$ Ext. 304^{b}.
$12^{43f.}$ Ext. 292^{a}.
12^{44} iv. 233^{a}.
13^{24} ii. 161.
14^{16} iii. 99^{a}.
15^{12-14} iv. 42^{a}.
15^{27} iv. 42^{a}.

D. APOCALYPTIC AND OTHER LITERATURE.

APOC. BARUCH.

6^{4} iii. 233^{a}.
40^{3} iii. 371^{a}.
$41^{3f.}$ iv. 134^{a}; Ext. 442^{a} n.
42^{5} iv. 134^{b}.

ASSUMP. MOSES.

10^{8} Ext. 299^{b}.

ENOCH (ETHIOPIC).

1^{1} Ext. 292^{a}.
4^{5} Ext. 294^{b}.
14^{20} iv. 489^{b}.

ENOCH (ETHIOPIC)—*continued.*

16^{1} iv. 408^{b}; Ext. 290^{a}.
20^{2} iv. 838^{a}.
40^{7} iv. 408^{b}.
46^{1} iv. 583^{a}.
48 ff. iii. 675^{a}.
51 iv. 232^{b}.
51^{1} iv. 233^{b}.
51^{4} iv. 233^{b}.
54^{6} iv. 408^{b}.
62^{2} iv. 583^{a}.
65^{6} iv. 408^{b}.
69^{6} iv. 408^{b}.

ENOCH (ETHIOPIC)—*continued.*

69^{11} Ext. 292^{b}.
$90^{21f.}$ iv. 991^{a}.
90^{38} iii. 134^{b} n.
91^{12-17} iii. 370^{b}.
102^{3} iv. 489^{b}.
105^{2} iv. 571^{b}.
108^{11} Ext. 292^{b}.

ENOCH (SLAVONIC).

$10^{4f.}$ Ext. 430^{b}.
$29^{4ff.}$ iv. 409^{a}.
$31^{3ff.}$ iv. 409^{a}.

EP. BARNABAS.
8 iv. 210^{a}.

JUBILEES.
1^{27} iii. 362^{b}.
1^{29} Ext. 298^{b}.
2^{1} iii. 362^{b}.
8^{11} iv. 840^{b} n.

JUBILEES—*continued.*
$21^{6.\,18\mathrm{ff.}}$ Ext. 294^{b}.
22^{16} iv. 789^{a}.
$26^{3.\,31}$ Ext. 294^{b}.
27^{10} iv. 789^{a}.

3 MACCABEES.
2^{29} i. 538^{b}.

4 MACCABEES.
1^{32} Ext. 446^{b}.

PSALMS OF SOLOMON.
4^{9} iv. 409^{a}.
$17^{4\mathrm{ff.}}$ Ext. 53^{a}.
17^{14} Ext. 308^{b}.
17^{36} iii. 353^{a}.
$18^{6.\,8}$ iii. 353^{a}.

IV. INDEX OF HEBREW AND GREEK TERMS

A. HEBREW.

אֲבַדּוֹן i. 3^{a}, 125^{b}, 172^{b}.
אֲבַטִּחִים ii. 28^{b}.
אֶבְיוֹן iv. 19^{b}.
אֲבִיּוֹנָה i. 350^{b}; ii. 38^{a}.
אַבִּיר ii. 35^{b}; iii. 638^{a}.
אֲבָל (howbeit, but) i. 389^{b}.
אֶבֶן הַמֶּלֶךְ i. 219^{b}; iv. 904^{a}.
אֶבֶן פִּנָּה i. 499^{b}.
אַבְנֵי כִּים i. 219^{b}; iii. 420^{a}.
אֲבָנִים iii. 331^{b}, 367^{a}; iv. 25^{a}, 915^{a}.
אָבָק iv. 944^{b}.
אַבְרֵךְ i. 18^{a}; cf. ii. 775^{a}.
אֱגוֹז ii. 34^{b}; iii. 574^{b}.
אֲגַם iv. 18^{b}.
אַגְמוֹן iv. 212^{a}.
אַגְמֵי נֶפֶשׁ ii. 13^{a}.
אַגָּן i. 533^{a}; ii. 40^{b}.
אֲגַף i. 237^{a}.
אֲגַרְטָל ii. 40^{b}.
אִגֶּרֶת (letter) i. 389^{b}.
אָדוֹן iii. 137^{b}.
אָדָם i. 36^{a}; iii. 225^{b}.
אָדֹם i. 457^{b}.
אֹדֶם iv. 314^{b}, 619 f.
אֲדָמָה i. 633^{b}; ii. 266^{a}.
אֶדֶן iv. 657^{a}.
אֲדֹנָי iii. 137^{a}.
אַדֶּרֶת iii. 239^{b}.
אָהֵב iv. 919 f.
אַהֲבָה iii. 158^{a}.
אֹהֶל iv. 655.
אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד iv. 655.
אָהֳלָה, אָהֳלִיבָה iii. 590^{a}; Ext. 702^{b}.
אוֹב iv. 606^{a}.
אוּד i. 314^{b}.
אַוָּה iv. 919 f.
אוּלָם iv. 21^{a}.
אָוֶן iv. 846^{b}.
אוֹן, אָוֶן (Ezk 30^{17}) i. 204^{b}.
אוֹצָר iv. 808^{b}.
אוּר כַּשְׂדִּים iv. 835 f.
אוּרִים iv. 838 f.; Ext. 662^{b} f.
אוֹת iii. 244^{b}; iv. 512^{b}.
אֵזוֹב ii. 38^{a}.
אֵזוֹר i. 626^{a}.
אָחוּ iii. 307^{b}.
אַחְלָמָה iv. 619 f.
אֲחַשְׁדַּרְפְּנִים iii. 114^{a}; iv. 101^{b}.
אָטָד iv. 751 f.
אֵטוּן iii. 125^{b}.
אִיּוֹב ii. 660 f.
אִיזֶבֶל ii. 656^{a} n.
אַיָּל ii. 306 f.
אַיִל (post) iv. 23^{a}.
אַיִל (ram) ii. 35^{b}.
אֵיל, [אַיִל] (terebinth) iii. 575^{a}; iv. 719^{a}.
אֵילַמִּים (-וֹת) i. 141^{b}.
אַיֶּלֶת הַשַּׁחַר iv. 153^{a}.
אִישׁ iii. 225^{b}.
אִישׁ אֱלֹהִים iii. 225^{a}; iv. 113^{a}.
אֹכֶל iv. 66^{b}.
אַלְגּוּמִּים, אַלְמֻגִּים i. 63^{a}.
אָלָה i. 510^{a}, 630^{b}; iii. 575^{b}.
אַלָּה iii. 575^{a}.
אֵלָה iii. 575^{a}; iv. 719^{a}.
אֱלֹהִים ii. 198 f.
אֱלֹהִים (? = ‘judges’) iv. 464^{b} n., 570^{b}; Ext. 642^{b}, note †.
אֵלוֹן, אַלּוֹן iii. 575^{a}.
אַלּוּף i. 381^{a}.
אַלְיָה ii. 35^{b}.
אֱלִיל ii. 445^{a}; Ext. 680^{a}.
אֵלִים i. 95^{a}; Ext. 615^{b} f.
אֵל עֶלְיוֹן i. 682^{a}; ii. 198^{b}; iii. 450.
אֲלָפִים ii. 35^{b}.
אֵל שַׁדַּי ii. 199.
אַל־תַּשְׁחֵת iv. 152^{a}.
אָמָה iii. 215^{a}; iv. 466^{a}.
אַמָּה iv. 23^{a}.
אֱמוּנָה ii. 272^{a}; iv. 816 f.
אָמֵן i. 80^{b}.

אֹמֶנֶת, אֹמֵן iii. 573^{b}.
אֹמַר ii. 35^{b}.
אֲמַרְכְּלִין (priestly title) iv. 96^{b}.
אֱמֶת iv. 816 f.
אֱנוֹשׁ iii. 225^{b}.
אָסוּךְ ii. 40^{b}.
אֵסוּר i. 236^{b}.
אַף i. 825^{b}.
אֵפוֹד i. 725 ff.; iv. 598; Ext. 641^{b} f.
אָפִיק iv. 287^{b}.
אֹפֶל iii. 582^{b}.
אֶפְעֶה iv. 459^{b}.
אֵפֶר i. 165^{b}.
אַפִּרְיוֹן iii. 127^{b}, 640^{b}; iv. 597^{b}.
אַקּוֹ ii. 36^{b}, 196^{a}.
אַרְבֶּה ii. 37^{b}; iii. 130^{a}.
אֶרֶג i. 259^{b}.
אַרְנֹב i. 146^{a}.
אַרְגְּוָן (purple) i. 389^{b}.
אַרְגָּז i. 380^{a}, 453; ii. 40^{b}.
אַרְגָּמָן i. 457^{b}; Ext. 170^{b}.
אֲרוֹן i. 149^{a}, 380^{a}; Ext. 661^{b} n., 721^{a}.
אֹרַח Ext. 368^{b}.
אֲרֻחָה ii. 41^{b}, 172^{b}.
אֲרִיאֵל i. 147^{b}; ii. 319^{a}.
אֲרֻכָה iii. 321^{a}.
אַרְמוֹן iii. 640^{a}.
אֶרֶץ i. 633^{b}; ii. 266^{a}; iv. 937^{b}.
אֲרָצוֹת (of territory of Israel) i. 389^{b}.
אֶרֶץ צָפוֹן iii. 559^{b}.
אֵשׁ זָרָה iii. 471^{b}.
אִשָּׁה iv. 933.
אִשֶּׁה iii. 587; iv. 330^{b}.
אֲשִׁישׁוֹת ii. 13^{b}, 32^{b}; iv. 869^{b}.
אָשֵׁם iii. 586^{a}.
אָשָׁם (guilt-offering) iii. 587^{a}; iv. 337^{b}, 529^{b}; Ext. 661^{b} n., 721^{a}.
אַשְׁמְדַי (Aram.) i. 125^{b}.
אַשָּׁפִים (Aram. אָשְׁפִין) 194^{a}.
אֲשֵׁרָה i. 165; Ext. 170^{a}, 620^{b}.
אַשְׁרֵי (const. = ‘O the happiness of’) Ext. 14^{b} n.
אֲשֶׁר־עַל־הַבַּיִת ii. 772^{a}, 774^{a}, 843^{b}.
אַתּוּן (Aram.) ii. 73^{a}.
אַתִּיק ii. 105^{a}.

בְּאֵר iii. 885^{a}.
בְּאֵר שֶׁבַע i. 265^{a}.
בָּגַד iii. 586^{a}.
בֶּגֶד i. 624^{b}.
בַּד iii. 125^{a}; Ext. 642^{a} n.
בַּדִּים iii. 112^{b}.
בְּדֹלַח i. 259^{a}.
בְּהֵמָה i. 260^{b}; ii. 35^{b}.
בְּהֵמוֹת i. 266^{a}.
בֹּהַק iii. 96^{b}.
בַּהֶרֶת iii. 96^{a}.
בּוּץ (*byssus*) i. 389^{b}, 623^{b}; iii. 125.
בּוֹר iii. 885^{a}.
בַּז iv. 66^{b}.
בָּחִיר iv. 48^{a}.
בָּחַן iv. 716^{b}.
בֹּחַן iv. 800^{a}.
בָּחַר iv. 48^{a}, 919^{b}.
בָּטַח ii. 412^{b}.
בָּטְנִים ii. 31^{a}, iii. 574.
בִּירָה i. 359^{a}.
בֵּית, בַּיִת i. 259^{a}.
בֵּית־אָוֶן i. 276^{b}.
בֵּית־אֵל i. 75^{a}, 278; Ext. 616^{b}.
בֵּית־לְעַפְרָה i. 281^{a}.
(בְּכִי) בָּכָא i. 230^{b}; ii. 31^{a}.
בְּכוֹרָה, בְּכוֹר ii. 341^{a}.
בִּכּוּרִים ii. 10 f.; iv. 86^{a}.
בְּלִיל ii. 25^{b}, 35^{a}; iv. 288^{a}.
בְּלִיַּעַל i. 254^{b}, 268 f.
בִּלְעָם (? = Νικόλαος) iii. 547.
בָּמָה ii. 381 ff.; Ext. 661^{a}.
בֶּן־אָדָם, בְּנֵי (הָ)אָדָם, בְּנֵי אֲנָשָׁא, בַּר נָשָׁ(א), etc. iv. 579 ff.
בֶּן־עַמִּי i. 271^{a}.
בֶּן־שַׁחַר (Is 14^{12}) i. 193^{a}.
בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים iv. 570^{b}, 597 f.; Ext. 643^{a}, 684, 714, 724^{a}.
בְּנֵי הַנְּבִיאִים Ext. 656^{b}.
בְּנֵי קֶדֶם i. 635^{b}.
בֹּסֶר ii. 32^{b}.
בְּעֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן i. 285^{a}.
בַּעַל i. 209^{b}; Ext. 617^{a}, 646^{a} n.
בַּעַל בְּרִית i. 211^{a}.
בַּעַל זְבוּב i. 211^{a}.
בַּעַל צְפֹן i. 211^{b}.
בַּעַל שָׁמַיִם i. 12.
בְּעֵל טְעֵם i. 264^{b}, 370^{a}.
בָּצִיר ii. 32^{b}.
בְּצָלִים ii. 29^{a}.
בַּקְבֻּק ii. 40^{b}.
בִּקְעָה iii. 893^{a}.
בָּקָר ii. 35^{b}.
בֹּקֶר iii. 437^{b}.
בַּרְבֻּרִים ii. 36^{b}.
בָּרוֹד i. 458^{a}.
בָּרוּךְ Ext. 14^{b} n.
בְּרוֹשׁ ii. 8.
בְּרִית i. 509 ff., 515^{b}; Ext. 630^{b} ff.
בֵּרַךְ iii. 7^{a}.
בְּרֵכָה iv. 18^{b}.
בָּרָק ii. 182^{a}; iii. 120^{b}.
בַּרְקָנִים iv. 752^{a}.
בָּרֶקֶת iv. 619 f.
בָּשַׁל iii. 685^{b} n.
בֹּשֶׁת i. 209^{a}; ii. 501 f.
בֶּשֶׂם, בָּשָׂם, בֹּשֶׂם iv. 610^{b}.
בָּשָׂר ii. 14^{a}; Ext. 666^{b}.

בְּתוּלָה iii. 215^{a}; iv. 870 f.
בָּתֵּי הַנֶּפֶשׁ iv. 670^{b}.

גַּאֲוָה i. 799^{b}.
גָּאוֹן i. 799^{b}.
גֹּאֵל, גָּאַל, etc. ii. 222 ff.; iv. 200, 211.
גַּב iii. 496.
גִּבּוֹר iii. 225^{b}.
גַּבַּחַת i. 234^{b}.
גֹּבַי iii. 130^{b}.
גַּבִּים i. 311^{b}.
גֵּבִים (locusts) iii. 130.
גֵּבִים (trenches) iii. 885^{a}.
גְּבִינָה ii. 36^{b}.
גָּבִיעַ i. 533^{a}; ii. 40^{b}.
גְּבִירָה i. 180^{a}.
גָּבִישׁ iii. 733^{b}.
גִּבֵּן iii. 328^{b}.
גִּבְעָה iii. 384.
גֶּבֶר iii. 225^{b}.
גְּבֶרֶת iii. 17^{b}.
גַּד (god) ii. 76.
גָּדָה i. 237^{b}.
גְּדוּד i. 237^{a}; ii. 46^{b}, 73^{b}.
גְּדִי ii. 35^{b}.
גְּדִילִים ii. 68^{b}.
גְּדֵרָה ii. 25^{a}.
גּוֹבַי, גּוֹב iii. 130^{b}.
גּוֹיִם, גּוֹי ii. 149.
גָּוַע ii. 165^{b}.
גִּזְבָּרִים iv. 96^{b}.
גָּזָם iii. 130^{b}.
גַּחֶלֶת i. 451^{a}.
גַּיְא iv. 845 f.
גִּיד ii. 39^{a}.
גִּיל ii. 790^{a}.
גֻּלְגֹּלֶת iv. 14^{b}.
גֻּלָּה i. 313^{a}; ii. 40^{b}; iv. 15^{a}.
גִּלּוּלִים Ext. 681^{b}.
גִּלָּיוֹן ii. 181^{a}; iii. 397^{a}; iv. 670^{b}.
גְּלִילוֹת ii. 120.
גְּלָלִים ii. 451^{b}.
גֹּמֶא iv. 212^{a}.
גְּנוּזִים i. 113^{a}, 116^{a}.
גְּנָזִים i. 380^{a}.
גֶּפֶן ii. 31 f.; iv. 868^{a}.
גֹּפֶר ii. 232^{a}.
גֵּר ii. 49 f., 156 f.
גֵּר צֶדֶק ii. 157^{a}.
גֵּר תּוֹשָׁב ii. 157^{a}.
גֹּרֶן i. 50; ii. 24^{a}.
גֶּשֶׁם iv. 195^{b}.
גַּת ii. 33^{a}.
גִּתִּית iii. 461^{a}; iv. 154^{a}.

דְּבִיר iii. 629^{b} n.; iv. 695.
דֶּבֶר iii. 324^{b}, 755^{b}.
דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים i. 389.
דְּבַשׁ ii. 30, 32^{b}.
דֶּגֶל i. 237^{b}.
דָּגָן i. 317^{a}.
דָּוִד i. 560^{b}.
דּוּד i. 256^{a}; ii. 40^{a}.
דּוּדָאִים iii. 210^{b}, 233 f.; iv. 604^{a}.
דּוֹר ii. 142^{b}.
דֹּחַן i. 316^{b}.
דָּיֵק i. 703^{a}.
דִּישׁוֹן ii. 36^{b}; iv. 178^{a}.
דַּל iv. 19^{b}.
דַּלֶּקֶת iii. 323^{b}.
דָּנָה יַעַן i. 557^{b}.
דַּק i. 631^{b}.
דֹּק i. 535^{b}.
דָּרְבָן ii. 194^{b}.
דַּרְדַּר iv. 752^{a}.
דֶּרֶךְ iii. 237^{a}; Ext. 368^{b}.
דַּרְכְּמוֹן iii. 421^{b}.
דֶּשֶׁן i. 165^{b}.
הֶאֱמִין i. 827; iv. 816^{b}.
הַבְהָבִים iii. 588^{b}.
הֶבֶל i. 5^{a}; iv. 846^{a}.
הַגָּדָה iii. 599 f.; iv. 422 f.
הִגָּיוֹן iv. 154^{a}.
הִגִּישׁ iii. 537^{b}.
הֲדֹם iii. 465^{a}.
הוֹדָה iv. 34^{b}.
הִטִּיף Ext. 653^{a} n.
הֵיכָל i. 216^{b}; iii. 640^{a}; iv. 695, 697^{b} n.
הֵילֵל i. 193^{a}; iii. 159^{a}.
הִין i. 219^{b}.
הֵלִיץ ii. 477^{b}.
הֲלָכָה iii. 599 f.; iv. 421 f.
הִלֵּל iv. 33 f.
הַלְלוּיָהּ ii. 287; iv. 33^{b}.
הֵנִיף iii. 588^{a}.
הִנֹּם ii. 344 f.
הֶעֱלָה iii. 588^{b}.
הָצָב ii. 439^{b}; iii. 475^{a} n.
הִקְרִיב iii. 587^{b}.
הַר ii. 384.
הַר מוֹעֵד i. 216^{a}.
הֵרִים iii. 588^{a}.

וְדָן iv. 847.
וָוִים ii. 412^{a}.

זָבַח iii. 588^{b}.
זֶבַח iv. 333^{a}; Ext. 661^{a} n.
זוּזִים iv. 994^{b}.
זָוִיּוֹת i. 499^{b}.
זַיִת ii. 31.
זְכוּכִית i. 531^{b}; ii. 180.
זַלְזַלִּים ii. 32^{a}.
זִמָּה iii. 109^{b}.
זְמוֹרָה i. 314^{a}; ii. 32^{b}.
זַמְזֻמִּים iv. 962^{b}.
זָמִיר iv. 36^{a}.
זֶמֶר iv. 35^{b}.

זֶמֶר ii. 36^b.
זִמְרָה iv. 35^b.
זֶפֶת iii. 886^a.
זָקֵן i. 677^a.
זָקַק iv. 213^a.
זָר ii. 49 f.; iv. 623.
זֵר i. 529 f.
זְרֻבָּבֶל iv. 978^a.
זֵרָה, זָרָה iv. 509^a.
זֶרַע iv. 429^a n.
זֵרֹעִים ii. 27^b.

חָבַל i. 579^a; iii. 586^a.
חֲבֹל iii. 895.
חֶבֶל i. 146^a, 236^b, 479^b; Ext. 681^b.
חֲבַצֶּלֶת iv. 313^a.
חֲבַקּוּק ii. 269^a n.
חָבֵר ii. 2^b; iii. 826^b.
חֶבֶר (spell) iii. 210^b n.
חֶבֶר (=ἔθνος) iii. 425.
חָג iv. 559^b.
חָגָב ii. 37^b; iii. 130^b.
חֶדֶק iv. 752^a.
חֶדֶר iii. 674^a.
חַדְרֵי תֵימָן i. 192^b, 218^a; ii. 7^b.
חוֹב i. 579^a.
חוּג i. 503^b.
חַוָּה i. 797.
חוֹחַ iv. 752^b.
חוּט ii. 7^b.
חוּם i. 457^a.
חוּץ iv. 624.
חִוָּר i. 458^a.
חַוֺּת יָאִיר ii. 312^a.
חוֹתָם iv. 426^a.
חֹזֶה iv. 108; Ext. 651^a, 672^a.
חָזוֹן Ext. 675^b.
חַזָּן iv. 640^b.
חֵטְא, חָטָא, חֲטָאָה, חַטָּאת iii. 586; iv. 529; Ext. 661^b n., 721^a.

חִטָּה i. 316^a.
חִידָה iv. 270^b.
חָיָה, חַיִּים, חַי iii. 114.
חַיָּה i. 261^a; iii. 128^b.
חַיִל i. 237^a.
חִירָם ii. 388^b.
חָכְמָה iv. 924 ff.; Ext. 281 ff., 728^a.
חֵל i. 331^a.
חָלָב ii. 36^a.
חַלּוֹת i. 318^a.
חֶלְיָה, חֲלִי (Hos 2$^{13\,(15)}$ only) ii. 654^a.
חֳלִי iii. 322^b.
חָלִיל iii. 461.
חָלִילָה ii. 47 f.
חֲלִיצָה i. 154^b.
חַלָּמִישׁ ii. 15^a; iv. 289^a.
חֶמְאָה ii. 36^a.
חָמַד iv. 919 f.
חַמָּה iv. 627 f.
חֵמָה ii. 73^b; iv. 13^b.
חַמָּן iii. 879^a; Ext. 170^a.
חַמָּנִים ii. 451^a.
חָמֵץ iii. 90^a.
חֹמֶץ ii. 34^a; iv. 870.
חֶמֶר ii. 33^b.
חֹמֶר i. 219^b.
חֵמֶת ii. 34^a.
חֵן ii. 254^a.
חֲנִית iv. 610^a.
חֲנָמָל (ἁπ. λεγ.) ii. 282^b.
חָנַן iv. 919 f.
חָנֵף ii. 221^b.
חֶסֶד ii. 254^a; iii. 158^a, 345.
חָסִיד ii. 222; iii. 345; iv. 352^a.
חֲסִידָה iv. 621^b.
חָסִיל iii. 130^b.
חֹסֶן iv. 809^a.
חָפֵץ iv. 919 f.
חֵפֶץ iv. 48^a.
חִצוֹנִים i. 113^b.

חָצִיר ii. 29^a; iii. 93^a.
חֹצֵן i. 237^b.
חֲצֹצְרָה iii. 462; iv. 815 f.
חֻקָּה, חֹק iii. 67^a; iv. 48^a.
חֶרֶב i. 543 f.; iv. 633^a.
חָרְבָּה iv. 918^a.
חַרְגֹּל ii. 37^b; iii. 130^a.
חָרוּל iii. 520^b.
חָרוֹן ii. 73^b.
חָרוּץ i. 50; ii. 225^a.
חַרְחֻר iii. 323^b.
חַרְטֻמִּים iii. 888^b; iv. 600.
חָרִיט i. 231^b.
חֲרֵי־יוֹנִים i. 620^a n.; ii. 37^a.
חָרִיץ ii. 36^b.
חָרֻם iii. 560^a.
חֵרֶם i. 534^a, 800 f.; Ext. 619^b.
חַרְצֻבָּה i. 236^b.
חֹרֶשׁ ii. 54^a.
חֲשׁוּקִים ii. 7^b.
חֹשֶׁךְ iii. 582^b.
חַשְׁמַל Ext. 640^a.
חַשְׁמַנִּים iv. 101^b.
חֹשֶׁן i. 319; iv. 84^a.
חָשַׁק iv. 919 f.
חִשֻּׁר iii. 496^b.
חֶתֶף iv. 66^b.

טַבָּח, שַׂר הַטַּבָּחִים ii. 39^b, 267^a, 768^a n.; iv. 23^b n.
טָבַל i. 257^b.
טַבַּעַת iv. 285^b.
טוֹטָפֹת iii. 872^a.
טְהֹרִים i. 699^b; iii. 325^a.
טִירָה i. 358^b.
טָלֶה ii. 35^b.
טַלִּית ii. 69^a.
טֶנֶא i. 256^a.
טַפְסֵר, טִפְסָר iii. 277^b.
טֶרֶף iv. 66^a.

יְאוֹר, יְאֹר iii. 550^b; iv. 286 f.
יַבֹּק ii. 530^a n.
יָד ii. 293 f.
יָדוֹת (in Tabernacle) iv. 660^a.
יָדַע iv. 48^a.
יִדְּעֹנִי iv. 606.
יָהּ ii. 528 f.
יֵהוּא ii. 564^a.
יהוה ii. 199 f., 528 f.; iii. 137^a; Ext. 625^b ff.
יהוה יִרְאֶה ii. 563^a.
יהוה נִסִּי ii. 563^b.
יהוה צְבָאוֹת iii. 137 f.; Ext. 636^b ff.
יְהוֹשֻׁעַ ii. 779.
יַהֲלוֹם iv. 406^a, 619 f.
יוֹאֵל ii. 672 n.
יוּבַל, (אוּבַל, אֻבַל) iv. 287^b.
יוֹנָה ii. 36^b.
יוֹנֶקֶת i. 314^a.
יוֹרֶה (מוֹרֶה) iv. 195^b.
יוֹתֶרֶת iii. 128^a.
יַחְמוּר ii. 36^b.
יַיִן ii. 33.
יַלֶּפֶת iii. 329^b.
יֶלֶק iii. 130^b.
יַלְקוּט i. 231; iv. 423^a.
יַם סוּף iv. 629^b.
יֵמִים iii. 456^a.
יַנְשׁוּף iii. 637^b.
יָעִים, [יָע] iv. 509^a.
יְעוּשׁ ii. 654^b.
יָעֵל ii. 36^b, 195^b.
יָעֵן iii. 635^a.
יָעַץ iv. 47^b.
יַעֲקֹב ii. 526^b.
יַעַר ii. 54^a.
יֶפֶת ii. 549.
יָצַר iv. 24^b, 47^b.
יֹצֵר iv. 24 ff.
יֶקֶב ii. 33^a.
יָקַע (הוֹקִיעַ) ii. 298 f.
יִרְאֵי יהוה iv. 134^b.
יָרֵב ii. 550.
יְרֻבַּעַל ii. 583^b; Ext. 617^a, 646^a n.
יַרְדֵּן ii. 756.
יָרָה iii. 64^b.
יְרוּשָׁלַיִם ii. 584^a.
יָרֵחַ iii. 433^a.
יֶרַח iv. 765^a.
יְרִיחוֹ, יְרֵחוֹ i. 601^b; ii. 579^b, 779^b.
יְרִיעוֹת i. 535^b.
יְרַקְרַק i. 457^a.
יָרַשׁ ii. 341^a.
הוֹשִׁיעַ, יְשׁוּעָה iii. 321^a; iv. 357^b.
יְשִׁימוֹן ii. 601; iv. 918^a.
יָשְׁפֵה iv. 619 f.
יֹשֶׁר iv. 527^b.
יְשֻׁרוּן ii. 602.
יִשְׂרָאֵל ii. 506^a.
יששכר ii. 518^a.
יָתֵד iii. 497^b, 639^a, 882^b; iv. 657^a.
יָתוֹם iii. 634^a.
יִתְרוֹ ii. 654^a.

כָּבֵד (liver) iii. 128^a.
כָּבוֹד ii. 183.
כְּבוֹד יהוה ii. 184 ff.; Ext. 639^b f.
כְּבִיר iii. 882^a.
כִּבֶּס i. 257^b.
כִּבְרָה Ext. 369^b n.
כִּבְשָׁן ii. 73^a.
כֶּבֶשׂ ii. 35^b; iii. 18^b.
כַּד ii. 40^b; iii. 886^a.
כַּדְכֹּד iv. 314^b.
כֹּהֵן i. 217^a; iv. 67^a, 598^a.
כּוֹךְ iv. 456.
כּוֹכָב i. 191^b.
כּוּמָז iv. 670^b.
כּוֹס (cup) i. 533^a; ii. 40^b.
כּוֹס (owl) iii. 637^b.
כּוּר ii. 73^a.
כָּזָב iii. 112^b.
כֹּחַ iv. 29^b.
כִּחֵשׁ, כָּחַשׁ iii. 112^b.
כִּידוֹן iv. 498^a, 609^b.
כִּיּוּן (כֵּיוָן) i. 193^a, 383^b; iv. 227.
כִּיּוֹר ii. 40^a; iii. 63 f.; iv. 658^b.
כִּימָה i. 192^a, 218^a; iii. 895 f.
כִּיס i. 219^b, 231^b.
כִּכָּר iii. 893^b.
כַּלָּה i. 327^a n.
כְּלוּב i. 256^a.
כְּלִי ii. 40^b, 655^b.
כִּלָּיוֹן iii. 323^b.
כְּלָיוֹת ii. 837^a.
כָּלִיל iii. 588; Ext. 722^a.
כְּמָרִים i. 342^a, 376^a; iv. 67^b.
כִּנּוֹר iii. 458 ff.
כִּנִּים iii. 112^a, 330^b, 890.
כְּסִיל i. 192^a, 218^a; ii. 43^b; iii. 632.
כֻּסֶּמֶת i. 316^b; iv. 636.
כְּסָתוֹת iii. 882^a.
כַּף iii. 656.
כִּפָּה i. 314^a.
כְּפוֹר i. 256^b; ii. 41^a.
כֵּפִים (Jer 4^{29}) iv. 289^a.
כֹּפֶר, כִּפֵּר, etc. i. 197^a, 199^a (יוֹם הַכִּפֻּרִים); ii. 56; iii. 316^b; iv. 128 ff., 200^a; Ext. 719^a.
כֹּפֶר (pitch) iii. 886^a.
כַּפֹּרֶת i. 197^a; iv. 665.
כַּפְתֹּר ('knop') iii. 8^a.
כַּר ii. 35^b; iii. 19^a.
כֹּר i. 219^a; ii. 40^b.
כְּרוּבִים i. 377 ff.; iv. 665; Ext. 644^a.
כַּרְכֹּב ii. 258^b; iv. 658^a.
כְּרָעַיִם iii. 93^b.
כַּרְפַּס (Pers. loan-word) i. 507^b, 623^b.

כֶּשֶׂב ii. 35^b.
כְּתוּבִים i. 287^b.
כְּתֹנֶת i. 624.
כְּתֹנֶת פַּסִּים ii. 767^b n.
כִּתִּיִּים, כִּתִּים iii. 6^a.

לֵאָה iii. 89^a.
לְאֵל iii. 17^b.
לֵבָב, לֵב ii. 317 f.; Ext. 666^b.
לָבָן (white) i. 458^a.
לְבֹנָה ii. 65 f., 467^a.
לֵב קָמַי iv. 493^a; Ext. 161^a.
לָוָה i. 579^a.
לוּז iii. 174^b.
לוּחַ iv. 670^b.
לֵוִי iii. 100; iv. 67 f.
לִוְיָתָן i. 504^a; iv. 427^b.
לֶחֶם i. 315^b.
לֶחֶם הַפָּנִים iv. 495.
לַחַשׁ iii. 210^a.
לְחָשִׁים i. 88^b; iii. 210^b; iv. 604^a.
לֹט iii. 465^a.
לִילִית i. 590^b; iii. 122^a; Ext. 618^a.
לֶמֶךְ iii. 19^b.
לַמְנַצֵּחַ (in titles of Psalms) iv. 153.
לַפִּיד i. 314^b; iii. 23^b.
לִשְׁכָּה ii. 434^a; iii. 674^a.
לֶשֶׁם iv. 619 f.
לֶתֶךְ iii. 99^b.

מַבּוּל ii. 23^b.
מִגְבָּעָה iii. 398^b.
מִגְדָּל i. 359^a; iv. 800^a.
מַגָּל ii. 32^b.
מָגֵן i. 330^b; iv. 497 f.
מַגֵּפָה iii. 324^b, 888^a.
מִדְבָּר iv. 917^b.
מַדִּים i. 154^b.
מְדֹכָה ii. 41^a.
מִדְרָשׁ i. 459^b; iii. 599^b.
מֹהַר ii. 173^a; iii. 270 f.
מוֹאָב iii. 403^a.
מוֹטָה, מוֹט i. 236^b; iv. 958^a.
מוּסָר i. 236 f.
מוֹעֵד i. 466; iv. 559^b.
מוֹקֵשׁ ii. 177^b.
מוֹרָג i. 50^b.
מוֹרָד Ext. 368^b.
מוֹרֶה iii. 436.
מוֹשְׁבוֹת i. 237^a.
מוּת iii. 114^b.
מִזְבֵּחַ i. 75^a.
מְזוּזָה iv. 23^a.
מַזְכִּיר ii. 843; iv. 207^b.
מַזְלֵג ii. 40^b.
מַזָּלוֹת i. 192^b, 217^b; iii. 307^a.
מִזְמוֹר iv. 35^b, 145 f.
מַזְמֵרָה ii. 32^b.
מְזַמְּרוֹת iv. 557^a.
מִזְרֶה i. 51^a; iv. 509^a.
מַזָּרוֹת i. 192^b, 217^b; iii. 307^a.
מִזְרָק i. 256^b, 312^a; ii. 41^a.
מַחֲבַת ii. 41^a.
מַחֲלַת (in title of Ps 53. 88) iv. 154^a.
מַחֲנֶה i. 237^a, 346^a.
מַחֲנַיִם iii. 213^a n.
מַחְסוֹם i. 303^a.
מְחֹקֵק iii. 83.
מַחֲשָׁבָה iv. 48^a.
מַחְתָּה i. 365 f.; ii. 40 f.
מַחְתֹּת iv. 557^a.
מַטֶּה i. 262^b; iv. 291, 810^a.
מִטָּה i. 262^b.
מַטְמוֹן iv. 809^b.
מִטְפָּחוֹת iii. 240^a.
מֵינֶקֶת iii. 573^b.
מִישׁוֹר iii. 309^b n., 893^b.
מֵיתָר i. 479^b.
מַכָּה iii. 888^a.
מַכְמַנִּים iv. 809^a.
מְכֹנוֹת iii. 64.
מִכְנָסַיִם i. 320^a.
מְכֵרָה iv. 633^a.
מִכְשׁוֹל iii. 586.
מַכְשֵׁלוֹת iv. 974^b.
מְכַשֵּׁף iii. 210^a.
מִכְתָּם iv. 154^b.
(הַ)מַּכְתֵּשׁ iii. 218^a.
מַלְאָךְ i. 80.
מַלְאַךְ יהוה i. 93 f.; iii. 351 f.; Ext. 638^a ff., 724^b.
(הַ)מִּלּוֹא iii. 373^b.
מַלּוּחַ ii. 34 f.
מָלוֹן ii. 473^b; Ext. 375^a.
מֶלַח ii. 38^a.
מְלָחִים iv. 193^b.
מֶלֶךְ ii. 840^a; Ext. 690^a.
(הַ)מֹּלֶךְ iii. 415 f.
מַלְכָּה iv. 180^a.
מְלֶכֶת הַשָּׁמַיִם iv. 181.
מַלְמָד ii. 194^b.
(הַ)מֶּלְצַר iii. 337 f.
מַלְקוֹשׁ iv. 195^b.
מַלְקֹחַ iv. 66^b.
מֶלְקָחַיִם iv. 557^a.
מַמְזֵר i. 257^a; iii. 268^b.
מָן iii. 236.
מְגוֹרָה iv. 663^b.
מִנְחָה ii. 172^a; iii. 587^b; iv. 330^b, 338 f.; Ext. 661^b.
מְנַחֵשׁ iii. 210^a.
מְנִי ii. 76; iii. 242.
מְנַעַנְעִים iii. 463^a.
מְנַקִּיָּה ii. 41^a.
מַס iv. 463^a, 813^a.
מִסְדְּרוֹן iv. 21^a.
מַסָּה iii. 293^b.
מָסָךְ i. 535^b; ii. 299^a; iv. 662^b, 847^b.
מֶסֶךְ ii. 34^a.
מַסֵּכָה ii. 451^b; Ext. 641^b.

מִסְכְּנוֹת iv. 809^{a}.
מְסִלָּה Ext. 368^{b}.
מִסְפָּחוֹת ii. 835^{b}.
מַעְבָּרָה, מַעֲבָר Ext. 368^{b}.
מַעְגָּל i. 346, 357^{a}.
מָעוֹן iv. 289^{a}.
מָעֻזִּים iii. 306^{b}.
מַעֲטָפוֹת iii. 239^{b}.
מְעִיל i. 624 f.; iii. 239^{b}.
מַעַל iv. 529^{b}.
מַעֲלֶה i. 162^{b}; Ext. 368^{b}.
מַעֲלוֹת i. 604 f.
מַעֲנִית, מַעֲנָה ii. 73^{b}.
מְעֹנֵן iv. 601; Ext. 651^{a}.
מַעֲשֵׂה חֹשֵׁב i. 699^{a}.
מִפְגָּע iii. 244^{b}.
מַפֻּחַ i. 269^{b}.
מֻצָּב iii. 451^{b}, 881 f.
מַצֵּבָה i. 75; ii. 451; iii. 879 f.; Ext. 170^{a}, 620^{a}.
מִצְוָה iii. 67^{a}.
מַצּוֹת i. 860; Ext. 622^{a}.
מְצִלְתַּיִם iii. 462^{b}.
מִצְנֶפֶת iii. 398^{b}.
מִצְרַיִם i. 653^{a}.
מַקֶּבֶת ii. 291^{a}.
מִקְטֶרֶת i. 365 f.
מַקֵּל iv. 291.
מִקְלָעוֹת ii. 6^{b}.
מִקְנָה, מִקְנֶה iv. 18^{b}.
מִקְרָא קֹדֶשׁ i. 467^{b}.
מֹר iii. 464 f.
מְרַאֲשׁוֹת iii. 882^{b}.
מְרַחֶפֶת ii. 403^{a}.
מַרְחֶשֶׁת i. 318^{a}.
מַרְפֵּא iii. 321^{a}.
מָרָק ii. 40.
מְרֹרִים i. 304^{a}; ii. 29^{b}.
מַשָּׂא i. 579^{a}.
מִשְׁבְּצוֹת iii. 636.
מְשֻׁגָּע iv. 564^{b} n.; iv. 598^{b}.
מֹשֶׁה iii. 438^{b}; Ext. 624^{b}.
מֶשִׁי i. 124^{a}.
מָשִׁיחַ iii. 353^{a}; Ext. 295^{b}, 694^{b}, note *.
מִשְׁכָּב i. 262^{b}.
מִשְׁכָּן iv. 655.
מָשָׁל iii. 660 ff.; iv. 137^{b}.
מְשֻׁלָּבוֹת iv. 660.
מֹשְׁלִים iv. 10^{b}.
מִשְׁנָה Ext. 60^{a}.
מִשְׁנֶה i. 453^{b}.
מִשְׁעוֹל Ext. 368^{b}
מִשְׁעֶנֶת iv. 291.
מִשְׁפָּחָה iv. 810 f.
מִשְׁפָּט iii. 66 f., 237^{a}.
מִשְׁתֶּה iv. 42^{b}.
מַשָּׂא i. 331^{a}; iii. 473^{b} n., 629^{b} n.
מַשְׂאֵת i. 453^{b}; ii. 172^{b}; iii. 588^{b}.
מַשְׂכִּיל iv. 154.
מַשְׂכִּית ii. 451^{b}.
מֶתֶג i. 303^{a}.
מְתוּרְגְּמָן iv. 641^{b}.
מְתוּשָׁאֵל iii. 357^{b}.
מְתוּשֶׁלַח iii. 357^{b}.
מַתָּן ii. 172^{b}.

נֹאד ii. 34^{a}.
נָבִיא i. 216^{b}; iv. 108; Ext. 652^{b} f., 672^{a} f.
נְבִיאִים (division of OT canon) i. 287^{b}.
נְבָלָה, נָבָל ii. 43.
נֶבֶל, נֵבֶל ii. 13^{b}, 41^{a}; iii. 458 ff.
נְבֵלָה ii. 38^{b}.
(הַ)נֶּגֶב iii. 505^{b}.
נָגִיד i. 352; iv. 100 f.
נְגִינוֹת iii. 461^{a}; iv. 154^{b}.
נֶגַע iii. 887^{b}.
נֶגֶף iii. 887 f.
נְדָבָה i. 216^{b}.
נָדָן, נֵדֶה ii. 173^{a}.
נִדָּה iv. 208^{b}.
נָדִיב iv. 101^{a}.
נָהָר ii. 23; iv. 287^{a}.
נָוֶה ii. 25^{a}.
נָזִיר ii. 42^{a}; iv. 24, 497^{b}; Ext. 657^{a} f.
נֶזֶם i. 633^{a}; iii. 655^{b}.
נֵזֶר i. 530^{a}; iv. 872^{a}.
נַחוּם iii. 473^{b}.
נְחִילוֹת (in title of Ps 5) iv. 154^{b}.
נָחַל ii. 341^{a}.
נַחַל i. 328^{a}; iv. 287.
נַחַל מִצְרַיִם i. 667^{b}.
נַחֲלָה ii. 470^{b}.
נִחַם iv. 225.
נִחֵשׁ iv. 107^{b}, 599^{a}.
נָחָשׁ בָּרִחַ i. 192^{b}.
נְחֹשֶׁת i. 314^{b}.
נְחֻשְׁתָּן iii. 510 f.; Ext. 628^{a}.
נְטִיפוֹת iii. 739^{a}.
נָטָף iv. 613^{a}.
נָיוֹת (Keth. נוית) iii. 478^{a}.
נְכֹאת iv. 610 f.
(בֶּן־נֵכָר), נָכְרִי ii. 49 f., 156^{a}; iv. 623^{a}.
נְכֹת iv. 611^{a}.
נִמְאָס iv. 228^{a}.
נָמֵר iii. 95^{a}.
נֵס i. 237^{b}.
נִסָּה iv. 716^{a}.
נָסִיךְ iv. 101.
נֶסֶךְ, נֵסֶךְ ii. 451^{b}.
נְעָלִים, נְעָלַיִם, נְעָלוֹת i. 627^{a}; iv. 508^{a}.
נַעֲצוּץ iv. 752^{b}.
נַעֲרָה iii. 215^{a}.
נְפִילִים ii. 166^{a}; iii. 512^{b}.
נֹפֶךְ iv. 619 f.
נֶפֶשׁ iv. 608; Ext. 665^{a} n., 666^{b}.
נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה Ext. 669^{a}.
נֶפֶשׁ מֵת Ext. 669^{a}.

נצח יִשְׂרָאֵל iv. 624^{b}.
נְצִיב iii. 879^{a}
נֵצֶר i. 314^{a}.
נֶקֶב iii. 461^{b}.
נֹקֵד i. 85^{a}.
נָקוֹד i. 458^{a}.
נָשָׁה i. 579^{a}.
נֶשֶׁךְ i. 579^{a}.
נָשָׂא ii. 56^{a}.
נָשִׂיא iv. 100.
נְתִיבָה, נָתִיב Ext. 368^{b}.
נְתִינִים iii. 519^{a}.
נֶתֶק iii. 96^{b}.

סְאָה ii. 40^{b}.
סֹבֶא ii. 34^{a}.
סְגֻלָּה ii. 655^{b} ; iii. 734^{a}.
סְגַן iv. 96.
סָדִין i. 624^{a} ; iii. 125^{b}.
סֹהַר ii. 768^{a} n.
סַהַר, סָהַר, etc. iv. 802^{b}.
סוֹד i. 467^{b}.
סוּס i. 214^{b}.
סֹחֵרָה iv. 498^{a}.
סִיר (pot) ii. 40^{a}.
סִירִים (thorns) iv. 752^{b}.
סֻכָּה i. 216^{b} ; iv. 717^{a}.
סֻכּוֹת i. 215^{b}, 383^{b}.
סֹכֵךְ iii. 239^{b}, 474^{b} n.
סַל i. 255^{b}.
סֶלָה iv. 431 f.
סִלּוֹן iv. 752^{b}.
סָלַח i. 216^{b} ; ii. 56.
סֹלְלָה i. 237^{b} ; iii. 451^{b}.
סַלְסִלּוֹת i. 255^{b} ; ii. 32^{a}.
סֶלַע iv. 289.
סָלְעָם ii. 37^{b} ; iii. 130^{a}.
סֹלֶת iii. 308^{a}.
סַמִּים iv. 610^{b}.
סְמִיכָה Ext. 720^{b}.
סֶמֶל ii. 6^{b}, 451^{a}.
סַף (basin, cup) i. 256^{b} ; ii. 41^{a}.
סַף (threshold) iv. 23^{a}.
סַפַּחַת iii. 96^{a}.
סַפִּיר iv. 403^{a}, 619 f.
סֵפֶל ii. 41^{a}.
סֵפֶר כְּרִיתֻת iii. 276^{a}.
סֹפֵר iii. 277 ; iv. 420.
סָרָבִים iv. 752^{b}.
סָרִיס i. 793^{b} ; iii. 589 ; iv. 23^{b} n., 191^{a}.
סְרָנִים iii. 137^{b}, 845.
סִרְפַּד iv. 752^{b}.

עֲבֹדָה, עָבַד iii. 377.
עֶבֶד iv. 461^{b}.
עֹבֵד אֱדֹם iii. 581^{a}.
עֹבַדְיָה, עֹבַדְיָהוּ iii. 577^{b}.
עָבַט i. 579^{a}.
עֲבֹט iii. 895^{b}.
עַבְטִיט iii. 895^{b}.
עֲבָרָה ii. 765^{b}.
עִבְרִי i. 287^{a} ; ii. 325 ff., 506 f.
עֲבֹת i. 236^{b}, 479^{b}.
עוּגָב, עֻגָב iii. 461^{b}.
עֻגוֹת ii. 318^{b}.
עֶגְלָה, עֵגֶל i. 340^{b} ; ii. 35^{b} ; iii. 638.
עֲגָלָה i. 50, 357^{a} ; iv. 498^{a}.
עַד (prey) iv. 66^{b}.
עַד־הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה ii. 861 f.
עוּד, עֵד iv. 932.
עֵדוּת, עֵדוֹת iii. 67^{a} ; iv. 725.
עֵדֶן i. 216^{a}, 643.
עֲדָשִׁים i. 316^{b}; ii. 27 f.; iii. 95^{a}.
עָוֹן iv. 529.
עוֹף ii. 63^{b}.
עִזִּים, עֵז ii. 35^{b}, 195^{a}.
עֲזָאזֵל i. 207 f., 591^{b} ; Ext. 721^{b}.
עֲטָרָה i. 530^{b}.
עַיִט ii. 63^{b}.
עֵינַיִם i. 700^{b}.
עִיר (Aram. = 'watcher') iv. 897^{a}.
עַיִשׁ i. 144^{a}, 191 f., 218^{a}.
עֹל iv. 958^{a}.
עֹלָה i. 162^{b}; iv. 334, 337; Ext. 722^{a}.
עֲלִיָּה i. 162^{b} ; iii. 674^{a}.
עֹלֵלוֹת ii. 32^{b}, 181^{a} n.
עַלְמָה ii. 454 ; iii. 215^{a} ; iv. 870 f.
עֲלָמוֹת (in title of Ps 46) iv. 152^{b}.
עַמִּים, עַם ii. 149.
עַם הָאָרֶץ i. 459^{b} ; iii. 743^{b}, 826 f.
עַמּוּד iii. 879^{a}.
עָמוֹם i. 85^{a}, note †.
עֵמֶק iv. 846.
עֵנָב ii. 32^{b}.
עָנָה (testify) iv. 933^{a}.
עִנָּה נֶפֶשׁ i. 200^{a}.
עָנָו iv. 20^{a}.
עָנִי iv. 19 f.
עָסִיס ii. 33 f.
עֹפֶל i. 699^{b} ; ii. 384
עֳפָלִים iii. 325^{a}.
עֲצַבִּים ii. 451^{b}.
עֵצָה i. 508^{a} ; iv. 47^{b}.
עָצוּב וְעָזוּב Ext. 663^{a}, note †.
עֲצֵי־גֹפֶר (Gn 6^{14}) i. 214^{b}.
עֲצֶרֶת i. 467^{b}; iv. 559^{b}.
עָקֵב ii. 526^{b}.
עָקוֹד i. 458^{a}.
עַקְרָב iv. 419^{b}.
עָרַב i. 579^{a} ; iii. 895^{b}.
עֲרָבִי, עֲרָב i. 135^{a}.
עָרֹב iii. 890^{a}.
עֶרֶב iii. 399.
עֲרָבָה i. 130 f.; iii. 893^{b} ; iv. 918^{a}.
עֲרֻבָּה iii. 895^{b}.
עֵרָבוֹן iii. 895^{b}.

עָרוֹת iv. 213^a.
עָרֵשׂ i. 262^b.
עָשׁ i. 144^a, 191 f.
עָשִׁיר iv. 19^b.
עֹשֶׁר ii. 34^b.
עַשְׁתָּרוֹת i. 166 f.
עַשְׁתְּרוֹת קַרְנַיִם i. 167^b, 170^b, note **.
עַשְׁתֹּרֶת i. 167 f., 195^a.
עָשָׂה (sacrificial term) iii. 588^b.
עַתּוּד ii. 35^b, 195^a.
עֲתַלְיָה(וּ) i. 195^b n.

פִּגּוּל i. 11^b ; ii. 38^a.
פָּגַע iv. 39^a.
פֶּגַע iii. 583^b.
פָּדָה iv. 200, 211.
פּוּךְ i. 814^b ; ii. 182 ; iii. 639^b.
פּוֹל i. 316^b ; ii. 28^a.
פּוּרָה (winepress) ii. 33^a.
פּוּרִים i. 861^b ; iii. 153 ; iv. 174 f.
פַּח ii. 177^b.
פֶּחָה i. 595^a ; ii. 253^a.
פַּחוֹת (priestly title) iv. 96^b.
פֶּחָם i. 451^b.
פַּחַת iii. 885^a.
פִּטְדָה iv. 619 f., 797.
פַּטִּישׁ ii. 291^a.
פַּטִּישִׁין (Aram.) ii. 425^b.
פַּךְ ii. 41^a.
פֶּלֶג iii. 738^a ; iv. 287^b.
פִּלֶגֶשׁ iv. 466.
פְּלָדוֹת iv. 613^b.
פְּלִילִים ii. 806^b.
פֶּלֶךְ i. 611^b.
פַּנַּג iii. 659.
פָּנִים i. 825^b.
פְּנֵי יהוה Ext. 639^b ff.
פְּנִינִים iv. 314^b.
(הַ)פִּסְגָּה iii. 883 f.
פֶּסַח iii. 688 ; Ext. 622^a.
פְּסִילִים ii. 451^b ; Ext. 373^a.
פֶּסֶל ii. 451^b ; Ext. 641^b.
פִּקּוּדִים iii. 67^a.
פֶּקַח iii. 736^a.
פַּקֻּעוֹת ii. 28^b, 250^a.
פְּקָעִים iii. 8^b.
פַּר ii. 35^b.
פַּרְבָּר ii. 594^a n. ; iii. 673.
פֶּרֶד iii. 456^a.
פַּרְדֵּס (Pers. loan-word) ii. 54^b ; iii. 629 f., 668 f. ; iv. 597^b.
פָּרוּר ii. 40^b.
פַּרְוָיִם iii. 682^b.
פָּרֹכֶת i. 216^b ; iv. 662^b, 847^b.
פָּרָשָׁה, פַּרְשִׁיּוֹת i. 288^a.
פְּרָת i. 794^a ; Ext. 677^b n.
פַּרְתְּמִים (Pers. loan-word) iv. 101^b.
פֶּשַׁע iv. 529.
פִּשְׁתָּה, פֵּשֶׁת iii. 125^b.
פְּתִי iv. 527^b.
פְּתִיגִיל iv. 617^a.
פָּתִיל iii. 15.
פֶּתֶן iv. 459^b.

צֹאן ii. 35^b.
צָב (Nu 7^3, Is 66^{30}) iii. 127^b n.
צְבָאוֹת, צָבָא iii. 138 ; Ext. 636^a f.
צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם ii. 429 f.
צְבִי ii. 36^b, 115 f.
צְבָעִים i. 458^a.
צָדַק (and derivatives) i. 68 ; ii. 826^b ; iv. 272 f. ; Ext. 683^a n.
צָהֹב i. 458^a.
צוּף ii. 38^a.
צוּר iii. 881^a ; iv. 289 f.
צַח i. 458^a.
צָחַק (שָׂחַק) iii. 63^b, 894^b.
צִיָּה iv. 918^a.
צִיּוֹן iv. 899 f. ; Ext. 265^b n.
צִיצִית i. 627 ; ii. 68^b.
צִיר i. 80^a.
צָלֵחַ iv. 973^a.
צֵלָחָה ii. 41^a.
צֶלֶם ii. 451^a.
צְלָצַל iii. 130^a.
צֶלְצְלִים iii. 462^b.
צֶמֶד iv. 958^a.
צִמּוּק ii. 32^b.
צֶמַח i. 314^a.
צִנָּה i. 330^b ; iv. 498^a.
צִנּוֹר ii. 33^a, 268^b.
צִנִּים iv. 753^a.
צָנִיף iii. 398^b.
צִנְצֶנֶת ii. 41^a.
צִפּוֹר ii. 37^a ; iv. 609.
צַפַּחַת ii. 41^a.
צְפִיר ii. 35^b ; iv. 195^a.
צָפְנַת פַּעְנֵחַ iv. 963^a.
צֶפַע iv. 459^b.
צַפְצָפָה iv. 923^a.
צִפֳּרִים ii. 37^a ; iv. 609.
צִפֹּרֶן iii. 477^b.
צְרוֹר i. 231^b f.
צְרִיחַ iv. 800^a.
צָרַעַת iii. 95.
צָרַף iv. 213^a.

קַב i. 219^a ; ii. 40^b.
קָרוֹשׁ iv. 352^a.
קַדַּחַת iii. 323^b.
קָדַר i. 457^a.
קִדְרוֹן ii. 837^b.
קָדֵשׁ ii. 394 ff. ; Ext. 681^b note.
קְדֵשָׁה, קָדֵשׁ iv. 559^a ; Ext. 662^b, 682^b n.

קָהָל i. 174 f., 466 f.
קֹהֶלֶת i. 637.
קָו or קַו iii. 123 f.
קֹוֶה (1 K 10^{28}) i. 188^{a} note.
קְטֹרֶת ii. 467.
קִינָה iii. 20 f.; iv. 5.
קִיקָיוֹן ii. 28 f., 250^{a}, 745^{b}.
קִיר חֶרֶשׂ, ק׳ חֲרֶשֶׂת iii. 2.
קַלַּחַת ii. 40^{a}.
קָלִי ii. 27^{b}.
קְלָלָה i. 535^{a}.
קְלָעִים ii. 299^{a}; iv. 657^{a}.
קִמּוֹשׂ iii. 520^{b}.
קֶמַח iii. 308^{a}.
קָנָא i. 712^{b}; Ext. 685^{a}.
קִנְאָה Ext. 685^{a}.
קָנָה iv. 803^{a}.
קָנֶה i. 314^{b}; iv. 212^{b}.
קָסַם iv. 598, 601^{b}.
קַעֲקַע iii. 244^{b}.
קִפּוֹד i. 304^{a}.
קִפּוֹז iii. 637^{b}.
קֶצַח ii. 28^{b}.
קָצִין iv. 101^{b}.
קָרְבָּן i. 216^{b}, 479^{a}; iii. 587.
קֶרַח i. 531^{b}.
קָרְחָה i. 234^{b}.
קִרְיַת אַרְבַּע iii. 3^{a}.
קִרְיַת סַנָּה iii. 3 f.
קִרְיַת סֵפֶר iii. 4^{a}.
קֶרֶן iii. 462.
קְרָסִים iv. 659^{a}, 672^{b}.
קְרָעִים iv. 193.
קֶרֶשׁ iv. 659 f.
קַשׁ iv. 625^{a}.
קִשֻּׁאִים ii. 28^{b}.
קֶשֶׁר iv. 808^{b}.
קֶשֶׁת iv. 196.
קְשָׂוֹת i. 533^{a}.
קְשִׂיטָה ii. 836^{a}; iii. 420^{a}.

רָאָה Ext. 675^{b}.
רֹאֶה i. 216^{b}; iv. 108, 598^{b}; Ext. 651^{a}, 672^{a}.
רְאֵם i. 177^{a}, 214^{b}; ii. 35^{b}; iv. 835 f.
(רוֹשׁ) רֹאשׁ ii. 104^{b}; iv. 13 f.
רֹאשׁ־חֲמוֹר ii. 39^{b}.
רֵאשִׁית ii. 10 f.; iv. 86^{a}.
רַבָּן, רַבִּי, רַב iv. 190^{a}.
רַבְרְבָן, רַב iv. 101^{b}, 191^{a}.
רַב הַטַּבָּחִים i. 377^{a}.
רָבִיד ii. 775^{b} n.
רִגְמָה i. 508^{a}.
רֶגַע iv. 766^{b}.
רָדִיד iii. 240^{a}.
רַהַב i. 504^{a}; iv. 194 f.; Ext. 670^{b}.
רוּחַ ii. 402 ff.; iv. 611 f.; Ext. 665^{a} n., 666^{b}.
רֹזֵן, רָזוֹן iv. 102^{a}.
רְחוֹב iv. 624^{a}.
רֵחַיִם i. 317^{a}.
רָחֵל ii. 35^{b}.
רַחֲמִים iii. 345^{b}; iv. 717^{a}.
רָחַץ i. 257^{b}.
רָחַשׁ ii. 469^{b}.
רַחַת iv. 509^{a}.
רִיפוֹת ii. 27^{b}.
רִיק iv. 846^{b}.
רִיר חַלָּמוּת ii. 37^{a}.
רָכַל iv. 802^{b}.
רִמּוֹן ii. 31^{b}.
רֹמַח iv. 610^{a}.
רֶמֶשׂ i. 517 f.
רְנָנִים iii. 635^{a}.
רֶסֶן i. 302^{b}.
רַע iv. 529^{b}.
רֵעַ ii. 2.
רְעָלוֹת iii. 455 f.
רִפְאוּת iii. 321^{a}.
רְפָאִים ii. 166 f.; iv. 226^{b}.
רָצָה iv. 919 f.
רָצִים ii. 267^{a}.
רִצְפָּה i. 451^{b}.
רֹקַח i. 126^{b}, 464^{b}; iii. 747^{a}.
רָקִיעַ i. 502^{b}.
רְקִיקִים i. 318^{a}.
רִקְמָה i. 458^{a}, 699^{a}.
רָשׁ iv. 19.
רֶשַׁע iv. 529^{b}.
רְשָׁעִים Ext. 726^{b}.
רֶשֶׁף i. 451^{b}.
רֹתֶם ii. 35^{a}, 825^{b}.

שְׁאוֹל i. 3, 20, 740; Ext. 668^{a}, 725^{a}.
שָׁאַל i. 579^{a}.
שְׁבָבִים i. 342^{a}.
שְׁבוֹ iv. 619 f.
שָׁבוּעַ iv. 765^{b}.
שְׁבוּעָה iii. 575^{b}.
שֶׁבַח iv. 36^{a}.
שֵׁבֶט i. 560^{a}; iv. 291, 416 f., 810^{a}.
שֹׁבֶל iii. 93^{b}.
שִׁבֹּלֶת iv. 497^{b}.
שַׁבָּת, שָׁבַת, שַׁבָּתוֹן iv. 317 ff.
שִׁגָּיוֹן iv. 154 f.
שֵׁגָל iv. 180^{a}.
שֵׁדִים i. 96^{b}, 173^{a}, 591 ff.; Ext. 288.
שֹׁהַם iii. 624 f.; iv. 619 f.
שָׁוְא iii. 112^{b}; iv. 846^{b}; Ext. 681^{b}.
שׁוּב i. 478^{a}.
שׁוּם ii. 29.
שׁוּעָל ii. 64^{a}, 526^{a}.
שׁוֹפָר iii. 462; iv. 815 f.
שׁוֹק iii. 93^{b}.
שׁוּק iv. 624^{b}.

שׁוֹר ii. 35^b; iii. 638^a.
שֹׁחַד ii. 173^a.
שְׁחוֹר i. 451^b.
שְׁחִין iii. 96^b, 329^b.
שַׁחֶפֶת iii. 323^b.
שַׁחַת iii. 885^a.
שִׁטָּה iv. 507^a.
שֹׁטְרִים, שֹׁטֵר ii. 806^b n.; iii. 589.
שִׁיחוֹר iii. 550 f.; iv. 498^b.
שִׁיר הַמַּעֲלוֹת iv. 153 f.; Ext. 168^a.
שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים iv. 589^a, 656^a.
שְׁכִינָה iv. 487 ff.
שֵׁכָר ii. 33^b.
שָׁלוֹם iii. 321^a, 732 f.
שֻׁלְחָן iv. 669^b.
שֻׁלְחָנִי iii. 432^b.
שְׁלָטִים iv. 184^a, 498^a.
שָׁלִישׁ (?='officer') iv. 102^a.
שָׁלִישִׁים (? = 'trigons') iii. 463^a.
שָׁלָל iv. 66^b.
שְׁלָמִים, שֶׁלֶם iv. 333^a, 338; Ext. 661^a n., 722^a.
שֵׁם iii. 478 f.
שֵׁם יהוה Ext. 640^b f.
שְׁמוּאֵל iv. 381^a.
שְׁמִינִית (in title of Ps 6. 12) iv. 154^b.
שָׁמִיר i. 38^a; iv. 621^a.
(מְשֹׁמֵם) שֹׁמֵם i. 12^a.
שִׁמְעוֹן iv. 517^b.
שָׁמַר (techn. term for Lev. service) iv. 84 f.
שְׁמָרִים ii. 33^a; iii. 93^a.
שֶׁמֶשׁ iv. 627.
שִׁמְשׁוֹן iv. 377^b.
שָׁנָה iv. 764^b.
שִׁנְעָר i. 224^b; iv. 503 f.
שַׁעַטְנֵז iii. 125^b.
שָׁפוֹת ii. 36^b.
שִׁפְחָה iii. 215^a; iv. 466^a.
שֹׁפֵט ii. 800^b, 808^b.
שְׁפִיפוֹן iv. 459 f.
(הַ)שְּׁפֵלָה iii. 893 f.
שָׁקֵד ii. 29^b.
שִׁקּוּץ i. 12^a, 596^b; Ext. 681^b.
שֶׁקֶל i. 219^b; iii. 418 ff.
שֶׁקֶל הַקֹּדֶשׁ iii. 422^a.
שִׁקְמִים ii. 30 f.
שֶׁקֶץ i. 11^b.
שֶׁקֶר, שָׁקַר iii. 112^b.
שַׁרְבִיט (Aram. for שֵׁבֶט) iv. 417^a.
שִׁרְיָן i. 319^a.
שֶׁרֶץ i. 518.
שֵׁרֵת iii. 376 f.
שֵׁשׁ iii. 125^a; iv. 656^a.
שֶׁשְׁבַּצַּר iv. 493 f.
שֵׁשַׁךְ iv. 492 f.; Ext. 161^a.
שָׁשַׁר i. 458^a.

שְׂאֹר iii. 90^a.
שְׂאֵת iii. 96^a.
שָׂהֵד ii. 306.
שֶׂה ii. 35^b; iii. 19^a.
(צָחַק) שָׂחַק iii. 63^b, 894^b.
שַׂהֲרֹנִים i. 519^a; iii. 210^b.
שָׂטָן iv. 407^b, 968^a.
(שָׂכִיר) שָׂכָר iv. 461.
שְׂלָו ii. 36^b.
שְׂמִיכָה iii. 240^a.
שִׂמְלָה i. 625^a.
שָׂנֵא ii. 308^b.
שָׂעִיר ii. 35^b, 195^a.
שְׂעִירִים i. 207^b, 591^b; Ext. 288, 617^b f.
שָׂפָה i. 237^b.
שַׂק iv. 327^a.
שַׂר i. 352^a; iv. 100^b.
שַׂר הַטַּבָּחִים ii. 768^a n.; iv. 23^b n.
שַׂר מְנוּחָה Ext. 375^a.
שֶׂרֶד iii. 739^a.
שָׂרָה (subst.) iii. 17^b.
שָׂרָה (verb) ii. 530^a n.
שָׂרִים (of angels) Ext. 714^b.
שָׂרָף iv. 458 f., 460^a.
שְׂרָפִים iv. 458 f.; Ext. 617^b f., 643^b f.
שָׂרֹק i. 458^a.
שֹׂרֵק ii. 31^b; iv. 868^a.

תְּאוֹ ii. 36^b; iii. 638^a.
תְּאֵנָה ii. 30^b.
תְּאַשּׁוּר i. 313.
תֵּבָה i. 148^b, 256^a.
תֵּבֵל i. 215^a, 633^b; iv. 937^b.
תֶּבֶן iv. 623^b.
תַּבְנִית ii. 6^b; iii. 696.
תֹּהוּ וָבֹהוּ, תֹּהוּ i. 502^a; iv. 918^a; Ext. 568^a n.
תְּהוֹם i. 20, 220^b, 503; Ext. 568^a, 670^b, 671^a.
תְּהִלָּה iv. 34, 145^b.
תָּו ii. 49^a; iii. 244^b.
תּוֹדָה iv. 35.
תּוֹלְדוֹת ii. 142^b.
תּוֹלָע i. 457, 527^b: iv. 416^b.
תּוֹעֵבָה i. 11^b; Ext. 681^b.
תּוֹרָה i. 287^b; iii. 64 ff., 596^a n.; iv. 690; Ext. 688^a f.
תּוֹרִים ii. 655^b
תּוֹשָׁב ii. 49 f.
תַּחְמָס iii. 550.
תַּחַשׁ i. 231^a.
תִּירוֹשׁ ii. 33^b.
תַּיִשׁ ii. 35^b, 195^b.
תֻּכִּיִּים iii. 733^b.
תְּכֵלֶת i. 457^a; Ext. 170^b.
תָּכְנִית iii. 696^b.
תָּלָה ii. 298 f.
תְּלִי iv. 183^b.
תֶּלֶם ii. 73^b.
תַּלְמוּד Ext. 57 f.
תֹּם iv. 527^b.
תְּמוּנָה ii. 451^a.

תָּמִים iv. 838f.; Ext. 662^{b}f.
תַּמְרוּר Ext. 369^{b}.
תְּנוּפָה iii. 588^{a}; iv. 338^{a}.
תַּנּוּר ii. 73^{a}: iii. 637^{a}.
תַּנִּים i. 620 f.; iv. 427.
תַּנִּין i. 620 f.; iv. 427^{a}.
תְּעָלָה iv. 288^{a}.
תַּעַר iv. 202^{b}.
תֹּף iii. 462^{b}; iv. 672^{b}.
תַּפּוּחַ ii. 30^{a}.
תִּפְלָה, תָּפֵל ii. 43^{b}.
תְּפִלָּה iv. 39^{a}, 145^{b}.
תְּפִלִּין iii. 869 ff.
תֹּפֶת iv. 798 f.
תֹּר ii. 36^{b}.
תַּרְבִּית i. 579^{a}.
תְּרוּמָה, תְּרוּמוֹת ii. 11^{a}; iii. 588^{a}; iv. 338^{a}; Ext. 704^{b}, 717$^{a.\,b}$, 722^{a}.
תֶּרַח iv. 718^{a}.
תְּרָפִים ii. 451^{a}; iv. 598, 718; Ext. 642^{b}.
תַּרְשִׁישׁ (precious stone) iv. 619 f., 683^{b}.
תַּשְׁבֵּץ i. 699^{a}.
תִּשְׁכַּח יְמִינִי i. 533^{a} n.

B. GREEK.

ἅβρα, iii. 215^{b}.
ἄβυσσος, i. 20^{a}.
ἀγαλλιάω, ii. 790^{a}.
ἀγάπαι, iii. 157.
ἀγάπη (-ᾶν), i. 330^{a}, 373^{a}; iii. 153^{b} n., 154^{a}.
ἄγγελος, iii. 351 f.
ἁγιασμός, iv. 391 f.
ἅγιος (and derivatives), ii. 399 ff.; iv. 352^{b}.
ἄγκυρα, Ext. 366^{b}.
ἁγνός, ἁγνεία, ἁγνότης, ii. 399^{b}; iv. 175 f.
ἀγορά, iii. 262.
ἀγοράζω (ἐξαγοράζω), iv. 211.
ἀγοραστής, iv. 176^{b}.
ᾅδης, ii. 274^{b}, 343 f.
ἀδικία, iv. 532^{b}.
αἵρεσις, ii. 351^{a}.
αἰτεῖν, αἰτεῖσθαι, iv. 42^{b}.
αἰώνιος, iv. 98^{b}.
ἀκαθαρσία, ἀκάθαρτος, ii. 61^{a}; iv. 825^{b} n.
ἀκακία, iv. 528^{a}.
ἀκρατής, ii. 468^{b}.
ἀκρίδες, ii. 28^{a}.
ἀλαβάρχης, ἀραβάρχης, Ext. 106.
ἀλάβαστρον, ii. 41^{a}.
ἀληθής, ἀληθεία, ἀληθινός, iv. 818 ff.
ἀλληγορία, i. 64^{a}.
ἀλλογενής, ii. 49^{b}.
ἀλλοτριεπίσκοπος, iii. 783 f.
ἀλλότριος, ii. 49^{b}.
ἀλλόφυλος, ii. 49^{b}.
ἀλώπηξ, ii. 64^{a}.
ἁμαρτάνειν (and cognates), iii. 586; iv. 532^{a}.
ἀνάγκη, Ext. 143^{a}, 148^{a}.
ἀνάγομαι, iii. 63^{b}.
ἀνάθεμα, i. 534 f.
ἀνάθημα, iii. 588^{b}.
ἀναθήματα, ii. 173^{a}.
ἀνάστασις, iv. 231.
ἀναφέρω, iii. 589^{a}.
ἀνήρ, iii. 225^{b}.
ἄνθραξ, ἀνθρακιά, i. 451.
ἄνθρωπος, iii. 225^{b}.
ἀνομία, iv. 532^{a}.
ἀνοχή, ii. 47.
ἀνταναπληρῶ, ii. 7^{b}.
ἀντί, iii. 316^{b}, 318^{b}.
ἀντίλημψις, ii. 347^{b}.
ἀντοφθαλμεῖν, Ext. 367^{a}.
ἀπάρχομαι (in LXX), iii. 588^{a}.
ἁπλότης, iv. 527^{b}.
ἄποιος (Philonic term), Ext. 203^{a}.
ἀποκατάστασις, iv. 230^{b}.
ἀπόκρυφος, i. 112^{a}.
ἀπολύειν, ii. 57^{a}; iii. 274^{a}.
Ἀπολλύων, i. 125^{a}, 172^{b}.
ἀπόστολος, i. 126^{a}.
ἀποτάσσομαι, iii. 89^{b}.
ἀπωλεία, iii. 744.
ἀρά, ἐπαρά, κατάρα, Ext. 127^{b}.
Ἀρμαγεδ(δ)ών, ii. 304 f.
ἀρραβών, i. 633^{a}.
ἀρτέμων, Ext. 366^{b}, 399^{a}.
ἀρχαί, i. 616^{b}.
ἀρχηγός, iv. 102^{a}.
ἀρχιερεῖς, iv. 96, 98^{a}.
ἀρχισυνάγωγος, Ext. 101^{a}.
ἀρχιτρίκλινος, ii. 253^{b}.
ἄρχοντες, iii. 838^{b}; Ext. 99^{b}, 100.
ἀσέβεια, iv. 532^{b}.
ἀσέλγεια, iii. 46^{a}.
ἀσθένεια, iii. 323^{a}.
ἀσκός, ii. 34^{a}.
Ἀσμοδαῖος, i. 125^{b}, 172^{b}.
ἀσπάζεσθαι, ii. 263^{b}; iii. 89^{b}.
ἀσσάριον, iii. 428^{a} n., 429^{a}.
ἀστραπή, ἀστράπτειν, iii. 120^{b}.
αὐλή, ii. 25^{a}, 287^{a}.
ἀφαιρέω (in LXX), iii. 588^{a}.
ἄφεσις, ii. 56^{a}.
ἀφιέναι, iii. 274^{a}.
ἀφορίζω (in LXX), iii. 588^{a}.

βαΐον, i. 314^{b}.
βαιτύλιον, i. 75^{b}.
βάπτειν, βαπτίζειν, βαπτισμα, βαπτισμός, i. 238.
βάρος, i. 331^{b}.
βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ (or τῶν οὐρανῶν), ii. 619.
βασιλικός, iii. 558^{a}.
βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως, i. 106^{a}.
Βεελζεβούλ, iv. 409^{b} n.
βελίαλ, βελίαρ, i. 269^{a}.
βῆμα, ii. 821^{b}.
βίβλος, βιβλίον, βιβλία, i. 286^{a}.
βίβλος γένεσεως, iii. 297 f.
βίος, iii. 114^{b}, 116^{a}, 128^{b}.
βλασφημία, i. 305^{a}.
βοήθειαι, Ext. 367^{a}.
βόθυνος, iii. 885^{b}.
βούλημα, iv. 920^{a}.
βρέφος, i. 212^{b}.
βωμός, i. 75^{a}.

γαζοφύλαξ (-άκιον), iv. 96^{b}, 809^{b}.
γάλα, ii. 36^{a}.
Γέεννα, ii. 119, 344 f.
γενεά, ii. 142^{b}.
γενέσια, i. 301^{a}.
γένεσις, ii. 142.
γεννάω, ii. 121^{a}.
γέ(ν)νημα, ii. 142^{b}.
γερουσία, Ext. 99^{b}.
γερουσιάρχης, γερουσιάρχων, Ext. 101^{a}.
γῆ, iv. 938^{b}.
γλωσσόκομον, i. 380^{a}.
γλωσσολαλία, ii. 407^{b}.
γνόφος, i. 457^{a}.
γνῶσις, iii. 10^{a}.
γόητες, iv. 776^{a}.
(ἡ) γραφή, αἱ γραφαί, γέγραπται, λέγει, i. 286^{b}; iii. 608 f., 810^{b}; iv. 423^{b}.
γραμματεύς, iv. 420 f., 800 f.

δαιμόνια, i. 173^{a}, 593 f.
δαίμων, Ext. 140^{a}.
δεισιδαιμονία, Ext. 142^{a}.
δέομαι, iv. 42^{b}.
Δευτερονόμιον, i. 596^{b}.
δηνάριον, iii. 427 f.

διά, iii. 790.
διάδημα, i. 530^b, 604^b.
διαθήκη, i. 286^b, 514^b; iv. 720.
διακονεῖν, διάκονος, διακονία, διακόνισσα, i. 574 f.; iii. 377 f.; iv. 771^b, 936^b.
διαλογίζομαι, i. 611^b.
διασπορά, iii. 782 f.
δίγλωσσος, iv. 528^a.
διδάσκαλος, i. 609^b; iii. 294^a; iv. 691^a.
δίδραχμον, iii. 428^b.
δίκαιος, δικαιοσύνη, iv. 281^b.
δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ, ii. 211^a; iv. 283.
δικαιοῦν, ii. 826^b.
δικαίωμα, iii. 631.
δίλογος, iv. 528^b.
διοπετής, Ext. 110^b, 112^a.
Διόσκουροι, i. 608 f.
δίψυχος, iv. 528^a.
δόμα, ii. 173^a.
δόξα, ii. 186 f.
δούλη, iii. 215^b.
δοῦλος, iii. 377^b; iv. 461^b, 469^a.
δύναμις, i. 616^b.
δύναμις (distinguished from ἐξουσία), iv. 29^b n.
δῶρον, ii. 173^a; iii. 587^b, 588^b.

ἐγκράτεια (and cognates), iv. 558^b, 695^a.
ἐθελοθρησκεία, iv. 923^a.
ἐθνάρχης, i. 793^a; Ext. 99.
ἔθνος, ii. 149^a; Ext. 100^a.
εἰλικρινής, -εία, iv. 176^a.
εἱμαρμένη, Ext. 143^a, 148^a, 293^b.
εἰς, ii. 457.
ἐκκλησία, i. 426^a, 431^a, 467^a; ii. 141^b.
ἐκλέγομαι, ἐκλεκτός, ἐκλογή, i. 678^a; iv. 48^a.
ἐκπειράζω, iv. 716^b.
ἔκστασις, iv. 807^a.
ἐλεεῖν, i. 462^b.
ἐλεημοσύνη, i. 67 f.
ἔλεος (and cognates), iii. 345 f.
Ἕλληνες, Ἑλληνισταί, ii. 260^b.
ἐν, ii. 457.
ἔνοχος, ii. 268^a.
ἐντυγχάνειν, ὑπερεντυγχάνειν, iv. 42^b, 45^a.
ἐξαστράπτειν, ii. 182^b.
ἐξουσία, i. 616^b.
ἑορτή, ii. 141^b.
ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι, iv. 105^a.
ἐπανάγω, iii. 63^b.
ἔπαρχος, ii. 253^a.
ἔπηλυς, ἐπηλύτης, iv. 133.
ἐπίγνωσις, iii. 10^a, 79^a.
ἐπιεικής, ii. 150^a; iii. 413^b.
ἐπίθεσις χειρῶν, iii. 84 f.
ἐπιθυμεῖν, iv. 920^a.
ἐπιούσιος, iii. 143^b, 734^a; Ext. 36^b.
ἐπίσκοπος, i. 301^b; iii. 727^a; iv. 771^b.
ἐπιστρέφειν, ἐπιστροφή, i. 478^a; iv. 225 f.
ἐπίτροπος, ii. 253^a; iv. 615^b.
ἔρανοι, Ext. 102^a.
ἐρημία, ἔρημος, iv. 918.
ἔριφος, ii. 35^b.
ἑρμηνευτής, iii. 247^b.
ἔρρωσο, Ext. 356^a.
ἔσοπτρον, ii. 181^a.
εὐαγγελίζω, iv. 45^b.
εὐαγγέλιον, ii. 233 f.
εὐαγγελιστής, i. 795 f.
εὐδαίμων, ii. 300^b.
εὐθύς, iii. 41^b.
εὐθύτης, iv. 528^a.
εὐλάβεια, ii. 222^b.
εὐλογητός, Ext. 14^b n.
εὐνοῦχος, iii. 836^a n.
εὐρακύλων, i. 794^b.
εὐσέβεια, εὐσεβής, i. 330^a; ii. 221 f.; Ext. 142^a.
εὐχαριστεῖν, -ία, i. 429^a.
εὔχεσθαι, iv. 42^b.
εὐχή, Ext. 127^b.
Ἐφέσια γράμματα, iii. 211^b.
ἔχιδνα, iv. 460^a.

ζῆλος, i. 712 f.
ζιζάνια, iv. 678^a.
ζόφος, i. 457^a.
ζωή, iii. 114^b, 115, 117^a.
ζῷον, iii. 128 f.

ἡγεμών, ii. 253^a; iv. 104^a.
Ἡρῳδιανοί, iii. 362^a.

θάνατος, iii. 114 f., 116^b, 117^a.
θεατρίζεσθαι, ii. 116^a.
θειότης, θεότης, ii. 221.
θέλημα, iv. 920^a.
θεμέλιος, ii. 61^b.
θεοσέβεια, ii. 221 f.
θηρίον, iii. 128^b.
θίασοι, Ext. 102^a, 152^b.
θρῆνος, iii. 662 f.
θρόνοι, i. 616^b.
θυμός, ii. 73^b; iv. 13^b.
θυσία, iv. 330^b, 338.
θυσιαστήριον, i. 75^a.
θώραξ, i. 319^a.

ἱερεύς, iv. 97 f.
ἱερόδουλοι, ii. 156^b.
ἱερόσυλοι, i. 441.
ἱλασμός, iii. 320^a.
ἱλασμός, ἱλάσκομαι (ἐξιλάσκομαι), iv. 128.
ἱλαστήριον, iii. 318^b.
Ἰουδαῖος, ii. 507^a.
Ἰσκαριώτης, ii. 796^a.
ἰχθύς (allegory of Christ), i. 64^b.

καθαρός, iv. 175 f.
καθεξῆς, iii. 630^a.
καθολικός, i. 360 ff.
καλέω, κλῆσις, κλητός, iv. 57^b.
καλύπτω, ii. 56^b.
καλώδια, Ext. 366^b.
κανονικός, i. 288^b.
κανών, i. 350^a.
καπηλεύω, ii. 436^b.
καρδία, Ext. 20^b n.
κασσίτερος, iii. 375^b.
καταβολή, ii. 61^b.
καταγελάω, iii. 63^b.
καταλλαγή, iv. 204 f.
κατάλυμα, ii. 474^b; iii. 674^a.
κατάρα, i. 535^a.
κατοικία, Ext. 100^a, 102^a.
κατοπτρίζω, ii. 181^a.
καυχάομαι, ii. 790^b.
κεραῖαι, Ext. 366^b.
κεράτια, ii. 28^a.
κερέα, iv. 782^a.
κερματιστής, iii. 432^b.
κεφάλαια, i. 288^a.
κῆνσος, iv. 813.
κηρύσσω, κήρυγμα, iv. 45^b.
Κηφᾶς (Πέτρος), iii. 756.
κιβωτός, i. 380^a.
κιθάρα, iii. 458 ff.
κινύρα, iii. 458 ff.
κλάδος, i. 314^b.
κλάσις τοῦ ἄρτου, i. 428^b.
κλῆμα, i. 314^b.
κληρονομέω, -ία, ii. 341^a.
κοδράντης, iii. 428 f.
κοινός, i. 459^b; iv. 825^b n.
κοινωνία, -εῖν, i. 460 ff.
κολλούριον, i. 814^b.
κολλυβιστής, iii. 432^b.
κολοβοδάκτυλος, iii. 247.
κοράσιον, iii. 215^b.
κόσμος, iv. 938 ff.
κόσμος αἰσθητός, Ext. 204^a.
κόσμος νοητός, Ext. 204^a.
κόφινος, i. 256^a.
κράσπεδα, ii. 69^a.
κρύσταλλος, i. 531^b.
κυρία, iii. 17^b.
Κυριακὴ ἡμέρα, iii. 138 f.
Κυριακὸν δεῖπνον, iii. 144.
Κύριος, ii. 206^b.
κυριότης, 616 f.
κωνωπεῖον, i. 350^b, 535^b.
κώπη, Ext. 366^b.

λαμπάς, iii. 44^a.
λαός, ii. 149^a; Ext. 100^a.
λατρεύειν, iii. 377^a.
λεγιών, iii. 94^a.
λειτουργεῖν, -ός, iii. 376 f.
λεπτόν, iii. 428^b.
λευκός, i. 458^a.
λόγος, iii. 132 ff.; iv. 937^a; Ext. 202^a, 205 ff., 282 ff.
Λουκᾶς, iii. 161^a.
λύτρον, -οῦμαι, iii. 316^b; iv. 200, 211.
λύχνος, iii. 44^a.

μάγος, iii. 203 f., 206 f.; Ext. 153^{b}.
μαθητής, i. 609^{b}.
μακάριος, ii. 300 ; Ext. 14^{b}.
Μακκαβαῖος, iii. 182^{a}.
μακρόθυμος (and cognates), ii. 47 ; iii. 136.
μαλακία, iii. 323^{a}.
μα(μ)μωνᾶς, iii. 224.
μάντις, iv. 127^{b}.
Μαρία, Μαριάμ, iii. 278^{b} n.
μάρτυς, iii. 278^{a}.
μάχαιρα, iv. 634^{a}.
μέλας, i. 457^{a}.
μεσίτης, -εύω, iii. 311^{b}.
μετανοεῖν, -άνοια, iv. 225 f.
μετασχηματίζω, ii. 7^{a}.
μέτοικος, ii. 156^{a} ; iv. 133^{a}.
μὴ γένοιτο, ii. 47 f.
μονή, iii. 238^{b}.
μυθολόγος, i. 825^{a}.
μῦθος, i. 825^{a}.
μυστήριον, iii. 465 f.; iv. 321 f.
μώλωψ, iii. 244^{b}.
μωρέ, ii. 44^{a} ; iv. 192^{a}.

Ναζαρηνός, Ναζωραῖος, iii. 496^{b}.
ναοί, Ext. 121^{b}.
νάρδος πιστική, iii. 593^{b} ; iv. 611.
Ναυή, iii. 573^{b}.
νεόφυτος, iii. 560^{b}.
νήπιος, i. 212^{b}.
νηφάλαιος, iv. 558^{a}.
νήφω, iv. 558^{a}.
Νικόλαος (?=בלעם), iii. 547.
νομικός, iii. 83^{b} ; iv. 420 f.
νομοδιδάσκαλος, iv. 420 f.
νομοθέτης, -θεσία, -θετεῖν, iii. 83^{b}.
νόμος, iii. 73^{a}, 77 ff.
νόσος, iii. 323^{a}.
νοῦς, iii. 374^{a} ; iv. 303^{a}, 612^{b}; Ext. 201^{b}, 282 ff.

ξένος, ii. 49^{b}, 156^{a}.
ξέστης, ii. 41^{a}.

ὄγκος, i. 331^{b}.
ὀθόνη, iii. 125^{b}.
οἰκοδεσπότης, ii. 231^{b}.
οἰκονόμος, ii. 253^{b} ; iv. 615^{b}.
οἰκουμένη, iv. 938^{b}.
οἰκτίρμων (and cognates), iii. 345 f.
οἶνος, ii. 34.
ὁμοίωμα, iii. 696^{b}.
ὄνυξ, iii. 624^{b}.
ὀρφανός, iii. 634^{a}.
ὅσιος, ii. 399^{b} ; iv. 352^{b}.
οὐρανός, ii. 320^{a}.
ὀφείλημα, iv. 532^{b}.
ὀφειλήματα, Ext. 37^{b} n.

παιδαγωγός, iii. 72^{b} ; iv. 419^{a}.
παιδεία, -εύειν, iii. 574^{a}.
παιδίσκη, iii. 215^{b}.
παῖς (maid), iii. 215^{b}.
παῖς θεοῦ, iv. 574^{a}.
παλινγενεσία, iv. 214^{b}, 230^{b}.
πανδοχεῖον, ii. 474^{a} ; Ext. 375^{a}.
πανήγυρις, i. 467^{b} ; ii. 141^{b}.
παράβασις, iv. 532^{a}.
παραβολή, iii. 662 f.
παρακαλεῖν, -άκλησις, i. 458^{b} n.; iii. 665 f.
παράκλητος, iii. 665 ff.
παράλυσις, iii. 657^{b}.
παράπτωμα, iii. 586 ; iv. 532^{a}.
παράσημον, Ext. 367^{b}.
παρασκευή, iv. 766^{a}.
πάρεσις, ii. 56^{a}.
παρθένος, iii. 215^{b} ; iv. 871^{a}.
πάροικος, ii. 49 f., 156^{a} ; iv. 133^{a}.
παροιμία, iii. 662^{b}.
παρουσία, iii. 674 ff.
παρρησία, i. 309^{b} ; iv. 45^{a}.
πειράζω, iv. 716^{b}.
πειρασμός, iv. 716^{b} ; Ext. 38^{a}.
περί, iii. 318^{b}.
περιβόλαιον, iii. 240^{a}.
περιούσιος, iii. 734 ; Ext. 37^{a}.
πέτρα, iv. 290^{b}.
Πέτρος (Κηφᾶς), iii. 756.
πηδάλια, Ext. 366^{a}.
πίναξ, i. 256^{b} ; ii. 41^{a}.
πίσσα, iii. 886^{a}.
πιστεύειν, πίστις, i. 828 ff.
πληροφορία, i. 175 f.
πλήρωμα, iv. 1 f.
πνεῦμα, ii. 404 ff. ; iii. 374^{b} ; iv. 303^{a}, 608^{b}, 612.
πνεῦμα and ψυχή, iv. 166 ff.
πνευματικός, ii. 410^{a}.
ποικίλος, iii. 235^{b}.
ποιμνή, ii. 25^{a}.
πολιτάρχης, iv. 315^{b}.
πολίτευμα, Ext. 100^{a}.
ποτήριον, i. 533^{a} ; ii. 41^{a}.
πραεῖς, Ext. 19^{a} n.
πραιτώριον, ii. 287^{a} ; iv. 32^{b}.
πραύτης, ii. 150^{a}.
πρεσβυτέριον, iv. 64^{a}.
πρεσβύτερος, i. 301^{b} ; iv. 771^{b} ; Ext. 101^{a}.
προαύλιον, iv. 21^{b}.
προβλέπω, iv. 48^{a}.
προγιγνώσκω, iv. 48^{a}.
πρόδρομοι, ii. 30^{b}, 54^{a}.
προετοιμάζω, iv. 48^{a}.
προοίμιον, iii. 662 f.
προορίζω, iv. 48^{a}.
προσάββατον, -τα, iv. 64^{a}, 766^{a}.
προσεύχεσθαι, iv. 42^{b}.
προσευχή, iv. 636.
προσήλυτος, iv. 132 ff.
προσκεφάλαιον, iii. 882^{a}.
πρόσκομμα, iii. 586.
προσκοπή, iii. 586.
προσκυνεῖν, iv. 943.
προσφέρω, iii. 587^{b}, 589^{a}.
προσφορά, iii. 588^{b}.
προτάσσω, iv. 48^{a}.
προτίθημι, iv. 48^{a}.
προφήτης, -εύειν, -εία, iv. 127^{b}.
προχειρίζω, iv. 48^{a}.
προχειροτονέω, iv. 48^{a}.
πρωτοκλισία, iv. 313^{b}.
πταίω, iii. 586.
πτερύγιον, ii. 882^{b}.
πτύον, iv. 509^{a}.
πύθων, iv. 178^{b}.
πυλών, iv. 21^{b}.
πύργος, iv. 800^{b}.
πυρετός, iii. 323^{b}.

ῥαβδοῦχοι, iv. 459^{a}.
ῥακά, ii. 44^{a} ; iv. 191^{b}.
ῥαπίζω, iii. 656^{b}.
ῥῆμα, iv. 937^{a}.
ῥήτωρ, iii. 629^{b}.
ῥομφαία, iv. 634^{a}.

σάββατον, -τίζειν, iv. 322 f.
σάββατον (week), iv. 766^{a}.
σαμβύκη, iii. 461^{a}.
Σαρβὴθ Σαβαναιέλ, iii. 188.
σαργάνη, i. 256^{b}.
σάρξ, σαρκικός, σάρκινος, ii. 14 ; iv. 303^{a}, 612^{a}.
σεβόμενοι (φοβούμενοι) τὸν θεόν, iv. 134^{b}.
σεληνιάζομαι, iii. 173^{b}, 327 f., 434^{a}.
σεμνός, ii. 399^{b}.
σημεῖον, iii. 384^{a}, 513^{a}.
σικάριοι, i. 174^{b}.
σίναπι, ii. 38^{b} ; iii. 463.
σκάνδαλον, iii. 586 ; iv. 532 f.
σκάφη, Ext. 367^{b}.
σκελοκοπία, iii. 94^{a}.
σκοπός, iii. 244.
σουδάριον, i. 627^{a} ; iii. 487^{b}.
σοφός, iv. 421^{a} n.
σπεῖρα Σεβαστή, i. 204 ; ii. 825^{a}.
σπεκουλάτωρ, i. 801^{b} ; ii. 267^{b}.
σπέρμα, σπόρα, σπόρος, iv. 429.
σπέρματα, ii. 27^{b}.
σπερμολόγος, i. 212^{b}.
σπλαγχνίζεσθαι, i. 462^{b}.
στατήρ, iii. 428^{b}.
στέφανος, i. 530^{b}.
στιβάς, i. 314^{b}.
στίγμα, iii. 244 f.
στίλβειν, ii. 182^{b}.
στοιχεῖον, i. 682^{a}.
στρατηγός, i. 352^{b} ; iii. 838^{b}.
στρατοπεδάρχης, i. 352^{b} ; ii. 824^{b}.
συζητέω, i. 611^{b}.
συκοφαντεῖν, Ext. 396^{a} n.
συμβούλιον, i. 508^{a}.
Συμεών, Σίμων, iii. 756.
συμποσιάρχης, ii. 253^{b}.
συμφωνία, iii. 461 f.
συναγωγή, i. 466 f.; iv. 636 ff.; Ext. 100^{a}.
συνέδριον, iv. 397 f.
συνείδησις, iv. 168^{b}.
σύνεσις, iii. 374^{a} ; iv. 612^{b}.
Σύνζυγος, iv. 644^{b}.

συνθήκη, iv. 720.
σύντροφος, iii. 228^{b}.
σφυρίς, i. 256^{a}.
σχίσματα, i. 486 f., 493^{a}; ii. 351.
σχοινία, Ext. 367^{a}.
σχολή, iv. 812 f.
σωτηρία, iii. 321^{b}.
σώφρων (and cognates), iv. 558.

τάρταρος, ii. 344^{a}; iii. 815^{b} n.
τέκνον, ii. 215 ff.
τέλειος, iii. 746^{a}.
τελειόω, ii. 334.
τέλος, i. 537^{a}.
τελώνης, iv. 172; Ext. 394^{b}.
τέρας, iii. 384^{a}.
τετράδιον, iv. 180^{a}.
τόξον, iv. 196.
τράπεζα, iv. 669^{b}.
τραπεζίτης, iii. 432^{b}.
τραχηλίζω, iii. 625^{b} n.
τύπος, iii. 696^{b}.

ὕαλος, ὕελος, ii. 180 f.
υἱοθεσία, i. 40 f.
υἱός, ii. 215 ff.
(ὁ) υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, iv. 579 ff.
ὕμνος, ii. 441^{a}.
ὑπεροχή, i. 799^{b}.
ὑπερῷον, i. 162^{b}; iii. 674^{a}.
ὑπηρέται (judicial Levitical title), iv. 97^{a}.
ὑπηρέτης, -εῖν, iii. 378^{a}, 589^{b}.
ὑπισχνεῖσθαι, iv. 105^{a}.
ὑποζώματα, Ext. 367^{a}.
ὑποκριτής, ii. 441^{b}.
ὑποτύπωσις, iii. 696^{b}.

φανός, iii. 43^{b}.
φαντασιασκοπῶν, ii. 65^{b}.
φάραγξ, iv. 845 f.
Φαρισαῖοι, iii. 826^{b}.
φάτνη, iii. 234^{a}.
φέγγος, iii. 44^{a}.
φιλαδελφία, i. 330^{a}; iii. 153^{b} n.
φιλανθρωπία, iii. 153^{b} n.
φοβούμενοι (σεβόμενοι) τὸν θεόν, iv. 134^{b}.
Φοινίκη, iii. 857^{a} n.
Φοῖνιξ, i. 347^{b}.
φόρος, iv. 813.
φορτίον, i. 331^{b}.
φρέαρ, iii. 885^{b}.
φυλακτήριον, iii. 869^{b}.
φυλή, Ext. 105^{b}.
φύσις, φυσικός, iii. 489^{b}, 495^{b}.
φῶς, iii. 44^{a}.
φωστήρ, iii. 44^{a}.
φωσφόρος, i. 574^{a}.

χαίρειν, ii. 263^{b}.
χαλινός, Ext. 366^{a}.
χαλκίον, ii. 41^{a}.
χάραγμα, iii. 244^{b}.
χαρακτήρ, ii. 451^{b}.
χαρίζεσθαι, ii. 57^{a}, 65^{b}.
χάρις, ii. 254 ff.
χιλιάρχης, i. 352^{b}.
χλωρός, iii. 640^{b}.
χολή, ii. 104^{b}.
χριστιανός, i. 384.
χωρίζειν, iii. 274^{a}.

ψαλμός, ii. 441^{a}; iv. 145 f.
ψαλτήριον, iii. 458^{a}, 460^{a}; iv. 145 f., 163^{b}.
ψεύδεσθαι (and cognates), iii. 112^{b}.
ψυχή, iii. 114^{b}, 116 f.; iv. 608^{b}, 612.
ψυχή and πνεῦμα, iv. 166 f.
ψυχικός, ii. 410^{a}; iii. 490^{a}.

ὥρα, Ext. 475^{b}, 476^{b}.

V. INDEX OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Agricultural Implements, etc.—
  1. Fan (Winnowing shovel) . i. 51^{a}.
  2. Fork . . . . . . i. 51^{a}.
  3. Ox-goad . . . . . i. 49^{b}.
  4. Plough (Modern Syrian). . i. 49^{b}.
  5. Sickle . . . . . . i. 50^{a}.
  6. Threshing-floor . . . i. 50.
  7. ,, machine . . i. 50^{b}.
  8. ,, waggon . . . i. 50^{b}.
  9. Yoke . . . . . . i. 51^{a}.
    [See also 'Hoe,' 'Mattock'].
Alphabet, Evolution of the Hebrew i. 71.
  ,, Moabite . . . . iii. 406^{a}.
Altar of Burnt-offering (in the Tabernacle) . . . . . . iv. 658^{a}.
Altar of Burnt-offering (in Ezekiel's Temple) . . . . . . iv. 70^{a}.
Amulets—
  1. 'Shield of David' or 'Solomon's Seal' . . . . . . i. 89.
  2. Extract from birth-amulet . ,,
  3. Breast-amulet . . . ,,
  4. Eye-amulet . . . . ,,
  5, 6. Cactus, and black or red hand-amulets . . . ,,
  7, 8. Amulets for nose and ears . ,,
Anklets . . . . . . i. 99^{b}.
Axes—
  1. Bronze (from Tell el-Hesy) . i. 206^{a}.
  2. Copper (,, ,,) . ,,
Assyrian king with Sceptre (Dog-River Inscriptions) . . . iv. 417.

Bags—
  1. Purse (*ẓĕrôr*) . . . . i. 232^{a}.
  2. Girdle-purse (ζώνη) . . . ,,
Balance beam . . . . . i. 234^{b}.
Battering-ram . . . . . i. 258^{b}.
Bells (Egyptian) . . . . i. 269^{a}.
Boat (Egyptian, *c.* 3500 B.C.) . . Ext. 362.
Bowls (buried) with Lamp . . iv. 26^{b}.
Brazen Pillar . . . . . iii. 880^{b}.
Brick Stamp (Egyptian) . . i. 326^{a}.

Carob tree . . . . . . ii. 439^{b}.
Carrier and Wine-skin . . . i. 621^{b}.
Cedar . . . . i. 364^{b}.
Cloaks—
  1. *Mĕʻîl*, στολή . . . . i. 625^{a}.
  2. *Simlah*, ἱμάτιον . . . i. 625^{b}.
Club, Shepherd's (*shēbeṭ*) . . iv. 291.
Coat (*kĕthōneth*) . . . . i. 624^{b}.

Codex, Greek Minuscule (10th cent.) . . . . iv. 953.
Codex, Greek Uncial (5th cent.) . iv. 952.
,, Hebrew Pentateuch (9th cent.) . . . . iv. 949.
Coins current in Palestine *c.* 500 B.C.–135 A.D. . . . . . iii., *between* pp. 424 and 425.

1. Persian gold daric.
2. Double shekel or octadrachm of Sidon.
3. Shekel or tetradrachm of Tyre.
4. Tetradrachm of Ptolemy.
5. Tetradrachm of Antiochus Epiphanes.
6. Small bronze of John Hyrcanus.
7. Small bronze of Alexander Jannæus.
8. Shekel or tetradrachm of Tyre.
9. Bronze coin of Herod the Great.
10. Bronze coin of Herod Antipas.
11. Bronze coin of Agrippa.
12. Small bronze (quadrans?) of Pontius Pilate.
13. Denarius of Tiberius.
14. Shekel of year 5 (A.D. 70).
15. Half-shekel of year 1 (A.D. 66–67).
16. Aureus of Tyre.
17. Drachm of Cæsarea Cappadocia, restruck.
18. Denarius of Trajan, restruck.
19. The original of No. 18.
20. Tetradrachm of Antioch, restruck as Jewish shekel.
21. Bronze coin of second revolt.

Cuneiform Tablet from Tel el-Amarna . . . . . . iv. 948.
Cypress . . . . ii. 9^{a}.

Dagger (Roman) . . . . . iv. 634^{a}.
Damascus City-gate (Entrance to Straight Street) . . . . . i. 446^{a}.
Daric . . . . See 'Coins,' No. 1.
Dead Sea (Physical features of) . i. 575^{b}.
Decoration (Jewish) . . . . i. 158^{a}.
Denarius . . . . See 'Coins,' Nos. 13 and 18.

Doors—
1. Doors of Lebanon Houses, showing pivots and lock . ii. 385^{a}.
2. Carved House-door of peasant's cottage (Mt. Lebanon) . ii. 432^{b}.
3. Egyptian Folding-door . . iv. 700^{b}.

Drachm . . . . See 'Coins,' No. 17.
Drawer of Water . . . . . i. 621^{b}.

Dress—
1. Cloaks—
   (*a*) *Mĕ'îl, στολή* . . i. 625^{a}.
   (*b*) *Simlah, ἱμάτιον* . . i. 625^{b}.
2. Coat (*kĕthōneth*) . . . i. 624^{b}, 626^{a}.
   ,, sheepskin . . . i. 625^{b}.
3. Fringes . . . . . . i. 627^{a}.
4. Girdle, with Inkhorn . . i. 626^{b}.
5. Head-dress (Male): (1) Pastoral, (2) Persian, (3) Syrian peasants' . . . . i. 626.
6. Horn (Female head-dress) . i. 627^{b}
7. Loin-cloth (Egyptian) . . i. 624.
8. Loins girt . . . . . i. 626^{b}.
9. *Ṣarbālîn* . . . . . i. 626^{a}.
10. Shirt (Syrian) . . . . i. 624.
11. Veils—
   (*a*) Face: (1) Syrian Moslem, (2) Egyptian, (3) Lebanon Druze . . i. 628.
   (*b*) Head and Back (*miṭpaḥath*) . . . i. 628^{a}.
   (*c*) Large veil (*rādîd*) . i. 628^{a}.

Drum (Hand-) . . . . . iii. 462^{b}.
Dulcimer (Assyrian) . . . . iii. 460^{a}.

Ear-rings . . . . i. 633^{b}.
Engraving—
1. Wood, ivory, and metal . . i. 704^{a}.
2. Jewish engraving of Temple and Mt. of Olives . . . iii. 874^{b}.

Eye-paint (Horn for) . . . . i. 814^{b}.

Fan (Winnowing shovel) . . . i. 51^{a}.
Folding-door (Egyptian) . . . iv. 700^{b}.
Fork (agricultural) . . . . i. 51^{a}.
Fringes . . . . i. 627^{a}.

Girdle, with Inkhorn . . . . i. 626^{b}.
Girdle-purse . . . . . . i. 232^{a}.
Girt loins . . . . i. 626^{b}.
Goad . . . . i. 49^{b}.
Gold daric . . . . . . See 'Coins,' No. 1.
Greek Minuscule Codex (10th cent.) iv. 953.
,, Papyrus Roll (late 1st cent.) iv. 951.
,, Uncial Codex (5th cent.) . iv. 952.

Hammers—
1. *Bîk* . . . . ii. 291^{b}.
2. *Mahaddi* . . . . . ii. 291^{a}.
3. Mason's *maṭraḳat* . . . ii. 291^{b}.
4. *Shaḥûṭah* or *minḥat* (Head of) ii. 291^{b}.
5. *Shaḳûf* . . . . . . ii. 291^{a}.

Hand-Drum (Assyrian) . . . . iii. 462^{b}.
Half-shekel . . . . . . See 'Coins,' No. 15.

Harps—
1. Assyrian Harp . . . . iii. 460^{b}.
2. Egyptian Harps . . . . iii. 460^{b}.
3. Harper and Choir (*c.* 3000 B.C.) iii. 459^{a}.
4. Priest playing Harp (Tomb of Ramses III.) . . . . . iii. 460^{a}.

Ḥatsepsu's Expedition to Punt (Ships of) . . . . . . Ext. 364.

Head-dress (Male): (1) Pastoral, (2) Persian, (3) Syrian peasants'. i. 626.
Head-dress (Female) i. 627^{b}.
Hebrew Alphabet, Evolution of the i. 71.
,, Pentateuch Codex (9th cent.) iv. 949.
High Place at Petra iv. 396^{a}.
Hoe iii. 306^{b}.
Holm oak ii. 401^{b}.
Horn (for eye-paint) i. 814^{b}.
,, (head-dress) i. 627^{b}.

Inkhorn i. 626^{b}.

Jar (Early pre-Israelite) iv. 26^{a}.
Jar-handle with Royal Stamp iv. 27^{a}.
Juniper ii. 8^{b}.

Kĕthōneth i. 624^{b}.
,, and *Ṣarbālîn* i. 626^{a}.
Key ii. 837^{a}.
Knife (stone, from Tell el-Hesy) iv. 633^{b}.

Lamps iii. 24; iv. 26^{b}, 27^{b}.
Ledge-handle (Early pre-Israelite) iv. 26^{b}.
Lock ii. 836^{b}.
'Lodge in a garden of cucumbers' i. 532^{a}.
Loin-cloth (Egyptian) i. 624.
Loins girt i. 626^{b}.
Lotus and Bud pattern (Egyptian) i. 158^{b}.
Lyres—
  1. Jewish Lyres iii. 459^{b}.
  2. Playing the lyre (Egyptian Middle Empire) iii. 458^{b}.

Machpelah (Ḥaram enclosure) iii. 201^{b}.
Mattock iii. 306^{a}.
Maẓẓēbah iii. 881^{b}.
Mill (Hand-) iii. 369^{b}.
Minuscule Greek Codex (10th cent.) iv. 953.
Moabite Alphabet iii. 406^{a}.
,, Stone iii. 405.
Musical Instruments—
  1. Dulcimer (Assyrian) iii. 460^{a}.
  2. Hand-drum (,,) iii. 462^{b}.
  3. Harps iii. 459^{a}, 460.
  4. Lyres iii. 458^{b}, 459^{b}.
  5. *Sistrum* (Egyptian) iv. 463^{a}.
  6. Trumpets iv. 462^{a}.
Muzzle (Modern Syrian) i. 303^{a}.
Octadrachm See 'Coins,' No. 2.
Ornaments (Female) iii. 633^{b}.
Ox-goad i. 49^{b}.

Painted Ware (Later pre-Israelite) iv. 26^{b}.
Papyrus Roll (Greek, late 1st cent.) iv. 951.
Petra, High Place at iv. 396^{a}.
Phylactery iii. 870^{a}.
Pillars—
  1. Brazen Pillar iii. 880^{b}.
  2. Twin Pillars in temple of Aphrodite at Paphos iii. 881^{a}.
  3. Phœnician *maẓẓēbah* iii. 881^{b}.
Plough (Modern Syrian) i. 49^{b}.
Porcupine i. 304^{b}.
Pot (Jewish Cooking-) iv. 27^{a}.
Pottery—
  1. Bowls (buried) with Lamp iv. 26^{b}.
  2. Jar (Early pre-Israelite) iv. 26^{a}.
  3. Lamp (Christian) iv. 27^{b}.
  4. Ledge-handle (Early pre-Israelite) iv. 26^{b}.
  5. Pot (Jewish Cooking-) iv. 27^{a}.
  6. Royal Stamp on Jar-handle iv. 27^{a}.
  7. Stamp of the Tenth Legion iv. 27^{b}.
Priest playing Harp (Tomb of Ramses III.) iv. 460^{a}.
Punt, Ships of Ḥatsepsu's Expedition to Ext. 364.
Purses i. 232^{a}.

Robe (*mĕʻîl, στολή*) i. 625^{a}.
Rods iv. 291.
Royal Stamp on Jar-handle iv. 27^{a}.

Sceptre iv. 417.
Sea (Brazen) iv. 424.
Sheepskin coat i. 625^{b}.
Shekel See 'Coins,' Nos. 3, 8, 14, 20.
,, (double) See 'Coins,' No. 2.
,, (half-) See 'Coins,' No. 15.
Shewbread, Table of (from Arch of Titus) iii. 462^{a}.
'Shield of David' (amulet) i. 89.
Ships and Boats—
  1. Boat (Egyptian, *c.* 3500 B.C.) Ext. 362.
  2. Sailing ship (Egyptian, *c.* 3600 B.C.) Ext. 361.
  3. Ships of Ḥatsepsu's Expedition to Punt, *c.* 1500 B.C. Ext. 364.
  4. War Galley of king Sennacherib Ext. 365.
Shirt (Syrian) i. 624.
Shōphār (Modern) iv. 462^{a}.
Sickle i. 50^{a}.
Sistrum (Egyptian) iii. 463^{a}.
'Solomon's Seal' (amulet) i. 89.
Staff—
  1. Shepherd's club (*shēbeṭ*) iv. 291.
  2. ,, staff (*mishʻeneth*) iv. 291.
  3. Common staff (*maṭṭeh, maḳḳēl,* or *mishʻeneth*) iv. 291.
Stamp, Egyptian Brick i. 326^{a}.
,, Royal on Jar-handle iv. 27^{a}.
,, Tenth Legion iv. 27^{b}.
Swaddling-clothes iv. 632^{b}.
Sycomore tree iv. 634^{b}.

Tabernacle—
  1. Altar of Burnt-offering iv. 658^{a}.
  2. Brazen Sea iv. 424.
  3. Court of iv. 657^{a}.
  4. Frame and its bases iv. 660^{a}.
  5. Model of iv. 661.

- Tablet, Cuneiform (from Tel el-Amarna) . . . . . . iv. 948.
- Temple—
  - *A*. Solomon's—
    - 1. Ground Plan of . . iv. 697.
    - 2. Pillar (Brazen) . . iii. 880^{b}.
    - 3. Plan of Royal Buildings iv. 695^{b}.
    - 4. Section from north to south . . . . . iv. 698.
  - *B*. Ezekiel's—
    - 1. Altar of Burnt-offering . iv. 70^{a}.
    - 2. An outer gate . . iv. 705^{a}.
    - 3. Ground Plan of . . iv. 704.
  - *C*. Herod's—
    - 1. Ground Plan of . . iv. 712.
    - 2. Inner Court . . . iv. 713.
    - 3. Table of Shewbread, and Trumpets (from Arch of Titus) . . . iii. 462^{a}.
- Tetradrachm . . . . . . See 'Coins,' Nos. 3, 4, 5, 8, 20.
- Threshing-floor . . . . . i. 50.
  - ,, machine . . . . i. 50^{b}.
  - ,, waggon . . . . i. 50^{b}.
- Trees—
  - 1. Carob . . . . . . ii. 439^{b}.
  - 2. Cedar . . . . . . i. 364^{b}.
  - 3. Cypress . . . . . . ii. 9^{a}.
  - 4. Holm Oak . . . . . ii. 401^{b}
  - 5. Juniper . . . . . . ii. 8^{b}.
  - 6. Sycomore . . . . . iv. 634^{b}.
- Trumpet—
  - 1. Modern *shōphār* . . . iii. 462^{a}.
  - 2. Trumpets on Arch of Titus . iii. 462^{a}.
- Turban of Oriental (Greek) Priest . i. 310^{b}.
- Uncial Greek Codex (5th cent.) . iv. 952.
- Universe, Semitic conception of the i. 503^{b}.
- Veils—
  - (*a*) Face: (1) Syrian Moslem, (2) Egyptian, (3) Lebanon Druze i. 628.
  - (*b*) Head and Back (*miṭpaḥath*) . i. 628^{a}.
  - (*c*) Large veil (*rādîd*) . . . i. 628^{a}.
- War Galley of Sennacherib . . Ext. 365.
- Wine-skin . . . . . . i. 621^{b}.
- Yoke . . . . i. 51^{a}.

VI. LIST OF MAPS

- Asia Minor (showing the Roads and the Provincial Boundaries about A.D. 50) . . . Ext. (*following* p. 400).
- Babylonia, Assyria, etc. . i. (*following* p. 176).
- Canaan (as divided among the Twelve Tribes) . iv. (*following* p. 1).
- East, The Ancient (showing the Roads connecting Palestine with the neighbouring countries) Ext. (*following* p. 368).
- Gad (sketch map) . . ii. 77.
- Jerusalem . . . ii. (*following* p. 600).
- Judah and Israel (Kingdoms of) . . . ii. (*following* p. 1).
- Melita (2 sketch maps) . iii. 336 f.
- Palestine . . . . i. (*following* p. 1).
- Palestine, Road System of (in OT) . . . . Ext. (*Frontispiece*).
- Roman Empire, Chief Routes of the . . Ext. (*following* p. 384).
- Sinai Peninsula and Canaan (illustrating the Exodus) . . . i. (*following* p. 802).
- Travels of St. Paul . . iii. (*following* p. 697).

the wise and righteous God, whose image lives on indelibly in his heart, and the enigmatical God of his trial, and appeals to the first for help against the second ($16^{18\text{ff.}}$). Nay, he has the adamantine assurance that God Himself will at the end arise for him, and bring his innocence to the light ($19^{25\text{ff.}}$). But, even though with all this he gradually silences the contradictions of the friends, he himself, in view of the enigmas that confront him, attains to no more than a painful renunciation of the hope of their solution. The moving delineation of his former happiness (ch. 29), of his present misery (ch. 30), and of his pious life (ch. 31), closes ($31^{35\text{ff.}}$) with the solemn demand addressed to God, to afford him the opportunity of defending his cause in a regular judicial trial.

And indeed Jahweh does appear ($38^{1\text{ff.}}$). But not, as Job had requested and hoped, to enter into a controversy with him,—anything of the kind had been utterly unworthy of Him,—but in order, by means of the tempest and with withering irony, to make him feel the absolute foolishness and childishness of what he expected from God. And the whole arrangement of the poem forbids us to doubt that only in these speeches of Jahweh (chs. 38-41), with their Divine irony, and nowhere else have we to seek the solution of the problem intended by the poet himself. In all conceivable simplicity it runs thus: God, who has made known His unfathomable omnipotence and wisdom in the multiform wonders of creation, and His goodness in His loving care for the animal world ($38^{41\text{ff.}}$), rules likewise over the fortunes of men, and here too all His action can flow only from wisdom and love, whether much or little of it be comprehensible by man.

It has been said that this is no solution of the problem, but a compulsory abandonment of it. But in both his answers ($40^{4\text{f.}}$ and $42^{3\text{ff.}}$) Job himself takes quite another view. He humbles himself to the very dust; not, however, in painful resignation, but in the elevating assurance that his God has acknowledged him, and that he must regard all the elements of his lot as evidences of an all-wise and loving will. While, then, the justification of Job as against the friends in the Epilogue, and the return of his prosperity, may only be meant to satisfy so-called 'poetic' justice, yet they were indispensable for the harmonious solution of all difficulties for the reader, who in the Prologue had been enlightened as to the innermost connexion of events.

All this of itself settles what we are to think of the Elihu-speeches. They are the work of a reader of the original poem, who felt dissatisfied that the speeches of Job, dubious in part, and almost bordering on blasphemy, should not have received a more stringent refutation. This lack the author of the Elihu-speeches seeks to supply, and does so by explaining the suffering of Job as *purificatory*, designed for the purging out of the sins of pride and self-righteousness which clung to him. In themselves many of this author's ideas are beautiful and good. But as a professed solution of the problem they are irreconcilably opposed to the presuppositions of the original poem.

3. *Ecclesiastes* (*the Preacher*).—(*a*) It is not without hesitation that we enumerate Ecclesiastes as one of the creations of the *Ḥokhmāh* literature; for it is only in a very relative sense that it can be treated in the same series as Proverbs and Job. The original portions of the book,[*] at all events, stand on the extreme periphery of OT faith; and of a hope for the future, be it for the nation or the individual, they exhibit not a trace. The Preacher shows himself to be dominated by a dark, almost pessimistic, tone of feeling. The history of his nation obviously appears to him like an extinct volcano. He does not touch upon it even in a single word; the cheerless conditions of the present alone occupy his mind, together with the prospect of the cheerless end, identical for all. The thesis of which he makes a headline—'vanity of vanities, all is vanity'—recurs again and again even in the course of his argument. Everywhere he sees things in restless revolution, ending in nothing profitable ($1^{4\text{ff.}}$); there is no new thing under the sun ($1^{9\text{f.}}$). Vain is the pursuit of riches and pleasure, even when it rests upon industrious labour ($2^{1\text{ff.}}$). But vain also is the pursuit of wisdom ($1^{13\text{ff.}}$ $6^{8\text{ff.}}$ 7^{23}), for he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow (1^{18}). Wise men and fools have ultimately the same destiny ($2^{14\text{ff.}}$ $9^{2\text{f.}}$). Nay, vain is even the pursuit of piety (4^{17} [5^{1}] 7^{15} $8^{10.\,14}$); it does not change the fact that man and beast at last go to the one place ($3^{19\text{ff.}}$), to the joyless *Shĕ'ōl* and everlasting oblivion. The attempt by means of mistaken exegesis to foist upon the Preacher a hope of immortality has completely failed. Passages like 3^{20} $9^{4\text{ff.}\ 10\text{b}}$, 'there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in the grave, whither thou goest,' admit of no doubt as to his real opinion. Even in 3^{21} the sense of the doubting question[*] is not to ask whether the spirit of man as immortal returns to God, but whether a difference between the breath of man and of beast exists so far that the latter, it may be, goes downward to the earth, but the former upward—not in any sense as self-conscious spirit, but (exactly as in 12^{7}) as once more re-entering the universal Divine life-spirit, from which it had once come forth. The expectation of a future judgment can at most be found in the closing verse ($12^{13\text{f.}}$), 'fear God, and keep His commandments: for this pertains to all men. For God shall bring every work into the judgment which tries every hidden thing, whether it be good or whether it be evil.' But it is certain that this epilogue (from v.^{9} onwards) does not belong to the work of the original author. For the folly and injustice which manifest themselves everywhere in the course of the world (3^{16} $4^{1\text{ff.}}$), that author knows no consolation other than the possibility of securing, by means of a rational enjoyment of life, the relatively best side of what is in every respect a mournful earthly existence. This is the counsel he is never weary of giving (2^{24} $3^{12\text{f.}\ 22}$ 5^{17} 8^{15} $9^{7\text{ff.}}$ 11^{8}), not in the sense of vulgar Epicureanism, but still from the standpoint of a man who has made up his mind about the value of all other earthly goods and aims.

What preserved him from vulgar godless Epicureanism is the fact that even he had retained one important relic of the believing treasures of his people, viz. the kernel of the OT conception of God. All his scepticism and all his pessimism had not impaired his faith in a personal God who is at the same time the God of the whole world.* He does not really doubt even the wisdom and justice of this God: 'He hath made everything beautiful in its time, yet so that man cannot find out the work that God hath done from the beginning to the end' ($3^{11.14}$ 8^{17}). What pains the Preacher is this, that comforting insight into the enigmas of the world, for which in view of God's wisdom and justice there must be a solution, is for ever forbidden to man.

---

[*] The very striking contradictions in the statements of the Preacher (cf. for example $7^{11\text{ff.}\ 19}$ 8^{1} $9^{17\text{f.}}$ 10^{12}, with expressions used elsewhere regarding the worth of wisdom $1^{13\text{ff.}\ 18}$ $6^{8\text{ff.}}$ 7^{23}; or again $5^{7\text{-}16}$ $7^{1\text{ff.}}$ with the opinions he expresses as to the injustice that dominates the course of the world 3^{16} $4^{1\text{ff.}}$; as also $8^{10.\,14}$ on the worth of piety with v.$^{11\text{ff.}}$) have long been noticed and explained, sometimes in mechanical fashion (by supposing a dialogue between the doubting scholar and the didactic master, or even by the hypothesis that parts of the MS have got out of order), sometimes from the character of a mind tossed hither and thither by doubt. The present writer, however, is now convinced that C. Siegfried was on the right track when (in his Commentary on Ecclesiastes, Göttingen, 1898) he argued in favour of a number of successive hands, which from very divergent standpoints sought to supplement, to correct, or even in many places expressly to refute, the judgments of their predecessors. Siegfried's analysis may in part be needlessly artificial, since he postulates first a pessimist (Q[oheleth]^{1}) infected with Greek philosophy, then an epicurean glossator belonging to Sadducean circles (Q^{2}), next a 'wise' man who defends wisdom (Q^{3}), and, finally, one of the 'pious' (*ḥāsid*, Q^{4}), who defends the justice of the Divine government of the world, together with two further glossators—yet in the main his theory is a sound one.

[*] According to the correct text (הָעֹלָה and הַיֹּרֶדֶת; the MT has been corrected on dogmatic grounds, so as to express the hope of immortality).

(*b*) We can well understand that the reception of Ecclesiastes into the canon should have awakened serious doubts, even as late as the 1st cent. A.D. Nevertheless, we have cause to thank the editors of the canon for having suppressed these doubts (perhaps on account of the conciliatory epilogue). By doing so they have bequeathed to us a priceless evidence that those of Israel who to this day believe that God's last word to humanity was spoken in the revelations and institutions of the Old Covenant, are in error. Having once perceived the insufficiency of all works of the Law and renounced belief in the trustworthiness of his own wisdom, the Preacher could find solace and support only in faith in redress beyond this life. But of such a faith, so far as the individual was concerned, the religion of his people knew nothing, and to be pointed to the Messianic future of the nation as a whole evidently appeared to him but a dubious substitute. In all this he affords a proof that this religion called for supplement and completion—a completion which came in the fulness of time through Christ, who is the end of the Law.

Literature.—The older works on Biblical Theology and on the History of the Religion of Israel may be all the more readily passed over, since they are almost without exception based upon incorrect critical principles—a blemish which attaches, indeed, even to some of the more recent works cited below. The view which once held sway, namely, that the beginnings of the Religion of Israel as well as of its codification are to be sought in P, gives so completely false a picture of the development of this religion, that in such works it is at most only the treatment of neutral points (where the question of gradual development does not arise) that can have any value. The foundation of a true knowledge of the subject was laid by E. Reuss in 1833 (in theses for his students) and in 1850 (in his art. 'Judenthum' in the so-called *Hallesche Encyklopädie* of Ersch and Gruber); and, independently of Reuss, by W. Vatke in *Die biblische Theologie wissenschaftlich dargestellt*, vol. i. 'Die Religion des AT nach den canonischen Büchern entwickelt,' Berlin, 1835.—In what follows we distinguish the following branches of literature on our subject—

I. Works dealing with the History of Religion in general, in which the treatment of the Religion of Israel is included.—C. P. Tiele, *Vergelijkende Geschiedenis van den Godsdienst* [Dutch, 1876 (2nd ed. 1894), French, 1882], and the same author's *Geschiedenis van den Godsdienst en de Oudheit*, 2 vols. 1896 ff. [Germ. tr. by Gehrich, 1896–1903], and *Inleiding tot de Godsdienstwetenshap*, Amsterdam, 1897, 1899, 2 parts [German tr. by Gehrich, Gotha, 1899, 1901]; Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*^{2} [in collaboration with Buckley, Lange, Fr. Jeremias, Valeton (whose account of the Religion of Israel is amongst the best parts of the work), Houtsman, Lehmann], Freiburg i. B. 1897, 2 vols.; C. von Orelli, *Allgemeine Religionsgeschichte*, Bonn, 1899.

II. Works on the History of Semitic Religion, which take account of the OT parallels.—See above, p. 612^{b}, and add: Père Lagrange, *Études sur les religions sémitiques*, Paris, 1903.

III. Works on Biblical Theology or on the History of the Religion of the OT.—A. Kuenen, *De Godsdienst van Israël tot den ondergang van den Joodschen staat* [Dutch, Haarlem, 1869–1870, 2 vols.; Eng. tr. by May, London, 1874, 1875, 3 vols.]; H. Schultz, *Alttest. Theologie*, Braunschweig, 1869 [5th ed. Göttingen, 1896]; G. F. Oehler, *Theologie des AT, herausgegeben von Herm. Oehler*, Tübingen, 1873, 1874, 2 vols. [3rd ed. by Theodor Oehler, Stuttgart, 1891]; A. Kayser, *Die Theologie des AT in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung, herausgegeben von E. Reuss*, Strassburg, 1886 [the 3rd edition of 1897 was completely revised by K. Marti and published as *Geschichte der israelitischen Religion* (4th edition 1903)]; Ch. Piepenbring, *Théologie de l'ancien Testament*, Paris, 1886 [intended also for educated laymen]; W. L. Alexander, *System of Biblical Theology*, Edinburgh, 1888, 2 vols.; Ed. Riehm, *Alttest. Theologie, herausgegeben von K. Pahncke*, Halle, 1889; K. Schlottmann, *Kompendium der bibl. Theologie des AT und NT, herausgegeben von E. Kühn*, Leipzig, 1889 [2nd ed. 1895]; R. Smend, *Lehrbuch der alttest. Religionsgeschichte*, Freiburg and Leipzig, 1893 [2nd ed. 1899]; A. Dillmann, *Handbuch der alttest. Theologie, aus dem Nachlass des Verfassers herausgegeben von R. Kittel*, Leipzig, 1895; W. H. Bennett, *The Theology of the OT*, London, 1896; T. K. Cheyne, *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*, New York, 1898 [German tr., with the assistance throughout of the author, by H. Stocks, Giessen, 1899]; A. Duff, *OT Theology, or History of Hebrew Religion*, London, 1891, 2 vols., and the same author's *History and Ethics of the Hebrews*, London, 1902; A. B. Davidson, *The Theology of the OT* [postbumous work, ed. by S. D. F. Salmond], Edinburgh, 1904; K. Budde, *Religion of Israel to the Exile*, New York, 1899 [German edition under title 'Die Religion des Volkes Israel bis zur Verbannung,' Giessen, 1900]. This sketch of Budde's is designed for a wider circle of readers, and so is F. Giesebrecht's *Die Grundzüge der israelitischen Religionsgeschichte*, Leipzig and Berlin, 1904.

IV. The more considerable Monographs (supplementary of the literature cited in the footnotes at the commencement of different sections of the above article).—F. Baethgen, *Beiträge zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* (i. 'Der Gott Israels und die Götter der Heiden,' Berlin, 1888); E. Sellin, *Beiträge zur israelitischen und jüdischen Religionsgeschichte* (i. 'Jahwes Verhältnis zum israelitischen Volk und Individuum nach altisraelitischer Vorstellung,' Leipzig, 1896; ii. 'Israels Güter und Ideale,' 1897); J. Köberle, *Natur und Geist nach der Auffassung des AT: eine Untersuchung zur historischen Psychologie*, München, 1901.

E. Kautzsch.

TABLE OF CONTENTS OF ABOVE ARTICLE.

Introduction, p. 612^{a}.
I. Traces of a pre-Mosaic Religion of Israel, pp. 613^{a}–624^{a}.
  i. *Conception of the Deity*, etc., pp. 613^{a}–618^{a}.
    1. Totemism: existence in Israel not proved, p. 613.
    2. Animism and Ancestor Worship: the evidence for the latter insufficient, p. 614 f.
    3. *Numina loci*: sacred stones (*maẓẓēbôth*), p. 616^{a}; trees, p. 616^{a}; springs, p. 616^{b}.
    4. Supposed traces that Polytheism once prevailed in Israel, p. 616^{b} ff.
  ii. *Forms of Worship, and other Rites and Usages*, pp. 618^{a}–624^{a}.
    1. Sacrifice: gifts to the Deity, p. 618^{a}; sacramental communion between the Deity and the worshipper, p. 618^{b}; importance attached to the blood, p. 618^{b}; human sacrifice, p. 618^{b}; the ratifying of a covenant by passing between the pieces of a dismembered animal, p. 619^{a}; the *ḥērem* or ban, p. 619^{b}; the altar and its horns, p. 620^{a}.
    2. The *maẓẓēbāh* and the *'ăshērāh*, p. 620.
    3. Ritual practices: walking barefoot in sacred places, p. 621^{a}; washing the person and the clothes before approaching the presence of the Deity, p. 621^{a}.
    4. No record of priests in pre-Jahwistic times, p. 621^{a}.
    5. The sacral body, p. 621^{a}.
    6. Periodical festivals: New Moon, p. 621^{b}; Passover, p. 621^{b}; *Maẓẓôth*, p. 622^{a}; sheep-shearing, p. 622^{b}
    7. Course of procedure at festivals, p. 622^{b}.
    8. Circumcision, p. 622^{b}, and Blood-revenge, p. 623^{a}.
Summary, p. 623^{b}.
  iii. *Moral Conditions*, p. 623^{b}.
II. Founding of the Religion of Israel (Jahwism) by Moses at Sinai, pp. 624^{a}–634^{b}.
  i. *The Person of Moses as the Founder of the Jahweh Religion*, pp. 624^{b}–625^{a}.
    1. Question of the historicity of the traditions regarding the life of Moses, p. 624^{b}; his claim to be the organ of a special revelation, p. 624^{b}.
    2. Paucity of references to Moses outside the Hexateuch, and especially to his work as the founder of a religion, p. 625^{a}.
  ii. *Jahweh Proclaimed by Moses as the God of Israel*, pp. 625^{a}–629^{b}.
    1. Moses' view of Jahweh only henotheistic, not monotheistic, p. 625^{a}.
    2. Derivation of the name 'Jahweh,' p. 625^{b}.
    3. Source of Moses' knowledge of Jahweh: the Kenite hypothesis, p. 626^{b}.
    4. Human form attributed to Jahweh, p. 627^{b}.
    5. The *Nĕḥushtān*, p. 628^{a}.
    6. The sacred Ark, p. 628^{a}.

---

* This faith is indicated by the very fact that the Divine name 'Jahweh' is consistently replaced by the appellative *'Ĕlōhîm* (as almost everywhere in the 2nd and 3rd books of the Psalter, very frequently in Chron., and generally in the latest Scriptures). It is true that the influence of awe at the use of the sacred name also had to do with this result; but, on the other hand, this complete equating of 'Jahweh' and *'Ĕlōhîm* affords a proof that the faith of Israel had now finally decided on the absolutely unique character of Jahweh.

iii. *THE ESSENTIAL CHARACTER OF JAHWISM AS THE RELIGION OF ISRAEL*, pp. 629^b–632^b.
  1. Misuse of the term 'theocracy,' p. 629^b f.
  2. The *bĕrîth* at Sinai, p. 630^b; its historical character, p. 631^a; ethical henotheism implied in it, p. 632^a.
iv. *THE STAMP OF JAHWISM ON OUTWARD ORDINANCES IN THE TIME OF MOSES*, pp. 632^b–634^b.
  1. Difficulty of holding that any exclusive priestly order was instituted by Moses, p. 633^a.
  2. The Passover the only religious festival, p. 633^b.
  3. Custom the ruling factor in social life, p. 633^b.
  4. Is the Decalogue in any form Mosaic?, p. 633^b.

III. THE RELIGION OF ISRAEL IN CANAAN IN THE PRE-PROPHETIC PERIOD, pp. 634^b–671^a.
 i. *THE SOURCES*, p. 634^b.
 ii. *CONCEPTION OF GOD*, pp. 635^a–644^b.
  1. Henotheism, not Monotheism, still the standpoint, p. 635^b.
  2. Jahweh the God of Israel, and Israel the people of Jahweh, p. 635^b.
   (*a*) Jahweh as the war-God, p. 635^b.
   (*b*) The *ḥerem* executed in honour of Jahweh, p. 636^a.
   (*c*) The name *Jahweh Ẓĕbā'ôth*, 'Jahweh of Hosts,' variously explained of (α) hosts of 'demons,' p. 636^b; (β) heavenly hosts, *i.e.* angels, p. 636^b; (γ) the earthly hosts of Israel. Objections to this last view repelled, p. 636^b f. *Jahweh Ẓĕbā'ôth* is specially the war-God as represented by the sacred Ark, p. 637^a; (δ) later use of the title to express the supramundane power and glory of Jahweh, p. 637^b.
  3. Distinction between the real being of Jahweh and His manifestations, p. 637^b.
   (*a*) The 'angel of Jahweh,' p. 638^a.
   (*b*) ,, 'face ,, ,, ,' p. 639^a.
   (*c*) ,, 'glory ,, ,, ,' p. 639^b.
   (*d*) ,, 'name ,, ,, ,' p. 640^b.
  4. Images of Jahweh, p. 641^b.
   (*a*) The *peṣel*, p. 641^b.
   (*b*) ,, *'ēphôd*, p. 641^b.
   (*c*) ,, *tĕrāphîm*, p. 642^b.
   (*d*) Jeroboam's golden bulls, p. 643^a.
  5. Angels and half-mythological figures, p. 643^a.
   (*a*) *Bĕnê 'ĕlōhîm, mal'ākh*, p. 643^a f.
   (*b*) Seraphim, p. 643^b.
   (*c*) Cherubim, p. 644^a.
 iii. *SYNCRETISM BETWEEN JAHWEH AND THE CANAANITE BAAL. DEFEAT OF BAAL THROUGH JAHWEH'S BEING FINALLY LOCALIZED IN CANAAN, AND COMING TO BE CONCEIVED OF AS GOD OF HEAVEN*, pp. 644^b–648^a.
  1. Circumstances which tended to involve Israel in the cult of the Canaanite Baal, p. 645^a.
  2. Unhistorical character of the religious conditious sketched by the Deuteronomic redactor of the Books of Kings, p. 645^b.
  3. Causes which led finally to the superseding of religious syncretism by the exclusive worship of Jahweh, p. 645^b.
   (*a*) Localizing of Jahweh in Canaan, p. 646^a.
   (*b*) Conception of Jahweh as enthroned in heaven, p. 646^b.
  4. Introduction of the cult of the Tyrian Baal by Jezebel and 'Athaliah, p. 647^a.
 iv. *THE ORGANS OF GENUINE JAHWISM: PRIESTS, PROPHETS, NAZIRITES AND RECHABITES, 'JUDGES' AND KINGS*, pp. 648^a–661^a.
  1. **Priests**, pp. 648^a–650^b.
   1. Scanty traces of a priesthood in the pre-Prophetic period, p. 648^a.
   2. Eli and his descendants. Meaning of 1 S 2$^{27ff.}$, p. 648^b.
   3. Spiritual and religious significance of the priesthood during this period, p. 649^a.
  2. **Prophets**, pp. 650^b–657^a.
   1. Relics in Jahwism of semi-magical practices, p. 650^b.
   2. The 'seer' (רֹאֶה or חֹזֶה): Moses, Balaam, Deborah, Samuel, Gad, p. 651^a.
   3. The 'prophet' (נָבִיא). The *nĕbî'îm* of early times quite different from the later Jahweh prophets, p. 652^b ff.
   4. Forerunners of the 'prophets' proper: Gad, Nathan, Aḥijah of Shiloh, Jehu ben-Ḥanani, p. 653^b.
   5. Prophetism strongly developed in the Northern kingdom in the 9th century: (*a*) Elijah, p. 654^a; (*b*) Elisha, p. 655^a; (*c*) Micaiah ben-Imlah, p. 656^a.
   6. The *nĕbî'îm* associated with Elijah and Elisha, p. 656^b.
  3. **Nazirites**, pp. 657^a–659^a.
   1. Original sense of the word *nāzîr*, p. 657^a.
   2. Three restrictions connected with the Nazirate, p. 657^b.
   3. The Nazirate of Samson, p. 657^b.
   4. The Nazirate in Am 2$^{11f.}$, p. 658^a.
   5. The Nazirate in Nu 6, p. 658^b.
  4. **Rechabites**, p. 659.
   1. Testimony of 2 K 10$^{15f.}$, p. 659^a.
   2. ,, ,, Jer 35, p. 659^a.
   3. Religious significance of the Rechabite mode of life, p. 659^a.
  5. **'Judges'** and **kings**, p. 659^b f.
   1. The spirit of Jahweh in the 'judges,' p. 659^b.
   2. ,, ,, ,, imparted to kings by *anointing*, p. 659^b.
   3. Favourable estimate of the monarchy in the early sources, p. 660^b.
 v. *CULTUS AND MANNERS*, pp. 661^a–665^a.
  1. The 'high places' (*bāmôth*), p. 661^a.
  2. Sacrifice the central feature of the cultus, p. 661^a.
  3. Festivals: (*a*) the Sabbath, p. 662^a; (*b*) the New Moon, p. 662^a; (*c*) the three regular annual festivals—Unleavened Bread, Weeks, Harvest, p. 662^a. Joyous character of the ancient festivals, p. 662^b.
  4. Consulting the oracle: Urim and Thummim, p. 662^b.
  5. Custom closely connected with religion, as the ruling force in morals, p. 663^a.
  6. The stories of the patriarchs the truest reflexion of the manners and morals of this period, p. 663^b.
  7. Examination of the alleged indifference of the early sources to moral aberrations on the part of the chosen people, p. 664^a.
  8. Elevated morality of the Book of the Covenant, p. 664^b. Comparison with Code of Ḫammurabi, p. 665^a.
 vi. *ANTHROPOLOGY AND THEORY OF THE UNIVERSE (WELTANSCHAUUNG)*, pp. 665^a–671^a.
  1. Man's personality, p. 665^a.
   (*a*) The seat of life: breath, blood, p. 665^a.
   (*b*) Origin of life traced to God, p. 665^b.
   (*c*) Distinction between human and animal life, p. 666^a.
   (*d*) 'Traducianism,' not 'Creationism,' doctrine of OT, p. 666^a.
   (*e*) The flesh not regarded as the seat of sin, p. 666^b.
   (*f*) *Nephesh* and *rûaḥ*, p. 666^b.
  2. Man's destiny, p. 667^a.
   (*a*) Story of Paradise and of the Fall, p. 667^b.
   (*b*) Conception of *Shĕ'ōl*, p. 668^a.
  3. Origin of the world, p. 669^b.
   (*a*) The Jahwistic story of Creation, p. 669^b.
   (*b*) The question of how far the influence of Babylonian myths is traceable in the OT: (α) story of the Deluge undoubtedly based on a Babylonian archetype, p. 670^a; (β) supposed OT allusions to Marduk's conflict with Tiāmat, p. 670^a; (γ) attempts to assign a mythological sense to the vessels of Solomon's temple, p. 671^a.

IV. THE PERIOD OF THE WRITING PROPHETS, DOWN TO THE EXILE, pp. 671^a–701^b.
 i. *THE SOURCES*, p. 671^a ff.; (*a*) exclusively *religious* aims of the Prophetical literature, p. 671^b; (*b*) lack of the idea of 'literary property,' p. 671^b.
 ii. *NAME AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE WRITING PROPHETS*, pp. 672^a–675^b.
  1. 'Prophets' and 'seers,' p. 672^a.
  2. The prophetic 'call,' p. 672^b.
  3. Prophetic ecstasy, p. 673^a.
  4. Examination of the 'cataleptic theory,' p. 673^a.
  5. The 'vision,' p. 673^b.
  6. General and special inspiration, p. 673^b.
  7. The subjects of prophetic announcement, p. 674^b.
  8. The prophetic ministry discharged without fee, p. 674^b.
  9. Oracles against foreign peoples, p. 675^a.
  10. Conditional character of prophecy, p. 675^a.
 iii. *THE FORMS OF DIVINE REVELATION TO THE PROPHETS*, pp. 675^a–676^b.
  1. The 'word,' p. 675^b.
  2. The 'vision,' p. 675^b. Sometimes only a literary device, p. 676^a.
   (*a*) The vision of Isaiah, p. 676^a.
   (*b*) Visions of Amos and Jeremiah, p. 676^a.
   (*c*) ,, ,, Ezekiel, p. 676^a.
   (*d*) ,, ,, Zechariah, p. 676^b.
 iv. *THE FORMS OF THE PROPHETIC MESSAGE*, pp. 676^b–678^b.
  1. The 'word': difference between actual address and form finally committed to writing, p. 676^b.
  2. Devices of style adopted for purpose of heightening the effect of the address, p. 677^a.
  3. Symbolical actions: (*a*) in Isaiah, p. 677^b; (*b*) in Jeremiah, p. 677^b; (*c*) in Ezekiel, p. 678^a; (*d*) in Zechariah, p. 678^b.
 v. *THE CONTENTS OF THE PROPHETIC MESSAGE*, pp. 678^b–697^b.
  1. The conception of God, p. 678^b.
   (*a*) The Person of God, p. 679^a.
   (*b*) Angels no longer mediate between God and man, p. 679^b.
   (*c*) Polemic against images of Jahweh, p. 679^b.

    (d) The solity of Jahweh, p. 680^a.
    (e) Attributes of Jahweh: (α) holiness, p. 681^a; (β) omnipotence, p. 683^b; (γ δ) omnipresence and omniscience, p. 684^a; (ε) love, goodness, mercy, p. 684^a.
  2. Relation of Jahweh to Israel, p. 684^b.
    (a) The OT conception of the Fatherhood of God, p. 684^b.
    (b) The election of Israel, p. 684^b.
    (c) The Divine jealousy, p. 685^a.
    (d) Jahweh's guidance and protection of Israel, p. 685^a.
    (e) Jahweh's demands upon Israel: (α) the Prophetic view of sacrifice and other external services, p. 685^a; (β) specifically ethical character of the duties enjoined, p. 687^a ff.; trust in God and love to man, p. 687^b; the Deuteronomic legislation characterized, p. 687^b f.; (γ) the Prophetic view of the capabilities of human nature, the forgiveness of sin, and retribution, p. 688^b f.
  3. Relation of the people to Jahweh, p. 689^b. Israel's failure to realize the Divine ideal, p. 689^b.
    (a) Idolatry, and false worship of Jahweh, p. 690^a.
    (b) Mistaken notions about the character of Jahweh, p. 690^b.
    (c) Low state of morals, p. 690^b.
  4. Attitude of the Prophets to the corrupt moral condition of the people, p. 691^a. Were the pre-exilic prophets messengers of woe only?, p. 691^a.
    (a) The position of Amos, p. 691^b. The 'Day of the Lord,' p. 691^b.
    (b) ,, ,, Hosea, p. 692^a.
    (c) ,, ,, Isaiah, p. 692^b.
    (d) ,, ,, Micah, p. 693^b.
    (e) ,, ,, Jeremiah, p. 693^b.
  5. The so-called 'Messianic prophecy,' p. 694^b.
    (a) Meaning of the term, p. 694^b. Questions of authenticity and literary criticism, p. 695^a.
    (b) Messianic prophecies in the narrower sense: (α) Is 7^{14}, p. 695^a; (β) Is 9^{1-6} and 11^{1-9}, p. 695^b; (γ) Mic $5^{1ff.}$, p. 696^a; (δ) Jer $23^{5ff.}$, p. 696^a.
    (c) Messianic prophecies in the wider sense: (α) Is 7^3, p. 696^b; (β) Hos $2^{20.\,23f.}$, p. 696^b; (γ) Zeph 3^{11-13}, p. 697^a; (δ) Jer $12^{14ff.}$, p. 697^a; (ε) Jer 31^{31-34}, p. 697^a.

vi. *The external course of development of the Religion of Israel during the period of pre-exilic Prophecy*, pp. 697^b–701^b.
  1. Features common to the Northern and Southern kingdoms, p. 697^b.
  2. Points of difference, p. 698^a.
  3. Circumstances that heightened the religious prestige of Judah, p. 698^b.
  4. Influence of Isaiah and his disciples, p. 698^b.
  5. The time of Manasseh. *Lacuna* in the Prophetical succession, p. 699^b.
  6. Ẓephaniah's account of the religious and moral conditions of his time, p. 700^a.
  7. Jeremiah's work, p. 700^b. Ḥilkiah's discovery of Deuteronomy, and its results, p. 700^b f. Bitter experiences of Jeremiah, p. 701^a.

V. Ezekiel, pp. 701^b–705^b.
  1. Ezekiel's relation to the Priests' Code, p. 701^a.
  2. Conception of God, p. 701^a.
  3. Israel's relation to Jahweh, p. 702^a. Responsibility of the individual, p. 702^a.
  4. Ezekiel's denunciations of Israel's 'idolatry,' including (a) improper worship of Jahweh, p. 702^a; (b) alliances with the heathen, p. 702^b.
  5. Judah's guilt more heinous than Israel's, p. 702^b.
  6. Special charges against Jerusalem, p. 702^b. The approaching judgment, p. 702^b.
  7. A remnant to be saved, p. 703^a.
  8. The Messianic element in Ezekiel, p. 703^b.
  9. Threatenings against foreign nations, p. 703^b.
  10. The onslaught of Gog, and his destruction, p. 704^a.
  11. Ezk 40-48, pp. 704^a–705^b.
    (a) One underlying idea—the conserving of the holiness of God, p. 704^a.
    (b) The regulations about the temple and the city, p. 704^b.
    (c) Partition of the land, p. 704^b.
    (d) The temple spring, p. 704^b.
    (e) The festivals, p. 704^b.
    (f) Pre-eminence accorded to the Ẓadokite priests, p. 705^a.
    (g) Special function of the priests to teach the distinction between holy and profane, clean and unclean, p. 705^a.
    (h) The *nāsi* or 'prince,' p. 705^a.
    (i) Ezekiel's intentions as to the fulfilment of his programme, p. 705^b.

VI. The so-called Deutero-Isaiah, pp. 705^b–708^b.
  1. The critical question, p. 705^b.
  2. Lofty viewpoint of Deutero-Isaiah, p. 706^a.
  3. Conception of God, p. 706^a.
  4. Power of the prophetic 'word,' p. 706^b.
  5. God's purpose with Israel, p. 706^b.
  6. Cyrus the Divine instrument of Israel's deliverance, p. 707^a. The future of Israel, p. 707^a. Is $41^{15f.}$, $49^{22f.}$, p. 707^a.
  7. The Servant of Jahweh, p. 707^a.

VII. Remaining exilic Prophecies, post-exilic Prophecy, and the beginnings of Apocalyptic, pp. 708^b–715^a.
  i. *The Sources*, p. 708^b.
  ii. *Historical background*, p. 709^a.
  iii. *Conception of God, and Ethics*, p. 709^b.
  iv. *The Cultus*, p. 710^a.
  v. *Eschatology*, pp. 710^b–715^a.
    1. Men's thoughts turned to the future through the hardships of the present, p. 710^b.
    2. The 'Day of the Lord,' p. 710^b.
    3. Destruction of Israel's enemies, and restoration of Israel, p. 711^a.
    4. Prophecies in which particularism is more or less overcome, p. 711^b.
    5. Special blessings reserved for the new Jerusalem, p. 712^a.
    6. Traces of 'legal' religion, p. 712^b.
    7. Messianic expectations, p. 713^a.
    8. Approaches to apocalyptic, p. 713^b.
    9. Apocalyptic proper. The Book of Daniel, p. 714^a.

VIII. The Priests' Code (P), pp. 715^a–723^b.
  i. *The Sources*, p. 715^a.
  ii. *Conception of God*, p. 715^b.
    1. The Creation narrative, p. 715^b.
    2. Avoidance of anthropomorphisms, p. 715^b.
    3. The Divine image and its results, p. 715^b.
  iii. *The Regulations of the Theocracy*, pp. 716^a–722^b.
    1. The *bĕrîth* with Noah, p. 716^a.
    2. ,, ,, Abraham, p. 716^a.
    3. ,, at Sinai, p. 716^b.
    4. The Ceremonial Law, pp. 716^b–722^b.
      (a) Holy places, p. 717^a: (α) The Tent of Meeting, p. 717^a; (β) Priestly and Levitical cities, p. 717^b; (γ) the Sabbatical year and thc year of jubile, p. 717^b.
      (b) Holy times (festivals), p. 718^a.
      (c) Holy persons: (α) Israel the special possession of Jahweh, p. 718^b; (β) the organization of the priesthood, p. 719^a; (γ) the Levites, p. 719^b; (δ) the Nazirites, p. 720^a.
      (d) Holy property: (α) meaning and efficacy of sacrifice, p. 720^a; the *sĕmîkhāh*, p. 720^b. The question of a *satisfactio vicaria*, p. 720^b. The presenting of the blood, p. 721^a. (β) The various kinds of sacrifice: (i.) the sin-offering and the guilt-offering, p. 721^a; (ii.) the burnt-offering, p. 721^b; (iii.) the meal-offerings, p. 722^a.
    5. The ethical system of P, p. 722^b.

IX. The religious Lyric and Elegiac poetry (Books of Psalms and Lamentations), pp. 723^b–728^a.
  1. Conception of God, p. 724^a.
    (a) Generally exalted notion of the Divine being, p. 724^a.
    (b) One apparent limitation, p. 724^a.
    (c) The *bĕnê 'ĕlōhîm*, p. 724^a.
    (d) The Divine attributes, p. 724^b.
  2. Anthropology outside the sphere of Jahwism proper p. 725^a.
  3. Nature and history of the Theocracy, p. 725^b.
  4. The theocratic institutions, p. 725^b.
  5. The character of the religion of the Psalms, p. 725^b.
    (a) A life of prayer, p. 726^a.
    (b) Dependence on, and trust in, God, p. 726^a.
  6. Morality, p. 726^b. The 'imprecatory psalms,' p. 726^b.
  7. The doctrine of retribution, p. 726^b.
  8. Messianic expectations, p. 727^a.
  9. The question of personal immortality, p. 728^a.

X. The so-called Ḥokhmāh (Wisdom) Literature (Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes), pp. 728^a–732^a.
  Introduction: the 'wise' as a class, p. 728^a.
  1. Proverbs, pp. 728^b–729^b.
    (a) Literary questions, p. 728^b.
    (b) Religious speculation: personification of Wisdom, p. 729^a.
    (c) Standpoint of the book utilitarian and yet religious, p. 729^a.
    (d) The doctrine of retribution, p. 729^b.
  2. Job, pp. 729^b–731^a.
    (a) Critical questions: the Elihu-speeches not genuine, p. 729^b f.
    (b) Angelology: the *bĕnê 'Ĕlōhîm* and the Satan, p. 730^a.
    (c) The meaning of Job $19^{25ff.}$, p. 730^a.
    (d) The theodicy of the book, p. 730^b.
  3. Ecclesiastes, pp. 731^a–732^a.
    (a) Standpoint of the Preacher, p. 731^a. Composite character of the book, p. 731^a note.
    (b) Ecclesiastes a final demonstration of the insufficiency of the Law and the need of Christ, p. 732^a.

Literature, p. 732.

I. INDEX OF AUTHORS

◆

AUTHORS' NAMES, AND LIST OF THEIR PRINCIPAL ARTICLES.

[As a rule, only those articles which occupy at least a column are included in the following lists. Articles whose title is followed by '[Ext.]' will be found in the Extra Volume].

Abrahams, Israel, M.A., Editor of the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, and Reader in Talmudic in the University of Cambridge.
New Moon, Time, Trumpet.

Adamson, Rev. A., M.A., B.D., Dundee.
Reconciliation.

Adeney, Rev. Walter F., M.A., D.D., Professor of Theology and Principal of the Lancashire College, Manchester.
Augustus, Blessedness, Blessing, Cæsar, Cæsar's Household, Centurion, Contentment, Decision, Governor, Man, Martha, Mediator (Mediation), Offence, Preaching, Publican, Self-surrender, Teacher (Teaching), Temperance, Woman, Worship (in NT); besides some shorter articles.

Aglen, Ven. A. S., M.A., D.D., Archdeacon of St. Andrews.
Beth-horon, Compassion (Pity), Friend, Hand, Lord, Rahab (the harlot), Shiloh (Gn 49^{10}); and a few shorter articles.

Allen, Rev. Willoughby C., M.A., Chaplain, Fellow, and Lecturer in Theology and Hebrew, Exeter College, Oxford.
Asherah, Gershon, High Place, Kohath, Merari; besides some shorter articles.

Bacher, W., Ph.D., Professor of Biblical Studies in the Landes-Rabbinerschule, Budapest.
Sanhedrin, Synagogue.

Bacon, Rev. Benjamin Wisner, M.A., D.D., Professor of New Testament Criticism and Interpretation in Yale University, New Haven.
Genealogy of Jesus Christ.

Banks, Rev. John S., D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in the Headingley College, Leeds.
Conversion, Hardening, Hope, Jealousy, Joy, Justice, Liberty, Meekness, Perfection.

Barnes, Rev. W. Emery, M.A., D.D., Fellow and Chaplain of Peterhouse, and Hulsean Professor of Divinity, Cambridge.
Armour, Army, Banner, Camp, Israel (History of), Judges (Period of), Legion, Shield, Sling, Spear, Sword, Tower, War; and a few shorter articles.

Bartlet, James Vernon, M.A., D.D., Professor of Church History in Mansfield College, Oxford.
Didache [Ext.], Epistle, Helps, Matthew (Evangelist, and Gospel of), Regeneration, Saint, Sanctification.

Batten, Rev. L. W., M.A., Ph.D., Rector of St. Mark's Church, New York; formerly Professor of Hebrew in the Protestant Episcopal Divinity School, Philadelphia.
Ezra, Ezra-Nehemiah (Books of), Nehemiah.

Baudissin, Graf Wilhelm von, Ph.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin.
Priests and Levites.

Bebb, Rev. Llewellyn J. M., M.A., Principal of St. David's College, Lampeter; formerly Fellow and Tutor of Brasenose College, Oxford.
Continental Versions [Ext.], John the Baptist, Luke (Evangelist, and Gospel of), Versions (general Article), Versions (Georgian, Gothic, Slavonic).

Beecher, Rev. Willis Judson, D.D., Professor of Hebrew Language and Literature in Auburn Theological Seminary, New York.
Dagon, Drunkenness, Emerods, Giant, Nephilim, Philistines, Rephaim; and some shorter articles.

Beet, Rev. Joseph Agar, D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in the Richmond Theological College.
Christology.

Benecke, P. V. M., M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Magdalen College, Oxford.
Claudius, Claudius Lysias, Magi, Star.

Bennett, Rev. William Henry, M.A., Litt.D., D.D., Professor of Old Testament Exegesis in Hackney and New Colleges, London; sometime Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.
Adam, Beriah, Cruelty, Debt, Family, Gad (person and tribe), Heir, Hunting, Irrigation, Jashar (Book of), Mercy, Moab (Moabites), Molech (Moloch), Moreh, Moses, Nebo (towns), Palace, Poverty, Prison, Queen of Heaven, Rechab (Rechabites), Reuben, Shuthelah, Trade and Commerce, Tribe, Usury, Wages [Ext.], Wealth, Widow, Zabad.

Bernard, Rev. Edward Russell, M.A., Chancellor and Canon of Salisbury Cathedral; formerly Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford.
Citizenship, Conversation, Prayer, Resurrection, Sin.

Bernard, Very Rev. John Henry, D.D., Dean of St. Patrick's, Fellow of Trinity College, and Archbishop King's Lecturer in Divinity in the University of Dublin.
Apollos, Fall, Heredity, Jael, Miracle, Natural, Nature, Nicodemus, Philemon (person, and Epistle to), Sign, Thomas.

Bethune-Baker, Rev. J. F., M.A., Fellow and Dean of Pembroke College, Cambridge.
Forgiveness, Hatred.

Bliss, Frederick J., B.A., Ph.D., formerly Director of the Palestine Exploration Fund in Jerusalem.
Gilgal, Jericho, Lachish, Lebanon, Pottery.

Blomfield, Rear-Admiral, R.M., C.M.G., Controller-General of Ports and Lighthouses.
Ships and Boats [Ext.].

Boyd, Rev. Robert Masson, M.A., Glenbervie, Kincardineshire.
Achan, Achsah, Adoni-zedek, Amasa, Arpachshad, Arphaxad, Baasha, Basemath; and a few shorter articles, chiefly on Proper Names.

Brown, Rev. Francis, M.A., D.D., D.Litt., LL.D., Professor of Hebrew and Cognate Languages in Union Theological Seminary, New York.
Chronicles (I. and II.).

Brown, Rev. W. Adams, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in Union Theological Seminary, New York.
Cross, Excommunication, Millennium, Obedience (Obey), Parousia, Peace, Ransom, Redeemer (Redemption), Salvation (Saviour).

Bruce, the late Rev. Alexander Balmain, M.A., D.D., Professor of Apologetics and New Testament Exegesis in the Free Church College, Glasgow.
Hebrews (Epistle to).

Budde, Karl, Ph.D., D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Marburg.
Poetry, Samson.

Buhl, Frants, Ph.D., Professor of Semitic Languages in the University of Copenhagen.
New Testament Times [Ext.], Roads and Travel (in OT) [Ext.].

Burkitt, F. Crawford, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge.
Arabic Versions, Moses (Assumption of).

Burney, Rev. Charles Fox, M.A., Lecturer in Hebrew, and Fellow of St. John Baptist's College, Oxford.
Arcturus, Eliakim, Hazael, Hilkiah, Kings (I. and II.); and a number of shorter articles, chiefly on Proper Names.

Burrows, Rev. Winfrid O., M.A., Vicar of St. Augustine's, Birmingham; formerly Principal of Leeds Clergy School.
Appeal, Captain, Fear, Humility.

Cameron, Rev. George G., M.A., D.D., Professor of Hebrew in the United Free Church College, Aberdeen.
Joel.

Candlish, the late Rev. James S., M.A., D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in the Free Church College, Glasgow.
Adoption, God (Children of).

Carslaw, Rev. William, M.A., M.D., of the Lebanon Schools, Beyrout, Syria.
Hammer, Hinge, Key (Lock), Mattock, Mill (Millstone), Mortar, Saw, Shaving, Smith, Tools, Wheel.

Chapman, Rev. Arthur Thomas, M.A., Fellow, Tutor, and Hebrew Lecturer, Emmanuel College, Cambridge.
Exodus and Journey to Canaan [jointly with J. Rendel Harris], Heshbon, Hormah, Jabbok, Jahaz, Jeshimon, Libnah, Medeba, Meribah, Midian (Midianites), Mixed Multitude, Nebo (Mt.), Paran, Pisgah, Rephidim, Shittim, Sin (Wilderness of), Succoth, Tabernacles (Feast of), Zin, Zoan; besides a number of shorter articles, especially on the 'stations' of the Israelites.

Charles, Rev. Robert Henry, D.D., Professor of Biblical Greek in the University of Dublin.
Alpha and Omega, Apocalyptic Literature, Baruch (Apocalypse of), Enoch (Ethiopic), Enoch (Book of Secrets of), Eschatology of the Apocrypha and Apocalyptic Literature, Ethiopic Version, Gehenna, Michael, Noah (Book of), Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.

Chase, Rev. Frederic Henry, M.A., D.D., Vice-Chancellor of the University, Norrisian Professor of Divinity, and President of Queens' College, Cambridge.
Babylon (in NT), Enoch (in NT), John (father of Simon Peter), Jude (Epistle of), Mark (John), Peter (Simon), Peter (I. and II.).

Conder, Col. Claude Reignier, R.E., LL.D., M.R.A.S.
Bethesda, Bethlehem, Bethpeor, Gethsemane, Hermon, Jerusalem, Kiriath-jearim, Palestine; besides a great many shorter articles (geographical).

Conybeare, Fred. C., M.A., formerly Fellow of University College, Oxford.
Areopagus, Armenian Version of Old Test., Armenian Version of New Test., Athens, Epicureans, Essenes, Greece (Hellenism), Patmos.

Cooke, Rev. G. A., M.A., Dalkeith; formerly Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford.
Bethel, Deborah, Gaal, Gideon, Haggai, Jephthah, Jeroboam, Jotham, Levi, Maon, Shibboleth, Sisera, Zebah and Zalmunna, Zebul.

Cowan, Rev. Henry, M.A., D.D., Professor of Church History in the University of Aberdeen.
Esau, Gallio, Joseph of Arimathæa, Manaen, Matthias, Nathanael, Nero, Nicolaitans, Nicolas, Philip (in NT), Silas.

Crum, W. E., M.A., of the Egyptian Exploration Fund.
Egypt, Hophra, Neco, Nile.

Curtis, Rev. Edward Lewis, Ph.D., D.D., Professor of Hebrew Language and Literature in the Divinity School of Yale University, New Haven.
Chronology of the Old Testament, Daniel (persons, and Book of), Genealogy, Old Testament.

Davidson, the late Rev. Andrew Bruce, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D., Professor of Hebrew and Oriental Languages in the New College, Edinburgh.
Angel, Covenant, Eschatology of the Old Testament, God (in OT), Hosea, Immanuel, Jeremiah, Prophecy and Prophets.

Davies, Rev. T. Witton, B.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Literature in the Baptist College, Bangor, and Lecturer in Semitic Languages in University College, Bangor.
Arch, Boaz (pillar), Pinnacle, Porch, Sea (Brazen), Temple, Treasury (of Temple), Veil.

Davison, Rev. W. T., M.A., D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in the Handsworth Theological College, Birmingham.
Job, Psalms; and a few short articles.

Denney, Rev. James, M.A., D.D., Professor of New Testament Language, Literature, and Theology in the United Free Church College, Glasgow.
Adam (in NT), Ascension, Brotherly Love, Chastening, Creed, Curse, Forbearance (Long-suffering), Ignorance, Knowledge, Law (in NT), Priest (in NT), Promise, Reprobate.

Dickson, the late Rev. W. P., D.D., LL.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow.
Adria, Apollonius, Berœa, Colony, Euraquilo, Macedonia, Neapolis, Rulers of the City, Sosthenes, Thessalonica.

Dobschütz, E. von, Lic. Theol., Professor of Theology in the University of Jena.
Nicodemus (Gospel of).

Dods, Rev. Marcus, M.A., D.D., Professor of Exegetical Theology in the New College, Edinburgh.
Galatians (Epistle to).

Driver, Rev. Samuel Rolles, D.D., Litt.D., Canon of Christ Church, and Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford.
Abomination, Abomination of Desolation, Argob, Ashtaroth, Ashtoreth, Atonement (Day of) [jointly with H. A. White], Azazel, Bezer, Creeping Things, Dizahab, Ephod, Gilead (Mt.), Habakkuk, Hazerim, Hazeroth, Hill (Hill-country), Hivites, Host of Heaven, Ir-ha-heres, Ishmael (Hagar's son), Jacob, Jah, Jebus (Jebusi, Jebusite), Jehovah-jireh, Joseph (the patriarch), Koa, Laban, Law (in OT), Lord of Hosts, Lot, Machir, Mamre, Manasseh (tribe), Massah, Meni, Moriah, Most High, Nahor, Naioth, Nob, North Country, Offer (Offering, Oblation), Parbar, Pethor, Plain, Poor, Potiphar, Propitiation, Rachel, Ramah (Nos. **5**, **6**), Rebekah, Riblah, Sabbath, Sarah, Shiloh, Shur, Siddim (Vale of), Son of Man, Tongues (Confusion of), Vale (Valley), Zamzummim, Zoar, Zuzim.

Drummond, Rev. James, M.A., LL.D., Litt.D., Principal of Manchester College, Oxford.
Philo [Ext.].

Eaton, Rev. David, M.A., D.D., Glasgow.
Herodians, Lawyer, Nazirite, Pharisees, Sadducees, Scribes.

Eddy, Rev. William K., of the American Mission, Sidon, Syria.
Fishing; and a few shorter articles, illustrating Eastern occupations and customs.

Ewing, Rev. William, M.A., Stirling; formerly of Tiberias, Palestine.
Acco, Aphek, Asher, Bethsaida, Cæsarea Philippi, Cana, Capernaum, Damascus, Esdraelon, Garden, Hair, Hauran, Hospitality (Host), Inn, Jacob's Well, Jezreel, Kishon, Ladder of Tyre, Linen, Magadan, Merom (Waters of), Meroz, Mines (Mining), Modin, Naphtali, Peræa, Pharpar, Pit, Street, Tent, Village, Zebulun.

Fairweather, Rev. W., M.A., Kirkcaldy.
Maccabees (persons, and Books of), Development of Doctrine in the Apocryphal Period [Ext.].

Farnell, Lewis Richard, M.A., Litt.D., Fellow and Senior Tutor of Exeter College, Oxford.
The Section on 'Worship of Apollo' in Professor Ramsay's article 'Religion of Greece and Asia Minor' [Ext.].

Ferries, Rev. George, M.A., D.D., Cluny, Aberdeenshire.
Good (chief), Heathen, Judgment, Kindness, Oath, Perseverance, Power.

Findlay, Rev. George G., B.A., D.D., Professor of Biblical Literature, Headingley College, Leeds.
Paul the Apostle.

Flint, Rev. Robert, D.D., LL.D., Emeritus Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh.
Solomon.

Garvie, Rev. Alfred Ernest, M.A., D.D., Professor of Ethics, Theism, and Comparative Religion in New and Hackney Colleges, London.
Belial, Godliness, Providence, Revelation [Ext.], Shame, Slander, Vanity, Way; and a few shorter articles.

Gayford, Rev. Sydney C., M.A., Vice-Principal of Cuddesdon College, Oxford.
Christian, Church.

Gibb, Rev. John, M.A., D.D., Professor of New Testament Exegesis in Westminster College, Cambridge.
Alexandria, Philippians (Epistle to); and a few shorter articles.

Gray, G. Buchanan, M.A., D.D., Professor of Hebrew in Mansfield College, Oxford.
Glory (in OT), Name, Names (Proper); besides a number of shorter articles, especially on Proper Names.

Grieve, Rev. Alexander, M.A., Ph.D., Glasgow.
Cornelius, Gabriel, Kiss, Stephen.

Griffith, Francis Llewellyn, M.A., F.S.A., Superintendent of the Archæological Survey of the Egypt Exploration Fund.
Goshen, Hanes, Migdol, No (No-amon), On (Heliopolis), Pharaoh, Pi-beseth, Seveneh, Shishak, Sin (city), So (king), Tahpanhes, Tahpenes, Zaphenath-paneah.

Gwatkin, Rev. Henry Melvill, M.A., D.D., Fellow of Emmanuel College, and Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Cambridge.
Apostle, Bishop, Church Government in the Apostolic Age, Deacon, Ordination, Persecution, Prophet (in NT), Roman, Roman Empire.

Gwilliam, Rev. S. T., F.R.G.S., Hampton Poyle Rectory, Reading.
Apple of the Eye.

Harding, Rev. Edwin Elmer, M.A., Principal of the Theological College, Lichfield.
Feasts and Fasts.

Harford, Rev. George, M.A., Balliol College, Oxford; Vicar of Mossley Hill, Liverpool.
Exodus, Laver, Leviticus, Numbers, Sabbatical Year; and a few shorter articles, chiefly on Proper Names.

Harris, J. Rendel, M.A., Litt.D., Principal and Lecturer, Settlement for Social and Religious Study, Woodbrooke; late Fellow and Librarian of Clare College, Cambridge.
Exodus and Journey to Canaan [jointly with A. T. Chapman], Sibylline Oracles [Ext.], Sinai.

Hastings, Rev. James, M.A., D.D., St. Cyrus, Kincardineshire; Editor of this *Dictionary of the Bible* and of the *Expository Times*.
Nearly all the articles on words in the English Versions which demand attention.

Headlam, Rev. Arthur Cayley, M.A., D.D., Principal of King's College, London; formerly Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford.
Acts of the Apostles, Gnosticism, Herod, Jubilees (Book of), Julius, Paulus (Sergius), Prisca or Priscilla, Province, Rufus, Sceva, Simon Magus, Tertullus, Theatre, Theudas, Tryphæna, Unknown God.

Henderson, Rev. Archibald, M.A., D.D., Crieff.
Akeldama, Dalmanutha; and a few other short geographical articles.

Holmes, E. M., F.L.S., Curator of the Museum of the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain.
Censer [jointly with Professor A. R. S. Kennedy].

Hommel, Fritz, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of Semitic Languages in the University of Munich.
Assyria, Babel (City and Tower of), Babylonia.

Hull, Edward, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S., F.R.G.S., late Director of the Geological Survey of Ireland, and Professor of Geology in the Royal College of Science, Dublin.
Arabah, Beersheba, Brass, Brimstone, Brook, Cave, Clay, Dead Sea, Dew, Earthquake, Fountain, Gaza, Geology of Palestine, Great Sea, Haven, Hor (Mt.), Kadesh (Kadesh-barnea), Lake, Meadow, Mount (Mountain), Rain, Red Sea, Salt, Salt (City of), Sea, Sela, Ships and Boats, Tadmor, Well, Whirlwind [jointly with G. M. Mackie], Ziz.

James, Montague Rhodes, M.A., Litt.D., Fellow and Tutor of King's College, and Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.
Andrew, Asenath, Man of Sin and Antichrist, Psalms of Solomon.

Jastrow, Morris, junr., Ph.D., Professor of Semitic Languages in the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
Races of the Old Testament [Ext.], Religion of Babylonia and Assyria [Ext.].

Jevons, Frank Byron, M.A., Litt.D., Principal of Bishop Hatfield's Hall, and Sub-Warden of the University, Durham.
Dionysus, Divination, Dreams.

Johns, Rev. C. H. W., M.A., Fellow of Queens' College, Cambridge.
Code of Ḥammurabi [Ext.], Kir (of Moab), Kir-hareseth (Kir-heres), Lud (Ludim), Naphtuhim.

Kautzsch, E., Ph.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Halle.
Religion of Israel [Ext.].

Kennedy, Rev. Archibald R. S., M.A., D.D., Professor of Hebrew and Semitic Languages in the University of Edinburgh.
Altar, Ark of the Covenant, Bason, Bath, Breastplate of the High Priest, Calf (Golden), Censer [jointly with E. M. Holmes], Cup, Curtain, Cuttings in the Flesh, Education, Fringes, Goel (Avenger of Blood), Harrow, Hearth, Kidneys, Knop, Lamb, Liver, Money, Money-changers, Nahum, Nehushtan, Ouches, Phylacteries (Frontlets), Red Heifer, Sackcloth, Sanctuary, Shewbread, Snuffers, Tabernacle, Urim and Thummim, Weights and Measures.

Kennedy, Rev. H. A. A., M.A., D.Sc., Callander.
Latin Versions (The Old), Talitha-cumi.

Kennedy, Rev. James Houghton, M.A., D.D., Rector of Stillorgan, and Canon of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin.
Kidron (The Brook).

Kenyon, Frederic G., M.A., D.Litt., Ph.D., of the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum; late Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford.
Papyri [Ext.], Writing.

Kilpatrick, Rev. Thomas, M.A., D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology and Apologetics in Manitoba College, Winnipeg, Canada.
Conscience, Philosophy.

König, Eduard, Ph.D., D.D., Professor of Old Testament Exegesis in the University of Bonn.
Jonah, Judges (Book of), Number, Parable (in OT), Proverb, Samaritan Pentateuch [Ext.], Style of the Bible [Ext.], Symbols and Symbolical Actions [Ext.].

Laidlaw, Rev. John, M.A., D.D., Emeritus Professor of Systematic Theology in the New College, Edinburgh.
Body, Flesh, Heart, Image (the Divine), Mind, Psychology, Soul, Spirit.

Lock, Rev. Walter, M.A., D.D., Warden of Keble College, and Dean Ireland's Professor of New Testament Exegesis in the University of Oxford.
Ephesians (Epistle to), Hymn, Kenosis, Love-feasts, Onesimus, Pleroma, Praise (in NT), Thessalonians (I. and II.), Timothy (person, and Epistles to), Titus (person, and Epistle to).

Lupton, Rev. J. H., D.D., formerly Surmaster of St. Paul's School, London.
Versions (English) [Ext.].

Macalister, Alexander, LL.D., M.D., D.Sc., F.R.S., F.S.A., Fellow of St. John's College, and Professor of Anatomy in the University of Cambridge.
Anointing, Baldness, Basket, Bread, Circumcision, Food, Hail, Leprosy, Manna, Meal, Medicine, Oil, Ointment, Perfume, Pestilence, Pitcher, Plague, Plagues of Egypt, Poison, Pottage, Table, Vinegar.

Mackie, Rev. George M., M.A., D.D., Chaplain to the Church of Scotland at Beyrout, Syria.
Age, Amulets, Bag, Bit, Bonnet, Child, City, Cloud, Dress, Ear-ring, Ebal, Embroidery, Engraving, Eye, Foot, Gerizim, Gestures, Joppa, Lod (Lydda), Neighbour, New (Newness), Ornament, Picture, Ring, Rod, Salutation, Shoe, Tyre, Whirlwind [jointly with Professor Hull], Wind, Wool, Zarephath, Zidon; and a number of shorter articles, illustrative chiefly of Eastern manners and customs.

M'Clymont, Rev. J. A., M.A., D.D., Aberdeen.
Caiaphas, Esther (person, and Book of), Hezekiah, Naaman, New Testament, Purim; and a few shorter articles.

McCurdy, J. Frederic, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Toronto.
Semites [Ext.].

Macmillan, the late Rev. Hugh, M.A., D.D., LL.D., Greenock.
Nain, Ptolemais.

Macpherson, the late Rev. John, M.A., Edinburgh.
Amalek, Ammon, Dedan, Hagrites, Kittim, Restoration, Seleucidæ, Seleucus (i.–iv.), Zacharias, Zechariah (persons, except the prophet), Zephaniah (persons, except the prophet); and a number of shorter articles.

Margoliouth, Rev. D. S., M.A., D.Litt., Fellow of New College, and Laudian Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford.
Achmetha, Arabia, Arabian, Cush, Dumah, Ethiopia, Ethiopian Eunuch, Ethiopian Woman, Ham, Japheth, Javan (Ezk 27[19]), Joktan, Kedar, Language of the Old Testament, Language of the Apocrypha, Letushim, Massa, Medan, Mene Mene Tekel Upharsin, Meshech, Nebaioth, Seba, Sephar, Sheba, Uzal.

Marshall, Rev. John Turner, M.A., Principal of the Baptist College, Manchester.
Asmodæus, Baruch (exclusive of Apocalypse of), Bel and the Dragon, Corban, Jannes and Jambres, Jeremy (Epistle of), Pre-existence of Souls, Raphael, Shekinah, Susanna, Three Children (Song of the), Tobit, Uriel, Zephaniah (Apocalypse of).

Martin, Rev. Alex., M.A., D.D., Professor of Apologetic Theology in the New College, Edinburgh.
Inheritance.

Martin, Rev. George Currie, M.A., D.D., Professor of New Testament Theology and Patristics in the United College, Bradford.
Life and Death.

MASON, Rev. ARTHUR JAMES, M.A., D.D., Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge.
Power of the Keys.

MASSIE, JOHN, M.A., formerly Yates Professor of New Testament Exegesis in Mansfield College, Oxford.
Allegory, Amen, Bar-jesus, Blasphemy, Disciple, Dominion, Element, Evangelist, Fable, Glory (in NT), Gospel, Happiness, Living Creature, Manger, Minister (Ministry), Officer, Perdition, Purity, Raca, Sabbath Day's Journey, Sea of Glass, Seal, Testament.

MAYOR, JOSEPH BICKERSTETH, M.A., Litt.D., Emeritus Professor of Classics in King's College, London; Honorary Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.
Brethren of the Lord, James (persons, and Epistle of), Mary.

MENZIES, Rev. ALLAN, D.D., Professor of Church History in the University of St. Andrews.
Hebrews (Gospel of) [Ext.].

MERRILL, Rev. SELAH, D.D., LL.D., U.S. Consul at Jerusalem.
Galilee, Galilee (Sea of), Gennesaret (Land of), Gilead, Golan, Jabesh-gilead, Jazer, Kedesh-naphtali, Peniel, Ramoth-gilead, Refuge (Cities of) Tiberias.

MILLAR, Rev. JAMES, M.A., B.D., New Cumnock.
Alliance, Dancing, Ephraim, Music.

MILLIGAN, Rev. GEORGE, M.A., D.D., Caputh, Perthshire.
Aquila, Barnabas, Hymenæus, Onesiphorus, Versions (English), Zebedee.

MORGAN, Rev. WILLIAM, M.A., Tarbolton.
Repentance, Trance, Vision; and several shorter articles.

MOSS, Rev. R. WADDY, D.D., Professor of Classics in the Didsbury College, Manchester.
Alcimus, Alexander the Great, Alexander Balas, Antiochus (I.–VII.), Demetrius (I.–III.), Jeremiah (except the prophet), Micah (except the prophet), Onias, Ptolemy (I.–VI.).

MOULTON, Rev. JAMES H., M.A., D.Lit., Professor of New Testament Language and Literature, Didsbury College, Manchester; sometime Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.
Zoroastrianism.

MOULTON, Rev. WARREN JOSEPH, M.A., B.D., Ph.D., Professor in the Biblical and Semitic Department of Yale University, New Haven.
Passover.

MUIR, Rev. WILLIAM, M.A., B.D., B.L., Blairgowrie.
Dalmanutha, Publius; and a few other short articles.

MÜLLER, W. MAX, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of Archæology in the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
Gozan, Halah, Hara, Kir, Lehabim, Lubim, Memphis, Pathros, Put, Tarshish.

MURRAY, Rev. J. O. F., M.A., D.D., Principal of St. Augustine's College, Canterbury; late Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge.
A (the MS), א (the MS), Atonement, B (the MS), C (the MS), Colossians (Epistle to), D (the MS), Election, Textual Criticism of the New Testament [Ext.].

MYRES, JOHN L., M.A., F.S.A., Student and Tutor of Christ Church, Oxford.
Cyprus, Paphos.

NESTLE, EBERHARD, Ph.D., D.D., Professor at Maulbronn.
Gabbatha, Har-magedon, L (the MS), Nasbas, Septuagint, Sirach, Syriac Versions, Text of the New Testament, Thaddæus, Timæus.

NICOL, Rev. THOMAS, M.A., D.D., Professor of Divinity and Biblical Criticism in the University of Aberdeen.
Burial, Games, Island, Mourning, Riddle, Sepulchre, Snow, Yoke, Zerah.

NOWACK, W., Ph.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Strassburg.
Micah (prophet, and Book of), Proverbs (Book of), Zechariah (Book of).

ORR, Rev. JAMES, M.A., D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology and Apologetics in the United Free Church College, Glasgow.
Anger (Wrath) of God, Kingdom of God (*or* of Heaven), Love.

OTTLEY, Rev. ROBERT LAWRENCE, M.A., Canon of Christ Church and Regius Professor of Pastoral Theology in the University of Oxford.
Incarnation.

PATERSON, JOHN WAUGH, B.Sc., Ph.D., Lecturer on Agricultural Chemistry in the Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College.
Agriculture.

PATERSON, Rev. WILLIAM P., M.A., D.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh.
Cain, Decalogue, Harlot, Idolatry, Jonathan, Lie (Lying), Marriage, Sacrifice.

PATRICK, Rev. JAMES, M.A., B.D., B.Sc., Burntisland; Examiner for Degrees in the University of St. Andrews.
Coal, Fire, Flint, Glass, Iron, Lightning, Lime, Marble, Micaiah, Mirror, Nephthar, Night, Rainbow, Seed, Soap, Spain, Steel, Stone, Thunder, Tile, Water.

PATRICK, Rev. JOHN, M.A., D.D., Professor of Biblical Criticism and Biblical Antiquities in the University of Edinburgh.
Libertines, Rest, Rome [jointly with F. Relton], Simplicity, Word.

PEAKE, ARTHUR S., M.A., Professor of Biblical Exegesis in the University of Manchester; sometime Fellow of Merton and Lecturer in Mansfield College, Oxford.
Ahaz, Baal, Benjamin, Dan, Dionysia, Ecclesiastes, First Fruits, Issachar, Josiah, Judah (person and tribe), Manasseh (except the tribe), Unclean (Uncleanness), Vow.

PETRIE, W. M. FLINDERS, D.C.L., Litt.D., LL.D., Ph.D., F.R.S., Professor of Egyptology in University College, London.
Architecture, Art, Balance, Bell, Brick, Gold, Goldsmith, Lead, Stones (Precious), Tin.

PHILPS, Rev. GEORGE M., M.A., B.D., Glasgow.
Earnest.

PINCHES, I. A., Sippar House, London.
Darius the Mede, Erech, Girgashite, Hamath, Haran.

PINCHES, THEOPHILUS GOLDRIDGE, LL.D., M.R.A.S., of the Egyptian and Assyrian Department in the British Museum.
Astronomy and Astrology, Carchemish, Gad (god), Mazzaroth, Moon, Nebushazban, Nimrod, Nisroch, Parthians, Rab-mag, Rab-saris, Rab-shakeh, Rehoboth-ir, Rephan, Resen, Rezeph, Sarsechim, Shinar, Sun, Tartak, Tartan, Uphaz, Ur of the Chaldees, Uz.

PLUMMER, Rev. ALFRED, M.A., D.D., formerly Master of University College, Durham.
Baptism, Baptism for the Dead, Barabbas, Beatitude, Bride, Bridegroom, Bridegroom's Friend, Cremation, Hypocrite, Judas Iscariot, Lazarus (of Bethany), Lazarus and Dives, Lord's Prayer, Lord's Supper, Parable (in NT), Quirinius (Census of), Sacraments, Transfiguration.

PORTER, Rev. FRANK CHAMBERLIN, M.A., Ph.D., D.D., Professor of Biblical Theology in the Divinity School of Yale University, New Haven.
Apocrypha, Judith (Book of), Manasses (Prayer of), Proselyte, Revelation (Book of).

PORTER, Rev. HARVEY, B.A., Ph.D., Professor in the American College, Beyrout, Syria.
Lamp, Oven, Spinning, Tanner, Weaving; and a few shorter articles on similar subjects.

POST, Rev. GEORGE, M.D., F.L.S., Professor in the American College, Beyrout, Syria.
Natural History; and nearly all the articles on the plants and animals of the Bible.

POUCHER, Rev. JOHN, M.A., D.D., Professor in De Pauw University, Indiana.
Crimes and Punishments.

PRICE, IRA MAURICE, M.A., B.D., Ph.D., Professor of Semitic Languages and Literature in the University of Chicago.
Accad (Accadians), Assurbanipal, Belshazzar, Chaldæa, Mesha, Ophir, Osnappar, Rimmon (god).

PRICHARD, Rev. CYRIL HENRY, M.A., late Classical Scholar of Magdalene College, Cambridge, and Lecturer at St. Olave's, Southwark.
Crete, Oracle, Scythians, Tiberius; and some shorter articles.

PURVES, the late Rev. GEORGE T., D.D., LL.D., Professor of New Testament Literature and Exegesis in Princeton Theological Seminary, New Jersey.
Crown, Darkness, Diadem, Logos, Pentecost, Pilate, Prætorium, Preparation Day.

RAMSAY, WILLIAM M., D.C.L., LL.D., Litt.D., Professor of Humanity in the University of Aberdeen; Honorary Fellow of Exeter and Lincoln Colleges, Oxford.
Achaia, Adramyttium, Antioch in Pisidia, Asia, Asiarch, Bithynia, Cappadocia, Caria, Chios, Churches (Robbers of), Cilicia, Cnidus, Colossæ, Corinth, Cos, Delos, Derbe, Diana, Ephesian, Ephesus, Galatia, Galatia (Region of), Galatians, Halicarnassus, Hierapolis, Iconium, Illyricum, Laodicea, Lasea, Lycaonia, Lycia, Lydia, Lystra, Mallus, Miletus, Myndus, Myra, Mysia, Nicopolis, Numbers (Hours, etc.) [Ext.], Pamphylia, Patara, Perga, Pergamus or Pergamum, Phasaelis, Philadelphia, Phœnix, Phrygia, Pisidia, Pontus, Religion of Greece and Asia Minor [Ext.], Rhegium, Rhodes, Roads and Travel (in NT) [Ext.], Samothrace, Sardis, Smyrna, Syracuse, Tarsus, Thracia, Town Clerk, Troas, Tyrannus.

REDPATH, Rev. HENRY A., M.A., Litt.D., Rector of St. Dunstan's in the East, London.
Concordances [Ext.], Ruth (person, and Book of), Theophilus, Trophimus, Tychicus, Versions (Greek other than the LXX), Zacchæus; besides some shorter articles, chiefly on Proper Names.

RELTON, Rev. FREDERICK, A.K.C., Vicar of St. Andrew's, Stoke Newington, London.
Rome [jointly with Professor John Patrick].

REYNOLDS, the late Rev. HENRY ROGER, D.D., Principal of Cheshunt College, Herts.
John (Gospel of).

ROBERTSON, Right Rev. ARCHIBALD, M.A., D.D., LL.D., Bishop of Exeter.
Alexander (in NT), Aretas, Corinthians (I. and II.), Felix, Festus, Melita, Romans (Epistle to), Tongues (Gift of).

ROBINSON, the late Rev. FORBES, M.A., Fellow, Chaplain, and Theological Lecturer in Christ's College, Cambridge.
Egyptian Versions.

ROBINSON, Very Rev. J. ARMITAGE, M.A., Ph.D., D.D., Dean of Westminster; formerly Fellow of Christ's College and Norrisian Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge.
Communion, Isaiah (Ascension of).

ROPES, JAMES HARDY, Ph.D., Professor of New Testament Criticism and Exegesis in Harvard University.
Agrapha [Ext.].

ROTHSTEIN, J. W., Ph.D., D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Halle.
Song of Songs.

RYLE, Right Rev. HERBERT EDWARD, M.A., D.D., Bishop of Winchester; formerly President of Queens' College, and Hulsean Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge.
Abraham, Calah, Cherubim, Deuteronomy, Genesis, Hagar, Hamor, Isaac; besides a few shorter articles, chiefly on Proper Names.

SALMOND, Rev. STEWART DINGWALL FORDYCE, M.A., D.D., F.E.I.S., Principal and Professor of Systematic Theology in the United Free Church College, Aberdeen.
Abraham's Bosom, Catholic Epistles, Eschatology of the New Testament, Hades, Heaven, Hell, John (Epistles of), Mark (Gospel of), Paradise, Tophet.

SANDAY, Rev. WILLIAM, M.A., D.D., LL.D., D.Sc., Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford.
God (in NT), Jesus Christ, Son of God.

SAYCE, Rev. ARCHIBALD HENRY, M.A., LL.D., Fellow of Queen's College, and Professor of Assyriology in the University of Oxford.
Amorites, Aram, Ararat, Benhadad, Canaan, Caphtor, Chedorlaomer, Cyrus, Darius (except 'the Mede'), Debir, Eden (Garden of), Edom, Elam, Elishah, Esarhaddon, Euphrates, Gezer, Hittites, Kenites, Medes, Melchizedek, Merodach, Merodach-baladan, Nebuchadrezzar, Nergal-sharezer, Nineveh, Persia, Persians, Pithom, Raamses, Sanballat, Sargon, Sennacherib, Sepharad, Sepharvaim, Shalmaneser, Shushan, Succoth-benoth, Tammuz, Tiglath-pileser, Ulai; and a number of shorter articles.

SCHECHTER, SOLOMON, M.A., Litt.D., President of the Faculty of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America.
Talmud [Ext.].

SCHÜRER, E., Ph.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Göttingen.
Diaspora [Ext.].

SCOTT, Rev. CHARLES ANDERSON, M.A., Kensington Presbyterian Church, London.
Confession.

SCOTT, Rev. HUGH MACDONALD, D.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the Chicago Theological Seminary.
Trinity [Ext.].

SELBIE, Rev. JOHN ALEXANDER, M.A., D.D., Maryculter, Kincardineshire.
Abimelech, Absalom, Adonijah, Amaziah, Ananias, Asa, Asaph, Branch, Caleb, Cherethites and Pelethites, Congregation, Cornerstone, Earth, Eden (except the Garden of), Elder (in OT), El Elyon, Foreigner, Foundation, Furrow, Gentiles, Ger, Gift, Hanging, Head, Heifer, Incense, Interpretation, Ish-

bosheth, Jareb, Jeduthun, Jeshua, Jeshurun, Jethro, Jeruel, Jezebel, Joab, Keturah, Korah (Dathan, Abiram), Lamech, Lamentations (Book of), Lawgiver, Leah, Leg, Lilith, Manstealing, Mantle, Mephibosheth, Metheg-ammah, Mizar, Nadab, Obadiah (persons, and Book of), Obed-edom, Oholah and Oholibah, Open Place, Othniel, Parlour, People, Pi-hahiroth, Pillow, Pledge, Potter, Praise (in OT), Prince, Quarry, Rahab (symbolical term), Rehoboth, River, Rock, Sceptre, Sea-monster, Seth, Shallum, Shalman, Sharon, Sheshach, Sheshbazzar, Shovel, Simeon, Simon (except Simon Magus), Speckled Bird, Suph, Synagogue (the Great), Table (Tablet), Terebinth, Testimony, Thigh, Threshold, Throne, Thumb, Treasure, Tribute (in OT), Tryphon, Tubal, Tubal-cain, Wars of the Lord (Book of), Wilderness (Desert), Witness, Xerxes, Zaanannim, Zachariah, Zaphon, Zarethan, Zelzah, Zephaniah (Book of), Zerubbabel, Zorah; besides many shorter signed articles, and a very large proportion of the unsigned.

Siegfried, the late C., Ph.D., Geh. Kirchenrath and Professor of Theology in the University of Jena.
Wisdom (general subject, and Book of).

Simon, Rev. David W., M.A., D.D., Principal of the United College, Bradford.
Justification.

Skinner, Rev. John, M.A., D.D., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis in Westminster College, Cambridge.
Ezekiel, Holiness (in OT), Righteousness (in OT).

Smith, Rev. George Adam, M.A., D.D., LL.D., Professor of Hebrew in the United Free Church College, Glasgow.
Antioch (in Syria), Arbela, Bashan, Carmel, Isaiah, Ituræa, Joshua (person, and Book of), Trachonitis.

Stanton, Rev. Vincent Henry, M.A., D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, and Ely Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge.
Almsgiving, Canon, Fasting, Gospels, Messiah, New Testament Canon, Theocracy [Ext.], Truth, Will, World.

Stenning, John F., M.A., Fellow and Lecturer in Hebrew and Theology, Wadham College, Oxford.
Diatessaron [Ext.], Eli, En-rogel, Geba, Gibeah, Gibeon, Hiram, Mahanaim, Millo, Rabbah, Rehob, Samuel (prophet, and Books of), Shammah, Shobach, Shobi, Zobah, Zoheleth; besides a number of shorter articles, chiefly on Proper Names.

Stevens, Rev. George B., Ph.D., D.D., Dwight Professor of Systematic Theology in Yale University.
Holiness (in NT), Righteousness (in NT).

Stevenson, Rev. W. B., M.A., B.D., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Introduction in the Theological College, Bala.
Old Prophet (The), Ophrah, Pedaiah, Sharezer, Shavsha, Shebna, Shunem; and a number of shorter articles, especially on Proper Names.

Stewart, Rev. Alex., M.A., D.D., Principal of St. Mary's College, and Professor of Systematic Theology in the University of St. Andrews.
Adoration, Bible, Doctrine, Envy, Foreknowledge, Grace, Mystery.

Stock, St. George, M.A., Pembroke College, Oxford.
Stoics.

Strachan, Rev. James, M.A., Belgrave Presbyterian Church, London.
Elijah, Elisha, Gehazi, Scourge, Seraphim, Zeruiah, Ziba; and a few shorter articles.

Strack, Hermann L., Ph.D., D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin.
Text of the Old Testament.

Strong, Very Rev. Thomas B., M.A., D.D., Dean of Christ Church, Oxford.
Ethics, John the Apostle (Life and Theology of).

Suffrin, Rev. Aaron Emmanuel, M.A., Curate of Sparsholt with Kingstone Lisle, Berks.
Nod, Nodab.

Swete, Rev. Henry Barclay, M.A., D.D., Litt.D., Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge.
Holy Spirit, Laying on of Hands.

Tasker, Rev. John G., Professor of Biblical Literature and Exegesis in Handsworth College, Birmingham.
Apocryphal Gospels [Ext.].

Taylor, the late Rev. Isaac, M.A., Litt.D., LL.D., Rector of Settrington, and Canon of York.
Alphabet.

Taylor, Rev. John, M.A., D.Lit., Vicar of Winchcombe.
Amos, Chiun, Mahlah, Mauzzim, Melzar, Menahem, Nethinim, Onyx, Orion, Patriarchs, Pit (metaphorical), Pleiades, Rezin, Rezon, Ruby, Sapphire, Sardius, Sardonyx, Selah, Signet, Solomon's Servants, Tekoa, Topaz, Zadok; and a number of shorter articles.

Thackeray, Henry St. John, M.A., Examiner in the Board of Education, formerly Divinity Lecturer in Selwyn College, Cambridge.
Esdras (I. and II.), Josephus [Ext.]; and a number of short articles (for the most part unsigned) on the Proper Names in 1 and 2 Esdras.

Thatcher, Rev. G. W., M.A., B.D., Hebrew Tutor and Lecturer on Old Testament History and Literature in Mansfield College, Oxford.
Colours, Government, Judge (Judging), Nazarene, Nazareth, Phœnicia.

Thayer, the late Rev. Joseph Henry, M.A., D.D., Litt.D., Bussey Professor of New Testament Criticism and Interpretation in the Divinity School of Harvard University.
Abba, Hosanna, Language of the New Testament, Maranatha.

Turner, Cuthbert Hamilton, M.A., Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford.
Chronology of the New Testament, Greek Patristic Commentaries [Ext.], Philippi.

Vos, Rev. Geerhardus, D.D., Professor of Biblical Theology in Princeton Theological Seminary, New Jersey.
Fool.

Votaw, Clyde Weber, M.A., Ph.D., Assistant Professor of New Testament Literature in the University of Chicago.
Sermon on the Mount [Ext.].

Walker, Rev. George, M.A., B.D., Aberdeen.
Eunuch; and a few other short articles.

Walker, Rev. Thomas, M.A., Professor of Hebrew in the Assembly's College, Belfast.
Targum.

Warfield, Rev. B. B., M.A., D.D., LL.D., Professor of Theology in Princeton Seminary.
Doubt, Faith, Predestination.

Warren, Lieut.-General Sir Charles, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., F.R.S., Royal Engineers.
Bed, Famine, Fenced Cities, Gadara, Gate, Gath, Gerasa, Gerasenes, Golgotha, Hebron, Hinnom (Valley of), House, Jabneel, Jehoshaphat (Valley of), Jordan, Machpelah, Makkedah, Michmash, Miphkad, Mizpah (Mizpeh), Nimrim (Waters of), Olives (Mount of), Ophel, Pavement, Ramah (Nos. 1–4), Rimmon, Roof, Walls; and several shorter articles.

Welch, Rev. Adam C., M.A., B.D., Glasgow.
Malachi (Book of), Nabal, Naboth, Negeb, Perizzite, Rizpah, Saul, Teraphim; and a number of shorter articles.

White, the late Rev. Henry Alcock, M.A., Tutor in the University of Durham, and formerly Fellow of New College, Oxford.
Aaron, Atargatis, Atonement (Day of) [jointly with Professor Driver], Birth, Birthday, Castle, Chariot, David, Day, India, Ishmael (except Hagar's son), Jason (in Apocr.), Leaven, Menelaus, Mordecai, Nicanor; besides a number of shorter articles, chiefly on Proper Names.

White, Rev. H. J., M.A., Fellow and Chaplain of Merton College, Oxford.
Vulgate.

White, Rev. Newport J. D., M.A., B.D., Librarian of Archbishop Marsh's Library, and Assistant Lecturer in Divinity and Hebrew in the University of Dublin.
Abiathar, Abijah, Abishai, Ahaziah, Ahijah, Amos, Athaliah, Azariah, Benaiah, Hananiah, Jehoahaz, Jehoash (Joash), Jehoiachin, Jehoiada, Jehoiakim, Jehoram (Joram), Jehoshaphat, Jesse, Lord's Day, Michal, Nathan, Perez, Phinehas, Rehoboam, Seraiah, Shaphan, Shemaiah, Shimei, Uriah, Zedekiah, Zimri; besides several shorter articles, chiefly on Proper Names.

Whitehouse, Rev. Owen C., M.A., D.D., Principal and Professor of Biblical Exegesis and Theology, Cheshunt College, Herts.
Ahab, Apollyon, Cosmogony, Demon (Devil), Exorcism, Hoshea, Jehu, Lots, Magic (Magician), Omri, Pekah, Pillar, Possession, Python, Satan, Servant (Slave, Slavery), Soothsayer, Sorcery, Uzziah.

Wiedemann, Alfred, Ph.D., Professor of Egyptology in the University of Bonn.
Religion of Egypt [Ext.].

Williams, Rev. A. Lukyn, M.A., Vicar of Guilden Morden, late Tyrwhitt and Crosse Scholar of the University of Cambridge.
Hebrew, Jew, Joseph (husband of Mary), King, Queen.

Wilson, Lieut.-General Sir Charles William, R.E., K.C.B., K.C.M.G., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S.
Cistern, Conduit, Judæa, Megiddo, Pool, Salamis, Salecah, Salem, Salim, Samaria, Samaria (Kingdom of), Samos, Saramel, Seleucia, Senaah, Seneh, Senir, Shaalbim, Shaalim, Shaaraim, Shalem, Shalishah, Shallecheth, Shamir, Shechem, Shihor, Shihor-libnath, Siloam, Soco, Sorek, Sychar, Taanach, Tabor, Tamar, Telaim, Telassar, Telem, Tema, Teman, Thebez, Timna, Timnath-serah, Tob, Tripolis, Trogyllium, Zalmon, Zion; and a number of shorter articles, chiefly geographical.

Woods, Rev. Francis Henry, M.A., B.D., Rector of Bainton, and late Fellow and Theological Lecturer of St. John's College, Oxford.
Balaam, Flood, Hallelujah, Hexateuch, Israel (Kingdom of), Light, Old Testament Canon, Quotations, Virgin; and a number of shorter articles.

Wortabet, Rev. John, M.A., B.D., Beyrout, Syria.
Furnace, Horn, Trades; and a few shorter articles on similar subjects.

II. INDEX OF SUBJECTS

A (Codex Alexandrinus) i. 1^{a} (Murray).
ℵ (Codex Sinaiticus) i. 1^{a} (Murray).
A (Priestly Element of Hexateuch) i. 1^{b}.
A (Article) i. 1^{b}.
Aaron i. 2^{a} (H. A. White); ii. $123^{a.\,b}$ (Curtis); iv. 69^{a} (Baudissin); Ext. 633^{a} (Kautzsch).
  Priesthood contrasted with Christ's ii. 328^{a}, 332^{b} (Bruce).
Aaronites i. 3^{a} (H. A. White); iv. 83^{b} ff., 89^{a} ff. (Baudissin).
Aaron's Rod i. 3^{b} (A. R. S. Kennedy); ii. 29^{b} (Macalister); iii. 888^{b} (Macalister).
Ab in Proper Names iii. 483^{b} (Gray).
Ab (month) iv. 765^{b} (Abrahams).
Abacuc (Apoc.) i. 3^{b}.
Abaddon i. 3^{b} (Charles), 125^{b} (Whitehouse).
Abadias (Apoc.) i. 3^{b}.
Abagtha i. 4^{a}.
Abanah i. 4^{a} (Ewing).
Abarim i. 4^{a} (Chapman); iii. 502^{b}, 683^{b} note (Hastings).
Abase, Abasement i. 4^{a}.
Abate i. 4^{a}.
Abba i. 4^{b} (Thayer).
Abda i. 4^{b}.
Abdeel i. 5^{a}.
Abdi i. 5^{a}; ii. 125^{a}.
Abdias (Apoc.) i. 5^{a}.
Abdiel i. 5^{a}; ii. 131^{b} (Curtis).
Abdon (person) i. 5^{a}; ii. $131^{a\,bis}$ (Curtis).
Abdon (place) i. 5^{a}.
Abednego i. 5^{a}; iv. 755^{a} (Marshall).
Abel (person) i. 5^{a} (W. P. Paterson).
  Tomb of i. 8^{b} [Abilene].
Abel (place) i. 5^{a} (Conder).
Abel-beth-maacah i. 5^{a}.
Abel-cheramim i. 5^{b}.
Abel-maim i. 5^{b}.
Abel-meholah i. 5^{b}.
Abel-mizraim i. 5^{b}.
Abel-shittim i. 5^{b}; iv. 507^{a} (Chapman).
Abhorring i. 5^{b}.
Abi i. 5^{b} (Gray); ii. 127^{a} (Curtis).
Abia, Abiah i. 8^{b} [Abijah]; ii. 124^{a} (Curtis).
Abi-albon i. 5^{b} (Stenning), 7^{b} (Gray); ii. 132^{b} (Curtis).
Abiasaph [Ebiasaph] i. 5^{b} (Gray).
Abiathar (Ebiathar) i. 6^{a} (N. J. D. White); iv. 72^{b} (Baudissin); Ext. 649^{a} (Kautzsch).
Abib i. 7^{a}; iv. 765^{a} (Abrahams).
Abida i. 7^{a}.
Abidan i. 7^{a}.
Abide i. 7^{a} (Hastings).
Abiel i. 7^{b} (Gray); ii. 132^{b} (Curtis).
Abiezer i. 7^{b} (Gray); ii. 129^{b}, 132^{a} (Curtis).
Abigail i. 7^{b} (Gray); ii. $126^{b\,bis}$, 127^{a} (Curtis).
Abihail i. 7^{b} (Gray); ii. $126^{a.\,b}$, 131^{b} (Curtis).
Abihu i. 8^{a} (Allen); ii. $123^{a.\,b}$ (Curtis); iv. 90^{a} (Baudissin).
Abihud i. 8^{a}; ii. 130^{b}.
Abijah i. 8^{a} (N. J. D. White); ii. 123^{b}, 126^{b}, 130^{b} (Curtis).
Abijam i. 8^{a} [Abijah]; ii. 126^{b} (Curtis).
Abilene i. 8^{b} (Conder); iii. 178^{a} (Prichard).
Ability i. 9^{a}.
Abimael i. 9^{a}.
Abimelech i. 9^{a} (Selbie); ii. 815^{a} (König); iii. 329^{a} (Macalister); iv. 380^{b} (Budde).
Abinadab i. 10^{a}; ii. 126^{b}, 131^{a}.
Abinoam i. 10^{a}.
Abiram i. 10^{a}; ii. 122^{b}; iii. 11^{b} (Selbie).
Abishag i. 10^{a}.
Abishai i. 10^{a} (N. J. D. White); ii. 127^{a}, 132^{a} (Curtis).

Abishalom . . . i. 18^{b} [Absalom].
Abishua . . . i. 10^{b}; ii. 123$^{a\,b}$, 130^{b}.
Abishur . . . i. 10^{b}; ii. 126^{a}.
Abissei (Apoc.) . . i. 10^{b}.
Abisue (Apoc.) . . i. 10^{b}.
Abital . . . . i. 10^{b}; ii. 126^{b}.
Abitub . . . i. 10^{b}; ii. 131^{a}.
Abject . . . . i. 10^{b}.
Abner . . . . i. 10^{b} (N. J. D. White); ii. 131^{b} (Curtis).
Abode . . . . i. 11^{b}.
Abomination . . i. 11^{b} (Driver), 596^{b} [Detestable Things].
  of Desolation . . i. 12^{a} (Driver).
About . . . . i. 13^{a}.
Abraham . . . i. 13^{a} (Ryle).
  Analysis of Sources . i. 14^{b}.
  Call . . . . i. 16^{a}.
  Covenant with . i. 15^{a}, 511^{a}, 513^{b}, 515^{a} (Davidson).
  Elamite Campaign . i. 15^{a}.
  Faith . . . i. 16^{b}.
  Historical Character i. 15^{b}; Ext. 663^{b} (Kautzsch).
  Home . . . i. 15^{a}; ii. 326^{a} (Williams); iv. 835^{b} (Pinches).
  Name . . . i. 17^{b}, 227^{a} (Hommel).
  Sacrifice . . . i. 15^{b}; iv. 334^{b} (W. P. Paterson); Ext. 618^{b} (Kautzsch).
    Scene of . . iii. 437^{a} (Driver).
  in Jewish Tradition i. 17^{a}.
  in Theology (OT) . i. 16^{a}; ii. 846^{a} (Orr).
  ,, ,, (NT) . i. 16^{b}.
Abraham, Book of . i. 17^{b} (Marshall).
Abraham's Bosom . i. 17^{b}, 752^{b} (Salmond).
Abrech . . . i. 18^{a} (Price), 665^{b} (Crum); ii. 775^{a} note (Driver).
Abroad . . . i. 18^{b}.
Abronah . . . i. 18^{b}.
Absalom . . . i. 18^{b} (Selbie); ii. 126^{b} (Curtis).
  Rebellion of . . iv. 390^{a} (Stenning).
  Tomb of . . . ii. 597^{a} (Conder); iv. 456^{b} (Nicol).
Absalom in Apocrypha i. 19^{b} (H. A. White).
Abubus (Ap.) . . i. 20^{a}.
Abundance . . . i. 20^{a}.
Abuse, Abuser . . i. 20^{a}.
Abyss . . . . i. 20^{a} (Massie).
Abyssinia, Abyssinians i. 789^{b} (Margoliouth); Ext. 85^{a} (McCurdy).
Acacia . . . . iv. 507^{a} (Post).
Accaba (Apoc.) . . i. 20^{b}.
Accad, Accadians . i. 20^{b} (Price). [See Agade, Akkad].
Accept, Acceptable, Acceptation . . . i. 21^{b} (Hastings).
Acceptance . . . i. 22^{a} (Stewart).
Access . . . . i. 22^{a} (J. O. F. Murray).
Acco . . . . i. 22^{a} (Ewing); iv. 169^{b} (Macmillan).
Accomplish . . . i. 22^{b}.
Accord, Accordingly, According to . . i. 23^{a}.
Accos (Apoc.) . . i. 23^{a}.
Account . . . i. 23^{a}.
Accursed . . . i. 23^{a}.
Achaia . . . i. 23^{a} (Ramsay).
Achaicus . . . i. 23^{b} (Robertson).
Achan . . . . i. 23^{b} (Boyd); ii. 129^{a} (Curtis), 782^{a} (G. A. Smith).
Achar . . . . i. 23^{b} [Achan].
Achbor . . . i. 24^{a}.
Achiacharus (Apoc.) . i. 24^{a}.
Achias (Apoc.) . . i. 24^{a}.
Achim . . . . i. 24^{a}.
Achior (Apoc.) . . i. 24^{a}.
Achipha (Apoc.) . . i. 24^{a}.
Achish . . . . i. 24^{a}.
Achmetha . . . i. 24^{b} (Margoliouth).
Achor, Valley of . . i. 24^{b}.
Achsah . . . i. 25^{a}; ii. 127^{a}.
Achshaph . . . i. 25^{a}.
Achzib . . . i. 25^{a} (Mackie).
Acquaint, Acquaintance i. 25^{a}.
Acra . . . . . i. 359^{a} (H. A. White); ii. 386^{a} (Warren), 591$^{a,\,b}$ (Conder).
Acrostic . . . i. 25^{b} (Woods); Ext. 168^{a} (König).
  Psalms . . . iv. 156^{a} (Davison).
  in Lamentations . iii. 20^{b} (Selbie).
Acta Pauli et Theclæ . iii. 700^{a}; iv. 820^{a}.
Acts of the Apostles . i. 25^{b} (Headlam).
  Analysis . . . i. 28^{b}.
  Archæological Evidence for Accuracy i. 32^{a}.
  Authorship . . i. 26^{b}, 29$^{a,\,b}$.
  Christology . . i. 33^{a}.
  Chronology . . i. 421^{a} ff. (Turner).
  Community in Jerusalem . . . i. 32^{b}.
    Organization . i. 33^{a}.
  Criticism . . . i. 27^{b}.
  Date . . . i. 27^{b}, 29^{b} f.
  Eschatology . . i. 33^{a}.
  Historical Value . i. 31^{a}.
  Literary History . i. 26^{b}.
  Miracles . . . iii. 392^{a} (J. H. Bernard).
  Prayer in . . . iv. 44$^{a,\,b}$ (E. R. Bernard).
  Purpose and Contents i. 27^{b}.
  Quotations . . iv. 187^{a} (Woods).
  Relation to Josephus i. 30^{b}.
    to St. Paul's Epistles i. 31^{b}.
  Sources . . . i. 34^{a}.
  Speeches . . . i. 33^{b}; iii. 317^{b} (Adeney).
  Text and Transmission i. 26^{a}.
    Western . . i. 26^{a}.
  Unity . . . i. 34^{b}.
  'We' Sections . . i. 29^{a}, 34$^{a,\,b}$.
Acts of Pilate . . i. 413^{b} f. (Turner); iii. 878^{b} (Purves), 545^{b} (von Dobschütz).
Acts of St. Peter and St. Paul . . . iv. 523^{a} ff. (Headlam).
Acts of Thomas . . iv. 754^{a} (J. H. Bernard).
Acub (Apoc.) . . i. 35^{b}.
Acud (Apoc.) . . i. 35^{b}.
Adad . . . . Ext. 544^{b} (Jastrow).

Adadah . . . i. 35^{b}.
Adah . . . i. 35^{b} (Ryle).
Adaiah . . . i. 36^{a}; ii. 123^{a}, 124^{a}, 126^{a}, 127^{a}, 131^{a}.
Adaliah . . . i. 36^{a}.
Adam . . . i. 36^{a} (Bennett), 839^{a} ff. (J. H. Bernard).
  Burial-place of . . . iii. 198$^{a, b}$ (Warren).
Adam in NT . . . i. 37^{a} (Denney), 841^{a} ff. (J. H. Bernard).
Adam (city) . . . i. 37^{b}.
Adam, Books of . . . i. 37^{b} (Marshall).
Adamah . . . i. 38^{a}.
Adamant . . . i. 38^{a}.
Adami-nekeb . . . i. 38^{a}.
Adapa, Legend of . . . i. 221^{b} (Hommel); Ext. 573^{b} (Jastrow).
Adar . . . i. 38^{a}; iv. 765^{b} (Abrahams).
Adasa (Apoc.) . . . i. 38^{a}.
Adbeel . . . i. 38^{a}.
Addai, Doctrine of . . . ii. 697^{b} (Reynolds); Ext. 452^{b} (Stenning).
Addan (Apoc.) . . . i. 38^{a}.
Addar . . . i. 38^{b}, 144^{a} [Ard]; ii. 130^{b}.
Adder . . . iv. 459^{b} (Post).
Addi . . . i. 38^{b}.
Addict . . . i. 38^{b}.
Addo (Apoc.) . . . i. 38^{b}.
Addon . . . i. 38^{a} [Addan].
Addus (Apoc.) . . . i. 38^{b}.
Adida (Apoc.) . . . i. 38^{b}.
Adiel . . . i. 38^{b}; ii. 122^{b}, 124^{a}.
Adin . . . i. 38^{b}.
Adina . . . i. 38^{b}; ii. 132^{b}.
Adino . . . i. 38^{b} (Stenning).
Adinu (Apoc.) . . . i. 38^{b}.
Adithaim . . . i. 38^{b}.
Adjure, Adjuration . . . i. 39^{a} (Hastings); iii. 576^{a} (Ferries).
Adlai . . . i. 39^{a}.
Admah . . . i. 39^{a}.
Admatha . . . i. 39^{a}.
Administration . . . i. 39^{a}.
Admire, Admiration . . . i. 39^{a}.
Adna . . . i. 39^{a}.
Adnah . . . i. 39^{a}; ii. 132^{a}.
Ado . . . i. 39^{b}.
Adonibezek . . . i. 39^{b}.
Adonijah . . . i. 39^{b} (Selbie); ii. 125^{b}, 126^{b} (Curtis).
  Rebellion of . . . iv. 561^{b} (Flint).
Adonikam . . . i. 40^{a}.
Adoniram, Adoram . . . i. 40^{a}.
Adonis . . . i. 40^{b} (Burney); iii. 861^{a} (Thatcher); iv. 677^{a} (Sayce); Ext. 153^{a} (Ramsay).
Adoni-zedek . . . i. 40^{b} (Boyd).
Adoption . . . i. 40^{b} (Candlish); ii. 218^{b}, 472^{b} f. (A. Martin); iii. 724^{b} (Findlay); iv. 720^{b} (Massie).
Adora (Apoc.) . . . i. 42^{a}.
Adoraim . . . i. 42^{a}.
Adoram . . . i. 40^{a}.
Adoration . . . i. 42^{a} (Stewart).
Adorning . . . i. 43^{a}.
Adrammelech . . . i. 43^{a} (Barnes); iv. 476^{b} (Stevenson).
Adramyttium . . . i. 43^{b} (Ramsay).
Adria . . . i. 43^{b} (Dickson).
Adriel . . . i. 44^{a}.
Aduel (Apoc.) . . . i. 44^{a}.
Adullam, Adullamite . . . i. 44^{a} (Muir).
Adultery . . . i. 520^{b} (Poucher); iii. 273^{a} ff. (W. P. Paterson).
Adummim . . . i. 44^{b} (Henderson).
Advantage . . . i. 44^{b}.
Advent . . . iii. 674^{b} (Adams Brown).
Adventure . . . i. 44^{b}.
Adversary . . . i. 45^{a}.
Advertise . . . i. 45^{a}.
Advice, Advise, Advisement . . . i. 45^{a}.
Advocate . . . ii. 408$^{a, b}$ (Swete); iii. 665^{b}, 668^{a} (Hastings).
Ædias (Apoc.) . . . i. 45^{a}.
Æneas . . . i. 45^{a}; iii. 326^{b} (Macalister).
Ænon . . . i. 45^{a} (Henderson).
Æsora (Apoc.) . . . i. 45^{b}.
Affect, Affection . . . i. 45^{b} (Hastings).
Affinity . . . i. 45^{b}.
Affliction . . . i. 45^{b}.
Affray . . . i. 521^{a} (Poucher).
Afore . . . i. 46^{a}.
After, Afterward . . . i. 46^{a} (Hastings).
Africa, Jews in . . . Ext. 96^{b} (Schürer).
Agabus . . . i. 46^{a} (Moss).
Agade . . . i. 224^{a}-227^{b} (Hommel). [See Accad, Akkad].
Agag . . . i. 46^{b} (Macpherson).
Agagite . . . i. 46^{b} (Macpherson), 331^{a} (Selbie).
Again . . . i. 46^{b}.
Against . . . i. 47^{a}.
Agape . . . i. 428^{b} (Gayford), 490^{b} (Robertson); iii. 157^{a} (Lock).
Agar (Apoc.) . . . i. 47^{a}.
Agate . . . iv. 620^{b} (Flinders Petrie).
Age, Aged, Old Age . . . i. 47^{a} (Mackie).
Agee . . . i. 48^{a}; ii. 132^{a}.
Aggaba (Apoc.) . . . i. 48^{a}.
Aggæus (Apoc.) . . . i. 48^{a}.
Agia (Apoc.) . . . i. 48^{a}.
Agone . . . i. 48^{a}.
Agony . . . i. 48^{a}.
Agrapha . . . Ext. 343^{a} ff. (Ropes).
Agree . . . i. 48^{a}.
Agriculture . . . i. 48^{a} (J. W. Paterson).
  Legislation . . . i. 48^{b}; iv. 324^{a} ff. (Harford-Battersby).
  in Code of Ḫammurabi . . . Ext. 591^{b} ff. (Johns).
Agrippa I. . . . ii. 359^{a} (Headlam).
Agrippa II. . . . ii. 360^{a} (Headlam).
Ague . . . iii. 323^{b} (Macalister).
Agur . . . i. 51^{a} (Davison).

Ah, Aha . . . . i. 51^b.
Ahab . . . . i. 51^b (Whitehouse), 53^b, 184^b (Hommel); Ext. 647^a (Kautzsch).
  Chronology of Reign i. 53^a, 402^a (Curtis).
Aharah . . . . i. 53^b; ii. 130^a.
Aharhel . . . . i. 53^b; ii. 128^b.
Ahasbai . . . . i. 53^b; ii. 132^b.
Ahashtarites . . ii. 128^b.
Ahasuerus . . . i. 53^b (Selbie); iv. 958^a.
Ahava . . . . i. 53^b (H. A. White).
Ahaz . . . . i. 53^b (Peake); ii. 126^b, 131^a (Curtis).
  Altar . . . i. 54^a; iv. 837^b (N. J. D. White).
  Chronology of Reign i. 53^b, 402^a (Curtis).
Ahaziah . . . i. 54^b (N. J. D. White); ii. 126^b (Curtis).
Ahban . . . . i. 55^a; ii. 126^a.
Aher . . . . i. 55^a; ii. 130^b.
Ahi . . . . i. 55^a (Gray); ii. 132^a (Curtis).
Ahiah . . . . i. 55^b [Ahijah].
Ahiam . . . . i. 55^b; ii. 132^b.
Ahian . . . . i. 55^b; ii. 129^b.
Ahiezer . . . i. 55^b; ii. 132^a.
Ahihud . . . i. 55^b; ii. 131^a.
Ahijah . . . . i. 55^b (N. J. D. White); ii. 126^a, 132^b (Curtis); Ext. 653^b (Kautzsch).
Ahikam . . . i. 56^b.
Aḥiḳar, Story of . . iii. 488^a (Nestle); iv. 789^a (Marshall).
Ahilud . . . . i. 56^b.
Ahimaaz . . . i. 56^b (N. J. D. White); ii. 123^a (Curtis).
Ahiman . . . i. 56^b (Gray).
Ahimelech . . . i. 57^a (Boyd), 6^b (N. J. D. White), 55^b [Ahijah].
Ahimoth . . . i. 57^a; ii. 124^a; iii. 214^a.
Ahinadab . . . i. 57^a.
Ahinoam . . . i. 57^a; ii. 126^b.
Ahio . . . . i. 57^a; ii. 131$^{a\ bis}$.
Ahira . . . . i. 57^b.
Ahiram, Ahiramites . i. 57^b; ii. 130$^{a,\ b}$.
Ahisamach . . . i. 57^b.
Ahishahar . . . i. 57^b; ii. 130^b.
Ahishar . . . i. 57^b.
Ahithophel . . . i. 57^b (Moss); ii. 132^b (Curtis).
Ahitob (Apoc.) . . i. 57^b.
Ahitub . . . . i. 58^a; ii. 123$^{a\ bis}$, 123^b.
Ahlab . . . . i. 58^a.
Ahlai . . . . i. 58^a; ii. 126^a, 132^b.
Ahoah, Ahohite . . i. 58^a; ii. 130^b, 132^b.
Ahriman . . . iv. 988^b (J. H. Moulton); Ext. 279^b, 289^a (Fairweather).
Ahumai . . . i. 58^a; ii. 128^a.
Ahuzzam . . . i. 58^a; ii. 128^a.
Ahuzzath . . . i. 58^a (Ryle).
Ahzai . . . . i. 58^a.
Ai . . . . i. 58^a (Conder); ii. 782^b (G. A. Smith).
Aiah . . . . i. 58^a.
Aiath, Aija . . . i. 58^a [Ai].
Aijalon . . . i. 58^b (Conder).
Aijeleth hash-shahar . iv. 153^a (Davison).
Aim . . . . i. 58^b.
Ain (letter) . . . i. 58^b, 73^a (I. Taylor).
Ain (place) . . . i. 58^b (Henderson), 711^a (Selbie).
Air . . . . i. 58^b (Mackie).
Akan . . . . i. 59^a.
Akatan (Apoc.) . . i. 59^a.
Akeldama . . . i. 59^a (Henderson).
Akhlami . . . i. 181^b, 182^b (Hommel).
Akhmim Fragment . Ext. 426^b (Tasker).
Akkad . . . . iv. 504$^{a,\ b}$, 836^b f. (Pinches). [See Accad, Agade].
Akkos (Apoc.) . . i. 59^b.
Akkub . . . i. 59^b; ii. 127^a.
Akmonia, Jewish Inscription . . . Ext. 94^b (Schürer).
Akrabbim . . . i. 59^b (Conder), 575^b (Hull).
Akrabattine (Apoc.) . i. 59^b.
Alabarch . . . Ext. 106^a (Schürer).
Alabaster . . . i. 313^a (Carslaw); ii. 41^a (Macalister); iii. 243^a (Patrick), 593^b (Macalister).
  Quarries in Egypt . i. 653^b (Crum).
Alamoth . . . iv. 153^a (Davison).
Albeit . . . . i. 59^b.
Alcimus (Apoc.) . . i. 59^b (Moss).
Alema (Apoc.) . . i. 60^a.
Alemeth . . . i. 60^a; ii. 130^b, 131^a.
Aleph . . . . i. 72^b (I. Taylor).
  = Codex Sinaiticus . i. 1^a (J. O. F. Murray).
Alexander . . . i. 60^a (Robertson).
Alexander III. . . i. 60^b (Moss).
Alexander Balas (or Epiphanes) . . i. 61^b (Moss).
  Jannæus . . . iii. 186^a (Fairweather), 824^a (Eaton).
Alexander ‘the ancient heretic’ . . . Ext. 489^b.
Alexandria, Alexandrians . . . i. 61^b (Gibb).
  Alexandrian Canon . i. 117^b (Porter); iii. 615^a (Woods).
    Doctrine . . i. 62^a f., 65^a (Massie), 117^b (Porter); Ext. 199^a ff. (Drummond), 295^a (Fairweather).
    Type of Text . Ext. 221^b (J. O. F. Murray).
  Jews in Alexandria . Ext. 95^b, 99^a, 104^b, 109^a (Schürer).
Alexandrinus Codex . i. 1^a (J. O. F. Murray).
Algum Trees . . i. 63^a (Post).
Aliah . . . . i. 63^b.
Alian . . . . i. 63^b.
Alien . . . . ii. 49^b [Foreigner].
All . . . . i. 63^b (Hastings).
Allammelech . . i. 64^a.
Allar (Apoc.) . . i. 64^a.
Allay . . . . i. 64^a.

Allege, Allegiance . i. 64^a.
Allegory . . . i. 64^a (Massie); Ext. 163^a (König).
  in Hebrews . . i. 65^b.
  in the OT . . iii. 660^b (König).
  in Philo . . . i. 65^a; Ext. 206^b (Drummond).
  in St. Paul . . i. 65^b.
  Alleg. Method of Interpretation . . i. 64^b, 114^a (Porter); Ext. 206^b (Drummond).
Allemeth . . . i. 66^a.
Alliance . . . i. 66^a (Millar).
Allied . . . . i. 66^b.
Alliteration . . . Ext. 165^a (König).
Allon . . . . i. 66^b; ii. 122^b.
Allon-bacuth . . i. 66^b.
Allow . . . . i. 66^b.
Almighty . . . i. 66^b.
Al-Modad . . . i. 67^a (Margoliouth).
Almon . . . . i. 66^a [Allemeth].
Almon-diblathaim . i. 67^a.
Almond . . . i. 67^a (Post); ii. 29^b (Macalister).
Almsgiving . . . i. 67^b (Stanton).
Almug . . . . i. 63^a [Algum].
Aloes, Lign Aloes . i. 69^a (Post).
Aloft . . . . i. 70^a.
Alogi . . . . ii. 701^b (Reynolds); iii. 537^a f. (Stanton); iv. 240^b (Porter).
Along . . . . i. 70^a.
Alpha and Omega . i. 70^a (Charles).
Alphabet . . . i. 70^b (I. Taylor).
  Aramæan . . . i. 73^b.
  Egyptian . . . i. 70^b.
  Hebrew, Square . i. 74^a.
  Israelitic or Phœnician . . . i. 70^b ff.
  Moabite . . . i. 73^a; iii. 406^a (Bennett).
  Nabatæan . . . i. 74^a.
  Sidonian . . . i. 73^b.
  Syriac . . . i. 74^a.
Alphæus . . . i. 74^b (Macpherson).
Altar . . . . i. 75^a (A. R. S. Kennedy); Ext. 620^a (Kautzsch).
  Asylum . . . i. 76^b.
  Hearth . . . i. 147^b; ii. 319^a; iv. 710^a (Davies).
  Horns . . . i. 77^a; ii. 416^a (Wortabet); iv. 658^a, 710^a (Davies); Ext. 620^a (Kautzsch).
  of Ahaz . . . i. 54^a (Peake); iv. 837^b f. (N. J. D. White).
  of Burnt-offering . iv. 657^b, 696^a, 702^b, 709^b, 711^a, 715^a (Davies).
  of Incense . . iv. 495^b, 664^b; ii. 332^b (Bruce), 467^b (Selbie); iv. 701^b, 709^b, 711^a, 714^b (Davies).
  pre-Deuteronomic . i. 75^b; Ext. 620^a (Kautzsch).
  pre-Historic . . i. 75^a.
  post-Deuteronomic . i. 76^b.
Al-tashheth . . . iv. 153^a (Davison).
Altogether . . . i. 77^a.
Alu-musharshid . . i. 225^a (Hommel).
Alush . . . . i. 77^a, 617^a (Rendel Harris).
Alvah, Alvan . . i. 77^a.
Alway, Always . . i. 77^b.
Amad . . . . i. 77^b.
Amadathus (Apoc.) . i. 77^b.
Amain . . . . i. 77^b.
Amal . . . . i. 77^b; ii. 132^a.
Amalek, Amalekites . i. 77^b (Macpherson); Ext. 75^b (Jastrow).
Amam . . . . i. 79^a.
Aman (Apoc.) . . i. 79^a (Marshall); iii. 488^a (Nestle).
Amana . . . . i. 79^a.
Amariah . . . i. 79^a (N. J. D. White); ii. 123$^{a\ bis}$, 123^b, 124^b, 125^b, 129^a (Curtis).
Amarias (Apoc.) . . i. 79^b.
Amasa . . . . i. 79^b (Boyd); ii. 127^a (Curtis).
Amasai . . . . i. 79^b; ii. 124^a, 125^b.
Amashsai . . . i. 79^b.
Amasiah . . . i. 79^b.
Amasis . . . . i. 663^b (Crum).
Amazed . . . . i. 79^b.
Amaziah . . . i. 80^a (Selbie); ii. 122^b, 125^a, 126^b (Curtis).
Amazons . . . Ext. 130^b (Ramsay).
Ambassador . . . i. 80^a (Thatcher).
Ambassage . . . i. 80^b.
Ambush . . . . i. 80^b.
Amen . . . . i. 80^b (Massie).
Amenemes I. . . i. 659^a (Crum).
Amenemes III. . . i. 659^a (Crum).
Amerce . . . . i. 81^b.
Amenophis I. . . i. 660^b (Crum).
Amenophis II. . . i. 661^a (Crum).
Amenophis III. . . i. 661^a (Crum).
Amenophis IV. . . i. 661^a (Crum).
  Religious Revolution Ext. 183^b (Wiedemann).
Amethyst . . . iv. 620^b (Flinders Petrie).
Ami . . . . . i. 81^b.
Amiable . . . . i. 81^b.
Amittai . . . . i. 81^b.
Amity . . . . i. 81^b.
Ammah . . . . i. 81^b.
Ammi . . . . i. 81^b (Gray).
  in compound Names i. 271^a (Ryle); iii. 483^b (Gray).
Ammidioi . . . i. 81^b (Gray).
Ammiel . . . . i. 81^b (Gray).
Ammihud . . . i. 81^b (Gray); ii. 129^a, 130^a (Curtis).
Ammihur . . . i. 82^a.
Amminadab . . . i. 82^a (Gray); ii. 125^b, 126^b (Curtis).
Amminadib . . . i. 82^a (Selbie).
Ammishadai . . . i. 82^a.
Ammizabad . . . i. 82^a; ii. 132^b.
Ammon, Ammonites . i. 82^a (Macpherson).
  Name . . . . i. 82^b, 271^a (Ryle).
  Origin . . . i. 82^b; Ext. 73^b (Jastrow).
  Religion . . . iii. 415^b, 416^b (Bennett).

Amnon . . . . i. 83^{b}; ii. 126^{b}, 129^{a}.
Amok . . . . i. 83^{b}.
Amon . . . . i. 83^{b} (James Patrick); ii. 126^{b}, 127^{a} (Curtis).
Amon (god) . . . iii. 555^{a} [No-Amon]; Ext. 185^{a} (Wiedemann).
'Amoraim . . . Ext. 64^{a} (Schechter).
Amorites . . . i. 84^{b} (Sayce); Ext. 77^{b} (Jastrow).
  Architecture . . i. 143^{a} (Flinders Petrie).
  in Babylonian Inscriptions . . i. 225^{b} ff. (Hommel).
  Relations with Moab iii. $409^{a,\,b}$ (Bennett).
Amos, Prophet . . i. 85^{a} (J. Taylor).
  Date . . . i. 86^{a}.
  Name . . . i. 85^{a} note, 85^{b} note.
  Prophecy, Authenticity of . . i. 86^{a}.
    Contents, Analysis of . . . i. 86^{b}.
    Style . . . i. 87^{b}.
    Superscription . i. 86^{a}.
    Theology . . i. 86^{b}.
      Idea of God . i. 86^{b}; Ext. 682^{b} (Kautzsch).
      Judgment . . i. 87^{a}; Ext. 691^{b} (Kautzsch).
      Messianic Teaching . . . i. 87^{a}; Ext. 713^{b} (Kautzsch).
      Relation of J″ to Israel . . i. 86^{b}; Ext. 684^{b} (Kautzsch).
    Visions . . . Ext. 676^{a} (Kautzsch).
Amos (Lk 3^{25}) . . i. 85^{5} note.
Amosis . . . i. 660^{b} (Crum).
Amoz . . . . i. 88^{a}, 85^{b} note.
Amphipolis . . . i. 88^{a} (Dickson).
Ampliatus (AV Amplias) . . . i. 88^{a} (Headlam).
Amram, Amramites . i. 88^{a} (Allen); ii. $123^{a\,bis}$ (Curtis).
Amraphel . . . i. 88^{b} (Ryle), 222^{b}, 226^{b} (Hommel); Ext. 587^{a} (Johns).
Amulets . . . i. 88^{b} (Mackie); iv. 603^{a}, 604^{a}, 605^{a} (Whitehouse).
Amzi . . . . i. 90^{a}; ii. 125^{a}.
An . . . . . i. 90^{a}.
Anab . . . . i. 90^{a}; ii. 128^{b}.
Anadiplosis . . . Ext. 165^{b} (König).
Anael (Apoc.) . . i. 90^{a}.
Anah . . . . i. 90^{a} (Selbie).
Anaharath . . . i. 90^{b}.
Anaiah . . . i. 90^{b}.
Anak, Anakim . . i. 90^{b} (Beecher), 56^{b} [Ahiman]; ii. 166^{b} ff.
Anamim . . . i. 90^{b} (Millar).
Anammelech . . i. 91^{a} (Barnes).
Anan . . . . i. 91^{a}.
Anani . . . . i. 91^{a}; ii. 127^{a}.
Ananiah (person) . i. 91^{a}.
Ananiah (place) . . i. 91^{a}, 698^{b} [Elon].
Ananias . . . i. 91^{a} (James), 91^{b} (Selbie).
Ananiel (Apoc.) . . i. 92^{a}.
Anaphora . . . Ext. 165^{b} (König).
Anath . . . . i. 92^{a} (Cooke); iii. 861^{b} (Thatcher); Ext. 617^{a} (Kautzsch).
Anathema . . . i. 534^{b} (Denney).
Anathoth . . . i. 92^{a} (Henderson); ii. 130^{b} (Curtis).
Anatolian Religion . Ext. 109^{a} ff. (Ramsay).
Ancestor Worship . ii. 200^{b} (Davidson), 445^{b} (W. P. Paterson); iv. 718^{b} (Welch); Ext. 614^{a} (Kautzsch).
Anchor . . . Ext. 363^{a}, 366^{b} (Blomfield).
Ancient . . . . i. 92^{a}.
Ancient of Days . . i. 92^{a} (Aglen).
Ancle . . . . i. 92^{b}.
And . . . . . i. 92^{b}.
Andrew . . . . i. 92^{b} (James).
  Name . . . i. 92^{b}.
  NT References . i. 92^{b}.
  Traditions . . i. 93^{a}.
Andrew, Gospel of . Ext. 438^{a} (Tasker).
Andronicus . . . i. 93^{b} (Headlam).
Anem . . . . i. 93^{b} (Conder).
Aner (person) . . i. 93^{b} (Ryle).
Aner (place) . . i. 93^{b}.
Angel . . . . i. 93^{b} (Davidson).
  Angel of God, of Jehovah . . . i. 94^{a}; Ext. 285^{b} (Fairweather), 638^{a} (Kautzsch).
  Angel of the Covenant Ext. 639^{a} (Kautzsch).
  Angel of the Presence i. 94^{b}; Ext. 639^{a} (Kautzsch).
  Archangel . . . i. 97^{a}; Ext. 286^{a} (Fairweather). [See Gabriel, Michael, Raphael, Uriel].
  Evil Angels . . i. 96^{a}; iv. 408^{b} ff. (Whitehouse).
  Gods of the Nations i. 95^{a}, 592^{b} (Whitehouse); Ext. 724^{b} (Kautzsch).
  Guardian . . . i. 96^{b}; iv. 991^{b} (Moulton); Ext. 287^{a} (Fairweather).
  Heavenly Hosts, Holy Ones . . . i. 95^{a} f.; ii. 430^{a} (Driver); iii. 138^{b} (Driver).
  in Apocrypha . . i. 97^{a}.
  in Apocryphal Period Ext. 285^{b} ff. (Fairweather).
  in NT . . . i. 97^{a}.
    Hebrews . . ii. 328^{a} (Bruce).
    2 Peter . . . iii. 797^{b} (Chase).
    Revelation . . iv. 254^{a}, 261^{a}, 263^{a} (Porter).
  Influence of Parsism iv. 991^{a}, 993^{b} (Moulton); Ext. 286^{a} (Fairweather).
  Invocation of Angels Ext. 286^{a} (Fairweather).
Angels—
  Messengers . . i. 94^{b}; iii. 351^{b} (Hastings); Ext. 643^{b}, 724^{b} (Kautzsch).
  Sons of Elohim . i. 95^{a}, 97^{a}; Ext. 724^{a} (Kautzsch).
Angels of the Seven Churches . . . i. 97^{b} (Gwatkin); iv. 261^{a} (Porter).

- Anger . . . . i. 97^{b}.
- Anger (Wrath) of God i. 97^{b} (Orr).
- Angle . . . . i. 99^{a}.
- Anglo-Saxon Versions Ext. 236^{a} (J. H. Lupton).
- Aniam . . . . i. 99^{a}; ii. 129^{b}, 130^{a}.
- Anim . . . . i. 99^{a} (Conder).
- Animism . . . i. 590^{a} (Whitehouse); ii. 201^{a} (Davidson), 445^{b} f. (W. P. Paterson); Ext. 614^{a} (Kautzsch).
- Animal Kingdom . iii. 491^{a} (Post).
- Animals, Clean and Unclean . . ii. 35^{a} ff. (Macalister); iv. 829^{a} ff. (Peake); Ext. 613^{b} (Kautzsch).
  - Sacred, in Egypt . Ext. 189^{b} (Wiedemann).
    - in Greece . . Ext. 114^{a} ff. (Ramsay).
    - in Israel . . ii. 445^{b} (W. P. Paterson).
    - in relation to gods Ext. 114^{b} (Ramsay).
- Anise . . . . i. 99^{a} (Post).
- Ankle-chains . . i. 99^{b} (Mackie).
- Anklets . . . i. 99^{b} (Mackie).
- Anna . . . . i. 99^{b} (Milligan).
- Annas . . . . i. 99^{b} (N. J. D. White).
- Annis (Apoc.) . . i. 100^{b}.
- Annunaki . . . Ext. 565^{b} (Jastrow).
- Annus (Apoc.) . . i. 100^{b}.
- Annuus (Apoc.) . . i. 100^{b}.
- Anointing . . . i. 100^{b} (Macalister); iii. 591^{b}; Ext. 659^{b} (Kautzsch)
- Anon . . . . i. 102^{a}.
- Anos (Apoc.) . . i. 102^{a}.
- Another . . . i. 102^{a}.
- Ansan . . . . i. 675^{a} (Sayce).
- Answer . . . i. 102^{a} (Hastings).
- Ant . . . . i. 102^{a} (Post).
- Anta . . . . Ext. 187^{b} (Wiedemann).
- Antelope . . . iii. 491^{a} f., 638^{a} (Post); ii. 36^{b} (Macalister).
- Anthothijah . . i. 103^{a}; ii. 131^{a}.
- Anthropology . . iii. 225^{b} (Adeney); i. 36^{a} (Bennett); iii. 720^{a} (Findlay); Ext. 290^{b} ff. (Fairweather), 665^{a}, 725^{a} (Kautzsch). [See Psychology].
- Anthropomorphisms . ii. 197^{b} (Davidson), 206^{b} (Sanday); iv. 157^{a} (Davison), 679^{a} f. (T. Walker); Ext. 279^{b} (Fairweather), 627^{b}, 637^{b} f., 640^{a}, 679^{a} (Kautzsch).
- Antichrist . . . iii. 226^{a} (James), 709^{a} (Findlay).
    - in Apocalypse . iii. 226^{b}; iv. 257^{b} ff. (F. C. Porter).
    - Gospels . . . iii. 227^{a}.
    - Jewish Apocalyptic iii. 227^{a}.
    - Johannine Epp. . iii. 226^{b}; ii. 734$^{a.\,b}$ (Salmond).
    - Pauline Epp. . iii. 226^{b}; iv. 747^{b} f. (Lock).
  - Doctrine of 1st cent. Christians . . iii. 227^{b}.
  - Later Views . . iii. 228^{a}.
- Antilibanus . . iii. 92^{b} (Bliss).
- Antioch . . . i. 103^{a} (G. A. Smith).
  - Connexion with St. Paul . . . iii. 704^{a}, 709^{a} f. (Findlay).
    - with St. Peter . iii. 768^{a} (Chase), 709^{a} f. (Findlay).
  - Jews in Antioch . Ext. 105^{a} (Schürer).
- Antioch in Pisidia . i. 104^{b} (Ramsay).
  - St. Paul in . . iii. 704^{b} (Findlay).
- Antiochians (Apoc.) . i. 104^{b} (H. A. White).
- Antiochis (Apoc.) . i. 105^{a}.
- Antiochus (Apoc.) . i. 105^{a}.
- Antiochus I. . . i. 105^{a} (Moss).
- Antiochus II. . . i. 105^{a} (Moss).
- Antiochus III. . . i. 105^{b} (Moss).
- Antiochus IV. (Epiphanes) . . . i. 105^{b} (Moss).
  - and the Maccabees . iii. 181^{a} (Fairweather).
  - in Book of Daniel . i. 552^{a} (Curtis); iii. 227^{b} (James).
- Antiochus V. . . i. 106^{b} (Moss).
- Antiochus VI. . . i. 107^{a} (Moss).
- Antiochus VII. . . i. 107^{a} (Moss).
- Antipas, Herod . . ii. 358^{a} (Headlam).
- Antipas . . . i. 107^{b} (James); iii. 751^{b} (Ramsay).
- Antipater (Apoc.) . i. 107^{b} (Selbie); ii. 355^{a} ff. (Headlam); iii. 186^{b} (Fairweather).
- Antipatris . . . i. 107^{b} (Conder).
- Antonia, Fort of . i. 359^{a} (H. A. White); ii. 599^{a} (Conder); iv. 712^{b}, 716^{a} (Davies).
- Anu . . . . Ext. 538^{a} ff. (Jastrow).
- Anub . . . . i. 107^{b}; ii. 128^{b}.
- Anubis . . . Ext. 196^{a} (Wiedemann).
- Anukit . . . Ext. 186^{b} (Wiedemann).
- Anvil . . . . i. 107^{b} (Mackie).
- Any . . . . i. 108^{a} (Hastings).
- Apace . . . . i. 108^{a} (Hastings).
- Apame (Apoc.) . . i. 108^{a}, 761^{a} (Thackeray).
- Apamea, Jewish Coins and Inscriptions in . Ext. 94^{a} (Schürer).
- Ape . . . . i. 108^{a} (Post).
- Apelles . . . i. 108^{b} (Headlam).
- Apelles, Gospel of . Ext. 438^{a} (Tasker).
- Aphærema (Apoc.) . i. 108^{b}.
- Apharsachites . . i. 108^{b}.
- Apharsathchites . . i. 108^{b}.
- Apharsites . . . i. 108^{b} (Macpherson), 675^{a} (Sayce).
- Aphek . . . . i. 108^{b} (Ewing).
- Aphekah . . . i. 109^{a}.
- Apherra (Apoc.) . . i. 109^{a}.
- Aphiah . . . i. 109^{a}.
- Aphik . . . . i. 109^{a}.
- Aphrah . . . i. 281 [Beth-le-Aphrah].
- Aphrodite . . . i. 169^{a} ff. (Driver); Ext. 137^{b} (Ramsay).
- Apis . . . . Ext. 190^{a} (Wiedemann).
- Apocalypse . . . iv. 239^{b} [Revelation, Book of].
  - of Baruch . . i. 249^{a} (Charles).
  - of Paul . . . iii. 815^{a} (Chase).
  - of Peter . . . iii. 814^{a} (Chase).

- Apocalyptic Literature . . . i. 109^{a} (Charles); iv. 244^{b} ff. (F. C. Porter); Ext. 708^{b} (Kautzsch).
  - Chief Apoc. Writings . . . i. 110^{b}.
  - Dogmas . . . iv. 247^{b} (Porter).
  - Dualism . . . iv. 246^{a} (Porter).
  - Eschatology . . . i. 741^{b}.
  - Interpretation, Methods of . . . iv. 248^{a} (Porter).
  - Literary Material and Form . . . iv. 247^{a} (Porter).
  - Messianic Hope . . . Ext. 297^{a} ff. (Fairweather).
  - Object . . . i. 110^{a} f.
  - Prediction in . . . iv. 246^{a} (Porter).
  - Pseudonymity . . . i. 109^{b}; iv. 246^{b} (Porter).
  - Relation to Prophecy . . . i. 109^{b}; iv. 112^{b} (Davidson), 246^{a} ff. (Porter).
    - to Scribism . . . i. 109^{a}.
- Apocrypha . . . i. 110^{b} (F. C. Porter).
  - Apoc. in the Eastern Church . . . i. 120^{a}.
    - in Judaism . . . i. 116^{a} ff.
      - Palestinian and Hellenic Elements . . . i. 117^{a}.
      - Relation to Hagiographa . . . i. 116^{b}.
        - to Hell. and Pal. Canon . . . i. 117^{b}; iii. 615^{a}.
        - to Parties of Judaism . . . i. 118^{b}.
    - in Protestantism . . . i. 122^{b}.
    - in Roman Catholic Church . . . i. 121^{b}.
  - Books included . . . i. 111^{a}, 115^{a}.
  - Demonology . . . Ext. 289^{a} ff. (Fairweather).
  - Eschatology . . . i. 741^{b} (Charles).
  - 'Genuzim' and 'Hizonim' . . . i. 113^{a}.
  - Hidden books of Christianity . . . i. 113^{b}.
    - of Judaism . . . i. 112^{a}.
  - Language . . . iii. 35^{a} (Margoliouth).
  - MSS and VSS . . . i. 121^{a}; Ext. 266^{a} (Lupton).
  - Prayer in the Apocrypha . . . iv. 42^{a} (E. R. Bernard).
  - Title . . . i. 112^{a}–116^{a}.
  - Wisdom Teaching . . . iv. 927^{b} (Siegfried); Ext. 728 ff. (Kautzsch).
- Apocryphal Gospels . . . Ext. 420^{b} (Tasker).
  - Gospels which embody Early Tradition—
    - Fayûm Gospel Fragment . . . Ext. 428^{b}.
    - Gospel according to Egyptians . . . Ext. 423^{b}.
    - Gospel according to Peter . . . Ext. 425^{b}.
  - Heretical Gospels—
    - Gospel according to Basilides . . . Ext. 437^{b}.
    - Gospel according to Matthias . . . Ext. 437^{a}.
- Apocryphal Gospels, Heretical—
    - Gospel according to Philip . . . Ext. 436^{b}.
    - Gospel of the Twelve Apostles . . . Ext. 435^{a}.
  - Gospels of Infancy and Parentage of Christ—
    - Arabic Gospel of the Childhood . . . Ext. 433^{a}.
    - Arabic History of Joseph the Carpenter . . . Ext. 433^{b}.
    - Departure of Mary . . . Ext. 434^{a}.
    - Gospel according to Thomas . . . Ext. 431^{b}.
    - Protevangelium of James . . . Ext. 429^{b}.
      - Gospel of pseudo-Matthew . . . Ext. 430^{a}.
      - Gospel of Nativity of Mary . . . Ext. 430^{a}.
  - Definition . . . Ext. 420^{b}.
  - Origin . . . Ext. 421^{a}.
  - Reception and Influence . . . Ext. 422^{a}.
  - Value . . . Ext. 421^{b}.
- Apocryphal Period, Development of Doctrine in . . . Ext. 272^{a} ff. (Fairweather).
- Apollinaris . . . Ext. 500^{a} (Turner).
- Apollo . . . Ext. 143^{b} ff. (Farnell).
- Apollonia . . . i. 123^{b} (Dickson).
- Apollonius (Apoc.) . . . i. 123^{b} (Dickson).
- Apollophanes (Apoc.) . . . i. 124^{b} (H. A. White).
- Apollos . . . i. 124^{b} (J. H. Bernard), 485^{a}, 486^{a} (Robertson).
- Apollyon . . . i. 125^{b} (Whitehouse).
- Apoplexy . . . iii. 326^{b} (Macalister).
- Apostasy . . . i. 125^{b}.
- Apostle . . . i. 126^{a}, 440^{a} (Gwatkin), 432^{b} ff. (Gayford), 796^{b} (Massie).
- Apostles, Gospel of the Twelve . . . Ext. 435^{a} (Tasker).
- Apostolical Church Ordinances . . . Ext. 441^{b} f.
- Apostolical Constitutions . . . Ext. 441^{b} (Bartlet).
- Apothecary . . . i. 126^{b} (Hastings); iii. 332^{b} (Macalister).
- Appaim . . . i. 126^{b}; ii. 126^{a}.
- Apparel . . . i. 126^{b}.
- Apparently . . . i. 127^{a}.
- Apparition . . . i. 127^{a}.
- Appeal . . . i. 127^{a} (Burrows).
- Appease . . . i. 127^{b}.
- Appertain . . . i. 127^{b}.
- Apphia . . . i. 127^{b} (Lock).
- Apphus (Apoc.) . . . i. 127^{b}.
- Appius, Market of . . . i. 128^{a} (W. C. Dickson); ii. 60^{a} [Forum].
- Apple . . . i. 128^{a} (Post); ii. 30^{a} (Macalister).

Apple of the Eye . i. 128^{b} (Gwilliam).
Appoint . . . i. 128^{b} (Hastings).
Apprehend . . . i. 129^{a}.
Approve . . . i. 129^{a}.
Apries . . . . i. 663^{b} (Crum).
Apron . . . . i. 129^{a} (Mackie).
Apsu . . . . Ext. 568^{a} ff. (Jastrow).
Apt . . . . i. 129^{b}.
Ap-uat . . . . Ext. 183^{a} (Wiedemann).
Aquila . . . . i. 129^{b} (Milligan); iv. 17^{a} (Ramsay), 102^{b} (Headlam).
Aquila's Version . . iv. 452^{b} (Nestle), 865^{a} (Redpath).
Ar . . . . . i. 130^{a} (Macpherson); ii. 836^{a} (Selbie).
Ara . . . . . i. 130^{a}; ii. 132^{a}.
Arab . . . . . i. 130^{a}.
Arabah . . . . i. 130^{a} (Hull); ii. 760^{b} (Warren); iii. 893^{b} (Driver).
Arabia . . . . i. 131^{b} (Margoliouth).
  Climate, Flora, Fauna i. 132^{b}.
  Demonology . . i. 590^{b} (Whitehouse).
  Geography and Geology . . . i. 131^{b}.
  History and Ethnology . . . i. 133^{a} ff.; Ext. 74^{b} (Jastrow), 84^{b} (McCurdy).
    in Ethnological Tables of Genesis i. 134^{b}.
  Language, Relation to Hebrew . . iii. 26^{a} ff.
  Sargon's Campaign against . . i. 187^{b} (Hommel).
  Trade and Commerce i. 134^{b}.
Arabian . . . . i. 135^{a} (Margoliouth).
Arabian Dynasty in Babylonia . . i. 226^{b} (Hommel).
Arabic Gospel of the Childhood . . Ext. 433^{a} (Tasker).
Arabic History of Joseph the Carpenter Ext. 433^{b} (Tasker).
Arabic Versions . . i. 136^{a} (Burkitt).
Arad (person) . . i. 138^{a}; ii. 131^{a}.
Arad (place) . . i. 138^{a} (Macpherson).
Aradus (Apoc.) . . i. 138^{a}.
Arah . . . . i. 138^{a}; ii. 132^{a}.
Aram, Aramæans . i. 138^{a} (Sayce), 139^{b}, 182^{a} (Hommel); ii. 132^{a} (Curtis); Ext. 73^{b} ff. (Jastrow), 86^{a} McCurdy).
  Deities . . . i. 139^{a}.
  Language . . . [See Aramaic Language].
Aramaic Language . i. 73^{b} f. (I. Taylor).
  in OT . . . iii. 25^{a}, 34^{a} (Margoliouth).
  in NT . . . iii. 39^{a} (Thayer).
Aramaic Versions . iv. 678^{b} (T. Walker).
Aramitess . . . i. 139^{b}.
Aram Maacah . . i. 139$^{a, b}$.
Aram-naharaim . . i. 138^{b}; iv. 287^{a} (Selbie).
Aram-rehob . . . i. 139^{a}.
Aram-zobah . . . i. 139^{a}; iv. 987^{a} (Stenning).
Aran . . . . i. 139^{b}.
Ararat . . . . i. 139^{b} (Sayce).
  Inscriptions and Writing . . . i. 140^{b}.
  Resting-place of Ark i. 140^{a}.
Arathes (AV Ariarathes) (Apoc.) . . i. 141^{a} (H. A. White).
Araunah . . . i. 141^{a}.
Arba . . . . i. 141^{a} (Beecher), 57^{a} (Gray), 90^{b}; ii. 166^{b} f.
Arbathite . . . i. 141^{a}.
Arbatta (Apoc.) . . i. 141^{a}.
Arbela (Apoc.) . . i. 141^{a} (G. A. Smith), 276^{b} [Beth-Arbel].
Arbite . . . . i. 141^{b} (Stenning).
Arbonai (Apoc.) . . i. 141^{b}.
Arch . . . . i. 141^{b} (Davies); iv. 891$^{a, b}$ (Warren).
  in Babylonian Architecture . . . i. 219^{b} (Hommel).
Archangel . . . [See Angel].
Archelaus . . . ii. 358^{a} (Headlam).
Archery . . . i. 142^{a} (Barnes).
Archevites . . . i. 142^{a} (Ryle), 732^{b} (Pinches).
Archippus . . . i. 142^{b} (Dickson).
Archite . . . i. 142^{b}.
Architecture . . i. 142^{b} (Flinders Petrie); iv. 891^{a} ff. (Warren).
  of Argob . . . i. 146^{a} ff. (Driver).
  of Assyria . . i. 177^{b} (Hommel).
  of Babylonia . . i. 219^{b} f. (Hommel).
Arcturus . . . i. 144^{a} (Burney), 191^{b} (Pinches).
Ard . . . . i. 144^{a}; ii. 130$^{a, b}$.
Ardat (Apoc.) . . i. 144^{a}.
Ardon . . . . i. 144^{a}; ii. 127^{b}.
Areli . . . . i. 144^{a}; ii. 131^{b}.
Areopagite . . . i. 144^{a}.
Areopagus . . . i. 144^{a} (Conybeare).
Ares (Apoc.) . . i. 144^{b}.
Aretas . . . . i. 144^{b} (Robertson), 416^{a} (Turner).
Argob (person) . . i. 145^{b} (Burney).
Argob (place) . . i. 146^{a} (Driver); iv. 801^{b} (G. A. Smith).
Aridai . . . . i. 147^{b}.
Aridatha . . . i. 147^{b}.
Arieh . . . . i. 147^{b}.
Ariel . . . . i. 147^{b} (A. R. S. Kennedy); ii. 319^{a}; iii. 407^{b} (Bennett); iv. 710^{a} (Davies).
Arimathæa . . . i. 147^{b} (Conder), 159^{a} [Arumah].
Arioch . . . . i. 148^{a} (Sayce), 226^{b} (Hommel), 643^{b}; Ext. 587^{a} (Johns).
Arisai . . . . i. 148^{a}.
Aristarchus . . . i. 148^{a} (Muir).
Aristeas, Letter of . Ext. 99^{b} note (Schürer).
Aristides, Apology of . iii. 534^{b} (Stanton).
Aristobulus . . . i. 148^{a} (Headlam); iii. 186$^{a, b}$ (Fairweather), 824^{b} (Eaton).
Arius (Apoc.) . . i. 148^{b} (H. A. White).

Ark of infant Moses . i. 148^b (Macpherson).
Ark of Noah . . i. 148^b (Macpherson); ii. 16^b (Woods).
  Resting-place of . i. 140^a (Sayce); Ext. 94^a (Schürer).
Ark of the Covenant . i. 149^a (A. R. S. Kennedy); iv. 665^a; Ext. 628^a (Kautzsch).
  Contents . . . i. 151^a; Ext. 628^b (Kautzsch).
  Habitation of J″ . i. 150^b; Ext. 628^b (Kautzsch).
Arka, Arkites . . i. 151^a (Macpherson), 184^b (Hommel).
Arm . . . . . i. 151^a (Mackie).
Armais . . . i. 661^b (Crum).
Armenia . . . i. 140^a (Sayce), 184^a (Hommel).
Armenian Version of OT . . . . i. 151^b (Conybeare).
  Books, Order of . i. 152^b.
  Date and Place of Origin . . . i. 152^b.
  Text . . . i. 151^b ff.
    Variation from LXX . . . i. 152^a.
Armenian Version of NT . . . . i. 153^a (Conybeare).
  Books, Order of . i. 153^a f.
  Codices . . . i. 153^a.
  Date . . . . i. 154^a.
  Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark . . i. 154^a.
  Reading of Mt 2^9 . i. 154^a.
  Text . . . . i. 153^b.
  VSS, Printed . . i. 154^a.
  Woman taken in Adultery . . i. 154^a.
Armhole . . . i. 154^b.
Armlet . . . i. 154^b.
Armoni . . . i. 154^b.
Armour, Arms . . i. 154^b (Barnes).
Armour-bearer . . i. 155^a.
Armoury . . . i. 155^a.
Army . . . . i. 155^a (Barnes).
Arna (Apoc.) . . i. 156^a.
Arnan . . . . i. 156^a; ii. 127^a.
Arni . . . . i. 156^a.
Arnon . . . . i. 156^a (Thatcher).
Arod, Arodi, Arodites i. 156^b; ii. 131^b.
Aroer . . . . i. 156^b (Macpherson).
Arom (Apoc.) . . i. 156^b.
Arpachshad . . . i. 157^a (Boyd); Ext. 82^a (Jastrow).
Arpad . . . . i. 157^a.
Arphaxad . . . i. 157^a (Boyd).
Array . . . . i. 157^a (Hastings).
Arrogancy . . . i. 157^a.
Arrow . . . . i. 157^a (Barnes).
Arrowsnake . . iii. 637^b (Post); iv. 459^b.
Arsaces (Apoc.) . . i. 157^b (Moss).
Arsiphurith (Apoc.) . i. 157^b.
Art . . . . i. 157^b (Flinders Petrie).
  in NT Times . . Ext. 55^b (Buhl).
Artaxerxes . . . i. 158^b (Sayce).
Artemas . . . i. 159^a (Lock).
Artemis . . . Ext. 151^a (Ramsay).
Artillery . . . i. 159^a.
Arubboth . . . i. 159^a.
Arumah . . . i. 159^a.
Arvad, Arvadites . i. 159^a (Macpherson).
Arza . . . . i. 159^b.
Arzareth (Apoc.) . . i. 159^b.
As . . . . i. 159^b.
Asa . . . . i. 159^b (Selbie); ii. 126^b (Curtis).
  Disease of . . iii. 328^b (Macalister).
Asadias (Apoc.) . . i. 160^a.
Asahel . . . . i. 160^a (Muir); ii. 125^b *bis*, 127^a, 132^a (Curtis).
Asaiah . . . . i. 160^b (Selbie); ii. 122^b, 125$^{a.\,b}$ (Curtis).
Asana (Apoc.) . . i. 160^b.
Asaph . . . . i. 160^b (Selbie); ii. 123^a (Curtis); iv. 37^a, 152^a (Davison).
Asara (Apoc.) . . i. 160^b.
Asaramel (Apoc.) . i. 161^a; iv. 404^b (Wilson).
Asarel . . . . i. 161^a; ii. 129^a.
Asbasareth (Apoc.) . i. 161^a.
Ascalon (Apoc.) . . i. 166^a [Ashkelon].
Ascension . . . i. 161^a (Denney); ii. 642^a (Sanday).
  Place of . . . iii. 619^a (Warren).
Ascent . . . . i. 162^b (Selbie); ii. 598^b note (Conder).
  of Akrabbim . . i. 575^b (Hull).
Aseas (Apoc.) . . i. 162^b.
Asebebias (Apoc.) . i. 162^b.
Asebias (Apoc.) . . i. 162^b.
Asenath . . . i. 162^b (James), 665^b (Crum); iii. 819^b (Griffith).
Ash . . . . i. 163^a (Post).
Ashan . . . . i. 164^a.
Asharelah . . . i. 164^a; ii. 123^a.
Ashbea . . . i. 164^a; ii. 125^b.
Ashbel . . . . i. 164^a; ii. 130$^{a.\,b}$.
Ashdod . . . i. 164^a (Conder).
Asher . . . . i. 164^a (Ewing), 99^b (Milligan); ii. 131^b (Curtis); Ext. 617^a (Kautzsch).
Asherah . . . i. 165^a (Allen); Ext. 170^a (König), 620^b (Kautzsch). [See Tree (Sacred)].
Ashes . . . . i. 165^b (A. R. S. Kennedy).
Ashhur . . . i. 165^b; ii. 127^b, 128^a.
Ashima . . . i. 165^b (Millar).
Ashkelon . . . i. 166^a (Conder).
Ashkenaz . . . i. 166^a (Macpherson), 140^a (Sayce).
Ashnah . . . i. 166^a.
Ashpenaz . . . i. 166^a.
Ashtaroth . . . i. 166^a (Driver).
Ashteroth-karnaim . i. 167^b (Ewing), 167$^{a.\,b}$, 170^b note (Driver).
Ashtoreth . . . i. 167^b (Driver).
  Corresponding male deity Athtar . i. 171^a.

Ashtoreth identified
  with Aphrodite . i. 169^{a} ff.
  with Ishtar . . i. 168^{b}; iv. 181^{b} (Bennett).
 Names compounded with . . . i. 171^{a}; iii. 408^{b} (Bennett).
 Queen of Heaven . i. 169^{a} f.; iv. 181^{b} (Bennett).
Ashur . . . . [See Assur].
Ashur-akhi-idina . i. 189^{a} (Hommel).
Ashur-bel-kala . . i. 183^{a} (Hommel).
Ashurites . . . i. 171^{b} (Stenning).
Ashvath . . . i. 171^{b}; ii. 131^{b} (Curtis).
Asia . . . . i. 171^{b} (Ramsay).
 Extent . . . iii. 177^{a} f.
 Government . . i. 723^{a}.
 Judaism in . . Ext. 93^{a} ff. (Schürer).
 Religion of . . Ext. 109^{a} ff. (Ramsay).
Asiarch . . . i. 172^{a} (Ramsay).
Asibias (Apoc.) . . i. 172^{b}.
Aside . . . . i. 172^{b}.
Asiel . . . . i. 172^{b}; ii. 122^{b}.
Asipha (Apoc.) . . i. 172^{b}.
Asmodæus . . . i. 172^{b} (Marshall), 125^{b} (Whitehouse); iv. 408^{b} f. (Whitehouse), 989^{a} (Moulton).
Asnah . . . . i. 173^{a}.
Asom (Apoc.) . . i. 173^{a}.
Asp . . . . iv. 459^{b} (Post).
Aspalathus . . . i. 173^{a}.
Aspatha . . . i. 173^{a}.
Asphalt . . . i. 304^{b} [Bitumen].
Asphar, Pool (Apoc.) . i. 173^{a}.
Aspharasus (Apoc.) . i. 173^{a}.
Asriel . . . . i. 173^{a}; ii. 129^{b}, 130^{a}.
Asriya'u . . . i. 186^{b} (Hommel); iv. 844^{b} (Whitehouse).
Ass . . . . i. 173^{b} (Post).
 as Food . . . ii. 39^{b} (Macalister); iv. 830^{a} (Peake).
Assamias (Apoc.) . i. 174^{a}.
Assaphioth . . . i. 174^{a}.
Assassin . . . i. 174^{a} (Headlam), 522^{a} (Poucher).
Assault . . . i. 521^{a} (Poucher).
Assay . . . . i. 174^{b} (Hastings).
Assemble . . . i. 174^{b} (Hastings).
Assembly . . . i. 174^{b} (A. R. S. Kennedy).
 General Assembly . ii. 141^{b} f. (Hastings).
 Greek City Assembly i. 723^{a} (Ramsay).
Assent . . . . i. 175^{a}.
Assessor . . . i. 175^{a}.
Asshur . . . ii. 326^{b} note (Lukyn Williams).
Asshurim . . . i. 175^{a}.
Assiduous . . . i. 175^{a}.
Assir . . . . i. 175^{a}; ii. 124$^{a\ ter}$, 127^{a}.
Associate . . . i. 175^{a}.
Assonance . . . Ext. 165^{a} (König).
Assos . . . . i. 175^{a} (Ramsay).
Assumption of Moses . iii. 448^{a} (Burkitt).
 Contents . . . iii. 448^{a}.
 Date . . . iii. 448^{b}.
 Ending . . . iii. 449^{b}.
 Eschatology . . i. 745^{b} (Charles); ii. 120^{a} (Charles).
Assumption of Moses—
 Latin Text . . iii. 449^{a}.
 Messianic Hope . Ext. 299^{b} (Fairweather).
 Relation to Jude . ii. 802^{a} (Chase).
 Teaching . . . iii. 448^{b}.
Assur (Ashur) . . i. 177^{b} (Hommel); Ext. 535^{a}, 546^{b} (Jastrow).
Assurbanipal . . i. 176^{a} (Price), 189^{a} ff. (Hommel); iii. 634^{b}; Ext. 532^{b} (Jastrow).
Assur-dan I. . . i. 182^{a} (Hommel).
Assur-dan II. . . i. 183^{b} (Hommel).
Assur-dan III. . . i. 185^{a} (Hommel).
Assur-irbi . . . i. 183^{b} (Hommel).
Assur-nadin-akhi . i. 181^{a} (Hommel).
Assur-nâzir-pal I. . i. 182^{a} (Hommel).
Assur-nâzir-pal II. . i. 183^{a} (Hommel).
Assur-nâzir-pal III. . i. 183^{b} (Hommel).
Assur-nirari I. . . i. 180^{b} (Hommel).
Assur-nirari II. . . i. 185^{a} (Hommel).
Assur-rîsh-ishî . . i. 182^{b} (Hommel).
Assur-uballit I. . . i. 181^{a} (Hommel).
Assure, Assurance . i. 175^{b} (Hastings, Stewart).
Asswage . . . i. 176^{b}.
Assyria . . . i. 176^{b} (Hommel).
 Architecture . . i. 177^{b}.
 Climate . . . i. 176^{b}.
 Flora, Fauna, and Minerals . . i. 177^{a}.
 History . . . i. 178^{a} ff.
  Campaigns against Israel . . . i. 184^{b}, 186^{a}, 188^{b}; ii. 512^{a} ff. (Barnes).
  Chronology . . i. 179^{b}, 186^{a}, 401^{b} (Curtis).
  Priest-kings . . i. 180^{a} f.
  Rulers from 1430 B.C.–1050 B.C. . i. 181^{a} ff.
   from 970 B.C–607 B.C. . . i. 183^{b} ff.
 Inscriptions and Monuments . . i. 178^{a} ff., 184^{a,b}.
 Literature . . . i. 178^{a}.
  Babylonian Chronicle . . . i. 179^{a}.
  Canon of Ptolemy i. 179^{b}.
  Eponym Canon . i. 179^{b}.
  Synchronistic History of Babylonia and Assyria . i. 179^{a}.
 People . . . i. 177^{a}; Ext. 72^{b} (Jastrow), 88^{b} ff. (McCurdy).
 Religion . . . i. 177^{b}; Ext. 531^{b} ff. (Jastrow).
 Ships . . . iv. 506^{a} (Hull); Ext. 365^{a} (Blomfield).
 Writing . . . i. 177^{a}.
  Numerical signs . iii. 561^{a} (König).
Astad, Astath (Apoc.) i. 190^{b} (Thackeray).
Astarte . . . Ext. 187^{a} (Wiedemann). [See Ashtoreth].
Asterius . . . Ext. 498^{b}.
Astonied . . . i. 190^{b}.
Astonished . . . i. 190^{b} (Hastings).
Astrologian . . . i. 191^{a}.

- Astronomy and Astrology . . . i. 191^a (Pinches).
  - Babylonian . . . i. 217^b ff. (Hommel).
  - Castor and Pollux . i. 192^b, 608^b (Prichard).
  - Chambers of the South i. 192^b, 218^a (Hommel).
  - Constellations . . i. 191^b.
  - Eclipse . . . i. 193^b, 559^b (Purves).
  - Great Bear . . i. 191^b, 144^a (Burney).
  - Moon . . . i. 193^b. [See Moon].
  - Planets . . . i. 192^b.
  - Pleiades . . . i. 192^a, 144^a (Burney); iii. 895^b (Taylor).
  - Orion . . . i. 192^a; iii. 632^a (Taylor).
  - Saturn . . . i. 193^a, 215^b (Hommel), 383^b (Taylor); iv. 227^a (Pinches).
  - Signs of the Zodiac . i. 191^b ff., 217^b (Hommel); iii. 307^a.
  - Stars . . . i. 191^b. [See Star].
  - Sun . . . . i. 193^a. [See Sun].
  - Venus . . . i. 193^a; iv. 181^b (Bennett).
- Astyages . . . i. 194^b (Nicol).
- Asur (Ap.) . . . i. 194^b.
- Asur (god) . . . i. 177^b (Hommel).
- Asur-bel-nishê-shu . i. 180^b (Hommel).
- Asur-itil-ilâni . . i. 190^b (Hommel).
- Asylum . . . iv. 213^b [Cities of Refuge]; ii. 223^b f. (A. R. S. Kennedy).
  - Altar and Sanctuary as asylum . . i. 76^b (A. R. S. Kennedy); ii. 223^b; iv. 397^a.
- Asyncritus . . . i. 194^b (Headlam).
- Atad . . . . i. 194^b.
- Atar (Apoc.) . . i. 194^b.
- Atarah . . . i. 194^b; ii. 126^a.
- Atargatis . . . i. 194^b (H. A. White), 171^b (Driver); ii. 747^b (König).
- Ataroth . . . i. 195^a (Henderson).
- Aten . . . . Ext. 183^b, 185^a (Wiedemann).
- Ater . . . . i. 195^b.
- Atergatis . . . [See Atargatis].
- Ateta (Apoc.) . . i. 195^b.
- Athach . . . i. 195^b.
- Athaiah . . . i. 195^b; ii. 129^a.
- Athaliah . . . i. 195^b (N. J. D. White); ii. 126^a, 131^a; Ext. 698^b (Kautzsch).
- Atharim . . . i. 196^a.
- Athenians . . . i. 196^a.
- Athenobius (Apoc.) . i. 196^a.
- Athens . . . i. 196^a (Conybeare).
- Athlai . . . . i. 197^b.
- Athtar . . . i. 171^a (Driver).
- Ati, Attah, Attes . i. 183^a (Hommel), 195^a (H. A. White).
- Atipha (Apoc.) . . i. 197^b.
- Atonement . . . i. 197^b (J. O. F. Murray. [See Mediation, Propitiation, Ransom, Reconciliation, Redeemer].
- Atonement in OT . i. 197^b; iv. 339^a (W. P. Paterson); Ext. 721^b (Kautzsch).
  - in NT . . . i. 197^b ff.; iv. 343^b ff. (W. P. Paterson).
    - Hebrews . . iv. 345^b (W. P. Paterson).
    - Johannine Doctrine ii. 726^b (Reynolds); iv. 346^a (W. P. Paterson).
    - Pauline Epp. . iii. 723^b (Findlay); iv. 345^a (W. P. Paterson).
  - Witness of Conscience to . . i. 474^b (Kilpatrick).
- Atonement, Day of . i. 199^a (Driver and White).
  - Ceremonial . . i. 199^a, 862^a (Harding).
    - in second Temple . i. 201^a.
    - Date of Institution i. 199^b; iv. 86^b (Baudissin); Ext. 718^b (Kautzsch).
  - High Priest's functions . . . i. 202^a.
    - in Epistle to Hebrews. . . i. 202^b.
  - Homogeneity of Lv 16 i. 200^b; iii. 105^a (Harford-Battersby).
  - Sins atoned for . i. 201^b.
- Atroth-beth-Joab . i. 195^b [Ataroth]; ii. 128^a.
- Atroth-shophan . . i. 202^b (Henderson).
- Attai . . . . i. 203^a.
- Attain . . . . i. 203^a.
- Attalia . . . i. 203^a (Ramsay).
- Attalus . . . i. 203^a (H. A. White).
- Attendance . . . i. 203^b.
- Attent . . . i. 203^b.
- Attharates (Apoc.) . i. 203^b.
- Attharias (Apoc.) . i. 203^b.
- Attire . . . . i. 327^a [Dress].
- Attus (Apoc.) . . i. 203^b.
- Atum . . . . Ext. 184^b (Wiedemann).
- Audience . . . i. 203^b.
- Augia (Apoc.) . . i. 203^b.
- Augury . . . i. 203^b, 612^b (Jevons); iv. 107$^{a,\ b}$ (Davidson).
- Augustus . . . i. 203^b (Adeney).
- Augustus' Band . . i. 204^a (Barnes); ii. 824^b (Headlam).
- Aul . . . . i. 204^b.
- Aureus . . . iii. 427^a (A. R. S. Kennedy).
- Auteas . . . . i. 204^b.
- Authorized Version . iv. 859^a (Milligan); Ext. 253^a (Lupton).
- Avaran (Apoc.) . . i. 204^b.
- Aven . . . . i. 204^b (Griffith); iii. 621^b.
- Avenge . . . i. 204^b (Hastings).
- Avenger of Blood . ii. 223^b (A. R. S. Kennedy).
- Avith . . . . i. 205^a.
- Avoid . . . . i. 205^a.
- Avouch . . . i. 205^a (Hastings), 512^b note (Davidson).
- Avva, Avvim, Avvites i. 205^a (Beecher); ii. 166^b f., 314^a (Driver), 522^a (Selbie); iv. 689^b (Pinches).
- Avvim (place) . . i. 205^b.
- Await . . . . i. 205^b.
- Away with . . . i. 205^b.
- Awe . . . . i. 205^b.

Awl . . . . i. 205^b.
Ax, Axe . . . i. 205^b (Selbie), 206^a (Flinders Petrie).
  Battle-axe . . i. 258^b (Barnes).
  Worship . . . Ext. 112^b (Ramsay).
Axle, Axletree . . iv. 915^a (Carslaw).
'Ayin . . . . i. 72^a (I. Taylor).
Azael (Apoc.) . . i. 206^a.
Azaelus (Apoc.) . . i. 206^a.
Azaliah . . . i. 206^a.
Azaniah . . . i. 206^a; ii. 135^b.
Azaraias (Apoc.) . . i. 206^a.
Azarel . . . . i. 206^b; ii. 132^a.
Azariah . . . i. 206^b (N. J. D. White); ii. 123$^{a\ ter}$, 123$^{b\ bis}$, 124^a, 125^b, 126^a, 127^a, 129^a (Curtis); iv. 843^b [Uzziah].
Azarias (Apoc.) . . i. 207^a.
  Prayer of . . . iv. 755^a (Marshall).
Azaru (Apoc.) . . i. 207^a.
Azaz . . . . i. 207^a; ii. 122^b.
Azazel . . . . i. 207^b (Driver), 591^a (Whitehouse); Ext. 288^b (Fairweather), 618^a, 721^b (Kautzsch).
Azaziah . . . i. 208^a; ii. 125$^{b\ bis}$.
Azbuk . . . . i. 208^a.
Azekah . . . i. 208^a (Conder).
Azel . . . . i. 208^b; ii. 131^a.
Azetas (Apoc.) . . i. 208^b.
Azgad . . . . i. 190^b [Astad].
Aziei (Apoc.) . . i. 208^b.
Aziel . . . . i. 208^b.
Aziza . . . . i. 208^b.
Azmaveth (person) . i. 208^b; ii. 131^a, 132$^{a,\ b}$.
Azmaveth (place) . i. 208^b.
Azmon . . . . i. 208^b.
Aznoth-tabor . . i. 208^b.
Azor . . . . i. 208^b; ii. 138^a.
Azotus (Apoc.) . . i. 208^b.
Azriel . . . . i. 208^b.
Azrikam . . . i. 208^b; ii. 127^a, 131^a.
Azubah . . . i. 208^b; ii. 126^b, 127^b.
Azzan . . . . i. 208^b.
Azzur . . . . i. 208^b.

B (Codex Vaticanus) . i. 209^a (Murray).
B (symbol in Criticism) i. 209^b.
Baal, Baali, Baalim . i. 209^b (Peake); ii. 446^b (W. P. Paterson); iii. 861^a (Thatcher); Ext. 645^a ff. (Kautzsch).
  in Egypt . . . Ext. 187^a (Wiedemann).
  in place-names . . iv. 482^b (Gray); Ext. 646^a (Kautzsch).
Baal (person) . . i. 211^a; ii. 122^b, 131^a.
Baal, Baalah, Baalath . i. 211^a (Conder).
Baal-berith . . . i. 211^a.
Baale-judah . . . i. 211^a.
Baal-gad . . . i. 211^a (Conder), 337^b (Ewing).
Baal-hamon . . . i. 211^a.
Baal-hanan . . . i. 211^a.
Baal-hazor . . . i. 211^a; iii. 641^b.
Baal-hermon . . ii. 352^b (Conder); i. 185^a (Hommel).
Baalis . . . . i. 211^b; iii. 415^b (Bennett).
Baal-meon . . . i. 211^b.
Baal-peor . . . i. 211^b.
Baal-perazim . . i. 211^b.
Baalsamus (Apoc.) . i. 211^b.
Baal-shalishah . . i. 211^b (Conder); iv. 472^b (Wilson).
Baal-tamar . . . i. 211^b.
Baalzebub . . . i. 211^b (Peake); iv. 409^b (Whitehouse).
Baalzephon . . . i. 211^b (Chapman).
Baana . . . . i. 212^a.
Baanah . . . i. 212^a (Stenning); ii. 132^a (Curtis).
Baani (Apoc.) . . i. 212^a.
Baara . . . . i. 212^a; ii. 131^a.
Baaseiah . . . i. 212^a; ii. 123^a.
Baasha . . . . i. 212^a (Boyd).
Babbler . . . i. 212^b (Hastings).
Babe . . . . i. 212^b (Hastings).
Babel, Babylon . . i. 212^b (Hommel); Ext. 534^a ff. (Jastrow).
  Tower of . . . i. 213^a (Hommel); iv. 793^a (Driver).
Babi (Ap.) . . . i. 213^a.
Babylon in NT . . i. 213^a (Chase).
Babylonia . . . i. 214^a (Hommel); iv. 503^b [Shinar].
  Art and Architecture i. 219^b; iv. 891^a (Warren); Ext. 577^b (Jastrow).
  Astrology . . . i. 218^b; Ext. 558^b ff. (Jastrow).
  Astronomy . . i. 217^b f.
  Calendar . . . i. 217^a.
  Climate and Productions . . . i. 214^a.
  Cosmogony . . i. 215^a, 504^a (Whitehouse); Ext. 567^a ff. (Jastrow).
  Culture . . . Ext. 535^a f. (Jastrow).
  Ethnology and Language . . . i. 214^b; iv. 504^a ff. (Pinches); Ext. 72^b, 79^a (Jastrow).
  Excavations and Inscriptions . . i. 222^b–230^a; Ext. 532^b, 549^b (Jastrow).
  Fauna . . . i. 214^b.
  Festivals . . . i. 217$^{a,\ b}$.
  History . . . i. 223^a–230^a; Ext. 533^a ff. (Jastrow).
    Chronology . . i. 223^b.
    City States . . Ext. 533^a (Jastrow).
    Ḫammurabi's Empire . . . Ext. 534^a (Jastrow), 585^b (Johns).
    Kassite Dynasty . Ext. 534^b (Jastrow).
    Rise of Assyria . Ext. 534^b (Jastrow).
  Literature . . . i. 220^a; Ext. 550^b ff. (Jastrow).
    Adapa Legend . i. 221^b; Ext. 573^b (Jastrow).
    Bab. Chronicle . i. 179^a.

- Babylonia—Literature—
    - Bel, Illumination of . . . . i. 226^a.
    - Canon of Ptolemy . i. 179^b.
    - Creation Epos . i. 220^b; Ext. 567^b ff. (Jastrow).
    - Deluge, Story of . i. 221^a; Ext. 577^a (Jastrow).
    - Etana Legend . i. 222^a; Ext. 573^b (Jastrow).
    - Girra, Legend of . i. 222^a.
    - Ishtar's Descent to Hades . . . i. 221^b; Ext. 575^a (Jastrow).
    - Kudur - Dugmal, Legends of . i. 222^b.
    - Namtar Legend . i. 121^b; Ext. 576^a.
    - Nimrod Epos . i. 121^a.
    - Sargon, Legends of i. 222^a.
    - Synchronistic History of Babylonia and Assyria . i. 179^a.
    - Zû, Legends of . i. 222^a; Ext. 573^a (Jastrow).
- Magic . . . iii. 208^a (Whitehouse); iv. 599^a, 601^a (Whitehouse); Ext. 551^b ff. (Jastrow).
- Metrology . . . i. 218^b ff.; iii. 418^a (A. R. S. Kennedy); iv. 902^a ff., 907^a (A. R. S. Kennedy); Ext. 596^b (Johns).
- Minerals . . . i. 214^b.
- Religion . . . [See Babylonia, Religion of].
- Writing . . . i. 223^a.
- Babylonia and Assyria, Religion of . . Ext. 531^b (Jastrow); i. 215^a (Hommel); iv. 628^b f. (Pinches).
    - Babylonian Culture . Ext. 535^a f.
    - History . . . Ext. 533^a.
    - Pantheon . . . Ext. 636^b.
        - Deities, Chief—
            - Adad . . . Ext. 544^b.
            - Anu . . . Ext. 538^a.
            - Ashur . . Ext. 535^a, 546^b.
            - Bel . . . Ext. 538^a.
            - Ea . . . Ext. 538^a.
            - Girru-Nusku . Ext. 546^a.
            - Ishtar . . Ext. 540^b.
            - Marduk . . Ext. 534^b, 545^a.
            - Nebo . . . Ext. 545^b.
            - Nergal . . Ext. 542^b.
            - Ninib . . . Ext. 542^b.
            - Shamash . . Ext. 542^b.
            - Sin . . . Ext. 541^b.
        - Deities, Minor—
            - Bau . . . Ext. 548^a.
            - Dumu-zi . . Ext. 548^a.
            - Dumu-zi-zuab . Ext. 548^b.
            - Dun-shagga . Ext. 548^b.
            - Gal-alim . . Ext. 548^b.
            - Ishum . . Ext. 548^b.
- Babylonia and Assyria, Religion of—Deities, Minor—
    - Ka-di . . . Ext. 548^a.
    - Lugal-banda . Ext. 548^a.
    - Nidaba . . Ext. 548^a.
    - Nin-agid-khadu . Ext. 548^b.
    - Nin-dara . . Ext. 548^b.
    - Nin-mar . . Ext. 548^a.
    - Nin-sun . . Ext. 548^a.
    - Shid . . . Ext. 548^b.
    - Invocation of Deities Ext. 549^a.
        - Inscriptions on Boundary Stones . . Ext. 549^a.
        - Monotheism, alleged . . Ext. 550^a.
    - Religious Literature Ext. 550^b.
        - Cosmology . . Ext. 567^a.
        - Demonology . . Ext. 551^a.
        - Incantation Rituals Ext. 551^b.
        - Life after Death . Ext. 573^a.
            - Adapa, Story of . Ext. 573^b.
            - Eresh-kigal and Nergal . . Ext. 574^b.
            - Ishtar's Descent to the under World . . Ext. 575^a.
            - Omens and Oracles . . Ext. 556^a.
            - Penitential Psalms . . Ext. 566^a.
            - Prayers and Hymns . . Ext. 563^b.
        - Temples and Cult Ext. 577^a; i. 216^b (Hommel); iv. 628^b (Pinches).
            - Priests . . Ext. 579^a; i. 216^b (Hommel).
            - Sacrifices . . Ext. 580^a; i. 216^b (Hommel).
    - Summary and General Estimate . . Ext. 581^b.
- Babylonish Garment . i. 230^b (Pinches).
- Baca, Valley of . . i. 230^b (Aglen).
- Bacchides (Apoc.) . i. 230^b (Moss).
- Bacchurus (Apoc.) . i. 231^a.
- Bacchus . . . i. 608^a (Jevons).
- Bacenor (Apoc.) . . i. 231^a.
- Bacis . . . . Ext. 190^a (Wiedemann)
- Backbite . . . i. 231^a.
- Backside . . . i. 231^a.
- Badger, Badger skins . i. 231^a (Post).
- Bæan (Apoc.) . . i. 231^b.
- Bag . . . . i. 231^b (Mackie).
- Baggage . . . i. 232^a.
- Bago (Apoc.) . . i. 232^a.
- Bagoas (Apoc.) . . i. 232^a.
- Bagoi (Apoc.) . . i. 232^b.
- Bagpipe . . . iii. 461^b (Millar).
- Baharumite . . . i. 232^b; ii. 132^b.
- Bahurim . . . i. 232^b (Stenning); iii. 617^b (Warren).
- Baiterus (Apoc.) . . i. 232^b.
- Bakbakkar . . . i. 232^b; ii. 136^a.
- Bakbuk . . . i. 232^b.

- Bakbukiah . . . i. 232^b; ii. 135^b.
- Bakemeats . . . i. 232^b.
- Baking . . . i. 317^a ff. (Macalister); iii. 637^a (H. Porter).
- Balaam . . . i. 232^b (Woods), 645^a (Sayce); Ext. 651^a (Kautzsch).
- Balah . . . . i. 234^a.
- Balak . . . . i. 234^a, 233^a ff. (Woods).
- Balamon (Apoc.) . . i. 234^a; ii. 420^b.
- Balance . . . i. 234^b (Flinders Petrie).
- Bald Locust . . iii. 130^a (Post).
- Baldness . . . i. 234^b (Macalister), 538^a (A. R. S. Kennedy).
- Balm . . . . i. 235^b (Post); iii. 332^a (Macalister).
- Balnuus (Apoc.) . . i. 236^a.
- Balsam . . . i. 236^a [Balm].
- Baltasar (Apoc.) . . i. 236^a.
- Bamah . . . . i. 236^b (Skinner).
- Bamoth . . . i. 236^b (Chapman).
- Ban (Apoc.) . . . i. 236^b.
- Banaias (Apoc.) . . i. 236^b.
- Banana . . . ii. 39^b.
- Band . . . . i. 236^b (Hastings).
- Bani . . . . i. 237^a (Selbie); ii. 123^a, 125^a, 129^a, 132^b (Curtis).
- Banias (Apoc.) . . i. 237^b.
- Banishment . . . i. 523^a (Poucher).
- Bank . . . . i. 237^b (Hastings).
- Bannas (Apoc.) . . i. 237^b.
- Banneas (Apoc.) . . i. 237^b.
- Banner . . . i. 237^b (Barnes).
- Bannus (Apoc.) . . i. 238^a.
- Banquet . . . i. 238^a (Hastings); ii. 42^b (Macalister).
- Baptism . . . i. 238^a (Plummer).
  - Doctrine . . . i. 243^a ff.
    - Admission to Church . . i. 243^b.
    - Faithful unbaptized . . . i. 244^a.
    - Gift of the Spirit . i. 244^a; Ext. 309^b (Scott).
    - Regeneration . i. 243^b; iv. 217^b, 219^b (Bartlet).
    - Remission of Sin . i. 243^b.
    - Unworthy Reception . . . i. 244^b.
  - Formula of . . . ii. 213^b f. (Sanday), 408^b (Swete); Ext. 313^b (Scott).
  - Infant Baptism . i. 244^b.
  - Institution . . i. 241^a.
  - John's Baptism . i. 240^a; ii. 678^b (Bebb).
  - Minister . . . i. 242^b.
  - OT Types . . . i. 239^a.
  - Proselyte Baptism . i. 239^b; iv. 135^b (F. C. Porter), 216^a (Bartlet).
  - Recipients . . . i. 242^a.
  - Rite . . . . i. 243^a, 426^a (Gayford), 517^a (Denney).
  - Terminology . . i. 238^a.
- Baptism for the Dead . i. 245^a (Plummer).
- Baptist, John the . ii. 677^a (Bebb).
  - Baptism . . . ii. 678^b; i. 240^a (Plummer).
- Baptist, John the—
  - Life and Ministry . ii. 677^a.
  - Relation to Christ . ii. 679^b, 614^b (Sanday).
  - Work and Teaching . ii. 678^a.
    - in St. John and Synoptics . . ii. 245^a (Stanton).
- Bar . . . . i. 245^b (Thayer).
- Bar (=bolt) . . . ii. 434^b (Warren).
- Barabbas . . . i. 245^b (Plummer).
- Barachel . . . i. 246^a.
- Barak . . . . i. 246^a (Cooke).
- Barbarian . . . i. 246^a (Conybeare).
- Barber . . . . i. 246^b (Carslaw).
- Barchus (Apoc.) . . i. 246^b.
- Barhumite . . . i. 232^b.
- Bariah . . . . i. 246^b; ii. 127^a.
- Barjesus . . . i. 246^b (Massie).
- Barjonah . . . i. 245^b (Thayer); ii. 677^a (Chase).
- Barkos . . . . i. 247^a; ii. 134^a.
- Barley . . . . i. 247^a (Post).
  - Harvest . . . i. 247^b.
- Barn . . . . i. 51^a.
- Barnabas . . . i. 247^b (Milligan).
  - Epistle of . . . Ext. 441^b, 444^a f. (Bartlet); iii. 532^b (Stanton).
  - Gospel of . . . Ext. 438^a (Tasker).
- Barodis (Apoc.) . . i. 248^a.
- Barrenness . . . i. 248^a (Mackie).
- Barsabbas, Joseph . ii. 778^b (Purves).
- ,, Judas . ii. 795^a (Purves).
- Bartacus (Apoc.) . . i. 248^b (Thackeray).
- Bartholomew . . i. 248^b (Selbie); iii. 305^b note (Cowan), 489^a (Cowan).
  - Legends of . . iv. 16^a (Ramsay).
- Bartholomew, Gospel of Ext. 438^b (Tasker).
- Bartimæus . . . i. 248^b (Milligan); iv. 762^b (Nestle).
- Baruch . . . . i. 249^a (Marshall); ii. 126^a (Curtis).
- Baruch, Apocalypse of i. 249^a (Charles).
  - Analysis . . . i. 249^b.
  - Authorship . . i. 251^a.
  - Different Elements and Dates . . i. 250^b.
  - Eschatology . . i. 746^b; iii. 670^b (Salmond).
  - Messianic Hope . Ext. 299^b (Fairweather).
  - Relation to 2 Esdras i. 251^a.
- Baruch, Book of . . i. 251^b (Marshall).
  - Canonical Standing . i. 253^b.
  - Doctrine of God . Ext. 277^b (Fairweather).
  - Eschatology . . i. 747^a (Charles).
  - Four Sections . . i. 251^b ff.
    - Ancient Confession of Sin . . i. 251^b.
    - Historical Introduction . . i. 252^b.
    - Hokhmist's Message to the Exiles . . i. 253^a.
    - Hellenist's Encouragement to the Exiles . . i. 253^b.

Barzillai i. 254^{a} (Milligan).
Basaloth (Apoc.) i. 254^{b}.
Bascama (Apoc.) i. 254^{b}.
Base i. 254^{b} (Hastings); iv. 657^{a} (A. R. S. Kennedy).
Basemath i. 255^{a} (Boyd).
Bashan i. 255^{a} (G. A. Smith), 85^{a} (Sayce), 146^{a} (Driver).
Bashmuric Versions i. 668^{a} ff. (Forbes Robinson).
Basilides, Gospel according to ii. 701^{a} (Reynolds); iii. 536^{a} (Stanton); Ext. 437^{b} (Tasker).
Basilisk iv. 459^{b} (Post).
Basket i. 255^{b} (Macalister).
Bason i. 256^{b} (A. R. S. Kennedy).
Bassai (Apoc.) i. 257^{a}.
Bast Ext. 186^{b} (Wiedemann).
Bastard i. 257^{a} (Hastings), 849^{a} (Bennett); iii. 268^{b} (W. P. Paterson).
Basthai (Apoc.) i. 257^{a}.
Bat i. 257^{a} (Post).
Bath (measure) iv. 910^{b} ff. (A. R. S. Kennedy).
Bath, Bathing i. 257^{b} (A. R. S. Kennedy).
Bath-rabbim i. 258^{a}.
Bathsheba i. 258^{a} (Selbie); ii. 126^{b} (Curtis).
Bathshua i. 258^{a}; ii. 126^{b}; iv. 509^{b}.
Battering-ram i. 258^{b} (Barnes).
Battle-axe i. 258^{b} (Barnes).
  Worship Ext. 112^{b} (Ramsay).
Battle-bow i. 312^{b} (Barnes).
Battlement ii. 432^{a} (Warren).
Bavvai i. 258^{b}.
Bay i. 259^{a}.
Bay Tree i. 259^{a}.
Bayith i. 259^{a} (Price).
Bazlith i. 259^{a}.
Bdellium i. 259^{a} (Hull), 644^{a} (Sayce).
Be i. 259^{b}.
Beach i. 259^{b}.
Bealiah i. 259^{b}; ii. 132^{a}.
Bealoth i. 259^{b}.
Beam i. 259^{b} (Hastings); iv. 901^{a} (H. Porter).
Beans i. 260^{a} (Post), 316^{b} (Macalister); ii. 28^{a} (Macalister).
Bear i. 260^{a} (Post).
Beard i. 260^{b} (Ewing).
Beast i. 260^{b} (Post).
  in Apocalypse iii. 226^{b} (James), 518^{a} (Cowan); iv. 256^{b} ff. (F. C. Porter).
  Number of the Beast iii. 518^{a} (Cowan), 567^{a} (König); iv. 258^{a} (F. C. Porter).
Beating i. 523^{a} (Poucher).
Beatitude i. 261^{a} (Plummer); Ext. 14^{a}–22^{a} (Votaw).
Beatitude—
  Comparison of Matthew and Luke i. 261^{b}; Ext. 15^{a} ff. (Votaw).
  Number Ext. 15^{a} (Votaw).
  Term i. 261^{a}.
Beautiful Gate iv. 714^{a} (Davies).
Bebai i. 262^{a}; ii. 133^{a}.
Because i. 262^{a}.
Becher i. 262^{a}; ii. 130$^{a\ bis}$, 130^{b}.
Bechorath i. 262^{a}.
Beck i. 262^{a}.
Become i. 262^{a}.
Bectileth i. 262^{a}.
Bed i. 262^{b} (Selbie, Warren).
Bedchamber ii. 434^{a} (Warren).
Bedad i. 263^{b}.
Bedan i. 263^{b}; ii. 129^{b}.
Bedeiah i. 263^{b}.
Bee i. 263^{b} (Post).
  in Ephesian Worship Ext. 116^{b}–123^{a} (Ramsay).
Beeliada i. 264^{b}; ii. 126^{b}.
Beelsarus (Apoc.) i. 264^{b}.
Beeltethmus (Apoc.) i. 264^{b}.
Beelzebub i. 211^{b} [Baalzebub]; iv. 409^{b} (Whitehouse).
Beer i. 264^{b} (Chapman).
Beera i. 264^{b}; ii. 132^{a}.
Beerah i. 264^{b}; ii. 122^{b}.
Beer-elim i. 264^{b} [Beer].
Beeri i. 264^{b}; ii. 420^{a}.
Beer-lahai-roi i. 264^{b} (Henderson).
Beeroth i. 265^{a} (Henderson).
Beeroth-bene-jaakan i. 265^{a} (Chapman).
Beersheba i. 265^{a} (Hull); iv. 487^{a} (Wilson).
Beeshterah i. 166^{a} [Ashtaroth].
Beetle i. 265^{b}.
Beeves i. 265^{b}.
Begotten i. 265^{b} (Hastings).
Beguile i. 266^{a}.
Behalf i. 266^{a} (Hastings).
Beheading i. 523^{b} (Poucher).
Behemoth i. 266^{a} (Post).
Behove i. 266^{b}.
Bel i. 266^{b} (Selbie), 215^{a} (Hommel); Ext. 538^{a} ff. (Jastrow).
Bel and the Dragon i. 267^{a} (Marshall).
  Canonicity i. 268^{a}.
  Original Language i. 268^{a}.
  Text, Aramaic i. 267^{b}.
  „ Greek i. 267^{a}.
Bel, Illumination of i. 226^{a} (Hommel).
Bela (person) i. 268^{a} (Ryle); ii. 122^{b}, 130$^{a,\ b}$ (Curtis).
Bela (place) i. 268^{b}.
Belaites i. 268^{b}.
Belch i. 268^{b}.
Belemus (Apoc.) i. 268^{b}.
Belial i. 268^{b} (Garvie).
Beliar iv. 411^{a} (Whitehouse); Ext. 289^{b} (Fairweather).
Belie i. 269^{a}.
Belief i. 269^{a}.
Bel-kapkapu i. 180^{a} (Hommel).

Bel-kudur-uzur . . i. 182^{a} (Hommel).
Bell . . . . i. 269^{a} (Flinders Petrie).
Bellows . . . i. 269^{b} (A. R. S. Kennedy).
Belly . . . . i. 309^{a} (Laidlaw).
Belmaim (Apoc.) . . i. 269^{b}.
Bel-Merodach . . [See Merodach].
Belnadin-shumi . . i. 182^{a} (Hommel).
Bel-nirari . . . i. 181^{a} (Hommel).
Beloved . . . i. 269^{b} (Hastings).
  Messianic Title . ii. 501^{a} (Armitage Robinson).
Belshazzar . . . i. 269^{b} (Price), 229^{b} (Hommel).
Belteshazzar . . i. 270^{b} (G. Walker).
Ben . . . . i. 270^{b}; ii. 125^{b}.
Ben-abinadab . . i. 270^{b}.
Benaiah . . . i. 270^{b} (N. J. D. White); ii. 122^{b}, 125$^{b\,ter}$, 132$^{a\,bis}$, 132^{b} (Curtis).
Ben-ammi . . . i. 271^{a} (Ryle).
Ben-deker . . . i. 271^{a}.
Bene-berak . . . i. 271^{a}.
Benefactor . . . i. 271^{a}.
Bene-jaakan . . i. 271^{b}.
Benevolence . . i. 271^{b}.
Ben-geber . . . i. 271^{b}.
Ben-hadad . . . i. 271^{b} (Sayce).
  in Assyrian Inscriptions . . . i. 272^{a}, 184^{b} (Hommel).
Ben-hail . . . i. 272^{a}.
Ben-hanan . . . i. 272^{a}; ii. 129^{a}.
Ben-hesed . . . i. 272^{a}.
Beninu . . . i. 272^{a}.
Benjamin . . . i. 272^{a} (Peake); ii. 130$^{a,\,b}$ (Curtis).
  David's recruits from ii. 132^{a} (Curtis).
Benjamin, Gate . . ii. 593^{b} (Conder).
Beno . . . . i. 273^{b}; ii. 125^{a}.
Benoni. . . . i. 272^{a} [Benjamin].
Benzoheth . . . i. 273^{b}.
Beon . . . . i. 211^{b} [Baal-meon].
Beor . . . . i. 273^{b}.
Bera . . . . i. 273^{b}.
Beracah (person) . . i. 273^{b}; ii. 132^{a}.
Beracah, Valley . . i. 273^{b}.
Beraiah . . . i. 274^{a}; ii. 131^{a}.
Berea (Apoc.) . . i. 275^{a} [Berœa].
Bereave . . . i. 274^{a}.
Berechiah . . . i. 274^{a}; ii. 123^{a}, 125^{b}, 127^{a}.
Bered . . . . i. 262^{a} [Becher]; ii. 130^{a}.
Bered (place) . . i. 274^{a} (Henderson).
Beri . . . . i. 274^{a}; 132^{a}.
Beriah, Beriites . . i. 274^{a} (Bennett); ii. 123^{a}, 130^{a}, 131$^{a,\,b}$.
Berites. . . . i. 274^{b}.
Bernice, Berenice . ii. 360^{b} (Headlam).
Berœa . . . . i. 275^{a} (Dickson).
Beroth. . . . i. 265^{a} [Beeroth].
Berothah, Berothai . i. 275^{a} (Conder).
Berothite, Beerothite . i. 275^{b}.
Beryl . . . . iv. 620^{b} (Flinders Petrie).
Berzelus . . . iv. 994^{a} [Zorzelleus].
Bes . . . . Ext. 187^{a} (Wiedemann).
Besai . . . . i. 275^{b}.
Beside, Besides . . i. 275^{b} (Hastings).
Besodeiah . . . i. 275^{b}.
Besom . . . . i. 275^{b}.
Besor, Brook . . i. 275^{b} (Conder).
Bestead . . . i. 276^{a}.
Bestiality . . . i. 521^{a} (Poucher).
Bestow . . . i. 521^{a} (Hastings).
Betah . . . . iv. 760^{b} (Wilson).
Betane (Apoc.) . . i. 276^{a}.
Beten . . . . i. 276^{a}.
Beth . . . . i. 276^{a}.
  in Proper Names . i. 259^{a} (Price); iii. 482^{b} (Gray).
Bethabara . . . i. 276^{a} (Conder); ii. 765^{b} (Warren).
Beth-anath . . . i. 276^{a}.
Beth-anoth . . . i. 276^{b}.
Bethany . . . i. 276^{b} (Conder), 255^{b} (Smith).
Beth-arabah . . i. 276^{b}.
Beth-arbel . . . i. 276^{b}.
Bethasmoth (Apoc.) . i. 276^{b}.
Beth-aven . . . i. 276^{b} (Conder), 278^{b} (Cooke).
Beth-azmaveth . . i. 208^{b} [Azmaveth].
Beth-baal-meon . . i. 211^{b} [Baal-meon].
Beth-barah . . . i. 276^{b}.
Bethbasi (Apoc.) . . i. 277^{a}.
Beth-biri . . . i. 277^{a}.
Beth-car . . . i. 277^{a} (Conder).
Beth-dagon . . . i. 277^{a} (Beecher).
Beth-diblathaim . . i. 277^{a}.
Beth-eden . . . i. 643^{a} (Selbie).
Bethel . . . . i. 277^{a} (Cooke).
  Dwelling of Deity . i. 278^{a}; ii. 528^{a} (Driver); iii. 880^{a} (Whitehouse); Ext. 110^{b} ff. (Ramsay), 616^{a} (Kautzsch).
Beth-emek . . . i. 279^{a}.
Bether. . . . i. 279^{a} (Conder); iii. 224^{a} [Malobathron].
Bethesda . . . i. 279^{a} (Conder).
Beth-ezel . . . i. 279^{b}.
Beth-gader . . . i. 279^{b}; ii. 127^{b}.
Beth-gamul . . . i. 279^{b}.
Beth-gilgal . . . i. 279^{b}; ii. 177^{a}.
Beth-haccherem . . i. 279^{b} (Conder).
Beth-haram . . . i. 280^{a} (Henderson).
Beth-haran . . . i. 280^{a} [Beth-haram].
Beth-hoglah . . i. 280^{a}.
Beth-horon . . . i. 280^{a} (Aglen).
Bethink . . . i. 280^{b}.
Beth-jeshimoth . . i. 280^{b} (Chapman).
Beth-le-aphrah . . i. 281^{a} (Selbie).
Beth-lebaoth . . i. 281^{a}, 277^{a} [Beth-biri].
Bethlehem . . . i. 281^{a} (Conder); ii. 127^{b}, 128^{a} (Curtis).
  Inn at . . . [See Inn].
Bethlehemite . . i. 281^{b}.
Beth-lomon (Apoc.) . i. 281^{b}.
Beth-maacah . . i. 281^{b}.
Beth-marcaboth . . i. 281^{b}.
Beth-meon . . . i. 211^{b} [Baal-meon].
Beth-merhak . . i. 281^{b}.
Beth-millo . . . i. 281^{b}; iii. 373^{b} (Stenning).

Beth-nimrah . . . i. 281^b (Conder).
Beth-pazzez . . . i. 282^a.
Beth-pelet . . . i. 282^a; ii. 127^b.
Beth-peor . . . i. 282^a (Conder).
Bethphage . . . i. 282^a; ii. 30^b.
Beth-rapha . . . i. 282^b; ii. 128^b.
Beth-rehob . . . i. 282^b.
Beth-saida . . . i. 282^b (Ewing).
Bethshan . . . i. 283^b.
Bethshean . . . i. 283^b (Thatcher).
Beth-shemesh . . i. 283^b (Conder).
  in Egypt . . . i. 283^b (Griffith), 209^b (Peake); iii. 621^b.
Beth-shittah . . i. 284^a.
Bethsura (Apoc.) . . i. 284^a.
Beth-tappuah . . i. 284^a.
Bethuel (person) . . i. 284^a.
Bethuel, Bethul (place) i. 284^a.
Bethulia (Apoc.) . . i. 284^a; ii. 823^a (Porter).
Beth-zacharias (Apoc.) i. 284^a.
Beth-zur . . . i. 284^a; ii. 127$^{a,\ b}$.
Betimes . . . i. 284^a.
Betolion (Apoc.) . . i. 284^b.
Betomasthaim (Apoc.) i. 284^b.
Betonim . . . i. 284^b.
Betrayal of Trust . i. 521^a (Poucher).
Betrothing . . . i. 326^b (Plummer); iii. 270^a (W. P. Paterson).
Better . . . . i. 284^b.
Between, Betwixt . i. 284^b.
Beulah . . . . i. 284^b.
Bewail . . . . i. 284^b.
Bewitch . . . i. 285^a.
Bewray . . . i. 285^a.
Beyond . . . i. 285^a (Hastings).
Bezaanannim . . iv. 959^a [Zaanannim].
Bezai . . . . i. 285^a.
Bezalel . . . . i. 285^b (A. R. S. Kennedy); ii. 127^b (Curtis).
Bezek . . . . i. 285^b.
Bezer (person) . . i. 285^b; ii. 132^a.
Bezer (place) . . i. 285^b (Driver).
Bezeth (Apoc.) . . i. 286^a.
Bibëiash . . . i. 182^a (Hommel).
Bible . . . . i. 286^a (Stewart).
  Arrangement and Divisions . . i. 287^b; iii. 595^b ff. (Curtis), 606^a (Woods).
    Books, OT . . iii. 598^a (Curtis).
      ,, NT . . iii. 526^a ff. (M'Clymont).
    Chapters . . i. 288^a.
    Haphtaroth and Parshioth . . i. 288^a; iv. 950^a (Kenyon).
    New Testament . iii. 523^a (M'Clymont).
    Old Testament . iii. 595^b (Curtis).
    Verses . . . i. 288^b; iv. 950^a (Kenyon).
  Authority . . . i. 298^b.
  Canon . . . i. 288^b, 348^b (Stanton).
    of OT . . . i. 288^b; iii. 604^a (Woods).
      Alexandrian . i. 289^a, 117^b (Porter); iii. 615^a (Woods).
      Jewish . . iii. 606^a ff. (Woods).
    of NT . . . i. 290^b f.; iii. 529^b (Stanton).
Bible—Canon of NT—
    Evidence of Early Writers . . i. 291^b; iii. 531^b ff. (Stanton).
    Syriac . . . iv. 647^b f., 649^b, 650^a (Nestle).
  Canon of Reformed and R.C. Churches iii. 605^a (Woods).
  Chronological Scheme of OT Literature . i. 290^b.
  Criticism . . . i. 289^b f., 298^b f.; iii. 601^a, 602^b (Curtis).
  Ethics . . . i. 777^a (Strong).
  Inspiration . . . i. 296^a-299^b; ii. 475^b (Hastings).
  Language . . . i. 287^a.
    of OT . . . iii. 25^a (Margoliouth).
    of NT . . . iii. 36^a (Thayer).
  Names . . . i. 286^a.
    Bible . . . i. 286^a.
    Bibliotheca . . i. 286^b.
    Testament . . i. 286^b; iv. 720^a (Massie).
  Preservation and Transmission . iii. 598^b (Curtis).
  Relation to Literature of other Religions i. 293^a–295^b.
  Revelation . . i. 295^b.
  Style . . . iii. 660^a (König); Ext. 156^a (König).
  Text, OT . . . i. 292^a; iv. 726^a (Strack), 948^a ff. (Kenyon).
    ,, NT . . . i. 292^a; iv. 732^b (Nestle), 950^b ff. (Kenyon).
  Versions . . . iv. 848^b (Bebb).
    Arabic . . . i. 136^a (Burkitt).
    Aramaic . . . iv. 678^b [Targum].
    Armenian . . i. 151^b, 153^a (Conybeare).
    Bohemian . . Ext. 417^b (Bebb).
    Continental . . Ext. 402^b ff. (Bebb).
    Danish . . . Ext. 415^b (Bebb).
    Dutch . . . Ext. 414^b (Bebb).
    Egyptian . . i. 668^a (Forbes Robinson).
    English . . . iv. 855^b (Milligan); Ext. 236^a ff. (Lupton).
    Ethiopic . . . i. 791^a (Charles).
    French . . . Ext. 402^b (Bebb).
    Georgian . . iv. 861^a (Bebb).
    German . . . Ext. 411^a (Bebb).
    Gothic . . . iv. 861^b (Bebb).
    Greek . . . iv. 864^b (Redpath).
      Aquila's VS . iv. 865^a (Redpath).
      Modern VSS . Ext. 420^a (Bebb).
      Septuagint . iv. 437^b (Nestle).
      Symmachus . iv. 865^b (Redpath).
      Theodotion . iv. 866^a (Redpath).
    Hungarian . . Ext. 417^a (Bebb).
    Itala . . . iii. 47^b (H. A. A. Kennedy).
    Italian . . . Ext. 406^b (Bebb).
    Latin, Old . . iii. 47^a (H. A. A. Kennedy).
    Memphitic . . i. 669^b [Middle Egyptian].
    Norwegian . . Ext. 415^b (Bebb).
    Polish . . . Ext. 418^b (Bebb).
    Portuguese . . Ext. 410^b (Bebb).

Bible—Versions—
  Rheims . . . iv. 858^{b} (Milligan); Ext. 251^{b} (Lupton).
  Russian . . . Ext. 419^{a} (Bebb).
  Sahidic . . . i. 669^{b} (Forbes Robinson).
  Samaritan . . . Ext. 68^{b} (König).
  Slavonic . . . iv. 863^{b} (Bebb).
  Spanish . . . Ext. 408^{b} (Bebb).
  Swedish . . . Ext. 416^{b} (Bebb).
  Syriac . . . iv. 645^{b} (Nestle).
  Thebaic . . . i. 669^{b} [Sahidic].
  Vulgate . . . iv. 873^{a} (H. J. White).
Bichri . . . i. 299^{b}.
Bid . . . i. 299^{b}.
Bide . . . i. 299^{b}.
Bidkar . . . i. 299^{b}.
Bier . . . i. 332^{b} (Nicol).
Bigtha . . . i. 299^{b}.
Bigthan, Bigthana . i. 299^{b}.
Bigvai . . . i. 299^{b}; ii. 133^{b}.
Bildad . . . i. 300^{a} (Davison); ii. 661^{b}.
Bileam . . . i. 300^{a}.
Bilgah, Bilgai . . i. 300^{a}; ii. 123^{b}.
Bilhah (person) . . i. 300^{a}.
  ,, (place) . . i. 300^{a}.
Bilhan . . . i. 300^{a}; ii. 130^{b}.
Bill . . . i. 300^{a} (Hastings).
Bilshan . . . i. 300^{b}; ii. 133^{b}.
Bimhal . . . i. 300^{b}; ii. 131^{a}.
Binea . . . i. 300^{b}; ii. 131^{a}.
Binnui . . . i. 300^{b}, 258^{b}; ii. 133^{b}, 134$^{b\ \mathit{bis}}$, 135$^{a.\ b}$.
Birds . . . ii. 63^{b} (Post); iii. 491^{b}.
  Clean and Unclean . ii. 36^{b} (Macalister); iv. 830^{a} (Peake).
Birsha . . . i. 300^{b}.
Birth . . . i. 300^{b} (H. A. White); iii. 331^{b} (Macalister).
  New . . . [See Regeneration].
Birthday . . . i. 301^{a} (H. A. White).
Birthright . . . i. 849^{a} (Bennett); ii. 341^{a}.
Birzaith . . . i. 301^{a}; ii. 131^{b}.
Bishlam . . . i. 301^{a}.
Bishop . . . i. 301^{b} (Gwatkin), 434^{a} ff. (Gayford).
  Appointment . . i. 302^{a}, 434^{b} (Gayford).
  Duties . . . i. 301^{b} f., 440^{b}.
  in Philippians . . iii. 843^{a} (Gibb).
  in 1 Timothy . . iv. 771^{b} (Lock).
Bishoprick . . . i. 302^{b}.
Bishops' Bible . . iv. 858^{b} (Milligan); Ext. 250^{a} (J. H. Lupton).
Bit, Bridle . . . i. 302^{b} (Mackie).
Bithiah . . . i. 303^{a}; ii. 129^{a}.
Bithron . . . i. 303^{a}.
Bithynia . . . i. 303^{a} (Ramsay).
  Jews in . . . Ext. 95^{a} (Schürer).
Bitter, Bitterness . i. 303^{b} (A. R. S. Kennedy).
Bitter Herbs . . i. 304^{a} (Post); ii. 29^{b} (Macalister); iii. 687^{a}, 691^{b} (W. J. Moulton).
Bitter Water . . iii. 325^{b} (Macalister), 273^{b} f. (W. P. Paterson).
Bittern . . . i. 304^{a} (Post).
Bitumen . . . i. 304^{b} (Hull).
Biziothiah . . . i. 305^{a}.
Biztha . . . i. 305^{a}.
Black . . . i. 305^{a}, 457^{a}.
Black Obelisk . . i. 184^{a} (Hommel).
Blains . . . iii. 329^{b} (Macalister).
Blasphemy . . . i. 305^{a} (Massie), 521^{a} (Poucher).
Blast . . . i. 306^{a} (Hastings).
Blastus . . . i. 306^{a} (Headlam).
Blaze . . . i. 306^{a}.
Blemish . . . iii. 330^{a} (Macalister).
Blessedness . . . i. 306^{b} (Adeney); Ext. 16^{b} (Votaw).
Blessing . . . i. 307^{a} (Adeney).
Blessing of Jacob . ii. 532^{a} (Driver); iv. 812$^{a.\ b}$ (Bennett); Ext. 649^{b} (Kautzsch).
  ,, of Moses . iv. 518^{b} (Selbie), 812$^{a.\ b}$ (Bennett); Ext. 650^{a}, 660^{b} (Kautzsch).
Blinding . . . i. 523^{b} (Poucher).
Blindness . . . iii. 330^{b} (Macalister).
Blood . . . i. 307^{b} (A. R. S. Kennedy).
  Atoning Power . . i. 197^{b} ff. (Murray); Ext. 720^{b} f. (Kautzsch).
  Tabooed as Food . ii. 38^{b} (Macalister); iii. 322^{a} (Macalister); Ext. 618^{b}, 665^{b} (Kautzsch).
  Uncleanness . . iv. 828^{a} (Peake).
  in Passover . . iii. 689^{a}; Ext. 622^{a}.
  in Sacrifice . . iv. 339^{a} ff. (Paterson); Ext. 618^{b} ff., 720^{a} ff. (Kautzsch).
Blood, Avenger of . ii. 223^{b} (A. R. S. Kennedy); Ext. 623^{a} (Kautzsch).
  ,, Issue of . . iii. 332^{a} (Macalister).
Bloodguiltiness . . i. 307^{b}.
Bloodshedding . . i. 307^{b}.
Bloodthirsty . . i. 307^{b}.
Bloody Flux . . iii. 325^{a} (Macalister); ii. 24^{b} [Flux].
Bloody Sweat . . iii. 330^{a} (Macalister).
Bloom . . . i. 308^{a}.
Blue . . . i. 308^{a} (Hastings), 457^{a} (Thatcher).
Boanerges . . . i. 308^{a} (Muir).
Boar . . . iv. 633^{a} (Post).
Boats . . . iv. 505^{a} (Hull); Ext. 359^{b} (Blomfield).
Boaz (person) . . i. 308^{a} (Redpath); ii. 126^{b} (Curtis).
Boaz (pillar) . . i. 308^{b} (Davies); iii. 881^{a} (Whitehouse).
Boccas (Apoc.) . . i. 311^{a} [Borith].
Bocchoris . . . i. 663^{a} (Crum).
Bocheru . . . i. 309^{a}; ii. 131^{a}.
Bochim . . . i. 309^{a}.
Body . . . i. 309^{a} (Laidlaw).
Bodyguard . . . ii. 267^{a} (Barnes).
  David's . . . i. 568^{b} (H. A. White), 376^{b} (Selbie); ii. 132^{a} (Curtis).
Bohan . . . i. 309^{b}.
Bohairic Version . i. 668^{a} ff. (F. Robinson).
Bohemian VSS . . Ext. 417^{b} (Bebb).

Boils iii. 329^{b}, 890^{b} (Macalister).
Boldness i. 309^{b} (Hastings).
Bolled i. 310^{a}.
Bolster i. 310^{a}.
Bolt ii. 434^{b} (Warren).
Bond i. 310^{a} (Hastings).
Bones i. 309^{a} (Laidlaw); iii. 328^{b} (Macalister).
Bonnet i. 310^{a} (Mackie), 626^{b}.
Book iv. 947^{a} (Kenyon).
Book of Life Ext. 293^{b} (Fairweather).
Book of the Upright (*Jashar*) iv. 12^{a} (Budde).
  of the Wars of Jehovah iv. 12^{a} (Budde), 896^{b} (Selbie).
Booth i. 310^{b} (A. R. S. Kennedy).
Booths, Feast of i. 861^{a} (Harding); iv. 668^{b} (Chapman).
Booty iv. 895^{a} (Barnes).
Border of Garment i. 627^{a} (Mackie); ii. 69^{a} (A. R. S. Kennedy).
Borderer i. 311^{a}.
Borith (Ap.) i. 311^{a}.
Born, Borne i. 311^{a} (Hastings).
Borrowing i. 579^{a} ff. [Debt].
  of the Israelites in Egypt ii. 173^{a} (Selbie).
Bosom, Abraham's i. 17^{b}, 752^{b} (Salmond).
Bosor (Apoc.) i. 311^{b}.
Bosora (Apoc.) i. 311^{b}.
Boss i. 311^{b} (Barnes).
Botany iii. 492^{b} (Post).
Botch i. 311^{b} (Hastings).
  of Egypt iii. 329^{b} (Macalister).
Bottle i. 311^{b} (Mackie); ii. 34^{a} (Macalister).
  Tear i. 814^{a} (Mackie).
Bottom i. 312^{a} (Hastings).
Bottomless Pit i. 312^{a}.
Bough i. 312^{a} (Hastings).
Bought i. 312^{a} (Hastings).
Bow (verb) i. 312^{a} (Hastings).
  ,, (subst.) i. 312^{b} (Barnes).
Bowels i. 312^{b}.
Bowing i. 312^{b} (Mackie).
Bowl i. 312^{b} (A. R. S. Kennedy); ii. 40$^{a.\,b}$ (Macalister). [See Bason].
  in Apocalypse iv. 260^{a} (F. C. Porter).
Box i. 313^{a} (Carslaw).
Box Tree i. 313^{a} (Post).
Boy [See Children, Education, Family].
Bozez i. 313^{b}.
Bozkath i. 313^{b}.
Bozrah i. 313^{b} (Ewing), 286^{a} (Driver).
Bracelet i. 313^{b} (Mackie).
Brag i. 314^{a} (Hastings).
Bramble iv. 751^{b} (Post).
Bran i. 314^{a}.
Branch i. 314^{a} (Selbie).
  to the nose i. 314^{a}; iv. 989^{a} (J. H. Moulton).
Brand i. 314^{b} (Hastings).
Branding i. 523^{b} (Poucher).
Brass i. 314^{b}; iii. 375^{b} (Hull).
Bravery i. 315^{a} (Hastings).
Brawler i. 315^{b}.
Bray i. 315^{b} (Hastings), 524^{a} (Poucher).
Brazen Sea iv. 424^{b} (Davies); i. 158^{b} (Flinders Petrie), 505^{b} (Whitehouse); Ext. 671^{a} (Kautzsch).
  ,, Serpent iv. 460$^{a.\,b}$ (Post); iii. 510^{b} (A. R. S. Kennedy); iv. 602^{a} (Whitehouse); Ext. 628^{a} (Kautzsch).
Breach i. 315^{b} (Hastings).
Bread i. 315^{b} (Macalister).
  Breaking Bread i. 316^{a}.
  Materials i. 316^{a}.
  Metaphorical use i. 319^{a}.
  Preparation i. 317^{a} ff.; iii. 637^{a} (H. Porter).
  at Funerals i. 318^{b}; iii. 454^{a} (Nicol); Ext. 615^{a} (Kautzsch).
  in Offerings i. 318^{b}; iv. 338^{b} f. (W. P. Paterson). [See Shewbread].
Breastplate i. 319^{a} (Barnes).
  of High Priest i. 319^{a} (A. R. S. Kennedy); iv. 619^{b} ff. (Flinders Petrie).
Breath iv. 611^{b} f. [Spirit]; iii. 114^{b} (G. C. Martin); Ext. 665$^{a.\,b}$ (Kautzsch).
Breeches i. 320^{a} (A. R. S. Kennedy), 625^{b} (Mackie).
Brethren of the Lord i. 320^{a} (Mayor).
Bribery i. 521^{b} (Poucher); ii. 173$^{a.\,b}$ (Selbie).
Brick i. 326^{a} (Flinders Petrie), 448^{a} (Hull).
Bride i. 326^{b} (Plummer).
Bridegroom i. 327^{a} (Plummer).
Bridegroom's Friend i. 327^{b} (Plummer).
Bridge i. 328^{a} (Mackie); Ext. 369^{b}, 373$^{a.\,b}$ (Buhl).
Bridle i. 302^{b} (Mackie).
Brier iv. 751^{b} ff. (Post).
Brigandine i. 328^{a} (Barnes).
Brimstone i. 328^{a} (Hull).
Bring i. 328^{b} (Hastings).
Broid, Broider i. 329^{a}.
Brokenhearted i. 329^{a}.
Bronze i. 314^{b} (Hull).
Brooch i. 313^{b} (Mackie), 330^{b} (Jevons).
Brook i. 329^{a} (Hull).
Broom ii. 825^{b} (Post).
Broth ii. 40^{a} (Macalister); Ext. 661^{b} (Kautzsch).
Brother i. 848^{b} (Bennett).
Brotherly Love i. 329^{b} (Denney).
Brown i. 330^{a}.
Bruit i. 330^{a}.
Brute, Brutish i. 330^{a}.

- Buckle . . . . i. 330^{b} (Jevons).
- Buckler . . . . i. 330^{b} (Barnes); iv. 497^{b}.
- Buffet . . . . i. 330^{b}.
- Bugean . . . . i. 331^{a}.
- Bukki . . . . i. 331^{a}; ii. 123$^{a, b}$.
- Bukkiah . . . . i. 331^{a}; ii. 124^{b}.
- Bul . . . . . iv. 765^{a} (Abrahams).
- Bull, Bullock, Wild Bull . . . iii. 638^{a} (Post).
  - Aaron's Golden . i. 340^{b} (A. R. S. Kennedy); Ext. 643^{a} (Kautzsch).
  - Bull Symbols . . i. 342^{b} (A. R. S. Kennedy); Ext. 613^{b} (Kautzsch).
    - Attitude of Prophets to . . i. 342^{b} (Kennedy); ii. 447^{b} (W. P. Paterson); Ext. 679^{b} f. (Kautzsch).
  - Jeroboam's Bulls . i. 341^{b} (Kennedy); ii. 447^{b} (W. P. Paterson); Ext. 643^{a} (Kautzsch).
  - in Anatolian Religion . . . Ext. 115^{a} (Ramsay).
- Bulrush . . . . iv. 212^{a} (Post).
- Bulwark . . . . i. 331^{a} (Barnes).
- Bunah . . . . i. 331^{a}; ii. 126^{a}.
- Bunch . . . . i. 331^{a}.
- Bunni . . . . i. 331^{b}; ii. 135$^{b\ bis}$.
- Burden . . . . i. 331^{b} (Millar).
- Burglary . . . . i. 522^{b} (Poucher).
- Burial . . . . i. 331^{b} (Nicol); iv. 454^{a} ff. [See Burning of Dead].
- Burier . . . . i. 333^{b}.
- Burning, of the Dead . i. 332^{a} (Nicol), 518^{b} (Plummer); iv. 455^{a} (Nicol).
  - Punishment . . i. 523^{b} (Poucher).
- Burning Bush . . i. 333^{b} (A. R. S. Kennedy), 334^{a} (Post).
- Burnt-offering . . iv. 334^{a}, 337^{a} (W. P. Paterson); iii. 587^{a}, 588^{a} (Driver); Ext. 722^{a} (Kautzsch).
- Burst, Bursting . . i. 333^{b} (Hastings).
- Bush . . . . i. 334^{a} (Post).
- Bushel . . . . iv. 913^{a} (A. R. S. Kennedy).
- Busybody . . . i. 334^{a}.
- But . . . . i. 334^{a}.
- Butler . . . . i. 334^{b} (Wortabet); ii. 772^{b} (Driver).
- Butter . . . . ii. 36^{a} (Macalister).
- Buz . . . . i. 334^{b} (Boyd); ii. 131^{b} (Curtis); iv. 842^{a} (Pinches).
- Buzi, Buzite . . i. 334^{b} (Skinner).
- By . . . . i. 334^{b} (Hastings).
- By and By . . . i. 335^{b}.
- Byway . . . . i. 335^{b}.

- C (Codex Ephræmi Syri) . . . . i. 336^{a} (Murray).
- C (symbol in Criticism) . . . i. 336^{a}.
- Cab . . . . [See Kab].
- Cabbon . . . i. 336^{a}; ii. 127^{b}; iii. 197^{a} [Machbena].
- Cabin . . . . i. 336^{a}.
- Cabul . . . . i. 336^{a}; ii. 389^{a} note.
- Cæsar . . . . i. 336^{b} (Adeney).
  - Worship . . . iii. 709^{a} (Findlay); iv. 257^{b}, 259^{a} (Porter); Ext. 104^{a} (Schürer).
- Cæsar's Household . i. 337^{a} (Adeney).
- Cæsarea . . . i. 337^{a} (Conder).
- Cæsarea Philippi . . i. 337^{b} (Ewing); ii. 758^{a} (Warren).
- Cage . . . . i. 338^{a} (Mackie); ii. 63^{b} (Post).
- Caiaphas . . . i. 338^{a} (M'Clymont), 410^{b} (Turner).
- Cain . . . . i. 338^{b} (W. P. Paterson).
  - Land of Exile . . iii. 558^{a} (Suffrin).
  - Mark of . . . iii. 244^{b} (Hastings), 871^{b} (A. R. S. (Kennedy).
  - Sacrifice of . . i. 338^{b}.
- Cainan . . . . i. 339^{b}; ii. 140^{a}.
- Cainites . . . ii. 798^{b} (Plummer).
- Cake . . . . i. 318^{a} (Macalister).
- Calah . . . . i. 339^{b} (Ryle), 178^{b}, 182^{a}, 183^{b} (Hommel); iii. 553^{b} f. (Sayce).
- Calamolalus (Apoc.) . i. 340^{a}.
- Calamus . . . iv. 213^{a} (Post); iii. 747^{b} (Macalister).
- Calcol . . . . i. 340^{a}; ii. 129^{a} (Curtis).
- Caldron . . . ii. 40^{a} (Macalister).
- Caleb . . . . i. 340^{a} (Selbie); ii. 126^{a}, 127$^{a, b}$, 128$^{a, b}$ (Curtis).
- Calendar . . . iv. 765^{a} (Abrahams).
- Calf . . . . iii. 638^{a} (Post).
- Calf, Golden . . i. 340^{b} (A. R. S. Kennedy).
  - of Aaron . . . i. 340^{b}; Ext. 643^{a} (Kautzsch).
  - of Jeroboam I. . . i. 341^{b}; ii. 447^{b} (W. P. Paterson); Ext. 643^{a} (Kautzsch).
  - Bull Symbols . . i. 342^{b}; Ext. 613^{b} (Kautzsch).
    - Attitude of Prophets to . . i. 342^{b}; ii. 447^{b} (W. P. Paterson); Ext. 679^{b} f. (Kautzsch).
    - in Anatolian Religion . . Ext. 115^{a} (Ramsay).
- Calitas (Apoc.) . . i. 343^{a} (Thackeray).
- Calker . . . . i. 343^{a}.
- Call . . . . i. 343^{a} (Hastings).
- Calling . . . i. 344^{a} (Macpherson).
- Callisthenes (Apoc.) . i. 344^{a} (H. A. White).
- Calneh, Calno . . i. 344^{a} (I. A. Pinches), 213^{a}, 224^{b} (Hommel).
- Calvary . . . ii. 226^{a} (Warren), 596^{a} (Conder); iv. 458^{a} (Nicol).
- Calves of the Lips . iii. 127^{a} [Lip].
- Camel . . . . i. 344^{b} (Post).
  - Unclean . . . ii. 39^{a} (Macalister); iv. 829^{b} (Peake).

Camel, Use in Egypt iii. 819^b (Griffith).
Camel's Hair i. 345^b (Mackie); ii. 285^a (Ewing).
Camp i. 346^a (Barnes).
Camp (verb) i. 346^a.
Camphire i. 346^a (Post).
Cana i. 346^b (Ewing).
Canaan, Canaanites i. 347^a (Sayce).
  Conquest ii. 509^b f. (Barnes), 785^b f. (Smith).
  Language i. 70^b ff. (I. Taylor), 347^b (Sayce); iii. 25^a ff. (Margoliouth).
  Name i. 347^a.
  People i. 347^a; Ext. 76^b (Jastrow), 86^b (McCurdy).
    Relation to Ham ii. 288^b (Margoliouth).
  References in Tel el-Amarna Tablets i. 347^b f.
Cananæan, Canaanite i. 348^a (Selbie).
Candace i. 348^b (Prichard), 790^a (Margoliouth).
Candle, Candlestick i. 348^b (A. R. S. Kennedy); iv. 663^b, 701^b (Davies).
  ,, in Apocalypse iv. 255^b (F. C. Porter).
Cane iv. 213^a (Post).
Canker i. 348^b.
Cankerworm iii. 130^b (Post).
Canon i. 348^b (Stanton).
  Conception of Canon i. 349^a.
  NT Canon iii. 529^b (Stanton); i. 290^b (Stewart).
  OT Canon iii. 604^a (Woods); i. 288^b (Stewart).
  Relation to Apocrypha i. 349^b, 117^b (Porter).
  Terms 'Canon,' 'Canonical,' 'Canonized' i. 350^a; iii. 604^b (Woods).
Canon, Eponym i. 179^b (Hommel).
  of Ptolemy i. 179^b (Hommel).
Canopy i. 350^b (Porter).
Canticles [See Song of Songs].
Caper-berry i. 350^b (Post); ii. 38^a (Macalister).
Capernaum i. 350^b (Ewing); ii. 104^a (Merrill).
Caph i. 351^b.
Capharsalama (Apoc.) i. 351^b.
Caphira (Apoc.) i. 351^b.
Caphtor i. 351^b (Sayce), 519^b (Prichard); iii. 846^a (Beecher).
Cappadocia i. 352^a (Ramsay).
  Jews in Ext. 95^a (Schürer).
Captain i. 352^a (Burrows).
  of the Guard (NT) i. 352^b; iv. 33^b note (Purves).
  of Pharaoh's Guard iv. 23^b (Driver).
  of the Host ii. 843^a (Williams).
Captivity ii. 514^a (Barnes).
Carabasion (Apoc.) i. 352^b.
Caravan i. 352^b (Hastings).
Carbuncle iv. 620^a (Flinders Petrie).
Carcas i. 353^a.
Carcase i. 353^a (Hastings).
Carchemish i. 353^a (T. G. Pinches). [See Karkhemis].
Care i. 353^b (Hastings).
Caria (Apoc.) i. 354^b (Ramsay).
Carites i. 354^b, 376^b (Selbie).
Carmel (city) i. 354^b (Conder).
Carmel (promontory) i. 354^b (G. A. Smith).
Carmelite, Carmelitess i. 356^a.
Carmi i. 356^a; ii. 122^b, 129^a.
Carmonians (Apoc.) i. 356^a (H. A. White).
Carnaim (Apoc.) i. 356^a, 167^b. [See Karnaim].
Carnal, Carnally i. 356^a.
Carnelian iv. 620^b (Flinders Petrie).
Carnion i. 356^a, 167^b (Ewing), 195^a (H. A. White). [See Karnaim].
Carpenter i. 356^a (Adeney).
  Tools iv. 796^b (Carslaw).
Carpus i. 356^b (Lock).
Carriage i. 356^b (H. A. White).
Carshena i. 357^a.
Cart i. 357^a (H. A. White).
Carving i. 357^a (Mackie).
Casdim i. 380^a [Chesed].
Case i. 357^b (Hastings).
Casement ii. 435^b (Warren).
Casiphia i. 357^b (I. A. Pinches).
Casluhim i. 357^b, 351^b [Caphtor].
Casphor (Apoc.) i. 358^a.
Cassia i. 358^a (Post); iii. 593^b (Macalister).
Cast i. 358^a (Hastings).
Castanet iii. 463^a (Millar).
Castle i. 358^b (H. A. White).
Castor and Pollux i. 608^b (Prichard).
Cat i. 359^a (Post).
Catenæ Ext. 485^a ff. (Turner).
Caterpillar iii. 130^b (Post).
Catholic Epistles i. 359^b (Salmond).
Cathua (Apoc.) i. 362^b.
Cattle i. 362^b (Post); ii. 35^b (Macalister).
Cauda i. 363^a (Ramsay).
Caul i. 363^a, 628^a (Mackie).
Cause i. 363^b.
Causeway i. 363^b.
Cave i. 363^b (Hull).
  Birthplace of Christ i. 281^a (Conder); iii. 234^b (Massie), 288^a (Mayor); Ext. 429^b (Tasker).
Cedar i. 364^a (Post).
Ceiling i. 441^b [Cieled, Cieling].
Celibacy iii. 266^b (W. P. Paterson).
Cellar i. 365^b.
Celsus ii. 700^b.
Cenchreæ i. 365^b (Dickson), 480^a (Ramsay).
Cendebæus (Apoc.) i. 365^b (H. A. White).
Censer i. 365^b (Kennedy, Holmes).
Census of David i. 568^b (H. A. White).

Census of Quirinius . iv. 183^a (Plummer); Ext. 356^a (Kenyon), 395^a (Ramsay).
Centurion . . . i. 366^a (Adeney).
Cephas . . . . iii. 756^a (Chase).
Cerinthus, Teaching . ii. 188^b (Headlam).
  Relation to Canon . ii. 189^a.
  ,, to St. John ii. 189^b, 734^b (Salmond).
Cerinthus, Gospel of . Ext. 438^b (Tasker).
Certain . . . i. 367^a (Hastings).
Certify . . . i. 367^a.
Chabris (Apoc.) . . i. 367^a.
Chadiasai (Apoc.) . i. 367^a.
Chæreas (Apoc.) . . i. 367^b.
Chafe . . . . i. 367^b.
Chaff . . . . i. 367^b (Post).
Chain . . . . i. 367^b (Carslaw).
Chalcedony . . . iv. 621^a (Flinders Petrie).
Chaldæa, Chaldæans . i. 368^a (Price), 185^b (Hommel), 380^a (Ryle). [See Khaldeans].
  Language . . . i. 368^b.
  Wise Men . . . i. 368^b, 553^b (Curtis); iii. 203^b f. (Benecke).
Chaldee Language . i. 368^b (Price); iii. 25^a (Margoliouth).
Chaldee Versions . iv. 678^b [Targum].
Chalk-stones . . i. 369^a.
Challenge . . . i. 369^a.
Chalphi (Apoc.) . . i. 369^a.
Chamber (subst.) . . ii. 433^b (Warren).
Chamber (verb) . . i. 369^a (Hastings).
Chambers of the South i. 192^b (Pinches), 218^a (Hommel).
Chamberlain . . i. 369^a (Wortabet).
Chameleon . . . i. 369^a (Post).
Chamois . . . i. 369^b (Post).
Champaign . . . i. 369^b.
Champion . . . i. 370^a.
Chance . . . i. 370^a (Hastings).
Chancellor . . . i. 370^a.
Change . . . i. 370^b (Hastings).
Change of Raiment . i. 370^b (Mackie).
Chant . . . . i. 370^b.
Chanuneus (Apoc.) . i. 370^b.
Chapel . . . . i. 370^b (Taylor).
Chaphenatha (Apoc.) . i. 371^a.
Chapiter . . . i. 371^a (A. R. S. Kennedy).
Chapman . . . i. 371^a.
Chapt . . . . i. 371^a.
Charaathalan (Apoc.) . i. 371^a.
Charax (Apoc.) . . i. 371^a.
Charea (Apoc.) . . i. 371^a.
Charge, Chargeable . i. 371^a (Hastings).
Charger . . . i. 371^b, 256^b (Macalister); ii. 41^a.
Chariot . . . i. 372^a (H. A. White); ii. 773^b (Driver), 842^a (Williams).
Charismata . . . i. 427^b f., 434^b f. (Gayford); iii. 726^b (Findlay).
Charity . . . i. 373^a (Hastings).
Charm . . . . [See Amulet].
Charme (Apoc.) . . i. 373^b.
Charmis (Apoc.) . . i. 373^b.
Chase . . . . ii. 437^b [Hunting].
Chaseba (Apoc.) . . i. 373^b.
Chastening, Chastisement . . . i. 374^a (Denney).
Chastity . . . i. 520^b ff. (Poucher); iii. 273^a ff. (W. P. Paterson).
Chebar . . . . i. 374^b (H. A. White).
Check . . . . i. 374^b.
Checker-work . . i. 374^b.
Chedorlaomer . . i. 375^a (Sayce), 222^b, 226^b (Hommel).
Cheek, Cheek-bone . i. 375^a.
Cheek Teeth . . i. 375^b.
Cheer . . . . i. 375^b.
Cheese . . . . ii. 36^b (Macalister).
Chelal . . . . i. 375^b.
Chellians (Apoc.) . . i. 375^b.
Chellus (Apoc.) . . i. 375^b.
Chelod (Apoc.) . . i. 375^b.
Chelub . . . . i. 376^a; ii. 128^b.
Chelubai . . . i. 376^a; ii. 126^a.
Cheluhi, Cheluhu, Chelluh . . . i. 376^a.
Chemarim . . . i. 376^a (J. Taylor).
Chemosh . . . i. 376^a (Peake); iii. 408^b (Bennett).
Chenaanah . . . i. 376^b; ii. 130^b.
Chenani . . . i. 376^b.
Chenaniah . . . i. 376^b; ii. 125^b.
Cheops . . . i. 658^a (Crum).
Chepera . . . Ext. 184^b (Wiedemann).
Chephar-ammoni . . i. 376^b.
Chephirah . . . i. 376^b.
Chephren . . . i. 658^a (Crum).
Cheran . . . i. 376^b.
Cherethites and Pelethites . . . . i. 376^b (Selbie), 352^a (Sayce); iii. 846^a (Beecher).
Cherith . . . i. 377^a.
Cherub . . . i. 377^a, 38^a [Addan], 371^a [Charaathalan].
Cherubim . . . i. 377^b (Ryle); Ext. 644^a (Kautzsch).
  =Angels . . . i. 379$^{a, b}$.
  Etymology . . i. 379^b; Ext. 644^a (Kautzsch).
  in Eden . . . i. 377^b, 643^b (Sayce).
  in Ezekiel . . i. 377^b f. (Ryle); Ext. 644^b (Kautzsch).
  in NT . . . i. 379^a.
  in Psalms . . . i. 377^b.
  in Temple . . i. 378^a (Ryle), 158^a (Flinders Petrie); iv. 701^b (Davies); Ext. 644^b (Kautzsch).
  on the Ark . . i. 378^a; iv. 665^a (A. R. S. Kennedy); Ext. 644^a (Kautzsch).
  Relation to Assyrian winged Bulls, etc. . i. 377^b, 378^b; Ext. 644^b (Kautzsch).

Cherubim—
  'sitteth upon the Cherubim' . . . i. 379^a; Ext. 644^{a,b} (Kautzsch).
Chesalon . . . . i. 380^a.
Chesed . . . . i. 380^a (Ryle), 368^b (Price).
Chesil . . . . i. 380^a, 279^a (note).
Chest . . . . i. 380^a (A. R. S. Kennedy).
Chestnut Tree . . i. 380^b (Post).
Chesulloth . . . i. 380^b.
Cheth . . . . i. 380^b.
Chezib . . . . i. 25^a [Achzib].
Chiasmus . . . Ext. 162^a (König).
Chide . . . . i. 380^b.
Chidon . . . . i. 380^b.
Chief . . . . i. 380^b (Hastings).
Child, Children . . i. 381^a (Mackie), 848^a (Bennett).
Children of the East . i. 635^b (Margoliouth); ii. 831^a (Macpherson).
Children of God . . ii. 215^b (Candlish). [See Sonship].
Chileab . . . i. 382^b; ii. 126^b.
Chiliasm . . . iii. 370^a ff. (Adams Brown), 729^b (Findlay); iv. 242^a (F. C. Porter).
Chilion . . . . i. 382^b (Redpath).
Chilmad . . . i. 382^b (Skinner).
Chimham . . . i. 383^a.
Chimney . . . i. 383^a; ii. 72^a, 433^b.
Chinnereth . . . i. 383^a.
Chios . . . . i. 383^a (Ramsay).
Chislev . . . i. 383^b; iv. 765^b (Abrahams).
Chislon . . . i. 383^b.
Chisloth-tabor . . i. 380^b [Chesulloth].
Chithlish . . . i. 383^b.
Chittim . . . iii. 6^b (Macpherson).
Chiun . . . . i. 383^b (J. Taylor), 193^a (Pinches), 215^b (Hommel).
Chloe . . . . i. 384^a.
Chnum, Chnuphis . Ext. 185^b (Wiedemann).
Choba, Chobai (Apoc.) i. 384^a.
Choke . . . . i. 384^a.
Chola (Apoc.) . . i. 384^a.
Choler . . . . i. 384^a.
Chorazin . . . i. 384^a (Merrill).
Chorbe (Apoc.) . . i. 384^a.
Chosamæus (Apoc.) . i. 384^a.
Christ . . . . [See Jesus Christ].
Christian (name) . . i. 384^a (Gayford); iii. 783^b ff. (Chase).
Christianity, First Community in Jerusalem i. 32^b (Headlam), 427^a ff. (Gayford).
  Relation to Greek Philosophy . . iii. 851^b ff. (Kilpatrick).
Christology . . . i. 386^a (Agar Beet).
  Development in NT . i. 387^b ff.
  of Hebrews . . ii. 329^a (Bruce).
  of St. John . . i. 387^a; ii. 723^b ff. (Reynolds), 731^b (Salmond).
Christology—
  of St. Paul . . i. 386^b, 489^b, 498^a (Robertson); iii. 722^a ff. (Findlay).
  of 1 Peter . . . iii. 793^b (Chase).
  of 2 Peter . . . iii. 797^a (Chase).
  of Revelation . . iv. 262^b ff. (F. C. Porter).
  of Synoptic Gospels . i. 386^b.
Chronicles, 1 and 2 . i. 389^a (F. Brown).
  Canonicity . . i. 389^a; iii. 613^b (Woods).
  Contents . . . i. 389^b.
  Date . . . . i. 392^a.
  Name . . . i. 389^a.
  Numbers . . . i. 394^a.
  Parallels in Earlier Books . . . i. 392^a.
  Sources . . . i. 394^b.
  Style, Peculiarities of i. 389^b ff.
  Text . . . . i. 396^b.
  Trustworthiness and Value . . . i. 395^b f.
  Unity . . . i. 389^a.
Chronology of OT . i. 397^b (Curtis).
  Creation to the Flood i. 397^b.
  Flood to the Exodus i. 398^a.
  Exodus to Founding of Temple . . i. 399^a.
  Founding of Temple to Fall of Jerusalem i. 399^b.
  Kings of Israel and Judah . . i. 400^a ff.
    Biblical and Assyrian Chronology i. 401^a ff., 186^a (Hommel).
    Method of Dating i. 400^a.
  Post-Exilic Period . i. 403^a.
Chronology of NT . i. 403^b (Turner); Ext. 480^b ff. (Ramsay).
  Acts, Book of . . i. 421^a ff., 424^a ff.
  Apostolic Age . . i. 415^b ff.
    Aretas . . . i. 416^a.
  Christ's Baptism . i. 405^a.
    Birth . . . i. 403^b.
    Crucifixion . . i. 410^a ff.
    Ministry . . i. 406^a ff.
  Days of Unleavened Bread (Ac 20^{6,7}) . i. 419^b; Ext. 475^a (Ramsay).
  Famine under Claudius i. 416^b; Ext. 480^a (Ramsay).
  Felix, Procuratorship i. 417^b.
  Festus . . . i. 418^b; ii. 4^b (Robertson).
  Gallio, Proconsulship i. 417^b.
  Herod Agrippa I. . i. 416^a.
  Herod Agrippa II. . i. 417^b.
  Jews expelled from Rome . . . i. 417^a; Ext. 480^a (Ramsay).
  Neronian Persecution i. 420^a; iii. 516^b (Cowan).
  Sergius Paulus . i. 417^a.
  St. Paul's Captivity and Martyrdom . i. 420^a f., 423^a.
    Conversion . . i. 424^a.
    Epistles . . i. 423^a.
    Missionary Journeys i. 421^b ff.
    Visits to Jerusalem i. 423^b.

- Chronology—
  - St. Peter's Martyrdom i. 420^b.
  - Tiberius Ext. 480^b f. (Ramsay).
- Chrysolite iv. 620^b f. (Flinders Petrie).
- Chrysoprase iv. 621^a (Flinders Petrie).
- Chrysostom Ext. 501^b ff. (Turner).
- Chunsu Ext. 185^a (Wiedemann).
- Chthonian and Olympian Deities Ext. 142^b (Ramsay).
- Church i. 425^a (Gayford).
  - Ceremonies: Agapæ i. 428^b, 490^b (Robertson); iii. 157^a (Lock).
    - Baptism i. 426^b, 238^a (Plummer).
    - Breaking of Bread i. 428^b. [See Eucharist, Lord's Supper].
    - Ordination i. 426^b; iii. 631^b (Gwatkin).
  - Conception of Church in NT i. 425^a.
  - Discipline i. 432^a, 437^a.
  - Ideal Church i. 438^b.
  - Holy Spirit in ii. 407^a (Swete).
  - Local Ministry, Growth of i. 436^a.
  - Members i. 426^a.
    - Relation to Fellow-Christians i. 429^a.
      - to the World i. 430^a.
  - Metaphors of i. 439^a.
  - Organization i. 431^a ff.
    - Appointment of Officers i. 433^b note, 434^b f., 302^a (Gwatkin).
    - Apostles i. 432^b, 126^a, 440^a (Gwatkin), 796^b (Massie); Ext. 448^b, 450^a (Bartlet).
    - Bishops i. 434^a ff., 301^b (Gwatkin); iii. 843^a (Gibb); iv. 771^b (Lock); Ext. 450^a (Bartlet).
    - Deacons i. 434^a ff., 440^b, 574^a (Gwatkin); iii. 377^b (Massie); iv. 771^b (Lock).
    - Deaconesses iv. 771^b (Lock), 917^b (Bennett), 936^b (Adeney).
    - Elders i. 433^a f., 301^b, 440^b (Gwatkin).
    - Evangelists i. 433^b note, 795^b (Massie); Ext. 440^b (Bartlet).
    - Prophets i. 432^b, 435^a.
    - in Acts i. 32^b f. (Headlam).
    - in *Didache* Ext. 448^b, 450^a (Bartlet).
    - in Pauline Epp. iii. 727^a ff. (Findlay); i. 490^a f. (Robertson).
    - in 1 Timothy iv. 771^a, 773^a (Lock).
    - in 2 Timothy iv. 776^b (Lock).
    - in Titus iv. 784^a (Lock).
  - Pauline Doctrine of iii. 726^a ff. (Findlay).
  - Public Worship i. 426^a ff.
    - Praise i. 428^a.
    - Prayer i. 427^b.
    - Teaching i. 427^b.
    - Time of i. 427^a.

- Church—
  - Teaching in Church i. 431^a, 436^a.
  - Unity i. 437^a ff., 720^b (Lock).
  - Work i. 431^b, 785^b (Strong).
- Church Government in Apostolic Age i. 439^b (Gwatkin).
- Churches, Robbers of i. 441^a (Ramsay).
- Churches, Seven iv. 251^a (F. C. Porter).
  - Angels of i. 97^b (Gwatkin).
- Churl i. 441^b.
- Chusi (Ap.) i. 441^b.
- Chuza i. 441^b.
- Ciccar i. 441^b; ii. 761^a (Warren); iii. 150^b, 893^b (Driver).
- Cieled, Cieling i. 441^b.
- Cilicia i. 442^a (Ramsay), 188^a (Hommel); Ext. 94^b (Schürer).
- Cimmerians i. 189^a (Hommel), 541^b (Sayce).
- Cinnamon i. 442^b.
- Circle i. 442^b.
- Circuit i. 442^b.
- Circumcision i. 442^b (Macalister); Ext. 622^b, 687^a, 716^a (Kautzsch).
  - Prohibited by Hadrian Ext. 104^b (Schürer).
- Cistern i. 444^a (Wilson).
- Cithern iii. 458^b f. (Millar).
- Citizenship i. 444^b (E. R. Bernard); iv. 292^b (Gwatkin).
  - of Jews of the Diaspora Ext. 104^b (Schürer).
- City i. 445^a (Mackie).
  - Fenced ii. 3^a (Warren).
  - Levitical iv. 71^b, 93^b (Baudissin); Ext. 717^b (Kautzsch).
  - of David ii. 591^a (Conder).
  - of Salt iv. 355^b (Hull).
  - of Waters iv. 189^b [Rabbah].
  - Royal iv. 189^b [Rabbah].
- Clasps iv. 672^b [Taches].
- Claudia i. 446^a (Lock).
- Claudius i. 446^b (Benecke).
  - Edict i. 447^a, 417^a (Turner), 482^a note (Ramsay); Ext. 480^a (Ramsay).
  - Famine under i. 416^b (Turner); Ext. 480^a (Ramsay).
- Claudius Lysias i. 447^a (Benecke).
- Claw i. 447^b.
- Clay i. 447^b (Hull).
  - Tablets iv. 944^b (Kenyon).
- Clean i. 448^a (Hastings); ii. 396^a (Skinner); iv. 825^b ff. (Peake).
  - Law of Clean and Unclean iii. 104^a (Harford-Battersby).
- Clear, Clearness i. 448^b (Hastings).
- Cleave, Cleft, Cliff, Clift i. 449^a (Hastings).
- Clement i. 449^a (Milligan); iv. 310^b (Patrick and Relton).

Clement of Alexandria . i. 114^b (F. C. Porter); ii. 695^b (Reynolds); Ext. 340^b (Menzies), 520^a (Turner).
„ of Rome . ii. 699^b (Reynolds); iii. 531^b, 534^b (Stanton); Ext. 424^a (Tasker).
Clementine Homilies and Recognitions . ii. 700^b (Reynolds); iii. 775^a ff. (Chase); iv. 522^b ff. (Headlam).
Cleopas . i. 449^b, 74^b (Macpherson), 321^a, 322^b (Mayor).
Cleopatra . i. 449^b (Moss).
Climax . Ext. 163^b (König).
Cloke . i. 449^b, 624^b (Mackie).
Clopas . i. 450^a, 74^b (Macpherson), 321^a, 322^b (Mayor).
Close . i. 450^a.
Closet . i. 450^a; ii. 433^b.
Cloth, Clothing . [See Dress].
Clothed upon . i. 450^a.
Cloud . i. 450^a (Mackie).
Clout . i. 451^a.
Club . i. 451^a.
Cnidus . i. 451^a (Ramsay).
Coal . i. 451^a (Patrick).
Coast . i. 452^a.
Coat . i. 452^a, 624^a (Mackie).
Cock . i. 452^a (Post).
Cockatrice . iv. 459^b (Post).
Cock-crowing . i. 452^b; iv. 766^b.
Cocker . i. 452^b.
Cockle . i. 452^b (Post).
Code of Ḫammurabi . [See Ḫammurabi].
Codex . iv. 947^a ff.
Cœle-Syria . i. 453^a (Moss).
Coffer . i. 453^a.
Coffin . i. 332^b (Nicol); ii. 775^a (Driver).
Cogitation . i. 453^b.
Coin . iii. 421^a ff. (A. R. S. Kennedy).
Col-hozeh . i. 453^b; ii. 126^a.
Colius (Ap.) . i. 453^b.
Collar . i. 453^b (Mackie); ii. 773^b, 775^b note (Driver).
Collection . i. 453^b (Selbie), 461^a (Armitage Robinson), 483^a (Ramsay).
College . i. 453^b (H. A. White).
Collop . i. 454^a.
Colony . i. 454^a (Dickson).
Colossæ . i. 454^a (Ramsay).
Colossians, Epistle to . i. 454^b (Murray); iii. 713^b (Findlay).
  Authorship and Date i. 455^a.
  Destination . i. 455^a.
  Gnosticism in . i. 455^b; ii. 187^b (Headlam).
  Integrity . i. 456^a.
  Object and Contents i. 455^a.
  Origen's Com. on . Ext. 495^b (Turner).
Colour . i. 456^b.
Colours . i. 456^b (Thatcher).
  Colour-sense among the Hebrews . i. 456^b.
  Colours: Black . i. 457^a.
   Blue . i. 457^a.
   Crimson . i. 457^a, 527^b (Post).
   Green . i. 457^a.
   Grey . i. 457^b.
   Grisled . i. 458^a.
   Purple . i. 457^b.
   Red . i. 457^b.
   Ringstraked i. 458^a.
   Scarlet . i. 457^b.
   Sorrel . i. 458^a.
   Speckled, Spotted . i. 458^a.
   Vermilion . i. 458^a.
   White . i. 458^a.
   Yellow . i. 458^a.
  Symbolism of Colours i. 456^b; Ext. 170^b (König).
Colt . i. 458^a.
Come . i. 458^b (Hastings).
Comely, Comeliness . i. 458^b.
Comfort . i. 458^b (W. P. Paterson).
Comforter . iii. 665^b ff. (Hastings).
Coming of Christ . iii. 674^b (Adams Brown); i. 750^b (Salmond).
  Different Comings of Christ . iii. 674^b.
  Doctrine of Parousia iii. 675^a ff.
   in Acts, Epistles, and Revelation . iii. 675^b.
   in Fourth Gospel . iii. 679^a.
   in Synoptics . iii. 675^b.
   Later Doctrine . iii. 679^b.
  Time of the Advent . iii. 677$^{a,\,b}$, 678^b f.
Commandment . i. 459^a (Hastings).
Commandments, Ten . [See Decalogue].
Commend, Commendation . i. 459^a.
Commentary . i. 459^b.
Commentaries, Greek Patristic, on Pauline Epistles . Ext. 484^a (Turner).
Commerce . iv. 802^b ff. (Bennett); Ext 50^a (Buhl). [See Trade]
Common . i. 459^b (Hastings).
Commune . i. 460^a.
Communicate . i. 460^a.
Communion . i. 460^a (Armitage Robinson).
  Fellowship = Community . i. 460^b.
  Fellowship = Contribution of Alms . i. 461^a.
  Fellowship of the Holy Spirit . i. 460^a.
  in Holy Eucharist . i. 461^a.
Company . i. 462^a (Hastings)
Compass . i. 462^a (Hastings).
Compassion . i. 462^a (Aglen).
Compel . i. 462^b.
Compound . i. 463^a.
Comprehend . i. 463^a.
Conaniah . i. 463^a; ii. 125$^{b\ \mathit{bis}}$.

Conceit i. 463^a.
Concert i. 475^b [Consort].
Concision i. 444^a (Macalister).
Conclude i. 463^a.
Concordances Ext. 531^a (Redpath).
Concourse i. 463^b.
Concubine iii. 264^b (W. P. Paterson); i. 847^a (Bennett).
Concupiscence i. 463^b.
Condemnation i. 548^a (Hastings). [See Judgment].
Condition i. 463^b.
Conduct i. 463^b. [See Ethics].
Conduit i. 463^b (Wilson).
  Hezekiah's ii. 377^a (M'Clymont), 592^b, 597^a (Conder); iv. 515^b (Wilson).
Coney i. 464^a (Post); iv. 829^b (Peake).
Confection, Confectionary i. 464^b (Hastings); iii. 747^a (Macalister). [See Apothecary].
Confederacy i. 464^b.
Conference i. 464^b.
Confession i. 464^b (Scott); iv. 32^a (Mason), 38^a (Lock).
Confirmation i. 465^b (Adeney).
Confiscation i. 524^a (Poucher).
Confound i. 466^a.
Confused i. 466^a.
Congregation i. 466^a (Selbie).
  Mount of i. 466^b.
  Tabernacle of i. 466^b; iv. 655^a (A. R. S. Kennedy).
Coniah ii. 557^a [Jehoiachin].
Conjecture i. 467^b.
Conscience (word) i. 467^b (Hastings); iv. 168^b (Laidlaw).
Conscience i. 468^a (Kilpatrick)
  Christian Doctrine i. 471^a ff.
    Competence i. 472^a.
    Education i. 473^a.
    Nature of i. 471^a.
    Witness to Atonement i. 474^b.
      to Christ i. 474^b.
      to God i. 474^a.
  Historical Sketch i. 468^a ff.
    Greek Philosophy i. 468^a.
    Lack of Doctrine in OT and Christ's Teaching i. 468^b.
    NT Doctrine i. 468^b.
    Post-Reformation British Writers i. 469^a ff.
Consecrate, Consecration i. 475^b (Hastings), 585^a (A. R. S. Kennedy).
Consent i. 475^b.
Consider i. 475^b.
Consist i. 475^b.
Consolation i. 458^b note.
Consort i. 475^b.
Constant i. 476^a.
Consult i. 476^a.
Consumption i. 476^a (Hastings); iii. 323^b (Macalister).
Contain i. 476^a.
Contend i. 476^a.
Content i. 476^a.
Contentment i. 476^b (Adeney).
Continental Versions Ext. 402^b (Bebb).
Contrary i. 477^a.
Contribution i. 461^a (Armitage Robinson), 483^a (Ramsay).
Contrite i. 477^a.
Convenient i. 477^b.
Convent i. 477^b.
Conversation i. 477^b (E. R. Bernard).
Conversion i. 478^a (Banks).
Convert i. 478^b.
Convince i. 478^b.
Convocation i. 467^b.
Cooking ii. 39^b ff. (Macalister).
Copper i. 314^b (Hull); iii. 375^b.
Coptic Papyri Ext. 356^b (Kenyon).
Coptic Versions i. 668^a [Egyptian Versions].
Cor [See Kor].
Coral i. 478^a (Hull); iv. 314^b (J. Taylor).
Cor-ashan i. 479^a.
Corban i. 479^a (Marshall); iii. 587^b (Driver).
Cord i. 479^b (Carslaw).
  of Tabernacle iv. 657^a (A. R. S. Kennedy).
Coriander Seed i. 479^b; ii. 38^b.
Corinth i. 479^b (Ramsay).
  Church i. 482^b, 485^a, 486^a, 490^a (Robertson).
    Parties in i. 486^a, 493^a (Robertson).
  History i. 480^b.
  Population i. 481^a, 483^b.
  Site i. 479^b.
  St. Paul in Corinth i. 481^a, 485^a, 494^a, 495^a (Robertson).
Corinthians, First Epistle i. 483^b (Robertson); iii. 710^b (Findlay).
  Analysis i. 487^b.
  Church Discipline, Organization, and Worship i. 490^a f.
  Circumstances and Subjects i. 486^a ff.
  Criticism i. 484^b.
  Date i. 485^b.
    in relation to 2 Corinthians i. 495^a.
  Doctrine of Baptism i. 489^b.
    Christ, Person of i. 489^b.
    Christian Life i. 489^b f.
    Eschatology i. 489^b.
    Eucharist i. 489^b, 490^b.
    Holy Spirit i. 489^b.
    Resurrection i. 489^b.

- Corinthians, First Epistle—
  - Genuineness and Place in Canon . i. 484^{a}.
  - Text . . . . i. 484^{a}.
- Corinthians, Second Epistle . . . i. 491^{b} (Robertson); iii. 710^{b} (Findlay).
  - Analysis . . . i. 497^{a}.
  - Apocryphal Correspondence with Corinthians . . i. 498^{a}.
  - Chronological Relation to 1 Corinthians i. 495^{a}.
  - Doctrine: Christology i. 498^{a}.
    - Eschatology . . i. 497^{b}.
  - Genuineness, External and Internal Evidence . . i. 491^{b}.
  - Historical Situation . i. 492^{a} ff.
  - Importance . . i. 497^{b}.
  - Integrity . . . i. 496^{a}.
  - Purpose . . . i. 495^{b}.
  - Text . . . . i. 491^{b}.
- Cormorant . . . i. 498^{b}.
- Corn (word) . . . i. 498^{b}.
- Corn (grain) . . . i. 498^{b} (Post).
  - Bruised . . . iii. 369^{b} (Carslaw).
  - Parched . . . ii. 27^{b} (Macalister).
- Cornelius . . . i. 499^{a} (Grieve).
- Corners of Fields for the Poor . . i. 49^{a}; ii. 181^{b} [Gleaning].
  - of Hair uncut . . ii. 284^{a} (Ewing).
- Corner-stone . . i. 499^{b} (Selbie).
  - of Temple . . . iv. 618^{b} (James Patrick).
- Cornet . . . . iii. 462^{a} (Millar).
- Coronation . . . i. 499^{b}.
- Corpse . . . . i. 499^{b}.
- Correct, Correction . i. 500^{a}.
- Correspondence . . Ext. 400^{b} ff. (Ramsay). [See Epistle].
- Corrupt . . . i. 500^{a} (Hastings).
- Corruption . . . i. 500^{b} (Massie).
  - Mount of . . . i. 500^{b}; iii. 617^{b}.
- Cos . . . . . i. 500^{b} (Ramsay).
- Cosam . . . . i. 501^{a}.
- Cosmogony . . . i. 501^{a} (Whitehouse); Ext. 669^{b} ff. (Kautzsch).
  - Babylonian . . i. 504^{a} ff., 220^{b} (Hommel); Ext. 567^{a} ff. (Jastrow), 670^{a} (Kautzsch).
  - Egyptian . . . i. 506^{b}; Ext. 177^{b} (Wiedemann).
  - Hebrew Conception of Cosmos . . i. 503^{a} ff.
    - Creation Narratives of Genesis . i. 501^{a} ff.; Ext. 669^{b} (Kautzsch).
    - Later Jewish Doctrine . . i. 506^{a} f.
      - Intermediate Agencies . i. 506^{a}.
      - Logos Doctrine . i. 506^{a}.
    - Relation to other Cosmogonies . i. 503^{a} ff., 506^{b}
      - to Science . . i. 507^{a}.
- Cosmogony—Phœnician i. 503^{a} ff.
- Cossæans . . . i. 227^{a} (Hommel), 536^{b} (Margoliouth), 537^{b} (Stenning).
- Costus . . . . iii. 593^{b} (Macalister).
- Cote, Cottage . . i. 507^{b}.
- Cotton . . . . i. 507^{b}, 623^{b}.
- Couch . . . . i. 507^{b}.
- Coulter . . . . i. 507^{b}.
- Council, Counsel . . i. 508^{a} (Hastings).
- Countenance . . i. 508^{a}.
- Counterfeit . . . i. 508^{b} (Hastings).
- Countervail . . . i. 508^{b}.
- Countryman . . i. 508^{b}.
- Couple . . . . i. 508^{b}.
- Courage . . . i. 508^{b} (Burrows).
- Course . . . . i. 509^{a}.
- Courses of Priests and Levites . . . iv. 91^{b} f. (Baudissin); Ext. 719^{b} (Kautzsch).
- Court . . . . ii. 432^{b} f. (Warren).
- Courts of Ezekiel's Temple . . . iv. 711^{a} (Davies).
  - of Herod's Temple . iv. 713^{a} ff. (Davies).
  - of Solomon's Temple iv. 695^{b}, 702^{a}, 705^{b} f. (Davies).
- Cousin . . . . i. 509^{a}.
- Covenant . . . i. 509^{b} (Davidson); Ext. 630^{b} (Kautzsch).
  - among men . . i. 510^{a}.
  - between God and men i. 511^{a}; Ext. 630^{b} (Kautzsch).
    - bearing on OT Religious History . i. 511^{b}.
    - objections to idea of i. 511^{b}.
  - Breach of . . . i. 521^{a} (Poucher).
  - History of Divine Covenants . . i. 512^{a}.
    - Deuteronomy . i. 512^{b}.
    - Exodus 19–34 . i. 512^{a}.
    - Priests' Code . i. 513^{a}.
    - Prophets . . i. 512^{a}.
  - New Covenant . . i. 514^{a}.
  - Sacrifice . . . iv. 335^{a} (W. P. Paterson); Ext. 619^{a} (Kautzsch).
  - Terminology . . i. 509^{b}, 515^{a}; iv. 720^{a} (Massie).
    - Pauline use . . i. 514^{b}; iv. 720^{a} (Massie).
- Covenant, Book of the i. 810^{a} (Harford-Battersby); iii. 66^{b}, 67^{b} ff. (Driver).
- Cover . . . . i. 515^{a}.
- Coverdale, Miles . . iv. 857^{a} (Milligan); Ext. 244^{a} (J. H. Lupton).
- Covert . . . . i. 515^{a}.
- Covet . . . . i. 515^{a} (Hastings).
- Covetousness . . i. 515^{b} (Garvie).
- Cow . . . . . i. 362^{b} [Cattle]; ii. 35^{b} (Macalister).
- Cozbi . . . . i. 515^{b}; iii. 366^{b} (Chapman).
- Cozeba . . . . i. 25^{a} [Achzib]; ii. 125^{b} (Curtis).
- Cracknels . . . i. 515^{b} (Hastings), 318^{a} (Macalister).

Craft . . . . . i. 516^a.
Crane . . . . . i. 516^a (Post).
Crates (Ap.) . . . i. 516^a.
Creation . . . . i. 501^a ff. (Whitehouse); Ext. 669^b ff. (Kautzsch).
  Babylonian Creation Epos . . . i. 220^b (Hommel), 504^a ff. (Whitehouse); Ext. 567^b (Jastrow).
  Egyptian Cosmogony i. 506^b; Ext. 177^b (Wiedemann).
  Phœnician Cosmogony i. 503^a ff.
Creature . . . . i. 516^a (Massie).
Credit . . . . . i. 516^b.
Creditor . . . . i. 579^a ff. (Bennett).
Creed . . . . . i. 516^b (Denney).
Creeping things . . i. 517^b (Driver).
Cremation . . . . i. 518^b (Plummer), 332^a (Nicol).
Crescens . . . . i. 519^a (Lock).
Crescents . . . . i. 519^a (A. R. S. Kennedy).
Crete, Cretans . . . i. 519^a (Prichard), 376^b (Selbie); iii. 846^a (Beecher).
Crib . . . . . i. 520^a.
Cricket . . . . iii. 130^a (Post).
Crier . . . . . i. 520^b (Wortabet).
Crime . . . . . i. 520^b (Hastings).
Crimes . . . . . i. 520^b (Poucher); Ext. 597^a ff. (Johns).
  Adultery . . . i. 520^b; iii. 273^a (Paterson).
  Affray . . . . i. 521^a.
  Assassination . . i. 522^a.
  Assault . . . . i. 521^a; Ext. 597^a (Johns).
  Bestiality . . . i. 521^a.
  Blasphemy . . . i. 521^a, 305^a (Massie).
  Breach of Covenant . i. 521^a.
  Breach of Ritual . i. 521^a.
  Breach of Trust . i. 521^a.
  Bribery . . . . i. 521^b.
  Burglary . . . . i. 522^b.
  Debt . . . . . i. 521^b.
  Divination . . . i. 612^b (Jevons); iii. 210^a (Whitehouse).
  Drunkenness . . . i. 521^b, 629^a (Beecher).
  Fornication . . . i. 521^b.
  Homicide . . . . i. 521^b.
  Idolatry . . . . ii. 445^a (W. P. Paterson).
  Incest . . . . i. 521^b.
  Infanticide . . . i. 522^a.
  Kidnapping . . . i. 522^a; iii. 239^a (Selbie).
  Lying . . . . i. 522^a; iii. 112^b (Paterson).
  Malice . . . . i. 522^a; iii. 223^a (Hastings).
  Murder . . . . i. 522^a.
  Parents, Irreverence to . . . . i. 522^a, 848^a (Bennett); Ext. 605^b (Johns).
  Prophesying falsely . iv. 111^a (Davidson).
  Prostitution . . . i. 521^b.
  Rape . . . . . i. 522^b.
  Robbery . . . . i. 522^b.
Crimes—
  Sabbath-breaking . iv. 318^a (Driver).
  Seduction . . . . i. 522^b.
  Slander . . . . i. 522^b; iv. 552^b (Garvie).
  Sodomy . . . . i. 522^b; iv. 559^a (Selbie).
  Speaking evil of Rulers . . . i. 522^b.
  Suicide . . . . i. 522^a.
  Swearing falsely . i. 522^b; iii. 576^b f. (Ferries).
  Theft . . . . i. 522^b; Ext. 597^a (Johns).
  Uncleanness . . . i. 522^b. [See Unclean].
  Usury . . . . i. 523^a; iv. 841^b (Bennett).
Crimson . . . . i. 527^b (Post), 457^a (Thatcher).
Cripple . . . . iii. 329^a (Macalister).
Crisping Pins . . . i. 527^b.
Crispus . . . . i. 527^b.
Criticism, OT . . . iii. 601^a, 602^b ff. (Curtis).
  Textual, of NT . Ext. 208^b ff. (Murray); iv. 736^a (Nestle).
Criticism and Revelation . . . . Ext. 328^b (Garvie).
Crocodile . . . . i. 528^a (Post).
  Land Crocodile . i. 369^a [Chameleon].
Crookbackt . . . iii. 328^b (Macalister).
Cross . . . . . i. 528^a (Adams Brown).
  Form . . . . i. 528^a.
  Method of Crucifixion i. 529^a.
  Reproach of the Cross . . . i. 529^a, 535^a (Denney).
  Title . . . . iv. 781^a (Adeney).
  in Theology . . i. 529^b.
Crow . . . . . i. 529^b.
Crown . . . . . i. 529^b (Purves).
  =Diadem . . . i. 530^b, 604^b.
  Ornament on Ark, etc. . . . i. 529^b.
  Royal . . . . i. 530^a.
  Tribute . . . . i. 530^b.
  in NT . . . . i. 530^b.
  of High Priest . . i. 530^a.
  of Life . . . . iv. 555^b (Ramsay).
  of Thorns . . . i. 531^a; iv. 753^a (Post).
Crucifixion . . . i. 528^b f. (Adams Brown).
  of Christ . . . [See Jesus Christ].
Cruelty . . . . i. 531^a (Bennett).
Crurifragium . . . iii. 94^a (Selbie).
Cruse . . . . . i. 531^a (Hastings); ii. 40^b (Macalister).
Crystal . . . . i. 531^b (Hull); iv. 620^a (Flinders Petrie).
Cub . . . . . i. 531^b.
Cubit . . . . . iv. 906^b ff. (A. R. S. Kennedy).
Cuckow . . . . i. 531^b.
Cucumber . . . . i. 531^b (Post); ii. 28^b (Macalister).
Culture . . . . i. 532^a.
Cumber . . . . i. 532^b (Hastings).
Cumi . . . . . iv. 675^b (H. A. A. Kennedy).
Cummin . . . . i. 532^b (Post); ii. 38^b (Macalister).
Cun . . . . . i. 275^a [Berothah].

Cunning . . . i. 532^b (Hastings).
Cup . . . . i. 533^a (A. R. S. Kennedy).
Cupbearer . . . i. 533 (Porter).
Cupboard . . . i. 533^b.
Curious . . . i. 533^b (Hastings).
Curse . . . . i. 534^a (Denney).
  Anathema . . i. 534^b.
  Curse of the Cross . i. 535^a, 529^a (Adams Brown).
  Devoted thing . . i. 534^a; Ext. 619^b (Kautzsch).
  Excommunication . i. 534^b, 800^b (Adams Brown).
Curtain . . . i. 535^b (A. R. S. Kennedy); iv. 657^a, 658^b, 661^b.
Cush (place) . . i. 535^b (Margoliouth).
Cush (person) . . i. 536^b (Davison).
Cushan-rishathaim . i. 536^b (Nicol), 138^b (Sayce).
Cushi, Cushite . . i. 537^a (Woods), 536^b note (Margoliouth); iv. 977^b (Nicol).
  Cushite Woman . i. 790^b (Margoliouth).
Custom . . . i. 537^a (Macpherson); Ext. 51^b f. (Buhl), 394^a ff. (Ramsay).
  Receipt of . . iv. 203^a.
Cuth, Cuthah . . i. 537^a (Stenning).
Cutha (Ap.) . . i. 537^b.
Cutting asunder . . i. 524^a (Poucher).
Cutting off from the people . . . i. 524^a (Poucher), 801^a (Adams Brown).
Cuttings in the flesh . i. 537^b (A. R. S. Kennedy); Ext. 614^b (Kautzsch).
Cyamon . . . ii. 743^a [Jokneam].
Cybele . . . Ext. 114^b, 118^a, 151^b (Ramsay).
Cymbal . . . iii. 462^b (Millar).
Cypress . . . i. 539^a.
Cyprus . . . i. 539^a (Myres); iii. 6^b f. (Macpherson).
  Religion . . . i. 169^b (Driver).
Cyrene . . . i. 540^b (Muir).
  Jews in . . . Ext. 96^b (Schürer).
Cyrenius . . . iv. 183^a [Quirinius].
Cyril of Alexandria . Ext. 514^b (Turner).
Cyrus . . . . i. 541^a (Sayce), 229$^{a,\,b}$ (Hommel); Ext. 707^a (Kautzsch).

D (Codex Bezæ) . . i. 543^a (Murray).
D$_2$ (Codex Claromontanus) . . . i. 543^b (Murray).
D (work of Deuteronomist) . . i. 543^b (Woods).
  Characteristics . ii. 367^a.
  Date and Origin . ii. 368^a.
  Extent . . . ii. 367^b.
  Language . . . ii. 367^a.
  in Exodus . . . ii. 367^b.
  in Genesis . . . ii. 367^b.
  in Joshua . . . ii. 368^a, 780^a ff. (G. A. Smith).
  in Judges . . . ii. 812^b (König).
Dabbesheth . . i. 543^b.
Daberath . . . i. 543^b.
Dabria (Ap.) . . i. 543^b.
Dacubi (Ap.) . . i. 543^b.
Dagger . . . i. 543^b (Barnes); iv. 633^b.
Dagon . . . . i. 544^a, 277^a (Beecher); ii. 751^b note (König).
Daimones . . . i. 592^a (Whitehouse); Ext. 139^b (Ramsay).
Daisan (Ap.) . . i. 544^b.
Dalan (Ap.) . . i. 544^b.
Dale, King's . . ii. 870^b [King's Vale].
Daleth . . . . i. 544^b.
Dally . . . . i. 544^b.
Dalmanutha . . i. 544^b (Henderson); iii. 202^b (Ewing).
Dalmatia . . . i. 544^b (Muir).
Dalphon . . . i. 545^a.
Damaris . . . i. 545^a (Headlam).
Damascus . . . i. 545^a (Ewing).
  Antiquities . . i. 547^b.
  Coins . . . i. 145^b (Robertson).
  Geography . . i. 546^b.
  History . . . i. 545^a.
  Jews in . . . Ext. 93^a (Schürer).
  Legend of Abraham i. 17^a (Ryle).
  Trade . . . i. 547^b.
  under Aretas . . i. 145^b (Robertson).
  Wars with Assyria . i. 184^b f. (Hommel).
Damn, Damnable, Damnation . . i. 548^a (Hastings).
Damsel . . . i. 548^b.
Dan (person and tribe) i. 548^b (Peake), 131^b (Curtis).
  Character . . i. 549^a.
  Origin . . . i. 548^b.
  Territory . . . i. 548^b; ii. 814^a (König).
    of N. branch . i. 549^a; ii. 810^b (König).
Dan (city) . . . i. 549^b (Mackie).
Dancing . . . i. 549^b (Millar); iii. 215^a (Stevenson).
Dandle . . . i. 551^a.
Danger . . . i. 551^a (Hastings).
Daniel . . . . i. 551^a (Curtis).
Daniel, Book of . . i. 552^a (Curtis); iv. 244^b ff. (F. C. Porter); Ext. 714^a ff. (Kautzsch).
  Additions to . . i. 557^a.
  Angels, Doctrine of i. 554^a; Ext. 286^b (Fairweather).
  Antichrist . . iii. 227^a (James).
  Antiochus Epiphanes, Acquaintance with i. 552^a.
  Authority and Source of Message . . iv. 245^a (Porter).
  Authorship and Date i. 552^a.
  Canonicity . . iii. 614^a (Woods).
  Eschatology . . i. 554^a, 556^a, 743^a (Charles); ii. 848^b (Orr); Ext. 715^a (Kautzsch).
  Historical Statements i. 553^a, 554^b, 555^a note.
  History of Book . i. 554^b.
  Homiletical Purpose i. 554^a; iv. 245^a (F. C. Porter).

- Daniel, Book of—
  - Idea of God . . Ext. 714^{b} (Kautzsch).
  - Interpretation . . i. 555^{a}.
  - Language . . i. 553^{a} note, 554^{a}; iii. 32^{a} (Margoliouth).
  - Plan of Composition iv. 245^{b} (Porter).
  - 'Times' . . . i. 556^{b}.
  - Versions . . . i. 557^{a}.
- Danish Versions . . Ext. 415^{b} (Bebb).
- Dan-jaan . . . i. 557^{b} (Selbie), 549^{b} (Mackie).
- Dannah . . . i. 557^{b}.
- Daphne (Apoc.) . . i. 557^{b}.
- Dara . . . . i. 557^{b} (Burney); ii. 129^{a} (Curtis).
- Darda . . . . i. 557^{b} (Burney).
- Daric . . . . iii. 421^{a} (A. R. S. Kennedy).
- Darius. . . . i. 558^{a} (Sayce); iv. 978^{b} (Selbie).
- Darius the Mede. . i. 559^{a} (I. A. Pinches), 553$^{a, b}$ (Curtis).
- Darkemon . . . iii. 421^{b} (A. R. S. Kennedy).
- Dark Saying . . i. 560^{a}.
- Darkness . . . i. 559^{b} (Purves).
  - at the Crucifixion . i. 559^{b}, 413^{a} (Turner).
  - Plague . . . i. 559^{b}; iii. 892^{a} (Macalister).
- Darkon . . . i. 560^{a}; ii. 134^{a}.
- Darling . . . i. 560^{a}.
- Dart . . . . i. 560^{a} (Barnes).
- Date . . . . ii. 30^{a} (Macalister); iii. 657^{b} (Post).
- Dathan . . . iii. 11^{b} (Selbie); ii. 122^{b} (Curtis).
- Dathema (Apoc.) . i. 560^{b}.
- Dating, Methods of . i. 400^{a} (Curtis); Ext. 479^{a} ff. (Ramsay).
- Daub . . . . i. 560^{b} (Hastings).
- Daughter . . . i. 848^{a} ff. (Bennett).
- 'Daughter of' . . Ext. 158^{b} (König).
- David . . . . i. 560^{b} (H. A. White).
  - Anointing . . iv. 386^{b} (Stenning).
  - Bodyguard . . i. 568^{b}, 376^{b} (Selbie); ii. 132^{a} (Curtis).
  - Census . . . i. 568^{b}.
  - Character . . i. 571^{b}.
  - Genealogy . . ii. 126^{b} (Curtis).
  - God's Covenant with i. 511^{a} (Davidson).
  - History, Parallel Narratives . i. 561^{a} ff.; iv. 386^{b} ff. (Stenning).
    - Sources. . . i. 561^{a}.
  - Kingdom, Organization of . . . i. 568^{a}.
  - Name . . . i. 560^{b}; iii. 407^{b} (Bennett).
  - Officers and Rulers of Substance . ii. 133^{a} (Curtis).
  - Psalms . . . i. 561^{a}, 571^{b}; iv. 150^{b} ff. (Davison).
  - Saul, Introduction to i. 561^{b} f.; iv. 386^{b} f. (Stenning).
    - Struggle with . i. 562^{b} ff.; iv. 387^{b} ff. (Stenning).
  - Wars . . . i. 569^{a}.
- David, City of . . ii. 386^{b} (Warren), 591^{a} f. (Conder).
- Day . . . . i. 573^{a} (H. A. White); iv. 766^{a} (Abrahams); Ext. 476^{a} ff. (Ramsay).
- Day of Atonement . i. 199^{a} (Driver and White).
  - Ceremonial . . i. 199^{a}, 862^{a} (Harding).
    - in second Temple . i. 201^{a}.
  - Date of Institution . i. 199^{b}; iv. 86^{b} (Baudissin); Ext. 718^{b} (Kautzsch).
  - High Priest's Functions . . . i. 202^{a}.
    - in Epistle to Hebrews . . i. 202^{b}.
  - Sins atoned for . i. 201^{b}; Ext. 723^{a}.
- Day of the Lord . . i. 87^{a} (J. Taylor), 735^{b} (Davidson); iii. 675^{a} (Adams Brown); Ext. 691^{b}, 710^{b} (Kautzsch).
- Day's Journey . . i. 573^{b} (Grieve); iv. 323^{a} (Massie).
- Daysman . . . i. 573^{b} (Hastings).
- Dayspring . . . i. 573^{b} (Hastings).
- Daystar . . . i. 574^{a} (Hastings).
- Deacon . . . i. 574^{a}, 440^{b} (Gwatkin), 434^{a} ff. (Gayford); iii. 377^{b} (Massie); iv. 771^{b} (Lock).
- Deaconess . . . iv. 771^{b} (Lock), 917^{b} (Bennett), 936^{b} (Adeney).
- Dead, Book of the . Ext. 179^{a}, 194^{a}, 196^{a} (Wiedemann).
  - Cult of . . Ext. 131^{a} ff. (Ramsay), 187^{b} (Wiedemann).
  - State of . . [See Hades, Hell, Sheol].
- Deadly . . . i. 575^{a}.
- Dead Sea . . . i. 575^{a} (Hull).
  - Geology . . . i. 576^{b}; iv. 512^{a} (Driver).
  - Level . . . i. 576^{a}; iii. 18^{b}.
  - Water . . . i. 577^{a} note.
- Deal . . . . i. 577^{a} (Hastings).
- Dear, Dearth . . i. 577^{b} (Hastings).
- Death in OT . . i. 739^{a} ff. (Davidson); iii. 115^{a} (Martin).
  - in Apocrypha . . iii. 115^{b} f. (Martin).
  - in NT . . . iii. 116^{b} ff. (Martin).
    - Gospels . . iii. 116^{b}.
    - Johannine Writings . . . iii. 116^{b}.
    - Pauline Epistles . iii. 117^{a} f.
  - Term . . . iii. 114^{b} (Martin).
  - Uncleanness connected with . . iv. 831^{b} (Peake); Ext. 614^{b} (Kautzsch).
  - and Sin . . . i. 841$^{a, b}$, 845^{a} (J. H. Bernard); iii. 80^{a} (Denney), 117^{b} (Martin), 721^{a} (Findlay); iv. 535^{a} (E. R. Bernard); Ext. 292^{b} f. (Fairweather).
- Debate . . . i. 577^{b}.
- Debir (person) . . i. 577^{b}.

Debir (place) . . . i. 577^b (Sayce).
Deborah . . . i. 578^a (Cooke); ii. 807^b (Barnes), 811^a (König); Ext. 651^b (Kautzsch).
  Song of . . . i. 578^b; ii. 537^a (J. H. Bernard), 813^a (König); Ext. 635^b (Kautzsch).
Debt, Debtor . . i. 579^a (Bennett), 521^b (Poucher).
  in Code of Ḫammurabi Ext. 594^a (Johns).
Decalogue . . . i. 580^a (W. P. Paterson), 810^a (Harford-Battersby); iii. 67^b (Driver); Ext. 633^b (Kautzsch).
  Divisions . . . i. 581^b.
  Greatness and Limitations . . . i. 582^a.
  Mosaic and other Theories of Origin i. 581^a.
  References in NT . i. 582^b.
  Two Versions . . i. 580^b f.; ii. 509^b (Barnes); Ext. 633^b (Kautzsch).
Decapolis . . . i. 583^a (Conder).
Decease . . . i. 583^a.
Deceit . . . . i. 583^a.
Deceivableness . . i. 583^a.
Decently . . . i. 583^b.
Decision . . . i. 583^b (Adeney).
  Valley of . . . ii. 561^b [Jehoshaphat, Valley of], 839^a (J. H. Kennedy).
Deck . . . . i. 584^a.
Declare, Declaration . i. 584^a.
Decline . . . i. 584^a.
Decree . . . iv. 61^b (Warfield).
Dedan, Dedanites . i. 584^b (Macpherson).
  in Babylonian Inscriptions . . i. 225^b (Hommel).
Dedication . . . i. 585^a (A. R. S. Kennedy).
  Feast of the . . i. 585^b (J. H. Kennedy), 862^a (Harding).
Deem . . . . i. 585^b.
Deep . . . . i. 586^a (Hastings).
Deer . . . . i. 845^b (Post); ii. 36^b (Macalister); iv. 292^a.
Defective . . . i. 586^a.
Defenced . . . i. 586^a.
Defer . . . . i. 586^b.
Defilement . . . [See Uncleanness].
Defy . . . . i. 586^b (Hastings).
Degree . . . i. 586^b (Hastings).
Degrees, Songs of . iv. 153^b (Davison); Ext. 168^a (König).
Dehaites . . . i. 587^a (H. A. White); iii. 755^a (Sayce).
Dehort . . . i. 587^a.
Deification of the Dead Ext. 131^a ff. (Ramsay), 187^b (Wiedemann).
  of the Living . . Ext. 154^a (Ramsay), 187^b (Wiedemann).
Delaiah . . . i. 587^a (Boyd); ii. 123^b, 127^a (Curtis).
Delectable . . . i. 587^a.
Delicacy . . . i. 587^b (Hastings).
Delightsome . . i. 588^a.
Delilah . . . i. 588^a.
Delos . . . . i. 588^a (Ramsay).
Delphic Oracle . . Ext. 145^b ff. (Farnell), 155^a (Ramsay).
Deluge . . . . ii. 16^a (Woods).
  in Bab. Literature . i. 220^a (Hommel); Ext. 577^a (Jastrow).
  in Egyptian Mythology . . . Ext. 182^a (Wiedemann).
Demand . . . i. 588^b.
Demas . . . . i. 589^a.
Demeter . . . iii. 467^a (Stewart); Ext. 135^b f. (Ramsay).
Demetrius I. . . i. 589^a (Moss).
Demetrius II. . . i. 589^a (Moss).
Demetrius III. . . i. 589^b (Moss).
Demetrius in NT . i. 590^a (Muir).
Demon, Devil . . i. 590^a (Whitehouse); Ext. 551^a ff. (Jastrow).
  Conception of Personal Evil Agencies . . . i. 590^a. [See Animism].
    Arabic *Jinns* . i. 590^b.
  Demonology of OT . i. 590^b.
    Azazel . . . i. 591^a; Ext. 721^b.
    Babylonian influence . . . i. 591^a.
    Heathen Deities as Demons . . i. 591^b f., 812^a note; iv. 603^a; Ext. 617^b (Kautzsch).
    Lilith . . . i. 590^b. [See Lilith].
    Satyrs . . . i. 591^a.
    Serpent as Demonic Power . . i. 591^a; iv. 409^{a,b}, 602^a.
  Demonology of Later Judaism . . i. 592^a; iv. 408^b ff.
    Development in Apocryphal Period . . Ext. 288^a ff. (Fairweather).
    Influence of Greek δαίμονες . . i. 592^a.
      of Parsism . . iv. 991^b (J. H. Moulton).
    Satan . . . i. 592^b; iv. 407^b, 992^a (J. H. Moulton); Ext. 288^b (Fairweather), 709^b (Kautzsch).
    in Book of Enoch . i. 593^a; iv. 408^b.
    in Josephus . . i. 593^a; Ext. 289^a (Fairweather).
    in Targums and Midrash . . iv. 409^b.
    in Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs i. 593^a.
    in Tobit and other Apocrypha . iv. 408^b; Ext. 289^a (Fairweather).
  Demonology of NT . i. 593^a; iv. 410^a–412^a.
    Demonic Possession i. 593^b; iii. 327^b (Macalister); iv. 22^a, 410^a.
      Methods of healing of Christ and Apostles . i. 593^b f.; Ext. 290^b (Fairweather).

Demon—Demonology—
  St. Paul's conception of Devils . i. 594^{a}; iv. 410^{a} ff.
  Demons in the Air . i. 58^{b} (Mackie). [See Exorcism, Magic, Sorcery].
Demophon (Ap.) . . i. 594^{b}.
Den . . . . . i. 594^{b}.
Denarius . . . iii. 427^{b} (A.R.S. Kennedy).
Denounce . . . i. 594^{b}.
Deny . . . . . i. 594^{b}.
Depart . . . . . i. 595^{a}.
Deputy . . . i. 595^{a}.
Derbe . . . . . i. 595^{a} (Ramsay).
Derision . . . i. 595^{b}.
Descent into Hell . iii. 795^{b} (Chase).
Describe . . . i. 595^{b}.
Descry . . . . . i. 595^{b}.
Desert . . . . . iv. 917^{b} (Selbie).
Desire . . . . . i. 596^{a}.
Desolate . . . i. 596^{a}.
Desolation, Abomination of . . . i. 12^{a} (Driver).
Despite . . . i. 596^{a}.
Desposyni . . . ii. 138$^{a.\,b}$, 140^{b} (Bacon).
Destruction . . . i. 3^{b} [Abaddon]; iii. 744^{a} [Perdition].
Determinate . . i. 596^{a} (Hastings).
Detestable things . i. 596^{b} (Driver).
Deuel . . . . . i. 596^{b}.
Deutero-Isaiah . . Ext. 705^{b} (Kautzsch). [See Isaiah].
Deuteronomist, Work of [See D].
Deuteronomy . . i. 596^{b} (Ryle); ii. 367^{a} ff. (Woods); iii. 68^{b} (Driver); Ext. 700^{b} (Kautzsch).
  Analysis of Contents i. 597^{a}.
  Date and Authorship i. 601^{a}; ii. 368^{a} (Woods).
  Ethics . . . i. 779^{a} (Strong).
  Historical Allusions i. 597^{b}.
  Language and Style i. 599^{b}, 601$^{a.\,b}$; ii. 367^{a} (Woods); iii. 32^{a} (Margoliouth).
  Legislation . . i. 600^{a}, 601^{b} f.; iii. 68^{b} ff. (Driver).
  Name . . . i. 596^{b}.
  Priesthood in . . iv. 74^{b} (Baudissin).
  Purpose . . . i. 597^{a} ff.
  Religious Teaching . i. 598^{b}; Ext. 687^{b} f., 700^{b} (Kautzsch).
    Holiness . . i. 599^{a}.
    Idolatry . . i. 599^{a}.
    Love between God and Israel . . i. 598^{b}, 601^{b}.
    Monotheism . . i. 598^{b}, 601^{b}; Ext. 680^{b} (Kautzsch).
  Unity . . . i. 598^{a}.
Devil . . . . . i. 590^{a} (Whitehouse); iv. 407^{b}; Ext. 709^{b} (Kautzsch). [See Demon].
Devoted things . . i. 23^{a} (Hastings), 534^{a} (Denney); Ext. 619^{b} (Kautzsch).
Devotion . . . i. 603^{b} (Hastings).
Dew . . . . . i. 604^{a} (Hull).
Diadem . . . i. 604^{b} (Purves), 530^{b}.
Dial . . . . . i. 604^{b} (H. A. White).
Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila . . iii. 303^{a} (Bartlet).
Diamond . . . iv. 619^{a}, 620^{b} (Flinders Petrie).
Diana of the Ephesians i. 605^{a}, 722$^{a.\,b}$ (Ramsay); Ext. 120^{a}.
  on Coins . . . i. 724^{a}.
  Shrines . . . i. 606^{a}; Ext. 121^{b}.
Diaspora . . . Ext. 91^{a} (Schürer), 56^{b} (Buhl).
  Extent . . . Ext. 91^{b}.
  in Africa . . . Ext. 96^{b}.
  in Arabia . . . Ext. 93^{a}.
  in Asia Minor . . Ext. 93^{a}.
  in Cyrenaica . . Ext. 96^{b}.
  in Egypt . . . Ext. 95^{a}, 104^{b}, 107^{b}, 108^{b}.
  in Euphrates District Ext. 92^{a}.
  in Italy, Spain, Gaul, Germany . . Ext. 98^{a}.
  in Macedonia and Greece . . . Ext. 97^{a}.
  in Rome . . . Ext. 97^{b}.
  in Syria . . . Ext. 92^{b}, 105^{a}.
  Organization . . Ext. 99^{a} ff.
  Religious and Intellectual Life . Ext. 106^{b}.
    Synagogues . . Ext. 107^{a}.
    Temple Dues . Ext. 107^{b}.
  Social Standing and Citizenship . . Ext. 104^{b}.
  Toleration by Authorities . . . Ext. 102^{a}.
Diatessaron . . . Ext. 451^{b} ff. (Stenning); iv. 646^{a} ff. (Nestle).
  Author and Date . Ext. 451^{b}.
  Relation to Old Syriac . . . Ext. 458^{b}.
  Title, Language, and Later History . Ext. 452^{a}.
  Versions, non-Syriac Ext. 455^{a}.
    Arabic . . . Ext. 457^{b}.
    Armenian . . Ext. 455^{a}.
    Codex Fuldensis . Ext. 456^{b}.
Diblah . . . . i. 606^{a}.
Diblaim . . . i. 606^{a}; Ext. 175^{a} (König).
Dibon, Dibon-gad . i. 606^{a} (Chapman), 73^{a} (I. Taylor).
Dibri . . . . i. 606^{b}.
Dibs . . . . ii. 30^{a}, 32^{b} (Macalister); iv. 869^{b} (Post).
Didache . . . Ext. 438^{b} ff. (Bartlet); iii. 533^{a} (Stanton).
  Church conditions implied . . . Ext. 448^{a}.
  Contents and Structure . . . Ext. 439^{b} ff., 445^{b} ff.
  Criticism, Materials for . . . . Ext. 441^{b} ff.
  Date . . . . Ext. 448^{b}.
  Discovery . . . Ext. 438^{b}.
  Genesis of Didache . Ext. 443^{b} ff.

Didache—
  Significance for Early Christianity . . Ext. 450^{a}.
  Title . . . . Ext. 439^{a}.
  Transformations undergone by . Ext. 449^{b}.
Didrachma . . . iii. 423^{a}, 428^{b} (A. R. S. Kennedy).
Didymus . . . iv. 753^{b} (J. H. Bernard).
  of Alexandria . . Ext. 499^{a} (Turner).
Die . . . . i. 606^{b} (Hastings). [See Death].
Diet . . . . i. 606^{b}.
Diklah . . . i. 606^{b} (Margoliouth).
Dilan . . . . i. 607^{a}.
Diligence . . . i. 607^{a} (Hastings).
Dill . . . . i. 99^{a} (Post).
Diminish . . . i. 607^{a}.
Dimnah . . . i. 607^{a}.
Dimon, Dimonah . i. 606^{a}.
Dinah . . . . i. 607^{b}.
Dinaites . . . i. 607^{b}.
Dinhabah . . . i. 607^{b} (Selbie), 268^{b} (Ryle).
Dinner . . . . ii. 41^{a} (Macalister).
Diodore of Tarsus . Ext. 500^{b} (Turner).
Diognetus, Epistle to . ii. 700^{a} (Reynolds); iii. 537^{b} (Stanton).
Dionysia . . . i. 607^{b} (Peake).
Dionysius . . . i. 608^{a} (Dickson).
  of Alexandria . . iii. 541^{a} (Stanton); iv. 240^{b} (F. C. Porter); Ext. 496^{b} (Turner).
Dionysus . . . i. 608^{a} (Jevons), 607^{b} (Peake); Ext. 153^{a} (Ramsay).
Dioscorinthius . . i. 608^{b}; iv. 765^{a} (Abrahams).
Dioscuri . . . i. 608^{b} (Prichard).
Diotrephes . . . i. 609^{a} (Salmond); ii. 742^{b}.
Diphath . . . i. 609^{a} (Selbie); iv. 286^{b}.
Disallow . . . i. 609^{a}.
Disannul . . . i. 609^{a}.
Disappoint . . . i. 609^{a}.
Discern . . . i. 609^{b}.
Disciple . . . i. 609^{b} (Massie).
Discipline . . . i. 610^{a} (Hastings).
Discomfort, Discomfiture . . . i. 610^{a}.
Discover . . . i. 610^{a} (Hastings).
Discus . . . . ii. 107^{a} (Nicol).
Disease . . . iii. 322^{b} (Macalister).
Dish . . . . ii. 40^{a} (Macalister).
Dishan . . . . i. 610^{b}.
Dishon . . . i. 610^{b} (Selbie).
Dishonesty . . . i. 611^{a}.
Dispatch . . . i. 611^{a}.
Dispersion . . . [See Diaspora].
Disposition . . . i. 611^{a} (Hastings).
Dispute, Disputation . i. 611^{a} (Hastings).
Distaff . . . . i. 611^{b}.
Divers, Diverse . . i. 611^{b}.
Dives . . . . iii. 88^{a} (Plummer).
Divination . . . i. 611^{b} (Jevons); iv. 107^{a} ff. (Davidson); Ext. 556^{a} ff. (Jastrow), 650^{b} f. (Kautzsch).
Divorce . . . iii. 274^{a} ff. (W. P. Paterson); i. 847^{a} (Bennett); ii. 775^{b} note (Williams).
  Christ's Teaching on iii. 275^{a} ff. (W. P. Paterson); Ext. 27^{a} ff. (Votaw).
Dizahab . . . i. 613^{b} (Driver).
Do . . . . . i. 614^{a} (Hastings).
Docetism . . . ii. 189^{b} (Headlam), 717^{b} (Reynolds); Ext. 428^{a} (Tasker).
Doctor . . . . i. 614^{b}.
Doctrine . . . i. 614^{b} (Hastings, Stewart).
Doctrine, Development in Apocryphal Period . . . Ext. 272^{a} (Fairweather).
  Angelogy . . . Ext. 285^{b} ff.
  Anthropology . . Ext. 290^{b} ff.
  Demonology . . Ext. 288^{a} ff.
  Doctrine of God . Ext. 276^{b} ff.
  Doctrine of Wisdom Ext. 281^{a} ff.
  Eschatology . . Ext. 302^{a} ff.
  Greek Influence . Ext. 274^{b}.
  Messianic Hope . Ext. 295^{b} ff.
  Persian Influence . Ext. 274^{a}, 279^{a}, 307^{a}.
Dodai . . . . i. 615^{b} (Stenning); ii. 132$^{a, b}$ (Curtis).
Dodanim . . . i. 615^{a} (Macpherson); Ext. 80^{b} (Jastrow).
Dodavahu . . . i. 615^{b}.
Dodo . . . . i. 615^{b} (Stenning); ii. 132$^{a, b}$ (Curtis).
Doe . . . . i. 615^{b}; ii. 196^{a}.
Doeg . . . . i. 615^{b}.
Dog . . . . i. 615^{b} (Post); iv. 830^{a} (Peake).
  Dog tribe of Calebites i. 340^{a} (Selbie).
  Tobit's dog . . iv. 787^{a} f. (Marshall), 989^{b} (J. H. Moulton).
Dogma . . . . i. 616^{a} (Macpherson), 614^{b} (Stewart).
Dok (Ap.) . . . i. 616^{b}.
Doleful . . . i. 616^{b}.
Dolphin . . . i. 231^{b} (Post).
Dominion . . . i. 616^{b} (Massie).
Doom . . . . i. 617^{a}.
Door . . . . ii. 432^{b}, 434^{a} (Warren); i. 143$^{a, b}$ (Flinders Petrie); ii. 384^{b} f. (Carslaw).
  of Temple . . iv. 700^{a} (Davies).
Doorkeeper . . . iv. 74^{b}, 80^{b}, 92^{b} f., 95^{a} (Baudissin).
Dophkah . . . i. 617^{a} (Rendel Harris).
Dor . . . . i. 617^{b} (Conder).
Dorcas . . . . i. 617^{b} (Stanton).
Dorymenes (Ap.) . i. 618^{a}.
Dositheus (Ap.) . . i. 618^{a}.
Dotæa (Ap.) . . i. 618^{a}.
Dote . . . . i. 618^{a}.
Dothan . . . i. 618^{a}

Douai Version . . . iv. 858^b (Milligan); Ext. 251^b (Lupton).
Doubt . . . . i. 618^b (Hastings, Warfield).
Dove . . . . i. 619^b (Post); iv. 830^a (Peake).
  Symbolical use . . ii. 747^b (König).
  at Christ's Baptism . ii. 406^a (Swete); Ext. 309^b (Scott).
Dove's Dung . . . i. 620^a (Post); ii. 37^a (Macalister); Ext. 470^a (Thackeray).
Dowry . . . . iii. 270^b (W. P. Paterson).
Doxology . . . i.620^b(Scott);iv.38^a(Lock).
Drachma . . . iii. 421^b, 428^b (A. R. S. Kennedy).
Drag . . . . ii. 12^b, 24^b (Eddy).
Dragon . . . i. 120^b (Post).
  Bel and the . . i. 267^a (Marshall).
Dragon's Well . . i. 464^a (Wilson); ii. 586^a (Conder); iv. 428^a (Selbie).
Dram . . . . iii. 421$^{a, b}$ (A. R. S. Kennedy).
Draught, Draught House . . . i. 621^a.
Draw . . . . i. 621^a.
Drawer of Water . i. 621^b (Mackie).
Dread, Dreadful . . i. 621^b (Hastings).
Dreams . . . i. 622^a (Jevons); iv. 600^b (Whitehouse); Ext. 563^a (Jastrow), 614^a, 651^a (Kautzsch).
Dress (verb) . . . i. 623^a (Hastings).
Dress (subst.) . . i. 623^b (Mackie).
  Articles: Breeches . i. 625^b, 320^a (A. R. S. Kennedy).
    Border, Hem, Skirt i. 627^a; ii. 69^a (A. R. S. Kennedy).
    Caul . . . i. 363^a, 628^a.
    Cloak . . . i. 449^b, 624^b.
    Coat . . . i. 452^a, 624^b.
      of Mail . . i. 319^a, 328^a (Barnes).
    Girdle . . . i. 626^a.
    Head-dress . . i. 626^b.
    Mantle . . . i. 627^b; iii. 239^b (Selbie).
    Muffler . . . i. 627^b; iii. 455^b (Selbie).
    Napkin . . . i. 627^a; iii. 487^b (Selbie).
    Robe . . . i. 627^b.
    Sandals . . . i. 627^a.
    Shawl . . . i. 627^b.
    Sheet, Shirt, Linen Garment . . i. 624^a.
    Stomacher . . i. 628^a; iv. 617^a (Selbie).
    Turban . . . i. 627^b.
    Veil . . . i. 627^b; iv. 848^a (Davies).
    Wimple . . . i. 627^b; iii. 240^a (Selbie); iv. 923^b.
  Materials: Cotton . i. 623^b.
    Hair . . . i. 623^b; ii. 285^a (Ewing).
    Linen . . . i. 623^b; iii. 124^b (Ewing).
    Silk . . . i. 624^a.
    Wool . . . i. 623^b; iv. 937^a.
  in Oriental Thought i. 628^a.
Drink . . . . ii. 33^a ff., 36^a (Macalister).
Drink-offering . . iv. 335^a, 339^a (W. P. Paterson); Ext. 620^a, 722^a (Kautzsch).
Dromedary . . . i. 629^a.
Dropsy . . . iii. 328^a (Macalister).
Dross . . . . i. 629^a.
Drought . . . i. 524^b (Poucher), 850^b (Warren).
Drove . . . . i. 629^a.
Drowning . . . i. 524^b (Poucher).
Drunkenness . . i. 629^a (Beecher).
Drusilla . . . ii. 361^a (Headlam).
Dualism . . . iii. 852^a (Kilpatrick); iv. 246^a (Porter).
Dudael . . . i. 207^b (Driver).
Duke . . . . i. 630^b (Hastings), 645^a (Sayce).
Dulcimer . . . iii. 459^b (Millar).
Dumah . . . i. 630^b (Margoliouth); iv. 519^a (Selbie).
Dumbness . . . iii. 327^b (Macalister).
  of Ezekiel . . i. 816^b (Skinner); Ext. 175^b f. (König).
Dumu-zi . . . Ext. 548^a.
Dumu-zi-zuab . . Ext. 548^b.
Dung . . . . i. 631^a (Hull).
  Dove's . . . i. 620^a (Post); ii. 37^a (Macalister); Ext. 470^a (Thackeray).
  Gate . . . . ii. 593^b (Conder).
Dungi . . . . i. 225^b (Hommel).
Dun-shagga . . . Ext. 548^b.
Dura . . . . i. 631^a (Walker).
Dure . . . . i. 631^a.
Dutch Versions . . Ext. 414^b (Bebb).
Duty . . . . i. 631^b.
Dwarf . . . . i. 631^b.
Dyeing . . . i. 631^b (H. Porter), 456^b ff. (Thatcher).
Dysentery . . . iii. 325^a (Macalister).

E (work of Elohist) . i. 632^a; ii. 371^a ff. (Woods).
  Date . . . . ii. 373^a.
  in Exodus . . i. 806^b ff. (Harford-Battersby).
  in Genesis . . ii. 145^a ff. (Ryle).
  in Joshua . . . ii. 781^b (G. A. Smith).
  in Judges . . . ii. 812^b (König).
Ea . . . . i. 215^a f. (Hommel); Ext. 538^a ff. (Jastrow).
Eagle . . . . i. 632^a (Post).
Ear . . . . i. 632^b (Mackie).
Ear (verb) . . . i. 632^b.
Earnest . . . i. 633^a (Philps).
Ear-ring . . . i. 633^a (Mackie).
Earth . . . . i. 633^b (Selbie), 502^b, 504$^{a, b}$ (Whitehouse). [See World].
Earthquake . . . i. 634^a (Hull).
  Uzziah's . . . iii. 617^b (Warren).
Ease . . . . i. 635^a (Hastings).
East, Children of the . i. 635^b (Margoliouth); ii. 831^a (Macpherson).
East Sea, Eastern Sea i. 575^a (Hull).
Easter . . . . i. 635^b.

- Ebal (person) i. 635^b (Margoliouth).
- Ebal (mountain) i. 635^b (Mackie).
- Ebed i. 636^b.
- Ebed-melech i. 636^b.
- Ebenezer i. 636^b (Stenning); iv. 492^a (Wilson).
- Eber i. 636^b (Selbie); ii. 131$^{a,\,b}$ (Curtis), 326$^{a,\,b}$ (Williams).
- Ebez i. 637^a.
- Ebiasaph i. 5^b (Gray); ii. 124$^{a,\,b}$ (Curtis).
- Ebiathar [See Abiathar].
- Ebionites, Gospel of the Ext. 435^b (Tasker).
- Ebony i. 637^a.
- Ebron i. 637^a (Ewing).
- Ecbatana i. 24^b (Margoliouth).
- Ecclesiastes i. 637^a (Peake); iv. 927^a (Siegfried); Ext. 731^a (Kautzsch).
  - Authorship and Date i. 637^b.
  - Canonicity i. 642^b; iii. 613^b (Woods).
  - Contents i. 640^b.
  - Epilogue i. 640^a.
  - Idea of God i. 641^b.
    - of Future Life i. 642^a; Ext. 731^b (Kautzsch).
  - Integrity i. 639^a.
  - Language and Structure i. 638^a; iii. 32^a (Margoliouth); iv. 13^b (Budde).
  - Title i. 637^a.
- Ecclesiasticus (Sirach). iv. 539^a (Nestle).
  - Author iv. 541^b ff.
  - Contents iv. 549^b ff.
  - Doctrine of God Ext. 276^b (Fairweather).
  - Editions iv. 542^b f.
  - Eschatology iv. 550^b; i. 742^b (Charles); iv. 233^a (E. R. Bernard).
  - History iv. 539^a.
  - Importance iv. 539^b.
  - Language iii. 35$^{a,\,b}$ (Margoliouth); iv. 13^b (Budde).
  - Name iv. 540^b f.
  - Place in Bible iv. 539^b.
  - Quotations of Latin Fathers iv. 545^b.
  - Relation to Tobit iv. 789^a (Marshall).
  - Sadducean tendency iv. 549^b; i. 119^a (Porter).
  - Satan in iv. 409^a (Whitehouse).
  - Text, Greek iv. 543^b f.
    - Hebrew iv. 546^b ff.
    - Syriac iv. 546^a.
  - Theology iv. 550$^{a,\,b}$.
  - Use in Christian Church iv. 550^b.
  - Versions iv. 544^a ff.
    - Arabic iv. 545^a.
    - Armenian iv. 544^b.
    - Coptic iv. 545^a.
    - Ethiopic iv. 545^a.
    - Georgian iv. 545^a.
    - Latin iv. 545$^{a,\,b}$.
    - Palæo-Slavonic iv. 545^a.
    - Syriac iv. 544^b.
- Ecclesiasticus—
  - Wisdom Teaching iv. 927^b (Siegfried); Ext. 281^b f. (Fairweather).
- Eclipse i. 193^b (T. G. Pinches), 413^a (Turner), 559^b (Purves); Ext. 558^b (Jastrow).
- Ed i. 642^b (A. R. S. Kennedy).
- Eddinus (Ap.) i. 642^b.
- Eden (garden) i. 643^a (Sayce), 216^a (Hommel); iii. 669$^{a,\,b}$ (Salmond).
- Eden ('house of') i. 643^a (Selbie).
- Eden (people) i. 642^b (Selbie), 131^b (Margoliouth), 183^b (Hommel).
- Eden (person) i. 642^b; ii. 125$^{b\ bis}$.
- Eder i. 644^a (Ryle); ii. 125^a, 131^a (Curtis).
- Edification i. 644^a.
- E-dingirrāna-du i. 225^a (Hommel).
- Edna (Apoc.) i. 644^b.
- Edom, Edomites i. 644^b (Sayce).
  - Relation to Hebrews Ext. 74^a ff. (Jastrow).
  - Sanctuary iv. 396^a (A. R. S. Kennedy).
- Edos (Apoc.) i. 646^a.
- Edrei i. 646^a (Sayce), 146^b (Driver).
- Education i. 646^a (A. R. S. Kennedy).
  - From the Conquest to the Exile i. 646^a ff.
    - Schools of the Prophets i. 647^a.
  - From the Exile to B.C. 75 i. 647^a.
    - Alexandrian influence i. 648^b.
    - Place and Method i. 649^a.
    - Proverbs as Handbook i. 648^b.
    - Scribes as Teachers i. 647^b.
    - Synagogue Instruction i. 647^b; iv. 641^a, 642^a (Bacher).
  - From B.C. 75 to A.D. 70 i. 649^b.
    - Schools i. 649^b.
    - Teachers i. 650^a; iv. 690^a (Adeney).
  - In NT Times i. 650^b; Ext. 54^a (Buhl).
- Effect i. 652^a (Hastings).
- Egg ii. 64^a (Post), 37^a (Macalister).
  - White of an Egg ii. 37^a (Macalister); iv. 916^a (Post).
- Eglah i. 652^a; ii. 126^b.
- Eglaim i. 652^a, 702^b.
- Eglath-shelishiyah i. 652^a (Selbie).
- Eglon (person) i. 652^b (Redpath).
- Eglon (place) i. 652^b (Henderson); iii. 15^b (Bliss).
- Egypt i. 653^a (Crum).
  - Architecture iv. 891$^{a,\,b}$ (Warren).
  - Calendar i. 657^a.
  - Chronology i. 656^b.
  - Divisions i. 653^b f.

- Egypt—
  - Egyptian Customs in Joseph Narrative . ii. 772^a ff. (Driver).
  - Ethnology . i. 655^a, 214^b (Hommel); Ext. 78^b f. (Jastrow).
  - Fauna and Flora . i. 654$^{a, b}$.
  - History . i. 657^b ff.
    - Old Kingdom . i. 657^b.
    - Middle Kingdom . i. 659^a.
    - New Kingdom . i. 660^a.
    - Foreign Dominion i. 662^b.
    - Restoration . i. 663^b.
    - Persian Supremacy i. 664^a.
  - Israel in Egypt . i. 665$^{a, b}$, 398^b (Curtis).
  - Judaism in Egypt . Ext. 95^a, 108^b (Schürer).
  - Language . i. 655^b, 664^b ff.
    - Affinity to Semitic Languages . i. 655^b.
    - Alphabet . i. 70^b ff. (I. Taylor).
    - Coptic Dialects . i. 668^a (Forbes Robinson).
  - Magic . iii. 207^b (Whitehouse); iv. 600$^{a, b}$ (Whitehouse).
  - Name . i. 653^a.
  - Physical Character . i. 653^a ff.
  - Relations with Asia i. 664^b.
  - Religion . i. 665^b; Ext. 176^b ff. (Wiedemann).
  - Roman Province . iv. 144^b (Headlam).
  - Ships . Ext. 360^b ff. (Blomfield).
  - Versions . i. 668^a ff. (Forbes Robinson).
  - Weights . iii. 418^a (A. R. S. Kennedy).
  - Wine . ii. 34^b (Macalister).
  - Writing, Hieroglyphic script . i. 656^a, 70^b ff. (I. Taylor).
    - Numbers . iii. 561^a (König).
- Egypt, Religion of . Ext. 176^b ff. (Wiedemann).
  - Creation of the World Ext. 177^b ff.
    - Attributed to acts to words . Ext. 180^b ff.
      - Power of the Name . Ext. 181^a.
    - Methods . Ext. 179^b.
    - Origin of Gods, Men, Plants, and Animals . Ext. 179^b.
      - of the Sun . Ext. 179^a.
    - Separation of Heaven and Earth . Ext. 178^a f.
  - Cultus . Ext. 191^b ff.
  - Destruction of the World . Ext. 181^b.
    - Conflagration . Ext. 181^b.
    - Deluge . Ext. 182^a.
    - Destruction by Ra Ext. 182^a.
  - Future Life, Conceptions of—
    - Connexion with sun's course . Ext. 193^a.
    - Dwelling-place of gods . Ext. 193^a.
      - of the dead . Ext. 193^a ff.
    - Osirian Doctrine of Immortality . Ext. 194^a ff.
- Egypt, Religion of—
  - Gods, Animal . Ext. 190^a.
    - Apis . Ext. 190^a.
    - Bacis . Ext. 190^a.
    - Mnevis . Ext. 190^a.
    - Phœnix . Ext. 190^a.
    - Sphinx . Ext. 190^a.
    - Suchos . Ext. 190^a.
  - Gods, Foreign . Ext. 186^b.
    - Anta . Ext. 187^b.
    - Anukit . Ext. 186^b.
    - Astarte . Ext. 187^a.
    - Baal . Ext. 187^a.
    - Bast . Ext. 186^b.
    - Bes . Ext. 186^b f.
    - Neith . Ext. 186^b.
    - Reshpu . Ext. 187^a.
    - Sati . Ext. 186^b.
    - Ta-urt . Ext. 186^b f.
  - Gods, Native . Ext. 184^b ff.
    - Amon . Ext. 185^a.
    - Aten . Ext. 185^a.
    - Chepera . Ext. 184^b.
    - Chnum, Chnuphis Ext. 185^b.
    - Chunsu . Ext. 185^b.
    - Hathor . Ext. 186^a.
    - Horus . Ext. 184^b.
    - Imhetep . Ext. 186^a.
    - Ment . Ext. 185$^{a, b}$.
    - Min . Ext. 185$^{a, b}$.
    - Mut . Ext. 185^b.
    - Nechebit . Ext. 186^a.
    - Nefer-Tum . Ext. 186^a.
    - Ptaḥ . Ext. 185^b.
    - Ra . Ext. 189^b.
    - Sebak . Ext. 186^a.
    - Sechet . Ext. 186^a.
    - Shu . Ext. 185^a.
    - Sokharis . Ext. 186^a.
    - Tum, Ȧtum . Ext. 184^b.
  - Gods, Historical Development of . Ext. 182^b, 183^b.
    - Nome gods . Ext. 182^b f.
    - Origin . Ext. 179^b.
    - Reciprocal Relations with men . Ext. 177^b.
  - Worship of Abstract Notions . Ext. 191^a.
    - of Animals . Ext. 189^b f.
    - of City gods . Ext. 191^a.
    - of Heaven, Earth, and Heavenly Bodies . Ext. 188^b.
    - of High Places . Ext. 189^a.
    - of Plants and Trees . Ext. 190^b.
    - of Springs and Streams . Ext. 189^a.
    - of Stones . Ext. 189^a.
- Egypt, River of . i. 667^b (Selbie); iv. 288^b.
- Egyptian Papyri . Ext. 353^a (Kenyon).
- Egyptian, The . i. 667^b (Headlam).
- Egyptian Versions . i. 668^a (Forbes Robinson).

Egyptian Versions—
  Dialects of Coptic (Bohairic, Middle Egyptian, Sahidic) i. 668^a.
  Relative Dates i. 669^a.
  Versions, Criticism i. 673^a.
    Date i. 670^a.
    Extant Remains i. 669^b.
    Greek Text implied i. 672^b.
Egyptians, Gospel according to the Ext. 423^b (Tasker), 346^b f. (Ropes).
Ehi i. 673^b; ii. 130$^{a,\,b}$.
Ehud i. 673^b (Cooke); ii. 130^b, 131^a (Curtis).
Either i. 673^b.
Eker i. 674^a; ii. 126^a.
Ekrebel (Ap.) i. 674^a.
Ekron i. 674^a (Beecher).
El, Elim i. 95^a (Davidson); ii. 198^b. [See Elohim].
  in compound Names iii. 484^a (Gray).
Ela i. 674^a.
Elah i. 674^a (N. J. D. White), 676^a (Selbie); ii. 128^b (Curtis).
Elah (valley) i. 674^b (Stenning).
Elam (person) i. 674^b (Selbie); ii. 124^b, 131^a (Curtis).
Elam, Elamites i. 674^b (Sayce); Ext. 82^a f. (Jastrow).
Elasa (Ap.) i. 676^a; iii. 183^b.
Elasah i. 676^a.
Elath i. 676^a (Selbie).
El-berith i. 676^a.
El-bethel i. 676^b.
Eldaah i. 676^b.
Eldad i. 676^b.
Eldad and Modad, Book of i. 676^b (Marshall).
Elder (OT) i. 676^b (Selbie).
  (NT) i. 301^b, 440^b (Gwatkin), 433$^{a,\,b}$ (Gayford).
  (of Sanhedrin) iv. 399^b (Bacher).
Elead i. 677^b; ii. 130^a.
Eleadah i. 677^b; ii. 130^a.
Elealeh i. 677^b.
Eleasah i. 677^b, 676^a [Elasah]; ii. 126^a, 131^a.
Eleazar i. 677^b (Allen), 6^b (N. J. D. White); ii. 123$^{a,\,b}$, 125^a, 132^a (Curtis); iii. 183^a (Fairweather).
Election i. 678^a (Murray). [See Predestination].
  Author i. 678^a.
  Effect i. 680^a.
  Elect i. 679^a; Ext. 684^b (Kautzsch).
  Reprobation i. 680^a; iv. 60^a, 62^b (Warfield), 228^b (Denney).
  Term i. 678^a.
  and Foreknowledge ii. 52^a ff. (Stewart).
  in Genesis ii. 148^a (Ryle).
  in Deutero-Isaiah Ext. 706^b (Kautzsch).
Elect Lady ii. 740^b (Salmond).
Elegy iii. 20^b (Selbie), 454^b (Nicol); iv. 5^a (Budde); Ext. 167^a (König).
El-elohe-Israel i. 681^b (Selbie).
El Elyon i. 682^a (Selbie); iii. 450^b (Driver).
Element i. 682^a (Massie).
Eleph i. 683^b.
Elephant i. 683^b.
Eleutherus (Ap.) i. 684^a.
Elhanan i. 684^a (Stenning); ii. 132^a (Curtis).
Eli i. 684^a (Stenning); iv. 71^b (Baudissin).
Eli, Eli, Lama Sabachthani i. 684^b (Thayer).
Eliab i. 685^a (Gray); ii. 122^b, 124^a, 125^b, 126^b, 132^a (Curtis).
Eliada i. 685^a; ii. 126^b.
Eliadas (Ap.) i. 685^a.
Eliahba i. 685^b; ii. 132^b.
Eliakim i. 685^b (Burney).
Eliali (Ap.) i. 686^a.
Eliam i. 686^a (Gray), 258^a (Selbie); ii. 132^b (Curtis).
Eliaonias (Ap.) i. 686^a.
Elias i. 687^a [Elijah].
Eliasaph i. 686^a.
Eliashib i. 686^a (Gray); ii. 123$^{b\ \textit{bis}}$, 127^a (Curtis).
Eliasib (Ap.) i. 686^b.
Eliasibus (Ap.) i. 686^b.
Eliasimus (Ap.) i. 686^b.
Eliasis (Ap.) i. 686^b.
Eliathah i. 686^b; ii. 124^b.
Elidad i. 686^b.
Eliehoenai i. 686^b; ii. 124^b.
Eliel i. 686^b; ii. 124^a, 125$^{b\ \textit{bis}}$, 130^a, 131$^{a\ \textit{bis}}$, 132^a, 132$^{b\ \textit{bis}}$.
Elienai i. 686^b; ii. 131^a.
Eliezer i. 686^b (Allen); ii. 124^a, 125^b, 130^b (Curtis).
Elihoreph i. 687^a.
Elihu i. 687^a; ii. 126^b, 132^a.
  in Book of Job i. 687^a (Davison); ii. 662^a, 665^b, 667^b; Ext. 729^a.
Elijah i. 687^a (Strachan); ii. 131^a (Curtis).
  Compared with Elisha i. 693^b; ii. 868^a (Burney).
  Historical Importance i. 691^b; Ext. 655^a (Kautzsch).
  Letter to Jehoram i. 690^b; ii. 560^b (N. J. D. White).
  Mission i. 687^b.
  Monotheism i. 688^a.
  Narratives of ii. 866^b ff. (Burney); Ext. 654^a ff. (Kautzsch).
Elijah, Apocalypse of i. 692^a (Selbie).
Elika i. 692^a; ii. 132^a.
Elim i. 692^a (Rendel Harris).
Elimelech i. 692^b.
Elioenai i. 692^b; ii. 122^b, 127^a, 130^b.

- Elionas (Ap.) . . . i. 692^b.
- Eliphal . . . i. 692^b; ii. 132^b.
- Eliphalat (Ap.) . . i. 692^b.
- Eliphaz . . . i. 692^b (Gray).
  - in Book of Job . . i. 692^b (Davison); ii. 661^b.
- Eliphelehu . . . i. 693^a; ii. 125^b.
- Eliphelet . . . i. 693^a; ii. 126^b, 131^b, 132^b.
- Elisabeth . . . i. 693^a (Milligan).
- Eliseus . . . . i. 693^a [Elisha].
- Elisha . . . . i. 693^a (Strachan).
  - Call . . . . i. 653^a; Ext. 655^a (Kautzsch).
  - Compared with Elijah . . . i. 693^b; ii. 868^a (Burney).
  - History . . . i. 694^b ff.; ii. 866^b ff. (Burney); Ext. 655^a ff. (Kautzsch).
  - Miracles . . . i. 696^b.
  - Political career . i. 695^a ff.; Ext. 655^a (Kautzsch).
  - Prophetic character i. 694^a.
- Elishah . . . i. 696^b (Sayce).
- Elishama . . . i. 697^a; ii. 125^b, 126^{a,b}, 130^a.
- Elishaphat . . . i. 697^a.
- Elisheba . . . i. 697^a.
- Elishua . . . i. 697^a; ii. 126^b.
- Eliud . . . . i. 697^b.
- Elizaphan . . . i. 697^b.
- Elizur . . . . i. 697^b.
- Elkanah . . . i. 697^b (Redpath); ii. 124$^{a\ bis}$, 125^b, 132^a (Curtis).
- Elkesaites . . . Ext. 435^b (Tasker).
- Elkiah (Ap.) . . i. 697^b.
- Elkoshite . . . i. 697^b (Selbie).
- Ellasar . . . i. 698^a (Sayce). [See Larsa].
- Elm . . . . . i. 698^a.
- Elmadam . . . i. 698^a.
- Elnaam . . . i. 698^a; ii. 132^b.
- Elnathan . . . i. 698^a; ii. 127^a.
- Elohim . . . ii. 199^a (Davidson); iv. 397^a (A. R. S. Kennedy); Ext. 615^b, 643^a, 724^a (Kautzsch).
  - Sons of . . . i. 95^a, 97^a (Davidson); Ext. 643^a, 724^a (Kautzsch).
- Elohist . . . . [See E].
- Eloi, Eloi, Lama Sabachthani . . . i. 684^b (Thayer).
- Elon (person) . . i. 698^a; ii. 129^b.
- Elon (place) . . . i. 698^b.
- Elon-beth-hanan . . i. 698^b [Elon].
- Eloth . . . . i. 676^a (Selbie), 692^b (Rendel Harris).
- Elpaal . . . . i. 698^b; ii. 131$^{a\ bis}$.
- Elparan . . . iii. 672^b (Chapman); i. 676^a (Selbie).
- Elpelet . . . i. 698^b.
- El-shaddai . . . ii. 199^a (Davidson).
- Eltekeh . . . i. 698^b (Barnes).
- Eltekon . . . i. 698^b.
- Eltolad . . . i. 698^b.
- Elul . . . . i. 698^b; iv. 765^b (Abrahams).
- Eluzai . . . . i. 698^b; ii. 132^a.
- Elymæans . . . i. 674^b (Sayce).
- Elymais . . . i. 698^b (H. A. White).
- Elymas . . . i. 247^a (Massie).
- Elyon . . . . i. 682^a (Selbie); ii. 199^a (Davidson).
- Elzabad . . . i. 699^a; ii. 132^a.
- Elzaphan . . . i. 697^b [Elizaphan]; ii. 125^a.
- Emadabun (Ap.) . . i. 699^a.
- Ematheis (Ap.) . . i. 699^a.
- Embalming . . . i. 332^b (Nicol); ii. 774^b (Driver); Ext. 195^a, 197^a (Wiedemann).
- Embroidery . . . i. 699^a (Mackie), 158^b (Flinders Petrie).
- Emek-keziz . . . i. 699^b.
- Emerald . . . iv. 620^a (Flinders Petrie).
- Emerods . . . i. 699^b (Beecher); iii. 325^a (Macalister).
- Emim . . . . i. 700^a (Beecher); ii. 166^b, 167^b.
- Eminent . . . i. 700^a.
- Emmanuel . . . ii. 454^a [Immanuel].
- Emmaus . . . i. 700^a (Conder).
- Emmer (Ap.) . . i. 700^b.
- Emmeruth (Ap.) . . i. 700^b.
- Emulation . . . i. 700^b.
- Enable . . . . i. 700^b.
- Enaim . . . . i. 700^b (Ryle).
- Enan . . . . i. 700^b.
- Enasibus (Ap.) . . i. 701^a.
- Encampment by the Sea . . . . i. 701^a (Rendel Harris); iv. 537^a.
- Enchantment . . . [See Divination, Exorcism, Magic].
- End . . . . . i. 701^a (Hastings).
- Endamage . . . i. 701^b.
- Endeavour . . . i. 701^b (Hastings).
- Endirons . . . i. 702^a.
- En-dor . . . . i. 702^a (Conder).
- Endow, Endue . . i. 702^b (Hastings).
- En-eglaim . . . i. 702^b.
- Enemessar (Ap.) . . i. 702^b (Marshall).
- Eneneus (Ap.) . . i. 702^b.
- Enflame . . . i. 702^b.
- Engage . . . i. 703^a.
- En-gannim . . . i. 703^a (Conder).
- En-gedi . . . i. 703^a (Hull); ii. 313^b (Welch).
- Engine . . . . i. 703^b (Barnes).
- Engrafted . . . i. 703^b.
- Engraving . . . i. 703^b (Mackie).
- En-haddah . . . i. 704^a.
- En-hakkore . . . i. 704^a.
- En-hazor . . . i. 704^b.
- Enjoin . . . . i. 704^b.
- Enlarge, Enlargement i. 704^b (Hastings).
- En-mishpat . . . i. 704^b; iii. 67^a (Driver); Ext. 616^b (Kautzsch). [See Kadesh].

Ennatan (Ap.) . . . i. 704^b.
Enoch . . . . i. 704^b (Boyd).
Enoch in NT . . . i. 705^a (Chase).
Enoch, (Ethiopic) Book of . . . . i. 705^b (Charles).
  Date and History . i. 705^b.
  Demonology . . i. 593^a (Whitehouse); Ext. 290^a (Fairweather).
  Doctrine of God . Ext. 277^a (Fairweather).
  Elements in Book, Characteristics, and Dates . . i. 706^b.
  Eschatology . . i. 708^b, 742^b–744^a; iii. 670^a (Salmond).
  Influence on Jewish Literature . . i. 708^a.
    on the NT . . i. 708^b.
  Messianic Hope . Ext. 298^a (Fairweather).
  Messianic Titles . i. 708^b; iv. 583^a (Driver).
  Original Language . i. 705^b.
  Parallels with Jude . ii. 801^b (Chase).
  Relation to Book of Revelation . . iv. 261^b (Porter).
  Versions . . . i. 706^a.
Enoch, Book of the Secrets of . . i. 708^b (Charles).
  Analysis of Contents i. 710^a.
  Anthropology . . i. 710^b.
  Date and Authorship i. 709^b.
  Language, and Place of Writing . . i. 709^a.
  Millennium . . i. 711^a.
  MSS, Editions and Translations . . i. 709^a.
  Relation to Jewish and Christian Literature . . i. 709^b.
  Satan . . . iv. 409^a (Whitehouse).
  Seven Heavens . i. 711^a.
Enoch (city) . . i. 704^b.
Enos . . . . i. 711^a (Ryle).
En-rimmon . . . i. 711^a (Selbie).
En-rogel . . . i. 711^b (Stenning); ii. 387^a (Warren).
Enrolment . . . iv. 183^a [Quirinius].
Ensample . . . i. 712^a (Hastings).
En-shemesh . . . i. 712^a.
Ensign . . . . i. 237^b (Barnes).
Ensue . . . . i. 712^a.
En-tappuah . . . i. 712^a.
En-timinna . . . i. 225^a (Hommel).
Entreat . . . ii. 478^a (Hastings).
Envy . . . . i. 712^b (Stewart).
Epænetus . . . i. 713^a (Headlam).
Epaphras . . . i. 713^a (Milligan).
Epaphroditus . . i. 713^a (Milligan).
Ephah (person) . . i. 713^b; ii. 127$^{a,\ b}$.
Ephah (weight) . . iv. 910^b ff. (A. R. S. Kennedy).
Ephai . . . . i. 713^b.
Epher . . . . i. 713^b; ii. 129^a, 130^a.
Ephes-dammim . . i. 713^b.
Ephesian . . . i. 713^b (Ramsay).
Ephesians, Diana of the i. 605^a, 722^a ff., 724$^{a,\ b}$ (Ramsay).
Ephesians, Epistle to . i. 714^a (Lock).
  Analysis . . . i. 714^a.
  Authorship and Date i. 715^b.
  Destination . . i. 718^a.
  Doctrine . . . i. 720^a.
  Origen's Commentary . . . Ext. 493^b.
  Place of Composition i. 718^b.
  Use in other Christian Literature . i. 716^a.
Ephesus . . . i. 720^b (Ramsay).
  City Government . i. 723^a.
  Cult of the bee . Ext. 116^b, 123^a.
  Jews in . . . Ext. 93^b (Schürer).
  St. Paul's prison . i. 725^a.
  Temple . . . i. 722^a ff.; Ext. 120^a.
Ephlal . . . . i. 725^b; ii. 126^a.
Ephod . . . . i. 725^b (Driver), 55^b (N. J. D. White); iv. 598^a (Whitehouse), 840^a (A. R. S. Kennedy); Ext. 641^b (Kautzsch).
Ephod (person) . . i. 727^a.
Ephphatha . . . i. 727^a.
Ephraem . . . Ext. 453^b (Stenning).
Ephraim (person and tribe) . . . i. 727^a (Millar); ii. 130^a (Curtis).
Ephraim (town) . . i. 728^a (J. H. Kennedy).
Ephraim (forest) . . i. 728^a (Henderson).
Ephraim, Gate of . ii. 593^b (Conder).
Ephraim (Mount) . i. 727^b (Millar).
Ephrath, Ephrathah . i. 728^b (Davison), 281^a (Conder); iv. 193^a (Driver).
Ephrathite . . . i. 728^b.
Ephron (person) . . i. 728^b (Ryle).
Ephron (place) . . i. 728^b.
Epicureans . . . i. 728^b (Conybeare); iii. 850^b (Kilpatrick).
Epilepsy . . . iii. 327^b (Macalister).
Epiphanes, Antiochus . i. 105^b (Moss).
  and Maccabees . . iii. 181^a (Fairweather).
  in the Book of Daniel i. 552^a (Curtis); iii. 227^b (James).
Epiphanius . . . i. 120^b; iv. 240^b (Porter); Ext. 339^b (Menzies).
Epiphora . . . Ext. 165^b (König).
Epistle . . . . i. 729^b (Bartlet); Ext. 400^b ff. (Ramsay).
Epizeuxis . . . Ext. 163^b (König).
Eponym Canon . . i. 179^b (Hommel).
Equal . . . . i. 731^b (Hastings).
Er . . . . i. 732^a; ii. 125^b *bis*.
Eran . . . . i. 732^a; ii. 130^a.
Erastus . . . i. 732^a f.
Erech . . . . i. 732^a (I. A. Pinches), 224^b, 226^b (Hommel); Ext. 534^a (Jastrow).
Eresh-kigal . . . Ext. 574^b (Jastrow).
Eri . . . . i. 732^b; ii. 131^b.
Eridu . . . . i. 215^b, 224^b (Hommel), 643^b (Sayce); Ext. 533^b (Jastrow).
Esaias . . . . i. 733^a.

- Esar-haddon . . . i. 733^{a} (Sayce), 188^{b} f. (Hommel).
- Esau . . . . . i. 733^{b} (Cowan).
  - Buried at Hebron . iii. 198^{a} (Warren).
  - Clan . . . . Ext. 75$^{a.b}$ (Jastrow).
- Eschatology (Apocryphal and Apocalyptic) . . . i. 741^{b} (Charles); Ext. 302^{a} ff. (Fairweather).
  - Authorities . . . i. 741^{b}.
  - Conceptions governing later Jewish Eschatology . . i. 742^{a}.
  - Development, Historical . . . i. 742^{b} ff.; Ext. 302^{a} ff. (Fairweather).
  - Gehenna . . . . i. 742^{b} f., 744^{a}, 745^{b}, 747^{a}; ii. 119^{b}; Ext. 305^{a} (Fairweather).
  - Hades . . . . i. 742^{b}, 745^{a}; ii. 274^{b} f. (Salmond).
  - Heaven . . . . ii. 322^{a} ff. (Salmond); Ext. 305^{a} (Fairweather).
  - Immortality . . Ext. 291^{b} f. (Fairweather).
  - Judgment . . . i. 742^{b}, 743$^{a.b}$, 744$^{a.b}$, 746$^{a.b}$, 747$^{a.b}$, 749^{a}; Ext. 303^{a} ff. (Fairweather).
  - Last Woes . . . i. 745^{a}, 748^{a}.
  - Messianic Hope . i. 742^{b}, 743$^{a.b}$, 744$^{a.b}$, 746$^{a.b}$, 747$^{a.b}$, 748$^{a.b}$; iii. 354^{a} (Stanton); Ext. 296^{a} ff. (Fairweather).
  - Paradise . . . . i. 747^{a}; iii. 670$^{a.b}$ (Salmond); Ext. 304^{b} (Fairweather).
  - Persian influence . iv. 990^{b}, 993^{b} (Moulton); Ext. 307^{a} (Fairweather).
  - Resurrection . . . i. 742^{b}, 743$^{a.b}$, 744^{b}, 745$^{a.b}$, 746$^{a.b}$, 747$^{a.b}$, 748^{b}; iv. 232^{b} f. (E. R. Bernard); Ext. 305^{b} ff. (Fairweather).
  - Return from Dispersion . . . i. 743^{a}, 748^{b}.
  - Sheol . . . . i. 742^{b}, 743$^{a.b}$, 745^{b}, 747$^{a.b}$; Ext. 304^{a} (Fairweather).
  - Tartarus . . . . i. 742^{b} f.
  - in Apocalypse of Baruch . . . i. 746^{b}.
    - Book of Baruch . i. 747^{a}.
    - Enoch, Ethiopic . i. 742^{b} ff., 744^{a}.
    - Enoch, Slavonic . i. 746^{a}.
    - 4 Ezra . . . . i. 747^{a}.
    - Jubilees . . . i. 745^{a}.
    - 1 Maccabees . . i. 744^{b}.
    - 2 Maccabees . . i. 745^{a}; iv. 233^{a} (E. R. Bernard).
    - 4 Maccabees . . i. 746^{b}.
    - Moses, Assumption of . . . . i. 745^{b}.
    - Psalms of Solomon i. 744^{b}; iv. 163^{a} (James); Ext. 299^{a} (Fairweather).
    - Salathiel, Apocalypse of . . . i. 747^{b}.
- Eschatology (Apocr. and Apoc.)—
  - in Sibylline Oracles . i. 743^{b}; iii. 227^{b} (James).
    - Sirach . . . i. 742^{b}; iv. 233^{a} (E. R. Bernard), 550^{b} (Nestle).
    - Testaments of the XII Patriarchs . i. 744^{a}; iv. 724^{b}.
    - Tobit . . . . i. 743^{b}.
    - Wisdom . . . i. 746^{a}; iv. 233^{a} (E. R. Bernard), 930^{a} (Siegfried).
- Eschatology (OT) . i. 734^{b} (Davidson); Ext. 668^{a}, 710^{b} (Kautzsch).
  - Individual . . . i. 738^{b}.
    - Death . . . . i. 739^{a}; iii. 114^{b} ff. (G. C. Martin).
    - Heaven . . . . ii. 320^{a} ff. (Salmond).
    - Immortality . . i. 739^{b}, 741^{a}; iv. 159^{a} (Davison).
    - Life . . . . i. 739^{a}; iii. 114^{a} ff. (G. C. Martin).
    - Resurrection . . iv. 232^{a} (E. R. Bernard).
    - Sheol . . . . i. 739^{b}; Ext. 668^{a} (Kautzsch).
  - National . . . . i. 735^{a}.
    - Day of the Lord . i. 735^{b}; Ext. 691^{b}, 710^{b} (Kautzsch).
    - Messianic Hope . i. 735^{a}; ii. 488^{b} (G. A. Smith); iii. 352^{a} ff. (Stanton); iv. 121^{b} ff. (Davidson), 159^{b} ff. (Davison); Ext. 295^{b} f. (Fairweather), 694^{b} ff. (Kautzsch).
  - OT contribution to Christian Eschatology . . . i. 738^{a}.
- Eschatology (NT) . i. 749^{b} (Salmond).
  - Apostolic . . . . i. 753^{a} ff.
    - Acts . . . . i. 33^{a} (Headlam).
    - Hebrews . . . i. 755^{a}.
    - James . . . . i. 753^{b}.
    - John . . . . i. 754^{b}; ii. 727^{b} (Reynolds).
    - Jude . . . . i. 753^{b}.
    - Matthew . . . iii. 302^{a} (Bartlet).
    - Pauline Epistles . i. 755^{a}; iii. 729$^{a.b}$ (Findlay).
    - Petrine . . . . i. 753^{b}; iii. 766^{a} ff., 795^{a}, 797^{b} (Chase).
    - Revelation . . i. 754^{b}; iv. 261$^{a.b}$ (Porter).
  - Christ's Eschatology i. 750^{a} ff.
  - Gehenna . . . . i. 752^{b}; ii. 120^{a} (Charles), 344^{a}, 345^{b} ff. (Salmond).
  - Hades . . . . i. 752^{b}, 754^{a}; ii. 275^{b}.
  - Heaven . . . . ii. 321^{a} ff.
  - Hell . . . . . i. 752^{b}; ii. 344^{a}.
  - Intermediate State . i. 752^{a}, 756^{a}; iii. 729^{a} (Findlay).
  - Judgment . . . . i. 751^{a}, 753^{b}, 754$^{a.b}$, 755$^{a.b}$. [See Judgment].
  - Kingdom of Christ . i. 750^{a}, 753^{b}, 755^{b}. [See Kingdom of God].
  - Life . . . . . i. 754^{b}. [See Life].
  - Millennial Reign . i. 755^{a}, 756^{a}. [See Millennium].

Eschatology (NT)—
Paradise i. 752^{b}; iii. 671^{a}.
Parousia i. 750^{b}, 753^{b}, 754$^{a, b}$. [See Parousia].
Resurrection i. 751^{b}, 754$^{a, b}$, 755$^{a, b}$, 756^{b}; iv. 233^{a} ff. (E. R. Bernard). [See Resurrection].
Retribution i. 752^{b}, 753^{b}, 755$^{a, b}$; iii. 677^{b} f. (Adams Brown).
Universal Restoration i. 754^{a}, 756^{a}.
Eschew i. 757^{a} (Hastings).
Esdraelon i. 757^{a} (Ewing); iv. 892^{b} (Barnes).
Esdras, First Book of i. 758^{a} (Thackeray).
Contents i. 758^{b}.
MSS and Text i. 762^{b}.
Object i. 761^{a}.
Reception and use i. 758^{b}.
Relation to Canonical Ezra i. 759^{a} ff.
Time and Place of Composition i. 761^{b}.
Title i. 758^{a}.
Esdras, Second Book of i. 763^{a} (Thackeray).
Character and Date i. 764^{b} ff.
Contents i. 764^{a}.
Doctrine of Original Sin iv. 532^{a} (E. R. Bernard); Ext. 293^{a} (Fairweather).
Eschatology i. 747^{a} (Charles); ii. 120^{a}.
Messiah, Doctrine of iii. 355^{a} (Stanton); Ext. 300^{a} (Fairweather).
Original Language and VSS i. 763^{a}.
Prayer in iv. 42^{b} (Bernard).
Reception i. 766^{a}.
Title i. 763^{a}.
Esdris (Ap.) i. 766^{b}.
Esek i. 766^{b}.
Eserebias (Ap.) i. 766^{b}.
Eshan i. 766^{b}.
Eshbaal ii. 501^{b} [Ishbosheth], 131^{a}.
Eshban i. 766^{b}.
Eshcol (person) i. 766^{b}.
,, (place) i. 766^{b}.
Eshek i. 767^{a}; ii. 131$^{a, b}$.
Eshtaol i. 767^{a} (Henderson); ii. 127^{b} (Curtis).
Eshtemoa i. 767^{a} (Henderson); ii. 129^{a} (Curtis).
Eshtemoh i. 767^{a} [Eshtemoa].
Eshton i. 767^{a}; ii. 128^{b}.
Esli i. 767^{a}.
Espousal, Espouse i. 767^{a}.
Espy i. 767^{b} (Hastings).
Essenes i. 767^{b} (Conybeare), 112^{b} (Porter); Ext. 53^{b} (Buhl).
Parallels with Early Christianity i. 770^{b}.
Parsi influence on iv. 992^{a} (J. H. Moulton).
Priests of Diana i. 605^{b} (Ramsay).
Estate i. 772^{a} (Hastings).
Esteem, Estimation i. 772^{a} (Hastings).
Esther i. 772^{b} (M'Clymont).
Esther, Book of i. 773^{b} (M'Clymont).
Additions to i. 774$^{a, b}$.
Canonicity i. 773^{b}; iii. 614^{a} (Woods).
Date and Authorship i. 775^{b}.
Historicity i. 774^{b}.
Persian influence on iv. 993^{a} (J. H. Moulton).
Esyelus (Ap.) i. 776^{b}.
Etam i. 776^{b} (Conder); ii. 128^{a} (Curtis).
Etana Legend i. 222^{a} (Hommel).
Etham i. 776^{b} (Chapman), 803$^{a, b}$.
Ethan i. 776^{b} (Selbie); ii. 123^{a}, 125^{a}, 129^{a} (Curtis); iv. 37^{a}, 152^{a} (Davison).
Ethanim i. 777^{a}; iv. 765^{a}.
Ethanus (Ap.) i. 777^{a}.
Ethbaal i. 777^{a} (Burney).
Ether i. 777^{a}.
Ethics i. 777^{a} (Strong).
of OT and Apocrypha i. 777^{b} ff.; Ext. 294^{a} (Fairweather), 624^{a}, 664^{a} (Kautzsch.)
of Pentateuch and Historical Books i. 778^{a}.
Decalogue i. 778^{b}; Ext. 633^{b} f.
Deuteronomy i. 779^{a}; Ext. 687^{b} f.
Priestly Code i. 778^{b}; Ext. 722^{b} f.
of Prophetical Literature i. 779^{b}; Ext. 709^{b} (Kautzsch).
Conscious Union with God i. 780^{a}.
Evil, Theory of i. 780^{a}.
Morality and Ceremony i. 780^{b}.
of Psalms i. 781^{a}; iv. 156^{b} ff. (Davison).
God's Character the Moral Ideal i. 781^{a} f.
Problem of Suffering i. 781^{b}; Ext. 726^{b} f.
of Wisdom Literature i. 782^{a}.
Ecclesiastes i. 782^{b}.
Job i. 782^{b}.
Proverbs i. 782^{a}.
Summary of OT Ethics i. 783^{a}.
of NT i. 873^{a} ff.
Christ's Teaching in Parables i. 784^{a}.
in the Sermon on the Mount i. 783^{b}. [See Sermon on the Mount].
Epistles i. 784^{b} ff.
Attitude of Church to the World i. 785^{b}.

- Ethics of NT Epp.—
  - Christian Virtues i. 786^a ff.
    - Faith i. 787^a.
    - Hope i. 787^b.
    - Humility i. 786^b.
    - Love i. 787^b.
    - Self-control i. 787^a.
    - Whole-heartedness i. 786^a.
  - Gospel of St. John i. 784^a.
- Ethiopia i. 789^a, 536^a (Margoliouth).
  - Geography i. 789^a.
  - History i. 789^b.
  - Language i. 790^a.
  - Name i. 789^a.
- Ethiopian Eunuch i. 790^b (Margoliouth), 499^a (Grieve); iii. 836^a (Cowan).
- Ethiopian Woman i. 790^b (Margoliouth).
- Ethiopic Version i. 791^a (Charles).
  - Canonical Books i. 791^a.
  - Critical Value i. 792^b.
  - Date i. 792^b.
  - MSS. i. 791^a.
  - Printed Editions i. 791^b.
  - Text, Source of i. 791^b.
- Eth-kazin i. 793^a.
- Ethnan i. 793^a; ii. 128^a.
- Ethnarch i. 793^a (Headlam).
- Ethni i. 793^a; ii. 123^a.
- Ethnology Ext. 72^a ff. (Jastrow).
- Eubulus i. 793^a.
- Eucharist i. 461^a (Armitage Robinson), 489^b, 490^b (Robertson); ii. 636^a ff. (Sanday); iii. 316^b (Adeney); iv. 347^a ff. (Paterson).
- Euergetes i. 271^a [Benefactor].
- Eumenes i. 793^a (Moss).
- Eunice i. 793^b (Lock).
- Eunomius Ext. 500^b (Turner).
- Eunuch i. 793^b (G. Walker).
  - Ethiopian i. 790^b (Margoliouth).
- Euodia i. 794^a (Gibb).
- Eupator (Ap.) i. 794^a.
- Euphemism Ext. 164^b (König).
- Euphrates i. 794^a (Sayce).
  - Jewish settlements Ext. 92^a (Schürer).
- Eupolemus (Ap.) i. 794^b.
- Euraquilo, Euroclydon i. 794^b (Dickson).
- Eusebius of Cæsarea iii. 541^a f. (Stanton); iv. 240^b (Porter); Ext. 340^a (Menzies), 426^a (Tasker), 497^b (Turner).
- Eusebius of Emesa Ext. 498^a (Turner).
- Euthymius Zigabenus Ext. 486^b (Turner).
- Eutychus i. 795^b (Headlam); iii. 329^a (Macalister).
- Evagrius-Euthalius Ext. 524^b ff. (Turner).
- Evangelist i. 795^b (Massie), 433^b note (Gayford).
- Eve i. 797^a (Bennett).
- Eve, Gospel of Ext. 438^b (Tasker).
- Evening iv. 766^a (Abrahams).
- Event i. 797^b.
- Everlastingness i. 797^b.
- Every i. 797^b.
- Evi i. 798^a.
- Evidence, Evidently i. 798^a (Hastings).
- Evil i. 798^a (Hastings), 780^a (Strong), 843^b f. (J. H. Bernard); iv. 408^a (Whitehouse).
- Evil Eye iii. 208^a (Whitehouse); iv. 604^b; Ext. 154^a (Ramsay), 554^a (Jastrow).
- Evil-Merodach i. 798^b (Price), 229^a (Hommel).
- Evil Speaking iv. 552^b (Garvie).
- Evil Spirit [See Demon].
- Evil Spirit from God ii. 404^a (Swete); iv. 116^b (Davidson).
- Exact i. 798^b (Hastings).
- Exceed i. 799^a (Hastings).
- Excellency i. 799^b (Hastings).
- Excellent, Most Excellent i. 800^a (Headlam).
- Except i. 800^a (Hastings).
- Exchanger iii. 432^b (A. R. S. Kennedy).
- Excommunication i. 800^b (Adams Brown), 534^b (Denney).
- Executioner i. 801^b.
- Exercise i. 802^a (Hastings).
- Exile ii. 514^a (Barnes).
- Exodus and Journey to Canaan i. 802^b (Harris and Chapman).
  - Date i. 398^b f. (Curtis).
- Exodus (Book) i. 806^a (Harford-Battersby).
  - Analysis of Contents—
    - Israel in Egypt i. 806^b.
    - Egypt to Sinai i. 807^b.
    - Sinai i. 808^b.
  - Historical Character i. 811^a.
  - Laws in Exodus—
    - Covenant, Ten Words of i. 810^a.
    - Book of i. 810^a.
    - Decalogue i. 810^a.
    - Judgments, Book of i. 810^a.
  - Leading ideas i. 811^a.
  - Tabernacle in Exodus i. 810^b.
- Exorcism i. 811^b (Whitehouse); Ext. 551^b ff. (Jastrow).
- Expect, Expectation i. 813^a (Hastings).
- Expedient i. 813^a.
- Experience i. 813^a.
- Experiment i. 813^b.
- Expiation i. 197^b [Atonement]; iv. 128^a [Propitiation].
- Explainers Ext. 65^b (Schechter).
- Exposure i. 524^b f. (Poucher).
- Express i. 813^b.
- Exquisite i. 813^b.
- Extinct i. 813^b.

- Extreme . . . . i. 813^b.
- Eye (verb) . . . i. 814^a.
- Eye (subst.) . . . i. 814^a (Mackie).
  - Evil . . . . iii. 208^a (Whitehouse); iv. 604^b; Ext. 154^a (Ramsay), 554^a (Jastrow).
  - Paint . . . i. 814^b (Mackie); ii. 182^b (Hastings); iii. 639^b.
  - Salve . . . . i. 814^b (Mackie); iii. 44^b (Ramsay).
- Eyeservice . . . i. 814^b.
- Ezbai . . . . . i. 814^b; ii. 132^b.
- Ezbon . . . . . i. 814^b; ii. 130^b, 131^b.
- Ezekias (Ap.) . . i. 814^b.
- Ezekiel . . . . i. 814^b (Skinner).
  - Dumbness . . . i. 816^b; iv. 115^a (Davidson); Ext. 175^b f. (König), 673^a f. (Kautzsch).
- Ezekiel, Book . . i. 817^a (Skinner).
  - Analysis of Contents i. 817^a.
  - Authenticity and Unity . . . i. 817^a.
  - Epoch-making character . . . Ext. 701^b (Kautzsch).
  - Eschatology . . Ext. 703^b f. (Kautzsch).
  - Literary History . i. 819^b.
  - Literary Style . . i. 818^a; iii. 32^a (Margoliouth).
  - Parallels with Leviticus . . iii. 108^a (Harford-Battersby).
  - Priesthood in . . iv. 77^b (Baudissin); Ext. 705^a (Kautzsch).
  - Religious Teaching . i. 818^b; Ext. 701^b ff. (Kautzsch).
    - Idea of God . . i. 818^b; Ext. 701^b (Kautzsch).
    - Individual responsibility . . i. 819^a; Ext. 702^a (Kautzsch).
  - Symbolic actions . Ext. 175^a ff. (König), 678^a (Kautzsch).
  - Visions . . . Ext. 676^a (Kautzsch).
- Ezel . . . . . i. 820^a (Stenning).
- Ezem . . . . . i. 208^b [Azmon].
- Ezer . . . . . i. 820^a; ii. 128^a, 129^a, 130^a, 132^a.
- Ezion-geber . . . i. 820^a (Selbie).
- Eznite . . . . . i. 38^b [Adino].
- Ezora (Ap.) . . . i. 820^b.
- Ezra . . . . . i. 820^b (Batten); ii. 123^b (Curtis).
- Ezra (Book) . . . i. 821^b ff. (Batten).
- Ezrah . . . . . i. 824^b; ii. 129^a.
- Ezrahite . . . . i. 824^b.
- Ezri . . . . . i. 824^b.
- Ezril (Ap.) . . . i. 824^b.

- Fable . . . . . i. 825^a (Massie); iii. 660^a (König), 663^a (Plummer).
- Fables and Genealogies i. 825^a (Massie); ii. 187^b f. (Headlam); iv. 770^b (Lock).
- Face . . . . . i. 825^b (Mackie); Ext. 639^a f. (Kautzsch).
  - Covering the Face . Ext. 172^a (König).
- Fact . . . . . i. 825^b (Hastings).
- Fain . . . . . i. 826^a (Hastings).
- Faint . . . . . i. 826^a.
- Fair . . . . . i. 826^b.
- Fair Havens . . . i. 826^b (Muir); ii. 311^b (Hull).
- Fairs . . . . . i. 826^b [Fair].
- Faith . . . . . i. 827^a (Warfield), 787^a (Strong).
  - Biblical Conception i. 836^b.
  - Historical Presentation in OT . i. 831^b ff.
    - in NT . . . i. 833^b ff.
  - Justification by . i. 835^a, 837^a ff.; ii. 334^b (Bruce); iii. 724^a (Findlay); iv. 283^b (Stevens), 303^b (Robertson). [See Justification].
  - Philological Expression in NT . i. 828^b ff.
    - in OT . . . i. 827^a.
    - in Philo . . . i. 828^b.
    - in LXX . . . i. 828^a.
  - Teaching of Christ . i. 834^a.
    - of Ep. to Hebrews i. 835^b; ii. 334^b (Bruce).
      - Epp. of St. Peter i. 835^b.
      - St. James . . i. 834^b; ii. 546^a (Mayor).
      - St. John . . i. 836^a.
      - St. Paul . . i. 835^a; iii. 724^a (Findlay).
  - and Works . . . i. 834^b; ii. 546^a (Mayor).
- Faithless . . . . i. 838^b.
- Falcon . . . . i. 838^b.
- Fall (verb) . . . i. 838^b (Hastings).
- Fall (noun) . . . i. 839^a (J. H. Bernard); Ext. 667^b (Kautzsch).
  - Allusions in OT . i. 840^b.
    - in Apocrypha . i. 840^b; Ext. 292^b (Fairweather).
  - Doctrine of NT . i. 841^a ff.
  - Interpretation, Methods of . . i. 840^a.
  - Parallels, Babylonian . . . i. 839^b, 216^a (Hommel); Ext. 574^a (Jastrow).
    - Zoroastrian . . i. 839^a.
  - and Death . . . i. 841$^{a, b}$, 845^a; iii. 721^a (Findlay); iv. 535^a (E. R. Bernard); Ext. 292^b f. (Fairweather).
  - and Evolution . . i. 843^a.
  - and Free Will . . iv. 920^b (Stanton).
- Fallow Deer . . . i. 845^b; ii. 36^b.
- False Witness . . iii. 112^b f. (W. P. Paterson), 576^b f. (Ferries).
- Fame . . . . . i. 845^b (Hastings).
- Familiar . . . . i. 846^a (Hastings).
- Family . . . . i. 846^a (Bennett).
- Famine . . . . i. 850^b (Warren).
  - in Egypt . . . ii. 773^b (Driver).
  - under Claudius . i. 416^b (Turner); Ext. 480^a (Ramsay).

- Famish . . . i. 852^a.
- Fan, Fanner . . . i. 852^a, 51^a.
- Fancy . . . i. 852^a.
- Far . . . i. 852^a (Hastings).
- Fare, Farewell . . . i. 852^b (Hastings).
- Farthing . . . iii. 428^b f. (A. R. S. Kennedy).
- Fashion . . . i. 853^a (Hastings).
- Fast . . . i. 854^a.
- Fasting . . . i. 854^a (Stanton).
  - Mourning . . . iii. 454^a (Nicol).
  - in OT . . . i. 854^a.
  - in NT . . . i. 855^a.
    - Christ's Teaching i. 855^a.
    - Practice in Early Church . . . i. 855^b.
- Fasts . . . i. 862^a (Harding).
- Fat as Food . . . ii. 39^a (Macalister); iv. 487^a (Post).
  - in Sacrifice . . . iv. 332^a, 333$^{a, b}$ (Paterson); Ext. 618^a f. (Kautzsch).
- Fat (verb) . . . i. 855^b.
- Fat (vessel) . . . i. 855^b.
- Fate . . . [See Free Will].
- Father . . . i. 848^a (Bennett).
  - God as . . . [See God].
- Fathom . . . iv. 909^b (A. R. S. Kennedy).
- Fatling . . . i. 856^a.
- Fauchion . . . i. 856^a.
- Fault . . . i. 856^a (Hastings).
- Favour . . . i. 856^b (Hastings), 857^a (Aglen).
- Fayûm Gospel Fragment . . . Ext. 428^b (Tasker).
- Fear . . . i. 857^a (Hastings), 858^b (Burrows).
- Feasts . . . i. 859^a (Harding); Ext. 662^a, 718^a (Kautzsch).
  - Hospitality . . . ii. 42^b (Macalister).
  - Minor Festivals—
    - Baskets . . . i. 862^a.
    - Captured Fortress i. 862^a.
    - Dedication of Temple . . . i. 862^a.
    - Nicanor . . . i. 862^a.
    - Purim . . . i. 861^b. [See Purim].
    - Reading of the Law i. 862^a.
    - Wood Offering . . . i. 862^a.
  - New Moon . . . i. 859^b. [See New Moon].
  - Passover and Unleavened Bread . . . i. 860^a. [See Mazzoth, Passover].
  - Pentecost . . . i. 861^a. [See Pentecost].
  - Sabbath . . . i. 859^a. [See Sabbath].
  - Sabbatical Year . . . i. 859^b. [See Sabbatical Year].
  - Tabernacles . . . i. 861^a. [See Tabernacles, Feast of].
  - Trumpets . . . i. 859^b. [See Trumpets, Feast of].
  - Year of Jubile . . . i. 860^a. [See Sabbatical Year].
- Feign . . . ii. 1^a (Hastings).
- Felix . . . ii. 1^a (Robertson); i. 417^b ff. (Turner).
- Fellow . . . ii. 2^a (Hastings).
- Felspar . . . iv. 620^b (Flinders Petrie).
- Fence . . . ii. 3^a.
- Fenced Cities . . . ii. 3^a (Warren).
- Ferret . . . ii. 4^a.
- Fervency, Fervent . . . ii. 4^a.
- Festival . . . [See Feasts].
- Festus . . . ii. 4^a (Robertson); i. 418^b ff. (Turner).
- Fetch . . . ii. 5^a (Hastings).
- Fetish . . . iii. 879^b note (Whitehouse); Ext. 628^b (Kautzsch).
- Fetter . . . ii. 5^b (Carslaw).
- Fever . . . iii. 323^b (Macalister).
- Field, Fuller's . . . ii. 72^b (Ewing).
- Fiery Serpent . . . iii. 330^a (Macalister); iv. 458^b (Strachan), 460^a (Post).
- Fifty . . . iii. 564^b (König).
- Figs . . . ii. 5^b (Post), 30^b (Macalister).
- Figure . . . ii. 6^b (Hastings).
- Filigree . . . iii. 636^a (A. R. S. Kennedy).
- Fill . . . ii. 7^a.
- Fill the hand . . . i. 475^b (Hastings); ii. 296^b (Aglen); iv. 70^b (Baudissin).
- Fillet . . . ii. 7^b (Hastings); iv. 657^b (A. R. S. Kennedy).
- Fine . . . ii. 7^b (Hastings).
- Fines (Punishment) . i. 524^b (Poucher).
- Fir . . . ii. 8^a (Post).
- Fire . . . ii. 9^a (James Patrick).
- Firebrand . . . i. 314^b [Brand].
- Firepan . . . i. 365^b; ii. 40^b.
- Firkin . . . iv. 913^b (A. R. S. Kennedy).
- Firmament . . . i. 502^b (Whitehouse), 215^a (Hommel); ii. 501^a (Armitage Robinson); Ext. 572^a (Jastrow).
- Firstborn, Death of . iii. 892^a (Macalister).
  - Dedication of . . . iii. 688^b (W. J. Moulton); iv. 70$^{a, b}$ (Baudissin), 334^b (Paterson); Ext. 618^b, 719^a (Kautzsch).
  - Rights of . . . i. 849^a (Bennett); ii. 341^a.
- First-fruits . . . ii. 10^b (Peake).
  - Relation to Tithe . iv. 780^a (Peake).
- Firstling . . . ii. 11^b.
- Fish . . . ii. 11^b (Post); iii. 492^a.
  - Clean and Unclean . ii. 11^a, 37^a (Macalister).
  - Worship . . . ii. 12^a (Post); i. 195^a (H. A. White), 544^a (Beecher).
- Fisher . . . ii. 12^a.
- Fishing . . . ii. 12^a (Eddy).
- Fish Gate . . . ii. 593^a.
- Fish Pool . . . ii. 13^a (Selbie).
- Fitches . . . ii. 13^a (Post), 28^b (Macalister).
- Five . . . iii. 564^a (König).
- Flag . . . ii. 13^a (Post).
- Flagon . . . ii. 13^b (Selbie).

- Flax . ii. 13^{b} (Post).
- Flaying . i. 525^{a} (Poucher).
- Flea . ii. 14^{a}.
- Flesh . ii. 14^{a} (Laidlaw); iv. 165^{a} ff.; Ext. 666^{b} (Kautzsch).
  - and Spirit . iv. 612^{a}; iii. $720^{a,b}$ (Findlay); Ext. 666^{b} (Kautzsch).
- Flesh-hook . ii. 40^{b} (Macalister).
- Fleshly, Fleshy . ii. 15^{a}.
- Flesh-pot . ii. 40^{a} (Macalister).
- Flies . ii. 25^{a} (Post).
  - Plague of . iii. 890^{a} (Macalister).
- Flint . ii. 15^{a} (James Patrick).
- Flock . ii. 15^{b} (Post).
- Flood (Noah's) . ii. 16^{a} (Woods).
  - Double Narrative . ii. 16^{a}.
  - Historicity . ii. 16^{b}.
  - Parallels among other peoples . ii. 17^{a} ff.
    - Babylonian . ii. 17^{a}; i. 221^{a} (Hommel).
    - Causes . ii. 18^{a}.
    - Influence of Babylonian on Bible Story . ii. 17^{b}; Ext. 670^{a} (Kautzsch).
    - Variety of Details ii. 20^{a}.
  - References in Scripture . ii. 23^{b} (Hastings).
  - Theories of Origin . ii. 22^{a}.
  - Type of Baptism . i. 239^{a} (Plummer); iv. 217^{b} (Bartlet).
- Flood . ii. 23^{a} (Hastings).
- Floor . ii. 24^{a}, 432^{b} f.
- Flote . ii. 24^{a}.
- Flour . ii. 27^{b} f. (Macalister).
- Flourish . ii. 24^{a}.
- Flowers . ii. 24^{b}.
- Flue-net . ii. 24^{b}.
- Flute . iii. 461^{a} (Millar).
- Flux . ii. 24^{b}; iii. 325^{a} (Macalister).
- Fly . ii. 25^{a}.
- Fly, Flies . ii. 25^{a} (Post).
  - Plague . iii. 890^{a} (Macalister).
- Fodder . ii. 25^{b}, 312^{b}.
- Fold . ii. 25^{b} (Selbie).
- Folden . ii. 26^{a}.
- Folk . ii. 26^{a}.
- Follow, Follower . ii. 26^{a} (Hastings).
- Folly . ii. 43^{a} ff. (Vos).
- Food . ii. 27^{a} (Macalister).
  - Animal Food . ii. 35^{a} ff.
    - Birds . ii. 36^{b}.
    - Butter . ii. 36^{a}.
    - Cheese . ii. 36^{b}.
    - Dove's Dung . ii. 37^{a}; i. 620^{a} (Post); Ext. 470^{a} (Thackeray).
    - Eggs . ii. 37^{a}.
    - Fish . ii. 37^{a}.
    - Flesh of Animals . ii. 35^{b}, 36^{b}.
    - Honey . ii. 37^{b}; i. 264^{a} (Post).
    - Insects . ii. 37^{b}.
    - Milk . ii. 36^{a}.
- Food—
  - Condiments . ii. 38^{b}.
    - Anise . ii. 38^{b}; i. 99^{a} (Post).
    - Coriander . ii. 38^{b}; i. 479^{b} (Post).
    - Cummin . ii. 38^{b}; i. 532^{b} (Post).
    - Hyssop . ii. 38^{a}, 442^{a} (Post).
    - Mint . ii. 38^{b}; iii. 379^{a} (Post).
    - Mustard . ii. 38^{b}; iii. 463^{a} (Post).
    - Salt . ii. 38^{a}; iv. 355^{a} (Hull).
  - Cookery . ii. 39^{b}.
  - Feasts . ii. 42^{b}.
  - Manna . ii. 38^{b}; iii. 236^{a}.
  - Meals . ii. 41^{a}.
  - Taboos . ii. 38^{b} ff., 395^{b} (Skinner); iv. 826^{a} ff., 829^{a} ff. (Peake); Ext. 613^{b} (Kautzsch).
  - Vegetable Food . ii. 27^{b} ff.
    - Beans . ii. 28^{a}; i. 260^{a} (Post).
    - Bitter Herbs . ii. 29^{b}; i. 304^{a} (Post); iii. 687^{a}, 691^{b} (Moulton).
    - Corn . ii. 27^{b}. [See Corn].
    - Cucumbers . ii. 28^{b}; i. 531^{b} (Post).
    - Fitches . ii. 28^{b}, 13^{a} (Post).
    - Fruits . ii. 29^{b} ff., 70^{b} (Post).
      - Almonds . ii. 29^{b}; i. 67^{a} (Post).
      - Apples . ii. 30^{a}; i. 128^{a} (Post).
      - Dates . ii. 30^{a}; iii. 657^{b} (Post).
      - Figs . ii. 30^{b}, 5^{b} (Post).
      - Mulberries ii. 31^{a}; iii. 456^{a} (Post).
      - Nuts . ii. 31^{a}; iii. 574^{a} (Post).
      - Olives . ii. 31^{a}; iii. 591^{a}, 616^{a} (Post).
      - Pomegranates . ii. 31^{b}; iv. 14^{b} (Post).
      - Vines . ii. 31^{b}; iv. 868^{a} (Post).
      - Vine of Sodom . ii. 34^{b}; iv. 869^{b} (Post).
      - Walnuts . ii. 34^{b}; iii. 574^{b} (Post).
    - Garlic . ii. 29^{a}, 110^{a} (Post).
    - Gourds . ii. 28^{b}. [See Gourd].
    - Husks . ii. 28^{a}, 439^{a} (Post).
    - Juniper Roots . ii. 35^{a}, 825^{b} (Post).
    - Leeks . ii. 29^{a}; iii. 93^{a} (Post).
    - Lentiles . ii. 27^{b}; iii. 95^{a} (Post).
    - Mallows . ii. 34^{b}; iii. 223^{b} (Post).
    - Melons . ii. 28^{b}; iii. 337^{b} (Post).
    - Onions . ii. 29^{a}; iii. 624^{a} (Post).
  - Vessels . ii. 40^{a} ff.
  - Wine . ii. 33^{a} ff.; iv. 869^{b} (Post).
- Fool . ii. 43^{a} (Vos).
- Foolery . ii. 44^{b}.
- Foot . ii. 44^{b} (Mackie).
- Footman . ii. 45^{a} (Hastings).
- Footstool . ii. 45^{b} (Selbie).
- For . ii. 45^{b} (Hastings).
- Foray . ii. 46^{b}.
- Forbear, Forbearance . ii. 46^{b} (Hastings), 47^{a} (Denney).
- Forbid . ii. 47^{b} (Hastings).
- Force . ii. 48^{a}.
- Ford . ii. 48^{b} (Hull); Ext. 373^{a} (Buhl).
- Forecast . ii. 48^{b}.
- Forefront . ii. 48^{b}.
- Forego . ii. 49^{a} (Hastings).
- Forehead . ii. 49^{a} (Selbie).

Foreigner . . . . ii. 49^b (Selbie).
Foreknow, Foreordain ii. 51^b.
Foreknowledge . . ii. 51^b (Stewart).
Forepart . . . . ii. 53^b.
Forerunner . . . ii. 54^a.
Foresail . . . . Ext. 366^b (Blomfield).
Foreship . . . . ii. 54^a.
Foreskin . . . . i. 442^b f. (Macalister).
  Hill of Foreskins . i. 443^a; ii. 169^b; Ext. 623^a (Kautzsch).
Forest . . . . ii. 54^a (Post).
Foretell . . . . ii. 54^b. [See Prediction].
Foreward . . . ii. 55^a.
Forfeit . . . . ii. 55^a.
Forge, Forger . . ii. 55^b.
Forgetfulness . . ii. 55^b (Hastings).
Forgiveness . . . ii. 56^a (Bethune-Baker).
  in OT . . . . ii. 56^a.
  in NT . . . . ii. 56^b ff.
  Teaching of Christ . ii. 57^{a}ff.; Ext. 28^b (Votaw).
    Analogy of Divine and human . ii. 57^b.
    Condition of . . ii. 57^a.
    Unpardonable Sin ii. 57^b f.
Form . . . . . ii. 58^b (Hastings).
Former . . . . ii. 59^a.
Fornication . . . i. 521^b (Poucher).
Forsomuch . . . ii. 59^a.
Forswear . . . . ii. 59^a.
Fort . . . . . iv. 894^b (Barnes).
Forth . . . . . ii. 59^b (Hastings).
Fortification, Fortress iv. 894^b (Barnes).
Fortunatus . . . ii. 60^a (Muir).
Forty . . . . . iii. 563^a, 565^a (König).
Forum . . . . . ii. 60^a.
Forward, Forwardness ii. 60^a (Hastings).
Foul . . . . . ii. 61^a (Hastings).
Foundation . . . ii. 61^b (Selbie).
  of New Jerusalem . iv. 619^b ff. (Flinders Petrie).
Fountain . . . . ii. 62^a (Hull).
Fountain Gate . . ii. 593^b (Conder).
Four . . . . . iii. 562^b (König).
Foursquare . . . ii. 63^a.
Fowl . . . . . ii. 63^a (Hastings), 63^b (Post).
Fowler . . . . . ii. 64^a.
Fox . . . . . ii. 64^a (Post).
Fragment . . . ii. 64^b (Hastings).
Frame . . . . . ii. 64^b (Hastings).
Frankincense . . . ii. 65^a (Post), 467^a, 468^a (Selbie).
Frankly . . . . ii. 65^b.
Frantick . . . . ii. 65^b.
Fravashi . . . . iv. 991^b (J. H. Moulton).
Fray . . . . . ii. 65^b.
Freckle . . . . ii. 66^a (Hastings); iii. 96^b, 329^b (Macalister).
Free, Freedom, Freely ii. 66^a (Hastings).
Free Will . . . . i. 680^a ff. (Murray); iv. 920^b ff. (Stanton); Ext. 293^b (Fairweather).
Freewill Offering . iv. 338^a (W. P. Paterson).
French Versions . . Ext. 402^b (Bebb).
Frequent . . . . ii. 67^b.
Fret . . . . . ii. 67^b (Hastings).
Friend . . . . . ii. 68^a (Aglen).
  Bridegroom's . . i. 327^b (Plummer).
  King's . . . . i. 58^a [Ahuzzath]; ii. 843^b (Williams).
Fringes . . . . ii. 68^b (A. R. S. Kennedy).
Frock . . . . . ii. 70^a.
Frog . . . . . ii. 70^a.
  Plague of Frogs . iii. 889^b (Macalister).
From . . . . . ii. 70^a.
Frontlets . . . . iii. 872^a (A. R. S. Kennedy).
Froward . . . . ii. 70^a (Hastings).
Fruit . . . . . ii. 70^b (Post), 71^a (Hastings), 29^b ff. (Macalister).
Frustrate . . . . ii. 71^a.
Frying-pan . . . i. 318^a (Macalister).
Fuel . . . . . ii. 71^b (A. R. S. Kennedy), 10^a (Patrick).
Fugitive . . . . ii. 72^a.
Fuldensis, Codex . Ext. 456^b (Stenning).
Fuller . . . . . ii. 72^a (Wortabet).
Fuller's Field . . ii. 72^b (Ewing).
Fulness . . . . iv. 1^a [Pleroma].
Funeral . . . . i. 331^b (Nicol).
  Feast . . . . i. 318^b (Macalister).
Furlong . . . . iv. 909^b (A. R. S. Kennedy).
Furnace . . . . ii. 72^b (Wortabet).
Furniture . . . . ii. 73^a.
Furrow . . . . ii. 73^a (Selbie).
Further . . . . ii. 73^b.
Fury . . . . . ii. 73^b.
Future . . . . . [See Eschatology].

Gaal . . . . . ii. 74^a (Cooke).
Gaash . . . . . ii. 74^a.
Gabael (Ap.) . . . ii. 74^a (Marshall).
Gabatha (Ap.) . . ii. 74^b.
Gabbai . . . . ii. 74^b.
Gabbatha . . . . ii. 74^b (Nestle), 596^a (Conder); iii. 877^b note (Purves).
Gabbe (Ap.) . . . ii. 75^a.
Gabrias (Ap.) . . ii. 75^a.
Gabriel . . . . ii. 75^a (Grieve).
Gad . . . . . ii. 75^b (Hastings).
Gad (god) . . . . ii. 76^a (T. G. Pinches); iii. 367^a (Warren), 861^a (Thatcher); Ext. 617^a (Kautzsch).
Gad (son of Jacob) . ii. 76^b (Bennett), 131^b (Curtis).
Gad (tribe) . . . ii. 76^b (Bennett).
  David's recruits from . . . ii. 132^a (Curtis).
Gad (seer) . . . . ii. 78^b (Welch); Ext. 652^b (Kautzsch).
Gad (valley) . . . ii. 79^a (Warren).
Gadara, Gadarenes . ii. 79^a (Warren).
Gaddi . . . . . ii. 80^b.
Gaddiel . . . . ii. 80^b.
Gaddis (Ap.) . . . ii. 80^b.
Gadi . . . . . ii. 80^b.
Gadites . . . . [See Gad].

- Gaham ii. 80^b.
- Gahar ii. 80^b, 134^a.
- Gai ii. 80^b.
- Gainsay ii. 80^b (Hastings).
- Gaius ii. 81^a.
- Galal ii. 81^b, 125^a.
- Galatia ii. 81^b (Ramsay).
  - Galatia proper ii. 81^b.
    - Boundaries ii. 82^b.
    - Christianity in ii. 85^a, 92^b.
    - Constitution ii. 82^a.
    - Country ii. 85^a.
    - History ii. 81^b f.
    - Inscriptions ii. 85^b.
    - Population ii. 83^b f., 91^a.
  - Galatia Provincia ii. 85^b.
    - Constitution ii. 87^b.
    - Country ii. 88^a.
    - Extent in St. Paul's day ii. 87^a.
    - Jewish Colonists ii. 88^a, 92^b.
    - Name ii. 87^a.
    - Religion ii. 92^b; Ext. 109^a [Religion of Asia Minor].
  - Galatia in 2 Timothy 4^{10} ii. 89^a.
  - North and South Galatian Theories ii. 81^b, 87^b, 89^b, 91^a ff., 93^b (Dods); iii. 706^b ff. (Findlay).
- Galatia, Region of ii. 89^b (Ramsay), 94^a (Dods); iii. 706^b ff. (Findlay).
- Galatians ii. 91^a (Ramsay), 83^b f.
- Galatians, Epistle to the ii. 93^a (Dods).
  - Authorship ii. 93^a.
  - Contents ii. 96^b ff.
  - Date ii. 95^b; i. 423^a (Turner).
  - Discrepancy with Acts ii. 97^a.
  - Occasion of Epistle ii. 95^a.
  - Origen's Commentary Ext. 493^a (Turner).
  - Persons addressed ii. 93^b. [See Galatia, North and South Theories].
  - Resemblance to Romans and 2 Corinthians ii. 96^a.
- Galbanum ii. 98^a.
- Galeed ii. 98^a (Selbie); i. 642^b (A. R. S. Kennedy).
- Galilæan ii. 98^b.
- Galilee ii. 98^b (Merrill).
  - Conversion to Judaism iv. 136^b (Porter).
  - of the Nations ii. 98^b.
- Galilee, Mountain in ii. 102^a.
- Galilee, Sea of ii. 102^a (Merrill); iii. 18^a (Hull).
- Gall ii. 104^b (Post); iii. 325^b (Macalister).
  - Grapes of ii. 104^b; iv. 14^a (Macalister).
- Gallant ii. 105^a.
- Gallery ii. 105^a.
- Galley ii. 105^a (Hull).
- Gallim ii. 105^b.
- Gallio ii. 105^b (Cowan); i. 417^b (Turner), 481^b (Ramsay).
- Gallows i. 525^a (Poucher); ii. 298^b (Selbie).
- Gamael (Ap.) ii. 106^b.
- Gamaliel ii. 106^b (Milligan).
- Games ii. 106^b (Nicol).
- Gammadim ii. 108^b.
- Gamul ii. 108^b, 123^b.
- Garden ii. 108^b (Ewing).
- Gareb (person) ii. 110^a, 132^b.
- Gareb (place) ii. 110^a.
- Garland [See Crown].
- Garlic ii. 110^a, 29^a.
- Garment [See Dress].
- Garmite ii. 110^a.
- Garner ii. 110^a.
- Garnet iv. 620^a.
- Gas (Ap.) ii. 110^b.
- Gashmu ii. 110^b.
- Gatam ii. 110^b.
- Gate ii. 110^b (Warren).
- Gates of Jerusalem ii. 593$^{a, b}$ (Conder).
  - of Temple iv. 702^a, 704^b, 713^a, 714^a (Davies).
- Gath ii. 113^a (Warren).
- Gath-hepher ii. 114^a (Warren), 744^b (König).
- Gath-rimmon ii. 114^b.
- Gaulanitis ii. 114^b.
- Gaul, Gauls ii. 115^a, 89^a (Ramsay).
- Gaza ii. 115^a (Hull).
- Gazara ii. 115^b.
- Gazelle ii. 115^b (Post).
- Gazera (Ap.) ii. 116^a.
- Gazez ii. 116^a, 127^b.
- Gazingstock ii. 116^a.
- Gazites ii. 116^b.
- Gazzam ii. 116^b, 134^a.
- Geba ii. 116^b (Stenning).
- Gebal ii. 117^a (H. A. White); iv. 677^a (Sayce).
- Geber ii. 117^a.
- Gebim ii. 117^a.
- Gecko ii. 117^b (Post).
- Gedaliah ii. 117^b (N. J. D. White), 125^a (Curtis).
- Geddur (Ap.) ii. 118^a.
- Geder ii. 118^a.
- Gederah ii. 118^a.
- Gederoth ii. 118^a.
- Gederothaim ii. 118^a.
- Gedor (place) ii. 118^a, 129^a.
- Gedor (person) ii. 118^b, 128^a, 129^a, 131^a.
- Ge-harashim ii. 118^b, 128^b.
- Gehazi ii. 118^b (Strachan).
- Gehenna ii. 119^a (Charles).
  - in OT ii. 119^b, 344^b f. (Salmond).
  - in Apocryphal and Apocalyptic Literature ii. 119^b, 345^a f. (Salmond); Ext. 305^a (Fairweather).

Gehenna in NT and Later Judaism . . ii. 120^a, 344^a, 345^b ff. (Salmond). [See Hinnom].
Geliloth . . . ii. 120^a (Driver).
Gem . . . . [See Stones, Precious].
Gemalli . . . ii. 120^b.
Gemara . . . Ext. 64^b (Schechter).
Gemariah . . . ii. 120^b.
Gematria . . . i. 65^b (Massie); iii. 566^b (König); iv. 258^a (Porter).
Gender . . . ii. 120^b.
Genealogy . . . ii. 121^a (Curtis).
  Artificial and Figurative . . . ii. 121^b.
  David's Recruits and Officers . . ii. 132^a ff.
  in Genesis . . ii. 121^b, 147^a (Ryle), 504^a (Driver).
  List of those who returned with Ezra . . . ii. 134^a.
    with Zerubbabel . ii. 133^b.
    built Wall . . ii. 134^b.
    dedicated Wall . ii. 135^b.
    had Foreign Wives ii. 134^b.
    promulgated Law ii. 135^b.
    resident in Jerusalem . . ii. 136^a.
    signed the Covenant . . . ii. 135^b.
  Preservation of Genealogies . . . ii. 121^a.
  Priests and Levites . ii. 125^b, 135^b.
  Twelve Tribes . . ii. 122^a ff.
Genealogy of Jesus Christ . . . ii. 137^b (Bacon), 645^a (Sanday); iii. 302^b (Bartlet).
  Attitude of Christ and Apostles . ii. 138^a, 141^a.
  External Evidence . ii. 140^b.
  of St. Luke . . ii. 140^a.
    as pedigree of Mary . . ii. 139^a.
  of St. Matthew = throne succession . ii. 139^b.
  Theories of Africanus and Annius . . ii. 138^b.
Genealogy (1 Ti 1^4) . ii. 141^a; i. 825^a (Massie); ii. 187^b f. (Headlam); iv. 770^b (Lock).
General . . . ii. 141^b (Hastings).
  General Assembly . ii. 141^b.
Generation . . . ii. 142^b (Bennett, Hastings).
Genesis . . . ii. 143^a (Ryle).
  Composite Structure ii. 143^a.
  Contents and Plan . ii. 143^a.
  Genealogy in . . ii. 147^a, 121^b (Curtis), 504^a (Driver).
  Historical Value . ii. 146^b.
  Religious Teaching . ii. 147^b ff.
  Sources . . . ii. 144^a ff.
Genesis, Little . . ii. 791^a (Headlam).
Genevan Bible . . iv. 858^a (Milligan); Ext. 249^a (Lupton).
Gennadius of Constantinople . . . Ext. 517^b (Turner).
Gennæus (Ap.) . . ii. 148^b.
Gennesaret, Lake of . ii. 102^a (Merrill).
  ,, Land of . ii. 148^b (Merrill).
Gentiles . . . ii. 149^a (Selbie).
  Admission to the Church . . . i. 499^a (Grieve); iii. 705^b f. (Findlay), 764^a (Chase).
  Justification . . ii. 828^a (Simon).
Gentiles, Court of . iv. 713^a (Davies).
Gentleness . . . ii. 150^a (Denney).
Genubath . . . ii. 150^a.
Genuzim . . . i. 113^a (Porter).
Geography of Palestine . . . . iii. 641^b, 647^a ff. (Conder).
Geology of Palestine . ii. 150^a (Hull); iii. 641^a (Conder).
Georgian Versions . iv. 861^a (Bebb).
Gephyrun (Ap.) . . ii. 156^a; Ext. 369^b (Buhl).
Ger . . . . ii. 156^a (Selbie).
Gera . . . . ii. 157^b, 130^{a,b}.
Gerah . . . . iii. 422^a (A. R. S. Kennedy).
Gerar . . . . ii. 157^b (Beecher).
Gerasa . . . . ii. 158^a (Warren).
Gerasenes . . . ii. 159^b (Warren).
Gergesenes . . . ii. 159^b [Gerasenes].
Gerizim . . . ii. 160^a (Mackie).
  Scene of Abraham's Sacrifice . . iii. 437^a (Driver).
  Temple on . . ii. 161^a; iv. 376^b (Wilson).
  Traditions of . . ii. 160^b.
German Versions . Ext. 411^a (Bebb).
Geron (Ap.) . . . ii. 161^a.
Gerrenians (Ap.) . . ii. 161^a.
Gershom . . . ii. 161^b, 124^a.
Gershon, Gershonites . ii. 161^b (Allen), 123^a (Curtis).
Gerson (Ap.) . . ii. 162^a.
Geruth-chimham . . ii. 162^a.
Geshan . . . ii. 162^a, 127^{a,b}.
Geshem . . . ii. 162^a.
Geshur, Geshurite . ii. 162^b (Stenning).
Gestures . . . ii. 162^b (Mackie).
Get, Getting . . ii. 163^b (Hastings).
Gether . . . . ii. 164^a.
Gethsemane . . ii. 164^a (Conder); iii. 618^b, 619^b (Warren).
Geuel . . . . ii. 164^b.
Gezer . . . . ii. 164^b (Sayce).
Ghor . . . . ii. 758^b ff. (Warren).
Ghost . . . . ii. 165^a (Hastings).
  Holy Ghost . . ii. 165^b. [See Holy Spirit].
Giah . . . . ii. 165^b (Selbie).
Giant . . . . ii. 166^a (Beecher).
Giants, Valley of . iv. 226^b [Rephaim].
Gibbar . . . ii. 168^a, 133^b.
Gibbethon . . . ii. 168^a.
Gibborim . . . i. 568^b (H. A. White). [See Bodyguard].

Gibea . . . . ii. 168^a, 127^b.
Gibeah . . . ii. 168^a (Stenning).
  in place-names . ii. 169^b.
Gibeath . . . ii. 170^a.
Gibeon . . . ii. 170^a (Stenning).
  Treaty with . . ii. 787^b (G. A. Smith); iv. 74^b (Baudissin).
Giblites . . . ii. 117^a [Gebal].
Giddalti . . . ii. 171^a, 124^b.
Giddel . . . ii. 171^a.
Gideon . . . ii. 171^a (Cooke), 808^a (Barnes).
Gideoni . . . ii. 172^b.
Gidom . . . . ii. 172^b.
Gier Eagle . . . ii. 172^b.
Gift . . . . ii. 172^b (Selbie).
Gifts (spiritual) . . i. 427^b f., 434^b f. (Gayford); iii. 726^b (Findlay).
Gihon (river) . . ii. 174^a (Sayce); i. 643^a ff.
Gihon (spring) . . ii. 174^a, 592^a (Conder).
Gilalai . . . ii. 174^a.
Gilboa . . . . ii. 174^a (Thatcher).
Gilead (person) . . ii. 174^b (Driver), 129^b, 131^b (Curtis).
Gilead (place) . . ii. 174^b (Merrill), 129^b (Curtis); iii. 232^a f. (Driver).
Gilead, Balm of . . i. 235^b (Post).
Gilead, Mount . . ii. 176^a (Driver).
Gileadites . . . ii. 176^a (Merrill).
Gilgal . . . . ii. 176^b (Bliss), 120^b (Driver); iii. 436^b (Bennett); iv. 892^b (Barnes); Ext. 616^a (Kautzsch).
Giloh . . . . ii. 177^b.
Gimel . . . . ii. 177^b.
Gimzo . . . . ii. 177^b.
Gin . . . . ii. 177^b (Hastings).
Ginath . . . ii. 178^a.
Ginnethoi, Ginnethon . ii. 178^a, 135^b.
Girding the Loins . i. 626^a (Mackie).
Girdle . . . . i. 626^a (Mackie).
Girgashite . . . ii. 178^a (I. A. Pinches).
Girra, Legend of . i. 222^a (Hommel).
Girru-Nusku . . Ext. 546^a (Jastrow).
Girzite . . . ii. 178^b (Stenning).
Gisdubar, Epic of . i. 215^b (Hommel).
Gishban . . . Ext. 533^b (Jastrow).
Gishpa . . . ii. 178^b.
Gittaim . . . ii. 178^b.
Gittites . . . [See Gath].
Gittith . . . iv. 154^a (Davison).
Give . . . . ii. 178^b (Hastings).
Gizonite . . . ii. 180^a.
Gizrite . . . ii. 178^b [Girzite].
Glass . . . . ii. 180^a (James Patrick).
Glass (mirror) . . ii. 181^a (Hastings).
Glass, Sea of . . iv. 425^b (Massie).
Gleaning . . . ii. 181^b.
Glede . . . . ii. 181^b.
Glister . . . ii. 181^b (Hastings).
Glorious . . . ii. 183^a.
Glory (in OT) . . ii. 183^a (Gray).
Glory of Jehovah (in OT) . . . ii. 184^a; iv. 488^b f. (Marshall); Ext. 639^b (Kautzsch).
Glory (NT) . . . ii. 186^a (Massie).
Gnat . . . . ii. 187^a.
Gnosticism . . . ii. 187^a (Headlam); i. 114^b (Porter).
  Characteristics . ii. 187^a.
  NT references . ii. 187^b.
  Teaching of Cerinthus . . . ii. 188^b.
    Relation to St. John ii. 188^a, 189^b, 717^a (Reynolds).
  in 2 Peter . . iii. 811^a f. (Chase).
  in Philippians . . iii. 843^b (Gibb).
  in 1 Timothy . . iv. 770^b f. (Lock).
Go . . . . . ii. 189^b.
Goad . . . . ii. 194^b.
Goah . . . . ii. 195^a.
Goat . . . . ii. 195^a (Post), 35^b, 36^b (Macalister).
  Hair . . . ii. 285^a (Ewing).
  in Anatolian Religion Ext. 115^a (Ramsay).
Gob . . . . ii. 196^a.
Goblet . . . ii. 196^a.
Gobryas . . . i. 553^b note (Curtis), 559^a (Pinches).
God (in OT) . . . ii. 196^a (Davidson).
  Anger . . . i. 97^b (Orr).
  Anthropomorphisms ii. 197^b, 206^b (Sanday); iv. 157^a (Davison); Ext. 627^b, 640^a, 679^a (Kautzsch).
  Attributes . . ii. 205^a; Ext. 681^b, 724^b (Kautzsch).
  Existence . . . ii. 196^a (Davidson).
  Faithfulness . . iv. 817^a ff. (Stanton).
  Foreknowledge . ii. 51^b (Stewart).
  Glory . . . ii. 184^a ff. (Gray); iv. 488^b (Marshall); Ext. 639^b (Kautzsch).
  Godhead, Distinctions in . . . ii. 205^a.
  Grace . . . ii. 255^a (Stewart).
  Holiness . . . ii. 396^b (Skinner), 491^a (Smith); Ext. 681^b ff. (Kautzsch).
  Husband . . . iii. 276^b (Paterson).
  Idea of God in pre-Mosaic Period . ii. 200^a; Ext. 613^a, 623^b (Kautzsch).
    from Exodus to Jehu . . . ii. 201^b, 202^a; Ext. 635^a (Kautzsch).
    Prophetic Period . ii. 201^b, 203^b; iv. 119^b; Ext. 678^b (Kautzsch).
    Post-Exilic . . ii. 202^a, 204^b; Ext. 709^b (Kautzsch).
      in Deutero-Isaiah Ext. 706^a (Kautzsch).
      in Ezekiel . . Ext. 701^b (Kautzsch).
      in Isaiah . . ii. 491^a, 496^a, 497^b (Smith).
      in Jeremiah . ii. 577^a (Davidson).
      in Psalter . . iv. 157^a (Davison); Ext 724^a (Kautzsch).

- God (in OT)—
  - Jealousy ii. 553^b (Banks); Ext. 685^a (Kautzsch).
  - Longsuffering iii. 136^a (Hastings).
  - Love iii. 153^b (Orr).
  - Mercy iii. 345^a (Bennett).
  - Names ii. 198^b; iv. 604^b (Whitehouse); Ext. 277^b, 280^a (Fairweather).
    - El ii. 198^b.
    - El Elyon ii. 198^b.
    - Elohim ii. 199^a.
    - El Shaddai ii. 199^a.
    - Holy One of Israel ii. 204^b, 398^a (Skinner); Ext. 683^a (Kautzsch).
    - I AM ii. 199^b.
    - Jah ii. 538^a (Driver).
    - Jehovah ii. 199^b; Ext. 280^a (Fairweather), 625^b (Kautzsch).
    - Jehovah of Hosts ii. 203^b; Ext. 636^b (Kautzsch).
    - Most High iii. 450^a (Driver).
    - Strength of Israel. iv. 624^b (Selbie).
  - Omnipotence Ext. 683^b (Kautzsch).
  - Omnipresence and Omniscience Ext. 684^a (Kautzsch).
  - Pity i. 462^b (Aglen).
  - Redeemer ii. 223^a (A. R. S. Kennedy); iv. 211^a (Adams Brown).
  - Righteousness iv. 278^b (Skinner); Ext. 683^a (Kautzsch).
  - Self-Revelation ii. 197^a; Ext. 323^a ff. (Garvie), 638^a ff. (Kautzsch).
- God, Doctrine in Apocryphal Period Ext. 276^b ff. (Fairweather), 308^a (Scott).
  - in Philo Ext. 202^a ff. (Drummond).
- God (NT) ii. 205^b (Sanday); Ext. 280^b (Fairweather).
  - Anger i. 98^b (Orr); iii. 719^a (Findlay); iv. 301^b (Robertson).
  - Attributes ii. 208^b ff.
  - Faithfulness iv. 818^b ff. (Stanton).
  - Fatherhood ii. 208^b; i. 720^a (Lock); ii. 334^b (Bruce), 618^b (Sanday); iii. 718^b (Findlay); Ext. 35^a (Votaw).
  - Forbearance ii. 47^a (Denney); iii. 136^a (Hastings).
  - Foreknowledge ii. 52^b ff. (Stewart).
  - Glory ii. 186^a (Massie); iv. 302^a (Robertson).
  - Godhead, Distinctions in ii. 213^a; iii. 793^b (Chase); Ext. 310^a ff. (Scott).
  - Grace ii. 255^b (Stewart); iii. 718^b (Findlay).
  - Holiness ii. 400^a ff. (Stevens).
  - Idea of God ii. 208^b; Ext. 280^b (Fairweather), 326^b (Garvie).
- God (NT)—
  - Johannine Doctrine ii. 690^b f. (Strong), 722^b f. (Reynolds), 729^b f., 731^b (Salmond).
  - Pauline ii. 210^b; iii. 718^b ff. (Findlay); iv. 301^b (Robertson).
  - Petrine iii. 793^b, 797^a (Chase).
  - in Contemporary Judaism ii. 205^b ff., 606^a.
    - Anthropomorphisms, Removal of. ii. 206^b; iv. 679^a (T. Walker).
    - Monism ii. 206^a.
    - Names ii. 206^a.
    - Particularist Limitations ii. 208^b.
    - Transcendence ii. 206^a ff.; iv. 487^b ff. (Marshall).
  - Love ii. 209^b; iii. 155^a (Orr).
  - Mercy iii. 345^b f. (Bennett).
  - Revelation through Christ ii. 212^a; Ext. 325^b (Garvie).
    - through Holy Spirit ii. 212^b.
  - Righteousness ii. 209^b ff.; iii. 718^b (Findlay); iv. 301^b (Robertson).
  - Sovereignty iii. 728^a (Findlay).
- God, Children, Sons of ii. 215^b (Candlish); i. 40^b ff.; ii. 335^a (Bruce), 472^b (A. Martin).
  - = Angels ii. 217^a; iv. 598^a (Selbie); Ext. 643^a (Kautzsch).
- God forbid ii. 47^b (Hastings).
- God, Unknown iv. 835^a (Headlam); i. 196^b (Conybeare).
- God, Witness of Conscience to i. 474^a (Kilpatrick).
- Godhead ii. 221^a (Hastings).
  - Distinctions in ii. 205^a (Davidson), 213^a (Sanday), 408^a f. (Swete); iii. 793^b (Chase); Ext. 310^a ff. (Scott).
- Godless ii. 221^b.
- Godliness ii. 221^b (Garvie).
- Godly ii. 222^a (Hastings).
- God, Son of [See Son of God].
- God, Sons of [See God, Children of].
- Gods as Angels i. 95^a (Davidson), 592^a (Whitehouse).
  - as Demons i. 812^a note, 591^b (Whitehouse); iv. 603^a (Whitehouse), 992^a (J. H. Moulton); Ext. 617^b (Kautzsch).
  - as Stars i. 592^a (Whitehouse); ii. 430^a (Driver).
  - of Assyria i. 177^b (Hommel); Ext. 536^b ff. (Jastrow).
  - of Babylonia i. 215^a (Hommel); Ext. 536^b ff. (Jastrow).

Gods—
  of Egypt . . . . Ext. 182^b (Wiedemann).
  of the Hellenic Pantheon . . . Ext. 138^b ff. (Ramsay).
Goel . . . . . ii. 222^b (A. R. S. Kennedy).
  God as . . . . ii. 223^a; iv. 211^a (Adams Brown).
Gog . . . . . ii. 224^b (Sayce), 122^b (Curtis); iii. 212^b; Ext. 80^a (Jastrow), 704^a (Kautzsch).
Goiim . . . . . ii. 224^b (Sayce), 149^a (Selbie).
Golan . . . . . ii. 224^b (Merrill).
Gold . . . . . ii. 225^a (Flinders Petrie); i. 134^b (Margoliouth); iii. 275^a (Hull).
Goldsmith . . . . ii. 225^b (Flinders Petrie).
Golgotha . . . . ii. 226^a (Warren).
Goliath . . . . ii. 227^a (Beecher); i. 562^a (H. A. White), 684^a (Stenning); iii. 18^a.
Gomer . . . . . ii. 227^b (Sayce); i. 187^a (Hommel); Ext. 80^a (Jastrow).
Gomer (wife of Hosea) ii. 421^a f. (Davidson); Ext. 175^a (König).
Gomorrah . . . ii. 227^b (Hull).
Good, Goods . . . ii. 228^a (Hastings).
Good, Chief . . . ii. 230^a (Ferries); i. 306^b (Adeney).
Goodly, Goodliness . ii. 230^b (Hastings).
Goodman . . . . ii. 231^b (Hastings).
Goodness . . . . [See Good, and Righteousness].
Gopher wood . . ii. 232^a; i. 214^b.
Gorget . . . . . ii. 232^a.
Gorgias (Ap.) . . . ii. 232^a (H. A. White).
Gortyna (Ap.) . . . ii. 232^b.
Goshen . . . . ii. 232^b (Griffith); iv. 188^b (Sayce).
Gospel . . . . . ii. 233^b (Massie).
Gospels (Canonical) . ii. 234^a (Stanton).
  Authorship . . . ii. 234^b.
  Date of Fourth Gospel . . . ii. 248^b.
    of Synoptics . . ii. 247^b.
  Evidence from Apostolic Age to 3rd century . . . iii. 531^a–541^b.
  Four Gospels, Evidence for . . . ii. 694^b ff. (Reynolds).
  Fourth Gospel in relation to Synoptics . . . ii. 243^a, 710^a–719^a (Reynolds).
    Aim . . . . ii. 247^b.
    Comparison as to Baptist's Work ii. 245^a, 715^a (Reynolds).
    Cleansing of Temple . . ii. 245^a.
    Feeding Five Thousand . ii. 245^b.
    Final Scenes . ii. 245^b, 711^b (Reynolds).

Gospels (Canonical)—
    Ministry and March of Events . . ii. 243^a, 710^b f. (Reynolds).
  Peculiar Doctrinal Character . . ii. 246^a, 716^a ff. (Reynolds).
  Teaching of Christ:
    on Conduct . ii. 247^a.
    Eschatology . ii. 246^b; i. 750^a ff. (Salmond).
    His Relation to the Father . ii. 246^b.
    Mosaic Law . ii. 246^b.
    Style of . . ii. 247^a, 718^b (Reynolds).
  Harmony of Gospels ii. 249^a.
  Synoptic Problem . ii. 235^b; Ext. 5^a ff. (Votaw).
    Features peculiar to Luke . . ii. 241^b; iii. 165^b (Bebb).
    to Mark . . ii. 241^b.
    Logia of Matthew ii. 235^a, 236^b, 237^{a,b}. [See Matthew].
    Relationship of Synoptics . . ii. 235^b, 241^a; iii. 250^a f., 258^b ff. (Salmond).
    Source common to all three . . ii. 238^a.
    Source common to Matthew and Luke . . . ii. 240^a; Ext. 6^a ff. (Votaw).
    Theories . . ii. 236^a–238^a.
      Common Documents . . ii. 236^a ff.
      Direct Dependence . . ii. 236^a, 238^a.
      Oral Tradition . ii. 236^b, 238^a ff., 240^a.
  Transmission . . Ext. 5^b ff. (Votaw).
Gospels, Apocryphal . Ext. 420^b (Tasker).
  Gospels which embody early tradition—
    Fayûm Gospel Fragment . . Ext. 428^b.
    Gospel according to Egyptians . Ext. 423^b.
    Gospel according to Peter . . Ext. 425^b.
  Gospels, Heretical—
    Gospel according to Basilides . Ext. 437^b.
    Gospel according to Matthias . Ext. 437^a.
    Gospel according to Philip . . Ext. 436^b.
    Gospel of the Twelve Apostles Ext. 435^a.
  Gospels of Infancy and Parentage of Christ—
    Arabic Gospel of Childhood . . Ext. 433^a.
    Arabic History of Joseph the Carpenter . . Ext. 433^b.

Gospels, Apocryphal—
  Departure of Mary . Ext. 434^a.
  Gospel according to Thomas . . Ext. 431^b.
  Protevangelium of James . . . Ext. 429^a.
  Gospel of pseudo-Matthew . Ext. 430^a.
  Gospel of Nativity of Mary Ext. 430^a.
  Definition . . . Ext. 420^b.
  Origin . . . Ext. 421^a.
  Reception and influence . . . . Ext. 422^a.
  Value . . . . Ext. 421^b.
Gothic Version . . iv. 861^b (Bebb).
Gotholias (Ap.) . . ii. 249^b.
Gothoniel (Ap.) . . ii. 249^b.
Gourd . . . . . ii. 250^a (Post).
  Jonah's . . . ii. 250^a, 28^b (Macalister).
  Wild . . . . ii. 250^a, 28^b (Macalister); iii. 8^b (Kennedy).
Governance . . . ii. 250^a.
Government . . . ii. 250^b (Thatcher).
  Forms . . . . ii. 250^a ff.
  Justice, Administration of . . . . ii. 252^a.
  Revenue . . . . ii. 252^a.
  Royal Household . ii. 251^b.
  Succession to Throne ii. 251^b.
Governor . . . . ii. 253^a (Adeney).
Gozan . . . . . ii. 253^b (Max Müller).
Grace . . . . . ii. 254^a (Stewart); iii. 718^b (Findlay).
Gracious . . . . ii. 257^a (Hastings).
Graff . . . . . ii. 257^b (Hastings).
Granary . . . . ii. 110^a [Garner].
Grapes . . . . . iv. 869^a (Post); ii. 31^b f. (Macalister).
  Wild . . . . iv. 869^b; i. 452^b.
Grass . . . . . ii. 258^a (Post).
Grasshopper . . . iii. 130^a (Post).
Grate, Grating . . ii. 258^b (A. R. S. Kennedy); iv. 658^a.
Grave (burial-place) . [See Sepulchre].
  (place of departed) . i. 740^b f. (Davidson); ii. 274^a ff., 343^b ff. (Salmond).
Grave (adj.) . . . ii. 259^a.
Grave (verb) . . . ii. 259^a.
Gravel . . . . . ii. 259^a.
Graven Image . . . ii. 451^b (Hastings); Ext. 641^b (Kautzsch).
Gray . . . . . ii. 259^b.
Great Bear . . . . i. 144^a (Burney), 191^b f. (Pinches).
Great Bible . . . . iv. 857^b (Milligan); Ext. 247^a (J. H. Lupton).
Great Sea . . . . ii. 259^b (Hull).
Great Synagogue . . iv. 643^b (Selbie).
Greaves . . . . ii. 260^b.
Grecians, Greeks . . ii. 260^b (Selbie).
Greece, Hellenism . ii. 260^b (Conybeare).
  Greeks and Philistines . . . . ii. 261^a.
Greece—
  Hellenism in Judæa . ii. 262^a.
  Jewish Colonists in Greece . . . ii. 261^a; Ext. 97^a (Schürer).
Greece, Religion of . Ext. 109^a (Ramsay).
  Anatolian and pre-Hellenic . . Ext. 109^b.
    Aniconic Religion and Image Worship . . . Ext. 121^a.
    Deification of the Dead . . . Ext. 113^b, 115^b, 125^a, 131^a f.
    Divine in Human form . . . Ext. 122^a.
    History and Chronology . . . Ext. 134^a ff.
    Influence on Society and Life Ext. 129^b.
      Brotherhoods and Guilds . Ext. 132^a.
      Burial . . Ext. 131^a.
      Government . Ext. 132^b.
      Hierodouloi . Ext. 130^a.
      Household Protégés . . Ext. 133^a.
      Marriage . . Ext. 129^b.
      Self-Mutilation . Ext. 131^a.
      Social Conditions . . Ext. 133^a.
      Women Guards . Ext. 130^b.
    Mother-goddess . Ext. 122^a ff.
    Ritual . . . Ext. 124^a.
      Mysteries, Anatolian . . Ext. 124^b ff.
        Greek and Phrygian . Ext. 126^a.
        Confession in . Ext. 127^b.
        Hieroi . . Ext. 129^a.
        Priests . . Ext. 128^a.
        Purification . Ext. 127^a.
    Sacred Animals . Ext. 114^a ff.
      Bee . . . Ext. 116^b.
      Bull . . . Ext. 115^a.
      Domestic Animals . . Ext. 117^a.
      Goat . . . Ext. 115^a.
      Horse . . Ext. 115^b.
      Lion . . . Ext. 118^a.
      Serpent . . Ext. 118^a.
      Sheep . . . Ext. 115^b.
      Swine . . Ext. 115^b ff.
    Sacred Places . Ext. 119^a ff.
      Caves . . . Ext. 119^b.
      Hieron . . Ext. 120^b f.
      Mountains . . Ext. 119^a.
      Springs and Lakes . . Ext. 120^a.
    Sacred Stones, Pillars, etc. . Ext. 110^b.
    Sacred Thrones . Ext. 112^a.
    Sacred Trees, Posts Ext. 113^a.
    Sacred Weapons . Ext. 112^b.
    Shrines . . . Ext. 121^b.
    Votive Images . Ext. 121^b.

- Greece—
  - Hellenic Religion . Ext. 135^{a}.
    - Early Greek Religion . Ext. 135^{a}.
    - Elements of Hellenic Religion . Ext. 136^{b}.
    - Greek Religion and Greek Law . Ext. 136^{a}.
    - Growth of Hellenic Religion . Ext. 137^{b}.
      - Conception of Piety . Ext. 142^{a}.
      - Daimones . Ext. 139^{b} ff.
      - Moralization of gods . Ext. 139^{b}.
      - Mythology, Growth of . Ext. 137^{b}.
      - Pantheon, Hellenic . Ext. 138^{b} ff.
      - Polytheism and Hellenic Unity Ext. 138^{a}.
      - Restrictions on Nature of gods Ext. 140^{b}.
      - State gods . Ext. 141^{a} f.
    - Olympian and Chthonian deities . Ext. 142^{b}.
    - Religion of Apollo and Delphic Oracle . Ext. 143^{b} (Farnell).
  - Later Development of Greek Religion . Ext. 147^{a}.
    - Decay and Death . Ext. 155^{a}.
    - Degradation . Ext. 151^{a}.
      - Deification of Living and Dead . Ext. 154^{a} f.
      - Foreign influence . Ext. 151^{a} ff.
      - Magic . Ext 53^{b}.
    - Græco-Asiatic Cities, Religion of . Ext. 154^{b}.
    - Religion in Literature and Philosophy . Ext. 147^{a}.
    - St. Paul and Greek Philosophy . Ext. 150^{a}.
- Greek Language . iii. 36^{a} (Thayer); Ext. 355^{b} (Kenyon).
- Greek Papyri . Ext. 353^{b} (Kenyon); iv. 950^{b} ff.
- Greek Patristic Commentaries on the Pauline Epistles . Ext. 484^{a} ff. (Turner).
  - Catenæ and Compilers of later period . Ext. 485^{a}.
    - Cramer . Ext. 487^{a}.
    - Euthymius Zigabenus . Ext. 486^{b}.
    - Karo and Lietzmann . Ext. 488^{a}.
    - Mai . Ext. 487^{b}.
- Greek Patristic Commentaries—Catenæ—
    - Nicetas of Serrae . Ext. 486^{b}.
    - Oecumenius . Ext. 485^{a}.
    - Theophylact . Ext. 486^{a}.
  - MS Material for Catenæ . Ext. 521^{b} ff.
  - Original bulk of Literature . Ext. 484^{a}.
  - Patristic Commentators on St. Paul . Ext. 489^{a} ff.
    - Alexander 'the ancient heretic' . Ext. 489^{b}.
    - Apollinaris of Laodicea . Ext. 500^{a}.
    - Asterius . Ext. 498^{b}.
    - Athanasius . Ext. 498^{b}.
    - Basil of Cæsarea . Ext. 498^{b}.
    - Chrysostom . Ext. 501^{b} ff.
    - Clement of Alexandria . Ext. 520^{a}.
    - Cyril of Alexandria Ext. 514^{b}.
    - Didymus the Blind Ext. 499^{a}.
    - Diodore of Tarsus . Ext. 500^{b}.
    - Dionysius of Alexandria . Ext. 496^{b}.
    - Eunomius the Anomæan . Ext. 500^{b}.
    - Eusebius of Cæsarea Ext. 497^{b}.
    - Eusebius of Emesa Ext. 498^{a}.
    - Gennadius of Constantinople . Ext. 517^{b}.
    - Gregory of Nazianzus . Ext. 498^{b}.
    - Gregory of Nyssa . Ext. 498^{b}.
    - Heraclitus . Ext. 489^{b}.
    - Isidore of Pelusium Ext. 512^{b}.
    - John of Damascus . Ext. 519^{a}.
    - Marcion . Ext. 489^{a}.
    - Origen . Ext. 490^{a} ff.
    - Photius of Constantinople . Ext. 519^{b}.
    - Pierius . Ext. 497^{b}.
    - Severianus of Gabala . Ext. 507^{a}.
    - Theodore of Heraclea . Ext. 497^{b}.
    - Theodore of Mopsuestia . Ext. 508^{a} ff.
    - Theodore the Monk . Ext. 519^{a}.
    - Theodoret of Cyrrhus . Ext. 516^{a}.
  - Patristic Editors of St. Paul . Ext. 524^{b} ff.
    - Evagrius and Euthalius . Ext. 524^{b} ff.
- Greek Philosophy . iii. 849^{b} (Kilpatrick); Ext. 147^{a} (Ramsay).
- Greek VSS . iv. 864^{b} (Redpath).
  - Aquila's VS . iv. 865^{a}.
  - Septuagint . iv. 437^{b} (Nestle).
  - Symmachus' VS . iv. 865^{b}.
  - Theodotion's VS . iv. 866^{a}.

Greek VSS (Modern) . Ext. 420^a (Bebb).
Greek Writing . iv. 950^b ff. (Kenyon).
Green . i. 457^a.
Greet, Greeting . ii. 263^b (Hastings).
Greyhound . ii. 263^b.
Grief . ii. 263^b (Hastings).
Grinder . ii. 265^b.
Grisled . ii. 265^b.
Gross . ii. 265^b.
Ground . ii. 266^a (Hastings).
Grove . ii. 266^b. [See Asherah, Tree (Sacred)].
Grudge . ii. 266^b (Hastings).
Guard . ii. 267^a (Barnes).
  Captain of the . i. 352^b (Burrows); iv. 33^b note (Purves).
  Prætorian . ii. 267^a; iv. 33^a (Purves).
Gudgodah . ii. 267^b.
Gudea . i. 225^a (Hommel); Ext. 541^a, 577^a (Jastrow).
Guess . ii. 267^b.
Guest . ii. 267^b (Mackie), 427^a (Ewing).
  Chamber . ii. 267^b, 427^b, 474^b (Ewing); iv. 674^a (Selbie).
Guilt . iv. 529^b (E. R. Bernard).
Guilt-offering . iv. 387^b (W. P. Paterson); Ext. 721^a (Kautzsch).
Guilty . ii. 268^a.
Gulf . ii. 268^a.
Guni . ii. 268^b, 131$^{b\ bis}$.
Gur . ii. 268^b.
Gur-baal . ii. 268^b; i. 135^b (Margoliouth).
Gutter . ii. 268^b, 388^a.

Ha . ii. 269^a.
Haahashtari . ii. 269^a, 128^a.
Habaiah . ii. 269, 134^a.
Habakkuk . ii. 269^a (Driver).
  Contents . ii. 269^a.
  Critical Questions . ii. 270^b.
  Date . ii. 270^a.
  Legends of . ii. 272^a.
  Name . ii. 269^a (note).
  Style and Text . ii. 272^a.
  Teaching . ii. 271^b.
Habazziniah . ii. 273^a.
Habergeon . ii. 273^a.
Ḥabiri (Khabiri) . i. 228^a (Hommel); ii. 326^b (Williams).
Habor . ii. 273 (T. A. Pinches).
Hacaliah . ii. 273^a.
Hachilah . ii. 273^a.
Hachmoni, Hachmonite ii. 273^b.
Hadad . ii. 273^b (Sayce).
Hadadezer . ii. 273^b (Sayce); i. 272^a.
Hadadrimmon . ii. 274^a (Price).
Hadar . ii. 273^b [Hadad].
Hadarezer . ii. 273^b (Sayce).
Hadashah . ii. 274^a.
Hadassah . ii. 274^a.
Hades . ii. 274^a (Salmond); i. 216^a (Hommel), 742^b, 745^a (Charles), 752^b, 754^a.
Hadid . ii. 276^a.
Hadlai . ii. 276^a, 133^a.
Hadoram . ii. 276^a.
Hadrach . ii. 276^b (Beecher).
Haft . ii. 276^b.
Hagab . ii. 276^b.
Hagaba . ii. 277^a.
Hagabah . ii. 277^a.
Hagar . ii. 277^a (Ryle).
  Jewish Traditions . ii. 278^b.
  References by St. Paul and Philo . ii. 278^a.
  Sources of Narrative ii. 278^a.
Hagarenes . ii. 281^b (Macpherson), 278^b (Ryle).
Haggada . iii. 600^b (Curtis); Ext. 58^a ff. (Schechter).
Haggai (Book) . ii. 279^a (Cooke).
Haggai (Prophet) . ii. 281^a (Cooke).
Haggi, Haggites . ii. 281^a, 131^b.
Haggiah . ii. 281^b, 125^a.
Haggith . ii. 281^b, 126^b.
Hagiographa . iii. 597^b (Curtis).
  and Apocrypha . i. 116^b (Porter).
Hagri . ii. 281^b, 132^b.
Hagrite, Hagrites . ii. 281^b (Macpherson).
Hahiroth . iii. 875^a (Selbie).
Hail (interjection) . ii. 282^a (Hastings).
  All hail . i. 63^b.
Hail . ii. 282^a (Macalister).
  Plague . iii. 891^a (Macalister).
Hair . ii. 283^a (Ewing).
  Camels' Hair . i. 345^b (Mackie); ii. 285^a (Ewing).
  Cutting and shaving the Hair . ii. 284^a f.; i. 235^a (Macalister), 246^b (Carslaw); iv. 478^a (Carslaw); Ext. 614^b (Kautzsch).
  Goats' Hair . ii. 285^a.
  Magical use . ii. 284^b.
  Plucking off . i. 525^b (Poucher).
Hajehudijah . ii. 285^a.
Hakkatan . ii. 285^a, 134^b.
Hakkoz . ii. 285^a, 123^b, 128^b.
Hakupha . ii. 285^a, 134^a.
Halacha . iii. 600^a (Curtis); Ext. 58^a ff. (Schechter).
Halah . ii. 285^b (Max Müller).
Halak . ii. 285^b (Hull).
Hale . ii. 286^a.
Halhul . ii. 286^a (Warren).
Hali . ii. 286^b.
Halicarnassus (Ap.) . ii. 286^b (Ramsay).
Hall . ii. 287^a.
Hallel . ii. 287^a (Davison).
Hallelujah . ii. 287^a (Woods).
Hallohesh . ii. 287^b, 134^b.
Hallow . ii. 287^b (Hastings).
Halt . ii. 288^a (Hastings).
Ham (son of Noah) . ii. 288^b (Margoliouth); Ext. 81^a (Jastrow).
  substituted for Canaan . ii. 288^b; Ext. 81^a (Jastrow).
Ham (Gn 14^5) . ii. 289^a (Selbie).

- Ham, Land of . . ii. 289^b (Griffith).
- Haman . . . ii. 289^b (H. A. White).
- Hamath . . . ii. 289^b (I. A. Pinches); i. 184^b, 187^b (Hommel).
- Hamathite . . . ii. 290^b.
- Hamath-zobah . . ii. 290^b.
- Hammath (person) . ii. 290^b.
- Hammath (place). . ii. 290^b; iv. 759^b.
- Hammeah, Tower of . ii. 290^b.
- Hammedatha . . ii. 291^a.
- Hammelech . . . ii. 291^a.
- Hammer . . . ii. 291^a (Carslaw).
- Hammiphkad . . iii. 379^a (Warren).
- Hammolecheth . . ii. 291^b, 129^b; iv. 180^b.
- Hammon . . . ii. 291^b.
- Hammoth-dor . . ii. 292^a.
- Hammuel . . . ii. 292^a, 122^b.
- Ḫammurabi (Khammurabi) . . . i. 88^b (Ryle), 226^{b}f. (Hommel); Ext. 534^a (Jastrow), 585^b (Johns).
- Ḫammurabi, Code of . Ext. 584^a (Johns), 358^b (Bennett), 582^b (Jastrow).
  - Characteristic Features—
    - Agriculture . . Ext. 591^b.
    - Class Legislation . Ext. 590^a.
    - Justice . . . Ext. 594^b.
    - Marriage and Family Life . Ext. 598^a.
    - Shipping, Trade, Commerce . . Ext. 593^a.
    - Social Grades . Ext. 588^b.
    - Temple . . . Ext. 594^b.
  - Code *in extenso* . Ext. 599^b.
  - Comparison with Hebrew Legislation . . . Ext. 608^a, 665^a (Kautzsch).
  - Discovery . . Ext. 584^a.
  - Importance . . Ext. 585^a.
  - Literature on . . Ext. 584^b.
- Hamonah . . . ii. 292^a.
- Hamon-gog . . . ii. 292^a.
- Hamor . . . . ii. 292^a (Ryle).
- Hamran . . . ii. 292^b.
- Hamul . . . . ii. 292^b, 126^a.
- Hamutal . . . ii. 292^b, 127^a.
- Hanamel . . . ii. 292^b.
- Hanan . . . . ii. 292^b, 131^a, 132^b.
- Hananel . . . ii. 293^a.
- Hanani . . . ii. 293^a, 124^b.
- Hananiah . . . ii. 293$^{a,\,b}$ (N. J. D. White, H. A. White), 124^b, 127^a, 131^a (Curtis).
- Hand . . . . ii. 293^b (Hastings), 296^a (Aglen).
  - Fill the hand . . i. 475^b note (Hastings); ii. 296^b (Aglen); iv. 70^b (Baudissin).
- Handbreadth . . iv. 909^a (A. R. S. Kennedy).
- Handkerchief . . i. 627^a (Mackie); iii. 487^b (Selbie).
- Handle . . . ii. 296^b (Hastings).
- Hands, Laying on of . iii. 84^b (Swete); Ext. 720^b (Kautzsch).
- Handsomely . . ii. 297^a (Hastings).
- Handstaves . . . ii. 297^b.
- Handweapon . . ii. 294^a.
- Handwriting . . [See Writing].
- Hanes . . . . ii. 297^b (Griffith); iv. 674^b.
- Hanging . . . ii. 298^a (Selbie); i. 525^a (Poucher).
- Hanging, Hangings . ii. 299^a (Kennedy).
- Hannah . . . ii. 299^a (Milligan).
  - Song of . . . iv. 385^a (Stenning).
- Hannathon . . . ii. 299^b.
- Hanniel . . . ii. 299^b, 132^a.
- Hanoch . . . ii. 299^b, 122^b.
- Hanun . . . . ii. 299^b.
- Hap, Haply . . . ii. 299^b.
- Haphraim . . . ii. 299^b.
- Haphtaroth . . . i. 288^a (Stewart); iv. 950^a (Kenyon).
- Happen . . . ii. 300^a.
- Happiness . . . ii. 300^a (Massie).
- Happizzez . . . ii. 300^b, 123^b.
- Hara . . . . ii. 301^a (Max Müller).
- Haradah . . . ii. 301^a.
- Haran (person) . . ii. 301^a, 123^a, 127^b.
- Haran (place) . . ii. 301^a (I. A. Pinches).
- Hararite . . . ii. 301^b.
- Harbona, Harbonah . ii. 302^a.
- Harbour . . . ii. 311^a (Hull); iv. 806^a (Bennett).
- Hard, Hardiness, Hardly, Hardness . . . ii. 302^a (Hastings).
- Hardening . . . ii. 302^b (Banks).
- Hare . . . . ii. 303^b (Post); iv. 829^b (Peake).
- Hareph . . . ii. 303^b, 127^b.
- Harhaiah . . . ii. 303^b.
- Harhas . . . ii. 303^b.
- Harhur . . . ii. 303^b, 134^a.
- Harim . . . . ii. 303^b, 123^b.
- Hariph . . . ii. 303^b, 133^b.
- Harlot . . . . ii. 304^a (W. P. Paterson).
- Har-magedon . . ii. 304^b (Nestle).
- Harnepher . . . ii. 305^b, 132^a.
- Harness . . . ii. 305^b (Hastings, Barnes).
- Harod . . . . ii. 305^b (Selbie), 132^b (Curtis).
- Harodite . . . ii. 306^a, 132^b.
- Haroeh . . . ii. 306^a, 127^b.
- Harorite . . . ii. 306^a.
- Harosheth . . . ii. 306^a (Selbie).
- Harp . . . . iii. 458^a ff. (Millar).
- Harrow . . . ii. 306^a (A. R. S. Kennedy).
- Harsha . . . ii. 306^b, 134^a.
- Harsith . . . ii. 306^b, 593^b.
- Hart . . . . ii. 306^b (Post)
- Harum . . . . ii. 307^a, 128^b.
- Harumaph . . . ii. 307^a.
- Haruphite . . . ii. 303^b [Hariph].
- Haruz . . . . ii. 307^a, 127^a.

- Harvest . . . i. 49^{b} (J. W. Paterson).
  - Feast of . . . iii. 740^{a} (Purves); Ext. 662^{a} (Kautzsch).
  - Vintage . . . iv. 869^{a} (Post); Ext. 662^{a} (Kautzsch).
- Hasadiah . . . ii. 307^{a}, 127^{a}.
- Hashabiah . . . ii. 307^{a}, 123^{a}, 125$^{a\ ter}$.
- Hashabnah . . . ii. 307^{a}.
- Hashabneiah . . . ii. 307^{a}, 135^{b}.
- Hashbaddanah . . . ii. 307^{a}.
- Hashem . . . ii. 180^{a} [Gizonite], 132^{b}, 551^{b}.
- Hashmonah . . . ii. 307^{b}.
- Hashubah . . . ii. 307^{b}, 127^{a}.
- Hashum . . . ii. 307^{b}, 133^{a}, 135^{b}.
- Hasidæans . . . ii. 307^{b} (Moss); iii. 822^{b} (Eaton).
- Hasmonæan . . . ii. 307^{b} (Moss); iii. 185^{b} (Fairweather).
- Hasrah . . . ii. 303^{b} [Harhas].
- Hassenaah . . . ii. 308^{a}.
- Hassenuah . . . ii. 308^{a}, 131^{b}.
- Hasshub . . . ii. 308^{a}.
- Haste . . . ii. 308^{a}.
- Hasupha . . . ii. 308^{a}, 134^{a}.
- Hat . . . ii. 308^{a}.
- Ḥatasu . . . [See Ḥatsepsu].
- Hathach . . . ii. 308^{a}.
- Hathath . . . ii. 308^{a}, 128^{b}.
- Hathor . . . Ext. 186^{a} (Wiedemann).
- Hatipha . . . ii. 308^{b}, 134^{a}.
- Hatita . . . ii. 308^{b}.
- Hatred . . . ii. 308^{b} (Bethune-Baker).
- Ḥatsepsu (Ḥatasu) . i. 660^{b} (Crum).
  - Expedition to Punt . Ext. 361^{a}, 363^{b} (Blomfield).
- Hattil . . . ii. 309^{a}, 134^{a}.
- Hattush . . . ii. 309^{a}, 127^{a}.
- Haunt . . . ii. 309^{a}.
- Hauran (Ap.) (person) ii. 309^{a}.
- Hauran (place) . . ii. 309^{b} (Ewing).
- Have . . . ii. 310^{b} (Hastings).
- Haven . . . ii. 311^{a} (Hull).
- Havilah . . . ii. 311^{b} (Sayce); i. 135^{a}, 643^{b} (Margoliouth); ii. 469^{a} (H. A. White); Ext. 74^{b} (Jastrow), 85^{b} (McCurdy).
- Havvoth-jair . . ii. 312^{a} (Selbie).
- Hawk . . . ii. 312^{a} (Post).
- Hay . . . ii. 312^{b} (Post).
- Hazael . . . ii. 312^{b} (Burney).
- Hazaiah . . . ii. 313^{a}, 126^{a}.
- Hazar-addar . . ii. 313^{a}.
- Hazar-enan . . . ii. 313^{a}, 314^{a}.
- Hazar-gaddah . . ii. 313^{b}.
- Hazar-maveth . . ii. 313^{b}.
- Hazar-shual . . . ii. 313^{b}.
- Hazar-susah, Hazar-susim . . . ii. 313^{b}.
- Hazazon-tamar . . ii. 313^{b} (Welch).
- Hazel . . . ii. 313^{b}.
- Hazer-hatticon . . ii. 314^{a}.
- Hazerim . . . ii. 314^{a} (Driver).
- Hazeroth . . . ii. 314^{a} (Driver); i. 791^{a} (Margoliouth).
- Haziel . . . ii. 314^{b}, 123^{a}.
- Hazo . . . ii. 314^{b}.
- Hazor . . . ii. 314^{b} (Conder).
- Hazor-hadattah . . ii. 315^{a}.
- Hazzelelponi . . ii. 315^{a}, 128^{a}.
- He (ה) . . . ii. 315^{a}.
- He . . . ii. 315^{a} (Hastings).
- Head . . . ii. 316^{a} (Selbie).
- Headband . . . i. 626^{b} (Mackie).
- Headstone . . . ii. 317^{a}.
- Headtire . . . i. 626^{b}, 627^{b} (Mackie).
- Heady . . . ii. 317^{a}.
- Health . . . ii. 317^{b} (Hastings); iii. 321^{a} (Macalister).
- Heart . . . ii. 317^{b} (Laidlaw); iii. 326^{a} (Macalister); iv. 168^{a}; Ext. 666^{b} (Kautzsch).
- Hearth . . . ii. 318^{b} (A. R. S. Kennedy); iv. 710^{a} (Davies).
- Heath . . . ii. 319^{a}.
- Heathen . . . ii. 319^{a} (Ferries).
- Heaven . . . ii. 320^{a} (Salmond).
  - Plurality of heavens ii. 321^{b}; i. 506^{b} (Whitehouse), 711^{a} (Charles); ii. 501^{a} (Armitage Robinson).
  - in OT . . . ii. 320^{b}.
  - in Apocrypha and Apocalyptic . . ii. 322^{a} ff.; Ext. 305^{a} (Fairweather).
  - in NT . . . ii. 321^{a}, 323^{a} f.
  - in Theology . . ii. 323^{b}.
- Heaven = God . . ii. 321^{b} (Salmond), 849^{b} (Orr).
- Heaven, Host of . . ii. 429^{b} (Driver); i. 95^{b} (Davidson); iii. 138^{a}; Ext. 636^{b} ff. (Kautzsch).
- Heave-offering . . iv. 338^{a} (W. P. Paterson); i. 317^{b} (Macalister); iii. 588^{a} (Driver).
- Heaviness, Heavy, Heavily . . . ii. 324^{a} (Hastings).
- Heber . . . ii. 325^{a} (Moss), 129^{a}, 131$^{a,\,b}$.
- Hebrew . . . ii. 325^{a} (Lukyn Williams).
  - Meaning . . . ii. 325^{b} f.
  - on Monuments and in Inscriptions . ii. 326^{b}.
- Hebrew Alphabet . i. 70^{b} ff., 74^{a} (I. Taylor).
- Hebrew Language . [See Language of OT, Text of OT].
- Hebrew Race . . Ext. 72^{b} ff. (Jastrow), 87^{a} (McCurdy).
  - Subdivisions of Jacob and Esau . . Ext. 74^{a}, 75^{a} f. (Jastrow).
- Hebrew Writing . . iv. 948^{a} ff. (Kenyon).
- Hebrewess . . . ii. 327^{a}.
- Hebrews, Epistle to the ii. 327^{a} (Bruce).
  - Aim and Central Idea . . . ii. 327^{a}.
  - Author . . . ii. 336^{b}, 338^{a}.
  - Canonicity . . iii. 540^{a}, 541^{b} (Stanton).
  - Contrast between Christianity and Leviticalism . ii. 327^{b}.
  - Date . . . ii. 337^{b}.

- Hebrews, Epistle to the—
  - Eschatology . . . i. 755^{a} (Salmond).
  - Quotations . . . iv. 187^{a} (Woods).
  - Readers, Jew or Gentile? . . . ii. 337^{a}.
    - Location of . . . ii. 337^{a}.
  - Relation to Philo . ii. 335^{a}; i. 65^{b} (Massie).
    - to St. Paul . . ii. 335^{b}.
  - Style . . . ii. 335^{b} f.; i. 65^{b} f. (Massie); iii. 42^{a} (Thayer).
  - Theology . . . ii. 328^{b}.
    - Christology . . ii. 329^{a} ff.
      - Earthly Life of Christ . . ii. 330^{a}.
      - Humiliation . ii. 330^{a}.
      - Incarnation . ii. 330^{a}.
      - Priesthood . ii. 331^{a}.
        - in Heaven . ii. 333^{b}.
    - Faith . . . ii. 334^{b}; i. 835^{b} (Warfield).
    - Fatherhood of God ii. 334^{b}.
    - Law . . . iii. 81^{b} (Denney).
    - Mediation . . iii. 319^{a} (Adeney).
    - Redemption . . ii. 333^{a}.
    - Regeneration . iv. 218^{a}, 221^{a} (Bartlet).
    - Salvation . . ii. 334^{a}.
    - Sanctification . ii. 334^{a}; iv. 393^{b} (Bartlet).
    - Sonship of Believers ii. 219^{a} (Candlish).
- Hebrews, Gospel according to the . . Ext. 338^{b} (Menzies).
  - Evidence, Patristic and other . . Ext. 339^{a}.
  - Extant Fragments . Ext. 341^{a}, 345^{a} ff. (Ropes).
  - Theories of Origin and Character . Ext. 342^{b}.
- Hebron (person) . . ii. 338^{a}, 123^{a}, 124^{b}, 127$^{a,\,b}$.
- Hebron (place) . . ii. 338^{b} (Warren); iii. 198^{a} ff.
- Hedge . . . . ii. 340^{a}.
- Heed . . . . ii. 340^{a}.
- Hegai, Hege . . . ii. 340^{b}.
- Hegemonides (Ap.) . ii. 340^{b}.
- Heifer . . . . ii. 340^{b} (Selbie); iii. 638^{a} (Post).
- Heifer, Red . . . iv. 207^{b} (A. R. S. Kennedy).
- Heir . . . . ii. 341^{a} (Bennett).
  - Daughters, Inheritance of . . . ii. 341^{b}.
  - Firstborn, Right of . ii. 341^{a}.
  - Junior Right . . ii. 341^{b}.
  - [See Inheritance].
- Helah . . . . ii. 342^{b}, 128^{a}.
- Helam . . . . ii. 342^{b}.
- Helbah . . . . ii. 342^{b}.
- Helbon . . . . ii. 342^{b}.
- Heldai . . . . ii. 342^{b}.
- Heleb . . . . ii. 342^{b} [Heldai]; i. 73^{b}; ii. 132^{a}.
- Heled . . . . ii. 342^{b} [Heldai]; i. 73^{b}; ii. 132^{a}.
- Helek . . . . ii. 343^{a}, 129^{b}.
- Helem . . . . ii. 343^{a}, 132^{a}.
- Heleph . . . . ii. 343^{a}.
- Helez . . . . ii. 343^{a}, 126^{a}, 132^{a}.
- Heli . . . . ii. 343^{a}, 138^{b}.
- Heliodorus (Ap.) . . ii. 343^{a} (H. A. White).
- Helkai . . . . ii. 343^{b}.
- Helkath . . . . ii. 343^{b}.
- Helkath-hazzurim . ii. 343^{b}.
- Helkias (Ap.) . . ii. 343^{b}.
- Hell . . . . ii. 343^{b} (Salmond); i. 752^{b} f. [See Gehenna, and Sheol].
- Hellenism . . . ii. 262^{a} (Conybeare); iii. 822$^{a,\,b}$ (Eaton).
- Helm . . . . ii. 346^{b}.
- Helmet . . . . ii. 347^{a} (Barnes).
- Helon . . . . ii. 347^{a}.
- Help . . . . ii. 347^{a}.
- Helps . . . . ii. 347^{b} (Bartlet).
- Helps (nautical) . . Ext. 367^{a} (Blomfield).
- Helve . . . . ii. 348^{a}.
- Hem . . . . i. 627^{a} (Mackie); ii. 69^{a} (A. R. S. Kennedy).
- Hemam . . . . ii. 348^{b}.
- Heman . . . . ii. 348^{b} (N. J. D. White), 124$^{a,\,b}$, 129^{a} (Curtis).
- Hemdan . . . . ii. 292^{b} [Hamran].
- Hemlock . . . . ii. 348^{b}.
- Hen . . . . i. 452^{b}.
- Hen (person) . . . ii. 349^{a}.
- Hena . . . . ii. 349^{a}.
- Henadad . . . . ii. 349^{a}, 135^{b}.
- Hendiadys . . . Ext. 157^{a} (König).
- Henna . . . . i. 346^{a} (Post).
- Hepher (person) . . ii. 349^{a}, 128^{a}, 129^{b}, 132^{b}.
- Hepher (place) . . ii. 349^{a}.
- Hephzi-bah . . . ii. 349^{a}, 127^{a}.
- Heracleon . . . ii. 697^{a} (Reynolds).
- Heraclitus . . . Ext. 489^{b} (Turner).
- Herald . . . . ii. 349^{a}.
- Herb . . . . [See Grass].
- Herbs, Bitter . . . i. 304^{a} (Post); ii. 29^{b} (Macalister); iii. 687^{a}, 691^{b} (W. J. Moulton).
- Hercules (Ap.) . . ii. 349^{b} (Prichard).
- Herd . . . . ii. 349^{b}.
- Hereafter . . . ii. 350^{a} (Hastings).
- Hereby . . . . ii. 350^{b}.
- Heredity . . . ii. 349^{b} (J. H. Bernard). [See Sin].
- Herein . . . . ii. 350^{b}.
- Hereof . . . . ii. 350^{b}.
- Heres . . . . ii. 351^{a} (Selbie).
- Heresh . . . . ii. 351^{a}, 136^{a}.
- Heresy . . . . ii. 351^{a} (Bartlet).
- Hereth . . . . ii. 351^{b}.
- Heretofore . . . ii. 350^{b}.
- Hereunto, Herewith . ii. 351^{a}.
- Herhor . . . . i. 662^{b} (Crum).
- Heritage . . . ii. 351^{b}. [See Heir, Inheritance].
- Hermai . . . . Ext. 111^{a} ff. (Ramsay).
- Hermas . . . . ii. 352^{a} (Headlam), 700^{b} (Reynolds); iii. 533^{a} (Stanton).
- Hermes . . . . ii. 352^{a}.
- Hermogenes . . . ii. 352^{a} (Muir).
- Hermon, Hermonites . ii. 352^{b} (Conder).

- Herod, Dynasty of . ii. 353^{a} (Headlam).
  - Dynasty, Character of . . . ii. 361^{b}.
    - Chronology . . ii. 355^{a}; i. 403^{b}, 416^{a}, 417^{b} (Turner).
    - Genealogical Tables ii. 354.
    - Index . . . ii. 353^{a}.
    - Origin . . . ii. 355^{a}.
  - Members—
    - Agrippa I. . . ii. 359^{a}; i. 416^{a} (Turner); iii. 330^{b} (Macalister).
    - Agrippa II. . . ii. 360^{a}; i. 417^{b} (Turner).
    - Archelaus . . ii. 358^{a}.
    - Bernice . . . ii. 360^{b}.
    - Drusilla . . ii. 361^{a}.
    - Herod the Great . ii. 356^{a}; i. 403^{a} (Turner).
    - Herod Antipas . ii. 358^{a}.
    - Herod Philip . ii. 359^{a}.
    - Herodias . . ii. 360^{b}.
    - Philip . . . ii. 358^{b}.
    - Salome . . . ii. 360^{b}.
- Herodians . . . ii. 362^{a} (Eaton).
- Herodias . . . ii. 353^{b}, 360^{b}.
- Herodion . . . ii. 362^{a}; i. 148^{b}.
- Heron . . . . ii. 362^{a}.
- Heshbon . . . ii. 362^{b} (Chapman).
- Heshmon . . . ii. 362^{b}.
- Hesychius . . . iv. 445^{b}.
- Heth (letter) . . i. 73^{a}, 380^{b}.
- Heth . . . . ii. 363^{a} (Selbie).
- Hethlon . . . ii. 363^{a} (Hommel).
- Hewer of Wood . . ii. 363^{a}.
- Hexapla, Origen's . iv. 442^{b} ff. (Nestle), 864^{b} f. (Redpath).
- Hexateuch . . . ii. 363^{a} (Woods).
  - Composite Character ii. 363^{b}.
  - Composition, Method of . . . . ii. 364^{b}.
  - Historical Value . ii. 375^{b}.
  - Sources, Characteristics of . . ii. 366^{b} ff.
    - D, Characteristics and Language ii. 367^{a}.
      - Date and Origin ii. 368^{a}.
      - Extent . . ii. 367^{b}.
    - JE . . . ii. 371^{a}.
      - Characteristics . ii. 372^{a}.
      - Date and Origin ii. 373^{a}.
      - Language . . ii. 373^{a}.
    - P, Characteristics . ii. 368^{b}.
      - Date and Origin ii. 370^{b}.
      - Extent . . ii. 369^{b}.
      - Language . . ii. 369^{a}.
    - Distinctions within Sources . . ii. 373^{b}.
    - Revisions, Editorial ii. 375^{a}.
  - Summary of Results . ii. 375^{a}.
- Hezekiah . . . ii. 376^{a}, 126^{b}, 127^{a}.
- Hezekiah (king) . . ii. 376^{a} (M'Clymont).
  - Aqueduct . . ii. 377^{a}, 592^{b}, 597^{a} (Conder); iv. 515^{b} ff. (Wilson).
  - Chronology of Reign ii. 376^{a}; i. 402^{a} (Curtis).
  - in Assyrian Inscription . . . i. 188^{b} (Hommel).
- Hezekiah (king)—
  - Reformation . . ii. 376^{b}, 382^{b} (Allen), 447^{a}, 448^{a} (W. P. Paterson), 492^{a} (G. A. Smith); Ext. 699^{a} (Kautzsch).
- Hezion . . . . ii. 379^{a} (Burney).
- Hezir . . . . ii. 397^{a}, 123^{b}.
- Hezro, Hezrai . . ii. 379^{a}, 132^{b}.
- Hezron (person) . . ii. 379^{a}, 122^{b}, 126^{a}, 129^{b}.
- Hezron (place) . . ii. 379^{b}.
- Hiddai . . . . ii. 379^{b}, 132^{a}.
- Hiddekel . . . ii. 379^{b} (Sayce).
- Hiel . . . . ii. 379^{b} (Burney).
- Hierapolis . . . ii. 379^{b} (Ramsay).
  - Inscriptions . . Ext. 94^{a} (Schürer).
- Hiereel (Ap.) . . ii. 380^{b}.
- Hieremoth (Ap.) . . ii. 380^{b}.
- Hiermas (Ap.) . . ii. 380^{b}.
- Hierodouloi . . . Ext. 130^{a} (Ramsay), 662^{b}, 690^{b} (Kautzsch).
- Hieroglyphic Script . i. 70^{a} (I. Taylor), 656^{a} (Crum).
- Hieronymus (Ap.) . ii. 380^{b}.
- Higgaion . . . iv. 154^{a} (Davison).
- High, Highminded . ii. 380^{b} (Hastings).
- High Place . . . ii. 381^{b} (Allen); iv. 395^{a} ff. (A. R. S. Kennedy); Ext. 119^{a} (Ramsay), 189^{a} (Wiedemann), 661^{a} (Kautzsch).
- High Priest . . . iv. 73^{b}, 79$^{a.\,b}$, 81^{a}, 83^{b} f., 86^{b}, 90^{b}, 92^{a}, 96$^{a.\,b}$ (Baudissin); Ext. 705^{a} (Kautzsch). [See Priest].
  - Breastplate . . i. 319^{a} (A. R. S. Kennedy); iv. 619^{b} (Flinders Petrie).
  - Functions . . . iv. 84^{a}, 96$^{a.\,b}$; i. 202^{b} (Driver and White).
  - Vestments . . iv. 84^{a}, 90^{b} (Baudissin).
- Hilen . . . . ii. 402^{a} [Holon].
- Hilkiah . . . ii. 383^{b} (Burney), 123$^{a.\,b}$, 125$^{a\ bis}$, 125^{b} (Curtis); iv. 76^{b} (Baudissin); Ext. 700^{b} (Kautzsch).
- Hill, Hill-country . ii. 383^{b} (Driver).
- Hillel . . . . ii. 384^{b}.
- Hillel (Rabbi) . . Ext. 59^{a} (Schechter).
- Hin . . . . iv. 910^{b} ff. (A. R. S. Kennedy).
- Hind . . . . ii. 307^{a}.
- Hinge . . . . ii. 384^{b} (Carslaw), 435^{a} (Warren).
- Hinnom, Valley of . ii. 385^{a} (Warren), 119^{a} f. (Charles), 344^{b} (Salmond).
- Hip . . . . ii. 388^{b}.
- Hippopotamus . . i. 266^{b} (Post).
- Hirah . . . . ii. 388^{b}.
- Hiram . . . . ii. 388^{b} (Stenning).
  - Tomb of . . . iv. 457^{b} (Nicol).
- Hire, Hireling . . ii. 390^{a} (Hastings).
- His . . . . ii. 390^{a}.
- Hitherto . . . ii. 390^{b}.

Hittites . . . ii. 390^b (Sayce); i. 226^a, 227^a (Hommel); Ext. 78^a (Jastrow).
  Inscriptions and Monuments . . ii. 392$^{a, b}$.
Hivites . . . ii. 392^b (Driver).
Hizki . . . ii. 393^a, 131^a.
Hizkiah . . . ii. 393^b, 127^a.
Hizonim . . . i. 113^a (Porter).
Ho . . . ii. 393^b.
Hobab . . . ii. 393^b (N. J. D. White), 654^a (Selbie).
Hobah . . . ii. 393^b.
Hobaiah . . . ii. 269^a [Habaiah].
Hod . . . ii. 393^b, 132^a.
Hodaviah . . . ii. 394^a, 127^a, 130^a, 131^b.
Hodesh . . . ii. 394^a, 131^a.
Hodevah . . . ii. 394^a.
Hodiah . . . ii. 394^a, 129^a.
Hoglah . . . ii. 394^a, 129^b.
Hoham . . . ii. 394^a.
Hoise . . . ii. 394^a.
Hold . . . ii. 394^a (Hastings).
Holiness (OT) . . ii. 394^b (Skinner); Ext. 681^b (Kautzsch).
  Ethical . . . ii. 397^b.
  Idea of . . . ii. 395^a; iv. 826^b f. (Peake); Ext. 621^a (Kautzsch).
  Holy Spirit . . ii. 398^a, 403^b (Swete).
  Legal . . . ii. 397^b; Ext. 704^b (Kautzsch).
  of God and Angels . ii. 396^b.
  of Men . . . ii. 398^a.
  of Places, Seasons, Things . . . ii. 395^b; Ext. 717^a ff. (Kautzsch).
  Transmissible . . ii. 395^a; iv. 826^b (Peake); Ext. 621^a (Kautzsch).
Holiness (NT) . . ii. 399^a (Stevens).
  of Christ . . . ii. 400^b.
  of God . . . ii. 400^a.
  of Men . . . ii. 400^b; iv. 391^b (Bartlet).
  Holy Spirit . . ii. 400^a. [See Holy Spirit].
  Terminology . . ii. 399^a ff.
Holiness, Law of . . iii. 69^b (Driver), 105^b, 107^b (Harford - Battersby); iv. 82^a (Baudissin).
Holiness of Animals, Places, and Things . [See Greece, Religion of; Egypt, Religion of; Unclean].
Holm Tree . . . ii. 401^b (Post).
Holofernes (Ap.) . . ii. 402^a (Cooke).
Holon . . . ii. 402^a.
Holyday . . . ii. 402^a.
Holy of Holies (in Tabernacle) . . iv. 656^b (A. R. S. Kennedy).
  in Temple of Ezekiel iv. 708 (Davies).
    of Herod . . iv. 714^b (Davies).
    of Solomon . . iv. 697^b (Davies).
    of Zerubbabel . iv. 711^a (Davies).
  Furniture . . iv. 665^a (Kennedy), 701^b, 711^a, 714^b (Davies).
Holy Place (in Tabernacle) . . . iv. 655^b, 656^b (A. R. S. Kennedy).
  in Temple of Ezekiel iv. 708^a (Davies).
    of Herod . . iv. 714^b (Davies).
    of Solomon . . iv. 697^b f. (Davies).
    of Zerubbabel . iv. 711^a (Davies).
  Furniture . . . iv. 662^b (A. R. S. Kennedy), 701^a, 709^b, 711^a, 714^b (Davies).
Holy One of Israel . ii. 204^b (Davidson), 398^a (Skinner).
Holy Sepulchre, Site of ii. 589^b (Conder).
Holy Spirit . . . ii. 402^b (Swete).
  in OT—
    Progressive Teaching on . . ii. 404^a.
    Relation to Life of of God . . ii. 404^a.
    Terms 'Spirit,' 'Spirit of God,' 'Holy Spirit' . ii. 402^b.
    Work in Creation . ii. 403^a.
      in Intellectual Life . . ii. 403^a.
      in Messiah . . ii. 403^b.
      in Prophetic Inspiration . ii. 403^a; iv. 114^b ff. (Davidson).
      in Religious and Moral Life . ii. 403^b.
  in Apocrypha and other Jewish Literature . . ii. 404^b; Ext. 308^b (Scott).
    Alexandrian Doctrine . . . ii. 404^b.
  in the New Testament ii. 405^a ff.
    Baptism with the Holy Ghost . i. 244^a (Plummer); Ext. 309^b (Scott).
    Comes through the Glorification of the Son . . Ext. 312^b (Scott).
    Given by laying on of hands . iii. 85^a.
    Names . . . ii. 405^a. [See Ghost].
    Personality . . ii. 408^a, 411^a.
    Relation to Christ ii. 405^b, 309^a ff. (Scott).
      Revival of Prophecy . . ii. 405^b, 309^a (Scott).
      Spirit in Christ's Baptism . ii. 405^b, 309^b (Scott).
        Conception . ii. 405^b, 309^a (Scott).
        Ministry . ii. 406^b.
    Relation to the Church . . ii. 406^b.
      Gift to the Apostles . ii. 407^a.
        to the Church ii. 407^a.
      Results, temporary and permanent . . ii. 407^b; Ext. 314^b (Scott).
    Teaching of Christ ii. 408^a f.; Ext. 311^a ff (Scott).

Holy Spirit—
  Teaching of Christ
    in Baptismal Formula . ii. 408^b; Ext. 313^b (Scott).
    in Fourth Gospel ii. 408^a, 688^b (Strong), 724^b (Reynolds); Ext. 311^b f. (Scott).
    in the Synoptics . ii. 408^a; Ext. 311^a (Scott).
  Teaching of the Apostles . ii. 409^a, 214^b (Sanday); Ext. 314^b ff. (Scott).
    in Acts and Catholic Epp. . ii. 409^a; Ext. 315^a (Scott).
    in Apocalypse . ii. 410^b, 692^a (Strong).
    in Johannine Theology . ii. 688^b (Strong), 732^a (Salmond).
    in Pauline Epp. . ii. 409^a; iii. 725^a f. (Findlay); Ext. 316^a ff. (Scott).
    in Petrine Epp. . iii. 793^b, 797^a (Chase).
  Summary of Biblical Doctrine . . ii. 410^b.
  Work of the Spirit . ii. 407^b ff., 411^a; iii. 725^b (Findlay); Ext. 313^a (Scott).
Homam . . . ii. 348^b [Hemam].
Homer . . . iv. 910^b ff. (A. R. S. Kennedy).
Homicide . . . i. 521^b (Poucher).
Honest, Honesty . ii. 411^b (Hastings).
Honey . . . . i. 264^a (Post); ii. 37^b (Macalister). [See Dibs].
Hoods . . . . ii. 412^a.
Hook . . . . ii. 412^a.
Hoopoe . . . ii. 412^b.
Hope . . . . ii. 412^b (Banks); i. 787^b (Strong).
Hophni . . . ii. 413^a (Stenning).
Hophra . . . ii. 413^b (Crum); i. 663^b.
Hor, Mount . . ii. 414^a (Hull).
Horam . . . ii. 415^a.
Horeb . . . . iv. 537^a (Rendel Harris).
Horem . . . . ii. 415^a.
Horesh . . . . ii. 415^a.
Hor-haggidgad . . ii. 415^a.
Hori . . . . ii. 415^a.
Horites . . . ii. 415^a (Beecher); i. 363^b (Hull), 644^b (Sayce).
Hormah . . . ii. 415^b (Chapman).
Horn . . . . ii. 415^b (Wortabet).
  Head-dress . . ii. 416^a; i. 627^b (Mackie).
  Musical Instrument iii. 462^a (Millar); iv. 815^a [Trumpet].
  in figurative language ii. 415^b f.
Horns of the Altar . ii. 416^a (Wortabet); i. 77^a (A. R. S. Kennedy); iv. 658^a (Kennedy), 710^a (Davies); Ext. 620^a (Kautzsch).
Hornet . . . ii. 416^a (Post); iii. 820^a (Griffith).
Horonaim . . . ii. 416^b.
Horonite . . . ii. 416^b.
Horror, Horrible . ii. 416^b (Hastings).
Horse . . . . ii. 417^a (Post).
  Sacred . . . iv. 830^a (Peake); Ext. 115^b (Ramsay).
Horse Gate . . . ii. 593^b.
Horseleech . . . ii. 418^a.
Horselitter . . . ii. 418^a.
Horseman-god . . Ext. 115^b (Ramsay).
Horticulture . . ii. 108^a [Garden].
Horus . . . . Ext. 184^b (Wiedemann).
Hosah (person) . . ii. 418^a, 125^a.
Hosah (place) . . ii. 418^a.
Hosannah . . . ii. 418^a (Thayer).
Hosea . . . . ii. 419^b (Davidson).
  Life and Name . ii. 419^b.
  Marriage . . . ii. 421^a; Ext. 174^b f. (König).
  Times . . . . ii. 420^b.
Hosea (Book)—
  Contents . . . ii. 421^a (Davidson).
    Cultus . . . ii. 423^a.
    God and Religion ii. 424^b; Ext. 692^a (Kautzsch).
    Internal Misrule . ii. 423^b.
    Israel, People of . ii. 424^b.
      Unfaithfulness . ii. 422^a ff.
    Politics, External ii. 424^a.
    Prophet's Marriage in relation to his Teaching ii. 421^a ff.; Ext. 174^b f. (König).
  Integrity and Text . ii. 425^a.
Hosen . . . . ii. 425^b.
Hoshaiah . . . ii. 425^b.
Hoshama . . . ii. 425^b, 137^a.
Hoshea . . . ii. 425^b (Whitehouse).
Hospitality, Host . ii. 427^a (Ewing); Ext. 375^b (Buhl).
Host . . . . ii. 429^b.
Host of Heaven . . ii. 429^b (Driver); i. 95^b (Davidson); Ext. 636^b ff. (Kautzsch).
  as Celestial Beings . ii. 430^a; iii. 138^a f.
  as Stars . . . ii. 429^b.
Hosts, Lord of . . iii. 137^b (Driver); i. 95^b (Davidson); ii. 203^b (Davidson); Ext. 636^b ff. (Kautzsch).
Hotham . . . ii. 430^b, 131^b, 132$^{a,\,b}$.
Hothir . . . ii. 430^b, 124^b.
Hough . . . . ii. 430^b.
Hour . . . . iv. 766^b (Abrahams); Ext. 475^b (Ramsay).
House . . . . ii. 431^a (Warren).
  Bar, Bolt . . . ii. 434^b.
  Chambers . . . ii. 433^b f.
  Closet . . . ii. 433^b; i. 450^a (Hastings).
  Door . . . . ii. 432^b, 434^a.
  Hinge . . . ii. 435^a, 384^b (Carslaw).
  Key . . . . ii. 435^a, 836^b (Carslaw).
  Leprosy . . . ii. 433^b; iii. 98^b (Macalister).
  Lock . . . . ii. 434^b, 836^b (Carslaw).
  Porch . . . . ii. 432^b; iv. 21^a (Davies).

House—
  Roof . . . ii. 432^a; iv. 311^a, 762^a (James Patrick).
  Window . . . ii. 435^b.
How, Howbeit, Howsoever . . . ii. 436^a (Hastings).
Hozai . . . ii. 436^a.
Huckster . . . ii. 436^b.
Hukkok . . . ii. 436^b.
Hukok . . . ii. 436^b.
Hul . . . ii. 436^b.
Huldah . . . ii. 436^b; Ext. 700^b (Kautzsch).
Humility . . . ii. 436^b (Burrows); i. 786^b (Strong).
Humtah . . . ii. 437^b.
Hungarian Versions . Ext. 417^a (Bebb).
Hunting . . . ii. 437^b (Bennett).
Hupham . . . ii. 438^b [Huppim], 130^a.
Huppah . . . ii. 438^b, 123^b.
Huppim . . . ii. 438^b, 130$^{a, b}$.
Hur . . . ii. 438^b (Stenning), 127^b, 128^a (Curtis).
Hurai . . . ii. 379^b [Hiddai], 132^a.
Huram . . . ii. 438^b, 130^b.
Huri . . . ii. 438^b, 131^b.
Husband . . . i. 847^a.
Husbandry . . . ii. 438^b.
Hushah . . . ii. 439^a, 128^a.
Hushai . . . ii. 439^a (Stenning).
Husham . . . ii. 439^a.
Hushathite . . . ii. 439^a.
Hushim . . . ii. 439^a, 130^b, 131$^{a, b}$.
Husks . . . ii. 439^a (Post), 28^a (Macalister).
Huzzab . . . ii. 439^b (Selbie).
Hyacinth . . . ii. 526^a (Hull); iv. 621^a (Flinders Petrie).
Hyæna . . . ii. 439^b (Post).
Hydaspes (Ap.) . . ii. 440^a (Hommel).
Hygienic Laws . . iii. 332^b (Macalister).
Hyksos . . . i. 72^a (I. Taylor), 659^b (Crum); iii. 622^a (Griffith).
Hymenæus . . . ii. 440^a (Milligan); iv. 776^a (Lock).
Hymn (in OT) . . iv. 36^b ff. (Selbie).
  (in NT) . . ii. 440^b (Lock); iv. 943^a (Adeney).
Hymns, Babylonian . Ext. 563^b ff. (Jastrow).
Hyperbole . . . Ext. 164^a (König).
Hypocrite . . . ii. 441^b (Plummer).
Hyrcanus (Ap.) . . ii. 441^b (H. A. White); iii. 185^b (Fairweather), 823^a (Eaton).
Hyssop . . . ii. 442^a (Post), 38^a (Macalister).

I AM . . . ii. 199^b (Davidson).
Iadinus (Ap.) . . ii. 443^a.
Ibhar . . . ii. 443^a, 126^b.
Ibleam . . . ii. 443^a.
Ibneiah . . . ii. 443^a, 136^a.
Ibnijah . . . ii. 443^a, 136^a.
Ibri . . . ii. 443^a, 125^a.
Ibsam . . . ii. 443^a, 129^a.
Ibzan . . . ii. 443^a.
Ichabod . . . ii. 443^b.
Iconium . . . ii. 443^b (Ramsay).
Idalah . . . ii. 445^a.
Idbash . . . ii. 445^a, 128^a.
Iddo . . . ii. 445^a (N. J. D. White), 123^a (Curtis).
Idolatry . . . ii. 445^a (W. P. Paterson).
  Heathenism in Israel ii. 445^b ff.
    Ancient Semitic Religion . . ii. 445^b; Ext. 613^a ff. (Kautzsch).
    Mosaism and Heathenism . . ii. 446^a.
    Prophets and Heathenism . . ii. 446^b.
    Reformations of Hezekiah and Josiah . . ii. 447^a, 448^a; Ext. 699^a, 700^b (Kautzsch).
  Idolatrous Worship of Jehovah . . ii. 447^b; Ext. 641^b ff. (Kautzsch).
  Idolatry in NT . ii. 448^b.
  Terms . . . ii. 445^a.
Iduel (Ap.) . . . ii. 449^a.
Idumæa, Idumæans . [See Edom].
Ieddias (Ap.) . . ii. 449^a.
Iezer, Iezrites . . i. 7^b [Abiezer], 129^b.
'Ifrit . . . i. 590^b (Whitehouse).
Igal . . . ii. 449^a, 127^a, 132^b.
Igdaliah . . . ii. 449^a.
Ignatius . . . ii. 699^b (Reynolds); iii. 531^b ff. (Stanton).
Ignorance . . . ii. 449^a (Denney).
Ignorances . . . ii. 449^b.
Iim . . . ii. 522^b [Iyim].
Ijon . . . ii. 450^a.
Ikkesh . . . ii. 450^a, 133^a.
Ilai . . . ii. 450^a, 132^a.
Iliadun (Ap.) . . ii. 450^a.
Ill . . . ii. 450^a (Hastings).
Illuminate, Illumination ii. 450^b (Hastings).
Illumination of Bel . i. 226^a (Hommel).
Illyricum . . . ii. 450^b (Ramsay).
Image, Imagery . . ii. 451^a (Hastings).
Image in Christian Doctrine . . ii. 452^a (Laidlaw).
  Christ the Image of the Father . . ii. 452^b.
  Man the Image of God . . . ii. 452^a; Ext. 715^b f.
Images . . . ii. 447^b f. (W. P. Paterson); Ext. 627^b, 641^b (Kautzsch).
Imagine, Imagination ii. 453^b (Hastings).
Imalcue (Ap.) . . ii. 454^a.
Imla . . . ii. 454^a.
Immanuel . . . ii. 454^a (Davidson); Ext. 695^a (Kautzsch).
Immer . . . ii. 456^a; i. 38^a [Addan]; ii. 123^b, 124^a.
Immortality in OT . i. 739^b, 741^a (Davidson); Ext. 668^a (Kautzsch).

- Immortality in Job, i. 739^{b} f. (Davidson); ii. 667^{b} (Davison); Ext. 730^{a} (Kautzsch).
  - in Psalms, iv. 159^{a} f. (Davison); Ext. 728^{a} (Kautzsch).
  - in Apocryphal Literature, i. 742^{a}, 748^{b} (Charles); Ext. 291^{b} f. (Fairweather).
    - Apocalypse of Baruch, i. 746^{b} (Charles).
    - 2 Esdras, iii. 116^{a} (G. C. Martin).
    - Ethiopic Enoch, i. 743^{b}, 744^{a} (Charles).
    - Jubilees, i. 745^{b} (Charles).
    - 4 Maccabees, i. 746^{b} (Charles).
    - Psalms of Solomon, i. 744^{b} (Charles).
    - Salathiel, Apocalypse of, i. 747^{b} (Charles).
    - Slavonic Enoch, i. 746^{a} (Charles).
    - Wisdom, i. 746^{b} (Charles); Ext. 291^{b} (Fairweather).
  - in Josephus, i. 747^{b} (Charles).
  - in NT, i. 750^{b}, 752^{a} (Salmond); iii. 118^{a} (G. C. Martin).
- Imna, ii. 456^{b}, 132^{a}.
- Imnah, ii. 456^{b}, 131^{b}.
- Imnites, ii. 456^{b}.
- Implead, ii. 456^{b}.
- Importable, ii. 456^{b}.
- Importunity, ii. 456^{b}.
- Impotent, ii. 456^{b}.
- Imprisonment, i. 525^{a} (Poucher).
- Imrah, ii. 457^{a}, 132^{a}.
- Imri, ii. 457^{a}, 129^{a}.
- In, ii. 457^{a} (Hastings).
- Incantations, i. 812^{a} (Whitehouse); iii. 208^{b} ff.; iv. 603^{b} ff.; Ext. 551^{b} ff. (Jastrow).
- Incarnation, ii. 458^{a} (Ottley).
  - Old Testament, Witness of, ii. 458^{b} ff.
    - Messianic Hope of Son of David, ii. 459^{a}.
    - Self-manifesting Jehovah, ii. 459^{a}.
    - Servant of the Lord, ii. 459^{a}.
  - New Testament, ii. 458^{a} ff.
    - Account of Christ, ii. 459^{b}.
    - Apostles' Conception of Christ, ii. 462^{a} f.
    - Birth, Supernatural, ii. 460^{a}.
    - God revealed in, ii. 463^{b}, 465^{b}.
    - Humanity, ii. 459^{b}, 460^{b}.
    - Lordship, ii. 463^{a}.
    - Messianic Claims, ii. 461^{b}, 464^{a}.
    - Significance of Work and Death, ii. 463^{b}.
    - Sinlessness, ii. 460^{b}.
    - Sonship, ii. 463^{a}.
    - Tradition, Presupposed, ii. 464^{a}.
  - Scripture Doctrine of Incarnation, ii. 464^{b}.
    - Christ as Prophet, Priest, King, ii. 466^{a} ff.
- Incarnation, Scripture Doctrine of—
    - Cosmic Significance, ii. 465^{b}.
    - Crowning Disclosure of God, ii. 465^{b}.
    - Intended for Restoration of Man, ii. 465^{b}.
- Incense, ii. 467^{a} (Selbie); i. 134^{b} (Margoliouth); ii. 39^{b} (E. R. Bernard).
- Incense, Altar of, iv. 664^{b} (A. R. S. Kennedy); i. 810^{b} (Harford-Battersby); ii. 332^{b} (Bruce), 467^{b} (Selbie); iv. 495^{b}.
- Incest, i. 521^{b} (Poucher).
- Incontinency, ii. 468^{b}.
- Incredulity, ii. 468^{b}.
- India, ii. 468^{b} (H. A. White).
- Indifferent, ii. 469^{a} (Hastings).
- Indignities, i. 525^{b}.
- Individualism, i. 738^{b} ff. (Davidson), 742^{a} (Charles); Ext. 724^{a} (Kautzsch).
- Indite, ii. 469^{b} (Hastings).
- Infanticide, i. 522^{a}.
- Infidel, Infidelity, ii. 470^{a}.
- Infirmity, iii. 322^{b}, 328^{b} (Macalister).
- Ingathering, Feast of. [See Tabernacles, Feast of].
- Inhabit, ii. 470^{b} (Hastings).
- Inheritance, ii. 470^{b} (A. Martin), 341^{a} (Bennett); iv. 720^{b} (Massie).
  - in Ep. to Hebrews, ii. 472^{a}.
  - Pauline use, ii. 472^{b}.
- Iniquity, iv. 529^{a}, 532^{a} (Bernard).
- Injurious, ii. 473^{a}.
- Ink, ii. 473^{a} (Selbie); iv. 948^{a} (Kenyon).
- Inkhorn, ii. 473^{b}.
- Inn, ii. 473^{b} (Ewing); Ext. 375^{a} (Buhl), 393^{a} (Ramsay).
  - at Bethlehem, ii. 474^{b}; i. 281^{a} (Conder); iii. 234^{a} (Massie).
- Inner Man, ii. 475^{a} (Laidlaw).
- Innocents, Massacre of, ii. 357^{b} (Headlam).
- Inordinate, ii. 475^{a}.
- Inquisition, ii. 475^{b}.
- Insects, iii. 492^{a} (Post).
  - as Food, ii. 37^{b} (Macalister).
- Inspire, Inspiration, ii. 475^{b} (Hastings).
  - and Revelation, Ext. 324^{a} (Garvie).
  - of Bible, i. 296^{a} ff. (Stewart).
  - of Prophets, ii. 403^{a} (Swete); iv. 114^{b} ff. (Davidson); Ext. 672^{b} ff. (Kautzsch).
- Instant, ii. 476^{a} (Hastings).
- Instrument, ii. 476^{a}.
- Intelligence, ii. 476^{b}.
- Intemperance, i. 629^{a} (Beecher). [See Temperance].
- Intend, Intent, ii. 476^{b} (Hastings).
- Intercession, iv. 39$^{a,\ b}$, 40$^{a,\ b}$, 41^{a}, 42^{b}, 43^{a} (E. R. Bernard).

Intermeddle . . . ii. 477^{a}.
Intermediate State in NT . . . i. 752^{a} (Salmond).
 in Pauline Epp. . i. 756^{a} (Salmond); iii. 729^{a} f. (Findlay).
 in Apocryphal Writings . . . i. 742^{b}, 745^{a}, 746^{a}, 747$^{a.\,b}$ (Charles); Ext. 304^{b} (Fairweather).
Interpretation . . ii. 477^{a} (Selbie).
Intreat, Entreat . . ii. 478^{a}.
Inward . . . ii. 478^{a} (Hastings).
Inwards, Inward Parts ii. 479^{a} (Laidlaw), 478^{b} (Hastings).
Iob . . . . . ii. 479^{a}.
Iphdeiah . . . ii. 479^{a}, 131^{a}.
Iphtah . . . ii. 479^{a}.
Iphtah-el . . . ii. 479^{a}.
Ir . . . . . ii. 479^{b}.
Ira . . . . . ii. 479^{b} (Stenning), 132$^{a.\,b}$ (Curtis).
Irad . . . . ii. 479^{b}.
Iram . . . . ii. 479^{b}.
Irenæus . . . ii. 682^{a} (Strong), 695^{a} (Reynolds).
Ir-ha-heres . . . ii. 479^{b} (Driver).
Iri . . . . ii. 479^{b} [Ir], 130^{b}.
Irijah . . . . ii. 481^{a}.
Ir-nahash . . . ii. 481^{a}, 128^{b}.
Iron (city) . . . ii. 481^{b}.
Iron . . . . ii. 481^{b} (James Patrick), 482^{b} (Petrie); i. 135^{a} (Margoliouth), 315^{a} (Hull); iii. 375^{b} (Hull).
Iron Bedstead . . ii. 482^{a} (Patrick); iii. 590^{a} (Redpath).
Iron Tool forbidden . iv. 833^{a} (Peake).
Irony . . . . Ext. 164^{a} (König).
Irpeel . . . . ii. 482^{b}.
Irrigation . . . ii. 482^{b} (Bennett).
Ir-shemesh . . . i. 283^{b} [Beth-shemesh]; ii. 351^{a} [Heres].
Iru . . . . . ii. 483^{a}, 128^{b}.
Isaac . . . . ii. 483^{a} (Ryle).
 Name . . . ii. 485^{a}.
 Narrative, Sources of ii. 484^{a}.
 Sacrifice . . . ii. 484^{b} f.; i. 15^{b}.
Isaiah . . . . ii. 485^{b} (G. A. Smith); Ext. 676^{a} (Kautzsch).
 Name and History . ii. 485^{b}.
 Religious Reformer . ii. 491^{b}; Ext. 692^{b} (Kautzsch).
 Statesmanship . . ii. 490^{a} f.
Isaiah, Book of—
 Contents and Structure . . . ii. 486^{b}; Ext. 692^{b} ff. (Kautzsch).
 Criticism, History of ii. 487^{a}.
 Messianic Prophecy . ii. 488^{b}, 491^{b}; Ext. 696^{b} (Kautzsch).
 Prophecies not Isaianic . . . ii. 492^{b}; Ext. 705^{b} f. (Kautzsch).
 Style . . . Ext. 166^{a} (König).
Isaiah, Book of—
 Symbolic actions . Ext. 174$^{a.\,b}$ (König).
 Theology . . . ii. 489^{a} ff.
  Doctrine of God . ii. 491^{a}, 397^{b} f. (Skinner); Ext. 682^{b} f. (Kautzsch).
   of Grace . ii. 491^{b}.
  Eschatology . . ii. 491^{b}; i. 735^{b} ff. (Davidson).
  Jerusalem inviolable . . . ii. 489^{b} f.; Ext. 693^{a} (Kautzsch).
 Chs. 36–39 . . ii. 492^{a}.
 Chs. 40–66 . . ii. 493^{a}; Ext. 705^{b} (Kautzsch).
  Date and Structure ii. 493^{a}.
  Theology . . ii. 495^{b}–497^{b}.
   Doctrine of God ii. 496^{a}, 497^{b}; Ext. 706^{a} (Kautzsch).
   Righteousness . ii. 496^{a}, 497^{b}; iv. 275^{b}, 279^{a} (Skinner).
   Servant of the Lord . . ii. 496^{b} ff. [See Servant of the Lord].
Isaiah, Ascension of . ii. 499^{a} (Armitage Robinson).
 Contents . . . ii. 499^{a}.
  Firmament and Seven Heavens . ii. 501^{a}.
  Name 'Beloved' . ii. 501^{a}.
 Criticism . . . ii. 500^{b}.
 Documents and Editions . . . ii. 499^{b}.
 Patristic references . ii. 500^{a}.
Iscah . . . . ii. 501^{b}; iv. 403^{b} note (Driver).
Iscariot, Judas . . ii. 796^{a} (Plummer).
 Call to the Apostolate ii. 796^{b}.
 Death . . . ii. 797^{b} f.
 Name . . . ii. 796^{a}.
 Reception of the Eucharist . . ii. 797^{b}.
 Treachery, cause of . ii. 796^{b}.
  in Tradition and Art . . . ii. 798^{b}.
Isdael (Ap.) . . . ii. 501^{b}.
Ishbaal . . . ii. 501^{b} [Ishbosheth].
Ishbah . . . . ii. 501^{b}, 129^{a}.
Ishbak . . . . ii. 501^{b}.
Ishbi-benob . . . ii. 501^{b}.
Ishbosheth . . . ii. 501^{b} (Selbie).
Ishod . . . . ii. 502^{b}, 129^{b}.
Ishi . . . . ii. 502^{b}, 122^{b}, 126^{a}, 129^{a}, 130^{a}.
Ishma . . . . ii. 502^{b}, 128^{a}.
Ishmael . . . ii. 502^{b} (Driver), 505^{a} (H. A. White).
 Princes descended from . . . ii. 503^{b}.
Ishmaelites . . . ii. 504^{a} (Driver); Ext. 74^{a} (Jastrow).
Ishmaiah . . . ii. 505^{b}, 132^{a}.
Ishmerai . . . ii. 505^{b}, 131^{a}.
Ishpah . . . . ii. 505^{b}, 131^{a}.
Ishpan . . . . ii. 505^{b}, 131^{a}.
Ishsechel . . . ii. 505^{b} (H. A. White).

- Ishtar . . . . i. 168^b (Driver), 177^b, 215^b, 221^b (Hommel); iv. 181^b (Bennett); Ext. 540^b ff., 575^a ff. (Jastrow).
- Ishvah . . . . ii. 506^a, 131^b.
- Ishvi . . . . ii. 506^a, 131^b.
- Isidore of Pelusium . Ext. 512^b (Turner).
- Isis . . . . Ext. 151^b (Ramsay), 194^b (Wiedemann).
- Island, Isle . . . ii. 506^a (T. Nicol).
- Ismachiah . . . ii. 506^b, 125^b.
- Ismael (Ap.) . . . ii. 506^b.
- Ismaerus (Ap.) . . ii. 506^b.
- Ismi-dagan . . . i. 180^a.
- Israel, History of . ii. 506^b (Barnes).
  - Commerce . . iv. 802^b ff. (Bennett).
  - Government . . ii. 250^b (Thatcher).
  - History . . . ii. 508^b ff. (Barnes).
    - Chronology . . i. 397^b (Curtis).
    - Conquest of Canaan ii. 509^b.
    - David and Solomon ii. 511^a.
    - Exile and Return . ii. 514^a.
    - Exodus . . . ii. 509^a.
    - Fall of Judah . ii. 513^b.
    - Greek Period . ii. 515^b, 260^b ff. (Conybeare).
    - Hundred Years' War with Aram . ii. 511^b.
    - Kingdom . . ii. 510^b, 516^b (Woods).
    - Origins of Israel . ii. 508^b.
    - Sources of History ii. 508^a.
    - under Assyria . ii. 512^a.
    - under Egypt . ii. 509^a; i. 398^b (Curtis), 665^a (Crum); Ext. 79^a (Jastrow).
  - Language . . . i. 70^b ff. (I. Taylor); Ext. 47^a (Buhl).
  - Land . . . . ii. 507^a.
  - Name . . . . ii. 506^b.
  - National Characteristics . . . ii. 507^a.
  - Political and Social Conditions in NT times . . . Ext. 48^a ff. (Buhl).
  - Religion . . . [See Israel, Religion of].
- Israel, Kingdom . . ii. 516^b (Woods), 510^b (Barnes).
- Israel, Religion of . Ext. 612^a (Kautzsch).
  - Pre-Mosaic . . Ext. 613^a ff.; ii. 445^b (Paterson).
    - Animism and Ancestor Worship . Ext. 614^a. [See Animism, Ancestor Worship].
    - Moral Conditions . Ext. 623^b.
    - Polytheism . . Ext. 616^b ff.
    - Sacred Springs, Stones, Trees . Ext. 616^a.
    - Totemism . . Ext. 613^a. [See Totemism].
    - Worship and Rites Ext. 618^a ff.
      - Circumcision and Blood Revenge Ext. 622^a; i. 443^a (Macalister); ii. 223^b f. (Kennedy).
      - Festivals . . Ext. 621^b ff.

Israel, Religion of, Pre-Mosaic—

      - *Maẓẓēbāh* and *'ăshērāh* . . Ext. 620^a.
      - Priesthood . Ext. 621^a; iv. 68^b (Paterson).
      - Sacrifice . . Ext. 618^a ff. [See Sacrifice].
  - Jahwism as founded by Moses . . Ext. 624^a ff.; ii. 446^a (Paterson), 509^b (Barnes); iii. 446^b (Bennett).
    - Characteristics . Ext. 732^b ff.
    - Decalogue . . Ext. 633^b; ii. 509^b (Barnes). [See Decalogue].
    - Festivals . . Ext. 633^b.
    - Idea of God . . Ext. 625^a, 627^b, 632^a. [See God].
    - Images . . . Ext. 627^b f. [See Images].
    - Name *Jahweh* . Ext. 625^b. [See Jahweh].
    - Origin, Kenite Hypothesis of . . Ext. 626^b.
    - Priesthood . . Ext. 633^a. [See Priest].
  - Pre-prophetic Religion in Canaan . . . Ext. 634^b ff.; ii. 808^b (Barnes), 816^a (König).
    - Anthropology and Theory of the Universe . . Ext. 665^a ff.
    - Cultus and Manners Ext. 661^a ff.
      - Festivals . . Ext. 662^a.
      - High Places . Ext. 661^a.
      - Oracles . . Ext. 662^b.
      - Sacrifice . . Ext. 661^a.
    - Idea of God . . Ext. 635^a ff.; ii. 201^b (Davidson).
      - Henotheism . Ext. 635^a.
      - Images . . Ext. 641^b.
      - Name . . Ext. 636^b.
      - Relation to Israel Ext. 635^a.
    - Organs of Jahwism Ext. 648^a.
      - Judges and Kings . . Ext. 659^b f.
      - Nazirites . . Ext. 657^a ff.
      - Priests . . Ext. 648^a ff.
      - Prophets . . Ext. 650^b ff.
      - Rechabites . Ext. 659^a.
    - Sources . . . Ext. 634^b.
    - Syncretism with Baalism . . Ext. 644^b ff.
  - Pre-Exilic Writing Prophets . . Ext. 671^a ff.; ii. 512^a (Barnes).
    - External Development of Religion Ext. 697^b.
    - Message, Contents of . . . Ext. 678^b ff. [See Prophets].
      - Idea of God . Ext. 678^b ff.
      - God's Relation to Israel . . Ext. 684^b ff.
      - Prophetic Attitude to Israel . Ext. 691^a ff.

- Israel, Religion of,
  - Pre-Exilic—
    - Message, Forms of Ext. 676^b ff.
    - Messianic Prophecy Ext. 694^b ff.; iv. 121^b ff. (Davidson).
    - Name and Characteristics of Writing Prophets Ext. 733^b; iv. 108^a, 113^a (Davidson).
    - Revelation, Forms of Ext. 675^a ff.
    - Sources Ext. 671^a ff.
  - Exilic and Post-Exilic Period Ext. 708^b ff.; ii. 513^a (Barnes); iii. 821^a ff. (Eaton).
    - Cultus Ext. 710^a.
    - Daniel, Book of Ext. 714^a.
    - Deutero-Isaiah Ext. 705^b.
    - Eschatology Ext. 710^b.
    - Ezekiel Ext. 701^b.
    - Idea of God and Ethics Ext. 709^b.
    - Sources Ext. 708^b.
  - Priests' Code Ext. 715^a. [See Priests' Code].
    - Ceremonial Law Ext. 716^b ff.
    - Idea of God Ext. 715^b.
    - Israel's Relation to God Ext. 702^a.
    - Priests and Levites Ext. 718^a.
    - Sacrifice Ext. 720^a.
    - Sources Ext. 715^a.
    - Theocracy Ext. 716^a.
  - Psalms and Lamentations Ext. 723^b.
    - Anthropology Ext. 725^a.
    - Character of Religion Ext. 725^b.
    - Ethics Ext. 726^b.
    - Idea of God Ext. 724^a. [See Psalms].
    - Immortality Ext. 728^a.
    - Messianic Hope Ext. 727^a.
    - Retribution, Doctrine of Ext. 726^b.
    - Theocracy Ext. 725^b.
  - Wisdom Literature Ext. 728^a.
    - Ecclesiastes Ext. 731^a.
    - Job Ext. 729^b.
      - Angelology Ext. 730^a.
      - Immortality Ext. 730^a.
      - Suffering, Problem of Ext. 730^b.
    - Proverbs Ext. 728^b.
  - in NT Times Ext. 52^a ff. (Buhl). [See Idolatry, Judaism, Sacrifice, Worship].
- Israelite iii. 488^b [Nathanael].
- Issachar ii. 518^a (Peake), 129^a (Curtis).
- Isshiah ii. 518^b, 124^a, 125^a, 129^b, 132^a.
- Isshijah ii. 518^b.
- Issue iii. 330^b.
- Istalcurus (Ap.) ii. 518^b.
- Itala Version iii. 47^b ff. (H. A. A. Kennedy).
- Italian Band i. 204^a (Barnes); ii. 825^a (Headlam).
- Italian Versions Ext. 406^b (Bebb).
- Italy ii. 519^a (Prichard).
- Itch iii. 329^a (Macalister).
- Iterate ii. 519^a.
- Ithai ii. 519^a, 132^a.
- Ithamar ii. 519^a (Allen); i. 6^b (N. J. D. White); ii. 123^a (Curtis); iv. 89^b (Baudissin).
- Ithiel ii. 519^b, 131^b.
- Ithlah ii. 519^b.
- Ithmah ii. 519^b, 132^b.
- Ithman ii. 519^b.
- Ithra ii. 519^b.
- Ithran ii. 519^b, 132^a.
- Ithream ii. 519^b, 126^b.
- Ithrite ii. 519^b, 127^b.
- Its ii. 519^b (Hastings).
- Ittai ii. 520^b (N. J. D. White), 132^a (Curtis).
- Ituræa ii. 521^a (G. A. Smith).
- Ivory ii. 522^a (Post).
- Ivvah ii. 522^a (Selbie); iv. 689^b note (Pinches).
- Ivy ii. 522^b.
- Iye-abarim ii. 522^b.
- Iyim ii. 522^b.
- Iyyar iv. 765^a (Abrahams).
- Izhar ii. 522^b, 123^a, 124^a, 128^a.
- Izliah ii. 522^b, 131^a.
- Izrahiah ii. 522^b, 129^b.
- Izrahites ii. 522^b.
- Izri ii. 522^b.
- Izziah ii. 522^b.

- J (Jahwistic Document) ii. 371^a ff. (Woods).
  - Characteristics ii. 372^a.
  - Date and Origin ii. 373^a.
  - Language ii. 373^a.
  - in Exodus ii. 806^b ff. (Harford-Battersby).
  - in Genesis ii. 144^b (Ryle).
  - in Joshua ii. 781^b ff. (Smith).
  - in Judges ii. 811^b f. (König).
- Jaakan i. 265^a [Beeroth-bene-Jaakan].
- Jaakobah ii. 523^a, 122^b.
- Jaala ii. 523^a, 134^a.
- Jaar ii. 523^a (Davison).
- Jaare-oregim ii. 523^a (Stenning); Ext. 252^b (Lupton).
- Jaareshiah ii. 523^b, 131^a.
- Jaasiel ii. 523^b, 132^b.
- Jaasu ii. 523^b.
- Jaazaniah ii. 523^b (Burney).
- Jaaziah ii. 523^b, 125^a.
- Jaaziel ii. 523^b, 125^b.
- Jabal ii. 523^b.
- Jabbok ii. 523^b (Chapman).
- Jabesh ii. 524^a.

Jabesh-gilead . . . ii. 524^{a} (Merrill).
Jabez (person) . . . ii. 524^{b}, 128^{b}.
Jabez (place) . . . ii. 524^{b}.
Jabin . . . . ii. 524^{b} (Cooke).
Jabneel . . . . ii. 524^{b} (Warren).
Jabneh . . . . ii. 524^{b}.
Jacan . . . . ii. 525^{b}, 131^{b}.
Jachin (person) . . ii. 525^{b}, 122^{b}, 123^{b}, 131^{a}.
Jachin (pillar) . . ii. 525^{b}; i. 308^{b} (Davies); iii. 881^{a} (Whitehouse).
Jacinth . . . . ii. 526^{a} (Hull); iv. 621^{a} (Flinders Petrie).
Jackal . . . . ii. 526^{a}.
Jacob . . . . ii. 526^{a} (Driver).
  Bethel, Dream at . ii. 527^{b}.
  Blessing by Isaac . ii. 527^{a}.
  Blessing of sons . ii. 532^{a}; iv. 812^{a} (Bennett).
  Character . . . ii. 532^{b}; Ext. 663^{b} (Kautzsch).
  Chronology of life . ii. 532^{b}.
  Covenant with Laban ii. 529^{a}.
  Genealogy . . . ii. 122^{b} (Curtis).
  Historicity . . . ii. 533^{b}.
  Jacob and Esau clans Ext. $75^{a.\,b}$ (Jastrow).
  Name . . . . ii. 526^{b}, 147^{a} (Ryle).
  Penuel . . . . ii. 529^{b}, 533^{a}.
  Scripture references ii. 532^{b}.
  and Shechem . . ii. 530^{b}, 535^{a}; iv. 485^{a} (Wilson).
Jacob's Well . . . ii. 535^{b} (Ewing); iv. 486^{a} (Wilson).
Jacubus (Ap.) . . ii. 537^{a}.
Jada . . . . ii. 537^{a}, 126^{a}.
Jaddua . . . . ii. 537^{a} (H. A. White); i. 61^{a} (Moss); ii. 123^{b} (Curtis).
Jaddus ( ) . . . ii. 537^{a}.
Jadon . . . . ii. 537^{a}.
Jael . . . . ii. 537^{a} (J. H. Bernard).
Jagur . . . . ii. 538^{a}.
Jah . . . . ii. 538^{a} (Driver).
Jahath . . . . ii. 539^{a}, $123^{a\,ter}$, 124^{b}, 125^{b}, 128^{a}.
Jahaz . . . . ii. 539^{a} (Chapman).
Jahaziel . . . . ii. 539^{b}, 124^{b}, 132^{a}.
Jahdai . . . . ii. 539^{b}, $127^{a.\,b}$.
Jahdiel . . . . ii. 539^{b}, 130^{a}.
Jahdo . . . . ii. 539^{b}, 131^{b}.
Jahleel . . . . ii. 539^{b}, 129^{b}.
Jahmai . . . . ii. 539^{b}, 129^{a}.
Jahweh . . . . ii. 199^{b} (Davidson), 538^{a} (Driver); Ext. 280^{a} (Fairweather), 624^{b} ff. (Kautzsch).
Jahwism . . . . Ext. 624^{b} ff. (Kautzsch).
Jahzah . . . . ii. 539^{b}.
Jahzeel . . . . ii. 539^{b}, 131^{b}.
Jahzeiah . . . . ii. 539^{b}.
Jahzerah . . . . ii. 540^{a}, 124^{a}.
Jahziel . . . . ii. 539^{b} [Jahzeel].
Jair . . . . ii. 540^{a} (Selbie).
Jairite . . . . ii. 540^{a} (Stenning).
Jairus . . . . ii. 540^{a} (Grieve).
Jakeh . . . . ii. 540^{b}.
Jakim . . . . ii. 540^{b}, 123^{b}, 131^{a}.
Jalam . . . . ii. 540^{b}.
Jalon . . . . ii. 540^{b}, 129^{a}.
Jambres . . . . ii. 548^{b} (Marshall); iii. 888^{b} (Macalister).
Jambri (Ap.) . . ii. 540^{b} (H. A. White).
James (son of Zebedee) ii. 540^{b} (Mayor).
James (son of Alphæus) . . . ii. 541^{b} (Mayor); i. 322^{b}.
James (brother of the Lord) . . . ii. 542^{a} (Mayor).
  Author of Epistle . ii. 543^{a} f.
  Death . . . ii. 542^{b}; iii. 626^{b} (Warren).
  Tomb . . . ii. 597^{a} (Conder); iv. 456^{b} (Nicol).
James, Epistle of . ii. 543^{a} (Mayor).
  Authorship . . ii. 543^{a}.
  Canonicity . . ii. 544^{b}; iii. 536^{b}, 540^{b} f., 542^{a} (Stanton).
  Contents . . . ii. 547^{b} ff.
    Faith and Works . ii. 546^{a}; i. 834^{b} (Warfield).
    Prayer . . . iv. 44^{b} (E. R. Bernard).
    Regeneration . iv. 216^{b}, 221^{a} (Bartlet).
    Sonship of Believers ii. 219^{a} (Candlish).
  Date . . . . ii. 545^{a}.
  Eschatology . . i. 753^{b} (Salmond).
  Parallels to Acts 15 . ii. 543^{b}.
  Relation to Epistle to Romans . . ii. 546^{a}.
    to Sermon on the Mount . . ii. 544^{b}.
    Vocabulary . . iii. 42^{a} (Thayer).
James, Protevangelium of . . . . . Ext. 429^{b} (Tasker).
Jamin . . . . ii. 548^{a}, 122^{b}, 126^{a}.
Jamlech . . . . ii. 548^{a}, 122^{b}.
Jamnia, Jamnites (Ap.) ii. 548^{a}, 524^{b}.
Jamnia, Council at . iii. 607^{a} (Woods).
Janai . . . . ii. 548^{a}, 131^{b}.
Jangling . . . . ii. 548^{b}.
Janim . . . . ii. 548^{b}.
Jannai . . . . ii. 548^{b}.
Jannes and Jambres . ii. 548^{b} (Marshall); iii. 888^{b} (Macalister).
  Book of . . . ii. 549^{a} (Marshall).
Janoah . . . . ii. 549^{a}.
Japheth (person) . . ii. 549^{a} (Margoliouth).
  Sons of . . . Ext. 80^{a} ff. (Jastrow).
Japheth (place) (Ap.) . ii. 549^{b}.
Japhia (person) . . ii. 549^{b}, 126^{b}.
Japhia (place) . . ii. 550^{a}.
Japhlet . . . . ii. 550^{a}, 131^{b}.
Japhletites . . . ii. 550^{a}.
Jarah . . . . ii. 550^{a}, 131^{a}.
Jareb . . . . ii. 550^{a} (Selbie).
Jared . . . . ii. 550^{b}.
Jarha . . . . ii. 550^{b}, 126^{a}.
Jarib . . . . ii. 550^{b}.
Jarimoth (Ap.) . . ii. 550^{b}.
Jarmuth . . . . ii. 550^{b} (Welch).
Jaroah . . . . ii. 550^{b}, 131^{b}.
Jasaelus (Ap.) . . ii. 550^{b}.
Jashar, Book of . . ii. 550^{b} (Bennett).
Jashen . . . . ii. 551^{a}, 132^{b}.
Jashobeam . . . ii. 551^{b}, $132^{a\,bis}$, 132^{b}.

Jashub . . . ii. 551^{b}, 129^{a}.
Jashubi-lehem . . ii. 551^{b}, 125^{b}.
Jason (Ap.) . . . ii. 551^{b} (H. A. White); iii. 822^{a} (Eaton); Ext. 94^{a} (Schürer).
Jason (NT) . . . ii. 552^{a} (Headlam).
Jasper . . . . iv. 619^{a} ff. (Flinders Petrie).
Jasubus (Ap.) . . ii. 552^{b}.
Jathan (Ap.) . . ii. 552^{b}.
Jathniel . . . ii. 552^{b}, 124^{b}.
Jattir . . . . ii. 552^{b}.
Jaulân . . . . ii. 151^{b} (Hull). [See Haurân].
Javan (person) . . ii. 552^{b} (Sayce).
Javan (place) . . ii. 552^{b} (Margoliouth).
Javelin . . . iv. 609^{b} (Barnes); ii. 841^{b} note (Williams).
Jawbone . . . iii. 94^{b} (Cooke); iv. 381^{a} (Budde).
Jazer . . . . ii. 553^{a} (Merrill).
Jaziz . . . . ii. 553^{b}, 133^{a}.
JE . . . . . ii. 371^{a} (Woods). [See J and E].
Jealousy . . . ii. 553^{b} (Banks).
  Ordeal . . . iii. 325^{b} (Macalister), 273^{b} (W. P. Paterson).
Jearim, Mount . . ii. 554^{a}.
Jeatherai . . . ii. 554^{a}, 123^{a}.
Jeberechiah . . . ii. 554^{a}.
Jebus, Jebusi, Jebusite ii. 554^{a} (Driver), 814^{b} (König).
Jechiliah . . . ii. 555^{a}.
Jechonias (Ap.) . . ii. 555^{a}.
Jecoliah . . . ii. 555^{a}, 127^{a}.
Jeconiah . . . ii. 557^{a} [Jehoiachin], 126^{b}, 127^{a}.
Jeconias (Ap.) . . ii. 555^{a}.
Jedaiah . . . ii. 555^{a}, 122^{b}, 123^{b}.
Jeddu (Ap.) . . . ii. 555^{a}.
Jedeus (Ap.) . . ii. 555^{a}.
Jediael . . . . ii. 555^{a}, 124^{b}, 130$^{a,\,b}$, 132$^{a,\,b}$.
Jedidah . . . ii. 555^{a}, 127^{a}.
Jedidiah . . . ii. 555^{a}; iv. 559^{b} (Flint).
Jeduthun . . . ii. 555^{a} (Selbie), 125^{a} (Curtis).
Jeeli (Ap.) . . . ii. 555^{b}.
Jeelus (Ap.) . . . ii. 555^{b}.
Jegar-sahadutha . . ii. 555^{b}.
Jehallelel . . . ii. 555^{b}, 129^{a}.
Jehdeiah . . . ii. 555^{b}, 124^{a}.
Jehezkel . . . ii. 555^{b}, 123^{b}.
Jehiah . . . . ii. 555^{b}, 125^{b}.
Jehiel . . . . ii. 555^{b}, 123^{a}, 125$^{b\,ter}$, 127^{a}.
Jehieli . . . . ii. 556^{a}.
Jehizkiah . . . ii. 556^{a}.
Jehoaddah . . . ii. 556^{a}, 550^{a} [Jarah].
Jehoaddan . . . ii. 556^{a}, 127^{a}.
Jehoahaz . . . ii. 556^{a} (N. J. D. White), 126^{b}, 127^{a} (Curtis).
Jehoash, Joash . . ii. 556^{a} (N. J. D. White).
Jehohanan . . . ii. 557^{a}, 124^{b}.
Jehoiachin . . . ii. 557^{a} (N. J. D. White).
Jehoiada . . . ii. 558^{a} (N. J. D. White), 132^{a} (Curtis).
Jehoiakim . . . ii. 558^{a} (N. J. D. White), 126^{b}, 127^{a} (Curtis).
Jehoiarib . . . ii. 559^{a} (N. J. D. White), 123^{b} (Curtis).
Jehonadab . . . ii. 559^{b} (Burney).
Jehonathan . . . ii. 559^{b}, 125^{b}.
Jehoram . . . ii. 559^{b} (N. J. D. White), 125^{b} (Curtis); iii. 325^{a} (Macalister).
Jehoshabeath . . ii. 562^{b} [Jehosheba].
Jehoshaphat . . ii. 561^{a} (N. J. D. White), 126^{b}, 127^{a}, 132^{b} (Curtis).
Jehoshaphat, Valley of ii. 561^{b} (Warren), 838^{b} (J. H. Kennedy).
Jehosheba . . . ii. 562^{b}.
Jehoshua, Jehoshuah . ii. 562^{b}.
Jehovah . . . ii. 199^{b} (Davidson); Ext. 625^{b} (Kautzsch). [See Jahweh].
Jehovah-jireh . . ii. 563^{a} (Driver).
Jehovah-nissi . . ii. 563^{b} (Selbie).
Jehovah-shalom . . ii. 563^{b}.
Jehovah-shammah . ii. 563^{b}.
Jehovah-tsidkenu . ii. 563^{b} (Woods).
Jehozabad . . . ii. 563^{b}, 124^{b}, 133^{a}.
Jehozadak . . . ii. 564^{a}, 123$^{a,\,b}$.
Jehu . . . . ii. 564^{a}, 122^{b}, 126^{a}, 132^{a}.
Jehu (king) . . . ii. 564^{a} (Whitehouse).
  on Black Obelisk . i. 184^{b} (Hommel).
Jehubbah . . . ii. 566^{b}, 132^{a}.
Jehucal . . . ii. 566^{b}.
Jehud . . . . ii. 566^{b}.
Jehudi . . . . ii. 566^{b}.
Jehudijah . . . ii. 285^{a} [Hajehudijah].
Jehuel . . . . ii. 566^{b}, 125^{b}.
Jeiel . . . . ii. 566^{b}, 122^{b}, 125$^{b\,bis}$, 131^{a}, 132^{b}.
Jekabzeel . . . ii. 830^{a} [Kabzeel].
Jekameam . . . ii. 566^{b}, 124^{b}.
Jekamiah . . . ii. 566^{b}, 126^{a}, 127^{a}.
Jekuthiel . . . ii. 566^{b}, 129^{a}.
Jemimah . . . ii. 566^{b}.
Jemnaan (Ap.) . . ii. 524^{b}.
Jemuel . . . ii. 566^{b}, 122^{b}.
Jeopard, Jeopardy . ii. 566^{b} (Hastings).
Jephthah . . . ii. 567^{a} (Cooke).
Jephunneh . . . ii. 568^{a}, 128^{b}, 132^{a}.
Jerah . . . . ii. 568^{a} (Margoliouth).
Jerahmeel . . . ii. 568^{b} (Stenning), 125^{a}, 126^{a} (Curtis).
Jerahmeel, Chronicles of i. 267^{b} (Marshall).
Jerechu (Ap.) . . ii. 568^{b}.
Jered . . . . ii. 568^{b}, 129^{a}.
Jeremai . . . ii. 568^{b}.
Jeremiah . . . ii. 568^{b} (Moss).
Jeremiah (Prophet) . ii. 569^{a} (Davidson).
  Authorship of Lamentations wrongly attributed to him . iii. 22$^{a,\,b}$ (Selbie).
  Call . . . . ii. 569^{b}.
  Life and times . . ii. 569^{a} ff.; Ext. 701^{b} (Kautzsch).
  Piety . . . ii. 577^{b}.
Jeremiah, Book of . ii. 571^{b} (Davidson).
  Contents of the Roll ii. 572^{a}.

- Jeremiah, Book of—
  - Language . . . ii. 576^{b}; iii. 32^{a} (Margoliouth).
  - Literary Style . . ii. 575^{b}; Ext. 167^{b} (König).
  - Priesthood in . . iv. 77^{b} (Baudissin).
  - Prophecies under Jehoiakim . . ii. 572^{b}.
    - under Josiah . . ii. 572^{b}.
    - under Zedekiah . ii. 573^{a}.
  - Redaction of the Book . . . ii. 575^{a}.
  - Relation to Obadiah iii. 578^{b} (Selbie).
  - Religious Teaching . ii. 576^{b}; Ext. 693^{b} (Kautzsch).
    - Doctrine of God . ii. 577^{a}.
    - Future of Israel . ii. 577^{b}.
    - Messiah . . Ext. 696^{b} (Kautzsch).
    - Priesthood . . iv. 77^{b} (Baudissin).
    - Sin . . . ii. 576^{b}.
  - Symbolical Actions in . . . . Ext. 174$^{a,\,b}$ (König), 677^{b} (Kautzsch).
  - Text, Armenian . i. 152^{a} (Conybeare).
    - Hebrew and Greek ii. 573^{b}.
      - Comparative Value . . ii. 574^{a}.
      - Original Place of chs. 46 ff. . ii. 574^{b}.
- Jeremias (Ap.) . . ii. 578^{a}.
- Jeremiel (Ap.) . . ii. 578^{a}.
- Jeremoth . . . ii. 578^{b}, 124^{b}, 125^{a}, 126^{b}, 130^{b}, 131^{a}.
- Jeremy . . . ii. 578^{b}.
- Jeremy, Epistle of . ii. 578^{b} (Marshall).
  - Authorship . . ii. 578^{b}.
  - Canonicity . . ii. 579^{a}.
  - Text and VSS . . ii. 579^{a}.
- Jeriah . . . . ii. 579^{b}, 124^{b}.
- Jeribai . . . . ii. 579^{b}, 132^{b}.
- Jericho . . . ii. 579^{b} (Bliss).
  - Fall of . . . ii. 579^{b}, 782^{a}, 787^{a} (Smith).
- Jeriel . . . . ii. 582^{a}, 129^{a}.
- Jerijah . . . . ii. 579^{b} [Jeriah].
- Jerimoth . . . ii. 582^{a}, 125^{b}, 126^{b}, 130^{b}, 132^{a}.
- Jerioth . . . ii. 582^{a}, 127^{b}.
- Jeroboam . . . ii. 582^{a} (Cooke); i. 56^{a} (N. J. D. White).
- Jeroham . . . ii. 583^{b}, 124$^{a\ bis}$, 131^{a}, 132^{a}.
- Jerome . . . i. 121^{b} (Porter); iv. 873^{a} (H. A. White); Ext. 339^{a} (Menzies), 494^{a} ff. (Turner).
- Jerubbaal . . . ii. 583^{b}; Ext. 646^{a} (Kautzsch).
- Jerubbesheth . . ii. 583^{b}; Ext. 646^{b} (Kautzsch).
- Jeruel . . . . ii. 583^{b}; Ext. 663^{b} note (Kautzsch).
- Jerusalem . . . ii. 584^{a} (Conder).
  - Gates . . . ii. 590^{a}, 593$^{a,\,b}$.
  - History . . . ii. 586^{a} ff.
    - Siege by Romans . ii. 588^{b}.
- Jerusalem—
  - Inscriptions . . ii. 597$^{a,\,b}$.
  - Markets . . . ii. 596^{a}.
  - Modern Jerusalem . ii. 600^{b}.
  - Names . . . ii. 584^{a}, 554^{a} (Driver); iii. 335^{b} (Sayce).
  - Sacred Sites and Ecclesiastical Buildings . . . ii. 589^{b} ff.
  - Site . . . . ii. 584^{b}.
    - in Benjamin or Judah . . ii. 586^{a}; i. 272^{b} (Peake); ii. 386^{b} (Warren), 554^{b} (Driver).
  - Springs and Pools . ii. 585^{b}, 597^{a}, 591^{b}, 62^{b} (Hull).
  - Strategic Importance . . . iv. 893^{a} (Barnes).
  - Temple Enclosure . ii. 598^{a} ff.
  - Tombs . . . ii. 592^{b}, 597^{a}.
  - Topography . . ii. 591^{a} ff.
    - Akra . . . ii. 591^{a}, 594$^{a,\,b}$. [See Acra].
    - Antonia . . ii. 594^{a}, 599^{a}. (See Antonia].
    - Calvary . . . ii. 596^{a}. [See Calvary].
    - City of David . ii. 591^{a} f.
    - En-rogel . . ii. 592^{a}; i. 711^{b} (Stenning).
    - Gihon . . . ii. 592^{a}, 174^{a}.
    - Hezekiah's Aqueduct . . . ii. 592^{b}, 597^{a}, 377^{a} (M'Clymont); iv. 515^{b} (Wilson).
    - Ophel . . . ii. 591^{b} f.; iii. 626^{a} (Warren).
    - Sakhrah . . ii. 589^{a}, 590^{a}, 599^{b}.
    - Solomon's Palace . ii. 592^{a}.
    - Zion . . . ii. 591^{a}, 554^{a} (Driver); iv. 982^{b} (Wilson).
    - of Greek Age . ii. 594^{a}.
    - under Herod . ii. 594^{a}.
- Jerusha . . . ii. 601^{a}, 127^{a}.
- Jeshaiah . . . ii. 601^{a}, 125^{a}, 127^{a}, 131^{b}.
- Jeshanah . . . ii. 601^{a}.
- Jesharelah . . . i. 164^{a} [Asharelah].
- Jeshebeab . . . ii. 601^{a}, 123^{b}.
- Jesher . . . . ii. 601^{a}, 127^{b}.
- Jeshimon . . . ii. 601^{a} (Chapman).
- Jeshishai . . . ii. 601^{b}, 131^{b}.
- Jeshohaiah . . . ii. 602^{a}, 122^{b}.
- Jeshua (person) . . ii. 602^{a}, 123$^{b\ bis}$, 125^{b}.
- Jeshua (place) . . ii. 602^{a}.
- Jeshurun . . . ii. 602^{a} (Selbie).
- Jesias (Ap.) . . . ii. 602^{b}.
- Jesimiel . . . ii. 602^{b}, 122^{b}.
- Jesse . . . . ii. 602^{b} (N. J. D. White), 126^{b} (Curtis).
- Jesus . . . . ii. 603^{a}.
- Jesus Christ . . ii. 603^{a} (Sanday). [See Christology].
  - Agony, omitted by St. John . . ii. 712^{b} (Reynolds).
    - Scene . . . iii. 618^{b} (Warren). [See Gethsemane].
  - Ascension . . . ii. 642^{a} ff.; i. 161^{a} (Denney); iii. 619^{a} (Warren).

Jesus Christ—
  Atonement . . ii. 649^a, 653^a; i. 198$^{a, b}$ (Murray), 474^b f. (Kilpatrick); iii. 723^b (Findlay); iv. 200^a ff. (Adams Brown), 343^b, 346^a (W. P. Paterson).
  Baptism . . . ii. 610^a ff., 406^a (Swete), 765^b (Warren); iv. 572^a; Ext. 309^b (Scott).
    Date . . . i. 405^a ff. (Turner); Ext. 481^b (Ramsay).
    Dove . . . ii. 406^a (Swete).
  Birth, Date of . . i. 403^b ff. (Turner).
    in a Cave . . i. 281^a (Conder); iii. 234^b (Massie), 288^a (Mayor); Ext. 429^b, 430^b (Tasker).
    in an Inn . . iii. 234^a (Massie). [See Inn].
    of a Virgin . . ii. 643^b f., 646^b f.; i. 324^b ff. (Mayor); ii. 405^b (Swete), 456^a (Davidson), 460^a (Ottley).
  Bloody Sweat . . iii. 330^a (Macalister).
  Call of the Twelve . ii. 614^a.
  Chronology of Life . i. 403^b ff. (Turner).
    of Last Week . ii. 633^b; i. 410^a ff. (Turner).
  Cleansing of the Temple . . . ii. 613^a, 245^a (Stanton).
  Conception . . ii. 643^b, 646^b f., 405^b (Swete), 460^a (Ottley); Ext. 309^a (Scott).
  Coequal with God . ii. 624^a, 648^b, 214^a. [See Trinity].
  Consciousness . . ii. 723^a (Reynolds), 849^a, 851$^{a, b}$ (Orr); iv. 574^b; Ext. 290^a (Fairweather).
  Death . . . iii. 723^b (Findlay); iv. 367^b (Adams Brown).
    Darkness at . . i. 413^a (Turner), 559^b (Purves).
    Date . . . i. 410^a ff. (Turner).
    Day and Hour . ii. 633^b f.; i. 410^b (Turner); ii. 711^a (Reynolds); iv. 64^a (Purves); Ext. 477^b (Ramsay).
    Manner . . . [See Cross].
    Physical cause . iii. 326^a (Macalister).
    Prophecies of . ii. 631^a.
    Propitiatory Sacrifice . . . ii. 631^b, 638^a, 723^b (Findlay); iv. 132^a (Driver), 343^b (W. P. Paterson).
  Education . . . i. 650^b (A. R. S. Kennedy).
  Environment and contemporary Religious Thought . ii. 604^b ff. [See NT Times].
  Founder of Church . ii. 635^a.
  Fulfilment of OT Revelation . . Ext. 325^b, 326^b, 332^a ff. (Garvie).
  Genealogy . . ii. 645^a, 137^b (Bacon); iii. 302^b (Bartlet).
  God revealed in . ii. 463^b, 465^b (Ottley).

Jesus Christ—
  Holiness . . . ii. 400^b (Stevens).
  Humanity . . ii. 459^b, 460^b (Ottley).
  Humiliation . . ii. 330^a (Bruce); iii. 843^a (Gibb).
  Image of God . . ii. 452^b (Laidlaw), 329^b (Bruce).
  Incarnation . . ii. 458^a ff. (Ottley); Ext. 309^a (Scott).
  Infancy in Gospels . ii. 643^a ff.; iii. 286^b (Mayor).
    in Apocryphal Literature . . iii. 287^b (Mayor); Ext. 430^a ff. (Tasker).
  Kenosis . . . ii. 652^a, 463^b (Ottley), 835^a (Lock); iii. 722^b (Findlay), 843^b (Gibb); Ext. 326^a, 332^b (Garvie).
  King . . . . ii. 466^b (Ottley).
  Language . . . Ext. 5^a (Votaw).
  Last Supper . . ii. 636^a ff. [See Lord's Supper].
    Day of . . . ii. 634^a; i. 411^a ff. (Turner).
  Lordship . . . ii. 463^a (Ottley); iii. 722^b (Findlay).
  Mediator . . . iii. 315^b ff. (Adeney).
  Messianic Claims . ii. 622^a ff., 461^b (Ottley), 849$^{a, b}$ (Orr); iii. 356^a (Stanton), 723^a (Findlay); iv. 576^a.
  Ministry . . . ii. 609^b–616^b, 628^a ff.
    Duration . . i. 406^a ff. (Turner); ii. 711^a (Reynolds).
    Peræan . . ii. 630^b.
    Relation to Baptist's . . . ii. 614^b, 679^b (Bebb).
    Scene . . . ii. 710^b (Reynolds).
  Miracles . . . ii. 615^b, 624^b ff.; iii. 389^a ff. (J. H. Bernard).
  Name . . . [See under Titles].
    used in Magic . iv. 418^a (Headlam).
  Parables . . . ii. 617^a; iii. 663^b (Plummer).
  Person . . . ii. 647^b ff., 651^a ff.; i. 489^b (Robertson); ii. 329^a (Bruce); iii. 722^a ff. (Findlay).
  Prayers . . . iv. 44^a (E. R. Bernard).
  Preaching . . . ii. 615^a; iv. 46^b (Adeney).
  Pre-existence . . i. 720^a (Lock); ii. 461^a, 462^b (Ottley); iii. 133^a (Purves), 722^b (Findlay), 793^b (Chase); iv. 576^b ff. (Sanday); Ext. 310^b (Scott).
  Priesthood . . ii. 331^a (Bruce), 466^b (Ottley); iv. 98^a ff. (Denney)
    in Heaven . . ii. 333^b (Bruce); iv. 99^a (Denney).
  Prophet . . . ii. 466^a (Ottley).
  Redeemer . . . iv. 211^b (Adams Brown).
  Resurrection and Appearances . . ii. 638^b ff.; iv. 234^a (E. R. Bernard).

- Jesus Christ—
  - Saviour ii. 652^b f.; iv. 362^b ff., 371^b f. (Adams Brown).
  - Second Coming iii. 674^b (Adams Brown), 370^a ff., 729^b (Findlay); iv. 259^b (Porter).
  - Self-Revelation ii. 616^a.
  - Sepulchre iv. 457^b (Nicol).
    - Site and Buildings ii. 589^a ff. (Conder).
  - Sinlessness ii. 460^b (Ottley).
  - Sonship ii. 246^b (Stanton), 463^a (Ottley). [See Son of God].
  - Teaching, Characteristics of ii. 616^b.
    - in Fourth Gospel and Synoptics ii. 247^a (Stanton).
    - on Baptism i. 241^a, 243^b (Plummer); ii. 213^b f. (Sanday), 408^a (Swete); Ext. 313^b f. (Scott).
      - Clean and Unclean iv. 834^a (Peake).
      - Conscience i. 468^b (Kilpatrick).
      - Divorce iii. 275^a ff. (W. P. Paterson); Ext. 27^a ff. (Votaw).
      - Election iv. 55^a ff. (Warfield).
      - Eschatology ii. 634^b ff.; i. 750^a ff. (Salmond); ii. 246^b (Stanton); iii. 675^b, 679^b (Adams Brown).
      - Ethics ii. 652^a; i. 783^b (Strong).
      - Faith i. 834^a (Warfield).
      - Fasting i. 855^a (Stanton).
      - Forgiveness ii. 57^a (Bethune-Baker); Ext. 28^b (Votaw).
      - God Ext. 326^b (Garvie).
        - Fatherhood of ii. 618^b, 217^a ff. (Candlish); Ext. 280^b (Fairweather).
      - Holy Spirit ii. 624^a, 408^a (Swete); Ext. 311^a (Scott).
      - Kingdom of God ii. 615^a, 619^a ff., 849^a ff. (Orr); iv. 362^b ff. (Adams Brown); Ext. 17^a note, 18^b f., 36^a, 39^a (Votaw).
      - Love iii. 156^b (Orr); Ext. 30^a (Votaw).
      - Marriage iii. 265^b, 275^a ff. (W. P. Paterson); Ext. 26^b ff. (Votaw).
      - Mediation iii. 316^a (Adeney).
      - Messiah ii. 622^a ff. [See above, Messianic Claims].
      - Oaths iii. 577^a (Ferries); Ext. 28^a (Votaw).
      - Paraclete ii. 624^a. [See above, under Holy Spirit].
      - Prayer iv. $43^{a,b}$ (E. R. Bernard); Ext. 32^a–38^b (Votaw).
      - Regeneration iv. 216^b (Bartlet); i. 243^b (Plummer).
      - Relation to the Father ii. 246^b (Stanton).
      - Resurrection iv. 233^b (E. R. Bernard).
- Jesus Christ—
  - Teaching on Righteousness iv. 282^a ff. (Stevens); Ext. 25^b, 42^b (Votaw).
    - Sacrifice iv. 343^a (W. P. Paterson).
    - Salvation iv. 362^b (Adams Brown).
    - Sin iv. 532^b (E. R. Bernard).
    - Trinity ii. 624^a; Ext. 310^b ff. (Scott).
    - Worship Ext. 31^a (Votaw).
  - Temptation ii. 612^a, 626^b, 460^b (Ottley), 712^a (Reynolds); iv. 186^b (Woods); Ext. 310^a (Scott).
  - Titles ii. 622^a; i. 708^b (Charles); iii. 722^a (Findlay).
    - Amen i. 81^a (Massie).
    - Beloved ii. 501^a (Armitage Robinson).
    - Christ ii. 622^a.
    - Lamb iii. 19^b (A. R. S. Kennedy); iv. 263^b (Porter).
    - Saviour ii. 652^b f.; iv. 365^b f. (Adams Brown).
    - Son of David ii. 622^b.
    - Son of God ii. 623^b; iii. 722^a (Findlay); iv. 570^a ff.
    - Son of Man ii. 622^b; iv. 579^a ff. (Driver).
  - Transfiguration ii. 629^b; iv. 572^a, 671^b (Wilson), 807^b (Plummer).
  - Trial ii. 633^a; iii. 876^b ff. (Purves).
    - in Akhmim Fragment Ext. 426^b f. (Tasker).
  - Triumphal Entry ii. 632^a; iii. 619^a (Warren).
  - Witness of Conscience to Christ i. 474^b (Kilpatrick).
  - Work ii. 652^a ff., 463^b (Ottley).
  - and Angels ii. 328^a (Bruce); Ext. 290^a (Fairweather).
  - and Demons i. 593^b (Whitehouse); iv. 410^a, 412^a (Whitehouse); Ext. 290^a (Fairweather).
  - and Holy Spirit Ext. 308^b ff. (Scott). [See under Christ (Teaching of), and Trinity].
  - and John the Baptist ii. 614^b, 679^b (Bebb).
  - and the Law ii. 246^b (Stanton); iii. 73^a ff. (Denney).
  - and Melchizedek ii. 328^a (Bruce); iii. 319^b (Adeney).
  - and the New Testament Ext. 326^b (Garvie).
  - and the Old Testament iii. 601^b (Curtis), 608^a (Woods); Ext. 22^b (Votaw), 326^b, 332^a (Garvie).
  - and Pharisees ii. 615^b; iii. 828^a (Eaton).
  - and Prophets Ext. 326^b (Garvie).
  - and the Sabbath iv. 322^a (Driver).

Jesus Christ—
  and Sadducees . . iv. 351^{b} (Eaton).
  'in Christ' . . iii. 789^{b} (Chase).
Jesus called Justus . ii. 654^{a}.
Jether . . . . ii. 654^{a}, 126^{a}, 129^{a}, 132^{a}.
Jetheth . . . ii. 654^{a}.
Jethro . . . . ii. 654^{a} (Selbie).
Jetur . . . . ii. 521^{b}.
Jeuel . . . . ii. 654^{b}, 125^{b}.
Jeush . . . . ii. 654^{b}, 123^{a}, 126^{b}, 127^{a}, 130^{b}, 131^{b}.
Jeuz . . . . ii. 654^{b}, 131^{a}.
Jew, Jews . . . ii. 654^{b} (Lukyn Williams). [See Israel, History of].
Jewel . . . . ii. 655^{a} (Selbie).
Jewry . . . . ii. 655^{b}.
Jezaniah . . . ii. 656^{a}.
Jezebel . . . ii. 656^{a} (Selbie); Ext. 647^{b} (Kautzsch).
  in NT . . . ii. 656^{b} note; i. 97^{b} (Gwatkin); iv. 259^{a} (Porter), 758^{b} (Ramsay).
Jezelus (Ap.) . . ii. 657^{a}.
Jezer . . . . ii. 657^{a}, 131^{b}.
Jeziel . . . . ii. 657^{a}, 132^{a}.
Jezrahiah . . . ii. 657^{a}.
Jezreel (person) . . ii. 657^{a}, 128^{a}.
Jezreel (place) . . ii. 657^{a} (Ewing).
Jezreelite, Jezreelitess ii. 658$^{a,\ b}$.
Jezrielus (Ap.) . . ii. 658^{b}.
Jidlaph . . . ii. 658^{b}.
Jinn . . . . i. 590^{b} (Whitehouse).
Joab . . . . ii. 658^{b} (Selbie), 127^{a}, 128^{b}, 132^{a} (Curtis).
Joachaz (Ap.) . . ii. 659^{b}.
Joadanus (Ap.) . . ii. 659^{b}.
Joah . . . . ii. 659^{b}, 123^{a}, 125^{b} *bis*.
Joahaz . . . ii. 660^{a}, 556^{a} (N. J. D. White).
Joakim (Ap.) . . ii. 660^{a}.
Joanan . . . ii. 660^{a}.
Joanna . . . ii. 660^{a}.
Joannes (Ap.) . . ii. 660^{a}.
Joarib (Ap.) . . ii. 660^{a}.
Joash . . . . ii. 660^{b} (N. J. D. White), 125^{b}, 126^{a}, 130^{b}, 132^{a} (Curtis).
Job . . . . ii. 660^{b} (Davison).
  Argument of Book . ii. 661^{a}.
  Canonicity . . iii. 614^{a} (Woods).
  Date and Authorship ii. 669^{b}.
  Disease, Job's . . ii. 661^{b}; iii. 329^{b} (Macalister).
  Elihu section . . ii. 662^{a}, 665^{b}, 667^{b}; Ext. 730^{a} (Kautzsch).
  Epilogue . . . ii. 662^{a}, 669^{a}.
  Eschatology . . i. 739^{b} f. (Davidson); Ext. 730^{a} (Kautzsch).
  Ethics . . . i. 782^{b} (Strong).
  History or Poetry? . ii. 662^{b}.
  Integrity . . . ii. 664^{b}.
  Job as a type of Christ . . . ii. 669^{b}.
  Language . . . ii. 670^{a}.
Job—
  Name . . . ii. 660^{b}.
  Parallels with other Books . . ii. 670^{b}.
    with Isaiah . . ii. 670^{b} f.
  Place in History of Revelation . . ii. 669^{a}.
  Prayer . . . iv. 41^{b} (E. R. Bernard).
  Prologue . . . ii. 661^{a}, 668^{a}.
  Redeemer Passages . ii. 667^{b}, 224^{a} (A. R. S. Kennedy); iv. 211^{a} (Adams Brown).
  Retribution, Problem of . . . . iv. 276^{b} (Skinner), 925^{b} (Siegfried); Ext. 730^{b} (Kautzsch).
  Satan . . . iv. 408^{a} (Whitehouse); Ext. 730^{a} (Kautzsch).
  Scope and Design of Book . . . ii. 666^{b}.
  Structure . . . ii. 662^{b}; iv. 13^{b} (Budde).
  Text . . . . ii. 663^{b}.
    LXX . . . ii. 664^{a}.
  Traditional Sites connected with . . i. 166^{b} (Driver).
Job, Testament of . iv. 789^{a}.
Jobab . . . . ii. 671^{b} (Margoliouth), 131^{a} *bis* (Curtis), 660^{b} (Davison).
Jochebed . . . ii. 671^{b}, 123^{a}.
Jod . . . . ii. 671^{b}, 789^{b}.
Joda . . . . ii. 671^{b}.
Joed . . . . ii. 672^{a}, 131^{b}.
Joel . . . . ii. 672^{a}, 122^{b}, 123^{a}, 124^{a}, 125^{b} *bis*, 129^{b}, 131^{b}, 132^{b}.
Joel (Prophet) . . ii. 672^{a} (Cameron).
  Contents and occasion of Book . . ii. 672^{a}.
  Date. . . . ii. 673^{b}.
  Doctrine . . . ii. 675^{b}; Ext. 710^{b} (Kautzsch).
  Interpretation . . ii. 672^{b}.
  Name . . . ii. 672^{a}.
  Nations mentioned . ii. 673^{b} f.
  Parallels with other Books . . . ii. 675^{b}.
  Style . . . ii. 675^{b}.
Joelah . . . . ii. 676^{a}, 132^{a}.
Joezer . . . . ii. 676^{a}, 132^{a}.
Jogbehah . . . ii. 676^{a}.
Jogli . . . . ii. 676^{a}.
Joha . . . . ii. 676^{a}, 131^{a}, 132^{b}.
Johanan . . . ii. 676^{a} (N. J. D. White), 123^{a}, 126^{b}, 127^{a}, 132^{a} *bis* (Curtis).
John . . . . ii. 676^{b} (H. A. White).
John (Ac 4^{b}) . . ii. 676^{b} (Headlam).
John (father of Simon Peter) . . . ii. 676^{b} (Chase).
John the Baptist . . ii. 677^{a} (Bebb).
  Baptism . . . ii. 678^{b}; i. 240^{a} (Plummer).
  Call . . . . Ext. 481^{b} (Ramsay).
  Life and Ministry . ii. 677^{a}.
  Relation to Christ . ii. 679^{b}, 614^{b} (Sanday).

- John the Baptist—
  - Work and Teaching ii. 678^{a}.
    - in St. John and Synoptics ii. 245^{a} (Stanton).
- John Mark iii. 245^{a} (Chase).
- John, Apostle ii. 680^{b} (Strong).
  - in NT ii. 680^{b} ff., 705^{a} ff. (Reynolds).
  - in Tradition ii. 681^{b}.
    - Residence at Ephesus ii. 681^{b} ff.
      - at Rome iv. 309^{b} (Patrick and Relton).
  - Theology in Apocalypse ii. 690^{a} ff.
    - in Gospel and Epistles ii. 683^{b} ff., 246^{a} (Stanton), 722^{a} ff. (Reynolds), 731^{b} ff. (Salmond).
    - Doctrine of Atonement ii. 687^{b}, 726^{b} (Reynolds); iv. 346^{a} (W. P. Paterson).
      - Christ ii. 683^{b} ff., 723^{b} ff. (Reynolds).
      - Church ii. 689^{a} f.
      - Eschatology ii. 727^{b} (Reynolds); i. 754^{b} (Salmond).
      - Faith ii. 688^{a}; i. 836^{a} (Warfield); ii. 727^{b} (Reynolds).
      - Flesh ii. 687^{a}.
      - God ii. 690^{b}, 722^{b} (Reynolds).
      - Holy Spirit ii. 688^{b}, 692^{a}, 408^{a} (Swete), 724^{b} (Reynolds).
      - Incarnation ii. 685^{b}, 723^{b} (Reynolds), 465^{a} (Ottley).
      - Life ii. 687^{a}, 725^{b} (Reynolds); iii. 116^{b} f. (Martin).
      - Light ii. 690^{a}, 726^{a} (Reynolds).
      - Logos ii. 685^{b}, 703^{b}, 723^{a} ff. (Reynolds); iii. 133^{a} ff. (Purves); Ext. 284^{b} (Fairweather).
      - Mediation iii. 317^{a}, 320^{a} (Adeney).
      - Regeneration iv. 219^{a} ff. (Bartlet).
      - Relation of Father and Son ii. 686^{b}, 691^{a}, 723^{a} (Reynolds).
      - Salvation ii. 687^{a} ff., 693^{a}, 725^{a} ff. (Reynolds); iv. 220^{a} (Bartlet), 368^{a} ff. (Adams Brown).
      - Sanctification iv. 394^{a} (Bartlet).
      - Satan iv. 411^{b} (Whitehouse).
      - Sin and Judgment ii. 692^{b}, 725$^{a,\,b}$ (Reynolds).
      - Sonship of Believers ii. 220^{a} (Candlish).
      - Trinity Ext. 311^{b} f., 317^{a} f. (Scott).
      - Truth iv. 819^{a} (Stanton).
      - World ii. 687^{a}, 724^{b} f. (Reynolds).
- John of Damascus Ext. 519^{a} (Turner).
- John, Gospel of ii. 694^{a} (Reynolds).
  - Aim ii. 235^{b}, 247^{b} (Stanton).
  - Authorship, Internal Evidence for ii. 702^{a}, 248^{b} (Stanton).
- John, Gospel of—
  - Canonicity ii. 702^{a}.
  - Christ's Teaching in ii. 246^{b} f. (Stanton).
  - Date, External Evidence ii. 696^{a} ff.
  - Discourses ii. 718^{a}.
  - Docetism ii. 717^{b}.
  - Ethics i. 784^{a} (Strong).
  - Gnosticism ii. 717^{a}.
  - Language ii. 718^{b}; iii. 41^{b} (Thayer).
  - Order of Thought ii. 720^{a}.
  - Philo, Influence of ii. 703^{b} f.
  - Prologue ii. 719^{a}, 685^{b} (Strong).
  - Quotations iv. 187^{a} (Woods).
  - Relation to St. Luke's Gospel iii. 167^{a} (Bebb).
    - to Revelation ii. 707^{a} ff.; iv. 264^{b} (Porter).
    - to Synoptics ii. 710^{a}, 243^{a} ff. (Stanton).
    - Correspondences ii. 713^{b}.
    - Differences ii. 710^{b} ff.
  - Supernatural element ii. 716^{a}.
  - Theology [See under John (Apostle)].
- John, Epistles of ii. 728^{a} (Salmond).
  - I Epistle—
    - Antichrist in ii. 734^{b}.
    - Authorship ii. 735^{a}.
      - Historical Evidence ii. 736^{a}.
    - Characteristics ii. 730^{b}.
    - Contents ii. 729^{b}.
    - Date ii. 737^{b}.
    - Destination ii. 738^{a}.
    - Doctrine of Christ ii. 731^{b}.
      - Eschatology ii. 732^{a}.
      - Evil ii. 732^{a}.
      - Faith ii. 732^{a}.
      - God ii. 729^{b} f., 731^{b}.
      - Holy Spirit ii. 732^{a}.
      - Paraclete ii. 731^{b}.
      - [See under John (Apostle)].
    - Form and Structure ii. 732^{b}.
    - Place of Writing ii. 737^{a}.
    - Prayer in iv. 45^{a} (Bernard).
    - Purpose and Occasion ii. 734^{a}.
    - Relation to Fourth Gospel ii. 733^{b}, 736^{b}, 737^{b}, 706^{a} (Reynolds).
      - and Docetism ii. 734^{b}.
      - and Gnosticism ii. 734^{b} f.
      - and Montanism ii. 735^{b} ff.
  - II Epistle ii. 738^{b}.
    - Address ii. 740^{b}.
    - Authorship ii. 739^{a}.
      - Historical Evidence ii. 739^{b} f.; iii. 540^{a} (Stanton).
      - Theory of Baur ii. 739^{a}.
    - Contents ii. 738^{b}.
    - Date, Place, and Destination ii. 740^{b}.
    - Relation to 1 John ii. 739^{a}, 706^{b} (Reynolds).

- John, Epistle of—
  - III Epistle . . . ii. 741^a.
    - Affinity to 1 and 2 John . . . ii. 742^a, 706^b (Reynolds).
    - Authorship . . ii. 742^a.
    - Contents . . ii. 741^a.
    - Date, Place, and Destination . ii. 741^b.
    - Importance . . ii. 742^a.
    - Occasion . . ii. 741^b.
- John (Presbyter) . . ii. 682^b f. (Strong), 699^a (Reynolds), 740^a (Salmond).
- Joiada . . . . ii. 742^b, 123^b.
- Joiakim . . . . ii. 742^b, 123^b.
- Joiarib . . . . ii. 742^b, 126^a.
- Jokdeam . . . . ii. 743^a, 127^b.
- Jokim . . . . ii. 743^a, 125^b.
- Jokmeam . . . . ii. 743^a.
- Jokneam . . . . ii. 743^a (Conder).
- Jokshan . . . . ii. 743^a (Margoliouth).
- Joktan . . . . ii. 743^a (Margoliouth).
- Joktheel . . . . ii. 744^a (Hull).
- Jollity . . . . ii. 744^a.
- Jonadab . . . . ii. 559^b; Ext. 659^a (Kautzsch).
- Jonah . . . . ii. 744^b (König).
  - Faintness . . . iii. 328^a (Macalister).
  - Prophet of 2 K 14^{25} . ii. 744^b.
  - and Book of Jonah . ii. 745^a.
  - and Isaiah 15 f. . ii. 744^b.
- Jonah, Book—
  - Contents . . . ii. 745^a.
  - Date . . . . ii. 747^b f.
  - Interpretation, Historical . . ii. 749^a, 750^a.
    - Incarnation of Dagon . . ii. 751^b (note).
    - Legendary . . ii. 749^b f.
    - Symbolic . . ii. 746^b ff.
  - Language . . . ii. 747^b f.
  - Names 'Jonah' and 'Nineveh' . . ii. 747^b, 752^a note.
  - NT references . . ii. 751^a.
  - Prayer of Jonah . ii. 746^a.
  - Unity of Book . . ii. 746^a.
- Jonam . . . . ii. 753^a.
- Jonas (Ap.) . . . ii. 753^a.
- Jonathan . . . . ii. 753^a (W. P. Paterson), $123^{a,b}$, 126^a, $131^{a,b}$, 132^b (Curtis).
- Jonath elem rehokim . iv. 154^a (Davison).
- Joppa . . . . ii. 755^a (Mackie).
  - Sea of . . . ii. 756^a.
- Jorah . . . . ii. 756^a, 133^b.
- Jorai . . . . ii. 756^a, 131^b.
- Joram . . . . ii. 756^a, 124^a, 126^b.
- Jordan . . . . ii. 756^a (Warren).
  - Baptism of Christ, Scene of . . ii. 765^b.
  - 'beyond Jordan' . i. 285^a (Hastings).
  - Boundary . . . ii. 763^b.
  - Cities of the Plain . ii. 764^a. [See Plain, Cities of].
  - Climate . . . ii. 761^b.
- Jordan—
  - Fauna and Flora . ii. 762^a.
  - Geology . . . ii. 756^b, 151^a (Hull).
  - Mounds in Jordan Valley . . . ii. 764^a.
  - Name . . . ii. 756^a.
  - Passage by Israelites, etc. . . . ii. 764^b.
  - Physical Features . ii. 757^b.
    - Ghôr . . . ii. 758^b.
    - Zôr . . . ii. 759^b.
  - Plains . . . ii. 760^b.
  - References by Ancient Writers . . ii. 766^a.
  - Roads, Bridges, Fords ii. 761^a, 764^b.
  - Tributaries . . ii. 761^a.
- Joribus (Ap.) . . ii. 767^a.
- Jorim . . . . ii. 767^a.
- Jorkeam . . . ii. 767^a, $127^{a,b}$.
- Josabdus (Ap.) . . ii. 767^a.
- Josaphias (Ap.) . . ii. 767^a.
- Josech . . . . ii. 767^a.
- Josedek . . . . ii. 564^a [Jehozadak].
- Joseph . . . . ii. 767^a, 123^a.
- Joseph (son of Jacob) . ii. 767^a (Driver).
  - Character . . ii. 770^a.
  - Date . . . . ii. 770^b.
  - History . . . ii. 767^b ff.
    - Egyptian Customs and Names . ii. 772^a - 775^a; i. 665^b (Crum).
    - Sources . . . ii. 767^a.
  - Historicity . . ii. 771^a, 147^b (Ryle).
  - Name . . . ii. 526^b.
  - Tomb . . . iv. 486^a (Wilson).
- Joseph (husband of Mary) . . . ii. 775^b (Lukyn Williams).
  - in NT . . . ii. 775^b.
  - in Apocryphal Sources ii. 776^a; Ext. 433^b (Tasker).
  - St. Joseph, Cult of . ii. 777^a.
- Joseph of Arimathæa . ii. 777^b (Cowan).
- Joseph Barsabbas . ii. 778^b (Purves).
- Joseph the Carpenter, Arabic History of . Ext. 433^b (Tasker).
- Joseph, Prayer of . ii. 778^b (Marshall).
- Josephus (Ap.) . . ii. 778^b.
- Josephus, Flavius . Ext. 461^b (Thackeray).
  - Bible of Josephus . Ext. 467^b.
    - Additions to Biblical Narrative . Ext. 469^a.
    - Canon of OT . Ext. 468^a; iii. 607^b (Woods).
    - Omissions from apologetic motives . . . Ext. 470^b.
    - Prophecies in OT . Ext. 471^a.
    - Rationalistic explanations of the Miraculous . Ext. 470^b.
    - Text . . . Ext. 467^b.
  - Life . . . . Ext. 461^b.
  - Relation to Philo and Alexandrian Judaism . . Ext. 471^a.
    - to St. Luke . . iii. 168^b (Bebb).

- Josephus, Flavius—
  - Style . . . Ext. 472^{b}.
  - Witness to Christ . Ext. 471^{b}.
  - Works . . . Ext. 463^{a}.
    - *Antiquities* . . Ext. 464^{a}.
    - *contra Apionem* . Ext. 466^{b}.
    - *Jewish War* . . Ext. 463^{a}.
    - *Life* . . . Ext. 466^{b}.
    - Editions and Translations . . Ext. 473^{b}.
    - Projected and attributed Works . Ext. 467$^{a, b}$.
  - and Messianic Prophecy . . . Ext. 301^{a} (Fairweather).
- Joses . . . . ii. 778^{b}.
- Joshah . . . ii. 779^{a}, 122^{b}.
- Joshaphat . . . ii. 779^{a}, 125^{b}.
- Joshaviah . . . ii. 779^{a}, 132^{b}.
- Joshbekashah . . ii. 779^{a}, 124^{b}.
- Josheb-basshebeth . ii. 779^{a}, 132^{a}.
- Josibiah . . . ii. 779^{a}, 122^{b}.
- Joshua . . . ii. 779^{a}, 130^{a}.
- Joshua, Son of Nun . ii. 786^{a} (G. A. Smith).
  - Name . . . ii. 779^{a}.
  - Tomb . . . iv. 456^{b} (Nicol).
  - Work . . . ii. 786^{b}.
- Joshua, Book—
  - Canonicity . . ii. 784^{a}.
  - Constituent Documents . . ii. 780^{a} ff.
    - Relation and Composition . . ii. 783^{a}.
  - Date . . . ii. 784^{a}.
  - Historical Value . ii. 785^{b}.
  - Relation to Judges . ii. 784^{b}.
    - to Pentateuch . ii. 779^{b}, 784^{a}.
  - Religious Teaching . ii. 787^{b}.
- Josiah . . . . ii. 788^{a} (Peake), 126^{b} (Curtis).
  - Reformation . . ii. 382^{b} (Allen), 447^{a}, 448^{a} (W. P. Paterson); Ext. 700^{b} (Kautzsch).
- Josias (Ap.) . . . ii. 789^{a}.
- Josiphiah . . . ii. 789^{a}, 134^{b}.
- Jot . . . . ii. 789^{a}.
- Jotbah . . . . ii. 789^{a}.
- Jotbathah . . . ii. 789^{b}.
- Jotham . . . ii. 789^{b} (Cooke), 126^{b}, 127$^{a\,bis}$ (Curtis).
- Journey, Sabbath Day's iv. 323^{a} (Massie).
- Journeyings of Israel . i. 802^{b} ff. (Rendel Harris, Chapman).
- Joy . . . . ii. 790^{a} (Banks), 790^{b} (Hastings).
- Jozabad . . . ii. 790^{b}, 125$^{b\,bis}$, 132$^{a\,ter}$.
- Jozabdus (Ap.) . . ii. 790^{b}.
- Jozacar . . . ii. 790^{b} (Bennett).
- Jozadak . . . ii. 564^{a} [Jehozadak].
- Jubal . . . . ii. 790^{b}.
- Jubilee . . . iv. 323^{b} (Harford-Battersby); i. 860^{a} (Harding); iii. 107^{a}; iv. 465^{a} (Whitehouse).
- Jubilees, Book of . ii. 791^{a} (Headlam).
  - Eschatology . . i. 745^{a} (Charles).
- Jubilees, Book of—
  - Relation to Tobit . iv. 789^{a} (Marshall).
- Jucal . . . . ii. 566^{b} [Jehucal].
- Judæa . . . . ii. 791^{b} (Wilson), 641^{b} (Conder).
- Judæa, Wilderness of . ii. 792^{a} (Wilson).
- Judah . . . . ii. 792^{a}, 794^{b} (Peake), 125^{b} (Curtis).
- Judah, Kingdom . . ii. 793^{b} (Peake).
  - Fall . . . . ii. 513^{b} (Barnes).
  - Religion during Assyrian Period . ii. 513^{a} (Barnes).
- Judah, Tribe . . ii. 792^{b}, 794^{b} (Peake), 511^{a} (Barnes).
- Judah upon Jordan . ii. 794^{b} (Warren).
- Judah (Lk 1^{39}) . . ii. 829^{b} [Jutah].
- Judaism . . . ii. 205^{b} ff., 605^{b} ff. (Sanday); Ext. 52^{a} ff. (Buhl). [See Pharisees, Talmud].
  - Idea of God in . . ii. 205^{a}, 606^{a} (Sanday); iv. 487^{b} ff. (Marshall), 679^{a} (T. Walker).
  - and Scripture . . iii. 598^{b} ff. (Curtis).
  - of the Dispersion . ii. 188^{b} (Headlam); Ext. 56^{b} (Buhl), 90^{a} ff. (Schürer).
- Judas (Ap.) . . . ii. 795^{a} (H. A. White).
- Judas Barsabbas . . ii. 795^{a} (Purves).
- Judas of Damascus . ii. 795^{b}.
- Judas of Galilee . . ii. 795^{b} (Purves).
- Judas Iscariot . . ii. 796^{a} (Plummer).
  - Call to the Apostolate ii. 796^{b}.
  - Death . . . ii. 797^{b} f.
  - Name . . . ii. 796^{a}.
  - Reception of Eucharist ii. 797^{b}.
  - Treachery, Cause of . ii. 796^{b}.
  - in Tradition and Art ii. 798^{b}.
- Judas Iscariot, Gospel of . . . . Ext. 438^{b} (Tasker).
- Judas (not Iscariot) . ii. 799^{a} (Muir); i. 323^{a} (Mayor); iv. 741^{a} (Nestle).
- Jude the Lord's Brother ii. 799^{a} (Purves).
- Jude, Epistle of . . ii. 799^{b} (Chase).
  - Authorship . . ii. 804^{a}.
  - Circumstances of Writing and Destination . . ii. 804^{b}.
  - Date . . . . ii. 803^{b} ff.
  - Eschatology . . i. 753^{b} (Salmond).
  - Gnosticism in . . ii. 804^{a}, 188^{a} (Headlam).
  - Reception in Church ii. 799^{b}.
  - Summary . . . ii. 805^{a}.
  - Text . . . . ii. 799^{b}.
  - Vocabulary, Style, etc. ii. 800^{b}.
    - Relation to Assumption of Moses . . ii. 802^{a}.
      - to Book of Enoch ii. 801^{b}.
      - to Pauline Epp. ii. 802^{b}.
      - to 2 Peter . . ii. 802^{b} f.
      - to LXX . . ii. 801^{a}.
- Judge, Judging . . ii. 806^{a} (Thatcher); Ext. 659^{b} (Kautzsch).

Judges, Period of the ii. 807^{a} (Barnes).
  Chronology ii. 807^{a}.
  Historicity ii. 808^{a}.
  History ii. 807^{b}.
    Deborah, Rising under ii. 807^{b}.
    Gideon ii. 808^{a}.
  Religion ii. 808^{b}, $816^{a.\,b}$ (König); Ext. 634^{b} ff. (Kautzsch).
  Parallels with Maccabæan Period ii. 808^{b}.
  Political Geography ii. 807^{b}.
  Tombs of the Judges ii. 597^{b} (Conder).
Judges (Book) ii. 809^{a} (König).
  Author ii. 819^{b}.
  Chronology ii. 817^{b} f.; i. 399^{b} (Curtis).
  Contents and Arrangement ii. 809^{b} ff.
  Judges ii. 810^{a}.
  Name ii. 809^{a}.
  Place in Revelation ii. 819^{b}.
  Relation to Book of Joshua ii. 784^{b} (Smith).
  Round Numbers in ii. 817^{a}.
  Sources, Age, and Character ii. 813^{a}–819^{b}.
    Relation to Pentateuchal Sources ii. 811^{b} ff.
  Text ii. 809^{a}.
  Unity ii. 811^{a}.
Judging (Ethical) ii. 820^{b} (Millar).
Judgment ii. 821^{a} (Ferries).
  in OT i. 735^{b} ff. (Davidson).
  in Apocrypha i. 742^{b}, $743^{a.\,b}$, $744^{a.\,b}$, $746^{a.\,b}$, $747^{a.\,b}$, 749^{a} (Charles); Ext. 303^{a} ff. (Fairweather).
  in NT i. 751^{a}, 753^{b}, $754^{a.\,b}$ (Salmond).
Judgment Hall ii. 821^{b}, 596^{a} (Conder); iv. 32^{b} (Purves).
Judgment Seat ii. 821^{b}.
Judgments, Book of i. 810^{a} (Harford-Battersby); ii. 806^{b} (Thatcher).
Judith (Ap.) ii. 821^{b}.
Judith, Book of ii. 822^{a} (Porter).
  Contents, Text, VSS ii. 822^{a}.
  Historicity ii. 823^{b}.
  Literary Character ii. 824^{a}.
  Place and Time of Story ii. 823^{a}.
  Religious and Ethical Teaching ii. 824^{a}.
    Doctrine of God Ext. 277^{b} (Fairweather).
    Prayer in iv. 42^{a} (Bernard).
Juel (Ap.) ii. 824^{a}.
Julia ii. 824^{a}.
Julius ii. 824^{b} (Headlam).
Junias, Junia ii. 825^{a} (Headlam).
Juniper ii. 825^{b} (Post), 35^{a} (Macalister).
Jupiter ii. 825^{b} (Jevons); Ext. 138^{b} ff. (Ramsay).
Jushab-hesed ii. 825^{b}, 127^{a}.
Justice ii. 825^{b} (Banks).
Justification ii. 826^{a} (Simon); iv. 280^{b} (Skinner).
  by Faith i. 835^{a}, 837^{a} ff. (Warfield); ii. 334^{b} (Bruce); iii. 724^{a} (Findlay); iv. 283^{b} (Stevens), 303^{b} (Robertson).
  of Gentiles ii. 828^{a}.
Justin iii. 534^{b} ff. (Stanton); iv. 578^{a} (Sanday).
Justle ii. 829^{a}.
Justus ii. 829^{b} (Headlam).
Jutah, Juttah ii. 829^{b} (Warren).

Kab iv. 910^{b} ff. (A. R. S. Kennedy); i. 219^{a} (Hommel).
Kabzeel ii. 830^{a}.
Kadashman-buriash i. 182^{a}.
Kadashman-kharbi i. 181^{b} f.
Kadesh, Kadesh-barnea ii. 830^{a} (Hull); i. 804^{b} (Harris and Chapman).
  and Petra iv. 431^{b}.
Kadesh (goddess) Ext. 191^{a} (Wiedemann).
Kadesh on the Orontes iv. 674^{b} [Tahtim-hodshi].
Kadmiel ii. 830^{b}.
Kadmonites ii. 831^{a} (Macpherson).
Kain (place) ii. 831^{a}.
Kain (clan) ii. 831^{a}.
Kalakh [See Calah].
Kali-Tishup i. 183^{a}.
Kallai ii. 831^{a}.
Kamon ii. 831^{a}.
Kanah ii. 831^{a} (Mackie).
Kaph i. 351^{b}.
Kareah ii. 831^{b}.
Kariathiarius (Ap.) ii. 831^{b}.
Karka ii. 831^{b}.
Ḳarḳar, Battle of i. 52^{b} f. (Whitehouse), 184^{b} (Hommel), 272^{a} (Sayce).
Karkhemis i. 183^{b} (Hommel).
Karkor ii. 831^{b}.
Ḳarnaim i. 167^{a} (Driver), 167^{b} (Ewing).
Kartah ii. 831^{b}.
Kartan ii. 831^{b}.
Kassites (Cassites) i. 227^{a} (Hommel); Ext. 534^{b} (Jastrow).
Kattath ii. 832^{a}.
Kedar ii. 832^{a} (Margoliouth).
Kedemah ii. 833^{a}.
Kedemoth ii. 833^{a}.
Kedesh ii. 833^{a}.
Kedesh-naphtali ii. 833^{a} (Merrill).
Keepers of the Threshold iv. 74^{a} (Baudissin), 756^{a} (Selbie).
Kehelathah ii. 833^{b}.
Keilah ii. 833^{b} (Beecher), 129^{a} (Curtis).
Kelaiah ii. 834^{a}.
Kelita ii. 834^{a}.
Kemuel ii. 834^{a}.
Kenan ii. 834^{a}.
Kenath ii. 834^{a} (Welch).
Kenaz ii. 834^{a}, $128^{b\ bis}$.

Kenites	ii. 834^{a} (Sayce).
Kenizzite	ii. 834^{a} [Kenaz].
Kenosis	ii. 835^{a} (Lock); iii. 722^{b} (Findlay), 843^{a} (Gibb); Ext. 326^{a}, 332^{b} (Garvie).
Keras (Ap.)	ii. 835^{b}.
Kerchiefs	ii. 835^{b}.
Kerê	iv. 727^{b}.
Keren-happuch	ii. 835^{b}.
Kerioth	ii. 835^{b}.
Kerioth-hezron	ii. 836^{a}.
Keros	ii. 836^{a}.
Kesitah	ii. 836^{a} (A. R. S. Kennedy); iii. 420^{b}.
Ketab (Ap.)	ii. 836^{a}.
Kethibh	iv. 727^{b}.
Kettle	i. 256^{a} (Macalister); ii. 40^{a}.
Keturah	ii. 836^{a} (Selbie); iii. 365^{a} (Chapman).
Key	ii. 836^{b} (Carslaw), 435^{a} (Warren).
Keys, Power of	iv. 30^{b} ff. (Mason).
Keziah	ii. 837^{a}.
Khabiri (Ḥabiri)	i. 228^{a} (Hommel); ii. 326^{b} (Williams).
Khaldeans	i. 140^{a} (Sayce).
Khammurabi (Ḥammurabi)	Ext. 585^{b} (Johns); i. 88^{b} (Ryle), 226^{b} f. (Hommel); Ext. 534^{a} (Jastrow).
Code of	Ext. 584^{a} ff. (Johns), 358^{b} (Bennett), 582^{b} (Jastrow), 665^{a} (Kautzsch).
Khatu-shar	i. 183^{a}.
Kibroth-hattaavah	ii. 837^{a}.
Kibzaim	ii. 743^{a} [Jokmeam].
Kid	ii. 195^{a} (Post).
Kidnapping	i. 522^{a} (Poucher); iii. 239^{a} (Selbie).
Kidneys	ii. 837^{a} (A. R. S. Kennedy).
Kidron, The Brook	ii. 837^{b} (J. H. Kennedy).
Valley = Hinnom	ii. 387^{b} (Warren).
= Valley of Jehoshaphat	ii. 838^{b}.
Kidron (Ap.)	ii. 839^{b}.
Kilan (Ap.)	ii. 839^{b}.
Kili-Tishup	i. 183^{a}.
Kin, Next of	[See Kinsman, Goel].
Kinah	ii. 839^{b}.
Kindness	ii. 839^{b} (Ferries).
Kindred	ii. 840^{a}.
Kine	[See Cattle, Ox].
King	ii. 840^{a} (Lukyn Williams).
Appointment, Method of	ii. 841^{a}.
Anointing	ii. 841^{b}; i. 101^{b} (Macalister); Ext. 659^{b} (Kautzsch).
Duties	ii. 842^{a}.
External marks	ii. 841^{b}.
Origin of office	ii. 840^{a}; Ext. 660^{b} (Kautzsch).
Priestly functions	iv. 72^{a} (Baudissin).
King—	
Royal Officials	ii. 843^{a}.
Taxes for Maintenance	ii. 842^{b}.
Kingdom of God, of Heaven	ii. 844^{a} (Orr).
OT Doctrine	ii. 844^{a}.
Basis in Creation	ii. 844^{a}.
Historical Development of idea	ii. 846^{a}–849^{a}.
Mosaic	ii. 846^{b}.
Patriarchal	ii. 846^{a}.
Prophetic	ii. 847^{b} f.
Royal	ii. 848^{a}.
Moral and Spiritual	ii. 844^{b}.
Produced by Grace	ii. 845^{a}.
Spiritual Israel	ii. 848^{a}.
in Daniel	ii. 848^{b}.
Teaching of Christ	ii. 849^{a}; i. 750^{a} (Salmond); ii. 619^{a} ff. (Sanday); iv. 362^{b} ff. (Adams Brown); Ext. 17^{a}, 18^{b}, 36^{a}, 39^{a} (Votaw).
Connexion with His own Person	ii. 849^{b}, 466^{b} (Ottley).
Eschatological	ii. 854^{a}.
Nature	ii. 852^{a} ff., 619^{b} (Sanday).
Present or Future	ii. 851^{b}, 620^{a} (Sanday).
Relation to Christ's Death	ii. 853^{b}.
to the Church	ii. 854^{b}.
to John the Baptist's Teaching	ii. 849^{a}.
Titles 'Son of God,' 'Son of Man'	ii. 850^{a} ff.
Teaching of Epistles, etc.	ii. 855^{a}.
of St. Paul	iii. 728^{a} ff. (Findlay).
Kingdom of Israel	ii. 516^{b} (Woods).
Kingdom of Judah	ii. 793^{b} (Peake).
Kings I and II	ii. 856^{b} (Burney).
Analysis of Sources	ii. 862^{b} ff.
Characteristics	ii. 857^{b} ff.
Date of Editor	ii. 861^{b} f.
Language	ii. 859^{a} ff.
Northern Dialect	ii. 866^{b}.
Narratives of Northern Kingdom	ii. 866^{b} ff.
Purpose	ii. 857^{a}.
Title, Scope, Place in Canon	ii. 856^{b}.
King's Gardens	ii. 109^{a} (Ewing).
King's Pool	iv. 19^{a} (Wilson); ii. 109^{a} (Ewing), 388^{a} (Wilson).
King's Vale	ii. 870^{b}, 388^{a} (Warren), 584^{a} (Conder); iv. 478^{a} [Shaveh].
Kingly Office of Christ	ii. 466^{b} (Ottley).
Kinsfolk	ii. 870^{b}.
Kinsman, Kinswoman	ii. 870^{b}.
Kir	iii. 1^{a} (Max Müller); i. 182^{a} (Hommel).
Kir of Moab	iii. 1^{b}, 2^{b} (Johns).
Kirama (Ap.)	iii. 2^{a}.
Kir-hareseth	iii. 2^{a} (Johns).

- Kir-héres . . . iii. 2^a.
- Kiriath . . . iii. 2^b (Conder).
- Kiriathaim . . . iii. 3^a (Conder).
- Kiriath-arba . . . iii. 3^a (Selbie); ii. 338^b (Warren).
- Kiriath-arim . . . iii. 3^b [Kiriath-jearim].
- Kiriath-baal . . . iii. 3^b [Kiriath-jearim].
- Kiriath-huzoth . . . iii. 3^a.
- Kiriath-jearim . . . iii. 3^b (Conder); ii. 127^b (Curtis).
- Kiriath-sannah . . . iii. 3^b (Welch); i. 577^b f. (Sayce).
- Kiriath-sepher . . . iii. 4^a (Welch); i. 577^b f. (Sayce).
- Kis, Kingdom of . . . i. 224^b (Hommel); Ext. 533^b (Jastrow).
- Kiseus (Ap.) . . . iii. 4^a.
- Kish . . . iii. 4^a (Muir); ii. $125^{a,\,b}$, 131^a (Curtis).
- Kishi . . . iii. 4^a; ii. 125^a.
- Kishion . . . iii. 4^b.
- Kishon . . . iii. 4^b (Ewing).
- Kiss . . . iii. 5^b (Grieve).
- Kite . . . iii. 6^a (Post).
- Kitron . . . iii. 6^a.
- Kittim . . . iii. 6^a (Macpherson).
- Knead, Kneading-trough . . . i. 317^a (Macalister).
- Knee, Kneel . . . iii. 7^b (Selbie).
- Knife . . . iii. 8^a (Carslaw); ii. 15^a (Patrick).
- Knock . . . ii. 435^a.
- Knop . . . iii. 8^a (A. R. S. Kennedy); iv. 664^a.
- Knowledge . . . iii. 8^b (Denney).
- Koa . . . iii. 10^b (Driver), 1^b (Max Müller).
- Kohath, Kohathites . . . iii. 10^b (Allen); ii. $123^{a\ bis}$ (Curtis).
- Koheleth . . . [See Ecclesiastes].
- Kolaiah . . . iii. 11^a; ii. 131^b.
- Konæ (Ap.) . . . iii. 11^a.
- Koph . . . iii. 11^b.
- Kor . . . iv. 910^b ff. (A. R. S. Kennedy); i. 219^a (Hommel).
- Korah . . . iii. 11^b (Selbie); ii. 124^a, 127^a (Curtis).
- Korah, Sons of . . . iii. 12^b.
- Korahites . . . iii. 12^b (Selbie); iv. 152^a (Davison).
- Kore . . . iii. 12^b; ii. 124^b, 125^b.
- Koz . . . ii. 128^b.
- Kudur-Lagamar . . . i. 222^b, 226^b. [See Chedorlaomer].
- Kurigalzu . . . i. 181^b.
- Kushaiah . . . iii. 4^a [Kishi].

- L (Purple Manuscript) iii. 13^a (Nestle).
  - (Codex Regius) . . . iii. 13^a (Nestle).
- Laadah . . . iii. 13^b; ii. 123^a, 125^b.
- Laban (person) . . . iii. 13^b (Driver).
- Laban (place) . . . iii. 14^b (Driver).
- Labana (Ap.) . . . iii. 14^b.
- Labour . . . iii. 14^b (Hastings).
- Laccunus (Ap.) . . . iii. 14^b.
- Lace . . . iii. 15^a.
- Lacedæmonians (Ap.) . iii. 15^a (Prichard).
- Lachish . . . iii. 15^a (Bliss).
- Lack . . . iii. 16^b (Hastings).
- Lad . . . iii. 16^b.
- Ladan . . . iii. 16^b; ii. 123^a, 130^a.
- Ladanum . . . iii. 465^a (Post), 747^b (Macalister).
- Ladder . . . iii. 16^b (James Patrick).
- Ladder of Tyre . . . iii. 17^a (Ewing).
- Lade . . . iii. 17^b.
- Lady . . . iii. 17^b (Hastings).
- Lael . . . iii. 17^b (Selbie).
- Lahad . . . iii. 17^b; ii. 128^a.
- Lahai-roi . . . i. 264^b (Henderson).
- Lahmam . . . iii. 18^a.
- Lahmi . . . iii. 18^a (Beecher); i. 562^b (H. A. White).
- Laish . . . iii. 18^a.
- Laishah . . . iii. 18^a.
- Lake . . . iii. 18^a (Hull).
- Lakkum . . . iii. 18^b.
- Lama . . . i. 684^b (Thayer).
- Lamb . . . iii. 18^b (A. R. S. Kennedy).
- Lamb of God . . . iii. 19^b (A. R. S. Kennedy).
- Lame, Lameness . . . iii. 329^a (Macalister).
- Lamech . . . iii. 19^b (Selbie).
- Lamed . . . iii. 20^a.
- Lamentation . . . iii. 453^a f. (Nicol).
- Lamentations, Book of iii. 20^a (Selbie); Ext. 723^b ff. (Kautzsch).
  - Analysis of Contents iii. 21^a.
  - Authorship . . . iii. 22^a.
  - Canonicity . . . iii. 614^a (Woods).
  - Language . . . iii. 23^a.
  - Name and Place in Canon . . . iii. 20^a.
  - Place and Date of Composition . . . iii. 23^a.
  - Structure . . . iii. 20^b; iv. 13^a (Budde).
    - Elegiac Measure . . . iii. 20^b.
  - Unity . . . iii. 23^a.
- Lamp . . . iii. 23^b (Porter), 592^a (Macalister).
- Lampsacus (Ap.) . . . iv. 377^b [Sampsames].
- Lance . . . iv. 610^a.
- Lancets . . . iii. 24^b; iv. 610^a.
- Land Crocodile . . . i. 369^a [Chameleon].
- Land Laws . . . iv. 324^a – 326 (Harford-Battersby).
- Landmark . . . iii. 24^b.
- Language of OT . . . iii. 25^a (Margoliouth).
  - Alphabets . . . i. 70^b ff. (I. Taylor).
  - Aramaic, Chaldee . . . iii. 25^a, 34^a.
  - Hebrew . . . iii. 25^a.
    - Antiquity . . . iii. 25^b.
    - Dialectic differences . . . iii. 30^b ff.
    - Grammar . . . iii. 30^b f.
    - Names . . . iii. 25^a.
    - New Hebrew . . . iii. 31^b ff.

- Language of OT—
  - Hebrew—
    - Origin and Relation to Arabic iii. 26^{a}–29^{a}.
    - Periods of the Language iii. 31^{b} ff.
    - Secondary Sources iii. 29^{a} ff.
- Language of the Apocrypha iii. 35^{a} (Margoliouth).
- Language of the New Testament iii. 36^{a} (Thayer).
  - Greek—
    - Names proposed iii. 36^{a}.
    - Origin and History iii. 36^{a} f.
    - Peculiarities of Language iii. 37^{a} f.
      - of Grammar and Syntax iii. 38^{a} f.
  - Hebrew and Aramaic iii. 39^{a}.
    - Lexical and Grammatical Hebraisms iii. 39^{a} f.
  - Latin iii. $40^{a,\,b}$.
    - Religious element, Lexical and Grammatical iii. 40^{b} f.
  - Peculiarities of individual Writers iii. 41^{a} ff.
  - Problems iii. 42^{b}.
- Lantern iii. 43^{b} (Hastings).
- Laodicea iii. 44^{a} (Ramsay); Ext. 94^{a} (Schürer).
- Laodiceans iii. 45^{a}.
  - Epistle to the iii. 45^{a} (Ramsay); i. 718^{a} (Lock).
- Lapis lazuli iv. 620^{a} (Flinders Petrie).
- Lappidoth iii. 45^{a}.
- Lapwing ii. 412^{b} [Hoopoe].
- Large iii. 45^{a} (Hastings).
- Larsa, Kings of i. 226^{b} (Hommel), 698^{a} (Sayce).
- Lasciviousness iii. 46^{a} (Hastings).
- Lasea iii. 46^{a} (Ramsay).
- Lasha iii. 46^{b} (Selbie).
- Lassharon iii. 46^{b} (Conder).
- Lasthenes (Ap.) iii. 46^{b} (H. A. White).
- Latchet iii. 47^{a} (Mackie); i. 627^{a}.
- Latin iii. 47^{a} (Thayer).
  - Influence on Language of NT iii. 40^{a}.
- Latin Versions, The Old iii. 47^{a} (H. A. A. Kennedy).
- Latter iii. 62^{b}.
- Lattice ii. 435^{b}.
- Laud iii. 63^{a} (Hastings).
- Laughter iii. 63^{a} (Hastings).
- Launch iii. 63^{b}.
- Laver iii. 63^{b} (Harford-Battersby); iv. 658^{b} (A. R. S. Kennedy), 702^{b} (Davies).
  - Base iii. 64^{a}; i. 255^{a} (Hastings).
- Law in the Old Testament iii. 64^{b} (Driver); i. 810^{a} (Harford-Battersby).
  - Characteristics and Purpose iii. 71^{b} ff.
  - Codes of Hebrew Law—
    - Deuteronomy iii. 68^{b} f.; i. 600^{a} (Ryle).
    - Holiness, Law of iii. 69^{b}, 105^{b} ff. (Harford-Battersby).
    - JE—Covenant, Book of iii. 68^{a}.
      - Decalogue iii. 67^{b}; i. 580^{a} (W. P. Paterson).
    - Priests' Code iii. 70^{a} ff. [See Leviticus, Priests' Code].
  - Synonyms of 'Law' iii. 66^{b}.
  - Torah, History of the term iii. 64^{b} ff., 595^{b} f. (Curtis).
    - Judicial, Ceremonial, Moral iii. 66^{a}.
    - Written Torah iii. 66^{a}, 596^{a} (Curtis).
  - Work of the Scribes iv. 420^{a} ff. (Eaton).
  - in Hellenistic and Palestinian Judaism i. 117^{b} (F. C. Porter).
- Law in the New Testament iii. 73^{a} (Denney).
  - Attitude of Early Church iii. 76^{a}.
  - Relation of Christ to the Law iii. 73^{a} ff.; ii. 246^{b} (Stanton).
  - St. Paul's Practice and Doctrine iii. 77^{a}–81^{b}, 719^{a} (Findlay).
    - Law in History iii. 78^{b}.
      - in the Individual iii. 79^{a}.
    - Law and Gospel iii. 80^{a}.
    - Relation of Christians to Law iii. 80^{b}.
    - Pauline use of term iii. 77^{b} ff.
  - in Epistle to Hebrews iii. 81^{b}.
  - in Epistle of James iii. 82^{a}.
  - in Revelation iii. 82^{a}.
- Lawgiver iii. 83^{a} (Selbie).
- Lawyer iii. 83^{b} (Eaton); iv. 420^{b} ff.
- Lay iii. 84^{a} (Hastings).
- Laying on of Hands iii. 84^{b} (Swete); Ext. 720^{b} (Kautzsch).
- Lazarus of Bethany iii. 85^{b} (Plummer).
- Lazarus and Dives iii. 88^{a} (Plummer), 330^{a} (Macalister).
- Lead iii. 88^{b} (Flinders Petrie).
  - Leaden Tablets in Magic iv. 605^{b} (Whitehouse), 945^{a} (Kenyon); Ext. 154^{a} (Ramsay).
- Leah iii. 88^{b} (Selbie).
  - Leah and Rachel Tribes iii. 89^{a}.
  - Name iii. 89^{a}.
  - and Levi iii. 100^{a} Cooke).
- Leannoth iv. 154^{a}. [Mahalath].
- Leasing iii. 89^{a} (Hastings).

- Leather iii. 89^b (Porter); iv. 677^b.
  - as Writing Material iv. 945^a (Kenyon).
- Leave iii. 89^b.
- Leaven iii. 90^a (H. A. White); i. 317^b (Macalister).
- Lebana iii. 90^b.
- Lebanon iii. 90^b (Bliss).
  - in Inscription of Gudea i. 225^b (Hommel).
- Lebaoth iii. 92^b.
- Lebbaeus iii. 92^b (Muir); iv. 741^a (Nestle).
- Lebonah iii. 93^a.
- Lecah iii. 93^a; ii. 125^b.
- Leech ii. 418^a [Horseleech]; Ext. 618^a (Kautzsch).
- Leeks iii. 93^a (Post); ii. 29^a (Macalister).
- Lees iii. 93^a (Hastings); ii. 33^a (Macalister).
- Lefthanded iii. 93^a.
- Leg iii. 93^b (Selbie).
- Legion iii. 94^a (Barnes).
- Lehabim iii. 94^a (Max Müller).
- Lehi iii. 94^b (Cooke); iv. 381^a (Budde).
- Leja i. 146^a (Driver).
- Lemuel iii. 94^b (Davison); i. 51^b.
- Lending i. 579^a ff. (Bennett).
- Lentils iii. 95^a (Post); ii. 27^b (Macalister).
- Leontius of Byzantium Ext. 530^a (Turner).
- Leopard iii. 95^a (Post).
- Leprosy iii. 95^a (Macalister); iv. 831^b (Peake).
  - in Garments iii. 98^b.
  - in Houses iii. 98^b; ii. 433^b (Warren).
  - Laws on iii. 104^b (Harford-Battersby).
- Leshem iii. 99^a.
- Lessau (Ap.) iii. 99^a.
- Let iii. 99^a (Hastings).
- Lethech iii. 99^b.
- Letter i. 729^b (Bartlet); Ext. 400^b ff. (Ramsay).
- Letushim iii. 99^b (Margoliouth).
- Leummim iii. 99^b (Margoliouth).
- Levi iii. 99^b (Cooke); ii. 123^a (Curtis).
  - History iii. 100^b.
  - Name iii. 100^a.
  - and Priesthood iii. 101^a; iv. 67^b (Baudissin).
- Levi=Matthew iii. 295^b (Bartlet).
- Leviathan iii. 102^a (Post); i. 504^a (Whitehouse); iv. 427^b (Selbie); Ext. 670^b (Kautzsch).
- Levirate Law iii. 263^b, 269^a (Paterson); Ext. 615^b (Kautzsch).
- Levis (Ap.) iii. 102^b.
- Levites iii. 101^a ff. (Cooke). [See Priests].
- Levitical Cities iv. 71^b, 93^b (Baudissin); Ext. 717^b (Kautzsch).
- Leviticus iii. 102^b (Harford-Battersby).
  - Authorship and Date iii. 107^a.
  - Historical Significance iii. 108^b.
  - Law of Clean and Unclean iii. 104^a.
    - Day of Atonement iii. 105^a.
    - Leprosy iii. 104^b.
  - Law of Consecration of the Priesthood iii. 103^b.
  - Law of Holiness iii. 105^b, 107^b, 69^b (Driver).
  - Law of Sacrifice iii. 102^b.
  - Parallels with Ezekiel iii. 108^a.
  - Religious Value iii. 108^b.
  - Style and Language iii. 107^b.
- Lewd, Lewdness iii. 109^a (Hastings).
- Libanus (Ap.) iii. 110^a.
- Libertines iii. 110^a (John Patrick).
- Liberty iii. 110^b (Hastings, Banks).
- Libnah iii. 111^b (Chapman); ii. 525^b (Warren).
- Libni iii. 112^a; ii. 123^a, 125^a.
- Library i. 578^a (Sayce); iv. 956^a (Kenyon).
- Libya, Libyans iii. 158^b (Max Müller), 160^b (Johns).
- Lice iii. 112^a (Post), 330^b, 890^b (Macalister).
- Licence iii. 112^a.
- Lidebir iii. 112^b.
- Lie, Lying iii. 112^b (W. P. Paterson).
- Lie iii. 113^b (Hastings).
- Lieutenant iii. 114^a (H. A. White).
- Life iii. 114^a (G. C. Martin); Ext. 665^a (Kautzsch).
  - Doctrinal and Ethical ideas iii. 117^b.
  - in OT iii. 115^a; i. 739^a (Davidson).
    - Genesis iii. 115^a.
    - Pentateuch iii. 115^a.
    - Poetical Books iii. 115^b.
    - Prophets iii. 115^a.
    - Wisdom Literature iii. 115^b.
  - in Apocryphal and Apocalyptical Literature iii. 115^b.
    - Baruch iii. 116^b.
    - Enoch, Book of iii. 116^a.
    - 2 Esdras iii. 116^a.
    - Psalms of Solomon iii. 116^a.
    - Sirach iii. 115^b.
    - Wisdom iii. 115^b.
  - in NT iii. 116^b.
    - Hebrews iii. 117^b.
    - St. John iii. 116^b f.; ii. 687^a (Strong), 725^b (Reynolds).
    - St. Paul iii. 117^a.
    - Synoptic Gospels iii. 116^b.
  - Terms iii. 114^a.
- Life, Tree of Ext. 574^a (Jastrow).
- Light iii. 119^a (F. H. Woods).
  - Creation of i. 502^a (Whitehouse).

Light, Lightness . . iii. 119^b (Hastings).
Lightning . . . iii. 120^b (James Patrick).
  Personified as seraph iv. 459^a (Strachan).
Lign-aloes . . . i. 69^a.
Ligure . . . . iii. 121^a; iv. 620^a ff. (Flinders Petrie).
Like, Liking . . iii. 121^a (Hastings).
Likhi . . . . iii. 122^a; ii. 129^b, 130^a.
Lilith . . . . iii. 122^a (Selbie); i. 590^b (Whitehouse); Ext. 553^a (Jastrow), 618^a (Kautzsch).
Lily . . . . iii. 122^b (Post).
Lime . . . . iii. 123^a (James Patrick).
Limit . . . . iii. 123^b (Hastings).
Line . . . . iii. 123^b (Hastings).
Lineage . . . iii. 124^b.
Linen . . . . iii. 124^b (Ewing).
  Linen Garment . i. 624^a (Mackie).
  Linen Yarn . . iii. 125^b.
Lintel . . . . ii. 434^a.
Linus . . . . iii. 126^a (Redpath).
Lion . . . . iii. 126^a (Post).
  Sacred . . . Ext. 118^a (Ramsay).
Lip . . . . iii. 127^a (Mackie).
List . . . . iii. 127^a.
Litotes . . . . Ext. 164^a (König).
Litter . . . . iii. 127^b; ii. 418^a [Horse-litter].
Lively . . . . iii. 127^b (Hastings).
Liver . . . . iii. 128^a (A. R. S. Kennedy), 325^b (Macalister); Ext. 557^b (Jastrow).
Living . . . . iii. 128^b.
Living Creature . . iii. 128^b (Massie); i. 378^a (Ryle), 516^a [Creature]; iv. 459^a (Strachan).
Lizard . . . . iii. 129^b (Post).
Loaf . . . . i. 318^a.
Lo-ammi . . . iii. 129^b (Gray); ii. 421^a (Davidson).
Loan . . . . i. 579^a f. (Bennett).
Lock . . . . ii. 836^b (Carslaw), 434^b (Warren).
Locust . . . . iii. 130^a (Post).
  Agent of Judgment ii. 675^b (Cameron).
  as Food . . . ii. 37^b (Macalister).
  Plague . . . iii. 891^b (Macalister).
Lod, Lydda . . . iii. 131^a (Mackie).
Loddeus (Ap.) . . iii. 132^a.
Lo-debar . . . iii. 132^a.
Lodge . . . . iii. 132^a (Hastings).
Loft . . . . iii. 132^b.
Loftiness . . . iii. 132^b.
Log . . . . iv. 910^b ff. (A. R. S. Kennedy).
Logia . . . . ii. 235^a, 236^b, 237^a f. (Stanton); iii. 296^a ff., 298^a ff., 303^b ff. (Bartlet); Ext. 5^b ff. (Votaw).
  of Oxyrhynchus . Ext. 347^a (Ropes).
Logos . . . . iii. 132^b (Purves); i. 506^a (Whitehouse); Ext. 281^b ff. (Fairweather).
Logos—
  Alexandrian Doctrine . . . iii. 134^b; Ext. 282^a ff. (Fairweather).
  St. John's use and doctrine . . iii. 133^a; ii. 685^b (Strong), 703^b, 723^a ff. (Reynolds); Ext. 284^b (Fairweather).
    Terminology, Source of . . iii. 133^b.
  in Philo . . . iii. 135^a; Ext. 205^a ff. (Drummond), 283^b (Fairweather).
  in later Christian usage . . . iii. 135^b.
Lois . . . . iii. 136^a.
Longsuffering . . iii. 136^a (Hastings); ii. 47^a (Denney).
Look . . . . iii. 136^b (Hastings).
Looking-glass . . ii. 181^a.
Loom . . . . iv. 901^a (H. Porter).
Loops . . . . iii. 137^a; iv. 659^a (A. R. S. Kennedy).
Lord . . . . iii. 137^a (Aglen).
Lord of Hosts . . iii. 137^b (Driver); i. 95^b (Davidson); ii. 203^b (Davidson); Ext. 636^a ff. (Kautzsch).
Lord's Day . . . iii. 138^b (N. J. D. White).
  Apostolic Observance iii. 140^b.
  Origin . . . iii. 140^a.
  Relation to Sabbath. iii. 139^a; iv. 322^b (Driver).
  Term . . . iii. 139^a.
Lord's Prayer . . iii. 141^a (Plummer); Ext. 32^a ff. (Votaw).
  Analysis of Petitions iii. 142^b–144^a; Ext. 34^b–38^a (Votaw).
    ἐπιούσιος . . . iii. 143^b; Ext. 36^b (Votaw).
    Evil, Evil One . iii. 143^b; Ext. 38^a (Votaw).
  Historical Occasion . iii. 141^a; Ext. 32^a (Votaw).
  Originality . . iii. 142^b; Ext. 34^a f. (Votaw).
  Two accounts compared . . . iii. 141^a ff.; Ext. 32^b–34^a (Votaw).
Lord's Supper . . iii. 144^a (Plummer).
  Doctrine . . . iii. 148^b ff.; i. 461^a f. (Armitage Robinson); ii. 637^a ff. (Sanday).
  History of the Christian Rite . . iii. 145^b ff.
    Institution . . iii. 145^b; ii. 636^a (Sanday).
    Minister . . iii. 147^b.
    Recipients . . iii. 147^b.
    Rite . . . iii. 148^a; i. 428^b (Gayford).
  Omission by St. John ii. 712^b (Reynolds).
  Old Testament Types iii. 145^a.
  Sacrificial Character iii. 145^b, 316^b f. (Adeney); iv. 347^b (W. P. Paterson).
  Terminology . . iii. 144^a.
  and Agape . . i. 490^b (Robertson).
  and Passover . . iii. 145^b; i. 412^a f. (Turner); ii. 634^a (Sanday).

- Lords of the Philistines iii. 137^b (Aglen), 845^a (Beecher).
- Lo-ruhamah ii. 421^a (Davidson); iii. 129^b (Gray).
- Lot iii. 150^b (Driver).
  - Historical Character iii. 152^a.
  - Lot's Wife iii. 152^a.
  - Relation to Ammon and Moab iii. 151^b; Ext. 73^b (Jastrow).
- Lotan iii. 152^b.
- Lothasubus (Ap.) iii. 152^b.
- Lots iii. 152^b (Whitehouse), 305^b (Cowan); iv. 175^b (M'Clymont), 838^b ff. (A. R. S. Kennedy); Ext. 662^b (Kautzsch).
- Love iii. 153^b (Orr); i. 787^b (Strong). [See Charity].
  - God's Love in OT iii. 153^b (Orr); i. 598^b (Ryle); iv. 920^a, 922^b (Stanton).
  - in NT iii. 155^a (Orr); ii. 209^b (Sanday); Ext. 30^a (Votaw).
  - Man's Love to God iii. 156^a (Orr).
  - to Man iii. 156^a (Orr); i. 329^b (Denney).
- Love, Brotherly i. 329^b (Denney).
- Love, Lovely, Lover iii. 157^a (Hastings).
- Love-feasts iii. 157^a (Lock).
  - Relation to Eucharist iii. 157^b; i. 428^b (Gayford), 490^b (Robertson).
- Lovingkindness iii. 158^a (Hastings).
- Low Country iii. 893^b f. (Driver).
- Lozon (Ap.) iii. 158^b.
- Lubim iii. 158^b (Max Müller), 94^a.
- Lucas iii. 159^a.
- Lucian iv. 445^b f. (Nestle).
- Lucifer iii. 159^a (Woods); i. 193^a note (Pinches).
- Lucius (Ap.) iii. 159^b (H. A. White).
- Lucius (NT) iii. 159^b (Headlam), 161^a (Bebb).
- Lucre iii. 159^b (Hastings).
- Lud, Ludim iii. 160^a (Johns); Ext. 82^a (Jastrow).
- Lugal-zag-gi-si i. 224^b (Hommel); Ext. 542^a, 548^a, 564^a (Jastrow).
- Luhith iii. 161^a (Welch).
- Luke (Evangelist) iii. 161^a (Bebb).
  - Tomb of i. 721^b note (Ramsay).
- Luke, Gospel of iii. 162^a (Bebb).
  - Authorship iii. 162^a, 241^b (Stanton).
  - Canonicity and Place in Canon iii. 162^b.
  - Characteristics—
    - Adapted to Gentile Readers iii. 172^a.
    - Gentleness to Sinners iii. 173^a.
- Luke, Gospel of—
  - Characteristics—
    - References to Prayer and Use of Riches iii. 173^a.
    - Universality iii. 172^b.
    - Vagueness as to Time and Place iii. 173^a.
  - Date iii. 162^b; ii. 248^a (Stanton).
  - Genealogy [See Genealogy of Jesus Christ].
  - Place of Writing iii. 164^a.
  - Preface iii. 170^a.
  - Purpose and Arrangement iii. 170^b.
  - Quotations iv. 186^b f. (Woods).
  - Relation to Josephus iii. 168^b.
    - to Marcion iii. 168^b; ii. 235^b ff., 241^a (Stanton).
    - to St. John iii. 167^a; ii. 243^a ff. (Stanton).
    - to St. Mark iii. 166^b, 258^b (Salmond).
    - to St. Matthew iii. 166^b; ii. 235^b ff., 240^a ff. (Stanton).
  - Relation to St. Paul iii. 168^a.
  - Sources iii. 165^b ff.
  - Style iii. 169^a, 41^b (Thayer).
    - Hebraisms iii. 170^a.
    - Syntax iii. 169^b.
    - Vocabulary iii. 169^b.
  - Text, Blass's Theory iii. 164^a.
- Lullumi i. 182^b.
- Lunatick iii. 173^b, 327^a (Macalister).
- Lust iii. 173^b (Hastings).
- Lustration [See Purification].
- Lute iii. 458^b, 459^b (Millar).
- Luz iii. 174^b (Cooke).
- Lycaonia iii. 174^b (Ramsay); Ext. 119^b f.
- Lycia iii. 176^a (Ramsay).
- Lydda iii. 131^a (Mackie).
- Lydia (person) iii. 176^b (Milligan), 177^b (Ramsay).
- Lydia (place) iii. 177^a (Ramsay).
  - Lydians iii. 160^a (Johns).
- Lye iii. 555^a (James Patrick).
- Lying iii. 112^b (W. P. Paterson); i. 522^a (Poucher).
- Lyre iii. 458^b ff. (Millar).
- Lysanias iii. 178^a (Prichard).
- Lysias (Ap.) iii. 178^b (Selbie).
- Lysias Claudius i. 447^a (Benecke).
- Lysimachus (Ap.) iii. 178^b (H. A. White).
- Lystra iii. 178^b (Ramsay).

- Maacah (person) iii. 180^a (N. J. D. White); ii. 126^b, 127^b, 129^b, 131^a, 132^b (Curtis); iii. 232^b (Driver).
- Maacah (place) iii. 180^a (N. J. D. White).
- Maacathite iii. 180^b.
- Maadai iii. 180^b.
- Maadiah iii. 180^b.
- Maai iii. 180^b.

Maaleh-acrabbim . iii. 180^{b}; i. 575^{b} (Hull).
Maani (Ap.) . . . iii. 180^{b}.
Maarath . . . iii. 180^{b}.
Maareh-geba . . iii. 180^{b}.
Maasai . . . . iii. 181^{a}; ii. 124^{a}.
Maaseas (Ap.) . . iii. 181^{a}.
Maaseiah . . . iii. 181^{a}; ii. 125^{b} *bis*, 126^{a}, 131^{b}.
Maasmas (Ap.) . . iii. 181^{a}.
Maath . . . . iii. 181^{a}.
Maaz . . . . iii. 181^{a}; ii. 126^{a}.
Maaziah . . . iii. 181^{a}; ii. 123^{b}.
Macalon (Ap.) . . iii. 181^{a}.
Maccabæus (Ap.) . . iii. 181^{a}.
Maccabees, The . . iii. 181^{a} (Fairweather).
  Hasmonæan Dynasty iii. 182^{b}, 185^{b} ff.
  Eleazar . . . iii. 183^{a}.
  John . . . . iii. 183^{b}.
  Jonathan . . . iii. 183^{b}.
  Judas . . . iii. 182^{b}.
  Mattathias . . iii. 181^{b}.
  Name 'Maccabee' . iii. 182^{a}.
  Simon . . . iii. 185^{a}.
  War under Maccabees . . . iii. 181^{a}–185^{b}.
Maccabees, Books of . iii. 187^{b} (Fairweather).
  1 Maccabees . . iii. 187^{b}.
    Author . . . iii. 188^{b}.
    Contents and Style iii. 187^{b}.
    Date . . . iii. 188^{b}.
    Doctrine of God . Ext. 277^{b}.
    Eschatology . . iii. 189^{b}; i. 744^{b} (Charles).
    Historicity . . iii. 189^{a}.
    MSS and VSS . iii. 189^{b}.
    Original Language iii. 188^{a}.
    Religious Character . . . iii. 189^{a}.
    Sources . . . iii. 188^{b}.
    Unity . . . iii. 188^{a}.
    Use in Church . iii. 189^{b}.
  2 Maccabees . . iii. 189^{b}.
    Author . . . iii. 190^{b}.
    Contents and Historicity . . iii. 190^{a}.
    Eschatology . . iii. 192^{a}; i. 745^{a} (Charles); iv. 233^{a} (E. R. Bernard).
    Language . . iii. 191^{a}.
    MSS and VSS . iii. 192^{b}.
    Relation to 1 Maccabees . . iii. 191^{b}.
    Religious Character . . . iii. 191^{b}.
    Sources and Date . iii. 191^{a}.
    Use by Christians and Jews . . iii. 192^{b}.
  3 Maccabees . . iii. 192^{b}.
    Contents . . iii. 192^{b}.
    Historicity . . iii. 193^{a}.
    Integrity . . iii. 193^{b}.
    Language . . iii. 193^{b}.
    MSS and VSS . iii. 194^{a}.
    Use by Christians and Jews . . iii. 194^{a}.
  4 Maccabees . . iii. 194^{a}.
    Aim . . . iii. 195^{a}.
Maccabees, Books of—
  4 Maccabees—
    Authorship and Date . . . iii. 195^{a}.
    Contents . . iii. 194^{a}.
    Eschatology . . iii. 195^{b}; i. 746^{b} (Charles).
    Language and Style iii. 194^{b}.
    MSS and VSS . iii. 195^{b}.
  5 Maccabees . . iii. 195^{b}.
Macedonia . . . iii. 196^{a} (Dickson).
  Jews in . . . Ext. 97^{a} (Schürer).
Machaerus . . . iii. 196^{b} (Moss).
Machbannai . . iii. 197^{a}; ii. 132^{a}.
Machbena . . . iii. 197^{a}; ii. 127^{b}.
Machi . . . . iii. 197^{a}.
Machir . . . iii. 197^{a} (Driver), 197^{b} (Stenning); ii. 129^{b} (Curtis).
Machnadebai . . ii. 197^{b} (Selbie); i. 820^{b} (Thackeray).
Machpelah . . . iii. 197^{b} (Warren).
Macron (Ap.) . . iii. 202^{a}.
Madai . . . . iii. 310^{b} (Sayce).
Madian (Ap.) . . iii. 365^{a} (Chapman).
Madmannah . . iii. 202^{a}; ii. 127^{b}.
Madmen . . . iii. 202^{b}.
Madmenah . . . iii. 202^{b}.
Madness . . . iii. 327$^{a,\,b}$ (Macalister).
  and Prophecy . . ii. 564^{b} note (Whitehouse); Ext. 673^{a} (Kautzsch).
Madon . . . . iii. 202^{b}.
Maelus (Ap.) . . iii. 202^{b}.
Magadan . . . iii. 202^{b} (Ewing).
Magbish . . . iii. 203^{a}.
Magdala . . . iii. 202^{b} [Magadan].
Magdalene, Mary . iii. 284^{a} ff. (Mayor).
Magdiel . . . iii. 203^{b}.
Magi, Magian . . iii. 203^{b} (Benecke); i. 218^{b} (Hommel), 246^{b} (Massie); iii. 206^{b} (Whitehouse); iv. 989^{a} f. (Moulton).
  Star of . . . iii. 204^{b} ff.
  Traditions of . . iii. 206^{a}.
Magic, Magician . . iii. 206^{b} (Whitehouse). [See Exorcism, Soothsayer, Sorcery].
  Babylonian . . iii. 208^{a} ff.; iv. 599^{a}, 601^{a}; Ext. 551^{b} ff. (Jastrow).
  Definition of . . iii. 206^{b} f.
  Egyptian . . . iii. 207^{b}; iv. 600^{a} f.
  Greek . . . Ext. 153^{b} (Ramsay).
  Jewish . . . iii. 210^{a} ff.
  Sympathetic . . iii. 208^{b}; Ext. 552^{b} (Jastrow).
  and Religion . . iv. 605^{a}.
Magistrate . . . iii. 212^{a} (Dickson).
Magnifical . . . iii. 212^{a}.
Magog . . . . iii. 212^{b} (Sayce); Ext. 80^{a} (Jastrow).
Magor-missabib . . iii. 212^{b}.
Magpiash . . . iii. 203^{a} (Selbie).
Magus, Simon . . iv. 520^{a} (Headlam); iii. 773^{a} ff. (Chase). [See Magi].

Mahalaleel . . . iii. 212^{b}.
Mahalalel . . . iii. 212^{b}; ii. 129^{a}.
Mahalath . . . iii. 213^{a}; ii. 126^{b}.
Mahalath leannoth . iv. 154^{a} (Davison).
Mahanaim . . . iii. 213^{a} (Stenning).
Mahaneh-dan . . iii. 214^{a} (Welch).
Maharai . . . iii. 214^{a}; ii. 132^{a}.
Mahath . . . iii. 214^{a}; ii. 124^{a}, 125$^{b\ bis}$.
Mahavite, The . . iii. 214^{a}.
Mahazioth . . . iii. 214^{a}; ii. 124^{b}.
Maher-shalal-hash-baz iii. 214^{a}.
Mahlah . . . iii. 214^{b} (Taylor); ii. 129^{b} (Curtis).
Mahli . . . . iii. 214^{b} (Taylor); ii. 125$^{a\ bis}$ (Curtis).
Mahlon . . . i. 382^{b}.
Mahol . . . . iii. 215^{a} (Stevenson).
Mahseiah . . . iii. 215^{a}.
Maiannas (Ap.) . . iii. 215^{a}.
Maid, Maiden . . iii. 215^{a} (Hastings).
Mail . . . . i. 154^{b} (Barnes).
Mainsail . . . Ext. 366^{b} (Blomfield), 399^{a} note (Ramsay).
Ma-ishtu-su . . . i. 225^{a}.
Makaz . . . . iii. 215^{b}.
Make . . . . iii. 215^{b} (Hastings).
Makebate . . . iii. 217^{a}.
Maked (Ap.) . . iii. 217^{a}.
Makheloth . . . iii. 217^{a}.
Makkedah . . . iii. 217^{a} (Warren).
Maktesh . . . iii. 218^{a} (Driver).
Malachi . . . iii. 218^{b} (Welch).
  Analysis of Contents iii. 221^{b}.
  Attitude to Law and Ritual . . iii. 220^{a}.
    to Priesthood . iii. 220^{b}; iv. 81^{b} (Baudissin).
  Conditions presupposed . . . iii. 219^{a}.
  Date . . . . iii. 218^{b}.
  Messianic Hope . iii. 221^{a}; Ext. 710^{b} (Kautzsch).
  Name . . . iii. 218^{b}.
  Style . . . iii. 221^{b}.
Malachy (Ap.) . . iii. 222^{a}.
Malcam . . . iii. 222^{a} (Selbie); ii. 131^{a} (Curtis); iii. 415^{a} (Bennett).
Malcan . . . iii. 415^{b} (Bennett).
Malchiah . . . iii. 222^{b}.
Malchiel . . . iii. 222^{b}; ii. 131^{b}.
Malchijah . . . iii. 222^{b}; ii. 123$^{a,\ b}$, 124^{a}.
Malchiram . . . iii. 222^{b}; ii. 127^{a}.
Malchi-shua . . iii. 222^{b}; ii. 131^{a}.
Malchus . . . iii. 222^{b} (Purves).
Malefactor . . . iii. 223^{a}.
Malice, Maliciousness . iii. 223^{a} (Hastings); i. 522^{a} (Poucher).
Mallothi . . . iii. 223^{b}; ii. 124^{b}.
Mallows . . . iii. 223^{b} (Post); ii. 34^{b} (Macalister).
Malluch . . . iii. 223^{b}; ii. 125^{a}.
Malluchi . . . iii. 223^{b}.
Mallus (Ap.) . . iii. 223^{b} (Ramsay).
Mallobathron . . iii. 224^{a} (Post).
Maltanneus (Ap.) . iii. 224^{a}.
Mamdai (Ap.) . . iii. 224^{a}.
Mammon . . . iii. 224^{a} (Bennett).
Mamnitanemus (Ap.) . iii. 224^{b}.
Mamre . . . . iii. 224^{b} (Driver).
  Oak of . . . iii. 224^{b}; Ext. 616^{a} (Kautzsch).
Mamuchus (Ap.) . . iii. 225^{a}.
Man . . . . iii. 225^{a} (Hastings), 225^{b} (Adeney).
  Bible Doctrine of . iii. 225^{b}; ii. 452^{a} (Laidlaw); Ext. 665^{a} ff. (Kautzsch).
  Destiny . . . iii. 226^{a}; Ext. 667^{a} (Kautzsch).
  Origin . . . iii. 225^{b}; i. 36^{a} [Adam]; Ext. 665^{b} (Kautzsch).
  Pauline Doctrine of . iii. 720^{a} ff. (Findlay).
  Terms for . . . iii. 225^{b}.
  Unity of Race . . iii. 226^{a}.
  and Religion . . Ext. 322^{a} (Garvie).
Man of Sin . . . iii. 226^{a} (James).
  in Apocalypse . . iii. 226^{b}; iv. 257^{b} ff. (Porter).
  in the Gospels . . iii. 227^{a}.
  in Jewish Apocalyptic iii. 227^{a}.
  in St. John's Epistles iii. 226^{b}; ii. 734$^{a,\ b}$ (Salmond).
  in St. Paul's Epistles iii. 226^{b}, 709^{a} (Findlay); iv. 747^{b} f. (Lock).
  in the First Century iii. 227^{b}.
  Later Views . . iii. 228^{a}.
Manaen . . . iii. 228^{b} (Cowan).
Manahath . . . iii. 229^{a} (Bennett).
Manahathites, Manahethites . . . iii. 229^{a} (Bennett); ii. 128^{a} (Curtis).
Manasseas (Ap.) . . iii. 229^{b}.
Manasseh (king) . . iii. 229^{b} (Peake).
  in Assyrian Inscription . . . i. 189^{a} (Hommel).
Manasseh (person and tribe) . . . iii. 230^{a} (Driver, Peake); ii. 126^{b}, 127^{a}, 129^{b}, 132^{a} (Curtis).
Manasses (Ap). . . iii. 232^{b}.
Manasses, Prayer of . iii. 232^{b} (Porter).
Manda . . . i. 190^{a}, 226^{a}, 228^{b} (Hommel), 541^{b} f. (Sayce); iii. 310^{b} (Sayce).
Mandrake . . . iii. 233^{b} (Post), 332^{b} (Macalister).
Maneh . . . . iv. 902^{b} (A. R. S. Kennedy).
Manes (Ap.) . . iii. 234^{a}.
Manger . . . iii. 234^{a} (Massie).
Mani (Ap.) . . . iii. 235^{a}.
Manifest . . . iii. 235^{a} (Hastings).
Manifold . . . iii. 235^{b}.
Manius (Ap.) . . iii. 236^{a} (H. A. White).
Mankind . . . iii. 236^{a}. [See Man].
Manly, Manliness . iii. 236^{a}.
Manna . . . . iii. 236^{a} (Macalister).
  Type of the Eucharist iii. 145^{a} (Plummer).
Manner . . . iii. 236^{b} (Hastings).
Manoah . . . iii. 238^{a} (Redpath).

Mansion . . . iii. 238^{b} (Hastings).
Manslayer . . . iii. 239^{a} (Hastings).
Man-stealing . . iii. 239^{a} (Selbie).
Mantelet . . . iii. 239^{b}.
Mantle . . . iii. 239^{b} (Selbie).
Manuscripts . . [See Writing].
Maoch . . . . iii. 240^{a}.
Maon, Maonites . . iii. 240^{a} (Cooke); ii. 127$^{a,\,b}$ (Curtis).
Mar . . . . iii. 240^{b}.
Mara . . . . iii. 241^{a}.
Marah . . . . iii. 241^{a} (Chapman).
Maralah . . . iii. 241^{a}.
Maranatha . . . iii. 241^{b} (Thayer).
Marble . . . iii. 243^{a} (James Patrick).
Marcellinus the Chronicler . . . . Ext. 518^{a} (Turner).
Marcellus of Ancyra . iv. 578^{b} (Sanday).
Marcheshvan . . iii. 243^{b}; iv. 765^{b}.
Marcion . . . ii. 701^{a} (Reynolds); iii. 536^{b} (Stanton); iv. 305^{b} (Robertson); Ext. 489$^{a,\,b}$ (Turner).
Marcus . . . iii. 243^{b}.
Mardocheus (Ap.) . iii. 243^{b}.
Marduk . . . Ext. 534^{b}, 545^{a}, 570^{b} ff. (Jastrow).
Marduk-bel-usâti . i. 184^{a}.
Marduk-nadin-akhi . i. 179^{b}, 183^{a}.
Marduk-pal-idinâ . i. 187^{a}, 228^{b} f.
Marduk-shun-idinâ . i. 184^{a}, 228^{b}.
Mareshah (person) . iii. 244^{a}; ii. 125^{b}, 127^{a}.
Mareshah (place) . . iii. 244^{a}.
Marimoth (Ap.) . . iii. 244^{a}.
Marisa (Ap.) . . iii. 244^{a}.
Marish . . . . iii. 244^{a}.
Mark . . . . iii. 244^{a} (Hastings).
  of Cain . . . iii. 244^{b}, 871^{b} (A. R. S. Kennedy).
Mark, John . . . iii. 245^{a} (Chase).
  Connexion with Rome and Alexandria . iii. 248^{a}.
  Deformity . . iii. 247^{a}.
  Family and Position iii. 245^{b}, 247^{a}.
  Martyrdom . . iii. 248^{b}.
  Name . . . iii. 245^{a}.
  in NT . . . iii. 246^{a}.
  in Tradition . . iii. 247^{a}.
  Relation to St. Paul and Barnabas . iii. 246$^{a,\,b}$.
    to St. Peter . . iii. 246^{b}, 247^{b}; ii. 477^{b} (Selbie); iii. 256^{b} (Salmond).
    to the Lord's Ministry . . . iii. 247^{a}.
Mark, Acts of . . iii. 248^{a} (Chase).
Mark, Gospel of . . iii. 248^{b} (Salmond).
  Authorship . . iii. 256^{a}; ii. 241^{b} (Stanton).
    Evidence of Papias iii. 256^{b}; ii. 235^{a} (Stanton).
  Canon, Place in . iii. 248^{b}.
  Characteristics . . iii. 253^{b}.
  Contents . . . iii. 249^{b}.
    Arrangement . iii. 250^{a}.
  Date and Place of Writing . . iii. 261^{a}; ii. 248^{a} (Stanton).
Mark, Gospel of—
  Destination . . iii. 260^{b}.
  Ending . . . iii. 252^{b} ff., 255^{b}.
  Historical Attestation . . . iii. 255^{a}.
  Language . . . iii. 251^{b}, 41^{b} (Thayer).
  Purpose . . . iii. 260^{a}.
  Quotations . . iv. 186^{b} (Woods).
  Relation to St. Luke iii. 250^{b}, 258^{b} ff.; ii. 235^{b} ff. (Stanton); iii. 166^{b} (Bebb).
    to St. Matthew . iii. 250^{b}, 258^{b} ff.; ii. 235^{b} ff. (Stanton).
    to St. Peter . . iii. 256^{b}.
  Sources . . . ii. 238^{a} (Stanton).
    Urmarkus . . iii. 257^{a} (
  Style . . . iii. 251^{a}.
    Vocabulary . . iii. 251^{a}, 41^{b} (Thayer).
  Text . . . . iii. 252^{a}.
Market-place . . iii. 262^{a} (Dickson); iv. 806^{a} (Bennett).
Marmoth (Ap.) . . iii. 262^{b}.
Maroth . . . iii. 262^{b}.
Marriage . . . iii. 262^{b} (W. P. Paterson).
  Adultery . . . iii. 273^{a}; Ext. 27^{b} note (Votaw).
  Bars to Marriage . iii. 266^{b} ff.
  Bride . . . i. 326^{b} (Plummer).
  Bridegroom . . i. 327^{a} (Plummer).
  Bridegroom's Friend i. 327^{b} (Plummer).
  Ceremonies—
    Betrothal . . iii. 270^{a}; i. 326^{b} (Plummer).
    Dowry . . . iii. 270^{b}.
    Greek Rites . . Ext. 129^{b} (Ramsay).
    Marriage Supper . iii. 272^{a}.
    Modern Syrian Rites . . . iv. 592^{a} ff. (Rothstein).
    Nuptial Rites . iii. 271^{a} ff.; i. 326^{b} (Plummer).
    Wedding Procession iii. 271^{b}; i. 327^{a} (Plummer).
  Christian Marriage . iii. 265^{b} ff.
  Divorce . . . iii. 274^{a} ff.; i. 847^{a} (Bennett); Ext. 27^{a} ff. (Votaw).
  Levirate Marriage . iii. 263^{b}, 269^{a}; Ext. 615^{b} (Kautzsch).
  Marriage Laws in Hammurabi's Code Ext. 598^{a} ff. (Johns).
  OT, Marriage in . iii. 264^{b} ff.
    Monogamy . . iii. 265^{a}.
    Polygyny . . iii. 264^{b}.
  Pauline Doctrine . iii. 266^{a} f.
  Primitive Marriage . iii. 263^{a}.
    Beena . . . iii. 364^{a}.
    Matriarchate . iii. 263$^{a,\,b}$; iv. 380^{b} (Budde).
    Polyandry . . iii. 263$^{a,\,b}$.
  Symbolism . . iii. 276^{b}; i. 327^{a} (Plummer).
  Terms . . . iii. 262^{b}.
  Wife, Status in OT . iii. 265^{a}; i. 847^{a} ff. (Bennett).
    under Christianity iii. 266^{a}.
Marsena . . . iii. 277^{a}.
Marshal . . . iii. 277^{a} (Barnes).
Mars' Hill . . . i. 144^{a} (Conybeare).

Martha . . . iii. 277^{b} (Adeney).
  in 2 John . . . ii. 741^{a} (Salmond).
Martu . . . . i. 225^{b}–226^{a,b}.
Martyr . . . iii. 278^{a}.
Marvellous . . . iii. 278^{a}.
Mary (mother of James) iii. 278^{b} (Mayor).
Mary (The other) . iii. 278^{b}.
Mary (of Clopas) . . iii. 278^{b}.
Mary (sister of Martha) iii. 279^{a}.
Mary (Magdalene) . iii. 284^{a}.
Mary (mother of Mark) iii. 286^{a}.
Mary (saluted by St. Paul) . . . iii. 286^{a}.
Mary, Name . . iii. 278^{b} note.
Mary (Virgin) . . iii. 286^{a} (Mayor).
  Death and Assumption . . . iii. 288^{b}.
  History of opinion concerning her . . iii. 289^{a}, 291^{a}.
  Perpetual Virginity . i. 320^{a} ff., 324^{b} ff.
  Sinlessness . . iii. 289^{a}, 290^{a}.
  Worship . . . iii. 289^{a}, 292^{b}.
  in Apocryphal Writings . . . iii. 287^{b}–289^{a}.
  in Art . . . iii. 292^{a}.
  in Liturgiology . iii. 291^{b}.
  in NT . . . iii. 286^{a}–287^{b}.
Mary, Departure of . Ext. 434^{a} (Tasker).
Mary, Gospel of Nativity . . . Ext. 430^{a} (Tasker).
Maschil . . . iv. 154^{a} (Davison).
Mash . . . . iii. 293^{a} (Margoliouth); i. 182^{a} (Hommel); iii. 350^{a} (Price).
Mashal . . . iii. 397^{b}. [Mishal].
Masias (Ap.) . . iii. 293^{a}.
Mason . . . . iii. 293^{a} (Carslaw).
  Tools . . . iv. 796^{b}.
Masrekah . . . iii. 293^{b}.
Massa . . . . iii. 293^{b} (Margoliouth); i. 51^{b} (Davison); iii. 350^{a} (Price); iv. 519^{a} (Selbie).
Massah . . . iii. 293^{b} (Driver).
Massias (Ap.) . . iii. 294^{a}.
Massorah, Massoretes . iii. 599^{a} (Curtis); iv. 729^{a} (Strack).
Mast . . . . Ext. 363^{a} (Blomfield).
Master, Mastery . . iii. 294^{a} (Hastings).
Mastick . . . iii. 294^{a} (Post).
Mathelas (Ap.) . . iii. 294^{b}.
Matred . . . iii. 294^{b}.
Matriarchate . . i. 850^{a} (Bennett); iii. 263^{a,b} (Paterson).
Matrites . . . iii. 294^{b}.
Mattan . . . iii. 294^{b}.
Mattanah . . . iii. 294^{b}.
Mattaniah . . . iii. 295^{a}; ii. 123^{a}, 124^{b}, 125^{b}.
Mattatha . . . iii. 295^{a}.
Mattathias . . . iii. 295^{a}.
Mattattah . . . iii. 295^{a}.
Mattenai . . . iii. 295^{a}.
Matter . . . iii. 295^{a} (Hastings).
Matthan . . . iii. 295^{b}.
Matthanias (Ap.) . iii. 295^{b}.
Matthat . . . iii. 295^{b}.
Matthew, Apostle . iii. 295^{b} (Bartlet).
Matthew, Gospel . iii. 296^{a} (Bartlet).
  Authorship and Composition . . iii. 296^{a} ff. 304^{a}; ii. 242^{b} (Stanton).
  Evidence of Papias iii. 296^{a} ff.
  Date . . . . iii. 304^{a}; ii. 247^{b} (Stanton).
  Eschatology . . iii. 302^{a}.
  Genealogy . . iii. 302^{b}. [See Genealogy of Jesus Christ].
  Language . . . iii. 41^{b} (Thayer).
  Logia . . . iii. 296^{a} ff., 298^{a} ff., 303^{b} ff.; ii. 235^{a}, 236^{b}, 237^{a} f. (Stanton); Ext. 5^{b} ff. (Votaw).
  Parables . . . iii. 299^{a,b}.
  Passion and Resurrection Narratives . iii. 301^{b}.
  Place of Writing . iii. 304^{b}.
  Quotations . . iii. 297^{b}; iv. 186^{b} (Woods).
  Relation to St. John ii. 243^{a} ff. (Stanton).
    to St. Luke iii. 303^{b}; ii. 235^{b} ff., 240^{a} ff. (Stanton); iii. 166^{b} (Bebb).
    to St. Mark iii. 299^{b} ff., 303^{b} ff.; ii. 235^{b} ff. (Stanton); iii. 258^{b} ff. (Salmond).
  Sermon on the Mount iii. 298^{a}, 300^{a}; Ext. 1^{a} ff. (Votaw).
  Sources . . . iii. 298^{a} ff., 303^{b} ff.
Matthew, Gospel of Pseudo- . . . Ext. 430^{a} ff. (Tasker).
Matthew's Bible . . iv. 857^{a} (Milligan); Ext. 245^{b} (J. H. Lupton).
Matthias . . . iii. 305^{b} (Cowan).
Matthias, Gospel according to . . . Ext. 437^{a} (Tasker).
Mattithiah . . . iii. 306^{a}, 125^{a,b}.
Mattock . . . iii. 306^{a}.
Maul . . . . iii. 306^{b}.
Mauzzim . . . iii. 306^{b} (J. Taylor).
Maximus the Confessor Ext. 530^{a} (Turner).
Maw . . . . . iii. 307^{a}.
Mazitias (Ap.) . . iii. 307^{a}.
Mazzaroth . . . iii. 307^{a} (T. G. Pinches).
Mazzebah . . . iii. 879^{a} ff. (Whitehouse); i. 75^{b} (A. R. S. Kennedy), 278^{a} (Cooke); Ext. 170^{a} (König), 620^{a} (Kautzsch). [See Pillar].
Mazzoth . . . i. 860^{a} (Harding); iii. 90^{a} (H. A. White).
  and Passover . . iii. 684^{b}, 685^{a,b}, 686^{b}, (Moulton); Ext. 622^{a}, 718^{b} (Kautzsch).
Meadow . . . iii. 307^{b} (Hull).
Meah . . . . ii. 290^{b} [Hammeah].
Meal . . . . iii. 308^{a} (Macalister).
Meal-offering . . iii. 308^{b}, 587^{b} (Driver); iv. 338^{b} (W. P. Paterson); Ext. 722^{a} (Kautzsch).

- Meals . . . . ii. 41^a (Macalister).
  - Attitude at . . ii. 41^b.
- Mean . . . . iii. 308^b (Hastings).
- Mearah . . . iii. 309^a.
- Measures . . . iv. 901^b ff. (A. R. S. Kennedy).
- Meat . . . . iii. 309^a (Hastings).
- Meat-offering . . iii. 309^a (Hastings), 587^b (Driver); iv. 338^b (W. P. Paterson).
- Mebunnai . . . iii. 309^b; ii. 132^a.
- Mecherathite . . iii. 180^b.
- Medaba (Ap.) . . iii. 309^b.
- Medad . . . . i. 676^b [Eldad].
- Medan . . . iii. 309^b (Margoliouth).
- Medeba . . . iii. 309^b (Chapman).
- Medes, Media . . iii. 310^b (Sayce).
- Mediator, Mediation . iii. 311^b (Adeney).
  - Angelic . . . iii. 315^a.
  - Christ's Mediation . iii. 315^b.
    - Teaching on . . iii. 316^a ff.
  - Idea and Term . . iii. 311^b.
  - Priestly . . . iii. 313^b.
  - Prophetic . . . iii. 314^b.
  - in NT . . . iii. 315^b.
  - in OT . . . iii. 313^a.
  - in Paganism . . iii. 312^a.
  - in Teaching of Apostles . . iii. 317^b.
    - Acts . . . iii. 317^b.
    - Hebrews . . iii. 319^a.
    - St. John . . iii. 320^a.
    - St. Paul and 1 Peter iii. 318^a.
  - in Wisdom Literature iii. 315^a.
- Medicine . . . iii. 321^a (Macalister).
  - Anatomy . . . iii. 322^a.
  - Blindness . . . iii. 330^b.
  - Childbirth . . iii. 331^b.
  - Digestive Disorders . iii. 325^b.
  - Dropsy . . . iii. 328^a.
  - Dysentery . . iii. 325^a.
  - Emerods . . . iii. 325^a.
  - Febrile Diseases . iii. 323^b.
    - Ague . . . iii. 323^b.
    - Consumption . iii. 323^b.
    - Fevers . . . iii. 323^b f.
    - Smallpox . . iii. 324^a.
  - Gout . . . iii. 328^b.
  - Health . . . iii. 321^a.
  - Heart Disease . . iii. 326^a.
  - Hygienic Laws . iii. 332^b.
  - Infantile Diseases . iii. 332^a.
  - Jealousy Ordeal . iii. 325^b.
  - Liver, Disorders of . iii. 325^b.
  - Nervous Diseases . iii. 326^a.
    - Apoplexy . . iii. 326^b.
    - Epilepsy . . iii. 327^b.
    - Madness . . iii. 327^a.
    - Paralysis, Palsy . iii. 326^a.
    - Trance . . . iii. 327^a.
    - Withered Hand . iii. 326^b.
  - Pestilence, Plague . iii. 324^a.
  - Physicians . . iii. 321^b.
  - Poisonous Serpents . iii. 330^a.
  - Pulmonary Diseases iii. 328^a.
- Medicine—
  - Sickness, Terms for . iii. 322^b.
  - Skin Diseases . . iii. 329^a.
    - Blemish . . iii. 330^a.
    - Bloody Sweat . iii. 330^a.
    - Botch of Egypt . iii. 329^b.
    - Itch . . . iii. 329^a.
    - Scall . . . iii. 329^b.
    - Scurvy, Scab . iii. 329^a.
    - Spot . . . iii. 329^b f.
    - Wen . . . iii. 330^a.
  - Sunstroke . . . iii. 328^a.
  - Surgical Diseases . iii. 328^b.
    - Bones . . . iii. 328^b.
    - Crook-backedness iii. 328^b.
    - Lameness . . iii. 329^a.
    - Malformations . iii. 329^a.
    - Skull Fracture . iii. 329^a.
    - Spirit of Infirmity iii. 328^b.
  - Surgery . . . iii. 333^a.
  - Treatment of Disease iii. 332^a.
  - Worms . . . iii. 330^b.
- Meedda (Ap.) . . iii. 333^b.
- Meekness . . . iii. 333^b (Banks); Ext. 19^a (Votaw).
- Meet . . . . iii. 334^a (Hastings).
- Megiddo . . . iii. 334^a (Wilson); ii. 305^a (Nestle).
- Megilloth . . . iv. 727^b (Strack); i. 287^b (Stewart).
- Mehetabel . . . iii. 334^b.
- Mehida . . . iii. 334^b.
- Mehir . . . . iii. 334^b; ii. 128^b.
- Meholathite . . iii. 335^a (Stenning).
- Mehujael . . . iii. 335^a (Selbie).
- Mehuman . . . iii. 335^a.
- Me-jarkon . . . iii. 335^a.
- Mekonah . . . iii. 335^a.
- Melatiah . . . iii. 335^a.
- Melchi . . . . iii. 335^a.
- Melchias (Ap.) . . iii. 335^a.
- Melchiel (Ap.) . . iii. 335^b.
- Melchizedek . . iii. 335^b (Sayce); i. 66^a (Massie); ii. 148^a (Ryle).
  - Offerings a Type of Eucharist . . iii. 145^a (Plummer).
  - Priesthood . . ii. 328^a, 331^b (Bruce).
- Melea . . . . iii. 335^b.
- Melech . . . . iii. 335^b (Selbie); ii. 131^a (Curtis); iii. 415^a (Bennett).
- Melita . . . . iii. 336^a (Robertson).
- Melito . . . . i. 120^b (Porter).
- Melḳart . . . . i. 210^b (Peake); iii. 861^a (Thatcher).
- Melons . . . iii. 337^b (Post); ii. 28^b (Macalister).
- Melzar . . . . iii. 337^b (J. Taylor); iv. 615^b (Selbie).
- Mem . . . . iii. 338^a.
- Memeroth (Ap.) . . iii. 338^a.
- Memmius, Quintus (Ap.) iii. 338^a.
- Memorial, Memory . iii. 338^a (Hastings).
- Memphis . . . iii. 338^b (Max Müller), 559^a (Johns)

Memphitic Version . i. 668^{b} ff. (Forbes Robinson).
Memra . . . . ii. 207^{a} (Davidson); Ext. 284^{a} (Fairweather).
Memucan . . . . iii. 339^{b} (H. A. White).
Menahem . . . . iii. 339^{b} (J. Taylor).
Mene, Mene, Tekel Upharsin . . . iii. 340^{b} (Margoliouth).
Menelaus (Ap.) . . iii. 341^{b} (H. A. White).
Menephthah . . [See Merenptah].
Menestheus (Ap.) . iii. 342^{a}.
Meni . . . . . iii. 342^{a} (Driver).
Menna . . . . . iii. 342^{b}.
Ment . . . . . Ext. 185^{b} (Wiedemann).
Mentuhotep III. . . i. 659^{a}.
Menuhah . . . . iii. 342^{b}.
Menuhoth . . . . iii. 229^{a} [Manahethites]; ii. 127^{b}.
Meonenim, Oak of . iii. 342^{b} (Bennett); Ext. 616^{a} (Kautzsch).
Meonothai . . . . iii. 343^{a}; ii. 128^{b}.
Mephaath . . . . iii. 343^{a}.
Mephibosheth . . . iii. 343^{a} (Selbie), 329^{a} (Macalister).
Merab . . . . . iii. 343^{b} (Stenning).
Meraiah . . . . iii. 344^{a}.
Meraioth . . . . iii. 344^{a}; ii. 123$^{a, b}$.
Merari . . . . . iii. 344^{a} (Allen); ii. 123^{a}, 125^{a} (Curtis).
Merathaim . . . . iii. 344^{b}.
Merchandise, Merchantman . . . . iii. 344^{b}.
Mercury . . . . iii. 344^{b} (Prichard).
Mercy, Merciful . . iii. 345^{a} (Hastings, Bennett); Ext. 20^{a} (Votaw).
Mercy Seat . . . iv. 665^{a} (A. R. S. Kennedy).
Mered . . . . . iii. 346^{a}; ii. 129^{a}.
Merenptah (Menephthah) . . . . i. 662^{a} (Crum); iii. 820^{a} (Griffith).
Merenera . . . . i. 658^{b}.
Meres . . . . . iii. 346^{a}.
Meribah . . . . iii. 346^{a} (Chapman).
Meribbaal . . . . iii. 343^{a} [Mephibosheth]; ii. 131^{a}.
Meriboth-kadesh . . iii. 347^{a}.
Merodach . . . . iii. 347^{a} (Price); i. 215^{b} (Hommel). [See Marduk].
  and Mordecai . . iv. 175^{a} (M‘Clymont).
  and Nimrod . . iii. 552^{b} (Pinches).
Merodach-baladin . iii. 347^{b} (Sayce); i. 187^{a}, 188^{a} (Hommel).
Merom, Waters of . iii. 347^{b} (Ewing).
Meronothite . . . iii. 349^{a}.
Meroz . . . . . iii. 349^{a} (Ewing).
Merran (Ap.) . . iii. 349^{b} (Marshall).
Mesaloth (Ap.) . . iii. 349^{b}.
Mesha . . . . . iii. 349^{b} (Price); ii. 127^{a}, 131^{a} (Curtis); iii. 411^{a} (Bennett).
Meshach . . . . iii. 350^{a} (J. Taylor).
Meshech . . . . iii. 350^{b} (Margoliouth). [See Mosks].
Meshelemiah . . . iii. 351^{a}; ii. 124^{b}.
Meshezabel . . . . iii. 351^{a}.
Meshillemith . . . iii. 351^{a}; ii. 124^{a}.
Meshillemoth . . . iii. 351^{a}.
Meshobab . . . . ii. 122^{b}.
Meshullam . . . . iii. 351^{a}; ii. 124^{a}, 125^{b}, 127^{a}, 131^{a}, 131$^{b\ bis}$.
Meshullemeth . . . iii. 351^{a} (Stevenson); ii. 127^{a} (Curtis).
Mesopotamia . . . i. 138^{a} ff. (Sayce).
Mess . . . . . iii. 351^{b}.
Messenger . . . . iii. 351^{b} (Hastings); i. 94^{b} (Davidson).
Messiah . . . . iii. 352^{a} (Stanton); ii. 458^{b} (Ottley); Ext. 694^{b} ff. (Kautzsch).
  History of Messianic Belief . . . iii. 352^{a} ff.; Ext. 295^{b} ff. (Fairweather).
  Messiah as Prophet . iii. 354^{b}.
  Office . . . . ii. 406^{a} (Swete).
  Pre-existence . . iii. 355^{a}; Ext. 299^{a} (Fairweather).
  Spirit, Gift of . . ii. 403^{b} (Swete).
  Suffering . . . iii. 354^{b}.
  Titles . . . . iii. 766^{b} (Chase).
    Beloved . . . ii. 501^{a} (Armitage Robinson).
    Messiah . . . iii. 353^{a}; iv. 123^{b} (Davidson); Ext. 694^{b} (Kautzsch).
    Son of Man . . iii. 355^{a}; i. 708^{b} (Charles). [See Son of Man].
    in the Apocrypha . i. 742^{b} - 749 (Charles); Ext. 296^{a} ff. (Fairweather).
    in Christian teaching . . . iii. 356^{a}.
    in Isaiah . . . ii. 488^{b} (G. A. Smith); Ext. 695^{a} (Kautzsch).
    in NT Judaism . ii. 608^{b} (Sanday).
    in Petrine Speeches iii. 766^{a} ff. (Chase).
    in Prophecy . . iv. 121^{b} ff. (Davidson); Ext. 694^{b} ff. (Kautzsch).
    in Psalms . . iv. 159^{b} ff. (Davison); Ext. 727^{a} (Kautzsch).
    in Psalms of Solomon . . . iv. 163$^{a, b}$ (James).
Metaphor . . . . Ext. 162^{b}, 169^{b} (König).
Mete, Meteyard . . iii. 357^{a} (Hastings).
Metheg-ammah . . iii. 357^{a} (Selbie).
Methodius of Patara . Ext. 530^{b} (Turner).
Methuselah . . . iii. 357^{b} (Selbie).
Methushael . . . iii. 357^{b}.
Metonymy . . . . Ext. 159^{b} (König).
Metre . . . . . iv. 5^{a} (Budde).
Meunim . . . . iii. 240^{a} (Cooke).
Meuzal . . . . . iv. 842^{b} (Margoliouth).
Me-zahab . . . . iii. 357^{b}.
Mezobaite . . . . iii. 358^{a}.
Mibhar . . . . iii. 358^{a}; ii. 132^{b}.
Mibsam . . . . iii. 358^{a}; ii. 122^{b}.
Mibzar . . . . . iii. 358^{a}.
Mica . . . . . iii. 358^{a}.

Micah . . . . iii. 358^a (Moss); ii. 122^b, 125^a, 131^a (Curtis); iii. 359^a (Nowack).
  Cult of Micah's image ii. 818^b (König); Ext. 641^b, 648^a (Kautzsch).
Micah (Prophet) . . iii. 359^a (Nowack).
Micah (Book)—
  Contents and Unity . iii. 359^a.
  Date . . . . iii. 359^b.
  Messianic element in Ext. 696^a (Kautzsch).
  Relation to Amos . iii. 360^a.
  Style and Message . iii. 360^a.
Micaiah . . . iii. 360^b (James Patrick); ii. 123^a, 126^b (Curtis); iii. 180^a (N. J. D. White).
  Vision of . . . iii. 361^a; Ext. 656^a (Kautzsch).
Mice . . . . iii. 455^a (Post).
Michael . . . iii. 362^a; ii. 123^a, 127^a, 129^b, 131^a 131^b *bis*, 132^a.
Michael (Archangel) . iii. 362^a (Charles).
Michal . . . . iii. 363^a (N. J. D. White).
Micheas (Ap.) . . iii. 363^b.
Michmas . . . iii. 363^b.
Michmash . . . iii. 363^b (Warren).
Michmethah . . iii. 364^b.
Michri . . . . iii. 364^b.
Michtam . . . iv. 154^b (Davison).
Middin . . . iii. 365^a.
Middlemost, Midland . iii. 365^a.
Midian, Midianites . iii. 365^a (Chapman).
  Character . . . iii. 365^b f.; Ext. 76^a (Jastrow).
  Distinguished from Ishmaelites . . iii. 365^b.
  Relation to Israel . iii. 365^a.
  Territory . . . iii. 366^a (Chapman); iv. 537^a (Rendel Harris).
Midianitish Woman . iii. 366^b (Chapman).
Midrash . . . i. 459^b (Hastings); Ext. 58^a (Schechter).
Midwife . . . iii. 366^b (H. A. White).
Migdal-eder . . . i. 644^a (Ryle).
Migdal-el . . . iii. 367^a (Sayce).
Migdal-gad . . . iii. 367^a (Warren).
Migdol . . . . iii. 367^b (Griffith).
Migron . . . iii. 367^b (Selbie).
Mijamin . . iii. 368^a; ii. 123^b.
Mikloth . . iii. 368^a; ii. 131$^{a, b}$, 132^b.
Mikneiah . . . iii. 368^a; ii. 125^b.
Milalai . . . iii. 368^a.
Milcah . . . . iii. 368^a; ii. 129^b.
Milcom . . . iii. 415^a (Bennett).
Mildew . . . iii. 368^a.
Mile . . . . iv. 909^b (A. R. S. Kennedy).
Miletus . . . iii. 368^b (Ramsay).
Milk . . . . ii. 36^a (Macalister).
Mill, Millstone . . iii. 369^a (Carslaw); i. 317^a (Macalister).
Millennium . . . iii. 370^a (Adams Brown).
Millet . . . . iii. 373^a (Post).
Millo . . . . iii. 373^b (Stenning); ii. 386^b (Warren), 586^b (Conder).
Millo, House of . . iii. 373^b.
Millstone . . . iii. 369^a (Carslaw); i. 317^a (Macalister).
Min . . . . Ext. 185^b (Wiedemann).
Mina . . . . iii. 418^b, 420^b (A. R. S. Kennedy); iv. 902^b ff.
Minæans . . . i. 133^b (Margoliouth); iii. 240^b (Cooke).
Mince . . . . iii. 374^a.
Mind . . . . iii. 374^a (Laidlaw).
Mind (verb) . . . iii. 374^b (Hastings).
Mines, Mining . . iii. 374^b (Hull).
Miniamin . . . iii. 376^a; ii. 125^b.
Minish . . . . iii. 376^a.
Minister, Ministry . iii. 376^a (Hastings), 376^b (Massie).
Minni . . . . iii. 378^b (Margoliouth).
Minnith . . . iii. 378^b (Conder).
Mint . . . . iii. 379^a (Post).
Minuscule Writing . iv. 953^b (Kenyon).
Miphkad, Gate . . iii. 379^a (Warren).
Miracle . . . iii. 379^b (J. H. Bernard).
  Credibility . . iii. 385^a.
  Definition . . . iii. 380^a, 384^a.
  Evidential Value . iii. 387^a.
  Possibility . . iii. 379^b ff.
  after Apostolic Age . iii. 393^b ff.
  in Acts . . . iii. 392^a.
  in Gospels . . iii. 389^a.
    Evidence . . iii. 390^b.
  in OT . . . iii. 392^b.
Miracles of Christ . iii. 389^a (Bernard); ii. 615^b, 624^b ff. (Sanday).
Miriam . . . iii. 396^a (Redpath); ii. 123^a, 129^a (Curtis).
Mirmah . . . iii. 396^b; ii. 131^a.
Mirror . . . . iii. 396^b (James Patrick); ii. 181^a (Hastings).
Misael (Ap.) . . iii. 397^b.
Misaias (Ap.) . . iii. 293^a [Masias].
Misgab . . . . iii. 397^b.
Mishael . . . iii. 397^b (J. Taylor), 350^a; ii. 125^a (Curtis).
Mishal . . . . iii. 397^b.
Misham . . . iii. 397^b; ii. 131^a.
Mishma . . . iii. 397^b; ii. 122^b.
Mishmannah . . . iii. 397^b; ii. 132^a.
Mishna . . . iii. 599^b (Curtis); Ext. 60^a (Schechter).
Mishneh . . . i. 453^b [College].
Mishor . . . . iii. 309^b note (Chapman).
Mishraites . . . iii. 398^a; ii. 127^b.
Mispar . . . . iii. 398^a.
Mispereth . . . iii. 398^a.
Misrephoth-maim . iii. 398^a (Welch).
Missions, Foreign . Ext. 319^b (Scott).
Mitanni . . . i. 181^b (Hommel), 537^a (Nicol).
Mite . . . . iii. 428^b (A. R. S. Kennedy).
Mithkah . . . iii. 398^a.
Mithnite . . . iii. 398^a.
Mithradates (Ap.) . iii. 398^a.

Mithredath (Ap.) . iii. 398^b.
Mitre . . . . iii. 398^b (Purves).
Mitylene . . . iii. 398^b (Prichard).
Mixed Multitude . iii. 399^a (Chapman).
Mizar . . . . iii. 399^b (Selbie).
Mizpah, Mizpeh . . iii. 400^a (Warren).
Mizraim . . . i. 653^a, 655^b (Crum).
Mizzah . . . . iii. 402^b.
Mnason . . . iii. 402^b.
Mnevis . . . . Ext. 190^a (Wiedemann).
Moab, Moabites . . iii. 402^b (Bennett).
  History and Relation to Israel . . iii. 408^b–413^a; Ext. 73^b (Jastrow).
  Language . . . iii. 403^b; i. 73^a (I. Taylor).
  Name . . . iii. 403^a.
  Oracles on Moab in Isaiah and Jeremiah . . . iii. 412^a.
  Religion . . . iii. 408^b.
  Stone, Moabite . iii. 404^a–408^a, 411^a, 416^b.
  Territory . . . iii. 403^a.
    Geology . . ii. 151^b (Hull).
Moadiah . . . iii. 180^b [Maadiah].
Mochmur (Ap.) . . iii. 413^a.
Mock, Mockingstock . iii. 413^a (Hastings).
Modad, Book of Eldad and . . . . i. 676^b (Marshall).
Moderation . . . iii. 413^b (Hastings).
Modin (Ap.) . . iii. 414^a (Ewing).
Moeth (Ap.) . . . iii. 414^b.
Moladah . . . iii. 414^b.
Mole . . . . iii. 414^b (Post).
Molech, Moloch . . iii. 415^a (Bennett).
  Attributes . . iii. 416^b.
  Forms of the Name . iii. 415^b.
    as Divine Names . iii. 415^a.
  Worship . . . iii. 416^b, 861^a (Thatcher).
    in Israel . . iii. 416^a.
Molid . . . . iii. 417^a; ii. 126^a.
Mollify . . . iii. 417^a.
Moloch . . . . iii. 415^a (Bennett).
Molten Sea . . . iv. 424^b (Davies).
Momdis (Ap.) . . iii. 417^a, 180^b.
Money . . . . iii. 417^a (A. R. S. Kennedy).
  Coinage, Idumæan . iii. 426^a.
    Jewish . . . iii. 424^b.
    Persian Period . iii. 421^a.
    Phœnician . . iii. 423^a.
    Ptolemies and Seleucids . . iii. 423^a.
    Roman Period . iii. 426^b.
  Coins of NT . . iii. 428^a.
    of the Revolts . iii. 429^b.
  Purchasing Power in Bible Times . . iii. 431^b.
  Uncoined Money before Conquest . iii. 417^b.
    from Conquest to the Exile . . iii. 419^a.
Money-changers . . iii. 432^b (A. R. S. Kennedy).
Monophysitism . . Ext. 530^b (Turner).
Monotheism, Babylonian . . . Ext. 550^a (Jastrow).
  Hebrew . . . Ext. 625^b, 680^b (Kautzsch).
Monster . . . iii. 433^a (Hastings).
Montanus . . . ii. 701^a (Reynolds); iii. 536^b (Stanton).
Month . . . . iv. 765^a (Abrahams).
Monument . . . iii. 433^a (Hastings).
Mooli (Ap.) . . . iii. 433^b.
Moon . . . . iii. 433^b (T. G. Pinches); i. 193^b.
  New Moon . . iii. 521^b (Abrahams); i. 859^b (Harding); Ext. 662^a (Kautzsch).
  Omens from . . Ext. 559^a (Jastrow).
  Worship . . . iii. 434^a f.; Ext. 541^b ff. (Jastrow).
Moossias (Ap.) . . iii. 435^a.
Moph . . . . iii. 338^b (Max Müller), 559^a (Johns).
Morality . . . [See Ethics].
Morashtite . . . iii. 435^a.
Mordecai . . . iii. 435^a (H. A. White).
  and Merodach . . iii. 435^b note; iv. 175^a (M‘Clymont).
More . . . . iii. 436^a (Hastings).
Moreh, Hill of . . iii. 436^b (Bennett); ii. 169^b (Stenning).
  Oak(s) of . . . iii. 436^a (Bennett); iv. 484^b f., 486^a (Wilson), 601^a (Whitehouse); Ext. 616^a (Kautzsch).
Moresheth-gath . . iii. 436^b (Beecher).
Moriah . . . . iii. 437^a (Driver); ii. 160^b (Mackie).
Morning . . . iv. 766^a (Abrahams).
Morrow . . . iii. 437^b (Hastings).
Mortar . . . . iii. 437^b (Carslaw).
Mortar . . . . iii. 438^a (Carslaw).
Mortify . . . iii. 438^a (Hastings).
Moserah, Moseroth . iii. 438^b (Chapman).
Moses . . . . iii. 438^b (Bennett); ii. 123^a, 124^a (Curtis); Ext. 624^b ff. (Kautzsch).
  Analysis of Narrative
    in D . . . iii. 444^b.
    in E . . . iii. 440^b.
    in J . . . iii. 439^a.
    in P . . . iii. 443^a.
    outside Pentateuch iii. 444^b.
  Blessing of . . iv. 518^b (Selbie), 812$^{a.b}$ (Bennett); Ext. 650^a (Kautzsch).
  Historicity of Narrative . . . iii. 445^a.
  Levite . . . iii. 445^b, 101^b (Cooke).
  Marriage with Cushite . . . i. 790^b (Margoliouth).
  Name . . . iii. 438^b.
  Priesthood . . iv. 69^a (Baudissin); Ext. 633^a (Kautzsch).
  Religion . . . iii. 446^b; ii. 509^b (Barnes); Ext. 624^b ff. (Kautzsch).
  Rod . . . . iii. 888^b (Macalister).
  Seat . . . . iv. 640^a (Bacher).

Moses—
  Sin iii. 346^b (Chapman).
  Work iii. 446^a f.; ii. 446^a (W. P. Paterson); Ext. 624^a ff. (Kautzsch).
  and Christ ii. 328^a (Bruce).
  in NT iii. 447^a.
  in Tradition iii. 447^a.
Moses, Assumption of. iii. 448^a (Burkitt).
  Contents iii. 448^a.
  Date iii. 448^b.
  Ending iii. 449^b.
  Eschatology i. 745^b (Charles); ii. 120^a (Charles).
  Latin Text iii. 449^a.
  Relation to Jude ii. 802^a (Chase).
  Teaching iii. 448^b.
Mosks i. 182^b (Hommel). [See Meshech].
Mosollamus (Ap.) iii. 450^a.
Most High iii. 450^a (Driver).
Mote iii. 450^b (Hastings).
Moth iii. 451^a.
Mother i. 848^a (Bennett).
  Mother-right i. 850^a (Bennett); iii. 263^{a,b} (W. P. Paterson).
Mother-goddess Ext. 122^b ff., 135^b (Ramsay).
Motion iii. 451^a (Hastings).
Mount iii. 451^b (Hastings).
Mount, Mountain iii. 451^b (Hull).
  Sacred iv. 395^b (A. R. S. Kennedy); Ext. 119^a (Ramsay), 189^a (Wiedemann), 577^b (Jastrow).
Mount, Sermon on the Ext. 1^a ff. (Votaw).
Mourning iii. 453^a (Nicol); Ext. 614^a f. (Kautzsch).
  Baldness in i. 235^a (Macalister).
  Mutilation i. 537^b (A. R. S. Kennedy).
Mouse iii. 455^a (Post).
  Sacrifice of Ext. 116^a (Ramsay).
Mouth iii. 455^a (Mackie).
Moza iii. 455^b; ii. 127^b, 131^a.
Mozah iii. 455^b.
Much iii. 455^b.
Mufflers iii. 455^b (Selbie); i. 627^b (Mackie).
Mulberry Trees iii. 456^a (Post); ii. 31^a (Macalister).
Mule iii. 456^a (Post).
Multitude, Mixed iii. 399^a (Chapman).
Munition iii. 456^b.
Muppim iii. 456^b; ii. 130^{a,b}.
Muratorian Canon i. 120^b (Porter), 349^b (Stanton); ii. 698^a (Reynolds); iii. 247^a (Chase), 539^a (Stanton).
Murder i. 522^a (Poucher).
Murrain iii. 890^b (Macalister).
Mushi iii. 456^b; ii. 125^a.
Music iii. 456^b (Millar).
  Musical Instruments iii. 457^b.
    Percussion—
      Castanets iii. 463^a.
Music—Instruments—
  Percussion—
      Cymbals iii. 462^b.
      Sistrum iii. 463^a.
      Tabret iii. 462^b.
    Stringed—
      Dulcimer iii. 461^a.
      Harp iii. 458^a ff.
      Lute iii. 458^b, 459^b.
      Lyre iii. 458^b ff.
      Psaltery iii. 458^a ff., 461^a.
      Sackbut iii. 461^a.
      Terms *'ălāmôth*, *gittîth*, *nĕgînôth* iii. 461^a.
    Wind—
      Flute iii. 461^a.
      Horn iii. 462^a.
      Mashrōkithā iii. 461^b.
      Symphonia iii. 461^b.
      Trumpet iii. 462^a.
      'ugab iii. 461^b.
  Nature of Hebrew Music iii. 457^b.
  Occasions when used iii. 457^a.
Musri i. 182^a, 184^a. 187^b, 188^b (Hommel).
Mustard iii. 463^a (Post); ii. 38^a (Macalister).
Mut Ext. 185^{a,b} (Wiedemann).
Mutabil i. 225^b.
Mutakkil-Nusku i. 182^b.
Muth-labben iv. 154^b (Davison).
Mutilation i. 525^b (Poucher).
Mykerinus i. 658^a (Crum).
Myndus iii. 463^b (Ramsay).
Myra iii. 464^a (Ramsay).
Myrrh iii. 464^b (Post).
Myrtle iii. 465^a (Post).
Mysia iii. 465^b (Ramsay).
Mystery iii. 465^b (Stewart).
  Christian i. 114^a (Porter).
  Greek Mysteries iii. 466^b (Stewart); Ext. 124^b ff. (Ramsay).
  References in NT iii. 468^a.
  Signification of term iii. 465^b.

Naam iii. 469^a; ii. 128^b.
Naamah (person) iii. 469^a; ii. 126^b.
Naamah (place) iii. 469^a.
Naaman iii. 469^a (M'Clymont); ii. 130^b (Curtis).
Naamathite iii. 470^b.
Naamite iii. 470^b.
Naarah iii. 470^b; ii. 128^a.
Naarai iii. 470^b; ii. 132^b; iii. 638^a [Paarai].
Naaran, Naarath iii. 470^b [Naarah].
Naassenes Ext. 424^a, 425^a, 431^b (Tasker).
Naathus (Ap.) iii. 470^b.
Nabal iii. 470^b (Welch), 326^b (Macalister).
Nabarias (Ap.) iii. 471^a.

Nabathæans . . . iii. 501^{b} (Margoliouth); i. 135^{a} (Margoliouth), 145^{a} (Robertson), 185^{b} note (Hommel); iii. 558^{b} (Suffrin); iv. 431^{a} (Hull).
Nabathæan Alphabet . i. 74^{a} (I. Taylor).
Nabonidus . . . i. 229^{b} (Hommel), 270^{a} (Price).
Nabopolassar . . i. 228^{b}.
Naboth . . . iii. 471^{a} (Welch).
Nabuchodonosor (Ap.) iii. 471^{b}.
Nabudan . . . i. 180^{b}.
Nabu-mukin-apli . . i. 228^{a}.
Nabu-pal-idinâ . . i. 184^{a}, 228^{a} f.
Nabu-pal-uzur . . i. 228^{b}.
Nabu-šum-iskun . . i. 183^{b}.
Nacon . . . . iii. 471^{b}.
Nadab . . . . iii. 471^{b} (Selbie); ii. 123^{a}, 126^{a}, 131^{a} (Curtis); iv. 90^{a} (Baudissin).
Nadabath . . . iii. 472^{a}.
Naggai . . . iii. 472^{a}.
Nahalal, Nahallal, Nahalol . . . . iii. 472^{a}.
Nahaliel . . . iii. 472^{a}.
Naham . . . iii. 472^{a}.
Nahamani . . . iii. 472^{a}.
Naharai . . . iii. 472^{a}; ii. 132^{b}.
Nahash . . . iii. 472^{a} (N. J. D. White).
Nahath . . . iii. 472^{b}; ii. 124^{a}, 125^{b}.
Nahbi . . . . iii. 472^{b}.
Nahor . . . . iii. 472^{b} (Driver).
Nahshon . . . iii. 473^{b}; ii. 126^{b}.
Nahum . . . iii. 473^{b} (A. R. S. Kennedy).
  Authenticity . . iii. 475^{a}.
  Birthplace of Prophet . . . iii. 473^{b}.
  Characteristics . . iii. 476^{b}.
  Contents . . . iii. 474^{b}.
  Date and Occasion . iii. 475^{b}.
  Name and Place in Canon . . . iii. 473^{b}.
Naidus (Ap.) . . iii. 477^{b}.
Nail . . . . iii. 477^{b}.
Nain . . . . iii. 477^{b} (Macmillan).
Naioth . . . . iii. 478^{a} (Driver).
Name . . . . iii. 478^{a} (Gray).
  Calling the Name over . . . iii. 478^{b}.
  Customs connected with giving Names iii. 480^{b}.
  'Name of J″' . . iii. 479^{a}; Ext. 640^{b} (Kautzsch).
  'Name of the Lord' in NT . . . iii. 479^{b}.
  Power of the Name . iii. 480^{a}; iv. 604^{a,b} (Whitehouse); Ext. 181^{a} (Wiedemann), 280^{a} (Fairweather), 549^{a} (Jastrow), 640^{b}, 641^{a} (Kautzsch).
  Significance . . iii. 478^{b}.
Names, Proper . . iii. 481^{b} (Gray).
  Personal Names . iii. 482^{b}.
    Compounds with *ab*, *aḥ*, *'amm* . iii. 483^{b}.
    with *Adon*, *Baal*, *Melech* . . iii. 484^{a}.
    with *El* . . iii. 484^{a}.
    with *Yah*, *Yahu* iii. 484^{a}; ii. 538^{b} (Driver).
    with *Shaddai*, *Ẓur* . . iii. 484^{b}; iv. 290^{a} (Selbie).
  Place Names . . iii. 481^{b}.
    Compounds with *Baal*, *Beth*. . iii. 482^{b}; i. 259^{a} (Price).
Namtar, Legend of . i. 221^{b} (Hommel).
Nana . . . . Ext. 541^{a}.
Nanæa (Ap.) . . iii. 485^{a} (H. A. White).
Naomi . . . . iii. 485^{a} (Redpath).
Naphath-dor . . i. 617^{b} [Dor].
Naphish . . . iii. 485^{b} (Selbie).
Naphisi (Ap.) . . iii. 485^{b}.
Naphoth-dor . . i. 617^{b} [Dor].
Naphtali . . . iii. 485^{b} (Ewing); ii. 131^{b} (Curtis).
Naphtali, Mount . iii. 487^{a} (Ewing).
Naphtuhim . . . iii. 487^{a} (Johns).
Napkin . . . iii. 487^{b} (Selbie); i. 627^{a} (Mackie).
Narâm-Sin . . . i. 225^{a}.
Narcissus . . . iii. 487^{b} (Headlam).
Nard . . . . iii. 487^{b}; iv. 611^{a} (Post).
Nasbas (Ap.) . . iii. 488^{a} (Nestle).
Nasi (Ap.) . . . iii. 488^{a}.
Nathan . . . iii. 488^{a} (N. J. D. White); ii. 126^{a,b}, 132^{b} (Curtis); Ext. 653^{b} (Kautzsch).
Nathanael (Ap.) . . iii. 488^{b}.
Nathanael . . . iii. 488^{b} (Cowan).
Nathanias (Ap.) . . iii. 489^{b}.
Nathan-melech . . iii. 489^{b} (Stevenson).
Nations . . . ii. 149^{a} (Selbie), 224^{b} (Sayce); Ext. 72^{a} (Jastrow).
Nativity of Christ . [See Jesus Christ, Birth of].
Nativity of Mary, Gospel of . . . Ext. 430^{a} (Tasker).
Natural . . . iii. 489^{b} (J. H. Bernard).
Natural History . . iii. 490^{a} (Post).
Nature . . . iii. 493^{a} (J. H. Bernard).
Naught, Naughty, Naughtiness . . iii. 496^{a} (Hastings).
Nave (wheel) . . iii. 496^{a}.
Nave (Ap.) . . . iii. 496^{b}.
Navy . . . . iii. 496^{b}.
Nazarene . . . iii. 496^{b} (Thatcher).
Nazareth . . . iii. 496^{b} (Thatcher).
Nazi-maraddash . . i. 181^{b}.
Nazirite . . . iii. 497^{b} (Eaton); Ext. 657^{a} (Kautzsch).
Neah . . . . iii. 501^{a}.
Neapolis . . . iii. 501^{a} (Dickson).
Neariah . . . iii. 501^{a}; ii. 122^{b}, 127^{a}.
Nebaioth . . . iii. 501^{a} (Margoliouth).
Neballat . . . iii. 501^{b}.
Nebat . . . . iii. 501^{b} (Stevenson).

Nebka . . . . i. 658^{a}.
Nebo (god) . . . iii. 501^{b} (Sayce); i. 215^{b} (Hommel); Ext. 545^{b} (Jastrow).
Nebo (town) . . iii. 502^{a} (Bennett).
Nebo, Mount . . iii. 502^{b} (Chapman).
Nebuchadnezzar . . [See Nebuchadrezzar].
Nebuchadrezzar I. . i. 182^{b}, 228^{a} (Hommel).
Nebuchadrezzar II. . iii. 503^{a} (Sayce); i. 228^{b} f. (Hommel).
  Invasion of Judah . ii. 513^{b} (Barnes), 558^{b} (N. J. D. White).
Nebushazban . . iii. 503^{b} (T. G. Pinches).
Nebuzaradan . . iii. 504^{a}.
Nechebit . . . Ext. 186^{a} (Wiedemann).
Necho (Nechoh) . . iii. 504^{a} [Neco].
Neck . . . . iii. 504^{a} (Mackie).
Neco . . . . iii. 504^{a} (Crum).
Necromancy . . iv. 606^{a} (Whitehouse); i. 612^{b} (Jevons).
Nedabiah . . . iii. 505^{a}; ii. 127^{a}.
Needle's Eye . . iii. 505^{a} (Mackie); i. 345^{b} (Post).
Needlework . . iii. 505^{a} (Mackie).
Neesing . . . iii. 505^{a} (Hastings).
Nefer-Tum . . . Ext. 186^{a} (Wiedemann).
Negeb . . . . iii. 505^{b} (Welch).
Neginah, Neginoth . iv. 154^{b} (Davison).
Nego . . . . iii. 506^{b} (Selbie).
Nehelamite, The . . iii. 507^{a} (N. J. D. White).
Nehemiah . . . iii. 507^{a}.
Nehemiah . . . iii. 507^{a} (Batten); ii. 515^{a} (Barnes).
  Description of Jerusalem . . . ii. 593^{a} (Conder).
Nehemiah (Book) . i. 821^{b} (Batten).
Nehemias (Ap.) . . iii. 510^{a}.
Nehiloth . . . iv. 154^{b} (Davison).
Nehum . . . iii. 510^{a}.
Nehushta . . . iii. 510^{b}; ii. 127^{a}.
Nehushtan . . . iii. 510^{b} (A. R. S. Kennedy); Ext. 628^{a} (Kautzsch).
Neiel . . . . iii. 511^{a}.
Neighbour . . . iii. 511^{a} (Mackie).
Neith . . . . Ext. 186^{b} (Wiedemann).
Nekeb . . . . iii. 512^{a}.
Nekoda . . . iii. 512^{a}.
Nekodan (Ap.) . . iii. 512^{a}.
Nektanebes . . . i. 664^{a}.
Nektanebo . . . i. 664^{a}.
Nemuel . . . iii. 512^{a}; ii. 122^{b}.
Neokoros . . . iii. 751^{a} (Ramsay).
Nepheg . . . iii. 512^{a}; ii. 124^{a}, 126^{b}.
Nephew . . . iii. 512^{a} (Hastings).
Nephilim . . . iii. 512^{b} (Beecher).
Nephishesim, Nephisim iii. 485^{b} [Naphish].
Nephthai . . . iii. 512^{b}.
Nephthar (Ap.) . . iii. 512^{b} (James Patrick).
Nephtoah . . . iii. 513^{b} (Conder).
Nephushesim, Nephusim iii. 485^{b} [Naphish].
Ner . . . . iii. 513^{b}; ii. 131$^{a,\,b}$.
Nereus . . . iii. 513^{b} (Headlam).
Nergal . . . iii. 514^{a} (Sayce); i. 177^{b}, 215^{b}, 222^{a} (Hommel); Ext. 542^{b} ff. (Jastrow).
Nergal-sharezer . . iii. 514^{a} (Sayce); i. 229^{a} (Hommel); iv. 190^{b} (Pinches).
Neri . . . . iii. 514^{b}.
Neriah . . . . iii. 514^{b}.
Nerias (Ap.) . . iii. 514^{b}.
Nero . . . . iii. 514^{b} (Cowan).
  Belief in his return . iii. 517^{b}; iv. 258^{a} (Porter).
  Relation to Christians iii. 515^{b} ff.; i. 420^{a} (Turner).
Nest . . . . iii. 518^{b}.
Net . . . . ii. 12^{b}, 24^{b}.
Netaim . . . iii. 518^{b}.
Nethanel . . . iii. 518^{b}; ii. 125$^{b\ bis}$, 126^{b}.
Nethaniah . . . iii. 519^{a}; ii. 123^{a}, 125^{b}.
Nethinim . . . iii. 519^{a} (Taylor); iv. 74^{b}, 80^{b}, 94^{b} (Baudissin).
Netophah . . . iii. 520^{a} (Stenning).
Netophas (Ap.) . . iii. 520^{b}.
Netophathites . . ii. 128^{a} (Curtis).
Nettle . . . . iii. 520^{b}.
New, Newness . . iii. 521^{a} (Mackie).
New Birth . . . iv. 214^{b} ff. (Bartlet).
New Commandment . i. 329^{b} (Denney).
New Jerusalem . . iv. 253^{b}, 255^{a} (Porter).
  Foundations . . iv. 619^{b} ff. (Flinders Petrie).
New Man . . . iv. 218$^{a,\,b}$ (Bartlet).
New Moon . . . iii. 521^{b} (Abrahams).
  Festival . . . iii. 521^{b}; i. 859^{b} (Harding); iv. 815^{b}; Ext. 662^{a} (Kautzsch).
New Testament . . iii. 523^{a} (M'Clymont).
  Authority . . Ext. 327^{b} f. (Garvie).
  Contents . . . iii. 526^{a} ff.
  Ethics . . . i. 783^{a} ff. (Strong).
  History of . . iii. 524^{a}.
  Name . . . iii. 523^{a}.
  Relation to Old Testament and Apocrypha . . iii. 523^{a}; Ext. 331^{b} ff. (Garvie).
    to Church Fathers and Christian Apocrypha . iii. 524^{a}.
  Text . . . iv. 732^{b} ff. (Nestle).
  Versions . . iv. 734^{b} (Nestle). [See Versions].
New Testament Canon iii. 529^{b} ff. (Stanton).
  Formation of Canon iii. 530^{a}.
  From Apostolic Age to 3rd cent.—
    Evidence of Ep. of Clement to Corinthians . iii. 531^{b} ff.
    Epistles of Ignatius . . iii. 531^{b} ff.
    Epistle of Polycarp . . iii. 531^{b} ff.
  2nd Quarter of 2nd cent.—
    Apology of Aristides . . iii. 534^{b}.

- New Testament Canon
  - —From Apostolic Age to 3rd cent.—
    - Basilides iii. 536^{a}.
    - Didache iii. 533^{a}.
    - Epistle of Barnabas iii. 532^{b}.
    - Epistle (2nd) of Clement iii. 534^{b}.
    - Irenæus iii. 534^{a}.
    - Justin Martyr iii. 534^{b}.
    - Marcion iii. 536^{b}.
    - Papias iii. 533^{b}.
    - Shepherd of Hermas iii. 533^{a}.
  - 3rd Quarter of 2nd cent.—Tatian iii. 536^{b}.
  - A.D. 175–220 iii. 537^{a}.
    - Alogi iii. 537^{a}.
    - Theophilus iii. 537^{b}.
  - A.D. 220–323 iii. 540^{b}.
    - Eusebius iii. 541^{a}.
    - Origen iii. 540^{b}.
  - Period after Constantine iii. 541^{b}.
  - Syriac Canon iv. 647^{b} f., 649^{b} (Nestle).
- New Testament Language [See Language of the New Testament].
- New Testament Text [See Text of the New Testament].
- New Testament, Textual Criticism of Ext. 208^{b} ff. (Murray).
  - Materials Ext. 209^{b}.
  - Methods and Principles Ext. 210^{a} ff.
    - Traditional and Critical Schools Ext. 210^{b} ff.
- New Testament Times Ext. 45^{a} ff. (Buhl); ii. 604^{b} ff. (Sanday).
  - Art and Literature Ext. 55^{b}.
  - Diaspora Ext. 56^{b} f., 91^{a} ff. (Schürer).
  - Distribution of Population Ext. 45^{b}.
  - Education and Culture Ext. 54^{a}; i. 649^{b} ff. (A. R. S. Kennedy).
  - Languages Ext. 47^{a}.
  - Parties Ext. 52^{a}; ii. 605$^{a,\,b}$ (Sanday); iii. 821^{a} ff. (Eaton).
  - Political Constitution Ext. 48^{a}.
  - Social Conditions Ext. 49^{b}.
- New Year iv. 764^{a}, 815^{b} (Abrahams); Ext. 483^{b} (Ramsay).
- Neziah iii. 542^{b}.
- Nezib iii. 542^{b}.
- Nibhaz iii. 542^{b}; iv. 689^{b} (Pinches).
- Nibshan iii. 543^{a}.
- Nicanor (Ap.) iii. 543^{a} (H. A. White).
- Nicanor (NT) iii. 543^{a}.
- Nicanor, Feast of i. 862^{a} (Harding).
- Nicephorus, Chronography of i. 115^{a}, 121^{a} (Porter); Ext. 341^{a} (Menzies).
- Nicetas of Serræ Ext. 486^{b} f. (Turner).
- Nicodemus iii. 543^{a} (J. H. Bernard).
- Nicodemus, Gospel of iii. 544^{a} (von Dobschütz).
  - Composition and Influence iii. 546^{b}.
  - Contents iii. 544^{a}.
  - Date iii. 545^{b}.
  - Eschatology iii. 670^{b} (Salmond).
  - Name iii. 544^{a}.
  - Purpose iii. 546^{a}.
  - Sources iii. 546^{a}.
  - VSS and MSS iii. 544^{b}.
- Nicolaitans iii. 547^{a} (Cowan).
- Nicolas iii. 548^{a} (Cowan).
- Nicopolis iii. 548^{b} (Ramsay).
- Niger iii. 549^{a}.
- Night iii. 549^{a} (James Patrick).
- Night Hawk iii. 550^{a} (Post).
- Night Monster iii. 550^{b}.
- Nile iii. 550^{b} (Crum).
  - Defilement in first Plague iii. 889^{a} (Macalister).
  - Worship iii. 551^{a}; Ext. 189^{b} (Wiedemann).
- Nimrah iii. 551^{b}; i. 281^{b} [Beth-nimrah].
- Nimrim, Waters of iii. 551^{b} (Warren); i. 281^{b} (Conder).
- Nimrod iii. 552^{a} (Pinches).
  - Identified with Merodach iii. 552^{b}.
    - with Orion iii. 632^{b} (J. Taylor).
  - Legend of Nimrod and Abraham i. 17^{a} (Ryle).
  - in Babylonian Literature i. 221^{a} (Hommel).
- Nimshi iii. 553^{a}.
- Nina Ext. 541^{a}.
- Nindar i. 177^{b}, 215^{b} (Hommel).
- Nindar-pal-isharra i. 182^{a} (Hommel).
- Nineveh iii. 553^{a} (Sayce).
  - Excavations i. 178^{a} (Hommel); Ext. 532^{b} (Jastrow).
  - Name ii. 747^{b} (König).
- Ninevites iii. 554^{b}.
- Ninib Ext. 542^{b} (Jastrow).
- Niphis (Ap.) iii. 554^{b}.
- Nippur Ext. 533^{b} (Jastrow).
- Nisan iii. 554^{b}; iv. 765^{a}.
- Nisin i. 226^{a} (Hommel).
- Nisroch iii. 554^{b} (T. G. Pinches).
- Nitre iii. 555^{a} (James Patrick).
- No, No-amon iii. 555^{a} (Griffith).
- Noadiah iii. 555^{b}.
- Noah iii. 555^{b} (Woods).
  - Covenant with i. 513^{a} (Davidson).
  - Sons ii. 288^{b} (Margoliouth); Ext. 79^{b} ff. (Jastrow).
  - and Flood ii. 16^{a} ff. (Woods).
  - on Coins of Apamea Ext. 94^{a} (Schürer).
- Noah (woman) iii. 556^{a}; ii. 129^{b}.
- Noah, Book of iii. 556^{a} (Charles).
- No-amon iii. 555^{a} (Griffith).
- Nob iii. 557^{a} (Driver), 502^{a} (Bennett).

Nobah (person) . . . iii. 557^b.
Nobah (place) . . . iii. 557^b (Welch).
Nobai . . . . . iii. 558^a, 502^a.
Nobleman . . . . iii. 558^a (Purves).
Nod . . . . . iii. 558^a (Suffrin); i. 225^a (Hommel).
Nodab . . . . . iii. 558^b (Suffrin).
Noe . . . . . iii. 555^b [Noah].
Noeba (Ap.) . . . iii. 558^b.
Nogah . . . . . iii. 558^b; ii. 126^b.
Nohah . . . . . iii. 558^b; ii. 130; iii. 342^b.
Noise . . . . . iii. 558^b.
Noisome . . . . iii. 559^a (Hastings).
Non . . . . . iii. 573^b [Nun].
Nooma (Ap.) . . . iii. 559^a.
Noph . . . . . iii. 559^a (Johns), 338^b (Max Müller).
Nophah . . . . iii. 559^b.
North Country . . . iii. 559^b (Driver).
Norwegian Versions . Ext. 415^b (Bebb).
Nose, Nostrils . . . iii. 559^b (Mackie).
  Flat-nosed . . . iii. 560^a.
Nose Jewel . . . . i. 633^a [Earring].
Notable . . . . iii. 560^a (Hastings).
Nothing . . . . iii. 560^a (Hastings).
Nought . . . . iii. 496^a [Naught].
Novice . . . . . iii. 560^b.
Number . . . . iii. 560^b (König); i. 155^b (Barnes).
  Five . . . . . iii. 564^a.
  Fifty . . . . iii. 564^a.
  Forty . . . . iii. 563^a, 565^a.
  Gematria . . . . iii. 566^b.
  Hundred . . . . iii. 564^b.
  Method of writing numbers . . iii. 560^b f.
  Number of the Beast iii. 567^a, 518^a (Cowan); iv. 258^a (Porter).
  Round Numbers . iii. 562^a ff.
    in Judges . . ii. 817^a ff.
  Sacred Numbers . iii. 564^b.
  Seven . . . . iii. 562^b, 565^a.
  Seventy . . . . iii. 563^a.
  Symbolic Numbers . iii. 566^a; Ext. 170^a.
  Ten . . . . . iii. 564^a, 565^a.
  Thousand . . . . iii. 564^b.
  Three . . . . iii. 562^b, 565^b; ii. 750^b.
  Twelve . . . . iii. 563^a, 564^b.
  Two . . . . . iii. 562^b.
Numbering the People i. 568^b.
Numbers, Hours, Years, and Dates . . . Ext. 473^b ff. (Ramsay).
  Dating, Methods of . Ext. 479^a ff.
  Day . . . . . Ext. 476^a ff.
  Hours of the Day . Ext. 475^b ff.
  Numbers and Counting . . . . Ext. 474^a ff.
  Years . . . . Ext. 479^a ff.
    Beginning of the Year . . . Ext. 483^b ff.
Numbers (Book) . . iii. 567^b (Harford-Battersby).
  Analysis . . . . iii. 567^b ff.
  Authorship and Date iii. 572^b.
  Value . . . . iii. 573^a.
Numenius (Ap.) . . iii. 573^b (H. A. White).
Nun (letter) . . . iii. 573^b.
Nun (person) . . . iii. 573^b; ii. 130^a.
Nurse . . . . . iii. 573^b (Mackie).
Nurture . . . . iii. 574^a (Hastings).
Nuts . . . . . iii. 574^a (Post); ii. 31^a (Macalister).
Nympha, Nymphas . iii. 574^b (Murray).

Oabdius (Ap.) . . . iii. 575^a.
Oak . . . . . iii. 575^a (Post).
  of Mamre . . . iii. 224^b (Driver).
  of Meonenim . . . iii. 342^b (Bennett).
  of Moreh . . . . iii. 436^a (Bennett).
Oar . . . . . iv. 505^b (Hull); Ext. 362^a, 365^a, 366^b (Blomfield).
Oath . . . . . iii. 575^b (Ferries).
  Christ's Teaching on iii. 577^a; Ext. 28^a (Votaw).
  Ritual . . . . iii. 576^a.
Obadiah . . . . iii. 577^a; ii. 125$^{a\ bis}$, 127^a, 129^b, 131^a, 132^a.
Obadiah, Book of . iii. 577^b (Selbie).
  Contents . . . . iii. 578^a.
  Eschatology . . . iii. 578^a.
  Name and Place in Canon . . . iii. 577^b.
  Relation to Jeremiah iii. 578^b.
  Unity and Date . . iii. 578^a.
Obal . . . . . i. 635^b [Ebal].
Obdia (Ap.) . . . . iii. 580^b.
Obduracy . . . . ii. 302^b [Hardening].
Obed . . . . . iii. 580^b; ii. 126$^{a, b}$, 132^b.
Obed-edom . . . . iii. 580^b (Selbie); ii. 125^b (Curtis).
Obedience, Obey . . iii. 581^a (Adams Brown).
Obeisance . . . . iii. 582^a.
Obelisk . . . . iii. 879^a (Whitehouse).
  Black . . . . i. 184^a (Hommel).
Obeth (Ap.) . . . . iii. 582^a.
Obil . . . . . iii. 582^a.
Oblation . . . . iii. 587^a (Driver); iv. 330^b (Paterson).
Object . . . . . iii. 582^b.
Oboth . . . . . iii. 582^b.
Obscurity . . . . iii. 582^b.
Observe, Observation . iii. 582^b (Hastings).
Obstinacy . . . . ii. 302^b [Hardening].
Occupy . . . . iii. 583^a (Hastings).
Occurrent . . . . iii. 583^b (Hastings).
Ochielus (Ap.) . . . iii. 583^b.
Ochran . . . . iii. 583^b.
Ocidelus (Ap.) . . . iii. 583^b.
Ocina (Ap.) . . . . ii. 583^b (Ewing).
Oded . . . . . iii. 583^b.
Odollam (Ap.) . . . iii. 584^a.
Odomera (Ap.) . . . iii. 584^a.
Oecumenius . . . Ext. 530^b (Turner).
Of . . . . . iii. 584^a (Hastings).
Offence . . . . iii. 586^a (Hastings), 586^b (Adency).
Offence, Mount of . iii. 617^a f. (Warren).
Offer, Offering, Oblation iii. 587^a (Driver).
Officer . . . . . iii. 589^a (Massie).
Og . . . . . iii. 590^a (Redpath).
  Bedstead . . . . iii. 590^a; ii. 482^a (Patrick).

- Ohad iii. 590^{a}; ii. 122^{b}.
- Ohel iii. 590^{a}; ii. 127^{a}.
- Oholah, Oholibah iii. 590^{a} (Selbie).
- Oholiab iii. 590^{b}.
- Oholibah iii. 590^{a} [Oholah].
- Oholibamah iii. 590^{b}.
- Oil iii. 590^{b} (Macalister); ii. 31^{b}.
  - Anointing Oil iii. 593^{a}; Ext. 659^{b} f. (Kautzsch).
  - Libations Ext. 659^{b} (Kautzsch).
  - Press ii. 31^{a}; iii. 616^{b} (Post).
- Oil Tree iii. 592^{b} (Post).
- Ointment iii. 593^{a} (Macalister), 747^{a}.
- Olamus (Ap.) iii. 594^{a}.
- Old Gate ii. 593^{a} (Conder).
- Old Latin Versions iii. 47^{a} (H.A.A.Kennedy).
- Old Man iv. 218$^{a, b}$ (Bartlet).
- Old Prophet iii. 594^{a} (Stevenson).
- Old Testament iii. 595^{b} (Curtis).
  - Books, Number of iii. 598^{a}.
  - Chronological Scheme i. 290^{b} (Stewart).
  - Criticism, Higher iii. 602^{b}.
    - Textual iii. 601^{a}; iv. 884^{b} (H. J. White).
  - Ethics i. 777^{b} ff., 783^{a} (Strong).
  - Interpretation in NT iii. 601^{b}.
    - in Rabbinic and Talmudic Period iii. 599^{a} ff.
    - in later times iii. 602^{a} ff.
  - Name i. 286^{b} (Stewart).
  - Origin and Growth—
    - The Law iii. 595^{b}; ii. 364^{b}–375^{a} (Woods); iii. 64^{b} (Driver).
    - Prophets iii. 596^{b}.
    - Writings or Hagiographa iii. 597^{b}.
  - Preservation and Transmission in Jewish Church iii. 598^{b}.
    - in Christian Church iii. 601^{a}.
  - Religious Value iii. 604^{a}.
  - Style iii. 660^{a} (König); Ext. 156^{a}.
  - Text, History of iv. 731^{b} f. (Strack).
    - MSS iv. 727^{a} ff. (Strack).
    - Massoretic iii. 599^{a}; iv. 729^{a} ff. (Strack).
    - Pre-Massoretic iii. 598^{b}; iv. 730^{b} (Strack).
    - Printed Editions of Hebrew OT iv. 726^{a} (Strack).
  - Versions—
    - Old Latin iii. 47^{a} ff. (H. A. A. Kennedy).
    - Septuagint iv. 437^{b} (Nestle).
    - Syriac iv. 650^{a} ff. (Nestle).
    - Targums iv. 678^{b} (T. Walker).
    - Vulgate iv. 873^{a} (H. J. White).
    - [See Versions].
- Old Testament Canon iii. 604^{a} (Woods).
  - Alexandrian iii. 615^{a}; i. 117^{b} (Porter).
  - Canon of Reformed and Roman Catholic Churches iii. 605^{a}.
  - Canonicity of Apocryphal Books iii. 615^{a}; i. 117^{b} ff. (Porter).
- Old Testament Canon—
  - Canonicity of Hagiographa iii. 612^{a}.
    - of Hexateuch iii. 611^{b}.
      - Prophetic - Historical Books iii. 611^{b}.
    - Summary of Results iii. 614^{b}.
  - Evidence from Baba Bathra iii. 606^{b}.
    - Council of Jamnia iii. 607^{a}.
    - 2 Esdras iii. 607^{a}.
    - Ezra and Nehemiah iii. 611^{a}.
    - Josephus iii. 607^{b}; Ext. 468^{a} (Thackeray).
    - New Testament iii. 608^{b} ff.
    - Philo iii. 609^{b}.
    - Sirach iii. 610^{a}.
    - Talmud iii. 606^{b}.
  - Influence of Present Knowledge on Religion iii. 615^{b}.
  - Jewish Origin of Canon iii. 605^{b}.
  - Syriac Canon iv. 650^{a} ff. (Nestle).
  - Term 'Canon' iii. 604^{b}.
- Old Testament Language iii. 25^{a} (Margoliouth).
  - Alphabet i. 70^{b} ff. (I. Taylor).
  - Aramaic iii. 25^{a}, 34^{a}.
  - Hebrew Language, Antiquity of iii. 25^{b}.
    - Dialectic Differences iii. 30^{b} ff.
    - Grammar iii. 30^{b} f.
    - Names iii. 25^{a}.
    - New Hebrew iii. 31^{b} ff.
    - Origin and Relation to Arabic iii. 26^{a} ff.
    - Periods of Language iii. 31^{b} ff.
    - Secondary Sources iii. 29^{a} ff.
- Old Testament, Text of iv. 726^{a} (Strack).
  - Criticism iv. 884^{b} (H. J. White).
  - Hebrew MSS iv. 727^{a} ff.
  - History of Text iv. 731^{b}.
  - Massoretes, Work of iv. 729^{a}; iii. 599^{a} (Curtis).
  - Pre-Massoretic Text iv. 730^{b}; iii. 598^{b} (Curtis).
  - Preservation iii. 598^{b} (Curtis), 31^{a} (Margoliouth).
  - Printed Editions of Hebrew OT iv. 726^{a}.
  - Punctuation iv. 730^{a}.
  - Sopherim, Work of iv. 731^{a}.
  - Versions, Importance of Old iv. 731^{b}, 853^{a} ff. (Bebb).
- Old Testament Times ii. 507^{a} ff., 807^{a} ff. (Barnes).
- Olive iii. 616^{a} (Post); ii. 31^{a} (Macalister); iii. 591^{a} (Macalister).
- Olives, Mount of iii. 616^{b} (Warren).
  - Mount of Corruption i. 500^{a} (Hastings).
- Olivet iii. 620^{a}.
- Olympas iii. 620^{a}.
- Olympius (Ap.) iii. 620^{a}.

Omar . . . . iii. 620^{a}.
Omega . . . . i. 70^{a} (Charles).
Omens . . . . Ext. 556^{a} (Jastrow).
Omer . . . . iv. 912^{a}, 913^{a} (A. R. S. Kennedy).
Omri . . . . iii. 620^{a}; ii. 126^{b}, 129^{a}, 130^{b}.
Omri (king) . . . iii. 620^{a} (Whitehouse).
  Chronology of Reign i. 402^{a} (Curtis).
On (person) . . . iii. 621^{a}, 12^{b} (Selbie).
On (place) . . . iii. 621^{b} (Griffith); i. 204^{b}; ii. 480^{a}, 481^{a} note (Driver).
Onam . . . . iii. 622^{a}; ii. 126^{a}.
Onan . . . . iii. 622^{a}; ii. 125^{b}.
Onesimus . . . iii. 622^{b} (Lock).
Onesiphorus . . . iii. 622^{b} (Milligan).
Oniares (Ap.) . . i. 148^{b} (H. A. White).
Onias (person) (Ap.) . iii. 623^{a} (Moss).
Onias (region) . . iii. 624^{a} (Moss).
Onions . . . . iii. 624^{a} (Post); ii. 29^{a} (Macalister).
Onnos . . . . i. 658^{a} (Crum).
Ono . . . . iii. 624^{a} (Conder).
Onus (Ap.) . . . iii. 624^{b}.
Onycha . . . . iii. 624^{b}.
Onyx . . . . iii. 624^{b} (J. Taylor); i. 644^{a} (Sayce); iv. 620^{b} f. (Flinders Petrie).
Open . . . . iii. 625^{b} (Hastings).
Open Place . . . iii. 625^{b} (Selbie).
Ophai . . . . i. 713^{b} (Selbie).
Ophel . . . . iii. 626^{a} (Warren).
Ophir . . . . iii. 626^{b} (Price); i. 135^{a} (Margoliouth); Ext. 82^{a} (Jastrow), 85^{b} (McCurdy).
Ophni . . . . iii. 628^{a}.
Ophrah . . . . iii. 628^{a} (Stevenson); i. 728^{a} (J. H. Kennedy); ii. 128^{b} (Curtis).
Or . . . . iii. 629^{a}.
Oracle . . . . iii. 629^{a} (Prichard); iv. 71^{a} (Baudissin), 107^{b} (Davidson); Ext. 556^{a} (Jastrow), 621^{a}, 648^{a} ff., 662^{b} f. (Kautzsch).
Orator . . . . iii. 629^{b} (Headlam).
Orchard . . . . iii. 629^{b}.
Order . . . . iii. 630^{a} (Hastings).
Ordain, Ordinance . iii. 631^{a} (Hastings).
Ordination . . . iii. 631^{b} (Gwatkin); i. 426^{b} (Gayford).
Oreb and Zeeb . . iii. 632^{a} (Cooke).
Oren . . . . iii. 632^{a}; ii. 126^{a}.
Organ . . . . iii. 461^{b} [*'ugab*].
Origen . . . . Ext. 490^{a} ff., 530^{b} (Turner).
  Hexapla . . . iv. 442^{b} (Nestle), 864^{b} f. (Redpath).
  and Canon . . . i. 120^{b} (Porter); iii. 540^{b} (Stanton); Ext. 340^{b} (Menzies).
Orion . . . . iii. 632^{a} (J. Taylor); i. 192^{a} (Pinches).
Ormazd . . . . iv. 988^{b} (J. H. Moulton); Ext. 279^{b} (Fairweather).
Ornament . . . iii. 632^{b} (Mackie).
Ornan . . . . iii. 633^{b}.
Orpah . . . . iii. 633^{b}.
Orphan . . . . iii. 634^{a} (Hastings).
Orthosia (Ap.) . . iii. 634^{a}.
Oryx . . . . ii. 36^{b}.
Osaias (Ap.) . . . iii. 634^{a}.
Osea (Ap.) . . . iii. 634^{a}.
Oseas (Ap.) . . . iii. 634^{a}.
Osiris . . . . Ext. 191^{a}, 194^{b} (Wiedemann).
Osnappar . . . iii. 634^{a} (Price); i. 189^{a} (Hommel).
Ospray . . . . iii. 634^{b}.
Ossifrage . . . iii. 634^{b} (Post).
Ostrich . . . . iii. 635^{a} (Post).
Other . . . . iii. 635^{b} (Hastings).
Othni . . . . iii. 635^{b}.
Othniel . . . . iii. 635^{b} (Selbie); ii. 128^{b} (Curtis), 811^{a}, 818^{a} (König).
Othonias (Ap.) . . iii. 636^{a}.
Ouches . . . . iii. 636^{a} (A. R. S. Kennedy).
Ought . . . . iii. 636^{b}.
Outlandish . . . iii. 636^{b}.
Outrage . . . . iii. 637^{a}.
Outroad . . . . iii. 637^{a}.
Oven . . . . iii. 637^{a} (Porter); i. 318^{a} (Macalister).
Overseer . . . iii. 637^{a}.
Owl . . . . iii. 637^{b} (Post).
Ox (Ap.) . . . iii. 638^{a}.
Ox . . . . iii. 638^{a} (Post).
Ox-goad . . . ii. 194^{b} (Selbie); i. 49^{b} (Paterson).
Oxyrhynchus Fragment Ext. 347^{a} (Ropes).
Ozem . . . . iii. 638^{b}; ii. 126^{a,b}.
Ozias (Ap.) . . . iii. 638^{b}.
Oziel (Ap.) . . . iii. 638^{b}.
Ozni . . . . iii. 638^{b}.

P (Priestly Writings) . ii. 368^{b} ff. (Woods); Ext. 715^{a} (Kautzsch).
  Characteristics . . ii. 368^{b}.
  Date and Origin . ii. 370^{b}; Ext. 715^{a} (Kautzsch).
  Ethics . . . Ext. 722^{b} (Kautzsch).
  Extent . . . ii. 369^{b}.
  Idea of God . . Ext. 715^{b} (Kautzsch).
  Language . . . ii. 369^{a}.
  Legislation . . iii. 70^{a} ff. (Driver), 102^{b} ff. (Harford-Battersby).
  Priesthood in . . iv. 81^{b} (Baudissin); Ext. 719^{a} (Kautzsch).
    Date of System . iv. 86^{b} (Baudissin).
  Sacrifice in . . iv. 336^{b} (W. P. Paterson); Ext. 720^{a} (Kautzsch).
  Sources . . . Ext. 715^{a} (Kautzsch).
    in Genesis . . ii. 144^{a} (Ryle).
    in Joshua . . ii. 781^{a} (Smith).
Paarai . . . . iii. 638^{a} (Selbie); ii. 132^{b} (Curtis).

- Paddan . . . iii. 638^{b}.
- Paddan-aram . . iii. 639^{a} (Sayce); i. 138^{b}.
- Paddle . . . iii. 639^{a}.
- Padon . . . iii. 639^{a}.
- Pagiel . . . iii. 639^{a}.
- Pahath-moab . . iii. 639^{a} (Bennett).
- Pai . . . iii. 639^{b} (Selbie).
- Painful, Painfulness . iii. 639^{b} (Hastings).
- Paint . . . iii. 639^{b} (Mackie); i. 814^{b}.
- ‘Pairs’ . . . Ext. 58^{b} (Schechter).
- Palace . . . iii. 640^{a} (Bennett).
- Palal . . . iii. 640^{b}.
- Palanquin . . . iii. 640^{b}.
- Pale . . . iii. 640^{b} (Hastings).
- Palestina . . . iii. 640^{b}.
- Palestine . . . iii. 640^{b} (Conder); ii. 507^{a} ff. (Barnes).
  - Art and Literature . i. 157^{b} (Flinders Petrie); Ext. 55^{b} (Buhl).
  - Climate . . . iii. 643^{b} f.; i. 48^{b} (J. W. Paterson); ii. 508^{a} (Barnes); iv. 195^{b} (Hull), 556^{b} (Nicol).
  - Conquest by Israel . ii. 509^{b} f. (Barnes), 785^{b} (Smith).
  - Flora and Fauna . iii. 644^{a} ff., 490^{a} ff. (Post).
  - Geography . . iii. 641^{b} f., 647^{a} ff.
    - Harbours . . iii. 643^{b}; ii. 311^{a} (Hull).
    - Mountains . . iii. 641^{b}, 452^{a} f. (Hull).
    - Plains . . . iii. 893^{a} ff. (Driver).
    - Springs and Rivers iii. 642^{b} ff.; i. 329^{a} (Hull); iv. 286^{b} ff. (Selbie).
    - Tribal Boundaries iii. 647^{b} ff.
  - Geology . . . iii. 641^{a}; ii. 150^{a} ff. (Hull).
  - Language . . . iii. 25^{b} ff. (Margoliouth); Ext. 47^{a} (Buhl).
  - Minerals . . . iii. 645^{a}, 374^{b} ff. (Hull).
  - Monuments, Inscriptions, etc. . . iii. 653^{b} ff.
  - Political and Social Condition in NT Times . . . Ext. 45^{a} ff. (Buhl).
  - Population . . iii. 646^{b}; Ext. 45^{b} (Buhl).
  - Races . . . iii. 645^{b}; Ext. 72^{a} ff. (Jastrow).
  - Roads . . . iii. 643^{b}; iv. 805^{b} f. (Bennett), 892^{b} (Barnes); Ext. 368^{a} ff. (Buhl).
  - Trade and Commerce iv. 803^{b} ff. (Bennett); Ext. 50^{a}, 374^{a} (Buhl).
- Palimpsests . . . iv. 955^{a} (Kenyon).
- Palindromy . . . Ext. 157^{b} (König).
- Pallu . . . iii. 656^{a}; ii. 122^{b}.
- Palm (of the hand) . iii. 656^{a} (Hastings).
- Palm Tree . . . iii. 656^{b} (Post); ii. 30^{a} (Macalister).
- Palmer-worm . . iii. 657^{b} (Post).
- Palsy . . . iii. 657^{b} (Hastings), 326^{a} (Macalister).
- Palti . . . iii. 658^{a}.
- Paltiel . . . iii. 658^{a}.
- Paltite, The . . iii. 658^{a}, 738^{b} (Stenning); ii. 132^{a} (Curtis).
- Pamphylia . . . iii. 658^{a} (Ramsay).
  - Christianity in . . iii. 659^{a}.
- Pan . . . ii. 40^{a} (Macalister); i. 318^{a}.
- Panammu . . . i. 186^{b} (Hommel).
- Pannag . . . iii. 659^{a} (Post); i. 316^{b} (Macalister); ii. 37^{b} (Macalister).
- Pantikapæum, Jewish Inscriptions at . . Ext. 95^{a} (Schürer).
- Paper . . . iv. 947^{b} (Kenyon).
- Paper Reeds . . iv. 213^{a} (Post).
- Paphos . . . iii. 659^{b} (Myres).
- Papias . . . ii. 683^{a} (Strong), 698^{b} (Reynolds); iii. 256^{b} (Salmond), 296^{a} ff. (Bartlet), 533^{b} ff. (Stanton).
- Papyrus . . . iv. 212$^{a, b}$ (Post), 945^{b} (Kenyon).
- Papyri . . . Ext. 352^{b} (Kenyon).
  - Coptic . . . Ext. 356^{b}.
  - Discoveries of Papyri Ext. 352^{b}.
  - Egyptian . . . Ext. 353^{a}.
  - Greek . . . Ext. 353^{b}.
  - Hebrew . . . Ext. 353^{a}.
  - Value of . . . Ext. 355^{a}.
- Parable (in OT) . . iii. 660^{a} (König).
  - Original Sense of *māshāl* . . . iii. 661^{a}.
  - Psychological Origin iii. 660^{a}.
  - Relation to other Devices of Style . iii. 660^{a}, 663^{a} (Plummer).
- Parable (in NT) . . iii. 662^{b} (Plummer).
  - Attitude of Epistles . iii. 664^{a}.
  - Christ’s use of . . iii. 663^{b}.
  - Classification . . iii. 664^{b}.
  - Distribution in Gospels . . . iii. 664^{a}.
  - Interpretation . . iii. 665^{a}.
  - Relation to Proverb . iii. 663^{b}.
    - to Riddle . . iv. 270^{b} (Nicol).
  - Terminology . . iii. 662^{b}.
- Paraclete . . . iii. 665^{b} (Hastings).
  - Etymology and Use of παράκλητος . . iii. 665^{b} f.
  - Functions . . . ii. 408^{a} (Swete).
  - Interpretation in Fathers and VSS . iii. 666^{b}.
  - Translations, Alternative . . . iii. 668^{a}.
  - in St. John’s Gospel . iii. 667^{b}.
- Paradise . . . iii. 668^{b} (Salmond); i. 752^{b}.
  - Etymology . . iii. 668^{b}.
  - in OT . . . iii. 669^{a}.
  - in NT . . . iii. 669^{a}, 671$^{a, b}$.
  - in Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha . iii. 670^{a}; Ext. 304^{b} f. (Fairweather).
  - in the Fathers . . iii. 671^{b} f.
- Parah . . . iii. 672^{b}.
- Parallelism . . . iv. 4^{a} (Budde); Ext. 166^{b} (König).
- Paralysis, Paralytic . iii. 326^{a} (Macalister), 657^{b} (Hastings).
- Paramyth . . . iii. 662^{a} (König).

- Paran iii. 672^b (Chapman).
- Parbar iii. 673^a (Driver); ii. 594^a, 598^a (Conder).
- Parcel iii. 673^b (Hastings).
- Parched Corn iii. 673^b (Hastings); ii. 27^b (Macalister); iv. 173^b, 915^a (Post).
- Parchment iii. 673^b (Hastings); iv. 946^b (Kenyon).
- Pardon ii. 56^a (Bethune-Baker).
- Parents i. 848^a (Bennett).
  - Irreverence to i. 522^a (Poucher).
- Parlour iii. 674^a (Selbie).
- Parmashta iii. 674^b.
- Parmenas iii. 674^b.
- Parnach iii. 674^b.
- Paronomasia iv. 272^a (Nicol); Ext. 165^b (König).
- Parosh iii. 674^b.
- Parousia iii. 674^b (Adams Brown); i. 750^b, 753^b, 754^{a,b} (Salmond).
  - Different Comings of Christ iii. 674^b.
  - Doctrine of Parousia iii. 675^a ff.
    - in Acts, Epistles, and Revelation iii. 677^b.
    - in Fourth Gospel iii. 679^a.
    - in Synoptics iii. 675^b.
    - Later Doctrine iii. 679^b.
  - Time of Advent iii. 677^{a,b}, 678^b, 679^a.
- Parshandatha iii. 680^b.
- Parshioth i. 288^a (Stewart); iv. 950^a (Kenyon).
- Parsism iv. 988^b ff. (J. H. Moulton).
- Parthians iii. 680^b (T. G. Pinches).
- Particular, Particularly iii. 681^b (Hastings).
- Parties in Palestine ii. 604^b ff. (Sanday); iii. 821^a ff. (Eaton); Ext. 52^a (Buhl).
- Partridge iii. 682^a (Post); ii. 36^b (Macalister).
- Paruah iii. 682^b.
- Parvaim iii. 682^b (Price); i. 134^b (Margoliouth).
- Pasach iii. 682^b; ii. 131^b.
- Pas-dammim iii. 682^b; i. 713^b.
- Paseah iii. 682^b; ii. 128^b.
- Pashhur iii. 682^b (Bennett); ii. 124^a (Curtis); Ext. 701^a (Kautzsch).
- Pass, Passage, Passenger iii. 683^a (Hastings).
- Passion iii. 683^b (Hastings).
- Passover iii. 684^a (W. J. Moulton); i. 860^a (Harding).
  - Name iii. 688^a; Ext. 622^a (Kautzsch).
  - Old Testament References iii. 684^a ff.
  - Origin and Significance iii. 688^a ff.; Ext. 621^b, 718^a (Kautzsch).
  - Passovers of our Lord's Ministry i. 406^b ff. (Turner).
    - of Year of Crucifixion i. 411^a f. (Turner).
- Passover—
  - Post-Exilic observance iii. 690^b ff.
  - Preparation for iv. 64^a (Purves).
  - Relation to *Mazzôth* iii. 684^b, 685^{a,b}, 686^b; Ext. 622^a (Kautzsch).
    - to Last Supper ii. 633^b ff. (Sanday); iii. 145^b, 149^b (Plummer).
  - Samaritan Passover ii. 161^a (Mackie).
- Pastor iii. 692^a.
- Pastoral Epistles iii. 527^b (M'Clymont), 714^a ff. (Findlay).
  - Gnosticism in ii. 187^b (Headlam).
- Patara iii. 692^a (Ramsay).
- Pate iii. 692^b (Hastings).
- Patesi in Assyria i. 180^a; Ext. 535^a.
  - in Babylonia i. 224^b ff. (Hommel); Ext. 533^b, 535^a (Jastrow). [See Priest-King].
- Patheus [Ap.] iii. 693^a.
- Pathros iii. 693^a (Max Müller).
- Pathrusim iii. 693^b (Max Müller).
- Patmos iii. 693^b (Conybeare).
- Patriarchs iii. 694^a (J. Taylor).
  - Longevity of iii. 694^b.
- Patristic Commentaries on Pauline Epistles [See Greek Patristic Commentaries].
- Patrobas iii. 696^a.
- Patroclus (Ap.) iii. 696^a.
- Pattern iii. 696^a (Hastings).
- Pau iii. 639^b (Selbie).
- Paul iii. 696^b (Findlay).
  - Arabia, Visit to i. 31^b (Headlam).
  - Birth and Environment iii. 697^b; iv. 687^a (Ramsay).
  - Blindness iii. 331^a (Macalister).
  - Captivities iii. 712^b ff.; i. 423^a (Turner).
  - Character and Person iii. 699^b.
  - Chronology of Life iii. 715^a ff.; i. 418^a–425^a (Turner).
  - Citizenship i. 444^b (E. R. Bernard); iv. 292^b (Gwatkin); Ext. 105^b (Schürer).
  - Conversion iii. 701^b ff.; i. 424^a (Turner).
  - Doctrine, Analyses of iii. 716^b ff.
    - Adoption iii. 724^b; i. 40^b (Candlish); ii. 218^a f. (Candlish), 472^b (Martin).
    - Angels iv. 991^b (Moulton).
    - Atonement iv. 302^b (Robertson), 345^a (W. P. Paterson).
    - Baptism iii. 726^b; i. 489^b (Robertson).
    - Christology iii. 722^a ff.; i. 386^b (Agar Beet), 498^a (Robertson); iv. 302^b (Robertson).
      - Christ's Death on the Cross iii. 723^b.
      - Messiahship iii. 723^a.
      - Person iii. 722^a; i. 489^b (Robertson).
      - Pre-existence iii. 722^b. [See Pre-existence].

Paul—Doctrine—
  Christ's Sovereignty . . iii. 722^b.
  Church . . . iii. 726^a.
    Organization . iii. 727^a.
  Conscience . . i. 471^a (Kilpatrick).
  Demonology . . iii. 728^b; i. 594^a (Whitehouse); iv. 410$^{a, b}$ (Whitehouse).
  Election . . iii. 728^b; ii. 52^b f. (Stewart); iv. 57^b ff. (Warfield), 302^a, 304^a (Robertson).
  Eschatology . . iii. 729$^{a, b}$; i. 489^b, 497^b (Robertson), 755^a (Salmond).
  Eucharist . . iii. 727^a; i. 489^b, 490^b (Robertson).
  Faith . . . iii. 724^a; i. 787^a (Strong), 835^a ff. (Warfield); iv. 218^a (Bartlet), 435^a (Adeney).
  Flesh . . . iii. 720^a f.; iv. 165^a, 612^a (Laidlaw), 302^b (Robertson).
  Free Will . . iv. 304^a (Robertson).
  God . . . iii. 718^b; iv. 301^b ff. (Robertson).
    Fatherhood . iii. 718^b.
    Glory . . . iv. 302^a (Robertson).
    Righteousness . iii. 718^b; iv. 301^b f. (Robertson).
  Gifts . . . iii. 726^b.
  Grace . . . iii. 718^b; iv. 304^a (Robertson).
  Holy Spirit . . iii. 725^a; i. 489^b (Robertson; ii. 409^a ff. (Swete); Ext. 316^a ff. (Scott).
  Hope . . . iii. 729^a.
  Justification . . iii. 724^a; iv. 303^b f. (Robertson).
  Kingdom of God . iii. 728^a ff.
  Law . . . iii. 719^a, 76^a–81^a (Denney); iv. 302^a (Robertson).
  Love . . . iii. 726^a.
  Man . . . iii. 720^a; iv. 302^b ff. (Robertson).
  Marriage . . iii. 266^b (Paterson).
  Mediation . . iii. 318^a (Adeney).
  Parousia . . iii. 729^b, 678$^{a, b}$ (Adams Brown).
  Prayer . . . iii. 720^a; iv. 45^a (Bernard).
  Psychology . . iii. 720^a ff.; iv. 165^a ff., 612^a (Laidlaw).
  Regeneration . iv. 218^a ff., 220^b (Bartlet).
  Repentance . . iii. 720^a.
  Resurrection . iii. 729^a; i. 489^b (Robertson); iv. 234^b ff. (E. R. Bernard).
  Righteousness . iii. 718^b; ii. 210^b (Sanday); iv. 283^a (Stevens).
  Salvation . . iv. 366^b ff. (Adams Brown).
  Sanctification . iii. 725^b; iv. 393$^{a, b}$ (Bartlet).

Paul—Doctrine—
  Sin . . . iii. 720^b; i. 841^a ff. (J. H. Bernard); iv. 534^a ff. (E. R. Bernard).
    and Death . . iii. 721^a; iv. 535^a (E. R. Bernard).
  Soul . . . iv. 166^b (Laidlaw).
  Spirit . . . iii. 720^a f.; iv. 167^b, 612^a (Laidlaw), 303^a (Robertson).
  Trinity . . . Ext. 315^a ff. (Scott).
  Truth . . . iv. 818^b (Stanton).
  Woman . . . iii. 720^a.
Epistles . . . iii. 708^b ff.; i. 730^b (Bartlet); iii. 527^a f. (M'Clymont).
  Date . . . i. 423^a (Turner).
  Order of . . iii. 833$^{a, b}$ (J. H. Bernard).
  Patristic Commentaries on . . Ext. 484^a ff. (Turner).
  Quotations in . iv. 187^a (Woods).
  Vocabulary . . iii. 41^b (Thayer).
Jerusalem, Conference at . . iii. 705^b.
  Visits to . . iii. 705^b f., 709^a, 712^b; i. 31^b (Headlam), 423^b (Turner); ii. 95^b (Dods).
Martyrdom . . iii. 715^a; i. 420^a (Turner); iv. 308^b (Patrick and Relton).
Missionary Career . iii. 703^b ff.
  First Journey . iii. 704^b ff.; i. 421^b (Turner).
  Second Journey . iii. 706^a ff.; i. 422^a (Turner); iii. 865^b, 867^b (Ramsay).
  Third Journey . iii. 709^a ff.; i. 422^b (Turner); iii. 867^b (Ramsay).
Name . . . iii. 697^b.
Rome, Residence in . iii. 713^a ff.; iv. 297^a (Robertson), 308^a ff. (Patrick and Relton).
Spain, Visit to . . iii. 714^a; iv. 609^a (Patrick).
Thorn in the Flesh . iii. 700^b f.; ii. 94^b (Dods).
Tomb . . . iv. 308^b (Patrick and Relton).
Trade . . . iii. 699^a; ii. 285^a (Ewing).
Trial. . . . iii. 713^a; i. 127^a (Burrows), 418^b ff. (Turner); iii. 515^b (Cowan).
Vow . . . . iii. 500^b (Eaton).
Voyage and Shipwreck . . . i. 43^b f. (Dickson), 519^b (Prichard); iii. 862^a ff. (Ramsay); iv. 268$^{a, b}$ (Ramsay); Ext. 365^b ff. (Blomfield). [See Roads and Travel in NT].
and Greek Philosophy Ext. 150^a (Ramsay).
and Judaizers . . iii. 709^b.
and Old Testament . Ext. 333^b (Garvie).
and Revelation (Book of) . . . . iv. 264^a (F. C. Porter).

Paul and the Roman Government . . iii. 699^{b}; i. 481^{b} f. (Headlam).
  and Simon Magus . iv. 523^{a}–526^{b} (Headlam).
  and Slavery . . iii. 834^{a} (Bernard); iv. 468^{a} (Whitehouse).
  and St. Mark . . iii. 246^{a} (Chase).
  and St. Luke . . iii. 168^{a} (Bebb).
  and St. Peter . . iii. 709^{a}, 765^{b}, 778^{a} (Chase); iv. 524^{a} ff. (Headlam).
Paul, Acts of Peter and iv. 523^{a} ff. (Headlam).
Paul, Apocalypse of . iii. 815^{a} (Chase).
Paul, Apocryphal Acts of . . . . iv. 523^{a} ff. (Headlam).
Paulus, Sergius . . iii. 731^{a} (Headlam), 697^{b} f. (Findlay).
Pavement . . . iii. 731^{b} (Warren).
Pavement, The . . ii. 74^{b} (Nestle); iii. 877^{b} (Purves); iv. 706^{a} (Davies).
Pavilion . . . iii. 732^{b} (Hastings).
Pe . . . iii. 732^{b}.
Peace . . . . iii. 732^{b} (Adams Brown).
Peacemaker . . . Ext. 21^{a} (Votaw).
Peace-offering . . iv. 333^{a}, 338^{a} (W. P. Paterson).
Peacocks . . . iii. 733^{b} (Post).
Pearl . . . . iii. 733^{b} (Post).
Peculiar . . . iii. 734^{a} (Hastings).
Pedahel . . . iii. 735^{a}.
Pedahzur . . . iii. 735^{a} (Selbie).
Pedaiah . . . iii. 735^{a} (Stevenson); ii. 127$^{a\ bis}$, 131^{b} (Curtis).
Pedias (Ap.) . . iii. 735^{b}.
Peel, Pill . . . iii. 735^{b} (Hastings).
Peep . . . . iii. 735^{b}.
Pekah . . . . iii. 736^{a} (Whitehouse).
  Chronology of Reign iii. 736^{a}; i. 186^{a} (Hommel), 401^{a} ff. (Curtis); iii. 737^{b} (Stevenson).
Pekahiah . . . iii. 737^{b} (Stevenson); i. 186^{a} (Hommel), 401^{a} ff. (Curtis); iii. 736^{a} (Whitehouse).
Pekod . . . . iii. 737^{b} (Price); i. 185^{b} (Hommel).
Pelaiah . . . iii. 738^{b}; ii. 127^{a}.
Pelaliah . . . iii. 738^{a}.
Pelatiah . . . iii. 738^{a}; ii. 122^{b}, 127^{a}.
Peleg . . . . iii. 738^{a} (Selbie), 15^{a} (Prichard); Ext. 82^{a} (Jastrow).
Pelet . . . . iii. 738^{a}; ii. 127$^{a,\,b}$, 132^{a}.
Peleth . . . . iii. 738^{a}; ii. 126^{a}; iii. 12^{b}.
Pelethites . . . i. 376^{b} (Selbie).
Pelican . . . . iii. 738^{a} (Post).
Pelishtim . . . iii. 738^{b}. [See Philistines].
Pelonite . . . iii. 738^{b}, 658^{a} (Stenning).
Pen . . . . iv. 947^{b} (Kenyon).
Pencil . . . . iii. 738^{b} (Selbie).
Pendant . . . iii. 739^{a}.
Peniel . . . . iii. 739^{a} (Merrill).
Peninnah . . . iii. 739^{b}.
Penknife . . . iii. 739^{b}.
Penny . . . . iii. 427^{b} f. (Kennedy).
Pension . . . iii. 739^{b}.
Pentateuch . . . [See Hexateuch].
Pentateuch, Samaritan Ext. 68^{b} (König).
  Compared with Jewish . . Ext. 69^{b}.
  with Septuagint . Ext. 71^{a}.
  Source of Peculiarities Ext. 71^{b}.
Pentecost . . . iii. 739^{b} (Purves); i. 861^{a} (Harding); Ext. 662^{a} (Kautzsch).
  Ceremonies . . iii. 741^{a} f.
  Character and Titles iii. 739^{b} f., 742^{a}.
  Method of Computation . . . iii. 740^{a} f.; iv. 351^{a} (Eaton).
  in the Christian Church . . . iii. 742^{a}; ii. 407^{a} (Swete); iii. 762^{a} (Chase).
Penuel . . . . iii. 739^{a} (Merrill); ii. 128^{a}, 131^{a} (Curtis), 529^{b} f., 533^{a} (Driver).
People . . . . iii. 742^{b} (Selbie).
  of the Land . . iii. 743^{a}, 826^{b} (Eaton).
Peor . . . . iii. 743^{a} (Bennett); i. 282^{a} (Conder).
Pepy I. . . . i. 658^{b}.
Pepy II. . . . i. 658^{b}.
Peræa . . . . iii. 743^{a} (Ewing).
Perazim . . . iii. 744^{a}.
Perdition . . . iii. 744^{a} (Massie).
Pĕrēs . . . . iii. 341^{a} f. (Margoliouth); iv. 906^{a} (Kennedy).
Peresh . . . . iii. 744^{b}, 232^{a}; ii. 129^{b}.
Perez . . . . iii. 744^{b} (N. J. D. White); ii. 125^{b}, 126^{a}, 129^{a} (Curtis).
Perezites . . . iii. 745^{a}.
Perez-uzzah . . . iii. 471^{b} (Stenning); iv. 843^{a} (Selbie).
Perfection . . . iii. 745^{a} (Banks).
Perform, Performance . iii. 746^{b} (Hastings).
Perfume . . . iii. 746^{b} (Macalister).
Perga . . . . iii. 747^{b} (Ramsay).
Pergamus, Pergamum iii. 749^{a} (Ramsay).
Perida . . . . iii. 752^{a}.
Perizzite . . . iii. 752^{a} (Welch).
Perjury . . . iii. 576^{b} (Ferries); i. 522^{b} (Poucher).
Persecute, Persecutor . iii. 753^{a} (Hastings).
Persecution . . . iii. 753^{a} (Gwatkin); i. 430^{a} (Gayford); Ext. 21^{b} Votaw).
  in Maccabæan Period iii. 181^{b} ff. (Fairweather).
  under Nero . . iii. 516^{a} ff. (Cowan), 784^{a} (Chase).
Persepolis (Ap.) . . iii. 753^{b} (Sayce).
Perseus (Ap.) . . iii. 753^{b} (H. A. White).
Perseverance . . iii. 754^{a} (Ferries).
Persia . . . . iii. 754^{b} (Sayce).
Persian Religion . . iv. 988^{a} ff. (J. H. Moulton).
  Influence on Judaism iv. 988^{b} ff.; Ext. 274^{a}, 279^{a}, 289^{a}, 297^{b} f., 307^{a} f. (Fairweather).
Persians . . . iii. 754^{b} (Sayce).
Persis . . . . iii. 755^{a}

Person of Christ . . i. 386^{a} ff. (Agar Beet); ii. 329^{a} (Bruce), 459^{b} ff. (Ottley), 647^{b} ff., 651^{a} ff. (Sanday); iii. 722^{a} ff. (Findlay).
Persuade . . . iii. 755^{b} (Hastings).
Peruda. . . . iii. 752^{a} [Perida].
Peshiṭta . . . iv. 645^{b} ff. (Nestle).
Pestilence . . . iii. 755^{b} (Macalister), 324^{a}.
Peter, Simon . . iii. 756^{a} (Chase).
  Burial Places . . iii. 771^{b} ff.; iv. 309^{a} (Patrick and Relton).
  Calls . . . . iii. 757^{b} ff.
  Chronology of Life . iii. 779^{a}; i. 420^{a} f. (Turner).
  Confession . . iii. 758^{b} ff.; iv. 572^{a}, 574^{b} (Sanday).
  Denials . . . iii. 761^{a}.
  Doctrine—
    Eschatology . . iii. 766^{b}.
    Messiah . . iii. 766^{a} ff.
    Regeneration . iv. 217^{a} (Bartlet).
    Sanctification . iv. 393^{b} f. (Bartlet).
    Sonship of Believers . . ii. 219^{b} (Candlish).
    Trinity . . . Ext. 315^{a} (Scott). [See I Peter, II Peter].
  Family, Education, etc. . . . iii. 756^{b}.
    in Tradition . . iii. 767^{a} ff.
  Festival . . . iii. 772^{b}.
  Foundation of New Israel . . . iii. 759^{a}.
  Healing of Cripple . iii. 762^{b}.
  History before the Ascension . . iii. 756^{a}–761^{b}.
    Later History . iii. 761^{b}–767^{a}.
    Reconstruction of. iii. 777^{a} ff.
  Martyrdom . . iii. 769^{a} f., 770^{b}, $771^{a, b}$, 777^{b} f.; i. 420^{a} (Turner); iv. 309^{a} (Patrick and Relton).
  Names . . . iii. 756^{a}, 795^{b}.
  Power of the Keys . iii. 759^{b} f.; iv. 30^{b} ff. (Mason).
  Quo Vadis Legend . iii. 774^{b}.
  Speeches in Acts . iii. $762^{a, b}$, 764^{a}.
    Theology of . . iii. 766^{a}.
  Traditions of . . iii. 767^{a} ff.
  Writings, non-Canonical—
    Apocalypse of Peter iii. 776^{b}, 814^{a}.
    Epistle to James . iii. 777^{a}.
    Gospel of Peter . iii. 776^{a}; Ext. 425^{b} (Tasker).
    Judicium Petri . iii. 777^{a}.
    Preaching of Peter iii. 776^{a}.
  and Cornelius . . iii. 764^{a}.
  and Simon Magus . iii. 763^{a}, 773^{a}, 775^{a}, 778^{b}; iv. 523^{a} ff. (Headlam).
  and St. Paul . . iii. 709^{a} f., 765^{b}, 778^{a} (Findlay); iv. 524^{a} ff. (Headlam).
  in Antioch . . iii. 765^{a}, 768^{a}.
Peter, Simon, in Babylon . . . iii. 769^{a}.
  in Clementine Literature . . . iii. 775^{a}.
  in Joppa . . . iii. 763^{b}.
  in Pontus and Asia Minor . . . iii. 768^{b}.
  in Rome . . . iii. 777^{a} ff.; iv. 297^{a} f. (Robertson), 309^{a} (Patrick and Relton).
Peter, Acts of . . iii. 773^{a} ff., 802^{a} f. (Chase); iv. 523^{a} ff. (Headlam).
Peter, Apocalypse of . iii. 776^{b}, 814^{a} (Chase).
Peter, 1st Epistle of . iii. 779^{a} (Chase).
  Aim . . . . iii. 791^{b}.
  Authorship and Date iii. 785^{b}.
  Circumstances of Composition . . iii. 790^{b}.
  Contents, Summary of . . . . iii. 792^{b}.
  'Descent into Hell'. iii. 795^{b}.
  Doctrine of Christ . iii. 793^{b}.
    Church . . . iii. 794^{b}.
    Eschatology . . iii. 795^{a}; i. 753^{b} f. (Salmond).
    God . . . iii. 793^{b}.
    Redemption . . iii. 794^{a}, 319^{a} (Adeney).
    Sanctification . iii. 794^{b}.
    Sonship of Believers ii. 219^{b} (Candlish).
    Spirit . . . iii. 793^{b}.
  Persecution in . . iii. 783^{b} ff.
  Readers . . . iii. 782^{b}.
  Reception in Church iii. 779^{b}.
  Relation to Pauline Literature . . iii. 788^{a} ff.
    to Epistle of James iii. 788^{b}.
    to Petrine Speeches in Acts . . iii. 793^{b}.
    to 2 Peter . . iii. 812^{b} ff.
  Style . . . iii. 782^{a}.
  Text, Transmission of . . . . iii. 779^{a}.
  Use of LXX . . iii. 781^{b}.
  Vocabulary . . iii. 781^{b}, 42^{a} (Thayer).
Peter, 2nd Epistle of . iii. 796^{a} (Chase).
  Authenticity . . iii. 799^{a} ff., 806^{b}, 809^{a}, 816^{a}.
  Author . . . iii. 797^{b}.
  Contents, Summary of . . . . iii. 796^{a} f.
  Date and Place of Writing . . iii. 798^{b}, 816^{b} f.
  Doctrine . . . iii. 812^{a}, 813^{a}.
    Angelology . . iii. 797^{b}.
    Creation . . iii. 797^{b}.
    Eschatology . . iii. 797^{b}; i. 753^{b} (Salmond).
    God . . . iii. 797^{a}.
    Redemption . . iii. 797^{a}.
  False Teachers. . iii. 798^{a}.
  Gnosticism, References to. . . iii. 811^{a}; ii. 188^{a} (Headlam).
  Integrity . . . iii. 799^{a}.
  Occasion and Circumstances . . iii. 798^{a}.

- Peter, 2nd Epistle of—
    - Readers . . . iii. 798^{a}.
    - Reception in Church iii. 799^{a}.
    - Relation to Apocalypse of Esdras . iii. 815^{a}.
        - Apocalypse of Paul iii. 815^{a}.
        - Apocalypse of Peter iii. 814^{a} ff.
        - 1 Book of Clement iii. 815^{a}.
        - Josephus . . iii. 814^{a}.
        - Jude . . . iii. 814^{a}.
        - 1 Peter . . . iii. 812^{b} ff.
    - Style . . . iii. 808^{b}.
    - Text, Transmission of . . . . iii. 796^{a}.
    - Vocabulary . . iii. 807^{a} ff.; 42^{a} (Thayer).
- Peter, Gospel according to . . . iii. 776^{a} (Chase), 535^{b} (Stanton); Ext. 425^{b} (Tasker).
- Pethahiah . . . iii. 818^{a}, ii. 123^{b}.
- Pethor . . . . iii. 818^{a} (Driver).
- Pethuel . . . iii. 818^{b}.
- Petition . . . iii. 818^{b}.
- Petra . . . . iv. 430^{a} (Hull).
    - Sanctuary . . iv. 396^{a} (A. R. S. Kennedy).
    - and Kadesh-barnea . iv. 431^{b}.
- Petronilla . . . iii. 767^{b} (Chase).
- Peullethai . . . iii. 818^{b}.
- Phaath Moab (Ap.) . iii. 818^{b}.
- Phacareth (Ap.) . . iii. 818^{b}.
- Phaisur (Ap.) . . iii. 818^{b}.
- Phaldeus (Ap.) . . iii. 818^{b}.
- Phaleas (Ap.) . . iii. 818^{b}.
- Phalias (Ap.) . . iii. 818^{b}.
- Phaltiel (Ap.) . . iii. 819^{a}.
- Phanuel . . . iii. 819^{a}.
- Pharakim (Ap.) . . iii. 819^{a}.
- Pharaoh . . . iii. 819^{a} (Griffith).
    - of the Exodus . . iii. 820^{a}; i. 398^{b} (Curtis).
    - of Joseph . . . iii. 819^{b}; i. 398^{b} (Curtis).
        - Dreams . . . ii. 772^{b} (Driver).
    - of the Oppression . iii. 820^{a}; i. 398^{b} (Curtis).
    - Title . . . . iii. 819^{a} f.
- Pharaoh-hophra . . ii. 413^{b} (Crum).
- Pharaoh-nec(h)o . . iii. 504^{b} (Crum), 819^{a} (Griffith).
- Pharaoh's Daughter . iii. 820^{b} (Griffith), 447^{b} (Bennett).
- Pharathon (Ap.) . . iii. 820^{b} (Conder).
- Phares (Ap.) . . iii. 821^{a}.
- Pharida (Ap.) . . iii. 821^{a}.
- Pharisees . . . iii. 821^{a} (Eaton).
    - Characteristics and Doctrine . . iii. 825^{a} ff.
        - Angels . . . iii. 826^{a}.
        - Freewill . . iii. 826^{a}.
        - Immortality, Resurrection, Retribution . . iii. 825^{b}.
        - Law, Observance of . . . iii. 825^{a}.
        - Messianic Hope . iii. 826^{a}.
        - Separateness. . iii. 826^{b}.
    - Name . . . iii. 826^{b}.
- Pharisees—
    - Origin and History . iii. 821^{a} ff.; i. 119^{a} (Porter); Ext. 53^{a} (Buhl).
    - Pharisaism in the Apocrypha . . i. 119^{a} ff. (Porter).
    - and Christ . . iii. 828^{a}.
    - and Gentiles . . iii. 827^{a}.
    - and Sadducees . . iii. 821^{a} ff.; i. 119^{a} (Porter); iv. 350^{b} ff.; Ext. 53^{b} (Buhl).
- Pharpar . . . iii. 829^{a} (Ewing).
- Phaselis (Ap.) . . iii. 829^{b} (Ramsay).
- Phasiron (Ap.) . . iii. 830^{b}.
- Phassurus (Ap.) . . iii. 830^{b}.
- Pherezite (Ap.) . . iii. 830^{b}.
- Phicol . . . . iii. 830^{b}.
- Philadelphia . . iii. 830^{b} (Ramsay).
    - Church in . . . iii. 831^{a} ff.
- Philemon . . . iii. 832^{a} (J. H. Bernard).
- Philemon, Epistle to . iii. 832^{b} (J. H. Bernard).
    - External Tradition . iii. 832^{b}.
    - Genuineness . . iii. 833^{a}.
    - Origen's Commentary on . . . . Ext. 496^{a} (Turner).
    - Place and Time of Writing . . iii. 833^{a}.
    - Purport and Analysis iii. 832^{b}.
    - Relation to Philippians . . . iii. 833^{b}.
    - Slavery, Attitude to iii. 834^{a}.
    - Text . . . . iii. 832^{b}.
- Philetus . . . iii. 834^{a} (Milligan); iv. 776^{a} (Lock).
- Philip . . . . iii. 834^{a} (H. A. White).
- Philip (Apostle) . . iii. 834^{a} (Cowan).
- Philip (Evangelist) . iii. 835$^{a, b}$, 836^{b} (Cowan).
- Philip (Herod) . . ii. 358^{b} f. (Headlam).
- Philip, Gospel according to . . . Ext. 436^{b} (Tasker).
- Philippi . . . iii. 837^{a} (Turner); i. 454^{a} (Dickson).
    - Church of . . . iii. 838^{a}, 839^{b}, 840^{a} (Gibb).
    - Magistrates . . iii. 838^{b}.
    - St. Paul's Visits . iii. 837^{b} ff.
- Philippians, Epistle to the . . . iii. 840^{a} (Gibb).
    - Characteristics . . iii. 842^{b}.
    - Contents . . . iii. 842^{a}.
    - Genuineness and Integrity . . . iii. 843^{b}.
    - Origen's Commentary on . . . . Ext. 495^{b} (Turner).
    - Relation to Ephesians, Colossians, Philemon . . iii. 833^{b} (J. H. Bernard).
    - Time, Place, and Circumstances of Writing. . . iii. 840^{b}.
- Philistia . . . iii. 844^{a} [Philistines].
- Philistines . . . iii. 844^{a} (Beecher); i. 351^{b} (Sayce); ii. 261^{a} (Conybeare); Ext. 78^{b} (Jastrow).
    - Characteristics . . iii. 844^{b}.
    - History . . . iii. 846^{a} ff.

- Philistines—
  - Lords of the . . . iii. 845^{a}, 137^{b} (Aglen).
  - Name . . . iii. 844^{a}.
  - Oppression of Israel . iii. 847^{a}.
  - Religion . . . iii. 845^{b}; i. 544^{a}.
  - in time of Abraham . ii. 157^{b}.
- Philo . . . . Ext. 197^{b} (Drummond).
  - Eschatology . . i. 746^{a} (Charles).
  - Ethics . . . Ext. 207^{a}, 295^{a} (Fairweather).
  - Evidence to Canon . iii. 609^{b} (Woods).
  - Influence on Christian Writers . . Ext. 207^{b}.
  - Life . . . . Ext. 197^{b}.
  - Relation to Fourth Gospel . . ii. 703^{b} f. (Reynolds).
    - to Epistle to Hebrews . . . ii. 335^{a} (Bruce).
  - System of Thought . Ext. 199^{a} ff.
    - Allegorical Interpretation . . i. 65^{a} (Massie).
    - Characteristics . Ext. 199^{a}.
    - Doctrine of Angels Ext. 287^{b} (Fairweather).
      - Divine Powers . Ext. 203^{b} ff.
      - Faith . . . i. 828^{b} (Warfield).
      - God . . . Ext. 202^{a} ff., 279^{a} (Fairweather).
      - Logos . . . Ext. 205^{a} ff.; ii. 703^{b} (Reynolds); iii. 135^{a} (Purves); Ext. 283^{b} (Fairweather).
      - Messianic Hope. Ext. 300^{b} (Fairweather).
      - Resurrection . Ext. 306^{a} (Fairweather).
      - Spirit . . . ii. 405^{a} (Swete).
    - Man as the Microcosm . . Ext. 201^{a} ff.
      - Relation to God Ext. 207^{a}.
    - Philosophy, Origin, and Nature . Ext. 200^{a}.
    - Universe, Theory of Ext. 200^{b}.
  - Works . . . Ext. 198^{a} ff.
- Philologus . . . iii. 848^{b}.
- Philosophy . . . iii. 848^{b} (Kilpatrick).
  - Function and Relation to Religion . iii. 848^{b}.
  - Greek Philosophy . iii. 849^{b} ff.; i. 468^{a}; Ext. 147^{a} ff. (Ramsay).
    - and Christianity . iii. 851^{b} ff.; Ext. 150^{a} (Ramsay).
  - Philo's . . . Ext. 200^{a} ff. (Drummond).
- Phinees (Ap.) . . iii. 854^{a}.
- Phinehas . . . iii. 854^{a} (N. J. D. White); ii. 123$^{a,\ b}$ (Curtis).
  - Hill of . . . ii. 169^{b}.
- Phinoe (Ap.) . . iii. 855^{a}.
- Phlegon . . . iii. 855^{a}.
- Phœbe . . . . iii. 855^{a} (Headlam).
- Phœnicia . . . iii. 855^{b} (Thatcher).
  - Alphabet and Language . . . iii. 858^{a}; i. 70^{b} ff. (I. Taylor), 347^{b} (Sayce).
  - Art . . . . iii. 859^{b}.
  - Civilization and Commerce . . . iii. 859^{a}.
- Phœnicia—
  - Constitution and Government . . iii. 859^{a}.
  - Cosmogony . . i. 503^{a} ff. (Whitehouse).
  - Inscriptions and References . . iii. 855^{b}.
  - Name . . . iii. 857^{a} note; i. 347^{b} (Sayce).
  - People . . . iii. 858^{a}; iv. 177^{b} note (Max Müller); Ext. 76^{a} (Jastrow).
  - Religion . . . iii. 860^{b}.
  - Settlements . . iii. 857^{b}.
  - Ships. . . . iv. 505^{b} (Hull); Ext. 364^{b} (Blomfield).
  - Tombs . . . iv. 457^{a} (Nicol).
  - Weights and Measures iv. 905^{b} (A. R. S. Kennedy).
- Phœnix . . . iii. 862^{a} (Ramsay); i. 520^{a} (Prichard); Ext. 190^{a} (Wiedemann).
- Phoros (Ap.) . . iii. 863^{b}.
- Photius of Constantinople . . . . Ext. 530^{b} (Turner).
- Phrurai (Ap.) . . iii. 863^{b}.
- Phrygia . . . iii. 863^{b} (Ramsay).
  - Christianity in . . iii. 867^{b}.
  - Geographical and Historical . . iii. 864^{a}.
  - Inscriptions . . iii. 868^{a}.
  - Jews in . . . iii. 868^{b}.
  - ‘Phrygian Region’ . iii. 863^{b} ff.
  - in Acts 2^{10} . . iii. 867^{a}.
  - in Pauline Geography iii. 865^{b}.
- Phygelus . . . iii. 869^{b} (Muir).
- Phylacteries . . iii. 869^{b} (A. R. S. Kennedy).
  - Date of Introduction iii. 872^{b}.
  - Modern Jewish use . iii. 870^{a}.
  - New Testament use . . . iii. 873^{a}.
  - Scripture warrant . iii. 870^{b}.
- Phylarch (Ap.) . . iii. 874^{a}.
- Physician . . . iii. 321^{b} (Macalister).
- Pi-beseth . . . iii. 874^{a} (Griffith).
- Picture. . . . iii. 874^{b} (Mackie).
- Piece . . . . iii. 875^{a}.
- Pierius . . . . Ext. 530^{b} (Turner).
- Piety . . . . iii. 875^{a}.
- Pigeon . . . . ii. 36^{b} (Macalister).
- Pi-hahiroth . . iii. 875^{a} (Selbie).
- Pilate . . . . iii. 875^{b} (Purves).
- Pilate, Acts of . . iii. 878^{b} (Purves); i. 413^{a} f. (Turner); iii. 545^{b} (von Dobschütz).
- Pildash . . . iii. 879^{a}.
- Pilha . . . . iii. 879^{a}.
- Pill . . . . iii. 735^{b} (Hastings).
- Pillar . . . . iii. 879^{a} (Whitehouse).
  - in Religious Cultus . iii. 879^{a}; i. 75^{b} (A. R. S. Kennedy), 278^{a} (Cooke), 308^{b} (Davies); Ext. 111$^{a,\ b}$, 113^{a} (Ramsay), 170^{a} (König), 620^{a} (Kautzsch).

Pillar in Solomon's Temple iii. 881^{a}; i. 308^{b} (Davies); Ext. 620^{b} (Kautzsch).
  in Tabernacle iv. 657$^{a, b}$ (A. R. S. Kennedy).
Pillar, Plain of the iii. 881^{b} (Selbie).
Pillow iii. 882^{a} (Selbie).
Piltai iii. 882^{a}.
Pin iii. 882^{b}; iv. 657^{b} (A. R. S. Kennedy), 901^{a} (H. Porter).
Pine Tree iii. 882^{b} (Post).
Pinnacle iii. 882^{b} (Davies).
Pinon iii. 883^{a}; iv. 173^{b} [Punon].
Pipe iii. 883^{a}.
Pipe (Music) iii. 461^{b} (Millar).
Piram iii. 883^{a}.
Pirathon, Pirathonite iii. 883^{a} (Cooke).
Pisgah iii. 883^{b} (Chapman).
Pishon (Pison) iii. 884^{a}; i. 643$^{a, b}$ (Sayce); ii. 469^{a} (H. A. White).
Pisidia iii. 884^{a} (Ramsay).
Pispah iii. 885^{a}; ii. 132^{a}.
Pit iii. 885^{a} (Ewing).
Pit (metaphorical) iii. 885^{b} (J. Taylor).
Pitch iii. 886^{a} (James Patrick).
Pitcher iii. 886^{a} (Macalister).
Pithom iii. 886^{b} (Sayce); i. 803$^{a, b}$ (Harris and Chapman).
Pithon iii. 887^{b}; ii. 131^{a}.
Pitiful iii. 887^{a} (Hastings).
Pity iii. 887^{b}; i. 462^{a} (Aglen).
Place of Toll iv. 790^{a}.
Plague iii. 887^{b} (Macalister), 324^{a} ff.
Plagues of Egypt iii. 888^{a} (Macalister).
  1. Defilement of River iii. 889^{a}.
  2 Frogs iii. 889^{b}.
  3. 4. Lice, Flies iii. 890^{a}.
  5. 6. Murrain, Boils iii. 890^{b}.
  7. 8. Hail, Locusts iii. 891^{a} f.
  9. Darkness iii. 892^{a}.
  10. Death of Firstborn iii. 892^{a}.
Plain iii. 893^{a} (Driver).
Plain iii. 894^{b} (Hastings).
Plain, Cities of the ii. 227^{b} (Hull), 764^{a} (Warren); iii. 151^{a} note (Driver); iv. 512^{a}, 986^{b} (Driver).
Plane Tree iii. 894^{b}; i. 380^{b} [Chestnut].
Planets i. 192^{b} (T. G. Pinches).
Plant, Plants iii. 492^{b} f. (Post).
Play iii. 894^{b} (Hastings).
Plead iii. 895^{a} (Hastings).
Pleasure (verb) iii. 895^{a}.
Pledge iii. 895^{a} (Selbie).
Pleiades iii. 895^{b} (J. Taylor); i. 144^{a} (Burney), 192^{a} (Pinches).
Pleroma iv. 1^{a} (Lock).
Ploke Ext. 165^{b} (König).
Plough i. 49^{a} (J. W. Paterson).
Plumbline, Plummet iv. 2^{a} (Carslaw); i. 38^{a} (Hastings).
Pochereth-hazzebaim iv. 2^{b} (Selbie).
Poet iv. 2^{b} (Hastings).
Poetry, Hebrew iv. 2^{b} (Budde); Ext. 166^{b} ff. (König).
  Poems in Prose and Verse iv. 3^{b}.
  Rules for Hebrew Poetry iv. 3^{b} ff.
    Assonance iv. 9^{a}; Ext. 165^{a} (König).
    Line iv. 3^{b}.
    Metre iv. 5^{a}.
      Ḳinah iv. 5^{a}; iii. 20^{b} (Selbie).
    Parallelism iv. 4^{a}; Ext. 166^{b} (König).
    Paronomasia iv. 9^{a}, 272^{a} (Nicol); Ext. 165^{b} (König).
    Rhyme iv. 9^{a}; Ext. 168^{a} (König).
    Scale of Lines iv. 5^{b}.
    Strophes iv. 7^{b}; Ext. 168^{b} (König).
    Verse iv. 4^{a}.
  Species of Poetry iv. 9^{a} ff.
    Artistic Poetry iv. 12^{b} ff.
    Drama iv. 9^{a}.
    Epos iv. 9^{b}.
    Folk Poetry iv. 10^{a} ff.
      Contrafactum iv. 10^{b}.
      Gnomic iv. 11^{a}.
      Taunt-song iv. 10^{b}.
    Lyric Poetry iv. 10^{a}, 13^{a}.
    Poetry of the Prophets iv. 12^{a}.
      of Psalter iv. 13^{a}, 155^{a} ff. (Davison).
      of Wisdom Literature iv. 13^{a}.
Poison iv. 13^{b} (Macalister).
Pole iv. 14^{a}. [See Asherah].
Polish Versions Ext. 418^{b} (Bebb).
Poll iv. 14^{a} (Hastings).
Pollution [See Unclean].
Pollux i. 608^{b} (Prichard).
Polygamy iii. 264^{b} ff. (W. P. Paterson).
Polysyndeton Ext. 156^{b} (König).
Polytheism in Israel ii. 200^{a} ff. (Davidson), 445^{b} ff. (W. P. Paterson); Ext. 616^{b} ff. (Kautzsch).
  in Greek Religion Ext. 138^{a} ff. (Ramsay).
Pomegranate iv. 14^{b} (Post); ii. 31^{b} (Macalister).
Pommel iv. 15^{a} (Hastings).
Pond iv. 18^{b} (Wilson).
Pontius Pilate iii. 875^{b} (Purves).
Pontus iv. 15^{a} (Ramsay); i. 129^{b} (Milligan).
  Christianity in iv. 17^{b}.
  First Kingdom iv. 15^{a}.
  Jews in Ext. 95^{a} (Schürer).
  Name in NT iv. 17^{a}.
  Pontus in NT times iv. 15^{b}.
Pool iv. 18^{b} (Wilson).
Poor iv. 19^{a} (Driver); Ext. 17^{b} (Votaw).
Poplar iv. 20^{b} (Post).
Poratha iv. 21^{a}.

Porch . . . . iv. 21^a (Davies); ii. 432^b (Warren).
  of Temple . . . iv. 698^a, 706^b, 708^a, 713^b.
Porcius Festus . . ii. 4^a (Robertson).
Porcupine . . . i. 304^a (Post).
Porpoise . . . i. 231^b (Post).
Port . . . . iv. 21^b (Hastings).
Porter . . . . iv. 22^a (Selbie); ii. 113^a (Warren); iv. 74^b, 80^b, 92^b, 95^a (Baudissin).
Portuguese Versions . Ext. 410^b (Bebb).
Posidonius (Ap.) . . iv. 22^a.
Possess . . . . iv. 22^a (Hastings).
Possession by Devils . iv. 22^a (Whitehouse); i. 593^b; iii. 327^b (Macalister); iv. 410^a–412^a.
  Methods of Healing of Christ and Apostles . . i. 593^b f.
Post (Doorpost) . . iv. 23^a (Ewing).
  Courier . . . iv. 23^a; Ext. 383^b ff., 386^b f. (Ramsay).
Pot . . . . ii. 40^a (Macalister).
Potiphar . . . iv. 23^a (Driver).
Potiphera . . . iv. 23^a, 24^a (Driver); i. 665^b (Crum); ii. 775^a (Driver); iii. 622^a (Griffith).
Potsherd . . . iv. 24^a (Hastings), 945^a (Kenyon).
Pottage . . . iv. 24^a (Macalister).
Potter, Pottery . . iv. 24^b (Selbie), 26^a (Bliss).
Potter's Field . . i. 59^a (Henderson); iv. 25^b f. (Selbie).
Pound . . . . iii. 428^a (A. R. S. Kennedy).
Poverty . . . iv. 27^b (Bennett).
Power . . . . iv. 29^b (Ferries).
Power of the Keys . iv. 30^b (Mason).
Powers . . . . i. 616^b (Massie).
Prætorian Guard . . iv. 33^a (Purves).
Prætorium . . . iv. 32^b (Purves).
Praise in OT . . iv. 33^b (Selbie).
  History of Praise in Israel . . . iv. 36^b.
  Terminology . . iv. 33^b.
  Use of Psalms . . iii. 612^b (Woods); iv. 149^a (Davison).
Praise in NT . . iv. 38^a (Lock).
  of God . . . iv. 38^a.
  of man by God . iv. 38^b.
  of man by men . iv. 38^b.
Praise in the Early Church . . . i. 428^a (Gayford).
Prayer . . . . iv. 38^b (E. R. Bernard).
  OT—
    Place of . . . iv. 40^a.
    Posture . . . iv. 39^a; Ext. 173^a (König).
    Prayer and Sacrifice . . . iv. 40^a.
    Terms . . . iv. 39^a.
    in Exile and Return iv. 40^a.
    in the Law . . iv. 39^b.
    in Patriarchal Religion . . . iv. 39^a.
Prayer—OT—
    in Monarchical period . . iv. 39^b.
    in Prophets . . iv. 40^b.
    in Psalms, Proverbs, Job . . . iv. 41$^{a, b}$.
    to Angels . . Ext. 286^a (Fairweather).
  in Apocrypha . . iv. 42$^{a, b}$.
  in NT . . . iv. 42^b.
    Christ's Example and Teaching . iv. 42^b ff.
      Conditions of Prayer . . iv. 43^b.
      Lord's Prayer . iv. 43^a. [See Lord's Prayer].
      Parables on . iv. 43^a.
    in Acts . . . iv. 44$^{a, b}$.
      Prayer and Fasting iv. 44^b.
      Times and Places iv. 44^a.
    in Epistles and Apocalypse . iv. 44^b ff.
  in Early Church . i. 428^a (Gayford).
  in Religion of Babylonia . . . Ext. 563^b (Jastrow).
Prayer of Manasses . iii. 232^b (Porter); iv. 532 (E. R. Bernard).
Preacher, The . . i. 637^a f. (Peake).
Preaching . . . iv. 45^b (Adeney).
  Christian . . . iv. 46^a.
  Jewish . . . iv. 45^b.
Precipitation . . i. 526^a (Poucher); ii. 299^a (Selbie).
Predestination . . iv. 47^a (Warfield).
  Bible Doctrine, Summary of . . iv. 61^b.
    Decree . . . iv. 61^b.
    Election . . iv. 62^a.
    Reprobation . . iv. 62^b.
  Christ's Teaching in Synoptic Gospels iv. 54^b.
    in St. John . . iv. 55^a.
  Doctrine of Acts . iv. 56^b.
    Hebrews . . iv. 57^a.
    St. James . . iv. 56^a.
    St. John . . iv. 57^a.
    St. Paul . . iv. 57^b–61^a; ii. 52^b f. (Stewart); iv. 302^a, 304^a (Robertson).
    St. Peter . . iv. 57^a.
  Jewish Doctrine . iv. 53^a ff.
    in the Apocryphal period . . Ext. 293^b (Fairweather).
  OT Doctrine . . iv. 48^a.
    Cosmical . . iv. 49^b.
    Soteriological . iv. 51^b.
  Terms . . . iv. 47^a.
    and Divine Foreknowledge . . ii. 52^a ff. (Stewart).
Prediction and Prophecy iv. 113^b, 118^b, 120^a ff. (Davidson).
Pre-existence of Christ i. 720^a (Lock); ii. 461^a, 462^b (Ottley); iii. 133^a (Purves), 722^b (Findlay), 793^b (Chase); iv. 576^b ff. (Sanday).

Pre-existence of Souls . iv. 63^{a} (Marshall), 164^{b} (Laidlaw); Ext. 291$^{a.\,b}$ (Fairweather).
Preparation Day . iv. 63^{b} (Purves).
Presbyter . iv. 64^{a} (Adeney); i. 301^{b} f., 440^{b} f. (Gwatkin), 433^{a} ff. (Gayford).
Presbytery . iv. 64^{a} (Adeney).
Present . ii. 172^{b} (Selbie).
Presently . iv. 64^{b}.
President . iv. 65^{a}.
Press . iv. 65^{a} (Hastings).
Press, Pressfat . i. 855^{b} (Hastings); ii. 33^{a} (Macalister).
Prevent . iv. 65^{b} (Hastings).
Prey . iv. 66^{b} (Hastings).
Price . iv. 67^{a}.
Prick . ii. 194^{b} (Selbie).
Priests and Levites . iv. 67^{a} (Baudissin); Ext. 648^{a} ff., 719^{a} (Kautzsch).
  Aaronic Priesthood . iv. 69^{a}, 82^{b}, 89^{a} ff.; i. 2^{b} (H. A. White), 6^{b} (N. J. D. White); Ext. 633^{a} (Kautzsch).
  'ămarkĕlin . iv. 96^{b} f.
  Chief Priest, Head Priest . iv. 73^{b} f., 75^{b}, 78^{b}, 82^{a}. [See High Priest].
  Consecration . iii. 103^{b} (Harford-Battersby).
  David's Sons as Priests . iv. 73^{a}; ii. 479^{b} (Stenning), 842^{b} (Williams).
  Divisions of Priesthood . iv. 91^{b}, 95^{a}.
  Doorkeepers . iv. 74^{b}, 80^{b}, 92^{b}, 95^{a}.
  Dress . iv. 82^{b}, 84^{a}, 90^{b}.
  Duties . iv. 76^{a}, 79^{a}, 82^{b} f., 95^{b}.
  Eli, House of . iv. 71^{b}, 72^{b}; Ext. 648^{b} (Kautzsch).
  Gizbarim . iv. 96^{b}.
  High Priest . iv. 73^{b}, 79$^{a.b}$, 81^{a}, 83^{b}, 90^{b}, 92^{a}, 96^{a} f. [See High Priest].
  Installation of Priests iv. 70^{b}, 83^{a}, 85^{b}.
  Keepers of the Threshold . iv. 74^{a}, 756^{a} (Selbie).
  King as Priest . iv. 72^{a}. [See Priest-Kings].
  Levites . iv. 67^{b}, 70^{b}, 74^{a}, 75^{a} ff., 77^{b} ff., 79^{b} ff., 84^{b} ff., 94^{a} ff.; iii. 101^{a} ff. (Cooke); Ext. 719^{b} (Kautzsch).
  Levitical Cities . iv. 71^{b}, 93^{b}; Ext. 717^{b} (Kautzsch).
  Mediation . iii. 313^{b} (Adeney).
  Moses and Priesthood . iv. 69^{a} f.; Ext. 633^{a} (Kautzsch).
  Names *Kōhēn* and *Lēwî* . iv. 67^{a} f.
  Nethinim . iv. 74^{b}, 80^{b}, 94^{b}; iii. 519^{a} (Taylor).
  Non-Levite Priests . iv. 69^{b} f.; Ext. 648^{b} (Kautzsch).
Priests and Levites—
  Oracles, Giving of . iv. 71^{a}; Ext. 621^{a}, 648^{a} ff. (Kautzsch).
  Portions and Revenues of Priests . iv. 71^{a}, 76^{a}, 79^{a}, 85^{b} ff., 93^{b}, 95^{a}; Ext. 717^{b}, 722^{a}. (Kautzsch).
  Priesthood in earliest times . iv. 68^{b} ff.; Ext. 621^{a}, 648^{a} (Kautzsch).
    David to Josiah . iv. 72^{a} ff.; Ext. 648^{b} ff. (Kautzsch).
    in Deuteronomy . iv. 74^{b} ff.
    from Josiah to the Exile . iv. 77^{a} ff.
      Josiah's Reformation . iv. 77^{a}.
      in Jeremiah . iv. 77^{b}.
    in Ezekiel . iv. 77^{b} ff.; Ext. 705^{a} (Kautzsch).
    from Ezekiel to Ezra iv. 79^{b} ff.
    in Priestly Writing iv. 81^{b} ff.; Ext. 719^{a} (Kautzsch).
    from Ezra to the Chronicler . iv. 91^{b} ff.
    after OT times . iv. 94^{a} ff.
  Purity, Rules for . iv. 82^{a}, 83^{b} f.; Ext. 719$^{a.\,b}$ (Kautzsch).
  Sĕgan . iv. 96^{a} f.
  Solomon's Servants . iv. 74^{b}, 569^{b} (Taylor).
  Women, Serving . iv. 85^{b}, 89^{a}, 934^{b} (Adeney).
Priest in NT . iv. 97^{b} (Denney).
  Jewish Priests . iv. 98^{a}.
  Priesthood of Believers . iv. 99^{b}.
    of Christ . iv. 98^{a} ff.
    of Christian Ministers . iv. 100^{a}.
Priests' Code . ii. 368^{b} ff. (Woods); iv. 81^{a} ff. (Baudissin); Ext. 715^{a} (Kautzsch).
  Characteristics . ii. 368^{b}.
  Date and Origin . ii. 370^{b}; Ext. 715^{a} (Kautzsch).
  Ethics . Ext. 722^{b} (Kautzsch).
  Extent . ii. 369^{b}.
  Idea of God . Ext. 715^{b} (Kautzsch).
  Language . ii. 369^{a}.
  Legislation . iii. 70^{a} ff. (Driver), 102^{b} ff. (Harford-Battersby).
  Priesthood in . iv. 81^{b} ff. (Baudissin); Ext. 719^{a} (Kautzsch).
    Date of System . iv. 86^{b}.
  Sacrifice in . iv. 336^{b} (Paterson); Ext. 720^{a} ff. (Kautzsch).
  Sources . Ext. 715^{a} (Kautzsch).
  in Genesis . ii. 144^{a} (Ryle).
  in Joshua . ii. 370^{a} (Woods), 781^{a} (Smith).
Priest-Kings in Anatolian Religion . Ext. 110^{a} (Ramsay).
  in Assyria . i. 180^{a} (Hommel); Ext. 535^{a} (Jastrow).
  in Babylonia . i. 224^{b} ff. (Hommel); Ext. 533^{b} (Jastrow).

- Priest-Kings in Israel . iv. 72^a (Baudissin).
- Prince . iv. 100^a (Selbie).
- Princess . iv. 100^b (Selbie).
- Principality . iv. 102^a (Hastings).
- Principle . i. 682^a (Massie).
- Prisca, Priscilla . iv. 102^b (Headlam).
    - Author of Epistle to the Hebrews? . iv. 103^a.
    - House in Rome . iv. 310^a (Patrick and Relton).
- Prison . iv. 103^a (Bennett); iii. 839^a (Turner).
    - Spirits in . i. 754^a (Salmond); iii. 795$^{a, b}$ (Chase).
- Privy, Privily . iv. 103^b.
- Prochorus . iv. 104^a.
- Proconsul . iv. 104^a, 144^b (Headlam).
- Procurator . iv. 104^a (Headlam).
- Profane . iv. 104^b.
- Profess, Profession . iv. 104^b.
- Prognosticator . iv. 104^b.
- Prologue . iv. 104^b.
- Promise . iv. 104^b (Denney).
    - Conditions of . iv. 106^a.
    - Contents of . iv. 105^a.
    - Heirs of . iv. 105^b.
- Proper . iv. 106^b (Hastings).
- Prophecy and Prophets iv. 106^b (Davidson); Ext. 650^b, 672^a ff. (Kautzsch).
    - Ecstasy . Ext. 653^a, 673^a (Kautzsch).
    - Eschatology . iv. 121^b; i. 735^b ff.; Ext. 691^b ff., 710^b (Kautzsch).
    - Ethics . i. 779^b (Strong); Ext. 687^a, 710^a (Kautzsch).
    - False Prophecy . iv. 111^a, 116^b.
        - Criteria of True and False . iv. 117^b.
    - Function . iv. 111^a; iii. 314^b (Adeney).
    - Historical Steps . iv. 109^a ff.
        - Age of Samuel . iv. 109^a; Ext. 651^b (Kautzsch).
        - of Early Monarchy . iv. 110^a; Ext. 653^b (Kautzsch).
        - Canonical Prophets iv. 110^b; Ext. 672^a ff. (Kautzsch).
        - Decline and Expiry iv. 111^b.
    - Idea of Prophet . iv. 112^b ff.; Ext. 651^a (Kautzsch).
    - Inspiration . iv. 114^b ff.; ii. 403^a (Swete); Ext. 675^b (Kautzsch).
    - Interpretation and Fulfilment . iv. 124^b ff.
    - Messianic Prophecy . iv. 121^b ff.; Ext. 694^b (Kautzsch).
    - Names for Prophet . iv. 108^a, 113^a.
        - Interpreter . iv. 113^a.
        - Man of God . iv. 113^a.
        - Prophet . iv. 108^a; Ext. 651^a, 653^a (Kautzsch).
        - Seer . iv. 108^a, 110^a; Ext. 651^a (Kautzsch).
        - Servant of God or J" . iv. 113^a.

- Prophecy and Prophets—
    - Old Prophet . iii. 594^a (Stevenson).
    - Origin of Prophecy . iv. 107^a.
    - OT Prophets, Classification of . iv. 112^b.
    - Predictive Prophecy . iv. 113^b, 118^b, 120^a.
    - Schools of . iv. 109^a; i. 647^a (A. R. S. Kennedy); iii. 478^a (Driver); Ext. 656^b (Kautzsch).
    - Teaching of Prophets iv. 118^b ff.
        - Doctrine of God . iv. 119^b; ii. 204^a ff.; Ext. 678^b (Kautzsch).
        - God's Covenant with Israel . iv. 119^b.
        - Individualism . iv. 120^a; Ext. 702^a (Kautzsch).
        - Prayer . iv. 40^b (Bernard).
        - Righteousness . iv. 274^a ff. (Skinner).
        - Ritual . iv. 119^b; Ext. 685^b ff. (Kautzsch).
        - Sin . iv. 530^b (E. R. Bernard).
    - and Apocalyptic . iv. 112^b; i. 109^b (Charles); iv. 244^b ff. (Porter).
    - and Divination . iv. 107^b; i. 612^a (Jevons); Ext. 650^b f. (Kautzsch).
    - and Idolatry . ii. 446^b ff. (W. P. Paterson); Ext. 690^a (Kautzsch).
    - and Sacrifice . iv. 335^a ff. (W. P. Paterson); Ext. 685^b (Kautzsch).
- Prophet in NT. . iv. 127^b (Gwatkin); i. 432^b ff. (Gayford), 440^a; ii. 407^b (Swete).
    - in Didache . Ext. 440^b (Bartlet).
- Prophetess . iv. 127^b (Selbie).
- Prophets (Division of OT) . iii. 596^b (Curtis).
- Propitiation . iv. 128^a (Driver); Ext. 721^a (Kautzsch).
- Proselyte . iv. 132^b (F. C. Porter).
    - Baptism . iv. 135^b; i. 239^b (Plummer); iv. 216^a (Bartlet).
    - Duties and Rights . iv. 135^b.
    - History of Jewish Proselytism . iv. 136^a.
    - Terms . iv. 132^b ff.
        - God-fearers . iv. 134^b f.
        - Proselytes of the Gate . iv. 135^a.
- Prove . iv. 137^a (Hastings); iii. 347^a (Chapman).
- Proverb . iv. 137^a (König).
    - Relation to Parable . iii. 663^b (Plummer).
        - to Riddle . iv. 270^b (Nicol).
- Proverbs, Book of . iv. 139^b (Nowack); Ext. 728^b (Kautzsch).
    - Analysis . iv. 139^b f.
    - Authorship and Unity . iv. 140^b.
    - Canonicity . iii. 613^a (Woods).
    - Dates of component Parts . iv. 141^a.
    - Ethics . i. 782^a (Strong).

Proverbs, Book of—
  Language . . . iii. 33^{a} (Margoliouth).
  Poetry . . . iv. 13^{a} (Budde).
  Prayer in . . . iv. 41^{b} (E. R. Bernard).
  Righteousness, Idea of iv. 277^{a} (Skinner), 531^{b} (E. R. Bernard).
  Text and Versions . iv. 143^{a}.
Providence . . . iv. 143^{a} (Hastings), 143^{b} (Garvie).
Province . . . iv. 144^{a} (Headlam).
  Government . . iv. 144^{a} ff.
  Roman Provinces in NT . . . iv. 144^{b}.
Provoke, Provocation . iv. 145^{a}.
Psalms, Book of . . iv. 145^{a} (Davison); Ext. 723^{b} (Kautzsch).
  Acrostic Psalms . iv. 156^{a}.
  Apocryphal Psalms . iv. 146^{a}.
  Authorship . . iv. 149^{a} ff.
  Canonicity . . iii. 612^{a} (Woods).
  Classification . . iv. 161^{a}.
  Date . . . . iv. 149^{a}.
  Davidic Psalms . iv. 150^{b} ff.
  Divisions of Book . iv. 146^{b} ff.
    Character . . iv. 147^{a}.
    Dates of . . iv. 147^{b} ff.
  Ethics . . . . i. 781^{a} (Strong); Ext. 726^{b} (Kautzsch).
  Formation of Psalter iv. 146^{a}.
  Imprecatory Psalms. iv. 158^{b}; Ext. 726^{b} (Kautzsch).
  Maccabæan Psalms . iv. 152^{b} f.
  Messianic Psalms . iv. 159^{b} ff.; Ext. 727^{a} (Kautzsch).
  Name . . . iv. 145^{b}.
  Number and arrangement . . . iv. 146^{a}.
  Poetry . . . iv. 149^{a} f., 155^{a} ff., 13^{a} (Budde).
  Prayer in . . . iv. 41^{a} (Bernard).
  Religious and Ethical Ideas . . . iv. 156^{b}.
    Doctrine of God . iv. 157^{a}; Ext. 724^{a} (Kautzsch).
    Immortality . . iv. 159^{a}; Ext. 728^{a} (Kautzsch).
    Nature . . . iv. 157^{b}.
    Retribution . . iv. 925^{a} (Siegfried); Ext. 726^{b} (Kautzsch).
    Righteousness . iv. 277^{b} (Skinner).
    Sacrifice . . iv. 158^{a}.
    Sin . . . iv. 157^{b}.
    Suffering of Righteous . . . iv. 159^{a}.
  Text and Versions . iv. 161^{a}.
  Titles . . . iv. 150^{a}, 153^{a} ff.
    'Aijeleth hash-Shahar . . iv. 153^{a}.
    'Alāmôth . . iv. 153^{a}.
    'Al-tashḥêth . . iv. 153^{a}.
    Ascents . . . [See below, Degrees].
    Chief Musician, For the . . . iv. 153^{a}.
    Dedication, A Song at the, etc. . iv. 153^{b}.
Psalms, Book of—Titles—
    Degrees, Songs of. iv. 153^{b}.
    Gittith, Set to the iv. 154^{a}.
    Higgaion . . iv. 154^{a}.
    Jonath 'elem rĕḥokim . . . iv. 154^{a}.
    Mahălath . . iv. 154^{a}.
    Maschil . . . iv. 154^{a}.
    Michtam . . iv. 154^{b}.
    Muth-labben . . iv. 154^{b}.
    Nĕginoth . . iv. 154^{b}.
    Nĕḥiloth . . iv. 154^{b}.
    Remembrance, To bring to . . iv. 154^{b}.
    Shĕminith . . iv. 154^{b}.
    Shiggaion . . iv. 154^{b}.
    Shoshannim, Shushan-'eduth . iv. 155^{a}.
    Song of Loves . iv. 155^{a}.
    To Teach . . iv. 155^{a}.
Psalms of Solomon . iv. 162^{b} (James).
  Contents, Summary of . . . . iv. 163^{a}.
  Date, Character, etc. iv. 162^{b}.
  Demonology . . iv. 409^{a} (Whitehouse).
  Eschatology . . i. 744^{b} (Charles).
  History . . . iv. 162^{b}.
  MSS . . . . iv. 162^{b}.
  Messianic Teaching . iv. 163^{a}; Ext. 299^{a} (Fairweather).
  Name . . . iv. 162^{b}.
  Pharisaic Standpoint iii. 827^{b} (Eaton).
Psaltery . . . iv. 163^{b} (Hastings).
Psaltiel (Ap.) . . iv. 163^{b}; iii. 819^{a}.
Psammitichus . . i. 663^{b} (Crum).
Psychology . . . iv. 163^{b}, 608^{a}, 612^{a} (Laidlaw); iii. 720^{a} ff. (Findlay); Ext. 665^{a} ff. (Kautzsch).
    Conscience . . iv. 168^{b}. [See Conscience].
    Flesh . . . iv. 165^{a}; ii. 14^{a}; iii. 720^{b} (Findlay); Ext. 666^{b} (Kautzsch).
    Heart . . . iv. 168^{a}; ii. 317^{b}; iii. 720^{b} (Findlay).
    Man . . . iv. 165^{a}; iii. 225^{b} (Adeney), 720^{a} (Findlay).
    Mind . . . iv. 168^{a}.
    Soul . . . iv. 164^{b}, 166^{b}, 608^{a}; iii. 720^{b} (Findlay); Ext. 666^{b} (Kautzsch).
    Spirit . . . iv. 166^{b}, 167^{b}, 611^{b}; iii. 720^{b} (Findlay); Ext. 666^{b} (Kautzsch).
  in Apocryphal Period Ext. 291^{a} (Fairweather).
Ptaḥ . . . . Ext. 185^{b} (Wiedemann).
Ptolemais . . . iv. 169^{b} (Macmillan).
Ptolemy . . . iv. 170^{a} (Moss).
Ptolemy, Canon of . i. 179^{b} (Hommel).
Ptolemy II. . . . iv. 170^{b} (Moss).
Ptolemy III. . . . iv. 170^{b} (Moss).
Ptolemy IV. . . . iv. 171^{a} (Moss).
Ptolemy V. . . . iv. 171^{a} (Moss).
Ptolemy VI. . . . iv. 171^{a} (Moss).
Ptolemy VII. . . iv. 171^{b} (Moss).

- Puah . . . . iv. 172^a (Cooke); ii. 129^a (Curtis).
- Publican . . . . iv. 172^a (Adeney); Ext. 394^b (Ramsay).
- Publius . . . . iv. 173^a (Muir); iii. 337^a (Robertson).
- Pudens . . . . iv. 173^a (Lock), 310^a (Patrick and Relton).
- Pudu-ilu . . . . i. 181^b.
- Pul . . . . iv. 173^a, 761^a (Sayce).
- Pul (Is 66^{19}) . . . . iv. 177^a (Max Müller).
- Pulpit . . . . iv. 173^a.
- Pulse . . . . iv. 173^b; ii. 27^b.
- Punishments . . . i. 523^a ff. (Poucher).
  - Anathema . . . i. 534^a (Denney).
  - Banishment . . . i. 523^a.
  - Beating . . . . i. 523^a.
  - Beheading . . . i. 523^b.
  - Blinding . . . . i. 523^b.
  - Branding and Burning i. 523^b.
  - Braying in a Mortar i. 524^a.
  - Confiscation . . . i. 524^a.
  - Crucifixion . . . i. 528^a (Adams Brown).
  - Cutting asunder . i. 524^a.
  - Cutting off from the people . . . i. 524^a.
  - Divine Visitation . i. 524^b.
  - Drowning . . . . i. 524^b.
  - Exposure to Wild Beasts . . . i. 524^b.
  - Fines . . . . i. 524^b.
  - Flaying . . . . i. 525^a.
  - Hanging . . . . i. 525^a; ii. 298^a (Selbie).
  - Imprisonment . . . i. 525^a.
  - Indignities . . . i. 525^b.
  - Mutilation . . . i. 525^b.
  - Plucking off the Hair i. 525^b.
  - Precipitation . . . i. 526^a; ii. 299^b (Selbie).
  - Restitution . . . i. 526^a.
  - Retaliation . . . i. 526^a.
  - Sawing asunder . i. 526^b.
  - Scourging . . . . i. 526^b, 527^a; iv. 419^b (Strachan).
  - Slavery . . . . i. 526^b; iv. 463^b (Whitehouse).
  - Slaying by Spear or Sword . . . i. 526^b.
  - Stocks . . . . i. 527^a.
  - Stoning . . . . i. 527^a.
  - Strangling . . . i. 527^a.
  - Stripes . . . . i. 527^a.
  - Suffocation . . . i. 527^b.
  - in Code of Ḫammurabi . . . . Ext. 595^b ff. (Johns).
- Punishment, Everlasting . . . . i. 110^a (Charles), 681^a (Murray), 752^b (Salmond); ii. 345^b (Salmond); iii. 744^b (Massie).
- Punites . . . . iv. 173^b.
- Punon . . . . iv. 173^b.
- Punt, Land of . . . iii. 627^a (Price), 858^a (Thatcher); Ext. 361^a, 363^b (Blomfield). [See Put].
- Purah . . . . iv. 173^b.
- Purchase . . . . iv. 173^b.
- Purge . . . . iv. 174^a.
- Purification . . . iv. $832^{a,\,b}$ (Peake).
  - in Babylonian Religion . . . . Ext. 555^a (Jastrow).
  - in Greek Mysteries . Ext. 115^b, 127^a (Ramsay), 145^b (Farnell).
- Purim . . . . iv. 174^a (M'Clymont); i. 861^b (Harding).
  - Name . . . . iv. 175^b; iii. 153^a (Whitehouse).
  - Theories of Origin . iv. 174^b.
- Purity . . . . iv. 175^b (Massie); Ext. 20^b (Votaw).
- Purple . . . . iv. 176^b (Post); i. 457^b (Thatcher).
- Purse . . . . i. 231^b (Mackie).
- Purtenance . . . . iv. 176^b.
- Purvey, John . . . Ext. 240^a (J. H. Lupton).
- Purveyor . . . . iv. 176^b.
- Put . . . . iv. 176^b (Max Müller); iii. 160^b (Johns); Ext. 81^a (Jastrow). [See Punt].
- Puteoli . . . . iv. 178^a (Redpath).
- Puthites . . . . iv. 178^a; ii. 127^b.
- Putiel . . . . iv. 178^a.
- Puvah . . . . iv. 172^a [Puah].
- Puzur-Assur . . . i. 180^b.
- Pygarg . . . . iv. 178^a (Post); i. 610^b [Dishon]; ii. 36^b (Macalister).
- Pyramid . . . . iv. 178^b.
- Pyrrhus . . . . iv. 178^b.
- Python . . . . iv. 178^b (Whitehouse); Ext. 145^b f. (Farnell).

- Qoheleth . . . i. 637^a ff. [Ecclesiastes]; iv. 13^b.
- Quail . . . . iv. 179^a (Post); ii. 36^b (Macalister).
- Quake . . . . iv. 179^a.
- Quality . . . . iv. 179^a.
- Quarrel . . . . iv. 179^b (Hastings).
- Quarry . . . . iv. 179^b (Selbie), 618^b (Patrick).
- Quartus . . . . iv. 180^a.
- Quartz . . . . iv. 620^b (Flinders Petrie).
- Quaternion . . . iv. 180^a (Barnes).
- Queen . . . . iv. 180^a (Lukyn Williams).
- Queen of Heaven . . iv. 181^a (Bennett); i. 169^b (Driver).
- Question . . . . iv. 181^b (Hastings).
- Quick, Quicken . . iv. 182^a (Hastings).
- Quicksands . . . iv. 182^b (Hull).
- Quince . . . . ii. 30^a, 39^b (Macalister).
- Quintus Memmius (Ap.) iii. 338^a.
- Quirinius, Census of . iv. 183^a (Plummer); i. 404^a (Turner); Ext. 356^a (Kenyon).
- Quit . . . . iv. 183^b.
- Quiver . . . . iv. 183^b (Barnes).

- Quotations . . . iv. 184^{a} (Woods).
  - Old Testament . iv. 184^{a}.
  - New Testament—
    - Combined Quotations . . . iv. 185^{b}.
    - Manner of Quotation in different Books . . iv. 186^{b} ff.
    - Quotations from Aramaic . . iv. 184^{b} f.
      - Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha . . iv. 188^{a}.
      - Hebrew OT . iv. 184^{b}.
      - Indirect Quotations . . iv. 186^{a}.
      - Pagan Writers . iv. 188^{a}.
      - Paraphrastic Quotations . iv. 186^{a}.
      - LXX . . . iv. 184^{b}.
    - Use for Textual Criticism . . iv. 187^{b}.

- Ra . . . . . Ext. 182^{a,b}, 183^{b}, 184^{b} (Wiedemann).
- Raama, Raamah . . iv. 188^{a} (Margoliouth).
- Raamiah . . . iv. 188^{a}.
- Raamses, Rameses . iv. 188^{a} (Sayce).
- Rabbah . . . iv. 189^{a} (Stenning).
- Rabbi . . . . iv. 190^{a} (Moss).
- Rabbith . . . iv. 190^{b}.
- Rabboni . . . iv. 190^{a} (Moss).
- Rab-mag . . . iv. 190^{b} (T. G. Pinches); iii. 203^{b} (Benecke); iv. 989^{a} (J. H. Moulton).
- Rab-saris . . . iv. 191^{a} (T. G. Pinches).
- Rab-shakeh . . . iv. 191^{b} (T. G. Pinches); iii. 206^{b} note (Whitehouse).
- Raca . . . . iv. 191^{b} (Massie).
- Racal . . . . iv. 192^{a}.
- Race . . . . ii. 108^{a} (Nicol).
- Races of the Old Testament . . . Ext. 72^{a} ff. (Jastrow).
  - Hebrews and Semites Ext. 72^{b} ff.
    - Amalekites . . Ext. 75^{b}.
    - Ammonites . . Ext. 73^{b}.
    - Arabs . . . Ext. 74^{b}.
    - Aramæans . . Ext. 73^{b}.
    - Assyrians and Babylonians . Ext. 72^{b}, 79^{a}.
    - Canaanites . . Ext. 76^{b} ff.
    - Edomites . . Ext. 74^{a}, 75^{a}.
    - Ethiopians . . Ext. 75^{a}.
    - Hebrews, Origin of . . . Ext. 73^{a}.
    - Hebrews, Subdivision of . . Ext. 74^{a}, 75^{a} f.
    - Ishmaelites . . Ext. 74^{a}.
    - Midianites . . Ext. 76^{a}.
    - Moabites . . Ext. 73^{b}.
    - Phœnicians . . Ext. 76^{a}.
    - Semites, Original Home of . . Ext. 72^{b}.
- Races of the OT—
  - Races of doubtful Origin—
    - Amorites . . . Ext. 77^{b}.
    - Anakim, Emim, Rephaim, Zamzummim . . Ext. 78^{a}.
    - Hittites . . . Ext. 78^{a}.
  - Races of Genesis 10 . Ext. 79^{b} ff.
    - Ham . . . Ext. 80^{a}, 81^{a}.
    - Japheth . . Ext. 80^{a}.
    - Shem . . . Ext. 80^{a}, 81^{b}.
  - Non-Semitic and Mixed Races . Ext. 78^{b}.
    - Egyptians . . Ext. 78^{b}.
    - Philistines . . Ext. 78^{b}.
- Rachel . . . . iv. 192^{b} (Driver).
  - Grave of . . . iv. 193^{a}.
  - Tribal Significance . iv. 192^{b}.
- Raddai . . . . iv. 193^{a}; ii. 126^{b}.
- Rag, Ragged . . iv. 193^{a}.
- Ragau (Ap.) . . . iv. 193^{b}.
- Rages (Ap.) . . . iv. 193^{b} (Sayce).
- Raguel . . . iv. 193^{b}.
- Rahab . . . . iv. 193^{b} (Aglen); ii. 471^{a} (Ewing).
- Rahab (myth) . . iv. 194^{b} (Selbie); i. 505^{b} (Whitehouse).
- Raham . . . iv. 195^{a}; ii. 127^{a}.
- Rahel . . . . iv. 192^{b} [Rachel].
- Raiment . . . iv. 195^{a}.
- Rain . . . . iv. 195^{b} (Hull).
- Rainbow . . . iv. 196^{a} (James Patrick).
- Raisin . . . . ii. 32^{b} (Macalister); iv. 869^{b} (Post).
- Rakem . . . iv. 224^{b} [Rekem]; ii. 129^{b}.
- Rakkath . . . iv. 197^{a}.
- Rakkon . . . iii. 335^{a} (Selbie).
- Ram (person) . . iv. 197^{a}; ii. 126^{a} *bis*, 126^{b}.
- Ram (animal) . . iv. 486^{b} (Post).
- Ram, Battering . . i. 258^{b} (Barnes).
- Rams' Horns . . iii. 462^{a} (Millar); iv. 815^{a} (Abrahams).
- Rams' Skins . . i. 632^{a} (H. Porter).
- Ramah . . . . iv. 197^{a} (Warren).
- Ramah (Ramoth) of the South . . . iv. 198^{a} (Driver).
- Ramathaim, Ramathaim-zophim . . . iv. 198^{a} (Driver).
- Ramathite . . . iv. 199^{a}.
- Ramath-lehi . . iii. 94^{b} (Cooke).
- Ramath-mizpeh . . iv. 199^{a}.
- Rameses . . . iv. 188^{a} (Sayce); i. 803^{a,b} (Harris and Chapman).
- Ramiah . . . iv. 199^{a}.
- Ramman . . . i. 177^{b}, 215^{b} (Hommel); iv. 284^{b} (Price); Ext. 544^{b} (Jastrow).
- Rammân-nirari I. . i. 181^{b} (Hommel).
- Rammân-nirari II. . i. 183^{b}.
- Rammân-nirari III. . i. 185^{a} (Hommel).
- Rammân-musheshir . i. 180^{b}.
- Rammân-shum-idina . i. 182^{a}.
- Rammân-shum-uẓur . i. 182^{a}.
- Ramoth . . . iv. 199^{a}.

Ramoth-gilead iv. 199^{a} (Merrill); ii. 158^{b} (Warren).
Ramses I. i. 662^{a} (Crum).
Ramses II. i. 662^{a} (Crum), 166^{b} (Driver); iii. 820^{a} (Griffith).
Ramses III. i. 662^{b} (Crum); iii. 820^{a} (Griffith).
Range iv. 199^{b} (Hastings).
Ransom iv. 200^{a} (Adams Brown).
Rape i. 522^{b} (Poucher).
Rapha, Raphah iv. 201^{a}; ii. 130^{a}.
Raphael (Ap.) iv. 201^{a} (Marshall).
Raphaim (Ap.) iv. 201^{b}.
Raphon (Ap.) iv. 201^{b}.
Raphu iv. 201^{b}.
Rasses (Ap.) iv. 201^{b}.
Rathumus (Ap.) iv. 201^{b}.
Raven iv. 201^{b} (Post).
Raven, Ravin iv. 202^{a} (Hastings).
Raziz (Ap.) iv. 202^{a}.
Razor iv. 202^{b} (Carslaw).
Reaiah iv. 202^{b}; ii. 122^{b}, 127^{b}, 128^{a}.
Reaping i. 49^{a} f. (J. W. Paterson).
Reba iv. 202^{b}.
Rebecca iv. 202^{b}.
Rebekah iv. 202^{b} (Driver).
Recah iv. 203^{a}; ii. 128^{b}.
Receipt of Custom iv. 203^{a}.
Rechab, Rechabites iv. 203^{a} (Bennett); Ext. 659^{a} (Kautzsch).
Reconciliation iv. 204^{b} (Adamson).
Record iv. 207^{a} (Hastings).
Recorder, The iv. 207^{b} (Stenning); ii. 843^{b} (Williams), 858^{a} (Burney).
Recover iv. 207^{b}.
Red i. 457^{b} (Thatcher).
Red Dragon iv. 256^{a} ff., 261^{a} (F. C. Porter).
Red Heifer iv. 207^{b} (A. R. S. Kennedy).
  Preparation and purpose of Ashes iv. 208$^{a, b}$, 351^{a} (Eaton).
  Significance of Rite iv. 209^{a}.
  Type of Christ iv. 209^{b}.
Red Horse iv. 259^{b} (F. C. Porter).
Red Sea iv. 210^{a} (Hull).
Redeemer, Redemption iv. 210^{b}, 200^{a} (Adams Brown); ii. 223^{a} (A. R. S. Kennedy).
  in Hebrews ii. 333^{a} (Bruce).
    1 Peter iii. 794^{a} (Chase).
    2 Peter iii. 797^{a} (Chase).
  of Land iv. 325^{a}, 326^{a} (Harford-Battersby).
Reed iv. 212^{a} (Post).
  Pen iv. 947^{b} (Kenyon).
Reed Grass iv. 213^{a}.
Reelaiah iv. 188^{a} [Raamiah].
Reelias (Ap.) iv. 213^{a}.
Refiner, Refining iv. 213^{a} (Carslaw).
Refrain iv. 213^{b}.
Refuge, Cities of iv. 213^{b} (Merrill).
Refuse iv. 214^{a} (Hastings).
Regem iv. 214^{b}; ii. 127$^{a, b}$.
Regem-melech iv. 214^{b}.
Regeneration iv. 214^{b} (Bartlet).
  Baptismal iv. 217^{b}, 219^{b}; i. 243^{b} (Plummer).
  Biblical and non-Biblical Phraseology iv. 214^{a}.
  In OT—
    in National and Personal Religion iv. 215^{b} f.
    of Proselytes iv. 216^{a}.
  In NT—
    in Hebrews iv. 218^{a}.
      St. James iv. 216^{b}.
      St. John iv. 219^{a}.
      St. Paul iv. 218^{a}.
      St. Peter iv. 217^{a}.
      Synoptic Gospels iv. 216^{b}.
    Summary of NT Teaching iv. 220^{a} ff.
Register ii. 121^{a} (Curtis).
Rehabiah iv. 221^{b}; ii. 124^{a}.
Rehob iv. 221^{b} (Stenning).
Rehoboam iv. 222^{a} (N. J. D. White); ii. 126^{b}, 127^{a} (Curtis).
Rehoboth iv. 223^{b} (Selbie); i. 645^{a} (Sayce).
Rehoboth-ir iv. 223^{b} (T. G. Pinches).
Rehum iv. 224^{a} (Selbie).
Rei iv. 224^{a} (J. Taylor).
Reins iv. 224^{b} (Hastings); ii. 837^{b} (A. R. S. Kennedy).
Rekem iv. 224^{b}; ii. 127^{a}.
Religion iv. 225^{a} (Hastings).
  Family i. 849^{b} (Bennett).
  Mosaic ii. 446^{a} (W. P. Paterson), 509^{b} (Barnes); iii. 446^{b} (Bennett); Ext. 624^{a} ff. (Kautzsch).
  Post-Exilic iii. 821^{a} ff. (Eaton); Ext. 708^{b} ff. (Kautzsch).
  Primitive Semitic ii. 445^{b} (W. P. Paterson).
  Prophetic ii. 512^{a} (Barnes); [see Prophecy]; Ext. 671^{a} ff. (Kautzsch).
  and Man Ext. 322^{a} (Garvie).
  and Revelation Ext. 323^{a} (Garvie).
  in Assyrian Period ii. 513^{a} (Barnes).
  in NT times ii. 205^{b} ff., 605^{b} ff. (Sanday); Ext. 48^{a} ff., 52^{a} (Buhl).
  in Period of the Judges ii. 808^{b} (Barnes), 816$^{a, b}$ (König); Ext. 634^{b} ff. (Kautzsch).
  [See Idolatry; Israel, Religion of; Judaism, Sacrifice, Worship].
Religion of Babylonia and Assyria [See Babylonia, Religion of].

- Religion of Egypt . Ext. 176^b (Wiedemann).
  - Cosmogony . . Ext. 177^b ff.
    - Creation, Theories of . . . Ext. 177^b.
    - Destruction of the World . . Ext. 181^b.
  - Cultus . . . Ext. 191^b.
  - Future Life, Conception of . . Ext. 192^b ff.
    - Dead, Realm of . Ext. 193^a ff.
    - Dwelling-place of gods . . . Ext. 193^a.
    - Immortality, Osirian Doctrine of . Ext. 194^a ff.
    - Sun, Notions connected with . Ext. 193^a.
  - Gods . . . Ext. 182^b ff.
    - Historical Development of the power of particular gods Ext. 182^b ff.
    - List of gods . . Ext. 184^b ff.
      - Abstract Notions deified . . Ext. 191^a.
      - Deified Men . Ext. 187^b.
      - Foreign Deities . Ext. 186^b.
      - Native Egyptian Deities . . Ext. 184^b.
      - Popular gods . Ext. 188^a.
        - Animals . . Ext. 189^b f.
        - Buildings . Ext. 191^a.
        - City gods . Ext. 191^a.
        - Heaven, Earth, Heavenly Bodies . Ext. 188^b.
        - High Places . Ext. 189^a.
        - Plants and Trees . . Ext. 190^b.
        - Springs and Streams . Ext. 189^a.
        - Stones . . Ext. 189^a.
- Religion of Greece and Asia Minor . . Ext. 109^a (Ramsay).
  - Anatolian and pre-Hellenic . . Ext. 110^b ff.
    - Aniconic Religion and Image Worship . . . Ext. 121^a ff.
    - Divine in Human form and character . . Ext. 122^a ff.
      - Birth and Death of Divine Nature . . Ext. 123^b.
      - Great Mother . Ext. 122^a ff.
      - Myths of goddess and god . . Ext. 123^a.
    - History and Chronology . . . Ext. 134^a ff.
    - Influence on Society and Life . . Ext. 129^b.
      - Brotherhoods and Guilds . . Ext. 132^a.
      - Burial . . . Ext. 131^a.
      - Government and Administration Ext. 132^b.

Religion of Greece and Asia Minor—

- Influence on Society:
  - Hierodoulai . Ext. 130^a.
  - Household Protégés . . Ext. 133^a.
  - Marriage . . Ext. 129^b f.
  - Religious Influences on Social Conditions . Ext. 133^a.
  - Self-Mutilation . Ext. 131^a.
  - Women Guards . Ext. 130^b.
- Ritual and Ceremonial . . Ext. 124^a ff.
  - Approaching the Deity . . Ext. 127^b.
  - Confession . Ext. 127^b.
  - Hieroi . . Ext. 129^a.
  - Mysteries . . Ext. 124^b ff.
  - Priests . . Ext. 128^a.
  - Purification . Ext. 127^a.
  - Ritual, Origin of Ext. 124^a.
    - Growth . . Ext. 126^a.
- Sacred Animals . Ext. 114^a ff.
  - Animals parts of the god . . Ext. 114^b.
  - Bee . . . Ext. 116^b.
  - Bull . . . Ext. 115^a.
  - Goat . . . Ext. 115^a.
  - Horse . . Ext. 115^b.
  - Lion . . . Ext. 118^a.
  - Sacredness of Domestic Animals . . Ext. 117^a.
    - of Wild Animals . . Ext. 118^b.
  - Serpent . . Ext. 118^a.
  - Sheep . . Ext. 115^b.
  - Swine . . Ext. 115^b.
- Sacred Places . Ext. 119^a ff.
  - Caves and Glens Ext. 119^b.
  - Hieron, Development of . . Ext. 120^b.
  - Mountains . Ext. 119^a.
  - Springs and Lakes . . Ext. 120^a.
    - in Religion of Greece . . Ext. 121^a.
- Sacred Stones, etc. . . . Ext. 110^b ff.
  - Stones, Pillars, Columns . Ext. 110^b.
  - Thrones . . Ext. 112^a.
  - Weapons . . Ext. 112^b.
  - Wooden Posts . Ext. 113^a.
- Sacred Trees . Ext. 113^a ff.

- Hellenic Religion . Ext. 135^a ff.
  - Early Greek Religion . . Ext. 135^a.
  - Elements of Hellenic Religion . Ext. 136^b.
  - Greek Religion and Greek Law . Ext. 136^a.
  - Growth of Hellenic Religion . . Ext. 137^b.

Religion of Greece and Asia Minor—
  Conception of Piety . . Ext. 142^{a}.
  Daimones . . Ext. 139^{b} ff.
  Moralization of Hellenic gods . Ext. 139^{b}.
  Mythology, Growth of . Ext. 137^{b}.
  Pantheon, Hellenic . . Ext. 138^{b} ff.
  Polytheism and Hellenic Unity Ext. 138^{a}.
  Restrictions on Nature of the gods . . Ext. 140^{b}.
  State gods . Ext. 141^{a} f.
  Olympian and Chthonian deities . Ext. 142^{b} f.
  Religion of Apollo and Delphic Oracle . . Ext. 143^{b} ff. (Farnell).
 Later Development . Ext. 147^{a} ff.
  Hellenic Religion, Decay and Death . . Ext. 155^{a}.
  Degradation . Ext. 151^{a}.
  Religion in Literature and Philosophy . . Ext. 147^{a} ff.
  of Græco-Asiatic Cities . . Ext. 154^{b}.
  St. Paul and Greek Philosophy . Ext. 150^{a}.
Religion of Israel . [See Israel, Religion of].
Remaliah . . . iv. 225^{a}.
Remeth . . . iv. 225^{a}.
Remission . . . ii. 56^{a} ff. (Bethune-Baker).
Remphan . . . iv. 227^{a} (T. G. Pinches).
Rending of Garments . iii. 453^{a} f. (Nicol).
Repent, Repentance . iv. 225^{a} (Morgan).
Rephael . . . iv. 226^{b}.
Rephah . . . iv. 226^{b}; ii. 130^{a}.
Rephaiah . . . iv. 226^{b}; ii. 122^{b}, 127^{a}, 129^{a}, 131^{a}.
Rephaim . . . iv. 226^{b} (Beecher); ii. 166^{a} ff.; iv. 780^{a} [Titans].
Rephaim, Vale of . iv. 226^{b} (Beecher), 780^{a} [Titans].
Rephan . . . iv. 227^{a} (T. G. Pinches).
Rephidim . . . iv. 227^{b} (Chapman).
Reprobate . . . iv. 228^{a} (Denney); i. 680^{b} (Murray); iv. 60^{a}, 62^{b} (Warfield).
Reproof, Reprove . iv. 228^{b} (Hastings).
Reptile . . . iii. 492^{a} (Post).
Require . . . iv. 229^{a} (Hastings).
Rereward . . . iv. 229^{b}.
Resaias (Ap.) . . iv. 229^{b}.
Resen . . . . iv. 229^{b} (T. G. Pinches); i. 227^{a} (Hommel); iii. 553^{b} (Sayce).
Resh . . . . iv. 230^{a}.
Resheph . . . iv. 230^{a}; ii. 130^{a}; iii. 861^{b}.
Reshpu . . . Ext. 187^{a} (Wiedemann).
Respect of Persons . i. 22^{a} (Hastings).
Rest . . . . iv. 230^{a} (John Patrick).
  Sabbath Rest . . iv. 317^{b} ff. (Driver).
Restitution . . . i. 526^{a} (Poucher); iv. 230^{b} [Restoration].
Restoration . . . iv. 230^{b} (Macpherson); i. 754^{a}, 756^{a} (Salmond).
Resurrection . . iv. 231^{a} (E. R. Bernard).
  of Body . . . i. 752^{a}, 755^{b} (Salmond).
  of Christ, Effect on Doctrine . . iv. 234^{a}.
  of Unbelievers . . iv. 232^{b}, 233^{b}, 236^{a}; i. 752^{a} (Salmond); Ext. 305^{b} ff. (Fairweather).
  Past already . . ii. 440^{b} (Milligan); iv. 776^{a} (Lock).
  Teaching of Apostles iv. 234^{b} ff.; i. 754^{a} ff. (Salmond).
    of Christ . . iv. 233^{a} ff.; i. 751^{b} f. (Salmond).
    of St. Paul . . iv. 234^{b} ff.; i. 487^{b}, 489^{b} (Robertson), 755^{a} ff. (Salmond).
  Two Resurrections . iv. 234^{a}, 235^{b} f.; i. 755^{a}, 756^{b} (Salmond); iii. 371^{b} f. (Adams Brown).
  in Apocalyptic Literature . . . i. 110^{b} (Charles).
  in Apocrypha . . iv. 233^{a}; i. 742^{a}-748^{b} (Charles).
  in Apocryphal Period Ext. 305^{b} ff. (Fairweather).
  in OT . . . iv. 231^{b} ff.; Ext. 715^{a}, 728^{b}, 730^{a} (Kautzsch).
Retaliation . . . i. 526^{a} (Poucher).
Retribution . . . i. 742^{a}-749^{a} (Charles); iv. 232^{b} (E. R. Bernard), 925^{a} ff. (Siegfried); Ext. 691^{a} ff., 710^{a}, 726^{b}, 729^{b}, 730^{b} (Kautzsch).
Return from Exile . ii. 514^{a} (Barnes).
Reu . . . . iv. 236^{b} (Selbie).
Reuben. . . . iv. 237^{a} (Bennett); ii. 122^{b} (Curtis).
Reuben (tribe) . . iv. 237^{a} (Bennett).
  Relation to Gad . iv. 237^{b} ff.; ii. 77^{b}.
  Territory . . . iv. 237^{b} f.; ii. 77^{b}; iii. 403^{a}.
Reuel . . . . iv. 239^{b}; ii. 654^{a} (Selbie).
Reumah . . . iv. 239^{b}.
Revelation . . . Ext. 321^{a} (Garvie).
  Doctrine of . . Ext. 330^{b} ff.
    OT Doctrine of Revelation . Ext. 330^{b} ff.; ii. 197^{a} (Davidson).
      in NT. . . Ext. 331^{b} ff.
      Use of OT by Christ. . Ext. 332^{a}.
        in Gospels and Acts . . Ext. 333^{a}.
        in St. Paul's Epistles . Ext. 333^{b}.

Revelation—
NT Doctrine of Revelation . . Ext. 334^{a} ff.
Evidence of Revelation . . . Ext. 335^{a} ff.
of Bearers of Revelation . . . Ext. 335^{a}.
of Experience . Ext. 336^{a}.
of Literature . . Ext. 335^{a}.
Reception of . . Ext. 336^{a}.
History of Revelation . . . Ext. 324^{b} ff.
Limitation of God's action . . Ext. 325^{a}.
NT Revelation, Limits of . Ext. 327^{b}.
and Christ . . Ext. 326^{b}.
OT Revelation, Characteristics Ext. 324^{b}, 675^{b}.
Fulfilment in Christ . . Ext. 325^{b} ff.
Philosophy of Revelation . . . Ext. 321^{b} ff.
Man and Religion . Ext. 322^{a}.
Present Position regarding the Bible . . . Ext. 321^{b}.
Revelation and Criticism . . . Ext. 328^{b}.
and Inspiration . Ext. 324^{a}.
and Literature . Ext. 330^{b}.
and Religion . . Ext. 323^{a}.
through Christ . ii. 212^{a} (Sanday).
through Holy Spirit . . . ii. 212^{b} (Sanday).
Revelation, Book of . iv. 239^{b} (F. C. Porter).
Angelology . . iv. 254^{a}, 261^{a}, 263^{a}.
Apocalypse, Revelation as an . . iv. 248^{b} ff.
Authorship . . iv. 265^{a}; ii. 189^{a} (Headlam).
Babylonian Mythology in . . . iv. 256^{a} ff.
Beasts in . . . iv. 256^{a} ff., 260^{b}; ii. 692^{b} (Strong).
Bowls . . . iv. 260^{a}.
Candlesticks . . iv. 255^{b}.
Canonicity . . iv. 240^{a}; iii. 540^{a} (Stanton).
Christology . . iv. 262^{b} f.
Contents . . . iv. 250^{a}.
Eschatology . . iv. 261^{a,b}; i. 754^{b} (Salmond).
Historical Situation . iv. 258^{b}.
Interpretation, Methods of . . iv. 241^{b} ff.
Chiliastic . . iv. 242^{a}.
Contemporary-Historical . . iv. 242^{a}, 248^{a}.
Futurist . . iv. 242^{b}, 248^{a}.
Literary-Critical . iv. 242^{b} ff., 248^{a}.
Poetical . . . iv. 248^{a}.
Symbolic . . iv. 242^{b}.
Tradition-Historical . . iv. 243^{b} ff., 248^{a}.
Revelation, Book of—
Nero, References to . iv. 242^{a}, 243^{b}, 257^{b} f.; iii. 518^{a} (Cowan).
New Jerusalem . iv. 253^{b}, 255^{a}, 260^{b}.
Parallels with Parsism iv. 992^{a} (Moulton).
Plan of the Book . iv. 250^{b} ff.
Prayer in . . . iv. 45^{b} (E. R. Bernard).
Predictions . . iv. 259^{b}.
Relation to Enoch (Similitudes) . iv. 261^{b}.
to St. John's Gospel and Epistle . iv. 264^{b}; ii. 707^{a} ff. (Reynolds).
to St. Paul's Epistles iv. 264^{a}.
to Synoptic Gospels iv. 264^{b}.
Satan in . . . iv. 260^{b}, 261^{b}, 411^{a} (Whitehouse).
Seals . . . . iv. 259^{b}.
Seer, Experiences of the . . . iv. 253^{a}.
Inspiration of . iv. 254^{a}.
Sources . . . iv. 254^{b} ff.
Theology . . . iv. 262^{a}; ii. 690^{a} ff. (Strong).
Doctrine of Christ . iv. 262^{b} ff.; ii. 691^{a} (Strong).
Christian Life . iv. 263^{b}.
Church . . ii. 693^{a} (Strong).
God . . . iv. 262^{b}; ii. 690^{b} (Strong).
Sin and Salvation . . . ii. 692^{b} f. (Strong).
Spirit . . . ii. 410^{b} (Swete), 692^{a} (Strong).
Thousand Years' Reign of Christ . iv. 261^{b}.
Title . . . . iv. 239^{b}.
Unity . . . iv. 242^{b}.
Value, Historical and Religious . iv. 265^{a} ff.
Vocabulary . . iii. 42^{a} (Thayer).
Revenge, Revenger . i. 204^{b} (Hastings); ii. 222^{b} ff. (A. R. S. Kennedy).
Reverend . . . iv. 266^{a}.
Revised Version . . iv. 860^{a} (Milligan); Ext. 258^{a} (J. H. Lupton).
American . . . Ext. 269^{a} (Lupton).
Revive . . . . iv. 266^{a}.
Rezeph . . . . iv. 266^{b} (T. G. Pinches).
Rezin . . . . iv. 266^{b} (J. Taylor); iii. 736^{b} note (Whitehouse).
Rezon . . . . iv. 267^{a} (J. Taylor).
Rhegium . . . iv. 267^{b} (Ramsay).
Rheims Version . . iv. 858^{b} (Milligan); Ext. 251^{b} (J. H. Lupton).
Rhesa . . . . iv. 268^{a}.
Rhoda . . . . iv. 268^{a}.
Rhodes . . . . iv. 268^{b} (Ramsay).
Rhodocus (Ap.) . . iv. 269^{b}.
Rhyme . . . . iv. 9^{a} (Budde); Ext. 168^{a} (König).
Ribai . . . . iv. 269^{b}; ii. 132^{a}.
Riblah . . . . iv. 269^{b} (Driver).
Riches . . . . iv. 900^{a} (Bennett).
Rid . . . . iv. 270^{a} (Hastings).

- Riddle . . . . iv. 270^{b} (Nicol); Ext. 160^{b} (König).
- Ridiculous . . . iv. 272^{a}.
- Righteousness in OT . iv. 272^{b} (Skinner); Ext. 683^{a} (Kautzsch).
  - Idea of . . . iv. 272^{b} ff.
  - Imputed . . . iv. 280^{b} f.
  - Individual . . iv. 276^{a}.
  - Terms . . . iv. 272^{b}, 281^{a}.
  - in Job . . . iv. 276^{b}.
  - in Prophets . . iv. 274^{a} ff.
    - in Ezekiel . . iv. 276^{b}.
    - in Isaiah . . iv. 275^{b}, 279^{a}; ii. 496^{a}, 497^{b} (Smith).
  - in Proverbs and Ecclesiastes . . iv. 277^{a}.
  - of God . . . iv. 278^{b}; ii. 209^{b} ff. (Sanday).
  - of Israel . . . iv. 275^{b}.
- Righteousness in NT . iv. 281^{b} (Stevens).
  - Christ's Teaching . iv. 282^{a} ff.; Ext. 25^{b}, 42^{b} (Votaw).
  - Jewish idea of . . iv. 281^{b} f.
  - Johannine use . . iv. 284^{a}.
  - Pauline Doctrine . iv. 283^{a}; ii. 210^{b} (Sanday); iii. 718^{b} (Findlay).
  - Terms . . . iv. 281^{b}.
  - of God . . . iv. 283^{a} ff.; ii. 209^{b} ff. (Sanday); iii. 718^{b} (Findlay); iv. 301^{b} (Robertson).
- Rimmon (god) . . iv. 284^{b} (Price).
- Rimmon (person) . . iv. 285^{a}.
- Rimmon (place) . . iv. 285^{a} (Warren); i. 711^{a} [En-Rimmon].
- Rimmono . . . iv. 285^{b}.
- Rimmon-perez . . iv. 285^{b} (Chapman).
- Ring . . . . iv. 285^{b} (Mackie).
- Ringstraked . . . iv. 286^{b}; i. 458^{a}.
- Rinnah. . . . iv. 286^{b}; ii. 129^{a}.
- Riphath . . . iv. 286^{b} (Selbie).
- Rissah . . . . iv. 286^{b}.
- Rithmah . . . iv. 286^{b}.
- River . . . . iv. 286^{b} (Selbie).
- River of Egypt . . i. 667^{b} (Selbie); iv. 288^{b}.
- Rizia . . . . iv. 288^{b}; ii. 132^{a}.
- Rizpah . . . . iv. 288^{b} (Welch).
- Road . . . . iv. 289^{a} (Hastings).
- Roads . . . . iv. 805^{b} f. (Bennett), 892^{b} (Barnes).
  - Sacred . . . Ext. 111^{a} f., 140^{b} f. (Ramsay).
  - Roads and Travel in OT . . . Ext. 368^{a} (Buhl).
    - between Palestine and other countries . . . Ext. 370^{a} ff.
      - Arabia . . . Ext. 370^{a}.
      - Assyria and Babylonia . . . Ext. 370^{b}.
      - Egypt . . . Ext. 370^{a}.
    - in Palestine . . Ext. 371^{a} ff.
      - Galilee . . . Ext. 372^{b}.
      - Jordan, East of . Ext. 373^{b}.
      - Jordan Valley . Ext. 373^{a}.
- Roads and Travel in OT—
    - in Judæa . . . Ext. 371^{a}.
    - in Samaria . . Ext. 372^{a}.
  - Hebrew terms for 'Road' . . . Ext. 368^{b}.
  - Kinds of Roads . Ext. 369^{a}.
  - Position and Conformation of Palestine . . . Ext. 368^{a}.
  - Travel, Modes of . Ext. 374^{b}.
    - Motives for . . Ext. 373^{b}.
    - Provision for Travellers . . Ext. 375^{a}.
- Roads and Travel in NT . . . Ext. 375^{b} (Ramsay).
  - Roman Road System Ext. 392^{a} ff.
    - Construction, Measurements, Milestones . . Ext. 392^{b} f.
    - Customs, Tolls, Duties . . Ext. 394^{a} ff.
    - Inns and Entertainment . . Ext. 393^{a} ff.
    - Maintenance, Repairs, and Safety Ext. 392^{a}.
  - Routes by Land and Sea . . . Ext. 375^{b} ff.
    - Central Route between Rome and the East . . Ext. 388^{b} ff.
    - Inter-Provincial Routes . . Ext. 389^{b} ff.
      - From the Propontis and Bosporus, Nicomedia, and Nicæa, through Bithynia, Paphlagonia, and Pontus . . Ext. 390^{b}.
      - From the Propontis, Bosporus, and Nicomedia to Dorylaion . Ext. 390^{b} f.
      - From Perga in Pamphylia to Ephesus, etc. . Ext. 391^{a}.
      - Syrian Route . Ext. 390^{a}.
      - Trade Route . Ext. 390^{a}.
    - Overland Route and Imperial Post-road from Rome to the East . . Ext. 383^{b} ff.
      - Duration of Journeys on Post-road . Ext. 385^{b} ff.
    - Rome the centre of the Empire . Ext. 375^{b}.
    - Routes from Rome—
      - to Africa . . Ext. 392^{a}.
      - to Britain . . Ext. 392^{a}.

- Roads and Travel in NT—Routes by Land and Sea from Rome—
  - to Gaul and Germany . . Ext. 391^{b}.
  - to Spain . . Ext. 392^{a}.
  - to Thrace and Constantinople Ext. 391^{a}.
  - to Upper Danube Ext. 391^{b}.
  - Seasons and Routes open for Travelling . . . Ext. 376^{b} ff.
  - Travel, Means and Popularity of . Ext. 396^{b} ff.
  - Classes of Travellers, and Motives Ext. 397^{b} f.
  - Confined to Roman Empire . . Ext. 397^{a}.
  - Correspondence . Ext. 400^{b} ff.
  - Maps, Guide-books, and Statistics . Ext. 398^{a}.
  - Means of Locomotion by Land . Ext. 398^{b}.
  - Ships and Shipping Arrangements Ext. 398^{b} f.
    - Imperial Transport Ships . Ext. 400^{b} f.
    - Passenger Ships Ext. 399^{b} f.
  - in Christian Literature . . . Ext. 396^{b} f.
  - in Classical Literature . . . Ext. 396^{b}.
  - Variations in Routes at different Seasons . . . Ext. 377^{b}.
  - Voyage from Alexandria to Rome . Ext. 379^{b}.
    - Duration of . . Ext. 381^{a}.
  - Voyage from Rome to Egypt and Palestine . . Ext. 378^{a}.
  - Voyages to Asia, Ægean, and Euxine Seas, Palestine and Egypt . Ext. 381^{b}.
- Robber, Robbery . . i. 522^{b} (Poucher).
- Robbers of Churches . i. 441^{a} (Ramsay).
- Rock . . . . . iv. 289^{a} (Selbie).
  - Name of God . . iv. 290^{a}; iii. 880^{b} f. (Whitehouse).
  - Sacred . . . . [See Stone, Worship].
- Rod . . . . . iv. 291^{a} (Mackie).
- Rodanim . . . . iv. 291^{b}; i. 615^{a} (Macpherson).
- Roe . . . . . iv. 292^{a}.
- Roebuck . . . . iv. 292^{a} (Post).
- Rogelim . . . . iv. 292^{a}.
- Rohgah . . . . iv. 292^{a}; ii. 132^{a}.
- Roimus (Ap.) . . . iv. 292^{a}.
- Roll . . . . . iv. 727^{a} (Strack).
  - Leather . . . . iv. 945^{a} (Kenyon).
  - Papyrus . . . . iv. 945^{b} (Kenyon).
- Rolle of Hampole, Psalter of . . . Ext. 238^{a} (J. H. Lupton).
- Romamti-ezer . . iv. 292^{a}; ii. 124^{b}.
- Roman . . . . iv. 292^{b} (Gwatkin).
- Roman Empire . . . iv. 293^{a} (Gwatkin).
  - Citizenship . . iv. 292^{b}; i. 444^{b} (E. R. Bernard).
  - Provinces . . . iv. 144^{a} (Headlam).
  - Religion in . . iv. 294^{a} ff.
  - and Christianity . iv. 295^{a}.
- Romans, Epistle to the iv. 295^{b} (Robertson); iii. 712^{a} (Findlay).
  - Argument and Analysis . . . iv. 299^{a} ff.
  - Authenticity . . iv. 295^{b}.
  - Date and Place of Writing . . iv. 296^{a}.
  - Doctrine—
    - Atonement . . iv. 302^{b}.
    - Christology . . iv. 302^{b}.
    - Church . . . iv. 304^{b}.
    - God . . . . iv. 301^{b} f.
    - Grace . . . iv. 304^{a}.
    - Justification by Faith . . . iv. 303^{b}.
    - Law . . . . iv. 302^{a}.
    - Man . . . . iv. 302^{b}.
    - Predestination . iv. 302^{a}, 304^{a}.
    - Spirit . . . iv. 303^{a}.
  - Importance . . iv. 300^{b}.
  - Letter or Treatise . iv. 298^{b}.
  - Materials for History of St. Paul . . iv. 304^{b}.
  - Occasion and Purpose . . . iv. 296^{b} ff.
  - Readers . . . iv. 296^{b} ff.
  - Relation to other Epistles . . . iv. 298^{b}, 301^{a}.
  - Text—Integrity and Transmission . iv. 305^{a}.
- Rome . . . . iv. 306^{a} (Patrick and Relton).
  - Associations with
    - Clement . . iv. 310^{b}.
    - Pudens . . . iv. 310^{a}.
    - Prisca and Aquila . iv. 310^{a}.
    - St. John . . iv. 309^{b}.
    - St. Paul . . iv. 308^{a}.
    - St. Peter . . iv. 309^{a}.
  - Christianity, Introduction of . . iv 307^{b} f., 297^{a} (Robertson).
  - References in Book of Revelation . iv. 257^{b} ff. (F. C. Porter).
  - Relations with Jews iv. 306^{a} ff.; Ext. 97^{b}, 100^{a}, 103^{a} ff. (Schürer).
- Roof . . . . . iv. 311^{a} (Warren); ii. 432^{a}; iv. 762^{a} (Patrick).
- Room . . . . . iv. 313^{a} (Hastings); ii. 433^{b} (Warren).
- Rose . . . . . iv. 313^{b} (Post).
- Rosh . . . . . iv. 314^{a} (Selbie); ii. 130$^{a,\,b}$ (Curtis).
- Ruby . . . . . iv. 314^{b} (J. Taylor).
- Rudder . . . . Ext. 362^{b}, 366^{a} (Blomfield).
- Rudiment . . . i. 682^{a} ff. (Massie).
- Rue . . . . . iv. 315^{a}.

- Rufus iv. 315^a (Headlam).
- Rug iii. 240^a (Selbie).
- Ruhamah iv. 315^a.
- Ruler i. 352^b (Burrows).
- Rulers of the City iv. 315^b (Dickson).
  - of the Feast i. 327^b (Plummer); ii. 253^b (Adeney).
  - of the Synagogue iv. 640^b (Bacher); Ext. 101^a (Schürer).
- Rumah iv. 315^b (Selbie).
- Rump ii. 35^b (Macalister); iv. 487^a (Post).
- Runners ii. 45^a (Hastings), 267^a (Barnes).
- Rush iv. 212^a (Post).
- Russian Versions Ext. 419^a (Bebb).
- Ruth iv. 316^a (Redpath).
- Ruth, Book of iv. 316^a (Redpath).
  - Date iv. 316^b.
  - Object iv. 316^b.
  - Place in Canon iv. 316^b; iii. 614^a (Woods).
- Rye iv. 316^b (Post).

- Sabachthani i. 684^b (Thayer).
- Sabæans, Seba, Sheba iv. 317^a (Selbie); i. 133^b, 134^b (Margoliouth); iv. 479^b ff. (Margoliouth); Ext. 85^a (McCurdy).
  - Art iv. 482^a.
  - Civilization iv. 481^b.
  - Coins iv. 479^b.
  - History iv. 480^a ff.
  - Inscriptions iv. 479^b, 482^b.
  - Language iv. 482^b.
  - Religion iv. 482^a.
- Sabakon i. 663^a.
- Sabanneus (Ap.) iv. 317^a.
- Sabannus (Ap.) iv. 317^a.
- Sabaoth [See Lord of Hosts].
- Sabateus (Ap.) iv. 317^a.
- Sabathus (Ap.) iv. 317^a.
- Sabbateus (Ap.) iv. 317^a.
- Sabbath iv. 317^b (Driver).
  - as a Covenant i. 513^b note (Davidson).
  - as a Festival i. 859^a (Harding).
  - History of Institution in OT iv. 317^b ff.
    - in JE iv. 317^b; Ext. 662^a (Kautzsch).
    - in Jeremiah iv. 318^a.
    - in Law of Holiness iv. 318^a.
    - in P iv. 318^b; Ext. 718^a (Kautzsch).
    - in post-Exilic Period iv. 318^b.
  - in Later Judaism and NT iv. 320^a ff.
    - Attitude of Christ iv. 322^a.
      - of St. Paul iv. 322^a.
  - Origin iv. 319^a ff.; Ext. 581^a (Jastrow).
  - Prohibited Labours iv. 320^a ff.; iii. 599^b (Curtis).
  - Relation to the Lord's Day iv. 322^b; iii. 139^a ff. (N. J. D. White).
- Sabbath Day's Journey iv. 323^a (Massie), 909^b (A. R. S. Kennedy).
- Sabbatical Year iv. 323^b (Harford-Battersby); i. 859^b (Harding); Ext. 717^b (Kautzsch).
  - Comparative Summary of Laws iv. 324^a ff.
  - Historical Character iv. 325^b ff.
- Sabbatistai i. 442^a (Ramsay).
- Sabbeus (Ap.) iv. 326^a.
- Sabi (Ap.) iv. 326^a.
- Sabias iv. 326^a.
- Sabie (Ap.) iv. 326^a.
- Saborai Ext. 65^b (Schechter).
- Sabta, Sabtah iv. 326^a (Margoliouth).
- Sabteca iv. 326^b (Margoliouth); i. 536^a.
- Sacar iv. 326^b; ii. 132^b.
- Sackbut iv. 326^b (Hastings).
- Sackcloth iv. 327^a (Kennedy).
- Sacraments iv. 327^b (Plummer).
  - Number iv. 329^a.
  - Under Jewish Dispensation iv. 329^b.
  - Word iv. 327^b.
    - Christian use of iv. 327^b ff. [See Baptism, Lord's Supper].
- Sacrifice iv. 329^b (W. P. Paterson).
  - Burnt-offering iv. 334^a, 337^a; iii. 587^a, 588^a (Driver); Ext. 722^a (Kautzsch).
  - Christ's Death as Sacrifice iv. 343^b ff.; ii. 631^b, 638^a (Sanday); iii. 723^b (Findlay); iv. 132^a (Driver).
  - Christ's Teaching on iv. 343^a.
  - Covenant Sacrifice iv. 335^a; i. 511^a (Davidson); Ext. 619^a (Kautzsch).
  - Definition and Name iv. 329^b f.
  - Drink-offering iv. 335^a, 339^a; Ext. 618^b (Kautzsch).
  - Efficacy iv. 333^b, 339^a.
  - Eucharistic iv. 347^b; iii. 145^b (Plummer), 316^b f. (Adeney).
  - Expiatory iv. 339^a, 347^a.
  - Guilt (Trespass)-offering iv. 337^b; Ext. 721^a (Kautzsch).
  - Heave-offering iv. 338^a.
  - Human Sacrifice iv. 334^b; Ext. 618^b f., 699^b, 793^a (Kautzsch).
    - in Apollo Worship Ext. 145^a (Farnell).
  - Incense-offering ii. 467^a ff. (Selbie).
  - Material and Varieties iv. 333^a.
  - Meal (Meat)-offering iv. 338^b; iii. 309^a (Hastings), 587^b (Driver); Ext. 722^a (Kautzsch).
  - Origin, Theories of iv. 330^b ff.
  - Peace-offering iv. 333^a, 338^a.
  - Prophets and Sacrifice iv. 335^a ff.; Ext. 685^b (Kautzsch).

- Sacrifice—
  - Propitiatory . . . iv. 130^{a} f. (Driver); Ext. 721^{a} (Kautzsch).
  - Purificatory . . . iv. 339^{b}.
  - in Religion of Greece . . . Ext. 115^{b} f., 127^{a} (Ramsay), 145^{b} (Farnell).
  - Semitic, Early . . . iv. 331^{b}.
  - Significance . . . iv. 334^{b}, 336^{a}.
  - Sin-offering . . . iv. 337^{b}; Ext. 721^{a} (Kautzsch).
  - Theory of Sacrifice . . . iv. 340^{a} ff.
    - Jewish . . . iv. 342^{a}.
    - Penal Substitution . . . iv. 340^{a}.
    - Prayer Theory . . . iv. 341^{a}.
    - Sacramental . . . iv. 341^{b}.
  - Typology . . . iv. 348^{a}.
  - Vegetable Offerings . . . iv. 335^{a}, 338^{b}.
  - Wave-offering . . . iv. 338^{a}.
  - in Anatolian Religion . . . Ext. 117^{b} (Ramsay).
  - in Ancient Israel . . . iv. 332^{b}; Ext. 618^{a} ff., 661^{a} (Kautzsch).
  - in Babylonia . . . i. 216^{b} (Hommel); Ext. 580^{a} (Jastrow).
  - in Christian Life . . . iv. 346^{b}.
  - in Deuteronomy . . . iv. 336^{b}; Ext. 685^{b} (Kautzsch).
  - in Egyptian Jewish Cultus . . . Ext. 107^{b} (Schürer).
  - in Judaism . . . iv. 342^{a} f.
  - in Leviticus . . . iii. 102^{b} ff. (Harford-Battersby).
  - in New Testament . . . iv. 343^{a} ff.
    - Hebrews . . . iv. 345^{b}.
    - St. John . . . iv. 346^{a}.
    - St. Paul . . . iv. 343^{a}, 345^{a}.
  - in Priestly Code . . . iv. 336^{b} f.; iii. 103^{b} (Harford-Battersby); Ext. 720^{a} ff. (Kautzsch). [See Offer].
- Sadducees . . . iv. 349^{a} (Eaton).
  - Characteristics—
    - Rejection of Oral Law . . . iv. 350^{b}.
    - Views on Angels . . . iv. 351^{a}; i. 97^{b} (Davidson); Ext. 288^{a} (Fairweather).
      - Criminal Law . . . iv. 351^{a}.
      - Date of Pentecost iv. 351^{a}.
      - Resurrection . . . iv. 351^{a}.
      - Ritual . . . iv. 351^{a}.
  - History and Origin . . . iv. 349^{a}; i. 119^{a} (Porter); iii. 821^{a} ff.; Ext. 52^{a} ff. (Buhl).
  - Name . . . iv. 349^{b}.
  - Sadduceism in 1 Mac. i. 119^{a} (Porter).
    - in Sirach . . . i. 119^{a} (Porter); iv. 549^{b} (Nestle).
  - and Christ . . . iv. 351^{b}.
  - and Pharisees . . . iv. 350^{b} f.; i. 119^{a} (Porter); iii. 821^{a} ff.; Ext. 53^{b} (Buhl).
- Sadduk (Ap.) . . . iv. 352^{a}.
- Sadoc (Ap.) . . . iv. 352^{a}.
- Saffron . . . iv. 352^{a} (Post).
- Sahidic Version . . . i. 669^{b} (Forbes Robinson).
- Sails . . . Ext. 366^{b} (Blomfield), 399^{a} (Ramsay).
- Saint . . . iv. 352^{a} (Bartlet).
- Salamiel (Ap.) . . . iv. 353^{a}.
- Salamis . . . iv. 353^{a} (Wilson).
- Salasadai (Ap.) . . . iv. 353^{b}.
- Salathiel . . . iv. 353^{b}.
- Salathiel, Apocalypse of i. 747^{b} (Charles).
- Salecah . . . iv. 353^{b} (Wilson).
- Salem (Ap.) . . . iv. 353^{b}.
- Salem (place) . . . iv. 353^{b} (Wilson); ii. 584^{a} (Conder).
- Salemas (Ap.) . . . iv. 354^{a}.
- Salim . . . iv. 354^{a} (Wilson).
- Salimoth (Ap.) . . . iv. 354^{b}.
- Sallai . . . iv. 354^{b}.
- Sallu . . . iv. 354^{b}; ii. 131^{b}.
- Sallumus (Ap.) . . . iv. 354^{b}.
- Salma . . . iv. 354^{b} (Redpath); ii. 126^{b}, 127^{b}, 128^{a} (Curtis).
- Salmai . . . iv. 354^{b}.
- Salmanasar (Ap.) . . . iv. 354^{b}.
- Salmon, Salma . . . iv. 354^{b} (Redpath).
- Salmone . . . iv. 355^{a}.
- Saloas (Ap.) . . . iv. 355^{a}.
- Salom (Ap.) . . . iv. 355^{a}.
- Salome . . . iv. 355^{a} (Moss); i. 322^{b} (Mayor); ii. 355^{a}, 360^{b} (Headlam).
  - Alexandra . . . iii. 186^{a} (Fairweather), 824^{a} (Eaton).
- Salt . . . iv. 355^{a} (Hull); ii. 38^{a} (Macalister).
- Salt, City of . . . iv. 355^{b}.
- Salt Mountain . . . i. 575^{b} (Hull).
- Salt, Pillar of . . . iii. 152^{a} (Driver).
- Salt Sea . . . i. 575^{a} (Hull).
- Salt, Valley of . . . iv. 356^{a} (Hull).
- Saltwort . . . iii. 223^{b} [Mallows].
- Salu . . . iv. 356^{a}.
- Salum (Ap.) . . . iv. 356^{a}.
- Salutation . . . iv. 356^{a} (Mackie).
- Salvation, Saviour . . . iv. 357^{b} (Adams Brown).
  - Conditions . . . iv. 371^{a}.
  - Idea of . . . iv. 358^{a} ff.
    - in Old Testament . . . iv. 358^{a} ff.
    - in New Testament iv. 365^{b} ff.
    - in Apocalyptic and Pseudepigrapha . . . iv. 360^{b} ff.
  - Individual and Social iv. 360^{a}, 364^{b}, 367^{b}, 370^{a}.
  - Nature of . . . iv. 369^{a}.
    - in Hebrews . . . ii. 334^{a} (Bruce).
    - in St. John's Gospel and Epistles . . . iv. 368^{a}; ii. 687^{a} (Strong), 725^{a} (Reynolds).
    - in St. Peter . . . iv. 217^{b} (Bartlet).
    - in Teaching of Christ . . . iv. 362^{b}.
    - of St. Paul . . . iv. 366^{b}.
  - Present and Future . . . iv. 370^{b}, 372^{b} f.
  - Terms for . . . iv. 357^{b}.
  - Universal . . . iv. 365^{a}, 368^{a}, 373^{b}.
- Samaias (Ap.) . . . iv. 374^{a}.

Sam'al . . . . i. 186^{b}.
Samaria (city) . . iv. 374^{a} (Wilson); i. 61^{a}.
  Fall of . . . i. 187^{a} (Hommel).
  Strategic Importance iv. 893^{a} (Barnes).
Samaria, Territory of . iv. 375^{b} (Wilson).
Samaritan Pentateuch Ext. 68^{b} (König).
  Historical Connexion between Samaritans and Pentateuch . . . Ext. 68^{b}.
  Relation to Jewish Pentateuch . . Ext. 69^{b}.
  Relation to Septuagint . . . Ext. 71^{a}.
  Source of Peculiarities Ext. 71^{b}.
Samaritans . . . iv. 376^{a} (Wilson); ii. 160^{b} (Mackie).
  Origin of Temple on Gerizim . . ii. 161^{a} (Mackie).
Samas-mudammik . i. 183^{b}.
Samas-sum-ukin . . i. 189^{b}.
Samatus (Ap.) . . iv. 376^{b}.
Samech . . . iv. 377^{a}.
Samellius (Ap.) . . iv. 377^{a}.
Sameus (Ap.) . . iv. 377^{a}.
Samgar-nebo . . iv. 377^{a} (Selbie).
Samlah . . . iv. 377^{a}.
Sammael . . . iv. 409^{b}; Ext. 290^{a}.
Sammus (Ap.) . . iv. 377^{a}.
Samos . . . . iv. 377^{a} (Wilson).
Samothrace . . . iv. 377^{a} (Ramsay).
Sampsames (Ap.) . iv. 377^{b}.
Samsi-Rammân I. . i. 180^{a}.
Samsi-Rammân II. . ii. 180^{a}.
Samsi-Rammân III. . i. 183^{a}.
Samsi-Rammân IV. . i. 185^{a}.
Samson . . . iv. 377^{b} (Budde).
  Judgeship . . iv. 379^{b}.
  Marriage . . . iv. 380^{b}.
  Name . . . iv. 377^{b}.
  Narrative . . . iv. 378^{a} ff.
    Historical Background . . iv. 378^{b}.
    Mythological Traces iv. 380^{b}; ii. 819^{a} (König).
    Religious Significance . . . iv. 379^{b}.
    Sources . . . iv. 378^{a}.
  Nazirate . . . iv. 380^{a}; Ext. 657^{b} (Kautzsch).
Samuel . . . iv. 381^{a} (Stenning); ii. 124^{a} (Curtis).
  History, Comparison of Sources . . iv. 381^{b} ff.
  Judge . . . iv. 385^{a} f.
  Levite . . . i. 697^{b} note (Redpath); iv. 70^{a} (Baudissin).
  Name . . . iv. 381^{a}.
  Nazirite? . . . iii. 498^{a} note (Eaton); Ext. 657^{b} (Kautzsch).
  Prophet . . . iv. 382^{b}.
  Seer . . . . Ext. 651^{b} (Kautzsch).
Samuel 1 and 2 . . iv. 382^{b} (Stenning).
  Analysis . . . iv. 385^{a}.
  Contents . . . iv. 383^{a}.
  Date . . . . iv. 383^{b}.
Samuel 1 and 2—
  Sources . . . iv. 383^{b}.
  Title . . . . iv. 382^{b}.
Sanaas (Ap.) . . iv. 391^{a}.
Sanabassar, Sanabassarus . . . iv. 493^{a} [Sheshbazzar].
Sanasib (Ap.) . . iv. 391^{b}.
Sanballat . . . iv. 391^{b} (Sayce).
Sanctification . . iv. 391^{b} (Bartlet); ii. 399^{a} ff. (Stevens).
  Summary of Doctrine . . . iv. 394^{a}.
  Teaching of Christ . iv. 392^{b}.
    of Hebrews . . iv. 393^{b}; ii. 334^{a} (Bruce).
      St. John . . iv. 394^{a}.
      St. Paul . . iv. 393^{a}; ii. 334^{a} (Bruce); iv. 725^{b} (Findlay).
      St. Peter . . iv. 393^{b}.
  Terminology . . iv. 391^{b} f.
Sanctuary . . . iv. 395^{a} (A. R. S. Kennedy).
  Shekel of the . . iii. 422^{a} (A. R. S. Kennedy); iv. 906^{a}.
Sand . . . . iv. 397^{a}.
Sandal . . . . i. 627^{a} (Mackie).
Sand Flies . . . iii. 112^{a} (Post).
Sand Lizard . . . iv. 556^{a} (Post).
Sanhedrin . . . iv. 397^{a} (Bacher).
  Composition . . iv. 399^{a}.
  Functions . . . iv. 401^{b}.
  Great and Little . iv. 399^{a}, 401^{b} f.
  Name . . . iv. 397^{a}.
  Origin and History . iv. 397^{b}, 402^{a}.
  Place of Meeting . iv. 399^{a}.
  President . . . iv. 400^{a}.
Sanitary Laws . . iii. 332^{b} f. (Macalister).
Sansannah . . . iv. 402^{b}.
Saph . . . . iv. 402^{b}.
Saphat (Ap.) . . iv. 402^{b}.
Saphatias (Ap.) . . iv. 402^{b}.
Saphuthi (Ap.) . . iv. 402^{b}.
Sapphira . . . iv. 403^{a}; i. 91^{b} [Ananias].
Sapphire . . . iv. 403^{a} (Taylor), 620^{a}, 621^{a} (Flinders Petrie).
Sarabias (Ap.) . . iv. 403^{b}.
Sarah . . . . iv. 403^{b} (Driver).
Saraias (Ap.) . . iv. 404^{b}; i. 206^{a} [Azaraias].
Saramel (Ap.) . . iv. 404^{b} (Wilson).
Saraph . . . . iv. 404^{b}; ii. 125^{b}.
Sarcasm . . . Ext. 164^{b} (König).
Sarchedonus (Ap.) . iv. 404^{b}.
Sardine . . . iv. 404^{b}.
Sardis . . . . iv. 404^{b} (Ramsay).
  Judaism in . . Ext. 93^{b} (Schürer).
Sardius . . . iv. 405^{b} (Taylor), 314^{b}, 620^{a} ff. (Flinders Petrie).
Sardonyx . . . iv. 406^{a} (Taylor).
Sarea (Ap.) . . . iv. 406^{b}.
Sarepta . . . iv. 963^{b} (Mackie).
Sargon . . . . iv. 406^{b} (Sayce); i. 187$^{a,\,b}$, 222^{a}, 225^{a} (Hommel).
Sarid . . . . iv. 407^{a}.
Sarothie (Ap.) . . iv. 407^{a}.
Sarsechim . . . iv. 407^{a} (T. G. Pinches).

Satan . . . . iv. 407^b (Whitehouse); i. 96^a f. (Davidson), 592^b; Ext. 288^b ff. (Fairweather), 709^b, 730^a (Kautzsch).
  Idea in Apocrypha . iv. 409^a; Ext. 288^b f. (Fairweather).
    in Later Judaism . iv. 408^b ff.
    in pre-Exilic Period iv. 407^b.
    in post-Exilic Period iv. 408^a.
  Identified with Asmodæus . . iv. 408^b f.
    with Beelzebub . iv. 409^b.
      Beliar . . iv. 411^a.
      Serpent . iv. 407^b, 409^{a,b}, 411^a, 992^a (J. H. Moulton).
  Influence of Parsism iv. 408^b, 992^a (Moulton); Ext. 289^a (Fairweather).
  NT Ideas—
    Attitude of Christ iv. 410^a, 411^b.
    Book of Revelation iv. 411^a.
    St. John . . iv. 411^b.
    St. Paul . . iv. 410^a.
  Summary of Conclusions . . . . iv. 411^b f.
Sathrabuzanes (Ap.) . iv. 412^b.
Sati . . . . . Ext. 186^b (Wiedemann).
Satrap . . . . . iii. 114^a (H. A. White).
Saturn . . . . . i. 193^a (Pinches), 215^b (Hommel), 383^b (J. Taylor); iv. 227^a (Pinches).
Satyr . . . . . iv. 412^b (Post); i. 591^a (Whitehouse).
  in Hellenic Religion Ext. 115^a (Ramsay).
Saul . . . . . iv. 412^b (Welch); ii. 131^a (Curtis).
  Death . . . . iv. 415^a, 388^b (Stenning).
  Election as king, Two Accounts of . . iv. 412^a, 385^{a,b} (Stenning).
  Madness . . . iii. 327^a (Macalister).
  Rejection . . . iv. 413^b, 386^b (Stenning).
  War with Philistines iv. 386^a (Stenning).
  and David . . iv. 414^a, 386^b ff. (Stenning).
Savaran (Ap.) . . i. 204^b [Avaran].
Save, Saving . . iv. 415^b.
Savias (Ap.) . . iv. 415^b.
Saviour . . . iv. 357^b ff. (Adams Brown).
Savour, Savoury . . iv. 415^b (Hastings).
Saw . . . . . iv. 416^a (Carslaw).
Sawing asunder . . i. 526^b (Poucher).
Scab . . . . iii. 329^{a,b} (Macalister).
Scall . . . . . iv. 416^a (Hastings); iii. 329^b (Macalister).
Scandal . . . iv. 416^b.
Scape-goat . . . i. 207^b (Driver).
  Name . . . . i. 208^b note.
Scarlet . . . . iv. 416^b (Post); i. 457^b (Thatcher).
Sceptre . . . . iv. 416^b (Selbie); iii. 83^a.
Sceva . . . . iv. 418^a (Headlam).
Schism . . . . iv. 419^a.
School . . . . i. 649^b (A. R. S. Kennedy); iv. 641^a (Bacher).
School of Tyrannus . iv. 821^b (Ramsay).
Schoolmaster . . iv. 419^a (Hastings), 641^a (Bacher).
Schools of the Prophets i. 647^a (A. R. S. Kennedy); iii. 478^a (Driver); iv. 109^a (Davidson); Ext. 656^b (Kautzsch).
Science . . . iv. 419^a.
Scorpion . . . iv. 419^b (Post).
Scourge . . . iv. 419^b (Strachan).
Scourging with Thorns i. 526^b (Poucher).
Scrabble . . . iv. 420^a.
Screech Owl . . iii. 637^b (Post).
Scribes . . . . iv. 420^a (Eaton).
  Functions . . . iv. 421^a ff.; i. 109^a (Charles), 116^a (Porter); Ext. 58^a (Schechter).
  Military . . . i. 156^a (Barnes).
  Origin and Characteristics . . . iv. 420^a; i. 647^b (A. R. S. Kennedy).
  Royal Officials . . ii. 843^b (Williams).
  and Pharisees . . iii. 825^b.
  and Priests . . i. 118^b (F. C. Porter).
Scrip . . . . . iv. 423^a.
Scripture . . . iv. 423^a (Hastings); iii. 810^b (Chase).
Scripture, Style of . Ext. 156^a (König).
  Characteristics due to Early Date and Semitic Idiosyncrasy . . Ext. 156^b.
    Hendiadys . . Ext. 157^a.
    Palindromy . . Ext. 157^b.
    Polysyndeton . Ext. 156^b.
  Critical and Doctrinal Significance . . Ext. 169^a f.
  Peculiarities common to all Scripture Writers . . Ext. 159^b ff.
    Allegory . . Ext. 163^a.
    Alliteration . . Ext. 165^a.
    Anadiplosis . . Ext. 165^b.
    Anaphora . . Ext. 165^b.
    Annominatio . Ext. 165^b.
    Assonance . . Ext. 165^a.
    Chiasmus . . Ext. 162^a.
    Climax . . . Ext. 163^b.
    Epiphora . . Ext. 165^b.
    Epizeuxis . . Ext. 163^b.
    Euphemism . . Ext. 164^b.
    Example . . Ext. 162^b.
    Fable . . . Ext. 162^b; iii. 660^a.
    Hyperbole . . Ext. 164^a.
    Irony . . . Ext. 164^a.
    Litotes . . . Ext. 164^a.
    Metaphor . . Ext. 162^b.
    Metonymy . . Ext. 159^b.
    Parable, Paramyth Ext. 162^b; iii. 660^a, 662^b.
    Paronomasia . . Ext. 165^b.
    Ploke . . . Ext. 165^b.
    Proverb . . Ext. 162^b.
    Riddle . . . Ext. 160^b.
    Sarcasm . . Ext. 164^b.
    Simile . . . Ext. 162^a.
    'Sons of' . . Ext. 158^a.

Scripture, Style of—
  Peculiarities—
    Synecdoche . . Ext. 160^a.
    Zeugma . . Ext. 160^b.
  Peculiarities of Particular Classes of Writers . . Ext. 166^a.
    Alphabetic Acrostics . . . Ext. 168^a.
    Parallelism . . Ext. 166^b.
    Rhyme . . . Ext. 168^a.
    Rhythm . . Ext. 167^a.
    Strophe . . . Ext. 168^b.
Scurvy . . . . iii. 329^a (Macalister).
Scythians . . . iv. 423^b (Prichard).
Scythopolis . . . iv. 423^b; i. 283^b (Thatcher).
Sea . . . . . iv. 423^b (Garvie).
Sea, Brazen . . . iv. 424^b (Davies); i. 505^b (Whitehouse); Ext. 671^a (Kautzsch).
Sea of Chinnereth, of Galilee . . . ii. 102^a ff. (Merrill).
Sea of Glass, Glassy Sea iv. 425^b (Massie).
Sea of Jazer . . ii. 553^a note (Merrill).
Sea of the Arabah . i. 575^a [Dead Sea].
Sea of Tiberias . . ii. 102^a ff. (Merrill).
Sea, Salt . . . i. 575^a (Hull).
Seah . . . . iv. 910^b ff. (A. R. S. Kennedy).
Seal, Sealing . . iv. 426^a (Massie), 286^a (Mackie), 513^a (J. Taylor).
  in Revelation . . iv. 259^b (Porter).
Seal, Seal Skins . i. 231^b (Post).
Seamew . . . i. 531^b [Cuckow].
Sea-monster . . . iv. 427^a (Selbie).
Seba . . . . iv. 428^a (Margoliouth), 317^a (Selbie).
Sebak . . . . Ext. 186^a (Wiedemann).
Sebam . . . . iv. 428^b.
Sebat . . . . iv. 428^b, 765^b.
Sebekemsef . . . i. 659^b.
Sebekhotep . . . i. 659^b (Crum).
Secacah . . . iv. 428^b.
Sechenias (Ap.) . . iv. 428^b, 484^a.
Sechet . . . . Ext. 182^a, 186^a (Wiedemann).
Second Coming . . iii. 674^b ff. (Adams Brown); i. 750^b, 753^b, 754$^{a,\,b}$ (Salmond).
Sect . . . . ii. 351^a [Heresy].
Secu . . . . iv. 428^b (Wilson).
Secundus . . . iv. 428^b.
Secure . . . . iv. 429^a (Hastings).
Sedekias (Ap.) . . iv. 429^a.
Seduction . . . i. 522^b (Poucher).
Seed, Seedtime . . iv. 429^a (James Patrick).
Seer . . . . iv. 108^a, 110^a (Davidson), 598^b (Whitehouse); Ext. 651^a ff. (Kautzsch).
Seethe . . . . iv. 429^b.
Segub . . . . iv. 429^b; ii. 129^b.
Seir . . . . iv. 429^b (Selbie); ii. 813^b (König).
  Mount Seir . . iv. 430^a.
Seirah . . . . iv. 430^a.
Sela . . . . iv. 430^a (Hull).
Selah . . . . iv. 431^b (J. Taylor).
Sela-hammahlekoth . iv. 432^a.
Seled . . . . iv. 432^a; ii. 126^a.
Selemia (Ap.) . . iv. 432^a.
Selemias (Ap.) . . iv. 432^a.
Seleucia . . . iv. 432^b (Wilson).
Seleucidæ . . . iv. 432^b (Macpherson).
Seleucus I. . . . iv. 432^b.
Seleucus II. . . . iv. 433^a.
Seleucus III. . . . iv. 433^a.
Seleucus IV. . . . iv. 433^a.
Self-control . . . i. 787^a (Strong).
Self-surrender . . iv. 433^b (Adeney).
Semachiah . . . iv. 435^b.
Semei (Ap.) . . . iv. 435^b.
Semeias (Ap.) . . iv. 435^b.
Semein . . . . iv. 435^b.
Semeis (Ap.) . . . iv. 435^b.
Semiramis . . . i. 185^a (Hommel), 195^a (H. A. White).
Semites . . . . Ext. 83^b (McCurdy), 72^b, 81^b (Jastrow).
  Characteristics . . Ext. 90^a.
  Classification of . Ext. 84^a ff.
  History . . . Ext. 87^b.
Senaah . . . . iv. 435^b.
Senate . . . . iv. 436^a; i. 723^a (Ramsay).
Seneh . . . . iv. 436^a.
Senir . . . . iv. 436^a (Wilson); i. 84^b (Sayce).
Sennacherib . . . iv. 436^a (Sayce); i. 188^a (Hommel).
  Assassination of . iv. 476^b (Stevenson).
Seorim . . . . iv. 436^b; ii. 123^b.
Separation . . . [See Nazirite, Uncleanness].
  Water of . . . iv. 208^b (A. R. S. Kennedy).
Sephar . . . . iv. 436^b (Margoliouth).
Sepharad . . . iv. 437^a (Sayce); iii. 579^b (Selbie).
Sepharvaim . . . iv. 437^a (Sayce); i. 21^a (Price), 91^a (Barnes).
Septuagint . . . iv. 437^b (Nestle).
  Date . . . . iv. 439^a.
  Editions, Printed . iv. 439^b ff.
  History . . . iv. 441^b ff.
  Later Greek Versions iv. 452^b.
  MSS . . . . iv. 447^b.
  Name . . . . iv. 438^a.
  Origin, Legend of . iv. 438^b.
  Use . . . . iv. 449^a ff.
  VSS made from Septuagint . . . iv. 446^a.
  and Hebrew Text . iv. 449^b.
  and Samaritan Pentateuch . . . Ext. 71^a (König).
Sepulchre . . . iv. 454^a (Nicol).
  Burial . . . . iv. 455^a.
  Burning . . . iv. 455^a.
  Holy Sepulchre . . iv. 457^b; ii. 589^b (Conder).

- Sepulchre—
  - Tombs, Masonry iv. 457^a.
    - Rock-hewn iv. 456^a.
    - Sarcophagi iv. 457^a.
    - of the Kings iv. 457^a.
- Serah iv. 458^a; ii. 131^b.
- Seraiah iv. 458^a (N. J. D. White); ii. 122^b, 123$^{a, b}$, 128^a (Curtis).
- Seraphim iv. 458^b (Strachan); i. 378^b (Ryle); Ext. 643^b (Kautzsch).
- Serar (Ap.) iv. 459^a.
- Sered iv. 459^a; ii. 129^b.
- Sergius Paulus iii. 731^a (Headlam); i. 417^a (Turner).
- Serjeants iv. 459^a.
- Sermon on the Mount. Ext. 1^a ff. (Votaw).
  - Absence from St. Mark and St. John Ext. 7^b.
  - Circumstances of Delivery Ext. 2^b.
  - Ethics i. 783^b (Strong).
  - Historicity Ext. 1^b.
  - Interpretation Ext. 14^a ff.
    - Beatitudes Ext. 14^a–22^a.
    - Fellow-men, Treatment of Ext. 40^b.
    - Kingdom Ext. 39^a.
    - Lord's Prayer Ext. 32^a–38^b.
    - Love Ext. 30^a.
    - Relation to Old Testament Ext. 22^b.
    - Righteousness Ext. 25^b, 42^b.
    - Unselfishness and Forgiveness Ext. 28^b.
    - World Mission Ext. 22^a.
    - Worship Ext. 31^a.
  - Relation to Christ's other Teaching Ext. 44^a.
  - Style Ext. 9^b.
  - Text Ext. 9^a.
  - Theme Ext. 11^a ff.
  - Transmission and Translation Ext. 3^b, 10^b.
  - Two Accounts Ext. 4^a.
    - Relative Authenticity Ext. 7^a.
  - Unity Ext. 11^b ff.
- Seron (Ap.) iv. 459^a.
- Serpent iv. 459^a (Post).
  - Brazen iii. 510^b (Kennedy); iv. 602^a (Whitehouse); Ext. 628^a (Kautzsch).
  - Constellation i. 192^b (T. G. Pinches).
  - Fiery iv. 460^a; iii. 330^a (Macalister).
  - Identified with Satan iv. 409$^{a, b}$, 411^a, 599^a (Whitehouse).
  - Water-depth as Serpent i. 504^a, 505^b (Whitehouse); Ext. 670^b (Kautzsch).
  - Worship iv. 460^a f.; Ext. 549^a (Jastrow), 616^a (Kautzsch).
    - in Greek Religion Ext. 118^a (Ramsay).
- Serpent—
  - in Babylonian Mythology i. 216^a (Hommel). [See Tiamat].
  - in Genesis i. 591^a (Whitehouse), 839^a ff. (J. H. Bernard); iv. 407^b (Whitehouse).
  - in Magic iv. 599^a (Whitehouse); Ext. 551^a (Jastrow).
- Serpent Charming iv. 460^b (Post).
- Serpentine iv. 620^a (Flinders Petrie).
- Serug iv. 461^a.
- Servant, Slave, Slavery iv. 461^a (Whitehouse).
  - Servant, Hired iv. 461^a.
    - Wages Ext. 357^b (Bennett).
  - Servant, King's ii. 843^b (Williams).
  - Slaves, Christian Attitude to iv. 468^a ff.; iii. 834^a (J. H. Bernard).
    - Female iv. 464$^{a, b}$, 465^b ff.
    - Freedom, Conditions of iv. 464^a ff., 324^a ff. (Harford-Battersby).
    - in Greek Religion Ext. 145^a (Ramsay).
    - Legislation iv. 463^b ff.
    - Name and Meaning iv. 461^b.
    - Religious Use iv. 468^b f.
    - Origin of Slavery iv. 461^b.
    - Price of Slaves iv. 466^b.
    - in Ancient Civilization iv. 462^a; Ext. 589^a ff. (Johns).
    - in Ancient Israel iv. 462^b ff.
    - from time of Jeremiah iv. 466^b.
- Servant of the Lord i. 514^b (Davidson); ii. 403^b (Swete), 459^a (Ottley), 496^b (Smith); iv. 122^b (Davidson), 468^b (Whitehouse); Ext. 707^b (Kautzsch).
- Sesis (Ap). iv. 469^a.
- Sesthel (Ap.) iv. 469^a.
- Set iv. 469^a (Hastings).
- Set (god) Ext. 195^b (Wiedemann).
- Seth iv. 470^b (Selbie).
- Sethites iv. 470^b (Selbie).
- Sethôs i. 662^a (Crum).
- Sethur iv. 470^b.
- Settle iv. 710^a (note).
- Seven ii. 773^a (Driver); iii. 562^b, 565^a (König).
- Seveneh iv. 470^b (Griffith).
- Seventy iii. 563^a (König).
- Sever iv. 471^a.
- Several iv. 471^a.
- Severianus of Gabala Ext. 507^a (Turner).
- Shaalabbin iv. 471^b.
- Shaalbim iv. 471^b (Wilson).
- Shaalbonite, The iv. 471^b.
- Shaalim, Land of iv. 471^b.
- Shaaph iv. 471^b; ii. 127$^{a, b}$.
- Shaaraim iv. 471^b (Wilson).
- Shaashgaz iv. 472^a.

Shabaka . . . ii. 426^{a} note (Whitehouse); iv. 557^{b} (Griffith).
Shabbethai . . . iv. 472^{a}.
Shachia . . . iv. 472^{a}; ii. 131^{a}.
Shaddai . . . ii. 199^{a} (Davidson).
Shadrach . . . iv. 472^{a}.
Shagarakti-shuriash . i. 182^{a}.
Shage . . . iv. 472^{a}, 475^{a}; ii. 132^{b}.
Shaharaim . . . iv. 472^{a}; ii. 132^{a}.
Shahazumah . . iv. 472^{a}.
Shalem . . . iv. 472^{b}.
Shalishah . . . iv. 472^{b}.
Shallecheth, Gate . iv. 472^{b} (Wilson).
Shallum . . . iv. 472^{b} (Selbie); ii. 122^{b}, 123$^{a.\,b}$, 124^{b}, 126$^{a.\,b}$ (Curtis).
Shallun . . . iv. 473^{a}.
Shalmai . . . iv. 354^{b} [Salmai].
Shalman . . . iv. 473^{a} (Selbie); iii. 411^{b} (Bennett).
Shalmaneser, Name . i. 177^{b}, 702^{b} [Enemessar].
Shalmaneser I. . . i. 181^{b} (Hommel).
Shalmaneser II. . . i. 183^{b} (Hommel), 339^{b} (Ryle).
Shalmaneser III. . . i. 185^{a} (Hommel).
Shalmaneser IV. . . iv. 473^{a} (Sayce), 187^{a} (Hommel).
Shama . . . iv. 473^{b}; ii. 132^{b}.
Shamash . . . Ext. 542^{b}, 565^{b} (Jastrow).
Shambles . . . iv. 473^{b}.
Shame . . . iv. 473^{b} (Garvie).
Shamefacedness . . iv. 474^{a} (Hastings).
Shamgar . . . iv. 474^{b} (Sayce); ii. 815^{a} (König).
Shamhuth . . . iv. 474^{b}, 475^{a}; ii. 132^{b}.
Shamir (person) . . iv. 474^{b}; ii. 125^{a}.
Shamir (place) . . iv. 474^{b}.
Shamlai . . . iv. 354^{b} [Salmai].
Shamma . . . iv. 474^{b}.
Shammah . . . iv. 474^{b} (Stenning); ii. 132$^{a\ bis}$, 132^{b} (Curtis).
Shammai . . . iv. 475^{b}; ii. 126^{a}, 127^{a}, 128^{a}.
  Rabbi . . . Ext. 59^{a} (Schechter).
Shammoth . . . iv. 474^{b}, 475^{a}; ii. 132$^{a.\,b}$.
Shammua . . . iv. 475^{b}; ii. 126^{b}.
Shamsherai . . . iv. 475^{b}; ii. 131^{a}.
Shape . . . iv. 475^{b} (Hastings).
Shapham . . . iv. 475^{b}; ii. 131^{b}.
Shaphan . . . iv. 475^{b} (N. J. D. White); ii. 125^{b} (Curtis).
Shaphat . . . iv. 476^{a}; ii. 127^{a}, 131^{b}.
Shaphir . . . iv. 476^{a}.
Sharai . . . iv. 476^{a}.
Sharar . . . iv. 326^{b} [Sacar]; ii. 132^{b}.
Sharezer . . . iv. 476^{a} (Stevenson).
Sharon . . . iv. 477^{a} (Selbie); iii. 46^{b} (Conder).
Sharonite . . . iv. 477^{b}.
Sharuhen . . . iv. 478^{a}; i. 660^{a}.
Shashai . . . iv. 478^{a}.
Shashak . . . iv. 478^{a}; ii. 131^{a}.
Shaul . . . iv. 478^{a}; ii. 122^{b}, 124^{a}.
Shaveh, Vale of . . iv. 478^{a}.
Shaveh-kiriathaim . iv. 478^{a}.
Shaving . . . iv. 478^{a} (Carslaw); i. 235^{a} (Macalister), 246^{b}.
Shavsha . . . iv. 478^{b} (Stevenson).
Shawl . . . i. 627^{b} (Mackie); iii. 240^{a} (Selbie).
Sheal . . . iv. 479^{a}.
Shealtiel . . . iv. 479^{a}; ii. 127^{a}.
Sheariah . . . iv. 479^{a}; ii. 131^{a}.
Shearing-house . . iv. 479^{a}.
Shear-jashub . . iv. 479^{a}; Ext. 692^{b} (Kautzsch).
Sheba (person) . . iv. 479^{a}; ii. 131^{b}.
Sheba (town) . . iv. 483^{a}.
Sheba (place) . . iv. 479^{b} (Margoliouth), 317^{a} (Selbie).
  Art . . . iv. 482^{a}.
  Civilization . . iv. 481^{b}.
  Coins . . . iv. 479^{b}.
  History . . . iv. 480^{a} ff.
  Inscriptions . . iv. 479^{b}, 482^{b}.
  Language . . iv. 482^{b}.
  Religion . . . iv. 482^{a}.
Sheba, Queen of . . iv. 567^{b} (Flint).
Shebaniah . . . iv. 483^{a}; ii. 125^{b}.
Shebarim . . . iv. 483^{a}.
Shebat . . . iv. 428^{b} [Sebat], 765^{b}.
Sheber . . . iv. 483^{a}; ii. 127^{b}.
Shebna, Shebnah . iv. 843^{a} (Stevenson); Ext. 674^{b} (Kautzsch).
Shebuel . . . iv. 484^{a}; ii. 124$^{a.\,b}$.
Shecaniah . . . iv. 484^{a}; ii. 123^{b}, 125^{b}, 127^{a}.
Shechem (person) . iv. 484^{a}; ii. 129^{b}, 292$^{a.\,b}$ (Ryle); iii. 231^{b} f. (Driver).
Shechem (place) . . iv. 484^{b} (Wilson).
Shedeur . . . iv. 486^{b}.
Sheep . . . iv. 486^{b} (Post); ii. 35^{b} (Macalister).
  Sacred . . . Ext. 115^{b} (Ramsay).
Sheep Fold . . . ii. 25^{b} (Selbie).
Sheep Gate (Market) . i. 279^{a} [Bethesda]; ii. 593^{a} (Conder).
Sheerah . . . iv. 487^{b}; ii. 130^{a}.
Shehariah . . . iv. 487^{b}; ii. 131^{a}.
Shekel . . . iii. 418^{b} ff. (A. R. S. Kennedy); iv. 902^{b} ff.
  Maccabæan . . iii. 424^{b}.
  of the Sanctuary . iii. 422^{a}.
Shekinah . . . iv. 487^{b} (Marshall); ii. 207^{b} (Davidson).
Shelah (person) . . iv. 490^{a}; ii. 125^{b}, 126^{a}.
Shelah, Pool of . . iv. 490^{a}, 515^{a} [Siloam].
Shelanites . . . iv. 490^{a} [Shelah].
Shelemiah . . . iv. 490^{a}.
Sheleph . . . iv. 490^{a} (Margoliouth).
Shelesh . . . iv. 490^{a}; ii. 132^{a}.
Shelomi . . . iv. 490^{a}.
Shelomith . . . iv. 490^{a}; ii. 127$^{a\ bis}$.
Shelomoth . . . iv. 490^{b}; ii. 123^{a}, 124$^{a.\,b}$.
Shelumiel . . . iv. 490^{b}, 492^{a} [Shemuel].
Shem . . . Ext. 83^{b} ff. (McCurdy), 72^{b}, 81^{b} (Jastrow).

Shem—
  Characteristics of Semites . . Ext. 90^{a}.
  Classification of Semitic Peoples . . Ext. 84^{a} ff.
  History . . . Ext. 87^{b}.
Shema (person) . . iv. 490^{b}; ii. 122^{b}, 127$^{a,\,b}$, 131^{a}, 132^{a}.
Shema (place) . . iv. 490^{b}.
Shemaah . . . iv. 490^{b}.
Shemaiah . . . iv. 490^{b} (N. J. D. White); ii. 122^{b}, 123^{a}, 125^{a}, 125$^{b\ quinquies}$, 127^{a} (Curtis).
Shemariah . . . iv. 491^{b}; ii. 126^{b}, 127^{a}, 132^{a}.
Shemeber . . . iv. 491^{b}.
Shemed . . . iv. 492^{a} [Shemer]; ii. 131^{a}.
Shemer . . . iv. 491^{b}; ii. 125^{a}.
Shemida . . . iv. 492^{a}; ii. 129^{b}; iii. 231^{b} f. (Driver).
Sheminith . . . iv. 154^{b} (Davison).
Shemiramoth . . iv. 492^{a}; ii. 125$^{b\ bis}$.
Shemuel . . . iv. 492^{a}; ii. 129^{a}.
Shen . . . . iv. 492^{a} (Wilson); i. 636^{b} [Ebenezer].
Shenazzar . . . iv. 492^{a}, 494^{a}; ii. 127^{a}.
Sheol in OT . . i. 739^{b} (Davidson); Ext. 668^{a} (Kautzsch).
  in Apocrypha and Apocryphal period i. 742^{b}, 743$^{a,\,b}$, 745^{b}, 747$^{a,\,b}$ (Charles); Ext. 304^{a} (Fairweather). [See Hades, Hell].
Shepham . . . iv. 492^{a}.
Shephatiah . . . iv. 492^{a}; ii. 126^{b}, 127^{a}, 129^{a}, 132^{a}.
Shephelah . . . iii. 894^{a} (Driver).
Shepher . . . iv. 492^{b}.
Shepherd . . . iv. 487^{a}.
Shephi, Shepho . . iv. 492^{b}.
Shephupham, Shephuphan . . . iv. 492^{b}; ii. 130$^{a,\,b}$.
Sherd . . . . iv. 24^{a} (Hastings).
Sherebiah . . . iv. 492^{b}.
Sheresh . . . iv. 492^{b}; ii. 129^{b}; iii. 232^{a}.
Sheriff . . . . iv. 492^{b}.
Sheshach . . . iv. 492^{b} (Selbie).
Sheshai . . . iv. 493^{a}; i. 56^{b} f. [Ahiman].
Sheshan . . . iv. 493^{a}; ii. 126^{a}.
Sheshbazzar . . iv. 493^{a} (Selbie); ii. 514^{a} (Barnes).
  Identified with Shenazzar . . . iv. 494^{a}.
    with Zerubbabel . iv. 493^{b}.
Sheshonk . . . [See Shishak].
Sheth . . . . iv. 494^{a}.
Shethar . . . iv. 494^{a}.
Shethar-bozenai . . iv. 494^{a}.
Sheva . . . . iv. 494^{a}, 478^{b} [Shavsha]; ii. 127^{b}.
Shew . . . . iv. 494^{a} (Hastings).
Shewbread . . . iv. 495^{a} (A. R. S. Kennedy); i. 318^{b} (Macalister); iv. 339^{a} (Paterson).
  History . . . iv. 495^{a} ff.
  Nomenclature . . iv. 495^{a}.
  Preparation . . iv. 496^{b}.
  Significance . . iv. 497^{a}.
  Table of . . . iv. 495^{a} ff., 662^{b}, 701^{a}, 709^{b} (Davies).
  Type of Eucharist . iii. 145^{b} (Plummer).
Shibah . . . . iv. 497^{a}.
Shibboleth . . . iv. 497^{b} (Cooke).
Shield . . . . iv. 497^{b} (Barnes); i. 330^{b} [Buckler].
  Metaphorical Use . iv. 498^{a}.
Shiggaion, Shigionoth iv. 154^{b} (Davison).
Shihor . . . . iv. 498^{b} (Wilson); i. 667^{b} (Selbie); iii. 550^{b} (Crum).
Shihor-libnath . . iv. 499^{a} (Wilson).
Shikkeron . . . iv. 499^{a}.
Shilhi . . . . iv. 499^{a}; ii. 126^{a}.
Shilhim . . . iv. 499^{a}.
Shillem, Shillemites . iv. 473^{a}; ii. 131^{b}.
Shiloah . . . iv. 515^{a} (Wilson).
Shiloh (place) . . iv. 499^{a} (Driver).
  Sanctuary . . iv. 500^{a}, 395^{b} (A. R. S. Kennedy).
    and Micah's Image ii. 818^{b} (König).
Shiloh (Genesis 49^{10}) . iv. 500^{a} (Aglen).
Shilonite . . . iv. 501^{b}. [See Shiloh].
Shilshah . . . iv. 501^{b}; ii. 132^{a}.
Shimea . . . iv. 501^{b}; ii. 123^{a}, 125^{a}, 126^{b}.
Shimeah . . . iv. 501^{b}.
Shimeam . . . iv. 501^{b} [Shimeah]; ii. 131^{b}.
Shimeath . . . iv. 501^{b} (Stevenson).
Shimeathites . . iv. 502^{a} (Stevenson); ii. 128^{a} (Curtis).
Shimei, Shimeites . iv. 502^{a} (N. J. D. White); ii. 122$^{b\ ter}$, 123^{a}, 125$^{a\ bis}$, 125$^{b\ ter}$, 127^{a}, 131^{a} (Curtis).
Shimeon . . . iv. 502^{b}.
Shimon . . . iv. 502^{b}; ii. 129^{a}.
Shimrath . . . iv. 503^{a}; ii. 131^{a}.
Shimri . . . . iv. 503^{a}; ii. 122^{b}, 125$^{a,\,b}$, 132^{b}.
Shimrith . . . iv. 501^{b} [Shimeath].
Shimron (person) . iv. 503^{a}; ii. 129^{a}.
Shimron (place) . . iv. 503^{a} (Wilson).
Shimron-meron . . iv. 503^{a} (Wilson).
Shimshai . . . iv. 503^{a}.
Shin, Sin . . . iv. 503^{a}.
Shinab . . . iv. 503^{b}.
Shinar . . . . iv. 503^{b} (T. G. Pinches); i. 88^{b} (Ryle), 224^{b} (Hommel).
Shion . . . . iv. 505^{a}.
Shiphi . . . . iv. 505^{a}; ii. 122^{b}.
Shiphmite . . . iv. 492^{a}, 539^{a} (Wilson).
Shiphrah . . . iv. 505^{a}.
Shiphtan . . . iv. 505^{a}.

Shipping laws in Ḥammurabi's Code . . Ext. 593^{a} ff. (Johns).
Ships . . . . iv. 505^{a} (Hull); Ext. 359^{b} (Blomfield).
  Anchor . . . Ext. 363^{a}, 366^{b}.
  Assyrian Ships . iv. 506^{a}.
  Egyptian Ships . Ext. 360^{b} ff.
  Greek Ships . . iv. 506^{a}.
  Helps, Undergirding Ext. 367^{a}; ii. 347^{b} (Hastings).
  Masts . . . Ext. 363^{a}.
  Oars . . . . Ext. 362^{a}, 365^{a}, 366^{b}.
  Phœnician Ships . iv. 505^{b}; Ext. 364^{b}.
  Roman Ships . . Ext. 365^{b} ff., 398^{b} ff. (Ramsay).
  Rudder . . . Ext. 362^{b}, 366^{a}.
  Sails . . . . Ext. 366^{b}, 399^{a} (Ramsay).
  Solomon's Ships . Ext. 360^{a}, 363^{b}.
  Tarshish, Ships of . Ext. 360^{a}; iv. 684^{a} (Max Müller).
  in OT . . . Ext. 359^{b} ff.
  in NT . . . iv. 506^{b}; Ext. 365^{a} ff.
    Routes in NT Times [See Roads and Travel].
    St. Paul's Ship . Ext. 365^{b} ff.
Shisha . . . . iv. 479^{a} (Stevenson).
Shishak (Sheshonk, Sousakim) . . iv. 506^{b} (Griffith); i. 662^{b} (Crum); iii. 819^{a}, 820^{b}.
Shitrai . . . iv. 506^{b}.
Shittah, Shittim . . iv. 507^{a} (Post).
Shittim (place) . . iv. 507^{a} (Chapman).
Shiza . . . . iv. 507^{b}; ii. 132^{b}.
Shoa . . . . iv. 507^{b} (Wilson); iii. 10^{b} (Driver).
Shobab . . . iv. 507^{b}; ii. 126^{b}, 127^{b}.
Shobach . . . iv. 507^{b} (Stenning).
Shobai . . . . iv. 507^{b}.
Shobal . . . . iv. 508^{a}; ii. 127^{b}.
Shobek . . . iv. 508^{a}.
Shobi . . . . iv. 508^{a} (Stenning).
Shoe . . . . iv. 508^{a} (Mackie); Ext. 171^{b} f. (König).
Shoham . . . iv. 508^{b}; ii. 125^{a}.
Shomer . . . iv. 491^{b}, 501^{b}; ii. 131^{b}, 132^{a}.
Shophach . . . iv. 507^{b}.
Shoshannim, Shoshannim-eduth . . iv. 155^{a} (Davison).
Shovel . . . . iv. 509^{a} (Selbie).
Shrewd . . . iv. 509^{a} (Hastings).
Shrine . . . . i. 606^{a} (Ramsay); Ext. 121^{b}.
Shroud . . . iv. 509^{a} (Hastings).
Shu . . . . Ext. 185^{a} (Wiedemann).
Shua . . . . iv. 509^{b}; ii. 125^{b}, 131^{b}.
Shuah . . . . iv. 509^{b}; i. 183^{a} (Hommel); iv. 842^{a} (Pinches).
Shual (person) . . iv. 509^{b}; ii. 132^{a}.
Shual (place) . . iv. 509^{b}.
Shubael . . . iv. 484^{a} [Shebuel].
Shuhah . . . iv. 509^{b}; ii. 128^{b}.
Shuham . . . iv. 509^{b}; ii. 131^{b}.
Shuhite . . . iv. 509^{b} [Shuah]; i. 300^{a} (Davison).
Shulammite . . . iv. 592^{b} (Rothstein), 510^{a} (Stevenson).
Shumathites . . iv. 509^{b}; ii. 127^{b}.
Shunammite . . iv. 510^{a} (Stevenson), 592^{b} (Rothstein).
  Son of . . . iii. 328^{a} (Macalister).
Shunem . . . iv. 510^{a} (Stevenson).
Shuni, Shunites . . iv. 510^{b}; ii. 131^{b}.
Shupham, Shuphamites, Shuppim . . . iii. 456^{b} [Muppim]; iv. 492^{b} [Shephupham].
Shur . . . . iv. 510^{b} (Driver).
Shushan . . . iv. 510^{b} (Sayce); i. 675^{a}.
Shushanchites . . iv. 511^{b}; i. 675^{a} (Sayce).
Shushan-eduth . . iv. 155^{a} (Davison).
Shuthelah . . . iv. 511^{b} (Bennett); ii. 130^{a} (Curtis).
Shuttle . . . iv. 511^{b}, 901^{a} (H. Porter).
Sia, Siaha . . . iv. 511^{b}.
Sibbecai . . . iii. 309^{b} [Mebunnai]; ii. 132$^{a,\, b}$.
Sibboleth . . . iv. 497^{b} (Cooke).
Sibmah . . . iv. 428^{b} [Sebam].
Sibraim . . . iv. 511^{b}.
Sibylline Oracles . Ext. 66^{b} (Rendel Harris); i. 743^{b} (Charles); iii. 227^{b} (James).
Sicarii . . . . ii. 2^{a} (Robertson).
Siccuth . . . i. 193^{a} note (Pinches), 215^{b} (Hommel), 383^{b} (J. Taylor); iv. 227^{a} (Pinches).
Sick, Sickness . . iii. 322^{b} f. (Macalister).
Sickle . . . . iv. 512^{a}; i. 50^{a} (J. W. Paterson).
Sicyon (Ap.) . . iv. 512^{a} (Redpath).
Siddim, Vale of . . iv. 512^{a} (Driver).
Side (Ap.) . . . iv. 512^{b} (Wilson); iii. 658^{b} (Ramsay).
Sidon, Sidonians . . iv. 980^{a} ff. (Mackie).
  Alphabet . . . i. 73^{b} (I. Taylor).
Siglos . . . . iii. 421^{a} (A. R. S. Kennedy).
Sign . . . . iv. 512^{b} (J. H. Bernard); iii. 384^{a}.
Signet . . . . iv. 513^{a} (J. Taylor); ii. 773^{b} (Driver); iv. 286^{a} (Mackie), 426^{a} (Massie).
Sihon . . . . iv. 513^{b} (Chapman); iii. 409^{b} (Bennett).
Silas, Silvanus . . iv. 514^{a} (Cowan); iii. 791^{a} (Chase).
Silk . . . . i. 624^{a} (Mackie).
Silla . . . . iv. 515^{a}.
Siloam . . . . iv. 515^{a} (Wilson).
  Inscription . . iv. 515^{b}; ii. 597$^{a,\, b}$ (Conder); iii. 560^{b} (König); iv. 907^{b} (A. R. S. Kennedy).
  Pool . . . . iv. 515^{a} ff.
  Tower . . . iv. 516^{b}.
Silvanus . . . iv. 514^{a} (Cowan); iii. 790^{a}, 791^{a} (Chase).
Silver . . . . iv. 516^{b} (James Patrick); iii. 375^{b} (Hull).

- Silver—
  - Relative Value of Gold and . . . iv. 517^{a}; iii. 418^{b} ff. (A. R. S. Kennedy); iv. 905^{b} (Kennedy).
- Silverling . . . iii. 432^{a} (A. R. S. Kennedy).
- Simeon (person) . . iv. 517^{b} (Selbie); ii. 122^{b} (Curtis).
- Simeon (tribe) . . iv. 518^{a} (Selbie).
- Simile . . . . Ext. 162^{a} (König).
- Similitude . . . iv. 519^{a} (Hastings).
- Similitudes (Book of Enoch) . . . i. 706^{b}, 707^{b} (Charles).
- Simon . . . . iv. 519^{a} (Selbie).
  - the Just . . . iv. 519^{b}; i. 61^{a} (Moss); ii. 597^{b} (Conder).
- Simon Magus . . iv. 520^{a} (Headlam).
  - Legend, Growth of . iv. 525^{a}; iii. 778^{b} (Chase).
  - Modern Critical Views . . . iv. 523^{b}.
  - Relation to Faust Legend . . . iv. 527^{a}.
  - Relation to St. Paul . iv. 524^{a} ff.
    - to St. Peter . . iv. 523^{a} ff.; iii. 763^{a}, 773^{a}, 775^{a}, 778^{b} (Chase).
  - Simony . . . iv. 527^{a}.
  - Teaching . . . iv. 520^{b} ff.
    - Affinities of System iv. 526^{b}.
  - in Apocryphal Acts . iv. $523^{a, b}$, 525^{b}; iii. 773^{a}ff. (Chase).
  - in Clementine Literature . . . iv. 522^{b}, 526^{a}; iii. 775^{a} ff. (Chase).
  - in NT . . . iv. 520^{a}.
  - in Patristic Literature . . . iv. 520^{a}.
- Simple, Simplicity . iv. 527^{b} (Hastings).
- Simplicity . . . iv. 527^{b} (John Patrick).
- Sin . . . . . iv. 528^{a} (E. R. Bernard).
  - Christ's Teaching on iv. 532^{b}.
  - Forgiveness of . . [See Forgiveness].
  - Heredity . . . iv. 534^{b}; i. 842^{b} ff. (J. H. Bernard); ii. 350^{a} (J. H. Bernard).
  - Original . . . iv. 528^{b}, 531^{b} f.; i. 251^{a} (Charles); Ext. 666^{a}, 725^{b} (Kautzsch).
  - Result of the Fall . i. 840^{b} ff. (J. H. Bernard); Ext. 289^{b}, 292^{b} f. (Fairweather).
  - Seat of . . . iv. 535^{a}.
  - Terminology in OT . iv. 529^{a}.
    - Guilt . . . iv. 529^{b}.
    - Iniquity . . iv. 529^{a}.
    - Sin . . . iv. 529^{a}.
    - Transgression . iv. 529^{b}.
    - Wickedness . . iv. 529^{b}.
  - Terminology in NT . iv. 532^{a}.
  - Unpardonable . . i. 305^{b} (Massie); ii. 57^{b} f. (Bethune-Baker).
  - and Death . . iv. 535^{a}; i. 841^{a}, 845^{a} (J. H. Bernard); iii. 80^{a} (Denney), 117^{b}(Martin), 721^{a} (Findlay).
- Sin—
  - and Law . . . iv. 535^{a}; iii. 79^{a} ff. (Denney), 719^{b} (Findlay).
  - and Suffering . . iv. $531^{a, b}$; ii. 667^{a} ff. (Davison); iv. 159^{a} (Davison).
  - in OT . . . iv. 528^{a} ff.
    - in Job . . . iv. 531^{b}.
    - in Mosaic Covenant iv. 529^{a}.
    - in pre-Mosaic Religion . . . iv. 528^{b}.
    - in Prophets . . iv. 530^{b}.
    - in Proverbs . . iv. 531^{a}.
    - in Psalms . . iv. 531^{a}, 157^{b} (Davison).
  - in Apocrypha . . iv. 531^{b} f.
    - 2 Esdras . . iv. 532^{a}.
    - Prayer of Manasses iv. 532^{a}.
    - Sirach . . . iv. 531^{b}.
    - Wisdom . . iv. 532^{a}.
  - in NT . . . iv. 532^{a} ff.
    - Hebrews . . iv. 534^{a}.
    - St. James . . iv. 533^{b}.
    - St. John's Gospel . iv. 533^{a}.
      - Epistles . . iv. 535^{b}.
    - St. Paul . . iv. 534^{a} ff.; i. 841^{a} ff. (J. H. Bernard); iii. 720^{b}f. (Findlay).
    - Synoptic Gospels . iv. 532^{b}.
- Sin (city) . . . iv. 536^{a} (Griffith).
- Sin (god) . . . iii. $434^{a, b}$ (T. G. Pinches); Ext. 541^{b} ff. (Jastrow).
- Sin, Wilderness of . iv. 536^{a} (Chapman).
- Sinai, Mount . . iv. 536^{b} (Rendel Harris); i. 804^{a}; iii. 366^{a} (Chapman).
- Sinai, Peninsula . . iv. 536^{b} (Rendel Harris).
  - Geology . . . ii. 152^{b} (Hull).
  - Mines . . . iii. 376^{a} (Hull).
- Sinaiticus, Codex . i. 1^{a} (Murray).
- Sincere. . . . iv. 538^{a}.
- Sinew that shrank . ii. 39^{a} (Macalister).
- Singers, Singing . . iv. 33^{b} ff. (Selbie), 74^{b}, 80^{b}, 92^{b} f., 95^{a} (Baudissin).
- Singular . . . iv. 538^{b} (Hastings).
- Sinim . . . . iv. 538^{b} (Wilson).
- Sinites . . . . iv. 538^{b}; i. 184^{b}.
- Sin-offering . . . iv. 337^{b} (W. P. Paterson); Ext. 721^{a} (Kautzsch).
- Sion . . . . iv. 539^{a}.
- Siphmoth . . . iv. 539^{a}.
- Sippai . . . . iv. 402^{b} [Saph].
- Sir (god) . . . Ext. 549^{a} (Jastrow).
- Sirach, Book of . . iv. 539^{a} (Nestle).
  - Author . . . iv. 541^{b} ff.
  - Contents . . . iv. 549^{b} ff.
  - Editions . . . iv. 542^{b} f.
  - Eschatology . . iv. 550^{b}; i. 742^{b} (Charles); iv. 233^{a} (E. R. Bernard).
  - History . . . iv. 539^{a}.
  - Importance . . iv. 539^{b}.
  - Language. . . iii. $35^{a, b}$ (Margoliouth); iv. 13^{b} (Budde).
  - Name . . . iv. 540^{b} f.

Sirach, Book of—
  Place in Bible . . iv. 539^b.
  Relation to Tobit . iv. 789^a (Marshall).
  Quotations of Latin Fathers . . . iv. 545^b.
  Text, Greek . . iv. 543^b f.
    Hebrew . . . iv. 546^b ff.
    Syriac . . . iv. 546^a.
  Theology . . . iv. 549^b ff.
    Doctrine of God . iv. 550^a ; Ext. 276^b (Fairweather).
    Free Will . . Ext. 293^b (Fairweather).
    Sadduceism . . iv. 549^b ; i. 119^a (Porter).
    Satan . . . iv. 409^a (Whitehouse).
    Sin . . . iv. 531^b (E. R. Bernard).
  Use in Christian Church . . . iv. 550^b.
  Versions . . . iv. 544^a ff.
    Arabic . . . iv. 545^a.
    Armenian . . iv. 544^b.
    Coptic . . . iv. 545^a.
    Ethiopic . . iv. 545^a.
    Georgian . . iv. 545^a.
    Latin . . . iv. 545$^{a,\ b}$.
    Palæo-Slavonic . iv. 545^a.
    Syriac . . . iv. 544^b.
  Wisdom Teaching . iv. 927^b (Siegfried) ; Ext. 281^b f. (Fairweather).
Sirah, Well of . . iv. 551^a.
Sirgullah . . . i. 224^b (Hommel) ; Ext. 533^b (Jastrow).
Sirion . . . . iv. 551^a.
Sisera . . . . iv. 551^b (Cooke).
Sisinnes (Ap.) . . iv. 552^a.
Sismai . . . . iv. 552^a ; ii. 126^a.
Sister . . . i. 848^b (Bennett).
Sith . . . . iv. 552^a (Hastings).
Sithri . . . . iv. 552^a ; ii. 125^a.
Sitnah . . . . iv. 552^a.
Sivan . . . . iv. 552^b, 765^b.
Skill . . . . iv. 552^b.
Skin Diseases . . iii. 329^a (Macalister).
Skull, Fracture of . iii. 329^a (Macalister).
Skull, Place of a . . ii. 226^a (Warren).
Slander . . . iv. 552^b (Garvie) ; i. 522^b (Poucher).
Slave, Slavery . . iv. 461^a (Whitehouse).
  Christian Attitude to iv. 468^a ff. ; iii. 834^a (J. H. Bernard).
  Female . . . iv. 464$^{a,\ b}$, 465^b ff.
  Freedom, Conditions of . . . iv. 464^a ff., 324^a ff. (Harford-Battersby).
    in Greek Religion . Ext. 145^a (Ramsay).
  Legislation . . iv. 463^b ff.
  Name and Meaning . iv. 461^b.
    Religious Use . iv. 468^b f.
  Origin of Slavery . iv. 461^b.
  Price of Slaves . . iv. 466^b.
  in Ancient Civilization . . . iv. 462^a ; Ext. 589^a ff. (Johns).
  in Ancient Israel . iv. 462^b ff.
  from time of Jeremiah . . . iv. 466^b.
Slavonic Version . . iv. 863^b (Bebb).
Slaying by Spear or Sword . . . i. 526^b (Poucher).
Sleight . . . . iv. 533^a (Hastings).
Slime . . . . i. 304^b [Bitumen] ; iii. 438^a [Mortar].
Sling . . . . iv. 553^a (Barnes).
Smith . . . . iv. 553^b (Carslaw) ; i. 60^b (Robertson).
  Tools . . . iv. 796^b f.
Smyrna . . . iv. 553^b (Ramsay).
  Church . . . iv. 554^b ff.
  Jewish Inscriptions . Ext. 93^b (Schürer).
Snail . . . . iv. 556^a (Post).
Snow . . . . iv. 556^a (Nicol).
Snuffers, Snuffdish . iv. 557^a (A. R. S. Kennedy) ; i. 366^a.
So . . . . . iv. 557^b (Griffith) ; i. 536^a (Margoliouth), 663^a (Crum) ; ii. 426^a note (Whitehouse).
Soap, Sope . . . iv. 557^b (James Patrick).
Sober, Sobriety . . iv. 558^a (Hastings).
Soco, Socoh . . . iv. 558^b (Wilson) ; ii. 129^a (Curtis).
Sod, Sodden . . . iv. 429^b [Seethe].
Sodi . . . . iv. 558^b.
Sodom . . . . iv. 558^b (Hull).
  Vine of . . . iv. 869^b (Post) ; ii. 34^b (Macalister).
Sodomite . . . iv. 559^a (Selbie) ; i. 522^b (Poucher).
Sodomitish Sea (Ap.) . iv. 559^a.
Sojourner . . . ii. 156^a (Selbie).
Sokaris . . . Ext. 186^a (Wiedemann).
Solemn, Solemnity . iv. 559^a (Hastings).
Solomon . . . iv. 559^b (Flint) ; ii. 511^b (Barnes).
  Genealogy . . ii. 126^b (Curtis).
  Glory . . . iv. 567^a.
  Judgment . . . iv. 562^b.
  Name . . . iv. 559^b f.
  Palace . . . iii. 640^a (Bennett).
  Policy, Domestic . iv. 564^b ff.
    Foreign . . . iv. 564^a.
    Military . . iv. 563^a f.
  Prayer at Dedication of Temple . . iv. 40^a (E. R. Bernard).
  Religion . . . iv. 567^b f.
    Apostasy . . iv. 568^a.
  Ships . . . iv. 564^a ; Ext. 360^a, 363^b (Blomfield).
  Sources for History . iv. 560^a.
  Taxation . . . iv. 565$^{a,\ b}$; ii. 843^a (Williams).
  Wealth . . . iv. 566^b.
  Wisdom . . . iv. 565^b ff.
  Writings . . . iv. 560^b.
Solomon's Porch . . iv. 21^b, 713^b (Davies).
Solomon's Servants . iv. 569^b (J. Taylor), 74^b (Baudissin).
Someis (Ap.) . . iv. 570^a.
Sometime, Sometimes . iv. 570^a.
Son . . . . . i. 848^a ff. (Bennett).

'Son of,' 'Sons of' . Ext. 158^a (König). [See Sons of God].
Son of God . . . iv. 570^a (Sanday); ii. 329^a (Bruce), 724^a (Reynolds), 850^b (Orr); iii. 759^a (Chase).
  Christian Use, Origin of . . . . . iv. 577^b.
  in Early Christian Church . . iv. 577^b.
    Apostles' Creed . iv. 578^b.
    Marcellus of Ancyra . . . iv. 578^b.
    sub-Apostolic Fathers . . . iv. 578^a.
  in NT — Term in Gospels . . iv. 571^b.
    in Rest of NT . iv. 573^b.
    in St. Peter's Confession . . iv. 572^a, 574^b.
    in Voice at Baptism and Transfiguration . . . iv. 572^a.
    Titles, 'Father' and 'Son,' παῖς θεοῦ . . . iv. 572^b, 574^a.
      Significance for Apostles . iv. 577^a.
        for Christ . iv. 574^b ff.
        for Jewish and non-Jewish Contemporaries . . iv. 574^a.
  in OT—Applied to Angels . . iv. 570^b. [See Sons of God].
    Judges or Rulers . iv. 570^b.
    Messiah . . iv. 570^b f.
    Theocratic King and People . iv. 570^b.
  in other Jewish Writings . . . iv. 571^b.
Son of Man . . . iv. 579^a (Driver); ii. 724^a (Reynolds), 849^a, 850^a (Orr).
  in Aramaic and Biblical Hebrew . . iv. 580^a, 582^a f.
  in Daniel . . . i. 556^a (Curtis).
  in Fourth Gospel . iv. 588^b.
  in Similitudes of Enoch, and 2 Esdras iv. 583$^{a, b}$.
  in Synoptic Gospels . iv. 579^a f., 587^b f.
  Lietzmann's Theory —Term not used by Christ . . iv. 581^a ff.
  Meaning Christ intended to convey . iv. 580^b ff., 585^b.
  Origin and Meaning as used in NT . iv. 583^a ff.
  Summary of Opinions as to Meaning . iv. 580^b f., 586^a ff.
Song of Songs . . . iv. 589^a (Rothstein).
  Author . . . iv. 597^a.
  Canonicity . . iv. 589^a; iii. 613^b (Woods).
  Date . . . . iv. 597^a.
Song of Songs—
  Language . . . iv. 597^b; iii. 33^b (Margoliouth).
  Liturgical use . . iv. 589^b.
  Methods of Interpretation . . iv. 589^b ff.
    Allegorical . . iv. 589^b ff.
    Dramatical Theory iv. 591^a ff.
    Nuptial Songs . iv. 592^b ff.
  Name . . . . iv. 589^a.
  Place of Composition iv. 597^a.
  Poetry . . . iv. 591^a, 595^b, 597^b, 10^b, 13^a (Budde).
Song of the Three Children . . iv. 754^b (Marshall).
  Authorship . . iv. 755^b.
  Canonicity . . iv. 756^a.
  Contents . . . iv. 754^b.
  Literary Estimate . iv. 755^a.
  Original Language . iv. 755^b.
  Versions . . . iv. 756^a.
Sons of God . . . ii. 215^b (Candlish); iv. 570^b (Sanday), 597^b (Selbie); Ext. 643^a (Kautzsch).
Sonship of Believers . i. 40^b ff. (Candlish); ii. 217^a ff. (Candlish), 335^a (Bruce), 472^b (A. Martin).
Soothsayer, Soothsaying iv. 598^a (Whitehouse).
  Arabic . . . iv. 598^a ff.
  Assyrian . . . iv. 600^b.
  Babylonian . . iv. 599^a, 601$^{a, b}$; Ext. 551^b ff. (Jastrow).
  Egyptian . . . iv. 600^a.
  Through Dreams . iv. 600^b.
  [See Divination, Magic].
Sop . . . . . iv. 602^a (Hastings); ii. 43^a (Macalister).
Sopater . . . iv. 602^a.
Sope . . . . . iv. 557^b [Soap].
Sophereth . . . iv. 602^a.
Sopherim . . . iv. 731^a (Strack); Ext. 58^a (Schechter).
Sophonias (Ap.) . . iv. 602^a.
Sorcery . . . iv. 602^a (Whitehouse).
  Amulets in . . iv. 603^a, 604^a, 605^a; i. 88^b.
  Arabic . . . iv. 602^b f.
  Babylonian . . Ext. 551^a ff. (Jastrow).
  Evil Eye . . . iv. 604^b; iii. 208^a; Ext. 154^a (Ramsay).
  Greek . . . iv. 605^b; Ext. 153^b f. (Ramsay).
  Incantations . . iv. 603^b f., 605^b; Ext. 551^b (Jastrow).
  Name, Power of the iv. 604^a f.; Ext. 181^a (Wiedemann). [See Name, Power of].
  Necromancy . . iv. 606^a; i. 612^b (Jevons).
  Spitting in . . iv. 602^b, 603^b.
  [See Exorcism, Magic, Soothsayer].
Sore . . . . iv. 607^b (Hastings).
Soreg . . . . i. 60^a (Moss).

Sorek, Valley of . . iv. 607^a (Wilson).
Soris . . . . i. 658^a (Crum).
Sorrel . . . . i. 458^a (Thatcher).
Sosipater . . . iv. 607^b.
Sosthenes . . . iv. 607^b (Dickson).
Sostratus (Ap.) . . iv. 608^a.
Sotai . . . . iv. 608^a.
Soul . . . . iv. 608^a (Laidlaw), 164^b, 166^b; Ext. 666^b (Kautzsch).
  Immortality . . Ext. 291^b (Fairweather). [See Immortality].
  Pre-existence . . iv. 164^b, 63^a (Marshall); Ext. 291$^{a.\,b}$ (Fairweather).
  Souls of the Martyrs iv. 260^a (F. C. Porter).
  Transmigration of . Ext. 292^a (Fairweather).
Sousakim . . . [See Shishak].
South . . . . iii. 505^b [Negeb].
Sow . . . . iv. 633^a (Post).
Sower, Sowing . . i. 49$^{a.\,b}$ (J. W. Paterson).
Spain . . . . iv. 608^b (James Patrick).
  St. Paul's Visit to . iv. 609^a; iii. 714^a (Findlay).
Span . . . . iv. 909^a (A.R.S.Kennedy).
Spanish Versions . . Ext. 408^b (Bebb).
Sparrow . . . iv. 609^a (Post); ii. 63^b.
Sparta . . . . iii. 15^a [Lacedæmonians].
Speakers ('Amoraim) . Ext. 64^a (Schechter).
Speaking, Evil . . iv. 552^b (Garvie); i. 522^b (Poucher).
Spear . . . . iv. 609^b (Barnes); ii. 841^b (Williams).
Spearmen . . . iv. 610^a.
Speckled Bird . . iv. 610^a (Selbie); i. 458^a (Thatcher); ii. 440^a (Post).
Spectacle . . . iv. 742^b (Headlam).
Spelt . . . . iv. 316^b (Post); i. 316^b (Macalister).
Sphinx . . . . Ext. 190^a (Wiedemann).
Spice, Spices . . iv. 610^b (Post).
Spider . . . . iv. 611^a.
Spikenard . . . iv. 611^a (Post); iii. 593^b (Macalister).
Spinning . . . iv. 611^b (H. Porter).
Spirit . . . . iv. 611^b, 167^b (Laidlaw); Ext. 666^b (Kautzsch).
  Eternal . . . ii. 333^b (Bruce).
  Evil Spirit . . [See Demon].
    from God . . ii. 404^a (Swete); iii. 361$^{a.\,b}$ (James Patrick); iv. 116^b (Davidson).
  Holy Spirit . . [See Holy Spirit].
Spirit and Flesh . . iv. 612^a; ii. 410^a (Swete); iii. 720$^{a.\,b}$ (Findlay).
Spirit and Letter . . ii. 410^a (Swete).
Spirit and Soul . . iv. 166^b (Laidlaw); Ext. 666^b (Kautzsch).
Spirits in Prison . . i. 754^a (Salmond); iii. 795$^{a.\,b}$ (Chase).
Spite . . . . iv. 612^b.
Spitting . . . iv. 602^b, 603^b (Whitehouse).
Sponge . . . . iv. 612^b (Post).
Spotted . . . i. 458^a.
Spring . . . . ii. 62^a (Hull); iii. 643^b (Conder).
  Sacred . . . iv. 395^b (A. R. S. Kennedy); Ext. 120^a (Ramsay), 189^a (Wiedemann), 616^b (Kautzsch).
  Thermal . . . ii. 62^a, 80^a (Warren).
Spy . . . . i. 767^b (Hastings).
Stachys . . . iv. 613^a.
Stacte . . . . iv. 613^a (Post); i. 69^a; iii. 465^a.
Staff . . . . iv. 291^b (Mackie), 417^b (Selbie), 553^b (Barnes).
Stag sacred to Artemis Ext. 118^a (Ramsay).
Stagger . . . iv. 613^a.
Stallion . . . iv. 613^a.
Stammering . . iii. 327^b (Macalister).
Standard . . . i. 237^b (Barnes); iv. 14^a.
Star . . . . iv. 613^a (Benecke); i. 191^b ff. (T. G. Pinches).
  Identified with Angels i. 95^b (Davidson); ii. 430^a (Driver).
    with Heathen Deities . . i. 592^a (Whitehouse).
  Morning Star . . iii. 159^a (Woods); i. 191^b, 193^a (T. G. Pinches), 574^a (Hastings).
  of Magi . . . iii. 204^b f.; i. 404^a (Turner).
  Worship . . . i. 191^a, 193^a (T. G. Pinches), 215^b (Hommel), 383^b (J. Taylor); ii. 429^b ff. (Driver), 445^b (W. P. Paterson); Ext. 700^a (Kautzsch).
Stater . . . iii. 421^a, 428^b (A. R. S. Kennedy).
Stealing . . . i. 522^b (Poucher).
  Manstealing . . iii. 239^a (Selbie); Ext. 589^b (Johns).
Steel . . . . iv. 613^b (James Patrick).
Stephanas . . . iv. 613^b (Headlam).
Stephen . . . iv. 613^b (Grieve).
  Speech of . . . iv. 614^b f.; i. 33^b f. (Headlam).
Steward, Stewardship . iv. 615^b (Selbie).
Stigmata . . . i. 538^b (A. R. S. Kennedy); iii. 245^a (Hastings), 330^a (Macalister).
Still . . . . iv. 615^b (Hastings).
Stnḫt . . . . i. 662^a.
Stocks . . . . i. 527^a (Poucher).
Stoics . . . . iv. 616^a (Stock); Ext. 150^a (Ramsay).
Stomach . . . iv. 617^a (Hastings).
Stomacher . . . iv. 617^a (Selbie); i. 628^a (Mackie).
Stone . . . . iv. 617^b (James Patrick).
  Building . . . i. 143^b (Petrie); ii. 154^a (Hull).
  Worship . . . i. 278^a (Cooke); iii. 879^b Whitehouse); Ext. 110^b, 119^b (Ramsay), 189^a (Wiedemann), 616^a (Kautzsch).
  [See Geology].

Stones, Precious . . iv. 619^a (Flinders Petrie).
Stoning . . . . i. 527^a (Poucher).
Stony . . . . . iv. 621^b.
Stool . . . . . iv. 621^b (Hastings); iii. 331^b (Macalister), 367^a (H. A. White).
Storax . . . . . iv. 20^b [Poplar], 613^a [Stacte].
Stork . . . . . iv. 621^b (Post).
Story . . . . . iv. 622^a (Hastings).
Stout, Stoutness . . iv. 622^a.
Strait . . . . . iv. 622^b (Hastings).
Strange, Stranger . iv. 622^b (Selbie). [See Foreigner, Ger].
Strange Fire . . . iii. 471^b (Selbie).
Strangling . . . i. 527^a (Poucher).
Straw . . . . . iv. 623^b; i. 50^a.
Stream. . . . . i. 329^a (Hull); iii. 642^b ff. (Conder); iv. 286^b (Selbie).
Street . . . . . iv. 624^a (Ewing).
  called Straight. . i. 547^b (Ewing).
Strength of Israel . iv. 624^b (Selbie); Ext. 683^b note (Kautzsch).
Strike, Stroke . . iv. 624^b (Hastings).
Stripes. . . . . i. 527^a (Poucher).
Stromata . . . . Ext. 492^b note (Turner).
Strong Drink . . . ii. 33^b (Macalister).
Strophe . . . . iv. 7^b (Budde); Ext. 168^b (König).
Stubble . . . . iv. 625^a (Post).
Stuff . . . . . iv. 625^b.
Stumbling-block, -stone iv. 625^b.
Su, Sutæans. . . . i. 180^b, 222^a (Hommel).
Sua (Ap.) . . . . iv. 625^b.
Suah . . . . . iv. 625^b; ii. 132^a.
Subai (Ap.) . . . iv. 625^b.
Subas (Ap.) . . . iv. 625^b.
Suburbs . . . . iii. 673^a (Driver); ii. 594^a note, 598^a (Conder).
Sucathites . . . iv. 625^b; ii. 128^a.
Succeed, Success . . iv. 625^b (Hastings).
Succoth . . . . iv. 626^a (Chapman); i. 803^{a,b}; iii. 887^a (Sayce).
Succoth-benoth . . iv. 626^b (Sayce).
Suchos. . . . . Ext. 190^a (Wiedemann).
Sud (Ap.) . . . . iv. 627^a.
Suddenly . . . . iv. 627^a.
Sudias (Ap.) . . . iv. 627^a.
Suffering, Problem of . i. 781^b, 782^b (Strong); ii. 667^a ff. (Davison); iv. 159^a (Davison), 531^{a,b} (E. R. Bernard), 925^a (Siegfried); Ext. 730^b f. (Kautzsch).
Suffocation . . . i. 527^b (Poucher).
Suicide . . . . i. 522^a (Poucher).
Sukkiim . . . . iv. 627^a (Margoliouth).
Sulphur . . . . i. 328^a.
Sumer, Sumerians . i. 21^a (Price), 214^b ff., 224^{a,b} (Hommel); iv. 503^b ff. (T. G. Pinches); Ext. 85^b f. (McCurdy), 535^b (Jastrow).
Sun . . . . . . iv. 627^a (T. G. Pinches); i. 193^a.
  Chariots of . . . iv. 628^b; iii. 489^b (Stevenson), 673^a (Driver).
  Worship in Babylonia i. 215^a f. (Hommel); iv. 628^b ff.; Ext. 541^b ff. (Jastrow).
    in Egypt . . . i. 666^a ff. (Crum); iii. 622^a (Griffith); Ext. 183^b (Wiedemann).
    in Israel . . . iv. 628^b f.; ii. 447^a (W. P. Paterson).
Sunstroke . . . . iii. 328^a (Macalister).
Supernatural . . . Ext. 329^a (Garvie). [See Miracle, Natural, Nature.]
Superscription . . iv. 629^b.
  Coinage . . . . iii. 421^a ff. (A. R. S. Kennedy).
  on the Cross . . iv. 781^a (Adeney).
Suph . . . . . iv. 629^b (Selbie).
Suphah . . . . iv. 629^b.
Supper. . . . . ii. 41^b (Macalister). [See Lord's Supper].
Sur (Ap.) . . . . iv. 629^b.
Sure, Surely . . . iv. 630^a (Hastings).
Surety . . . . . iv. 630^b (Hastings); i. 579^a ff. (Bennett); iii. 895^a (Selbie).
Surgery . . . . iii. 333^a (Macalister).
Susa (Ap.) . . . . iv. 510^b (Sayce); i. 675^a.
Susanna . . . . iv. 630^b (Marshall).
  Canonicity . . . iv. 632^a.
  Language, Original . iv. 632^a.
  Origin and Purpose . iv. 631^b.
  Text and Versions . iv. 630^b.
Susi . . . . . iv. 632^b.
Suzigas . . . . i. 181^b.
Swaddle, Swaddling-Bands . . . iv. 632^b (Mackie).
Swallow . . . . iv. 632^b (Post); i. 516^a.
Swan . . . . . iv. 633^a.
Swearing . . . . iii. 575^b (Ferries); i. 522^b (Poucher).
Sweat, Bloody . . iii. 330^a (Macalister).
Swedish Versions . Ext. 416^b (Bebb).
Sweet Cane . . . iv. 213^a (Post).
Swine . . . . . iv. 633^a (Post); ii. 39^a (Macalister).
  Sacred or Unclean . iv. 829^b (Peake); Ext. 115^b, 136^a (Ramsay).
Sword . . . . . iv. 633^b (Barnes).
  Worship of . . . Ext. 112^b (Ramsay).
Sycamine . . . . iv. 634^b (Post).
Sycamore, Sycomore . iv. 634^b (Post); ii. 30^b (Macalister); Ext. 190^b (Wiedemann).
Sychar . . . . . iv. 635^a (Wilson).
Sychem . . . . . iv. 635^b.
Syene . . . . . iv. 471^a (Griffith).
Symbol, Symbolical Actions. . . Ext. 169^b (König).
  Symbol and Metaphor Ext. 169^b.
  Symbol in Scripture. Ext. 170^a.
  Symbolical Actions . Ext. 170^b ff.

- Symeon . . . iv. 517^{b} (Selbie).
- Symmachus, Version of iv. 453^{a} (Nestle), 865^{b} (Redpath).
- Synagogue . . . iv. 636^{a} (Bacher).
  - Architecture and Site iv. 638^{a} ff.
  - Furniture . . . iv. 639^{a} ff.
    - Lamps . . . iv. 640^{a}.
    - Press . . . iv. 639^{a}.
    - Reading Desk . iv. 640^{a}.
    - Seats . . . iv. 639^{b}.
    - Tablets . . . iv. 639^{b}.
    - Tribune . . . iv. 639^{b}.
  - Name . . . iv. 636^{a}.
  - Officials . . . iv. 640^{a} ff.
    - Attendant . . iv. 640^{b} ff.
    - Ruler of the Synagogue . . . iv. 640^{b}.
  - Origin and History . iv. 636^{b} ff., 643^{a}.
  - School . . . iv. 642^{a}, 643^{a}; i. 647^{b} ff. (A. R. S. Kennedy).
  - Synagogues of Babylonia, Egypt, Rome, Syria, etc. iv. 637^{b}; Ext. 107^{a} (Schürer).
    - of Palestine . . iv. 637^{a}.
  - Worship . . . iv. 640^{a} ff.
    - Women in . . iv. 640^{a}.
- Synagogue, the Great . iv. 643^{b} (Selbie), 397^{b} f. (Bacher); Ext. 58^{a} note (Schechter).
- Synchronistic History of Babylonia and Assyria . . . i. 179^{a} (Hommel).
- Synecdoche . . . Ext. 160^{a} (König).
- Synoptic Problem . ii. 235^{b} ff. (Stanton); Ext. 5^{a} ff. (Votaw).
  - Features peculiar to Luke . . . ii. 241^{b}; iii. 165^{b} (Bebb).
    - to Mark . . ii. 241^{b}; iii. 250^{b} (Salmond).
    - to Matthew . . ii. 242^{b}.
  - Logia of Matthew . ii. 235^{a}, 236^{b}, 237$^{a.b}$; iii. 296^{a} ff., 298^{a} ff., 303^{b} ff. (Bartlet); Ext. 5^{b} ff. (Votaw).
  - Relationship of Synoptics . . . ii. 235^{b} ff., 241^{a}; iii. 165^{b} ff. (Bebb), 250^{a} ff., 258^{b} (Salmond), 303^{b} ff. (Bartlet).
  - Sources common to all three . . ii. 238^{a}.
  - Sources common to Matthew and Luke ii. 240^{a}; Ext. 6^{a} ff. (Votaw).
  - Theories . . . ii. 236^{a} ff.
    - Common Documents . . ii. 236^{a} ff.
    - Direct Dependence ii. 236^{a}, 238^{a}.
    - Oral Tradition . ii. 236^{b}, 238^{a} ff., 240^{a}; Ext. 5^{b} ff. (Votaw).
- Syntyche . . . iv. 644^{b}.
- Synzygus . . . iv. 644^{b} (Gibb).
- Syracuse . . . iv. 644^{b} (Ramsay).
- Syria, Syrians . . [See Aram].
- Syriac Language . . iii. 25^{a} (Margoliouth); i. 74^{a} (I. Taylor).
- Syriac Versions . . iv. 645^{b} (Nestle).
  - OT—
    - Canon and Order of Books . . iv. 650^{a} ff.
    - Character of Version iv. 651^{a}.
    - Editions . . iv. 651^{a}.
    - Origin . . . iv. 650^{a}.
    - Psalter . . . iv. 650^{b}.
    - Tradition . . iv. 650^{a}.
    - Versions . . iv. 652^{a}.
  - NT—
    - Acts and Epistles . iv. 647^{a} ff.
    - Canonical Books . iv. 647^{b}.
      - Order of . . iv. 647^{b}.
    - Gospels, Cureton . iv. 646^{b}.
    - Peshiṭta . . iv. 646^{b}, 740^{b}.
    - Place of Translation iv. 645^{b}.
    - Sinai Gospels . iv. 646^{b}.
    - Tatian's Diatessaron . . . iv. 646^{a}.
    - Tradition . . iv. 645^{b}.
  - NT: Later Versions—
    - Harklensis . . iv. 649^{a}.
    - Palestinian Syriac iv. 649^{b}.
    - Pericope de Adultera iv. 649^{b}.
    - Philoxeniana . iv. 648^{b}.
    - Revelation . . iv. 648^{a}.
- Syrophœnician . . iv. 652^{b} (Moss).
- Syrtis . . . . iv. 182^{b}.
- Syzygus . . . iv. 644^{b} [Synzygus].

- Taanach . . . iv. 652^{a} (Wilson).
- Taanath-shiloh . . iv. 653^{a}.
- Tabaoth, Tabbaoth . iv. 653^{a}.
- Tabbath . . . iv. 653^{a}.
- Tabeel . . . . iv. 653^{a} (Selbie), 267^{a} (J. Taylor).
- Tabellius (Ap.) . . iv. 653^{a}.
- Taber . . . . iv. 653^{a}.
- Taberah . . . iv. 653^{b}.
- Tabernacle . . . iv. 653^{b} (A. R. S. Kennedy).
  - Arrangement and Symmetry . . iv. 656^{b}.
  - Conception . . iv. 655^{b}.
  - Court of the Dwelling iv. 656^{b}.
  - Erection and Consecration . . . iv. 665^{b}.
  - Furniture of the Court—
    - Altar of Burnt Offering . . iv. 657^{b}. [See Altar].
      - Grate . . . iv. 658^{a}; ii. 258^{b}.
      - Hearth . . ii. 319^{a}. [See Hearth].
      - Horns . . iv. 658^{a}; i. 77^{a}. [See Horns].
    - Curtains . . iv. 657^{a}.
    - Laver . . . iv. 658^{b}. [See Laver].
    - Pillars . . iv. 657^{a} f.
      - Bases . . iv. 657^{a}; i. 255^{a} (Hastings).
      - Cords . . iv. 657^{a}.
      - Fillet . . iv. 657^{b}; ii. 7^{b} (Hastings).
      - Pins . . iv. 657^{b}.

- Tabernacle—
  - Furniture of the Holy Place—
    - Altar of Incense . iv. 664^b, 495^b; ii. 332^b (Bruce), 467^b (Selbie). [See Altar].
    - Curtains . . . iv. 658^b f., 661^b f.
    - Framework . . iv. 659^a ff.
    - Lampstand . . iv. 663^b.
    - Screen . . . iv. 662^b.
    - Table of Shewbread iv. 662^b, 495^a f. [See Shewbread].
    - Taches . . . iv. 659^a, 672^b.
    - Veil . . . iv. 662^b, 847^b (Davies).
  - Furniture of the Most Holy Place—
    - Ark . . . iv. 665^a; i. 149^a.
    - Cherubim . . iv. 665^a; i. 378^a (Ryle).
    - Propitiatory (Mercy Seat) . iv. 665^a.
  - Gold used in . . ii. 225^b (Flinders Petrie).
  - Historicity . . iv. 666^b.
  - March, Tabernacle on the . . . iv. 666^a.
  - Materials . . . iv. 656^a.
  - Nomenclature . . iv. 653^b, 655^a; i. 466^b (Selbie).
  - Religious Significance iv. 666^b.
  - Symbolic Character . Ext. 170^a (König).
  - Tabernacle Proper . iv. 658^b ff.
    - Divisions . . iv. 662^b.
  - in Oldest Sources . iv. 653^b ff.
  - in Priestly Writers . iv. 654^b ff.; i. 810^b (Harford-Battersby).
- Tabernacle, Use of Term in NT . . iv. 489^a f. (Marshall).
- Tabernacles, Feast of . iv. 668^b (Chapman); i. 861^a (Harding).
- Tabitha . . . i. 617^b (Stanton).
- Table . . . . iv. 669^b (Macalister).
  - of Money-changers . iv. 670^a; iii. 432^b (A. R. S. Kennedy).
  - of Shewbread . . iv. 495^a ff., 662^b f. (A. R. S. Kennedy).
  - of the Lord . . iv. 670^a.
- Table, Tablet . . iv. 670^b (Selbie).
- Taboo . . . . ii. 38^b ff. (Macalister), 395^b (Skinner); iv. 826^a ff., 829^a ff. (Peake); Ext. 613^b (Kautzsch).
- Tabor . . . . iv. 671^a.
- Tabor, Mount . . iv. 671^a (Wilson).
- Tabor, Oak of . . iv. 672^b.
- Tabret . . . iv. 672^b (Selbie).
- Tabrimmon . . iv. 672^b.
- Taches . . . iv. 672^b.
- Tackling . . iv. 673^a.
- Tadmor . . . iv. 673^a (Hull), 676^b (Wilson).
- Tahan . . . . iv. 674^a; ii. 130$^{a\ bis}$.
- Tahash . . . . iv. 674^a.
- Tahath (person) . . iv. 674^a; ii. 124^a, 130$^{a\ bis}$.
- Tahath (place) . . iv. 674^a.
- Tahchemonite, Tachmonite . . . ii. 273^b. [Hachmoni].
- Tahpanhes, Tehaphnehes . . . iv. 674^a (Griffith).
- Tahpenes . . . iv. 674^b (Griffith).
- Tahrea . . . . iv. 674^b; ii. 131^a.
- Tahtim-hodshi, Land of iv. 674^b (Wilson); ii. 391^a (Sayce).
- Tahutmes III. (Thutmosis, Thothmes) . i. 180^a. [See Thutmosis].
- Take . . . . iv. 674^b (Hastings).
- Tale . . . . iv. 675^b (Hastings).
- Talent . . . . iii. 418^b ff. (A. R. S. Kennedy); iv. 902^a ff.
- Talitha Cumi . . iv. 675^b (H. A. A. Kennedy).
- Talmai . . . . iv. 676^a (Gray); i. 56^b f. [Ahiman].
- Talmon . . . iv. 676^a.
- Talmud . . . Ext. 57^b (Schechter).
  - 'Amoraim (Speakers) Ext. 64^a.
  - Babylonian Talmud . Ext. 64^b.
  - Haggādā . . . Ext. 58^a.
  - Hălākhā . . . Ext. 58^a.
  - Midrash . . . Ext. 58^a, 63^a ff.
  - Mishna . . . Ext. 60^a ff.
  - Origin of Talmud . Ext. 57^b.
  - Palestinian Talmud . Ext. 64^b.
  - Saborai (Explainers, Meditators) . . Ext. 65^b.
  - Sopherim (Scribes) . Ext. 58^a.
  - Tannaim (Teachers) . Ext. 59^a.
  - Zûgôth (Pairs) . . Ext. 58^b.
- Tamar (person) . . iv. 676^a; ii. 125^b, 126^b.
- Tamar (place) . . iv. 676^a (Wilson), 673^a (Hull).
- Tamarisk . . . iv. 676^b.
- Tammuz . . . iv. 676^b (Sayce); i. 168^b (Driver), 215^b (Hommel). [See Adonis].
  - Mourning for . . iv. 676^b; ii. 274^a (Price); Ext. 580^b (Jastrow).
  - and Orion . . . iii. 632^b (J. Taylor).
- Tammuz (month) . iv. 765^b (Abrahams).
- Tanhumeth . . . iv. 677^b.
- Tanis (Ap.) . . . iv. 985^a [Zoan].
- Tanith . . . . iii. 860^b (Thatcher).
- Tannaim . . . Ext. 59^a (Schechter).
- Tanner . . . . iv. 677^b (H. Porter).
- Taphath . . . iv. 677^b.
- Tappuah (person) . . iv. 677^b; ii. 127$^{a, b}$.
- Tappuah (place) . . iv. 677^b.
- Taralah . . . iv. 678^a.
- Tarea . . . . iv. 674^b [Tahrea].
- Tares . . . . iv. 678^a (Post).
- Target (mark) . . iii. 244^a (Hastings).
- Target (shield) . . i. 330^b (Barnes); iv. 497^b.
- Targum . . . iv. 678^b (T. Walker).
  - Character . . . iv. 679^a.
  - Idea of God . . iv. 679^a f.
  - Language . . . iv. 678^b.
  - Origin . . . iv. 678^b.
  - Targums now extant iv. 679^a ff.
    - on Hagiographa—
      - Chronicles . . iv. 682^b.
      - Megilloth . . iv. 682^b.
      - Psalms, Job, Proverbs . . iv. 682.^{a}

- Targum — on Pentateuch—
  - Jerus. Targum . iv. 680^b.
  - Jerus. Targum, Fragmentary . iv. 680^a.
  - Onḳelos . . iv. 679^b.
  - Relation of Pentateuch Targums . . iv. 681^a.
  - on Prophets . . iv. 681^b.
- Tarpelites . . . . iv. 683^b.
- Tarshish (person) . . iv. 683^b; ii. 130^b.
- Tarshish (precious stone) . . . iv. 683^b, 620^b, 797^a [Topaz].
- Tarshish (place) . . iv. 683^b (Max Müller); Ext. 80^b (Jastrow).
  - Ships of . . . iv. 684^a; Ext. 360^a (Blomfield).
- Tarsus . . . . iv. 685^a (Ramsay).
- Tartak . . . . iv. 689^b (T. G. Pinches).
- Tartan . . . . iv. 689^b (T. G. Pinches).
- Tartarus . . . i. 742^b (Charles); ii. 344^a (Salmond); iii. 815^b note (Chase).
- Tassel . . . . ii. 69^a (A. R. S. Kennedy).
- Tatian . . . . ii. 697^a (Reynolds).
- Tatian, Diatessaron of Ext. 451^b (Stenning); iii. 536^b (Stanton); iv. 646^a ff. (Nestle); Ext. 427^b (Tasker).
  - Author and Date . Ext. 451^b.
  - Relation to Old Syriac Ext. 458^b.
  - Title, Language, and Later History . Ext. 452^a.
  - Versions, Non-Syriac Ext. 455^a.
    - Arabic . . . Ext. 457^b.
    - Armenian . . Ext. 455^a.
    - Codex Fuldensis . Ext. 456^b.
- Tattenai . . . iv. 690^a.
- Taunt-song . . . iv. 10^b (Budde).
- Ta-urt . . . . Ext. 187^a.
- Taverner's Bible . . Ext. 246^b (J. H. Lupton).
- Taverns, Three . . iv. 690^a (Dickson).
- Taw (letter) . . . iv. 690^a.
- Taxes, Taxing in NT Times . . . iv. 172^a f. (Adeney); Ext. 51^b (Buhl), 394^b (Ramsay).
  - of Diaspora . . Ext. 107^b f. (Schürer).
  - Solomon's . . . ii. 842^b (Williams).
  - under Quirinius . iv. 183^a [Quirinius]. [See Tithe].
- Taxo . . . . iii. 449^b (Burkitt).
- Teacher, Teaching . iv. 690^a (Adeney); i. 647^b ff. (A. R. S. Kennedy); iv. 641^a, 642^a (Bacher); Ext. 54^a (Buhl).
  - in Church . . . i. 431^b, 436^a (Gayford), 797^a (Massie).
  - False . . . iii. 798^a, 811^a (Chase); iv. 770^b, 776^a, 784^a (Lock).
- Tear Bottle . . . i. 814^a (Mackie); ii. 34^a (Macalister).
- Tebah . . . . iv. 692^a, 760^b.
- Tebaliah . . . iv. 692^a; ii. 125^a.
- Tebeth . . . . iv. 692^a, 765^b.
- Tefnut . . . . Ext. 185^a.
- Tehaphnehes . . iv. 674^a (Griffith).
- Tehinnah . . . iv. 692^a; ii. 128^b.
- Teil Tree . . . iv. 692^a.
- Tekel . . . . iii. 340^b (Margoliouth).
- Teḳoa, Tekoite . . iv. 692^a (J. Taylor); ii. 127^b, 128^a (Curtis).
- Tekoah . . . iv. 693^b.
- Tel-abib . . . iv. 693^b.
- Telah . . . . iv. 693^b; ii. 130^a.
- Telaim . . . . iv. 693^b.
- Telassar . . . iv. 693^b (Wilson); i. 642^b (Selbie).
- Tel el-Amarna Tablets . . . . i. 179^a, 223^a, 227^b (Hommel), 347^b f. (Sayce), 661^a, 665^a (Crum); ii 554^b (Driver).
- Telem (person) . . iv. 693^b.
- Telem (place) . . iv. 693^b.
- Tel-harsha . . . iv. 694^a.
- Tell . . . . iv. 675^b [Tale].
- Telmelah . . . iv. 694^a.
- Tema . . . . iv. 694^a (Wilson).
- Temah . . . . iv. 694^b.
- Teman . . . . iv. 694^b (Wilson).
- Temeni . . . iv. 694^b; ii. 128^a.
- Temperance . . . iv. 694^b (Adeney).
- Temple . . . iv. 695^a (Davies).
  - Cleansing by Christ . ii. 245^a (Stanton), 613^a (Sanday).
  - Ezekiel's . . . iv. 703^b ff.
    - Arrangement and Symmetry . . iv. 703^b f.
    - Binyān . . . iv. 708^b.
    - Chambers . . iv. 708^a.
    - Courts . . . iv. 705^b f.
    - Decoration . . iv. 709^a.
    - Gates . . . iv. 704^b ff.
    - Gizrah . . . iv. 708^b.
    - Holy Place, Contents of . . iv. 708^a.
      - Altar . . . iv. 709^b f. [See Altar, Hearth, Horns].
    - Measurements . iv. 707^b ff.
    - Most Holy Place . iv. 708^a, 709^b.
    - Pavement . . iv. 706^a.
    - Porch . . . iv. 708^a.
    - Priests' Cells . iv. 707^a, 709^a.
    - Sacrificial Cells, etc. iv. 706^a.
    - Windows . . iv. 705^b, 709^a.
  - Herod's . . . iv. 711^b ff.; ii. 598^b ff. (Conder).
    - Altar of Burnt-offering . . iv. 715^a.
    - Chambers . . iv. 714^b.
    - Courts . . . iv. 713^a f., 715^b.
    - Gates . . . iv. 713^a, 714^a.
    - House . . . iv. 714^b.
    - Pinnacle . . iii. 882^b (Davies)
    - Porch . . . iv. 714^b, 21^a.
      - Solomon's . . iv. 713^b.

- Temple—Herod's—
  - Sources of Information . . . iv. 711^b.
  - Temple Police . iv. 715^b.
  - Veil . . . iv. 714^b, 848^a.
  - Solomon's . . . iv. 695^a ff.; ii. 598^a ff. (Conder).
    - Architecture . . iv. 701^a.
    - Courts . . . iv. 695^b, 702^a.
      - Contents—
        - Altar of Burnt-offering . iv. 702^b.
        - Brazen Sea . iv. 702^b.
        - Lavers . . iv. 702^b.
    - Date . . . i. 399^a (Curtis).
    - Floor . . . iv. 702^b.
    - Gates . . . iv. 702^a, 472^b (Wilson).
    - History . . . iv. 703^a.
    - Plan and Dimensions . . . iv. 697^a ff.
    - Sanctuary . . iv. 697^b ff.
      - Chambers . . iv. 699^b.
      - Doors . . . iv. 700^a.
      - Gold Covering . iv. 700^b.
      - Holy Place . iv. 697^b f.
        - Contents . iv. 701^a.
      - Holy of Holies . iv. 697^b f.
        - Contents . iv. 701^b.
      - Materials . . iv. 699^a.
      - Pillars . . iv. 699^a.
      - Porch . . . iv. 698^a, 21^a.
      - Roof . . . iv. 698^b.
      - Veil . . . iv. 700^b.
      - Walls . . . iv. 698^b.
      - Windows . . iv. 699^b f.
    - Site . . . . iv. 695^b f.
    - Sources of Information . . . iv. 696^b.
  - Symbolic Character of the Temple . Ext. 170^a (König).
  - Zerubbabel's Temple iv. 710^a; i. 823^{a,b} (Batten).
    - Courts . . . iv. 711^a.
    - Date . . . i. 823^{a,b} (Batten); ii. 279^a (Cooke), 514^{a,b} (Barnes); iv. 978^b (Selbie).
    - History . . . iv. 711^b.
    - Holy Place . . iv. 711^a.
    - Most Holy Place . iv. 711^a.
    - Sources of Information . . . iv. 710^b.
    - Veil . . . iv. 847^b.
- Temple-keeper . . i. 722^b (Ramsay).
- Temples, Babylonian . i. 216^b (Hommel); Ext. 577^a (Jastrow).
- Tempt, Temptation . iv. 716^a (Hastings).
  - of Christ . . . [See Jesus Christ].
- Ten . . . . . iii. 564^a, 565^a (König).
- Ten Commandments . [See Decalogue].
- Tender . . . iv. 716^b (Hastings).
- Tent . . . . iv. 717^a (Ewing).
  - Making . . . ii. 285^a; iii. 699^a (Findlay).
- Tent of Meeting . . i. 466^b (Selbie); iv. 655^a (A. R. S. Kennedy); Ext. 717^a (Kautzsch).
- Tephon (Ap.) . . iv. 718^a.
- Terah (person) . . iv. 718^a (Selbie).
- Terah (place) . . iv. 718^a.
- Teraphim . . . iv. 718^a (Welch); ii. 200^b (Davidson); iv. 598^a (Whitehouse); Ext. 617^b, 642^b (Kautzsch).
- Terebinth . . . iv. 718^b (Selbie); iii. 575^a (Post); iv. 395^b (A. R. S. Kennedy), 601^a (Whitehouse); Ext. 616^a (Kautzsch).
- Teresh . . . . iv. 719^b.
- Tertius . . . . iv. 719^b.
- Tertullus . . . iv. 719^b (Robertson).
- Tertullian . . . ii. 695^b (Reynolds).
- Testament . . . iv. 720^a (Massie).
- Testaments of XII Patriarchs . . iv. 721^a (Charles).
  - Christian Interpolations . . . iv. 722^a ff.
  - Contents . . . iv. 721^a.
  - Criticism . . . iv. 721^b ff.
  - Date . . . . iv. 723^a.
  - Demonology . . i. 593^a (Whitehouse).
  - Eschatology . . iv. 724^b; i. 744^a.
  - Integrity of Original Jewish Testaments iv. 723^a.
  - Language . . . iv. 723^b.
  - Plurality of Heavens iv. 725^a.
  - Title . . . . iv. 721^a.
  - Twelve Tribes . . iv. 725^a.
  - Value . . . . iv. 724^b.
  - Versions . . . iv. 724^a.
- Testimony . . . iv. 725^a (Selbie).
- Teth . . . . . iv. 725^b.
- Tetrarch . . . iv. 725^b (Moss).
- Tetter . . . . iii. 96^b, 329^b (Macalister).
- Text of the Old Testament . . . iv. 726^a (Strack).
  - Criticism . . . iv. 187^b (Woods), 884^b (H. J. White).
  - Hebrew MSS . . iv. 727^a.
    - Age . . . iv. 728^a.
    - Genizah . . iv. 728^b.
  - History of Text . iv. 731^b.
  - Massoretes, Work of iv. 729^a.
  - Pre-Massoretic Text iv. 730^b.
  - Preservation . . iii. 31^a (Margoliouth).
  - Printed Editions of Hebrew OT . . iv. 726^a.
  - Punctuation . . iv. 730^a.
  - Sopherim, Work of . iv. 731^a.
  - Versions, Importance of Old . . . iv. 731^b, 853^a ff. (Bebb).
- Text of the New Testament . . . iv. 732^b (Nestle).
  - Criticism . . . iv. 736^a ff., 883^a (H. J. White). [See Textual Criticism of NT].
  - Manuscripts . . iv. 734^a.
  - Quotations, Evidence from . . . iv. 735^a.
  - Text, Greek (uncertainty of) . . iv. 732^a.

- Text of the New Testament—
  - Neutral, iv. 737^b ff.
  - Traditional, iv. 737^b ff.
  - Variations, iv. 735^a.
  - Western, iv. 737^b ff., 740^b.
    - of Acts, i. 26^a (Headlam).
    - of Luke, iii. 164^a (Bebb).
- Textual Criticism of the New Testament, Ext. 208^b (Murray).
  - Conflation, Ext. 223^b ff.
  - Genealogy, Principle of, Ext. 222^a ff.
  - Materials for, Ext. 209^b.
  - Methods and Principles, Ext. 210^a ff.
  - Names 'Western,' 'Syrian,' 'Neutral,' 'Alexandrian', Ext. 221^a f.
  - Object, Ext. 209^a.
  - Rival Schools—
    - Critical, Ext. 212^a ff.
    - Traditional, Ext. 210^b ff.
  - Subjective Element in, Ext. 222^a.
  - Syrian Readings in 1 Timothy, Ext. 214^a ff.
  - Traditional Text examined for period 381–450 A.D., Ext. 212^b ff.
  - Traditional Text of Mark 1$^{1-28}$ examined, Ext. 215^b ff., 232^a ff.
    - B, Relation to ℵ and other authorities, Ext. 231^b.
      - Relation of ℵB to Latin and Syr. VSS, Ext. 232^b ff.
      - Value of, Ext. 235^a.
    - Editorial Activity in Traditional Text, Ext. 227^a.
    - Evidence, Ante-Nicene, Ext. 224^a, 226^b.
    - Evidence for *τοῖς προφήταις*, Ext. 224^b ff.
      - for *ἔμπροσθέν σου*, Ext. 226^a.
    - Readings, Alexandrian, Ext. 230^a.
      - Neutral, Ext. 230^b.
      - Syrian, Ext. 223^a ff.
      - Western, Ext. 228^b ff.
    - Summary of Evidence against Syrian Readings, Ext. 227^a. [See Text of NT].
- Thaddæus, iv. 741^a (Nestle).
  - Gospel of, Ext. 438^b (Tasker).
- Thank-offering, iv. 338^a (Paterson).
- Tharaka, [See Tirhaka].
- Tharra (Ap.), iv. 742^a.
- Thassi (Ap.), iv. 742^a.
- Theatre, iv. 742^a (Headlam).
- Thebaic Version, i. 669^b (Forbes Robinson).
- Thebes, iii. 555^b (Griffith).
- Thebez, iv. 742^b (Wilson).
- Theft, i. 522^b (Poucher); Ext. 797^a (Johns).
  - Man-stealing, iii. 239^a (Selbie); Ext. 797^a (Johns).
- Thelersas (Ap.), iv. 742^b.
- Theocracy, Ext. 337^a (Stanton), 630^a, 725^b (Kautzsch).
- Theodore of Heraclea, Ext. 497^b (Turner).
- Theodore of Mopsuestia, Ext. 508^a ff. (Turner).
- Theodore the Monk, Ext. 519^a (Turner).
- Theodoret of Cyrrhus, Ext. 516^a (Turner).
- Theodotion's Version, iv. 453^a (Nestle), 866^a (Redpath).
- Theodotus (Ap.), iv. 742^b.
- Theophilus, iv. 742^b (Redpath).
- Theophilus of Antioch, ii. 695^a; iii. 537^b.
- Theophylact, Ext. 486^a (Turner).
- Theras (Ap.), iv. 743^a.
- Thermeleth (Ap.), iv. 743^a.
- Thessalonians, 1st Epistle, iv. 743^a (Lock); iii. 708^b (Findlay).
  - Analysis, iv. 744^b.
  - Authenticity, iv. 745^b.
  - Church Organization and Faith, iv. 745^a.
  - Circumstances of Writing, iv. 743^b ff.
  - Date, iv. 743^a; iii. 708^b (Findlay).
  - Integrity, iv. 746^a.
  - Origen's Commentary on, Ext. 496^a (Turner).
  - Quotations in, iv. 745^b.
  - Relation to OT and Christian Literature, iv. 745^b.
    - to II Thessalonians, iv. 747$^{a,\ b}$.
  - Value, iv. 745^a.
- Thessalonians, 2nd Epistle, iv. 746^b (Lock); iii. 708^a (Findlay).
  - Analysis, iv. 747^a.
  - Authorship, iv. 747^b ff.
  - Date and Circumstances, iv. 746^b; iii. 708^b (Findlay).
  - Eschatology, iv. 747^b.
  - Integrity, iv. 749^a.
  - Literary Dependence, iv. 747^a.
  - Origen's Commentary on, Ext. 496^a (Turner).
  - Relation to I Thessalonians, iv. 747$^{a,\ b}$.
  - Value, iv. 749^a.
- Thessalonica, iv. 749^b (Dickson).
- Theudas, iv. 750^a (Headlam); i. 30^b.
- Thicket, ii. 54^a [Forest].
- Thigh, iv. 750^b (Selbie).
- Think, iv. 751^a (Hastings).
- Thisbe (Ap.), iv. 751^a.

Thistles, Thorns . . iv. 751^b (Post).
Crown of Thorns . iv. 753^a.
Thocanus (Ap.) . . iv. 753^b.
Thomas . . . iv. 753^b (J. H. Bernard).
Thomas, Acts of . . iv. 754^a (J. H. Bernard).
Thomas, Gospel according to . . . Ext. 431^b (Tasker).
Thomei (Ap.) . . iv. 754^a.
Thorns . . . . iv. 751^b (Post).
Crown of . . . iv. 753^a.
Thothmes . . . [See Tahutmes].
Thought . . . iv. 754^a (Hastings).
Thousand (Military Unit) . . . i. 155^b (Barnes).
Rhetorical use . . iii. 564^b (König).
Thracia . . . iv. 754^b (Ramsay).
Thrasæus (Ap.) . . iv. 754^b.
Three (number) . . ii. 750^b (König); iii. 562^b, 565^b.
Three Children, Song of the . . . iv. 754^b (Marshall).
Authorship . . iv. 755^b.
Canonicity . . iv. 756^a.
Contents . . . iv. 754^b.
Literary Estimate . iv. 755^a.
Original Language . iv. 755^b.
Versions . . . iv. 756^a.
Threshing . . . i. 50^a (J. W. Paterson).
Threshing Floor . . i. 50^a (J. W. Paterson); ii. 24^a (Hastings).
Threshold . . . iv. 756^a (Selbie); i. 216^b (Hommel); iii. 689^a (W. J. Moulton).
Keepers of the . . iv. 756^a, 74^a (Baudissin).
Throne . . . iv. 756^b (Selbie); ii. 842^a (Williams).
Worship . . . Ext. 112^a (Ramsay).
Thrum . . . . iv. 901^a (H. Porter).
Thumb . . . iv. 757^a (Selbie).
Thummim . . . iv. 838^b (A. R. S. Kennedy); Ext. 662^b (Kautzsch).
Thunder . . . iv. 757^a (James Patrick).
Thutmosis I. . . . i. 660^b (Crum).
Thutmosis II. . . . i. 660^b.
Thutmosis III. . . i. 660^b. [See Tahutmes].
Thyatira . . . iv. 757^b (Ramsay).
Religion in . . iv. 758^a.
Thyine Wood . . iv. 759^b.
Tiamat . . . i. 220^b (Hommel), 503^a (Whitehouse); Ext. 568^a ff. (Jastrow), 670^b (Kautzsch).
Tiberias . . . iv. 759^b (Merrill).
Tiberias, Sea of . . ii. 102^a (Merrill).
Tiberius . . . iv. 760^b (Prichard).
Chronology . . Ext. 481^a (Ramsay).
Tibhath . . . iv. 760^b.
Tibni . . . . iv. 760^b.
Tidal . . . . iv. 761^a (Sayce); i. 226^b (Hommel).
Tiglath-pileser I. . i. 179^b f., 182^b (Hommel).
Tiglath-pileser II. . i. 183^b (Hommel).
Tiglath-pileser III. . iv. 761^a (Sayce); i. 185^b ff. (Hommel).
Tigris . . . . iv. 761^b (Sayce); i. 643^b; ii. 379^b [Hiddekel].
Tîh, Desert of the . ii. 150^b (Hull).
Tikvah . . . iv. 762^a.
Tile, Tiling . . . iv. 762^a (James Patrick).
Tilgath-pilneser . . iv. 761^a [Tiglath-pileser].
Tilon . . . . iv. 762^b; ii. 129^a.
Timæus . . . iv. 762^b (Nestle).
Timbrel . . . iv. 672^b (Selbie); iii. 462^b (Millar).
Time . . . . iv. 762^b (Abrahams).
Babylonian Reckoning . . . iv. 763^b ff.; i. 217$^{a, b}$ (Hommel).
Day, Divisions of . iv. 766^a.
Eras . . . . iv. 762^b.
Hours . . . Ext. 475^b (Ramsay).
Months . . . iv. 765^a.
Watches . . . iv. 766^b.
Weeks . . . iv. 765^b.
Year . . . iv. 763^a ff.; Ext. 478^b ff. (Ramsay).
Beginning of . iv. 764^a; Ext. 483^b (Ramsay).
Seasons . . iv. 764^b.
Timna . . . . iv. 766^b; i. 78^a.
Timnah . . . iv. 766^b (Wilson).
Timnath . . . iv. 767^a.
Timnath-heres . . iv. 767^a.
Timnath-serah . . iv. 767^a (Wilson).
Timon . . . . iv. 767^b.
Timotheus . . . iv. 767^b.
Timothy . . . iv. 767^b (Lock); i. 492^b (Robertson).
Consecration . . iii. 631^b (Gwatkin).
Timothy, 1st Epistle to iv. 768^b (Lock).
Analysis . . . iv. 769^a.
Authorship . . iv. 772^a.
Church Organization iv. 771^a, 773^a.
False Teachers . iv. 770^b, 773^a.
Historical Situation iv. 768^b, 770^b, 772^a.
Integrity . . . iv. 774^a.
Language and Style . iv. 772^b.
Literary Dependence iv. 770^a.
Value . . . iv. 774^a.
Timothy, 2nd Epistle to iv. 774^b (Lock).
Analysis . . . iv. 775^a.
Authorship . . iv. 776^b.
Church Organization iv. 776^b.
False Teachers . iv. 776^a.
Historical Situation iv. 774^b.
Integrity . . . iv. 777^a.
Literary Dependence iv. 775^b.
Relation to 1 Timothy . . . iv. 770^a.
Style . . . iv. 777^a.
Value . . . iv. 777^b.
Timothy and Aquila, Dialogues of . . iii. 303^a f. (Bartlet).
Tin . . . . iv. 778^a (Petrie); iii. 375^b (Hull).
Tindale, William . iv. 856^a (Milligan); Ext. 241^b (J. H. Lupton).
Tiphsah . . . iv. 778^b (Wilson); iii. 340^a (J. Taylor).

- Tiras iv. 778^b (Selbie), 685^a (Max Müller); Ext. 80^a (Jastrow).
- Tirathites iv. 778^b; ii. 128^a; iv. 502^a [Shimeathites].
- Tire iv. 778^b (Hastings).
- Tirhakah (Tharaka) iv. 779^a (Griffith); i. 188^b ff. (Hommel), 536^a (Margoliouth), 663^a (Crum); iii. 820^b (Griffith).
- Tirhanah iv. 779^b; ii. 127^b.
- Tiria iv. 779^b; ii. 129^a.
- Tirshatha iv. 779^b (Moss).
- Tirzah iv. 779^b (Aglen); ii. 129^b (Curtis).
- Tishbite iv. 780^a; i. 687^a (Strachan).
- Tishri iv. 765^b (Abrahams).
- Tishup i. 183^a.
- Titans iv. 780^a.
- Tithe iv. 780^a (Peake).
  - and First-fruits iv. 780^a.
  - in Deuteronomy and P iv. 780^b f.
  - in Later Judaism iv. 781^a.
  - in NT times Ext. 51^b (Buhl).
    - among Jews of Diaspora Ext. 107^b f. (Schürer).
- Title on the Cross iv. 781^a (Adeney).
- Tittle iv. 781^b (Hastings).
- Titus iv. 782^a (Lock); i. 492^b, 494^b (Robertson).
- Titus, Epistle to iv. 783^a (Lock).
  - Analysis iv. 783^a.
  - Authorship iv. 784^a.
  - Church Organization iv. 784^a.
  - False Teachers iv. 784^a.
  - Historical Situation iv. 783^a, 784^a.
  - Integrity iv. 784^b.
  - Literary Dependence iv. 783^b.
    - Relation to 1 and 2 Timothy iv. 770^a, 776^a, 783^b.
  - Origen's Commentary on Ext. 496^b (Turner).
  - Style iv. 784^b.
  - Value iv. 785^a.
- Titus Justus ii. 829^b (Headlam).
- Titus Manius iii. 236^a (H. A. White).
- Tizite iv. 785^a.
- Tnephachthos i. 663^a (Crum).
- Toah iii. 472^b [Nahath]; ii. 124^a.
- Tob, Land of iv. 785^a (Wilson).
- Tob-adonijah iv. 785^b; ii. 125^b.
- Tobiah iv. 785^b.
- Tobias (Ap.) iv. 785^b.
- Tobiel (Ap.) iv. 785^b.
- Tobijah iv. 785^b; ii. 125^b.
- Tobit, Book of iv. 785^b (Marshall).
  - Date iv. 788^b.
  - Demonology iv. 408^b f. (Whitehouse).
  - Eschatology i. 743^b (Charles).
  - God, Doctrine of Ext. 277^b (Fairweather).
  - Historical Character iv. 788^b.
  - Language, Original iv. 788^a.
  - Narrative iv. 786^b.
    - Variations in VSS iv. 787^a.
- Tobit, Book of—
  - Parsism, Influence of iv. 989^a f. (J. H. Moulton).
  - Prayer in iv. 42^a (E. R. Bernard).
  - Texts and VSS—
    - Chaldee or Aramaic iv. 786^a.
    - Greek iv. 785^b.
    - Hebrew iv. 786^a.
    - Latin iv. 786^a.
    - Syriac iv. 786^a.
  - Use in Church iv. 789^a.
  - and contemporary Jewish Literature iv. 789^a.
    - Parallels with Jubilees iv. 789^a.
      - Judith iv. 789^a.
      - Job iv. 789^a.
      - Sirach iv. 789^a.
      - Story of Aḥiḳar iv. 789^a.
- Tochen iv. 789^b.
- Togarmah iv. 789^b.
- Tohu iii. 472^b [Nahath].
- Toi iv. 800^a (Selbie).
- Tokhath iv. 762^a [Tikvah].
- Tola iv. 790^a, 172^a (Cooke); ii. 129^a (Curtis).
- Tolad iv. 790^a.
- Tolbanes (Ap.) iv. 790^a.
- Toll, Place of iv. 790^a (Macpherson); Ext. 394^a ff. (Ramsay). [See Publican, Receipt of Custom].
- Tomb iv. 454^a ff. (Nicol).
  - Egyptian iv. 456^a f.
  - Masonry iv. 457^a.
  - Phœnician iv. 457^a.
  - Rock-hewn iv. 456^a.
  - Sarcophagi iv. 457^a.
  - of Hiram iv. 457^b.
  - of the Kings iv. 457^a.
  - of Joshua iv. 456^b.
  - of St. James iv. 456^b.
  - of Zechariah iv. 456^b.
- Tongs iv. 557^a (A. R. S. Kennedy).
- Tongues, Confusion of iv. 790^a (Driver).
  - Babylonian Features of Narrative iv. 793^a.
  - Critical Difficulties iv. 790^a f.
  - Origin of Narrative iv. 792^b.
  - Theory of Origin of Language iv. 790^b ff.
- Tongues, Gift of iv. 793^b (Robertson); ii. 407^b (Swete); iii. 742$^{a,\,b}$ (Purves).
  - Biblical Evidence iv. 793^b.
  - Data, Classification of iv. 794^a.
  - Interpretation of Evidence iv. 794^b.
  - Later History iv. 796^a.
- Tools iv. 796^b (Carslaw).
- Toparchy iv. 797^a.
- Topaz iv. 797^a (J. Taylor), 620^a ff. (Flinders Petrie).

- Tophel iv. 797^b.
- Tophet, Topheth iv. 797^b (Salmond); ii. 119^b (Charles), 388^a (Warren).
- Torah iii. 64^b ff. (Driver), 595^b ff. (Curtis).
- Torch iii. 23^b (Porter), 43^b f. (Hastings).
- Tormah iv. 799^b.
- Tortoise iv. 799^b.
- Totemism i. 340^a (Selbie), 850^a (Bennett); ii. 445^b (W. P. Paterson); iv. 331^b f. (Paterson), 831^a (Peake); Ext. 114^a (Ramsay), 613^a, 623^b (Kautzsch).
- Tou iv. 799^b.
- Tower iv. 800^a (Barnes).
- Town Clerk iv. 800^b (Ramsay); i. 723^a f.
- Trachonitis iv. 801^a (Smith).
- Trade iv. 802^b (Bennett); Ext. 50^a (Buhl).
  - Articles of Commerce iv. 806^a.
  - Commerce of Ancient East iv. 803^a; Ext. 593^a ff. (Johns).
    - of Israel iv. 803^b ff.
  - Government and iv. 806^b.
  - Harbours, Markets, Routes iv. 805^b. [See Roads in OT and NT].
  - Roman Commerce iv. 806^b; Ext. 378^a, 382^a ff., 390^a, 400^b (Ramsay).
  - Terms iv. 802^b.
- Trades iv. 807^a (Wortabet).
- Tragacanth ii. 747^b (Macalister); iv. 611^a (Post).
- Trance iv. 807^a (Morgan); iii. 327^a (Macalister); Ext. 673^a (Kautzsch).
- Transfiguration iv. 807^b (Plummer); iii. 809^a, 812^b (Chase).
  - Nature and Meaning of iv. 808^a.
  - Scene of iv. 807^b; ii. 352^b (Conder); iv. 671^b (Wilson).
- Transgression iv. 529^b, 532^a (E. R. Bernard).
- Transmigration of Souls Ext. 292^a (Fairweather).
- Travail iv. 808^a (Hastings).
- Treason iv. 808^b.
- Treasure, Treasurer, Treasury iv. 808^b (Selbie); i. 685^b (Burney).
- Treasury of Temple iv. 809^b, 714^a (Davies).
- Tree iv. 809^b (Post).
  - Sacred in Israel iv. 395^b (A. R. S. Kennedy); Ext. 616^a (Kautzsch). [See Asherah].
    - in Egypt Ext. 190^b (Wiedemann).
    - in Greece Ext. 113^a (Ramsay).
- Trespass-offering iv. 337^b (W. P. Paterson).
- Triad, Babylonian Ext. 538^a (Jastrow).
- Trial ii. 806^a f. (Thatcher), 252^a f., 842^a (Williams); iv. 401^b f. (Bacher).
  - of Christ ii. 633^a (Sanday); iii. 876^b ff. (Purves); Ext. 426^b f. (Tasker).
- Tribe iv. 810^a (Bennett).
  - Genealogical Lists of Twelve Tribes ii. 122^a ff. (Curtis).
  - Leah and Rachel Tribes iv. 810^b; i. 272^b (Peake); iii. 89^a (Selbie); iv. 192^b (Driver).
  - Nature, Origin, and History of Tribe iv. 810^a ff.
  - Order and Grouping of Tribes iv. 812^b.
  - Subdivisions iv. 812^b.
  - Terminology iv. 810^a.
  - Tribes as Individuals iv. 810^b; ii. 533^b ff. (Driver).
- Tribulation i. 374^a (Denney). [See Suffering].
- Tribute in OT iv. 813^a (Selbie).
  - in NT iv. 813^a (Macpherson). [See Taxes].
- Tribute Money iv. 813^b; iii. 428^b (A. R. S. Kennedy).
- Trinity Ext. 308^a (Scott); ii. 213^a ff., 648^b (Sanday); iii. 793^b (Chase).
  - Babylonian i. 215^a (Hommel); Ext. 538^a f. (Jastrow).
  - in Baptismal Formula Ext. 313^b; i. 241^a ff. (Plummer).
  - in Jewish Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha Ext. 308^a.
  - in New Testament Ext. 309^a ff.
    - in connexion with Christ's Advent Ext. 309^a.
      - Baptism Ext. 309^b.
      - Birth Ext. 309^a.
      - Ministry Ext. 309^b.
      - Temptation and Transfiguration Ext. 310^a.
    - in Teaching of Christ Ext. 310^b ff.
      - Apostolic Commission and Baptism Ext. 313^b f.
      - Fourth Gospel Ext. 311^b ff.
      - Synoptic Gospels Ext. 310^b ff.
    - in Teaching of the Apostles Ext. 314^b ff.
      - among Jewish Christians Ext. 314^b ff.
      - St. John Ext. 317^a ff.
      - St. Paul Ext. 315^a ff.
  - Outline of NT Doctrine Ext. 310^a f.
  - Trinity involved in Life of Church Ext. 318^a.

- Trinity—
  - Apostles, Equipment of . . . Ext. 318^b.
  - Church, Establishment of . . . Ext. 319^a.
  - Missions, Work of . . . Ext. 319^b.
  - Test of Doctrine . Ext. 319^b.
  - Worship and Sacraments . . Ext. 320^a ff.
- Tripolis . . . iv. 813^b (Wilson).
- Triskeles . . . Ext. 111^b (Ramsay).
- Troas . . . . iv. 813^b (Ramsay).
- Trogyllium . . . iv. 814^b (Wilson).
- Trophimus . . . iv. 814^b (Redpath).
- Trow . . . . iv. 815^a.
- Trumpet . . . iv. 815^a (Abrahams); iii. 462^a (Millar).
- Trumpets, Feast of . iv. 815^b ff. (Abrahams); i. 859^b (Harding).
- Trust . . . . [See Faith].
- Truth in OT . . iv. 816^b (Stanton).
  - in NT . . iv. 818^b.
- Truth, Goddess of . Ext. 191^b (Wiedemann).
- Tryphæna . . . iv. 820^a (Headlam); ii. 444^b (Ramsay); iv. 15^b f. (Ramsay).
- Tryphon (Ap.) . . iv. 820^b.
- Tryphosa . . . iv. 820^a [Tryphæna].
- Tubal . . . . iv. 820^b (Selbie); i. 184^a (Hommel).
- Tubal-cain . . . iv. 820^b (Selbie).
- Tubias, Tubieni . . iv. 785^b (Wilson).
- Tuklat-Nindar I. . . i. 182^a.
- Tuklat-Nindar II. . i. 183^b.
- Tum . . . . Ext. 184^b (Wiedemann).
- Turban . . . i. 627^b (Mackie); ii. 412^a f.; iii. 398^b (Purves).
- Turpentine Tree . . iv. 821^a, 718^b, 719^b.
- Turquoise . . . iii. 376^a (Hull); iv. 620^b (Petrie).
- Turtle Dove . . . iv. 821^a (Post); ii. 36^b (Macalister).
- Tushratta . . . i. 181^b (Hommel).
- Tutor . . . . iv. 821^a.
- Twelve . . . iii. 563^a, 564^b (König).
- Twelve Apostles, Gospel of . . . Ext. 435^a (Tasker).
- Twin Brothers . . i. 608^b (Prichard).
- Two . . . . iii. 562^b (König).
- ‘Two Ways’ . . Ext. 439^a ff. (Bartlet).
- Tychicus . . . iv. 821^b (Redpath).
- Types in the Old Testament . . . Ext. 176^b (König).
- Tyrannus . . . iv. 821^b (Ramsay).
- Tyre . . . . iv. 823^a (Mackie).
  - Antiquity . . . iv. 823^a.
  - Coinage . . . iii. 423^a, 426^a, 427^b (A. R. S. Kennedy).
  - Situation . . . iv. 823^a.
  - Trade . . . iv. 823^b.
  - and Assyria . . iv. 824^a.
  - and Babylon . . iv. 824^b.
  - and Israel . . iv. 824^a.
  - and Macedonians . iv. 824^b.
- Tyre—
  - and Persia . . iv. 824^b.
  - and Zidon . . iv. 823^b.
- Tyre, Ladder of . . iii. 17^a (Ewing).
- Tyropœan Valley . ii. 387^b (Warren).
- Tzade . . . . iv. 825^b.

- Ucal . . . . iv. 825^a.
- Uel . . . . iv. 825^a.
- Uknaz . . . . iv. 825^a.
- Ulai . . . . iv. 825^a (Sayce).
- Ulam . . . . iv. 825^a; ii. 129^b, 131^b.
- Ulfilas’ Version . . iv. 861^b ff. (Bebb).
- Ulla . . . . iv. 825^b; ii. 132^a.
- Ummah . . . iv. 825^b.
- Uncial Writing . . iv. 950^b ff. (Kenyon).
- Unclean, Uncleanness . iv. 825^b (Peake); i. 522^b (Poucher).
  - Laws on . . . iii. 104^a (Harford-Battersby), 332^b f. (Macalister).
  - Origin of Distinction between Clean and Unclean . . iv. 825^b ff.
  - Ritual and Uncleanness . . . iv. 833^a; Ext. 621^a, 718^b f. (Kautzsch).
  - Taboo . . . iv. 826^a ff.; ii. 38^b ff. (Macalister), 395^b (Skinner); Ext. 613^b (Kautzsch).
  - Terminology . . iv. 825^b note.
  - Types of: Death . iv. 831^b.
    - Food . . . iv. 829^a ff.; ii. 35^a ff., 38^b ff. (Macalister).
    - Functions of Reproduction . . iv. 827^b ff.; iii. 331^b (Macalister).
    - Leprosy . . . iv. 831^b; iii. 95^a ff. (Macalister).
  - in NT . . . iv. 833^b.
    - Christ’s Teaching . iv. 834^a.
- Undergird . . . Ext. 367^a (Blomfield).
- Underling . . . iv. 834^a.
- Undersetter . . . iv. 834^b.
- Undertake . . . iv. 834^b.
- Underwrite . . . iv. 834^b.
- Uneasy . . . iv. 834^b.
- Ungracious . . . iv. 834^b.
- Unicorn . . . iv. 834^b (Post).
- Unknown God . . iv. 835^a (Headlam); i. 196^b.
- Unleavened Bread . i. 317^b ff. (Macalister); iii. 90^a (H. A. White).
  - Feast of . . . i. 860^a ff. (Harding).
    - Relation to Passover . . . i. 860^a; iii. 684^b, 685$^{a, b}$, 686^b (W. J. Moulton); Ext. 621^b, 662^a, 718^a f. (Kautzsch).
    - in Ac 20$^{6, 7}$ . . i. 419^b (Turner).
- Unni . . . . iv. 835^a; ii. 125^b.
- Unno . . . . iv. 835^a.
- Unright . . . iv. 835^a.
- Unselfishness . . Ext. 28^b (Votaw).
- Untoward . . . iv. 835^b.

Upharsin . . . iii. 340^b ff. (Margoliouth).
Uphaz . . . . iv. 835^b (T. G. Pinches).
Upright, Book of the . iv. 12^a (Budde).
Ur (person) . . . iv. 835^b; ii. 132^b.
Ur (place) . . . i. 224^b, 226^a (Hommel); Ext. 534^a (Jastrow).
Ur of the Chaldees . iv. 835^b (T. G. Pinches); i. 15^a, 17^a (Ryle), 184^a note (Hommel), 537^b (Stenning).
Ur-ghanna . . . i. 225^a.
Ur-gur . . . . i. 225^b.
Urbanus . . . iv. 837^b.
Uri . . . . iv. 837^b; ii. 127^b.
Uriah, Urijah . . iv. 837^b (N. J. D. White); ii. 132^b (Curtis).
Urias (Ap.) . . . iv. 838^a.
Uriel . . . . iv. 838^a; ii. 124^a, 125^b, 126^b.
Uriel (Archangel) . iv. 838^a (Marshall); ii. 778^b.
Urim and Thummim . iv. 838^b (A. R. S. Kennedy).
  Etymology and Meaning . . iv. 838^b.
  Nature and use . iv. 839^a ff.; Ext. 662^b (Kautzsch).
Usertesen III. . . i. 659^a.
Usury . . . . iv. 841^a (Bennett); i. 523^a (Poucher), 579^b f.
Ut-napishtim . . Ext. 577^a.
Uta (Ap.) . . . iv. 841^a.
Uthai . . . . iv. 841^b; ii. 129^a.
Uthi (Ap.) . . . iv. 841^b.
Uz . . . . iv. 841^b (Pinches).
Uzai . . . . iv. 842^b.
Uzal . . . . iv. 842^b (Margoliouth); i. 135^a.
Uzza . . . . iv. 843^a; ii. 131^a.
Uzzah . . . . iv. 843^a; ii. 125^a.
Uzzen-sheerah . . iv. 487^b [Sheerah]; ii. 130^a.
Uzzi . . . . iv. 843^b; ii. 123$^{a\ bis}$, 123^b, 129^{a,b}, 130^b.
Uzzia . . . . iv. 843^b.
Uzziah . . . . iv. 843^b; ii. 124^a, 129^a, 132^b.
Uzziah (Azariah) . . iv. 843^b (Whitehouse); i. 186^b (Hommel).
Uzziel . . . . iv. 845^b; ii. 122^b, 123^a, 124^b, 125^{a,b}, 130^b.

Vagabond . . . iv. 845^a (Hastings).
Vaheb . . . . iv. 845^a, 629^b.
Vail . . . . [See Veil].
Vaizatha . . . iv. 845^b.
Vale, Valley . . iv. 845^b (Driver).
Valentinus . . . ii. 701^a (Reynolds); iii. 539^a (Stanton).
Valentinus, Gospel of . Ext. 438^b (Tasker).
Vaniah . . . iv. 846^b.
Vanity . . . . iv. 846^b (Garvie).
Vashni . . . . iv. 847^a.
Vashti . . . . iv. 847^a.
Vaticanus, Codex . i. 209^a (Murray).
Vau (Waw) . . . iv. 847^a.
Vedan . . . . iv. 847^a (Margoliouth).
Veil (Vail) . . . iv. 847^b (Davies).
  Article of Dress . iv. 848^a; i. 627^b (Mackie); iii. 240^a, 455^b (Selbie).
  of Tabernacle . . iv. 847^b, 662^b (A. R. S. Kennedy).
  of Temple . . . iv. 847^b, 700^b, 711^a, 714^b.
Venus . . . . i. 169^a ff. (Driver), 193^a (Pinches); iv. 181^b (Bennett).
Vellum . . . iv. 946^b (Kenyon).
Vermilion . . . i. 458^a (Thatcher).
Verse . . . . iv. 4^a (Budde).
Versions . . . iv. 848^b (Bebb).
  History and Origin . iv. 849^a ff.
  Method of use . . iv. 851^b ff.
  Printed Editions, use of . . . iv. 851^a.
  Revisions . . . iv. 850^b.
  Uses of Versions—
    Critical . . . iv. 853^a.
    Exegetical . . iv. 854^b.
    General . . . iv. 854^b.
    Literary and Philological . . iv. 855^a.
Versions, Arabic . . i. 136^a (Burkitt).
  Aramaic . . . iv. 678^b [Targum].
  Armenian . . . i. 151^b, 153^a (Conybeare).
  Bohairic . . . i. 670^a (Forbes Robinson).
  Bohemian . . . Ext. 417^b (Bebb).
  Danish . . . Ext. 415^b (Bebb).
  Dutch . . . Ext. 414^b (Bebb).
  Egyptian . . . i. 668^a (Forbes Robinson).
  English . . . [See Versions, English].
  Ethiopic . . . i. 791^a (Charles).
  French . . . Ext. 402^b (Bebb).
  Georgian . . . iv. 861^a (Bebb).
  German . . . Ext. 411^a (Bebb).
  Gothic . . . iv. 861^b (Bebb).
  Greek . . . iv. 864^b (Redpath).
    Aquila's . . iv. 865^a.
    Septuagint . . iv. 437^b (Nestle).
    Symmachus' . . iv. 865^b.
    Theodotion's . . iv. 866^a.
  Greek, Modern . . Ext. 420^a (Bebb).
  Hungarian . . Ext. 417^a (Bebb).
  Itala . . . . iii. 47^b (H. A. A. Kennedy).
  Italian . . . Ext. 406^b (Bebb).
  Latin, Old . . iii. 47^a (H. A. A. Kennedy).
  Memphitic . . . i. 669^b (Forbes Robinson).
  Norwegian . . Ext. 415^b (Bebb).
  Polish . . . Ext. 418^b (Bebb).
  Portuguese . . Ext. 410^b (Bebb).
  Russian . . . Ext. 419^a (Bebb).
  Sahidic . . . i. 669^b (Forbes Robinson).
  Samaritan . . Ext. 68^b (König).
  Slavonic . . . iv. 863^b (Bebb).
  Spanish . . . Ext. 408^b (Bebb).
  Swedish . . . Ext. 416^b (Bebb).
  Syriac . . . iv. 645^b, 740^b.
  Thebaic . . . i. 669^b [Sahidic].
  Vulgate . . . iv. 873^a (H. J. White).

- Versions, English . iv. 855^b (Milligan); Ext. 236^a (J. H. Lupton).
  - Anglo-Norman . Ext. 237^b.
    - Rolle of Hampole . Ext. 238^a.
    - William of Shoreham . Ext. 237^b.
  - Anglo-Saxon . Ext. 236^a.
    - Bede . Ext. 236^b.
    - Caedmon . Ext. 236^a.
    - King Alfred . Ext. 236^b.
  - Authorized Version and successors . iv. 859^a; Ext. 253^a ff.
  - Bishops' Bible . iv. 858^b; Ext. 250^a.
  - Genevan . iv. 858^a; Ext. 249^a.
  - Reformation Period . iv. 856^a ff.; Ext. 241^a ff.
    - Coverdale . iv. 857^a; Ext. 244^a.
    - Great Bible . iv. 857^b; Ext. 247^a.
    - Matthew's Bible . iv. 857^a; Ext. 245^b.
    - Taverner's Bible . iv. 857^b; Ext. 246^b.
    - Tindale . iv. 856^a; Ext. 241^b.
  - Revised Version . iv. 860^a; Ext. 259^b ff.
    - American . Ext. 269^a.
  - Rheims and Douai . iv. 858^b; Ext. 251^b ff.
  - Wyclifite . iv. 855^b; Ext. 238^b.
- Very . iv. 866^a (Hastings).
- Vessels . ii. 40^a ff. (Macalister).
- Vetch . i. 498^b.
- Vex, Vexation . iv. 866^b (Hastings).
- Vile . iv. 867^a (Hastings).
- Village . iv. 867^b (Ewing).
- Vine, Vineyard . iv. 868^a (Post); ii. 31^b f. (Macalister).
  - Keeper of . iv. 868^b.
  - Vine of Sodom . iv. 869^b; ii. 34^b (Macalister).
- Vinegar . iv. 870^a (Macalister).
- Vintage . iv. 869^a (Post).
- Viol . iv. 870^b.
- Viper . iv. 460^a (Post).
- Virgin . iv. 870^b (Woods).
  - Fountain of the . iv. 515^b ff. (Wilson).
- Virtue . iv. 871^a (Hastings).
- Vision . iv. 871^b (Morgan), 108^a, 115^b (Davidson); Ext. 673^b, 675^b (Kautzsch).
- Visitation, Divine . i. 524^b (Poucher).
- Vophsi . iv. 871^b.
- Vow . iv. 872^a (Peake); i. 479^a (Marshall).
- Vowels . i. 72^b, 74^b (I. Taylor); iv. 949^b (Kenyon).
- Vulgate . iv. 873^a (H. J. White).
  - Circumstances of Translation . iv. 873^a ff.
  - Criticism, Textual, of OT . iv. 884^b.
    - of NT . iv. 883^a.
  - Difference from English Bible . iv. 885^a ff.
  - Early Editions . iv. 880^a ff.
  - History after Jerome's death . iv. 877^a ff.
    - British and Irish types . iv. 878^a.
    - French . iv. 878^b.
- Vulgate—
  - Sanction of Council of Trent . iv. 880^a.
  - Spanish Vulgate . iv. 878^b.
  - MSS . iv. 886^a ff.
  - Name . iv. 884^b.
  - Nature and Method of Jerome's Revision iv. 882^a ff.
- Vulture . iv. 890^b.
- Vulture Stele . i. 225^a.

- Wafer . i. 318^b (Macalister).
- Wages . Ext. 357^b (Bennett).
- Waggon . i. 357^a (H. A. White).
  - Threshing . i. 357^a, 50^b (Paterson).
- Wailing . iii. 453^b (Nicol).
- Wait . iv. 890^a (Hastings).
- Walls . iv. 890^b (Warren).
  - of Jerusalem . ii. 594^b f., 596^b (Conder).
- Walnut . ii. 34^b; iii. 574^b.
- War . iv. 892^a (Barnes).
  - Jahweh the war-God Ext. 628^a, 635^b ff. (Kautzsch).
  - Method and Tactics . iv. 893^b ff.
    - Fortresses . iv. 893^a, 894^b.
  - Strategic Routes . iv. 892^b f.
  - Treaties . iv. 895^a.
  - Treatment of Enemies iv. 895^a.
  - War in NT . iv. 895^b.
    - in Prophets . iv. 895^b.
- Ward . iv. 896^a (Hastings).
- Ware . iv. 896^a.
- Wars of the Lord, Book of the . iv. 896^b (Selbie), 12^a.
- Washings . i. 257^b (Kennedy); iv. 833^b (Peake), 898^a (Patrick).
- Washpot . iv. 896^b.
- Wasp . iv. 896^b.
- Watch . iv. 766^b.
- Watcher . iv. 897^a; i. 707^a (Charles).
- Water . iv. 897^a (James Patrick).
  - Metaphorical use . iv. 898^b.
- Water of Bitterness . iii. 273^b f. (W. P. Paterson), 325^b f. (Macalister).
- Water of Separation . iv. 208^b (A. R. S. Kennedy).
- Waterspouts . iv. 899^a.
- Wave-breast, Wave-offering . iv. 338^a (W. P. Paterson); iii. 588^a (Driver); Ext. 722^a (Kautzsch).
- Waw . iv. 847^a.
- Wax, as Writing Material . iv. 945^a (Kenyon).
- Wax (verb) . iv. 899^a (Hastings).
- Way . iv. 899^a (Garvie).
- 'Ways, Two' . Ext. 439^a ff. (Stenning).
- Waymark . iv. 899^b.
- Wealth . iv. 900^a (Bennett).
- Wean . iv. 900^b.
- Weapons . i. 154^b (Barnes).
  - Worship of . Ext. 112^b (Ramsay).
- Weasel . iv. 900^b.
- Weaving . iv. 900^b (H. Porter).

- Wedding iii. 271^a ff. (W. P. Paterson).
- Weeds iv. 901^b.
- Week iv. 765^b (Abrahams).
- Weeks, Feast of iii. 740^a (Purves); i. 861^a (Harding).
- Weeping iii. 453^a (Nicol).
- Weights and Measures iv. 901^b (A. R. S. Kennedy).
  - Babylonian iv. 902^a ff., 907^a; i. 218^b ff. (Hommel); iii. 418^a ff.
  - Egyptian iv. 903^b, 905^a f., 907^b; iii. 418^a.
  - Græco-Roman iv. 906^a, 913^b.
  - Hebrew Measures of Capacity iv. 910^b ff.
    - Ephah-bath iv. 910^b ff.
    - Hin iv. 910^b ff.
    - Homer-kor iv. 910^b, 911^b ff.
    - Kab iv. 910^b, 911^b.
    - Log iv. 910^b ff.
    - Omer iv. 912^a.
    - Seah iv. 910^b ff.
  - Hebrew Measures of Length iv. 906^b ff.
    - Cubit iv. 906^b ff.
    - Fathom iv. 909^b.
    - Fingerbreadth iv. 909^a.
    - Furlong iv. 909^b.
    - Handbreadth iv. 909^a.
    - Sabbath Day's Journey iv. 909^b, 323^a (Massie).
    - Span iv. 909^a.
  - Hebrew Measure of Surface iv. 910^a.
  - Hebrew Weight-System iv. 902^a ff.
    - Babylonian (252 gr. unit) iv. 902^a.
    - New Syrian (320 gr. unit) iv. 904^a.
    - Phœnician (224 gr. unit) iv. 905^b.
    - Syncretic System of Mishna iv. 906^a.
    - Weights: — Daric (dram) iv. 904^a.
      - Mina (maneh, pound) iv. 902^b ff.
      - Shekel iv. 902^b ff.
        - of the Sanctuary iii. 422^a.
      - Talent iv. 902^b ff.
  - Phœnician Weight-System iv. 905^b; iii. 419^a.
  - Scripture, Measures of iv. 912^b ff.
    - Bath iv. 913^a.
    - Ephah iv. 913^a.
    - Firkin iv. 913^b.
    - Hin iv. 913^a.
    - Homer-kor iv. 913^a.
    - Kab iv. 912^b.
    - Log iv. 912^b.
    - Omer iv. 913^a.
    - Seah iv. 913^a.
    - Tenth Deal iv. 912^b.
  - Sources, Monumental and Literary iv. 901^b.
- Wells iv. 913^b f. (Hastings, Hull). [See Jerusalem, Palestine, Springs.]
  - as Sanctuaries iv. 395^b (A. R. S. Kennedy); Ext. 616^b (Kautzsch).
- Wen iii. 330^a (Macalister).
- Wench iv. 914^a.
- Whale iv. 914^b.
- Wheat iv. 914^b (Post); i. 316^a (Macalister).
- Wheel iv. 915^a (Carslaw).
- Whelp iv. 915^a.
- Whirlwind iv. 915^b (Mackie and Hull).
- White i. 458^a (Thatcher).
- White of an Egg iv. 916^a; ii. 37^a.
- Whole, Wholesome iv. 916^a (Hastings).
- Whore [See Harlot].
- Wickedness iv. 529^b (E. R. Bernard).
- Widow iv. 916^b (Bennett); iii. 269^a f. (Paterson); iv. 771^b (Lock).
- Wife i. 847^a (Bennett). [See Marriage].
- Wilderness iv. 917^b (Selbie).
  - of Judæa ii. 792^a (Wilson).
  - of Wanderings i. 803^b ff. (Harris and Chapman), 850^b (Warren).
- Will, Would iv. 918^b (Hastings).
- Will iv. 919^b (Stanton).
  - Divine iv. 922^a; i. 678^b (Murray).
  - Human iv. 920^a; i. 678^b (Murray).
    - Free iv. 920^b ff.; i. 680^a ff. (Murray); iv. 143^b (Garvie); Ext. 293^b (Fairweather).
- Will (Testament) iv. 720^b (Massie).
- Will-Worship iv. 923^a.
- Willow Tree iv. 923^a (Post).
- Wimples iv. 923^b; i. 627^b.
- Wind iv. 923^b (Mackie).
- Window ii. 435^b (Warren); iv. 699^b f., 709^a (Davies).
- Wine ii. 33^a ff. (Macalister); iv. 869^b (Post).
  - Unfermented ii. 34^a.
- Winebibber iv. 924^a.
- Winefat i. 855^b.
- Winepress ii. 33^a (Macalister); iv. 869^b (Post).
- Wink iv. 924^a.
- Winnow i. 51^a.
- Wisdom iv. 924^b (Siegfried); i. 648^a (A. R. S. Kennedy).
  - Doctrine of Ext. 281^a ff. (Fairweather), 728^a ff. (Kautzsch).
  - Ethics of Wisdom Literature i. 782^a (Strong).
  - Greek Influence iv. 924^b.
  - and the Logos Ext. 283^b (Fairweather).
  - in Baruch iv. 927^b.
    - Ecclesiastes iv. 927^a.
    - Job iv. 925^b.
    - 4 Maccabees iv. 928^a.

Wisdom—
  in Philo . . . Ext. 206^a (Drummond), 283^b (Fairweather).
    Post-Exilic Period iv. 924^b. [See under Doctrine].
    Prophetic Age . iv. 924^b.
    Proverbs . . iv. 924^b f.
    Psalms . . . iv. 925^a.
    Sirach . . . iv. 927^b; Ext. 281^b (Fairweather).
    Wisdom, Book of . iv. 929^a ff.; Ext. 282^b f. (Fairweather).
Wisdom, Book of . iv. 928^a (Siegfried).
  Aim . . . iv. 929^a.
  Authorship . . iv. 930^b.
  Character . . iv. 928^b.
  Contents . . . iv. 929^b.
  Date . . . . iv. 930^b.
  Doctrine of God . iv. 930^a; Ext. 278^a (Fairweather).
    Individual Immortality . . . iv. 930^a.
    Logos . . . Ext. 283^a (Fairweather).
    Satan . . . iv. 409^a (Whitehouse).
    Sin . . . iv. 532^a (E. R. Bernard).
    Soteriology . . iv. 930^b.
  Eschatology . . iv. 930^a; i. 746^a (Charles); iv. 233^a (E. R. Bernard).
  Integrity . . . iv. 930^b.
  Language . . . iv. 928^b; iii. 35^a (Margoliouth).
  Psychology . . Ext. 291$^{a,\,b}$ (Fairweather).
  Text . . . . iv. 931^a.
  Title . . . . iv. 928^a.
  Versions . . . iv. 931^a.
Wist, Wit, Wot, Witty iv. 931^b (Hastings).
Witch, Witchcraft . iii. 208^b ff. (Whitehouse); iv. 934^a (Adeney); Ext. 551^a ff. (Jastrow), 596^a (Johns). [See Sorcery].
Withered Hand . . iii. 326^b (Macalister).
Withs . . . . iv. 932^a.
Witness . . . iv. 932^a (Selbie).
Witnesses, The Three . ii. 689^a (Strong).
Wizard . . . iv. 606^a (Whitehouse). [See Magic, Witch].
Wolf . . . . iv. 933^a.
Woman . . . iv. 933^a (Adeney); i. 847^a f. (Bennett).
  in Judaism . . iv. 934^a, 640^a (Bacher).
  in Mourning Rites . iv. 934^b; iii. 454^b (Nicol).
  in Music . . . iv. 934^b.
  in NT and Christianity iv. 934^b ff.
    Gifts . . . iv. 935^b.
    Offices . . . iv. 936^b.
  in Prophecy . . iv. 934^b.
  in Semitic Cults . iv. 933^b; Ext. 579^b (Jastrow), 591^a (Johns).
  Serving Women of Tabernacle . . iv. 934^b, 85^b, 89^a (Baudissin).
  Status of Female Slaves . . . iv. 464^a ff. (Whitehouse).
Wonder . . . iii. 384^a (J. H. Bernard); iv. 513^a.
Wood . . . . ii. 54^a f. (Post).
  as Writing Material . iv. 944^b (Kenyon).
Wool . . . . iv. 937^a (Mackie).
Word . . . . iv. 937^a (John Patrick), 488^a f. (Marshall); Ext. 284^a (Fairweather). [See Logos].
Works, Good . . Ext. 294^a f. (Fairweather).
  and Faith . . . i. 834^b (Warfield); ii. 546^a (Mayor).
World . . . . iv. 937^b (Stanton).
  in St. John's Gospel and Epistles . . ii. 687^a (Strong), 724^b (Reynolds).
Worm . . . . iv. 940^b.
  Disease of Worms . iii. 330^b (Macalister).
Wormwood . . . iv. 940^b.
Worship . . . iv. 941^a.
Worship in Old Testament . . . [See Praise, Sacrifice].
Worship in New Testament . . . iv. 941^a (Adeney).
  Apostolic Teaching and Custom . iv. 941^b; i. 426^b ff. (Gayford), 490^b (Robertson).
    Leaders of Worship iv. 942^b.
    Method . . . iv. 942^b.
    Object (God the Father, Christ) . iv. 943^a f.
    Places . . . iv. 942^a.
    Times . . . iv. 941^b.
  Christ's Teaching and Practice . . iv. 941^b; Ext. 31^a (Votaw).
Worship in Synagogue iv. 640^a ff. (Bacher).
Wot . . . . iv. 931^b.
Wrath . . . . i. 97^b (Orr).
Wrestling . . . iv. 944^a.
Writing . . . iv. 944^a (Kenyon); i. 72^a (I. Taylor), 729^b (Bartlet); iii. 26^b, 27^b (Margoliouth), 597^b (Curtis).
  Alphabets . . iv. 949^a; i. 70^b ff. (I. Taylor).
  Antiquity . . iv. 944^a.
  Codex . . . iv. 947^a, 951^b f.
  Greek Writing on Papyrus . . iv. 950^b
    Minuscule Writing iv. 953^b.
    Uncial Writing . iv. 952^b.
  Egyptian Writing . i. 656^a (Crum), 70^b f. (I. Taylor).
  Hebrew Writing . iv. 948^a.
    Accents . . iv. 950^a.
    Separation of Words and Sections . iv. 950^a.
    Synagogue Rolls . iv. 949^b.
    Verses . . . iv. 950^a.
    Vowel Points . iv. 949^b; i. 72^b, 74^b (I. Taylor).
  Latin Writing . . iv. 954^b.
  Libraries . . . iv. 956^a.
  Materials for Writing . . . iv. 944^b ff.
    Bark . . . iv. 945^a.
    Clay . . . iv. 944^b.

Writing—Materials—
  Ink . . . iv. 948^a.
  Lead . . . iv. 945^a.
  Leather . . . iv. 945^a.
  Linen . . . iv. 945^a.
  Paper . . . iv. 947^b.
  Papyrus . . . iv. 945^b.
  Parchment or Vellum . . . iv. 946^b.
  Pens . . . iv. 947^b.
  Potsherds . . . iv. 945^a.
  Stone . . . iv. 944^b.
  Wax . . . iv. 945^a.
  Wood . . . iv. 944^b.
 Palimpsests . . . iv. 955^a.
 Papyri . . . Ext. 352^b. [See Papyri].
 Rolls . . . iv. 945^a, 946^a f.
 Stichometry and Colometry . . . iv. 955^b.
Wyclif, John . . . iv. 855^b; Ext. 238^b.

Xanthicus . . . iv. 765^a (Abrahams).
Xerxes . . . iv. 958^a (Selbie).

Yarn . . . iii. 125^b (Ewing).
Year . . . iv. 763^a ff. (Abrahams); Ext. 478^b ff. (Ramsay).
 Beginning of . . . iv. 764^a; Ext. 483^b (Ramsay).
Yellow . . . i. 458^a (Thatcher).
Yoke . . . iv. 958^a (Nicol).
Yokefellow . . . iv. 644^b [Synzygus].

Zaanan . . . iv. 959^a.
Zaanannim . . . iv. 959^a (Selbie).
Zaavan . . . iv. 959^a.
Zabad . . . iv. 959^a (Bennett); ii. 126^a, 130^a, 132^b (Curtis).
Zabadæans . . . iv. 959^b (Margoliouth).
Zabadeas (Ap.) . . . iv. 960^a.
Zabbai . . . iv. 960^a.
Zabbud . . . iv. 960^a.
Zabdeus (Ap.) . . . iv. 960^a.
Zabdi . . . iv. 960^a; ii. 129^a, 131^a.
Zabdiel . . . iv. 960^a; ii. 132^b.
Zabud . . . iv. 960^a.
Zaccai . . . iv. 960^a [Zabbai].
Zacchæus . . . iv. 960^a (Redpath).
Zaccur . . . iv. 960^b; ii. 122^b, 123^a, 125^a.
Zachariah . . . iv. 960^b.
Zacharias . . . iv. 961^a.
Zachary (Ap.) . . . iv. 961^a.
Zadok, Zadokites . . . iv. 961^a (J. Taylor); i. 6^b (N. J. D. White); ii. 123$^{a\ bis}$, 123^b, 127^a (Curtis); iv. 72^b, 89^a (Baudissin); Ext. 719^a (Kautzsch).
Zaham . . . iv. 962^a; ii. 126^b, 127^a.
Zain . . . iv. 962^a.
Zair . . . iv. 962^a.
Zalaph . . . iv. 962^a.
Zalmon . . . iv. 962^a (Wilson); ii. 132^a (Curtis).
Zalmonah . . . iv. 962^b.
Zalmunnah . . . iv. 964^a (Cooke).
Zamâma-shum-idina . . . i. 182^b.
Zambri (Ap.) . . . iv. 962^b.
Zamoth (Ap.) . . . iv. 962^b.
Zamzummim . . . iv. 962^b (Driver), 994^b.
Zanoah . . . iv. 962^b; ii. 129^a.
Zaphenath-paneah . . . iv. 963^a (Griffith); i. 665^b (Crum); iii. 819^b.
Zaphon . . . iv. 963^a.
Zaraias (Ap.) . . . iv. 963^a.
Zarakes (Ap.) . . . iv. 963^b.
Zardeus (Ap.) . . . iv. 963^b.
Zarephath . . . iv. 963^b (Mackie).
Zarethan . . . iv. 963^b (Selbie).
Zathoes (Ap.) . . . iv. 963^b.
Zathui (Ap.) . . . iv. 963^b.
Zattu . . . iv. 964^a.
Zaza . . . iv. 964^a; ii. 126^a.
Zealot . . . i. 348^a [Cananæan].
Zebadiah . . . iv. 964^a; ii. 124^b, 125^b, 131$^{a\ bis}$, 132^a.
Zebah . . . iv. 964^a (Cooke).
Zebedee . . . iv. 964^b (Milligan).
Zebidah . . . iv. 964^b; ii. 127^a.
Zebina . . . iv. 964^b.
Zeboiim . . . iv. 964^b.
Zeboim . . . iv. 965^a.
Zebul . . . iv. 965^a (Cooke); i. 9^b (Selbie).
Zebulun . . . iv. 965^a (Ewing); ii. 129^b (Curtis).
Zechariah . . . iv. 966^a (Macpherson); ii. 122^b, 123^a, 124^b, 125$^{a\ bis}$, 125$^{b\ quinquies}$, 126^a, 127^a, 129^a, 131^a (Curtis); Ext. 673^b, 676^b (Kautzsch).
  Tomb of . . . iv. 456^b (Nicol).
Zechariah, Book of . . . iv. 967^a (Nowack).
 Activity and Significance of the Prophet . . . iv. 967^b.
 Genuine Prophecies (chs. 1–8) . . . iv. 967^a.
  Messianic Hope . . . iv. 967^b; Ext. 713^b (Kautzsch).
 Chs. 9–14: Contents . . . iv. 968^a.
  Date of component Parts . . . iv. 969^a.
  Relation of Parts . . . iv. 968^b.
  Religious Value . . . iv. 969^b f.
   Eschatology . . . iv. 969^b.
Zecher . . . iv. 970^b.
Zechrias (Ap.) . . . iv. 970^b.
Zedad . . . iv. 970^b.
Zedekiah . . . iv. 970^b (N. J. D. White); ii. 126^b, 127^a (Curtis).
Zeeb . . . iii. 632^a (Cooke); ii. 172^a n.
Zela(h) . . . iv. 973^a.
Zelek . . . iv. 973^a; ii. 132^b.
Zelelponites . . . ii. 128^a.
Zelophehad . . . iv. 973^a; ii. 129^b.
Zelzah . . . iv. 973^a.
Zemaraim . . . iv. 973^a.

- Zemarite . . . iv. 973^b (Margoliouth).
- Zemirah . . . iv. 973^b; ii. 130^b.
- Zenan . . . iv. 959^a [Zaanan].
- Zenas . . . iv. 973^b.
- Zephaniah . . . iv. 973^b (Macpherson); ii. 124^a (Curtis).
- Zephaniah, Apocalypse of . . . iv. 974^a (Marshall).
- Zephaniah, Book of . iv. 974^a (Selbie).
  - Author . . . iv. 974^a.
  - Contents . . . iv. 974^b.
  - Date and Unity . iv. 975^a.
  - Literary Characteristics and Text . iv. 976^a.
  - Religious Value . iv. 976^b.
- Zephath . . . ii. 415^b [Hormah]; iv. 977^a.
- Zephathah . . . iv. 977^a.
- Zephi, Zepho . . iv. 977^a.
- Zephon, Zephonite . iv. 963^a [Zaphon].
- Zer . . . iv. 977^a.
- Zerah . . . iv. 977^a (Nicol); ii. 123^a *bis*, 125^b, 129^a (Curtis).
- Zerahiah . . . iv. 977^b; ii. 123$^{a, b}$.
- Zered . . . iv. 977^b; i. 806^a.
- Zeredah, Zererah . iv. 963^b [Zarethan].
- Zeresh . . . iv. 977^b.
- Zereth . . . iv. 977^b; ii. 128^a.
- Zereth-shahar . . iv. 977^b.
- Zeri . . . ii. 522^b [Izri], 125^a.
- Zeror . . . iv. 978^a.
- Zeruah . . . iv. 978^a.
- Zerubbabel . . . iv. 978^a (Selbie); ii. 127^a (Curtis).
  - wrongly identified with Sheshbazzar . iv. 493^b.
  - Temple of . . iv. 710^a ff. (Davies).
- Zeruiah . . . iv. 979^b; ii. 126^b, 127^a.
- Zetham . . . iv. 979^b; ii. 123^a.
- Zethan . . . iv. 979^b; ii. 130^b.
- Zethar . . . iv. 979^b.
- Zeugma . . . Ext. 160^b (König).
- Zezer . . . i. 658^a.
- Zia . . . iv. 979^b; ii. 131^b.
- Ziba . . . iv. 979^b (Strachan).
- Zibeon . . . iv. 980^a.
- Zibia . . . iv. 980^a; ii. 131^a.
- Zibiah . . . iv. 980^a; ii. 126^b.
- Zichri . . . iv. 980^a; ii. 124^a *bis*, 131^a *ter*.
- Ziddim . . . iv. 977^a [Zer].
- Zidon . . . iv. 980^a (Mackie).
  - Relation to Tyre . iv. 823^b.
- Zigabenus, Euthymius Ext. 486^b (Turner).
- Ziha . . . iv. 981^b.
- Ziḳḳurat . . . [See Temples (Babylonian)].
- Ziklag . . . iv. 981^b.
- Zillah . . . iv. 981^b; i. 35^b [Adah].
- Zillethai . . . iv. 982^a; ii. 131^a, 132^a.
- Zilpah . . . iv. 982^a.
- Zimmah . . . iv. 982^a; ii. 123^a *bis*.
- Zimran . . . iv. 982^a.
- Zimri . . . iv. 982^a (N. J. D. White); ii. 129^a, 131^a (Curtis).
- Zin . . . iv. 982^b (Chapman).
- Zina . . . iv. 985^a [Zizah]; ii. 123^a.
- Zion . . . iv. 982^b (Wilson); ii. 386^b (Warren), 591^a (Conder).
- Zior . . . iv. 984^a.
- Ziph . . . iv. 984^b; ii. 127$^{a, b}$, 129^a.
- Ziphah . . . iv. 984^b; ii. 129^a.
- Ziphion . . . iv. 963^a [Zaphon]; ii. 131^b.
- Ziphron . . . iv. 511^b [Sibraim].
- Zippor . . . iv. 984^b.
- Zipporah . . . iv. 984^b.
- Ziv . . . iv. 765^a.
- Ziz . . . iv. 984^b (Hull).
- Ziza . . . iv. 984^b; ii. 122^b, 127^a.
- Zizah . . . iv. 985^a.
- Zoan . . . iv. 985^a (Chapman).
- Zoar . . . iv. 985^b (Driver).
- Zobah . . . iv. 987^a (Stenning).
- Zobebah . . . iv. 987^b; ii. 128^b.
- Zodiac, Signs of . . i. 191^b ff. (T. G. Pinches), 217^b f. (Hommel); iii. 307^a.
- Zohar . . . iv. 987^b; ii. 122^b, 128^a.
- Zoheleth, Stone . . iv. 987^b (Stenning).
- Zoheth . . . iv. 988^a; ii. 129^a.
- Zoology . . . iii. 491^a ff. (Post).
- Zophah . . . iv. 988^a; ii. 132^a.
- Zophai . . . iv. 988^a; ii. 124^a.
- Zophar . . . iv. 988^a; ii. 661^b (Davison).
- Zophim . . . iv. 988^a.
- Zôr . . . ii. 759^b (Warren).
- Zorah, Zorathites . iv. 988^a (Selbie); ii. 127^b (Curtis).
- Zorites . . . iv. 988^a; ii. 127^b, 128^a.
- Zoroastrianism . . iv. 988^a (J. H. Moulton).
  - Allusions in Bible and Apocrypha . . iv. 989^a.
  - Influence on Apocalyptic Literature Ext. 297^b f. (Fairweather).
    - on Essenes . . iv. 992^a; i. 113^a (F. Porter).
    - on Esther . . iv. 993^a.
    - on Judaism . . iv. 988^b ff.; Ext. 274^a (Fairweather).
      - in Angelology . iv. 991^a, 993^b.
        - Demonology . iv. 991^b, 993^b; Ext. 289^a (Fairweather).
        - Doctrine of God Ext. 279^a (Fairweather).
        - Eschatology . iv. 990^b, 993^b; Ext. 307^a (Fairweather), 728^a.
    - on Tobit . . iv. 989^a.
  - Influenced by Judaism iv. 992^b.
  - ‘Wisdom’ in the Avesta . . . iv. 993^a.
- Zorobabel . . . iv. 978^a (Selbie).
- Zorzelleus (Ap.) . . iv. 994^a.
- Zû legends . . . i. 222^a (Hommel); Ext. 573^a (Jastrow).
- Zuar . . . iv. 994^a.
- Zugoth . . . Ext. 58^b (Schechter).
- Zuph . . . iv. 994^a; ii. 124^a.
- Zur . . . iv. 994^a; ii. 131^a.
  - Divine Name . . iii. 880^b f. (Whitehouse); iv. 290^a (Selbie).
- Zuriel . . . iv. 994^b.
- Zurishaddai . . . iv. 994^b.
- Zuzim . . . iv. 994^b (Driver); ii. 166^b.

III. INDEX OF SCRIPTURE TEXTS AND OTHER REFERENCES

A. OLD TESTAMENT.

GENESIS.

$1^{1\text{ff.}}$ i. 220^{b}; Ext. 281^{b}.
1^{1}–2^{4a} i. 36^{b}, 501^{a}, 502^{a}.
1^{2} i. 221^{a}; ii. 403^{a}; Ext. 568^{a} n. (Jastrow), 715^{b} (Kautzsch).
1^{6} i. 506^{a}.
1^{7} i. 215^{a}.
$1^{14\text{ff.}}$ i. 191^{a}.
1^{16} i. 193^{a}.
1^{21} Ext. 670^{b} (Kautzsch).
$1^{26\text{f.}}$ iii. 226^{a}; Ext. 291^{b}.
1^{27} Ext. 716^{a} (Kautzsch).
1^{28} Ext. 716^{a} (Kautzsch).
1^{29} Ext. 716^{a} (Kautzsch).
1^{31} Ext. 715^{b} (Kautzsch).
2^{3} iv. 319 f.; Ext. 621^{b} (Kautzsch).
2^{4b-26} i. 36^{b}.
2^{4b-47} i. 501^{b}.
2^{4}–3 i. 839^{a}.
2^{7} i. 36^{a}; ii. 403^{a}; Ext. 665^{b} (Kautzsch).
2^{10} ii. 191^{a}; iii. 551^{a}.
2^{17} ii. 39^{b}; iv. 630^{a} (Hastings).
$2^{18.\ 20}$ ii. 347^{a}.
2^{24} iii. 264^{a} (Paterson).
3^{1-19} i. 591^{a}.
3^{4} iv. 630^{a} (Hastings).
$3^{8\text{ff.}}$ Ext. 637^{b} (Kautzsch).
3^{14} i. 590^{b}.
3^{19} Ext. 665^{b} (Kautzsch).
3^{24} i. 377^{b}; iv. 633 f.; Ext. 644^{a} (Kautzsch).
4^{1} i. 797^{b}; ii. 163 f.
4^{2b-4a} iii. 688^{b}.
$4^{3\text{ff.}}$ Ext. 612^{a} (Kautzsch).
4^{3-5} iv. 330^{b}.
$4^{6.\ 7}$ i. 388^{b} n.
4^{7} iii. 127^{a}.
$4^{12.\ 14}$ ii. 72^{a}.

GENESIS—*continued.*

$4^{14.\ 23\text{ff.}}$ Ext. 623^{a} (Kautzsch).
4^{15} iii. 244^{b}.
4^{16} i. 225^{a}; iii. 558^{a}.
4^{22} iv. 820 f.
$4^{23\text{f.}}$ iii. 19 f.; iv. 11^{a} (Budde).
4^{24} i. 204^{b} n.
4^{26} iv. 470^{b}.
4^{26} i. 711^{a}; iv. 39.
5 iii. 695 (Taylor).
5^{1-3} i. 36^{b}.
5^{3} Ext. 716^{a} (Kautzsch).
5^{29} iii. 555^{b} (Woods).
6^{1-4} iv. 408^{a}; Ext. 209^{a}.
6^{2} iv. 598^{a} (Selbie).
$6^{2.\ 4}$ iv. 570^{b} (Sanday), 598^{a}.
6^{3} ii. 192^{a}; Ext. 666^{b} (Kautzsch).
6^{4} iii. 512^{b}.
6^{9} iii. 555^{b} (Woods).
7^{11} iv. 763.
8^{20} Ext. 612^{a} (Kautzsch).
8^{21} iv. 334^{b}.
9^{1} i. 221^{b}.
$9^{3\text{ff.}}$ Ext. 716^{a} (Kautzsch).
$9^{12\text{ff.}}$ Ext. 716^{a} (Kautzsch).
$9^{13\text{ff.}}$ iv. 196.
9^{25-27} iv. 11 (Budde).
10 Ext. 79 ff. (Jastrow).
10^{3} iv. 286^{b}.
10^{6} iv. 176^{b}.
10^{8-10} iii. 552.
10^{8-12} i. 221^{a}; Ext. 81^{a}.
10^{9} i. 799^{a}.
10^{10} i. 224^{b}.
10^{11} i. 339^{b}; iv. 223 f.
10^{12} i. 227^{a}; iv. 229^{b}.
10^{13} iii. 487.
10^{14} Ext. 81^{a}.
10^{15} Ext. 81^{b}.
10^{17} i. 184^{b}.
10^{19} iii. 46^{b}.

GENESIS—*continued.*

10^{22} Ext. 82^{a}.
10^{25} iii. 738^{a} (Selbie); Ext. 84^{a} n.
11 i. 216^{a}.
11^{1-9} iv. 790 ff.
11^{6} ii. 453^{b}.
11^{10-26} iii. 695 f. (Taylor).
11^{28} i. 265^{b}.
12^{17} Ext. 664^{a} (Kautzsch).
13^{7} Ext. 77^{a}.
14 i. 15^{a}, 222^{b}, 226^{b}; Ext. 88.
14^{1} ii. 224^{b}.
14^{1-16} i. 375^{a}.
14^{2} iv. 491^{b}.
14^{5} ii. 289; iv. 226^{b}.
14^{6} iii. 672^{b}.
14^{7} iii. 67^{a}; Ext. 616^{b} (Kautzsch).
14^{14} iii. 566^{b} (König).
14^{17-20} iii. 335^{b} (Sayce).
14^{18} iii. 145, 450; iv. 353^{b}.
14^{22} Ext. 173^{a}.
15 i. 511^{a}.
15^{2} i. 686^{b}; ii. 190^{a}; iv. 615^{b}.
$15^{2\text{f.}}$ iv. 462^{b}.
15^{9} Ext. 619^{a} (Kautzsch).
$15^{9\text{ff.}}$ Ext. 630^{b} (Kautzsch).
15^{9-17} iii. 576^{a} (Ferries).
15^{19} Ext. 77^{a}.
$16^{1\text{ff.}}$ Ext. 603^{b} (Johns).
$16^{4\text{f.}}$ Ext. 603^{b} (Johns).
16^{7} ii. 277^{b}.
$16^{7\text{f.}}$ Ext. 600^{b} (Johns).
$16^{11\text{f.}}$ iv. 11^{b} (Budde).
$16^{15.\ 23}$ Ext. 604^{b} (Johns).
16^{17} Ext. 370^{b}.
$17^{1\text{ff.}}$ Ext. 716^{a} (Kautzsch).
$17^{10\text{ff.}}$ Ext. 623^{a} (Kautzsch).
$17^{15\text{f.}}$ ii. 563^{b}.

Genesis—*continued.*

$18^{1ff.}$ Ext. 638^a (Kautzsch).
18^2 Ext. 375^b.
18^7 Ext. 375^b.
18^{11} iv. 624^b n.
18^{22} iv. 39^a.
19^{26} iii. 152^a.
19^{30-38} i. 271^a.
19^{38} i. 82^b.
20^{1-17} i. 9^a.
20^{17} Ext. 664^a (Kautzsch).
21^6 iii. 63.
21^{10} Ext. 603^b, 604^b (Johns).
$21^{10f.}$ Ext. 603^b (Johns).
21^{14} Ext. 375^a.
21^{18} ii. 457^a.
21^{19} Ext. 375^a.
21^{21} iii. 672 f.
21^{22-32} i. 9^a.
22 Ext. 663^b (Kautzsch).
22^2 iii. 437 ; Ext. 176^b.
22^9 Ext. 620^a (Kautzsch).
22^{11} iv. 334^b.
22^{14} ii. 563^a ; Ext. 661^a (Kautzsch).
23 Ext. 716^b (Kautzsch).
23^{10-18} Ext. 600^a (Johns).
23^{16} iii. 420^a ; Ext. 374^a.
$24^{2. 9}$ iv. 751^a.
$24^{4f.}$ Ext. 604^a (Johns).
24^{36} Ext. 604^b (Johns).
$24^{53f.}$ Ext. 604^a (Johns).
25^3 iii. 99^b.
25^5 Ext. 604^b (Johns).
25^6 Ext. 604^b, 605^b (Johns).
25^{15} ii. 833^a.
$25^{22f.}$ Ext. 612^a (Kautzsch).
25^{23} iv. 11 (Budde).
25^{27} iii. 894^b ; Ext. 75^b.
25^{30} iv. 24^a.
$26^{7-11. 26-33}$ i. 9^a.
26^{14-33} Ext. 75^b.
26^{22} iv. 223^b.
$26^{26ff.}$ i. 510^a.
26^{34} iii. 213^a.
27^{12} Ext. 664^b (Kautzsch).
$27^{29. 37}$ Ext. 604^b (Johns).
27^{31} ii. 76^b.
27^{37} Ext. 604^b (Johns).
28^{10-22} i. 277^b.
28^{12} iii. 16 f. ; Ext. 643^b (Kautzsch).
28^{12-19} iv. 601^a.
28^{18} iii. 880^b ; Ext. 616^a (Kautzsch).
28^{21} iv. 472^b.
28^{22} Ext. 170^a.
29^{17} i. 814^a ; iii. 88^a, 331^a (Macalister).
29^{18} iv. 464^a.
29^{34} iii. 480^b n.
30^3 i. 300^b ; iii. 7^b ; Ext. 171^a.
$30^{3f. 9f.}$ Ext. 603^b (Johns).
$30^{7f.}$ iii. 485^b.

Genesis—*continued.*

30^8 iv. 944^a.
30^{11} i. 370^a ; ii. 76 ; Ext. 617^a (Kautzsch).
30^{13} Ext. 617^a (Kautzsch).
$30^{14f.}$ iv. 604^a.
$30^{14ff.}$ iii. 210^b (Whitehouse).
30^{20} iv. 965^a.
30^{27} i. 813^a.
$30^{37f.}$ iii. 735^b.
$31^{4ff.}$ Ext. 664^b (Kautzsch).
31^{13} Ext. 170^a.
31^{15} Ext. 604^a (Johns).
31^{16} Ext. 604^a (Johns).
31^{32} Ext. 600^a (Johns).
31^{39} Ext. 607^a (Johns).
31^{41} Ext. 602^b (Johns).
31^{42} i. 857^b.
31^{44} i. 510^a.
$31^{47f.}$ ii. 98^a.
31^{53} iii. 473^a (Driver).
32^{7-10} iii. 213^a.
$32^{22ff.}$ ii. 529 f., 532.
$32^{25ff.}$ Ext. 638^b (Kautzsch).
32^{30} iii. 739^a ; Ext. 640^b (Kautzsch).
32^{32} ii. 39^a ; iv. 831^a.
33^{10} iii. 739^a.
33^{15} ii. 26^a.
33^{18} iv. 472^b.
33^{20} i. 682^a ; Ext. 612^a (Kautzsch).
34 ii. 530^b ; iii. 100 f. ; iv. 518.
34^{30} Ext. 77^a.
35^4 iii. 210^b ; Ext. 616^a (Kautzsch).
$35^{9. 13. 15}$ i. 277^b.
35^{16-20} (cf. 1 S 10^2, Jer 31^{15}) iv. 193^a.
35^{20} Ext. 615^a (Kautzsch).
35^{22} Ext. 172^b.
36^2 i. 90^a ; ii. 393^a.
36^{24} i. 90^a ; iii. 456^a (Post).
36^{37} iv. 223^b.
36^{39} iii. 357 f.
36^{42} iii. 358^a.
37^{25} ii. 772^a ; iv. 610 f. ; Ext. 372^b.
37^{35} Ext. 668^b (Kautzsch).
38 iii. 269^a.
$38^{8ff.}$ Ext. 615^b (Kautzsch).
38^{14} i. 700^b ; iii. 625 f., 848^b.
38^{18} i. 313^b ; iv. 513^b.
38^{24} Ext. 602^b, 603^a (Johns).
39^{4-6} ii. 772^a.
39^6 ii. 230^b n.
$39^{7ff.}$ ii. 772^a.
$40^{1ff.}$ i. 318^b ; ii. 772^b.
41^{1-36} ii. 772^b.
$41^{2. 18}$ iii. 307^b (Hull).
$41^{14. 16. 34f. 40f.}$ ii. 773^a.
$41^{42f.}$ ii. 773^b.

Genesis—*continued.*

41^{45} ii. 775^a.
41^{51} ii. 770^a n.
42^9 ii. 774^a.
42^{24} iv. 517 f.
43^{11} iii. 574^a ; iv. 610 f.
$43^{16. 21. 32}$ ii. 774^a.
44^5 iv. 600^a (Whitehouse).
$44^{5. 15}$ Ext. 651^a (Kautzsch).
44^9 Ext. 600^a (Johns).
$45^{8f.}$ ii. 774^a.
45^{19} Ext. 374^b.
45^{27} Ext. 369^a.
46^{21} iv. 314^a.
46^{26} iv. 750 f.
46^{28} iii. 887^a (Sayce).
46^{34} i. 11^b ; ii. 774^b.
47^{11} iv. 188^b.
$47^{14. 26}$ ii. 774^b.
47^{19} Ext. 602^b (Johns).
47^{24} Ext. 601^b (Johns).
47^{29} iv. 751^a.
47^{31} i. 262^b.
48^5 Ext. 605^b (Johns).
48^{12} iii. 7^b.
48^{14} Ext. 173^b.
48^{22} Ext. 604^b (Johns).
49 iv. 11^b.
49^4 Ext. 172^b.
49^6 ii. 183^b.
49^7 Ext. 649^b (Kautzsch).
49^{10} iii. 83^a (Selbie), 567^a (König) ; iv. 417^b, 500 f. (Aglen).
49^{11} ii. 148^b.
49^{13} iv. 804^b, 965 f.
49^{16-18} i. 549^a.
49^{21} iii. 486^b (Ewing) ; iv. 719^a (Selbie).
49^{24} iv. 196^b.
$50^{2. 26}$ ii. 774^b, 775^a ; iii. 321^b.
50^{20} Ext. 663^b (Kautzsch).
50^{23} i. 300^b ; Ext. 170 f.

EXODUS.

1^{1-13b} i. 806^b.
1^5 iv. 750 f.
1^{11} iii. 820^a, 886^b.
1^{16} i. 257^b ; iii. 331^b (Macalister), 367^a (H. A. White).
1^{21} iii. 367^a.
2^3 iii. 886^a.
2^{10} Ext. 624^b (Kautzsch).
3^5 iv. 826^b.
$3^{5f.}$ Ext. 172^b.
$3^{13ff.}$ Ext. 625^b (Kautzsch).
4^3 iii. 888 f.
4^{22} Ext. 684^b (Kautzsch).
$4^{24ff.}$ Ext. 622^b (Kautzsch).
4^{25} i. 443^a.
4^{27} Ext. 627^a (Kautzsch).
5^3 Ext. 621^b f. (Kautzsch).
5^{7-19} i. 326^b.
5^{16} i. 856^b n.

EXODUS—*continued.*

6$^{3ff.}$ Ext. 716^{b} (Kautzsch).
6^{25} iv. 178^{a}.
7^{1} iv. 114^{b}.
7^{10} iii. 207^{b} (Whitehouse).
7^{17} iii. 889.
8^{1} iii. 889 f.
8$^{16-19}$ iii. 890.
8$^{21-31}$ iii. 890.
8^{26} Ext. 621^{b} (Kautzsch).
9^{1} iii. 890 f.
9^{8} iii. 890 f.
9^{18} iii. 891.
9^{29} iv. 39^{a}.
9$^{29.\ 33}$ Ext. 173^{a}.
10^{4} iii. 891 f.
10^{21} iii. 892^{a}.
11^{2} ii. 173^{b}.
11^{4} iii. 892.
12$^{1-13}$ iii. 686^{a}, 718^{a}.
12^{9} (AV) iv. 176^{b}.
12^{21} Ext. 621^{b} (Kautzsch).
12$^{21-27}$ iii. 684 f.
12^{35} ii. 173^{b}.
12^{38} iii. 399^{a}.
12$^{43-51}$ iii. 686^{a}.
13$^{1.\ 12f.}$ Ext. 719^{a} (Kautzsch).
13$^{9.\ 16}$ iii. 870^{b}, 871^{b} (A. R. S. Kennedy).
13^{17} Ext. 370^{a}.
13$^{17f.}$ i. 807^{b}.
14^{2} iii. 875.
15 iv. 149.
15$^{1-21}$ iv. 11^{b} (Budde).
15^{2} iv. 35^{b}, 358^{b}.
15^{11} i. 858^{a}; Ext. 680^{b} (Kautzsch).
15^{21} iv. 12^{a}.
15^{23} iv. 897^{b}.
15^{25} iii. 347^{a}.
15^{26} iv. 603^{b}.
16^{15} iii. 236^{b} n.
16^{29} iv. 323.
17$^{1-7}$ iii. 293^{b} (Driver), 346^{b} (Chapman).
17$^{11f.}$ Ext. 173^{a}.
17^{15} ii. 563^{b}.
17^{16} ii. 563^{b}; Ext. 173^{a}.
19^{3} Ext. 279^{b}.
19^{5} Ext. 682^{b} (Kautzsch).
19^{6} iv. 70^{a}, 99^{b}.
20^{8} iv. 317^{b}.
20^{24} iii. 479^{a}.
20$^{24ff.}$ Ext. 661^{a} (Kautzsch).
20^{25} iii. 880^{b}; iv. 833; Ext. 170^{a}.
21$^{1ff.}$ Ext. 719^{a} (Kautzsch).
21$^{2.\ 7}$ Ext. 602^{b} (Johns).
21$^{3ff.}$ iv. 464 (Whitehouse).
21^{6} ii. 806^{b}; iv. 464^{b}; Ext. 172^{a}, 279^{b}, 621^{a}, 642^{b} (Kautzsch).
21^{8} Ext. 607^{b} (Johns).
21^{9} Ext. 604^{b} (Johns).
21$^{10f.}$ Ext. 604^{b} (Johns).

EXODUS—*continued.*

21$^{15.\ 17}$ Ext. 605^{b} (Johns).
21^{16} iii. 239^{a}; Ext. 600^{b} (Johns).
21^{18} ii. 654.
21$^{18f.}$ Ext. 606^{a} (Johns).
21^{20} Ext. 606^{a} (Johns).
21$^{20f.}$ iv. 465^{b}.
21^{22} ii. 806^{b}; Ext. 606^{a} (Johns).
21$^{22.\ 27}$ Ext. 606^{a} (Johns).
21^{23} Ext. 606^{a} (Johns).
21^{24} Ext. 606^{a} (Johns).
21$^{24f.}$ Ext. 605^{b} (Johns).
21$^{26f.}$ iv. 465^{b}; Ext. 606^{a} (Johns).
21^{28} Ext. 607^{a} (Johns).
21^{29} Ext. 607^{a} (Johns).
21^{32} Ext. 607^{a} (Johns).
21^{37} Ext. 600^{a} (Johns).
22^{1} Ext. 607^{a} (Johns).
22$^{1f.}$ Ext. 600^{a} (Johns).
22$^{1-3}$ Ext. 600^{b} (Johns).
22^{3} Ext. 601^{b} (Johns).
22$^{4f.}$ Ext. 601^{b} (Johns).
22$^{6-11}$ Ext. 603^{a} (Johns).
22^{7} Ext. 603^{a} (Johns).
22$^{7f.}$ Ext. 602^{b}, 603^{a} (Johns).
22$^{7-9}$ Ext. 600^{a} (Johns).
22$^{10f.}$ Ext. 607$^{a.\ b}$ (Johns).
22$^{10-15}$ Ext. 607^{a} (Johns).
22^{13} Ext. 607^{a} (Johns).
22^{14} Ext. 607^{a} (Johns).
22^{16} Ext. 603^{a}, 604^{a} (Johns).
22^{18} Ext. 600^{a} (Johns).
22^{25} Ext. 607^{a} (Johns).
22$^{29\ (28)}$ ii. 10^{b}; iv. 70^{b}.
22$^{31\ (30)}$ iv. 830^{b}.
23^{10} ii. 35 f.
23$^{10f.}$ Ext. 717^{b} (Kautzsch).
23^{12} iv. 317^{b}.
23^{19} ii. 35^{b}, 195^{b}; iv. 333^{b} (W. P. Paterson), 831^{a}.
23$^{20ff.}$ Ext. 639^{a} (Kautzsch).
24^{4} Ext. 612^{a} (Kautzsch).
24$^{4ff.}$ Ext. 631^{a} (Kautzsch).
24^{5} iv. 69^{b}.
24$^{5ff.}$ Ext. 618^{b} (Kautzsch).
24$^{9ff.}$ Ext. 631^{a} (Kautzsch).
24^{10} Ext. 279^{b}.
25$^{1ff.}$ Ext. 717^{a} (Kautzsch).
26^{1} Ext. 170^{b}.
27^{11b} iv. 910^{a} n.
28$^{2ff.}$ Ext. 719^{b} (Kautzsch).
28^{5b} Ext. 170^{b}.
28$^{17-20}$ iv. 619^{b} (Flinders Petrie).
28^{30} iv. 839^{a}.
28$^{40ff.}$ iv. 82^{b}.
28^{41} iv. 70^{b}.
28^{43} Ext. 621^{a} (Kautzsch).
29^{20} iv. 757^{a}.
29^{22} iv. 70^{b}.
29$^{27f.}$ iv. 85^{b}.
30^{10} i. 199^{b}.

EXODUS—*continued.*

30$^{11ff.}$ iv. 86^{b}; Ext. 719^{b} (Kautzsch).
30$^{11-16}$ iii. 422^{b} n.
31$^{13ff.}$ Ext. 716^{b} (Kautzsch).
32^{6} i. 340^{b}; iii. 894^{b}.
32^{8} i. 341^{b} n.
32^{11} iv. 39^{a}.
32^{29} iv. 70^{b}; Ext. 633^{a} (Kautzsch).
32^{32} iv. 423^{a}.
32^{34} Ext. 639^{a} (Kautzsch).
33$^{3ff.}$ Ext. 639^{b} (Kautzsch).
33$^{7ff.}$ Ext. 717^{a} (Kautzsch).
34$^{14-26}$ Ext. 633^{b} (Kautzsch).
34$^{14ff.}$ i. 581^{a}.
34^{19} Ext. 629^{a} (Kautzsch).
34^{21} iv. 317^{b}.
34^{23} Ext. 641^{b} (Kautzsch).
34^{25} iii. 684^{b}.
34^{26} ii. 35 f.; iv. 831^{a}.
35$^{4ff.}$ Ext. 717^{a} (Kautzsch).
35^{22} i. 313^{b}.
38^{8} ii. 181^{a}; iii. 397^{a}; iv. 85^{b}, 934^{b} (Adeney).
39$^{28f.}$ iv. 82^{b}.

LEVITICUS.

1^{1} iv. 603^{b}.
1^{4} Ext. 720^{b} (Kautzsch).
1$^{5f.}$ iv. 82^{b}.
1^{15} ii. 520^{a}.
2^{13} Ext. 171^{b}.
3 Ext. 722^{a} (Kautzsch).
5$^{11ff.}$ Ext. 721^{a} (Kautzsch).
5$^{15ff.}$ Ext. 721^{a} (Kautzsch).
6$^{1ff.}$ Ext. 721^{b} (Kautzsch).
6$^{2-5}$ Ext. 602^{b} (Johns).
6^{3} Ext. 600^{a} (Johns).
6^{4} Ext. 621^{a} (Kautzsch).
6$^{13\ (6)}$ iv. 84^{a}.
6$^{14\ (7)}$ iv. 82^{a}.
7^{8} iv. 85^{b}.
7$^{11ff.}$ Ext. 722^{a} (Kautzsch).
7$^{29ff.}$ Ext. 722^{a} (Kautzsch).
8$^{23f.}$ iv. 757^{a}.
10$^{1ff.}$ iii. 471^{b}.
10$^{1-7}$ iv. 90^{a}.
10$^{8f.}$ iii. 471^{b}, 498^{b}.
10$^{10f.}$ iv. 83^{a}.
11$^{4ff.}$ Ext. 613^{b} (Kautzsch).
11^{20} iv. 830^{b}.
11$^{21.\ 23}$ ii. 25^{a}.
13 iii. 96; iv. 82.
13^{1} iv. 603^{b}.
13^{39} ii. 66^{a}.
13$^{47ff.}$ iii. 98^{b}.
14$^{34ff.}$ iii. 98^{b}.
15^{13} i. 257^{b}.
15^{19} iv. 828^{a}.
15^{24} iv. 828^{a}.
16 i. 199 f.; iii. 105; Ext. 721^{a} (Kautzsch).
16$^{1.\ 24.\ 27}$ i. 200^{b}; iii. 11^{b}, 12^{b}; iv. 90^{a}.

LEVITICUS—*continued.*

16^{8} Ext. 288^{b}.
$16^{\text{8. 10. 21ff.}}$ Ext. 618^{a} (Kautzsch).
$16^{\text{8. 10. 26}}$ i. 207 f.
16^{13} iv. 351^{a}.
$16^{\text{14f.}}$ Ext. 720^{a} (Kautzsch).
$16^{\text{21ff.}}$ Ext. 720^{b} (Kautzsch).
16^{23} Ext. 621^{a} (Kautzsch).
17–26 iv. 82.
17^{1-7} iii. 106^{a}; iv. 82^{a}.
17^{3} Ext. 617^{b} (Kautzsch).
17^{7} i. 591^{a}.
17^{11} i. 197^{b}; iv. 341^{a} (W. P. Paterson); Ext. 720^{b} (Kautzsch).
17^{14} Ext. 294^{b}.
17^{17-27} iii. 11^{b}, 105^{b}, 107^{b}.
18^{6-19} iii. 106^{a}.
18^{7-17} iii. 267 f.
18^{16} Ext. 615^{b} (Kautzsch).
19^{19} iv. 828 f.
$19^{\text{23ff.}}$ Ext. 602^{a} (Johns), 645^{b} (Kautzsch).
19^{27} i. 235^{a}; ii. 284^{a}; iii. 106^{a}.
19^{28} i. 538^{b}; iii. 244^{b} (Hastings).
20^{9} Ext. 605^{b} (Johns).
20^{10} Ext. 603^{a} (Johns).
20^{11} Ext. 604^{a} (Johns).
20^{12} Ext. 604^{a} (Johns).
20^{14} Ext. 604^{a} (Johns).
20^{21} Ext. 615^{b} (Kautzsch).
$21^{\text{1ff.}}$ iv. 82^{a}; Ext. 719^{b} (Kautzsch).
$21^{\text{1ff.}}$ (cf. Ezk $24^{\text{15ff.}}$) iv. 87^{b}.
21^{5} i. 537^{b}, 538^{b}.
21^{6} Ext. 606^{b} (Johns).
$21^{\text{10ff.}}$ iv. 82^{a}.
21^{12} iv. 82^{a}.
21^{18} iii. 560^{a}.
$21^{\text{18f.}}$ iii. 106^{b}, 294^{b}.
21^{19} Ext. 602^{b} (Johns).
21^{20} iii. 328^{b}.
22^{8} iv. 830^{b}.
23^{3} Ext. 718^{b} (Kautzsch).
23^{5} iii. 686^{a}.
$23^{\text{7f.}}$ i. 586^{b}; iii. 106^{b}.
23^{15} iii. 740^{b}.
23^{15-21} iii. 741 (Purves).
$24^{\text{15. 21}}$ Ext. 607^{a} (Johns).
$24^{\text{17. 21}}$ Ext. 606^{a} (Johns).
$24^{\text{18. 24}}$ Ext. 607^{a} (Johns).
$24^{\text{19f.}}$ Ext. 605^{b} (Johns).
24^{11-16} iii. 479^{b}.
$25^{\text{3ff.}}$ Ext. 718^{a} (Kautzsch).
25^{4} ii. 298^{b}; iii. 107^{a}.
25^{6-18} iii. 366^{b} (Chapman).
25^{13} Ext. 718^{a} (Kautzsch).
$25^{\text{29ff.}}$ Ext. 718^{a} (Kautzsch).
25^{32-34} iv. 82^{a}.
$25^{\text{39f.}}$ Ext. 601^{b}, 602^{b} (Johns).

LEVITICUS—*continued.*

25^{39-55} iv. 465 (Whitehouse); Ext. 719^{a} (Kautzsch).
$25^{\text{42. 55}}$ Ext. 718^{b} (Kautzsch).
$25^{\text{44ff.}}$ Ext. 722^{b} (Kautzsch).
$26^{\text{3ff.}}$ iv. 82^{a}.
27 iii. 107^{a}.
$27^{\text{28ff.}}$ Ext. 620^{a} (Kautzsch).
$27^{\text{32f.}}$ iv. 86^{a}.

NUMBERS.

1^{48-53} iii. 568^{b}.
1^{50} iv. 85^{a}.
1^{53} Ext. 717^{b} (Kautzsch).
3^{4} iv. 90^{a}.
3^{24} iii. 17^{b}.
$3^{\text{40ff.}}$ Ext. 719^{b} (Kautzsch).
$4^{\text{3ff.}}$ iv. 85.
4^{15} Ext. 720^{a} (Kautzsch).
5^{11-31} iii. 273 f. (Paterson), 325^{b} (Macalister), 568^{b}.
$5^{\text{12f.}}$ Ext. 603^{a} (Johns).
5^{13} iii. 238^{a}.
$5^{\text{15ff.}}$ iv. 83^{a}.
5^{17} iii. 325 f.
6 Ext. 658^{b} (Kautzsch).
6^{1-21} iii. 497 f., 569^{a}.
6^{11} iv. 83^{a}.
6^{13-21} Ext. 658^{b} (Kautzsch).
$6^{\text{19f.}}$ iv. 86^{a}.
6^{24-26} iv. 11^{a}.
7^{1-88} iii. 569^{a}.
$8^{\text{5ff.}}$ iv. 85^{b}, 90^{b}.
8^{10} Ext. 720^{b} (Kautzsch).
$8^{\text{10ff.}}$ Ext. 719^{b} (Kautzsch).
8^{23-26} iv. 85.
9^{1-14} iii. 686^{b}.
10^{10-19} iii. 569^{b}.
10^{31} Ext. 375^{a}.
$10^{\text{35f.}}$ iv. 11^{a}; Ext. 628^{a} (Kautzsch).
11^{4} iii. 399^{a}.
11^{5} ii. 67^{a}.
$11^{\text{17. 25ff.}}$ Ext. 657^{a} (Kautzsch).
11^{25} iv. 115^{a}.
12 iii. 570^{a}.
12^{1} i. 790 f.
12^{8} iv. 270^{b}.
13 iii. 570^{a}.
13^{15} iii. 197^{a}.
13^{33} iii. 512^{b}.
14 iii. 570^{a}.
15 iii. 570^{a}.
$15^{\text{37f.}}$ ii. 69^{a}.
16 iii. 570 f.; iv. 88^{b}.
16 f. iii. 11 f.
16^{1} iii. 12^{b} (Selbie), 570^{b}.
16^{45} iv. 39^{a}.
17 iii. 571^{a}.
17^{3} Ext. 682^{a} (Kautzsch).
18 iii. 571^{a}.
$18^{\text{8. 19}}$ iv. 85^{b}.
$18^{\text{12ff.}}$ Ext. 720^{a} (Kautzsch).
18^{16} Ext. 719^{a} (Kautzsch).

NUMBERS—*continued.*

18^{19} Ext. 171^{b}.
$18^{\text{20f.}}$ Ext. 717^{b} (Kautzsch).
18^{21} iv. 780 f.
$18^{\text{21. 24ff.}}$ iv. 86^{a}.
19 iii. 571^{a}; iv. 207 ff.
19^{15} Ext. 614^{b} (Kautzsch).
19^{24} Ext. 614^{b} (Kautzsch).
20^{1} i. 804^{b}.
20^{2-13} iii. 346^{a} (Chapman).
20^{16} iii. 351^{b} n.
20^{17} Ext. 369^{b}, 370^{a}, 375^{a}.
21^{1} i. 196^{a}.
21^{1-4} iii. 571^{b}.
21^{4-9} iv. 602^{a}.
21^{5} iii. 119^{b}.
21^{6} iii. 320^{a}; iv. 460^{a}.
$21^{\text{8f.}}$ Ext. 628^{a} (Kautzsch).
21^{14} iv. 12^{a} (Budde), 629^{b}, 896^{b}.
$21^{\text{17f.}}$ iv. 896^{b} (Selbie).
21^{18} i. 264^{b}; iii. 83^{a}; iv. 417^{a}.
$21^{\text{18f.}}$ iii. 294^{b}.
21^{21-31} iii. 409^{b} (Bennett).
21^{24} i. 82^{b}; ii. 553^{a} n.
21^{29} Ext. 631^{b} (Kautzsch).
21^{30} iii. 559^{b}.
22^{6} Ext. 651^{a} (Kautzsch).
22^{22-24} iii. 571^{b}.
22^{22-35} Ext. 638^{b} (Kautzsch).
22^{23} iv. 114^{a}.
23^{14} iv. 988^{a}.
23^{21} Ext. 660^{b} (Kautzsch).
23^{28} iii. 743^{a}.
24^{6} i. 69^{b}.
24^{17} iii. 204 f.; iv. 416^{b}, 494^{a}.
$24^{\text{21f.}}$ ii. 834^{b} n.
24^{24} i. 186^{b}; iii. 7.
25^{1-15} iii. 572^{a}.
$25^{\text{6ff.}}$ iii. 366^{a}.
26^{61} iv. 90^{a}.
26^{62} Ext. 717^{b} (Kautzsch).
$27^{\text{1ff.}}$ iii. 214^{b}.
27^{1-11} iii. 572^{a}.
27^{18} iii. 85^{a} n.
27^{21} iv. 90^{b}.
27^{26} iv. 84^{a}.
28^{16} iii. 686^{b}.
28^{26-31} iii. 741^{b}.
$28^{\text{28f.}}$ iii. 572^{a}.
30 iii. 572^{a}.
31 iii. 572^{a}.
$31^{\text{7ff.}}$ Ext. 619^{b} (Kautzsch).
31^{19-24} iv. 209^{a}.
$31^{\text{30. 47}}$ iii. 519^{a}.
32^{1-38} iii. 572^{a}.
32^{41} ii. 540^{a}.
34^{11} iv. 270^{a}.
34^{17} iv. 90^{b}.
35 iii. 572^{b}.
$35^{\text{22ff.}}$ Ext. 623^{a} (Kautzsch).
35^{25} Ext. 719^{b} (Kautzsch).
$35^{\text{25. 28}}$ iv. 84^{a}.

DEUTERONOMY.

1^{1} iii. 14^{b}; iv. 629^{b}.
1^{22} Ext. 375^{a}.
1^{31} iii. 237^{b} (Hastings).
1^{36} ii. 26^{a}.
2^{19} i. 82^{b}.
2^{23} ii. 314^{a}.
3^{9} iv. 436^{a}, 551.
3^{11} i. 262^{b}, 263^{a}; iii. 590^{a}.
$4^{15f.}$ Ext. 680^{a} (Kautzsch).
$4^{19f.}$ Ext. 706^{a} (Kautzsch).
$4^{41ff.}$ Ext. 623^{a} (Kautzsch).
4^{48} iv. 539^{a}.
6^{4} Ext. 680^{b} (Kautzsch).
6^{8} iii. 870 ff.
$6^{8f.}$ iv. 602.
6^{16} iii. 293^{b}.
7^{6} Ext. 682^{a} (Kautzsch).
7^{8} iv. 120^{a}.
8^{8} iv. 95^{a}.
10^{8} iv. 75^{b}.
10^{17} Ext. 680^{b} (Kautzsch).
11^{10} ii. 45^{a}.
11^{18} iii. 870 ff.
11^{30} Ext. 372^{a} n.
12^{2} iv. 119^{b}.
$12^{5ff.}$ Ext. 685^{b} (Kautzsch).
$12^{26f.}$ Ext. 685^{b} (Kautzsch).
$13^{1ff.}$ iv. 117^{b}.
$13^{16ff.}$ Ext. 619^{b} (Kautzsch).
14^{1} i. 537^{b}, 538^{b}; Ext. 171^{a}
14^{2} Ext. 682^{a} (Kautzsch).
$14^{3ff.}$ Ext. 613^{b} (Kautzsch).
14^{21} ii. 35 f., 195^{b}; iv. 830 f., 464^{a} (Whitehouse).
14^{22-27} iv. 780^{b}; Ext. 720^{a}.
$14^{28f.}$ iv. 780^{b}; Ext. 51^{b}.
14^{30} iv. 830^{b}.
15^{7} iv. 464.
$15^{12.\ 14.\ 18}$ Ext. 602^{b} (Johns).
15^{12-18} iv. 464^{a} (Whitehouse).
15^{17} Ext. 172^{a}.
16^{1-8} iii. 685.
16^{10} iv. 813^{a}.
16^{16} Ext. 641^{b} (Kautzsch).
16^{19} Ext. 600^{a} (Johns).
16^{22} iii. 881^{b}.
$17^{8ff.}$ iv. 76^{a}.
17^{9} iv. 400^{a}.
$17^{9.\ 18}$ iv. 75^{a}.
17^{12} iv. 75^{b}.
18^{1} iv. 75^{a}.
18^{3} iv. 76^{a}.
18^{4} iv. 76^{a}.
$18^{15ff.}$ Ext. 688^{a} (Kautzsch).
$18^{6ff.}$ iv. 75^{a}.
18^{9-22} iv. 113 f.
18^{10} Ext. 600^{a} (Johns).
18^{15} iii. 354^{b}.
18^{21} iv. 117^{b}.
19^{3} Ext. 369^{b}.
$19^{4f.}$ Ext. 606^{a} (Johns).
$19^{16f.}$ Ext. 600^{a} (Johns).
$19^{16ff.}$ iv. 351^{a}.
19^{17} iv. 76^{a}.

DEUTERONOMY—*continued.*

19^{21} Ext. 605^{b} (Johns).
$20^{16ff.}$ Ext. 619^{b} (Kautzsch).
$21^{1f.}$ Ext. 600^{b} (Johns).
21^{5} iv. 75^{a}.
21^{6} Ext. 172^{b}.
21^{10-13} iv. 832^{b}.
21^{12} iii. 477^{b}.
$21^{12f.}$ Ext. 171^{a}.
21^{14} Ext. 603^{b} (Johns).
21^{15-17} Ext. 605^{b} (Johns).
$21^{16f.}$ Ext. 604^{b} (Johns).
21^{18} Ext. 605^{b} (Johns).
$21^{18f.}$ Ext. 604^{b} (Johns).
21^{21} Ext. 604^{b} (Johns).
21^{21-23} Ext. 604^{a} (Johns).
$21^{22f.}$ ii. 298^{a}.
$22^{5.\ 9-11}$ iv. 828 f.
22^{9} ii. 55^{a}.
22^{12} ii. 68^{b}.
$22^{13ff.}$ iv. 595^{b} n.
22^{14} ii. 179^{a}.
22^{22-27} Ext. 603^{a} (Johns).
$22^{23f.}$ Ext. 603^{a} (Johns).
22^{28} Ext. 604^{a} (Johns).
22^{30} Ext. 604^{a} (Johns).
23^{2} iii. 268^{b}.
$23^{9ff.}$ Ext. 636^{a} (Kautzsch).
23^{12-14} iv. 829^{a}.
23^{13} iii. 639^{a}.
$23^{15f.}$ Ext. 600^{b} (Johns).
23^{16} Ext. 600^{b} (Johns).
24^{1} iii. 274 f.; Ext. 603^{b} (Johns).
24^{2} iii. 473^{a} (Driver).
24^{6} iii. 369^{b}, 895^{b}.
$24^{6.\ 17}$ Ext. 607^{a} (Johns).
24^{7} iii. 239^{a}; Ext. 600^{b} (Johns).
24^{8} iv. 75^{b}, 91^{a}.
24^{16} Ext. $606^{a.\ b}$ (Johns).
24^{18} Ext. 602^{b} (Johns).
24^{20} i. 312^{a}.
25^{5-10} iii. 269^{a}.
$25^{5ff.}$ Ext. 615^{b} (Kautzsch).
$25^{7ff.}$ Ext. 615^{b} (Kautzsch).
25^{9} iv. 351^{a}; Ext. 172^{a}.
$25^{9f.}$ iv. 508^{b}.
25^{12} Ext. 605^{b} (Johns).
$26^{1ff.}$ Ext. 685^{b} (Kautzsch).
26^{3} iv. 75^{b}.
26^{5} ii. 532^{b}; Ext. 87^{b}.
$26^{10f.}$ iv. 76^{a}.
26^{13-15} iv. 780^{b}.
26^{14} ii. 201^{a} (Davidson); iii. 454^{a} (Nicol); Ext. 615^{a} (Kautzsch).
$26^{17f.}$ i. 512^{b}.
27^{4} Ext. 70^{b}.
$27^{5f.}$ iv. 833.
27^{13} Ext. 70^{b}.
27^{15} Ext. 680^{a} (Kautzsch).
28^{10} i. 344^{a}.
28^{22} iii. 323 f. (Macalister).
28^{27} iii. 329^{a}.

DEUTERONOMY—*continued.*

29^{20} iii. 113^{b}.
30^{19} Ext. 441^{b}.
31^{9} iv. 75^{a}.
31^{26} Ext. 629^{b} (Kautzsch).
32^{7} Ext. 696^{a} (Kautzsch).
32^{8} Ext. 287^{a} (Fairweather), 650^{a} (Kautzsch).
32^{13} iii. 592^{b} (Macalister).
32^{17} i. 58^{b}, 591; Ext. 617^{b} (Kautzsch).
32^{32} iv. 869 f.
33 iv. 11^{b}.
33^{2} iii. 346^{b} (Chapman); Ext. 643^{b} (Kautzsch).
$33^{6f.}$ iv. 518^{b}.
33^{8} ii. 294^{a}; iii. 293^{b} (Driver), 346^{b} (Chapman); iv. 69^{b}, 71, 839^{b}.
$33^{8ff.}$ Ext. 650^{a} (Kautzsch).
33^{8-11} iii. 102^{a}.
33^{9} iv. 69^{b}.
33^{10} iv. 71^{b}.
33^{14} iii. 434^{a} (Pinches).
$33^{18f.}$ iv. 804^{b}, 806^{a}.
33^{19} ii. 180^{b}.
33^{21} iii. 83^{a}.
33^{24} iii. 592^{b}, 616^{b}.
34^{1-3} iii. 502^{b} (Chapman).
34^{9} iii. 85^{a}.

JOSHUA.

$2^{1f.}$ Ext. 602^{b} (Johns).
2^{6} iv. 312^{b}.
$3^{3f.}$ ii. 780^{b}, 781^{b}, 786^{b}.
3^{15-17} ii. 765^{a}.
3^{16} ii. 765^{a}, 787^{a}; iv. 963^{b}; Ext. 373^{a}.
4^{2-8} Ext. 616^{a} (Kautzsch).
$5^{2f.}$ ii. 15^{a}.
5^{4-7} ii. 781^{b}.
5^{10} iii. 686^{b}.
6 ii. 782^{a}.
6^{26} ii. 379^{b}.
7 ii. 782^{a}.
$7^{1f.}$ Ext. 600^{a} (Johns).
$7^{1ff.}$ Ext. 620^{a} (Kautzsch).
7^{5} iv. 483^{a}.
7^{21} i. 220^{a}, 230^{b}; iii. 420^{b}.
$7^{24f.}$ ii. 782^{a}.
8^{1-29} ii. 782^{b}.
8^{30-35} ii. 780^{b}.
8^{31} iv. 833.
9 ii. 783^{a}.
9^{5} i. 316^{a}.
9^{23} iv. 74^{b}.
$10^{10f.}$ ii. 416^{b}.
$10^{12f.}$ ii. 786^{a}.
10^{12-14} iv. 627 f.
10^{12-15} iii. 217 f.
10^{13} iv. 12^{a}.
10^{24b} Ext. 171^{b}.
11^{3} ii. 393^{a}.
11^{8} ii. 180^{b}.
12^{18} iii. 46^{b}; iv. 477^{b}.

JOSHUA—*continued.*

13^{2} ii. 162^{b}.
13^{3} iv. 498^{b}.
13^{4} iii. 309^{a}.
13^{5} ii. 117^{a}; iv. 269^{b} n.
13^{6} ii. 180^{b}.
14^{1} iv. 90^{b}.
15^{2} i. 575^{b}.
15^{10} iv. 430^{a}.
$15^{10f.}$ iii. 740^{b}.
15^{18} iii. 636^{a}.
15^{30} i. 27^{a} n.
15^{36} ii. 118^{a}.
17^{1b-2} iii. 231^{b}.
17^{11} i. 702^{a}.
17^{14-18} iii. 230^{b} (Driver).
18^{28} iii. 2 f.
19^{13} iii. 501^{a}.
19^{20} iii. 4^{b}.
19^{22} iv. 671^{b}.
19^{30} iv. 825^{b}.
19^{33} iii. 512^{b}; iv. 959^{a}.
19^{34} ii. 794 f.
19^{46} ii. 831^{b} n.; iii. 335^{a}.
19^{47} iii. 99^{a}.
20^{7} iii. 487^{a}.
21^{25} ii. 114^{b}.
22^{11} iii. 683^{a}.
24^{2} ii. 23^{a}; iii. 473^{a}.
$24^{2.\,15}$ Ext. 617^{b} (Kautzsch).
24^{26} Ext. 616^{a} (Kautzsch).

JUDGES.

1^{1-25} ii. 811^{a}.
1^{13} iii. 635^{b} (Selbie).
1^{21b} ii. 814^{b}.
1^{36} iv. 289^{b} (Selbie).
2^{1} i. 278^{b}.
3^{3} ii. 393^{a}.
3^{7-11} iii. 636^{a}.
3^{9} iii. 635 f.
3^{15} iii. 93.
$3^{19.\,26}$ iv. 179^{b} (Selbie).
3^{26} Ext. 373^{a}.
3^{31} Ext. 617^{a} (Kautzsch).
4 iv. 851^{b} (Cooke).
4^{4} Ext. 651^{b} (Kautzsch).
4^{4-22} i. 578^{a}; ii. 537^{a}, 811^{a}.
4^{11} iv. 959^{a}.
4^{18} iii. 240^{a}.
5 ii. $813^{a.\,b}$ n.; iv. 11^{b}, 149, 551^{b} (Cooke); Ext. 635^{b} (Kautzsch).
5^{2-31} ii. 537^{a}, 578^{a}, 811^{a}.
5^{6} i. 335^{b}; Ext. 617^{a} (Kautzsch).
5^{12} i. 246^{a} n.
5^{14} iii. 197^{a}, 277^{a} (Barnes).
$5^{15f.}$ iv. 287 f.
5^{15-17} iv. 238^{b}.
5^{17} i. 548^{b}; iv. 804^{b}.
5^{18} ii. 567^{a}.
5^{19} iii. 4^{b}.
5^{21} iii. 5^{a}.
5^{23} iii. 349^{a}.

JUDGES—*continued.*

$5^{25ff.}$ Ext. 375^{b}.
5^{26} iv. 624^{b}.
5^{30} iv. 180^{a} n.
6^{3} Ext. 76^{a}.
6^{4} iv. 830^{a}.
$6^{11ff.}$ Ext. 638^{b} (Kautzsch).
6^{11-24} ii. 171^{b}.
$6^{18ff.}$ Ext. 661^{b} (Kautzsch).
6^{24} ii. 563^{b}.
6^{25-32} ii. 811^{a}.
7^{1} iii. 436^{b} (Bennett).
7^{2-8} ii. 171^{b} n.
7^{3} ii. 176^{a}.
7^{18-22} ii. 171^{b} n.
7^{24}–8^{3} ii. 171^{b}.
8^{4-21} ii. 172^{a}.
8^{13} ii. 351^{a}.
8^{16} iv. 751^{b} (Post).
$8^{18ff.}$ iv. 334^{b}.
$8^{20f.}$ iv. 964.
8^{21} iii. 210^{b}.
$8^{21.\,26}$ i. 519^{a}.
$8^{22f.}$ ii. 840^{b} n.; Ext. 630^{a} (Kautzsch).
8^{26} iii. 739^{a}.
8^{30} iv. 750 f.
9^{4} iii. 120^{a}.
9^{6} iii. 881^{b} (Selbie); Ext. 616^{a} (Kautzsch).
9^{8-15} iv. 9^{b} (Budde).
9^{23} iv. 407^{b}.
9^{28-31} ii. 74^{a}.
9^{37} iii. 342^{b}.
9^{53} i. 64^{a}.
10^{1} iv. 172^{a}.
10^{12} iii. 240^{a}.
11^{2} Ext. 605^{b} (Johns).
11^{24} Ext. 635^{a} (Kautzsch).
11^{27} Ext. 604^{b} (Johns).
11^{31} ii. 567^{b} n.
11^{34} iv. 12^{a}.
$11^{34ff.}$ iv. 334^{b}.
12^{1} iv. 963^{a}.
$12^{2.\,4.\,7}$ ii. 568^{a} n.
12^{4} ii. 72^{a}.
12^{6} iv. 497^{b}.
13^{4-14} Ext. 657^{b} (Kautzsch).
13^{14} Ext. 657^{b} (Kautzsch).
13^{18} Ext. 640^{b} (Kautzsch).
13^{19} iii. 238^{a} n.
14^{8} i. 264^{a}.
14^{14} iii. 11^{a} (Budde); iv. 11^{a}.
14^{17} iii. 113^{b}.
15^{5} i. 314^{b}.
15^{17} iii. 94^{b}.
15^{19} i. 704^{a}.
16^{17} iv. 380^{a}.
$16^{17ff.}$ Ext. 657^{b} (Kautzsch).
17 ii. 816^{a}.
17^{5} iv. 107^{b}.
$17^{5.\,12}$ iv. 70 f.
17^{7} iii. 101^{a} (Cooke).
17^{10} iv. 70^{b}.
17^{13} iv. 70^{b}.

JUDGES—*continued.*

18^{4} iv. 70^{b}.
18^{7} iii. 212^{a}; Ext. 373^{b}.
18^{30} ii. 161^{b}; iii. 101.
$18^{30f.}$ ii. 818^{b}.
18^{31} iii. 359^{a}.
19^{13} Ext. 371^{b}.
$19^{15ff.}$ Ext. 375^{b}.
19^{19-21} i. 273^{b}.
19^{29} Ext. 619^{b}, 630^{b} (Kautzsch).
20^{16} iii. 93.
20^{23} iii. 307 f.
20^{31} Ext. 371^{b}, 372^{a} n.
20^{33} ii. 169^{a}; iii. 180 f., 307^{b} (Hull).
20^{43} i. 635^{a}, 342^{b}.
21^{19} iv. 668^{b}; Ext. 372^{a}.

RUTH.

3. 4 iii. 269.
3^{9} Ext. 171 f.
$4^{2f.}$ Ext. 600^{a} (Johns).
$4^{7f.}$ iv. 508^{b} (Mackie).
4^{8} Ext. 172^{a}.
4^{12} iii. 745^{a}.

1 SAMUEL.

1^{1} iv. 198^{b} n.
$1^{1f.}$ Ext. 603^{b} (Johns).
1^{1-4} iv. 385^{a} (Stenning).
1^{3} iv. 668^{b}.
1^{5} ii. 42^{a}.
1^{8} ii. 264^{b}.
1^{9} iv. 71^{b}.
1^{11} Ext. 657^{b} (Kautzsch).
1^{18} iii. 674^{a}.
1^{26} iv. 39^{a}.
2^{6} iii. 225^{b}.
$2^{11ff.}$ Ext. 649^{a} (Kautzsch).
2^{12-17} iii. 854^{b}.
$2^{13f.}$ Ext. 661^{b} (Kautzsch).
2^{18} iv. 82^{b}.
2^{22b} iv. 85^{b}, 934^{b}.
$2^{27ff.}$ ii. 413^{b}.
2^{27-36} ii. 413^{b}.
2^{28} iv. 840^{a}.
2^{36} iv. 74^{a}.
3^{1} iv. 108^{b}.
4^{3} Ext. 628^{b} (Kautzsch).
4^{4-7} iv. 385^{a} (Stenning).
4^{22} Ext. 639^{b} (Kautzsch).
6^{15} iv. 74^{a}.
6^{19} i. 150^{a} n.
6^{20} ii. 397^{a}; Ext. 682^{b} (Kautzsch).
7^{2} i. 150^{a} n.
7^{2-17} iv. 385^{a} (Stenning).
7^{6} Ext. 172^{b}.
$8^{10.\,17ff.}$ Ext. 630^{a} (Kautzsch).
8^{8-12} iv. 385^{a} (Stenning).
9–10^{16} Ext. 652^{a} (Kautzsch).
9^{4} iv. 471^{b}, 472^{b}.
9^{5-10} iv. 462 f.
9^{8} iii. 420^{a}.

1 SAMUEL—*continued.*

9^{9} iv. 108^{a}; Ext. 672^{a} (Kautzsch).
$9^{15f.}$ Ext. 660^{b} (Kautzsch).
9^{24} ii. 39^{a}.
10^{1} Ext. 659^{b} (Kautzsch).
10^{2} iv. 973^{a}.
10^{2} (cf. Gn 35^{16-20}, Jer 31^{15}) iv. 193^{a}.
10^{5} Ext. 653^{a} (Kautzsch).
$10^{5f.}$ iv. 114^{b}.
10^{6} Ext. 653^{a} (Kautzsch).
10^{12} iv. 109^{b}.
10^{12b}(‖19^{24b}) iv. 137^{b}.
11^{7} Ext. 619^{a}, 630^{a} (Kautzsch).
12^{11} i. 246^{a}.
12^{23} iv. 40^{a}.
13^{3} ii. 169^{a} n.
13^{7} ii. 26^{a}.
$13^{13f.}$ ii. 169^{a}; iv. 386^{a} (Stenning).
13^{16} iii. 116^{b}.
13^{18} Ext. 372^{a}.
$14^{1f.}$ ii. 116 f.
14^{2} iii. 367^{b}.
14^{3} i. 150^{a} n.; iv. 71^{b}.
14^{14} ii. 73^{b}, 754^{a}.
14^{18} i. 55^{b}; iv. 840^{a}; Ext. 649^{a} (Kautzsch).
14^{33} iii. 880.
14^{41} Ext. 663^{a} (Kautzsch).
$14^{41f.}$ iv. 839^{b}.
$14^{41f.}$(LXX) iv. 107^{b}.
14^{45} Ext. 620^{a} (Kautzsch).
14^{61} iii. 513^{b}.
15 iv. 386^{b} (Stenning).
15^{4} iv. 693^{b}.
15^{7} Ext. 370^{b}.
15^{22} iv. 119^{b}.
15^{23} iv. 334^{b}.
15^{27} Ext. 174^{a}.
15^{29} iv. 624^{b}.
15^{33} Ext. 636^{a} (Kautzsch).
16^{1}–18^{5} iv. 386 f.
16^{2} iii. 113^{a}.
16^{14} iv. 407^{b}; Ext. 667^{a} (Kautzsch).
17^{12} ii. 192^{b}.
17^{18} iii. 895^{b}.
$17^{40. 43}$ iv. 553^{b} (Barnes).
17^{41} iv. 498^{a}.
17^{52} iv. 472^{a}.
18^{1-5} iv. 386^{b} (Stenning).
18^{5-30} iv. 387^{a} (Stenning).
18^{6} iii. 463^{a}.
$18^{6f.}$ iv. 12^{a}.
18^{7} iii. 894^{b} n.
18^{9} i. 814^{a}.
$18^{41ff.}$ Ext. 654^{b} (Kautzsch).
19 iv. 387^{b} (Stenning).
19^{9} ii. 404^{a}.
19^{13} iii. 128^{a} n., 363^{a}.
$19^{13. 16}$ iii. 882^{a} (Selbie).

1 SAMUEL—*continued.*

19^{18} iii. 478^{a}.
$19^{18ff.}$ Ext. 652^{a} (Kautzsch).
$19^{22ff.}$ iv. 110^{a} n.
19^{24b}(‖10^{12b}) iv. 137^{b}.
$20^{5ff.}$ iii. 522^{a} (Abrahams).
20^{6} Ext. 621^{b} (Kautzsch).
20^{19} i. 820^{a}.
20^{29} Ext. 615^{b} (Kautzsch).
21 iv. 887^{b} (Stenning).
$21^{2ff.}$ iv. 495^{a}.
21^{3} iv. 129^{b}.
21^{4} iv. 827^{b}.
$21^{4ff.}$ Ext. 636^{a} (Kautzsch).
21^{5} iii. 238^{a} (Hastings).
$21^{6. 9ff.}$ ii. 298 f.
21^{10} Ext. 642^{a} (Kautzsch).
21^{13} iv. 420^{a}.
22 iv. 887^{b} (Stenning).
22^{2} Ext. 602^{b} (Johns).
22^{6} iv. 197^{b} n. (Driver).
22^{19} iii. 557^{b}.
$23^{9ff.}$ iv. 598^{b}.
23^{15} ii. 415^{a}.
23^{17} ii. 567^{a}.
23^{20} i. 270^{b}.
23^{23} i. 270^{b}.
23^{23-26} i. 564^{b} (H. A. White).
23^{28} iv. 432^{a}.
$24^{2f.}$ Ext. 371^{b}.
25^{25} iv. 604^{a}.
25^{29} iv. 553^{b} (Barnes).
25^{31} ii. 264^{a}.
25^{38} iii. 326 f.
26^{3} Ext. 371^{b}.
$26^{7. 11. 16}$ iii. 882^{b}.
26^{19} Ext. 617^{b} (Kautzsch).
26^{20} ii. 14^{a}.
27^{2} iii. 240^{a}.
27^{8} ii. 178^{b}.
28^{7} iv. 606^{a}.
28^{13} Ext. 615^{b} (Kautzsch).
28^{14} Ext. 668^{b} (Kautzsch).
30^{15} Ext. 600^{b} (Johns).
30^{29} iv. 192.
31 iv. 388^{b} (Stenning).
31^{10} i. 169^{b}.

2 SAMUEL.

1 iv. 388^{b} (Stenning).
2^{2-4} iv. 389^{a} (Stenning).
2^{9} i. 171^{b}; ii. 162^{b}.
2^{16} ii. 343^{b}.
2^{24} ii. 165 f.
3^{7} Ext. 172^{b}.
3^{12} iv. 694^{a}.
$3^{28f.}$ i. 510^{b}.
3^{29} iv. 291^{b} (Mackie).
4^{5-7} ii. 502^{a}.
5–8^{13} iv. 389 (Stenning).
5^{6} ii. 329^{a} (Mackie).
6^{2} Ext. 637^{a} (Kautzsch).
6^{5} ii. 8^{a}; iii. 463^{a}, 894^{b}; iv. 36^{b}.
$6^{5. 14}$ iv. 36^{b}.

2 SAMUEL—*continued.*

6^{6} iii. 471^{b}.
6^{16-23} iii. 363^{a}.
6^{17} ii. 520^{a}.
7^{18} ii. 390^{b}; iv. 39^{a} (E. R. Bernard).
7^{19} iii. 237^{a} (Hastings).
8^{1} iii. 357^{a} (Selbie).
8^{1-13} iv. 389^{b} (Stenning).
8^{13} iv. 356^{a}.
8^{17} i. 6^{b}, 58^{a}; iv. 72^{b}, 961^{a}; Ext. 649^{a} (Kautzsch).
8^{18} ii. 479^{b}, 842^{b}; iv. 73.
9–20 iv. 389^{b} (Stenning).
9^{1-13} iv. 389^{b} (Stenning).
10–12 iv. 389^{b} (Stenning).
10^{6} iv. 987^{a} n. (Stenning).
10^{12} iii. 894 f.
10^{16} iv. 507^{b}.
11^{18} iii. 881.
12^{1} Ext. 653^{b} (Kautzsch).
12^{1-4} iii. 660^{b} (König).
12^{4} Ext. 375^{b}.
12^{6} Ext. 600^{a} (Johns).
12^{13} iv. 32^{a}.
12^{14} Ext. 663^{a} (Kautzsch).
12^{27} iv. 189^{b} (Stenning).
12^{28} i. 344^{a}; iii. 478 f.
12^{30} iii. 222^{a}.
12^{31} i. 569^{a} (H. A. White); ii. 306^{b}.
13–20 iv. 390^{a} (Stenning).
13^{12} Ext. 624^{a} (Kautzsch).
13^{37} i. 82^{a}.
$14^{6f.}$ iii. 660^{b} (König).
$14^{6ff.}$ Ext. 623^{b} (Kautzsch).
14^{20} ii. 5^{a}, 59^{b}.
14^{26} iv. 904^{a} (A. R. S. Kennedy).
14^{27} iii. 180^{a}.
$15^{14. 30}$ iii. 617^{a}.
15^{23}(LXX) Ext. 371^{b}.
$15^{24f.}$ i. 6^{a}; iv. 74^{a}.
15^{27} iv. 73^{b}, 961.
16^{1} ii. 30^{b}.
16^{5} Ext. 371^{b}.
17^{11} iii. 472^{b}.
17^{25} i. 7^{b}; iii. 472^{b}.
17^{28} iv. 173^{b}.
18^{18} Ext. 615^{b} (Kautzsch).
20^{6} i. 10^{b}; ii. 659^{a} n.
20^{13-15} i. 274^{b}.
$20^{18f.}$ iv. 11^{b} (Budde).
20^{26} ii. 842^{b} n.; iv. 73^{a}.
21–24 iv. 391^{a} (Stenning).
$21^{1ff.}$ iv. 74^{b}.
21^{8} iii. 344^{a}, 363^{a}.
21^{9} i. 525^{a}; iv. 334^{b}.
$21^{13ff.}$ Ext. 668^{b} (Kautzsch).
21^{19} i. 562^{b} (H. A. White), 684^{a}; ii. 523^{a}.
22^{5} ii. 24^{a}; iv. 288^{a} (Selbie).
22^{36} ii. 150^{a}.
23^{1} iv. 36^{a}.
23^{3-5} iv. 151^{b}.

2 SAMUEL—*continued.*

23^{8} i. 38^{b}; ii. 273^{b}, 779^{a}.
23^{11} i. 48^{a}.
$23^{11\text{f.}}$ iv. 475^{a}.
23^{20} iii. 410^{b} (Bennett).
23^{25} ii. 306^{a}.
23^{31} i. 232^{b}.
$23^{32\text{f.}}$ iv. 475^{a}.
23^{34} iii. 738^{b}.
23^{35} iii. 638^{a}.
24^{1} iv. 408^{a}; Ext. 288 f.
24^{1} (cf. 1 Ch 21^{1}) iv. 116^{b}.
24^{6} i. 557^{b}; iv. 674^{b}.
24^{16} iv. 410^{b}; Ext. 639^{a} (Kautzsch).

1 KINGS.

1^{8} iv. 224.
1^{9} Ext. 616^{a} (Kautzsch).
1^{34} Ext. 653^{b} (Kautzsch).
2^{1-12} i. 571^{b} (H. A. White); ii. 659^{b}.
2^{19} iv. 181^{a}; Ext. 172^{b}.
2^{22} Ext. 172^{b}.
2^{26} i. 6^{a}; Ext. 649^{a} (Kautzsch).
2^{27} iv. 72.
2^{37} ii. 838.
2^{39} iv. 465^{b}; Ext. 600^{b} (Johns).
3^{1} ii. 862^{b}.
$3^{2\text{f.}}$ ii. 862 f.
3^{4} Ext. 661^{b} (Kautzsch).
3^{4-13} ii. 863^{a}.
3^{5-15} iv. 601^{a}.
4^{1-19} ii. 863^{a}.
4^{5} iv. 73^{a}.
4^{19} ii. 117^{a}.
4^{20-34}[Heb. 4^{20}–5^{14}] ii. 863^{a}.
4^{24} ii. 861^{b}.
4^{29} iii. 45^{b} (Hastings).
4^{31} iii. 215^{a}.
4^{32} iii. 613^{b}; iv. 140^{b}.
$5^{4\ (18)}$ iii. 583^{b}.
5^{15-18} ii. 863^{a}.
6^{7} iv. 179^{b}.
6^{11-14} ii. 863^{b}.
6^{15-22} ii. 863^{b}.
6^{18} iii. 8^{b}.
$6^{20\text{f.}}$ iv. 495^{b} (A. R. S. Kennedy).
6^{23-28} ii. 864^{a}.
$6^{29\text{f.}}$ ii. 864^{a}.
$6^{32.\ 35}$ ii. 864^{a}; Ext. 170^{b}.
$6^{33\text{b}}$ ii. 864^{a}.
7^{1-12} ii. 864^{a}.
7^{15-21} iii. 881^{a} (Whitehouse).
7^{15-22} ii. 864^{a}.
$7^{23\text{ff.}}$ Ext. 671^{a} (Kautzsch).
7^{24} ii. 864^{a}.
7^{27-37} ii. 864^{a}.
$7^{29.\ 36}$ Ext. 170^{b}.
7^{38-45} ii. 864^{a}.

1 KINGS—*continued.*

7^{46} iv. 963^{b}; Ext. 373^{a}.
7^{46-51} ii. 864^{a}.
7^{48} iv. 495^{b}.
8^{1-13} ii. 864.
$8^{3\text{f.}}$ iv. 74^{b}.
8^{12} Ext. 629^{a} (Kautzsch).
8^{14-66} ii. 864^{b}.
8^{23} Ext. 680^{b} (Kautzsch).
8^{27} Ext. 280^{a}(Fairweather), 679^{b} (Kautzsch).
8^{46} Ext. 689^{a} (Kautzsch).
8^{53} iv. 12^{a}.
8^{54} iv. 39^{a}.
8^{55} iv. 72^{a}.
9^{1-9} ii. 864^{b}.
9^{10}–10^{29} ii. 865^{a}.
$9^{20\text{f.}}$ iv. 74^{b}.
9^{26-28} iv. 804^{a} n.
10^{5} i. 162^{b}.
10^{14} iii. 420^{b}.
10^{15} iv. 802^{b}.
10^{17} ii. 226^{a}; iii. 420^{b} n.
10^{22} iv. 804^{a} n.
10^{28} i. 184^{a}, 188^{a} n.; iii. 125^{b}.
11^{1-13} ii. 865^{a}.
11^{7} Ext. 635^{a} (Kautzsch).
$11^{14\text{ff.}}$ iii. 820^{b}.
11^{14-22} ii. 865^{a}.
11^{19} iv. 674^{b}.
11^{23-25} ii. 865^{b}; iv. 267^{b} (Taylor).
11^{26-40} ii. 865^{b}.
$11^{30\text{f.}}$ Ext. 677^{b} (Kautzsch).
11^{30-32} Ext. 173 f.
12^{1-24} ii. 866^{a}.
12^{11} iv. 419^{b}.
12^{16} iv. 222^{b}.
12^{26-33} i. 341^{b}; ii. 866^{a}.
12^{27} Ext. 698^{b} (Kautzsch).
12^{28} Ext. 613^{b} (Kautzsch).
12^{31} iv. 74^{b}.
12^{32} Ext. 662^{b} (Kautzsch).
12^{33} iv. 72^{a}.
13^{1-32} ii. 866^{a}.
13^{2} i. 518^{b}.
13^{4} iii. 326^{b}.
13^{11-32} iii. 594 f.
13^{23} iii. 595^{a} n.
14^{1-18} ii. 866.
14^{3} Ext. 654^{a} (Kautzsch).
14^{25} iv. 506^{b}.
15^{18} ii. 117^{a}.
15^{23} iii. 328^{b}.
16^{22}(LXX) iv. 761^{a}.
16^{34} ii. 61^{b}, 379^{b}; iv. 429^{b}.
17^{1} Ext. 654^{a} (Kautzsch).
$17^{21\text{f.}}$ Ext. 665^{a} (Kautzsch).
18^{21} ii. 288^{b}.
18^{32} iv. 910 (A. R. S. Kennedy).
18^{41} i. 450^{b}.
18^{42} iv. 39^{a}.
19^{14} Ext. 647^{a} (Kautzsch).

1 KINGS—*continued.*

19^{16} Ext. 173^{b}.
$19^{19\text{b}}$ Ext. 171^{b}.
$19^{19\text{f.}}$ Ext. 655^{a} (Kautzsch).
20^{23} Ext. 661^{a} (Kautzsch).
20^{24} Ext. 374^{a}.
20^{34} iii. 620^{b}; iv. 804^{a}.
$20^{35\text{ff.}}$ Ext. 174^{a}.
$20^{39\text{f.}}$ iii. 660^{b} (König), 871^{b} (A. R. S. Kennedy).
21 ii. 867^{a}.
22^{1-28} iii. 360^{b}, 361^{b} (Patrick).
$21^{17\text{ff.}}$ Ext. 655^{a} (Kautzsch).
$22^{8\text{ff.}}$ Ext. 656^{a} (Kautzsch).
22^{10} iii. 626^{a} (Selbie).
22^{11} Ext. 174^{a} (König), 677^{b} (Kautzsch).
22^{19} Ext. 643^{b} (Kautzsch).
$22^{19\text{ff.}}$ iii. 361.
$22^{22\text{f.}}$ iv. 116^{b}.
22^{23} iii. 113^{b} (Paterson).
$22^{28\text{b}}$ ii. 868^{b}.
22^{38} i. 258^{a}.

2 KINGS.

$1^{2-17\text{a}}$ ii. 868^{a}.
2^{1-18} ii. 868^{a}.
2^{3} Ext. 656^{b} (Kautzsch).
2^{12} Ext. 655^{a} (Kautzsch).
2^{13} Ext. 171^{b}.
3 iii. 411.
3^{26} Ext. 602^{a} (Johns).
3^{27} iv. 334^{b}; Ext. 619^{a}, 635^{b} (Kautzsch).
4^{1} Ext. 602^{b} (Johns).
$4^{8\text{ff.}}$ Ext. 375^{b}.
4^{19} iii. 328^{a}.
4^{23} Ext. 662^{a} (Kautzsch).
4^{29} iv. 357^{a}.
5^{11} iv. 624^{b}.
5^{17} Ext. 635^{b} (Kautzsch).
$6^{21\text{ff.}}$ Ext. 655^{b} (Kautzsch).
6^{25} ii. 39^{b}, 432^{a}.
7^{6} i. 184^{b}.
8^{21} iv. 962^{a}.
9^{1}–10^{28} ii. 867^{a}.
$9^{25\text{f.}}$ ii. 564^{a} n.
$9^{27\text{f.}}$ Ext. 372^{b}.
$9^{30\text{f.}}$ ii. 565^{a}, 656^{b}.
10^{1} ii. 565^{a} n.
10^{12} ii. 565^{b} n.
$10^{12\text{ff.}}$ iv. 478^{a}; Ext. 372^{b}.
10^{15} Ext. 659^{a} (Kautzsch).
10^{16} Ext. 683^{b} (Kautzsch).
11 i. 195 f.
11^{4} iv. 73^{a} n.
$11^{4\text{ff.}}$ Ext. 650^{a} (Kautzsch).
11^{12} i. 314^{a}.
12^{10} iv. 74^{a}; Ext. 620^{b} (Kautzsch).
12^{11} iv. 73^{b}.
12^{21} ii. 790^{b}.
$13^{15\text{ff.}}$ Ext. 650^{b} (Kautzsch).
$14^{8.\ 11}$ iii. 137^{a}.
14^{8-14} ii. 868^{b}.

2 KINGS—*continued.*

14^{17} i. 80^{a}.
14^{22} iv. 843^{b}, 844^{b}.
14^{25} ii. 744^{b}.
15^{5} iv. 844^{a} n., 899^{a} (Whitehouse).
15^{16} iii. 340^{a} (Taylor).
15^{19} iii. 340^{a}.
15^{25} iii. 736^{a}, 737^{b}.
15^{29} i. 186^{a}.
16^{2} i. 53^{b}.
16^{3} Ext. 619^{a} (Kautzsch).
16^{6} i. 645^{b}; iv. 266^{b} (Taylor).
16^{9} iii. 1^{a}.
$16^{12f.}$ iv. 72^{a}.
17–19 ii. 867^{a}.
17^{3} iv. 473.
17^{4} i. 187^{b}; iv. 559^{b}.
$17^{7-18.\ 21-24}$ ii. 868 f.
17^{24-41} ii. 869^{a}.
$17^{27f.}$ iv. 73^{a}.
17^{31} iii. 542 f.; iv. 689^{b}.
18^{1-8} ii. 869^{a}.
18^{4} iii. 510^{b} (A. R. S. Kennedy); Ext. 620^{b}, 628^{a} (Kautzsch).
18^{9-12} ii. 869^{b}.
$18^{13.\,17}$–20^{19} ii. 869 f.
$18^{13ff.}$ i. 188^{b}.
18^{14-16} ii. 869^{b}.
18^{17} iv. 191^{b}.
18^{21} iii. 820^{b}.
18^{23} iii. 895^{b}.
19^{9-37} i. 188^{b}.
19^{15} i. 379^{a}.
19^{35} iv. 410^{b}.
19^{37} (=Is 37^{38}) iii. 554 f.; iv. 476 f.
20^{1-9} ii. 870^{a}.
20^{5} i. 684^{a}.
20^{9-11} ii. 377^{b}; iv. 628^{a} (Pinches).
$20^{12ff.}$ i. 187^{a}.
$20^{17f.}$ ii. 870^{a}.
21 ii. 870^{a}.
21^{6} Ext. 619^{a} (Kautzsch).
21^{13} iii. 123^{b}.
21^{18} iv. 843.
22. 23 Ext. 699^{a} (Kautzsch).
22^{3}–23^{25} ii. 870^{a}.
22^{4} iv. 74^{a}.
$22^{4.\ 8}$ iv. 73^{b}.
$22^{8ff.}$ iv. 76 f.
22^{12} Ext. 605^{a} (Johns).
$22^{12f.}$ Ext. 700^{b} (Kautzsch).
$23^{4ff.}$ Ext. 700^{b} (Kautzsch).
23^{5} i. 192^{b}, 217^{b}; iii. 307^{a}; iv. 77^{a}.
23^{7} ii. 299^{a}.
23^{7b} iv. 933^{b}.
$23^{8f.}$ iv. 77^{a}.
23^{10} iv. 798.
$23^{10.\ 13}$ iii. 415^{b} (Bennett).
23^{11} iii. 673^{a}; iv. 628^{b}.

2 KINGS—*continued.*

23^{13} i. 500^{a}; iii. 617^{b}.
23^{20} iv. 77^{b}.
23^{21-23} iii. 687^{a}.
24^{7} iv. 498^{b}.
25^{1} i. 229^{a}.
$25^{4f.}$ Ext. 371^{b}.
25^{18} iv. 73.
$25^{22.\ 26}$ ii. 870^{a}.

1 CHRONICLES.

1^{8} iv. 176^{b}.
1^{11} iii. 487.
2^{6} iii. 215^{a}.
2^{21-33} iii. 232^{a}.
2^{34} iv. 462^{b}.
2^{34-41} iv. 959^{b} (Bennett).
2^{49} iii. 197^{a}.
2^{55} iv. 204^{a}, 502^{a}; Ext. 659^{b} (Kautzsch).
3^{7} iii. 558^{b}.
3^{21} ii. 127^{a}.
4^{13a} ii. 128^{b}.
4^{15} iv. 825^{a}.
4^{15a} ii. 128^{b}.
4^{15b} ii. 128^{b}.
$4^{17f.}$ ii. 129^{a}.
4^{18} iii. 820^{b}.
4^{21} Ext. 85^{a}.
$4^{21f.}$ ii. 125 f.
4^{22} ii. 551^{b}; iii. 410^{a}.
4^{23b} ii. 118^{a}; iii. 518^{b}.
4^{42} iii. 501^{a}.
5^{15} i. 55^{a}.
5^{19} ii. 833^{a}.
$6^{3-15.\ 50-53}$ i. 6^{b}.
$6^{13.\ 18}$ iv. 70^{a}.
$6^{44\ (29)}$ iii. 4^{a}.
$6^{72\ (57)}$ iii. 4^{b}.
7^{12b} ii. 130^{b}.
7^{14-19} iii. 232^{a}.
7^{18} ii. 129^{b}; iv. 180^{b}.
7^{20-23} i. 274^{b}.
7^{20-29} iv. 511^{b} (Bennett).
7^{25-27} ii. 130^{a}.
7^{34} i. 55^{a}.
7^{39} ii. 132^{a}.
$8^{6f.}$ ii. 131^{a}.
8^{8} iii. 343^{a}.
9^{25} iv. 93^{b}.
11^{11} i. 38^{b}.
11^{22} iii. 410^{b} (Bennett).
11^{36} iii. 738^{b}.
11^{37} iii. 638^{a}.
12^{28} iv. 961^{b}.
13^{5} iv. 498^{b}.
13^{6} Ext. 637^{a} (Kautzsch).
13^{8} iii. 894^{b}.
13^{14} iii. 581^{a} (Selbie).
15^{17} iii. 4^{a}.
16 (as bearing on date of Psalter) iv. 148^{a}.
18^{12} iv. 356^{a}.

1 CHRONICLES—*continued.*

18^{16} i. 6^{b}.
20^{3} ii. 306^{b}.
20^{5} i. 684^{a}.
21^{1} (cf. 1 S 24^{1}) iv. 116^{b}, 408^{a}; Ext. 288 f., 730^{a}.
22^{14} iii. 420^{b}.
23^{29} i. 318^{a}.
24^{2} i. 7^{a}.
24^{3} iv. 71^{b}.
$24^{3.\ 31}$ i. 6^{b}.
$24^{7ff.}$ iv. 91 f.
24^{27} ii. 125^{a}.
25 iv. 92^{a}.
25^{4} ii. 124^{b}, 171^{a} n., 348^{b}.
26^{1} i. 5^{b}.
26^{15} iv. 756^{a}.
26^{16} iv. 472^{b}.
26^{18} iii. 673^{a} (Driver).
27^{28} ii. 31^{a}.
29^{2} ii. 182^{a}.
29^{3} ii. 229^{a}; iii. 734^{a} (Hastings).
29^{7} iii. 421^{b}.
29^{10} iv. 38^{a}.
29^{24} Ext. 171^{b}.

2 CHRONICLES.

1^{3} ii. 171^{a}.
$2^{3f.}$ ii. 389^{a}.
2^{13} ii. 390^{a}.
3^{1} iii. 437.
3^{3} ii. 62^{b}.
3^{4} iv. 21^{a} (Davies).
3^{6} iii. 682^{b}.
4^{7} ii. 58^{b}.
6^{29} ii. 264^{a}.
7^{3} iv. 37^{b}.
$8^{1f.}$ ii. 389^{a}.
8^{4} iv. 804^{a} n.
9^{4} i. 162^{b}.
9^{13} iii. 420^{b}.
9^{14} i. 135^{a}.
9^{16} iii. 420^{b} n.
9^{18} ii. 45^{b}.
9^{21} iv. 804^{a} n.; Ext. 360^{a}.
11^{15} Ext. 617^{b} (Kautzsch)
11^{18} i. 8^{a}.
12^{3} iv. 627^{a}.
13^{2} iii. 180^{a}.
13^{5b} Ext. 171^{b}.
14^{9} i. 536^{b} n.
14^{9-15} iv. 977.
15^{8} i. 206^{b}.
16^{14} i. 518^{b}; iv. 610^{b}.
17^{7} iii. 577^{b}.
18^{9} iii. 626^{a} (Selbie).
18^{20} Ext. 288^{b}.
19^{8} iv. 400^{a}.
20^{16} Ext. 371^{b}.
$21^{12ff.}$ i. 690^{b}.
21^{19} iii. 325.
21^{20} i. 596^{a}.

2 CHRONICLES—*continued.*
23 i. 195 f.
23^{5} ii. 62^{a}, 593^{b} n.
24^{5-9} iii. 422 f.
24^{20-22} iv. 960 f.
24^{26} ii. 790^{b}.
25^{3} ii. 790^{b}.
26^{6-15} iv. 844^{a}.
26^{7} i. 135^{b}; Ext. 85^{a}.
$26^{16\text{ff.}}$ iv. 72^{a}.
26^{16-20} i. 206^{b}.
28^{3} Ext. 699^{b} (Kautzsch).
28^{6-15} iii. 736^{b}.
28^{23} iv. 992^{a}.
$29^{22.\ 24}$ iv. 93^{a}.
29^{28} iv. 37^{b}.
29^{34} iv. 93^{a}.
$30^{1\text{ff.}}$ iii. 687^{b}.
32^{28} ii. 25^{b}.
33^{11-13} iii. 232^{a}.
33^{19} ii. 436^{b}.
34^{9} iv. 74^{a}.
35^{1-19} iii. 687^{b}.
$35^{2\text{f.}}$ iii. 22^{a} (Selbie).
36^{8} i. 538^{b}; ii. 559^{a}.

EZRA.
1^{8} iv. 493.
2^{2} iii. 510^{b}.
$2^{36\text{ff.}}$ iv. 81^{a}.
2^{41} iv. 37^{a}.
$2^{41\text{f.}}$ iv. 74^{b}.
2^{50} iii. 485^{b}.
$2^{54\text{ff.}}$ iv. 74^{b}.
2^{63} iv. 839^{a}.
2^{69} iii. 421^{b}.
2^{70} iv. 93^{b}.
3^{2} iv. 493.
$3^{2\text{ff.}}$ Ext. 709^{a} (Kautzsch).
3^{8} iv. 493^{b}.
$3^{10\text{f.}}$ iii. 613^{a}.
4^{8} iv. 958^{a}.
4^{8-24} i. 823^{a}.
4^{10} i. 189^{a}; iii. 634.
5^{3} iv. 690^{a}.
5^{16} iv. 493^{b}.
$6^{19\text{f.}}$ iii. 687.
$7^{1\text{f.}}$ iv. 80^{b}.
7^{1-5} i. 79^{a}.
7^{5} iv. 73^{b}.
7^{6} iv. 420^{b}.
7^{7} iv. 81^{a}.
$7^{12.\ 21}$ Ext. 715^{a} (Kautzsch).
7^{25} Ext. 715^{a} (Kautzsch).
8^{2} iv. 80^{a}, 89^{a}.
8^{10} ii. 789^{a}.
8^{15} iv. 80^{a}.
8^{17} iii. 519^{b}.
8^{18} iii. 214^{b}.
$8^{18\text{f.}}$ iv. 80^{a}.
8^{20} iv. 80^{a}, 81^{a}.
8^{21-23} iv. 40^{b}.
8^{22} Ext. 375^{a}.
8^{36} iii. 114^{a}.
10^{40} iii. 197^{b}.

NEHEMIAH.
1^{1-3} iii. 507.
2^{13} iv. 428^{a}.
3^{11} i. 317^{b}.
3^{14} iv. 204^{a}.
$4^{12\ (8)}$ iii. 508^{b} n.
$5^{1\text{ff.}}$ iv. 466 f.
$5^{3\text{f.}}$ Ext. 602^{b} (Johns).
5^{17} Ext. 48^{a}.
6^{8} ii. 1^{a}.
7^{7} iii. 510.
$7^{39\text{ff.}}$ iv. 81^{a}, 92^{a}.
7^{44} iv. 37^{a}.
$7^{44\text{f.}}$ iv. 74^{b}.
7^{52} iii. 485^{b}.
$7^{63\text{ff.}}$ iv. 81^{a}.
7^{65} iv. 90^{b}, 839^{a}.
$7^{70\text{ff.}}$ iii. 421^{b}.
7^{73} iv. 93^{b}.
8–10 i. 200; iv. 81, 644.
$8^{1\text{f.}\ 13}$ Ext. 715^{a} (Kautzsch).
8^{4} iv. 173.
8^{8} iv. 849^{a}.
10^{31} iv. 81^{b}, 318^{b}.
10^{32} iii. 422^{b}.
10^{35} iv. 93 f.
10^{38-40} iv. 93^{b}.
11^{10-19} iv. 81^{a}.
12^{1-7} iv. 92^{a}.
12^{8} iv. 35^{a} (Selbie).
12^{25} iv. 756^{a}.
12^{38} i. 317^{b}.
12^{44} iv. 94^{a}.
12^{46} iii. 613^{a}.
13^{3} iii. 399^{a}.
13^{5} iv. 93^{b}.
13^{6} iii. 509.
$13^{10\text{ff.}}$ iv. 93^{b}.
13^{14} iii. 583^{a} (Hastings).
13^{15-22} iv. 318^{b}.
13^{26} iii. 646^{b} (Hastings).
13^{28} Ext. 69^{a}.

ESTHER.
1^{8} iii. 243^{b} (Patrick).
2^{6} iii. 435^{a} n.
4^{14} i. 704^{b}.
7^{8} ii. 317^{a}; Ext. 172^{a}.
$8^{10.\ 14}$ iv. 23^{a} n.

JOB.
1^{8} Ext. 288^{b}.
1^{21} iii. 225^{b}; iv. 63^{b}.
2^{13} ii. 264^{a}.
3^{8} iii. 210^{b}; iv. 427^{b}; Ext. 670^{b} (Kautzsch).
3^{12} iii. 7^{b}.
3^{12a} Ext. 170^{b}.
3^{14} iv. 178^{b}.
4^{21} ii. 192^{a}.
6^{6} ii. 37^{a}; iv. 694^{a} (Wilson).
6^{18} Ext. 375^{a}.
6^{19} iv. 694^{a} (Wilson).
7^{20} iii. 244^{b} (Hastings).

JOB—*continued.*
9^{9} i. 192^{b}, 218^{a}; iii. 895 f.
9^{13} iv. 194^{b} (Selbie).
$9^{22\text{ff.}}$ Ext. 730^{b} (Kautzsch).
9^{33} i. 573^{b}.
10^{17} i. 370^{b}.
12^{19} (AV) iv. 101^{b}.
13^{4} iii. 322^{a}.
14^{4} Ext. 666^{b} (Kautzsch).
$14^{13\text{ff.}}$ iv. 232^{b}.
14^{14} i. 370^{b}.
15^{8} iii. 29^{a} n.
15^{27} iii. 632^{a} (Taylor).
16^{13} iii. 128^{a} (A. R. S. Kennedy), 325^{b} (Macalister).
16^{18} ii. 61^{b}.
$16^{18\text{ff.}}$ Ext. 731^{a} (Kautzsch).
17 i. 500^{a}.
17^{6} iv. 672^{b} (Selbie), 798^{a}.
18^{8} i. 348^{b}; iii. 24^{b}.
18^{12} ii. 288^{a}.
19^{19} ii. 478^{b}.
19^{24} iii. 88^{b}.
19^{25} ii. 224^{a}; iv. 211^{a}, 232^{b}.
$19^{25\text{f.}}$ ii. 667^{b}.
$19^{25\text{ff.}}$ Ext. 730^{a}, 731^{a} (Kautzsch).
20^{17} iv. 287^{b} (Selbie).
20^{26} ii. 190^{b}.
21^{17} iii. 24^{b}.
21^{19} iv. 925^{a}.
$21^{19\text{ff.}}$ Ext. 730^{b} (Kautzsch).
21^{29} Ext. 373^{b}.
22^{30} ii. 506^{b}.
23^{2} iv. 625^{a} (Hastings).
24^{11} iii. 592^{b} (Macalister).
26^{12} iv. 194^{b} (Selbie).
26^{13} i. 192^{b}; iii. 210^{b}.
27^{7-23} ii. 667^{a}.
28 ii. 667^{a}.
28^{1} ii. 8^{a}.
28^{1-11} iii. 374^{a}.
28^{4} ii. 23^{a}.
28^{11} ii. 23^{a}.
28^{18} iii. 733^{b}; iv. 314^{b}.
29^{6} iii. 592^{b} (Macalister).
30^{13} Ext. 369^{b}.
30^{18} i. 453^{b}.
31^{23} ii. 381^{a}.
31^{33} i. 840^{b}.
32–37 Ext. 730^{a} (Kautzsch).
32^{2} i. 189^{a}.
32^{8} ii. 475^{b}.
32^{32-37} ii. 665^{b}.
33^{23} iii. 351^{b}.
35^{10} iv. 36^{a} (Selbie).
37^{18} iii. 397^{a} (Patrick).
$38^{1\text{ff.}}$ Ext. 731^{a} (Kautzsch).
38^{11} ii. 390^{b}.
38^{13} i. 701^{a}.
38^{17} iii. 625^{b} n. (Hastings).
38^{31} i. 192^{a}; iii. 632^{a}, 895 f.
38^{32} i. 144^{a}, 191^{b}; iii. 307^{a}.
39^{17} iii. 635.

Job—*continued.*

41^{11}(cf.Ro 11^{35}) iv. 66^a.
41^{18} iii. 505^b (Hastings.)

Psalms.

2 iv. 124, 571^a (Sanday); Ext. 727^a (Kautzsch).
2^2 iv. 162^a (Davison).
2^{12} iii. 6^a n.
4 iv. 154^b.
4^1 i. 704^b.
4^2 iii. 89^a.
5 iv. 154^b.
5^7 iv. 150^b.
6 iv. 154^b.
6^5 iv. 232^a.
8^2 iv. 162^a (Davison).
8^4 iv. 576^a.
8^5 iii. 226^a.
$8^{6ff.}$ Ext. 724^a (Kautzsch).
9 (title) iv. 154^b.
9^{13} iv. 150^b.
9^{16} iv. 154^a.
10 i. 25^b.
11^2 iv. 184^a.
11^4 Ext. 724^a (Kautzsch).
13^3 iv. 450^a (Nestle).
14^2 Ext. 724^a (Kautzsch).
14^3 iv. 188^a (Woods).
14^7 iv. 147^b.
$15^{1ff.}$ Ext. 726^b (Kautzsch).
16^2 ii. 229^b.
16^8 Ext. 172^b.
16^{9-11} iv. 159^b (Davison).
16^{10} i. 500^a; iv. 232^a; Ext. 669^a, 728^a (Kautzsch).
17^2 i. 731^b.
17^5 Ext. 726^a (Kautzsch).
17^{14} ii. 294^b.
17^{15} iv. 159^a, 232^a, 991^a; Ext. 728^a (Kautzsch).
18 iv. 151^a.
18^4 i. 269^a; ii. 24^a.
$18^{8ff.}$ Ext. 724^a (Kautzsch).
18^{10} i. 377^b.
18^{11} Ext. 644^a (Kautzsch).
18^{15} iv. 287^b.
$18^{21ff.}$ Ext. 726^a (Kautzsch).
18^{28} i. 348^b.
18^{32} Ext. 724^a (Kautzsch).
18^{35} ii. 150^a.
18^{36} i. 704^b.
19^4 iii. 124^a (Hastings).
$19^{4f.}$ iv. 627^b (Pinches).
19^5 iii. 272^b (Mackie).
19^6 iii. 272^b.
$19^{12f.}$ Ext. 725^b (Kautzsch).
20^3 Ext. 724^a (Kautzsch).
20^7 Ext. 724^a (Kautzsch).
21^{11} ii. 476^b.
22 ii. 307^a; iv. 153^a (Davison).
22^3 ii. 470^b; iv. 34^a (Selbie).
$22^{7ff.}$ Ext. 725^b (Kautzsch).

Psalms—*continued.*

22^{15} iv. 25^a (Selbie).
22^{16} iv. 162^a (Davison).
22 (21) $^{20-22}$ (from Cairo Palimpsest of Hexapla) iv. 444.
22^{22} iv. 124^a.
$22^{28ff.}$ Ext. 728^a (Kautzsch).
22^{29} i. 312^a.
23^2 iv. 615^b (Hastings).
24^6 Ext. 270^b.
$24^{7ff.}$ Ext. 629^a (Kautzsch).
$24^{7.9}$ ii. 111^b.
25 i. 25^b; iv. 147^b.
26^7 iii. 93^b.
27^4 iv. 150^b.
29^{3-10} iv. 603^b.
29^9 i. 610^a.
29^{10} ii. 23^b.
30 (title) iv. 153^b.
30^9 iv. 232^a.
31^6 Ext. 728^a (Kautzsch).
31^{14} Ext. 374^a.
$32^{1f.}$ Ext. 726^a (Kautzsch).
34^7 Ext. 285^b.
35^3 i. 258^b; iv. 41.
35^{15} ii. 288^a.
37 i. 25^b; iv. 925^a.
37^{14} i. 477^b.
37^{25} Ext. 727^a (Kautzsch).
38 (title) iv. 154^b.
38^5 iii. 324^a (Macalister).
38^{14} iv. 229^a.
38^{17} ii. 288^a.
39^{11} iii. 324^a (Macalister).
$39^{13f.}$ Ext. 725^a (Kautzsch).
40^5 iv. 195^a.
40^7 Ext. 686^b (Kautzsch).
41^9 i. 846^a.
41^{11} Ext. 726^b (Kautzsch).
42^6 iii. 399^b (Selbie).
42^7 iv. 899^a.
42^{11} ii. 317^b.
43^5 ii. 317^b.
44 iv. 152^b.
$44^{18ff.}$ Ext. 726^a (Kautzsch).
45 iv. 152^a, 155^a, 160^a.
45^1 ii. 469 f.; iv. 974^b.
45^2 iii. 127^a (Mackie).
45^7 iv. 756^b (Selbie).
45^{10} Ext. 172^b.
45^{13} iii. 636^b n.
46 iv. 153^a (Davison).
46 (45) $^{1-3}$ (from Milan Palimpsest of Hexapla) iv. 444.
$47^{9f.}$ Ext. 727^b (Kautzsch).

Psalms—*continued.*

48^{14} iv. 168^a (Davison).
49 iv. 925.
49^4 iv. 270^b.
49^{11} ii. 479^a.
49^{14} iv. 232^b, 991^a.
49^{15} iv. $159^{a.\,b}$ (Davison).
49^{16} Ext. 728^a (Kautzsch).
50^2 Ext. 724^a (Kautzsch).
$50^{8ff.}$ Ext. 686^b (Kautzsch).
$50^{16ff.}$ Ext. 726^b (Kautzsch).
50^{23} i. 477^b; iv. 35^a.
51^6 ii. 479^a.
51^7 iv. 174^a (Hastings); Ext. 666^a, 725^a (Kautzsch).
51^{11} ii. 403^b.
51^{12} ii. 67^a; Ext. 726^a (Kautzsch).
51^{14} i. 307^b.
51^{18} Ext. 686^b (Kautzsch).
$51^{18f.}$ iv. 150^b.
53 iv. 154^a (Davison).
53^5 i. 857^b n.
54 iv. 154^a (Davison).
54^6 ii. 67^b.
55 iv. 154^a (Davison).
$55^{12f.}$ iv. 150^b.
55^{17} iv. 40^b.
56 (title) iv. 154^a.
56^1 ii. 747^b.
57 iv. 153^a (Davison).
58 iv. 153^a.
58^2 Ext. 724^b (Kautzsch).
58^4 iv. 460^b.
$58^{4f.}$ iii. 210^a (Whitehouse).
58^{11} Ext. 726^b (Kautzsch).
59 iv. 153^a.
59^{15} ii. 266^b.
60 (title) iv. 155^a.
60 iv. 508^b.
60^3 ii. 34^a.
60^8 iv. 508^b.
60^{10} Ext. 171^b.
62^5 i. 813^a.
63^4 iv. 39^a.
65^{10} iv. 288^a (Selbie).
66^6 ii. 23^b.
67 iv. 154^b.
68 iv. 152^a.
68^{14} iv. 962.
$68^{15f.}$ iii. 399^b n.
68^{17} Ext. 724^a (Kautzsch).
68^{18} Ext. 724^a (Kautzsch).
68^{20} iv. 232^a.
68^{27} i. 508^a.
68^{30} i. 462^a; iv. 610^a (Barnes).
68^{31} iv. 101^b (Selbie).
69 (title) iv. 155^a.
69^3 iii. 325^b (Macalister).
69^{26} ii. 264^a.
69^{35} iv. 150^b.
70 iv. 154^b.
71 (70) (title) iv. 204^b.
71^6 iii. 433^a (Hastings).

Psalms—*continued.*

72 iv. 124, 170^{b}; Ext. 727^{a} (Kautzsch).
72^{6} ii. 71^{a}.
72^{16} iii. 433^{a} (Hastings).
72^{20} iv. 147^{a}.
73 iv. 925^{b}.
73^{16} iii. 639^{b} (Hastings).
73^{21} ii. 264^{b}.
73$^{23-26}$ iv. 159^{a}.
73^{24} ii. 183^{b}.
74 iv. 152^{b}.
74^{8} iv. 152^{b}, 637^{a}.
74^{9} iv. 152^{b}.
74^{14} iii. 102.
75 iv. 153^{a}.
75^{8} ii. 43^{a}.
76 iv. 154^{b}.
76^{10} iv. 34^{b} (Selbie).
77^{17} ii. 191^{b}.
78^{2} iv. 270^{b}.
78$^{12.43}$ iii. 888^{b}.
78^{41} iii. 123^{b}.
78^{44} ii. 23^{a}.
78^{57} i. 312^{b}.
78^{63} iv. 34^{a}.
79 iv. 152^{b}.
80 (title) iv. 155^{a}.
80^{1} i. 379.
80^{17} ii. 294^{b}.
81$^{3f.}$ iv. 37^{b}.
81^{5} ii. 193^{b}.
81^{6} i. 256^{a}.
81^{7} iii. 347^{a}.
82^{6} iv. 570^{b} (Sanday).
82^{7} Ext. 724^{b} (Kautzsch).
83 iv. 152^{b}.
84^{3} iv. 174^{a}.
84^{6} i. 230^{b}; iii. 456^{a}; iv. 18^{b}.
84^{11} iv. 498^{b}.
87^{4} iv. 195^{a} (Selbie).
88 iv. 154^{a}.
88^{5} ii. 66^{a}.
88^{12} ii. 55^{b}.
88^{13} iv. 65^{b} (Hastings).
89 i. 777^{a} (Selbie); iv. 571^{a} (Sanday).
89^{10} iv. 195^{a} (Selbie).
89^{25} ii. 294^{b}.
90 iv. 151^{b}.
90^{11} i. 857^{a}.
91^{11} Ext. 285^{b}.
92^{13} iii. 122^{a} n.
93$^{1f.}$ Ext. 727^{b} (Kautzsch).
95^{6} iv. 39^{a}.
95^{8} iii. 293^{b}.
95^{9} iii. 347^{a}.
95^{10} ii. 265^{a}.
97$^{1ff.}$ Ext. 727^{b} (Kautzsch).
99^{1} i. 379^{a}.
99$^{1ff.}$ Ext. 727^{b} (Kautzsch).
100^{3} ii. 26^{a}.
102$^{26ff.}$ Ext. 724^{b} (Kautzsch).
105^{15} iv. 121^{b}.
105^{42} iv. 105^{a}.

Psalms—*continued.*

106^{37} i. 591^{a}; Ext. 617^{b} (Kautzsch).
107^{20} iii. 885^{b}.
108^{9} iv. 508^{b}.
108^{10} Ext. 171^{b}.
109^{4} iv. 41^{b}.
109$^{7ff.}$ Ext. 726^{b}.
109^{23} iii. 131^{a}.
110 iv. 151^{b}, 160^{a}; Ext. 727^{a} (Kautzsch).
110^{1} Ext. 172^{b}.
110$^{1-4}$ i. 25^{b}; Ext. 168^{a}.
110^{4} iii. 630^{a} (Hastings); iv. 98^{b}.
111 i. 25^{b}.
115$^{4ff.}$ Ext. 724^{a} (Kautzsch).
118 iv. 152^{a}.
118^{14} iv. 35^{b}.
118^{22} iv. 214^{b} n.
119 i. 25^{b}; Ext. 725^{b} (Kautzsch).
119^{105} ii. 44^{b}.
119^{136} iv. 287^{b}.
120^{5} iv. 820^{b}.
121^{5} Ext. 172^{b}.
121^{6} iii. 434^{a}.
122–134 iv. 153^{b}.
131^{2} iv. 900^{b}.
132^{6} ii. 523^{a}.
133^{2} iii. 593^{b}.
137 (title) iii. 22^{a}.
137^{5} i. 533^{a} n.
137^{7} Ext. 75^{b}.
137$^{8f.}$ Ext. 726^{b} (Kautzsch).
139 iv. 152^{a}.
139$^{1ff.}$ Ext. 724^{b} (Kautzsch).
139$^{5f.}$ Ext. 724^{b} (Kautzsch).
139$^{7ff.}$ Ext. 725^{a} (Kautzsch).
139^{8} Ext. 669^{b} (Kautzsch).
139$^{13-15}$ iv. 63^{b}.
139^{14} iv. 35^{a} (Selbie); i. 858^{a}.
139^{15} i. 534^{a}; iii. 225^{b}; Ext. 912^{b}
141^{2} Ext. 173^{b}, 725^{b}.
144^{12} i. 499^{b}.
145 i. 25^{b}.
150^{5} iii. 463^{a}.
151 (LXX) iv. 146^{a}.

Proverbs.

1–9 iv. 139 f., 141^{a}.
1^{6} iv. 270^{b}.
3^{15} iv. 314^{b}.
4^{7} ii. 164^{a}.
5^{16} iv. 287^{b}.
6^{8} (LXX) i. 264^{a}.
7^{9} iii. 582^{b} (Hastings).
7^{16} i. 357^{b}.
7^{19} ii. 231^{b}.
7^{23} iii. 128^{a}.
8 Ext. 281 ff.
8$^{22ff.}$ iv. 924 f.; Ext. 729^{a} (Kautzsch).
8^{30} iv. 925^{a}.
10^{1} iv. 140^{b}, 142^{a}.

Proverbs—*continued.*

10^{1}–22^{16} iv. 140 f.
11^{16} ii. 257^{a}.
16^{4} iv. 51^{b}.
16^{15} i. 451^{b}.
16^{28} i. 381^{a}.
16^{33} iv. 840^{b}.
17^{3} ii. 8^{a}.
18^{1} ii. 477^{a}.
18^{10} iv. 800^{a} (Barnes); Ext. 729^{b} (Kautzsch).
20^{9} Ext. 729^{b} (Kautzsch).
20^{20} iii. 582^{b} (Hastings).
21^{1} ii. 109^{b}.
21^{3} Ext. 729^{a} (Kautzsch).
21^{9} iii. 425^{b}.
21^{28} i. 476^{a}.
22^{17}–24^{22} iv. 140 f.
24^{20} i. 348^{b}.
24$^{23-34}$ iv. 140 f.
25–29 iv. 140 f.
25^{1} iii. 613; iv. 140^{b}, 142^{a}.
25^{4} ii. 8^{a}.
25^{11} i. 128^{b}.
25^{13} iv. 556^{b}.
25^{15} iv. 101^{b}.
25^{20} iii. 555^{a} (Patrick).
25$^{21f.}$ Ext. 729^{b} (Kautzsch).
25^{22} ii. 316^{b}.
26^{7} iii. 93^{b} (Selbie).
26^{23} iv. 25^{a} (Selbie).
27^{13} iii. 895^{a}.
27^{16} iii. 594^{a} (Macalister).
27^{21} iv. 34^{b}.
27^{22} iv. 437^{b}.
30 iv. 140 f.
30^{1} i. 51^{b}; iii. 293^{b}; iv. 519^{a}, 825^{a}.
30^{15} ii. 418^{a}; iii. 210^{b} n. (Whitehouse); Ext. 618^{a} (Kautzsch).
30^{17} Ext. 605^{b} (Johns).
30^{19} Ext. 360^{a}.
30^{28} iii. 129^{b}.
31^{1} iii. 293^{b}; iv. 519^{a}.
31$^{1-9}$ iv. 140 f.
31$^{10-31}$ i. 25^{b}; iv. 140 f.
31^{14} Ext. 360^{a}.
31^{24} Ext. 76^{b}.

Ecclesiastes.

1^{1} i. 637 f.
3^{5} iv. 617^{b}.
3^{11} i. 642^{a}.
3^{17} i. 639^{b}.
3^{20} Ext. 731^{b} (Kautzsch)
3$^{20f.}$ iv. 231^{b}.
3^{21} i. 642^{a}.
4$^{1-3}$ i. 638^{b}.
4$^{13-16}$ i. 638^{a}.
5^{9} i. 638^{b}.
7^{20} iv. 277^{b}.
9$^{4ff.}$ Ext. 731^{b} (Kautzsch).
9^{10} Ext. 669^{b}, 731^{b} (Kautzsch).

ECCLESIASTES—*continued.*

$10^{5-7.20}$ i. 638^b.
$10^{16f.}$ i. 638^a.
10^{20} i. 638^a.
11^{9c} i. 639^b.
12^{1a} i. 639.
12^4 i. 317^a.
12^5 ii. 38^a.
12^7 iv. 616^b (Stock); Ext. 665^b (Kautzsch).
12^{7b} i. 639 f.
12^{9-14} i. 639^a, 640^a.
12^{12} iii. 613^b.
$12^{13f.}$ i. 639^b; Ext. 731^b (Kautzsch).

CANTICLES.

1^{10} ii. 655^b.
1^{12} iv. 670^b.
$1^{13f.}$ i. 346^b.
1^{17} ii. 105^a.
2^1 iv. 313^b, 477^b.
2^{11-13} ii. 32^a.
2^{12} iv. 35^b n.
3^9 iii. 127^b, 640^b.
4^7 iv. 592^a n.
4^8 iv. 594^a.
5^7 iii. 240^a.
6^{1-13} iv. 594, 596.
6^4 iv. 597, 779^b.
6^{4-10} iv. 596^b.
6^{12} i. 82^a.
6^{13} i. 462^a.
7^4 ii. 13^a.
7^5 ii. 105^a.
$8^{3f.}$ iv. 596^b n.
8^{11} iv. 596^b n.
8^{14} iv. 596^b n.

ISAIAH.

1^2 Ext. 166^b.
1^8 i. 532^a.
1^{10} ii. 655^b.
$1^{10ff.}$ iv. 119^b.
$1^{11f.}$ Ext. 686^a (Kautzsch).
$1^{11ff.}$ iv. 335^b.
$1^{12.14}$ i. 346^b.
1^{15} iv. 39^a.
1^{22} iv. 228^a.
2^6 iii. 210^a; iv. 600^a, 601^a.
2^{6b} iv. 463^b n.
2^8 iv. 119^b.
2^{11} iv. 120^a.
$2^{12ff.}$ Ext. 692^a (Kautzsch).
3^2 iv. 601^b.
3^{19} iii. 455 f., 739^a.
3^{20} iv. 604^a.
3^{22} ii. 239^b, 240^a; iv. 923^b.
3^{23} iii. 397^a; iv. 670^b.
4^2 i. 314^a.
4^3 iv. 423^a.
5^1 iii. 660^b.
5^{10} iv. 910^a.
$5^{11ff.}$ iv. 121^a.
5^{16} iv. 112^a.

ISAIAH—*continued.*

5^{26-30} iii. 737^a.
6 Ext. 672^b, 676^a (Kautzsch).
6^2 iv. 459 f.; Ext. 644^a (Kautzsch).
6^4 Ext. 679^a (Kautzsch).
6^{13} iii. 879^a (Whitehouse).
7^3 Ext. 173^b (König), 696^b (Kautzsch).
7^6 iv. 266^a.
7^9 iv. 118^a.
7^{11} Ext. 674^b (Kautzsch).
$7^{11ff.}$ ii. 454 ff.
7^{14} iv. 871^a; Ext. 695^a (Kautzsch).
7^{14-16} ii. 454 ff.
7^{18} i. 264^a.
8^1 iii. 397^a.
8^3 Ext. 173^b.
8^{12} i. 464^b n.
8^{16} Ext. 692^b (Kautzsch).
$8^{16ff.}$ Ext. 699^a (Kautzsch).
8^{19} iii. 735 f.
$8^{19ff.}$ iv. 606^b.
8^{21} ii. 68^a.
8^{23} Ext. 370^b.
9^{1-6} Ext. 695^b (Kautzsch).
9^7–10^4 ii. 426^a.
10^9 i. 185^b.
10^9 (LXX) i. 224^b.
10^{12} iii. 746^b (Hastings).
10^{14} ii. 64^a; iii. 735 f.
10^{18} i. 237^b.
10^{22} Ext. 265^b.
10^{26} iii. 632^a.
10^{28} iii. 367 f.
$10^{28ff.}$ Ext. 372^a.
11^{1-9} Ext. 695^b (Kautzsch).
11^{10} Ext. 713^b (Kautzsch).
$11^{2ff.}$ iv. 115^a.
12 iv. 149^b.
12^2 iv. 35^b.
13^3 ii. 381^a.
$13^{5ff.}$ Ext. 710^b (Kautzsch).
13^{10} iii. 632^a (Taylor).
13^{20} ii. 25^a.
13^{21} i. 616^b.
$13^{21ff.}$ iii. 208^b n. (Whitehouse).
14^4 iv. 138^a.
14^9 i. 381^a.
$14^{9ff.}$ Ext. 714^a (Kautzsch).
14^{12} i. 193^a; iii. 159^a (F. H. Woods).
14^{13} i. 213^a, 216^a, 466^b.
$14^{13f.}$ i. 216^a.
14^{15} Ext. 668^b (Kautzsch).
14^{18} iv. 178^b.
15 (wrongly attributed by some to Jonah) ii. 744 f.

ISAIAH—*continued.*

15 f. (Jer 48) iii. 412.
15^2 i. 259^a.
15^5 i. 652^a.
$15^{15f.}$ ii. 744^b; iii. 412^a (Bennett).
17^1 iv. 126^a.
17^7 iv. 118^a.
17^8 iv. 119^b.
17^{10} i. 40^b.
18^2 iv. 212^a.
$18^{2.7}$ iii. 124^a.
18^4 i. 450^b.
19^1 Ext. 680^b (Kautzsch).
19^{10} ii. 13^a.
19^{18} ii. 479^b.
19^{18-25} iv. 170^a.
19^{19} iii. 881^b; Ext. 170^a.
$19^{19ff.}$ Ext. 712^a (Kautzsch).
20^1 iv. 689 f.
20^2 Ext. 171^b.
20^{2-4} Ext. 174^b.
20^3 i. 187^b.
20^4 iv. 606^b (Whitehouse).
21^1 i. 631^a.
21^2 i. 542^a.
$21^{8ff.}$ Ext. 674^a (Kautzsch).
21^{11} iv. 519^a (Selbie).
21^{13} i. 135^a; Ext. 375^a.
21^{14} Ext. 375^a.
21^{16} Ext. 602^b (Johns).
$21^{16f.}$ ii. 832^b.
22^6 iii. 1, 10^b.
22^{11} iv. 516^a.
22^{14} Ext. 675^b (Kautzsch).
$22^{15ff.}$ Ext. 674^b (Kautzsch).
22^{15-25} iv. 483^b.
22^{20-25} i. 685^b.
$22^{24f.}$ i. 685^b.
23^8 Ext. 76^b.
23^{13} iv. 918^a.
24 iv. 36^a.
24–27 Ext. 714^a (Kautzsch).
24^{21} i. 592^a; ii. 430^a.
$24^{21f.}$ iv. 990^b (Moulton); Ext. 307^b, 709^b (Kautzsch).
24^{23} iv. 629^b.
25^5 i. 450^b.
25^6 iii. 93^a; Ext. 712^a (Kautzsch).
25^8 Ext. 713^b (Kautzsch).
25^{10} iii. 202^b.
25^{11} ii. 33^a.
26^1 i. 331^a.
26^{13} iii. 479^a.
26^{19} iv. 232^a, 990^b (Moulton); Ext. 303^a, 305^b, 713^b, 728^a (Kautzsch).
27^1 iii. 210^b; iv. 194^b, 427^b (Selbie); Ext. 670^b (Kautzsch).
27^2 ii. 33^b.
27^{12} iv. 498^b.
28^{10} iii. 124^a (Hastings).

ISAIAH—*continued.*

28^{16} i. 499^{b}.
28^{17} iii. 124^{a}.
28^{18} iv. 129^{a} n.
28^{24-28} iii. 660^{b} (König).
$28^{27f.}$ i. 357^{a}.
29^{13} iii. 127^{a}.
29^{15} Ext. 684^{a} (Kautzsch).
30^{4} ii. 297^{b}.
30^{7} iv. 195^{a} (Selbie).
30^{22} iii. 632^{b} (Mackie).
30^{24} iv. 509^{a}.
30^{27} iii. 479^{b}.
30^{29} iii. 687^{a}; iv. 36^{b}.
30^{32} ii. 266^{a}.
30^{33} iv. 798.
31^{3} Ext. 666^{b} (Kautzsch).
32^{15} iv. 119^{a}.
33^{9} iv. 477^{b}.
33^{22} iii. 83^{a}.
33^{23} iv. 673^{a}.
34^{9} iii. 886^{a}.
34^{11} i. 466^{a}; iii. 124^{a}.
$34^{11.\,14.\,15}$ iii. 637^{b}.
$34^{13f.}$ iii. 208^{b} n. (Whitehouse).
34^{14} iii. 122^{a}; Ext. 618^{a} (Kautzsch).
35^{2} iv. 477^{b}.
35^{7} iii. 673^{b} n. (Hastings).
36–39 ii. 492^{a}, 869^{b}.
36^{2} iv. 191^{b}.
36^{6} iii. 820^{b}.
36^{8} iii. 895^{b}.
37^{16} i. 379^{a}.
37^{38} (=2 K 19^{37}) iii. 554 f.; iv. 476^{b}.
38 iv. 149^{b}.
38^{8} i. 193^{b}, 604^{b}; ii. 377^{b}.
38^{10-20} Ext. 167^{a}.
38^{11} Ext. 279^{b}.
38^{12} iii. 323^{a} (Macalister).
40–66 ii. 493 ff.
40^{2} Ext. 369^{b}.
40^{6} ii. 231^{a}.
40^{22} i. 442^{b}.
41^{2} iv. 275^{b} n.
$41^{4.\,21ff.}$ iv. 113^{b}.
$41^{8f.}$ Ext. 706^{b} (Kautzsch).
$41^{15f.}$ Ext. 707^{a} (Kautzsch).
41^{25} iv. 101^{b}.
$42^{1ff.}$ Ext. 448^{b}.
42^{13} Ext. 279^{b}.
43^{27} iv. 113^{a}.
43^{28} iv. 79^{b}.
44^{5} i. 538^{b}.
44^{6} i. 70^{a}.
44^{13} iii. 124^{a}, 738^{b} (Selbie).
44^{28} i. 229^{b}.
45^{2} Ext. 280^{a}.
45^{7} iv. 993^{a} (Moulton).
45^{15} iv. 113^{b}.
47^{2} iii. 93^{b}.
47^{5} iv. 51^{b}.
47^{8-15} iv. 601^{b} (Whitehouse).
47^{9-12} iii. 210^{a} (Whitehouse).
47^{13} iv. 104^{b} (Selbie).
48^{9} iii. 479^{b}.
48^{19} ii. 259^{b}.
49^{10} iii. 673^{b} (Hastings).
49^{12} iv. 538^{b}.
49^{23} iii. 573 f.
50^{1} Ext. 602^{b} (Kautzsch).
50^{11} ii. 119^{b}.
51^{1} iv. 180^{a}.
51^{9} i. 505^{b}; iv. 195^{a} (Selbie), 427^{b}.
$51^{9ff.}$ i. 505^{b}.
52^{14} ii. 58^{b}.
$53^{1ff.}$ Ext. 707^{b} (Kautzsch).
53^{2} ii. 58^{b}.
53^{3} i. 772^{b}.
53^{7} iii. 19^{a}.
$53^{8f.}$ Ext. 708^{b} (Kautzsch).
53^{9} ii. 778^{a} n.
53^{10} ii. 264^{a}; iii. 587^{a} n.; iv. 124^{a}.
54^{11} ii. 182^{b}.
54^{15}(LXX) iv. 133^{a}.
57^{6} iii. 880^{a} (Whitehouse).
57^{14} Ext. 369^{b}.
57^{15} ii. 470^{b}.
$58^{13f.}$ iv. 318^{b}.
59^{9} Ext. 710^{b} (Kautzsch).
59^{19} i. 237^{b}; iv. 288^{a}, 603^{b}.
60^{6} iv. 481^{b}.
60^{18} iv. 34^{b}.
61^{1} Ext. 173^{b}.
61^{3} iv. 34^{b} (Selbie).
62^{7} iv. 34^{b}.
62^{10} Ext. 369^{b}.
63^{19} iii. 479^{a}.
64^{6} iv. 193^{b}.
65^{3-5} iv. 829 f.
65^{4} i. 11^{b}; iii. 433^{a} (Hastings).
65^{8} ii. 33^{a}.
65^{11} i. 370^{a}; ii. 76^{b}; Ext. 617^{a} (Kautzsch).
$65^{11f.}$ iii. 342^{a} (Driver).
65^{17} iv. 990^{b}.
65^{20} iii. 696^{a} (Taylor).
66^{2} Ext. 19^{a} n.
66^{3} iv. 830^{a}.
$66^{3.\,17}$ iv. 829 f.
66^{12} iv. 603^{b}.
66^{12b} Ext. 170^{b}.
66^{17} i. 11^{b}; Ext. 116^{a}.
66^{19} iv. 177^{a}.
$66^{19ff.}$ Ext. 711^{b} (Kautzsch).
66^{21} iv. 79^{b}.
66^{22} iv. 990^{b}.
66^{23} iv. 318^{b}.
66^{24} ii. 119^{b}; Ext. 714^{a} (Kautzsch).

JEREMIAH.

1^{1} iv. 77^{b}.
1^{5} Ext. 672^{b} (Kautzsch).

JEREMIAH—*continued.*

2^{4-13} Ext. 167 f.
2^{7} iv. 119^{b}.
2^{11} ii. 183^{b}.
2^{18} ii. 174^{a}.
2^{22} iii. 585^{a} (Patrick).
2^{29-37} Ext. 167^{b}.
2^{32} Ext. 600^{b} (Johns).
4^{4} Ext. 687^{a} (Kautzsch).
4^{23-26} i. 505^{b}.
6^{9} i. 255^{b}; ii. 32^{a}.
$6^{20f.}$ Ext. 686^{a} (Kautzsch).
6^{29} i. 269^{b}; iv. 213^{a}.
6^{30} iv. 228^{a} (Denney).
7^{12} iv. 108^{b}.
7^{18} iv. 181.
$7^{21f.}$ iv. 335^{b}; Ext. 686^{a} (Kautzsch).
$7^{21ff.}$ iv. 119^{b}.
$7^{22f.}$ iv. 91^{a}.
7^{31} iv. 334^{b}.
$7^{31f.}$ iv. 798.
8^{8} iii. 66^{b}; iv. 91^{a}; Ext. 688^{b} (Kautzsch).
8^{17} iii. 210^{a}; iv. 460^{b}.
9^{11} Ext. 167^{a}.
9^{17} iii. 454^{b}.
10^{2} i. 194^{a}.
10^{9} iv. 835^{b}.
12^{9} iv. 610^{a} (Selbie).
$12^{14ff.}$ Ext. 697^{a} (Kautzsch).
13 Ext. 677^{b} (Kautzsch).
$13^{4ff.}$ Ext. 677^{b} (Kautzsch).
13^{4-7} Ext. 174^{b}.
13^{18} iv. 181^{a}.
14 f. iv. 40 f.
15^{1} Ext. 625^{a} (Kautzsch).
15^{12} ii. 482^{a}.
16^{6} Ext. 171^{a}.
16^{7} Ext. 615^{a} (Kautzsch).
$17^{5ff.}$ Ext. 687^{b} (Kautzsch).
17^{11} iii. 682^{a}.
$17^{19ff.}$ Ext. 710^{b} (Kautzsch).
17^{19-27} iv. 318^{a}.
$18^{1ff.}$ iv. 25^{a}; Ext. 675^{b} (Kautzsch).
18^{3} iv. 25^{a}, 915^{a}.
$18^{3ff.}$ Ext. 694^{a} (Kautzsch).
18^{18} iv. 117^{a}; Ext. 728^{a}.
19^{2} iv. 25^{a} n.
$19^{6.\,12.\,13f.}$ iv. 798.
$20^{1ff.}$ Ext. 701^{a} (Kautzsch).
20^{3} iii. 212^{b}.
$20^{7ff.}$ Ext. 672^{b} (Kautzsch).
20^{10} ii. 288^{a}.
20^{12} iii. 625^{b} (Hastings).
22^{18} iv. 677^{a} (Sayce).
$22^{18f.}$ iv. 125^{b}.
22^{23} ii. 257^{a}.
22^{30} iv. 423^{a}.
23^{5} i. 314^{a}.
$23^{5ff.}$ Ext. 696^{a} (Kautzsch).
23^{6} ii. 563^{b}.
23^{14} iv. 118^{a}.
23^{22} iv. 113^{b}.

JEREMIAH—*continued.*

23^{24} Ext. 679^{b}, 684^{a} (Kautzsch).
$23^{28f.}$ iv. 118^{b}.
25^{15} ii. 43^{a}.
$25^{15ff.}$ Ext. 174^{a}.
25^{25} i. 229^{a}.
25^{26} Ext. 161^{a}.
26^{12} iv. 125^{b}.
26^{17} iv. 126^{a}.
$27^{1ff.}$ Ext. 677^{b} (Kautzsch).
27^{9} Ext. 600^{a} (Johns).
$28^{1ff.}$ Ext. 674^{a} (Kautzsch).
$28^{8f.}$ iv. 117^{b}.
$29^{5f.}$ iv. 467^{a}.
29^{11} iv. 105^{a}.
29^{26} iv. 73^{b}.
30^{11} i. 77^{a}.
30^{21} i. 703^{a}.
31^{15}(cf. Gn 35^{16-20}, 1 S 10^{2}) iv. 193^{a}.
31^{18} i. 478^{a}.
31^{21} Ext. 369^{b}.
$31^{29f.}$ Ext. 689^{b} (Kautzsch).
31^{31-34} Ext. 697^{a} (Kautzsch).
31^{33} iv. 119^{a}.
$31^{33f.}$ iii. 72^{b}.
$32^{7ff.}$ Ext. 678^{a} (Kautzsch).
$32^{10ff.}$ i. 798^{a}.
33^{15} i. 314^{a}.
33^{16} ii. 563^{b}.
33^{18} iv. 77^{b}.
$33^{21f.}$ iv. 77^{b}.
34^{8} Ext. 602^{b} (Johns).
34^{18} Ext. 619^{a} (Kautzsch).
$34^{18f.}$ iii. 576^{a} (Ferries).
35 iv. 203 f.; Ext. 659^{a} (Kautzsch).
$36^{1ff.}$ Ext. 677^{a} (Kautzsch).
36^{23} iii. 739^{b}; iv. 945^{b}.
36^{32} Ext. 677^{a} (Kautzsch).
38^{7} Ext. 605^{a} (Johns).
39^{3} iv. 377^{a}, 407^{a}.
$39^{3.\ 13}$ i. 229^{a}; iii. 203^{b}, 514; iv. 190 f., 989^{a}.
39^{4} Ext. 371^{b}.
39^{13} iii. 503^{b}.
39^{16} Ext. 605^{a} (Johns).
40^{7}–43^{6} ii. 870^{a}.
41^{17} ii. 162^{a}; Ext. 375^{a}.
$42^{1ff.}$ Ext. 674^{b} (Kautzsch).
$43^{8ff.}$ Ext. 677^{b} (Kautzsch).
44^{1} Ext. 95^{a}.
44^{15} iv. 181.
46^{4} ii. 305^{b}.
46^{9} iv. 176^{b}.
48 (and Is 15 f.) iii. 412.
48^{2} iii. 202^{b}, 412^{b} n.
48^{11} ii. 33^{a}.
48^{32} ii. 553^{a} n.
48^{34} i. 652^{a}.
48^{38} ii. 142^{a}.
48^{45} iv. 494^{a}.

JEREMIAH—*continued.*

49^{3} iii. 222^{a} (Selbie).
49^{7-22} iii. 578^{b} (Selbie).
50^{14} iv. 34^{b}.
50^{15} ii. 61 f.
50^{21} iii. 737^{b}.
50^{37} iii. 399.
51^{1} iv. 493^{a}.
51^{27} i. 187^{a} (Hommel); iii. 277^{b} (Barnes), 378^{b}; Ext. 80^{b}.
51^{41} iv. 492 f.
51^{59} iv. 458^{b}; Ext. 375^{a}.
52 ii. 870^{a}.
52^{24} iv. 73 f.

LAMENTATIONS.

$1^{21f.}$ Ext. 726^{b} (Kautzsch).
$2^{1f.\ 21f.}$ Ext. 725^{b} (Kautzsch).
2^{7} iv. 36^{b}.
2^{9} iii. 22^{b}.
2^{11} iii. 128^{a} n.
2^{14} Ext. 725^{b} (Kautzsch).
2^{17} Ext. 725^{b} (Kautzsch).
2^{22} iv. 632^{b}.
3^{15} ii. 28^{b}.
$3^{21ff.}$ Ext. 725^{b} (Kautzsch).
3^{48} iv. 287^{b}.
3^{53} iv. 34^{b}.
$3^{64ff.}$ Ext. 726^{b} (Kautzsch).
4^{2} iv. 25^{b}.
4^{7} iii. 498^{b} n.; iv. 314^{b}.
4^{11} Ext. 725^{b} (Kautzsch).
4^{13} Ext. 725^{b} (Kautzsch).
4^{17} iii. 22^{b}.
4^{20} iii. 22^{b}.
$4^{21f.}$ Ext. 726^{b} (Kautzsch).
5^{3} iii. 634^{a}.
5^{7} Ext. 726^{a} (Kautzsch).
5^{10} iii. 637^{a}.
5^{13} iii. 369^{b}.

EZEKIEL.

1^{1} iv. 763^{a}.
$1^{1ff.}$ Ext. 676^{a} (Kautzsch).
$1^{5ff.}$ Ext. 644^{b} (Kautzsch).
1^{14} iii. 120^{b}.
$1^{27f.}$ Ext. 640^{a} (Kautzsch).
2^{5} iv. 117^{b}.
$2^{9ff.}$ Ext. 676^{b} (Kautzsch).
2^{10} iv. 946^{a} (Kenyon).
3^{9} iv. 621^{a}.
$3^{14f.}$ Ext. 673^{a} (Kautzsch).
3^{25} Ext. 175^{b}.
3^{26} Ext. 175^{b}.
4^{1} iv. 944^{b}.
$4^{1ff.}$ Ext. 678^{a} (Kautzsch).
$4^{4ff.}$ Ext. 678^{a} (Kautzsch).
4^{5} Ext. 175^{b}.
4^{8} Ext. 175^{b}.
4^{12} Ext. 175^{b}.
4^{14} i. 11^{b}.
$5^{1ff.}$ Ext. 678^{a} (Kautzsch).
6^{14} iv. 269^{b}.
7^{18} Ext. 171^{a}.

EZEKIEL—*continued.*

7^{23} i. 520^{b}.
8^{10} i. 11^{b}; ii. 58^{b}.
8^{14} iv. 676 f.; Ext. 580^{b} (Johns).
$8^{16f.}$ iv. 989^{a} (Moulton).
8^{17} i. 314^{a}; ii. 32^{b}; iii. 560^{a}; iv. 629^{a}.
9^{4-6} iii. 244^{b}.
9^{2} Ext. 286^{b}.
9^{4} iii. 123^{b}.
$9^{4ff.}$ ii. 49^{a}.
10 i. 378^{a}.
11^{16} iv. 636^{b}.
11^{23} iii. 618^{a}, 738^{a}.
$12^{1ff.}$ Ext. 678^{a} (Kautzsch).
$12^{17ff.}$ Ext. 678^{b} (Kautzsch).
12^{18} Ext. 175^{a}.
12^{22-28} iv. 117^{b}.
13^{9} ii. 835^{b}.
$13^{18ff.}$ iii. 872^{b}.
$13^{18.\ 21}$ ii. 835^{b}.
14^{9} iv. 116^{b}.
$14^{14.\ 19}$ ii. 661^{a}.
$14^{14.\ 20}$ iii. 614; Ext. 730^{a}.
$16^{1ff.}$ Ext. 702^{b} (Kautzsch).
16^{3} Ext. 77^{b}.
16^{4} iv. 632^{b}.
16^{8} Ext. 171 f.
16^{12} iv. 286^{a} (Mackie).
16^{45} Ext. 77^{b}.
17^{4} Ext. 76^{b}.
$17^{22ff.}$ Ext. 703^{a} (Kautzsch).
18^{2} Ext. 689^{b} (Kautzsch).
18^{23} Ext. 675^{b} (Kautzsch).
$20^{7f.\ 24}$ Ext. 617^{b} (Kautzsch).
$20^{25f.}$ Ext. 619^{a} (Kautzsch).
20^{12} iv. 318^{a}.
20^{26} iv. 334^{b}.
$20^{27ff.}$ iv. 119^{b}.
20^{29} i. 236^{b}.
20^{49} (21^{5}) Ext. 175^{a}.
$21^{6ff.}$ Ext. 703^{a} (Kautzsch).
$21^{14\ (19)}$ Ext. 175^{a}.
$21^{21\ (26)}$ iii. 128^{a}; iv. 107^{b}, 598^{b}, 601^{b} (Whitehouse).
$21^{26\ (31)}$ iii. 398^{b} (Purves); iv. 79^{a}.
$22^{6ff.}$ Ext. 704^{b} (Kautzsch).
23^{15} iv. 102^{a} (Selbie).
23^{23} iii. 10^{b}.
23^{37} iv. 334^{b}.
24^{3} Ext. 175^{a}.
24^{3-5} iii. 662^{a}.
$24^{6.\ 10}$ ii. 40^{a}.
$24^{15ff.}$ (cf. Lv $21^{1ff.}$) iv. 87^{b}; Ext. 678^{b} (Kautzsch).
$24^{17.\ 22}$ iii. 127^{a}.
27^{10} iv. 176^{b}.
27^{11} i. 188^{a} n.; ii. 108^{b}.
27^{15} i. 584^{b}; iv. 269^{a}.
27^{17} iii. 379^{a}, 659.
27^{19} ii. 482^{a}, 552 f.; iv. 847.
27^{23} i. 382 f.

EZEKIEL—*continued.*

27^{25} i. 352^{b}; Ext. 265^{b}.
28^{13} iv. 619^{b} (Flinders Petrie).
28^{14} i. 377^{b}.
29^{3-6} iv. 427 f. (Selbie).
29^{10} iv. 470 f.
29^{14} iii. 693^{b} (Max Müller).
29^{15} iii. 785^{b} (Hastings).
30^{5} iv. 176^{b}.
30^{6} iv. 470 f.
30^{15} iv. 536^{a}.
32^{2-8} iv. 427^{b} (Selbie).
$32^{21f.}$ Ext. 175^{b}.
32^{23} Ext. 668^{b} (Kautzsch).
32^{24} i. 229^{a}.
$36^{26ff.}$ iv. 119^{a}.
$37^{1ff.}$ ii. 839^{a}; iv. 232^{a} (E. R. Bernard).
$37^{22ff.}$ Ext. 703^{a} (Kautzsch).
38 f. Ext. 704^{a} (Kautzsch).
38^{2}–39^{6} iii. 212^{b}.
$38^{2f.}$ iv. 314^{a}.
38^{5} iv. 176^{b}.
39^{1} iv. 314^{a}.
39^{11} iii. 683^{b} n. (Hastings).
39^{16} ii. 292^{a}.
40–48 Ext. 704^{a} (Kautzsch).
40^{44} iv. 80^{b}.
$40^{45f.}$ iv. 78.
41^{15} ii. 105^{a}.
$41^{21f.}$ iv. 496^{a} (A. R. S. Kennedy).
43^{19} iv. 77^{b}.
43^{21} iii. 379^{b}.
44^{2} i. 325^{a}.
$44^{6f.}$ iii. 519^{a}.
$44^{6ff.}$ i. 377^{a}; iv. 78^{a}; Ext. 705^{a} (Kautzsch).
$44^{7.\,15}$ Ext. 618^{a} (Kautzsch).
$44^{8f.}$ iv. 569^{b}.
44^{11} iv. 78^{b}.
44^{14} iv. 78^{b}.
$44^{15f.}$ iv. 77 f.
44^{16} iv. 78^{b}.
$44^{17f.}$ iv. 829^{a}.
$44^{17ff.}$ iv. 79^{a}.
46^{18} Ext. 601^{a} (Johns).
44^{19} ii. 655^{b}; Ext. 621^{a} (Kautzsch).
$45^{1ff.}$ iv. 79.
$45^{4f.}$ iv. 78^{b}.
45^{13} iv. 905^{a} (A. R. S. Kennedy).
45^{17} iv. 318^{a}.
45^{18-20} i. 200^{a}.
$45^{19f.}$ iv. 79^{a}.
45^{21-24} iii. 685 f.
$46^{4f.}$ iv. 318^{a}.
46^{18} Ext. 601^{a} (Johns).
$46^{19f.}$ iv. 79^{a}.
46^{24} iv. $78^{a.\,b}$.
$47^{1ff.}$ Ext. 704^{b} (Kautzsch).
47^{15} iv. 970^{b}.
47^{22} Ext. 704^{b} (Kautzsch).

EZEKIEL—*continued.*

$48^{10ff.}$ iv. 79.
48^{11} iv. 78^{a}.
48^{35} ii. 563^{b}.

DANIEL.

1^{1} i. 553^{b}; ii. 559^{a}.
1^{11} iv. 615^{b}.
$1^{11.\,16}$ iii. 337 f.
2^{2} i. 218^{b}; iv. 601^{a}.
$2^{8ff.}$ Ext. 294^{b}.
2^{41} iv. 25^{b}.
$3^{2f.}$ iv. 492^{b}, 809^{b}.
3^{21} ii. 425^{b}.
3^{25} Ext. 714^{b} (Kautzsch).
4 iii. 327^{b}.
$4^{10ff.}$ Ext. 714^{b} (Kautzsch).
4^{17} iv. 991^{a}.
5^{10} iv. 180^{b}.
5^{11} i. 270^{a}.
$5^{25ff.}$ iii. 340^{a} (Margoliouth).
$5^{25.\,28}$ iii. 340 f.; iv. 906^{a}.
6^{10} iv. 39^{a}, 40^{b}.
6^{17} iv. 513^{b}.
6^{23} Ext. 714^{b} (Kautzsch).
7 i. 552^{b}; iii. 227^{a}, 355^{b}; Ext. 44^{b}.
7^{9} ii. 520^{a}.
$7^{9ff.}$ Ext. 714^{b} (Kautzsch).
$7^{13f.}$ iv. 576^{a}, 581^{b}, 582^{a}, 583^{a}, 584 f., 587^{b}.
7^{14} Ext. 297^{a}.
7^{27} Ext. 715^{a} (Kautzsch).
8 i. 552^{b}; iii. 227^{a}.
8^{19} Ext. 714^{b} (Kautzsch).
9 iii. 227^{b}.
9^{2} iv. 116^{a}.
9^{4-20} Ext. 714^{b} (Kautzsch).
$9^{20f.}$ i. 96^{b}.
9^{25} iv. 123^{b}.
$9^{25f.}$ iv. 101^{a} (Selbie); Ext. 48^{a}.
9^{25-27} i. 556^{b}.
$9^{26f.}$ i. 552^{b}.
9^{27} i. 12^{a}; iii. 181^{b}.
$10^{4ff.}$ Ext. 714^{b} (Kautzsch).
10^{5} iv. 835^{b}.
10^{13} iii. 362^{a}.
$10^{13.\,20}$ iv. 991^{b}; Ext. 286^{b}.
$10^{13.\,20.\,21}$ i. 96^{b}.
10^{21} iii. 362^{a}; Ext. 293^{b}.
11^{5} iv. 170^{a}, 433^{a}.
11^{6} iv. 170^{b}.
11^{7} i. 772^{a}.
11^{7-9} iv. 170^{b}, 433^{a}.
11^{8} iv. 101^{b} (Selbie).
11^{10} iv. 433^{a}.
$11^{11f.}$ iv. 170^{a}.
11^{14-17} iv. 171^{a}.
11^{18} iv. 101^{b} (Selbie).
11^{20} iv. 433^{a}.
11^{25-30} iv. 171^{b}.
11^{36} Ext. 714^{b} (Kautzsch).
$11^{38f.}$ iii. 306^{b} (Taylor).
11^{41} iii. 413^{a}.

DANIEL—*continued.*

12^{1} iv. 991^{b}.
12^{2} ii. 119^{b}; iv. 232^{a}; Ext. 305^{b}.
12^{3} Ext. 715^{a}, 728^{a} (Kautzsch).
12^{11} i. 12^{a}.

HOSEA.

1. 3 Ext. 174^{b}.
$1^{1ff.}$ ii. 421 ff., 746^{b}.
1^{2} Ext. 672^{b} (Kautzsch).
1^{4} Ext. 683^{b} (Kautzsch).
1^{9} iii. 129 f.
$2^{5f.}$ Ext. 605^{a} (Johns).
$2^{5ff.}$ Ext. 645^{b} (Kautzsch).
2^{6} Ext. 369^{a}.
2^{11} iv. 318^{a}; Ext. 687^{a} (Kautzsch).
$2^{16ff.}$ Ext. 692^{b} (Kautzsch).
2^{18} iii. 880^{b}.
$2^{20.\,33f.}$ Ext. 696^{b} (Kautzsch).
3^{2} iii. 99^{b}; iv. 466^{b}.
3^{4} iii. 880^{b}; iv. 107^{b}; Ext. 620^{b}, 680^{a} (Kautzsch).
4^{12} iv. 291^{b} (Mackie), 598^{a} (Whitehouse).
4^{13} iv. 335^{b}.
$4^{13f.}$ Ext. 690^{a} (Kautzsch).
4^{14} Ext. 662^{b} (Kautzsch).
6^{2} iv. 232^{a}; Ext. 305^{b}.
6^{4-6} iv. 335^{b}.
6^{5} Ext. 685^{b} (Kautzsch).
6^{6} iv. 119^{b}.
6^{7} i. 840^{b}.
7^{14} i. 537^{b}.
7^{16} i. 312^{b}.
8^{12} Ext. 688^{b} (Kautzsch).
8^{13} iii. 588^{b}.
9^{4} iii. 454^{a} (Nicol); Ext. 615^{a} (Kautzsch).
10^{5} i. 340^{b}.
10^{10} ii. 73^{b}.
10^{14} iv. 473^{a}.
11^{1} iv. 120^{a}.
11^{9} Ext. 682^{b} (Kautzsch).
$12^{2-4\,(3-5)}$ ii. 532^{b}.
$12^{4\,(3)\,f.}$ Ext. 638^{b} (Kautzsch).
$12^{7\,(8)}$ iv. 805^{a}.
$12^{9\,(10)}$ iii. 687^{a}.
$12^{12f.\,(13f.)}$ ii. 533^{b}.
$12^{14\,(13)}$ Ext. 625^{a} (Kautzsch).
13^{4} Ext. 680^{b} (Kautzsch).
13^{14} iii. 888^{a}; Ext. 668^{b} (Kautzsch).
13^{15} ii. 13^{a}; iii. 307^{b} n.
14^{2} iv. 336^{a}.
14^{4} ii. 67^{b}.
14^{10} Ext. 439^{a}.

JOEL.

1^{4} iii. 130^{b}.
2^{13} Ext. 710^{a} (Kautzsch).
2^{20} ii. 676^{a} (Cameron).
$3^{1.\,17}$ ii. 675^{a}.

JOEL—*continued.*

$3^{2.12}$ ii. 838 f.
3^{13} iii. 616^{b}.
3^{18} iv. 507^{b} (Chapman).

AMOS.

1^{5} iii. 1^{a}.
$1^{9f.}$ iv. 463^{b}.
1^{15} iii. 222^{a} (Selbie).
2^{1} iii. 123^{a}; Ext. 675^{a} (Kautzsch).
$2^{6.8}$ Ext. 602^{b} (Johns).
2^{7} ii. 316^{b}; iv. 335^{b}; Ext. 662^{b} (Kautzsch).
2^{8} Ext. 690^{a} (Kautzsch).
$2^{11f.}$ iii. 499 f.; Ext. 658^{a} (Kautzsch).
3^{2} iv. 119 f.; Ext. 684^{b} (Kautzsch).
$3^{7f.}$ iv. 113^{b}.
3^{8} Ext. 672^{b} (Kautzsch).
5^{2} Ext. 167^{a}.
5^{8} i. 87^{b} (Taylor); iii. 895 f.
$5^{18ff.}$ Ext. 691^{b} (Kautzsch).
$5^{21ff.}$ iv. 335^{b}.
5^{23} iv. 36^{b}.
5^{25} iv. 335^{b}; Ext. 633^{a}, 685^{b} (Kautzsch).
5^{26} i. 193^{a}, 215^{b}, 383^{b}; iv. 227^{a} (Pinches).
6^{5} iv. 36^{b}.
6^{10} i. 87^{b} (Taylor).
6^{13} iii. 132^{a}.
$7^{1ff.}$ Ext. 676^{a} (Kautzsch).
7^{8} iv. 2^{b}.
7^{12} Ext. 672^{b} (Kautzsch).
7^{13} iv. 72^{a}.
7^{14} ii. 31^{a}; iv. 110^{a}; Ext. 672^{b} (Kautzsch).
7^{15} ii. 26^{a}; iv. 125^{b}.
8^{1} ii. 30^{b}.
8^{5} iv. 318^{a}.
8^{8} ii. 23^{a}; iv. 286^{b} n.
8^{9} i. 193^{b}.
8^{10} iv. 677^{a} (Sayce).
8^{14} i. 342^{a}; iii. 237^{a} (Hastings).
9^{1} i. 278^{b} n.
9^{3} i. 87^{b}; iv. 427^{b} (Selbie); Ext. 670^{b} (Kautzsch).
9^{5} ii. 23^{a}; iv. 286^{b} n.
9^{7} iii. 1^{a}.
9^{8-15} i. 87^{a} (Taylor).
9^{12} iii. 479^{a}.

OBADIAH.

v.^{1} iii. 557 f.
vv.$^{1-9}$ (cf. Jer 49^{7-22}) iii. 578^{b} (Selbie).
v.^{2} iii. 580^{a} n.
v.^{3} iii. 580^{a}.
v.^{4} iii. 580^{a}.
vv.$^{5-7}$ iii. 580^{a}.

OBADIAH—*continued.*

v.^{10} iii. 580^{a}.
vv.$^{10-14}$ iii. 579^{a}.
vv.$^{12-14}$ iii. 578^{a}, 580^{a}.
v.^{16} iii. 580^{a}.
v.$^{19f.}$ iii. 578^{a}.
v.^{20} i. 189^{a}; iii. 579^{b}; iv. 437^{a}.
v.$^{20f.}$ iii. 580^{b}.

JONAH.

1^{7} iii. 153^{a}.
1^{8} ii. 748^{a} n.
2 iv. 149^{b}.
3^{1-4} ii. 745^{a} (König).
3^{3} i. 799^{a}.
3^{8} iv. 327^{a}.
4^{8} iii. 328^{a} (Macalister).
4^{10} ii. 750^{b}.
4^{11} iii. 554^{b}.

MICAH.

1^{1-17} ii. 137 ff.
1^{5} (LXX) iv. 119^{b} n.
1^{11} iv. 959^{a}.
1^{12} iii. 262^{b}.
1^{14} i. 24; iii. 436 f.
1^{15} iv. 519^{a}.
2^{8} iii. 239^{b}.
$2^{12f.}$ iii. 359^{b}.
2^{13} Ext. 713^{b} (Kautzsch).
3^{7} Ext. 672^{b} (Kautzsch).
3^{8} iv. 115^{a}.
$3^{9ff.}$ iv. 121^{a}.
3^{12} iii. 360^{a}.
4^{8} iv. 800^{a} (Barnes).
4^{11} Ext. 693^{b} (Kautzsch).
$5^{1ff.}$ Ext. 696^{a} (Kautzsch).
5^{3} ii. 456^{a}.
5^{6} iii. 553^{a} n.
6^{5} iv. 507^{a} (Chapman).
$6^{6ff.}$ iv. 335^{b}.
6^{6-8} Ext. 686^{a} (Kautzsch).
6^{7} iv. 334^{b}.
$6^{7f.}$ iii. 360^{a} (Nowack).
6^{8} iv. 119^{b}.
6^{15} iii. 616^{b}.
6^{16} iii. 621^{a} (Whitehouse).
7^{1} ii. 30^{b}.
7^{1-6} Ext. 700^{a} (Kautzsch).
$7^{7ff.}$ iii. 359^{b}.

NAHUM.

1^{1} iii. 473 f.
1^{2-10} Ext. 168^{a}.
1^{2}–2^{3} (? acrostic) iii. 475.
1^{8a} iii. 474^{b} n.
1^{11} i. 269^{a}.
1^{15} i. 269^{a}.
2^{3} iii. 474^{b} n.; iv. 498^{a} (Barnes), 613^{b} (Patrick).
2^{5} iii. 239^{b}.
2^{7} ii. 439^{b}; iv. 653^{a}.

NAHUM—*continued.*

3^{9} iv. 176^{b} (Max Müller).
$3^{15f.}$ iii. 130^{b}.
3^{17} iii. 130 f., 277^{b} (Barnes).

HABAKKUK.

1^{2} i. 25^{b}.
1^{3} ii. 264^{b}.
2^{1} i. 25^{b}.
2^{4} ii. 269^{b}, 272^{a}.
2^{6} iii. 895^{b}.
3 ii. 271; iv. 149^{b}.
3^{17} ii. 30^{b}.

ZEPHANIAH.

1^{1} iv. 974.
1^{3} iv. 974^{b} (Selbie).
1^{4} iv. 975^{a} (Selbie).
1^{5} iii. 222^{a}; iv. 118^{a}.
$1^{6.12}$ Ext. 708^{a} (Kautzsch).
$1^{7ff.}$ Ext. 692^{a} (Kautzsch).
1^{8} i. 377^{a}; iv. 975^{b}.
$1^{8b.9b}$ iv. 974^{b} (Selbie).
1^{11} iii. 218^{a}.
1^{12} iv. 976^{b}; Ext. 700^{a} (Kautzsch).
1^{15-18} iv. 976^{b}.
2^{1} iv. 975^{a}.
2^{1-3} iv. 976^{a} (Selbie).
2^{8-11} iv. 976^{a} (Selbie).
3^{4} iii. 120^{a}.
$3^{9f.}$ iv. 976^{a}.
3^{11-13} Ext. 697^{a} (Kautzsch).
3^{14-20} iv. 976^{a} (Selbie).

HAGGAI.

$1^{1.12.14}$ iv. 97^{b}.
$1^{5f.10}$ Ext. 710^{a} (Kautzsch).
1^{13} iii. 351^{b}.
2^{7} ii. 280^{a} n.
$2^{11f.}$ iv. 80^{a}.
$2^{12f.}$ iv. 826^{b}.
$2^{22f.}$ iv. 123^{a}.
2^{16} iii. 616^{b}.

ZECHARIAH.

1^{1} iv. 967^{b}.
1^{1-8} iv. 967^{a} (Nowack).
$1^{12ff.}$ Ext. 709^{b} (Kautzsch).
1^{16} iii. 123^{b}.
1^{18} iv. 125^{a}.
2^{15} Ext. 711^{b} (Kautzsch).
3 i. 96^{b}.
3^{1} Ext. 709^{b} (Kautzsch).
$3^{1f.}$ iv. 407 f.; Ext. 288^{b}.
$3^{1ff.}$ Ext. 712^{b} (Kautzsch).
3^{7} iv. 79^{b}.
3^{8} Ext. 713^{a} (Kautzsch).
$3^{8f.}$ iv. 79^{b}, 124^{a}.
3^{9} iv. 618^{b} (Patrick), 991^{a}.
4 i. 96^{a}.
4^{2} iv. 991^{a}.
4^{7} iv. 618^{b}.
4^{14} iv. 80^{a}.
$5^{1ff.}$ iii. 576^{b}.

ZECHARIAH—*continued.*

5^{9} iii. 122^{a}.
6^{2a} Ext. 170^{a}.
6^{9-13} iv. 123^{b}.
$6^{10ff.}$ iv. 967.
$6^{10.\ 14}$ iv. 785^{b}.
$6^{11ff.}$ Ext. 678^{b} (Kautzsch).
6^{12} Ext. 713^{a} (Kautzsch).
6^{13} iv. 79^{b}.
6^{14} ii. 349^{a}.
$7^{2ff.}$ iv. 477^{a}.
7^{3} iv. 80^{a}.
7^{10} ii. 453^{b}.
$8^{20ff.}$ Ext. 711^{b} (Kautzsch).
9–14 iv. 968 ff. (Nowack).
9^{5} Ext. 173^{a}.
9^{7} iv. 970^{a}.
9^{9} iv. 123^{a}, 125^{b}.
$9^{9f.}$ Ext. 713^{b} (Kautzsch).

ZECHARIAH—*continued.*

11^{3} iii. 239^{b} (Selbie); iv. 25^{b}.
$11^{4ff.}$ Ext. 175^{a}.
11^{13}(cf. Mt $27^{9f.}$) iv. 25 f.
12^{3} ii. 107^{a}.
12^{8} Ext. 639^{a} (Kautzsch).
13^{4} iv. 327^{a}.
$14^{1ff.}$ Ext. 711^{a} (Kautzsch).
14^{9} iii. 479^{b}; iv. 970^{a}.
14^{12} iii. 324^{a} (Macalister).
$14^{16ff.}$ Ext. 713^{a} (Kautzsch).
14^{20} i. 269^{b}; iii. 462^{b}; iv. 603^{a}.

MALACHI.

1^{1} iii. 218^{b}.
1^{7} iv. 670^{a}.

MALACHI—*continued.*

1^{11} Ext. 709^{b} (Kautzsch).
$1^{11.\ 14}$ iii. 219 f.; Ext. 441^{a}.
1^{12} iv. 670^{a}.
$2^{4.\ 8}$ iv. 81^{b}.
$2^{5ff.}$ Ext. 710^{b} (Kautzsch).
$2^{8f.}$ iv. 81^{b}.
$2^{10ff.}$ Ext. 709^{a} (Kautzsch)
2^{16} Ext. 603^{b} (Johns).
3^{1} Ext. 639^{a} (Kautzsch).
3^{2} iv. 990^{b}.
$3^{2f.}$ iv. 213^{a}; Ext. 710^{b}.
3^{3} iv. 81^{b}, 213^{a}.
3^{7} iii. 219 f.
$3^{8.\ 10}$ iv. 81^{b}.
3^{10} iii. 219^{a}.
3^{17} ii. 655^{b}; iii. 216^{b}, 734^{a}.
4^{1} iv. 990^{b}.

B. NEW TESTAMENT.

MATTHEW.

1 iii. 297^{b} (Bartlet).
1^{1} ii. 142^{b}; iii. 297 f.
1^{1-17} ii. 645.
1^{5} iv. 194.
1^{16} ii. 644; iii. 287^{a}, 303^{a} (Bartlet).
1^{18-25} Ext. 459^{b}, 460^{a}.
1^{19} iii. 273.
1^{22} i. 335^{a}.
1^{23} iv. 186^{b} (Woods).
1^{24} i. 323.
2 iii. 297^{b} (Bartlet).
2^{1} Ext. 482.
2^{1-4} (O.L. texts) iii. 49.
2^{1-12} iii. 204^{a}, 206^{a}.
$2^{6.\ 23}$ iv. 185^{a}, 187^{b} (Woods).
2^{9} i. 154^{a}.
2^{12} iv. 990^{a}.
2^{23} i. 335^{a}; iii. 496^{b}.
3^{2} ii. 610^{a} n.
3^{4} iii. 131^{a}.
$3^{14f.}$ ii. 611^{a}.
3^{17} ii. 611^{b}; iv. 572.
$4^{4.\ 6.\ 7.\ 10}$ iv. 186^{b} (Woods).
4^{5} iii. 882 f.
4^{13} i. 452^{a}.
4^{18-22}(‖Mk 1^{16-20}) compared with Lk 5^{1-11} iii. 757^{b}.
5^{1} Ext. 3^{a}.
5^{3} Ext. 8^{a}, 17^{a} n.
5^{3-12} Ext. 14.
5^{4} Ext. 18^{b} n.
5^{5} Ext. 19^{a} n.

MATTHEW—*continued.*

5^{5-7} Ext. 19.
5^{6} Ext. 19^{b} n.
5^{7} Ext. 20^{a} n.
5^{8} Ext. 20^{b} n.
5^{9} Ext. 21^{a} n.
5^{10-12} Ext. 21^{b} n.
5^{13-16} Ext. 22^{a}.
5^{15} iv. 913^{b} (A. R. S. Kennedy).
5^{17} iii. 72^{a} n.
5^{17-20} Ext. 11^{a}, 22^{b}.
5^{18} ii. 789^{a}; iv. 949^{a}.
$5^{18f.}$ Ext. 9^{a}.
5^{20} i. 357^{b}; iv. 281^{b}.
5^{21-37} Ext. 25^{b}.
5^{22} iv. 191^{b} (Massie).
$5^{23f.}$ Ext. 441^{a} n.
5^{25} iii. 378^{a}; Ext. 602^{b} (Johns).
$5^{27ff.}$ Ext. 446^{b} n.
$5^{29f.}$ ii. 120^{a}.
$5^{31f.}$ iii. 275.
5^{32} Ext. 9^{a}.
5^{33-37} Ext. 28^{a}.
$5^{33.\ 43}$ Ext. 446^{a}.
5^{34} iii. 577^{a}.
5^{38} Ext. 605^{b} (Johns).
5^{38-42} Ext. 28^{b}.
5^{42} ii. 622^{a}; Ext. 446^{a}.
5^{43-48} Ext. 8^{a}.
$5^{44f.}$ Ext. 726^{b} (Kautzsch).
5^{45} Ext. 446^{b}.
5^{48} iii. 744 ff. (Banks); Ext. 446^{b}.
$6^{1-6.\ 16-18}$ Ext. 31^{a}.
$6^{5ff.}$ Ext. 441^{a} n.
6^{7-15} Ext. 32^{a}.
6^{12} ii. 57^{b}.

MATTHEW—*continued.*

6^{13} iii. 144 f.
$6^{19f.}$ Ext. 600^{b} (Johns).
6^{19-34} Ext. 39^{a}.
6^{20} iii. 582^{b}.
$6^{28f.}$ iii. 122^{b}.
6^{30} iii. 637^{a}.
6^{33} ii. 520^{a}.
7^{1-12} Ext. 40^{b}.
7^{2b} Ext. 8^{a}.
7^{6} Ext. 41^{a}, 447^{b}, 448^{a}.
7^{7-11} Ext. 41^{b}.
7^{12} Ext. 8, 41^{b}.
$7^{13f.}$ Ext. 42^{b}.
7^{15-20} Ext. 43^{a}.
7^{21} Ext. 8^{b}, 43^{a}.
$7^{22f.}$ Ext. 43^{b}.
8 iii. 300^{b} (Bartlet).
8^{1} Ext. 3^{a}.
8^{6} iii. 326^{b} (Macalister).
8^{14} iii. 758^{a} n.
8^{20} iii. 518^{b}.
9 iii. 300^{b} (Bartlet).
9^{6} iv. 587^{b} (Driver).
9^{8} iv. 32^{a}.
9^{20} ii. 69^{a}.
9^{24} iv. 233^{b}.
10 iii. 298^{b} (Bartlet).
10^{3} iv. 741.
10^{14} Ext. 172^{a}.
10^{28} iii. 116^{b}.
$10^{41f.}$ Ext. 446^{a} n.
11^{27} iv. 573^{a}, 575^{a}, 919^{a}.
11^{28-30} ii. 648^{a}.
12^{5} iv. 321^{a}.
12^{8} iv. 587^{b} (Driver).
12^{18-21} iv. 184^{b}, 187^{b}; Ext. 448^{b}.
$12^{22ff.}$ Ext. 311^{b}.

Matthew—*continued.*

$12^{31f.}$ i. 305^b; iv. 588^a (Driver).
12^{32} ii. 58^a.
12^{39-41} ii. 751^b.
13 iii. 299^a (Bartlet).
13^5 iv. 617^b.
$13^{26f.}$ Ext. 43^b.
13^{55} iv. 519^b.
14^{6-12} i. 280^a.
14^{20} ii. 64^b.
15^8 iii. 127^a.
15^{21} i. 452^a.
15^{22} iv. 652^b.
16^{13} iv. 585 f.
16^{13-28} iii. 758 ff. (Chase).
16^{16} iv. 572^a, 574^b.
16^{17-19} iii. 759 f.
16^{19} iv. 30^b (Mason).
16^{23} iii. 586^b (Adeney).
16^{28} ii. 635^b.
17^{1-8} iv. 807 f.
17^5 iv. 572.
17^{15} iii. 327^b.
17^{25} iv. 65^b (Hastings).
18 iii. 299^a (Bartlet).
18^6 iii. 586^b.
18^8 iv. 234^a.
18^{10} iv. 991^b (Moulton); Ext. 290^a.
$18^{11ff.}$ Ext. 441^a.
18^{15-17} ii. 57^a.
18^{16} iv. 186^a (Woods).
18^{18} iii. 760^a (Chase).
18^{18-20} iv. 31^a (Murray).
$18^{21f.}$ ii. 57^a.
$18^{28f.}$ Ext. 602^b (Johns).
19^{3-9} iii. 275.
19^{3-12} Ext. 9^a.
19^{9-12} Ext. 27^b.
$19^{16ff.}$ iv. 282^a.
19^{21} iii. 746^b; Ext. 446^b.
19^{23} ii. 302^b.
19^{24} i. 345^b; iii. 505^a.
19^{28} iii. 372^a; Ext. 447^a n.
20^9 Ext. 477^a.
20^{28} iii. 316^a (Adeney); iv. 200^a (Adams Brown), 344^b (W. P. Paterson).
$20^{29f.}$ Ext. 456^a.
21^5 iv. 185^b (Woods).
21^9 ii. 30^b.
$21^{12ff.}$ iii. 422 f.
21^{16} i. 212^b; iv. 186^b.
22^{14} i. 343^b n.
22^{23-32} iv. 233^b; Ext. 53^b n.
23^5 iii. 873^b (A. R. S. Kennedy).
23^{15} i. 239^b; iv. 136^b.
$23^{16ff.}$ iii. 577^a.
23^{16-22} Ext. 28^a.
23^{23} Ext. 270^b.
23^{27} iii. 123^b.
23^{34-39} iii. 302^a (Bartlet).

Matthew—*continued.*

23^{35} iv. 960 f.
24 (‖ Mk 13, Lk 21) iii. 675 f.
24^{20} iv. 322^a.
24^{24} iii. 227^a.
24^{30} Ext. 441^b n.
25^{1-13} iii. 271^b (Paterson).
$25^{32ff.}$ iv. 233^b.
$26^{6ff.}$ iii. 280 ff.
26^{12} iii. 283 f.
26^{26-29} iii. 146.
26^{28} iv. 344^b.
26^{30} iv. 37^b.
26^{39} iv. 39^a.
26^{45} Ext. 164^b.
$26^{63f.}$ iii. 577^a.
26^{64} ii. 350^b.
26^{67} iii. 656^b (Hastings).
27 iii. 301^b (Bartlet).
27^{3-10} ii. 797 f.
$27^{9f.}$ iv. 187^b; Ext. 333^b.
$27^{9f.}$ (cf. Zec 11^{13}) iv. 25 f. (Selbie).
27^{10} iv. 185^b (Woods).
$27^{16f.}$ i. 245^b.
27^{19} iii. 877^b n.
27^{24} Ext. 172^b.
27^{34} iv. 870^a.
27^{46} i. 684^b.
27^{65} iv. 180^a.
$27^{65f.}$ ii. 267^b.
27^{66} iv. 513^b.
28^{16} ii. 102^a.
28^{19} iv. 573^a (Sanday).
$28^{19f.}$ i. 241 f.; ii. 213 f.; iv. 574^a; Ext. 313 f.

Mark.

1^{1-28} (examined from point of view of Textual Criticism) Ext. 216 ff. (Murray).
1^2 iv. 186^b (Woods); Ext. 454^a.
1^{11} iv. 572.
$2^{3ff.}$ ii. 432^a.
2^4 iv. 762^a.
2^{10} iv. 587^b (Driver).
2^{26} i. 7^a.
2^{27} iv. 322^a.
2^{28} iv. 587^b (Driver).
3^{11} iv. 574^a.
3^{18} iv. 741.
3^{20-37} iii. 287^b.
$3^{22ff.}$ Ext. 311^b.
3^{28-30} iv. 588^a (Driver).
3^{29} i. 551^a.
4^{11} iii. 466^a.
4^{28} iii. 493^b.

Mark—*continued.*

$4^{31f.}$ iii. 635^b (Hastings).
4^{38} iii. 882^a.
5^7 iv. 574^a.
5^{41} iv. 675 f.
6^3 iii. 587^a; iv. 519^b.
6^{21} i. 772^a.
6^{21-28} i. 280^a.
6^{27} ii. 267^b.
6^{43} ii. 64^b.
7^3 iv. 833^b.
7^4 iv. 670^b.
7^{11} i. 479^a.
$7^{21f.}$ Ext. 440^b.
7^{26} iv. 652^b.
8^{10} i. 544^b.
8^{11} Ext. 172^a.
8^{20} iv. 587^b (Driver).
8^{22} iii. 331^a (Macalister).
8^{27-38} iii. 758^b (Chase).
8^{32} iii. 760^a (Chase).
8^{35} iv. 434^b (Adeney).
9^{2-8} iv. 807 f.
9^7 iv. 572.
9^{25} ii. 61^a.
9^{33} i. 611^b.
$9^{38ff.}$ ii. 705^b.
10^{1-12} iii. 275.
10^{10-12} Ext. 27^b.
10^{19} iv. 186^a (Woods).
10^{25} iii. 505^a.
10^{42-45} iv. 344^b (Paterson).
10^{45} iii. 316^a (Adeney); iv. 200^a (Adams Brown), 344.
10^{46} iv. 76^{2b}; Ext. 456^a.
11^{13} ii. 6^a, 30^b.
$11^{15ff.}$ iii. 432 f.
11^{17} iv. 185^b (Woods).
11^{24} iv. 43^b.
11^{25} iv. 45^a; Ext. 441^a n.
12^8 iv. 587 f.
12^{18-27} iv. 233^b.
12^{27} iv. 454^a n. (Nicol).
$12^{29f.}$ iv. 186^b (Woods).
12^{32} iii. 635^b (Hastings).
12^{40} iv. 917^a.
12^{44} i. 20^a.
13 (‖ Mt 24, Lk 21) iii. 675 f.
$13^{6.\ 22}$ iii. 227^a.
13^{23} ii. 54^b.
13^{32} iv. 573^a (Sanday).
14^3 iii. 593^b; iv. 611.
$14^{3ff.}$ iii. 280 ff.
14^6 Ext. 295^b.
14^8 iii. 283 f.
14^{14} iii. 234^b.
14^{22-25} iii. 146.
14^{24} iv. 344^b.
14^{26} iv. 37^b.
14^{27} iv. 185^a, 186^b (Woods).
14^{36} iv. 575^a.

MARK—*continued.*

14^{41} Ext. 164^{b}.
14^{61} iv. 574^{b}.
14^{65} iii. 656^{b} (Hastings).
15^{8} iii. 877^{b} n.
15^{21} i. 463^{a} ; iv. 315^{a}.
15^{25} Ext. 477^{b} f.
15^{34} i. 684^{b} ; iv. 186^{b} (Woods).
16^{9-20} i. 154^{a} ; iii. 252 f. ; iv. 738^{b} ; Ext. 460^{a}.
16^{17} iv. 793^{b}.
16^{19} i. 160^{a} ; ii. 642^{b}.

LUKE.

1^{3} iii. 630^{a} (Hastings).
1^{6} iii. 631^{a} (Hastings).
1^{17} iv. 187^{a} (Woods).
1^{28} ii. 257^{a}.
1^{35} Ext. 309^{b}.
$1^{39f.}$ iv. 93^{b}.
1^{46-65} ii. 441^{a}.
1^{80} iv. 494^{b} (Hastings).
2^{1} Ext. 395^{a}.
2^{1-3} iv. 183^{a} (Plummer).
2^{1-5} ii. 645 f.
2^{2} i. 404 ; iv. 183 ; Ext. 356^{a}.
2^{7} i. 323 ; iii. 234^{b}.
2^{14} ii. 441^{a}.
2^{24} iv. 187^{a} (Woods).
2^{29-32} ii. 441^{b}.
$2^{36ff.}$ i. 99^{b}.
3^{1} i. 30^{a}, 405^{b} ; iii. 178 ; iv. 801 ff. ; Ext. 480 f.
3^{2} iv. 98^{a}.
3^{5} iv. 185^{a} (Woods).
3^{22} ii. 611^{b} ; iv. 572.
3^{23} i. 405^{a}.
3^{23-38} ii. 137 ff., 645.
3^{27} ii. 140^{a}.
4^{18} iv. 187^{a} (Woods).
$4^{18f.}$ iv. 185^{b}.
4^{20} iii. 378^{a}.
4^{22} ii. 257^{b}.
4^{44} ii. 791^{b} n.
5^{1-11}(compared with Mt 4^{18-22} ‖ Mk 1^{16-20}) iii. 757^{b}.
5^{18} ii. 432^{a} ; iii. 326^{a}.
5^{19} iv. 762^{a} (Patrick).
5^{34} iv. 587^{b} (Driver).
6^{1} iii. 741^{b} n. (Purves) ; iv. 321^{a} (Driver).
6^{5} iv. 587^{b} (Driver).
6^{12} Ext. 3^{a}.
6^{20} Ext. 8^{a}, 17^{a} n. (Votaw).
$6^{20-23\,(24-26)}$ Ext 14^{a}.
6^{20-49} Ext. 1 ff.
6^{21} Ext. 18^{b} n., 19^{b}.
$6^{22f.}$ Ext. 21^{b} n.
$6^{27f.}$ Ext. 447^{a}.

LUKE—*continued.*

$6^{29f.}$ Ext. 28^{b}.
6^{31} Ext. 8, 41^{b}.
$6^{31.\,37-42}$ Ext. 8^{a}, 40^{b}.
6^{38a} Ext. 8^{a}.
6^{43-45} Ext. 43^{a}.
6^{46} Ext. 8^{b}.
6^{48} iv. 290^{b} n.
7^{4} ii. 477^{a}.
$7^{36ff.}$ iii. 280 ff.
8^{2} iii. 284.
8^{44} ii. 69^{a} ; iv. 602^{b}.
9^{17} ii. 64^{b}.
9^{18-27} iii. 758 f. (Chase).
9^{28-36} iv. 807 f.
9^{29} ii. 182^{b}.
9^{35} iv. 572.
9^{38} iii. 327^{b}.
$9^{45ff.}$ ii. 705^{b}.
9^{58} iii. 518^{b} ; iv. 587^{b} (Driver).
9^{60} Ext. 437^{a}.
10^{4} iv. 357^{a}.
10^{18} iii. 159^{a}.
10^{29} iii. 826^{b} n. (Eaton).
10^{30} Ext. 371^{b}.
10^{34} i. 44^{b}.
$10^{34f.}$ Ext. 375^{a}.
10^{35} Ext. 394^{a}.
10^{38-42} iii. 279 ff.
10^{40} i. 532^{b}.
10^{42} ii. 42^{a} ; iii. 278^{a}.
11^{1-4} Ext. 32^{a}, 38^{b}.
11^{4} ii. 57^{b}.
11^{5-8} iv. 43^{a}.
11^{5-9} ii. 428^{a}.
11^{9-13} Ext. 41^{b}.
11^{27} iii. 287^{b}.
11^{30} ii. 751^{b}.
11^{44} iv. 457^{b}.
11^{51} iv. 960 f.
12^{10} iv. 588^{b} (Driver) ; Ext. 311^{b}.
12^{16-20} iv. 188^{a} (Woods).
12^{42} iv. 30^{b}.
12^{47} iv. 532^{b}.
12^{58} Ext. 601^{a}, 602^{b} (Johns).
13^{11-17} iii. 328^{b} (Macalister).
13^{14} iv. 640^{b} ; Ext. 101^{a}.
14^{1} iv. 320^{a} n.
14^{2} iii. 328^{a}.
14^{7-10} iv. 188^{a} (Woods).
14^{14} iii. 372^{a} ; iv. 234^{a}, 235^{b} ; Ext. 306^{b}.
14^{23} i. 462^{b}.
15^{7} iv. 532^{a}.
15^{11-32} ii. 57^{b}.
15^{31} Ext. 604^{b} (Johns).
16^{17} Ext. 22^{b}.
16^{18} iii. 275.
16^{19} i. 853^{a}.
$16^{22f.}$ iii. 671^{a}.
$17^{3f.}$ ii. 57^{a}.
17^{10} iv. 43^{b}.
17^{20} iii. 582^{b} (Hastings).

LUKE—*continued.*

17^{32} iii. 152^{b}.
18^{1-8} iv. 43^{a}.
18^{7} ii. 47^{b}.
18^{9-14} iv. 43^{b}.
18^{25} iii. 505^{a}.
18^{35} Ext. 456^{a}.
$19^{1ff.}$ Ext. 49^{a}.
19^{8} Ext. 395^{b}, 396^{a}.
19^{10} iii. 744^{b}.
19^{13} iii. 583^{a} (Hastings).
19^{20} iii. 487^{b}.
19^{42} iv. 532^{b}.
$19^{43f.}$ iii. 163^{b} (Bebb).
20^{21} i. 22^{a}.
20^{27-38} iv. 233^{b}.
20^{35} iii. 372^{a} ; iv. 234^{a}, 235^{b}.
21(‖ Mt 24, Mk 13) iii. 675 f.
21^{8} iii. 227^{a}.
21^{19} iv. 22^{a} n. (Hastings).
21^{20} i. 30^{a} ; iii. 163^{b} ; iv. 185^{b}.
22^{11} iii. 234^{b}.
$22^{14ff.}$ ii. 636.
22^{17-20} iii. 146 ; Ext. 450^{a}.
22^{19} iii. 316 f.
$22^{43f.}$ i. 153^{b}.
22^{44} i. 48^{a} ; iii. 330^{a}.
22^{64} ii. 107^{b}.
22^{69} ii. 350^{b}.
23^{23} ii. 476^{a}.
23^{34} ii. 58^{a} ; iv. 532^{b}.
23^{43} iii. 671^{a} (Salmond); Ext. 305^{a}.
23^{45} i. 559^{b}.
23^{46} iv. 185^{a} (Woods).
23^{47} iv. 574.
24^{12} iii. 761^{b} n.
24^{13} Ext. 371^{a} n.
24^{26} Ext. 270^{b}.
24^{50} iv. 323^{b} n. (Massie).
24^{51} i. 161^{a} ; ii. 642^{b}.

JOHN.

$1^{1ff.}$ iii. 133 ; Ext. 284 f.
$1^{3.\,10}$ i. 335^{a}.
1^{4} iii. 133^{b} n.
1^{9} Ext. 273^{b}.
$1^{12f.}$ iv. 219^{a} (Bartlet).
1^{14} iv. 489^{b} (Marshall).
1^{18} iv. 576^{b}.
1^{23} iv. 185^{a} (Woods).
1^{28} i. 255^{b}, 276^{a} ; ii. 765^{b}.
$1^{29.\,36}$ iii. 19^{b}.
1^{34} ii. 680^{a}.
1^{56} ii. 6^{12b} n.
1^{44} iii. 757^{a}.
$1^{45ff.}$ iii. 488 f.
1^{46} iii. 489^{a} (Cowan).
2^{4} iii. 287 (Mayor).
$2^{13ff.}$ iii. 432 f.
2^{14-22} Ext. 456^{a}.
2^{15} iv. 420^{a}.
2^{20} i. 405^{b}.

JOHN—*continued.*

2^{21} ii. 719^{b} (Reynolds).
3^{1-21} iii. 543 f.; Ext. 456^{a}.
3^{5} i. 242^{b}, 243^{b}.
3^{13} iv. 576^{b}.
3^{16} Ext. 312^{a}.
3^{23} iv. 354.
3^{31} iv. 576^{b}.
4^{4-42} Ext. 456^{a}.
4^{5} iv. 635.
4^{20} Ext. 70^{b}.
4^{24} ii. 689^{b} (Strong); Ext. 679^{b} (Kautzsch).
4^{25} iv. 123^{b}.
4^{35} i. 408^{a}.
5 Ext. 456^{a}.
5^{1} i. 408 f.
5^{2} iv. 21^{b}.
5^{4} i. 279^{b}.
5^{17} iv. 322^{a}.
$5^{28f.}$ iv. 234^{a}.
6^{1-21} Ext. 456^{a}.
6^{4} i. 407 f.
$6^{12f.}$ ii. 64^{b}.
6^{31} iv. 185^{b} (Woods).
6^{35} iv. 188^{a} (Woods).
6^{40} iv. 233^{b}.
$6^{60ff.}$ iii. 758^{b}.
$7^{8.\ 10.\ 14}$ iii. 113^{a} n.
7^{27} iii. 354^{a}.
7^{38} iv. 186^{a} (Woods).
$7^{38f.}$ iv. 220^{a} (Bartlet).
7^{39} ii. 719^{b} (Reynolds).
7^{49} iii. 743^{a}.
8^{1-11} i. 154^{a}.
8^{2-11} iv. 649^{b} (Nestle).
8^{3-11} iii. 273^{b} (Paterson).
$8^{4f.}$ i. 326^{b}.
9^{2} iv. 63^{b} (Marshall); Ext. 219^{a}.
9^{5} i. 585^{b}.
$9^{6.\ 14}$ iv. 321^{b} (Driver).
9^{24} iv. 38^{a} (Lock).
10^{3} ii. 25^{b}.
10^{5} iv. 487^{a}.
10^{11} iii. 317.
10^{12} Ext. 607^{b} (Johns).
10^{16} ii. 25^{b}.
$10^{28f.}$ Ext. 312.
11^{9} Ext. 476^{b}.
11^{25} iv. 233^{b}.
11^{49-52} iv. 574^{a}.
11^{53} iii. 86^{b}.
12^{1-8} iii. 280 ff.
12^{3} iii. 593^{b}; iv. 611, 913^{b}.
12^{7} iii. 283 f.
$12^{14f.}$ iv. 185^{b} (Woods).
12^{32} iv. 230^{b}.
12^{34} iii. 355, 370^{b}.
12^{40} iv. 187^{b} (Woods).
13^{1} i. 701^{b}.
$13^{4ff.}$ iii. 760^{b} (Chase).
13^{10} ii. 610^{b}.
14^{2} iii. 238^{b} (Hastings).
14^{16} iv. 220^{a}.
$14^{16.\ 26}$ iii. 665 ff.
14^{18} iii. 634^{a} (Hastings).
$14^{28f.}$ Ext. 312.
15^{22} iv. 533^{a}.
15^{26} iii. 667^{b} (Hastings); Ext. 313^{a}.
16^{7} iii. 667^{b} (Hastings).
16^{11} iv. 411^{b}.
16^{24} iv. 42^{b}, 44^{a}.
17^{25} iv. 284^{a}.
18^{1} ii. 837^{b}.
18^{22} iii. 656^{b} (Hastings).
18^{31} Ext. 49^{b}.
18^{38} i. 856^{b}.
19^{13} ii. 696^{b} (Reynolds); iii. 877^{b} n.
19^{14} iv. 64^{a} (Purves); Ext. 477^{b} f.
$19^{19f.}$ iv. 781.
19^{23} iv. 180^{a}.
19^{25} i. 322^{b}; iii. 279^{a}.
19^{29} iv. 610^{a}, 870^{b}.
$20^{11ff.}$ iii. 284 f.
20^{17} i. 161.
$20^{21f.}$ iv. 32.
20^{22} ii. 407^{a}.
$20^{22f.}$ iii. 631^{b}.
21^{7} i. 624^{a}.

ACTS.

1^{1} iii. 163^{a}.
1^{1-11} ii. 642 f.
1^{3} iii. 683^{b}.
1^{12} iv. 323^{b} (Massie), 909^{b}.
1^{15-26} iii. 305^{b}.
1^{16-20} ii. 798^{a}.
1^{21} ii. 193^{a}.
2^{1} iii. 742^{a} n. (Purves).
$2^{1ff.}$ ii. 407^{a}; iv. 793 ff. (Robertson).
2^{9} iv. 17^{b} (Ramsay).
2^{10} iii. 867^{a}; iv. 297^{a}.
2^{11} i. 520^{a}.
2^{14-36} iii. 762^{a} (Chase).
$2^{17f.}$ Ext. 440^{b}.
2^{22} i. 129^{a}.
2^{27} iv. 184^{b} (Woods).
2^{30} Ext. 333^{b}.
2^{42} i. 460 f.; iii. 144^{b}; Ext. 439$^{a.\ b}$, 448^{a}.
2^{46} iii. 144^{b}.
3^{2} iii. 326^{b} (Macalister).
3^{12-26} iii. 762^{b} (Chase).
3^{19-21} i. 754^{a}.
3^{21} iv. 230^{b}.
3^{22} iv. 185^{b} (Woods).
$3^{22f.}$ iv. 186^{a}.
3^{25} iv. 185^{b}.
4^{2} iii. 767^{a}.
4^{6} i. 60^{a}; iv. 98^{a}.
4^{13} iii. 757^{a} (Chase).
$4^{32ff.}$ i. 461^{a}.
5^{7} Ext. 477^{a} n. (Ramsay).
5^{26} iv. 227^{a} (Pinches).

ACTS—*continued.*

5^{36} i. 30^{b}; iv. 750.
5^{37} ii. 795^{b}; iv. 183^{a} (Plummer).
6^{5} iii. 548^{a}.
6^{7} iv. 98^{a}.
6^{9} iii. 110^{a}; iv. 614^{a} (Grieve).
7^{20} i. 799^{a}.
7^{22} iv. 948^{b}; Ext. 608^{a} (Johns), 624^{b} (Kautzsch).
7^{25-41} iii. 447^{a}.
7^{38} iii. 362^{b} (Charles).
7^{43} iv. 185^{a} (Woods); iv. 227^{a} (Pinches).
7^{44} i. 853^{b}.
7^{48} iv. 227.
8^{5-24} iv. 520 ff.
8^{9-24} ii. 187^{b}.
8^{26} iv. 918^{b} (Selbie).
8^{27} i. 790^{b}.
9^{2} Ext. 103^{b}, 439^{a} n.
$9^{8f.}$ iii. 331^{a}.
9^{20} iv. 573^{b}.
9^{23} ii. 97.
9^{26-30} i. 31^{b}.
9^{28} ii. 193^{a}.
9^{36-43} i. 795^{b}.
$10^{14f.}$ i. 459^{b}.
10^{28} iv. 134^{b}.
$10^{34f.}$ Ext. 273^{b}.
10^{35} iv. 137^{a}.
11^{4} iii. 630^{a} (Hastings).
11^{20} ii. 260^{b}.
11^{26} i. 384^{b}.
11^{28} i. 446^{b}.
11^{28-30} i. 416 f.
11^{30} iv. 64^{b}.
12^{1} Ext. 480^{a}.
12^{4} iv. 180^{a}.
$12^{12ff.}$ Ext. 287^{a}.
12^{15} i. 476^{a}; Ext. 287^{a}.
$12^{21ff.}$ iii. 330^{b}.
13^{1} iii. 159^{b}, 228^{b}; iv. 691^{b}; Ext. 441^{a} n., 448^{b}.
13^{2} iii. 377^{a}.
$13^{2f.}$ iii. 631^{b}.
13^{3} iv. 44^{b}.
13^{5} iii. 245^{b} (Chase), 378^{a}.
13^{7} i. 417^{a}.
13^{8} i. 247^{a}.
13^{9} iii. 697 f., 731^{b}.
13^{12} Ext. 439^{a}.
13^{13} iii. 246^{a}, 659^{a} (Ramsay), 748^{b}.
13^{14} iii. 884^{b}; Ext. 398^{a}.
13^{15} iv. 640^{b}; Ext. 101^{a}.
13^{16-41} i. 33^{b}.
13^{43} iv. 135^{a}.
13^{47} iv. 187^{b} (Woods).
14^{12} iii. 344 f.
$14^{12f.}$ ii. 825^{b}.
14^{13} iii. 179^{a} (Ramsay); Ext. 129^{a}.

ACTS—*continued.*

14^{17} Ext. 120^{a}.
14^{22} iv. 44^{b}.
14^{23} iii. 631^{b}; iv. 64^{b}.
15 iii. 706^{a}.
$15^{1-33.\ 35-39}$ i. 31^{b}.
$15^{7ff.}$ iii. 765^{a} (Chase).
15^{17} i. 344^{a}; iv. 184^{b} (Woods).
15^{20} Ext. 448^{a}.
$15^{20.\ 28f.}$ Ext. 445^{a} n.
15^{20-29} Ext. 444^{a} n.
15^{21} iv. 636^{b}.
15^{22} iv. 64^{b}.
$15^{22ff.}$ iii. 77^{a}.
15^{28} iv. 31^{a}.
15^{29} ii. 791^{b}.
$16^{1ff.}$ Ext. 397^{a}.
16^{4-8} ii. 94^{a}.
16^{6} ii. 90^{a}, 91^{a}; iii. 866^{a}.
16^{6-8} iii. 706^{b} (Findlay), 865 f.; iv. 814^{b}; Ext. 391^{a}.
16^{7-9} Ext. 397^{a}.
16^{12} iii. 837 f. (Turner).
16^{13} iii. 838^{a} (Turner); iv. 638^{b} (Bacher), 935^{a}.
16^{14} iv. 759^{b}.
$16^{14.\ 40}$ iii. 176^{b}, 177^{b}.
16^{16} iii. 838^{b}; iv. 178^{b}.
16^{33} Ext. 477^{b} (Ramsay).
16^{34} iii. 839^{a}.
16^{35} iv. 459^{a}.
$16^{37ff.}$ Ext. 106^{a}.
17^{3} i. 64^{a}.
17^{4} iv. 134^{b}.
$17^{6.\ 8}$ iv. 315^{b}.
17^{18} i. 212^{b}; iii. 635^{b} (Hastings); iv. 616.
17^{22} Ext. 270^{a}.
17^{23} iv. 835^{a}.
17^{28} iv. 2^{b} (Hastings), 188^{a} (Woods), 616^{a} (Stock); Ext. 666^{b} (Kautzsch).
$17^{28f.}$ ii. 219^{a}, 221^{a}.
17^{29} ii. 221^{a}.
17^{31} iv. 234^{b}.
17^{34} i. 545^{a}.
18^{1-27} iv. 102^{b} (Headlam).
18^{2} i. 129^{b}, 417^{a}, 447^{a}; iv. 17^{a} (Ramsay); Ext. 480^{a} (Ramsay).
18^{3} iii. 699^{a}.
18^{5} iv. 807^{a}.
18^{6-8} i. 481^{b}.
18^{8} iv. 607^{b}.
18^{12} i. 417^{b}; Ext. 104^{a}.
18^{17} i. 482^{a} n.; ii. 106^{a}; iv. 607 f.
18^{18} iii. 500^{b} (Eaton).
18^{21} Ext. 397^{a}.
18^{23} ii. 89 ff.; iii. 630^{a}, 866 f.
$18^{24ff.}$ i. 124 f.
18^{25} Ext. 439^{a} n.
19^{1} i. 452^{a}; Ext. 390^{b}.
19^{2} i. 724^{b}.

ACTS—*continued.*

19^{3-6} i. 240^{b}.
19^{9} iv. 821 ff. (Ramsay).
$19^{9.\ 23}$ Ext. 439^{a} n.
19^{10} iv. 759^{a}.
19^{11-20} iv. 418^{a} (Headlam).
19^{12} i. 129^{a}; iii. 487^{b}; iv. 602^{b}.
19^{14} iv. 418^{a}.
19^{21} Ext. 376^{a}.
19^{25} i. 604 n.; ii. 825^{b}.
19^{33} i. 60^{b}.
19^{35} i. 605^{a}, 723^{b}; iv. 800 f. (Ramsay); Ext. 112^{a}.
$20^{1ff.}$ Ext. 400^{a}.
20^{4} iv. 178^{b}.
20^{5} i. 485^{b}.
20^{6} Ext. 475^{a} (Ramsay).
$20^{6f.}$ i. 419 f.
$20^{7.\ 11}$ iii. 145^{a}.
20^{11} iv. 942^{b}.
20^{15} iii. 368 f.; iv. 814^{b}.
20^{16} iii. 742^{b}; Ext. 390^{a}.
20^{21} i. 478^{a}.
20^{28} iv. 174^{a} (Hastings).
20^{35} Ext. 446^{a} n.
21^{1} Ext. 389^{b}.
21^{2} Ext. 380^{a}, 390^{a}.
$21^{15ff.}$ Ext. 398^{b}.
21^{16} iii. 402^{b}.
$21^{17ff.}$ iii. 500^{b}.
21^{20} iii. 163^{b}.
21^{24} iii. 163^{b}.
21^{26} ii. 39^{b}.
21^{27} Ext. 475^{b} (Ramsay).
$21^{31f.}$ iii. 163 f.
21^{38} i. 417 f.
21^{39} iv. 688^{a} (Ramsay); Ext. 105^{b}.
22^{4} Ext. 439^{a} n.
22^{19} Ext. 103^{b}.
$22^{25ff.}$ Ext. 106^{a}.
22^{28} ii. 66^{b}.
23^{8} iv. 351^{a}, 990^{a}; Ext. 288^{a}, 292^{a}.
23^{23} iv. 610^{a} (Barnes).
23^{24} i. 417 f.
23^{26-30} i. 447^{b}.
23^{27} Ext. 106^{a}.
23^{35} iv. 33^{a}.
24^{1} iii. 629^{b}.
24^{10} ii. 2^{a}.
$24^{10.\ 27}$ i. 417 f.
24^{14} Ext. 439^{a} n.
24^{19} iii. 582^{b} (Hastings).
24^{22} Ext. 439^{a} n.
24^{24} i. 417^{b}.
24^{41} Ext. 475^{a} (Ramsay).
25^{9} i. 127^{a}.
$25^{10ff.}$ Ext. 106^{a}.
25^{11} iv. 292^{b}.
25^{12} i. 508^{a}.
$25^{16.\ 27}$ i. 520^{b}.
25^{21} Ext. 106^{a}.

ACTS—*continued.*

26^{7} ii. 476^{a}.
26^{11} i. 463^{a}.
26^{14} iii. 702^{b}.
26^{28} i. 826^{a}.
26^{29} i. 77^{a}.
26^{30} Ext. 356^{a}.
26^{32} Ext. 106^{a}.
27^{5} Ext. 389^{b}.
27^{5} (Western text) Ext. 380^{a}.
27^{7} Ext. 380$^{a,\ b}$.
27^{11} Ext. 379^{a}.
27^{12} i. 520^{a}; iii. 862 f.; Ext. 381^{b}.
27^{13} Ext. 380^{b}.
27^{14} i. 794 f.
27^{15} Ext. 366^{b}.
27^{17} ii. 347^{b}; iv. 182^{b}, 625^{a}; Ext. 366^{b}, 367^{a}, 380^{a}.
27^{19} iv. 673^{a}; Ext. 367^{a}.
27^{27} Ext. 380^{b}.
27^{28} Ext. 367^{b}.
$27^{28f.}$ Ext. 363^{a}.
27^{29} Ext. 367^{b}.
27^{35} iii. 144^{b}.
27^{40} Ext. 399^{a}.
27^{42} Ext. 386^{b}.
$28^{7f.}$ iv. 173^{a}.
28^{11} iv. 267 f.
28^{13} ii. 5^{a}; Ext. 367^{b}.
28^{15} iv. 690^{a}.
28^{16} ii. 824^{b}; iv. 33^{b} n.

ROMANS.

1^{1-4} iv. 573^{b} (Sanday).
$1^{7.\ 15}$ (omission of ἐν Ῥώμῃ) iv. 305^{a} (Robertson).
1^{14} Ext. 151^{a}.
1^{17} ii. 211^{a}; iv. 186^{a} (Woods), 283^{b}, 301^{b} (Robertson).
1^{20} ii. 221^{a}.
1^{21} ii. 454^{a}.
1^{28} iv. 228^{a} (Denney).
$1^{29ff.}$ Ext. 440^{b}.
$2^{14f.}$ i. 471^{a}; iii. 78^{a}.
$2^{19ff.}$ Ext. 443^{b}.
2^{20} ii. 58^{b}.
3^{5} iv. 283.
3^{9} i. 357^{b}.
3^{10-18} iv. 183^{b}, 187^{a} (Woods).
3^{20} iii. 78^{a}.
$3^{21.\ 23}$ iv. 283^{b}.
3^{21-26} iii. 80 f.
3^{22} iv. 205^{a}.
3^{23} iv. 366^{b}.
3^{24-26} iii. 318^{b} (Adeney).
3^{25} i. 198^{a}; iv. 128^{a}.
$3^{25f.}$ ii. 56^{a}; iv. 302^{b}.
3^{26} iv. 345^{a}.
3^{27} iii. 78^{b}.
4 iii. 106.

ROMANS—*continued.*

$4^{1ff.}$ Ext. 663^{b} (Kautzsch).
4^{2} ii. 546^{b}.
$4^{6ff.}$ Ext. 726^{a} (Kautzsch).
4^{20} iv. 613^{a}.
4^{25} iii. 319^{a}.
5^{11} iv. 205^{a}.
5^{12} i. 37.
$5^{12.\ 14}$ i. 845^{a}.
5^{12-21} i. 37^{a}, 841^{b}, 842^{a}.
5^{13} iv. 534^{b}.
5^{14} ii. 6^{b}.
5^{19} iii. 318^{b}.
5^{20} iii. 79^{b}.
6^{1-4} iii. 726 f.
6^{4} iv. 489^{b} (Marshall).
$6^{4f.}$ iv. 234^{b}.
6^{6} iv. 435^{a} (Adeney).
6^{13} ii. 476^{a}.
$6^{16f.}$ Ext. 439^{b}.
6^{17} ii. 58^{b}.
7 iv. 218^{b}.
7^{5} iii. 451^{a} (Hastings).
7^{7-25} iii. 79^{a}; iv. 304^{b} (Robertson).
7^{13} iii. 79^{b}.
7^{21} iii. 78.
7^{22} ii. 475^{a}.
8^{1-4} iii. 723 f.
8^{3} iii. 80^{a}; iv. 302^{b} (Robertson), 577^{b}.
$8^{4f.}$ ii. 410^{a}.
8^{11} iv. 236^{a}.
8^{13} iii. 438^{a} (Hastings).
$8^{15.\ 23}$ i. 41^{b}.
8^{17} iv. 720 f.
8^{19} i. 813^{a}.
$8^{29f.}$ iv. 58^{b}, 302^{a}.
8^{34} iii. 319^{a}.
8^{38} iv. 410^{b}.
9–11 iv. 59 f., 106.
9^{3} i. 535^{a}.
9^{4} i. 42^{a}; iv. 489^{b}.
$9^{4.\ 7.\ 8}$ i. 42^{a}.
9^{23} iv. 302^{a}.
$9^{27f.}$ iv. 184^{b} (Woods).
9^{33} iv. 185^{b}, 187^{b} (Woods).
10 iv. 59^{a}.
10^{6-8} iv. 186^{a} (Woods).
10^{18} iii. 124^{a}.
10^{20} iv. 184^{b} (Woods).
11 iv. 59^{a}.
11^{2} ii. 52^{b}, 53^{b}.
11^{4} i. 102^{a}.
11^{25} i. 463^{a}.
$11^{26f.}$ iv. 186^{a} (Woods).
11^{32} iv. 59^{b}, 230 f.
11^{35} (cf. Job 41^{11}) iv. 66^{a} n., 205^{a}.
12^{7} iv. 691^{a}.
12^{12} ii. 476^{a}.
12^{15} iv. 188^{a} (Woods).
12^{16} i. 463^{a}.
12^{19} iv. 186^{a} (Woods).
12^{20} ii. 316^{b}.

ROMANS—*continued.*

13^{1-7} iv. 304^{b}.
13^{9} iv. 186^{a} (Woods).
14^{1} i. 611^{b}.
$14^{5f.}$ iv. 322.
$14^{7f.}$ iv. 233^{b}.
$14^{20f.}$ iii. 587^{a} (Adeney).
15. 16 iv. 305 f.
15^{8} iv. 105^{b}.
15^{16} iii. 377^{a}; iv. 100.
15^{19} ii. 451^{a}.
15^{24} Ext. 392, 397^{a}.
$15^{24.\ 28}$ iv. 609^{a}.
15^{28} iii. 714^{a}; iv. 427^{a} (Massie).
16^{1} iii. 855^{a}.
16^{11} iii. 487^{b}.
16^{12} iv. 820.
16^{13} i. 541^{a}; iv. 315^{a}.
16^{15} iii. 513 f.
16^{15-27} iv. 305^{a} (Robertson).
16^{17} Ext. 439^{b}.
16^{20} iv. 411^{a}.
16^{21} iii. 159^{b}, 161^{a}.
16^{23} Ext. 394^{a}.
16^{25-27} iv. 305^{a}.

1 CORINTHIANS.

1^{1} iv. 608^{a}.
1^{12} i. 486^{a}; iii. 765^{b}.
$1^{14.\ 16}$ i. 481^{b}.
$2^{1f.}$ i. 482^{b}.
2^{9} i. 692^{a}; iv. 185^{a}, 186^{a}, 187^{b} (Woods).
3^{9} ii. 438^{b}.
3^{19} iv. 187^{a} (Woods).
3^{20} iv. 185^{b}.
3^{22} iii. 765^{b}.
4^{3} i. 573^{b}.
4^{4} i. 335^{b}.
4^{6} ii. 7^{a}.
4^{21} Ext. 355^{b}.
$5^{1ff.}$ i. 490^{a}, 492^{b}.
5^{1-5} iv. 31^{b} (Mason).
5^{3} iv. 31^{b}.
$5^{4f.}$ iv. 410^{b}.
5^{10} i. 77^{a}.
$5^{10ff.}$ Ext. 440^{b}.
5^{11} iv. 31^{b}.
6^{14} iv. 236^{b}.
7^{22} ii. 67^{b}.
7^{31} i. 20^{a}, 853^{b}.
8^{1} ii. 39^{b}.
8^{6} ii. 457^{a}.
8^{7} i. 467^{b}.
8^{9} iii. 587^{a}.
9^{1} iii. 702^{a}.
9^{7} ii. 192^{a}.
9^{9} i. 354^{a}.
9^{18} i. 20^{a}.
9^{27} iv. 228^{a}.
10^{3} iii. 145^{a}.
10^{4} iv. 290^{b} (Selbie).
10^{10} i. 594^{a}.

1 CORINTHIANS—*continued.*

10^{16} iii. 144^{b}, 149^{a}; Ext. 450^{a}.
$10^{16f.}$ i. 461^{a}; iii. 149^{a} (Plummer); Ext. 127^{a}.
10^{21} iii. 144^{b}.
10^{25} iv. 473^{b}.
11^{10} ii. 317^{a}; iv. 30^{b} (Ferries).
11^{14} iii. 495^{b}.
11^{17-34} i. 490 f.
11^{23} ii. 638.
11^{23-25} iii. 146.
11^{24} iii. 316 f.
$11^{24f.}$ iii. 150^{a} (Plummer).
11^{25} iv. 344^{b}, 720^{b}.
11^{29} i. 609^{b}.
11^{30} iv. 31^{b}.
12^{3} i. 535^{a}.
12^{12-27} iv. 188^{b} (Woods).
12^{20} Ext. 440^{b}.
12^{28} ii. 347^{b}; Ext. 441^{a} n.
$12^{28f.}$ iv. 691.
12^{28-30} i. 490^{a}.
13^{12} iii. 397^{a}; iv. 271^{b}.
14 iv. 794^{a}.
$14^{14f.}$ iv. 45^{a}.
14^{16} iii. 145^{a}.
14^{21} iv. 185^{b} (Woods).
14^{29} iv. 942^{b}.
14^{34} iv. 935 f.
15^{3} iii. 318^{b}.
15^{4-7} i. 322^{a}.
15^{12-58} iv. 234 f.
15^{22} iv. 230 f.
$15^{22.\ 45-49}$ i. 37^{a}.
$15^{23f.}$ iii. 372^{a}, 678^{a}.
15^{24} iv. 410^{b}.
15^{28} i. 63^{b}.
15^{29} i. 245^{a}.
15^{33} i. 460^{a}; iv. 2^{b} (Hastings), 188^{a} (Woods).
15^{34} iv. 185^{a} (Woods).
15^{38} ii. 520^{a}.
15^{55} iii. 888^{a}.
15^{56} iii. 79^{b}.
16^{1} i. 461^{a}, 483^{a}; ii. 94^{b}; iv. 943^{a}.
16^{12} i. 125^{a}.
16^{22} i. 535^{a}; iii. 241 ff. (Thayer).

2 CORINTHIANS.

1^{20} iv. 38^{a}.
2^{6} iv. 31^{b}.
2^{7} iv. 31^{b}.
2^{12} Ext. 389^{b}.
2^{17} i. 500^{a}.
3^{18} ii. 181^{a}; iii. 397^{a}.
4^{2} ii. 297^{a}.
4^{7} iv. 25^{b}.
$5^{1f.}$ iv. 235^{a}.
5^{1-9} iii. 679^{a}, 729^{b}.
5^{2} iv. 235^{a}.
5^{8} iv. 235^{b}.